

ON SOUTH ESTONIAN PLACENAMES IN LUDZA (LUTSI) REGION IN EASTERN LATVIA (LATGALIA)¹

Dēl pietu estu vietovardziu Ludzos regione rytu Latvijoje (Latgaloje)

SIMONAS NOREIKIS

University of Helsinki

E-mail: simonas.noreikis@helsinki.fi

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2895-5880>

Fields of research: Finno-Ugric historical and comparative linguistics, onomastics.

<https://doi.org/10.35321/all94-07>

ANNOTATION

The article investigates Estonian toponyms in the Ludza area of Latvia's Latgale region. Lutsi Estonians were a group of Estonians who moved to this area in the 17th and 18th centuries and were ultimately assimilated into the local population in the 20th century. The sources of the material studied include: toponyms presented in earlier research (5), the Estonian Language Institute (EKI) toponym card index (54), the book *Eesti murded IX*, which contains samples of Lutsi Estonian language (1), and the database of the Latvian Geospatial Information Agency (LĢIA) (1). The investigated toponyms are compared primarily to those from the South Estonian dialect area and toponyms in other Finnic territories. The Estonian etymology of three toponyms presented in earlier research is rejected. Two toponyms can be considered Estonian because no alternative etymologies were found. The EKI card index contains 98 cards. Some of these are transparent Finnic toponyms that require no further explanation. A total of 54 toponyms were selected, formed from specific Lutsi Estonian appellatives or South Estonian words, while the others are adapted Latvian or Slavic toponyms. Toponyms found in *Eesti murded IX* and the LĢIA database can be explained as specific South Estonian toponyms. The vast majority of the investigated toponyms no longer exist, as the Lutsi Estonians were multilingual and likely used different versions of these toponyms depending on the language spoken. Following the extinction of the Lutsi Estonian language, the Estonian versions of the toponyms also disappeared.

KEYWORDS: onomastics, toponyms, Latgale, Ludza, South Estonian language islands.

ANOTACIJA

Straipsnis skirtas estu vietovardziu tyrimui Ludzos apylinkese Latgalos regione Latvijoje. Ludzos estai – XVII–XVIII a. atsikelusiu arba atkeldintu estu grupė, kalbėjusi pietu estu tarmėmis, ir galutinai asimiliuota XX a. Tiriamos medžiagos šaltiniai yra šie: ankstesniuose tyrimuose aptarti vietovardžiai (5), Estu kalbos instituto (EKI) vietovardziu kartoteka (54), leidinys *Eesti murded IX* su Ludzos estu tarmių tekstais (1) ir Latvijos geoerdvinės informacijos agentūros (LĢIA) duomenų bazė (1). Tiriama vietovardžiai pirmiausia lyginami su pietu estu tarmių arealo vietovardžiais, taip pat su kitu finu kalbu arealu vietu vardais. Ankstesniuose tyrimuose aptartu vietovardziu estiškos kilmės galimybė atmesta, tačiau dviejų iš jų kilmė gali būti estiška, nes argumentu dėl kitokios etimologijos nėra. EKI kartotekoje yra 98 kortelės. Dalyje iš jų užrašyti aiškūs finiški vietovardžiai, nereikalaujantys papildomo paaiškinimo. Iš viso tyrimui pasirinkti 54 vietovardžiai,

¹ The study has been financed by Kone Foundation (Koneen säätiö, Finland).

sudaryti iš savitų Ludzos estų tarmės apeliatyvų ar pietų estų žodžių; kiti – adaptuoti latvių ar slavų vietovardžiai. *Eesti murded IX* ir LĢIA rasti vietovardžiai gali būti aiškinami kaip saviti pietų estų vietų vardai. Didžioji dalis tiriamų estų vietovardžių neišliko, kadangi Ludzos estai buvo daugiakalbiai ir kitos kalbos vartosenoje panaudodavo atitinkamą vietovardžio variantą kita kalba. Sulig estų kalbos išnykimu tiriamame plote išnyko ir vietovardžių variantai šia kalba.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: onomastika, vietovardžiai, Latgala, Ludza, pietų estų kalbų salos.

1. Introduction

1.1. Aim

This study focuses on South Estonian placenames in the Ludza (Lutsi)² region of Eastern Latvia (Latgale). The aim is to analyse their etymologies and structures, comparing them primarily to toponyms in the South Estonian language.

1.2. Historical Background of Latgalia

Latgalia (Lv *Latgale*, Ltg *Latgola*) has a different historical background from other parts of Latvia (see Zubko-Melne 2018). During the period when Latgalia was part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the region was referred to as Polish Livonia (Pl *Inflanty Polskie*). Historian Gustaw Manteuffel (1879: 21) begins the first chapter of his magnum opus, *Inflanty Polskie*: “The early history of Polish Livonia is shrouded in darkness that no light has yet illuminated. Whether Latvians were the earliest indigenous inhabitants here, or whether Finnic tribes displaced the local population during the migration of peoples, remains unresolved to this day.”³ Since that publication, archaeologists and linguists have been attempting to address this question, though many related issues remain unresolved.

Currently, the local language of the region is Latgalian, whose status as a dialect or a separate language is still debated (see Stafecka 2025). In any case, Latgalian exhibits distinct phonological traits and specific vocabulary compared to standard Latvian (e.g. Lv *valoda* ~ Ltg *volūda* ‘language’, Lv *peldēties* ~ Ltg *mauduotis* ‘to swim’) and due to these differences, they are not completely mutually intelligible. Unlike other parts of Latvia, where Lutheranism predominates, Catholicism is the dominant faith in Latgalia. This region has been multicultural for centuries (Manteuffel 2020: 243). In addition to Latgalians, a significant Polish community is present. Due to the proximity of Russia and Belarus, there are also Russian and Belarusian communities. Among the Russian-speaking inhabitants, communities of Orthodox Old Believers exist, each with a different historical background from other Russians. Furthermore, Lithuanian communities have been located in various parts of Latgalia, particularly within the Subate-Tiskādi-Sarja triangle (Garšva 1989: 64). There was also a South Estonian-speaking community that was assimilated in the 20th century.

1.3. Historical Background of Lutsi Estonians

Ludza (Est *Lutsi*) Estonians lived in the area around the town of Ludza. Their language was a variation of South Estonian (Ariste 1963: 177). Besides Lutsi, South Estonian includes Võro, Seto, and Leivu variations (Kallio 2018). The origin and timing of the arrival of Lutsi Estonians remain unclear. Latvian researcher Saulvedis Cimermanis (2017: 9) mentions three different hypotheses:

1. They are descendants of the region’s ancient Finno-Ugric inhabitants, who are ethnically mixed and preserved their language for an extended period.

² For the town name here, the Latvian form *Ludza* will be used, whereas for the Estonian dialect, the form *Lutsi* will be used.

³ Translated from Polish by the author.

2. They were newcomers from Estonia who, fleeing the oppression of German nobility and serfdom, found refuge in Polish-conquered Latgale after the 1629 Armistice of Altmark; however, returning to Estonia was not easy.

3. They were Estonian peasants bought or exchanged for other goods by Polish or German noblemen, and later settled in their Latgale manors.

In addition to these hypotheses, it is believed that Estonians arrived in the Ludza region at the beginning of the 18th century during the Northern War (Ojansuu 1912: 23). Multiple waves of migration brought Estonians to Latgale, which explains the variation in their subdialects (Balodis 2022: 45). According to Petri Kallio, Estonians could not have settled in Ludza before the first half of the 17th century, as sound changes occurring in Lutsi Estonian align with those in South Estonian by the mid-17th century (e.g. plural ending *-d* > *-q*, Kallio 2018: 113).



Map 1. Movement of Estonians to Ludza according to Heikki Ojansuu (1912: 21) (map made by Darya Donskaya)

Recent research suggests that there may have also been Estonian settlements in the Rēzekne region (Balodis 2023).

2. Earlier Research on the Finnic Toponyms of Latgale and Starting Points of the Study

In his book *Lutsi maarahvas*, Oskar Kallas (1894: 31–33) dedicated a paragraph to placenames. He asserted that an Estonian village has three names (see Appendix 2):

- 1) the original Estonian name;
- 2) a Latvian or Russian name that is either a) a direct translation, b) an adaptation, or c) an unrelated original name;
- 3) a secondary Estonian form derived from the Latvian or Russian name.

H. Ojansuu (1912: 21–22) found parallels (see Appendix 1) between toponyms in the Ludza and Vastseliina regions, indicating historical and linguistic connections, and proposed that Lutsi Estonians originally migrated from the Vastseliina area. The toponyms he mentioned are largely the same as those noted by O. Kallas. In addition to comparing these toponyms to those in the Vastseliina region, he also commented on O. Kallas's original proposals.

Later investigations did not strictly focus on the Ludza region; rather, they encompassed all of Latvia, or at least Latgale. In the 1920s, Lithuanian linguist Kazimieras Būga sought to find parallels between Latvian and Finnic toponyms, and his etymological proposals were cited in subsequent research. In 1968, Marta Rudzīte wrote an article titled *Somugriskie hidronīmi Latvijas teritorijā*, citing 247 toponyms from across Latvia, with 15 located in Latgale and only 3 in the Ludza region.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Antons Breidaks conducted extensive research into the toponyms of Latgale (e.g., *Влияние прибалтийско-финских языков на латгальские говоры Лудзенского района Латвийской ССР* (En: *The Influence of the Baltic-Finnic Languages on the Latgalian Dialects of the Ludza Region of the Latvian SSR*, 1970), *Прибалтийско-финские названия рек в Латгалии* (En: *Baltic-Finnic Names of Rivers in Latgale*, 1973a), *Славянские названия рек в Латгалии* (En: *Slavic Names of Rivers in Latgale*, 1973b), *Ezera nosaukuma S'iv'ers' etimoloģija* (En: *Etymology of The Lake Name S'iv'ers'*, 1983), *Baltijas somu izcelsmes hidronīmi Latgalē* (En: *Hydronyms of Baltic-Finnic Origin in Latgale*, 1989)), alongside American Latvian researcher Valdis J. Zeps (e.g., *A critique of proposed Finnic hydronyms in Latgale* (1977) and *Pre-Latgalian hydronyms in East Latvia* (Zeps, Rosenshield 1995)). However, most of the research weight has leaned toward possible Finnic toponyms that likely predated the migration of Estonians and even the Baltic settlement. A robust debate ensued, evident in V. J. Zeps's 1977 article, where he critiqued the etymologies proposed by M. Rudzīte (1968) and A. Breidaks (1970; 1973a), and in A. Breidaks's 1989 follow-up where he countered V. J. Zeps's (1977) remarks. Some of the etymologies proposed by M. Rudzīte, A. Breidaks, and V. J. Zeps were subsequently commented on by Bušs and Balode in the 2000s (e.g., Bušs, Balode-Anelauskaite 2005; Balode 2007; Balode, Bušs 2009). Finnic etymological suggestions are also recorded in the *Latvian toponym dictionary* (LVV) volumes.

