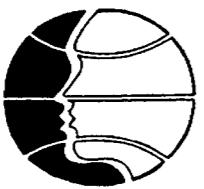


Studia Caucasiologica III

Edited by

A. Sumru Özsøy



The Institute
for Comparative Research
in Human Culture
Oslo

Instituttet for
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In memory of

GEORGES DUMÉZIL

and

TEVFİK ESENÇ



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Foreword

This volume includes papers presented at the Conference on Northwest Caucasian Linguistics, held at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, on 10-12 October, 1994. The Conference was co-supported by UNESCO and Boğaziçi University. Eleven scholars from eight countries contributed to the conference academically, in the course of which twelve papers on various aspects of northwest Caucasian languages were presented. The volume contains eight of these presentations. Also included in the volume is a contribution by one scholar, who, due to unforeseen circumstances, could not be present at the conference. Presentations by C. Paris, J. Colarusso and A. Sumru Özsoy are not included in the volume.

The Conference on Northwest Caucasian Linguistics was the first to focus on the linguistic features pertaining to one subfamily of Caucasian languages. In this respect, it differed significantly in nature from other conferences organized on Caucasian languages. The Conference on Northwest Caucasian Linguistics enabled scholars from various countries and linguistic schools to exchange views on specific issues related to NW Caucasian languages and to highlight the inherent properties of these languages. The volume thus contains discussion on a vast array of topics which are of importance for typologists, universalists as well as caucasologists.

The support of UNESCO in the realization of the Conference and this publication is duly acknowledged. The support provided by UNESCO made it possible for most of the participants to attend the conference and this volume to appear. Boğaziçi University contributed to the Conference significantly by making its academic facilities freely available to the participants. The Institute of Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, Norway, kindly agreed to publish the Proceedings among the series *Studia Caucasiologica*. The inception of holding such a regional conference on Caucasian languages dates to 1986 to a series of research projects aimed at collection of linguistic data on Caucasian languages represented in Turkey and their linguistic analysis. The projects were all funded by Boğaziçi University Research Fund between the years 1986-1993, as a result of which a rich array of recorded materials on various Caucasian languages now exist at the University. Special recognition is due to Boğaziçi University Research Fund for promoting linguistic research in Turkey. The Institute for the Study of Cultures and Languages of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies has kindly made available the necessary facilities in the final preparation of the manuscript for publication.

A.S.Ö.

**LE DERNIER DICTIONNAIRE
DE LA LANGUE OUBYKH**

Georges Charachidzé
Professeur à l'IN ALCO, Paris

Nous sommes réunis ici dans le but, certes, de confronter nos travaux respectifs, mais aussi pour rendre un hommage conjoint à Georges Dumézil et à Tevfik Esenç. En ce qui me concerne, la meilleure façon de m'en acquitter sera de présenter brièvement l'ouvrage qui nous a réunis tous les trois durant plus de vingt ans: le dernier dictionnaire de la langue oubykh, qui sera signé de nos trois noms. Je le ferai sous la forme d'un bref historique; il apportera des faits encore inconnus, et qui auraient eu toute chance de le rester si cette occasion ne s'était présentée. Comme la plupart des récits orientaux et surtout caucasiens, celui-ci comporte aussi quelques leçons, pour ne pas dire une morale. Cette histoire du dictionnaire se distribue d'elle-même en trois périodes bien distinctes, en trois chapitres.

Tout a commencé, curieusement, par le dictionnaire de Vogt, qui a servi de propédeutique au nôtre. Durant dix ans de 1964 à 1974, nos recherches de lexicologie oubykh se sont organisées à partir des incessantes révisions de son livre de 1963, pratiquées par Dumézil et moi-même, sous le contrôle de Tevfik. La deuxième étape, de 1974 à 1984 environ, a consisté dans l'élaboration du matériel proprement linguistique et dans la fabrication de notre propre dictionnaire, Dumézil et moi-même travaillant séparément, toujours sous la houlette de Tevfik. La dernière phase, tout à fait inattendue, s'est déroulée uniquement au village oubykh de Hacı Osman köy, entre 1987 et 1992. C'est ce que j'appelle le miracle de Haci Osman köy.

1. Autour du dictionnaire de Vogt

Le *Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh*, de Hans Vogt, constitue un cas à part dans l'histoire des études caucasiennes. Nul n'en conteste ni l'intérêt ni la richesse: c'est un précieux instrument de travail, et nous l'avons abondamment utilisé sur le terrain, Dumézil et moi-même. Mais il n'est pas entièrement fiable, et ne prend toute sa valeur qu'à condition "d'être complété et corrigé", selon la formule de Dumézil (*Le verbe oubykh*, Paris, 1975, p. 6). Il y a là un paradoxe, qu'il convient de définir et d'expliquer. Comment un linguiste aussi averti que Vogt, phonologue et homme de terrain expérimenté, spécialiste de plusieurs langues caucasiennes, notamment du géorgien, en est-il venu à réaliser un dictionnaire qui est une œuvre fondatrice, à coup sûr, et pleine de ressources, mais vouée à être presque entièrement refaite? C'est là un des pièges à la fois humains et scientifiques que la caucasologie, davantage encore que d'autres disciplines, s'est plu à disposer sur le chemin de ceux qui la servent. Il s'est produit, en l'occurrence, un véritable malentendu entre Vogt et Dumézil. En 1957, ce dernier avait engagé son collègue

norvégien dans l'aventure de la langue oubykh à une seule fin: qu'il en éclairât "définitivement" la phonétique et, surtout, s'efforçât d'en réduire les consonnes, "dont l'exubérance (l')inquiétait". Peine perdue: "il la confirma". Mais le savant norvégien, loin de s'en tenir à l'expertise phonologique attendue, s'employa à bien d'autres tâches: il mit à profit ses rencontres avec les derniers Oubykhs d'une part pour recueillir des "textes", folkloriques et biographiques, d'autre part pour élaborer un dictionnaire de la langue, à partir de l'idolecte de Tevfik Esenç, qu'il avait invité à Oslo en 1959. Il est certain que Dumézil prit la chose comme une sorte d'empîtement sur un terrain qu'il jugeait sien, et où il n'avait convié Hans Vogt que pour labourer une parcelle étroitement délimitée, non pour pratiquer de plus amples fouilles, qu'il se réservait à lui-même.

Vogt n'y voyait sûrement pas malice, et ne soupçonnait nullement que son mentor français s'estimerait en quelque sorte lésé. Mais le fait est que la mise en chantier du dictionnaire et son achèvement se déroulèrent sans que Dumézil en fût le moins du monde informé: il n'apprit la chose qu'une fois le travail terminé. C'est dommage, car il aurait pu éviter à son "collègue norvégien" bien des erreurs et de sérieuses déconvenues. Car le dictionnaire de 1963 fourmille d'inexactitudes et de véritables fautes. Elles sont dues, pour la plupart, à la précipitation. Il me paraît probable que Vogt souhaitait faire vite, et présenter à Dumézil un travail complètement achevé, une sorte de surprise scientifique. Pourquoi, sinon, l'aurait-il tenu soigneusement à l'écart du projet, de ses étapes et de sa fabrication? Là réside la principale source des nombreuses erreurs de Vogt: la rapidité, qui ne convenait pas à l'élaboration d'un dictionnaire, oeuvre de longue haleine en général. Mais elle convenait encore moins à l'oubykh, "langue redoutable", comme le rappelait Dumézil à l'occasion d'un compte-rendu, lui aussi "redoutable", paru dans *Documents anatoliens III* (Paris, 1965): plus de soixante pages, extrêmement drues, y sont consacrées à une "révision" du dictionnaire de Vogt. Ce dernier prit assez élégamment la mercuriale, se bornant à noter, avec son flegme habituel, que "de sa vie il n'avait été lu si attentivement".

Pour que les usagers comprennent bien pourquoi il était indispensable de fabriquer un nouveau dictionnaire, je donne un bref aperçu des types d'erreurs que contient celui de Vogt. Cet inventaire nous aura servi aussi de guide-âne, en nous indiquant ce qu'il ne fallait pas faire, dans le dictionnaire mis en chantier par Dumézil et moi-même en 1976. Les unes sont dues directement à la précipitation, les autres en découlent aussi, mais indirectement, en raison des méthodes auxquelles elle constraint de recourir. Des enquêtes trop expéditives entraînent avant tout des fautes d'ordre matériel, surtout dans une langue qui compte plus de quatre-vingt phonèmes: elles sont ici légion, les unes faciles à rétablir, d'autres beaucoup plus graves. Il s'agit souvent de confusion entre récursives et non récursives, ou entre pharyngalisées et non pharyngalisées. De telles fautes, dont on relève plusieurs centaines, auraient été aisément évitées en consacrant davantage de temps et d'attention à l'enquête orale. Ces auditions défectueuses ont de bien plus graves conséquences lorsqu'elles entraînent la confusion entre deux lexèmes différents. Souvent aussi, l'erreur de notation conduit à un barbarisme qui, de surcroît, laisse alors échapper la valeur étymologique ou, simplement, la structure sémantique du mot.

Mais la précipitation conduit également à des erreurs portant sur les relations sémantiques, soit entre signifiant et signifié, soit entre le couple signifiant/signifié et le référent. En ce domaine, en effet, on ne saurait se contenter du système question-réponse: il y faut, pour chaque vocable, une véritable analyse distributionnelle, que Vogt, dans sa hâte, n'avait évidemment ni le temps de pratiquer, ni même d'envisager ou d'esquisser.

Cela est vrai pour toute langue, mais davantage encore pour l'oubykh, qui n'avait qu'un seul locuteur: rappelons qu'à de rares exceptions près, le dictionnaire de Vogt se fonde sur l'idolecte de Tevfik - tel est le cas, d'ailleurs, de celui que j'achève en ce moment. En effet, les erreurs, les confusions et les lacunes ne seront jamais ni réparées ni comblées.

Mais il y a une autre cause d'erreur, aux conséquences encore plus graves. Les linguistes ne devraient jamais oublier une des nécessités élémentaires inhérentes à leur métier: c'est un exercice vain et périlleux que de se risquer à composer le "dictionnaire" d'une langue avant d'en avoir établi la grammaire. Or, vers 1960, nul ne maîtrisait encore l'ensemble des mécanismes morphologiques de l'oubykh, dont plusieurs restaient à décrire et même à découvrir: il aura fallu attendre l'étude de Dumézil sur le verbe oubykh, quinze ans plus tard, en 1975, pour que l'on puisse considérer cette tâche comme accomplie. C'est bien pourquoi ce dernier ne s'était pas hasardé à entreprendre la confection d'un dictionnaire: c'était, pensait-il, une entreprise prématûrée. En voulant précipiter les choses, Vogt se condamnait lui-même à accumuler des fautes aux amples conséquences, puisqu'elles consistaient le plus souvent à appliquer des règles inexistantes ou mal définies: les erreurs se font alors d'autant plus graves qu'elles portent sur des processus linguistiques, et non plus sur des éléments. Dumézil a rétabli la vérité pour un grand nombre de cas, dans toutes ses publications postérieures à 1964, , notamment dans *Documents anatoliens III* et dans *Le verbe oubykh*.

L'inconvénient le plus grave de ce type d'erreurs, c'est qu'elles sont répétitives: la mise en pratique d'une règle erronée provoque évidemment la reproduction illimitée de la faute initiale, une sorte de péché originel, effectivement. La maîtrise insuffisante de la grammaire oubykh a de plus conduit Vogt à des segmentations fautives, et donc à la mise en circulation de syntagmes imaginaires. J'en ai relevé un grand nombre, que l'on découvrira dans notre dictionnaire à paraître. Ce qui aboutit, outre les fausses analyses habituelles, à la création d'unités dénuées d'existence, et de structure inacceptable au sein du système réel de la langue.

Ce sont là des erreurs "directes", due à la précipitation. Mais celle-ci en a encore provoqué d'autres, en imposant le recours à des méthodes certainement rapides, mais qui ne convenaient nullement à la tâche entreprise. Voici les deux principales. L'une et l'autre ont la particularité d'être résolument directives, soumettant l'informateur à un travail où lui-même ne garde que peu d'initiative. J'ai déjà fait allusion à la première: c'est ce que j'appelle le processus "question/réponse". Les unités lexicales et leurs combinaisons font l'objet de questions simples et directes, auxquelles il faut répondre soit par oui ou par non, soit en fournissant un équivalent approprié dans la langue de contact, en l'occurrence le turc. On conçoit à quel point ce procédé limite les possibilités de choix de l'informateur: il paralyse les mécanismes de remémoration au lieu de les stimuler, ce qui est d'autant plus fâcheux qu'il y a peu de locuteurs. La seconde méthode rejoue la première: elle consiste à donner trop de poids aux "fiches", aux occurrences lexicales relevées dans les textes déjà publiés. Naturellement, il faut établir ces inventaires, mais on ne doit en aucun cas se borner à opérer directement sur eux: ce ne sont que des auxiliaires, et non une matière première. Une grande partie des faux-sens de Vogt provient de là, surtout quand il s'agit de définir les équivalents sémantiques d'un lexème: la signification retenue est trop souvent celle qu'il a ou peut avoir dans les contextes imposés à l'informateur; toutes les autres valeurs possibles s'en trouvent par là-même masquées ou écartées. Je bornerai là ces remarques, car l'ouvrage du savant norvégien ne nous intéresse ici que par son envers,

par le rôle qu'il a tenu indirectement dans l'entreprise décidée par Dumézil.

2. La fabrication du dernier dictionnaire oubykh

En effet, si j'ai insisté de la sorte sur les insuffisances du dictionnaire de Vogt, ce n'était évidemment pas dans le but de le déprécier davantage qu'il ne l'a déjà été. J'en ai moi-même fait un grand usage, tout comme Dumézil, et plus encore que lui, puisque l'ouvrage était déjà paru lorsque je me suis aventuré dans l'étude de l'oubykh, voilà plus de trente ans. Il a été, je le répète, un outil précieux, à condition de le confronter sans cesse à la sagacité des derniers locuteurs, de Tevfik, en particulier - ce que je n'ai cessé de faire jusqu'en 1992. Et c'est à quoi je souhaitais en venir: les imperfections du dictionnaire de Vogt nous ont été salutaires, à Dumézil et à moi-même. D'abord en nous contrignant à des vérifications incessantes: nul signe, nul phonème, nul syntagme, ne pouvait être accepté sans avoir fait l'objet d'un examen rigoureux et complet, portant à la fois sur leur substance matérielle, leur structure, leur fonction et leur sens, signifié et référent compris. Ensuite, les méthodes défectueuses de Vogt, ou tout au moins leur inadaptation à cette tâche, ont été autant de leçons, pour moi surtout: le nouveau dictionnaire évite soigneusement les principaux écueils signalés plus haut. Je ne prétends pas pour autant qu'il n'aura pas de défauts, mais, en tout cas, ce ne seront pas ceux-là. Une chose est certaine: si l'ouvrage de Vogt n'avait pas existé, tel quel, avec ses erreurs et ses manques, il est fort probable que nous n'aurions pas entrepris de confectionner à notre tour un dictionnaire de la langue oubykh. C'est ce que Dumézil a formulé, à sa manière, en 1974: "Le moment est venu, disait-il à peu près, d'élaborer un dictionnaire de l'oubykh, nous ne pouvons passer notre vie à corriger celui de Vogt. D'ailleurs, pour cette raison même, vu les corrections et les *marginalia* accumulés depuis plus de dix ans, c'est exactement ce que nous sommes en train de faire. Il est temps de s'y mettre systématiquement."

Mais lui-même, pour des raisons de santé, ne pouvait plus se rendre en Turquie: il fallait donc faire venir Tevfik à Paris, lui qui était l'âme et la chair de sa langue. La Fondation Ford prit en charge les frais assez lourds des voyages qu'il allait effectuer entre 1976 et 1978. Ainsi, chaque année, durant six semaines environ, nous avons pu travailler à cette nouvelle oeuvre: Dumézil le matin et moi l'après-midi. Nous avions pris comme base... le dictionnaire de Vogt, déjà abondamment corrigé par nos soins. Dumézil se chargea de la première moitié, de la "lettre" *a* à la lettre *n*; je pris le reste, de *p* jusqu'à la fin. Naturellement, nous ne limitions pas à un simple inventaire des "mots" et des articles déjà établis, pour ne pas tomber dans les inconvénients mentionnés tout à l'heure. Nous procédions à une étude distributionnelle de tous les syntagmes qui n'avaient pas encore été soumis à cette épreuve, lors des corrections faites durant les douze années précédentes, de 1964 à 1976. Parallèlement, nous menions des analyses systématiques sur les mécanismes encore insuffisamment décrits. Un exemple: je m'étais chargé de la combinatoire préverbe/verbe. Nous avons combiné, Tevfik et moi, chacune des "racines verbales" de l'oubykh avec chacun des vingt et quelque préverbes attestés dans la langue, y compris les "déterminants", c'est à dire les noms incorporés, dont la plupart fonctionnent de la même manière. Chacun des syntagmes verbaux ainsi constitués a été intégré à une ou plusieurs phrases réelles, seul moyen de vérifier la validité des nouvelles combinaisons obtenues. Il va sans dire que toutes les unités linguistiques inédites découvertes de la sorte ont été mises en réserve pour être plusieurs fois encore testées, de manière indépendante, au cours des années de travail ultérieures. A nouveau soumises à Tevfik, après un long délai et à l'improviste, plusieurs se sont révélées artificielles et ont dû être rejetées (bien sûr, j'en garde la liste complète, qui sera un jour publiée: de tels

documents de travail sont de grand prix, surtout pour une langue d'ores et déjà morte). Mais la plupart ont bien supporté l'épreuve: déclarées viables, elles sont entrées dans le dictionnaire, enrichissant ainsi notablement le lexique oubykh.

Tout au long de ces travaux minitieux et répétitifs, des règles nouvelles ont été définies ou confirmées, modifiant et renforçant la grammaire; en retour, cette meilleure connaissance des mécanismes linguistiques agissait sur le contenu, la composition et le volume du dictionnaire: de nouvelles unités lexicales ont été reconnues et acceptées, d'autres ont été remaniées dans leur forme et leur structure. Par exemple, il s'est révélé que plusieurs racines verbales, jusqu'alors considérées comme impossibles à employer sans préverbe, pouvaient aussi apparaître à l'état simple, ce qui est d'une grande importance pour la grammaire comparée et l'étymologie des langues caucasiennes du Nord-Ouest. Une telle manipulation incessante des formes verbales, poursuivie durant des années, devait nécessairement aboutir à reconstruire, remanier, voire redéfinir plusieurs des structures morpho-syntactiques de cette langue, dont l'essentiel est dans le verbe, comme on sait. Ainsi, à force de conjuguer et reconjuguer tous les verbes des classes A et E de Dumézil, c'est à dire les unipersonnels, à un seul argument, du type "voler (oiseau)", classe A, sans préverbe, et "voler dans...", classe E, combinable avec tous les préfixes spatiaux ("sur, sous, dans un espace clos, etc."), nous avons établi une règle de grande conséquence, valable aussi, par extension naturelle, pour les verbes des autres classes. Pour les personnes autres que la troisième, les marques intraverbales de la position initiale (sujet d'intransitif uni- ou bipersonnel et objet direct de transitif) ont obligatoirement la forme syllabique, **C + chwa-**. Il faut donc modifier tous les paradigmes publiés à ce jour, et tenir les formes consonantiques en position initiale pour de simples variantes libres, telles que *s-* "je-", dans le verbe "aller", par exemple. D'autres bilans ont permis de préciser et, en quelque sorte, de fermer des inventaires: ainsi a été établie la liste des verbes unipersonnels qui ne peuvent être transformés en bipersonnels, sauf, bien sûr, en recourant à la voix causative (mais encore pas toujours). Tel est le cas, par exemple de verbes comme "se découdre", "fleurir (toutes les plantes)".

De son côté, Dumézil avait mis à profit ses séances de travail avec Tevfik en 1976 et 1977 pour approfondir et étendre la connaissance de la langue et de ses mécanismes, en procédant à de nouvelles analyses comparatives et étymologiques, en continuant à noter et commenter sans relâche de nouveaux textes. Il est hors de doute que tous les travaux sur l'oubykh, considéré en lui-même ou dans ses rapports avec les autres langues de la famille, publiés par Dumézil à partir de 1977, et jusqu'à sa disparition en 1986, se fondent pour l'essentiel sur le travail effectué avec Tevfik durant ses séjours à Paris. La plupart sont d'une importance capitale et ont permis de remédier à des manques autrement impossibles à combler. Que l'on songe, par exemple, à la célèbre étude comparative sur les noms de nombres en oubykh et dans les langues apparentées, parue dans *Bedi Kartlisa* de 1977. Ou encore l'étude et la mise au point décisives sur les phrases oubykhs d'*Evlıya Çelebi*. Sans compter les remarquables analyses étymologiques qui ont suivi; tout cela a été travaillé, pensé, composé à Paris. Ainsi absorbé par ces tâches capitales et productives, Dumézil avait fait passer au second plan l'élaboration du dictionnaire; il avait tenu, en outre, et combien a-t-il eu raison, à réviser une dernière fois la plupart de ses anciens textes imprimés, notamment pour accentuer tous ceux qui ne l'étaient pas, c'est à dire l'ensemble des publications antérieures à 1965. Je m'étais chargé, pour ma part, de corriger et d'accentuer *Contes et légendes des Oubykhs*, l'un des premiers livres de la seconde période oubykh de Dumézil, et qui m'est particulièrement cher: ce sont des documents magnifiques, et qui méritent réédition (tout est prêt: il ne reste plus qu'à "saisir" et

imprimer...).

Mais, en fin de compte, nous sommes retrouvés, en 1978, avec une seule "moitié" de dictionnaire, la seconde, de *p* à la fin. Il ne restait qu'une solution: se rendre sur place, chez Tevfik, pour y élaborer la première partie, de *a* à *n*. C'est ce que je fis, en 1979: grâce, encore, à une généreuse subvention de la Fondation Ford, j'ai passé les trois mois d'être en Turquie, la plupart du temps à Hacı Osman köy. Car, l'année précédente, Tevfik avait regagné son village natal et s'y était fixé définitivement avec son épouse. Ce retour au pays a eu des conséquences profondes, modifiant complètement le rapport de Tevfik à sa langue, à sa culture, à son passé, réajustant son activité mnémonique. On y reviendra plus loin, car ce fut là le début de la dernière période du sauvetage de l'oubikh, dernière phase, également, dans la fabrication du dictionnaire. Mais, avant tout, ce séjour allait me permettre d'en élaborer la première moitié, de *a* à *n*, qui n'avait pas été faite à Paris en 1976-1977. J'y réussis de justesse, les dernières vérifications furent effectuées dans la nuit précédant mon départ du village. Il est vrai qu'instruit par la mésaventure de Vogt, j'avais pris tout mon temps, en me refusant, autant que possible, à forcer la mémoire et la compétence linguistique de mon maître.

En principe, lorsque je quittai Manyas, le 25 septembre 1979, on pouvait tenir le dictionnaire pour achevé: les deux "moitiés" une fois ajustées, celle de Paris et celle du village, nous obtenions la somme de toutes les données lexicales disponibles de l'oubikh, y compris les corrections ultimes, sinon définitives. J'avais toutefois le sentiment qu'il nous faudrait remettre l'ouvrage sur le métier: car la métamorphose soudaine de Tevfik et de "son cerveau", comme il disait, me laissait entrevoir une autre manière de travailler, que Dumézil avait autrefois pratiquée, quand le temps le lui permettait, et que je souhaitais expérimenter, à mon tour, systématiquement. D'autre part, très vite, nous assistâmes à la résurgence et à la multiplication de problèmes, minimes ou plus graves, qui visiblement n'avaient pas été définitivement réglés. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, cela devint manifeste lorsque nous entreprîmes d'ajuster nos deux "moitiés" et, plus généralement, de collationner toutes nos données: dès qu'il fallut, en somme, relire en entier le dictionnaire tel qu'il était. Cette tâche nous mena jusqu'en 1981, sans contact avec la source vivante, c'est à dire avec le village. Par bonheur, à l'initiative de Gilbert Lazard, la Fondation Meillet du Collège de France décida d'accorder une importante subvention à Tevfik, qui put de la sorte revenir à Paris, pour un ultime séjour. Il y resta près de deux mois. Cette fois, je consacrai tout notre temps de travail à la relecture complète du dictionnaire, de *a* jusqu'à la fin, en essayant de dénouer les dernières énigmes et de corriger les dernières erreurs matérielles (sons et formes) et sémantiques (sens et référents): car il y en avait encore! Avions-nous le droit de le tenir désormais pour achevé? Toujours est-il que, pris par d'autres tâches, nous le laissâmes de côté durant 1984-1985. Ainsi se terminait la deuxième étape dans la confection du dictionnaire, mais nous ignorions alors qu'elle n'en était que l'avant-dernière.

3. Le miracle de Hacı Osman köy

En 1986, Dumézil quitta ce monde. Un an plus tard, en juin 1987, sa famille me remit ses manuscrits caucasiens, ainsi que lui-même en avait disposé. Je m'attaquai aussitôt aux inédits, en allant au plus urgent, les données oubikh. Il fallait évidemment commencer par les manuscrits que je ne pouvais traiter sans la collaboration de Tevfik. En premier lieu, les 365 histoires de Nasreddin Hoca, que Dumézil avait fait adapter du turc en oubikh par Tevfik, entre 1960 et 1967. Ces textes, extrêmement précieux par leur richesse

linguistique, notamment syntaxique et lexicale, ne manqueraient pas d'apporter du nouveau: en passant du turc à sa propre langue, Tevfik avait eu en effet à résoudre toutes sortes de problèmes, dont beaucoup n'avaient pas eu l'occasion de se manifester auparavant. Ces anecdotes remplissaient trois cahiers, de la petite écriture fine et serrée de Dumézil. Ils ne comportaient pas de traduction française. Il fallait donc élaborer celle-ci, directement à partir du texte oubikh. En même temps, j'avais à en réviser entièrement la langue (sons, formes, phrases), d'autant plus que la connaissance de l'oubikh avait considérablement progressé depuis le début des années soixante. Enfin, il était indispensable de les compléter par des notes et des commentaires. En 1987, 1988 et 1989, lesté des trois cahiers de Nasreddin Hoca et de mon dictionnaire manuscrit, je séjournai six ou sept semaines chaque été à Haci Osman köy, dans la maison de Tevfik. En travaillant sans relâche tous les deux, nous avons réussi à traiter un cahier par an. Cette fois encore, comme pour le dictionnaire, c'est bien tard dans la nuit du 30 septembre 1989, la dernière nuit, que nous bouclâmes l'anecdote n° 365,achevant ainsi le troisième cahier (tout est prêt pour l'édition: il ne reste plus, là aussi, qu'à "saisir" et imprimer...).

Mais les longues séances de travail, sur ces textes et autour d'eux, ont eu un autre mérite, qui ne les concerne pas et les dépasse de beaucoup: celui de relancer la poursuite du dictionnaire à partir de nouvelles bases, donnant ainsi le départ à la troisième et dernière étape de sa fabrication. Sans que je m'en fusse rendu compte, au début, tout au moins, nos communes méditations autour du texte, quasi interminable, des 365 anecdotes, nous ramenaient irrésistiblement au dictionnaire. Non par les nouveautés qu'il apportait, mais parce qu'au fur et à mesure de ces excursions répétées à travers l'oubikh, la mémoire de Tevfik, libérée des habituelles contraintes de l'enquête linguistique orientée, directive se prenait à fonctionner sur un nouveau mode. D'autant plus qu'il vivait depuis 1986 là-même où les anciens lui avaient peu à peu transmis l'essentiel de leur savoir. Il s'agissait d'une véritable métamorphose des processus mnémoniques: car ces données, qui revenaient presque d'elles-mêmes, ne consistaient pas en éléments épars et isolés. C'étaient au contraire des systèmes, entiers ou par schèmes constituants, qui resurgissaient ainsi du passé, ou plutôt qui se reconstruisaient là, sous nos yeux; car Tevfik lui-même assistait presque en spectateur à cette merveilleuse remise en marche du travail conceptuel qui s'effectuait, disait-il, "dans son cerveau", sans qu'il en fût réellement maître. Nous voyions donc réapparaître et se reconstituer des chaînes de faits, c'est à dire de concepts et de signifiants. Par exemple, dès août 1987, Tevfik retrouvait soudain une partie des noms de mois, de "décembre" à "juillet": prodige, car on les croyait depuis longtemps perdus à jamais.

Ces trois années de libre parcours et de dialogues presque décousus, et souvent volontairement décousus, ont eu une importance décisive pour la dernière phase du dictionnaire et son achèvement. Elles ont aussi exercé leurs effets, on le verra, sur la nature même de l'ouvrage et sa conception générale. En effet, ayant enfin pris pleinement conscience de ce qui s'était produit au cours de ces trois années de dialogues, dont les manuscrits à traiter n'avaient été, en fait que le support, pour ne pas dire le prétexte, je décidai de revenir séjourner là tous les ans, auprès de mon maître, aussi longtemps que la providence en disposerait. On sait qu'elle voulut bien nous accorder cinq ans encore. Je les ai mis à profit pour laisser venir les richesses telles qu'elles se formaient presque spontanément. Une fois la mécanique conceptuelle et linguistique remise en marche, il n'y avait pas de raison qu'elle s'arrêtât: elle continua à fonctionner, pour le plus grand bénéfice du dictionnaire, qui s'enrichit considérablement de 1987 à 1992, hors de tout plan et de tout programme. Pour l'essentiel, les configurations lexicales gagnées durant cette

période de six ans se sont présentées en structures, elles-mêmes engagées dans d'autres systèmes: il s'agissait presque toujours de classifications ou de composantes de classifications actives.

Tel a été le plus grand apport de ces derniers échanges: ils ont réactivés des schèmes classificatoires encore disponibles, mais qui n'avaient pas eu, jusqu'alors, l'occasion de se manifester. C'est pourquoi le bilan comporte, par exemple, des noms d'animaux, encore liés à leur système éco-linguistique: tel la "hyène", qui tire pour ainsi dire à sa suite toute la constellation des prédateurs; ou les "viscères", dont la structure sémique, complexe et encore agissante, ne s'est révélée qu'à la faveur de nos dialogues sans programme. Pourtant, depuis des dizaines d'années, ils avaient fait l'objet de bien des questionnaires et de non moins de spéculations. En même temps, et c'était une conséquence prévisible, dès le moment où les mécanismes classificatoires s'étaient remis en marche, deux séries de données ont été récupérées. D'abord, celles qui relevaient de la sphère des référents, si difficiles à fixer et à définir, surtout dans une langue mourante, dont il ne reste plus qu'un seul locuteur. C'est seulement au village, à la faveur du miracle des dernières six années, que j'ai pu en reconstituer un nombre important et rectifier beaucoup de ceux que l'on croyait connaître. Seconde conséquence de la réactivation générale: des dispositifs de structuration conceptuelle sont revenus, ensemble ou en phase, ainsi que plusieurs mécanismes sociaux-culturels et les "mots" pour les formuler. Ce qui m'a permis de rectifier bien des erreurs, et surtout de préciser des approximations, dont nous étions, à vrai dire, tous responsables, y compris l'auteur de ces lignes. Notamment plusieurs "termes de parenté", dont l'ensemble a toujours été fort maltraité, négligé ou ignoré, pour le Caucase du Nord tout entier.

Ce bref historique du dernier dictionnaire oubykh devait être fait: il appartient à la petite histoire scientifique, mais il n'en est pas moins significatif. On en admirera les paradoxes: si Vogt n'avait pas entrepris de confectionner son propre dictionnaire, et s'il n'en avait pas mené la fabrication tambour battant, il est presque certain que ni Dumézil ni moi-même n'aurions eu l'idée, n'en ayant pas le besoin, d'en faire un autre à notre tour. C'est pourquoi la première étape a bel et bien consisté en une série de révisions de celui de Vogt. Second paradoxe: c'est à partir du moment où Tevfik et moi-même avions abandonné complètement le dictionnaire, et étions occupés à d'autres tâches, que le travail lexicologique est revenu s'imposer presque de lui-même, prenant une place de plus en plus importante. C'est donc l'abandon du dictionnaire qui a, contre toute attente, relancé la dernière phase de son élaboration.

De ce dernier point, je voudrais tirer un enseignement et une conclusion.

Voici la leçon, la morale de l'histoire, si l'on préfère. Une fois que le matériel linguistique a été traité, un dictionnaire tel que celui de l'oubykh doit se poursuivre presque à l'insu de l'enquêteur, tandis qu'il s'applique à autre chose. En gardant toujours l'esprit et l'attention à l'affût non tant des grains à récolter que des épis à glaner, comme on le fait dans les champs *après* la moisson. L'activité mentale du maître de la langue se déploie alors librement, dans un espace que ne vient pas borner du dehors un questionneur qui, si habile et bien intentionné fût-il, impose malgré lui un carcan à l'exercice de la mémoire culturelle et de la compétence linguistique. C'est en procédant de la sorte, sans contrainte, hors de tout programme, à l'abri des questionnaires réducteurs et paralysants, que nous avons induit, Tevfik et moi, au sens physique du terme, la résurgence de dispositifs mentaux qu'on croyait perdus à jamais, mais qu'il sufisait de

réactiver. C'est pourquoi ces longs jours d'été au village d'origine, au village du merveilleux grand-père Ibrahim, furent une grande chance pour le sauvetage de l'oubykh, car ils ont été l'occasion d'une reviviscence de mécanismes culturels qu'on croyait effacés ou inopérants. C'est tout un système qui s'est reformé là, entre 1987 et 1992, avec ses structures linguistiques, certes, mais tout autant sociales, logiques, imaginaires. Car toutes ces configurations se tiennent, on le sait bien, et ne peuvent se manifester isolément: le dernier prodige de Haci Osman köy en apporte une preuve exemplaire.

D'où une conclusion, qui concerne directement la nature et la composition du dictionnaire. Il n'est plus seulement linguistique au sens strict ou étroit. J'y ai fait entrer les acquis des dernières années, quels que soient les domaines concernés: fonctionnement et conceptions de la société, coutumes, vision du monde et modes de classification, ainsi que la manière d'être propre aux Oubykhs, notamment leur humour si particulier. Ce sera donc un dictionnaire à la fois linguistique et historique. Tel est, me semble-t-il, la meilleure façon de témoigner notre respect envers cette civilisation maintenant vraiment disparue.

