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Finnic Geographical Terminology in the Toponymy of Northern Russia

One of the most thoroughly tested and reliable methods of establishing the etymology of substratum toponyms is to study its connections with the geographical terminology of those present-day languages which are closest to the assumed source language of the substratum names. A search for parallels of substratum toponyms in the dialectal appellative lexicon is no less important, since the latter allows for “compensation” of the onomastic lexical material, which for objective reasons, is incomplete (MATVEEV 1973: 332) and gives it a convincing semantic foundation.

In the toponymy and lexicon of northern Russia, the Finnic linguistic material, characteristic of the territories adjacent to the region under discussion, can be productively used for research purposes. In the appellative lexicon of the Arkhangelsk and Vologda dialects there are several dozen attested borrowings from the Finnic languages related to geographical terminology. Most of these are also found in the toponymy of the region and, as a rule, their toponymic area of distribution is wider than their distribution in the appellative lexicon. For example, the appellative *ка́ска* ‘pasture in a forest’ (< Karelian, Olonetsian *kaski* ‘woodland cleared by burning’, Lude *kask*, *kašk* ‘cleared woodland (before being burnt down)’, Veps *kašk* ‘cleared woodland’) occurs only in the Pinega dialect, whereas the *каска*-toponyms are much more widespread (Vel’, V.-T., Karg., K.-G., On., Pin., Ples., Kholm., Shenk. districts).

A complete analysis of Finnic geographical terminology in the lexicon and toponymy of northern Russia should be a topic for large-scale investigation and, therefore, is not set as a goal for the present study. Here we will only examine those geographical terms borrowed from the Finnic languages which have been attested to be independent toponyms (and not just bases or formants of compound toponyms), or those which are also present in the appellative lexicon but have a rather narrow area of distribution. Toponyms and appellatives widely used in the northern Russian dialects (such as *ка́ра*, *ну́хта* ‘inlet’ *ма́йбола* ‘forest tract’ *у́йма* ‘moist place in a bog’ *ша́лга* ‘ridge covered with forest’) are not included in this treatise. Hydronyms, too, will mostly remain outside this investigation, since the names of rivers include characteristics that are highly specific compared to the names of other features. The Russian dialectal material is taken from the lexical and toponymic archive of the Toponymic Expedition of the Ural State Univer-



sity (= STE). This material is collected by fieldwork in the Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions.¹

Аланга, hayfield (On.), **Оланга**, hayfield (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *alango* ‘hollow, valley, damp sloping meadow on a riverside or lakeside’, Veps *alang* ‘low place’, Fin. *alanko* ‘id.’ (MM 20–21). Since both toponyms refer only to hayfields, and other objects with the same kind of name are not attested, they should be related to the given Finnic geographical term rather than the hydronyms with the formant *-Vn(ь)га*. The replacement of initial Finnic *a* with Russian *o* is not an isolated phenomenon but is attested by other examples as well, compare Russian dialectal *ольга* ‘marsh’ < Kar., Fin. *alho* ‘lowland’ (KALIMA 175–176).

***Алона** (< **Алонский**, stream) (On.) ~ Fin. *alanne* ‘lowland, plain’, Kar. *alanneh* ‘area surrounded with a marsh; small lake near two rivers or marshes’ (MM 21). This reconstruction is debatable: the name of the stream could also have emerged in Russian or from the term **алонга*, which can be compared with Kar. *alango*, Veps *alang*, Fin. *alanko* (see above).

Вайма, fishing spot (Vyt.) ~ Fin. *vajoama* ‘hollow, cavity; gap’ (FRSL 693). The semantic shift ‘pit, cavity’ > ‘fishing spot’ is fairly frequent (see **Гавда** below).

Ваны, hayfield (Kholm.), **Верхние Ваны**, hayfield, **Нижние Ваны**, hayfield, **Слободские Ваны**, hayfield (Kholm.). In the appellative lexicon: *ва́на* ‘small pool or lakelet in a riverbed; flood meadow’ (Kholm.) ~ Kar. *vana* ‘deep riverbed; trail of water in a sea; river, stream, etc.’, Olon. *vana* ‘water trail; (long, narrow) gap’, Lude *vana* ‘unfrozen stretch of water; (long, narrow) gap’, Veps *van* ‘hollow; crevice’, Fin. *vana* ‘furrow; riverbed; water trail’ (MM 100).

Варага, field (Kholm., Shenk.), **Вараги**, hayfield (Kon.), **Варака**, hill (On.), field (Shenk.), **Вараки**, hills (On., Ples.), hayfield (Ples., Tot.). In the appellative lexicon the term *ва́рак*, *ва́рака* ‘hill, hillock, steep (river) bank’ is attested in the STE archive in the Onega district of Arkhangelsk region only. ~ Fin. *vaara* ‘fell; height, hill; mound with a slope overgrown with wood’, Kar. *vuara*, *voara*, Olon. *vaara* ‘tree-covered hill’ (MM 102). The ending *-ага/-ака*, regularly occurring in the Russian lexeme, could have emerged in Russian (on the basis of the suffix *-ак*) as well as in the source language of the borrowing, which is more likely (on the basis of the suffix *-кка*, Gramm. 237). The semantics of the appellative underlying this name (‘hill’) and its reference coincide only in two toponyms. In the other cases the geographical term has a distinctive function, distinguishing hill features

¹ In this article, as in the article by A. K. MATVEEV (cf. pages 129–139 in this volume), names of Russian administrative units are translated as follows: *область* = region, *район* = district (editor).



from other objects such as meadows and fields. In the analysis of the aforementioned toponyms and Russian appellatives it is necessary also to consider the corresponding Saami word (North Saami *várri*, Kildin Saami *vārr^e* ‘forest; hill, mound’, MM 102), which also could have been the source of borrowing.

