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# On the Anthroponyms' System of the Samoyedic Peoples of the North

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Abstract. The purpose of this article is to study the anthroponyms of the Samoyedic peoples of the North of Taimyr in synchronic and diachronic aspects. The authors study the circulation of personal names, surnames, nicknames, ethnonyms in the Uralic languages of the Samoyedic peoples (Nenets, Enets, Nganasans) in an inextricable connection with their ethnic culture. The comparative-contrastive analysis includes anthroponyms of other northern and Siberian ethnic groups: Tuvans, Yakuts, Nanais, Chukchi, Udege, etc. The object of the study is anthroponyms, as well as linguistic connections between the Samoyedic peoples of the North of Taimyr and Russians in historical development from the standpoint of modern linguistic contactology. The subject of the research is personal names, surnames, nicknames, ethnonyms of the indigenous peoples of the North of Taimyr: Nenets, Enets, Nganasans. The purpose and objectives of the study: to provide a comprehensive description of the anthroponyms of the small-numbered Samoyedic peoples of Taimyr; to conduct a comparative analysis; to determine the main features of anthroponyms' circulation and wordbuilding in close connection with material and spiritual culture. The scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the study is associated with the lack of special scientific works devoted to the problem of anthroponyms in a comparative aspect. Special attention is also paid to the contact of languages and cultures in one of the vast regions of the North, Siberia and the Arctic of the Russian Federation - the Taimyr Peninsula. The material is based on the authors' field materials, as well as conversations with students and teachers of the Institute of Peoples of the North of the Herzen University, i.e. speakers of the Taimyr native languages and ethnic cultures. Since the informants were polylingual, possible assimilation processes and the degree of their significance for the indigenous people of the North were taken into account during the linguistic analysis of the factual material. Research methods: descriptive, comparative, phonetic and lexical-semantic analysis. The results of the work revealed facts that stated that personal names, surnames, nicknames and ethnonyms of the peoples of the North of Taimyr are distinguished by great diversity, and their origin is associated with the peculiarities of the material and spiritual culture of ethnic

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groups; among the extralinguistic factors that influenced the linguistic material, one of the main ones was close communication of the indigenous people with the Russian population of the region. The article takes into account the published works on onomastics of famous Russian linguists and ethnographers who studied the peoples of the Ural language community: A.A. Popov, B.O. Dolgikh, N.M. Tereshchenko, M. Ya. Barmich, L. V. Khomich, G.N. Gracheva, G.I. Vanuito and others. Other sources of the studied material include dictionaries, monographs, articles, textbooks on the language, ethnography and folklore of the peoples of the North and the Russian population of Siberia and the Arctic. The author comes to the conclusion that the studied material – anthroponyms has gone through a difficult path of contact, mutual enrichment and development; borrowed words reveal phonetic and lexical differences.

**Keywords**: languages of the Nenets, Enets and Nganasans, Russian language, anthroponyms, language contacts.

Research area: Theory and History of Culture and Art (Cultural Studies); Ethnography; Theoretical, Applied, Comparative and Contrastive Linguistics.

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## О системе антропонимов самодийских народов Севера

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Аннотация. Целью настоящей статьи является исследование антропонимов самодийских народов Севера Таймыра в синхронном и диахроническом аспектах. Авторы изучают проблему бытования личных имён, фамилий, прозвищ, этнонимов в уральских языках у самодийских народов: ненцев, энцев, нганасан в неразрывной связи с их этнической культурой. Рассмотрены основные особенности бытования антропонимов. В сравнительно-сопоставительном плане привлекаются антропонимы других северных и сибирских этносов: тувинцев, якутов, нанайцев, чукчей, удэгейцев и др. Объектом исследования выступают антропонимы, а также языковые связи самодийских народов Севера Таймыра и русских в историческом развитии с позиций современной лингвистической контактологии. Предмет исследования – личные имена, фамилии, прозвища, этнонимы коренных малочисленных народов Севера Таймыра: ненцев, энцев, нганасан. Цель и задачи исследования: дать комплексное описание антропонимов малочисленных самодийских народов Таймыра, провести сравнительный анализ, а также определить основные особенности бытования в тесной

связи с их материальной и духовной культурой. Научная новизна, теоретическая и практическая значимость исследования связаны с малой степенью его изученности, отсутствием специальных научных работ, посвященных проблеме антропонимов в компаративистском аспекте. Уделено внимание и контактированию языков и культур в одном из обширных регионов Севера, Сибири и Арктики Российской Федерации – Таймырском полуострове. Материалом статьи послужили полевые данные авторов, а также беседы со студентами и преподавателями Института народов Севера РГПУ им. А.И. Герцена – носителями родных языков и этнических культур. В связи с тем, что информанты были полилингвами, при лингвистическом анализе фактического материала учитывались возможные процессы ассимиляции и степень их значимости для коренных жителей Севера. Методы исследования: описательный, сравнительносопоставительный, фонетический и лексико-семантический анализы. Результаты работы выявили факты, которые констатировали, что личные имена, фамилии, прозвища и этнонимы народов Севера Таймыра отличаются большим многообразием, а их происхождение и бытование связаны с особенностями материальной и духовной культуры этносов; среди экстралингвистических факторов, повлиявших на языковой материал, одним из основных явилось близкое общение коренных жителей с русским населением региона. В статье учтены опубликованные труды по ономастике известных отечественных учёных лингвистов и этнографов, исследовавших народы уральской языковой общности: А.А. Попова, Б.О. Долгих, Н.М. Терещенко, М.Я. Бармич, Л.В. Хомич, Г.Н. Грачевой, Г.И. Вануйто и др. Вместе с тем при написании статьи привлекались другие многообразные источники: словари, монографии, статьи, учебные пособия по языку, этнографии и фольклору народов Севера и русского населения Сибири и Арктики. Авторы приходят к выводам о том, что исследуемый материал антропонимы – прошёл непростой путь контактирования, взаимообогащения и развития; в заимствованных словах обнаруживаются прежде всего фонетические и лексические различия.

