

## Balto-Finnic Personal Name Suffixes

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### Abstract

The Balto-Finnic peoples have always formed their personal names using primarily personal name suffixes. After Christianizing, these peoples as most other European peoples have had Christian names: the Orthodox (Greek-Catholic) people (Karelians, Vepsians, Votes and Ingrians or Izhorians) mostly names of Greek origin, the Roman-Catholics (from the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Lutherans) (Finns, Estonians, Livonians) names of Latin origin. The Balto-Finnic name suffixes occur in the hypocoristic modifications of the Christian names.

The most popular and with great probability also the oldest Balto-Finnic name suffix is *-oi* (*-ei*). According to old documents it occurs already in the pre-Christian names. The old Balto-Finnic place name with the suffix *-la* also consists of a personal name with the suffix *-oi* before the place name suffix *-la*. The suffix *-oi* is originally a diminutive suffix, although it has lost its diminutive character in names. In different Balto-Finnic languages it has preserved its primary phonetic form (in Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian) or it developed phonetically (Votic *-oi* > *-o*, Estonian *-oi* > *-o* > *-u*).

In addition to *-oi* there are some other personal name suffixes which occur in different Balto-Finnic languages: *-u*, the plosive + *s* (*-ts*, *-ks*, *-ps*) *-ne(n)*, *-uk(ka)* / *-kas*, *-k(k)i*, and others.

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Very little investigation has been done into Balto-Finnic personal names. However, surveys on the Balto-Finnic personal name system were recently published together with studies on the personal name systems of other European peoples (Brendler and Brendler 2007). These surveys are basically the first attempts at studying the personal name systems of those Balto-Finnic peoples that have a smaller number of speakers – Karelians, Vepsians, Ingrians or Izhorians, Votes and Livonians – (Karlova 2007: 363–371; Mullonen 2007: 847–856; Joalaid 2007a: 285–291; 2007b: 854–861; Halling and Joalaid 2007: 485–494). Many of the examples in this paper were obtained from these articles. However, in the case of Ingrian, Votic and Livonian examples no reference to these articles was made.

The Balto-Finnic peoples have always formed their personal names using primarily personal name suffixes. The most widely spread of them is *-oi*, but there are some other personal name suffixes which occur in different Balto-Finnic languages too, for example *-u*, *-ne(n)* (*-ñe*, *-ñi*), *-t's* (*-t's*) *-k(ka)* (*-kas*), *-kki*, and others. This paper pays more attention to the unofficial name formation because the Balto-Finnic name suffixes mainly occur in the hypocoristic modifications of official names. It means that I touch on the Estonian and Finnish standard name tradition only in passing. One can however mention that Karelian names enter Finnish nomenclature as well and Estonians in turn have also borrowed Finnish personal names.

This paper observes only the personal name suffixes which are common in at least two Balto-Finnic languages. Altogether there are seven Balto-Finnic peoples. After becoming Christianized, these peoples were forced to adopt Christian names. Christianity reached the Balto-Finnic peoples from two different directions and accordingly these peoples adopted names of either

Greek (via Russian Orthodoxy) or Latin (via Roman Catholicism) origin. Orthodox Balto-Finns are Karelians, Vepsians, Votes and Ingrians or Izhorians, Roman-Catholic (from the 16<sup>th</sup> century Lutheran) Balto-Finns are Finns, Estonians and Livonians. A group of Estonians living in the south-eastern part of the country – the Seto, Setokese – are Orthodox by religion, so their personal names are also of Orthodox origin. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a period of Russification in Estonia which then was part of the Russian Empire. Many people especially in Western Estonia and on the islands (Saaremaa, Hiiumaa, Muhu, and others) converted from Lutheranism to Orthodoxy. So, the hypocoristics of the Orthodox names of the people living in the islands are quite recent and different compared to the names of the Seto people, who already had been Orthodox for a long time.

