he study of place names may help a lot in settling the controversial questions of the history of this territory so it is not accidental that etymological questions play an important role in Mordvinian toponymy. However, it occurs many times that attempts at explaining etymologies should not be accepted without due criticism. These attempts frequently stick to the level of folk etymology and do not pay attention to the facts of the history of Finno-Ugric languages, the rules of the Russian adaptation of Mordvinian names, differences between Erza and Moksha as well as phonological correlations etc. It is problematic over and over again to record Mordvinian names by Cyrillic letters, for example to represent the word-ending velar reduced phoneme in Moksha or to denote the palatalized sibilants. Unfortunately, these false or partly incorrect etymologies occur again and again like a chain reaction in the works of certain authors.

Mordvinian toponymical researches are based on the investigation of settlement names and researchers only rarely refer to microtoponyms in their writings. So in our overview, we intend to give prominence to the presentation of the research of settlement names.

1. First steps — old registers and maps

Just like in the case of the research of names of other Finno-Ugric peoples, recordings of the first Mordvinian onomastical data are presented by the first travellers who, in their diaries, mentioned Mordvinian settlements. Former legal documents and historical records include a rich onomastic material and we may also find some names in resettlement plans of villages and allotments and also in the geodetic surveys of villages. There are some interesting data in the dialectic and folklore texts of HEIKKI PAASONEN and M. Y. YEYSEVYEY.

Estate registries of the czar, from the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth century, include a lot of settlement names from Mordoviya.1 Containing as many as half a thousand settlement names, the
1671 estate registry of the Alatir district was published in 1979. The registry can serve as a valuable source even for the researchers of personal names since it contains a detailed description of the population of the villages, too, e.g., Деревня Сайнино на речке на Поромзе. А в ней мордовских жилых дваров: дв. Родайка Симдянов; дв. Дружинка Нароватов, у него сын Анамаска; дв. Кобайка Аркаев, у него приимыш Юртайка Помаев; Да пустых дваров: дв. пуст Начарки Шмунзина, да сын его Суродейка, оба умре.

A significant initiative is due to a Russian monk, NIKOLAY BARSOV, who prepared a handwritten map of the Middle Volga region in 1891. The map, which can presently be found in the archives of Kotimaisten Kielten Tutkimuskeskus, Helsinki, comprises as many as 685 names (including 543 settlement names and 142 river names) and contains a part of the material of names of the Nizhniy Novgorod, Ryazan, Tambov, Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Voronezh and Vladimir oblasts, mainly from those areas populated by Mordvinians. A considerable number of the settlement names indicated on the map, that is 270 names, is of Mordvinian origin.

From the researchers of the end of the XIXth century, we have to mention above all the name of I. I. DUBASOV, a well-known local historian of Tambov, who managed to identify the origins of many village names. As to A. P. MELNIKOV, he explained some geographical names on the basis of the Mordvinian vocabulary.

In the first half of the XXth century, the greatest toponymical material was published by A. A. GERAKLITOV in his two principal works which were prepared relying upon the estate registries of the periods between 1624–
1721 and 1677–1721. In these works, the author does not provide us with a linguistic analysis of the place names; what he undertakes is the publication of the Russian and Mordvinian settlement names in Russian phonetic transcription. GERAKLITOV made an important remark according to which it was Mordvinian pagan names and names of larger estates that served as a basis for naming during the period of the establishment of the first settlements.

2. The beginnings of scientific researches; the dispute of Matveev and Serebrennikov

As a first step in the onomastic researches of scholarly character, some researchers attempted to explain some Mordvinian or Mordoviyan place names in their works that otherwise concerned Russian toponymy or general onomastics. One of the first specifically Mordvinian works was written by A. I. POPOV. It is due to POPOV that he was the very first researcher to define the most frequent elements of the Mordvinian onomastic system, relying on a relatively rich toponymical material (kužo/kužä ‘clearing’, lej/ľaj ‘river’, ľerke/äľräkä, jäľräkä ‘lake’ stb.). It was also him to call attention to the fact that pagan Mordvinian personal names play an important role in the study of Mordvinian place names and he was aiming at delineating an area where toponyms containing Mordvinian personal names occur.

