

A Comparison of Naming Practices in Eastern and Western Finland in Late 16th Century¹

Unni Leino² / Pietari Uv³

Abstract

It is well known that there were clear differences between the naming practices in Eastern and Western Finland during the medieval / early modern period. However, studies have generally focussed on data from one of these regions, mainly in order to be able to do an in-depth analysis. This study aims to be explicitly comparative, by taking a set of names from each of these regions and looking at the similarities and differences between the two sets.

In order to keep the two sets comparable, the data is taken from two tax registers in the third quarter of the 16th century, one in Upper Satakunta in western Finland in 1571 and another in Savonia Minor in eastern Finland in 1562–64. This is not altogether ideal, as it is clear that tax records had specific traditions with regard to how the names were recorded and thus the names do not fully reflect the practices in the overall community. Nevertheless, it can be seen that while the given names in both registers are quite similar, the bynames show clearly that the underlying name systems differ.

Introduction

Looking back in time, it is possible to see three separate Finnish personal name systems. This division into three main systems is of course something of an oversimplification, as there is variation within each of these, and the lines between the systems are not sharp. Nevertheless, the division is useful in describing the history of personal naming in Finland.

The oldest of the three systems dates from Proto-Finnic times and reaches up to about 1300. It is usually called the Ancient or Old Finnish system, although the latter term is somewhat misleading, considering that the term Old Finnish itself refers to the phase of the language that was in use c. 1540–1820 (see e.g. Lehtikoinen–Kiuru 1989: 2). A brief overview of the system can be seen in Ainiola et al. (2012: 157–159), and in-depth reconstructions have been proposed by Forsman (1894) and Stoebe (1964). This personal name system was replaced relatively soon after the Catholic church and the incipient Swedish state spread their influence to Finland, and in the 14th century when names appear in written records more than just sporadically in Western Finland, only a handful of names are left. By the 16th century, when records from Eastern Finland are available, the ancient names have already disappeared from common use, although traces have survived in place names and surnames to the present day.

Starting from around 1200, the Ancient Finnish name system was replaced by one that is clearly a part of the medieval Scandinavian culture. In this system, a person would be given a single name at or around baptism, and this would be augmented by one or more bynames as needed. While this name system developed gradually over the centuries, as a system it continued until the start of the 20th century. Switching over to a system that consists of given and surnames was a slow process influenced both by the modernisation of the Finnish society and the rise of national consciousness in the second half of the 19th century (Mikkonen 2013, Paikkala 2004).

The bulk of the given names in the medieval system are of Christian origin and at least in Western Finland the bynames follow the practice of the rest of Scandinavia. For the most part, given names

¹ An earlier manuscript that led to this article was written for a book intended to honour the memory of Judy Gerjuoy, known as Baroness Jaelle of Armida, Argent Snail Herald Extraordinary and former Laurel Queen of Arms. Unfortunately the book never came to be; this article is nevertheless dedicated to her memory.

² Research centre PLURAL, Tampere University

³ Töllöö Härold, Drachenwald College of Heralds

appear in documents in Swedish form, although it is clear that most had separate Finnish colloquial forms. Records from the medieval period are relatively few, and most of the historical data we have is from the post-reformation period. Still, from the existing medieval records it is evident that in Finland the reformation did not bring immediate changes to the name system like it did in Central Europe.

Virtually all late medieval and 16th century given names come from a limited set of saints' names. This custom, originally started by the Catholic Church, continued after reformation: the first Lutheran breviarium (Agricola 1544) includes a calendar of saints' feasts, although these were no longer fully celebrated in the Catholic manner. Later the tradition of assigning 'name days' moved from the Church to the almanacs given out by secular authorities; currently the tradition is upheld by the Almanac Office at the University of Helsinki.

Medieval Scandinavian names were used in the context of what Ainiala et al. (2012: 129–135) call a system based on single names. That is, there was no systematic use of surnames or similar to augment the single baptismal given name. This is true at least for most of the Kingdom of Sweden – Blomqvist (1990) cites King John III in 1573: 'Here in Sweden, it has not been nor is it the general custom to use surnames or family names as in foreign countries.' However, while Western Finland was in line with the rest of the kingdom, in Eastern Finland family names were in use already in medieval times (e.g. Paikkala 2004: 110, 2007: 206). This is one argument Forsman (1894: 119–132) presents for his tentative and, to be frank, rather weak hypothesis that family names were already present (even if not mandatory) in the Ancient Finnish name system.

As in the rest of the kingdom, bynames were added to the single given name when necessary. Later on – ultimately by 1921 when the Surnames Act went in effect – many of these bynames developed into hereditary surnames, but in the second half of the 16th century the vast majority of Western Finnish bynames were still individual and could change from one document to another.

Studies on the development of the Modern Finnish personal name system acknowledge that family names were used in Eastern Finland at least in the early modern period. However, as medieval records are only available from the Western provinces the descriptions of the Medieval Finnish name system are heavily slanted in that direction. The goal of this brief study is to look at the differences between the naming practices in Eastern and Western Finland, based on the names in two 16th century administrative record books.

Data

The data comes from two sources. From Eastern Finland, I have used the 1562–64 land register of Savonia Minor (Alanen 2010, printed version 2008). From Western Finland, I have used data that originates from the 1571 silver tax register, available electronically as a part of a more general compilation of personal names from Satakunta (Suvanto 2001).

The Eastern data set covers three Savonian parishes, Sääminki, Rantasalmi and Tavinsalmi (modern Kuopio). There are 1504 persons in the set. The Western data was not as easily accessible, so I picked out only the names from the parish of Kangasala, 433 persons. While the data sets are not exactly similar, they are nevertheless close enough for a comparative study: both are administrative records that list farm owners, there is less than a decade between the two, and both have enough names in them for a representative analysis.

Since the data comes from two lists of farms and their owners, there are some limitations. First, it is impossible to tell anything about female names. The only woman in the data is Karin Hansdotter, former unwed wife of Johan, Duke of Finland (since 1568, John III of Sweden) who had been given the manor of Vääksy when the couple separated.⁴

⁴ Cohabitation seems to have relatively common in those days, so that Agricola (1549) takes half a page while introducing the marriage ceremony to speak against those who »for five or six years, or even longer, sleep together and bear bastards». John and Karin had four children but had to separate when it became politically expedient for him to marry Catherine Jagellon, sister of the King of Poland, in 1562. The eldest of these children became the mother of Count Jacob de la Gardie, later Lord High Constable of Sweden and the only Western general so far to successfully occupy Moscow (although he's more famous for spending six years occupying Novgorod); he was raised by Karin in Vääksy after being orphaned at a young age.

Second, the people in the data sets were the farm owners, that is, the wealthiest ones in their immediate neighbourhoods. It is not completely clear how close to these the names of the landless would have been, although the names in Suvanto (2001) that come from judicial records seem to indicate that there was no real difference.

Third, one should keep in mind that the data comes from land and tax registers. While this means that the two sets are comparable it also means that some of the patterns may be due to conventions of the genre of administrative records. Most notably, locative bynames are likely to be under-represented, as the records are organised by village and farm. Local name use was more varied than this data set, although – again, judging by an overview of the names collected by Suvanto (*ibid.*) – the difference is not overly massive.

Names

There are 56 different given names in the data, of which 35 appear in the Western and 51 in the Eastern corpus. Table 1 shows the names and the number and frequency of their occurrences. The table does not list actual documentary forms of the names, but instead normalised modern forms; in the case of the names found in Western Finland, these are the same as the header spellings used by Suvanto (2001). The actual documentary forms found for each of the names are listed in Appendix 1.

