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GEORGIAN AND TURKISH ONYMY IN THE SPEECH OF GEORGIAN SPEAKING MUHAJIRS LIVING IN THE DÜZCE REGION (TURKEY)*

Keywords: onomastics, Muhajirs, Georgia, Turkey, Düzce, code-mixing

1. INTRODUCTION

The Georgian population of the Düzce and Sakarya regions of Turkey is mostly made up of descendants of Muhajirs who were forced to leave their homeland (South-western Georgia) for Ottoman Turkey after the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War. Before 1878, the territory of modern Düzce was populated by different ethnic groups living alongside ethnic Turks. These included Orthodox Bulgarians from Thrace, Greeks and Bosnians. After the war, most of those peoples left the region for their historical motherlands and the territory left by them was offered to Muhajirs. A group of the migrants settled the Black Sea coast of Turkey from

* The article was prepared with the financial support of the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation, within the framework of the project “The Kartvelian-Turkish Code-mixing regularities According to the Speech of Kartvelian-speaking Muhajirs’ Descendants” (FR-18-14869, Supervisors: Prof. Tariel Putkaradze and, from 2021, Prof. Manana Tabidze), a winner of the 2018 state science grants competitions for fundamental research. The project executors are: Mikheil Labadze (Coordinator), Sopio Kekua, Keso Gejua, Maka Salia-Beşiroğlu and Fevzi Çelebi. English translation by Prof. Lela Ebralidze.

the very beginning, while others moved here later from other regions of Ottoman Turkey (Yüksel, 1994, p. 476). There were about 150 villages in which Muhajirs from the Russian Empire were temporarily settled on Ottoman state owned lands (vakufs) between 1878–1882. In those villages, descendants of Muhajirs (not only Georgians, but also Abkhaz-Abazas and North Caucasians) can still be found today. Some of them have preserved their mother tongue and many historical traditions. The present article deals with the onomastic material preserved in Georgian Muhajirs' speech in the Düzce region (Düzce İli).

2. ANTHROPONYMY

The Georgian Muhajirs were Sunni Muslims who had Arabian and Ottoman names, although their surnames were Georgian. These were either original (the names they had before becoming part of Ottoman culture), or Georgian names modified in the Ottoman manner. It is worth noting that people did not have surnames in the Ottoman Empire, but peoples of non-Turkish origin (Georgians, Albanians, Bosnians etc.) had the so-called nick-surnames formed from patronymics or the names of ancestors who had first converted to Islam. Frequently, Georgians, Bulgarians, and Bosnians, especially noblemen, used eponyms of their former surnames as the roots for new nick-surnames (Donia & Fine, 1994, p. 32). Most Turkish citizens of Georgian origin have individual house nicknames, which are usually Georgian. It is also remarkable that in the speech of Muhajirs' descendants we do not encounter the term *nickname*. Instead, they use the word *layabi*.¹ *Layabi* is usually a humorous name given to a person for some distinctive feature, e.g. someone who is bald may be called *Burzgli* 'shaggy'; a blond person might have the nickname *Kosaj* 'hairless'. *Layabi* is also used in the speech of the Southwestern Georgians living in Achara, Machakhela, Imerkhevi, Tao, Livani, Samtskhe-Javakheti etc. and has the same meaning.

According to their structure, the Ottoman nick-surnames are quite similar to traditional Georgian and Balkan-Slavic patronyms — they are derived from eponyms by adding *-oyli* (< *-oğlu*, in Turkish: 'son, child' formant. As a rule, nick-surnames were used for the official identification of the non-Turkish subjects of the Ottoman Empire. For informal use, the old local patronyms were more common (Donia & Fine, 1994, pp. 34–35).

In July 2021, based on data obtained during research conducted by the Georgian Patriarchate St Andrew the First-Called University Center of Kartvelology, the Georgian population of the Düzce and Sakarya regions of Turkey (descendants of the Muhajirs who migrated to Turkey during 1877–1882), were asked to

¹ Arabian-Ottoman *Lâkup* is the plural form of *Lakab* '[ancestral] nickname.' Its synonym in Laz is the basic Georgian form *zegli/zegni*. In other Kartvelian subsystems like Acharan and Imerkhevi, *layabi* stands for a particular person's nickname and not a group's.

remember their old Georgian surnames or comparatively new Ottoman nick-surnames. Like the rest of the Turkish population, today they have Turkish surnames, which became mandatory following the Soyadı Kanunu passed by Atatürk in 1934. According to our materials, the private names of Muhajirs' descendants are Turkish and Arabic (Muslim); while personal nicknames (*layabebi*) are mostly Georgian. It is worth noting that some Georgians gave us their Georgian first names and old Georgian surnames when introducing themselves (although in their passports we found different names).

