

## COLOUR TERM ‘BLACK’ IN ESTONIAN PLACE NAMES

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**Abstract:** *Must* ‘black’ is considered to be the most common colour attribute in place names. The article provides a brief overview of *must* ‘black’ in Estonian place names. The data was obtained from *kohanimekartoteek* ‘place names card index’ of the Institute of the Estonian Language. In the index there are 1377 slips beginning with (or containing) *must* ‘black’, discounting within-parish duplicate slips 1081 place names were found. Altogether, 728 different place name variants were discovered. The most frequent occurrences of *must* in the nominative case were *Mustjõgi* ‘Black-river’ (frequency = 26), *Mustjärv* ‘Black-lake’ (22), *Mustkivi* ‘Black-stone’ (21), *Mustoja* ‘Black-rivulet’ (18) and *Mustmägi* ‘Black-hill’ (16). In the genitive case *Musta talu* ‘Black farm’ (22) was twice as frequent as the next most common, *Musti talu* ‘Musti farm’ (11). According to the studied material the most common determinant was *talu* ‘farm’ (231), followed by *mägi* ‘hill’ (70), *mets* ‘forest’ (45) and *heinamaa* ‘hayfield’ (43).

**Keywords:** place names, *must* ‘black’, colour attribute, Estonia

### 1. Introduction

The idea of searching *kohanimekartoteek* ‘place names card index’ of the Institute of the Estonian Language, for colour terms was effectuated by the earlier research into basic colour terms. Examples of other colours include *valge* ‘white’, *hall* ‘grey’, *sinine* ‘blue’, *roheline* ‘green’, *kollane* ‘yellow’, *punane* ‘red’ and *pruun* ‘brown’. For dialectal equivalents to basic colour terms, e.g. *ahk* ‘grey’, *haljas* ‘green’, *vahane*, *vahass* ‘yellow’, *ver(r)ev* ‘red’, see Oja 2011.

Researching the colour terms of *Taani hindamisraamat* (Latin *Liber Census Daniae*, Danish *Kong Valdemars Jordebog*), a 13th century manuscript of various content including

settlement and agrarian records, Sutrop (2011: 83) suggests that there are more colours associated with place names than *must* 'black' and *hall* 'grey'. Besides the previously studied terms associated with black, e.g. *Mustæn*, *Mustuth* and grey, e.g. *? Halela*, *Halelæ*; *Halenhabus*, Sutrop (2011: 85) proposes *Guldan*, *Kuldenkava* and *Kullawa* in conjunction with *kuld* 'gold', *kuldne* 'golden'. *Raudanal*, *Rauculeppi*, *Raulæuæræ* are also connected to metal - *raud* 'ferrum'. While *Mustuth* designated black cattle, the *kir-i* place names, e.g. *Kiriawold*, *Kiriollæ mæc*, *Kiriuær* designate variegated cattle (< *kirju* 'varicoloured; diverse'). *Lepat*, *Lippanal*, *Raiklæp* are derived from a tree name, *lepp* (*Alnus*), which marks the colour of red, also the colour of blood. In the case of *Reppel*, *Repel* and *Ocrielæ*, Sutrop (2011: 87) agrees with Lennart Meri, who suggested that these place names are derived from the colour term *rebu* 'yolk; fox' with *Ocrielæ* a Middle Latin translation of *rebu*. (Sutrop 2011: 85-87)

Carole Hough's research on the Old English colour terms in place names could also be considered a strong impetus. Hough's (2008: 192) Old English (recorded by c. 1100) examples of *blæc* 'black' in place names include *Blackborough* (*beorg* 'rounded hill'), *Blackbourn*, *Blackburn* (*burna* 'stream'), *Blagdon* (*dūn* 'hill'), *Blakenhall* (*halh* 'nook of land'), *Black Pan* (*penn* 'enclosure (for animals)'), *Blackwell* (*wella* 'spring, stream'). Grouping together the place names by the generic element shows that *beorg* 'rounded hill' could be described as *blæc* 'black', *fealu* 'yellowish, fallow', *grēne* 'green' or *mæle* 'variegated', that *clif* 'cliff' could be *hwīt* 'white' or *rēad* 'red', that valleys *dæl* and *denu* were always *grēne* 'green' or *græg* 'grey', *hār* 'grey, hoar' and that the only colour adjective applied to churches (*cirice*) was *hwīt* 'white' (Hough 2008: 184, 195-196).

This article, focusing on the colour attribute 'black', is a part of ongoing research into colour terms in Estonian place names. By utilizing the works of Marja Kallasmaa, Evar Saar, Eero Kiviniemi, Valdek Pall and Peeter Päll a base of reference for colour attributes in place names was created. A comparative analysis of *must* 'black' and *valge* 'white' attributes is planned in the future.

## 2. Method and materials

The general archive *Eesti murrete ja soome-ugri keelte arhiiv* (EMSUKA) 'Archive of Estonian dialects and Finno-Ugric languages' contains a place names card index. The place names card index *kohanimekartoteek*<sup>1</sup> of the Institute of the Estonian Language was searched for place names beginning with (or containing) *must* 'black'. It consists of several collections. According to the overall statistics, there are 530,867 name cards. The collection of place names started in the 1920s, but the main part of the index was collected after World War II by the researchers of the Institute of the Estonian Language, formerly Institute of the Estonian Language and Literature. It also contains some earlier notes gathered by the researchers of the Estonian Mother Tongue Society. There are several additional collections, e.g. a collection gathered by the dialectal correspondents of the Estonian Mother Tongue Society, and Endel Varep's and Gustav Vilbaste's personal collections. Place names card index is in the process of digitalization and most of the main index's slips have been scanned; however, the digital version is not yet available or searchable on the Internet. [*Eesti Keele Instituudi*] *kohanimeandmebaas* (KNAB) 'place names database' compiled by Peeter Päll is available on the Internet. It includes, among others, 43,916 named features (111,203 names) of Estonian place names.

Place names card index itself is divided into church parish sections. *Kihelkonnad* 'church parishes' are historical territorial units that were in wide use until the 1920s. Even nowadays, most people know what parish they would belong to. The traditional abbreviations of church parishes used in Estonian linguistics, ethnography and elsewhere consist of three letters, e.g. *Jõe* = *Jõelähtme* parish, and *Noa* = *Noarootsi* parish (KNAB). For the list of Estonian Lutheran church parishes, see the abbreviations section.

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1 Unless indicated otherwise all place name examples are from *kohanimekartoteek* 'place names card index', which is part of the *eesti murrete ja soome-ugri keelte arhiiv* (EMSUKA) 'Archive of Estonian dialects and Finno-Ugric languages'

In place names card index, 1377 slips beginning with (or containing) *must* ‘black’ were found. To avoid duplication, multiple slips with the same notation in one church parish were counted as one place name. For example, there were 11 slips for *Must kivi* ‘Black stone’ in Kuusalu (Kuu) parish, but these 11 slips were counted as one place name for this particular parish. Discounting within-parish duplicate slips, there were 1081 place names. Altogether, there were 728 different place name variants beginning with (or containing) *must* ‘black’.