3. Methods and Materials

In this study, historical-geographical, substrate onomastic, and etymological methods are used.

Given that the hypothesis of Lutsi Estonians as a relocated population is the most widely accepted, it is necessary to apply settlement-historical onomastic methods. Denis V. Kuzmin (2014: 28) summarises that the main idea of settlement-historical onomastics is that a migrating population carries new toponyms to their new settlement area, using the same constructional, vocabulary, and semantic models of toponyms from their previous home. This concept is based on the works of Eero Kiviniemi (1977; 1978). Consequently, a comparative study of the structural and semantic typology of toponyms in substrate languages or languages related to them will be applied, aiming to identify shared naming models and motivations (Saarikivi 2007: 58). Here, the term “substrate language” refers to the Lutsi Estonian dialect, while related languages primarily include other South Estonian dialects and other Finnic languages. Finally, as parts of the investigated toponyms do not have transparent meaning, it is necessary to find their etymology and source

language by comparing them to appellatives and proper names in the related languages (other Finnic languages) as well as other languages spoken in the area of investigation (Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Belarusian).

As the study focuses on toponyms in a minority language surrounded by other languages (Baltic and Slavic), it is also essential to investigate the potential influence of the dominant languages on the toponyms of the minority language. Therefore, a contact onomastics method will be employed. Berit Sandnes (2016) describes the phenomena of name adaptation (e.g., phonological, morphological, semantic, and lexical) and translation that occur when a proper name is transferred from one language to another. The constructions of Lutsi Estonian toponyms are analysed by comparing them to other Finnic toponyms (Finnish and Estonian), using works by E. Kiviniemi (1971; 1975; 1977; 1978), which describe Finnish toponymy, and *Eesti murded ja kohanimed* (EMjK) for Estonian toponyms.

Material for this study comes from various sources. The first source is earlier research literature that identifies possible Finnic toponyms in the Ludza region, with etymological proposals briefly reviewed. The primary resource for this study is the toponym card index of the Estonian Language Institute (EKI kohanimetekartoteek), which contains 98 cards of Lutsi Estonian toponyms. Additionally, one proper name will be taken from *Eesti murded IX*, which includes transcriptions of Lutsi and Leivu Estonian recordings. This toponym was chosen because it was not mentioned in earlier research or in the card index. In this study, toponyms from the EKI card index and other sources will be compared to toponyms from the historical Võrumaa region based on the following literature and sources:

a) the PhD dissertation by Evar Saar, *Võrumaa kohanimede analüüs enamlevinud nimeosade põhjal ja traditsioonilise kogukonna nimesüsteem* (En: *An Analysis of Place Names in Võrumaa on the Basis of the Most Common Name Elements*, 2008), provides the most common name formants in the Võrumaa naming system, which helps to identify similar formants in names presented in the EKI card index,

b) the *Kohanimeandmebaas* (KNAB) Estonian placename database allows for the search of toponyms and provides their exact locations in Estonia,

c) the *Eesti kohanimeraamat* (EKNR) Estonian toponym book presents Estonian toponyms along with their etymological explanations,

d) the *Eesti murrete sõnaraamat* (EMS) and *Väike murdesõnastik* (VMS) Estonian dialect dictionaries explain the meanings of toponyms formed from specific dialectal South Estonian appellatives.

e) the *Ajaloolise Võrumaa kohanimede andmebaas* (AVKA) placename database of the historical Võrumaa which documents vernacular Võro-language place name usage as recorded from local inhabitants during fieldwork in the 1990s–2000s.

Given that the study area is located in Latvia, relevant Latvian resources will also be used. The key Latvian sources include:

a) the Toponym Database of the Latvian Geospatial Information Agency (LĢIA), which allows users to search for toponyms and find their exact locations on maps of Latvia. Unfortunately, it has the drawback that while names can be searched, it is not possible to select a specific location on the map to display the name of the chosen place,

b) the eight-volume LVV, which provides Latvian toponyms along with possible etymological proposals,

c) the database of Latvian surnames (LU) offers insights into possible etymologies for surnames that may have influenced the formation of toponyms. The etymology of surnames can significantly alter the meaning of toponyms,

d) the Latvian toponym card index from the Latvian Language Institute,

e) 18th and 19th century maps of Latvia, which can be viewed in vesture.dodies.lv.

4. Analysis

4.1. Some Etymologies from Earlier Research

4.1.1. Auneja (river), Aunejis azars (lake)

A. Breidaks (2007 [1989]: 385) compares *Auneja* and *Aunejis azars* with Finnish *Ounasjoki* and *Ounasjärvi*, located in northern Lapland. Terho I. Itkonen (1920: 49) records the Sámi form *a'vdnesjohka* and relates it to *Aunus* (Rus *Олонеу*), although Jalo Kalima (1942: 161–163) points out that the etymology of *Aunus* is problematic. While hydronyms beginning with *Aun-* are relatively common in North Finnic, they are not attested in the South Finnic area, including Estonia. From an areal-typological perspective, this weakens the comparison between *Auneja* and Finnic *Aun-* toponyms. A propos, *Aunus* (Livvi Karelian *Anus*, Rus *Олонеу*⁴) initially probably had **Aln-* root, which changed to *Aun-* under the influence of Vepsian (*l > u* shift, e.g. Fi *pelto* ~ Veps *pöud* ‘field’).

In LVV (I 54–55), numerous *Aun-* toponyms are listed in different parts of Latvia (Courland and Vidzeme), related to the Latvian appellative *auns* ‘ram’. At first glance, this explanation seems less convincing for Latgale, where the corresponding word is *vacyns*. For this reason, *Auneja* cannot be straightforwardly associated with the *Aun-* toponymic group. However, the presence of place names such as *Auni* (farm) and *Aunāji* (forest ranger station) in Latgale (Zeps 1984: 28) indicates that the *Aun-* root is not entirely absent from the region. A. Breidaks’ attempt to propose a Finno-Ugric etymology for *Auneja* may have been motivated by this dialectal discrepancy (*vacyns* vs. *auns*). Nevertheless, the proposed comparison remains unconvincing. The aim of the present study is to scrutinise the Finno-Ugric etymology, and this hypothesis must be regarded as unlikely. Formulating an alternative etymology would require a more detailed analysis and thus falls outside the scope of this study. The origin of *Auneja* and its possible connection with *Auni* and *Aunāji* should be addressed in a separate investigation, considering historical forms such as *Ауһни* (village) and *Ауһня* (river) documented in Tsar Russian maps (dodies.lv).

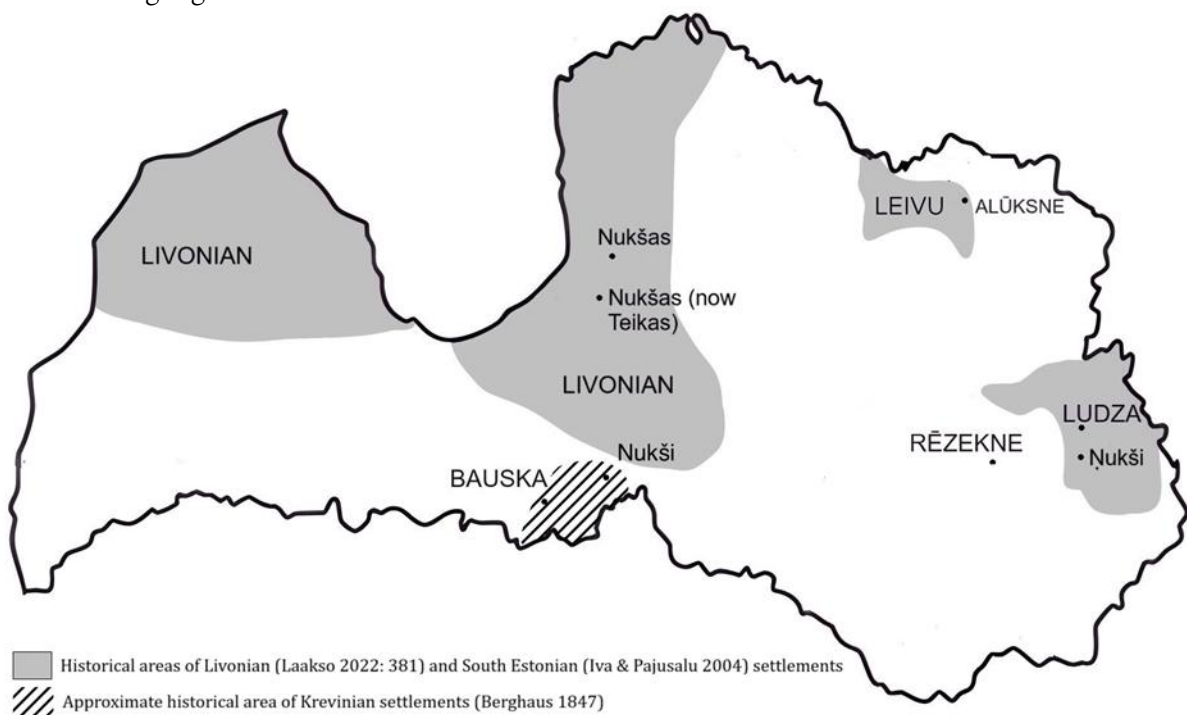
4.1.2. Nukšu ups’ (river), Nukši (village)

A. Breidaks (2007 [1989]: 380) compares *Nukšu ups’* to Sámi *njukča* ‘swan’, which at first glance may seem logical both phonologically and semantically. However, this comparison is incorrect because the cognates of the Sámi appellative begin with *j* (SES; UEW) (cf. Finnish *joutsen*, Komi, and Udmurt *joś*). The Sámi form is rather an exception; in other Finno-Ugric words with an initial *j*, the Sámi cognates also retain the *j* (e.g., Finnish *jää* ~ Sámi *jiēŋa*). Thus, the comparison with Sámi *njukča* is unjustified. Nevertheless, the toponym *Nukši* still warrants consideration as Finno-Ugric despite A. Breidaks’ faulty comparison. Notably, *Nukš-* toponyms are found in other Finnic areas of Latvia, specifically in the Krevinian and Livonian regions (see Map 3). Before analysing and comparing these names further, it is important to review the historical forms of *Nukši* and determine whether the river name or the village name is primary.