Based on the materials gathered through the research, Georgians' Turkish and Arabic anthroponyms have considerably changed in the speech of Georgian Muhajirs' descendants, namely:

1) An Ottoman or Arabic anthroponym undergoes phonetic modification in accordance with phonematic structure of the Georgian language; e.g. Yılmaz — *ilmaz-i*, Vedat — *wedat-i*, Feride — *peride-j* etc.

2) All of them add the Georgian nominative case marker *-i/-j*, e.g.: Şaban — *şaban-i*, Musa — *musa-j*, Sedat — *sedat-i*... It is remarkable that the descendants of the Georgian Muhajirs often use their names in the Georgian nominative even in their Turkish speech:

ç'ow bax, orada kim?.. sedati mi? Compare literary Turkish: Bak oğlan, orada kim?.. Sedat mı?)
 "Look, boy, who is there? Is it Sedat?" (Düzce İlçesi, Aydınpınar village);

ha, şimdi burja musaj gelio[r]... (Compare literary Turkish: Ha, şimdi buraya Musa geliyor)
 "Now Musa is coming here" (Akçakoca İlçesi, Doğancılar village).

3) Anthroponyms also add the Georgian vocative case marker *-o/-w* in both Georgian and Turkish speech, e.g.:

dursuno!.. raper xar, rajžebi, ç'ow?! "Dursun, how are you doing, man?" (Düzce, Muncurlu village);

saimew, rajza k'ç'irian eseni? "Saime, what do you need them for?" (Düzce, Muncurlu village);

Musaw!.. senin baban da gürži midir? (Compare literary Turkish: Musa!.. Senin baban da Gürcü mü?) "Musa, is your father Georgian too?" (The City of Düzce);

nerije gidij[r]sun, memedo? (Compare literary Turkish: Nereye gidiyorsun, Mehmet?) "Where are you going, Mehmed?" (Düzce, Muncurlu village).

4) Turkish and Arabic anthroponyms form diminutive-hypocoristic forms in the Georgian manner, e.g.: *'ajdil* — *'ajdil-a-j*, *osman* — *osman-a-j*, *aişe* — *aiş-uk'a-j*, *xažeri* > *xaže* — *xaž-ula-j*... The most productive suffix is *-a*, which can be added to all the names ending in consonants. For this reason, some Turkish and Arabic anthroponyms undergo hypercorrection, e.g. the name *Abdullah* pronounced in the Georgian manner is *abdula-j*. The final *a* is the last letter of the word and not a suffix, but Georgian Muhajirs' descendants consider it a diminutive-hypocoristic suffix and hence, they think that the official name is the hypercorrected *Abdul-i*:

didwanebis xebrebi šenac ici tu, abdulo?.. “Do you also know your ancestors’ story, Abdul? (The City of Düzce); *ese saxlebic aka ‘iman dāketebia — ač’aroyli abdulma!..* “These houses in this place were also built by him, by Abdullah Acaroğlu! (The City of Düzce).

In the materials, namely samples of speech we recorded during the expedition from the descendants of Muhajirs, we encountered many personal nicknames, most of which had Georgian roots and formants, e.g.:

5) Residents of Muncurlu village, Düzce İlçe, mentioned a person who had migrated from Soviet Georgia (Rusiye’) in 1930s, *lolo amedaj (q’aramanoyli, Georgian last name Davitadze)*. This person usually spoke very politely and softly and, therefore, they gave him the nickname *lolo* (compare Laz *lulu* ‘soft, gentle’ and the literary Georgian *lol-iav-i* ‘being caring and gentle’);

6) In Hamamüstü village, Gölyaka, we recorded the nickname *tawbuzgilaj (taw-i ‘head’ and buzgil-i ‘shaggy’)*;

7) In the village of Kırıkköyü we encountered *xeč’eč’uraj*, (‘khechechuri’ is a variety of pear), *q’werit’q’ap’unaj (q’wer-i ‘testiculus’ and t’qapuna-j ‘patter’)*, *nač’arulaj (nač’ari ‘piece’, ‘money’)*;

8) In Hacı Yakup Köyü village, Gölyaka, we recorded *moyrežilaj (moyrežil-i ‘creased’)*, *astitaj (as-i ‘hundred’ and tit-i ‘finger’)* etc.

