

Jaakko Raunamaa

Pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms in Finnish village names

1.1. Introduction

This article gives an overview of Finnish village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (personal names).¹ Old sources including pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are very scarce in Finland. However, pre-Christian anthroponyms can also be studied through village names. This is the major reason why the connection between pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and Finnish village names is the focus of this article.

My aim is to present which village names are based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (from now on the expression *Finnic village names* is used as a synonym).² First, I give background information about the pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and Finnish village name system.³ Second, I explain what kind of research material and methods are used in the study. Next, the Finnic village names are analysed. I address the subject from different perspectives. I explain how the Finnic village names have been morphologically constructed and which pre-Christian Finnic name elements have been used most.⁴ In addition to this, the geographical distribution of village names is also presented. This is used to visualize where chosen village names are located and how different pre-Christian anthroponyms are distributed in Finland.

This topic does not only concern onomastics, but it is connected to the cultural history of Finland, as well. Anthroponyms are not only identifying, but they are also closely connected to culture around them (cf. LEIBRING 2016: 211–212).⁵

¹ Expression *Finnish* is used for the current area of Finland and ceded area of Karelia. The latter one was one of the old regions of Finland and located in the south-eastern corner of Finland.

² The definition of pre-Christian name is not clear. In this study, names which were not influenced by Christian religion and were used before Catholic Church incorporated Finland as part of ecclesial system (in the beginning of 13th century) are regarded as pre-Christian names. This includes both names that can be considered original (e.g. *Kaukolempi*) and possibly borrowed names (e.g. *Miemo*).

³ The expression *Finnic* denotes to a group of Finno-Ugric languages spoken in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea.

⁴ The expression *name element* stands for all the morphological elements that can be found in a name, e.g. words, suffixes derivational affixes and so on (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 36).

⁵ An example of this is the influence of Western anthroponymic systems and cultures to Finnish ones. The major influence on Finnish language comes from Scandinavian languages (LEHTINEN 2007: 234). In addition, in the 16th century, six out of the seven most popular first names were the same in Finland and Sweden (KIVINIEMI 1982: 70).



This means that village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms can reveal new things about the past.

Most of the research results of history in Finland during the centuries around the beginning of the second millennium are based on fragmentary written sources and scarce archaeological findings. Nevertheless, we may assume that Finland was remote, scarcely populated and less developed than its southern and western neighbours (Estonia and Sweden). During the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, Western Finland became part of the Realm of Sweden and eastern parts of Finland became part of Novgorod (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 338, 359). By the end of 16th century, the Realm of Sweden had expanded to the east so extensively that basically no parts of present Finland were controlled by Novgorod (HAGGRÉN 2011: 153).

Similarly, the lack of written sources is a problem for the study of pre-Christian Finnish (and Finnic) anthroponyms. There are too few of them to make reliable conclusions. A major collection of Finnish medieval documents called in Swedish “Finlands medeltidsurkunder” has slightly over ten thousand anthroponyms in the name index, whereas Swedish collections of medieval personal names “Sveriges medeltida personnamn” has close to one million name cards.^{6, 7} Additionally, circa 90 percent of the FMU documents are from the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus, documents from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries are very sporadic.

Additionally, most of the names mentioned in old documents have not been used as main names.⁸ Persons mentioned in the documents have usually Christian main names, like *Olof*, *Anders* and *Mats*. However, their epithets (e.g. *Susi*), patronyms (*Rengonpoika*), surnames (*Kurki*), names of villages (*Kauko-la*) or names of homesteads (*Lempiälä*) could be influenced by pre-Christian names⁹ (KIVINIEMI 1982: 36, RINTALA 2008: 21–22).

⁶ *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (Medieval sources of Finland, published 1910–1935) includes different kinds of editions of medieval documents (from 9th century to 1530), which are concerning Finland. Translations are done by the author unless noted otherwise.

⁷ Archive of *Sveriges medeltida personnamn* (Medieval personal names of Sweden) contains name cards, which have personal names found in different medieval documents. More information in <http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/personnamn/sveriges-medeltida-personnamn.html>. Retrieved 1 November 2017.

⁸ The definition of *main name* is not clear. For example, PÄIVI RINTALA has dealt with this (2008: 51–52). In international research, terms *individual name* and *given name* are used in the same meaning as *main name* (cf. BRYLLA 2016: 238, LEIBRING 2016: 199–200).

⁹ Translations of the names: *Susi* (‘wolf’), *Rengonpoika* (‘son of Renko’), *Kurki* (‘crane’; medieval noble family in Finland), *Kaukola* (personal name element *Kauko* ‘long, tall’ + settlement name element *-la*) and *Lempiälä* (personal name element *Lempi* ‘love, favorite’ + settlement name element *-la*)

Out of the above-mentioned ways of studying pre-Christian Finnish anthroponyms, village names are one the most useful. I justify my claim in the following chapter. After that, I explain in more detail what is known about pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms.

