Ubykh Personal Names

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Abstract

The paper presents a survey of the system of Ubykh personal names. The traditional structure of Ubykh names was binary, consisting of a surname and a postposed personal name. Alternative structures included a preposed family name plus two or more personal names, or a surname, plus a patronymic, plus a personal name. Besides a few native Ubykh names, the majority of names are "Oriental" (Turkish/Turkic, Arabic, Jewish, Persian, etc.), Circassian or Abkhazian, or of unclear origin. There are also hybrid names combining names or formants of different languages.

Keywords

1 Ubykh Personal Names: Sources

1.1 *The Ubykh People*

Ubykhs were a small indigenous people of the Caucasian Black Sea coast where they lived for millennia. It is assumed that their ancestors were known to the Byzantines under the name of *Brukhoi*, which some authors see as the Greek attempt to render the Ubykh self-name $t^wa\chi\acute{\theta}$. The Ubykhs' closest ethnic kin are Abkhazians and Circassians. Being a warrior nation, the Ubykhs took an uncompromising stance in the struggle against the Russian advance to their lands in the middle of the 19th century, which sealed their fate, leading to a wholesale deportation by the Tsarist government of the entire Ubykh nation in 1864 to Ottoman Turkey. Scattered over the vast territories of Anato-

lia, small Ubykh groups lost contact with each other, being surrounded by other populations—Circassians, Abkhazians, Turks, Kurds, Laz, Greeks or Armenians, and within the 150 years that followed their exodus they lost their mother-tongue. The last fully competent speaker of Ubykh, the now famous Tevfik Esenç, died in 1992, and with him died the whole universe of the unique Ubykh language.

1.2 *The Sources for Ubykh Names' Corpus*

In the absence of ancient written documents in the Ubykh language, onomastics, in particular, anthroponymy, is of obvious historical interest, since it may contain old forms lost by the modern language. In addition, it is interesting to analyze the Ubykh anthroponymic repertoire from the point of view of its comparison with similar inventories of the related peoples.

While compiling a corpus of Ubykh personal names, I used various sources, the most important of which are the works by J.S. Bell, A. Dirr, J. Mészàros, G. Dumézil, H. Vogt, G. Charashidzé, L. Lavrov and some other authors. In particular, many Ubykh personal names and surnames are to be found in the Ubykh-German dictionary by J. von Mészàros (1934). A separate list of Ubykh names is given in the Ubykh-French dictionary by H. Vogt (1963). Especially valuable for the subject-matter are the works by the famous French philologist Georges Dumézil, which provide the phonetically exact forms of the Ubykh names, the correction of the erroneous spelling of names in works by other authors, and in some cases the etymological analysis of names, including the indication of the source of the borrowed items (see especially DA III). Ubykh names and surnames according to Russian sources are found in the monographs on the Ubykhs by Leonid Lavrov (1937/2009) and by the Abkhazian ethnologist Shalva Inal-ipa (2015: 183–187) in his book dedicated to the Ubykhs. The Ubykh anthroponymic material is contained in the biographical dictionary of political and cultural figures of Ubykh origin, mainly in Turkey, by the Turkish-Ubykh historian Sefer Berzeg (2013). A considerable amount of Ubykh onomastic material was collected during my linguistic expeditions to Turkey between 1991 and 2010, which resulted in the "Dictionary of Ubykh Personal Names" (see Chirikba 2016).

An interesting five-page handwritten list of Ubykh names was kindly handed to me by a native Ubykh from Karlı (province Samsun) Ertekin Işcan of the Ubykh *Tʷəbe* clan. A rich source of most interesting onomastic and demographic material, including information about the Ubykh names both in the Caucasian homeland and in the first decades after the Ubykhs moved to Turkey, are the so-called *defters*, i.e., village registry books in which villagers are registered as to their names and surnames, profession, the place and the year of their

birth, the names of their fathers and mothers, wives and husbands, children and grandchildren. I managed to make photocopies of two of such books: in the village of Çınarlı in the Gönen district of the Balıkesir province, and in the village of Uzuntarla of the Kartepe district of the Kocaeli province. Although the bulk of the names contained in *defters* are "Muslim" or Turkish names, the names of Caucasian origin are also to be found there.