THE CIRCASSIAN ORTHOGRAPHY OF HARUN BATEQU

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1. Introduction

It is a pleasure, as well as an honour, to participate in this Conference in memory of Georges Dumézil and Tevfik Esenç. I regret that I never knew Dumézil, but I did have the pleasure of knowing Tevfik Bey, and of working with him a little in 1986-7. I had hoped to come back and continue working on Ubykh with him in 1993, but, alas, as we know, he passed away before that.

The present short paper is not about Ubykh, however, but about another Northwest Caucasian language, namely Adyghe. It concerns one of those early 20th century pioneers who worked at the problem of reducing Circassian to writing.

The scholar I am referring to is known as Blenawque Batequ, or B. Batequ Harun or, to use the western sequencing of names, Harun Batequ. I had the pleasure of meeting Harun Batequ 51 years ago as a young man when I was in Damascus, on my honeymoon. I was already a phonetician, and had carried out some analysis of Kabardian phonetics, so I was naturally interested in the sounds he made, but I knew little about Northwest Caucasian languages at that time. However, I met Harun Batequ in Damascus -- a charming elderly gentleman (as he seemed to me then, though he was not so very old) and either from him, or from others in his entourage, I acquired some of his publications.

I am indebted to his granddaughter, Ms. Tamara Blano for some further information about Harun Batequ. He was a member of a well-known Circassian family, born in 1889 in Homs, and he graduated from the 'High School of Teaching', no doubt the 'Ecole normale supérieure', in Istanbul (Constantinople). He died in 1949 in Damascus. So he was a well educated man; but it is unlikely that he learned much linguistics or phonetics at the Ecole normale in Istanbul. The analysis of his native dialect, Bzhedugh, is thus all the more praiseworthy. He was, however, well acquainted with grammar, no doubt of Turkish, but certainly of Arabic and, of course, of French, since he grew up in Syria, which was under French influence. He was a teacher -- clearly an imaginative and original one -- and he became the Director of the Rashid School in Damascus, where he was also appointed by the Syrian Ministry of Education as an Inspector of Schools.

2. Batequ's publications

2.1 The Istanbul alphabet

The material in my possession dates from 1929 to 1941, but evidently Harun Batequ had published a Circassian alphabet in Turkey many years earlier. There are references to an alphabet published in Turkey in 1912 (in Zekox, 1983:92) and in 1918, Xatanov (1966:197-8) and in the Adyghe Grammar of Rogava and Kerasheva (1966:13).

Zekox, as well as Rogava and Kerasheva, make only passing references to Batequ's alphabet, without giving any details or examples. After mentioning the 1918 alphabet, Rogava and Kerasheva add "An alphabet on a Latin base was also produced in Syria in 1927" with a footnote acknowledgement to Ašxamaf (1929:190). I have not been able to see Ašxamaf's article, but it seems likely that the reference here is to the work of Batequ.

Unfortunately I know nothing about the 1918 (or 1912?) alphabet except what can be learned from Xatanov's article, in which he presents a very small specimen (Fig. 1). He points out that Batequ uses the letters represented there, consisting of almost all the Roman capital letters, plus a few others, the Cyrillic Δ for instance. Among the small letters, one interesting thing is his use of undotted i. This alphabet was published in 1918, and the new Turkish alphabet had not yet come into existence. It would be interesting to know if there were scholars in Turkey at that time who were already considering Romanization, and experimenting with the use of an undotted i.

What Batequ used the undotted i for is unclear. It would be reasonable to assume that he would have used it for the Circassian /ə/, although, as we shall see, in his later (1929-41) versions of the alphabet he used the normal dotted i for this purpose. In the few examples given by Xatanov in his article the Circassian /ə/ is, in fact, represented by a dotted i. However, these are apparently not direct reproductions of Harun Batequ's publication; they were presumably written by Xatanov himself, and might conceivably contain mistakes. It is clear that they are not reproduced from the original source, because Xatanov gives transliterations of them in the modern Cyrillic-based alphabet -- for example *ssî* [шы].

If we assume that Xatanov's article correctly represents Batequ's use of letters, we see that, already in 1918, a few of the conventions established in his later publications are already evident. For example, Batequ appears to recognize three vowels (as in later works), represented by i as in *ssî* [шы], e as in *Tse* [tse], and a, as in *Pssasse* [p̚aše]. In this last word we note, also, the use of ss to represent the Circassian "hissing-hushing" sibilant, as in the later works.

2.2 The Damascus publications

In Damascus, Harun Batequ brought out at least three textbooks to be used in the teaching of Circassian, as well as a series of booklets of reading materials - *Adiwe oisener* -- *La littérature tcherkesse*. Figure 2 shows the covers or title pages of these publications.

The first of these, published in 1929, is a reading primer -- *Adige Yedjener - La lecture circassienne* -- of which I have only a few pages, kindly sent me by his granddaughter.

The next publication is his 1931 Adyge grammar -- *Adige Bzexabz* -- 78 pages. This is interesting because, among other things, he presumably had to make his own analysis and invent grammatical terminology for Circassian. The grammar is influenced by French and probably Arabic as well.

The third publication illustrated in Fig. 2 is his 1932 *Adige alfab.* -- 50 pages. From the point of view of deciphering his system of spelling this is the most useful, because here he gives pictures which enable one to identify the Adyge words that he introduces, and thus to establish the values of the Roman letters that he uses.

Finally, in 1940-41, he published some pamphlets of *Adiwe Oisener* -- containing proverbs, Nart stories and so on. These had a certain circulation in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan in the early 1940s, but I doubt if they are at all well known in that part of the world now. In the *Adiwe Oisener* Batequ changed his alphabet in several respects

3. Batequ's alphabets

3.1 Overview

The version of the alphabet that he used in 1929, and, with minor changes, 1932 is remarkably unambiguous and complete, representing about 65 phonemes of his dialect, Bzhedugh, with the 26 normal letters of the Roman alphabet plus the ç-cedilla of the French Roman alphabet. He achieves this by an ingenious use of digraphs and by the multiple use of certain letters which could be unambiguously used in more than one value.

The task of determining the values attached to the letters was not without some difficulty. It was occasionally necessary to use as many as 6 dictionaries to discover what a particular letter represented, because the Circassian words were glossed in Arabic (both in the Reading Primer, and in word lists in *Adiwe Oisener*), and consequently it was often necessary to consult an Arabic-English dictionary to determine the meaning of the word in English. To check this, it was sometimes desirable to use an English-Arabic dictionary. Then one had to consult a Russian-Adyge dictionary to identify the Circassian word (and occasionally it was necessary first to use an English-Russian dictionary). As a further check I might possibly use Xatanov and Kerasheva's Adyge dictionary (1960), and finally, because we are dealing with Bzhedugh, not with literary Adyge, it was sometimes necessary to use Kuiper's Proto-Circassian dictionary (1975), which gives Bzhedugh forms.

Figure 3 is a specimen page from the 1929 Circassian reader - *Adige Yedjener*, which illustrates the kind of material one had to work with. This page is concerned with writing. And among other things, one can see here a nice example of a minimal triplet or, more precisely, near-minimal triplet (not a minimal pair) showing that Batequ clearly identified 3 vowels -- not 2 or 1 -- in his dialect. We have *i* in the word *txibz*, glossed by the Arabic word *ha rf*, 'letter', and then *e* in the word *txeps* glossed by

hibr 'ink' and *a* in *txabz* glossed by *qalam* 'pen'. Such examples are not infrequent, showing clearly that in Batequ's analysis of Bzhedugh we have a three vowel system.

Fig 4 shows two pages from the 1932 *Adige Alfab*. As mentioned above, this publication was particularly valuable for the decipherment of the orthography, because of the use of pictures to identify the sample words. Herein we see very recognizable pictures of a 3-legged table, a cow, an apple and an axe, illustrating the words *oane*, *tcemi*, *mioeris* and *veci*. The reading/writing exercise on these pages illustrates once again contrasting vowel triplets in *mi me ma*, *sa si se* and *ca ce ci*. Such triplets recur again and again throughout the book, reinforcing the view that Batequ clearly recognized a three-vowel system for his dialect.

3.2 The 1932 alphabet as a whole

Figure 5 presents the whole alphabet as established in 1932, in alphabetic order. Unfortunately, in his various publications he never gives a complete list of this kind. The single letters are listed, often with Arabic transliterations; thus he equates the vowels *i* and *e* with the Arabic vowel diacritics *kasrah* and *fat·ah*, and the vowel *a* with the letter *'alif* which is useful as far as it goes, but he uses many digraphs, which are not usually explained or transliterated; we have to deduce the values of these from his examples.

In Table 1 we give first, Batequ's letters, then an indication of their values in symbols of the International Phonetic Association's alphabet, followed by a very slightly modified (for typographical reasons) version of the transcription used in Kuiper's Proto-Circassian Dictionary, which may be better known than IPA to some Caucasologists.

As we read through the alphabet the first comment concerns the letter *c*. This represents the lamino-postalveolar slightly palatalized unaspirated ('preruptive') sibilant /ç/ as in *ci* 'three', *veci* 'axe' etc. The next entry, double *cc*, represents the aspirated correlate of the same sound, as in *ccatte* 'sigh', *becc* 'stick'. This reduplication is systematic; in all cases of unaspirated vs. aspirated pairs of consonants, the unaspirated consonant is represented by a single letter, the aspirated correlate by the same letter doubled. Thus we also have *p-pp* /p-pʰ/, *t-tt* /t-tʰ/, *cu-ccu* /kʷ-kʰw/, *c-cc* /ç-çʰ/, *ts-tts* /ts-tsʰ/ etc. Where there is no correlation of aspiration, however, the doubling of letters is used in a more arbitrary way; thus, *hh* represents the uvular /χ/ as opposed to the pharyngal or epiglottal /h/, represented by single *h*. Double *ss* represents the 'hissing-hushing' /ʃ/, whereas single *s* represents ordinary /s/. As we mentioned above, one can see from Figure 1, that Batequ was already using *ss* to represent 'hissing-hushing' /ʃ/ in 1918, e. g. in the word *Pssasse* 'girl'. Double *ll* represents the voiceless lateral fricative /t̪/, while single *l* represents the voiced correlate.

The next entry after *cc* is *co*, representing the ejective lamino-postalveolar (palatalised) affricate /tç'/, as in *coencoe* 'egg'. The use of *o* here is systematic. The letter *o* by itself represents glottal stop /ʔ/ ('glossed' or transliterated in Batequ's alphabet as Arabic *hamza*), as in *oe* 'hand', *mioeris* 'apple'. The letter *o* is also used, completely systematically, to indicate ejectives, as in *po* = /p'/, *to* = /t'/, *cuo* = /kʷ'/ etc. Batequ was able to use *o* in this way because he had no need of it to represent a

vowel. The *o*-type vowel in the word meaning 'cannon', for example, is represented, by *ev* (where *v* represents the semi-vowel /w/), thus: *tevp*. Batequ's analysis of 'o' as *ev* is entirely in line with modern phonological analyses of Circassian vowels, as is his analysis of 'u' as *iv* (i.e. /əw/) as in *bzivi* 'bird'.

Following *co* we have *ccu*, *cu*, and *cuo*, representing /kʰw/, /kʷ/ and /kʷʷ/ respectively; once again a completely systematic usage -- *u* being used throughout the alphabet to represent labialisation.

The letters, digraphs and trigraphs *c*, *cc*, *co*, *ccu*, *cu*, *cuo* illustrate another feature of Batequ's alphabet, namely, the economical, unambiguous, multiple use of certain letters. As we have seen, the letter *c* represents the unaspirated palatalized 'hushing' sibilant /ç/, and the doubled *cc*, according to rule, represents its aspirated correlate. In *co*, however, the *c* represents the ejective palatalized lamino-postalveolar affricate: it can do this quite unambiguously because there is no corresponding ejective fricative. The digraph *co* can also unambiguously represent the ejective velar /k'/, because /k'/ occurs only after apico-postalveolar (slightly retroflex) /ʂ/ in *çcoe* = /ʂk'e/ 'calf'. The digraph *cu* can unambiguously represent the aspirated, labialised velar stop /kʷʷ/, because the sibilant otherwise represented by *c* has no labialised correlate. Again *s* is used for the ordinary alveolar /s/, but double *ss*, as mentioned above, represents the 'hissing-hushing' /ʂ/. On the other hand, single *s* + *u* unambiguously represents labialised /ʂ/, since there is no labialised plain /s/, and the digraph *so* unambiguously represents ejective /ʂ'/, since there is no ejective plain /s'/.

3.3 Representation of Bzhedugh phonemes

Table 2 presents the same material as Table 1, rearranged to show how the phonemes of Bzhedugh are represented in Batequ's alphabet. As we go down the list the first rather surprising choice is the use of the digraph *qu* to represent the labialised voiced velar stop in /gʷʷ/, but this is perhaps less surprising when we note that *q* by itself represents the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/. Given the generally systematic nature of Batequ's alphabet, it appears that here he recognizes the shared features of voicing and velarity in these consonants. Having preempted *q* for voiced velars, *k* was perhaps a reasonable choice for the uvular stops; it would have then been necessary to find a different letter to represent the voiceless velars, and *c* would naturally suggest itself.

Among the fricatives and affricates we find the 'hissing-hushing' sibilants for the voiceless one represented by *ss* (as already noted) and the its voiced correlate by *w*. This use of *w* appears strange, but since Bzhedugh /w/ is represented by *v*, *w* was a spare letter. One wonders also whether Batequ, who clearly had considerable linguistic and phonetic acumen, had observed the slight pharyngalization or velarization that sometimes accompanies /ʂ/ and /ʐ/ and, recognizing the velarity of *w* had found it not inappropriate.

The representation of 'soft' lamino-postalveolar /ʐ/ by *j* is not surprising, and no doubt reflects French usage; but this left the 'hard' apico-postalveolar /z/ unprovided for. The use of the digraph and trigraph *jw*, for the fricative, and *djw* for the affricate was perhaps a reasonable solution, representing, a kind of impressionistic

auditory appreciation of 'hard' /z/ as something between the 'soft' /ʐ/ and 'hissing-hushing' /ʐ'/.

At the end of this list we find the vowels, where the analysis of the so-called 'long' vowels [i:, u:, o:] is quite in accordance with the generally accepted analysis of these as consisting of /ə/ and /e/ plus /j/ and /w/, although 'y' for /əj/ is anomalous, but in the examples given here the 'presumably was used to suggest deletion -- of the *i* or *e* in *si/se* 'I' and of the *e* in *ne* 'eye'.

3.4 Adiwe Oisener (1940-41)

I have not made a detailed analysis of the form of the alphabet used in the 1940 and 1941 *Adiwe Oisener* in which a considerable number of changes are made. These changes include the use of *q* instead of *k* to represent the uvular stop; this necessitates a different spelling for /ɣ/, which is now written with *w*, as in the title just quoted. The labialised voiced velar stop /gʷʷ/ is now written *ju*, while *j* still represents the lamino-postalveolar sibilant in the affricate *dj* /dʐ/. This double use is quite possible because /z/ has no labialised correlate.

The voiced 'hissing-hushing' /ʐ'/' is now represented by *v* (formerly=/w/) and *o* is used for /w/. Since *o* now represents /w/ it cannot represent glottal stop, and in fact glottal stop is now represented by *u*. However, though *o* represents /w/, labialisation is represented by *u*. There are, however, some inconsistencies, or perhaps simply economical double use of letters in cases where no ambiguity can arise. Thus, in a word list in the 1940 *Adiwe Oisener* (p. 6) we find *cuoen* = /kʷʷen/ 'going', but *çuui* = /ʂʷə/ 'good', where *u* is used to represent both ejective and labialisation. Another innovation is the use of *j* to represent /g/ in the labialised form *ju* /gʷʷ/.

Another change has to do with the laterals. In 1940, *ll* for the voiceless lateral /t̪/ is replaced by *lh*, while the voiced lateral fricative /ʂ/ is now written with double *ll*, and the ejective /t̪'/ is written *lu*.

Ms. Blano has suggested to me that some of the changes in the orthography arise from the fact that Batequ was interested in unifying spelling for various Circassian dialects. It is indeed the case that in his 1940 and 1941 publications he frequently cites Kabardian forms as well as Bzhedugh. In a word list in 1941 (p. 119) he presents his spelling of Circassian words alongside Arabic transcriptions or transliterations of both Kabardian and Bzhedugh forms, as in the following short extract. I have added Roman transliterations and glosses, mirrorwise to the right of the list.

<u>قبرناتي</u>	<u>qabartay</u>		
ticin	تيل -	1. kyn,	čyn -- nightingale
tcheo	جو -	2. kew,	čew -- wattle fence
tcui	كئي، عشني، جعن -	3. k?y,	ʂ?y, č?y -- tail
djeju	گەگو، چەگو -	4. gegw,	džegw -- game etc.
fiju	خوگۇ، فيگۇ -	5. xwgw,	fygw -- millet
fue	فە، موه -	6. fe,	síwe -- skin
fuui	نى، مۇنى -	7. f?y,	síwy -- good etc.

There are several points of interest in this list. Items 1 through 4 portray the Kabardian forms as having initial unlabialised velar /k, g/, rather than the affricate which is now the norm in literary Kabardian. This is correct for the Kabardian of Syria and Transjordan, where, in the 1930s and early 40s, at least, where I myself had recorded velar /k/ and /g/ (occasionally slightly palatalized).

The Arabic spellings of the vowels are surprising, in view of the fact that, as mentioned above, the Roman letters *i* and *e* are usually equated with the Arabic diacritics *kasrah* and *fathah* respectively, as they are in a version of the alphabet on page 6 of this same publication. In items 1, 3, 5 and 7, however, the use of the diacritic 'vowel points' is avoided, and the Arabic *y* is used to represent [ə] (not [ij]) as one might expect. In items 2, 4 and 6 Roman *e* is represented by a form of the Arabic *h*. This is the same procedure as is adopted in the Arabic-based official Adyghe orthography which was used between 1918 and 1927, although in the official orthography it is the detached form of the Arabic letter that is used, whereas Batequ here uses the word-final attached form. Possibly this usage was suggested by the official Arabic orthography, although as we shall see below Batequ did not appear to be influenced in general by the older official alphabets. Item 3 is surprising in that one would expect the vowel here to be *e*, not *i*.

Items 6 and 7 are interesting in that the orthographic forms given are *fue* and *fuui*, apparently representing a compromise between the Kabardian /fe/ and /fə/, and the Bzhedugh /s^we/ and /s^wə/.

4. The originality of Batequ's alphabet

The question has been raised whether Batequ's analysis of Bzhedugh phonology was possibly influenced by the work of Jakovlev. Jakovlev (1923) deals strictly with Kabardian, though if known to Batequ might have been suggestive at least with respect to the vowels. On the other hand Jakovlev's article in *Caucasica*, in German translation, on Circassian dialects would enable one to work out the consonant system of Bzhedugh. However that article did not appear until 1930, and a version of Batequ's alphabet, and the phonological analysis upon which it is based, was already worked out in 1929.

Another question is how far Batequ was influenced by the official Adyghe alphabets, based on Arabic (1918-1927) and on Roman (1927- 1938) after which the modern Cyrillic-based alphabet was used.

Figure 6. shows the Roman based (here called Latin) and Arabic based alphabets from Jakovlev and Ašxamaf (1940), with Batequ's alphabet added. It is clear from this comparative table that there is little evidence of influence of the official orthographies on Batequ's alphabet. For example, the official orthographies rely heavily on modified letter-shapes, whereas Batequ employs digraphs or unambiguous multiple uses of normal Roman letters. Note Batequ's systematic use of *o* to represent glottal stop and, in digraphs, ejectives, compared with the rather random modifications of shapes in the official orthographies.

It seems to me that Harun Batequ's competent phonological analysis of Bzhedugh, and his economical and original alphabet deserve greater recognition than they have hitherto had.

E	B	P	T	C	Ç	h	X	X
D	R	Z	J	S	S	C	C	F
K	Q	Q	L	Л	М	N	V	Y
H	A	e	I	I	O	U	W	

E	b	p	t	c	c	h	x	x	d	r	z
j	s	ş	g	ğ	f	k	q	q	I	л	m
n	v	y	h	a	e	i	i	o	u	w	

SS [uv̥, например]:	Pssasse [nuraus]	girl
ZZ [ɛw̥, "]:	ЛЕİZZİ [ɛw̥]	old man
ŜŜ [u, "]:	ŜŜİ [u]	horse
JJ [ɛw̥, "]:	JJe [ɛw̥]	mouth
PE [n̥l, например]:	Peaste [nlaems]	'pasta'
CE [kl, "]:	Ceale [klais]	youth
TE [ml, "]:	TEV [mly]	two
FE [ɸl̥, "]:	FEİ [ɸl̥(kaðap)]	good (Kab.)
JE [ɛl, "]:	JEI [ɛl̥]	man
QE [kl̥, "]:	QEUE [kl̥o]	go
ŜE [ul̥, "]:	ŜEQEU [ul̥aŋlo(kaðap)]	burka (Kab.)

Fig.1 Batequ's 1918 Adyghe alphabet, and some sample words (Xatanov, 1966)

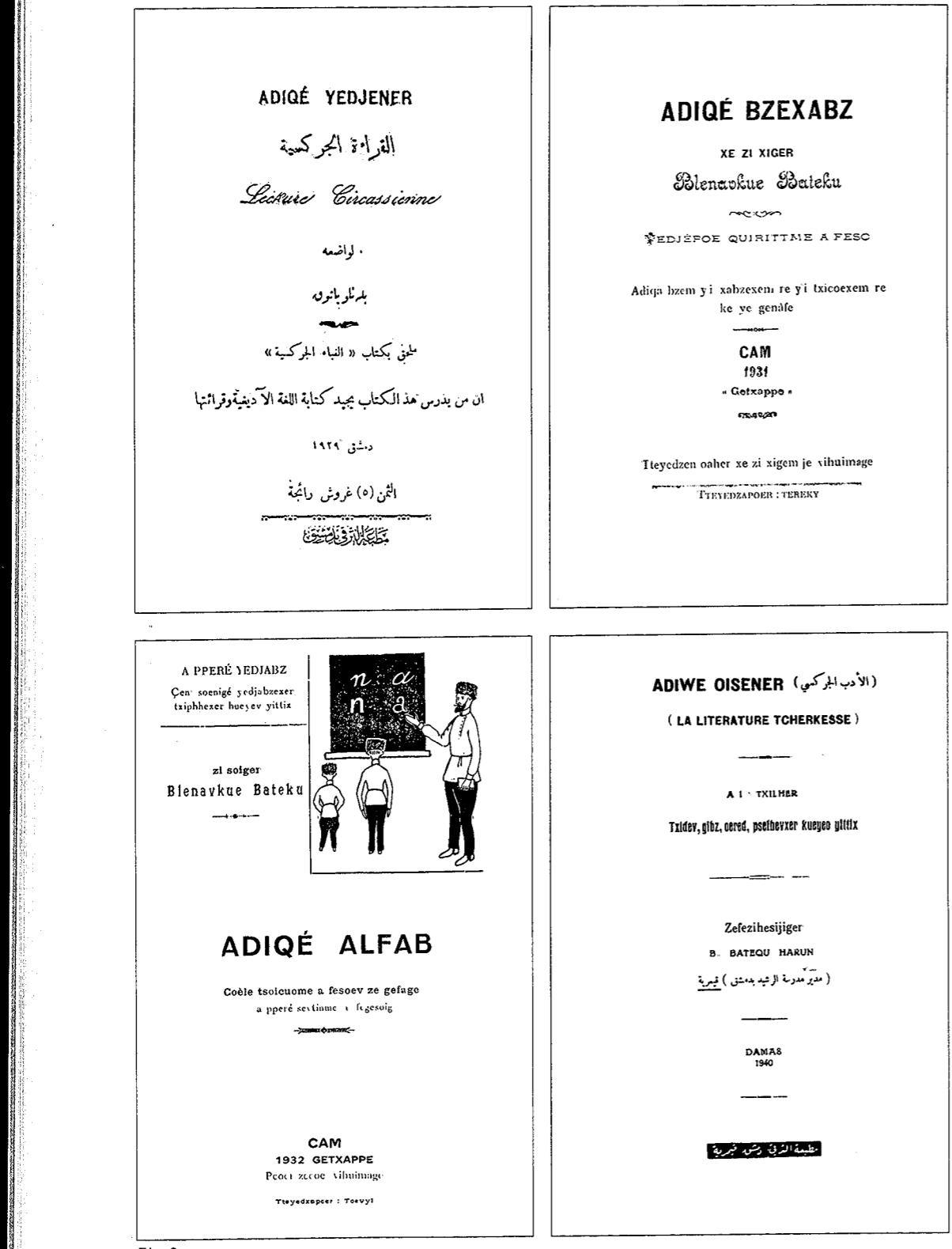


Fig. 2

{xen, yedjen psevallexer**ادوات الكتابة والقراءة**

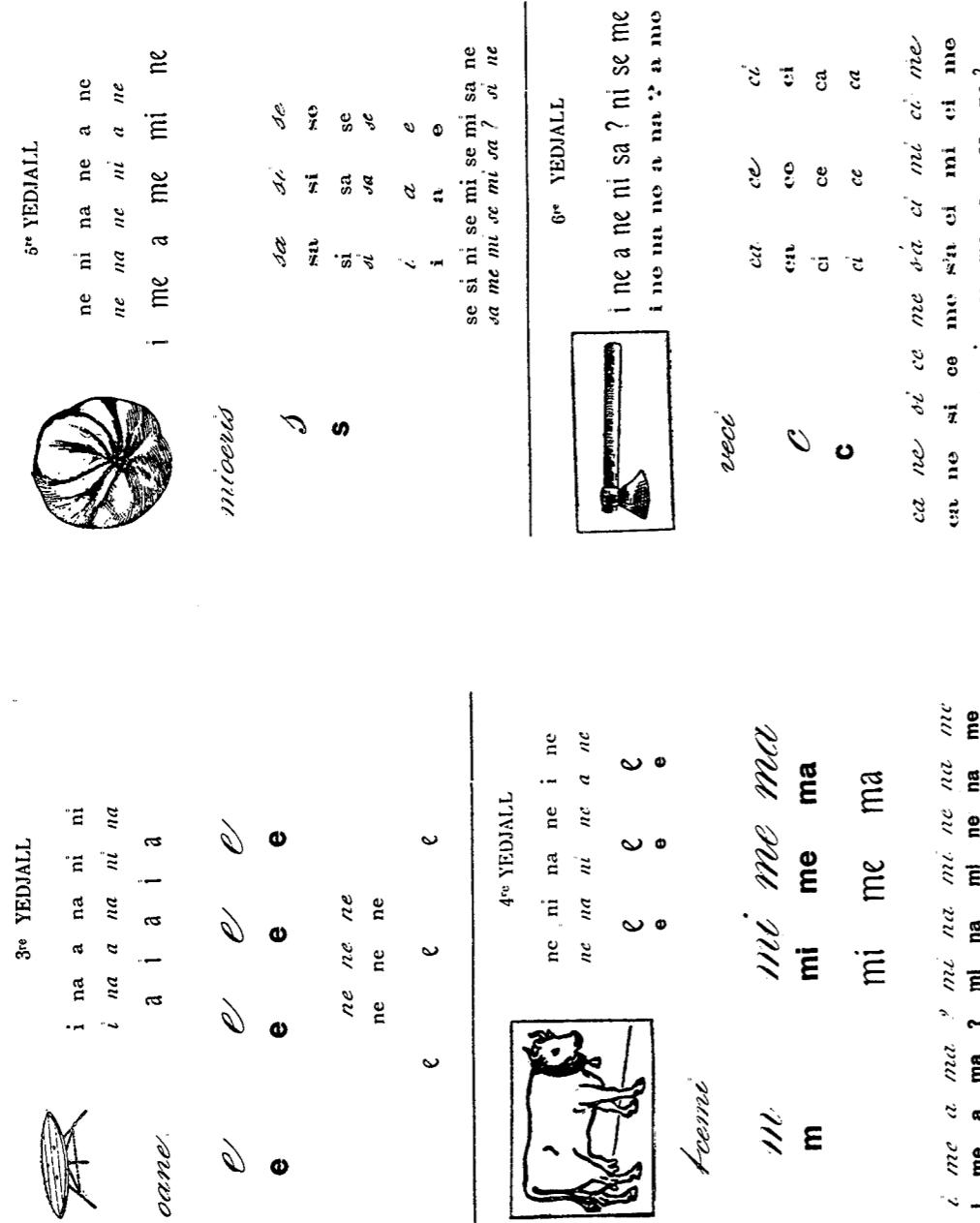
txen	كتابة	txilipo	درب	txall	دقن
yedjen	قراءة	txeps	حبر	txidz	حرف
txill	كتاب	txabz	قلم	yetoef	حوار

sitxag	كتب	ti ye djag	قرأت	sé txe	أكتب
vitxag	كتب	sui ye djag	قرئتم	si yé dje	اقرأ
txage	كتب	ye djagex	قرءوا	s'txige	كتب

txiller s' txige	كتب الكتاب	txabzem si ré txe	كتب بالقلم
txillim si ye djag	قرأت الكتاب	yetoeclim si ri txag	كتب بالحوار
txiller sé txi	أكتب الكتاب	txallemlim si yé txe	أكتب في الدفتر
txillim si yé dje	اقرأ الكتاب	txillipoem yi s' txag	كتبت في الورق

txabzer txepsim x' y gavy txiller itxig
خطس القلم بالحبر وكتب الكتاب
yedjenim yi viblapoer txibzexer arix
ابداء القراءة بالحروف :

Fig.3. A page from *Adiqé Yedjener*, 1929

Fig. 4 Two pages from *Adige Alfab*, 1932

Современный латинский и прежний арабский
адыгейские (кяхские) алфавиты:

Латинский	Арабский	Латинский	Арабский
Bat.	P	Bat.	P
a	p	a	p
b	po	b	po
s	k	s	r
tso	r	s	s
d	ss	ss	s
dz	so	so	so
e	c	c	c
i	q	i	q
f	t	f	t
fo	to	fo	to
q(u)	v	q(u)	v
dj	x	dj	x
h	hh	h	hh
'y	z	'y	z
y	w	y	w
c(u)	j	c(u)	j
tc	jw	tc	jw
(ç)co	g	(ç)co	g
l	g	l	g
ll	gg	ll	gg
lo	q	lo	q
m	tq	m	tq
n	o	n	o
we	v	we	v
o	w	o	w

Fig. 5

Table 1
Batequ alphabet (1932)

(1. Batequ's characters, 2. IPA transcription, 3. Kuiper's transcription (with minor typographical change) in his *Dictionary of Proto-Circassian Roots*)

1	2	3	
a	a	/ā/	Adiqe /ādəgə/ Adyghe, vate /wāt:a/ hammer
b	b	/b/	becc /bašʰə/ stick, kebi /qabə/ pumpkin
c	ç	/š:/	ci /š:ə/ three, veci /waš:ə/ (sic) axe
cc	çʰ	/šʰ/	ccatte /šʰ 'ātʰa/ to sigh, becc stick
co	tç'	/č'/	coencoe egg, guicoer blacksmith
ccu	kʰw	/kʰo/	ccue thigh
cu	kʷ	/k'ə/	seçcue sabre
cuo	kʷ	/k'ə/	coacuoē /č' 'āk'ə/ 'burka' (felt cloak)
ç	ş	/š:/	phheoaç /pħa?āš:/ plough
çco	ş	/šk/	çcoe calf
çç	şʰ	/šʰ/	ççi horse
çcu	şkʷ	/šk:ə/	seçcue sabre
çö	tş'	/č/	çoi earth
dj	dž	/ž/	bedj spider, hedjasue greyhound
djw	dž	/ž/	llequadjwe /lagʰāža/ (sic) knee
dz	dz	/ʒ/	badze fly
e	e	/a/	tcemi cow
ev	ew [o:]	/aw/	tevp cannon
f	f	/f/	mafe day, jif fan
g	ş	/ğ/	vestige lamp
gu	şʷ	/ğ:/	güiptç sickle, tsigue mouse
h	ħ	/ħ/	he dog
hh	x	/ħ/	phhex saw (tool), nishhapp doll
hu	xʷ	/xə/	melahue shepherd
i	ə	/ə/	zi one, bjini onion
iv	əw [u:]	/əw/	bzivi bird, tcetiv cat
j	ž	/ž'/	jif fan, bje bee
jw	ž	/ž/	jwe mouth
k	q	/q:/	kebi pumpkin
kk	qʰ	/qʰ/	kke tomb/grave
kku	qʰw	/qʰə/	kkuasue boat
ku	q'	/q:/	bwakue horn
l	ł	/l/	meli sheep
ll	ł	/ł/	llay gaiter, txill book
lo	ł'	/ł'/	loi man, ploí four
m	m	/m/	maj comb, matt basket
n	n	/n/	nibgui nest, van saddle
o	?	/?/	oe hand, mioeris apple

Table 1 (continued)

ou	?ʷ	/?ʷ/	ouipse lip, ppaoue hat
p	p	/p:/	pite strong, tevp cannon
po	p'	/p'/	suampo beetle
pp	pʰ	/pʰ/	ppe nose, ppiwi hedgehog
q	ɣ	/ɣ/	tçiqi tree, bqiripx belt
qu	gʷ	/gʷ/	llequadjwe knee, ppaque blunt-nosed
r	r	/r/	re...re and, mioeris apple
s	s	/s/	se I, seçcue sabre
so	ş'	/ş'/	psoi ten, ouipsoe lip
ss	ş	/ş/	misse bear, pssasse girl
su	şʷ	/şʷ/	sue skin, yesue he drinks
suo	şʷ'	/şʷ'/	suoi good, masue fire
t	t	/t/	te we, vate hammer, pite strong
tc	tç	/č'/	tcemi cow, tcetiv cat
tcc	tçʰ	/čʰ/	tcci twig
tç	tş	/tş:/	tçiqi tree, tçage ran, güiptç sickle
to	t'	/t'/	toi ram
ts	ts	/c:/	tse tooth, tsattse skewer
tso	ts'	/č'/	matso locust
tsu	tsʷ	/čʷ/	tsui bull
tt	t	/t/	tti give, matt basket
tts	ts	/č/	ttsi hair, tsattse skewer
u	w	/°/	(labialization)
v	w	/w/	van saddle, vestige lamp
w	ż	/z/	ppiwi hedgehog, bwakue horn
wu	żʷ	/zʷ/	wuague star, miwue stone
x	x	/x/	phhex saw, txill book
y	j	/y/	yē-txi he writes (trans.), llay gaiter
'y	əj [i:]	/əy/	s'y txill my book, n'ytoú two eyes
z	z	/z/	zi one, hezir cartridge case

Table 2
Representation of Bzhedugh phonemes in Batequ's alphabet (1929–1932)

Batequ	IPA	Kuipers	
b	b	/b/	becc stick, kebi pumpkin
p	p	/p/	pite strong, tevp cannon
pp	p ^h	/p ^h /	ppe nose, ppiwi hedgehog
po	p'	/p'/	suampo beetle
d	d	/d/	degui good, didji bitter
t	t	/t/	te/ti we, vate hammer, pite strong
tt	t ^h	/t ^h /	matt basket, tti give
to	t'	/t'/	toi ram
tou	t ^w	/t ^w /	toui two
çco	şk'	/şk'/	çcoe calf
qu	g ^w	/g ^w /	llequadjwe knee, ppaque blunt-nosed
cu	k ^w	/k ^w /	seçcue sabre
ccu	k ^{h^w}	/k ^{h^w} /	ccue thigh
cuo	k ^w	/k ^w /	coacuoē 'burka' (felt cloak)
k	q	/q/	kebi pumpkin
kk	q ^h	/q ^h /	kke tomb/grave
ku	q ^w	/q ^w /	bwakue horn
kku	q ^{h^w}	/q ^{h^w} /	kkuasue boat
o	?	/?/	oe hand, mioeris apple
ou	? ^w	/? ^w /	ouipsoe lip, ppaoue hat
dz	dz	/z/	badze fly
ts	ts	/c/	tse tooth, tsattse skewer, tsigue mouse
tts	ts ^h	/c ^h /	ttsi hair, tsattse skewer
tso	ts'	/c'/	matso locust
tsu	ts ^w	/ç ^w /	tsui bull
djw	dz	/ž/	llequadjwe knee
tç	tş	/ç/	tçiqi tree, tçage ran, guiptç sickle
ço	tş'	/ç'/	çoi earth
dj	dz	/ž/	bedj spider
tc	tç	/ç'/	tcemi cow, tcetiv cat
tcc	tç ^h	/ç ^h /	tcci twig
co	tç'	/ç'/	coencoe egg, guicoer blacksmith
f	f	/f/	mafe day

Table 2 (continued)

z	z	/z/	zi one, hezir cartridge case
s	s	/s/	seçcue sabre, mioeris apple
w	ż	/ż/	ppiwi hedgehog, bwakue horn
ss	ş	/ş/	misce bear
so	ş'	/ş'/	ouipsoe lip, psoi ten
wu	ż ^w	/ż ^w /	wuague star, miwue stone
su	ş ^w	/ş ^w /	sue skin, yesu he drinks
suo	ş'w	/ş'w/	suoi good, masuoe fire
jw	ż	/ż/	jwe mouth
ç	ş	/ş/	phheoäç plough
çç	ş ^h	/ş ^h /	ççi horse
j	ż	/ż'/	jif fan, bje bee
c	ç	/ş:/	ci three, veci axe,
cc	ç ^h	/ş ^h '/	ccatte to sigh, becc stick.
l	ż	/l/	meli sheep
ll	ż	/ł/	llay gaiter, txill book, oellin ring
lo	ż'	/ł'/	loi man, ploi four
x	x	/x/	phhex saw, bqiripx belt, txill book
q	y	/ğ/	tçiqi tree, bqiripx belt
hh	x	/x/	phhex saw, nishhapp doll
g	ż	/ğ/	vestige lamp
hu	ż ^w	/ż ^w /	melahue shepherd
gu	ż ^w	/ż ^w /	tsigue mouse
h	ń	/ń/	he dog,
m	m	/m/	maj comb, matt basket
n	n	/n/	nibgui nest, van saddle
v	w	/w/	van saddle, veci axe, vestige lamp
y	j	/y/	yê-ti he writes (trans.), llay gaiter
r	r	/r/	mioeris apple, bqiripx belt
i	ə	/ə/	txibz letter (character), bjini onion,
e	e	/a/	txeps ink, ppe nose, tcemi cow,
a	a	/ā/	txabz pen, Adiqe Adyghe, vate hammer,
'y	əj [i:]	/əy/	s'y txill my book, n'y tou two eyes
i'	əw [u:]	/əw/	tctev cat, bzivi bird
ev	ew [o:]	/aw/	tevp cannon
u	ʷ	/ʷ/	(labialization)

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SUFFIXAL MARKING OF PLURAL IN UBYKH VERB FORMS
developments in a moribund language

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1. Introduction

1.1 The study of Ubykh

After the 1864 exodus from their homeland, the Ubykh settled in various regions of Anatolia, some groups of them only after a short but violent period in the Balkans. Early this century the language was still in use in at least four areas of Anatolia: (1) in the region of Manyas, in northwest Anatolia, (2) in the region of Lake Sapanca, east of the town of Izmit in north Anatolia, (3) near Samsun, again in north Anatolia, but further to the east and, finally, (4) in two villages near Maraş in southeast Anatolia.¹ From the mid-sixties on, Ubykh appears to have been spoken only in the region of Manyas. The two regions that were visited by linguists in the course of this century are those of Sapanca and Manyas.

