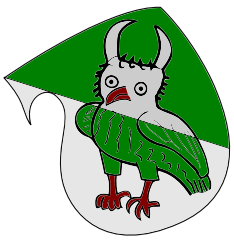
Iron Age Finnic personal names



Birittha Wf

November 7, 2022

Contents

1 Introduction **1**
1.1 Finnish and its relatives . . . 1
1.2 Iron Age in Eastern Baltic . . . 2
1.3 Notes on the language . . . 2

2 North Finnic name system **3**
2.1 Overall construction . . . 4
2.2 Given names . . . 4
2.3 Bynames . . . 5

3 Putting it all together **6**

References **7**

A Name lexemes **8**

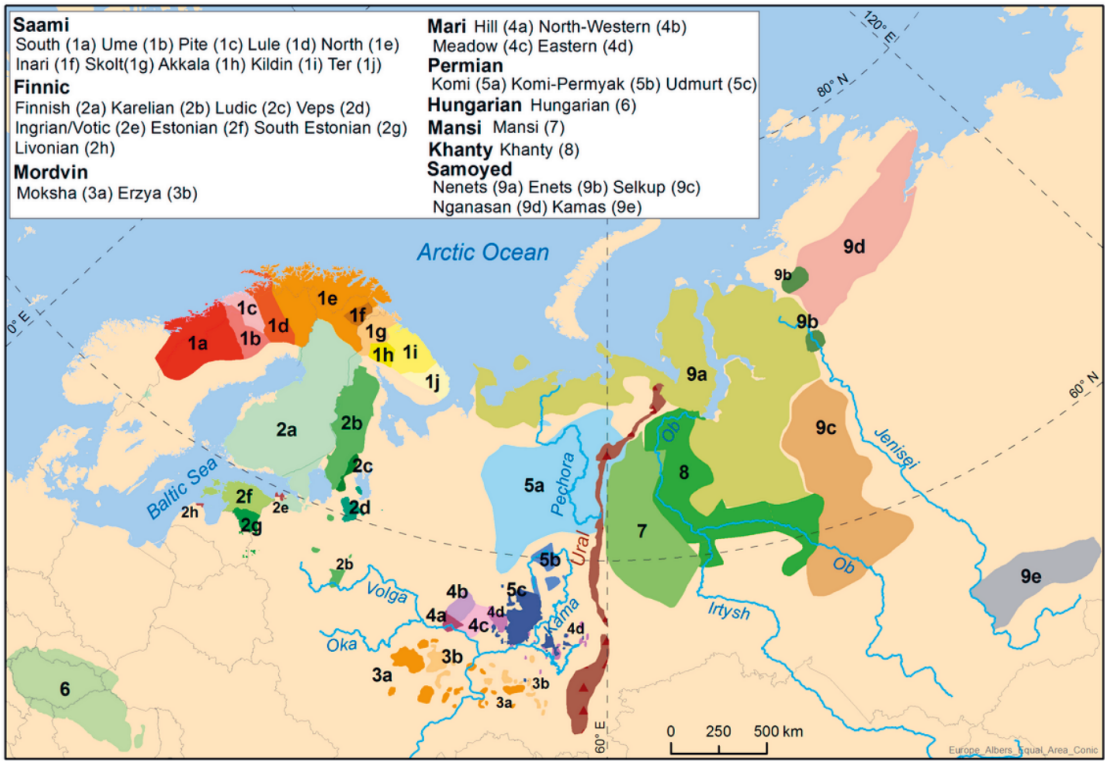


Figure 1: Uralic languages in the 20th century (Syrjänen 2021: 32)

1 Introduction

The earliest documents written in Finland date from the 13th century, and as the Catholic Church and the emerging Kingdom of Sweden established themselves the personal name system of their Finnish subjects changed radically. While the documentary evidence of the pre-Christian name system is scarce the system has been studied over the past century so that in addition to smaller works there are three doctoral theses on the subject (Forsman 1894; Stoebke 1964; Raunamaa 2021). The goal of this article is to look at the present state of scholarship as it may be applicable to choosing and registering a name for use within the SCA.

