

Doukhobor Names and Naming Practices

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One of the foremost challenges in Russian genealogy is understanding names and naming practices. Names in Russia consisted of a personal name with several diminutive forms, a patronymic middle name, and a surname. In addition, nicknames were frequently used to distinguish individuals. In the New World, however, the names of Russian immigrants often underwent dramatic changes in both form and spelling. This paper discusses the naming practices of the Doukhobors, a Russian Christian movement founded in the 18th century, 7,500 of whom migrated to Canada in 1899 to escape persecution for their views, which included rejection of ecclesiastical and state authority.

Personal Names

Names in Russia

In the pre-Christian period before the end of the 10th century, ancient Russians were identified by a single personal name which they received at birth. These were pagan names of Slavic, Scandinavian and Turkic origin. Following the introduction of Christianity in A.D. 988, Biblical names of Greek, Latin and Hebrew origin predominated.

For centuries in Russia, name-giving was exclusively in the hands of the Church. Tsarist law required that children be named by an Orthodox priest during an official baptismal ceremony, for a fee. The name was often selected by the priest and not the parents. Sometimes the parents suggested a name which the priest then approved. Occasionally a child received an ill-sounding name if the priest disliked, or was displeased with, the parents. The godparents took the infant to the church. The parents were not usually present for the baptism. Often, the parents did not learn the chosen name of their child until the baby was returned home by the godparents. This practice continued until the late 18th century, when Doukhobors outwardly rejected Orthodox Church rites, refused to attend baptisms, and christened their children themselves, with names of their own choosing.

Not all Orthodox naming practices were abandoned by the Doukhobors. The custom of naming a child after the Orthodox saint on whose feast day the child was born continued in isolated cases. Hence, Doukhobor leader Peter Vasilievich Verigin (1859-1924) was named for the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29th, on which he was born.

It was also common to name Doukhobor children after revered spiritual leaders such as Ilarion Pobirokhin (1720-1792), Savely Kapustin (1743-1820), Vasily Kalmykov (1792-1832), Ilarion Kalmykov (1816-1841), Peter Kalmykov (1836-1864), Lukeria Kalmykova (1841-1886), Peter Verigin (1859-1924) and others.

Most often, however, Doukhobor children were named after a parent or grandparent. As a result, one finds personal names repeating every few generations within families. Consider the following example:

Generation	Name	Born
First	Alexander Kalmykov	1780
Second	Dmitry Kalmykov	1816
Third	Alexander Kalmykov	1840
Fourth	Dmitry Kalmakoff	1871
Fifth	Alex Kalmakoff	1897
Sixth	Alex Kalmakoff	1920

Table 1 - Doukhobor naming patterns

It is not unusual to find more than one sibling with the same name. Infant mortality rates were high in Russia, and Doukhobor parents tended to pass the name of a deceased child on to the next infant born of the same sex. Occasionally one may find more than one living child with the same name, but this is rare and usually occurred when there was a great age difference between the children, or where the children were from two different marriages of the father.

The pool from which Doukhobor names were drawn from was remarkably small. For example, among 9,198 Doukhobor immigrants living in Saskatchewan in 1905, we find only 112 names in use. Of these, sixty-nine (61.6%) are men's names, while only forty-three (38.4%) are women's names. These numbers are even more remarkable if we consider that there were over 2,600 names in use in Russia at this time.

A frequency count reveals that some names were exceptionally popular among Doukhobors, whereas others were quite rare. For example, among the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan in 1905, roughly one in every two Doukhobors bore one of the top five names: Vasily, Ivan, Nikolai, Petro or Feodor among the males; Maria, Anna, Anastasia, Pelagea or Agafia among the females. In contrast, only one in every 2,300 Doukhobors bore the names Vakul, Fedot, Zinovia or Alexandra.

According to Doukhobor custom, family members, young and old alike, addressed one another by their personal names rather than by titles such as "father", "mother", "son", "daughter", etc. Such titles were avoided because their use implied authority, the larger over the smaller, contrary to the Doukhobor belief in brotherhood and equality.