Ключевые слова: языки ненцев, энцев, нганасан, русский язык, антропонимы, языковые контакты.

Научная специальность: 5.10.1. Теория и история культуры, искусства; 5.6.4. Этнология, антропология и этнография; 5.9.8. Теоретическая, прикладная и сравнительносопоставительная лингвистика.

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#### Introduction

The article examines the problems of anthroponyms of small-numbered Samoyedic peoples of the North of Taymyr in synchronic and diachronic aspects. The author studies the names, patronymics, surnames, nicknames of the Nenets, Enets, Nganasans and, in comparative terms, those of other peoples of the North, Siberia and the Arctic: Eskimos, Chukchi, Nanai, Udege, Koryaks, Tuvinians, Yakuts and others. In the course of the research, there were used materials in Russian, the language of the main ethnic group of the Russian Federation.

The corpus of the work includes materials on the languages and spiritual culture of the Uralic (Samoyedic) peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Arctic.

The article is addressed to researchers in scientific and educational centres engaged in the study and teaching of languages and cultures of northern ethnic groups, teachers and students of colleges and universities. The problem of studying ethnonyms, personal names and surnames of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation remains an understudied area of onomastics and represents an interesting area of language science. Anthroponyms (or *onyms*) are any proper names of a person (name, patronymic, surname, nickname). The indigenous smallnumbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, including the peoples of the Taymir, have very diverse onyms with their own ethnic specificity.

Scientific articles and monographs on anthroponymy of small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East were published throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the first quarter of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the central and regional publishing houses of the country. These are the works devoted to Nenets by N.M. Tereshchenko, L. V. Khomich, M. Ya. Barmich, L.P. Nenyang, G.I. Vanuito; on Enets – by B.O. Dolgikh; on Nganasans – by G.N. Gracheva, N.M. Tereshchenko, L. V. Khomich and others.

However, in the present work the author for the first time has made an attempt to undertake a general review, description and analysis of anthroponyms of the peoples of the North of Taymyr on the material of the language and culture of the Samoyedic peoples: the Nenets, Enets, Nganasans; they are compared with the anthroponyms in the languages of Tungus-Manchurian, Turkic and Paleo-Asian peoples.

The article is based on published materials on the topic, as well as the results of oral interviews and personal observations of the author's forty years of experience with students – representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North at the Institute of the Peoples of the North of the Herzen State Pedagogical University.

Anthroponyms are of great scientific interest from various points of view: morphological structure, lexical semantics, principles of nomination, ways of their formation, peculiarities of functioning and other.

The authors are very grateful to the colleagues – teachers and scholars, graduates of the Faculty of the Peoples of the Far North/ Institute of the Peoples of the North of the Herzen University, who provided great consultative assistance, new factual material and interpretations of the etymologies of personal names, surnames and nicknames of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation: Nadezhda Bulatova (Nikifirova) (Evenki), Elizaveta Afanasyeva (Evenki), Lyubov Zaksor (Nanai), Olga Petrova (Valdu) (Ulch), Marina Odzyal (Ulch), Vladislav Rintetegin (Chukchi), Svetlana Chernyshova (Evenki), Anna Chayko (Khardani) (Evenki), Sardana Sharina (Evenki), Paraskovya Boitunova (Kittakhina) (Chukchi), Elena Pushkaryova (Lapsui) (Nenets), Victoria Valenkova (Vanuito) (Nenets), Galina Vanuito (Nenets), Larisa Bettu (Dolgan), Daria Bolina (Enets), etc., and others.

#### Materials and methods

### Uralic languages. Samoyed peoples

#### Nenets

The formation of Nenets' national names was influenced by natural conditions, way of life, people's occupations and their beliefs. As L.P. Nenyang notes, "Nenets personal names are a valuable source of knowledge for those who study the history of this people, its material and spiritual culture, everyday life and religious beliefs, psychological features" (Nenyang, 1996: 3). She further writes that names were given in connection with the circumstances of the child's birth: good or bad weather, a successful trade, a sonorous word accidentally heard by the parents, someone's arrival or departure, a remarkable event, an interesting incident: a daughter was born during someone's wedding may be given the name Tiuseine (of wedding, born during the wedding). A son born during a nomadic journey is likely to be called *Miusena* (born on the way); if the first cry of a baby girl was drowned out by a blizzard, she would be called Khadne (a woman-blizzard) (Nenyang, 1996: 6-7). Often the name was given in connection with geographical features of the area, by association with plants and animals, surrounding objects: Yakhako – river, Nero – osier bed, shrubbery, Khoiko – mountain ridge, Nokho – Arctic fox, *Limbia* – Eagle, *Piasik* – a buckle in reindeer harness, Siobia - hood, and so on.