Name	West		East	
	#	%	#	%
Pietari	22	5,1	227	15,1
Olavi	41	9,5	176	11,7
Juho	22	5,1	144	9,6
Paavo	7	1,6	141	9,4
Lauri	32	7,4	137	9,1
Antti	12	2,8	131	8,7
Heikki	36	8,3	120	8
Matti	33	7,6	66	4,4
Niilo	8	1,8	54	3,6
Mikko	14	3,2	37	2,5
Tapani	2	0,5	31	2,1
Maunu			24	1,6
Tuomas	27	6,2	23	1,5
Martti	23	5,3	20	1,3
Erkki	21	4,8	17	1,1
Jaakko	16	3,7	16	1,1
Reko	1	0,2	14	0,9
Yrjö	5	1,2	11	0,7
Klaus			11	0,7
Pentti	2	0,5	10	0,7
Perttu	10	2,3	8	0,5
Suni			8	0,5
Sipi	25	5,8	7	0,5
Prusi	3	0,7	7	0,5
Esko	10	2,3	6	0,4
Knuut	7	1,6	6	0,4
Vilppu	2	0,5	6	0,4

Klemetti	10	2,3	5	0,3
Arvid	1	0,2	5	0,3
Simo	13	3	4	0,3
Hakuli			3	0,2
Hartikka			3	0,2
Kristoffer	1	0,2	2	0,1
[No first name]			2	0,1
Antonius			2	0,1
Egidius			2	0,1
Jesper			2	0,1
Luukas			2	0,1
Visa			2	0,1
Markku	15	3,5	1	0,1
Albrekt			1	0,1
Asko			1	0,1
Björn			1	0,1
Daavid			1	0,1
Enevald			1	0,1
Hemminki			1	0,1
Inki			1	0,1
Lattu			1	0,1
Salmund			1	0,1
Sikstus			1	0,1
Silvester			1	0,1
Dionisius	5	1,2		
Ragvald	2	0,5		
Urbanus	2	0,5		
Kaarina	1	0,2		
Mauri	1	0,2		
Rasmus	1	0,2		
Total	433		1504	
Different names	35		51	

Table 1. Given names and their occurrences in the Western and Eastern data sets.

One might expect given names to follow the so-called Zipf's law, that is, for the frequency of the n th common name to be roughly $1/n$ of the most common one (Zipf 1949: 35). As seen in Figures 1 and 2, the rare names do indeed behave in this manner, but the most common ones are much more common than expected. This is not quite as unexpected as it seems, though: as a comparison, Figure 3 shows a similar plot of Finnish boys' first names given in 2000.⁵ All in all, it would appear that Zipf's law in its original form does not adequately describe the most common personal names and this discrepancy is consistent in 16th and 21st century.

⁵ The numbers come from prior work done on names in the Finnish population register, courtesy of the Institute for the Languages of Finland.

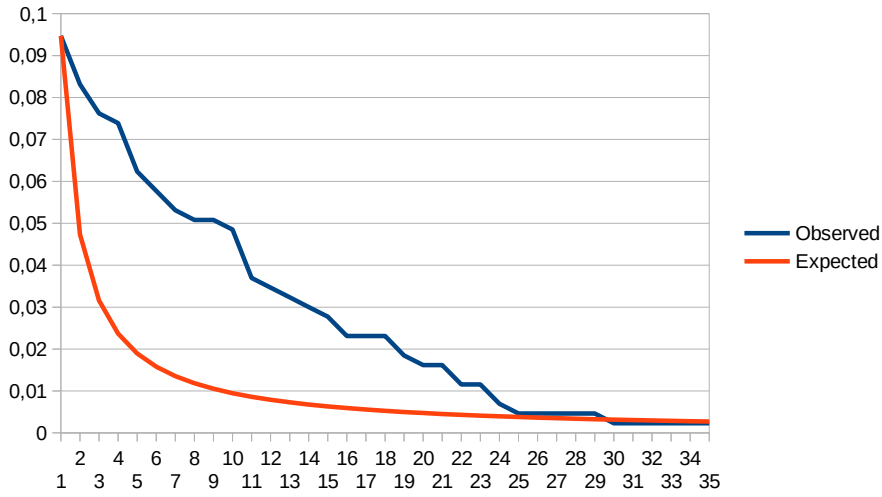


Figure 1. The observed and expected frequency of the given names in the Western Finland data set.

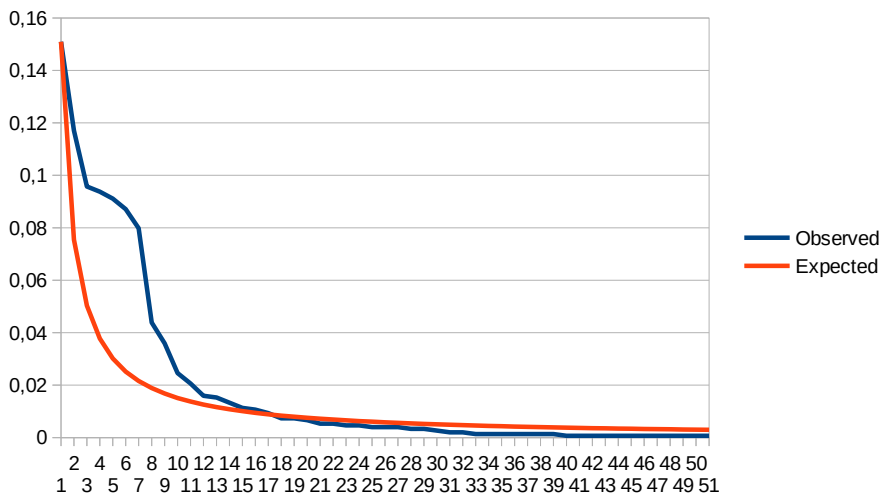


Figure 2. The observed and expected frequency of the given names in the Eastern Finland data set.

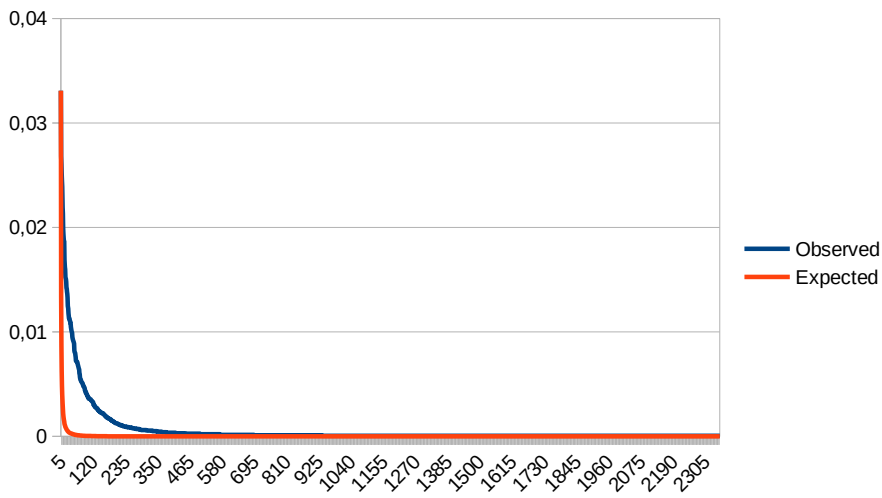


Figure 3. The observed and expected frequency of first names given to Finnish boys in 2000.

It is noteworthy that the patron saints of Scandinavia and Finland – or, at this time, the Diocese of Åbo – appear near the top of both the Eastern and Western list. *Olavi* (Suvanto’s normalised spelling of S. Olaf) is number 1 in the Western and 2 in the Eastern set; *Heikki* (or S. Henry) is number 2 in the Western and 7 in the Eastern set. One of the patron saints of Sweden, S. Erik (in Suvanto’s spelling, *Erkki*) appears somewhat later, as the 10th common name in the Western and 15th in the Eastern data set, and the other one, S. Bridget, does not appear at all because of the lack of female names in general.