Варза, hayfield (Sok.), river, marsh (V.-T.) ~ Olon. *varzi* ‘arm; handle shaft; (in toponyms:) place along a (water)way’ (MAKAROV 41), Fin. *varsi* ‘area along something’² (FRSl. 713). The geographical name is metaphoric, compare Olon. *varzi* ‘handle, shaft’ (MAKAROV 41), Fin. *varsi* ‘stem (of a plant); stalk; handle, shaft’ (FRSl. 713).

Вуда, distinct natural area (On., Shenk.), **Вуды**, field (Vyt.), **Вутика**, stream, distinct natural area (On.), **Вудога**, field, hayfield (Vashk.), **Вудогу**, forest, marsh (Karg.) ~ Kar. *viita*, *viida* ‘dense fir grove; tall pine or birch growing forest’, Olon. *viida*, *viidu* ‘small fir grove’, *viidakko* ‘bush undergrowth; fir grove’, Lude *viid* ‘small fir grove’, *viidak*, *viidik*, *viidikkö* ‘young, short, coniferous (sometimes mixed) forest’, Veps *vida* ‘young fir grove’, Fin. *viita* ‘grove’, *viidakko* ‘bush undergrowth; fir grove’ (MM 100–101). The author of this article has observed that the toponym **Вуда** in the Onega district really refers to dense fir woods in which hayfields are found. In the Vashka district the toponym **Вудога** refers to a clearing and hayfield. **Вутика**, a stream name in Vashka district represents a rather common type of metonymy: the name of a natural district has developed into the name of a stream flowing through it or along its boundary. The Russian toponyms can be traced back to different Finnic lexemes: the Russian form **Вутика** is closer to the Finnish and Karelian words, whereas the other afore-mentioned toponyms may be connected to Karelian and Veps. Otherwise, the toponyms **Вутика**, **Вудога**, **Вудогу**, judging by their endings, could reflect Finnic collective derivatives with the suffixes *-k/-kko/-kkö*.

Гавда (Хавда), fishing spot, hayfield (Vyt.), **Гавды**, two fishing spots, distinct natural area (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *hauta*, *hauda* ‘pit, depression’, Olon. *hauda*, *haudu*, Lude *haud* ‘pit; grave; cellar’, Veps *haud* ‘pit’ (MM 28). The semantic possibility of using a term meaning ‘pit’ for a fishing spot used for seine fishing is beyond doubt. In all probability, the denotations such as ‘distinct natural area’ and ‘hayfield’ are secondary in this case. The substitution of Finnic *h* with Russian *z*, *x* is common in this region (MATVEEV 1975: 288–289).

Гожими (Гожоми), forest (Bel.), **Загомезь (Загомезье)**, hayfield, forest (Kotl.). The toponyms above can be compared with the Veps *houmeh* ‘field

² lit. ‘stem, shaft’ (editor’s note).

(in a forest) sown with cereals; clearing’ (MM 26). This word is the loan original of the Russian dialectal *зумежи* ‘field, cornfield (field for cereal cultivation)’, widely attested in the Russian dialects of Karelia (KALIMA 94–95). In the Beloozero toponyms a metathesis may have occurred in the original **Гомижи* that reflects the Veps *ou* in another way. The toponyms *Загомезь (Загомезье)* allow us to reconstruct **Гомезь*, whose word ending can be compared with Veps *haitez* ‘field (in a forest) sown with cereals; area cleared by burning; forest clearing’ (MM 26).

Гольмы, hayfield (Len.) ~ Kar. *holmi* ‘channel; strait; sheltered harbour’ (MM 30). According to the STE archive, Lake *Гольминское* is situated beside a hayfield called *Гольмы*, and for this reason the reconstruction of the semantics of this toponym as ‘a narrow strip of water connecting two basins’ is unproblematic. However, there is a problem concerning the location of the toponym, since the Lensk district in which the toponym is attested, is situated in the easternmost part of the Arkhangelsk Region, that which is the furthest from the Karelian-speaking territory. On the other hand, the correspondence Finnic *h* ~ Russian *z* is characteristic of the western districts of the region (MATVEEV 1975: 188–289).

Кайба, stream (Vashk.) ~ Kar., Olon. *kaivo* ‘spring, source; pit; well’ (MM 35). The replacement of Karelian *v* with Russian *o* is fairly regular in the south-western part of northern Russia. As for its reference, the name is obviously given to a stream source of which is in a spring.

Камары, marsh (Ples.) ~ Olon. *katari* ‘locality or boundary; distinct area’ (MAKAROV 122), Fin. *katara* ‘crust; earth surface’ (FRSl. 192). *Шомуша*, a name used parallel with *Камары* and referring to the same object may be a calque, assuming that the meaning ‘edge’ lies behind the toponyms under investigation, compare Russian dialectal *шумуша* ‘edge of a marsh’ (Shenk.), originating from the Veps *sout* ‘corner of a house’ (ZM 500).

Кевка (Кевки), field on a high bank of the river Onega (On), *Кевка*, mound, hayfield on this mound (Nyand). ~ Kar. *keikkä*, Olon. *keikkü* ‘mound, hillock’ (MM 37). The replacement of the Finnic *ü* with Russian *e* is not surprising, if one takes into account the northern Russian dialectal alternation *e* ~ *y* ~ *y*.

Кеды, village, natural district, fishing spot (Prim.), *Кады*, hayfield (Len.), *Большая Када* and *Малая Када*, hayfield (Lesh.), *Верхняя Када* and *Нижняя Када*, parts of a village (Lesh.) ~ *keto*, *kedo* Olon., Lude *kedo*, Fin. *keto* ‘clearing; burnt-over clearing overgrown with vegetation; long term fallow’ (MM 38). The fact that in the toponyms *Када*, *Кады* the Finnic *e* were substituted with *a* in Russian (see MATVEEV 1968 for more details)



hints that these originated in an extinct language of the Zavolochye region.³ The semantics of the Finnic appellative do not contradict the characteristics of the object it refers to. The toponym **Кадок**, hayfield, as well as the appellative *ка́док, ка́дук* ‘hayfield in a forest’, attested in the Vashka district of the Vologda region, may also be connected here. The suffix *-ак/-ок/-ук* is likely a result of Russian derivational adaptation.