1.2. Finnish villages

The concept of a village (in Swedish *by*) in medieval Sweden meant a tax unit, which included one or more homesteads.¹⁰ In addition, different areas of medieval Finland had various concepts of a village and its purpose in taxation system (cf. SEPPÄLÄ 2009). For example, in Karelia, the taxation unit called village could have meant a combination of many separate settlements, which in everyday speech were called villages (in Finnish *kylä*).¹¹

A Finnish village was originally a homestead (KEPSU 2015a: 128). It became a village when it grew and more homesteads were established. Singular homesteads could be counted as villages as well if their locations were remote from other villages or if it was practical for tax authorities to consider them as separate units.¹² In other words, Finnish villages did not form a homogenous group but the concept of village changed according to location and time.

There is no exact information on how many villages there are now in the *Finnish Place Name Register* because National Land Survey of Finland does not make any more distinction between villages, city districts and neighbourhoods. The best figure available is the number of villages in book series *Suomenmaa*, which shows the situation as it was in the beginning of 20th century.¹³ There are altogether 9 985 villages mentioned.

1.3. Finnish village names

A village name is another concept that needs clarification. Finnish village names are usually divided into two groups: names based on natural places, and names

¹⁰ Swedish taxation system did not make distinction between villages and hamlets like there was in medieval England. Thus, only the expression *village* is used in this article.

¹¹ For example, there was a village called *Kolmikylä* ('three' + 'village') in the municipality of Kivennapa which consisted of settlements Kaukolempiälä, Liikola and Voipiala (TOIVONEN 1988: 14).

¹² For example, a homestead called *Kolkko* in former Kyrö municipality (present Ikaalinen municipality) was considered as a village in ecclesiastical taxation but in secular one it was a homestead which was part of neighboring village called *Sikuri* (Suomen Asutus 1560-luvulla 103).

¹³ *Suomenmaa* is series of books, which presents basic information of every province and municipality of Finland (as it was in the beginning of 20th century).



based on anthroponyms (cf. book *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla*), which includes all the village names collected from the end of 16th century Finland). Names of central, visible or important places of nature have been used to name villages (e.g. village *Kaukjärvi* in the Tammela municipality is named after the lake *Kaukjärvi*). These places have been significant for the people living there (cf. KEPSU 2015a: 128). Village names based on nature names are regarded older than those based on anthroponyms (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 92–93, ALANEN 2004: 135).¹⁴ Naming villages after nature names is common in Finland.¹⁵

Village names based on anthroponyms have, in turn, usually been derived from homestead names, which again were named after their establishers. For this reason, some village names can be posited as representing pre-Christian anthroponyms. (KEPSU 2015a: 128.)

It must be emphasized that there is variation between different areas of Finland: in western and southern areas, village names based on nature names are less popular than in the east and north. This is natural because the population density has been higher in southern Finland. The landscape in the south of Finland was more suitable for early cultivation techniques, which allowed people to establish villages close to each other (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 264). Thus, land ownership became important in everyday life, and anthroponyms were used to name different possessions (e.g. *Vihattula*, a homestead owned by *Vihattu*) (cf. KORPELA 2004: 233). The so-called slash-and-burn technique, which was used mainly in eastern Finland, required larger areas because one piece of burned land gave only a couple of harvests (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 227). The possession of land was not that important or well defined in this kind of life style (KORPELA 2004: 233).

The most common structural type found in Finnish place names is a two-part compound name (e.g. *Ikoinniemi*, in English personal name element *Iko* + *n* [gen.] + *cape*) (AINIALA et al. 2012: 74).¹⁶ A large number of Finnish village names are also two-part compound names (cf. *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla*). In addition, many of the village names are single part place names (e.g. *Kaukola*)

¹⁴ SAULO KEPSU (2015b) has analysed naming patterns in the northern Savo which was area of heavy migration during the 15th and 16th centuries. His conclusion is that nature names are the oldest name strata in the area. Names based on anthroponyms are younger ones.

¹⁵ Out of the 100 most common names of villages, city districts and neighbourhoods only six (*Heikkilä*, *Mäkelä*, *Kaukola*, *Marttila*, *Paavola* and *Kurkela* [uncertain]) are based on an anthroponym (Place Name Register).

¹⁶ A two-part compound name consists of *specific part* (identifying name part) and *generic part* (signifies the class or type of a place) (e.g. *Iko*-*niemi*) (AINIALA et al. 2012: 71, 74).

(*ibid.*).¹⁷ It has been stated that village names including old anthroponyms are mostly single part names (RINTALA 2008: 22).