The nicknames recorded by us can be divided into two groups: (1) those which made people proud, and (2) those by which people did not want to be called. E.g., one of the two narrators from Düzce City was proud of his nickname *ač’arulaj* (‘Acharan’), while the other did not like his nickname *tawbuzgilaj* (‘shaggy haired’).

Sometimes negative nicknames are regarded as positive, e.g., a resident of Muncurlu village, Düzce, who had been a skilled pickpocket in his youth, was nicknamed *astutaj* (‘one with a hundred fingers’); He became so proud of the nickname that he would not respond to his real name.

Some nicknames were derived from the names of locations, according to a rule that was widespread in Achara, with young women often named after their home villages or districts after marriage, e.g., a Kobuletian woman who was married to a Zemo Acharan and lived in Hamamüstü village, Gölyaka, told us: *me čuruksulaj war ama, ač’arlepši mowxti* (“I am Kobuletian, but I found myself among Acharans”). Similar microanthroponyms encountered included *mač’axluraj* (from the toponym *mač’axela* ‘Machakhela’), *de[r]menžulaj* (from the toponym *deremenži kjoj* ‘Deremenci köyü’), *zegnuraj* (from the oikonym *Zegani* [Shuakhevi and Khulo]) etc.

We also recorded many microanthroponyms with Turkish roots and Georgian suffixes, e.g. *kesk’inaj* (< Turkish Keskin ‘skillful, dexterous’), *k’urnazaj* (< Kurnaz ‘sly’), *tataroylaj* (< Tataroğlu ‘Tatar’s son’)... Some names also had complex, Georgian-Turkish roots: *muxt’ripexaj* (< Turkish *Muhtar* ‘governor’ and Georgian *pexaj* ‘foot’; this nickname was given to a resident of the Düzce village of Muncurlu,

who followed the governor everywhere), *tenžirnac'q'wet'aj* (< Turkish *Tencir* 'cooking pot' and Georgian *nac'q'wetaj* 'piece'; this was the nickname of a Düzce resident, who ate a lot) etc.

The surnames and nick-surnames preserved by the descendants of the Georgian Muhajirs are of particular interest. As already mentioned, the Muhajirs' descendants remember their old Georgian surnames and Ottoman nick-surnames, but for village sections they use Ottoman versions, which reflects the traditions established in the period when they settled those territories. For instance, the residents of Hamamüstü village in Gölyaka have the following surnames: *čelebioyli*, *ač'aroyli*, *deliasanoyli*, *čiček'oyli*... The village of Yeşil Mahallesi in Çilimli is only populated by *helimoyli*; the population of Gürcü Çiftlik have the surnames: *tatunoyli*, *xožaoyli*, *alimoyli*, *axisxaloyli*, *salixoyli*... while in Yeşiltepe we encountered the surnames: *čoloyli*, *abdioyli*, *ustaoyli*, *topuzoyli*... In Hacı Yakup köyü village of Gölyaka people had the surnames: *bekiroyli*, *temiroyli*, *šainoyli* etc. Most of these surnames have Turkish and Arabic anthroponyms as stems, while others (e.g. *ač'aroyli*, *Axisxaloyli*) originated from old community names (Compare Turkish *Acar* 'Acharan', *Ahiskalı* 'Akhaltsikhian').

