

PERSONAL NAME SYSTEMS IN FINNIC AND BEYOND



Uralica  
Helsingiensia 12

---

Personal name  
systems in Finnic  
and beyond

EDITED BY  
TERHI AINIALA &  
JANNE SAARIKIVI

HELSINKI 2017

Terhi Ainiala & Janne Saarikivi (eds):  
*Personal name systems in Finnic and beyond.*  
Uralica Helsingiensia 12.

Cover Rigina Ajanki  
Layout Mari Saraheimo

ISBN 978-952-5667-90-5 (print)  
ISBN 978-952-5667-91-2 (online)  
ISSN 1797-3945



Printon  
Tallinn 2017

#### Orders • Tilaukset

Tiedekirja  
Snellmaninkatu 13  
FI-00170 Helsinki  
<www.tiedekirja.fi>  
<tiedekirja@tsv.fi>



## Uralica Helsingiensia

The series *Uralica Helsingiensia* is founded in 2008. It features thematic volumes and monographs on the history, typology and sociology of Uralic languages. Studies focusing on Estonian language and culture, Hungarian language and culture, as well as Saamic studies are equally welcome in the series. The series also seeks to support university studies on its focus areas. *Uralica Helsingiensia* is rated at level 1 by the Publication Forum of the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies. All submitted manuscripts are peer-reviewed.

*Uralica Helsingiensia* on perustettu 2008. Sarjassa julkaistaan temaattisia artikkelikokoelmia tai monografioita erityisesti uralilaisten kielten historian, typologian ja kielisosiologian alalta. Aihepiiriin kuuluvat myös Unkarin kielen ja kulttuurin, Viron kielen ja kulttuurin ja saamentutkimuksen yliopisto-opintoja tukevat julkaisut. Sarja kuuluu TSV:n julkaisufoorumin luokituksessa kategoriaan 1, ja siinä noudatetaan vertaisarviointikäytäntöä.

Publisher • Julkaisija  
Finno-Ugrian Society • Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura

Editors • Päätoimittajat  
Ulla-Majja Forsberg, Riho Grünthal

Editorial board • Toimitusneuvosto  
Márta Csepregi, Cornelius Hasselblatt, Magdolna Kovács, Johanna Laakso, Helle Metslang, Matti Miestamo, Irma Mullonen, Karl Pajusalu, Janne Saarikivi, Anneli Sarhimaa, Elena Skribnik

[www.sgr.fi/uh](http://www.sgr.fi/uh)

The publications are indexed in ARTO data base with the index Urbis.  
Julkaisut luetteloidaan ja indeksoidaan ARTO-tietokantaan tunnuksella Urbis.

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>
Janne Saarikivi	
<b>The spread of Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms in toponyms</b>	<b>13</b>
Jaakko Raunamaa	
<b>Finnish medieval village names based on anthroponyms     in the Castle Province of Raseborg</b>	<b>33</b>
Timo Rantakaulio	
<b>Personal name-based place names by Lake Lennus in Savitaipale</b>	<b>83</b>
Denis Kuzmin	
<b>Adaptation of Orthodox personal names     in the Karelian language</b>	<b>137</b>
Irma Mullonen	
<b>The heritage of the Veps non-Christian onomasticon     in southern Svir settlement names</b>	<b>185</b>
Olga Karlova	
<b>Karjalaisten venäjännetyistä käännössukunimistä</b>	<b>219</b>
Evar Saar	
<b>Forenames in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century southeastern Estonia</b>	<b>241</b>
Taarna Valtonen	
<b>Anthroponyms in the Saami languages</b>	<b>287</b>
Alexander Pustyakov	
<b>Mari personal names: history and current developments</b>	<b>325</b>
Valéria Tóth	
<b>The history of the Hungarian personal name system     in the context of cognitive-pragmatic description</b>	<b>363</b>
<b>List of contributors</b>	<b>381</b>



# Introduction

Cultural information such as people's religious, linguistic and ethnic identity is always reflected in personal names. This is why many of us regard anthroponyms as subjects of great interest. Personal names are not isolated elements in any language or its nomenclature but represent a system with different sub-systems such as the first name system and surname systems. These systems are culture-specific. Some languages use several first names, others patronyms, some prefer names passed on in the family, some employ new names for every generation, etc.

In all cultures, giving a child a name means that he is accepted as a member of the community. Richard Alford (1988) has demonstrated that personal names express the identity of a person in two ways: in the first place, they tell the other members of the community who the individual in question is and secondly, they tell the community who he is or is expected to be. Personal names thus have a significant role in building a person's individual and social identity and constituting links between generations, families, clans and tribes. They express different religious, political, ethnic and other values associated with groups of people. In this connection they also reflect political, religious or value change and build historically multi-layered systems that can be implemented in the cultural reconstruction of the past world views.

In addition to identification, a name also has a function of classification. The personal names do not only identify a person but also make him a member of a group and provide him with a social identity which is often explicitly gendered. They powerfully signify the speakers' sense of local belonging, cultural identity and system of values. While the basic identification function of personal names is the same everywhere, their secondary societal and group linked functions may vary quite a bit, depending on the cultural context. As elements inherited from the past, names often reflect more archaic linguistic and cultural relations, concepts and value systems than the present language use, and are thus of great significance in the investigation of past conceptual realms, inter-group relations, cultural identities and beliefs.

The study of anthroponyms thus is an inherently interdisciplinary field of investigation with implications beyond the pure onomastics.

Notwithstanding the central nature of the anthropomorphic systems as identity bearers and source of cultural information, the Finno-Ugrian personal name systems have been relatively little studied. The research tradition begins in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when A.V. Forsman published his monograph on Finnish personal names “by the heathen times”, labeled Volume 1 (Forsman 1894). Unfortunately, the probably planned second volume never appeared.

The only 20<sup>th</sup> century monographic treatment regarding on the old anthroponymic system of the Finnic-speaking people (Stoebke 1964) is already a half a century old and reflects the point of view of early structural linguistics. Some anthroponymic handbooks especially on surnames (cf. Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000; Rajandi 2005; Černyh 1995) and a handful of modern and well-founded investigations have been published especially on Udmurt tribal (or vorshud) names (Atamanov 1996, 2001), but most of the naming motivations of the Uralic speaking people remain little studied. The toponymic investigations by Mullonen (1994, 2002), Karlova (2004), Saarikivi (2006) and Kuzmin (2014) shed light on some aspects of the old anthroponyms especially in the historical area of the eastern Finnic languages, as reconstructed on the basis of toponymic material, and the same group of names is also investigated in the light of material from Novgorod birch bark letters in an article by Saarikivi (2007). It is obvious that a similar methodology could also be implemented in search of the old anthroponyms in other contexts.

However, the general impression is that while the toponymic research in Finland developed entirely new paradigms from 1970s onwards and reached many fruitful results regarding name typology, distribution of name models and layering of toponyms (see e.g. Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom 2012: 47–60), the historical study of anthroponyms has largely become to a standstill. No attempt for an etymologically relevant reconstruction of the old Finnic or other Finno-Ugrian personal name systems has been published. This is the more regrettable taking into account that new material for such an enterprise is now available not only in the expanding place name collections but also in the field of comparative mythology and folklore where new significant

results have been reached that enable us to reconstruct historical Finnic cultural layers reflected in oral poetry and (pre-Christian) religious practices (cf. Siikala 2012).

This volume aims at partly filling the gap in the field of Finno-Ugrian anthroponomastics. It has been borne by the frames of the project Personal names in Finnic and beyond, financed by the Academy of Finland (more about the project; see <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/personal-name-systems/>).

The present volume enlightens personal name systems in various Finno-Ugrian languages. **Janne Saarikivi** investigates the Proto-Finnic name heritage that is preserved in toponyms in the modern and partly also assimilated Finnic-speaking area. **Jaakko Raunamaa** analyses Finnish village names based on medieval anthroponyms in the historical Castle Province of Raseborg, Western Nyland. He studies what kind of anthroponyms became village names and what influenced that naming. One important conclusion of the article is that settlements which have names based on anthroponyms are not the oldest villages in the region. **Timo Rantakaulio's** paper, in turn, presents a review and an analysis of old personal names in the place names of a few villages of different ages in Finnish South Karelia by using multidisciplinary methods combined with areal linguistics. Personal names in the area examined in the study show a usage and settlement continuity from pre-Christian times.

Veps and Karelian names are in focus in three papers. Firstly, **Irma Mullonen** aims at reconstructing non-Christian Veps names preserved in settlement names with the suffix *-l* (< \**-la*). She manages to show that the Veps anthroponymic system was an integral part of the corresponding Finnic system, and comprised both units traditionally termed personal names and names derived from bynames. Secondly, **Denis Kuzmin** analyzes Christian names of Karelians. A central starting point in his article is the propensity of Karelians to absorb various external cultural influences, and to process them to meet the demands of the local Karelian culture and language. Karelian forms of canonical names seems to constitute a quite well arranged system, providing the framework for a fairly easy reconstruction of many of the recorded Karelian vernacular names which had previously had no definite equivalents in Russian. Thirdly, **Olga Karlova** examines

modern Russified surnames, or translated surnames, among the Karelians, which are based on inherited, so-called unofficial demotic surnames in the Karelian language.

Forenames in southeastern Estonia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century are in focus in **Evar Saar's** article. The most common male forenames were Low German adaptations of Christian or Germanic names, typical to all of Estonia. However, there are substantial divergences between these names and those found in northern and western Estonia. **Taarna Valtonen** studies anthroponyms in Saami languages, a subject hitherto fairly little examined. The main focus is on North Saami, Inari Saami, and Skolt Saami. **Aleksander Pustyakov**, in turn, studies Mari personal names, both history and current situation. In pre-Christian Mari anthroponymy it was typical to use a multinominal naming form in addition to a simple monominal system: a personal name plus a genealogy name, a name according to place of residence and other modes. According to Mari beliefs, names possessed great power, which could influence the child's life. The choice of a name was determined by beliefs, traditions, and everyday life situations. Finally, **Valéria Tóth** examines history of the Hungarian personal names system in the context of the cognitive-pragmatic description. It turns out that descriptive names, as the name type constituting the backbone of the name system, play a central role in naming and name use in all periods of name history.

## References

- Ainiala, Terhi, Minna Saarelma & Paula Sjöblom 2012: *Names in Focus. An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*. Studia Fennica Linguistica. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Atamanov M. G. 1996: *Istorija Udmurtii v geografičeskikh nazvanijah*. Iževsk: Udmurtia.
- 2001: *Po sledam udmurtskikh voršudov*. Iževsk: Udmurtia.
- Černyh, S. J. 2005: *Slovar' marijskikh ličnyh imen*. Joškar-Ola.
- Forsman, A. V. 1894: *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla I. Pakanuudenaikainen nimistö*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Karlova, Olga 2004: Venäjän Karjalan *-l(V)*-loppuisen nimimallin paikan nimistö. Unpublished candidate dissertation thesis. Petrozavodsk: University of Petrozavodsk.
- 2007: Das karelische Personennamensysteme. – Andrea Brendler & Silvio Brendler (eds.), *Europäische Personennamensysteme. Ein Handbuch von Abasisch bis Zentralladinisch*, 363–371. Hamburg.
- Kuzmin, Denis 2014: *Vienan Karjalan asutushistoria nimistön valossa*. Helsinki.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo & Paikkala, Sirkka 2000: *Sukunimet*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Mullonen, Irma 1994: *Očerki vepsskoj toponimii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka.
- 2002: *Toponimija Prisvir'ja: problemy etnojazykovogo kontaktirovanija*. Petrozavodsk: Petrozavodskij gos.
- Rajandi, Edgar 2005: *Raamat nimedest*. 2.täiendatud trükk. Tammerraamat.
- Saarikivi, Janne 2006: *Substrata Uralica: studies on Finno-Ugrian substrate in Northern Russian dialects*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- 2007: Finnic personal names on Novgorod birchbark documents. – Nuorluoto, J. (ed.): *Topics on the ethnic, linguistic and cultural making of the Russian North*, 196–246. Slavica Helsingiensia 32. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena 2012: *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*. Helsinki: SKS.
- Stoebke, Detlef-Eckhard 1964: *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Nord- und osteuropäische Geschichtsstudien. Band IV. Hamburg: Leibnitz-Verlag.



JANNE SAARIKIVI  
University of Helsinki

## The spread of Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms in toponyms

**Abstract** The paper discusses the pre-Christian Finnic personal names in toponyms in present and Russified Finnic linguistic area. The author has mapped the spread of some of the best known anthroponymic types that can be reconstructed to Proto-Finnic, or some of the dialects that emerged as a result of its dispersal (\**Iha-*, \**Ikä-*, \**Kauka-*, \**Leina-*, \**Lempe-*, \**Vihti-*).

The aim is to outline the area where the Finnic languages were spoken by the time of the Christianization. The change in naming habits, quite self-evidently, did not occur simultaneously in the whole language area, but it is still relatively clear that the existence of pre-Christian anthroponyms in settlement names, in the majority of the cases, points to a relatively early emergence of the settlement.

The toponyms derived from the stem \**hiite* ‘cult place’ are mapped as a comparative material. They point to a many ways similar spread of pre-Christian Finnic-speaking population.

## Aims, methods

The aim of this article is to present maps of the most important pre-Christian Finnic anthroponymic types in Finnic toponyms. It is assumed that the identification and mapping of anthroponyms related to the pre-Christian Finnic world view, mythology and religion is crucial from the point of view of the reconstruction of the speaking area(s) of Finnic language forms at the time of adoption of Christianity and the associated naming traditions.

The Christianization of the Finnic-speaking peoples can be dated, albeit inaccurately, on the basis of historical accounts, archaeological findings related to burials, and Christian artefacts, such as crosses, as well as the borrowing of vocabulary related to the Christian faith.

It is received knowledge in Fennistics that the Slavic borrowings related to Christianity represent the newest layer of foreign influences that was adopted into the still relatively uniform Proto-Finnic immediately before its dispersal (cf. Kalima 1952). This is why dating Christianization is also the key to dating and locating Proto-Finnic and uncovering the history of its dispersal. While the Slavic borrowings may date from the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, which is the period of the first indicators of Christianity such as crosses in the material culture, the oldest churches in Finland and Estonia were only built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the oldest churches that still exist today date from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Hiekkänen 2007). The Christianization of the Finnic peoples thus appears to be a lengthy process that is also reflected in the personal name system. While all members of the Finnic population were baptized and subject to church power in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century documents still contain personal name types that can be characterized as pre-Christian.

The method used in this paper is identifying the anthroponyms based on pre-Christian religious motivations in toponyms by focusing on recurring elements especially in settlement names (i.e. village and homestead names). It is assumed that the main spread of such names in toponyms indicates the spread of the Finnic languages by the time of the adoption of the Christian naming practices. Self-evidently, this likely did not occur only once in every region, but the time span may be roughly placed around the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Most of the name elements investigated here were already identified as anthroponyms in the early toponomastic literature. Old Finnish personal names have been investigated by, among others, Forsman (1894), Stoebke (1963), Nissilä (1975), Vilkuna (2005), Mikkonen & Paikkala (2002) and Saarikivi (2007). An important source for this investigation have been the maps detailing the spread of common Finnic anthroponymic types presented in the unpublished work by Kepsu (Kepsu mscr.), which includes a map of pre-Christian anthroponyms in village names. The maps presented here differ from those that Kepsu has drawn in that they have been independently drafted on the basis of modern toponymic material. The Russified territories, as well as some toponyms of Latvia, have also been included in the map.

It has been the goal of the investigation to identify the most common toponymic types that are common Finnic, i.e. that are to be found in several Finnic languages rather than just one. For this purpose, especially the studies by Stoebke (ibid.) and Kepsu (ibid.) have been used. Here, the spread of the toponymic types *\*Iha(la)*, *\*Ika/Ikä-*, *\*Kaipa-*, *\*Leina-*, *\*Lempi-*, *\*Moni(kka)-*, *Uska-* and *Vihhti-* are presented on a map. Obviously, these names do not cover the whole old Finnic anthroponymic system, but they serve to illustrate the spread of the most common and widespread old Finnic anthroponymic types in the toponyms, and thus also the spread of the Finnic language area by the time of the adoption of Christian naming principles.

The material presented here could have been enhanced with several other types, for instance, *\*kauka-*, *\*hyvä-*, *\*mieli-* and *\*valta-* names. However, when a map was compiled by the author representing the spread of *hyvä-* names in oikonyms, it turned out that it was nearly impossible to distinguish toponyms based on old personal names from those based on surnames and modern nicknames. A similar problem also occurred with *\*kauka-* names and *valta-* names. This reflects the most important methodological problem related to the material, namely the question of whether it is possible to draw a distinction between toponyms based on pre-Christian anthroponyms, and those based on Finnish family names or appellatives that derive from the same lexeme as the corresponding pre-Christian personal names. In order to confine the research material to that which is as reliable as possible, only a few easily analysable name types

were chosen. Further, to avoid confusion with toponyms of other origins, only those toponyms whose structure is clearly based on an anthroponymic stem were included in the maps, i.e. those that represent either an underived anthroponymic stem attached to a house or a village, or the stem with the suffix *-la*, the most common suffix of oikononyms.

In addition, the semantic criteria have been rather strict. Only those toponyms denoting settlements have been included, and an effort has been made to exclude those settlement names that, based on their surroundings, can be considered to be of new origin, i.e. are located far away from the old settlement centres, have no other old toponyms in their surroundings, etc. An old village name, the location of the settlement name in the middle of a settlement chain and an old homestead name surrounded by homesteads originating from the same farmare all considered indicative of the old age of the name.

As comparative material, the map of Finnic *\*hiite-* names (> Fi. *hiisi*) is represented. These denote places of worship, or settlement centres in the pre-Christian era. A full discussion on the functions of *\*hiite-* names has been presented by Koski (1967), who points to various motivations and layers of this name type. It is reasonably clear that the emergence of *hiite-*names diminished radically or altogether ended by the time of the adoption of Christianity. The investigation by Koski (ibid.) includes a map of *\*hiite-*names, but a new map has been drawn here that includes all of the names even from the Russified regions, as well as from Karelia. The Karelian name material derives from a map compiled by Irma Mullonen (forthcoming).

## Layers of Finnic anthroponyms

Presently, the main layer of Finnic anthroponyms is of Christian, European character based on the vernacular hypocorisms of the names of Christian saints. These may be fairly different in different languages (cf. Fi. *Henrik* and Est. *Indrek*, Fi. *Janne*, *Juha* and Est. *Jaan*, etc.), but ultimately they derive from the same system. In addition, there are some cases of preserved pre-Christian nomenclature in Finnish and related languages (cf. *Pekka*, *Unto*), and also newly created names

based on pre-Christian models (*Toivo*) as well as the lexicon related to meteorological and natural features and phenomena (*Lumi*, *Tuuli*).

However, everywhere in the Finnic toponymy and surnames, the earlier pre-Christian anthroponymic systems are attestable. Typically, an element can be identified as an old anthroponym if it is found in both surnames as well as in settlement names. The literary sources typically further corroborate the fact that the element in question is an old anthroponym.

Pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms can be divided to at least two groups or systems. First, there are those names that can be characterized as hypocoristics or nicknames. They are of various ages, and although the naming motivations representing these names can be characterized as pre-Christian in that they are not related to the names of saints or to a Christian calendar, many of them represent local types and denominate objects of secondary importance. It can therefore be assumed that they are often fairly new and have emerged in a community already characterized by Christianized cultural habits.

The names of this group often denote humoristic characteristics of the people, such as sloppiness, foolishness (*Helylä* [Sortavala] ← personal name *\*helyi* ‘sloppy, scattered, silly’) or a funny appearance (*Läskelä* [Sortavala] ← PN *Läski* ‘grease’, *Kekroila*, in the mouth of the river Neva in Ingermanland < *\*kekroi* ‘crooked, curvy’), or compare the name holders with animals (*Repola*, in Central Karelia ← PN *repo* ‘fox’, Karelian *Miägrä*, in the Olonets region ← *megrei*, *mägröi* ‘badger’).

Although most such names are new, some of them must be fairly old in that they are present in the toponyms in a vast area inhabited by the Finnic-speaking tribes in the past. For instance, the anthroponymic stem *\*hirvoi*, deriving from *hirvi* ‘moose, elk’, must be of old origin in the anthroponymic system of Finnish in that it has spread in surnames to a large Eastern Finnish area (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2002; Pöyhönen 1998), has emerged in many areas independently of each other, and has an early literary attestation (in 1315, cf. Mikkonen & Paikkala *ibid.*).

The other group of pre-Christian anthroponyms is of Proto-Finnic character. This group of names is present in the nomenclature of most of the Finnic languages and contains names that are

likely of pre-Christian mythological character. Many of the names belonging to this group are not adequately understood from the point of view of their cultural meaning, but the lexical stem types are, nevertheless, fairly well described in the research literature. There is no doubt that the names of this group represent the oldest reconstructable layer of Finnic names, i.e. personal names of the Proto-Finnic.

The names belonging to this latter group are also the main target of this investigation. It has been argued by Stoebke that the prevailing structure of Old Finnic personal names has consisted of two elements, i.e. the generic and a specific, but that the name elements could also have been used alone, or with a suffix that compensates for the missing element (cf. *Ihamieli* → *Ihala*, *Vihitimies* → *Vihti*). It cannot be said with certainty whether this assumption is true, but one can note that in the historical sources, many pre-Christian Finnic names appear to consist of two components. In the toponyms, however, the two-component names are restricted to some isolated cases such as the homestead name *Ihamuoti* in Mynämäki. The suffixal name type *Ihala*, *Ihalainen*, in turn, is quite common both in surnames as well as in toponyms.

## Material

The material presented here derives from various sources. The point of departure is the unpublished manuscript by Saulo Kepsu regarding the settlement history of the pogosts of Ingermanland (Kepsu mscr.). This manuscript includes a map indicating the most common pre-Christian anthroponymic types in toponyms that has functioned as the model for this article. The material presented by Kepsu has been enhanced by material from published and archived sources regarding the Karelian and Veps territories, as well as the Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions and Latvia. Additionally, the substantially less complete material from Latvia and the Pskov and Novgorod regions of Russia has been taken into account when possible.

The main source for the Karelian and Veps toponymic material has been the published works by Irma Mullonen on Veps toponymy

(Mullonen 1994, 2002, 2009) and Denis Kuzmin on Karelian toponymy (Kuzmin 2015, oral communication). The name material from Russified regions derives especially from the works by A. K. Matveev (Matveev 2001, 2003, 2007, 2015), as well as from the author's own materials (Saarikivi 2006). The materials related to Latvia derive from the works of Bušs and Balode, as well as the historical sources. The scarce material from the early Russified areas, i.e. the Novgorod and Pskov regions, derives from the works of V. O. Vasiljev and R. O. Ageeva.

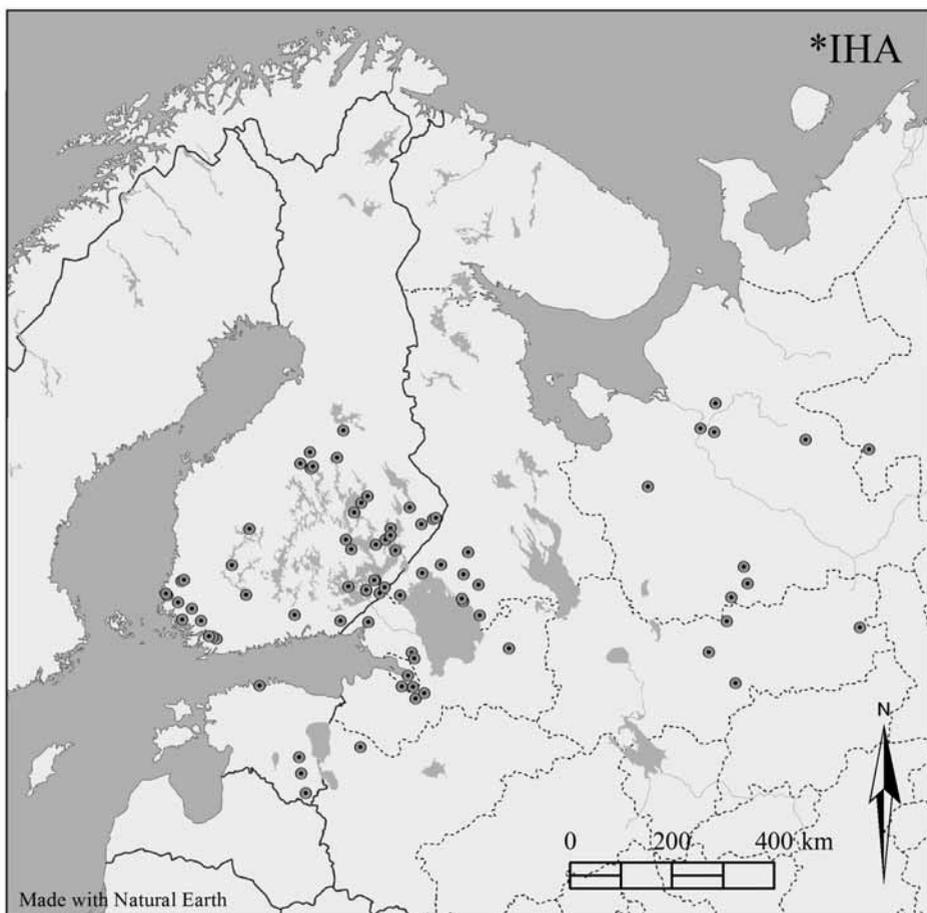
The Finnish name material derives from the online resource *MML Karttapaikka*, which represents nearly all of the settlement names in Finland. The Karelian name material is from the archives of the Karelian Science Center (IJALI KarNC RAN), received with the help of Denis Kuzmin. The Estonian material is from the Estonian place name dictionary *Eesti kohanimeraamat* (EKN). Full materials used in this study can be provided to other researchers by request.

## Origin and distribution area of individual names

\**Iha* (map 1)

The name originates in a word stem *iha* that has denoted 'wish', 'sexual desire', 'good mood', 'longing (v.)' and 'beauty'. This word is practically not used in modern Finnish, but the derivation *ihana* 'lovely, wonderful' is commonplace. A detailed analysis of the semantic development of the word has been presented by Rintala (2003). The word has a cognate in Mordvinic (SSA s.v. *iha*). The numerous surnames such as *Ihalainen*, *Ihakka* bear witness of the use of this lexeme in old personal names. Many compound names with this stem have been historically attested, among them *Ihamuoti*, *Ihamieli*, etc.

The distribution of the name is both eastern and western, including both the historical Suomi province as well as all the main areas with Karelian influence. This bears witness of the Proto-Finnic character of the name type, even though the name is fairly infrequent in Estonia.

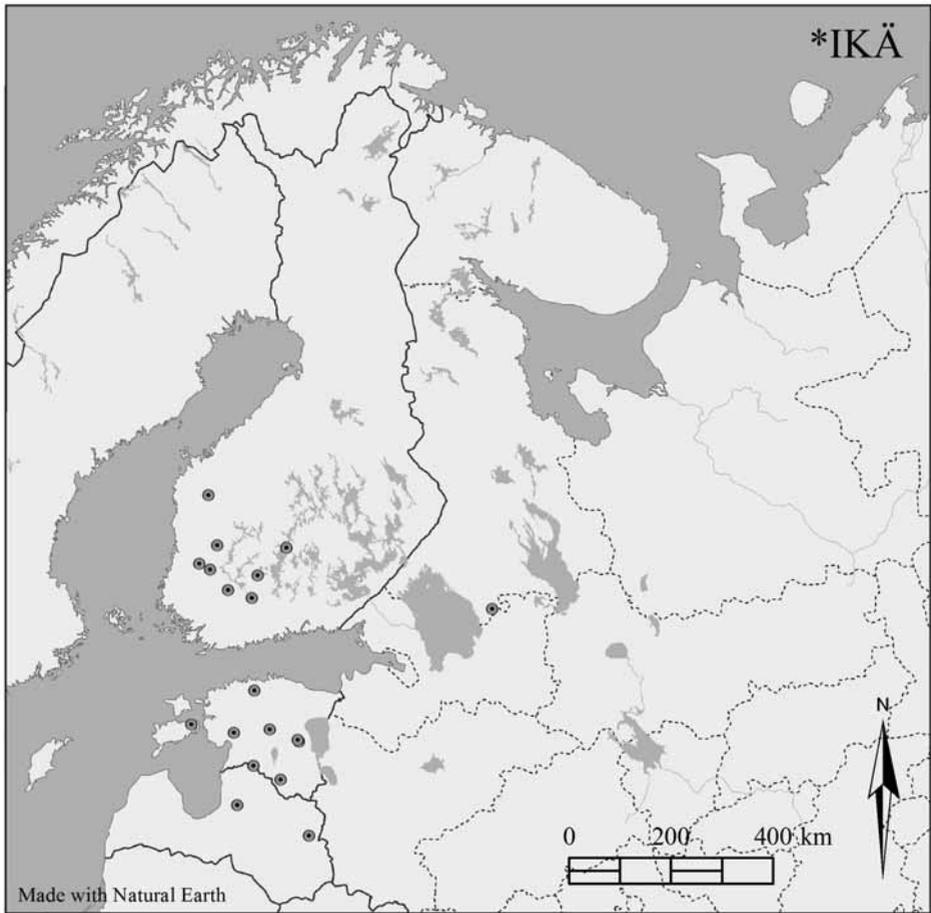


Map 1. Distribution area of the name type *\*Iha*.

The name type is very well attested in the toponymy of the Rus-sified Dvina basin. This points to its frequency among the Middle Age Finnic-speaking populations.

*\*Ika/Ikä-* (map 2)

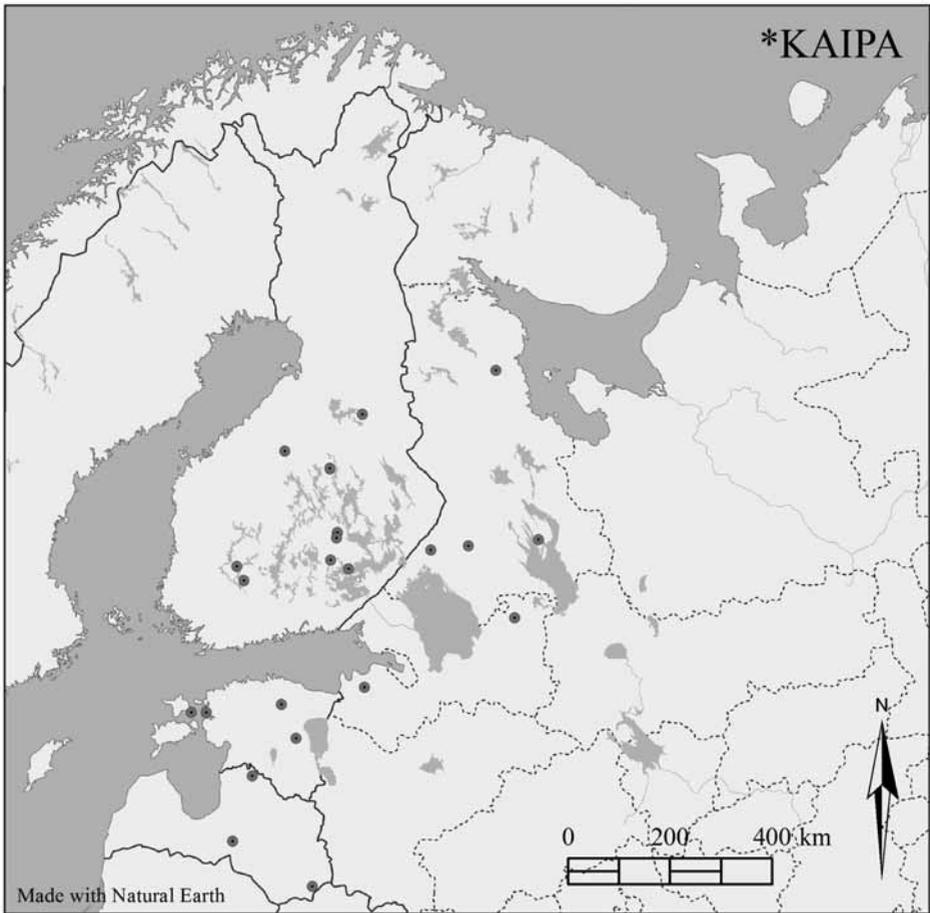
The name stem is based on the word stem *ikä* ‘age; long time’. The word stem belongs to the Uralic vocabulary and denotes ‘year’ or ‘time’ in many languages of the family. The naming motivation has probably been related to the bearer’s (hoped) old age. The word has



Map 2. Distribution area of the name type *\*Ika/Ikä-*.

been used in several compound personal names such as *Ikäheimo*, *Ikävalko* and *\*Ikähalu* (Saarikivi 2007: 220).

The name type is substantially less frequent than the *Iha* type. There are no clear examples of its use in the Russified regions or Karelia (with the exception of a single case in Novgorod birch barks, cf. *ibid.*), although in the Russian language, the reflexes of this name type might be mixed with those reflexes of the *Iha* type. In the Finnish territory, the name type has a Häme/Tavastian distribution, and it does not occur in the historical Suomi area. In Estonia, in turn, the type is more frequent. Thus, the name type would seem to have Proto-Finnic roots, but still it has become fashionable in different language forms than the *Iha* type.

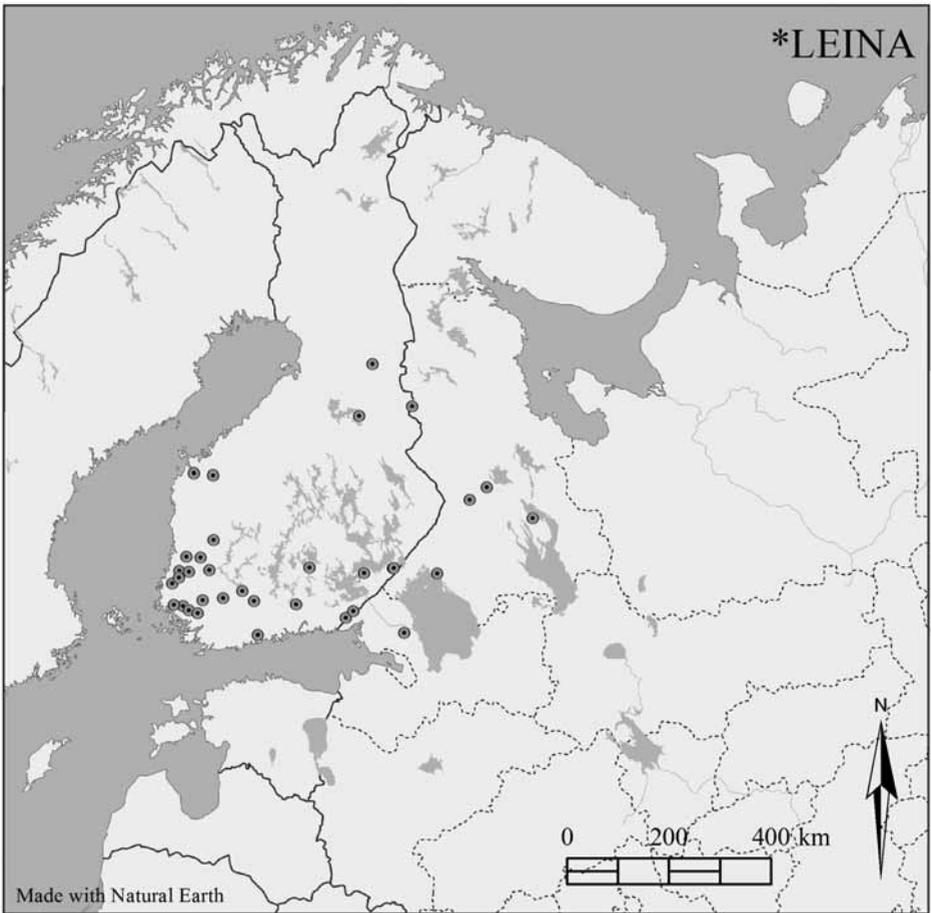


Map 3. Distribution area of the name type *\*Kaipa-*.

*\*Kaipa-* (map 3)

The name type is based on a word stem *\*kaipa-* from which Fi. *kaivata* ‘miss (v.), long (v.), yearn for something’ is derived. The word occurs in personal names such as *Kaivattu*, lit. ‘missed, long-awaited’.

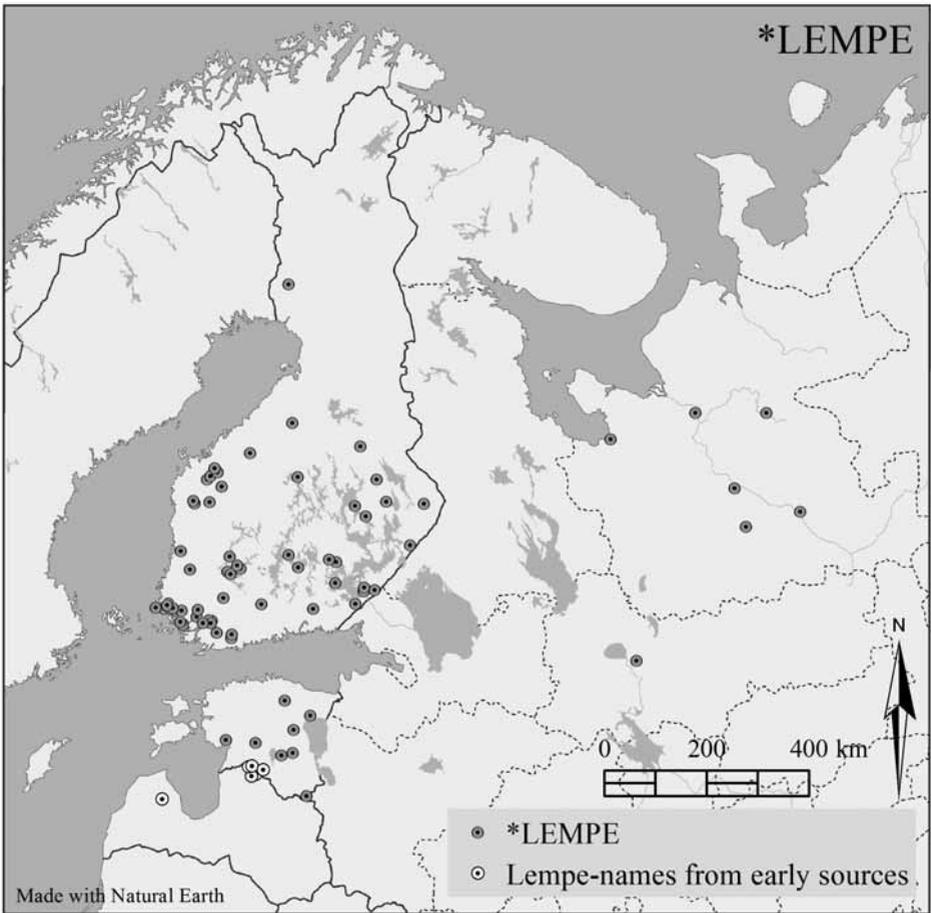
The spread of the name type in toponyms cannot be straightforwardly connected to any of the early Finnic tribes or language forms.



Map 4. Distribution area of the name type *\*Leina-*.

*\*Leina-* (map 4)

Based on the word stem *\*leina* ‘slow, feeble, miserable’ (SSA II: 60), the element is frequent in Finnish surnames, such as *Leino*, *Leinonen* (Mikkola & Paikkala 2002: 274–275), as well as in toponyms. The motivation of the name is not known. It may be originally a nickname, and represent a layer that is newer than that of the *iha-*, *lempi-*, and other anthroponymic types investigated here. This is likely also reflected in the exclusively northern distribution of the toponymic type. The name element has been unknown in Estonia, yet attested both in the Western and Eastern forms of Finnic spoken in present-day Finland, and beyond its boundaries in the east.

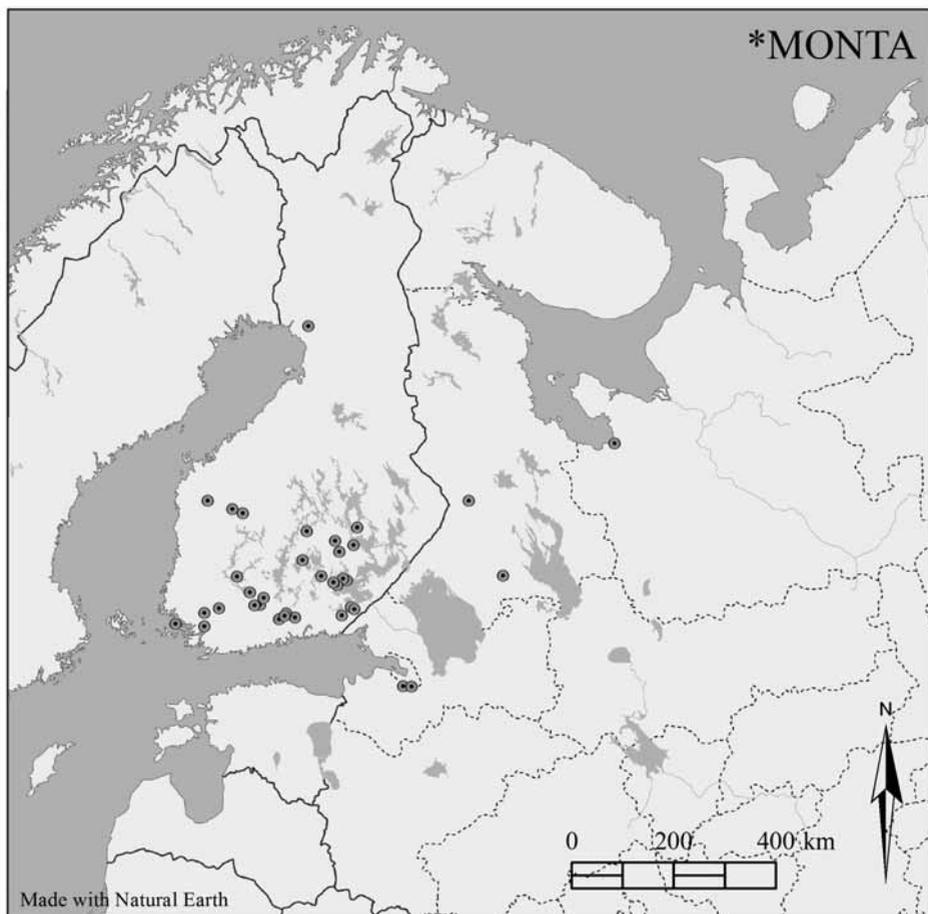


Map 5. Distribution area of the name type *\*Lempi-*.

*\*Lempi-* (map 5)

The name is based on a nomen-verbum *\*lempe* ‘love; sex; desire’. It is commonplace in old personal names everywhere in the Finnic area (cf. Est. *Lembit*, Ka. *Lemminkäinen*, etc.). The element has also been used in compound names (*Ihalempi*, *Toivolempi*).

The distribution of the element in toponyms is, in many ways, similar to that of the name type *iha-*. It is well attested both in Suomi as well as in Karelia, and also in Estonia and the former Livonian area in Northern Latvia. The name type does not seem to occur in Russian Karelia and Ingria. This might be due to insufficient material or

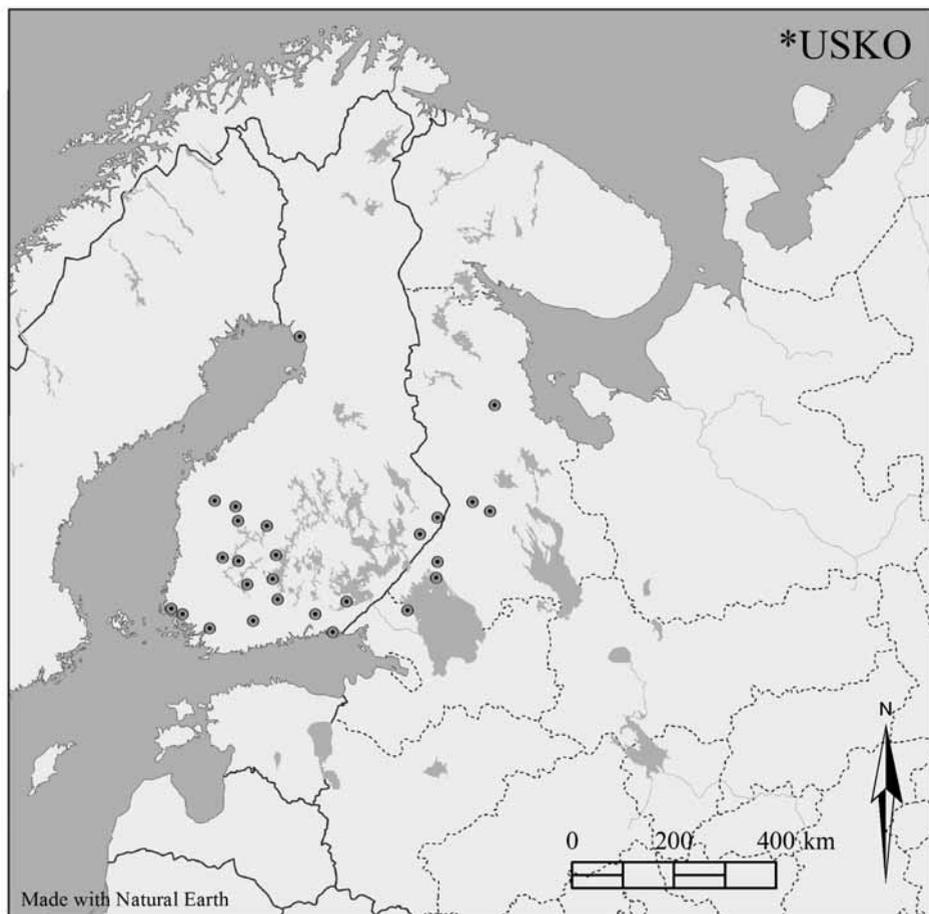


Map 6. Distribution area of the name type *\*Moni(kka)-*.

chance. If this is not the case, it may point to some early dialectal differences in the dispersing Finnic community.

*\*Monta-* (map 6)

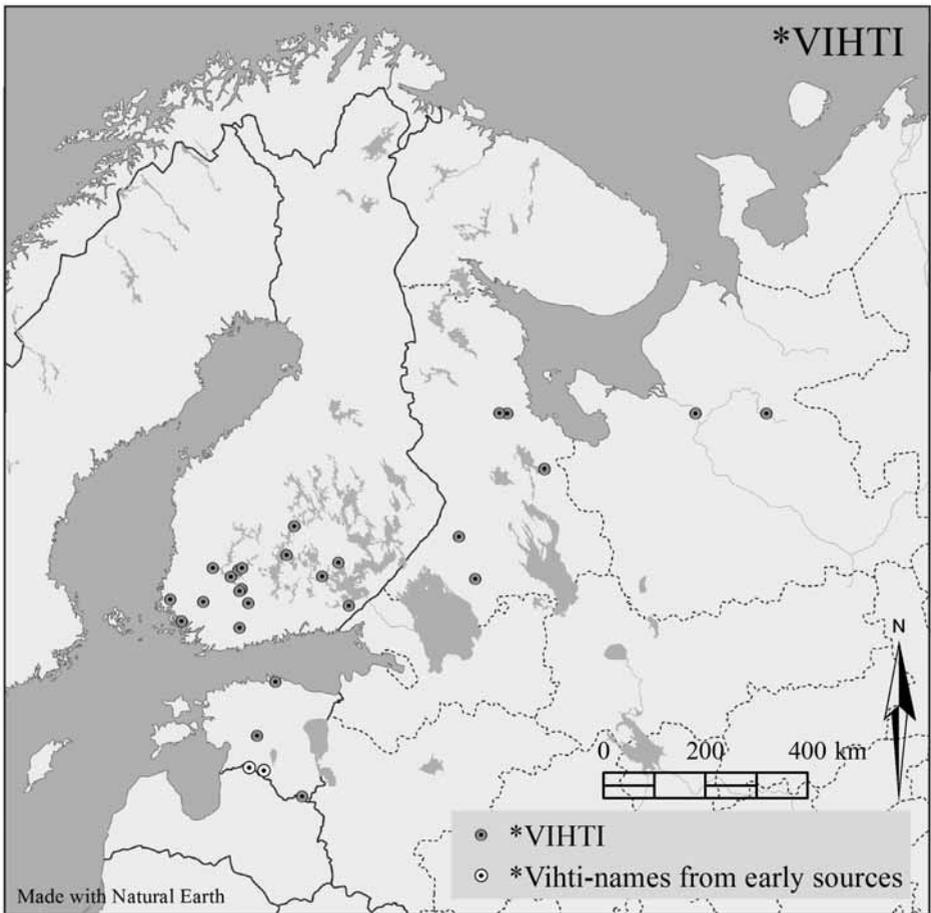
The Finnic word stem *\*mone-*, which means ‘many; some; a large amount’, is fairly widespread in old anthroponymic types, cf. *Montaneuvo*, *Montapäivä*, *Montaja* (cf. Saarikivi 2007: 223–224). The map bears witness of the presence of the personal name type everywhere in Northern Finnic, including Suomi, Häme and Karelia. In a similar manner to some other types, there is no clear attestation of the name type in Estonia.



Map 7. Distribution area of the name type *\*Uska-*.

*Uska-* (map 7)

The name is based on the Finnic stem *uska-*, *usko-* ‘believe; have faith on something’. In a similar manner to *Moni* names, even here there is no clear attestation of the name type south of the Finnish Gulf.

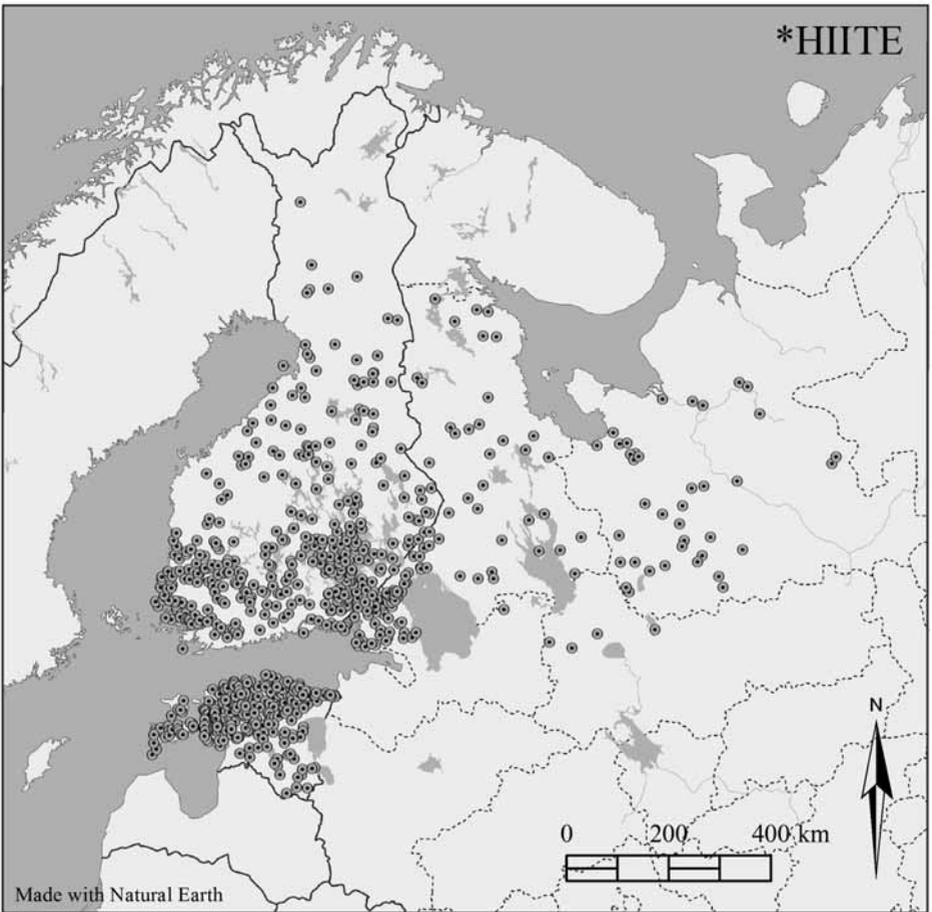


Map 8. Distribution area of the name type *\*Vihti-*.

*Vihti-* (map 8)

A well-known name type referring to a mythological character that is attested in the Novgorod birch barks (Saarikivi 2007: 214–215) and the substrate toponymy of Northern Russia. The motivation of the name is not altogether clear, but the multiple attestation of the name type not only in settlement names and old documents, but also in surnames (*Vihtonen*, etc.) proves its existence as a personal name.

The name type has a common Finnic distribution, including Estonia and the Russified territories.



Map 9. Distribution area of the name type *\*Hiite-*.

*Hiite-* (map 9)

The map presents the distribution of the *\*Hiite-* names associated with the pre-Christian tradition of worship. The spread of the name type can be used as comparative material for the spread of the personal name types discussed above. Although the spread covers most of Finland and Karelia, the *\*Hiite-* names are most common in the area of early village settlement, i.e. Varsinais-Suomi, Satakunta, Häme and Karelia. The name type is also very well attested outside the presently Finnic areas, in the Russified Dvina basin.

## Discussion

The present speaking area of the Finnic languages is considerably different from the speaking area of Early Finnic language forms. For instance, it is received wisdom in the research into Finnish prehistory that the area of present-day Finland is to be divided into old and new areas of village settlement, the latter of which are much larger.

This division is well reflected also in the deanthroponymic toponyms that, in most of the country, are predominantly Christian in origin. In the areas of old village settlement, in turn, the pre-Christian anthroponymic types prevail in the names of large and old settlements. Most of the name types investigated here have a twofold spread in Finland and adjacent areas, Suomi/Häme, and Karelia/Veps, as well as the Russified areas east of Karelia. As such, it gives an idea of the spread of the Finnic language forms and naming practices to Finland from two directions, i.e. the Karelian isthmus and Ladoga region, as well as the route across the Finnish Gulf and through the river valleys of Western Finland.

It is safe to assume that most of the toponyms on the maps emerged before the 15<sup>th</sup>– 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition to the main area of distribution, the pre-Christian anthroponymic types are to be found in many other regions, likely pointing to the relatively late preservation of the name types in some regions, or transfer names.

One must note that the material employed in the research is far from uniform in the different areas. Thus, many empty areas in the spread may, in fact, be more due to the insufficient toponymic material than the actual spread of the name type. This is especially the case regarding Ingria and the Russified area south of there. In addition, the Livonian name substrate in Latvia remains poorly investigated and understood. Future research should try to clarify these issues by mapping the spread of other anthroponymic types and investigating the core areas of spread in light of interdisciplinary methodologies.

## Bibliography

- Balode, Laimute & Ojārs Bušs: On Latvian toponyms of Finno-Ugrian origin. – Janne Saarikivi & Ritva Liisa Pitkänen (eds.), *Onomastica Uralica 4. Borrowing of Place Names in the Uralian Languages*. Debrecen – Helsinki.
- Forsman, A.V. 1894: *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalta I. Pakanuudenaikainen nimistö*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kepsu, Saulo mscr.: Inkerinmaan pogostat. Manuscript.
- Kuzmin, Denis 2014: Vienan Karjalan asutushistoria paikannimistön valossa. PhD thesis. Helsinki.
- Matveev 2001–2004 = Матвеев, А. К. 2001–2014: *Субстратная топонимия Русского севера*. Том I 2001. Том II 2003. Том III 2007. Том IV 2014. Екатеринбург: Издательство УрГУ.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo & Paikkala, Sirkka 2000: *Sukunimet*. Helsinki: Otava.
- MML Karttapaikka. Helsinki: Maanmittauslaitos.  
 <<https://asiointi.maanmittauslaitos.fi/karttapaikka/>> 26.10.2017
- Mullonen 1994 = Муллонен. И. И. : *Очерки вепской топонимии*. ИЯЛИ КАР НЦ РАН. Санкт Петербург: Nauka.
- 2002 = Муллонен. И. И. : *Топонимия Присвирья. Проблемы этноязыкового контактирования*. Петрозаводск: Петрозаводский государственный университет.
- 2008 = Муллонен. И. И. : *Топонимия Заонежья. Словарь с историко-культурными комментариями*. Петрозаводск: КАР НЦ РАН.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1975: *Suomen Karjalan nimistö*. Joensuu: Karjalaisen kulttuurin Edistämissäätiö.
- Saarikivi, Janne 2006: *Substrata Uralica. Studies on Finno-Ugrian substrate in Northern Russian dialects*. Tartu.
- 2007: Finnic Personal Names in the Novgorod Birch Bark Letters. Juhani Nuorluoto (ed.): *Topics in historical, ethnic and cultural making of Northern Russia*. Slavica Helsingiensia. 196–246.
- Pöyhönen, Juhani 1989: *Suomalainen sukunimikartasto*. SKST 693. Helsinki: SKS.
- SSA = *Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja*. Erkki Itkonen & Ulla-Maija Kulonen (eds.). Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 556. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 62. Helsinki 1992–2000.

Stoebke, Detlef-Eckard 1964: Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines Urfinnischen Namensystems. – *Nord- und osteuropäische Geschichtsstudien* 4. Hamburg: Leibnitz.

Vilkuna, Kustaa (toim. Pirjo Mikkonen) 2005: *Etunimet*. Helsinki: Otava.

## Itämerensuomalaiset esikristilliset henkilönimet paikannimistössä

*Janne Saarikivi*

Artikkelissa käsitellään useissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä esiintyvistä esikristillisistä henkilönimistä muodostettuja paikannimiä. Nimet ovat pääosin vanhoja asutusnimiä, joissa esiintyy jokin henkilönimiaineksista *Iha*, *Ikä*, *Kaipa*, *Leina*, *Lempi*, *Monta*, *Uska* tai *Vihti*.

Hypoteesina on, että näitä nimiaineksia on käytetty aikana ennen kristillisen nimeämisen yleistymistä ja että niiden levikki kertoo itämerensuomalaisen kielialueen laajuudesta väestön laajamittaisen kristillistymisen kynnyksellä. Vertailuaineistona on käytetty esikristillisiin palvontapaikkoihin liittyvää *hiisi*-nimistöä, jonka levikki on melko samantyyppien kuin tutkittujen nimien päälevikki.

Aineisto osoittaa itämerensuomalaisen kielimuodon kaksi vanhaa aluetta nykyisen Suomen alueella (Varsinais-Suomessa, Satakunnassa ja Hämeessä) sekä itämerensuomalaisen väestön varhaisen levinnän Pohjois-Venäjällä ja Latviassa. Yksittäisten nimien levikkialueet ovat kuitenkin toisistaan poikkeavia. Selkeimmin kantasuomalaisilta nimiaineksilta vaikuttavat *Iha*, *Lempi*, *Monta* ja *Vihti*.

JAAKKO RAUNAMA  
University of Helsinki

## Finnish medieval village names based on anthroponyms in the Castle Province of Raseborg

**Abstract** The article analyses Finnish village names based on medieval anthroponyms in the historical Castle Province of Raseborg (approximately current Western Uusimaa). Thus, it reveals what kind of anthroponyms were in use in the beginning of second millennium in the area of Raseborg. It also examines, what is the origin of these anthroponyms and what can settlement names based on anthroponyms tell us about the history of Western Nyland.

The analysis shows that Finnish village names of Castle Province of Raseborg have most often their parallel cases in Southwestern Finland and especially in the area of current Salo municipality. In addition to that, Northern Estonia has a lot of similar village names. Pre-Christian Finnic names and Christian names are the largest naming groups. It is also notable, that most of the studied village names are younger than the ones based on nature names.

## Introduction

This article analyses Finnish village names based on medieval anthroponyms (personal names) in the historical Castle Province of Raseborg (approximately current Western Uusimaa, which I shall refer to as Western Nyland in a historical context). My aim is to find out what kind of anthroponyms became village names and what influenced that naming. Through my analysis, I have been able to uncover more information about the Viking and Middle Ages in the region of Western Nyland.

There have been only a handful of studies carried out on Finnish Iron Age and early medieval anthroponyms. A lack of appropriate sources is one reason for this. There are very few medieval sources concerning the area of Finland (e.g. the Swedish collection *Sveriges medeltida personnamn* has close to one million name cards whereas *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* lists approx. ten thousand anthroponyms). However, anthroponyms can also be studied through toponyms. This approach assumes that old anthroponyms have been preserved in old settlement names (e.g. *Lempans* < *Lempo*). Most of the anthroponym-based settlement names were originally homestead names. Typically, the younger son of the family moved on to a remote meadow and started a new homestead. The homestead name then became a village name (~ hamlet name) as the pioneering homestead grew bigger. It is also good to remember that whatever the origin of the settlement name was, it probably had been given by people outside the farm or village. (Cf. Kepsu 1987.)

My research material consists of names of villages used in the Castle Province of Raseborg. From these, I have selected names of Finnish origin for my analysis. The names from the area in this study are presented in their Swedish form. Other names will be used as they are presented in their original sources.

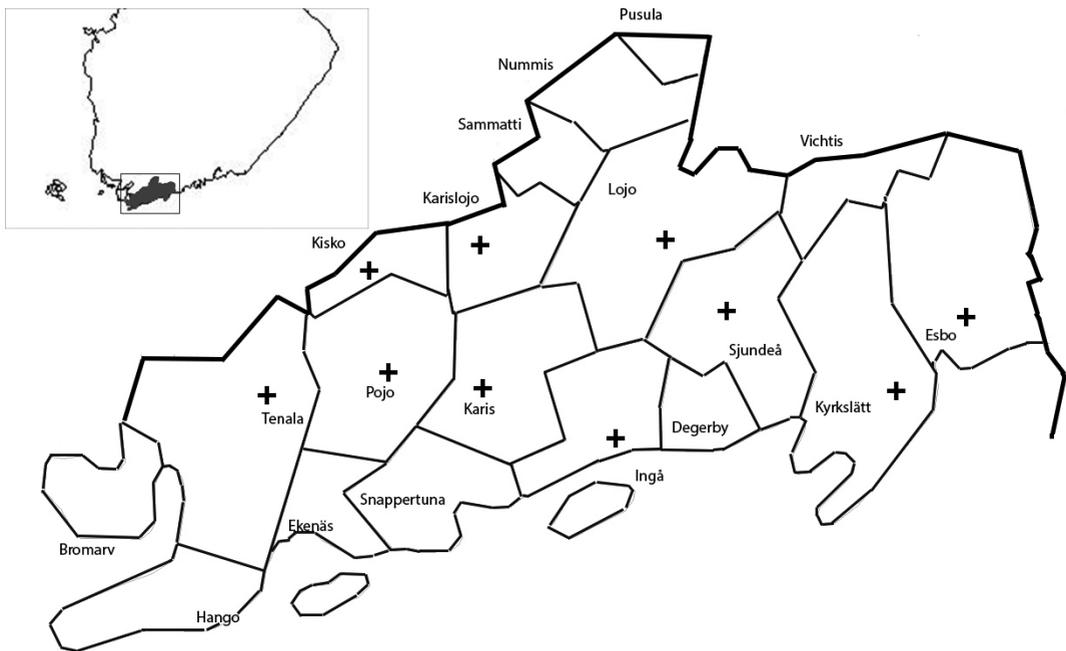
This article concerns the Viking Age (which can be also called the Late Iron Age, ca. 800–1100) and the Middle Ages (ca. 1100–1520). This is also a time period that is very poorly known in an archaeological sense. I should emphasise that the current area of Finland was very different during the Viking Age and at beginning of the Middle Ages. Influences from the west and south are clear, but many aspects are not

(cf. Haggrén et al. 2015: 290–535). The languages spoken around the Baltic Sea at the time were different from those found today. Around the year 1000, Finnish and Northern Estonian were in the phase of North Finnic (Kallio 2012: 226; Frog & Saarikivi 2015: 92), Swedish was in the phase of Old East Norse (Harbert 2007: 19; Lehtinen 2007: 234–235), German was divided into Old Saxon and Old High German (Fortson 2009: 365, 370), Russian was East Slavic (Fortson 2009: 428–439) and Southern Saami could have been called Lakeland Saami (Aikio 2012: 96). The oldest non-Finnic anthroponyms, such as Proto-Germanic *\*Harjawalda*, could have been adopted between 100 BCE and 500 CE (Heikkilä 2014: 25).

I will start my article with background information necessary for its topic. The main part of the work is an analysis of the selected settlement names. After the analysis, I categorise the anthroponyms into different groups based on where they came from, extending up to the northern part of the Baltic Sea region. I will connect the findings of my study to information collected from previous onomastic, archaeological and historical research.

I have three main research questions: 1) What kinds of villages had names based on anthroponyms within the area examined in this study? 2) What is the origin of these anthroponyms? 3) What can settlement names based on anthroponyms tell us about the history of Western Nyland?

In the article, I use the expressions *Castle Province of Raseborg* and *Western Nyland* interchangeably. The Castle Province of Raseborg was established during the 1370s. Prior to this, it was part of the Castle Province of Åbo (Turku). (Haggrén 2012: 155–158.) There were some minor border changes during the Middle Ages (especially in the northwestern and northern borders of the province). My material includes those villages that were part of the area in the tax lists of 1540 (KA 2948) and (Tenala and Pojo) 1574 (KA 3330). The parishes (with borders as described in the 1930s) that were part of Raseborg included: Bromarv, Degerby, Ekenäs, Esbo, Ingå, Karis, Karislojo, Kisko (only the eastern part), Kyrkslätt, Lojo, Nummis, Pojo, Pusula, Sammatti, Sjundeå, Snapertuna, Tenala and Vichtis (only the southern part). The number of administrative parishes was lower during the Middle Ages; in the



Map 1. Parishes of Western Nyland.

1540s, they were the following: Esbo, Ingå, Karis, Kyrkslätt, Lojo, Pojo, Tenala and Sjundea.

The following map reveals even more. The bold black line marks the borders of the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1540. The crosses show 16<sup>th</sup>-century ecclesiastical centres.

## Anthroponymic research in Finland

There have been only a handful of studies of Finnish (and Finnic) prehistoric anthroponyms. The two most widely used sources are A. V. Forsman's dissertation *Pakanuudenaikainen nimistö* (1891) and D. E. Stoebe's study *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems* (1964). The lack of research can be explained by difficulties of the field, as there are very few direct medieval sources containing Finnish anthroponyms.

However, direct sources are not the only ones that can be used for research into this topic: many old anthroponyms may have been preserved in surnames, toponyms and especially settlement names. Settlement names are the primary source for this study. These names have their own problems when it comes to anthroponymic research, as the origins of names based on anthroponyms, homestead names or nature names are not always easy to prove.

During the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Germanic loanwords in the Finnic languages attested by etymological research had been increasingly growing. Especially, Jorma Koivulehto had a large impact on the identification of the loanwords (cf. LägLoS). Koivulehto also found Finnish toponyms which could have been of Germanic origin (cf. Koivulehto 1987). Researchers started to find more toponyms based on Germanic anthroponyms during this time. Viljo Nissilä and Jouko Vahtola collected a large number of toponyms which they thought had originated in this type of name (e.g. Nissilä 1980 and Vahtola 1983).

Some studies based on settlement names have briefly dealt with anthroponyms of Western Nyland (e.g. Kepsu 2005, 2008a). The lack of research can be explained by the same reason as for the whole country: a lack of sources. There are even fewer medieval sources for the Castle Province of Raseborg as compared to the historical counties of Finland Proper (Varsinais-Suomi), Tavastia (Häme) or Karelia (Karjala).

## History of the area examined in this study

There have not been many studies carried out on the history of Western Nyland. The following section provides the current archaeological information concerning the area. I will not go through Stone Age or Bronze Age events in Western Nyland. I can briefly summarise that there has been human activity in the area from the beginning of the Neolithic Period up until the end of the Bronze Age (Haggrén et al. 2015: 71–199).

The Iron Age, which lasted from approximately 500 BCE to 1100 CE in Finland, has been a poorly known period in Western Nyland. There

has been a strong claim that this rocky and, in many places, clayey area was not able to support agriculture-based livelihoods. According to archaeological and historical studies, Western Nyland was sparsely populated until the end of the Iron Age and used only for temporary activities such as fishing and hunting. It was only when the Swedes settled on the shores of Western Nyland from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards and brought better technology that the area could be populated. (Orrman 1991.)

However, this view has started to change. Archaeological, historical and onomastic studies over recent years have shown that the former picture of an uninhabited area is no longer correct. Palaeoecological studies clearly show that Western Nyland was home to permanent human activity as early as the beginning of the Iron Age, with permanent agriculture starting in many places around approximately 800 CE. (Haggrén & Lavento 2011: 6–8; Kepsu 2005; Alenius 2011.) Nonetheless, many aspects of the history of the area remain unknown. One is the question of who were cultivating fields in the area during the Iron Age. Kepsu (2005) has briefly dealt with this. Connections with Estonia are also a factor that has not been dealt with. However, archaeological facts indicate that there have been strong ties between Southern Finland and Northern Estonia (Tvauri 2006).

## Methodology

First, I argue for the value of toponyms and anthroponyms as a source for historic and linguistic studies. I also briefly show some problems associated with them. Then I introduce the methods I use to analyse my research material.

Archaeology is one way to solve problems concerning cultural and linguistic diffusions that have occurred in prehistory. However, the connection of archaeological findings to the ethnicity of people has recently faced criticism (e.g. Lavento & Saarikivi 2012). Toponyms are not a perfect source either, but it is an accepted fact that signs of old linguistic and cultural influences have been preserved in toponyms (Ainiala et al. 2012: 88–90). I should still point out that anthroponyms are a fast-changing and developing category of names. An example of this is how

Western influences have affected the anthroponymic system in Finland: in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, six out of the seven most popular first names were the same in Finland and Sweden (Kiviniemi 1982: 70).

One very important factor for my article is the definition of *anthroponym*. It is safe to say that the basic function of an anthroponym is identification (Ainiala et al. 2012: 125). For this article, I have tried to make sure that the chosen names are anthroponyms. This is why I have excluded the following questionable groups: names presenting ethnicity (*Tavast, Suomi, Lapp*) and names that can be based on a name descriptive of a place (*Hiisi, Kauhala*).

Moreover, so-called *transferred names* are problematic. It is difficult to know when a new settlement is named after the name of the settler. The name can also be based on the settler's village or homestead of origin. However, this is determined on a case-by-case basis.

I carried out my research in three stages. First, I compiled etymologies for every name in my materials in order to determine the anthroponyms used by Finns. This means looking for Finnish sound compilations, finding similar names, explaining naming principles and in, many cases, checking the whole name system in the area in question. After this procedure, I was left with a list of village names that are presumably based on Finnish anthroponyms, along with their etymologies and sources to prove my point of view. The same etymologies are also used when I divide the anthroponyms I selected into different groups according to their origin. I must emphasise that the main objective of this work is not to produce new etymologies but to determine the correct ones for every name.

Because etymologies are an important part of my study, I explain what kinds of criteria I used when looking for the best possible ones. However, these are closer to guiding criteria than strict rules. The full set of criteria is meant for cases where an etymology is very controversial. Due to space constraints, only the most valid information is explicitly represented. The criteria are mostly based on ideas proposed by Eero Kiviniemi (1984: 320–327). I updated his theories to correspond to modern studies of onomastics and historical linguistics, especially those of Pauli Rahkonen (2013: 13–17) and Santeri Junttila (2015: 138). My own criteria for reliable name etymology are as follows:

- 1) The naming convention must be used in the vicinity.
- 2) Phonetic substitutions must be confirmed by parallel cases. However, it must be emphasised that anthroponyms and other semantically opaque names do not always follow the same phonological changes as appellatives (Bakken 1997). Moreover, so-called *etymological nativisation* (Aikio 2006) must be taken into consideration.
- 3) The semantics of the name must correspond to geographic, historical and linguistic characteristics of the name (e.g. *Värby* could be based on the adjective *väärä* ‘crooked’, but according to both old and current maps, there has not been any cape or other natural feature that appears crooked).
- 4) Off all the different etymologies, the most common is the most likely.

The second stage can be described as proposing estimations of the analysed villages were created. Instructive criteria are as follows:

- 1) The name is noted in early medieval documents. This criterion is very simple. If the name was noted in a 14<sup>th</sup>-century document, it was created prior to it.
- 2) The village in question had a high taxation value. In the Castle Province of Raseborg, villages were valued with a tax unit called skattmark. I have used tax lists from 1540 (and 1574 for Pojo and Tenala) for this study. The common rule is that the older the parish, the greater the skattmark number (Ylikangas 1973: 54–62). However, the sizes of the villages were constantly changing. A larger village might have been a merger of two older ones or vice versa. These problems can be resolved on an individual basis by studying old documents, the location of land property and old borders between villages.
- 3) The number of farms in the parish. Old villages had many farms that developed by splitting off from old farms and establishing new cultivations. The number of farms in the old villages did not change as rapidly as in younger ones.
- 4) The village had central role in its common land division. Villages in medieval Finland formed common land divisions (jakokunta)

that shared rights to forestland, waters and some meadows. These villages probably had common origins. The oldest village usually owned the best parts of the land within the common land division. (Kerkkonen 1945: 125).

- 5) The village was head of its tax bol. Group of villages formed a bol (a unit of taxation) which paid a specific amount of tax. Usually the name villages of the bol were also the oldest ones. (Kerkkonen 1945: 117–119.)

The third stage is based on Kiviniemi (1984: 320–327). This can be called typological-geographic research. The emergence and distribution of names or name elements are geographically analysed (Ainiala et al. 2012: 48). This way, it is possible to make observations about where a name has been used and how it was distributed. My comparison material consists of medieval documents (REA, FMU, SAYL) and toponyms from the National Land Survey of Finland (KKP) as well as toponyms collected for the archives of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (NA). Estonian comparisons are made based on the place name collection *Eesti kohanimeraamat* (unpublished internet database).

## Research material

The research material consists of village names that were used in the Castle Province of Raseborg in 1540 when the first complete taxation document was written (in the case of the medieval parishes of Pojo and Tenala, I use documents from 1574). I collected names from Greta Hausen's book *Nylands ortnam* (NO) (1924), which includes medieval entries and name forms of the villages within the area. Hausen's book is a widely used source, and it has never received any criticism regarding its credibility. I chose village names from Hausen that are clearly based on Finnish anthroponyms in line with the explanation in the methodology section. The taxation information was collected from two sources: mostly from KA 2948, with the details of the parishes of Bromarv, Karislojo, Kisko, Pojo, Sammatti and Tenala (medieval parishes Pojo and Tenala) from KA 3330.

## Analysis

The following is the list of names I have chosen for this study. They are presented alphabetically according to their parishes. The names are in Swedish or in the form used in NO. I have presented the oldest forms of the name after it (one to three, depending of the case). The asterisk (\*) following a name means that the name form is from the copy of the original document. I have provided the pronunciation of the name in italics, if it is available (NA or SLS), written as it would be pronounced in Finnish. Following this is what would be the most probable form of the anthroponym used in the settlement name (with the < sign, e.g. *Marttila* < \**Martti*). I have marked all reconstructed names with an asterisk preceding the name. If the reconstructed anthroponym has been noted in old Finnish documents (FMU, REA, DF) or in anthroponym collections (PAN, PNR), I have included an example of it (e.g. \**Sakko* (REA: 478). Lena Peterson's collection of anthroponyms found on runestones (2007) is also often used to show if the name had been used during the Viking Age. The following < sign means an earlier form of the name (e.g. \**Martti* < *Mårten* Swed.). The origin of the name can also be more precisely presented if necessary (e.g. *Mårten* Swed. < *Martinus* Lat.). A slash (/) means that there are two or more probable explanations for the name (**Torhola** < \**Torho* < [*Thordh* < *Thorsten* (cf. Thors 1959: 92) / *torho* 'dull, stupid'] (SPNK s.v. Torhola). The most probable origin is underlined. Sources supporting the etymologies are found in parentheses. After all of this information, I provide a full explanation of the name. This usually starts with a brief estimation of the age of the village.

If a name has parallel occurrences inside the area examined in this study, I have indicated it (cf. Karislojo: Immula). More information about the name is given in boldface. I have additionally presented similar anthroponym-based village names that are situated in the vicinity of approximately 100 kilometres (parallel names = PN). These have been selected from NA and KKP. The municipality of the village mentioned is found in parentheses. The Borders of municipalities are from the 193's. I have also looked for similar names from the northern coast of Estonia (the regions of Harju, Hiiu, Idä-Viru, Lääne, Lääne-Viru and Saare) (taken from LCD and KNR).

Finally, I state which kind of group the name can be put into. The groups are based on the origin of the anthroponym. I must emphasise that these groups are only instructive. The purpose is to show from what kinds of cultural influences Finns (and other Finnic speakers) got their anthroponyms. These groups are: Christian, Finnic, Germanic, Scandinavian and uncertain origin. I should point out that this cultural division is not chronological. This is why I present Germanic and Scandinavian anthroponyms separately, even though the latter is a subcategory of the former. Moreover, Christian anthroponyms are in a category that includes names from many languages and different time periods, but those I have selected spread to the Finnic areas along with Christian culture.

Bromarv:

**Padva** *Padua* 1551, *Padhua* 1552; *padva*

< [*Paulus* / *Patrik*] (FSBN s.v. Padva). A medieval village (1 mrk). It has been part of the tax *bol* called *Vättlax*. *Padva* is an opaque name in Finland. The Estonian village *Päädeva* had the older forms *Padwa* and *Pedua* which are thought to be derived from the Finnic anthroponym *Päivä* (Est. *Päev*) (KNR s.v. Päädeva). This development seems unlikely. FSBN suggests that the name could have derived from the Christian names *Paulus* or *Patrik*. Again, this seems unlikely because no parallel cases can be found. Uncertain origin.

**Pargas** *Pargas bol* 1451, *Pargasby* 1549; *pargas*

< *\*Parya(sen)* (cf. Pitkänen 1985: 305) > [*Par(j)oi*, *Par(o)i-kka* (cf. KNR s.v. Parila, cf. SPNK s.v. Parola, REA s.v. 384, 418, 421)]. PN: *Pargas* (Parainen). Est. PN: *Parila* (Anija, Lääne-Saare). *Pargas* is an old and large village (7 homesteads, 8 mrk). The number of settlement names with the specific element *Para/i/o* in Finland and Estonia suggests that it was originally an anthroponym (KNR, KKP). However, there is a problem in connecting the name elements *Parya-* and *Para/o-* to one another. If they were of the same origin, the former should be considered an older form (Lehtinen 2007: 177). Swedish settlers that arrived between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, had borrowed

the name with the  $\gamma$  (voiced velar fricative) still present (at least in *Pargas* (Parainen)). This means that names *Para-*, *Pari*, and *Paro-* would be younger, which is unlikely because of their distribution close to Iron Age centres in Estonia and Finland (KNR; KKP; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 299; Tvauri 2006). It is possible that the name *Pargas* is a transferred name from *Pargas* (Parainen). (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Rekuby** *Rekoby* 1549; *räkuby*

< \**Reko* (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 93) < *Gregorius* Lat. (SN s.v. Rekola, PRN: 156). PN: Kemiönsaari: *Reku*. A medieval village (2.17 mrk). At the beginning of the second millennium, the area of *Rekuby* was a great deal smaller because the sea level was higher (on account of the land rising 3 millimetres a year). Many names around *Rekuby* are Finnish (*Kansjärv*, *Orvlax*, *Sarvlax*, etc. (KKP)). Christian.

Esbo:

**Karvasbacka** *Karfwädzbacka*\* 1492, *Karusbacka* 1540; *karrvasbakka* < \**Karvas(en)* < [*karvas*, *karvainen* ‘hairy’ (SN s.v. Karvonen) / *karvas* + *mäki* ‘hairy, scrubby + hill’] (Kepsu 2008a: 57). PN: *Karviainen* (Halikko). Est. PN: *Karla* (Kose, Rae), *Karula* (Vihula). The specific part *Karvas-* is probably based on a Finnish expression because the area was inhabited first by Finns (Kepsu 2008a: 57–58). The age of the notation of Estonian *Karla* (Kose) is so old (1241 *Karol*) that it could also be counted as pre-Christian (prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries). The tax value (2.75 mrk) and location of *Karvasbacka* could point to a prehistoric settlement but nothing is certain. *Karvasbacka* could also be based on an appellative describing the place such as in the name *Koverhar* (1410 *Karffvuserhe* (FSBN s.v. Koverhar)), but the specific part is used more often as a settlement name than a nature name (KKP). Most *Karva-* anthroponyms have been found in Eastern Finland (SN s.v. Karvonen), but several can be found in the west as well (e.g. in Kyrkslätt *morthn karffua* 1545 (Kepsu 2008a: 58). Finnic.

**Kurthy** *Kurthebacka* 1540, *Kurittbacka* 1544; *kurtbakka*

< \**Kurittu* ‘left-handed’ (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 247; Kepsu: 2008a: 66–67; SN s.v. Kurittu). Compare to Kyrkslätt: *Kuritans*. PN: *Kurittula* (Masku).

*Kurtby* is probably older than *Kuritans* of Kyrkslätt because the tax value and the size are larger: 2.625 mrk. However, it is unlikely that *Kurtby* would have been named during pre-Christian times. Finnic.

**Oitans** *Oijttila* 1549, *Oijtaböle* 1552; åjtans  
Compare to Kyrkslätt: Oitbacka and **Nummis: Oittila**. A small medieval village (0.5 mrk). (Uncertain) Finnic.

Karis:

**Heimos** *Heijmosby\** 1526, *Heijmos* 1540; *heimus*  
< \**Heimos(en)* < [*Heimr* East Norse (Peterson 2007: 127) / *Haim* Old Saxon (cf. DWB) / *Heimo* (PAN: 164, 191)] (SN s.v. Heimonen). PN: Nummis: *Heimola*. PN. Est: *Ehmja* (Martna). An old and wealthy village (2 homesteads, 6 mrk). The village may have already been established in the Viking Age. *Heimos* is in the same common land division as the neighbouring *Joddböle* (1.5 mrk) and *Österby* (7 mrk) (TK: 1:5 Lohja). *Heimos* must be the original settlement because *Österby* ('east village') has been named from the perspective of *Heimos*. *Heimo*-names are thought to be of Germanic origin (SN s.v. Heimonen). It was also used during the Viking Age (Peterson 2007: 127), but there are no notations of *Heim*- or *Haim*- anthroponyms in SMP. Toponyms with the specific part *Heimo*- are mostly located in Eastern Finland (KKP). This name has also been used in Estonia (KNR). (Uncertain) Germanic.

Karislojo:

**Ahtiala** *Actila* 1549, *Achtila* 1564; *ahtlaa*  
Compare to **Lojo: Ahtiala**. Probably established around the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (1 homestead, 1.5 mrk). Germanic.

**Immola** *Immalla\** 1521, *Jmmos* 1547; *immula*  
Compare to **Lojo: Immula**, Nummis: (Över-)Immula. The village is too small to be named directly after a pre-Christian Germanic name (1 mrk). Could be a transferred name. Germanic.

**Kattelus** *Kattilunxby* 1547, *Kattilus* 1550; *katlus*

< \**Kattilus* (FMU<sup>7</sup>: 227) < [*Kætil*- Old Norse (Peterson 2007: 154) / *Catillus* Lat. (Kepsu 2008b: 61)]. PN: *Kattelus* (Koski TL). An old and large village (4 homesteads 4 mrk). Popular as a settlement name in Southern Finland (KKP). Christian *Catillus* is the most probable origin but *Kætil*- (*Ketil*-) was also a popular anthroponym element in Viking Age Scandinavia (Peterson 2007: 154) and later on in medieval Sweden (SMP). On some occasions, *Kætil* had been entered in the Latin form of *Catillus*. This is why it is difficult to know exactly what the origin may be. The name could originally have been given by Swedish settlers, as had happened with other villages in southern *Karislojo* (Kepsu 2008b). We should point out that many settlement names in the vicinity are Swedish: *Lönhammar*, *Tallnäs*, *Valtarby*, etc. (Cf. Kepsu 2008b). Scandinavian.

**Pipola** *Pipola* 1547, *Pippola* 1549; *pipola*

< \**Pipo* < [*Philippus* Lat. / *Petrus* (*Pie* + *ppo*) / *Bibo*, *Bibbo*, *Pipo* Germ.] (SN s.v. Piippo, Kepsu 2008b: 131). PN: *Piiponoja* (Maaria). Pipola is such a small village (0.75 mrk) that it cannot be old. Phonetically, the name is most likely of Germanic origin, but it was not used in medieval Sweden. *Philippus* and *Petrus* were popular names in Sweden and Finland (SMP, FMU). (Uncertain) Christian.

**Sakkola** *Sackola* 1547, *Sackolaby* 1559; *sakkola*

< [\**Sakko* (REA: 478) < *Sakarias* / *Sakeus* / *Iisak* (SN s.v. Sakko, Kepsu 2008b: 152)] / *Sako* (cf. KNR s.v. Saka, Sakala). Est. PN: *Sako* (Kohtla). This name type has old records in Finland: *Sak* 1406, *Sakos* 1373, *Sakko* 1464 (REA: 233, 148, 478). However, Sakkola is too small a village (0.625 mrk) to have had a pre-Christian name. The name *Sako* has been entered as a hypocorism of *Sakeus* (NA). Christian.

Kisko:

**Aijala** *Aijala*\* 1503, *Aiala* 1552

< \**Aija* (PAN: 128) < [*Aio*, *Aia*, *Aiga* Germ. / *Aghe*, *Aghi* etc. Swed.] (SPNK s.v. Aijala) / *Aika* (PAN: 153). Could be of the same origin as

*Ai-kka*-names (KKP). Phonetically, it is most likely of Germanic origin but there are no entries in from the Viking Age or medieval Sweden. The development from Swedish *Aghe*, etc. is also possible (cf. *Ragnvald* > *Raikku* (SPNK s.v. Raikku)). *Aijala* itself is probably too young to be a village from the Iron Age (2.125 mrk). (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Kaijala** *Kaijala* 1547, *Kaiala* 1552

< \**Kaija* < [*Cayo*, *Caye* (PNR: 33, cf. KNR s.v. Vana-Kaiu) / *kaija* ‘seagull’ (SMSK s.v. kaija) / *Kaija* < *Kaarin* (SN s.v. Kaijala, EN s.v. Kaarina)]. Compare to Lojo: *Kaijala*. The Christian female name *Kaija* would be the easiest choice of origin, but a female name for a village name is very rare. The village is too young to be from the Iron Age (2 mrk). (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Kavasto** *Cafwasto* by\* 1503, *Kauast* 1549

< \**Kavo(i)* (REA s.v. 427, 187) < [*kavo* Est. ‘narrow and long; slim, supple’; also ‘pure and decent’ (KNR s.v. Kavastu) / *Kauon* (gen.) < *Kauko* (PRN: 36, SPNK s.v. Kauvatsa, SN s.v. Kauko)]. PN: *Kavalo* (Sauvo), *Kavalo* (Piikkiö), *Kavantola* (Halikko). Est. PN: *Kavastu* (Haljala). It seems that the anthroponym *Kavo(i)* was used in pre-Christian times, both in Finland and in Estonia. However, *Kavasto* is too young to be a village from the Iron Age (2 mrk). Finnic.

**Lankila** *Langila* 1549, *Langela* 1556

Compare to **Vichtis: Langila**. Late medieval (established during the 15<sup>th</sup> century or after) village (0.67 mrk). Scandinavian.

**Leilä** *Leijala* 1552, *Leinickala* 1552

< \**Leinikka* (PAN: 164) < [*Lein*, *Leineke* Germ. (SPNK s.v. Leiniälä) / < *Leinward* (ibid.) / < *leina*, *leini*, *leino* ‘sad, unhappy’ (ibid.)]. PN: *Leinakkala* (Aura), *Leiniälä* (Hattula). Est. PN: *Leina* (Pihtla). Parallel cases to the name are found in areas that were Iron Age centres of Finland (KKP; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 299). However, *Leilä* is too young to be a village from the Iron Age (2.25 mrk). The name is thought to be of German origin (SPNK s.v. Leiniälä), but its different variants were also well known in medieval Sweden (SMP). Germanic.

**Sorttila** *Suarttela* 1549, *Swartila* 1552

< \**Svarte* Swed. (REA s.v. 154, 310, 308 etc., FSBN s.v. Svartböle). *Svart(e)-* was a popular anthroponym in Sweden during the Middle Ages and earlier (SMP, Peterson 2007: 211). Sorttila must be a medieval village (1.375 mrk). Scandinavian.

Kyrkslätt:

**Hullus** *Hulloszby* 1540, *Hullandzby* 1541; *hullus*

< [\**Hullus(en)* < *hullu* ‘crazy’ (FSBN s.v. Hullus) / ? Swed. (Cf. village *Hullo* on island of Vormsi (Estonia) which was populated by Swedes (KNR s.v. Hullo)]. A medieval village (1 mrk). The name could be of Finnish origin because the villages *Jorvas* and *Finnby* (KKP) are close by. Finnic.

**Jorvas** *Joruebacka* 1540, *Jorvebacka* 1541; *jårrvas*

< \**Jurvas(en)* < *Georgios* (FSBN s.v. Jorvas, Kepsu 2005: 39). PN: *Jurvala* (Somero). A medieval village (1.41 mrk). *Jurva-* names are centred in Eastern Finland but some are also found in the west (KKP). Christian.

**Kuritans** *Kurtheby* 1540, *Kurteby* 1541, *Kurittby* 1543

Compare to Esbo: **Kurtby**. A medieval village (1 mrk). Finnic.

**Leivosböle** *Leualsböle* 1540, *Leuasböle* 1541

< \**Leivos(en)* < *leivo* ‘skylark’ (SN s.v. Leivonen, SPNK s.v. Leivonmäki) / < *Levald* Swed. (FSBN s.v. Leivosböle). Est. PN: *Lõo* (1565: *Leyuo*) (Hanila). A medieval village (2 mrk). It is most probable that it is of Finnish origin because there were a great deal of Finnish toponyms in the vicinity (KKP, MHA B19 4/1-4). The anthroponym was not noted in early medieval Finnish sources (REA, FMU). Finnic.

**Oitbacka** *Othebacka* 1540, *Ottebacka* 1541; *åjtbacka*

Compare to Esbo: Oitans and Nummis: **Oittila**. A medieval village (1 mrk). (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Porkala** *Purkal* approx. 1250, *Porkall* 1429, *Porkala* 1540; *pårkkala*  
< \**Porkka* < *Bork-*, *Burg-*, *Fork-* Germ. (SN s.v. *Porkka*) / < \**Porkkalaksi*  
(FSBN s.v. *Porkala*). PN: *Porkkala* (Lammi). During the Viking Age, the  
name element *-borg-* had been popular in Sweden (Peterson 2007: 46–  
47). The number of settlement names with the specific part *Porkka-* indi-  
cates that it had been an anthroponym in Finland (NA). On the other hand,  
important capes such as *Porkkalanniemi* are usually nature names. The  
oldest record of the place is from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Vitkars** *Wittkalaby* 1540, *Witkallaby* 1544  
< \**Vitikka* (REA s.v. 554) < *Witicha*, *Wittke*, *Wedecke*, *Witecke* Germ.  
(SN s.v. *Vitikka*, FSBN s.v. *Vitkars*). Located next to *Finnby*. *Vitkars* is  
a small village (1 mrk), which means it is medieval. The name occurs in  
some records from medieval Sweden (SMP). *Vitik-* was noted many times  
in old Finnish documents (e.g. FMU<sup>2</sup>: 46, 270, 300). In Estonia, there  
have been many records from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and onward (KNR). The  
name is a sign of Low German (~ Low Saxon) influence, which started  
with the Hanseatic League (officially established in 1358). Germanic.

**Värby** *Waerns* 1538, *Werreleby* 1540, *Verrallaby* 1541; *väärby*  
< \**Verre* (REA s.v. 384) < [*Vermund* Swed. / *Wernick* Germ.] (SN s.v.  
*Verronen*, *Väri*) / < *väärä* ‘crooked’ (FSBN s.v. *Värby*) / < *viere-* ‘hill,  
slope etc.’ Compare to Pusula: *Vörlö*. The suffix *-la* reveals that the  
name was used by Finnish-speaking people. The name *Värby* is based  
on the homestead *Värans*, which means, with high probability, that name  
is based on an anthroponym. The village is quite young (1.83 mrk), and  
clearly was a new settlement on the land of Friggesby. Uncertain origin.

**Ytterkurk** *Thammikyle* 1540, *Kuurckby* 1564  
< \**Kurki* (DF s.v. 3706) < *kurki* ‘crane’ (SN s.v. *Kurki*, FSBN s.v. *Ytter-*  
*kurk*). Compare to Kyrkslätt: *Överkurk*. PN: *Kurkela* (Kisko, Kuusjoki),  
*Kurki* (Paimio). Est. PN: *Kurevere* (Kiili, Martna, Kihelkonna), *Kurena*  
(Kose), *Kurgla* (Raasiku), *Kurkse* (Padise), *Mägi-*, *Paju-Kurdla* (Laimja-  
la). *Kurki* has many notations as an anthroponym in old Finnish documents  
(e.g. FMU<sup>1</sup>: 116, 147, 482). Moreover, many of the names *Kurg-*, *Kure-*,  
etc. in Estonia are thought to have been named after a person (KNR). It is  
a small village (1.5 mrk) with only one homestead. Finnic.

**Överkurk** *Kurkeby* 1540, *Kurkela* 1549

Compare to **Kyrkslätt: Ytterkurk**. A medieval village (1 mrk).  
Finnic.

Lojo:

**Ahtiala** *Actthila* 1540, *Actila* 1549; *ahtiala*, *ahtela*

< \**Ahti* (FMU<sup>5</sup>: 140) < [*Ahti*, *Ahto* etc. Germ. (Heikkilä 2013, SN s.v. *Ahti*) / *Ahti* ‘a Finnish water deity’ (Kepsu 2008b: 8, SPNK s.v. *Ahtiala*)]. Compare to Karislojo: *Ahtila*. PN: *Ahtiala* (Halikko, Suomusjärvi). A small and young village (0.75 mrk). The anthroponym probably originally derived from a Low German male name (Heikkilä 2013: 74), but forms such as *Atte*, *Aatthe* and *Acto* were used in medieval Sweden as well (SMP). The meaning ‘home of Ahti’ is also possible because *Ahtiala* is located on an island in the lake Lohjanjärvi. Germanic.

**Andela** *Andela* 1540; *anteela* (name of a field where the village was located)

< \**Ante* (REA s.v. 301) < *Anders* Swed. < *Andreas* Greek (EN s.v. *Antti*, SN s.v. *Anttila*). PN: *Antola* (Halikko), *Anttila* (Paimio). Est. PN: *Andi* (Vihula). A medieval village (0.75mrk). Christian.

**Askola** *Askos* 1540, *Askola* 1544; *askola*

< \**Asko* (*Askonen* FMU<sup>1</sup>: 501) < *Askold* < *Eskil* (SPNK s.v. *Askola*, Peterson 2007: 31). Compare to Sjundeå: *Aiskos*. PN: *Askala* (Paimio). Est. PN: *Askælae* (1241, current *Lüganuse* kihelkond, KNR s.v. *Lüganuse*). Quite an old and large village (3 homesteads, 3 mrk). According to old documents, villages such as *Teutari* and *Veijola* owned land in *Lohjansaari* (an island where *Askola* is located), which means that *Askola* is younger than these villages (Ylikangas 1973: 64). Scandinavian.

**Hermala** *Hermela* 1540, *Hermele* 1543; *hermala*

< \**Herman* Germ. (FMU<sup>2</sup>: 14, SN s.v. *Hermunen*, REA s.v. 102, 475). An early medieval village (3.33 mrk), compare to Lojo: *Askola*. *Herman* is originally a pagan Germanic name, but it has also been widely used during Christian times (Förstemann 1856: 627–628, SMP). Est. PN: *Härma* (Emmaste). Christian.

**Humppila** *Humpila* 1540, *Humpell* 1543; *humppela*, *humppila*  
< \**Humppi* < [*Humpe* Swed. (REA s.v. 524) / *humppa* ‘fool, batty’] (Alanen 2004: 75; SPNK s.v. Humppila) / *hump* ‘field’ (NA). PN: *Humppila* (Humppila). The village is quite small and young (1 mrk). It is possibly of Swedish origin, but *Humpe* was noted only a couple of times in medieval Swedish sources (Peterson 2007; SMP). This is why the possibility of it being of Finnish origin is also not improbable. (Uncertain) Scandinavian.

**Immula** *Immala* 1508, *Jmmola* 1514; *immula*  
< \**Immo*, \**Immu* < [*Imma* Germ. (SN s.v. Immonen) / Immanuel Lat. (ibid.) / Ingemar Old Swedish, Swed. (Cf. Peterson 2007: 138)]. Compare to Karislojo: Immola, Nummis: (Över-)Immula. PN: Immainen (Paimio), Immala (Halikko), Immola (Karislojo). Est. PN: Emmuvere (Ridala), Imavere (Orissaare). An early medieval village (3.5 mrk). The distribution of Immo/u- names in Estonia and in Finland suggests that this name type was used in the Viking Age (KNR, KKP). This is why it is unlikely to be of Christian origin, at least when it comes to the oldest occurrences. Phonetically, Germanic Imma is the most likely etymon. The names Imatke and Immake are recorded in 13<sup>th</sup> century Livonia (PNR: 31). Old Swedish Ingemar is also a good candidate for its etymon (at least in Finland) because it was a fairly popular name in Sweden during the Middle Ages (SMP), but this choice is more problematic phonetically. (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Jantoniemi** *Jenthela* 1540, *Jänttälä* 1549; *jantuniemi*  
< \**Janttu*, \**Jäntti* < *Johannes* Swed. (SN s.v. Jantunen, Jäntti; SPNK s.v. Jantoniemi). A medieval village (1.125 mrk). Christian.

**Kaijola** *Kaijola* 1540; *kaijola*  
Compare to **Kisko**: **Kaijala**. The tax value is so low (0.67) that the village must be considered late medieval. It was probably established within the area of Karstu. (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Karstu** *Karstho*\* 1463, *Karstuby*\* 1447; *karstu*  
< \*? < [*Kare* Swed. (Thors 1959: 66) / *karsittu* ‘ax, trim’ (SPNK s.v. Karstu) / *Karsten* (ibid.) / *karisto* (*kari* ‘rocky’ + *sto*) (cf. village

Karnainen in Lojo)]. PN: *Karstu* (Sammatti). The simplest explanation would be that the name is of Christian origin, but *Karstu* has many features that suggest it was an old settlement. It had a high tax value (5 mrk), many farms (11) and it was the central village in its common land division. There is only one medieval notation of *Karsten* in Sweden, but *Kare* has been recorded more often (Peterson 2007: 146; SMP). The origin of the name could have been *Kareist(en)*, and after syncope it would have been *Karsto/u*. Compare to *Karste* Est. (Kanepi) (possibly *Karsch* + *ste* (KNR s.v. *Karste*). *Karsten* had some records in Estonia (Low German influence) (KNR). Uncertain origin.

**Kihelä** *Kijhila* 1540, *Kijhijla* 1544; *kihilä*

< \**Kihi* < *kihi* ?. PN: *Kihinen* (Halikko). A late medieval village (0.75 mrk). There are some parallel homestead names in Southern Finland (KKP). *Kihi-* has various different meanings in Finnish dialects (SMSK), which means that it is probably a descriptive name. Many *Kihi-* hydronyms are explained by the sound *kihi* ‘hiss’ (NA). Finnic.

**Koikkala** *Käjckala* 1540; *koikkala*

< \**Koikka* < *koikele*, *koikeli* ‘tall and skinny, long-legged’ (SMSK s.v. *koikeli*, SN s.v. *Koikkalainen*). Est. PN: *Koigi* (Pöide). There are very old *Koik-* names in Estonia. The oldest was first noted in 1241 (*Koici*) (KNR s.v. *Koigi*<sup>2</sup>). This suggests that the name *Koik-* was already being used during the Iron Age. *Koikkala* is too small a village to be from the Iron Age (0.83 mrk). The distribution of *Koikka-* settlement names shows that it was also used later on (KKP). Finnic.

**Kouvola** *Kofvola*\* 1514, *Koffuola* 1540

\**Kouvo* (REA s.v. 553, PRN: 39) < *kouvo* ‘bear, wolf, beast; ghost’ (SPNK s.v. *Kouvola*). PN: *Kouvala* (Hattula). *Kouvo* is an old Finnic name (PNR: 39) but it was used also later (many homestead names with the specific part *Kouvo-* all around the Finland (KKP)). *Kouvola* in Lojo is probably too small a village to be considered a pre-Christian settlement (2 mrk). Finnic.

**Kutsila** *Kutzila*\* 1404, *Gussila* 1540; *kutsila* ~ *kussila*

< \**Kutsi* < [*Gutze* Swed. (cf. Thors 1959: 45) / *Gustav* Swed. (cf. SMP)]. Could have been an early medieval village (2.75 mrk). The name is used in SMP but not on runestones (Peterson 2007). *Kutsi* can be borrowed from Swedes or it is inhabited by them (nearby villages *Suittila* and *Kärri*, which are both probably of Swedish origin). Scandinavian.

**Maikkala** *Maijkala*\* 1417, *Maykal* 1538; *maikkala*

< \**Maikka* (REA s.v. 476, PNR: 49) < [*Magnus* Swed. Lat. (SN s.v. Maikola, SPNK s.v. Maikkula) / *Magni* Swed. (Peterson 2007: 162) / *Majken* Swed. < *Maria* (female) (EN s.v. Maikki)]. Compare to Nummis: Maikkala. PN: *Maikkala* (Vihti). Could have been an early medieval village (3.5 mrk). *Magnus* was a very popular name during the Middle Ages. The usual Finnish form of the name is *Maunu* (EN s.v. Maunu), but the development *Mag* + *kka* > *Maikka* is also logical (Cf. *Ragnvald* > *Raikku* (SPNK s.v. Raikku)). Christian.