Examining the hydronyms and settlement names of areas with a Mordvinian population, we cannot miss to notice that certain elements occur frequently, which elements may not be derived from the known languages of the area but which show a significant similarity with other hydronyms appearing at the extremely large territory of Northern Russia and with settlement names derived from these. Explaining the origin of these names will raise the question of the linguistic, ethnic and geographical affiliation of the people from which these were adopted. The 1950s and 1960s saw prolonged disputes on the origins of this Volga–Oka population. The opposing parties were being organized around two excellent researchers — A. K. MATVEEV and B. A. SEREBRENNIKOV — and both were arguing mainly with the...
results of toponymy behind their back. Such Mordovian river names were exposed during the dispute like Južga, Lužga, Ožga; Aťma, Lošma, Luhma, Laššma, Pirmä; Viša; Alža; Šadim, Kuldım, Urfedim etc. These names contain such suffixes (-da, -ga, -ma, -sa, -ša, -va, -za, -ža, -im) that occur not only in the river names of the Volga–Oka basin, but are also contained by hydronyms of more distant areas (in the region of Moscow, Ivanovo, Jaroslav, Kostroma, Vologda, Smolensk, Ryazan, Nizhniy Novgorod and also in the Mari and Komi Republics). This type will form the most ancient stratum of the hydronyms of Northern and Middle Russia. There was no satisfying result achieved in the dispute of the two scholars. Serebrennikov linked these names to the so-called Volga–Oka population, while MATVEEV presumed the Finno-Ugric origin. This problem certainly was not dealt only by the Mordvinian onomastics but other researchers examined it, too, formerly V. A. NIKONOV, and presently it is principally the Mari A. N. KUKLIN, and the Finnish researcher, JANNE SAARIKIVI, being an adherent of the MATVEYEV school, or ARJA AHLQVIST who is investigating the Merya substratum. 9

I. D. VORONIN was active in the 1950s and 1960s, too. Besides his books on history, he also published studies in onomastics, e.g., he assigned the hydronyms of the region into semantic categories (however, his etymological explanations are often doubtful, e.g., Saransk ~ Saraskurt ‘gathering place of wood grouses’).  

Mordvinian toponymy was evidently renewed in the sixties when L. L. TRUBE, M. N. MOROZova, V. F. BARASHKOV, V. I. ZIMIN, AIME KÄHRIK and M. V. MOSIN began to publish.

3. The seventies — the lexicographical activity of Inzhevatov

One of the most important onomasticians is I. K. INZHEVATOv who etymologized the settlement names of the Eastern–North-eastern part (Ardatovo and Atyashevo districts) of the republic and later the settlement names of the whole republic in many of his papers. His popularization of science is also significant; he published etymologies of names in Mordvinian daily and weekly journals (principally in the Šatko) for the readers. His toponymical dictionary, published in 1979 (second edition 1987), can be considered the synthesis of his oeuvre and this is one of the...
most important sources of the investigation of Mordvinian settlement names up to this day. The dictionary contains 1560 settlement names in alphabetical order. Each entry name is followed by the non-official (Mordvinian) name of the settlement if such exists. (The dictionary includes the non-official name or names of as many as 378 settlements. 57 of these having two names and 6 ones having three names, altogether 447 non-official names can be found in the dictionary. This register of non-official names serve as a highly valuable source for the researches.14) Following the name or names, the entry contains information on local history (year and circumstances of settlement founding, data occurring in yearbooks and archives, size of the village, etc.), then the author provides us with the etymology of the name. Unfortunately, the greatest inadequacies of the dictionary occur here since the etymologies may often be accepted only with certain severe reservations. It happens many times that INZHEVATOV will not differentiate between folk etymology, unscholarly hypotheses and such results that are grounded in the history of language. His other criticizable procedure can be observed when he explains place names of anthroponymic origin since he often supposes the name of a former leader of the settlement to be the source of naming.