***-oi > o / -ei ~ -ei > -e***

The one used most frequently, and with great probability also the oldest Balto-Finnic name suffix, is *-oi*. According to old documents it already appears in the pre-Christian names; in fact, the suffix *-oi* is found widely across the Balto-Finnic area. Evidently it appears already at the time when the people had only one name. Nowadays the suffix may appear both in first and in family names. The suffix *-oi* is originally a diminutive suffix although it has lost its diminutive characteristic in names (Mägiste 1928: 56). In different Balto-Finnic languages it has kept its primary phonetic form (in Vepsian, Karelian and Ingrian) or else it developed phonetically from diphthong to monophthong (Finnish and Votic *-oi > -o*, Estonian and Livonian *-oi > -o > -u*). In some Karelian and Ingrian dialects there is also the phonetic development *-oi > -o*, and in South-Vepsian and some Finnish dialects the *-oi* turned into the long monophthong *-ō* (*-oi > -ō*). In names that have a front vowel in their stem, the front vowel variant of the suffix may appear – *-ōi*: Ingrian *Ärttōi* (Russian Artemij), *Vüttōi* (Russian Feodor). The suffix *-oi* in the Balto-Finnic also had the variant *-ei* (which today has turned into *-e*); apart from this, the southern branch of the Balto-Finnic languages (Estonian, Livonian, Votic) also has the vowel *-e*.

We can find examples of pre-Christian names with the suffix *-oi* in the old documents for all of the Balto-Finnic peoples. The first and main source for Estonian and Livonian personal names is the Livonian Chronicle of Henry (written in 1224–1225, the last chapter probably in 1227). It talks about the Christianization of the peoples of the Baltic Sea region at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The suffix *-oi / -ei* seems already to be a monophthong (*-oi > o*, *-ei > -e*, *-e*). The Estonian name with the suffix *-oi / -ei* in the Chronicle is *Meme* (= Meeme), cf. in the same Chronicle the Livonian settlement *Memeculle* (= Meemeküla, *küla* ‘village, settlement’). In Karelian the word *miemoi* means ‘manikin’, and the word in Estonian and Livonian could be in the form *\*mēmēi*. The same name appeared also in 16<sup>th</sup> century Estonian (*Andrys Memepoik* 1582) and Finnish (*Clemet Memoynen* 1549) name traditions (Mägiste 1927: 375–376).

The Livonian names with the suffix *-oi / -ei* (turned into a monophthong) in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry are *Ako*, *Alo*, *Anno*, *Asso* ~ *Asse*, *Caupo*, *Wade*, *Wane* and *Ylo*. Eckhard-Detlef Stoebe (1964) considered most of these names to be of German origin, but he did not notice that these names had the suffix *-oi / -ei*; his point of view has been criticized and it has been shown that these names are of Balto-Finnic origin (Mägiste 1965: 211; Alvre 1984: 539–540). *Alo* and *Asso* can also be found several times during the Middle Ages in Estonian name tradition and one can easily derive these from the word stems *alu-* (Estonian *alu-stama* ‘begin’) and *asu*, *ase-* (Estonian *ase* ‘place’); cf. Livonian *Asse* (1355–62 Kuldīga), *Andre Asze* (1582–83 Courland); Estonian *Asse*, *Asso*, *Aßepoick* 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century (*poick* ‘son’) (Kiparsky 1938: 247). The name *Ylo* (an earlier reading being *Ülo*) was common during the Middle Ages, not only in Livonian personal name tradition (*Ylo* 1355–62, 3 times in Kuldīga), but also in Estonian (*Ylle*

*Osilianus* 1255) and Finnish traditions (*Iloi, Ilo*) (Alvre 1984: 540; Kiparsky 1938: 248; Forsman 1894: 156).

As the last examples show, even after Christianization, the pre-Christian names continued to circulate in addition to Christian names, often as surnames. They appear in the old documents until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, for example *\*Itoi* (cf. Finnish *ito*, Estonian *idu*, Livonian *i'ddō* pl. 'germ'), such as Livonian *Yddo* (1355–62 in Jaunpils) ~ *Yto* (1355–62 in Kuldīga), Estonian *Ido* (Kiparsky 1938: 247; Stoebke 1964: 25, 32); *\*Eloi* (cf. Estonian *elu*, Finnish *elo* 'life') in the Livonian names *Jane Elonpoy*, *Henneke Elonpoy* and *Jacob Eloy Struppit* – all 1564 in Turaida; Estonian *Ello* 1312 in Ösel (Saaremaa) (Stoebke 1964: 18–19); *\*Epoi* ~ *\*Epei* – Livonian *Epe* Szamen (1582–83 in Pärkone); Estonian *Ebo* (Stoebke 1964: 19; Kiparsky 1939: 393); *\*Ekei* – Livonian names *Ek* (1411) ~ Hans and Hinze *Eckedels* (1564) (Latvian *-dels* 'son') ~ *Eke* (1564 noticed several times in Salaca and Turaida) (Stoebke 1964: 18).

