

Onoma 52
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644
Journal homepage: https://onomajournal.org/

Structures and meanings of Finnish and Hungarian appellativized slang compounds

DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.52/2017/5

Maria Sarhemaa

University of Helsinki
Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
maria.sarhemaa@helsinki.fi

To cite this article: Sarhemaa, Maria. 2017. Structures and meanings of Finnish and Hungarian appellativized slang compounds. *Onoma* 52, 87–106. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.52/2017/5

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.52/2017/5

© *Onoma* and the author.

Structures and meanings of Finnish and Hungarian appellativized slang compounds

Abstract: In this article, I analyse Finnish appellativized slang compounds with respect to two main factors, using Hungarian compounds as a point of comparison. The structures, and the centres of attraction of the compounds are discussed.

Finnish and Hungarian slang contains numerous compounds which include a homonym of a first name either as a head or a modifier. These include, for example, the Finnish noun *baarimikko* ‘bartender’ (lit. ‘bar’ + male name *Mikko*) and the Hungarian noun *dumafranci* ‘someone who speaks a lot’ (lit. ‘chat’ + male diminutive *Franci*). In these expressions, *Mikko* and *Franci* are no longer authentic proper names but have been appellativized.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

It is shown that the phenomenon is rather productive in both languages. The patterns by which the compounds have been formed seem to be quite productive, and even novel expressions elaborating these schemas may be introduced.

Keywords: Finnish, Hungarian, appellativization, slang.

Structures et significations des expressions argotiques appellativisées dans les langues finlandaise et hongroise

Résumé : Dans cet article, je propose d'analyser des expressions argotiques formées avec des noms propres en langue finlandaise avec le hongrois pour élément de comparaison et selon deux facteurs principaux. La structure et le composant sémantique central de ces expressions sont ici étudiés.

Les langues argotiques finlandaise et hongroise utilisent de nombreuses expressions formées à partir d'un prénom ayant la fonction de composant central ou de modificateur, comme, par exemple, le substantif finlandais *baarimikko* « barman » (lit. « bar » + le prénom masculin *Mikko*) et le substantif hongrois *dumafranci* « personne qui parle beaucoup » (lit. « papotage » + surnom masculin *Franci*). Dans ces expressions, *Mikko* et *Franci* n'ont plus fonction de noms propres, ils ont été appellativisés.

On a pu constater que ce phénomène est assez productif dans les deux langues. Le schéma même de formation de ces expressions est très productif et peut permettre d'élaborer de nouvelles expressions.

Mots-clés : Finnois, hongrois, appellativisation, argot.

Strukturen und Bedeutungen appellativer Komposita der finnischen und der ungarischen Umgangssprache

Zusammenfassung: In diesem Artikel analysiere ich finnische appellativierte Komposita der Alltagssprache in Bezug auf zwei Hauptfaktoren, wobei ungarische Komposita vergleichend herangezogen werden. Diskutiert werden zudem die Strukturen und Anziehungszentren der Komposita.

Die finnische und die ungarische Umgangssprache enthalten zahlreiche Komposita, die entweder als Kopf oder als Modifikator einen Vornamen enthalten. Dazu gehören beispielsweise das finnische Substantiv *baarimikko* ‚Barkeeper' (lit. ‚bar' + männlicher Name *Mikko*) und das ungarische Substantiv *dumafranci* ‚jemand, der viel spricht' (lit. ‚plaudern' + männliches Diminutiv *Franci*). In diesen Ausdrücken sind *Mikko* und *Franci* keine echten Eigennamen mehr, sondern wurden appellativiert.

Es wird gezeigt, dass das Phänomen in beiden Sprachen recht produktiv ist. Die Muster, nach denen die Komposita gebildet wurden, scheinen ziemlich produktiv zu sein, und sogar neuartige Ausdrücke, die diese Schemata umsetzen, können eingeführt werden.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Finnisch, Ungarisch, Umgangssprache, Appellativierung.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Onoma 52 (2017), 87–106. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.52/2017/5

Structures and meanings of Finnish and Hungarian appellativized slang compounds

MARIA SARHEMAA

1. Introduction

Appellativization is a process in which a proper name gets an appellative meaning, that is, it is appellativized. Appellativized proper names are found in many languages, but in this article the focus is on the Finnish and Hungarian appellativized first names that are used in compounds. Finnish slang and colloquial language contain many compounds of this kind, in other words, compounds which include a homonym of a first name either as a head or a modifier. These include, among others, the nouns *baarimikko* 'bartender' (lit. 'bar' + male name *Mikko*) and *kuumakalle* 'someone who gets angry easily' (lit. 'hot' + male name *Kalle*). In these expressions, the words *mikko* and *kalle* cannot be understood as authentic proper names but instead have appellativized and are understood as appellatives.

Appellativized compounds are also found in the slang of another Finno-Ugric language, Hungarian. For instance, *lólujza* (lit. 'horse' + female name *Lujza*) means 'big woman' and *izomtibor* (lit. 'muscle' + male name *Tibor*) means 'muscular man'.

In this article, the focus is on the appellativization of first names in Finnish slang compounds, and Hungarian compounds are used as a point of comparison. The Finnish material has been compiled from the Helsinki slang dictionary (Paunonen 2000). Nevertheless, most of the words can be understood by Finnish speakers living outside the Helsinki region, so many of them could be described not only as Helsinki slang words but also as Finnish colloquial words in general. The Hungarian compounds of the data, on the other hand, represent different kinds of slangs. Some of them are understood only by the speakers of a specific slang (e.g. offenders, students), but some of them are widely known. However, in this article how commonly known or used the compounds are is not discussed. The data of this article are not large enough for quantitative analysis, therefore the emphasis here is on qualitative analysis.

