

OLD KARELIAN PERSONAL NAMES

Denis Kuzmin

University of Helsinki, FI

kusmiccu@hotmail.com

Abstract: The article analyzes old personal names of the Karelian population. As the author demonstrates, the revealed corpus of historical Karelian names is yet very incomplete and severely understudied. This is to be due to a number of causes, including the relative scarcity of names recorded in historical documents, the limited number of sources, and the lack of research devoted to medieval Karelian names. Thus, this article is the author's look into the evolution of the old given names of Karelians and a step towards their further description and study.

Keywords: anthroponyms, place names, ancient anthroponyms, medieval Karelian names, Sami names, Russian names

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1. Introduction

The Republic of Karelia is located in the northwestern part of modern Russia on the border with Finland. It got its name due to the residence of the Karelian ethnic group here, whose language belongs to the Balto-Finnic group of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family.

The ancient Karelians¹ were first mentioned as their own ethnic group in 1143. However, a folk called *Kirjala* and the place names that start with *Kirjala-* (**Karjala-*) had already been mentioned in the Scandinavian sagas (Kochkurkina, Spiridonov & Dzhakson 1990: 102–109). At that time the ancient Karelians lived on the Karelian Peninsula, around the Vyborg Bay and on the western as well as northern shores of Lake Ladoga, from there the Karelian population moved to the present-day Finland, the present-day Karelia, as well as the Leningrad and Tver region.

1 Russian chronicles referred to ancient Karelians as *Korela*.

The familiarization of medieval Karelians with the Christian Church and culture took place in the context of the military alliance of the Karelian tribal union and the Novgorod state. It was pursued through the joint military expeditions (1142, 1143, 1149, 1178–?, 1188–?, 1191, 1227), and set the stage for the actual event of baptism in 1227 (Musin 1997: 252). As a result, Karelians received eastern influences mainly from the Novgorodian Slavs and converted to Eastern Orthodoxy.² In 1478 Karelian territories, together with Novgorod territories, were included in the centralized Russian state. Since then, Christianity has taken root more or less in territories populated by Karelians.

Unlike Estonia and Finland, where the anthroponymic systems were fairly comprehensively studied, the history of the study of the personal names of Karelians has begun relatively recently and information about it is currently quite fragmentary.

There are several articles and papers on Karelian anthroponymy, where forenames are described rather briefly and often these studies contain only primary analyses of the Christian name stock. For example, a number of observations on the subject have been made by prominent Finnish scholars such as Viljo Nissilä (1943a, 1973, 1976), Jalo Kalima (1942), Kustaa Vilkuna (1990), Pertti Virtaranta (1992) and other researchers. In the former USSR and contemporary Russia, Karelian anthroponymy can, for example, be found in articles by Alexandr Popov (1958, 1993), Voitto Leskinen (1989), Aleksandra Gromova (1979), Nina Mamontova (1982), Irina Kyurshunova (2016, 2017), Yekaterina Zaharova & Irma Mullonen (2021). I note here that, apart from the author of this article, the only researcher to have specifically focused on Karelian-language anthroponymy is Olga Karlova. Her main scientific interests are pre-Christian personal names in Karelian last names and place names. Yet, no comprehensive study on the topic has been published.

If researchers have some notion about the Karelian forms of Christian names, then there is quite little information about Karelian non-Christian

2 Finns, Estonians and Livonians, in turn, fell under the influence of the Catholic Church and converted to Western Christianity. The integration of Christian names into the old system of personal names took place in all European countries, including the Balto-Finnic peoples of Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Russia (cf. Rajandi 1966, Vilkuna 1990, Nissilä 1943b, Mullonen 1994, Kuzmin 2017a).

names.³ Scattered information about them can be seen, for example, in the works of A. V. Forsman (1891) and D. E. Stoebke (1964), and besides this, in the articles of some other researchers (Karlova 2016a, b, Kuzmin 2019, Saarikivi 2007, 2017, Popov 1958, Shilov 2010). Karelian non-Christian names can be found in some documents from the 14th–17th centuries, in Karelian surnames, toponymy, as well as oral folk poetry. I, however, believe that in addition to the above, there are several other important sources of information, namely the nicknames of domestic animals, the names of the Saami, the Russian non-Christian names and the folk forms of Christian names, which can potentially offer quite a bit of data about the pre-Christian name system of the Medieval Karelians. Thus, the aim of this introductory article is to present possible sources of the Karelian-language old names, as well as a primary analysis and illustration of the various forename types recorded in them.

2. Christianity and personal forenames

The arrival of Christianity in Karelian land early in the 13th century, triggered a centuries-long process of modern onomasticon formation among the Karelian-speaking population. The earliest wide-sweeping written sources from the 16th century indicate that a majority of Karelians at that time already had, at least officially, Christian names or, less often, Russian non-calendar names. Before that, however, Karelians, just like other Baltic Finns, have had their own, pre-Christian naming system.

Documentary pieces of evidence on the usage of this onomasticon are not many, since the first written sources appeared in the territory populated by Karelian-speaking people only in the 16th century. That said, some evidence can be found in Novgorodian birch-bark letters, rare limited-scope written sources and primarily in folklore. The fact that we are dealing here with names that were actually in use is corroborated i.a. by written sources from Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

3 In this article, the terms pre-Christian name, non-Christian name and non-calendar name are used interchangeably.

The first known description of Korelskiy Uyezd⁴ (district) dates back to 1500. As remarked above, a majority of personal names in the document were of Christian nature. On the other hand, a document by the Novgorodian Archbishop Feodosij dated to 1548 proves that ethnic names were widely used at that time in areas populated by Karelians. The document reported, for instance, that local witch soothsayers (*arbuĵ*) in Karelskiy Uyezd were actively giving pre-Christian names to children. Christian priests were also said to be involved, but only after the families with newborns had been visited by witch doctors (Kochkurkina, Spiridonov & Dzhakson 1990: 68).

Reverberations of this naming system could still be heard until the late 19th century. For example, the 1884 birth register of Kestengskaya Volost in the north of Karelia (NARK 1884) has several mentions of a child being baptized⁵ by the traditional midwife (wise woman), while the priest only “finalises the baptism by chrismation” later. This system must have been practiced primarily in areas where remote settlements were visited by priests once or twice a year. Karelians themselves believed a child could not be left unnamed for long, for the newborn wanted to get a name immediately after being born (Paulaharju 1924: 44–45). Another report of this kind comes from the former Olangskaya Volost in the north of present-day Karelia, declaring that before the Russian revolution in 1917 “a child must have a name once born” (Pentikäinen 1971: 161).

Going back to the document from 1548, one must remark that it is not quite clear now what the archbishop meant when speaking of “domestic”⁶ or non-Christian names of Karelians. Was it so that the Karelian-speaking population at that time used their authentic personal names or did he imply Karelian vernacular forms of Christian names, many of which do sound rather unusual to the Russian ear? In my opinion, we are probably dealing here with the evidence of the colloquial/family⁷ level of name usage by Karelians and other Baltic

4 Korelskiy Uyezd (western and north-western Ladoga region, later Finn. Käkisalmen lääni ‘Kexholm county’) is a territorial-administrative unit of the centralized Russian state.

5 Apparently, it was not quite an official baptism, but a Christian folk custom.

6 In text: svoyskiye imena

7 Cf. the nickname of a local from the Karelian village of Koitto in Suistamo parish – Čägäne (Kar. čägä(ne) ‘foal’), which originally was his hypocorism in the family. This nickname appeared in the village after two brothers had been asked – “Whose children are you?”, and one of them answered – “Myö olemmo mamman čägäzii da vasikoi”, lit.