We can also find personal names formed with the suffix *-oi* in old sources for the orthodox peoples; as an example there is *\*Pelkoi* (*Pelgui* < *\*Pelkoi* ~ *\*Pelgoi*, Russian *Pelgushi-Filipp*), who was of Ingrian origin; he was in charge of the coastal defence of the Novgorod Principality during the Neva battle in 1240 (Laanest 1964: 8; Begunov 1984: 76–85). In the year 1500, there lived in the Votic settlement Luuditsa a person named *Fedko Toššuev* (< *\*Toššoi* ~ *\*Toššui*) (Nikolaeva 2005).

In the Russian cadastral registers from 1495–1496, 1563–1564 and 1582–1583 we can find several personal names that obviously are of Vepsian origin. We can find them in the territory where the Vepsians have been living up until now, but also in areas that were former Vepsian territory. In the parish Oshta (Vepsian *Šušt*), in that part of the parish where nowadays the North-Vepsian dialect is spoken, there lived *\*Ihkoi* – *Mikiforik Ihkujev* and *\*Kärčöi* – *Ivashko Kerčuj* in 1495–1496 (PKOP 1930: 35). Despite the fact that the etymology of both names is unclear, the names clearly have the suffix *-oi*. According to Irma Mullonen the personal name *Kerčuj* corresponds to *\*Hörčoi* (Mullonen 2007: 848)), but *\*Kärčöi* seems more likely. Relying on my field work materials the Vepsian settlement *Kertsak*, Russian *Керчаково* is known by the name *Kärčäk* ~ *Kärčäkod* among the South Vepsians. The anthroponym *Kärčäk* (stem *Kärčä-* with the suffix *-ko*) corresponds well to the personal name *Kerčuj* in the cadastral register of 1495–1496. In the former Vepsian territory in the parish Shugozero (Vepsian *Šugarv*) there was a settlement named Kjarčeniči (PK 1850: 77–78); in Vepsian therefore *\*Kärčöilä* is the corresponding toponym, which is formed with this anthroponym. From the former Vepsian territory we can also mention *\*Vargoi* (*Panfilko Varguev* – 1495–1496 in the parish Vytegra) and *\*Mustoi* (*Timoshka Ondreev Mustoev* [cf. Vepsian *must* 'black'] – 1563–1564 in the parish Andoma) (PKOP 1930: 12, 194).

The names with the suffix *-oi* were also widely spread in Finland and Karelia. Earlier the diphthong suffix was preserved, but later it turned into the monophthong *-o*. Some examples of the Finnish surnames in the 15<sup>th</sup> century are: *Haloi*, *Tervo*, *Kalo* (Finland Proper), *Kopoi*, *Askoi* (Satakunta); in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we find: *Kekro*, *Mönköi*, *Äpöi*, *Ylpöi* (Häme), *Urkkoi*, *Toroi*, *Osoi*, *Kiero* (Finland Proper), *Ikoi*, *Joroi*, *Keroi*, *Kokkoi*, *Koukoi*, *Luukkoi*, *Pohtoi*, *Rankoi*, *Turtoi*, *Vestoi*, *Viloi* (Satakunta), *Taloi*, *Taanoi*, *Torkkoi*, *Pohtoi*, *Lokko*, *Kero*, *Jöllö*, *Kunto*, *Sulkko* (Southern Ostrobothnia); and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: *Tahloi*, *Ropoi*, *Hassoi*, *Ahroi*, *Kesoi* (Satakunta) (Forsman 1894: 126–128). Examples of Karelian surnames are *Ilmo*, *Itko*, *Kaipo*, *Kyllö*, *Mielo*, *Monto* and *Pelko* (Nissilä 1975: 124).

The high age of the suffix *-oi* is also attested by its appearance in settlement names in the same name together with the suffix *-la*. The latter is widely spread in the territory of Balto-Finnic languages and it has been considered the only undeniably Balto-Finnic place name suffix. (Kiviniemi 1990a: 87). The old Balto-Finnic place name with the suffix *-la* consists of a personal

name with the suffix *-oi* before the place name suffix *-la*. The personal name as a part of a *la*-suffixed place name is often a pre-Christian name that later can occur as a kinship name.<sup>1</sup>

The Finnish linguist Lauri Kettunen gives us the following examples from Finnish, Karelian and Vepsian place name traditions: Finnish: *Tervoila*, Karelian: *Reboila*, *Himoila*, *Nurmoila*, *Pultšoila*, Vepsian: *Peloil*, *Šigoil*, *Korvoil*, *Njurgoil* (Kettunen 1955: 68). The only Livonian place name with a *la*-suffix – *Nabal* – has no *oi*-suffix in its structure. In front of the suffix *-la* are obviously personal names, that in their turn are formed from appellatives: Finnish: *terva* ‘tar’, *kukko* ‘cock’, *reboi* ‘fox’, *himo* ‘desire’, *nurmi* ‘meadow’, *sika* ‘pig’, *korva* ‘ear’, and others.