Single part village names have usually different kind of suffixes which can be also called as *name formation suffixes*.¹⁸ The most common name-forming suffix among homestead names is the locative suffix *-LA* (e.g. *Kauko-la*) (KIVINIEMI 1990: 166–167). The same results can be applied to village names. Among village names based on old anthroponyms the locative suffix *-LA* seems to be the most popular as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 22).

There are no certainties that the name written in old documents was the name actually used by local people. Names may also have changed but village names have usually been preserved well (cf. HAUSEN 1924). As often stated in onomastics, the more central and important the place is, the more likely the name of it has survived for a long time (AINIALA et al. 2012: 21). This can be applied to village names as well. Central and big villages have kept their names.

The establishment of written taxation documents has affected the survival of names, as well. The Church had incorporated southern parts of Finland as a part of the ecclesiastical taxation system in the 13th century (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 346). After that, settlement names were likely used in their stabilized forms because they were recorded and used continuously for taxation purposes.

1.4. Pre-Christian anthroponyms in Finland

DETLEF-ECKHARD STOECKE's dissertation (1964) about Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms is still the most comprehensive study made to this day.¹⁹ For this reason, the following information is based on his work. According to STOECKE, Finnic names were constructed in three different ways: they were simplex names (e.g. *Lempo*, *Mieli*, *Iha*), simplex names with a suffix (*Lemmi-ty*, *Miela-kka*, *Iha-ttu*) or complex names (*Hyvä-lempi*, *Mieli-valta*, *Iha-lempi*) (1964: 109–135).

¹⁷ Single part names have only one name part. AINIALA et al. (2012: 74) explain that single part names are often formed from a generic part which either “signifies a type (*Niemi*), designate (*Porvoo*) or signify a special feature (*Katinhätä*, *Saarela* ‘the object on the shore of the lake Saarijärvi’).”

¹⁸ *Name formation suffixes* are those suffixes that are used instead of generic part in the end of a name (e.g. *-LA*, *-nen* or *-sto*) (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 77).

¹⁹ It must be noted that even STOECKE speaks of “ostseefinnischen Personennamen” (Finnic personal names), he has included names from Sami areas as well. Nowadays, Sami is not considered to be a Finnic language (LEHTINEN 2007: 82).



Semantically, Finnic names were originally descriptive with a comprehensible meaning (ibid. 148).²⁰ However, it is problematic to claim that all Finnic names were like this. Children were often named after their grandparents (or other ancestors), as well. In that kind of scenario, the name lost its descriptiveness.²¹

In previous studies, many name elements have been considered pre-Christian. It is impossible to say how many anthroponyms there have been. In this study, I follow Stoebke's idea of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms. These 22 name elements are: *Auva*, *Heimo*, *Hyvä*, *Iha*, *Ikä*, *Ilma*, *Jou(t)si*, *Kaikki*, *Kauk(k)a*, *Kirja*, *Kyllä*, *Lempi*, *Meeli*, *Neuvo*, *Päivä*, *Toivo*, *Un(n)i*, *Unta*, *Valta*, *Viha*, *Vihta* and *Vilja* (STOEBKE 1964: 83–108).²²

It is very likely, that this is not a complete list. However, most of the name elements presented by Stoebke are names which have probably been used during the late Iron Age and early Middle Ages (cf. KEPSU 2015a: 130). In addition, one of the aims of this research is to study if above-mentioned name elements were pre-Christian anthroponyms. If this is the case, names should be found in old village names as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 45–50).

2. Research material and methodology

My main source is the book series *Suomenmaa* where all the villages of Finland from the beginning of 20th century (9 985 villages) are presented. From this material, I have chosen those village names, which are based on the personal name elements Stoebke presented (see chapter 1.3. for these). One must remember, however, that there are no certain etymologies when speaking hundreds of years old names. For example, many names in the Swedish speaking areas of Finland are problematic, because Swedish usage superseded Finnish-language forms.²³ In addition, there are dialect differences in Finland and one name element may have various forms, e.g. *Kyllelä* (Paimio municipality) and *Kyllölä* (Puumala municipality). Additionally, many names have been

²⁰ E.g. *Hyvä* 'gut' (in English 'good') + *mieli* 'Sinn, Gemütsart, -stimmung, -zustand; Gedanke, Verstand; Ansicht, Meinung, Geschmack; Wille, Absicht, Vorsatz' (in English 'sense, temper, mood, state of mind; thought, mind; point of view, opinion, taste; will, intention, purpose' (STOEBKE 1964: 136, 139).

²¹ For example, the old tax accounts show that it was common to name a son after the grandfather. This phenomenon is seen in the old Tyrvis municipality (village *Vataja* and homestead *Knuutti*): householder *Lars Jönsson* (1540), *Jöns Larsson* (1565) and *Lars Jönsson* (1569) (SAYL). The Sami people had similar habits in the 18th century: the first son was named after the father's father and the second one after mother's father (VALTONEN 2017: 306–307).