### 3. Most common adjectival and colour attributes in place names

Eero Kiviniemi (1990: 150), commenting on Finnish adjectival attributes in place names, claims that there are few very general adjectives. The first five adjectival determinants express the opposition of big-small, i.e. *iso* and *suuri* for big, *pieni*, *pikku* and *vähä* for small, covering about 40% of the general adjectival determinants. These are followed by *pitkä* ‘long’, *vanha* ‘old’, *uusi* ‘new’ and *musta* ‘black’. Kiviniemi (1990: 151) speculates that the characteristic of big is more general because it does not necessarily have an opposition of small. The same principle is applicable to black. There are many natural objects which can be termed *black* in place names, but not as many objects of the same type which can be named the opposite: *white*. Kiviniemi (1990: 152) and Huldén (1989: 169-175) concur that black is much more general than white. The ratio of the black-white adjectives is the same in Finnish, Finnish Swedish and Scandinavian place names, which according to Huldén is about 3:1.

In *Läänemurde loodus- ja viljelusnimed* ‘Names of natural and cultivation objects in the western dialect area’, Marja Kallasmaa (2003: 61) lists the adjectival attributes by frequency and the ratio of combinations as follows: *suur* ‘big’ (175:46), *pikk* ‘long’ (58:28), *must* ‘black’ (45:17), *uus* ‘new’ (40:16), and *lai* ‘wide’ (35:20). *Must* ‘black’ (frequency = 45) is the most common colour attribute amongst natural and cultivation names in the western

dialect area of Estonia (Kallasmaa 2003: 63). It is followed by *punane* ‘red’ (20) and *valge* ‘white’ (19) (Kallasmaa 2003: 63-64). According to Evar Saar (2008: 107), *must* ‘black’ (47) is also the most frequent colour attribute in Võru county, which historically included the parishes of Hargla, Kanepi, Karula, Põlva, Rõuge, Räpina, Urvaste and Vastseliina. It is followed by *kuld* ‘gold’ (34), *valgõ* ‘white’ (dialect variant) (27), *hall*, *hahk* (the latter is a dialect variant) ‘grey’ (18), and *verrev* (dialect variant; usually written as *verev*) ‘(blood) red’ (16) (Saar 2008: 107). For more on colour terms in Estonian dialects, see Oja 1997, 2011. While black is usually the most frequent colour attribute in place names, white may not always be the second most frequent term.

#### 4. The usage of *must* ‘black’ in place name structures

In Estonian, the *generic term* or *determinant* is in nominative case and usually retains the direct meaning, e.g. *Mustjõgi* ‘Black-river’. “False” determinants are often in genitive case, e.g. *Mustjõe* (*küla*) ‘Black-river (village)’, whereas the real determinant is often missing or implied. In elliptical place names, there is no determinant, e.g. *Musta* ‘Black (gen)’ (Pajusalu et al. 2009: 260).

Kallasmaa (2003: 124-125) describes the most popular case structures as follows (examples are replaced with place names beginning with *must* ‘black’):

- |  |                  |   |   |
|--|------------------|---|---|
| 1) K <sub>1</sub> gen sg + K <sub>2</sub> nom sg | <i>Mustajõgi</i> | < | <i>must</i> ‘black’ + <i>jõgi</i> ‘river’ |
| 2) K <sub>1</sub> gen pl + K <sub>2</sub> nom sg | <i>Mustade</i>   | < | <i>must</i> ‘black’ + <i>soo</i>          |
|  | <i>soo</i>       |   | ‘swamp, bog’                              |
| 3) K <sub>1</sub> gen sg + K <sub>2</sub> gen sg | <i>Mustajõe</i>  | < | <i>must</i> ‘black’ + <i>jõgi</i> ‘river’ |
| 4) K <sub>1</sub> nom sg + K <sub>2</sub> nom sg | <i>Mustjõgi</i>  | < | <i>must</i> ‘black’ + <i>jõgi</i> ‘river’ |

The last pattern is the most characteristic of names with an adjectival attribute (Kallasmaa 2003: 125). Based on the literature, Saar (2008: 22) suggests that part of the name can

syntactically-semantically express either a) a type of place, e.g. *Must/jõgi* ‘Black/river’; b) name of a place, e.g. *Mustajõe (tal)* ‘Black-river (farm)’, where the lexical elements *must* ‘black’ and *jõgi* ‘river’ have no independent semantic meaning concerning the farm as an object of naming; or c) a specific character, which differentiates the name from others of the same type, e.g. *Musta/jõe*. *Musta* is the attribute.

#### 4.1 *Must* ‘black’ in nominative

In Table 1, place names with *must* ‘black’ in nominative singular are given as ranked by frequency (F). Where both solid and separate writing of the name exist they are counted as one place name, where possible. In nominative, for example, the six most frequent terms have both solid and separate forms: *Must-jõgi* ~ *Must jõgi* ‘Black-river’ (F= 26), *Mustjärv* ~ *Must järv* ~ *Must Jarv* ‘Black-lake’ (22), *Mustkivi* ~ *Must kivi* ‘Black-stone’ (21), *Mustoja* ~ *Mustoya* ~ *Must oja* ~ *Must Oya* ‘Black-rivulet’ (18), and *Mustmägi* ~ *Must mägi*<sup>2</sup> ‘Black-hill’ (16). The forms of *Mustmets* ~ *Must mets* ~ *Must metz* ‘Black-forest’ (8) and *Mustkuusik* ~ *Must kuusik* ‘Black-grove of spruce’ (4) also have both forms. *Mustoja talu* ‘Black-rivulet farm’ (7) places seventh. Usually in farm names, the attribute and the determinant are both in genitive, e.g. *Mustaoja talu*.

Taken as is, *Mustjärv* ‘Black-lake’ (19) is the most common, followed by *Mustjõgi* ‘Black-river’ (18) and *Mustoja* ~ *Mustoya* ‘Black-rivulet’ (15). Evar Saar (2008: 107) also claims that *Mustjärv* ‘Black lake’ (12) is the most frequent place name with the attribute *must* in Võru county. He also gives *Mustsaar* ~ *Mustassaar* ‘Black island’ (9) as a common example of the attribute black. While in most cases *Mustsaar* ~ *Mustassaar* are

2 By geographical definition, there are no mountains in Estonia. Even the highest, *Suur Munamägi* ‘Big Egg-mountain’ (318 meters), can only be considered a hill. In place names, some determinants, e.g. *mägi* ‘hill’, *org* ‘valley’ and *meri* ‘sea’, are often used to designate a relative or comparative scale.

counted as one, here the notations are given separate frequencies.