Кезанки, field (Vashk.) ~ Kar., Olon. *kezando, kezändö*, Lude *kezand(o), kezänd(o)*, Veps *kezand* ‘fallow’, Fin. *kesanto* ‘field lying fallow; unsown field’ (MM 38). The change in the word ending (*-nd-* > *-нк-*) was caused by a transformation of the original *Auslaut*, infrequent in Russian, with the widespread suffix *-анк-*.

Кенда, natural district on the shore of the Lake Onega (Vyt.), **Кендево**, field (On.), **Кендище (Кеньдище)**, forest strip on the sea shore, field (On.). In the appellative lexicon *кэ́нда* is attested in the meaning ‘stony ridge or sandy height overgrown with forest and situated on the sea shore’ (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *kenttä, kentti* ‘flat dry hayfield or meadow; sandy riverbank’, *kenttä* ‘infertile land; mossy area’, Olon. *kentti* ‘dry, flat meadow or sand by a river’, Veps *kend* ‘riverside or lakeside, edge of a marsh’, Fin. *kentä, kenttä* ‘earlier field, meadow in a flat place’ (MM 38). The Onega district toponyms result from Russian derivational adaptation (the suffixes *-ев-, -иц-*).

Кивика, village (Kon.), **Кивицкие**, promontories (Bel.) ~ Kar., Olon., Lude *kivikkö*, Fin. *kivikko* ‘stony spot’ (MM 39–40). The suggested etymology is confirmed by the rapids name **Камешник**, which is situated nearby the village **Кивика** on the river Svetica and, apparently, is a metonymic calque from the Finnic toponym.

Кита, field (Vin.), **Китаха**, meadow (Vel’sk.) ~ Kar. *kütö* ‘clearing or cornfield (field for cereal cultivation) in a marshy area’, Fin. *kytö* ‘plot in a marsh burnt for ploughing’ (MM 48). For the reflection of Finnic *ü* as Russian *i* see MATVEEV 2000: 138. The suffix *-ах-* in **Китаха** has emerged in the process of Russian derivational adaptation.

Колка, marsh (Kir.), hayfield, field (Ples.), **Колки**, hayfield (Karg.), **Колкас (Колкаса, Колкасы)**, forest (V.-T.) ~ Fin. *kolkka, kolkkaus* ‘corner, nook; outskirts; area’ (FRSl. 249).

³ Cf. articles by JANNE SAARIKIVI and ALEKSANDR MATVEEV in this volume in which another explanation for this phonetic substitution is given. — *Zavolochye* (Ru. *Заволочье*) is a geographical notion used in Russian Middle Age sources of the Novgorod region lying outside the basic administrative units, the pyatinas (editor).



Конда, village (Nyand.) ~ Kar. *kontu, kondu*, Olon. *kondu*, Lude *kond, kondu* ‘tenant farm; croft; plot of land’, Fin. *kontu, konto* ‘house, courtyard, farm; plot of land’ (MM 40). According to old settlement name registers, the earlier name of the village was **Конды**, that is, literally ‘courtyards’.

Корва, hayfield (Prim.) ~ Fin. *korva* ‘ear, handle; place along something, for example, a river or rapids’, Kar. *korva* ‘ear, handle; area, end, boundary’ (SKES 221).

Кохта, hayfield (Ples.) ~ Kar. *kohta* ‘place; area, locality’, Olon. *kohta, kohtu*, Lude *koht, kohte, kohtu*, Veps *koht* ‘place (especially opposite something), the opposite side of something, the opposite bank (of a river)’ (MM 40). This etymology is supported by extralinguistic facts: hayfield **Кохта** is situated on the right bank of the River Shorda, opposite the village of Velikij Navolok.

Кукой, hill (Bab., Vyt.), **Куколь**, hill (Ples.), **Кукора**, hill (Vashk.), field (K.-G.) ~ Kar. *kukkula, kukkura, kukkuri*, Olon. *kukkuri* ‘steep hill; hillock; peak of a hill or a mound’, Fin. *kukku* ‘conical peak’, *kukkula, kukkelo, kukkura* ‘peak (of a hill)’ (MM 45). Although the base **Кук-** may be interpreted in several ways (MATVEEV 1977: 165–167), the references of the aforementioned Russian toponyms lead to the conclusion that the version suggested here is the most convincing.

Куя, village (Bab., Prim.), **Куюшка**, natural district (Ustyuzh.), **Куяк**, field (Vashk.) ~ Kar. *kuja, kujo*, Olon., Lude, Veps *kujo* ‘path between fences or hedges; back lane’, Fin. *kuja* id. (MM 44). The toponym **Куюшка** is a diminutive derivation that has emerged in Russian. In the toponym **Куяк** the final *-к* probably reflects the Finnic collective suffix.

Ладва, lake, meadow (On.), village (Bab.), **Ладба**, river, hayfield, lake (On.) ~ Kar. *latva, ladva*, Olon. *ladvu*, Lude *ladv, ladve, ladu*, Fin. *latva* ‘upper reaches; spring of a river’ (MM 53).

Лама, field, hayfield (V.-T.), **Лама**, hayfield (Kholm.), **Лама**, field (Shenk.) ~ Kar., Olon. *laama* ‘stagnant backwater in estuary’, Fin. *laami, laatu* ‘pond, pool; puddle’ (MM 49). The difference between the semantics of the Finnic appellative and the objects it refers to implies that in this particular case the name is of metonymic origin. At the same time, the aforementioned toponyms may also originate from Veps *lamad* ‘clearing; plot of land’ (ZM 273), which, in its turn, is a likely borrowing from Russian (? < лом, лома ‘scrap, fragments’).