Compounds containing an appellativized homonym of a first name are analysed with respect to two main factors, namely the structures and meanings of the compounds. First, a look at the theoretical background

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

(section 2) and the data (section 3) is given. Then the structures of the compounds (section 4) and their meanings, to put it more precise, centres of attraction (section 5) are discussed. After that, the productivity of the phenomenon is shown, that is, the schemas which enable similar novel expressions (section 6). In this section the focus is only on the Finnish material. This is followed by the discussion (section 7). Finally, the results are summed up (section 8).

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Appellativization of proper names

Appellativization of proper names has gained interest in onomastics cross-linguistically. For instance, Sköldberg & Toporowska Gronostaj (2006) have presented a lexicographic research on Swedish appellativized first names in compounds, such as *bollkalle* (lit. 'ball' + male name *Kalle*) 'person who picks up balls during a tennis match'. In their article, the object of study is somewhat similar with the current article, as the material consists of appellativized compounds. However, their analysis focuses on the lexical characteristics of the appellativized compounds, not on their semantics.

Finnish appellativized proper names have been the focus of only a few studies (Hämäläinen 1956, Puolakka 2003, Sarhemaa 2012), and a detailed analysis of the phenomenon in contemporary Finnish is lacking. The first Finnish researcher to deal with appellativization was Simo Hämäläinen (1956). He divided appellativized expressions into two main groups according to their form: 1. simplex words (e.g. *uuno* 'stupid'), 2. compounds and sentences including an appellativized proper name (e.g. *laiskajaakko* 'lazy', lit. 'lazy' + first name *Jaakko*). Even if appellativized simplex words are numerous in both Finnish and Hungarian slang, the focus in this article is on compounds only, and sentences are also excluded.

Hungarian appellativized proper names have been studied by several researchers (e.g. Parapatics 2012; Reszegi 2010; Seifert 2008; Szendrey 1936; Takács 2007a, 2007b). Hungarian and Finnish, as well as Estonian appellativized first names, have also been compared (Takács 2001 & 2010; Sarhemaa & Takács 2018). In these studies compounds have not been focused on, but it has been shown that in Finnish slang an appellativized first name often functions as a simplex word, whereas in Hungarian slang it is more often a part of a compound or complex phrase (Sarhemaa & Takács 2018: 218).

Appellativized first names in Finnish and Hungarian slang compounds are analysed in my previous article (Sarhemaa 2018). In that article, the focus was the motivation for the appellativization. It was shown that the most usual

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

motivations for appellativization in slang compounds are a phonological structure; a metaphor; a metonymy and a connotation, but appellativized expressions can also be based on a name of a real or fictive person.

Appellativization has also been studied from a theoretical point of view. When speaking about appellativization, Willy Van Langendonck (2007: 173–175) uses the term "appellativized proprial lemma". He states that the appellativization of a proprial lemma can be carried out for example by pluralization or the introduction of the indefinite article. Syntactically, an appellativized proprial lemma could be replaced by a suitable common noun. He presents some examples, such as *Newton was the Einstein / physicist of the 17th century*. In this example, the proprial lemma of *Einstein* has been appellativized.

Katalin Reszegi (2018) also has a theoretical approach to the phenomenon of appellativization. She uses a neutral term "proper-name-to-appellative transformation", and reviews studies which focus on the phenomenon. She mentions that one of the contentious issues concerning the phenomenon is the question whether the whole process is about a change or a creation of meaning. In this article, I do not take up this topic.

2.2. About slang

It is not simple to define what slang is. It can be defined as a form of language which is spoken by a restricted group of people, for instance, young people or criminals. It can also be defined as a language which one speaks when wishing to belong to a group. Slang is more often spoken by men, young people, and less well-educated people in towns and cities than women, the elderly and more educated people, or people living in the countryside (Kövecses 1997: 7–11; Kis 2010; Nahkola & Saanilahti 1999: 53). Slang is mostly spoken by (macho) men with negative biases against women, fat people, short people, etc. (Kövecses 2006: 151), and the slang vocabulary about these topics is very rich.

In Hungary, the opposition between the standard language and traditional rural dialects became relatively strong in the 19th century, and a growing number of people became aware about the opposition. New urban dialects were formed especially in Budapest and in other cities, and this formation had a self-reflexive nature. At the same time, the varieties spoken by different groups of people, such as students or criminals, became more widely known by other people as well. This process was the beginning of Hungarian slang (Tolcsvai-Nagy 2006: 232).

Due to its special character, Helsinki slang deserves a more detailed discussion. Helsinki was originally founded in an area which was entirely Swedish speaking and had few everyday contacts with the Finnish language. Helsinki became the capital of Finland in 1812, and at the time it was a small

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

town with a Swedish-speaking population. Helsinki slang has its origins at the end of the 19th century, a time when Helsinki was growing and rapidly industrializing. In the middle of the century, Helsinki was still almost a monolingual Swedish-speaking city, but due to the ongoing process of industrialization and numerous people moving to the capital from Finnish-speaking areas of the country the number of Finnish speakers grew increasingly. Helsinki became a melting pot of different varieties of Finnish, and a new kind of colloquial language started to evolve (Paunonen 1994: 223–224). Originally, Helsinki slang was more like a pidgin or mixed language. It remained rather unchanged grammatically, semantically, and lexically between 1900–1939 (Paunonen et al. 2009: 455). Later, original Helsinki slang was replaced by a "normal" Finnish-English-based slang spoken by young people (Paunonen 1994: 238).

3. Material

The material of this article has been compiled from Finnish and Hungarian dictionaries and academic theses on slang and colloquial language (see References: Research material). From these resources, every compound which includes an appellativized homonym of a first name either as a head or a modifier has been picked.

The Finnish data consist of 145 compounds and is compiled from an extensive dictionary of Helsinki slang (Paunonen 2000). Most of the words in the data are still understandable for Finns living in other parts of the country. In the 145 compounds of the Finnish data, there are in total 75 different appellativized first names serving as a head or a modifier.