**Table 1.** The attribute *must* 'black' in nominative as ranked by frequency (F).

Place name	Gloss	F
<i>Mustjõgi</i> (18) <i>Must jõgi</i> (8)	Black-river	26
<i>Mustjärv</i> (19) <i>Must järv</i> (2) <i>Must Jarv</i> (1)	Black-lake	22
<i>Must kivi</i> (15) <i>Mustkivi</i> (6)	Black-stone	21
<i>Mustoja</i> (14) <i>Mustoja</i> (1) <i>Must oja</i> (2) <i>Must Oya</i> (1)	Black-rivulet	18
<i>Mustmägi</i> (10) <i>Must mägi</i> (6)	Black-hill	16
<i>Mustmets</i> (5) <i>Must mets</i> (2) <i>Must metz</i> (1)	Black-forest	8
<i>Mustoja talu</i>	Black-rivulet farm	7
<i>Mustsaare</i>	Black island	4
<i>Mustsoo</i> (3) <i>Mustsoot</i> (1)	Black-swamp, bog	4
<i>Mustvee</i> (2) <i>Mustwet</i> (1) <i>Mustweddist</i> (1)	Black-water	4
<i>Mustkuusik</i> (2) <i>Must kuusik</i> (2)	Black-grove of spruce	4
<i>Must niit</i>	Black meadow	3
<i>Must org</i>	Black valley	3
<i>Musthaud</i>	Black-grave	3
<i>Mustjõe</i>	Black-river	3
<i>Mustjõe talu</i>	Black-river farm	3
<i>Mustkivi talu</i>	Black-stone farm	3
<i>Mustsaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	3

Place name	Gloss	F
<i>Mustjõe küla ~ Mustjoggi</i>	Black-river village	3
<i>Must allikas ~ Must alikas</i>	Black spring	2
<i>Must Jaala järv</i>	Black-‘small (cat)boat’ lake	2
<i>Must K/kass</i> [ <i>kõrts, heinamaa</i> ]	Black C/cat [barrelhouse, hayfield]	2
<i>Must kirp</i>	Black flea	2
<i>Must lomp</i>	Black puddle	2
<i>Must meri</i>	Black sea	2
<i>Must nasu</i>	Black ‘small grass islet’ (dialect)	2
<i>Must plats</i>	Black place, site	2
<i>Must rahu</i>	Black ‘small stone-filled islet’ (dialect)	2
<i>Must sild</i>	Black bridge	2
<i>Mustjõe mõis</i>	Black-river manor	2
<i>Mustjõe oja</i>	Black-river rivulet	2
<i>Mustjärve talu</i>	Black-lake farm	2
<i>Mustkraav</i>	Black-ditch	2
<i>Mustküla</i>	Black-village	2
<i>Must-oit</i>	Black-‘puddle’ (dialect)	2
<i>Mustoja küla</i>	Black-rivulet village	2
<i>Mustsaar</i>	Black-island	2

The most common place names beginning with *must* ‘black’ are names of natural objects, e.g. *jõgi* ‘river’, *järv* ‘lake’, *kivi* ‘stone’, *oja* ‘rivulet’, *mägi* ‘hill’, *mets* ‘forest’, not settlement names, e.g. *tal* ‘farm’. Some words are only used dialectally; these are either very specific or fairly uncommon, e.g. *jaala* ‘small (cat)boat’, *nasu* ‘small grass islet’, *rahu* ‘small stone-filled islet’, and *oit* ‘puddle’. *Jaala* in *Must Jaala järv* ‘Black *Jaala* lake’ might be indicative of a special type of small (cat)boat (EKSS). While *jalg*, *jala* ‘foot’ carries a different meaning, in Jõhvi (Jõh) parish *Must Jaala järv* and *Must-Jala järv* have been recorded alternatively. Rebasoo (1972: 14) describes *nasv* (also *nasu*, *näsu*; near Pärnu *rava*) as a low-standing and small grass islet covered with halophilic plants typical of coastal meadows. During high-water times, *nasvad* (pl) are usually covered with

water. Kallasmaa (1996: 224) suggests *nasu*, *nasva* ‘small peninsula, reef, stony shallow-water place in the sea’ for *Must-nasu* (Põj). The same declension is mostly used in insular and western Estonian dialects (VMS), but *nasv*, *nasva* designates a ‘stony shallow-water place in the sea’ (EKSS). *Rahu* is a western Estonian expression for a small islet (less than a few hectares), which is usually filled with scree, boulders and sparse vegetation. It is possible for windblown water to flood most of these islets. The names of *rahud* (pl) and *kared* (pl) – very similar, but even smaller islets – were established when they were still mostly under water (Rebassoo 1972: 14). The dialectal *oit* ‘puddle, pond, a hole full of water’ (EKSS) is synonymous with *lomp*. In Simuna, both *oit* and *oik* are noted, and in Koeru only *oik* (VMS s.v. *oik*, *oit*) is noted. *Must-oit* (Kod, MMg) and *Mustoit* (Kod) are examples of place names.

With the attribute *must* in nominative, the incidence of the determinant *talu* ‘farm’ is low, because the most common farm name template is a one-part name in genitive, e.g. *Musta*. The generic term, e.g. *talu* ‘farm’, is usually only added in naming or counting, not in speaking of place names (Saar 2008: 69). Considering all the place names with *must* ‘black’ in them, the generic term *talu* ‘farm’ has a much higher frequency than in nominative only. Table 2 accounts for other place names where *must* ‘black’ is not in nominative case.

#### 4.2 *Must-* ‘black’ not in nominative

Some of the place names beginning with (or containing) *must* ‘black’ do not have a direct connection to the colour attribute black. For example, in farm names the connection to black can be more indirect. Pall (1969:145) remarks that in some North Tartu revision records *Musta* and *Musti* appear interchangeably. *Must* ‘Black’ was also used as a family name. As to the relationship between *Musta* ~ *Musto* ~ *Musti*, it should be noted that *Musto* originates from the *oi*-diminutive, while the form *Musti* might be a case of the later *i*-diminutive. In *Saare-*

*maa kohanimed I* ‘Place names of Saaremaa [island] I’, Kallasmaa (1996: 223) suggests that *Musta* (farm) in Jämaja is a derivation from a proper name. In place names, *Musto* is rare; in this study, it appears in conjunction with forest, as in *Musto mets* (Kse) and *lea* in *Mustonurm* (Võn). Saar (2008: 144) claims that even without knowing the actual motives of naming, some place name attributes, e.g. *Musti*, cannot be considered anything but archaic personal names or a person’s cognomen. The *i*-stem vowel marks it as a personal name. It should be noted that *Musti* is also a name commonly given to animals of dark colouring, e.g. dogs. The most frequent determinant with **Must/i** is *Musti talu* ‘farm’ (11), followed by *Mustimägi* (2) ~ *Musti mägi* ‘hill’ (4), *Mustimets* ~ *Musti mets* ‘forest’ (2), and *Mustinurm* ~ *Musti y nuem* ‘lea’ (Rõn). *Mustivere* (Vil) also appears. In some cases *Musti* is paired with personal names, e.g. *Musti Jürri*, *Musti Michel* (Vilbaste Jõe), and *Musti-Aabel*, *Musti Juhkami talu* ‘farm’ (Plv). An elliptical *Musti* (Vilbaste Jõe) is also recorded.

**Muste/e (15):** *Mustekivi* ‘stone’ (Hag, VNg), *Mustekivi mägi* ‘stone hill’ (Hag), *Mustemäe talu* ‘hill farm’ (Hag), *Mustemägi* ‘hill’ (Hag), *Mustetola talu* ‘room farm’ (Hag); *Mustelepa väli* ‘alder field’ (Kei), *Mustelepavälja mägi* ‘alder-field hill’ (Kei); *Mustepaju talu* ‘willow farm’ (Koe), *Mustekännu mets* ‘stump forest’ (Kos), *Mustelõugu heinamaa* ‘hole, pit’ hayfield’ (Kul), *Mustemetsa talu* ‘forest farm’ (Kul); and *Mustepere talu* ‘family farm’ (Rap).