**Marttila** *Martthela* 1540; *marttila*

< \**Martti* < *Mårten* Swed. (DF s.v. 832, SN s.v. Marttila, SPNK s.v. Marttila). PN: *Marttila* (Angelniemi, Kisko, Kärkölä, Marttila). Est. PN: *Martna* (Martna), *Martsa* (Toila). A medieval or early medieval village (3 mrk). Compare to Lojo: Askola. Christian.

**Mynterlä** *Mijndherla* 1540, *Mijnderla* 1544; *mynterlä*

< \**Mynttari* < [*Esmund*, *Gudmund*, etc. (SN s.v. Myntti) / *Myntare* ‘coiner’ Swed. (REA s.v. 157)]. A late medieval village (0.75 mrk) and small area. Names of village close by, for example *Kutsila* and *Suittila*, might be of Swedish origin. PN: *Myntböle* (Esbo). (Uncertain) Scandinavian.

**Muijala** *Muijala* 1529, *Muiala* 1538

< \**Muija* < [*muija* ‘woman’ (SSA s.v. Muija) / ?]. A medieval village (2 mrk). Since the word *muija* is such a new Swedish loan, it is difficult to believe it would have been the original meaning of the specific element (ibid.). In Myrskylä, *muija* had been used with a meaning of ‘wet place’ (NA). Uncertain origin.

**Pulli** *Pullis* 1540; *pulli*

< \**Pulli* < [*Bulle* Germ. (SN s.v. Pulli) / *bulle* 'ox' Swed. (SSA s.v. pulli)]. Est. PN: *Puliste* (Pühalepa), *Pulli* (Orissaare). A medieval village (1.75 mrk and one homestead). The dialectical word *pulli* is not known in southern Finland (SSA s.v. pulli), but as a homestead name, *Pulli-* occur there (KKP). *Bulle* is noted on Scandinavian runestones (Peterson 2007: 52) but not during the Middle Ages (SMP). Germanic.

**Röylä** *Röhölä* 1540, *Rödlä* 1553; *röylä*

< \**Röð* < *röd* 'red' Swed. (*Rödh* REA s.v. 365). PN: *Röölä* ~ *Röödilä* (Rymättylä). A medieval village (2 mrk). The name is clearly based on a Swedish anthroponym that is derived from the adjective *röd* 'red'. The Old Swedish form of the adjective was *röper* (SAOB s.v. Röd) but the anthroponym had been written as either *Rødh* or *Rödh* on runestones and in medieval documents (Peterson 2007: 182; SMP). The phoneme /h/ can be explained by its presence in the local dialect (cf. *Röhkälä* (Nummis) or *Torhola* (Lojo)). Scandinavian.

**Talpela** *Talpela* 1540, *Talpila* 1560; *talpela*

< \**Talpia* (PAN: 181). A medieval village (2.125 mrk). *Talpia* is not noted in any early medieval documents (REA, FMU). (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Torhola** *Torrola* 1540, *Thorrola* 1541

< \**Torho*, \**Torro* (FMU<sup>7</sup>: 188) < [*Thordh* < *Thorsten* (cf. Thors 1959: 92) / *torho* 'dull, stupid'] (SPNK s.v. Torhola). Compare to Vichtis: Torhola. PN: *Torhola* (Hausjärvi). A medieval or late medieval village (1 mrk). *Thorsten*, with its parallel forms, had been a very popular name in Sweden and Finland during the Middle Ages (SMP, REA, FMU). Scandinavian.

**Vaanila** *Vanila*\* 1442, *Vahela* 1540, *Vanill* 1551; *vaanila*

< \**Vaani* < [*Vaania* (PNR: 173) / *vana* 'trail' (SKES s.v. vana)]. PN: *Vaanila* (Sauvo). *Vaanila* of Lojo had been newly established in 1404 when *Anders Vana* is noted as a single owner of his lands (Ylikangas 1973: 64). The tax value was 2.25 mrk. The number of settlement names with the element *Vaani-* suggests that it was originally

an anthroponym. The distribution of these names is concentrated in Southwest Finland (KKP). The name may be old but is probably not from the Iron Age. (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Vabby** *Wappula*\* 1417, *Vappola* 1540; *vappula*  
< \**Vappu* < *Valborg* Female Swed. (DF s.v. 1327, SN s.v. Vappula). An old and large village (7 mrk). For this reason, a female Christian name is a bit questionable as an etymon. Christian.

**Varola** *Warola* 1514, *Varela* 1540; *varola*  
< \**Varo* (REA s.v. 369) < [*varo* ‘crow; wealth; careful’ (SN s.v. Varonen) / *Varg* ‘wolf’ Swed. (SN s.v. Varonen, REA s.v. 61) / *varjo* ‘shadow’ (cf. KNR s.v. Varinurme) / *vare* ‘stone mound, tomb, rock barrow’ (SSA s.v. vare)]. The village of Varola is such a small place (0.33 mrk) that it must be late medieval and probably separated off from the village of Outamo. Finnic.

**Veiby** *Waijaby*\* 1417, *Veiby*, *Weijby*\* 1442; *veijjola* ~ *veijula*  
< \**Veijo* (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 381) < *veijo* ‘brother’ (PAN: 245, SN s.v. Veijola). Compare to Sjundeå: *Vejans*. According to local tradition (written down in the 16<sup>th</sup> century), the Lojo vicarage was built during “pagan times” on a piece of land owned by Veiby (Ylikangas 1973: 106). The tax value was 2 mrk. *Vejans* in Sjundeå is probably connected to *Veiby* because of the closeness between the locations. Finnic.

**Ventelä** *Wendele*, *Wändelä*\* 1538, *Vendela* 1540  
< \**Vente* < [*Vende*, *Winde*, *Vindo* Germ. (SN s.v. Ventelä, SPNK s.v. Ventelä) / *Vent(e)* Est. < *Venceslaus* Medieval Slavic (cf. KNR s.v. Vendise). Est. PN: *Vendise* (Lääne-Saare). A medieval village (1 mrk). Germanic.

**Virkyby** *Wirkeby*\* 1417, *Virkala* 1540; *virkkala*  
< *Virkki* < [*Virgilius* (SN s.v. Virkki, FSBN s.v. Virkyby)]. Est. PN: *Virla* (Kose) (1241 *Wircol*, 1524 *Virgell*). The villages (*Kyrkstad*, *Jönsbole*, etc.) southwest of Virkyby are a part of Swedish immigrancy from Sjundeå northwards. This could mean that *Virkkala* is a medieval settlement as well, and was named by the Swedes. On the other hand, Virkyby is larger (4 mrk) and older than the Swedish villages close by. (Uncertain) Christian.

Nummis:

**Haarla** *Halala* 1514, *Haela* 1540, *Hahla* 1596

< \**Hal(l)i* Germ. (Pan: 180, SN s.v. Halinen, cf. SPNK s.v. Halikko, Halinen). PN: *Halikko* (Halikko, Koski TL), *Halila* (Lammi), *Halinen* (Turku), *Halela* (Sauvo), *Hallila* (Myrskylä). Est. PN: *Haljala* (Haljala) (1241 *Halela*). *Hal(l)i*- names were known in medieval Sweden and earlier as well (Peterson 2007:104; SMP). The change from *Hal(l)ila* to *Haarla* happened analogically (cf. *Mynterlä*, *Sierla*, *Sitarla*, *herlaa* (Herrala)). *Haarla* is a young village (1 mrk) and that is why it could not have been named directly after a settler with a pre-Christian name. The name was probably transferred from some of the nearby villages having similar names. Many of the *Hali*- villages were located in places with rich Iron Age activity (KKP; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 299). Germanic.

**Heijala** *Heijela* 1540, *Heijälä* 1549; *heijala*

< \**Heija* < [*Hei*- < *Henrik* Swed. (c.f. EN s.v. Heikki) / *heija* ‘cradle; rocking’ (SSA s.v. heija)]. A medieval village (2 mrk). There are many homestead names with the specific element *Heija*-. It is very likely based on an anthroponym. Christian.

**Hyvälä** *Hyvälä by\** 1446, *Hövälä\** 1514, *Höwilä* 1540; *hyvelä* ~ *hyvölä*

< \**Hyvä*- (SN s.v. Hyvärinen; PRN: 20). PN: *Hyvikkälä* (Hauho), *Hyvinkää* ~ *Hyvinge* (Hyvinkää), *Hyvättylä* (Lieto). According to local tradition, *Hyvälä* may be the oldest settlement in Nummis (Jussila 1977: 10). It probably is not, but it could have been inhabited around the 14<sup>th</sup> century (2.67 mrk, 8 homesteads and a large area). Finnic.

**Jakova** *Jacowala\** 1514, *Kanthornemj* 1540, *Jacola* 1551; *jakova*

< \**Jakob* (FMU<sup>1</sup>: 146, SN s.v. Jakola). Householder *Jacko* from Nummis is noted in 1447 and he was probably from *Jacowala* (Jussila 1977: 13). The village is probably older because the tax value is fairly high (2.75 mrk). Christian.

**Kovela** *Kofwela*\* 1514, *Kowela* 1514; *kovela*

< \**Kove* < *Kovo* (REA s.v. 553; SN s.v. Kovala). A medieval village (1.5 mrk). The name form *Kofwela*, dated to 1514, gives the impression that there was the diphthong *ou* in the first syllable. In this case, the name may have been *Kouvo-*. However, there are plenty of names with the specific element *Kove-* (NA). SN believes that *Kova*-names were based on the Finnish adjective *kova* ‘hard, tough’ (s.v. Kovala). Finnic.

**Luttula** *Lutthela* 1540, *Luttula* 1543; *luttula*

< \**Luttu* < [*Ludde*, *Ludhin* Scand. (DF s.v. 1716) < (uncertain) *Ludwig* Germ. (SN s.v. Luttinen) / *Lucianus* (ibid.)]. PN: *Luttula* ~ *Jönsböle* (Lojo). A medieval village (1.33 mrk). It is difficult to say if *Luttula* is based on *Ludde*, *Ludhin* names or on *Ludwig*. Both were known in late Viking Age Sweden, as well as later on (Peterson 2007: 161; SMP; SDHK). However, it is pretty clear that the anthroponym \**Luttu* came from Sweden. Scandinavian.

**Maikkala** *Maijkala* 1540; *maikkala*

Compare to **Lojo: Maikkala**. A medieval village (1.67 mrk). Christian.

**Maskila** *Missekola*\* 1456, *Maskela* 1540; *maskila*

< \**Maski* < *Masco*, *Masgo* Germ. (FSBN s.v. Masko). PN: *Masku* (Masku). It is difficult to know the origin of the name. Neither Germanic suggestion has been noted on runestones or in medieval documents (Peterson 2007; SMP). The oldest name form suggests the possibility of syncope. There are a couple of other *Maski-* names in Southern Finland that might have undergone a similar development. The tax value of *Maskila* is so small (1 mrk) that if the name has been transferred from somewhere, the only possible origin is pre-Christian. (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Miemola** *Memola* 1540, *Memoila* 1556; *miamola*

< \**Miemo*, \**Memo* Germ. (PNR: 58). PN: *Miemala* (Vanaja). Neither Germanic suggestion has been noted on runestones or in medieval documents (Peterson 2007, SMP). *Miemola* is such a small village (1 mrk) that it is very unlikely that it would have been named directly

after pre-Christian *Miemo*, *Memo*. The name was probably transferred from the old Tavastia region. *Miemo-* had also been used in many settlement names in Estonia (KNR). Germanic.

**Millola** *Myllyla* 1540, *Mijllela* 1543; *millola* ~ *milloila*  
 < \**Millo*, \**Mille* < [*Mille* Germ. (PNR: 60, 155) / *Mielo* (SN s.v. Mielonen; PNR: 60) / *mylly* ‘mill’]. PN. Est.: *Miila* (Rägavere). *Millola* is one of the oldest villages in its area (2.25 mrk). It may have been named after the word *mylly* because there are rapids (*Koski fors* PK: 2041 02) close by. On the other hand, the current location of the village is not close to any rapids (TK Lohja). It is also difficult to prove if it is of Germanic origin because it was not known in Sweden (Peterson 2007; SMP). Uncertain origin.

**Mommola** *Mummula* 1540, *Mommola* 1549; *mommola*  
 < \**Mommo* < [*Mommo*, *Momme*, *Mommi* Germ. (SPNK s.v. Mommi-la) < *Mombert* Germ. ? / *mommo* ‘potato; cone; acorn’ (Vahtola 1980: 274)]. PN: *Mommila* (Hausjärvi, Lammi). No Germanic suggestions have been noted on runestones or in medieval documents (Peterson 2007, SMP). The village is too small to be named after a pre-Christian name (1 mrk). It is probably a transferred name from the old Tavastia region. *Mommo* is thought to be a naming principle for some names in Estonia (KNR). (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Näkkilä** *Näckile* 1529, *Neckyla* 1540; *näkkilä*  
 < \**Näkki* < [*näkki* ‘mussel, shell’ (SN s.v. Näkki) / *Näkki* ‘sprite of the water’ (SSA s.v. näkki)]. A medieval village (1.75 mrk) and probably separated off from the village of *Paksalo*. The Swedish word *sneck*, *snäcka* was not used as an anthroponym during the Middle Ages (SMP). It is unlikely that Finnish word *näkki* would be the origin of the anthroponym. However, we should point out that the village is located next to a lake by the name of *Hiidenvesi* (*hiisi* ‘holy forest, worship place, graveyard; sprite, spectre, giant; devil’). Uncertain origin.

**Oinola** *Äijnala*\* 1417, *Oijnale* 1517, *Oijnola* 1538; *oinola* ~ *oilaa*  
 < \**Oino* < [*oinas* ‘castrated ram’ (SSA s.v. oinas); ‘ram, old ram’ (SN s.v. Oinas)]. PN: *Oinaala* (Renko), *Oinasjoki* (Vichtis), *Oinasjärvi*

(Somerniemi). Est. PN: *Oina* (Muhu). *Oinola* was probably a daughter village of Nummi, but it is nonetheless one of the oldest settlements in the parish of Nummi (9 homesteads, 2.5 mrk). It looks like the element *Oina-* was used as both an anthroponym and a descriptive word in many nature names (KKP). Finnic.

**Oittila** *Oittila*\* 1514, *Oijttvla* 1516; *oittila* ~ *oitla* ~ *oitlaa*

< \**Oitti* < [*oitti* 'will, desire, whim' (SN s.v. Oittinen) / *Ote* Swed. (FSBN s.v. Oitbacka) / *Olof* Swed. (ibid.)]. PN: *Oitti* (Hausjärvi), *Oitti* ~ *Oitenkylä* (Lammi). Compare to Esbo: Oitans and Kyrkslätt: Oitbacka. The village of *Oittila* of Nummis is probably older than *Oitans* and *Oitbacka* because the tax value (2 mrk) is the highest. The number of *Oitti-* names as village and homestead names suggests that it had been an anthroponym. The word *oitti* is known in Finnish dialects (cf. SN s.v. Oittinen). This means that *Oitti* may have been a descriptive name. According to FMU<sup>2</sup> (558), a sacristan named *Olof* had also been called *Oti*. This could be explained by following development: *O-* (*lof*) + *tti*. However, it is difficult to explain how the name could have received its *Oi-* diphthong from Swedish variants. It is possible that it was originally a nature name as well. Some *Oittu-* names are clearly truncated forms of *Ojittu* (*oja* 'dike, ditch') (NA). (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Ratis** *Ratis bol* 1451, *Rathisby* 1540, *Radus* 1543; *raati*

< \**Raatis(en)* (PAN: 126) < [*Rade*, *Radi* etc. Germ. (SN s.v. Raatikainen) / *-rad*, *Rad-* Swed. (Peterson 2007: 178) / *raate* 'marsh trefoil' / *Raudus* ? (Possibly confused with Pusula: Radus)]. PN: *Raatikainen* (Pöytyä). Est. PN: *Ratla* (Leisi). *Ratis* has been the name village for its tax *bol*. The tax value was 2 mrk. *Ratis* was probably established during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Swedish *-rad*, *Rad-* had been a popular name element, which means it probably came to Finland as well (Peterson 2007: 178, SMP). On the other hand, persons in Finland with the name *Radh* or *Rade* (e.g. FMU<sup>1</sup>: 29; FMU<sup>2</sup>: 102; FMU<sup>3</sup>: 13, 320) were mostly merchants, whose origin is probably German. (Uncertain) Scandinavian.

**Remala** *Remola* 1540; *remala*

< \**Remo* < [*Rembold* Germ. (REA: 97, 114) / *Remigus* Lat. (SN s.v. Remes)]. Compare to Nummis: Över-Immula. A medieval village

(1 mrk). *Remanen* had been used as an anthroponym in Nummi (Jusila 1977: 20). Both *Rembold* and *Remigus* had been used in medieval Sweden and Finland (SMP; FMU), however neither one was noted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is difficult to say which anthroponym was used as the source for *Remala*. (Uncertain) Germanic.

**Röhkälä** *Röctkila* 1540, *Röckilla* 1544; *röhkälä*

< \**Röhkä*, \**Röki* < [*Gregorius* (SPNK s.v. Rökiö) / *röh* (snort sound coming from pigs, which had been kept in the village) (NA)]. A medieval village (1.5 mrk). The number of settlement names with the specific part *Röhkö-* suggests that it was originally an anthroponym. The phonological development from *Gregorius* to *Röhkö* is difficult to explain, but we can point out that old forms have mostly meant \**rökilä* (cf. *Torhola* (Lojo)). As an anthroponym, *Rök* had been used many times during the Middle Ages (e.g. FMU<sup>2</sup>: 51, 260, 276). Christian.

**Saukkola** *Sauckila* 1540, *Saukijla* 1544; *saukkola*

< \**Saukki* < [*Sakarias* / *Sakkeus* / *saukko* ‘otter’] (SPNK s.v. Saukkola) / *Susanna* (PNR: 156) / *Savikkola* ‘clayey place’ (close to lake *Savijärvi*, *Saukkaho* ‘savikko’ (Valkeala) (NA)). Est. PN: *Saka* (Kohtla) (first notation dated to 1241), *Saukse* (Kadrina). A late medieval village (0.5 mrk) and small land area. Christian.

**Sitarla** *Sittarla* 1540, *Sitarla* 1551; *sitarla*

< \**Sitari* (PAN: 129) < *Isidoros* (SPNK s.v. Sitarla). PN: *Sittala* (Kalvola). Could have been an early medieval village because of the tax value (3 mrk) and its central location. *Isidor(os)* was mainly an Orthodox anthroponym (cf. SPNK s.v. Sitarla) and has very few notations in Sweden or Finland (SMP; FMU). This renders the Christian origin of the village name questionable. Christian.

**Tavola** *Tauåla*\* 1417, *Tauola* 1538; *tavola* ~ *tavoila*

< \**Tavo* < [*Staffan* Swed. < *Stephanus* Lat. (SN s.v. Tapola) / *David* (SN s.v. Tavi) / *Tapo* ~ *Tavon* (genetiv)]. PN: *Tavola* (Halikko). The village is old. It could have been from the beginning of the Middle Ages or even earlier (4 mrk and its central location). Villages by the name of *Tavola* in Nummis and Halikko could have been linked

to one another. The Christian name *Staffan* was popular in medieval Sweden, and its Latin form *Stephanus* was recorded in 1160 (SMP). In Finnish, *Staffan* is known as *Tapani*. The form *Tavo* can be explained due to dialectal factors (e.g. Southwestern and Satakunta dialects *lavasin* ‘wooden blending tool’; derivative from the word *lapa*) (SSA s.v. *Lapa*). However, not all *Tapa/o-* names are derived from the Christian *Stephanus*. These names could be compared to the pre-Christian Finnish name *Tapio* (PAN: 79). Christian.

**Varttila** *Varthela* 1540, *Varttila* 1549; *varttila* ~ *vartlaa*  
< \**Vartti* < [-*wardh* Swed. (Cf. Peterson 2007: 247; SMP) / ?]. A late medieval village (0.67 mrk). Phonetically, the old Swedish name ending *-wardh* is a plausible origin for *Vartti*. It seems that names with the element *-wardh* were still in use in Sweden during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>, but no longer in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (SMP). However, most of the names with the specific element *Vartti-* are nature names in Finland (KKP). Uncertain origin.

**Över-Immola** *Remainen*\* 1442, *Jmmola* 1540; *immula* ~ *immola*  
Compare to **Lojo: Immola** and **Nummis: Remala**. A medieval village (1 mrk). (Uncertain) Germanic.

Pusula:

**Hauhula** *Hauhala* 1539, *Hauhiala* 1543; *hauhula* ~ *hauhola*  
< \**Hauhia*, \**Hauha* (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 201, PAN: 191) < \**hauha-* ‘high’ Proto-Norse (SPNK s.v. *Hauho*, SN s.v. *Hauhia*, SMP s.v. *Hakon*)]. PN: *Hauhiala* (Lammi), *Hauho* (Hauho). *Hauhula* was a small village (0.83 mrk). This is why its name was probably transferred from the old Tavastia region. In the Germanic languages, the name element meaning ‘high’ (e.g. Swedish *hög* or German *hoch*) was popular in anthroponyms (SN s.v. *Hauhia*; SMP) around the Baltic Sea. The Finnish anthroponym *Hauhia*, *Hauha* is explicitly connected to the Germanic languages. However, it is difficult to say how and when *Hauhia*, *Hauha* started to be used as an anthroponym in Finland or in other Finnic languages. Germanic.

**Hyönölä** *Hönela* 1540, *Hönälä* 1549; *hyänölä* ~ *hyärlä*

< \**Hyönö* < [*Hune, Huni* Skand.; *Huna, Hune, Hunica* etc. Low German (SN s.v. Hynninen) / *Hyväneuvo* (SPNK s.v. Hyönölä) / < ?]. *Hyönölä* is probably one of the oldest settlements around the lake Pusulanjärvi (former *Jäminjärvi*) (3 mrk). The name *Hyönölä* is difficult to explain. It is phonetically difficult to explain it as being of Germanic origin. The explanation *Hyväneuvola* > *Hyönölä* is possible because many old *Hyvä*- anthroponyms were clearly been two-part names (PNR: 21), but most often only the first part survived in toponyms (KKP). However, there are no toponyms with the element *Hyväneuvo*- in Finland (KKP, NA). Moreover, many kinds of dialectal adjectives such as *hyy* ‘solid’, *hönni* ‘quiet, supine’, *houna, höynä* ‘stupid, quiet, supine’ could be the origin of the name (SSA). *Hyönä* has been noted as an anthroponym in Luumäki (NA). Uncertain origin.

**Ikkala** *Jckala* 1540, *Jekalla* 1544; *ikkala*

< \**Ikka* < [*Ihakka* (Alanen 2003: 20) / *Ico, Icha* etc. Germ. (SN s.v. Ikkala)]. PN: *Ikkala* (Paattinen, Sääksmäki), *Ikkarla* ~ *Ikkala* (Piikkiö). A medieval or late medieval village (1 mrk). Some old *Ikka*- names are based on *Ihakka* (Alanen 2003: 20, *Ikkala* (Kalvola) < 1584 *Ichakala* (SAYL)). This kind of name could have been transferred from the old Tavastia region, as was the case with many other names in Pusula (e.g. *Hattula, Hauhula, Viiala*). The development *Ihakkala* < *Ikkala* can be explained by syncope. (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Kaukela** *Kauckela* 1540; *kaukeela*

Compare to Sammatti: *Kaukola* and **Vichtis: Kaukola**. A medieval village (2,5 mrk). Finnic.

**Mandela** (~ **Suomela**) *Mandela*\* 1514, *Mandel* 1538;

< \**Mante* (PNR: 48) < *Ment, Mente, Mand*, etc. Germ. (PNR: 155, SN s.v. Mantila). Est. PN: *Mönnuste* (Lääne-Saare), *Mõntu* (Torgu), *Mõndavere* (Kadrina) Männamaa (Käina). Phonetically, a German origin is logical. In Estonia, *Mand*- names with their parallel forms were used during the Middle Ages (1241 *Mandæs* (KNR)). *Mandela* is too young a place to have a name derived directly from the old *Mande*- names (1.17 mrk). The distribution of *Manti*- settlement names in Finland reveals

that the name is mainly concentrated on Southern Ostrobothnia (KKP). This area is believed to be inhabited by people from the old parishes Pirkkala and Sastamala (Luukko 1949: 41). It is also interesting that the parallel name of *Mandela* is *Suomela* (*Suomi* ‘Finland Proper’ + *la*). This could show a distinction between settlers from the old Tavastia region and people from the old Finland Proper region. Germanic.

**Pusula** *Pusula* 1538; *pusula* ~ *puslaa*

< \**Pusu* (PAN: 127) < *Boz*, *Bosse*, *Buss*, etc. Swed. (Alanen 2004: 230; SPNK s.v. *Pusula*; SN s.v. *Pusa*). PN: *Pusula* (Somero). A medieval village (2 mrk). Old Swedish names such as *Bose* or *Boos* were used in Finland during the Middle Ages and later (DF s.v. 947, 4212; Alanen 2004: 230). Scandinavian.

**Rutela** *Rutthela* 1540, *Rutthilla* 1544

< \**Rutti* < [*Rod(h)* Swed. (REA s.v. 349, 457) / *Rodolf*, *Rolf* Germ. (SN s.v. *Ruti*)]. A medieval village (2,67 mrk). No longer exists. Probably joined in with *Kaukela* because the lake *Ruutin-/ Ruutanjärvi* is located there. The name element *-Prúð* (and later *ruth*, *rud*) was popular in Sweden during the Viking Age and the early Middle Ages (Peterson 2007: 237, SMP). In Finland, younger *Ruth-* names were pronounced either *rutti* or *ruuti* (NA). Scandinavian.

**Viiala** *Vijala by*\* 1447, *Wialaby* 1553; *viiala*

< \**Viia* < [*Viia* / *svea* ‘Swedish’ / *Vighvaster* Swed.] (SPNK s.v. *Viiala*; SN s.v. *Viiala*). PN: *Viiala* (Lammi, Renko, *Viiala*), *Viiari* (Kisko). A medieval village (2 mrk). The origin of *Viia* is unclear. The distribution of settlement names with the specific part *Viia-* is closely related to Iron Age centers in the old Tavastia region (KKP; Raninen & Wessman 2015: 299). *Viiala* was probably transferred from Tavastia. (Uncertain) Finnic.

**Vörlö** *Verrala* 1540, *Vörlö* 1549; *vörlöö*

< \**Verre* (REA s.v. 384) < [*Vermund* Swed. / *Wernick* Germ.] (SN s.v. *Verronen*, *Värri*). Compare to Kyrkslätt: *Värby*. A medieval village (2.5 mrk). Possibly originated from a nature name because toponyms including the appellatives *vieri/e* ‘side’ or *vieru* ‘hill, uneven ground’ were popular (NA). Uncertain origin.

Sammatti:

**Kaukola** *Kaukela* 1547, *Kaukola* 1549; *kaukola*

Compare to Pusula: *Kaukela* and **Vichtis: Kaukola**. A late medieval village (0.5 mrk). Finnic.

**Kiikala** *Kekala* 1332 (< Probably confused with *Kiikala* (Kiikala)), *Kijkala*\* 1514, *Kiikala* 1547; *kiikala*

< [\**Kiikka* < *kiikka* ‘wobbly, leaning’, about a person) / < [*kiikka* ‘wobbly, leaning’ as a part of a nature name] (SN s.v. *Kiikka*; SPNK s.v. *Kiikala*). PN: *Kiikala* (Kiikala). A medieval village (2.375 mrk). It is difficult to determine its origin. However, it is safe to assume that *Kiikala* (Kiikala) is connected to this name. Uncertain origin.

**Leikkilä** *Leijkilä* 1547, *Leijkis* 1547; *leikkilä*

< \**Leikki* (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 97) < [*Lek* Swed. (SN s.v. *Leikas*) / *Leggi* Germ. (Vahtola 2002: 93) / *Leinikkä* ?]. PN: *Leikkinen* (Rymättylä), *Leikola* (Aura). A medieval village (2.5 mrk). Swedish *Lek* was fairly popular in medieval Sweden (SMP). The name element *laikR* (probably an older form of *Lek*) was used in Scandinavia during the Viking Age (e.g. Peterson 2007: 162). The distribution of settlement names with the specific element *Leikki-* is centred in Southwestern Finland (NA). *Leikkilä* could have been transferred from Rymättylä. Scandinavian.

**Luskala** *Luskala*\* 1427, *Lusikala* 1552

< \**Lusikka* < [\**Lusi* (+ *kka*) < *Brusi*, *Blusi*, *Lusi* < *Ambrosius* (SPNK s.v. *Lusi*) / *Luizico*, *Liuziko* Germ. (Vahtola 2002: 93) / *Lucia* (Nissilä 1961: 192)]. Compare to Vichtis: *Lusi*. Est. PN: *Luusika* (Laekvere). A medieval village (1.625 mrk). The word *lusikka* ‘spoon’ may be a possibility, but according to SSA, it was not used in Western Nyland (SSA s.v. *lusikka*). *Ambrosius* was clearly used in medieval Finland and Sweden (DF, SMP). In Sweden, the name also occurred in the form *Brosius* (SMP). There are also examples of the names *Blusiusson* and *Blusius* which clearly are forms of *Ambrosius* (Nissilä 1961: 192). There are no signs of Germanic *Luizico*, etc. (DF, REA, SMP). There were quite a number of records of the female name *Lucia* in Sweden and a few in Finland (SMP, FMU), but female anthroponyms have been rare as village names. Christian.

Sjundeå:

**Aiskos** *Askos*\* 1520, *Askusby* 1540, *Askois* 1567

Compare to **Lojo: Askola**. A medieval village (1.75 mrk). *Askovillages* in Lojo and Sjundeå are situated close to one another, which means that these settlements could have had common roots. *Aiskos* is probably a settlement established from *Askola* (Lojo). Scandinavian.

**Lempans** *Lempans*, *Lemptonby*\* 1442, *Lemmitteby* 1535; *lemmpas* < \**Lempo*, \**Lemmetty* (*Lemponen* REA s.v. 115) (SN s.v. Lemmetty; PNR: 43). PN: *Lemminen* (Sauvo), *Lempilä* (Halikko), *Lempälä* (Kakskerta). Est. PN: *Lehmja* (Rae, Saue), *Lemmikküla* (Kullamaa), *Lemmun* (an old district in Virumaa county (LCD: 36)). *Lempans* is one of the largest (6 mrk) and oldest villages in Sjundeå. Its name may date back to the Iron Age. Finnic.

**Paturs** *Paturs* 1529, *Patur* 1534, *Paturla* 1544; *paturs* < \**Paturi* < *paturi* ‘pot maker’ (FSBN s.v. Paturs). A medieval village (2.5 mrk). Probably of Finnish origin because it is situated next to the Lojo border and there are other Finnish villages in the vicinity such as Lempans, Maksjoki and Vejans. The oldest forms also show that the name included the Finnish place name suffix *-la*. Finnic.

**Pulkbacka** *Pölssbacka* 1534, *Pölkobacka* 1537, *Polkebacka* 1549; *pulkkbakka* < \**Pylkkö*, \**Pulkko* (*Pulkinen* (FMU<sup>4</sup>: 422, PAN: 126) < [*Fulca*, *Fulco*, *Folke* East Norse (SMP, SN s.v. Pulkka, Pylkkö) / *pulkka* ‘sledge’]. Compare to **Tenala: Pölkå**. *Pulkbacka* is quite a small village (1.75 mrk), so the name was probably transferred from somewhere else, perhaps from Tenala. Scandinavian.

**Vejans** *Weijgorden* 1540, *Weijgord* 1541; *vejjas*

Compare to **Lojo: Veiby**. A medieval village (2.75 mrk). Finnic.

Snappertuna:

**Hurskurnäs** *Nees* 1540, *Huskunes* 1541, *Hurskusnes* 1544

< \**Hurska* (REA s.v. 338, FSNB s.v. Hurskurnäs) < \**χurskaz* Proto-Germanic (cf. the Old Norse word *horskr* ('clever, understanding')) (SSA s.v. *hurskas*). PN: *Hurskala* (Loimaa). A medieval village (2.5 mrk). The name might be Finnish because the village is situated on a former island whose name is *Finnholmen* (KKP). However, there are no records on the name *Horskr* or its variations in medieval Sweden (Peterson 2007; SMP). Uncertain origin.

**Repubacka** *Repoböle* 1405, *Ribbobacka* 1540; *ribakka*, *rebakka*

< \**Repo* (PAN: 71) < *repo* 'fox' (SN s.v. Repo). Est. PN: *Rebala* (1241 *Reppel*) (Jödelähtme), *Rebu* (Lüganuse), *Reola* (Ülenürme). A medieval village (1.5 mrk). The name might be of Finnish origin because the villages Total, Finbacka and Finnby (KKP) are close by. *Repo* is mostly known as an anthroponym in Eastern Finland, but it is noted in the west as well (SN s.v. Repo). In Estonia, the oldest notations are early medieval. However, the villages around the Dragsvik bay are all small (TK Lohja). This suggests that the area was settled quickly and in an organised fashion. Most of the settlers were probably Swedish, but Finns could have been there as well (for example from the village of Repola (Nousiainen)). Finnic.

**Total** *Thotala*\* 1424; *Thotalaby* 1541; *tuutal(l)*

< \**Tootti*, \**Tuutti* < [*Tote*, *Touthe* (PAN: 70) < *Thor*- ? / *Tuutti* < *stut* 'steer' Swed. (cf. SN s.v. *Tuutti*) / *Toivottu* (*Tootula* (Lieto) < 1540 *Töywottola* (REA s.v. 599)]. PN: *Tootula* (Lieto), *Tottola* (Uskela). Total was not a large village, and it had only one homestead. However, this homestead had a high tax value (2.5 mrk). Kerkkonen believes that the name *Josse Synne aff Thotala* in a document dated to 1424 may have been a copying error made by a scribe. The original form would have been *Finne* ('Finn') (1945: 161). It is difficult to say what the original form of the name would have been, but it was clearly used by Finns. It is also possible that the name was originally a nature name (e.g. \**Toutainlaksi*). Uncertain origin.

Tenala:

**Kelkkala** *Kelka* 1549, *Kelcka* 1552; *tjelkkala*

< \**Kelkka* < [*Kialki*, *Hialle* Swed. (SN s.v. *Kelkka*) / *Kjell* Swed. (+*-kka*) < *Kettil* / *kälkmakare* 'sled maker' (FSBN s.v. *Kälkala*)]. A medieval village (2.625 mrk). The number of *Kelkka*- names as homestead names suggests that it had been an anthroponym (KKP). It is possibly of Swedish origin, but *Kialki* and *Hialle* were not popular (Peterson 2007; SMP). Only the name (Old West Norse) *Hialli* was once noted on in runestones (Peterson 2007: 110). *Kjell* (a younger form of *Kettil* (Otterbjörk 1992: 106)) might also be possible, but it was not noted in medieval documents (SMP, FMU). (Uncertain) Scandinavian.

**Mälsarby** *Melsaraby* 1399, *Melsarby*' 1410, *Melsarabol* 1451; *melssarby*

< \**Mieli*(*sen*) + *saari* 'island' < [*Mieli/o* (PNR: 59–60) / *Melli* Germ. (SPNK s.v. *Mellilä*) / *Melkior* (FSBN s.v. *Mälsarby*)]. PN: *Mielinen* (Nauvo), *Mielismäki* (Mynämäki). An old and central village (6.25 mrk, the name of the village was given to the tax *bol* as well). It is safe to assume that the name is of Finnish origin because of the village names close by (e.g. *Härjentaka*, *Nitlax* and *Sattala* (KKP)). *Mälsarby* is located on a cape that is divided into two parts by a bay called *Heimlax* and small dikes from a pond called *Djupdalsträsket* (KKP). It is logical to think that the generic element of the name was Finnish *saari* 'island'. On the other hand, the oldest form of the name *Melsaraby* (1399) suggests that the original form was *Mels-* + *arva* (cf. FSBN s.v. *Gennarby*). We should also point out that the specific element *Mel-* is not with certainty from the anthroponym *Mieli-*. There are plenty of nature names with the specific parts *Miel-* and *Mela-* in Finland (NA). Uncertain origin.

**Pölkå** *Polke* 1438, *Pölka bol* 1451; *pylkku*

< \**Pylkkö*, \**Pulkko* (PAN: 126) < *Fulca*, *Fulco*, *Folke*, *Fulke* Germanic (SN s.v. *Pulkka*, *Pylkkö*). Compare to Sjundeå: *Pulkbacka*. PN: *Pulkkala* (Rymättylä). *Pölkå* is an old village with a high tax value (6.25 mrk), and the name of the tax *bol* originates from the

name of the village. The most probable original form may be *Pulk-* because *Pylkk-* and *Pölk-* settlement names are concentrated in northern and eastern parts of Finland. *Pulk-* names have distribution centers closer to Tenala. (KKP.) There were also some homestead names with the specific part *Pulk-* in the Castle Province of Raseborg: *Pulkus* (Kyrkslätt) and *Pulkka* (Sammatti) (TK Helsinki, Lohja). Scandinavian.

**Sattala** *Sattala* 1549, *Sattall* 1552; *sattala*

< \**Satte* (PNR: 65), \**Satato* (REA: 61) < ?. A medieval village (2 mrk). The number of *Satta-* (and especially *Sattu-*) names as homestead names suggests that it was an anthroponym (KKP, NA). However, in some cases, *Satt(V)-* names are clearly nature names (e.g. *Sattisalmi* in Rymättylä is explained as coming from the dialectic word *saatin* ‘hunting trap’ (NA)). PN: *Sattela* (Paimio). (Uncertain) Finnic.

Vichtis:

**Hulttila** *Hulthelast* 1540, *Hulltis* 1541; *hulttila*

< \**Hultti* < [*Holte* Swed. (REA s.v. 469) / *hulttio* ‘reprobate’ (SSA s.v. *hulttio*)]. *Holte-* names were quite rare in medieval Sweden, but still these are the most likely origin of the name (SMP). Scandinavian.

**Härköilä** *Härkoila by*\* 1442, *Herkijla* 1540, *Herkeleby* 1542; *härköilä*  
< \**Härköi* (*Härkä* FMU<sup>7</sup>: 70) < *härkä* ‘ox’ (SN s.v. Härkälä).  
PN: *Härkälä* (Somero, Vihti). Est. PN: *Härjapea* (Aseri). An old and large village (5 mrk). Finnic.

**Kaukola** *Kaukela* 1540, *Kaukijla* 1541; *kaukoila*

< \**Kauko* (PNR: 36, SN s.v. *Kauko*). Compare to Pusula: *Kaukela* and Sammatti: *Kaukola*. PN: *Kaukkala* (Hauho), *Kaukoinen* (Masku), *Kaukola* (Muurla, Sauvo, Tammela). A medieval village (1.5 mrk). The distribution of *Kauko-* settlement names shows that the name was in use in the Iron Age (KKP). The name was originally descriptive (*kauko* ‘tall, long’). It is unlikely that any of the *Kauk-* names found in Castle Province of Raseborg would have been pre-Christian. Finnic.

**Langila** *Lankila*\* 1442, *Langela* 1540; *langila*

< \**Lanki* (REA s.v. 148, 440, 498) < *Lang*, *Lange* Swed. (SN s.v. Lankila). Compare to Kisko: Lankila. PN: *Lankila* (Orimattila), *Lankinen* (Pöytyä). Est. PN: *Langa* (Padise), *Lante* (Kadrina). The names *Lang*, *Lange* were widely used in medieval Sweden and Finland (SMP, REA, FMU). *Langila* in Vichtis (2 mrk) and *Lankila* in Kisko are too young to have been named in the pre-Christian era. These names were probably transferred. Scandinavian.

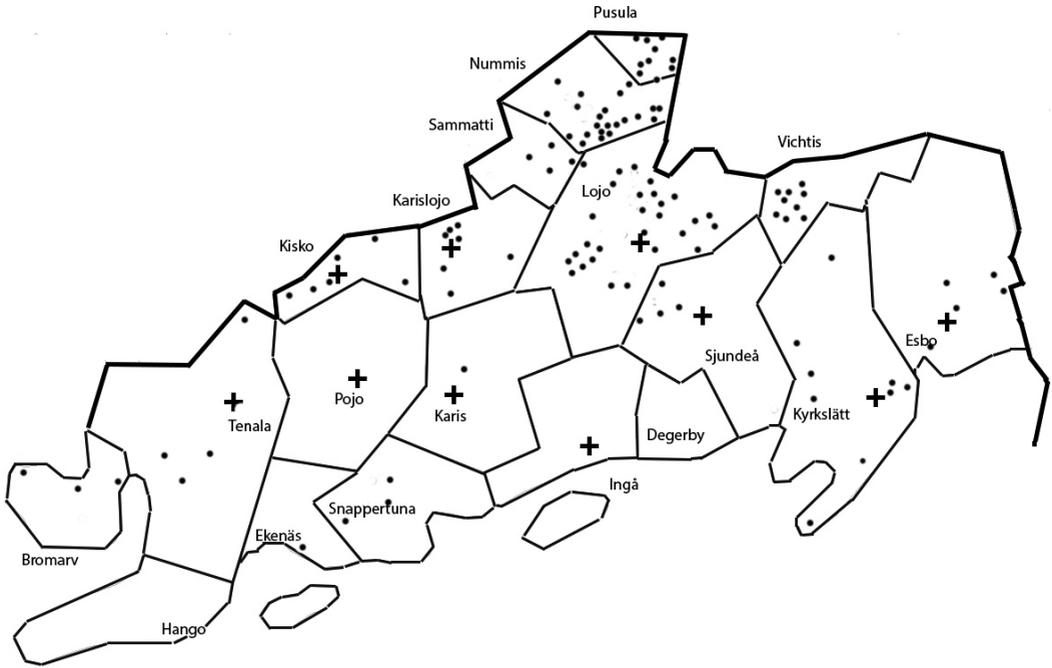
**Lusila** *Lussula* 1540, *Lwswla* 1541; *luslaa*

< \**Lusi*, \**Lusu* (FMU<sup>1</sup>: 334) < [*Brusi*, *Blusi*, *Lusi* < *Ambrosius* (SPNK s.v. Lusi) / *Lucius* Lat.]. Compare to **Sammatti: Luskala**. PN: *Lusi* (Tyrvöntö). Est. PN: *Luusika* (Laekvere). A medieval village (2 mrk). The remote distribution and high number of *Lusi*- settlement names suggest that it is a young name (KKP). On the other hand, there are exceptions. For example *Lusi* in Tyrvöntö could have been pre-Christian because of its location and tax values (SAYL). (Uncertain) Christian.

**Veikkola** *Wejikko* 1540; *veikkula*

< \**Veikko* (PAN: 245) < *veikko* ‘brother, friend’ (SN s.v. Veikkanen, Veikkola). PN: *Veikkala* (Orimattila), *Veikkari* (Paimio, Hyvinkää), *Veikkola* (Kyrkslätt). A medieval village (1 mrk). The villages called Veikkols in Vichtis and Kyrkslätt are probably connected to one another. Due to their location, it seems that *Veikko*- names are younger than *Veijo*- names (KKP). Finnic.

## Villages on the map



Map 2. Villages on the map.

## Origins of the anthroponyms

- a) **Christian:** Andela, Heijala, Hermala, Jakova, Jantoniemi, Jorvas, Kaijola, Lusila, Luskala, Maikkala, Maikkala, Marttila, Pipola, Rekuby, Röhkälä, Sakkola, Saukkola, Sitarla, Tavola, Vabby, Virkby. 22 villages and 20 different names.
- b) **Finnic:** Hullus, Hyvälä, Härköilä, Ikkala, Kaijala, Kaijala, Karvasbacka, Kaukela, Kaukola, Kaukola, Kavasto, Kihelä, Koikkala, Kouvola, Kovala, Kurby, Kuritans, Leivosböle, Lempens, Mommola, Oinola, Oitans, Oitbacka, Oittila, Pargas, Paturs, Repubacka, Sattala, Talpela, Vaanila, Varola, Veikkola, Veiby, Vejans, Viiala, Ytterkurk, Överkurk. 38 villages and 30 different names.

- c) **Germanic:** Ahtiala, Ahtiala, Aijala, Haarla, Hauhula, Heimos, Immola, Immula, (Över-)Immula, Leilä, Mandela, Maskila, Miemola, Porkala, Pulli, Remala, Ventelä, Vitkars. 18 villages and 15 different names.
- d) **Scandinavian:** Aiskos, Askola, Hulttila, Humppila, Kattelus, Kelkkala, Kutsila, Langila, Lankila, Leikkilä, Luttula, Myn-terlä, Pulkbacka, Pölkå, Pusula, Ratis, Rutela, Röylä, Sorttila, Torhola and Varttila. 21 villages and 19 different names.
- e) **Uncertain origin:** Hurskurnäs, Hyönölä, Karstu, Kiikala, Kälä, Millola, Muijala, Mälsarby, Näkkilä, Padva, Total, Värby, Vörlö. 12 villages and 11 different names.

## Conclusions

What are the origins of Finnish anthroponyms in Western Nyland?

In the analysis section, I have studied 105 village names that are likely based on anthroponyms used by Finnish speakers. I have collected 87 different kinds of anthroponyms. This demonstrates the great variety of Finnish anthroponyms. Calculations of 16<sup>th</sup> century first names in Tavastia and Satakunta regions have shown that the ten most common first names covered 60% of all adult men (Kiviniemi 1990: 143). The study Kiviniemi refers to is based on names that scribes had written, which means that no hypocorises were used. In addition to this, the material of this article covers a time period a great deal longer than a century.

The largest naming groups are Christian and Finnic names. Germanic and Scandinavian names might form a much larger group if they were counted together. It is worth pointing out the number of uncertain names. This reveals how difficult it is to really understand the way of naming that was in use many hundreds of years ago. The group that has the most parallel names is that which includes Finnic names.

According to older studies (e.g. SN, SPNK), many of the names analysed in my article were based on pre-Christian Germanic

anthroponyms. These studies only rarely provide more accurate information about the names. They do not reveal where or when the names were borrowed. In a closer study, I have been able to find that most of these “Germanic” anthroponyms were used in medieval Sweden (cf. the introduction to this article). In this case, it is logical to think that these names were borrowed via the Swedes. It seems as if the previous researchers paid too much attention to pre-Christian Germanic names. In addition, Jorma Koivulehto criticised this phenomenon and made an especially strong case against Vahtola’s etymologies (cf. the introduction). He said that many of the toponyms thought to be derived from Germanic anthroponyms are incorrect (2007). The findings of this article completely agree with Koivulehto. The Germanic influence on the anthroponyms of Western Nyland is obvious, but instead it should be called Scandinavian or Swedish influence.

Even more interesting is that many names which were probably derived from pre-Christian Germanic anthroponyms have points of reference in Estonia. Out of 15 Germanic names, nine were used in northern Estonia (*Hali*, *Heimo*, *Herman*, *Immo*, *Mande*, *Miemo*, *Millo*, *Vente* and *Vitikka*). This brings up an interesting question about the origins of these anthroponyms. Anthroponyms that were no longer used during the time of the Hansaetic League are especially problematic. How, when and from where did these names arrive in Estonia and Finland?

Lately, connections between Southern Finland and Northern Estonia have been more present in linguistics (e.g. Häkkinen 2014: 6–9). Moreover, the so-called birth of the Finnish language is thought to have occurred later than previously thought (ibid. Kallio 2015: 90–93). Close and recent connections with Estonia could justify the spread of old Germanic loan anthroponyms in Southern Finland. However, the problem remains unresolved and requires further investigation.

## Where did anthroponyms in Western Nyland come from?

The origin of some specific anthroponym does not reveal where the name really came from. Settlement names could have either been based on anthroponyms or brought from somewhere else as transferred names (cf. the methodology section). In the following, I present nearby parishes that have similar village names to those in Western Nyland. Parallel cases (PN) are found in the name entries.

Halikko: 12	Somero: 3
Lammi: 6	Vichtis*2: 3
Paimio: 6	Aura: 2
Sauvo: 5	Hattula: 2
Hauho: 3	Lieto: 2
Hausjärvi: 3	Paattinen: 2
Kalvola: 2	Piikkiö: 2
Koski Tl: 3	Pöytyä: 2
Kisko*1: 3	Renko: 2
Masku: 3	Tammela: 2
Rymättylä: 3	

Angelniemi, Humppila, Hyvinkää, Kakskerta, Kemiönsaari, Kiikala, Kuusjoki, Kärkölä, Loimaa, Maaria, Marttila, Muurla, Myrskylä, Nauvo, Nousiainen, Parainen, Somerniemi, Suomusjärvi, Turku, Tyrvöntö, Vanaja and Vehmaa: 1

\*1 = Castle Province of Åbo

\*2 = Tavastia

There are 94 parallel village names found in the vicinity. Of these, 56 are in the parishes west or northwest of Western Nyland. This area can be considered Finland Proper. In the north, which can be also called Tavastia, there are 25 names. The remaining 13 are situated in the northeast and east. This simple comparison already indicates that Finland Proper is the area that had the closest connections to Western Nyland. The western and coastal areas of Western Nyland especially seem to have had a close relationship with Finland Proper.

The findings are also logical when compared to the dialectal areas of Finland. Most parishes of Western Nyland are part of so called *lounaiset välimurteet*, dialects influenced by the dialect of Finland Proper (Lehtinen 2007: 258–259). It is safe to assume that dialects and anthroponym systems are very much connected to one another. Anthroponyms may have spread because of migration or other kinds of communicative activities, such as trading. It is no surprise that the parish of Halikko has been the area with the largest number of similar village names. Archeological finds from the valley of Uskelanjoki show that the area was well developed during the Iron Age (Hirviluoto 1991). This means it was also able to afford the establishment of new settlements. We cannot exclude influences from Tavastia either. Northern parishes such as Pusula and Vichtis especially have common village names with parishes in Tavastia.

A comparison to Estonian village names was not the main purpose of this article, but a simple study has already revealed that there are a great deal of similarities. A shared Germanic nomenclature had already been previously noted. Moreover, so-called Finnic anthroponyms are found on both sides of the Gulf of Finland. I would not say that these similarities are proof of migration from Estonia to Finland, but close cultural connections are obvious.

## The oldest Finnish anthroponym strata found in the area

In the following list, I present the oldest villages that were named after anthroponyms used by Finns. I chose those village names that are based on anthroponyms and could have been established during the Iron Age. Determining the age of the villages is mostly done by looking at the tax value. Other methods are also used as explained in methodology section. More accurate details can be found in the individual name entries.

Bromarv: Pargas  
Karis: Heimos  
Karislojo: Kattelus  
Lojo: Vappula, Virkby

Nummis: Tavola  
Sjundeå: Lempens  
Tenala: Pölkå  
Vichtis: Härköilä

There are only nine villages that can be linked to the Iron Age. First of all, many of them are questionable. The Finnish settlements in the Lojo and Tenala parishes are clearly old, but the ages of settlements elsewhere are not that certain. I should point out that parishes in Lojo and Tenala with names based on Finnic anthroponyms are mostly medieval. There are also two Christian-based anthroponyms in Lojo (*Vappula* and *Virkkala*). According to the taxation details, these villages could be old, but Christian names are usually medieval (of course they can be also from the Viking Age but this is not as likely). This brings up the issue of settlement names that undergo a change. Settlement names based on anthroponyms especially could have undergone a change. As I have explained in the introduction, farmers' names were given to homesteads, and this is how they could have ended up as settlement names as well. Thus, when a new settler stabilised his possession in a village, the neighbours could have started to name the whole area after him. During the late Viking Age and early Middle Ages, there was no organised taxation system in place that would have required the settlement names to remain stable. It is thought that regular ecclesiastical taxes first began to be collected in the 1230s in Western Finland (Raninen & Wessman 2015: 346). However, many villages in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had variation in their names, as can be seen in Hausen's collection (1924).

One important conclusion of this article is that settlements that have names based on anthroponyms are not the oldest villages in Western Nyland. This can not only be seen from taxation details and land property, but also from comparing the locations of the villages to Iron Age finds from the arel (Kulttuuriympäristön rekisteriportaali). This shows, for example, that the names of the Lojo municipality, where Iron Age activity can be found, are based mostly on nature names. In other words, settlement names based on Finnish anthroponyms are part of a younger nomenclature. Those Finnish village names inside Swedish-speaking areas (e.g. *Repobacka*, *Vitkars*, *Värby*) are medieval settlements. These villages were probably established after the main wave of Swedish settlers arrived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This suggests that the so-called language border between Finns and Swedes was flexible. New settlers may have come from both sides of the border.

## Abbreviations

Est. = Estonian	Swed. = Swedish
Fin. = Finnish	Est. PN = Parallel / similar name found from northern parts of Estonia
Germ. = Germanic	
Lat. = Latin	
mrk = skattmark (unit of taxation)	PN = Parallel / similar name found in the vicinity of 100 km
Scand. = Scandinavian	

## References

- Aikio, Ante 2006: Etymological Nativization of Loanwords: a Case Study of Saami and Finnish. – Ida Toivonen & Diane Nelson (eds.), *Saami Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 17–51.
- 2012: An Essay on Saami Ethnolinguistic Prehistory. – Riho Grünthal & Petri Kallio (eds.), *A Linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 266. 63–117.
- Ainiala, Terhi, Minna Saarelma & Paula Sjöblom 2012: *Names in Focus. An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*. Studia Fennica. Linguistica 17. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Alanen, Timo 2003: Sääksmäen vanhaa paikannimistöä nykyisellä Valkeakoskella. – Timo Alanen & Jyrki Lehtinen (eds.), *Sääksmäen vanhat ja historialliset kartat Valkeakoskella*. Rapola-tutkimuksia 5. Helsinki: Museovirasto.
- 2004: *Someron ja Tammelän vanhin asutusnimistö: nimistön vakiintumisen aika*. Somero: Amanita.
- Alenius, Teija 2011: From Forest to a Farmland. Palaeoenvironmental Reconstruction of the Colonization of Western Uusimaa. – *Maritime Landscape in Change. Archaeological, Historical, Palaeoecological and Geological Studies on Western Uusimaa*. Iskos 19. 87–116.
- Bakken, Kristin 1997: Form and meaning. The basis for name-specific phonological development. – Ritva Liisa Pitkänen & Kaija Mallat (eds.), *You name it: Perspectives on onomastic research*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 21–30.
- DF = Diplomatarium Fennicum. <<http://extranet.narc.fi/DF/index.html>> 1 April 2016.
- DWB = Deutsches Wörterbuch, begründet von Jakob und Wilhelm Grimm. Leipzig 1854–1960. <<http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/>> 1 April 2016.

- EN = *Etunimet*. Kustaa Vilkuna 1997; avustajat: Marketta Huitu & Pirjo Mikkonen. Helsinki: Otava.
- FMU = *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, 1910–1924. 1–4. Samlade och i tryck utgifna af Finlands statsarkiv genom Reinhold Hausen. Helsingfors: Statsarkivet. 1924.
- Förstemann, Ernst 1856: *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. Reprint of the 1901–1916 edition, published by P. Hanstein, Bonn.  
<<https://archive.org/details/altdeutschesnam00frgoog>> 1 April 2016.
- Fortson, Benjamin W. 2009: *Indo-European Language and Culture: an introduction*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Frog & Janne Saarikivi 2015: De situ linguarum fennicarum atatis ferreae, Pars I. – *RMN Newsletter* 9. 64–115.
- FSBN = Finlandssvenska bebyggelsenamn. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland r.f. Sammanställd av Lars Huldén m.fl.  
<<http://bebyggelsenamn.sls.fi>> 1 April 2016.
- Haggrén, Georg 2011: Colonization, Desertion and Entrenchment of the Settlements in Western Nyland ca. 1300–1635 AD. – *Maritime Landscape in Change: Archaeological, Historical, Palaeoecological and Geological Studies on Western Uusimaa*. *Iskos* 19. 152–179.
- Haggrén, Georg & Mika Lavento 2011: Preface. – *Maritime Landscape in Change: Archaeological, Historical, Palaeoecological and Geological Studies on Western Uusimaa*. *Iskos* 19. 4–8.
- Haggrén, Georg, Petri Halinen, Mika Lavento, Sami Raninen & Anna Wessman 2015: *Muinaisuutemme jäljet: Suomen esi- ja varhaishistoria kivikaudelta keskiajalle*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Häkkinen, Jaakko 2014: *Kielet Suomessa kautta aikain*. Jaakko Häkkisen puolikuiva alkuperäissivusto. <[http://www.elisanet.fi/alkupera/Kielet\\_Suomessa\\_kautta\\_aikain.pdf](http://www.elisanet.fi/alkupera/Kielet_Suomessa_kautta_aikain.pdf)> 1 April 2016.
- Harbert, Wayne 2007: *The Germanic languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirviluoto, Anna-Liisa 1991: *Salon esihistoria*. Salo: Salon kaupunki.
- Heikkilä, Mikko 2013: From Surging Waves to the Spirit of Waves – On the Germanic and Sami Origin of the Proper Names Ahti and Vellamo in Finnic Mythology. – *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 26. 71–86.
- Heikkilä, Mikko 2014: *Bidrag till Fennoskandiens språkliga förhistoria i tid och rum*. Helsingfors: Helsingfors universitet.
- Huldén, Lena 2002: När kom svenskarna till Finland. – Ann-Marie Ivars & Lena Huldén (eds.), *När kom svenskarna till Finland?* Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland. 13–38.

- Junttila, Santeri 2015: *Tiedon kumuloituminen ja trendit lainasanatutkimuksessa: kantasuomen balttilaislainojen tutkimushistoria*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Jussila, Osmo 1977: *Nummen historia vv. 1859-*. Nummi: Nummen ja Pusulan historiatoimikunta.
- KA = Kansallisarkisto. National Archive. Helsinki.
- Kallio, Petri 2012: The Prehistoric Germanic Loanword Strata in Finnic. – Riho Grünthal & Petri Kallio (eds.), *A Linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 266. 225–238.
- 2015: The Language Contact Situation in Prehistoric Northeastern Europe. – Robert Mailhammer, Theo Vennemann gen. Nierfeld & Birgit Anette Olsen (eds.), *The Linguistic Roots of Europe: Origin and Development of European Languages*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Studies in Indo-European 6. 77–102.
- Kepsu, Saulo 1987: Talonniemien tutkimisesta. Ero Kiviniemi & Ritva Liisa Pitkänen (eds.), *Kieli 2. Näkymiä nimistöön*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. 35–73.
- 2005: *Uuteen maahan: Helsingin ja Vantaan vanha asutus ja nimistö*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- 2008a: Espoon vanha asutusnimistö. Kaija Mallat, Sami Suviranta & Reima T. A. Luoto (eds.), *Kylä-Espoo: Espoon vanha asutusnimistö ja kylämaisema*. Espoo. 9–156.
- 2008b = Saulo Kepsu, Tuomo Tukkinen & Timo Alanen (eds.), *Karjalohjan kylät ennen ja eilen*. Espoo.
- Kerckonen, Gunvor 1945: *Västnyländsk kustbebyggelse under medeltiden*. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- Kiviniemi, Ero 1982: *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet: suomalaisten etunimet ja nimenvaihtelu*. Espoo.
- 1984: Nimistö Suomen esihistoriallisen tutkimuksen aineistona. – *Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica. 327–346.
- 1990: *Perustietoa paikannimistä*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- KKP = MML Karttapaikka. National Land Survey of Finland. <<https://asiointi.maanmittauslaitos.fi/karttapaikka/>> 1 April 2016.
- KNR = *Eesti kohanimeraamat*. (Unpublished). Retrieved 1 April 2016.
- Koivulehto, Jorma 1987: Namn som kan tolkas urgermanskt. – *Klassiska problem inom finlandssvensk ortnamnsforskning*. Studier i nordisk filologi 67. Helsingfors: SLS. 27–42

- 2007: Kriittisiä havaintoja paikannimitutkimuksesta. – *Sata sanan juurta: Satakunnan vanhaa paikannimistöä: Seminaarijulkaisu. Emil Cedercreutzin museo ja kulttuurikeskus* 7.–8.4.2006. Harjavalta. 66–81.
- Kulttuuriympäristön rekisteriportaali. <[www.kulttuuriymparisto.nba.fi](http://www.kulttuuriymparisto.nba.fi)> 1 April 2016.
- LägLoS = A. D. Kylstra, Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo, Tette Hofstra & Osmo Nikkilä 1991–: *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen*. Amsterdam – Atlanta.
- LCD = Johansen, Paul 1933. *Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae*. Reval: Wassermann.
- Lehtinen, Tapani 2007: *Kielen vuosituhanet: suomen kielen kehitys kantauralista varhaisuomeen*. Tietolipas 215. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Luukko, Armas 1949: *Etelä-Pohjanmaan keskiaika*. Helsinki.
- MHA = Maanmittaushallituksen maanmittausarkisto.
- NA = Nimiaarkisto. Names archive. The Institute for the Languages of Finland. Helsinki.
- NO = Hausen, Greta 1924: *Nylands ortnamn: deras former och förekomst till år 1600*. Utgivna av Greta Hausen. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1961: Ambrosius suomalaisessa nimistössä. – *Virittäjä* 65: 185–193.
- 1980: Germaanisesta nimiaineiston etymologista ryhmittelyä Suomen nimistössä. – *Viipurin suomalaisen kirjallisuusseuran toimitteita* 4. Helsinki. 131–194.
- Orrman, Eljas 1991: Geographical factors in the spread of permanent settlement in parts of Finland and Sweden from the end of the Iron Age to the beginning of modern times. – *Fennoscandia archaeologica* VIII: 3–21.
- Otterbjörk, Roland 1992: *Svenska förnamn: kortfattat namnlexikon*. Stockholm.
- PAN = Forsman A. V 1894. *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla*. Helsinki.
- Peterson, Lena 2007: *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon*. Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen.
- Pitkänen, Ritva Liisa 1985: *Turunmaan saariston suomalainen lainanimistö*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- PK = Pitäjänkartaasto. KA. <<https://astia.narc.fi/astiaUi/>> 1 April 2016.

- PNR = Stoebe, D. E 1964: *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen in Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Hamburg.
- Rahkonen, Pauli 2013: *South-Eastern contact area of Finnic languages in the light of onomastics*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Raninen, Sami & Anna Wessman 2015: Rautakausi. – Georg Haggrén, Petri Halinen, Mika Lavento, Sami Raninen & Anna Wessman (eds.), *Muinaisuutemme jäljet: Suomen esi- ja varhaishistoria kivikaudelta keskiajalle*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus. 215–364.
- REA = *Registrum Ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo Domkyrkas Svartbok*. Reinhold Hausen, Jyri Kokkonen & Elisa Pispala (eds.), Helsinki, 1996.
- Saarikivi, Janne & Mika Lavento 2012: Linguistics and Archaeology: A Critical View of an Interdisciplinary Approach with Reference to the Prehistory of Northern Scandinavia. – *Networks, Interaction and Emerging Identities in Fennoscandia and Beyond: Papers from the conference held in Tromsø, Norway, October 13–16 2009*. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 265. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. 177–217.
- SAOB = Svenska Akademiens ordlista över svenska språket. <<http://www.svenskaakademien.se/web/Ordlista.aspx>> 1 April 2016.
- SAYL = Suomen asutuksen yleisluettelo. Internet database. <[http://digi.narc.fi/digi/dosearch.ka?sartun=Asutuksen%20yleisluettelot\\*Asutuksen%20yleisluettelo](http://digi.narc.fi/digi/dosearch.ka?sartun=Asutuksen%20yleisluettelot*Asutuksen%20yleisluettelo)> 1 April 2016.
- SKES = Y.H. Toivonen, Erkki Itkonen, Aulis J. Joki & Reino Peltola 1955–1981: *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja I–VI*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- SLS = Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland. Collection of toponyms (Nyland).
- SMP = Sveriges medeltida personnamn. <<http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/personnamn/sveriges-medeltida-personnamn/smp--natutgava-och-fullstandigt-register.html>> 1 April 2016.
- SMSK = Suomen murteiden sanakirja. 2012. <<http://kaino.kotus.fi/sms>> 1 April 2016.
- SDHK = Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev. <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK>> 1 April 2016.
- SN = *Sukunimet*. Mikkonen Pirjo & Paikkala Sirkka. Helsinki: Otava. 2000.
- SPNK = *Suomalainen paikannimikirja*. Sirkka Paikkala (ed.). Helsinki: Karttakeskus. 2007.
- SSA = *Suomen sanojen alkuperä 1–3. Etymologinen sanakirja*. Erkki Itkonen & Ulla-Maija Kulonen (eds.), Helsinki 1992–2000.

- Thors, Carl-Eric 1959: *Finländska personnamnsstudier: Studies on Swedish personal names in Finland*. Stockholm.
- TK = Taloudellinen kartta. <[http://digi.narc.fi/digi/hae\\_ay.ka?sartun=295770](http://digi.narc.fi/digi/hae_ay.ka?sartun=295770)>  
KA. 1 April 2016.
- Tvauri, Andreas 2006: Investigation of the Middle Iron Age. – Aivar Kriiska, Andres Tvauri, Anti Selart, Birgit Kibal, Andres Andresen & Ago Pajur (eds.), *Eesti ajaloo atlas*. Tallinn. 105–126.
- Vahtola, Jouko 1980: *Tornionjoki- ja Kemijokilaakson asutuksen synty: nimistötieteellinen ja historiallinen tutkimus*. Studia Historica Septentrionalia 3. Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys.
- 1983: En gammal germansk invandring till västra Finland i bynamnens belysning. – *Historisk tidskrift* 3/1983: 252–279.
- 2002: Sammatin paikannimistö. – Veikko Kallio (ed.), *Sammatti, Elias Lönnrotin kotipitäjä*. Helsinki. 87–112.
- Ylikangas, Heikki 1973: *Lohjalaisten historia I*. Lohja.

## Keskiaikaisen Raaseporin linnaläänin henkilönnimikantaiset kylännimet

*Jaakko Raunamaa*

Artikkelissa käsitellään keskiaikaisen Raaseporin linnaläänin (noin nykyinen Länsi-Uudenmaa) henkilönnimikantaisia kylännimiä. Näistä on valittu ne, jotka ovat suomalaisperäisiä kyliä. Keskiajan suomalaisia henkilönnimiä on tutkittu hyvin vähän. Suurimpana syynä on lähdeaineistojen vähyys. Kylännimien avulla on myös mahdollista tutkia keskiajan suomalaisten käyttämiä henkilönnimiä.

Tutkimuksessa on selvitetty, mistä kylännimissä käytetyt henkilönnimet ovat saapuneet alueelle. Lisäksi on etsitty lähialueilta paralleleja tapauksia tutkituille kylännimille. Näin on havaittu, mistä suunnista henkilönnimiä on kulkeutunut Raaseporin linnaläänin alueelle. Tutkimuksessa on myös arvioitu tutkittujen kylien perustamisajankohtia.

Keskeisin tutkimustulos on, että Raaseporin linnaläänin suomalaisille henkilönnimipohjaisille kylännimille löytyy eniten vastineita Lounais-Suomesta ja erityisesti nykyisen Salon seudulta. Myös Pohjois-Virosta havaittiin paljon samanlaisia kylännimiä. Suomalais- ja kristillisperäiset henkilönnimet olivat Raaseporin linnaläänissä yleisimmät nimenantoryhmät. Huomattavaa on myös se, että suurin osa tutkituista kylännimistä on keskiajan loppupuolella syntyneitä. Ne edustavat siis nuorempaa nimeämistapaa kuin luontonimiin perustuvat kylännimet.

TIMO RANTAKAULIO  
University of Helsinki

## Personal name-based place names by Lake Lennus in Savitaipale

**Abstract** This article deals with person names included in the old place names, given before the Great Partition in 1830's in three cameral villages: Kauliala, Kunttula and Rantala, in Savitaipale, Lappee county, Finnish South Karelia. There are some pre-Christian anthroponyms in the area, including mythic names and person names.

The vernacular language in the area is somewhat archaic dialect between the Southeastern (Karelian) and Savonian dialects of Finnish, lacking typical Savonian features. The dialect has a distinctive representation of features typical for the eastern Baltic Finnic.

The surnames' origins focus on nicknames and Western Christian names, Orthodox first names and some German and East Slavic person names. Eastern names and nicknames are often hard to distinguish from each other, sometimes also German names and nicknames are difficult to define. Anthroponyms in the names of the inhabited places and forest lots have mostly typical Vyborg Karelian origin containing surnames or male names. Permanent agricultural plots, like fields and meadows, seldom contain a person name.

## Introduction

This paper presents a review and an analysis of old personal names in the toponymy of a few villages of different ages in Finnish South Karelia using multidisciplinary methods combined with areal linguistics.

In this article, I review the personal names in the place names of four villages near Lake Lennus in Savitaipale – Kaulio, Kunttu, Rantala and Paukkunen – and analyse them in order to ascertain the settlement history of the area. Villages past Luumäki by Lake Lennus – Mentula, Pukki(la) and Munne – are not included here.

The data is drawn from the KOTUS archives and lists all the personal names in the villages. The personal names are divided into two age groups: prehistoric names and those personal names from the start of Christianity to the Great Partition in the 1830s. The latter is when the old landowning system was remodelled by introducing the principles of the Great Partition, where widely scattered land property was concentrated inside the village borders.

The place names in the area were recorded for the first time in the 1830s for the purpose of land division in the Great Partition (Storskiftet), using the old literary Finnish. The second collection was carried out between 1969 and 1972 by a fieldworker. The author of this article collected names from the village of Kaulio in the mid-1980s. The materials from Kaulio collected between 1830 and 1840 include 233 place names, the fieldworker's collection from 1972 includes 153 names, and my own collection from the 1980s has 488 place names. The name collection of toponyms recorded by the fieldworker in the 1970s covers more than one third less than the land surveyor's collection from the 1830s and contains only one third of the names collected during more detailed fieldwork carried out in the 1980s. The fieldworker was from Lappeenranta, and since she could not write at all in the local dialect, she took her notes in standard Finnish, and in many cases made up the verb and noun inflection forms, as well as collective names of village and homestead inhabitants. In other ways, however, she put together a good collection. The usual method of toponym collecting seems to cover one third of the existing place names. Of course, the names of central places are more or less covered in this way, too.

## Background of the area in this study

### History

The area examined in this study is located in the western half of Lappee county in South Karelia, close to the old outlet from Lake Saimaa to the Kymi River known as Väliväylä or Lakanvirta. The Stone Age and Bronze Age findings in the nearest region consist mainly of numerous rock paintings.

The first identified modern settlements in Lappee county date back to the beginning of the Iron Age, 400 BCE, such as Kauskila-Karhunkylä (Tomminen 2003: 1, 11; 2006: 151–154), and the early 7<sup>th</sup> century AD in Niemenkylä, Hirvikallio and Himottula-Tainankylä in Luumäki (Tomminen 2005; 2006: 147). Signs of intensive slash-and-burn agriculture between 500 BCE and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE have been found, for example, on the southern shore of Lake Kuolimo in Savitaipale, but no traces of coeval settlement have been detected there (Lankia 2000:1).

The area on the eastern shore of Lake Lennus belongs to the western outskirts of old Lappee. Before the Great Partition, most of the areas to the northwest were uninhabited and used only for remote farming, hunting and fishing. Past the wilderness in the west lies the territory of the old Häme tribe in Valkeala parish. Swedish power in this area was established by the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, maybe even earlier, because Lappee and Ranta counties were not mentioned in the Nöteborg/Oreshek Treaty of 1323. Historical records from the 16<sup>th</sup> century show an administrative center with a lensman and chaplain located in village of Kaulio (Ylönen 1976: 124, 126–127). The early modern period and the era of the Swedish Empire were mostly difficult and devastating due to high taxation and intensive army recruiting of the young men. Russia took power in 1743, and this had a complex and significant socioeconomic influence at the local level due to a fortified state border, Saint Petersburg economics and the Russian fortress city of Davidov, built in Luumäki in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1812, the *Vyborgskaya guberniya* (Vyborg administrative division or *län*) became part of the Great Duchy of Finland.

## Dialect

### General information

The local dialects belong to the southeastern (Karelian) group of Finnish dialects, but form a separate group between the southeastern and Savonian dialects called *Lounais-Saimaan murteisto* (Southwestern Saimaa dialects) or *Lemin murre* (dialect of the Lemi parish). This dialect group covers Lemi, Taipalsaari and the central and southern part of Savitaipale parish (municipality), while northern Savitaipale and Suomenniemi speak a variety that is somewhat closer to Savonian.

The speakers themselves and their neighbours refer to themselves using the pronoun *meä*, the short form of the first-person singular pronoun (*meä : miut : miuvva : miule*), while the long form is *minä*. The pronominal form *meä* is quite rare in the Finnic languages, appearing in the dialects of the western part of Central Finland, Southern Ingria, Säämäjärvi (Seämärvi) in Olonets, and even in many Estonian dialects as *mea*. In Southwestern Finland and Central Ostrobothnia, the form contains a long monophthong and is pronounced *mää*. The pronoun *meä* is obviously related to *miä* in south Savo, and probably also to *miä* in Ingrian and the southeastern Häme dialect, as well as *mie* in Karelian.

The morphological border within the western dialects is strict, a fact that is not properly shown in the *Murrekartasto* dialect atlas compiled by Kettunen (Kettunen 1940) and numerous later publications based thereon (e.g. Wiik 2004). This error is caused by falsified data from 1926, in which central and southern Savitaipale are shown as a part of the Suomenniemi dialect (Hansson 1926), but not of the Lemi dialect to which they actually belong. Only two correct samples of the dialect can easily be found in publications, one in Kettunen's (1930: 250) textbook and the other on the KOTUS website (Savitaipale). Most dialect samples from Savitaipale in the Archive of Finnish Dialects and Toponymic Archive are written down poorly, not paying attention to phonetic features such as Karelian diphthongs and triphthongs, palatalization and the degree of sound duration, and cover best the northern part of the parish.

There are not many differences between Lemi and the Savonian dialects, but the frequency of distinct local features is high. The local southwestern variety of the Lemi dialect lacks many basic Savonian features, such as schwa, plosive gemination and diphthong reduction, for example in *kolme(t)* : *kolome* ‘three’, *tuloo* ~ *tuluo* : *tulloo* ~ *tullee* come-PRS-3SG, *poika* : *poeka* ‘boy, son’. Most Savonian dialects also do not have Karelian diphthongs in non-initial syllables, as in *hoakkoamoa* : *hakkoo-m(m)a-a* hack, beat, chop-INF3-ILL, *jeämeä* : *jiä-m(m)ä-ä* stay-INF3-ILL. There is even a local term, *ilkutus*, for the Savonian schwa. Over last few decades, both the schwa and diphthong reduction have started to appear sporadically in the Lemi dialectic area as well. The spread of this feature has taken place parallel with its loss in more northeastern areas of the Savonian dialects (Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2005: 75–77, Ikäheimonen 2012: 38–43).

Differences between the Lemi dialect group and other southeastern dialects are not many but their frequency is also high, for example the equivalents of historical \**cc* : *c* are here *tt* : *t* but in other most southeastern dialects either *ts* : *ts* (*cc* : *cc*) or *ss* : *ss*. The Lemi group lacks consonant gemination, as in *hakuo* : *hakkoo*, *kot’ii* : *kot’i’ii*. The Karelian and Savonian plural marker *loi* is missing, instead of which the southern Savitaipale dialect often uses the noun stem with a strong grade, such as *pelto* : *pelto-i-l* field-PL-ADE, *niittu* : *niittu-i-l* meadow-PL-ADE, *poika* : *poiki-i-s* boy-PL-INE. The strong grade plural stem is typical of the Luumäki, Miehikkälä, Virolahti and Säkkijärvi dialects, as well as Votic.

#### Basic features of the “Meä” dialect

Short forms of personal pronouns in the singular are typically *meä* and *seä* (/meä, seä/). The second-person plural ending has a word-final *-O -ttO*, *mäne-ttö* go.PRS-2PL, *tule-tto* come.PRS-2PL, while the plural first-person forms are mostly replaced by passive (fourth-person) forms, *myö männe-ä* we go.PRS-PASS, *myö ei tulla* we NEG.PASS come.CONNEG. The first-person plural forms with a word-final *-O*, such as *myö männe-mmö* we go-1PL, *myö e-mmö tiije* we NEG-1PL know.CONNEG, are mostly used in historical quotations, like “then great grandfather said...”. These kinds of verb forms are or were used

in western Savo, Vermland, the central part of the Karelian Isthmus, southern Ingria, Olonets and southern Veps (Kettunen 1940: 164–165; Kettunen 1920 I: 11–14, 93, 105; Kettunen 1922 II: 62; Kettunen & Siro 1935: 5; Ruoppila 1955:63).

Archaic genitive forms of the plural personal pronouns *meije(n)*, *teije(n)*, *höije(n)*, which have maintained the archaic second-syllable *-e-*, are also distinctive from most other Finnish dialects, while the neighbours say *meijän* in Savo or *meitin* in neighbouring Häme. Forms with *e* are used in Lieto, Lohja, in coastal äyrämöinen dialects on the Karelian Isthmus, in Ingrian (Kettunen 1940:79) and for example in Votic, Estonian, Ludian and Veps.

Neighbouring dialects with *mie* as the first-person singular pronoun have *A* in the second-person plural ending: *työ tule-tta*, *työ e-ttä* *tiijä* you come-2PL, you NEG-2PL know.CONNEG. These kinds of forms with *A* in the first- and second-person plural forms are used in most southeastern (Karelian) Finnish dialects, Karelian Proper, Ingrian, Votic, eastern Estonian dialects and partially in South Ostrobothnian dialect and as transitive verb endings in Southern Veps. The Häme dialects in the west and southwest from the research area use common Finnic *-tte(n)*: *tyä tulette(n)*, *tyä ette(n) tiälä / tiärä* (Kettunen 1940: 165; Kettunen 1922 II:62).

Long open vowels *oo*, *ää* have become diphthongs *oa* and *eä* (/ɔa/ and /ɛä/), with a short first component and lengthened second component. Speakers of most other dialects and Standard Finnish usually do not hear these diphthongs without special training. Suomeniemi and northern Savitaipale use *ua* and *iä*, and only in first syllable as in southern Savo.

Examples of diphthongization: *moa* /mɔa/ ‘land, soil’, *peä* /peä/ ‘head’, *aitto-a* storehouse-PART/ILL, *makoa-mo-a* lay-INF3-ILL ‘to lay down, to sleep’, *teke-me-ä* do-INF3-ILL ‘to do’, *uotto-a* wait-INF ‘to wait’, std. Finnish *odottaa*). On the other hand, *UO* in word-final syllables has often reverted to *OO*, *kirkku-o* > *kirkko-o* church-ILL, *tulu-o* > *tulo-o* come-PRS.3SG, *mäny-ö* > *mänö-ö* go-PRS.3SG, and in the municipality of Lemi *tulu-o* > *tulu-u* come-PRS.3SG, *mäny-ö* > *mäny-y* go-PRS.3SG. Often *ie* has reverted to *ee*, as in *vie-n* > *vee-n* water-GEN, *fie-t* > *ree-t* sledge-PL, but remained in *ie-s* front-INE (std. Finnish *edessä*). Moreover triphthongs are in use, for example *jok(i)* :

*juo<sup>i</sup>* ~ *juo<sup>i</sup>-n* river-GEN (std. Finnish *joki* : *joen*), *nok(i)* : *nuo<sup>i</sup>-s* soth-INE (std. Finnish *noki* : *noessa*), etc., while in some villages the triphthong has shifted to a diphthong, cf. *jok(i)* : *ju,e-s* ~ *juo-s* river-INE.

Verbs ending with historical *\*-stAk* have shifted to *-ssA\** as in most other southeastern dialects and in Karelian, for example *juos-sa* run-INF, *pes-sä* wash-INF.

Two stem verbs have the following declension: *leika-ta* cut-INF, *leikkaa-n* cut.PRS-1SG, *leikkas(i)-i-(n)* cut-PST-SG1, *leikka-i-s* cut-PST-3SG, *leikkao<sup>s</sup>-i-n* cut-PST-1SG, *leika-nno-a* cut-PTCP(-3SG), *leika-nt* cut-PTCP.

The reflexives with locative meanings are of the following type: *lasei-ja* climb.down-INF, *peräsäi-jä* retreat-INF, *lase-i-n* climb.down-(PRS/)PST-SG1, *lasei-p* climb.down-3SG, *lase-i* climb.down-PST-3SG, *e-n lasei* NEG-1SG climb.down.CONNEG, *pesei-jä* wash.oneself-INF.

The excessive is used to some extent as an active case: *pois vastuksi-nt* off state.of.being.hindrance-EXS, *pois syötävä-nt* off state.of.being.eaten-EXS.

A historical *h* appears before a possessive suffix. For example, *aitta-he-i<sup>n</sup>* storehouse-ILL-PX1SG ‘into my storehouse’, *venee-sehe-i<sup>s</sup>* boat-ILL-PX2SG ‘into your boat’, *peree-se* family-PX3 ‘his/her/their family’, *perehe-ze* (ibid.), *nokka-hee* beak-PX3 ‘its/their beak’, *kainalo-hee* arm-PX3 ‘his/her/their (under)arm’, *kainaloho-se* (ibid.), *kulkku-hu-se* throat-ILL-PX3 ‘into his/her/their throat’, *muka-ha-ze* with-ILL-PX3 ‘with him/her/them’, *mukahee* (ibid.), and sometimes in other positions as well, such as *seipäh-i-jä* pole-PL-PART, *soappah-i-ja-i<sup>n</sup>* ~ *soappa-i-ta-i<sup>n</sup>* boot-PL-PART-PX1SG ‘my boots’, and in other words, such as *ylähä-l* up-ADE, *alaha-l* down-ADE, *etähä-l* away-ADE.

Palatalization is common and sometimes even phonematically distinctive. For example *mäni-it* go-IMP *tul<sup>l</sup>-i-it* come-PST-3PL, *mäni-i-š* go-COND-3SG, *mu<sup>n</sup>-i-ja* egg-PL-PART, *potkaš-sa* kick-INF, *halaš-sē-s* split-INF-INE; distinctive *suo-l* >< *suo-l<sup>l</sup>* swamp-ADE >< gut, intestine, std. Finnish *suolla* – *suoli*, *puo-l* >< *puo-l<sup>l</sup>* side-ADE >< half, side, std. Finnish *puolella* – *puoli*), *suo-n* >< *suo-<sup>n</sup>* marsh-GEN >< vein, std. Finnish *suon*, *suoni*.

One of the basic western features is present in the dialect: the equivalent of the historical affricate *\*cc* : *c* in this case is usually *tt* : *t*, *mettä* : *metä-s* ~ *metä-s* forest : forest-INE, *it’e* : *it<sup>l</sup>i-ä-i<sup>n</sup>*

self : self-PART-PX1SG, *kattov-a* ~ *kattu-a* look-INF, roof, std. Finnish *katsoa*; *kattoa*, *ruottalainē* ‘swede; spear thistle, *Cirsium vulgare*’. Exceptions are mostly descriptive words, such as *rö(t)tsä* ‘wet snowfall’, *la(t)tsi* ‘flat place’, *poja ko(t)tsa* ‘young teenage boy’, etc.

Apocope, or the disappearance of vowels in non-stressed syllables, is quite common, as is also the case in other southeastern dialects and almost all southern Finnish dialects, for example *kot* ‘home’, *metä-s* ~ *met’ä-s* forest-INE, *koto-n* home-ESS. Combinations with a possessive suffix have the longer form, such as *metä-sse-ä* ~ *met’ä-sse-ä* forest-INE-PX3, *koto-nna-is* home-ESS-2PXSG. Even *-n* at the end of a word often disappears before plosives, for example in the first-person singular ending *meä tule koht* I come.1SG soon and genitive *tuva pöytä* living room.GEN table. On the other hand *-n* often does not disappear at the absolute end of a sequence: *tule-n*. come.PRS/FUT-1SG *tuva-n*. living.room-GEN. Even in present-day Lemi, *-n* in the end of the word can disappear in all positions, and in the investigated area, this phenomenon can be seen, for example, in the first part of compound place names *Hoaporolaht*, *Juosevuori*, *Lantakallio*, *Maikomäk*. In Luumäki, grammatically significant *-n* in the end of the word has been preserved: *mie tule-n*, *tuva-m pöytä* and also in some other cases such as *venehe-sen* boat-PX3.

In verbal conjugation, the past participle forms are special and have two variants. The local form has a third-person possessive suffix, such as *tul-no-a* come-PTCP-PX3, *käy-nne-ä* visit-PTCP-PX3. An alternative form is *tult* come-PRF, which is a common form for all southeastern dialects and Izhorian, as well as in Estonian and even occurring in the Viena dialects of Karelian Proper. In some villages in Lemi, even the first- and second-person singular suffixes are in use: *tul-na-i(ñ)* come-PTCP-PX1SG, *tul-na-is* come-PTCP-PX2SG, *käy-nnä-i(ñ)* visit-PRF-PX1SG, *käy-nnä-is* visit-PRF-PX2SG, which is the same feature as in eastern Finno-Ugric languages, for example in Mari.

In neighbouring dialects to the south and southeast, one of the variants is *tullu-nno-a* ~ *tullu-nna-a* come-PTCP-PX3, while the most common forms there are *tul-t* and *tul-lu* come-PTCP. In southern Savo, the form is sometimes *tul-na*, in the rest of Savo *tullu-nna*, and in Karelian it is *tullu-n*. The Lemi morphology with possessive suffixes is obviously the most archaic.

Some verbs have special short forms, such as *sann-a* say-INF, *sa<sup>x</sup>* say-IMP.2SG, *tu-(n)* come-PRS.1SG, *tu<sup>x</sup>* come-IMP.2SG, *mä-t* go.PRS/FUT-2SG, etc.

Possessive suffixes are almost obligatory when they occur with singular person forms, for example *miu paita-in* my shirt-PX1SG, *siu soappaha-is* your boot-PX2SG, *siu soappah-i-ssa-is* boot-PL-INE-PX2SG, or *siu soappoa-s*, *siu soappa-i-ssa-is* ibid. Only the third-person forms for plural are commonly used, for example *höije pelto-se* their field-PX3, *höi(je)n niitu-llo-a* or *niitu-lla-ze* their meadow-ADE-PX3, *höije seipähä-ze* ~ *seipeä-ze* their pole-PX3. It is the same for both the first- and second-person plural possessive suffixes and consists of an elongated vowel plus *-nA*, *rät't-i-jeä-nä* rugs(/garments of vegetable fibers)-PL-PART-PX1/2PL, *meije enoo-na* our uncle.from.the.mother's.side-PX1/2PL, *teije tull-e-ssoa-na* your come-INF-INE-PX1/2PL.

When inflected in the plural, the so called first genitive is always used, as in most eastern Finnic dialects and languages, whereas old place names show traces of the archaic second genitive (*sopesti, törösti, taksoaresti, nenästisuo, naistijoki, kaskei, koskei, vitsai...*), which nowadays is understood as a toponymic suffix. The second genitive is typical for the western Finnish dialects, partially Savo and as well for the southeastern dialects of Jääski county, located on the river Vuoksi upstream.

The question particle is usually *-(i)k(s)*, like in many other south eastern dialects and in Veps, *istu-ks meä tä-hä* sit-Q I this-ILL 'do I sit here?', *tuloo-k se tä-nä-päi-n mei-le* come.PRS/FUT-Q he this-ESS-day-ESS we-ALL, *poja-t-iks ne sano* boy-PL.NOM-Q they say.PST.

One of the polite question words here and in many southeastern dialects is *viellä-k(s)*, *viellä-ks izä-iš käy-p kala-s* 'is your father fishing?' still-Q father-PX2SG visit-PRS.3SG fish-INE, *no, viellä-ks myö männe-ä lappeerranto-a* 'so, are we going to Lappeenranta?' so still-Q we go-1PL Lappeenranta-ILL.

Both scholarly and folk classifications divide the dialects of southeast Finland into Karelian, Häme and Savo dialects. In the folk classification, the main criterion in the area examined in this study is the first-person singular pronoun *mie* or *meä*. Speakers of other southeastern dialects nearby consider the pronoun *mie* to be Karelian, while *meä* is considered to be something odd, sometimes proposed to

originate from Häme. Moreover, the diphthongisation of open vowels (*moa*, *peä*) is not considered to be Karelian, but Savonian. Speakers of *Meä* or the Lemi dialect mostly consider themselves to be Karelian, and dialects with *mie* are considered to be urban dialects, typical of Lappeenranta and earlier Vyborg. Speakers of the Häme and Savo dialects consider speakers of *Meä* to be Karelians. Speakers of the Lappee dialect sometimes call themselves *lappalaiset* ('Lapps').

Western Finnish dialects on the Kymi and the Gulf of Finland are considered to belong to the Häme dialect group due to the opening of narrow diphthongs such as *miä tiälä-n* ~ *miä tiärä-n* ('I know' std. Finnish *minä tiedä-n*), consonant gradation such as *pata* : *pala-n* or *pata* : *para-n* (Lemi dialect group: *pata* – *poa-(n)* and std. Finnish *pata* – *pada-n* cauldron : cauldron-GEN, the lack of Karelian diphthongs, palatalisation, etc. Moreover, the area of the western dialects, especially, in Valkeala, is called *Häme* and its speakers are called *hämäläis(e)t* in the north and *kymiläis(e)t* ('people of the Kymi parish or river') in the south.

## The village names

Lennus – *lennu/s* : *-kses* : *-ksel*

The first documented toponym in the Lennus area in Savitaipale is *Lennus*. The name was recorded in 1364 in the genitive form **lenuze** in a personal name **påuell lenuze** (Rosén 1926: 3–10; Rosén 1936: 99, 211). In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, there was a large cameral village called *Lennus*, consisting of 14 homesteads (*Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla. Kyläluettelot* 1973: 205). It included modern villages belonging to the Ellola land-dividing and fishing collective (*Ellolan osakaskunta*) in the municipality of Luumäki, which can be proven on the basis of the same historic and modern surnames in the area (*Suomen Hopeaveroluettelot, VII Karjala*: 127–128, *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla*: 207).

We can see the non-Finnish morphology of the form *lenuze* because the ending is *-ze* as it is seen in contemporary Estonian, Karelian and many other Finnic languages. The name *påuell lenuze* can be

understood as being in the genitive form *\*lenuze pãuell*, even lacking genitive *-n* as in many contemporary dialects. The missing *-n*, however, might simply be an orthographic model. The village name was recorded in a 1571 document already with *-ks-* as *Lemmuxby* (NA, Asiakirjapoiminnat).

Lake Lennus is located close to the old outlet of Lake Saimaa, flowing from Lappeenranta to Kouvola (into the Kymi river). The lake is long and narrow, with many of its shores consisting of upright rock walls (*vuor*). There have been meadows that were flooded at the northern end.

Descendants of the 16<sup>th</sup> century cameral village of Lennus are currently located between Lake Ala-Kivijärvi and Lake Lennus in Lumäki. Obviously, the village of Kaulio, owning the largest part of the shores of Lake Lennus, was also originally a part of the Lennus cameral village. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Kaulio was the central village in the western parts of Lappee county and the Taipale parish which also has a lensman and a chaplain priest. The village is also known for having a few pre-Christian religious objects as well as some living traditions of pre-Christian worship (Rantakaulio 2008: 271–271). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Kaulio belonged to the Taipale state manor where the stadtholder (steward) resided (Ylönen 1976: 234, 239–240). The manor was located 40 kilometres upstream to the northeast, on Lake Saimaa where the town of Taipalsaari is currently located. The modern settlement of Taipalsaari and its hill fortresses can be traced back to the Viking Age. The previous, very long history of settlement and agriculture, at least in the northern part of Taipalsaari (Laukniemi on Lake Saimaa), completely disappeared in 520 CE. It was not replaced until 800 years later in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when the first signs of farming appeared, and a permanent settlement was founded only in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Vuorela 1993: 1, 42; Vuorela 1995: 211, 213–214).

What does *Lennus* mean? The name in this precise form is unique. There are two other lakes called *Lentunen* in the Saimaa basin, in a drainage system in Southern Savo. One of these is in the uppermost part of the system and the other much lower. The lower one is long and narrow, like Lake Lennus, while the upper one is wide. In the north, in Kuhmo, there is a large lake called *Lentua*, but could its name have a common origin to those southern lake names with *Len(n/t)-*? There

is a great deal of toponyms, surnames and dialectal material in Kainuu that can be linked to the Vyborg Karelian area. In most cases, the names can be explained by migration that occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The names of the larger lakes are usually older than this.

In any case, the personal names *Lentu* and *Lenti* in Karelian onomastics are derived from *Melentii*. The Historical *Lenuiko Mikitin* from Salmi can be found in a 1500 Tax Book (Ronimus 1906: 213) as well as *Zencka Läntoief af Sidrotz Ödhe* in 1637 from Ottsalax, Kurkijoki (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta II, 1991: 424). The *nt : nn* gradation is common in Karelian and Olonets personal name derivation: *Anton – Onnu, Onna, Andrei – Onni, Ohñoi, Kondrat – Konni*, etc. Furthermore, Saulo Kepsu found the village *Mennujova ~ Menujevo na rece Ohte* from the year 1500, and it also appeared as *Mendiowa* in 1696 and *Mändua* in 1698 in Korpiselkä, Haapakangas (Kepsu, manuscript, 2010).

There are two villages, one in Lappee and one in Luumäki, called *Lensu(la)*, and the surname *Lensu* is widely used amongst speakers of southeastern dialects. There is no proof of any connection between *Lennus* and *Lensu*, but common place names between the *Lennus* area and old Lappee seem to be concentrated in the village of *Lensula* (Rantakaulio 2008: Maps, Yhdistelmäkartta). Nissilä also points out the Orthodox Karelian names *Lentu* and *Lenti*, which originate from the names *Melentii* and *Leontii* (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). These latter two could be the source of the *Lennus* and *Lentu*- lake names. In the case of *Lennus*, the name could have originally included a derivational suffix with a collective meaning, i.e. *\*people of Lentu*. However, it is a recent phenomenon for a lake as large as *Lennus* to have acquired its name as such, less than one thousand years ago. Usually it was only ponds and small lakes that could have Christian names.

The contemporary Finnic languages do not have appellatives exactly same as *\*lennus*, but the closest forms, such as *lennos*, exist in Ostrobothnian mixed dialects, where they tend to refer to something sudden, swollen or unexpected and are derived from the verb *lentää* ('to fly'). Could the motive behind its naming have been flooding? Even though the drainage basin of Lake *Lennus* is not especially large, it does include the smaller lakes Pelätty, Mielakka, Vuorinen,

Luotonen and Ulpas. Before the outlet of Lennus was trenched in the 1930s, flooding must have been more noticeable than today.

In the middle ages, *Lennus* or **lenuze** was used as a group name or a surname for people living north of Ala-Kivijärvi in the municipality of Luumäki. Why *Lennus* does not exist later as a modern surname can probably be explained by the place name *Lennustinhaudankases* ('grove on the grave of the Lennus people') from 1831, on land of the village of Hevosojä near the Kymi on the eastern side (Kepsu 1990: 251). The name was recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the western part of the municipality of Valkeala, which was populated between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries by a western tribe, the Häme tribe. There was a group of people called *Lennus*, and at least some of them obviously died and were buried there. The place name indicates a single burial of several persons, not a graveyard, thus something extraordinary probably happened there with the Lennus people.

The first record of *Lennus* (**lenuze**) dates back to 1365, when there was a dispute with one Orava-Matti from Oravala, a new settler's village of the Häme tribe on the eastern shore of the Kymi. The Swedish king stood against the old landowners and claimed to return the land to Orava-Matti (Rosén 1926: 3–10; Rosén 1936: 97–99, 211). At least part of the previous landowners descended from former Novgorod subjects. Kepsu (1990: 290) points out place names in Oravala that have a *Laukas*- element and considers them to be reminiscent of a previous landowner due to the surname *Laukas* from Luumäki, whose property is today part of a homestead called Mattila.

The Kymi occasionally acted as a border between different state formations throughout its history. On the eastern side, there is a zone of place names indicating hill fortresses, located between 20 and 30 kilometers from the river, and a similar zone of fortress names on the western side, closer to the river itself. The eastern fortress zone was used for remote farming, hunting, fishing and tar production by Ello-la, Kaulio and many other Karelian villages until the Great Partition (Storskiftet, Isojako) of farmlands in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There probably was similar land use in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Due to place name *Lennustinhaudankases*, as previously analyzed, the surname or group name *Lennus* probably disappeared as result of a local conflict. When regular taxation was implemented in the

16<sup>th</sup> century, the group name *Lennus* was soon abandoned, while co-eval surnames from Karelia and Häme (Laukas, Montonen, Villikka, etc.), first recorded in a 14<sup>th</sup> century letter, are widely used even today.

## Kaulio

*Kaulio* probably appeared in documents as one of the new surnames used instead of the old group name or surname *Lennus*. The first recorded form was **kaŭlin matti** in 1540 and after 10 years the surname was recorded simply as **kauli**, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Taipalsaari, the surname **Kaulin** appears (KOTUS toponymic archive, Asiakirjapöytäkirjat). Later on, the surname appears as *Kaulio* and *Kaulia*, while the cameral name remains as *Kauliala*. *Kauli* as a village name appears again in 1891 in Russian army maps. There still is a forest plot in Iitiä (Lemi) called *Kaulima* (with a short *a*) meaning ‘Kauli’s land’.

*Suurkaulio* (‘Great Kaulio’) a surname and a village half. Its name bearers half-owned two-thirds of the land, but had fewer homesteads. It was first noted as a surname alongside *Kaulio* in 17<sup>th</sup> century, and it became established after World War II. There was also a family by the name of *Suurkaulio* in Sortavala.

*Rantakaulio*, (‘Lakeside Kaulio’) is a surname and a village name. Its name bearers’ descendants owned one-third of the land, but had more homesteads. It was first noted as a surname alongside *Kaulio* in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and it became established after World War II. In the neighbouring villages in Luumäki, this village part is called *Mattila* or *Mattilanpuoli*.

Although quite scarce, direct information on the village’s history can be found in documents or through tradition. Local tradition reveals first that the village had “always” been there. Secondly, the crown (obviously the Swedish government, not Novgorod) once ordered a new settler into the village and gave him almost all the land, part of which was returned following a law court case, after which the border was set there, where it remains today.

Later, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the surname of the lensman of Taipale was *Kaulio*, and he possessed the northern two thirds of the lands of Kaulio. The southern third, which was the most fertile land, belonged to the chaplain priest of the parish of Taipale. Later, the lensman

resided at a manor near the Taipale church (Ylönen 1976: 124). This manor is called *Kaulio* even today. The northern part of the *Kaulio* village is called *Kaulionpuoli*, *kaulijo puol'* ('Kaulio's half') and the southern part *Mattilanpuoli*, *mattilapuol'*. Thus, if the lensman's surname was the first *Kauli* and he was a newcomer, it is obvious that the settlement had another name before his appearance, and the old name could have been *Lennus*.

Tradition tells nothing about the meaning of the surname and village name *Kaulio*. The archives do not provide much information either. T.I. Itkonen even lists *Kauli* among the list of Saami personal names Itkonen 1942: 68–69). The Saami name *Kauli* was also probably a Karelian Orthodox loan.

There are two other villages with the name *Kaulio*, both in Southwest Finland, and they are relatively young and small. Their modern settlements date from the time of the Great Partition.

One of these is located in Laitila, in the village of Suontaa / Suontaka, where *Kaulio* is a remote group of farmstead, founded at the time of the Great Partition.

The other *Kaulio* village in the southwest is located in the village of Panelia in the former municipality of Kiukainen, now Eura, and it appeared after the Great Partition in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Modern settlement in Panelia itself dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The significant old settlement in Panelia was abandoned at the end of Bronze Age due to post-glacial rebound and losing the connection to the sea, upon which the village was moved to the seashore, 15 kilometers away, in Eura.

There are some occurrences of place names based on similar models in the village of Suontaka-Kaulio in Laitila and *Kaulio* in Savitaipale (*suontaa-* : *suontoa-*; *mustsaar* : *mustsoar'*; *rurja* : *rutja-*; *kort-* : *kort-*; *kytös* : *kytös-*, etc.), and also names in *Kaulio* in Kiukainen (*Keskisuo*, *Mustsaari*, *Niitynperä*, *Suontausta*, *Takametsä*, *Takatie*, *Alassuo* and *Hiukkapelto*). These names can be characterized as frequent or general. However, most of them tend to appear only in old settlements in southern areas (especially *Suontaa-*, *Kort-* and *Kytös-*). As a whole, there does not seem to be enough evidence of any direct relationship between these names and toponyms in *Kaulio* in Savitaipale.

A factor typical for Kaulio in Savitaipale is that the old appellative *orko* ‘valley’, at least today, is missing in Suontaka Laitila; it is found nearby, but not at all in the region of Kiukainen. All three *orko* names in Kaulio in Savitaipale (*Haapaorko*, *Kiviorko*, *Syväorko*) appear to be based on naming models found in Karelia and in some amount in Western Uusimaa, near Karjaa. They are also found in the Veps territory and Estonia, but are almost non-existent combinations in Finland Proper (Rantakaulio 2008: 110, 135, 186–187), even though *orko* names also exist there. Savo is completely lacking in *orko* toponyms, but it does use the appellative *orko-* in non-toponymic expressions (MA).