Besides the *defters*, another interesting written source of the Ubykh anthroponymic is represented by the genealogical charts (or trees) of some of the Ubykh families. Examples of such fairly extensive genealogical charts are the genealogy of members of the Gwagián clan belonging to Özkan Gwagián (Turk. Özkan Gögen) from the village of Karalarçiftliği, the genealogy of Melik Ilhan Jude (*Zʷəde*) from the village of Yanık, the genealogy of Bilgi Berzeg from the village of Maşukiye et al., which their owners kindly allowed me to photograph and whose materials I used in this paper. See also a number of old names and the genealogical tables of the branches of the Berzeg clan attached to the book by A. Landmann (1981). Interesting sources of names are also various archival documents, such as, for example, ноκ and ноκι, which I was kindly allowed to copy, as well as other archival, mostly 19th-century Russian documents.

A common problem with non-linguistic publications and handwritten documents (*defters*, genealogies, archival materials, manuscripts, etc.) is the phonetically inaccurate transmission of Ubykh names of Caucasian origin recorded in Russian or Roman alphabets. The exact pronunciation of names taken from non-linguistic sources can be to a certain extent verified and corrected with the help of competent experts in Ubykh realities and everyday life (natives of Ubykh villages) who still speak the Adyghe language. In this paper some of these names, if it was not possible to clarify their exact Ubykh or Circassian pronunciation, are presented in Turkish or Russian transcription.

2 Composition of Ubykh Personal Names

Ubykh personal names can be divided into two groups according to their origin: native and borrowed. Very few native Ubykh names have come down to us, a major part of names are acquired from other languages. They belong to the following groups: (a) "oriental" names (Turkish/Turkic, Arabic, Jewish, Persian, etc.); (b) Circassian names (mainly Adyghe); (c) Abkhazian names. A separate group (d) contains names of unclear origin. There are also hybrid names that consist of a combination of primordial and borrowed elements.

Most of the "oriental" personal names, regardless of their Turkish, Arabic, Persian or Jewish origin, came to Ubykhia mainly starting from the 15th century

from Ottoman Turkey and often reflect the Turkish pronunciation. A smaller part of the eastern names are of Northern Turkic (Kipchak) origin and came from neighbouring Turkic peoples (Crimean Tatars, Karachays, Nogais). Many such names (both Turkish and Turkic) entered the Ubykh language through the medium of Adyghe.

Circassian names in Ubykh are mainly of an Adyghe (viz. West Circassian, largely Shapsygh or Abadzekh) source. The majority of the Ubykh population were bilingual and had a good command of the Adyghe language, while more to the south-east Ubykhs also knew the Abkhaz language.

As a rule, the Circassian names in Ubykh have an Adyghe (i.e. West-Circassian) appearance. The Ubykhs actually spoke a variety of Adyghe, which is qualified by some authors as a special "Ubykh" dialect, though it was rather close to the Shapsygh dialect; cf. on this Smeets (1988) and recently Bifov (2017).

2.1 *Primordial Ubykh Personal Names*

Personal names based on the original Ubykh language material have come down to us in a very limited amount. Here is the almost exhaustive list: *Blaɣˤʷa* ('blind'), *Dəɣʷ* ('mouse'), *Kʲa:bˤə-šʷə́* ('wolf cub'), *λäpsʷaw*, *Məzə́-šʷə* ('little boy'), *Nakʲana:ɣʷ*, *Nan* ('mother'), *P'apʹə́-žʷ*, *P'apʹə́šʷk'ʷa*, *Qʷə́qʹʷə-šʷ*, *Sʷá-qʷa* ('white son' or 'son of the white'), *Sʷásʷa-qʷa*, *Šaχʷmašáčʲa*, *T'əɣʷrəɣʷ* ('owl'), *Ǯʲəx* 'Abkhaz or Abadzekh'.

In addition, a number of other names can also be Ubykh in origin, if their Adyghe or other etymology is not proven; cf. such names as *Kʷačʲə́j*, *Kûsht*, *K'ʷa:rčʹʲəčʲʹ*, *Qʷačʲe*, *Samp*, *Sevtášʲ//Sotáčʲ*, *Şas* (f.), *Vordežoko*, *Xʷəčʲ*, *Xʷəláčʲ*, *Zəzə́k'ʷ*, *Zʲəp'ət'* and others.