Летка (Летко), island in Lake Lozskoe (Bel.) ~ Kar., Olon., Lude *liete*, Veps *lete* ‘sand; silt’ (MM 54). The diminutive suffix *-к-* probably originated in Russian. The source of the toponym can also be found in Fin. *letto*



‘small rocky island near the coast; reef’ (MM 54), which is semantically closer to the object referred to. However, the territory in which the toponym is attested points rather to a Veps origin.

Лиги, hayfield, marsh, forest (Bab.) ~ Olon. *liga* ‘mud; sludge’ (МАКАРОВ 185), Fin. *lika* ‘dirt; mud, slush’ (FRSL 329). In the appellative lexicon, the word *лига* is used in the meaning ‘puddle, pit with water in it; back-water; damp place in a forest’ (Bab.). The meaning of this geographical term may have developed in the substrate language as well as in the Russian dialects. In Russian, the word is used only in its geographical meaning and it is undoubtedly derived from a geographical term, verified by its plural form.

Лодьма, river (Prim.) ~ Kar. *lotma*, *lodma*, Olon. *lodmu*, *lodma*, Lude *lodm*, *lodmo* ‘hollow, valley; depression; low lying area between hills or heights’ Fin. *lotma*, *lotmo* ‘hollow, valley’ (MM 55). Terms meaning ‘lowland, valley, hollow’ occur in other river names, too, compare **Нотка**, **Ура** below.

Малдан (**Малдань**, **Малдынь**), lake, natural district (On.) ~ Kar. *malto*, *maldo*, Olon. *maldo* ‘place in a river with a slow current, reaches; leeward bank’, Lude *mald*, *maldo* ‘pool, back-water’ (MM 58). The ending *-ан/-ань* reflects, in all likelihood, the Karelian genitive suffix. This makes it possible to assume that we are dealing with a complex toponym subject to ellipsis rather than with a geographical term used on its own, compare the name of the rapids *Maldinkoski* and that of the stream *Maldinoja* in the Karelian toponymy (MM 58).

Матка, river (Vep.), **Малая Матка** and **Большая Матка**, rivers (Kon.), **Матка**, hayfield (Kon.), **Матки**, hayfield (Kholm.), **Заматка**, hayfield (V.-T.), **Подматки**, hayfield (Karg.) ~ Kar. *matka*, Olon. *matku*, Lude *matk*, *matku*, Veps *matk*, Fin. *matka* ‘road, way; distance’ (MM 59). The word *мутка* ‘isthmus between an island and mainland’, attested in the appellative lexicon of the Beloozero district, Vologda region, can, according to its semantics and the vowel in the first syllable, be traced back to the Saami *muotki* ‘isthmus’⁴ that is genetically related to the afore-mentioned Finnic words.

Метусы, clearing burnt for cultivation (Prim.) ~ Kar. *mätäs*, Olon. *mätäs*, *mätäz* ‘hummock, mound’, Lude *mät(t)äz*, *mätäs* ‘hummock; bush’, Veps *mät(t)äz*, *mätäz* ‘hummock; mound, hillock’, Fin. *mätäs* ‘hummock’ (MM

⁴ In this article, the Northern Saami forms are referred to as simply ‘Saami’. They do not imply that the languages spoken in the Northern Russia would have been closest to Northern Saami but represent the entire group of Saami languages (editor).

62). The fact that the toponym is in plural form points to the original meaning ‘hummocks; mounds’.

Мечаек, forest (Len.), **Худой Меч**, clearing burnt for cultivation (Len.), **Мечка**, village, confluence, natural district (Prim.) ~ Kar. *meččä*, Olon. *meččü*, *meččö*, Lude *mečč*, *mečče*, Veps *meč* ‘forest’, Kar., Olon. *mečikkö*, Lude *meččik*, *meččiko* ‘forest; copse’ (MM 59).

Нёвы, clearing burnt for cultivation (Lesh.), **Небово** (Vashk.) ~ Kar. *ńeva* ‘body of water’; Olon. *ńeva* ‘body of water, pool; swamp, quagmire’, Fin. *neva* ‘open fen; boggy area’ (MM 63). The marsh name **Небово** contains a Russian *-ов-* and represents a substitution of the Finnic *v* with Russian *б*. The vowel in the first syllable of the toponym **Нёвы** can be explained in the light of the Russian shift *e > o* in stressed position, typical of northern Russian dialects.

Нема, hayfield on the bank of the River Nemnyuga (Mez.), field (Prim.), homestead on the right bank of the River Mekhren’ga (Ples.), **Немы**, marsh, field (Bab.), **Верхние Немы** and **Нижние Немы**, hayfields on the right bank of the River Mezen’ (Mez.) ~ Kar., Olon. *niemi*, Lude *niem*, *niemi*, Veps *nem*, Fin. *niemi* ‘promontory, headland’ (MM 63). This etymology is supported by the fact that the majority of objects listed are situated on promontories along the banks of rivers.

Нива (Нивка), reaches of the River Svetica (Kon.), branch of the River Severnaja Dvina (Vin.) ~ Kar., Fin. *niva* ‘rapids, reaches of a river with a rapid current’ (MM 65). The semantics of the Finnic appellative coincide remarkably well with the referred objects and this corroborates the given etymology. In Russian the toponyms have been subject to derivation (suffix *-к-*).

Нитушки, clearing made by burning (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *niittu*, *niittü* ‘hayfield, meadow’, *niitoš* ‘mown area’, Olon. *niittu*, *niittü*, Lude *niitti*, *niit*, *niitt*, Veps *nit*, *niit*, *nit* ‘meadow, hayfield’, Fin. *niitty* ‘meadow’ (MM 64). The Russian toponym is derived using the suffix *-ушк-*, if it is related to *niittu*, *niittü*, etc., or with the suffix *-к-*, if Kar. *niitoš* is its loan original.