The western *Kaulio* names may very well be separate from the eastern ones and refer to a *kaula* (‘neck’), a narrow place in a larger unit. Originally, both *Kaulio* names in the West represent a long, narrow meadow by a river as a generic name, and probably derive from an appellative (Laitila MHA A 49 21/24; Kiukainen MHA A 39 9/22-9/23). The same meaning of *kaula* is also known in southeastern Finland. There is a narrow place outside the village between the marshes *Suursuo* and *Ehatoksensuo* called *Suo(n)kaula*. The village itself is located on a lakeshore and there have been two floodmeadows in the village (*Kortniittu* and *Veksuo*), but strips of dry land separating them from the lake and from each other are quite wide, so they do not look very much like a neck.

In addition to the abovementioned place names, there are two villages with the element *Kauli*–*Gauli* in their names. One of these is *Kaulinranta*, located at Tornionjoki in southern Lapland. It is the only place whose documentation combines the personal names *Kauri* and *Kauli*, which both appear in records as alternatives of each other (Honkanen 2004:13). Another *Kauli*–*Gauli* name is the village of *Gaulisto* (*Гаврилово*) by Lake Ladoga in Olonets (the southern part of Russian Karelia). A third is historical, recorded in 1645 in Äyräpää county as *Kawlionniemi i Woxen* (‘Kaulionniemi by the river Vuoksi’) on the Karelian Isthmus (TUOKKO 109, 1645 jj 5:262). This occurrence of *Kaulio* as an old place name and surname in the center of the Karelian Isthmus is interesting, even if the oral tradition claims that all *Kaulio* surnames originate in Savitaipale. Most *Kauri*- names in Southeast Finland are linked with small lakes, probably as the habitat of loons

(*Gavia Arctica*). In the Southwest, they probably refer to a goth, an inhabitant of Gotland, as in the homestead name *Gaudi-Kauri* in Nauvo (NA).

There are appellatives and adjectives with *kauli(-)*, mostly recorded in Central Ostrobothnia, meaning ‘bald’, *voikauli* (referring to a big and fancy ball of butter on wedding table), etc. Central Ostrobothnia is an area of mixed dialects of western and eastern origin, and there are several traces of migration from both Western and Ladoga Karelia.

*Kauli* was probably derived from *Gavril* (the Russian form of *Gabriel*). In any case, *\*Γαβριλ > Kauli* is the most probable explanation for the *Kauli-* names in the eastern and northern Finnic areas.

### Kunttu, Kunttula

The village of *Kunttu*, or officially *Kunttula*, has two main settlements, *Kunttu* and *Hatinen*, and a group of a few farms called *Tap-pura*. The main settlement *Kunttu* is located on an isthmus between two small lakes, Pelätty and Anhua. The settlement obviously dates back to prehistoric times, as dark mullein (*Verbascum nigrum*), for example, grows on the village fields, which is considered a pretty sure sign of Viking Age settlement, particularly settlement by the Häme tribe (Hamari, Miettinen, Kepsu 1990: 41). In the toponymics there are some Häme terms, such as –töyry ‘hill’ and Tert- ‘black grouce, *Lyrurus Tetrix*’, also there are no terrain names with *orko*, etc. *Kunttu* itself as a settlement name and surname possibly does not date back to the time of the first appearance of dark mullein. An older name of the settlement could have been *Mielakka*, *Pelätty* or even something starting with *Anh-*. The other main settlement of *Kunttu*, the village of *Hatinen*, is located on the eastern shore of the lake *Mielakka* (or *Mielakanjärvi*). The village is understood to have appeared later, after a conflict between brothers and then land partition, although its name might indicate a son-if-law or a settler. The men in this recount were probably not really flesh and blood brothers. The main settlement name may have had another, prehistoric name before the land between two farmsteads *Kunttu* and *Hatinen* was divided. The surname *Kunttu* is typical of Vyborg Karelia and Ingria. There has also been a family

by the surname of *Kunttunen* in Impilahti in Ladoga Karelia, and it is possible that the founders of the homestead were migrants from Vyborg Karelia as well as the Suurkaulios in Sortavala.

There is no local tradition about the meaning of *Kunttu*. Mikkonen and Paikkala associate it with the Germanic stem *Gundo-*. Lower Saxon names were indeed very popular in Finland during the Middle Ages. In any case, there is no documented account of *Kunttu* corresponding to *Gundo-*.

On the other hand there are expressions in Savo dialects containing the element *kunttu-* on its own: *männäk kuntuun* ‘to fail’, *kuntuilla* ‘to blunder, to stumble’, and the words *kuntus*, *kunttura*, etc., which are reminiscent of the words *könttyrä*, *kanttura*, *kinttu*, *köntti*, *käntty*, etc, containing the stem *kVnt(t)-*. This stem also appears in western dialects of Karelian as the verb *kuntustoa* ‘to go around in bad clothes’ (KKSK: Suojärvi, Säämjärvi), and the nouns *kuntus* ‘clumsy fellow, slob’, *kuntti* ‘rags; ragamuffin’. Thus, the Savonian or Karelian expressions might contain the origin of *Kunttu* names. *Kunttu* is probably a medieval nickname for a clumsy man.

Hatinen – *hatiñe* : *hatizel* ~ *hat(t)sel*

The settlement of Hatinen is said to have appeared after a family conflict and consequent land partition although there is no documented account of this. In 2016, 74 persons had the surname *Hatinen*, which gives a small hint that the name probably is not very old. The adjectives in the local dialects *hatija* and *hutija* mean ‘unsteady, flimsy, tottery, invalid’. The village of *Hatinen* is sometimes called *Rämp-sänkaupunki* or *Pärekori*kaupunki, hinting at the supposedly poorly constructed buildings in the village.

The stem *hate-/hata-* is well known all over southern and central Finland. It usually means ‘splayed’ or ‘unsteady’. The appellative *hat’ri* also exists in Karelian, which, in the Suojärvi dialect, means ‘boisterous person’ and in Suistamo ‘drunkard’. None of the popular Finnish words starting with *hate-/hata-*, such as *hatikka* ‘spurrey, *Spergula arvensis*’ and *hatara* ‘flimsy, tottery’ are found in literary Finnish.

Obviously, *Hatinen* belongs to a group of similar sounding personal names: *Hatinen*, *Hätinen*, *Hattinen*, *Hati* and *Hatti*. They exist

as *Hatti* and *Hati* on one side of Häme, and as *Hatti* in Ladogan Karelia. There is also *Hattinen* by Lake Päijänne, *Hatinen* in Southern Karelia and *Hätinen* in Savo.

In the western parts of Finland, the most likely origins for the *HAt-* names are the Germanic names *Hatt*, *Hatti* and *Hate*.

On the other hand, *Hatti* and *Hätti* (*Hättilä* in Impilahti) are also Border Karelian names derived from Russian Orthodox *Fadei*, *Faddei*, *Fotii* and *Hotei*. There has also been the surname *Hatizet* in Uzmana, Viena, and thus the name is well known all over Orthodox Karelia (NA). Moreover, *Hatikka* has been a popular name in Korela and on the Karelian Isthmus (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000), presumably an equivalent of *Fadei* ~ *Fadeika*.

According to an oral account from the Kuopio region, Paavo Hätinen was born in 1600 and moved from Häme to northern Savo (Hätisen Sukuseura). Families with the surname Hatinen in Savitaipale and in western Savo are obviously of same origin. Many of the usual migration routes between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were from Savitaipale to Savo, thus Hatinen in Hirvensalmi and Pertunmaa probably come from Savitaipale and both are inflected with a syncope as *hatine* : *hatsel* (NA).

The dictionary of Finnish surnames *Sukunimet* proposes that *Hätinen* and *Hätönen* are forgotten foreign personal names (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). The origin of the *Hatinen* in Orthodox Karelia is *Faddei* (*Thaddeus*), *Hotei*, *Fotii*, etc., and *Hatinen* in Savitaipale and Savo may be of the same origin.

Tappura – *tappura* : *tappuran*

Tappura is the third settlement in Kunttula, a small village in the northernmost end of the village properties. There is no surname *\*Tappura*, but the villagers are called *tappura(n)*. The appellative *tappura* refers to either linen or a hemp rop, and is commonly used in most Finnic languages, for example in Karelian. A more local variant is the name for the wild rose (*rosa glauca*) *orja tappura* (‘slave’s rope/fiber’). The settlement name probably comes from the fiber used in clothing, rope-like hair or rose bushes on the hill. A Swedish soldier name such as *Tapper* (‘brave’) or a German name *Tappert* are less probable.

## Rantala

Rantala is a group of villages around the northern end of Lake Lennus. The villages are Simola (former Nikumäki), Puunenä, Paukkunen (officially Paukkula), Laari and two groups of farms and cottages called Nuokka and Tappura. Rantala mostly has its borders on river banks. Rantala is located in the north, northeast and east surrounded by the river Ylä-Lennusjoki and Lake Lennus to the southwest. Moreover, the village of Laari on the western bank of Lake Lennus belongs to Rantala. *Rantala* does not appear as surname nor as a commonly used group name.

## Laari

*Loari*, is a village name and a surname. The latter originates from the village of Laari. According to Mikkola and Paikkala (2000), it comes from the Russian Orthodox *Illarion*. On the other hand, the surname *Lahr* is quite popular in Germany, although its existence in the Vyborg region is unknown.

There are also other *Laari* names in Southwestern and Southern Finland that may be of another origin, such as a variant of *Laurentius*. They appear in homestead names, but in some cases, they seem to refer to a bin (*laari*), as when they were used for naming mountains with holes or fertile fields.

## Nikumäki

A former name of the village of Simola before the Great Partition between 1832 and 1843. Only the Simola farm was allowed to remain on the village site, thus the name changed to *Simola*. There is still a place called *Nikulahti* on Lake Pelätty and *Nikuniemi* and *Nikuvuori* next to it. *Niku* is a form of *Nikolaus*, *Nils* or *Nikolai*.

## Simola

The only farmstead that as allowed remain on the site of Nikumäki village as a result of the Great Partition. The village name changed from *Nikumäki* to *Simola*. *Simola* is also a surname in the village. *Simo* is the name of the family's ancestor.

Paukkunen – *paukkuñe*, *paukkuže kylä*,  
Paukkula (part of Rantala)

The surname *Paukkunen* in Savitaipale appeared for the first time in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Family tradition recounts that the family's ancestors moved to Savitaipale from Hiitola, which is located by Lake Ladoga in the ancient Korela county. There are no direct accounts of *Paukku* or *Paukkunen* in Kexholm county (Korela) before the Russo–Swedish war between 1570 and 1595, but there are so many 17<sup>th</sup> century Swedish records of *Paukku/Paukko* from the Orthodox area, that *Paukku* names must have also existed there all the time. Families using the permanent surname *Paukkunen* probably arrived in Hiitola between 1580 and 1595, when Kexholm county was conquered by Sweden. Recent family meeting of the Savitaipale Paukkunens agreed with the proposal that a plausible time of migration to Savitaipale was at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Sweden ceded Hiitola to Russia and “the Finns were free to leave the area” and “the Russians were free to stay”, but it has been proposed that practically all Lutherans moved back to the Swedish side (Immonen 1958: 110, 134). *Hiitola* is name of an old village and the Lutheran parish. The Orthodox parish name would have been *Tiurula*, and family tradition recounts Hiitola not Tiurula. The surname *Paukkunen* was common on the Swedish side, especially in the Jääski hundred (wapentake) on the Vuoksi in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000); *Paukkanen* is also a surname in Ingria (NA).

The first form of Christianity in Karelia was Russian Orthodoxy, subsequently replaced by Roman Catholicism during the Middle Ages in Vyborg county. *Paukku-* obviously comes from Old East Slavic *Pavka*, *Pavko* (oblique *Pavku*, *Pavka*), a vulgar form of *Pavel* (*Paulus*). Names with *Paukku-*, *Paukka-* can also be found in

Ingria (KOTUS Toponymic Archive; Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). Surnames with *Pauk-* also appear in Russian Karelia, for example *Paukkozet* – the Russian surname is *Vlasov* – in Viččavuara of Porajärvi and also in Suigärvi – where the Russian surname is *Pavlov*, *Pavkaizet* in Pälärvi of Munjärvi and *Pavkin* in Jänišpole of Kontupohja (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I, 1618, 327; KOTUS Toponymic Archive). In southeastern Finnish dialects, *Paukku* is even used today as a familiar form of the *Paulus*-based names *Paavo*, *Pauli* and *Paula*.

## Prehistoric personal names in the area

**Akkarumpali** – A row of stone pillars and a gorge with a cave leading into it in the mountain wall of Ukkovuori. Probably part of a Pre-Christian sanctuary. See *Ukkovuori* below.

**Akkamäki, Akkavuor**, – *akka/mäk: -meäl, akka/vuor: -vuore peäl: -vuorel* a slope with a mountain wall in the northeastern edge of the village property, one to two kilometres from the homesteads. It is located above the three small *Akkalampi* ponds in a swamp, actually remains of a former lake, facing the ancient Pelätynniemi shrines. The Place names around it are part of the oldest Finnic stratum in the area: *Syväorko, Kiviorko, Tuulenkylväjänmäki, Ehatos, Pelätty, Per-naja-*, etc. (Rantakaulio 2008: 107–109, 135–136, 160–162, 186–187, 196–198), used for naming the basic topographic structures. *Akkamäki* was probably a border for women who were not allowed to go to the Pelätynniemi sanctuaries.

**Kurkovuori** – *kurkovuor*, a slope with a mountain wall and a nameless cave. There is another hill with the same name in Paukkunen, six kilometres north of Kaulio. *Kurkovuori* in Kaulio is located east of the Rantakaulionpuoli homesteads behind the Veksuo (Vehkasuo) meadow. There is still a fertile field on the southern slope called *kurkovammeäi pelto*. Many other name variants are also in use: *kurkovuorem-mäk, kurkuvuoremmäk, kurkovammäk, kurkaammäk, kurku,ammäk, kurko,ammäki* (the informant was born in Sippola and she spoke

southeastern Häme dialect and could not pronounce Karelian diphthongs), etc.

*Kurko* is a mythic person (*kurko* : *kuron*). Nowadays, *kurko* is used in swear words, especially by elderly women who do not use standard Finnish swear words. In the Middle Ages, *kurko* meant a deceased person and *curkomesso*, as noted by Agricola (VKSK), or *kurkujuhla* referred to a funeral feast or annual wake in honour of a deceased person (Rapola 1926: 165–168). The Baltic tribes had a grain god known as *Churcho* (Setälä 1927:5).

Place names including the element *Kurko-* appear in Southwest Finland, Häme, Eastern Finland, Ingria and Russian Karelia. The personal name *Kurko(i)* occurs in Southeastern Finland, Olonets and old Korela. *Kurko* is a surname in the nearby Miehikkälä parish, and as a surname, it may have been derived from *kurki* (‘crane’, *Grus grus*): *kurki* > *kurkoi* > *kurko*, as well as the surname *Kurkaa* (*kurkoa*) in Taipalsaari and northern Savitaipale. *Kurko* is noted in connection with *Курко Ермаков* from Rautu in the year 1500 Russian tax book *Ровдужский погост*, д. Рячкала (Ronimus 1906: 132), and furthermore the village of *Kurkola* as *селище Курково*, after Swedish conquest in 1630 and also *Kurckola* in 1637 in Rautu (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I: 157, 401; Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta II: 414). In Russian Karelia, *Kurkojev* is a surname in Porajärvi and in Olonets, there is also the popular surname *Kurkoi* (Russian *Kurkojev*) in several villages of the Veškelys parish, as well as a lake called *Kurgoilambi* in Kotkadjärvi Omel’anmägi (NA).

The name *Kurkovuori* in Kaulio today lacks the genitive as a marker of ownership, with both the genitive *-n* and consonant gradation missing, and thus the motivation for naming was more likely to be something existing in the place other than an owner. A *kurko* as a mythological creature is one the possible explanations. Although existing surnames *Kurko* and *Kurkaa* in the western part of Vyborg county give a hint of temporary ownership or land usage, such as a slash-and-burn field on *Kurkovuorenmäki*.

**Mielakka, Mielakanjärvi** – *mielakka, mielakajjärvi* is a lake that is 4 kilometers long and 500 meters wide and located in Kunttula and Rantala. *Mielakka* is a personal name based on *Miel-* (‘mind; spirit’).

Toponyms starting with *Miel-* cover an area in Finland from Vakka-Suomi in Southwestern Finland to Central Häme and further almost the whole Saimaa basin with the exception of the northern part of it. There is another area of *Miel-* names in Northern Lapland, mostly in a Saami-populated area. It seems obvious that southern *Miel-* names could have been transferred from the northern half of Finland Proper to the inland (Häme) and further to the Saimaa basin. In addition, there are names with *Meel-* in Estonia, such as the village *Meelaku küla* in the municipality of Haanja, Võro county (KNAB). There is an occurrence of one *Miela* name in Homselgä, Munjärvi, in the Ludic-speaking area: *Mielaččunurmi*.

*Mielakka* names form a three-point line from Lake Saimaa to the Kymi or vice-versa. There is *Mielakansaari* in the southwestern part of Saimaa, *Mielakanjärvi* in central Savitaipale and the hill *Miela-kanmäki* in the city of Kouvola by the Kymi. All of these places are of moderate size, the island is about 1.5 x 1.5 kilomeeres, the lake 4 kilomeeres x 500 meeres and the hill is a very visible, fortress-like mountain above the Kymi, not far from Lakanvirta (Väliväylä) coming from Karelia.

The motive for giving this name is somewhat unclear. Although the genitive forms hint at a personal name. That said, there are no records of modern or historical persons by name *Mielakka* in the area or anywhere else. Although other place names with the same personal name suffix exist in the nearest area, such as *Lyytikälä*, *Miehiikkälä*, *Vainikka*, *Vainikkala*, *Juurikkala*. There are no significant characteristics clearly combining all three objects, but all of them have a sandy part or surroundings: the lake has a sandy beach at its southern end, the hill has sandy surroundings and the island has a sandpit, but there is not enough correspondence with the Saami word *miella* ‘steep, sandy river bank’. *Mielakka* was possibly a nobleman who owned resources along this 70 kilometre-long route. These places could have been seasonal settlements. It is possible that in *Mielakka*’s time, the surname system was not yet developed and he was simply a very significant person in his time. Due to the occurrence of many toponyms including the element *Miel-* in Southwestern Finland, *Mielakka* was probably one of the early Finnic speaking inhabitants in Western Karelia. Names ending with *-kka*, *-kko* are typical

for the eastern Finnic languages and dialects and they can be difficult to date exactly, but *Mielakka* is definitely a Pre-Christian personal name, thus it could hardly have appeared in the Middle Ages. The dictionary of Finnish surnames states that *Mieli*, and *Mielo-* are Proto-Finnic personal names (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000), names with *Miela-* can be added to this list.

**Laukas** – *laukas* : *laukkoa(n)* is a village name and a surname in Luumäki, found in the toponym *Laukassuo* ~ *Lauassuo* (in National Land Survey maps and in the KOTUS Name Archive misinterpreted as *\*Laudassuo*). It is a large marsh between Paukkunen and Puunenä in Rantala. Names with *Laukas-* : *-laukkaan* are often marsh names, such as *Laukassuo* in Halikko and *Hinnerjoki* in Southwest Finland, *Laukaskorpi* in Suodenniemi in Satakunta, *Laukassuo* in Valkeala, Häme and *Laukassuo* in Savitaipale, South Karelia.

The surname and village name *Laukas* in Luumäki was noted in a copy of a 1365 letter as *päuell lanekas* (< *\*lauckas*). As it was several times copied by hand, the combination *-uc-* could easily be misunderstood as *-ne-*. The form *Lauckas* still exists in 19<sup>th</sup> century cameral and parish records.

Originally *Laukas* could have been a topographic term similar to the Estonian *laugas*, which refers to a meadow or a pond. However, it did not become a surname until the early Middle Ages. *Laukas* toponyms in and of themselves form a line reaching from southwest to southeast, and they follow archeological finds and old toponyms marking a middle Iron Age trading and settling route from Finland Proper to South Karelia. Several, old Finnic toponymic models and archeological sites on that route have successfully been connected, especially by Eero Kiviniemi (1971: 58–130). However, *Laukas* names were not included in his list.

Ralf Saxén has derived *lauk-* from Scandinavian *LaukaR* and Proto-Germanic personal names ending with *-lauga*. Mikkonen and Paikkala (2000) also propose that it is derived from *laukki* (referring to a stripe on an animal's forehead). In Vampula, in Western Finland, it has been *laukas*, a whiteheaded cow. The noun *lauka*, referring to a shallow sea, has been recorded in Southwest Finland, Northern Ostrobothnia, Kymi and Koivisto and as a calm river and fodde, gathered

from flood meadows in Kemi (MA). In the Karelian language, *laukki* refers to a joke (KKSK). *Laukas* remains somewhat obscure, but the name seems quite often to be connected with marshes, ponds and floodmeadows.

**Lennus** – The lake Lennus. A hydronym and a group name or a surname, not used for the identification of people after the 16<sup>th</sup> century. See above.

**Pelätty** – In toponyms for lakes *Pelätty* (‘feared’), *Pelätynjärvi*, *Suuri Pelätty*, *Pieni Pelätty*, *Pelätynniemi*. *Pelätty* may be a prehistoric personal name or a name of a pagan shrine due to various ancient stone settings in Pelätynniemi. There are more than ten sure or possible pre-Christian sanctuaries in the nearest region, in addition to numerous rock paintings, one of which is on Lake Lennus and others a couple of kilometres away in Kalamasalmi on Lake Tuohtiainen, which is a part of the aforementioned former outlet of Lake Saimaa.

**Tuulenkylväjänmäki** – *tuulekylväjämmäk*, *tuulemmäk* (‘Wind Scattering Hill’ or ‘Windy Hill’) is the highest hill in the region. This name is unique and other names referring to a windy hill are usually concentrated in the oldest Finnic-speaking areas, especially where the languages and dialects descending from eastern Proto-Finnic are spoken. In Saami toponymastics, there are “windy mountains” where the worshipping of the wind god Bieggamolmai or Bieggal Galles has been documented (Carpelan 2003: 80). A wind god is found in most old world religions (Graves 1996: 60–61, 144–146, 383–384, 416; Haavio 1967: 130–131; Salo 1997: 142–143). Wind was very necessary in the past: it was required in the north for agriculture, navigation, metal smelting, tar production, reindeer herding, etc. *Tuulenkylväjänmäki* is densely surrounded by Finnic toponyms of the oldest type in the region: *Akkavuori*, *Ehatos*, *Kiviorko*, *Kurkovuori*, *Pernaja*, *Syväorko*, etc. (Rantakaulio 2008: 10–105, 107–109, 135–136, 140–143, 160–163, 186–187), thus it is possible that it was a place of worship as well.

**Ukkovuori** – *ukkovuor* is a long hill in Kaulio by Lake Lennus with a mountain wall and a human profile. The hill is home to a complex of

typical Saami-type places of worship. First, there are two gorges and then two cave passages – one leading to a gorge, another from the base of mountain to the hilltop, and then a human profile on the mountain wall.

The gorges are formed by rows of enormous pillars, tilted from the mountain wall. The names of the gorges are *Ukkorumpali* and *Akkarumpali*, (*ukko* means a husband, man or grandfather, *akka* means a wife, and *rumpali* means a gorge). In most other place names of this kind, *rump-* or *rom(p)-* just means a collapsed mountain wall consisting of large pillars and boulders (NA). Name pairs of a divine couple, *Ukko* and *Akka*, *Aijä* and *Akka*, *Herra* and *Rouva* etc., sometimes seem to be linked to ancient shrines. There are more *Ukko-* and *Akka-* named rocky walls by waterline in the southern Saimaa area. These names may even be translated from Saami.

*Ukkorumpali* and *Akkarumpali* are special. Even if they are located in a row in the mountain wall, only *Ukkorumpali* was used for something – the carcasses of domestic animals were thrown into the gorge. *Akkarumpali*, which is as easily reachable from above as *Ukkorumpali*, was never used for dumping, perhaps because it is reachable by carnivores via only a short cave or, alternatively, for religious reasons forgotten in modern times. Gorges have been used for sacrifices in many cultures, for example in the Saami traditional religion, where reindeer were sacrificed by being thrown into the gorge (Manker 1957: 274–277, pictures 302–305; Vorren 1987: 101).

The *Ukkovuori* wall has at least three cave-like structures. One tunnel, called *Paimenienkirkko*, *paimenii kirkko* (‘herders’ church’), leads from lakeside to the hilltop, and another, which is today nameless, leads from the lake level to *Akkarumpali*. There is also a nameless chamber high in the wall with a tall stone pillar in front of it. Earlier, all of the structures had special names. Some such caves had a special meaning and use in the old religion, and perhaps this was also the case for those in *Ukkovuori*.

Calling caves and boulder piles churches in Eastern Finland was common in the sphere of Vyborg with its big stone cathedral, built in the 1430s. Cave names with the word *kirkko* (‘church’) did not spread very far from Vyborg and practically did not go over the border as stipulated by the Treaty of Nöteborg (Oreshek), thus they must not

have been popular any later than the 15<sup>th</sup> century and probably no earlier than when the stone cathedral in Vyborg was built. However, the religious use of some caves could have been the motivation for naming them churches even earlier.

In the old county of Taipale (later, the municipalities of Taipalsaari, Savitaipale, Suomenniemi and Lemi) the only *Ukko–Akka* name pairs are found in the Lennus area and in the village of Jauhiala in Taipalsaari. The divine couple *Ukko* and *Akka* is typical of the Saami religion (Qvigstad 1926: 319; Vorren 1987: 96–99), but it probably existed in Proto-Karelian and the Karelian religion as well.

### Place names of Saami origin

There are some toponyms in the area examined for this study and its nearest surroundings that can be interpreted as Saami place names or place names translated from Saami.

*Iloluodonjärvi*, *iloluojärvi* is the uppermost lake in the Laukaslammi drainage system, *ilo-*, PS \**ēlē-* ‘upper’ (Aikio 2003: 101–102). *Jänky*, *Jängynjärvi*, PS \**jeaŋkē* ‘bog, are three lakes with marshy shores in Savitaipale, Lemi and Lappeenranta. *Kelkjärvi* << PS \**keadke-* ‘stone’ (Aikio 2003: 102) is a long, narrow lake with rocky shores. Names starting with *kukas-*, PS \**kukkē-s* ‘long’ (Aikio 2007: 175–176) include *Kukasmäki* ‘long hill’ and *Kukaslampi* ‘long lake’, a lake with a long swamp starting from its northern end. *Livo* ‘reindeer resting site’ (Aikio 2003: 104; Aikio 2007: 187). *Pastjärvi* ‘pliers, tongs’ (Finnish: *pihti*) is a long, narrow and crooked lake which has five straits (Rantakaulio 2008:245). *Naakinsaari*, *noaki(n)-soar*, ‘stalking island’, PS \**nākē-*, compare with Naakkima in Aikio’s article (Aikio 2007: 182). *Pertomaniemi* ‘stalking peninsula’ (Inalappisches Wörterbuch II: 331; Mullonen 2002: 119, 224; Rantakaulio 2008: 245). *Sonjoenoja*, *Sonjoki* ‘ripping river’ (Lehtiranta 1989: Nro 1180; Mullonen 2002: 263–264; Rantakaulio 2008: 246) is a river which flows straight through three small lakes, a part of old Saimaa outlet. The lake name *Tuohtainen* < \**tuhtaja*, ‘loon’ (*Gavia arctica*) (Rantakaulio 2008:245; Lehtiranta 1989: 136) and several others. Most of the religious names may be translated from Saami, such as

*Ukkovuori, Akkavuori, Ukkorumpali, Akkarumpali, Tuulen(kylväjän) mäki and Aittakivi* (Rantakaulio 2008: 102–107, 198–200, 271–272).

## Historical personal names until the great partition in the 1830s

There are very few medieval documents on the area. Very little is known about the area examined in this study in the beginning of the Middle Ages or even the larger region around it. Novgorod tightened its grip on Karelia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and formally converted its people to Christianity. The Swedes conquered Western Karelia at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which is traditionally considered the beginning of the Middle Ages. There was a long transition period from a pagan, illiterate prehistory to a literate and Christian Middle Ages. The municipality of Valkeala on the eastern side of the Kymi River got its first permanent settlement at the turn of the second millennium and it is almost completely lacking in place names revealing non-Christian worshipping, whereas they are numerous eastwards from it in contemporary South Karelia. Due to this observation, one can deduce that the founding of traditional Finnic sacred groves known as *hiisi* in the area between the Kymi and the Vuoksi seems to have ceased quite soon after the turn of the second millennium (Rantakaulio 2008: 334, 337, 347–348). However, some parts of pagan funeral rituals, for example, were practiced in Lappee until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Ylönen 1976: 110–112). Some other forms of pre-Christian worship, such as sacrifices under holy trees, continued here until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Rantakaulio 2008: 271–272). A letter from 1365 and the first taxation documents and court records from the 16<sup>th</sup> century show settlement continuity through the early Swedish era.

Most toponyms, including Christian personal names with no oral tradition revealing who these people were, are quite old, possibly from the Middle Ages and at least from between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Personal names in the villages

## Kaulio

**Jusniemi** – *Jusniem* is a transverse sand bank and peninsula on the eastern side of Lake Lennus that divides the lake in two parts. An account reveals that a blacksmith by the name *Jussi* lived on the peninsula. There is a field that could have been from his time, but no homestead or smithy has been found there. There are flint chips in the sandbank, which refer to tool production in the Stone Age.

**Jäkkinen** – *jäkkinē* : *jäkkizes*. A field and currently a homestead from the 1830s in Rantakaulio. It was recorded in Great partition documents as a part of Suurpellto with no special name (MHA G 57 2-4). *Jäkki* ~ *jäkkö* ~ *jäkky* is an eastern Finnish name for a species of thin grass growing in acidic soil (*Nardus stricta*). In onomastics dealing with the Orthodox Church, it is a vulgar form of *Efim* (Nissilä 1976: 52). In German onomastics there is *Jäck* as a short form from Jakob (Bach 1978: 108) and it is also a modern surname. *Jäck* could also be the origin for such non-Orthodox personal names as *Jäkkö*.

*Jäkkö* is also a small village and a surname in Lappee. It was also recorded in Kivennapa as a surname and in Jääski as a homestead name (NA). The Name Archive reveals that most characteristics of *Jäkki-*, *Jäkin-* have to do with grass.

**Kauli, Kaulia, Kauliala, Kaulio, Kaulionpuoli, Kaulionlahti** – *Kaulijo, Kaulijala, Kaulijopuol', Kaulijollaht(i)* was originally a terrain name, a nickname or a Russian Orthodox personal name; see analysis above.

**Karkianmäki** – *Karkijam/mäk* : *-meäs, -meäl*, is a hill with a rock on the top of it, surrounded by fields, standing slightly southwards from the old settlement area. *Karkia* is a local surname in Savitaipale. In the Lemi dialect, the adjective, *karkia* means ‘rough; fierce, boisterous’, which could be the origin of a nickname. *Sukunimet* explains *Karkia-ainen* as a surname in Southern Karelia and originally a nickname or a Germanic loan from *Gericke* or *Kercho* (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000).

On the other hand, *karkia* is an appellative in neighboring southeastern Häme dialects, referring to a dry, run-down piece of land in agricultural surroundings (Kepsu 1981: 290, 1990: 155). The hill itself is dry and its surroundings and southern slopes are cultivated, thus it could have almost any origin. The genitive form gives a hint about an owner by the surname *Karkia*.

**+Lantakallionmaa**, – a forgotten name, noted in a Great Partition document (MHA G57 9/1-4) that contains the local surname *Lantta* in genitive form (foreign origin, possibly *Laurentius* or a Germanic name starting with *Land-*). The appellative *lanta* (‘manure, dung’) is not known in the Lemi dialect, as the word *sonta* is used for that meaning. This area near the village border has been sold four times over the last 100 years, and thus there are very few place names left. *Lantta* has appeared as the surname of two different families in the region (first it appeared in Savitaipale and then with migrants from Savitaipale in Tuohikotti, Valkeala) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Kepsu 1990: 378).

**Matinmäki, Matinmäenonsi, Mattila, Mattilantie, Mattilanpuoli** – *mat’immäk, mat’immeä, ons, Matti-* names in Kaulio are connected with the obvious ancestor in the southern half of the village *Matti*. This “half” of the village is called *Mattila* or *Rantakaulio*. *Mattila* as the name for a village half instead of *Rantakaulio* is better known in Luumäki than in Savitaipale.

An old story recounts that the crown (state) placed a new settler in the village, and the old inhabitants lost almost all of their land (five-sixths) to him (possibly lensman Kaulio), but only after a court maintained one-third of the land, in this case *Rantakaulio*- the southern “half” of the village. This obviously happened sometime between when a letter was sent to the Swedish king in 1365 (Rosén 1926: 3–10) and the organization of the Taipale parish in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Maikomäki** – *Maiko/Mäk : -meal, -meäi peäl* contains the female personal name *Maikko* (a hypocorism for *Maria*). It was recorded as *Maikonmäki* in 1839 (MHA G 57 3). It is a rocky hill on the eastern edge of the *Rantakaulio* fields and meadows. There is no information on who *Maikko* was. *Maikko* names are found on the Karelian

Isthmus, the Lake Saimaa basin and both the sides of the Tevzino border line, except for Lake Pielinen. Their existence on the both sides of the Tevzino border in the Saimaa area implies that they were widely used in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later. They cover about the same area as *Nuuti* : *Nuuvi* names that will be discussed later. Female names are rare among old place names.

**Monolahti** – *monolaht* is a gulf on the western shore of Lake Lenus. It indicates *Monola/Montonen* family ownership or disposition by the lake, probably a fishing base. The surname and village name *Monola* in Savitaipale comes from *Montonen*, possibly the earlier *Montaneuvoinen*, which refers to a person who gives a great deal of advice. *Sukunimet* indicates several possible origins of *Mono-*: it could have come from *Mononen* < *Salomon, Filemon, Artamon, Paromon* or even *Mongs* < *Magnus* or *Montaneuvoinen* (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000; Kepsu 1990: 378–380; Vahtola 1980: 444).

**Nimismiehenpelto** – *ñimišmiehepelto* in the Suurkaulio half means ‘lensman’s field’. It dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century at least, when the lensman had his possessions there. The earliest possible time is in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the lensman system was created. The name has been forgotten in Kaulio, but is known in neighboring Simola.

**Nuuti** – *nuuti* : *nuuvis, nuuvikuja, nuuvillaht* is a homestead in Suurkaulio. The eastern declension form is *Nuuti* : *Nuuvin()*, whereas the western variant is pronounced (*K*)*nuutti* : (*K*)*nuutin*. The eastern name forms are found in the Vyborg area and its sphere of influence in Eastern Finland, and they are also found in Kainuu and form around the same pattern on the map as *Maikko* names. It is a Vyborg Karelian and Savo form of the Scandinavian name *Knut*. The Orthodox name *Pahnutii* could have been produced from this form as well, but there is no evidence of such a development. The *Nuuti* homestead in Kaulio must have appeared no later than at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**+Papinkivenraja** – A forgotten border name, mentioned in a Great Partition document (MHA G57 9/1-4), found on the border of the village halves. It dates back to at least the second half of the the 16<sup>th</sup>,

when the Taipale chaplain owned the southern half of Kaulio (Ylönen 1976: 234, 239–240).

**Pekonkangas** – *pekokaṅkas, pekokaṅkoapelto* is a pine forest and an old field. *Pekko* is an unknown person. Place names with *Pekko-*, *Pekon-* are most common on the Kymi and in the southeast, partly in Savo and Southern Kainuu, but not to the east of the Tevzino borderline. Furthermore, the personal name *Pekko* is quite popular in Olonets Karelia.

**Simonsilta** – *Simo(n)silta* is a wet location in a spruce forest. A proverb was probably the motivation behind it: “*Simo* siltoja teköö, Martti maita vahvisteloo” (‘*Simo* builds bridges, Martti strengthens the soil’). Both name days are in late autumn when frost starts to allow travellers to go on wet soil. The dates work better on the Julian calendar, thus *Simonsilta* is probably dated to before 1753 or the Gregorian calendar in Finland (Sweden).

**+Suorsanvuori** – This was the name of Ukkovuori in Great Partition documents between 1832 and 1840 (MHA G 57 9/3-4). The appellative *suorsa* is the western form of *sorsa* ‘duck’, which was not known in the area. It was probably a dialectal form used by the scribes. The hill is near a pond called *Sorsanastuanropakko* (see below).

**Sorsanastuanropakko** – *sorsa, astu, ar ropakko* is a pond where wooden harrows were soaked in order to retighten them. Who exactly the man by the surname *Sorsa* was is not known. The earliest appearance of *Sorsa* as a surname was in the old village of Enäjärvi in Sippola (now Kouvola). Later on, the village of Sorsa was founded in eastern Valkeala (Kepsu 1990: 371–373). The pond is not far from Ukkovuori, which was called **+Suorsanvuori** in the Great Partition documents.

**Tanelin Matin ropakko** – *tanelimmatirropakko* is a pond name containing two male names, obviously a father and son: *Taneli* and *Matti*. There is no account on who they were and what time period they were from.

+**Tiiterinpelto** – This is a forgotten field name, recorded in the Great Partition document in Suurkaulio (MHA G 57 9/1-2). It was obviously derived from the Germanic name *Dieter*. There have only been a few names with *Tiiter-* in Finland: in Haukipudas *Tiiterinkangas* and a meadow called *Tiiteri*, a dry forest in Hirvensalmi called *Tiiterinmätäs*, a rivulet in Pyhäjärvi, Viipuri called *Tiiteroja* and a field in Orivesi known as *Tiiterikki* or *Tiiterikinvainio* and *Tiiterikinmäki*. As a noun, *tiiter(i)* has several meanings: it can refer to a garment that is too small, in the word *tiiterissä* it is ‘drunkenness’ (std. Finnish *tuiterissa*), it can refer to a boisterous dance, etc. The aforementioned meanings, however, are not probable naming motives. Ganander: *tiiterä v. näyherä, hassu / tijtterä mjes* i.a. *sukkela* slug. förslagen (Ganander 1787).

+**Tonterinpelto** – A forgotten field name, recorded in the Great Partition document in Suurkaulio (MHA G 57 9/1-2). *Tonteri* is a surname and a village name in the Vyborg region, first noted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Jääski. It probably comes from the Germanic *Donder* ‘thunder’ (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000).

**Tourankorpi, Tourakorvenmäki** – *tourakorpi*, *tourakorvenmäk* are the names of a lowland forest, fields and a hill near the village center. *Toura* is a local surname from the village of Niinimäki. The surname *Topra* in Lappee (and earlier on the Karelian Isthmus as well) is of the same origin. These surnames are old, at least medieval, for example *p toprajnen* in Kivennapa in 1552, *Anders Topra* in 1602 and *Oluff Topra* in 1646 in Lappee (Nissilä 1975: 208) and *Dobroinen* in Asila in the Orthodox parish of Tiurala (Immonen 1958: 53). The same distribution on Karelian Isthmus and the county of Western Lappee concerns, for example, the surnames *Myyrä* and *Mykrä*. *Topra* comes from personal names of Russian origin starting with *dobr-* (‘good, solid’). The Russian names probably originate in medieval Korela (Käkisalmi), which obviously was a city with a Russian majority or upper class (Kočkurkina 2004: 163–165; Rantakaulio 2008: 281). A local nonsensical poem in Savitaipale (“Karhu haukkais *Touran* kauraa, purais naurista kourastoa...”) shows not to pronounce *pr* and *kr* in the middle of a word, and it is no coincidence that it uses *Toura* as the

first example of correct pronunciation. *Topra* and *Toura* place names form a typical line on a 16<sup>th</sup> century migration route from Vyborg Karelia to Päijänne, thus the surname *Toura* must have also been in use at least at the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The Russian loan word *topra* is well known in dialects of Southern and Central Finland where it means ‘good, solid, capable’. It has approximately the same meaning in Russian. The word is medieval in the East, but in the West it appeared sometime after the sound change, eliminating *pr*, *kr* and other word-median combinations, probably only after the Russian conquest in 1809.

In Western and Central Finland, the surname and place name *Touru-* can be found. The dictionary *Sukunimet* combines *Toura* with *Touru* in Satakunta and Häme and *Tourunen* in Central Finland and states that the name was derived from the Scandinavian *Thor*, the name of the thunder god (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000).

Kunttu(la)

**Kunttu** – This is the main settlement. *Kunttu* is probably a medieval nickname or a Germanic loan name, as described earlier.

**Hatinen** – This is the secondary settlement of Kunttu. *Hatinen* is probably a nickname-based surname or a surname based on a vulgar form of the Russian Orthodox *Fadei*.

**Huuhilonmäki** – a hill in the center of the village of Hatinen. *Huuhilo* is a local surname. There is even a small village called *Huuhilo* in the Karelian part of Mäntyharju and a small village called *Huuhilo* in Kuhmo. Obviously, people by the name of *Huuhilo* used the hill before the Hatinen homestead was settled and the village was established in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. There is a local story about a *Huuhilo* farmowner who was very rich and proud, but then suffered a huge loss after having insulted God. In Finnish dialects, there are some words, such as *huuhelo* ‘dizzy, confused’, *huuheltaa* ‘hustle, bustle’ (MA), which indicate the hypocoristic origin of *Huuhilo*.

On the basis of the similar geographical distribution of place names, *Huuhilo* can also belong to the same group of surnames as

*Huuhko* and *Huusko(nen)*. The dictionary *Sukunimet* does not note the name *Huuhilo* at all, but presents *Huuska*, *Huusko* and *Huuskonen* together and points out that their oldest recording is from medieval Häme, then found on the 17<sup>th</sup> century Karelian Isthmus (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000). *Huuhilo* is originally a nickname.

**Kuitikansuo** – *Kuitikka* is a local surname and a group of farms near Kunttu. Obviously those with the surname *Kuitikka* used this swamp for haymaking and growing crops. Probably most of the *Kuitti* personal names are nicknames referring to a weak and tired person as described in the dictionary of Finnish dialects (SMS). The dictionary *Sukunimet* proposes that *Kuitti* was originally a Swedish nickname (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000).

**Kurjenkangas** – *kurekangas*. This is a dry pine forest between the villages of Hatinen and *Kurki*. *Kurki* is both a local and a common Finnish Karelian surname. A local family by the name of *Kurki* was divided into two parts, *Kurki* and *Savikurki*, each having their own village. The surname *Kurki* itself is very old. One of the very few ethnic Finnish noble families in medieval Sweden was *Kurki*. There is no information on whether or not all the different *Kurki* families in Finland shared a common ancestry. The surname was probably adopted in several places independently.

**Kurjenvivunsuo** – *Kurevvivusuo* is a long swamp where the Kurki family probably kept a lever trap.

**Lantansuo** – *lanta suo* is a swamp which leads to village of Lantta, and was obviously used by the Lantta people. *Lantta* is an old local form of *Laurentius*, first recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Lapatonaho** – This is a forest where men from the village of *Lapatto* had a field for their slash-and-burn practices. *Lapatto* is a local surname and a small village nearby. *Lapatonaho* dates back to the former landowning system before the Great Partition in the 1830s, after which cultivation in forest, belonging to other village, was abandoned. The dictionary *Sukunimet* does not mention *Lapatto*. The village of

*Lapatto* consists of two old homesteads on a gentle, stony hilltop as well as some newer farms on exceptionally large meadows around it.

The Karelian and Savonian nouns *lapat-* and *lapatto* or *lapakko* refer to the following: a detail of a windmill and eastern type of handmill, a board fixing the upper end of the wrinding stick or pole, a gable gallery in a storehouse or a distaff on a spinning wheel. The verb *lapattoa* refers to running with might and main, and *lapatos* in the nearest Häme dialect in Valkeala refers to unfinished work (MA). There could be some nickname material for a man or family living above their stony fields.

Another possible explanation is the Russian pre-Christian personal name *Lopata* (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I, 1539, 47; Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta III, 1582, 180). Saulo Kepsu notes the village of *Lopattala* from Lempaala on the Karelian Isthmus as *Lopatata* by in 1639, *Lopatozfina öde* 1640, *Lappatala* 1641, and another village *Lopatino Ödhe* in 1634, as well as the meadows *Lopattinanniityt* in Vanhamylly in Markkova, East Ingria (Kepsu, manuscript 2010; NA: Ingria). The surnames *Lopatin* and *Lopakov* are quite common in Western Russia. *Lopakov* is also a surname used by the Tver Karelians, and even *Lopato* and *Lapatov* are surnames in Western Russia and Belarus. The Origin of *Lapatto* remains somewhat unclear, or it is a nickname of a busy man or a personal name of East Slavic origin.

**Matinlahti** - ('Matti's bay') There is no information who Matti was.

**Mokinmetsä** – a piece of forest in Hatinen. There is no information who *Mokki* was. There are no other *Mokki-*, *Mokin-* place names in the area, nor is there any such surname. In dialects, nouns and adjectives with *mokki* mean 'blob, clump; mope, uncommunicative' (MA).

*Mokki* names are concentrated in easternmost Finland. Either *Mokki* comes from the Russian Orthodox *Mokei*, *Makovei* (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000) or it is a nickname.

**Ruiponaho** – This is a forest where people from the village of *Ruippo* had a field for their slash-and-burn practices. *Ruippo* is a local surname and a small village nearby. *Ruiponaho* dates back to the former landowning system before the Great Partition in the 1830s. *Ruippo* could be a nickname for a lean and scraggy man, only there is no

such example recorded. In Finnish dialects, nominal stem *ruip-* means ‘skinny, long-legged’. The verbal stem *ruip-* usually means ‘to go around with (naked) thin legs (and freeze)’ (MA). The noun *ruippo* exists only in Central Finland and refers to a cold summer soup made of buckwheat flour and sour milk (MA). The area has the local word *ruippakinttu* meaning ‘lean and scraggy’. Ganander mentions: *roipakka* lång, rakwäxt. *roipakka puu* (Ganander 1787). The stem *rUip-* does not exist in Karelian (KKS).

The dictionary *Sukunimet* proposes that the name *Ruippo* comes from the Russian Orthodox *Trufon – Trifon*. The surname *Ruippo* has been used in Southern Karelia and Eastern Savo, as well as in Hiitola, Räisälä and Käkisalmi, before World War II (Mikkonen, Paikkala 2000). Similar names with the form *Ruippa* are also found in Russian Karelia and Ingria: *Ruipin* in Selgi (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I, 1597; 192), *Ruipansuo* in Palolambi, the Ludiac territory of Olonets (NA), and *Gordei Ruippa* in 1657 in Pohji, Ingria (Kepsu, manuscript, 2010). *Ruippo* has a similar distribution in Vyborg Karelia as the surnames *Topra-Toura* and *Mykrä-Myyrä*, etc. *Ruippo* as a personal name probably comes from *Trufon* and *Trifon*.

**Rönä-Pekon ruukki** – a place in a lowland forest where man called *Rönä-Pekko* had a temporary field, called *ruukki*. There is no information about *Rönä-Pekko*. The word *rönä* itself refers to a scrubby estuary or wet lowland where the meadows and temporary fields were cleared. *Pekko* is an eastern Finnic form of *Pekka*, popular in Vyborg Karelian place names and in Olonets.

**Simonkivi** – a large boulder in a field in the village of Tappura where *Simo Kunttu*, a Riksdag man (member of the Swedish Parliament), had his homestead in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. *Simo* is a common Finnish form of *Simeon*.

**Yrjönlähde** – a spring near the homesteads in Kunttu. *Yrjö* is unknown. *Yrjö* is a common Finnish form of *Gregorius*.

## Rantala

**Jaska** – *jaska, jaška*, a lake shore in Mielakka owned by someone called *Jaska* (< *Jaakko* < *Jakob*), exactly who this man was and when he lived is unknown.

**Juosevuori** – a mountain wall with the male name *Juose* (Joseph). There is no information available about the man. Probably some kind of accident happened to him there.

**Juurikasluha** – a floodmeadow by Lake Lennus with an ambiguous modifier. *Juurikas* is a local surname from the nearby village of *Juurikas* in Luumäki, but it also refers to the roots of trees and bushes, and in Suursaari it was an old patriarch or matron in the house (MA). *Juurikas* appears to be also an Estonian surname, which mostly are young and date at the earliest from the Tax Revision in 1835. The same kind of name structure is also found in Laukasmäki and Laukassuo, which also refers to the local surname *Laukas* and a possible landscape term. The dictionary *Sukunimet* does not have an entry for the surname *Juurikas*, but according to it, a close form *Juurikka* was recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Vyborg parish (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). Thus far there is no information about *Juurikas* being a vulgar form of a Christian personal name.

**Kilvenpelto** – a field that belonged to a person called *Kilpi*. When this was and exactly who it was is unclear. *Kilpi* is a local surname from the villages of Lyytikälä and Kaihtula. However, there is no village called *Kilpi* in the area. *Sukunimet* concurs with Viljo Nissilä's theory and proposes that those with the surname *Kilpi*, as well as *Kilpiä*, *Kilpiö* and *Kilpiäinen* were shieldmakers. Ancient German names like *Chilpericus* (Bach 1978: 60) have a suspiciously long time gap to be the origin of the *Kilpi* names. In Western Finland, *Kilpi* is often a surname that was adopted at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000).

In the western Finnish dialects, the noun *kilpi* refers to a yellow water lily and other shield- or leaf-like items. It sometimes also refers to perseverance or anger. In Satakunta and Southwest Finland,

the verb *kilpistyä* means ‘to ricochet; to get very sour, to get flat (of flavour); to get angry, to harden; to freshen up’ (MA). In Karelian, mostly Olonetsian dialects, *kilpistyö* means very much the same: ‘to slip, to get very sour; to harden, to warp’ (KKSK). At this point, there is no direct evidence showing the origin of the surname *Kilpi*, and the most probable version seems to be a shieldmaker.

**Käiväräinen** – an area by the river Kosenjoki consisting of fields, meadows and forest below the village of Puunenä. A family with the surname *Käiväräinen* obviously had its homestead there. *Käiväräinen* is a local surname, but there is no village with this name. The appellative *käivärä(inen)* means ‘bent, crooked’ and is used in Häme and Southern Ostrobothnia. *Käiväräinen* has been documented as a surname between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries on the Karelian Isthmus and in Southern Savo (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000) and also in Savitaipale in 1552 (Tani & Käyhty 1994: 40). *Käiväräinen* was a nickname and later became a surname.

**Laari** – *laari* is a village to the northwest of Lake Lennus. *Laari* is a local surname and has more than 500 persons bearing it, whereas most other local surnames are used by 50 to 250 persons. According to *Sukunimet*, *Laari* is a Karelian surname from the Russian Orthodox *Ilarion* and originates from the village of *Laari* in Savitaipale (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000).

**Maisavuori** – a mountain wall near the Mennu homesteads with a female name (< *Maria*) as a modifier. No information about who *Maisa* was and when and where she was from, but she was probably involved in a fatal accident at the mountain wall.

**Nikumäki** – a village in Simola before the Great Partition in the 1830s. There is a *Nikulahti* at Lake Pelätty below the village and *Nikuniemi* and *Nikuniemenvuori* beside it. *Niku* is a vulgar form of the Christian names *Nils*, *Nikolaus*. There are numerous place names in Southwest Finland, Uusimaa, Keski-Pohjanmaa that include *Niku*. Fewer exist in Vyborg Karelia, and some are in Central Savo. There are very few

of such names on the eastern side of the Tevzino borderline in Savo. These names starting with *Niku* are probably from the Middle Ages.

**Nuokka** – a small village near Simola in the forest. It is also a former surname. *Nuokka* was one of the homesteads removed from Nikumäki in the Great Partition in the 1830s. In southeastern (Karelian) Finnish dialects, *nuokka* refers to a bird's beak. The word *ñuokka* (and *ñokka*) in Olonetsian (KKSK) means the same. In western Finnish dialects, the stem *nuokk-* usually means 'to droop, to nod' (MA), not 'beak'. In both languages, the shorter form *nokka* – *ñokka* usually appears in sayings (MA; KKSK). Obviously, *Nuokka* was a nickname for a man with a big nose or an angry temperament.

**Pekinoja** – This is a ditch flowing into Lake Lennus. In Finland, *Pekki* has ambiguous meanings: in the south in Uusimaa, beside the Swedish speaking territory, *pekki* is a loan word from the Swedish *bäck* 'stream, ditch', but it is a variety of *Pekka/Pekko* in inland regions. There have been no direct contacts with the Swedish-speaking population in Southern Karelia, with the exception of state and Church officials, thus *Pekinoja* may be linked to a man by his first name or the surname *Pekki*.

**Puunenä** – *Puunenä* is a surname and the name of a small village on a high hill surrounded by lakes and rivers. The name is unique. The noun *nenä* is not used for naming landscape objects in South Karelia as it is in Häme; the local form would be *nenäs*. Perhaps a *puunenä* was originally a mask, like a *nahkanenä*, used by horsemen during the winter to prevent their noses from freezing. In a local parable, *puunenä* is understood as something loose and not influential in a family or business, like a widow's new husband in an extended family (MA). *Sukunimet* does not have an entry for *Puunenä*. *Puunenä* is a nickname-based surname.

**Simola** – This is the modern name of the old village of Nikumäki after the Great Partition. The only homestead that was allowed to remain in the old village was *Simola*. It is also a local surname and comes from *Simo+la* (*Simo* + *-la* = dwelling place suffix).

**Sopero** – consists of two neighbouring, related homesteads in Simola. The old homestead *Sopero* was moved from its original place in the Great Partition. *Sopero* was also a short-lived surname in Savitaipale. In the eastern dialects, *sopero* can refer to several different things: a messy person, sediment or grounds, an embarrassing matter, or a person with slurred speech. In the western dialects, *sopero* is most often a slurring person, and in the southwest it also refers to a mess (MA). In Olonets, the verb *soperdua* is used to describe someone who walks or talks quickly (KKSK). The possible Christian personal name might be the Russian Orthodox *Sofron*.

**Viirunsaarenoja** – This is a ditch leading from the highland to Ylä-Lennusjoki. *Viiru* is a local surname and a small village in belonging to the large village of Virmajärvi. There is also a small village in Suomenniemi (now Mikkelä) by the name of *Viiru*, which is related to the larger *Viiru* in Savitaipale. There are also some place names in Suojärvi in Ladoga Karelia and in Tunguda Russian Karelia with the element *Viiru*. There is also a village in the Ludiac territory of Olonets called *Viiru* (NA). The *Viiru* family in Rantala probably used the hill by the river for making tar and practicing slash-and-burn farming. The appellative *viiru* means ‘streak’ and is often used in the expression *viirusilmä* which refers to narrow eyes or eyes with an epichanthic fold (MA). In Olonets, *viiru* means ‘streak’ and ‘ornament’ (KKSK). *Viiru* was a nickname before it became a surname. The surname *Viiru* was first recorded in Uusikirkko as *p viiru 1544* (Mikkola & Paikkala, 2000). The naming motifs of all the villages and places by the name *Viiru* are probably connected to each other or even related.

**Uupuneensaari** – *uupuñeesoar’* (‘island of the exhausted’) is an island in a floodmeadow between the lakes Pelätty and Vuorinen. The name is based on the story about the division of the village of Kunttu into two: Kunttu and Hatinen. There were two brothers, and one chased the other. The brother who was being chased collapsed on the island, where he then was killed by the chaser.

Paukkunen, Paukkusen kylä, Paukkula –  
*paukku/ñe* : *-sel*, *paukkuže kylä* : *kyläs*

**Kuupas** – *kuuppoakaŋkas*. A flat, sandy highland forest with a sandy mound on one side. Names with *Kuupas* are obscure. Basically, *kuupas* seems to be an appellative referring to a round mound. Mostly it belongs to a local naming model with *-VVppVVn-*, like *Kääppään-*, *Ryöppään-*, *Helppään-*, *Kuppaan-*, *Kuuppaan-*.

Some genitive forms in toponyms hint that it could have also been a personal name. The most curious case is the name *Kuuppaanjo-ki*, a river in Luumäki on a wide meadow between the villages of Viuhkola and Mölä (Joentaus). *Kuupas* as a possible person name can be compared to the Russian, pre-Christian personal name *Kubas* (*Кубас*), documented in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for example as *Кубас Мерлин* in 1551 in the town of Kashin in Tver county, *Кубас Константинович Мижурев* in 1565, *Захарий Карпович Кубасов* in 1578 (Veselovskii 1974), etc. *Sukunimet* notes the Karelian surname *Kuupro*, a homonym with a Russian loanword meaning ‘pile of hay’ or ‘crowd’ (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000).

The appellative *kuupas* probably belongs to an enormous group of hill appellatives with *(U)p(p)(As)-*, such as *tuypäs*, *tuyppä*, *tuyppö*, *kääpäs* and *ryöpäs* and furthermore *ypykkä*, *ypäle*, *yppylä*, *yppäle*, *nyppylä*, *nurpu* etc. It also exists in other Finno-Ugric languages, such as the Komi *ыб* ‘hill’.

**Loikonen** – *loikoñe* : *loikožis*, officially *Loikola*, is a separate group of farms under a rocky hill with mountain walls, called *loikoživvuor* ~ *loikošivvuor*. Modern *Loikonen* is quite a new settlement, probably from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but has existed as a place name earlier. The sites where houses have been built on the hill slope have changed throughout the ages. There is no information on when the person with the stem *Loik-* in his name would have had his slash-and-burn field there. There is also the name *Loikahonmäki* - *loikahommäk*, which comes from either the surname *Loikoinen*, *Loikas*, *Loikkanen* or *\*Loiko*. Nissilä (1975: 145) proposed names with *Loik-* to be nicknames for a loping person. A possible origin is also *Loiko* (< *Loi*) – *Лойко* < *Лой*, which is an old east Slavic surname, obviously

originating from Ukraine and Belorus, and could produce the forms *Loiko(i)nen* and *Loikola* even better than the other proposed originals. Still one, less probable explanation for the name is the adjective *loikko* ‘gentle (slope)’, known in Päijät-Häme (MA). Surnames starting with *Loik-* originate from Vyborg Karelia (Kepsu 1981: 284). Karelian has the verbal stem *loiko-*: *loikoa*, *loikottua* meaning ‘to speak, to laugh, to cry (loudly)’ (KKSK). In Finnish, *loikoa* means ‘to recline’ and *loikkia* ‘to lope’ (MA). *Loiko(i)nen* has been noted in 1554 in Muolaa as *Iuvan Lojkojnen* (‘Ivan Loikoinen’) and 1641 in Parikkala as *Eskill Loikoinen* ~ *Läikainen* and as *Läikas* in 1648. It is remarkable that *loikoñe* inflects as *loikoži(n)*: *loikožis* and the village name inflects another way *paukkuñe*: *paukkuže(n)*: *paukkužel*, which indicates the different ages of the two settlement names, *Loikonen* probably is an older place name than *Paukkunen*.

**Mankinnotko** – *mankinnotko*: *-notkos*. Mankinnotko is a lowland forest and a field that was used by someone named *Mankki*. *Mankki* is a local surname in Savitaipale and Valkeala, where a small village of *Mankki* stands by the river Väliväylä. *Mankki* place names form a typical migration line from the Savitaipale region through Western Savo to Central Ostrobothnia. A few more *Mankki* place names can be found in Central Uusimaa (MA). It is quite obvious that the *Mankki* families in Eastern Finland and even in Ostrobothnia were related to each other.

In Finnish dialects, *Mankki* has many meanings. In the east it means ‘baby, toddler; adolescent; woodlouse (*Isopoda*)’ and in the west ‘belly; vat; fat person; hut; podium, sofa’, etc (MA). *Sukunimet* proposes that *Mankki* comes from the Germanic names *Mancke*, *Mango*, etc. or from the Swedish *Magnus* (Mikkonen Paikkala 2000). On the other hand, Kepsu’s manuscript notes a 17<sup>th</sup> century village by the names *Mankila*, *Mankela*, *Mankala*, *Mankijla*, etc. in Korpikylä Toksova, Northern Ingria, a man by the name of *Olli Mancki* from the neighboring Markova Gora and also persons with the name *Manko* from 1500 in Venjoki and Korela. *Mankov* as a second given name has been recorded in Kuivasi, Järvisaari, Käkisalmi county and Olonets as well in the Novgorod region. There was even *Conraska Mangin*

in Vallittula, Spaski in 1620. Kepsu (2010) proposes that the origin is from a vulgar personal name *Manka*, *Manko* < *Manuil*.

**Rusavuori** – *ruzavuoř*. Written on the modern topographic map as *Rusanvuori*. A hill with a mountain wall at the northeastern edge of the village. According to *Sukunimet*, Rusa comes from *Ambrosius* and some its earliest records are from Jääski (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). It is a base for surnames, such as *Rusanen*. In *Karttapaikka*, place names with *Rusa-* form a migration route from South Karelia straight through Savo to Southern Kainuu. In the local *Meä* dialect, *ruza* ~ *rusa* refers to the broken short straw left after threshing (not chaff, not straw). Probably an accident happened at the mountain wall to a person named *Rusa* (Ambrosius).

**Soikka, Soikanranta** – *soikka, soikarranta*. *Soikka* is a local surname, but there is no nearby village bearing this name. *Soikka* or *Soikanranta* is a common boat shore in the village. *Soikka* was probably the inhabitant of the village before its obvious depopulation and the appearance of the Paukkunen family, probably in the 1590s. Names of the earlier peasants in the village have not been found in archives. Place names with *Soikka-* or *Soikan-* in *Karttapaikka* show typical expansion routes, first moving from the Karelian Isthmus and Vyborg region to Savo and Central Ostrobothnia, then to Northern Satakunta in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and finally settling with refugees in Western Finland after World War II.

Nissilä (1976: 130) connects *Soikka* to the Russian Orthodox personal names *Sysoi* and *Sysoiko*. There are also homonyms of the name: for instance, the Russian bird name *coïka* (*soika*) ‘jay’ (*Garulus glandarius*) may, in some cases, be a possible source for the name, an idea that is supported by the fact that its Karelian and Finnish equivalent *Närhi* is a surname in Savo and also occurs in Karelia. In Finnish dialects, *soikka* means ‘slim; leggy; unpredictable’. The verbs *soikkia*, *soikkailla* mean ‘to flip, to whip, to wag’ (MA). In Olonetsian, both *soikka* and *soikko* refer to the same object: an oval tub. The verb *šojjata* means ‘to twang, to bang, to do something unpredictably’ (KKSK).

The surname *Soikka* has been documented on the both sides of the Nöteborg (Orešek) Treaty border before the Swedish conquest of Käkisalmi, Karelia (Korela), for example burgher *paul soike* in 1437 in Vyborg and *Sysoiko Vaskov* in 1500 in Sakkola (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000). The manuscript by Saulo Kepsu (2010) notes several place and personal names from 17<sup>th</sup> century Swedish tax books from Ingria (Kepsu 2010).

**Mennunkorpi** – a lowland forest, once owned by the *Mennu* farm. *Mennu* obviously originates from the name of the village *Mentula*, which lies on an isthmus between Lake Lennus and Lake Kaajärvi, also known as *koajärvi*. *Mentula* was noted as a homestead with other modern villages in 16<sup>th</sup> century records. There is no information about the meaning of the village name nor the surname. There is a word *mentu* meaning ‘dust; sediment; ductile metal’ known in Päijät-Häme, Kainuu and Viena, however not in the southeastern (Karelian) Finnish dialects (MA; KKSK). According to local tradition in Luumäki and Savitaipale, *Mentula* and *Mäntylä* are the same, but there is no documented evidence of this.

The first records of the surname *Mentu/o-* are from Vyborg Karelia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and Käkisalmi county from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000). *Mentu-* may very well be a vulgar form of a Christian personal name, for example *Melentios*, *Klementios*, *Melentii*, *Klementii*, but there is no written evidence on this, that is no historical records or notes from 20<sup>th</sup> century archives of the vulgar nature of these personal names. The manuscript by Kepsu (2010) notes a few *Mennu-/Mentu-* names from the Karelian Isthmus and Northern Ingria, including the village names *Mennujova* ~ *Menujevo na rece Ohte* in 1500, *Mendiowa* in 1696 and *Mändua* in 1698 in Korpiselkä, Haapakangas.

Karelian onomastics shows the personal names *Mento* and *Möntö* derived from *Mitrofan* and the surnames *Möntti*, *Mönttine*, *Mönttöne* in former border Karelia (NA) and *Mentijev* in Tunguda (Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I, 1597, 211).

**Paukkunen** – *paukkuine* : *paukkužel~paukkuzel*. This is a village name and surname originating from the Karelian Isthmus, around the year 1600 (see analysis above).

## Conclusions

The personal names in the area examined in this study show continuity in land usage and settlement history from pre-Christian times.

A couple of mythical and pagan place names are also included, and they represent both a Saami and Finnic type of religion, such as the divine ancestor couple *Ukko* and *Akka*, or a possible Finnic deity *Kurko*. A few mythic names are somewhat obscure, such as *Tuulenkylvääjä* and *Pelätty*. Saami toponyms in the region are more likely to be topographic names, not personal names.

Some of the oldest Finnic names in the area examined in this study have equivalents in the Olonets and Ludiac-speaking areas.

Some modern surnames from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, such as *Laukas*, might even be a couple of hundreds of years older. First, Christian names were found among modern surnames, and they are mostly of Russian Orthodox origin. Many of them were commonly used on the Karelian Isthmus as well, for example *Mono-*, *Ruippo*, *Mentu-*, *Soikka*, *Laari*, *Kauli*, etc. Among the local surnames of possible Orthodox origin, *Laari* (*loari*) at least most probably originated in the area and perhaps also *Kauli*. The village of Monola (> *Monolahti*) stands on good soil and may be very old as well. Possible unique or sporadic Orthodox names such as *Jäkkö* and *Jäkki* (Jefim) and *Mokki* (Mokei, Makovei) also exist.

Some archaeological or palaeoecological research would help to determine the age of the settlements. In the nearby Luumäki parish, the oldest, explored central villages date back to Merovingian time and have some pre-Christian Finnic personal names in their toponyms as well as some Russian Orthodox personal names, which may have been given there during the Novgorod or old Karelia era.

Some of the old surnames are of common Russian origin such as *Toura* (*Dobra*, *Dobrynya*), and possibly also *Lapatto* (*Lopata*, *Lapator*, *Lopakov*, etc.). The origin of these possible Russian personal

names is somewhat obscure. Very few family tales tell of any of the local indigenous peoples being of foreign, East Slavic or Baltic origin. The closest such tale to the research area is the Talka family tradition in Lemi and Taipalsaari, which recounts that their ancestors came from a river in Belarus with the same name. There actually is a river called *Tal'ka* (*Талька*) in the contemporary Minsk Oblast in Belarus. *Sukunimet* proposes that *Talka* is a truncated form from *Ta(a)likainen*, which was probably derived from the Germanic name *Adelheit* (Mikkonen & Paikkala, 2000). The names in Russian must mainly have appeared in the same way as the Germanic names, as they must have been fashionable names in their time. Their most probable area of the origin is Korela (Käkisalmi), due to its obviously significant Russian population in the Middle Ages (Kočkurkina 2004: 163–165; Rantakaulio 2008: 281).

The Swedish medieval period in the area is characterized by Lower Saxon and Scandinavian loan names or common Southern Finnish personal names that have been very popular, but these do not appear as surnames as often as Orthodox names. Nicknames from the Middle Ages and later sometimes became surnames, such as *Puunenä* and *Käiväräinen*, but many times they are difficult to separate from vulgar variants of Christian names, including both Russian Orthodox and Germanic names, such as *Kauli* < *Gavril* ‘baldheaded’, *Kunttu* < *Gundo*- ‘clumsy’ or ‘ragamuffin’. Personal names can become appellatives or develop forms similar to existing nouns and adjectives, as could have happened with *Kunttu*. Eastern Christian names especially tend to have common nouns for their vulgar forms, such as *Ruippo*, *Soikka*, *Kauli*, *Jäkkö*, *Jäkki*, etc, which makes it quite difficult to define their real origin in each case. Vulgar forms also seem to change their equivalent in Christian nomenclature, such as in Venäläisenkylä in Luumäki, where *Ertto* is *Erkki*, but *Ertto* ~ *Ärttö* in Ingria and the Karelian Isthmus is originally *Artamon*.

In addition to surnames and village names, old male names are found in the names of forest areas. Meadows and permanent fields seldom have anthroponyms in their names, probably because of the social structure based on extended families, which lasted until the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, out of 117 contemporary (1980s) field and meadow names in Kaulio, only four have personal names as

determinants and another four have a topographic name containing a personal name as a determinant, one has a farm name included as its determinant. Female names in old toponyms are very rare. There are only three female person names from all the villages in my materials, and all are dated to be older than early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Village names, as well as homestead names, tend to change until they are officially recorded as cameral taxation unit names. Unofficial village names can change quite easily, as is the case of *Nikumäki – Simola*. Names can also change even after being officially recorded, as is the case of *Lennus > Ellola, Kaulio*.

Many surnames in the area examined in this study are concentrated on the line between Valkjärvi – Käkisalmi on the Karelian Isthmus in the east and the former Taipale parish in the west. The names in this material include, for example, *Toura, Myyrä, Ruippo, Kaulio* and *Käiväräinen*. Some of these names tend to have different phonology at both ends of the line, such as *Toura – Topra, Myyrä – Mykrä*. Other surnames have spread to the surroundings of Vyborg, for example *Kunttu* and *Monola*.

Some local surnames have counterparts in the Karelian-speaking area as surnames or second given names, especially in the Olonets-speaking and Ludiac areas (*viiru – viiru, ruippo – ruippa, hatizet – hatizet, kauli – gauli*). The materials of the Name Archives show that there are also some other similar equivalents in common place names, especially between the area examined in this study and the Ludic-speaking area in Olonets and further East and South from it (Rantakaulio 2008: 263–268, 278, 320, 322–323).

Quite a few of the local surnames have distribution in Savo, such as *Ruippo* in Eastern Savo, and *Toura* and *Hatinen* in Western Savo. Some are also found in Ingria, such as *Kunttu, Kaulio, Mentu-* and *Paukku(nen)*. First given names in their profane form often have distribution in Savo, presumably as a result of migration from Vyborg Karelia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Abbreviations

1	first person	ILL	illative
2	second person	INE	inessive
3	third person	PL	plural
ADE	adessive	PART	partitive
ALL	allative	PASS	passive
CONNEG	connegative	PRF	perfect
ELA	elative	PRS	present tense
ESS	essive	PS	Proto Saami
EXS	excessive	PST	past tense
GEN	genitive	PTCP	(past) participle
INF	infinitive	PX	possessive suffix
INF3	third infinitive	SG	singular

## References

- Aikio, Ante 2003: Suomen saamelaisperäisistä paikannimistä. – *Virittäjä* 107. Helsinki: Kotikielen Seura. 99–106.
- 2007: The Study of Saami Substrate Toponyms in Finland. – Janne Saarikivi & Ritva Liisa Pitkänen (eds.), *Borrowing of Place Names in the Uralic Languages*. Onomastica Uralica 4. Debrecen – Helsinki. 159–197.
- Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I = *Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta I. Käkisalmen läänin maakirja vuodelta 1637*. Joensuun yliopisto. Joensuu: Karjalan tutkimuslaitos. 1991.
- Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta II = Sari Hirvonen, Kimmo Katajala & Veijo Saloheimo: *Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta II. 1500- ja 1600-luvuilta 2. Käkisalmen läänin maakirja vuodelta 1637*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.
- von Bach, Adolf 1978: *Deutsche Namenkunde 1,1, Die Deutschen Personennamen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Carpelan, Christian 2001: Pyhiä paikkoja ja palvontakohteita. Keskirautakaudelta historialliseen aikaan (250–1900 jKr.). Inarilaisten arkeologiset vaiheet. – Veli-Pekka Lehtola (ed.), *Inari – Aanaar. Inarin historia jääkaudesta nykypäivään*. Inarin kunta. Oulu 2003. 77–81.
- Graves, Robert 1996: *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*. London: Chancellor Press.

- Hamari, Risto & Timo Miettinen & Saulo Kepsu 1990: *Valkealan historia I*. Lahti.
- Hansson, Kauko 1926: Äännehistoriallinen esitys Savitaipaleen murteen vokalismista. Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitos. Manuscript. Turku: Turun yliopisto.
- Hätisen Sukuseura <<http://www.hatinen.fi>> 20.10.2016
- Honkanen, Tapio 2004: Kaulinranta. Paikannimitutkimus. Ortnamnsstudie. FIN 240 (61–80). C-uppsats i finskan. Institutionen för nordiska språk, SOL. Lunds universitet.
- Ikäheimonen, Sari 2012: Liperin murre vuosina 1990 ja 2000. Idiolekteittaiten muutosten tarkastelua reaaliajassa. Pro-gradu. University of East Finland. <[http://publications.uef.fi/pub/urn\\_nbn\\_fi\\_uef-20120241/urn\\_nbn\\_fi\\_uef-20120241.pdf](http://publications.uef.fi/pub/urn_nbn_fi_uef-20120241/urn_nbn_fi_uef-20120241.pdf)> 20.10.2016
- Immonen, Toivo 1958: Kurkijoen seutu Ruotsin vallan aikana vv. 1570 – 1710. – Toivo Immonen, Erkki Kuujo & Eino Puramo (eds.), *Kurkijoen kihlakunnan historia. Hiitola — Kurijoki — Lumivaara — Jaakkima*. Pieksämäki: Hiisi-säätiö. 83–422.
- Kepsu, Saulo 1981: *Pohjois-Kymenlaakson kylännimet*. SKST 367. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kettunen, Lauri 1920: *Näytteitä etelävepsästä I*. Suomi IV. 18:2. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- 1922: *Löunavepsa häälik-ajalugu 1–2*. Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. B Humaniora. 2–4. Tartu.
- 1930: *Suomen murteet. I. Murrenäytteitä*. SKST 188. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- 1959: *Suomen murteet III. Murrekartasto*. SKST 188. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kettunen, Lauri & Paavo Siro 1935: *Näytteitä vepsän murteista*. MSFOu 70. Helsinki: Societé Finno-Ougrienne.
- Kiviniemi, Eero 1971: *Suomen partisiippinimistö. Ensimmäisen partisiipin sisältävät henkilö- ja paikannimet*. SKST 295. Helsinki
- KKS = *Karjalan kielen sanakirja*. Pertti Virtaranta & Raija Koponen (eds.). Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 18. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 16. Helsinki: 1969–2009. <<http://kaino.kotus.fi/cgi-bin/kks/karjala.cgi>>
- KNAB = Kohanimeandmebaas. Eesti Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut. Tallinn. <<http://www.eki.ee/knab/>> 20.10.2016
- Kočkurkina 2004 = Кочкуркина, С. И. 2004: *Народы Карелии. История и культура*. КНЦ РАН ИЯЛИ. Петрозаводск.
- KOTUS = Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.

- KPA = Kansalaisen karttapaikka. Suomen peruskartta. <<http://kartta.nls.fi/kpa/>>  
Helsinki: Maanmittauslaitos. 31.10.2017
- Lankia, Kaija 2000: *Rajalammilla kasvoi ruis jo ennen ajanlaskua. Löytö ajalta 500–0 eKr. hämmästyttää*. Yhteissanomat 1.12.2000. Savitaipale.
- Manker, Ernst 1957: *Lapparnas heliga ställen. Kultplatser och offerkult i belysning av Nordiska museets och landsantikvariernas fältundersökningar*. Acta Lapponica XIII. Uppsala: Nordiska Museet.
- MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Mullonen 2002 = Муллонен, И. И. 2002: *Топонимия Присвирья. Проблемы этноязыкового контактирования*. Петрозаводск: Петрозаводский Государственный университет.
- Nuolijärvi, Pirkko & Marja-Leena Sorjonen 2005: *Miten kuvata muutosta? Puhutun kielen tutkimuksen lähtökohtia murteenseuruuhankeeseen pohjalta*. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 133. Helsinki 2005.
- NA = Nimiaarkisto. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus. Helsinki.
- Qvigstad, J.K. 1926: *Lappische Opfersteine und heilige Berge in Norwegen*. Oslo Etnografiske Museums skrifter. Bind 1, Hefte 5. Oslo.
- Rantakaulio, Timo 2008: Savitaipaleen Kaulion kylän ja lähiseudun paikkanimiä. Itämerensuomalaista nimitystutkimusta. Pro gradu. Manuscript. Helsingin yliopisto, Suomen kielen laitos.
- Rapola, Martti 1926: Agricolan sana Curckomesso. – *Virittäjä* 31. 165–168.
- Ronimus, J. V. 1906: *Novgorodin vatjalaisen viidenneksen verokirja v. 1500 ja Karjalan silloinen asutus*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.
- Rosén, Ragnar 1926: Hämmäläisasutuksen kaakkoisraja. *Historiallinen Arkisto* 35. Tieteellisiä ilmoituksia 3–10. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura.
- 1936: *Vehkalahtien pitäjän historia I. Suur-Vehkalahtien asutus- ja aluehistoria n.vuoteen 1610*. Vehkalahti: Vehkalahtien kunta.
- Ruoppila, Veikko 1955: *Äyrämöismurteiden äännehistoria*. SKST 245. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Savitaipale = Savitaipaleen näyte. Kotimaisten kielten keskus. Puhutun kielen aineistot. <[https://www.kotus.fi/aineistot/puhutun\\_kielen\\_aineistot/murreaanitteita/suomen\\_murrealueet\\_-kokoelma/kaakkoismurteiden\\_naytteet#Savitaipaleennyte](https://www.kotus.fi/aineistot/puhutun_kielen_aineistot/murreaanitteita/suomen_murrealueet_-kokoelma/kaakkoismurteiden_naytteet#Savitaipaleennyte)> 20.10.2016
- Salo, Unto 1997: *Ihmisen jäljet Satakunnan maisemassa. Kulttuurimaiseman vuosituhanne*. SKST 677. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Setälä, Eemil Nestor 1927: Vanhojen uskomusten alalta. *Sanastaja* 1927:1. Helsinki: Sanakirjasäätiö.

- SKST = *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- SMSA = Suomen murteiden sana-arkisto.
- Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla = *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla. Kyläluettelot*. Helsingin yliopiston historian laitoksen julkaisu Nro 4. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto. 1973.
- Tani, Markku & Veikko Käyhty 1994: Historiaa halki vuosisatojen. – Pertti Jurvanen & Markku Tani (eds.), *Heituinlahden seudun historiaa. Savupirtistä tietotupaan*. Savitaipale: Heituinlahden kylätoimikunta.
- Tomminen, Tarja 2003: Lappeenrannan Kauskilan kylän Löytösenlammen ympäristön varhaiset asutusvaiheet siitepölyanalyysin perusteella. Manuscript. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston Geologian laitos, Geologian ja Paleontologian osasto.
- 2003: Luumäen Niemenkylän/Tainankylän Likolammen siitepölyanalyysin tulokset. Unpublished manuscript. Helsinki.
- 2006: Paleoeekologisia tutkimuksia: Luumäen Niemenkylä ja Lappeenrannan Kauskila. *Suomen Museo* 112. Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys.
- TUOKKO = Tuomiokirjakortisto. Paikannimet. Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto.
- Vahtola, Jouko 1980: Tornionjoki- ja Kemijokilaakson asutuksen synty. Nimistötieteellinen ja historiallinen tutkimus. *Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 3. Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys.
- Veselovskii 1974 = Веселовский, Степан Борисович: Ономастикон. Древнерусские имена, прозвища и фамилии. Москва: Наука.
- VKSSK = Vanhan kirjasuomen sanakirja. Lahja-Irene Hellemaa, Esko Koivusalo & Maija Länsimäki. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisu 33. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus. 1985–1994.
- Vorren, Ørnulv 1985: Circular sacrificial sites and their function. Lousie Bäckman & Åke Hultkrantz (eds.): *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the oldest traces of religion among the Saamis*. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell.
- 1987: Sacrificial sites, types and function. – Tore Ahlbäck (ed.), *Saami Religion. Based on papers read at the symposium on Saami religion held at Abo, Finland, on the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> of August 1984*. Scripta Instituti Donnerianii Aboensis 12. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell.
- Vuorela, Irmeli & Tuovi Kankainen 1993: Luonnon- ja kulttuurimaiseman kehitys Taipalsaarella. Raportti P 34.4.107. Espoo: Geologian tutkimuskeskus. Maaperäosasto.

## Henkilönnimiä paikannimistössä Lennusjärven itä- ja pohjoispuolella Etelä-Karjalassa

### *Timo Rantakaulio*

Artikkelissa käsitellään paikannimistön sisältämä, isojakoa edeltävä henkilönnimistö kolmen rekisterikylän Kaulialan, Kunttulan ja Rantalalan alueelta Savitaipaleella. Alueella on jonkin verran esikristillistä myyttistä nimistöä ja henkilönnimiä.

Seudun murre on vanhakantaista kaakkoismurteiden ja savolaismurteiden siirtymämurretta, josta puuttuvat tyypilliset savolaisuudet. Murteessa edustuvat omintakeisesti itämerensuomen itäryhmän kielten ja murteiden, kuten kaakkois- ja savolaismurteiden, livvin, varsinaiskarjalan, lyydin, vepsän ja inkeröisen ynnä vatjan, piirteet.

Sukunimissä painottuvat liikanimet ja ortodoksiset ristimänimet, joita on usein vaikea erottaa toisistaan, sama koskee toisinaan myös saksalaisia nimiä ja liikanimiä. Asutus- ja metsänimistössä ristimänimet ovat enimmäkseen tyypillistä Ruotsin vallan aikaista viipurinkarjalaista ainesta ja lähes pelkästään miesten nimiä, isonjaon jälkeen käyttöön jääneissä viljelysnimissä henkilönnimiä on erittäin niukasti.

DENIS KUZMIN

University of Helsinki / Karelian research centre

## Adaptation of Orthodox personal names<sup>1</sup> in the Karelian language

**Abstract** The article analyses the forms of Christian names of Karelians. After accepting Orthodox religion in 1227 Karelians adopted new Christian names, which were later processed according to phonetic and morphologic norms of the Karelian language. The article focuses on the analysis of the main principles of phonetic adoption of Russian name forms in the Karelian language.

---

1. The material for the article was the names collected by myself and colleagues from the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Center, during field trips over many years in the Republic of Karelia and the Tver region. In addition, I used the material on Karelian anthroponomy collected by Nissilä (1943, 1947, 1976), Virtaranta (1972, 1978), Paulaharju (1995) as well as 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century written sources.

## Introduction

Karelian-language Christian names have received very little academic attention thus far, although quite a number of observations on the subject have been made by Viljo Nissilä, a well-known Finnish specialist in onomastics. Early in the 1940s, Nissilä took several trips to southern parts of the former Olonets province where he collected toponymic and anthroponymic material, chiefly from areas inhabited by Karelian proper- and Ludic-speaking Karelians. The output from these trips was articles and papers dealing with, for example, Karelian-language anthroponymy (1943, 1947, 1967, 1973). The subject has also been covered by prominent Finnish scholars such as Kustaa Vilkuna, Jalo Kalima and other researchers. Yet, no comprehensive study on the topic has been published. Meanwhile, Karelian Christian anthroponymy has often been employed as comparative material in the studies of Finnish anthroponymy and a variety of toponymic studies.

In the Soviet Union, similarly to Finland, Karelian-language anthroponymy was one of the aspects considered in toponymic studies. As in Finland, most of these studies in the 1970s and earlier relied on data from written sources rather than material from field expeditions. In the former USSR and contemporary Russia, Karelian anthroponymy can, for example, be found in articles by Alexandr Popov, Voitto Leskinen, Nina Mamontova, Larisa Rugoyeva, Irma Mullonen, Olga Karlova and others. Thus, in some of her papers on the toponymy of Russian-speaking parts of Karelia, Mullonen gave attention to substrate place names based on personal names of the Karelians.

The only researcher to have specifically focussed on Karelian-language anthroponymy is Karlova. Her main scientific interests are pre-Christian personal names as well as nicknames and unofficial surnames of the Karelians. Along with this, her articles (see also in this publication) give some consideration to Christian personal names of the Karelian population. However, no comprehensive work on Karelian Christian names on this side of the border exists either, and so the questions related to the phonetic adaptation of Russian names by the Karelians, the structure of borrowed names, their variability and frequency in different areas remain poorly studied.

## The arrival of Christianity in Karelia and Finland<sup>2</sup>

After the adoption of Christianity, the traditional name system of the Finnic people underwent a substantial change. This happened because as the Christian faith was gaining ground, pre-Christian names gradually went out of use, being replaced by the names of Christian apostles and saints. It is thus safe to say that canonical personal names now constitute the largest group of names in all the Finnic languages.

On some occasions, these new Christian<sup>3</sup> names probably made their way quite early as baptismal names among the Finnic groups since the earliest known traces of cross symbols at burial sites in Finland, for example, were from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Vilkuna 1990: 14). This fact is evidence that local people at the time were becoming familiar with Christian culture. It is also worth noting that the earliest Christian terms (*pappi* ‘priest’, *risti* ‘cross’, *pakana* ‘pagan’, *raamattu* ‘Bible’) are early Slavic borrowings in the Finnic languages, suggesting that they were borrowed by the Finnic peoples through the mediation of the eastern branch of the Christian Church. One can thus surmise that early Christian missionary activity probably commenced long before the first written evidence of the Christianization of the Karelians appeared in the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Russia adopted Christianity late in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. As the new religion was expanding and taking root in the Novgorod lands between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the eastern Christian Church probably launched a missionary campaign target at the Finnic peoples – Estonians, Vepsians, Izhorians, and Karelians. Nonetheless, early Christianization activities could only have had an effect on a minor, mostly upper stratum of the medieval Karelia, the elite layer of the population, whereas the mass of the Old Karelian population remained pagan much longer, especially in the areas far away from medieval centers. However, presumed traces of the aforementioned Orthodox missionary activities have been found quite far from Karelian territories, including inland parts of contemporary Finland, for instance Häme. Thus, a hoard with items dated to no later than

2. Christianity in its Western form came to western Finland from Scandinavia.

3. Originally, the range of Christian names used to be more or less common for different parts of the Christian world, owing to the cultural exchanges involving the borrowing of names and hagiographic writings. By the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, however, the Church split into the Roman Catholic Church in the West and the Orthodox Church in the East. Since then, the onomasticon was being augmented in its own way within each (Superanskaja 1998: 9).

the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century was discovered near the Voipala settlement in the Sýmä parish. In addition to silver coins, there was also a silver cross with Karelian-style ornamentation. (Vilkuna 1990: 15.)

Musin presumed that the early familiarisation of the Korela with the Christian Church and its culture took place in the context of the military alliance of the Karelian tribal union and the Novgorod state, realized through joint military expeditions (1142, 1143, 1149, 1178–?, 1188–?, 1191, 1227), ploughing ground for the actual event of baptizing in 1227. The likely archaeological evidence of such familiarization is the arrival of Christian antiquities in the northwestern Ladoga region between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Musin 1997: 252.) The dissemination of Christian ideas was no doubt greatly promoted by trade contacts. Later on, the establishment of the Orthodox faith occurred in the context of the dispersal of the Christian population and agricultural colonization.

The first concrete indication of the expansion of the Christian faith, and hence, the influence of Christianity on the world views of the inhabitants of Old Karelian territories, is arguably the change of the system of burial rites, wherein cremation<sup>4</sup> graves since the 11<sup>th</sup> century were being replaced by inhumation graves. The north-to-south orientation of graves had become Christian west-to-east orientation. Grave items included next-to-skin crosses and other artifacts with Christian symbols. For instance, graves, from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and onwards, in the burial ground near Kekomäki (Kaukola parish) are apparently of Christian nature<sup>5</sup>. For example, next-to-skin crosses were found on the neck of four men buried there. One of the graves had a silver fibula with the inscription “Ave Marya GT” and a silver-plated fibula depicting the Virgin Mary according to Eastern tradition. The grave items also comprised a silver pendant as well as chain holders with cross motifs<sup>6</sup>. Next-to-skin crosses and icons on the neck of the dead suggested the people buried there were probably baptized. (Kirkinen 1981: 274–275.)

---

4. Archaeologist Svetlana Kočkurkina does not see the connection between these changes and the adoption of Christianity, and claims that Christian graves appeared in the area in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (Kočkurkina, oral communication).

5. Kočkurkina believes only some items in these graves are of Christian nature (Kočkurkina, oral communication).

6. According to Kočkurkina, the cross image is not associated with the Christian culture (Kočkurkina, oral communication).

The origin of many of the items found in the burial grounds indicates contacts with the Novgorod lands. Next-to-skin crosses as well as pendants showing Christian symbolism were discovered in Sakkola, Kaukola, and Hiitola. Round silver tortoise fibulae with an Eastern-style cross image were recovered from around Suotniemi (Käkisalmi), Koverila (Kaukola), Tiuri, Kilpolanmäki (Hiitola), Sipilänmäki (Sakkola). For example, a fibula found in Suotniemi is dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (according to Kočkurkina - the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> - the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century). Christian ornamentation was also found among the findings from the Tuukkala burial (Mikkeli), which is similar to burials in the Karelian Isthmus in terms of the composition of the burial items. (Kočkurkina 1982: 69.) The findings of these Christian cult objects in the region indicate at least some degree of familiarity with the Christian culture among the local people.

The 1227 baptizing act *per se*<sup>7</sup> marked the very beginning of Church history in the Karelian lands, and arguably denoted the onset of the official gradual advancement of Christian culture in the Karelian environment. Following baptizing, the pogost (parish) church administrative structure little by little was apparently being formed in central parts of the region, although the information we have on the nature of the Christianization process in the region in this period is thus far insufficient. One can say, with all likelihood, that the primary church pogost structure operated in the administrative centers of medieval Korela by the 1320s. We first learn about this from the Treaty of Nöteborg 1323<sup>8</sup>, under which Sweden received three Karelian pogosts: Jääski, Äyräpää,

---

7. Part of the Karelian population was probably not baptized completely on their own free will. Indirect evidence of this is, for instance, folk legends recorded by Nemirovič-Dančenko from the Karelians in 1877, recounting ironmen who soaked the land of Karelians with blood and forcibly converted them to Christianity (Nemirovič-Dančenko 1877: 430).

8. The authentic and original 1323 Treaty of Nöteborg has not survived, and the oldest hand-written copy available is a copy in Latin from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, the original manuscript on which this text was based was very probably in the Russian (Slavic) language, as suggested by the conceptual constructions/realities portrayed in the text (Korpela 2006: 456). One can thus assume that the information about pogosts in the Korela lands can be dated at least to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, even if the piece was later added to the text of the lost original manuscript.

and Savolaks<sup>9</sup>. Two of these pogosts (most likely Jääski and Äyräpää) are presumably mentioned in the Icelandic Gottskalks Annaler, dated 1296, which reported that the Swedes conquered two parts of Kirjalaland (Žukov 2013: 106). On the other hand, the earliest written report mentioning a church in the Кюлолакса (Kyulolaksa) pogost of the Korela Land is dated as late as 1395 (Žukov 2013: 78). Novgorod birch bark letter number 278<sup>10</sup> (dated 1363–1382) provides information on a clerk called Philip who probably lived in the Kjulolaksa pogost (PIOK: 82). At the same time, it was arguably no earlier than the late 15<sup>th</sup> century when church pogost arrangements in the region became full-fledged.

One may link the onset of its formation to the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century when Korela's state subordination ultimately changed: it was from alliance and confederation to vassalage to the Novgorod Republic, especially after the Korela campaign of Prince Dmitry Aleksandrovich between 1277 and 1278. One piece of evidence for this is that the state-political notion of *zemlya* was now applied to the territory of medieval Korela. The name *Korelskaya zemlya* (Korela Land) was first encountered in connection with the beginning of a military conflict between Novgorod and Sweden in 1293. In the Middle Ages, the term *zemlya* primarily denoted a subordinated state land and its authorities (Žukov 2013: 93). Thus, we can say that the Karelian territories fell in the 1270s completely into the orbit of state interests of Novgorod which had previously had minor control of the medieval Korela territory. This was also the period when

9. The pogosts listed in the treaty, Jääski, Äyräpää and Savolaks, were situated on the region's major trade route – along the Vuoksa River and Lake Saimaa, giving us grounds to believe that it was here that the state of Novgorod established its authority and ideological control fairly early (Korpela 2003). In all likelihood, part of the population of the central parts of the pogosts was already being baptized by the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but it is not quite clear whether these people have assimilated Church culture. Indirect evidence of the ongoing Christianization of the Old Karelian population is surnames of Orthodox origin among mid-16<sup>th</sup> century eastern Finnish residents. The number of families bearing the same surname in some communities was quite substantial by then, which means that their common ancestor, whose name/nickname was the source of the surname, could have lived the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This, in turn, may imply that the ancestors of some eastern Finnic families could have been baptized back in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

10. The letter also notes baptized Karelians *Zahariy* and *Mikita Jevanovs*. In letter 403 (14<sup>th</sup> century): baptismal name Mark; in letter 249 (1396–1422): Mikulin's man *Mikita* and *Sten'ka*, son of Kirej (PIOK: 82–83, 86). Besides, the Oulu River raid of Karelians between 1377 and 1378 was headed by military governor *Ivan Valit* (PIOK: 50–51).

official local administrations of central districts and, apparently, the system of pogosts were established there. It is worth noting here that the time between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries was when the Karelian ethnos was forming rapidly out of the scattered groups of the local Finnic-speaking population, and the organization of church pogosts certainly contributed to the ethnic consolidation of the Karelians.

The first pogosts in the southern part of present-day Karelia appeared in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century in the lands of the medieval Vepsians, in the Svir and Olonets areas, as well as in the land populated by Russian and Vepsian peasant resettlers on the Zaonezhskiy<sup>11</sup> Peninsula. Analysis of the *Obonežskiy ryad* text and annalistic information covering this period showed that the “House of Saint Sophia” in Novgorod (= the Novgorod diocese) started receiving the *desyatina* tax from pogosts in the Olonets and Svir areas since the late 1250s when the republic granted these lands to the Prince of Novgorod for *kormleniye* (levying tribute) (Žukov 2000: 44).

As previously stated, the Christian Church started gaining influence in medieval Karelia since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This was happening, in part, because Novgorod was strengthening its state authority in the Ladoga region by supporting Orthodox missionary activities. In Karelia, for instance, apart from the Valaam monastery, quite a number of other monasteries and hermitages, appearing just as small sketes at first, were founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Some of them evolved further between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the northwest of present-day Russia, their emergence must have also been necessitated by hostilities between Novgorod and Moscow in the 1380s<sup>12</sup> when 24 monasteries were burned down, and the monks had to go looking for other places to live and retire from the world. A certain role was probably played

---

11. The earliest stage of the colonization of the Zaonežskij Peninsula (the oldest center of arable agriculture in Karelia) by Novgorodians and Old Vepsians was supposed to have occurred in the second third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, exactly during the formation of the Obonezhskiy ryad (unit of administrative division). In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the Olonets military governor made a search in the Tolvuyskiy pogost on the eastern Zaonezhskij Peninsula, and interrogated the entire adult population under oath. It turned out that it had been “around four hundred years” since the pogost was founded and the church in Tolvuya was erected (Pravoslavie v Karelii 1999: 31). Thus, relying on this report, the foundation of the pogost with a church in Tolvuya can be roughly dated to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. Chances are it was the Novgorodian resettlers who brought Orthodoxy to the land.

12. In other words, the Novgorod raid of Grand Prince Dmitry Donskoy between 1386 and 1387 at the head of the coalition of princes of Vladimir.

in the expansion from the Balkans to Eastern Europe at the turn of the 15th century, including Rus', of the Christian mystical tradition called *Hesychasm* (Korpela 2004: 196) (derived from Ancient Greek *ἡσυχία*, 'stillness, quiet, solitude'). One of the results in Russia was the emergence of many sketes and hermitages founded by men of the Orthodox faith. Thus, the monks' hermitage and gradual promotion of Christianity by monasteries among the Balto-Finns were the characteristic features of the Orthodox Church in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. There have been no military motions or crusades for converting pagans to Christianity in the Novgorod lands, as it happened in the West.

In 1478, Karelian lands, together with Novgorod lands, were included in a centralized Russian state, and it is since then that Christianity had been more or less on sturdy ground in territories populated by the Karelians, even though Archbishops Macarius and Theodosius of Novgorod reported in 1534 and 1548 documents that people in Obonežskaya and Vodskaya pyatinas were under strong influence of the vestiges of paganism, and called for eliminating pagan ritualism (PIOK: 60–64, 67–72). Although the relics were described quite convincingly, Musin argued that these documents should be considered from a historical and cultural context. He believed the faults mentioned in the documents were not so much indications of paganism or dual faith among local people, but rather features of Christian culture specific to these territories. Musin also suggested that the archbishops' accusatory spirit should only be perceived as related to the extirpation of Novgorodian "liberties and customs", which were manifest, for example, in certain tolerance towards the pre-Christian cultural tradition. So when the influence of the Moscow Church culture was beginning to expand to the conquered Novgorod lands, its transmitters, offshoots of Moscow monastics and its diocese demanded that local traditions be fitted to the Moscow model (Musin 1997: 261).

## Karelian Christian vernacular anthroponymy

For many centuries Karelians have demonstrated an amazing propensity to absorb various external cultural influences and impulses, and to process them to meet the demands of the local Karelian culture and language. Karelian anthroponymy is no exception.

After adopting Christianity in 1227, the Karelians assumed a great number of new Christian names which were later assimilated to suit the phonetic and morphological norms of the Karelian language. Thus, canonical Christian names among the Karelians, as well as their hypocorisms<sup>13</sup> gradually acquired a vernacular colloquial form. Multiple vernacular variants were formed from one name by modifying vowels or consonants of the original name. The table below shows such vernacular colloquial variants derived from the canonical name *Иван (Ivan)*<sup>14</sup>.

Čonkku	Čonsku	D'ava	D'ukki	Iba	Ibi
Ibo	Ibu	Ibukka	Iha*	Ihannus	Ihanus
Ihanti	Ihoi*	Iibo	Iikka	Iikki	Iin'a
Iipi	Iipoi	Iippi	Iipu	Iiputti	Iissu
Iitti	Iiva	Iivačču	Iivakka	Iivakko	Iivana
Iivari*	Iivatta	Iivatti	Iivi	Iivikki	Iivo
Iivoi	Iivu	Iivukka	Iivukki	Iivuli	Iivuška
Iivutti	Iivvučči	Intu	Ipa	Ipitti*	Ipka
Ipoi	Ippi	Ippo	Ipu	Isoi	Išoi
Iši*	Išu	Iššukki*	Išukka	Išukki	Išukku
Iušoi	Iutti*	Iva	Ivačču	Ivakko	Ivan'oi
Ivančča	Ivanti*	Ivanuška	Ivaške	Ivaški	Ivaško
Ivašši	Ivoi	Ivukki	Janne	Janus* (doc.)	Java
Javana	Jepukki	Jonne	Jonsku	Jovana	Juhana*
Juho	Juka*	Jukki	Juko	Juppi*	Juška
Juško	Jussi	Jušši	Juva	Juvakka*	Juvana
Juvani	Juvo	Juvoi	Jöčy	Van'a	Van'ka
Van'kka	Van'kossu	Van'n'u	Van'oi	Van'u	Van'uša
Van'ušku	Vana	Vanča	Vanču	Vani	Vankka
Vanni	Vannu	Vanoi	Vant'a*	Vantka	D'evana*

Table 1. Colloquial variants derived from the name *Ivan*.

Since there was no written form of Karelian for a long time, and because of the gradual assimilation of the Karelian population, many

13. The term *hypocorism* denotes a diminutive form of a canonical name. In onomastics, a *hypocorism* is any spoken form of a given name.

14. An asterisk (\*) marks the names which origin was traced to *Ivan* relying on the coexistent forms.

traditional Karelian-language forms of Christian names had gone out of use and were replaced by conventional Russian canonical names and their Russian-language vernacular variants. Furthermore, as elsewhere in Russia, especially after World War II, new names were becoming popular among Karelians, whereas many old or obsolete canonical names fell into disuse. Their Karelian vernacular variants also vanished together with their last name bearers. Thus, many forms recorded in written or field-survey sources have become incomprehensible to a majority of the Karelian population. On the other hand, even if the original form of a name is unknown, a substantial fraction of the currently “incomprehensible” names can be etymologized relying on those forms of Karelian- and Russian-language names which origins we are aware of.

As indicated by Karelian vernacular anthroponymy, most colloquial forms of personal names of the Karelians are not based on canonical baptismal names as such, but on their Russian secular forms used in nearby Russian-speaking territories. I should point out that the Russian patois of Karelia and adjacent regions mainly belong to the Onega group of the North Russian dialect, all of them being the successors of the Old Novgorod dialect which we know of owing to early written sources, such as birch bark letters. A different situation is observed in the Tver region, where Russian patois belong to the central Russian group and originate from the northeastern group of the East Slavic dialect.

Thus, a precondition for successful reconstruction and analysis of the Karelian forms of Christian personal names is the knowledge of the Russian vernacular variants of canonical names as well as the phonetic features of Russian northwestern patois, in other words, the knowledge of historical phonetics. When trying to determine the origin of opaque Karelian variants one should therefore first find out which phonetic and morphological modifications have occurred during the assimilation of canonical names in Russian patois, and then during the adjustment of these Russian vernacular forms to Karelian. The recurring phonetic correlations and patterns identified as a result will help elucidate which name had given rise to one or another form in colloquial Karelian. In some cases, it may be possible to determine when the given type (name) began to be used by the Karelian population.

This method, however, can yield convincing results only if a substantial amount of names with identical phonetic changes from the same area is analysed.