There appears to be some systematic variation in the forms of individual names. Notably, the name habitually normalised by historians as *Jaakko* appears exclusively as *Jacob* in the western data set. In the east, however, it is most commonly recorded as variants of *Kauppi*, dropping the first syllable. Similarly, the name normalised as *Juho* is recorded as *Jon* / *Jons* / *Jöns* in the west, missing the second syllable of the original *Johannes*. This is a common Swedish practice, while the Eastern data set has several examples of *Hans*, a German-style variant that has lost the first syllable. Both of these can be seen in patronymic bynames as well.

Two persons in the Eastern data set appear without a clear given name: one is listed as *Vanha Talonpoica* (‘The Old Farmer / Peasant’), another, *Hiffua Jerffueleinen*, appears to be listed under a descriptive byname (*Hiiva* here likely ‘Drunkard’ or ‘Devil’)⁶ followed by a family name, although Mikkonen and Paikkala (1984 s.n. *Hiiva*) ponder whether this particular entry is a nickname or a local spelling of the German given name *Hiva*, as has been suggested.

All in all, the given names seem to have been rather similar in Eastern and Western Finland. With bynames, however, there are significant differences. Table 2 lists the different types of bynames; original spellings of these, sorted under modernised spellings, are in Appendices 2–5. In the table, ‘family names’ is used as a shorthand for surnames ending with the suffix *-nen*, still a very common type of family names. Some of the names listed as ‘other bynames’ in both corpora are likely to have been hereditary as well, although as this category is rather small the numbers as shown in the table give an adequate general picture of the two naming systems: less than 2 % of the people listed in either corpus have a byname that is neither locative, patronymic or a family name, and in the Eastern Finland one just under 90 % have a family name.

Type	West		East	
	#	%	#	%
Patronymic byname	385	88,9	366	24,3
Family name	2	0,5	1315	87,4
Locative byname	33	7,6		
Other byname	12	2,8	29	1,9
Patronymic + family name	1	0,2	247	16,4
Patronymic + other byname	1	0,2	3	0,2
Patronymic + locative byname	8	1,8		
Locative + other byname	1	0,2		
Family name + other byname			4	0,3
Given name only	12	2,8	48	3,2
Single byname	410	94,7	1202	79,9
Multiple bynames	11	2,5	254	16,9
Total individuals	433		1504	

Table 2. Different types of bynames, their absolute numbers and frequencies in the two corpora.

The overwhelming majority of the Savonian family names follow a pattern that has survived to

⁶ In modern Finnish, *hiiva* means ‘yeast’, but in this period and cultural environment the meaning would have been ‘hops’ instead. Alternatively, the byname may be related to the word *hiisi*, originally used before Christianity for cult places but later acquiring a meaning of ‘devil’.

the present day. The typical family name has the suffix *-nen* added to a base word that can be, once one digs far enough, be traced to an old personal name or in some cases an animal name;⁷ according to Paikkala (2007: 206–7) it is unclear whether the latter have originated from the byname of an eponymous ancestor, a house name, or a totem name.

Some of the personal names embedded in family names are very old, like *Ihalempinen* < **Ihalempi*, hypothesised as a Proto-Finnic personal name by Stoebe (1964). On the other hand, some personal names are also clearly Christian in origin, like *Heikkinen* < *Heikki*, the most common Finnish variant of *Henry*. This raises the possibility that the *-nen* type of family names was productive for a long time,⁸ and Fosman (1894) suggests that they may have already been a part of the Ancient Finnish name system. However, ancient given names survived in the west as bynames that were sporadically inherited, and it is at least as plausible to suggest that in the east similar bynames developed into fully-formed family names in medieval times.

Locative bynames are rare in the Western corpus and do not appear at all in the Eastern one. This is likely due to the nature of the corpora: as tax records are organised by village and farm, using village or farm names as bynames is redundant. Where locative bynames appear they fall into four categories, of which by far the most common is to use the farm or village name as it is, in the nominative case: *Matz Häkärä*. While most of the locative byname fall into this category, it seems likely that this is a scribal usage that is not necessarily in line with how the people used the names.

A less frequent way to form locative bynames is to derive an adjective from the toponym: *Jons Doliaininen* from a farm name that Suvanto has normalised as *Toljola* and that appears as *Tolja* in the 1565–71 church tax records.⁹ Yet another way to form a byname is to use the toponym in the genitive case: *Oleff Pohjalahden* (< *Pohjalahhti*).¹⁰ Finally, it is possible to form a locative byname as if it was a patronymic: *Oleff Hinckasson* (‘son of Hinkka’ < *Hinkka* / *Hinkkala*).

The bynames categorised as ‘other’ are a somewhat mixed lot, as can be expected, and many are more or less opaque as to their origin. Some can be seen as occupational, like *Seppä* (‘Smith’, with one of the two occurrences recorded in Finnish as *Seppä* and the other translated into Swedish as *Smedh*); some appear to be descriptive, like *Suripä* (*Suuripää* ‘Big-head’), some are animal names, like *korppi* (*Korppi* ‘Raven’), and some ancient Finnish personal names, like *Kaukapäivä* (*Kaukapäivä*). An interesting case is *Wähäpy* (*Vähäpyy* ‘Little Grouse’): Suvanto (2001) also lists the byname *Pyy* (‘Grouse’) in the prior generation and *Isoipy* (*Isopyy* ‘Big Grouse’), attached to the same given name but on a neighbouring farm in 1567. It is not clear from the surviving documents whether the bynames *Vähäpyy* and *Isopyy* refer to the same person or if this is a way to differentiate between two people who share the same given name and inherited byname.

As can be seen from the table, the bynames in two regions are quite different. In the Western Finland corpus, the vast majority of the people mentioned have a given name and a byname listed; in the Eastern Finland corpus, family names are used to a similar extent, although in a large number of cases with patronymics as well.

Conclusions

There is a clear difference in the naming systems in Eastern and Western Finland: in the West, as in the Swedish-speaking part of the kingdom, people used a single given name and added a byname – most

7 There are also half a dozen family names like *Hämäläinen* ‘Tavastian’ that appear to follow this type but on the other hand are also regular adjectives derived from a place name. In this study they are listed among the *-nen* type family names, as they are consistently used as such in parish registers kept since late 17th century.

8 In fact, the *-nen* construction is still productive to some extent, and Paikkala (2004) shows how a new subtype developed in the second half of the 19th century. In the new *Virtanen* type, the base word is an appellative nature term, as opposed to the proper names in the older *-nen* type family names. Some of the old family names are still widely used, too, to the extent that a few years ago *Korhonen*, seen also in this corpus, displaced *Virtanen* as the most common Finnish family name.

9 The *D* vs. *T* in the name is a matter of orthographic variation.

10 Here, the word order is likely influenced by documentary practices. In the vernacular, bynames like this would likely have appeared in front of the given name; Joalaid (2014) notes that this is a common Finnic word order and goes on to suggest that it may have Finno-Ugric roots.

commonly a patronymic – when necessary. In the East, on the other hand, most people used a family name in addition to their given name, although it was relatively common to augment these with a patronymic.

While it has been known that family names were already in use in Savonia in the 16th century, the extent to which this happened is slightly unexpected. In this data, family names were used by almost 90 % of the people listed, the overwhelming majority being of the *-nen* type. On the other hand, surnames appear to have been very rare in Western Finland. Some of the ‘other’ bynames were clearly hereditary: Suvanto (2001) cites also older records, and in three cases a non-locative byname appears for two or even three generations. However, as seen from the *Pyy / Isoipy / Wehäpy* case, such inherited bynames could when necessary be modified in ways that fully-formed family names would not be.

The difference can have its roots in cultural differences, most notably the different styles of agriculture. In Western Finland, agriculture was based on well-established villages and farms and continuously farmed fields, while in Eastern Finland slash-and-burn farming was the norm. This meant that people in the East could not be identified by their home farm in the same sense than those in the West, and instead developed family names that were for the most part derived from personal names.