Nukšu ups’ appears to be a secondary name derived from the village name. It designates a segment of the Pilda River between Lake Pilda (*Pildas ezers*) and the Great Lake of Ludza (*Lielais Ludzas Ezers*). This segment is also documented as *Pilda*, *Nukša*, *Iļža*, and *Isnauda* (LGIA), with the last name related to a village of the same name. Therefore, the primary name in this case is the village name *Nukši*, which, on some maps, is marked as *Nukši* (Zeps 1984). **Nukš-/Nukš-* toponyms can be compared to the Estonian *nugis* ‘marten’ or Finnish **Nois-/Noki-*, which is encountered in Finnish toponymy but not preserved as an appellative (SES s.v. *nokko*; EES s.v. *nugis*). Another Latvian appellative for comparison is **nuka/*ņuka/nuks* (ME), which means ‘a large, wedge-shaped piece of bread;

⁴ On the etymology of *Олонеу* see also D. V. Kuzmin (2021: 52), who proposes a Sámi origin (**ōlō* ‘flood waters’ + suffix *-nčē* → **ōlōnčē* → *Олонеу*), which would make a Finnic etymology of *Auneja* even less certain.

also a piece of cheese or butter; a lump’ and has an equivalent in Livonian *nukā*, Estonian *nukk* ‘id.; top, end’. V. J. Zeps (1962: 157–159) marked it as a Finnic loanword in Latvian. However, it is limited to the Vidzeme, Courland, and Semigalia regions and is not encountered in Latgalia at all. The appellative *nukk* is used in all Estonian dialects (VMS), but in toponyms it appears only as a generic part of compound place names (e.g., *Mōtsa-nukk*). Therefore, if a Finnic etymology is to be proposed, a more suitable appellative would be *nugis*, which has variants *nukas*, *nugus*, and *nukus* in South Estonian dialects. Additionally, in another Estonian-language island (Kraasna), there is a village named *Ночево*, which previously had another name, *Нюкку* (SnPRI 2016). In summary, while the comparison with Sámi *njukča* is flawed, the possibility of a Finnic etymology remains worth considering, taking into account the appellative *nugis* and the toponym *Нюкку* in the Kraasna language island.



Map 2. *Nukš-/Nukš- toponyms in Finnic areas of Latvia (map made by D. Donskaya)

4.1.3. Pilda, Pylda (manor, river, and lake)

Latvian linguists M. Rudzīte (1968: 189) and A. Breidaks (1970: 162; 1973a: 100) consider the name of this lake to be a borrowing from Estonian. A. Breidaks suggested that the oikonym *Pilda muiža* is derived from Estonian *põldemõis* (< Est *põld* ‘field’ + *mõis* ‘estate’). This explanation seems plausible from a semantic perspective. The connection between *Pylda* and *põld* can be logically substantiated, as the vowel *õ* in Lutsi Estonian is pronounced as *y*, which is also present in Latgalian, suggesting that the term was borrowed from Lutsi Estonian. However, V. J. Zeps (1977: 432–433) noted that the estate of Pilda existed before the 18th century, as G. Manteuffel (1879: 154) mentioned that the estate was under rule in 1572. V. J. Zeps proposed two possibilities: (a) the name predates the arrival of the Estonians, or (b) Estonians were present in the 16th century (the same issue applies to the aforementioned name *Nukši*, Zeps 1977: 431). According to O. Kallas (1894: 32), the name *Pylda* was not originally used by Estonians but was later adopted into Estonian use without further explanation.

As previously mentioned, the connection between *Pylda* and *põld* seems logically grounded. However, semantic objections arise. Previous research failed to consider that in South Estonian, the native Finnic word *nurm* is more commonly used for ‘field’ than the Germanic loanword *põld* (in Livonian, only *nur̥m* is used, and a cognate of Finnic **pelto* is absent). Comparing the terms for ‘grey partridge (*Perdix*)’ in North Estonian and South Estonian reveals this difference. The North Estonian form *põldpüü* uses *põld*, while South Estonian employs *nurm* to form the equivalent term *nurmpüvi*. Thus, if the names for the lake, river, or estate were bestowed by South Estonian speakers, they would likely have been formed with the appellative *nurm*. This observation may reasonably support O. Kallas’s (1894: 32) contention that *Pylda* was not named by Estonians and suggests that possibility (a) from V. J. Zeps (1977: 433) is more probable. Even if the Estonians arrived earlier, the toponym would likely have been created using the appellative *nurm*. This implies that if the name predates the arrival of Estonians, it would have an alternative etymology. Baltic etymology should not be dismissed, especially since August J. Bielenstein (1892: 17) mentions *Pylda* without argumentation as a Latvian proper name. At first glance, it could be associated with Lt *pilti* (‘to pour’), Lv *pilēt* (‘to drip’), and the Baltic roots **pilnas* (‘full’), **pild-* (‘to fill’). However, this comparison appears problematic, as there are no hydronyms in Baltic toponymy with the stem *pild-*. If the stem was *pil-* meaning ‘to pour, drip’, the meaning of the suffix *-da* remains unclear, as it is not productive in Baltic toponymy. Notably, in the Leivu region, there is a river named *Pilupe*, which in Leivu is known as *Põllupi*. Daina Zemzare (1940: 80) suggests the element *pil-* results from the assimilation of *ln > ll* in local Latgalian dialect (e.g., *piln-* > *pill-* > *pil-*), as in Lv *pilns* ‘full’ and Ltg *pylns*. The Leivu version, *Põllupi*, may have been adapted due to its phonetic similarity to Est *põld* ~ *põllu*. Thus, *Pilda* might also be linked to Lv *pilns* ‘full’ or Lv *pildīt* ‘fill’. In Latvia, the surname *Pildavs* is found in Vidzeme, though its origin remains unexplained (LU). Finally, in Rõuge parish, there is a lake named *Põldalotso järv* (KNAB), which has other North Estonian forms such as *Põldalane* or *Põldealane* (KNR). The latter seems to be a full form, while the others appear elliptic. *Põldealane* combines the elements *põlde* ‘field (pl. GEN)’ + NEst *alane* / SEst *alanõ* ‘a place, area, or space located under or near something’. Thus, while *nurm* is more widely used, *põld* remains a productive appellative in South Estonian. Regarding its potential connection to *Pilda*, it might be postulated that it represents an elliptic form of a toponym containing the elements *Põlde-* and another beginning element that was later lost.

In any case, the association of *Pilda* with the root *põlde-* represents the best available etymological explanation, as no other well-grounded etymology can be found. Further investigation into the etymology of *Pilda* could help determine which of V. J. Zeps’s (1977: 433) possibilities is more probable: (a) that the name predates the arrival of the Estonians, or (b) that the Estonians were already present in the 16th century. Strong arguments for the South Estonian etymology, coupled with weak arguments for the Baltic origin, suggest a higher probability of (b). However, clarifying the timing of Estonians’ arrival in the Ludza region warrants a separate study to explore this issue further. I propose a possibility (c): that *Pilda* might have had a different name prior to the arrival in the 18th century, although this, too, requires further investigation.

4.1.4. Rauzu azars (lake), Rauzi (village)

Finnic etymology for *Rauzi* (as well as the river name *Rauza* in Vidzeme) was suggested by K. Būga (1961: 562), comparing it to an Estonian appellative *rõusk* (gen. sg. *rõusa*) and *rõuzane*, *rauzane*, *rauskane* meaning ‘lumpy frozen ground, broken and piled-up hummocky ice’. K. Būga’s proposal was supported by A. Breidaks (1970: 162; 1977: 29; 1989) but criticised by V. J. Zeps (1977: 434). Later, Benita Laumane (1996: 216) supported the proposal of a Finnic etymology for the toponyms in Vidzeme while also

suggesting a Baltic etymology (cf. Lt *rauzis* ‘dug land’, etc.). These suggestions were summarised in LVV (VI 122).

It is crucial to remark on the comparison with Estonian *rõusk*, *rõusane*, etc. These are dialectal forms (EKSS) used in the Western dialect of North Estonian (EMS; VMS), while the toponyms *Rõusa* and *Rõuste* are found in the Pärnumaa region associated with the aforementioned dialect. The Ludza and Vidzeme regions predominantly spoke South Estonian. Therefore, the comparison with *rõusk* is inadequate from an areal-typological perspective. A Baltic etymology appears more convincing. In the Latvian database (LU), the village of *Rauzu ciems* (*Rauzi*) is compared with the Lithuanian surname *Rauza* (< *rauza* ‘crying, weeping person’).

4.1.5. *Soidu ezers* (lake), *Soidi* (village)

M. Rudzīte (1968: 191) compares *Soidu ezers* to *Coŭða* in Karelia, which, according to Max Vasmer (1934: 56), is of Finnic origin and related to the hypothetical *Soitojoki*. A. Breidaks (1970: 162; 1977: 29) supported this proposal. V. J. Zeps (1977: 434) had no objections but noted that the lake name is secondary to the village name *Soidi*. A. Breidaks (2007 [1989]: 386–387) did not reject this possibility.

However, the comparison with *Coŭða* and the hypothetical *Soitojoki* is doubtful. As for *Coŭða*, it may be Finnic but phonetically modified (*ou* > *oi*, cf. *Лоўза* < *Louhi*) and connected to Karelian hydronyms such as *Совдозеро* and *Совда* (< Finnic *sout-* ‘to row’) (personal correspondence with Karelian toponym researcher Irma Mullonen).

In LVV (VII 10) there was a comparison to South Estonian *soine* ‘marshy’ (genitive *soidsõ*) (cf. *Soitsejärv* near Tartu), but it does not look plausible as a Latvian version in this case should be **Soicu ez.* or **Soici*.

Ultimately, the lake name *Soidu ezers* likely derives from the village name *Soidi*, which in turn may have been named after an anthroponym (Zeps 1984: 468). The surname *Soida* is relatively common in the area under investigation and is comparable to the Lithuanian surname *Saidys* (LU).

4.2. EKI Card Index

The card index of the Estonian Language Institute (Eesti keele instituut, EKI) contains 98 cards featuring Lutsi toponyms in Estonian (some cards are repeated; see Appendix 3). A significant part of these cards are transparent, meaning the meanings of their generic and specific parts are clear, reflecting typical Finnic toponymy (cf. Kiviniemi 1975; EMjK). Some entries include distinctly South Estonian elements. The toponyms from the card index include the following generic elements:

- *järv* ‘lake’ (3)
- *jõgi* ‘river’ (1)
- *külä* ‘village’ (15)
- *kerk* ‘church’ (1)
- *kivi* ‘stone, boulder’ (2)
- *kraav* ‘ditch, canal’ (1)
- *late* ‘spring, source’ (3)
- *lump* ‘small pond, depression’ (1)
- *mäe* ‘hill (gen), mound (gen)’ (3)
- *mägi* ‘hill, mound’ (10)
- *mõts* ‘forest’ (2)
- *mõiza* ‘manor’ (1)
- *niit* ‘meadow’ (8)
- *ots* ‘end, tip’ (2)

- *saar* ‘island’ (2)
- *sild* ‘bridge’ (1)
- *suu* ‘bog’ (6)
- *tsopp* ‘corner, hillock’ (2)
- *tükk* ‘piece, land patch’ (1).

Most of these generics are common throughout Estonia. Some listed here appear in their South Estonian phonological forms (e.g., *külä* vs. *küla*, *mõts* vs. *mets*, *mõiza* vs. *mõis*, *suu* vs. *soo*, *tsopp* vs. *sopp*). Examples of the aforementioned transparent names include *Kraaviots*, *Mõtsküla*, *Saarõmägi*, and *Suur niit*. The meanings of these toponyms are clear and do not require additional explanation. Their distribution also extends beyond the South Estonian language area; they can be found in other parts of Estonia and other Finnic language areas. Consequently, only those names specifically associated with the South Estonian area or the Ludza area are discussed further.