Uslar worked on Ubykh for about a week, shortly before the 1864 exodus. He left twenty-seven pages of precious notes. The only other data collected in the Caucasus itself are a short list of words and small sentences collected by the Turkish globe-trotter Evliya Çelebi in the mid-seventeenth century, and some words recorded by J.S. Bell during his stay in Circassia, 1837-9.

The next investigator after Uslar was the Dane Benediktsen who visited the Sapanca region in 1898, where he filled several notebooks with data. His notes were not published, but they were used by Dirr before they eventually got lost.² In 1913 Dirr spent some months in the village of Kirkpinar, the very same village where Benediktsen had worked before him, and where the young Georges Dumézil was to work after him. Dirr was the first to provide a sketch of the language with texts and lexicon. Dumézil was in Kirkpinar in 1930. He published his grammar of Ubykh in 1931. After that he often used Ubykh materials in comparative studies.

The first to visit the Ubykh of Manyas, the western Ubykh, was the Hungarian J. von Mészáros who left a rather comprehensive grammar with a large lexicon and about a hundred proverbs, but no texts. His *Pákhy-Sprache* was published in 1934.

Then there was a lull in research activities. In 1953 Dumézil, who had assumed that there were no speakers left, was informed that Ubykh was still being spoken in the Manyas region. This was the beginning of a second, thorough tour of the description of the language. Dumézil published many texts, first from a variety of speakers, but soon he concentrated on the language of Tevfik Esenç, and it was Tevfik's language in which texts provided by others were presented. Most texts, by the way, were provided by Tevfik Esenç himself. Dumézil sought the assistance of G. Deeters and H. Vogt for the description of the complicated sound system of Ubykh. Vogt's interest for the language resulted in a valuable dictionary in 1963, which was vehemently criticised and amply amended by Dumézil in 1965. Dumézil went on publishing texts and etymological and comparative studies. His chef-d'œuvre was *Le verbe oubykh*, published in 1975.

After 1965, Georges Charachidzé became Dumézil's new associate and today Charachidzé is still editing materials which were left behind after Dumézil's death, along with materials he himself collected from Tevfik Esenç. His main contribution for the moment is his hundred-page sketch of the language that was published in 1989 by Hewitt. The new Ubykh dictionary announced by Charachidzé is eagerly awaited.

Survey of areas and investigators:

Caucasus	Anatolia	
	Sapanca	Manyas
ab. 1650: Çelebi		
ab. 1835: Bell		
ab. 1864: Uslar		
	1898: Benediktsen	1930-1931: Mészáros
	1913: Diri	1953-1986: Dumézil
	1930: Dumézil	1957-1963: Vogt
		1956-1992: Tevfik Esenç
		1965- : Charachidzé

Note that the main tools available nowadays, viz. Dumézil (1975), *Le verbe oubykh*, Vogt's (1963) *Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh* and Charachidzé's (1989) sketch *Ubykh*, are based on data collected in the region of Manyas and that all of them in fact reflect the language of Tevfik Esenç in the form which the language had during the last third of Tevfik's long and fruitful life.

1.2 Purpose

Ubykh is among other things remarkable for the very profuse indication of plurality. While the two other Northwest Caucasian languages, Abkhaz and especially Circassian, are relatively modest in this respect, Ubykh has been rather innovative by developing a number of devices for indicating plurality, specifically for the suffixal indication of plurality of the subject of predicative forms and for the prefixal indication of plurality of NPs. This article deals mainly with the development and use of verbal suffixes that indicate plurality of prefixally indexed actants. Section 2 presents a brief overview of various means developed by Ubykh for the indication of plurality. Section 3 provides an overview of the verbal suffixes marking plurality as they occur in Late Tevfik Esenç Ubykh (LTEU), that is in the language of Tevfik Esenç

as it was from about 1965 on. Beginning in section 4 the reader will find a historical presentation of the suffixal means that indicate plurality of actant prefixes in predicative forms, starting with Çelebi up to Late TE Ubykh, that is LTEU.

It will be seen that the use of suffixal markers of plurality in predicative forms, and possibly also their inventory, has changed considerably during the twentieth century, until about 1975. An attempt will be made to reconstruct and to interpret what happened, and also what the rapid changes involved imply for our evaluation of LTEU. Note that till section 4 all Ubykh data reflect the language of Tevfik Esenç, as it was in the last decades of his life.

1.3 Predicates and arguments

The main structural lines of Abkhaz, Circassian and Ubykh predicates are fairly similar. In all three languages, for instance, predicative forms can contain several actant prefixes that usually are differentiated for person and number. The first of these prefixes, which is obligatory in any predicative form, refers to the subject. Agent prefixes always follow all other actantial prefixes. Object prefixes occur after the subject marker and, if present, before the agent marker. Abkhaz stands apart in additionally differentiating gender for second and for third person singular.³

Ubykh and, for that matter, Circassian third person subject prefixes are specified by noun phrases in the absolute, all other third person actant prefixes by noun phrases in the relative case. Note that the term subject as used here refers to the single actant of intransitive verbs and to the patient of transitive verbs and that it, therefore, is equivalent to Bossong's (1982) *prime actant* or, in other words, that it combines Comrie's (1981) S and P. The subject actant is the main involvee of the action or state referred to by the predicative form.⁴

The relative case marker is -n in singular, -na in plural forms. Absolute case forms have neither an overt case, nor an overt number marker, which cannot be seen in isolation from the fact that plurality of the subject is very explicitly indicated in predicative forms. Cf. Charachidzé (1989: 370):

- (1)a. a- tət q'a- q'a
(DEF-man-ABS) (3/S-run-PERF)⁵
'The man ran (away).'
- b. a- tət a- q'a-q'a- n
(DEF-man-ABS) (3/S-run-PERF-PL)
'The men ran (away).'

Plurality of the subject in predicative forms can be indicated by various means, most of which lack functional or even etymological counterparts in the other NWC languages. This also goes for the prefical devices we find in Ubykh that mark plurality of nouns and that are illustrated in the next section. The number quality of the subject in predicative forms is often indicated more than once and can be indicated up to four times in one and the same form.

2. Overview of the indication of plurality in LTEU

2.1 Plurality in noun phrases

Both relative and absolute noun phrases are differentiated for number in NPs that contain a possessive or demonstrative prefix. Compare the following sets of prefixes:

singular NP	plural NP
sə-	s-aw-
šə-	š-aw-
wə-	w-aw-
š'ə-	š'-aw-
g-ğə-	g-ğ-aw-
ą-ğə-	ą-ğ-aw-
yə-	yə-λa-
wa-	wa-λa-
'this'	'these'
'that'	'those'

Compare the following absolute NPs:

sə-č'ya	'my house'	s-aw-č'ya	'my houses'
yə-tət	'this man'	yə-λa-tət	'these men'

The marker -aw- does not recur in other environments, whereas -λa is found as a pluralizing suffix in various pronominal formations and (cf. section 3.3) as part of the complex past/pl tense suffix. Cf.:

ay-da	'other'	ay-ıa	'others'
yə-na	'this one'	yə-ıa	'these ones'
wa-na	'that one'	wa-ıa	'those ones'
ą-ğ'a	(s)he her/himself	ą-ğ'a-ıa	'they themselves'
šə-ğ'a(-ıa)	'we'		
š'ə-ğ'a(-ıa)	'you/pl'		

2.2 Suppletive verbs

Ubykh has a number of suppletive verbs that show doublets, the use of which is determined by singularity, or - with some verbs - collectivity vs. plurality - or non-collectivity - of the subject (Dumézil&Esenç 1975: 38-48). For instance:

singular/collective S	plural/non-collective S
t'(ə)	q'a
w(ə)	k'a
s(ə)	ž'a
t'(ə)	ħ'a
ča.wə	ča.k'a
da.t'(ə)	da.ħa
q'a.t'(ə)	q'a.ħa
ħ(ə)	wə.ħ'a
	'to give'
	'to enter, to take'
	'to sit'
	'to stand/be in upright position'
	'to fall'
	'to rise'
	'to halt'
	'to belong to'

2.3 Verbal affixes

Two verbal affixes each have different forms, the distribution of which is determined by the number feature of the subject; cf. Dumézil&Esenç (1975: 150-2, 171-2):

singular S	plural S	
-y.t'	-y.λa	Past ⁷
də-/ə-	ğa-	Causative

Compare, from Dumézil (1975:173):

- (2)a. wə-s- ə- q'a.t'- q'a
(2/S-1/A-CAUS/sg-halt/sg-PERF)
I made you stop'
- b. šə- w- ğa- q'a.ħa -q'a -n
(1pl/S-2/A-CAUS/pl-halt/pl-PERF-PL)
'You made us stop.' (with fourfold marking of the plurality of the subject)

The use of -y.t'/-y.λa as well as that of the plural markers -a and -na as it was in LTEU is profusively illustrated in section 3.

2.4 Circassian and Abkhaz compared

Neither Abkhaz, nor Circassian have anything which is similar to the suppletive verbs or affixes of Ubykh, nor does Circassian mark plurality of NPs on prefixed elements. In Abkhaz attributive pronouns are marked for the plurality of a following plural noun. The three NWC languages differ a great deal when it comes to case and number marking.

Abkhaz nouns have two plural endings, -č'a plural/human and -k'a plural/non-human. As opposed to Circassian and Ubykh, Abkhaz does not differentiate relative and absolute NPs. Circassian NPs differentiate, by means of endings, singular and plural, relative and absolute and, with most singular NPs, definite and indefinite forms. Compare:

	Ubykh		West Circassian		Abkhaz	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
ABS	-ø		-er/-ø	-ħ-er	-ø	-č'a/-k'a
REL	-n	-na	-m/-ø	-(ħe)m-e	+/-DEF	+/-HUM

In LTEU suffixal indication of the plurality of the subject in predicative forms occurs with all three persons plural, whereas in Circassian this is only the case with third person subjects. In Abkhaz finite predicative forms, plurality of the subject is never indicated suffixally.

As opposed to the situation in Abkhaz, third person subject in Circassian is not prefixally differentiated for number. In Ubykh there is an optional differentiation between third person singular and third person plural in the domain of the actantial prefixes. Compare the following present tense paradigms, adapted from Dumézil&Esenç (1975), Smeets (1984) and Dumézil (1967) respectively:

Ubykh	West Circassian	Abkhaz
sək'ən	sek''e	scot'
šək'ən	tek''e	hcot'
wək'ən	wek''e	wcot'/bcot' (-F/+F)
š'ək'ən	š'ek''e	š'cot'
(a)k'ən	mak''e	dcot'/ycot' (+H/-H)
ək'ən	mak''eč	ycot'

3. Suffixal indication of plurality in finite predicates in LTEU⁸

3.1 LTEU: the suffix -a

Plurality of the subject, and of any second person plural actant, is marked by means of the suffix -a in dynamic present and in imperfect forms.

- (3)a. (a-)k'a -n
(3/S-go-DYN-PRES)
'X goes.'
b. a- k'-a -n
(3/S-go-PL-DYN-PRES)
'They go.'
c. ša- k'- a -n
(1pl/S-go-PL-DYN-PRES)
'We are going.'
d. š'ə- k'-a -n
(2pl/S-go-PL-DYN-PRES)
'You/pl are going'

- (4)a. (a-) z- bya -n
(3/S)-1/A-see-DYN-PRES)
'I see X'
b. a- z- by- a -n
(3/S-1/A-see -PL-DYN-PRES)
'I see them.'

Imperfect forms contain the dynamic suffix -na and the past tense marker -y.t'/-y.λa. Pluralizing -a occurs between the stem and the dynamic suffix -na:

- (5)a. wə- s- k'ə -na -y.t'
(2/S-1/A-kill-DYN-PAST/sg)
'I was killing you.'
b. š'ə- s- k'ə -a -na- y.λ
(2pl/S-1/A-kill-PL-DYN-PAST/pl)
'I was killing you/pl.'

3.2 LTEU: the suffix -na

The pluralizing suffix -na occurs in present stative (6), in perfect (7) and in future (8) tense forms and furthermore in all imperative (13) forms with a plural addressee. The suffix follows the perfect tense marker -q'a, but precedes the future markers. In final position the form of the suffix is -n.

- (6)a. sə- xə
(1/S-prince-PRES)
'I am a prince.'
b. ša- xə -n
(1pl/S-prince-PL-PRES)
'We are princes.'
c. sə- xə -ma
(1/S-prince-PRES-NEG)
'I am not a prince.'
d. ša-xə -na -ma
(1pl/S-prince-PL-PRES-NEG)
'We are not princes.'

- (7)a. wə- s- k' -q'a
(2/S-1/A-kill-PERF)
'I killed you.'
b. š'ə- s- k' -q'a -n
(2pl/S-1/A-kill-PERF-PL)
'I killed you/pl.'

- (8)a. wə- s- k'-aw.t
(2/S-1/A-kill-FUT1)
'I shall kill you.'
b. š'ə- s- k'ə -n -aw.t
(2pl/S-1/A-kill-PL-FUT1)
'I shall kill you/pl.'
c. ša- k'a -n -aw -mə -t
(1pl/S-go-PL-FU..-NEG..-T1)
'We shall not go.'

3.3 LTEU: the past/pl suffix -y.λa

The suffix -y.λa occurs in imperfect (5b), past future (9) and pluperfect (10) predicates with a plural subject or with any second person plural actant. The form of the plural variant of this suffix is -y.λ in final position in finite forms.

- (9)a. wə- z- by-aw.t'-q'a
(2/S-1/A-see-FUT1-PERF)
'I would see you.'
b. š'ə- z- bya -n -aw.t'-q'a-n/š'ə-z-by-aw.t'-q'a-n (Dumézil&Esenç 1975:148)
(2pl/S-1/A-see-(PL)-FUT1-PERF-PL)
'I would see you/pl.'

- (10)a. wə- z- bya-q'a-y.t'
(2/S-1/A-see-PERF-PAST/sg)
'I had seen you.'
b. š'ə- z- bya-q'a- y.λ
(2pl/S-1/A-see-PERF-PAST/pl)
'I had seen you/pl.'

c. šə- k'a-q'a -y.λa -ma
(1pl/S-go-PERF-PAST/pl-NEG)
'We had not gone.'

3.4 LTEU: second person plural prefixes triggering plural suffixes

In LTEU the suffixal indication of plurality is not only evoked by the presence of a first, second or third person subject prefix, but also by any object or agent second person plural prefix. Cf. Dumézil&Esenç (1975:162): "Cependant, en oubykh, toute forme contenant, en quelque fonction que ce soit, un indice de 2pl. reçoit obligatoirement une marque de pluriel", or Charachidzé (1989:399): "Toutefois, la présence d'un indice personnel de 2ème pluriel, quel qu'en soit le rang, entraîne l'expression du pluriel".

In form (11)b the plural suffix -a is triggered by a second person plural agent prefix, in (12)b by a second person plural object prefix.

(11)a. wə-ž- bya -n
(2/S-1pl/A-to see-DYN-PRES)

'We see you.'

b. sə- ž- by -a -n

(1/S-2pl/A-to see-PL-DYN-PRES)

'You/pl see me.'

c. s- a- bya -n

(1/S-3pl/A-see-DYN-PRES)

'They see me'

(12)a. a- ž- ğa- x'ača -n
(3/S-1pl/O-AFTER-look for-DYN-PRES)

'He is looking for us'

b. a- ž- ğa- x'ač -a -n

(3/S-2pl/O-AFTER-look for-PL-DYN-PRES)

'He is looking for you/pl'

c. a- ğa- x'ača -n

(3/S-3pl/O-AFTER-look for-DYN-PRES)

'He is looking for them'

In imperative forms with a plural addressee, whether subject or agent, we find the plural marker -na. Cf. Charachidzé (1989:400):

(13)a. wə-k'a
(2/S-to go)

'Go!'

b. ſə- k'a -n
(2pl/S-to go-PL)

'Go (you/pl)'

c. a- s- tə
(3/S-1/O-2/A-give)

'Give X to me!'

d. a- s- tə -n
(3/S-1/O-2pl/A-give-PL)

'(You/pl) give X to me!'

The selection of plural as opposed to singular verb stems and the selection of the plural form ğa- of the causative prefix is conditioned by the presence of a plural subject prefix. Second person plural markers other than subject ones do not trigger

these plural forms. Compare, for instance, the LTEU version of example (21)d, which combines a singular stem form with a second person plural indirect object marker. See also (24c), with a second person plural object prefix that triggers suffixal indication of plurality without, however, requiring the plural form of the stem of the verb 'to want'. In example (24)d we find a second person plural agent prefix in combination with singular forms of the causative prefix and the stem. Compare, finally, the (37) examples and also the (38) examples in note 16.

3.5 LTEU versus earlier distributions

There are no forms in the paradigms or in the examples furnished by Dumézil and Charachidzé from the mid-seventies that are in conflict with the statements quoted above. These statements are also confirmed by all predicative forms containing a second person plural prefix occurring in recent texts. Of course, all recent texts and all examples in publications on Ubykh from the last decades are due to Tevfik Esenç. A linguist who bases himself on the recent, major works on Ubykh and on the reading of texts from the last, say, thirty years has every reason to think that the attribution of a plural suffix to Ubykh forms containing a plural subject prefix, or any other second person plural prefix, is automatic. However, looking at older studies on Ubykh and going through materials that were collected before the 1970s, we do find many forms that do not conform to the rules as they obtained in LTEU.

Section 4 presents materials collected before 1864 in the Caucasus, section 5 data collected by Dirr in 1913 in the region of Sapanca, section 6 material collected in 1930, again near Lake Sapanca, but this time by Dumézil, and section 7 presents data collected in 1930-1 by Mészáros in the region of Manyas. Section 8, finally, deals with data which were collected by Dumézil and by Vogt from the mouth of speakers of Manyas Ubykh in the 1950s and 1960s.

4. Data from before the Exodus (1864)

4.1 Çelebi

Çelebi's material is not easy to use, but very valuable. Several studies have been devoted to the interpretation of the about forty short items.⁹ In Çelebi's materials there are about seven predicative forms that contain, or probably contain, a pluralizing suffix. Unfortunately, Çelebi has no present dynamic forms. In most cases the pluralizing suffix is -na, all instances of which occur in forms, in interpreted forms that is, where one expects them on account of LTEU. There are no forms that lack -na that would have required it if they had represented LTEU. Quite in keeping with expectations that are based on LTEU, we find -na in (14a) which occurs three times in Çelebi's data, in Gippert's (1992: 25-7) transliterations as sikiçuw, sikanoğ, and sikanoğ respectively:

(14)a. šə- k'a-n-aw

(1pl/S-go-PL-FUT2)

'We will go, let's go!'

Four forms are interpreted as containing the past tense suffix -y.t'/-y.λa. One of these, in Provasi's (1984:314, item 34) transliteration sažhwd, is interpreted as:

- b. sa- \hat{z}° - \check{g}° awə-y.t'
(What/S-2pl/A-find-PAST/sg)
'What did you/pl find?'

In LTEU we would have had final -y. λ a, triggered by the second plural agent prefix. In three of the four other forms that Gippert analyzes as containing, or possibly containing the suffix -y.t', one would have expected it, the fourth one (Provasi's number 39) being unclear. There are two forms that are interpreted as containing the past/pl suffix -y. λ a. The first of them, transliterated as saywzil ša' (Provasi: 316, no. 40), is interpreted, convincingly, as:

- c. sa- y- \hat{z}° - wə- y. λ -ša.y
(What/S-HH-2pl/A-bring-PAST/pl-INT)
'What did you bring hither?'

The second form, in transliteration $\check{s}ay^u$ wždil, is difficult to interpret. Provasi (1984: 316, item 42) suggests:

- d. sa- y- \hat{s}° - š -a -na -y. λ
(What/S-HH-2pl/A-do-PL-DYN-PAST/pl)
'What did you/pl do?'

Gippert (1992:28) hesitates about this reading. I am inclined to reject it altogether. Its weak points being too numerous: (1) a missing interrogative suffix, (2) initial š for s, (3) d for n, (4) \hat{z} improbable as a merger of \hat{s}° and voiceless š.¹⁰

4.2 Bell

The data given by Bell, which are listed and interpreted by Mészáros (1934:12-3), do not contain predicative or plural forms.

4.3 Uslar: the suffix -a

In Uslar's material there are many present tense forms, but there is no indication whatsoever that his materials contain a plural suffix comparable to -a. We are entitled to say this because Uslar consistently distinguished between a (written as e) and a (his a). There are about fifteen forms in his material that would have shown the suffix -a in LTEU, among which (15)b-c:

- (15)a. z- bya -n
(3/S-1/A-see-DYN-PRES)
'I see X.'

(Uslar 1887:90: bijen)

- b. \hat{s}° e- z- bya -n
(2pl/S-1/A-see-DYN-PRES)
'I see you/pl'

(Uslar 1887:90: bijen)

- c. \hat{s}° - bya -n
(3/S-2pl/A-see-DYN-PRES)
'You/pl see X'

(Uslar 1887:99: bijen)

Uslar has no imperfect or pluperfect tense forms, which means that we cannot discuss the distribution of -y. λ a versus -y.t'.

4.4 Uslar: the suffix -na

There are many instances of the pluralizing suffix -na in predicative forms in Uslar's data. In the majority of cases it is used in accordance with LTEU usage. However, the suffix -na is often absent from finite predicative forms in which it might have been expected. Cf.:

- (16)a. \hat{s}° - bya -q'a
(3/S-2pl/A-see-PERF)
'You/pl saw X'
b. \hat{s}° - by -aw.t
(3/S-2pl/A-see-FUT1)
'You/pl will see X'

(Uslar 1887:99: \hat{s}° bijeqa)

(Uslar 1887:99: \hat{s}° biot)

LTEU would have had (\hat{a}) \hat{z}° -bya-q'a-n and (\hat{a}) \hat{z}° -bya-n-aw.t

In some paradigms we find a curious distribution, which is not in accordance with LTEU. Cf. (Uslar 1887:97):

- (17)a. še- tət - ča
(1pl/S-man-good-PRES)
'We are good people.'
b. \hat{s}° e- tət - ča
(2pl/S-man-good-PRES)
'You are good people.'
c. tət - ča -n
(3/S-man-good-PL-PRES)
'They are good people.'

We would expect the suffix -na also in (17)a-b as these forms, like (17)c, have a plural subject. What we find instead is a Circassian-like distribution, with the plural suffix occurring only in the third person plural form.

5. Dirr: Sapanca Ubykh

The region of Sapanca was visited by Dirr in 1913 and by Dumézil in 1930. Dumézil was told that Dirr's informant, who died before 1930, did not have a perfect knowledge of Ubykh (Dumézil 1931:XVI). Dirr himself said about this informant: "Der Mann machte sich zwar nur widerspenstig an die Aufgabe heran - es fehlte ihm an Selbstvertrauen; (...) ausserdem ist das Ubychische schon im Aussterben begriffen, was sein Misstrauen in seine Kraft nur noch erhöhte, aber es gelang mir doch, aus dem Manne herauszuziehen, was überhaupt noch herauszuziehen war." (Dirr: 1916:415).

5.1 Dirr: the suffix -na

The suffix -na occurs frequently and mostly in accordance with LTEU usage. However, this suffix is sometimes present where one does not expect it basing oneself on its distribution in LTEU, and sometimes the suffix is absent, where one would have expected it. Dirr explicitly mentions the optional occurrence of -na for some paradigms (cf. (19)a-c). It is striking that the distribution of the suffix -na in Dirr's texts is more in line with the rules of LTEU than is the distribution in his paradigms. The (18) examples contain expected -na:

- (18)a. *a-dayalə-n* (Dirr 1927:111)
 (3/S-mad -Pl-PRES)
 'They are mad'
 b. *sa- s'- x'a- z- wə -n -aw -əy* (Dirr 1927:92)
 (What/S-2pl/O-FOR-1/A-bring-PL-FUT2-INT)
 'What shall I bring for you/pl?'

For examples of optional **-na** in perfect tense forms cf. (Dirr 1927:98):

- (19)a. *a- s- təə -q'a(-n)* (LTEU: without **-na**)
 (3/S-1pl/A-write-PERF(-PL))
 'We wrote X.'
 b. *a- s'- təə -q'a(-n)* (LTEU: with **-na**)
 (3/S-2pl/A-write-PERF(-PL))
 'You/pl wrote X.'
 c. *a- təə -q'a(-n)* (LTEU: without **-na**)
 (3/S-3pl/A-write-PERF(-PL))
 'They wrote X.'

On several occasions we find optional **-na** in predicates containing a 2nd person plural marker; e.g. (Dirr 1927:95):

- (20)a. *a- ə'- s'- -aw/aə'-s'a-n-aw* (LTEU: with **-na**)
 (3/S-2pl/A-drink-(PL)-FUT2)
 'You/pl will drink X.'
 b. *a- ə'- s'a -q'a/a-ə'-s'a-q'a-n* (LTEU: with **-na**)
 (3/S-2pl/A-drink-PERF(-PL))
 'You/pl have drunk X.'

In some paradigms presenting forms with first, second and third person plural subject prefixes, the suffix **-na** occurs only in the third person plural forms (e.g. Dirr 1927:98), a situation which we already found with Uslar and will still find with Dumézil (1931). The suffix **-na** occurs, as expected, in all imperative forms with a plural addressee.

5.2 Dirr: the suffix **-ə**

Dirr is the first in whose materials we find evidence for a pluralizing vocalic suffix in present tense forms. However, this evidence is found in only a small part of the forms in which it would have occurred in LTEU. Dirr did not analyze the suffix as such and he remarked almost irritated (Dirr: 1927:95): "Nicht wenig wird die klare Einsicht in die Sprache erschwert durch das Schwanken des Vokals hinter der V". So fand ich in einzelnen Fällen einen andern Vokal im Plural bei V iž kommen'. After this he adduces a small number of examples, among which:

- (21)a. *sə- y- žə -n* (Dirr: ..žin)
 (1/S-HH-return-DYN-PRES)
 'I come back'
 b. *sə- y- ž -ə -n* (Dirr: ..žan, ..žän)
 (1pl/S-HH-return-PL-DYN-PRES)
 'We come back'
 c. *sə- y- ž -ə -n* (Dirr: ..žan)
 (2pl/S-HH-return-PL-DYN-PRES)
 'You/pl come back'

Dirr's data show that the use of **-ə** was not automatic in Sapanca Ubykh of his time. In a present tense paradigm of 'to come' for instance, we find the suffix only in the third person plural, but not in the corresponding first and second person plural forms (Dirr 1927:88): ſə-y-žə-n, ſə-y-žə-n, a-yə-žə-n/a-yə-žə-n. It draws the attention that Dirr noticed the suffix only after stems ending in C(ə), not after stems ending in Ca. In the small number of dynamic present tense forms that contain object or agent prefixes of the second person plural, there never is a trace of the suffix, cf. (Dirr 1927:108):

- d. *a- s'- n- a- tə -n* (LTEU: a-sə-n-a-tə-a-n, cf. Dumézil 1975:92)
 (3/S-2pl/O-3/A-PL/3-give/sg-DYN-PRES)
 'They give it to you/pl'

5.3 Dirr: the suffix **-y.t'**/**-y.λa**

The form **-y.t'** of this suffix regularly occurs in both imperfect tense forms, where it is preceded by the dynamic marker **-na**, and in pluperfect forms, in which it is preceded by the marker of the perfect tense, **-q'a**. The plural allomorph is found in a few forms containing a plural subject or a second person plural object or agent prefix. For practically all forms concerned, variants containing **-y.t'** are also given. This seems to indicate that in Sapanca Ubykh the use of the plural form of this suffix was not automatic.

- (22) *ya- s'- təə- na- y.t' / ya- s'- təə- na- y.λ* (Dirr 1927:100)
 (UNSP/S-2pl/A-write-DYN-PAST/sg)/(UNSP/S-2pl/A-write-DYN-PAST/pl)
 'You/pl were writing'

6. Dumézil 1931: Sapanca

6.1 Dumézil 1931: the suffix **-ə**.

Dumézil (1931:59) is the first to mention a rule concerning pluralizing **-ə**. He was also the first who indicated that suffixal pluralizing devices of predicates mark plurality of the subject in intransitive forms and that of the object of transitive forms.

The rule is formulated with hesitation and there are only few forms in his grammar that show a trace of it: "Au présent, dont le suffixe est déjà -(ə)n (...), le pluriel ne s'exprime pas en dehors des préfixes pronominaux (qui ne risquent d'être ambigus qu'à la 3e personne (...)), ou bien il s'exprime (avec les thèmes consonantiques, et capricieusement, semble-t-il) en remplaçant -ən par -ən."

Some pages earlier, with the treatment of the present tense, Dumézil remarks (1931:56): "Present: **-n**: - On insère une voyelle de liaison (généralement ə, quelquefois i) après les thèmes consonantiques. Au pluriel, cette voyelle de liaison est assez souvent a, ä (... le fait, sans être constant, est plus fréquent que ne le pense Dirr.)" The last remark is puzzling as in Dumézil's material one finds no more evidence for **-ə** than in that of Dirr.

In Dumézil (1932:184) the rule is resumed: "Au présent, dont le suffixe est déjà -(ə)n, le pluriel ne s'exprime pas en dehors des préfixes personnels; cependant quelques

thèmes consonnantiques opposent sg. -ən à pl. -an (-än) (...)"

Going through the examples in Dumézil's grammar and his texts, one finds indeed no more than a few forms that show a trace of the suffix. In many forms in which one would have expected it in LTEU, it is not there and there are exceptional forms in which we find it (see (23)a where we do not expect it).

