Abkhaz Personal Names

Viacheslav A. Chirikba
Abkhazian State University, Sukhum

Abstract

The paper presents a study of the Abkhaz personal names. Traditionally, Abkhazians, a Caucasian people living in the Republic of Abkhazia (many Abkhazians live also in Turkey and in some Middle Eastern countries), used a two-name system, consisting, as a rule, of the surname plus the postposed first name. The Abkhaz personal names are analysed with regard to their origin, structure, semantics, and social status. The onomastic system in general, as well as the tradition of naming among the Abkhazians are outlined as well.

Keywords

Abkhaz, Abkhazian, Personal Names, Surnames, Naming, Republic of Abkhazia

1. ABKHAZ PERSONAL NAMES: GENERAL FEATURES

Abkhazians are an autochthonous Caucasian people living in the Republic of Abkhazia, situated on the Caucasian Black Sea coast between Russia and Georgia. The closest linguistic kin of Abkhaz are Abaza (both can be regarded as dialects of one language), Kabardians, Adygheys (the latter called together Circassians and speak close dialects), and Ubykhs. These languages form the small West Caucasian family related to the East Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian) linguistic family; the West and East Caucasian branches form the North Caucasian family, which is not related genetically to the other indigenous Caucasian family, Kartvelian. The number of Abkhazians in the Caucasus is estimated at around 122,000. Many more Abkhazians live in the Diaspora (mostly in Turkey, but also in some Middle Eastern countries, like Syria and Jordan), where their ancestors had to flee the Russian-Caucasian war in the middle of the 19th century. The Caucasian Abkhazians are Orthodox Christian (some 70 percent) or Sunni Muslims (some 30 percent); in the Diaspora, they are all Sunni Muslims.

The repertory of Abkhaz personal names is extremely rich. The largest collections of Abkhaz first names were published in Inal-ipa (1963) and especially in Inal-ipa (2002). Other lists are to be found in the publications by Dirr (1915), Gulia (1925: 305-310), Bgažba (1964), Anšba (1995: 393-401), Amičba (2000; 2007), Šʲaqʼrəl et al. (2008) and some others. The first names were analysed by Marr (1914), Bgažba (1964; 1988), Kecba (1996), Culaya (1971), Inal-ipa (2002), Piliya (2003), and Chirikba (Čirikba 2007). The historical Abkhaz names as recorded in Roman, Byzantine and Georgian chronicles are analysed in Amičba (1999, 2000, 2003, 2010); the Abkhaz surnames are discussed in Inal-ipa (2002), Dasaniya (2003), Kuprava (2003), and Maan (2003). The latest monograph on Abkhaz names and surnames, containing both extensive names' lists and their analysis is provided by Amčʼ-pha (2007).

Traditionally, a two-name system was used, consisting, as a rule, of the surname (*á-žʷla*) plus the postposed first name (*á-xʲ(ə)ʒ*), e.g. *Gʲačʲ Rašʲət*, *a-Saʒba Smel*, *Xəš Darafej*, *Dbar Fəka*. Certain surnames can also have patronyms (see below). Besides, a person often has an unofficial pet name, given to him by the family when a child. Some people, beside their official first names, have several other given names. Typically, different names of a person are used by different circles of peoples surrounding him or her: family, friends, colleagues, etc. Thus, as cited by Inal-ipa (2002: 23), a villager of the village of Gup by surname *žʲaparia* had the following names: *Šʲakəra, Lamšʲacʼʷ, žʲəžʲo, Markʼʷaz*. My own mother was given by birth in the official registry the name *Raja*, but the younger circle of the family (e.g., cousins) and neighbours called her *Inačʲkʼa* (from *Inna*, with a Russian diminutive suffix *-ka*), while the elder part of the family (parents, uncles and aunts) addressed her by a pet name *Čʼʲəkʼʷ*; in the school and outside the family she was known as *Ira* (a name, which she gave to herself, disliking the name *Inna*) or, in official address, *Irina*, whereas in her passport, on her adulthood, she was registered as *Raisa* (the full name of the name *Raja*). Such multiple name-possessing was quite typical until recently among the rural Abkhazians.

A new three-name system was introduced by the Russians in the middle of the 19th century, structured on the Russian model: "first name + patronymic (= father's name) + surname", e.g. *Gʲargʲ Aleksej-jəpa Ʒiʒarija* "Georgij Aleksej-his son Dzidzarija". The Russian patronymic suffixes *-ovič*

(masc., e.g. *Ivan-ovič*, 'son of Ivan') and *-ovna* (fem., e.g. *Ivan-ovna* 'daughter of Ivan') have as their equivalents in Abkhaz *-jə-pa* 'his son' (e.g. *Xʷəxʷət-jəpa* 'Xuxut's son') or *-jə-pha* 'his daughter' (e.g. *Xʷəxʷət-jəpha*, 'Xuxut's daughter'). This system is used now, in accordance with the Russian practice, in official situations: all three names are used when referring to a person, and two names, i.e. first name plus patronymic, when addressing a person.