On the other hand, it is also possible that the Western name system was a more direct cultural loan from the Swedish-speaking part of the kingdom while the Eastern system had retained more of the ancient Finnish practice. Even under this interpretation, however, it is clear that the Eastern family names had lost a lot of their patronymic origin and developed into a category of hereditary family names that could in some cases be formed from locative bynames, especially ones that fit the morpho-phonological pattern.

In any case there is a clear difference between the naming practices in the Western and Eastern corpora. There is some overlap, as can be expected, but all in all the differences are sufficient to consider late medieval Finland as having had two distinct, although closely related, naming systems.

References

- Agricola, Mikael. 1544. *Rucouskiria Bibliasta, se on, molemista Testamentista, Messuramatusta, ja muusta monesta, jotka toysella polella Luetellan* (‘Prayer Book of the Bible, that is, from both Testaments, the Missal, and many other sources listed hereafter’). Stockholm. Facsimile edition, Porvoo 1987, ISBN 951-0-13901-7.
- 1549. *Käsikiria Castesta ia muista Christikunnan Menoista* (‘Manual of Baptism and other Rites of Christendom’). Stockholm. Facsimile edition, Porvoo 1987, ISBN 951-0-13904-1.
- Ainiala, Terhi – Saarelna, Minna – Sjöblom, Paula. 2012. *Names in Focus. An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*. Studia Fennica Linguistica 17. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. ISBN 978-952-222-387-6.
- Alanen, Timo. 2010. *Pien-Savon pohjoisosan maantarkastusluettelo vuosilta 1562–1564* (‘The land register of Savonia Minor in 1562–1564’). Institute for the Languages of Finland, Helsinki. ISBN 978-952-5446-62-3. <http://scripta.kotus.fi/www/verkkojulkaisut/julk19/>
- Blomqvist, Marianne. 1990. ‘Swedish Family Names in Finland’. In Heikki Leskinen – Eero Kiviniemi (ed.), *Finnish Onomastics – Namenkunde in Finnland*, Studia Fennica 34, p. 130–140. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. ISBN 951-717-605-8.
- Forsman, A. V. 1894. *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla I* (‘Studies in personal names of the Finnish people’). Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Joalaid, Marje. 2014. ‘Balto-Finnic Personal Name Systems’. In Carole Hough – Daria Izdebska (ed.), *Names and Their Environment. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25-29 August 2014. Volume 3, Anthroponomastics*, p. 123–130. https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/newsandevents/archivedconferences/headline_649145_en.html
- Lehikoinen, Laila – Kiuru, Silva. 1989. *Kirjasuomen kehitys* (‘The development of written Finnish’). University of Helsinki Department of Finnish. ISBN 951-45-5073-0.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo. 2013. “Otti oikean sukunimen”. *Vuosina 1850–1921 otettujen sukunimien taustat* (‘“He took a real surname.” The backgrounds of Finnish surnames adopted between 1850 and 1921’).

- Ph.D. thesis, University of Helsinki.
- Mikkonen, Pirjo – Paikkala, Sirkka. 1984. *Sukunimet* ('Family names'). In *Suomalainen nimikirja* ('Finnish name book'), Suomen kielen sanakirjat 6, p. 227–925. Otava, Helsinki. ISBN 951-1-07227-7.
- Paikkala, Sirkka. 2004. *Se tavallinen Virtanen. Suomalaisen sukunimikäytännön modernisoituminen 1850-luvulta vuoteen 1921* ('The ordinary Virtanen. The modernisation of the Finnish surname practices from the 1850s to 1921'). Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 959. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. ISBN 951-746-567-X.
- 2007. 'Das finnische Personennamensystem' ('The Finnish personal name system'). In Andrea Brendler – Silvio Brendler (ed.), *Europäische Personennamensysteme* ('European personal name systems'), Lehr- und Handbücher zur Onomastik 2, p. 200–214. Baar-Verlag, Hamburg. ISBN 978-3-935536-65-3.
- Stoebke, Detlef-Eckhard. 1964. *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems* ('The old Finnic personal names in the context of a Proto-Finnic name system'). Leibniz-Verlag, Hamburg.
- Suvanto, Seppo. 2001. *Vanhan Satakunnan henkilötiedosto 1303–1571* ('The person data base of old Satakunta 1303–1571'). National Archives of Finland, Helsinki. <http://www.narc.fi/suvanto/>
- Zipf, George Kingsley. 1949. *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort. An Introduction to Human Ecology*. Hafner, New York and London. Facsimile edition, 1965.

Appendix 1: Given names in both corpora

Normalised	Actual	East	West
Albrekt	Albrecht	1	
Antonius	Tönnös	1	
	Töns	1	
Antti	anders	1	
	Anders	128	12
	Antti	2	
Arvid	Arffued	2	
	Arfued	1	
	Arfuedh	1	
	Arfwidh	1	
	Arwed		1
Asko	Asko	1	
Björn	Biörnn	1	
Daavid	Dawidh	1	
Dionisius	Dionisius		1
	Nisius		4
Egidius	Egidius	2	
Enevald	Einewaldh	1	
Erkki	Erich	4	16
	Erick	7	5
	Erih	2	
	Erik	4	
Esko	Eschel		1
	Eschil		2
	Eshell	1	
	Eskel		1
	Eskell	2	
	Eskil		2
	Eskill	3	4
Hakuli	Hackuli	2	
	Hakuli	1	
Hartikka	Hartticka	1	
	Hartuick	1	
	Hartwigh	1	
Heikki	heiki	1	
	Hen.		28
	Hendich	6	
	Hendrich	48	6
	Hendrick		1
	hendrih	1	
	Hendrih	4	
	Henrich	9	
	Henrick		1
	hindrich	2	
	Hindrich	9	
	hindrih	12	
	Hindrih	27	
	hinrih	1	
Hemminki	Hemmingh	1	

Inki	Ingi	1	
Jaakko	Caupi	7	
	Cauppi	5	
	jacob	1	
	Jacob	1	16
	Jacop	2	
Jesper	Jesper	2	
Juho	Hannnus	1	
	hans	3	
	Hans	33	
	Ichennus	1	
	Ihannus	4	
	Ihanus	4	
	ioan	1	
	Jahan	3	
	Jhanus	1	
	Joahan	1	
	Joan	34	
	Joann	21	
	Joen	1	
	Johan	27	
	Johann	3	
	Jon		1
	Jons	5	19
	Jöns	1	1
	Jonss		1
	Kaarina	Karin	
Klaus	Claes	1	
	Clas	2	
	Claus	3	
	Clauus	1	
	Nicko	2	
	Nicolas	2	
	Klemetti	Clemet	
	Clemett	5	1
Knuut	Knut	1	6
	Knutt	5	1
Kristoffer	Christoffer		1
	Cristofer	2	
Lattu	Lattu	1	
Lauri	Lars	12	1
	Larss	2	
	Las	2	
	Lass	1	
	Lasse	67	31
	Lassi	1	
	Laur	25	
	Lauri	13	
	Laurij	10	
	laurj	1	
	Lawr	2	
	Lawri	1	
	Luukas	Luckas	2
Markku	Marcus		15
	Markus	1	

Martti	Mårthen	14	13	
	Mårthenn	1		
	Morthen	4	10	
	Morthin	1		
Matti	Madz		12	
	Math		1	
	Mattz	29		
	Matz	37	20	
Maunu	Mångs	12		
	Mångz	4		
	Måns	5		
	Mons	3		
Mauri	Mauritius		1	
Mikko	Mekill	1		
	Michel		14	
	Michell	26		
	Michill	6		
	Mickill	2		
	Mikell	2		
	Niilo	Niells	1	
	Nilis		1	
	Nills	28	6	
	Nillss	1	1	
	Nils	23		
	Nilss	1		
Olavi	Olaf	1		
	Olaff	1		
	Olef	14	1	
	Oleff	86	26	
	Ollef	1		
	Olli	3		
	ollj	2		
	Ollj	1		
	Olof	3		
	Oloff	1		
	Oluf	55		
	Oluff	8	14	
	Paavo	Påål	3	
		Pååll	46	
		Påffual	1	
Påffuall		3		
Påfual		7		
Påfuall		28		
Påfuell		1		
Pål		4		
Påll		45		
Påual			5	
Påuall		1		
Påuel			2	
Påwall		1		
Påwell		1		
Pentti		Bengt	3	1
	Bengt	7	1	
Perttu	Bertil		5	
	Bertill	8	5	