Finns. In the Priladozhye area, for instance, pre-Christian names have been recorded in a number of Swedish documents from the first third of the 17th century. This fact leaves no doubt that at the time of the archbishop's document, such names were in an even wider usage around Korelskiy Uyezd of Vodskaya Pyatina. Thus, the report in Feodosiy's letter means that in the 16th century, as well as later, the people given new Christian names when baptized could often be called their old non-Christian names by villagers or inside the family, and some of such names were also recorded in later written sources (see Table 1).

Table 1. Pre-Christian male forenames of Karelians in 17th-century Swedish documents.

Name in document	Source	Name in document	Source
<i>Cabris Iuanoff</i> (1631)	(IK 1987, 496)	<i>Pana Kyranson</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 311)
<i>Entzo Jakoflef</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 305)	<i>Petra⁸ Patrakieff</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 351)
<i>Kachmoiko Silkoieff</i> (1631)	(IK 1987, 498)	<i>Prinko Grigorieff</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 304)
<i>Kaucho Muliakof</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 363)	<i>Rasi Jwananpoika</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 288)
<i>Kijlâ Sergief</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 363)	<i>Rebu Samuilkof</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 361)
<i>Liberâ Muliakof</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 363)	<i>Röppo Rigonpoika</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 340)
<i>Lâcki Jakoflef</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 311)	<i>Rösa Simananpk.</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 286)
<i>Meilet Ivanof</i> (1642)	(Tuomiokirja)	<i>Thuro Pirhinpoika</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 287)
<i>Mölgâ Rigonpoika</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 294)	<i>Tzyrâi Jakimof</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 295)
<i>Okasar Matfeif</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 322)	<i>Tätti Kirianson</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 288)
<i>Otza Carpanpoika</i> (1618)	(IK 1987, 331)	<i>Wolmi Sergioff</i> (1631)	(IK 1987, 550)

As elsewhere in Europe, Christianization gradually led to Karelians adopting many new Christian names given at baptism in accordance with the monthly Menaion translated from Greek. After a while, these names, which were incomprehensible to Karelian-speaking people, were accommodated to the norms and rules of their mother tongue, thus gaining plenty of vernacular variants (Table 2).

“we’re mother’s foals and calves” (NA). One may suppose that hypocoristic nicknames related to animals in the boys’ family were still often used instead of baptismal names in the 20th century. This piece of information can thus be a reverberation/continuation of the tradition among Karelian-speaking people of maintaining their own system of non-Christian personal names, which partly persisted inside families as hypocorisms or nicknames.

8 It is not always clear whether the name is non-Christian or already Christian (cf. *Petra* ‘deer’, *Petra* ‘Peter’).

Table 2. Karelian vernacular variants of male and female Christian names (collected mainly through the author's field studies⁹).

Female name	Male name	Female name	Male name
Ampi – Anfisa	Aketti – Avksentiy	Napu – Nastas'ya	Ohpo – Afanasiy
Ančuri – Anna	Anččo – Anton	Niija – Agniya	Omena – Yemelyan
Auvuusa – Avgusta	Arčču – Artemiy	*Ohnuša – Afanasiya	Oppo – Agafon
Čikki – Sinkletikiya	Auhtoi – Avtonom	Oiti – Yevdokiya	Orčoi – Artemiy
Čokoi – F'okla	Bako – Vladimir	Ogoššu – Agaf'ya	Os'u – Osip
Čolgana – Ol'ga	Birdoi – Spiridon	Okai – Agaf'ya	Osratta – Yevstrat
Čolo – Solomanida	Čanu – Samuil	Opičča – Yefimiya	Ot'tu – Anufriy
*Čekuša ¹⁰ – F'okla	Čila – Selivan	Oppo – Yefrosin'ya	Outto – Anton
D'ougoi – Yevgeniya	D'eigi – Yevgeniy	Ot'ima – Yefimiya	Pahno – Pafnutiy
D'oukko – Yevdokiya	D'elkku – Yelisey	Ouči – Yevdokiya	Pančukka – Pankrat
Feuri – Havron'ya	Gaagi – Gavril	Pebo – Fedos'ya	Piebo – Fyodor
Fiijo – Sofiya	Grimu – Grigoriy	Pemu – Dedos'ya	Piira – Spiridon
Gluašši – Klavdiya	Halčo – Falaley	Siima – Serafima	Roska – Terentiy
*Hekka – Fedora	Hatti – Fotiy	Souhja – Sofiya	Ruppo – Trifon
Hepeni – Fetin'ya	Heppu – Fyodor	Šoft'a – Sofiya	Sebu – Semyon
Hiekla – F'okla	Honikki – Anikiy	St'epu – Stepanida	Sinkki – Zinoviy
Hopo – Havron'ya	Ibukka – Ivan	St'oša – Stepanida	Sočikko – Zotik
Hoto – Fedora	Iššuo – Isay	Sv'akla – F'okla	Šopi – Stepan
Jeliita – Yelizaveta	Ječu – Yevsey	Tačči – Tat'yana	Tarkko – Aristarh
*Jeuho – Yevgeniya	Jokki – Georgiy	Tat't'i – Tat'yana	Tiihpo – Tihon
Joutokei – Yevdokiya	Kiiku – Igor'	T'okku – F'okla	Tokkuri – Trofim
Klakko – Klavdiya	Konni – Kondrat	T'ekuša – F'okla	Torho(i) – Dorofey
Klaučči – Klavdiya	Kunni – Kuz'ma	T'eppu – Stepanida	Truppana – Trifon
Kretu – Krestina	Kyyrö – Kirill	Tommo – Domna	Tuavičča – Davyd
Krippa – Agrippina	Lokko – Vladimir	Tyynne – Yevdokiya	Ul'to – Ul'yan
Lyyči – Lidiya	Loto – Platon	Ubri, Upro – Yefrosin'ya	Ut'a – Ustin
Mabu – Marfa	Luttu – Lukyan	Uoti – Yevdokiya	Vaku – Avvakum
Maččuri – Matr'ona	Lötti – Leonid	Vannukka – Afanasiya	Var'koi – Varfolomey
Magri – Mavra	Malaššu – Malafey	Veki – Fedos'ya	Vatu – Fadey
Marčči – Marfa	Melču – Melentiy	Vekku – Vera	Vekli – Feklist
Maršakka – Marfa	Midruška – Mitrofan	Vekli – F'okla	Veska – Fyodor
Miila – L'udmila	Mit't'i – Nikita	Vemi – Yefimiya	Vilka – Filimon
Muappa – Marfa	Nazard'a – Nazariy	Vietos's'a – Fedos'ya	Väslä – Vasiliy
Načči – Natal'ya	Nehpo(i) – Nifont	Vio – Sofiya	Zavoi – Sevastyan
Nadin(u) – Nadezhda	Nikeška – Nikita	Vuašši – Vasilisa	Ännikkä – Anikiy
Nadžoi – Nadezhda	Nikku – Nikolay	Ägräššie – Agrafena	Öhrö – Yefrem

9 The forenames were recorded by the author during numerous field studies in 1997–2021 within all territories of the modern settlement of the Karelian population.

10 An asterisk marks the names reconstructed relying on co-existent forms.

3. Russian non-Christian names

Medieval Karelia was in the scope of the economic and cultural interests of Novgorod the Great, and then Moscow. Hence, like in Russian-speaking territories, in the end of the medieval period and at the beginning of the Modern Era, and even somewhat later, Karelians used Russian non-Christian names alongside their ethnic names and the new Christian names. The data in Table 3 below shows that documents from the first third of the 17th century still contain quite many mentions of bipartite names, which were made up so that the person's first name is a Russian non-calendar name, whereas his father's patronymic is already Christian. This fact proves incontestably that the system of pre-Christian names was still functioning in the first third of the 17th century¹¹ (cf. IK 1987).