The descendants of Georgian Muhajirs currently residing in the Düzce region of Turkey typically remember their old Georgian surnames. A narrator from the city of Düzce proudly told us his Georgian surname — *k'ak'alaze* — along with his Turkish name. He also noted:

akawri kartweleps čweni saxeli, gwari ar dagwawic'q'da-ki, wicit igini. sul adamanma tawisi gwari icis. p'irwelaj ki sakartwelos k'arebi gaxsnen, dejc'q'o misla-mosla: šen ra gwari xar? šen ra soplidan xar? — me k'ak'alaze war, me inajšwili war, me katamaže war — ise dejc'q'o, gamewk'itxet, wicanit, wnaxet. meore kartweli k'ide 'ari aka — ač'areli, iginma misi gwari 'ar ician. kedejdan winc čamosuli arian, sul türkča gwarebi ician iginma. kartwelebi arjan ama, türkča gwarebi akwan. mesela, me mkixwen — me kakalazej war, wambop. imas k'itxwen — turkul gwar ambops: č'eč'eloyli waro, c'iteloyli waro — it'q'wian. mere gejgeben ama, kartuli gwari ar ari-ki ese, turkulia, osmaluria. kobletlebma upro k'arkat icis tawisi kartweli gwari [...].²

This narrative is remarkable for the narrator's attitude towards surnames: in his opinion, only those surnames which end in a traditional Georgian formant are

² "We, the Georgians living here, have not forgotten our surnames. We know them, everyone knows his/her surname. When the border with Georgia was opened for the first time, people started travelling between the two countries [and asking each other]: What is your surname? Which village are you from? I am Kakaladze, I am Inaishvili, I am Katamadze — It started like this. We asked after and found our relatives. There are more Georgians from a different community. They are Acharans and those people do not know their surnames. Those coming down from Keda know only their Turkish surnames. They are Georgians but have Turkish surnames. For example, when someone wants to know my surname, I say that I am Kakaladze, but those people will tell them their Turkish names like Checheloghli or Tsiteloghli. Then, they understand that these names are not Georgian, they are Turkish, Ottoman. Kobuletians know their surnames better."

Georgian, while surnames with Georgian eponyms and foreign formants are not (the Ottoman surnames — *č'eč'eloyli* and *c'iteloyli* — mentioned by him contain old Georgian eponyms, although they add the foreign suffix *-oyli*). The narrator also explained why it is so important for the descendants of the Muhajirs to know their old surnames: otherwise, it would be too difficult to find their relatives in Georgia.

A narrator from Hamamüstü village, Düzce, after introducing himself with his full name in Turkish, told us his Georgian surname as well — *xoxot'aišwili*. He did not know the Ottoman nick-surname, because his ancestor (great grandfather) had arrived from Georgia in 1921 — after the Soviet occupation. However, a close relative of his, a descendant of the Muhajirs who had migrated from the same village in Kvemo Machakhela in 1879, told us that the Khokhotaishvilis' nick-surname was *'aidiloyli*. It is also noteworthy that the microtoponym *'aidili gölebi* 'Aidil lakes' is encountered in the same village, Hamamüstü, Düzce. According to the narrator, "there was a man called Aidil and the place was called Aidil lakes in his honor." In our opinion, the nick-surname *'aidiloyli* must have been created soon after the Muhajir migration began.

In the city of Düzce we learnt a very interesting fact: the narrator remembered his Georgian surname — *K'wirt'ize* — because, as he said, his ancestors had attempted to return to Georgia several times:

čwen k'wirt'ize wart. batumidan aka mosulān, čweni dedēbi mosulan. uk'an c'asla surwebian ki, tabi, ert-or k'ac[s]... ište, sonra uk'an c'asulan, beki miwdeto, geri ik čwen saxlep dūt'rialdeto. c'esulan ki, hüdützec rusep dūq'enebian: eseni win āriano? k'wirt'ize? ō!.. c'ajt axla q'welaj uk'ano! ra gindebian akao?!.. čwene k'wirtizestan wer dawždebito!.. k'wirt'ize ište, didi eškiajs sülāle q'opila ika³.

What is significant about this story is the use of the original Georgian form *gwari* along with the Turkish and Arabic *sülāle* 'surname, posterity'. It is also noteworthy that the narrator told us how his ancestors had come to adopt their modern Turkish surname:

[...] čweni dedēp uk'an casla surwebian ki, wer c'esulan da wer c'esulan... memren-da, hūkūmat türkča sojadi "Dursun" mūcemia. türkča "dursun" ne demek ki, bilijrsun? jani: dadeki, gačerdī — 'is tkmaja.⁴

³ "We are Kvirtidzes. Our ancestors came here from Batumi. Of course, some wanted to go back... so they left in the hope that they would return to their houses. When they left, Russians stopped them at the border: 'Who are they?' [The Russian border-guards asked each other] 'Kvirtidzes? No! Go back at once! We cannot live with Kvirtidzes!' Among the people with the surname Kvirtidze there were many outlaws. The surname Kvirtidze was shared by many people there."