Pietari	Peer	93	
	Per	129	22
	Perr	3	
	Pers	1	
	Peter	1	
Prusi	Ambrosius		2
	Brusius		1
	Rossi	7	
Ragvald	Rawald		2
Rasmus	Rasmus		1
Reko	Greells	1	
	Gregers		1
	grells	1	
	Grells	4	
	Grels	8	
Salmund	Salmundh	1	
Sikstus	Sixtus	1	
Silvester	Sillfwester	1	
Simo	Simon	4	13
Sipi	Siffred		2
	Sigffred		5
	Sigfred	2	18
	Sigfredh	4	
	Sigred	1	
Suni	Suni	4	
	Sunij	1	
	Swni	3	
Tapani	Staffan	31	2
Tuomas	Tho.		1
	Thom.		1
	thomas	1	
	Thomas	21	24
	Thomass	1	
Urbanus	Thommas		1
	Urbanus		1
	Vrbanus		1
Vilppu	Ph:us		1
	Philippus		1
	Philphus	1	
	Philpus	5	
Visa	Visa	1	
	Wisa	1	
Yrjö	Jören	5	3
	Jörenn	5	
	Jörien		2
	Jörnn	1	

Appendix 2: Patronymic bynames in both corpora

Normalised	Actual	East	West
Antinpoika	An.sson		1
	Anderson	1	
	andersson	10	
	Andersson	31	16
Arvidinpoika	Arffuedsson	1	
	arfwidsson	1	
	Aruidzsson		1
	Arwedzon		1
	Arwedzson		1
Augustuksenpoika	Agusson		1
Björnipoika	Biörsson	1	
Dominicuksenpoika	Dominicusson		1
Einariipoika	Eijnerinpoica	1	
	Einerinpoica	1	
Erkinpoika	Erichson		1
	Erichsson		1
	Erici		1
	Ericksson	1	12
	Eriksson		1
	Ersson		10
Eskonpoika	Eskelsson		2
	Eskillsson		2
	Eskilsson		2
Fransinpoika	Fransson		1
	Franszon		1
	Frantzson		2
Gudmundinpoika	Gudmundzsson		1
Hartikanpoika	harttuickson	1	
Heikinpoika	Hen.		3
	Hen.son		2
	Hen:sson		1
	Hen:sson		20
	Hen.sson		9
	hendersson	3	
	Hendersson	12	17
	Hendrichsson		1
	Henrichsson		1
	Henricksson		3
	Henson		1
	Hensson		1
	hinderson	3	
	hindersson	7	
	Hindersson	5	
hindreson	1		
Hemminginpoika	Hemingsson		2
Jaakonpoika	Caupinpoica	1	
	Jacobsson		4
Juhonpoika	Jopsson	1	
	hansson	1	
	Hansson	5	

	Ihanuxenpoica	1	
	Ionsson		1
	Jahansson	1	
	Joansson	8	
	Johansson	2	
	Jonnsson	1	
	Jonsson	7	34
	Josson		1
	Jönson	1	
	Jönsson	1	
Kaarlenpoika	Karlesson		2
	Karlsson		1
Klemetinpoika	Clemetsson		1
	Clemetzon		1
	Clettson		1
Knuutinpoika	Knutsson	1	2
	Knuttsson	1	
	Knutzson		3
Laurinpoika	Larson	2	
	larsson	1	
	Larsson	28	48
	Larssonn		1
	Lassesson		1
Leskenpoika	Leskenpoica	1	
Luukkaanpoika	Lucasson		2
	Lwcasson		1
Markunpoika	Marcusson		4
	Markusson	1	
Martinpoika	Mårtensson	1	
	Märthensson	1	3
	Mårttensson		1
	Morthensson	2	1
	Morthinsson	1	
Matinpoika	Madzsson		9
	Madzssonn		1
	Masson	2	
	Matsson	4	
	Mattsson	6	
	Mattzsson	1	
	Matzson	2	11
	Matzsson	6	1
Maununpoika	Månsson	4	
Mikonpoika	Michelson	2	
	Michelsson	4	9
	Michillsson	3	
?	Murssonn	1	
Niilonpoika	Nielson	1	
	Nilisson		2
	Nillsson	6	
	Nilsson	5	18
Olavinpoika	Oleffsson	1	
Olavinpoika	Olefson	1	
	Oleffson	1	
	ollsson	1	
	Ollsson		1

	Ollufsson	1	
	Olsson	20	25
	Oluffson		3
	olufson	4	
	Olufson		8
	Olufsonn		1
	olufsson	8	
	Olufsson	6	
	Plufzsson	1	
Paavonpoika	Palsson	1	
	Pollsson	1	
	Pällson	1	
	Pällsson	8	
	pålsson	1	
	Pålsson	20	
	Påuelsson		1
	Påällsson	2	
Pentinpoika	Bengtsson	1	
Pertunpoika	Bertilsson		1
	Bertilsson	2	2
Pietarinpoika	Peersson	5	
	Person	2	
	Persson	48	26
	Perssonn	1	
Prusinpoika	Ambrosiusson		1
	Brusiusson		2
Ragvaldinpoika	Rawaldson		1
	Rawaldzson		1
Rekonpoika	Grelsson	3	
Sakeuksenpoika	Zacheusson		1
Silvesterinpoika	Siluestersson		2
Simonpoika	Simonsson	1	
Sipinpoika	Sigffredsson		3
	Sigfredsson	2	
	Sigfredzson		4
	Sigfridsson	1	
Suninpoika	Suinsson	1	
	Suinpoica	1	
	Sunisson	2	
Sveninpoika	Suinsson	1	
Tapaninpoika	Staffanson	1	
	Staffansson	8	3
Tordinpoika	Tordzson		1
Tuomaanpoika	Tho:sson		2
	Thomasson	1	10
Vilhonpoika	Wilhoi	1	
Vilpunpoika	Philpusson	2	
Vincentiuksenpoika	Hingasson		1
	Willi		1
Visanpoika	Visanpoica	1	
	wisanpoica	2	
	Wisanpoica	1	
Yrjönpoika	Jörenson	1	
	Jörensson	2	

Appendix 3: Eastern family names

Normalised	Actual	Count
Ahonen	ahoinen	1
Airikainen	Aijrikainen	4
Anttonen	Anttoijnenn	1
	asiainen	1
	Asikain	4
	asikainen	1
	Asikainen	6
	asikains	1
	Assickain	1
	Assickainen	5
	Assikainen	1
Auvinen	Auffuinen	2
	Auffuoinen	1
Eronen	Eroinenn	2
Eskelinen	Eskelinen	1
Haajanen	Haians	1
Haapalainen	hapalainen	1
	Hapalainen	1
Haatainen	hatain	1
	Hatainen	4
Hakkarainen	Hackarainen	6
Hakulinen	ha[ku]lin	1
	hackulinen	4
	Hackulinen	4
	Hakulinen	5
	Hakulinenn	1
Hallikainen	hallikainen	1
Halonen	haloinen	3
	Haloinen	4
	haloinenn	1
Halssinen	hallssinen	1
Halttunen	Hakulinen	1
	hallttuinen	1
	hallttuinen	2
	halltuinen	1
	halttuinen	1
	haltuin	1
	Haltuinen	1
Halvartinen	Halffuardinen	1
Hamunen	Hamuinen	4
Hanniksinen	hannixeinen	1
Harmainen	harmainen	1
	Harmainen	2
Hartikainen	Hardikainenn	1
	Hartwick	2
Hasunen	Hasuinen	1
Hatsonen	hatzoinen	1
Haukkanen	Hauckain	1
	Hauckainen	1
	Hauckainenn	1
	hauckain	2