Diminutives

Doukhobors commonly addressed one another by the diminutive form of their given names. Diminutives are casual, short forms of names used to express familiarity or

1905 MEN'S NAMES			
Rank	Name	Frequency	% of Total
1	Vasily	782	8.5
2	Ivan	645	7.0
3	Nikolai	440	4.8
4	Petro	386	4.2
5	Feodor	335	3.6

1905 WOMEN'S NAMES			
Rank	Name	Frequency	% of Total
1	Maria	773	8.4
2	Anna	613	6.7
3	Anastasia	589	6.4
4	Pelagea	382	4.2
5	Agafia	283	3.1

Table 2 - Popular Doukhobor given names

endearment between friends and relatives. They are similar to English pet names such as William > Bill, Theodore > Ted, Susan > Sue, Elizabeth > Liz, etc. The formation of diminutives is so unpredictable that no simple rule can be formulated for use by those not familiar with Russian. Several diminutives can be formed from a single given name, and often the form of diminutive used depended on the particular tastes of one's kith and kin. Consider the name "Ivan" for example, the diminutives of which include the following:

Vanya, Vaniusha, Vanechka, Vansha, Ivanka, Ivanya, Ivaniukha, Ivaniusha, Ivasya, Ivasik, Ivakha, Ivasha, Isha, Ishuta, Vaniukha, Vaniura, Vaniusya, Vaniuta, Vaniutya, Vanyata, Iva, Iv, Ivaka, Ivanei, Ivanets, Ivanechka, Ivanishche, Ivanko, Ivanok, Ivanochka, Ivantei, Ivanushka, Ivanhcik, Ivanchuk, Ivaniui, Ivaniushka, Ivasenka, Ivasisha, Ivasechka, Ivas, Ivaska, Ivashenka, Ivashechka, Ivashka, Ivashok, Ivik, Ivga, Ivka, Ivonka, Ivochka, Ivushka, Ivashko, Ivash, Ishenka, Ishka, Ishechka, Ishuta, Ishutka, Ishutonka, Ishutochka, Vanaika, Vanei, Vanen, Vanion, Vanenka, Vanionka, Vanenka, Vanechek, Vanik, Vaniochek, Vanka, Vanko, Vaniunenka, Vaniunechka, Vaniunka, Vaniuk, Vaniunya, Vaniurka, Vaniurochka, Vaniurushka, Vaniuska, Vaniusenka, Vaniusechka, Vaniutka, Vaniutochka, Vaniutushka, Vaniusha, Vaniushenka, Vaniushechka, Vanyai, Vanyaika, Vanyaga, Vaniushka, Vanyatka, Vanyatochka, Vanyatushka, Vanzha, etc.

Canadianization of Names

One often hears that "the name was changed by immigration officials in 1899". No it was not, despite the popular myth. Many Doukhobor immigrants did eventually change their names, but this came later, as part of the assimilation process. They adopted new personal names after they began working or attending school outside the home. Often it wasn't the immigrant who invented their new name; it might have been an Anglo-Saxon co-worker or

schoolteacher. The new Canadianized names fall into one of three categories:

Language Equivalents. If an English language equivalent existed, that name was often the one adopted. Hence, most men with the Russian name Mikhailo took the English name Michael and most women named Marfa became Martha. However, the English equivalent name was not always the name chosen. For example, despite the fact that the English version of the Russian name Semeon is Simon, virtually all Doukhobors named Semeon became Sam.

Phonetic Similarity. When many Doukhobor immigrants changed their name, it was to an English name that sounded phonetically similar. Often no more than the first sound or letters coincided. Thus, someone named Elena in Russia might take the new name Elaine, Ellen, Ella, Eleanor, Elsie, Helen, Evelyn, Eva, Lena or Lillian. It is important to note that the new English name could be based on either a diminutive form or the full form of the Russian name.

No Connection. In a small number of cases, Doukhobor immigrants adopted a new name that had nothing to do with their Russian name. Hence, Sergei became John, Kuzma became Charlie or James, and Anastasia became Mabel.



Fig. 1 - Doukhobor home, circa 1902

Patronymics

Russian Patronymics

After the 10th century, Russians were identified by a patronymic in addition to their given name. Patronymics are derived from the father's name and function as a middle name. For males, they are formed by adding the suffix ending -ovich ("son of") to the father's name. For females, they are formed by adding the suffix ending -ovna ("daughter of") to the father's name. For example, the name "Feodor Trofimovich" refers to Feodor, son of Trofim and "Anna Trofimovna" refers to Anna, daughter of Trofim. It is important to note that the patronymic is always used alongside a formal given name; it is never used alongside a diminutive.

Patronymics can greatly assist family researchers by supplying a more precise identification of a person. In some cases they may be the only clue to an ancestor's parentage. They also allow one to differentiate between people with the same name. This is very useful in Doukhobor research, given the small pool of personal names and surnames. For example, among the Doukhobors living in Saskatchewan in 1905, the name "Vasily Popov" occurs 42 times and the name "Ivan Popov" occurs 39 times. Hence, without knowing the patronymic, it may be very challenging to locate the particular person one is looking for.