Structurally, native names are simple or derived. Some of the latter have attached the diminutive suffix *-šʷ(ə)*, the others are augmented by the formant *-žʷ* (from the adjective *žʷə* 'old') or the patronymic formant *qʷa* 'son'.

2.2 *Borrowed Names*

2.2.1. Names of Adyghe origin: *Afäsəžʲ*, *C'ək'ʷ*, *Dəsʲə́qʷ*, *Gʷəmzaɣ*, *Hanašχʷ*, *Mazəλ'*, *Naršu*, *Pá:čʲa*, *Paq'ʷazad*, *Penef*, *Pšʲəma:f*, *Qaraχʷ*, *Sʲawaj*, *Sʲawlaχʷ*, *Sʲáwλ'əχʷ*, *Təɣʷə́zʲ*, *Xapλə́zʲ*, *Zafás*, *C'ək'ʷ-ded* (f.), *Fəžʲ* (f.), *Gošʲanás* (f.), *Gošʲefəžʲ* (f.), *Pa:qa* (f.), etc.

2.2.2. Abkhazian names: *K'ac* (from Georgian *k'ac-i* 'man'), *K'ʷəčʹʲə́šʲ* ('chicken'), *Xʲərpəsʲ* ('golden guy'), in Ubykh folklore: *Gʷənda Pšʒa* ('Gunda the beautiful'), *Qʷazʲarpásʲ* ('Khuazh-guy').

2.2.3. Arabic names: *Ahmet*, *Ali//Allá*, *Almas*, *Alχás*, *Azamat*, *Bekir*, *Bereket*, *Hasan*, *Islám*, *Kʲarə́m*, *Mahmút*, *Mamsər*, *Mehmét*, *Murad*, *Muham-*

mad, Məstafá, Omar, Osman, Rasə́m, Rešʲə́t, Sabít, Selím, Smel, Xʷəsán, Hanəfa (f.), *Nazira* (f.), *Rana* (f.), etc.

2.2.4. Turkish/Turkic names: *Ajbérk, Ajdemir, Ajtek, Arslan, Biarslan, Edik, Elbuz, Kʷəšʲəkʷ, Talusten,* etc.

2.2.5. Hebrew names: *Dawə́t, Iljas, Isák, Ismail, Jakup, Zakarija,* etc.

2.2.6. Persian/Iranian names: *Abragʲ, Anzaur,*[1] *Qaspəwlat, Nesrin* (f.), *Nesteren* (f.), etc.

2.3 *Name Combinations*

Some names are a combination of two or even three names. Cf. double names: *Ahmet Alʲχás, Ali-Ahmet, Alʲχás Iljas, Ažʲar-Osman, Gok Abdulla, Ibrahim-Musa, Mahamat Talə, Pšʲəmaf-i-Dzuk, Sejəd-Ali, Təɣʷə́zʲ Ahmet, Ǯamál Kʲaazə́m, Ǯʲəx Mustafa, Dəɣʷ Dədarəqʼʷa.* Cf. also triple names: *Kučʲuk-Hažʲə-Mehmet, Ažʲanta Çerkez Memet-bej, Hažʲəzade Osman λacarəqʷ, Kučʲuk-Hažʲə-Mehmet.*

2.4 *Hybrid Names*

Among the Ubykh names one can encounter combinations of names or formants belonging to different languages. Compare, for example, such Arabic-Turkic hybrids as *Bej-Islam, Hažʲə-bej, Hafə́z-bej, Qal-bačʲ, Hažʲə-χan*; Persian-Turkic: *Mirza-kan, Mirza-han, Ǯan-Bulat*; Arabic-Circassian: *Ali-Cʼəkʼʷ, Təɣʷə́zʲ Ahmet* ('Wolf Ahmet'), *Zeλəkʷ Memet, Zeşipliko Mustafa*; Arabic-Adyghe-Turkic: *Hažʲə Bažʲe Bej* (*bažʲe* 'fox' in Abadzekh Adyghe); Turkic-Adyghe: *Qaré.zʲ, Temrə-qʷ, Aslanə-qʷ* (Adyghe *-zʲ* 'old', *-qʷe*, Ubykh *-qʷa* 'son'); Ubykh-foreign names: *Ǯʲəχ Mustafa* ('Abadzekh M.'), *Dəɣʷ Dədarəqʼʷa* ('Mouse D.'), etc.