- (23)a. *a- y- š- š- a -n*
 (3/S-HH-1pl/A-do-PL-DYN-PRES)
 'We do X.'
 b. *a- y- š- š- a -n*
 (3/S-HH-2pl/A-do-PL-DYN-PRES)
 'You/pl do X'

(Dumézil 1931:100: e-y-š-š-än)

(Dumézil 1931:100: e-y-s-š-än)

The (23) examples are derived from the stem *yə-š(a)* 'to do'. In (23)a one does not expect -*a* as the form does not contain a plural subject prefix or a second person plural marker. In (23)b the pluralizing suffix is expected because of the presence of a second person plural marker. Compare also (23)c, which - as expected - does not contain a pluralizing suffix:

- c. *a- y- s- šə -n*
 (3/S-HH-1/A-do-DYN-PRES)
 'I do X'

(Dumézil 1931:100: e-y-s-š-in)

Thus, Dirr's findings for Sapanca Ubykh are confirmed: there was a vocalic pluralizing suffix in present forms. Its occurrence was not obligatory and was also permitted in forms in which it would not have been allowed in LTEU. As to its form, the suffix was probably to be analyzed as -*a*, which remained a mid vowel after stems ending in C(*a*), and which yielded -*ə* after stems ending in Ca.

6.2 Dumézil 1931: the suffix -na

Dumézil (1931:59) mentions this suffix as the most frequent plural marker. The distribution of -na in Dumézil's (1931) materials is more in accordance with that of LTEU than the distribution we found with Dirr. For instance, in future tense forms the suffix -na occurs exactly when and as in LTEU (cf. (24)a/b). Dumézil does not mention, neither in 1931, nor in 1932, that the presence of just any second person plural triggers, or may trigger, suffixal indication of plurality. Sometimes it is there (e.g. in (24)c), sometimes it is not (e.g. in (24)d/e). In imperatives with a plural (e.g. in (24)c), sometimes it is (e.g. in (24)d/e). In imperatives with a plural addressee -na is always present.

- (24)a. *šə- za- ya -n -aw*
 (1pl/S-RECI/O-IO-fight-PL-FUT2)
 'We will fight against each other'
 b. *šə- z- bya-n-aw-mə -t*
 (2pl/S-1/A-see-PL-FU-NEG-T1)
 'I will not see you/pl'
 c. *p'ča a- š- q'aşa- ğ -na -s*
 (guest-ABS) (3/S-2pl/O-Preverb-wish-PL-PRES-Q)
 'Do you/pl want a guest?'
 d. *sa- š- a- q'a.f -q'a*
 (1/S-2pl/A-CAUS/sg-stop/sg-PERF)
 'You/pl made me stop'

(Dumézil 1931:167)

(Dumézil 1931:61)

(Dumézil 1931:112)

(Dumézil 1931:68)

- e. *sə- ž- bg'a- tə.s -q'a*
 (1/S-2pl/O-ON-sit down/sg-PERF)
 'I sat down on you/pl'

(Dumézil 1931:69)

6.3 Dumézil 1931: the suffix -y.λa

From Dumézil (1931:60) it is clear that the use of -y.λa in forms containing an appropriate plural prefix is regular, though not obligatory: "A l'imparfait et au plus-que-parfait, le pluriel ne s'exprime pas par -n; ou bien il ne s'exprime pas en dehors des préfixes pronominaux, ou bien il s'exprime en remplaçant -nêt' et -qêt' par -nêλ, -qêλ".

- (25)a. (*a-*) *ğ- aw- g'əma* *ħə -na -y.t'*
 ((3pl-POSS/3-PL-cow-ABS) (3/S-3pl/A-herd-DYN-PAST))
 'They were herding their cows'
 b. *yada baqa a- y- n- š -q'a -y.t'*
 (many) (enemy-ABS) (3/S-HH-3/A-make-PERF-PAST)
 'He made many enemies'

(Dumézil 1931:55)

(Dumézil 1931:137)

In LTEU one would expect *a-ħə-na-y.λ* on account of the third person plural subject of this form. The next two examples show expected -y.λa:

- c. *ğ- aw- žəla təwtarəšə-n* *ğ- aw- baqa -y.λ*
 (3-POSS/3-PL-brother-ABS) (T-REL) (3/S-3/O-POSS/3-PL-enemy-PAST/pl)
 'His brothers were T's enemies'
 d. *wa-λa adəğə k'ay-na g'əma-wq'a a- q'a- ğ-q'a-y.λ*
 (those-PL) (Circassian) (village-REL/pl) (cow-herd-ABS) (3/S-3pl/O-HAND-have-PAST/pl)
 'Those Circassian villages had cow-herds'

7. Mészáros 1934: Early Manyas Ubykh

Mészáros worked in several villages in the region of Manyas, which is located about 200 kilometers west of Lake Sapanca. He spent several months there during field work trips in 1930 and 1931. Apparently, Mészáros and Dumézil, who was working at the same time near lake Sapanca, did not know about each other's activities. Mészáros, who knew about Benediktsen's and Dirr's stay in the village of Kirk-Pınar, visited the lake Sapanca Ubykh in order to collect lexical material. Curiously Mészáros never refers to Dumézil's grammar, which was published as early as in 1931. He mentions Dirr (1927/8) only once, and in a sociolinguistic context only.

7.1 Mészáros: the suffix -na

The distribution of this suffix in Manyas Ubykh of the 1930s was much the same as in Sapanca Ubykh of the same time. As in Sapanca Ubykh, -na is sometimes lacking in forms where it was regular in LTEU. However, in contrast to Sapanca Ubykh, there are also cases where -na is used where it was not allowed in LTEU. It is regrettable that Mészáros did not publish any texts. The about hundred proverbs do not make up for their absence. They, for instance, hardly contain forms that are of any help for this inquiry. One has to do with his paradigms and accidental examples.¹¹

The following paradigms, which are not exceptional, provide a good illustration for the deviations from LTEU:

(Mészáros 1934:115)	(Mészáros 1934:115)	(Mészáros 1934:117)
(26)a ą-š-t̪-aw	(26)b ą-ž-by-aw	(26)c ą-š-t̪-q'a(-n)
(27)a ą-s°-t̪(ə-n)-aw	(27)b ą-ž'-by-aw	(27)c ą-s°-t̪-q'a(-n)
(28)a ą-t̪-aw 'will write X'	(28)b ą-by-aw 'will see X'	(28)c ą-t̪-q'a(-n) 'wrote X down.'

In the (26) and (28) examples we do not expect a suffixed plural marker. Nevertheless, we find optional -na in (26)c and (28)c. In the (27) forms we would expect it everywhere, but for (27)a and (27)c the use of a pluralizing suffix is given as optional only, and in (27)b it is lacking altogether. In the section on plural elements (Mészáros 1934:91-2) the attention is drawn by the large number of finite forms in which -na is triggered by a first person plural agent prefix. These forms would not have been suffixally marked for plurality in LTEU. Compare, finally (Mészáros 1934:71):

(29)a. ș°- ə- x (3/S-2pl/O-IO-belong to-PRES) 'X belongs to you/pl'	(without expected -na)
b. ș°- ə- xə -na -ma (3/S-2pl/O-IO-belong to-PL-PRES-NEG) 'It does not belong to you/pl'	(with expected -na)

7.2 Mészáros 1934: the suffix -ą

The suffix -ą is indicated both in forms containing a plural subject prefix and in forms containing non-subject second person plural prefixes. The suffix is unequivocally indicated after stems ending in C(ə), and also in some forms with stem-final Ca. Mészáros (1934:92) comments on its distribution as follows: "Es kommt meistens in der 2. Pers. Pl., sehr oft aber in den sämtlichen Personen in der Mehrzahl vor." Compare (30)a with and (30)b without -na, both in accordance with LTEU:

(30)a ą- s°- ą- q' -ą -n (3/S-2pl/O-TO-be heard-PL-DYN-PRES) 'You/pl hear it'	(Mészáros 1934:92)
b. ą- ș- ą- q'ə -n (3/S-1pl/O-TO-be heard-DYN-PRES) 'We hear it'	(Mészáros 1934:114)

Here, too, much is optional. An important difference with the distribution of -na is that we do not find -ą in forms in which it was not permitted in LTEU. The other way round, i.e. -ą not occurring, or being given as merely optional in forms in which it would have been obligatory in LTEU, is rather a frequent situation. The non-obligatory nature of -ą reveals itself most clearly on two and a half pages of paradigms (Mészáros 1934:112-4) where -ą occurs only twice, whereas it would have occurred twelve times if the same forms had represented LTEU. Compare:

(31)a. ą- ș°- t̪ə -n (3/S-2pl/A-write-DYN-PRES) 'You/pl are writing X'	(Mészáros 1934:113)
b. ș°- t̪ -ą -n (3/S-2pl/A-write-PL-DYN-PRES) 'You/pl are writing X'	(Mészáros 1934:113)

The fact that this suffix is more frequent in Mészáros (1934) than in studies on Sapanca Ubykh of the same time, may just be due to Mészáros' sharp ear, which is among other things evident from the notations we find for the following participles (Mészáros 1934:137):

(32)a. ą- t- x'a- k'a -n (3/S-PART/O-FOR-go -DYN-PRES-ABS) 'The one to/for whom X is going'
b. ą- t- x'a-k'-ą -n (3/S-PART/O-FOR-go-PL-DYN-PRES-ABS) 'The one to/for whom they are going'

7.3 Mészáros 1934: the suffix -y.λa

This suffix simply does not occur in Mészáros' materials, nor is it mentioned when verbal plural markers are treated. There are quite a number of forms containing -y.t', both forms in which LTEU would have required -y.t' and forms in which LTEU would have asked for -y.λa. Compare the following forms, that should have had final -y.λa in LTEU (cf. Dumézil 1975:148):

(33)a. ą- s°- t̪ə -na -y.t' (3/S-2pl/A-write-DYN-PAST/sg) 'You/pl were writing X'	(Mészáros 1934:92, 118)
b. ą- s°- t̪ -q'a -y.t' (3/S-2pl/A-write-PERF-PAST/sg) 'You/pl had written X'	(Mészáros 1934:119)

It is highly improbable that there should not have been a past/pl suffix in the language of the speakers of Manyas Ubykh of the early thirties of this century. It occurred in all probability in mid-seventeenth century Ubykh, it occurred in Sapanca Ubykh in the 1930s and it was a regular phenomenon in Manyas Ubykh in the mid-fifties. Possibly, the distribution of -y.λa was such that it was more likely to occur in texts than in paradigms.¹²

8. Manyas Ubykh: 1955 till about 1975

8.1 Sources

In 1954 Dumézil started working on Manyas Ubykh with a variety of informants, soon to discover that Tevfik Esenç was the most knowledgeable of them all. Tevfik developed in fact into a native linguist as was acknowledged by the appearance of his name as co-author on the title page of many publications. Most texts originating from other speakers of Manyas Ubykh were eventually published in Tevfik Esenç's wordings.¹³

In the third section of this article I gave an overview of the suffixes that indicate plurality in LTEU finite predicative forms, together with their distribution. Scrutiny of Manyas Ubykh texts and studies that were published in the period 1955-1975, that is up till the canonical *Le Verbe oubykh*, shows that Tevfik Esenç's judgement concerning the optional versus obligatory status of a plural index in certain types of forms, changed in the course of the two decades involved. This was especially the case with

regard to forms containing a second person plural index. We must keep in mind that during that period the possibilities of Tevfik Esenç to communicate in Ubykh diminished dramatically and that Tevfik Esenç, through his many contacts with Dumézil, Vogt and Charachidzé, became ever more a linguist and less native.

The sources for the language of Tevfik Esenç as it was between 1955 and 1975 are Dumézil (1959, 1960) and Vogt (1963) and a large number of texts published in various journals and in the series *Documents anatoliens*.

Dumézil (1959) contains a short *Esquisse grammaticale*, which was enlarged and corrected in four pages of *Notes grammaticales* in Dumézil (1960). The *Dictionnaire* by Hans Vogt (1963) also lists grammatical elements, often with discussion of distribution and meaning. That dictionary should not be used without Dumézil's profuse comments (1965:197-269).

8.2 Manyas 1955-1975: -na

From the mid-fifties on till the last years of Tevfik Esenç the distribution of -na has been almost constant (see section 3.2). It was required in plural imperatives, and in most non-finite forms and in all finite perfect and future tense forms with plural subjects. In forms containing a second person plural object or agent marker there was a clear development towards the obligatory presence of pluralizing suffixes (section 8.6).

8.3 Manyas 1955-1975: -a (Dumézil 1959 and 1960)

Dumézil (1959:18) did not yet adduce a discrete suffix. What he describes is that present forms derived from stems with final C(*a*) have final *ən* in singular, and final -*an* in plural forms, whereas present forms from stems ending in Ca have final *an* in singular and final *ən* in plural forms: "Au présent (et à l'imparfait autre .λ) apparaît en plus une opposition vocalique: 1° dans les thèmes terminés par une consonne, l'opposition est sg. .ən, pl. .an (prononcé .än, plutôt que .an): *a.s.tꝫ.ən* 'je l'écris', *a.s.tꝫ.an* 'je les écris'; 2° dans les thèmes terminés par alä, l'opposition est sg. .än, pl. *an*;"

Apparently, the form of the suffix was not yet a uniform suffix *-ə* occurring in any environment, but a suffix *a/-ə*, with *-a* or *-ə* occurring after C(*a*), and *-ə* after Ca. The suffix was not yet totally obligatory, witness the following quote from Dumézil's (1959:13) section on vocalism: "par un mécanisme régulier, où l'accent ne semble pas jouer de rôle, il y a, dans la conjugaison d'un grand nombre de verbes dont le thème est terminé en *-al-ä*, au présent et à l'imparfait, une opposition de sg. (...) *.än*, pl. *.an*:". After which Dumézil adduces several examples, among which figure a.k"*ä.n* 'he goes' and a.k"*a.n* 'they go'.¹⁴ He then goes on: "ici encore une contraction (***a.k"***a.an*, etc.) est probable, car, avec beaucoup de thèmes verbaux terminés par une consonne, on observe l'opposition sg. *.än*, pl. *.an* (prononcé plutôt *.än*), p. ex. **a.s.tx.***än* 'je l'écris', **a.s.tx.***an* (pron. **astxän**) 'je les écris'."

In the paradigms of Dumézil (1959:18-20), we always find a relatively open vowel in dynamic present forms containing a plural subject prefix, as opposed to forms containing a second person plural agent or object prefix. Cf.:

- (34)a. ya- s̥- fə -n (UNSP/S-2pl/A-eat-DYN-PRES) (LTEU: yaṣ̥fan)
 'You/pl are eating.'

b. sə- s̥- ə- məṣā -n (1/S-2pl/O-IO-call-DYN-PRES) (LTEU: səṣ̥əməṣān)
 'I am calling you/pl.'

8.4 Manyas 1955-1975: -ą - (Vogt 1963, Dumézil 1965)

Vogt (1963: item 4) was the first Ubykhologist to analyze a discrete plural suffix: "-a-suffixe de pluriel au présent et à l'imparfait". In the case of this -a following C(ə) he notes plain a and after Ca he gives long a:, which is an instance of a long vowel resulting - as he states it, following Dumézil - from the contraction of a+a. I make follow some of Vogt's examples:

- (35)a. **sə-** **šə** **-n** (Vogt: səš'ən)
 (1/S-to become-DYN-PRES)
 'I become'.

b. **šə-** **š** **-a** **-n** (Vogt: səš'ən)
 (1pl/S-to become-PL-DYN-PRES)
 'We become.'

c. **sə-** **y-** **k'**^a**-na** **-y.t'** (Vogt: səyk'anəyt')
 (1/S-HH-go -DYN-PAST/sg)
 'I was coming.'

d. **šə-** **y-** **k"**^a**-na** **-y.λ** (Vogt: š'əyk"ə:nəyλ)
 (1pl/S-HH-go-PL-DYN-PAST/pl)
 'We were coming.'

Dumézil (1965:199-201) did not accept Vogt's analysis of the vowels of Ubykh and specifically denied the existence of a long vowel phoneme **a:**. Most instances of Vogt's **a**: are, according to Dumézil (1965:200), to be interpreted as his stable **ä**. Dumézil (1965:217) corrected (35)b into **səšən** with stable maximally open **ä**, which means that around 1965 Tevfik Esenç and Dumézil already operated with a stable suffix, that is without allomorphic variation conditioned by the degree of aperture of the preceding vowel.

8.5 Manyas 1955-1975: -y.λa

The use of the past/pl suffix **-y.λa**, which was only optional in Sapanca Ubykh of the thirties and which was not recorded by Mészáros for Manyas Ubykh, appears to have been obligatory in Tevfik Esenç's language right from the middle of the 1950s. The last form with a plural subject prefix that contained **-y.t'** instead of expected **-y.λa** dates from a source published in 1965. Vogt (1963: item 41: "**-ayt'**, pl. **-ay1** suffixe d'imparfait et de plus-que-parfait".¹⁵⁾ presents only examples that are in accordance with LTEU.

8.6 Manyas 1955-1957: forms with second person plural markers

¹ The automatic presence of a plural suffix, whether, -*a*, -*y.λa*, or -*na*, in predicative forms containing a second person prefix is a relatively late feature in the language of Tevfik Esenç and was formulated for the first time in 1975. The last

counter-example in a text dates from 1978 (cf. example (37)c). The development can be followed via a number of statements by Dumézil and Vogt.

Dumézil (1959:18): "A 2 pl, l'expression du pluriel présente des anomalies: il semble qu'il suffise que le complexe verbal contienne un indice de 2 pl, en quelque rôle que ce soit (...), pour que la présence de l'indice du pluriel soit nécessaire ou possible." Dumézil (...) further states that various forms in Mészáros (1934) that contain a second person plural prefix and a plural suffix were confirmed by Tevfik Esenç and that Tevfik Esenç rejected forms in Mészáros (1934) that contained a second person plural index while lacking a pluralizing suffix: "T. n'admet même pas a-ş°-t̪-aw(t), a-ż°-bəy-a-w(t) de M., p. 115-116, mais veut a-ş°-t̪-ən-a-w(t), a-ż°-bəy-a-n-a-w(t) 'vous l'écrirez, le verrez'."

One year later, Dumézil (1960:14) and TE are more apodictical: "Dans EO [i.e. Dumézil 1959, RS] (...) j'ai signalé que la présence d'un indice de 2 pl dans la partie préradicale du complexe verbal, en quelque rôle que ce soit, même comme ergatif ou régime indirect, entraîne, après la racine, facultativement ou nécessairement, l'expression du pluriel (...). T. est, sur ce point, de plus en plus exigeant. Il semble qu'on doive toujours parler d'obligation." Dumézil's (1959) statement is commented by Vogt (1963:38, note 14): "Dumézil signale (...) cette règle curieuse (...). Les infractions à cette règle sont, dans la langue de TE, très rares, il les corrige dans la langue des autres informateurs."

Vogt (1963) writes at the beginning of item 1647: "ş°(ə)- préfixe pronominal de la 2 p. du pl., aussi employé comme préfixe de la 2 p. du sg. polie. La présence du préfixe dans une forme verbale entraîne, en règle générale, la forme plurielle du verbe, quelle que soit la fonction du préfixe, (...), les exceptions étant assez rares:" To the many exceptions belong:

(36)a. ya- ş- fə -n
(UNSP/S-2pl/A-eat-DYN-PRES)
'You/pl are eating.'

(Dumézil 1959:19)

b. sə- ş- ə- q'a.t̪ -q'a
(1/S-2pl/A-CAUS/sg-stop/sg-PERF)
'You/pl made me stop.'

(Dumézil 1959:20)

c. sa- ş- x'a- ş -q'a -y.t̪
(1/S-2pl/O-FOR-become-PERF-PAST/sg)
'I had become (a guest) for you/pl'

(Vogt 1963: item 1647)

With the same meaning as (36)c Vogt (1963: item 1647) also has (36)d, which has the plural form of the past tense suffix; compare also (36)e, which has plural forms of the causative prefix and the stem and which has a pluralizing suffix, with (36)b:

d. sa- ş- x'a- ş -q'a -y.λ
(1/S-2pl/O-FOR-become-PERF-PAST/pl)
e. şə- z- ə- q'a.xa-q'a -n
(2pl/S-1/A-CAUS/pl-stop/pl-PERF-PL)
'I made you/pl stop'

(cf. also Dumézil 1959:29, note 33)

(Dumézil 1959:20)

Vogt (1963: item 1449) has a pair of doublets both of which contain a second person plural prefix, and final -n 'plural'. However, one form has the singular root ə- 'to want' and the other the plural root 'to want', ə-. Vogt states, and this is confirmed by Dumézil (1965: 238), that in the form with the singular root 'you' is singular,

whereas 'you' in the form with the plural root is plural. Singular, i.e. honorific use of second person plural markers is very rare and must have been copied from Turkish. The forms in question indicate that the choice of a singular vs. plural verb stem is only conditioned by number qualities of the subject and not by the presence versus absence of a second person plural index:

- (37)a. şə- s- q'a- ş -n
(2pl/S-1/O-Preverb-want/sg-PRES-PL)
'I want you'
b. şə- s- q'a- ş -n
(2pl/S-1/O-Preverb-want/pl-PRES-PL)
'I want you/pl'¹⁶

The most recent form I found that contains a second person plural prefix, without an accompanying plural suffix is:

- c. a- ş- x'a- mş'a- ş -aw
(3/S-2pl/O-FOR-happiness-become-FUT2)
'May you/pl be happy!'

(Dumézil 1978: 48, 23)

9. Conclusions

9.1 Development of -a

The plural suffix -na, which also occurs with nouns, is old. To all appearances the past tense suffix -y.t̪/-y.λ, too, already existed before Çelebi's time (section 4.1), its absence from Mészáros' material being accidental (section 7.3). The third plural suffix occurring in Ubykh predicative forms, -a, must be rather recent. The most compelling reason for thinking so is its total absence from Uslar's data, its at first hesitating appearance in the beginning of our century and its rapid development since then.

This mono-vocalic suffix developed in forms which contained the dynamic suffix -na, viz. in dynamic present and in imperfect tense forms (section 3.1). Note that it did not develop in stative present tense forms. In stative present forms, which lack a dynamic suffix, we find -na as the pluralizing suffix (cf. examples (6)b and (6)d).

The original form of the suffix was -a, that is the mid vowel, which only during LTEU changed into stable -ə. In attempting to establish the origin of this suffix, the number-doublets of verb stems and the relative case markers come to mind. The singular stem forms of the doublet verbs all have final C(ə), whereas their plural counterparts have final a (cf. section 2.2). In the same vein we find -n as the singular relative suffix and -na as the plural relative suffix. These instances of final a may have furnished the basis for the pluralizing suffix -a. The position of -a in the very first suffix position after the stem corroborates this hypothesis.¹⁷

In all probability, the suffix -a started developing only when Ubykh was already a dying language: there are no traces of the suffix in Uslar (section 4.3), it was not recognized as such by Dirr, who worked on Ubkh in 1913 (section 5.2), and it already occurred in Dumézil (1931) and Mészáros (1934), though it was then optional and only well attested after C(ə). Vogt (1963) distinguished it clearly both after C(ə) and after Ca (section 8.4) and in LTEU we have to do with an automatically occurring suffix with

the same stable form after stem-final C(ə) and Ca (section 3.1).

Until Uslar's time present dynamic forms were the only forms that could not indicate or reinforce by means of a suffix the plurality of a prefixally marked index. This exceptional situation was eradicated by the development of a new suffix, rather than by the extension of the diapason of already extant suffixes: -y.λa was and is clearly linked to the domain of past tenses and the use of -na would have blurred the distinction between stative and dynamic present forms.

9.2 Distribution

All authors found the use of the plural suffix -na to be obligatory in imperative forms with a plural addressee, whether the addressee is overtly marked or not (section 3.4). There are pairs of corresponding imperative forms in which both singular and plural agent addressees are prefixally left unmarked. In such cases the only distinguishing device is the presence vs. absence of the plural suffix -na (examples (13)c and (13)d).

With all authors we likewise find the suffix -na in forms containing first, second and third person plural subject prefixes, though in older works the use of -na, and, for that matter, the use of -y.λa was not automatic. Several times in older works we found a paradigm in which only the form with a plural subject marker of the third person was suffixally marked for plurality. Not improbably, the original Ubykh situation was as in present-day Circassian, where third person subject is not prefixally differentiated for number, but by means of a suffix (section 2.4). That suffix, -xe in West Circassian, has the same basic form as the most usual plural marker found with Circassian nouns, and it is only triggered by third person plural subject prefixes. Compare Uslar's paradigm (17)a-c and note that -na is the form of the most usual suffixal plural marker of Ubykh verbs and nouns.

We may suppose that subsequently the pluralizing suffixes started combining with second and first person plural subject indexes under the influence of the use of -na in imperative forms with second person plural markers.

The Ubykh agent prefixes of the first, second and third person singular vs. plural were always formally distinguished. The development of the use of the suffix -na reinforcing the plurality of plural agent markers, may also be inspired by the model that is provided by imperative forms, as in transitive imperative forms it is the agent addressee that is obligatorily pluralized by -na. Influence from Turkish, which optionally marks plurality of third person agents in transitive and plurality of third person subjects in intransitive forms, is not excluded.

The high degree of optionality found for all three plural suffixes of finite non-imperative predicates in publications before the 1970s, calls for an explanation. The phenomenon is too ubiquitous and too systematic in the works of Dirr, Mészáros and the young Dumézil to be disregarded as a matter of simple variation or of inadequate descriptions. Intensive study of older texts will hopefully tell us whether explicit descriptions of plurality was called forth by such features as, for instance, [+human] or [+control] (as in Georgian), or [-collectivity] (compare note 17).

Between 1955 and 1975 rapid changes took place in the marking of plurality in Ubykh predicates, or, shall we say, in the treatment by Tevfik Esenç of the marking of plurality in predicates. By eradicating the possibility of suffixal reinforcement of the plurality of first and third person plural agent markers, the language lost a tendency towards decreasing ergativity. At the same, to all appearances, a meaningful system of optionality was replaced by the rigid and automatic presence of pluralizing suffixes, mostly in forms in which the indication of plurality was largely or totally redundant.¹⁸⁾

9.3 Ubykh in historical and comparative studies

For purposes of comparison and reconstruction a serious caveat is in order. Abstractions on Ubykh that are based on LTEU, that is on the Ubykh of Tevfik Esenç as it was in the last decades of his life, should be checked against older Ubykh material, i.e. material from before 1963-1975. It is true that the works on Ubykh published in the 1930s had not yet attained the refinement and sophistication of later work. The later work, however, describes a language that had undergone certain rapid changes, possibly characteristic of a dying language. Those changes should be recognized and treated accordingly when one aims at reconstructing older phases of Ubykh. Vowel system, number and case marking of NPs, and also the marking of actantial prefixes in predicative forms, are other domains of Ubykh where the situation in LTEU should be carefully compared with material from older date.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Smeets (1988: 277-8); in the table of contents of *Studia Caucasiologica I*, this article of mine is incorrectly listed as "On the Ubykh Circassian".

2. Dirr (1927:66): "(...) ein paar Heften, handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen des Dänen Åge Benediktsen, der 1898 drei Wochen im Dorfe Kyrkbunar in der Nähe Ismids verbrachte und dort sich mit dem Ubychischen beschäftigte. Diese Aufzeichnungen enthalten kurze Wörterlisten, Texte und ein paar Seiten grammatischer Bemerkungen über die Pronomina. Diese Materialien wurden mir 1913 vom Inspektor des kaukasischen Lehrbezirks L. Lopatinskij (...) übergeben." Dumézil&Namitok (1954:XIII) speak of: "notes prises en 1898 chez les émigrés de la région de Sapanca et restées manuscrites, utilisées par Dirr et par Mészáros." Dumézil (1957:VII) remarks: "En 1898, un Danois, A. Benediktsen, avait fait une rapide enquête de vocabulaire chez les émigrés de la région de Sapanca, mais ses notes sont restées manuscrites à Copenhague, à la disposition des autres chercheurs." However, Vogt nor Deeters (Vogt 1959:428-9) succeeded in finding Benediktsen's field notes, neither among Dirr's, nor among Benediktsen's papers.

3. See Paris (1969) for a full presentation and discussion of the actant prefixes of all three NWC languages.

4. For a similar, detailed analysis of a West Circassian dialect, see Smeets (1992).

5. In principle I adhere to Charachidzé's (1989) notation system, which means that I use the symbol a for the open, the symbol a for the mid and the symbol ə for the close vowel. A point of difference is that I indicate the open vowel with a in all positions where it occurs, even in word-initial position (where Charachidzé notes a). Except in quotations, I convert the notations of materials I take from other authors into Charachidzé's system. In the large majority of cases I split up words in the same way as Charachidzé. There are, however, some differences resulting from slightly different analyses. These will be accounted for elsewhere.

6. Exceptionally, that is exceptionally in LTEU, a second person plural possessive prefix may trigger the plural ending -na as a redundant marker of the plurality of that second person, not as a marker of the plurality of the noun that refers to the possessed item. Thus triggered -na can occur both in relative and absolute NPs. Cf. Dumézil (1960:14): ſə-žəλa-na 'your/pl brother, absolute', ſə-žəλa-na-n 'your/pl brother, relative.'

7. The plural suffixes -y.λa and -na occur as -y.λ en -n in final position in predicative forms. In NPs the plural relative ending -na and the plural suffixal element -λa do not lose their vowel in word-final position.

8. The examples in section three are from Dumézil&Esenç (1975:86, 88, 148, 157, etc.) and from Charachidzé (1989:390-1, 400, etc.).

9. These studies are: Bleichsteiner (1934), Dumézil (1968), Provasi (1984) and Gippert (1992).

10. Gippert erroneously states that Provasi's reading of the form is *sa-y-š'-š-a-na-y.t'*. Provasi rightly interprets *-na* in (14)d as an instance of the dynamic suffix, Gippert sees it in an instance of pluralizing *-na*.
11. Mészáros' main incentive to study Ubykh was the possible genetic relation of Ubykh with Proto-Hattic. He became convinced that there was such a relationship.

12. Nevertheless, the situation remains puzzling. Mészáros briefly worked in the region of Lake Sapanca (Mészáros 1934:17), where, as we know from Dirr and Dumézil, the suffix did occur. If he only collected lexical material and paradigms there, he may have missed *-y.λa*. However, Mészáros also knew Dirr (1927-8), to which he refers in his introduction and in which *-y.λa* is clearly present.

13. Dumézil&Esenç (1975:6): "Cet homme, Tevfik Esenç, fort intelligent, est vite devenu un collaborateur actif et dévoué, pleinement persuadé de l'importance de notre recherche commune" Hewitt (1989: Preface): "Without his willingness selflessly to give of his time and unique linguistic expertise, the small corpus of Ubykh literature would have been depleted by more than 50 per cent."

14. Kumaxov (1967:700-1) wrongly gives (his notation) *a.k'a.n* 'He goes.' and *a.k'ā.n* 'They go.'

15. Vogt (1963: item 2222) lists, more correctly, *-yt'* and *-yλ(a)*.

16. The verb in (38)a has a singular subject. The verbs in (38)b-c each have a plural subject, which is confirmed by the presence, in both forms, of the pluralizing suffix *-a*. However, (38)b has the singular stem of the verb 'to give', which means that the horses are seen collectively and that they are given on one occasion. In (38)c we find the plural stem of 'to give'; which implies that the horses are given individually, or not on one occasion; cf. (Dumézil&Esenç 1975:41, section 42):

(38)a. sə-q'a -n yə-čə s- tə -n
(MY-son-REL) (this-horse-ABS) (3/S-1/A-give/sg-DYN-PRES)

'I give this horse to my son.'

b. sə- q'a-n yə-λa-čə s- tə -a -n
(MY-son-REL) (this-PL-horse-ABS) (3/S-1/A-give/sg-PL-DYN-PRES)

'I give these horses to my son.'

c. sə- q'a-n yə-λa-čə s- q' -a -n
(MY-son-REL) (this-PL-horse-ABS) (3/S-1/A-give/pl-PL-DYN-PRES)

'I give (each of) these horses to my son.'

17. An alternative hypothesis (cf Charachidzé 1989:399) derives the suffix *-a* from the plural suffix *-na*, with for instance *še-k'-a-n* 'We go' going back to **še-k'a-na-n* (with *-na* plural and *-n* dynamic). Cf. Charachidzé (1989:399): "... l'ensemble *a-n* étant à interpréter comme **an-n*, **an* lui-même résultant de la rencontre d'un *-a* radical et du suffixe pluriel *-an*. Cette forme de départ **-an* est sans doute due à une généralisation à partir de la structure radicale *-Ca*, la plus prégnante, et étendue aux racines verbales de type *-C (...)*." I reject this hypothesis because (1) a reduction of the dynamic suffix *-na* to *-n* after *n* is improbable, (2) there is no reason to assume that the form of the plural suffix *-na* could also have been *-an* at an older stage of the language, (3) a homophone sequence *-na-n*, consisting of *-na* plural and the gerund ending *-n* was never reduced (cf. Dumézil&Esenç 1975:191), (4) there are no traces of the alleged original or intermediate stages, neither in LTEU, nor in works on older Ubykh.

18. Cf. Campbell, Lyle and Martha C. Muntzel (1989:191): "Language death may be accompanied by some degree of morphological reduction (in which we include the reduction of allomorphy and the leveling of paradigms)." Compare also: "Man wird nicht fehlgehen, mit der Annahme, dass das Ubychische als aussterbende, starken Einflüssen von Seiten des Tscherkessischen und des Türkischen ausgesetzte Sprache manchen Schwankungen unterworfen ist. Zu solchen Schwankungen gehört auch die Bezeichnung des Plurals am Verb durch *-n* oder *-λ*. Diese Präzisierung tritt wie beim Substantiv (...), wohl nur aus Deutlichkeitsgründen auf." (Dirr 1927:95)

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS (Glosses of zero-morphemes are underlined)

A	-	agent (of transitive verbs)	O	-	object
ABS	-	absolutive case	P	-	patient (of transitive verbs)
C	-	consonant	PART	-	relativising prefix in participles
CAUS	-	causative prefix	PERF	-	perfect tense suffix
DEF	-	definite prefix	pl/PL	-	plural
DYN	-	dynamic suffix	POSS	-	possessive prefix
F	-	female	PRES	-	present tense
FUT1	-	future tense, marker <i>-aw.t(*)</i>	Q	-	question (suffix)
FUT2	-	future tense, marker <i>-aw</i>	RECI	-	reciprocal prefix
H(UM)	-	human	REL	-	relative case

HH	-	hither (prefix)	S	-	single actant with intransitive verbs
INT	-	interrogative suffix	sg	-	singular
IO	-	indirect object	TE	-	Tevfik Esenç
LIEU	-	Late TE Ubykh	UNSP	-	unspecified (subject)
NEG	-	negative affix	X	-	third person (English: 'he/she/it')
NP	-	noun phrase			

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DISTRIBUTION OF ABKHAZ DIALECTS IN TURKEY

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Abbreviations:

Abzh	Abzhywa dialect	Meg	Megrel
Abx	Abkhaz	Oss	Ossetic
acc. to	according to	pl.	plural
Ahch	Ahchypsy dialect	pop.	population
Ash	Ashkharywa dialect	Rus	Russian
Bz	Bzyp dialect	Sa	Sadz dialect
CAbx	Common Abkhaz	Tap	Tapanta dialect
Circ	Circassian	Tu	Turkish
Geo	Georgian	var.	variant
hh	households	vil.	village

Turkish administrative terms: il "province", ilçe "sub-province", mahalle "a separate quarter or district in a village or a town", merkez "administrative centre".