In Hungary there is no such widely known and spoken slang as Helsinki slang is in Finland. On this account, the Hungarian data is compiled from several dictionaries and studies of different Hungarian slangs, for instance, prisoner, soldier, and student slang. The focus here is not on the differences between the slangs but on a specific part of the vocabulary, i.e., the compound words containing an appellativized homonym of a first name. However, when analysing the material, the different sources of data are kept in mind.

In the Hungarian data there are 88 compounds, in which 61 different names have been appellativized. Most of them are diminutives which are formed from 47 official first names. In Hungarian, it is typical to use diminutives rather than official first names. For example, a man named *Péter* can be called *Peti* or a woman named *Judit* can be called *Jutka*. This kind of usage of diminutives is very common, and normally the official name behind the diminutive is commonly known. Often the usage of diminutives does not convey any endearment. For example, diminutives ending with the suffix *i* (e.g.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Feri < *Ferenc*, *Mari* < *Mária*) have been much used for decades, and they have lost the function of endearment (Hajdú 2003: 655). According to Takács (2007a), it is typical that a Hungarian appellativized name is not an official first name but a diminutive. This holds in the data of this article as well.

4. Structure of compounds

In Finnish language, there are two main types of compounds: determinative and coordinative compounds. Coordinative compounds have two or more parts which are semantically symmetrical, for example *parturi-kampaaja* 'barber-hairdresser' (VISK § 398). However, all compounds in my material are determinative compounds. Determinative compounds have two structural parts: the modifier and the head. Their semantic relation is asymmetric, since the head is the dominant part of the compound, whereas the modifier modifies the head. Determinative compounds are endocentric, i.e., the head of the compound denotes the same entity as the whole compound. For instance, *teekuppi* 'teacup' is a type of cup (VISK § 408).

In both Finnish and Hungarian there are two types of compounds. Finnish and Hungarian grammars use a slightly different terminology in this respect. One type of Hungarian compounds is called coordinative, like in Finnish, but the other type is called subordinative. However, the structure of a Hungarian subordinative compound is pretty much like the structure of a Finnish determinative compound, that is, they are both often endocentric. An example of a Hungarian subordinative compound is *teáscsésze* 'teacup' and an example of a coordinative compound is *testvér* 'sibling' (lit. 'body' + 'blood') (Gerstner 2006: 470).

In the data of this article, all the Finnish compounds are determinative, and all the Hungarian compounds are subordinative, i.e., there are no appellativized coordinative compounds. The reason may be that the appellativized expressions are not idiomatic enough to form semantically symmetrical compounds.

4.1. Appellativized first name as a head

In most (77%) of the Finnish compounds in the data, the appellativized first name serves as a head of the compound. All these expressions are nouns. In most of the expressions the appellativized name is a common Finnish male name. The most common heads are *Mikko* (in 11 compounds), *Kalle* (9), and *Veikko* (8). These are heads of compounds such as *ovimikko* 'doorkeeper' (lit. 'door' + *Mikko*), *nappikalle* 'police officer' (lit. 'button' + *Kalle*), and *siipiveikko* 'sponger' (lit. 'wing' + *Veikko*). In most of the cases, the compounds containing *mikko* as a head refer to a profession, and the

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

compounds including *veikko* to a feature of a person. The compounds ending with *kalle*, however, can refer either to a profession or to a feature of a person. *Mikko*, *Kalle*, and *Veikko* are rather common Finnish male names. They all have at least 18,000 name bearers[1] and belong to the group of the 100 most popular Finnish male names (Avoindata 2018).

The most usual appellativized female name as a head in the Finnish material is *Liisa*. It serves as a head of five compounds, such as *lappuliisa* 'traffic warden' (lit. 'scrap of paper' + *Liisa*). *Liisa* is a very common Finnish female name as it has been given to more than 102,000 women so far and it is the eighth most common Finnish female name ever (Väestörekisterikeskus 2018).

In the Hungarian compounds also, the appellativized first name usually serves as a head. In the Hungarian data, the difference is even bigger than in the Finnish data, since there are 81 compounds out of 88 (92%) in which the appellativized first name serves as a head.

The most usually appellativized Hungarian name is a female name, *Mária*, or the diminutives formed from it. There are ten compounds including *Mária* or one of its diminutives as a head. These include, for example, *feketemária* 'police van' (lit. 'black' + *Mária*), and the verbs *kézimarcsázik* and *marokmarcsázik*, which both mean 'masturbate'. In these expressions *kéz* and *marok* both refer to a hand, and they include *Maria*'s diminutive *Marcsa*, and a verb suffix *-zik*. The most productive denominative verb suffix in modern Hungarian is *-(z)ik* (Gerstner 2006: 468), and it is quite polysemic. These two are the only verbs in the material. *Marokmarcsázik* is based on the noun compound *marokmarcsa*, which has a similar meaning ('masturbation'). Homonyms of *Mária* and diminutives derived from it are also found in expressions in Hungarian standard language and dialects. For example, *mária gyertyája* (lit. 'Mária's candle') and *máriavirág* (lit. 'Mária flower') both refer to a flower called Physostegia virginiana (Takács 2006: 132).

The modifier of a compound with an appellativized first name as a head usually refers to a human feature or property one is considered to bear. For example, Finnish *isoiita* (lit. 'big' + female name *Iita*) and Hungarian *tankaranka* (lit. 'tank' + female name *Aranka*) and *lólujza* (lit. 'horse' + female name *Lujza*) all refer to a fat woman. The modifier can also refer to something one is dealing with, as in the previous examples *ovimikko* ('doorman'), *lappuliisa* ('traffic warden') and *kézi-/marokmarcsázik* ('to masturbate'). More examples will be given in section 5.6.