That said, the proportion of such names in documents from this period is not high compared to the pool of Christian names. Also, the question may arise of whether the owners of such names were Karelian natives or belonged to the Slavic population living amidst Karelians. One researcher from Petrozavodsk Irina Kyurshunova is of the opinion that the distribution of such Russian pre-Christian names points exactly to the Russian-speaking population of the former Korelskiy Uyezd (Kyurshunova 2016: 105). I have a different point of view on this matter. No doubt there were Russian-speaking inhabitants in Korelskiy Uyezd in the 16th–17th centuries, mainly in its southern parts, and some examples in the censuses probably refer to them. However, their proportion appears to have been quite small compared to the uyezd's native population. This is evidenced e.g. by the 1650/51 census of Karelian refugees in Bežeckiy Verh upland, which lists some 6,000 resettlers forced by the military-political situation to move from Korelskiy Uyezd to the present-day Tver Region, and specifies their former places of residence (Saloheimo 1992). This census contains only occasional records of Russian-speaking people among the resettlers. Further evidence is that

11 The use of non-Christian bynames, still occurring in paperflow, came to an end following a decree by Peter the Great. It stipulated that records about people in official documents had to be made up of the baptismal name, patronymic and surname (Superenskaya & Suslova 1991: 77). Not long before that, however, such bynames still occasionally showed up in records, in Karelian-speaking areas too, cf. *Nester Gulyaev* ← *Gulyai* from Seleckiy Pogost in 1707 (KP 1707: 531).

Tver Karelia before World War II had a population of ca. 150,000 ethnic Karelians, i.e. more than in the Republic of Karelia at the same time. Had Russian speakers prevailed among the mid-17th century resettlers, it is unlikely that by the middle of the 20th century there would have been so many Karelians in the Tver region.

Table 3. Russian non-Christian names in documents of the 17th century (IK 1987).

Name in document	Name	Name in document	Name
<i>Bogdan Maximanpoik.</i> (1618)	Bogdan	<i>Päätoj Feodorof</i> (1631)	Pyatoi
<i>Bosenko Konstántinof</i> (1618)	Bozhen	<i>Pana Kyronson</i> (1618)	Pan
<i>Buräiko Iuanoff</i> (1631)	Bur'ai	<i>Perwoi Räsenpoika</i> (1618)	Pervoi
<i>Burak Ohwonof</i> (1618)	Burak	<i>Poisdak Sukanpoika</i> (1618)	Pozd(n)yak
<i>Drusina Kondronpoik.</i> (1618)	Druzhina	<i>Posnik Ofonasief</i> (1618)	Posnik
<i>Häata Kijrinpoika</i> (1618)	? Gad	<i>Räsenka Rodionof</i> (1618)	Ryazan
<i>Häatina Lâginin</i> (1618)	Gadina	<i>Redzkä Lewonpoika</i> (1618)	? Red'ka
<i>Hulaiko Kâskoff</i> (1631)	? Gul'ai	<i>Rudak Boldorinen</i> (1618)	Rudak
<i>Istomko Jacoblef</i> (1631)	Istoma	<i>Sdanko Basanoff</i> (1631)	Zhdan
<i>Kasutkes Enckia</i> (1631)	? Kaz'ut(k)a	<i>Sdanko Basanoff</i> (1631)	Bazan
<i>Mensika Jormioief</i> (1618)	Men'shik	<i>Sestak Hodatanpoika</i> (1618)	Shestak
<i>Muras Ondrief</i> (1618)	Murash	<i>Staritz Omelianoff</i> (1631)	? Starec
<i>Nasson Kalijnin</i> (1618)	Nason	<i>Suik Rasaninpoika</i> (1618)	? Shuiga
<i>Nehodeiko Iuanoff</i> (1631)	Negod'ai	<i>Tomila Tiskof</i> (1618)	Tomilo
<i>Netzaiko Iuanoff</i> (1631)	Nechai	<i>Tzerpa Dimitrieff</i> (1618)	Scherba
<i>Neudetz Judanpoika</i> (1618)	? Neudacha	<i>Wolki diak</i> (1618)	Volk
<i>Nessden Maximof</i> (1618)	Nezhdan	<i>Worona Omelinpoika</i> (1618)	Vorona

Furthermore, as seen from Table 4 below, the patronymic was sometimes substituted with an anthroponymic construction with the final *-poika* (lit. Kar. 'son'), which I tend to take as an indication of Karelian-speaking population. In addition to names of this kind, documents contain records about people with Balto-Finnic (Karelian) family (ancestral) nicknames, and some forms of patronyms clearly point to a Karelian population. In some cases, the very forms of the names rule out the possibility that they belong to Russian speakers, as they are based on specific Karelian forms of Russian pre-Christian names (cf. IK 1987).

Table 4. Russian non-Christian names of Karelians in documents and place names.

Name	Name in documents / place names
Rudak	<i>Rudak Boldorinen</i> (1618)
Tretyak	<i>Trethiak Jwanof Komsin</i> (1618)
Nason	<i>Christåforko Nasonof sin Pårskuief</i> (1618)
Dobriy	<i>Iwasha Washoff Dobroinen</i> (1629)
Burak	<i>Burak Ohwonof</i> (1618)
Maslak	<i>Ifuan Masslakain</i> (1643)
Posnik	<i>Posko Offanasioff</i> (1631) (= <i>Posnik</i> (1618))
Bogdan	<i>Bogdana Rubleinen</i> (1629)
Men'shik	<i>Mensika Jormoief</i> (1618)
Shestak	<i>Sestak Kondiainen</i> (1618)
Rudak	<i>Rudatzko Prinkoieff</i> (1618)
Gad	<i>Håata Kijrinpoika</i> (1618)
Pervoi	<i>Perwo Migriläinen</i> (1629)
Pervusha	<i>Perwusa Smuikoinen</i> (1618)
Baba	Vlg. <i>Babila By</i> (1631) (IK 1987, 398), <i>Sinofko Babin</i> (1631) (IK 1987, 534) ← Russ. <i>baba</i> 'woman'; 'womanlike'
Lob	<i>Iuantko Låbin</i> (1631) (IK 1987, 566), cf. neighbouring Vlg. <i>Låbala</i> ← Russ. <i>lob</i> 'forehead'
Zub	<i>Sacharko Subof</i> (*Zubov) in vlg. <i>Hambalan Måkj</i> : (1631, 438) ← Kar. <i>hammaš</i> : the base is <i>hamba-</i> , Russ. <i>zub</i> 'tooth'
Nos	<i>Nosaiko Ondreof</i> (1631) (IK 1987, 430), cf. neighbouring vlg. <i>Nåckoiseniemi</i> (1631) ← Kar. <i>n'okka, nokka</i> , Russ. <i>nos</i> 'nose'
Durak	Vlg. <i>Durakala</i> *Durakkala (1618) (IK 1987, 326) ← Russ. <i>durak</i> 'fool'
Beliy	<i>Juska Beleff</i> (1631) (IK 1987, 552), cf. neighbouring vlg. <i>Walhola</i> (1631), <i>Valgola</i> (1618) (IK 1987, 329) ← Kar. base <i>valg-</i> , Russ. <i>beliy</i> 'white'

Many of the names mentioned for Korelskiy Uyezd also occurred at the turn of the 17th century in documents related to the territory of present-day Karelia (Table 5), in particular Lapp pogosts,¹² which had until the mid-20th century had a nearly 100% Karelian population.

12 The Lapp pogosts were created as administrative units during the rule of Ivan III at the end of the 15th century. The area in question began as a narrow wedge from the north of Lake Säämäjärvi in Aunus Karelia and reached to the White Sea in the north and the present-day border of Finland. The area is also called Novgorod Lapland. It consisted of seven pogosts: Lindozerskiy, Semchezerskiy, Selecki, Padanskiy, Rugozerskiy, Shuyezerskiy and Panozerskiy (Korablyov et al. 2001: 312).