The Orthodox name calendar comprised full canonical names such as *Aleksandr, Afanasiy, Bogdan, Avvakum, Agrippina, Dmitriy, Fedosya, Filaret, Panteley, Paraskeva*. Many of them, however, had no usage even among the Russian-speaking population of Karelia and adjacent regions, and even fewer of them made it directly into Karelian usage. It was in areas with a Russian population that full baptismal names gained numerous colloquial forms shaped by the phonetic and morphological features of Russian of different time periods, and this is how they were then borrowed by the Karelian people.

## Change in vocalism

The influence of North Russian patois on the anthroponymy of the Karelians was such that some phonetic phenomena characteristic of the Russian patois of the time have been preserved in Karelian dialects until today. One of the most characteristic phonetic features is *okan'ye*, the distinction of unstressed *o* and *a*, in other words when *o* is pronounced instead of *a* in words such *p[o]zgovór* (for *razgovor*), *závtr[o]k* (for *zavtrak*), *bátюшк[o]* (for *batюшка*), et cetera, cf. also the names *Hик[o]нór, Ив́анушк[o]*.

*a* → *o* transition:

This feature also appears at the start of quite a number of names where the initial *a* in Russian full calendar names and their colloquial forms changed to *o*, and these names or their forms were borrowed into Karelian in this modified form:

Karelian form	North Russian dialects	canonical names
Oksentie	Оксентий	Аксентий
Okatti	Окат	Акатий (Акакий)
Ohvo	Офонасий	Афанасий
Okki	Окулина	Акулина
Oka	Огафья	Агафья
Ontto	Онтон	Антон
Ontti	Онтип	Антип
Ol'ona	Олёна	Алёна
Ontrei	Ондрей	Андрей

Table 2. *a* → *o* transition in North Russian and Karelian names.

This phonetic feature of North Russian patois is seen also in the anthroponymic material from other Finnic-speaking territories, as well as among the Sámi of the Kola Peninsula:

Vepsians	Ort' – Artemiy	Ol'koi – Aleksey	Orešk – Arefiy
Izhorians	Ondrei – Andrey	Onttana – Anton	Oruška – Arefiy
Setos (southeastern Estonia)	Oloska – Aleksey	Ouda – Avdotya	Oka – Agafya
East Sámi (Kola Peninsula)	Oggišk – Agafya	On'sim – Anisim	Ofenas – Afanasij

Table 3. *a* → *o* transition in Vepsian, Izhorian, Seto and East Sámi names.

In later borrowings, as well as in some Karelian forms of 20<sup>th</sup> century, canonical names the initial *a* remained unchanged in Karelian:

Anisima – Anisim	Andri – Andrey	Ar’ki, Ar’ko – Arkadiy	Avdeja – Avdey
Afanasie – Afanasiy	Anisja – Anisiya	Ars’a, Ars’o – Arseniy	Akuli – Akulina
Amossu – Amos	Antoi, Antoša – Anton	Arta, Arto – Artemiy	Artta – Artamon

Table 4. Later borrowed Karelian names where the initial *a* remains unchanged.

One may point out, however, that name forms starting with *a* were known already in 17<sup>th</sup> century documents:

Achpo (PKKU 1618: 353, 356)	Achpo (PKKL 1637: 376)	Achpomi (PKKU 1618: 378)	Ahti (PKKL 1637: 375)
Achwo (PKKU 1618: 374)	Achwoi (PKKL 1637: 160)	Ahepko (PKKU 1618: 318)	Ahpo (PKKU 1590: 271)
Ahppo (PKKL 1637: 387)	Ahpäi (PKKU 1618: 336)	Ahwo (PKKL 1637: 265, 310)	Ansima (PKKU 1590: 273)
Ansima (PKKU 1631: 496)	Anto (PKKL 1637: 390)	Antip(p)a (PKKL 1637: 167, 408)	Ahvontytär (1656–60) (Katajala 2005: 210)

Table 5. Name forms starting with *a* found in 17<sup>th</sup> century documents

*o* → *a* transition:

In some Karelian forms of canonical names, there is an inverse phenomenon – the functioning of the vowel *a* in the place of an original *o*. As we can see from the examples below, this way of reflecting the original *o* is characteristic of both stressed as well as of unstressed syllables. This phenomenon can be partly explained by inter-syllabic vowel assimilation, although in some cases (e.g., *Fotiy* (Фотий) – *Hatti*) this happens without assimilation. At the same time, we can talk about rather early forms of loanwords, where the changeover from *o* to *a* is of the same type as in the appellative lexicon, compare *pappi* – *non* (*pop*), *tavara* – *товар* (*tovar*), etc.:

Нама – Фома – Нома	Varissa – Борис – Borissa
Навана – Фофан – Нована	Канана, Канаңчу – Конон – Кона
Hatti – Фотий – Hotti	As(s)ippa – Осип – Ossippa
Triifana – Трифон – Triif(f)o	Okahvana – Агафон – Ogahvo
Platana – Платон – Platto	Nasana – Насон (pre-Christ.)

Table 6. *o* → *a* transition in some Karelian forms of canonical names.

*e* → *o* transition:

Reflecting the original Cyrillic *e* (*ve*) of canonical names in Karelian is apparently connected with a well-known phonetic feature of North Russian dialects where the changeover from *e* to *o* is accomplished in common nouns as well as in personal names. In Karelian anthroponomy, the “heritage” of this changeover can be seen in the following forms:

Евлампи́й (Yevlampiy) – – *Jobla	Елу́ма (Yelima) – Ol’moi	Емелья́н (Yemelyan) – Omena
Евстра́т (Yevstrat) – Osratta, *Ostro	Ефи́м(ий) → Ефко (Yefko) – Jouhki, Jouhko	Е(в)фи́мий (Ye(v)fimiý) – Ohkemie, Ohki, Ohko(i)
Евге́ния (Yevgeniya) – Jouki	Ефре́м (Yefrem) – Ofrima	Феду́л (Fedul) – Hoduli
Евдо́кия (Yevdokiya) – Outi	Февро́ния (Fevroniya) – Houri	Ефроси́нья (Yefrosinya) – Opri, Oppo
Е(в)фи́мия (Ye(v)fimiya) – Ofimja, Ohkimie		

Table 7. *e* → *o* transition in Karelian names.

*e* → *i*, *i* → *e* and *e* → *a* transition:

Sometimes there are other, less productive but relatively more regular transformations of original vowels in the Karelian forms of canonical names:

Sirkei – Се́рей	Krestinä – Кристи́на	Savo – Сева́стьян
Simana, Simppi – Се́мен	Gliimatta – Кле́ментий	Zavoï – Зава́сий (← Сева́стьян)
Pirhina – Пе́рфирий	Fagu – Фе́рапонт	Garassi, Jarassima – Ге́расим

Table 8. Other transformations of original vowels in the Karelian forms.

## Karelian final components of names

In Russian, female names terminate in a vowel, and a majority of male names end with a consonant. These same male names in Karelian end with a vowel, mainly with *a* (see Table). The forms ending with *a* shown in the table below are typical of the Karelian proper dialect, where many nouns have the final *a*, for example *koira* ‘dog’, *poiga* ‘boy’, *izändä* ‘master’. In southern parts of Karelia, among Livvi Karelians, the same nouns will have *u/y* as the final vowel<sup>15</sup>: compare *koiru*, *poigu*, *izändy*.

Russians	Arhip	Ivan	Isaak	Kirill	Fedot	Filipp
Karelian proper dialect	Arhippa	Iivana	Issakka	Kirilä	Hotatta	Hilippä
Livvi Karelians	Arhippu	Iivan(u)	Isakku	Kirily	Fedottu	Hilippy

Table 9. Other transformations of original vowels in the Karelian forms.

We must say, however, that name forms with *u* as the final vowel are also known in the speaking area of Karelian proper. Arguably, at least part of them had originally been the hypocoristic<sup>16</sup> forms of full personal names of Karelians, which were probably used when giving names to children. Moreover, such forms occur as variants of the names where the vowel *y* is found in original Russian canonical names, and so, in many cases, the emergence of such colloquial forms with the final *u* in the Karelian language has nothing to do with diminutives. Examples from the Karelian proper dialect:

15. In disyllabic words of the names category in the Livvi dialect of the Karelian language, the Karelian-proper final vowel *a/ä* is changed to *u/y* where the first syllable is historically long, in other words where the modern word has a closed first syllable, or where the word begins with a diphthong or a long vowel. The same applies to the vowel in the final syllable in polysyllabic words: compare *emändy*, *tuattoilu*, *neičykkyy*.

16. We can also look at the Karelian diminutive suffix *-ut/-yt* (e.g. *kivyt* ‘pebble’, *helmyt* ‘little pearl’, *venyt* ‘little boat’, *puolut* ‘halfsie’), which could have influenced the emergence of hypocoristic forms with *-u/-y* in Karelian anthroponymy.

Vaku – Аввакум	Miku – Михаил	Das'u – Дарья	Luttu – Лутьян (Лукьян)
Hiltu – Филат	Kustu – Август	Jelu – Елена	Jemmu – Емельян
Ogru – Агриппина	Os'u – Осип	Iz'u – Изосим	Mašu – Мария
Jestu – Е(в)стафей	Jeru – Ерофей	Riku – Григорий	Saku/Sakku/Zaku/ Žaku – Захар

Table 10. Name forms with *u* as the final vowel.

## Lengthening/diphthongization of vowels

To the Karelian ear, the stressed vowel in Russian names sounds long or, at least, semi-long, because the stressed vowel in Russian is pronounced slightly longer than unstressed vowels. Hence the stressed vowel in the first open syllable in names borrowed from Russian is rendered by a long vowel, and in some cases, there is a diphthongization of Russian monophthongs. If the first syllable is closed, the vowel is generally not elongated, possibly in part due to consonant gemination.

Puavila – Павел (Pavel)	Muarie – Мария (Mariya)	Viera – Вера (Vera)
Duarie – Дарья (Darya)	Kuuyli, Куугӧ – Кирилл (Kirill)	Huurei – Гурий (Guriy)
Huotari – Федор (Fyodor)	Niina – Нина (Nina)	Siina, Ziina – Зина ← Zinaida
Luazari – Лазарь (Lazar')	Luuti, Лууџи – Лидия (Lidiya)	Tuune – Дуня (Dun'a) ← Евдокия (Yevdokiya)
Voobi – Вова (Vova) ← Владимир (Vladimir)	<b>exception:</b> Kuagra – Карп (Karp)	<b>exception:</b> Hiekla – Фёкла (Fyokla)
<b>exception:</b> Puuda – Пуд (Pud)	<b>exception:</b> Juakko – Яков (Yakov)	<b>exception:</b> Tiitta – Тит (Tit)

Table 11. Long vowels and diphthongs in the first open syllable of Karelian names.

In the Padany variety of the Karelian proper dialect, the diphthong *oa/ua* has evolved into a long *oo* (*ââ*)<sup>17</sup>, cf. *mââ* (\*moa) ‘land’, *šââri* (\*šoari) ‘island’, *lââdie* (\*loadie) ‘to do something’. Thus, adhering to the general rules of this subdialect, the long *oo* also appears in borrowed names:

Sââva (*Soava) – Савва	Pââvila (*Poavila) – Павел	Dââria (*Doaria) – Дарья
D’ââkko (*Doakko) – Яков	Lââzari (*Loazari) – Лазарь	Mââria (*Moaria) – Мария

Table 12. Diphthong *oa/ua* in the Padany dialect of Karelian proper.

In the Tikhvin variety of the Karelian proper dialect, a monophthongization of the closing diphthong *au* resulted in the formation of the long vowel *aa*. This phonetic feature is observed both in its appellative vocabulary and in its anthroponymy: cf. *haagi* (\*haugi) ‘pike’, *jaaho* (\*jauho) ‘flour’, *avaadua* (\*avaudua) ‘to open’.

Gaaro, Gaaru (*Gauro, *Gauru) – Гаврил	Paala (*Paula) – Павел
--	------------------------

Table 13. Diphthong *au* in the Tikhvin dialect of Karelian proper.

In southern parts of Karelia, chiefly among the Ludic Karelians, quite a number of names end in a vowel sequence, a triphthong made up of three elements comprising one syllable:

D’uusuoï – Иван	Iuššuoï – Иван	Martuoï – Мартын
Hiluoï – Филипп	Iššuoï – Исai	Romuoi – Роман
Haršuoï – Харитон	Demuoï – Дементий	Miïnuoi – Мина

Table 14. Triphthongs in southern Karelian dialects.

---

17. We use the combination *ââ* to render the long vowel *oo*. This combination was first used by Finnish researcher Pertti Virtaranta who proceeded from Swedish orthography, where this notation renders a sound of similar nature. It is clear, however, that these words originally had a long *aa*, which evolved into the diphthong *oa/ua* in Karelian.

## Dropping of unstressed vowels/syllables (apocope/apheresis)

It is in Russian usage that an unstressed vowel or even an entire syllable or syllables are dropped in some names: compare *Уля* – Ульяна, *Катя* – Екатерина, *Ира* – Ирина. Karelian also assumed this pattern, and quite many Karelian-language forms were apparently based on the short colloquial forms of Christian names: compare Кар. *Ull'i* – Ульяна, *Katti* – Екатерина, *Iro* – Ирина.

The forms of canonical names in usage among Karelians indicate that there was a clear tendency in the language for contracting borrowed names to make them disyllabic: *Nasti* – Anastasiya, *Vassi* – Vasilisa, *On'u* – Anufriy, *Ohvo* – Afanasiy, *Vaku* – Avvakum, etc. However, trisyllabic names are not rare in the Karelian name calendar.

### Reflection of the Russian final -Vŭ

The Russian final semivowel *ŭ*, found in male names, is substituted in names borrowed into Karelian with *-i* or *-ie* as well as with *-a/-ä* where the Russian name ended in *-uiŭ*:

Asaria – Азарий (Azariy)	Kopia – Прокопий (Prokopiŭ)	Timohpie – Тимофей (Timofey)
Ahei – Агей (Agey)	Mihie – Михай (Mihey)	Torohvie – Дорофей (Dorofey)
Anania – Ананий (Ananiy)	Moisei – Моисей (Moisey)	Ondria – Ондрий (Ondriy), <b>but</b> Ondrei – Андрей (Andrey)
Jeremei – Еремей (Yeremey)	Oleksi – Алексей (Aleksey)	Sirkiä – Сергей (Sergiy), <b>but</b> Sirkei – Сергей (Sergey)
Lemetti – Клементий (Klementiy)	Lassi – Власий (Vlasiy)	Löntti – Леонтий (Leontiy)
Dmitri – Дмитрий (Dmitriy)	Hotti – Хотей (Hotey)	Hötti – Фотий (Fotiy)

Table 15. Russian final semivowel *ŭ*.

## Vocalism character

It is also worth noting that Karelian personal names are mostly words with back vocalism, largely because Russian lacks vowels such as *ä*, *ö*, *y*. At the same time, they are present in some Karelian forms, especially where the first two syllables of the original name contain front vowels (*u*, *e*):

Döröi – Дорофей	Hörkkö – Харитон	Kipr(i)änä – Киприан	Simä – Семен
D'emelä, Jemelä – Емельян	Hötti – Фотий	Krestinä – Кристина	Päntelei, Päntti, Pänt(t)ö – Пантелей
Dehhimä, Jekkimä – Ефим	Hövölä – Фефил	Miitriä – Дмитрий	Pessi, Pässä, Pösä – Пётр
Denissä, Jenä – Денис	Jehrimä – Ефрем	Mikittä – Никита	Večä, Väčči, Väčä – Вячеслав
Niliprä – Филипп	Yermilä – Еремей	Nestäri – Нестор	Väslä – Василий
Hökkä – Фока	Kerä, Kirilä – Кирилл	Sergiä – Сергей	Ännikkä – Аникий
Kiirikkö – Кирик	Huörpi – Фофан	Temitä – Демид	Vuöteri – Федор

Table 16. Back and front vowels in Karelian names.

## Change in consonantism

Quite a number of changes can be observed also in the consonant system.

### Reflection of the Russian *ф* (*f*)

The labial phoneme *f* had not been present in Karelian for a long time. It was not originally part of the North Russian dialects either. Thus, in the borrowed personal names it was substituted with consonants or clusters such as *h(h)*, *hk*, *k(k)*, *hp*, *hv*, *p(p)*, *v*. We should point out that in many cases, *f* (*ф*) was substituted with *h* (*х*) in Russian, compare for example Russian dialectal *Ходар* (Fyodor), *Охимья* (Yefim'ya), et cetera. After a while, Karelian integrated the

sound (consonant) *f*, and forms of canonical names such as *Ofon'a* (Afanasiy), *Fen'ka* (Fedos'ya), *Fedu* (Fedot), etc. became frequent among the Karelian population.

$f \rightarrow h(h)$ :

Halčo – Фалалей (Falaley)	Hil'su – Филимон (Filimon)	Jeho, Jehhimei, Jehhimä – Ефим (Yefim)	Parha – Парфе(нти)й (Parfentiy)
Hekla – Фёкла (Fyokla)	Hodatta – Федот (Fedot)	Ohon'a – Афанасий (Afanasiy)	Serahhima – Серафима (Serafima)
Hekko, Нерпу, Hoško – Фёдор (Fyodor)	Huokoi – Фока (Foka)	Onuhrie – Ануфрий (Anufriy)	Sohja – София, Софья (Sofya)
Hetta, Hetti, Hetikki – Федот (Fedot)	Hövölä – Фефил (Fefil)	Pahnno – Пафнутий (Pafnutiy)	Ohru, *Öhrö – Ефрем (Yefrem)

Table 17.  $f \rightarrow h(h)$  change.

$f \rightarrow hk$ :

Jouhko, D'ouhki, D'ouhko, Jouhki – Ефим (Yefim)	Ohkimie – Афимья (Afimya)
Ohkemie, Ohki, Ohko(i) – Е(в)фимий (Ye(v)fimiy)	Rohkima, *Rohko, Trohkima – Трофим (Trofim)

Table 18.  $f \rightarrow hk$  change.

$f \rightarrow k(k)$ :

Jekki, Jek(k)u, Jekkimä – Ефим (Yefim)	Kirša, Kirso(i), Kiršoi – Фирс (Firs)
Joukku – Ефим (Yefim)	Tokki – Трофим (Trofim)
Var'koi – Варфоломей (Varfolomey)	

Table 19.  $f \rightarrow k(k)$  change.

$f \rightarrow hp$ :

Нуоһрои, Н(у)оһрана – Фофан (Fofan)	Соһрои, Šоһрои – Софон (Sofon)	Труһрана, Труһро – Труфан (Trufan) ← Трифон
Малаһрие – Малафей (Malafey)	Тимоһрие – Тимофей (Timofey)	Триһро – Трифон (Trifon)
Неһро(и) – Нифонт (Nifont)	Тииһро – Тифон (Тифон) ← Тихон	Троһро(и) – Трофим (Trofim)
Оһро(и) – Афанасий (Afanasiy)		

Table 20.  $f \rightarrow hp$  change.

$f \rightarrow hv$ :

Ареһва – Арефий (Arefiy)	Микиһвуара – Никифор (Nikifor)	Потаһвие, Потаһвие – Потафий (Potafiy)
Нведот(та) – Федот (Fedot)	Неһво, Ниһво – Нифонт (Nifont)	Соһвоп'а – Софон (Sofon)
Н(у)оһвана – Фофан (Fofan)	Оһвана – Афанасий (Afanasiy)	Стаһвие – Стафей (Stafey)
Ерпихвие – Епифан (Yepifan)	Окаһво(па) – Агафон (Agafon)	Страһвие – Евстрафий (Yevstrafiy)
Меһво – Мефодий (Mefodiy)	Окаһвие – Агафья (Agafya)	Триһвана – Трифон (Trifon)

Table 21.  $f \rightarrow hv$  change.

$f \rightarrow p(p) \rightarrow b / f \rightarrow b$ :

Нуюрри – Фофан (Fofan)	Орро – Агафон (Агафон)	Риірро – Трифон (Trifon)
Јерру – Ефим (Yefim)	Орри – Е(в)фросинья (Ye(v)frosinya)	Труррана – Труфан (Tru- fan) ← Трифон
Марр(ра), Муарра – Марфа (Marfa)	Ребо – Федосья (Fedosya)	? Торі – Трофим
Ниірро, Ниіра – Нифонт, Нифангий (Nifont, Nifantiy)	Пролл – Фрол (Frol)	Маву – Марфа (Marfa)
Ора, Ори, Орри, Орро – Афимья (Afimya)	Ра'а – Фад(д)ей (Fad(d)ey)	Обри – Опросинья ← Афросинья (Afrosinya)

Table 22.  $f \rightarrow p(p) \rightarrow b$  and  $f \rightarrow b$  change.

$f \rightarrow t' (\rightarrow \check{c}) // f \rightarrow ? \check{s}\check{s}$ :

Т'ока (→ Čokoi) – Фёкла (Fyokla)	Ägräššie – Аграфена
----------------------------------	---------------------

Table 23.  $f \rightarrow t' (\rightarrow \check{c})$  and  $f \rightarrow \check{s}\check{s}$  change.<sup>18</sup>

$f \rightarrow v$ :

Vata, Vatei, Vati, Vatu, Vatakka – Фад(д)ей (Fad(d)ey)	Vija, Viija – София (Sofiya)	Hövölä – Фефил (Fefil)
Vekli – Феклист (Feklist)	Vilatka – Филат (Filat)	Vedossa, Vietos's'a – Федосья (Fedosya)
Vedi, Ved'o, Vet'a, Vet'u, Vetko – Фёдор (Fyodor)	Vilka – Филимон (Filimon)	Vyöteri – Фёдор (Fyodor)
Vetotta – Федот (Fedot)	Virsu – Фирс (Firs)	Stavei – Стафей (Stafey)

Table 24.  $f \rightarrow v$  change.

18. We cannot exclude that the Karelian form of *Ägräššie* could be derived from the name of *Agrafena* → \*Agrasha. At the same time, we have not seen any data where this form is used in Russian.

Reflection of the Russian *z* (*g*)

Most frequently, the equivalents for the Russian *g* (*z*) in Karelian anthroponymy are the consonants *h, j, k(k), p(p)*:

Bokda, Bohti, Pohta – Богдан (Bogdan)	Jokki, Jokko, D'okko – Георгий (Georgiy)	Korkačču, *Korkko – Егор (Yegor)
Нермо, Неммо – Герман (German)	Jyrki – Георгий (Georgiy), Егор (Yegor)	Kordi – Гордей (Gordey)
Ниигеи – Гурий (Guriy)	Kiko – Григорий (Grigoriy)	Kri(i)kku – Григорий (Grigoriy)
? Јерпи, Јерпу – Егор (Yegor)	Kaffi – Агафья (Agafya)	*Ahana – Агафон (Aga- fon)
Johora, Johor(u), D'ohor(u), Johra – Егор (Yegor)	Kalaška – Галактион (Galaktion)	

Table 25. *g* (*z*) → *h, j, k(k), p(p)* change.

Reflection of the Russian *в* (*v*)

*f* → *t'* (→ *č*) and *f* → *šš* change

In Karelian, the Russian *v* (*в*) most often corresponds to the Karelian *v*, but where a *v* is found in a combination of letters preceding a consonant, a *u* takes its place forming a diphthong together with the preceding vowel:

Auhtoi – Автоном (Avtonom)	Maura – Мавра (Mavra)	Sauli – Савелий (Savelij)
Jeusei, Jousoi, D'ousoi, Jöyssi, D'öyssi – Евсей (Yevsey)	Pauka, Paukko, Pauku – Павка (Pavka) ← Павел (Pavel)	Sinouhku – Зиновка ← Зиновий (Zinoviy)
Jouki, Joutokei, Joukki, Oudi – Евдокия (Yevdo- kiya)	Paula, Paulina – Павла, Павлина (Pavla, Павлина)	Voukka – Вовка ← Владимир (Vladimir)
Klaudi – Клавдия (Klavdiya)	Pauli, Paulikki, Paulo(i) – Павлик (Pavlik) ← Павел (Pavel)	
Lauri – Лавр, Лаврентий (Lavr, Lavrentiy)	Pauši, Paušoi, Pauš(š)u – Павша (Pavša) ← Павел (Pavel)	

Table 26.  $v \rightarrow u$  change. $v \rightarrow h$  change

In some cases, the Russian  $v$  ( $\vartheta$ ) corresponds to the Karelian  $h$ :

Ahto – Автоном (Avtonom)	*Ihan(n)us, *Ihanta, *Ihanti (ср. Ivanti) – Иван (Ivan): (Ihanus Vasilin = Janus Vasilin (1549))
--------------------------	--

Table 27.  $v \rightarrow h$  change. $v \rightarrow b$  change

In southern parts of Karelia, the position of a Russian initial  $v$  ( $\vartheta$ ) is replaced with a  $b$ , although a word-medial  $v$  ( $\vartheta$ ) becomes  $b$  in southern variants of the Karelian proper dialect as well:

Vako, Bladoi, Blad'ka, Voobi – Владимир (Vladimir)	Iba, Ibo Ibu, Ibukka, Iibo – Иван (Ivan)
Bukolai, Buk(u)lei, Bukul(u) – Вукол (Vukol)	Bluassei – Власий (Vlasiy)

Table 28.  $v \rightarrow b$  change.

Karelian inter-dialectal correspondence  $j \sim d'$

We can note that in Karelian dialects, especially Ludian Karelian, a variant of the sound  $j$  is the palatal  $d'$  (also  $t'$  in anthroponymy): compare appellatives *joučen – d'oučen* ‘swan’, *joki – d'oki/d'ogi* ‘river’, *järvi – d'ärvi* ‘lake’. This transition can be observed in quite a number of names:

D'ava – Иван (Ivan)	D'eusoi, D'eyssi, D'ousoi, D'oussi, D'yssi – Евсей (Yevsei)
D'efimä, D'eh(h)imä, D'ehki, D'ehko, D'eho – Ефим (Yefim)	D'uakki, D'akku, D'uakoi, D'aša, D'aška – Яков (Yakov)
D'ekki, D'ekko, D'ekku, D'eka, D'eku – Ефим (Yefim)	D'uakkima, D'iäkkimä – Йоаким, Яким (Yoakim, Yakim)
D'eša, D'eska, D'ešoi, D'essi, D'esi, D'essu, D'esu – Ефим (Yefim)	D'ohko, D'ouhki, D'ouhko – Ефим (Yefim)
D'elessie, D'elkka, D'elkko, D'elkku, D'eloi – Елисей (Yelisey)	D'ohora, D'ohra, D'oša, D'oška, D'ošši, D'yšši – Егор (Yegor)
D'eli – Елизавета (Yelizaveta)	D'okko – Георгий (Georgiy)
D'eli, D'el'u, D'elä, D'elkä, D'elenä – Елена (Yelena)	D'eigi, D'ougi, D'ouki – Евгений (Yevgeniy)
D'emelä – Емельян (Yemelyan)	D'eugoi – Евгения (Yevgeniya)
D'eremä, D'ermie, D'ermii, D'ermila, D'ormo, D'er'o, D'oro – Еремей, Ермил (Yeremey, Yermil)	D'ussi – Иван (Ivan)
D'eufto – Евдоким, Евстафий (Yevdokim, Yevstafiy)	D'yrgi – Егор, Георгий (Yegor, Georgiy)
D'euloi, D'euvo – Евлампий (Yevlampiy)	

Table 29. Correspondence  $j \sim d'$  in Karelian names.

The phenomenon  $j \sim d'$  can be seen also within proper names:

Aksen'd'a – Аксинья (Aksinya)	Šoft'a – Софья (Sofya)
Il'd'a – Илья (Ilja)	Vasil'd'a – Василий (Vasiliy)
Nazard'a – Назарья, Назарий (Nazariy)	? Lid'd'i – Лидия (Lidiya)
Muad'a – Мария (Mariya)	? Tad'd'ana – Татьяна (Tatyana)

Table 30. Correspondence  $j \sim d$  in a word-internal position.

On the other hand, the opposite process can be observed in some male names, where the Russian  $d$  ( $\partial$ ) becomes the Karelian  $j$ :

D'emī – Jemī – Дементий (Dementiy),	D'en'o – Jenä – Денис (Denis)
D'emī – Jemī – Демьян (Demyan)	

Table 31.  $d \rightarrow j$  change.

### Processes of devocalization and vocalization

In northern varieties, as well as some southern varieties of the Karelian proper dialect in the borderland Karelia (*Raja-Karjala*, Finland) voiceless stops appear in the position of voiced ones, in line with the general trend in these dialectal varieties ( $d$  ( $\partial$ )  $\rightarrow t$ ;  $g$  ( $z$ )  $\rightarrow k$ ;  $b$  ( $\bar{b}$ )  $\rightarrow p$ ):

Tenissie – Денис (Denis)	Tanila – Данил (Danil)	Kauro – Гаврил (Gavril)
Tomma – Домна (Domna)	Torohvie – Дорофей (Dorofey)	Platiimeī – Владимир (Vladimir)
Tuavita, Tavi – Давыд (David)	Timitra – Дмитрий (Dmitriy)	Porissa – Борис (Boris)
Tuarie – Дарья (Darya)	Torho(i), Toro(i), Torohvie, Toroška – Дорофей (Dorofey)	Pohta – Богдан (Bog- dan)

Table 32.  $d$  ( $\partial$ )  $\rightarrow t$ ;  $g$  ( $z$ )  $\rightarrow k$ ;  $b$  ( $\bar{b}$ )  $\rightarrow p$  changes in northern varieties of Karelian proper.

In addition, the Russian *z* (з) in Karelian variants of canonical names in the aforementioned varieties becomes *s*. Such a transformation is also observed in some names in the Livvi Karelian distribution range.

Sakki, Sakari – Захар (Zahar)	Kuška, Kus'ma, Kušmu – Кузьма (Kuz'ma)	Soso – Созон (Sozon)
Sossima – Зосим (Zosim)	Sinkko – Зиновий (Zinoviy)	Siina – Зинаида (Zinaida)

Table 33. *z* (з) → *s* change.

In southern varieties of the Karelian proper dialect, as well as among Livvi and Ludian Karelians, variants of canonical names also occur where the voiceless consonants of the original name become voiced:

Midro, Midr'o, Midruška – Митрофан (Mitrofan)	Pedri, Pedru – Пётр (Pyotr)
Padroi, Padrakka – Патрикей (Patrikey)	Madr'o, Madro – Матрёна (Matryona)
Tad'o, Tad'd'ana – Татьяна (Tatyana)	Omoza, Omozu – Амос (Amos)
? Kaiza – Кайса (Kaysa)	Zigli – Синклитикия (Sinklitikiya)
Gliimoi, Gliimatta – Клим, Клементий (Klim)	Gost'a, Gost'u – Константин (Konstantin)
Birdoi – Спиридон (Spiridon)	

Table 34. Voicing of voiceless consonants.

### Gemination

Another phonetic phenomenon appearing inside a name is the gemination of consonants. After a stressed syllable, for instance, it is the intervocalic *s* (*c*) of the original name that is usually geminated, although in some varieties of Karelian, *s* is not geminated (cf. D'elesiä, Osippu, Vuasil'a, Omošu, etc.).

Vassilei – Василий (Vasiliy)	T'enissei – Денис (Denis)
Jarassima – Герасим (Gerasim)	Sossima – Зосим (Zosim)
? Oprossi – Опросинья (Oprosinya)	Izossi – Изосим (Izosim)
Onissima – Анисим (Anisim)	Larissa – Лариса (Larisa)
Garassi – Герасим (Gerasim)	Assippa, Ossippa – Осип (Osip)
D'elessie – Елесе́й (Yelesej)	? Kris's'ana – Крисан, Хрисанф (Krisan, Hrisanf)

Table 35. Gemination of *s*.

The final consonant is geminated in Karelian in the same way as in the adaptation of disyllabic names ending in a consonant, when a vowel is appended to it. Gemination of the final consonant also occurs in the most recent loan words ending in a vowel:

Potappa – Потап (Potap)	Karppa – Карп (Karp)
Arhippa – Архип (Arhip)	Spirkke – Спирька (Spiridon)
Ahappa – Агап (Agap)	Kol'kka – Колька (Nikolay)
Ignatta – Игнат (Ignat)	Šurkka – Шурка (Aleksandr)

Table 36. Gemination of the word-final consonant.

The palatalized Russian dentals *l* (*л*) / *n* (*н*) / *s* (*с*) were assimilated in Karelian to form the palatal geminates *l' / n' / s'*:

И'а –	Val'jo –	Vasil'u –	Ulli –
Илья	Валентин	Василий	Ульяна
U'l'o, U'l'aška,	Kol'l'o –	Omel'i –	Natal'yu –
U'l'aššu – Ульян	Николай	Емельян	Наталья
In'n'oi, Irin'n'a –	Oksen'n'a, Sen'n'a –	Van'u –	Soloman'n'a –
Иринья	Аксинья	Иван	Соломония
Nastas's'a –	Tajis's'a –	Vetos's'a –	? Us's'a –
Настасья	Таисья	Федосья	Устинья

Table 37. The palatalization of Russian dentals *l* (*л*) / *n* (*н*) / *s* (*с*).

## Reflection of the Russian nasal *n* (*н*)

The initial consonant *n* (*н*) in Karelian variants of Russian names is often changed to *m*, but this transition happened already when canonical names were adjusted by North Russian patois, and it was in this form that the names were adopted by Karelians from their Russian-speaking neighbours. Later, the forms derived from names with the initial *n* (*н*) also came into use.

Mikitta/Mikittä/Mikitty/	Mikoi/Mikko/Mikušši –	Mikki/Mikihvuara/
Mit't'i – Микита –	Миколай – Николай	Mitfora – Микифор –
Никита		Никифор
Niko, Nikita, *Nikeška –	Nikki, Nikku, Niko –	Niikko – Никифор
Никита	Николай	

Table 38. *n* (*н*) → *m* (*м*) – change.

## Simplification of initial consonant groups

Unlike in Russian, consonant clusters beginning a word were not typical in Karelian. We must point out, however, that the same was true for North Russian varieties. This is why either one of the consonants was lost from the cluster or a vowel appeared between the consonants in such borrowings from Russian. The simplification of an initial consonant cluster is also found in borrowed names. There are also quite a number of cases where the lengthening of a vowel in the first stressed open syllable occurs, a process that is typical of old borrowings. Presumably, a substantial part of such forms is the oldest vernacular variants of the canonical names given below.

Demi, Miitka, Midru – Дмитрий	Trohko, Roska – Трофим
Riigo, Riissa, Riiška – Григорий	Terpana, Terpi, Terro – Степан
Lotona, Loto – Платон	Koria, Koroï, Rokko – Прокофий
Piira, Piïroi, Pirtana – Спиридон	Parassa – Прасковья
Listoforko – Христофор	Ruppo, Rurpana – Труфан
Rohki, Rohpi, Rohkima – Трофим	Riihro – Трифон
Lokko, Valte – Владимир	Lemetti – Климентий
Luaski, Luaso – Влас(ий)	Tokki, Tokkuri – Трофим

Table 39. The simplification of the initial consonant cluster.

In a later period, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, variants of canonical names starting with a consonant cluster made their way into the Karelian language environment. Such forms are known from 16<sup>th</sup> century documents, nor are they rare in the contemporary Karelian name calendar. However, the records of each of the forms suggest they arrived in the Karelian language in different time periods.

Krikko/Kriikku – Григорий	Krestina – Кристина
Klementi – Клементий	Klaudi – Клавдия
Triihpo – Трифон	Prouhola – Прохор
Trohko – Трофим	Proška – Прокофий
Platona – Платон	Truhpana, Truhpoi – Труфан (Трифон)

Table 40. Variants of canonical names starting with a consonant cluster.

#### Inner transferring consonants / prosthetic consonant

Consonant groups within borrowed names are usually identical to consonant clusters in the original names, but it is not uncommon that an internal rearrangement takes place:

Peura, Peuru – Петр	Helka – Фёкла
Harvi(la)* – Гаврил	Seke – Сергей
Arppina – Аграфина	Onderei – Андрей
Aketti – Акентий (Авксентий)	D'eigi – Евгений
Kippo --Киприан	Konni, Konratta – Кондрат
Löntti – Леонтий	Mitto – Дмитрий
On'no(i), On'nu – Андрей	Prankki – Панкрат(ий)
Spritta – Спиридон	Matero – Матрёна

Table 41. Word-internal rearrangement of consonant clusters.

In the Karelian context, some names gain a prosthetic consonant; that is, a consonant is added at the beginning of the word:

Šolgana – Ольга	? Šonkku, Jonsku – Иван
Honikki – Аникий	Kiiku – Игорь
Hippo – Ипат, Ипполит	Hippo, Harpu – Агап
Liivana -Иван (? Ливаний)	? Zgordi(i) – Гордей
Keki – Екатерина	Perukka – Иван
Jeuroi – Евгения	Jevana*, D'evana* – Иван

Table 42. Prosthetic consonant in beginning of the name.

To the issue of the forms with affricate č

Another characteristic feature of the Karelian vernacular name calendar is the forms where the heavily palatalized consonant *t'* (*d'*) or *s'* changed to an affricate (*č*, *dž*)<sup>19,20</sup>. Such name variants in Karelia and adjacent areas are recorded in documents between the late 15<sup>th</sup> and mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries: compare *Гридка Вацуюев* (1496, Vlg. Kupeckiy Navolok, Šun'ga), *Петрок Вацуюев* (1496, Vlg. Vač'uyevo, Šun'ga) (PKOP: 3, 7), *Давыдко Гочюев* (1496, Fominskaya, Ošta), *Ивашко Мичюев* (1496, Vlg. Rybežna, Ošta) (PKOP: 31, 37), *Микитка Федоров Мичюй* (1563, Vlg. Krošnozero, Olonec), *Мицифорец Мичюй* (1563, Vlg. Aroyeviči, Olonec) (PKOP: 66, 68), *Васюк Мичюев* (1557/58, Vlg. Sumskiy Posad) (Burov 2007: 73), *Ларка Мичюев* (1568, Vlg. Gorka Mič'uyevo, Gorodenskiy pogost (= Käkisalmi)) (PKVP 1568: 87).

Šimo(i) – S'imo(i) – Семен	On'č(č)i – On't't'i – Антон
Šimo(i) – ? T'imo(i) – Тимофей	Ouči – Out'i – Евдокия
Mača, *Madžuoī – Mat'a – Матвей	Nadžoi – Nad'oi – Надежда
Mičoi – Mit'oi – Дмитрий	Vačoi – Vaš'oi – Василий
Orčoi – Ort'oi – Артем	

Table 43. Affricate in Karelian names.

19. This phenomenon is also seen in appellatives, compare *t'irčču ~ čirčču* 'dainty', *tylččä ~ čylččä* 'dull', *čurčettua ~ sursettua* 'babble', Kar. *tylččetä* ~ Fin. *tylsyä* 'to become blunt' (KKS).

20. In some cases, we can apparently talk about the formation of such forms according to the model (cf. *Maču – Мария* (Mariya), *Haričču – Харитон* (Hariton)) as Karelian equivalents with palatalized consonants, which could give forms with an affricate, have not been recorded.

Nissilä (1947: 3–4) hypothesized that such forms might have appeared in Karelian under the influence of the canonical name variants with an affricate recorded in the Slavic name system, cf. *Аким* (*Иоаким*) – *Ачим* (Serb.) – *Ачо* (Serb.), *Анна* – *Анчур* (Czech) – *Анчурка* (Czech), *Матфей* – *Мата* (Serb.) – *Мача* (Bulg.), *Мича* (Bulg.) – *Мичо* (Serb.), *Михаил* – *Мичура* (Rus.) – *Мица* (Rus.), *Наджа*, *Онча* (Bulg.) – *Онче* (Bulg.) (Moroškin 1867: 4, 5, 120, 127, 133, 144). At the same time, the data reported by Moroškin primarily concern the forms in use in the Serbian, Bulgarian and Czech languages. This is why we believe that they cannot be directly linked to data from the Russian vernacular naming system, especially in the northwest of contemporary Russia, since such forms are so far unfamiliar there, at least to the author of this present study. Below are some examples of the usage of affricate forms from the Karelian vernacular name calendar:

$t'(t')V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V$  transition

*Ač(č)i, *Adžoi (karj. At'ima, Ašima) – Аким (Akim)	Маčoi, Маčči (karj. Mat't'i) – Матя (Mat'a), Матвей (Matvey)
Anččo, Ončči, *Ončču (karj. *Ant't'o, On't't'i) – Антон (Anton)	Melču (karj. ? *Melt'V) – Мелентий (Melentiy)
Ančoi, Ančuri (*An't'V) – Аньтя (An't'a), Анна (Anna)	*Miču, *Mičču, Miičču (karj. Miit't'yu) – Дмитрий (Dmitriy)
Ančči (karj. Ant't'i) – Андрей (Andrey)	Načči (karj. Nat't'i) – Наталья (Natalya)
Arču, Arčču (karj. *Art't'u, Art't'oi) – Артем, Артемий (Artyom)	Ouči (karj. Out'i) – Евдокия (Yevdokya)
Naričču (vrt. Narittu) – Харитон (Hariton)	Panči (karj. ? *Pant'i) – Панфил (Panfil)
Nečču (karj. *Net't'u, Net't'i) – Федот (Fedot)	*Penč(č)i (karj. *Pent't'i, Pentta) – Феопент (Feopent)
Hočči, *Houčo (karj. Hot't'i) – Хочко (Hochko), Хотей (Hotey)	Peča, Peččo, Pečču, Peču, Pečukka (karj. Pet'a, Pet'ukka) – Петр (Pyotr)
Ivačči, Iivvučči (karj. Ivat't'i, *Iivvutti) – Иван (Ivan)	Sočikko (karj. Sotikko) – Зотик (Zotik), Изот (Izot)
Klaučči (karj. *Klaut't'i) – Клавдия (Klavdiya)	Tačči (karj. Tat't'i) – Татьяна (Tatyana)
Lyuči (karj. Lyut't'i) – Лидия (Lidiya)	

Table 44.  $t'(t')V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V$  change.

$s (\leftarrow z) \rightarrow \check{c}$  transition (at the beginning of a name)

Čakki (karj. Sakki, Zakki) – Захар (Zahar)	Čila – Силиван, Селиван (Silivan, Selivan)
Čanu, *Čamu (Samu) – Самуил (Samuil)	Čimi, Čimo, Čimana, *Čimakka – Симак, Семен (Simak, Semyon)
Čemo (Semo) – Семен (Semyon)	Čirkka (Sirkka) – Сергей (Sergei)
*Čena (Sen'a) – Семен (Semyon)	Čolo (Solo) – Соломанида (Solomanida)
Činkki (Sinkki, Zinkki) – Зиновий (Zinoviy)	Čolo (Solo) – Соломанид (Solomanid)
Čikki (Sikli) – Синклитикия (Sinklitikiya)	*Čärk(k)ä – ? Сергей (Sergey) (? Черкас (Cherkas))

Table 45.  $s (\rightarrow z) \rightarrow \check{c}$  change.

$(s)t \rightarrow \check{c}$  transition (at the beginning of a name)

Čišu – T'imoša, T'iša – Тимофей (Timofey), Тихон (Tihon)	Čokoi – T'oka – Фёкла (Fyokla)
*Čimoi – T'imoi – Тимофей (Timofey)	Čorpi – *T'orpi ← St'orpi – Степан (Stepan) (*S'or(p)i, ср. Šori – Степан (Stepan))

Table 46.  $(s)t \rightarrow \check{c}$  change.

$s't'V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V$

Košča, Košči (Kos't'a, Kos't'i) – Константин (Konstantin)	Vačču (? *Vas't'a) – Севастьян (Sevastyan)
Načči (Nas't'i) – Анастасия (Anastasiya)	

Table 47.  $s't'V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V$  change.

$s(s)V / \check{s}(\check{s})V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V / \check{s}\check{c}V$ 

Gauči (? *Gauša) – Гаврил (Gavril)	Ončči (*On'šši) – Анисим (Anisim)
Halčo (? *Halšo) – Фалалей (Falaley)	Panču, *Pančču *Pančo, *Pančukka (? *Pan'šV) – Паншук (Panšuk), Панша (Panšča), Панкрат (Pankrat)
Ječu (Ješa) – Еся, Евсей (Yevsey)	Panči (? *Pan'ši) – Панфил (Panfil)
Košči (Košši) – Константин (Konstantin)	Vuačči, Vuačo(i), Vača, Vačeī, Vači, Vačila, Vaču, Vačču, Vačukka
Malačču (Malaššu) – Малафей (Malafey)	(Vuaš(š)V) – Василий (Vasiliy)
Marčči (Maršša) – Марфа (Marfa)	? *Voloičču (1645 Wáloitsula – Volossula) – Влас(ий) (Vlas(iy))
Mišči (Mišši) – Михаил (Mihail)	Muačči, Maču (? *Muašši, Mašu) – Мария (Marya)

Table 48.  $s(s)V / \check{s}(\check{s})V \rightarrow \check{c}(\check{c})V / \check{s}\check{c}V$  change.

However, Karelians have a quite number of trisyllabic names with the final  $-\check{c}\check{c}V$  whose origins may vary. In Tver Karelia, for instance, the suffix  $-\check{c}\check{c}V$  can be found in names of families as well as homestead names, where it is affixed to the name of the father or grandfather of the current owner, for example *Il'ičankodi* – Ivan Il'jič's house (Kar. *Il'an Iivana*). We can also compare the family *Spiriččä* – surname *Spiridonov* (Kozlova), *Tepiččä* – surname *Stepanov* (Kagrapuusta), *Ustimičča* – surname *Ustinov* (Žitnikovo), *Abričča* – surname *Abramov* (Spuassu), *Ogričča* – surname *Ogričev* (Ploskoi), *Ondičča* – surname *Antonov* (Kočka), *Froličča* – surname *Frolov* (Čökkelie), *Jormičča* – surname *Yermičev* (Dudino), *Jormičča* – surname *Yermolayev* (Timoskina), *Makičča* – surname *Makičev* (Mečča-Kozlova). In other words, such forms in the Karelian language area could have appeared under the influence of the Russian model of patronymic names for men.

The circumstances in Karelia were somewhat different since the model of naming homesteads and families with the final  $-\check{c}\check{c}V$  is recorded sporadically, mainly, in Ludian Karelian in rather late names. However, the use of patronymic names ending in  $-(vu)ч$  among the Karelian inhabitants of Karelian–Russian settlements on the White Sea coast is found in early records, compare *Logina Stephanowitz* from Vienan Kem', who was mentioned among merchants in the

Kajaani fair in 1666 (Kokkonen 2002: 373). We can thus presume that the vernacular variants with *-ččV* recorded from Karelia and Finland were exactly the Karelian-language forms of canonical names.

We should note that the 1568 cadastral book of Vodskaya Pjatina has records concerning Front (Peredn'aja) Korela, Sakulskij and Rovduzhskij pogosts, with *svoezemec*<sup>21</sup> names ending in *-eu*. These could serve to represent Karelian forms with *-ččV*, which were already used at that time. Such names were also in use among peasants of the Korrelskij Ujezd. It is still unclear whether contemporary Karelian forms with *-ččV* appeared under the influence of the Russian model with *-eu*<sup>22</sup> at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries or whether the Russian *-eu* forms are the Russian model of adapting Karelian vernacular variants with *-ččV* at that time. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Russian-language secular variants with *-нец* were also recorded among the Karelians in the Oloneckij pogost, cf. *Микуфорец Мичюй* from Vlg. Aroyeviči (1563) (PKOP: 68). In 1618 and 1637, such forms also were found in Swedish documents from the Serdobolskiy, Tivrolskiy, Liberickiy, Suistomskiy, and Kirjazhskiy pogosts, as well as in the Kexholms län toponymy of the time, cf. ? house of *Katin Teppå Homatzylä* (← Фома) in the Kirjazhskiy pogost (PKKU 1618: 305) and Vlg. *Wolitzula* (1631) in the Sakulskiy pogost (= \**Voloičču*, *Волосово* (1568), *Wåloitsula* (1645), *Volossula* (20<sup>th</sup> c.) (← Влас(ий)). (PKVP 1568: 139; PKKU 1631: 395.)

21. *Svoezemec* (*zemec*) refers to a hereditary petty landowner. In the southwestern Ladoga region, land mostly belonged to Karelian feudal gentlefolk, progeny of the “five clans of Karelian children”. In the last third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there were at least 50 clans (Černjakova 1998: 15–16). One of the best known clans in the Ladoga region was the *Rokul'skiy's* (Kar. Roukkula).

22. The suffix *-eu* in Russian names has long since had a derogatory, diminutive meaning. This form was, for instance, applied to the Bishop of Rostov Fyodor, known for many wrongdoings: *Федорьць* (1169). The implication of the suffix *-ць* (*-eu*) is clear from the Prologue (1174) of April 28: “...*Федорьца* (епископа) за укоризну тако называема...” *Feodorets* (Bishop) was thus used as a reproach (as a punishment for sins). In its diminutive meaning, *-ец* was common in proper names of persons during Moscow rule: compare *Василец*, *Назарец*, *Юрец*, et cetera. (Seliščev 2003: 416–417, 454). Among the Karelian population of the early Modern Era, the suffix, however, had another meaning. As a rule, it was found in the names of the progeny of Karelian feudal gentlefolk and, possibly, also the names of the peasants representing them, compare “Деревня Подгорье у Кимервы, а живут в ней земцы Первушины и братья его подможчики”, среди которых, например, Матвеец Иванов (PKVP 1568: 123). (“Village of Podgorye by Kimerva, and there live zemcy Pervušins and his helping brothers”, and among them *Матвеец Иванов*).

Богданец Фомин Рокульский (PKVP 1568: 132)	Миронец Васильев Рокульский (PKVP 1568: 135–136)	Ондреец Костянтинов Якольский (PKVP 1568: 143)
Огафонец Васильев Якольский (PKVP 1568: 124)	Ондреец Филиппов Конков (PKVP 1568: 123)	Иванец Федоров сын Ворсин (PKVP 1568: 126)
Мосеец Иванов сын Михайлин (из дер. Идола) (PKVP 1568: 129)	Упица Васильев Турубаров (PKVP 1568: 134)	Пахомец Васильев Соболинский (PKVP 1568: 133)
Сергеец Григорьев (PKVP 1568: 130)	Патрекеец и Иванец Юрьевы дети (PKVP 1568: 130)	Михалец Федоров Воронкин (PKVP 1568: 154)
Иванча Никифоров (PKVP 1568: 118)	Иванча Лукьянов (PKVP 1568: 127)	Иванча Микулин (PKVP 1568: 134)
Матвеец Иванов (PKVP 1568: 123, 163)	Михеец Фофанов (PKVP 1568: 140)	Микифорец Мичюй (PKOP 1563: 68)
Rigatz Saviselgä (PKKU 1618: 294)	Pent Ochwotz N. (PKKU 1618: 328)	Paritza Kurki (PKKU 1618: 348)
Neudetz Judanpoika (PKKU 1618: 378)	Parpetz Mikihfaranpoika (PKKU 1618: 378)	Ulatzoi Samuylov (PKKL 1637: 50)

Table 49. The suffix *-eu (-tz)* in the documents of Korelskiy Uyezd.

We can also not rule out the possibility that the derivation of forms with *-ččV* from Christian names was backed up by the usage of the older model with *-ččV*, compare the name *Лингач Клементьев* (Vlg. *Suvisar', Šuya*) (1563) (PKOP: 117), where the final *č* (*ч*) clearly indicates that such forms were also present in pre-Christian personal names of the Finnic-speaking people. These suffixal forms may, in some cases, represent the diminutives of Karelian Christian names (cf. in appellatives: *briha* ‘young man of marriageable age’ – *brihačču* ‘teenage boy under marriageable age’), or could be used for unceremonious address or among good friends.

The formation of female name colloquial variants with *-ččV* could have been influenced by Russian forms of canonical names such

as Анница, Марьца, Марфица and others, recorded quite often in the Korelskiy Uyezd in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Contemporary vernacular Karelian name calendar comprises the following names of this type, chiefly male names:

Anničča – Анна	*Korkačču – Григорий, ? Егор	Mikečči, Mikičči, Mikučča – Михаил
Heglačču – Фёкла	Laugičča – Лаврентий	Riigačču – Григорий
*Haričču – Харитон	Malačču (Malassu, Malaššu) – Малафей	Savičča – Савелий
Натачču, Номичча, Номиччу – Фома	Markačču – Маркел	Št’orančča – Степан
Ivančča, Iivačči, Iivvučči, Iivačču – Иван	Onačču - Ананий	Tuavičča – Давид
*Kanačču – Конон	Mikičču – Никита, ? Михаил	Olličča – Алексей
Oričča – Акимья		

Table 50. The suffix -ččV in Karelian names.

## Conclusions

As a summary, it can be stated that Karelian forms of canonical names constitute a quite well-arranged system, providing the framework for a fairly easy reconstruction of many of the recorded Karelian vernacular names which had previously had no definite equivalents in Russian. On the other hand, quite a number of names in my material would have been difficult to correlate to a certain canonical name if local Karelian people of the time had not stated the official names behind them (see the following table below). Thus, a further investigation of new adaptational models and for Russian vernacular variants of full names yet unknown to me would enable the reconstruction of their Karelian forms still lacking reliable etymology.

Čonkku, Čonsku, Jonsku – Иван (Ivan),	Tarkko – Аристарх (Aristarh)
D'orkka, Jorkka – Еремей (Yeremey)	Jeuvo – Евлампий (Yevlampiy)
Deigi – Евгений (Yevgeniy)	Grimu – Григорий (Grigoriy)
Gaagi, Kuaki – Гаврил (Gavril)	Pemu – Федосья (Fedosya)
Intu – Иван (Ivan)	Autto, Outto – Антон (Anton)
Iрка – Иван (Ivan)	Glašukki – Клавдий (Klavdiy)
Jöčy – Иван (Ivan)	Pošo – Потап (Potap)
Kouru – Гаврил (Gavril)	Ännikkä – Аникий (Anikiy)
Lehvo(i) – Ле(в)онтий (Le(v)ontiy)	Piebo – Fyodor (Fyodor)
Lokko – Владимир (Vladimir)	Pässi – Петр (Pyotr)
Omena – Емельян (Yemelyan)	Omikka – Анисим (Anisim)
Ot'tu – Ануфрий (Anufriy)	Otti – Оксиния (Oksiniya)
Pakki – Павел (Pavel)	Lötti – Леонид (Leonid)
Prankki – Панкрат (Pankrat)	Saukku – Исаак (Isaak)
Roska – Терентий (Terentiy)	Ašima – Аким (Akim)
Sebu – Семен (Semyon)	Šopi – Степан (Stepan)
Tehvo(i) – Степан (Stepan)	Čolgana – Ольга (Ol'ga)
Upri, Upro – Ефросинья (Yefrosinya)	Naru – Настасья (Nastasya)
Ut'a – Устин (Ustin)	Kunni – Кузьма (Kuz'ma)
Veska – Федор (Fyodor)	Kretu – Крестина (Krestina)
Volkka – Владимир (Vladimir)	*Ščekki (Cf. karel. St'ekki) – Степан (Stepan)

Table 51. Non-typical forms of Karelian names.

## Transliteration:

е	ё	ж	й	ц	ч	ш	щ	ы	ь	э	ю	я
e/ye	yo	ž	y	c	č	š	šč	y	'	e	yu	ya

Table 52. Transliteration of Cyrillic letters in the article.

## Materials<sup>23</sup>

Ač(č)i* – Akim	Adžoi* – Akim	Afanasie – Afanasij	Ahana* – Agafon
Ahappa – Agap(iy)	Ahei – Agey	Ahto – Avtonom	Aketti – Avksentiy
Aksen'd'a – Aksinya	Akuli – Akulina	Amossu – Amos	Anania – Ananiy
Ančči – Andrey	Anččo – Anton	Ančoi – Anna	Ančuri – Anna
Andri – Andrey	Anisima – Anisim	Anisja – Anisya	Anničča – Anna
Ant't'i – Andrey	Antoi – Anton	Antoša – Anton	Ar'ki, Ar'ko – Arkadiy
Arču, Arčču – Artemiy	Arehva – Arefiy	Arhippa, Arhippu – Arhip	Arppina – Agrippina
Ars'a, Ars'o – Arseniy	Art't'oi – Artemiy	Arta, Arto – Artemiy	Arta – Artamon
As(s)jippa – Osip	Asaria – Azariy	Ašima – Akim	At'ima – Akim
Auhtoi – Avtonom	Autto – Anton	Avdeja – Avdey	Bako – Vladimir
Barissa – Boris	Birdoi – Spiridon	Bladoi, Blad'ka – Vladimir	Bluassei – Vlasiy
Bohti – Bogdan	Bokda – Bogdan	Boobi – Vladimir	Borissa – Boris
Buk(u)lei, Bukul(u) – Vukol	Bukolai – Vukol	Čakki – Zahar	Čamu* – Samuil
Čanu – Samuil	Čemo – Semyon	Čena* – Semyon	Čiimana – Semyon
Čikki – Sinklitikiya	Čila – Selivan	Čimakka* – Semyon	Čimi, Čimo(i) – Semyon
Čimo(i)* – ? Timofey	Činkki – Zinoviy	Čirkka – Sergey	Čišu – Tihon
Čišu – Timofey	Čokoi – Fyokla	Čolgana – Ol'ga	Čolo – Solomanid
Čolo – Solomanida	Čonkku – Ivan	Čonsku – Ivan	Čoppi – Stepan
Čärk(k)ä* – ? Sergey	D'akku – Yakov	D'ava – Ivan	D'aša, D'aška – Yakov
Denissä – Denis	D'efimä – Yefim	D'eh(h)imä – Yefim	D'ehki, D'ehko – Yefim
D'eho – Yefim	D'eigi – Yevgeniy	D'eka, D'eku – Yefim	D'ekki, D'ekko, D'ekku – Yefim
D'elenä – Yelena	D'elessie – Yelisey	D'eli – Yelizaveta	D'eli, D'el'u, D'elä – Yelena
D'elkka, D'elkko, D'elkku – Yelisey	D'elkä – Yelena	D'eloi – Yelisey	D'emelä – Yemelyan

23. The table shows personal names in the study, although it does not cover the main part of variants of the name *Ivan*, as they are given in the table 1.

D'emi, Jemi – Dementiy	D'emi, Jemi – Demyan	D'en'o, Jenä – Denis	D'er'o, D'oro – Yeremey
D'eremä – Yeremey	D'ermie, D'ermii – Yeremey	D'ermila – Yermil	D'eša, D'esi, D'esu, D'ešoi – Yefim
D'eska – Yefim	D'essi, D'essu – Yefim	D'eufu – Yevdokim	D'eufu – Yevstafiy
D'eugoi – Yevgeniya	D'euloi – Yevlampiy	D'eusoi, D'eyssi, Jeusei – Yevsey	D'euvo, Jeuvo – Yevlampiy
D'evana*, Jevana* – Ivan	D'jäkkimä – Yoakim	D'ohko – Yefim	D'oh(o)ra, D'ohor(u) – Yegor
D'okko – Georgiy	D'orkka, Jorkka – Yeremey	D'ormo – Yeremey	D'oša, D'oška, D'ošši – Yegor
D'ougi, D'ouki – Yevgeniy	D'ouhki, D'ouhko – Yefim	D'ousoi, D'oussi, Jousoi – Yevsey	D'uakki, D'uakoi – Yakov
D'uakkima – Yoakim	D'ussi – Ivan	D'uusuoi – Ivan	D'yrgi – Georgiy
D'yrgi – Yegor	D'yšši – Yegor	D'yssi – Yevsey	Juakko, D'ääkko – Yakov
D'öyssi, Jöyssi – Yevsey	Das'u – Dar'ya	D'eigi – Yevgeniy	Demi – Dmitriy
Demitä – Demid	Demuoi – Dementiy	Duarie, Dääria – Dar'ya	Dmitri – Dmitriy
Döröi – Dorofey	Faru – Ferapont	Fedottu – Fedot	Gauči – Gavril
Fedu – Fedot	Fen'ka – Fedos'ya	Gaagi – Gavril	Gaaro, Gaaru – Gavril
Garassi – Gerasim	Glašukki – Klavdiy	Gliimatta – Klementiy	Grimu – Grigoriy
Gliimoi – Klementiy, Klim	Gost'a, Gost'u – Konstantin	Hoško – Fyodor	H(u)ohpana – Fofan
H(u)ohvana – Fofan	Halčo – Falaley	Hama – Foma	Hamačču – Foma
Happo, Happu – Agap(iy)	Haričču* – Hariton	Harittu – Hariton	Haršuo – Hariton
Harvi(la)* – Gavril	Hatti – Fotiy	Havana – Fofan	Hečču – Fedot
Hekko – Fyodor	Hekla – Fyokla	Hemmo – German	Heppu – Fyodor
Hermo – German	He't'í – Fedot	Hetikki – Fedot	Hetta, Hetti – Fedot
Hiekla – Fyokla	Hil'šu – Filimon	Hilippä, Hilippy – Filipp	Hiltu – Filat
Hiluoi – Filipp	Hippo – Ipat	Hippo – Ippolit	Hočči – Hotey
Hodatta – Fedot	Hoduli – Fedul	Homa – Foma	Homičča, Homičču – Foma
Honikki – Anikiy	Hot't'í, Hotti – Hotey	Hotatta – Fedot	Hotti – Fotiy

ADOPTION OF ORTHODOX PERSONAL NAMES  
IN THE KARELIAN LANGUAGE

Houčo* – Hotey	Houri – Fevronija	Hovana – Fofan	Huohpoi – Fofan
Huokoi – Foka	Hoško, Huotari – Fyodor	Huurei – Guriy	Hvedot(t)a – Fedot
Hyöppi – Fofan	Hökkä – Foka	Hörkkö – Hariton	Hötti – Fotiy
Hövölä – Fefil	Iba, Ibo Ibu, Ibo – Ivan	Ibukka – Ivan	Ignatta – Ignat
Iivana, Iivan(u) – Ivan	Iivvučči – Ivan	Il'd'a, Il'l'a – Ilya	In'n'oi – Irinya
Intu – Ivan	Ipka – Ivan	Irin'n'a – Irinya	Iro – Irina
Issakka, Isakku – Isaak	Iššuoï – Isay	Iuššuoï – Ivan	Ivačči, Iivačči, Iivačču – Ivan
Ivančča – Ivan	Ivat't'i – Ivan	Iz'u – Izosim	Izossi – Izosim
Jarassima – Gerasim	Ječu – Yevsey	Jehhimeï, Jehhimä – Yefim(iy)	Jeho – Yefim
Jehrimä – Yefrem	Jekki, Jek(k)u – Yefim	Jekkimä – Yefim	Jelu – Yelena
Jemelä – Yemelyan	Jemmu – Yemelyan	Jepihvei – Yepifan	Jeppi, Jeppu – Yegor
Jeppu – Yefim	Jeremei – Yeremey	Yermilä – Yermil	Jeru – Yerofey
Ješa – Yevsey	Jestu – Yevstafiy	Jeupoi – Yevgeniya	Jobla* – Yevlampiy
Johora, Johra, Johor(u) – Yegor	Jokki, Jokko – Georgiy	Jonsku – Ivan	Jouhki, Jouhko – Yefim(iy)
Jouki – Yevgeniya	Jouki, Joukki – Yevdokiya	Joukku – Yefim	Joutokei – Yevdokiya
Jyrki – Georgiy	Jyrki – Yegor	Jöčy – Ivan	Kaffi – Agaf'ya
Kaiza – Kaysa	Kalaška – Galaktion	Kanačču* – Konon	Kanana – Konon
Karppa – Karp	Katti – Yekaterina	Kauro – Gavril	Keki – Yekaterina
Kerä – Kirill	Kirilä, Kirily – Kirill	Kiiku – Igor'	Kiirikkö – Kirik
Kiko – Grigoriy	Kippo – Kiprian	Kipr(i)änä – Kiprian	Kirša, Kirso(i), Kiršoi – Firs
Klaučči – Klavdiya	Klaudi – Klavdiya	Klementi – Klementiy	Kol'kka – Nikolay
Kol'l'o – Nikolay	Kona – Konon	Konni – Kondrat	Konratta - Kondrat
Kopia – Prokopiy	Kopoi – Prokopiy	Kordi – Gordey	Korkačču – Yegor
Korkačču* – Grigoriy	Korkko* – Yegor	Kos't'a, Kos't'i – Konstantin	Košča, Košči – Konstantin
Košši – Konstantin	Kouru – Gavril	Krestina, Krestinä – Kristina	Kretu – Krestina
Krikko, Kri(i)kku – Grigoriy	Kris's'ana – Krisan, Hrisanf	Kuaki – Gavril	Kuarpa – Karp

Kunni – Kuz'ma	Kus'ma, Kušmu – Kuz'ma	Kuška – Kuz'ma	Kustu – Avgust
Kyyrö – Kirill	Kyyli – Kirill	Larissa – Larisa	Lassi – Vlasiy
Lauri – Lavr	Lauri – Lavrentiy	Lauričča – Lavrentiy	Lehvo(i) – Leontiy
Lemetti – Klementiy	Lid'd'i – Lidiya	Liivana – Ivan (? Livaniy)	Listoforko – Hristofor
Lokko – Vladimir	Loto – Platon	Lotona – Platon	Luaski – Vlas(iy)
Luaso – Vlas(ij)	Luazari, Lââzari – Lazar'	Luttu – Lu'tyan (Lukyan)	Lyyči – Lidiya
Lyyt'i – Lidiya	Löntti – Leontiy	Lötti – Leonid	Mabu – Marfa
Mača, Mačoi, Mačči – Matvey	Maču – Mariya	Madr'o, Madro – Matryona	Malačču – Malafey
Malahpie – Malafey	Malassu, Malaššu – Malafey	Marčči – Marfa	Markačču – Markel
Marp(p)a – Marfa	Maršša – Marfa	Martuoi – Martyn	Mašu – Mariya
Mat'a – Matvey	Mat't'i – Matvey	Matero – Matryona	Maura – Mavra
Mehvo – Mefodiy	Melču – Melentiy	Mičču*, Miičču – Dmitriy	Mičoi, Miču* – Dmitriy
Midro, Midr'o – Mitrofan	Midru – Dmitriy	Midruška – Mitrofan	Mihie – Mihey
Miinuoi – Mina	Miit't'y – Dmitriy	Miitka – Dmitriy	Miitriä – Dmitriy
Mikečči, Mikičči – Mihail	Mikiččy – Nikita	Mikihvuara – Nikifor	Mikitta, Mikittä, Mikitty – Nikita
Mikki – Nikifor	Mikoi, Mikko – Nikolay	Miku – Mihail	Mikučča – Mihail
Mikušši – Nikolay	Mišči – Mihail	Mišši – Mihail	Mit'oi – Dmitriy
Mit't'i – Nikita	Mitfora – Nikifor	Mitto – Dmitriy	Moisei – Moisey
Muačči – Mariya	Muappa – Marfa	Muard'a – Mariya	Muarie, Määria – Mariya
Načči – Natalya	Načči – Anastasiya	Nad'oi – Nadežda	Nadžoi – Nadežda
Napu – Anastasiya	Nas't'i – Anastasiya	Nasana – Nason (pre-Christ.)	Nastas's'a – Anastasiya
Nasti – Anastasiya	Nat't'i – Natalya	Natal't'y – Natalya	Nazard'a – Nazariy
Nehpo(i) – Nifont	Nehvo – Nifont	Nestäri – Nestor	Nihvo – Nifont
Niikko – Nikifor	Niina – Nina	Niippo – Nifont, Nifantiy	Nikeška* – Nikita
Nikita – Nikita	Nikki, Nikku – Nikolay	Niko – Nikita	Niko – Nikolay

ADOPTION OF ORTHODOX PERSONAL NAMES  
IN THE KARELIAN LANGUAGE

Nippa – Nifont, Nifantiy	Obri – Yefrosiniya	Ofimja – Ye(v)fimiya	Ofon'a – Afanasiy
Ofrima – Yefrem	Ogahvo – Agafon	Ogru – Agrippina	Ohkemie – Ye(v)fimiy
Ohki, Ohko(i) – Ye(v)fimiy	Ohkimie – Ye(v)- fimiya	Ohon'a – Afanasiy	Ohpo(i) – Afanasiy
Ohru – Yefrem	Ohvana – Afanasiy	Ohvo – Afanasiy	Oka – Agaf'ya
Okahvana, Okahvo(na) – Agafon	Okahvi(e) – Agaf'ya	Okatti – Akatiy (Akakiy)	Okki – Akulina (Akilina)
Oksen'n'a – Aksin'ya (Kseniya)	Oksentie – Aksentiy	Ol'moi – Yelima	Ol'ona – Alyona
Oleksi – Aleksey	Olličča – Aleksey	Olličča* – ? Ol'ga	Omel'l'i – Yemelyan
Omena, Ommi – Yemelyan	Omikka – Anisim	Omoza, Omozu – Amos	On'č(ě)i, Ončči, Ončču* – Anton
Ončči – Anisim	On't't'i – Anton	On'u – Anufriy	Onačču – Ananiy
On'n'o(i), On'n'u – Andrey	Ond(e)rei, Ontrei – Andrey	Ondria – Andrey	Onissima – Anisim
Ontti – Antip	Ontto – Anton	Onuhrie – Anufriy	Opa, Opi – Afimya (Yefim'ya)
Oppi, Oppo – Afimya (Yefim'ya)	Oppo – Agafon	Oppo – Yefrosin'ya	Opri – Yefrosin'ya
Oprossi – Oprosin'ya	Orčoi – Artemiy	Or't'oi – Artemiy	Os'u – Osip
Osratta – Yevstrat	Ostro* – Yevstrat	Ossippa – Osip	Ot't'u – Anufriy
Otti – Oksiniya (Kseniya)	Ouči – Yevdokiya	Oudi, Out'i , Outi – Yevdokiya	Outto – Anton
Paala (*Paula) – Pavel	Padrakka – Patrikey	Padroi – Patrikey	Pahno – Pafnutiy
Pakki – Pavel	Panči – Panfil	Pančo*, Panč(ě)u – Pankrat	Pančukka* – Pankrat
Parassa – Praskov'ya	Parha – Parfentiy	Pat'a – Faddey	Pauka, Paukko, Pauku – Pavel
Paula – Pavla	Paula, Paulina – Pavlina	Pauli, Paulo(i) – Pavel	Paulikki – Pavel
Pauši, Paušoi, Pauš(š)u – Pavel	Pebo – Fedos'ya	Peča, Peču – Pyotr	Peččo, Pečču – Pyotr
Pečukka – Pyotr	Pedri, Pedru – Pyotr	Pemu – Fedos'ya	Penč(ě)i*– Feopent
Pentta – Feopent	Pepekka – Ivan	Pessi – Pyotr	Pet'a – Pyotr
Pet'ukka – Pyotr	Peura, Peuru – Pyotr	Piebo – Fyodor	Piira, Piiroi – Spiridon

Pirhina – Perfiriy	Pirtana – Spiridon	Platana – Platon	Platiimei – Vladimir
Platona – Platon	Platto – Platon	Pohta – Bogdan	Porissa – Boris
Pošo – Potap	Potahvie, Potahvei – Potafiy (Potapiy)	Potappa – Potap	Prankki – Pankrat(iy)
Prola – Frol	Proška – Prokofiy	Prouhola – Prohor	Puavila, Päävila – Pavel
Puuda – Pud	Päntelei – Panteley	Päntti, Pänt(t)ö – Panteley	Pässi – Pyotr
Pösä – Pyotr	Riigačču – Grigoriy	Riigo – Grigoriy	Riihpo – Trifon
Riippo – Trifon	Riiška – Grigoriy	Riissa – Grigoriy	Riku – Grigoriy
Rohki, Rohko* – Trofim	Rohkima – Trofim	Rohpi – Trofim	Rokko – Prokopiy
Romuoi – Roman	Roska – Terentiy	Roska – Trofim	Ruppana – Trifon
Ruppo – Trifon	Sakari – Zahar	Sakki, Sakku, Saku – Zahar	Samu – Samuil
Saukku – Isaak	Sauli – Saveliy	Savičča – Saveliy	Savo – Sevastyan
Sebu – Semyon	Seke – Sergey	Semo – Semyon	Sen’a – Semyon
Sen’n’a – Aksin’ya (Kseniya)	Serahhima – Serafima	Sergiä – Sergey	Siina, Ziina – Zinaida
Sikli – Sinklitikiya	Simana, Simppi – Semyon	S’imo(i) – Semyon	Simä – Semyon
Sinkki, Sinkko – Zinoviyy	Sinouhku – Zinoviyy	Sirkei, Sirkä – Sergey	Sirkka – Sergey
Sočikko – Zotik (Izot)	Šoft’a – Sofiya	Sohja – Sofiya	Sohpoi, Šohpoi – Sofon
Sohvon’a – Sofon	Solo – Solomanid	Solo – Solomanida	Soloman’n’a – Solomoniya
Šopi – Stepan	Soso – Sozon	Sossima – Zosim	Sotikko – Zotik, Izot
Spirkke – Spiridon	Spritta – Spiridon	St’ekki – Stepan	Ščekki* – Stepan
Št’opančča – Stepan	St’oppi – Stepan	Stahvei – Stafey	Stavei – Stafey
Strahvi – Yevstrafiy	Šurkka – Aleksandr	Sääva – Savva	Tačči – Tatyana
Tad’d’ana – Tatyana	Tad’o – Tatyana	Tajjis’s’a – Taisiya	Tanila – Danil
Tarkko – Aristarh	Tat’t’i – Tatyana	Tavi – David	Tehvo(i) – Stepan
Tenissie, T’enissee – Denis	Teppana – Stepan	Teppi, Teppo – Stepan	Tiihpo – Tihon
Tiitta – Tit	Timitra – Dmitriy	T’imo – Timofey	Timohpie – Timofey
T’iša – Tihon	T’oka – Fyokla	Tokki – Trofim	Tokkuri – Trofim
Tomma – Domna	Topi* – Trofim	Torho(i) – Dorofey	Toro(i) – Dorofey

Torohvie – Dorofey	Toroška – Dorofey	Trihvana – Trifon	Triif(ɸ)o – Trifon
Triifana – Trifon	Triihpo – Trifon	Trohkima – Trofim	Trohko – Trofim
Truhpana – Trifon	Truhpo(i) – Trifon	Truppana – Trifon	Tuarie – Dar'ya
Tuavičča – Davyd	Tuavita – Davyd	Tyynne – Yevdokiya	Ul'taška – Ul'yan
Ul'taššu – Ul'yan	Ul't'i, Ulli – Ul'yana	Ul't'o – Ul'yan	Upri, Upro – Yefrosinya
Us's'a – Ustin'ya	Ut'a – Ustin	Vača, Vačei, Vači, Vaču – Vasiliy	Vačču – Sevastyan
Vačoi, Vačču, Vačukka – Vasiliy	Vačila – Vasiliy	Vaku – Avvakum	Val't'o – Valentin
Valte – Vladimir	Van'n'u – Ivan	Var'koi – Varfolomey	Vas'oi – Vasiliy
Vasil'd'a – Vasiliy	Vasil't'u – Vasiliy	Vassi – Vasilisa	Vassilei – Vasiliy
Vata, Vatei, Vati, Vatu – Fadey	Vatakka – Fadey	Večä – Vyačeslav	Vedi, Ved'o – Fyodor
Vedossa, Vetos's'a – Fedos'ya	Vekli – Feklist	Veska – Fyodor	Vet'a, Vet'u – Fyodor
Vetko – Fyodor	Vetotta – Fedot	Viera – Vera	Vietos's'a – Fedos'ya
Vija, Vijja – Sofiya	Vilatka – Filat	Vilka – Filimon	Virsu – Firs
Volkka – Vladimir	Voloičču* – Vlas(iy)	Voukka – Vladimir	Vuačči, Vuačo(i) – Vasiliy
Vyöteri – Fyodor	Väčči, Väčä – Vyačeslav	Väslä – Vasiliy	Zakki – Zahar
Zaku, Žaku – Zahar	Zavoi – Zavasiy (Sevastyan)	Zgordii – Gordey	Zigli – Sinklitikiya
Zinkki – Zinoviy	Ägräššie – Agrafena	Ännikkä – Anikiy	Öhrö* – Yefrem

Table 51. Karelian names.

## References

- Katajala, Kimmo 2005: *Suurvallan rajalla*. Helsinki.
- Kirkinen, Heikki 1981: Kalevalainen Karjala ja kristinusko. – *Karjala I, Portti itään ja länteen*. Hämeenlinna. 259–279.
- KKS = *Karjalan kielen sanakirja* 1–6. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVI. Helsinki.
- Kokkonen, Jukka 2002: *Rajaseutu liikkeessä. Kainuun ja Pielisen Karjalan asukkaiden kontaktit Venäjän Karjalaan kreivin ajasta sarkasotaan (1650–1712)*. Bibliotheca Historica 79. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

- Korpela, Jukka 2004: *Viipurin läänin historia II: Viipurin linnaläänin synty*. Lappeenranta.
- 2006: Keskiaikainen itäraja läpi itäisen Fennoskandian metsävyöhykkeen – mikä se on! – *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 104*: 454–469.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1943: Venäläisperäisiä henkilönnimiä Itä-Karjalan paikannimistöissä. – *Virittäjä 47*: 46–78.
- 1947: *Lisiä venäläisperäisiin henkilönnimiin Itä-Karjalan paikannimistöissä*. Suomi 104. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- 1976: *Suomen Karjalan ortodoksinen nimistö*. Lappeenranta.
- Paulaharju, Samuli 1995: *Syntymä, lapsuus ja kuolema. Vienan-Karjalan tapoja ja uskomuksia*. Helsinki.
- Vilkuna, Kustaa 1990: *Etunimet*. Keuruu.
- Virtaranta, Pertti 1972: *Polku sammui*. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.
- 1978: *Vienan kyliä kiertämässä*. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.
- Burov 2007 = Буров, В. А. 2007: «Памяти Филиппу игумену»: к истории первых каменных храмов Соловецкого монастыря – *Соловецкое море* № 6, с. 61–78.
- Žukov 2000 = Жуков, Ю. А. 2000: Формирование и развитие структуры церковного управления в Карелии (XIII – XV вв.) – *Православие в Карелии (Материалы республиканской научной конференции 24–25 октября 2000 г.)*. Петрозаводск: Петрозаводский государственный университет.
- 2013 = Жуков, Ю. А. 2000: *Самоуправление в политике России: Карелия в XII – начале XVII в.* Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр РАН.
- Korpela 2003 = Кorpела, Юккa 2003: Государственная власть и христианизация в Приладожье в Средние века. – *Православие в Карелии. Материалы 2-й международной научной конференции, посвященной 775-летию крещения карелов*. Петрозаводск, с. 44–52. <<http://refdb.ru/look/1784718-pall.html>>
- Koçkurkina 1982 = Кочкуркина, С. И. 1982: *Древняя Корела*. Ленинград: Наука.
- Moroškin 1867 = Морoшкин, М. Я. 1867: *Славянский именовослов, или собрание славянских личных имён в алфавитном порядке*. Санкт-Петербург.
- Musin 1997 = Мусин А. Е. 1997: Становление православия в Карелии (XII—XVI вв.) – «Рябининские чтения 95». *Международная научная конференция по проблемам изучения, сохранения и актуализации народной культуры Русского Севера: сб. докладов*. Петрозаводск, с. 242–262.

- Nemirovič-Dančenko 1877 = Немирович-Данченко, В. И. 1877: *Страна холода. Виденное и слышанное*. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство книгопродавца-типографа М. О. Вольфа.
- РЮК = *Письменные известия о карелах*. Составители С. И. Кочкуркина, А. М. Спиридонов, Т. Н. Джаксон. Петрозаводск. 1990.
- РКВР 1568 = Писцовая книга Водской пятины 1568 года – *История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах*. Академия наук СССР, Университет Йоенсуу. Петрозаводск–Йоенсуу, 1987.
- РККУ 1590 = *Переписная книга Корельского уезда 1590 года* – История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. Академия наук СССР, Университет Йоенсуу. Петрозаводск–Йоенсуу, 1987.
- 1618 = *Переписная книга Корельского уезда 1618 года* – История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. Академия наук СССР, Университет Йоенсуу. Петрозаводск–Йоенсуу, 1987.
- 1631 = *Переписная книга Корельского уезда 1631 года* – История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. Академия наук СССР, Университет Йоенсуу. Петрозаводск–Йоенсуу, 1987.
- РККЛ 1637 = *Поземельная книга Кегсгольмского лена 1637 года* – История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах II. Университет Йоенсуу. Карельский научно-исследовательский институт. Йоенсуу, 1991.
- РКОР = *Писцовые книги Обонежской Пятины: 1496 и 1563 гг.* Под общ. ред. М. Н. Покровского. Ленинград: Изд-во Акад. наук СССР. 1930.
- Pravoslavie v Karelii 1999 = М.В. Пулькин. О.А. Захарова, А.Ю. Жуков: *Православие в карелии (XV – первая треть XX в.)*. Москва: Издательский дом «Круглый год». 1999.
- Seliščev 2003 = Селищев, А. М. 2003: *Труды по русскому языку. Язык и общество. Том I. Социоллингвистика*. Москва: Языки славянской культуры.
- Superganskaja 1998 = Суперанская, А. В. 1998: *Словарь русских личных имен*. Москва: Издательство АСТ.
- Černjajkova 1998 = Чернякова, И. А. 1998: *Карелия на переломе эпох: очерки социальной и аграрной истории XVII века*. Петрозаводск: Издательство Петрозаводского государственного университета.

## Ortodoksisten etunimien adaptaatio karjalan kielessä

*Denis Kuzmin*

Karjalaisilla on ollut usean vuosisadan ajan merkillinen kyky omak-  
sua kansanvälisiä kulttuurivaikutteita ja muokata ne omaan karjalai-  
seen muotoonsa. Se näkyy sekä kielessä että kulttuurissa ja voidaan  
havaita myös nimiperinteessä. Kun karjalaisväestön piirissä otettiin  
käyttöön kreikkalaiskatolisen kirkon nimilista (ensimmäiset kirjal-  
liset tiedot karjalaisten kristillisestä kasteesta ovat vuodelta 1227),  
ovat nimet saaneet ajan mittaan useita kansanomaisia hypokorismeja.  
Hypokorismilla tarkoitetaan ristimänimen kansanomaisia muunnok-  
sia, joita on mahdollista muodostaa yhdestä nimestä erilaisten kon-  
sonantti- tai vokaalimuutosten pohjalla. Ajan kuluessa kristilliset  
henkilönnimet ovat saaneet karjalaisten keskuudessa kansanomaisen  
muotonsa ja kirkollisista venäjänkielisistä nimistä on syntynyt lukui-  
sia karjalankielisiä nimivariantteja.

IRMA MULLONEN  
Petrozavodsk State University /  
Karelian research centre

## The heritage of the Veps non-Christian onomasticon in southern Svir settlement names

**Abstract** The paper offers a reconstruction of over 30 Veps non-Christian names preserved within Veps oikonyms with the suffix *-l(a)* and their Russian equivalents south of the Svir River. The Russian equivalents were formed as the Veps population was getting Russianized. In these names the Finnic suffix *-la* was replaced with the formant *-ицы/-ичи*: *Haragal* → *Харагиничи*. Many oikonyms of this type were mentioned in written sources dating to the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century, some even to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Many of the names were derived from old anthroponyms, e.g. ancient Finnic personal names (*Hima, Kaiboi, Vald*). However, bynames, usually with pejorative semantics (*Hurj, Hörpöi, Korb, Rahkoi, Reboi*), constitute a great part of the names. As a whole, Veps anthroponymy is identical to other Finnic anthroponymic systems.

## Introduction

This article offers a reconstruction of non-Christian Veps names preserved in oikonyms (settlement names) with the suffix *-l* (< \**-la*). It aims to prove that the Veps anthroponymic system was an integral part of the corresponding system present in other Finnic languages, and comprised both traditional personal names and names derived from bynames. The set of Veps anthroponyms reconstructed here is largely identical to the traditionally described non-Christian onomasticon of other Finnic nations. This must be evidence that the naming systems have common proto-Finnic roots, that is, the same sources.

Non-Christian Veps names are not very evident against the background of their Finnish and Estonian peers. Few of them have been recorded in written sources or in Veps surnames. The system of official surnames formed among the Veps at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was, in line with the Russian trend, mainly based on the forename of the grandfather of the master of the house, in other words the father's patronym. Where, in addition to the baptismal name, the grandfather had a vernacular, that is non-Christian, name, the Russian tradition of surname formation was to give precedence to the latter (Unbegaun 1989: 16). In contrast, Veps surnames based on non-Christian names are few in number. The reasons for this pattern have not been studied. Presumably, a main factor had been a decline in the system of non-Christian (vernacular) names by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Veps surname system was being formed. Another reason could be that Russian-speaking officials had problems with adequately rendering a Veps name and correctly changing it into Russian surname. The easier option for them was to use the grandfather's Christian name. It was only on rare occasions that the patronym descending from an ancestor's non-calendar name was fixed in his or her official surname.

Non-calendar names have been better preserved in so-called unofficial surnames, which were, in fact, homestead names. They were derived from an ancestor's forename/byname, and some of them moved over to the category of official surnames. The system of household names has, however, practically vanished, with traces found today primarily in the Northern (Prionezhnye) Veps area, owing to considerable Karelian influence on this Veps group.

As a matter of fact, oikonyms derived using the suffix *-l* are historically household names that eventually moved over to the category of village and settlement names. They are, however, rooted much deeper in time. The first mentions thereof in written sources on the Veps territory are dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see details below), and many are noted in documents between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. An indirect indication of the old age of this model of Veps oikonyms is that many of them are long-standing integral names of settlement clusters which are no doubt older than the names of individual villages comprised in these clusters. Hence, quite old Veps names may have been preserved within them.

The oikonym model where the formant *-la* is added to an anthroponym is well-known in Finnic toponymic systems. The Veps model is, in fact, even more consistently anthroponymic than the corresponding model of Finnish, for instance, where appellative-based units formed by analogy are quite common (Kiviniemi 1990: 166–167). All Veps place names of this type that have been deciphered have an anthroponym in their stem. Hence, there is reason to surmise the former presence of anthroponyms in oikonyms of obscure origin.

Structurally, this article is divided into the following sections. The first describes the material used and its parameters of relevance for analysis. The second formulates the approaches to the analysis and the main methodological principles of the reconstruction of the Veps naming system. It also highlights the challenges involved in the recreation of the phonetic image of forenames and nicknames. The principal part of this article is made up of two sub-sections. The first one deals with reconstructions of pre-Christian proper names that Veps used in the first half and middle of the second millennium. The second sub-section is devoted to denominations of nicknaming.

## Materials and sources

The material for this study was Veps oikonyms with the suffix *-l* < \**-la*, whose distribution range (areal) generally overlays the territory of western Central Veps sub-dialects, reaching only slightly beyond their southern boundaries into Southern Veps territory. Geographically,

it covers the upper course of the Ojat' and Kapsha rivers (Svir catchment) and the upstream of the Lid' River (Volga catchment).

Veps settlement names with *-l* are not numerous – a little over 30 place names. Below is their listing with their Russian correspondences in parentheses: *Čaigl'* (*Чайгино*), *Časl* (*Иваново*), *Naragl* (*Харагиничи*), *Hirgoil*, *Hundal* (*Хундала*), *Hübjoil* (*Юбиничи*), *Härgoil*, *Jerl* (*Ериничи* ~ *Лериничи*), *Kakoil* (*Каковичи*), *Karhil* (*Каргиничи*), *Kerkoil* (*Керкиницы*), *Kikoil* (*Киковичи*), *Kingl* (*Кинницы*), *Kokoil* (*Коковичи*), *Korbl* ~ *Korbal* (*Корбиничи*), *Korvoil* (*Корвала*), *Mul'jeil* (*Мульевичи*), *Noidal* (*Нойдала*), *Nirgl* (*Нургиничи*), *N'irgoil* (*Нюрговичи*), *Ozroil* (*Озровичи*), *Pecoil* (*Печевицы*), *Peloil* (*Пелуши*), *Pirkl'* (*Пиркиничи*), *Rahkoil* (*Рахковичи*), *Reboil* (*Ребовичи*), *Rusttal* (*Русконицы*), *Šigoil* (*Шугола*), *Šond'jal* (*Шондовичи*), *Terl* < *\*Terval*, *\*Tervel* (*Тервиничи*), *Varbl* (*Варбиничи*), *Vil'hal* (*Ярославичи*), *Vingl* ~ *Vidl* (*Винницы*).

We can see that a majority of Veps oikonyms have a corresponding Russian name. The exception is some names of agricultural and forestry holdings in place of former settlements. Integration into the Russian place name system proceeded differently in the north and the south of the territory. There is no single prevailing pattern of adaptation in the south, although so-called direct assimilation with the formant retained prevails (*Хундала* < *Hundal*, *Корвала* < *Korval*, *Нойдала* < *Noidal*, *Шугола* < *Šigoil*). Adaptation is through the gender ending *-a* and possessive formants *-ино* or *-ово/-ево* (*Чайгино* ~ *Чайглино* < *Čaigl'*). In central and northern parts of the area, the formant *-ичи/-ицы* (after the possessive suffix *-ов/-ев-* or *-ин-*) was consistently used: Veps *Karhil* – Russ. *Каргиничи*, Veps *Ozroil* – Russ. *Озровичи*. In other words, the Veps *-l* was replaced by the Russian *-ичи/-ицы*. The boundary between the models coincides with the Russian dialectal boundary between two groups of sub-dialects in the so-called Ladoga–Tikhvin dialectal zone. The southern group was developing under certain superiority of the Russian language environment, which was a result of a massive and compact settlement of the population migrating from Novgorod lands (Gerd 1884: 180, 1994: 32–33). The northern group was not exposed to such a strong, specifically Russian influence, but formed in a Veps–Russian bilingual context where the Veps population was gradually becoming Russified. Russian counterparts for Veps names obviously appeared within the

toponymic models existing at the time in the neighbouring Russian dialects.

In understanding the principles underlying the formation of Russian variants of Veps place names, one can expand the list of place names to be included as material for the study by adding quite a number of oikonyms from the former Veps territory in which the Veps original can be discerned. Thus, several oikonyms from the former Veps territory along the Pasha River, from which Veps originals had vanished, can be added to the small group of Southern Veps oikonyms adopted into Russian, primarily according to the first type: *Кайбола, Канжела, Кожела, Мурдола, Нуроля, Пудроль, Тагола, Имолово, Чаголина*. They occupy a compact areal in the river's mid-course where active Russian colonisation began quite early.

A comparatively much larger group is oikonyms with the suffix *-ичи/-ицы* (the co-existence of two phonetic variants was due to the relics of northern Russian 'tsokanje', with ч pronounced as ц) known from the Russified territory west of the present-day Central Veps area.

*Валданицы, Вачукиницы, Везикиничи ~ Вязикиничи, Веченицы, Гедевичи, Гертиничи, Гонгиничи, Гришкиницы, Гуреничи, Игокиничи, Имоченицы, Кальшиницы, Колокольницы, Куневичи, Курикиничи, Кучевицы, Лавиничи, Лебедовичи, Лембовичи, Ложевичи, Любеничи, Люговичи, Мальгиничи, Мергиничи, Мириничи, Мустиничи, Нюбиничи, Паритовичи, Пахтовичи, Пижевичи, Пикиничи, Пилотовичи, Погаченицы, Ратовичи, Рекиничи, Саксеницы ~ Саксоницы, Симовичи, Суббоченицы, Тененичи, Томиничи, Трошевичи, Туричиницы, Уитовичи, Чагоницы, Чашковичи, Чимкиницы ~ Симкиничи, Чуницы, Шаменичи ~ Шеменичи, Шангеничи, Шархиничи ~ Шархеничи, Шахтеничи ~ Шахтиницы, Шириничи, Шутиницы, Явшиницы, Янгеничи.*

The model *-ичи/-ицы* has Slavic roots (< \*itji) and used to be productive in the historical area of the principality of Novgorod. It is attested by the oldest known document concerning the Veps Svir region, the 13<sup>th</sup> century so-called "Addition to Svyatoslav's Charter". It notes Юскола (contemp. *Юковичи*) and two more place names nearby – "у Вьюнице" and "в Тервиничех", which are still in use both in their Veps variants *Vingl* and *Tervl* and Russian variants *Винницы* and *Тервиничи*. Among early written evidence, there is

also notation of the Вымоченицы pogost (contemp. *Имоченицы*) on the Ojat' River in a document dated 1375 (GVNP). It is believed that up until the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the emergence of geographical names ending in *-ичи/-ицы* in the Novgorod region was an ongoing, although gradually, declining process (Vasilyev 2012). Initially, they were given to patrimonial rural settlements and were based on patronyms (Kupchinsky 1980). Both formants, the Finnic *-la* and the Old Russian *-ичи/-ицы*, were coupled to the anthroponym to form the name of a place populated by the family or descendants of the person whose name was fixed in the anthroponym. This was the premise for the adaptation pattern in which the *-l* formant of the Veps oikonym was replaced by the Russian *-ичи/-ицы*. The establishment of the integration model was apparently set in a bilingual environment where the anthroponymic sources of Finnic place names were understandable. As the population became Russified, Veps original names with *-l* were lost, but their corresponding Russian variants ending in *-ичи/-ицы* still persist and enable the reconstruction of original Veps place names and traditional male names within them.

I should particularly stress that an overwhelming majority of oikonyms with *-ичи/-ицы* in the Svir region have non-Russian stems. Oikonyms such as *Трошевичи* (from *Троша, Трофим*), *Гришкиницы* (from *Гришка, Григорий*), *Пиркиничи*, *Симовичи* (from *Семен*) with Russian names are exceptional, and they may even, in reality, originate from Finnic place names derived from Orthodox names assimilated into Veps usage. This, for instance, was the origin of the place name *Пиркиничи* – Veps *PirkI'*, where the suffix *-l* is linked to the anthroponym *Pirk(o)* – the calendar name *Спиридон* adapted to the Veps language. It may also be that rare and even very rare non-calendar Russian names in place name stems with *-ицы/-ичи* in the Svir region had also previously been assimilated into Veps usage, and hence *Суббота* (referring to a man born on Saturday), the founder of the village of *Суббоченицы*, might as well be a Veps. A similar situation must have provoked Olonets (Aunus) Karelians to name a village *Zuvattal* – *Зубботала*. The Russian non-calendar name *Суббота* which, according to documents from between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, used to be quite popular in northwestern Rus' (Kjurshunova 2010: 515), was also adopted into the Karelian

onomasticon. Thus, this Slavic model was primarily used in the Svir region to adapt original Finnic oikonyms to the Russian language. There are practically no oikonyms with *-ичи/-ицы* that have Russian roots in the southern Svir region.

The total number of Veps settlement names in the southern Svir region<sup>1</sup>, which comprises both Veps proper oikonyms with the suffix *-l* and Russified settlement names from the former Veps territory, is around 100 place names, and very few anthroponyms occur repeatedly. The materials for this study were collected by the author during expeditions in the 1980s and have been archived in the toponymic card index of the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History in Petrozavodsk (IJALI KarNC RAN). Written sources were also used, the most important ones being lists of settlement names from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and fiscal documents from between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of these place names still exist, but some of them now function as names of fields, meadows or spots of woodlands.

## Main analytical approaches and methodology principles

The formation of oikonyms ending in *-la* has been described in detail using materials from Finnish and Estonian toponymy (Nissilä 1962, 1975; Lehtikoinen 1988; Pall 1975). The history of Karelian place names of this type, their distribution and the involvement of anthroponyms have also been studied (Karlova 2004). I myself have also analysed Veps oikonyms with *-l* (Mullonen 1994: 74–79, 86–97) and their adoption into Russian (Mullonen 2002: 88–98). It was established that this toponymic type originally appeared as a name for households (single household villages) where *-la* was affixed to the founder's name. It was quite common in areas where sedentary farming had begun quite early, as opposed to areas used for seasonal means

1. *-l* type oikonyms and their Russian equivalents with *-ичи/-ицы* are also found north of the Svir, among the Livvi Karelians. It is possible that they used to constitute an integral distribution range together with the Veps southern Svir region. As the Karelian population moved into the territory, new *-l*-type oikonyms there appeared (Mullonen 2002: 89–90), and distinguishing Veps proper place names from the total number is now a task in itself.

of livelihood (Nissilä 1962: 91–92; Vahtola 1980: 23, 137; Pall 1977: 196). Thus, the distribution map of Karelian place names ending in *-la* correlates with areas in the so-called cluster type of settlement which is typical of a territory with a long history of agricultural use (Karlova 2004).

The corresponding Veps toponymic area generally overlays the territory marked out by tumuli of the southeastern Ladoga region (Priladozhye) between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are some indicators that this was the territory the Veps had colonised earlier than other areas (Mullonen 2012: 14). As regards other Veps areas in the districts of Prionezhye (Ääninen) and Beloye Ozero (Valkeajärvi), no settlement names with *-l* are attested [Figure 1], even though written sources from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century (PKOP) depict Veps Prionezhye and the northern part of the Veps Beloye Ozero district as an actively used territory with a developing settlement system. Does this mean that the model had become completely inactive by the middle of the second millennium? Presumably, it continued functioning for a while in the Svir region, which is the core area, but did not spread to newly populated districts<sup>2</sup>.

Studies of non-Christian Finnic names are now a tradition that is more than a century long which started with A. V. Forsman's work. One of the challenges for researchers is to differentiate nicknames from non-Christian (pre-Christian) personal names. Forsman (1894) ascribed the entire assortment of anthroponyms to personal names descending from appellatives with widely varying meanings. On the contrary D.-E. Stoebke (1964) reduced their number to a minimum, as he distinguished 23 personal names and referred to the rest as nicknames. Eero Kiviniemi (1982: 55) was of the opinion that there were not that many reliable pre-Christian names. This also implied the broad usage,

---

2. Further indirect evidence that the middle of the second millennium was a critical time for Veps *-l* type place names is the adaptational model *-ичи/-ицы*. In Zaonezhye, where there was mass colonisation between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Vitov & Vlasova 1974: 182, 189), all known present-day oikonyms with the formant *-ичи/-ицы* were similarly formed as those of the Svir region, that is derived from Finnic (Veps) original names with the *-l* suffix. These names were present 15<sup>th</sup> century cadastral books (*Кайбиницы, Кургеницы, Погаченицы, Койкиницы Типиницы, Тайгиницы*). No new oikonyms of this type have been formed since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The oikonymic type had apparently lost its productive capacity in the area, at least by the late 15<sup>th</sup> century or earlier.

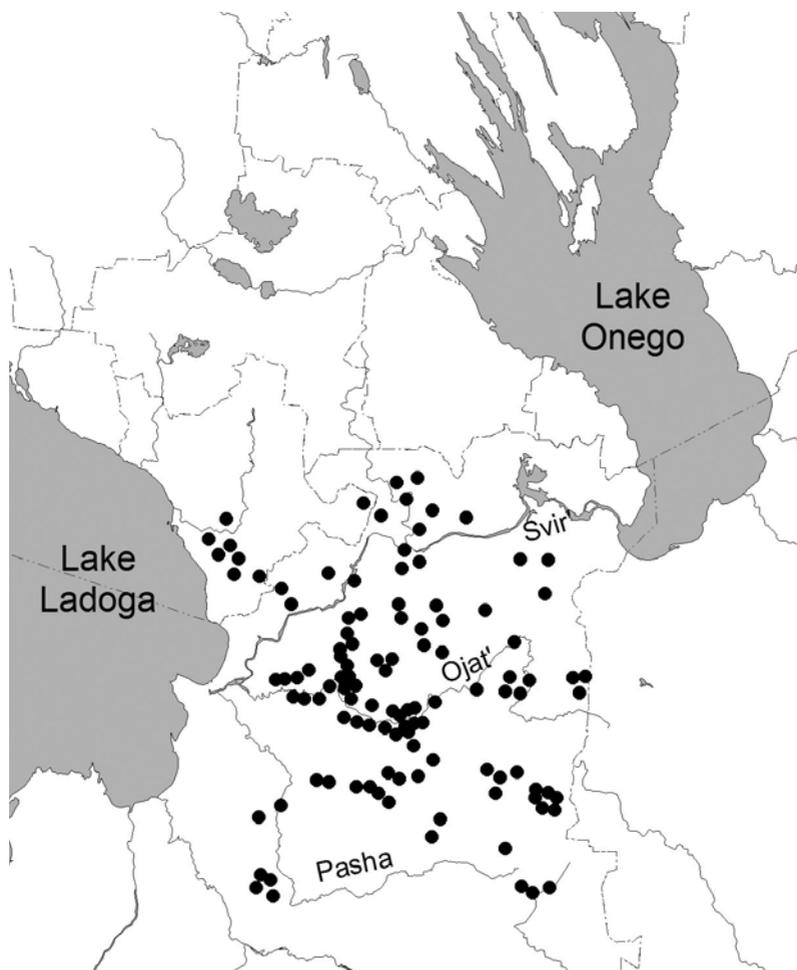


Figure 1. Oikonyms with the suffix *-la* in the historical and contemporary Veps territory in the southern Svir region.

especially among various Finnic groups, of clan bynames which had the function of surnames.