Even though it is possible to find reasons why some names appellativize as a head of a compound (see Sarhemaa 2018), the appellativization of names serving as a head still seems somewhat

[1] This and following amounts can be proportioned to the population of Finland, which is about 5.5 million (Statistics Finland 2018).

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

coincidental. *Maajussi* and *maamatti* both mean ‘farmer’ (lit. ‘land, country’ + male name *Jussi*/*Matti*), and there is no reason in principle why one could not form expressions using some other names as well, creating compounds such as *maakalle* or *maaveikko*.

4.2. Appellativized first name as a modifier

If the appellativized first name serves as a modifier of a compound, the compounds including the same appellativized name are usually semantically related. In other words, they refer to things belonging to the same semantic frame. For example, the Finnish compound *marttaikäinen* (lit. female name *Martta* + ‘of X age’) refers to ‘middle-aged’ and *marttakengät* (lit. *Martta* + ‘shoes’) to ‘thick, firm shoes’, i.e., shoes which a middle-aged person might use.

Also, if the appellativized Finnish first name is a modifier, the name seems to be semantically motivated and it cannot be easily replaced by another name. For example, the modifier *yrjö* ‘vomit’ (< male name *Yrjö*) in the compound *yrjötauti* ‘stomach disease’ (lit. *Yrjö* + ‘disease’) could hardly be replaced by any another name, since the onomatopoetically motivated *yrjö* itself has the meaning ‘vomit’ in colloquial language. The appellativized first name as a modifier also has a crucial role in the meaning of the whole compound in Hungarian. For instance, in the compound *zsuzsifogkefe* ‘toilet brush’ (lit. female diminutive *Zsuzsi* + ‘tooth brush’) the modifier *zsuzsi* itself means ‘toilet’ in Hungarian prisoner slang (Szabó 2008 s.v. *zsuzsi*), so *Zsuzsi* being a modifier of this compound is not coincidental. It is interesting that the compound meaning ‘toilet brush’ is *zsuzsifogkege*, literally ‘toilet tooth brush’, and not *zsuzsikefe*, which would literally mean ‘toilet brush’. Perhaps the motivation of the compound is a commonly known anecdote that prisoners are forced to clean the toilets with their tooth brushes.

In both Finnish and Hungarian compounds, the appellativized first name serving as a modifier usually forms a compound which is a noun. Examples of these kinds of compounds are Finnish *kikiviiva* ‘vagina’ (lit. female diminutive *Kiki* + ‘line’) and Hungarian *flóriángyökér* ‘penis’ (lit. male name *Flórián* + ‘root’). Compounds can also be adjectives, like the earlier mentioned *marttaikäinen*, but there are no compound verbs including an appellativized first name as a modifier in the material of this study.

5. Centres of attraction

Slang vocabulary typically changes quickly, but there are also plenty of expressions which remain in use for decades or even for centuries (Karttunen 1979: 9–10). There has always been a rich vocabulary in certain topics in Helsinki slang. These so-called semantic centres of attraction include, for

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

example, gender, sexuality, alcohol, the police, people living in the countryside, and stupid and positive entities (Paunonen 2000: 32; Karttunen 1989: 159). Apart from people living in the countryside, all these topics are centres of attraction in Hungarian general slang as well (Kövecses 2009: 303–336). Some of these are also numerous in the material of this article. Naturally there are also plenty of compounds which do not belong to the centres of attraction but mean something else, e.g. words referring to something other than a human being. Examples of these are the Finnish compound *taskumatti* 'hip flask' (lit. 'pocket' + male name *Matti*) and the Hungarian compound *géppista* 'machine pistol' (lit. 'machine' + male diminutive *Pista*). However, only the largest semantic centres of attraction are discussed in the following. These include a feature of a person, soldier, the police, prisoner, farmer, and other profession or assignment. In this section, representative examples of each group are given.

5.1. Feature of a person

A feature of a person is the largest centre of attraction in the material of this article. There are 24 Finnish and 26 Hungarian expressions in this group. The feature may be either physical (1, 2) or mental (3, 4).

(1) FI *läskimooses* 'fat' (lit. 'fat' + male name *Mooses*)
(2) HU *oroszlánjolán* 'fat woman' (lit. 'lion' + female name *Jolán*)
(3) FI *poskiveikko* 'quick-witted' (lit. 'cheek' + male name *Veikko*)
(4) HU *dumafranci* 'someone who speaks a lot' (lit. 'chat' + male diminutive *Franci*)

Of the 24 Finnish expressions, only four include an appellativized female name. In Hungarian, however, there are only 11 Hungarian expressions including an appellativized male name, whereas 15 of them include an appellativized female name. All the Hungarian compounds including an appellativized female name refer to either a fat or a big-breasted woman and are thus quite pejorative. Among the Finnish compounds there is only one that refers to a fat woman, but no compound refers to a big-breasted woman. The Hungarian compounds including an appellativized male name, as well as all the Finnish compounds, are a more heterogeneous group, and they may refer to various features of human beings.

5.2. Soldiers

There are 8 Finnish and 16 Hungarian compounds referring to a soldier in the material, which makes 'soldier' a significant centre of attraction. The large number of Hungarian expressions is probably due to the resource

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

material, that is, part of the data has been compiled from a soldier slang dictionary. Half of the Finnish compounds have *mikko* as a head. These include, for instance, *moonamikko* (lit. 'food' + *Mikko*) and *rättimikko* (lit. 'rag' + *Mikko*), which both mean 'non-commissioned officer serving in the quartermaster corps'.

Some of the Hungarian expressions in this topic are highly pejorative. For example, *lóbaszóelemér* (lit. 'horse' + 'fucking' + male name *Elemér*) and *szarfaszújózsi* (lit. 'shit' + 'dicked' + male diminutive *Józsi*) are pejorative words for 'soldier'.