1.1 Finnish and its relatives

Finnish is a member of the Finnic language group – whose other notable members are Estonian and Karelian – and ultimately the Uralic language family. The closest relatives of the Finnic languages are the Sámi ones but there are a number of others, mainly small languages spoken across Russia. The largest of the present-day (either medieval or modern) Uralic languages is Hungarian, but it is related to Finnish about as closely as English is to Hindi. Figure 1 shows the 20th century spread of the Uralic languages.

In terms of SCA name regulations, Finnish is a part of the Scandinavian language group. This doesn't mean that Finnish and the Scandinavian languages are related; it's just that there have been contacts all along. Finland was a part of Sweden until 1809, and before Sweden became a coherent kingdom there were contacts between Finns and Scandinavians already in the late Iron Age, as well as between the Finnic and Germanic languages before the great migrations.

The common ancestor of the Uralic languages, Proto-Uralic, was spoken in the late Neolithic, around the third millennium BCE (Kallio 2006). It, and the West Uralic ancestor of the Finnic, Sámi, and Mordvin languages spoken around the second millennium (Lang

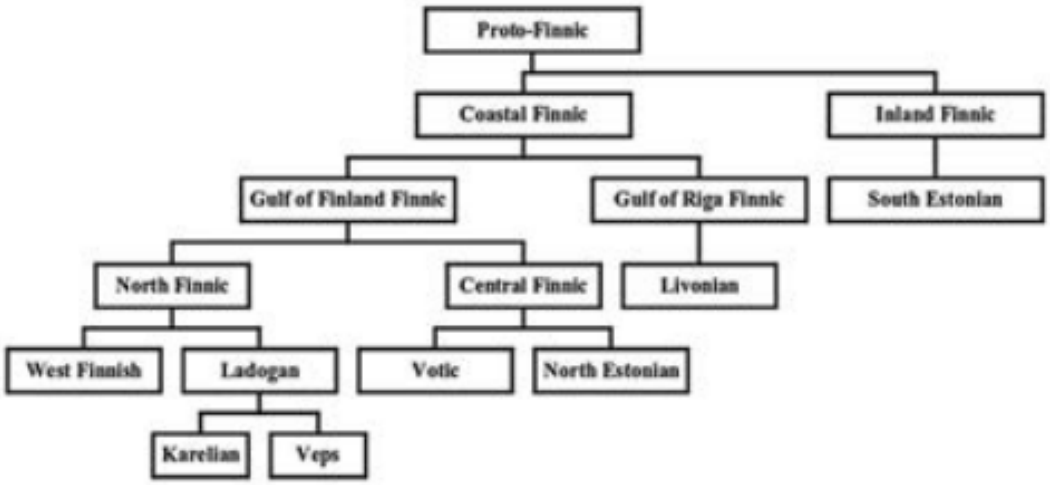


Figure 2: Finnic languages (Kallio 2014)

2020) are too early to be of interest to Society naming; the same goes for the early phases in the first millennium BCE of Proto-Finnic, the common ancestor of just the Finnic languages. Its final phases in the first couple of centuries CE (Kallio 2014), however, start to interest us, as does North Finnic around 300–700 CE. These late phases of the development of Finnic languages are recent enough that something substantive can be said about names.

Going further in time, in the 8th century North Finnic split into Early Finnish (Kallio 2017) and the Ladogan proto-language(Kallio 2019) that eventually developed into Karelian, Veps, and the Eastern dialects of Finnish. The rather complex tree of Finnic languages can be seen in Figure 2[1]

1.2 Iron Age in Eastern Baltic

The various stages of the divergence of the Finnic languages mesh with the progress of the Iron Age in the region. The Early Iron Age, c. 500 BCE–400 CE corresponds rather well with the common Proto-Finnic in its various stages, while the Middle Iron Age, c. 400–800 CE – or the Vendel period in Scandinavia – is a reasonably close match with North Finnic. The Late Iron Age, often called the Viking age, corresponds with Early Finnish in the South-Western parts of Finland or Ladogan in the South-East.

