

ANTHROPONYMY AS AN ELEMENT IDENTIFYING NATIONAL MINORITY. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF POLISH OLD BELIEVERS' NAMES

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Abstract. The paper focuses on Polish Old Believers' anthroponymy as the element identifying the group. The Old Believers are one of the ethnic, religious and national minorities in Poland. They came here shortly after the schism in Russian Orthodox Church. They settled down in North-Eastern Poland in the second half of the 18th century. Their descendants live there till now. After coming to Poland, Russian immigrants were living in hermetic, homogenous communities. This protected their religion and culture from strong exterior influence. After the Second World War the community became more open to external world. Nowadays, after a number of civilizing and geopolitical transformations, the isolation practically disappeared making the Old Believers' culture defenceless against influence of dominant Polish culture. Together with all that changes the Old Believers' anthroponymy has been transformed. Contemporary Polish Old Believers' anthroponymy consists of Russian and Polish (in Masuria region – Russian, Polish and German) elements, as a result of bilingualism (and multilingualism on Masuria).

Keywords: Old Believers, anthroponymy, bilingualism, epitaphs

1. Introduction

This paper is focused on the Old Believers' anthroponymy. The material examined consists of the results of field research conducted by scholars from the Institute of Slavonic Philology at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. The source of information about names are gravestone inscriptions. There are about 30 Old Believers' graveyards in the North-Eastern Poland. Tombstone with epitaphs are to be found at 18 parish cemeteries: 2 in the area of Augustów (Gabowe Grądy, Blizna), 8 in area of Suwałki (Wodziłki, Posejanka, Głuszyn, Buda Ruska, Sztabinki, Rasztabol, Lipina, Aleksandrowo), and 8 in the Masurian Lake District (Iwanowo,

Osiniak-Piotrowo, Śwignajno, Kadzidłowo, Onufryjewo, Gałkowo, Wojnowo – secular and monastic cemeteries). There are also Old Believers' gravestones at municipal cemeteries in Augustów and Suwałki. The oldest tombstones with inscriptions came from 1950s and 1960s and they were set up for persons who had been born in the second part of 19th century.

2. History

The Old Believers' movement began in the latter part of the 17th century after Patriarch Nikon's reform in Russian Orthodox Church. Patriarch Nikon introduced a number of ritual and textual revisions in order to achieve uniformity of Russian and Greek Orthodox practices. After the reform, the worshippers had to use three fingers (instead of two) while making the Sign of the Cross; write the name *Jesus* by double 'i' – *Iisus* (instead of *Isus*); chant the alleluia verse thrice (instead of twice); go counter-sunwise during processions (instead of sunwise). For the Russian of the 17th century any innovations in rituals were a heresy. The opponents of Nikon's reform emerged among all strata of the society and in relatively large numbers. According to Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, shortly after schism the opponents constituted 1/3 of Russian society. Those who maintained fidelity to the existing rite were called *starovery* (Old Believers), *starobryadtsy* (Old Ritualists), or referred to with a pejoratively charged term *raskolniki* (schismatics). The Russian Orthodox Church anathematized them at the synod of 1666. The State had the most active followers of pre-Nikonian traditions arrested, tortured and executed. Because of persecution many Old Believers fled Russia. It was only in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas II signed an Act of Religious Freedom. The Old Believers gained the right to build temples and to organize themselves. In 1971 the Moscow Patriarchate revoked the anathemas (Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 1995: 9–10).

3. The Old Believers' denominations

Although all Old Believers emerged as a result of opposition to the Nikon's reform, they are characterized by a great diversity and consist of groups that profess different interpretations of the

church tradition. There are two main Old Believers' movements (*soglasie*) – *popovtsy* (with priests) and *bespopovtsy* (priestless). In Poland there are only *bespopovtsy*, the ones who renounced priests, Eucharist and all sacraments except baptism and penance.

4. The Old Believers in Poland

The Russian immigrants came to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania shortly after the schism in 17th century. They settled down in the area of present Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. The Old Ritualists came to the area of present Poland and founded several villages near Suwałki and Augustów in the first part of 18th century. In the 1830s part of them moved to the Masurian Lake District (Iwaniec 1977: 79–112, Grek-Pabisowa 1999: 20). Polish Old Believers came from the Pskov region in northern Russia (Potaszenko 2006: 680). After coming to Poland they lived in hermetic and homogenous communities in forests, which helped them to protect their religion, traditions and language – Pskovian dialect (Grek-Pabisowa 1999: 38–41) from strong Polish, and German on Masurian influence.