It is worth noting that these toponyms are no longer in everyday use, as the Lutsi Estonian language is extinct. Many of these toponyms likely had corresponding Latvian versions with similar meanings. For example, in the EKI card index, *Kahrusuu* is translated as *Loču pürs* (‘bear bog’), making it difficult to ascertain which language the translation was derived from.

4.2.1. Habahaja jõgi (#1)

This river name derives from *habah(h)ama* ‘to rustle, to rumble’ (EMS). The card notes the explanation *et keväjä hapa* ‘that rustles in spring’. This name is interesting for two reasons: 1) it is formed using an active present participle, and 2) the participle form is derived from a verb documented only in the Ludza dialect (EMS). Place names formed from a participle are widely distributed in Finland, especially for verbs that convey sound (see Kiviniemi 1971: 58–59). In the Estonian language area, such formations are less common but do exist (EMjK 287).

4.2.2. Ando suu (#2)

Ando suu (Laizāni) can be compared to *Ando* (an unofficial village) in Rõuge parish, *Andu* (a homestead) in Pedajamäe near Otepää (KNAB). These toponyms are linked to the personal name *Ando* ~ *Andu*, a variant of *Anton* or *Andreas* (Saar 2008: 151).

4.2.3. Hatamägi (#3), Hatasuu (#4)

These can be related to *hatt*: *hata-* ‘bitch’. For *Hatamägi*, a Russian name *Сучья гора* is mentioned, which is likely a literal translation into Russian (or vice versa). According to the KNAB: *Hatapalo* (a place) is located in Rāpina parish, *Hatapalu* (an unofficial village) is in Rõuge parish, and *Hatajärv* (or *Umbjärv*) is located near Värskä. All these places are situated in the South Estonian language area.

4.2.4. Havvagu suu (#5)

Havvagu suu can be compared to *Savihavvamägi* (Setu), *Süvahavva* (Rāpina), *Süvahavva soo* (Põlva), *Tõrvahavva* (Põlvalv), *Süvahavva* (Rāpina), *Tõrvahavva* (Põlva) (KNAB). All of these are located in the South Estonian language area. *Havva* is the genitive form of *haud* ‘grave; pit’ (cf. standard Estonian *haud*: *haua-*). In the case of *Havvagu*, the ending *-gu* is unclear; it might reflect an ellipsis of a second element (maybe *havva-augu* < *auk* ‘pit’?).

4.2.5. Baaba suu (#6)

This toponym uses the dialectal appellative of Lutsi Estonian *baaba* ‘(old) woman’ (Kallas 1894: 135) (< Pl Rus *baba* ‘id.’).

4.2.6. Greeki k (#7)

The Latvian name has no proposed Finnic etymology. The Latvian form is *Greči*, and in LVV (I 319) it is compared to the following appellatives: *greči* ‘a type of flax’ or *grečis* ‘a weak old man’.

4.2.7. Jiumägi (#10), Jiusuu (#11)

The *Jiu-* element is a genitive form of *jõgi*. The genitive *jiu* is found in the Ludza, Kraasna, and Seto dialects (EMS).

4.2.8. Kannistõ niit (#16)

Kannistõ is the South Estonian equivalent of the North Estonian *kännustik* ‘clear cut area’ (EMS; VMS). In Finnish, a dialectal appellative *kannisto* is widely used for proper name formation (SMS; Nimisampo).

4.2.9. Keegu mets (#17)

The meaning of *Keegu mõts* is unclear. According to the card index, one elderly informant reportedly knew the meaning, but his daughter no longer did; she only recalled the expression “är läts Keegu mõtsa” (‘they went off to Keegu forest’), which she interpreted as meaning ‘I do not know where they went’. It is difficult to find a convincing Latvian or Slavic etymology. An Estonian comparison may be sought in the homestead name *Keegu*, recorded in KNAB as *Keigu*, located near Türi. However, this comparison is problematic since Türi lies outside the South Estonian speech area, limiting its relevance to the Lutsi Estonian context. An adjective *keigu* is documented in the Urvaste subdialect with the meaning ‘conceited, frivolous’ (EMS). If *Keegu* represents a variant of *Keigu*, the forest name could relate to a personal name, though this remains uncertain. However, it is also possible that *Keegu mõts* is not an original toponym but rather a secondary, playful formation. The expression “är läts Keegu mõtsa” may reflect a shortened or distorted form of something like *är läts kiä-kohe mõtsa* (‘went off to who-knows-where forest’), i.e., an evasive or child-directed expression. In this case, *Keegu mõts* would be a reinterpretation rather than an authentic place name.

4.2.10. Kirbanikülä (#18), Kirbu k (#19)

This is comparable to *Kirbu* (Vastseliina region – Ojansuu 1912; Valga, Rõuge – EKNR). The Latvian version is *Šķirpāni*, which might be the original form, while *Kirbanikülä* has been phonologically adapted to Estonian. *Kirbu* may also be a secondary Estonian form derived from associations with the name from which Lutsi Estonian ancestors originated. *Šķirpāni* probably originates from the surname *Šķirpāns*, which is rare but specifically distributed in Latgale, as noted by V. J. Zeps (1984: 508).

4.2.11. Kiriväkitsõ (#20) (Raibakozi)

Kiriväkitsõ is also recorded as *Rääbakoza* in Russian (*Райбакозы*) and *Raibakozi* in Latvian. According to O. Kallas (1894: 31), the original version was Estonian and was later translated into Latvian. H. Ojansuu (1912: 21) expresses a differing opinion. All versions are

compounds with the same meaning (Lv *raibs* ‘speckled’ + *kaza* (Ltg *koza*) ‘goat’; SEst *kiriv* ‘speckled’ + *kits* ‘goat’). According to O. Kallas, *Rääbakoza* was a distorted form of *Raibakozi*, but it might also relate to the Russian word *рябо́й* ‘speckled’ + *коза* ‘goat’. In LVV (VI 46), *Raibakozi* is compared to an Estonian appellative *raibakas* ‘carrion’. However, this appellative is not used in South Estonian at all, and in North Estonian is practically limited to insular dialects (Estonian *Saarte murred*). Additionally, it is not used as a surname (Nimede Statistika). Thus, this comparison appears unsuitable. In the LU, there is information that a rare surname *Raibkasz* (Lv *raibs* ‘speckled’ + *kaza* ‘goat’) is prevalent in the Veclaicene parish, which was a disputed area between Latvia and Estonia during the interwar period due to its mixed population. Veclaicene parish is near the Leivu area and borders Rõuge parish in Estonia, which made it part of the South Estonian-speaking area. In Veclaicene parish, the following versions were recorded: *Raibekasz*, *Raibkasz*, *Raibekas*, *Raibakas*, *Raibkaza*. The Latvian etymology seems more plausible.

4.2.12. Kujari niit (#24)

The meaning of *Kujari* remains unexplained.

4.2.13. Kukli (#25)

The Lutsi name *Kukli* is likely a secondary, phonologically adapted form based on the Russian settlement name *Kukujeva*. In this interpretation, *Kukli* reflects a shortened and phonetically reduced derivation within the Lutsi naming system. H. Ojansuu (1912: 21) previously compared this name to *Kuklaiste* in the Vastseliina region. This comparison is also echoed in later interpretations of the form *Kuklase* (cf. earlier *Kuklaiste*), which has been connected to the appellative *kuklanõ* ‘ant’ (EKNR). However, these Estonian-based comparisons appear secondary in the current analysis, as they do not account for the more direct derivation from the Russian base *Kukujeva*.

4.2.14. Kunnu suu (#27)

In South Estonian, *kond/kund* means ‘forest land, not suitable for harvesting’, and is represented in names like *Meenikunnu suu* near Räpina, which includes the element *kund* (EKNR).

4.2.15. Kupta niit (#28)

The meaning of *Kupta* remains unexplained.

4.2.16. Kõivola suu (#30)

Kõivola suu can be interpreted as a compound of the South Estonian appellative *kõiv* ‘birch’ (cf. North Estonian *kask*) and the element *-la*. The EKNR references toponyms such as *Kõivuküla* and *Kõivu* in the Tartu region, as well as *Kõivsaare* in the Vastseliina region. The form contains the genitive stem *Kõivo* (Saar 2008: 95) and the suffix *-la*, which denotes a place or could represent an elliptical form of other elements (e.g., *-jala*, *-küla*) (EMjK 278–279). The suffix *-la* is also widely found in Finnish toponymy, e.g. *Koivula*, *Metsälä*, *Tervola*. However, in South Estonian toponymy, a structure like *Kõivõalonõ* ‘birch.GEN.PL + under’ is well-attested, with parallels in recurring microtoponyms in Võrumaa (e.g., shortened forms *Kõivalonõ*, *Kõivalamägi*, cf. *Haapalamägi* ‘aspen+under+hill’). Thus, the name may alternatively be reconstructed as *Kõivala suu*, meaning ‘bog under the birches’. This interpretation finds support in comparable formations in AVKA, such as the farm names *Kõivõalodsõ* (Kanepi, Põlva), and *Kõivalamägi* (Urvaste), as well as the Ihamaru toponym *Kõivualutse laadapäev* (Kanepi).

4.2.17. Väiku-Käpsi (#34)

For some reason, the main heading is written as *Käpsi*, while the secondary heading should be *Tsäpsi*. This name may derive from a personal name formed from the verb *tsäpsmä* ‘to slap, to snap, or to bite off’ (EKNR).

4.2.18. Laizeni (#35)

A popular surname in Latgalia, possibly of German origin (LU). No Finnic etymology is proposed.

4.2.19. Laudjärv (#36)

Laudjärv sounds very Estonian but is actually a highly Estonized form of *Laudari* (in LVV (II 269) it is marked as *Lauderi*). This is an example of lexical adaptation. One cannot find lake names such as *Laudjärv* in Estonia, underscoring its difficulty in finding a semantically coherent formant *Laud-* (Est. *laud*, meaning ‘table’). The lake name is secondary and derives from the village of *Laudari*, likely originating from a personal name (surname). *Laudars* or *Lauders* is one of the more common surnames in that region, but there is no etymology proposal (LU).

4.2.20. Lavadina k (#37)

This is potentially a loanword from Slavic, with a base form of *Slobodka*, adapted into a Finnic form.

4.2.21. Lubanakõnõ (#38)

In Latgalia, there is a large lake named *Lubāns* and several smaller lakes with a diminutive form *Luboneņš* (LĢIA). This may belong to the same group as the Estonian version that contains the diminutive suffix *-kõnõ*.

4.2.22. Längämägi (#39)

The specific element *längä* is unclear, as it can mean ‘too sweet’ and be associated with bad taste (EMS). Thus, it cannot be connected to the landscape.

4.2.23. Lütka-uju (#41)

The element *Lütka* remains unclear; it may tentatively be compared to Russian *Лютка* ‘Lestes’ (a genus of damselflies). The meaning of *Uju* is also uncertain. However, there are parallels in Karula, where the hydronym *Uju oja* is found. According to AVKA, there is doubt as to whether the original name was simply *Uju*, functioning as a single-part hydronym, later extended with *oja* in the formal name *Ujuste oja*. This suggests that *Uju* may stand as an independent hydronym rather than a derivative of *oja* ‘stream’.