**Must/u (13):** *Mustu talu* ‘farm’ (Mär, Rid), *küla* ‘village’ (Nis), *mets* ‘forest’ (San), *metsavahikoht* ‘gamekeeper’s place’ (Var), *mägi* ‘hill’ (Urv), and *oja* ‘rivulet’ (Rap). Also, *Mustumetsa talu* ‘forest farm’ (Hel, San) ~ *Mustumõtsa* ‘forest’ (San), *Mustumõtsa talu* ‘forest farm’ (Hlm); *Mustualune heinamaa* ‘below hayfield’ (Mih), *Mustuaru pere* ‘dryland’ family’ (Mih). *Must/ukse heinamaa* ‘hayfield’, *tal* ‘farm’ (Krk), and *Must/ukse lomp* ‘puddle’ (Kar).

**Must/o (2):** *Musto mets* ‘forest’ (Kse), *Mustonurm* ‘lea’ (Võn).

**Table 2.** The non-nominative *must* ‘black’ by frequency (F).

Place name	Gloss	F
<i>Musta talu</i>	Black farm	22
<i>Musti talu</i>	<i>Musti</i> farm	11
<i>Mustametsa talu</i>	Black-forest farm	9
<i>Mustassaar</i>	Black-island <sup>3</sup>	9
<i>Mustassaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	9
<i>Mustakivi</i> <i>Mustakiwi</i>	Black-stone	7
<i>Mustasaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	7
<i>Musti mägi</i> <i>Mustimägi</i>	<i>Musti</i> hill	7
<i>Musta</i>	Black	6
<i>Mustakivi talu</i>	Black-stone farm	6
<i>Mustajõe talu</i>	Black-river farm	5
<i>Mustamäe talu</i>	Black-hill farm	5
<i>Mustaoja</i>	Black-rivulet	5
<i>Mustaoja talu</i>	Black-rivulet farm	5
<i>Mustarahu</i>	Black-‘small stone-filled islet’ (dialect)	5
<i>Mustla küla</i>	<i>Mustla</i> village	5
<i>Mustaangu talu</i>	Black-hole, pit farm	4
<i>Mustakivi põld</i> <i>Mustakivi põllud</i>	Black-stone field(s)	4
<i>Mustamäe</i>	Black-hill	4
<i>Mustla</i>	<i>Mustla</i>	4

With the non-nominative *must* ‘black’ the determinant *tal* ‘farm’ is most common (see Table 2), e.g. *Musta talu* ‘Black farm’ (22), *Musti talu* ‘*Musti* farm’ (11), *Mustametsa talu* ‘Black-forest farm’ (9), *Mustassaare talu* ‘Black-island farm’ (9), *Mustasaare talu* ‘Black-stone farm’ (6), *Mustajõe talu* ‘Black-river farm’ (5), *Mustamäe talu* ‘Black-hill farm’

3 Literally *Mustassaar* ‘Black island’ designates an island or an islet (Lgn, Rid), but in most cases it is not an actual island, but rather a farm (Jmd, KJn, Pee), forest or a forest island (Iis, Pee, VNg), hayfield (Sim) or an island in a bog or marsh (Kod, Kos).

(5), *Mustaoja talu* ‘Black-rivulet farm’ (5), *Mustaauugu talu* ‘Black-hole, pit farm’ (4).

The following place names with *must* ‘black’ in non-nominative were also frequent *Mustassaar* ‘Black-island’ (9) (without the determinant *talu* ‘farm’), *Mustakivi* ~ *Mustakiwi* ‘Black-stone’ (7), *Musti mägi* ~ *Mustimägi* ‘Musti hill’ (7), *Mustaoja* ‘Black-rivulet’ (without the determinant *talu* ‘farm’), dialectal *Mustarahu* ‘Black-‘small stone-filled islet’ (5), *Mustamäe* ‘Black-hill’ (4). *Mustla küla* ‘Mustla farm’ (5) and *Mustla* ‘Mustla’ (4) were also found. The determinant *põld* (sg), *põllud* (pl) appeared in *Mustakivi põld* ~ *Mustakivi põllud* ‘Black-stone field(s)’ (4). The elliptical *Musta* ‘Black’ was found in six instances.

Some derivations carry a tenuous association with, or are simply too far removed from, the colour attribute, e.g. *mustlane*, *mustlase* ‘gypsy’ and *mustikas*, *mustika* ‘blueberry, bilberry’. Examples from Table 2 include the following place names *Mustika talu* ‘Blueberry farm’ (10), *Mustlase mägi* ~ *Mustlasemägi* ‘Gypsy-hill’ (9), *Mustika mägi* ~ *Mustikamägi* ‘Blueberry-hill’ (8), *Mustiksoo* ~ *Mustiksuo* ~ *Mustikuo* ‘Blueberry-swamp, bog’ (8), *Mustika* ‘Blueberry’ (4), *Mustiku talu* ‘Black cow farm’ (4), *Mustlasesoo* ~ *Mustlase soo* ~ *Mustlasesuu* ‘Gypsy-swamp, bog’ (4). The suffix *-lane* produces a person’s national or ethnic affiliation from a place name, e.g. *Eesti* ‘Estonia’ < *eest/lane* ‘Estonian’ (EKK s.v. SM 22), and *must* < *must/lane* ‘gypsy’. In *mustikas* ‘blueberry’, the suffix *-kas* acts as a neutral suffix carrying over the characteristics from the underlying stem. Valdek Pall (1977: 142) suggests that derived terms from the proper name level are also toponyms, for which a match has been found from animal names, e.g. ? *Mustiku* (Kallasmaa 2000: 146). For *mustu*, Mägiste (1928: 12, 39, 183) claims that *-oi* (Vepsian) > *-o* (Finnish) > *-u* (Estonian) is a consistent phonetic rule in northern, central and south-western Estonian dialect areas. He suggests (1928: 44) that, when the *oi*-diminutive is present in animal names, it is also present in proper names for those animals. Mägiste categorises *mustoi* (1928: 12, 44) as an animal name either for: 1) a cow, e.g. *Seäl ma murtsin mustu sarved* ‘There I broke the horns of *mustu*’

(in *Setu* folk song); 2) a (dark-skinned) seal (Jäm, Khk, Mus, Krj, Khn), which is colloquially used for a ringed seal (VMS, EKSS s.v. *mustu*), e.g. *mustu*; or 3) an ox, e.g. *must/u*, *must/o*. In the case of *Mustuth*, Sutrop (2011: 83, 87) suggests the original meaning of black cattle. Mägiste (1928: 222) proposes that all Baltic-Finnic animal names are derived from colour names or names of the days, and that others could be reduced to the adjectival meaning. *Mustuke(ne)*, *mustukese* is colloquially used for a dark-skinned (*tumedavereline* 'dark-blooded'), swarthy person (or animal). *Mustlase talu* 'Gypsy farm' (2) also appears in place names card index. Grammatically, the declension *mustik*, *mustiku* is used for the 'black cow' meaning (EKSS), e.g. *Mustiku talu* 'Black cow farm' (4). *Mustikas*, *mustika* is used for the 'blueberry' meaning (EKSS), e.g. *Mustika talu* 'Blueberry farm' (10). The shortened form *mustik-* sometimes designates blueberry, e.g. *Mustikaru talu* 'Blueberry-'dryland' farm' (2).