The Suwałki and Augustów regions remained under the Russian authority up till 1918. After the First World War they became a part of Poland again. The Masuria region was a part of the East Prussia and only in 1945 it was incorporated into Poland. The political situation had a strong influence on the Old Believers' language and anthroponymy. Till the end of the First World War the Old Believers from Suwałki and Augustów regions lived in a direct contact with Russian, which was the official language. They used Polish only to communicate with Polish neighbours; nevertheless, already at that time part of them were bilingual. After the First World War, when the area discussed was incorporated into Poland, the Old Believers' dialect started to transform into an insular language. It became fully insular after 1945, when Polish Old Believers lost contact with coreligionists from the Wilno region, which was incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Grzybowski, Głuszkowski 2008: 204–205).

The dialect of the Old Believers who in 19th century came to Masuria immediately acquired an insular character because they did not have contact with the Russian language. Till the end of the Second World War German was the official language. The Old Believ-

ers were multilingual; in conversations with coreligionists they used Pskovian dialect, with dissenters from the neighbouring villages they used the Polish Masurian dialect, and with the authorities the German language. After 1945 Polish became the official language.

For a few years after the Second World War the Old Believers lived in isolation from the dominant Polish culture; however, with time the isolation started to fade. They migrated to towns and cities, where they worked and lived among Poles. The villages were provided with electricity and Polish radio and television. What is more, children started to learn Polish at school, mixed marriages with dissenters became widespread, and the number of Old Believers in Poland decreased gradually. Nowadays, the Old Believers are an imperceptible minority in the country with the population of about 38 million inhabitants. Different researchers estimated their number in Poland at the turn of the 20th century as ranging from 1,000 (*Rocznik Statystyczny, Rzeczpospolita Polska* 2002: 122) to 2,000 (Kajtoch 1999: 296). The biggest Old Believers' centres are the villages Gabowe Grądy and Bór (near Augustów) with about 150–200 inhabitants; a similar number of them live in Suwałki and Augustów. In other villages which were founded by Old Believers in 18th and 19th centuries only several families live nowadays. Often only a cemetery reminds that Eastern Rite Christians used to live there.

Due to all that changes, the Old Believers' culture and language have been transformed. The ones from the Augustów region are still bilingual; nevertheless, their bilingualism is different from the one of their ancestors. The research conducted by Stefan Grzybowski, Dorota Paśko and Michał Głuszkowski shows that typical of the Old Believers from Augustów is bilingualism with diglossia. In some spheres of life (talking with coreligionists, in Old Believers' villages) they use the Pskovian dialect, in other spheres (talking with dissenters, in cities) they use all-Polish language or its local variant. The scholars define the present state of the Old Believers' from Augustów region dialect as Russian-Polish hybridization (Paśko 2005: 314, Grzybowski, Głuszkowski 2008: 206).

5. The Old Believers' anthroponymy

The Old Believers' bilingualism (multilingualism in Masuria) and changes which have taken place in the community are reflected in their names. Although the anthroponymy has been trans-

formed, it still includes features typical of the Russian anthroponymy, which distinguishes Polish Old Believers from other inhabitants of Poland. There are differences in names of the Old Believers from the Suwałki, Augustów and Masuria regions. Nevertheless, the analysis of epitaphs shows that there are some common tendencies. There are family forenames, patronymics and maiden names on gravestones inscriptions. In everyday life the Old Believers from Gabowe Grądy and Bór use nicknames and rarely andronymics (Kosiedowska 2000: 70–80).

6. Forenames

At baptism the Old Believers give their children names from “sviatcy” – pre-Nikonian calendar of the Orthodox Church saints. Traditionally, a girl got the name of the saint who was the patron of her birthday. A boy got the name of the saint who was the patron of 8th day after his birth, which was connected with the fact that Christ was given his name that day¹. Eugeniusz Iwaniec claims that at the beginning of 19th century Polish Old Believers obeyed this rule even in the case of twins (Iwaniec 1992: 23–24). The analysis of gravestone inscriptions shows that since the end of 19th century they have quite rarely obeyed this rule; out of 350 names with date of birth 40 were given with obeying the rule². On the other hand, a deviation from the rule is usually not bigger than a week (almost 200 buried got name with a deviation not bigger than 7 days, almost 100 with a deviation bigger than 15 days).