2.5 *Typical Name Formants*

Ubykh personal names contain various formants of both native and foreign origin. The original formants are the diminutive suffix *-šʷ(ə)* (*Kʲʲa:bˤə-šʷə́, Məzə́-šʷ, Qʷə́qʼʷə-šʷ, Kʲarəmə́-šʷ*) and the suffix *-žʷ,* which goes back to the adjective *žʷ(ə)* 'old' (*Xasana-žʷ, Pʼapʼə́-žʷ, Xatəqʷá-žʷ, Bore-žʷ, Saqʼənə́-žʷ*). Formant *qʷa* 'son', present in many male names, can be either of Ubykh or Adyghe origin (*Anzaurə-qʷa, Bəlsʲə́-qʷ, Alagʲə-qʷ, Dədarə-qʷa, Dəsʲə́-qʷ, Jalamšʲə-qʷ, Dagʷəmə-qʷa* and others). In the names of Adyghe origin common elements are *pšʲə* ('prince') and *gʷašʲa* ('mistress/lady').

Among the formants of foreign origin, the following can be named: (a) the suffixal element *-gʲari//-gʲeri //-gʲərej//-kʲeri //-kʲari,* from Crimean Tatar *girej*

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1 Ultimately from Persian *āznāvar* 'noble'.

(of Mongolian or Greek origin), cf. *Alem-gʲerí//Alem-kʲerí*, *Alim-girej*, **Qrəm-Gʲərej*, *Saat-Girej*, *Khas-kerə* and others; (b) the Turkic word *bij//bi//bej* 'master' (*Bi-Arslan*, *Meysûr-bí*, *Skʷər-báj*, *Wərəs-bij*, *Hafəz-bej*, *Halil-bej*); (c) the Turkic word *bek* 'lord' (*Islam-bek*, *Zaur-bek*), or its phonetic variant *-bačʲ* (*Qalbačʲ*), from Adyghe *bečʲ*, going back to the same Turkic source; (d) the Persian word *mirza*, from *emir-zade* 'son of the emir' (*Devlet Mirza*, *Bat-Mərza*, *Berko Mirza*); (e) the Turkic word *χan* 'khan' (*Mirza-han*); (f) the Arabic word *haji* 'who had made the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca', which became part of the names (*Hažʲə Apik*, *Hažʲə́ Bej*, *Hažʲə́ Hasán*, *Hažʲə Murat*).

2.6 *Patronyms*

Some large Ubykh families had patronymic branches based on the name of a common ancestor. Thus, the numerous noble clan of the Berzegs (Ubykh *Barzágʲ*), which in the late 1830s consisted of 400 households (Lavrov 2009: 65–66, 72), had four patronymic branches: *Emin*, *Degʷ*, *Babəkʷ* and *Q'anbu-lat* (cf. Xafizova 2010: 76; Chirikba 2015: 455–456). There is information about another patronymic line of the Berzegs—*Q'amlat*, in Turkish transcription—*Kamlat* (Berzeg 2013: 175).

2.7 *Children's Names and Nicknames*

Children were usually given nicknames based on traditional children's names, random or onomatopoeic words, that were used in a close family circle or in a circle of friends, sometimes throughout a person's life. For example, a child with gray eyes could be called in the family circle *Našχʷa*, i.e., 'gray-eyed' (from Adyghe). Diminutive forms of names could be formed by adding the diminutive suffix *-šʷ(ə)*.

2.8 *Social Status of Names*

Social relations within traditional feudal Ubykh society were also reflected in the choice of names: certain names were usually given to representatives of the nobility, others to people outside of the privileged circles. Names that were traditionally given to the nobility were often supplied with the formants *-gʲərej*, *-bej//-bij*, *-bek*, e.g. *Alim-gʲərej*, *Saat-gʲərej*, *Wərəs-bij*, *Hafə́z-bej*, *Halil-bej*, *Islam-bek*, *Zaur-bek*.

Other higher-class names included the Adyghe word *pšʲə* 'prince': *Pšʲə-ma:f* (Adyghe 'prince-happy'), *Pšʲə-ɣʷə́s* (Adyghe 'prince-companion'). Although the name *Pšʲ-q'an* belongs to the same pattern, phonetically it indicates not Adyghe (cf. Adyghe *Pšʲə-qan*), but rather an Abkhazian source (Abkhaz *Pšʲq'an*), coming from old Kabardian **Pšʲə-q'an* 'prince-raised by' (cf. modern Kabardian *Pɛq'an*).