The dialectological dictionary offers examples from many parishes where one can disregard the meaning of 'black cow' for *mustik* since it clearly designates the shortened blueberry meaning (VMS s.v. *mustik*). The suffix *-ik* by itself is a non-productive adjectival suffix, e.g. *metsik* 'wild', *lapsik* 'childish', and *lapik* 'oblate' (EKK s.v. SM 33).

Saar (2008: 128; 130-131) classifies *mustikas* 'blueberry' (7) as an attribute of a (wild) plant name. He concentrates on *maasi/kas* 'strawberry', which is the most frequent (26) name of a berry (plant attribute) in Võru county place names. Saar considers *Maasikaorg* 'strawberry-valley' (Urv Antsla) to be a secondary name from the farm name *Maasika* 'strawberry' (gen), which itself has been repeatedly based on a personal name. Although Saar incorporates *Maasikmägi* ~ *Maasikamägi* 'strawberry-hill' (13), in Table 2 *mustika* 'blueberry' (gen sg) and *mustik* 'blueberry; black cow' are counted separately.

The verb *mustu/ma* 'go or turn black (as of colouring or become dirtied)' is used in Torma, Kolga-Jaani, Tarvastu, Rannu, Puhja, Karula, Põlva and Vastseliina counties, e.g. *Õhtu pimeneb*, *metsamüür mustub* 'The evening darkens, the wall of forest blackens' (EKSS, VMS). The dialectal *mustutama* is syno-

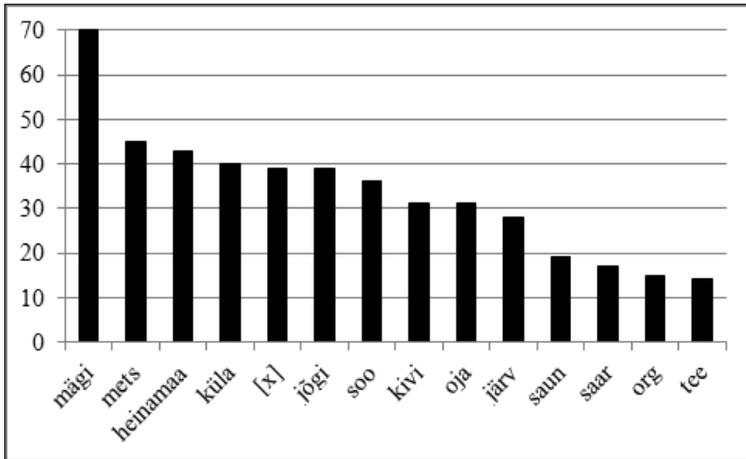
nymous with *määrima* ‘to dirty, to make dingy’ (VMS). *Mustama, mustata* denotes: 1) *mustendama* - (being) of a black colour, when something seems to be either black or dark, blacken(ed), e.g. *Värskelt küntud muld mustas* ‘The freshly ploughed soil blackened’; an abundance of something or somebody; 2) (make) dirty, unclean; or 3) slander, revile (EKSS s.v. *mustama, mustendama*). For stative colour verbs and their situation structures, see Paulsen in this volume.

The place name *Mustla* consists of *must* ‘black’ and the suffix *-la*. *-la* (*-lä*) is an old suffix which was used to denote a place or was used as a diminutive. In common vocabulary, it has been restrictedly revived, now usually used for either buildings, e.g. *suvila* ‘summerhouse’ < *suvi* ‘summer’, or an area of land, e.g. *põhjala* ‘Norse, northern land’ < *põhi, põhja* (gen) ‘north’ (EKK SM 21, Pajusalu et al. 2009: 270). In place names, it is commonly used all over Estonia, but especially in northern Estonia and on Saaremaa island, as well as in Võru county’s Urvaste and Rõuge parishes in southern Estonia (for a map of *la*-suffixes see Pajusalu et al. 2009: 282). Some of today’s *la*-suffixes have belonged to another type (Pajusalu et al. 2009: 270-271): *-jala* ‘foot’; *-küla* ‘village’; *-laid* ‘islet’; *-valla* ‘county’; *-vilja* ‘fruit, drupelet’, and *-välja* ‘field’. Gustav Vilbaste’s archive notes (mostly from 1933) reveal several other variations, e.g. *Mustalla, Mustell, Mustee, Mustlatz, Musten* and *Mustaon*. Kettunen (1955) surmises that in Finnish place names the *la*-suffix has mostly been joined with personal names. Such examples are abundant in Finnish.

### 4.3 Determinants in combination with *must*-attribute

Overall, 219 different determinants or post-components were found in place names card index. The most frequent determinant was *talu* ‘farm’ (231), which covered about 21% of all determinants. The following determinants (see Figure 1) were far less frequent: *mägi* ‘hill’ (70), *mets* ‘forest’ (45), *heinamaa*

‘hayfield’ (43), *küla* ‘village’ (40), *jõgi* ‘river’ (39), *soo* ‘swamp, bog’ (36), *kivi* ‘stone’ (31), *oja* ‘rivulet’ (31), *järv* ‘lake’ (28), *saun* ‘sauna’ (19), *saar* (17) ‘island, islet’ (may also signify a forest, a forest island, a bog or a hayfield, see footnote 2 for further explanations), *org* ‘valley’ (15), and *tee* ‘road’ (14). In Figure 1, [x] marks elliptical place names.



**Figure 1.** Most frequent determinants after *must* ‘black’ (excluding *talu* ‘farm’).

Apparently, the most common is the attribute + determinant combination. The most straightforward combinations are with *järv* ‘lake’, e.g. *Mustjärv* ~ *Must järv* ~ *Must Jarw* (the frequency of this combination 22 / the overall frequency of this determinant 28, 78.6%); *kivi* ‘stone’, e.g. *Must kivi* ~ *Mustkivi* (31/21, 67.7%); with *jõgi* ‘river’, e.g. *Mustjõgi* ~ *Must jõgi* (26/39, 66.7%); *oja* ‘rivulet’, e.g. *Mustoja* ~ *Must oja* (16/31, 51.6%); *mägi* ‘hill’, e.g. *Mustmägi* (10) ~ *Must mägi* (6) (16/70, 22.9%); *mets* ‘forest’, e.g. *Mustmets* ~ *Must mets* (7/45, 15.6%). There are some interesting combinations not in nominative case, e.g. *Mustassaar* ‘Black-island’ (9/17, 52.9%), *Mustla küla* ‘village’ (5/40, 12.5%), *Musta talu* ‘farm’ (22/231, 9.5%), and *Mustakännu* ~ *Mustakannu heinamaa* ‘Black-stump hayfield’ (4/43, 9.3%).

Some determinants are more common in combination with the genitive *mustik(a)* and *mustlase*, e.g. *Mustlase org* ~ *Mustlase-org* ‘Gypsy-hill’ (6/15, 40.0%), *Mustiksoo* ~ *Mustiksuo* ‘Blueberry-swamp, bog’ (6/36, 16.7%) and *Mustlase saun* ‘Gypsy sauna’ (3/19, 15.8%). *Musta* (5/39, 12.8%) was the most frequent elliptical place name. There were 14 instances of *tee* ‘road’ determinants, but they all occurred only once.