Nowadays parents do not want to give their children ‘strange’ and ‘old-fashioned’ names. At baptism ceremony they often give a child any name from ‘sviatcy’ which has a Polish equivalent or they give proper saint’s name at baptism and an additional popular Polish name at the Register’s Office, e.g.:

¹ This information was found only in Iwaniec’s article. Old Believers with who I talked said that both, girls and boys should be given name of patron of their birthday or name, which is in the calendar week before or week after birthday.

² Epitaphs not always are certain source of information in this case, because forename could be given with obeying the rule and only relatives did not remember exact date of birth buried. Furthermore in identity cards of Old Believers, who were born before or during Second World War, sometimes was written incorrect date of birthday.

the baptismal name from "swiatcy"	Polish genetic equivalent	the name in Register Office
Василий	Bazyli	Wacław
Давыд	Dawid	Jakub
Кирил	Cyryl	Karol
Тимофей	Tymoteusz	Tadeusz
Елена	Helena	Sylvia
Лидия	Lidia	Alicja

(Kosiedowska 2000: 49-50).

As a result, a part of the Old Believers from Poland have double names, which was not typical of the first generations of Russian settlers. In the past the Old Believers used Christian names from 'sviatcy' or their variants such as hipocoristics (e.g. *Александр** – *Саша*, *Елена** – *Лена*) in everyday life. They had one forename in their birth baptismal certificate and in the public register of births.

The Old Believers started to change their names, both forenames and surnames, in 20th century. During the interwar period the German authorities made adult Old Believers from the Masuria region Polonize their surnames (e.g. *Воробьёв* > for *Wróbel*; *Соловьёв* > for *Słowikow*), later they made them change saint's Russian forenames to Polish or German ones (e.g. Russian *Георгии** > for German *Georg* or Polish *Jerzy*). At the time of the Nazis the Old Believers voluntarily gave their children German names at the Register's Office (Iwaniec 1992: 24). In the Suwałki and Augustów regions only after the Second World War the Polish People's Republic authorities made the Old Believers give their children Polish forenames³. Afterwards, they did that voluntarily; moreover, some of the adult Old Believers; especially members of Communist party

³ From 1959 there was special list of forenames In Register Office *Wykaz imion najczęściej używanych na terytorium PRL* and instructions how to register names (Bubak 1978: 181). In 1978 the instruction and list were modified and widened, the title was changed *Wykaz imion używanych w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej* (Bubak 1983: 156).

and civil servants, changed their own forenames to Polish names⁴ (e.g. Russian *Максим** > for Polish *Marian*; Russian *Василий** > for Polish *Wacław*, while Polish equivalent of *Василий** is *Bazyli*) (Iwaniec 1992: 24). They did not want to differ from the members of the dominant Polish community and be identified as foreigners on the basis of their names. The linguistic adaptation of foreign personal names is one of the effective moves towards the adjustment to a surrounding environment and acculturation.

Nowadays, sometimes even a parent does not remember his child's Christian name if it is different than the one in the official documents. On the other hand, there are almost only saint's names from 'sviatcy' or their Polish (and German in Masuria) equivalents in gravestone inscriptions. Out of 800 names written on tombstones, 32 are different; most of them in Masuria, German⁵: *Eryka, Frieda, Gertruda, Ida, Urszula, Erich, Ewald, Wilhelm, Günter, Udo*; Polish: *Wanda, Kasimir*; English: *Оскар*⁶ (*Oscar*); French: *Alfred*.

The Old Believers use the Cyrillic, modern Cyrillic or Latin alphabet in their epitaphs. There are several groups of forenames written with the use of the Latin alphabet:

- Polish genetic equivalents of canonical forenames, e. g.

*Агафия**⁷ – *Agata*, *Анастасия** – *Anastazja*, *Елена** – *Helena*, *Екатерина** – *Katarzyna*, *Ирина** – *Irena*, *Мария** – *Maria*, *Марфа** – *Marta*, *Наталия** – *Natalia*, *София** – *Zofia*, *Христина** – *Krystyna*; *Александр** – *Aleksander*, *Андрей** – *Andrzej*, *Георгий** – *Jerzy*, *Григорий** – *Grzegorz*, *Иоанн** – *Jan*, *Иосиф** – *Józef*, *Матфей** – *Mateusz*, *Михаил** – *Micha*³, *Павел** – *Pawe*³, *Феодор** – *Teodor*;

- German or other genetic equivalents of canonical forenames, e. g.