4.2.24. Murumäe (#43)

Murumäe can be compared with *muru* ‘dense grass’. The use of the vowel *-u* in the second syllable is noteworthy; in South Estonian, including Lutsi Estonian, the expected form would be *muro*. However, variations in this final vowel have been observed in Lutsi, as noted by August Sang (1936: 99, unpublished manuscript), e.g., *nägu* ~ *nägo* ‘face’ and

valluz ~ *valloz* ‘painful’. This suggests that the form *mur* may reflect dialectal variation rather than requiring a separate explanation.

4.2.25. **Mustkopts zimnik (niidü) (#44)**

The name *Must* means ‘black’ + *kopts* (?), with the element *zimnik* derived from Russian *зимник* ‘winter road’. The significance of *-kopts* remains unclear.

4.2.26. **Nerza (#47, #48)**

A. Breidaks (2007 [1989]: 386) proposed a comparison of the name *Nierzys azars* to a Finnic river name *Nyrza* in Arkhangelsk oblast (with a question mark). Unfortunately, he did not provide references, making it impossible to locate texts that discuss the etymology of the Russian river.

4.2.27. **Paidera’ (#51)**

The card compares this toponym with *Paidra* in the Võro area (Estonia). According to EKNR, *Paidra* derives from a personal name (*Paide/Paydew*) later adapted to *Paid* under German influence. The etymology of this personal name remains unresolved (EKNR). In Latvia, particularly in Vidzeme and Latgale, the toponym *Paideri* occurs and is linked to the surname *Paiders*. In LVV (III 48–49), comparisons are made with Livonian *pai* (pl. *paid*) and the Estonian word *pai* meaning ‘dear’, as well as the Estonian town name *Paide*. In LU, two interpretations are suggested: in the Vidzeme section, *Paiders* is linked to Estonian *Paidra/Paidre* and the toponym *Paidra*, while in the Latgalia section, it is associated with Polish *pajda* meaning ‘piece of bread’. The latter explanation is questionable; although *pajda* appears in the formation of Polish surnames (*Pajda, Pajdzik, Pajdowski*), the form *Pajder* is not recorded (ISNwP). Moreover, the Livonian comparison appears implausible. The expected Estonian cognate of Liv. *pai* is *paju-* (with *pai* only in certain dialects, including Ludza), and *pai* ‘dear’ is not productive in anthroponymic or toponymic formation. Furthermore, the *Paideri* toponyms are not situated within historical Livonian territory but instead lie within the Leivu and Ludza Finnic zones. A connection to *Paide* (Järva County) also seems unlikely. The name *Paide* is well established as deriving from *paas: pae* ‘limestone’, supported by parallel foreign forms denoting ‘white stone’ (EKNR). Since the *Paid*- names occur outside the northern Estonian limestone region, this etymology cannot be applied. In summary, although the meaning of *Paidera* remains unclear, its distribution in the Leivu and Ludza areas, along with the absence of convincing Latvian, German, or Polish explanations, supports a Finnic (Estonian) anthroponymic origin.

4.2.28. **Pargi (#56) (#57) (Borovaja)**

The Russian village name *Borovaja* appears to be the basis for *Pargi külä*. In this case, the form *Pargi* can be interpreted as a nominative plural adaptation, while *Parkke* may represent a genitive plural form. A comparable development is observed in the South Estonian–Russian border area, where the Russian *Borok* is reflected in South Estonian and German usage as *Porka*, as seen in the case of Piirissaar (cf. EKNR). This suggests a pattern of phonological and morphological adaptation of Russian settlement names into the local naming system. An alternative interpretation linking *Pargi* with the Estonian word *park* ‘park’ appears less likely in this rural context and lacks supporting historical evidence. Thus, it is more plausible that the name reflects adaptation from the Russian base rather than stemming from modern lexical derivation.

4.2.29. Suurõ Piikova' (#58), Väigu Piikova' (#59)

These are Russian names adapted into Estonian (*Большие Пиковы, Малые Пиковы*).

4.2.30. Porkali (#61)

Comparable to Est *Parkali* ~ Lv *pārkalt* 'to reforge' (LVV III 223). The Latvian explanation is more persuasive, given that the Estonian appellative appears in North Estonian dialects (VKS).

4.2.31. Puntsuli (#62)

The Latvian name *Puncuļi* is compared to the Lithuanian surname *Puñcius* (< *punciti* 'to walk slowly') (LU). There is also a surname *Puñculis*, which may be a diminutive form of *Puñcius* (LP_e). No Finnic etymology is proposed.

4.2.32. Pähnämägi (#64)

This name derives from SEst *pähn* 'Tilia' (cf. Estonian *pärn*) (EMS; VMS).

4.2.33. Raiba kerk (#65), Raip (#66)

Comparable to Lv *raibs* 'speckled' and adapted into Estonian.

4.2.34. Roostõsuu (#69), Rossõ läte (#70)

These derive from *roostõ*, genitive *rossõ* 'rust' (EMS). Cf. *Rostõniit* ~ *Rossõniit* (Saar 2008: 233).

4.2.35. Sabale mõts (#73)

The name *Sabale mõts* is likely derived from the neighbouring village *Soboļi*. In this case, *Sabale* represents a toponymic adaptation rather than a lexical loan. More broadly, the place name *Soboļi* ultimately relates to the Slavic word *соболь* 'sable' (cf. Latvian *sabulis*, Latgalian *sabaļs*, Polish *sobol*, Lithuanian *sabalas*, Estonian *soobel*), though in a European context, the term often more generally refers to sable fur (LKŽ_e; SJP). Phonologically, *Sabale* may reflect vowel adaptations characteristic of Lutsi, similar to the akanje patterns observed in other borrowed bases. A similar development is noted in old Võrumaa, as in the Räpina peasant byname *Sabali* (also *Sabbali*), which later served as the basis for surnames such as *Sabbal* and *Sabalisk* (Saar 2019: 210).

4.2.36. Sandi lump (#74)

The element *sant*: *sandi* can be connected to the appellative *sant* 'beggar'. According to the EKI name card index, the name is explained by the phrase "<...> et sant är kuuli" ('because a beggar died here'). However, data from EKNR indicate that in place names such as *Sandi* (Vastseliina) and *Sandisuu* (Rõuge), the element *sandi* may have multiple motivations: it can relate to the modern meaning 'beggar' but may also reflect an older sense 'holy man, monk' (cf. Latin *sanctus*).

4.2.37. Sarja-Jüri (#75)

This name refers to a homestead of *Jüri* (a first name) with the byname *Sarja* (genitive form). The byname *Sarja* may derive from *sari* 'large sieve'.

4.2.38. Skriini (#77)

The Latvian form is *Skrini* (with a short *i*). LU records the surname *Skrins* in Vidzeme, but no etymological explanation is provided; the variant *Skrīns* is also attested without location or interpretation. Historical Russian map forms include *Скрыни* (18th century) and *Скрыны* (19th century), suggesting variation in vowel representation. The Lutsi form may derive from an earlier Russian naming form with initial-syllable stress, which likely influenced vowel reduction and adaptation in the local phonological system. In this case, the Lutsi toponym would represent a continuation of the Russian name base rather than an independent Latvian development.

4.2.39. Sliva mägi (#78)

Similar to Ltg *šlīva* (cf. Lv *plūme*), Polish *śliwa*, and Russian *слива* ‘plum’. In Estonian (including South Estonian), forms of the Germanic loanword *ploom/loom* are used, whereas in Lutsi Estonian, it may be replaced with *sliva*, which is also prevalent in other languages in the area. Semantically, this aligns well, as it could refer to a hill where a plum tree grew.

4.2.40. Sāzemāe (#86)

The interpretation of *Sāzemāe* remains uncertain. A comparison with *sääsk* ‘mosquito’ is problematic lexically and phonologically. In South Estonian, including Lutsi, the expected term for ‘mosquito’ is *kihulanõ* (EMS), making a direct lexical derivation unlikely. Additionally, the phonological structure of *Sāze-* (with a short *ä* and intervocalic *-z-*) does not correspond well to South Estonian *sääse-* forms. Broader comparisons may be drawn with South Estonian and Võrumaa toponyms such as *Sääsämägi*, *Sääskmägi*, *Sääseorg*, *Sääskeorg*, and *Säässaare* (AVKA), though these parallels mainly reflect variation within a broader naming pattern rather than providing a direct etymology for *Sāzemāe*. Currently, no secure lexical explanation can be proposed.

4.2.41. Tati (#88)

Potentially linked to *tatt* ‘Boletus’ (Balodis 2020: 201). In standard Estonian, *tatt* means ‘nasal secretion’; however, in South Estonian, it refers to *Boletus* or is often used in mushroom names (e.g., *kikkatatt* ‘chanterelle’) (VMS).

4.2.42. Tulba tükk

This field name can be compared with the appellative *tulp: tulba* ‘hinging post, frontier post’, as well as with the village and farm names *Tulba* (Rõuge Kasaritsa, Rõuge Veclaicene (Estonian side), *Tulbasuu* (Rõuge Haanja Jaanimäe), *Tulba järv* (Rõuge), *Tulbamäe* (Rõuge) (KNAB). This suggests that *Tulba* could represent a vanished byname (EKNR) of a family that migrated.

4.2.43. Tunduri’ (#91)

Likely derived from *dundur/tundur* ‘1. horsefly; 2. uninvited guest’, a term documented only in Leivu (meaning 1) and Lutsi Estonian (meaning 2) (EMS) < Lv *dundurs* ‘horsefly’ (this appellative may also have inspired the popular Latvian surname *Dundurs* (LU)). The Latvian name for the village is *Abricki*. The card notes that the village name is Estonian, implying that it was bestowed by Estonians.

4.2.44. Vaarkali (#93)

Although H. Ojansuu (1912: 21) also found this name in Vastseliina, it has a Latvian origin (EKNR). Cf. Latvian *vārkalis/varkalis* ‘bronze smith’.

4.2.45. Vaaska niit (#94)

Likely related to a Russian diminutive of the personal name *Васька* (< *Василий*). Lutsi Estonians also used Russian personal names.

4.2.46. Vastalo (#95)

This is likely an ellipsis from South Estonian *vastne* ‘new’ + *talo* ‘house’.

4.2.47. Verema suu (#96)

Possibly a form of the East Slavic personal name *Верема* (< *Иеремия*, ‘Jeremias’).

4.2.48. Vähä (#97) (#98)

Likely derived from *vähk* ‘crab’. O. Kallas (1894: 31) noted that the original form was *Vähä külä*, which was translated into *Веженки* and adapted into Estonian as *Vezenki*. H. Ojansuu (1912: 21) had another opinion: while *Vähä* village exists in the Vastseliina region, *Vähä külä* in the Ludza region is a translation “from Latvian.”