Canadianization of Patronymics

Many Doukhobor immigrants eventually changed their patronymic to the Canadianized form of their father's name or to an initial. For example, Nick, son of Semeon might be known as "Nicholas Samuel" or "Nick S." rather than "Nikolai Semeonovich". Since the 1940's, it has become increasingly less common for Doukhobor children to receive patronymics as middle names.

Surnames

Russian Surnames

In comparison to most European nations, the use of surnames occurred relatively late in Russia, arising among the nobility only in the late 15th and early 16th century. Fixed, hereditary surnames did not become common among the Russian peasantry until the late 17th century and early 18th century.

Russian surnames are characterized by special suffix endings. The most common endings are -ov, -ev (Nazarov, Zaitsev) and -in (Konkin, Tomilin). Surnames ending in -oy (Bokovoy, Chernoy) and -iy (Uverenniy, Bozhiy) occur less frequently. Names ending in -enko are typically Ukrainian in origin, however they may appear Russianized by the addition of the letter -v (Savenkov, Zubenkov). Surnames ending in -sky (Podovsky, Eletsy) are widespread and may be Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Polish, Jewish or Russian in origin. It is important to note that women's surnames in Russia have a special form and take the additional ending -a (Kalmykova, Larina, Dimovskaya).

The pool of Russian Doukhobor surnames is remarkably small. For example, among the Doukhobors living in Milky Waters in 1845 and in the Caucasus in 1853, we find only 370 surnames in use. Among the Doukhobors in Canada, we find only 268 surnames. These numbers are quite remarkable if we consider that the total number of surnames in Russia exceeds one hundred thousand.

Origin and Meaning of Surnames

A study of the origin and meaning of Doukhobor surnames reveals many clues about our family history. Some family names are very common and widely distributed in Russia, such as Popov or Kuznetsov. Others, such as Dukhoborov or Samorodin have uniquely Doukhobor origins or are "Doukhoborized" versions of existing Russian

surnames. Many Doukhobor surnames may indeed have a single-family origin. Given the small size of the founding population, this conclusion need not surprise us.

Doukhobor surnames, like other Russian surnames, are derived from four basic sources: (i) first names; (ii) trades or occupations; (iii) nicknames; and (iv) places of residence or ethnic origin. A frequency count of 454 known Doukhobor surnames reveals the proportions in each class as follows:

Surname Type	Frequency	% of Total
Personal Names	158	34.8
Occupational	46	10.1
Nicknames	212	46.7
Locational	38	8.4

Table 3 - Surname class proportions

Personal names form the basis of 34.8% of known Doukhobor surnames. Most are formed from men's names and are said to be patronymic: Tarasov (Taras), Danshin (Dansha, a diminutive of Danila). Less common are matronymic surnames formed from women's names: Anyutushkin (Anyutushka, a diminutive of Anna), Darin (Daria). Both the full form and the diminutive form of a name may give rise to a surname, and many different surnames can be formed from a single name: Ivanov (Ivan), Beloivanov (White Ivan), Vanin, Vanzhov, Ivashin, Ivin (all diminutives of Ivan). Many of the personal names which have given rise to surnames are no longer in current use. These include Old Russian names such as Nechvolod (Nechvolodov) and Muzhilo (Mzhelsky). Unfortunately, it is very difficult (and often impossible) to trace a family back to the ancestor whose personal name forms the surname they now bear.



Fig. 2 - Saskatchewan Doukhobor village, circa 1902

Occupational surnames form the basis of 10.1% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may be formed from administrative titles: Dyakov (scribe), Tolmachev (interpreter). They may relate to social or economic status: Argatov (labourer), Pobirokhin (beggar). Some are formed from military ranks: Esaulov (Cossack captain), Voikin (warrior). Others are formed from trades or occupations: Rybalkin (fisherman), Plotnikov (carpenter).



Fig. 3 - First shipload of Doukhobor immigrants arriving in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1899

Still others relate to religious office: Popov (priest), Ponomarev (sexton).