A special privileged group consisted of people who made the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*), after which the Arabic formant *haji* joined their names: *Hažʲə Hasan*, *Hažʲə Hüseyin*, *Hažʲə Jakʷəp*.

2.9   *Taboo*

Just like Abkhazian and Circassian, Ubykh spouses were forbidden to address each other by name in public. Instead, various substitute words or vocatives were used. Thus, for example, in one Ubykh family in the Sapanca district, the wife used the vocative *wapšʲə!* when addressing her husband (vocative interjection *wa* + Adyghe *pšʲə* 'prince', i.e., 'oh, prince!').[2] According to Meral *Čʲəzaməʁʷa* (a native of the Ubykh village of Haji-Osman köyü), spouses could use any interjection when addressing each other in public, for example, *hey*![3] However, in recent years among young people the prohibitions on spouses publicly addressing each other by name has a tendency to be no longer observed.

When referring to her husband in public, Meral's mother used to say 'Meral's father' instead of calling his name. If the name of the daughter-in-law coincided with the name of the eldest woman in the husband's family (for example, of the mother or the grandmother), then the daughter-in-law was given a new name that was used by family members. If the child carried the same name as the father-in-law or the mother-in-law, then the daughter-in-law used a different name when publicly referring to, or addressing, the child.

The daughter-in-law did not have the right to talk in the presence of older men from her husband's family. Nor could she mention or call them by name, using various words or nicknames (in Ubykh or Adyghe) as necessary.

3   Ubykh Surnames

There are several sources for studying Ubykh surnames. Firstly, there are various historical documents (mainly 19th-century Russian), including archival ones, in which certain surnames are mentioned. Secondly, there are surnames contained in published Ubykh texts and dictionaries. The third source for this article was the material collected during my fieldwork in Turkey for the period of 1991–2010, especially during the two Ubykh expeditions undertaken in 2009 and 2010.

A number of Ubykh surnames are contained in the Ubykh grammar by Mészàros (1934). A list of surnames can be found in the Ubykh-French dictio-

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2 Communicated to the author by *Engin Hamte Oz*.

3 Meral Čʲəzaməʁʷa (Çare), personal communication.

nary by Hans Vogt (Vogt 1963: 235–236). Information about the Ubykh surnames is scattered in numerous works by Georges Dumézil. Certain Ubykh anthroponymic material can be gleaned from the works by the Turkish Ubykh writer Sefer Berzeg (see Berzeg 1998; idem 2013). Many Ubykh anthroponyms contained in Russian documents and historical publications are given in L. Lavrov's 1937 monograph "The Ubykhs", published only in 2009. Abundant anthroponymic material is found in the recent book by M. Kishmakhov "The Problems of Ethnic History and Culture of the Ubykhs" (2012), but it needs further analysis: a number of surnames given by the author can hardly be considered Ubykh; furthermore, the sources of the cited names are not indicated. The Ubykh onomastic material is contained in the monograph by Sh. Inal-ipa "The Ubykhs" (2015). The result of my research into Ubykh anthroponymy was "The Dictionary of Ubykh Surnames" (Chirikba 2015: 447–483).

Several families originating from Ubykhia survive in the Western Caucasus. Such, for example, is the family name *Čʲéren*, whose representatives live in the Lazarevsky district of Greater Sochi. In Adyghea, this is apparently the surname *Berzeg*, in the Russified form *Berzegov*. In Abkhazia, similar to the Ubykh ones are such surnames as *Ebžʲnów*, *Xamát*, *Čʲ(ə)rág* (*Čʲrág-ba*).

3.1 Ubykh Family Names in Combination with First Names and Patronyms

Like the related Abkhazians and Circassians, traditionally the Ubykhs had a two-member naming structure, usually consisting of a surname and a postposed first name. Examples: *Şaplı* [Sʲχарλə][4] *Muhammad* (Berzeg 1998: 64), *Təɣw* [Təɣʷa] *Fuad* (Berzeg 1998: 65, 92), *Merčʲán* [Marčʲán] *Šéɣə* (Dumézil/Namitok 1955: 30), *Gʷəzʷ Fehim* (Dumézil/Esenç 1981: 17), *Kʲamčʲʲó Selim* (ibid.), *Wánẑa Kʲarəmáśʷ* (ibid.: 21), *Wánẑa Aziz* (ibid.: 26), *Xʷə́nǯʲa Şefket* (ibid.: 26), *Zeûz Tosnakûl* (Bell 1840: II/3),[5] *Aubla-Ahmet* (Tatlok 1959: 104). This model was already noted by the English author of the first half of the XIX century James Stanislaus Bell (1840: I/436): "When one is specifically mentioned, the Circassians generally prefix the name of his fraternity to his own name".