*Елена** – *Helene*, *Елисавета** – *Elizabeth*, *Ирина** – *Irene*, *Наталия** – *Natalie*; *Георгий** – *Georg*, *Иаков** – *Jakob*, *Иоанн** – *Johan*, *Михаил** – *Michael*, *Николай** – *Klaus*, *Павел** – *Paul*, *Симеон** – *Simon*;

⁴ Changing forenames was regulated by the Law of 13 November 1963. Everybody whose surname sounded ridiculous, did not sound as Polish, sounded as forename could be changed (Bubak 1982: 91).

⁵ Information about names' origin is taken from: А. В. Суперанская *Словарь русских имён*, 2005.

⁶ Alphabet and orthography is like in epitaphs.

⁷ By * are marked canonical forenames from 'sviatcy'.

- forenames made by transliteration of canonical forenames,

e. g.

*Агафія** – *Agafia*, *Вера** – *Wiera*, *Евдокія** – *Ewdokija*,
*Елена** – *Elena*, *Стефанида** – *Stefanida*, *Григорій** – *Grigori*,
*Іоанн** – *Ioann*, *Николай** – *Nikolai*, *Симеон** – *Simieon*, *Феодор**
– *Feodor*;

- forenames made by transliteration of variants of canonical forenames, e. g.

*Евдокія** > *Авдокія* – *Awdakeia*, *Авдокія*, *Евфімія** >
Афімія – *Afimia*, *Февронія** > *Хавронья* – *Hawronia*, *Іоанн** >
Іван – *Iwan*, *Киприан** > *Куприян* – *Kurpian*, *Онуфрій** >
Ануфрій – *Anuffri*.

7. Patronymics

In Russia the patronymic is a part of the name, used in all official documents and in addressing people in a formal or informal way. A patronymic is always between forename and surname (e.g. *Юрій Николаевич Павлов*, *Анна Николаевна Павлова*). For the Old Believers who live in Poland patronymics are not important any more; a small number of them in epitaphs being the evidence of that. There are only 90⁸ patronymics on 800 tombstones, 15 of them are at the end of personal name; they follow the surnames (e.g. *Юрій Павлов Николаевич*). The Polish Old Believers seldom use patronymics, which is a result of interference of Polish and German anthroponymy, which do not use patronymics. Surprisingly though, even children from the Old Believers' villages (Gabowe Grądy and Bór) know how to form them. Most of the epitaphs were written in the latter part of 20th century and therefore on the basis of them it is not possible to determine when patronymics started to lose importance.

8. Maiden names

For Polish Old Believers surnames are more important than patronymics. It is proved by maiden names on the gravestones of

⁸ There are 51 patronymics in a full form and 39 first letter of patronymic (e.g. *Іван Д. Бондаров*).

married women⁹. However there are only 14 maiden names, interesting is the fact that they can be found on Old Believers' tombstones. In Russia, on the contrary, writing maiden names on monuments is not current. The father's forename is more important in Russia than his surname. Writing maiden names on gravestones is a result of the influences of Polish and German cultures, in which it is quite widespread.

9. Surnames

Slavic surnames were formed between 15th and 19th century. At the beginning they were reserved only for the aristocracy. Later, from 17th to 19th century they were also given to trades people and from 18th to 19th century to the peasantry (Никонов 1970: 91–2, Никонов 2007: 107, Унбегаун 1989: 16).

It is still a question if the Old Believers had surnames when coming to Poland. The schism in the Russian Orthodox Church took place in the first half of 17th century. The Old Believers started to settle down in Poland in the second half of 18th century. Probably most of them did not have surnames in their present form and they used only forenames and patronymics (and probably nicknames and andronymics). According to Iwaniec, the group of the Old Believers who came to the Masuria region from Suwałki and Augustów regions in 1830s had surnames but they did not want to reveal them as a result of a distrust towards the authorities (Iwaniec 1977: 116–117). The analysis of epitaphs shows some differences in surnames of the Old Believers from Masuria and their coreligionists from the Augustów and Suwałki regions. There are only 7 surnames in Masuria which appear in the other regions too (*Ефимов, Лебедев, Новиков, Паномаров, Дановски/й, Павлов, Сидоров*). It can prove that Old Believers from Masuria got surnames only in Prussia.