Table 5. Russian non-Christian names in Lapp pogosts in 1597 (IK 1987: 186–242).

non-Christian name	Lin.	Sem.	Pad.	Sel.	Rug.	Pan.	Shu.
Boyarin					•		• ?
Butora			•				
Griban			•				
Istoma							•
Koptyay			•				
Loban		•					
Men'shoi	•	•	•				
Nason		•		•			
Nechai			•		•		
Novik		•	•				
Pan						•	•
Pervoi	•	•		•	•		
Pozdei	•		•				•
Putilko						•	
Rudak			•		•	•	
Semeika					•	•	
Skurat			•				
Smirka					•		
Shestak	•					•	•
Zhdan		•	•		•		
Tretyak	•	•	•	•			
Ugrim	•						

The information above proves that Russian non-calendar names were in use not only in Russian-speaking territories but also in Karelian territories, although their diversity among Karelians was indeed somewhat lower than in Pomor volosts, at least judging by information conveyed by late 16th-century documents, which refer to Lapp pogosts. That said, part of the existing names must have been omitted from the sources, even though some of them were anchored in Karelian place names. More evidence concerning the usage of such names can be derived from the anthroponymy and toponymy of Livvi Karelians and Ludic Karelians. It is likely that as ethnic Karelian territories were gradually falling under the economic and cultural influence of Novgorod and then Moscow, Karelians started assimilating not only Christian

but also Russian non-calendar anthroponymy, perceiving the latter as another “novelty, anthroponymic innovation”. This can be compared to the modern fashion of adopting new foreign names. All known 16th and 17th-century censuses are secular sources, and there is unfortunately no mass-scope documentary evidence from church sources (registers of births, marriages and deaths, confessional registers, etc.) available to us. So, one cannot be sure whether such names were used for baptism in non-Russian parts of Northwest Russia. It is worth noting that it was not uncommon at that time for bottom-rank Orthodox church workers themselves (e.g. readers) to have such names (cf. in Karelia readers *Druzhinka* Gerasimov (1659, Yushtozerskaya Volost) (Medioteka), *Voin* Bulichev (1670, Olonec) (Tupikov 2005: 90), *Putilko* Haritonov (1597, Panozerskiy Pogost), *Men shichko* Dmitriev (1597, Padanskiy Pogost) (IK 1987: 199, 213), etc. It is also possible that the establishment of Russian non-Christian colloquial names among the ethnic Karelian population was promoted by the Karelian-speaking nobilities’ and clergy’s knowledge of the meanings of such names, enabling their matching with names from the ethnic anthroponymic pool. The “meaning match” between native and foreign names possibly upheld the bilingual anthroponymic system. In practice, this means that some of the documented names might have in fact been the translated versions of ethnic names originally given by a Karelian witch soothsayer (*arbu*), and later “legitimized” by the priest during the actual baptism (see above), but now in their Russian-language form, e.g., *Ainikki – Odinec*; *Lemmikki – L’ubava*; *Lysti(kki) – Zabava*; *Pikku, Pikkaraini – Men shik, Men shichko*; *Pienikki – Mal’uta*; *Muštikki – Chernavka*; *Punikki, Ruško – Rudak, Rudachko*, etc.¹³ It is easy to imagine that initially it was the top strata of the medieval Karelian-speaking feudal society who were the vehicles of anthroponymic innovations, and mediators between the Karelian and Slavic cultures and naming systems. E.g., in

13 Some non-Christian names continued to function as bynames up until the early 20th century, for instance among Tver Karelians, cf. *Nedobruškan Liidankodi* house (Vlg. Fomino, Maksatikhinsky District). Lida Vinogradova’s father was nicknamed *Nedobrushka* (‘unkind’) in the village, and the informants could not recollect his name. Cf. a Moscow archer *Nedobroy Pavlov* (1605) (Tupikov 2005: 269). A local nickname *Men shikov* (meaning associated with ‘small’), referring to a man named Aleksandr Ivanovich, was documented from Yermolino Village in Maksatikhinsky District, which became Russianised after World War II. Locals mentioned the man was rather short. Unfortunately, the author of the article failed to identify the Karelian form of this nickname.

the mid-16th century, the above-mentioned Russian non-calendar names were documented from among small landowners (*zemcy*) or Karelian feudal nobilities, cf. landowners from the most influential Rokul'skiy family (Kar. *Roukkulan suku*): *Smirnoy* Semyonov Rokul'skiy (1539, Sakul'skiy Pogost), *Zhdan* Rokul'skiy (1568, Korela Town), Terentiy *Murzanov* Rokul'skiy (1568, Gorodeckiy Pogost) (IK 1987: 55), etc.

The table above does not include Rebol'skiy Pogost since the late 16th-century revision is missing for it. However, judging by the 1678/79 Re-inventory (*dozornaya*) Book, pre-Christian, non-calendar Russian names were in use there too – the area farthest away from Russian-speaking territories.

Table 6. Family (ancestral) names of late 17th-century Rebol'skiy Pogost residents (PK 1678: 79 ob. – 135).

Name	Surname	Name	Surname
<i>Bogdan</i>	Bogdanov	<i>Nachay(ka)</i>	? Nechkuyev
<i>Bobr</i>	? Bobreev	<i>Pozdey</i>	Pozdeyev
<i>Malyuta</i>	Malyutin	<i>Poteryay</i>	Poteryayev
<i>Malyuta</i>	Malyutov	<i>Rogach</i>	Rogachev
<i>Menshik</i>	Menshikov	<i>Ryazan</i>	Ryazanec = Rezanov
<i>Negodyay</i>	Negodyayev	<i>Tugarin</i>	Tugarinov
<i>Nechay</i>	Nechayev	<i>Tur</i>	Turov

This re-inventory book no longer contains Russian non-calendar names and has only one patronymic of the type in question, cf. *Ivashka* and *Ilyushka Klyuevs*, children of *Negodyai* who lived in Rebola (PK 1678: 98). However, this fact probably indicates that the pre-Christian name *Kl'ui* was still in use in the pogost in the first half of the 17th century (Russ. *Kl'ui* ← apel. *kl'ui* “of a long-nosed man; of a hump-backed man” (Kulikovskiy 1898: 37). Thus, a majority of the anthroponyms in the table above represent the final element of tripartite constructions or, in other words, are a part of family nicknames. I suppose this indicates that Russian pre-Christian names that had been in use in Rebol'skiy Pogost, in the late 16th and early 17th century, fell out of use by the end of the 17th century, although their existence continued in the form of family bynames of the Karelian-speaking population (cf. *Stepanko Mihailov syn Malyutov* (Struna settlement) (PK 1678: 99), *Pronka Nikiforov syn Nechayev* (Rebola settlement) (PK 1678: 97 ob.). Some of them still occur around Rebola, e.g. the Karelian family of

Nečäini or *Nechajevs* in Rebola, whose ancestor was mentioned in the 1678/79 re-inventory book.

A remark to be made here is that although Russian non-calendar names that had functioned in the Karelian milieu now rarely occur in the anthroponymy, their past usage is evidenced by the Karelian-language toponymy, preserving quite a number of names of this sort, see Table 7.