A variation of this structure is the one consisting of a preposed family name and two or more personal names (surname + first name + first name (+ first name)): *Şaplı Osman Ferid*, *Berzeg Mehmet Zeki*, *Şaplı Hamza Osman Erkan* (cf. Berzeg 1998: 67, 70, 93).

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4 Adyghe *sʲħa-pɬa* 'head-red'.
5 Lavrov (2009: 64) corrects to Sostangul Dzepsh (Dzeysh), i.e., *Sostankul Zájsʷa*.

The structure with the preposing of the first name plus the surname is common when reading anthroponymic material in the works by Russian authors. Examples: *Ali Ahmet Oblagu* (Tornau 1976: 106), *Dzhembulat Berzek* [Barzágʲ], *Omar Chizemogua* [Čʲəzaməɣʷa], *Hassan Bey Dije* [Dəzʲə́], *Biarslan Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 45, 65, 72, 79, 111), etc.

J.S. Bell (1840: II/88, 378) records a *three-member* structure composed of a surname, plus patronymic ('the son of X'), plus first name: *Barzek Alkhaz-okû Beislam* [Barzágʲ Alχas-a-qʷa Bejislam]; *Zeûs Hûssein-okû Osman* [Zájsʷa Xʷəséjn-a-qʷa Osman]. The same elements are presented in the book by L. Lavrov in the form of "name + patronymic + surname", which seems to be due to the corresponding Russian model: *Osman Husseinoko Dzeps* (Lavrov 2009: 64), *Biarslan Alhasoko Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 111), *Elbuz Hapeshuko Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 72). This structure was complicated by prefixing the word *hažʲə*, which marked persons who made the pilgrimage to Mecca: *Hažʲə-Alim-Giray-Babuko Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 72), *Hažʲə-Kerenduk-Dogomuko*[6] *Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 68). Other models presented by Lavrov are the two-member structures "patronymic + first name", or the three-member "patronymic + first name + surname": *Sheulehuko-Edik, Sheueyuko-Matu, Sheulehuko-Amschuk Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 72).

Some Ubykh names, patronyms and surnames came to Russian sources through the intermediary of their Abkhazian guides or interpreters, which explains the presence of the Abkhazian patronymic element *jə-pá* 'his son' and the Abkhazian variants of Ubykh names, cf. *Ismail Bej Barakaj-jəpa* (Lavrov 2009: 64), *Saat-Giraj Adagua-jəpa Berzek* (Lavrov 2009: 104). *Adagʷa-jəpa* (lit. 'the son of the deaf') is the Abkhazian variant (or interpretation) of the Ubykh patronym *Dagʷəmə-qʷa* (*qʷa* 'son').

Ubykh patronyms, depending on the sex of the owner, are formed according to the model "father's name + *a-* + *qʷa* 'son'" (if talking about a male) or "father's name + *-a-* + *pχʲa* 'daughter'" (if talking about a female), e.g. *Tawfəkʲ-á-qʷa* 'son of Tevfik' (Dumézil/Esenç 1973: 33), *Mezə́λ'a:qʷa* [*Mezə́λ'a+a+qʷa*] *Sefer* (Dumézil/Esenç 1973: 33; eidem 1981: 17).

The element *-a-* present in these models is a relic affix of the Ubykh 3rd person possessive (its more usual variant is *ɣa-*). In addition to patronymic formations, it is found also in postpositions, cf. *a-janəzʲ-na a-la:qə* 'article-giant-pl. their-toward = towards the giants'. In Abkhaz, this Ubykh affix corresponds to the 3rd sg. possessive prefix of the non-human class *a-* (e.g., *a-lá a-χə́* 'article-dog its-head = dog's head').

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6 The *-ko* element in these patronyms is Ubykh *qʷa* 'son'.