The inheritance of surnames is patrilineal, from fathers to children. The giving of a name to a child was regarded as an honour and was often committed by the child's grandfather or his/her maternal uncle.

There are in general more masculine names than feminine ones. Some first names can be used both as masculine and feminine, e.g. *Almasxan*, *Arda*, *Cak'ʷa*, *Gʷagʷa*, *Gʷəgʷ*, *K'amač'jəč'j*, *K'ʷak'ʷa*, *Mina*, *Saq'ʷ*, *Šjašjk'ʷa*, *Xjmwər*, *Xjək'ʷər*, *Ʒək'ʷər*, etc. Certain first names can be used as masculine in one dialect, and as feminine in the other; e.g. *K'ač'jəč'j*, *Kjatwan* are used as masculine in the Bzyp dialect and as feminine in the Abzhywa dialect (Bgažba 1988: 198).

The increasing interest in original roots and native traditions as observed in recent decades stimulate parents to give their children traditional names (e.g. *Astan*, *Astanda* (fem.), *Batal*, *Gʷənda* (fem.), *Kaja* (fem.), *K'an*, *Sasrəq'ʷa*) or newly coined names some of which became popular, e.g. *Axra* 'rock', *Amra* (fem.) 'sun', *Amza* (fem.) 'moon', *Mra-laša* (fem.) 'sun-light', *Mra-mza* (fem.) 'sun-moon', *Ric'a* (fem.) 'name of the famous mountain lake', etc., unlike the Soviet period, when Russian names were more popular. Some of the new names stem from the popular Nart epics, such as *Nart*, *Xʷažʷarpəs*, *Satanej-Gʷašja* (fem.), though other epic names were also used, such as the names of the main hero *Sasrəq'ʷa* and of his sister *Gʷənda*.

Traditionally, even young people could address the elder people by their first names. However, nowadays, under the Russian influence, especially in official situations, they started to use, while addressing an adult person, his/her first name and patronymic name. In vocative forms, mostly when addressing a child, a hypocoristic suffix *-a* can be used with names ending in a consonant to express endearment, e.g. *Zurab-a* '(dear) Zurab!'.

2. HISTORICALLY ATTESTED NAMES

The early Abkhaz first names as recorded in Roman and Greek (Byzantine) sources belonged to the local highest aristocracy and were of Iranian (*Savlak*, *Resmag*, *Spadag*) or Roman origin (*Julian*). The Georgian mediaeval and later chronicles provide us with important evidence on personal names used in Abkhazia. Again, belonging to the highest nobility, they are mostly of foreign origin: Iranian (*Anos*, from Pahlavi *anōš* 'immortal', *Gozar/Yaozar*, cf. Persian *āzar* 'fire', *Bagrat'* < **bagadāta-* 'given by God', *Guranduxt* 'daughter of Guran'), Greek (*Theodore* 'given by god', *Dimitri* 'earth-mother', *Theodosi* 'dedicated to God', *Leon* 'Lion', *Georgi* 'farmer'), Roman (*Istvine/Justinian* 'righteous', *Konstantin* 'constant') (cf. Amičba 2003: 55, 58). These names reflect the influence of Roman, Byzantine and Iranian civilisations. On the other hand, some of the names as attested by ancient foreign sources are undoubtedly of local origin, cf. the recorded by Byzantine chronicles such names as *Tuana* (cf. Abx family name *tʼʷan*), *Khados* (presumably reflecting Old Abx *qada* 'leader'), and recorded by mediaeval Georgian sources such name as *Laša* (from Abx *laša* 'light').

3. PRESENTLY USED NAMES

All given names can be divided into two groups according to their origin: native and borrowed. An additional third group includes names, which combine native and borrowed elements. Native first names can be structurally simple, compound or derived, used with or without the definite-generic article. Among simple names, there are also historically complex or derived ones, but now unanalysable. Names can be based on the designations of animals, birds, plants (see the examples below), names of the cities (e.g. *Adesa* 'Odessa', *Adler*), on epithets (*Azacʼʷ* 'the only', *Mšʷa-gʷ* 'fearless heart', *Macʷəs* 'lightning'), etc.

3.1. *Native Names Used without Definite-generic Article*

Masculine		Feminine	
Name	Meaning	Name	Meaning
Hʷənap	mouse	*Cʼəbra*	savory (bot.)
Kʼʷəbrə	mosquito	*Kaka*	young and green (of grass)
Macʷəs	lightning	*Qʼʷarasa*	turtle-dove
Šʷarax	wild animal (< *deer)	*Ʒərkʼʷəj*	firefly

3.2. *Native Names Used with Definite-generic Article a-*

Masculine		Feminine	
Name	Meaning	Name	Meaning
A.bga	wolf/fox	*A.mza*	moon
A.t'at'a	soft	*A.mra*	sun
A.xra	rock	*A.pšʲa*	holy
A.zaxʷ	Circassian	*A.phʷəzba*	woman

3.3. *Compound Names*

The following names can be grouped together according to the choice of the typical element of the compound.