²² It would be a difficult task to translate all the name elements as they have multiple meanings. STOEBKE (1964: 136–144) has comprehensive descriptions of them (in German).

²³ For example, the oldest forms (1540: *Kowckala*, 1545: *Kauckala*) of the (Swedish) village name *Koikulla* (Parainen municipality) show that the name was originally Finnish *Kaukola*.

standardized many according to existing standardization praxis. There has been a lot more variation in the spelling of a name than the official name forms show. For example, *Hyvelä* (Lohja municipality) has the following pronunciations: *hyvälä, hyvelä, hyvölä* (NA).²⁴

I have used etymological place name and personal name handbooks (e.g. FSNB, SPNK and USNK) when examining whether a name is chosen for the study. In addition, I have used old documents and name forms mentioned in them in order to solve some more difficult cases (e.g. SAYL and The National Archives of Finland). Unclear cases have not been included.²⁵ Altogether, there are 158 names, which are, with high probability, based on STOEBKE's list of pre-Christian name elements. Out of these, 123 are from the current area of Finland and 31 from the ceded area of Karelia.

Since *Suomenmaa* material does not contain coordinates, the *Place Name Register of the National Land Survey of Finland* has been used as a reference material for the names found from the current area of Finland. A handful of villages (10) do not exist anymore (as villages or homesteads), and are not found from the register. The same applies to Karelian villages. The locations of lost and Karelian villages were defined by using old maps (especially an atlas called *Taloudellinen kartta* from the beginning of 20th century). Chosen names are presented as they are written in *Suomenmaa*. The orthography of the village names has changed during the centuries, and thus some of the name forms differ from the ones used currently in *Place Name Register*. For example, village *Ihalainen* in Rautalampi is nowadays known as *Ihalaiskylä*.

In the following, I analyse the results and answer my research questions. In addition, the geographical distribution of Finnic village names is presented on a map. I summarize the results and conclusions in the end.

3. Results

3.1. Village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms compared to Finnish settlement names

Finnic village names cover only a minimal part of Finnish village names. In the beginning of 20th century, there were 9 985 villages in Finland (*Suomenmaa*). This number can be compared to the amount of Finnic village names, 158. The result shows that the number of Finnic village names is very low, only 1.6%.

²⁴ NA is a collection of names, which was established in the beginning of 20th century. It has currently circa 2.7 million names collected.

²⁵ For example, village names based on name element *Miitti/u-* are not chosen even it is completely possible that they originally derive from *Mielit(ty)-* (cf. USNK s.v. Miettinen).



This small number seems natural considering that village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms present the oldest stratum of village names. Furthermore, some names must have changed during the centuries (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 57). The major reason for the small number is the establishment of new villages after the 13th century. There were around 50 000 inhabitants in Finland in the beginning of Middle Ages (c. 1150) (HAGGRÉN 2015: 423). This number started to grow rapidly. New settlements spread around the remote and sparsely inhabited areas in Finland. In the beginning of the 16th century, the number of inhabitants was already circa 300 000 (ibid.). Thus, most of the Finnish villages were established after the so-called pre-Christian era (after 1150). Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that only a few villages are named using pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms.

3.2. Structure of village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms

Most of the pre-Christian name elements appeared in specific parts of the village names as simplex names (*Kauko-la*) or as simplex names with suffixes (*Lemme-ty-lä*).²⁶ Complex names are only a few: *Hyvä-neula* (**Hyvä-neuvo-la*), *Iha-lempiä-lä*, *Ikä-valko-la*, *Ilma-toivo-la* and *Kauko-lempiä-lä*.²⁷ This is not surprising since many complex names would be unpractically long as mere anthroponyms and even longer when the locational suffix (e.g. *-la*) was added. In addition, losses of sounds, *apocope* and *syncope* have affected the name forms. These phenomena have been productive especially in Southwestern Finland (LEHTINEN 2007: 249–252).²⁸

Finnic village names are, in turn, structurally either single part names (e.g. *Kaukola*) or compound names (e.g. *Ikoin-niemi*). The latter type is rare. Only *Ikoin-niemi*, *Kaukon-pieli*, *Lemmin-kylä*, *Mielis-holm*, *Yliselänauvila* and *Ytter-Ölmos* are names that are or can be considered compound place names. The rest of the names (152) are single part place names. Most of them include locational suffixes: like *-la* (e.g. *Kauko-la*), *-nen* (*Lempoi-nen*), *-s* (*Kirjai-s*) or *-sti* (*Ilma-sti*). Some of the single part village names can be considered ones

²⁶ Expression specific part is used for the part of a name that separates it from other names (e.g. *Lemmin-kylä*) (to find more of the subject, see AINIALA et al. 2012: 71).