It should be kept in mind that all documentary evidence is later than this, and in fact the demarcation line between Early Finnish and Medieval Finnish is drawn at the first surviving documents that include Finnish elements. While these early documents were written within the Christian church that eventually brought a complete overhaul of the Finnish name system, all is not lost as pre-Christian personal names appear in documents until mid-14th century. Based on these, and using the normal methods of historical linguistics, it is possible to reconstruct the Iron Age name system to some extent (Leino 2022).

1.3 Notes on the language

This article covers roughly the first millennium CE. Over that time, the language changed somewhat, so one may need to change the name elements to match the desired time period. The names are presented here in reconstructed Late Proto-Finnic forms, and the usual asterisk is used only to mark reconstructions older than that. Where possible, the lexemes have been

[1] The figure only shows developments during the Iron Age. Starting in the Middle Ages, contacts between West Finnish and Karelian led to the development of the East Finnish dialects; in the 19th century the Eastern and Western dialect groups were combined into the current standard of Modern Finnish.

Table 1: Pronunciation and changes between the language phases

Written	IPA	North Finnic	Early Finnish
a	ɑ		
ä	æ		
ö	ø		
ü	y		
ë	ɤ	> *e*	
ee	eː		> *ie*
oo	oː		> *uo*
öö	øː		> *üö* [yø]
b			(possibly > β) > *v* (except *mb* > *mm*)
d			> δ [ð] (except *nd* > *nn*)
g			> ɣ [ɣ] (except *ng* [ŋg] > [ŋŋ])
p̆p / *t̆t* / *k̆k*			> *p* / *t* / *k*

checked against the reconstructions of Junttila et al. ([in progress]). Following them, the material is written in the Finno-Ugric transcription as it is currently used.

Appendix A shows both nominative and genitive forms, as the declension is not always obvious. The main stumbling blocks are, on the one hand, changes in the final vowel,[2] and on the other hand, consonant gradation. In Late Proto-Finnic, the stops *p*, *t*, and *k* were pronounced stronger or weaker depending on their position in the word. This was true with both single and double stops so that the double stops were either full length or slightly shortened (*pp*:*p̆p* / *tt*:*t̆t* / *kk*:*k̆k*) and the single ones either strong or weak (*p*:*b* / *t*:*d* / *k*:*g*).[3] In Early Finnish the distinction between the weak double stops and the strong single ones disappeared.

In going from the Late Proto-Finnic form to later ones, the first step is straightforward – the only difference is that in North Finnic the distinction between *e* and *ë* (Modern Estonian *e* vs. *õ*, IPA e vs. ɤ) disappeared, so that for instance *Nëuvo* becomes *Neuvo* in North Finnic but remains unchanged in the central dialect (and later developes into modern Estonian *nõu*). Getting further to Early Finnish is not too onerous either. The main two differences are, first, in the consonant gradation apparent in the stops *p*, *t*, and *k* (where, for instance, the genitive form of *Lempi* changes from *Lemben* to *Lemmen* and that of *Vihta* from *Vihdan* to *Vihδan*), and second, the development of the long vowels *ee*, *oo*, and *öö* into the diphthongs *ie*, *uo*, and *üö*/yø (so that, for instance, *Meeli* becomes *Mieli*).[4] The changes, as well as a pronunciation guide, are shown in Table 1.

2 North Finnic name system

There are only a few pre-Christian Finnic names attested in documents, and these date from the very end of the name system. However, based on these and on the commonalities between later Finnic name systems it is possible to reconstruct a relatively large part of the system.

[2] By Late Proto-Finnic, this was simply a part of the paradigm; the Middle Proto-Finnic sound changes are very much beyond the scope of this article.

[3] It is not known whether *b*/*d*/*g* vere voiced as in English or voiceless as in modern Estonian.