Нотка, river (Vyt.) ~ Kar., Olon., Fin. *notko*, Veps *notk* ‘crevice; hollow, depression’ (MM 66).

Нурма, village, river (Gryaz.) ~ Kar., Olon. *nurmi* ‘meadow’, Lude *nurm*, *niřm* ‘meadow, hayfield’, Fin. *nurmi* ‘meadow; grass; lawn’ (MM 66). The name of the river was probably derived from the name of the village.

Олус (Олуз), field (Mez.) ~ Olon. *alus*, Lude *alust* ‘expanse, place, territory’, Fin. *alus*, *alusta* ‘lower part; base; foundation’ (MM 21). Concerning the correspondence Finnic *a* ~ Russian *о* see MATVEEV 1968.



Падры, hayfield (Kholm.) ~ Kar. *patero*, *padura* ‘small depression, pit’, Fin. *patero* ‘depression, pit’, *patelo* ‘small valley, hollow’ (MM 70). The suggested etymology above cannot be regarded as absolutely reliable, because this toponym can be given a Russian interpretation as well (and be considered to have emerged on the basis of the archaic prefix *na-* and the root *-dp-* ‘tear; flog; tussle’). However, the possibility of a Finnic origin should also be considered. That this toponym has been borrowed cannot be excluded because the same term with a different consonantal structure is attested in the dialectal lexicon: *пáтровина* ‘damp, marshy place’ (Vel’). The fact that the toponym occurs in plural form (*-ы*) is a further argument in favour of the idea that it is based on a geographical term from a substratum language.

Палат (Палата, Палот), forest, field (Ust.), **Палатас**, village (Bab.) ~ Olon. *palates* ‘land burned down by a forest fire; clearing burnt down for cultivation’, Lude, Veps ‘forest destroyed by fire’ (MM 69). The official name of the village **Палатас** — **Погорелое**, is a direct translation of the Finnic word.

Паста, village (Len.) ~ Olon. *pawstu* ‘part of a forest assigned for felling’ (МАКАРОВ 258).

Полта, field (Ust.) ~ *polto* ‘part of a forest destroyed in a fire or burnt down’ (МАКАРОВ 278). The toponym can also be connected to Kar. *palte* ‘slope of a hill’, Olon. *palte* ‘(southern, forestless) slope; edge (of rocks under the water, edge of a field or forest)’, Lude *palte* ‘slope, hillside’ Fin. *palte* ‘edge; (steep) river bank; hill slope; hill’, all of which are connected with Lule Saami *buoldda* ‘hill slope’ (MM 70). In this case the toponym **Полта**, which could have been borrowed either from an extinct language or is Saami in origin, reflects the correspondence Finnic *a* ~ Russian *o*, or is borrowed either from Saami or from some extinct language.

Раза, hayfield, natural district, rocky and fast-flowing current (Vin.), **Раса**, field (Mez.), part of a village (Mez.), **Расы**, hayfield (Mez.) ~ Kar. *rasi*, *razi* ‘old unscorched clearing; forest with a great number of trees fallen or felled’, Olon. *razi* ‘cleared, unscorched woodland’, Lude *razi* ‘clearing left unscorched and untended for the next year’ (MM 79).

Раяка, field, hayfield (Vyt.), hayfield (Vashk.), **Тленья Раяка**, field (Vyt.), **Раяки**, hayfield (Vyt.), **Рябинов Раек**, natural district (Vyt.), **Райка**, forest (Ustyuzh.), **Мишкин Раяк**, forest (Vyt.). In the Russian dialects *ра́ек*, *ра́ека*, *ра́ечка*, *ра́йка*, *ра́яга*, *ра́яка* are used with the meaning ‘small young forest’ (Vyt.) ~ Kar., Olon. *rajakko*, Lude *rajakko*, *rajak*, Veps *rajak* ‘deserted clearing overgrown with trees’, Fin. *rajakko* ‘deserted clearing overgrown with deciduous forest’ (MM 77).



Сарга, village (Vyt.), **Сарго (Сарья)**, natural district (K.-B.), **Сарги (Сарьги)**, hayfield (On.), **Сарьга**, promontory (Shenk.) ~ Olon. *sargu*, Veps *sarg* ‘strip of ploughed land; plot, allotment (of cultivated land)’, Fin. *sarka* ‘strip of a field situated between ditches, part of a field, usually narrow and long; field; allotment; separate fields forming a whole; allotment belonging to one courtyard, including arable land and forests; separate plots of land divided by borders’; ‘part of marshland dried for cultivation and having a rectangular shape, situated between ditches’ (MM 85). In the Russian appellative lexicon the following two words are attested: *сáрга* ‘strip of hayfield’ (On.), *сáрьга* ‘watery place in a marsh; tiny island in a marsh’ (Shenk.). It is not easy to explain the semantic shift of the appellative *сáрьга*. It may have taken place under the reversing influence of toponyms: the place name **Сарьга** in Shenkur district is described by the informants as a damp and watery place.

Сельга, hayfield, village, hill (Vyt.). In the appellative lexicon *сéльга* means ‘oblong elevations on a moor overgrown with forest; long and narrow island in a lake; marshy area in a forest; high bank of a river or lake’ (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *selgä*, Olon. *selgü*, Lude *selg*, *selg*, *selgü*, Veps *selg* ‘ridge, heights, cliff, hill’ (MM 86).

Сельгама, hayfield (Vyt.), **Большая Сельгама**, hayfield, **Ванина Сельгама**, hayfield, **Малая Сельгама**, hayfield (Vyt.) ~ Fin. *selkämä* ‘mountain ridge; cliff’ (FRSl. 556).