3.3.1. *With the Postposed -gʷ(ə) 'heart':* *Abza-gʷ < *Abaza-gʷə* 'Abaza-heart', *Adgʲa-gʷ < *Adəgʲa-gʷə* 'Adyghe/Circassian-heart', *La-gʷ* 'eye's heart', *Mšʷa-gʷ* 'fearless heart', *Žʲa-gʷ* 'hare-heart'.

3.3.2. *With the Preposed gʷ(ə)- 'heart':* *Gʷə-ʒba* 'heart-decide', *Gʷə-ccak'* 'heart-swift', *Gʷ-ažʷ* 'heart-old'.

3.3.3. *With the Preposed la- 'eye':* *A.la-pšʒa* 'ART-eye-beautiful', *La-cʷəš* 'eye-grey', *La-c'əs* 'eye-bird', *La-gʷərɣʲa* 'eye-joy'.

3.3.4. *With the Postposed -nəq'ʷa 'walk/walker':* *Aašʲa-nəq'ʷa* 'lazy-walker', *Mjʷa-nəq'ʷa* 'road-walker', *Šʲamx-nəq'ʷa* '(strong-)knee-walker', *Šʲxa-nəq'ʷa* 'mountain-walker'.

3.3.5. *With the Preposed xʲə- 'gold':* *Xʲə-rpəs* 'golden-lad', *Xʲə-mra* (fem.) 'golden-sun', *Xʲə-r.q'ʷəbčʲʲa* 'gold-smartened', *Xʲ-c'əs* (fem.) 'golden-bird', *Xʲə-bla* (fem.) 'golden-eye', *Xʲə-c* (fem.) 'golden-tooth', *Xʲə-ma* (fem.) 'golden-hand', *Xʲə-mca* (fem./masc.) 'golden-fire', *Xʲə-žʷ* (fem.) 'gold-old'.

3.3.6. *Some other Compounds: Mra-mza* (fem.) 'sun-moon', *Ʒə-k'ʲʷət'* (fem.) 'water-hen', *Žʲ-gəla* 'oak-standing', *Žʲ-abaɣʲ* 'hare-male', *Xac'a-k'ʲačʲ* 'man-short', etc.

3.4. *Derived Names*

The following names can be grouped together according to the choice of the typical derivational formants some of which bear diminutive meaning.

3.4.1. *With the Postposed -c (a-c 'tooth' > 'single'):* *Adgʲa-c* (< *Adəgʲa* 'Adyghe'), *Adgʷa-c* (cf. *Adgʷa*), *Žʲa-c* (*ažʲa* 'hare'), *K'ʷəbrə-c* (*a-k'ʷəbrə* 'mosquito').

3.4.2. *With the Postposed -gʷəgʷ*: *D-gʷəgʷ, La-gʷəgʷ, Mažʲ-gʷəgʷ, Tažʲ-gʷəgʷ, Hažʲ-gʷəgʷ, žʲ-gʷəgʷ, Tʼad-gʷəgʷ* (fem.), *T-gʷəgʷ* (fem.), *Xʲə-r-gʷəgʷ* (fem.), *Cam-gʷəgʷ* (fem.), *žʲəm-gʷəgʷ* (fem.).

3.4.3. *With the Postposed -gʷər*: *Ad-gʷər//D-gʷər, Beslan-gʷər, Bə/ažʲ-gʷər.* Can be a voiced (by assimilation) variant of the following.

3.4.4. *With the Postposed -kʼʷər(a)*: *Dada-kʼʷər* (*dada* 'father'), *Žʲa-kʼʷər(a)* (*ažʲa* 'hare'), *Ʒaʒə-kʼʷər* (*a-ʒaʒ* 'awl'), *Xacʼa-kʼʷər* (*a-xacʼa* 'man'), *Xʲə-kʼʷər* (*a-xʲə* 'gold'), *Xʲəc-kʼʷər* (*xʲəc* 'golden tooth'), *Nacʼ-kʼʷər* (fem./masc.).

3.4.5. *With the Postposed -la*: *Baba-la* (cf. *baba* 'father'), *Badyʷa-la, Baza-la* (cf. *Abaza*, ethnic term), *Batʼə-la* (cf. *Batʼa*), *Bažʲa-la* (cf. Ad *bažʲe* 'fox' ?), *Bažʲgʷa-la* (cf. *Bažʲgʷa*), *Gʷada-la* (cf. *Gʷada*).