Some of the most frequent determinants in conjunction with *must-* are presented in the following paragraphs.

**Talu ‘farm’ (119):** The most frequent (see Table 3) were *Musta* (22), *Musti* (11) and *Mustika* ‘blueberry’ (10). These were followed by two-part names, usually with either one or both of the attributes in the genitive case, e.g. *Mustametsa talu* ‘Black-forest farm’ (9), *Mustassaare talu* ‘Black-island farm’ (9), *Mustasaare talu* ‘Black-island farm’ (7), *Mustoja talu* ‘Black-rivulet farm’ (7), *Mustakivi talu* ‘Black-stone farm’ (6), *Mustajõe talu* ‘Black-river farm’ (5), *Mustamäe talu* ‘Black-hill farm’ (5), and *Mustaoja talu* ‘Black-rivulet farm’ (5).

**Table 3.** *Talu* ‘farm’ determinants (occurring more than once) by frequency (F).

Term	Gloss	F
<i>Musta talu</i>	Black farm	22
<i>Musti talu</i>	<i>Musti</i> farm	11
<i>Mustametsa talu</i>	Black-forest farm	9
<i>Mustassaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	9
<i>Mustasaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	7
<i>Mustoja talu</i>	Black-rivulet farm	7
<i>Mustakivi talu</i>	Black-stone farm	6
<i>Mustajõe talu</i>	Black-river farm	5
<i>Mustamäe talu</i>	Black-hill farm	5
<i>Mustaoja talu</i>	Black-rivulet farm	5
<i>Mustaaugu talu</i>	Black-hole, pit farm	4
<i>Mustajärve talu</i>	Black-lake farm	3
<i>Mustjõe talu</i>	Black-river farm	3
<i>Mustkivi talu</i>	Black-stone farm	3
<i>Mustsaare talu</i>	Black-island farm	3

Term	Gloss	F
<i>Mustaantsu talu</i>	Black- <i>Ants</i> farm	2
<i>Mustanõmme talu</i>	Black-heath farm	2
<i>Mustaru<sup>4</sup> talu</i>	Black-'dry land' farm (dialect)	2
<i>Mustassare talu</i>	Black-island farm	2
<i>Mustatoo talu</i>	Black-room farm	2
<i>Mustaugu talu</i>	Black-hole, pit farm	2
<i>Musteni talu</i>	<i>Musteni</i> farm	2
<i>Mustjärve talu</i>	Black-lake farm	2
<i>Mustoneni talu</i>	<i>Mustoneni</i> farm	2
<i>Mustu talu</i>	<i>Mustu</i> farm	2
<i>Mustumetsa talu</i>	<i>Mustu</i> -forest farm	2

**Mägi, genitive mäe 'hill' (70):** *Mustmägi* (10) ~ *Mustmägi* (6) is followed by several place names containing derivational suffixes with *mustlane* 'gypsy' (11), e.g. *Mustlase mägi* (6) ~ *Mustlasemägi* (3), *Mustlasmägi* (1), *Mustlaste mägi* (pl) (1) or *mustikas* 'blueberry', e.g. *Mustika mägi* (4) ~ *Mustikamägi* (4) and *Musti mägi* (4).

**Table 4.** *Mägi* 'hill' determinants (occurring more than once) by frequency (F).

Term	Gloss	F
<i>Mustmägi</i> (10)	Black-hill	16
<i>Must mägi</i> (6)		
<i>Musti mägi</i> (5)	<i>Musti</i> -hill	7
<i>Mustimägi</i> (2)		
<i>Mustamäe mägi</i>	Black-hill hill	3
<i>Mustakivi mägi</i>	Black-stone hill	2
<i>Mustamägi</i>	Black-hill	2

**Mets, genitive metsa 'forest' (45):** A simple combination is frequent, and the most common is *Mustmets* (5) ~ *Must mets* (2), followed by several *musta* (gen) place names, e.g. *Mustamets* (3),

4 *Mustaru* < *must* 'black' + *aru* ? 'dry land' (VMS s.v. *aru*)

*Mustasaare mets* ‘Black-island forest’ (3), and *Mustaoja mets* ‘Black-rivulet forest’ (2). *Metsa* (gen) is seen in *Mustametsa* (Kuu), dialectally *Mustumõtsa* (San). The far-fetched *Mustika mets* (2) ~ *Mustikamets* ‘blueberry-forest’ (1) and *Mustlase mets* (2) ~ *Mustlasemets* ‘Gypsy-forest’ (1) also occur.

**Table 5.** *Mets* ‘forest’ determinants (occurring more than once) by frequency (F).

Term	Gloss	F
<i>Mustmets</i> (5)	Black-forest	7
<i>Must mets</i> (2)		
<i>Mustamets</i>	Black-forest	3
<i>Mustasaare mets</i>	Black-island forest	3
<i>Mustaoja mets</i>	Black-rivulet forest	2
<i>Mustimets</i>	<i>Musti</i> -forest	2
<i>Musti mets</i>		

**Heinamaa** ‘hayfield’ (43), also *heinamaad* (pl) (3), *aynamaa* (1): Occurring more than once are *Mustakännu* (2) ~ *Mustakannu* (2) *heinamaa* ‘Black-stump hayfield’ (4) and *Mustajõe heinamaa* ‘Black-river hayfield’. Several dialect components appear between the attribute *must(a)* and the determinant *heinamaa*, e.g. *läte*, *lätte* ‘spring’, *pali* ‘?’, *peakse* ? *pööksu* ‘swamp-islet, small weald, poscage’, *lõugu* ‘small bay; here (water)hole or a pit’, and *saadu* ‘separate piece of arable land (in a two-field system)’.

In *Mustalätte heinamaa* (Ote), a well-known synonym for *allikas* ‘spring’ is used – *läte*, *lätte* ‘spring, well’ (EKSS). *Lätlik* < *läte* has been noted in Otepää parish (VMS). Although *pali* has several different dialect meanings in the case of *Mustapali heinamaa* (Trv), the meaning has not been fully certified. The most likely meaning for *peakse* or *pööksu*, as in *Mustapeakse* ? *Mustapööksu heinamaa* (Phl) and *Mustapeeksu selg*, is *pääks(es)* (*pääksi*) ‘islet in a swamp or bog, small weald, poscage’ (VMS), used in western and insular dialects (Khk, Mus, Emm, Käi, Rei, Phl, Hää, Saa). *Lõugas*, *lõugu* represents a small bay or lough (EKSS s.v. *lõugas II*), or in the case of *Mustelõugu heinamaa* (Kul) possibly a (water) hole or a pit in the hayfield. *Saat*, *saadu*

is a ‘separate piece of arable land (in a two-field system)’ (VMS, EKSS), e.g. *Mustsaadu heinamaa* (also *mägi*) ‘hayfield (also mountain)’ (Hls, *Mulgi* dialect) and *Mustlassaadu heinamaa* ‘hayfield’ (Saa, western dialect). In a hayfield, one might also come across *saad*, *sao*, *saadu* ‘haycock’ (EKSS).

**Küla ‘village’ (40):** Most are simple attribute + determinant combinations. *Mustahamba* ‘ergot’ < *musta* ‘black’ + *hamba* ‘tooth’ (Rõu, Vas), however, is surprising because in dialect *mustahamba* can also denote ergot (*Claviceps*), or the corn infected with it, in Rõuge (VMS).