Сордушки, hayfield (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *sorto*, *sordo*, Olon. *sordo*, Lude *sord*, *sordo*, Veps *sord* ‘fence made of tree branches; enclosed pasture’, Fin. *sorto*, *sortto* ‘place where there are a lot of fallen trees, fallen forest; timber-felling site’ (MM 91). The toponym is adapted in Russian by means of the suffix *-ушк-*.

Сюрга (Сюрьга), hill, road along a hill (On.), **Сюрьга**, road (On.), **Сюрьга**, hill (Vyt.), **Сюрьги**, forest allotment (Bab.), **Сурьи**, hill (Bab.) ~ Kar. *sürjä*, Olon. *sürjü*, Veps *sürj* ‘side; edge, fringe; roadside’, Fin. *syrjä* ‘side; backwoods, land; isthmus; heights, ridge; beach, dunes’ (MM 92). Taking into account the correspondence Finnic *ü* ~ Russian *ы*, A. K. MATVEEV (1973: 351) relates these as well as the toponyms **Сырья**, meadow (On.), **Сырья**, settlement (On.) to the same source. Given this phonematic correspondence, one can also ask whether the word *сырья* ‘low-lying hayfield’ (On.) could also belong here. In this case, its meaning could have changed under the influence of folk etymology (cf. Russian *сырой* ‘raw; damp’).

Сярга, village (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *särkkä*, Olon. *särkkü*, *särkü*, Lude *särkke* ‘steep river bank; hillock, hill, ridge; cliff’, *särkkü* ‘sandy shoal’, Fin. *särkkä*, *särkä* ‘under-water, or partly above the surface, elongated sandy shoal along

a bank or in a river bed; accumulation of sand; sandy shoal; mountain ridge; hill, hillock, heights' (MM 93).

Тевриха, field (Kon.) ~ Fin *töyry* 'hummock, mound, elevation' (FRSl. 673). The shift $y > \ddot{y} > e$ after a vowel and before a consonant, which is common in northern Russian dialects, has also occurred in this toponym. In addition, the frequent Russian microtoponymic suffix *-ux-* has been added to the same name stem.

Уйка, hayfield (Karg.) ~ Veps *uig* 'narrow strip of stubble-field, protruding into a forest' (MM 97). The devoiced consonant of the Russian toponym makes Veps a less probable source of borrowing. Compare, from this point of view, Fin. *uikama* 'lowland, valley' (MM 97).

Употос, field or hayfield (Bab.) ~ Kar. *upotes, upotez, upotuz*, Olon. *Upotes, upotus, upotuz*, Veps *upotez* 'boggy place sticky with mud' (MM 98).

Ура I, river, **Ура II**, river, **Ура III**, river (Pin), **Урка**, river (Pin), **Вешний Ур**, settlement for forest workers (Pin.) ~ Kar., Olon. *ura, uro* 'furrow, ravine; riverbed; path', Olon. *uro* 'hollow; gully', *urkku* 'not very deep depression', Lude *ura* 'ravine between cliffs', Veps *uru* 'furrow; den, burrow', Fin. *ura* 'path; riverbed; furrow, wheel track' as well as Kar. *uuro* 'deep and narrow ravine with a stream running along its bottom; depression; thick forest', Fin. *uuro* 'narrow and deep gully; ravine between hummocks; stream bed', *uurra* 'gully; depression' (MM 98). All the objects referred to by the Russian toponyms are small rivers, and this accords with the semantics of the proposed loan original. The only exception is the name of a forest workers' settlement **Вешний Ур**, that is of metonymic origin and was originally applied to a hydro-object, namely, a deep and long valley filling up with water in the spring floods, as demonstrated by the attribute *вешний* 'typical of, related to spring'.

Урдома, village (Kotl., Len.), settlement (K.-B.), **Уртаки**, hayfield (Ples.) ~ Olon. *uurdo, uurdain* 'waterworn ravine', Lude 'muddy gully', Veps *urdam* 'waterworn ravine', Fin. *urtti* 'narrow and deep bed in rapids; bad road', as well as Veps *urtik* 'spring; boggy and muddy place in a forest; water filled pit in a forest; muddy and slimy ground' (MM 98). The toponym **Урдома** is closer to Karelian and Veps words. The name of the hayfield **Уртаки** may, from the point of view of both phonematics and semantics, be interpreted on the basis of Veps *urtik* rather than Fin. *urtti*.

Хака, marsh, natural district (Pin.) ~ Kar. *haka* 'enclosed pasture; grazing ground', Fin. *haka* 'grazing ground' (MM 26).

Халья 1, hayfield (Pin.), **Халья 2**, hayfield (Pin.), **Большая Халья**, hayfield (Pin.), **Высокая Халья**, hayfield (Pin.), **Степина Халья**, hayfield



(Pin.), **Харьки**, hayfield (Mez.). In the appellative lexicon *хáлья* means ‘mound, elevation; islet in a marsh’ (V.-T., Pin.) ~ Kar. *harja*, *harju* ‘peak, crest (of a mountain); hillock, hill; sandy shoal’, Olon. *harju* ‘heights; the top of a hill or crest of a furrow’, Fin. *harja* ‘peak; crest of a mountain’, *harju* ‘sandy bank or shoal, low fell ridge’ (MM 27).⁵ For the toponym **Харьки**, an initial ***Харь** and the diminutive suffix *-к-* should be reconstructed. In this, as well as in the appellative **Халья**, *хáлья*, the shift *r > л* could have taken place as early as in the substratum language, compare the alternations of *r/l* in Fin. *patero/patelo* (MM 70), *kukkula/kukkura* (MM 45), or in Russian, compare *ня’лега/ня’рега* ‘duckweed (lemna)’.

Хамбыс, promontory (Bab.) ~ Lude *hambas*, Veps *hambaz* ‘sharp projection; curve, bend’⁶ (MM 27).