The greatest value of the dictionary is that it can be well used as a source. Data in several registers of settlement names15 are incidental, change quickly, are often subordinated to political aims and are consequently incapable of being investigated by onomastics in many cases, providing only the names of kolkhozes without the names of the relevant villages. So, disregarding its inadequacies, the dictionary of INZHEVATOV can be considered to be an important source of onomastic researches.

RUPOSOVA and KUZMINA published their dictionary containing two thousand names in 197516 in which hydronyms are also included besides the settlement names. Names follow each other in alphabetical order and the river names are followed by information about their affiliation to the hydrological system of a bigger river.

4. The Tsygankin school

16 РУПОСОВА, А. А.—КУЗЬМИНА, Г. Г. Словарь географических названий Мордовской АССР. Москва 1975.
D. V. TSYGANKIN is an outstanding figure in Mordvinian onomastics. He published more than fifty etymologies (Ałemar, Bajeńbuje, Čapamo, IkIej, Imerka, Ingeňer, Inar, Ińlej, Kačelaj, Kajmar, Kańguşi, Kargajefka, Kećenbiże, Kereńino, Kilemari, Kovińčj, Kudińčj, Kuśčj, Kuźcčj, Kuźcčka, Leńjevo, Lepęľeja, Marľaj, Marsola, Načenali, Neřeľ, Novľeľ, Novoklejka, Păńgeľeľ, PeŘľaj, Pičalovka, Pićemorga, Pićepolonga, Pićeuri, Pićevka, Pićinguşi, Pićpanda, Pimbur, Piśta, Piśľaj, Pićerka, Plukovo, Sambur, Siczgare, Śijali, Sajguşi, Śivari, Śavarlej, Tarasbuje, Terizmorga, Tumaľejka, Tumola, Ţefimerki, Ćurmar, Verakuşi, Vodoľaj etc.) and he seems to be the most prolific researcher of Mordvinian topoformants, too. TSYGANKIN places base elements of settlement names into the category of topoformants; many of his studies17 are discussing the geographical determinants teřťaj 'river', veřľej/veľ 'village', MdE bije, bijo, bujo ' (dwellings of a) kin, tribe', kuźčjo/kuźč 'clearing in a forest', erke/ąrką, järkä 'lake', mar 'mound, burial mound', morgo/morga 'cleared woodland; new settlement', nel 'grove', nel/ńă 'cape; promontory; estuary', pando/pando 'height; hill', pora 'copse; grove' MdE pulo 'grove', źefim 'winter dwellings', ur 'hill', etc. His activity in the research of place names originating from personal names is also significant18 as well as his microtoponymical investigations.19

As a synthesis of his former oeuvre, he published his Память земли20 in 1993 in which he provides an examination of Mordoviyan onomastic categories. Besides the overview of the onomastic stratum of Mordvinian origin, he analyzes names of Russian and Turkish origin, he separately deals with the emergence of the XVIth century defence system, засечная черта, which played an important role in the establishment of Saransk and settlements around it;21 he also categorizes Mordvinian topoformants and
derivatives partaking in name formation and he also overviews place names of anthroponymic origin and he presents the river names of the area.

Professor Tsygankin is planning to publish his onomastic oeuvre that is the dictionary of the Mordvinian geographical names22 at the second half of 2002. Planned to contain as many as 300 pages, the book will include settlement names, river names and microtoponymical data together with etymological explanations.