Studies of the Russian naming system are quite useful for the analysis of Veps anthroponymy because of its incontestable influence on the Veps system, given the early entry of the Veps population in the Russian state and the Orthodox faith. In Russian studies, the term

*nickname* is applied to units of various origins: both nicknames proper and so-called non-calendar/vernacular names which had co-existed with baptismal (Orthodox) names until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Nicknames were bestowed by neighbours, whereas non-calendar names were given by parents. In reality, the latter were used much more widely than baptismal names which were mainly for official documents. Sometimes non-calendar names were entered in documents as well (Unbeгаun 1989: 11–12, 117–118; Superanskaya 1998: 15–20). Quite logically, oikonyms originated from these non-calendar names. This must have also been the case among Veps who were converted to Orthodoxy early in the second millennium but retained their pagan beliefs for much longer. This assumption agrees with the clear prevalence of units derived from non-Christian names among oikonyms with *-la* and *-ичи/-ицы* and, accordingly, the rare use of the Orthodox onomasticon. Orthodox names have not yet occupied a solid position in the Veps onomasticon, whereas non-calendar names were, on the contrary, very popular among rural inhabitants.

That said, it is not so easy to draw a boundary between a non-Christian name and a nickname in either Russian or Finnic anthroponymy. Some basis for the differentiation can be found in semantics. The semantics of forenames is usually positive (e.g. optative names), whereas nicknames are often negative. Exceptions are, however, not uncommon. Thus, protective names given to keep away evil would have negative connotation (Superanskaya 1998: 15).

As will be demonstrated below, there are quite a few pejorative nicknames underlying Veps place names ending in *-la*. By the time they were becoming oikonyms, at least some of them might have lost the negative content and were perceived merely as a patronyms, that is, family or group names inherited from ancestors, so that such oikonyms seemed psychologically acceptable.

Patronyms passed across generations used to be widespread in Eastern Finland (Kallio 1968) and among Karelians (Kuzmin 2015) long before they appeared in the system of official surnames. The Veps clan name or nickname system has not been properly studied, although there are historical documents to prove its existence. For instance, a fiscal document from 149s notes an Ivashko Kerchuj (Ивашко Керчуй) of the village of Shoksha (PKOP) – a presumed

ancestor of its present-day residents bearing the surname Герчин (Veps Hõrčiine). The patronym that functioned over 500 years ago and had probably descended from the Veps word *hõrč*, *hõrčak* ‘strong, healthy person’ and later had the status of an official surname until the present time. In all probability, it is patronyms that often underlie settlement names (household names, initially) with the suffix *-la*. Analogy can be drawn with contemporary household names which often descend from ancestral forenames and nicknames.

Thus, Veps anthroponyms preserved in oikonyms with the suffix *-l < \*-la* can be reconstructed with regard to cognate Finnic name systems in other languages and a historical and cultural context during the first half and middle of the second millennium. Following a research tradition and avoiding the discussion of delineation aspects, this paper makes a distinction between two groups of anthroponyms in Veps material: non-calendar personal names and those derived from bynames. The dividing line between these two is rather arbitrary. There is reason to believe they were often fixed in oikonyms as clan names of settlement founders.

This article suggests interpretations for some 30 place names of the 100 listed above<sup>3</sup>. Each entry begins with a reconstructed Veps anthroponym and its possible variants which may be represented by the nominal stem itself (*\*Hima*) and the stem with suffixes, especially the diminutive suffix *-oi* typical of anthroponymy: *\*Hübjoï*, *\*Härgoi*, *\*Kakoi*, *\*N'urgoï*, *\*Ozroi*, *\*Rahkoi*, *\*Reboï*. Although very common, it was not an absolutely mandatory component of the names.

Arguably, the most complex question related to the reconstruction of historical Veps anthroponyms is their phonetic appearance at the time the name was coined. We do not know the exact time of formation for most place names, even approximately. Judging from historical sources, the *-la* model existed among the Veps in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but there is no information as to when the formation of new place names using this model ceased. Proceeding from indirect evidence (unproductiveness of formations derived from Christian names,

3. We should add that oikonyms of other types in both the historical and contemporary Veps territory often represent names derived from Veps anthroponyms. To analyse them, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. For a general overview of this material see Mullonen (1994).

absence of names ending in *-la* in the periphery of the Veps range, decline of the oikonymic model ending in *-учи* by the 16<sup>th</sup> century), we can very cautiously assume it to be between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Part of the names appeared at the beginning, whereas others in the middle or end of the second millennium. The questions, however, are how the Veps phonetic system has changed over this time, what it used to be like early in the millennium, and what changes have taken place over 500 years. In addition, we can ask which modifications leading to the contemporary appearance of place names ending in *-la* happened in the second half of the millennium?

There is no obvious answer to these questions. We have an idea about general patterns in the development of the Veps phonetic system and the presumed sequence of its phonetic changes. Thus, the loss of a final vowel (apocope) is believed to be an older process than the reduction of a long vowel in the first syllable which, in turn, is younger than the dropping of a vowel in the middle of a word (syncope) (Tunkelo 1946: 732–733, 761–762). The processes of geminate reduction (the rudiments of geminates are still observed in some dialects, cf. Itkonen 1971: 165–166), and the loss of vowel harmony, some traces of which are still to be found in western variants of the Central Veps dialect (Zaitseva 2016: 63), are even younger. The available data, however, hardly allow stating the timeframes of these processes. The 1496 *Obonezhskaya Pyatina Cadastral Book* contains a number of place names that seem to feature syncope: *Хав-ручей*, *Вяз-остров*, *Хем-река*, *Шусть-ручей*, *Пязь-озеро* (PKOP: 30–36). On the other hand, this material is not so reliable since the name forms listed therein may be a result of the place name's adoption into the Russian language. Thus, the word final *-a* in the place names *Корвала* or *Хундала* is not necessarily the echo of the Old Veps final vowel (*\*Korvala*, *\*Hundala*) but rather the consequence of a Russian morphological adaptation of Veps place names. The timeframe of the final vowel elision in Veps has been determined based on linguistic data from the neighbouring Livvi-Karelian language (Olonets/Aunus Karelian). The assumption is that the development of the final *-u* in Livvi was induced by the Veps substrate, where by the time of Veps–Karelian contacts, the final *-a* had not yet fully vanished but the *\*a > \*ə* reduction had already happened. The time of these contacts is defined very loosely:

“long before the 1500s” (Itkonen 1971: 172, 181). Understandably, the reconstruction of an anthroponym in this situation would be rather conservative. The hypothetical prototype features voiced consonants, vowel harmony, geminated plosives *kk*, *pp*, *tt* (except for where the diphthong *-oi* followed the geminate), and vowels within and at the end of a word.

The oikonym on which the reconstruction is based is provided after the reconstructed anthroponym. Living Veps place names with the suffix *-l* are given in their present-day form: *Ozroil*, *Karhil*, *Korbl*. We should, however, take certain phonetic modifications in the nominal stem due to the addition of the formant *-l* into account, namely syncope in the second syllable after a long or closed first syllable (Tunkelo 1946: 718), with a simplification of the consonant group: *Terl* < *\*Tervl* < *\*Terval* which is typical of Veps phonetics. At the same time, an accretion of a reduced vowel may occur in the historical third syllable: *Korbl* ~ *Korbal*, *Hundal*, *Vil'hal*. Where it is a Russian place name, its corresponding Veps reconstruction is suggested, keeping in mind all the above phonetic phenomena. The variant in parentheses is the reconstruction of the place name's later form, closer to its present-day appearance: *Игокиничи* < *\*Ihakkala* (> *\*Ihakal*).

The description ends with the anthroponym's etymology, that is, the appellative underlying the anthroponym is suggested. There is a possibility that some non-calendar names common for several Finnic languages did not have any corresponding appellative in Veps, and the name was inherited from the common Proto-Finnic onomasticon. Furthermore, the appellative could have for some reason been lost in Veps, and lexical data from other Finnic languages were used in that case. Analogues in cognate nomination systems are also employed in the reconstruction. The retrieval of analogues and their positioning in the series is a crucial verification criterion for the interpretation.

## Veps non-calendar anthroponyms

### Personal names

In line with D.-E. Stoebe (1964), the following group of personal names conventionally includes those that acted as components of composite names formed using the old Germanic model (of the *Iha/lempi* type) as well as so-called optative names with positive semantics. Candidates for this status are:

\**Ihak*: *Игокиничи* < \**Ihakkala* (> \**Ihakal*), with the anthroponymic stem *Iha-*, compared to Finn. *iha* ‘joyous, good’, *ihana* in old literary Finnish ‘one who is awaited, who is missed’, Kar. *ihala* ‘beautiful, beloved’, Vod. *ihala* ‘beautiful’, Est. *iha* ‘desire, passion’ (SSA). One of old oikonyms from the Ojat’ mid-reaches, where Finnic *a* was replaced with Russian *o* in the course of assimilation. The Finnic naming systems had quite a number of suffixal formations with this nominal stem: *Ihala*, *Ihana*, *Ihas*, *Ihama*, *Ihanta*, *Ihatsu* (Nissilä 1975: 125), cf. the latter suffix in the name of two villages *Ihaččal* (Aunus) situated the closest to the Svir region. The nominal stem in the form *Игала* is also recorded in Novgorod birch bark letters (first reported by Popov 1958: 58); place names with the stem *Ихала* were also found in the toponymy of the Russian North (Saarikivi 2003: 144–145); the place name *Иготецкий остров* known from the northern shore of Lake Onego since the 17<sup>th</sup> century from which the anthroponym *Ihattu* can be reconstructed (Mullonen 2008: 147–148). The nominal stem in *Игокиничи* is related to the productive anthroponymic suffix *-kka*.

\**Himo*, \**Himottu?*, ‘long-awaited, desired (child)’; is derived from *himo* ‘desire, passion, lust’, known in all Finnic languages including Veps (SSA): *Имолово*, *Имоченицы* < \**Himola*, \**Himottula?* where the initial fricative Finnic *h* was lost during the adaptation to Russian (Kalima 1919: 41–50). This name used to be well-known in the Finnic naming tradition (Forsman 1894: 167). It was recorded in the form *Гимой*, *Гимоев* sources from Karelia (PKOP) between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, *Гылуй* in Novgorod birch bark letters (first reported by Eliseev 1966: 32) which, however, was also suggested to be interpreted differently (*Huima* ‘reckless, unrestrained’) in regards to

the back vowel in the first syllable (Saarikivi 2007: 216–217), as well as \*Имоволод from \*Himavalta (Krys'ko 2006: 222–233). The two approaches to the integration of the Finnic *h* were apparently related to the different time periods or the different linguistic circumstances at the time of assimilation of the name.

\**Kaiba* ‘long-awaited, desired (child)’, compared to Finnic *kaivata* ‘to miss, to need (someone)’ (SSA): *Кайбола* < \**Kaibala* (> \**Kaibal*, \**Kaibl*) at the southwestern limit of the historical Veps area. A similar name with the stem *Kaipa-* was also widely used in other Finnic name materials (Forsman 1894: 167, 179, 246; Stoebke 1964: 32–33). It is also reminiscent of the place name *Кайбиницы* at the northeastern limit of the former Veps territory in Zaonezhye (Mullonen 2008: 184).

\**Lembi*, \**Lemboi*: *Лембовичи* < \**Lembilä* (> \**Lembil*), \**Lemboila* (> \**Lemboil*). Research tradition offers two potential interpretations: Finnic *Lempi*, *Lemmitty*, *Lempeä* with the meaning of ‘beloved’ (Finn. *lempi* ‘love’, Kar. *lempi* ‘girl’s sex appeal’, Est. *lembida* ‘to burn’ – SSA) and *Lempo* (cf. Veps *lemboi* ‘evil spirit, devil’). The former seems to fit better in the general series of old names.

\**Valda*: *Валданицы* < \**Valdala* (> \**Valdal*), compare to pan-Finnic *valta* (Veps *vaud*) ‘dominance, power’ whose derivatives have the meaning ‘free, disobedient’ (SSA). There are many Finnic derivatives (*Valto*, *Valtari*, *Valtamo*) and compound name variants (*Valtalempi*, *Ikävalta*, *Kaukavalta*, *Kaikkivalta*, etc.) that bear witness of the popularity of this nominal stem in name formation (Stoebke 1964: 130–135, 140).

Even this meagre material can provide some useful information. Only some of the above-mentioned names have an appellative analogue in Veps dialects, which may be due to the high age of the respective oikonyms and the loss of corresponding lexemes in Veps. On the other hand, the appellative analogue might have never existed if we speak of the heritage common for all Finnic naming systems. Names as such were inherited by the Veps name system from the earlier proto-language system. No wonder that while present in *-l* type place names, which appeared the earliest, they are absent from other Veps oikonym types. The distribution of these oikonyms is quite conspicuous: they were all recorded in the historical Veps territory marked by medieval tumuli, which may be an indication

that this group of names had vanished rather early, possibly in connection with the establishment of the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, they all appear in the names of places that were either the centres of medieval *pogosts* (administrative units) or situated in their immediate vicinity.

### Nickname anthroponyms

The bulk of settlement names with the *-l* type formant, also after being adapted to Russian, which I managed to interpret, contain the nicknames in their stem describing the traits of a person's character and appearance. Some of them might have possibly served as non-calendar names, and thus, in fact, can be found in the "Personal names" section. Others must have had the status of nickname.

### Zoonyms as non-calendar names

Animal names are widely used in phraseology, in comparisons and in secondary nomination of humans in general. It is quite natural for them to be used in nickname anthroponyms. Other possible motives cannot be ruled out, such as naming a hunter after a hunted animal.

The following is a briefly commented listing of the anthroponyms reconstructed previously in Mullonen (1994: 87–88):

\**Harag*: *Haragl* ~ *Haragal* – *Харагиничи*, compared to Veps *harag* 'magpie', used as the nickname for a person who talks excessively. The reconstruction is supported by the unofficial surname *Haragohne* (official Russ. *Сорокин*) known among the northern Veps. The similar nickname *Harakka*, *Harakku*, *Harakke* was found in all Karelian dialects (Karlova 2016).

\**Hübjoï*: *Hübjoil* – *Юбеничи* (*Губиницы* in 1563 г. – РКОР: 240). There is the village of *Юбеничи* also located in the Russified territory in the interfluvium of the Ojat' and the Svir, as well as on the south-eastern shore of Lake Onego, in Tudozero (Sobolev 2015b: 444). The anthroponym descends from the Veps *hübj* 'owl, eagle owl' formed by the Veps oikonymic marker *-oi*. This can be compared to the Finnish and Karelian anthroponyms *Hyypä*, *Hyypie*, *Hyypii*, *Huuhkain*, *Huuhka*, also with the name for eagle owl in their stem (Nissilä 1975:

135, Karlova 2016). It was used as the nickname of a single, reserved, unsociable person.

\**Härgoi*: *Härgoil*. The Veps anthroponym *Härg*, recorded among the southern Veps by Lauri Kettunen (1955: 52), has the Veps word *härg* ‘bull, male moose’ in its stem. The unofficial surname known among the northern Veps is *Härghine*, Rus. *Быков*. This Veps anthroponym has parallels in Finnish: *Härkä* (Forsman 1894: 126, 249), *Härkönen*, *Härkälä*, *Härkänen* (SNK).

\**Reboi*: *Reboil* – *Ребовичи*, Veps *reboi* ‘fox’. Other Veps oikonyms formed from this nickname include *Reboimägi* ‘*Лисицына Гора*, Fox Hill’ and *Rebagj* ‘*Лисицын Конец*, Fox’s End’. The surname *Reboihine* (Rus. *Лисицын*) is found among the northern Veps. Documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century show a *Данилка Ребуев* in Pirkinichi on the Svir (PKK: 69), and 16<sup>th</sup> century documents have “vlg. *Ребуевская* on Shoksha” (PKOP: 106).

More extensive comments are needed for the following two Veps oikonyms which thus far have not been studied:

\**Majaga*: *Маягиничи* < \**Majagala* (> \**Majagal*, \**Majagl*), compared to Veps \**majag* ‘beaver’ which is reconstructed from toponymic data *Majagoja* ‘*Бобровый ручей*, Beaver Brook’, *Maigar’v* ‘*Боброзеро*, Beaver Lake’. The northern Veps dialect is said to have the word *redumajag*, literally ‘dirty beaver’ (oral report by N.G. Zaitseva), applied to a slovenly, untidy person. This meaning could easily be the foundation for the nickname \**Majaga* > \**Majag*, later on fixed in the oikonym \**Majagala* → *Маягиничи*. Its analogues are known at least in northern Finland, as we can compare it to *Johan Majava* 1732, *Henric Majava* 1833 or *Simon Majavajärvi* 1778, etc., and compilers of the Glossary of Finnish Surnames trace them to their respective place names (SKN), which is undoubtful for the latter, but hardly justified for the former two. It would be logical to assume that they, like other zoonym-based anthroponyms, embody the metaphor an animal image incites in language.

\**Vezikko*: *Везикиниччи* ~ *Вязикиниччи* < \**Vezikkola* (> \**Vezikol*), compared to Finnish *vesikko*, Karelian *vesikkö*, *vezikkö*, Izhorian *vezikko*, usually known in the meaning given by standard language dictionaries ‘European mink’ – a predaceous animal that lives near a shore and is very good at swimming and hunting in water. In Finnish dialects

and cognate languages, it was also used for the water rat, polecat, newt and even waterfowl (SKES). The first two of these animals especially seem to be the most promising in terms of transferring certain animal traits onto humans<sup>4</sup>. This word is not familiar in contemporary Veps dialects, but its usage in closely related Finnic languages gives some reason to presume its former usage (*\*vezikko* > *\*vezik*) in Veps as well. The presence of the patronym/surname *Vesikko* in the Finnish onomasticon makes the reconstruction more reliable, namely on the Karelian Isthmus where there were records of *Grels Wesicko* 1640, *Thomas Wesiko* 1737, *Mattz Wesicko* 1738, etc. (SKN). In Ingria, the surname *Vesikko* (Rus. *Везико, Везиковы*) was present in a number of parishes. The oikonym *Vesikkola*, Rus. *Везиково* is known in the Volosovskij District of the Leningrad Region [oral report by A. Kryukov].

A few nickname-derived place names have also established themselves in other oikonym types of later origin: *\*Paskač*: *Paskačud*, *paskač* ‘sparrow’, *\*Habuk*: *Habukad*, *habuk* ‘hawk’, *\*Kukoi*: *Kukei*, *kukoi* ‘rooster’. All of these were parts of larger settlements. 17<sup>th</sup> century fiscal documents show a *Васка Трофимов Кургин* in village *Кургинская* in the Veps village cluster of Oshta (PKK: 438) as well as village *Кургина* in the Veps village cluster of Vinnitsy. The anthroponym *\*Kurg* is from *kurg* ‘crane’. These nicknames are few in number, and generally the same as in other Finnic nomination systems.

#### Other nickname-derived denominations

The list continues with a relatively large group of nickname-derived denominations, many of them with negative meanings. For some of them, no reliable etymon could be retrieved from Veps dialects, but in this sense the cognate Finnic languages were helpful, where, importantly, the etymon is/was functional in anthroponymy. It is reasonable to assume in this context that oikonyms in the contemporary and historical Veps area have preserved a vanished Veps lexeme which had represented the nickname-type anthroponym within them. I have analysed some of these anthroponyms elsewhere, for example *Hamar*,

4. One cannot rule out the possibility of secondary semantics development as demonstrated by the Vod-language *vezikko* ‘water spirit (water devil), wood spirit’ (Ariste 1975).

*Hurj, Hörp, Kakoi, Karh-, Kokoi, Korvoi, Kurik, Must, N'urgol, Ozroi, Pecoi, Pinž, Pudr, Rahkoi, Rusked Terv, Vilh-*, (Mullonen 1994), so only basic information is provided, but some previously postulated etymologies have been reconsidered or specified. New interpretations published for the first time are presented in more detail.

\**Hamara*: Russ. *Гоморовичи* < \**Hamarala* (> \**Hamaral*), *hamar* ‘butt end of an axe or knife’. This place name is among those relatively few early loans where the Finnic *a* is replaced with Russian *o*. The name is recorded in 17<sup>th</sup> century written sources from Priladozhye and northern Finland: *Jormolka Hamara, Jöns Hamara*, et cetera. (SNK). The motivation behind the name is unclear.

\**Honga, \*Hongoi*: *Гонгиничи* (Vinnitsy), *Гонгиничи* (Alekhovshchina), *Гонгиницы* (Tudozero) – all of these names of former villages < Veps \**Hongala* (> \**Hongl*), \**Hongoila* (> \**Hongoil*), stemming from an old Veps personal name which at first glance seems to be naturally derived from the Veps appellative *hong* ‘(usually dry, tall) pine, dead standing pine’, especially given that 17<sup>th</sup> century cadastral files represent the *Гонгиницы* of Tudozero as “village. in *Sosnovitsy* (Rus. *сосна* ‘pine’), at the mouth of Eliseyevskoy brook, in *Gonginit-sy*” (Sobolev 2015a: 92). Knowing, however, that oikonyms of the *-l* model are typologically derived from anthroponyms, we should be looking for one in this case, too, especially because *hong* ‘pine’ offers such a possibility. The Finnish equivalent *honka* ‘pine’, at least, produced derivatives with nickname-type meanings: *honkana* ‘like a big person’ and *hongastin* ‘tall, towering’, as well as the compounds *honkapää* (*-pää* ‘head’) which the glossary of Finnish dialects classifies as a “nickname”, *honkakurikka* (*-kurikka* ‘noggin’) for a large and silly-looking head, and *honkatonttu* (*-tonttu* here ‘fool, blockhead’) for a big and unsightly person (SMS). Its figurative meaning can probably be generally denoted as a hulky but not very smart person. It is hardly proper in this context to trace the Karelian anthroponym *Honka* directly to the name of the tree as suggested by V. Nissilä (1975: 131–132). The nickname based thereon, on the other hand, possesses exceptionally high anthroponymic potential, as corroborated by its wide usage in the naming system. The surnames *Honkanen* and especially *Honkonen* are among the most frequent in Finland (SKN). Finally, there is also direct evidence that this nominal stem existed in Veps communities:

the surname *Гонгоев* – Veps *Honghiine* was known among the Prionezhye Veps in the village of Matfejansel'g at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The loss of the anthroponym probably caused Tudozero inhabitants to revise the oikonym *Гонганицы* into “Сосновицы”.

\**Hurja*: Russ. *Гуреничи* < \**Hurjala* (> \**Hurjal*), compared to Finn. *hurja* ‘vehement, frantic, reckless’, formerly functioning as an anthroponym, including a clan patronym in Ladogn Karelia: *Huria Mickel*, *Anders Hurian*, *Hurja* clan (Nissilä 1975: 119, 146).

\**Hödöi*: Russ. *Гедевичи* < \**Hödöilä* (> \**Hödöil*), historically the centre of the Mikhailovskij pogost in Gedevidchi, contemporary village Alekhovshchina on the Ojat' River. Proceeding from several indicators – structural, semantic, phonetic – it seems to be possible that the stem is derived from a descriptive word from the same cluster as the Kar. *hödissä* ‘to totter, shake; gibber, talk nonsense’ (KKS), Finn. *hötyillä* ‘to make fuss, to hurry, to swing one’s arms’, *hötistä* ‘to tattle, to talk nonsense’, *hötiä* ‘to dabble, to scurry through work’, also compared to the derivatives *höterö* ‘unsteady on one’s feet; weirdo’, *hötörä* ‘fool, halfwit’, *hötinä* ‘chatterbox’ (SMS). The adoption of the Veps *ö* in the form of *e* in Russian is a regular pattern corroborated by a number of other oikonyms in the southern Svir region, such as *Герпиничи*, *Мергиничи* (see below).

\**Hörpöi*: Russ. *Герпиничи* < \**Hörpöilä* (> \**Hörpöil*), compared to Veps *hörpötada* ‘to chatter, tattle’, Kar. *hörpöttä*, *hörpötteä* ‘to hang, dangle – speaking of lips’ (KKS), Finn. *hörppö*, *hörppä* ‘chatterbox’ (SMS). Olga Karlova (2016) notes the secondary, metaphoric meaning of ‘chatterbox’, which had evolved from the original Finnish *hörppö* ‘thin meat broth’, Kar. *hörppöi* ‘watery rye gruel’, and fits well in the universal pattern according to which lexemes denoting foods with a sticky consistency are used figuratively, to characterise people negatively (for details see the entry on \**Korboi*).

\**Karhi*, \**Harha*: *Karhil* – Russ. *Каргиничи* (*Карганицы* in 1563 – ПКOP: 245). There is a tradition of tracing the Eastern Finnish name forms *Karhinen*, *Karhia*, *Karhiainen* to the Finnic stem *karhe* ‘rough’, which was used to describe a person with a wiry beard or hair (SKN). On the other hand, when analysing motivation we should take the figurative meaning of this word into account, compared to. *karhi* ‘stubborn’ (KMS), *karhakka* ‘angry, mad, hot-tempered’, *karhake*

‘ill-tempered’, *karhatsu* ‘angry, venomous person’ (SMS). The last word in this listing was known as *Karhatsu* among old surnames in Priladozhye (Nissilä 1975: 284) as well as in Russian Zaonezhye, in the name of the village of *Карзачево*, with a locality nearby called *Карзополе* < Veps \**Karha(n)pol'* or Kar. \**Karha(n)puoli* ‘the side (of the settlement) where the Karha’ clan lived’ (Mullonen 2008:148–149). The descriptive stem in the form *karha*, *karhakka*, *karhe*, *karhea*, *karhi*, *karhu* is known in a majority of Finnic languages (SSA), and it was probably familiar in Veps, too.

\**Kerkoi*: *Kerkoil* – Russ. *Керкунчу*. To interpret the sources of this place name and, hence, identify the traditional anthroponym, we should take note of the word *kerkkä* ~ *kärkkä* ‘tree ring, ski pole ring’ (SSA) known in a number of Finnic languages (Finn., Kar., Est.), with a secondary meaning describing a person: compare to eastern Finnish dialectal *kerkkä*, *kerkkula* ‘short person’, *kerkelö* ‘short and thickset person’; *kerkiäinen* ‘halfwit’ (SMS). It is probably from the meaning of ‘a ring at the terminus of a pole used to stir water in order to drive fish into a dragnet’ that the meanings of ‘nosey person’ and possibly also ‘someone talking nonsense’ appeared in the Karelian dialectal variants of the Suojärvi area (KKS). The actual usage of the anthroponym is evidenced by some toponyms, namely village *Керкелицы/Геркелицы* in Aunus and several homesteads named *Kerkkä*, *Kerkkälä*, *Kerkkänen* in eastern Finland (Karttapaikka). We can compare this to the surname *Šombu/Шомбин*, known among Livvi Karelians in the Säämäjärvi area, and *Šomb/Шомбин* among the Veps in village N’urgoil in the upper reaches of the Kapsha River (although the lexeme \**šomb* has not been recorded in the Veps language). The etymon – Finnish *sompa*, *somma*, Karelian *šompa*, *šomba* ‘ski pole ring’, Livvi Karelian *šombu* ‘ring to which a sinker is attached’ (KKS) – is semantically related to the lexeme *kerkkä*. Moreover, Finnish dialects at least have used it metaphorically, for example *somma* ‘child, kid’ (SSA), suggesting that the components ‘rounded and small’ were activated in the semantic field, like in the Finnish *kerkkä*. Presumably, the place name *Kerkoil* has retained traces of the Veps anthroponym \**Kerkoi*, potentially with the meaning ‘short and thickset person’. We can note that the Glossary of Finnish Surnames traces the surnames *Kerkelä*, *Kerkkänen*, *Kerkkonen*, the latter two taken from the Finnish

North Karelia region, to the Germanic male name *Gerke*, *Gerko*, *Kercko*, *Gericke* (SKN), but this is hardly applicable to the traditional Veps onomasticon.

\**Korboi*: *Korbl*, *Korbal* – Russ. *Корбиничи*, Veps *korboi* ‘thick porridge’. Analysis of both Russian and Finnish names of gruels and other foods with a sticky, jelly-like consistency, especially those easy to cook and often even cooked without boiling, demonstrated that they were used figuratively to describe people who are sluggish, clumsy, lacking mental agility. Such names include, for instance, Russian dialectal *квашня* (literally leavened dough) ‘simpleton, slow-witted person’, *о́на́ра* (leaven) ‘clumsy, simple-minded person’, *ка́ша* (gruel) ‘simpleton, ninny’, *розва́ра* ‘absent-minded, forgetful, slow-witted person’, given that *разва́ра* means ‘gruel’ (Leontjeva 2008: 219–220). In the same vein, Finnish dialectal epithets meaning ‘slow-witted, thick-headed, foolish’, *tokero*, *humppa*, *huuppa*, *tollo*, *pöppörö*, *huttu*, *mätmi*, etc., come from the names of gruels, ground rye cooked in water or milk, sometimes with berries (Ruoppila 1955; Loginova 2011). They gave rise to a number of nicknames, which were fixed in patronyms and surnames, which, in turn, were reflected in the toponymy, primarily in oikonymy (see Pudr). We should therefore reconsider the interpretation of the Veps oikonym *Korbal*, Russ. *Корбиничи*, which I used to associate with the Veps *korb* ‘thick woods’, in the belief that the productivity of *-l* type place names could have resulted in formations by analogy when it became possible to affix the formant *-l* to non-anthroponymic stems as well: compared to *Korbal* < *korb* ‘thick woods’, \**Hongal* (*Гонгиничи*) < *hong* ‘pine’ (Mullonen 1994). In reality, however, their formation fully fits into the traditional model of derivation from anthroponyms. Veps *Korbal* – Russ. *Корбиничи* can be traced to the reconstructed anthroponym \**Korboi*, originating from the nickname \**korboi* with the metaphoric meaning of ‘featherheaded’, which, in turn, descends from the primary meaning of the Veps *korboi* ‘thick porridge’. The fact of the anthroponym’s actual existence is corroborated by materials from 1563 Cadastral Files, with records on a peasant named *Михалка Корбуев* in the Megrezhskij pogost (PKOP: 217). The woman’s nickname *Корбуиха*, that is *Korbui*’s wife, existed in Andoma (Sobolev 2015b: 457). We can see a similar semantic evolution in the anthroponym \**Pudr*.

\**Korv(oi)*: *Korvoil* ~ *Korval* – Russ. *Корвала*, compared to Veps *korv* ‘ear’. The reason for this nickname could be the person’s appearance. According to SKN, this interpretation may be relevant for the Finnish surname *Korva* as well.

\**Kurikka*: *Курикуничу* < \**Kurikkala* (> \**Kurikal*), compared to Finnic, including Veps *kurikka*, *kurik* ‘club, wood chopping tool’, but the motivation for this name in the context of the general typology of nickname appellations must be associated with the word’s figurative meaning: Veps *kurik* ‘speaking disparagingly of a head: noggin’, compound *vargas/kurik* ‘little thief’, (SVJ), Kar. *kurikka/peä* ‘big-headed child’ (KKS), Ludic *kurik/piä* ‘tadpole’ (LMS) and Finn. *honka/kurikka* ‘big but foolish head’ (SMS). In general, the reconstructed meaning is ‘big but empty head’, which is productive in nicknaming (Mullonen 1994: 95). Traces of this anthroponym are found in the name of the southern Veps village *Kurikmägi* ~ *Kurikanmägi* (*mägi* ‘mountain’), as well as in the vicinity of the contemporary northern Veps territory where the Ladva rural cluster comprises the village *Курикова* (SNM 1926: 52). The anthroponym has been reported in cognate onomastics, and it is possible that it is hidden in the name *Кюрик* in Novgorod birch bark letter 138 (Saarikivi 2007: 230), although it is not a phonetically perfect match.

\**Musta*: *Мустиничи* < \**Mustala* (> \**Mustal*), compared to Veps *must* ‘black’. The corresponding anthroponym is widely represented in Finnic anthroponymic systems.

\**Mörgö*: *Мергиничи* < \**Mörgölä* (> \**Mörgol*, \**Mörgl*), compared to Fin., Kar. *mörkö*, *mörö* ‘bogey man; spectre’; the word was used also as a euphemism for a bear, a louse (SSA, KKS). The word *mörosiine* ‘sullen, gloomy’, apparently related to the verb *möraita* ‘to bellow quietly’ (SVJ), ‘to grumble, to roar’ (SSA), has been reported in the Veps language. The nicknames *Mörkö*, *Mörö* have presumably been given to a man of sturdy build with a low, coarse voice (SKN) and, judging from Veps data, also with a gloomy appearance. Veps roots find support in the name of village *Мергино* in the former Veps territory along the Ojat’ River. Traces of its former usage are village *Mörgöi*, Rus. *Мергойла* (Tulos of the Aunus district) (CHM 1926: 74), *Mörkölä* homesteads (Uhta – present-day Kalevala) (Karlova 2004), a number of surnames in documents on Finnish territory between the

15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (SKN). The nickname has been preserved in two place names from the historical Veps territory not recorded in written sources and its Veps etymon \**mörg*.

\**Nürgöi*: *N'urgoil* – *Нурговуи*, see Veps *n'urkta* (*n'urgub*) ‘to pester, to bother, to nag, to whine’. This deverbal name for a person of such qualities could have easily become a nickname-type anthroponym.

\**Ozroi*: *Ozroil* ~ *Ozroil'* – *Озровуи*, Veps *ozr* ‘barley’. Analogues are known in the Finnic tradition: Finn. *Ohra*, *Ohro* (Forsman 1894: 221, 250), Est. *Odra* (Palli 1959: 608). The motive for the nomination is obscure. It may presumably have some linkage to the use of this word in the tradition of matrimonial wailing, where the diminutive *ozraine* metaphorically stands for the groom (KKS).

\**Pecoi*: *Pecoil* ~ *Peceil* – *Пелдүүи*, in 16<sup>th</sup> century materials, however we also find *Печевицы* (PKOP: 252). Researchers have recorded several name variants of the village: *Pietsal* (Lönnrot 1902: 223), *Petšlad* (Nissilä 1947: 13), *Piesl*, *Pešl* (Hämäläinen 1958: 15) – *Печеницы*. In this Russian village, situated in the Ojat' and Svir interfluvium, samples of Veps speech were recorded after the Continuation War (Hämäläinen 1958). The disparity of phonetic variants was due to both Russian influence, which implied a lack of differentiation between *ч* and *у*, and the geographical vicinity of the Karelian language areal with the diphthong *ie* in place of the Veps *e*. It is arguably based on one of the numerous variants of the Finnic adjective *pieni* ‘small’: Veps *piču-*, *peče-*, Kar. *pečoi* which figuratively refer to a baby (KKS). A short man nicknamed *Piettšu* and a tall man, accordingly, *Suittšu* are known to have been from Suistamo in Priladozhye in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Linnakylä 1968: 21).

\**Pudro*: *Пудроль* < \**Purdol*, Veps *pudr* ‘thick gruel’. The anthroponym *Pudr* was recorded among the southern Veps by Lauri Kettunen (1943: 271). It is also known in other Finnic anthroponymic systems, namely *Pudroi* in Aunus and *Purto* in Priladozhye (Karlova 2016). In the former Veps territories in the southern Svir region, there is further evidence of this personal name, in the form of the village nam. *Пудрино*. Here, as in other cases (see e.g. \**Korboi*), the name of an easy to cook dish with a sticky consistency acquires a secondary meaning to denote a person with fuzzy, plain, amorphous thoughts – simpletons, featherheaded, dull people.

\**Rahkoi*: *Rahkoil* – *Рахковичи*, *rahkoi* ‘mythological house spirit, domovoi’. *Rahkoi* has been repeatedly documented in the territory of medieval Finland (Forsman 1894: 129) and 16<sup>th</sup> century materials from Karelia show a *Гридка Рахкоев* (Popov 1949: 57). We can also compare this to the name of a legendary hero, *Рахкой* ~ *Рахтой*, from Ragnozero in Pudozh (Chistov 1958: 358–388). The motivation for the nomination is obscure.

\**Rusked*: *Rusttal* – *Русконицы*, *rusked*: the stem of oblique cases of *rustta*- ‘red, rosy-cheeked, beautiful’. It is conventionally believed that the analogous Finnish anthroponyms *Ruske*, *Ruskia*, *Ruskiainen* appeared in connection with the colour of the hair or beard of the nicknamed person (Nissilä 1975: 142). As regards to the Veps anthroponym, we cannot rule out the meaning ‘beautiful’.

\**Terv-*: *Terl* < \**Tervl* – *Тервиничи*, *terv* ‘tar, resin’ or *terveh* ‘healthy’. We can compare this to Finn. and Kar. *Tervo*, *Terve* (Forsman 1894: 71, 127), *Tervapää*, *Tervanen*, which are usually associated with dark hair colour (SKN).

\**Vingoi*: *Vingl* – *Винницы*. V. Pimenov (1965: 51) related the place name *Винницы* (the historically earlier variant was *Веницы*) to the Veps word *venanik* ‘Russian (person)’, his reasoning being that the *Venickij pogost*, serving as the administrative centre, long remained the only Russian settlement in the Veps surroundings in upper course of the Ojat’. In reality, however, the etymological reconstruction should proceed from the Veps original *Vingl*, whereas *Веницы* ~ *Винницы* is its logical Russian equivalent. Furthermore, it reflects the phonetic regularities pointing to an early occurrence of contacts: namely, the Finnic *i* was assimilated as the Russian *e* during the Old Russian stage of Finnic–Russian contacts (Kalima 1919: 51). In addition, the old Pskov-Novgorod correlation *zl* ~ *л* (Zaliznjak 2004: 40–41) resulted in the perception of the Veps *Vingl* (*zl*) as \**Vinl* (*л*) and, accordingly, the formation of the variant *Веницы*. This is the only way to explain the vanishing of *z* from the Russian variant of the oikonym. Understandably, the early history of the Russian place name does not imply that the local Veps population was Russified at the same time, but it signifies that some place names were introduced into official usage in Russiae. The quest for the sources of the Veps *Vingl* leads to the Veps *vinhta*: *vingub* ‘to cheep, to squeal’, and hence

*ving*, *vingoi* ‘one who cheeps or squeals’. A possible motive could be the person’s high-pitched voice, but the semantics of the word might be broader, including meanings such as ‘to whine, to complain’ (cf. cognate languages, SSA). On the other hand, we should note the etymologically related meteorological lexeme *vinka*, ‘cold biting wind’, which in some Finnic languages acquired the figurative meanings of ‘angry, hot-tempered’ (in western Finnish dialects), ‘fast, agile, lively, deft’ (in southeastern Bothnian dialects), ‘joyous, pleasing, likeable’ (in eastern Finnish dialects), *ving* ‘vice, enmity’ in Estonian and ‘stubborn, persistent, uncompromising, energetic, vigorous’ in Livvi vinger(z) (SSA). In a broader Finnic context, this semantic evolution can also be hypothesised for Veps dialects.

\**Reekoi*: *Рекиничи* < \**Reekoila* (> \**Rekoil*). This place name seems to be related to the name of the hamlet *Riekku* ~ *Riekunselgy* among the Aunus Karelians in Kolatselgy (SNM 1926), its residents known under the household surname of *Riekkuzed* (Karlova 2016). The series includes two villages named *Riekkala* in northern Priladozhye (Sortavala, Kurkijoki), surnames *Riekki/Riekkinen* and *Riekkö/Riekkola* in Finland (SKN) etc. Various possibilities have been suggested for their interpretation, such as reference to a person of Greek Orthodox, faith (Nissilä 1975: 204), a link to the calendar names Fredrik or Gregorius (SKN). Admittedly, both versions are questionable, especially in accordance to a Veps-Karelian linguistic, historical and cultural context. At the same time, noteworthy among nickname appellations is the evocative verb Finn. *riekkua*, Kar. *riekkuo*, the meanings of which include ‘to shout, to crow (of a rooster), to rampage, to fool around, to work one’s tail off’ with the derivative *riekko* ‘vehement, mischievous, unbridled’ (SSA), Kar. *riekkiäčie* ‘to squabble, to bicker’ (SKJT). The presumable core of this semantic series is ‘to behave noisily, to rampage’<sup>5</sup>, which may have shaped the semantics of the nickname.

\**Šutti*:- *Шутиницы* < \**Šutila* (> \**Šutil*). We know that early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the *Шутиницы* neighbouring villages *Руссконицы* /

5. In this semantic context, we should also note the Finnish word for the willow grouse *riekko*. This bird is known for its clamorous habit, ardent round-the-clock spring lekking behaviour, fierce fighting, sometimes ending in deaths (Wikipedia). Clamorousness and violent behavior are the dominant traits in this case.

Veps *Rusttal* and *Šlanua/Šapš*, situated at the dividing point between the Ojat' and the Svir, were still Veps (Tunkelo 1946). This was quite likely also true for Shutinitsy (*Шутиницы*), but researchers at that time missed this village in their studies, and the Veps variant of the name was not recorded. The latter can be reconstructed as \**Šutil*. It cannot be etymologised using Veps lexical data, but Livvi has the potentially useful affective, i.e. emotionally coloured, word *šutti* 'tattered person, in ragged clothes', apparently descending from the phonetically primary *šuntti* 'time-worn, shabby person, piece of clothing; worthless, tattered, penniless person', compared to *šuntita* 'to drag out a wretched life, to lead a dissipated life, to lounge around' [KKS]. The rightfulness of this interpretation is supported by the existence of the patrimonial surname *Šutti* in the Livvi village of Veskelys as well as *Šuttijeff/Šlymmuev* in Rebola, in the Karelian area [Karlova 2004: 102]. It is likely that the anthroponym was also familiar to the Veps.

## Conclusions

Quite a number of Veps anthroponyms have been preserved in the oikonymy of the southern Svir region that have apparently functioned not only as nicknames of individuals, but also as patronyms, that is, family appellations descending from one generation to another. These anthroponyms are several centuries old. This fact is evidenced by the age of *-l* type oikonyms – the model represented in the early or, in fact, the initial Veps settlement area. Its geographical range largely coincides with the territory marked out by tumuli of southeastern Priladozhye between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The unproductive status of derivatives from Orthodox names, which had probably not yet been widely established in the Veps community by that time is in agreement with the early age of the *-l* type model. In reality however, their representation in the Veps onomasticon of this remote era may prove to have been greater than we now think. The difficulty here is that we know little of the non-canonical variants of the Orthodox names that could have been used in the Veps environment. A clear example is a 1375 document showing the *starosta* (unofficial leader) of the Imochenskij pogost on the Ojat' "Артемий,

прозвищем Оря” (Artemij, nicknamed Orja) and “шунгский смерд ... Игнатеи, прозвищем Игоча” (surf from Shunga ... Ignatei, nicknamed Igocha) (GVNP: 285)<sup>6</sup>. What is called a “nickname” in the manuscript may, in fact, be a vernacular variant of the official, Orthodox name. Yet, the second part of the example (*Игнатий – Игоча*) probably works in the paradigm established using Finnish material: a non-Christian name (in this example *Игоча*, cf. Finnic personal name *Ihattu ~ Ihačču*) was approximated to the Christian names with a close phonetic resemblance to become its vernacular variant (Forsman 1894).

The percentage of anthroponyms for which no reliable Veps etymon has been retrieved is high. Collecting the Veps lexis began rather late, and on top of that, the words that became nicknames constitute a very specific lexical group, which is usually outside the basic vocabulary. Hence, they could have simply evaded collectors’ attention. Judging from the above study, the bulk of oikonyms that could not be deciphered is arguably based exactly on nickname anthroponyms with pejorative meanings, and the success of their study efforts will depend on whether we can find and make use of relevant data from cognate languages. We cannot rule out the actual Karelian presence either and, hence, language influence: this supposition is supported by the vicinity of Karelian settlements in the northern Svir region.

Several non-calendar names with positive meanings stand out among the reconstructed anthroponyms. They were recorded in historically Veps territory, have broad parallels in cognate name systems and apparently originate from the time of the Finnic proto-language. On the opposite end is quite a large group of anthroponyms with negative meanings describing a person’s external and internal traits. These qualify as nicknames. There are also some semantically neutral names which could have been either non-calendar names or nicknames. The boundary between them is fuzzy. Non-calendar names have persisted for a long time alongside Christian names and were used domestically, similarly to the continuing co-usage of official and unofficial surnames in some Veps villages. Apparently not only the names and

---

6. I wish to thank Denis Kuzmin, who pointed out this source and suggested its possible interpretation.

nicknames of individuals but also patronyms, that is, family names, have been preserved in oikonyms.

Reconstructed Veps anthroponyms are identical in terms of semantic characteristics of their stems and the list of stems to non-Christian names in other Finnic anthroponymic systems. This is an important verification criterion for the reconstructions as well as evidence of the common sources of these systems.

Not all of the interpretations above are equally convincing, but the general conclusion that *-l* type oikonyms and, hence, their Russian equivalents with the formant *-ицы/-ичи*, can be used to identify the old Veps nomination system is not to be doubted.

## References

- Ariste, Paul 1975: Vadja järvehaldjas vezikko. – *Emakeele Seltse Aastaraamat* 25, 95–98.
- Chistov 1958 = Чистов, К.В. 1958: Былина «Рахта Рагнозерский» и предание о Рахкое из Рагнозера. – *Славянская филология*. Вып. 3. Москва, 35–388.
- Eliseev 1966 = Jeliseev, J. S. 1966: Itämerensuomalaisia kielenmuistomerkejä. – *Virittäjä* 7. 296–304.
- Forsman A.V. 1894: *Tutkimuksia suomen Kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla* I. Helsinki.
- Gerd 1984 = Герд, А. С. 1984: К истории образования говоров Посвирья. – *Севернорусские говоры*. Вып. 4. Ленинград. 134–180.
- 1994 = А.С. Герд. К исторической географии Приладожья. – *Проблемы этнической истории и межэтнических контактов прибалтийско-финских народов*. Санкт-Петербург. 32–35.
- GVNP = Грамоты Великого Новгорода и Пскова. Москва-Ленинград: Наука, 1949.
- Hämäläinen 1958 = Печенское наречие вепсского языка. – *Совещание по вопросам диалектологии финно-угорских языков 23–27.VI. 1958. Тезисы докладов*. Тарту. 15–19.
- Itkonen, Terho 1971: Aunuksen äänneopin erikoispiirteet ja aunukselaismurteiden synty. – *Virittäjä* 7. 153–182.
- Kalima, Jalo 1919: *Die ostseefinnischen Lehnwörter im Russischen*. Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimituksia 44. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Kallio O. A. 1968: Savolaisia sukuja ja sukunimiä. – Börje Thilman (ed.), *Suomalaisia sukuja ja sukunimiä. Joka perheen sukunimi- ja sukututkimusopas*. 42–71.
- Karlova 2004 = Карлова, О. Л. 2004: Суффикс *-la* в топонимии Карелии. Петрозаводск (manuscript).
- Karlova, O. 2016: Karjalainen ja vepsäläinen ei-kristillinen henkilönnimikantainen paikannimistö. – Отв. ред. О. П. Илюха, *Финно-угорская мозаика: сборник статей к юбилею Ирмы Ивановны Муллонен*. Studia Nordica I. Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр РАН. 171–187.
- Karttapaikka = MML karttapaikka. Helsinki: Maanmittauslaitos. <<https://asiointi.maanmittauslaitos.fi/karttapaikka/>> 26.10.2017

- Kettunen, Lauri 1955: *Etymologische Untersuchung über estnische Ortsnamen*: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Ser.B, 90:1.
- 1943: *Vepsän murteiden lauseopillinen tutkimus*. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 86. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Kiviniemi, Eero 1982: *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet. Suomalaisten etunimet ja nimivalinta*. Espoo.
- 1990: *Perustietoa paikannimistöstä*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 516. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- KKS = *Karjalan kielen sanakirja* 1–6. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVI. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 1968–1997.
- KMS = R.E. Nirvi. *Kiihtelysvaaran murteen sanakirja* I–X. Karjalaisen kulttuurin edistämissektio. Lappeenranta.
- Kjurshunova 2010 = Кюршунова, И. А. 2010: *Словарь некалендарных личных имен, прозвищ и фамильных прозваний Северо-Западной Руси XV-XVII вв.* Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин.
- Krys'ko 2006 = Крысько, Б. И. 2006: Еще раз об Имоволожи. – *The Slavization of the Russian North*. Slavica Helsingiensia 27. 222–233.
- Kupchinsky 1980 = Купчинский, О. А. 1980: Древнейшие славянские топонимические типы и некоторые вопросы расселения восточных славян. – *Славянские древности: этногенез, материальная культура Древней Руси*. Киев. 45–72.
- Kuzmin, Denis 2015: Vienan Karjalan asutus perimätiedon ja sukunimiaineiston valossa. – *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* 9. 145–199.
- Lehikoinen, Laila 1988: *Kirvun talonnimet. Karjalaisen talonnimisysteemin kuvaus*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 493. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Leonteva 2008 = Леонтьева, Т. В. 2008: *Интеллект человека в русской языковой картине мира*. Екатеринбург.
- Linnakylä, Paula 1968: Suistamolaisten lisänimiä vuosisadan vaihteesta vuoteen 1939. Unpublished MA-thesis. University of Helsinki.
- LMS = Juho Kujola 1944: *Lyydiläismurteiden sanakirja*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae IX. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Loginova 2012 = Логинова, Е. В. 2012: Консистенция дурака или о формировании образа интеллектуально неполноценного человека в финских народных говорах. – *Бубриховские чтения*. Петрозаводск: Петрозаводский государственный университет: 68–81.
- Lönnrot, Elias 1902: *Elias Lönnrotin matkat*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 98. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

- Mullonen 1994 = Муллонен, И. 1994: *Очерки вепсской топонимии*. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
- 2002 = Муллонен, И. И. 2002: *Топонимия Присвирья: проблемы этноязыкового контактирования*. Петрозаводск: Петрозаводский государственный университет.
- 2008 = Муллонен, И. И. 2008: *Топонимия Заонежья: Словарь с историко-культурными комментариями*. Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр РАН.
- 2012 = Муллонен, И. И. 2012: Природные и культурные факторы формирования вепсской этнической территории. – *Труды Карельского научного центра РАН* № 3. 13–25.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1947: Kuujärven paikannimestöstä. – *Virittäjä* 5. 13–19.
- 1962: *Suomalaista nimistöntutkimusta*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 272. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- 1975: *Suomen Karjalan nimistö*. Joensuu: Karjalaisen Kulttuurin Edistämissäätiön Julkaisuja.
- Pall, Valdek 1977: *Põhja-Tartumaa kohanimed*. II. Tallinn.
- Palli, H. 1959: Eesti isikunimedest Harju- ja Jarvamaal XVI sajandil. – *Keel ja Kirjandus*. 59–609.
- Pimenov 1965 = Пименов, В. В. 1965: *Вепсы: очерк этнической истории и генезиса культуры*. Москва–Ленинград: Наука.
- РКК = Писцовые книги Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. III. Петрозаводск-Йоенсуу. 1993.
- РКОР = Писцовые книги Обонежской пятины 1496 и 1563 гг. Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР. 1930.
- Роров 1949 = Попов, А. И. 1949: Материалы по топонимике Карелии. – *Советское финно-угроведение* V. Петрозаводск, 46–66.
- Ruoppila, Veikko 1955: Vajaaälyisen kuvaannollisia nimityksiä. – *Virittäjä* 5. 150–170.
- Saarikivi, Janne 2007: Finnic Personal Names on Novgorod Birch Bark Documents. – *Slavica Helsingiensia* 32. 196–246.
- SKES = *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XII. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 1955–1981.
- SKJT = *Словарь карельского языка (тверские говоры)*. Составитель А. В. Пунжина. Петрозаводск: «Карелия».
- SKN = Sirkka Paikkala & Pirjo Mikkonen 2000: *Sukunimet*. Helsinki.
- SMS = *Suomen murteiden sanakirja*. Osa 1. Helsinki: Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finnish Literature Society 1985.

- SNM 1926 = *Список населенных мест Карельской АССР (по материалам Переписи 1926 г.)*. Петрозаводск: Изд. Статистического Управления, 1928.
- Sobolev 2015a = Соболев, А. И. 2015: Вепское топонимическое наследие Юго-Восточного Обонежья в соотношении с археологическими и историческими источниками. – *Севернорусские говоры*. Вып. 14. Санкт-Петербург: издательство «Нестор-История». 89–111.
- Sobolev 2015b = Соболев, А. И. 2015: Вепское прошлое Юго-Восточного Обонежья по данным ономастики. – *Лексический атлас русских народных говоров. Материалы и исследования 2015*. Санкт-Петербург: издательство «Нестор-История». 475–508.
- SSA = *Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja*. Helsinki, 1992–2000.
- Stoebke, D. E. 1964: *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Nord- und Ost-europäische Geschichtsstudien IV. Hamburg.
- Superanskaya 1998 = Суперанская, А. В. 1998: *Словарь русских личных имен*. Москва: АСТ.
- SVJ = Зайцева, М. И. & М. И. Муллонен 1972: *Словарь вепского языка*. Ленинград: Наука.
- Zaitseva 2016 = Зайцева, Н. Г. 2016: *Очерки вепской диалектологии (лингвогеографический аспект)*. Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр.
- Zaliznjak 2004 = Зализняк, А. А. 2004: *Древненовгородский диалект. 2-е издание, Переработанное с учетом материала находок 1995–2003 гг.* РАН, Институт славяноведения. Москва: Языки славянской культуры.
- Tunkelo, E. A. 1946: *Vepsän kielen äännehistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 228. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Unbegaun 1989 = Унбегаум, Б. О. 1989: *Русские фамилии*. Москва: Прогресс.
- Vahtola, Jouko 1980: *Tornionjoki- ja Kemijokilaakson asutuksen synty. Nimistötieteellinen ja historiallinen tutkimus*. Studia Septentrionalia 3. Rovaniemi.
- Vasilyev 2012 = Васильев, В. Л. 2012: *Славянские топонимические древности Новгородской земли*. Москва: Рукописные памятники Древней Руси.
- Vitov & Vlasova 1974 = Витов, М. В. & И. В. Власова 1974: *География сельского расселения Западного Поморья в XVI–XVIII вв.* Москва.

## Muinaisen vepsäläisen henkilönnimistön jälkiä Etelä-Syvärin asutusnimissä

*Irma Mullonen*

Artikkelissa on rekonstruoitu noin 30 vepsäläistä henkilönimeä. Apuna on käytetty vepsäläisiä *la*-loppuisia asutusnimiä sekä niiden venäjänkielisiä muunnelmia entiseltä vepsänkieliseltä alueelta. Yhteensä aineistona käytettyjä paikannimiä on noin 100. Näistä monet on mainittu 1500–1600-luvun verokirjoissa ja osa jopa vanhimmassa tiedossa olevassa Syvärin aluetta koskevassa asiakirjassa 1200-luvulta. Henkilönnimet ovat valtaosin ei-kristillisiä nimiä, joiden joukossa on muutama itämerensuomalainen etunimi (*Hima, Kaiboi, Vald*) ja lisänimen kaltaisia ilmauksia, sisällöltään tavallisesti pejoratiivisia (*Hurj, Hörpöi, Korb, Rahkoi, Reboi*). Näille on vastineita muissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä. Jotkin näistä ovat säilyneet myös nykyisissä vepsäläisissä sukunimissä. Tarkastelu osoittaa, että vanhat vepsäläiset henkilönimet kuuluivat olennaisena osana yhteiseen itämerensuomalaiseen nimijärjestelmään.

OLGA KARLOVA  
Helsingin yliopisto

## Karjalaisten venäjännetyistä käännössukunimistä

**Abstrakti** Artikkelissani käsittelen Venäjän karjalaisten sukunimiä, jotka ovat kulkeutuneet venäläiseen viralliseen sukunimistöön suorina käännöksinä karjalasta venäjään. Tutkimukseni päätavoitteena on eritellä alkuperäisiä karjalankielisiä ei-kristillisiä epävirallisia sukunimiä ja niiden virallisia venäjänkielisiä vastineita sekä analysoida sukunimistön leksikaalista pohjaa ja mahdollisia nimeämisperusteita. Lisäksi vertailen venäläistettyjä sukunimiä sellaisiin karjalaisiin sukunimiin, jotka ovat alkuperältään samaa leksikaalista kantaa ja joiden venäjänkielissäkin sukunimivastineissa on säilynyt taustalla oleva lekseemi, esim. SN *Лисицын* < karj. LN *Reboi* < APP *reboi* 'repo' – ven. *лисица* 'kettu' ja SN *Рёбьев*.

## Venäjän karjalaisten sukunimistä

Venäjän nykykarjalaisten virallinen sukunimistö on rakenteeltaan pääasiallisesti venäläistä sukunimityyppiä, kun taas sen leksikaalinen pohja saattaa olla omaa kielellistä alkuperää ja on sisällöltään hyvin kirjava. Vaikka karjalaisten kansanomaisessa käytössä olleet ikivanhat sukuun viittaavat lisänimet ja niistä kehittyneet nykyiset sukunimet eivät ole päässeet sellaisinaan venäläiseen viralliseen sukunimistöön, huomattava osa venäjän kielessä käytetyistä karjalaisten virallisista sukunimistä on säilyttänyt silti omaperäisyytensä jälkiä.

Vanhat asiakirjat todistavat, että karjalaisten keskuudessa sukunimiä on käytetty jo monen sadan vuoden ajan. Tällaisia perinteisiä sukunimiä, jotka ovat nykyäänkin karjalaisten käytössä, ovat mm. *Kurkojev – Куркоев* (Käkisalmen lääni 1618), *Tuntujev – Тунтуев* (Repolan pogosta 1678), *Remšujev – Ремшувев* (Vuokkiniemen pogosta 1658), *Rebujev – Ребьев* (Käkisalmen lääni 1618). Kaikki mainitut sukunimet ovat rakenteellisesti mukautuneet venäläiseen sukunimistöön *-ev*-sukunimijohtimen avulla. Nimissä rekonstruoituvat lisänimet puolestaan pohjautuvat omaperäiseen sanastoon: *Kurko(i)* < vrt. karj. *kurkoi* 'hiisi, lempo, paholainen, kummitus'; *Tunto(i)* 'tuttu; tunnettu'; *Remšu(i)* < vrt. karj. *remšakka* 'reipas; iloinen'; *Rebo(i)* < APP *rebo(i)* 'repo, kettu'. Karjalaisten viralliset venäläisessä nimistössä käytössä olevat sukunimet ovat vakiintuneet varsinaisiksi sukunimiksi 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskolla, ja niiden käyttö tuli pakolliseksi vasta 1930-luvun alussa. Venäjällä oli tapahtunut ns. väestön *passiivutuminen* (паспортизация населения), joka tarkoitti käytännössä sitä, että jokainen neuvostoliittolainen oli rekisteröity virallisella nimellä. Kolmiosainen virallinen nimi koostui sukunimestä, etunimestä ja isännimestä, esim. *Petrov Ivan Semjonovitš*.

Pienessä karjalaisessa kyläyhteisössä on kuitenkin aina ollut aktiivisessa käytössä päänimi (yksilönnimi) + lisänimi -nimiyhdistelmä. Yksilönnimenä on tavallisesti ortodoksista perua oleva kansanomai- nen nimimuunnelma, kun taas lisänimet ovat eriluonteisia.

Hyvin yleisiä ovat olleet patronyymiset lisänimet, joita ovat nimetävän isännimi ja kaukaisemmankin esivanhemman kristillisiperäinen yksilönnimi. Usein patronyymiset lisänimet ovat yksilönnimen edellä, siis patronyymi on päänimen määrittäneenä, esimerkiksi *Tiitan Huoti* I.

Huoti Tiitanpoika, *Levasen Mikko* l. Levasen Iivanan Jyrin Sulonpoika. Jotkin näistä patronyymisistä lisänimistä ovat saattaneet periytyä sukupolvesta toiseen, vaikka ne eivät päässeetkään viralliseen sukunimistöön. Hyvänä esimerkkinä on edellä mainittu vienankarjalainen Vuokkiniemen asukkaiden nykykäytössä edelleenkin oleva epävirallinen periytyvä suvun nimi *Levani* (< karj. rn. *Leva* < ven. *Lev*). Venäjän puolella tähän sukuun kuuluvien virallisena passinmukaisena sukunimenä on *Lipkin*, mutta kansanomaisessa käytössä heidän sukutalonsa tiedetään nimellä *Levasentalo* ja koko sukukunnan edustajia nimitetään kotikylässään nykyäänkin *Levasiksi*. 1780-luvulla syntynyt *Leva* on perimätiedon mukaan ollut sukuhaaran perustaja. On mielenkiintoista huomata, että patronyyminen lisänimi *Levanen* toimii kuitenkin virallisena sukunimenä Suomessa. Se on kulkeutunut suomalaiseen sukunimistöön 1920-luvulla Vienan heimosotia pakooneiden vuokkiniemeläisten *Levasen* ansiosta (artikkelin kirjoittajan perhearkisto).

Karjalaisissa kansanomaisissa lisänimissä on säilynyt myös eikristillistä omaperäistä henkilönnimistöä. Tällaisia ovat esimerkiksi edellä mainitut *Kurko(i)*, *Rebo(i)*, *Remšu*. Karjalaisperäisten sukunimien adaptaatio Venäjän virallisessa nimistössä on tapahtunut eri tavoin. Osa omaperäisestä henkilönnimistöstä on pienin foneettisin ja morfologisin muutoksin onnistunut pääsemään venäläiseen sukunimistöön. Havaintojeni mukaan tällaisia omaperäisiä sukunimiä, joissa karjalaisuus on parhaiten esillä, on kehittynyt historiallisesti karjalaisimmilla asuma-alueilla, sellaisissa kylärykelmissä, joissa karjalankielinen väestö on ollut enemmistönä ja joihin venäläinen vaikutus ei juuri ollut ulottunut, esimerkiksi Veškelyksen kylän karjalaisten sukunimiä ovat *Чаккуев – Tšakkijev* (karj. LN *Čäkki*), *Нярзев – Njargijev* (< karj. LN *Närhi*), *Пузыев – Puzujev* (< karj. LN *Puzu*), *Падатчев – Padatšev* (karj. LN *Padačču*), *Штымьев – Šuttijev* (< karj. LN *Šutti*), *Тухкин – Tuhkin* (< karj. LN *Tuhku*) (livvinkarjala).

Hyvin usein venäjänkielinen sukunimi ei kuitenkaan vastaa periytyvää epävirallista kansanomaista lisänimeä, esimerkiksi karj. LN *Bučči* – ven. SN *Kirillov* (Jänkjärvi-Paatene), karj. LN *Pullozet* – ven. SN *Mihailov* (Maasjärvi-Tunkua), karj. LN *Čiučoi* – ven. SN *Fomin* (D'ekkal-Säämäjärvi), karj. LN *Pakkažet* – ven. SN *Pimenov* (Mačarvi-Vitele). Monet venäjänkieliset sukunimet ovat taas karjalaisten ei-kristillistä perua olevien lisänimien suoria käännöksiä.

Artikkelissani käsittelen viimeksi mainittuja ns. käännessukunimiä. Tällaisia karjalaisten venäjännettyjen sukunimien esimerkkejä ovat *Sudakov* (< LN *Kuha* < karj. *kuha* – ven. *судак*), *Sumerkin* (< LN *Hämäri* < karj. *hämäri* – ven. *сумерки*), *Kuznetsov* (< *Seppy* < karj. *seppy* – ven. *кузнец*). Tieto siitä, onko tämäntyyppisten sukunimien takana karjalankieliseen lekseemiin palautuva henkilönnimi vai onko kyseessä alkuperältään venäjänkielinen henkilönnimi, löytyy ainoastaan kansan muistista, nimenkantajien käytössä olevasta tai olleesta kansanomaisesta henkilönnimistöstä.

## Tutkimusaineisto

Olen käyttänyt autenttisena lähteenä Venäjän Karjalan nimestäjien kenttämatoilta talteen saatuja henkilönnimiaineistoja, joita säilytetään Kielen, kirjallisuuden ja historian instituutin (*Институт языка, литературы и истории, Карельский научный центр, РАН*) nimiarkistossa Petroskoisissa. Mainittakoon, että karjalaisen henkilö- ja paikannimistön säännöllinen keruutyö on alkanut Venäjällä vasta 1970-luvun loppupuolella ja se jatkuu nykyäänkin. Olen itse kerännyt karjalankielistä nimestöä kenttämatoilla Aunuksen, Vienan ja Tverin Karjalassa vuodesta 1999 alkaen, ja tutkimusaineistoni kattaa kaikki karjalan kielen murrealueet.

Venäjän Karjalan maaseudulla karjalaisten asuttamissa kylissä omaperäinen henkilönnimijärjestelmä on vielä kutakuinkin käytössä. Varsinkin viime vuosisadan alkupuolella syntyneet kielenoppaat osaavat kertoa talonnimiä, joihin sisältyy perinteisiä karjalaisia henkilönnimiä (ristimänimet, patronyymiset lisänimet, erilaiset sukuun viittaavat periytyvät nimet) ja asukkaiden virallisia sukunimiä. Näiden aineistojen perusteella olen valinnut tähän artikkeliin vain sellaiset karjalaisten kansanomaisessa käytössä olevat suvusta toiseen periytyvät lisänimet, jotka ovat saaneet venäjän kielessä sanallisen käännessastineen. Lisäksi olen käyttänyt hyväkseni Suomen nimiarkiston Venäjän Karjalaa käsitteleviä henkilönnimikokoelmia, jotka sijaitsevat Kotimaisten kielten keskuksessa Helsingissä.

Käsittelen ensin eläinaiheisia käännessukunimiä – siis sellaisia, jotka sisältävät jonkin eläimen nimityksen –, koska tämä ryhmä muodostaa aineistoni suurimman osan. Sen jälkeen esittelen kaikki muut

sukunimet aakkosjärjestyksessä. Sukunimiesimerkit on annettu virallisessa venäläisessä kyrillisessä muodossa ja väliviivan jälkeen transliteroituna käyttäen latinalaista aakkostoa. Joka nimiesimerkin kohdalla esitän perustietoja, missä paikkakunnassa (kylä, murrealue) kyseinen lisä- tai sukunimi on esiintynyt. Jos tarkasteltava sukunimi on atestoitu vanhoissa asiakirjoissa, pyrin tuomaan nämäkin tiedot esiin. Vertailuaineistona on vepsäläinen henkilönnimiaineisto, joka on tallessa edellä mainitussa Petroskoin nimiarkistossa sekä myös Suomen nimiarkistossa. Yhteisiä sukunimikantoja on löydettävissä myös itäsuomalaisesta sukunimistöstä (ks. Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000).

## Eläinaiheisia sukunimiä

Suurimmalta osaltaan eläimennimityksen sisältävät nimet ovat alkuaan olleet vanhoja perinteisiä lisänimiä. Eero Kiviniemi esittää, että lisänimen käyttö päänimen ohessa olisi ollut jo esikristillisellä ajalla melko yleistä ja huomattava osa lisänimistä oli luultavasti patronymisiä kuten monissa muissa varhaisissa nimisysteemeissä. Samalla hän korostaa, että lisänimien periytyvyys nykyisten sukunimien tavoin ei ollut järjestelmällistä. (1982: 53–55.) Vanhat asiakirjat ovat todisteena siitä, että karjalaisten keskuudessa periytyviä lisänimiä on käytetty jo ainakin 1500–1600-luvuilla. Kentältä kerätty henkilönnimiaineisto kertoo, että 1800–1900-lukujen vaihteessa kansa oli saanut venäjänkieliset sukunimet viralliseen käyttöön. Karjalankieliset sukunimet ovat siis epävirallisia, koska Venäjällä karjalan kieli ei ole saanut tähän mennessä valtion virallista statusta.

Eläimen nimityksiä sisältävien henkilönnimien nimeämisperusteet eivät ole aina selviä. Aiemmissä tutkimuksissa erilaisia luontoon viittaavia nimiä pidettiin muinaissuomalaisen varsinaiseen yksilönnimityyppiin kuuluvina (esim. Forsman 1894). Varsinkin suurimpien petojen nimityksiä sisältäviä eläinaiheisia henkilönnimiä on yhdistetty toteemiuskoon (Voionmaa 1915), minkä mukaan ihmisellä tai suvulla, johon hän kuului, oli tietty suojelutoteemieläin.

Myöhemmissä tutkimuksissa (esim. Nissilä 1975; Kiviniemi 1982; Mullonen 1994) eläinaiheisia henkilönnimiä on pidetty usein lisäniminä, joiden funktiona olisi nimettävän luonnehtiminen. Hyvin

monia eläinten nimityksiä käytetään metaforissa ja vertauksissa, jolloin niitä voi pitää vertailuniminä, esim. karjalan kielessä *lokka* 'suuresta olennosta tai laiskasta'; *kuikka* 'pienestä ja laihasta; nälkäisestä ja janoisesta; vääräsäärisestä', *kiiski* 'vastahakoisesta', *ahmo* 'syömäri; ahmatti, ahneesta esim. ruoalle'; *harakka* 'kevytmielisestä; lavertelijasta, lörpöttelijästä'; *härkä* 'vetelehtivästä'; *meččo* 'liian nöyrästä'; *koppala* 'vanhasta raihnaasta ihmisestä' (KKS; Makarov 1990; Fedotova 2000).

Huomion ansaitsevat monilukuiset lintujen nimityksiä sisältävät karjalaisten lisänimet ja sukunimet. Voisi olettaa, että ne ovat suhteellisen myöhäissyntyistä nimikerrostumaa, sillä esimerkiksi kansanruneudessa ja Kalevalassa lintujen nimityksiä käytetään naisten ja lasten hellittelynimityksinä (Häkkinen 2002: 53), kun taas karjalainen lintusukunimistö vaikuttaa sisällöltään negatiiviselta. Tällaiset nimet ovat luultavasti olleet henkilökohtaisia epävirallisia lisänimiä, jotka myöhemmin ovat siirtyneet sukunimien tehtävään. Nimenantomotiiveja selvittäessä pitää ottaa huomioon myös se, että eläinaiheiset henkilönnimet saattavat viitata nimenkantajan metsästys- ja kalastusharrastuksiin, pyyntitaitoon sekä erilaisiin tapahtumiin. Seuraavaksi siirryn tutkittavana olevan aineiston käsittelyyn.

***Harakku, Harakka*** – ven. SN *Сорокин-Sorokin* (ven. *сорока* 'harakka') *Sorokin* < *Harakankodi* (TN, Veškelys, livvinkarjala); LN *Harakku* (Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala); LN *Harakka* (Puanajärvi, vienankarjala); LN *Harakke* (Peldoine, lyydi). Joidenkin venäjänkielisten sukunimien taustalla on käännösvirheitä. Esimerkiksi Vieljärvellä (livvi) sijaitsevan *Harakankodi*-nimisen talon asukkaita tunnetaan lisänimellä *Harakku*, mutta heidän virallisena sukunimenään on *Воронов-Voronov* (ven. *ворона* 'varis'). Nimiopas tiesi kertoa, että *Harakoista* tuli *Voronoveja* ennen Venäjän vallankumousta 1917.

Raja-Karjalasta muualle Suomeen toisen maailmansodan jälkeen siirtyneet rajakarjalaiset käyttävät edelleenkin alkuperäistä sukunimeä *Harakka* (Salmi, Suojärvi). Vepsäläisten käytössä vastaava henkilönnimi tunnetaan muodossa *Haragohn'e* – ven. SN *Sorokin* (Kalajoki, äänisvepsä).

Ilomantsin pogostassa mainitaan 1631 Iuantko Harakin, jonka sukunimen lopussa on venäläiselle sukunimistölle ominainen *-in-johdin* (KLM), samoin kuin yllä esitetyssä *Sorokin*-sukunimessä.

**Varoi** – ven. SN *Воронин-Voronin* (ven. *ворона* ’varis’)  
*Voronin* < *Varoinalo* (TN, Padžal-Kolatselgy, livvinkarjala); *Varoiselgy*  
 (KN, yksi sukunimistä on *Voronov*). Karjalan kielessä *varoi*-lekseemiä  
 käytetään usein vertailevasti ja kuvaannollisesti, esim. “laihu ku varoi”,  
 “ahnas ku varoi” (Fedotova 2000), “varoin suuz ni kezii ni talvie” ’höl-  
 mön puheista’ (KKS). Mainittakoon, että Aunuksen Karjalan tulema-  
 järveläisten kollektiivisena lisänimenä on ollut *varoi*, mikä viittasi kuu-  
 lemma asukkaiden puhetapaan *Tulemjärven varoid bruaketah pajistah*  
*harvah* ’Tulemajärven varikset puhua raakkuvat harvaan’ (KKS).

**Kajua, Lokka** – ven. SN *Чайкин-Tšaikin* (ven. *чайка* ’kajava; lokki’)  
*Tšaikin* < *Kajuankodi* (TN, Nekkul, livvi); Lokkalan Griiškankodi (TN,  
 Voijärvi, vienankarjala). Kuten esimerkeistä näkyy, karjalan kielen  
 murteelliset leksikaaliset erot – *kajua*, *lokka* – ovat näkyvissä myös  
 nimistössä. Samankantainen sukunimi on päässyt venäläiseen viral-  
 liseen käyttöön myös sellaisenaan kääntämättä, esim. SN *Локкин-*  
*Lokkin* < karj. LN *Lokka* (Puadene, eteläkarjala).

**Kurgi** – ven. SN *Журавлев-Žuravljov* (ven. *журавль* ’kurki’)  
*Žuravljov* < *Kurrenkodi* (TN, Juoksiel, livvinkarjala); *Kurrenkodi*  
 (TN, Dängärvi, eteläkarjala); *Kurrentalo* (TN, Sokolova, tverinkarja-  
 la). Mahdollinen nimenantomotiivi on lekseemin vertailevaan käyttöön  
 perustuva merkitys: “laiha ku kurgi”, *kurki* ’valehtelevasta’ (Fedotova  
 2000).

Jyskyjärven Piizmalahdessa (Vienan Karjala) mainitaan asuneen  
 1678 Stepaško Terentjev Kurgijev (LPV), jonka sukunimessä on säi-  
 lynyt karjalaisen lisänimen alkuperäinen nimiasu. Sukunimistä *Kurki*,  
*Kurkin*, *Kurkinen* on lukuisia mainintoja 1600-luvun Käkisalmen lään-  
 nin asiakirjoissa (KLM).

**Sorza** – ven. SN *Уткин-Utkin* (ven. *утка* ’sorsa’)  
*Utkin* < *Sorzantalo* ~ *Utkantalo*; *Sorzankodi* (TN, Nekkul, Kangahišto,  
 livvinkarjala). Tihvinän karjalaisten keskuudessa sukunimi on säily-  
 nyt kääntämättä, ven. SN *Шоржин-Šorzin* < karj. LN *Šorža*. Sukunimi  
 on mainittu Raja-Karjalan Suojärven pogostassa, Dimitriko Sorssa  
 1631 (KLM).

**Mečoi, Meččo** – ven. SN *Мошников-Мошников* (ven. *мошник* ’metso’) *Mošnikov* < *Mečoinkodi* (talo), *Mečoinagju* (kylänosa, Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala); *Mečontalo* (talo), *Mečcol’oušina* (pelto, Puanajärvi, vienankarjala). *Mecoinniemi*-niminen kylä on myös Kuujärven lyydiläisellä alueella, ja sen asukkaiden sukunimenä on *Mošnikov*.

**Haukku** – ven. SN *Ястребов-Ястребов* (ven. *ястреб* ’haukka’) *Jastrebov* < LN *Haukku*, esim. *Haukan Peša* (Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala). Kenttäaineisto osoittaa, että *Haukka* periytyvänä lisänimenä on ollut hyvin suosittu karjalaisten kansanomaisessa käytössä. Sen omaksuminen venäjänkieliseen sukunimistöön on tapahtunut eri murteiden pohjalta, mikä näkyy nimistössäkin. Vienan Karjalassa (Sui-kujärvi, Tunkua) tunnetaan sukunimi *Gavkin* < LN *Haukka*, kun taas Kuujärvellä lyydiläisten on käytössä sukunimi *Gabukov* < LN *Habuk*. Äänisvepsäläisten henkilönnimistössä on säilynyt samankantainen sukunimi *Gabukov* < LN *Habukah’n’e*. Nimenantomotiiveiksi voisi olettaa mm. nimettävän luonteenpiirteisiin viittaavia *haukka*-appellatiivin kuvaannollisia merkityksiä, esimerkiksi *haukan kobru*, *haukan kynnet* ’ahne; nuuka’ sekä *haukan silmä* ’terävänäköinen’ (Fedotova 2000).

**Čiučoi** – ven. SN *Воробьев-Воробьев* (ven. *воробей*, karj. *čiučoi* ’varpunen tai muu pikkulintu’)

**Vorobjov** < LN *Čiučoi* (Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala). Lähisukuisesta vepsäläisestä henkilönnimistöstä löytyy samamerkityksiseen lekseemiin perustuva lisänimi *Paskač* (veps. APP *paskač* ven. *воробей*, suom. *varpunen*), jonka vastineena venäläisessä sukunimistössä on *Vorobjov* (KNA, Petroskoi). Äänisen viidenneksen verokirjassa vuodelta 1563 sukunimi mainitaan vielä omaperäisessä asussaan *Ivanko Matvejev Paskačev* (s. 120), *Ofonoska Matfejev Paskačev* (s. 124).

**Kuikka** – ven. SN *Гагарин-Гагарин* (ven. *гагара* ’kuikka’) *Gagarin* < LN *Kuikka*, *Kuikkani* (Tollonjoki, vienankarjala). Tämä esimerkki osoittaa, miten mielivaltaisesti karjalankielinen henkilönnimistö oli usein omaksuttu venäläiseen viralliseen käyttöön. Vuokkiniemen tollonjokelaiset Kuikkasen sukua olevat kaksi sisarusta Irja (synt. 1930) ja Lempi (synt. 1932) ovat saaneet venäjän kielessä eri sukunimet, toinen käännettynä *Gagarina* ja toinen taas säilyttäen

alkuperäisen nimen *Kuikkanen*. Patronymisen lisänimen tehtävissä *Kuikka* on esiintynyt koko karjalaisten asuma-alueella, vrt. *Kuikka Timoi* (Suojärvi, eteläkarjala), *Kuikan Miikul* (Riipuškal, livvinkarjala), *Guikat* (Säämäjärvi, livvinkarjala), *Kuikkazet* (Repola, eteläkarjala), *Kuikkazet* (Puanajärvi, vienankarjala). Virallisessa venäläisessä sukunimistöissä tunnetaan asut *Kuikka*, *Kuikkanen* Vienan Karjalassa ja *Kuikin*, *Guikin* Aunuksen Karjalassa.

**Kukoi** – ven. SN *Петухов-Petuhov* (ven. *nemyx* ’kukko’)

*Petuhov* < *Kukointaloi* (TN, D’ekkal, livvinkarjala). Omaperäisen lisänimen jälkiä on nähtävissä myös vienankarjalaisessa *Kukkojev*-sukunimessä, joka vuorostaan pohjautuu suvun lisänimeen *Kukkozet* (Voijjärvi, eteläkarjala). Samakantaisen henkilönnimen sisältäviä ovat samoin lyydiläinen *Kukkojev* < *Kukuoi* (Pyhäjärvi) ja vepsäläinen *Kukkojev* (keskivepsä). Sukunimestä on mainintoja myös Äänisen viidenneksen verokirjassa v. 1563, *Ul’janka Vasiljev Kukujev* (s. 134).

**Hukku** – ven. SN *Волков-Volkov* (ven. *волк* ’hukka’)

*Volkov* < *Hukantaloi* (TN, Jeroilu, Ziučal, Ala-Sieksi, livvinkarjala); LN *Hukka* (Vasilkova, tverinkarjala). Vienanmeren Uikujärvellä 1500-luvulla sukunimen tehtävässä esiintynyt *Gukojev* palautuu todennäköisesti karjalaiseen nimeen *Hukka*, *Jakimko Gukojev* 1563 (ÄVM: 160, 162). Sama tausta on myös Vienan Karjalan Kostamuksen kylässä 1678 mainitun Jeremka Aleksein pojan *Gukkojev*-sukunimellä (RPV: 138).

**Rebo(i)** – ven. SN *Лиситын-Lisitsyn* (ven. *лисица* ’repo’)

*Lisitsyn* < *Rebointaloid* (TN, Vehkuselgy, livvinkarjala), LN *Rebo* (Usmana, vienankarjala), *Rebonperti* (LN *Rebozet*) (TN, Popovka, tverinkarjala). Aunuksen Karjalassa on myös nykyisessä virallisessa käytössä omaperäiskantainen sukunimi *Rebujev*, josta on mainintoja vanhoissakin asiakirjoissa, esim. Vienan Karjalan Luvajärveltä *Mironko Rebojev* 1678 (RPV: 141). Nykyvepsäläisten käytössä vastaava sukunimi on venäläistetty, vrt. *Lisitsyn* < LN *Reboihin’e* (Mullonen 2007: 850). Nykysuomalainen sukunimi *Repo*, *Reponen* katsotaan karjalaisperäiseksi henkilönnimeksi, joka olisi voitu antaa lisänimeksi nimettävän ominaisuuksien tai hänen asuinpaikkansa perusteella.

Tällaisen lisänimen on voinut saada myös kettujen pyytäjä ja nahkojen kaupustelija. (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 536.)

**Kondie** – ven. SN *Медведев-Medvedev* (ven. *медведь* ’kontio; karhu’) *Medvedev* < *Kondien Iivanankodi* (TN., Vuačči, livvinkarjala). Asiakirjojen mukaan Paviil Jyrki Kontioinen on muuttanut Aunuksen Keski-Mäkriälle 1651/1667 Pohjois-Karjalan Kiteen Kontiolasta (Saloheimo 2013). Repolan pogostassa mainitaan 1678 *Июдка Ивановъ сынъ Контеевъ*, siis *Ijudka Ivanin poika Kontejev*, ja samoin pogostassa tiedetään asuneen *Vasko Ivanov Medvejevin*, jonka sukunimessä esiintyneen alkuperäisen *Kontie*-nimen venäjänkielinen käännös (RPV: 97, 101). Samassa asiakirjassa, joka käsittelee varsinaiskarjalan murrealueita Seesjärveltä Vienan Kemijoelle saakka, esiintyy Paatanen volostissa *Nikitka Aleksein poika Kondijev* (mp. 27). Vepsäläisten kansanomaisessa käytössä nimi tunnetaan periytyvänä lisänimenä murteesta riippuen eriasuisena, esimerkiksi *Kondihiin'e*, *Kondijahn'e* (äänisvepsä) sekä *Kondi~Kondjan Ol'sa* (keskivepsä) (KNA, Petroskoi).

**Janöi, D'änöi, Jänis** – ven. SN *Зайев-Zaitsev, Зайков-Zaikov* (ven. *заяц* ’jänis’) *Zaitsev* < *D'änöinkodi* (TN, Lumbil, livvinkarjala), LN *Jänöi* (Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala), LN *Jänikset* (Mečča-Kozlova, tverinkarjala). *Zaikov* < LN *Jänis* (Viikatehjärvi, vienankarjala). Lisänimen pohjalta on syntynyt kaksi venäjän kielessä käytössä olevaa sukunimeä: *Zaitsev* ja *Zaikov*. Valvontakirjassa 1678 Kevättämäjärvässä, joka on edellä mainitun Viikatehjärven naapurikylä, mahdollisesti sama *Zaikov*-sukunimi esiintyy *Zajetsov*-asuisena, vrt. *Petruška, Griška Jurjevyy Zajetsovy* (LPV 1678: 53). Vastaavia vepsäläisiä lisänimiä ovat *D'äniž* ja *Dänišahn'e* (äänisvepsä), joiden virallisena sukunimivastineena on *Zaitsev* (SNA).

**Oravu** – ven. SN *Белкин-Belkin* (ven. *белка* ’orava’) *Belkin* < LN Oravan Van'a (Vuaččil, livvinkarjala). Pohjoisvepsäläisten keskuudessa tunnetaan sama sukunimi, vrt. veps. LN *Oravahne-Belkov* (Šoutjärvi, äänisvepsä) (KNA, Petroskoi).

**Pedru** – ven. SN *Оленин-Olenin* (ven. *олен* 'peura')

*Olenin* < *Pedrankodi* (TN, *Pedrankoski*, livvinkarjala), LN *Pedran Vas'a* (Kapšoilu, livvinkarjala). Hyvin harvinainen sukunimi, joka esiintyy vain Aunuksen Karjalan yksittäisissä kylissä. Sukunimen taustalla lienee villipeuraa tarkoittavaan appellatiiviin pohjautuva lisänimi, jonka nimeämisperusteeksi sopisi nimettävän harjoittama metsästys. Sukunimi on myös voinut syntyä paikannimestä (vrt. edellä mainittu *Pedrankoski*). Tämä olisi kuitenkin poikkeus karjalaisessa perinteisessä talonnimijärjestelmässä, missä taloa kutsutaan tavallisesti sen omistajan nimellä.

**Uveh** – ven. SN *Жеребцов-Žerebtsov* (ven. *жеребец*, karj. *uveh* 'ori') *Žerebtsov* < *Ubehenkodi* (TN, Takkaril, livvinkarjala). Sukunimi esiintyy vain Aunuksen Karjalassa. Hurjaa nuorta hevosta merkitsevää *uveh*-lekseemiä käytetään karjalan kielessä myös kuvaamassa naisiin menevää miestä.

**Häkki** – ven. SN *Быков-Bykov* (ven. *бук*, karj. *häkki* 'härkä')

*Bykov* < LN *Häkin Vas'a* (Vitele, livvinkarjala). Nimioppaan mukaan Bykovien veljeksiä oli monta ja kaikilla oli henkilökohtaiset lisänimet, joiden osana esiintyi sukupolvelta toiselle siirtyvä *Häkki*-sukunimi (vrt. *Harmu Häkki*, *Mustu Häkki*, *Valgei Häkki*, 'harmaa, musta, valkea härkä').

**Bokko, Bošši** – ven. SN *Баранов-Baranov* (ven. *баран*, karj. *bokko*; *bošši* 'pässi')

*Baranov* < LN *Bokko* (Čurilkovo, tverinkarjala), LN *Bošši* (Suarimägi, livvinkarjala). Lisänimestä *Bokko*, *Bokki* ovat kehittyneet myös sukunimet *Bokkojev* (Lismajärvi, lyydi) ja *Bokkijev* (Kolataselgy, livvinkarjala), jotka säilyttävät kannassaan alkuperäisen asunsa. Henkilönnimi oli hyvin usein tullut sen kantajan asuinpaikkaa lähellä sijaitsevien kohteiden nimien pohjaksi, esim. mainittu Bokkijevin suku oli asunut Bokingubassa (*зуба* 'lahti'), jonka entisenä nimenä oli *Papinguba*. Sen lähiympäristöstä löytyy myös saman lisänimen sisältävä *Bokkizenlambi*. Vepsäläisperäisessä sukunimessä *Bošakov* (< LN *Bošakohn'e*, veps. *bošak* 'pässi', äänisvepsä) on samoin talleksa kansanomainen lisänimi (Mullonen 2008: 161). Karjalan kielessä

lekseemejä *bokki*, *bokko*, *bošši* käytetään kuvaannollisesti merkityksessä ’suuttuneesta t. jurosta ihmisestä’ sekä myös ’itsepäisestä’ (KKS).

**Kaži, Kazi** – ven. SN *Кошкин-Koškin*, *Кискин-Kiskin* (ven. *кошка*, onom. *киска*, karj. *kaži* ’kissa’)

*Koškin* < *Kažinkodi* (TN, Taččal, Hörpäl, livvinkarjala), *Kiskin* < LN *Kazit* (Meččä-Kozlova, tverinkarjala). Meččä-Kozlovan kylässä esiintyy kolme eläinaiheista lisänimeä, ja kaikki ovat kulkeutuneet viralliseen sukunimistöön venäläisinä käännošniminä: *Kazit* (vir. SN *Kiskin* ’Kissanen’), *Kanat* (vir. SN *Kuročkin* ’Kananen’), *Jänikset* (vir. SN *Zaitsev* ’Jäniksinen’). Äänisvepsäläisessä lisänimistöössä samankantainen nimi tunnetaan muodossa *Kažihiin’e* (SNA, Helsinki).

**Kuha** – ven. SN *Судаков-Sudakov* (ven. *судак* ’kuha’)

*Kuha* < *Kuhankodi* (Riiškal, livvinkarjala). Suomalaisessa nimistöössä esiintyvä *Kuha*-sukunimi on itäsuomalaista alkuperää. 1500-luvun Karjalan alueita käsittelevissä asiakirjoissa sukunimestä ei ole mainintoja. Se tulee myöhemmin Etelä-Karjalan ja Laatokan Karjalan nimistöön. *Kuhainen* mainitaan Etelä-Savon maakirjoissa 1600-luvulta lähtien (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 257).

**Maimu** – ven. SN *Мальков-Mal'kov* (ven. *maljok*, karj. *maima*; *maimu* ’kalanpoikanen; pikkukala’)

*Maimu* < *Maimantalo* (Tekaččul, livvinkarjala). Livvinkarjalassa *maimu*-sanaa käytetään myös merkityksessä ’kuivattu (pikku) kala’; tästä kalasta tavallisesti keitetään *maimusuuppua*. Lisänimen nimenantomotiivina lienee nimettävän ulkonäkö ’laiha kuin maima’.

**Ahven** – ven. SN *Окунев-Okunev* (ven. *окунь* ’ahven’)

*Ahven* < LN *Ahven*, vrt. *Ahvenen Maša* (Kotkatjärvi, livvinkarjala). Itäsuomalaiseen sukunimistöön kuuluvaa *Ahven*-kantaista henkilönimeä ei mainita Savon vanhimmassa 1500-luvun maakirjassa, kun taas 1890 O. A. Kallion tekemän tutkimuksen mukaan *Ahvenainen* kuului keskisuurten savolaisten sukujen (200–500 nimenkantajaa) nimiin (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 60). Sukunimenä se tunnettiin raja-karjalaisessa Salmissa (SNA, Helsinki).

## Muut venäjännetyt karjalaiset sukunimet

Tämä ryhmä on edellistä eläinaiheista sukunimistöä huomattavasti suppeampi. Leksikaaliselta pohjaltaan se on melko kirjava. Vaikka sukunimen takana oleva lekseemi näyttäisi selvältä ja nimen etymologia läpinäkyvältä, alkuperäisen lisänimen nimeämisperusteet ovat usein hämärän peitossa.

**Hapoi** – ven. SN *Блинов-Blinov* (ven. *блин*, karj. *hapoi* ’blini; lettu’) *Blinov* < *Hapoin Ondreinkodi* (TN, Kinnermy, livvinkarjala). Karjalainen henkilönnimiaineisto osoittaa, että ruokasanat esiintyvät usein epävirallisten lisänimien pohjana. Voisi arvella, että niiden avulla on kuvattu nimettävän henkilön tyhmyyttä ja muita vastaavia henkisiä ominaisuuksia (Karlova 2016). Suomen itämurteissa, karjalassa ja vepsässä vähämielisyyttä kuvataan lukuisilla ’pehmeää, löyhää, huokoista’ merkitsevilla sanoilla (tarkemmin esim. Ruoppila 1955; Loginova 2012). Aineistossani on lisänimiä, joiden lähtökohtana ovat olleet mm. puurojen ja leipomusten nimitykset, esim. LN *Pudro* < APP *pudro* ’velli; puuro’, SN *Tšupukov* < LN *Tšupukku* < APP *tšupukku* ’kaura- tai ohrataikinasta tehty puurolla täytetty pannukakku’, SN *Mämmijev* < LN *Mämmi* < APP *mämmi* ’imelleyistä ruisjauhoista ja maltaista tehty leipä, josta valmistetaan kaljaa’.

Toisaalta on muistettava, että venäläistenkin sukunimiin sisältyy usein jokin ruokasana. Raja-karjalaisten sukunimiä tutkinut Outi Patronen arvelee, että karjalaisten leivonnaisten nimityksiä sisältävät sukunimet osoittavat venäläisen mallin vaikutusta (2009: 147–148).

*Hapoi*-henkilönnimelle voisi arvella myös kristillistä alkuperää, vrt. *Happo* afereesimuodoste ortodoksisesta ristimänimestä *Ahappa*, joka vuorostaan palautuu venäläiseen *Agapij*-nimeen (Nissilä 1976: 59). *Hapoi*-henkilönnimestä on kehittynyt myös sukunimi *Gappojev* (< *Hapoinkodi*, Rajakondu, livvinkarjala), joka on mukautunut venäjän kieleen pienin morfologisin muutoksin.

**Hämäri** – ven. SN *Сумеркин-Sumerkin* (ven. *сумерки* ’hämärä’) *Sumerkin* < *Hämärintalo* (TN, Vuaččil, livvinkarjala). Nimeämisperuste jää arvelujen varaan.

**Härkin** – ven. SN *Мутовкин-Mutovkin* (ven. *мутовка* ’härkin, hierin; kinnun mäntä’), ven. SN *Рогаткин-Rogatkin* (ven. *рогатка* ’ritsa’) *Mutovkin* < *Härkimenkodi* (TN, Teroilu, liivinkarjala). *Rogatkin* < LN *Härkin*, esim. *Härkimen Semoi* (Šäpniemi, liivinkarjala). Kuten esimerkeistä näkyy, leksikaalisesti samakantaisella *Härkin*-lisänimellä on kaksi venäjänkielistä käännösvastinetta sukuniminä. Karjalan kielen sanakirjojen mukaan (esim. KKS; Makarov 1990) lekseemiä käytetään vain merkityksessä ’hierin, härkin’. Sen venäjännös nähdään *Mutovkin*-sukunimessä. Toisaalta *Härkin*-lisänimi on saanut venäjän kielessä sukunimiasun *Rogatkin* ’Ritsanen’. Puusta tehdyssä perinteisessä härkkimessä oksien tyngät on jätetty haaroiksi, ja se tavallaan muistuttaa ritsaa. Voisi olettaa, että kyseinen käännös on syntynytkin yhtäläisyyden perusteella.

Suomalaisessa nimistöntutkimuksessa *Härkin*-sukunimi katsotaan karjalaisperäiseksi. Sukunimestä on mainintoja 1600-luvun mm. Laatokan Karjalaa käsittelevissä asiakirjoissa. Koska sukunimet *Härkin* ja *Härkänen* ovat ajoittain sekaantuneet ja venäläisessä sukunimistössä käytetään lisäksi *-in*-sukunimijohdinta, on epäilty *Härkin*-sukunimen olevan johdos sukunimestä *Härkänen* (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 144). Yllä esittämäni *Härkime*-sanavartalo todistaa, että ainakin Aunuksen Karjalassa kyseessä on nimenomaan appellatiivi *härkin*. Suojärveläisen *Härkin*-sukunimen taustalla lienee nimettävän luonteenpiirteet. Kuvaannollisessa merkityksessä sanalla *härkin* tarkoitetaan karjalassa myös jotakin haitallista, muihin tarttuvaa, muiden tiellä olevaa (Patronen 2009: 115). Suomen itämurteissa sanaa on käytetty mm. ’hangoittelevasta, toisen asioihin puuttuvasta ihmisestä’ (SMS).

**Jauho** – ven. SN *Мукин-Mukin* (ven. *мука* ’jauho’) *Mukin* < *Jauhonkodi* (TN, Makkoilu, liivinkarjala). Lisänimi olisi voinut syntyä kaksiosaisesta yhdyshenkilönnimestä lyhentymällä. Vanhimmassa vuodelta 1500 säilyneessä Karjalan Korelan (myöh. Käkisalmen) linnanläänin henki- ja verokirjassa kantasuomalaista perua olevia kaksiosaisia henkilönnimiä esiintyy vielä jossain määrin, esim. *\*Ihamieli* < *demu Игамелева* ’Ihamielen lapset’ (NVVV: 137). Tällaisia yhdysnimiä ei löydy enää Venäjän karjalaisesta nykysukunimistöstä, kun taas savolainen sukunimistö on säilyttänyt nimityypin jälkiä, esim. *Ikäheimonen*. Karjalaisten ja savolaisten keskuudessa kaksiosaiset henkilönnimet näyttävät olleen suuressa suosiossa vielä 1500–1600-luvuilla.

Vanhimmissa asiakirjoissa nimet ovat sisällöltään pääosin positiivisia (*Lempivalta*, *Kaukamieli*, *Ihamieli*), toisin kuin myöhemmissä (esim. *Алексейка Питкасилма* (LPV 1597: 212) – *Alekseika Pitkäsilmä* (Tunkua, Vienan Karjala), *Fedår Lihapä* (s. 293), *Jwan Tuckapä* (s. 311) (KLM 1618), *Osip Jeremej Nokinenä* (MKLV 1643) – Kitee, *Gavril Vääräpää* (MKLV 1642) – Suojärvi (Saloheimo 2013)).

Monia nykysavolaisia sukunimiä pidetään kaksiosaisista lyhennyksillä syntyneinä: *Kovalainen*, *Kovanen* < *Kovapää*; *Mustonen* < *Mustapää*; *Partanen* < *Mustaparta*, *Rautaparta*; *Keränen* < *Keropää*; *Jauhiainen* < *Jauhopää* jne. *Jauho*-sanana sisältävien sukunimien nimenantomotiivina lienee nimettävän ulkonäkö, vrt. *Jauhopää* 'vaaleatukkaisesta', *Jauhoparta* 'vaaleapartainen' > suom. SN *Jauhonen*, *Jauhiainen* (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000).

**Leppy** – ven. SN *Ольхин-Ол'hin* (ven. *ольха* 'leppä')

*Ол'hin* < *Lepänkodi* (TN, Suuri Selgy, livvinkarjala). Lisänimen venäjänkielinen tulkinta näyttää epävarmalta jo siksi, että puiden nimityksiä tai kasvisanastoa ei esiinny karjalaisissa omaperäisissä henkilönnimissä. Karjalan kielen murteissa *leppä*-sanaa käytetään myös seuraavissa merkityksissä: veri (kalasta) *leppöä valuu*; *lehmä leppiä* verensekaista maittoa *lypsää*; kuukautisten t. synnytyksen yhteydessä vuotava veri. Myös eräiden puiden (varsinkin lepän ja haavan) punaisesta nesteestä voidaan puhua *leppänä* (KKS). On vaikeata arvella, mikä voisi olla nimeämisperusteena. Se voisi olla jokin vanha kristillinen nimimuunnelma, joka on nykyisin unohtunut. Sukunimestä *Leppänen* on mainintoja jo Savon ja Suomen Karjalaa koskevissa 1500–1600-lukujen asiakirjoissa (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 307–308).

**Mal'lu** – ven. SN *Чашкин-Тšaškin* (ven. *чаши*, *чашика* 'malja; kuppi') *Tšaškin* < *Mal'lankodi* (TN, Vil'loitul, livvinkarjala). Aunuksen Karjalan Säämäjärvellä sukunimi on säilyttänyt karjalaisuutensa venäjänkielissäkin nimiasussaan, vrt. ven. SN *Mallin* < LN *Mal'lu* < *Mal'lankodi* (TN, Ruga, livvinkarjala). *Mal'lu*-henkilönnimi voisi olla myös ortodoksisen *Malanij*-ristimänimen karjalankielinen muunnelma.

**Pakkane** – ven. SN *Морозов-Морозов* (ven. *мороз* 'pakkanen')

*Морозов* < *Pakkaženkodi* (TN, Pappil-Aunus, livvinkarjala) Suomalaisena

sukunimenä *Pakkasesta* on tietoja vanhoissa asiakirjoissa maan länsi- ja itäosista (Mikkonen – Paikkala 2000: 436).

**Pyöräkkö** – ven. SN *Круглов-Kruglov* (ven. *круглый* 'pyöreä')  
*Kruglov* < LN *Pyöräkkö*, vrt. *Pyöräkön Johor* (Riiškal, livvinkarjala).  
 Karjalan kielen livvin murteessa lekseemit *pyöröi* ja *pyöräkkö* tarkoittavat tiettyä pyöreän muotoista piirakkaa, vrt. myös suomen itämurteissa *pyörö*-niminen leivonnainen. Lisänimi voisi liittyä nimettävän ulkonäköön.

**Seppä, Seppy** < ven. SN *Кузнецов-Kuznetsov* (ven. *кузнец* 'seppä')  
*Kuznetsov* < *Sepänkodi* (TN, Gorku, livvinkarjala), *Sepäntaloi*  
 (TN, Riiškal, livvinkarjala). Sukunimi palautuu ammatinimitykseen *seppä*.

**Tilkku** – ven. SN *Лоскутин-Loskutin* (ven. *лоскут* 'tilkku, pieni pala kangasta')

**Loskutin** < *Tilkuntaloi* (TN, Čuralahti, livvinkarjala). Vienan Karjalan itäosissa lisänimi *Tilkkuset* on kulkeutunut venäläiseen sukunimistöön sellaisenaan, vrt. *Tilkujev* (Plakkovuara, vienankarjala). Lisänimen nimeämisperusteet ovat epäselviä.

## Lopuksi

Artikkelissa tarkastelemani henkilönnimiaineisto sisältää yli 30 karjalaiseen epäviralliseen lisänimeen perustuvia ja Venäjän karjalaisten keskuudessa käytössä olevia sukunimiä, joilla on suora käännösvastine karjalasta venäjään. Kenttämätka-aineistoihin pohjautuvaa karjalaisten venäjännettyjen sukunimien tutkimusta ei ole aiemmin. Nimiaineiston analysointi osoittaa, että karjalaisten saamista virallisista sukunimistä käännessukunimien osuus ei ole suuri. Päätelmät ovat kuitenkin alustavia ja ilmiön tarkastelu vaatii jatkotutkimusta.

