

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 15th–16th century, some even to the 13th 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 20th 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 19th 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 13th century (see details below), and many are noted in documents between the 15th and 17th 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), *Haragl'* (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'urgoil* (Нюрговичи), *Ozroil* (Озровичи), *Pecoil* (Печевицы), *Peloil* (Пелуши), *Pirkil'* (Пиркиничи), *Rahkoil* (Рахковичи), *Reboil* (Ребовичи), *Rusttal* (Русконницы), *Šigoil* (Шигола), *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*, *Шигола* < *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 *Özroil* – 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, Герпиничи, Гонгиничи, Гришкиницы, Гуреничи, Игокиничи, Имоченицы, Кальшиницы, Колокольницы, Куневици, Курикиничи, Кучевицы, Лавиничи, Лебедовичи, Лембовичи, Ложевичи, Любеничи, Люговичи, Мальгиничи, Мергиничи, Мириничи, Мустиничи, Нюбиничи, Паритовичи, Пахтовичи, Пижевици, Пикиничи, Пилотовичи, Погаченицы, Ратовичи, Рекиничи, Саксеницы ~ Саксоницы, Симовичи, Суббоченицы, Тененичи, Томиничи, Трошевици, Туричиницы, Уштовичи, Чагоницы, Чашиковичи, 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 13th 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 *Виницы* 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 15th and early 16th 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 *Pirkil'*, 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 16th and 17th 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 *-учу/-уцы* that have Russian roots in the southern Svir region.

The total number of Veps settlement names in the southern Svir region¹, 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 19th and 20th centuries and fiscal documents from between the 15th and 17th 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 *-учу/-уцы* 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 9th and 13th 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 15th 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 districts².

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. Stoebe (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 14th and 15th 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 15th century cadastral books (*Кайбиницы, Кургеницы, Погаченицы, Койкиницы, Типиницы, Тайгиницы*). No new oikonyms of this type have been formed since the 15th century. The oikonymic type had apparently lost its productive capacity in the area, at least by the late 15th century or earlier.

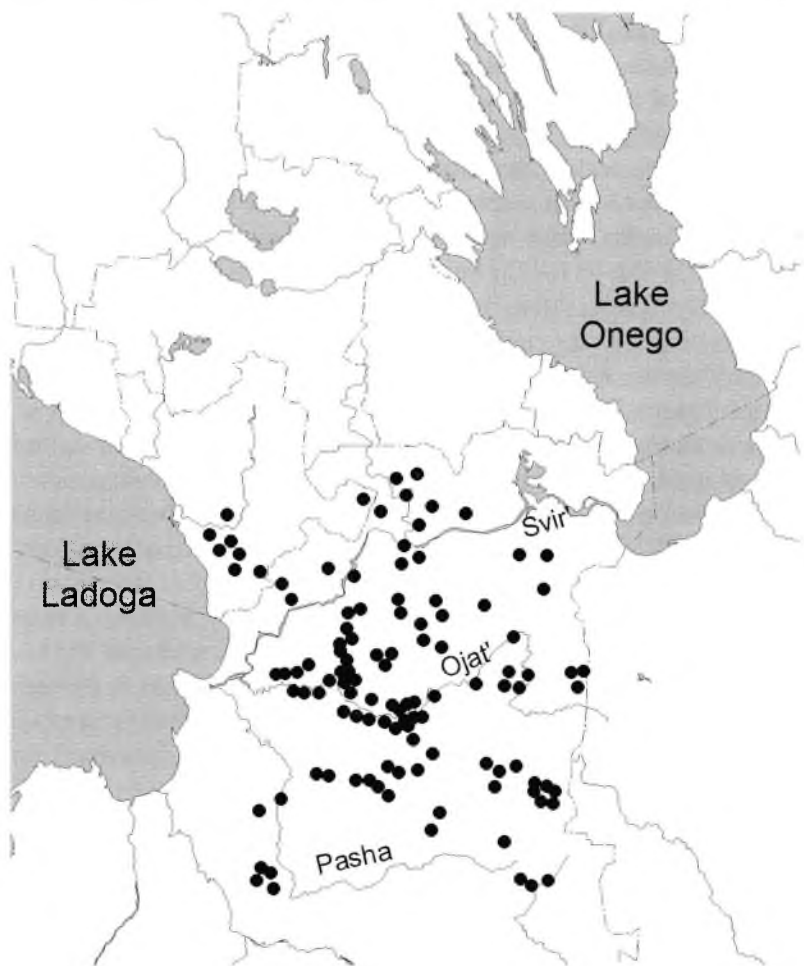


Figure 1. Oikonyms with the suffix *-la* in the historical and contemporary Veps territory in the southern Svir region.