²⁷ Part *-valko* 'white' in the name *Ikävalkola* is not any of the pre-Christian name elements I chose for this study but still it can be considered as a name element that was also used in the naming during the pre-Christian times (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 158–159).

²⁸ E.g. *Vaistenkylä* (Turku municipality) has gone through apocope and syncope. The name was originally **Vaivaistenkylä* 'village of crippled ones' (1540: *Vaijvaisten kylä*) (SAYL).

without any locational suffix: *Auvi*, *Hyvinkää*, *Ihalempi*, *Ihatsu*, *Ihode*, *Ilmari*, *Kaukka*, *Toivakka*, *Unaja*, *Untamo*, *Valto* and *Vihattu*.²⁹

Altogether, 87 percent of the names have one of the above-mentioned locational suffixes. Out of them, *-la* is the most commonly used one (113 names). This backs up the fact which was presented in the introduction: among village names based on old anthroponyms the locative suffix *-la* is the most popular (cf. RINTALA 2008: 22). The second most common are names ending with *-nen* (24). It is a common thought that surnames ending with *-nen* are from Eastern Finland and names ending with *-la* from Western Finland even the current research has proven that it is not so straightforward (cf. USNK 241). There is not that kind of phenomenon among the village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms. Almost all the names with the ending *-nen* are located in western Finland. No Finnic village names with the ending *-nen* are found in Karelia.

3.3. Popularity of pre-Christian name elements in village names

The following list shows name elements used in descending order: *Kauk(k)a* (in 32 village names), *Lempi* (19), *Iha* (17), *Toivo* (14), *Auvo* (10), *Valta* (10), *Ilma* (8), *Hyvä* (7), *Vilja* (7), *Ikä* (6), *Unta* (6), *Kirja* (6), *Viha* (4), *Heimo* (3), *Kyllä* (3), *Vihta* (3), *Neuvo* (2), *Un(n)i* (2), *Meeli* (1), and *Päivä* (1).³⁰ Name elements not found were *Joutsi* and *Kaikki*.

It would be interesting to study if some names have been more popular in one area than in another, but that is a topic of another study. In an overall picture, it looks as if most of the names are evenly distributed around the southern Finland. The geographical distribution of village names is presented in the next chapter.

3.4. The geographical distribution of village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms

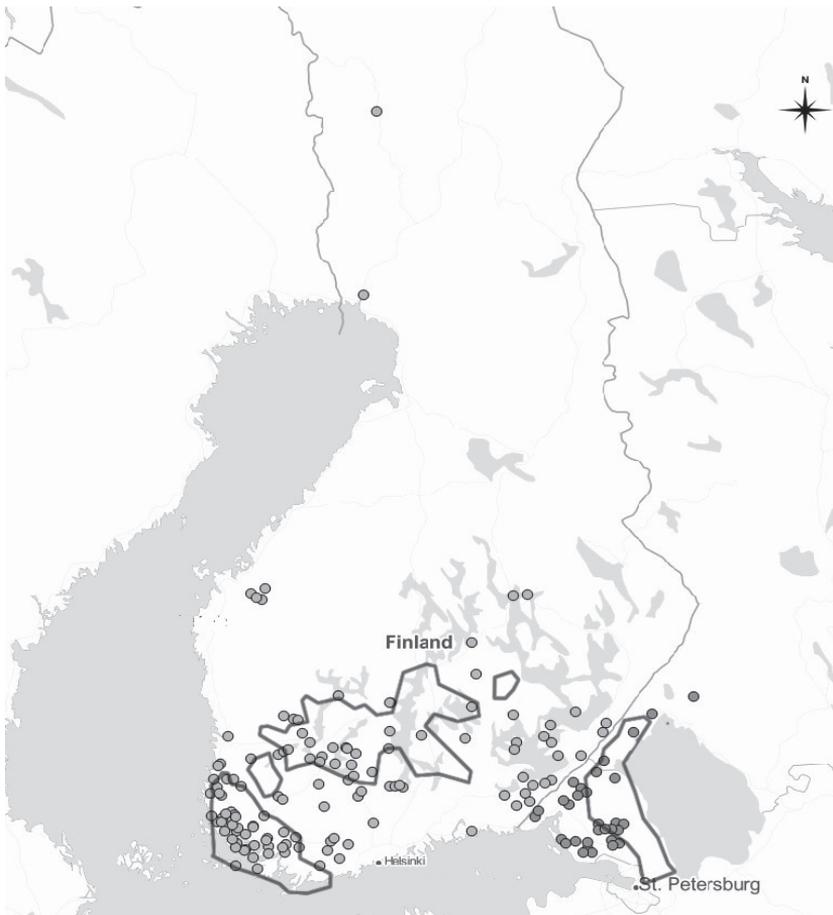
The Map 1 shows where Finnic village names are located. Round dots show Finnish village names based on pre-Christian name elements. Most of the names are found in southern Finland. There are four areas of name concentration.