All expressions referring to a soldier refer to a low ranked soldier, not to a commissioned officer. Probably the low ranked soldiers use more slang than the officers, but this does not explain the lack of expressions referring to commissioned officers in the data. Obviously, slang-speaking soldiers refer to the officers as well, but apparently, they use expressions formed by other means than appellativization.

5.3. The police

There are six Finnish compounds and only one Hungarian compound referring to the police in the material. The low number of Hungarian expressions is quite surprising, as the data contain numerous expressions from Hungarian prisoner slang. Like words that refer to commissioned officers, words that refer to the police are thus formed not by appellativization but in some other way in Hungarian slang.

The Finnish compounds refer either to a police officer of some kind, to a police patrol, or to a police car. For example, *keppikalle* (lit. 'stick' + male name *Kalle*) refers to a regular police officer, and *huoltojussi* (lit. 'service' + male name *Jussi*) to a morality officer.

The only Hungarian compound in this category has a Finnish equivalent: the Finnish *mustamaija* (lit. 'black' + female name *Maija*) as well as the Hungarian *feketemária* (lit. 'black' + female name *Mária*) both refer to a police van. They have probably been loaned from the American and British English slang expression *Black Maria*, which also means 'police van'. In Finnish, *maija* as a simplex word refers to a police van as well, and it is also the modifier of the compound *maijapartio* 'police patrol' (lit. *Maija* + 'patrol'). The same head, *partio* 'patrol' is also the head of another compound, *ristopartio* (lit. male name *Risto* + 'patrol'), which means 'criminal patrol'. The motivation of *risto* as a modifier of the compound may be the sound structure. *Risto* is phonetically somewhat similar to *rikospoliisi*, which means 'detective constable' and 'criminal investigation department' in Finnish.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

5.4. Prisoners

In Finnish slang, prisoners are not a big centre of attraction, as there are only two expressions meaning 'a prisoner'. One of them is *viiruveikko* (lit. 'stripe' + male name *Veikko*), on which the modifier refers to the striped uniform prisoners traditionally wore.

On the other hand, there are six expressions in Hungarian material referring to a prisoner. These include, among others, *macskajancsi*[2] 'someone who gets imprisoned again' (lit. 'cat' + male diminutive *Jancsi*) and *menőjenő* 'a prisoner who ranks ahead of the others' (lit. 'going' + male name *Jenő*). Probably the larger number of Hungarian expressions in this group can be explained by the fact that part of the data is from a prison slang dictionary.

5.5. Farmers

A farmer, or a person living in the countryside, is one of the centres of attraction in Helsinki slang (Paunonen 2000: 32). This holds in the material of this article as well, since there are nine Finnish compounds referring to a farmer or a person living in the countryside. In the Hungarian material there are no such expressions.

In the nine Finnish compounds eight different male names have been appellativized. *Jussi* is the only name which is used in two compounds: *maajussi* (lit. 'country' + *Jussi*) and *turvejussi* (lit. 'peat' + *Jussi*). *Maajussi* is a widely known expression that can also be found in the standard Finnish dictionary *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* (KS). According to KS, *maajussi* is a playful and often pejorative expression. In the material of this article, there is also another compound with the same meaning including the same modifier: *maamatti*.

The expressions in this group are often used pejoratively. One of the compounds, *junttieinari* (lit. 'redneck' + male name *Einari*) means not only 'farmer' but also 'stupid'.

5.6. Other profession or assignment

A profession or assignment other than the ones mentioned earlier, while being a very heterogeneous group indeed, is the largest centre of attraction in the Finnish data with 31 compounds. There are, however, only three Hungarian expressions in this group.

A prototypical Finnish example in this category is *ovimikko* 'door keeper', which is also found in the standard Finnish dictionary KS. In this group, the appellativized name always serves as a head of the compound. Nevertheless, there is also a compound *kaijamaija* 'female docker whose task is to operate the

[2] In Hungarian standard language *macskajancsi* is a playful word for 'meaningless person' (MÉK).

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

gates', in which the modifier (*kaija*), as well as the head (*maija*) are both appellativized female names. *Kaija* as a simplex word also has a slang meaning 'dock' (Paunonen 2000), which motivates it as a modifier of *kaijamaija*.

In most cases, the appellativized first name serving as a head of the compound is a quite common Finnish male name, such as *Mikko*, *Kalle*, or *Ville*. The modifier refers, for instance, to the place where one is working (5), the assignment one does (6), the instrument one uses (7), or the way one works (8).

(5) *narikkamanu* 'door keeper' (lit. 'cloakroom' + male name *Manu*)
(6) *vahtimikko* 'door keeper' (lit. 'watch' + male name *Mikko*)
(7) *lappuliisa* 'traffic warden' (lit. 'scrap of paper' + female name *Liisa*)
(8) *milliville* 'work-study man', 'pedant' (lit. 'millimetre' + male name *Ville*)

In most of the Finnish compounds, the appellativized name is a male name and the compound either refers to a man or is gender neutral. In contrast, all three Hungarian compounds in this category include an appellativized female name and refer to a woman. An example of these is *kottakata* 'female music teacher' (lit. 'note' + female name *Kata*).

6. Schemas

As shown in the earlier sections, the phenomenon of appellativization is rather productive in both languages. This means that novel expressions using the same patterns can be formed in colloquial language. However, in this part of the article, only the Finnish expressions are discussed, as the main focus of the study is on the Finnish language.