Nowadays, a large part of Balto-Finnic first names are represented by hypocoristics of Christian names formed with the help of the suffix *-oi*. They are spread widely among the Orthodox peoples, whose first name tradition consists mostly of suffixed names. Some examples of male first names are: Ingrian (Izhorian): *Ivoi* ~ *Īvoi* (Russian Ivan), *Jākkoi* ~ *Jākko* (Jakov), *Kigoi* (Grigorij), *Kuzoi* (Kuz’ma), *L’evoi* ~ *L’evo* (Leontij, Levontij), *Makoi* (Makarij), *Migoi* ~ *Mikkoi* (Nikolaj, Mikolaj), *Mitoi* ~ *Mīttoi* (Dmitrij, Mitja), *Ol’oi* ~ *Ol’o* (Aleksandr, Oleksandr), *Pirkkoi* (Spiridon), *Se’o* (Sergej), *Simoi* ~ *Simo* (Semjon), *Timoi* ~ *Timo* (Timofej, Tima), *Vasoi* (Vasilij, Vasja), *Viloi* ~ *Vilo* (Filimon, Filja), *Volo* ~ *Voloi* ~ *Vol’oi* ~ *Valoi* (Vladimir, Volodja); Votic: *Fet’o* ~ *Fet’jo* (Feodor, Fedja), *Fil’o* (Filemon, Filja), *Ga’o* (Gavril), *Ivo*, *Va’o* (Ivan, Vanja), *Jākko* (Jakov), *Kiko* (Grigorij), *Levo* (Leontij, Levontij), *Miko* (Nikolaj, Mikolaj), *Mit’o*, *Mit’jo* ~ *Mitro* (Dmitrij, Mitja), *Ol’o* (Aleksandr, Oleksandr), *Pekko* ~ *Pet’o* ~ *Pet’jo* (Petr, Petja), *Pirkko* (Spiridon), *Timo* (Timofej, Tima), *Va’o* (Vasilij, Vasja), *Vol’o* (Vladimir, Volodja); Karelian: *Iivoi* (Ivan), *Jaakkoi* (Jakov), *Koljoi* (Nikolai, Kolja), *Kusmoi* (Kuz’ma), *Levoi* ~ *Lehvoi* (Leontij, Levontij), *Makkoi* ~ *Makoi* (Makar), *Miuhkoi* ~ *Mihkoi* ~ *Miuhkoi* ~ *Mikkoi* (Mihail), *Mitjoi*, *Mitroi* (Dmitrij), *Pirkkoi* (Spiridon), *Semoi* ~ *Simoi* ~ *Tsimoi* (Semjon), *Teroi* (Terentij), *Timoi* (Timofej), *Vasoi* ~ *Vaskoi* (Vasilij, Vasja, Vaška), *Viloi* (Filat), *Voloi* (Vladimir, Volodja) (Nissilä 1976: 146–147, 68–142); Vepsian: *Gauroi* (Gavriil), *Mit’joi* (Dmitrij), *Šemō* (Semjon), *Teroi* (Terentij), *Va’ō* (Ivan, Vanja), *Vašō* (Vasilij, Vasja); Estonian: (Seto) *Miko* (Nikolaj, Mikolaj), *Tepo* (Stepan), *Timmo* (Timofej), *Vaššo* (Vasilij).