Table 7. Russian non-calendar names in Karelian-language toponymy.¹⁴

Name	Place name
Bogdan	field <i>Bogd'ošinanpeldo</i> (Puadene)
Bobr	Vlg. <i>Bobrenvuara</i> (Russ. Bobrova Gora) (Kiimanvuara)
Malyut(k)a	Island <i>Mal'utkanšuari</i> (Luzhma)
Nechay	hayfield <i>N'ečäizenperä</i> , <i>Nečajev</i> family (Haukkasuari), field <i>Nečäine</i> (Törökkä)
Rogach	strait <i>Rogačunšalmi</i> (Pieni Tiiksi)
Ryazan, Rezan	* <i>Räzäzenkodi</i> house, <i>Rezanov</i> family (Lendiera)
Negodyay	<i>Niegod'ainlakši</i> bay (Rugajärvi)
Tugarin	<i>Tuharinkodi</i> house, <i>Tugarin</i> family (Tiudia)
Vorona	smithy <i>Voronanpaja</i> (Lahtenkylä)
Burko	Lake <i>Burkenlammit</i> (Muazjärvi), <i>Burkenšuo</i> mire (Korguba)
Red'ka	<i>Rötkäzenkodi</i> house, Red'kin family (Kolatselgä)
Rudak	hayfield <i>Ruudakka</i> (Keldavuara), fishing ground <i>Rudakanabai</i> (Niisuari)
Nos	Island <i>Nosansuari</i> (Lahti, Svyat.)
Molchan(ko)	<i>Molčankodi</i> house, <i>Molchin</i> family (Kuittine), Lake <i>Molčankka</i> (Pompivuara)
Menshoy, Menshak	<i>Menšola</i> estate (<i>Menshakov</i> family) (Kaipaa, Suoj.)
Zhdan	<i>Ždiana</i> road (* <i>Žduana</i>) (Konnunkylä)
Subota	Vlg. <i>Zubottalu</i> (Olonec)
Istoma	hayfield <i>Istomaižennurmi</i> (Munjärvi)
Pestroy, Pestryak	Vlg. <i>Pesträinkylä</i> (Russ. Pestryakovskaya) (Munjärvi)
Boyarin(ko)	cape <i>Bairinniemi</i> ¹⁵ (Tiiksi), <i>Bajarinkaivo</i> well (Puskuselgä)

14 There are several villages named Lahti in Karelia, I specify that this settlement was situated in the former Svyatozerskaya Volost (Svyat.). For Kaipaa village, which was in Finnish territory until 1944, I also provide a reference to the Suojärvi parish (Suoj.), of which it was part. As to the rest, I believe the reader will have no difficulty linking the place names to their locations.

15 A record from 1597 regarding Tiksha mentions an abandoned settlement, or trace of *Boyarinko* the Lapp (*sled Boyarinka lopina*) (IK 1987: 208). This Sami man (Lapp) must have resided on the shore of Lake *Kalmajärvi*, on Cape *Bairinniemi*, the cape's name clearly pointing to the personal name above. This is also corroborated by a legend recorded in 1898, according to which the cape was once inhabited by a man named *Bairi* (Pääkkönen 1898: 220) or the *Boyarinko* from the 1597 document.

4. Livestock names and male pre-Christian names

Studies of livestock (pet) names are a promising line of research, which has greatly advanced our knowledge about the medieval system of names of the Karelian population. For example, the background of many contemporary cattle names, especially cow names ending in *-kki*, are medieval female names, cf. *Ainikki*, *Kyllikki*, *Lemmikki*, *Lyylikki*, *Mielikki*, *Tuulikki*, etc., which have been preserved, in particular, in folklore (Kuzmin 2017b: 110–114).

To expand and deepen our knowledge of the male pre-Christian onomasticon of Karelians we can once again look at some bases known in both anthroponymy and zoonymy (Table 8). An important fact in this case is that it was male names that were fixed in the family bynames of contemporary Karelian population, as well as in Karelian-language settlement names.

Table 8. Pre-Christian names of Karelians in documents and place names vs. cow names.

Anthroponymy, toponymy	Cow names
Čommi family (Russ. <i>Chomin</i>) (Vlg. Kamennyj Ruchej)	Čomikki, Čommi
settl. <i>Endžinkondu</i> (Vlg. Yustozero), <i>Stepantko Entziöff</i> (1631) (IK 1987: 508)	Endzi(kki)
<i>Halli</i> family (Russ. <i>Halliev</i>) (Vlg. Valoila), a Karelian <i>Halei Semenof</i> (1618) (IK 1987: 293)	Hallakka, Halla
<i>Helmin'i</i> family (Panozero), Vlg. <i>Helmelä</i> (1631) (IK 1987: 425)	Helmikki
a Karelian <i>Fedorko Junkarj</i> (1631) (IK 1987: 452)	Junkkari (bull)
a Karelian <i>Mark Kavnoef</i> (* <i>Kauno</i>) (1637) (IK 1991: 725)	Kaunikki
a Karelian <i>Jushko Dmitriev Kolmoev</i> (Vlg. Rovkula) (PK 1678, 127)	Kolmo(i)
<i>Tikku</i> family (Russ. <i>Tikkuyev</i>) (Vlg. Obzha)	Tikki (sheep)
<i>Zor'a</i> family (Russ. <i>Zorin</i>) (Vlg. Miinala, Suarimägi, Mägriä)	Zor'ka
a Karelian <i>Condrasko Mairoief</i> (1631) (IK 1987: 456, 529)	Mairikki
Vlg. <i>Mantzikala</i> (* <i>Mančikkala</i>) (1618) (IK 1987: 318)	Mančikki
a Karelian <i>Iwan Simanoff Mussikain</i> (1618) (IK 1987: 357)	Mussikki
<i>Ivanko Mikifarov Mustar</i> (1563) (Shungskoy Pogost) (PKOP 1930, 149)	Musturi (sheep)
a Karelian <i>Dimitrejko Nyrakof</i> (1637) (IK 1991: 300)	Nyyrikki
Vlg. <i>Päiwon Mäki</i> (IK 1991, 344), a Karelian <i>Grishka Päiviyev</i> (1637) (IK 1991: 734)	Päivikki
a Karelian <i>Sen'ka Kozmin Rushkeev</i> (Vlg. Kiboshnavolok) (PK 1678: 121)	Rusko(i), Ruško
<i>Zvezdin</i> family (Vlg. Hamala) (Rus. <i>zvezda</i> , Kar. <i>t(i)ähti</i> 'star')	Tähikki, Tähti
Karelians <i>Belo Iwanof</i> , <i>Rigaria Bäla</i> (1618) (IK 1987: 294, 308) (cf. Russ. <i>Bel'ay</i>)	Bel'ka 'white-coloured cow'

I believe the examples above may indicate, on the one hand, that livestock names are indeed based on pre-Christian human names (in particular women's: *Čomikki*, *Endzikki*, *Hallakka*, *Helmikki*, *Kaunikki*, etc.), as evidenced by the same bases we find (which can be found) in both zoonymy and in official/unofficial surnames of Karelians and in anthroponym-derived place names. On the other hand, cow names, and the medieval female names reconstructed from them, may suggest that the same anthroponymic bases, as represented in surnames and anthroponym-derived settlement names, might have previously belonged to the male pre-Christian onomasticon (cf. *Čommi*, *Endži*, *Halli*, *Helmi*, *Kauno*, etc.). As a rule, it was male names that were fixed in contemporary surnames of the Karelian population.