Finnish compounds with *mikko* or *kalle* as a head often refer to a profession or an assignment, or to a feature of a person. Nevertheless, *mikko* and *kalle* are not similar heads of appellativized compounds. In the compounds ending with *kalle* the modifier typically has phonological similarities with the head *kalle*, and the modifier can be an adjective. Prototypical examples are *kuumakalle* 'person who gets angry easily' (lit. 'hot' + *Kalle*) and *kaluunakalle* 'person in uniform' (lit. 'galloon' + *Kalle*). In both expressions, there is alliteration between the modifier and the head. On the other hand, the modifier of a compound ending with *mikko* is typically a noun which does not have recognizable phonological similarities with the head *mikko*. Prototypical examples are *jodimikko* 'army doctor's assistant' (lit. 'iodine' + *Mikko*) and *baarimikko* 'bartender' (lit. 'bar' + *Mikko*).

These structures can be characterized as partially schematic constructions as their modifier varies whereas the head is more fixed as it can be selected from a restricted list of first names. These patterns seem to be quite productive, and even novel expressions elaborating these schemas may be

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

introduced. For instance, with the schemas [[noun] + [*mikko*]] or [[adjective] + [*kalle*]] it is possible to form new compounds. For example, *tallimikko* (lit. 'stable' + *Mikko*) could refer to a stable worker, or *koulumikko* (lit. 'school' + *Mikko*) to a school janitor, whereas *köyhäkalle* (lit. 'poor' + *Kalle*) could refer to a poor person, or *kummakalle* (lit. 'weird' + *Kalle*) to a weirdo. Even though these expressions are not found in any data, it is safe to say that a native speaker of Finnish would easily understand them in a proper context.

Obviously, *kalle* and *mikko* are not the only heads which can be used to form these kinds of compounds. Instead, there are plenty of possible heads, such as homonyms of male names *Veikko* and *Jussi* as well as homonyms of female names *Maija* and *Liisa*, with which novel compounds can be formed. Theoretically, perhaps any first name can be appellativized as part of a compound, but this analysis shows that the names appellativizing in compounds are most usually quite typical and common Finnish names.

Schemas can also be used to form compounds referring to another gender than the word usually refers to. For example, *lappuliisa* (lit. 'scrap of paper' + *Liisa*) and *parkkipirkko* (lit. 'parking' + *Pirkko*) both refer to a female traffic warden. However, a Google search[3] with the word *lappulasse* gives around 240 hits, whereas search with the word *parkkipaavo* gives around 290 hits and *parkkipertti* 15 hits.[4] Novel expressions elaborating the same schema can thus be used to refer to a male traffic warden.

7. Discussion

If the first name´s appellativized homonym serves as a modifier of a compound, another first name cannot replace it, and, moreover, these compounds are semantically related. However, if the appellativized name is a head of the compound, its choice seems more coincidental, e.g. *maajussi* and *maamatti* both mean 'farmer'. In these kinds of expressions, it could even be possible to replace the appellativized head by a word *mies* 'man' or some other noun suitable for the context. This is probably due to the endocentric nature of the determinative compounds: the head of the compound – in these cases the appellativized first name – denotes the same entity as the whole compound. *Maajussi* and *maamatti* mean 'farmer', so basically in these expressions *jussi* and *matti* themselves can be understood as denoting a 'farmer'. In fact, *jussi* as a simplex word has been used to refer to a person living in the countryside (Paunonen 2000). The reason for this might be that *maajussi*, unlike *maamatti*, is such a widely known expression that it can be understood without the modifier. It should be noted that *maajussi* has had the

[3] A Google search was made on 15 May 2018.
[4] *Lasse*, *Paavo* and *Pertti* are common Finnish male names.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

meaning of 'farmer' from the 1930s, whereas the simplex word *jussi* only became appellativized in the 1980s (Paunonen 2000).

In the Hungarian data there are both nouns and also two verbs. In both the appellativized name serves as a head. It would be possible to derive verbs from nouns in Finnish as well, such as *maajusse-il-la* [farmer-DER-INF] 'act like a farmer', however, in the Finnish material such verbs are not found.

Interestingly, within the Finnish material the most commonly appellativized names are male names, whereas the most commonly appellativized Hungarian name is a female name *Mária* and its diminutives. The reason is probably the commonness of *Mária* ('[Virgin] Mary') as a first name, as well as the commonness of appellativized *Mária* in many expressions in different variants of Hungarian (see Takács 2007a: 76–79; 2007b).

Most of the expressions in the data are gender-related, so they usually refer either to a female or a male. However, for example the word *huoltojussi* (lit. 'service' + male name *Jussi*) 'morality officer' refers not only to a male but also to a female morality officer (Paunonen 2000). Similarly, *baarimikko* 'bartender' (lit. 'bar' + male name *Mikko*) can also be used for female bartenders in contemporary colloquial Finnish language. When appellativizing, first names seem to lose at least some of their gender-relatedness.

In the Finnish and Hungarian material, the centres of attraction are partly similar, partly different. In both languages, a feature of a person is a significant centre of attraction. The features vary, and can be either physical or mental. Interestingly, if a Hungarian compound referring to a feature of a person includes an appellativized female name, it always means either 'big woman' or 'big-breasted woman'. However, in Finnish slang these kinds of expressions are rare, and expressions including a female name are not as usual as in Hungarian.

Many compounds refer to a 'soldier' in the Finnish, as well as in the Hungarian data. Nevertheless, in Hungarian 'soldier' is an even bigger centre of attraction. Many Hungarian compounds referring to a soldier are highly pejorative, unlike the Finnish compounds.

The police, farmer and other professions or assignments are notable centres of attraction in the Finnish material. However, the words belonging to these categories are much rarer in Hungarian. By contrast, there are only a few words that refer to a prisoner in Finnish, whereas 'prisoner' is one of the centres of attraction in the Hungarian data. The differences between the attraction centres can be at least partly explained by the research material. The Finnish data has only been compiled from a Helsinki slang dictionary, whereas the Hungarian material covers various slangs.