⁴ "Our ancestors wanted to go back, but their attempts failed. Then, the government gave them a Turkish name: Dursun. Do you know what 'dursun' means in Turkish? It means 'stop', 'stay'. That's what it means."

It is remarkable that even those who do not speak their ancestral language of Georgian, or speak very little, have heard stories about their surnames (nick-surnames). For example, in the village of Aydınpınarı (Turk. Aydınpınarı köyü), Düzce İlçe, we recorded a legend from a 30-year-old narrator whose Georgian was very poor. The legend tells how the surname *Salixoyli* was created.

In 1879, a ship sailing from Batumi brought an orphan boy to Istanbul with other Georgian Muhajirs. The boy was about 10 or 11 and his first name was *Salix*, but he did not know his Georgian surname. The Muhajirs took care of Salikh, and when he got married, they gave his descendants the surname *salixoylebi* (Salixoylis) or *salixaşwilebi* (Salikhashvilis). While telling the story, the narrator used both versions. It is interesting that in the Turkish version (with the formant *-oyli*) the eponym remained unchanged (*Salix*), while in the Georgian version it took a diminutive-hypocoristic form (*Salix-a*).

We encountered numerous Ottoman nick-surnames which are interesting in many respects, e.g.:

- 1) [...] ikidan om ak mowsulwart, mas memre, ani, akauri saxeli helimoqli dürkian. čwen' emjebi — klat helimoqli! ama ik — baramiže wq'opilwart da ak rom moelit, ak gamocilila.⁵
- 2) [...] čweni süläle 'ari ač'aroyalaj. čweni sopeli hacxan iq'o igze, ač'araši. ikidam ki mowdes dedēbi, ač'areli iq'wes ki, imidan — ač'aroyli dārkwes, amp[r]at dürkmeujan işte. batumidan mosulan tu, hacxaj sxwagnidam, 'ar wici.⁶

In this narrative, a number of fascinating details are revealed: The first narrator stressed that they took the Ottoman nick-surname after they migrated from Georgia (particularly Achara) to Ottoman Turkey. We are certain that his ancestors — Baramidzes — already had that nick-surname in Achara, but on Georgian territory, where the Georgian system of social relations still existed and commanded respect under Ottoman rule, the ancestral surname was definitely more prestigious and important than the nick-surname given by Ottoman officials.

The second narrator regarded his Ottoman nick-surname as diminutive-hypocoristic, as he felt that it could not be his real surname but rather one given to his ancestors according to their origin — Achara. He did not know exactly which village or town his ancestors came from, but was sure that they were from Achara, as in Turkey they took (or were given) the nickname *Acaroğlu*. It is also

⁵ “When we came from there (Georgia), they [our ancestors] took the local name (surname) Helimoğlu. But there (in Georgia) we were Baramižes and when we came here, the name changed.” (Düzce, Aydınpınar village).

⁶ “We are descendants of Acaroğlu. Our village was there, in Achara. When my ancestors arrived from there, they called themselves Acharoğlu[s], because they were Acharans. They came from Batumi and some other place, I don't know which.” (Çilimli, Mahırağa village).

important that residents of the village of Hamamüstü pronounce the surname *Aç'aroçli* in a Georgian manner, with a glottalized consonant.

Thus, as regards the formation of anthroponyms and patronyms, in the speech of the descendants of Georgian Muhajirs living on the Black Sea coast we can identify both Kartvelian (Georgian) and Turkish layers. This is normal in a bilingual environment, although in our case it is significant that the phonematic structure and word formation is mostly Georgian. The “onomastic legends” recorded in the mentioned region revealed that the formation of separate identification onyms, namely anthroponyms in Muhajir speech, was based on Georgian social norms even after the Georgian settlement in Ottoman Turkey. Therefore, they have preserved both Georgian and Turkish characteristics to this day.