[4] There is one more major change that happens not to be seen in the name elements discussed here. Proto-Finnic had an affricate *c* (IPA t͡s); in Early Finnish the double *cc* (IPA tt͡s) changed into a voiceless spirant ϑϑ (IPA θθ) while the single *c* changed into *s*. Kallio (2017) discusses the changes in depth.

2.1 Overall construction

Overall, it seems clear that both given and bynames were used. According to Raunamaa (2021: 39), in medieval Finland the bynames were often used independently – for instance to form place names – so that differentiating between a main name and a byname is not always easy (ibid.: 19). There are also cases where patronymic bynames were constructed from a descriptive byname, in some cases eventually leading to surnames that have been continuously used since the start of comprehensive records in the late middle ages.

Unlike the Indo-European neighbours, in Finnic languages the byname appears in front of the given name (Joalaid 2016) so that *Meelivaldan Lempoi* is a son of *Meelivalta* whose own name is *Lempoi*. This is traditional in all Finnic cultures, even if modern official names conform to the normal Western European order of having given names precede the surname; and given the Hungarian practice where the surname comes first, Joalaid suggests that the Finnic practice may even date back to a common Uralic origin. While this is wildly hypothetical, the case for Finnic is clear: this order of the elements is common to all of them and it cannot be explained by foreign influence introduced by medieval scribes. It is not certain that this was the only option, though.

All in all, it is safe to say that the Iron Age Finnic name system from Late Proto-Finnic to Early Finnish had given names and bynames, and the byname preceded the given name, at least often if not always. Whether a person always had a byname is less certain – and indeed one of the defining properties of a byname is that its use is not systematic – but the SCA name regulations (SENA 2012–22) require one.

2.2 Given names

As shown already by Forsman (1894) and more systematically by Stoebke (1964), there are three main types of given names. First, it is possible to have a base lexeme by itself: *Meeli*. Second, this base lexeme can be modified by a derivational suffix: *Meeli|ttü*; and third, two lexemes can be joined to form a compound name: *Kauka|meeli*. Known lexemes are listed in Appendix A. There are some indications that the name of a person may have been varied, so that for instance Forsman (1894: 165) mentions a case from 16th century Lapland where a man was referred to as *Mielikirja*, *Mieliä* and *Mielitty* in different documents.[5]

The age and origins of the compound names has been debated over time. Stoebke (1964: 112–115) considers them the primary type from which the other two are contractions, and furthermore argues that they are an indigenous innovation (ibid.:133–134). Both of these claims have been disputed, though, and Nissilä (1965) is of the opinion that the compound type is a structural loan from Scandinavian and is later than the split between Early Finnish and Ladogan, so c. 9th century. Raunamaa (2021: 61) in turn argues that the type predates the diversification of Proto-Finnic and considers also the possibility that the construction might have been borrowed to Proto-Finnic from either the neighbouring Germanic or Baltic languages (ibid.: 46); in his opinion, the type is pre-6th century and may date from before the Common Era.

It is not known how strictly the names were gendered, or even whether they were: there is only one certain case where a surviving document refers to a Finnish woman by a pre-Christian name, *Melutha* (Leino 2022), and even there the pronunciation is uncertain. A number of scholars, ranging from Forsman (1894: 225) to Kuzmin (2019), have suggested that later names of livestock, especially cows, can give hints about pre-Christian women's names. While this evidence is highly circumstantial and hypothetical, the suffix *-kki* might be more common in women's names, although it occasionally appears in folklore in men's names as well.

[5] The pre-Christian Finnic name system was borrowed by some Sámi peoples and survived there until the 18th century or so. However, the focus of this article is Finnic pre-Christian Iron Age while these examples come from a different culture several centuries later. A grain or two of salt is recommended.