²⁹ It must be taken into account that in ancient name usage, people did not necessarily make difference between personal name and settlement name. Possible example of this is the name form *Ihala*. Its structure hints that is a settlement name. However, it has been clearly used as a main name as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 86–87). Another example is the name *Ihari* which could be understood as a single part village name because *-ri* is an old personal name suffix (RINTALA 2008: 192). On the other hand, *-ri* is also used as locational suffix (but mostly among the lake names) (RAUNAMAA 2015: 33–34).

³⁰ A village name can have two pre-Christian name elements (e.g. *Iha-lempi*).



Starting from the west, the first area is Finland Proper (also known as Southwest Finland). Especially the coastal area is full of names. Second, many names are found in the old province of Häme (in Swedish *Tavastland*) and more precisely the vicinity of the lake Vanajavesi.³¹ The third concentration point is Eastern Finland. There are many names on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border south from Lake Saimaa. The fourth area could be seen as a continuum to the third one because they are close to each other. This concentration is located on the shores of the river Vuoksi and to the south of it, on the shores of the Karelian Isthmus.



Map 1: The geographical distribution of village names based on pre-Christian name elements and the core areas of the Iron Age settlements in Finland

³¹ HAGGRÉN (2011: 152–155) is good source to find out more information on how Finnish provinces evolved during the Middle Ages.

The grey lines on the Map 1 represent the archaeologists' classical point of view of which areas of Finland were permanently inhabited at the end of the Iron Age (drawn by the author on the basis of LAHELMA 2009 and VAHTOLA 2003: 56). Nowadays, archaeologists think there were more places inhabited than was previously posited (cf. RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 354–355). Nevertheless, it cannot be neglected that areas inside the grey-lined area were the most populated and culturally developed ones (cf. *ibid.*).

It is reasonably obvious that the Iron Age settlements and concentrations of Finnic village names correlate with each other. It would be tempting to claim that this proves Finnic village names actually derived from the pre-Christian era. However, the truth might not that simple. For example, so-called *transferred names* (see BRINK 2016) must have affected the spread of the pre-Christian nomenclature in village names. The southeast corner of Finland and the Karelian Isthmus are interesting areas as well. There are quite a lot of Finnic village names but as well rather far away from the core areas of Iron Age Finland. Archaeologists think that both areas were probably inhabited during the late Iron Age (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 353, 358).

4. Conclusions

The main purpose of this article was to study what kind of village names are based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms. This was done by analysing the research material from different aspects. New information was gathered on both name systems, Finnish village names and Finnish pre-Christian anthroponyms.

Firstly, the amount of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms is small (158 names). This is only one or two percentages of the village names' overall amount. The most common ending for a village name is *-la*, as was to be expected. Out of varied pre-Christian Finnic name elements the most commonly used ones were *Kauk(k)a* (in 32 village names), *Lempi* (19), *Iha* (17), *Toivo* (14), *Auvo* (10) and *Valta* (10).

The geographical distribution of Finnic village names shows that names are located in southwestern and southeastern parts of Finland. This corresponds with the results of recently published JANNE SAARIKIVI's (2017) article where the focus is on slightly different Finnic pre-Christian personal name elements and their use in toponyms around the North-Eastern Europe. In addition, this study shows that most of the names are close to central areas of Iron Age Finland. This gives an impression that the pre-Christian anthroponyms were used especially by those people, who were permanently living in villages and whose most important livelihood was agriculture. Notably, the village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are located in rather small area.



It is impossible to define an exact period when the Finnic village names were created. One must also remember that there must have been time specific and regional differences in the use of pre-Christian anthroponyms. SAARIKIVI claims that the names he studied would have “emerged before the 15th–16th centuries” (2017: 29). It is safe to assume that the name elements used in this study would be approximately from the same period. Areas that were inhabited mostly in 15th and 16th centuries, like northern parts of Central Finland and Northern Savonia (cf. an atlas *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla: Kartasto*), have very little Finnic village names which hints that use of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms had already been superseded when the settlement wave started. Thus, it is safe to suggest that studied pre-Christian name elements were in use from the late Iron Age to 14th–15th centuries.

This article answers many questions on the use of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms in Finnish village names. Many things, however, are still uncertain and need further studies. For example, the area of study should be widened to include the area of other Finnic languages (e.g. Estonia and Ingria). This would give a better picture on how the name elements have developed and spread to new places.