3. PLACE NAMES

In July 2021, the expedition of the Georgian Patriarchate St Andrew the First-Called University Center of Kartvelology carried out research in the following villages:

1) Düzce İlçe: Aydınpınar, Asar, Gölormanı, Doğanlı köyü, Yeşilçamı, Muncurlu, Musababa köyü, Fındıklı-aksu, Çakır Hacı İbrahim köyü, Çiftlikköyü, Şemşir köyü;

2) Akçakoca İlçe: Doğanlılar köyü, Esmehanım köyü, Melenagzi, Uğurlu, Çiçekpınar;

3) Çalıklı İlçe: Yeşil mahallesi, Yeşiltepe, Mahırağa, Hızardere;

4) Gölyaka İlçe: Hamamüstü, Hacı Yakup köyü;

5) Yığılca İlçe: Kırıkköyü.

It should be noted that Georgians live side by side with other ethnic groups in many places, and the language they use for communication is Turkish. Therefore, the Georgian names of the villages have mostly derived from Turkish dialectal forms — the example of *Aydınpunyari* in Düzce serves to illustrate this perfectly. The modified component of these toponyms is the lexeme *Punyar-i*, which originated from the Turkish dialectal *pingar/pungar*. In literary Turkish, its equivalent is *pınar*, which means ‘mine’, ‘minefield’, while in Turkish dialects it means ‘a stream’ (Baskakov, 1969, p. 265). Thus, the etymology of the above listed toponyms can only be traced based on Turkish dialectal material: *Kestanepunyari* ‘a chestnut stream’, *Q'arapunyari* ‘a black stream’, *T'atlipunyari* ‘a tasteful stream’, etc.

Toponyms of Turkish origin seem to have been adjusted to phonematic and morphological structures in Georgian; e.g., the villages/quarters: *Doyanlikoj* (Tekmezer), *Kuçukdere* (Küçükdere), and *Tepewrani* (Tepeviran köyü) of Düzce ilç. The unofficial names of those villages are Turkish, but they are adapted to Georgian phonetic and grammatical norms. It is also remarkable that the residents of these villages pronounce toponyms in the Georgian manner, even when they speak Turkish:

Ali de Tekmezerije gidijr, dā!.. “[and] Ali is going to Tekmezer, you see!” (Compare the literary Turkish: *Ali de Tekmezer’e gidiyor*);

O köyün adı — Tepewrani, ha onun da — kuçukdere! “That village is called Tepewrani, and the one over there is Kuçukdere!..” (Compare the literary Turkish: *O köyün adı — Tepeviran köyü, işte onun da — Küçükdere*).

Among the materials obtained during the expedition of the Kartvelology Center, there was only one case when a village with Muhajir descendants had kept its unofficial name brought from Georgia (namely *Kobuleti*). This example is to be found in the village of Mahirağa in Çilimli *ilçe*, which the older generation has called *Sameba* (‘trinity’) for the last 50 years. The villages of *Zeda Sameba* and *Kweda Sameba* still exist in Georgia in the Kobuleti municipality of the Autonomous Republic of Achara. According to the information obtained by the expedition, the ancestors of the Georgians living in Çilimli *ilçe Sameba* today sailed from Kobuleti Sameba on an Ottoman ship called *Gülnihal*.

4. MICROTOPYNYMY

Based on our materials, Georgian microtoponyms prevail in the places settled by Georgians; particularly, village names are Turkish or Greek, but sections of those villages have Georgian names. For example, two of the sections of the village of *Hamamüstü* in Gölyaka *ilçe* are called *Ç’alaxmele* and *Donogani*. Concerning these microtoponyms, we recorded the following story (legend) from our respondent: “*ç’alaxmele batumis saxeli q’opila, ise ’amboben. zamânze, im ikidan saxeli dütkmewian. ert mällesac donogani tkwia. ik rācxa rom mždaran, imis bedeli t’q’iebi miucemian ak. ik saxelebi racxa rom iqo, ak dürk mewian [...]*”.⁷ Other sections of *Doğancılar* are called: *Asarmaj*, *Goržowazi* and *K’əzəžək Ezija*. They are also settled by Georgians, but the microtoponyms are foreign.