Surnames are also attached by patronymic suffixes according to the models (a) "surname/clan name + *a* 'his'+ *qʷa* 'son'", or (b) "surname/clan name + *a* 'her' + *pχʲa* 'daughter'". Cf.:

(a)   *Xʲətʼa:-qʷa* [*Xʲətʼa-a-qʷa*] *Ibrahim* 'Ibrahim (from the clan) Khita' (Dumézil/Esenç 1981: 15), *Čʲərgʲáχʷ* [< *Čʲərgʲ-á-qʷa*] 'man of the clan Chyr(y)g'. Cf. also forms without the infixed *-a-*: *Dowbə́-qʷ* 'man of the clan Douby', *Ace-qó* (< *Ace-qʷá*).

(b)   *Tʷəba:pχʲa* [*Tʷəba-a-pχʲa*] *Habibe* (Dumézil/Esenç 1981: 23) 'Habibe of the clan Tuba', *Dečʲenapχ* [< *Dečʲen-a-pχʲa*] 'a female of the Dechen clan', *Wonžʲapχ* [*Wonžʲa-a-pχʲa*] *Nazmiye* 'Nazmiye of the Wondzha clan', *Čʲərgʲ-áp* [< *Čʲərgʲ-a-pχʲa*] 'a female from the clan Chyr(y)g',[7] *Dowb-ápχ* [< **Dowb-ə-a-pχʲa*] 'a female of the Douby clan'.

In the speech of modern Ubykhs, who have lost their native tongue, the male patronymic suffix in the composition of surnames is pronounced as *-aχʷ* < *a-qʷa* 'his son' (e.g., *Čʲərgʲáχʷ* < *Čʲərgʲ-á-qʷa*), and female suffix—as *-apχ* < *-a-pχʲa* 'his daughter' (e.g., *Dəžʲ-ápχ* < *Dəzʲə-á-pχʲa* 'female of the clan Dyzy'), or even *-ap* (*Čʲərgʲ-áp* < *Čʲərgʲ-á-pχʲa* 'female from the clan *Čʲər(ə)gʲ*'). Sometimes the "female" suffix *-pχʷ* is used, going back to Adyghe *pχʷə* 'daughter', e.g. *Ħamtʼ-á-pχʷ* 'a female of the Hamta clan'. For married women, they could add Turkish *hanım* 'madam': *Dəžʲ-á+pχ-hanım Makbulye* 'Madam Makbulye of the Dyzhy family'.

Finally, there is the following model for the presentation of the family name: "surname + *-na:nkʲa(-n)* 'of them' + patronym + first name". Examples: *Čʲʲəw-na:nkʲan Mezə́λʼa:qʷa Sefer* (DE 17) 'Sefer, son of Mezytla, from the family Chyw', *Xʷənžʲá-na:nkʲa Žʲemiłʲ* (Dumézil/Esenç 1981: 18) 'Djemil of the Khundzha clan', *Kʲʲamčʲʲə-na:nkʲan Selim ɣapʼcʼanə́*[8] (ibid.: 23) 'one named Selim of the Kiamchy clan', *Čʲʲəw-na:nkʲan Alqás ɣapʼcʼaná* (ibid.: 24) 'one named Alkhas of the Chyw clan', *Dəɣʷə́-na:nkʲan Zakarija ɣapʼcʼaná* (ibid.: 26) 'one named Zakariya of the Dyghu clan', *Čʲʲə́w-na:nkʲan Mezə́λʼ aqʼagʲə́*[9] (ibid.: 27) 'one called Mezytl of the Chyw clan'.

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7 Originally from Çavuşköy, she was married in Hacı Yakup and died in the 1960s; the name was recorded by me in Haci Yakup in June 2009.

8 Ubykh *ɣa-pʼcʼa-nə́* 'his-name-being', i.e., 'called'.

9 Ubykh *a-qʼa-gʲə́* 'speaking'.

Transcription

In this paper, for citing the Caucasian linguistic material I use the standard Caucasian transcription based on roman graphics (as, for example, in the Ubykh-French dictionary by H. Vogt), with the exception that instead of the second sign (´) I use the sign ʲ to indicate palatalization; (automatic) aspiration is not marked, whilst glottalization is marked by ʼ. An asterisk (*) indicates reconstructed or proposed forms. By the sign ˤ I mark pharyngealization.

Acknowledgment

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