A number of Nenets names are connected with physical features of a child: *Pukri* – longlegged, *Yenne* – light-haired, *Sevne* – sharpeyed, big-eyed, etc.; with behaviour of a child: *Merete* – fast, *Chusi* – lazy, *Sata* – spry, working, *Parombada* – hurried, hasty, etc. The names of such kins as *Vai*, *Lapsui*, *Nyarui*, *Puiko* can be nowadays both a name and a surname.

The Nenets also had a custom of giving children a temporary name (nickname), which was replaced by a new adult name at 7-9 years of age (Nenyang, 1996: 10-11). Unlike the Nenets, the Yakuts (Sakha) did not have a temporary nickname, but retained it for the rest of their lives. Cf.: nicknames, by which a particular man or woman was clearly identified, exist in almost every settlement in the village, in the naslegs (administrative districts) of uluses of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): Uhun Maavalong (high) Maya, Kychcha5ar - squint-eyed, Suoppar Baibal – chauffeur Pavel, haarbakh Byokke - unreliable Peter, Katit Kateriine wide Ekaterina, Uulaakh Uvbaan - sleepy Ivan, Suon Suoppuya - fat Sophia, Yrya Ylda singer Ilya (literally Yrya means song), Bayan Baaska – Vasily, accordion musician, Kuzbas – Kuzmin Vasily, Myndyr Uus - inquisitive, clever master, Uran uus - special master, Kylar Maappa – slanting Marfa, Tyllaah huopuya – sharp-tongued Sofya (lit. Tyl means tongue), Madianar Baaska - lame Vas'ka, etc.

M.Y. Barmich devoted a special article to the semantics of Nenets personal names (Barmich, 1980) and classified the names into 11 groups. At the same time, she remarks that "in the Nenets past, according to the unwritten law, each kin had its own oral code of personal names of people, which was not used by another kin" (Barmich, 1980: 84). Let us give examples: 1. Names connected with appearance and clothes: Aita, Ngaita - fat, obese, Khokholia stout, *Iamtako* – thin, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 86); 2. Names expressing the mental and physical state of a person: Patu - tired, Khanui - sick, Ibiti - clever, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 88-89); 3. Personal names connected with the human body parts and with the names of specific objects of the surrounding reality: Ai, Ae - body, Evko-head, Pad-sack, Iadku-sewing board,

Kum - barn, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 89-90); 4. Names indicating the sex of a person: Neklia woman, Ocheni - small woman, Kosoma man, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 91-92); 5. Personal names connected with ethnonyms: Amaku mummy, Piakli – given after the name of the Piak family, Lar – after the name of the Lar family, *Khabi* – name from the word 'Khanty', etc. (Barmich, 1980: 93); 6. Personal names formed from the names of animals and flora: Khariuchi - crane, Niunia - loon, Khalu - partridge, Kalku - small fish, Laburo - butterfly, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 94); 7. Names indicating the place, time of the child's birth or an event connected with it: Liopchi – a girl born on a flat place was called so, Ngesoda - rising (the child was born when chums were put up), Muiunduma – flood (the child was born during the flood of rivers), etc. (Barmich, 1980: 95); 8. Names reflecting the economic activity of the Nenets: *Eva* – shepherd, *Malkriav* – the name is derived from the verb *malkurts* - to guard, to guard reindeer in the daytime, Terango - to select reindeer, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 96-97); 9. Names connected with religious ideas of Nenets: Abu - strong, evil spirit, Taku - the name of a child born as if to replace a dead one, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 97); 10. Names given to a child by the first pronounced sounds in imitation of someone or something: Aoi - singing as a duck, Avvo – from imitation of a dog's barking, Khys-interjection requiring silence, etc. (Barmich, 1980: 98); 11. Names indicating the appearance of new family members and their attitude to them: Ateli - the name is formed from the verb *ngatelts* – to start waiting (perhaps it was the first baby in the family, the appearance of which everyone expected); *Iab* – happiness, good luck, etc.) (Barmich, 1980: 98-99).

Borrowed Russian names also became widespread among the Nenets as a result of the activities of Orthodox missionaries in the North: *Andron, Yakov, Marfa, Evdokia, Maria, Fedosya, Ulyana* and others. Many names have undergone transformation according to the laws of the Nenets language and have become independent names: *Alyo* – Alexei, *El'ka* – Ilya, *Naya* – Nadia, Nadezhda, *Semia* – Semyon, *Marane* – Tamara, *Enka* – Gennady, *Volo* – Vladimir, *Natu* – Natalia, etc.

G.I. Vanuito in the introduction to "The Dictionary of Nenets personal names" writes: "The traditional anthroponymic system of the Nenets was a combination of personal nicknames with a kin name. The personal nickname performed the leading role in naming: it served to distinguish individuals united by a kin name. Due to the absence of written monuments of the early period of the Nenets' history, it is difficult to make claims about their ancient onomastics. However, the names of ancestors have been preserved in the people's memory since ancient times. According to the unwritten law of the Nenets, each kin had its own oral set of personal names, which could not be used by another kin. The reason for choosing a name among the Nenets was various psychological and physical features of a person; certain events: seasonal characteristics of nature at the time of the child's birth; beliefs and traditions of the people; names of flora and fauna, objects, tools; the child's behaviour, appearance; features of childhood age, etc." (Vanuito, 2002: 4).