An adherent of D. V. Tsygankin, N. V. Kazaeva discusses the problems of geographical determinants and topoformants in many of her papers,23 relying upon a rich microtoponimical material. She published her university course book24 in which she overviews place names originating from common names and proper names during the lexico-semantic description of Erza geographical names. Categories within the former group are as follows: a) the natural environment (e.g., řej ’river’, řišma ’spring’, ěke ’lake’, pando ’hill’); the characteristics of the geographical object (e.g., pokš ’big’, viška ’small’, kuvaka ’long’, řeľei ’short’, keľej ’wide’, keľme ’cold’, lembe ’warm’, ražuš ’black’, čovar ’sand’); the location of the geographical object (e.g., vasolo ’far’, malaso ’close to’, alo ’lower’, veře ’upper’); the fauna (e.g., numolo ’hare’, oťo ’bear’, kargo ’crane’, atăkš ’cock’); the flora (e.g., kal ’willow’, piźol ’sorb’); a metaphoric denomination, etc.; b) names formed as results of human activity and the material and spiritual culture of man, names referring to the type of the settlement (e.g., veľe ’village’, oš ’town’), names concerning holidays and religious customs (e.g., viřava ’forest goddess’), ethnic affiliation (e.g., kazak, řemeć, mokša), etc.

5. Mordvinian onomastics abroad

22 Ďygankin, D. V. Намять земли. Словарь географических названий Республики Мордовия. (Under publication.)
The mother tongue of most of the Mordvinian onomasticians is of course Mordvinian and there are only a few researchers abroad who publish in this field of study. The Finnish HEIKKI PAASONEN, the Estonian AIME KÄHRIK, the Hungarian JÁNOS MELICH and GÁBOR ZAICZ each dealt with Mordvinian onomastics in one of their papers. SÁNDOR MATICSÁK examines the Russian adaptation of Mordvinian names, the question of Mordvinian topoformants, place names of anthroponymic origin, the relationship between official and non-official names and parallel naming in several papers; and in 1995, he prepared a monography on the system of Mordvinian settlement names. The book presents the etymological strata of the settlement names of the republic (Volga–Oka, Baltic, Iranian, Mordvinian, Turkish and Russian) and it also touches upon the structural problems of names (simplex and compound, derived and without a derivative), and also the problems of the Russian adaptation of Mordvinian names. Relying on the recent results of Hungarian and Finnish name theory, the author attempted at describing the system of Mordvinian settlement names and presenting the differences between the Mordvinian and Russian onomastic systems.

6. Place names of non-Mordvinian origin of the Mordvinian Republic

The study of the place names of non-Mordvinian origin of the Mordvinian Republic has seemingly produced less results. Although more peoples and groups of peoples have lived together at the Middle Volga region, having left their traces in the toponymicon, there are only few papers dealing with these strata. The most ancient strata (Volga–Oka, Baltic, Iranian, Mordvinian, Turkish and Russian) and it also touches upon the structural problems of names (simplex and compound, derived and without a derivative), and also the problems of the Russian adaptation of Mordvinian names. Relying on the recent results of Hungarian and Finnish name theory, the author attempted at describing the system of Mordvinian settlement names and presenting the differences between the Mordvinian and Russian onomastic systems.


Oka origin mentioned above, Čna, Karnaj, Lama, Opša, Vop, Vopša, Upá are presumably Iranian.

The two other groups being present at the area, the Turkish and the Russian ones, are in a bit different situation. Place names of Turkish origin of the republic have already been discussed by several scholars, but these etymologies are not always reliable, due to their inadequacies in historical phonology.

It is really intriguing that Mordvinian researchers have not paid much attention to the place names of Russian origin of the republic and etymological investigations are missing here, although these are inevitable in the description of Mordvinian–Russian onomastic relationships and characteristics. Many studies and collections of papers deal with the relationship of Mordvinian and Russian, but only few researchers would explore the regularities and the consequences of the interrelation of the two


onomastic strata, since Mordoviyan authors rather tend to stress certain partial problems, for example folk etymology, grammatical gender, grammatical gender shift. The morphological, grammatical and semantic adaptation of Mordvinian names as well as the survey of name variants include many important problems of the name system, so the investigation of the systemic constraint and the consequences originating from the differences between the Mordvinian and the Russian onomastic system may be a predominant research direction of the future.