3.4.6. *With the Postposed Diminutive -na*: *Apšʲa-na* (fem.) (*apšʲa* 'holy'), *Bačʼʲə-na* (*Bačʼʲ* masc. name), *Cgʷə-na* (fem./masc.) (*a-cgʷə* 'cat'), *Cərkʼʲə-na* (*a-cərkʼʲə* 'lame'), *Cʼəs-na* (fem.) (*a-cʼəs* 'bird'), *Gʷada-na* (*Gʷada* masc. name), *Kʼʷtʼə-na* (*a-kʼʷtʼə* 'hen'), *Kʼʷəčʼʲə-na* (fem.) (*Kʼʷəčʼʲ* fem. name, cf. *a-kʼʷəčʼʲə.šʲ* 'chicken'), *Takʼʷ(ə)-na* (fem.) (*Takʼʷ* fem. name, cf. *a-takʼʷ-ažʷ* 'old woman'), *Xʲə-na* (fem.) (*a-xʲə* 'gold'), *Xʷəčʼʲə-na* (fem./masc.) (*a-xʷ(ə)čʼʲə* 'child').

3.5. *Complex Names*: *Gʷə-m-šʷa* 'fearless' (*gʷə* 'heart', *-m-* negative infix, *šʷa* 'to fear'), *La-gʷə-z-to-w* 'eye-heart-where is'.

3.6. *Borrowed Names*
The borrowed first names belong to the following major groups according to their origin: 1. Oriental (Turkish, Arabic, Jewish and Persian); 2. Kartvelian (Megrelian, Georgian); 3. Circassian (Adyghey, Kabardian); 4. Russian; 5. Greek; 6. (Old) Ossetic/Alanian; 7. Other.

   The majority of "Oriental" first names, which can also be generally labelled "Muslim" or "Islamic" names, irrespective of their Turkic, Arabic, Persian or Jewish origin, came to Abkhazia starting from the 16th century, from Ottoman Turkey and often reflect the Ottoman Turkish pronunciation. Smaller parts of these names came via neighbouring Kartvelians (Georgians or Megrelians) or Circassians. Some of the etymologically Turkic names are not Anatolian (Oghuz) by origin, but northern (Kipchak) Turkic (i.e. Crimean Tatar, Noghay or Karachay-Balkar), coming from the

North Caucasus. The Greek names came directly, or via Georgian/Megrelian and Russian.

3.6.1. *Turkish//Turkic*: *Adamǝr < Ay-demir* (*ay* 'moon', *demir* 'iron', 'iron moon'), *Alǝp < Alp* 'brave', *Aslan < Arslan* 'lion' (> 'hero'), *Gʲǝzel//Gʷzel* (fem.) < *güzel* 'beautiful', *Hanǝm* (fem.) < *hanım* 'lady, woman, mistress (of a household)', *Kʷǝčʲǝkʷ < küçük* 'small, little; young; child', *Ozbakʲ < Özbek* 'Uzbek', *Q'an < qan* 'blood' (via Circ intermediary, see 3.6.10), *Q'ara < qara* 'black, dark', *Te(j)mǝr < temir* 'iron', *Tengʲǝz < tengiz* 'sea', etc.

3.6.2. *Arabic: Abdala < ʿAbdallah* 'servant of God', *Aajšʲa* (fem.) < *ʿĀyšā* 'vivacious', *Amina(t)* (fem.) < *Amīnā* 'being safe, confident' (the Prophet's mother's name), *Azamat < Aẕamat* 'greatness', *A(a)ziz < ʿAzīz* 'dear, precious', *Farida* (fem.) < *Farīda* 'unique, precious', *Kʲ(e)rǝm < Karīm* 'noble, generous', *K'adǝr < Qādir* 'powerful', *Mamsǝr < Manṣūr* 'victorious', *Mažʲǝt < Māǧid* 'glorious', *Murat < Murad* 'desired', *Sejǝd//Sajǝd < Sayyed* 'master', *Šʲamal < Ğāmāl* 'beauty', *Šʲuma < Jumʿa* 'Friday', etc.

3.6.3. *Jewish*: *Aajsa* (via Arab *ʿAysa*) < *yehōšūʿa* 'Jesus' ('god will save'), *Ajub* (via Arab *ayyūb*) < *iyyōbh* 'persecuted', *Ebǝrham < 'Ab-rāhām* 'father of many (peoples)', *Dawǝt < Dāwīd̲* 'beloved', *Jasǝf//Šʲsǝf//Šʲsǝp < Yōsēf* 'he (god) will multiply', *Musa//Mǝsa* (via Arab *Musa*) < *Mošeh* 'Moses', *Saluman//Salmon//Šʷlejman//Šʷliman* (via Arab *Sulaymān*) < *Šelomoh* 'peaceful', etc.