5. Sami names

An important source for the Karelian medieval onomasticon, alongside livestock names, is 16th and 17th-century documents regarding the Sami-populated parts of Finland and Russia. They prove that at least part of the names known among the Sami population are of Karelian origin, cf. a Lapp Ivashka *Koivuppya* (*Koivupiä: Kar. *koivupiä* 'birch head') in White Sea Karelia, Lapps Simanko *Mustopartin* (*Mustaparta: Kar. *mustaparta* 'black beard'), Yakunka *Mikkoyev* (*Mikko: Kar. *Mikko* 'Michael'), Davydka *Kavneyev* (*Kauno(i): Kar. *kauno(i)* 'handsome'), Annica *Toivotiyeva* (*Toivottu: Kar. *toivottu* 'desired') in the Murmansk Region, etc. (Haruzin 1890: 441, 449, 453). Terho Itkonen (1942: 27) remarked in one of his articles that among the 63 names of Sami people that had been borrowed from Baltic Finns 37, i.e. 60%, can be said to be of Karelian origin. Many of them were recorded from Sami communities in north-eastern Finland, at the border with Karelia and the Murmansk Region, which is not surprising. For example, the territory of present-day Kuusamo commune together with Sami settlements Maanselkä and Kitka were ceded to Sweden (now Finnish territory) only late in the 16th century. One should remark here that at the beginning of the 1770's the population of these, as well as five other double-taxed (Rus. *dvoyedanniy*) Sami pogosts, still paid part of their taxes to Russia. These Sami pogosts, which "were situated in Russian land, but belonged to Sweden", were Kuolajärvi, Keminkylä, Sompio, Sodankylä

and Inari (Ozereckovskiy 1804: 61–62). The very fact that ancient Karelian personal names were used among Sami (Lapps) definitely proves that by the 17th century the native population of Sami pogosts have long maintained close contacts with Karelians. It is also known that during the Novgorodian period in the region’s history tributaries (Rus. *dannik*) in these territories were Karelians representing the feudal elite, known as “five families of Karelian children”. Marriages between these ethnic groups have also been reported. The earliest report of this kind is found in a demarcation letter dated to 1326: cf. “half-Karelians, whose mothers were Sami” (Razgranichitel'naya gramota 1849: 152). All these facts have no doubt contributed to the establishment of the Karelian medieval onomasticon among Sami, as recorded later in various written sources. It is worth noting that many archaic traits and features of the traditional culture of one or another nation are much more persistent in the periphery. This is true also for anthroponymy. From the point of view of Moscow or Stockholm, Sami territories of present-day Finland and Russia in the 16th and 17th century were indeed periphery, and furthermore, a remote, marginal part thereof. Thus, documents from the late 16th and early 17th-century evidence that medieval personal names of Karelians were still in use, but mainly among the Sami population, in contrast to native Karelian-speaking territories, where Christian names now prevailed in documents.

Table 9. Sami (Lapps) in documents dated 1563–1611.

Name in document	Name
<i>Ivanko Igalov</i> (1597) (Kuitozero) (IK 1987: 214)	Ihala
<i>Novzeika Lopin</i> (1608-09) (Chernaya Rechka) (SGKE 1929: 479)	Nousia
<i>Fedka Novziyev</i> (Keret'ozero) (RGADA 1623: 15)	
<i>Onisemko Hellin syn</i> (1608-11) (Tumcha) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Helli
<i>Ikoiko Ikeyev syn</i> (1608-11) (Tumcha) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Iko(i)
<i>Igasa Ikeyev syn</i> (1608-11) (Tumcha) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Ihas
<i>Lemmit Torviyev syn</i> (1608-11) (Vor'yeozero) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Lemmitty
<i>Päivey Gerasimov syn</i> (1608-11) (Vor'yeozero) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Päivä, Päivi
<i>Lemmit Torviyev syn</i> (1608-11) (Vor'yeozero) (Haruzin 1890: 462)	Torvi(a)
<i>Maksimka Toivarov</i> (1608-11) (Akkala) (Haruzin 1890: 454)	Toivari
<i>Aikia Ikemielesson</i> (Kitka) (KMK 1563)	Ikämieli
<i>Ihala Ikemielesson</i> (Kitka) (KMK 1563)	Ihala

Name in document	Name
<i>Mielipä Olsson</i> (Kitka) (KMK 1570)	Mielipäivä
<i>Kukurdaia Iuausson</i> (Kitka) (KMK 1570)	Kukurtaja
<i>Ikeheimo Eriksson</i> (Maanselkä) (MMK 1570)	Ikäheimo
<i>Ikepeive Hendriksson</i> (Maanselkä) (MMK 1570)	Ikäpäivä
<i>Arijouzi Aikiasson</i> (Maanselkä) (MMK 1570)	Arijoutsi
field <i>Mielikirja</i> (Korelaksha, Panoz. Pogost) cf. <i>Mielikirya Mellasonn</i> (KMK 1563) (Inari)	Mielikirja
island <i>Mielikieli</i> (Korelaksha, Panoz. Pogost)	Mielikieli

6. Vernacular forms of Christian names

Another source from which information about pre-Christian names can be obtained is vernacular forms of the contemporary Christian anthroponymicon of the Karelian population. While working on this article, I noticed that there is quite a number of bases among them that occur in pre-Christian human names, livestock names and folklore. This may be an indication that during the final transition to the new anthroponymic system, at the end of Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Modern Era, old ethnical names were not really forsaken, but continued naturally into new language levels, in particular as vernacular variants in the new system. Christian names were incomprehensible to the majority of Karelians, wherefore ordinary people assimilated them by modifying according to the rules and phonetic norms of the Karelian language. I also believe name owners wished them to be meaningful, and so some vernacular forms were inspired i.a. by the vocabulary of the native language, in particular the indigenous naming system, wherefore variants of some calendar names acquired vernacular forms, identical or assonant to ethnical names of Karelians. It should be noted here that the assonance is often with Russian unofficial, vernacular forms of names (*Volod'ka, Zaharka, Lizka, Katya, Matyuk*, etc.), which occur abundantly in documents until the early 18th century. While cow names primarily come from medieval female names, the names here have probably mainly belonged to men. One certainly cannot rule out the possibility that some variants of Christian names may have originated from (omonymous) nicknames. Yet, the boundary between pre-Christian names and nicknames is rather loose, as evidenced, for instance, by

Russian non-calendar names. The table below (Tupikov 2005) shows some examples of Russian nickname-like personal names from the pre-national period with a meaning now perceived as derogatory or pejorative (in parenthesis). Some of them are still used in the language as nicknames (Table 10).

Table 10. Examples of Russian non-calendar forenames and its meanings.

Name	Name
<i>Bolvan</i> (blockhead)	<i>Neugod</i> (unwelcome / unwelcoming)
<i>Draka</i> (fistfight)	<i>Neulyba</i> (unsmiling)
<i>Durak</i> (fool)	<i>Neudacha</i> (bad luck)
<i>Nedobroy</i> (unkind)	<i>Neupokoy</i> (unquiet)
<i>Nekras / Nekrasa</i> (unsightly)	<i>Neusypa</i> (sleepless)
<i>Nelyuba</i> (unloved or unliked)	<i>Neustroy</i> (unsettled)
<i>Nerada</i> (joyless)	<i>Oluh</i> (nitwit)
<i>Nesgovorka</i> (headstrong)	<i>Plohoy</i> (bad)
<i>Nesmeyan / Nesmeyana</i> (never laughing)	<i>Zloba</i> (venom)
<i>Nezhdan / Nezhdana</i> (unexpected)	<i>Zamaray</i> (messy)

The connection between personal names and nicknames among Karelians has not been studied yet. This issue is definitely calls for a special study, where the semantic dimension of Karelian-language variants of modern Christian names can be analyzed, among other things.

For the purpose of this article, variants of Christian names can be provisionally classified into several groups (Tables 11, 12 and 15).

Table 11. Variants of Christian names with faunal counterparts.