Further, admitting the influence of the Russian language and culture, she writes: "Significant changes in the anthroponymic system of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North began in the 1920s. At first, the influence of the Russian anthroponymic system was only the penetration of some Russian names into the traditional anthroponymic system of the Nenets. The names were altered according to the norms of their native language: Shurka – Siurka, Pashka – Paska, Fedva Peio. Later, as the number of borrowings increased, the traditional anthroponymic system began to change towards convergence with the Russian one. This process became especially intensive in the late 1930s due to the introduction of passports for the indigenous peoples in the Far North. The Russian anthroponymic system of the Nenets of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is one of the components of the national anthroponymy, in which much is based on their native anthroponymic material. By the 1960s, the anthroponymic system of the Nenets had represented a transition from the traditional to the Russian system: first name, patronymic and surname. The first name could be a proper name, the patronymic could be a father's name,

and the surname - a kin name. It should be noted that nicknames are called names on the grounds that they are recorded as names in official documents. There is still a great stability of Nenets national names in the conditions of the Russian anthroponymic system" (Vanuito, 2002: 3-4). The author, as well as other researchers, points out that "in recent years, there has been a desire among young people to introduce their national names into official life. In addition to national names, national patronymics formed 'according to the Russian model' are also used. In this case, the following variants are possible: 'Nenets name + Nenets patronymic + Nenets surname' (Khambako Nianotevich Laptsui), "Nenets name + Russian patronymic + Nenets surname" (Evane Alekseevna Yar), "Russian name + Russian patronymic + Nenets surname" (Victoria Vladimirovna Yar), "Russian name + Nenets patronymic + Nenets surname" (Galina Podovna Yar)" (Vanuito, 2002: 4-5).

From the etymologies given by G. I. Vanuito: from *Vadio* – male patronymic – *Vadiovich*, female – *Vadiovna*. Derivatives: Vadioko, Vadiokotsia, Vadiotsia. (from *vadios* – to remain without smth) (Vanuito, 2002: 9); Vadiot, male patronymic – Vadetovich, Vadetovna. Derivatives: Vadiotako, Vadiotakotsi, Vadiotko, Vadiotatsiakotsia (from vadeta – famous, renowned) (Vanuito, 2002: 11), etc.

Among the names of students and teachers of the Institute of the Peoples of the North of Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University we also find some interesting examples: Lapsui (according to the etymology of L. P. Nenyang stubby (Nenyang, 1996: 37); according to the oral report of Nenets V.V. Valenkova (Vanuito) - "broken off, cracked (about a tree)"; according to the explanation of E.T. Pushkariova (Lapsui): "saved, protected". Etymology is connected with the plot of the legend about how the boy was saved from enemies: he was hidden by his grandmother, tamped tightly with snow cover. Serotetto - white-deered, one who has many white reindeer. Okotetto - one who has many deer. Tesido - one who has no deer. *Vanuito* – having strong roots, cf.: *vanu* – root. Kheno - quiet, calm. Pyrerka - pike-like. Su*soi* – born with charisma, cf.: *su* – breed, build, charisma: soias' - to be born.

Nenets Victoria Vasilievna Valenkova (Vanuito), Nenets language teacher, assistant of the Department of Uralic Languages, Folklore and Literature of Institute of the North Peoples of Herzen University cites the following Nenets names and their etymology: Ader - inhabitant of the island, Aivaseda - without a head (chief), Anagurichi - boat stern, Vanuito - snag (root), Vengo - dog's ear, Vora (Vyrra) - stubborn (brushes on deer's feet), Lambai - crooked horns (branching antlers), Lambdo - low, Laptander - living on the plain, Lapsui - showing the way, Nenvang - mosquito, Nerkagy ernik (tundra birch), Niarui - bald (clear water), Niach - friend, Okotetto - many reindeer, Piak - stick (tree), forest, foresters, Pyrerko (Pyrirko) - pike (pike-like), Salinder - inhabitant (cape dweller), Segoi - singing mountain, Serotetto - rich in white deer, Tior - shout, Tibichi – old (toothy), Togoi – cloth, Tusida – without fire (without hearth), Tesida (Tesido) without reindeer (destitute), Khabdiu - bubble, Khariuchi - crooked (stern of something), or crane, Khudi - bird, Kheno (Khenu) - reindeer sled, *Iadne* – on foot (pedestrian), *Iaptik* – pile, Iaptunai - goose's paw, Yar - crying. At the same time, she notes that the interpretation depends on the area where the Nenets live. Thus, crane is universally denoted by the noun khario (phonetic variants khare, khariu). Most of these names act as surnames, at the same time, these names are predominantly Russian. Among the students of the Institute there are: Arkady Aivaseda, Victoria Vanuito, Irina Vengo, Roza Tibichi, Leonid Khudi, Alexei Taibarei, Irina Kheno, Nina Yadne, Galina Yar, etc.