Appellativization is quite a productive phenomenon, and novel expressions may be formed. Compounds including an appellativized first name as a head can be characterized as partially schematic constructions. In these constructions, the

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

modifier varies, but the head is more fixed. These schemas may be used, and novel compounds formed even ad hoc, for instance, if one is willing to refer to another gender than is usually referred to with a specific compound. Theoretically, there are no restrictions for the first names which could be appellativized as part of a compound, but usually the names appellativizing in compounds are rather common first names, or names which have recognizable phonological similarities with the other part of the compound.

8. Conclusions

In this article, the structures and the meanings – more precisely the centres of attraction – of Finnish and Hungarian slang compounds including an appellativized first name have been addressed. It has been shown that most often the appellativized first name serves as a head of the compound in both languages. When the appellativized first name is a head of the compound, there are more possible first names which can be used, and their choice seems slightly coincidental. However, when the appellativized first name is a modifier of the compound, it is more fixed, and the modifier often has a slang meaning as a simplex word as well.

The largest centres of attraction in the material include a feature of a person, a soldier, the police, a prisoner, a farmer, and other professions or assignments. Some of these are centres of attractions in both languages, some only in one language. For example, expressions referring to a farmer are only found in the Finnish material. One reason for this is the sources of the material: the Hungarian data covers a wider range of slang than the Finnish data.

This article also illustrates that the phenomenon of appellativization is rather productive, and it is possible to form novel expressions using the same schemas. This indicates that proper names are semantically attractive in slang.

References

Research material

Barta, Noémi. 1998. *A férfi szinonimái a közszlengben* [Synonyms of *man* in the general slang]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)

Bordás, Krisztina. 1998. *A debreceni Brassai Sámuel Műszaki Középiskola diákszlengje* [The student slang of the Brassai Sámuel Technical School in Debrecen]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)

Fazakas, István. 1991. *Jasszok, zsarók, cafkavágók. Életképek a vagányvilágból, ó- és új argószótár* [Pictures from the underworld. The old and new slang dictionary]. Budapest: Fekete Sas Kiadó.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Galavics, Veronika. 1988. *A nő elnevezései a közszlengben* [The appellations of woman in the general slang]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)
Hagymásy, Tünde. 1998. *A szleng és a Magyar Narancs Narancs* [The slang and the Magyar Naracs Magazine]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)
Hajdú, Zoltán. 1999. *Két iskola diákszókincsének vizsgálata* [Study of the vocabulary of the students of two schools]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)
Helle, Eleonóra. 1992. *A debreceni diáknyelv szótára* [Students' language in Debrecen]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)
Jenő, Sándor & Vető, Imre. 1900. *A Magyar Tolvajnyelv és Szótára Szótára* [The Hungarian criminal language and its dictionary]. Budapest.
Józsa, Barbara. 1995. *A magyarországi kábítószer-fogyasztók szlengje* [The slang of drug users in Hungary]. University of Debrecen. (Master's thesis.)
Kabdebó, Oszkár. 1917. *Pesti jassz-szótár* [Dictionary of the underworld in Pest]. Mezőtúr: Török Ignác Kiadóvállalata.
Kardos, Tamás & Szűts, László. (n.d.). *Diáksóder. Hogyan beszél a mai ifjúság?* [How does the youth of the day speak?]. Budapest: Ciceró Kiadó.
Kis, Tamás. 1992. *Bakaduma. A mai magyar katonai szleng szótára*. [The dictionary of contemporary Hungarian military slang]. Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó.
Kiss, Károly. 1963. *A mai magyar tolvajnyelv* [The contemporary Hungarian criminal language]. Budapest: BM Tanulmányi és Módszertani Osztály.
Paunonen, Heikki. 2000. *Tsennaaks Stadii, bonjaaks slangii. Stadin slangin suursanakirja* [The great dictionary of Helsinki slang]. Helsinki: WSOY.
Szabó, Edina. 2008. *A mai magyar börtönszleng és szótára* [The contemporary Hungarian prisoner slang and its dictionary]. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó.
Tótfalusi, István. 1997. *Színes szinonimatár* [Colourful lexicon of synonyms]. Budapest: Háttér Kiadó.
Zolnay, Vilmos & Gedényi, Mihály. 1996. *A régi Budapest a fattyúnyelvben* [The old Budapest in slang]. Budapest: Fekete Sas Kiadó.

Bibliography

Avoindata. 2018. (https://www.avoindata.fi/data/fi/dataset/none) (Accessed 2018-04-30.)
Gerstner, Károly. 2006. A magyar nyelv szókészlete [The Hungarian vocabulary]. In Kiefer, Ferenc (ed.), *Magyar nyelv*, 437–480. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Hajdú, Zoltán. 2003. *Általános és magyar névtan* [General and Hungarian onomastics]. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Hämäläinen, Simo. 1956. Kynttilä otti uunon vihtorin. Erisnimien käytöstä yleisniminä [About the appellatival use of proper names]. *Virittäjä* 60, 202–227.

Karttunen, Kaarina. 1979. *Nykyslangin sanakirja* [Contemporary slang dictionary]. Porvoo: WSOY.

Karttunen, Kaarina. 1989. Stadi on hervoton pleisi [Helsinki is a crazy place]. In Vesikansa, Jouko (ed.), *Nykysuomen sanavarat*, 148–165. Juva: WSOY.

Kis, Tamás. 2010. *Alapismeretek a szlengről* [Basic knowledge about slang]. (http://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/szleng/szleng.php) (Accessed 2019-04-14.)

Kövecses, Zoltán. 1997. Az amerikai slang [The American slang]. In Kis, Tamás (ed.), *A szlengkutatás útjai és lehetőségei*, 7–39. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2006. Metaphor and ideology in slang: The case of woman and man. *Revue d'Études Françaises* 11, 151–166.