There are a number of suffixes known to have been used:

- *-oi* (< **-j*), genitive *-oin*
- *-ttu* / *-ttü*, genitive *-ťtun* / *-ťtün*
- *-kka* / *-kkä*, genitive *-ǩkan* / *-ǩkän*
- *-kki* (< **-kkA* + *-j*), genitive *-ǩkin*
- *-mas* / *-mäs*, genitive *-maksen* / *-mäksen*
- *-ri* (< **-ra* + *-j*), genitive *-rin*
- *-s* (< **-kse*), genitive *-ksen*
- *-va* / *-vä*, genitive *-van* / *-vän*

As derivational suffixes for common nouns, all these except for *-ttU* date to Proto-Uralic (Hakulinen 1979), assuming that *-mAs*, not used to form common nouns, is a combination of *-mA* and *-s*. However, it is not known whether any of them were used to form personal names prior to the Late Proto-Finnic period.

Many of these suffixes have two different forms. One of the characteristics of Finnic languages is vowel harmony, where a word has either front or back vowels. In the branch that led to Finnish, the front vowels are *äöü*, and in Proto-Finnic also *e*, while *aou* and Proto-Finnic *ë* are back vowels; *i* is a neutral vowel that can appear with either set, and from North Finnic onwards so is *e*.

2.3 Bynames

The usual types of bynames are apparent in the Finnic system, although the case for patronymic and locative bynames is somewhat more robust than for descriptive ones.

There are two ways to construct a patronymic byname. The first one is to have the father's name in the genitive case in front of the given name (Joalaid 2016), for instance *Ilmovaldan Meeles* 'Meeles of Ilmovalta'. The second one is to construct an adjective of the father's name with the derivational suffix *-(i)nen*, as in *Ilmovalta(i)nen Meeles*.[6] A number of modern surnames trace back to this construction, such as *Toivanen* (< *Toiva*), first attested as a surname in late medieval records; it seems likely that these adjectival bynames were used to denote a clan or family relation and survived in that function through the early Christian period before developing into modern surnames.

Locative bynames use the same constructions as patronymic ones. Perhaps the more immediately locative one is the genitive, *Ruskonlahden Hyväri*,[7] while adjectival bynames such as *Hämäläinen* 'Tavastian' at least in medieval records show more often a province-level origin.

Descriptive bynames were also used, but here it is somewhat harder to see the specifics. Adjectives were used as bynames, to form names like *Korho Lempoi* 'Deaf Lempoi'. Similarly, plain nouns were used, so that a name such as *Kettu Ilmakka* 'Ilmakka the Fox' is a plausible reconstruction. However, evidence in medieval documents is not quite as clear and as noted earlier it's not always easy to distinguish between bynames of these types and given names – especially as pre-Christian given names survived as bynames until the end of the SCA period.

Both these types of bynames are still used colloquially, so that names like *Kuuro-Lempo*[8] or *Kettu-Ilmakka* would be possible today, should the given names themselves appear. In modern Finnish they would be spelled with the byname compounded to the given name,

[6] The same suffix is apparent in such pairs as *viha* 'hate' ~ *vihainen* 'angry' or *takku* 'tangle' ~ *takkuinen* 'tangled'.

[7] Using the rate of post-glacial rebound, topography, and language change, Pitkänen (1985) traces the modern Swedish-language village name *Rosklax* back to a Proto-Finnic *Ruskonlaksi* c. 1st century CE.

[8] *Korho* is not known in most dialects.

that is, with a hyphen, but that's just a result of how Finnish orthography has developed in the 20th century.

Both of these types could also be used to form patronymic bynames or place names, and this ambiguity between given and bynames is one of the prime reasons why Raunamaa (2021: 39) talks about 'the significance of bynames in the medieval Finnic naming system'. Indeed, both *Korhonen* and *Kettunen* are attested as surnames in late period and they both are also still in use, *Korhonen* being currently the most common Finnish surname.

3 Putting it all together

How does this all translate to the problem of constructing an SCA name? Happily, it is possible for someone developing an Iron Age Finnic persona to have a matching name. This article hopefully covers given names and the overall name construction; unfortunately, for other bynames than patronymics one would need to search further. Some place names have been dated as far as the beginning of the common era but there's no comprehensive list of these names. For descriptive bynames, one should likely look for etymological dictionaries such as the one being developed by Junttila et al. ([in progress]); bynames found in medieval records are another good starting point.