We encountered a similar situation in Hacı Yakup Köyü village, Gölyaka *ilçe*, where most of the population are descendants of Muhajirs from Machakhela valley. This village is also completely Georgian, but the microtoponyms in this area are all foreign. Here is a story narrated by the oldest resident of Hacı Yakup Köyü, which we recorded on July 11, 2021:

[...] *es sopeli — Hažijakupia. sxwa saxeli amas ar ak. t’q’iebi, alagebi ak. axla hāgze, gaḡmaši, awi q’ eas et’q’wian. ase, em c’in, daktayan — jajla jatay et’q’wian, hejse et’q’oden. işte hak, am adgils — q’amazdis et’q’wian. ik ase, zejt exwal, is — sul zejze, zejtk’en rum žamea, — q’araq’iruyi hkwan imasa, q’araq’iruyi. nejse, imis ikidan ise — mellik tepe, mešadüzi,*

⁷ “Chalakhmela used to be the name of Batumi, so they say. In the past, they named this place after Batumi; when they arrived here, they called it by the same name. Another section is called Donogani. The wooded land they received for settlement here was like their homeland, so they called these places the names brought from home.”

hejse — q'abaq'ulayı, em gaymas — pelüte taj hkwia. pelüte tajs işte, adgilebi ari: fəndik'li, ožalan... kartuli ar kwia, imnajri kartuli saxeli 'ar kwia.

axla am agze, komo[t], sarižoylebi et'q'wian, sarižoylebi. is rajdan darčenila? ika gjaurebi mžđaran — somexebi qopilan. imitidan darčenila. işte hak, topalis jers et'q'wian, zejt — topalis jeri. topali ici, xo, jeric ici — gnebilop, kartwelia igic. ikac topali somexi mžđara da imidan dārkwes igi.

hejse — 'ajdili gölebi. göli rāri, ici, dā? c'q'lis igi... 'ajdili gölebi 'imnajri adgili ari. 'ajdilaj q'öpila erti da imidan 'ajdili gölebi et'q'wian. hejimperı saxelebic ari darkmewli. akaobas çanaxçi kwia. hejse.⁸

It is remarkable that the microtoponyms mentioned by this narrator were formed as a result of code-mixing between Georgian and Turkish.

Also of interest is an analysis of Georgian toponyms. A large percentage of the descendants of Georgian Muhajirs named *Batumi* as the place of origin of their ancestors. In our respondents' speech, *Batumi* does not mean a city. It stands for Batumi district as a whole or, more generally, for Achara. In the Turkish speech of Muhajirs, the term *Batum muhacirleri* is used to denote Georgian Muhajirs and not "Muhajirs from the city of Batumi." This term is actively used by the part of Georgian population whose knowledge of their mother tongue is poor. They often call themselves *Batumi Georgians* (Turk. *Batum Gürcüleri*) despite the fact that many of them come from Zemo ('upper, mountainous', Tr. N.) Achara. The present day descendants of Georgian Muhajirs sometimes remember the names of the villages their ancestors came from. In the materials recorded by us, we encountered the names of villages in the Keda municipality: *Chalakhmela*, *Dologan*; in Zemo Achara: *Zhvana*, *Tsoniarisi*; in Kobuleti: *Sameba*, *Kvirike*, *Gvara* etc.

In the speech of the descendants of Georgian Muhajirs living on the Black Sea coast, the *Achara* is used in its narrow sense and only refers to those descendants from the Keda municipality. Such an interpretation of *Achara* can account for distinguishing four groups of descendants of Georgian Muhajirs, who arrived in Turkey from the current Autonomous Republic of Achara (some respondents distinguished three groups, as they merged the first two groups):

⁸ This village is called Hacı Yakup and that is its only name. There are forests and different places here. The place on the other side is called Avi Kaya. The one down the hill is Yayla Yatak. Here, this place is called Kamazdı. Up there, at the very top, there is a mosque and that place is called Karakiruk. Behind it, you can see Melik Tepe, Meşedüzü. Then comes Kabakulağı, there, on the other side is Felüte Tay. In Felüte Tay there are places like Fındıklı, Öcalan... They do not have Georgian names.

The place down there is called Sarižoylis. Do you know who lived there in old times? Faithless people, Armenians. That place over there is known as *Topalis Jeri* ('a lame man's place'). You know the word *topali*, don't you? And you know "yeri" as well, because it is also Georgian. So a lame Armenian used to live there and they named this place after him.