Nicknames form the basis of 46.7% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may refer to body parts: Gubanov (lips), Zhivotkov (belly). Many relate to descriptive characteristics: Malov (small), Khudyakov (thin). Others relate to physical defects or disabilities: Shcherbakov (pock marked), Glukhov (deaf). Some relate to behaviour or personality: Dutov (boastful), Lezhebokov (sluggard). Others are derived from moral attributes: Mudrov (wise), Bludov (lecherous). Some were given by superstitious parents as a sign of good luck: Khabarov (lucky), Korolev (kingly). Many are formed from names of birds: Perepolkin (quail), Lebedev (swan). Others derive from the names of fish: Shchukin (pike), Kostrikov (perch). Still others derive from names of animals: Medvedov (bear), Zaitsev (hare). Several relate to clothing: Shapkin (cap), Kabatov (over-shirt). Some are formed from names of food: Kapustin (cabbage), Repin (turnup). While the literal meaning of a nickname may be clear, the reason why it was given often remains obscure, and centuries later, can only be speculated on. A nickname might be complimentary or insulting, genuine or ironic, true or false, depending on the particular circumstances and individual concerned.

Locational surnames form the basis of 8.4% of known Doukhobor surnames. Surnames of this type may indicate the village or town where an ancestor originated: Baturin (town of Baturin), Eletsy (city of Elets). Others indicate the region where an ancestor originated: Rezantsev (Riazan province), Vyatkin (Vyatka region). Some are formed from Old Russian place names that are no longer in current use: Trubetskoy (princely estate of Trubets), Dimovsky (village of Dimov, Dimovka or Dimovsk). Many are derived from

features of the landscape, either natural or man-made: Nagornov (hill-dweller), Ozerov (lake-dweller). A number of surnames denote the ethnic, tribal or national origin of an ancestor: Kalmykov (Kalmyk), Kasagov (Circassian). This last type may also derive from nicknames and in some cases do not necessarily indicate any true ethnic or national origin.

Surname Changes in Russia

Surviving records and accounts indicate that many Doukhobor surnames were deliberately changed or altered in 19th century Russia. The reasons for these changes often varied. Consider the following examples:

Sometimes a man took the surname of the woman he married if her family had no male heirs to continue that name. This appears to have occurred among the following families: Strelyaev, Sopov, Mzhelsky, Sherstobitov.

Where the father was a soldier, a son might take his mother's surname so that he would not be automatically liable for conscription and would instead take his chances drawing lots for recruitment. For example, when the wife of Doukhobor leader Savely Kapustin (1742-1820) was pregnant she was sent to her father's household. When their son Vasily was born, he was proclaimed illegitimate and given his mother's surname Kalmykov. Hence the Kalmykov leaders among the Doukhobors were actually members of the Kapustin family. According to oral tradition, Kapustin himself took his mother's surname and was actually the son of Doukhobor leader Ilarion Pobirokhin.

Some family names may have been discarded because they derived from unflattering nicknames that were embarrassing and undesirable. Other surnames may have been changed to conceal the identity of military deserters or escaped serfs. Hence, a new surname provided a fresh

beginning while concealing a family's immediate background. This appears to have occurred among the following families: Parfenkov (formerly Parfenov), Zarshchikov (formerly Zarshchenkov).

Doukhobor leaders such as Savely Kapustin did not discourage the idea of taking a new family name. On the contrary, he himself gave new surnames to a number of Doukhobor families including: Samorodin (formerly Tolmachev), Uglov (formerly Kruglov) and Solovyov (formerly Saburlev). No doubt there were many other such instances which oral tradition has not preserved or kept in reasonable clarity.

Several Ukrainian surnames among the Doukhobors were Russified by adding an -ov suffix ending. These include: Vanzhov (formerly Vanzha), Chuchmaev (formerly Chuchmai), Shtuchnov (formerly Shtuchniy), Svetlichnov (formerly Svetlichniy), Vasilenkov (formerly Vasilenko), Arishchenkov (formerly Arishchenko), Lavrenchenkov (formerly Lavrenchenko), Savenkov (for-

Chursinov (formerly Chursin). The prefix 'A' was added to several surnames. These include Astafurov (formerly Stafurov) and Abarovsky (formerly Barovsky).

Spelling Variants in Canada

When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899, there was no standard system for transliterating Russian (Cyrillic) spellings into the English (Latin) alphabet. To complicate matters, in the South Russian dialect spoken by the Doukhobors, certain letters were capable of more than one pronunciation. That is the letter G may also be spelt as H; the letter V may also be spelt as W; the letter F may also be spelt as Kh; and the letter O may also be spelt as A. Furthermore, most Doukhobor immigrants were illiterate and had no notion that any one spelling of their surname was more correct than another. As a consequence, the spelling of Doukhobor surnames in Canada became largely a matter of chance, and many English spelling variants arose for each name. Consider the following examples:

Original Surname	English Spelling Variants
Strelyaev	Strelaëff, Strelieff, Strelieff, Strelieve, Strellove, Streliaoff, Strellov, Strilioff, Strelyaev, Strelayev, Streliaev, Straloff, Striloff, Streloff, Strilive, Strulow, Strelaioff, Strellioff, Strilaëff, Strolloff, Stralieff, Strilaiff, Strelow, Strelaëff, Streliev, Strilaëff, Strelaiff, Strelaëff, Strelleaff, Strelau, Strelive, Strelayeff, Streliaëff, Streleaff, Strelaiff, Streliaiff, Streleiff, Strealieff, Streloff, Streleff, Streliaiff.
Chevildeev	Chevelday, Cheveldov, Cheveldave, Cheveldae, Chevelfeff, Chevelfeaw, Chevelfeoff, Chevelfieff, Chivildave, Chivildeff, Cheveldayeff, Ciwildieff, Cheveldayoff, Cheveldaoff, Chevelfeoff, Chevildeau, Tcheveldayeff, Chevelfeiff, Cheveldaëff, Chiveldaëff, Chivelfeff, Cheveldaew, Chiveldave, Cheveldaev, Cheveldaëff, Chivildiaff, Chivildayev, Chivildayev, Chivildieff, Chevelfeyeff, Chivildeev, Chivildayev, Chevelfeiff, Chivildeeff.
Shtuchnov	Stooshinoff, Stooshnof, Stooshnoff, Stushnaff, Stushnoe, Stooshnow, Stooshinoff, Stoshnof, Stoshnoff, Stooshnof, Stushnow, Stocknow, Stooshnov, Stoushnow, Stushnoff, Steuchnoff, Stooshnoff, Stuchnow, Stuchinoff, Stuchnoff, Shtoochnoff, Shtuchnoff, Shtuchny, Shtuchniy.

Table 4 - Spelling variations in Doukhobor surnames

merly Savenko), Borisenkov (formerly Borisenko), Trofimenkov (formerly Trofimenko), Chernenkov (formerly Chernenko), Pogozhev (formerly Pozoghii), Kolbasov (formerly Kolbasa) and Planidin (formerly Planida).

Many surnames ending in -sky or -skoy were changed to -skov suffix endings. Some families might then keep the original surname and others might adopt the modified surname. Examples include: Dimovskov (formerly Dimovsky), Trubetskov (formerly Trubetskoy), Savitskov (formerly Savitsky), Chutskov (formerly Chutsky) and Eletskov (formerly Eletsy).

The suffix ending -ov was added to several surnames already ending in -in. The resulting surnames have a double-suffix (-inov) ending. Examples include: Lapshinov (formerly Lapshin), Fominov (formerly Fomin), Shchekinov (formerly Shchekin), Deminov (formerly Demin), Bedinov (formerly Bedin), Kuftinov (formerly Kuftin) and

It is important to note that in recent years, some Doukhobors have returned to the standard Russian spelling of names, such as Tarasov instead of Tarasoff, Kazakov rather than Kazakoff, and Popov for Popoff.

New Surnames in Canada

Several new Doukhobor surnames arose in Canada which did not previously occur in Russia. Consider the following examples:

- Doukhobor leader Peter "Lordly" Verigin (1859-1924) gave new surnames to several Doukhobor families. These include: Anyutushkin (formerly Podovinnikov and/or Semenov), Bozhiy (formerly Medvedev) and Uverenniy (formerly Medvedev).
- several non-Doukhobor Russians married into Doukhobor families and accompanied the movement to Canada. These include: Dvortsov, Mokronosov, Noshkin, Soobotin and Yashchenkov.

- Ukrainian immigrants took Russianized surnames after joining the Doukhobor movement in Canada. These include: Skripnikov (formerly Skripnik) and Skibov (formerly Skobeiko).
- many Ukrainian and Polish immigrants married into Doukhobor families and while their surnames did not change to -ov or -in, their descendants continued to regard themselves as Doukhobors: Atamanenko, Sipko, Zarembo, Calmutsky, Obchansky, Matveyenko, Sereda, etc.