4.3. Eesti murded IX

4.3.1. Vanaraha suu

In *Eesti murded IX* (221), informant Ossip Jakimenko described the natural surroundings of Šķirpāni village in 1960, mentioning several lakes, primarily in their Latgalian forms, as well as a bog called *Vanaraha suu*. This name has not been documented in earlier research, so it will be examined here.

To begin, I attempted to identify this bog using various maps and located a marked bog near Šķirpāni; unfortunately, its name was not provided. The name *Vanaraha suu* appears to be a compound: *vana* ‘old’ + *raha-suu* (where *raha* is a weak grade form of *rahk*, cf. Fi *rahkasuo* ‘sphagnum bog, peat bog’). This suggests that *Vanaraha suu* can be interpreted as “Old Sphagnum Bog” or “Old Peat Bog,” reflecting the natural characteristics of the area.

4.4. LĢIA

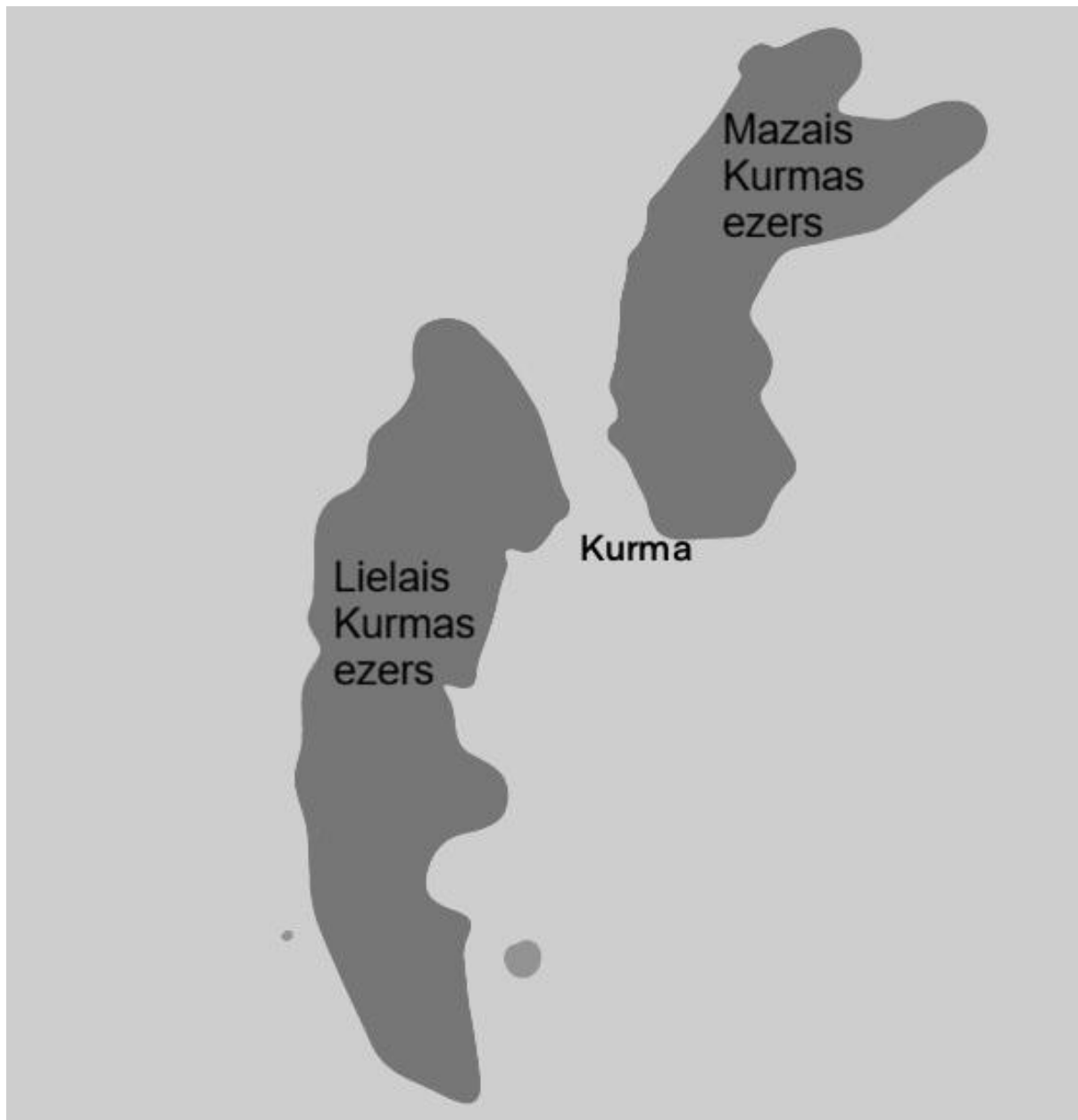
4.4.1. Kurma, Kūrmas ezers

Kurma and *Kūrmas ezers* were not mentioned as possible Finnic toponyms in earlier research. They were chosen for analysis because they are located near other Lutsi Estonian villages. This case is confusing, as the village name contains a short *u*, while the lake name, *Kūrmas ezers*, features a long *ū*. These forms are recorded in the LĢIA database, but the question remains as to which form is primary.

In LVV (II 180), *Kurma* is mentioned (without an etymology proposal), while the lake name is not listed. According to the Latvian Language Institute card index, *Kūrmas ezers* was previously known as *Kurmas ezers*, but the name changed after an expedition recorded the current form. This indicates that the primary form was likely *Kurmas*, which may have been distorted by an informant.

In South Estonian, the term *kurm* means ‘isolated piece of land; muck; corner’ (EKNR) or ‘isthmus’ (EMS). This is particularly relevant in the Põlva region, where names like *Loko-kurm* (EKNR) and *Kahru-kurmu*, *Paju-kurmu* (KNAB) are found. This South

Estonian dialectal appellative is fitting, as the village is situated on an isthmus between two lakes (Lielais and Mazais Kūrmas ezers).



Graphic. *Kurma* lakes and village (graphic by D. Donskaya)

5. Results

In this part, the results of the investigation of the toponyms of the Ludza region are summarised: 1) etymological proposals in earlier research; 2) analysis of the EKI card index and *Eesti murded IX*; 3) new findings.

5.1. Etymology proposals in earlier research

A. Breidaks (2007 [1989]: 386–387) presented 31 toponyms as Finno-Ugric in the historical region of Latgalia and partially Vidzeme. Only 5 toponyms were taken into consideration, all found in the study's area of investigation. 3 of them (*Auneja*, *Rauzi* and *Soidi*) have a weak Finno-Ugric explanation and are rather Baltic.

Concerning *Pylda*, the Finnic etymology proposal is the best explanation despite objections, because it cannot be explained as Baltic, Germanic, or Slavic due to the lack of similar toponyms in those proper name systems.

The Finno-Ugric etymology proposal for *Ņukši* in earlier research was erroneous (a comparison with a Saami appellative), but it can be explained in another way (comparison to Estonian and Finnish appellatives and toponyms). In this study, a new starting point was found for further investigation of this toponym in another, separate, deeper research work.

5.2. EKI card index and *Eesti murded IX*

The EKI card index contains 98 cards (with some repeating entries), and in this study, 54 entries (55%) were chosen to analyse. The rest of the entries did not need deep analysis due to their clear meaning and typical Finnic structure.

The rest of the entries can be divided into 3 groups: 1) specific Lutsi Estonian names; 2) specific South Estonian names; 3) Latvian or Russian names adapted to the local Estonian variation.

The first group consists of appellatives documented only in the Lutsi Estonian variety.

Generally speaking, the card index contains microtoponyms characteristic of the Lutsi Estonian linguistic environment. Many of these place names probably coexisted with corresponding Latvian or Slavic variants, and Lutsi Estonian speakers likely used different forms depending on the language used in a particular communicative context.

In *Eesti murded IX*, a bog name *Vanaraha suu* was mentioned, which had a relatively transparent etymology and was not very hard to explain. It was taken into consideration because in *Eesti murded IX*, despite a large amount of corpus, there were mentioned just a few toponyms. Unfortunately, despite the quite precise description of the location by the informant, it was impossible to identify it on the LĢIA map because there was no option to view the object's name.

5.3. New findings

A new finding was the lake name and the village and lake name *Kurma*, which was not mentioned in any primary (EKI card index) or secondary (earlier research literature) sources as a possible Finnic toponym. The idea that it might be Finnic came from the fact that it has no etymology proposal (LVV) and it is located near a place with a high concentration of Lutsi Estonian speakers. Finnic etymology suggestion seems to be plausible due to the correlation of the meaning of the dialectal appellative *kurm* 'isthmus' and the location of the village on an isthmus.

6. Conclusion

In this article, the toponyms of the historical Lutsi Estonian-speaking area in eastern Latvia were investigated. The study focused on the etymology, structure, and linguistic background of place names recorded in both earlier research and primary archival sources.

The analysis of the toponyms discussed in earlier research demonstrated that phonological similarity alone is insufficient for establishing Finnic etymology. In several cases, previously proposed Finnic explanations appear weak from semantic and areal-typological perspectives. At the same time, some toponyms still admit plausible Finnic interpretations, although the question of whether these names originated before or after the arrival of South Estonian speakers in the Ludza region remains unresolved. Clarifying this issue would require a separate investigation based on historical maps, archival records, and broader comparative material.

The analysis of the EKI card index and the material from *Eesti murded IX* showed that the Lutsi Estonian toponymic system consisted of several different types: 1) typical

Finnic formations; 2) specifically South Estonian toponyms; 3) names containing distinctive Lutsi Estonian dialect elements; 4) phonologically or lexically adapted Latvian and Slavic names. Some names nevertheless remain unexplained, demonstrating the fragmentary character of the preserved material and the complexity of the multilingual contact situation in the region.

The study also identified a previously uninvestigated toponym that had not been mentioned in either earlier research or the EKI card index. Although its Finnic origin was not immediately obvious, comparison with South Estonian material made it possible to propose a new direction for interpretation.

Today, the Lutsi Estonian language is extinct, and the place names recorded in the archival sources are no longer used in everyday communication. These materials, therefore, represent important testimony to the historical naming practices and multilingual landscape of the Ludza region.

Further research should continue investigating those toponyms with plausible Finnic etymologies, while also seeking to clarify the origins of names that remain unexplained. In addition, fieldwork among descendants of Lutsi Estonian speakers may still provide valuable information about forgotten place names and their locations. As most remaining informants are elderly, such documentation would be particularly urgent.

ABBREVIATIONS

Est – Estonian; Fi – Finnish; Lt – Lithuanian; Lv – Latvian; NEst – North Estonian; Pl – Polish; Rus – Russian; SEst – South Estonian; Veps – Vepsian

DATA SOURCES

AVKA: *Ajaloolise Võrumaa kohanimede andmebaas* [Placename Database of the Historical Võrumaa]. Internet Access: <https://wi.ee/et/kohanimed/>.

dodies.lv: *Historical Maps of Latvia*. Internet Access: <https://vesture.dodies.lv/>.

EES: *Eesti etimoloogia sõnaraamat* [Estonian Etymological Dictionary]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/ety/>.