One of the first researchers of Nenets names L. V. Khomich found that "in the past, Nenets had proper names, mostly formed from generic names, so they are freely translatable: *Serako* – whitish, *Edeikhasavo* – new man, *Savane* – good woman, *Pirtsiako* – tall, etc.' (Khomich, 1973: 153). She noted that these were nicknames, and real names (*nenei nium*'), as a rule, could not be translated. The author specifically mentioned that "the giving of a name was related to the circumstances of birth and the appearance of the child, and the proper names of adults were not used by persons younger than them; in general, their use was limited" (Khomich, 1973). She also cites cases when Nenets used names characteristic of the peoples of the Paleo-Asiatic language family living far in the north-east of Asia. These are, in particular, Eskimo, Koryak, Chukchi names and self-names of the Yukaghirs: Ama (amo) – wolf (Esg.), Ara – shout (Esg.), Appa (apa) – grandfather (Esq.), Pana – spear (Esq.), Yl'va - wild deer (Kor., Chuk.). At the same time, the author states that "some Nenets names are found among the Eskimos: Atko (cf.: atku - upper garment made of fur (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 100)), Atliu, Egaliu, Ikla, Ili, Kailia, Kanglia (cf. kangliaka - to surround, encircle (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 201)), Liu (cf.: l'u – slingshot (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 100)), Maina (cf.: mainy - skinny (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 310)), Nana (cf.: nanaga - polar bear cub (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 100)), etc.), and others. The name Odu makes us remember the self-name of the Yukaghirs' (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 154). Taking advantage of the data of S.V. Ivanov about the spread of Eskimo ornamentation up to the Yenisei, L.V. Khomich suggests ancient contacts of the Nenets (Uralic peoples) with the Chukchi, Kamchatka, and Yukaghir peoples of the Paleo-Asiatic linguistic community (Eskimo-Russian Dictionary: 155).

Z. N. Kupriyanova records some Nenets names found in folklore works: *Morrode, Yabta Salya, Lad Sir, Vai, Nositeta, Lidigako*, etc. (Epic songs of the Nenets, 1965: 39, 45, 50, 53, etc.).

#### Enets

The issues of ethnic kins of the Enets were studied by B.O. Dolgikh (Dolgikh, 1946). There are no special works that studied the anthroponyms of Enets.

Since nowadays there are practically no Enets speakers left, we have only materials kindly provided to us by Daria Spiridonovna Bolina. We present this information as edited by D. S. Bolina herself dated 10 January 2024: "Taking into account that at the end of 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries there was forced Christianisation of the aboriginal population living in the northern territories, and it was carried out with the pragmatic purpose of strengthening the Russian statehood and creating a vector of economic ideological, cultural orientation, modern Enets (both forest and tundra) have Russian names and surnames; or surnames similar to Russian ones. Why those or other Enets families, converted to Christianity, received those or other surnames is not always clear, We have never dealt with this issue specifically. There are just some explanations of old people.

"Here is how my mother Vera Fyodorovna Bolina, born Lyrmina (Nenets by nationality), explained the origin of the surname 'Bolin' to me: 'Pia mogadi - forest people. Enets living in the forest tundra, using firewood (logs) to heat their dwellings. They explained to the newcomers the origin of their clan from firewood, logs: 'The name of my family is connected with wood, firewood, log which sounds as 'poleno'. That's where we got the surname Boliny from'. The origin of the surname Silkins (kin Bai) was explained as 'people strong, rich'. This is a folk explanation of the origin of surnames. And on how the surnames were actually given to the Enets kins, I think that this question should be addressed to the studies of scientists - ethnographers who were engaged in the ethnogenesis of Siberian and northern (Samoyedic) peoples. As for names, there was a time when Enets gave their children their national names. The given names are the names of Enets - people, mostly known to us, who have lived in Potapovo, Vorontsovo in 20th-21st centuries. What did the Enets think about on the eve of the birth of a child? Of course, every person wanted their child to be born easily and live a happy, beautiful, lucky life. But it was not customary to think about the name before the child was born. Therefore, the name was given to the baby after its birth. The choice of a name could be connected with the circumstances of birth: the weather at the time of birth, the place where the baby was born, the child's peculiarities, both physical and characteristic qualities: shouty, quiet, restless, etc. Enets' names belong to a specific person and are not repeated:

*Puiaku* – nose (it is possible that the child's nose was large or, on the contrary, very small); *Turi* – trumpeting (obviously the child shouted a lot, 'trumpeted'); *Liauli* – fighting, stroppy; *Korali* – stubborn; *Shurnia* – fidgety;

Dehalia – small perch, twin; Diogali – oneeyed; Chiba – light; Biakshi – without neck; Poshi – round (fat); Nalia – ruddy; Togi – born with blue colour; Botane – surplus, burden (not quite, obviously, a desirable child); Khetaku – born on the river Khete; Kazune – born in a blizzard; Syrane – snow girl; Kaiane – sunny girl; Liulia – pet name (etymology is unclear); Kakane – pet name for a girl; Liacha – pet name for a girl (etymology is unclear);

As the child grew up, the name could change, but this did not always happen. Most often it happened when the growing child began to show changes in character, in appearance:

*Katyku* – a girl (the name of a grown-up girl *katy* – girl, maiden); *Diatane* – thin slender (woman); *Diarane* – childless; *Kone* – slender as a birch tree woman; *Piadakhaz* – woodcutter (an enthusiast of collecting firewood); *Tetako* – chosen, selected; *Bat* – promising; *Nibi* – spider (this was the name of one of women in Potapovo, obviously resembling a spider by some qualities)".

#### Nganasans

N.M. Tereshchenko believed that "due to the remoteness of the habitat of this people (northern areas of the Taymyr Peninsula) it was not touched by the activities of the Orthodox mission under Tsarism. Since the Nganasans were not subjected to Christianisation, they naturally did not have church names given at baptism. Until very recently, the proper names of the Nganasans were formed almost exclusively by means of their native language. The number of proper names among the Nganasans is almost unlimited, there were only few repetitions" (Tereshchenko, 1986: 223). Usually, the name of a newborn was chosen by one of close relatives: mother, father, most often grandmother. There were cases when a shaman selected a proper name. According to the Nganasan custom, a child receives a name when there appear some distinctive features. However, under certain conditions a proper name can be given even earlier. Most often new names are chosen for newborns, much less often the name of one of the deceased ancestors, the most respected and honoured, is assigned to the infant.