References

- AINIALA, TERHI–SAARELMA, MINNA–SJÖBLOM, PAULA 2012. *Names in Focus. An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*. Studia Fennica. Linguistica 17. Helsinki, The Finnish Literature Society.
- ALANEN, TIMO 2004. *Someron ja Tammelan vanhin asutusnimistö: nimistön vakiintumisen aika*. [The oldest settlement names of Somero and Tammela: a time of establishing nomenclature.] Somero, Amanita.
- BRINK, STEFAN 2016. Transferred Names and Analogy in Name-formation. In: HOUGH, CAROLE ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 158–166.
- BRYLLA, EVA 2016. Bynames and Nicknames. In: HOUGH, CAROLE ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 237–250.
- FMU = *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*. [Medieval sources of Finland.] Samlade och i tryck utgifna af Finlands statsarkiv genom Reinhold Hausen. Helsingfors, Statsarkivet, 1924.
- FSBN = *Finlandssvenska bebyggelsenamn*. [Finland Swedish settlement names.] Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland r.f. Sammanställd av Lars Huldén m.fl. <http://bebyggelsenamn.sls.fi>. (Retrieved 1 November 2017.)

- HAGGRÉN, GEORG 2011. Colonization, Desertion and Entrenchment of the Settlements in Western Nyland ca. 1300–1635 AD. In: LAVENTO, MIKA ed. *Maritime Landscape in Change: Archaeological, Historical, Palaeoecological and Geological Studies on Western Uusimaa*. *Iskos* 19. Helsinki, Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys. 151–179.
- HAGGRÉN, GEORG 2015. Keskiajan arkeologia. [Archeology of Middle Ages.] In: HAGGRÉN, GEORG–HALINEN, PETRI–LAVENTO, MIKA–RANINEN, SAMI–WESSMAN, ANNA eds. *Muinaisuutemme jäljet: Suomen esi- ja varhaishistoria kivikaudelta keskiajalle*. Helsinki, Gaudeamus. 369–536.
- HAUSEN, GRETA 1924. *Nylands ortnamn: deras former och förekomst till år 1600*. [Toponyms of Nyland: their forms and appearances.] Utgivna av Greta Hausen. Helsingfors, Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.
- KEPSU, SAULO 2015a. Esikristilliset henkilönnimet kylännimissä. [Pre-Christian anthroponyms in village names.] In: SULLÖV, JÜVA ed. *Ödagumeresuumlaisi nimeq – Läänemeresoomlaste nimed*. Tartu, Võro Instituut. 127–138.
- KEPSU, SAULO 2015b. Prototoponymica. Nimenanto Pohjois-Savossa eräkaudella. [Prototoponymica. Name giving in Northern Savo during the times before permanent inhabitation.] *Virittäjä* 119: 267–278.
- Kielitoimiston sanakirja*. [A dictionary of standard Finnish.] Helsinki, The Institute for the Languages of Finland, 2017.
- KIVINIEMI, EERO 1982. *Rakkaan lapsen monet nimet: suomalaisten etunimet ja nimenvaihtaminen*. [The many names of our beloved children: Finnish given names and name selection.] Espoo, Weilin + Göös.
- KIVINIEMI, EERO 1990. *Perustietoa paikannimistä*. [Place names basics.] Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- KORPELA, JUKKA 2004. *Viipurin Läänin Historia: 2. Viipurin Linnaläänin Synty*. [The history of County of Viborg: 2. The birth of the Castle Province of Viborg.] Lappeenranta–Jyväskylä, Karjalan kirjapaino–Gummerus kirjapaino.
- LAHELMA, ANTTI 2009. Suomen arkeologian perusteet (KAR130) [The basics of Finnish archaeology.] Course in the autumn of 2009 in the University of Helsinki. Course material is in the author's possession.
- LEHTINEN, TAPANI 2007. *Kielen vuosituhatvuotinen kehitys kantauralasta varhais-suomeen*. [The millenniums of language: the development of Finnish from Proto-Uralic to Early Finnish.] *Tietolipas* 215. Helsinki, The Finnish Literature Society.
- LEIBRING, KATHARINA 2016. *Given Names in European Naming Systems*. In: HOUGH, CAROLE ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 199–213.
- NA = *Nimiarkisto*. [Name Archives.] Helsinki, The Institute for the Languages of Finland.