Venäjännettyistä sukunimistä suurin osa on eläimen nimityksen sisältäviä. Tämä kertoo todennäköisesti siitä, että tällaiset henkilönnimet olivat helposti käännettäviä ja samalla venäläiselle sukunimistölele leksikaalisena sukunimimallina tuttuja, sillä vastaavat eläinaiheiset

nimet ovat olleet laajalti käytössä myös venäläisillä. Karjalainen omaperäisyys täysin venäläisiltä kuulostavissa sukunimissä on todistettavissa ainoastaan kansan suusta kerättyjen kenttänimiaineistojen perusteella. Jotkin epävirallisista karjalankielisistä lisänimistä ovat kuitenkin onnistuneet säilymään liki muuttumattomina venäläisessä sukunimistössä, joten samakantainen eläinaiheinen sukunimi saattaa jatkaa elämänsä niin alkuperäisessä karjalaisessa kuin venäläisessäkin asussaan, esimerkiksi *Bokkojev – Baranov*, *Kukkojev – Petuhov*, *Lokkin – Čaikin*.

Toisinaan karjalaiset lisänimet ovat saaneet venäjän kielessä eri leksikaaliset käännösmuunnelmat, esimerkiksi *Kaži > Koškin*, *Kiskin*. Niissä sukunimissä, joissa on näkyvissä omakielinen sanastollinen pohja, näkyy puolestaan sekä oman kielen murteellisia eroja että morfologiaa ja äännteellisiä venäjän kielen erikoisuuksia, esim. *Bokkojev*, *Bokkijev*, *Boššijev* (APP *bokko*, *bokki*, *bošši*); *Kuikin*, *Kuikka*, *Guikkojev* (APP *kuikka*, *guikka*); *Gavkin*, *Gabukov* (APP *haukka*, *havukka*). Kentältä tallennettu nimistöaineisto kertoo lisäksi, missä karjalaisten asuma-alueilla kyseiset sukunimet ovat olleet suosittuja. Esimerkiksi Aunuksen Karjalan Kotkatjärvellä tavataan seuraavat eläimen, linnun tai kalan nimityksen sisältävät sukunimet: *Sorokin < Harakku*, *Jastrebov < Haukku*, *Zaitsev < Jänöi*, *Mošnikov < Mečoi*, *Okunev < Ahven*. Kaikki nämä esiintyvät venäläisessä virallisessa sukunimistössä vain venäjään käännettynä.

Eläinaiheisten sukunimien lisäksi tarkasteltuun käännössukunimistöön kuuluu omaperäisiä lisänimiä, joiden taustalla on ruokiin, kotitalouteen, luonnonilmiöihin sekä nimettävän ammattiin ja harrastuksiin pohjautuvaa sanastoa. Ne muodostavat kolmasosan aineistoa. Monista nimistä voisi esittää eri etymologioita, sillä osa käännössukunimistä on mahdollisesti saanut venäjänkielisessä nimimuodossa väärän tulkinnan, esimerkiksi *Mal'lu* ja *Hapoi* voisivat hyvinkin olla karjalaisia hypokorismeja venäläisistä ortodoksisista nimistä *Malanij* ja *Agapij*. Ajan mittaan vanha nimimuunnelma oli saattanut unohtua ja karjalan kielessä appellatiivina toimiva homonyymisana tuli virallisen venäläisen sukunimen lähtökohdaksi.

Artikkelissa käsitellyn karjalaisten sukunimityypin esittävää aineistoa voisi mahdollisesti löytyä lisääkin. Tähän tarvittaisiin yhtenäisen eri asiakirjoista ja nimiarkistoista poimitun henkilönnimistön tietokanta.

## Lyhenteet

APP	appellatiivi	TN	talonnimi
karj.	karjala	v.	vuosi
KN	kylännimi	ven.	venäjä
LN	lisänimi	veps.	vepsä
SN	sukunimi	vir.	virallinen
suom.	suomi		

## Lähteet

- Fedotova 2000 = Федотова, В. П.: *Фразеологический словарь карельского языка*. Петрозаводск.
- Forsman, A. V. 1894: *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla I*. Helsinki.
- Häkkinen, Kaisa 2002: Eläin suomen kielessä. – Henni Ilomäki & Outi Lauhakangas (toim.), *Eläin ihmisen mielenmaisemassa*. 26–62. Helsinki: SKS.
- Karlova, O. 2016: Karjalainen ja vepsäläinen ei-kristillinen henkilönnimikantainen paikannimistö. – Отв. ред. О. П. Илюха, *Финно-угорская мозаика: сборник статей к юбилею Ирмы Ивановны Муллонен*. Studia Nordica I. Петрозаводск: Карельский научный центр РАН. 171–187.
- Kiviniemi, Eero 1982: *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet. Suomalaisten etunimet ja nimivalinta*. Espoo: Weilin & Göös.
- KKS = *Karjalan kielen sanakirja*. 1 – 5. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVI. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura & Kotimaisten kielten keskus. 1968–1997.
- KLM = *Käkisalmen läänin maakirja 1618*. – Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta 1500- ja 1600-luvuilta. История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. Joensuu–Petroskoi. 1987.
- KNA, Petroskoi = Karjalan Nimiarkisto. Venäjän tiedeakatемian Karjalan tiedekeskuksen Kielen, kirjallisuuden ja historian instituutti. Petroskoi.
- Loginova, Elizaveta 2012: *Формирование языкового образа интеллектуально неполноценного человека в финских народных говорах*. – *Труды Карельского научного центра РАН* № 4. Петрозаводск. 197–201.
- LPV 1597 = *Lapin pogostain valvontakirja vuodelta 1597* = *Дозорная книга лопских погостов 1597*. – Asiakirjoja Karjalan historiasta 1500- ja

- 1600-luvuilta. История Карелии XVI–XVII вв. в документах. Joensuu–Petroskoi. 1987.
- LPV 1678 = *Lapin pogostoin valvontakirja 1678*. Книга переписная семи Лопских погостов Олонецкого уезда 1678.
- Makarov 1990 = Макаров, Г. Н.: *Словарь карельского языка (ливвиковский диалект)*. Петрозаводск.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo – Paikkala, Sirkka 2000: *Sukunimet*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Mullonen 1994 = Муллонен, И. И. 1994: *Очерки вепсской топонимии*. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
- Mullonen, I.I. 2007: Das wepsische Personennamensystem. – Andrea Brendler & Silvio Brendler (toim.), *Europäische Personennamensysteme. Ein Handbuch von Abasisch bis Zentralladinisch*. Hamburg. 848–859.
- 2008: К истокам вепсских фамилий прионежских вепсов. – *Историко-культурное наследие вепсов и роль музея в жизни местного сообщества*. Сборник научных трудов. Петрозаводск. 158–165.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1975: *Suomen Karjalan nimistö*. Karjalaisen Kulttuurin Edistämisseuran julkaisuja. Joensuu.
- 1976: *Suomen Karjalan ortodoksinen nimistö*. Viipurin Suomalaisen Kirjallisuusseuran toimitteita. Helsinki. 45–172.
- NVVV 1500 = *Novgorodin vatjalaisen viidenneksen verokirja v. 1500 = Перечисная окладная книга Водской пятины Корельского уезда 7008 (1500) года*. Временник императорского московского общества истории и древностей российских. Книга 12. Москва, 1852.
- Patronen, Outi 2009: *Rajakarjalainen sukunimistö ja sen muuttuminen*. Lisensiaatintyö. Helsingin yliopisto.
- RPV 1678: *Repola volostien valvontakirja 1678*. Переписная книга Кольского уезда корельских Ребольских волостей 1678.
- Ruoppila, Veikko 1955: *Vajaaälyisen kuvaannollisia nimityksiä*. – *Virittäjä* 59: 150–170.
- Saloheimo 2003 – MKLV: *Muutto Käkisalmen läänistä Venäjälle 1600-luvulla*. Veijo Saloheimon tekemä tietokanta.  
<<http://www.tverinkarjala.fi/Muuttoluettelot.html>> 11.3.2016
- SMS = *Suomen murteiden sanakirja*. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 36. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.
- SNA, Helsinki = Suomen Nimiaarkisto. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten keskus.
- Voionmaa, Väinö 1915: *Suomen karjalaisen heimon historia*. Helsinki.
- ÄVM 1563 = *Äänisen viidenneksen maakirjat 1496 ja 1563*. = *Писцовые книги Обонежской Пятины 1496 и 1563*. Материалы по истории народов СССР под общей редакцией М.Н. Покровского, выпуск 1 Материалы по истории Карельской АССР, издательство Академии наук СССР, Ленинград 1930.

## Surnames translated into Russian among the Karelians

*Olga Karlova*

My article examines modern Russified surnames, or translated surnames, among the Karelians, which are based on inherited, so-called unofficial demotic surnames in the Karelian language. Personal names in the Karelian language are unofficial in Russia, as the Karelian language does not have any official status. The material for the research is a collection of personal names gathered on field trips in Russian Karelia. The research material represents all the main Karelian dialect areas (Livvi Karelian and the Southern and White Sea dialects of Karelian Proper). The personal names under investigation are surnames that have been given a literal translation equivalent in Russian, as well as names that with the same lexical origin that have retained their linguistic particularity even within the official Russian naming system, e.g. the surname *Баранов* < Karel. surname *Bokko* < APF *bokko* 'ram' – Russ. *баран* 'ram' and the surname *Боккоев* of the same origin. The article presents the etymologies of surnames under investigation as well as possible grounds for naming.

## Karjalaisien venäjännetyistä kiännöššukunimistä

*Olga Karlova*

Artikkeli käsittelöy nykyisie karjalaisien venäjännettyjä šukunimijä tahikka kiännöššukunimijä, kumpasien lähtökohtana ollah rahvahan käytöššä olijat karjalankieliset periytyjät nš. epäviralliset šukunimet. Venyähällä karjalankielistä henkilönnimistyö ei tiijetä virallisella dokumenttitašolla, šentäh kun karjalan kielellä ei ole mitänä virallista statusta. Ainehistona ollah Venyähän Karjalan rahvahan šuušta tutkimušmatkojen aikana kerätyt henkilönnimet. Tutkimušainehisto esittäy kaikki karjalan piämurrehalovehet (livvinkarjala, varšinaiskarjalan etelämurtehet ta vienanmurtehet). Tarkaššeltavie henkilönnimijä ollah venäjän kieleššä šanallisen kiännöšvaštinehen šuanuot šukunimet ta niisi alkuperäisetki šamua leksikalista kantua olijat šukunimet, mit on piäšty melkein muuttumattomina viralliseh venäläiseh nimistööh, esim. ŠN *Баранов* < karj. ŠN *Bokko* < APP *bokko* ‘pässi’ – ven. *баран* ‘pässi’ ta ŠN *Боккоев*. Artikkelissa tutkitah šukunimien alkuperyä ta mahollisie nimenantomotiivija.



EVAR SAAR  
University of Helsinki / Võru instituut

## Forenames in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century southeastern Estonia

**Abstract** The paper discusses the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Estonian forenames from the Polish, Swedish and church register sources regarding Southern Estonian areas. During the period investigated, the area under consideration changed owner several times and was a part of Poland, Sweden and Russia alike. Some of the previously analyzed material dates from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the region was a part of Poland.

The material is presented in tables, where the reader can get an idea of the Estonian colloquial variants of Christian names affected by writing habits of Russian, Polish and German scribes. The material also includes many Pre-Christian names that can be compared to onomasticon of other Finnic languages. Most common source of the names is Low German variants of Christian saint names. Surprisingly common are also Russian names that were introduced by the mission of Pechora monastery. Sources also bear witness of multiple mixed name variants representing traits of both Finnic and the languages of the scribes.

## On the notion of forenames in historical documents

Forenames can be discussed only when there are other names present, that is, bynames. When family bynames are inherited from one generation to the next, they can be considered family names or surnames. In the Middle Ages, Estonian peasants living under German cultural influence did not yet have a clear two-part model (forename and surname) for personal names. Although I use the term *forename* throughout this article, it should be clarified that, in a contemporary understanding, a name was a name, and a byname served as additional specification as needed (during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, bynames did become a typical component of the recorded names of peasants). Baptismal names were rarely changed, although various abbreviated forms of them were often used in writing. Volker Kohlheim refers to the name forms recorded in the late Middle Ages in Germany as *allonomes* (Ger. *Allonome*), a term derived to be analogous to the concept of *allophone* used in phonology (Kohlheim 2001: 94–95). At this time, culture was still predominantly oral rather than written. It was always possible to use a number of different orally adapted forms of a name, and when names were written, letters were often interchanged or doubled, yielding a larger number of variant forms. A name that had become fixed in spoken language could be written more “correctly” or “learnedly”, reflecting social status. A nobleman’s name could be recorded in a less prestigious form for the purposes of ordinary book-keeping, but not in documents intended for a wider audience. Due to their low social status, peasants’ names were always recorded in a form most closely reflecting their spoken form as heard by the scribe. Allonomes were, of course, not stable, but due to the increasing need for names in the growing population, the most distinct ones became fixed. For instance *Hans* and *Jahn*, which were established relatively early as separate names. In the late Middle Ages, the problem of low name diversity (with certain names being shared by too many people in a community) began to be resolved via the addition of patronyms and bynames (Kohlheim 2001: 94–95).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Low German had replaced Latin as the written language in use in Livonia, peasants’ names were written with

a byname preceding the forename, linguistically an attribute, for example *Hento Jurgi* ‘Hento’s Jurgi’. In Poland, where Latin was still the elevated, written language of choice, the opposite order was preferred: *Jurgi Hentow* (forename + patronym). A similar pattern was followed in Russia as well. In some Polish documents, however, names have been recorded in accordance with their oral form, characteristic of Finnic and Low German: *Hentho Jurik*. In the German-language written culture of 17<sup>th</sup> century Sweden, the *Hento Jurgi* model for peasants’ names was restored. In these examples, I consider the forename to be *Jurgi* ~ *Jurik*, that is, the person’s baptismal name. However, it is not always clear which name is the baptismal name, therefore any calculations of the frequencies of various forenames in long lists of peasants’ names are imprecise.

## Research history

The history of Estonian forenames (or simply *names* in the earliest period from which written records are available) has been fairly comprehensively studied on the basis of medieval material from Tallinn, Harjumaa, Järvamaa and Läänemaa. Source publications (Johansen 1925, Johansen 1929, Stackelberg 1926, Stackelberg 1928, Essen & Johansen 1939) often contain primary analyses of the name stock. Articles introducing and analysing such publications (Saareste 1923, Kobolt 1933) are also significant. Brochures written by Andrus Saareste (1935) and Julius Mägiste (1929), aimed at facilitating the Estonianisation of names, contain work based on thoroughly studied material. Additionally, Paul Johansen published materials from Virumaa, southern Estonia and northern Latvia – Helme and Rūjiena (Johansen 1928, Johansen 1937). All these sources are reflected in the material collection of D. E. Stoebeke and his outstanding study (1964) of ancient names of the Finnic peoples. The Finnish onomastician Viljo Nissilä (1965) recognized Stoebeke’s work, but rightly observed that the predominance of names of the Estonians and Livonians in the material used had created a somewhat one-dimensional concept of the old naming system. Nissilä regarded the dominance of two-part names over names consisting of a stem and a suffix as a new phenomenon that

emerged at the beginning of the second millennium which emerged through contact with Germanic peoples. He also found that Stoebke had overlooked the use of animal names as personal names (*ibid.*).

The analysis of ancient Estonian names was further developed by Eduard Roos (e.g. 1961, 1971, 1976). Forenames of Christian or Germanic origin in Low German were studied in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Heldur Palli, Edgar Rajandi (1966 *Raamat nime-dest* ‘Book of names’) and Huno Rätsep. In 1959, Palli published a thorough article concerning names in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Järvamaa and Harjumaa, with many new claims and new explanations for them. His article includes frequency lists of forenames in the sources used, and the beginning of the article contains a comprehensive overview of the previous research history (Palli 1959). Material from northwestern Estonia has been used later as well, most recently in a far-reaching article by Rätsep (2011, 2012), which relies on the 1518–1544 Läänemaa register of peasant obligations published by Stackelberg.

In southeastern Estonia, that is the medieval Tartu bishopric, no sources have been found for peasant names in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This explains the relatively low research interest in the region. Only the Polish inspection of 1582 was made available from this bishopric and the only analysis of the personal names found in this document was published by M. J. Eisen (1923) in the journal *Eesti Keel*; Eisen’s work has since been used by other researchers. In 1932, a lengthy newspaper article, which has been largely neglected due to its place of publication, was published by one A.S., devoting more attention to forenames than Eisen did and demonstrating a high level of analysis (1932). It cannot be confidently asserted on the basis of the text that A.S. was Andrus Saareste. The article was written in a simple, somewhat old-fashioned style, not reminiscent of Saareste’s typical style. 17<sup>th</sup> century family names (surnames) in the city of Tartu have been analysed by Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt (1932).

Oleg Roslavlev’s source publications, containing far more documents from the Polish period than were previously known, were released between 1970 and 1973 (Roslavlev 1970, 1973a, 1973b). No analysis has yet been carried out on the personal name material in these publications. The present article does not present a frequency list of forenames in the Polish inspections, as the volume of work would

be enormous. I do, however, present A. S.'s statistics on the basis of the 1582 inspection. I also provide a frequency list from a smaller region, the Rõuge parish, from 1588. By way of comparison, I also show the frequency list of peasants' forenames in the same region from 1684.

The works of Roslavlev, a dedicated publisher of source materials from southeastern Estonia, also include the Tartumaa inspection carried out between 1624 and 1627 (1965) and the 1601 Livonia inspection (1967). These supplemented a series which began in 1941 with the release, as a publication of the Tartu historical archives, of the 1638 Tartumaa inspection. In the 1970s, Roslavlev also published the settlement histories of Räpina and Vastseliina (Roslavlev 1974–1977). When drawing on Roslavlev's immense work, it should be kept in mind that his interpretations of the handwriting found in the source publications are not always perfectly correct. Furthermore, as Roslavlev did not have thorough knowledge of modern-day local toponymy, some ambiguous characters may have additional possible interpretations. Any further comprehensive toponymastic study in a smaller area would require renewed familiarisation with the original sources.

Fairly long lists of peasants' names can be found in the Swedish cadastre documents from late 17<sup>th</sup> century: maps and books describing maps (EAA.308), registers of peasant obligations, and the 1688 inspection.

Church civil registers containing women's names have been preserved in some parishes of southeastern Estonia beginning from the 1660s, for example the Rõuge parish in 1661 (EAA.1268.1.18). The paucity and lateness of the material does not allow for any substantial claims to be made about 16<sup>th</sup> century women's names, and therefore they will not be addressed in this article.

In 1897, Jüri Truusmann published an article containing examples of peasants' names in Vastseliina and Rõuge (in the southeastern-most corner of southeastern Estonia) from 1561, recorded by Muscovian officials (Truusmann 1897). Recently, Anti Selart published and discussed a similar confirming document found in the Moscow archives, a list of names of villages and peasants vassalised to the Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery (Selart 2016). Although written in Cyrillic, these documents most clearly illustrate the names of southeastern Estonian peasants in the environment of medieval Livonia, where

wars, migrations, and clerics of various confessions had yet to exert their influence. In the present article, however, I only use examples from Truusmann.

## Historical background

After several centuries under the fairly unilateral influence of the Catholic Church, Germany and Low German, Livonia entered a long period of wars and exchanges of power in 1558, with the rise of new masters, one after another (Russia, Poland, Sweden), each of which had its effects on the use and popularity of various peasants' names. What was then known as Tartumaa (present-day southeastern Estonia) differed from other regions of Estonia in that, from 1560 to 1582 it remained fairly firmly under the control of Muscovy. Some lands were vassalised to the orthodox Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery (Selart 2016; Truusmann 1897: 39–41), and there, the means of peasants' naming began to quickly resemble those of Karelian and other orthodox Finnic peoples.

The changes in peasants' names in this early period reflect not only changes in trend but also immigration. After the 1558 Russian–Tatar incursions and their conquest of the castles, southeastern Estonia was relatively peaceful. The only threat to the local peasants was the activity of Russian forces passing through and procuring supplies. It can be assumed that the immigrants who came to inhabit the villages and scattered, empty farms from war arrived primarily from the south where the hostility between Russia and Poland–Lithuania and the military raids continued and intensified, especially after 1575. By contrast, the transfer of power in Tartumaa from the Russians to the Polish took place without bloodshed in the summer of 1582, according to the peace treaty of Jam Zapolski. The lists of farmers' names from some of the southeasternmost Tartumaa villages in the 1580s include, in addition to typical orthodox forenames, some rather exotic bynames, which could indicate people who fled from the territory of Lithuania and Belarus to Livonia, Russians left behind by their army, as well as Ukrainians, Poles, and even some Tatars (Roslavlev 1970: 29–37).

The ensuing Polish–Swedish War between 1600 and 1611 was, to the peasant population of southern Tartumaa, clearly the most devastating time from the Middle Ages to the modern era. The hostilities between 1600 and 1603 and the associated crop failure in the summers of 1601 and 1602 led to an unprecedented famine, mass deaths and people leaving their homes. This was compounded by an outbreak of the plague from 1603 to 1604 (Seppel 2014a: 36, 38). In Viljandimaa, the central county of southern Estonia, allegedly only one out of ten peasants survived (Fabricius 2010: 295). Even in northern Estonia, less strained by war, between one-fourth and one-third of the farms were left empty. Not all of these farm households necessarily perished, however; some of them could have become extremely impoverished and thus shaken off their tax liability (Seppel 2014b: 26–27).

There are no firsthand data published by historians regarding Tartumaa. This absence can be seen by comparing the numbers shown in the 1601 and 1624 through 1627 inspections carried out by the Swedes. For example, in 1601, on the fertile farmland of Antsla Manor or in the village of \*Sääsla, 82 peasant families were recorded who cultivated 40 ploughlands; in 1627, this was reduced to nine farmers on eight ploughlands. In Kobela, the best-preserved village of Antsla Manor, the numbers fell from 28 farmers and 13-1/4 ploughlands to 8 and 3-1/2 respectively. In this village, only three bynames remained the same in the 1601 and 1627 revisions. One illustrative, literary example is the farmer recorded in 1601 as *Hullus Pitte Jan* (*Hullus pitäq Jaan*) ‘Jaan, counting for a fool’ and in 1627 as *Ulli Pet Jan* (*Ullis peet Jaan*) ‘Jaan, counted for a fool’. (Roslavlev 1967: 57; Roslavlev 1965: 105–106.) This descriptive byname is a clever demonstration of what qualities were required of an Estonian farmer to escape the demographic bottleneck of the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The number of tax liable farmers saw a manifold decrease on all manors from 1601 to 1627, and in some smaller manors, there were no longer any peasants to record in the 1627 inspection. This period was characterised by the catastrophic loss of life from 1602 to 1604, the beginning of the slow recovery process afterward, and emigration prior to 1627. From the final years of the period of Polish rule, which ended in 1624 when Swedish rule was re-established in Tartumaa, there are virtually no records regarding the peasant population. However, it is

logical to assume that at least some Catholic peasants reacted to the arrival of the “heretic” Swedes by seeking a better place to live. The victory of the Swedes led to the return of many Baltic Germans who had left in the interim and to new heights in the wilfulness of manor proprietors in new regions with only weak ties to the Swedish state. In Russia, famine and disease had emptied out large territories, creating favourable conditions for emigration. It can be surmised from the 1624 to 1627 inspection that this emigration took place one village at a time, and that the best of the newly emptied farmsteads were then claimed by peasants from neighboring manors.

Beginning in 1624, Tartumaa was under the control of the Kingdom of Sweden. During the war from 1656 to 1661 it fell back into the hands of the Russians, then returned to Sweden until 1702, at the beginning of the Great Northern War. In 1624, the Catholic Church was replaced for good by the Lutheran Church. Lutheranism brought in a broader choice of personal names: Old Testament names, as well as Hebrew and ancient Greek names translated into German (Seibicke 2001: 105–106). These “new” names slowly circulated among the peasant population, primarily via people following the lead of aristocrats and city dwellers. Some of these Old Testament names were already known there due to the orthodox forenames from Church Slavonic.

By 1638, the population still had not grown much relative to 1627, which can likely be ascribed to continuing emigration. During 45 years before the next lists were compiled, there was a substantial increase in the number of farmstead families, and the range of bynames and possible forenames was expanded. Some registers of peasant obligations have been preserved from this interim period from places in southeastern Estonia. The primary languages influencing forename trend from 1624 to 1684 were German and Russian, although Swedish-influenced forenames can also be seen in the lists of farmers’ names from the 1680s. Russian forenames grew in popularity via immigration, although these names were used by some natives as well. This custom did not begin to fade until the end of the century. In borderlands such as Vastseliina and Rāpina, Russian forenames remained in fashion into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This trend could have been influenced by migration as well as by cross-border marriages.

## Forenames in 1561

In 1561, the names of peasants in Rõuge and Vastseliina were primarily Low German forms of Christian names: **Andrus** *Андрусъ*, with the Russian-style patronym *Андрусовъ*; **Hann** *Ханъ*; **Hannus** *Ганусъ*; **Hans** *Гансъ*, *Хансъ*; **Hant** *Гантъ*, **Hendrik**, patronym *Гендриковъ*; **Henn** *Генъ*, **Hint**, patronym *Интовъ*; **Jaen** *Янь*, patronym *Яневъ сынъ*; **Jaanus** *Янусъ*; **Jakob** *Яковъ*; **Jüri** (\***Juurik**) *Юрикъ*; **Klaus** *Клаусъ*, patronym *Клаусовъ сынъ*; **Laurits** *Лаврець*; **Mart** *Мартъ*, **Meeni**, patronym *Меневъ*; **Meus** *Миусъ*; **Mihkel** *Михкель*; **Peep**, patronym *Пѣповъ*; **Päll** *Пѣль*; **Pärt**, patronym *Пяртвѣевъ*; **Pertemis** *Пертемизъ*; **Rein** *Рейнь*; **Tennüs**, **Tõnn** *Тенюсъ*, patronym *Теневъ*; **Tiit** *Титъ*; **Tilk** *Тилкъкъ*; **Toomas** *Томасъ*. (These forms are from Truusmann 1897: 39–41). The name \**Juurik* does contain a Slavic-style diminutive ending, but a comparison to later materials allows us to surmise that this form, which reminds us of the homonym *juurik* ‘root’, was used in speech by peasants in border regions. See Table 1 for more on original name forms.

Some of the recorded names are typically Russian (also reflecting northwestern Russian and Belorussian styles), but older traditional names used in Livonia could have also been Russified by the scribes: **Andrus** *Андрюшка*, *Ондрюшка*, *Андрейко*; **Ants**, **Hansken** *Анско*, **Jaen** *Янка*, *Янко*; **Jaak** *Якушка*; **Mihkel** *Михаль*, *Мишанка*; **Mikk** *Микуй*; **Paul**, **Paavel** *Павель*, *Павелко*; **Peeter** *Петръ*.

A small fraction of (fore)names are traditionally Russian and cannot be linked to names appearing elsewhere in Old Livonia: *Викъечко*, *Гришка*, *Ивашко*, *Иванко*, *Лопатка*, *Минка*, *Олешко*, *Русакъ*, *Севастейко*. Of course, *Ivaško* is etymologically related to *Johannes* and *Sevasteiko* to *Sebastian*, but if this were a case of the Russification of names traditionally used in Livonia, different forms would have been produced – these names are Russian by origin.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the forenames noted in Truusmann’s article are of uncertain origin, for example *Актъ*, *Ганусъ*, *Кавасъ*, *Лемикъ*, *Мамусъ*, *Панъ*, *Пѣнь*, *Сантуй*, *Тамачъ*. Some of these may be the result of transcription errors: \**Ганусъ* (*Hannus*), \**Каласъ* (*Kallas*), \**Матусъ*

1. The name *Лопатка* could, however, be compared to a 16<sup>th</sup> century Estonian peasant name from Pärnumaa: *Andres Lapidapoick* ‘son of a spade’.

(*Matus*) et cetera. *Лемикъ* is clearly an old Finnic name (Stoebke 1964: 95–96). As the new and much more extensive publication by A. Selart on the same region during the same period has only recently been released, I will address its material in a future study. This article will only discuss the name **Kutsik** (see chapter: New etymologies for four old forenames). In Truusmann, it appears as *Кучикъ Клаусовъ сынъ*, in Selart as *Кучекъ Клаусовъ* (2016: 67). The same name also appears in the Polish inspections.

## The most common forenames in the 1580s

By the time of the Polish inspections, which began in 1582, the overall picture had not changed much. Here I present the frequency list of forenames from the Rõuge parish according to the 1588 list of peasants' names, supplemented by the 1582 list from Tsooru Manor (Roslavlev 1970: 31–37, 85–86).

Other frequent names include *Rein* (< *Reinke*, *Reineke* < *Reinhold*, *Reinhard*), *Hant* (< *Andreas*), *Jakub* (< *Jakob*), *Kiersnia* ~ *Kiarsnia* (< *Kersten*, *Carsten* < *Christian*), *Matus* (< *Mattheus*), *Lawro* ~ *Lawrik* (< *Лауръ*, *Laurids* < *Laurentius*), *Markus*, *Simun* (< *Simeon*). The last column in Table 1 shows the percentage of all forenames derived from each original name listed.

Comparing the 1588 Rõuge frequency list with H. Palli's frequency lists from Harjumaa and Järvamaa in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, despite limited material from Rõuge, the overall picture is quite similar. Adaptations of the most popular Christian name, *Johannes*, account for approximately 15% of male forenames (Palli shows a higher figure in Harjumaa, lower in Järvamaa). The relationship between the more common variant *Hans* (*Ants*) and the less common *Jaan* is similar. The second most common name in Rõuge, *Jüri* (*Juri*) (western Slavic > Low German) corresponds to *Jürgen* (Low German internal development), the most common name in Harjumaa. *Mart* (*Märt*) in Rõuge is slightly more common than *Mart* in Järvamaa and *Märten* in Harjumaa. *Mikk* is somewhat more common in Rõuge than elsewhere. It is possible that the adaptation *Mikk* could to some extent, correspond to the Orthodox form *Nikolai* (*Mikolai*), which is its primary equivalent

peasant's forename	number	%	source, Low German or Orthodox	original personal name	%
Hans, Hanns, Hants, Ancz, Han, Hansko	35	13%	Hans, Hantzi, Hann, Hanske	Johannes	15.5%
Jurik, Iurik, Juri, Jurgi	22	8%	Juri, Jurge, Юрий, Юрик	Georg, Georgius	8%
Marth, Mart, Merth	20	7.5%	Mart, Mert	Martinus	7.5%
Pap	19	7%	Fabi?	Fabianus?	7%
Jak, Iak	14	5%	Jaco, Jack	Jakob, Jakobus	6%
Mik	14	5%	Mick   Миколай	Michael   Nikolaus	5% ?
Mios	14	5%		Bartholomeus	5.5%
Piep, Piepko	14	5%		Peter, Petrus	7.5%
Andrus, Andrey, Andrik	12	4.5%	Andres	Andreas	5.5%
Thocz	12	4.5%	?	Theodoric?	4.5%
Hin, Hen	9	3.3%	Hinke, Hinrich	Heinrich	6.5%
Thomas	9	3.3%	Thomas	Thomas	3.3%
Hint, Hent, Hendrik	8	3%	Hinze, Hinrich	Heinrich	
Jan, Ian	7	2.5%	Jahn	Johannes	
Kalas	7	2.5%	?	?	
Pietrik	7	2.5%	Peter	Peter, Petrus	

Table 1. Forenames from the Rõuge parish according to the 1588 list of peasants' names, supplemented by the 1582 list from Tsooru Manor.

among contemporary Seto (Orthodox speakers of Southern Estonian) forenames. In Rõuge, *Mios*, as an adaptation of *Bartholomeus*, is conspicuously common, while the northern Estonian *Pärtel* (*Bartholomeus* + *Berthold*) is not. In Tartumaa (but not in Rõuge), a less shortened form of *Bartholomeus*, *Pertelmis*, is also well represented. In Rõuge, adaptations of the typically Germanic name *Heinrich*, which would become even more widespread in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, are already gaining popularity; by contrast, none of the individual variants of *Heinrich* reach the list of 20 most frequent names in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century

Harjumaa and Järvamaa. Important names that were common only in Rõuge are *Paap*, *Toots* and *Kallas*.

A.S.'s newspaper article contains a frequency list for all of Tartumaa in 1582 (A. S. 1932). I have supplemented it with documented, written forms from 1582 to 1588.<sup>2</sup>

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	(Low) German source	original personal name
Hans, Hanns, Hants, Hanc, Hancz, Anc, Ans (Est. <i>Hans</i> and <i>Ants</i> )	Hans, Hantzi	Johannes
Jak, Iak (Est. <i>Jaak</i> )	Jaco, Jack	Jakob, Jakobus
Pet, Pedo, Pido, Piado, Pedy, Pep, Pepo, Piep, Pip <sup>3</sup> (Est. <i>Peet</i> and <i>Peep</i> )	Piet, Peto, Pete	Peter, Petrus
Juri, Jury, Jurgi, Jur- gien, Jurko (Est. <i>Jüri</i> and <i>Jürgen</i> )	Juri, Jurge, Jürgen+ (Rus. Юрий)	Georg, Georgius
Jan, Jani, Ian (Est. <i>Jaan</i> )	Jahn	Johannes
Andrus, Andrys (Est. <i>Andrus</i> )	Andres (-u- by Slavic <i>influence?</i> )	Andreas
Thomas, Tomas (Est. <i>Toomas</i> )	Thomas	Thomas
Mik (Est. <i>Mikk</i> )	Mick   Миколай	Michael   Nikolaus
Marth, Mart, Merth, Merten (Est. <i>Mart</i> , <i>Märt</i> )	Mart, Mert, Merten, Märtu	Martinus

2. In preserving the order of the frequency list, I have followed the structure of A. S.'s name families, although it appears somewhat arbitrary. For instance, the adaptations of *Johannes* which were perceived as different names are thoroughly distinguished, but those of *Heinrich* are not. As A. S. has presented *Markus* and *Marx* as separate names, I have not added the adaptations *Marx* and *Marko* to the column for *Markus*.

3. *Peep*, *Pepo*, *Piep* and *Pip* have been regarded as a unique Estonian development of the name family *Peet* ~ *Piit*. This has been shown by comparing variant forms of names belonging to the same people. In Romance languages, as well as in the High German tradition, *Pepe* or *Beppo* is an adaptation of *Joseph*.

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	(Low) German source	original personal name
Tyn, Thyn, Thyno, Thynu, Teno, Theno, Thon, Tonno, Denis (Est. <i>Tönn, Tõnu, Tõnis</i> )	Tönnies, Tönne	Antonius
Hanus, Hannus	Hannes	Johannes
Symon, Simun, Sym, Syme (Est. <i>Siiim</i> )	Simon	Simeon
Toc, Thoc, Thocz (Est. SN <i>Toots</i> )	?	Theodoric?
Rein, Riin (Est. <i>Rein</i> ) Peter, Piotr, Pietr, Pieter (Est. <i>Peeter</i> )	Reinke, Reineke	Reinhold, Reinhard Peter, Petrus
Kiersten, Kierszten, Karsten, Karsthen, Kiarsnia, Kersthin, Karsthyn (Est SN <i>Kersna, Kärstna</i> )	Kersten, Carsten	Christian
Matyz, Matys, Mady (Est. <i>Madis</i> )	Mattis	Matthias; Matteus
Mac, Macz, Mat, Math (Est. <i>Mats</i> )	Mats, Matt	Matthias; Matteus
Laur, Lauryc, Lawryc, Liaurenc	Laurids + (Rus. Лавр)	Laurentius
Pap (Est. <i>Paap</i> )	Fabi?	Fabian?
Hin, Hinn, Hinth, Hinc, Hen, Heno, Henu, Hent, Hend, Henc, Henthö, Hein, Hendrik, Henrych, Hendrych, Indrik (Est. <i>Henn, Heno, Hindrik</i> etc.)	Hinke, Hinze, Hinrich	Heinrich   Heno~Henu as pre-christian (1255 <i>Eny</i> in Saaremaa) (Palli 1959: 601)
Markus	Markus, Marcus	Markus
Tit, Tyth, Thyd, Thyth, Tyto (Est. <i>Tiit</i> )	Diet, Tiet	Theodoric

Table 2. Forenames from Tartumaa in 1582–1588.

Less common typically Low German forenames in the 1580s

Table 3 presents the typically (Low) German forenames that did not make the frequency lists. This is based primarily on the first volume of Roslavlev's *Polnische Akten* (1582–1591). Of these names, those that occur fairly often are *Jakob* along with the various forms of *Hanth*, *Meus*, *Pertemis*, and *Thyl*.

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	(Low) German source	original personal name
Arnik (Est. PN <i>Aarniku</i> )	Arnike?	Arn; Arnold
Armik		Armin, Arminius
Asmus	Asmus	Erasmus
Bendix, Pintens <sup>4</sup> (Est. PN <i>Pindi</i> , SN <i>Pindis</i> )	Bendix	Benedikt
Balcer, Balczer (Est. SN <i>Paltser</i> )	Balzer	Balthasar
Barth	Bartel	Bartholomeus
Casper, Kasper	Casper	Caspar, Kaspar
Erenst		Ernst < *Ernust
Han, Hano, Hani (Est. SN <i>Hanni</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	Hanke, Hanno	Johannes   Andreas
Hanth, Hant, Hand, Anth (Est. SN <i>Ant</i> )		Andreas   Antonius
Helmok, Helmus	Helmo, Helmke	Helmut
Herm, Herme (Est. SN <i>Härm</i> )	Harm ( <i>Frisian</i> ), Herm?	Hermann
Herman	Herman	Hermann
Ianus, Janusz (Est. <i>Jaanus</i> )	Jhanus	Johannes
Iosth, Jost (Est. SN <i>Joost</i> )	Jost	Justus   Jodocus
Jakob	Jacob	Jakob, Jakobus

4. Or perhaps Russian *Пентелеймон*? Compare to Seto *Pind'o* < *Пентелей*.

5. *Han* [Hann] could also have been an adaptation of *Andreas* (Palli 1959: 600–602). H. Palli regarded the forename *Hann* ~ *Hanni* as the descendant of the ancient name *Anni* ~ *Anno* which has been reconciled to several baptismal names (ibid.).

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	(Low) German source	original personal name
Jus, Jusa (Est. PN <i>Juusa</i> )	Jus or Юса	Justus = Юст
Jux (Est. SN <i>Juks</i> )		Johannes
Kieryk, Keryg, Gieryk   Giergi? (Est. SN <i>Käärrik</i> )	Gerecke	Gerhard, *Ger-
Kierth (Est. SN <i>Käärt</i> )		Gerhard, *Ger-
Kil, Kilipoik (Est. SN <i>Kiilo</i> )		Kilian?
Kliaus, Claus, Klaus, Lans (= Laus?)	Clawes, Claus, Klaus	Nikolaus
Kort, Korth (Est. SN <i>Koort</i> )	Cord	Konrad
Krysthoff, Christoff	Christoph	Christophorus
Lody (Est. NN <i>Ludi</i> )		Ludwig (M. J. Eisen)
Ludik (Est. SN <i>Lüüdik</i> )		Ludwig
Marx, Marko	Marx	Markus
Matusz, Matus (Est. SN <i>Mattus</i> )		Matteus
Meus, Mios, Meos, Mehos, Mihus (Est. SN <i>Meos, Meus</i> )		Bartholomeus
Michel, Michal (Est. <i>Mihkel</i> , SN <i>Mikkel</i> )	Michel [mikkel]	Michael
Paul		Paulus
Pert, Perto, Pers, Bartel (Est. <i>Pärtel</i> )	Berti, Bertl	Berthold, Bartholomeus
Pertemis, Perthimis, Pirtemis, Partemis, Pertemes, Bartlomeus, Bartolomeus, Bartolomiey		Bartholomeus
Pranc (Est. SN <i>Prants</i> )		Варфоломей
Reinold, Reyno		Franz, Franciscus
Rykant, Ryko (Est. SN <i>Rikand</i> )		Reinhold Richard

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	(Low) German source	original personal name
Nan (Est. SN <i>Naan</i> )	Natan or Jahn <sup>6</sup>	Nathanael   Johannes
Niclus, Nyckle, Nigi, Nikus Ramul? (Est. SN <i>Rammul</i> , cf. SN <i>Rumvolt</i> )	Nicolas, Niggel?	Nikolaus Fromhold? <i>turk</i> Ramil? <i>Latvian</i> ?
Sak (Est. SN <i>Sakk</i> )	Zac, Zach	Zacharias
Sytik (Est. SN <i>Sitik</i> )	Sittig	Sittig? Theofilus
Theiof		Theoforic, Till(mann)
Thyl, Thilk, Thylik, Thylko, Tylik, Thilik, Tylokien (Est. SN <i>Tiilik</i> , <i>Tilk</i> , <i>Till</i> )	Till, Thilo, Tilke, Tyle	Tillmann < *Þiuda + *m.
Thylman (Est. SN <i>Tillmann</i> )		Dietrich, Theo- doric
Tedrych, Thydrych, Dytrych, Dyrych, Thydra (Est. SN <i>Tiirik</i> , PN <i>Tüüra</i> )	Dittrich	
Tydman, Dythman (Est. PN <i>Tüütsmanni</i> )	cf. Tillman	*Þiuda + *mann
Wil, Wili, Wilik, Wilem, Wilhelm (Est. PN <i>Villike</i> )	Wilke, Wilken	Wilhelm, *Willio-
Wolmer (Est. PN <i>Volmer</i> )		Woldemar

Table 3. Less common Low German forenames in the 1580s.

6. H. Palli has shown an example of variation between the forms *Jaan* ~ *Naan* in Padise 1567/68 (1959:597).

Whether names were written in the German, Polish, or even Russian orthography seems to have depended on the scribe, for example in some districts (*folwarks*), the form *Peter* is more common, *Piotr* in others. In some folwarks, the *b*-initial form *Bartolomeus* is used, only *Pertelmis* and other such variants in others. The equivalent of the contemporary Estonian name *Tõnis* is recorded only as *Denis*, as the *t*-initial Low German variant *Tönnies* does not appear. The preference for traditional Polish spellings of names given in Polish-language sources is understandable.

### Eastern-influenced forenames in the 1580s

Table 4 (p. 258–261) presents a selection of names that can be interpreted as bearing some eastern influence. The table does not separately classify Russian, Belorussian and Polish influence, as scribes with a Polish-language background have recorded peasants in the border region, some of whom have eastern Slavic roots. In Lithuania, which formed a federal state with Poland, the standard written language was Church Slavic; Lithuania controlled the territory of present-day Belarus, from where some peasants relocated to Livonia. The recorded forms of forenames exhibit phonological developments characteristic of Church Slavic or names from northwestern Russia. Other phonological developments which took place as orthodox names were adapted to the Finnic languages. Some forenames show no phonological development indicative of eastern influence, for example *Isak* and *Dawid*. Simply put, it is difficult to find examples of these Old Testament names being used by Baltic Germans, even though some of them had converted to Protestantism in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. In the decades leading up to 1582, peasants held either Catholicism or Orthodox Christianity in high regard and could have received names only from the orthodox tradition. A few names have been listed in the table together which can be clearly regarded as Polish (western Slavic) forenames; their source names are given in the Latin alphabet. The table contains a great number of examples which neither Eisen nor A.S. have explained, or, in some cases, those which Eisen has claimed are not actually forenames (1923: 5).

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	Russian (Polish) source name	original personal name
Andrik, Andryk, Andrey, Andrzej, Andrzej (Est. <i>Andre</i> , <i>Andri</i> )	Андрик, Андрей, Andrzej	Andreas = Андрей
Antosz	Антоша	АНТОН = Antonius
Barkul	Баркул?	<i>Turkic name?</i>
Boris, Borys	Борис	Борис
Chariton	Харитон	Харитон = Chariton
Chomka (Seto <i>Hoomka</i> )	Фомка	Фома = Thomas
Chwiedor, Chwiedorko	Chwiedor	Theodor = Феодор
Czebulia	<i>Pol.</i> SN Cebula, <i>Ukr.</i> цебуля	'onion'
Danil (Võro <i>Tannil</i> )	Данил	Даниил = Daniel
Dawid	Давид, Dawid	Давид = David
Denis (Est. <i>Tõnis</i> )	Денис   Tõnnies	Dionysius   Antonius
Gawrylko	Гаврилко, Gawryłko	Гавриил = Gabriel
Giergi, Hanagirgi	<i>Ukr.</i> Гиергий?   <i>Low Ger.</i> Giercke?	Георгий   Gerhard? <i>M. J. Eisen:</i> Cyriacus
Grygier (Est. SN <i>Kriiger</i> )	<i>Ukr.</i> Григир	Григорий = Gregorius
Gryssa, Grys (Est. SN <i>Kriisa</i> )	Гриша	Григорий = Gregorius
Hemo   Hemin?	<i>Fin.</i> Неммо   <i>Kar.</i> Неммо < <i>Rus.</i> Герман = Germanus?	Неммиг ( <i>Swe.</i> )   Фемелий = Theme- lios? Фемистокл = Themistokeles?
Hliebo	<i>Pol.</i> SN Chleb? <sup>7</sup>	Глеб?
Hrechory Niekrasz	<i>Bel.</i> Хрехорий	Григорий = Gregorius
Iachno	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Ячно	Иоанн = Johannes? Яков = Jakob?
Iakub, Jakub	<i>Pol.</i> Jakub	Jakobus
Ianko, Janko	<i>Pol.</i> Janko, Janek	Johannes

7. The Polish surname *Chleb* is today perceived as being originally an appellative ('bread'), but it too could be derived from the Slavic personal name *Gleb*.

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	Russian (Polish) source name	original personal name
Ik Swinin	Isaak?	
Isak (Est. SN <i>Iisak</i> , <i>Issak</i> )		Isaak = Исаак
Iwasko, Iwazsko, Iwan (Est SN <i>Vaask</i> , <i>Vaska</i> and <i>Ivvan</i> )	Ивашко, Иван, <i>Pol.</i> Iwazsko	Иван /Иоанн = Johannes
Jas, Jaz (Est. <i>Jaas</i> ), Jasha	<i>Pol.</i> Jas = Jan   Яша	Johannes   Яков = Jakob
Jendrzey Jowkow	Jendrzey	Andreas = Андрей Яков = Jakob
Jurik, Iurik, Iuri, Juri, Jurek (Est. <i>Jiri</i> , SN <i>Juurik</i> )	Юрий, Юрик, <i>Pol.</i> Jurek	Юрий = Jerzy = Georg(ius)
Jus, Jusa (Est. PN <i>Juusa</i> )	Юса	Юст = Justus
Karnouch	Карнуша? <i>Rus.</i> корноух(ий)?	Корнилий = Cornelius? 'cropped person'?
Кауцы (Est. SN <i>Kauts</i> ) Kipka	Гаврила кипка <i>nickname</i> ? Кипка, Архипка?	Гавриил = Gabriel 'bundle, bunch, pile'?   Киприан, Архипп?
Kir, Kirr   Kiryk?		Кир = Cygus   Cyrriacus
Kiriap, Kiryk, Kirk, Gieryk? (Est. SN <i>Kirk</i> )	Кириак	Кириак = Cyriacus
Konosko	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Коношко	Конон = Conon
Lariwosko	Ларион?	Илларион = Hilarion
Lassuk	Wlasuk~Wlasek? Влас? Улас?	Влас = Blasius
Lazarko	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Лазарко	Лазарь = Lazarus
Lawro, Laurik, Lawrik, Lawryk   ! Lawnik ( <i>Pol</i> <i>lawnik</i> 'administrator')	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Лавро, Лаврик	Лаврентий = Laurentius
Maciusz	Maciuś, Mateusz	Matthæus = Матфий

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	Russian (Polish) source name	original personal name
Marcin, Marczyn (Est. SN <i>Märtsin</i> )	Marcin	Martin(us)
Marke Sidorof (Est. SN <i>Mark</i> )	Марк, <i>Ukr.</i> Марко	Markus = Марк
Maciei, Macak, Matsiey, Matwiesko	Масiej, Матвей	Matthias = Матфий
Martosz	Martosz, Мартюша	Martin = Мартин
Maxim	Максим	Maximilian
Melian		Емельян = Emilian
Mieliech	Мелех	Мелентий
Mikita, Miki	Микита	Никита = Niketas
Miklusz, Miklasz, Miklass, Mikolai	Mikołaj, Miklas, <i>Hung.</i> Miklós	Nikolaus
Minio		Минеон? <i>or Pol.</i> Misio < Michael
Miso (Est. PN <i>Misso</i> )	<i>Pol.</i> Misio, Миша	Michael = Михаил
Mosiey		Моисей = Moses
Naum		Наум = Naum
Nikipor		Никифор
Omelian (Est. SN <i>Ummelk</i> )	Омельян	Емельян = Emilian
Orthoma (Est. PN <i>Ortuma</i> )	Ортём	Артемий = Artemis
Osip (Est. SN <i>Ossip</i> )	Осип	Иосиф = Joseph
Ostra (Est. SN <i>Ostrat</i> )	Овстрат	Евстратий
Ozimi Kusik	озима 'winter grain' <sup>8</sup> Сима, *Осима?	? Зосима = Zosimos?
Папко	<i>Bel.</i> SN Папко	See chapter <i>New etymologies for four old forenames</i> (Паар)
Patuta	<i>Ukr.</i> Патута	Ипатий
Pawlik, Pawel, Pauel	Павлик, Павел	Павел = Paulus

8. *Ozimi Kusik*. I have interpreted *Ozimi* as the forename and *Kusik* as an Estonian-style byname, from *kuusik* 'spruce wood'. However, it is also possible that *Ozimi* is indeed a byname (and would semantically be appropriate as one) and *Kusik* is a typical diminutive Slavic forename.

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	Russian (Polish) source name	original personal name
Piec, Piecz (Est. SN <i>Peets</i> , Võro NN <i>Peedśo</i> )	<i>Pol.</i> Piech, Петя	Petrus
Piepko, Pipko	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Пипко; <i>Est.</i> SN Piip	Petrus
Pietrussa, Pietrik, Pietryk, Piotr	Петруша, <i>Pol.</i> Pietrik	Пётр = Piotr = Petrus
Prosko Samps	Прошка   <i>Est.</i> Proos?	Проход   Ambrosius Сампсон = Simson   <i>Fin.</i> Sampsä ?
Sidorko, Sydre Hans (Est. SN <i>Siidra</i> )	Сидор	Исидор
Sobol		соболь 'sable' NN?
Spir	Спир	Спиридон
Staszek	Staszek	Stanisław = Станислав
Stepan	Степан	Стефан = Stefanus
Stechno	<i>Ukr.</i> SN Стехно	Стефан = Stefanus?
Sthanislaw	Stanisław	Stanisław = Станислав
Supron	<i>Pol.</i> SN Supron, <i>Bel.</i> SN Супрун	
Terech	Терех	Терентий
Thomasko	Tomaszko	Thomas
Тум, Тым (Est. SN <i>Timm</i> )	<i>Pol.</i> Тума, <i>Rus.</i> Тима   <i>Low Germ.</i> Timm	Timotheus = Тимофей   Dietmar
Vlas		Влас = Blasius
Vlechen	<i>Pskov</i> PN Улеха	
Vlimow Drugi (Est. PN <i>Ülimänõna</i> , cape)	SN Улимов, <i>Pol.</i> PN Ulim	
Wasil, Waszyl (Est. SN <i>Vassil</i> )	<i>Bel.</i> Василь, <i>Pol.</i> Wasyl	Василий = Basilius
Wasko (Est. SN <i>Vaask</i> , <i>Vaska</i> , these partially from <i>Ивашко</i> )	<i>Pol.</i> Waszko	Василий = Basilius
Wastyan		Севастьян = Sebastian
Woyziech	Wojciech	Wojciech
Zdanek	Zdanek, SN Жданок	Ждан

Table 4. Eastern-influenced forenames in the 1580s.

Many of the Slavic names can be seen as those of peasants who moved to Livonia from elsewhere, but there are some names in which the combination of a forename and byname contains both indigenous (Finnic or Low German) and new (orthodox or Slavic) features. In the following examples, the indigenous features are italicised and the new features underlined: *Hans Swinin*, *Hentho Jurik*, *Jak Gramotnik*, *Hemo Albrichtow*, *Hant Czarsky*, *Mikita Paygow*, *Kiarsnia Matwie-sko*, *Indrik Kurski*, *Thocz Kawak*, *Andrzej Warsth*. Names such as *Pap Kusniec* and *Jak Kowal* could, of course, be translations with the original byname being *Raudsepp* or *Sepp*. There are also some examples of the Slavicisation of traditional Livonian names, for example *Ansczyk Kals* (Roslavlev 1970: 265). In general, if we ignore the forms that could have been made to look Polish by the scribes themselves, we will find peasants with Livonian-style bynames and unquestionably Russian-style forenames only in the Vastseliina-Rõuge region. This region, of course, belonged to the Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery mission in the 1560s.

Polish influence on the forenames used in southern Estonia has not yet been addressed in any article. It seems that there was indeed some influence, for instance the growing popularity of *Jaan* (Polish *Jan*) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as a Polish-style interpretation of rarer forenames, known today as surnames: Polish *Jas* (< *Johannes*), Estonian *Jaas* (cf. Rajandi 1966: 87 *Jaas* < *Jaša* < *Jakob*); Polish *Marcin* (< *Martinus*), Estonian SN *Märtsin*; Polish *Misio* [miš'o] (< *Michael*), Estonian toponym *Miššo*, et cetera.

Among immigrants, Latvians can be identified by the use of the Polish word *lotysz* 'Latvian' in their names or descriptions: *Orthoma Lothissow*, *Gawrylko Lothysow*, *Hanns Lotis*, *Lothys na Komorowie*, *Lothys na popowey ziemie*. Less frequently, it was written in Estonian: *Laty Jak*. In the exclusively Latvian-inhabited villages reflected in the inspection documents, the names are, at first glance, entirely different from those of the Estonians. However, this appears to be due to the fact that in the 1580s, the Latvian names recorded were those of the farmstead, not of the farmers. For instance, in *Sodakula*, southeast of Valga, right on the modern-day Estonian border, which despite its Finnic name was inhabited by the Latvians, the names noted in 1582 can, for the most part, be reconciled with contemporary farmstead

names; these names appear to be quite old and predominantly of Latvian origin. When forenames are provided (*Jurgi, Jan, Andrys* and others), however, they are indistinguishable from Estonian forenames.

Loan names known from other languages: *Ferencz* – Hungarian adaptation (*Franz*); *Koup, Caup* < old Scandinavian personal name *Kaup* < 1) from the appellative meaning ‘merchant’ (Estonian *kaupmees*) (Rätsep 2011: 12, 2012: 10), 2) from the Christian name: *Kaup* < *Jakaup* < *Jakob* (Vilkuna 2003: 106); *Morth* < *Morten*, Scandinavian adaptation (*Martinus*).

Forenames that could, with some reservations, be linked to canonical names:

*Czym, Cym* (PN *Tsimmi, Tsimmendriki*) =? *Simm* < *Simeon*. Cf. Polish (frequent) *Szymeon*, (rare) *Czymeon*.

*Genth* (116, 117) cf. Swedish *Kenth*.

*Jund, Jundi* (PN *Jundi*) cf. Finnish *Juntti* < *Johannes* (Eisen 1923: 6; Mikkonen & Paikkala 1992: 148).

*Medi* < *Medimnos?* *Medardus?* (Eisen 1923: 5).

*Nat, Natapoik* < *Nathanael?*

\**Tamma*, e.g. *Tama Symonpoik, Mios Tamow* < *Adam* [aadam] (Estonian GEN *Aadama*, Võro GEN *Aadami*, cf. PN *Tammi* (Hargla) < 1638 farmer *Soge Tamme*).

Finally, a list of names taken from volume I of *Polnische Akten* (Roslavlev 1970) which could be considered forenames and require further research: *Ciereszka, Hamin Kierpoik, Hanehai, Hath, Helewes, Hord, Jeth, Kiesz, Kolimus, Kolmas, Lain, Laisk, Lilo, Loil, Maie, Maio, Maya, May, Maza, Mies; Mihas, Minc, Mitagal, Naryc, Nem, Nop, Pirc, Popo (Popopoik), Poygo, Rauthkas, Reikosz, Saur, Sorcz, Spedo, Taci (Taciopoik), Terhi, Thas* <? *Stas, Thykus, Und, Utepe, Wabalith*.

## Pre-Christian names?

Examples of names which could, as forenames, be seen as deriving directly from old Finnic personal names:

**Jemath** 1588 Karula (Roslavlev 1970: 237). Compare to Livonian *Ymaut* XII century, *Ymake* XIII century, *Ymele* XVI century, *Imat* XVI century, *Immotu* XVI century in Rūjiena and many others (Stoebke 1964: 31–32). Although D. E. Stoebke has seen this as a name of Germanic origin (1964: 153), there is no doubt that it was in use at least among Livonians prior to Christianisation. Regular apheresis of word-initial *h* in Livonian allows for a link to be made between Livonian *Immotu* and Finnish *Himottu* (original meaning ‘adored, coveted’). Unlike Stoebke, Viljo Nissilä considered these Livonian personal names to be typically Finnic (1965: 81).

**Kurwicz** 1588 Vastseliina (Roslavlev 1970: 34). This name could be directly connected to the bird name *kurvits* ‘woodcock’ and be a peasant’s name, not merely a byname alongside a different forename.

**Mielith** 1582 Tsooru (Roslavlev 1970: 86). \**Meelit*. The old name containing the same stem is also represented by *Mielietch* 1588 in Haanja (Roslavlev 1970: 31). The latter, due to its spelling, should be linked to the Russian name *Мелех* (*Мелентий*), but since the same personal name has also yielded the village name *Meelaku*, it is plausible that the man went by the name \**Meelak*. *Meel-* ‘mind, sense’ is a very common stem in old Finnic names, although Stoebke regarded some of the names with this stem as being of Baltic origin (1964: 97–98, 155).

**Paith**, *Peith*, *Baith*, *Peingh* (GEN Sg *Peide*). This name appears several times as a forename between 1582 and 1591. It could be an adaptation of a Christian forename. In Põlva, this one-time forename became a byname as *Paide*, also *Paidre*, as well as the toponym *Paidra*. I would regard the city name *Paide* in Järvamaa as being derived from the same personal name, and in this context, the personal name *Pait* should be seen as dating back to before Christianisation.

**Udrasz** 1588 Võnnu (Roslavlev 1970: 287). This name could be directly related to the animal name *udras* ‘otter’.

**Talwik** 1588 Rannu (Roslavlev 1970: 231). This name could be directly related to the bird name *talvik*, *talvike* ‘yellowhammer’. Compare to the Võrumaa village name *Tallikeste* and the Setomaa village name *Talka*, both based on the same old name.

A peculiar list of peasants’ names is found from the village of Ahunapalu in the Võnnu parish in 1588: *Pep*, *Tat*, *Rapa*, *Kuryc*, *Paluper*, *Talwik* (Roslavlev 1970: 287). It is not clear whether these are single (stand-alone) names or merely bynames. It is possible that, similarly to *Peep* (*Pep*), the other farmers also had baptismal names which were simply not used when putting their names on paper; instead, the byname in the nominative was used. In one case, the byname was the toponym *Paluper* (*Paluperä*) ‘pine forest + end’. This can be compared to Latvian peasants being recorded under the names of their farmsteads rather than their baptismal names and patronyms.

## Changes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

After the catastrophic events of the beginning of the century, there was a long period during which relatively few farmers’ names were recorded in documents. This led to a reduced need for an expansion of the choice of names. In the 1638 inspection (Rev 1638), where the names of farmers’ sons are also recorded, hardly any of the listed forenames are rare or opaque. The inspections also entered many farmers without their baptismal names, as they were recorded by their bynames, nicknames, or (sometimes) old Finnic names:

1627 Võnnu Hammaste *Wanna Pickenn* (‘old thunder’); Pedaspää *Kottiken*, Latvians *Pudlicken* and *Uhlenbrock*; Teriketsi *Pumniken*, *Kurwitz* (‘woodcock’), *Moytus* (‘capercaillie’). 1627 Kanepi and Urvaste *Meddekall* (‘rotten fish?’) 1627 Räpina *Poeni Nagel* (‘furuncle’ or ‘Pööni Naglyi (Pööni haughty)’?), Jõepera *Parrack*, Naha Russian *Packlan*, Kuuksi *Payo Kungast* (‘brushwood king’). 1627 Vastseliina *Puss Puhr* (Latvian ‘half bushel’), Kasaritsa *Herrig*,

*ein Fischer*. 1638 Sangaste *Tausendt Marck* ('one thousand marks'), Võnnu Kitseküla *Kitz* ('goat'), Põlva *Puckall* ('from *Pugola*?') and *Puhsath* ('withered'), Karula Latvian *Pyllitz*, Puhja *Tetterke* (*Tatar*?)

The one-part native language names of peasants show traces of an old, pre-Christian naming system. During the Middle Ages, a transition was made to Christian baptismal names, and by the previous (16<sup>th</sup>) century, the naming system had developed so that it would contain two parts: a byname and a baptismal name. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the reduced population made it once again possible for people to use only one name. These one-part names most commonly consisted of or were based on names of animals and birds. While a person with a byname-like name could also have a Christian baptismal name given at birth, farmers were referred to only by their bynames. Only in future generations did the two-part name system become re-established as the sole standard pattern. The byname remained an important component of the names of sons and grandsons, functioning as a patronym, but the people began to be identified by their forenames.

New forenames were introduced to the region with immigrants: Sangaste 1638 *Adam* from Saaremaa, *Bartell* ja *Bartelt*, Latvians, Karula 1627 *Barteltt*, Lithuanian, Urvaste 1638 *Brentz*, Latvian, Otepää 1627 *Carll* from Courland, Rāpina 1627 *Christoph* from Courland, Rāpina 1638 *Olle*, Finn. 1627 Ahja *Punty* and Karula *Puntz*, both from Alüksne. Tõlliste 1638 *Ramuske*, Latvian, Ahja 1638 *Roman*, Latvian, Urvaste Reidle 1638 *Royle*, Latvian, Hargla 1638 *Sopka* from Podolia, Rõngu 1638 *Vncka* from Virumaa, Rāpina 1627 *Woytek* from Belarus.

From Russia or named Russians (including some Russian Orthodox Setos as well as people returning from Russia): Valgjärve 1638 *Homma* (Foma), Rāpina 1627 *Ingnat*, repeated 1638 *Jgnats*, repeated 1627 and 1638 *Iwan*, *Jwan*, Põlva 1627 *Lettle Iwassky*, Sangaste 1638 *Jaschke*, repeated 1638 *Jeska* (Feška?), Haanja and Vastseliina 1638 *Köder*, *Küder* (Kodrat), Nõo 1638 *Lewoski* (*Oljoški* < *Aleksei*), Vastseliina 1627 *Ortoma Lesska*, Rõuge 1627 *Uttere Luika* (*Lukian*?), Kanepi Magari 1638 *Lemmest Makur*, Prangli 1627 *Mickita* (*Nikita*), Rõuges 1638 *Kellameh Olessk* (*Oljoška*), Otepääl 1638 *Onuffer*, Rāpina 1638 *Ramana* (Roman), Rõngu 1638 *Saffka*, Tõlliste 1638 *Schymko*,

Puhja 1638 *Syrack*, Varstu 1627 *Zicka Stephan*, Mäksa 1638 *Simusska*, Kambja 1627 *Taross*, 1638 *Tarraszkj*, repeated 1638 *Timuski*, Nõo 1638 *Troska* (Trofim), Vastseliina 1638 *Vntz* (?), repeated *Wasill*, *Wassil*, Hargla and Rannu 1638 *Wetka*, *Wetke*, Sangaste 1638 *Zobbolt* (?).

Newcomers were always marked in the inspections because they could not yet be fully taxed. Many people with typically Russian or other new names were marked as farmers with hereditary rights to property (*Erbbauer*): Kanepi 1638 *Abraham*, Kambja, Röpina 1627 *Cristopher*, Haaslava 1627 *Ebertt*, Hargla 1627 *Fromholt*, Varstu 1638 *Greggull* (son of *Todz*), Piirissaar 1638 *Heska* (*Feška*), repeated 1638 *Jauck* (*Jakob*), Urvaste 1638 *Karpa*, Karula 1638 *Punt* and *Puntz*, Haanja 1638 *Punthall* (*Panteleimon*), Põlva 1638 *Simka*, Hargla 1638 *Tamme* (*Adam?*), Otepää 1638 *Waschel*, Kambja 1638 *Woytka*, Hargla 1627 *Zunzi*.

Russian and other typical Slavic names were in places relegated to bynames, and as bynames, they frequently adopted a more locally appropriate form: 1627 Ahja *Watzko Peep*, Kasaritsa *Watsa Pali* (*Waclaw* ~ *Vladislav*), Röpina *Nasar Pap* (*Nazar*), Erastvere *Kubba Jack* (*Jakuba*), Antsla *Portus kuella* (*Bartoš* < *Bartholomeus*), 1638 Kõlleste *Karrasz Tõnnis* and *Kerdt* (< *Gerassim*). *vatsk* ‘unleavened bread’ and *karask* ‘sour milk and barley bread’, words which have been used in daily life, have been the primarily understood meanings of these names for centuries. Likewise, the names *Nassar*, *Kuuba*, *Põrtuse* and others would not be regarded today as Slavic.

In some cases, Germanic names were also relegated to byname status, in typical Low German forms. For example, 1627 Urvaste *Tilcka Hanns*, *Martt* and *Mick* as well as *Kerig Hannss*, Antsla *Willag Jack*. The toponyms *Tilga*, *Tilgo*, *Kääriku*, *Villaku* and others would not be regarded as German.

Old-style names remained in use in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: 1627 Sõmerpalu *Wilga Kyss*, Kasaritsas *Moldri Kyrip*, Vastseliina *Toppan Kurwitz*, Ahja *Mollocke Meeke*, Põlva *Lange Mees* and *Tode*, Võnnu *Tesagk Tents*. 1638 Põlva *Hurmi*, *Kallasz* and *Kallus*, Sangaste *Kunder*, Rannu Vehendi *Kuth* and *Mell*, Põlva *Lillo* and *Lüllo*, the same names in Ahja, Sangaste *Poena*, Rannu *Pyragke*, Nõo *Tielke*.

The longer form *Hindrich* [hindrik] gained prominence over the shorter *Hinn* and *Hint*. Alongside *Hans*, the original Low German peasant name *Jahn* became more common.

## Rõuge peasants' names in 1684

To calculate the frequency of names, I have taken the list of farmers from the 1684 map (EAA.308.2.178) and descriptive book on which the list written on the map is based (EAA.308.6.316).

peasant's forename (+contemporary orthography)	number	%	original personal name	%
Jahn (Est. <i>Jaan</i> )	40	6.8%	Johannes	17%
Peter, Petri, Petter (Est. <i>Peeter</i> , Võro <i>Piitre</i> )	38	6.4%	Peter, Petrus	11.5%
Peep, Pepo, Pepp (Est. <i>Peep</i> )	31	5.2%	Peter, Petrus	
Thom, Thomas (Est. <i>Toomas</i> )	30	5.1%	Thomas	5.1%
Rein, Reyn, Reen (Est. <i>Rein</i> )	28	4.7%	Rein-(hold)	4.7%
Hans (Est. <i>Hans</i> , <i>Ants</i> )	25	4.2%	Johannes	
Hint, Hindt, Hinto (Est. SN <i>Hint</i> , Võro NN <i>Hind'u</i> )	25	4.2%	Heinrich	10%
Mick, Micko (Est. <i>Mikk</i> , Seto <i>Miko</i> )	24	4.1%	Michael   Миколай	6.1%
Andres, Andre, Andris (Est. <i>Andres</i> , <i>Andre</i> )	22	3.7%	Andreas	5.5%
Hinno, Henno, Hinn (Est. SN, Võro FN <i>Henu</i> )	21	3.5%	Heinrich	
Jack, Jaak Jacko (Est. <i>Jaak</i> , Võro <i>Jako</i> )	19	3.2%	Jakob, Jakobus	5.5%
Iwand, Iwan, Ifvan, Ihand (Est. SN <i>Ivvan</i> , Seto FN <i>Ivvan</i> , <i>Ivvo</i> , Est FN <i>Ivo</i> )	18	3%	Иоанн = Johannes	
Jürri, Juri, Juri (Est. <i>Jüri</i> , Võro, Seto <i>Juri</i> )	15	2.5%	Georg, Georgius	4.7%
Hindrick, Hindrich (Est. <i>Hendrik</i> , <i>Hindrik</i> )	14	2.3%	Heinrich	
Jacob (Est. <i>Jakob</i> , Võro <i>Jakap</i> )	13	2.2%	Jakob, Jakobus	
Johan (Est. <i>Juhan</i> )	13	2.2%	Johannes	
Jürgen, Jürg, Jürcko (Est. <i>Jürgen</i> , Est NN <i>Jürka</i> )	13	2.2%	Georg, Geor- gius	
Kersten, Carsten (Est. SN <i>Kersna</i> , <i>Kärstna</i> )	13	2.2%	Christian	2.2%

Meus, Meos (Est. SN <i>Meos</i> )	13	2.2%	Bartholomeus	2.2%
Michell, Mickell, Michall (Est. <i>Mihkel</i> , Est SN <i>Mikkel</i> , Seto FN <i>Mihal</i> )	12	2%	Michael	
Paap, Pap, Papp (Est. <i>Paap</i> )	12	2%	Fabian?	2%

Table 5. The most common forenames of peasants in Rõuge parish in 1684.

The last column of the table shows the percentage of the total list (about 590 peasants with forenames) accounted for by adaptations of the same original name. The form *Hann*<sup>9</sup> has here been included with the adaptations of *Johannes*, and the fairly common *Hant* with the adaptations of *Andreas*.

Between 1588 and 1688, the frequency of the various adaptations of *Johannes* saw a further slight increase; the form *Jaan* in particular grew significantly in popularity. Therefore, it is understandable that the form *Jahn* was used in the 1686 Tartu dialect translation of the New Testament (specifically in the Book of Revelation and the Gospel of John). After *Johannes*, the second most common name (with its various adaptations) is *Petrus/Peter*. In third place is the Germanic name *Heinrich*, which saw an especially large increase in use during this period. Moreover, the form *Rein*, an adaptation of the Germanic names *Reinhold*, *Reinhard* and others, became one of the primary peasant names in Rõuge. A mild growth of the original names *Michael* and *Thomas* was also recorded. The popularity of *Andreas* and *Jakob* remained constant, but the medieval, typically Low German form *Jaak* lost ground to the longer form *Jakob*. A similar development took place regarding the relationship between the short forms *Hinno*, *Hinn* and *Hint* and the longer *Hindrik*. The frequency of the names *Mart*, *Meus*, *Paap* and *Toots* dropped considerably. One Low German name that saw a later rise in usage is *Kersten* (*Carsten*), an adaptation of *Christian*; its popularity was likely aided by the influence of Swedish names. In modern-day Võrumaa, this name is recalled primarily by the surname *Kersna* or *Kärstna*, although there is also the surname *Kärssin*, which reflects a stronger Swedish influence.

The most common typical Russian names in 1684 were *Iwand*, *Iwan*, *Ifvan*, *Ihand* (18) *Höde*, *Hedo*, *Höder* (8), *Olesk*, *Ällesch*, *Oleets*

9. See footnote 5.

(6), *Ortum* (4), *Tebban*, *Teppo* (3) and *Tiemuss*, *Timuss* (3). Other farmers' names included *Jaask*, *Kussma*, *Ossip*, *Grigull*, *Grisk*, *Illy*, *Klima*, *Omelcka*, *Pahl*, *Savelle*, *Tarrast*, *Troke*, and *Wask*.

Some new names at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century show a Swedish influence: *Lenertt* (*Lenardt*, *Leenar*) from *Leonhard*, *Jöran* (*Göran*) from *Georgius*, *Chersin* (*Kerstin*) from *Christian*. Another name historically related to Sweden is *Punde* which reached its highest popularity during this time; it may be derived from the forename *Pontus* of the legendary fearless military commander Pontus De la Gardie (1520–1585). Evidence of this connection is found in the form of the lake name *Pontus Siöö*, entered on a late 17<sup>th</sup> century map LVVA.6828.4.467), also entered on another map from the same time in a shorter form: *Ponty Siö* (EAA.308.2.88). The lake is located near the modern-day farms of *Punde*.

Other names that came into fashion during this period include *Daniel* and *Priedik* (< *Friedrich*). *Daniel*, adapted as *Tannil* and *Tanño*, became a frequent name during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, some names that were very common among peasants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century had become quite rare by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, appearing only a few times in the records, for example *Tyd* (*Tiit*), *Laus* (*Klaus*), *Pedo*, and *Symon*. Adaptations of *Nikolaus*, such as *Laus*, had by this time largely disappeared from names used in Rõuge. All of this demonstrates that names became fashionable and fell out of fashion among 17<sup>th</sup> century peasants as well.

Difficult-to-explain names from the 1684 list include the forms *Jorts*, *Jähts*, *Mehs*, *Pirack*, *Rudde* (*Rudning*), and *Tunde*. Moreover, without an explanation are seemingly Latvian forenames such as *Prädull*, *Suns* (*Zuns*), and *Unnis*. The monosyllabic name *Tock* (now found in the toponym *Toko*, *Toku*) lacks a clear explanation; it seems to be the final part of some longer original name. In this case, it could derive from various German or even British names which could have gained ground in the names of reformed churches. *Tock* could also correspond to an adaptation of *Trofimi* (*Troke*), and this can be compared to Karelian *Tokki* (*Trofim*). The forename *Tix* (*Tiks* : *Tiksi*) is similar to *Tock* but has a clearer etymology as it is also found as a byname in the name *Tixa Jak* (*Jacob Tix*) from the city of Tartu (Seeberg-Elverfeld 1932: 121). *Tix* could be a shortening of *Bendix*, an adaptation of

Benedictus. Another name that is difficult to explain is *Tappo* (the basis for the modern-day surname *Tappo*), which somewhat surprisingly appears repeatedly in the 1684 list. It could be regarded as a variant of *Teppo* (< *Stepan* < *Stephanus*) in which the source name featured an initialt-syllable *a*; this can be compared to Scandinavian *Steffan* ~ *Staffan* as well as Finnish *Tapani*, *Tapo*, *Tappi* (< *Stephanus*). I suggest that *Tappo* could also be a truncation of the given name *Taplatz* which appeared at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and which gave rise to the surname *Taplas*, with the old-fashioned declension *Taplas* : *Tapla*.

## New etymologies for four old forenames

Important forenames from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Võrumaa include *Paap*, *Toots* and *Kallas*, all of which are difficult to reconcile with a canonical original name. *Kutsik* (\**Kuutsik*) was quite common in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and has analogues in the names of several Slavic peoples.

### Paap

The name *Paap* has been considered a colloquial variant of the ancient Roman and saint's name *Fabianus* (Rajandi 1963). Complicating this explanation, however, is the stem vowel in the genitive form *Paabu* (older: *Paabo*). In medieval Livonia, the name \**Paabi* would have been appropriate, derived from the German diminutive-sounding *Fabi* with the foreign sound *f* replaced by *p*, but the final vowel remaining the same (compare to the toponym *Vaabina*). *Paabo* could potentially be explained by the emergence and ensuing disappearance of a Finnic-style diminutive ending: *Fabi* + \**oi* > *Paabo* > *Paap*. Such -*o*- and -*u*-final diminutive names have been formed more recently in Seto primarily by affixing \**-oi* to the source language *a* or *e*, for example *Ivan* > *Ivvo*, *Stepan* > *Tepo*, although there are also examples where the stem vowel is *i*: *Gavril* > *Kaar'o* (Saar 2016). Such an explanation is possible, but it is difficult to find examples supporting the emergence and disappearance of a diminutive ending during the time when apocope was taking place. *Wabian* and *Fab* are documented names, but the diminutive *Wabo* only appears in old almanacs and in J. Mägiste's list

of recommended names (Rajandi 1963: 557, 1966: 222). Moreover, *Wabo* and *Paap* do not share the same name day. I would suggest that the forename *Paap* actually derives from *Pāvel*, an adaptation of *Paulus* (Greek *Pavlos*) known in both Low German and Russian (Vilkuna 2003: 143). This can be compared to Finnish *Paavo*, Russian *Pavka* and *Papko* (Roslavlev 1970: 35). The phonologically similar \**Paapo* and its shorter form *Paap* (through apocope) would have been less unusual in the Tartu bishopric whose patron saints were Peter and Paul, than the relatively little-known Fabian. The southern Estonian adaptation of *Peter* as *Peep* seems phonologically unfounded, but it is repeatedly documented with the same person's name being alternately recorded as *Peter* ~ *Pep*, [piter] ~ *Piep*. The explanation presented here is further supported by M. J. Eisen's example of the name *Pabus Swiety* from 1582 (1923: 8), which is phonetically closer to *Paul* (*Paulus*) and could, as a full personal name, mean 'Holy Paul'. As such, *Pabus Swiety* represents a comparative nickname, not a combination of a forename and byname. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the name *Paap* was no longer perceived in Livonia as an adaptation of *Paul*, and it was assigned its own name day, usually on November 27<sup>th</sup>, Palladion's day.

## Toots

The name *Toots* has, whether confidently or with some hesitation, been regarded in earlier research as an adaptation of the Germanic name *Theoderich* (*Theodoric*) (Rajandi & Toom 1963; Rajandi 1966: 167). I, however, would cast doubt on this assumption. The initial element \**Peudo* (\**theuda*) of the Germanic name has yielded names with an initial *i* in German and Low German; these clearly include German *Dietrich*, Estonian *Tiidrik*, German *Dietz*, Estonian *Tiits*, German *Diet*, Estonian *Tiit*, et cetera. Rajandi identified the name form *Teuzo* as the source of *Toots* (1966: 165). This, however, is not precisely correct, since the source form with a diphthong could also be related to \**tōutu* names in southern Estonia where the diphthong has been preserved in, for example the southeastern Estonian toponyms *Tōutsi* and *Tōudsimäe*, or where the diphthong has been assimilated in, for example *Tõõtsi* in Pärnumaa. In these cases, there is reason to draw a

connection to the ancient Finnic names *\*touko* ~ *\*touttu*, for which an appropriate Germanic homonym was found (see Rajandi 1966: 165).

The name *Tozo*, *Totze*, derived from *\*Peudo*, appears in the German-Italian linguistic border region which does not come into consideration as a source for a borrowed name. However, the same initial syllable *to-* appears in the western part of the Old Low German language area as well. H. Kaufmann explains in supplements to E. Förstemann's *Altdeutsche personennamen* (1968: 348) that in the case of a falling tone, the original *-eu* ~ *-iu* diphthong became  $\bar{i}$ , while in the case of a rising tone, the changes were  $i'u > \bar{u}$  and  $i'o > \bar{o}$  in Old Saxon and Frisian (*Thūd-*, *Thōd-*). Written examples that dovetail with Estonian *Toots* are found in Förstemann from Frisia at the beginning of the second millennium: *Tozi*, *Tozzi*, *Tozy* (Förstemann 1901: 414). *Toots* could be regarded as a Low German-Frisian loan, which sounded like a peasant's name to the Baltic Germans. Only this could explain why it does not appear at all among the written names of local Germans.

However, this explanation of origin does not reveal the reasons for the popularity (especially in southern Estonia) of the name *Toots*. For instance, in H. Palli's material from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the name does not appear at all in Harjumaa, and only a few instances of similar name forms were recorded in Järvamaa. Even Medieval Tallinn yields only a random example (Stoebke 1964: 70). It would be strange to presume that Frisian, or its close relative Western Low German, had a larger influence in southern Estonia than in the rest of the country.

The examples published by H. Palli from Järvamaa in 1564 and 1571, *Touedts*, *Touents*, and *Touedes* (1959: 604), lead to a new explanation for the name. *Toots* could originally come from an old name containing a diphthong, but it became frequent with a long *o* in the first syllable and became truly popular only when the original name began to be associated with the Christian name *Antonius*. It can be imagined that, alongside the Low German loan name *Tönnies* (> *Tönis*, *Tönn*, *Tennüs*), another name beginning with *\*tou-* ~ *tōu-* developed which was also linked to *Antonius*: *\*Antóuens* > *Tóuents*. The presence of *Antōnius* as a comparison point helped the name in its further development to lose the diphthong, and the old name helped in the disappearance of the *n* (*\*Tounts* > *\*Toonts* > *Toots*). There is no question that the former, less common forename *Tons*~*Tonts*, which

appears as the surname *Tonts* and the farmstead names *Tonsi* ~ *Tondsi*, was also an adaptation of *Antonius*. However, we cannot be entirely certain that *Tonts* and *Toots* share the same origin. No strong influence of Russian vernacular naming practices can be postulated for a name that existed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century; we can compare this, however, to the Russian adaptations *Тόся*, *Тόуа* which also correspond to *Antonius*.

In 17<sup>th</sup> century Rõuge, there were peasants with the name *Toots*, GEN *Toodsi*, as well as those named *Tauts*, GEN *Taudsa*. There was, at that time, no difference in meaning between these names (i.e. they were allonomes), although the phonological difference was already clear; for example, 1638 “Russian” *Waygo Todz* ‘Little Toots’ (Rev 1638: 171), from 1684 in the same place *Waicka Taus Hans* and *Waicka Taus Mickel*, 1765 village name *Weiko Tootse* (EAA.1268.1.401: 98), today the village name *Toodsi*, as well as the nearby village *Taudsa*. I would regard the onetime forename, now Estonian surname *Tauts* (\*Taus?) as a variation of the forename *Toots*, which was closer to the Russian-style diminutive of *Antonius*, *Тόуа* (*Тόša*).<sup>10</sup>

In addition to these names, the 17<sup>th</sup> century Hargla parish also featured the forename *Taits*, likewise a surname today, which I would regard as another variant of the the names derived from *Theodoric*.

---

10. Onomastician Marja Kallasmaa endorsed the claim that the name *Toots* spread from southeastern Estonia into other regions of the country. However, she offers a different etymology. It is known that the equivalent of the Christian name *Theodosius* in Estonian peasant names was *Toos*, genitive *Toosi*, with a variant form *Toss*. Kallasmaa regards two names, *Theodosius* (Russian *Феодоси́й*) ja *Theodotus* (Russian *Феодот*) as having come into use as Estonian peasant names via the Russian orthodox naming system. If these two names spread together as a pair, *Феодоси́й* (*Feodossi*) could have yielded the name forms *Toos* and *Toss* (beginning with a primary-stressed syllable), while *Феодот* (*Feodot*) could have yielded *Toots*. A connection to the Russian adaptations of *Antonius* is possible, but this cannot be the original source (from review by Kallasmaa). It is a good idea, especially when we think back to characteristics of local Russian pronunciation (*Feodot*’s diminutive *До́тя* > \**Dōća* > *Toots*). The 16<sup>th</sup> century Volhynian patronym *Точевич* (found in Tupikov’s dictionary) and the modern-day Belorussian surname *Тоцевич* confirm that a forename (adaptation) like this, containing an affricate, could have been found even as far back as the Middle Ages in the Eastern Slavic languages.

## Kallas

The forename *Kallas* vanished earlier than the previous two; it was still used in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but not in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The name is homonymous with the word *kallas* ‘bank, shore’ GEN *’kalda*, but the recorded genitive form *Kallasse* shows that the name was not perceived as deriving from this word. In the 1580s, the alternative form *Kalawas* was also recorded. I would suggest that the name is an adaptation of a baptismal name where the stressed part of the name turned into a new forename. In this time period, there were very few Estonian-style name adaptations of *Nikolaus* in Tartumaa beginning with an *n*, such as *Niglas*, *Niklus* and others. Moreover, the primary name adaptation used by Germans in medieval Livonia was *Klaus* (*Clawes*, *Claus*), which served as the origin of many old *l*-initial Estonian forenames such as *Laas*, *Laos*, and *Laus* (Rajandi 1966: 136–137). The initial consonant cluster *kl*, incongruent with Estonian phonology, could be avoided while still preserving the syllable structure of the original name *Ni/kolaus*. Also interpretable as similar adaptations of *Nikolaus* are the bynames *Kullus* in Etsaste and *Kullusz* in Kahkva recorded in 1638, as well as the folk-etymological adaptation of the latter, *Kuljus* ‘sleigh bell’, which led to the surname *Kuljus*. Additionally, the surnames *Kallawus* and *Kallaes* were recorded in northern Tartumaa at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and *Kallus* and *Kallasse* in Võrumaal (Must & Rahvusarhiiv 2016). It is also possible to interpret some of the instances of the Estonian surname *Kallas* as deriving from this patronymic byname.

## Kutsik (\*Kuutsik)

The name *Kuczik* was quite common from 1582 to 1591. We can also compare this to 1561/63 *Кучикъ* ~ *Кучекъ* and the village *Кучь* (Truismann 1897: 39; Selart 2016: 67, 90). The Vastseliina village name of *Kutsamäe* comes from the same old forename. The name can be interpreted as deriving from the Võro (and other Southern Estonian) word *kutsik* ‘puppy’ or Mulgi *kutsik* ‘tavern’. As regards the meaning of ‘tavern’, it seems that the old personal name has undergone appellativisation and formed a word with this meaning: Kutsik’s tavern >

*kutsik*. However, we can also compare this to the western Slavic words given below, including the meaning of ‘stall, hut’ for the word *kuča*. The ordinary Estonian word *kutsu*, *kutsik*, *kutsikas* has been regarded as an Old Russian borrowing, and can be compared to the Russian dialectical *кутя* ‘puppy’. However, it appears that the name *Kutsik* (\**Kuutsik*?) was not based on an appellative, but was rather borrowed directly from Slavic as a personal name, perhaps even earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In Eastern Slavic regions, this name has previously been mentioned as a forename: *Куча Игнатъевич Яковлев* from Novgorod at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Kiurshunova 2010: 293). Also worth noting are names beginning with *kuc-* or *kuč-*, particularly since the appearances of these names come primarily from the territory of modern-day Belarus (*ts-ch* merger). 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century: *Куцко*, *Куцокъ*, *Куча*, *Кучка*, *Кучукъ*, *Кучюкъ* (Туриков 1903: 221). Another interesting aspect of this name is its wide proliferation, extending to the German surnames of Polish origin *Kutschka* and *Kutschke* (Kohlheim & Kohlheim 2008: 373). In western Ukraine, the surname *Куцик* [kucik] is widespread, in Russia *Кучик* [kučik], in Hungary *Kuczik*, and in Poland the surname and toponym *Kuczyk*. Russian scholars have explained the nickname-like base name as deriving not from the modern Russian word *куча* ‘heap, haystack’, but from the Novgorod dialectical verb *докучать*, *кучить* ‘торговать по мелочам (to haggle over trivialities)’. The name has also been explained by verb *кучкаться* ‘медлить, мешкать, копаться (to stretch, fumble about, rummage)’. I. Kiurshunova adds a further explanation via the noun *куча* ‘helpless, clumsy person’ (2010: 293). A. Shilov explains the personal name *Кучко* found in the Moscow area, as well as the genitive form *Кучковъ* found in 13<sup>th</sup> century Novgorod birch bark letters, as deriving from an old Merya name: this can be compared to Mari *kičkuž* (*кучкыж*) ‘eagle’ and *kütšyk* (*күчык*) ‘short’ (2010: 43–44).

The Russian researchers’ treatments explain the byname/nickname quite well, but do not explain the forename given at birth, as far as the discussion of separate forenames in late medieval Russia and Belarus is concerned. As we have seen, the name was common toward the end of the Old Livonian period in Estonia. With the *-ik* suffix removed, the name has yielded bynames and the modern-day

southern Estonian toponyms *Kuutse* [kuudse] and *Kuutsi* [kuudsi]. Mariko Faster has regarded these as deriving from the Old German name *Konrad*. In addition to *Kuntz/Kunze*, the most common adaptations of *Konrad*, the form *Kutz* has also been recorded. (EKNR 2016: 268, Kohlheim & Kohlheim 2008: 373.)

Due to the wide circulation of the name, I suggest that this could be an *a priori* personal name, having its origins in the adaptation *Kutz* of the Old German name *Konrad*. In comparison with the variant *Kuntz*, which is widespread in German (cf. the Polish-style German surname *Kunczik*), the form *Kutz* with no *n* seems more compatible with the phonology of the Slavic languages. Indeed, Horst Naumann has regarded the surname *Kutz* as a shortened, Slavic-style form of *Konrad* (1987:184). Of course this name also has given rise to attractive connotations, primarily words with *c* such as Polish *kuc* ‘pony’. I would conjecture that the vernacular interpretation has caused the phonological change *kuc-* > *kuč-*, such that the personal names have developed connotations with words containing *č*, including Polish *kucza* ‘tent, hut, stall, Jewish prayer tent’, Slovak *kuča* ‘hut, stall’, Czech *kuča* ‘tuft of hair’, and *kuč* words denoting puppies in the Slavic languages. Low German *Kutz* could have made its way to southern Estonia without any Slavic intermediation, but the occurrence of names with the suffix *-ik* points to the whole family of names (*Kuc*, *Kuča*, *Kučik*) having passed through the Slavic languages. The southern Estonian language only has a single affricate *c* (*ts*, *ds*); the forms in circulation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century could thus be reconstructed as \**Kuuts* (GEN *Kuudsi*) and \**Kuutsik*.

## Conclusions

The present article has discussed male forenames in southeastern Estonia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The most common forenames were Low German adaptations of Christian or Germanic names, typical to all of Estonia. Upon closer inspection, however, there are substantial divergences between these names and those found in northern and western Estonia. One interesting fact, for example, is the rarity of the purely Low German name *Jürgen* and the greater frequency of the

name *Juri*, brought into Low German from Western Slavic. There are isolated examples of various Low German names derived from old Germanic names, but the most popular peasants' names are related to the Low German adaptations of the names of some of the most important saints in Catholicism: *John, Peter, George, Martin, Jacob, Andrew, Thomas*, and *Anthony*. One exception is the Germanic name *Heinrich*, which was popular in southeastern Estonia; the same is true, to a lesser extent, of the name *Dietrich*. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, adaptations of *Heinrich* grew more popular, while those of *Dietrich* became marginal. Another Germanic name that became popular at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is *Rein*.

The saint-related origins of some peasants' names have remained hidden from researchers to this day. It is important to note the typical southeastern Estonian mechanism for adapting names and choosing between candidate adaptations. Unlike northern Estonia, the preferred forms in southeastern Estonia were often those with the least amount of syllables, shortening wherever possible: *Laur*, not *Laurits*. Adaptations beginning with the primary-stressed syllable of the source name were particularly productive. Although this pattern is not foreign to Low German (*Hans, Klaus, Tönnies*) or to northern Estonia, such adaptations are more prominent among the most popular names in southeastern Estonian: *Bartholomeus* > *Meus*, as well as, according to the etymologies I have offered herein, *Antonius* > *Thocz* and *Nikolaus* > *Kalas*.

The typical Finnic pattern of adapting names by beginning from a primary-stressed syllable has emerged in previous studies as well (most recently in Saar 2016, with good examples from 20<sup>th</sup> century Ingrian, Votic and Seto names). However, it is difficult to know where the primary stress fell in cases where the source name itself is an adaptation of a canonical name. For instance, the southeastern Estonian adaptation of the source name *Bendix* was *Tiks*. This shows that the stress structure of the original name *Bened'ictus* was important for local adaptation. In addition to very short forenames, there were also some trisyllabic names in use (*Pertelmis, Tylokien*). The parallel use of Low German, Latin and Church Slavic name forms presumably served as the basis for the emergence of unconventional adaptations not found in the neighboring regions.

In the development of adaptations, primary importance was given to the preservation of the initial consonant and the first-syllable vowel of the primary-stressed part of the name. Although the second consonant was typically preserved as well, there are exceptions to this. For various reasons, the replacement of a voiced consonant or a consonant cluster with a plosive is quite common in Finnish nicknames, from old names such as *Olavi* > *Uoti*, *Oiva* > *Ope* to modern-day *Ismo* > *Ipa*. The southern Estonian name variant *Paap* developed from the forename *Pāvel* > \**Pāvo* by way of the *v* being replaced by *p*, a plosive with a nearby place of articulation. *Paap* from *Pāvel* and *Peep* from *Peter* are not anticipated, typical adaptations, but rather a pair of exceptional cases.

As expected, Church Slavic names used by Russians have had a substantial impact on naming practices in southeastern Estonia. Many adaptations of Church Slavic names were recorded when the names of peasants born during the period of Muscovian rule (1558–1582) began to appear in documents. The names were also enriched by migration, continuing into the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Entirely foreign names, appearing rarely in documents, often show Belarusian or Ukrainian origins, while there were very few clearly Polish names recorded. The most popular among typical Russian Church Slavic names used by peasants during this period was *Ivan*. Written variants such as *Ihand* indicate that this name was perceived as similar to ancient names beginning with \**iha-*, which were found in this region during the 16<sup>th</sup> century as patronyms and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as bynames and toponyms.

As the aim of this article has been to illustrate typical names in use and to identify the original names from which they derive, it was not possible to look up all ancient name candidates from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century sources for this article. The difficulty with possible Finnic-like names is that, in the absence of context, it is not possible to determine whether a name appearing in documents was the person's individual name (baptismal name, forename) or a byname that could indicate his father, grandfather, all of the farmers living in the place, or something else. Unfortunately, the catastrophic events of 1601 to 1603 and the "silent" period from 1639 to 1683, which yielded very few written sources, effectively divide this period into three sub-periods, such that it is difficult to perform genealogical comparisons.

Among the names belonging to the old naming system of Finnic peoples, *Meelak* was still found in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century southeastern Estonia. The name *Imat* was also found, which, while typically Baltic, was quite common among Livonians in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. If names based on animal names can be regarded as personal names, there were peasants named *Kurvits* ‘woodcock’, *Talvik* ‘bunting (yellowhammer)’, *Udras* ‘otter’ and others. As for names beginning with *\*iha-*, they were preserved as bynames. The rise in popularity of *Ivan*, *Ihand*, and *Jaan*, together with the decline of the name form *Hans* ~ *Ants*, could indicate that the desire to emulate the local Germans with regard to names, which had been self-evident during the Middle Ages, diminished during this period. Some names that I have classified as potentially very old, for example *Pait*, could still turn out to be adaptations of Christian names. Many names appearing in patronyms, such as *Hawapoik* and *Toropoick*, which have previously received attention (e.g. Eisen 1923: 6), have not been analysed in this article.

To conclude, the forenames of southeastern Estonian peasants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were predominantly Catholic names honoring saints. However, due to Russian and southern influences, the names are surprisingly diverse. This diversity continued into the 17<sup>th</sup> century as well: typical Russian names were adapted, the Church apparently did not reject the giving of typical Russian names to children, Old Testament names favored by the Protestant Church came into use, newer German names appeared, and there was some small Polish and Swedish influence as well. However, it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when these peasant names began to shrink significantly.

## Abbreviations

Bel.	Belarusian	Est.	Estonian
EAA	Estonian Historical Archive ( <i>Eesti Ajaloo- arhiiv</i> ). All materials with the source abbreviation EAA are available on the homepage of the Estonian National Archive ( <i>Saaga</i> or <i>Kaartide infosüsteem</i> (Register of Maps))	FN	forename
		GEN	genitive
		NN	nickname
		PN	place name
		Pol.	Polish
		Rus.	Russian
		SN	surname
		Swe.	Swedish
		Ukr.	Ukrainian

## References

- A. S. 1932: A. S. 2000 eestlase nime 1682. aastast. – *Waba Maa* 14.09.1932, p. 6 and 15.09.1932: 6.
- Bystroń, Jan Stanisław 1993: *Nazwiska polskie*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza. (First published in 1936.)
- Eisen, Matthias Johann 1923: Risti- ja sugunimed Tartu-Võru maakonnas a. 1582. – *Eesti Keel* 1: 4–10.
- EKNR 2016: *Marja Kallasmaa et al. Eesti kohanimeraadat*. Ed. Peeter Päll & Marja Kallasmaa. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.
- Essen, Nikolai & Paul Johansen 1939: *Tallinna turberaadat 1515–1626*. Ed. N. Essen & P. Johansen. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi väljaanded. Nr. 9. Tallinn.
- Fabricius, Dionysius 2010: Dionysius Fabriciuse, Viljandi kiriku praosti Liivimaa ajaloo lühiülevaade neljas osas aastast tuhat ükssada viiskümend kaheksa kuni aastani 1610 = Dionysii Fabricii, Praepositi pontificii Felinensis, Livonicae historiae compendiosa series in quatuor digesta partes ab anno millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo octavo usque ad annum MDCX. Tartumaa: Johannes Esto Ühing.
- Förstemann, Ernst 1901: *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. 1. Bd. Personennamen. Bonn: P. Hanstein's Verlag.
- Johansen, Paul 1925: *Das älteste Wackenbuch des Revaler St. Johannis-Siechenhauses 1435–1507*. Herausgegeben von Dr. phil. Paul Johansen. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv. IV. Reval: Folge.

- 1928: Bruchstücke eines Wakkenbuches der bischöflichen Güter in Wierland, um 1330. – *Beiträge zur älteren estnischen Agrargeschichte. Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*. Bd. XIII, H. 5. Hrsg. von der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft in Reval.
- 1929: *Revaler Geleitsbuch-Bruchstücke 1365–1458*. Ed. P. Johansen. Tallinna linna arhiivi väljaanded. Issue 4. Tallinn: EKÜ.
- 1937: Bruchstücke des Landbuches der Ordensmeister für Rujen und Helmet. – *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*. Bd. XXI, H. 1. Hrsg. von der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft in Reval. 43–61.
- Kaufmann, Henning 1968: *Ernst Förstemann. Altdeutsche Personennamen. Ergänzungsband*. Verfaßt von Henning Kaufmann. Wilhelm Fink Verlag München.
- Kiurshunova, Irina 2010 = Кюршунова, И. А 2010: *Словарь некалендарных личных имен, прозвищ и фамильных прозваний Северо-Западной Руси XV–XVII вв.* Санкт-Петербург.
- Kobolt, Erich 1933: Vanemaid isiku- ja kohanimesid. – *Eesti Keel* 2: 50–54.
- Kohlheim, Volker 2001: Mittelalterliche und gegenwärtige Vornamengebung: ein Vergleich. – *Name und Gesellschaft. Soziale und historische Aspekte der Namengebung und Namenentwicklung*. Duden. Thema Deutsch. Band 2. Herausgegeben von Jürgen Eichhoff, Wilfried Seibicke und Michael Wolffsohn. Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien, Zürich: Dudenverlag. 88–103.
- Kohlheim, Volker & Rosa Kohlheim 2008: *Lexikon der Familiennamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung von 20 000 Nachnamen*. Mannheim-Zürich: Dudenverlag.
- Mägiste, Julius 1929: *Eestipäraseid isikunimesid*. Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi toimetised XVIII. Tartu: Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi kirjastus.
- 1936: *Eestipäraseid eesnimesid*. Ed. J. Mägiste. Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi toimetised XXVIII. Tartu: Nimeede Eestistamise Liidu kirjastus.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo & Sirkka Paikkala 1992: *Sukunimet*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Must, Aadu & Rahvusarhiiv 2016: *Onomastika. Eestlaste perekonnainimed* > Nimeede panemine. <<http://www.ra.ee/apps/onomastika/index.php/et/nimepanek/nimepanekPtl>> April 2016
- Naumann, Horst 1987: *Familiennamenbuch*. Herausgegeben von Horst Naumann. VEB Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig.
- Nissilä, Viljo 1965: Tutkimus itämerensuomalaisesta henkilönnimistöstä. – *Virittäjä* 69: 78–89.

- Palli, Heldur 1959: Eeesti isikunimedest Harju- a Järvamaal XVI sajandil. – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 10: 595–608.
- Petrovskij, Nikandr 2000 = Петровский, Н. А. 2000: *Словарь русских личных имен*. Более 3000 единиц. 6-е издание, стереотипное. Москва: Русские словари, Астрель.
- Rajandi, Edgar 1963: Paabu päritolu. – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 9: 556–557.
- 1966: *Raamat nimedest*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- 1967: Koort < Gotthard või Konrad? – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 8: 502.
- Rajandi, Edgar & Harriette Toom 1963: E. Rajandi, H. Toom. Tiiu ja Tiit. – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 7: 435–436.
- Rätsep, Huno 2011: Kolumbus Krisostomus. Kolumbuse-aegsete eesti poisslaste meelisinimedest ja nende päritolust. – *Oma Keel* 2: 17–26.
- 2012: Kolumbus Krisostomus. Kolumbuse-aegsete eesti poisslaste meelisinimedest ja nende päritolust II. – *Oma Keel* 1: 5–18.
- Rev 1638: Liivimaa 1638. a. maarevisjon. Eesti asustusala I. Kaguosa. ENSV Riigi Keskarhiivi Tartu Osakonna Toimetised 1 (7), Tartu 1941.
- Roos, Eduard 1961: Eesti muistseist isikunimedest. – *Keel ja Kirjandus* 6: 341–352.
- 1971: Eesti *meel*-ainesega muistsed isikunimed. – *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat* 17. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat. 77–97.
- 1976a: Inimene ja loodus eesti muistses antroponüümikas. – *Keel, mida me uurime*. Compiled by Mart Mäger. Tallinn: Valgus. 106–119.
- 1976b: Eesti muistsed liitvälised ja tuletuslikud isikunimed. – *Keel, mida me uurime*. Compiled by Mart Mäger. Tallinn: Valgus. 120–130.
- Roslavlev, Oleg 1965: *Das Dorpater Land 1624/27*. Hrsg. O. Roslavlev. Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands. Heft 1. Wolfratshausen-Waldram.
- 1967: *Die Revision Livlands 1601. Estnisches Siedlungsgebiet*. Hrsg. O. Roslavlev. Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands. Heft 3. Wolfratshausen-Waldram.
- 1970: *Polnische Akten I. 1582–1591*. Hrsg. Oleg Roslavlev. Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands. Heft 5. Münche.
- 1973a: *Polnische Akten II. 1586–1616*. Hrsg. Oleg Roslavlev. Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands. Heft 7. München.
- 1973b: *Polnische Akten III. 1586–1616*. Hrsg. Oleg Roslavlev. Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands. Heft 7. München.
- 1974–1977: *Siedlungsgeschichte des Estenlandes*. (Nr. 1: Kirchspiel St. Jacobi (Korbe); Nr. 2: Kirchspiel Rappin; Nr. 3: Kirchspiel Neuhausen; Nr. 4: Pernauer Desscriptionsbuch von 1680–84, mit Karten). München.