There are only 15 surnames, which appear both in Suwałki and Augustów regions (*Агафонов, Батус, Бондаров, Герасимов, Дановски/й, Иванов, Марков, Морозов, Новичено, Паномаров, Панфилов, Петунов, Соколов, Федоров, Шаранаев*). Out of 152

⁹ Surnames of Polish Old Believers (like other inhabitant of Poland) are hereditary and they are passed from the father onto his children. A married woman adopts her husband's name.

surnames 108 are only at one cemetery, 29 on two, 15 on more than two. It is the evidence of the Old Believers' low mobility between the regions and between villages within one region, relatively rare marriages of coreligionists from the regions; it can also be the evidence of the fact that usually women moved to villages where their husbands lived. The Old Believers from Masuria were the most mobile. Out of 15 surnames which can be found at more than two cemeteries 7 are only at cemeteries in Masuria. Surnames with the same etymology but a different structure are considered here as different, although their carriers' ancestors could have one surname which were Polonized and Germanized under the influence of political and social factors, e.g.

Козаков < Russian 'казак' or Polish *Kozak*, *Kossak*/*Kosack* < German 'der Kosak'¹⁰ (English 'Cossack')

Кузнецов < Russian 'кузнец', Ковалёв, *Kowalczyk* < Russian 'коваль' or Polish 'kowal' (English 'blacksmith');

Новиков, *Новиченко*, *Nowicki* < Russian 'новый' or Polish 'nowy' (English 'new');

Щербаков, *Щербаковский*/*Szczerbakowski* < Russian 'щербатый' or Polish 'szczerbaty' (English 'gap-toothed');

Warabiow < Russian 'воробей', *Вробель*/*Wróbel* < Polish 'wróbel' (English 'sparrow');

Филипов, *Filipowski* < Russian 'Филип' or Polish 'Filip' (English 'Philip').

10. Types of surnames

Most of Polish Old Believers' surnames (446) end with *-ov/-ova*; *-yev/-yeva*; *-in/-ina*¹¹ (until the middle of 16th century these suffixes used to be typical of patronymics). Relatively fewer surnames end with *-ski/y* (*-ska/ya*), *-cki/y* (*-cka/ya*) (132) and with *-enko*, *-ko*, *-uk*, *-ych* (54). There are some other surnames (86), infrequent in Russian anthroponymy:

¹⁰ German words are taken from: Chodera, Kubica *Podręczny słownik niemiecko-polski*, 1996.

¹¹ There are 753 families at the Old Believers' cemeteries in Poland, 446 ending with *-ov/-ev*, 35 with *-in*; 132 with *-ski/y*, *-cki/y*; 54 with *-enko*, *-ko*, *-uk*, *-ych*; 86 with other endings.

- surnames - common nouns, e. g.

Wróbel < Polish 'wróbel' (English 'sparrow'); *Kosack* < German 'der Kosak' (English 'Cossack');

- surnames - diminutives of common nouns, e. g.

Dziczek < Polish 'dzik', (English 'wild boar'); *Malinka* < Russian 'малина' or Polish 'malina' (English 'raspberry');

- surnames-adjectives, e. g.

Karotki < Russian 'короткий' (English 'short').

Based on the origin, Old Believers' surnames ending with *-ov/-ev*, *-in* may be generally divided into two groups: patronymic and cognominal. A patronymic surname derives from a male forename and the majority of surnames are produced this way, e. g.

Андреев < Андрей*, *Алексеев* < Алексей*, *Ермолаев* < Ермолай*, *Тимофеев* < Тимофей*, *Агафонов* < Агафон*, *Алфимов* < Евфимий*¹², *Антипов* < Антипа*, *Герасимов* < Герасим*, *Евдокимов* < Евдоким*, *Егоров* < Егор < Георгий*, *Емельянов* < Емельян < Емилиян*, *Ефимов* < Ефим < Евфимий*, *Иванов* < Иван < Иоанн*, *Касьянов* < Касьян < Кассиан*, *Купренов* < Куприян < Киприан*, *Ларёнов* < Ларион < Иларион*, *Леонов* < Леон < Леонтий*, *Лукианов* < Лукиан*, *Максимов* < Максим*, *Марков* < Марк*, *Мионов* < Мирон*, *Павлов* < Павел*, *Панфилов* < Панфил < Памфил*, *Прохоров* < Прохор*, *Самухов* < Самуха < Самуил*, *Сидоров* < Сидор < Исидор*, *Тиханов* < Тихан < Тихон*, *Федоров* < Фёдор < Феодор*, *Федотов* < Федот < Феодот*, *Филипов* < Филип < Филипп*, *Якимов* < Яким < Иоаким*, *Еромин* < Еремий < Иеремия*, *Фомин* < Фома*.