Abkhaz toponymical elements: *a-kəta* 'village', *jə-kəta* 'his village'. Note that names of Abkhaz villages often contain personal names of nobles, who founded or ruled the village.

1. Until recently rather little was known about the distribution and dialectal subdivisions of the Abkhaz-speaking communities in Turkey. This question is of special interest for Abkhaz dialectology, as the majority of the Abkhaz groups speaking various dialects, had to emigrate to Turkey in the middle of the XIX century as a result of the Russian annexation of their country. Suffices it to say that out of 12 Abkhaz-speaking groups existing in Abkhazia and in the North Caucasus prior to the Russian subjugation in 1864, at present only 4 of them are to be found in the Caucasus. These are Abzhywa and Bzyp (in Abkhazia), Tapanta and Ashkharywa (in Karachaj-Cherkessia). The last two groups now constitute a distinct Abaza people. Such Abkhaz groups as Sadz (Khaltsys), Tswydzhwyl, Ahchypsy, Pskhwyl, Aibga, Tsabal, Guma and

Abzhaqwa are now found only in Turkey.

My fieldwork in Turkey in 1991 and 1995, undertaken with the financial support of the University of Leiden and the Netherland Organisation for Scientific Research, made it possible to investigate to a certain extent the distribution of the main Abkhaz-speaking groups in Turkey. Some preliminary results of this work I will present in this paper. Besides the data collected during field work, I also made use of such sources as Aydemir 1973, Terim 1976, Andrews 1989 and Ersoy 1993 (hereafter cited without year of publication).

2. Before the Russian-Caucasian war in the middle of the last century, the Western Caucasus was home to three peoples speaking West Caucasian languages: (West and East) Circassians, Abkhazians and Ubykhs. The number of speakers of the West Caucasian languages at that time comprised about 1 million, the majority of whom were Circassians. The pre-war number of Tapanta (Abaza) and Ashkharywa was about 40-50,000 (Genko 1955: 11), the South Abkhazians numbered more than 130,000. From the latter number more than 25,000 comprised Sadzians and Pskhwyl-Achhypsy (including Aibga), about 15,000 inhabitants of the mountainous Dal-Tsabal region, and about 90,000 lived in mainland Abkhazia (cf. Dzidzarija 1982: 161, 213, 289). Thus, before the emigration to the Ottoman empire, there were about 170-180,000 speakers of Abkhaz-Abaza dialects in the West Caucasus.

At that time different Abkhaz groups compactly occupied the territory between the river Ingur on the southeast (bordering on Kartvelian-speaking Megrelians and Svans) and the river Khosta and somewhat further to the northwest (bordering on the related Ubykhs). Dialects were distributed in the following way. The area from the river Ingur till Sukhum was Abzhywa-speaking, while speakers of Tsabal lived in the mountain valleys of the river Kodor. The territory north of Sukhum, up to the river Bzyp, was occupied by speakers of the Bzyp dialect, and further to the north, from Gagra till Sochi, lived speakers of Sadz. On the upper reaches of the rivers Mdzymta, Psow and Bzyp settled, respectively, Achhypsy, Aibga and Pskhwyl communities. Along the river Kudypsta settled speakers of Tswydzhy. On the other side of the Great Caucasus Range, on the territory of the present-day Karachaj-Cherkes Republic, lived speakers of Tapanta and Ashkharywa (see map 1).

The devastating Caucasian war, which was waged by fire and sword during several decades by Tsarist Russia aiming at the annexation of the North Caucasus and Abkhazia, dramatically changed the whole ethnolinguistic landscape of the West Caucasus. The last Caucasian tribes which, despite fierce resistance, were finally conquered by the Russians, were the mountainous Abkhaz communities Pskhwyl and Aibga, subjugated in May 1864, which marked the end of the Caucasian war and the establishment of complete Russian control over the whole of the Caucasus. The majority of the Abkhazians had to flee to the Ottoman empire, and this forced emigration (called in Abkhaz *a-m̥ažər-ta*), during which thousands died of hunger and

epidemic diseases, resulted in the present scarceness of the Abkhaz-Abaza population. The post-emigration number of Tapanta in the North Caucasus in 1885 comprised about 6,000, and that of Ashkharywa, 4,000 (Genko 1955: 11), in total 10,000. According to the all-Russian census of 1897, there were 58,697 Abkhazians left in Abkhazia (Dzidzarija 1982: 447). All mountainous Abkhaz groups, as well as all speakers of Khaltsys and Tswydzhy Sadz were exiled to Turkey.

3. Probably over one million West Caucasians (Circassians, Abkhazians and Ubykhs) are living now in Turkey (acc. to B. Özbek, 1,100,000 Circassians, Abkhazians and Ubykhs, cf. Andrews 167; cf. also Hewitt 17), though one has to do only with approximate figures. Of this number about 100-150,000 are Abkhazians proper and about 25,000 (or more) are Tapanta and Ashkharywa.

According to the native taxonomy, which rather adequately reflects the dialectal subdivisions, all speakers of different forms of Abkhaz are subdivided into three major groups: Apswa (*Abx áps(a)-wa* 'Abkhaz'), Ashkharywa (*Ash a-š'qa-rə-wa*, *Bz a-š'xa-rə-wa* 'the mountaineer'), and Ashuwa (*Bz, Ash aš'ə-wa* 'Tapanta'). The term Apswa, according to this taxonomy, refers to all Abkhaz-speaking groups traditionally situated in Transcaucasia, along the Black Sea coast. Linguistic taxonomy corresponds to the native one. Abkhaz is subdivided into three branches, South Abkhaz, Ashkharywa and North Abkhaz. South Abkhaz consists of a south-eastern group, comprising Abzhywa, Tsabal, Bzyp and Achhypsy, and a south-western group, comprising two subdialects of Sadz. North Abkhaz comprises Tapanta Abaza, the most divergent of all dialects. Ashkharywa, though much closer to South Abkhaz, shows some transitional features between the latter and Tapanta. All Abkhaz dialects are mutually intelligible. For the description of Abkhaz dialects see Chirikba (1996: 14-37).

In what follows I shall provide brief information about the main characteristics and geographical distribution of Abkhaz-Abaza groups found in Turkey. Though my list comprises 250 Abkhaz-Abaza villages in Turkey (which probably is not exhaustive), here I will mention only those villages the dialectal attribution of whose speakers is more or less certain. Note that, according to Özbek (cited in Andrews 167), there are 897 villages in Turkey with a West Caucasian (Circassian, Abkhaz or Ubykh) population.

4. **Bzyp.** The Bzyp dialect, so named after the main river of northern Abkhazia (*Abx bzəp*, whence *a-bzəp-k'a* "the Bzypians"), stretches from the town of Gagra eastwards to the western suburbs of Sukhum. Bzyp consists of three subdialects: Lykhny (named so after the village *ləx-nə*), Kaldakhwara (after the village *k'aldač'āra*) and Aatsy (after the village *aačə*). The phonemic system of Bzyp comprises 67 segmental consonants and two vowels (cf. Bgazhba 1964).

The speakers of the Bzyp dialect represent the largest Abkhaz group in Turkey, which is well preserved in Abkhazia as well. The form of Bzyp spoken in Turkey

coincides phonetically with its Aatsy subdialect. It is characterised by the preservation of the distinction between the dental-alveolar and alveolar-prepalatal labialised fricatives (*z̥ s̥* vs. *ž̥ š̥*) and between uvular and pharyngealised uvular fricatives (*χ̥ χ̥* vs. *χ̥χ̥*). Like the Aatsy subdialect, Turkey Bzyp does not preserve the non-labialised counterparts of the middle sibilants (i.e. *ȝ̥ ġ̥ ġ̥̥ ſ̥ ſ̥̥*).

Turkish Bzypians distinguish several internal subdivisions, whose designations indicate their place of origin in Abkhazia, such as *a-g̥əp-aa* (originally from the village of *g̥əp*), *a-łx̥-aá* (from the village of *łəx-nə*), *abž̥-aq̥-aa* (from the district with the same name near Sukhum), *g̥əm-aá* (from the mountainous village of *g̥əmá*, situated above Sukhum.) The last group is sometimes also referred to by its Abkhaz neighbours as *a-š̥xa-r-aa(-č̥a)* "mountaineers".

The distribution of the Bzyp dialect in Turkey is as follows.

4.1. il: Amasya.

4.1.1. ilçe: Merzifon.

(1) Çayır(-köy), ca. 10-15 hh, pop.: 60 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 215 (cf. the same figure in Terim 267). Ersoy 65, however, cites ca. 60 hh and 400 inhabitants.

4.2. il: Bolu.

4.2.1. ilçe: Akçakoca.

In this sub-province there are two places with similar Abkhaz names: (a) *malán* and (b) *malán dəw* 'big Malan', called in Turkish Caferiye. The 4 following villages are known in Abkhaz under the general name *malán*:

(2) Açı Elma, Abx name: *aj̥-z̥-aá//aj̥-z̥-aá ač̥t̥-o*, ca. 30 hh, pop.: ca. 200. There are also 6 hh Hemşinli, Moslem Armenians (in Abx *amš̥-ərlə*, pl. *amš̥-ərlə-k̥-á*). Ersoy 57 gives a variant Turkish name Davutağa.

(3) Dilaver, Abx name: *glaj̥-rá//glaj̥-ár* (cf. Abx *a-j̥-ár* 'creek'), 25 hh, pop. in 1959 was 1130, acc. to census (cf. Ersoy 57). There are also 4 hh Hemşinli, who are intermarried with Abkhazians.

(4) Esmahanım, Abx name: *gran*, 28 hh; there are also 4 hh Hemşinli. The name Esmahanım is given after the name of noble woman Esmahanım *zápš-p̥ha*, who brought the ancestors of the local Abkhazians from the Caucasus (the noble Abkhazians usually emigrated together with the dependent peasants and serfs).

(5) Ortaköy, ca. 13 hh; the village is situated very close to *gran*.

(6) Caferiye, Abx name: *malán dəw*; there are also several hh of Georgians.

4.2.2. ilçe: Düzce.

4.2.2.1. District: Merkez.

(7) Keledibi (Andrews 393); var.: Cicobey (Terim 265) // Cicubey (Aydemir 235, Andrews 393), pop.: 143 in 1973 (Aydemir 235; cf. the same figure in Terim 265).

(8) Dolay (Andrews 393); var.: Derdin (Aydemir 235, Terim 265, Andrews 393), Abx

name: *g̥əmá*, pop.: 939 in 1935 (Ersoy 57), 842 in 1973 (Aydemir 235; cf. the same figure in Terim 265).

4.2.2.2. District: Kaynaşlı.

(9) Saz(-köy), pop.: 400 in 1927 (Ersoy 57), 160 in 1973 (Aydemir 237).

(10) Darı yeri Hasanbey (Aydemir 237, Terim 266), Dariyerihasanbey (Andrews 394), Dariyeri Hasanbey (Ersoy 57). The inhabitants, just like those of the preceding Dolay village, belong to the Guma group; the neighbouring Abkhazians call them *a-č̥áj̥-aa*. The founder of the village was *atéj-jə-pa hasánbej*. Pop.: ca. 2000, ca. 800 hh. Ersoy 57 gives the number of inhabitants in 1931 as 300 (the same figure is found in Aydemir 237).

(11) Dariyeri Muratbey, Abx name *arg̥ən-aa* (which is a plural of the family name *arg̥,ón*). Ersoy 57 gives the number of inhabitants in 1931 as 165, and for 1973 Aydemir 237 cites 65 inhabitants.

4.2.2.3. District: Gümüşova. There are 2 villages with the same Turkish name:

(12) Nüfren Halilbey, Abx name *apsará*, pop.: 306 in 1945 (Ersoy 58).

(13) Nüfren Halilbey, Abx name *cx̥ənara*, pop.: 306 in 1945 (Ersoy 58). The population figure 306, given by Ersoy, probably refers to the inhabitants of both villages. Aydemir 237 in 1973 cites the figure 317, which also may refer to both villages (?).

4.2.3. ilçe: Gölyaka.

(14) Aksu(-köy), the older name Elbuzbey(köy) (in Abx *maán (Albəz) jə-kəta*). In Andrews 236, Terim 265: Elbruz, in Andrews 394: Elbüzbey or Elbruzbey. The name Elbuzbey is given after the name of the founder of the village, the noble *Albəzbej Maan* (buried in Mekka), who was the son of the famous Abkhazian general *K'ac Maan* (buried in Abkhazia). Pop.: ca. 200, ca. 40 hh (cf. 743 inhabitants in 1945, acc. to Ersoy 57, and 866 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 236).

(15) Taşlık mahalle, originally a part of the Aksu village, ca. 6 hh.

4.3. İl: Sakarya.

4.3.1. District: Merkez.

(16) Harmantepe, Abx name *apš̥-aa-r-χ̥-a* (i.e. 'the hill of the family *apš̥-aa*'), pop.: 230 in 1935, acc. to Ersoy 60, cf. 338 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264.

(17) Kayalar Memdühiye, Abx name: *maán jə-kəta* (Terim 264), 180 hh, pop.: 841 in 1935, acc. to Ersoy 60, cf. 793 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264; apart from Bzypians, there are also several Ahchypysh households.

(18) Kayalar Reşitbey, Abx name: *š̥aq̥rəl jə-kəta* (Terim 264), 20 hh, pop.: 387 in 1976 (Terim 264). The inhabitants are called *a-łx̥-aá*, which indicates that their forefathers emigrated from the village of *łəx-nə* in Abkhazia. Apart from Bzyp Abkhazians, there live also some Ahchypysh and "Laz".

(19) Acielmalık, Abx name *abž̥-aq̥-aa*, pop.: ca. 140 in 1993 (Ersoy 60). The inhabitants belong to the Abzhaqwa group.

4.3.2. ilçe: Akyazı.

- (20) Balballı-köy; 2 mahalle with different names; the general Abx name: *bejdəl* (< Tu ?); names of the mahalles:
 (20a) Bedil Kadırbeyp, Abx name *k'adər(-bej) ja-kəta*; pop.: 264 in 1976 (Terim 264, Ersoy 59);
 (20b) Bedil Tahirbeyp, Abx name *tahir-bej ja-kəta*; var.: *k'aldaž'är(a)*; pop.: more than 600; (203 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264; cf. 488, acc. to 1950 census, cf. Ersoy 59). The name of the village indicates that the forefathers of its inhabitants immigrated from the village *k'aldaž'är(a)* in Bzyp Abkhazia.
 (21) Beynevît-Yenikonak, Abx name (Terim 264) Kuçyıkata (= *k'æč(?) ja-kəta*), pop.: 144 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264, 146 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 59. The inhabitants are called *abž'äq"-a(a)*, after the village with the same name in central Abkhazia (near Sukhum); there are also several "Laz" families.

4.3.2.1 District: Karapürçek.

- (22) Buğdaylı, var.: Irfanisanı (Andrews 407), Abx name *psəržxa*; pop.: 334 in 1950, acc. to census (cf. Ersoy 59). The same name is also found in Abkhazia (now: the town of Novy Afon).

4.3.3. ilçe: Hendek

- (23) Çukurhan, Abx name *apsará-Çukurhan*; or Ahchyps? .
 (24) Sarıyer, Abx name (Ersoy 58) Lakraa (*lak'-i-aa*, pl. of the family name *lák'ær-ba*), ca. 30 hh, pop.: ca. 100-120 (cf. 272 in 1945, acc. to census, cf. Ersoy 58); there are also several Georgian families. The Bzypians (or Abzhywans?) belong to the subgroup *g'əp-aa*.
 (25) Sivritepe, Abx name *awəblaajə-kəta* (Terim 265), pop.: 43 in 1976, acc. to Terim 265, but Ersoy 58 for 1993 gives 342 (?).
 (26) Uzuncorman (Terim: Uzunca Orman), Abx name: (Terim 26) *tápš' ja-kəta*, (Ersoy 58) *tápš'-aa*, pop.: 465 in 1945 (Ersoy 58; cf. the same figure in Terim 265); or Abzhywa ?; Andrews 408: also some Ubykhs.

4.3.4. ilçe: Karasu.

- (27) Karapınar, Abx name: (Terim 265) Cılıyıkita (= *ȝ'əl ja-kəta*), Ersoy 58: Çjlaw; pop.: 423 in 1976 (Terim 265); there are also some "Laz".

4.3.5. ilçe: Sapanca.**4.3.5.1. District: Merkez.**

- (28) Kurtköy; or Abzhywa ?; pop.: ca. 50 (Ersoy 58); there are also Ubykhs, Abadzakhs, "Laz", Georgians.

4.4. İl: Samsun.**4.4.1. ilçe: çarşamba.**

- (29) Tepealtı ca. 10 hh. Abkhazians inhabit only one mahalle of this village, their more numerous neighbours being Abadzakh Circassians. Abkhaz, acc. to my informants, is poorly known there. To Tepealtı these Abkhazians came from Çarıklibaşı (ilçe Kavak). The general population figure for this village in 1973 is 547 (Aydemir 229).

4.4.2. ilçe: Havza.**4.4.2.1. District: Merkez.**

- (30) Kocapınar, var.: (Andrews 410) Hilyas; 3-4 hh; Acc. to Aydemir 229, the inhabitants are Abkhazians and Turks; his general population figure for the village in 1973 is 1068.

4.4.3. ilçe: Kavak.

- (31) Çarıklibaşı, ca. 14-15 hh; pop.: ca. 50 (76 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 229). A part of the village some time ago split and moved to Tepealtı. Acc. to my informant, *nadir dəpš'ow*, the Abkhazians arrived here from Sukhum in 1877(-1878?), which coincides with the date of the Abkhazian anti-Russian revolt in the village of Lyxny. The informant did not know the word *bzyp*, or any other sub-ethnic terms, though he knew that Abkhazians came here from *apsnə* (i.e. from Abkhazia), from Sukhum. Apart from Abkhaz, some of the villagers (including my informant) spoke also Adyghe (Shapsygh?).

4.4.4. İlçe: Vezirköprü.

- (32) Ağcaalan, ca. 20 hh, pop.: ca. 40; another mahalle in this village is occupied by the Abadzakh Circassians. The general population figure for the village, given by Aydemir 231 for 1973, is 223.

- (33) Ağcayazı; var.: Abazalar (which means 'Abkhazians' in Turkish), ca. 15-20 hh, pop.: ca. 40.

4.5. İl: Sinop. In the town there are ca. 40-45 Abkhaz families.**4.5.1. ilçe: Merkez.**

- (34) Dibekli köyü'nin Karacakise mahallesi, 2 hh.
 (35) Osmaniye, ca. 6 hh.

4.5.1.1. District: Kabaklı.

- (36) Erikli köyü'nin Aksökü mahallesi, ca. 12 hh; my informant was *ā-g"əm-ba tameł osman-ja-pa*, 90 years old (born in 1904); it was his father who came to Turkey from Abkhazia. He remembered that the name of their village in Abkhazia was *cq'əbna* (//*cq'əbn-aa jažək"t"az* 'those who lived in *cq'əbna*'), his mother was *smər* from the village *an-x"ä* in Abkhazia (//*an-x"-aa jažək"t"az* 'those who lived in *an-x"ä*'). He knew that he belonged to the Bzyp group.

4.5.2. ilçe: Ayancık.**4.5.2.1. District: Yenikonak.**

- (37) Yenice.

4.5.3. ilçe: Erfelek.

- (38) Incemeydan, ca. 10 hh, pop.: ca. 40.

- (39) Inesokü, mahalle (or köy ?) in Incemeydan, ca. 3-5 hh, the rest of the villagers are Turks.

(40) Başaran köy, ca. 5 hh.

(41) Tekke, var.: Karabağ, ca. 10 hh, pop.: ca. 30.

4.5.4. ilçe: Türkeli

4.5.4.1. District: Helaldi

(42) Kalasa, var.: (Andrews 414) Direkli; ca. 6 hh.

(43) Kocaköy; Andrews 414: also Shapsygh and Abadzakh Circassians.

4.6. il: Zonguldak.

4.6.1. ilçe: Çaycuma

(44) Saltukova (the previous name: Kokaksu), ca. 10 hh (?); in fact, there seem to be two villages here:

(44 a) Aşa ihsaniye; pop.: 336 in 1945, acc. to census (Ersoy 65).

(44 b) Dukari ihsaniye; Ersoy 64: Y. ihsaniye; pop.: 243 in 1945, acc. to census (Ersoy 64).

4.6.2. ilçe: Bartın.

4.6.2.1. District: Amasra

(45) Çakrazova-köy.

5. Abzhywa. This dialect (Abx *abž'əwaa*, i.e. 'those who live in the middle (of Abkhazia), in between') is subdivided into three subdialects: Atara (after the name of the village, *atára*), Dzhgiarda (vil. *ʒg'árda*), and Chkhwartal (vil. *čx'artál*), the differences between whom are not essential. The number of consonants in Abzhywa is 59. In Turkey the speakers of Abzhywa represent a relatively small group. The reasons for this was that the majority of the Abzywa speakers were Orthodox Christians, which helped them to escape deportation by the Russians. Among Turkish Abkhazians the term Abzywa is not known, instead they use the term *ʒg'árdaa*, after the name of the largest Abzhywa village Soğuk-su, called by Abkhazians *ʒg'árda*. The latter name was taken from the village with the same name in South Abkhazia. So far I have been able to trace the presence of Abzhywa speakers in the following locations in Turkey.

5.1. il: Kocaeli (İzmit).

5.1.1. ilçe: Kandıra

(1) Fethiye, pop.: ca. 123 in 1993 (Ersoy 60).

5.2. il: Sakarya.

5.2.1. ilçe: Hendek.

(2) Aktüfek (Terim 265, Andrews 408, Ersoy 58: Aktefek), pop.: 342 in 1976 (Terim 265), ca. 280 in 1993 (Ersoy 58).

(3) Soğuksu, Abx name: *ʒg'árda*, pop.: 2000 in 1976 (Terim 265), cf. 850, acc. to the 1935 census (Ersoy 58).

5.3. il: Sinop.

5.3.1. ilçe: Ayancık.

5.3.1.1. District: Yenikonak.

(5) Gökçebel; the older name: Sakarabaşı, ca. 10-15 hh, pop.: ca. 40.

6. Tsabal. The speakers of Tsabal are to be found in northwestern Turkey. Before the exodus from the Caucasus, they inhabited the mountainous Abkhaz villages of Tsabal and Dal in the upper reaches of the river Kodor in southern Abkhazia, numbering 15,000. No Tsabal speakers are to be found now in Abkhazia.

Tsabal shares some lexical isoglosses with both Abzhywa and the mountainous Abkhaz dialects, Ahchypsy and (to a less extend) Ashkharywa. Phonemically it is identical with Ahchypsy and Aatsy Bzyp. The reflex of the original labialised voiced pharyngal, /rʷ/, which was preserved as such in Tapanta and Ashkharywa, and which turned into a labiopalatal /j/ in the rest of the Abkhaz dialects, is pronounced in Tsabal with a slight pharyngeal colouring.

Judging from the verbal endings of the present finite dynamic and stative, there might be two subdialects in Tsabal. One of the isolects has for the finite present dynamic the suffix *-oo-t'*, which coincides with the form of this suffix found in isolects of Abzhywa, as well as in Ahchypsy, Tswydzhy and Kuvinsk Ashkharywa. Another Tsabal isolect has the ending *-wa-jt' [-wejt']*, which coincides with that of Abzhywa. Both endings are just different realisations of the suffix **-wa-jt'*. The ending used for the present finite stative is in one isolect *-oo-p'* (e.g. *s-t'oo-p'* 'I am sitting') and in the other isolect *-o-p'* (e.g. *s-t'oo-p'-id'*). The endings containing the long vowel (*oo*) can probably be regarded as a feature of mountain Abkhaz dialects. It is possible that the presence of the same form of the suffix in some Abzhywa isolects can be explained by the infiltration of Tsabal groups, who managed to escape emigration.

The lexical isoglosses of Tsabal with Abzhywa are: *a-pš* 'millet/maize', *a-k'əwaa* 'turtle' (< Geo), *á-ʒgab* 'girl' (< Meg), *a-zaráq'a* 'sunflower', etc. The isoglosses with Ahchypsy and Tswydzhy are: *a-psənč* 'yoke' (also found in Ash < Oss), *á-baga* 'fox' (as in Tap and Ash, cf. Bz, Abzh *á-bga*), etc. The actual position of Tsabal within the Abkhaz group is not quite clear. It can be tentatively regarded as an archaic form of Abzhywa, which underwent certain influence of the neighbouring mountainous dialects. On the whole Tsabal is much closer to Bzyp and Abzhywa than to other Abkhaz dialects.

Speakers of Tsabal can be found in the following places in Turkey.

6.1. il: Bilecik.

6.1.1. ilçe: Pazaryeri

(1) Alinca, ca. 10-15 hh; pop. in 1945, acc. to census, was 324 (Ersoy 61); many inhabitants moved to Bursa, but regularly return to their village, especially in summer. In Andrews 391 the inhabitants are mistakenly called Abzakh (i.e. Circassians). In Ersoy 61 the village is placed in the ilçe Bozüyüük.

6.1.2. ilçe: Pazaryeri, Merkez.

- (2) Sarnıç, Abx name (Ersoy 61) Çuijbä (= ē"əž'-ba ?), ca. 15 hh; pop.: 78 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234, ca 128 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 61; many moved to Pazaryeri, Eskişehir, and other nearby cities. In Aydemir 234 and Andrews 391 the inhabitants are mistakenly called Abzakh (i.e. Circassians).
 (2a) Karadere Mahalle, 3 hh. (many Abkhazians left the village). The other inhabitants are Kurds.
 (3) Çerkes alma, pop.: 79 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234, who calls all inhabitants Abzakh (Circassians).

6.1.3. ilçe: Söğüt.

- (4) Düzdağ, ca. 30 hh, pop.: ca. 150 (307, acc. to 1955 census, cf. Ersoy 61, 140 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234). In Aydemir 234 and Andrews 391 the inhabitants are mistakenly called Abzakh (i.e. Circassians).
 (5) Guyemcik, in Ersoy 62: Güvemcik; var.: Gedikpınar, ca. 5 hh.

6.2. il: Bursa.

6.2.1. ilçe: Inegöl.

- (6) Kestaneolan, Abx name: k'emsá-k'oj, 18 hh, pop.: ca. 200.
 (7) Rüştiköy, Ersoy 61: Rüştide, Abx name: kaj'á-r-k'oj, ca. 20-25 hh, pop.: ca. 150 (207 acc. to 1955 census, cf. Ersoy 61).

6.2.2. ilçe: Tahtaköprü.

- (8) Mezit; var.: Uzunbarış, ca. 40 hh, pop.: ca. 200 (493 in 1955, acc. to census, cf. Ersoy 62). According to my informants, their forefathers left Tsabal in Abkhazia for Turkey in 1864. Apart from Abkhazians, there is also a Georgian district in this village.
 (9) Güneykestane, pop.: 234 in 1955, acc. to census (cf. Ersoy 62). Ersoy 62 places this village in the ilçe Inegöl.
 (10) Osmaniye, Abx name q"aza-k'oj. Ersoy 62 places this village in the ilçe Inegöl.

6.3. il: Eskişehir.

6.3.1. District: Merkez.

- (11) Ağapınar, 25 hh, pop.: ca. 100 (ca. 245 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 61). The village is mixed Abkhazo-Kabardian, with a numerical domination of Abkhazians. Earlier Abkhazians and Kabardians lived in two separate mahalles (except for one Kabardian family which used to live in the Abkhazian quarter). The Kabardians are Kuban, they count about 10 households. The elder Abkhazians and Kabardians are fluent in both Abkhaz and Kabardian, as well as in Turkish. This village was the birthplace of the well-known Turkish Abkhazian writer and inventor of the Latin-based alfabet for Turkish Abkhazians, Mustafa Butba. As he writes in his book "Kafkasya Hatıraları" ("Recollections about the Caucasus"), in earlier days there were about 450 Abkhazian households in this village, but many died of malaria or left for safer places.
 (12) Ahilar, pop.: 89 in 1973 (Aydemir 223; the same figure is in Ersoy 61).
 (13) Karaalan, pop.: 73 in 1973 (Aydemir 223; the same figure is in Ersoy 61).

(14) Bektaşköprü.

6.3.2. ilçe: Hekimdağ.

- (15) Taşköprü, pop.: 349, acc. to 1955 census (cf. Ersoy 61), 309 in 1973 (cf. Aydemir 224, who mistakenly calls the inhabitants Circassians).
 (16) Tandır, pop.: 198, acc. to 1955 census (cf. Ersoy 61), 171 in 1973 (cf. Aydemir 224).
 (17) Beştaşpınarı (Aydemir 224), Beştaş Pınarı (Terim 266), Bektaşpınarı (Andrews 398). Pop.: 121 in 1973 (Aydemir 224)

6.4. il: Kütahya.

6.4.1. ilçe: Merkez.

6.4.1.1. District: Sabuncu.

- (18) Kızılcaören (Ersoy 62), Aydemir 232, Andrews 404: Yenikızılcaören; acc. to Aydemir 232: var.: Hamidiye; pop.: 278 in 1973 (Aydemir 232), ca. 200 in 1993 (Ersoy 62).

6.4.2. ilçe: Altıntaş.

- (19) Aykırıkçı (Ersoy 62), Aydemir 232: Ayrikçi, Andrews 404: Aykırıcı, Terim 268: Ayrikça; Abx name kəržəna-kət, pop.: 350 and ca. 60 hh in 1993 (Ersoy 62).

7. Achhypsy and Pskhwyl. In their homeland, the Achhypsy inhabited the upper reaches of the river Mdzymta, a territory of historical Abkhazia, now within the borders of the Russian Federation, while the Pskhwyl lived in a mountainous Abkhaz village bearing the same name, situated on the upper reaches of the river Bzyp. The generic self-designation of both Achhypsy and Pskhwyl is ápsəwa//ápsawa 'Abkhazian'. Achhypsy also refer to themselves as ahč'əpsə (sg.), ahč'əps-aá (pl.), calling their language ápsa-š'a, 'Abkhaz'. Pskhwyl have probably to some extent mixed with Achhypsy in Turkey, as they refer to themselves, besides the generic term ápsəwa 'Abkhaz', also as psh'ə-ahč'əpsə, i.e. 'Pskhwylian Achhypsy'. As the Pskhwyl speech does not seem to differ much from that of Achhypsy, I will refer to both isolects as Achhypsy.

Phonetically Achhypsy coincides with Aatsy and Turkey Bzyp and with Tsabal. The endings of the present finite dynamic and stative verbs here are, like in Tsabal, Tswydzhy and in Abzhywa isolects, -oo-t' (dyn.), -oo-p' (stat.). Another feature of Achhypsy is that it has parallel endings for stative verbs: -w(a)-p' (as in other south-eastern Abkhaz dialects) and -jt' (as in Sadz and Kuvinsk Ashkharywa), e.g. jə-q'a-jt' 'there is', beside the more common variant jə-q'a-w-p'. These parallel endings for statives are found also in Sadz. The optional use of the ending -jt' (beside -w-p') for stative verbs in Achhypsy may be of contact origin (due to Sadz or Ashkharywa influence).

Achhypsy speakers are to be found in the following places in central-north Turkey.

7.1. il: Bolu.

- 7.1.1. ilçe: Gölyaka (in Andrews 394 mistakenly Gölkaya); the older names are Imamlar and Göl Yatağı Bucağı (Terim 265). There are ca. 6 Abkhaz families in the town, and ca.**

10 hh in the adjacent village named Yeni Mahalle, but their exact dialectal affiliation is not clear (must be either Bzyp or Ahchypy).

There are 6 villages united by the name Efteniye, of which four are inhabited by Ahchypy, and two by Bzyp:

- (1) Çay-köy(i); var.: (Andrews 394) Efteniçay, Abx name: *a-jg-3-aa*, which is pl. of the family name *á-jg-ba*; ca. 12 hh. The population figures for previous years are: 298, acc. to 1945 census (Ersoy 57), 264 in 1973 (Aydemir 236, cf. the same figure in Terim 265); there live also several Bzyp families.
- (2) Süleymanbey, var.: Hacı Süleymanbey (Andrews 394), Haci Süleyman Bey (Aydemir 236), Haci Süleymanbey (Terim 265; Ersoy 57). The village is named so after the name of its founder, Süleymanbey *wardanəja*; according to another informant, Süleyman bey's family name was *ás"-ba*. Pop.: 520 in 1973 (Aydemir 236, the same figure is in Terim 265), ca. 35 hh.
- (3) Kurak mahalle, in Abx *k"-ərák'*. Pop.: 231 in 1973 (Aydemir 236, cf. the same figure in Terim 265), ca. 12 hh.
- (4) Zekeriya mahalle; named so after the name of *ás"-ba* Zekeriya; pop.: 1206 in 1945, acc. to census (cf. Ersoy 57), 700 in 1973 (Aydemir 237, cf. the same figure in Terim 265).

7.1.2. ilçe: Kışla

(5) Yeşil Yayla, the previous Turkish name: Büyük Bıçka, Abx name: *bəč'ka* (< Tu), or *ħəč'až-bej ja-kəta*, rendered in Turkish as Hüccacbey (Aydemir 237: Hüccaç Bey, Terim 266: Hücac Bey, Andrews 394: Hüçaçbey, Ersoy 57: Hüçaçbey); ca. 200 hh, pop.: more than 3,000 (cf. 1125, acc. to 1945 census, cf. Ersoy 57 and 1673 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 237). The inhabitants refer to themselves as *a-psh"-ə-ahč"-əpsə*, which means that they represent the Pskhwy tribe.

7.1.3. ilçe: Düzce

7.1.3.1. District: Gümüşova

(6) Bıçkı Atık (Ersoy 58: Bıçkıatık), Abx name *tepsek* (Ersoy 58); pop.: 608 in 1973 (acc. to Aydemir 237), ca 120 in 1993 (acc. to Ersoy 58).