- Saar, Eva 2016: Vene õigeusu eesnimed vadja, isuri ja seto keeles. – *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat* 61/2015. Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus (to appear).
- Saareste, Albert 1923: Saareste, A(lbert). 400-a. vanune keeleline leid Eestis. – *Eesti Keel* 4, 5–6: 97–104, 136–149.
- Saareste, Andrus 1935: *Eesti liignimedest varemalt, nüüd ja tulevikus*. Tallinn: Nimede eestistamise toimkonna kirjastus.
- Seeberg-Elverfeldt, Roland 1932: Tartu perekonnanimed 17. sajandi esimesel poolel. – *Eesti Keel* 4: 119–126.
- Seibicke, Wilfried 2001: Pietistische und andere christliche Namen: Zum Verhältnis von Vornamengebung und Religion. – *Name und Gesellschaft. Soziale und historische Aspekte der Namengebung und Namenentwicklung*. Duden. Thema Deutsch. Band 2. Herausgegeben von Jürgen Eichhoff, Wilfried Seibicke und Michael Wolffsohn. Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien, Zürich: Dudenverlag. 104–112.
- Selart, Anti 2016: *The Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery During the Livonian War (1558–1582). Holdings in Estonia. Псково-Печерский монастырь во время Ливонской войны (1558–1582 гг.). Землевладение в Эстонии*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.
- Seppel, Marten 2014a: 1601.-1603. aasta näljahäda Eestimaal, I: kronoloogia, ikalduse ulatus ja sissetulekute langus. – *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri*, 2: 33–49.
- 2014b: 1601.-1603. aasta näljahäda Eestimaal, II: asustuse vähenemine, näljaabi ja kannibalism. – *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri*, 3: 25–43.
- Shilov, Aleksei 2010 = Шилов, А. Л. 2010: Этнонимы и неславянские антропонимы берестяных грамот. – *Вопросы Ономастики* 1: 34–54.
- Stackelberg, F. Baron 1926: *Der Landbesitz im Kreise Pernau zur Ordenszeit – Sitzungsberichte der Altertomforschenden Gesellschaft zu Pernau*. Achter band 1914–25. Pernau.
- Stackelberg, F. Baron 1928: Das älteste Wackenbuch der Wiek (1518–1544). – *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat / Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft 1927*. Tartu. 78–254.
- Stoebke, Detlef-Eckhard 1964: *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Nord- und osteuropäische Geschichtsstudien. Band IV. Hamburg: Leibniz-Verlag.
- Truusmann, Jüri 1897: Трусмань, Ю. Ю. О происхождении псково-печорскихъ полуѡрцевъ. – *Живая Старина* 7/1. С.-Петербургъ. 37–47.
- Turikov, Nikolai 1903 = Тупикова, Н. М. 1903: *Словарь древнерусских личных собственных имен*. С.-Петербургъ.
- Vilkuna, Kustaa [1976] 2003: *Etunimet*. Helsinki: Otava.

## Edenimeq Lõunahummogu-Eestin (Tartomaal) XVI ja XVII aastagasaal

### *Evar Saar*

Artikli alostusõn om juttu eestläisi vannu nimmi lättide avaldamisõ ja uurmisõ aoluust. Edesi tutvustõdas nimevalimisõ tausta: määndseq olliq võimulõ saanu riigiq ja võimukeeleq.

Lühkült kaias üle vähätseq edenimeq 1561. aastagast. Rõugõ kihlkunna peremiihi nimeq Poola aol 1588 ommaq ka tavalisusõ perrä ritta pantu (Tapõl 1). Kogo Tartomaa tavalidsõmbit nimmi 1582 või nätäq tabõlin 2. Tabõliq 3 ja 4 toovaq ärq alamsaksa-saksa muudu ja vinne ni poola muudu nimeq 1582–88. Egän tabõlin om nimekujjõ proovit kokko viiaq võimaliku alamsaksa vai slaaviperätse alosnime ja kanoonilidsõ algnimega. Tabõldõ perän olõvan analüüsin om proovit vällä tuvvaq ka võimalikkõ häste vannu, inne ristiusu tulõkit käibel olnuid õdagumeresoomõ nimmi. Võrdlusõs sada aastakka varatsõmba aoga om annõt Rõugõ peremiihi kõgõ hariligumbaq edenimeq 1684. aastagal (Tapõl 5).

Suurõmb osa uurituist nimmist kõgõ seo ao joosul om tulnu alamsaksa keele kaudu. Kõgõ populaarsõmbaq talupoigõ nimeq ommaq kõüdedü katoliiklusõ pühämiihhiga: *Johannes, Peetrus, Georgius (Jüri), Martinus, Jakob, Andreas, Toomas, Antonius*. Pia ainukõnõ populaarnõ germaani nimi Lõunahummogu-Eestin om olnuq *Heinrich (Hindrick, Hint, Henno jt)*, veidemb *Theoderich e Dietrich (Tiit, Tilk, Tielke)*. Populaarsõs germaani peritollu nimes nõssi uuritu ao lõpus viil Rein.

Eriti pall'o om Tartomaal algnime päärõhulidsõst silbist alostavit muganduusi. Häste tunnõtuidõ (nt *Bartholomeus > Meus*) kõrval om ka üllätävit nigu *Benedictus > Tiks*. Olõ esiq artikli perämädsen osan vällä paknu vahtsõ seletüse neläle vanalõ edenimele: *Paap < Paulus, Toots < Antonius* (võimaliguoq alossõq ka *Theodotus, Theoderich* ja muinasaisõq õdagumeresoomõ nimeq), *Kallas < Nikolaus* ja *Kutsik (\*Kuutsik) < Konrad*.

Vindläisi pruugituidõ keriguslaavi algnimmi mõotus Lõunahummogu-Eestin om teedäki suur. Nimevarra om mano kandnu Petseri kluustrõ misjon 1560–1582 ja inemiisi liikminõ üle piire, miä käve

edesi ka XVII aastagasaal. Nimekirjust lõütüq tävveste võõraperädseq nimeq lääväq sakõstõ kokko valgõvinne ja ukraina nimmiga. Umas võetuist vinne nimmist kõgõ populaarsõmbas sai Ivvan. Kirja pantuq varjantsiq nigu Ihand jms näütäseq, et seo nimi võisõ miilde tulõtaq \**iha*-algusõga muinasaigsit inemisenimmi.

TAARNA VALTONEN  
University of Oulu

## Anthroponyms in the Saami languages

**Abstract** The paper provides information on Saami, especially Inari, Skolt, North, and South Saami, anthroponyms and their use. The paper is divided into three main parts. First part describes the research history and the pre-Christian naming customs. A comprehensive review on printed sources is included. In the middle part, the personal name system is described. In addition to the personal names, also patronyms and matronyms, nicknames, the use of diminutive forms and the cultural customs related to namesakes are dealt. In the third part, information about the surname system and its history is provided. In the end, the author discusses the modern Saami name systems and changes that appeared after World War II, as well as the future challenges of Saami anthroponomastics.

## Introduction

The aim of this article is to give an overview of the personal names and naming of people in Saami cultures and languages. This is a demanding task since there are ten separate Saami languages, several different ways of living, and little research done on them. Some customs that are central and common to all or most of the Saami languages and cultures can, however, be described. The main focus of this study is directed on the Saami languages I know best: North Saami, Inari Saami, and Skolt Saami. Some detailed remarks will also be made on South Saami. This article does not cover the role of personal names in place names.<sup>1</sup>

## Previous studies and published materials

There is still a great deal to study in the field of Saami anthroponyms and, in comparative onomastics, linking Saami materials to materials of its neighbouring languages. There are no comprehensive dictionaries either, but we do have some basic materials that can be used as sources. In this section, I will present some studies that were carried out as well as the most important published materials. In addition, there are several archive collections that contain materials on Saami names and naming customs found in the Nordic Countries, Russia, and Estonia. The main focus of this study will be on North, Inari, and Skolt Saami. Most of the other Saami languages will also be mentioned to some degree.

The history of Saami anthroponomastics is quite old, but fragmented. There have been long periods when there was very little research carried out and times when only one researcher monopolised the field. This caused a need for strict source criticism for modern studies. (Cf. S. Aikio 2007: 639.) In the writings of 17<sup>th</sup> century clergymen, there are some descriptions of Saami naming customs and personal names (e.g. Lundius 1905; Rheen 1897). These writings served as source material for Johannes Schefferus' book *Lapponia*, which was originally published in 1673. The first description was written by

---

1. For information on this topic see Rautio Helander 2002: 78–79 and Valtonen 2014.

A. J. Sjögren (1828: 228), a linguist and ethnologist. This work is based on his own observations during his first expedition between 1824 and 1829 which he started by travelling through Karelia and Kemi Lapland. Jacob Fellman (1906: 672–673), the priest of Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) between 1820 and 1832, commented on Sjögren's description in his entries very soon after its publication, but his notes were not published until 1906. Fellman also gives his own descriptions of both personal names and comments on the connection between personal and place names. Fellman's descriptions follow the high standards that most of his works do and can be used as a reliable source. (1906: 1–2, 152, 299–300.)

The first studies based on archival material, that is old official documents, were carried out by A. V. Forsman (1891), who also compares Finnish and Karelian pre-Christian naming customs with those of Saami, and Ilmari Itkonen (1914) who studied Inari Saami surnames. J. H. Wennola (1899) was the first to publish documents from Kemi Lapland from the 1570s, and some taxation and land documents from the Kola Peninsula between 1606 and 1610 were published by N. N. Kharuzin (1890). P. L. Smith (1938) published taxation documents from the Saami villages Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Láhpojávri, and Ávjovárri (Aviovaara) between 1553 and 1608. Both Forsman's and Wennola's publications suffer from a lack of adequate contextual knowledge and their conclusions cannot be considered reliable. However the materials presented are quite interesting. Although some of Ilmari Itkonen's conclusions have been shown to be untrue, most of his findings are still valid to this day.

Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the amount of short descriptions and studies began to be so great that it is impossible to report all of them. Thus, I will concentrate on broader studies that can also serve as sources for a more complete list of literature. The sources I have used for this article can also be used to locate more studies and descriptions.

North Saami, as well as its names, is the most studied of these languages. The largest part of these studies concerning pre-Christian and personal names are based on North Saami materials, but Inari Saami materials are also well-represented (e.g. T. I. Itkonen 1942; 1948: 492–506; 1962a; Steen 1968: 26; 1952; 1986). Erik Solem (1970: 47–49)

gives a broader description, also including the more southern Saami languages, and mentions a good number of sources as well.

There are several dictionaries that include personal names, either as separate lists or as headwords. The personal names in Eliel Lagercrantz's *Lappischer Wortschatz I-II* (1939), which includes material collected between Neiden in Norway and Tännäs in Sweden, that is to say from several Saami languages, are added as headwords, with all the variants of a certain name described in one entry. Anders Løøv (2000; 2001; 2002) conducted studies very thoroughly on South Saami personal names. The personal names in South Saami dictionaries (Hasselbrink 1981–1985; Israelsson & Nejne 2008) can be found as headwords. The naming customs and personal names of Ume and Pite Saami are very poorly known, and only archival materials can be used as sources. Lule Saami personal names have been published in an additional list in the dictionary by Harald Grundström (1954).

A thorough investigation of contemporary North Saami naming customs with a comprehensive list of sources was conducted by Håkan Rydving (1998a). Rydving also deals with the connection of personal names and *jojk* (traditional Saami chanting) as well as phrases associated with the names. North Saami personal names have been published in several studies, but more comprehensive listings with counterparts in majority languages (Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian) can be found in *Lærebok i Lappisk III* by Konrad Nielsen (1929: 310–315), in a North Saami–Finnish dictionary by Pekka Sammallahti (1989: 524–527), and in a list published by Aage Solbakk (1987: 2–7). Nielsen (1929: 315–316), as well as T. I. Itkonen (1948: 419–420) also have a list of nicknames. There are also Inari and Skolt Saami nicknames in the list of Itkonen.

An interesting source for a comparative study is the *Yliopiston nimipäiväalmanakka* (University Name Day Almanac), published by the University of Helsinki. This almanac also includes the name days for North Saami personal names (since 1997). It has more than 550 Saami personal names and not only includes all common male and female names but also some pre-Christian indigenous names that have not been used for 300 to 400 years. These names have been collected and transcribed to contemporary North Saami by Professor Pekka Sammallahti. The other Saami languages spoken in Finland, that is

Inari and Skolt Saami, are not included in this almanac, but the Inari Saami Language Association, Anarâškielâ servi, publishes a calendar (*Anarâs kalender*) that includes name days for Inari Saami personal names (since 1996). This material has been collected and selected by Ilmari Mattus, an Inari Saami cultural activist. These names have also been published by Matti Morottaja (2007: 95–96). It is important to remember that since these almanacs are quite new, they are not based on as a long tradition as those of majority languages in Finland. Another important source for Inari Saami personal names is the large dictionary *Inarilappishes Wörterbuch I–IV* (E. Itkonen 1986–1991) in which the names are headwords.

Skolt Saami personal names are published as headwords in dictionaries compiled by Jouni Mosnikoff and Pekka Sammallahti (1988; 1991). A short list of Skolt Saami personal names is also published in a magazine entitled *Tuõddri Pee'rel – Tunturien helmet* (2015: 36–37). There is no Skolt Saami name day almanac but it has been planned for several years. The personal names of Skolt and other Saami languages spoken on the Kola Peninsula are listed in a large dictionary by T. I. Itkonen (1958: II: 1039–1054).

Several researchers have studied the popularity of various Saami personal names. Håkan Rydving (1998a) studied the popularity of North Saami personal names in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), starting with the earliest sources all the way up to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some of Guovdageaidnu's findings have also been reported by Smith (1938: 340–343). Odd Mathis Hætta's (2003) study complements Rydving's since he studied personal names in the same area between 1970 and 1999. An interesting overview is given by Samuli Aikio (1997) who compares Guovdageaidnu's findings with his own, covering the most popular names of the Aikio family in Aanaar (Inari) and Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) found in all known sources, starting with the oldest in existence. Hætta's findings can be compared with Anne Nuorgam's (2004), who studied the most popular names given to Saami children in Finland between 1990 and 2002.

Darja Heikkilä (1995) studied, amongst other subjects, the most popular personal names in Aanaar (Inari) from samples taken from 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century parish registers. She did not, however, separate her subjects by their ethnic or linguistic background. In that respect, a

more detailed study was carried out by Heli Aikio (2005), dealing with the most popular Inari Saami male names of the Sarre family between 1700 and 1950. Rauna Mätäsaho (2007) studied the most popular personal names of the Inari Saami Morottaja family. The most popular personal names found in South Saami have been studied by Anders Løøv (2000; 2001; 2002).

The most thorough analysis of Saami surnames was carried out by Märít Frändén. Her MA thesis (2005) and doctoral dissertation (2010) clarify the history and present state of Saami surnames in Sweden, as well as the meaning of these surnames as ethnic markers. Several short presentations with a main focus on North Saami surnames have been written by Håkan Rydving (e.g. 1998a; 2000). When it comes to the history of North and Inari Saami surnames, the article by Samuli Aikio is a superb source with its critical and up-to-date listing of older surnames (S. Aikio 1992: 66–74). The sole, but undoubtedly excellent, researcher of South Saami surnames is Anders Løøv (2001; 2002). The studies by Frändén, Rydving, Aikio, and Løøv have the additional value of drawing on older literature concerning this topic.

North Saami surnames of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) and the old Saami village of Ávjovárri (around present Karasjok) from the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been listed by P. L. Smith (1938: 345–347). Adolf Steen's books *Kautokeinoslekter* (1952; 1986) is a valuable source as well. Erik Solem (1970: 52–53) lists Saami surnames in his book from several areas and notes several older sources. The surnames of the largest North Saami families in Norway are included in *Norsk etternamleksikon* (Veka 2000). Pekka Sammallahti's (1989: 520–523) dictionary is unique in the sense that it includes indigenous Saami surnames that have not been documented in other sources.

The aforementioned study on Inari Saami surnames by Ilmari Itkonen (1914) is a classic, but more recent studies carried out by his brother T. I. Itkonen (e.g. 1948: 506–516) contain more thorough information, even though they are partly outdated as well. T. I. Itkonen (1948: 516) is the only researcher who has studied Skolt Saami surnames. He also published a list of Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami surnames based on older sources and his own fieldwork (T. I. Itkonen 1958: II: 1054–1056). Lule Saami surnames are listed in Harald Grundström's dictionary (1954).

## From indigenous Saami to Christian naming customs

Professor Håkan Rydving (1995a; 1995b: 115–127; 2002: 73–74) has studied the conceptual system that is connected with indigenous Saami, pre-Christian naming customs. He states that we know very little about it, and this might be partially due to the negative attitudes held by Christian missionaries who recorded this information. It is also noteworthy that this information is very fragmentary, and, as it was mainly compiled in the South Saami area, it might not be a reliable source for studying other Saami areas. A cautious approach with strict source criticism is thus a necessity.

We know that the customs included the fundamental idea that a person's name is an aspect of his or her identity: 'To every name an identity was tied, to every identity a name'. It was a mother's task to pray to the birth goddess for help in choosing the name for her child and the identity connected to it. If a child was named after the deceased, this person's qualities were also inherited. In fact, it was believed that this person had been called back to the world of the living, and his or her identity became the identity of the newborn. Because of this, names of skilful hunters and fishermen or women who could deliver children with less pain were preferred. However, sometimes the name and the identity did not match, and because of this, the child became ill or encountered other difficulties in life. This problem could be resolved with a re-naming ritual where a child's or an adult's name and identity were washed away and replaced with a new one. Because of this, one individual can be found in different documents bearing different names. (Forsman 1891: 21–22; Grundström 1951: 50–52, 59; I. Itkonen 1914: 299; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 85; 1948: 506; Rydving 1995a; 1995b: 115–127; 2002: 73; Solem 1970: 49–52.)

According to Ilmari Itkonen (1914: 297–298) and T. I. Itkonen (1942: 61; 1948: 492), Saami had only one personal name in Torneå and Kemi Lapland and on the Kola Peninsula. This is also the case in the South Saami area (Løøv 2002: 59). It has been documented in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) that the first girl to get two baptismal names was as late as 1829 and the first boy in 1835. (Rydving 1998a: 341–342; cf. T. I. Itkonen 1948: 518.) The earliest documents, taxation lists from 1556 to 1616 and 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century judicial documents,

show names recorded in a format that was used in the majority languages of Norway, Sweden, Western Finland, and Russia, which is a personal name followed by the father's name with an affix in Kemi Lapland *-(s)son(n)-*, less often *-poika ~ -poic(h)a* 'son', and on the Kola Peninsula *-ov ~ -ev*, for example *Ackia Mielikiriasson*, *Pilsa Aimo(n)poica*, and *Sarrei Pjaiviev*. The officials in the South Saami areas first used a personal name and the epithet *finn* 'Saami', then later a personal name with a patronym (Løøv 2002: 65).

T. I. Itkonen (1942: 62–85; 1948: 492–506; 1962b: 369–380) gives a detailed list of pre-Christian personal names collected from official documents and folklore sources from all the Saami villages or *siidas* east of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). He also notes which of these names were used further south in the Norwegian and Swedish side of Saamiland according to what he knew. Pre-Christian Saami personal names in the western parts of Saamiland are younger and have not been as thoroughly examined as those in the east. It seems that the personal names in this area and on the Atlantic coast were Christianised earlier, or at least became Scandinavianised.

For example, all the names recoded in the oldest documents of South Saami personal names from the 16<sup>th</sup> century are Scandinavian. This can be compared to Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) of the same era where 45–50% of personal names were indigenous (Smith 1938: 340). However, this does not mean that the South Saami would have used Scandinavian names amongst themselves, but rather when in contact with Scandinavians. Anders Løøv has noted that contacts between the South Saami and Scandinavian population were in older times open and positive which might have resulted in a willingness to borrow names from their neighbours in addition to appellatives. It was only after the intensification of reindeer herding and cattle farming during the 17<sup>th</sup> century that the relationship became more antagonistic locally. It is worth noting, however, that on the state level, systematic assimilative national politics conducted by the Swedish Crown increased negative attitudes as well. (Løøv 2001: 298; 2002: 60–61; cf. Rydving 1998a: 339–340.)

T. I. Itkonen (1942; 1948; 1962b) classified documentary material consisting of approximately 100 names as indigenous Saami names, names of Finnish–Karelian, Scandinavian, Russian, and unknown

origin. As he points out, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish indigenous Saami and Finnish–Karelian names from each other since these languages share a common linguistic history. This has been made even more difficult by the custom of the scribes to translate Saami names into Finnish. Itkonen’s findings are outdated and should be examined with a critical eye. For example, he counted some early Scandinavian loanwords amongst indigenous names, and also had a tendency to count translated indigenous Saami names as Finnish–Karelian names. (Cf. S. Aikio 2007: 633–635.)

There have been other studies carried out as well. For example, Samuli Aikio found around 80 indigenous Saami names in documents concerning the municipality of Inari (S. Aikio 2003: 111). Håkan Rydving counted 40 male names in sources concerning the municipality of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) between 1553 and 1620. The most popular ones, however, are clearly Scandinavian, at least in the documents. There are some female names, also indigenous, in the oldest materials, but Rydving does not give an exact number. In Rydving’s material from 1752, there are 15 female names, all of them of Scandinavian origin. (Rydving 1998a: 340 and the sources noted; see also the sources noted in Hætta 2003: 9–10.) Anders Løøv (2001: 300; 2002: 64–65) only found a handful of names in documents concerning South Saami that he thinks might be pre-Christian: the female name *Ajik*, and male names *Olick*, *Saris*, and *Skarel*. According to Adolf Steen (1968: 23), there are also some indigenous Saami names in the Nordic Sagas, such as *Motle*, *Gusa*, and *Svåse*.

The number of names that T. I. Itkonen presents is quite plentiful if one considers that there were approximately 100 households in Kemi Lapland in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which covers nearly all of the current Finnish region of Lapland. It is interesting that Anders Løøv (2002: 61) notes the same fact in connection to the earliest materials on South Saami personal names, and P. L. Smith (1938: 341) amongst the North Saami of inland Finnmark. It seems that there have never been more Saami personal names than during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is also worth noting that almost all of these names are male names. Only a handful of pre-Christian female names have been preserved in official documents (cf. Smith 1938: 339). For some reason, there are many more female names in old Russian documents.

Both Ilmari Itkonen and T. I. Itkonen note that a surprisingly large number of Saami personal names were of Finnish–Karelian origin in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The numbers they provide might be exaggerated, but such names do exist. The most likely reason for this is that Karelian and Finnish fishers, traders, and later trader-tax collectors, the so-called *birkarl*, had been travelling regularly in Lapland since the Iron Age. This contact area extended from the Kola Peninsula to Norrland in Sweden. (I. Itkonen 1914: 299–303; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 61; 1948: 492.)

Two indigenous Saami female names that T. I. Itkonen (1948: 493, 496) discusses are *Aili* and *Saldaign*: *Aili* is most likely loaned from Proto-Norse and can be connected to place names such as *Áilegas* ‘holy (mountain)’ in North Saami and *Aejlies|jaevrie* ‘holy lake’ in South Saami. North Saami *Aile* ~ *Áila* and Inari Saami *Ailâ* are still very common Saami personal names today, both a variant of *Aili*. According to Itkonen *Saldaign* can be interpreted as *Saldan*, but in my opinion, possibly also as *Saldain* ~ *Saldanj*, following the same declension type as Inari Saami *suoppâinj* ~ *suoppânj* ‘Saami lasso’. *Saldaign* is not in use today and its meaning is unclear. It appears, however, in one Inari Saami place name: *Šaldain|suolluuh* ‘Šaldain islands[dim.]’ and probably in the name *Šaldan|suálui* ‘Šaldan island’, which varies, however, with the name *Uccâ* |*Šaldomsuolluš* ‘little bridge-making island[dim.]’. Samuli Aikio notes that there are six or seven Inari Saami female names in the material he collected in Aanaar (Inari). (S. Aikio 2003: 111.)

There are some constructions and lexemes that appear more often than others in male names. These are, for example, derivational suffixes *\*-j* and *\*-h* ~ *\*-k*. *\*-j* can be found, for example, in a name that is written in old documents as *Aikia*, in Inari Saami *\*Äigee* < proto-Saami *\*Äjkē* ‘time’, which is found today as the surname *Aikio*. *\*-j* can be compared to the Finnish derivational suffixes *-iA* or *-iO*, and the modern North Saami adjective derivation suffix *-i*, such as in *geađgái* ‘stony’. (T. I. Itkonen 1942: 63, 86–87; 1948: 492; 1962a: 132–134.) *\*-h* ~ *\*-k* is used, for example, in a name that is written in old documents as *Mielikko*, in Inari Saami *\*Mielâh* < *mielâ* ‘mind’, and in the place name *Mielâh|vääri* (Fi. *Mielikkö|vaara*) near the village of Avveel (Ivalo). *\*-h* ~ *\*-k* can be compared to the Finnish derivational suffix *-kkO*, for example in the name *Mielikkö* ~ *Mielikko*. (T. I. Itkonen 1948: 494.) Typical final elements are North Saami

lexemes *beaivi* ~ Inari Saami *peivi* ‘day, sun’, which serve as a root word for personal names as well, and North Saami *dávgi* ~ Inari Saami *távgi* ‘bow’ and North Saami *juoksa* ‘bow’ (cf. Finnish *Jouts(a)* and Saami surname *Jox* in Sweden). Some examples of these elements include North Saami *\*Ahkebeaivi* ‘age day’ (cf. Finnish–Karelian *Ikäpäivä*), and *\*Sárreijuoksa* ‘(?)creator-bow’ (<< *sárrat* ‘to divide e.g. sinew to make thread; archaic: to create’). (cf. S. Aikio 2003: 111; 2007: 633–634; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 86–87.)

When we compare the few western indigenous personal names to those that, for example, T. I. Itkonen presents from Kemi Lapland and the Kola Peninsula, we can soon see a clear difference: there are only one-word names in the Western Saami materials, but there are one- and two-word names in the Eastern Saami materials. T. I. Itkonen (1942: 86–87) states that one-word names follow an original custom. Two-word names, such as *\*Ahke|beaivi* and *\*Sárrei|juoksa*, could be loans from the Finnish–Karelian linguistic area. Another possibility is that such names could have come from a construction of a patronym and a personal name. For example, a man called *Sárrei* could have had a son called *Juoksa*, and in some situations the son would have been called *Sárrei Juoksa* ‘Sárrei’s (son) Juoksa’. Later, this double name would have been understood as the son’s name *Sárreijuoksa*.

Indigenous Saami personal names started to give way to Christian ones, that is to say Scandinavian, Finnish, or Russian names, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and this process accelerated even more beginning from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. This was caused by the view held by clergymen and other authorities that indigenous Saami names were connected to a pagan, that is, non-Christian, religion, whereas the majority language’s names were connected to Christianity. Almost all Skolt and other Eastern Saami had Christian names at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and all indigenous Saami personal names disappeared from official documents everywhere during the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is worth pointing out that it seems that the Eastern Saami hypocorisms are very often loaned via Karelian and not directly from Russian, which might also explain this earlier date. (T. I. Itkonen 1962b: 377). (S. Aikio 2003: 109–110; Grundström 1951: 57–58; I. Itkonen 1914: 301–302; Rydving 2002: 73–74; Smith 1938: 340; Steen 1968: 23–27.)

Some of the Christian names that are found in the old documents might, however, be misleading since officials, especially clergymen, tended to replace indigenous names with Christian ones, and as a result, a man who was called *Aikia* might have been named *Anders* in official records, even though nobody actually called him that. There are also documents that reveal that some priests gave children a name other than what the parents wanted. This rejected name could have been an indigenous name or a name that had a connection with a person known to practice the indigenous Saami religion. How parents reacted to such behaviour is not known, but a re-naming ritual might have been one possible solution. However, the name system was indeed changing, and it was a fairly rapid change. Only a limited number of pre-Christian personal names were preserved as surnames and in place names, as well as in Saami folklore. (S. Aikio 1992: 58–59; 1996: 74–75; 2003: 109–110; 2007: 633–637; I. Itkonen 1914: 303; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 87; 1948: 506; Rydving 2002: 74; Solem 1970: 49–50; Steen 1968: 24–25.)

When the Christian names were adopted, a nativisation process took place. The names borrowed from the majority languages were adjusted to follow the morpho-phonological rules of each Saami language (cf. S. Aikio 1996: 74; 2007: 638–639). In addition, the loaning took place separately in several places and in connection to differing majority languages and peoples, of which some were originally Roman Catholic, then converted to Lutheranism, and some Russian Orthodox. Even though the original sources – the Bible and other Christian texts that were written in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew – were the same for all the churches, the names changed a great deal when they were loaned separately to Latin and Church Slavonic. T. I. Itkonen (1948: 517–519; 1958: II: 1039–1056) published comprehensive lists of North, Inari, and Skolt Saami personal names with the corresponding names in the majority languages.

Examples of typical Christian names are *Matthew* and *Mary*. The name *Matthew*, most often connected with the apostle and evangelist Matthew in the New Testament, is *Matthaios* in old Greek. It was loaned into Finnish as *Matteus* and then developed into the hypocorisms *Matti* and *Matias*. In Scandinavian languages, the forms *Matthias* ~ *Mattias*, *Mathis* and *Mats* were used. (T. I. Itkonen 1958:

II: 1046; Lempiäinen 2001: 406–407; Sammallahti 1989: 526.) These languages have been the source for the hypocoristic names *Meehte* ~ *Määhte* and *Maahke* in South Saami (Hasselbrink 1983: II: 893; Israelsson & Nejne 2008: 74, 208; Lagercrantz 1939: I: 474), *Máhtte* ~ *Máhtto* in North Saami (Lagercrantz 1939: I: 474; Sammallahti 1989: 526), and *Matti* and *Matjâs* in Inari Saami (Morottaja 2007: 96). In the Eastern Saami areas, the name of the apostle became familiar through the Russian Orthodox Church and the Karelian language, and was adopted to Skolt Saami as *Maa'tvei* ~ *Maa'tfei* ~ *Maa'tfi* (T. I. Itkonen 1958: II: 1046).

The name *Mary*, most often connected to the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus in the New Testament, is *Mariam* in Aramaic and *Maria* in Greek and Latin. It was loaned into Finnish as *Maria* and then developed into the hypocoristic *Marja* and *Maija* with several variants. In Scandinavian languages, the forms *Maria*, *Maja* and *Maj* were used. (T. I. Itkonen 1958: II 1046; Lempiäinen 2001: 147–148, 150–152, 155; Sammallahti 1989: 526.) These languages have been the source for the hypocoristic names *Maarja* ~ *Määrja* and *Mäjja* in South Saami (Israelsson & Nejne 2008: 74, 207; Hasselbrink 1983: II: 892; Lagercrantz 1939: I: 473), *Márjá* ~ *Márjjá* and *Máijá* in North Saami (Lagercrantz 1939: I: 473; Sammallahti 1989: 526), and *Márjá* ~ *Määrjá* and *Máijá* in Inari Saami (Morottaja 2007: 95). Because the name was already homonymous in Latin and Greek, the Skolt Saami hypocorism *Mä'rjj* is very similar to the western names.

It is worth noting that this nativisation process is also practiced between Saami languages. Hence, a person called *Pekka* in Finnish would be called *Beahkká* or *Behkká* in North Saami, *Piäkká* in Inari Saami, and *Piäkk* in Skolt Saami. When changing from one Saami language domain to another, people tend to automatically change one name variant to another, as is the case with place names as well.

## Personal names in Saami languages and cultures

There is great regional variation in Saami naming customs. However, some common features can be found. All Saami languages are minority languages in the countries – Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia – that

they inhabit. A two-fold naming system developed as a consequence of long interaction with the majority populations and languages. This means that different name variants are used according to context. In official contexts, such as in tax or parish records, a name variant that follows the majority language's naming model has been used. On the other hand, in private contexts, especially in Saami language domains, a Saami name variant has been used. This dual system still exists in areas where the Saami language is used daily, but Saami names have started to gain ground in new domains, such as in Saami media and in the academic world. (Cf. S. Aikio 1996: 74; 2007: 633; Nuorgam 2004: 76; Rautio Helander 2002: 76; Solbakk 1987: 1; Solem 1970: 46–47.)

Several researchers have pointed out that the Saami have used quite a low number of personal names between the Christianisation and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main reason has been the strict naming custom that favours names that have been used in the family previously. In small communities, this has led to a reduced naming system. (E.g. Heikkilä 1995; T. I. Itkonen 1948: 517; Løøv 2002; Rautio Helander 2002: 77; Rydving 1998a; Solem 1970: 52.) The low number of names has been compensated for with a high number of unofficial variants deriving from individual names. In a case study carried out in inland Finnmark, a group of North Saami students compiled all the North Saami variants of the Norwegian personal names *Nils* and *Mikkel* that they knew from their family and amongst other people in their area. They found that *Nils* had 28 North Saami hypocoristic variants, and *Mikkel* 22 variants. (Hætta 2003: 10–11.) Many of these variants might be used only in a certain, small area, or even only in one family, and be unknown to others. Each dialectal area seems to have its own variants. (Cf. S. Aikio 1996: 76; 2007: 635; Rydving 1998a: 342.)

As Saami language domains are, for the most part, private and also largely undocumented, much of the information concerning the traditional use of personal names has been lost. It is, however, possible to describe the way the personal names were used at least during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The following description of traditional use of personal names is mainly based on my own experiences in North Saami-speaking communities in the upper Deatnu (Teno, Tana) River region in the northernmost part of Finnish Lapland and Finnmark in Norway. The traditional use of personal names in Inari and Skolt

Saami communities is very similar, and the South Saami customs do not differ radically from their northern counterparts.

In Saami culture, when speaking of a person, especially a person older than the speaker, one typically uses a baptismal name preceded by a patronym or matronym, that is, the name of the father or the mother, in the genitive singular. It is considered disrespectful to use a baptismal name alone, especially when addressing an older person. The use of patronyms is more common than matronyms, but matronyms are typically used when the father has died young, is unknown, or in cases that the mother is an especially important or otherwise noteworthy person. Sometimes, mainly for reasons of better recognition or namesakes in the same village, the name of the grandfather or grandmother in the genitive singular is added. If needed, even the name of one of the great-grandparents can precede this name, as is the case in the Skolt Saami name variant of Matti Sverloff: *Huâtтар I'llep K̄iurrâl Maa'tfi* 'Huâtтар's (son's) I'llep's (son's) K̄iurrâl's (son) Maa'tfi'. (Cf. T. I. Itkonen 1948: 518; Mattus 2012: 14; Morottaja 2007: 94; Rautio Helander 2002: 76; Rydving 1998a: 343–345; 2002: 74; Smith 1938: 343–344; Solem 1970: 46, 56–57.)

Incorporating the father's name as a part of the official name as a middle name has been common in the Norwegian side of Saamiland, at least since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but of course only in a Norwegian form. For example a person called *Máhte Niillas* 'Máhtte's (son) Niillas' can have *Nils Mattisen Eira* as an official name in which the middle name includes father's name *Matti* + *-sen* 'son'. Following the same custom, daughters can also add their father's name with *-datter* 'daughter' as their middle name. When getting married, a maiden name can be added as a middle name as well. This is possible today for both women and men. This custom produces names that are quite long, such as *Marit Mikkelsdatter Eira Murud*, that is, a personal name, plus the father's name with a suffix, plus a maiden name and the husband's surname. (Hætta 2003: 12–13; Rautio Helander 2002: 76.)

If the person addressed is a close relative (closeness having quite a broad definition in Saami cultures), one is expected to use a baptismal name and a word referring to the nature of their kinship. All older people, even without reference to kinship, can be addressed with the North Saami *áddjá*, Inari Saami *äijih*, and Skolt Saami *ä'jj*

‘grandfather’, or North Saami *áhkku*, Inari Saami *ákku*, and Skolt Saami *äkk* ‘grandmother’, for example *Kaabi-äijih* ‘grandfather Kaabi’ and *Näskk-äkk* ‘grandmother Näskk’. Namesakes familiar to each other and of the same age or an older one speaking to one who is younger can, instead of the personal name, use the North Saami *gáibmi*, Inari Saami *käimi*, and Skolt Saami *käi'mm* ‘namesake’. If the one of them has a double name but the other does not, the common baptismal name can be added to precede the word for namesake for clarity. When speaking of a deceased person, a word meaning ‘late’ (North Saami *rohkki* or *váidni* and Inari Saami *rokke*) can be added after the baptismal name, as, for example, Inari Saami *Ábrámáš-rokke* ‘late Ábrámáš’. (Cf. Mattus 2012: 14–15; Morottaja 2007: 94; Rydving 1998a: 344, 346; 2002: 74; Smith 1938: 343–344.)

Instead of a patronym or matronym, some specifying nicknames can be used to precede the baptismal name as well. This is especially typical for North and Inari Saami, but less common amongst the Skolt Saami. Nicknames were used side-by-side with other names: the baptismal names with a father’s or mother’s name were used in family contexts, nicknames more often in contexts outside the home. These nicknames can refer, for example, to the person’s or his or her forefather’s occupation, to a surname, to the person’s spouse, to a place where the person and his or her family lives, or to some quality of the person. The nickname is typically in the nominative singular. However, a place name or the name of the spouse is often in the genitive singular, while adjectives are in attributive form. Nicknames without a baptismal name were very common as well, and one can say that the invention of nicknames and reciting the stories behind them is practically a branch of Saami folklore. (Cf. Morottaja 2007: 94; Nuorgam 2004: 76; Rautio Helander 2002: 77; Rydving 1998a: 343–345; 2002: 74; Smith 1938: 344–345; Solem 1970: 54–57; Steen 1968: 33–34.)

For example, a well-known Inari Saami man was called *Kuobžâ Saammâl* ‘Bear Saammâl’ since he was known to have killed several bears. A man who was known as *Jovsset Jovsset* ‘Jovsset’s (son) Jovsset’ amongst the members of his extended family in Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) was widely known as *Taka-Lappi Jovsset* in North Saami or *Taka-Lapin Jooseppi* in Finnish because he worked at a consumer cooperative called *Taka-Lappi*. He was also sometimes called *Babel*

*Jovsset* ‘Babylon Jovsset’ because of his excellent skills in the art of storytelling. One Inari Saami man was known as *Tuuru Hansâ* because his home was in a place called *Tuurunjargâ*, and one North Saami woman is called *Báršše Sofe* because her homestead is called *Bárši*. Sometimes the surname alone has been used as a nickname, such as in the name *Sarre Antti*. If the surname is not common, only a part of it is enough, as is the case with the Inari Saami name variant of Pekka Sammallahti *Sevtiil Piäkká* ‘moss Piäkká’ (*Sammal|lahti* ‘moss|bay’).

A nickname could have been used without a baptismal name. One man had earned the Inari Saami name *Piijpoalmi* ‘pipe man’ because he smoked a great deal, and another man was called *Kõdrâsvuei’vv* ‘hard head’ in Skolt Saami for obvious reasons. Some of these nicknames are not too flattering: once there were three men who had earned such names *Tikke Ville* ‘Louse-Ville’ in Inari Saami, *Guonnâ Ville* ‘vulva Ville’, or *Riemu Ville* ‘joy Ville’, and *Skielgâ* ‘cross-eyed’ in North Saami. In Eanodat (Enontekiö) it was common for the Saami to use Finnish nicknames, such as *Jäykkä* ‘rigid’ and *Metso-Jovvna* or in North Saami transcription *Mecco-Jovvna* ‘wood grouse Jovvna’. (Cf. S. Aikio 1996: 77; T. I. Itkonen 1948: 519–521; Morottaja 2007: 94; Nielsen 1929: 315–316; Smith 1938: 344–345; Steen 1968: 34.)

As an example of the use of a personal name, I present the case of a well-known master storyteller who lived in the municipality of Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) and, according to official records, was called *Aslak Guttorm*. When speaking Finnish, the locals used the name *Aslak* or *Aaslakka*, both Finnish versions of the Saami name *Ásllat* : *Ásllaga* (gen. sg.). The surname was added as a genitive attribute when speaking of him to a person who did not know him: *Guttormin Aaslakka*. In the Saami communities of the upper Deatnu River region, he was known as *Luhkkár Jovv’ Ásllat* ‘Sexton’s (son’s) Jovvna’s (son) Ásllat’: his father was called *Luhkkár Jovvna* and his grandfather’s nickname was *Luhkkár* ‘sexton, cantor’, which referred to his occupation as a sexton and catechist. The nickname *Luhkkár* also reveals that he belonged to the local branch of the large family *Guttorm* called *Luhkkáraš*. His surname or the name of his home village could be added as needed as a genitive attribute to specify his identity for people who did not know him:

*Guttorm Jovn' Ásllat* or *Guhtoarpma Jovn' Ásllat* with the Saami variant of the surname, or *Áitejoga ~ Luhkkárbáikki Jovn' Ásllat* 'Jovn' Ásllat of Áitejohka ~ Luhkkárbáiki'.

In his village and those nearby, he was more simply called *Jovn' Ásllat* since there were no others who would have had the same name. Within his extended family he was called, for example, *Ásllat-eahki* 'father's older brother Ásllat' or another appropriate kinship term was added to his baptismal name. His nephews and nieces who were closest to him called him *Nenná*, a unique nickname that had positive connotations of kindness. Adults, however, did not use this name, at least in front of him, as it would have been interpreted as an impolite way of addressing an older relative. The North Saami derivational suffix *-nná* has a diminutive meaning and it is often used to create nicknames and hypocorisms, especially pet names, but also in words of baby talk, for instance *bussá* 'cat' > *bunná* 'kitty'.

## Use of the diminutive in personal names

The use of diminutive personal names is quite common in all the Saami languages. The diminutive has several functions in Saami, but all functions are not applied in all languages and contexts. The use of diminutive variants as a means of showing affection to someone, typically to a child or some other close and beloved relative, can be seen as a prototypic function of the diminutive and is very widely used in all the Saami languages. For example, an old Inari Saami woman was called *Áánnáš-ákku* 'grandmother Ánná[dim.]' by her core family, whereas others called her *Kaabi Ánná* 'Kaabi's (daughter) Ánná', and a young Skolt Saami girl who was called *Äännaž*[dim.] by her family members was called *I'llep Jääk Á'nn* 'I'lep's (son's) Jääk's (daughter) Ä'nn' by others who knew her. We can thus say that such diminutive forms are set variants that are used in certain contexts, but not in all nor by all the members of a given language community. However, some of these diminutive forms have become so established that they have been used commonly, not only amongst family members. (Cf. T. I. Itkonen 1948: 518; Mattus 2012: 13–14; Morottaja 2011: 94; Nickul 1948: 25; Rydving 2002: 75; Smith 1938: 344.)

Another and very commonly used function of the diminutive is to reveal that the named person is one of his or her biological or adoptive parent's namesakes. The namesake can be some other older relative as well, typically a grandparent, aunt, or uncle. However, even a godparent or some other close person with the same name can be close enough for the diminutive to be used. It is worth noting that this custom is documented in North Saami and Inari Saami, but it seems that it is not practised in Skolt Saami (cf. e.g. Nickul 1948) or South Saami (cf. e.g. Løøv 2001; 2002). For instance a person called *Ánddeš* in North Saami was *Ánde*, a son of *Ánde* or *Anders Andersen* according to his Norwegian name variant. This person had an adopted son who was called *Ánddeš Piera* after his adoptive father even though they were not blood relatives. *Ánddeš Piera*'s older brother, however, was called *Máhte Piera Jovvna-Ánde* 'Máhtte's (son's) Piera's (son) Jovvna-Ánde' after their real father since he was not adopted. (Solbakk 2001: 503.)

Some names in North Saami have a special diminutive form indicating that the person is a child of the named person, for example *Áilun* ~ *Áilon* 'son ~ daughter of *Áilu*' or *Iŋgun* 'son ~ daughter of *Iŋgá*' (Sammallahti 1989: 524–525). Such expressions vary a great deal since there are often several people who have the same name. For example, Smith (1938: 344) provides the following variants for *Nils Nilsson* 'Nils, son of Nils': *Nilá*, *Nilhán*, *Niilán*, *Ninnas*, and *Nilki*. Following this custom, a certain Per Balto, who lived in the municipality of *Kárášjohka* (Karasjok), was better known in the upper Deatnu River area as *Iŋggá Piera* 'Iŋgá's (son) Piera', or even more commonly as *Iŋguna gánda* 'Iŋgá's child | boy', without mention of his baptismal name. The same meaning can also be constructed with North Saami *bánne* ~ *bánni* 'chap, fellow' added after the father's name. For instance, *Lemet Bánne* is Lemet's son Lemet. (Smith 1938: 344.)

The diminutive form can be preceded by an adjective meaning 'small', such as the North Saami *uhca*, *unna* or *bikku-* and Inari Saami *uccâ* or *siem* ~ *siemin*. Sometimes, only the adjective preceding the baptismal name has the same diminutive function. (Cf. Mattus 2012: 14; Morottaja 2011: 94; Rautio Helander 2002: 77; Rydving 1998a: 344.) For example, a man who lived in a Northern Inari village was called *Vuoli Matti* 'Vuolli's (son) Matti' and his son was called *Uccâ*

*Matti* ‘little Matti’ without the diminutive. There was also a girl in this village called *Uccâ Kaariš* ‘little Kaari[dim.]’. Her name was in the diminutive since her maternal aunt was also called *Kaari*. Another girl in the village was up to that point called *Maati Kaari* ‘Matti’s (daughter) Kaari’, but when the younger Kaari was born and was given her name, she was given *Stuorrâ Kaari* ‘big Kaari’ as her new name. Sometimes, a father’s namesake has simply been called *Siempáárnáš* or *Ucc(â) páárnáš* in Inari Saami and *Uhcabárdni* ‘little child or boy[dim.]’ in North Saami. Expressions such as Inari Saami *Pärni-rokke* ‘late son’, referring to Juhani Aikio who was his father’s namesake and who died as a young man, show that names that are homonymic to appellative expressions are really understood as names. (Mattus 2012: 14; Morotaja 2011: 94.)

## Saami namesake relationships

It was quite common that the same personal names were used in a certain family, generation after generation, constituting chains of namesakes that were distinguished from one another with the help of a diminutive or nicknames. Even though it is quite common for children to be named after older relatives in other cultures as well, we can point out that it is possible to see remnants of the old pre-Christian customs in this (cf. Grundström 1951: 51–53; Rydving 1995a: 92–93; 1998a: 342–343 and the sources mentioned). Even today, being a namesake of someone is an important form of socialisation and creates a network not related to the blood or origin (cf. Balto 1997: 89–90).

T. I. Itkonen (1948: 517) explains that the North Saami reindeer herders of Inari at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century still believed that if a child was not named after a relative, he or she might be taken back to the world of the dead. There were also clear regulations in naming: the first child should be named after the father’s father or mother’s mother, the second after the mother’s father or father’s mother, but only if nobody else in the extended family bore that name. Moreover, important people from older generations were favoured. Other children were to be named after uncles and aunts, the youngest ones after

their father and mother. The Inari Saami of the same time followed a similar custom.

Heli Aikio's (2005) Bachelor's thesis covers the inheritance of men's names in the Inari Saami Sarre family between the 1700s and the 1950s, and Darja Heikkilä's (1995) Bachelor's thesis deals with the inheritance of names of all Saami in Inari between 1739 and 1757 and between 1838 and 1857. According to their findings, more than half the oldest sons were named after their father's father, but approximately one quarter was named after their mother's father, and a few after their father. Only 5–10% of the oldest sons got their baptismal name outside the family. The second oldest son was most often named after his mother's father. Heikkilä also studied girls' names, and she states that it is most typical that the oldest daughter got the father's mother's name, but also the maternal grandmother's name was often used. The younger daughters got their mother's name more often. However, the inheritance of names among girls was not as common as it was among boys.

Heli Aikio (2005) was able to find lines of five generations of namesakes. For example Antti Saammâlkandâ ('Antti, son of Saammâl') who was born in 1689 had a son called *Antti Aantikandâ* (b. 1727), who had a son called *Antti Aantikandâ* (b. 1759), who had a son called *Antti Aantikandâ* (b. 1787), who had a son called *Antti Aantikandâ* (b. 1827), who had a son surprisingly called *Juhan Aantikandâ* 'Juhan, son of Antti', who was named after his mother's father. In Inari Saami, a man called *Antti Aantikandâ* would be called *Anttii Aantiš* 'Antti's[dim.] (son) Antti[dim.]' (cf. T. I. Itkonen 1948: 517; Mattus 2012: 14). Aikio's findings also show that this naming custom was typical until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century but started to fade at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

According to Harald Grundström (1951: 59–60), who studied the personal names recoded in parish registers in the Swedish side of the Lule Saami area since the 1750s, it is easy to find name lines in which a male and his paternal grandfather or a father and his son are namesakes spanning four to five generations or possibly even longer. This has caused a situation where certain names have become typical for certain families. For example, *Panna* is typical for the Rassa family, and the names *Pavva*, *Huvva* and *Anta* for the Pirak family. Most of these names are male names, but Grundström points out that the female name

*Nienna* is typical for the Saulo family. (Cf. Smith 1938: 339.) Anders Løøv (2001: 298; 2002: 61–62) shows that such a custom is the main reason for the low number of personal names that the Saami communities have typically used during the last centuries. This is the case also in the South Saami area, as Løøv points out, where this same custom of naming boys after their grandfather or father has been practised.

It is, however, worth noting that the Skolt Saami did not follow this custom; the same names were used in almost all families but it is very unusual that the grandchildren are namesakes of their grandparents or children namesakes of their parents. This might have something to do with the fact that Russian Orthodox priests had the right to choose the name for a child, and they were unfavourable towards pre-Christian customs. However, the number of personal names, especially female names, is surprisingly limited, even amongst the Skolt Saami, even though they do not have a namesake tradition. (Cf. T. I. Itkonen 1948: 518–519; Nickul 1948.)

As previously mentioned, Saami typically had only one personal name until quite recently. The first cases of double naming amongst North Saami are from late 18<sup>th</sup> century in Eanodat (Enontekiö) and Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) but in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), as mentioned before, as late as in 1829. In Aanaar (Inari) amongst both North and Inari Saami the first double names were given in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. (T. I. Itkonen 1948: 518; Rydving 1998a: 341–342.) However, in the South Saami area, the first case was documented in 1693, but was not common. Double names have been more regularly given since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Løøv 2002: 63.) In the past, it was more common to give girls double name than boys in all areas. The Skolt Saami, however, never gave their children more than one name until the modern era (T. I. Itkonen 1948: 519).

It is interesting, however, that double names nowadays are exceptionally common amongst the North Saami, women and men alike, especially in the western dialectic area. Even people who were accustomed to using a single name started using their first and second baptismal name as a double name. Double names have become more common amongst the Inari and Skolt Saami as well, most likely as a consequence of this. The North Saami language and culture are known to have a higher status as the largest Saami group, and the smaller

Saami languages and cultures in the vicinity are known to be influenced by them. All of this seems to indicate that double names have become some sort of ethnic marker for Saami people. This phenomenon has become more and more common at the time when the use of patronymic/matronymic names has decreased. On the one hand, this is quite logical since the parallel use of double names and patronymic/matronymic names can be confusing in modern multicultural contexts, but on the other hand, this new phenomenon somehow reflects the old use of longer names.

## Surnames in Saami languages and cultures

There are two main differences in Saami surname customs in comparison to the majority languages and cultures. First, Saami surnames are clearly secondary in daily use in the Saami language domains (Nuorgam 2004: 76; Solem 1970: 46–47). Secondly, at least North Saami have an ongoing tradition of indigenous surnames that differ from their official names. Some of these names resemble their official surnames that are used in the majority languages, such as *Borsánggir* ~ *Porsánggir* (cf. *Porsanger*) and *Hievgemánni* (cf. *Högman*). Some differ a great deal from the official surnames. These are often names for local branches of large families, for example *Ánná*, *Boncáš*, *Gassajuolgi*, *Stiinná*, and *Vulleš* are all unofficial names for branches of the large and widespread Aikio family. (S. Aikio 1992: 65; Rydving 2000: 19; Sammallahti 1989: 520–523.)

The origin and age of the Saami surname system has been discussed for almost 200 years. Jacob Fellman (1906: 152), a priest from Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), wrote between 1820 and 1832 that he was amazed by the fact that surnames were very common amongst the ordinary Saami when, at the same time, the new settlers and Finnish farmers in the southern provinces did not have such names.

Quite often it has been thought that the Saami did not have surnames until quite recently (e.g. I. Itkonen 1914: 297–298; T. I. Itkonen 1948: 492; Smith 1938: 345; Steen 1968: 29). The truth is, however, that we really do not know for how long Saami have had surnames. Since the use of a personal name and a patronym/matronym found in

old documents is actually the way the speakers of the majority languages used to write down their names at that time, officials might have overlooked old Saami surnames that seemed strange to them. We do know that there were some names that resembled the modern Saami surnames found in the earliest known documents from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and that it was not common at that time to have a surname in Swedish, Norwegian, or (western) Finnish countryside villages. It would actually seem logical for Saami to have had some sort of family identifier such as names in the past since the family, and even more so, the family's home grounds, in a Saami *siida* were extremely important. (Solem 1970: 57–58; S. Aikio 1992: 55, 60, 64.)

By systematically studying old documents from the municipalities of Eanodat (Enontekiö), Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), and Aanaar (Inari) around the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Samuli Aikio (1992: 58–60) came to the conclusion that there really was some sort of Saami surname system that was connected to land ownership. The situation is clearest in Eanodat where more than a half of the 200 oldest entries in the parish register include a surname. This could have had something to do with the fact that the local chaplain at that time was a Saami, Olaus Sirma, who was probably familiar with such a system. It is worth pointing out that only the men had surnames; women had only patronyms. Some of these names resembled descriptive nicknames, and were used only for some time and for one person, but some lasted until the present.

One surname used in Eanodat in the 1600s that resembled a nickname, and is still being used, was written as *Sokea ~ Sokia* in Finnish and became the contemporary Saami *Sokki ~ Sohkki* with its Swedish translation *Blind ~ Lind ~ Lindi* 'blind'. It is interesting to note that such names were often translated into the majority languages. It seems that the content of a name was more important than the form. For example, the Saami surname *Nirpi* (contemporary North Saami 'weasel') was translated into Swedish as *Hermelin* 'short-tailed weasel', and the Saami surname *Reusa(c)k* (cf. North Saami *rievssat* 'willow grouse') was translated into Swedish as *Ierpe* (cf. contemporary Swedish *järpe* 'hazel grouse') and into Finnish as *Riecko* 'willow grouse'. (S. Aikio 1992: 58–59.)

Rydving (1998a: 346–478) has presented an idea that there was a pre-Christian system of Saami surnames that can be compared to clan

names. Because of the intensified influence of the majority languages and cultures, this old system would have been reconfigured during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Part of this reconfiguration was that some Saami names were to be translated or used in an adapted form. The idea of an independent and indigenous Saami surname system is supported by the fact that the first documented surnames were of Saami origin, and that the Scandinavian surname system of that time was not always patrilineal or exogamic as was the Saami system. Such an idea coincides with the findings and suggestions of Erik Solem (1970: 59–60) and Samuli Aikio (1992: 55, 64).

An interesting addition is that Anders Løøv (2002: 65) explains that the South Saami had surnames in the first parish records of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. These names were in Swedish, however, but, unlike the Swedish names, consisted of one word and resembled nicknames, such as *Kant* ‘edge’, *Bred* ‘broad’, and *Frisk* ‘healthy’. These names disappeared from the records in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. During the latter half of the century, South Saami got a new style of Scandinavian two-word surnames, and at least one of the elements typically was a terrain word, such as *Fjell|ström* ‘mountain + stream’ or *Rens|berg* ‘reindeer’s + mountain’. Moreover, Adolf Steen (1968: 30) notes that there seems to be a trend in the oldest sources from Finnmark that Saami surnames were being Scandinavianised in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Regardless of whether or not the Saami had an old surname system, it is a fact that in Kemi and Torneå Lapland, and amongst the Skolt Saami, surnames appeared systematically in official documents during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seems that the officials in all the countries were eager to promote the use of surnames to keep better records of the local Saami. (S. Aikio 2003: 111; I. Itkonen 1914: 302; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 87–88; Solem 1970: 57–58.)

Several researchers such as Samuli Aikio (1992; 2007: 636–638), T. I. Itkonen (1942: 88–89; 1948: 507–516), Erik Solem (1970: 54–56), Adolf Steen (1968: 29–32), and Håkan Rydving (2000: 19–20; 2002: 75–76) have classified Saami, especially North Saami, surnames in terms of their contents and origin. However, the origin of several typical Saami surnames, such as *Huuva*, *Morottaja*, and *Saijets*, is still uncertain. Some of these names might have their origin in some proto language(s) spoken in Northern Fennoscandia

before the appearance of the Saami languages. (S. Aikio 2007: 637–638.) According to Rydving (2000: 19–20), the largest part of North Saami surnames are based on personal names, both pre-Christian indigenous Saami, and old Christian Scandinavian or Finnish–Karelian personal names (cf. Fellman 1906: 299; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 87). T. I. Itkonen (1942: 61; 1948: 516) explains that all Skolt Saami surnames are based on personal names with the suffix *-ev ~ -ov* (later *-eff ~ -off*), which indicates that it is a patronym, or names with the suffix *-in* which, according to Itkonen, can be seen as a sign of ‘real’ surname, such as *Kalinin < Kalina*.

Samuli Aikio’s (1992: 64) studies show that most of these surnames are based on Christian personal names. Many of them are also translated into Finnish, Swedish, or Norwegian. Examples include *Eira* and *Erkke < Erik ~ Eirik*, *Matti ~ Mattus < Matteus*, *Kitti < Kristiina*, and *Magga < Margareta*. Some pre-Christian Scandinavian names are also used, but it is not certain whether they were integrated into the Saami naming system before or at the beginning of the Christian period. Examples include *Vuolab < Vuolappa ~ Vuolits < Olof*, and *Guttorm < Gjutorm*. (T. I. Itkonen 1942: 88–89; Steen 1968: 31–32.)

Samuli Aikio (1992: 59, 64–65) found evidence showing that old pre-Christian personal names used as surnames were censored by clergymen; these names were changed into Christian names that in some way, and often quite unsuccessful, resembled the original. Personal names that resembled nicknames were more easily accepted. For example, *Aikio* is based on the pre-Christian, indigenous Inari Saami name \**Äigee*, a derivation based on word *äigi* ‘time’. This name can be interpreted to mean ‘a person who delays’, and because of this it truly resembles a nickname.

In Aanaar (Inari) Samuli Aikio (2003: 111) was able to track the genesis of the Inari Saami surname *Mujo*. At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, three men started to use *Mujo*, or *Moija(n)* according to the documents. When Aikio went through the past records, he could see that *Mujo* was the personal name of their grandfather. It was also, in this case, a pre-Christian personal name that was accepted as a surname because it resembled a nickname, since the Inari Saami verb *moijáđ* means ‘to smile’, but the derivation \**Moije* more likely means

‘to grimace’ (S. Aikio 1992: 65; cf. Fellman 152; I. Itkonen 1914: 308; T. I. Itkonen 1948: 494–495).

Many Saami surnames are also based on real nicknames. Many of these names have been translated into the majority languages as well. Most often, such names describe a personal quality or reveal a profession. For example, Norwegian *Halt* ~ *Halta* and its Finnish translation *Rampa* ‘cripple’, *Valkeapää* ~ *Valkiapää* ‘white head’, *Utsi* ~ *Uts* (cf. North Saami *uhcci* ‘small’) and its Norwegian translation *Lille* ‘small’ or *Kateketa* ~ *Katekeetta* ‘catechist’, *Lukkar* ~ *Lukkari* < *klockare* ~ *klokker* ‘sexton’, *Tolk* ‘translator’, and *Trane* ‘blubber cooker’. Less typical are surnames based on other subjects, such as body parts, animals, or natural phenomenon. For example Finnish *Suoro* ‘animal’s penis; man’s cock [vulg.]’ or *Goddasj* (cf. modern North Saami *gottás* ‘wild reindeer [dim.]’). (S. Aikio 1992: 64, 68, 70, 74; Fellman 1906: 152; T. I. Itkonen 1942: 89; 1948: 521; Solem 1970: 54; Steen 1968: 29–32.)

Some surnames are based on place names. It seems that some of these names are quite new but some are very old. Jacob Fellman (1906: 299–300) points out that a person or a family and a place can have the same name, and such names can be found in the earliest parish records (S. Aikio 1992: 64). Such very well-known surnames include *Nuorgam* (cf. the village of Nuorgam in Ohcejohka), and *Paadar* (cf. the lake Páádaár in Aanaar) (T. I. Itkonen 1942: 89; 1948: 510–511). Erik Solem (1970: 54) explains that some of these names could have been nicknames that were given to people who came from these places. The surnames *Kemi* and *Somby* (< *Sompio*), found in Finnmark, could be reminiscent of the name bearers’ forefathers’ original homesteads.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it became typical for the Saami to either be named or advised to adopt the name of their homestead or farm as their surname. According to Løøv (2002: 65), some clergymen in the South Saami area during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century started to systematically give the Saami the name of the mountain area where they made their livelihood. This custom followed the way that Scandinavian agriculturalists were advised to adopt a surname. The only difference was that the Saami did not have farms, but mountain areas instead. A bit later, the South Saami themselves started to replace their old surnames based on patronyms with names that resembled names

of nobility, such as *Renhufvud*. Typical elements in these two-word names are, for example *ren* ‘reindeer’ and *ffjell* ~ *ffjäll* or *berg* ‘mountain’. However, some South Saami surnames survived through these changes, such as *Bientie*, *Doj*, *Dorra*, *Jilker*, *Jåma*, *Kant*, *Kråik*, *Labj* ~ *Labje*, *Nejne*, *Sparrok*, *Wilks*, and *Winka* (Løøv 2001: 301).

At the beginning of the so-called Norwegianisation period in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Norway, officials practically forced the Sea Saami as well as other settled farming Saami to give up their Saami surnames and start using patronyms like the Norwegians did. Another option was to use the name of the farm. As a consequence, Saami surnames are still divided according to the families’ past livelihoods: reindeer herding Saami have Saami surnames, but those who had other occupations have typical Norwegian surnames. (Hætta 2003: 12–13; Solem 1970: 47.)

Märit Frändén’s (2010) doctoral dissertation examines Saami surnames in Sweden. One of her research question was if the surnames of the Saami differ from those of the Swedes. Her findings were that the surnames in the northernmost part of Sweden vary significantly, but there are fewer surnames that can be recognized as Saami further south. Her findings were verified by Harald Grundström (1951: 58–59) who explains that all the surnames of the Saami in Lule Lapland since the 1750s can be considered Saami. Frändén also studied the changing of surnames between 1920 and 2004. Her findings were that all the Saami and Finnish surnames that were changed up until the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were replaced by names formed from Swedish name elements. This, according to her interpretation, means that these names were strongly connected to Saami ethnicity which, at that time, seemed to have a negative impact on the name bearers.

There are no studies that have been systematically carried out in Finland, but as far as I know, there has never been such a clear change in surnames as in Norway or Sweden. Some people have changed their surnames, but mainly for practical reasons. Some families have changed their names because, for example, there were so many families with the same name. For instance, the Skolt Saami surname *Semenoff* has been changed to *Semenoja* and *Gauriloff* to *Killanen*. In Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) some members of the large Guttorm family changed their name to *Suomenrinne* and others changed it to *Keva*. One branch of the Paltto family changed its name to *Tenoranta* after

its newly established farm. The obvious connection to the Russian naming tradition might have been stigmatising for some in the Skolt Saami case as a negative attitude towards eastern influences prevailed in Finland after World War II.

Another group is composed of families that have changed their Saami surnames to Finnish after they have started to identify themselves as Finns as a result of many generations of marriages with new Finnish settlers. A typical case can be seen with a Jouni Morottaja in Aanaar (Inari), who married the daughter of a Finnish settler in the 1790s and set up a farm. All the male descendants of Morottaja married Finnish girls and later adopted Finnish surnames based on the names of their homestead: *Akujärvi*, *Mannermaa*, *Kiviniemi*, *Kyrö*, and *Huhtamella*. (I. Itkonen 1914: 307.)

## New naming customs

Saami naming customs have been influenced by neighbouring majority languages and cultures for a long time. In those areas where the Saami were a minority, influence from the majority languages started to intensify and caused changes to Saami naming customs in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This influence intensified rapidly even in the core Saami areas during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after World War II. One of the starting points for this rapid change was most likely the more intensive contacts with majority populations that began during the war and the extensive evacuation of the civil population of the northernmost part Fennoscandia to more southern areas. Since the war and reconstruction period, the most important mediators of new naming customs have been school and the media. (Cf. H. Aikio 2005; Grundström 1951: 60–61; Løøv 2002: 66; Mätäsaho 2007.)

The most evident change has been that the quite limited set of typical names that were used in each family, generation after generation, started to give way to new names; the most popular names of the majority languages or names that were loaned from abroad. This also started to break down Saami naming customs since the Saami followed the non-Saami naming trends of the nation they lived in. The change was fastest amongst the settled Saami who did not herd

reindeer. Even in the area of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), where the Saami are a majority, old naming customs started to change. Factors behind this change included the weak status of the Saami language and culture, as well as a traditional naming custom with many namesakes, the latter of which started to become tiresome to some people. (H. Aikio 1995; Balto 1997: 86; Mätäsaho 2007.)

The revitalisation of Saami language and culture, which started in the 1970s, began a change in circumstances: the trend was now to return to Saami customs. The Saami started to think that it was not enough to have an unofficial Saami name, but also wanted their Saami names to be made official. In the beginning, especially in Norway, this met with strict opposition from the authorities, but since the 1990s Saami names have been accepted in official use. (Balto 1997: 87–88; Hætta 2003: 9–10, 14; Solbakk 1987: 1.) In Finland, the 1991 Saami Language Act (*Laki saamen kielen käyttämisestä viranomaisissa*) made it possible to use Saami names as official names. In practice, it took time to incorporate the law as the computer system used by the Population Register Centre of Finland was not able to apply the Saami letters *á, ä, č, η, š, t, and ž* before the end of 1999. (Nuorgam 2004: 76.)

Odd Mathis Hætta (2003: 14–15, 41) studied the naming customs of the Saami-speaking municipality of Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) between 1970 and 1999. According to his study, there was no drastic change in the naming customs of Guovdageaidnu. The same names were popular year after year, and most of them were still written as Norwegian variants. However, in spoken language, they used Saami variants. Naming children after close relatives was still common but its popularity was diminishing. This new era provided new opportunities to choose what was the most important for a child: a connection with a grandparent or connection with a football star or foreign princess. The greater number of ethnically mixed marriages had its effects on naming as well. An interesting feature is that the typical Norwegian names were very rare in Guovdageaidnu. Loaned names were often Norwegian or English in origin, but especially the most favored Norwegian names were typically unpopular on a national scale. They were commonly used in double names in which one name was Saami, such as *Lloyd Mikkel, Elle Martine, or Jovsset Thomas*. These names represent a combination of Saami and international identities.

According to Asta Balto (1997: 85), it is more and more common for Saami children not to learn to use kinship terminology and a patronym/matronym with personal names. As being named after older relatives or godparents has started to decrease, the worldview behind it has also started to fade: while in the past the idea was to transfer, spiritually or concretely, the qualities and skills of the namesake to the child, the new idea is to honour the namesake. The use of grandparent's names is still considered normal, especially amongst reindeer-herding Saami, but the names from both the mother's and father's side are treated even-handedly.

Since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, an interest in pre-Christian Saami names and naming rituals has grown, and old customs, such as giving names after relatives, have become more popular again (Balto 1997: 87–88; Hætta 2003: 9–10). Anne Nuorgam studied the selection of personal names in Saami families in Finland in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. She explains that it has become more popular to choose a Saami name than ever before in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 2002, almost half of all Saami families in Finland chose a Saami personal name for their child. However, since the Saami have to cope with being in the majority society, some have chosen names that do not have *đ*, *č*, *ŋ*, *š*, *ț*, or *ž*; the letter *á* is, however, considered unproblematic. Saami names that can be written without any special letters, such as *Risten* or *Niillas*, are favoured. (Nuorgam 2004: 76–77.)

The aforementioned University Name Day Almanac, which has compiled North Saami names since 1997, and the composing of the Inari Saami calendar since 1996, have had an empowering effect amongst the Saami living in Finland. For the first time in these almanacs, Saami names have gained equal status to the majority languages, and the indigenous names that were previously banned have been rehabilitated again. It is worth noting that it is also valuable for the Saami people to see the correct written forms of their own names since the Saami language was not taught in schools for a long time and many Saami cannot write in their mother tongue. (S. Aikio 1996; Nuorgam 2004: 77; Rydving 1998b: 81–82.)

This revitalisation can also be seen in South Saami naming customs. During the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the South Saami started to use such name variants or

hypocorisms that had previously only been in oral use for their baptismal names. Some South Saami have also started to research and reuse old Saami surnames that were once prohibited and had been replaced by Scandinavian names. (Løøv 2001: 301; 2002: 64–65.)

## Conclusions

Saami anthroponyms are a fascinating topic for a researcher because Saami forms an independent language and cultural group that has been in contact with its neighbouring languages and cultures for centuries yet has still retained its own special features. Until recently Saami onomastics have suffered from the lack of a theoretical and methodological approach, and most of the literature concerning this subject has been merely descriptive. One of the reasons for this is that older publications have been written by outsiders or people who did not have any actual connections with the Saami. Another reason is that anthroponyms have often been considered to be the mere footnotes of research with other objectives, and there has not been a need or desire to do any further analysis than describing the material.

I hope that in the future we will see studies based on large corpora that are limited to a certain time and spatial context. This lack of delimitation is one of the cardinal faults of many studies concerning Saami languages and cultures. The Saami are not a homogenous group. Instead, they form a whole complex of small languages, dialects, cultures, and subcultures in an area more than 1,500 kilometres long, reaching across four countries, including several ecological zones, such as dense forests, lake lands, mountains, tundra, and coastal areas.

Special attention should be given to a study on the smallest Saami groups, such as Ume and Pite Saami, since we do not have, at this stage, any published descriptions or name lists to use. The connection between Lule Saami and South Saami remains unstudied. The names and naming customs of the East Saami should also be studied in more detail. We know that many practices of the pre-Christian religion have survived best amongst the East Saami. We also know, however, that

their practices differ in nature from western Saami counterparts. Another issue is that East Saami names have mainly been compared to Russian anthroponyms. My opinion is that future studies should focus on the contacts between the Saami and Karelians since it seems that the latter have served as intermediaries for the loaning of Russian words into the Saami languages, including even Inari Saami. This is most likely the case with anthroponyms as well. A systematic clarification of the nature and age of these anthroponyms and perhaps even more eastern contacts could significantly complete the whole cultural history of the East Saami and the extinct Saami groups from present southern Finnish Lapland.

Current naming practices in Saami communities are an interesting subject as well. All the studies carried out at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century show that the use of Saami names has become more popular, and that the Saami people have a growing interest in their old indigenous naming customs. What is the situation now more than a decade later? Have the Saami started to use the names from the new Saami name day almanac, especially the old indigenous names? Have the Saami started to change the way they write their names? Have Saami names been gaining more space in the media and other domains? These and many other questions still remain unanswered, but hopefully not for long.

## References

- Aikio, Heli 2005: Sarre soga albmáidnamaid árben 1700-logu 1900-logu beallemuddui. Unpublished BA theses, University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute for Saami Studies.
- Aikio, Samuli 1992: Samiska släktnamn från 1600- och 1700-talen. – *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 10. 55–76.
- 1996: Saamelaisista nimistä. – *Yliopiston nimipäiväalmanakka* 1997. 74–78.
- 1997: Entisajan yleisimmät saamelaisimet. – *Yliopiston nimipäiväalmanakka* 1998. 74–76.
- 2003: Inarin ja inarilaisten nimiä. – Veli-Pekka Lehtola (ed.), *Inari – Aanaar. Inarin historia jääkaudesta nykyaikaan*. Inarin kunta, Inari. 97–113.
- 2007: Das saamische Personennamensystem. – Andrea Brendler & Silvio Brendler (eds.), *Europäische Personennamensysteme. Ein Handbuch von Abasisch bis Zentralladinisch*. Hamburg: Baar-Verlag. 632–640.
- Balto, Asta 1997: *Sámi mánáidbajásgeassin nuppástuvvá*. Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal.
- Fellman, Jacob 1906: *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken. 3. delen. Lappmarkerna Land och Folk företrädesvis de finska*. Helsingfors.
- Forsman, A. V. 1891: *Pakanuuden aikainen nimistö*. Johdanto. *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla* 1. Helsinki.
- Frändén, Märit 2005: *Släktnamn på Fjäll-. En diakronisk studie med särskild tonvikt på samiska förhållanden*. Opuscula Uralica 8. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Finsk-ugriska institutionen.
- 2010: "Att blotta vem jag är". *Släktnamnsskick och släktnamnsbyten hos samer i Sverige 1920–2009*. Namn och samhälle 23. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk.
- Grundström, Harald 1951: Lapskt namnskick. – *Arv* 6 (1950). 50–61.
- 1954: *Lulelappsk ordbok*. Skrifter utgivna genom Landsmåls- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala. Ser. C: 1. Uppsala: Landsmåls- och folkminnesarkivet.
- Kharuzin 1890 = Харузинъ, Николай Николаевичъ: Русские лопари. Очерки прошлаго и современнаго быта. Москва: Товарищество скоропечатни А. А. Левенсонъ.

- Hasselbrink, Gustav 1981–1985: *Oårj'elsaamien baaguog'ärjaa. Südlappisches Wörterbuch. I–III*. Skrifter utgivna genom Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala. Ser. C: 4. Uppsala: Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet.
- Heikkilä, Darja 1995: Olbmonamaid johtin sogas Anáris 1739–1757 ja 1838–1857. – *Odda Sápmelaš* 11–12/1995. 6–7.
- Hætta, Odd Mathis 2003: *Samiske personnavn i Kautokeino gjennom 30 år (1970–1999)*. HIF-Rapport 2003:10. Alta: Høgskolen i Finnmark, Avdeling for pedagogiske og humanistiske fag.
- Israelsson, Per-Martin & Sakka Nejne 2008: *Svensk–sydsamisk sydsamisk–svensk ordbok och ortnamn. Daaroen–åarjelsaemien åarjelsaemien–daaroen baakoegärja jih sijjienommh*. Saemiedigkie – Sametinget, Kiruna. In Internet: <ordbok.sametinget.se>
- Itkonen, Erkki 1986–1991: *Inarilappisches Wörterbuch I–IV*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XX. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Itkonen, Ilmari 1914: Inarinlappalaiset sukunimet ja suvut. – *Jouko* 2. 297–316.
- Itkonen, T. I. 1942: Suomen-, kuolan- ja ruijanlappalaisten vanhat henkilönimet. – *Virittäjä* 55. 60–89.
- 1948: *Suomen lappalaiset vuoteen 1945. 2*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- 1958: *Koltan- ja kuolanlappin sanakirja I–II*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XV. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- 1962a: Kuivi, ein heiliger Ort der Lappen. – *Commentationes Fenno-Ugricae in honorem Paavo Ravila*. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 125. 127–138.
- 1962b: Lappalaisia henkilönnimiä 1500- ja 1600-luvuilta – *Virittäjä* 66. 368–381.
- Lagercrantz, Eliel 1939: *Lappischer Wortschatz I–II*. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae VI. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Lempiäinen, Pentti 2001: *Suuri etunimikirja*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Lundius, Nicolaus 1905[1670s]: *Descriptio Lapponiæ*. Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen ock svenskt folkliv 17, 5. Uppsala: Wretman.
- Løøv, Anders 2000: Dopnamn bland sydsamerna på 1700- och 1800-talet. – *Hur* Nr 6. 92–160.
- 2001: Tauf- und Familienamen der Südsamen 1700–2000. – Tõnu Seilenthal (ed.), *Congressus Nonus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum 7.–13.8.2000 Tartu. Pars V*. Tartu: Congressus. 297–302.
- 2002: Sørsamiske personnavn fra førkristen tid til nåtid. – Svavar Sigmundsson (ed.), *Kristendommens indflydelse på nordisk navngivning. Rapport fra NORNA's 28. symposium i Skálholt 25.–28. maj 2000*. NORNA-Rapporter 74. Uppsala: NORNA-förlaget. 59–66.

- Mattus, Ilmari 2012: Kaab Irjánâš. – *Anarâš* Juovlâmáánu 2012. 12–16.
- Morottaja, Matti 2007: *Anarâškielâ ravvuuh*. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 144. Helsing: Päikkieennâm Kielâi tutkâmkuávdáš.
- Mosnikoff, Jouni & Pekka Sammallahti 1988: *U'cc säám-lää'dd sää'nn-keärjaž. Pieni koltansaame–suomi sanakirja*. Ohcejohka: Jorgaleaddji.
- 1991: *Suomi–koltansaame sanakirja. Lää'dd–säám sää'nnker'jj*. Ohcejohka: Girjegiisá.
- Mätäsaho Rauna 2007: Morottaja soga ovdanammat 1900-logus. Unpublished BA theses, University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute for Saami Studies.
- Nickul, Karl 1948: *The Skolt Lapp Community Suenjelsijd during the Year 1938*. Acta Lapponica 5. Stockholm: Hugo Gebers.
- Nielsen, Konrad 1929: *Lærebok I Lappisk III. Glossar*. Oslo: A. W. Brøggers Boktrykkeris Forlag.
- Nuorgam, Anne 2004: Saamenkielisten nimistä. – *Yliopiston nimipäiväalmanakka* 2005. 76–77.
- Rautio Helander, Kaisa 2002: Personnavn I nordsamisk navnetradisjon. – Tove Bull, Endre Mørck & Toril Swan (ed s.), *Venneskrift til Gulbrand Alhaug*. Tromsø: Universitetet i Tromsø, Det humanistiske fakultet. 76–80.
- Rheen, Samuele 1897[1671]: *En kortt relation om lapparnes lefwarne och sedher, wijdskiepellsser, sampt i många stycken grofwie wildfarellsser*. Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folkliv 17, 1. Uppsala: Harald Wretman.
- Rydving, Håkan 1995a: Namnbyten i samisk tradition. – *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 13. 89–99.
- 1995b: *The end of drum-time. Religious change among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*. Historia Religiorum 12. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- 1998a: Namn och identitet i nordsamisk kontext. – Thorsten Andersson, Eva Brylla & Anita Jacobson-Widding (eds.), *Personnamn och social identitet. Handlingar från ett Natur och Kultur-symposium i Sigtuna 19–22 september 1996*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international. 337–359.
- 1998b: En samisk namnlängd. – *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 16. 81–87.
- 2000: Nordsamiske slektsnamn. – Olav Veka, *Norsk etternamnleksikon*. Oslo: Det norske samlaget. 19–21.
- 2002: Saami place-names and personal names in Nordic countries. – *Onoma* 37. 69–79.
- Sammallahti, Pekka 1989: *Sámi–suoma sátnegirji. Saamelais–suomalainen sanakirja*. Ohcejohka: Jorgaleaddji.

- Scheffer, Johannes 1673: *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia, Id est, Regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio. In qua multa de origine, superstitione, sacris magicis, victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item animalium, metallorumque indole quae in terris eorum proveniunt, hactenus incognita.* Francofurti: Ex Officina Christiani Wolffii.
- Sjögren, Anders Johan 1828: *Anteckningar om församlingarne i Kemi-Lappmark.* Helsingfors.
- Smith, P. L. 1938: *Kautokeino og Kautokeino-lappene. En historisk og ergologisk regionalstudie.* Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Solbakk, Aage 1987: *Sámegiell olbmonamat. – Sámás 3.* Oslo: Tiden norsk forlag. 1–7.
- 2001: *Deanuleahki. Sogat, historjá. Kárášjohka: Čálliidlágádus.*
- Solem, Erik 1970[1933]: *Lappiske rettsstudier.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Steen, Adolf 1952: *Kautokeinoslekter.* Samiske samlinger bd 1. Oslo: Norsk Folkemuseum.
- 1968: *Samene. Emner og oppslag 2.* Trondheim: Norges samemisjon.
- 1986: *Kautokeinoslekter.* Samiske samlinger bd 14. Oslo: Norsk Folkemuseum.
- Tuõddri pee'rel. Mainnâz saa'mi kulttuur, jie'llem da oummui pirr.* 2015.
- Valtonen, Taarna 2014: *Mielen laaksot. Mielen vuemieh. Miela vuomit. Mielâ vyemeh. Miõl vue'm. Neljän saamen kielen paikannimien rakenne, sanasto ja rinnakkaisnimet vähemmistö–enemmistö-suhteiden kuvastajina.* Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 271. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Veka, Olav 2000: *Norsk etternamnleksikon.* Oslo: Det norske samlaget.
- Wennola, J. H. 1899: *Muistiinpanoja Suomen Lapin nimistöstä 1570-luvulta. – Virittäjä 3.* 64–70.

## Sámegielaide olbmonamat

### *Taarna Valtonen*

Dát artihkal guorahallá sámegielaide, erenoamážit anáraš-, nuortalaš-, davvi- ja máttasámegielaide olbmonamaid ja daid geavaheami. Čállosa álggus govvidit dutkanhistorjjá ja olbmonamaid geavaheami ovdal kristtalaš áiggiid. Dasa lassin mitalit makkár prentejuvvon dutkanmateriálat gávdnojit dálá dilis. Artihkkala gaskaoasis mitaluvvo ovdanamaid ja daid árbevirolaš geavaheami birra. Ovdanamaid lassin guorahallet erenoamážit patronymaid ja matronymaid, budostatnamaid, diminutiivva geavaheami namaid konteavsttas ja gáibmevuogádaga. Artihkkala loahpageahčen mitalit goargguid ja sámiid goargovuogádaga historjjá birra. Dan maŋŋá suokkardallet vel dálá nammavuogádaga iešvuodaid ja daid nuppástusaid mat leat dáhpáhuvvan sođiid maŋŋá. Loahpas guorahallet sámii nammadutkama hástalusaid ja buktet ovdan dárbbu sirdásit deskriptiiva dutkanvugiin analyhtalut guvlui. Erenoamáš dehálaš lea vuoddjut boahttevaš dutkamušain loatnakontávttaide ja uhca sámegielaide nammaárbbiide.

ALEXANDER PUSTYAKOV  
University of Helsinki

## Mari personal names: history and current developments

**Abstract** The aim of this study is to analyse and describe the formation and development of the Mari anthroponymic system and to reveal its specifics in the past and present. The sources used for this study include various lists of personal names and archive documents. Anthroponymy has a long history among the Mari, but in documents, names are only mentioned from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

At present, there are very few original Mari names given in available materials. Names are divided into several groups according to the principles of naming. Most common among the structurally simple anthroponyms are names based on words describing features of the person, and in compounds there are names that include the component *-cora* ‘boy’. From ancient times the Mari people have adhered to traditional customs when naming their children. In some places, ceremonies have accompanied the naming of children even as late as the end of the twentieth century.

The stratification of Mari anthroponyms is explained by different extralinguistic factors: active and longterm contacts between the Mari and Chuvash (Bulgar), Tatars and Russians, as well as the spread of new religious beliefs (Islam among parts of the Mari population and the Russian Orthodox faith). The influence of Tatar anthroponymy on the Maris before Christianization was very considerable. The group of names borrowed from Tatar also include Arabic, Persian and Mongolian names, since these were borrowed via Turkic languages. Russian Orthodox names entered the Mari language during Christianization of the Mari people and through contacts with the Russian speaking population. Nowadays, the Mari, for the most part, give their children names that can be traced to the Russian language, but among the modern borrowed names one can also find traditional Mari names.

## Introductory remarks

The main scholarly works and onomastic collections devoted to the research of Mari onomastics started appearing around the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, compared to toponymy, Mari anthroponymy drew less attention from researchers. Anthroponymic issues were mostly discussed in articles. The voluminous etymological dictionary of S. J. Chernykh entitled *Словарь марийских личных имен* ('Dictionary of Mari Personal Names') did not appear until 1995. In 1996, Chernykh defended his doctoral dissertation *Марийская антропонимия и пути развития* ('Mari Anthroponymy: Sources of Formation and Ways of Development'). In recent years, N. N. Glukhova has published several articles on the research of Mari anthroponyms in the context of ethnic culture (see e.g. 2013, 2014).

The aim of this study is to analyse and describe the formation and development of the Mari anthroponymic system. The article will consider original Mari and borrowed personal names occurring in different name lists and archival documents. New etymologies for Mari anthroponyms are presented.

There are a number of studies on Mari anthroponymy presenting the methodological problems of describing the Mari personal naming system during different historical periods, including the works by F. I. Gordeev, S. J. Chernykh and I. S. Galkin. In the articles by Gordeev, Mari anthroponymy is described rather briefly (see e.g. 1970, 1989). Galkin, in his work *Марий ономастика* ('Mari onomastics'), which is written in Meadow Mari, presents the basic characteristics of Mari anthroponymy (1997: 62–79). Chernykh describes Mari anthroponymy in detail in the introduction to the dictionary of Mari names and in his doctoral dissertation (1995, 1996). The disadvantage of these works is that the reconstruction of the Mari anthroponymic system is based on the etymological investigation of the researcher, the results of which are presented in the 'Dictionary of Mari Personal Names'. However, the etymological constructions presented in the dictionary suffer from a few serious deficiencies of methodology. In revealing the meaning of a personal name, the researcher often uses lexical data from other Finno-Ugric languages for an explanation, but Mari parallels are not drawn. It is quite problematic to etymologise

Mari anthroponyms from appellatives found in other Finno-Ugric languages without solid evidence. For example, Chernykh combines lexical units from different Finno-Ugric languages into one anthroponym: he derives Ašpina, an old Mari personal name, from < *aš* ‘power, force’, ‘use, success’, ‘nutritious, useful’, *āš* ‘memory, thought, idea’, *ašā* ‘slender’ and others + *pina* (< Fi. *pieni* ‘small’), and also *Pin’ika*, *Pin’ija*, *Pin’avi* (Chernykh 1995: 84, 361). However, *pieni* in the Finnic languages is considered a Proto-Germanic borrowing (SSA II: 348). The male name *Aplasaĵ* is etymologised from Hungarian *ápolás*<sup>1</sup> ‘take care (of something or somebody)’ (Chernykh 1995: 68). It should be noted that the name *Ėples* is found among the Chuvash and has Arabic roots (Magnickij 1905: 14). Chernykh resorts to such methods of name reconstruction rather frequently, which explains the need for a critical reassessment of the etymologies presented by him. The work also has other deficiencies. Chernykh’s dictionary includes the personal name *Kožvaž*, which he reconstructs from the toponym *Kožvaž* (the name of a village in the Gornomariysky district), and which, according to him, is deanthroponymic (Chernykh 1995: 226). It is doubtless in this case that the toponym is dehydronymic (see more: Pustjakov 2014: 23). Chernykh does not indicate other sources of the anthroponym (Chernykh 1995: 226).

The scope of the anthroponymic material analysed in the dictionary is large – there are etymologies for over 16,000 personal names with one, two or more possible etymologies given for certain names. The main sources for this dictionary are census books and records as well as material collected by Chernykh during field expeditions to Mari El and Bashkortostan.

The study of Mari anthroponymy presented here is based on the methods presented in the work of Eero Kiviniemi *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet* (1982) as well as the monographic research of A. G. Mitroshkina *Бурятская антропонимия* (‘Buryat Anthroponymy’, 1987).

The sources used for this study include the collections of archival documents *История Марийского края в документах и материалах* (‘The History of the Mari Region in Documents and Materials’, 1992) by G. N. Ajplatov and A. G. Ivanov, ‘The Dictionary of Mari Personal

1. The correct form of the word: *ápolás* < *ápol*.

Names' by Chernykh, and various articles from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which personal names of the Mari people are recorded. Some articles cover the description and analysis of anthroponymic material (Magnickij 1892; Kovedjaev 1918) and, therefore, the amount of material presented is large. In others, the personal names are mentioned only in passing and in small quantities together with other information about the Mari people (e.g. Rjabinskij 1900). Materials collected by the author of this article during fieldwork in Bashkortostan and the Kirov region between 2014 and 2015 and materials from the archives<sup>2</sup> of Mari El and Tatarstan were also used in this work.

The present article has the following structure. Following the introduction, the second section describes the motives for choosing a name as well as the ceremonies accompanying the naming of children. The third section considers original Mari anthroponymy from the point of view of its formation. The fourth section is devoted to the analysis of anthroponyms of Turkic origin. The fifth section briefly describes the influence of the Russian anthroponymic system and the modern Mari anthroponymic system. Observations on the development of the Mari anthroponymic system are summarized in the sixth part of the article.

## Motives for name selection and methods of naming

Despite the scarcity of historical documentation, some assumptions can be made about the anthroponymic system used by the Mari people in the past. In this system the main athroponymic unit was a personal name. Personal names of people were supplemented by nicknames. As G. Mendiarov points out in his work describing Maris of Bashkiria, 'persons notable for something have special nicknames'. The nicknames were based on such factors as one's occupation, origin, personal qualities, faults, etc. (Mendiarov 1894: 38). We can suppose that not only notable persons had nicknames and there was a broader circle of people with nicknames. However, nicknames of outstanding people are more widely known. We must take into account that Mendiarov

---

2. I thank Aleksej Kudrjavcev for his help with collecting of archival material.

writes about Eastern Mari, among whom certain ancient traditions were better preserved.

It must be noted that Mari nicknames have yet to be collected or researched. In previous Mari onomastic studies, the issue of researching nicknames was raised in very few articles (Savatkova 1976; Vershinin 1982). However, nicknames can be a source of words that fell out of usage or forgotten personal names (see Vershinin 1982: 81–83) such as *Pekas* – a male nickname that has the grandfather's name in its stem (MFE–RB Mishk. 2015). This name is not recorded in Chernykh's dictionary.

In different situations, such as when a person was indicated or addressed, more complicated anthroponymic models could be used and realized. This still happens in the present day. Some remarks were made on this issue in T. A. Sebeok's article (1950). The following are a few examples:

- nickname + name: *Kopaj Boris, Vakš Miklaj, Jaš Aleksandr*
- name + kinship term, e.g. *izaj* 'elder brother, uncle', *akaj* 'elder sister, aunt': *T'imirjan izaj, N'ina akaj, Paruč kokaj*
- father's name (nominative or genitive case) + son's, daughter's name: *Ėšmäj Marina, Jarmingan Unas, Aksultan Tol'a*
- father's name (nominative or genitive case) + *èrge*(PX.3SG) 'son', *üdâr*(PX.3SG) 'daughter': *Iskebaj èrge*
- son's name (nominative or genitive case) + *avaže* 'his mother': *Ėmaj(âñ) ava(že)* etc.

It is worth noting that such nominative models can have a more complex structure which combine, for example, the name of a father plus his son's name plus the word *èrge* 'son' (PX.3SG) (e.g. *Semon Jâvan Kol'kan èrgâže*) and others.

A name in the Mari culture, as in many other cultures (cf. the culture of Turkic people), had great significance. According to Mari beliefs, it could offer protection and make a wish about a child's future come true. We can only try to imagine the principal motives of name selection and naming ceremonies, since without knowing the methods and principles of naming, it is impossible to understand the formation and functioning of the anthroponymic system; this can be compared with, for instance, the data on the interconnection of customs

and names among the Buryat brought up in the work by Mitroshkina (1987: 53–56). The information on the motives for name selection and naming ceremonies is presented mostly on the basis of ethnographic works on the Mari people. The principle of co-naming at the time of naming is described on the basis of archival data and field materials.

In historical and ethnographic literature, there are descriptions of several methods and traditions of naming babies, but the information is often rather sporadic (cf. Shkalina 2003: 15) and is insufficient to draw a complete picture of beliefs and traditions related to naming. Naturally, we must consider the fact that the methods of naming in different micro-traditions could differ. According to observations from travelers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, newborn babies were named on behalf of the first visitor (Olearij 1906: 364; IMKDM 1: 450). This tradition of name giving was repeatedly recorded during an expedition to the Eastern Mari of the Mishkinsky region of Bashkortostan (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016). According to Gerhard F. Miller, if a woman was the first person to enter the house where a boy was born, this visitor was supposed to choose a name for the newborn (IMKDM 1: 450). Johann G. Georgi writes that the first man who visits a woman after childbirth gives the name to a boy, whereas the first female guest gives the name to a girl (ibid. 460). According to later ethnographic research, children were named by the midwife (Mari *kâlâmdê kuva(vaj)*, *kâlâmdê vava*), priest (Mari *kart*, *molla*) or family elders. The most complete information can be found in the field materials collected by T. J. Jevsevjev at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ethnographica).

According to Mari tradition, a child was named twice. The first name (Mari *monča lüm*) was given to the baby by the midwife and was provisional (Ethnographica IX: 95; XIII: 27); without a name, in the case of the child's death, his or her soul would turn into an evil spirit (Gerd 1993: 70) and would not find peace in the afterlife.

The naming traditions described by researchers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century do not always confirm the tradition of naming by stages (cf. Gorodskoj 1864: 24). Some possible explanations for the divergence of name giving traditions among different Mari groups could be that information concerning the traditions of name giving among the Mari is fragmentary (see below data on the provisional and permanent name) or certain stages of the naming tradition did not survive or adapt to their particular micro-region.

The first name, according to Jevsevjev, was the name of the day of the week. Thus, if the child was born on a Thursday, he or she got the name with the initial component *izi-* < *izarn'a* ‘Thursday’ (< *izi* ‘small’ + *arn'a* ‘week’): *Izerge* (< *iz* (< *iz(i)/arn'a*) + *erge* ‘son’) if a boy, *Izüdâr* (< *izi* + *üdâr* ‘daughter, girl’) if a girl. If the baby was born on a Friday (Mari *kugarn'a* < *kugu* ‘big’ + *arn'a* ‘week’), the boy would be named *Kugerge* (< *kug* (< *kug(u)/arn'a*) + *erge*), and the girl *Kügüdâr* (*kugu* + *üdâr*). A baby born on a Saturday (Mari *šumatkeče*) was named *Šumat* (m.) (Jakovlev 1887: 50; Ethnographica XIII: 27); we can compare this to the other male name *Šumatij* and the female names *Šumataj*, *Šumatja*. The components *kugu-*, *izi-*, *šumat-* are rather frequent stems in both male and female names of Mari origin. Describing the naming tradition according to the days of the week among the Meadow Mari, Jevsevjev only notes *Izerge*, *Izüdâr*, *Kugerge*, *Kügüdâr*, *Šumat*, but in giving information about the Eastern Mari he also notes other names, for example for those born on Thursday *Izibaj*, *Izambaj*, *Imanaj*, on Saturday *Šumataj* and others (Ethnographica IX: 94). During the expedition, other names were also recorded. Children born on a Thursday were named *Izikaj* (f.), *Izêlan* (m.), *Izêlaj* (m.), in addition to *Izibaj*, *Izambaj*, *Imanaj*; those born on a Friday got the name *Kugobaj* (*Kugubaj*) (m.), on a Saturday – *Šumaj* (m.), *Šumatij* (m.), *Šumatbaj* (m.) (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016). Children born on other days of the week, according to G. Jakovlev, were given names according to other principles (Jakovlev 1887: 50). However, during our expeditions, we recorded names given to babies derived from other weekdays (in addition to Thursday, Friday, and Saturday). In the names there is an indication of the day of the week on which the child was born: for those born on Wednesday – (m.) *Vürzümbaj*, on Sunday – (m.) *Rušaj* (*Rusaj*), (m.) *Rušin'ga*. One of the informants also mentioned the name *Kubuka* (f.) given to children born on Tuesday (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016).

However, Jevsevjev notes that a name given immediately after birth can be permanent (Ethnographica IX: 95) and one can suppose that this has occurred not only among the Eastern Mari, but also in other places where the Mari live. The name *Izerge* and its different variations has been recorded among the Mari in all districts (cf. Chernykh 1995: 158). Among the recorded names there

are also surnames deriving from the names *Izerge*, *Kugerge*, *Kugubaj* and other.

Semantically, *Arnavika* (f.) and *Arn'aš* (m, f.) refer to a group of personal names connected with the names of the day of the week. *Arnavika* and *Arn'aš* have the appellative *arn'a* 'week' in their stem; initially it meant Friday, which was considered sacred in the Mari tradition (Znamenskij 1867: 61; Shkalina 2003: 122). This was an influence of ancient Chuvash culture (Bulgar) and the word was borrowed from Chuvash (Räsänen 1920: 45). The development of the meaning 'holy day' → 'week' is also found in other languages, for example in Komi and Russian (KESKJa: 50). Thus, *kugarn'a* 'Friday' means 'large holy (festive) day' and *izarn'a* 'Thursday' 'little holy (festive) day', which determines the significance of these days of the week in naming.<sup>3</sup> Respecting Saturday as a special day may also be related to the influence of Chuvash culture in which Saturday was traditionally observed as a day of rest (Galkin 1985: 37–39). Jevsevjev and Hämäläinen point out that children born on a Saturday could get names that are not connected with the word for Saturday *šumat* and that there is no strict principle of naming according to a specific day as in the case of Friday or Thursday (Ethnographica VI: 71–72; Hämäläinen 1945: 7).

A child would get a permanent name within one to three days of birth (Ethnographica VI: 72; XIII: 27); among Eastern Mari, the time from birth to naming might last from two weeks to six months (Ethnographica IX: 94). Here it is appropriate to refer to the words of Adam Olearij who says that after half a year the Mari choose the day when the child should get a name (Olearij 1906: 364). Olearij's account dates back to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the factors determining the naming process was the baby's crying (the moment it stopped crying or making noise). When the child was crying, the priest would take it in his arms, start rocking it and recite names. The baby was given the name that the priest spoke the moment it stopped crying (Znamenskij 1867: 68; Rittih 1870: 191). The Mari of Birska, according to Kuzebaj Gerd, had a custom of giving names to weak children in the following way: the child was brought to the stove the names of dead ancestors were shouted. If the child made

3. We can compare the Mari holy days to Mari *rušarn'a* 'Sunday' < *ruš* 'Russian' + *arn'a* (literally 'Russian week', sacred day for Christians).

a sound while one of the names was uttered, he or she would be given that name (Gerd 1993: 70).

After the child got the name, this name could be changed if the child cried too often. As P. Shestakov describes, the father would take the crying child in his arms, rock it while reciting different names and give it the name that was recited the moment the baby stopped crying (Shestakov 1867: 35). This custom was followed by parents who baptized their children, too. This is attested to by observations recorded in N. V. Nikol'skij's work: if after christening the child often cried, the parents concluded that 'the priest gave the child a difficult name', so they changed this name in the way described above (Nicol'skij 1920: 172).

When choosing a name, priests would strike fire with flint and steel in front of the newborn while reciting names. When the tinder caught fire at the moment a name was uttered, it was given to the child (Znamenskij 1867: 68). If the priest was unavailable for some reason when the naming took place, this function was undertaken by one of the family elders (ibid.). P. Sigov describes, among other methods of naming children, one method that did not require the participation of the priest: one of the elders took the child and went outside and the name of the first person they met in the street was given to the child (data provided by Gordeev 1970: 259).

It is typical (or used to be typical) for many nations to express belonging to some kindred through the name, for example, among Bashkirs (Shakurov 1980), Buryats (Mitroshkina 1987), Tatars (Galiullina 2008: 227–231), and Finns (Ainiälä et al. 2012: 177). Kiviniemi writes about the tradition that exists in the culture of some Finnic peoples to name children with relation to kindred names (Kiviniemi 1982a: 46).

Census books tell us that in the past, the Mari often gave children names with the initial or final element of a parent's name (Mari *počela liimdaš*). The existence of such a method can be traced back to the first most complete censuses of the Mari (see Figure 1) and observations recorded up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see records in ethnographical sources Gorodskoj 1864: 24; Alonzov 1865: 6–7; Ethnographica XIII: 27–28; Tojdybekova 1997: 278–279). For instance, Tojdybekova writes that the naming principle according to the days of the week was not always observed since parents wanted to give their children names reflecting their family origins (Tojdybekova 1997: 279).

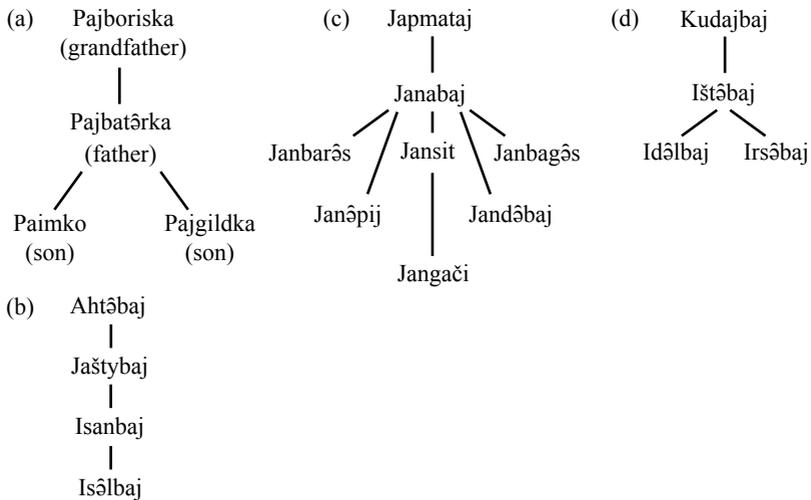


Figure 1. Fragments of male genealogy according to census books from 1678 and census records from 1834 (Ajplatov 1965: 92; NART, F-3, op. 2, d. 134, p. 284 ob., 285 ob.).