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 18th 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 (Unbegaun 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 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 (ПКОП) – a presumed

ancestor of its present-day residents bearing the surname Герчин (Veps Hõrchiine). 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 above³. 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: **Hübjoin*, **Härgoi*, **Kakoi*, **N'urgoi*, **Ozroi*, **Rahkoi*, **Reboi*. 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 13th 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 *-учу* by the 16th century), we can very cautiously assume it to be between the 15th and 16th 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: *Игокиниччи* < **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*: *Изокиничи* < **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 *Изолецкий остров* known from the northern shore of Lake Onego since the 17th century from which the anthroponym *Ihattu* can be reconstructed (Mullonen 2008: 147–148). The nominal stem in *Изокиничи* 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 *Гумой*, *Гумоев* sources from Karelia (PKOP) between the 15th and 16th centuries, *Гымуй* 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): *Каїбола* < **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; Stoebeke 1964: 32–33). It is also reminiscent of the place name *Каїбуніцы* at the northeastern limit of the former Veps territory in Zaonezhye (Mullonen 2008: 184).

**Lembi*, **Lemboi*: *Лембовичу* < **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 (Stoebeke 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).

**Hübjoil*: *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 southeastern shore of Lake Onego, in Tudozero (Sobolev 2015b: 444). The anthroponym descends from the Veps *hüb* 'owl, eagle owl' formed by the Veps oikonymic marker *-oi*. This can be compared to the Finnish and Karelian anthroponyms *Hyypiä*, *Hyynie*, *Hyynie*, *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 *härġ* ‘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 *Rebagi* ‘*Лисицын Конец*, Fox’s End’. The surname *Reboihine* (Rus. *Лисицын*) is found among the northern Veps. Documents from the 17th century show a *Данилка Ребуев* in Pirkiniichi on the Svir (PKK: 69), and 16th 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: Везикиничи* ~ *Вязикиничи* < **Vezikkola* (> **Vezikol*), compared to Finnish *vesikko*, Karelian *vesikkö*, *vezikkö*, Izhorian *vezikkoi*, 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 humans⁴. 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. 17th 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 17th 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 17th 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 20th century. The loss of the anthroponym probably caused Tudozero inhabitants to revise the oikonym *Гонгиницы* 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 *Гепиничи*, *Мергиничи* (see below).

**Hörpöi*: Russ. *Герпиничи* < **Hörpöilä* (> **Hörpoil*), compared to Veps *hörpötada* ‘to chatter, tattle’, Kar. *hörpöityä*, *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 – PKOP: 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 *Капзачево*, with a locality nearby called *Капзонале* < 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. *Керкуичи*. 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*, *Kerkälä*, *Kerkkänen* in eastern Finland (Karttaipaikka). 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*, *Kerko*, *Gericke* (SKN), but this is hardly applicable to the traditional Veps onomasticon.

**Korboi*: *Korbl*, *Korbal* – Russ. *Корбинучи*, 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’, *она́ра* (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*, *mämmi*, 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 oikonyms (see Pudr). We should therefore reconsider the interpretation of the Veps oikonym *Korbal*, Russ. *Корбинучи*, 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* (*Гонгинучи*) < *hong* ‘pine’ (Mullonen 1994). In reality, however, their formation fully fits into the traditional model of derivation from anthroponyms. Veps *Korbal* – Russ. *Корбинучи* 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 *Корбууха*, 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*: *Курикунучу* < **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 onomasticons, and it is possible that it is hidden in the name *Кюрпук* in Novgorod birch bark letter 138 (Saarikivi 2007: 230), although it is not a phonetically perfect match.

**Musta*: *Мустунучу* < **Mustala* (> **Mustal*), compared to Veps *must* ‘black’. The corresponding anthroponym is widely represented in Finnic anthroponymic systems.

**Mörgö*: *Мергунучу* < **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 *Мергуню* 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

15th and 18th 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'urgoi* – *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* – *Пелдуйи*, in 16th 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 20th century (Linnakylä 1968: 21).

**Pudro*: *Пудроль* < **Purdol*, Veps *pudr* ‘thick gruel’. The anthroponym *Pudr* was recorded among the southern Veps by Lauri Ketunen (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 16th century materials from Karelia show a *Гридка Рахкоев* (Popov 1949: 57). We can also compare this to the name of a legendary hero, *Рахкой* ~ *Рахмой*, 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 *эл* ~ *л* (Zaliznjak 2004: 40–41) resulted in the perception of the Veps *Vingl* (*эл*) as **Vinl* (*л*) and, accordingly, the formation of the variant *Веницы*. This is the only way to explain the vanishing of *э* 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 *vinkta*: *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*: *Рекунучу* < **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’⁵, which may have shaped the semantics of the nickname.

**Šutti*:- *Шутиницы* < **Šuttila* (> **Šutił*). We know that early in the 20th 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 *Шануа/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/Шыммуев* 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 Priladozhje between the 9th and 13th 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)⁶. 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.

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Muinaisen vepsäläisen henkilönnimistön jälkiä Etelä-Syvärin asutusnimissä

Irma Mullonen

Artikkelissa on rekonstruoitu noin 30 vepsäläistä henkilönnimeä. 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 henkilönnimet kuuluivat olennaisena osana yhteiseen itämerensuomalaiseen nimijärjestelmään.