Fig. 4 - Doukhobor leader Peter "Lordly" Verigin

Surname Changes in Canada

As part of the assimilation process, some Doukhobors deliberately changed their Russian surnames to English-sounding ones, especially during the 1940's to 1960's. The new family names fall into one of four categories:

Abbreviation. Often the old surname was not entirely abandoned, but was reduced to one or two syllables. Consider the following examples: Balkan (Rebalkin), Bitnoff (Zbitnoff), Bokoff (Legebokoff), Bolin (Bolinoff), Chernen (Chernenkoff), Chern (Chernoff), Day (Cheveldaeff), Egar (Egoroff), Evans (Ivin), Fofon (Fofonoff), Gale (Galishoff), Hanch (Hancheroff), Herasim (Herasimoff), Kalmack (Kalmakoff), Kimoff (Evdokimoff), Lavrench (Lavrenchenkoff), Lawrenoff (Lawrenchenkoff), Makronoff (Makronosoff), Perry (Perehudoff), Perry (Perepelkin), Phillips (Phillipoff), Podavell and Podd (Podavelnecoff), Podmore (Podmoroff), Podwin and

Podovin (Podovinnikoff), Pope (Popoff), Post (Postnikoff), Poznoff (Pozdniakoff), Remizon (Remizoff), Rezanson (Rezansoff), Ruskin (Hrooshkin), Sampson (Samsonoff), Sbitney (Zbitnoff), Shersty (Sherstobitoff), Sooke (Sookorookoff), Sukaroff (Sukarukoff), Swetlow (Swetlishnoff), Troff (Trofimenkoff), Vergin (Verigin), Yaschen (Yaschenkoff), Zurloff (Zurovloff).

Phonetic Similarity. Sometimes a genuine English surname was adopted which began with the same syllable or sounds as the old surname. These include: Anderson (Androsoff), Aster (Ostoforoff), Austin (Ostoforoff), Barnes (Barabanoff), Chutskoer (Chutskoff), Collins (Kazakoff), Conklin (Konkin), Danvers (Davidoff), Davis (Davidoff), Dargin (Darin), Evans (Egoroff), Foster (Ostoforoff), Fraser (Fofonoff), Goliath (Gulioff), Harper (Horkoff), Hoover (Derhousoff), Kaye (Kazakoff), Kelly (Kalmakoff), Kells (Kolesnikoff), Malden (Malikoff), Martin (Markoff), Meakin (Meetin), Nash (Nechvolodoff), Parsons (Popoff), Paulson (Podovinnikoff), Preston (Podovinikoff), Rowe (Remezoff), Saunders (Sukorukoff), Shelby (Sterstobitoff), Sheren (Sherstobitoff), Stanwell (Sookocheff), Stevens (Strelieff), Stocknow (Stushnoff), Stuart (Swetlishnoff).

Language Equivalents. Occasionally the new surname was based on the English language equivalent of a parent or grandparent's name. Hence, a Stupnikoff whose grandfather was John took the name Johnson, and a Kalmakoff whose grandfather was Andrew took the name Andrews.

No Connection. Often the new surname had nothing to do with the old surname. Consider the following examples: Alexander (formerly Nazaroff), Black (formerly Chernoff), Blue (formerly Plotnikoff), Brill (formerly Verigin), Bryan (formerly Jmaeff), Calling (formerly Voykin), Carson (formerly Ostoforoff), Cleaver (formerly Novokshonoff), Cody (formerly Ostoforoff), Cranston (formerly Verigin), Dalton (formerly Storjeff), Dempsey (formerly Popoff), Foster (formerly Zurovleff), Hardy (formerly Fedosoff), Higgs (formerly Legebokoff), Hood (formerly Perepolkin), Jacob (formerly Swetlishnoff), Kent (formerly Swetlishnoff), Knight (formerly Chernoff), Laird (formerly Ribalkin), Lane (formerly Verigin), Langfield (formerly Zbitnoff), Lords (formerly Holoboff), Martin (formerly Potapoff), McQueen (formerly Perehudoff), Milton (formerly Beresoff), Naylor (formerly Swetlishnoff), Newman (formerly Ramsoff), Patterson (formerly Osachoff), Perry (formerly Kalmakoff), Rodgers (formerly Popoff), Ross (formerly Tickanoff), Springford (formerly Konkin), Sunshine (formerly Lavrenchenkoff), Treimans (formerly Lapshinoff), Westerland (formerly Popoff), Wood (formerly Chernenkoff).

Doukhobor Surnames Today

Over the past century in Canada, many Doukhobor family names have become common and widespread while others have dwindled or disappeared entirely. The separate fortunes of a family or families obviously determine whether such surnames became scarce or numerous. Some families

had several male lines that started new branches in Canada; other families just managed to survive in the male line. In many cases, the family was never numerous or prolific and the surname they bore eventually disappeared.