EKI: *Eesti keele instituudi kohanimerekartoteek* [Placename Card Index of the Institute of the Estonian Language]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/kohanimed/>.

EKNR: *Eesti kohanimeraamat* [Estonian Placenamebook]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/knr/>.

EKSS: *Eesti keele seletav sõnaraamat* [Explanatory Dictionary of the Estonian Language]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/ekss/index.cgi>.

EMS: *Eesti murrete sõnaraamat* [Dictionary of the Estonian Dialects]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/ems/>.

ISNwP: *Internetowy Słownik Nazwisk w Polsce* [Online Dictionary of Surnames in Poland]. Internet Access: <https://nazwiska.ijppan.pl/>.

KNAB: *Kohanimendmebaas* [Estonian Placename Database]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/knab/knab.htm>.

KNR: *Kohanimeregister* [Estonian Placename Register]. Internet Access: <https://xgis.maaamet.ee/knraevalik/knr>.

LĢIA: *Latvijas Ģeotelpiskās informācijas aģentūra* [Latvian Geospatial Information Agency]. Internet Access: <https://vietvardi.LĢIA.gov.lv/lv/search>.

- LKŽ_e: *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* [Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language] (1–20, 1941–2002), el. variantas, redaktorių kolegija: G. Naktinienė (vyr. redaktorė), J. Paulauskas, R. Petrokienė, V. Vitkauskas, J. Zabarskaitė; programuotojai: E. Ožeraitis, V. Zinkevičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, atnaujinta versija, 2018. Internet Access: <http://ekalba.lt>.
- LP_e: *Lietuvių pavardės* [Lithuanian Surnames] (1–2, 1985, 1989), el. variantas, A. Vanagas, V. Maciejauskienė, M. Razmukaitė, atsak. red. A. Vanagas; programuotojas V. Satkevičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2018. Internet Access: <https://pavardes.lki.lt/>.
- LU: *Latviešu uzvārdu vārdnīca* [Dictionary of Latvian Surnames]. Internet Access: <https://uzvardi.lv/>.
- ME: *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* [Latvian Language Dictionary] 1–4, K. Mīlenbahs, rediģējis, papildinājis, turpinājis J. Endzelīns, Rīga: Kultūras fonds, 1923–1932. Internet Access: <https://mev.tezaurs.lv/>.
- Nimede Statistika: *Nimede Statistika* [Statistics of the Estonian Names]. Internet Access: <https://stat.ee/nimed/pere>.
- Nimisampo: *Nimisampo – Portal for Searching and Studying Finnish Placenames*. Internet Access: nimisampo.fi.
- SES: *Suomen etymologinen sanakirja* [Finnish Etymological Dictionary]. Internet access: <https://kaino.kotus.fi/ses/>.
- SJP: *Słownik języka polskiego* [Polish Language Dictionary]. Internet access: <https://sjp.pwn.pl>.
- SMS: *Suomen murteiden sanakirja* [Finnish Dialects Dictionary]. Internet Access: <https://kaino.kotus.fi/sms/>.
- UEW: *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Internet Access: <http://www.uralonet.nytud.hu/search.cgi?resetform=1&collapse=1>.
- VMS: *Väike murdesõnastik* [Dialectological Dictionary of Estonian]. Internet Access: <https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/vms/>.

REFERENCES

- Ariste Paul 1963: Slučaji jazykovogo kontakta v Latgalii [Cases of Language Contact in Latgalia]. – *Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai* 6, 137–148.
- Balode Laimute 2007: Once Again on Some Potential Finno-Ugrisms in Latvia. – *Slavica Helsingiensia* 32, 52–63.
- Balode Laimute, Bušs Ojārs 2009: On Latvian Toponyms of Finno-Ugrian Origin. – *Onomastica Uralica* 4, 27–43.
- Balodis Uldis 2020: *Lutsi kiele lementar / Ludzas igauņu valodas ābece* [Ludza Estonian Primer], Ludza: LU Lībiešu institūts un Ludzas pilsētas galvenā bibliotēka.
- Balodis Uldis 2022: The Distribution of Inessive Case Endings in Lutsi. – *Circum-Baltic Languages: Varieties, Comparisons, and Change*, eds. H. Metslang, A. Kalnača, M. Norvik, Potsdam: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Balodis Uldis 2023: Rāisaku maarahvas? Estonian traces in central and southern Latgale. – *Tartu Ülikooli Lõuna-Eesti keele- ja kultuuriuuringute keskuse aastaraamat XXI–XXII. Pühendusteos Karl Pajusalule 60. sünnipäevaks*, Tartu: Tartu ülikooli kirjastus, 2023.

- Bielenstein August J. 1892: *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur ethnologischen Geographie und Geschichte Russlands* [The Boundaries of the Latvian Ethnic Group and the Latvian Language in the Present and in the 13th Century: A Contribution to the Ethnological Geography and History of Russia], mit einem Atlas von 7 Blättern, St. Petersburg: Commissionäre der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Eggers und J. Glasunof.
- Breidaks Antons 1970: Vlijanie pribaltijsko-finskich jazykov na latgalskie govory Ludzenskoeo rajona Latvijskoj SSR [The Influence of the Baltic-Finnic Languages on the Latgalian Dialects of the Ludza Region of the Latvian SSR]. – *Vzaimosviazi baltov i pribaltijskich finnov*, Riga: Zinātne, 157–164.
- Breidaks Antons 1973a: Pribaltijsko-finskie nazvanija rek v Latgalii [Baltic-Finnic Names of Rivers in Latgale]. – *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* 2(307), Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas izdevniecība, 97–102.
- Breidaks Antons 1973b: Slavianskie nazvanija rek v Latgalii [Slavic Names of Rivers in Latgale]. – *Baltistica* 9(1), 89–94. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15388/baltistica.9.1.1814>.
- Breidaks Antons 1977: O vlijanii pribaltijsko-finskich jazykov na latgalskij i selonskij idiomy [On the Influence of the Baltic-Finnish Languages on the Latgalian and Selonian Idioms]. – *Baltistica*, 2 priedas: III Tarptautinio baltistų kongreso straipsniai, 26–35.
- Breidaks Antons 1983: Ezera nosaukuma *S'iv'ers'* etimoloģija [Etymology of The Lake Name *S'iv'ers'*]. – *Baltistica* 19(2), 196.
- Breidaks Antons 1989: Baltijas somu izcelsmes hidronīmi Latgalē [Hydronyms of Baltic-Finnic Origin in Latgale]. – *Valodas aktualitātes* – 1988, Rīga: Zinātne, 326–335.
- Breidaks Antons 2007 [1989]: Baltijas somu izcelsmes hidronīmi Latgalē [Hydronyms of Baltic-Finnic Origin in Latgale]. – *Darbu izlase* 2, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 385–389.
- Būga Kazimieras 1961: *Rinkiniai raštai* [Selected Works] 3, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.
- Bušs Ojārs, Balode-Anelauskaite Laimute 2005: Par dažiem somugru cilmes elementiem Latvijas hidronīmijā [On Some Finno-Ugric Elements in Latvian Hydronymy]. – *Kalbos istorijos ir dialektologijos problemos* 1, redaktorių kolegija: S. Ambrazas, L. Grumadienė, D. Mikulėnienė (vyr. redaktorė) ir kt., Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 104–109.
- Cimermanis Saulvedis 2017: Ceļavārdi [Guides]. – *Ludzas igauņi: Zemes dieva tauta* [The Estonians of Ludza: The People of the Earth God], ed. by H. Korjuss, 7–11. Rīga: Lauku Avīze.
- Eesti murded IX: Eesti murded 9: Lõunaeesti keelesaarte tekstid* [Estonian Dialects 9: Texts of the South Estonian Language Islands], M. Mari, H. Anu, I. Triin, J. Grethe, K. Mervi, N. Miina, P. Karl, T. Pire, T. Tuuli, V. Lembit, Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut & Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 2014.
- EMjK: *Eesti murded ja kohanimed* [Estonian Dialects and Toponyms], K. Pajusalu, T. Hennoste, E. Niit, J. Viikberg, P. Päll, toimetaja T. Hennoste, Tartu: Emakeele selts, 2018.
- Garšva Kazimieras 1989: Lietuvninkai latgalių etnogenezėje [Lithuanians in the Ethnogenesis of Latgalians]. – *Baltistica* 3, 1 priedas, 64–69.

- Itkonen Terho I. 1920: Lappalaisperäisiä paikannimiä suomen kielen alueella [Sámi Origin Placenames in the Finnish Language Area]. – *Virittäjä* 24, 49–57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23982/vir.27771>.
- Kalima Jalo 1942: Itä-Karjalan paikannimiä [Toponyms of East Karelia]. – *Virittäjä* 46, 160–163. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23982/vir.31097>.
- Kallas Oskar 1894: *Lutsi maarahvas* [Ludza Estonians], Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapaino.
- Kallio Petri 2018: On the Historical Phonology of Old Literary South Estonian. – *Võro instituudi toimõndusõq 33: Valitsõmisjaoutusõst keeleaoluuni haldusjaotusest keelajalooni / From Administrative Division to Historical Linguistics*, toimõndanuq J. Sullõv, Võro: Võro institut, 118–144.
- Kiviniemi Eero 1971: *Suomen Partisiippinimistöä: Ensimmäisen Partisiipin Sisältävät Henkilön- ja Paikannimet* [Finnish Participial Nomenclature: Personal and Place Names Containing the First Participle], Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kiviniemi Eero 1975: *Paikannimien rakennetyypeistä* [On the Structural Types of Placenames], Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Kiviniemi Eero 1977: *Väärät vedet: tutkimus mallien osuudesta nimenmuodostuksessa* [False Waters: A Study on the Role of Models in Name Formation], Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Kiviniemi Eero 1978: Paikannimistöstä asutushistoriallisen tutkimuksen lähdeaineistona [On Placename Records as Source Material for Settlement History Research]. – *Faravid* 2, 21–28.
- Kuzmin Denis V. 2014: *Vienan Karjalan asutushistoria nimistön valossa* [Settlement History of White Sea Karelia in the Light of Onomastics], Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.
- Kuzmin Denis V. 2021: *Južnaja Karelija v konce epochi Srednevekovja* [South Karelia at the End of the Middle Ages]. – *Ural-Altai Studies* 4(43), 49–68. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37892/2500-2902-2021-43-4-49-68>.
- Laumane Benita 1996: *Zeme, jūra, zvejvietas: Zvejniecības leksika Latvijas piekrastē* [Land, Sea, Fishing Grounds: Fishing Vocabulary on the Latvian Coast], Rīga: Zinātne.
- LVV I, II: *Latvijas PSR vietvārdi* [Place Names of the Latvian SSR] 1: A–J, 2: K–O, ed. J. Endzelīns, Rīga: Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmija, 1959, 1961.
- LVV III: *Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca* [Dictionary of Latvian Place Names] 3: *Paaglis – Piķu-*, ed. O. Bušs, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2003.
- LVV VI: *Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca* [Dictionary of Latvian Place Names] 6: *R*, ed. L. Balode, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2013.
- LVV VII: *Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca* [Dictionary of Latvian Place Names] 7: *Sabe–Seza-*, ed. L. Balode, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2017.
- Manteuffel Gustaw 1879: *Inflanty Polskie: poprzedzone ogólnym rzutem oka na siedmiowiekową przeszłość całych Inflant* [Polish Livonia: Preceded by a General Overview of the Seven-century Past of the Whole of Livonia] Poznań: Księgarnia Jana Konstantego Żupańskiego.
- Manteuffel Gustaw 2020: *Poļu Inflantija* [Polish Livonia], transl. R. Labanovskis, Rīga: Jumava.