Haverinen	haffuerinen	1
	Haffuerinen	1
	Hafwerinen	1
Heikkinen	heickieinen	1
	Heickieinen	2
	heickinen	1
	Heickinen	4
	Heikeinen	1
	Heikieinen	1
Heikkurinen	heickurinen	1
	Heijckurinen	1
	Heijkurinen	4
Heinonen	Haltuinen	1
	Heijnonen	10
	Heinoins	1
Heinonen or	Heijnonen eller	
Pärnäinen	Perneinen	2
Heiskanen	heiskain	1
	heiskainen	4
Herttuainen	Hertuaijnen	1
	Herttuainen	1
Hiironen	Hiroinen	1
Hiitinen	hijtinen	1
Hiivoinen	Hijffuoinen	1
	hijfuoinen	1
Hilskoinen	hilskoinen	1
Hiltunen	hilduinen	1
	hillduins	1
	hiltoinen	2
	hilttoinen	1
	Hiltuinen	2
Hinnoinen	Hinnoin	1
Hintsanen	Hintzainen	2
Hirvonen	Hirffuoinen	2
	hirfuoinen	1
Holopainen	holopain	1
	holopainen	2
	Holopainen	1
Hujanen	Huiainen	1
Hulkkonen	Hulckoinen	1
Huovinen	hofuinen	1
	Hofuinen	1
Huttunen	huttuin	1
	huttuinen	1
	Huttuinen	1
Huuhkainen	Huhkainen	1
Hyppönen	Hijppöin	3
Hyttinen	hyttinen	2
Hyvärinen	hijffuerinen	1
	Hijffuerinen	6
	hijfuerinen	1
	Hyfuärinen	2
	hyfwerinen	1
Hyvönen	Hijffuoinen	2
	hijfuöinen	1
	hyfuinen	1

	hyfuoinen	1
	Höffuoinen	2
Häkkinen	häckinen	1
Hämäläinen	hämäleinen	1
	Hämäläin	1
Härskänen	härskän	1
Häyrinen	häyfrinen	1
Höppönen	Höppöinen	1
Ihalempinen	Ihalembinen	2
Ikonen	Ikoinen	6
Ikäheimonen	Ikeheimans	1
	Ikeheimoinen	3
	Ikeheimonen	5
	Ikeimoinen	3
	Ikäheimonen	5
Iloinen	Iloinen	1
Immonen	Immoin	2
	Immoinen	4
	Immonen	1
Issakainen	Issakain	2
	Issakainen	2
Itkonen	Itkoinen	1
Jaatinen	Jaatinen	1
	Jatin	1
	Jatinen	3
	Jatinenn	1
Jakonen	Jakoinenn	3
Jokelainen	Jokelainen	1
Julkkonen	Julckoinen	1
Julkunen	Julkoinen	1
Jurvakainen	Jurffuakainen	1
Jurvanen	Jurffuainen	3
Juutinen	Jwttinen	1
Juvonen	Juffuoinen	5
	Jufwoinen	1
	Jwffwoin	1
	Jwfuoinen	2
Järveläinen	Jerffueleinen	5
Jääskeläinen	Jaskeleinen	2
	Jeskeleinen	4
Kaakinen	Kackinen	1
Kaartinen	kardinen	3
	Kardinen	5
	kardinenn	1
	Kardinenn	1
Kaasinen	Kasinen	1
Kaikkonen	Kaijkoinen	2
Kaipoinen	Kaijpoinen	3
Kairoinen	Kaijroinen	1
Kakkinen	Kackinen	3
Kallinen	Kallinn	1
Kammonen	kammoinen	1
	Kammoinen	5
Kankkunen	Kanckuinen	3
Kanrattinen	Canraettinen	1

Kantanen	Kandainen	3
Karhunen	karhuinen	1
	Karhuinen	6
Karinen	Karinen	1
Karjalainen	karialainen	1
	Karialainen	1
Karjunen	Kariuinen	2
Karkinen	Karkinenn	2
Karppanen	Carpainen	1
	karpainen	1
	Karpainen	2
Karppinen	karpinen	1
	Karpinen	1
	Karpinenn	1
	Karppinen	3
Karvinen	Karffinen	1
	Karffuinen	5
	karfuenen	1
	Karfuinen	1
Kassoinen	Kasszoinen	1
Kaukonen	Caukoin	1
	Caukoinen	1
	Kauckoinen	1
Kauppinen	Caupinen	3
	Cauppinen	3
	kaupin[en]	1
Keinonen	Keinoinen	1
Kekkonen	keckoinen	2
	Keckoinen	3
	Kekoinen	1
Kelkkanen	Kelckainen	3
Kemppinen	Kempinen	1
Kerminen	kerminen	1
Kervinen	Kerffuinen	7
	kerffwinen	1
Keskinen	Keskinen	1
Kesonen	Kesoinen	1
Kettunen	kettuinen	1
	Kettuinen	3
Kietäväinen	Keteueinen	8
	Ketäueinen	3
Kiiskinen	Kiskinen	4
Kiljunen	Kilioinen	1
	kiliunen	1
	Kiliunen	4
Kilpeläinen	Kilpeleinen	1
Kinanen	kinainen	2
Kinnunen	kinnoinen	6
	Kinnoinen	11
	Kinnuinen	1
	kinnunen	1
Kissanen	Kissainen	1
Kitunen	Kituinen	5
Kohonen	Kohoinen	1
Koikkalainen	Koijkkalainen	1

Koistinen	Koistinen	3
Kokkonen	Kockoinen	2
Kolehmainen	Colemainen	1
	kolemainen	3
	Kolemainen	9
Koljonen	Kolioinen	2
Kommonen	Comoinen	1
	komoinen	1
	Komoinenn	1
Kompinen	kombinen	1
Konttinen	[Kondiainen]	1
	Condiainen	6
Koponen	Kondiainen	5
	kopoinen	3
	Kopoinen	9
	Koponen	1
Korhonen	Koppoin[en]	1
	korhoin	1
	korhoinen	1
	Korhoinen	7
Kosonen	Kosoinen	4
	Kossoinen	2
Kotilainen	Kotilainen	5
Kuhkelinen	kuhkelinen	1
Kuivalainen	Kuiffualainen	3
	kuifwalainen	1
Kukkonen	Cuckoinen	1
	Kuckoinen	3
	kuckoinenn	1
Kumarainen	Kumareinen	2
Kuminainen	Kuminainen	2
Kuokkanen	Kockainen	1
Kuosmanen	[Cossmainen]	1
	Cossmainen	3
	Kossmainen	1
Kurikainen	kurikainen	2
	Kurikainen	1
Kurkinen	Kurckinen	4
	Kurkinen	2
Kuronen	kuroinen	1
	Kuroinen	8
	Kuroinenn	1
Kuvanen	Kuffuainen	1
Kuvonen	Kuffuoinen	1
Kyllönen	Kyllöinen	3
Kähkönen	Kechkoinen	2
	kehröinen	1
	Kehköinen	1
	Kächköinen	3
Käkönen	käköinen	1
Kämäräinen	Kemereinen	1
Kärkkäinen	karakainen	1
	kerckeheinen	1
	Kerkein	1
	Kerkäheinen	1