Kövecses, Zoltán. 2009. *Magyar szlengszótár* [The dictionary of Hungarian slang]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

KS = *MOT Kielitoimiston sanakirja 2.0* [Dictionary of standard Finnish]. 2008. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus ja Kielikone Oy. (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 149.)

MÉK = Pusztai, Ferenc (ed.). 2003. *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* [Hungarian explanatory dictionary], second edition. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Nahkola, Kari & Saanilahti, Marja. 1999. A finn szleng mint nyelvi és szociális jelenség [The Finnish slang as a linguistic and social phenomenon]. In Fenyvesi, Anna & Kis, Tamás & Várnai, Judit Szilvia (eds.), *Mi a szleng? Tanulmányok a szleng fogalmáról*, 51–76. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó.

Parapatics, Andrea. 2012. Közszóvá váló személynevek a mai magyar szlengben [Appellativizing personal names in contemporary Hungarian slang]. In Parapatics, Andrea (ed.), *Doktoranduszok a nyelvtudomány útjain*, 156–169. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. (A 6. Félúton konferencia, ELTE BTK 2010. október 7–8. Tálentum Sorozat 2.) (http://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/szleng/tanulmanyok/parapatics_kozszo.pdf) (Accessed 2019-04-29.)

Paunonen, Heikki. 1994. The Finnish language in Helsinki. In Nordberg, B. (ed.), *The sociolinguistics of urbanization: The case of the Nordic countries*, 223–245. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Paunonen, Heikki & Vuolteenaho, Jani & Ainiala, Terhi. 2009. Industrial urbanization, working-class lads and slang toponyms in early twentieth-century Helsinki. *Urban history* 36(3), 449–472.

Puolakka, Suvi. 2003. *"Kuka uuno tän on duunannu?" Suomalaisten etunimien appellatiivistuminen slangisanastossa* [Appellativization of

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Finnish first names in slang vocabulary]. University of Turku. (Master's thesis.)

Reszegi, Katalin. 2010. A köznevesülésről [About appellativization]. *Névtani Értesítő* 32, 143–149.

Reszegi, Katalin. 2018. On the proper-name-to-appellative transformation. *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica* 24(1), 25–46.

Sarhemaa, Maria. 2012. Oskarinkokoinen ovimikko. *Etunimien appellatiivistuminen suomen ja unkarin slangiyhdyssanoissa* [Appellativization of first names in Finnish and Hungarian slang compounds]. University of Jyväskylä. (Master's thesis.)

Sarhemaa, Maria. 2018. Motivation for appellativized given names in Finnish and Hungarian slang compounds. *Onomastica Uralica* 13, 291–302.

Sarhemaa, Maria & Takács, Judit. 2018. 'Ember' jelentésű köznevesült keresztnevek a finn és a magyar szlengben [Appellativized first names referring to a human being in the Finnish and Hungarian slang]. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 25, 199–213.

Seifert, Stefanie. 2008. A tulajdonnév köznevesülésének jelentésváltozási folyamatai [The processes of appellativization of a proper name]. *Névtani értesítő* 32, 41–54.

Sköldberg, Emma & Toporowska Gronostaj, Maria. 2006. Swedish appellativized forenames in compounds – A lexicographic approach. In Corino, Elisa & Marello, Carla & Onesti, Cristina (eds.), *Proceedings of the 12th EURALEX International Congress*, 1193–1199. Torino: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Statistics Finland. 2018. Population structure. 31 December. (http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_vaesto_en.html) (Accessed 2018-05-09.)

Szendrey, Zsigmond. 1936. Személynevek mint köznevek [Personal names as appellatives]. *Magyar Nyelv* 32, 248–259.

Takács, Judit. 2001. Keresztnévi eredetű finn, észt és magyar köznevek összehasonlító vizsgálata [Contrastive study of Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian appellatives that base on first names]. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 8, 613–618.

Takács, Judit, 2006. *Máriavirág*-tól *pocakmacá*-ig. *Mária* keresztnevünk konnotatív jelentéssíkjának elemzése. [From *máriavirág* until *pocakmaca*. Analysis of connotative meanings of the name *Mária*]. In Hoffmann, István & Kis, Tamás & Nyirkos, István (eds.), *Magyar Nyelvjárások XLIV. A Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszékének Évkönyve*, 131–136. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem.

Takács, Judit. 2007a. *Keresztnevek jelentésváltozása. Egy tulajdonnévtípus közszóvá válásának modellje* [Semantic change of first names. Appellativization model of a proper name type]. Debrecen: Debreceni

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)

Egyetem. (A Debreceni Egyetem Magyar nyelvtudományi Intézetének Kiadványai 86.)

Takács, Judit. 2007b. Egy személynév köznevesülése: a *Maca* és konnotációja [Appellativization of a first name: *Maca* and its connotation]. *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 45, 63–71.

Takács, Judit. 2010. Kontrastiivinen katsaus yleisnimistymiseen suomen ja unkarin kielessä [Contrastive review of appellativization in the Finnish and the Hungarian language]. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 17, 159–165.

Tolcsvai-Nagy, Gábor 2006. A cognitive semantic approach to slang. *Revue d'Études Françaises* 11, 231–241.

Väestörekisterikeskus 2018. *Nimipalvelu* [Name service]. (http://verkkopalvelu.vrk.fi/Nimipalvelu/default.asp?L=1) (Accessed 2018-04-30.)

Van Langendonck, Willy. 2007. *Theory and typology of proper names*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

VISK = Hakulinen, Auli & Vilkuna, Maria & Korhonen, Riitta & Koivisto, Vesa & Heinonen, Tarja Riitta & Alho, Irja. 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi* [The extended grammar of Finnish]. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. (http://scripta.kotus.fi/visk) (Accessed 2018-04-30.)

BDD-A30345 © 2017 International Council of Onomastic Sciences
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-15 01:54:41 UTC)