Common Surnames. The most common Doukhobor surnames in Canada today include: Androsoff, Bloodoff, Bonderoff, Chernenkoff, Chernoff, Cheveldaeff, Chutskoff, Dergousoff, Hadikin, Horkoff, Kalmakoff, Kanigan, Kazakoff, Kinakin, Kolesnikoff, Konkin, Makortoff, Markin, Novokshonoff, Perepolkin, Pereversoff, Plotnikoff, Podovinnikoff, Popoff, Postnikoff, Poznikoff, Reibin, Rezansoff, Rilko, Tarasoff, Semenoff, Soukeroff, Streliaff, Strukoff, Stushnoff, Verigin, Voykin, Zaitsoff and Zibin. This stable core of surnames has persisted through the centuries to the present day.

Rare Surnames. Some rare Doukhobor surnames in Canada include: Barowsky, Babayoff, Bedinoff, Belovanoff, Bojey, Chikmaroff, Cherkasoff, Darin, Dorofeoff, Egoroff, Eletscoff, Esakin, Esauloff, Filipoff, Glaskoff, Glagoloff, Hrushkin, Harelkin, Hancheroff, Juriloff, Kasahoff, Kaboroff, Kondratoff, Koozin, Kargin, Krukoff, Kholodin, Lavrenchenko, Labintsoff, Larin, Masloff, Metin, Nadane, Noshkin, Overennay, Petroff, Premarukoff, Plaxin, Padowsky, Parkin, Pohozoff, Repin, Rozinkin, Savitskoff, Shishkin, Shustoff, Shapkin, Skiboff, Skripnikoff, Slastukin, Soobotin, Sysoeff, Taranoff, Trubetskoff, Vlasoff, Zarchikoff and Zubenoff.

Extinct Surnames. Surnames which are no longer in use among the Doukhobors in Canada include: Bikanoff, Bokovoy, Chutsky, Dvortsoff, Eletsky, Gnezdiloff, Hohlin, Kalachoff, Kolasoff, Konobaloff, Kotoff, Krikunoff, Miroshnikoff, Parfenkoff, Satkoff, Savitsky, Shamshurin, Shikonoff, Sotnikoff, Svetlichny, Svetloff, Trubitsin, Trubetskoy, Voronkoff, Yaschenko and Youritsin. Several more rare surnames will soon disappear in Canada.

Nicknames

Nicknames - descriptive expressions added to a person's real name or used instead of it - occur in every culture and the Doukhobors are no exception. Many colourful and unique nicknames were used to distinguish individuals, and in some cases, entire families.

Individual Nicknames

Nicknames were typically used to describe individuals with reference to their behavior or personality, their moral or intellectual attributes, or their physical characteristics and peculiarities. In other cases, they might attribute some particular quality of an animal, plant or object to a person. While the literal meaning of a nickname may be clear, the reason why it was given often remains obscure, and generations later, can only be speculated on. Sometimes a nickname referred to the exact opposite of what was literally implied.

Examples of Russian nicknames used by Doukhobors include: slepoi (blind), gorshok (pot), richarda (most

faithful), khromoi (lame), chulok (sock), bol'shak (big), khuda (thin), kozel (goat), borodach (bearded), zolotoi (golden-haired), zhurushka (gloomy), kandal'nik (shackled one), blinshchitsa (blintzi maker), rybka (little fish), kormilushka (provider), starchik (oldster), zhikhar (daring), kalach (loaf), kutnyak (barn), besednitsa (conversationalist), tsar (king), bubun (chatterer), gubun (big lips), kalmachuk (adopted member of the Kalmakoff family), zaitchuk (member of the Zaitsoff family), shustrii (wry or vigilant), pcholka (little bee), nemoi (mute), dlinnii (tall), krasnii (red), belyak (white), hrubii (rough), kosoi (squint-eyed), odnorukii (one-armed), glukhoi (deaf), kulik (snipe), ryaboi (speckled), Goliath (Goliath), etc.

Doukhobor leaders often bore colourful titles or nicknames. For example, Ilarion Pobirokhin was referred to as Radost' ("Our Joy"). Savely Kapustin was referred to as Kormilets ("Our Provider"). Peter Kalmykov was referred to as Khrabrii ("The Brave"). Lukeria Kalmykova was referred to as Blazhennaya ("The Blessed One"). Peter Vasilevich Verigin was referred to as Gospodnii ("Lordly"). Peter Petrovich Verigin was referred to as Chistiakov ("The Cleanser"). Peter Petrovich Verigin III was referred to as Istrebov ("The Annihilator").