The suffix *-oi* is common among female Orthodox first names too, for example Ingrian: *I’o* (Russian Irina), *Kadoi* ~ *Katoi* (Ekaterina), *Ma’o* ~ *Māroi* (Marija, Mar’ja), *Nastoi* ~ *Nāstoi* (Anastasija, Nastja), *Ogoi* ~ *Okoi* (Agaf’ja, Ogaf’ja, Ogashka), *Odoi* (Evdokija, Avdot’ja, Ovdot’ja), *Paroi* (Paraskeva, Parashka), *Tanoi* (Tat’jana, Tanja), *Taroi* (Dar’ja); Votic: *Feko* (Fjokla), *Ma’o* (Marija, Mar’ja), *Mad’ro* ~ *Mat’jo* ~ *Mat’o* ~ *Mad’jo* (Matrjona), *Nasto* (Anastasija, Nastja), *Oko* (Agaf’ja, Ogaf’ja, Ogashka), *Oto* (Evdokija, Avdot’ja, Ovdot’ja), *Paro*, *Pa’o* (Paraskeva, Parashka), *Solo* (Solomonida), *Tat’jo* (Tat’jana), *Va’o* ~ *Va’jo* (Varvara, Varja); Karelian: *Iroi* (Irina), *Matroi* (Matrjona), *Mauroi* (Mavra), *Nastoi* (Anastasija, Nastja), *Natoi* (Natal’ja), *Ogoi* ~ *Okkoi* (Agaf’ja, Ogaf’ja, Ogashka), *Oksoi* (Aksin’ja, Oksin’ja), *Uljoi* (Ul’jana), *Ustoi* (Ustin’ja, Ustja), *Varvoi* (Varvara); Vepsian: *Annoi* ~ *Annō* (Anna), *Marjoi* ~ *Marjō* (Marija), *Nastoi* ~ *Nastō* (Anastasija, Nastja), *I’oi* ~ *I’ō* (Irina), Estonian: (Seto) *Kul’l’o* (Akulina), *Hemmo* (Efimija).

The suffix *-oi* may occur also in unofficial family names – in kinship names, for example Vepsian *Šepoi* (*šep* ‘smith’).

In most dialects of the Estonian language – and in Standard Estonian as well, the *-o* at the end of the word has turned into *-u*; thus, also the suffix *-oi* has been turned from a diphthong into a monophthong: *-oi* > *-o* > *-u*. That is why the original *oi*-suffixed names coincide with the *u*-suffixed names and so I shall treat them together with the latter group. In Livonian, the *oi*-suffixed names are absent nowadays, and only one female name exists – *Ādu* (Latvian Edīte, Ede), which originally could have had either *-oi* or *-u* as its ending.

**-u**

Another Balto-Finnic name suffix that is spread widely is *-u*. This *-u* is also an old suffix in Balto-Finnic names, but as already said, there is a problem in that in several Balto-Finnic languages and dialects, it coincides with the suffix *-oi*, which has changed over time. But *-u* has never been as popular a suffix as *-oi*. First, here are some examples of Orthodox names. Male first names with the suffix *-u* are Ingrian: *Adu* (Andrian), *Mat'u* (Matvej); Votic: *Art't'u* (Artemij, Artjom), *Ol'u* (Aleksej, Oleksej), *St'opu* (Stepan, Stjopa), *Savu* (Savva); Karelian: *Ivu* (Ivan), *Jessu* (Efim), *Jormu* (Eremija), *Parhu* (Parfenij), *Sakku* (Isak), *Vasu* ~ *Vaššu* (Vasilij), *Vetju* (Feodor, Fedja); Vepsian: *St'opu* (Stepan), *Fed'u* (Fjodor), *Mitru* (Dmitrij), *Sašku* (Aleksandr); Estonian: *Seiu* (Aleksi), *Simmu* (Semjon), *Timmu* (Timofei).

Among female first names, the suffix *-u* is more widely spread than among male first names, because the nomenclature of the Orthodox female names is smaller. Examples: Ingrian: *Annu* ~ *Añu* (Anna), *Mařu* (Marija), *Natu* (Nadezhda), *Ogru* (Agripina), *Oku* (Akulina, Okulina), *St'epu* ~ *St'opu* (Stepanida), *Vařu* (Varvara); Votic: *Añu* (Anna, Anja), *Nad'u* (Nadezhda, Nadja), *Nat'u* (Natalija), *Ogru* (Agripina, Ogripina), *Ogu* (Agaf'ja, Ogaf'ja), *Ot'ju* ~ *Ot'u* (Avdot'ja, Ovdot'ja), *Šašu* (Aleksandra, Sasha); Karelian: *Oku* (Akulina, Okulina), *Tanju* (Tat'jana); Vepsian *Jel'u* (Jelena), *Natku* (Natalja), *Aešu* (Anna), *Sašku* (Aleksandra).

In earlier Finnish tradition, we can find some examples of family names with the *u*-suffix: *Sasu* (Uusimaa, 16<sup>th</sup> century); *Huru*, *Hitu* (Finland Proper, in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century); *Rullu*, *Ryssy* (South-Pohjanmaa, 16<sup>th</sup> century) (the last one has the front vowel variant of the suffix).