The motives for giving a name to a new family member are very diverse. The name may reflect the peculiarities of the child's appearance, behaviour, character, the time and place of birth, it may contain an indication, a hint of certain cases, events of family life that preceded or accompanied the birth. There were no restrictions in the choice of a name among the Nganasans. There were no sets of names peculiar to certain families or kins.

In the absolute majority of cases proper names are formed on the basis of appellatives of the spoken language. Therefore, their etymology is quite transparent, e.g.: Antuk (cf. nendui; second stem - tsentu) - boat (i.e. the child was born when the parents travelled down the river on a boat), *Diamaku* – bird (by the time the girl was born, many birds had flown nearby), *Kidipte* – woke up (by his birth) (from the verb kitedi – to wake up), Kuntu – throaty, Kuodumu - man, Motu - six (the child was born with six toes), Mutsku - forest, growing trees (the girl was born as soon as her parents came from the tundra to the forest area to harvest trees for handicrafts), Meru - sandy bank (the boy's birth took place on the sandy bank of a river), Neripti'd - preceded (two women gave birth to the children, but Neripti's mother was the first), Numatsku - young, Niage - good, Tsadia - younger brother (and also younger sister), Nambu - dream (born at night when everyone was asleep), Nombupte - no more (there were too many girls in the family even without the newborn; cf. nombulzsv - to be insurplus), Tsuruko - mug (the child had a short face with rough features), Seimy - eye, Seimyti nediaka - narrow eyes, Simbia - snub-nosed, Tubiaku – button (because of a face round like a button), *Khaga* – with the head thrown back, Khoiru - from the word khoa - felled tree, firewood (when the girl was born, one of her relatives went to get firewood), Khoriau (khoriav) – imitation of a swallow's cry (at the time of the child's birth the swallows cried loudly), Khuza - leaked (it rained heavily, and water penetrated into the chum), Chebiaku - small nail (a skinny baby came into the world), etc.

In some cases, names are given not to simply state something, but to predetermine the child's future and set certain tasks for him / her, for example: *Barbe* – master, chief (i.e., he will grow up, become a good master, improve the family's situation), *Dilo* from the verb *dilebi* – to raise (the name was given in the hope that the grown-up son would improve the well-being of his parents), *Tui* – fire (fire was considered a sacred belonging of the family, inherited from the ancestors; it was as if the boy was ordered to protect the family traditions with this name), *Keikumuo* – support, from the verb *keikuokhu* – to lean on (in due time the son would become a support for his relatives), *Tasi* – reindeer, from the verb *tatushi* – to keep reindeer (the wish that the son would grow up to be a skillful reindeer herder).

There are also some more general criteria that establish why one name should be given rather than another; for example, the name Kursimi (from the verb kursedi - to return) is given after the death of someone close (a baby is born as if to replace the deceased); cf. the name Leptebiu with approximately the same meaning returned back (the grandmother called so the child of the youngest son, who was born soon after her eldest grandson drowned), Lapse*ke* – cradle (the youngest child in the family is called by this name), Sianume - from the word syanuptyry'e - soothed (a child born after the death of the father as if "soothes" the mother in her grief by his appearance in the world) (Tereshchenko, 1986: 223-226).

So-called protective names are not widely spread among the Nganasans. Only a small number of proper names of people cannot be deciphered on the basis of the Nganasan language vocabulary. According to the explanation of the Nganasans, these are mainly names given by shamans, for example, *Lire* and others. They also include proper names borrowed from the Dolgans and Enets. As for proper names of non-Nganasan origin, these are, for example, such names as *Khosu, Akai, Chare, Bolo, Dunto, Khantui*, etc.

Male and female names are not distinguished by any specific morphological and syntactic means. The same name can be equally assigned to a boy and a girl, for example: *Niage, Diamaku, Anikka, Diasia, Katege, Kokhoru, Meru, Tsadia,* etc. The distinction between male and female proper names can be only semantic. For example, a girl cannot be called by the name *Tasi* (from the verb *tatusi* – to keep reindeer), as women are not engaged in reindeer breeding according to the still preserved norms of division of labour. A girl cannot be called by the name *Kuodumu* (man), just as it would be impossible to give the name Ny (woman) to a boy (Tereshchenko, 1986: 224–226).

The name received by the child is kept for all life. In some cases, a nickname may be used in parallel with a proper name, and the latter may sometimes even replace the true name. Nicknames can be very diverse; they characterise a distinctive feature of a person, for example: *Diamu* – glutton, *Tate* – awl (very persistent), *Turku seimy* – literally "lake-eye" (because of large eyes), etc.

According to the Nganasan customs, personal names are used with great restrictions. It is impossible to call by name a person who is older than the speaker. When addressing, people usually use words denoting kinship relations: elder brother, elder sister, uncle, etc. A mother or father could be called by the name of their child by other people if the child had not yet reached puberty: Simbia's father, Kuodumu's mother, etc. It was strictly forbidden not only to address by name, but also to speak to the parents of a husband or wife at all. All necessary negotiations with them were conducted through their children. If something had to be said to the wife's elder brother, he was addressed in the plural: you will do, you will come.