A cognominal surname derives from a Russian person's nickname and it is usually based on his/ her:

- occupation, e. g.

Бондарев < Russian 'бондарь' (English 'cooper'); *Ковалев* < Russian 'коваль', (English 'blacksmith'), *Кузнецов* < Russian 'кузнец' (English 'blacksmith'), *Попов* < Russian 'поп' (English 'pope');

- a physical or character trait, e. g.

Кудрашев/ Кудряшов < Russian 'кудрявый' (English 'curly'), *Щербаков* < Russian 'щербатый' (English 'gap-toothed');

¹² See: Федосюк *Русские фамилии. Популярный этимологический словарь*, 2006: 16.

- names of animals and birds, e. g.

Лебедев < Russian 'лебедь' (English 'swan'), *Соколов* < Russian 'сокол' (English 'falcon'), *Гусятин* < Russian 'гусь' (English 'goose');

- geographic or ethnographic names, e. g.

Москалёв < Russian 'москаль' or Polish 'moskal', *Козаков* < Russian 'казак' or Polish 'Kozak' (English 'Cossack'), *Персианов* < Russian 'перс' or Polish 'Pers' (English 'Persian'), *Цыганков* < Russian 'цыган' or Polish 'Cygan' (English 'Gipsy').

There is also a group of surnames derived from a foreign person's nickname, e. g.

Капанов < Polish 'kapłan' (English 'priest'), *Словииков* < Polish 'słowik' (English 'nightingale'), *Лыткин* < Polish 'łydka' (English 'calf') and from unknown appellatives.

Most of the surnames ending with *-ski/y* (*-ska/ya*), *-cki/y* (*-cka/-ya*), derive from:

- nicknames (84), e. g.

Красовский/ Krasowski < Russian 'краса' or Polish 'krasa' (English 'beauty'), *Щербakovский/ Szczerbakowski* < Russian 'щербатый' or Polish 'szczerbaty' (English 'gap-toothed'), *Жуковский* < Russian 'жук' or Polish 'żuk' (English 'dung beetle'), *Квятковский* < Polish 'kwiat' (English 'flower'), *Малиновский* < Russian 'малина' or Polish 'malina' (English 'raspberry'), *Погорельский/ Pogorzelski* < Russian 'погорелец' or Polish 'pogorzelec' (English 'victim of a fire'), *Kalinowski* < Russian 'калина' or Polish 'kalina' (English 'cranberry tree'), *Lisowski* < Polish 'lis' (English 'fox'), *Grabowski* < Russian 'граб', 'грабить' or Polish 'grab', 'grabić' (English 'hornbeam' or 'to rake'), *Krzyżanowski* < Polish 'krzyż' (English 'cross' or 'crucifix'), *Nowicki* < Russian 'новый' or Polish 'nowy' (English 'new');

- forenames, e. g.

Божимовский < Borzym < Borzymir, *Дановский/ Danowski* < Дан < Даниил*, *Danielewski* < Daniel, *Макаровский/ Makarowski* < Макарий*, *Filipowski* < Филипп*, *Jakubowski* < Иаков* or Polish Jakub, *Jaekowski* < Иван < Иоанн* or Polish Jacek < Jan).

Surnames ending in with *-enko*, *-ko*, *-uk*, *-yk*, *-ych* are of a similar origin. There are surnames derived from:

- forenames, e. g.

Осипенко < Осип < Иосиф*, *Зиновчик* < Зиновий*, *Pawluczuk* < Павел* or Polish Paweł, *Borischewitz* < Борис*;

- nicknames, e. g.

Новиченко < Russian 'новый' (English 'new'), Руденко < Ukrainian 'рудий' (English 'ginger'), Kowalczyk < Russian 'коваль' or Polish 'kował' (English 'blacksmith'), Rożko < Russian 'рожок' < 'рог' (English 'horn').