A widely spread family name in Karelia is *Remsu*. In Vuokkiniemi, North Karelia, one of the largest and oldest families is the Remsus family. A part of the Vuokkiniemi settlement is called *Remsul'a*, where all the inhabitants have the family name *Remsu* (Karlova 2000: 160). The name has its counterpart in Vepsian kinship name tradition – *Rämzä*, but in Vepsian there is no suffix *-u* in the name.

In Estonian the suffix *-u* coincides with the suffix *-oi*. However, *-u* appears in some names that obviously have always occurred with *-u*, for example the hypocoristic of *Anna* – *Anu*, cf. Finnish *Anu*, Votic and Ingrian *Añu*. In the hypocoristics the suffix *-u* has always been used, for example in the following male names *Miku* (Mihkel), *Juku* (Juhan, Johannes), and *Villu* (Ville); and the following female names *Liisu* (Liisa, Elisa), *Nandu* (Fernanda), and *Mañnu* (Armanda). At present, the suffix *-u* is very widely used in forming first names in the spoken language, especially by the younger Estonians. In these names there is often a strong flavour of diminutiveness: *Steñnu* (Sten), *Kaššu* (Kaspar); *Jañnu* (Jaanika).

As Estonian (in fact, all the Balto-Finnic languages) has no grammatical gender, the same hypocoristic may be used with both female and male names, for example *Sañnu* is both a male (Sander) and a female name (Sandra).

Names as pairs have even appeared. The Estonian ski runners, the sisters Kristiina and Katrin Šmigun were called *Kiku* and *Kaku* at home, the same way also *Kristi* and *Kai* are used. A young couple with the names Tiiu and Taavi, are called *Tiku* and *Taku*.

The suffix is used so much, that even non-Estonian first names can receive it. For example, one Hungarian man living in Estonia by the name of Ferenc is called *Veeru* by the people close to him.

In Estonian tradition the suffix *-u* can now also occur as a compound suffix with suffix plosive + *s*: *-ts + -u*: *Heñtsu* (Henri), *Jañtsu* (Jaanika); *-ks + -u*: *Inksu* (Ingrid); rarely *-ps + -u*: *Tipsu* (Tea). The suffix may appear also in the nicknames for the family name, for example *Kriku* < *Krikmann*, *Nahku* < *Nahkmann*, *Seilu* < *Seilenthal*, *Siisu* < *Siismets*.

The suffix *-u* is used nowadays in the Finnish first name tradition as well: *Santtu* (Aleksanteri), *Jallu* (Jalmari), *Vellu* (Veijo), *Jusu* (Juha), *Valttu* (Valter); *Lissu* (Elisabeth).

**-t's (-t'š), -ks, -ps**

The plosive + *s* (*-ts*, *-ks*, *-ps*) is the next type of suffix which is widely spread in Livonian and Estonian name traditions but also in Finnish.

In the Livonian name tradition *-tš*, *-dž* is the most widely used name suffix. Sometimes a vowel is added at the end of the suffix. Examples for male first names are: *Al'tš* (*Alfon*, Latvian Alfons), *Bä(ä)t'ša* (*Bärtold* ~ *Bärtöl*, Latvian Bertolds), *Dit'š*, *Dit'š*, *Didžā*, *Didž* (*Didrik* ~ *Didrök*), *Jaņtš* (*Jōņ* ~ *Jāņ(i)*), *Kōt'š* (*Kōrli* ~ *Kārli*), *Klōt'ša* (*Klouz* ~ *Klau*, Latvian Klāvs, German Klaus); *Miļši* (*Miļīl*, Latvian Miķelis, German Michael), *Niļša* (*Nikā* ~ *Nīka* ~ *Nika*, Latvian Nika, Nike, Nikke), *Pēt'š*, *Pēļš*, *Pēļši* (*Pētōr*); *Tēt'š* (*Teodor*, Latvian Teodors, German Theodor), *Uļdž* (*Uldrik* ~ *Uldrök* ~ *Ulrik* Latvian Uldriķis, German Ulrich). Female first names with the suffixes consisting of plosive + *s* are *Griet'ši* (*Grīet*/*Griet*, Latvian Grieta, German Grethe, Margaretha), *Kat'ši*, *Kat'š* (*Katriņ* ~ *Katrin*), *-pš*: *Bapšā* (*Babi* ~ *Baba*, Latvian Baba, Babbe, German Barbara).