Proper names, perhaps, even more often than nominative names, denote emotional evaluation. In some of them the diminutive (or affectionate) suffix is organically included in the stem, for example: *Chebiaku* – small nail, *Syraikuo* – whitish, *Tubiaku* – small button and others.

In educational institutions the Nganasan proper names are usually replaced by Russian ones, approximately similar in sound: Diasia – Daria, *Kursimi* – Konstantin, *Kokhoru* – Ekaterina, *Komuptiie* – Nikolai, *Simbia* – Serafima, etc. The latter names are fixed as official names, appearing in all documents.

Since the 1940s, Russian proper names have become common in the Nganasan civil

status records: *Marya* (1943), *Nina* (1943), *Oktiabrina* (1946), *Valery* (1948), *Galina* (1951), *Marina* (1955), *Svetlana* (1955). In recent years, the number of Russian proper names given at birth has increased significantly. The occurring changes in anthroponymy clearly testify to the transformation of the Nganasans' life, to the strengthening and expansion of their contacts with the Russians.

The Nganasans have patronymics according to the Russian model on the basis of national proper names, for example: *Niage Iagulovna (Iagula), Barbe Tsachepteevich (Tsachepte), Tokhodu Kondevna (Kondiie), Parka Kondakovna (Kondako),* etc., and others.

The former Nganasan kin names are preserved as surnames: *Kokery, Chunanchar, Momde (Tsomde)* and others. Like patronymics, surnames are used only in official life, they are not spread in everyday life. When addressing, people use only first names (taking into account the existing restrictions) or words denoting one or another degree of kinship.

The researcher of the Nganasans L. V. Khomich writes: "In the past the Nganasans lived under the patriarchal tribal system. Their main social unit was the kin (a group of blood relatives descended from one ancestor). As well as Nenets, the Nganasan kinship was based on the male line, i.e. they were characterised by the paternal kin system (patriarchy). The whole Nganasan community consisted of two tribal associations and one independent clan. The tribe of Avam Nganasans included five clans: Nguomda (Momde), Ngamtusuo, Linancher, Chunancher, Ninondia. These kins are considered purely Nganasan" (Khomich, 2000: 33). Yet the author says that later representatives of Ngamtusuo family received Russian surname -Kosterkins, Linancher – Turdagins, Ninondia – Porbins, Oko – Iarotsky. From the same source one learns that "the tribe of Vadeev Nganasans consisted of six kins: Ngoibuo (Moibu), Asiandu, Kupchik, Kuokary, Lapsaka, Niorkho. These kins, as researchers consider, have come from Tungus or have incorporated some Tungus element. The Nganasan kin Oko (Okuo), connected by origin with the Dolgans, was considered to be Nganasan. The names of the Nganasan kins are easily translatable into Russian:

Ngamtusuo – generous, Lapsaka – the youngest of children, the last-born, Kupchik – copper cauldron, Ngoibuo – head, Kuokary – crane, etc." (Khomich, 2000: 33). Some names of the Nganasan kins are listed by G.N. Gracheva: "Chunanchar, Lininchar, Niuniandia, Momde, Ngamtusuo" (Gracheva, 1983: 63).

The Nganasans are known to have been cautious to give their children names; up to three or four years after the birth a child had no name (Khomich, 2000: 38). Such a phenomenon is not unusual among the peoples of the North and Siberia. The researcher of Tuvan ethnos S. N. Vainshtein notices: "The name 'at' only in very rare cases was given immediately after birth, more often after several weeks, months or even years. It is known from ethnographic materials that even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a boy often received a male name very late – at the age of ten and even later. Before that he was called just *a boy, little boy, son,* etc." (Vainshtein, 1969: 125).

L.V. Khomich makes a supposition about the naming of Nganasans: "Naming was often connected with some events coinciding in time with the birth of a child. For example, the name Ngorbiie means 'joyful' (on the day when the son was born, there was great joy in the family: the father got four wild deer). In families where children used to die, the newborn was sometimes given a dog's name to deceive evil spirits. But just like Nenets and Enets, the Nganasans often named their children with real names given in honour of ancestors. These names were usually not pronounced, and when communicating they were replaced by nicknames, Russian names or kinship terms" (Khomich, 2000: 38). The researcher also gives the names of a famous Nganasan shaman - Diukhadie Kosterkin, the first chairman of the Nganasan collective farm - Numaku Chunanchar, folk artist -Motumiaku Turdagin.

Among the names and surnames of the Nganasan students who studied in Institute of the Peoples of the North of the Herzen State Pedagogical University there are: *Nadezh-da Kosterkina, Andrei Chunanchar. Svetlana Nereevna Turdagina-Zhovnitskaia*, a modern researcher of the Nganasan language and culture, author of textbooks and dictionaries.

#### Results

Extralinguistic factors are vital for the etymologisation of names and surnames. They include the territory where a name, a nickname, or a surname was used; geographical and climatic conditions; peculiarities of traditional culture of the local population, their ethnic and cultural contacts.

Samoyedic peoples did not give a name to a child immediately after the birth, but only after observing the child's character, disposition and health. When the number of these observations becomes sufficient, the child's individual qualities and personal peculiarities are found out, then elders (grandfather, grandmother, uncle) or a shaman choose a name for the child. Thanks to this habit of people to choose an appropriate name, Samoyedic names were quite diverse. They tried not to repeat names, and most often a child's name was a new word. For names, they used denotations of phenomena, characteristics of everything that surrounded the child at the time of birth. So, if the birth of a child was connected with some event, it was reflected in its name.