7. Investigation of Mordvinian names outside the republic

The investigation of names to be found outside the republic, at an area populated by Russians (where the ratio of the Mordvinian population used to be more significant), seems a specific subfield of Mordvinian onomastics. The names of Mordvinian origin of the Nizhniy Novgorod oblast were closely examined by L. L. TRUBE. The southern part of the area was formerly — before the Russian settlement — regarded as the centre of the


area populated by Mordvinians. So its onomastic material shows a great similarity with that of the present Mordvinian Republic (besides the circa fifty settlement or river names with \textit{Tej/Tij} ‘river’ posterior constituents, other Mordvinian determinants can be found, too), that’s why this field should not be dismissed in the Mordvinian onomastic researches.

Studies dealing with the Mordvinian place names of other administrative units of the Middle Volga area — Chuvashia (according to the slightly reliable census data, Mordvinians represent 1.7\% of the total population), the Pensa oblast (6.7\%), the Simbirsk oblast (5.7\%), the Tambov oblast (1\%), the Saratov oblast (1\%) and the Ryazan oblast (0.3\%) — and, less frequently, the more distant oblasts’s (Bashkortostan, the Komi and Mari Republics) usually investigate only one type of name or, in most of the cases, they confine themselves to publishing a name parallel.

8. Topics rarely dealt with — hydronyms and microtoponyms

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Compared to the study of settlement names, the research of hydronyms is in a relatively bad situation, although, as we have already mentioned, the origin of the most ancient, pre-Mordvinian and Northern Russian place names cannot be satisfyingly explained without them. Apart from the great undertaking of MAX VASMER, the monographies of POLUBOYAROV and SMOLITSKAYA, and studies of the latter,39 there were only few researchers to examine this problem in their writings.40 D. V. TSYGANKIN, in his above mentioned Память земли, explains the origin of the names of more than fifty rivers. N. V. KAZAEVA, in her recent work, categorizes a number of hydronyms when grouping Erza place names.41

A special mention has to be made about the book of ZIMIN and YEREMIN.42 The first part of this work is a very useful data collection in which more than 2500 subsidiary streams of the great rivers (Sura, Moksha and Hopyor) of the Pensa oblast are included, together with several hydronyms of Mordvinian origin. In the data collection, rivers are arranged not in an alphabetical order, but in a geographical one, according to the stream direction of the main rivers; but the alphabetical index at the end of the book would easen the usage of the dictionary a lot. The second part of the book, namely the chapter on etymology, still has to be dealt with heavy criticism. Authors do not pay any attention even to the most essential etymological principles in their work; they cut words arbitrarily and name constituents would easen the usage of the dictionary a lot. The second part of the book, namely the chapter on etymology, still has to be dealt with heavy criticism. Authors do not pay any attention even to the most essential etymological principles in their work; they cut words arbitrarily and name constituents


migration processes of the region; and what’s more, they will draw conclusions from these feverish etymologies about the settlement process). So would occur the following etymologies: *Arzipoñera* < Md. arźi, erža tribe name, Selk. po ’tree’, Nenets ńera ’willow’ (61), *Čigodaj* < Lp. čigor ’pasture for deers’, Southern Sam. čaga ’river’, Evenki daj ’big, settlement’ (92), *Kamendža* < Hung. kemény ’hard’, Southern Sam. dža ’river’ (68), *Karmalatka* < Fi. karme, Est. karm ’raw’, Fi. laki ’top, height’, Hung. lak ’residence’ (70), etc. According to the etymologies of the book, Hungarians, Samoyeds, Lapps, Evenkis, Finns and Nenets people were co-existing at the Pensa oblast in the ancient times. Unfortunately, this nonsense would influence the reader a lot, and this suspicion may not be overcome even by the many good etymologies.