Family Nicknames

Some Doukhobor families had two names - an official surname and an unofficial family nickname. The family nickname was used to distinguish between unrelated families with the same surname or different branches of the same family. As a family prospered and became more numerous in a village, each branch was given its own distinct nickname. The family nickname might be formed in one of several ways:

Personal names formed the basis of many family nicknames. For example, the Popovs, the patriarch of whom had eleven sons when joining the Doukhobor movement, came to be identified by these son's first names: Makar (Makarov), Tikhon (Tikhonov), Khrol (Khrollov), Asei (Aseyev), Mikisha (Mikishin), Anikusha (Anikushin), Levon (Levonov), Daria (Darin), etc.

Individual nicknames also gave rise to family nicknames. For example, a branch of the Kazakovs whose patriarch was nicknamed Chulok were referred to as the Chulkovs. A branch of the Postnikovs whose patriarch was nicknamed Starchik were referred to as the Starchikovs. A branch of the Antyufeevs whose patriarch was nicknamed Slepoy were referred to as the Slepovs.

Surname Variations. Sometimes the family nickname was a variation of the original surname. Examples include: Podovsky (from Podovinnikov), Podmarev (from Ponomarev), Panferkov (from Parfenkov), Tarankov (from Taranov) and Svetlikov, Svetlishchev and Svetlichny (from Svetlov).

Ukrainianized. Sometimes a Russian surname was Ukrainianized by adding the -enko suffix ending. The resulting name referred to a "lesser", "poor" or "unfortunate" branch of the family. Examples include:

Baturinenko (from Baturinsky), Chutsenko (from Chutsky), Golubenko (from Golubov) and Petrenko (from Petrov).

Very often the family nickname was passed down to later generations, either in place of the original surname or in addition to it. Some branches might then keep the original surname, and some might adopt the family nickname. After several generations, it was not uncommon to completely lose the memory of the original surname, or to forget which was the original and which was the family nickname.

It is important to note that Doukhobor ancestors may appear in records under the original surname, a family nickname, or both. It is suggested that family researchers use any of the following methods to record the family nickname:

Method	Example
dash	Popov-Mikishin
parenthesis	(Popov) Mikishin
a.k.a.	Popov a.k.a. Mikishin
alias	Popov alias Mikishin
"on zhe i"	Popov on zhe i Mikishin

Table 5 - Nickname indication

Summary

Spelling does not matter in genealogical research. Beginning genealogists frequently look only for exact spelling; when they do, they usually do not find what they are seeking. Realize that most Doukhobor immigrants were illiterate and had no notion that any one spelling of their name was more correct than another. Furthermore, even if he or she could read Russian, they would not necessarily recognize the written name if it was written in English. Therefore, be very open-minded with the spelling of names in your research; you may have looked at many records of your ancestors and not realized it.

Researchers should be aware of Russian names that look and sound similar, but are separate and distinct. These include: Marfa ~ Mavra, Savely ~ Savva, Alexei ~ Alexander, Filipp ~ Filat, Nikolai ~ Nikita ~ Nikifor, Fadei ~ Fotei, Akim ~ Efim, Vera ~ Varvara, Semeon ~ Samuil, Maria ~ Marina, Trifon ~ Trofim, Egor ~ Igor, Feodor ~ Fedot ~ Fedosei, etc.

Similarly, researchers should be aware of Doukhobor surnames that look and sound similar, but originate from different roots and belong to different families. These include: Malakhov ~ Malikov, Postnikov ~ Pozdnyakov, Arishchenkov ~ Eroshenkov, Dyakov ~ Dyachkov, Barabanov ~ Balabanov ~ Beloivanov, Kazakov ~ Kasahov, Puhachev ~ Pohozhev, Sukharev ~ Sukhorukov, Zharikov ~ Zhikharev, Repin ~ Rybin, Parkin ~ Parakhin, Tarasov ~ Taranov, Trubitsin ~ Trubetskoy, Svetlishchev ~ Svetlichnov, Kireev ~ Karev, Kuchin ~ Kuzin, Shchukin ~ Shchekin, Kanygin ~ Kinyakin, etc.

Doukhobor immigrants had several different names during their lifetime. Any given document may show the full form or the diminutive form, the Russian version or the

English version of their name. The principle to remember is that the pattern of recording names was completely inconsistent. Therefore, researchers should be alert to all possibilities. Consider the following example:

Name	Record	Year
Ivan Popov	Russian census	1853
Vanya Popo	Ship passenger list	1899
Ivan Poppoff	Canada census	1901
Iwan Popoff	Doukhobor village census	1905
Iwan Popow	Homestead entry	1907
Evan S. Popoff	National Registration	1918
John Popoff	Tombstone	1926

Table 6 - Doukhobor name variation

Acknowledgements

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