The development of the national names of the Nenets, Enets and Nganasans was influenced by natural conditions, lifestyle, people's occupations and their beliefs. For example, as L.P. Nenyang notes, "Personal names of Nenets are a valuable source of knowledge for those who study the history of this people, its material and spiritual culture, everyday life and religious beliefs, psychological features" (Nenyang, 1996: 3). She further writes that names were given in connection with the circumstances of the child's birth: good or bad weather, a successful trade, an interesting word accidentally heard by the parents, someone's arrival or departure, a noteworthy event, a remarkable incident like a daughter was born during someone's wedding. Often the name was given in connection with geographical features of the area, by association with plants and animals, surrounding objects.

A number of the Nenets names are associated with the physical characteristics of the child. The names of such kins as *Vai, Lapsui, Niarui, Puiko* can be both a name and a surname. The Nenets also had a custom of giving children a temporary name (nickname), which was replaced by a new adult name at 7–-9 years (Nenyang, 1996: 10–11). The researcher collected and recorded about 1,600 Nenets names in the Ust-Yenisei district of Taimyr alone.

#### Conclusion

Thus, the Samoyedic peoples of the Taymir still have their own personal names, some of which were transformed into official surnames in Soviet times. Different local groups of the Nenets, Enets, Nganasans had two names: personal and official. Many names are conditioned by religious beliefs of the peoples of Siberia and the Arctic, in particular animism and totemism. They had a protective function, keeping children safe from the intrigues of evil spirits. Surnames, as a rule, reflected kin names of ethnic groups. Some northerners do not have patronymics in their passports, which sometimes complicates office work (cf.: there was Igor Potpot, a student of the Institute of the Peoples of the North of the Herzen University from the Chukotka Autonomous District, who had difficulties in issuing documents on transfer, appointment to scholarships, etc.). In response to A.V. Smolyak's assertion that the Nanai "had no need to use patronymics" (Smolyak, 1970: 166), N.B. Kile argues that among the Nanai "patronymics were mentioned and were necessary when clarifying kinship relations or when contacting and getting acquainted with tribesmen who had previously been unknown. Then it was necessary to name one's kin, one's own name, one's father's name, and sometimes the name of the camping ground" (Kile, 1973: 151). The same author, speaking about the figurative meaning of the Nanai proper names, concludes that "most of the names are names of various objects, animals, birds, fish and plants: Seleken - ironware, Khulu - squirrel, Pimu hazel grouse, Tunke - the lid of a big boiler, Gara – rowlock, branch knot, Ara – bran and a number of others", which is also characteristic of the Samoyedic people.

At the same time, a branched system of names and self-names of peoples was preserved (Nenets-Samoyeds, Nanai-Golds, Nivkhi-Gilyaks, Chukchi-Luoravetlans, Khanty-Ostyaks, Mansi-Voguls, DolgansHaka, Ulch-Nani, Evenks-Lamuts, Evenks-Tungus, etc.). This ambiguity coupled with tribal names or self-names according to the territory of settlement and other characteristics (Namatkans – Evens living on the shores of the sea, Orochons – reindeer Evenks, etc.) brought even more confusion for non-specialists (Gortsevskaya, 1959: 9; Sokolova, Tugolukov, 1983: 76–87).

While the Nenets, Evenks and Nanai had names of kins instead of surnames (*Piak, Ai*vaseda, Nogo, Pankagir, Bel'dy, Samar, etc.), the Evenks of Yakutia had surnames (*Gromov,* Nikulin, Sleptsov, etc.), and the names of their kins (Diallankin, Kukuiun, Miamial', Doida, Dotki, etc.) had to be clarified by additional questions during expeditions. However, there were exceptions to the rules: the Even surnames Dolgan, Uiagan, Delianskaia, for example, in Kamchatka and Chukotka were derived from the name of the kin.

Borrowed names and surnames underwent phonetic changes according to the laws of specific ethnic languages. In particular, the names underwent transformation according to the laws of the Nenets language and became firmly incorporated into the namebook as independent names: *Alyo* from Aleksey, etc. Such a phenomenon is characteristic practically for all peoples of the North. For example, Russian names of Udege were adapted according to the laws of their native language and began to be perceived as Udege: *Sergey – Sogi, Pyotr – Pachi, Saveliy – Savuska, Arina – Gina, Klava – Bumbu, Valentina – Batakhana, Katya – Gandi*, and others (Podmaskin, 1977: 102–106).

The anthroponymy data can testify to the ancient ethno-cultural and linguistic contacts of the peoples in the North and Far East. In particular, L. V. Khomich speaks about it, citing cases of Nenets' use of names characteristic of the peoples of the Paleo-Asiatic language family living far away in the north-east of Asia.

According to G. I. Demidova: "With each new generation native names are forgotten, with each new academic year at the Institute of the Peoples of the North there are fewer and fewer students bearing the names of their ancestors. This is explained by both linguistic reasons and extra-linguistic factors associated with social transformations within society: firstly, the desire of the peoples of the North to facilitate communication, as non-Russian names of indigenous people are often difficult to pronounce for people of other nationalities; secondly, the desire not to stand out among others; thirdly, children are called by Russian names in mixed marriages, which have become very common" (Demidova, 2009: 77–78).

Further research into the anthroponymy of the peoples of Siberia, the Arctic and the Far East, including the small-numbered peoples of Taymyr, may bring significant results.

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