7.1.3.2. District: Kaynaşlı

(7) Bıçkıyanı, acc. to Andrews 394, also Bıçkı; Ahchypy ?; pop.: 150 in 1973 (Aydemir 237; cf. the same figure in Ersoy 57).

(8) Tavak, pop.: 366 in 1931 (cf. Ersoy 57), 55 in 1973 (Aydemir 237).

(9) Kasbey, pop.: 75 in 1973 (Aydemir 237); Ersoy 57 cites the same name (*k'ac-bej*) as the Abkhaz designation of the previous village.

7.2. il: Sakarya.

7.2.1. ilçe: Hendek. There is a district named Nüfren (Abx name: *apsará*), which includes 5 villages, two of which are Bzyp, and three are Ahchypy. The Ahchypy villages are:

- (10) Bey-köy, Abx name: *ámč"-k'oj*; pop.: 76 in 1931 (cf. Ersoy 57).
- (11) Beylice (part of Nüfren).
- (12) Çakallık, Abx name: *q'azlát yə-kəta* (Terim 265; var.: *q'azlát ħaləlbej ja-kəta*, Ersoy 58;

q'azlát-aa); more than 80 hh, pop.: ca. 400 (245 in 1976, cf. Terim 265; but Ersoy 58 gives the same figure for 1945 !); there are also 3 Georgian families, who speak Abkhaz.

(13) Çapyak, var.: (Ersoy 57) Çapyakbey, Abx name: *mac'ár(a)*, pop.: 531 in 1945 (Ersoy 57), 506 in 1973 (Aydemir 235; cf. the same figure in Terim 265).

(14) Hüseyinşeyhköy, Abx name: *čəw-aa*, pop.: 186 in 1976 (Terim 265).

(15) Kalayık, Abx name (Terim 265) Cuvaryıkita (= *čəw-aa r-kəta*), but Ersoy 59 gives Afdzucaa (?) as the Abkhaz name; ca. 70 hh, pop.: ca. 350, acc. to my informants (cf. 702 in 1935, acc. to Ersoy 59, and 437 in 1976, acc. to Terim 265).

(16) Karaçökek, Abx name, acc. to Ersoy 59, is Çvijbaa (= *čəž'b-aa*), ca. 10 hh, acc. to my informants, but Ersoy gives 535 as an approximate number of inhabitants.

(17) Soğuksu (part of Nüfren), Abx name: *apsará-Soğuksu*, ca. 20 hh; pop.: 218 in 1945 (Ersoy 57).

(18) Süleymanbey.

(19) Yarica, Abx name: *k"-ara-č"g-á* (lit. 'the bad creek'), ca. 25-30 hh, pop.: ca. 150.

(20) Yeniköy köyü, Abx name: *tag"-arág"-k*, pop.: ca. 160 (ca. 100 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 59), 22 hh.

(21) Zöybek mahalle (Ersoy 58: Zorbekbey), Abx name: *tag"-arák'*, Ersoy 58: *a-zag"-a tag"-arak'*, ca. 20 hh.

8. Sadz. The Sadz dialect (Bz *a-ħáž(-wa)*, Abzh, Sa *a-sáz(-wa)* 'Sadzian'), before the deportation of its speakers to the Ottoman empire in 1864, was spoken from the river Bzyp in the east up to the river Matsesta (Abx *mcásta*) and further to the northwest, to the river Sochi-psta (contemporary Sochi). Thus it bordered to the east on the Bzyp dialect and to the west on Ubykh. In the middle of the XIX century Sadzians used to live in such villages in Abkhazia as *ħaməš'* (or *ħásta* > Rus Xosta, a place near Sochi, 40 hh), *artkət* (or rather *arəd-kət*), *ħəš'-ħa* (100 hh), *candıṛəpš'* (200 hh), *g'ac'-təpš'*, *bagṛəpš'* (60 hh), *mk'alṛəpš'* (in the upper reaches of the river *psaw*, 40 hh), *gágrə//gagrəpš'*. On the river *k"-adəpsta* (> Rus Kudepsta) there settled another Sadz community, Chuzhi (*č"-əž"-ə*, pl. *a-č"-əž"-aa*, 100 hh), and on the river *mcasta* (> Rus Matsesta) was situated a Chywa (*čəwa*) tribe (150 hh; all population figures are from Volkova 76).

The generic self-designation of Sadzians proper is *apsəwə fapsúwʃ* 'Abkhazian', more specifically they refer to themselves as *a-ħálc'əs//a-ħəlc'əs*, or *a-sáz-wa* (sg.), *a-sáz-k'a* (pl.). Subdivisions are: *ħaməš'-aa* (emigrants from the place *ħaməš'*//*ħásta* near the contemporary city of Sochi), *gágr'-aa* (emigrants from the contemporary town of Gagra), and *taápsa(a)*. Many Sadzians were first brought to Batum, from where they came to Anatolia.

On the whole the phonemic inventory of Khaltsys Sadz coincides with that of Abzhywa, the only distinction being the presence of non-glottalized /f/ in the morpheme *fa* 'thin' (cf. Abzh, Ash *f'a*, Bz, Ahch *p'a* 'id.'), while the main variant of this morpheme in Tswydzhy is *p'a*, and optionally *f'a*. Besides, the Tswydzhy, and few Khaltsys speakers, retain the old opposition between the middle and back labialised spirants (*ħ"-s"-vs. z"-s"-*). A peculiar feature of Sadz is the presence of geminate (or strong)

consonants.

Nowadays Sadz can be found in Turkey in the following villages. First I enumerate the Khaltsys villages, and then the Tswydzhy ones. Note that the Tswydzhy do not regard themselves as belonging to Sadzians.

8.1. Khaltsys.

8.1.1. il: Sakarya.

8.1.1.1. ilçe: Adapazarı.

8.1.1.1.1. District: Merkez.

(1) Çaybaşı Yeni köyü; Abx name (Terim 264) Açarkta (= ač'-aa r-kəta, i.e. 'the village of the nobles ač'-ba'). The village contains 3 parts, the number of population of which is estimated by Ersoy 60 in 1993 as 360 (cf. 964 in 1976 in Terim 264).

(1a) Abx name: taápsa(a); ca. 20 hh, pop.: ca. 80-100.

(1b) Abx name: tarask"-á.

(1c) Dermendere, Abx name gágır-aa; nearly all Abkhazians left the village.

(2) Kemaliye, Abx name: xamàš(-aa), 37 hh, pop.: ca. 120 (312 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264, who notes that the population is ethnically mixed). The Abkhaz language is known rather poorly. Apart from Abkhazians, there live also Turks, Circassians, Georgians and "Laz". The elders claim that their forefathers came to this place in 1876 and that the village bears the same name as their original place in Abkhazia.

(3) Şükriye-köy, Abx name: dáglež'a, 10 hh, pop.: ca. 50-60 (cf. 32 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264). This village is officially a part of Kemaliye, but the local Abkhazians do not regard themselves as belonging to the xamàš-aa tribe. The elders say that the name of the village was brought from Abkhazia, and that even there the two villages, xamàš and dáglež'a, were neighbouring on each other. According to my informant, Cavit pál-ba (born in 1924), it was his grandfather, t'ag" pál-ba, who founded this village (after living for some time in Batum). They were brought to Turkey by a certain noble maád-jə-pa hákəbej (whose family name was kapš). After him, the domination went over to á-č'əw sajəd-bej from the neighbouring xamàš'.

8.1.1.2. ilçe: Akyazı.

(4) Gebeş, pop.: ca. 70 (but, acc. to another informant, ca. 20); mixed Sadz-Ahchypsy or Sadz-Bzyp.

(5) Harmanlı (or Halil-bey ?, or Irfanievvel ?), Abx name: c᷑ən(a)ra, 35-36 hh; the Abkhaz name is given after the name of their old place in Abkhazia.

(6) Kuzuluk, Abx name (Terim 264) g'áč' jə-kəta (i.e. 'the village of the nobles g'áč'-ba', who possessed the village g'áč'-rə-pš' in Western Abkhazia); ca. 100 hh, pop.: ca. 300 (cf. 756 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264); there live also Turks and Georgians. Before the Abkhazians, this place was inhabited by Kurds. Sadzians, as elders say, came to Turkey in 1878 by two or three waves of emigration.

(7) Taşburun, ca. 17 hh, pop.: 80 in 1993 (cf. Ersoy 59).

(8) Yongalik, Abx name: bejzir jə-kəta, ca. 10 hh, pop.: 134 in 1976 (Terim 265); the Abkhaz name is given after the name of the Abkhazian noble who founded the village.

8.1.1.2.1. District: Karapürçek.

(9) Akbalık (Terim: Akbağlık), Abx name (Terim 264): áč'-ba jə-kəta, ca. 30 hh, pop.: ca. 120 (165 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264).

(10) Biçkıldere, ca. 50 hh, pop.: ca. 260 (cf. 263 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264).

(11) Mesudiye, Abx name: tähir-bej (acc. to Ersoy 59, can-kət), ca. 10 hh. tähir-bej was the name of the noble who founded the village. Another informant from this village claims that the Abkhaz name of the village is taalustan-bej, after the name of the noble taalustan-bej báğ-ba.

8.1.1.3. ilçe: Geyve.

(12) Boğazköy; the previous name: Şahanbey köyü, Abx name: č'əwaa r-kəta, ca. 25 hh, pop.: ca. 50 (245 in 1935, acc. to Ersoy 59). The population is mixed Ubykh-Sadz; the Ubykhs speak only Sadz, as Ubykh is quite long dead here. The oldest man in the village, Ubykh by origin, Vechi Omurxua, who spoke Sadz close to its Tswydzhy subdialect, said that only his grandparents could speak Ubykh. According to him, the place in Ubykhia from where the local Ubykhs came, was called bətxa.

(13) Doğançay, var.: Doğançay-Nahiye, Abx name (Terim 264) arən-kəta (Ersoy 59: arən-aa), ca. 13 hh, pop.: ca. 35-50 (earlier it counted about 40 hh, but many left; for 1993 Ersoy gives the number of inhabitants as 210).

8.1.1.4. ilçe: Hendek.

8.1.1.4.1. District: Karadere.

(14) Karadere, var.: (Andrews 408) Çığdere, Abx name (Terim 265) Simeyhe kīta, ca. 15-20 hh, pop.: ca. 100 (361 in 1945, acc. to Ersoy 58, and 196 in 1976, acc. to Terim 265); there is also some Bzyp mixture.

8.2. Tswydzhy. The generic self-designation of Tswydzhy is ápsa-wa 'Abkhazian', while the name of their community is č'əž'-aa. Tswydzhy do not regard themselves as "Sadzians". They live in three villages near the town of Bilecik: Küncaz, Hasan-dere and Elmabahça (the latter is now almost deserted). Many moved to towns, mostly to Bilecik.

8.2.1. il: Bilecik.

8.2.1.1. District: Merkez.

(1) Küncez (Aydemir 234, Ersoy 61: Künçez) ca. 30 hh, pop.: ca. 120 (cf. 238, acc. to 1955 census, cf. Ersoy 61, and 170 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234). According to my informant, in Turkey Tswydzhy first came in 1862 to Enişehir. The informant, á-s"əq"-ba k'amál, born in 1913, heard from his elders that there were about 200 Tswydzhy households in Abkhazia prior to emigration. He remembered the name of the river bzəmta in the Caucasus, obviously a confusion of the names of the two rivers, mzəmta and bzəp. He also recalls the name of the place near their village in Abkhazia, š"əq"-rāq' (which can somehow be connected with his own family name), as well as the name of another place in the Caucasus, x"əž"-ə, which is similar to the name of the Ashkharywa village in the North Caucasus (Ash q"əž"-ə, Rus Kuvinsk).

8.2.1.2. ilçe: Pazaryeri.

8.2.1.2. 1. District: Ilyasbey.

(2) Hasandere, ca. 25 hh, pop.: ca. 100-110, acc. to my informants, cf. 138 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234.

(3) Elmabahça, pop.: 2 hh, cf. 300 inhabitants, acc. to 1955 census (cf. Ersoy 61), 80 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234. There are only two families of two brothers left in the village, while other inhabitants moved to towns, though they still use the houses as summer farms.

9. Ashkharywa. Speakers of the Ashkharywa dialect inhabit three villages in Karachaj-Cherkessia: Starokuvinsk (Ash *qəžə-dəw*), Novokuvinsk (Ash *qəž-č'kən*) and Apsua (*apsəwá*, the older name of which is *čag'atáj*). The inhabitants of the first two villages speak the Kuvinsk subdialect, and those living in the third village, speak the Apsua subdialect. Ashkharywa speakers also live in the village of Abazakt (together with speakers of Tapanta and Kabardian), and in the village of Uliap in Adyghea (together with Beslenej Kabardians and Adyghe). The number of Ashkharywa speakers in Turkey is not clear. On the whole, Ashkharywa is undoubtedly much closer to South Abkhaz dialects than to Tapanta, and thus the term Abaza should be used only in relation to a more distinct Tapanta.

The original labialized dental stops (*d'', t'', t''*) can be found only in the speech of the older speakers of Ashkharywa, where they are in one-way free variation with their non-labialized counterparts. All Ashkharywa speakers preserve a distinction between middle and back labialized spirants (i.e. *z''s''* vs. *ž''š''*). The former are of a bilabial closed type, though in the pronunciation of some older speakers of Apsua these sounds are characterized by an exolabiodental articulation. The middle spirants are of an open bilabial type, and in the speech of the middle-aged and the younger generation they are partially or completely delabialized. Unlike South Abkhaz dialects, labialized affricates are of a bilabial open type, and in the speech of the younger generation they are delabialized.

Some older speakers of Ashkharywa also have a labialized glottalized bilabial stop *p''*, found only in one morpheme (*s'a-p''ə* 'foot', *m-p''ə* 'hand' vs. *š'a-p'ə*, *na-p'ə* in the other dialects).

Like Tapanta, Ashkharywa preserves uvular stops *q*, *q''* (which in southern dialects became spirants), as well as the voiced emphaticized labialized pharyngal (*r''*). Its non-labialized counterpart phonetically fluctuates between *r* and *aa*. Like Abzhywa, Ashkharywa possesses glottalized /f/ in the morpheme *f'a* 'thin'.

Ashkharywa speakers are to be found in the following villages in Turkey.

9.1. il: Çorum.

9.1.1. ilçe: Alaca.

(1) Gökören (Andrews 397; var.: Gökveren), Ash name: *bzág-a-kət*; ca. 25-30 hh, pop.: ca. 150 (282 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 223). Among the family names of the inhabitants, one

comes across some Bzyp (cf. the name *blab*) and Sadz (cf. the name *aʃ''pát*) names. The older villagers speak also Kabardian. The self-designation is *š'qa-rə-wa* (i.e. 'the mountaineer'), or *adəg'a*. The Tapanta (as well as Apswa) intermixture is also not excluded.

(2) Sultanköy, pop.: ca. 100 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 223.

9.2. il: Eskişehir.

9.2.1. District: Merkez.

(3) Musaözü, Ash name: Bağħable (= *báğ hābħ'a*); ca. 40 hh, pop.: ca. 150 (cf. 342 in 1955, acc. to census, cf. Ersoy 61). The inhabitants are Ashkharywa (groups *čag'arāj* and *qəžə*) and Tapanta (group *gəm-láw-kt*); in Andrews 398 they are mistakenly identified as Abadzakh Circassians. According to my informant, their forefathers came to this place from the Caucasus in 1864. The Ashkharywa speech is mixed with Tapanta.

9.2.2. District: İnönü.

(4) Kumbet(ak)pınar, Ersoy 61: Kümbet-Akpınar; acc. to Andrews 399, inhabitants belong to Baraq'aj (Tapanta) group; pop.: 20 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234, 170 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 61. The latter author places the village in ilçe Bozüyü.

(5) Kumbetyeni(köy); acc. to Andrews 399: Baraq'aj (Tapanta). There are also Circassians. Pop.: 150 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234.

9.3. il: Kayseri.

9.3.1. ilçe: Pınarbaşı.

9.3.1.1. District: Örenşehir//Viranşehir.

(6) Kazancık, Ash name Ismel-kit (= *jəsmel-kət*), pop.: in 1993 ca. 700, ca. 100 hh (Ersoy 64).

9.4. il: Samsun.

9.4.1. ilçe: Havza.

(7) Cevizlik; previous name: Hurdaz, Ash *ħərdaz*, which is given after the name of their old Caucasian village. Acc. to my informant, near their Caucasian *ħərdaz* there was the river named *ħece-k'ər*, and the river near their present village in Turkey was named accordingly. The etymology of the name is *ħaca* 'kind of tree' (Tu *çetir meşe* // *karagürgen*), *k'ər* < Ash *k''ar* 'creek'; pop.: ca. 200-250, 55 hh. My informant was Zorum Ramazan Nadir (=Adil)-ipa (whose name belongs to the noble ones). His grandfather, Fevzi-bey, died in the Caucasus, and his grandfather, Kazi-bey, emigrated to Turkey in 1857 (1273 year of Hidjra); his mother was Abadzakh Circassian by name *ħatq'e*. According to Zorum, the name of their original place in the Caucasus was *ħápsənt*.

(8) Gürün-köy, 6-7 hh, pop.: ca. 30-40; it is possible that there are also some Apswa living in this village.

9.5. il: Sivas.**9.5.1. ilçe: Şarkışla.****9.5.1.1. District: Merkez**

(9) Demirboğa, Aydemir 219, Terim 268: Derirboga, Ersoy 63: Temirboğ, pop.: 161 in 1993, ca. 10-15 hh (Ersoy 63).

(10) Karacoren, Aydemir 219: Karaca ören, Ersoy 63: Karacaviran; or Tap ?; ca. 25-30 hh, pop.: ca. 530 in 1993 (Ersoy 63).

(11) Tavladere, pop.: 166 in 1993, ca. 15-20 hh (Ersoy 63).

9.5.2. ilçe: Yıldızeli.**9.5.2.1. District: Merkez**

(12) Çiz özü (Aydemir 219), Cıgırözü (Terim 268), Cicözü / Cizözü (Andrews 414, Ersoy 63); or Tap ?; pop.: ca. 430 in 1993 (Ersoy 63).

9.5.2.2. District: Çırçır.

(13) Çırçırbüçak (Terim 268), Çırçır (Andrews 415, Ersoy 63); or Tap?; pop.: 353 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 63); now ca. 80 hh.

9.5.2.3. District: Yavu (//Belcik).

(14) Halkaçayır; pop 307 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 63); now ca. 25hh.

9.6. il: Tokat.**9.6.1. ilçe: Artova.****9.6.1.1. District: Sulusaray.**

(15) Ilicak; or Tap ?; ca. 12 hh.

9.7. il: Yozgat.**9.7.1. ilçe: Çekerek.****9.7.1.1. District: Merkez**

(16) Cayırözü; or Tap ?

9.7.1.2. District: Aydıncık.

(17) Ağılı; or Tap ?

(18) Aydıncık, var.: Mamure-Eskiköy; or Tap ?

(19) Bakırboğazı, var.: (Andrews 418) Çerkezbakırı; or Tap ?

10. Tapanta. Speakers of Tapanta live in the following villages of Karachaj-Cherkessia: Elburgan (Tap *albərən*), Psyzh (*psəz̥*), Krasny Vostok (Tap *g'əm-láw-k(ə)t*), Kubina (*q'əbəjna*), Kojdan (*q'əjdán*), Indzhik-Chkun (*jənž'əg'-č'k'ən*), Kara-Pago (*q'ara-pág'a*), Psauche-Dakhe (*psawəč'a-dáča*), Abazakt, Abazahabl. In Psauche-Dakhe Tapanta speakers live together with Kabardians, and in Abazakt with Kabardians and Ashkharywas. Tapanta is divided into two subdialects: Kubino-Elburgan and Gumlokt (= Krasny Vostok). The differences between these isolects are purely phonetical. The main feature which allows us to differentiate Tapanta subdialects (besides some minor lexical peculiarities) is the reflexes of Common Abkhaz labialized sibilants and dental stops. In all Tapanta subdialects CABx *d* *t* *tʷ* merged with the labialized affricates,

which in some subdialects became delabialized. Besides, in certain subdialects middle labialized sibilants merged with labialised back ones, which in some isolects became delabialized.

Tapanta speakers can be found in the following places in Turkey. Often, however, it is not yet clear, whether the inhabitants of the mentioned villages belong to Tapanta (Ashuwa), or to Ashkharywa group.

10.1. il: Adana.**10.1.1. ilçe: Ceyhan.**

(1) Şevkiye, pop.: 600 in 1993, 130 hh (Ersoy 63).

(2) Karamezar, var: Gönlice // Günlüce // Sadiye-Karamezar (Andrews 385); pop.: ca. 900, from the village's 150 hh many are Tapanta (Ersoy 63).

10.1.2. ilçe: Tufanbeyli.

(3) Akpinar (Tap Anna-kət), pop.: ca. 1000 in 1993 (Ersoy 63), now ca. 400 hh.

(4) İydebeli (Tap Law-kət), Andrews 385: İğdebel, pop.: ca. 400, 60 hh in 1993 (Ersoy 63), now ca. 50 hh, pop. ca. 150.

(5) Polatpınar (Tap Law-kət), pop.: ca. 180 in 1993 (Ersoy 63), now ca. 20 hh.

(6) K.Pınarı, pop.: 350, 55 hh in 1993 (Ersoy 63). Or Ash ?

10.2. il: Bilecik.**10.2.1. ilçe: Boz(h)üyük.**

(7) Kuvalca (Terim 266) // Kovalica (Andrews 391) // Kovalca (Aydemir 234, Andrews 391) // Kavalca (Ersoy 61), the Tap name is *biberd-kət*, pop.: 290 in 1973 (Aydemir 234; the same figure is given in Ersoy 61). Ersoy places the village in il Eskişehir, Merkez.

10.2.1.1. District: Dodurga.

(8) Karaçayır, group Baraq'aj, pop.: 115 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 234, ca. 600 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 62. Ersoy places the village in il Eskişehir, Merkez.

10.3. il: Eskişehir.**10.3.1. District: Merkez**

(9) Nemle, Ersoy 61: Nemli; Ash or Tap ? there are also Circassians (acc. to Aydemir 224: Shapsygh); pop.: 242 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 224, ca. 260 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 61. The latter author places the village in ilçe Bozüyükk.

10.3.2. ilçe: Seyitgazi.

(10) Feyzabat, var.: Çeçengiç, Ersoy 62: Çekingiç. The Tap name is *dəderəq'"a kət*; in Aydemir 224 the inhabitants are mistakenly called Circassians; pop.: 140 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 224, ca. 250 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 62.

(11) İmîşehr.

10.4. il: Kayseri.

10.4.1. ilçe: Pınarbaşı.

10.4.1.1. District: Merkez.

(12) Altikesek, Tap name (Aydemir 226): Levkitohabl (= *law-kəta-habl'a*), Ersoy 64: *law-kət*; Terim 267: Ismelkita (= *jəsmel kəta*). Pop.: 315 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64), 311 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 226. Note that Altikesek is the old Noghaj term for Tapanta (meaning 'six parts', referring to six Tapanta tribes).

(13) Aşağıborandere, var.: Şeşenjinbotey (Aydemir 226); Ash or Tap ?; acc. to Aydemir: Kabardians and Chechens, acc. to Andrews 401: Kabardians + Abaza (+ Chechens). General pop.: 500 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 226, ca. 447 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 64.

(14) Büyük Puluklu (Terim), Büyükkotuklu (Aydemir 226, Andrews), Aşağı Potuklu (Ersoy 64). Tap name (Aydemir, Ersoy 64): Ismelkit (*jəsmel kət*); Terim: Lohyikita (= *láw jə-kəta*). Pop.: 432 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64), 463 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 226.

(15) Yukarı Potuklu, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64).

(16) Yukariborandere, Ash or Tap ?; Andrews 401: Kabardians + Abaza (+ Chechens). Pop.: 520 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64).

10.4.1.2. District: Kaynar.

(17) Hayriye, local name (Aydemir 227): Jamirzey; Ash or Tap ?; But, according to Aydemir, all are Kabardians; cf. also the name Jamirzey, cited by Aydemir, which is obviously Circassian. Aydemir 224 places this village in the ilçe Seyitgazi. In Andrews 399 the same village is placed in ilçe Çifteler, merkez, il Eskişehir. Some of my informants claim that the inhabitants are Tatars. Pop.: 309 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 227.

10.4.2. ilçe: Pınarbaşı.

10.4.2.1. District: Örenşehir // Viranşehir.

(18) Örenşehir // Viranşehir, local name (Aydemir 227): Kundutey; Ash or Tap ?; also Kabardians (Andrews 402); but according to Aydemir, all are Kabardians. Pop.: 513 in 1973, acc. to Aydemir 227.

10.4.2. ilçe: Sarız.

10.4.2.1. District: Merkez.

(19) Incemağara, Ash or Tap ?; pop.: ca. 324 in 1973 (Aydemir 227, cf. the same figure in Ersoy 64).

I suppose that the village Alamescit in this district might also be in fact inhabited by Tapanta, which can be indicated by its "Caucasian" name Lağurhable (cited in Aydemir 226) = Tap *law-i-habl'a* 'the settlement of the (nobles) Lawy', though both Aydemir 226 and Andrews 401 mention only Kabardians.

10.5. il: Maraş.

10.5.1. ilçe: Göksun.

(20) Mahmutbey; or Ash ?

(21) Mehmetbey; pop.: ca. 1500 in 1993 (Ersoy 63). Or Ash? It is not clear whether the

population figure refers to this village alone or to the villages (20) and (21) together.

(22) Tahribey.

(23) Tap name: Law-kaza, pop.: ca. 500 (Ersoy 63).

10.6. il: Sakarya.

10.6.1. ilçe: Akyazı.

(24) Alağaç; Andrews 407: also Mahmutsabit; pop.: 473 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264, ca. 200 in 1993, acc. to Ersoy 59; the affiliation is, acc. to Andrews, Baraq'aj (Tapanta); cf. also Terim 264; there are also Abkhaz proper and "Laz".

(25) Pazarköy, Tap name (Terim 264) Lohykita (= *law jə-kəta*), pop.: 480 in 1976 (Terim 264); the population is ethnically mixed (cf. Terim 264).

10.6.1.2. District: Karapürçek.

(26) Kepekli, the inhabitants belong to the Tapanta group Baraq'aj, ca. 60 hh, pop.: 224 in 1976, acc. to Terim 264, ca. 200, acc. to Ersoy 59; the inhabitants speak Tapanta and Circassian; there are also 4 Abkhaz (Apswa) families.

(27) Hasanbey, group Baraq'aj (Andrews 407), pop.: ca. 134 (Ersoy 59).

(28) Yeniormanköy, Ersoy 59: Ormanköy; var.: (Andrews 407) Osmanşevkiye; inhabitants belong to the Baraq'aj group, pop.: ca. 100 (Ersoy 59).

10.7. il: Samsun.

10.7.1. ilçe: Havza.

(29) Karameşe, ca. 25 hh; acc. to another informant: ca. 15, pop.: ca. 80-100.

10.8. il: Sivas.

10.8.1. ilçe: Şarkışla.

10.8.1.1. District: Merkez.

(30) Yeniyapan, pop.: 216 in 1950, acc. to census (Ersoy 63).

10.9. il: Tokat.

10.9.1. ilçe: Artova.

10.9.1.1. District: Sulusaray.

(31) Alpudere, var.: Altuderesi; pop.: 350 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?; there are also Daghestanis (Andrews 416).

(32) İlıcak; or Ash ?; also Kurds (Andrews 416).

(33) Çardak, pop.: 324 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?

10.9.2. ilçe: Zile.

(34) Zeyledin, pop.: ca. 200 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?

(35) Kazıklı, Tap name Kılıç-kit (Ersoy 64).

(36) Tap (or Ash?) name: *bzág'a-kət* (Ersoy 64).

(37) Uzunöz, pop.: 313 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?

10.9.3. ilçe: Erbaa.

(38) Findıçak, pop.: 206 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?

- (39) Kozlu, pop.: 300 in 1955, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (40) İhsaniye, pop.: 50 in 1993; also Kabardians ? (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?

10.9.4. ilçe: Turhal.

- (41) Asarcık, pop.: 372 in 1950, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (42) Kaledere, pop.: 344 in 1950, acc. to census (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (43) Taşlı, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (44) Manastır, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (45) T.Menteşe, pop.: ca. 70 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (46) Kirımgiray, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (47) Hamidiye, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (48) Daziye, pop.: ca. 300 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (49) Fındıcık, pop.: ca. 272 in 1993 (Ersoy 64). Or Ash ?
 (50) Şenyurt, or Ash ? or Abadzakh?; there are also Daghestanis (Andrews 416).

11. It is interesting that the various Abkhaz groups settled in Turkey separately from each other, much in the way they used to live in the Caucasus, which helped them to preserve not only their dialectal peculiarities, but also a rather strong sense of adherence to one or another distinct Abkhaz community (i.e. Bzyp, Ahchypy, Sadz, etc.). There are relatively few dialect-mixed villages. The rare exception is Ashkharywa, whose speakers in some areas to some extent mixed with Tapanta.

The level of preservation of Abkhaz varies. It is rather high in large Abkhaz villages, and much lower in small or ethnically mixed villages. The position of Abkhaz is still rather strong in such provinces as Bilecik, Bolu, Bursa and Sakarya, while in other provinces, especially in Samsun, Sinop and further to the (north)east, the knowledge of Abkhaz is comparatively weak. In general, the older and middle-aged generation speak Abkhaz perfectly and often use it while communicating with each other. In the villages the younger generation also often speak Abkhaz, but in the cities this is already a rare phenomenon.

Though all Abkhaz groups in Turkey still retain their dialectal peculiarities, their close neighbourhood and permanent contacts, especially on such events as wedding parties, funerals, etc., resulted in the appearance of a certain number of common features. These include common Turkish loans, or calques from Turkish expressions. Cf. *marák-s q'a-wə-m-cá-n* 'don't worry about it', from *Tu merak etme 'id'*, or *wə-bzəja-wə-ma* ?'how are you?', lit. 'are you well/good?', which is a translation from *Tu iyi mi ?'id'*. The answer is *sə-bzəja-wə-p* 'I am all right', lit. 'I am well/good' < *Tu iyim 'id'*. It is interesting that Bzyp Abkhazians, living in Sinop, i.e. in a relative isolation from the rest of the Turkish Abkhazian communities, use as an answer the form used in Abkhazia, i.e. *ħár sə-ma-m* 'I am well', lit. 'I don't have a guilt'. Another common feature is using some Circassian loans absent in Caucasian Abkhaz, e.g. *a-c'ap'a* '(morally) dirty' < Circ *c'ap'e* 'dirty'. These and other features can indicate that the Turkish Abkhazians worked out a certain koine, a meta-

dialect, specific to Turkey.

12. For the last twenty years the urbanisation tempos in Turkey have been quite high, with the effect that many Abkhaz families left villages and moved to the cities, which accelerates their linguistic and cultural assimilation. Their village houses are usually bought by Kurds and "Laz", resettling from the eastern provinces of Turkish Kurdistan and from the historical province of Lazistan. Note that the Turkish term "Laz" often means just "inhabitant of the eastern Black Sea coast, Lazistan", and does not necessarily refer to the Kartvelian-speaking Laz. The latter are distinguished by Abkhazians (and probably by other Caucasians) from Lazistan Turks by the term *komoxti-* (sometimes *komofti*-) *laz*. *ko-mo-xti* means in Laz 'come here'. The process of depopulation of Abkhaz villages can be followed also from the comparison of the population figures for different years, given above. On the other hand, the number of Abkhazians in cities and towns over the last twenty years has risen quite substantially.

13. Many Turkish Abkhazians emigrated to Western Europe as guest-workers, especially to Germany (which hosts the largest Abkhaz and Circassian colony in Western Europe), Switzerland and the Netherlands. The Turkish Abkhaz communities in other countries, like Belgium, Austria, Great Britain and in the USA, Canada and Australia, are smaller and more recent. The emigrants are mostly Bzypians, Ahchypy and (Khaltsys) Sadzians.

14. The recent Abkhazo-Georgian war quite radically stimulated and in many cases even revived the ethnic self-consciousness of Turkish Abkhazians (and of many Circassians as well!), their interest in the Abkhaz language, culture, folklore (mainly traditional dances) and history. Abkhaz cultural centers (*Tu dernek*) are found in many places in Turkey wherever there is a significant Abkhaz population. Since the beginning of the Abkhazo-Georgian war, all Abkhaz and Circassian *derneks* in Turkey were united in a Federation. The main activities in *derneks* are teaching Caucasian folk dances, organising cultural events, sometimes courses of the Abkhaz language (though the knowledge of the official Abkhaz Cyrillic alphabet is rather limited). There began, though so far on a low scale, a repatriation movement to Abkhazia.

15. Turkish Abkhazians live quite harmoniously with their neighbours belonging to different ethnic background. In particular, there is no apparent animosity between them and neighbouring Georgians, and there are Abkhaz-Georgian mixed marriages. On the whole, however, Abkhazians (as well as Circassians) are characterised by ethnic endogamy, preferring marriage partners from their own ethnicity. Even mixed Abkhazo-Circassian marriages are rather rare. Abkhazians are quite aware of their close ethnolinguistic relationship with Circassians and Ubykhs, and they share the same sad history of being driven out of their Caucasian motherland. On the other hand, Abkhazians do not regard themselves as Circassians, as some authors would claim (cf. Andrews 169). Their Turkish designation is also different from that of the Circassians (cf. *Tu abaza* 'Abkhaz' vs. *çerkes* 'Circassian').

claim (cf. Andrews 169). Their Turkish designation is also different from that of the Circassians (cf. Tu abaza 'Abkhaz' vs. çerkes 'Circassian').

16. The older generation of Turkish Abkhazians still preserve rather well their traditional oral literature. The main motives are stories about the hero *až'g'erəj-ja-pa k'əč'ak'*, as well as historical tales about other heroes. Besides, their repertory includes fairy-tales (e.g., about the seven-headed giants and tricksters), Nart sagas, ritual songs and spells. The historical stories of Sadzians, Tswydzhy, Tsabals and Ahchypsy are especially interesting, as they preserve the memory of the way of life of that part of Abkhazia which was demographically destroyed during the Russian-Caucasian war.