Хорь, forest allotment (Gryaz), hayfield (Kad.), farmstead (Chag.), **Хорек**, hill (K.-G.), **Хори**, forest allotment (Cerep.), hayfield (Kad.), **Хорики**, marsh (Tot.), **Хорьки**, forest allotment (Nyuks.), compare also **Хорь**, island; **Хорьки**, island; **Хорьи**, hayfield. In Russian the appellative *хорь* means ‘promontory; headland’ (Cherep.), ‘place where berries are picked, glade’ (Babush., Bel.). *хорькí*, in turn, means ‘island emerging during flooding’ (Bel.), ‘tussocks’ (Tarn.). In the Kostroma dialects *хорь* refers to a ‘small sandy island in a river’. Following J. KALIMA, M. VASMER traces North Russian *хорь* ‘small island in a river; shoal’ back to Fin. *kari* ‘rock, sandy shoal’, Kar. *kari* ‘rocky rapids with little water, pile of rocks, reef’, Est. *kari* ‘reef, rock’ (VASMER IV, 270). In our view, the semantics of the appellative loan and the objects it refers to can be better explained as originating from the same source as Russian **Халья**, *хáлья* ~ Kar. *harja*, *harju*, Olon. *harju*, Fin. *harja*, *harju* (see above). Such a comparison also seems to be phonetically better founded. Firstly, the problem related to the difference between the initial consonants (Finnic *k-* and Russian *x-*) does not arise. Secondly, the area of distribution of **Хорь**, *хорь* and its derivatives and correspondence defined by A. K. MATVEEV for Finnic *a* ~ Russian *o* in the south-western part of the region under consideration coincide, whereas the lexemes **Халья**, *хáлья* are attested only in the Pinega and Verkhnyaya Tojma districts of Arkhangelsk Region and **Харьки** in Mezen’ district (north-east), where the correspondence Finnic *a* ~ Russian *a* is commonplace (MATVEEV 1968: 125, KALIMA 46–47). Thus, in the lexicon and substratum toponymy of northern Russia **Халья**, *хáлья* and **Хорь**, *хорь* reflect the variants of one and the same lexeme, borrowed at various times from different Finnic languages.



⁵ lit. ‘mane; brush’ (editor).

⁶ lit. ‘tooth’ (editor).

Чарка, hayfield (V.-T.) ~ Kar. *čärkkä*, Olon. *čärkkü* ‘steep riverbank; hill-ock, hill, ridge’ (MM 93).

Чирак (Чирок, Чироз), island in Lake Jarbozero, island in lake Unzhinskoe, island in lake Druzhinskoe (Vashk.), **Чирак**, hayfield (Vyt.). In the appellative lexicon *чирок* means ‘sandy shoal in a lake’ and *чирь* denotes ‘copse’ (Bab.) ~ Veps *čirak* ‘shoal in a lake’ (ZM 59). The referral shift of the term for the naming a hayfield in Vytegra district is related to the rather common semantic shift ‘island’ > ‘lofty section of a locality’. The same shift is also reflected in the appellative *чирь*.

Чумбуха, meadow (Nyand.) ~ Veps *čumb* ‘corner, cul-de-sac’. The name is extended through the toponym formative suffix *-yx-*, frequent in denominations of fields, hayfields and meadows.

Чурга (Чурьга), hill, field (Vyt.), **Чурга**, hayfield (Vashk.). These toponyms have no direct correspondences in the Finnic languages. Compare, however, Veps *čurg* ‘corner of a room’ (ZM 66), which refers to a possible meaning ‘hill’ that may have existed in the substratum language. The reconstruction of the etymon in the form **čurg* ‘hill’ is corroborated by Russian *чурга* ‘mound, hillock’, recorded in the dialectal lexicon (Shenk.) and by the fact that in the Vashka district the hayfield **Чурга** is located near the village of Gora, lit. ‘hill’, whose name may be best interpreted as a metonymic calque of the substratum name.

Чуры, field (Vyt.) ~ Kar. *čura*, Olon. *čura*, *čuro*, Lude *čura*, Veps *čura* ‘side, end, outlying, direction; locality; area of land’ (MM 24).

Юк, rapids in the River Iksa (Ples.) ~ Fin. *juka* ‘waterfall; rapids, not steep and completely covered in foam’ (MM 32).

Юм, marsh (Kholm.), **Юма**, field, hayfield (Vil.), **Юмо**, hayfield (Vin.) ~ Kar., Olon. *juuma* ‘deep place in a river or lake; waterway; depths’, Fin. *juoma*, *uoma* ‘riverbed; deepest place in a river or lake’, as well as Kar., Olon. *juomu*, Fin. *juomu*, *uomu* ‘gap; scratch, strip, stripe; furrow, wheel-track, waterworn ravine’ (MM 32). From a semantic point of view, the references of the toponyms to geographical objects can best be explained on the basis of the meanings ‘furrow, wheel-track; waterworn ravine’.

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Toponyms that can be traced back to Finnic compounds deserve special attention. In order to distinguish such names in the substratum toponymy of northern Russia, it is particularly important to separate them from toponyms containing a base and formant. The study of compounds is complicated because of the incompleteness of Finnic lexical sources, which do not list all the compound lexemes, a deficiency usually remarked on in prefaces to dic-



tionaries. Therefore, the list of toponyms that follows is not exhaustive and could be extensively complemented.

Алома, marsh, hayfield, fishing spot (Nyand.) ~ Fin. *alamaa* ‘lowland’ (FRSl. 28), < Fin. *ala-* ‘lower’ (FRSl. 27) and *maa* ‘earth, locality, land; country, area, countryside’ (FRSl. 353).