Sometimes the Livonian and Estonian names (almost) coincide; however, the creation of the name has occurred in different ways. Here are some examples from Estonian with the *-ts* [*t's*] ending and from Livonian with the *-t'š* (*-d'ž*) ending: Estonian *Pets* (Peeter) – Livonian *Pēt'š* (Pētōr), Estonian *Kats* (Katrin) – Livonian *Kat'š* (Katrin), and Estonian *Tets* (Teet) – Livonian *Tēt'š* (Teodor). In the Estonian orthography the diacritic to mark palatalization ´ is not used. So, in Standard Estonian such a hypocoristic is pronounced *-t's* (f. ex. *Pet's*), but is written *-ts* (*Pets*).

Usually the hypocoristics of the first Estonian names are formed with the addition of these suffixes. The plosive is usually already part of the stem. The suffixes plosive + *s* are found in Estonian oral name tradition nowadays, but they can also be quite old, for example: *At's* (Aadu, Ado), *Et's* (Eduard, Edgar), *Mat's* (Madis). Some of them have even turned into appellatives: *Jüt's* (Jüri) > *koolijüt's* '(young) schoolboy'. Some well-known hypocoristics are *Pet's* (Peeter), *Rut's* (Rudolf), *Ints* (Indrek), *Kat's* (Katrin), *Riks* (Richard, Riho), *Marks* (Margus), *Vaaps* (Vaapo), *Vamps* (Vambola), *Lemps* (Lembit, Lembi), *Sirts* (Sirje), and *Inks* (Ingrid). Some names don't even have the plosive in the stem and so *-ts*, *-ks*, *-ps*, have become the real suffixes: *Velts* < Vello, *Elps* < Elmo. The suffix may occur also in the nicknames of the family names: *Aleñt's* < *Alender*, *Kraps* < *Grabbi*, *Ket's* < *Keddis*.

Lately the suffixes *-ts*, *-ks*, *-ps* have become very widely spread among the younger generation of Estonians, and even beyond this generation (Hussar and Päll 2007: 172). In the written forms of such names, foreign letters also can be used, which do not belong to the Estonian alphabet, for example *ks* = *x*: *Janx* (Jaanus), *Marx* (Margus), *Marix* (Maria), cf. *ku* = *q*: *Eq* (Egle), *Pilq* (Pille).

In Finnish name tradition, this type of suffixes is not spread very widely, but may occur in oral tradition combined with the *u*-suffix. Widely spread in Finnish oral tradition is for example *Kaitsu* < *Kai*. On the other hand the female name *Jeñtsu* < *Jenny* is rather a single, or occasional, occurrence. The names *Valtsu* < *Valter* and *Hentsu* < *Henrik* are already diminutive and are used mostly at home.

**-nen ~ -ñe ~ -ni**

The suffix *-nen*, which originally was an adjective suffix, appears primarily in the Finnish, Karelian and Vepsian name traditions. It is preserved in Finnish, in Vepsian it is *-ñe*; it is *-ñe* in Karelian as well; but in North Karelia, it appears also as *-ñi*. It is primarily a family name suffix, showing that a person belongs to a certain family or is the head of a family.

In Finnish name tradition, *-nen* is now a widely spread family name suffix. Many family names have just this suffix. Especially in Eastern Finland, we can find family names with the suffix *-nen*; in Western Finland the family names also occur with the suffix *-la*. *-la* is originally a settlement names suffix, and also a farm name suffix in the Finnish name tradition. In the

Karelian name tradition, the suffixes *-ñe*, *-ni* are also widely used suffixes for family names, often unofficially; for example: *Timoni*, *Kyyröni*, *Lesoni*, *Tepponi*, *Kuikkani* (Karlova 2007: 365, 368), *Marttini*, *Omenaini*, *Outokkaini*, *Pappini*, *Pirhoni*, *Vatani* (Vuoristo 1992: 243–245).

Some examples of the Vepsian tradition are: *Vaškahnē*, pl. *Vaškaššed*, cf. *Vaška*; *Matvejahnē*, *Vaššikahnē*. Often the names with the suffix *-ñe* are used in the plural. These names were formed from male Christian names. But if the head of a family is a woman, her name can also be used to name the whole family. One example is: *Pāšihāššed* pl. The head of the family is a widow by the name *Pāših*; it means the wife of *Pāš* (Pavel). Her name has the andronymic suffix *-ih*, borrowed from Russian. The members of the family can also be called by the family name with the suffix *-ñe*, pl. *-ššed*. The family name can be an official Russian name (*kuzminaššed* from *Kuzmin*). However, an old Vepsian kinship name is often used: *Habukahñe*, *Kukoihiñe*, *Paskačuhñe*, *Bošakohñe*, *Kärzinahñe* (Mullonen 2007: 851), *Šepoiččed* pl., cf. *Šepoi*, *Kukihaiñe*, cf. *Kuk*, *Pudrohñe*, pl. *Pudrōššed*, cf. *Pudr*.