3.6.4. *Persian*: *Arda < Arda* (< *Arta*) 'truth; righteous', *Ardašʲǝl/n < Ardašir* 'holder of good power', *Bagrat'* (via Geo) (see above), *Fardawǝs < Firdous* (via Arab) 'paradise', *Nawrǝz < Navruz* 'New Year', *Rašʷtam/n < Rustam* 'strong and well built', *Gʷǝlnara* (fem.) < *Gulnar* 'pomegranate flower', *Temraz* (via Geo) < *Tahmuras* 'strong body', *Xʷǝršʲǝt < Xuršīd, Xwaršēd* 'sun', *Zurab/Žʷrab* (via Geo) < *Sohrab*, etc.

3.6.5. *Kartvelian Names*: *Anzor* < Geo *azna-ur-i* 'born free' (of Persian origin with the Geo suffix *-ur-i*), *Baуǝr* < Megr *baуiri* 'sparrow', *Čʲʲǝnčʲʲa* < Megr *č'inč'a* 'wren' (a kind of bird), *Dačʲʲ < a-dačʲʲ* 'chain' < Megr/Geo *ӡač'v-i* 'chain (mail)', *Gʲar(i)//Geri* < Megr *geri* 'wolf', *Gʷǝgʷǝl* (fem.) < Geo *gugul-i* 'cuckoo', *K'ac* < Geo *k'ac-i* 'man', *Lamk'ac* < Geo *Lomik'ac-i* 'lion-man', *Mzǝja* (fem.) < Geo *Mzia < mze* 'sun', *Natela* (fem.) < Geo *Natela* 'light (of colour)', *Ӡaba* (fem.) < Megr *Ӡaba*, diminutive from *ӡуabi* 'girl', etc.

3.6.6. *Circassian* (*Adyghey and Kabardian*) *Names*: *Adagʷa* < Circ *dagʷe* 'deaf', *Adamej*//> *Damej* < Ad *adamej* 'name of an Ad tribe', *Gʷašʲamafa* (fem.) < Ad *gʷašʲ-maf* 'fortunate lady', *Gʷašʲanəsa* (fem.) < Ad *gʷašʲe-nəse* 'lady-bride', *Hačʲʲ(a)maf* < Ad *hačʲʲ-maf* 'fortunate guest', *Mafa* < Ad *mafe* 'fortunate', *Sasrəqʼʷa* < *Sawserə-qʼʷe* 'name of a Nart epics hero' (Circ *qʼʷe* 'son'), *Šʲmaf* < Ad *pšʲə-maf* 'fortunate prince', *Žana* < Ad *žane* 'name of an Ad tribe', *Žər* < Kab *žər* 'steel', etc.

3.6.7. *Greek Names*: *Akʼakʼi* < Gr (via Geo) *akakos* 'not bad', *Aksent'* < Gr (via Geo) *Auxentios* < *auxanō* 'to grow', *Aləksandr* < Gr (via Russ) *Alexandros*, *Anat'ol* < Gr (via Russ) *Anatolios*, *Ant'ip'a* < Gr (via Russ) *Antipas*, *Daratija*//*Darat* < Gr (via Geo) *Dōrotheos* 'given by god', *Est'at'* < Gr (via Geo) *Eustathios* from *eustathēs* 'well-built, healthy', *Gʲargʲ* < Gr *Geōrgos* 'farmer', *Mark'oz*/*Mark'ʷaz* < Gr *Markos* (from Latin; via Geo *Mark'ozi*), *P'et'ra* < Gr (via Geo) *Petros* 'stone, rock', etc.

3.6.8. *Russian Names* started being used since the introduction in Abkhazia of Russian rule in the middle of the 19th century and became especially popular during the Soviet period. Curiously, the Abkhazians regarded the short or diminutive forms of Russian names as independent names, so that in a family one son could be given the name *Volodja*, and the other – *Vova* (both are short forms of Russ *Vladimir*); cf. in the same vein such pairs as *Ruslan* (full form) and *Rusik'*, *Vanja* and *Vančʲk'a* (from *Ivan*), etc. Cf. also such feminine names as *Ančʲk'a* (Russ dimin. *Anečka* < *Anna*), *Mančʲk'a* (Russ dimin. *Manečka* < *Marija*), *Verčʲk'a* (from Russ dimin. *Veročka* < *Vera*), masculine: *Andrušʲk'a* (Russ dimin. *Andrjuška* < *Andrej*), *Aljoša* (Russ dimin. *Al'oša* < *Aleksej*), *Wank'a* (Russ dimin. *Van'ka* < *Ivan*), etc. Besides, the Abkhazians used the Russian diminutive suffix -*k(a)* to add to non-Russian names, cf. *Žʲum-k'a* (from *Žʲuma* < Arab 'Friday'), *Bərfən-k'a* (fem., from *Bərfən* < Tu 'silk'), *Čʲʲəčʲʲ-k'a* (fem. and masc., from native *Čʲʲəčʲʲ(a)*), etc.