We mentioned in the introductory part that the independent examination of microtoponyms was overshadowed by that of the settlement names, although university students keep on getting a rich material when collecting dialect data and they regularly make use of it in their theses. Presumably a great change will be reached in this field by the dictionary of D. V. TSYGANKIN with its several thousands of microtoponymical data, and also by the above mentioned course book of N. V. KAZAEVA, in which the author, relying upon a rich microtoponymical material, is to categorize the Mordvinian geographical names. From the surprisingly few publications of the recent decades, we have to mention V. N. KUKLIN’s monography on the street names of Saransk. 43

9. Journals

For the publication of the onomastic results of the Volga region, a series was founded under the title *Ономастика Поволжья* in 1969. 44 The series, publishing toponymical and anthroponymical studies concerning languages of the Volga region, is principally a volume of the onomastic conferences of the Volga region (1: Ulyanovsk 1967, 2: Gorkiy 1969, 3: Ufa 1971, 4: Saransk 1973, 5: Pensa 1974, 6: Volgograd 1989) and, during its thirty years of existence, it has become the most important publication forum of Mordvinian onomastics.

The other journal to publish regularly studies on Mordvinian onomastics is the series of Mordvinian Scientific and Research Institute (*Труды Мордов-
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скового Научно-Исследовательного Института Языка, Литературы, Истории и Экономики). Besides these forums, the Saransk Вопросы финно-угроведения and the Tallinn Linguistica Uralica (to 1991 under the title Советское финно-угроведение) gives utmost attention to Mordvinian onomastic researches. Formerly — primarily during the course of the disputes about the origins of the Volga–Oka population — two Moscow journals, namely Вопросы языкоznания and Вопросы географии also served as a publication forum for the experts of Mordvinian onomastics.

Mordvinian (and also Volga) onomastic bibliographies were regularly published in Онома but there were some other bibliographical publications, too.46

10. Future tasks

According to the former, tasks of Mordvinian onomastics can be summarized as follows:

a) Launching an organized gathering seems to be the first and the most important step. A data collection based on uniform principles should be done on the territory of the whole republic, following Hungarian and Finnish data collection, the result of which could be the archivation of a microtoponymical material of several hundred thousand names. This should be the most seasonable as the names of streets, balks, fields used by Mordvinian people would be forgotten sooner or later due to russianization processes. So the responsibility of onomasticians is twofold, on the one hand, it is saving a linguistic material and on the other, it is scientific research.

b) The collected microtoponymical material should be published as soon as possible under uniform editorial principles, either in alphabetical or in geographical (e.g., according to districts) order. (A special problem may arise from the distribution of Mordvinian and non-Mordvinian names,


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namely whether it is necessary to include Russian and Turkish names and the status of official and non-official names is doubtful, too.)

c) The etymological dictionary of Mordvinian settlement names, containing the official and non-official Mordvinian settlement names and hydronyms of the republic and the outside areas populated by Mordvins, has to be edited and precise and reliable etymologies should be provided in it. (We hope that D. V. TSYGANKIN’s dictionary, which is to be published soon, would supply this defect.) Editorial activity should be evidently preceded by the etymological purification of geographical names which could be furthered by the application of general name theory to specifically Mordvinian circumstances.

d) Other languages of the area also deserve great attention; etymological questions of Tatar and Chuvash place names have to be explained on the model of the Mordvinian ones — with the cooperation of the experts of the languages in question — and further problems emerge from the Russian adaptation of Mordvinian names. (The latter is all the more important since it could serve as a model for the uniform description of the russianization processes of the Finno-Ugric name strata of Russia.) The examination of the determinative languages of the Middle Volga region should be complemented by a new viewpoint which would certainly refine and enrich our concept on bilingualism and multilingualism as well as that of on the life and the usage of names and also the questions of local history.

e) This should be followed by the greatest task of all, namely the description of the Mordvinian onomastical system which is impossible without a computerized background and the participation of foreign (mainly Hungarian and Finnish) onomasticians. The creation of the Mordvinian names archives, description of the onomastic system, new works on Mordvinian name theory, the clarification of the connection between the Mordvinian, the Russian and the Turkish onomastic materials would make it possible to compare this material with the Hungarian and Finnish onomastical systems which could lay the foundation of a later uniform Finno-Ugric onomastic system.