Such a principle of naming in Russian scholarly literature was defined by the notions *co-naming* (Rus. *соименование*), *bound names* (Rus. *связанные имена*), *rhymed names* (Rus. *рифмованные имена*) and *anthroponymic series* (Rus. *антропонимическая серия*) (The Russian terms have been provided by Mitroshkina 1987: 62). Co-naming can be vertical (a sequence of children's names with parents' names) and horizontal (a sequence of children's names according to a certain characteristic) (for details, see Superanskaja 2001: 27–31).

The principle of co-naming is also reflected in the Mari oral folklore. According to the toponymic legend of Mari from Kilmez, the founder of the village of Tautovo (Mari *Tautpočijga*) of the Kilmez district was called *Taut*. He had seven sons, their names starting with the consonant *t*: *Tojmet*, *Tojbulat*, *Tövâz'a*, *Tosaj*, etc. The respondent (of a questionnaire) could not remember the names of the other three sons but noted that they all had an initial *t* (MFE–KO Kilm. 2014). Some sources say that rhymed names were given to sons (Gorodskoj 1864: 24; Gordeev 1970: 260). According to Alonzov and Jevsevjev, daughters got their names in exactly the same manner: the daughter's name rhymed

with her mother's name at the time of vertical co-naming (Alonzov 1865: 6–7; Ethnographica XIII: 27). Census materials confirm that vertical co-naming along the female line took place (see examples below).

In describing the naming traditions of the Mari of Morki region, Jevsevjev also notes that the child's name had to be simpler than that of the mother or father; for example, if the father's name was *Atanaj*, the son got the name *Atuj*. The midwife chose the child's name in the following way: when the desirable names were already chosen, she would put three loaves of bread into the oven, each of them with a name from those chosen. The name of the thickest loaf would be given to the child. This custom was strictly followed by the Mari who professed paganism (Ethnographica XIII: 27–28). However, the principle that the child's name should be simpler than that of the parent (at least structurally) (Ethnographica VI: 72) is very rarely confirmed by archival materials; some observations could be explained by coincidence.

Co-naming in the Mari language, as in the Turkic languages, is based on a sequence of initial elements and rhyming final sounds or components. The data collected by me in some of the villages of Tsarevokokshaysky county (8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> census records) allows genealogy to be traced back four generations.

It is very common among the Mari that the names of parents and children are connected by means of alliteration. The following are examples of co-naming:

*Petruška Matvejev*, his son *Pet'is*, and his sons *Pektâbaj*,  
*Pekparâs*, *Pektugan*

*Nastasi*, her daughters *Listika*, *Lâstâ*, *Listika*, *Listinaj*, *Nastavi*  
*Üanaj Peklova*, her daughter *Üalča*

*Jasâ*, her daughters *Jašpiki*, *Jandovi*

*Jaška Ivanov*, his sons *Jatman*, *Jadâk*, *Jadâgar*

*Akmadi*, sons *Šämäj*, *Šämürät*, *Šämši*, *Šäšä/Saša*, his wife *Salika*,  
daughters *Sävizä*, *Sälimä*, *Säkibä*, *Sämigä*

*Alâksandr*, his sons *Alâksi*, *Al'is*

*Kutlumet*, *Kutlukaj* brothers

(NART, F-3, op. 2, d. 134, s. 289 ob.; d. 136, s. 123, 123 ob.,  
144; GARME, F-R-1223, op. 2, d. 263, s. 2 ob.; MFE–RB Birsck.,  
Mishk. 2016).

In some cases, there is a break in the co-naming principle in rhymed names, for instance: *Èl'embaj Mardanov*, sons *Apakaj*, *Èbikaj*, *Alôkej*, *Aktanaj*, *Ananat* (GARME, F-15, op. 1, d. 537, s. 87, 88). The name of the second child falls out of the horizontal co-naming system but is vertically consistent with the father's name. A Mari tradition was recorded of changing the child's name in cases of frequent or severe illnesses ('child sale') (Hämäläinen 1913: 281) or if the child cried too much (Shestakov 1867: 35), which can explain some of the inconsistencies in the naming system.

Mari have names connected by rhyming, but these are less frequent than names formed by a sequence of initial elements. It is sometimes difficult to single out names that rhyme because the final part of Mari names could have been altered in the process of Russian adaptation because Mari names in some documents were recorded with the addition of Russian diminutive suffixes *-ka*, *-ko*. For example, the initial element in the names with the ending *-Vč*: *Mamâzičko* (*Mamâz'ačka*) *Kurmalov*, wife *Čemel'ička*, daughter *Almel'ička* could be the stem with *-k*: *Mamâzik*, *Čemel'ik*, *Almel'ik*. In addition to this, the lists are characterized by inconsistency from the writers, as mentioned more than once in scholarly literature. More salient are the examples of co-naming by repeating the final element as a whole, such as *-baj* (*-paj*), *-bulat* (*-pulat*), etc. Some examples of personal names with the rhyming final sounds and components are:

*Albahta Albatajev*, brother *Kulbahta*  
*Knal'če*, her daughter *Unal'če*  
*Sildugan*, *Pektugan* brothers  
*Tojbika*, her daughters *Aibika*, *Èbika*  
*Èl'embaj*, his sons *Atkaj*, *Èbâkaj*, *Alôkej*  
*Jandalče*, her daughters *Ajmalče*, *Pajmalče*, *Ajgalče*, *Pajralče*  
*Čâlmârze*, his sons *Èlmârze*, *Ajdemâr*, *Pajdemâr*  
 (NART, F-3, op. 2, d. 134, s. 285 ob.; d. 136, s. 122 ob., 132;  
 GARME, F-R-1223, op. 2, d. 263, s. 2 ob.; MFE–RB Mishk. 2016).

The following figure shows simultaneous vertical and horizontal co-naming, alliteration and rhyming (see Figure 2).

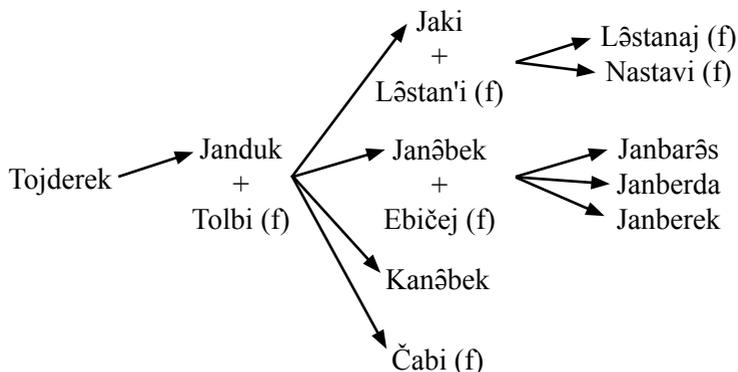


Figure 2. Fragment of a descending genealogy in Bolshie Karamasy (according to the 10<sup>th</sup> revision).

Another version of co-naming is the custom of Mari from Birsk region to give a weak child the name of ancestors, which was believed to protect the child from evil spirits (Gerd 1993: 70). Evidently, they gave ancestral names to children quite often (Ethnographica IX: 94–95).

Later, the co-naming tradition was destroyed under the influence of Christianity and changing social norms (see for example: *Pajsulo*, daughters *Majsulo*, *Jansulo*, *Anna*, *Tan'a*, *Nast'a*, *Zoja*) (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016).

The names of children can be semantically connected horizontally and the names of children and parents can be semantically connected vertically. It is important, in this respect, to take the phenomenon of co-naming into account when etymologising anthroponyms with vague or disputable etymologies, provided that the name is presented in the context of names of other relatives. It must be noted, however, that the answers that this method can provide are rather limited. Due to the lack of complete material on Mari anthroponymy it is not possible to give convincing examples of semantic co-naming. However, the search for traces of this phenomenon among the Mari is not groundless; such examples are also recorded among the Russians (for details, see Superanskaja 2001: 29).

It should be noted that there is a widespread tradition of fictitious sale of children among Eastern Mari. T. L. Molotova points

out this ritual among Mari living in the Zvenigovsky district (2005: 178). If children in the family are very sick or die, a child is sold to another person. Fictitious sale may be realized in different forms. For instance, the person to whom the child is sold pays in cash or in kind, the child stays with the mother and the buyer gives the child a new name, which is used in the family and society in spite of the fact that the child has an official name. By selling the child, people can cheat evil spirits. Eastern Mari kept this tradition, according to our information, right up to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Jevsevjev describes a different tradition of name changing. After preparing food and vodka, the mother would invite a female neighbor or relative who has a child to her home. During the meal, the mother sold the name of her child to the guest. Thus, the sick child received the name of the guest's child, and the guest's child received the name of the hostess' child (Ethnographica IX: 95–96). Customs of fictitious sale are known to exist among many nations, including Finno-Ugric (for details, see Hämäläinen 1913: 281) and Turkic peoples of the Volga region, such as the Bashkirs (for details, see Kusimova 1991: 182).

## Original Mari anthroponyms

Information about Mari in historical literature and documents started appearing rather late (for details, see IMASSR I). We do not have complete materials on ancient Mari anthroponymy, but some fragmentary traces of its system appear in archival documents. Some of the earliest evidence of Mari personal names include *Tugaj* – in 1546 and 1547 – the name *Atačik* (IMKDM: 20, 21); this can be compared to Tatar *ätäč* ‘rooster’ which was loaned into the eastern dialects of the Mari language. The name *Aleka* is also recorded from approximately the same time (Zolotnickij 1882: 155). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century census books, we find more complete information on personal names. Thus, the main source for ancient Mari anthroponymy is records in different historical documents. Even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Mari anthroponymy was strongly influenced by the Tatar anthroponymic system. There are very few original Mari names presented in available materials. Therefore, it is hardly possible to reconstruct the complete ancient

Mari anthroponymy tradition, or even most of it. Considering the lack of any complete data on original Mari anthroponymy, it would be stimulating to undertake a comparative study of anthroponymy of peoples with a pagan religion. Motives for choosing appellatives as a basis for personal names among many peoples with an original pagan religion are mainly the same (Mitroshkina 1987: 57). According to Mitroshkina, names with the meaning ‘dog’, ‘wolf’, ‘lion’, ‘stone’, ‘iron’, ‘stinky’, ‘rotten’, and others are universal (*ibid.*).

In this article, anthroponyms, identified as based on the Finno-Ugric and Mari lexicon are considered to be originally Mari. There is no doubt that names dating back to the vocabulary of the Finno-Ugric period are the most ancient in Mari anthroponymy. Later, vocabulary borrowed from Turkic languages was used for forming anthroponyms. We can consider such names to belong to the group of original Mari anthroponymy since they appeared on the basis of the Mari lexicon. In some cases, it is difficult to distinguish between borrowed names and names formed on the basis of a borrowed appellative in the Mari language, for instance, names with the component *batâr* (*patâr*) < Tat. *batır* ‘hero, warrior, brave man’ and those formed from the Mari appellative *patâr* ‘warrior; strong’. Tatar borrowings include the male names *Akpatâr* (*Akbatâr*), *Batârbaj*, *Pajbatâr*; however, we can probably see a Mari source in the male name *Patâr*. The component *asêl*-regularly occurs in Turkic anthroponyms < Ar. *asîl* ‘beautiful, handsome, noble’, ‘root, basis, essence, beginning, origin’ (Kusimova 1991: 150). The appellative *asêl* was loaned into Mari with the meaning ‘beautiful, superb, close to the heart, sweet’. Anthroponyms with the component *asêl*- in Mari include: f., m. *Asêla*, *Asêlaj*, *Asêlij*, f. *Asêlvi*, m. *Asêlbaj*.

### Structural-semantic originality of Mari anthroponyms

Considering the structural specifics of original Mari personal names, they can be divided into the following types: simple and compound. Simple anthroponyms, in turn, are divided into affixal and nonaffixal. Nonaffixal include the following anthroponyms: m. *Izi* < *izi* ‘small’, *Marda* < *marda* ‘middle, intermediate’, *Mari*, *Marê* < *marij*, MariH *marê* ‘man’, *Motor* < *motor* ‘handsome’, *Tumana* < *tumna*, MariH

*tâmana* ‘owl, tawny owl’, *Èrka* < *ërka* ‘effeminate; pet’; *Èsen* < *èsen* ‘healthy’; f. *Aga* < *aga* ‘field work’, *Čezek* < *čezek* ‘swallow’, etc.

Affixal anthroponyms are more broadly represented. The most productive suffixes in name formation are *-aš* and *-aj* (*-ej*, *-ij*). The suffix *-aš* is used for the formation of new words mostly with the meaning of ‘purpose of the object’. In some words, including personal names, the suffix has a diminutive function (Galkin 1966: 18–19). The Mari vocative suffix *-aj*, borrowed from Chuvash (ESMJa I: 59), is used with kinship terms (*aka* > *akaj*, *kova* > *kovaj*). The suffix *-aj* with its variants *-ej* and *-ij* are active in the Turkic languages, from which Mari borrowed them, and are used to construct new names. Examples of affixal anthroponyms include m. *Arn'aš* < *arn'a* ‘week, Friday’, *Tumanaaj* < *tumna* + suf. *-aj*, *Tâmaš* < *tâma*, cf. dial. *tâma* ‘fitting’, dial. *tâman* ‘quietly, calmly’ + suf. *-aš*; f. *Šumataj* < *šumat* ‘Saturday’ + suf. *-aj*, *Šâmaj* < *šâma* ‘tender, affectionate, kind’, *Èsen'aj* < *èsen* ‘healthy’, etc.

As previously noted, ancient Mari anthroponymy in my sources is represented rather poorly; a reliable semantic grouping of original Mari names cannot be provided now. I will indicate the main semantic groups of Mari anthroponyms according to available materials and distribute them into groups based on word formation meanings. Mitroshkina singles out eight types of meanings for classifying Buryat anthroponyms formed by a suffixless method. In the description of Mari names, this study will follow the scheme presented in the research of Mitroshkina. Anthroponyms formed by the affixal method are used as examples, too.

Names with the meaning ‘X is not a person, X is...’

This group includes names homonymic to animals, plants, metals, nationalities, household objects as well as words with negative meanings. Chernykh refers to anthroponyms based on names of plants, animals and birds in the stem as totem names (1996: 8–16). It should be noted, however, that zoophoric names are built on the basis of rather broad everyday and linguistic contexts; we can compare this to, for instance, numerous nicknames derived from names of animals and birds in the article by Vershinin (1982: 84–86). We should not always see

totem origins behind such names since anthroponyms with the seme ‘kind of plant or animal’ are rather weakly represented in the total number of Mari anthroponyms.

- a) Names homonymic to names of animals  
*Maska, Majska*, m. < *maska* ‘bear’,  
 Names with the seme ‘hare’: *Meran, Merange*, m. < *meraj* ‘hare’,  
*Čoraj*, m. < dial. figur. *čoraj* ‘id.’.
- b) Names homonymic to names of birds  
*Čezek*, f. < *čezek* ‘swallow’,  
*Korak*, m. < *korak* ‘crow’,  
*Tumana*, m. < *tumna*, MariH *tâmana* ‘owl, tawny owl’.
- c) Names homonymic to names of fish  
 Names with seme ‘pike’: *Čoragaj*, m. < dial. *čoragaj* ‘pike’,  
*Čortak*, m. < dial. *čĕrtak* ‘id.’, *Čortan*, m. < *čortan* ‘id.’.
- d) Names homonymic to names of plants  
*Čača* (*Čačaj, Čaču, Čačuk, Čačuš*)<sup>4</sup>, f. < *čača* ‘flower’.
- e) Names homonymic to names of household objects  
*Čakmak*, m. < *čakma* ‘steel, flint’,  
*Koŋga*, f. name given in the sauna (Mari *monča lüm*) < *koŋga* ‘stove’.

Names with meaning ‘X is someone’

This group includes anthroponyms homonymic to terms of kinship as well as semes ‘child’, ‘boy’ and ‘girl’.

Names with semes ‘child’, ‘boy’ and ‘girl’: *Üdera*<sup>5</sup> (*Üdĕraj*), f. < *üdüĕr* ‘daughter, girl’ + suf. *-aj*, *Üdüĕras*, f. < *üdüĕraš* ‘girl, child of female gender’, *Cora* (*Cori, Corĕ*), m. < *cora* ‘boy’, *Čukaj* (*Čukaš*), m. < *čukaj* ‘child, baby’, *Èrgaš* (*Ergas*), m. < *èrgaš* ‘boy, child of male gender’.

*Šol’aj* (*Šol’ak*), m. < *šol’o*, MariH *šol’a* ‘younger brother’.

4. We can compare this to the female name *Čačuk*, which is the Mari version of the Russian name *Tat’jana* (MPE–MER Zven.) and the Tatar female name *Čäčäk, Čäčkä* (Sagautdinov 2011: 555). Thus, some names with the stem *čač-* originated from either Tatar or Russian.

5. The Mari name *Üdüĕr* with a final closed syllable is formed according to the pattern of Russian female names with *-a*.

Names with the meaning 'X will become this'

*Joltaš*, m. < *joltaš* 'friend',  
*Oza* (*Ozaj*, *Ozak*), m. < *oza* 'master',  
*Patâr*, m. < *patâr* 'warrior; strong',  
*Pojan* (*Pojanaj*), m. < *pojan* 'rich'.

Names with the meaning 'X has this feature'

*Čever* (*Čeberče*), m. < *čever* 'beautiful, handsome',  
*Ērka*, m. < *ērka* 'effeminate, pet',  
*Ēsen*, m. < *ēsen* 'healthy',  
*Izi* (*Izij*), m. < *izi* 'small',  
*Jandar*, m. < *jandar* 'clean, tidy',  
*Kugu*, m. < *kugu* 'big',  
*Kužaj* (*Kužak*), m. < *kužu* 'tall' + suf. *-aj*,  
*Marda*, m. < *marda* 'middle, intermediate',  
*Meņaj*, *Meņač* f. < *meņ* 'birthmark',  
*Motor*, m. < *motor* 'beautiful, handsome',  
*Šâmaj*, f. < *šâma* 'affectionate, tender, kind',  
*Šemeč* (*Šemač*, *Šimeč*) m., *Šemaj* (*Šimaj*, *Šimej*) m. < *šem*, MariH  
*šim* 'black, dark'.

Names with the meaning 'X was born in such circumstances'

*Aga*, f. < *aga* 'field work',  
*Arn'aš*, f., m. < *arn'a* 'week, Friday' + suf. *-aš* or *arn'aš* 'weekly',  
*Nurij*, f. < *nur* 'field' + suf. *-ij*,  
*Pajram*, *Päjräm*, *Päjrämäl* m. < *pajram*, *päjräm* 'holiday, celebration',  
*Ruška*, m. < *ruš* 'Russian' + suf. *-ka*; this was probably the name for children born on Sunday (Mari *rušarn'a*, see above, section 2). This principle of naming has been recorded among the Chuvash (Fedotov 1998) and Eastern Mari (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016). In the dictionary of Chernykh, the name *Ruška* is given with the note 'hill dialect' (Chernykh 1995: 382), which indirectly points to possible Chuvash influence. Names *Rusaj* (*Rušaj*), *Rušin'ga*

with the stem *rus/ruš-* (< *rušarn'a* ‘Sunday’) have been recorded among the Eastern Mari (MFE–RB Mishk. 2016).

*Šumat*, m., *Šumataj*, f., *Šumat'ij*, m., f., *Šumaj*, m. < *šumat* ‘Saturday’,

*Semik*, *Semika*, *Semikej*, m. < *Semâk* ‘Semik, Green week’,

*Vada* (*Vad'ej*), m. < MariH *vadə* ‘evening’.

Anthroponyms analyzed in Chernykh’s dictionary of personal names are not classified in any way; all the anthroponymic units presented are given as personal names. Nevertheless, some of the anthroponyms may be nicknames. Thus, the anthroponyms in the group given above ‘Names with the meaning “X will be like this”’ *Kužaj* and *Pojan* are close to nicknames according to semantics. Names close to nicknames are found in the group of compound anthroponyms such as *Ošvuj* < *oš(o)* ‘white’ + *vuj* ‘head’, *Šemvuj* (*Šimvuj*) < *šem(e)*, MariH *šim(ə)* ‘black, dark’; this can be compared to *Ošvuj*, a nickname of people or name of animals (SGJa: 184). At this stage, it is difficult to differentiate between personal names and nicknames since there are no works on nicknames used among the Mari. The main criterion for differentiating personal names and nicknames is semantic, that is, the activity of using certain lexical-semantic groups in the creation of nicknames.

In some instances, names represented in the group of original Mari anthroponyms can be found to originate from other languages, see above Mari *Čačuk* (< Rus. *Tat'jana*, Tat. *Čäčäk*), Mari *Èsen* and Tatar *Isän* with the same meaning.

In Mari anthroponymy there are compound personal names, usually with two components. The most widespread models among male names are the following.

The model with final element *-vuj* ‘head’: *Ošvuj* (< *oš(o)* ‘white’), *Šemvuj* (*Šimvuj*) (< *šem(e)*, MariH *šim(ə)* ‘black, dark’), *Šivuj* (< *šij* ‘silver’).

The model with final element *-kače* ‘youth, bridegroom’: *Izikače* (*Izikača*) (< *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarnja* ‘Thursday’).

The model with final element *-marij* (*-mari*) ‘man’, ‘Mari’: *Izimari* (< *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarn'a* ‘Thursday’), *Kugumari* (< *kugu* ‘big’ or < *kugarn'a* ‘Friday’), *Ošmari* (*Ošmara*, *Ošmare*) (< *oš(o)* ‘white’).

The model with final element *-patâr* ‘warrior; strong’: *Ošpatâr* (< *oš(o)* ‘white’), *Šempatâr* (*Šimpatâr*, *Šimbatâr*) (< *šem(e)*, MariH *šim(ə)* ‘black, dark’).

The model with final element *-cora* ‘boy’: *Ešcora* (< *eš* ‘family’), *Èkcora* (< *?èk* ‘lovely, dear’), *Èlcora* (< *èl* ‘country’, cf. Tat. *il* ‘country, state; nation’ – a widespread component in Tatar names), *Izicora* (< *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarn’a* ‘Thursday’), *Jancora* (< MariH *jano* ‘flint, grindstone’), *Ošcora* (< *oš(o)* ‘white’), *Pancora* (< *?pan*), *Pekcora* (< *pek* [< probably from Tat. *bäk* ‘lord’]), *Pelcora* (< *?pel*), *Pincora* ([< *pij* ‘dog’] < *pin* < *\*pene* (UEW: 371), cf. *pin’ege* ‘puppy’), *Šacora* (*Šocora*) (< *?ša*), *Važcora* (< MariH *važ* ‘root’), etc.

The model with final element *-èrge* ‘son, boy’: *Izerge* (< *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarn’a* ‘Thursday’), *Kuzerge* (< *kugu* ‘big’ or < *kugarn’a* ‘Friday’), *Ošerge* (< *oš(o)* ‘white’).

At this stage of the study, it is possible to reliably single out one model of original Mari female names, which are attributive combinations; the model is represented by just a few names.

The model with final element *-üdüâr* ‘daughter, girl’: *Izüdüâr* (< *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarn’a* ‘Thursday’), *Kužüdüâr* (< *kužu* ‘tall’), *Ošüdüâr* (< *oš(o)* ‘white’), etc.

There are Mari-Tatar hybrid anthroponyms known among the Mari, which could be explained by active Mari-Tatar bilingualism: *Èrgâbaj* < Mari *èrge* ‘son’ + Tat. *baj* ‘rich, rich man’, *Izibaj* < Mari *izi* ‘small’ or < *izarn’a* ‘Thursday’ + Tat. *-baj*; *Izibika* (*Izvika*) < Mari *izi* + Tat. *bikä* ‘lady, hostess’, etc. In the formation of compound hybrid names of the “Mari-Tatar” type, the most active components are *-baj/-paj*, *-bika/-pika*, borrowed from the Tatar language (for details, see below). It must be noted that, for example, the word *baj* has been recorded in Eastern Mari dialects (Isanbaev 1994: 29). This is why in some cases personal names with the structure ‘Mari lexical unit + *baj*’ can be considered original Mari formations.

## Turkic influence on the Mari anthroponymic system

The stratification of Mari anthroponyms is explained by different extralinguistic factors: prolonged active contacts of Mari with Chuvash (Bulgar), Tatars and Russians as well as the spread of new religious beliefs (Islam among parts of the Mari population and also the Russian Orthodox faith). The main part of the anthroponymy of Mari for a long period had mostly Turkic origins. Turkisms include names borrowed during different periods from Chuvash, Tatars and Bashkirs. In addition to this, we can also refer to Arabic, Persian and Mongolian elements in this group since they were borrowed at different times from Turkic sources. In some cases, turkisms are hybrid names, in which one of the components is Turkic and the other is, for instance, of Arabic origin. Among the most widespread Tatar personal names, those with elements of Arabic or Persian origin prevail. According to G. F. Sattarov and R. H. Subaeva, out of 160 popular components of Tatar personal names, 100 are borrowed from Arabic or Persian and two are of Mongolian origin (1976: 65–67).

The Bulgars came to the Middle Volga between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries (Gening & Halikov 1964: 149). By the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the large state unit of Volga Bulgaria was formed, which supposedly occupied the region of modern Tatarstan and adjacent territories. According to V. F. Gening and A. H. Halikov, local Finno-Ugric tribes, including Mari, also took part in the formation of Volga Bulgaria (*ibid.* 162). The Chuvash, the southern neighbors of Mari, are the linguistic descendants of the Volga Bulgars. There are many borrowings from the Chuvash language in Mari (Räsänen 1920) and significant Chuvash influence is also reflected in the Mari culture. Therefore, there are reasons to believe that at a certain chronological cross-section the Chuvash personal naming system had great impact on Mari anthroponyms, considering the fact that names generally tend to be actively replenished by borrowings from other languages (*cf.* Kiviniemi 1982b: 33). Chuvash influence was manifested greater among Hill Mari and those living in the southern parts of the modern-day Republic of Mari El.

The topic of reciprocal Chuvash-Mari influence in the area of anthroponymy probably has not received due attention in scholarly

literature because of the difficulty in distinguishing between Chuvash and Tatar borrowings. Secondly, they are weakly represented among Mari personal names. The following names are examples of Chuvash borrowings in Mari anthroponymy.

Gordeev gives an example of the male name *Jaruska*, which we can compare with the Chuvash personal names *Jarus*, *Jaruska* < Ch. dial. *jaru* ‘free, unrestricted’ + suf. *-ska* (*-ske*) (1970: 261), cf. Chuvash m. *Ališke*, f. *Altaska*.

*Sabaska* (*Savaska*), m. < Chuvash p. n. *Savaška*, where the stem *sav-* ‘to love’ is an active component of Chuvash names.

*T'emēn* (*T'emēn'ej*, *T'emēnči*), m. < Ch. *tēmen* ‘world, multitude; area’, cf. Chuvash p. n. *Tementej*.

Chernykh considers the male name *Šumila* to be a borrowing from Russian which can be compared to the other Russian names *Šumila* and *Šumilo* (1995: 563). I must note that the name *Šumila* (Tat. *Šamil'*) is found among the Chuvash and therefore Mari *Šumila* may be a Chuvash borrowing. The recording of this name in the Kozmodemyansky district adjacent to Chuvashia supports this explanation.

The female names *Hirbika*, *Hirdil'et*, *Hirsula* and *Hirka* were borrowed from Chuvash: *hir-* < Ch. *hēr* ‘daughter, girl, maiden’ (Chernykh 1995: 503–504), cf. Ch. *Hērīslu*, *Hērkkē*, *Hērpicke*, *Hērtilēt*. Names with the component *hir-* are represented in the area of the Hill Mari language diffusion.

*Hitrivi*, f. < Chuvash p. n. *Hitrepi*, where Ch. *hitre* ‘pretty, good, lavish, thin’ (Fedotov 1998).

By the mediation of Chuvash, Russian names penetrated the Mari language. These include, for example, *Hveder* (noted in the Kozmodemyansky district), cf. Ch. *Heveter* < Rus. *Fjodor* (Danilova & Jenzhaeva 1976: 63), *Hvetka* (in the Kozmodemyansky district), cf. Ch. *Hēvetke* in the list of V. K. Magnickij *Hvedka*, *Hvetka* (1905: 90) < Rus. *Fad'ejka*. Additional examples are given in the article by Gordeev (1970: 261).

In the 1230s, Mongols appeared in the Volga region and conquered large territories, including Volga Bulgaria and the Russian principalities. The Golden Horde was formed thereafter. The Mari people, like the Russians, found themselves dependent on the conquerors. First, the Mari were subordinated to the Golden Horde and

later to its successor, the Kazan Khanate. During this period, the Mari language and culture were under strong influence from the Tatars. The influence of the Tatar anthroponymic system on Mari was rather strong which is manifested in the Mari name catalogue of the previous centuries, wherein names borrowed from the Tatar language form a significant share.

By their structure, names borrowed from the Tatar language may be simple or compound. Simple names in Tatar can be affixal or non-affixal. There are examples of both affixal and nonaffixal borrowed names in the Mari anthroponymy.

Nonaffixal anthroponyms:

*Altôn*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Altın* < *altın* ‘gold, golden’; *Artâš*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Artıš* ‘increase, addition; child born in a family with many children’, ‘juniper’ (Sagautdinov 2011: 41); *Buran*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Buran* < *buran* ‘blizzard’, i.e. born on a blizzardy day; *Irka*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Irkä* < *irkä* ‘affectionate, tender, effeminate, beloved’; *Kuček*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Köček* < *köček* ‘puppy, dog’; *Kümâš*, f. < Tatar p. n. *Kômeš* < *kômeš* ‘silver’; *Pika*, f. < Tatar p. n. *Bikä* < *bikä* ‘lady, madam, mistress’; *Unaj*, f. < Tat. *uñaj* ‘convenient, favorable, suitable’, etc.

Affixal anthroponyms. A number of diminutive suffixes represented in Tatar anthroponymy were studied by Sattarov (1970). The suffixes under consideration appear also rather often in my material. It must be noted, however, that some Tatar suffixes have matches in the Mari language, such as Mari *-aš* and Tat. *-aš* (which has other variants), Mari *-âk* and Tat. *-ak* (*-äk*, *-ik* and other variants).

*Juzikaj* (*Juzäkaj*), m. < Tat. *?jöz* ‘one hundred’, cf. Tatar p. n. *Jözikäj* (→ family names *Juzikajev*, *Juzikejev*, *Juzkajev*, *Juzejkin*), *Buranaj*, m. < Tatar p. n. *Buran* < *buran* ‘blizzard’ + suf. *-aj*.

There are names of Arabic and Persian origin among structurally simple anthroponyms. As G. R. Galiullina writes, Arabic names were initially used by the representatives of the aristocracy among the Tatar population. Along with them in wider circles of the population hybrid names were used; Arabic elements were present with Turkic elements in these names (Galiullina 2013: 41). Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

Turkic-Tatar names prevailed, and in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a complete Islamisation of the Tatar anthroponymy (ibid. 42). Among the personal names of Arabic and Persian origin, there are groups connected with a) the Muslim religion, and b) the material and spiritual world of people.

There are many anthroponyms of Arabic origin present in the dictionary of names of Mari of Elabuga region by Magnickij (1892). This is explained by the active contacts of the Elabuga district Mari with Tatars. Some names noted in this dictionary are absent from Chernykh's work (1995). Below are examples of structurally simple names arising from Arabic or Persian sources:

*Abdulaj, Apdul*, m. < Tat. *Gabdulla* < Ar. *Abd Allāh* 'slave of Allah'; *Ahmad'i, Ahmat'i*, m. < Tat. *Ähmädi*, m. < Ar. *Ahmad* 'worthy of praise, famous'; *Davlet*, m. < Tat. *Däülät* < Ar. *Daulat* 'wealth, happiness'; *Gazi*, m. < Tat. *Gazi* < Ar. *Ġāzī* 'faith warrior, winner'; *Imaj*, m. < Tat. *Imam, Imaj* < Ar. *Imām* 'imam'; *Mad'ina*, f. < Tat. *Mädinä*, f. < Ar. *Madīna* – holy city; *Pariza*, f. < Tat. *Fariza* < Pers. *Parīzād* 'beautiful woman'; *Šakir*, m. (→ surname *Šakirov*) < Tat. *Šakir* < Ar. *Šākīr* 'grateful, thankful', etc.

According to Tatar anthroponymy researchers, over a half of Tatar personal names are structural compounds (e.g. Sattarov & Subaeva 1976: 68). I shall give examples of the most widespread models of compound names loaned from Tatar into Mari.

The most active component in Mari personal names is *baj / paj* < Tat. *baj* 'rich, wealthy; rich man; master', cf. Ch. *pujan* 'rich, rich man'. It can be used as an attributive component or as a determinant. The model with the second component *-baj / -paj*: *Aksābaj, Aktubaj, Bikbaj, Burzumbaj, Ėrgubaj, Ėstābaj, Ištābaj, Jambaj, Kunakbaj, Kutlubaj, Kümüšpaj (Kümāšpaj), Murzabaj, Ošpaj, Pektubaj (Pektāvaj), Temirbaj*, etc.

The model with the second component *-bars / -pars / -parās* < Tat. *baris* 'panther': *Akbars (Akpars, Akparās), Anbarās, Ėlbarās, Kulbarās, Pekpars, Pibarās, Tokpars*, etc.

The model with the second component *-batâr / -patâr* < Tat. *batır* 'hero, warrior, brave man', cf. Ch. *pattar* 'brave, bold, strong, warrior,

muscleman': *Ajbatâr, Akpatâr (Akbatâr), Bajbatâr, Êşpatâr, Jambatâr (Janbatâr), Jaşpatâr, Pekpatâr, Sabatâr*, etc.

The model with the second component *-bek* < Tat. *bäk* 'master': *Alâkbek, Alâmbek, Arsebek, Bajbek (Pajbek), Paktâbek (Pahtâbek), Paşbek, Sultanbek, Tojdâbek*, etc.

The model with the second component *-berde / -perde* < Tat. *birde* 'gave' (also in the form *berde* in Tatar personal names): *Ajberde, Akperde (Akberda), Alâmberde (Alânbert(ka)), As'perde, İşperde* (surname *İşperdin*), *Jamberde* (surname *Jamberdin*), *Pahtâberde, Pajberde* (surname *Pajberdin*), *Tojberde, Tokperde, Şaberde*, etc.

The model with the second component *-bulat / -plat / -polat / -pulat* < Tat. *bulat* 'steel, Damascus steel' < Pers. *polād* 'id.': *Akbulat (Akplat, Akpulat), Arbulat, Bikbulat, Inbulat, İşpulat, Janbulat, Kajbulat, Karbulat, Kutlubulat, Peşplat, Tojbulat, Şabulat*, etc.

The model with the second component *-dugan / -tugan* < Tat. *tugan* 'dear', 'was born', cf. Ch. *təvan* 'dear': *Ajdugan, Aktugan, Irdugan (Irdâgan), İştugan, Jandugan, Jaştâgan, Pajdugan, Pektugan (Pektâgan), Pidugan, Piştâgan, Poldugan, Saldugan (Saldâgan)*, etc.

The model with the second component *-gilde / -kilde* < Tat. *gilde / kilde* 'come, came, appeared', 'was born', cf. Ch. *kil* 'to come, to arrive': *Ajgilda, Isengilda, Jangilda, Murzagilda (Murzakilda), Pajgilda, Pigilda, Pojgilda, Tojgilda, Urazgilda*, etc.

The model with the second component *-goza / -koza* < Tat. *huža* 'master': *Algoza (Alguz'a), Aldagoza, Amangoza, Atnagoza (Atnagoz'a), Bajgoza, Boranguz'a, Idâgoza, Kanakgoza (Kanakkoza), Karaguz'a, Kutlakoza (Kutlâgoza), Pekoza, Tojgozka*, etc.

The model with the second component *-mamet*, cf. Tatar names *Muhammet* with variants *Mahmut, Mamet* and others with Arabic roots (Sagautdinov 2011: 228): *Ajmamet, Kamamet, Kilmamet, Kulmamet (Kulmet), Kutlemet (Kutlâmet), Tojmamet, Tokmamet*, etc.

The model with the second component *-murza* < Tat. *morza* 'Mirza' < Pers. *Amīr zāde* 'son of Emir': *Ajmurza, Akmurza (Akmârza), Arâkmurza, Jaşmurza, Pajmurza, T'inmurza, Tormurza*, etc.

Most of the final elements given here can appear as attributive parts: *Bajbatâr, Bajbulat, Bajtugan, Pajgâza, Pajmet, Pajguza; Patrvaj; Bektimir, Pekmet, Pekmârza, Pekpatâr; Perdâbaj, Perdâbek; Kilbaj, Kildâbaj*, etc.

Female names are formed according to the following models:

The model with the second component *-bika* / *-bâka* / *-pika* < Tat. *bikä* ‘lady, madam, mistress’: *Ajbâka*, *Akpika*, *Alnabika*, *As'bâka*, *Askapbikä*, *Asmabikä*, *Atnabikä*, *Bäjrâmbikä*, *Ešpika*, *Sarbika*, etc.

The model with the second component *-sulo* / *-sâle* < Tat. *silu* ‘handsome, beautiful, pretty woman’: *Ajsulo*, *Bajansulo*, *Jansulo*, *Majsulo*, *Meņsâle*, *Meņsulo*, *Pajramsulo*, *Pajsulo*, *Parsulo*, *Peksâle*, *Toksulo*, *Tuksâle* and others.

Through the mediation of Tatar, Mongolian elements penetrated Mari anthroponymy, such as *čan* ‘wolf’. Chernykh shows that the component *čan-* in Mari names (e.g. in the names *Čanberda*, *Čanbulat*, *Čanvika*, *Čandemir*) is derived from Tatar *žan* ‘soul’ (Chernykh 1995: 516). It must be noted that in place of Tatar *ž/j* at the beginning of the loanword we usually see *j* in Mari, for instance, Mari *janlâk* ‘animal’ < Tat. *žänlek* ‘id.’, Mari *jemâž* ‘berry, fruit’ < Tat. *žimeš* ‘id.’, Mari *jâtân* ‘linen’ < Tat. *žitên* ‘id.’ and others (Räsänen 1923: 28, 30), cf. borrowed names *Jamal* (*Jamalaj*) < Tat. *Žamal*, *Jansar* < Tat. *Žansari*, *Janseit* (*Jansit*) < Tat. *Žansäet*, etc. The word *jäng* ‘soul, heart’ exists in Hill Mari, borrowed from Tatar (probably from the Mishar dialectal *jan* ‘soul’) (Isanbaev 1994: 52). It can be assumed that in the stem of names with the element *čan-*, there is a component *čan-* ‘wolf’, which occurs in the names borrowed from Tatar, which in turn was borrowed from Mongolian; we can compare them to the Tatar names *Čanbaj*, *Čanbars*, *Čanbulat* and others. In Tatar anthroponymy, this component is among the most active components of personal names (Sattarov & Subaeva 1976: 67).

Only a small part of the abovementioned name components were loaned into Mari or its dialects as an appellative (*baj*, *patâr*, *pulat*). The majority of the aforementioned name elements in Mari occur only within names.

Considering Turkic borrowings in Mari names, it must be noted that a great deal of similar or identical names were once used in Mari, Chuvash and Tatar anthroponymy. In such cases, it is rather difficult to determine if a certain anthroponym is a Chuvash or Tatar borrowing. Phonetic criteria cannot always serve as a reliable indicator of the source language. Mari names are often recorded only in Russian sources (census books, census records) and may vary in orthography,

being dependent on authors (cf. Magnickij 1905: 13–15). The name of the same person can appear in different forms: *Ėl'bij* / *El'bij*, *Abradrašit* / *Abdrašit*, *Jašperda* / *Ješperda*, *Ėpat'ej* / *Ėpataj* (NART, F-3, op. 2, d. 136, p. 110 ob., 120, 123 ob., 136 ob., 137, 140 ob., 141). Moreover, Chuvash and Tatar names with the same etymological root do not differ much phonetically. Several examples can be considered: *Tuvan*, *Tuvanaj*, m. < Ch. *təvan* 'dear', cf. Chuvash names *Tuvand'ej* (*Tavand'ej*, *Tovand'ej*), *Tuvan*, *Tuvangilda*. Chuvash *təvan* is found in Tatar (*tugan*) with the same meaning. The consonant *v* indicates a Chuvash borrowing in Mari, in which it is usually preserved (Räsänen 1920: 13–15); *g* in Tatar borrowings is also preserved (Räsänen 1923: 9), as the Tatar names *Tugan*, *Tuganbaj* and Mari *Tugan*, *Tuganaj* show. This criterion however is not reliable enough, however. We must consider the fact that the *v* / *g* correspondence can be observed in Mari dialects (Gruzov 1965: 219–220). It is also important to take into account the territorial criterion. The most reliable Chuvash borrowings appear in the area of Hill Mari. For example, the Mari name *Aht'ejar* is borrowed from the Turkic languages and is found both in Chuvash and Tatar. The sound composition of the anthroponym and its recording in the Gornomariysky district indicate that it is a borrowing from Chuvash, as we can compare the Chuvash anthroponym *Aht'ijar* and Tatar *Ahtar*, *Aht'ar*, which in turn is borrowed from Persian.

## Influence of Russian anthroponymy on Mari

In 1552, the Mari region became part of the Russian state. One of the main tasks of the clergy in the newly annexed territories was the baptism of non-Russian peoples. At first, Eastern Orthodoxy was adopted by very few (mainly by representatives of the Mari population). Due to this, the government in the 17<sup>th</sup> century started granting rewards to the newly baptized in the form of exemption from tribute paid in furs, monetary payments and others, but this did not bring the desired results. Christianization of the Mari population proceeded slowly. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a number of laws were enacted according to which pagans adopting Christianity could acquire certain privileges. At the same time, conditions for the non-Christians were aggravated by

additional levies and duties by the state. This led to the increase of newly baptized among the Mari. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the coerced mass baptism of Mari took place in different districts. It must be noted that Christianization was only a formal act. For instance, in the 1830s, 68% of baptized Mari held on to their pagan faith (Popov 1987: 80). The strengthening of the Church in the Mari region also influenced naming. The newly baptized got calendar names but did not always use their new names and kept their traditional ones in everyday life (Jakovlev 1887: 51). The Christianization of the Mari and accompanying processes are reliably described by A. F. Rittih (1870: 194–195).

In his work on Mari names in Elabuga region, Magnickij points out that the inventory of anthroponyms among Chuvash, Mari and Tatars in the past was, to a large extent, identical (1892: 114). The use of non-Christian names of Tatar origin for Elabuga Mari living among the Tatar population was more typical. The Mari, depending on the territory of residence, actively used non-Christian names (mainly borrowed from Tatar) up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Eastern Mari living in the territory of Bashkortostan gave their children traditional non-Christian names for a longer time than the Mari of the western dialect zone or those residing in the south of Mari El. This is also clearly demonstrated by Eastern Mari family names, which are mostly based on non-Christian names: *Almijev*, *Bajmetov*, *Izergin*, *Izibajev*, *Juzijev*, *Šumatbajev*, *Sajsanov* and others. By traditional, I mean names that the Mari used before Christianization.

Christianity was gradually occupying a stronger position in the large territory where the Mari lived. The tradition of naming according to the church calendar was replacing Mari pagan names. Thus, the inventory of Mari anthroponyms was changed and replaced by calendar names under the influence of Eastern Orthodoxy. For a certain part of the Mari population, the change in the original anthroponymy under the influence of Christianity was formally complete by the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For another part of the Mari, the process of transition to the names used by the Russian speaking population took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It is worth noting that the Mari anthroponymy was also replenished by Russian names through borrowing. This was manifested by the use of Russian names adapted to the Mari language by the

non-baptized population. This process is vividly demonstrated by the data provided in the 10<sup>th</sup> census record of the village of Bolshie Karamasy. The document contains, for instance, the following information: *Ešpulat Pid'ijumov*, who had a son *Sandugan* by his first wife; the sons of *Sandugan Semon* and *Semen* (GARME, F. 15, op. 1, d. 537, s. 85). *Semen* and *Semon* are Mari versions of the Russian name *Semjon*. *Pektugan*, the younger brother of *Sandugan*, had three sons: *Pektugek*, *Mikipi* and *N'ikifor* (ibid.), and *Mikipi* is the Mari version of *N'ikifor*. The following information is interesting as well: *Mumaj (Mumoj) Anisimov* has the sons *S'ergej*, *Mikak*, *Mikaj*. *Mikak's* sons were *Mikvaj*, *Mukolaj* and *Miklaj* (ibid. s. 90): in this case, they used Mari versions of the Russian name *N'ikolaj (Mikolaj)* for the vertical-horizontal rhyming of names. Among the non-baptized Mari of Shinsha Volost, a considerable number of people with names borrowed from Russian or baptized Mari are found (GARME, F-R-1223, op. 2, d. 263).

It is interesting to provide certain information on Mari versions of Russian names when examining the influence of Russian anthroponymy on Mari. A rich set of Mari versions of Russian names appeared during the long period of Mari and Russian contacts. The following are some examples of Mari and Russian equivalents:

- Al'eks'ej* Rus. – *Alâksej, Alâksi, Êleksej, Ol'oš* Mari  
*Dmitrij* Rus. – *Metri, Mitri* Mari  
*Fil'ipp* Rus. – *Vil'âp* Mari  
*Fjodor* Rus. – *Vedâr, Vodâr, Bödör, Pödâr, Hödâr, Hödör* Mari  
*Fjokla* Rus. – *Pökla* Mari, *Gord'ej* Rus. – *Kord'i* Mari  
*Grigorij (Griša)* Rus. – *Kârgori* Mari  
*Ivan (Van'a)* Rus. – *Ivân, Jâvak, Jâvan, Van'ká* Mari  
*Jekat'erina* Rus. – *Kat'erna, Kačerna, Kâčâri, Kât'âri* Mari  
*Jel'ena* Rus. – *Jelâna, Jeluk* Mari  
*Jevdokia (Avdot'ja)* Rus. – *Ovdaki, Ovdaci, Ovdoč, Ovoč, Ovot'* Mari  
*Jevdokim (Avdokim)* Rus. – *Ovdokim* Mari  
*Jevstafij* Rus. – *Jesta* Mari  
*Kirill* Rus. – *Kârl'a* Mari  
*Konstant'in* Rus. – *Kâstenki, Kâstaj* Mari  
*Ksen'ija* Rus. – *Oks'ik* Mari

*Mihail (Miša)* Rus. – *Mikal* Mari  
*Natal'ja (Nataša)* Rus. – *Nataj* Mari  
*N'ikifor* Rus. – *Miki, Mikipi, Mikipur, Mikipâr* Mari  
*N'ikolaj* Rus. – *Mikolaj, Miklaj, Müklaj, Mikuk* Mari  
*Praskov'ja* Rus. – *Proskovi, Pot'a* Mari  
*Prokopij* Rus. – *Prokon* Mari  
*Rod'ion* Rus. – *Roik* Mari  
*S'ergej* Rus. – *Sergi, Seroš* Mari  
*Spiridon* Rus. – *Pridan* Mari  
*St'epan* Rus. – *Čopaj* Mari  
*Tat'jana* Rus. – *Tačana, T'at'uk, Čačuk* Mari  
*T'erent'ij* Rus. – *T'erent'ej, Čerenče* Mari  
*Val'erij* Rus. – *Bal'i, Pal'i, Bäldräj* Mari  
*Vlad'imir* Rus. – *Lajmâr* Mari  
*Vlad'islav* Rus. – *Blaj, Bläj, Vlad'ik* Mari  
*Vj'ačeslav (Vj'ača, Vaca)* Rus. – *Vača, Vačaj, Večej, Vači* Mari

Some Mari versions of Russian names are given in the article by I. A. Iznoskov *О личных инородческих именах* ('On Personal Non-Russian Names', 1882).

There are regional variations within the system of Russian name borrowing in Mari. For example, the equivalents of the male name *Saša (Al'eksandr)* in several villages of the Mishkinsky district in the Republic of Bashkortostan are the names *Maska* (< Mari *maska* 'bear') and *Mačuk* (MFE–RB Mishk. 2015, 2016). Another Mari version of *Saša* is *Ėčan* and its variants *Et'uk* and *Ečuk* found in Mari El. The name *Löksäntər* is noted among the Northwest Mari as a Mari variant of *Al'eksandr*. Another example of using a traditional non-Christian Mari name corresponding to a Russian name is *Petaj* (< ?MariE *petaj* 'frivolous person') – Rus. *Svetlana (Sveta)* (MFE–RB Mishk. 2015). According to Chernykh, *Petaj* occurs in archival documents as a male name (1995: 353).

Significant changes in the anthroponymy of peoples in the Russian state were brought about by the events of 1917. The Decree of 1918 on separating the Church from the state and school abolished the Church's authority to limit naming according to the Church calendar,

and legalized the free choice of names. As a result, the popular versions of names replaced the canonical ones and new names, which were borrowed from Western European languages, appeared. The 20<sup>th</sup> century for Mari anthroponymy is characterized by the transition of the majority of the Mari population to using names widespread among the Russian-speaking population. Under the influence of the Russian anthroponymic system, Mari developed into a three-member anthroponymic model: family name plus first name plus patronym. Family names came into use among the majority of the Mari population relatively late, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, even though they were present and previously used among a smaller part of the Mari population.

In everyday communication, the Mari use different monominal and binominal forms of naming. Depending on the territory of residence, the adult population also uses traditional names, which are non-Christian, and Russian names adapted to the Mari language such as *Alâksi* or *Al'oš* instead of *Al'eks'ej*, *Vasl'i* instead of *Vas'il'ij* (*Vas'a*) and others. Among a large part of the Mari-speaking population, the system of naming wives after husbands, children after parents and other methods are also widespread (see the second section of the present article for details): *Metri vate* 'wife of Dmitry', *S'ergi èrge* 'son of Sergei'. Relatives in relation to each other use terms of kinship in combination with the name or without it: *kurskaj* 'husband of the elder sister, husband of the younger sisters of the parents', *Kol'ka izaj* 'uncle (father's younger brother) Kolya' and other variations. Older relatives should be addressed as *kugâzaj* 'addressing a senior or old man', *izaj* 'uncle, addressing an older man by age', *kokaj* 'addressing a father's or mother's elder sister or an older woman', *akaj* 'aunt, addressing senior women who are younger than mother or father' and other variations in combination with the name. Unofficial addressing involves the use of many nicknames, which can be genealogical, individual, or from some other origin.

It must be noted that there are some Mari who prefer traditional Mari names. We can see that Maris strive for authenticity in a time of globalization as well as to preserve their national identity under conditions of cultural assimilation and language endangerment.

## Conclusions

Observations of the evolution of Mari anthroponymy from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward allow us to draw the following conclusions. For the system of pre-Christian Mari anthroponymy it was typical to use a multinominal naming form in addition to a simple monominal system: a personal name plus a genealogy name, a name according to place of residence and other modes. In the Mari tradition, naming was frequently carried out with regard to genealogical names. Parents tried to preserve some components reflecting membership of a certain family in the children's names. Right up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, traditional pagan rituals were held accompanying the child's naming or a change of the child's name. According to Mari beliefs, names possessed great power, which could influence the child's life. The choice of a name was determined by beliefs, traditions and everyday life situations.

The inventory of Mari personal names developed by using the rich word-formation system and borrowings of names from the languages of neighboring peoples. Prolonged contacts with Tatars and Mari-Tatar bilingualism determined the specifics of Mari personal names and served as a precondition for forming hybrid names of the 'Mari + Tatar' type. In general, the active contacts of different groups of Mari with neighboring peoples (Tatars, Chuvash, Russians) influenced the nature of the Mari personal names in different territories. There was significant influence from Chuvash and Russian anthroponymy on the names of the Hill Mari and from Tatar anthroponymy on the names of Maris in Tatarstan and Bashkortostan.

Contemporary Mari anthroponymy is characterized by the presence of borrowed names, mostly from Russian. It is also worth pointing out the growing interest among the Mari in having traditional names.

Further research on Mari personal names by using archival and fieldwork materials would provide valuable information on the nature, function and formation of Mari anthroponymy. A further comparative analysis of findings would reveal the trends of anthroponymy formation in different periods and among different groups of Mari. It is very interesting that there are specifics found only among certain groups of Mari, displaying different micro-traditions (for instance, unofficial

generic names among Urzhum Mari or Eastern Mari: *Pagaj porodo* ‘Pagai clan’, *Konas nāsāl* ‘Konas clan’). Establishing the sources of such specific features is a task for the future. A further collection of anthroponymic material and subsequent analysis of Mari personal names would expand our knowledge of Mari anthroponyms and shed light on some aspects of the ethnic history of the Mari.

## Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic	MariE	Eastern Mari
Ch.	Chuvash	MariH	Hill Mari
dial.	dialectal word	p. n.	personal name
f.	female name	Pers.	Persian
Fi.	Finnish	Rus.	Russian
figur.	figurative	suf.	suffix
m.	male name	Tat.	Tatar

## References

- Ainiiala, Terhi, Minna Saarelma & Paula Sjöblom 2012: *Names in Focus: An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*. Studia Fennica Linguistica 17. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Ajplaton 1965 = Айплатов, Г. Н. 1965: О мари́йских собственных именах XVII в. – *Советское финно-угроведение* 2. 89–93.
- Alonzov 1865 = Алонзов, Ф. 1865: О религиозных верованиях некрещеных черемис Бирского уезда. – *Памятная книжка Оренбургской губернии за 1865 г.* Уфа. 1–8.
- Chernykh 1995 = Черных, С. Я. 1995: *Словарь мари́йских личных имен = Марий ен лўм-влак мутер*. Йошкар-Ола: МарГУ.
- 1996 = Черных, С. Я. 1996: *Мари́йская антропонимия: истоки формирования и пути развития*. Йошкар-Ола.
- Daniilova & Jenzhaeva 1976 = Данилова, Л. В., Т. Т. Енжаева 1976: Имена чувашей в Башкирской АССР (по материалам, собранным в дер. Зириклы Бижбулякского района). – *Ономастика Поволжья* 4. Саранск. 61–64.

- ESMJa = Гордеев, Ф. И. 1979: *Этимологический словарь марийского языка*. Том 1. А–Б. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- Ethnographica = The National Archives. Data of Finno-Ugric Society. Jev-sevjev, Timofej. Ethnographica VI, IX, XIII.
- Fedotov 1998 = Федотов, М. Р. 1998: *Словарь чувашских нехристианских личных имен*. Чебоксары: Чувашский государственный институт гуманитарных наук. <<http://samahsar.chuvash.org/dict/3.html>>
- Galiullina 2008 = Галиуллина, Г. Р. 2008: *Татарские личные имена в контексте лингвокультурных традиций*. Казань: Изд-во Казанск. гос. ун-та.
- 2013 = Галиуллина, Г. Р. 2013: Личные имена арабо-персидского происхождения как составляющая духовной культуры татар. – *Филология и культура*, No 1 (31). 40–43.
- Galkin 1966 = Галкин, И. С. 1966: *Историческая грамматика марийского языка. Морфология, часть II*. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- 1985 = Галкин, И. С. 1985: Происхождение названий дней недели в марийском языке. – *Вопросы марийской ономастики*, вып. 5. Йошкар-Ола. 30–43.
- 1997 = Галкин, И. С. 1997: *Марий ономастика: Краеведлан польши*. Йошкар-Ола: Марий книга савыктыш.
- GARME = Государственный архив Республики Марий Эл. Фонд Р-1223, опись 2, дело 263. Фонд 15, опись 1, дело 537.
- Gening & Halikov 1964 = Генинг, В. Ф., А. Х. Халиков 1964: *Ранние болгары на Волге (Больше-Тарханский могильник)*. Москва: Наука.
- Gerd, Kuzebaj 1993: *Ethnographica. Человек и его рождение у восточных финнов*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Glukhova 2013 = Глухова, Н. Н. 2013: Этнические ценности в марийских антропонимах. – *Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики*. No 4 (22): в 2-х ч. Ч. 1. 43–47.
- 2016 = Глухова, Н. Н. 2016: Символика антропонимов в марийской культуре: гендерный аспект. – *Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики*. No 5 (59): в 3-х ч. Ч. 1. С. 60–65.
- Gordeev 1970 = Гордеев, Ф. И. 1970: О личных именах марийцев. – *Личные имена в прошлом, настоящем, будущем*. Москва: Наука. 258–263.
- 1989 = Гордеев, Ф. И. 1989: Марийцы. – *Система личных имен у народов мира*. Москва: Наука. 205–210.
- Gorodskoj 1864 = Городской, Г. 1864: О черемисах, проживающих в Красноуфимском уезде Пермской губернии. – *Этнографический сборник*. Вып. 6. 23–34.
- Gruzov 1965 = Грузов, Л. П. 1965: *Фонетика диалектов марийского языка в историческом освещении*. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.

- Hämäläinen, Albert 1913: *Mordvalaisten, tšeremissien ja votjakkien kosinta- ja häätavoista: vertaileva tukimus*. Helsinki: Suomal. Kirjall. Seuran Kirjapainon Osakeyhtiö.
- 1945: Über die Namengebungsbräuche bei den Mordwinen und Tschere-  
missen. – *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Finnische Volkskunde* 3–4:  
1–9.
- IMASSR I = Хлебников, А. В. (ed.) 1986: *История Марийской  
АССР*. Том I. С древнейших времен до Великой Октябрьской  
социалистической революции. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- IMKDM = Айплатов, Г. Н., А. Г. Иванов (eds) 1992: *История Марийского  
края в документах и материалах*. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- Isanbaev 1994 = Исанбаев, Н. И. 1994: *Марийско-тюркские языковые  
контакты*. Часть вторая (Словарь татарских и башкирских  
заимствований). Йошкар-Ола.
- Iznoskov 1882 = Износков, И. А. 1882: О личных инородческих именах.  
– *Труды четвертого археологического съезда в России, бывшего в  
Казани с 31 июля по 18 августа 1877 г.* Том I. Казань: Типография  
Императорского университета. 149–153.
- Jakovlev 1887 = Яковлев, Г. 1887: *Религиозные обряды черемис*. Казань:  
Типография и литография В. М. Ключникова.
- KESKJa = Лыткин, В. И., Е. С. Гуляев 1970: *Краткий этимологический  
словарь коми языка*. Москва: Наука.
- Kiviniemi, Eero 1982a: *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet: Suomalaisten etuni-  
met ja nimivalinta*. Espoo: Weilin+Göös.
- 1982b: Suomen varhaisiin henkilönnimisysteemeihin liittyviä ongel-  
mia. – *Suku ja tieto: Sukututkimuspäivien esitelmät 1979–1980*. Suo-  
men sukututkimusseuran julkaisuja 34. Helsinki: Suomen sukututki-  
musseura. 29–43.
- Kovedjaev 1918 = Коведяев, И. 1918: Тошто марийын лумжб. – *Марий  
календарь 1918-ше ийлан*. Казань.
- Kusimova 1991 = Кусимова, Т. 1991: *Исемдәр донъяһында. Башкорт  
исемдәре һүзеге, башкорт һәм рус телдәрендә*. Өфө:  
Башкортостан китап нәшриәте.
- Magnickij 1892 = Магницкий, В. К. 1892: Алфавит языческих имен  
черемис Елабужского уезда. – *Календарь Вятской губернии на  
1893 г.* 114–123.
- 1905 = Магницкий, В. К. 1905: *Чувашские языческие имена*.  
Казань: Типография Императорского университета.
- Mendiarov 1894 = Мендиаров, Г. 1894: О черемисах Уфимской губернии.  
– *Этнографическое обозрение*. No 3, кн. XXII. 34–53.

- MFE–KO Kilm. 2014 = Materials of the field expedition to Kirov oblast: Kilmezsky district.
- MFE–MER Zven. 2015 = Materials of the field expedition to Mari El Republic: Zvenigovsky district.
- MFE–RB Mishk. 2015, 2016, Birsk. 2016 = Materials of the field expedition to Republic of Bashkortostan: Mishkinsky district, Birsky district.
- Mitroshkina 1987 = Митрошкина, А. Г. 1987: *Бурятская антропонимия*. Новосибирск: Наука.
- Molotova 2005 = Молотова, Т. Л. 2005: Родильные обряды. – *Марийцы. Историко-этнографические очерки. Коллективная монография*. Йошкар-Ола: МарНИИЯЛИ. 173–180.
- NART = Национальных архив Республики Татарстан. Фонд 3, опись 2, дело 134, 136.
- Nikol'skij 1920 = Никольский, Н. В. 1920: *История мари (Черемис)*. Казань: Первая Государственная типография.
- Olearij 1906 = Олеарий, Адам 1906: *Описание путешествия в Московию и через Московию в Персию и обратно*. Санкт-Петербург: Издание А. С. Суворина.
- Popov 1987 = Попов, Н. С. 1987: *Православие в марийском крае*. Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- Pustyakov 2014 = Пустяков, А. Л. 2014: К проблеме разграничения марийских и пермских топонимов в Ветлужско-Вятском междуречье. – *Вопросы ономастики*. No 2 (17). 7–34.
- Räsänen, Martti 1920: *Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*. MSFOu XLVIII. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- 1923: *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*. MSFOu L. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Rittih 1870 = Риттих, А. Ф. 1870: *Материалы для этнографии России. Казанская губерния XIV-ая*. Часть II. Казань: Типография Императорского Казанского университета.
- Rjabinskij 1900 = Рябинский, К. С. 1900: Ардинский приход Козьмодемьянского уезда. – *ИОАИЭ XVI* (2). 176–212.
- Sagautdinov 2011 = Сагаутдинов, Ш. Ш. 2011: *Татарские имена: происхождение, значения, примеры*. Алматы.
- Sattarov 1970 = Саттаров, Г. Ф. 1970: Категория ласкательности в татарских личных именах. – *Антропонимика*. Москва: Наука. 211–217.
- Sattarov & Subaeva 1976 = Саттаров, Г. Ф., Р. Х. Субаева 1976: Основные компоненты сложных личных имен в татарском языке. – *Ономастика Поволжья* 4. В. А. Никонов, Н. Ф. Мокшин (ред.). Саранск. 65–73.

- Savatkova 1976 = Саваткова, А. А. 1976: Имена и прозвища людей в горном наречии марийского языка. – *Тезисы докладов на научной сессии по итогам работы за 1971–1976 гг.* Йошкар-Ола. 75–78.
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 1950: Concerning Cheremis Names. – *Language*, Vol. 26, No. 2. 276–278.
- SGJa = Саваткова, А. А. 2008: *Словарь горномарийского языка.* Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- Shakurov 1980 = Шакуров, Р. З. 1980: Рифмование имен у башкир. – *Ономастика Востока.* Москва: Наука. 43–48.
- Shestakov 1867 = Шестаков, П. 1867: Быт черемис Уржумского уезда (Продолжение). – *Вятские губернские ведомости* 4. 34–35.
- Shkalina 2003 = Шкалина, Г. Е. 2003: *Традиционная культура народа мари.* Йошкар-Ола: Мар. кн. изд-во.
- SSA = Itkonen, Erkki & Ulla-Maija Kulonen (eds) 1992–2000: *Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja* I–III. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 556, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 62. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus – Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Superanskaja 2001 = Суперанская, А. В. 2001: Эволюция антропонимических систем в русском и ряде других языков. – *Ономастика Поволжья: Материалы VIII конференции по ономастике Поволжья.* Волгоград, 8–11 сентября 1998 г. Москва. 27–37.
- Tojdybekova 1997 = Тойдыбекова, Л. 1997: *Марийская языческая вера и этническое самосознание.* Karjalan tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja 116. Joensuu.
- UEW = Rédei, Károly 1986–1991: *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Vershinin 1982 = Вершинин, В. И. 1982: Прозвища в елабужском говоре марийского языка. – *Вопросы марийской ономастики* 3. Йошкар-Ола. 81–100.
- Znamenskij 1867 = Знаменский, П. 1867: Горные черемисы Казанского края (Из наблюдений очевидца). – *Вестник Европы.* Т. IV. 30–71.
- Zolotnickij 1882 = Золотницкий, Н. И. 1882: Алфавитный список древних исторических инородческих имен, преимущественно встречающихся в исторических и юридических актах и служащих к объяснению названий населенных местностей Казанской губернии. – *Труды IV Археологического съезда в России, бывшего в Казани с 31 июля по 18 августа 1877 г.* Т. 1. Казань: Типография Императорского университета. 154–160.

## Марий ен лўм-влак: историй да кызыт кучылталтме ойырте

*Alexander Pustyakov*

Ты статьяште марий антропонимийын вашталт толмыжо, тошто годсо да кызытсе ойыртемеже рашемдалтеш. Шымлымаште түрлө лўмер да архив гыч налме материал-влакым кучылтмо. Марий калыкын лўмвундыжо кужу историян, но лўм-влакым XVI курыммышто веле түрлө документеш возаш тўналме.

Кызытсе жапыште тўн марий лўм-влакым шагал муаш лиеш. Статьяште нуным, пуымо амалым шотыш налын, түрлө тўшкалан шеледыме. Айдемын могай улмыжым ончыктышо простой да *-цора* мучашан сложный лўм-влак эн шуко вашлиялтыт. Марий калык кужу жап, чимарий йўлам эскерен, йочалан лўмым пуэн. Южо вере тиде йўлам кодшо курым мучаштак шуктеныт.

Марий лўмвундым шымлымек, чуваш, суас, руш-влак дене вашкылым кучен илымаш, тынеш да исламыш пурымаш раш коеш. Чыла тиде марий йочалан лўмым пуымыште кугу верым налеш. Крешын деч ончыч шочшо лўмвундышто, тўн шотышто, суас йылме гыч пурышо лўм-влак палдырнат. Ты лўм радамыште араб, перс, монгол муттўнан шомак-влакат улыт. Черке лўм дене пайдаланаш тўналмаш, мутат уке, тынеш пурымо дене кылдалтын. Жап эртыме семын чимарий-влакат руш лўмым тынеш пурышо марий але руш-влак деч кўсынленыт. Кызыт марий-влак шке йочаштлан шукажым руш лўмым пуат, коклан тошто марий лўм-влакат вашлиялтыт.

VALÉRIA TÓTH  
University of Debrecen

## The history of the Hungarian personal name system in the context of cognitive-pragmatic description<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** The most typical features of anthroponyms as linguistic elements include linguistic and linguistic-taxonomical determination, as well as cultural determination. Therefore, the analysis of the different name systems gives us the opportunity to make a comparative analysis of linguistic and cultural interferences. First of all, this requires a standardised analysis framework that can be extended to most languages. In my presentation, I will propose for this purpose a model for the analysis of anthroponyms, which is based on cognitive-pragmatic aspects and is suitable for the appropriate treatment of both linguistic and cultural characteristics. I would like to illustrate the applicability of this model through the history of Hungarian anthroponomastics, hoping that the extension of the analysis to the name systems of related languages and non-related languages may shed new light not only on the different systems of anthroponyms, but also on the interaction of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors of linguistic changes in general.

---

1. This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen – Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

My study will demonstrate how the theoretical framework outlined by István Hoffmann and myself in an article (see Hoffmann & Tóth 2015) can be applied to characterize the personal name system of a specific language, Hungarian. During this taxonomical description, I mostly focus on diachronic changes in the name system, showing how each personal name type can be described, and what structural transformations have been caused in the system itself by the changes in their use.

Let us start with a preliminary, brief outline of the model used for an analysis of personal names. I intend to define the types of personal names from pragmatic and cognitive aspects. The pragmatic approach focuses on the circumstances of name giving: namely, it is used to examine the act of name giving through which the individual as a name bearer assumes a particular type of personal name. Based on this, we can distinguish three types of names, described in the following. The type of personal name that becomes the individual's name through conscious decision via the intervention of certain persons (such as parents, priests, tribe leaders, shamans, etc.) and that is chosen from a relatively closed stock of names (from a list) is called a *list name*. Another type of personal name is linked to the individual automatically, based on customs, unwritten or written law: the name is independent from the name giver's intentions, and the individual assumes his or her name based on the rules of name giving in the community. In the field of personal name giving, this is how individuals obtain their family names nowadays, however, the *automatic name* – as we will shortly see – was also used in ancient times. The third type of personal names are *created names*, which are not bound by formal rules, as this type of name giving relies on the entire lexicon as well as the name giver's linguistic creativity, and the name very often emerges only through the act of name giving itself. This is how nicknames emerge in the today's personal name system, yet the same cognitive-pragmatic process was also probably the underlying motivation for personal names in Old Hungarian name giving (for further details, see Hoffmann & Tóth 2015: 145–146).<sup>2</sup>

From the functional-cognitive aspect of all basic name types, it is created names that are most closely related to their name bearers

---

2. Vincent Blanár also focused on pragmatic aspects when he defined individual characteristics of personal names based on the circumstances of name giving (1995: 1179).

(as these names reflect the individual's characteristics, social status, etc.). The individual elements of this type of name are always motivated, they are rich in information and, consequently, they are highly descriptive: thus, from a cognitive point of view, we can call them *descriptive names*. Automatic names are also characterised by a certain grade of motivation and informativeness, yet as a rule, they only convey one type of information since they traditionally describe the person as belonging to a genetically or functionally clearly defined community (to a mother, father, family, clan or tribe, etc.). In most social formations, genetic identity plays a fundamental role in community building, and any community that is organised on the basis of genetic ties is usually given a name as well. For these types of names, we can use the term *nexus names*. In the case of list names, we cannot talk about motivatedness, since their main function is to identify the named individual within a relatively small community (primarily within a family). From a cognitive point of view, these are called *referential names*. (Of course, the other two name types also have a referential function, as this is the most vital role of all personal names, yet in name giving, the other two name types carry special functions characteristic only to them and absent in the case of referential names.) In addition to the aforementioned basic types of names, a fourth category of personal names should be added too, which, when compared to the other types, is a secondary category: that of *affective names*, the core cognitive-semantic content of which derives from the emotional relationship between a name giver or name user and the name bearer. Since these types of names emerge through the modification of other names, they are called *modified names* from a pragmatic point of view. With these names, the primary role of identification is linked to a dominant affective function which may often completely outweigh their original functions (for more, see Hoffmann & Tóth 2015: 146–147). In the following, I present a brief sketch of the history of Hungarian personal name giving within the context of this theoretical framework. This article largely relies on the ideas developed in the second half of Hoffmann and Tóth's study, completing these ideas and providing further examples.

Examining names from a historical perspective largely depends on available written sources that furnish data on personal names. The

earliest documented period of Hungarian language history is from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first written sources from this period preserved Hungarian language elements to some extent. These documents were written in foreign languages, mostly in Latin and sometimes in Greek. As these mostly Latin sources contain a great deal of Hungarian elements, primarily personal and place names, they are also important relics for research into Hungarian language and name history. We have no direct linguistic evidence, and thus no name data, from the time prior to the 10<sup>th</sup> century; therefore, we can only attempt to describe this early period of Hungarian language and name history on the general basis of onomastic theory, at most building on the continuity of the name system and also by applying the method of retrospective conclusion from later periods.

The earliest linguistic relics prove, through actual data, my general statement that descriptive names, as the name type constituting the backbone of the name system, play a central role in naming and name use in all periods of onomastic history. With regard to Hungarian naming, this general thesis is not only valid for periods directly researchable through linguistic data, but its validity can be extended to earlier periods that cannot be documented through linguistic historical research.

The primary source for the study of the personal name system prior to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the so-called Old Hungarian period, is provided by the Greek work of Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959) entitled *De Administrando Imperio*, written c. 950–951 CE. Several chapters of this work contain parts relevant to Hungarians, and the personal name data occurring in it represent Hungarian naming in the so-called pagan period and nomadic lifeways, for example. *ἀρπαδής* (< *árpa* ‘barley’), *φαλίτζιν* (< *fal* ‘eats’), *ἐζέλεχ* (< *íz(l)el* ‘tastes’), *Λεβεδίας* (< *lesz* ‘he is’). From a taxonomical point of view, these name forms (also including their semantic and morphological structure) perfectly fit in with the personal name data from between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century charters: 1184: *Cucendi* (*kökény* ‘sloe’; *ÁSz.* 228), 1211: *Kereu* (*kér* ‘ask’; *ÁSz.* 459), 1138/1329: *Lewedi* (*lesz* ‘he is’; *ÁSz.* 494), 1174: *Numvog* (‘you are not’), 1213/1550: *Fehersa* (*fehér* ‘white’; *ÁSz.* 303), +1086: *Feketeydi* (*fekete* ‘black’; *ÁSz.* 303), +1086: *Zacal* (*szakáll* ‘beard’; *ÁSz.* 834), +1135: *Scemd*

(*szem* ‘eye’; *ÁSz.* 844), 1152: *Aianduc* (*ajándék* ‘gift’; *ÁSz.* 51), 1198: *Sukete* (*süket* ‘deaf’; *ÁSz.* 734), etc.

Although the relatively small number of personal name data that survived in sources between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries does not provide sufficient information about the personal name giving patterns of the earlier periods, we can nevertheless discern a certain picture of contemporary name giving practices, especially when also taking into account personal name data from later sources. According to researchers of historical personal name giving, the main feature of personal name giving practices among Hungarians in the nomadic times prior to the expansion of Christianity was that individuals were given one single name that they obtained from their environment either at birth or soon afterwards. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that, in some cases, the name was linked to the person only at a later stage in his or her life. Most names were formed from Hungarian appellatives, they were semantically motivated, and they did not substantially differ from the types of Old Hungarian personal name giving, which we call “primitive”, dating back to the period referred to as “pagan” times, “nomadic” or, more recently “secular”, as opposed to the types of Christian names spread by the Church. In the following, I demonstrate that in light of current knowledge, some elements of this idea are disputable.

The taxonomic relationship mentioned above clearly demonstrates the continuity of the name system but, as we will see below, the changes in the sociocultural circumstances of this period also resulted in significant transformations in the system of personal names.

The earliest written sources reliably demonstrate the fact that the Hungarian personal name system also contained personal names with a referential function at this time. Thus, we must certainly regard the name system between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries as a two-fold system (cf. Figure 1). Referential names only have the most elemental function of personal names, that is, they identify the name bearer without being associated to further functions (e.g. characterisation, description, affective role). The basic source for this type of personal name is mostly provided by borrowed personal names.

Of referential names, personal names of Turkish origin represent the earliest chronological stratum from the period documentable with

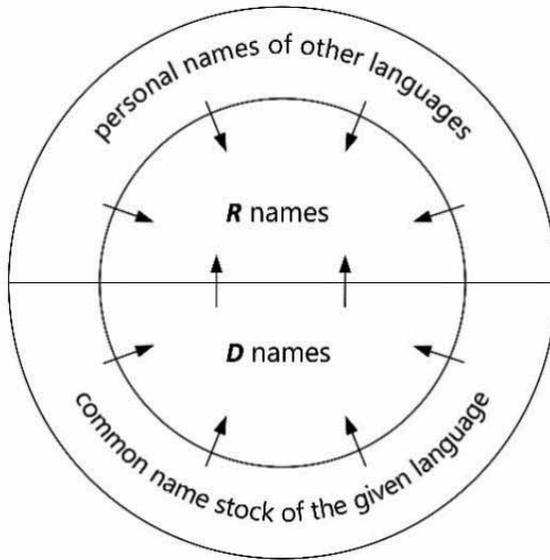


Figure 1. The model of the two-fold personal name system (R names = referential names, D names = descriptive names)

data. The majority of these names date back to the so-called nomadic naming period, the age before the Hungarians moved into the Carpathian Basin between 895 and 896 CE. After settling in the Carpathian Basin, following the gradual decrease of Turkish–Hungarian linguistic contacts that had been dominant prior, the use of these names was overshadowed by names from other sources, though the Turkish names still need to be taken into account as elements of the name system. As regards the personal names of Turkish origin, the earliest source of information is also the work of Emperor Constantine. The personal name data of this historical work such as *τασής* (cf. Turkish personal name *Taş*), *Ἰέλεγ* (cf. Turkish personal name *\*Iliy ~ \*Eliy*), *ιουτοτζάς* (cf. Turkish *jutočvi* ‘gourmand’), etc. must have become parts of the Hungarian name system during the time preceding the 10<sup>th</sup> century when Hungarian–Turkish cultural relations were most lively. There are plenty or additional personal name data originating from the Turkic languages occurring later, too, recorded in early charter sources:

1138/1329: *Tosu* (ÁSz. 763), 1146: *Acus* (ÁSz. 45; cf. Turkish *Aq-quš* ‘white falcon’), 1138/1329: *Bese* (ÁSz. 120; cf. Turkish *bäšä* ‘a bird of prey’), c. 1200: *Ohtum* (ÁSz. 45; cf. Turkish *Altın*), c. 1200: *Hulec* (ÁSz. 394; cf. Turkish *\*Iliγ ~ \*Eliγ*), etc.

In the period following settlement in the Carpathian Basin, new strata of referential names appeared in the Hungarian personal name system due to the fact that other groups of peoples and languages started to influence the Hungarian language in this period and later, in addition to Turkic linguistic contacts. Of these influences, Slavic and German were the most important, as demonstrated by the large number of names of Slavic origin, for example: 1211: *Bogat* (ÁSz. 133; cf. Slavic *Bogatъ*), 1055: *Woiteh comitis* (ÁSz. 825; cf. Czech *Vojtěch*), 1111: *Jaresclau* (ÁSz. 406; cf. Slavic *Jaroslavъ*), 1162: *Beloslao* (ÁSz. 107; cf. Slavic *Běloslavъ*), 1217: domine *bogosloe* (ÁSz. 135; cf. Slavic *Bogoslava*), 1193: In Zuloc ... terra ... dividitur cum *Vinceslov* (ÁSz. 813), and of German origin in the charters, for example 1055: *Lutouic comitis* (ÁSz. 503; cf. Germ. *Liutwic*, *Lutowic*, *Lutwic*), 1111: *Theobaldus Sumugin(ensis)* [comes] (ÁSz. 746; cf. Germ. *Thiotbald*, *Theutbald*), 1134: *Adilbreth ... Sumigiensis comes* (ÁSz. 47; cf. Germ. *Adilbrecht*, *Albrecht*), +1135/XIII.: *Lamberto comite Budrugiensi* (ÁSz. 480; cf. Germ. *Lambrecht*), 1211: *vdornici ... Wylmos* (ÁSz. 812; cf. Germ.-Lat. *Wilhelmus*), 1299: *Lypolth filius Martini nobilis de Mysle* (ÁSz. 495), 1211: *Welprith* (ÁSz. 801; cf. Germ. *Welfrit*), 1299: comes *Walter* (ÁSz. 792); 1292: domine *Hedwigi* relicte quondam domini Sifridi de Haslowe (ÁSz. 371; cf. Germ. *Hedwig*), 1216: *Gertrudis* Regina Vngarie (ÁSz. 333; cf. Germ. *Gertrud(is)*, *Gerdrud(is)*), etc.

In the integration into a foreign cultural framework or in making contact with a highly prestigious culture, it is natural for the personal name system of the target language to borrow elements from the culture of higher prestige, mostly through higher social classes or other socio-cultural groups that mediate the culture. Following their migration to the Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians integrated into the Christian feudal culture of Europe and adopted Roman Christianity. The conversion of Hungarians to the Christian faith started between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, and its influence was soon reflected in the system of personal names. The adoption of Christianity resulted in name use that differed from that of earlier times. A new name type appeared

in the system with a referential function, the category of Christian names, which, due to its prestigious superiority, had a great influence on the choice of names, especially since all people were now compulsorily given a name of Christian origin at their baptism. Alongside the category of Christian names, elements of the previous name system continued to live on. However, with the ever-increasing expansion of Christianity, both the descriptive names of Hungarian origin and the borrowed personal names of foreign origin were relegated to the periphery of the name system. In addition to displacing the above-mentioned two name types, the new church naming model also had wider-reaching consequences for the general nature of Hungarian naming. These effects will be described in further detail below.

The early charter sources provide valuable data about the extent and means of the early spreading of the Greek-Latin Christian name stratum. In the founding charter of the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany from the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (1055), despite its early age, we can find a surprisingly large number of persons referred to with Christian names, and not only among Church officials, which is natural (e.g. *Signum Benedicti* archiepiscopi, *Signum Mauri* episcopi, *Signum Clementi* episcopi, etc.), but also as names of secular lords: *Signum Viti* comitis, *Signvm Martini* comitis, *Signum Helie* comitis, *Signum Andree* comitis, etc. There are examples from the next centuries of the ever-extending use of this name stratum in growing numbers, for example 1131: principes ... *Janus, Marcus* (ÁSz. 404, 514), 1134: testes ... *Laurenti(us)* fili(us) *Salamonis* canon[ici Waradie]nsis ecclesie (ÁSz. 483), 1138/1329: mansiones servorum ... In villa Kunda: ... *Stephan, Martin, Dienis* ... *Vitalis* (ÁSz. 521), 1171: *Benedic* ... come(s) Bezp(re)miensis (ÁSz. 112), 1193: *Dominico* curiali comite ... Budrugiensi (ÁSz. 255), 1193: *Andrea* comite de Suprun (ÁSz. 64), 1193: *Stephano* comite de Worost (ÁSz. 728), 1211: *Johannes cum filiis suis Petur*; Tenke ... *Ibrahun cum filiis suis Stephano et Egidio* (ÁSz. 630), 1237: *Cozma filius Pauli, Elec filius Nicolai* (ÁSz. 56), 1276: terram *Marcelli filii Jacobi* de Kutus (ÁSz. 400); 1209/1209: filia *Raguel* mulier (ÁSz. 666), 1211: filii *Susanne* (ÁSz. 736), 1272: *Rebeka* (ÁSz. 671), 1296/1330: religiose domine ... *Judith et Elizabeth* vocate de valle Vesprimyensi (ÁSz. 432), 1171: ancillarum nomina *Maria* (ÁSz. 518), 1231: Ego *Anna*

uxor Bors comitis (ÁSz. 68), 1211: Samson, filius *Magdalene* (ÁSz. 507), 1251: domina *Elysabeth* filia Sebastiani comitis relicta Been filii Iund (ÁSz. 277), etc.

These name forms functioned as elements of a very virulent type of cultural name in the Hungarian and, in a broader context, European name system. Names such as *Petrus*, *Johannes*, *Martinus*, *Maria* and *Anna* spread around as a result of a cultural initiative, along with Christianity as its inseparable attribute, and the institutions and representatives of the Church played a determining role in this process. This also explains why Christian personal names appeared in Hungarian charter sources for a time almost exclusively in Latin form, in accordance with the language of the Church. This process led to referential names becoming a rather homogenised, more closed and bound category.

Thus, the adoption of Christianity resulted in a significant restructuring of the Hungarian personal name system, which also caused changes in the use of names with a descriptive function. In addition to the high prestige associated with more or less “official” Christian names with a referential function, individuals often continued to bear descriptive names as well. The elements of the two kinds of names in the name of the same person also appeared in Latin charters alternately or in a structure suggesting parallel use, for example 1272–1290: Stephanus dictus *Ruphus* (cf. Latin *ruphus* ‘red’; ÁSz. 729), 1277/1356: *Mychael* dictus *Tar* (cf. *tar* ‘bald’; ÁSz. 740), 1282/1381: Petrus dictus *Agh* frater Barthulumei (cf. *agg* ‘old’; ÁSz. 49), 1284: *Johannes* dictus *Balogh* (‘*Johannes* called *Balogh*’, cf. *balog* ‘left-handed’; ÁSz. 86), 1291: *Mychael* dictus *Sydo* (‘*Mychael* called *Sydo*’, cf. *zsidó* ‘Jewish’; ÁSz. 713), [1292–1293]: comes Nycolaus dictus *Farkas* (cf. *farkas* ‘wolf’; ÁSz. 301), 1300 k.: magister Jacobus dictus *Kopoz* (cf. *kopasz* ‘bald’; ÁSz. 468), 1399: Blasius dictus *Baranyay* (*Baranyai* ‘someone from Baranya county’; Fehértói 1969: 63).

These data clearly prove that the two personal name systems, a referential name given by the representative of the Church in accordance with certain rules as well as a descriptive name directly given by the name community, existed side-by-side. The descriptive names used alongside referential names resemble, in several respects, the main types of what were to later become family names. However,

these data do not yet comply with the criteria of family names as a part of nexus names, as they merely serve to name the given person and do not occur in a kinship network, nor are they inherited. Nevertheless, seeing the correspondence of this type of name with typical semantic types of family names, we can rightly regard these descriptive names as some kind of pre-family names or potential family names.

The fact that there already was a demand for the signification of nexus networks at a very early stage is demonstrated by the early data which attempted to identify the given person by their father's name in official documents and charters, for example +1086: *Nemka filius Turuuoi* (ÁSz. 579), 1134: *Geuril filius Andree comitis* (ÁSz. 335), 1157–1158: *Stephanus filius Adriani* (ÁSz. 47), +1158: *Petrus Abbas filius comitis Thuross* (ÁSz. 752), c. 1165: *Forcos filius Poznan* (ÁSz. 621), 1177: *Thomas filius Zah* (ÁSz. 835), 1181: *Ambrosius filius Custan* (ÁSz. 231), 1198: *Behed filius Mence* (ÁSz. 103), etc. These constructions signifying persons, which, in their form as seen here, cannot be identified with a personal name, demonstrate that there was already a demand in society for the expression of kinship, but that the linguistic device for this expression was still lacking. The tension between the existence of a social and linguistic demand on the one hand and the lack of a linguistic device on the other acted as a catalyst for facilitating the development of nexus names as a personal name type.

During the history of the Hungarian personal name system, two kinds of nexus names developed: genus names characteristic of name use between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and later, in fact as their chronological continuation, the category of family names. Whereas the use of genus names was regulated by strict social restrictions, as only landlords were allowed to keep track of their relations in this way, family names extended to the name use of all classes of society over time.

Below I describe the most important features of genera between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries as social formations. The characteristics are briefly summarised here because these circumstances heavily influenced the usage of genus names: a) Members of the genus were linked by actual blood, that is the genus was an economical, legal and social community of kin on the male line, naturally descending from the same ancestor; b) Under medieval Hungarian property law, the

ancestor of the genus passed on his wealth to all of his descendants, not only to the members of the following generation, thus the genus – forming a kind of legal community – owned and inherited its wealth based on tribal law; c) The genus also constituted a cult community, based on the veneration of the ancestors (especially of the founder of the genus), the scene of spiritual life in most genera being the common monastery of the genus, which also served as a burial place. Thus the genus system between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries encompassed the higher social classes only, and therefore the use of genus names was, of course, characteristic of only this class. The sense of community and belonging together within the genus expressed through the shared genus name and its symbol, the common coat of arms, was also enhanced by recurring typical personal names within the genus and by its own traditions.

The chronological relations of genus names draw a unique curve in front of us: this type of personal name, marked with the Latin formula *de genere*, appears in the sources at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; its use peaked in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and it virtually disappeared in the first few decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, for example 1204: Tyba *de genere Tomoy* (ÁSz. 762), 1208: Theodorum *de genere Opuz* (ÁSz. 604), 1214: comitem Henricum *de genere Zolouc* (ÁSz. 838), 1216: Poth comes *de genere Geur* (ÁSz. 335), 1254: Johannes filius Nicolai fratris Vgrini *de genere Chak* (ÁSz. 175), 1255: Menhardum comitem *de genere Aba* (ÁSz. 39), 1266: Michael comes filius Alberti *de genere Hunt paznan* (ÁSz. 395), 1290: Herbordum filium Herbordi *de genere Osl* (ÁSz. 606), 1339: Thome filii Benedicti nepotis Arpad *de genere Zemere* (SLÍZ 2011: 39), etc. Behind this process lie primarily non-linguistic factors. Genus as a social formation and the genus name in close relation to it as a personal name type signifying this formation gradually disappeared when the individual became more important in the society. Parallel with this, the importance of the direct descendants of the individual and of family relatedness grew. The main historical consequence of this change was that genus names were replaced by inherited family names, which spread through all classes of society.

The development and spread of family names in the Hungarian personal name system occurred over a wide period of time (at the

end of 13<sup>th</sup> century – 17<sup>th</sup> century), which is explained by the long, drawn-out nature of this process. Weighing several factors, it seems that the following charter occurrences must have functioned as genetically inherited family names: siblings were entered by the same name several times in a charter from 1389: cf. Johannes dictus *Churba* and Stephanus filius Pauli *Churba*; Thomas dictus *Cherteu* and Valentinus dictus *Chertheu*; Georgius *Zoltan* and Blasius *Zoltan* (Fehértóti 1969: 74, 78, 156).

Several different kinds of language elements can serve as the basis for family names and nexus marking names in general, and in attempting to reveal the history of the naming system, we must take into account different personal name types, loan names and other elements of the vocabulary of the given language (cf. Figure 2).

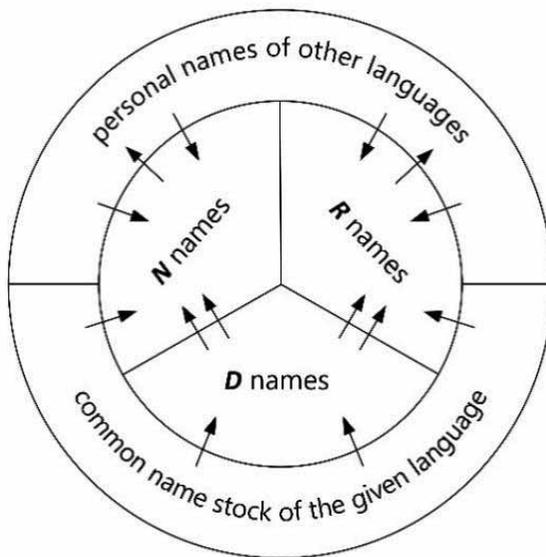


Figure 2: The model of the three-fold personal name system (R names = referential names, D names = descriptive names, N names = nexus names)

Examining the family names from a morphological point of view, we find that certain types of these personal names have specific name formants. Family names developed from place names often have the

suffix *-i* (e.g. *Debrecen* > *Debrecen-i*, *Várad* > *Várad-i*, *Erdély* > *Erdélyi*). Name forms developed from patronymic lexemes tend to have the patronymic suffix *-i/-e/-a* (e.g. *Lőrinc* > *Lőrinc-e*, *Lőrinc-i*, *András* > *András-a*) or the morpheme *-fi* ‘son (of a father)’ (e.g. *Péter* > *Péterfi*, *Pál* > *Pálfi*). However, we can find a large number of examples in both lexical categories which became family names without these name formants (e.g. *Buda* place name > *Buda* family name, *Péter* patronymic name > *Péter* family name), and, likewise, no morphological device distinguishes descriptive names such as *Szabó* ‘tailor’, *Horvát* ‘Croatian’ and *Sánta* ‘limp, lame’ from the inherited family names developed from them.

The order of the Hungarian personal name structure is defined by the syntactic structure of the Hungarian language. In Hungarian, the family name, as an attributive functional element, precedes the Christian name: *Kovács József*, *Debreceni István*, *Lőrinczy Éva*, etc. This must have been the case with spoken language use at the time of the development of family names. We can consider this very probable even if it is expressed differently in written forms, as the Latin charters recorded the name structures in accordance with the Latin order of names: 1473: *Petri Lewrincze* ‘Lőrincze Péter’ (RMCsSz. 985), 1499: *Ladislaus Petherfy* ‘Péterfi László’ (RMCsSz. 848). However, in the place names of the period which originate from personal names, we find the Hungarian order of names, for example 1301: *Suprunymyklosmolna* (*Soproni Miklós* personal name structure + *malom* ‘mill’; HA. 3: 29); 1291: *Adosioanusfelde* (*Adós János* personal name structure + *föld* ‘estate’; OklSz.), 1321/1323 > 1370: *Kenchesandrasfolwa* (*Kincses András* personal name structure + *falu* ‘village’; Hajdú 2003: 738), etc.

With the appearance of names signifying nexus, the name system became three-fold (cf. Figure 2). The development of family names as a kind of nexus name resulted in important structural changes not only in the personal name system in general, but also in the personal name use of individuals. The appearance of this type of personal name was also associated with the use of each name type in a specified structure: 1302: *servientem suum Nogmiklous vocatum* (*Nagy* ‘big’ family name + *Miklós* referential name; A. 1: 28), 1399: *Zekewpether ... de Bezeldeg* (*Szőke* ‘fair-haired’ family name + *Péter* referential name;

Fehértói 1969: 141). Official personal name use is built in this manner even today: it consists of the combination of the family name and the Christian name.

In Hungarian personal name use, the bearing of family names was decreed by royal regulations in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which also tied the changing of names to royal permission (cf. Farkas 2009). However, in reality, these regulations only sanctioned a custom formed long ago. On the other hand, the inheritance of family names did not mean unchanged, solidified name use until this legislation, as these names had not been bound by any kind of codification constraint. Therefore, the changing of one's family name was a natural phenomenon until the introduction of official matriculation.

Independent of the development and solidification of family names as a type of nexus name, a group of descriptive names which operates as an open, varied and variable (mostly oral) subsystem unshackled by any kind of codification has continually existed in Hungarian. These modern bynames appeared in the name system not as some new name type, nor is their development explained by the intention to avoid identical names, but rather their use is the result of the same natural cognitive mechanism which determined the use of the earliest descriptive names. Thus, from a taxonomic point of view, modern examples of descriptive personal names (e.g. *Gorilla* 'gorilla', *Kétméteres* 'two-metre tall', *Bajusz* 'moustache', *Sánta* 'limp', *Faluvégi* 'living at the end of the village', *Kecske* 'goat', *Kancsi* 'cross-eyed', *Hegyesbajuszú* 'having a pointed moustache', *Vén* 'old') belong to the same group as the earliest descriptive names and are identical to them in regard to every important feature.

In today's personal name use, names with an affective function (i.e. affective names) are prominently featured on different levels of everyday language use, mostly in a closer community or family environment due to the strong personal and emotional relationship between name users.

Projecting this experience onto a historical plane, we can assume that this name type must have had an essential function in any period of personal name history and use. However, the scholar of personal name history has little opportunity to prove this hypothesis by facts in relation to Old Hungarian. Actual source data hardly make it possible

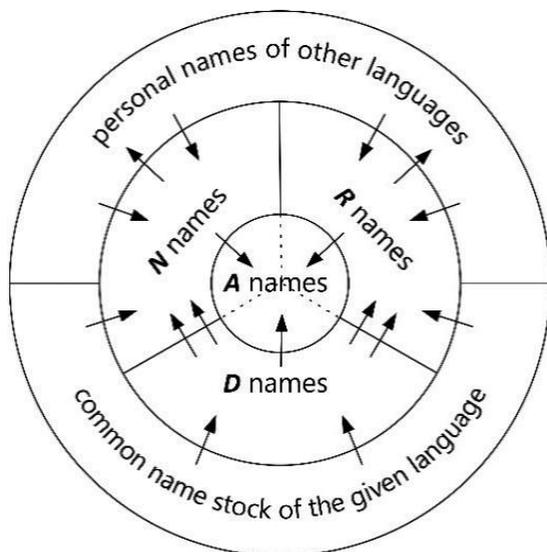


Figure 3: The place of affective names in the personal name system (R names = referential names, D names = descriptive names, N names = nexus names, A names = affective names)

to trace an emotional attitude or affective function behind them. Thus it can be no more than a strong suspicion that the name forms *Petőc*, *Petenye*, *Póc*, *Dakó*, *Páka*, etc. of 1293: *Petrus dictus Pettheuch* (ÁSz. 632), 1306: *Petrus filius Petri dicti petune* (Fehértói 1969: 125), 1353: *Pauli dicti Powch de Malah* (Fehértói 1969: 128), 1391: *Dominicum alio nomine dako* (Fehértói 1969: 81), 1397: *Pauli Paka dicti* (Fehértói 1969: 123), etc. could have been personal names with affective functions as the derivatives of the referential names *Péter*, *Pál* and *Domonkos*, since we can only support this view indirectly with general arguments.

To summarise the history of the Hungarian personal name system, I highlight the following circumstances. In the earliest documented period of the history of the Hungarian language, the personal name system undoubtedly possessed descriptive names which are defined as the most ancient name type. In addition, we must also consider

referential names among the elements of the system, for which the source base was partly provided by personal names borrowed from languages in contact with Hungarian. Thus, the personal name system laid out before us in the first centuries of the Kingdom of Hungary may be regarded as a two-fold system and, in all probability, this statement also holds true for the periods preceding. On a later level of social sophistication, the category of nexus names appeared in the Hungarian personal name system, first to express the kinship of the genus, then that of the family. With this development, the name system became a three-fold system.

The present study has offered a model using a cognitive-pragmatic approach for describing personal name systems, and briefly outlined its applicability to the Hungarian name system. In my opinion, it provides better possibilities than other theoretical frameworks due to its universal validity; this approach therefore can effectively handle the very different typological (semantic, syntactic, morphological) characteristics of individual languages. The model is capable of describing the personal name systems of individual languages in synchronic and diachronic terms, and also renders various taxonomic name characterisations mutually compatible. This possibility renders the findings more precise and more reliable, and can reveal cultural relationships through a perspective on those earlier periods that have influenced the giving and use of personal names (see also Hoffmann & Tóth 2015).

## References

- A. = *Anjoukori okmánytár I–VI*. Edited by Nagy Imre. Budapest, 1878–1891.  
*VII*. Edited by Tasnádi Nagy Gyula. Budapest, 1920.
- ÁSz. = Fehértói, Katalin 2004: *Árpád-kori személynévtár. 1000–1301*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Blanár, Vincent 2009: *Vlastné meno vo svetle teoretickej onomastiky / Proper Names in the Light of Theoretical Onomastics*. Martin: Matica slovenska.
- Farkas, Tamás 2009: *Családnév-változtatás Magyarországon. A névváltoztatások tényezői és története a 20. század második felében*. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 159. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Fehértói, Katalin 1969: *A XIV. századi magyar megkülönböztető nevek*. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 68. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- HA. 1., 2., 3. = Hoffman, István, Anita Rácz & Valéria Tóth 1997–2012: *Helynévtörténeti adatok a korai ómagyar korból 1–3*. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó.
- Hajdú, Mihály 2003: *Általános és magyar névtan. Személynevek*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
- Hoffmann, István & Valéria Tóth 2015: Viewpoints on the Cognitive-Pragmatic Description of Personal names. – *Word* 61/1: 141–164.
- Oklsz. = Szamota, István & Gyula Zolnai 1902–1906: *Magyar oklevélszótár*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- RMCsSz. = Kázmér, Miklós 1993: *Régi magyar családnevek szótára. XIV–XVII. század*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Slíz, Mariann 2011: *Anjou-kori személynévtár (1301–1342)*. Budapest: Históriaantik.

## A magyar személynévrendszer történetének leírása — kognitív-pragmatikai keretben

*Tóth Valéria*

A személynevekre mint nyelvi elemekre a nyelvi-nyelvrendszertani meghatározottság mellett a kulturális meghatározottság is nagy mértékben jellemző. Ebből adódóan a különböző névrendszerek elemzése lehetőséget ad a nyelvi és a kulturális interferenciák összevető vizsgálatára. Ehhez mindenekelőtt egy egységes, a legtöbb nyelvre kiterjeszhető vizsgálati keretre van szükség. Írásomban ehhez ajánlok egy kognitív-pragmatikai alapú személynév-elemzési modellt, amely alkalmas mind a nyelvi, mind pedig a kulturális jegyek megfelelő kezelésére. A modell alkalmazhatóságát a magyar személynévadás teljes történetén keresztül kívánom szemléltetni az ősmagyar kortól kezdődően napjainkig. Reményeim szerint az ezt a személynév-vizsgálati modellt alkalmazó elemzésnek a rokon és nem rokon nyelvek névrendszereire történő kiterjesztése nemcsak az egyes személynévrendszereket helyezheti új megvilágításba, hanem a segítségével általában a nyelvi változások nyelvi és nyelven kívüli tényezőinek a kölcsönhatását is alaposabban feltárhatjuk.

# List of contributors

- Terhi Ainiala  
(University of Helsinki)  
<terhi.ainiala@helsinki.fi>
- Olga Karlova  
(University of Helsinki /  
University of Eastern Finland)  
<olga.karlova@helsinki.fi>
- Denis Kuzmin  
(University of Helsinki)  
<denis.kuzmin@helsinki.fi>
- Irma Mullonen  
(Petrozavodsk State University  
/ Karelian Research Centre)  
<mullonen@onego.ru>
- Alexander Pustyaikov  
(University of Helsinki)  
<alexander.pustyaikov  
@helsinki.fi>
- Timo Rantakaulio  
(University of Helsinki)  
<timo.rantakaulio@helsinki.fi>
- Jaakko Raunamaa  
(University of Helsinki)  
<jaakko.raunamaa@helsinki.fi>
- Evar Saar  
(University of Helsinki /  
Vöro Institute)  
<saareevar@gmail.com>
- Janne Saarikivi  
(University of Helsinki)  
<janne.saarikivi@helsinki.fi>
- Valéria Tóth  
(University of Debrecen)  
<toth.valeria@arts.unideb.hu>
- Taarna Valtonen  
(University of Oulu)  
<taarna.valtonen@gmail.com>