Витимец, hayfield, village (Bab.), natural district (Chag.) ~ Olon. *viidumeččü* ‘small dense fir forest’ (MAKAROV 431), < *viidu* ‘small dense forest; grove’ (MAKAROV 431), *meččü* ‘forest’ (MAKAROV 203). Complex lexemes similar to the Karelian word quoted above obviously occur also in other Finnic languages, but they are not recorded in the sources available to us. At least the devoiced *-m-* in the Russian toponym is indicative of a source of borrowing different from the Olonets Karelian.

Илем, depression (K.-G.), **Илема**, long and deep depression (K.-G.), river (Pin.), **Илемо**, long and deep depression (Vashk.), **Илемец**, hayfield (V.-T.), **Илемское**, field (V.-T.) ~ Fin. *ylämaa* ‘highland; high ground; heights, slope’ (FRSl. 783) can be traced back to Fin. *ylä-* ‘upper, top’ (FRSl. 783) and *maa* ‘earth, land; country, area, countryside’ (FRSl. 353). For more details on the correspondence between Russian *Ил-* and Finnish *ylä-* see MATVEEV 2001: 85–86. It is not surprising that in the toponymy of northern Russia, the afore-mentioned term is used mainly for naming depressions since a depression or deep valley is a place between two heights and the term could have been applied originally to an entire locality.

Кивинит, hayfield (Bab.) ~ Olon. *kiviniittü* ‘stony meadow’ (MAKAROV 145). The other name of the hayfield used in parallel is **Каменная Пожня** ‘stony stubble-field’ and this can be considered a literal translation from the Finnic original.

Маселга, high dry place in a forest, hills (Ples.), **Маселга (Масельга)**, village (Karg.), **Масельга**, hayfield (Vyt.), field (On.) ~ Kar. *moanselgä*, Olon. *moanselgü*, *muanselgü* ‘ridge; boundary between water systems’, Fin. *maanselkä* ‘mountain ridge; range of hillocks dividing water systems’ (MM 60), Fin. *maaselkä* ‘heights’ (KALIMA 163). This complex lexeme derives from the Kar. *moa*, *mua*, Fin. *maa* ‘earth, soil; area, locality; field’ (MM 60) and the Kar. *selgä*, Olon. *selgü* ‘ridge, heights, hillock, hill’, Fin. *selkä* ‘ridge, range of hills’ (MM 86).

Палом, hayfield (N’and.) ~ Olon. *palomua* ‘burnt-down area’ (MAKAROV 254) < Olon. *palo* ‘burnt-down area, clearing made by burning’ (MAKAROV 254) and *mua* ‘earth, soil; field; plot’ (MAKAROV 209).



Самалсы, hayfield (Karg.) ~ Olon., Fin. *sammalsuo* ‘mossy marsh’ (MAKAROV 325; FRSl. 547) < Olon., Fin. *sammal* ‘moss’ (MAKAROV 325;

FRSl. 547) and *suo* ‘marsh’ (МАКАРОВ 350; FRSl. 593). The change in the ending of the word is a result of Russian adaptation: geographical terms are rather frequent in their plural forms in Russian toponymy. In this case, the plural is indicated by the *-ы* marker.

Чурома, village (Bel.), **Чурома (Чуромы)**, field (Vyt.) ~ Veps *čuruma*, Olon. *čuwrumua* ‘sandy soil’ (ZM 66; МАКАРОВ 40), derived from Veps *čuru*, Olon. *čuwru* ‘pebble, large grain sand; grit’ (ZM 66; МАКАРОВ 40) and Veps *ma*, Olon. *mua* ‘earth, soil; land, field, plot’ (ZM 313; МАКАРОВ 209). This independent use of the term in the toponymy of northern Russia suggests that the meaning of the word comprises the semantics of quality as well as referring to a place. Thus, the initial meaning of the toponym can be reconstructed as ‘place with sandy soil’.

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Taking everything in the consideration, the etymological correspondences discussed above make it possible to suppose that the substratum toponyms and the Russian dialectal lexemes derived from Finnic geographical terms are attested, with a few exceptions, in the western, north-western, western and central regions of northern Russia, which means that they are common in the zone in which Finnic toponymic types are widespread.

From a morphological point of view, it is noteworthy that these terms frequently occur in their plural forms, especially when the semantics of the initial appellative is different from the object(s) it refers to. In Russian, pluralisation is one of the most elaborate ways the geographical terms function in the toponymy. This leads us to the conclusion that many Finnic geographical terms underlying the toponyms, and not attested in the present-day Russian dialectal appellative lexicon, used to be current in Russian dialects and were first borrowed as appellatives.

The phonetic shapes of the borrowings demonstrate both a variety of origins and a possible emergence of phonetically similar toponyms and lexemes from different sources.

Abbreviations

Districts of administration in Arkhangelsk Region		Districts of administration in Vologda Region	
Kholm.	Kholmogorskaya	Bab.	Babaevo
K.-B.	Krasnoborsk	Babush.	Babushkin
Karg.	Kargopol'	Bel.	Beloozero
Kon.	Konosha	Chag.	Chagodoshchenskij
Kotl.	Kotlas	Cherep.	Cherepovets
Len.	Lensk	Gryaz.	Gryazovets
Lesh.	Leshukonskoe	K.-G.	Kichmengskij Gorodok
Mez.	Mezen'	Kad.	Kaduj
Nyand.	Nyandoma	Kir.	Kirillovskoe
On.	Onega	Nyuks.	Nyuksenitsa
Pin.	Pinega	Sok.	Sokol
Ples.	Pleseck	Tarn.	Tarnogskij Gorodok
Prim.	Primorsk	Tot.	Tot'ma
Shenk.	Shenkur	Ustyuzh.	Ustyuzhna
Ust.	Ustje	Vashk.	Vashka
V.-T.	Verkhnyaya Tojma	Vyt.	Vytegra
Vel'.	Vel'sk		
Vil.	Vilegodsk		
Vin.	Vinogradovo		

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