The reconstructions get more hypothetical as one gets further back in time. Late Iron Age is no problem as some of the names are attested in early medieval documents and the Early Finnish spoken at the end of Iron Age is not markedly different from the Medieval Finnish used a century or two later. There's also enough archaeological evidence to construct the rest of a Late Iron Age persona.

Middle Iron Age is also possible. Here, the archaeological evidence is more scanty but still just about sufficient for persona development. The language spoken would be North Finnic, one simple sound change away from the reconstructions in Appendix A. Going further back than this, our knowledge of the name systems gets much less certain although it would be possible to reach into Early Iron Age and Late Proto-Finnic as in the Appendix. This is about as early as the name system can be reconstructed, but there is no need to go further: even at this stage there isn't really enough archaeological data to construct a persona.

In creating a name for SCA use, the oldest phase is the most straightforward as the name elements are presented in the reconstructed Late Proto-Finnic forms. Looking at the table in Appendix A, there are name elements *Hüvä* and *Nëuvo* that can be combined to a compound given name *Hüvänëuvo*. Likewise, the element *Meeli* can be combined with the derivative suffix *-ttü* to form *Meelittü*. To make a patronymic (or metronymic) byname, *Meelittü* needs to be in the genitive case, *Meelĭttün*, so that the overall name becomes *Meelĭttün Hüvänëuvo*. This would be the Early Iron Age form from the first few centuries CE.

For later names, the name must be changed to reflect the changes in language using Table 1. For Middle Iron Age, c. 400–800 CE, the name has to be changed into North Finnic; here, the only change is in the vowel *ë* so that the name becomes *Meelĭttün Hüväneuvo*. For Late Iron Age, c. 800–1200,[9] one has to go further into Early Finnish. Here, there are two additional changes that apply: first *ee* > *ie*, and second, *ĭt* > *t*. These will give the name as *Mielitün Hüväneuvo* as a Viking age or Early Medieval form.

[9] Or even further – pre-Christian names were recorded as late as the mid-14th century, so for this stage it may be possible to find attested spellings instead of using modern transcription.

References

Forsman, A. V. 1894: *Tutkimuksia Suomen kansan persoonallisen nimistön alalla I*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki. URL http://lib.huuhkain.fi/forsman-1894-nimisto.pdf.

Hakulinen, Lauri 1979: *Suomen kielen rakenne ja kehitys*. Otava, Helsinki, fourth corrected and extended edition.

Joalaid, Marje 2016: Balto-Finnic Personal Name Systems. In Carole Hough — Daria Izdebska (eds.), *Names and Their Environment. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25–29 August 2014. Vol. 3. Anthroponomastics*, p. 123–130.

Junttila, Santeri — Kallio, Petri — Holopainen, Sampsa — Kuokkala, Juha — Pystynen, Juho [in progress]: Digital etymological dictionary of the oldest vocabulary of Finnish. URL https://sanat.csc.fi/wiki/Etymologiawiki.

Kallio, Petri 2006: Suomen kantakielten absoluuttista kronologiaa. *Virittäjä*, 2006(1):2–25. URL https://journal.fi/virittaja/article/view/40454.

— 2014: The Diversification of Proto-Finnic. In Joonas Ahola — Frog — Clive Tolley (eds.), *Fibula, fabula, fact: The Viking Age in Finland*, Studia Fennica Historica 18, pp. 155–168. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. URL http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/29748.

— 2017: Äännehistoriaa suomen kielen erilliskehityksen alkutaipaleilta. *Sananjalka*, 59:7–24. URL https://doi.org/10.30673/sja.66609.

— 2019: Muinaiskarjalan uralilainen tausta. URL https://www.academia.edu/37709596/Muinaiskarjalan_uralilainen_tausta..

Kepsu, Saulo 2016: Esikristilliset henkilönnimet kylännimissä. In Jüvä Süllõv (ed.), *Õdagumeresuumlaisi nimeq – Läänemeresoomlaste nimed – Names of Finnic people*, pp. 127–138. Võro instituut, Võro. URL https://wi.ee/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/VItoim16sisu.pdf.