All earlier borrowed Russian names reflect their oral adaptation as perceived by Abkhazians. The contemporary Russian names usage is in more conformity with their Russian source, with short forms being used in unofficial discourse and "official" forms used in official discourse and in documentation. In general, modern Russian names used by contemporary

Abkhazians do not deviate much from their usage by the Russians themselves.

3.6.9. *Names of* (*Old*) *Ossetic/Alanian Origin*: *Altar* < Osset *ældar* *'armholder', *Astan*(*a*) < Osset *Astan* 'we are eight' (i.e. children in the family), *Avdenia*, probably < Osset *Avdan* 'we are seven', *Soslan//Sosran* < Osset *Soslan* 'name of a Nart epics hero', *Zalina* (fem.), cf. Osset (Digor) *zarijnæa* 'gold(en)', etc.

3.6.10. *Borrowed Formants* can be attached mostly to foreign and more rarely to native names. Below is the most typical repertory of borrowed formants forming Abkhaz personal names.

(a) *-gʲarí//gʲerí//-gʲərej//-kʲeri//-kʲari*, from Crimean Tatar title *girej* (of Mongol or Greek origin), which was postposed to the names belonging to the dynasty of the Crimean rulers; cf. such names as *Al-gʲari//Al-gʲərej*, *Aqʷˡan-gʲeri*, *Ašhan-gʲeri*, *Ažʲ-gʲeri//Ažʲ-gʲari*, *Batʼər-gʲərej*, *Kʼʷəčʼʲ-gʲeri*, etc. This formant entered Abkhaz most probably through Circassian intermediary.

(b) *-bej//-be*, from Tu *bej* 'master, chieftain, ruler, prince', e.g. *Almas-bej*, *Arzaa-bej*, *Ahmət-bej*, *Bakʲər-bej*, *Dawət-bej*, *Edər-bej*, *Mstaa-bej*, *Qʼan-čʲo*(*w*)*-bej*.

(c) *-bakʲ*, from Turkic *bek* 'master, leader': *Al-bakʲ*, *Marza-bakʲ*, *Qʼʷəl-bakʲ*, *Saləm-bakʲ*, *Talum-bakʲ*, *Žʲam-bakʲ*.

(d) *-qʼan*, from Kab *qʼan* 'foster child, boy from aristocratic family raised by a lower status family', from Turkic *qan* 'blood': *Arza-qʼan*, *Atlas-qʼan*, *Baɣər-qʼan*, *Damər-qʼan*, *Pšʲ-qʼan*, *Tatar-qʼan*, *Zawər-qʼan*.

(e) *-qʼʷa*, from Kab *qʼʷe* 'son': *Adlagʲə-qʼʷa*, *Aslanə-qʼʷa*, *Badrə-qʼʷa*, *Bazrə-qʼʷa*, *Dahʷə-qʼʷa*, *Mdažʷə-qʼʷa*, *Məsrə-qʼʷa*, *Sasrə-qʼʷa*, *Qʼanšʷa-qʼʷa*, *Tasra-qʼʷa*.

(f) *-xʷ*(*a*) (Abž)*//-x̲ʷ*(*a*) (Bz), from Ad *qʷe* or/and Ub *qʷa* 'son': *Akʼʲatʼə-xʷa*, *Dašʲanə-x̲ʷ*(*a*), *Jat-x̲ʷa*, *Qʼan-xʷa*, *Kʼʲatʼ-xʷa*, *Šat-xʷa*, *Šalatə-x̲ʷ*, *Šarat-xʷa*.

(g) *-śaw//-śow* (Bz)*//-saw//-sow* (Abž), from Circ *śawe* 'youth; son': *Jaš-sow*, *Kʼʲa-sow*, *Mard*(*a*)*-sow*, *Nar*(*t*)*-sow*, *Qʼan-sow*, *Tʼaqʼʷˡ-sow*, *Tatər-sow*.

(h) *-xan*, from Tu *han* 'ruler, khan'. With masculine names: *Almas-xan*, *Arəw-xan*, *Astər-xan*, *Bagir-xan*, *Kʷəžʲma-xan*, *Zelim-xan*, *Žʲarəm-xan*.