	Kärckäinen	2
Käyhkönen	keukoinen	1
Kääriäinen	Käriäinen	1
Könönen	Könönen	1
Laakkonen	Lakoinen	1
Laamanen	Lamainen	5
	Lamainenn	1
Laitinen	lajtinen	3
	Lajtinen	2
	lajtins	1
	Lajttinen	2
	Laitinenn	1
Lappalainen	Lappalain	3
	lappalainen	1
	Lappalainen	8
Lapveteläinen	lapueteleinen	2
	Lapueteleinen	1
Lattunen	Lattuinen	2
Laukkanen	Laukainen	1
	Lawkainen	1
Launitsainen	Launitzainen	2
Launonen	Launoinen	1
	Launonen	1
Lehtonen	Lehtoinen	1
Lehvoinen	Lehffuoinen	1
Leinäkäinen	Leinäkeinen	1
Lemettinen	Lemmettijnn	1
Lemmittyinen	Lemmittyinen	1
Lempivalkonen	Lempiwalckoinen	1
Lentonen	Lendoinen	1
Leppänen	leppeinen	1
	Leppeinen	1
	Leppäinen	2
Leskinen	leskinen	8
	Leskinen	13
	Leskinenn	1
Levonen	leffuoinen	1
	lefuoinen	1
Liikanen	Lickainen	3
	lijkainen	1
Liimatainen	Limatainen	1
	Limattainen	2
Lintunen	Lindoinen	2
Lipponen	Lippoinen	3
Lukkarinen	Luckarinen	3
Luostarinen	Lostarinen	7
	Låstarinen	5
Luttinen	Luttinen	2
Luttunen	Luttuinen	1
Luukkonen	Luckoinen	15
Lyytikäinen	lydikeinen	2
Länkinen	Länginen	1
	Länginenn	1
Maaranen	Marain	1
	Marainen	5

	Marainenn	2
Makkonen	Mackonen	1
Mankinen	Manginen	1
Martikainen	Martickain	1
Marttinen	Martinen	1
	Marttinen	2
Matikainen	Mattickainen	2
Mattinen	Matinen	3
	Mattinen	2
Metelinen	Metelinen	1
Mieleinen	Mielieinen	1
Mielikäinen	Melikäinen	4
Mieliäinen	Mielieinen	1
Mielonen	Meloinen	2
	Mieloinen	1
Miettinen	Miettinen	1
MiETTunen	Mettuinenn	2
Miikkulainen	Mickulainen	1
Mikkonen	Michoinen	1
	Mickainen	1
	Mickoinen	10
Moilanen	Moijlain	1
	Moijlainen	1
	Moijlainn	2
Mononen	Månoinen	2
Montaneuvonen	Mondaneufuoinen	3
Montonen	Mondoinen	4
	Mondoinenn	2
Muhkainen	Muchkainen	1
	Muhkainen	1
Muhonen	Muhoinen	2
Mujunen	Muijoinen	3
	muijoinenn	1
Multanen	Muldainen	1
	Muldhainen	1
Mustonen	Mustoinen	5
	Mwstoinen	1
Mykkänen	Myckein	3
Mähönen	Mähöinen	3
	Mähöinenn	1
Mäkeläinen	Mäkäleinen	1
Mölkäinen	Möllkeinen	1
Möykkynen	Möijkeinen	2
Nenonen	Nenoinen	1
Niiranen	Nirainen	6
Nikkanen	Nickainen	2
Nikkinen	Nickinen	4
Nikkonen	Nickoinen	1
Nikulainen	Nickulahainen	1
Niskanen	Nijskainen	1
	Niskainen	1
	Niskains	1
Nissinen	Nissinen	2
Niutanen	Niutainen	1
	Niuttas	1

Nousiainen	Nousiainen	9
	Nowsiainen	2
Nupponen	Nuppoinen	1
Nuukanen	Nwkainen	1
Oinonen	oijnoinen	2
	Oijnoinen	2
Olkkonen	Olckoinen	7
	Olkoinen	1
	ollckoinen	1
	Ollkoinen	1
Ollikainen	Ollikainen	2
Ollinen	Ollinen	2
Oravainen	Orauainen	1
Paakkinen	Pakinenn	2
Paakkulainen	Paackulainen	1
Paalanen	Palainen	1
Paijanen	Paijainen	2
	Paijainenn	1
Pakarinen	Backarinen	1
	backarisen	1
Panninen	Panninen	1
Parkattinen	Parckattinen	1
Parkkinen	Parckinen	2
	Parkinen	1
Parkkonen	Parckoinen	1
Parkulainen	Parkulainen	1
Partanen	Pardainen	1
	Partainen	18
	Partzainen	1
Parviainen	[Parfuiainen]	1
	Parffuiainen	10
	Parfuiainen	3
	Paruiainen	1
Pasanen	pasainen	2
Paukkanen	Pauckainen	2
Pelkonen	Peelckoinen	2
	pelckoin	1
	Pelckoinen	8
	Pelkoinen	2
Pellinen	Pellinen	3
Penttinen	Bengtinen	5
	Bengtтинен	2
	Bentinen	1
	karkiainen	1
Pesonen	Pesoinen	4
Petäkäinen	Pedekeinen	1
Pietiläinen	petileinen	1
Piilinen	Pijlinen	2
Piirainen	Pijrahain	1
	Pijrainen	4
Piltpalainen	Pilltupalainen	2
Pippurinen	Pippurin	1
	pippurinen	1
Pirinen	Pirinen	2
Pirskanen	Pirskainen	4

Pitkänen	Pittkeinen	7
	Pittkäinen	5
	Pittkäinenn	1
Poikonen	Poijkoinen	1
Puhkonen	Puchkonen	1
Pulkkinen	Pulckinen	3
	Pulkinen	1
	Pullkinen	1
Pulliainen	Pullioinen	2
Pursiainen	Pursiainen	1
Purttinen	Pwrttinen	2
Pussinen	Pussinen	2
	Pwssinen	1
Putinen	Putinen	2
Putkonen	Puttkoinen	2
Pyykönen	Pijköinen	1
Päivinen	Peijfwın	3
	Pöuainen	1
Pärnänen	Perneinen	2
Pöksynen	Pöxeinen	1
Pöljänen	Pölieinen	1
	Pölieinenn	3
	Pölinen	1
Pöllänen	Pölleinen	2
	Pölläinenn	1
Pöllönen	Pöllöinen	1
Pöyhönen	pouhoinen	1
Pöykkönen	Peuckeinen	1
	Pöijcköinen	1
	Pöijkehinen	1
	Pöijköinen	1
Raatikainen	Radikainen	2
	Raticckainen	2
Rahunen	Rahuinen	1
Rautapartainen	Rautapartain	1
	Rautapartainen	2
Rautiainen	Rautiain	1
	Rautiainen	3
	Rautiainenn	2
Rehonen	Rähoinen	1
Reinikainen	Reinikainen	1
Remeksinen	Remexinen	6
Reponen	Repoinen	3
	Repoinenn	1
Rinkinen	Ringinen	1
Rissanen	Rissainen	1
Rokkanen	Rockainen	4
Ropponen	[Roppoinen]	1
	Roppoinen	3
Rossinen	Rossinen	2
Rottinen	Rättinen	1
Rouhiainen	Rouhiain	1
	Rouhiainen	1
Ruotsalainen	Rotzalainen	5
	Rätzalain	2