**Table 6.** *Küla* ‘village’ determinants (occurring more than once) by frequency (F).

Term	Gloss	F
<i>Mustla küla</i>	<i>Mustla</i> village	5
<i>Mustküla</i> (2) <i>Must küla</i> (1)	Black-village	3
<i>Musta küla</i>	Black village	3
<i>Mustjõe küla</i> (2) <i>Mustjoggi</i> (1)	Black-river village	3
<i>Mustahamba küla</i>	‘Ergot’ village	2
<i>Mustametsa küla</i>	Black-forest village	2
<i>Mustoja küla</i>	Black-rivulet village	2

**Jõgi, genitive jõe ‘river’ (39):** By far the most frequent is *Mustjõgi* (17) ~ *Must jõgi* (8) ~ *Mustjõgi* [oja ‘rivulet’] (1) (26). It also occurs with the determinant in genitive, e.g. *Mustjõe* (Amb, Tln, Vai) and with both the attribute and determinant in genitive in *Mustajõe* (Tln); there is a possible duplicate in *Mustajõe* (Vai).

**Soo ‘swamp, bog’ (36):** *Mustiksoo* (5) ~ *Mustiksoo* ‘Blueberry swamp’ (Kuu) (6), *Mustsoo* ‘Black-swamp’ (3), *Mustikaso* ‘Blueberry-swamp’ (2) ~ *Mustika soo* (1), *Mustlasesoo* (2) ~ *Mustlase soo* ‘Gypsy-swamp’ (1), *Mustasaare soo* ‘Black-island swamp’ (2), and *Mustiksoo soo* (2) ‘Blueberry-swamp swamp’. In many nature names, synonymous post-components stack up (Pajusalu et al. 2009: 260). In Kuusalu parish, the notation of blueberry swamp varies, e.g. *Mustiksoo*, *Mustiksoo*, and *Mustik-*

*soo soo*. The “grammatically correct” variant of blueberry-swamp would be *Mustikasoo* (Nõo, Vas).

**Kivi ‘stone’ (31):** Again the simple combination, i.e. *Must kivi* (15) ~ *Mustkivi* ‘Black-stone’ (6), is the most common. It is followed by the genitive form *Mustakivi* (6) ~ *Mustakiwi* (Vilbaste Jõe) (1) and *Mustekivi* ‘Muste-stone’ (3). *Mustad kivid* (pl) (Kuu) and *Mustlasekivi* ‘Gypsy-stone’ (SJn) also appeared in the index.

**Oja ‘rivulet’ (31):** There are a few variations on the *oja* ‘rivulet’ combination, and the top three are *Mustoja* (14) ~ *Must oja* ‘Black rivulet’ (2), the genitive *Mustaoja* (5) and *Mustjõe oja* ‘Black-river rivulet’ (2). Additionally, there are orthographical variants *Must Oya* (Lai) and *Mustoya* (Rap).

**Järv, genitive järve ‘lake’ (28):** *Mustjärv* (19), *Must järv* (2) and *Must Jarw* (1) are the most common combinations. Duplicates of *Mustjärv* are *Kantküla Mustjärv* ‘Kantküla’s Black-lake’ (VJg) and *Vasavere mustjärv* ‘Vasavere’s black-lake’ (Jõh). In the case of Jõhvi, *Must Jaala järv* (Iis, Jõh) and *Must-Jala järv* (Jõh) are most probably duplicates; both designate a foot, not a specific sort of boat (*jaala*), although dialectally that meaning is also in use in Jõhvi, as it is a coastal area. The genitive *Musta-järv* (Räp) might be a duplicate of the nominative. In Põlva parish, *Mustasaare järv* ‘Black-island lake’ was noted.

**Saun, genitive sauna ‘sauna’ (19):** The most frequently used is *Mustlase saun* ‘Gypsy sauna’ (Aud, Tõs, Tür), but surprisingly enough it also occurs in *Musta-Jüri saun* ‘Black-Jüri sauna’ (Juu, PJg). *Mustamäe saun* ‘Black-hill sauna’ (Hlj, Vilbaste Jõe) occurs twice. Jüri was and still is a popular personal name.

**Saar (17), saare (6), saared (1, pl), sare (1) ‘island’:** *Mustassaar* (9) and *Mustsaar* (2) are the most frequent in nominative, and *Mustsaare* (4) and *Mustassaare* (2) in genitive. The plural occurs once in *Mustasaared* ‘Black-islands’ (Võn). *Mustasare* is a one-time occurrence in Urvaste (Urv). In Peetri parish, both *Mustassaar* and *Mustsaare* were noted.

**Org, genitive oru ‘valley’ (15):** *Mustlase org* (4) ~ *Mustlaseorg* (2) ‘Gypsy-valley’, *Must org* (nom) (3) and *Musta-org* (gen) (2). In Karksi parish, both the solid and separate forms of *Mustlase org* ~ *Mustlaseorg* ‘Gypsy-valley’ are found.

**Tee 'road' (14):** All instances occur only once, e.g. *Musta tee* (Vil), *Mustajõe tee* 'Black-river road' (Saa), *Mustamäe tee* 'Black-hill road' (Tln), *Mustaneitsite tee* 'Black-virgins road' (Pal), *Mustaoja tee* 'Black-rivulet road' (Se), *Mustapali tee* 'Black-? road' (Vil), *Adra-Mustasaare tee* 'Plough-black-island road' (KJn), *Mustassilla tee* 'Black-bridge road' (Kad), *Mustjõe tee* 'Black-river road' (Tln), *Mustlao tee* 'Black-chaff[housing] road' (dialectally *ladu*, *lao* 'part of the housing room or a separate housing where chaff was kept' [VMS s.v. *lao*, EKSS s.v. *aganik*]) (Lüg), *Mustoja tee* 'Black-rivulet road' (Kuu), *Mustsaare tee* 'Black-island road' (Lüg) and *Mustvee tee* 'Black-water road' (Pal).

**Elliptical (39):** Most frequently *Musta* (5), *Mustika* 'blueberry' (4) and *Mustla* (2). There were several apparently personal names, e.g. *Musta Ado* (Ksi), *Musta Jürgen* (Vilbaste Jõe), *Musta Mick* (Vilbaste Jõe), *Musta Siem* (Vilbaste Jõe); *Musti Jürri* (Vilbaste Jõe), *Musti Michel* ? *Musty Michell* (Vilbaste Jõe), *Musti-Aabel* (Plv) and *Mustwesit Marri* '? Mari of Mustvee' (Trm). Some are possible family or proper name derivations, e.g. *Mustis* (Lei), *Mustruck* (Pal), and *Mustura* (Lei). An example of a diminutive is *Musta/kese*. *Mustassaare* 'Black-island' (KJn) is elliptical since farm is not included.