With feminine names: *Aldəš-xan, Čərba-xan, Čʲabər-xan, Gʷašʲa-xan, Kʲaaba-xan, Q'ajmət-xan, Šʲam(ə)s-xan, Xarib-xan, Žʲaaba-xan.*

(i) *-hanəm* (in feminine names), from Tu *hanɪm* 'lady': *Edlə-hanəm, Ejza-hanəm, Enǯʲa-hanəm, Ešʲa-hanəm, Esma-hanəm, Maria-hanəm, Rabia-hanəm, Safra-hanəm.*

3.7. *Childish or Pet Names*

Children are often given names, based either on traditional pet names, or on occasional or onomatopoeic words, which are used by the close family circle and friends, in some cases throughout the whole life of a person. The examples of typical masculine child-names: *Ak'ačʲa, Čʲəɣa, C'əc'a, K'ʷaǯʲ, K'ʷək'a, Maǯʲa, P'ət'a, T'uk'i*; the feminine child-names: *Čʲana, Čʲʲək'ʷ, Gʲamažʷ, K'ʷəna, T'ej, T'ut'k'a, T'əžʷk'ʲa, Xʷsisa*. Diminutive forms of names can be formed by adding of the adjective *a-xʷəčʲə* 'small, little', e.g. *Žʷrab-xʷəčʲə* 'little Zurab'.

3.8. *Taboos*

Traditionally, the daughter-in-law was strictly forbidden to call her husband and his closest older relatives by their first names; instead, she had to choose special words in order to address them. Therefore, when the children are given first names, they should not coincide with the names of the older members of the family, or of the ancestors, in order to avoid using them by the children's mother. The husband too was forbidden to call his wife by her first name in public, neither was he allowed to call the elder relatives of his wife by their first names.

The marriage partners, while addressing each other, use as substitutes for their names such words as *at', at'a* ('soft'), *alapšʒa* ('beautiful eye(s)'), *xaara* ('sweetness'), *lašara* ('light') (Amičba V. 2000: 20), *səxazəna* ('my treasure'), etc., but the use of these is limited to personal communication and they are not supposed to be heard by elders. In public, the personal pronouns are used as vocatives: *bara!//o, bara!* 'you (fem.)!'//'oh you (fem.)', *wara//(o wara >) wora!* 'you (masc.)!'//'oh you (masc.)!'.

The father-in-law was often called by his son- or daughter-in-law *dad(a)* 'father', and the mother-in-law – *nan(a)* 'mummy', *dəj* 'a polite address to a woman'. When married, a woman was traditionally given a new name by her husband's family, which was henceforth used by all members of the new family, including all their friends and relatives.

3.9. *The Social Status of First Names*

In the past, the social relations within the feudal Abkhaz society were re-flected in the choice of names: some were usually given to the nobility and others—to the commoners. The names traditionally given to the "no-bles" were: *Adamər, Aləbej, Alow, Almaxsit, Ardašʲəl, Arzaqʼan, Bazrəqʼʷa, Babəšʲ, Batal(bej), Dadašʲ, Darəqʼʷa, Edlə-hanəm* (fem.), *Esma-hanəm* (fem.), *Ešsow, Msaust, Naharbej, Sad, Safra-hanəm* (fem.), *Sasrəqʼʷa*, etc. The "peasant" names were such as *Abga, Aǯər, Bazala, Kʼʷadac, Kəžʷ, Pʼatʼəxʷ, Xakʼʷəcʷ, Šʲxanəqʼʷa*, etc. (cf. Inal-ipa 2002: 27). Nowadays, these distinctions are mostly forgotten.

4. SURNAMES

Among oldest surnames attested in mediaeval Georgian chronicles are *Čʲačʲba* and *Maršʲan*, belonging to highest Abkhazian aristocracy. Etymo-logically, surnames can be based on personal (patronymical) names, eth-nic terms, native or borrowed words. The majority of native surnames have as their most typical formant the suffix *-ba*, derived from the patro-nymic formant *jə-pa* 'his son', e.g. *Agr-ba, Adlej-ba, Cʷej-ba, Čʲan-ba, Haš-ba, Zəxʷ-ba*, etc. In some cases, the patronymic suffix is preserved in its original form in the "official" form of the name: *Inal-jəpa, Pʼatʼe-jəpa, Šat-jəpa, Ʒapšʲ-jəpa*.

The feminine forms of surnames have as their formant *-pha* 'daughter', e.g. *Agr-pha, Adlej-pha, Čʲan-pha, Haš-pha*. In the Abkhazian diaspora in Turkey, this formant is more often rendered in a phonetically simplified form *-ha*, e.g. *Agər-ha, Akərt-ha, Saʒ-ha*.

Other typical surnames formants are *-wa* (*Agʷxa-wa, Andarb-wa, Anə-wa, Ǯʲapʼə-wa*), *-aa* (*Abɣaǯʲ-aa, Akərt-aa, Agʷəm-aa, Arəjʷt-aa, Arst-aa, Atʷm-aa*), *-ja* (*Barganǯʲə-ja, Gʷaramə-ja, Kʼakʼalə-ja, Plə-ja*), etc. As to the last type of names, both the formant *-ja* and often the surname itself, are of Megrelian origin, except for the cases when this element was attached in the official Russian-language registers to the genuine Abkhaz names by Megrelian and Imeretian priests who served in Abkhazia at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries in order to make them appear "Georgian"; whence such hybrid surnames as *Lakʼerbaja* (cf. the genuine Abkhaz form *Lakʼrba*), *Zvanbaja* (for *Žʷanba*), *Šxvacabaja* (for *Ašʷxʷa-*

c'aa), etc. There are also surnames, which are void of suffixed formants, and their etymology is uncertain, such as *Barcəc, Baalow, Baras, Čʲaabal(ərxʷa), Dbar, Hašəg, Kapšʲ, K'ʲəwət, Maan, Maršʲan, Pk'ʲən, Səm-səm, Smər, Šʲaq'rəl, Trapšʲ*, etc.