Name	Faunal counterparts
<i>Al'i</i> – Aleksandra	<i>al'i</i> ‘long-tailed duck’
<i>Čakki</i> – Zahr	<i>čakki</i> ‘foal’
<i>Harakka</i> – Zahr: Zahárka	<i>harakka</i> ‘magpie’
<i>Hötti</i> – Hotey	<i>hötti</i> ‘vendace’
<i>Iukka, Iukki</i> – Ivan	? <i>iukačču</i> ‘of an aggressive horse’
<i>Kat'i</i> – Yekaterina: Kátya	<i>kat'i</i> ‘grasshopper’
<i>Kikki</i> – Kirill: Kika	<i>kikki</i> ‘cat’
<i>Kut'i</i> – Kuz'ma	<i>kut'i</i> ‘dog’

Name	Faunal counterparts
* <i>Lohi</i> – Login	<i>lohi</i> ‘salmon’
<i>Lokki, Lokko</i> – Vladimir: Volódka	<i>lokka</i> ‘gull’
<i>Ohto</i> – Artemiy	<i>ohto</i> ‘bear’
<i>Liššukki</i> – Yelizaveta: Lizka	? <i>lissukka</i> ‘small fish’
<i>Matikka</i> – Matvey: Mat’uk	<i>matikka</i> ‘burbot’
<i>Mäkärä</i> – Makar	<i>mäkärä</i> ‘mite’
<i>Möntö</i> – Mitrofan	<i>mönttö</i> ‘bear’
<i>Petra</i> – Pyotr	<i>petra</i> ‘reindeer’
<i>Pässi</i> – P’yotr	<i>pässi</i> ‘ram’
<i>Sotko</i> – Zotik, Izot	<i>sotka</i> ‘diving duck’
<i>Tavi</i> – David	<i>tavi</i> ‘teal’
<i>Tikki, Tikku</i> – Timofej	<i>tikka</i> ‘woodpecker’
<i>Vaza, Vaša, Vasikka</i> – Vasiliy	<i>vasikka, vasa</i> ‘calf’
<i>Volkka</i> – Vladimir	Russ. for ‘wolf’

Table 12. Variants of Christian names with counterparts in folklore and folk culture used to denote characters in pre-Christian/non-Christian stories.

Name	Folklore
<i>Ahtoi, *Ahti</i> – Artamon	<i>Ahti, Ahto</i> – warrior fisherman; marine deity
<i>Ahto, *Ahti</i> – Avtonom	<i>Ahti, Ahto</i> – warrior fisherman; marine deity
<i>Annikki, An’n’oi</i> – Anna	<i>Annikki, An’n’oi</i>
<i>Anteri</i> – Andrey	<i>Antero</i> – giant, expert in incantations
<i>Iha, Ika</i> – Ignat	? <i>Iho Imando</i> (in an incantation)
<i>Ihanus</i> – Ivan (Närhi 1972, 47)	? <i>Juhanus</i> – (in an incantation) supreme deity and wizard
<i>Jouko(i)</i> – Yefim	<i>Joukoni</i>
<i>Laurikka</i> – Lavrentiy	Kar. <i>Laurikka</i> , Sami <i>Lavrikaš</i>
<i>Marja, Marjukka</i> – Mariya	<i>Marjatar</i>
<i>On’n’o, On’n’ikki</i> – Andrey	<i>On’n’i; On’n’oi-ukko</i> cf. also <i>Onnenpäivä</i> (a cow name)
<i>Osko</i> – Osip	? <i>Oskotar</i> (fem.)
<i>Pekka, Pekko</i> – Pyotr	? <i>Pellonpekko</i> – patron spirit of barley and beer
<i>Sampsä, Sampso</i> – Samson	<i>Sampsä</i> Pellervoini – spirit of fertility
<i>Ägräššie</i> – Agrafena	<i>Äkräš</i> – male patron spirit of turnip; <i>Pyhä Ägräššie</i> – female patron spirit of the turnip; Cf. <i>St. Agrafena’s Day</i> , when Russians sowed turnips

6.1. Variants of Christian names containing anthroponymic suffixes *-ri* and *-kki*

The suffix *-ri* is found in a number of pre-Christian personal names of Baltic Finns (e.g., *Hyväri*, *Ihari*, *Ilmori*, *Osmori*, *Toivari*, etc.). A noteworthy example is the name of a Karelian man from the Ladoga area recorded in a Novgorodian birch bark letter at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries (the chronological scale 1396–1409) – *Vigar'* (**Vihari*) (Kochkurkina, Spiridonov & Dzhakson 1990: 83). Balto-Finnic zoonymy also contains quite a few livestock names with the affix *-ri*: cf. Kar. *Vihuri*, Finn. *Hilpari* for a horse, Kar. *Musturi* for a sheep, Kar. *Löp-pöri*, Finn. *Tomuri* for a dog, Kar. *Kukkeri*, Finn. *Vaipuri* for a cow, Finn. *Junkkari* for an ox, etc. Compare the above-mentioned Fedorka *Yunkari* (IK 1987, 452) and Ivanko **Mustari* (PKOP 1930: 149). The Karelian language and anthroponymy today have quite a few nicknames and epithets with this affix (cf. *lyöppäri* ‘one who ingratiates oneself, windbag’, *luikkari* ‘swindler’, *bojuri* ‘brawler’, *blezgari* ‘toady, sycophant’, etc.) (KKS). Hence, some modern variants of Christian names ending in *-ri* may be derived from pre-Christian names. That said, there seems to be no logical explanation for the emergence of this anthroponymic affix in some of the Karelian variants of Christian names in Table 13.

Table 13. Christian names ending in *-ri*.

<i>Al'ari</i> – Aleksandr	<i>Maččuri</i> – Matr'ona
<i>Ančuri</i> – Anna	<i>Oškari</i> – Osip
<i>Anteri</i> – Andrey	<i>Peturi</i> , <i>Petteri</i> – Pyotr
<i>Feduri</i> – Fedul	<i>Pekkuri</i> – Pyotr
<i>Hoškari</i> – Fyodor	* <i>Pentturi</i> – Panteley
<i>Hullari</i> (juhla) – Frol	* <i>Saguri</i> – Zahar
<i>Iivari</i> – Ivan	<i>Tokari</i> , <i>Tokkuri</i> – Trofim
<i>Illari</i> – Illarion, Larion	<i>Vyöteri</i> ¹⁶ – Fyodor

It is possible that medieval personal names of the Karelian population may occur among the vernacular forms of names with the suffix *-kki*. This is suggested, as pointed out above, by livestock names ending

16 Cf. Izhor. a dog name – *Vyöteri*(i).

in *-kki*, quite many of which are based on original Balto-Finnic personal names (Kuzmin 2017b: 110–114) (Table 14).

Table 14. Christian names ending in *-kki*.

<i>Hetikki</i> – Fedot	<i>Liššukki</i> – Yelizaveta
<i>Isrikki</i> – Yevstratij	<i>Malokki</i> – Malanya
<i>Isukki</i> , <i>Zotikki</i> – Izosim	<i>Solokki</i> – Solomoniya
<i>Iušukki</i> – Ivan	<i>Sopukki</i> – Sofron
<i>Jerukki</i> – Yeremey	<i>Val’ukki</i> – Valentin
<i>Jepukki</i> – Ivan	<i>Vilokki</i> – Filipp

Note also some lexical data from the cognate Finnish language, where words with the same root as in Karelian anthroponyms can be found, such as *jepukka* ‘well-fed foal’, *isukki* ‘piglet (male)’, *jeru* ‘lazy; laziness’ (SMS), etc.

At the same time, it certainly cannot be assumed, that all the above forms have pre-Christian names or nicknames behind them, since some of them have no doubt appeared at different times and in different locations owing to the Balto-Finnic suffixes *-ri-* and *-kki*, which are used i.a. in anthroponymy. In the context of the Christian onomasticon, these affixes could have been used by the Karelian population to adapt Russian names to their native anthroponymic system. This issue certainly deserves to be studied more.