## 5. Conclusion

The data for analysis was obtained from place names card index of the Institute of the Estonian Language, which is a part of the *Eesti murrete ja soome-ugri keelte arhiiv* (EMSUKA) 'Archive of Estonian dialects and Finno-Ugric languages'. In the place names card index, 1377 slips beginning with or containing *must* 'black' were found. Discounting duplicate slips in one county, there were 1081 place names, 728 of them different. With *must* 'black' in nominative, the three most common place names were *Mustjõgi* ~ *Must jõgi* 'Black river' (26), *Mustjärv* ~ *Must järv* ~ *Must Jarw* 'Black lake' (22) and *Must kivi* ~ *Mustkivi* 'Black stone' (21). The most common non-nominative

*must* ‘black’ in place names are *Musta talu* ‘Black farm’ (22) and *Musti talu* ‘Musti farm’ (11), followed by the far-fetched *Mustika talu* ‘Blueberry farm’ (10). The most frequent of 219 different determinants or post-components were *talu* ‘farm’ (231), *mägi* ‘hill’ (70), *mets* ‘forest’ (45), *heinamaa* ‘hayfield’ (43), *küla* ‘village’ (40), *jõgi* ‘river’ (39), *soo* ‘swamp, bog’ (36), *kivi* ‘stone’ (31), *oja* ‘rivulet’ (31), *järv* ‘lake’ (28), *saun* ‘sauna’ (19), *saar* ‘island, islet’ (17), *org* ‘valley’ (15), and *tee* ‘road’ (14).

The most common simple attribute (nom) + determinant (nom) combinations are with *järv* ‘lake’ (28, 78.6%), *kivi* ‘stone’ (67.7%), *jõgi* ‘river’ (66.7%), *oja* ‘rivulet’ (51.6%), *mägi* ‘hill’ (22.9%) and *mets* ‘forest’ (15.6%). There are some interesting combinations, e.g. *Mustassaar* ‘Black island’ (9/17, 52.9%), *Mustla küla* ‘village’ (5/40, 12.5%), *Musta talu* ‘farm’ (22/231, 9.5%), and *Mustakännu ~ Mustakannu heinamaa* ‘Black-stump hayfield’ (4/43, 9.3%). Some determinants are more common in combination with the genitive *mustik(a)* ‘blueberry’ and *mustlase* ‘gypsy’, e.g. *Mustlase org ~ Mustlaseorg* ‘Gypsy valley’ (6/15, 40.0%), *Mustiksoo ~ Mustiksuo* ‘Blueberry swamp, bog’ (6/36, 16.7%) and *Mustlase saun* ‘Gypsy sauna’ (3/19, 15.8%). *Musta* (5/39, 12.8%) was the most frequent elliptical place name.

This research would greatly benefit from a comparison with the attribute *valge* ‘white’. The combined analysis of the attributes *must-valge* ‘black-white’ is ongoing and not yet complete. Furthermore, a general overview of the colour attributes, e.g. *puna(ne)* ‘red’, *kolla(ne)* ‘yellow’, *rohe(line)* ‘green’, *sini(ne)* ‘blue’ and *hall* ‘grey’ would help to complete the research on the colour attributes in Estonian place names. Whether to include *hõbe* ‘silver’, *kuld*, *kulla* ‘gold’ and some of the dialect colour words is yet to be determined.

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**Abbreviations**

nom = nominative case

gen = genitive case

sg = singular

pl = plural

**Parishes (and other index sections):**

Ambla (Amb), Anna (Ann), Anseküla (Ans), Audru (Aud), Emmaste (Emm), Hageri (Hag), Haljala (Hlj), Halliste (Hls), Hanila (Han), Hargla (Har), Harju-Jaani (HJn), Harju-Madise (HMd), Helme (Hel), Häädemeeste (Hää), Iisaku (Iis), Jaani (Jaa), Juuru (Juu), Jõelähtme (Jõe), Jõhvi (Jõh), Jämaja (Jäm), Järva-Jaani (JJn), Järva-Madise (JMd), Jüri (Jür), Kaarma (Kaa), Kadrina (Kad), Kambja (Kam), Kanepi (Kan), Karja (Krl), Karksi (Krk), Karula (Krl), Karuse (Kse), Keila (Kei), Kihelkonna (Khk), Kihnu (Khn), Kirbla (Kir), Kodavere (Kod), Koeru (Koe), Kolga-Jaani (KJn), Kose (Kos), Kraasna (Kra), Kullamaa (Kul), Kursi (Ksi), Kuusalu (Kuu), Kõpu (Kõp), Käina

(Käi), Kärla (Kär), Laiuse (Lai), Leivu (Lei), Lihula (Lih), Luke (Luk), Lutsi (Lut), Lääne-Nigula (LNg), Lüganuse (Lüg), Maarja-Magdaleena (MMg), Martna (Mar), Mihkli (Mih), Muhu (Muh), Mustjala (Mus), Märjamaa (Mär), Nissi (Nis), Noarootsi (Noa), Nõo (Nõo), Otepää (Ote), Paide (Pai), Paistu (Pst), Palamuse (Pal), Peetri (Pee), Pelistvere (Pil), Puhja (Puh), Põltsamaa (Plt), Põlva (Plv), Pärnu (Pär), Pärnu-Jaagupi (PJg), Pöide (Pöi), Püha (Pha), Pühalepa (Phl), Rakvere (Rak), Rannu (Ran), Rapla (Rap), Reigi (Rei), Ridala (Rid), Risti (Ris), Ruhnu (Ruh), Rõngu (Rõn), Rõuge (Rõu), Rāpina (Rāp), Saarde (Saa), Sangaste (San), Setumaa (Se), Simuna (Sim), Suure-Jaani (SJn), Tallinn (Tln), Tartu-Maarja (TMr), Tarvastu (Trv), Tori (Tor), Torma (Trm), Tõstamaa (Tös), Türi (Tür), Urvaste (Urv), Vaivara (Vai), Valga (Val), Valjala (Vll), Varbla (Var), Vastseliina (Vas), Vigala (Vig), Viljandi (Vil), Viru-Jaagupi (VJg), Viru-Nigula (VNg), Vormsi (Vor), Võnnu (Võn), Väike-Maarja (VMr), Vändra (Vän) and Äksi (Äks). Additionally there are sections for the general (varia), Livonian (liivi) and Votic (vadja). The Vilbaste collection is marked Vilbaste.

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**Kokkuvõte. Kaidi Rätsep: Värvinimi *must* eesti kohanimedes.** *Musta* on peetud kõige sagedasemaks kohanimede värviatribuudiks. Artikkel annab lühikese ülevaate värviatribuudist *must* eesti kohanimedes. Uuriti Eesti Keele Instituudi kohanimetekartoteeki, sellest leiti 1377 sedelit, millel olev kohanimi algas või sisaldas sõna *must*. Arvestamata kihelkonnasiseseid duplikaatsedeleid leiti 1081 kohanime.

Kokku leiti 728 erinevat kohanimevarianti. Nimetavas olid kõige sagedasemateks *Mustjõgi* (sagedus = 26), *Mustjärv* (22), *Mustkivi* (21), *Mustoja* (18), *Mustmägi* (16). Genitiivis *Musta talu* (22) oli kaks korda sagedasem kui sellele järgnev *Musti talu* (11). Kõige sagedasem determinant oli *tal* (231), millele järgnesid *mägi* (70), *mets* (45) ja *heina-  
maa* (43). Tulevikku on planeeritud *musta* ja *valge* atribuutide võrdlev analüüs.

**Märksõnad:** kohanimed, *must*, värviatribuut, Eesti