Kuzmin, Denis 2019: Karjalaisten naisten esikristillinen nimistö. *Virittäjä*, 2019(3):431–443. URL https://doi.org/10.23982/vir.60729.

Lang, Valter 2020: *Homo Fennicus. Itämerensuomalaisten etnohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.

Leino, Unni 2022: Nimistöntutkija aikamatkalla. *Virittäjä*, 2022(2):277–281. URL https://doi.org/10.23982/vir.117850.

Nissilä, Viljo 1965: Tutkimus itämerensuomalaisesta henkilönnimistöstä. *Virittäjä*, pp. 78–89. URL https://journal.fi/virittaja/article/view/34874.

Pitkänen, Ritva Liisa 1985: *Turunmaan saariston suomalainen lainanimistö*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.

Raunamaa, Jaakko 2021: *Finnic anthroponymy in the middle ages: Perspectives on pre-Christian and early Christian personal names*. University of Helsinki, Helsinki. URL http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-51-7654-7.

SENA 2012–22: The Standards for Evaluation of Names and Armory: The Rules for Submissions. URL http://heraldry.sca.org/sena.html.

Stoebke, Detlef-Eckard 1964: *Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines urfinnischen Namensystems*. Leibniz-Verlag, Hamburg.

Syrjänen, Kaj 2021: *Quantitative Language Evolution. Case studies in Finnish dialects and Uralic languages*. PhD Thesis, Tampere University. URL http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-03-2004-1.

A Name lexemes

The name lexemes presented here come from four sources, in an approximate order of trustworthiness, listed in the table by the initials.

R Raunamaa (2021)

This is the most recent PhD thesis on pre-Christian Finnic personal names.

S Stoebke (1964)

This PhD thesis is slightly dated by now but still the most comprehensive treatise on Finnic names and name elements.

K Kepsu (2016) This is an article written by a reliable and respected scholar; however, in the article he provides little information on his selection criteria or the geographic distribution of the names, or discussion on which of the names might have been what we'd consider given names.

F Forsman (1894)

This early PhD thesis on Finnic names is quite dated by now but still not entirely useless.

The occurrence of the lexemes is listed as

x Appears in source, xx listed as common, xxx as most common.

-x Listed only as the second part of a compound name.

(x) Questionable: either the lexeme is listed as uncertain in the source or it has been argued against by later scholars. These should not be considered acceptable for SCA registration without further evidence – but note that in some cases such evidence is already provided by other works summarised here.

The table shows reconstructed Late Proto-Finnic forms in both nominative and genitive cases.