6.2. Variants of Christian names and nicknames omonymous to them, possibly former pre-Christian names

In close connection with the above is the group of presumed personal names analogous to nicknames used among the present-day Karelian population. This group is quite extensive and certainly not indisputable.¹⁷ At the same time, many examples suggest that we are indeed dealing with late Medieval – early Modern Era nickname-like personal names of Karelians. A parallel can be drawn with Russian

¹⁷ This possibility was mentioned in particularly by A.V. Forsman in his dissertation in 1891 (cf. Forsman 1891: 73, 75).

nickname-derived names¹⁸ (see Table 11), which now appear among nicknames. Such non-calendar names, used i.a. as individual nicknames, have been recorded also in 16th-century documents from ethnic Karelian territories. Cf. Semchezerskiy Pogost 1597: Vasyuk Vasil'yev, nickname *Zhdanko*, Padanskiy Pogost 1597: Vaska Vlas'yev, nickname *Menshoy*, Rugozerskiy Pogost 1597: Ovdokimko Mokeyev, nickname *Zhdanko*, Shuyereckiyy Pogost 1597: Ivashka Larionov, nickname *Gulyay*, Shuyereckiyy Pogost 1598: Aleksandr Vasil'yev, nickname *Bogdanka* (IK 1987: 203, 206, 219, 224, 238).

Table 15. Christian names and words omonymous to them in the Karelian language.

Name	Lexeme ¹⁹
<i>Art'i</i> – Artemiy	<i>artti</i> ‘quarrel, argument’
<i>Hatti</i> – Fotey	<i>hatti</i> ‘rackety, boisterous’
<i>Heikki</i> – Fyodor	<i>heikkari</i> ‘daredevil’
<i>Hippi</i> – Filipp	<i>hippi</i> ‘weirdo, bonehead’
<i>Hokki</i> – Foka	<i>hokki</i> ‘a blabber, dawdler’
<i>Hotko</i> – Fotey	<i>hotkoi</i> ‘jaunty, animated; humble’
<i>Hotti</i> – Fotey	<i>hotti</i> ‘idle talker, chatterbox’
<i>Hökkä</i> – Foka	<i>hökki</i> ‘simpleton; ninny’
<i>Hökkä</i> – Foka	<i>hökkä</i> ‘chatterbox’
<i>Hörkkö</i> – Hariton	<i>hörkköne</i> ‘thick-witted’
<i>Iikka, Iikki</i> – Ignat, Igor’	<i>iikki</i> ‘reckless person; lowlife’
<i>Jormana, Jorma</i> – Yeremey	<i>jorma</i> ‘reckless person; clodhopper’
<i>Jäkki</i> – Yefim	<i>jäkki</i> ‘wealthy person, moneybags’
<i>Kirki</i> – Kirill, <i>Kirkoi</i> – Kirik	<i>kirki</i> ‘spirited, passionate’
<i>Kyösti</i> – Konstantin	<i>kyöstö</i> ‘goofy; goofball; silly’
<i>Lökki</i> – Leontiy	<i>lökki</i> ‘goofy, silly’
<i>Löntti</i> – Leontiy	<i>löntti</i> ‘clumsy, languid’

18 A nickname-derived name is a personal non-calendar name originating from a nickname and functioning as the official personal name.

19 Some examples of probable vocabulary correlations with non-Christian names: **Helleri* (pre-Christian) – *Helleri* (cow name) – *helleri* ‘weak-willed; too kind-hearted’; **Kaunikki* (pre-Christian) – *Kaunikki* (cow name) – *kaunikki* ‘handsome man, also ironically’; **Hellikki* (pre-Christian) – *Hellikki* (cow name) – *hellikki* ‘sensitive to pain; reacting acutely’; *Kaleva* (pre-Christian) – *kaleva* ‘self-willed; disobedient; wicked’.

Name	Lexeme ¹⁹
<i>Makki</i> – Makar	<i>makki</i> ‘trickster, mischievous person’
<i>Pekko</i> – Pyotr	<i>pekko</i> ‘arse (rude)’
<i>Päntti</i> – Panteley	<i>pänt(t)i</i> ‘thick-witted’
<i>Soitikka</i> – Zotik, Izot	? <i>šoitakko</i> ‘tall and stately’
<i>Toppi</i> – Stepan	<i>toppie</i> ‘agile; arduous’
<i>Törhō</i> – Dorofey	<i>törhiškō</i> ‘disobedient; gloomy’
<i>Ventukka</i> – Fyodor	<i>vento</i> ‘languid, dull, feeble; meek’
<i>Väntti</i> – Porfentiy	<i>väntti</i> ‘clumsy, languid’
<i>Väslä</i> – Vasiliy	<i>väžliskō</i> ‘clodhopper; grimacer’ <i>väžläkkō</i> ‘weak-willed’

Thus, if our hypothesis is correct, some of the old-time pre-Christian (nickname-derived) names have persisted within modern Karelian vernacular variants of the Christian anthroponymicon, which they had entered owing i.a. to their assonance/coincidence with the native language vocabulary referring to humans. I also believe the meanings of modern nicknames offer a good chance to approach the understanding of the meaning of medieval names of Karelians and their world-views. It would also be curious to see whether our speculations will be corroborated by anthroponymic material from cognate Balto-Finnic languages.

7. Conclusion

This article is the author’s look into the evolution of the old given names of Karelians and a step towards their further description and study. The revealed corpus of historical Karelian names is yet very incomplete and severely understudied. The non-calendar forenames of the Karelians are not very conspicuous, for example, against the background of Estonian and Finnish anthroponymic data. This is due to a number of causes, including the relative scarcity of names recorded in historical documents, the limited number of sources of the late Middle Ages, the lack of research devoted to medieval Karelian names in general and as well as the lack of studies on the existence and the distribution of nickname-like names / family forenames in Balto-Finnic languages in particular.

Thus, the article offered a reconstruction of non-Christian Karelian names preserved in different kinds of available sources. Among them all kinds of folklore texts (*Ainikki Turuzenpoiga*), Sami old names (*Lemmit Torviyev*), place names (*Endžinkondu, Istomaižennurmi*), nicknames of livestock (in particular, nicknames of cows: *Čommi, Liipakko*), Russian non-Christian names (*Ruudakka, Zubotta*), colloquial forms of Christian names and modern nicknames homonymous to them (*Hatti, Kirki*). It may also be noted that Non-Christian names also have been well preserved in official last names and unofficial family surnames (*Raskone – Kraskov, Valdone – Valdoyev*). However, this topic is still poorly developed at the present time.

One remark in conclusion is that N. Tupikov's dictionary contains some 6,000 of Russian non-Christian names (Tupikov 2005). By analogy, there is a reason to hypothesize that the number of non-calendar names among the Balto-Finnic populace, including Karelians, was also substantial. For example, according to the calculations of A.V. Forsman, which were based on various sources used by him in the course of his research, the number of non-Christian names among the Baltic Finns reached two thousand (Forsman 1891: 69). Thus, many more medieval Karelian personal names are still waiting to be identified and explored.

Abbreviations

Izor. – Ingrian language, Kar. – Karelian language, Finn. – Finnish language, Rus. – Russian language, Lin. – Lindozerskiy pogost, Pad. – Padanskiy pogost, Pan. – Panozerskiy pogost, Rug. – Rugozerskiy pogost, Sel. – Seleckiy pogost, Sem. – Semchezerskiy pogost, Suoj. – Suoyarvskiy prihod (Finland, before 1944), Shu. – Shuyezerskiy pogost, Svyat. – Svyatozerskaya volost

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Märksõnad: antroponüümid, kohanimed, muistsed isikunimed, karjalaste keskaegsed nimed, saami nimed, venekeelsed nimed