11. New tendencies

In the recent decades there have occurred some new tendencies in the Old Believers' surnames. There can be observed a unification of gender forms of surnames ending with *-ov/-ev, -in*. Female surnames used in the nominative form more often do not have the ending *-a*, which distinguishes female surnames from male ones (e.g. *Екатерина Новиков* instead of *Екатерина Новикова*). In the Masuria region gender unification relates to surnames ending with *-ski/y, -cki/y*, too. It happens that a female forename is followed by a surname with a male ending *-i/-iy* (e.g. *Maria Krassowski* instead of *Krassowska, Viera Makarowski* instead of *Makarowska*). It is a result of the influence of German anthroponymy, where surnames do not have gender forms¹³; in Polish anthroponymy surnames have gender forms. The first cases of unification of gender forms of surnames with *-ov, -ev, -in* endings took place in the 1970s. Nevertheless, only in the 1990s, the number of female surnames used in a male form was higher (47) than the ones used in a female form (26).

There have been changes in male surnames too. The Old Believers from Poland have more often ceased to decline male declinable surnames ending with *-ov, -ev, -in*. There are instances in gravestone inscriptions in which a forename is used in the genitive form and a surname is used in the nominative form (e.g. *Михаила Антипов* instead of *Михаила Антипова*)¹⁴. Till the end

¹³ Out of 255 female surnames ending with *-ov/-ev, -in, -ski/y, -cki/y*, 125 were used in a female form and 130 in a male form. In the Suwałki region more surnames have female endings (30) than male ones (20). In the Augustów region frequency of usage of female (66) and male forms (65) is similar. In the Masuria region male forms (45) are more common than female (29).

¹⁴ Out of 168 male surname ending with *-ov, -ev, -in* 49 have not declined. Almost all of them (45) are at cemeteries from the Augustów region, 4 are from the Suwałki region. In the Masuria region all male surnames are used in a "neutral position" (together with forenames used in the nominative form), but it can be supposed that the phenomenon discussed is common in this region too.

of the 1980s there were only few surnames which were not declined. Back in the 1990s the number of such surnames increased to 19. At the beginning of 21st century the number of surnames which were not declined (24) was bigger than the number of declined surnames (23).

Particularly worth mentioning is the fact that on two tombstones at different cemeteries the Old Believers declined surname ending with *-enko* *Новиченко* ('Покой Господи душу усопшего раба своего Лазария Новиченки'; 'Покой Господи душу усопшего раба своего Алексея отрока Новиченки'), whereas the Russian do not decline them. It is the effect of the interference of Polish anthroponymy. According to Polish grammar rules, male surnames ending with *-o* should be declined.

12. Conclusions

As can be observed, present Polish Old Believers' anthroponymy consists of Russian and Polish (in the Masuria region – Russian, Polish and German) elements. It is a result of bilingualism (and multilingualism on Masuria) and some changes in the community. In spite of the changes in the Polish Old Believers' anthroponymy, it still identifies them as national minority. It can be supposed that, because of demographic, urban and cultural changes, the Polonization of the Old Believers' anthroponymy will continue in the future. Informal personal names, which are not used in documents – patronymics and andronymics; even nowadays they are used rarely and almost exclusively by the oldest inhabitant of the Old Believers' villages – Gabowe Grady and Bór, are probably the least resistant to changes.

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Kokkuvõte. Magdalena Ziolkowska: Isikunimed rahvusvähemuse identifitseerijana. Poola vanausuliste nimede tunnusjooned. Artikkel keskendub Poola vanausuliste isikunimedele kui rühma identifitseerivale elemendile. Vanausulised on osa Poola etnilisest, religioossest ja rahvuslikust vähemusest. Nad tulid siia varsti peale Vene ortodoksse kiriku lõhenemist. Vanausulised asusid elama Kirde-Poolasse 18. sajandi teisel poolel. Nende järeltulijad elavad veel praegugi seal. Enne Poolasse tulekut elasid vene immigrandid hermeetilistes homogeensetes kogukondades. See kaitses nende religiooni ja kultuuri tugevate välismõjude eest. Peale II maailmasõda muutus kogukond välismaailmale avatumaks. Tänapäeval pärast mitmeid ühiskondlikke ja geopoliitilisi muutusi on isolatsioon praktiliselt kadunud, muutes vanausuliste kultuuri kaitsetuks domineeriva poola kultuuri mõjude vastu. Koos nimetatud muutustega on vanausuliste isikunimed teisenenud. Kaasaegsed Poola vanausuliste isikunimed koosnevad vene ja poola (Masuria piirkonnas vene, poola ja saksa) elementidest, seda kakskeelsuse tagajärjel (ja mitmekeelsuse tagajärjel Masurias).

Märksõnad: vanausulised, isikunimed, kakskeelsus, epitaafid