Some areas use this model of names in the Estonian tradition as well. In Southern Estonia, the forms *Marjene tütar* ‘the daughter called Marje’ and *Ruudine poig* ‘the son called Ruudi’ are possible, but also *Maaskene lehm* ‘the cow called Maasik’.

However, the suffix *-ne* clearly appeared in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Estonian and Livonian name traditions according to the Livonian Chronicle of Henry. The Latinized Livonian names *Layanus* and *Kyrianus* in the Chronicle are probably *\*Lajane* and *\*Kirjane*, formed from the appellatives *lai* ‘broad, wide’ and *kirja* ‘figure, pattern’. Close in orthography and meaning, but with a compound suffix (*-va* + *-ne*) is the Estonian *Kyriawanus* – *\*Kirjavane*. The same compound suffix appears in the Livonian names *Kulewene* and *Uldewene*. *\*Kuulevane* is connected to the verb *kuule-* ‘hear’, *\*Üldäväne* can be connected with the Finnish verb *yltää* ‘reach, extend’ both in the local and temporal meaning. So the last name could mean both the tall and long-lived man. Estonian *\*Tabeline* (*Tabelinus*) is also obviously formed from the verb, namely *taplema*: *tapelda* ‘fight, grapple, battle’ (Alvre 1984: 540–541).

### **-(u)k(ka) / -kas**

The suffix *-(u)k(ka)* occurs first of all in the northern group of Balto-Finnic languages – Finnish, Karelian and Vepsian, and it seems to be primarily a female name suffix: Vepsian *Ahrük* (*Agripina*) and *Õšuk* (*Avdotja*). Only in Vepsian name tradition does it occur in male names as well: *Petruk* (*Pjotr*) and *Mitruk* (*Dmitrij*, *Mitja*). There is also the word *uk* ‘old man’, even though the word *uk* has *-o-* in its stem (pl. *ukod*). The names in the different Balto-Finnic languages may coincide: Finnish, Karelian *Marjukka* – Vepsian *Marjuk* (*Marija*); Finnish, Karelian *Annukka* – Vepsian *Annuk* (*Anna*).

In Estonian, the suffix *-k* has turned into *-kas*: *Heidukas* (Heidi), *Aulekas* (Aule), and *Hillekas* (Hille). Also in Estonian tradition, it seems to be primarily a female suffix, but it can also be used in forming family names, for example: *Niidikas* < *Niit*, *Peetsukas* < *Peets*, and *Tiidekas* > *Tiidelepp*. The suffix is very widely used in Estonian oral tradition, forming appellatives as well. A large number of new loan nouns get this suffix in their structure: *telekas* ‘television set’, *lāpakas* ‘laptop’.

### **-k(k)i**

In Votic, Finnish and Livonian the suffix *-k(k)i* appears in first names. The names with these suffixes are already noted in ancient Finnish, such as *Mielikki*, cf. *mieluinen* ‘pleasing, pleasant’ and *Kyllikki*, cf. *kyllä*, *kyllin* ‘plenty, enough’ (Paikkala 2007: 201). But also hypocoristics of Christian names can be formed with this suffix: Votic *Oudekki* (*Evdokija*, *Avdotja*); Livonian *Jāņiki* (*Johannes*), *Pējšiki* (*Peter*).

My purpose was not to deal with the Balto-Finnic suffixes in their richness and variety, but to show that the same suffixes occur throughout the Balto-Finnic name world. The most widely spread Balto-Finnic name suffix is definitely *-oi*. Only in the Estonian tradition are the names with the suffix *-u* more common. However, since the vowel *-o* at the end of a word has turned into *-u* in Estonian, it is not possible to differentiate the suffixes *-oi* and *-u*.

### Note

1. Orthodox Balto-Finnic peoples did not receive family names until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or even later, up until the 1920s. Before that, but also continuing after that, there existed names used for entire families or relations. Here I have used the term kinship name to distinguish it from the present official family name tradition.

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