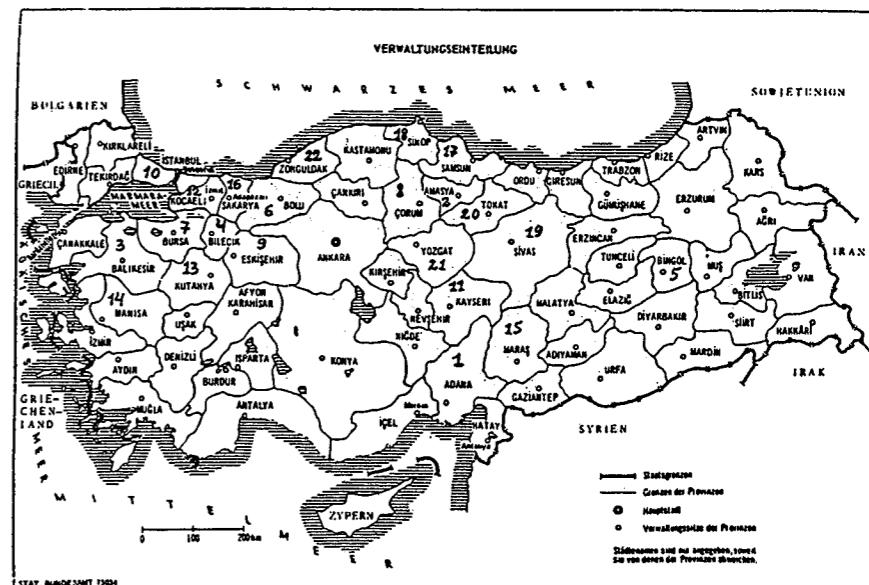
17. The description of the Abkhaz dialects in Turkey has just begun, and much has to be done in order to adequately describe these dialects, especially those which are not found in Abkhazia (i.e. Sadz, Ahchypsy and Tsabal). This task is especially urgent as all Caucasian dialects in Turkey have a strong tendency to extinction (the sad example of which is the fate of Ubykh, extinct since 1992, with the death of Tevfik Esenç). With the current pace of urbanisation in Turkey, it is just a matter of a few generations before Abkhaz will follow Ubykh. Those in their thirties are probably the last generation of Turkish Abkhazians who are still in full command of their native language, but their children are already predominantly monolingual-Turkish.

We, linguists, cannot stop the process of language-death, it is a matter of the conscientious speakers alone. But it is in our power, and our duty to provide adequate descriptions of the still existing dialects, in order to preserve if not the languages themselves, but at least their last monuments.

Map 1. Distribution of West Caucasian Peoples According to Main Dialectal Subdivisions Prior to the Mass-Emigration of 1864 (after Hewitt 1989, with modifications)



Map 2. Administrative Map of Turkey (after Kündig-Steiner 1977)



Distribution of Abkhaz-speaking groups in Turkey.

province	number of villages	province	number of villages
1. Adana	10 (Tap, + Ash ?)	13. Kütahya	3 (Tsab, +?)
2. Amasya	1 (Bz)	14. Manisa	1
3. Balıkesir	3 (Tsab ?)	15. Maraş	4 (Tap +Ash ?)
4. Bilecik	13 (Tsab, Tsw, Ash)	16. Sakarya	74 (Bz, Ahch, Abzh, Khal Sa, Tap)
5. Bingöl	1		
6. Bolu	29 (Bz, Ahch)	17. Samsun	10 (Bz, Abzh, Ash, Tap)
7. Bursa	8 (Tsab)	18. Sinop	14 (Bz, Abzh)
8. Çorum	2 (Ash)	19. Sivas	7 (Ash, Tap)
9. Eskişehir	18 (Tsab, Ash, Tap)	20. Tokat	20 (Ash, Tap)
10. İstanbul	5	21. Yozgat	9 (Ash, +Tap?)
11. Kayseri	9 (Ash, Tap)	22. Zonguldak	3 (Bz ?)
12. Kocaeli	6 (Abzh, +?)		

Turkish 1965 Census figures concerning Circassian and Abkhaz speakers (cf. Andrews 176):

58,399 declared persons speaking Circassian as mother-tongue
 55,030 declared persons speaking Circassian as second language
 4,563 declared persons speaking Abkhaz as mother-tongue
 7,836 declared persons speaking Abkhaz as second language

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UBYKH'S POSITION IN NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN

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1. Introduction

Today we reflect on the Northwest Caucasian language Ubykh, which died as a spoken language, but will stay alive in the work of scholars of Caucasian languages, stimulated as they are by Georges Dumézil and Tevfik Esenç, in memory of whom this Conference is organized. The Ubykh people left their home-land in the second half of the last century, together with many other North Caucasians, chiefly their direct neighbors, the Circassians and Abkhazians. Apparently their contact with the Circassians was close, - or the Circassians largely outnumbered the Abkhazians -, so that in the century during which all Caucasian peoples under Turkish rule lost much of their languages and cultures, the Ubykh did not vanish themselves, but rather assimilated with the Circassians, becoming good Turkish citizens with Turkish as their first or only language. Some scholars deny these facts, stating that Ubykh can still be traced in Turkish villages, but fail to be specific, while others assure us that the Ubykh language that still can be recorded is too easily understood by any Circassian to be genuine Ubykh.

Were there other reasons for the Ubykhs, apart from closer areal contacts from Caucasian times onward, and perhaps because the Northwest Caucasian majority was Circassian, to assimilate with Circassians and not with Abkhazians? Was the language for instance closer to Circassian than to Abkhaz? Was it easier, so to say, for an Ubykh?

Kumakhov (1989) finds reason to state that the position of Ubykh is closer to Circassian than it is to Abkhaz. In his historical-comparative grammar of the Circassian languages the sister languages Abkhaz and Ubykh regularly are put under the comparative microscope and, apart from the generally accepted postulation of a common Abkhaz-Ubykh-Circassian unity, arguments are formulated for an additional, chronologically younger, Ubykh-Circassian unity, but not for an Ubykh-Abkhaz one.

2. Grammar, phonetics, lexicon

Let us discuss the grammatical position of Ubykh and see whether or not efforts to reconstruct certain substrata from grammatical points of view will also hold for

phonetics, but specifically for that part of the field that has had my attention for some time, the decisive power of which in discussions on language position is generally accepted, namely the lexical field of native forms, specific to each language.

2.1 Grammar

Although Kumakhov agrees that in a single case Ubykh and Abkhaz show a close relationship where-as Circassian stands apart, the majority of Circassian forms finds cognates either (and this is probably the smaller part of that majority) on a common West Caucasian level, in which case also Ubykh and Abkhaz material has been found (e.g. possessive prefixes all derived from pronouns; a single conjunction [Ad ag'ə, Ab yəg'əy, U g'a¹]; some derivational nominal suffixes [Ad-U -ma, as in Ad wəmə *big wooden hammer*, U qama *hammer*, cf. PA*mə *handle*]), or (and this is probably the majority of cases) on a common-Circassian-Ubykh level (e.g. ergative case system [Ad -m, U -n]; derivational suffixes [formans of the circumstantial case and of the verbal adverb, common-C -g'a, U -g'ə]). Concerning Ubykh-Abkhaz relations, apart from a West Caucasian level, we find very little in Kumakhov's book and this is not surprising, since he had to compare Circassian in the first place, not Ubykh or Abkhaz.

2.2 Phonetics

One of world's richest phoneme systems traditionally has been ascribed to Ubykh, 80 phonemes according to Hans Vogt (1963), and an 81st one, a voiceless labialized palatal fricative [χ̥] (/χ̥/ in my phonological transcription) dealt with in London, 1990 by John Colarusso. Georges Dumézil's scheme of the Ubykh phoneme system (*Le verbe oubykh*, 1975) shows an extra plain, glottalized velar stop /k'/ compared to Vogt's scheme, so that one might think to arrive at 82, but the stop occurs only in loans. Of the other WC systems the Proto-Circassian phoneme system by Kuipers counts 67 consonants; Standard Abkhaz shows 58 (con)sonants, plus an old glottalized dental fricative f (> 59), which is only Abzhui, the dialect Standard Abkhaz is officially based on. The Bzyb dialect of Abkhaz, which is richer and by that important for the reconstruction of the Proto-Abkhaz phoneme system, lacks this Abzhui f, but shows an extra series of alveolopalatal affricates and fricatives (ç, ʒ, ç̥, š, ʒ̥), an extra series of labialized sibilants (ʂ, ʐ̥) and an unvoiced plain and labialized velar/uvular fricative (χ/χ̥, χ̥/χ̥), in all 67 consonants. To that, as will be treated below (section 2.3.1.2) there is reason to reconstruct for Proto-Abkhaz a series of labialized alveolopalatal affricates (PA*ç̥, PA*ʒ̥, PA*ç̥̥), and, on the base of Abaza a voiced plain and labialized laryngeal (l, l̥) instead of the Standard Abkhaz/Bzyb labialized y̥, which makes 72 in all for Proto-Abkhaz, if the Abzhui f is accepted for Proto-Abkhaz as well. In connection with the latter again one extra palatal/velar fricative in Sağ (Abkhazian dialect spoken in Turkey) has been found, this time by Vjacheslav Chirikba (personal communication).

An important difference between Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz is the lack of pharyngealized labials and uvulars (14 according to Vogt). Circassian on the other hand is marked by a systematic opposition aspirated/unaspirated in the plosives (10 according to Kuipers), which both Ubykh and Abkhaz lack. Durr (1916, 415, 416) stated that Ubykh is phonetically closer to Abkhaz than to Kabardian (West Circassian); he mentioned the Abkhaz/Ubykh commonness in special whistling and

labialized consonants, and a bilabial stop, versus the Kabardian/Ubykh phonetical commonness in unvoiced laterals (λ and λ' WL). In the meantime we know a bit more about the developments within the Circassian dialects, and considering the difference between the Kuban Kabardian system (cf. Smeets 1984, 79) and the reconstructed Proto-Circassian phoneme system as by Kuipers (1975), I would prefer to state that the Ubykh system (pharyngealized phonemes not taking into consideration) is more Abkhazlike, thanks to the front part of it (the labial and alveolopalatal series, both plain and labialized), but is more Circassianlike in the lateral and uvular sphere. Abkhaz lacks lateral fricatives and has a poorer uvular system than Ubykh and Circassian.

2.3 Lexicon, correspondences

With West Caucasian correspondences, especially in connection with clusters, Ubykh is often strikingly on the Abkhaz side, with Proto-Circassian standing markedly apart. I point at the recorded variations of labial-initial complexes in West Caucasian: labialization, m-shift, and P-deletion. In a study on salient labial-initial complexes (Lucassen, 1992) the last phenomenon has been recorded in only 10 out of 128 Proto-Circassian/Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz words and yet it occurred in all three languages, but labialization and m-shift is shared by Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz only, and this makes an enormous impression during research.³ On the other hand Proto-Circassian and Ubykh share, apart from 9(x3=27) common Proto-Circassian/Ubykh/Abkhaz cases, 16(x2=32) words in the study just mentioned. Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz share no P-clusters, not shared with Proto-Circassian also, and, strangely enough, Proto-Circassian and Proto-Abkhaz share another 7(x2=14) P-complexes. This fact apparently shows that we lack sufficient Ubykh data.

In another article on the same theme (Lucassen, 1994), this time, however, on less salient labial-initial complexes, my conclusion was much the same. Only Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz shared the phenomena of labialization and m-shift in relation to 115 Proto-Circassian/Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz cases treated there. Some P-initial cases are shared by all three languages, but more cases are shared by Ubykh and Proto-Circassian than by Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz, or by Proto-Circassian and Proto-Abkhaz.

This gives a complex picture of the Ubykh intermediary position among the Northwest Caucasian languages. Much of the Ubykh material that is at hand now shows either that Ubykh is from the very beginning lexically and morphologically close to Circassian, or through influence with the bigger neighbor became such. In the case of the categories of word structure just mentioned, Ubykh nevertheless shows closeness to Abkhaz. The whole problem is now to decide how crucial this is. Lexicon can be loaned during time, as can suffixes and other morphological characteristics. The category of m-shift in the common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz cases, versus PC P-, is in my view of a different order. The feature labialization, in my view one of the reflexes of a Proto-Northwest Caucasian archiphoneme M- (Lucassen 1994, ms.), is in itself only one of the variants of Proto-Circassian initial P-, but the choice of reflex is crucial for the sort of family tree one constructs, in this case one with an Ubykh/Abkhaz node.

2.3.1 Labialization, general

Concerning labialization, to start with, I was pointing at correspondences such as common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz labialized cases, versus Proto-Circassian P-initial ones (exx.1-3), but also at separate cases of correspondences between an Ubykh or Proto-

Abkhaz labialized case on the one side and a Proto-Circassian P-initial one on the other (exx.4-14):

1 U ž°	PA*ž'a	PC*Pš'(a) <i>ten</i>
2 U ſ°	PA*ſ'-apš'	PC*Pč'a-Pλə <i>twilight</i>
3 U č'a-	PA*č'əwa	to <i>lament</i>
4 U ž'a-mλə	PC*Pž'ən	<i>onion</i>
U ž'a-x'a	PC*Pž'ənə-x'	<i>garlic</i>
5 U ž'a(n)k'	PC*Pžəza	<i>flea</i>
6 PA*č° <i>to turn sour</i>	PC*Pc'a (cf. ex.29 for the meaning <i>sour</i>)	
7 PA*-č° <i>dark (w. colors)</i>	PC*-Pc'a <i>dark (in cpp. only)</i> (cf. also ex.31)	
8 PA*č°-č'an	PC*Pč:a g̊ə <i>stake, pole</i>	(U č'aža, first element <PC by P-deletion?; cf. U g̊ə <i>pillar, column</i> for the second element in the PC form)
9 PA*š°	PC*g̊aPš <i>pus</i>	
10 PA*š°	PC*Pč:(a) <i>door</i>	(U a-n̥'a)
11 PA*š'a <i>to measure</i>	PC*Pš'	(U pš'-)
12 PA*h'a <i>to comb</i>	PC*Px(a) <i>to card (wool)</i>	(U pš')
13 PA*h'a	PC*Px(a) <i>to bind</i>	
14 PA*ah°	PC*Px'a <i>back part</i>	(U pš'a)

These exx. prove that Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz share the feature labialization in cases where Proto-Circassian lacks that feature. Note that I do not state that Proto-Circassian lacks labialized consonants. In the anterior part of the phoneme system Proto-Circassian shows a series of labialized alveolopalatal affricates and fricatives, but Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized palatals (, perhaps preserved in Ubykh,) correspond to delabialized and more front reflexes in Proto-Circassian(; sometimes in Proto-Abkhaz too):

2.3.1.1 Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized palatal sibilants

15 PNWC*š'a <i>hundred</i>	> U š'a	PA*š'-	PC*š'a
16 PNWC*mš'a <i>bear</i>	> U mš'a (not: PNWC*mač'a- Abdokov 1983, 120)	PA*mš'	PC*məš'a
17 U -š° (<i>dim, suff.</i>)		(PA*-š)	PC*š
18 U -š'a (<i>suff. of place</i>)			PC*š'a
19 U š'a <i>small sickle</i>	PA*aša <i>sword, hackle</i>	(PC*g̊əPč:a)	
20 U š'a	(PA*? > T sk̥š, B šk̥š, AS šk's)	PC*s (?) <i>year</i>	
21 PNWC*-ž° <i>old</i>	> U ž°	PA*až°	PC*ž
22 U ž'a <i>to bake</i>		(PA*ž)	PC*ž(a) <i>to be baked</i>

Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz show more labialized series in the front part of the system than Proto-Circassian does: Ubykh has two series of fricatives, the more anterior one of which has been related to a series of labialized dental stops by Vogt (1963), not by Dumézil (1975), although in his adjusted conception this series is also more front than the second. In my view (Lucassen, 1984) Dumézil's earlier conception (1959) was more correct, despite Leroy/Paris' (1974) conclusions after X-ray studies of Ubykh phonetics. This means that sibilants provided with a haček (š, ž) are

more back than sibilants without (s, z), while the second series of Ubykh labialized fricatives has been related to a series of labialized alveolopalatal affricates.

2.3.1.2 Labialized dental affricates

Abkhaz proves to be the richest with respect to labialized series in the front part of the system. For Proto-Abkhaz two series of labialized sibilants are reconstructed, parallel to Ubykh (cf. exx. 15-22 for the more posterior series of both); as in Ubykh there is also a series of labialized dental stops; different from Ubykh there is a series of reconstructed dental affricates (PA*c° > AS, Ash f, T c; PA*ž° > AS v, T ž; PA*c° > AS f, c' Lomtatidze 1976, 179). This series is represented by only a few examples:

23 PA*c°	>	AS, Ash f, T c <i>lightning; thunderstorm</i>	
24 PA*c°	>	AS f-, T c- Uf	PC*x(a) <i>six</i>
25 PA*ž°a	>	AS, Ash v(a), T ž(a)- U žamg'ac̥'a(anat.) <i>side</i>	PC*c:cak'a <i>edge</i>
26 PA*c°a	>	Abzh fa (> AS, B p'a), T c'a <i>thin</i> U p'ca	PC*c'ær̥

Apart from this we find only a few corresponding equivalents to this particular reconstructed Proto-Abkhaz series in the other Northwest Caucasian languages; Ubykh is identical to Standard Abkhaz (AS) in ex.24, and the Ubykh correspondence in ex.26 U p'ca deserves special attention for research on labial-initial complexes, which are sometimes delabialized in Proto-Circassian, I denoted. If the whole series, notwithstanding the poor evidence, should be accepted as relevant for some stage of common Abkhaz, then it forces us to reconstruct, at least for Proto-Abkhaz, but possibly also for Proto-Northwest Caucasian two series of labialized front affricates, the second one of which is more back than the first just mentioned, i.e. alveolopalatal or palatal, and this second series is also the one that developed into the one and only series of labialized affricates in West Caucasian dialects, the place of articulation of which was until now most often registered as dental or alveolopalatal: Dumézil (1975) chose alveolopalatal for Ubykh; before that Vogt (1963) was vague (dental/alveolopalatal) as to the exact place of articulation of this series.

2.3.1.3 Labialized alveolopalatal affricates

The above-mentioned leads to the transcription U-PA*č°, etc. (exx.27ff), usually found in the sources as dentals so far; also a 'palatal' solution cannot be excluded for this series, since there would be no opposition alveolopalatal/palatal concerning these labialized affricates anyway, and there is North Abkhazian evidence in the dialects (Ab č, č̥, č̥̥). Decisive for the problem, I think, would be to find cases of fricativization in Abkhaz or Ubykh of the West Caucasian affricates in question, since the concerned fricatives show two series in both Proto-Abkhaz and Ubykh.

In ex.27 the Proto-Circassian alveolopalatal perfectly corresponds. If here the Abkhaz or Ubykh equivalent would have shown an alveolopalatal or a palatal fricative, we would have had more base for reconstructing the West Caucasian form the way we did, or on the contrary postulate a palatal NWC*č°. The only fact of fricativization, however, we do find, is in Proto-Circassian, that, much more often than the correspondence in ex.27, tends to show exactly this phenomenon in correspondence with labialized Proto-Abkhaz or Ubykh affricates (exx.28-32). The very place of articulation in Proto-Circassian is an indication for the reconstruction of the West Caucasian proto-form, but, again, we lack decisive data from Proto-Abkhaz and

Ubykh.

27 PNWC*ç° <i>bull</i> AS a-ç°-ş°x ^a aplowlshare	> U-PA*ç° (PA*ç°ağ'a to plow) U ç°a:bza	PC*ç° PC*ç°aPʒa, -Pza
28 PNWC*ç°a <i>skin</i>	> U-PA*ç°a	PC*ş°a
29 PNWC*ş°a (?) <i>to drink</i>	> U ş°a PA*ş°	PC*ş°(a)
30 U ş°aq' <i>sour</i>	PC*ş°aq" (cf. ex.6 for the meaning <i>to turn sour</i>)	
31 PNWC*ç°a <i>liver</i>	> U-PA*ç°a	PC*ş°
32 PA*-ç°a <i>dark (w. colors)</i>	PC*ş°əca, PC*k'əş" <i>dark(ness)</i> (cf. ex.7 for another possible correspondence)	
33 U ç°a(n)k" <i>star</i>	PA*ya-ç°a	PC*ż°ag'a (?) (cf. ex.37)
34 U-PA*ç°a <i>sleep</i>		PC*č:əya

With the voiced member of the series (ex.29) Proto-Abkhaz unexpectedly shows the correlate we had in mind for Proto-Circassian, and Proto-Circassian shows devoicing as well.

Glottalized PNWC*ç°a gives now a regular, but in itself ideo-syntactic glottalized fricative in Proto-Circassian. The existence of such a phoneme is explained by fricativization, which at the same time provides an explanation for the absence of a Proto-Circassian labialized glottalized affricate. This development is perhaps also a valid argument for deciding on an alveolo-palatal position for the Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized affricates in question, were it not that immediately another question arises: What then is the origin of the usually reconstructed Proto-Circassian labialized alveolo-palatal affricates (as in ex.27)? There is still a lot more that is unclear in this field (as in ex.34).

2.3.1.4 Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized alveolo-palatal fricatives

Other cases of Proto-Circassian labialized alveolo-palatal fricatives find identical-perfect correspondences in the other West Caucasian dialects; only with unvoiced and voiced members, of course.

35 PNWC*ş°- <i>you (2pl.)</i>	>	PC-U-PA*ş°-
36 PNWC*ş°a <i>to boil</i>	>	
PC*ş°a <i>to be boiled (of food)</i>		U ş°a <i>to bake</i> PA*ş°a <i>to boil</i>
37 PC*ş°ağ'a <i>star</i>	U ş°a <i>heaven</i>	PA*ş°-ş° and <i>sky, heaven</i> (cf. ex.33)
38 U-PC*ş°a <i>to plough</i>		
39 PC*ş°a <i>oar</i>		AS áž'a, B á-ż°y'a

Concerning the lack of a Proto-Circassian labialized glottalized alveolo-palatal affricate, once again, as we saw in the above-mentioned cases of (3) U ç°a-, PA*ç°əwa *to lament*, we find PC*Pc'aw *to yelp*, and in (6) PA*ç° *to turn sour*, we find PC*Pc'a, which both in turn, in my opinion, can be interpreted as 'corresponding as closely as possible'. Proto-Circassian chose, so to say, for an epenthetic P-solution for the problem of lacking the concerning affricate: initial PC*P- = labialization in Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz. If this can be accepted, than this kind of correspondence is of quite a different order, compared to the correspondences in places of articulation. Furthermore, the question immediately arises of the possibility of a development in

either direction: labialization > P-, or the other way around: P- > labialization.

If we accept exx.35-39 as proof for the correct reconstruction of a series of Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized alveolo-palatal fricatives, and if, moreover, the meagre evidence of PA gives us reason to reconstruct Proto-Northwest Caucasian labialized dental affricates, than it would be attractive to label the second Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz labialized fricative series 'dental' (instead of palatal) and create, by doing so, a complete Proto-Northwest Caucasian series of labialized dental stops, affricates and fricatives. I feel uneasy with respect to Leroy/Paris' work, standing by my 1983 standpoint, but do not change it for the sake of a nice looking scheme. Neither is the Proto-Circassian alveolo-palatal place of articulation in the exx.15-18, 21-22 in itself sufficient argument for reconstructing a Proto-Northwest Caucasian palatal or dental series.

2.4.1 Ubykh's Circassianlikeness, P-initials, delabialization, palatalization

As has been said before on behalf of the phoneme systems in general, Ubykh is more Abkhazianlike in relation to labialized consonants as long as we deal with the front part of the system. Coming to back consonants, however, Ubykh is either more Circassianlike, as the examples (12) PA*h'a *to comb*, PC*Px(a) *to card (wool)* (U pš' id.), and (14) PA*ah°, PC*Px(a) *back part* (U pš'a), show with unlabeled sibilants and P-initial clusters, or Ubykh shows delabialization as in ex.40. Be aware that, in this case, we deal with a non-cluster! In some cases Ubykh shows a palatalized variant instead, as in (ex.41), also found in the morpheme of the circumstantial case and of the verbal adverb (ex.42). Compare also exx.43-46.

40 U məx	PA*m(a)h°	PC*max°- <i>brother in law</i>
41 U g'	PC-PA*g° <i>heart</i>	
42 U -g'ə	PC*-g°a (circumstantial case ending; verbal adverb derivative suff.)	
43 U mg'ə	PA*m̥a	PC*g̥ag'ə <i>road</i>
44 PC*Pg°(a)	U bğ'ə <i>nine</i>	(PA*ż°)
45 PC*Pg°a	U bğ'ə <i>broad</i>	(PA*tb'ə)
46 PC*Pq"	U p'q"- <i>to raise</i>	

2.4.2 Ubykh's Abkhazianlikeness, m-shift

Apart from the section above, Ubykh shows some Abkhazianlikeness by m-shift with both front and back consonants, as in exx.47-48

47 U mça	PA*mç	PC*Pc'(a) <i>lie</i>
48 U bla-msa	PA*ż'-msa	eye-brow

PC*na-Pc:a, PC*na-Pş'a, PC*na-şa *brow-ridges*

Proto-Circassian does not show any m-initial clusters, so the Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz m-initial cases with a PV variant m- as in (16) U mš'a, PA*mš°, PC*məşa *show* Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz likeness in the place of articulation and of course the secondary feature of articulation 'labialization', but are no examples of what I try to show at the moment. The case of fire (ex.54) also is not, and is even contradictory to it. One must say that in general labialized clusters with initial m- or P- make the situation more complex if one thought to formulate a development of one feature out of the other (For comments on labialized P-initial complexes in West Caucasian s. Lucassen 1994).

2.5 Labialization > m-shift > P-initial

If a development (labialization >) m-shift > P-initial can be believed in, as some cases seem to prove (exx 49-51), then Ubykh perhaps shows the older phase in exx.52-53. To be honest, there are also sufficient opposing cases (ex.54), in which not Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz show the labialized variant, but Proto-Circassian, although in such cases the Proto-Circassian word, most likely, proves that we do not deal with a cluster at all on the Proto-Northwest Caucasian level. PA*maç^ə-ş *lightning* is an attractive Abkhaz alternative for the correspondence in question. What to think, in this light, about the regular correspondence PC*x, U x^ə/ş, PA*ş?! Here Ubykh takes a genuine intermediate position between Proto-Circassian and Proto-Abkhaz, but, opposing what has been said on behalf of labialization, Proto-Circassian and Ubykh are labialized here, and, although Proto-Circassian shows a back consonant, Ubykh is closer to Abkhaz, since both languages in most cases show a sibilant, more front than the Proto-Circassian velar fricative.

49	U məx(')a- (<i>wooden</i>) spoon	PA*mha-	PC*Pxa <i>wood</i>
50	Uzamğa	PA*zam ^ə a	cheek PC*zaPqə <i>chin; steep hill</i>
51	U mğ'a	PA*m ^ə a	PC*g ^ə ag ^ə <i>road</i>
52	U λa-msa root	PC*λa-Psa root, <i>foundation; homeland</i>	PA*psa-dg'əl <i>fatherland</i>
53	PA*ż ^ə -mş ^ə onion	U ž'a-młə *młə > PA*pş'	(PC*Pž'ənə) U pła <i>color</i>
54	PC*maş'a	U mż'a	PC*Płə <i>red</i>
55	PC*x ^ə	U x ^ə a	PA*ş <i>white</i> (cf. e.g. ex.4 <i>garlic</i>)
56	PC*max ^ə a	U mş'a	PA*mş <i>day</i>
57	PC*x'(a) to drive, chase	U ş'- to push	
58?	U ş ^ə e	PA*şa <i>bitter</i>	

3. Conclusion

Summarizing, I first like to agree with Dirr (1916, 419) that, in spite of the situation of the Ubykh language in Turkey, it is certainly no Circassian dialect. Secondly we must understand that we are only in the very initial phase of research on Ubykh. That is why this paper is meant to be related more to the agenda of subjects that should be discussed, than to a specific subject. The position of Ubykh, intermediary between Proto-Circassian and Proto-Abkhaz, has been studied a bit more from the Circassian than from the Abkhaz point of view. Logically the Circassianlike elements of the Ubykh language have by that, so to say, been a bit more stressed, and the Abkhazianlike ones less. My main point was trying to study Ubykh from another side and see what happened. What happened was convincing enough to me to put the possibility of an Ubykh-Abkhaz common community on the agenda. Such a postulated layer does justice to the communalities of the Ubykh and Proto-Abkhaz phoneme systems, especially of the front part of it. Lexical material that is related to it, often opposes, as we have seen Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz to Proto-Circassian. Furthermore, the postulated development labialization > m-initial complex > P-initial complex often shows an older common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz state in the phenomena labialization or m-initial-complex, while Proto-Circassian often shows a P-initial complex in these cases, never m-initial.

How such a Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz community can be believed in, next to an

Ubykh/Proto-Circassian one, is quite another matter. Is the case of ex.53 an indication of the relative oldness of common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz characteristics? As long as layers do not contradict each other, both communities of common innovation could as well have existed chronologically 'next one to another'. Preliminarily as in fig.1

phase 1			
1	PNWC*ç° <i>bull</i>	>	U-PA*ç°
2	PNWC*ş°- <i>you (2pl.)</i>	>	PC-U-PA*ş°-
phase 2.1			
1	PNWC*MC > U-PA*C PC*PC PNWC*Mç'a- <i>to lament</i>	>	U-PA*ç"a-
2	PNWC*MC > U-PA*mC PC*PC PNWC*Mç'a <i>lie</i> PNWC*Mλə <i>red</i>	>	U-PA*mç'(a) U*mλ(> pλ) PA*mş'(> pş')
phase 2.2			
1	PNWC*λ > PC-U*λ PA*ş' PNWC*λa <i>blood</i>	>	PC-U*λ(a) PA*ş'a
2			PC-U*x°(a) PA*ş <i>millet</i>

Fig. 1

The common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz use of a definite article function a-, (while Circassian knows the element <a> as a word *this*, which is well-known in Abkhaz a(b)rəy *this* as well,) is a morphological argument for an Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz community during which period Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz developments took place. The same counts for the personal pronominal suffix U-ğ'a (U sə-ğ'a *I*), PA*-ra (AS sa-rá *id.*), formerly regarded as a relict of a Proto-Northwest Caucasian state, after which Circassian lost it and/or reduced -ra > -r in other pronominal forms. Kumakhov (1989, 83ff.) convincingly defended the opposite view, in which he, apart from showing that PNWC*-r(a) developed into the Ubykh and Abkhaz forms connected with the common Circassian nominative case ending -r, demonstrated that this use of the common form was an Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz innovation and thus secondary. Agreeing with this, I consider this also as an argument for the postulation of an Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz community of innovation.

Footnotes

¹ Abbreviations: Ab Abaza, Abkh Abkhaz, Abzh Abzhui, Ad Adyghe, AS Standard Abkhaz, Ash Askhar, B Bzyb, C Circassian, NWC Northwest Caucasian, PA Proto-Abkhaz, PC Proto-Circassian, PNWC Proto-Northwest Caucasian, U Ubykh, T Tapanta, WC West Caucasian (= NWC)

² Lautlich steht es (das Ubychische WL) dem Abchasischen näher als dem Kabardinischen... Es hat mit dem Abchasischen die eigentümlichen Pfeif- und labialisierten Laute gemein (possibly plain alveopalatal ç, ʒ, ç', and labialized alveopalatal ç°, ʒ°, ç", ş, ʒ" are meant, but Kabardian also lacks š, ʒ° WL), den

bilabialen Zitterlaut... (t° [also d° and t^w WL]).

² In 28 cases out of the above-mentioned 128 there has been found no Proto-Circassian equivalent to 19 Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz cases of labialization ($6[x2=12]$ in common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz words), nor to 9 Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz cases of m-shift ($3[x2=6]$ in common Ubykh/Proto-Abkhaz words).

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SOME QUESTIONS OF N.W. CAUCASIAN PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

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0. Introduction

This paper presents a few notes on some phonetic and phonological features of N.W. Caucasian languages upon which findings of instrumental phonetics seem to throw some light, namely:

1. The Kabardian vowel system.
2. The phonological form of the Kabardian numeral 'two'.
3. Velar and palatal fricatives in Adygian languages.
4. The nature of Adyghe 'preruptives'.
5. Labialized sibilants in Ubykh: two or three?

1. The Kabardian Vowel System

1.1 Introduction

This is the question whether Kabardian (and, indeed, other Adygian languages as well) should be regarded as having 1, 2 or 3 vowels -- an old subject that I, among many others, have dealt with several times, notably in Catford (1984). The most recent publication of my own views on the topic appeared in October 1994. I emphasize that this is the most recent publication because, though only published now, that paper was, in fact, presented at the 4th Conference on Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR which took place in Chicago in 1985.

As we know, it was Jakovlev who, in his *Tablicy fonetiki kabardinskogo jazyka* (1923:109), first suggested that the Kabardian system of three basic vowels -- ā, ē and ī -- might be reduced by elimination of the low vowel, which is usually somewhat long, and when initial tends to be preceded by a kind of voiced /h/, and thus might be regarded as a manifestation of /ē/ + length or + /h/ so that, as he says: "...in the Kabardian language we can reliably establish only two short vowels, the phonemes /ā/ and /ē/...". Then, after taking note of the fugitive nature of /ā/, he continues: "...we must raise the question whether in Kabardian, at least in a certain period of its development, we have an example of a language with only one vowel phoneme".

The monovocalic hypothesis, tentatively proposed by Jakovlev as possibly pertaining to an earlier stage of the language, and taken up and developed by Kuipers (1960) as pertaining to the present Kabardian language, is no longer generally accepted. However, there is still a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether we should regard Kabardian (and at least some dialects of Adyghe as well) as having three qualitatively distinct vowel phonemes: /ə/-/e/-/a/, or only two qualitatively distinct phonemes, with a correlation of quantity applying to the lower vowel, thus: /ə/-/a-ā/, i.e. basically two vowel phonemes + length. The most authoritative arguments for the 3-vowel system are certainly those of Kumaxov (1973, 1989), but since the question is still undecided it may be worth looking again at some relevant data.

A fairly recent contribution to the discussion is the article by John Choi that appeared in JIPA (1991). Choi was at that time a graduate student at UCLA, and a student of Ladefoged's. While spending a term at UCLA in 1989 I worked with Choi, who recorded readings of a short Kabardian text by three highly literate native speakers of Kabardian, each of whom read the text twice, once slowly and once at a natural reading pace. One of these pairs of readings was, in fact, by A.K. Shagirov, and had been recorded by me in Moscow some years earlier, while the others were recorded at UCLA by two Kabardian visitors. The text is the one that is found at the end of Shagirov's article on Kabardian in *Jazyki narodov SSSR IV* (1967:182).

Choi carried out a detailed analysis of that material, including a determination of the duration in ms. of each vowel and the frequencies of their 1st and 2nd formants. Choi's article clearly supported the three vowel analysis of Kabardian.