Those are Aydili Lakes. A lake is water, you know?.. There lived a man whose name was Aydil and the place was called Aydil's lakes. Such names did people give to these places. This place is called Çanakçı. That's it."

- 1) Acharans — descendants of Muhajirs who arrived in Turkey from the current Keda municipality;
- 2) Zeganians — descendants of Muhajirs from the villages of Shuakhevi and Khulo;
- 3) Machakhelians — descendants of Muhajirs from the Machakhela Valley;
- 4) Churuksuans — descendants of Muhajirs from the present Kobuleti municipality. It is remarkable that some descendants often use the toponym *Churuksu* (Turkish-Ottoman *Çürüksu*) to refer to present day *Kobuleti*, although they know its old Georgian name. There is also a tendency to use *Kobuleti* as an oikonym to refer to the region, and to use *Churuksu* as a toponym (a place name).

Such an internal differentiation of Achara's historical population was caused by the changing borders of one of Georgia's historical districts, as well as by insufficient information about ethnic or regional identity available to the Georgian population living in the Ottoman Empire. There is one more significant factor: residents of Keda living in today's Autonomous Republic of Achara still call the population of Shuakhevi and Khulo by the name Zeganian ('highlander', Tr. N.) Acharans. For descendants of Muhajirs from Keda, the short form *Zegani* is associated with Acharans living in mountains. Consequently, the meaning of the temonym *Acharan* narrowed. Over the span of 140 years, the Acharans who had migrated from Zemo Achara adopted the name *Zegneli* and practically turned it into a temonym. Among the materials of our expedition, we have made the following notes concerning this issue:

- a) a descendant of Muhajirs from Keda: "We are Acharans, people from Khulo are Zeganians";
- b) a descendant of Muhajirs from Khulo: "We Zeganians are real Chvенеburis, Acharans are washed out (degraded — T.P., M.L., S.K.)";
- c) a descendant of Muhajirs from Kobuleti: "We are more civilized, but we are not as hardworking as Acharans. They work really hard; Machakhelians are even less civilized than Acharans, they are like savages..." (Kobuleti Muhajirs' descendants call both Kedians and Khuloans by the term Acharans).

5. THE HISTORICAL REALITY

Based on old written sources (See Kartlis Tskhovreba "The Georgian Chronicles", (Tr. N.)) in Khulo, Zemo Achara, there is a village called Didi Achara (Didachara) ("Great Achara", Tr. N.). It was that village after which the whole region and the largest river in Achara — *Ač'arisc'q'ali* ('Achara water', Tr. N.) — were named. Apparently, during the 140 years of isolation, some of the Georgian Muhajirs living in Ottoman Turkey began to distinguish between the Acharans living in the mountains (Shuakhevi and Khulo) and those living in the lowlands (Keda).

The temonym (community name, Tr. N.)⁹ *ač'areli* 'Acharan' was ascribed to the Keda population, while the syntagma *zegnīs ač'areli*, which had originated from the name of the geographical belt, was simplified to become *Zeganian*, a temonym used to refer to the descendants of migrants from Shuakhevi and Khulo.

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SUMMARY

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the Turkish authorities initially settled Muhajirs on the Black Sea coast of the Ottoman Empire. Some of their descendants have preserved their mother tongue and many historical traditions to the present day. There were about 150 villages in which Muhajirs from the Russian Empire were temporarily settled on Ottoman state owned lands (vakufs) between 1878pp1882. In those villages, descendants of Muhajirs (not only Georgians, but also Abkhaz-Abazas and North Caucasians) can still be found today. The present article deals with the onomastic material preserved in Georgian Muhajirs' speech in the Düzce region (Düzce İli). Before 1878, the territory of modern Düzce was populated by different ethnic groups living alongside ethnic Turks. These included Orthodox Bulgarians from Thrace, Greeks and Bosnians. After the war, most of those peoples left the region for their historical motherlands, and the territory left by them was offered to Muhajirs coming from the South-western Georgia (Achara, Machakhela, Nigali...).

⁹ Ethnonym — a name ascribed to a particular ethnos (ethnic group); compare: temonym — a name of “temi” (“community”, Tr. N.), a part of ethnos.