- Ojansuu Heikki 1912: Virolaiset siirtokunnat lätiläisalueella, niiden lähtöpaikka ja -aika [Estonian Colonies in the Latvian Area, Their Place and Time of Origin]. – *Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia: Esitelmät ja pöytäkirjat*, 7–26.
- Rudzīte Marta 1968: Somugriskie hidronīmi Latvijas PSR teritorijā [Finno-Ugric Hydronyms in the Territory of the Latvian SSR]. – *Latviešu leksikas attīstība. Zinātniskie raksti* 86, Rīga: Zinātne, 175–198.
- Saar Evar 2008: *Võrumaa kohanimed analüüs enamlevinud nimeosade põhjal ja traditsioonilise kogukonna nimesüsteem: doktoritöö* [An Analysis of Place Names in Võrumaa on the Basis of the Most Common Name Elements: Doctoral Dissertation], Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus.
- Saar Evar 2019: Rāpina perekonnanimed ja lisanimed [Surnames and Bynames in Rāpina]. – *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat 64 (2018)*, peatoim M. Erelt, Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 205–231. Internet Access: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3176/esa64.08>.
- Saarikivi Janne 2007: On the Uralic Substrate Toponymy of Arkhangelsk Region: Problems of Research Methodology and Ethnohistorical Interpretation. – *Onomastica Uralica* 4, 45–109.
- Sandnes Breit 2016: Names and Language Contact, ed. C. Hough, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sang August 1936: *Lutsi murde häälikulooline ülevaade: avaldamata uurimus* [Historical-Phonological Overview of the Ludza Dialect: Unpublished Research Study], Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiiv.
- SnmRI 2016: Spiski naselennykh mest Rossijskoj imperii, sostavlennye i izdavaemye [Lists of Populated Areas of the Russian Empire, Compiled and Published], SPb.: izd. Centr. stat. kom. Min. vnutr. del, 1861–1885.
- Stafecka Anna 2025: Latgalian: Dialect or Language? – *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica* 33(1), 91–102. Internet Access: <https://doi.org/10.1515/dialect-2025-0004>.
- Vasmer Max 1934: *Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas. 2. Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Westfinnen in den heutigen slavischen Ländern* [Contributions to the Historical Ethnography of Eastern Europe. 2. The Former Extent of the West Finns in the Present-Day Slavic Lands], Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Zemzare Daina 1940: *Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu* [Language Testimony about the Lejasciems Region]. – *Darbu izlase, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts*, 30–173.
- Zeps Valdis J. 1962: *Latvian and Finnic Linguistic Convergences*, Bloomington: Indiana University Publications.
- Zeps Valdis J. 1977: A Critique of Proposed Finnic Hydronyms in Latgola. – *Studies in Finno-Ugric Linguistics: In Honor of Alo Raun*, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington: Indiana University, 427–440.
- Zeps Valdis J. 1984: *The Place Names of Latgola. A Dictionary of East Latvian Toponyms*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Baltic Studies Center.
- Zeps Valdis J., Rosenshield Jill 1995: Pre-Latgalian Hydronyms in East Latvia. – *Journal of Baltic Studies* 26(4), 345–352.
- Zubko-Melne Andra 2018: Administrative-Territorial Reforms in the Eastern Region of Latvia – Latgale (1917–2016). – *Võro instituudi toimõndusõq 33: Valitsõmisjaoutusõst*

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Parallels between Lutsi Estonian and the Vastseliina region toponyms by H. Ojansuu (1912: 21–22)

No.	Latvian/Russian	Lutsi	Vastseliina
1.	Воркали (Vorkali)	Varkali/Vaarkali	Varkali
2.	Цяпиши (Tjapši)	Tsäpsi	Tsäpsi
		Jaanikülä	Jaanimäe
3.	Шкирпаны (Škirpāni)	Kirbu (küla)	Kirbu
4.	Кукуево (Kukujeva)	Kukli küla	Kuklaiste
5.	Веженки (Veženki)	Vähä küla	Vähä küla
6.	Путиново (Putinova)	Tsirgu küla	
7.	Райбакозы (Raibakozi)	Kirivakitse küla	
8.	Гярмы (Germi)	Mõtsa küla	Mõtsamäe
9.	Боровушки (Borovuška)	Palokõrdzi küla	Palovere, Palo-otsa
10.	Малые Пиковы (Mazā Píkova)	Mäeküla	Mäe
11.	Большие Пиковы (Liela Píkova)	Alaküla	Alamäe

Appendix 2. Toponym table based on the list by O. Kallas (1894: 31–32) with possible comments and comparisons to Vastseliina region toponyms by H. Ojansuu (1912: 21–22)

Original Estonian name	Latvian ⁵ /Russian (translation from Estonian)	Estonian adaptation of the Latvian / Russian version	Possible comparison and/or remark by H. Ojansuu (1912)
Kirivä-kidze	Райбакозы	Räbakoza	The Latvian version is the original one
Vähä küla	Веженки	Vezenki	Vähä; the Latvian version is rather the original one
Vahtsene küla	Новая Деревня	Nova d'erevna	
Kirbu küla	Шкирпаны	Kirbani	Kirbu
Loodi küla	Лоциши		
Kukli küla	Кукуево		Kuklaiste
	Latvian/Russian (original)		
Parke küla	Боровая	Barava	
Mõtsa küla	Гермы		Mõtsamäe
Mägize küla	Барисы		
Tati küla	Счастливые		
Mäe küla	Малые Пиковы	Väiku Piikova	
Ala küla	Большие Пиковы	Suure Piikova	
Jaani küla	Большие Цяпиши	Suure Tsäpsi	Jaanikülä, Jaanimäe; Tsäpsi
Kiriv küla	Райполь	Raiba	
Vahtsalo	Сальники	Sal'nigi	
	Шалаи	Salai	
	Рузары	Ruuzinova	
	Барановка	Baranova	

⁵ O. Kallas presents the toponyms as Latvian and writes them in Cyrillic orthography.

	Лайзаны	Laizena	
	Столоны	Toloni	
	Воркали	Vaarkali	Varkali
	Малые Цяпши	Väiku Tsäpsi	Tsäpsi
	(Козье) Слободка	Lovodina	
	Мярдзинка	Mäördina	
Names mentioned only by H. Ojansuu (1912)			
		Tsirgu küla	Tsirgu (Setu)
	Боровушки	Palokõrdzi küla	Palovere, Palo-otsa

Appendix 3. EKI card index (here investigated names in bold)

No.	Main form in Estonian	Other Estonian versions; possible Latvian and Russian versions
1.	Habahaja jõgi	Нара
2.	Ando suu	
3.	Hatamägi	Сучья гора
4.	Hatasuu	
5.	Havvagu mägi	
6.	Baaba suu	
7.	Greeki k	Гречи
8.	Hilätmõiza	Piletmõiza, Филятмуйжа, Финлантмуйжа, Fiļantmuiža
9.	Jaanikülä	Suurõ' Tsäpsi'
10.	Jiumägi	
11.	Jiusuu	
12.	Järvesuu	
13.	Kahrusuu	Loču pürs
14.	Kahrutsopp	
15.	Kalassaar	
16.	Kannistõ niit	
17.	Keegu mets	Keegu mõts
18.	Kirbanikülä	Kirbu k, Kirbani, Шкирпаны, Škirpaņi
19.	Kirbu k	Kirbukülä, Шкирпаны
20.	Kiriväkitsõ	Räabäkoza', Райбакозы
21.	Kitsõsuu	
22.	Kogrõjärv	Kirbu järv
23.	Kraaviots	
24.	Kujari niit	
25.	Kukli	Кукуево
26.	Kuninga sild	
27.	Kunnu suu	Kunnasuu
28.	Kupta niit	
29.	Kuuzõtsopp	
30.	Kõivola suu	
31.	Korgõmäe läte'	
32.	Korgõmäe	
33.	Korgõmägi	
34.	Väiku-Käpsi	Väigu' Tsäpsi', Малые Цяпши
35.	Laizeni'	Лайзаны
36.	Laudjärv	Laudar
37.	Lavadina k	Слободка
38.	Lubanakõnõ	
39.	Längämägi	
40.	Lätte niit	

41.	Lütka-uju	
42.	Mõtsakülä	Mõdsaküla, Гермы
43.	Murumäe	
44.	Mustkopts zimnik	
45.	Mäesilla niit	
46.	Mägize k	Барисы
47.	Nerza	Nirzä järv
48.	Nerza	Nerzä vald, Nerzä k, Nerzä järv
49.	Oroniit	
50.	Oroots	
51.	Paidera'	Пайдеры
52.	Pajuniit	
53.	Palokõrdsi k	Боровушки
54.	Palomägi	
55.	Palusaarõ niit	
56.	Pargi k	Parge k, Parke k, Боровая
57.	Pargi k	Боровая
58.	Suurõ Piikova'	Alakülä, Большие Пиковы
59.	Väigu Piikova'	Mäekülä, Малые Пиковы
60.	Pikäniidü läte'	
61.	Porkali k	
62.	Puntsuli k	Пунцули, Михалино
63.	Puukõzõ k	Пывкайни
64.	Pähnämägi	
65.	Raiba kerk	Rääbä kerk
66.	Raip	Raipole, Rääbä
67.	Rehemõtsa k	Рейки
68.	Riia	Rõia
69.	Roostõsuu	
70.	Rossõ läte'	
71.	Saarõmägi	
72.	Saarõmägi	
73.	Sabale mõts	
74.	Sandi lump	
75.	Sarja-Jüri	
76.	Savimägi	
77.	Skriini k	Skrini
78.	Sliva mägi	
79.	Suur järv	
80.	Suurõkivi	
81.	Suurõmõtsa saar	
82.	Suurkivi	
83.	Suur kraav	
84.	Suur niit	
85.	Suur Sammõlsuuniit	Väigu Sammõlsuuniit
86.	Säzemäe	
87.	Talap	Talabi järv, Dalaba järv, Peipsi järv
88.	Tati k	Tatt, Счастливые, Častliva
89.	Tedre	Rubul'ofka, Piitre ni Ont
90.	Tulba tükk	
91.	Tunduri'	Абрицки
92.	Valgõsuu	
93.	Vaarkali k	Воркали
94.	Vaaska niit	

95.	Vastalo k	Salnigi', Сальники
96.	Verema suu	
97.	Väha k	Vähäkülä, Веженки
98.	Vähä k	Веженки, Veženki