The plural forms of surnames are usually marked by the human collective plural suffix *-aa*, added to the suffix-less form, e.g. *Agr-aa, Adlej-aa, Čʲan-aa*. Alternatively, plural forms can be formed by adding plural suffixes *-cʷa* or *-kʷa* to the suffixed form of the surname, e.g. *Agər-ba-cʷa, A-k'alc-ba-kʷa*.

4.1. *The Social Status of Surnames*

Like first names, surnames were also marked for their social status. The name of the old princely ruling house of Abkhazia was *Čʲačʲba* (which had its parallel Georgian variant *Šervašiʒe*), who occupied the highest place in the social hierarchy and bore the title of *ah* 'prince'. The Chachbas were followed by such high aristocratic family clans, called *aam(ə)sta-dəw* 'big aristocrat' (in Russian usage князь 'prince'), as *Ačʲba, Ajəmxaa, Čʲaabalərxʷa, Čʲxot'ua, Gʲačʲba, Inal-jəpa, Maršʲan, Ʒapšʲ-jəpa*. To the nobility, called *aam(ə)sta* (Russ дворянин 'noble'), belonged such family clans as *Akərtaa, Ašʷxʷac'aa, C'əšʷba, Jašba, Lak'(ə)rba, Maan, Žʷanba*, etc. The peasants, called *a-nxajʷə*, were represented by such surnames as *Agrba, Adlejba, Aməčʲjba, Axba, Bganba, Cəgʷba, Čʲʲanba, K'ʷabaxʲəja, Lak'ʲʷaba, P'ap'ba*, etc. The lowest place in the social ladder used to be occupied by people consisting of lower categories of peasants, slaves, foreign captives, people bought or kidnapped, bastards or gutter-children, who did not possess a surname (*a-žʷla-da*, lit. 'without a surname', or *žʷla z-ma-m*, lit. 'who do not have surname'). They were called only by their first names or nicknames. Some of such people or their descendants could receive in the course of time a new surname on the model 'X-his-son', but the lower origin of such clan was long remembered (cf. Inal-ipa 2002: 189-190). People who committed "shameful" crimes, like incest or the like, were subjected to the deprivation of their first name (*a-xʲəʒ-xə-x-ra* 'the lifting of the name') or of their surname (*a-žʷla-xə-x-ra* 'the lifting of the surname'), and were usually expelled from the community.

5. Patronyms (Abx *abjəpara*)

Certain surnames can have patronyms (called *ab-jə-pa-ra* 'father-his-son-ABSTR') modeled on the type "first name of a common ancestor + *-jə-p(a)-cʷa* 'his-son-PL' ", or "first name of an ancestor + collective human plural suffix *-aa*". The patronyms are not registered in official papers and are transferred through generations orally. Especially big family clans have patronymic branching. E.g., the clan Adlejba has such patronymic subdivisions as *T'ət'-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Žʲabaɣʲ-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *P'ašʷ-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Xʷat-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Cərkʷ'ət'-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Cəxʷ-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Dahʷəq'ʷa-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Čʲarkʲaz-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, *Čʲarwal-jə-p(a)-cʷa*, all having as their common ancestor a certain *Adlejba Xʲrəps*, son of *Ak'ʷən* (cf. Šʲənkʷba 1990: 447). In unofficial discourse surnames and patronymics can be used synonymically, like *Xʷarck'ʲəja//žʲəgʷdar-jə-pa/jə-pha* "Xvartskiya//Son/daughter-of-Džygudar", or in PL *Xʷarck'ʲəj-aa//žʲəgʷdar-jə-pa-cʷa//žʲəgʷdar-aa* 'the Xvartskiyas//Sons-of-Džygudar//The Džygudars'.

Abbreviations

ABSTR	abstract suffix	Geo	Georgian
Abx	Abkhazian	Gr	Greek
Abž	Abžywa dialect	HUM	Human
Ad	Adyghey	Kab	Kabardian
Arab	Arabic	masc.	masculine
bot.	botanic	Megr	Megrelian
Bz	Bzyp dialect	Osset	Ossetic
Circ	Circassian	PL	Plural
dimin.	diminutive	Russ	Russian
fem.	feminine	Tu	Turkish

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