Rynninen	Rynninen	1
Rytkönen	Rijdköinen	1
	Rijttköinen	1
Räisänen	Reijseinen	2
	Räijseinen	1
Saikkonen	Saijckoinen	1
Sairoinen	Saijroinen	1
Sakalainen	Sakalainen	3
Sallinen	Sallinen	3
	Sallinenn	4
Saukkonen	Sauckoin	1
	Sauckoinen	6
Savolainen	Saffuolain	1
	Saffuolainen	5
Seppänen	Seppäinen	6
Sihvonen	Sihffuoinen	2
Siirainen	Sijrainen	1
Siistonen	Sistonen	1
Silainen	Silainen	1
Sinkkonen	Sinckoinen	3
Siparinen	Siparinen	2
Sivonen	Siffuoinen	2
	Sigffuoinen	2
Soikkanen	Soijkainen	1
Soininen	Soijninen	1
Sopanen	Sopainen	4
Sormunen	[Sormuinen]	1
	Sormoinen	1
	Sormuinen	1
Soronen	Soroinen	2
Sorsanen	Sorsainen	1
	Sorssainen	3
Sorvainen	Soruainen	1
Sorvarinen	Soruarinenn	1
Suhonen	Suhoinen	2
	Swhoinen	1
Sutinen	Swtinen	1
Taivahainen	Taijffuahainen	1
Takkinen	Tackinen	2
Takkunen	Tackuinen	3
Tampinen	Tampinen	1
Tanninen	Tanninen	2
Tapanainen	Staffanainen	1
Tarkinen	Tarkinen	1
Tarkkanen	Tarkainen	1
Tarpinen	Tarbinen	1
Taskinen	Taskinen	7
Temoinen	temoinen	1
Tenhonen	Tenhoinen	3
	tenhoins	1
Tervonen	Terffoinen	1
	Terfuoinen	1
Teräväinen	Teräueinen	1
Tihinen	Tihinen	2
	Tihinenn	2

Tiilikainen	Tiljkain	1
Tiittanen	Tittainen	1
Tikkanen	Tickainen	6
	Tickainenn	1
Tilmakainen	Tijllmakainen	1
Timonen	timoinen	1
	Timoinen	5
Tirronen	Tirroinen	4
Toivainen	T[oi]fuinen	1
	Toijffainen	2
	Toijffuajnen	2
	Tolffuainen	1
	Tolffuainenn	1
Toivonen	T[oi]fuinen	2
	Toijffoinen	1
	Toijffuoinen	1
Tolonen	Toloinen	2
	Tåloinen	2
Tolppanen	Tolpainen	4
Tolvanen	Tolffuainen	3
	Tålfuainen	1
Tonttinen	Tonttinen	1
Torvinen	toffuinen	1
	Torfwinen	2
Tuhkunen	Tuhkoinen	1
	Tuhkuinen	3
	twchkuinen	1
Tukkunen	Tuckuinen	1
Tuomainen	Thomahainen	1
Tuovinen	Toffuinen	3
	tofueinen	1
	Tofuinen	2
	Tofwinenn	1
	Towinenn	1
Tuppurainen	Tuppurainen	3
Turpeinen	Turpehinen	2
Turtinen	Turdinen	2
Turunen	turuinen	1
	Turuinen	21
Tynkkynen	Tynckinen	1
Ukkonen	Valdoinen	1
	Vckoinen	3
	Vkoinen	1
Ulmanen	Wllmainen	2
	wlmainen	1
	Wlmainen	1
Uotinen	Otinen	4
Uskinen	Vskinen	2
Utriainen	Vdriainen	1
	wdriainen	1
Vainikainen	Vaijnikainen	1
Valtonen	Valdoinen	3
Vanhanen	Vanhainen	6
Varonen	Varoinen	3
Vatanen	Vatainen	3

	watainen	I
Vauhkonen	Vauhkoinen	2
	Wauhkoinen	I
Venäläinen	weneleinen	I
	Weneleinen	2
	Wenäleinenenn	I
Vepsäläinen	Vepsseleinen	2
	Vepsäleinen	I
	wepseleinen	I
Vesterinen	Vesterinen	I
Vihavainonen	Vihauainoinen	I
	Vihauainonen	2
Viholainen	Viholainen	2
Vihtinen	Vifftinen	I
Viljakainen	Viliacainen	I
	Viliakainen	3
	wiliakainen	2
	Wiliakainen	I
	Wiljakainen	I
Viuhkonen	Viuhkoinen	2
	Wiuchkoinen	I
Vänninen	Wenninen	3
Väänänen	Wänäinen	I
Väätäinen	Veteinenn	I
	Vätäinen	6
Yletyinen	yletyinen	4
Ylönen	ijleinenn	I
	ylöinen	2
	Ylöinen	I
Yrjänäinen	ijrieneinen	3
	ijrieneinenn	I
Äkräväinen	ägeräuainen	I
Änäkäinen	Enekeinen	I
Ärvähäinen	Erffweheinen	I

Appendix 4: Western locative bynames

Normalised	Actual	Toponym	Type	Notes
Aatinen	Atinen	Aatila	farm	
Aatinen	Atinen	Aatinen	farm	
Haavisto	Haawisto	Haavisto	village	
Hara	Harra	Harala	farm	
Haroinen	Haroij	Haroila	farm	
Hinkanpoika	Hinckasson	Hinkkala	farm	
Hoiva	Hoiffua	Hoivala	farm	
Hylli	Hylli	Hyllilä	farm	
Häkärä	Häkärä	Häkärä	farm	
Jokioisten	Jokioisten	Jokioinen	village	
Jullinen	Jullinen	Julli	farm	
Kerpponen	Kerpoinen	Kerppola	village	
Kierikkä	Kiericka	Kierikkä	farm	
Monikanpoika	Mognsson	Monikkala	village	
Mäntsä	Mentze	Mänttälä	farm	
Möhkönen	Möhkoij	Möhkölä	farm	
Näri	Näri	Näri	farm	
Pajulahti	Paiulax	Pajula	farm	In different records, Pajulahti 'Willow Bay' ~ Pajuniemi 'Willow Cape' ~ Pajula 'Willow Farm'
Parvi	Parui	Parvela	village	
Pohjalahden	Pohialahden	Pohjalahti	village	
Pohjalainen	Pohialainen	Pohjala	farm	
Pöyhönen	Pöyhöinen	Pöyhölä	farm	
Ruokolahti	Rokolax	Ruukonen	farm	newly settled outside established villages
Sarkonen	Sarkoij	Sarkola	farm	
Saukkonen	Sauchoi	Saukkola	farm	
Tasku	Tasku	Taskula	farm	
Tavela	Taueli	Tavela	farm	two instances
Toljamoinen	Doliamoinen	Toljola	farm	
Tuitti	Tuitti	Tuitti	farm	
Vihtinen	Victis	Vihtinen	village	
Vihtiälän	Wictielen	Vihtiälä	village	
Vuolteesta	till Wältis	Vuoltee	out-of-parish village	

Appendix 5: Other bynames

Western corpus

Omoinen¹¹ ‘Ram’, Rangu, Raru, Soini ‘Squire’, Tarhape ‘Orchard-head’, Wehäpy ‘Little Grouse’, Vårdainen ‘Equal / Good’

Eastern corpus

Hauka ‘Hawk’, Hetamies ‘Sandman’,¹² Hiffua ‘Yeast / Hops / Drunkard’, Kauckapäiuä,¹³ Kuppi ‘James / Merchant’, kiffuen Rauta ‘Stone-iron’, korpi / Korpj ‘Raven’, Merska, Reeske, Rennar ‘Distiller’, Rijttare ‘Knight’, Saha ‘Saw’, Seppä ‘Smith’, Skoningh ‘Scanian / King’,¹⁴ Smedh ‘Smith’, Sorssa ‘Mallard’, Sorfwari ‘Lathe-worker’, Suripä, Swripää ‘Big-head’, Danska ‘Dane’, Tilmakar ‘Bricklayer’, Tulen wändäija ‘Fire-bender’, Tynnebindare ‘Cooper’, Vanha Talonpoica ‘Old Peasant’, wixo

¹¹ It is apparent from other documents that the *m* is a misspelling and the name should read *Oino-*.

¹² This should be taken literally and not as a reference for the incarnation of dreaming.

¹³ Stoebke (1964) lists *Kaukapäivä* as a Proto-Finnic personal name.

¹⁴ The byname can come from either the Province of *Skåne* that was fought over by Sweden and Denmark, or from *kuningas* ‘king’. The latter term was often used colloquially for various foremen as well as the ruler of the country.