Nominative	Genitive	R	S	K	F	Meaning
Ahti	*Ahdin*			(x)		marine god
Aika	*Aigan*			x	(x)	'time'
Aina	*Ainan*			(x)		'always'
Aka	*Agan*				(x)	
Alka	*Algan*				x	'begin'
Ano	*Anon*			xx		'beg'
Ara	*Aran*				(x)	
Arpa	*Arban*			x		*arpo-* 'to divine'
Asi	*Asin*			(x)		
Auvo	*Auvon*	x	x	x	x	'bliss'
Ava	*Avan*				(x)	'open'
Hala	*Halan*			x		*halu* 'desire'
Hara	*Haran*				(x)	
Hasa	*Hasan*				(x)	
Hëimo	*Hëimon*	x	-x	x		'tribe'
Himo	*Himon*			xx		'desire, lust'
Hurtta	*Hurt̆tan*			x		'dog'
Hürü	*Hürün*			x		
Hüvä	*Hüvän*	x	x	x	x	'good'
Iha	*Ihan*	xxx	x	xx	x	'beautiful'
Ikä	*Igän*	x	x	x	x	'age'
Ila	*Ilan*				(x)	
Ilma	*Ilman*	x	x	x	x	'air, sky'
Ilo	*Ilon*			x		'joy'
Jousi	*Jousen*	x	-x			'bow'
Kaikki	*Kaik̆ken*	x	(x)			'all'
Kaipa	*Kaiban*	x		x		*kaipaida* 'yearn'
Kakko	*Kak̆kon*		(x)			
Kalli	*Kallin*		(x)			*kallis* 'dear, expensive'
Kauka	*Kaugan*	x	x	xx	x	'long, far'
Kilpa	*Kilban*			x		
Kirja	*Kirjan*	xx	x	x		'decoration, writing'
Kota	*Kodan*				(x)	'hut, tent'
Kulta	*Kuldan*		(x)		(x)	'gold'
Küllä	*Külläin*	x	x	x	x	'plenty'
Leinä	*Leinän*			xx	x	'weak, sorrow'
Lempi	*Lemben*	xxx	x	xx	x	'love' < 'fire'
Maana	*Maanan*				(x)	
Meeho	*Meehon*			x		*mees* 'man'
Meeli	*Meelen*	xx	x	xx	x	'mind; pleasing'
Meero	*Meeron*			x		
Meri	*Meren*				(x)	'sea'
Mesi	*Meden*				(x)	'honey', *mesiäinen* 'bee'
Monta	*Mondan*			xx	(x)	*moni* 'many'
Mooto	*Moodon*			x		'shape'
Nëuvo	*Nëuvon*	x	-x	x		'advice, intent'
Niha	*Nihan*			x		
Nousia	*Nousian*			x		*nousë-* 'rise'

Nominative	**Genitive**	**R**	**S**	**K**	**F**	**Meaning**
Paha	*Pahan*			x		'bad, evil', *pahka:pahgan* 'burr'
Para	*Paran*			xx		*paras* 'best', *paranta-* 'heal'
Parka	*Pargan*			x		'wretched'
Pelko	*Pelgon*			x		'fear'
Päivä	*Päivän*	x	x	x	x	'sun, day'
Raha	*Rahan*			x		'money'
Rahko	*Rahgon*			x		'marsh', *Rahkoi* mythological
Raukka	*Raukkan*			x		'old'; possibly also < *Ragnvald*
Saira	*Sairan*			x		
Salli	*Sallin*			(x)		'allow'
SArA	*SArAn*				(x)	'twilight, twinkle'; *sarka:sargan* 'field'
Satta	*Sattan*			(x)		*sattu-* 'happen'
Sota	*Sodan*			x	(x)	'war'
Suuri	*Suuren*			x		'big'
Tapa	*Taban*			x	(x)	'custom, habit'; possibly also < *Staffan*
Tenho	*Tenhon*			x		
Toivo	*Toivon*	xx	x	xx	x	'hope'
Tora	*Toran*			(x)		
Ulta	*Uldan*			x	(x)	
U(n)ni	*Unnin / Unen*	x	x		x	*uni* 'sleep, dream', possibly Germanic
Unta	*Undan*	x	x	x	x	possibly related to *U(n)ni*
Urja	*Urjan*			x		
Uska	*Uskan*	x		x		*usko* 'belief, faith', *uskalta–* 'dare'
Utu	*Udun*		x	x	x	'mist'
Vaino	*Vainon*			x		'hate, oppression'
Valta	*Valdan*	x	x	xx		'might'
Viha	*Vihan*	x	x	x	x	'green; hate'
Vihta	*Vihdan*	x	x	x	x	
Vilja	*Viljan*	xx	x	xx	x	'grain, plenty, fruitful'
Vilka	*Vilgan*				(x)	
Viti	*Vidin*				(x)	
Voipa	*Voiban*			x		'prosperous', *voi-* 'be able to'
Vähä	*Vähän*			x		'small'
Äijä	*Äijän*				x	'old man, (grand)father, husband'

In the case of *sArA*, Finnish *sara-* vs. Estonian *sära-* suggest *Sara* as North Finnic and *Särä* as Central Finnic, that is, the ancestor of Estonian; Late Proto-Finnic could be either.