- Place Name Register = *Name register maintained by National Land Survey of Finland*. Names were downloaded from <https://avaa.tdata.fi/web/paituli/latauspalvelu>. (Retrieved 1 November 2017.)
- RANINEN, SAMI–WESSMAN, ANNA 2015. Rautakausi. [Iron Age.] In: HAGGRÉN, GEORG–HALINEN, PETRI–LAVENTO, MIKA–RANINEN, SAMI–WESSMAN, ANNA eds. *Muinaisuutemme jäljet: Suomen esi- ja varhaishistoria kivikaudelta keskiajalle*. Helsinki, Gaudeamus. 215–365.
- RAUNAMAA, JAAKKO 2015. *Kirkkonummen järvien ja lampien nimet*. [Names of ponds and lakes in Kirkkonummi.] Helsinki, University of Helsinki.
- RINTALA, PÄIVI 2008. *Ihalasta Ihaviljankorpeen. Iha-vartalo Suomen henkilön- ja paikannimissä*. [From Ihala to ihaviljankorpi. The *iha* stem in Finnish personal and place names.] Suomi 194. Helsinki, The Finnish Literature Society.
- SAARIKIVI, JANNE 2017. The spread of Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms in toponyms. In: AINIALA, TERHI–SAARIKIVI, JANNE eds. *Personal name systems in Finnic and beyond*. Uralica Helsingiensia 12. Helsinki, Finno-Ugrian Society. 13–31.
- SAYL = *Suomen asutuksen yleisluettelo*. [Catalog of settlements in Finland.] Internet database.
http://digi.narc.fi/digi/dosearch.ka?sartun=Asutuksen%20yleisluettelot*Asutuksen%20yleisluettelo. (Retrieved 1 November 2017.)
- SEPPÄLÄ, SUVIANNA 2009. *Viljana, Nahkoina, Kapakalana: Talonpoikien Maksamat Kruununverot Suomessa Vuosina 1539–1609*. [Grain, skins, dried fish. Crown taxes paid by peasants in Finland during the years 1539–1609.] Helsinki, The Finnish Literature Society.
- SMP = *Sveriges medeltida personnamn*. [Medieval names of Sweden.]
<http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/personnamn/sveriges-medeltida-personnamn/smp---natutgava-och-fullstandigt-register.html>. (Retrieved 1 November 2017.)
- SPNK = *Suomalainen paikannimikirja*. [Dictionary of Finnish place names.] Edited by SIRKKA PAIKKALA. Helsinki, Karttakeskus–The Institute for the Languages of Finland, 2007.
- STOEBKE, D. E. 1964. *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen in Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Hamburg, Leipzig-Verlag.
- Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla = *Suomen Asutus 1560-luvulla: Kyläluettelot = Bebyggelsen I Finland På 1560-talet: Byförteckningarna*. [Settlement in Finland in the 1560s: Catalog of villages.] Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 1973.
- Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla: Kartasto = *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla: Kartasto*. [Atlas of the settlement in Finland in the 1560.] Helsinki, Suomen historiallinen seura, 1973.

- Suomenmaa = *Suomenmaa I-IX. Maantieteellis-taloudellinen ja historiallinen tietokirja*. [Land of Finland I-IX. Geographical and economical nonfiction book.] Helsinki-Porvoo, 1919-1931.
- Taloudellinen kartta = http://digi.narc.fi/digi/hae_ay.ka?sartun=295770. The National Archives of Finland. (Retrieved 1 December 2017.)
- TOIVONEN, OTTO 1988. *Vuosisatainen kolmikylä kannakselaisen kulttuurin kuvastimena*. [The centuries old village consisting of three parts depicting the culture of the people living in Karelian Isthmus.] Helsinki, Entisten voipialaisten, liikolaisten ja kaukolempiäläisten yhdistys.
- USNK = HUITU, MARKETTA-MIKKONEN, PIRJO-PAIKKALA, SIRKKA-VILKUNA, KUSTAA 1988. *Uusi suomalainen nimikirja*. [New Finnish name book.] Helsinki, Otava.
- VAHTOLA, JOUKO 2003. *Suomen Historia: Jääkaudesta Euroopan Unioniin*. [History of Finland: From Ice Age to European Union.] Helsinki, Otava.
- VALTONEN, TAARNA 2017. Anthroponyms in the Saami languages. In: AINIALA, TERHI-SAARIKIVI, JANNE eds. *Personal name systems in Finnic and beyond*. Uralica Helsingiensia 12. Helsinki, Finno-Ugrian Society. 287–324.

Abstract

The article analyses Finnish village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (personal names). Thus, it brings new information on the pre-Christian anthroponyms used in Finland and the old Finnish village name system. Altogether, 158 village names attributed to pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms were found in Finland and the ceded area of Karelia.

Village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are examined from different perspectives. The analysis shows, for example, that the most popular locative suffix used in the studied village names, is *-la* (e.g. *Lempiä-lä*). The most frequent pre-Christian name element is *Kauko* (32 names). In addition, the names studied are placed on a map. The geographical distribution of names shows that they are mostly located in southern Finland. Most of the names are also close to areas where Iron Age settlements of Finland were located.

Keywords: toponyms, anthroponyms, village names, pre-Christian