1.2 Quantitative differences between ə e and a.

As Fig 1, taken from Choi's article, shows, there are, indeed, quantitative differences between the Kabardian vowels (which Choi represents as /i- e - ə/). This shows clearly that as one proceeds from high /i/ through mid /e/ to low /ə/ (or /a/ as I shall write it in what follows) the duration increases markedly. Most important, from our point of view, is the difference between the mid and low vowels. In Choi's data the overall mean durations for these vowels are: /e/ 84 ms., /a/ 148 ms., that is a duration ratio of 1.76. On checking the duration of vowels in one pair of these readings (Choi's Spkr 3, Shagirov) I get a slightly different result, namely: /e/ 83 ms., /a/ 125 ms., giving a duration ratio of 1.51, i.e. somewhat less than Choi's. (See Fig. 1a)

Nevertheless, this revised ratio is still somewhat greater than the 1.22 ratio that I had indicated in my more limited study of Kabardian vowel durations (in Shagirov's referred to in Catford (1984:41-3), which included a sampling of durations in speech) in which the words /de/ 'sew' and /da/'sewn' occur, in comparable prosodic conditions, and, in one reading of which the duration of the vowel /a/ is actually 20 ms. shorter than that of /e/ (1984:43). I had pointed out that the durational difference between /e/ and /a/ could probably be accounted for by the universal tendency for opener vowels to be longer than less open ones (Lehisto, 1970:18). Choi's finding, on the other hand, suggests that vowel length might conceivably be contrastive in Kabardian. However, as he points out (1991:11), there are good reasons for regarding the Kabardian duration difference as a redundant feature.

1.3 Qualitative differences between Kabardian vowels

In spite of the duration difference between /e/ and /a/ being somewhat greater than I had earlier suggested, it is clear that this difference is not crucial, since there is strong evidence of systematic differences in *quality* as well as quantity between the three vowels of Kabardian. Choi points out, as others had before, that in different phonetic environments one finds vowels of different qualities -- in other words, the phonetic quality of Kabardian vowels is contextually determined by neighbouring consonants. Thus, for example, in the neighbourhood of dentals and palatals we have a front quality, in the neighbourhood of uvulars and pharyngeals, a rather back and low quality, and so on.

Choi makes this point clearly in his Fig.3, which is reproduced here (as our Fig.2). This shows the frequency of F1 plotted against the frequency difference between F1 and F2 -- a way of presenting information about vowel formants much used by Ladefoged and his associates. Choi describes the information provided by the chart as follows:

Each point represents the mean formant frequency values for the high, mid, or low phonemic vowel averaged across all three speakers. Each vowel has been represented by the consonantal environment preceding it; 'c' denotes the mean values for vowels following postalveolars, 'k' the vowels following velars, 'k'' the vowels following rounded velars, 'q' the vowels following uvulars, 'q'' the vowels following rounded uvulars, and 'h' the mid vowel following the pharyngeal. The reports in the literature state that labials, alveolars, and plain laryngeals do not perturb the phonemic vowels. Vowels following these neutral consonants are represented by the diamonds and provide reference points from which to describe the other allophones. The broken lines represent the underlying height divisions. Attempts to plot the vowels in similar fashion based on the following consonantal environment results in a much more chaotic distribution (p 6-7)

It is clear from the chart that there is one set of vowels -- those representing the high vowel phoneme -- all of whose environmentally conditioned variants occupy a high portion of the acoustic vowel space; a second set, representing the mid vowel, occupies a lower portion of the acoustic vowel space; and a third set, representing the low vowel occupies the lowest portion of the vowel space.

The chart shows that there is always a qualitative difference between instances of the three Kabardian vowels. Although their absolute locations within the vowel space vary in accordance with the consonantal environment, in any particular environment the three vowels are always qualitatively distinct.

Virtually the same information is graphically displayed in Figs. 1 and 3 in Catford (1984:32,44), where, in particular, Fig. 3 shows the absence of overlap between the vowel spaces occupied by instances of Kabardian /e/ and /a/, as opposed to the almost total overlap between the vowel spaces occupied by short and long /a/ in Chechen, where vowel quantity is phonologically contrastive.

It seems clear that we are obliged by such data to recognize the existence in Kabardian of three qualitatively distinct vowel phonemes: /ə/, /e/ and /a/. As I have pointed out elsewhere (1984:45, 1994:51) textual frequency data also support this interpretation. Balkarov (1970:100) tabulates the frequency of occurrence of Kabardian phonemes in 1000 words of text. The relevant vowel frequencies are:

ə	617
e	876
ā (= eh?)	413
ē (= ej)	37
ō (= ew)	16

In terms of textual frequency, /ā/ is clearly associated much more closely with the 'short' vowels /ə/ and /e/ than with the 'long' vowels /ej/ and /ew/.

1.4 The misinterpretation of initial /ā/as /ha/.

Jakovlev (1923:96) drew attention to what he called *spirantizovannoe nepolnogolosie* ('spirantized incomplete voicing'), which he likened to Sievers' *Hauchmurmelstimme* ('breath-murmur-voice') occurring with /a/ and also with /w/ and /j/ when they occur initially in Kabardian. This 'spirantized incomplete voicing' may be loosely described as a kind of voiced or murmured h-like sound, which we might transcribe as [ɦ], preceding and merging into initial /a/.

In Kabardian /a/ (or [ɦa-]) is the only vowel occurring in absolute initial position in words, although in Adyghe we also have initial /ə/ as the third person singular pronominal prefix, both in verb forms and as a possessive prefix. Jakovlev naturally did not mention the Adyghe vowels in his work on Kabardian, but he does so in his *Grammatika adygeiskogo jazyka* (with Ašxamaf) (1941:109), where he claims that both of these initial vowels in Adyghe may be pronounced with the same kind of 'breath-murmur-voice'. I have not myself studied this phenomenon in Adyghe, but it is worth bearing in mind as we consider the phenomenon in Kabardian.

Kuipers (1960:33) interpreted Kabardian initial /ā-/, as a phoneme sequence /ha-/, which would be transcribed C: /he-/ (i.e. as containing the mid vowel) by Choi or Catford, indicated in this paragraph by the C preceding the transcription. He equated this initial /ha/ (C: /he/) phonemically with the post-accentual plural suffix /-ha/ (C: /-he/). Unfortunately this equation would be valid only for those non-literary dialects of Kabardian in which the plural suffix is, indeed, /ha/ (C: /he/). In Literary Kabardian, as in all dialects of Adyghe, the plural suffix is /xa/ (C: /xe/) with a simple voiceless velar fricative [x], which can also occur initially, and which is quite distinct from the initial murmur [ɦ] which may accompany initial /a/. There is no justification at all for assuming the existence of /h/ as a phoneme in Literary Kabardian, and even in those dialects which possess a plural suffix /he/, the identification of this /h/ with the initial murmur at the onset of initial /a/ is extremely dubious.

Kuiper's (and, to some extent Jakovlev's) interpretation of initial [a] as /ha/ gives rise to the question why should a purely glottal sound like [ɦ] -- a purely laryngeal phonational feature -- cause the tongue configuration for the vowel to be lowered from the mid to the low position? Moreover, Kuiper's interpretation implies that, since /e/ is realized as [a] under the influence of this initial [ɦ], presumably there could be no phonological opposition between /e/ and /a/ in initial position. However, there is one situation in which literate Kabardians pronounce isolated (and hence initial) /a/, /e/ and /ə/, namely, in saying the names of the Cyrillic letters а ө and ы, as letters of the Kabardian alphabet. Here, all three vowels occur, all three

exhibiting the same murmur phenomenon, and the so-called /*ha/ thus contrasts with both /*he/ and /*hə/ -- or, as I would put it, initial /a/ contrasts with both /e/ and /ə/.

Jakovlev (1923:96; 1948:330) and Kuipers (1960:18, 33) correctly recognized this same type of 'spirantized' murmur phonation with the semi-vowels /w/ and /j/. My own observations show that this 'spirantization' is realized as a lax whispery-voiced (i.e. murmured) onset of the vowel or semi-vowel, occasionally preceded by a brief period of voicelessness (so that initial /a-/ might sometimes be transcribed as [ɦa-]) starting at a very low frequency followed by a rapid rise during the course of the vowel. The rise in frequency, characterizing the transition from low frequency lax murmur phonation to normal or 'modal' voice, is an easily observed feature of these vowel, and semi-vowel, onsets.

Fig.3 shows the rising frequency in murmured onsets, contrasted with the relatively high frequency 'tight' phonation following initial glottal stop. The values upon which these figures are based were obtained by measuring the duration of each cycle of vocal fold vibration from the start of the utterance. This yielded more accurate frequency information than an Fo-tracking system, which was reluctant to cope simultaneously with very low and considerably higher frequencies. The vertical axis is labelled "equivalent" frequency because, of course, the actual data points represent the durations of successive cycles.

Figs. 3a and 3b show the onset frequency curves of the three Kabardian vowels in isolation (the names of the letters ы ө а), which, in 3b, are compared with the same Kabardian informant's pronunciation of Russian ө which was distinguished from the Kabardian vowels by the presence of a weak glottal stop. Figs. 3c and 3d compare the onsets of plain and labialized glottal stops (? , ?ʷ) with vowel and semi-vowel onsets. The similarity of onset of vocalic and semi-vocalic initials is obvious. The higher frequency starts of glottal stop + vowel indicate a tenser type of phonation -- the 'pressed voice' also noted by Jakovlev (1923:96).

Fig 3e shows the onsets of /m-/ and /n-/ in the words /mes/ 'millet' and /ne/ 'eye' (including the beginning of the vowel, starting at cycles 13 and 15 respectively). These show that, at least in the isolated words represented here, the nasals exhibit the same kind of lax, low frequency, onset.

We are thus led to the conclusion that this may be a phenomenon common to all Kabardian initial sonorants -- vowels, semi-vowels and nasals and possibly to some other types of voiced sounds, e.g. voiced fricatives. It is probably to be regarded as simply a Kabardian way of beginning the phonation of such sounds -- as a "soft attack" as distinct from the contrastive "hard attack" of initial glottal stop. There thus seems to be no justification for interpreting the initial murmur phonation frequently heard with initial [a] as representing a phoneme /h/ in Kabardian.

Since initial [a] cannot be explained away as "really" /ha/ there is no longer any valid reason for interpreting *non-initial* [a]'s as representing /ha/ or /ah/. Recognition that the Kabardian vowel system is one of three qualitatively distinct vowels, /ə/, /e/ and /a/ thus removes a danger inherent in the view that the system is really one of two vowels + length. This is the danger of assuming that 'long ā',

wherever it occurs, must represent an underlying sequence -- either of /a+a/ or of /a/ + some 'underlying' consonant (e.g. /*h/), which may lead to the postulation of imaginary phonemes, which may in turn be interpreted as representing imaginary morphemes. Thus Kuipers is led by his /ha ~ ah/ analysis of /ā/ to postulate the existence of a word-final past tense morpheme /ha/ (in the 'fused form' /ah/). The fact that the past tense morpheme is stressed certainly suggests that it terminated in a consonant in an earlier stage of the language (cf. the stress rule in Kuipers (1960:37, fn5), but this former terminal consonant would have been /s/, as in Adyghe, and occasionally in Kabardian folk poetry (Kumaxova and Kumaxov, 1979:82), not /h/. But the *former* existence of a consonant is a historical fact, not to be treated as part of a synchronic description of the language.

To sum up the foregoing discussion: although the influx of loans from Russian may be introducing changes, there are persuasive arguments derived from instrumental data, for regarding traditional Kabardian as having, not 2, but 3 vowel phonemes forming a vertical system of three degrees of openness: /ə/, /e/ and /a/.

2 The Kabardian Numeral 'two'

2.1 Duration of the vowel in 'two'

Within the Adygan languages the phonological form of the Kabardian numeral 'two' is anomalous. In Adyghe we have the forms /tʷə/ in Abdzakh, Chemgwi and Bzhedugh and, traditionally, /t'ʷə/ in Shapsugh, /t'qʷə/ in Hakuchi.

In Kabardian, on the other hand, the phonetic form of 'two' is [t'u:] or [t'u:w] and there seems to be no doubt that this should be analysed as representing a phonological form /t'əw/. Nevertheless, it has recently been suggested by Colarusso (1992:14) that the Kabardian form, like that of the Adygan dialects, has an initial consonant cluster /t'ʷ/, as in traditional Shapsugh. He describes this cluster as follows:

This cluster occurs only in the numeral 'two' and derived forms. It is realised as [t'əw] with prolonged glottal closure, as opposed to the other ejectives, which are realised with creaky voice glottalisation. (p.14)

Although the orthographic form of the word, ТIy, does not indicate a long vowel there is no doubt that, in Kabardian (but not in Adyghe) the vowel of [t'u:] is considerably longer than that of the other numerals: /zə/ '1', /sə/ '3', /pɻə/ '4', /txʷə/ '5' etc. and distinctly rounded throughout. This has long been recognized. Thus Jakovlev (1923a:101) transcribes the numeral 'two' as (the equivalent of) [t'u:w], but 'one' and 'three' as [zə̃a] and (the equivalent of) [sə̃a] (1923a:70,71), and Shagirov (1977:86, 1982:31) transcribes the Kabardian and Adyghe forms of 'two' as respectively ТIyy and ТIуы. Measurements of the durations of the vowels of the numerals 1, 2 and 3 as pronounced by two speakers of Kabardian and by one each of the Chemgwi, Shapsugh and Bzhedugh dialects of Adyghe give the following results:

Numeral	Actual durations (ms.)			Relative durations (% of total of 1,2,3)		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Kabard. Inft.1	160	262	90	31	51	18
Kabard. Inft.2	250	370	180	31.25	46.25	22.5
Means	205	316	135	31	48.6	20.25
Chemgwi	298	263	202	39	34.5	26.5
Shapsugh	326	311	245	37	35	28
Bzhedugh	266	270	248	34	34	31.5
Means	297	281	232	37	34.5	28.5

Fig. 4a shows these differences in the duration of the vowel in the numerals '1' '2' '3' in graphic form. The graph makes the difference in the duration of these vowels in Kabardian strikingly evident,

Moreover, in spectrograms, the vowel in the phonetic realization [t'u:(w)] is clearly of a long and more or less monophthongal type, with both F1 and F2 below 1KHz, and F2 clearly declining in frequency (indicating retraction of the tongue towards [w]). See Fig 4b. If 'two' were actually [t'ʷə] the vowel would, of course, be much shorter, and F2 would be seen to rise from a low start (due to the labialization), much as it does in Kabardian /txʷə/ 'five'. (Fig.4b)

2.2 The "prolonged glottal closure" in 'two'.

With respect to the "prolonged glottal closure" in the realization of Kabardian 'two', referred to in the quotation above, I have no evidence that this occurs in the pronunciation of my two principal informants. This prolonged closure should manifest itself as a longer interval between the opening of the oral closure and the onset of vocal fold vibrations for the vowel -- i.e. a longer voice onset time (VOT) -- than is found with simple ejectives. A comparison of the VOTs (in ms.) of [t'u:] '2' and [t'o:̄s] '20' with initial ejectives in two other words shows no significant difference:

		Inft. 1	Inft. 2
/p'/	in /p'e/	'bed'	32
/t'/	in /t'ən/	'to dig'	49 in /t'ə/ 'ram'
/t'/	in /t'əw/	'two'	32 43
/t'/	in /t'ew̄s/	'twenty'	14 22 (see Fig. 4c)

It seems clear that Kabardian '2' with its exceptionally long vowel and its reasonably short VOT must be interpreted phonologically as /t'əw/, not as /t'ʷə/, and this, incidentally, is how Kumaxov (1989:108) represents it (in Cyrillic: ТIуы). It may well be that /t'əw/ derives from an earlier /*t'ʷə/ (the form that Colarusso postulates for contemporary Kabardian), ultimately deriving from Proto-Adygian /*t'qʷə/, preserved in Hakuchi. Shagirov (1982:51) posits an intervening form /*t'ʷə/ (like the Adyghe form), thus: /*t'qʷə > /*t'ʷə > *t'ʷə > *t'əwə > t'əw, though it seems to me equally possible that the cluster /t'ʷə/ might have been simplified by the insertion of an epenthetic /ə/ between /t'/ and /ʷə/, the /ʷə/ being weakened into mere labialized creaky voice, leading to /w/, thus /*t'ʷə > *t'əwə > *t'əwə > t'əw.

Recognition of the form /t'əw/, rather than /t'ʔwə/, removes two apparent morphological, or morphophonemic, irregularities from /t'əw/. These are (i) in the formation of multiplier forms: here other Kabardian cardinal numerals substitute the vowel /e/ for /ə/, but make no change in the initial consonantism of the form, thus: /zə/ 'one' > /ze/ 'once', /pł'ə/ 'four' > /pł'e/ 'four times' etc. The multiplier form of /t'əw/'two' is [t'o:], that is, /t'ew/ 'twice', following the regular process, /ə/ > /e/ and preserving the original consonantism. If the base form had been /t'ʔwə/ there would have been an anomalous change of the initial consonantism. (ii) Suffixed numeral, following the connective /əj/, loses its vowel but preserves its full consonantism, thus: '4 men' = /t'-əj-pł'/, (/pł'ə/ > /pł'/); '5 men' = /t'-əj-txʷ/ (/txʷə/ > /txʷ/), but '2 men' = /t'-əj-t'/ (t'əw > /t'/) i.e. loses its vowel but retains its initial consonantism in the regular way. If the base form had been /t'ʔwə/ there would again have been an anomalous change in the initial consonantism.

2.3 The problem of /t'ʷane/ etc.

The situation is complicated by the fact that there are a few forms, derived from /t'əw/ which have, or appear to have, an initial /t'ʷ/. These include /t'ʷane/ 'second', /t'ʷaš'e/ 'two-fold'. However, none of the authorities that I have seen e.g. Abitov (1957), Balkarov(1970), Bagov (1970), Kardanov (1957), Urusov (1980) lists /t'ʷ/ as a phoneme of Kabardian, and Kumaxov (1981:120) explicitly mentions the *absence* of /t'ʷ/ in Kabardian.

Jakovlev (1923a) has [t̪] (= t'ʷ) in [t'ʷo:w] 'twice'(p.98) but simple [t̪] in [t'u:w] 'two'(p.101) -- presumably an error, since he has both [t'ʷu:w] and [t'ʷo:w] on p. 33. The labialization of /t̪/ before [u] and [o] in these examples is clearly allophonic. However he has [t'ʷane] 'second' and [t'ʷale] on page 34, and here the [t'ʷ] before [a] cannot be explained as allophonic. In his *Grammatika* (1948:330) Jakovlev remarks: "The sound «Tiy» (i.e. [t'ʷ]) is extremely rare, being met with only in two or three words: [t'ʷale] 'veršok' (the breadth of two fingers), [t'ʷaše] 'twofold'...etc." And he adds "Praktičeski ego možno ne scítat' osoboj fonemy." ("Actually, it is possible not to consider it a separate phoneme."). In his table of consonants (1948:332) he places (t'ʷ) in parentheses, indicating its non-phonemic status.

In the various works mentioned above, the status of the apparent labialized /t'ʷ/ in /t'ʷane/ etc. and its relation to the /t̪/ of /t'əw/ is left unexplained, and it is to Colarusso's credit that he has, it seems, attempted to provide an implicit rationalization for this relation in his Kabardian Grammar (1992:14): namely, the initial consonant of /t'ʷane/ is labialized, because the numeral 'two', from which it is derived, contains an initial labialized [t'ʷ] (which he supposes to be the realization of an underlying consonant cluster /t'ʔw/), and presumably the initial consonant of /t'ʷane/ simply represents the same underlying /t'ʔw/ as the numeral 'two'.

It seems to me, however, that this explanation is unnecessarily problematic, since, first, it requires the postulation of unmotivated irregularities in the behaviour of the numeral 'two' referred to in 2.2 above, namely, the simplification of the initial cluster (as opposed to its regular retention in other basic cardinal numerals) in the formation of (i) the multiplier form and (ii) the suffixal form. And secondly, the phonetic form

[t'u:] is an improbable and unexplained realization of a phonological form /t'ʔwə/, which one would expect to be realized as [t'ʷə] or [t'ʷu], or something of that sort, but certainly not as [t'u:].

On the other hand, [t'u:] would be a perfectly normal realization of the phonological /t'əw/, comparable to [bzə:] 'small bird', which we know represents a phonological /bzəw/ (because of such forms as [bzə'wuf] 'good bird'). If we take the phonological form to be /t'əw/, its manifestation by the phonetic form [t'ʷ-] or perhaps [t'ʷ-] in the word /t'ʷane/ or /t'ʷane/ admits of a rational explanation, namely reduction of /t'əw/ to /t'ʷ/ in the very weak pre-stress position in [t'ʷ-a-ne].

It thus seems desirable to regard the Kabardian numeral 'two' as having the phonological form /t'əw/, realized phonetically as [t'u:], with the regular multiplier form /t'ew/ 'twice', and the regular truncated post-nominal suffixed form /-t'/.

3 Palatal and Velar Fricatives in Adygan (Circassian) Dialects

One finds in the literature references to Circassian dialects having a voiceless *palatal* fricative in such words as /xə/ 'six' /daxe/ 'beautiful', with its voiced counterpart in /yən/ 'powder', /taye/ 'high'. However, in most of the dialects I have been able to hear we find a simple velar fricative. In some cases this velar /x/ is slightly palatalized, and, particularly in some varieties of Shapsugh, bi-dentally modified, or, replaced by a purely bi-dental fricative.

An exception is the Besney dialect of Kabardian. Here, at least in the dialect of Zennun Köyü, Anatolia, we have clear cut palatal fricatives /ç/ and /j/ or palatalized /γ̊/. The difference between palatal and velar fricatives can be clearly seen in acoustic spectra, where the velar usually has a peak of acoustic energy at somewhere below 2 KHz, often about 1.5 KHz, whereas a palatal fricative has its energy peak at a much higher frequency, usually above 3 KHz. It is thus quite easy to demonstrate instrumentally which type of dorsal fricative we are dealing with.

In Fig 5, we display acoustic spectra of a few examples of the velar fricatives [x] and [γ̊], the palatal fricatives [ç] and [j] and the palatal semi-vowel [j], in the Besney dialect of Zennun Köyü (Anatolia) as well as in in Literary Kabardian and in Shapsugh.

At the top of Fig. 5 (5a, 5b)) we show spectra of palatal [ç] and velar [x] from an article by the well-known Polish phonetician Wiktor Jassem (1968:200-1). These provide a kind of neutral background or frame of reference for the Adygan examples shown below. In these examples frequency is calibrated in 'kcps' (kilocycles per second) which, of course, is the older designation of what we now call Kilohertz (KHz). The difference between the palatal fricative, with an acoustic energy peak at about 3.3 KHz, and the velar fricative, with an energy peak at about 1.4 KHz is very clear.

Figs. 5c and 5d show spectra of voiceless [ç] and voiced [j] palatal fricatives in Besney /çabze/ (=Lit. Kab. /xabze/) 'law, custom' and /jən/ (=Lit. Kab. /yən/) '(gun)powder', with peaks at about 3.7 and 3.8 KHz respectively.

Figs. 5e and 5f, by way of contrast, illustrate voiceless /χ/ and voiced /γ/ velar fricatives in Literary Kabardian /xə/ 'six', and /ɣən/ '(gun)powder', with peaks at about 1.4 and 1.5 kHz respectively.

Finally, Figs. 5g and 5h illustrate voiceless velar fricative /χ/ and the voiced palatal semi-vowel /j/ in Shapsugh /daxe/ 'pretty' and /jə/ 'eight', with peaks at about 1.4 and 3.1 kHz respectively.

Acoustic spectra of /χ/, /γ/ and /j/ in Bzhedugh and Chemgwi show virtually the same frequency peaks as the Kabardian and Shapsugh examples.

4. On the Adyge (Bzhedugh and Shapsugh) 'preruptives'

4.1 'Fortis' consonants in Caucasian languages

All Caucasian languages have three types of obstruents, particularly stops and affricates -- voiced, voiceless aspirated and ejective -- at least at some places of articulation. But some North Caucasian languages have a fourth series. The languages which have a fourth series include all the Avaro-Andi languages, some dialects of Lak and Dargi, and six out of the ten Lezgian languages. This additional series of consonants in Dagestanian languages takes somewhat different forms, and is variously called 'strong', 'intensified', 'fortis', 'geminate' or merely 'unaspirated'.

Among N.W. Caucasian languages, as is well known, such an additional series of stops and affricates, and also fricatives, is found only in the Bzhedugh and Shapsugh dialects of Adyge, though it has, in fact, been lost in the variety of Shapsugh spoken in Kfar Kama, Israel, and in some Anatolian varieties. In the Russian literature these Adyge consonants are commonly referred to as 'preruptives', a term apparently coined on the analogy of the term 'abruptive', commonly used for ejectives.

In the Dagestanian languages such 'fortis' consonants, as I shall call them, take various forms. In most of the Avaro-Andi languages the fortis feature can co-exist with both pulmonic and glottalic (ejective) consonants. The fortis velar and uvular stops are strongly affricated, the fortis affricates have lengthened affrication, and are unaspirated (while the contrasting 'lenis' affricates are short and aspirated). Fortis fricatives are also long and unaspirated, while their lenis counterparts are short and aspirated. Avar examples of lenis vs. fortis pairs would be [k^bundul] 'foods' vs. [k^xuna] 'held', [k^al] 'mouth' vs. [k^xa'l] 'ravine', [s^bali] 'sand' vs. [ssak] 'tinder'. In some other Dagestanian languages, e.g. Lezgi, 'fortis' consonants are unaspirated, and also geminated when intervocalic. Some examples of the waveforms of lenis and fortis consonants are presented in Catford (1992:201-3).

In Avar, and some varieties of Dargi, the fortis consonants are clearly *stronger* or *tenser* in some sense than their plain, or lenis, correlates -- that is, pronounced with greater 'energy' of some kind. This tensity feature of the fortis consonants, which one can perceive empathically as an Avar speaker pronounces them, shows up in their waveforms as greater amplitude (cf. the waveforms in Catford (1992:202)), and likewise in acoustic intensity recordings as a greater excursion from zero than occurs with lenis consonants.

Unfortunately we have no palatograms of the Avar sounds, but Gaprindašvili (1966:62 and 72) provides palatograms of somewhat comparable sibilants in Dargi dialects which show considerable narrowing of the articulatory channel in the fortis sibilants. The widths, in mms, of the articulatory channel at its narrower point in three Dargi dialects is shown in this table:

Dialect	fortis		fortis	
	s	ss	j	jj
Urkarax	11	8	13	4
Xaidak	13	9	13	5
Cudaxar	6	4	15	10

The mean channel widths for s/ss are 10/7, and for j/jj are 13.7/6.3, i.e. the fortis in each case has a considerably narrower channel than the plain or 'lenis'. The narrower channel would tend to accelerate the rate of flow of the air and to generate a greater degree of turbulence and a louder noise, but also increase resistance to flow, and hence demand greater pulmonary effort. The increased acoustic intensity of the Avar fortis consonants, which shows up in instrumental records, presumably involves a similar increased pulmonary effort.

4.2 'Preruptives' in Bzhedugh

To return now to the Adyge preruptives, the question is: do they involve greater effort -- i.e. are they truly 'fortis' like the Avar fortis consonants, or are they simply unaspirated and geminated, somewhat like the Lezgi 'fortes' referred to above. I have no final answer to this question, but some findings with respect to one speaker of Bzhedugh may be of interest.

Comparisons of the average durations of the closure of intervocalic stops, the closed phase of intervocalic affricates, and of the frication of both affricates and fricatives, and of the VOT are shown in the following table (durations are in ms.):

	<u>closure</u>	<u>frication</u>	<u>VOT</u>	
Stops aspirated	preruptive 126	219	---	17
Affricates aspirated	preruptive 65	80 856	120 0	0
Fricatives aspirated	preruptive ---	---	195 140	0 60

From these figures we see that preruptives are unaspirated, or virtually unaspirated (a 17 ms. VOT is probably imperceptible), but are distinctly lengthened as compared with their non-preruptive, i.e. aspirated, correlates. The lengthened frication in preruptive affricates and fricatives resembles the similar lengthening in Avar fortis.

However, the next question is: are the frication noises of the Bzhedugh preruptives, like those of the Avar fortis, louder (betokening increased airflow and

turbulence)? Ideally, this can be accurately determined by the absolute differences between the sounds in decibels, but I have only a few measures of this type for Avar sibilants. However, a reasonably accurate estimate of *relative* loudness can be obtained by measuring the height of the excursion from zero in recordings of acoustic intensity. Such measurements for the frication noises of Avar lenis vs. fortis, and Bzhedugh aspirated vs. preruptive, fricatives and affricates give the following means (in mms.):

	<u>Avar</u>			<u>Bzhedugh</u>		
	<u>lenis</u>	<u>fortis</u>	<u>aspirated</u>	<u>preruptive</u>		
Fricatives	s ^h	12.4	ss	14.4	f ^h	20.81
	ʃ ^h	16.5	ʃʃ	19.5	ç	20.15
Affricates	ts ^h	14.5	tss	19.1	ts ^h	20.25
	tʃ ^h	19	tʃʃ	22	tʃ ^h	18.6
					tç	22
					tçç	21.5

Summarizing we see that the means for fricatives, affricates and overall are:

<u>Avar</u>	<u>Bzhedugh</u>			
	<u>lenis</u>	<u>fortis</u>	<u>aspirated</u>	<u>preruptive</u>
Fricatives:	14.45	16.95	20.48	19.33
Affricates:	16.75	20.5	20.28	21.82
<u>Overall means</u>	15.6	18.75	20.36	19.83

The Avar fortis consonants, as compared with the lenes, show an average overall increase in acoustic intensity of about 20%, no doubt reflecting increased pulmonic pressure. The Bzhedugh preruptives, on the other hand, show no overall increase, but even a slight decrease in acoustic intensity.

All we can reasonably say of this finding is that for this one speaker of Bzhedugh, at least, preruptive consonants do not seem to involve any increase of pulmonary activity, and therefore cannot be regarded as 'fortes' in the same sense as the 'fortes' of at least some Dagestanian languages.

5. Labialized sibilants in Ubykh : two or three?

Like all N.W. Caucasian languages, Ubykh is rich in sibilants, and the following table shows average values for the six basic types of voiceless sibilant fricatives. Alongside the IPA phonetic symbols representing these sounds, we give the symbols used by Vogt in his *Dictionnaire de la langue Ubykh* (1963).

Spectral range of acoustic energy	Peak; mean value	Range of peak values
<u>Vogt</u>		
s = s	2214-4250	3764 Hz
ş = ş	1588-4169	2741 Hz
ç = ş'	1237-3842	2446 Hz
ş = ş	1096-3471	1993 Hz
şʷ = ş°	1502-2933	2084 Hz
çʷ = ş°	1083-2671	1709 Hz

(n= the number of *instances*, not necessarily words, from which the mean value was calculated. In many cases spectrograms show that the frequency of the labialized sibilants noticeably falls, often by more than 100 Hz, in the course of the utterance, due to the progressive narrowing of the labial orifice. In such cases both initial and final frequencies were included; in other cases a central value was used. In either case the effect of the discrepancy due to the falling frequency is neutralized.)

The above table shows the generally accepted count -- of six basic sibilant types in Ubykh, of which two are labialized. However, Colarusso (1992) claims that Ubykh has not two, but three (voiceless) labialized sibilant phonemes, and thus has a total of, not 80 (the generally accepted total), but 81 consonants.

I find this claim hard to accept. In the first place all those scholars who have worked on Ubykh in the 20th century describe, or at least refer to, not more than *two* labialized sibilants. True, Dirr, 1927 apparently failed to distinguish the two types of labialized sibilants, but Mészáros (1934) did recognize them, though he described one (Vogt's ş°) as a bilabial sibilant. Dumézil in his early works e.g. (1931, 1932) recorded only one labialized sibilant, but later e.g. (1954, 1975) he consistently distinguished two (and no more than two), as did Vogt (1963) and Kumaxov (1967). It seems to me improbable that all of these scholars would have failed to observe a third labialized sibilant, or, more to the point, that none of their informants, including the linguistically astute Tevfik Esenç, would have pointed out that they were failing to take note of a phonologically relevant distinction.

However, Colarusso, starting from etymological considerations, posits three distinct types of labialized sibilants: şʷ = my çʷ, Vogt's ş° as in 'sea', ҳʷ = my șʷ, Vogt's s° as in 'white' and a third one, sʷ as in sʷanə 'honey', sʷəyʷa 'you (pl.)', sʷəy 'whistle' and other words, which, according to the other authorities, have the same sibilant as 'white', i.e. şʷ. He presents acoustic data, showing the frequency ranges and centres (peaks) at the following frequencies. They are given here together with the mean values obtained in my own analysis of sibilants in several words (spoken by Tevfik Bey and recorded by Vogt in Oslo, and by me in Turkey) exemplifying Colarusso's three sibilants.

	<u>Labialized sibs.</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
	(Colarusso)	(JCC)
1. sʷ = çʷ as in çʷa 'sea'	1800	1709 Hz = Vogt s°
2. ҳʷ = șʷ as in șʷa 'white'	2100	2084 Hz = Vogt s°
3. sʷ = șʷ as in șʷanə 'honey'	2500	2081 Hz " "

It will be seen that the frequency values recorded by Colarusso and JCC in line 2 match very closely, and even in line 1 the difference of 91 Hz is not unreasonable, and could be accounted for by readings taken at different points in the sibilant; as pointed out in the note below the earlier table, the hiss frequency often falls in the course of these sounds. However, the difference of over 400 Hz between the two values for 3 gives rise to serious doubts. My own data derived from several instances of the three words 'honey', 'you' and 'whistle', show an average centre or peak frequency of 2081 Hz, which clearly associates the sibilant in these words with that of line 2 (Vogt's s°).

So the number of Ubykh consonants perhaps remains in doubt, though I, for one, feel that we would require considerably more evidence before accepting the existence of a third labialized sibilant. Until that evidence is available I will continue to believe that Ubykh has 80 consonant phonemes.

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Addendum

J. C. Catford: Some Questions on N. W. Caucasian Phonetics and Phonology

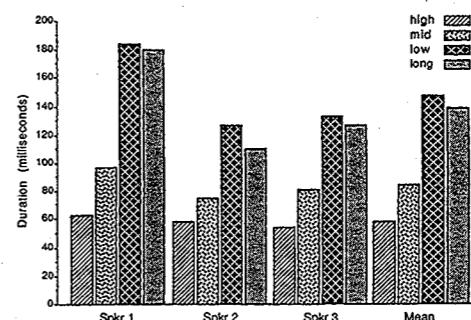


Fig.1 Individual and overall mean duration values (Choi, 1991)

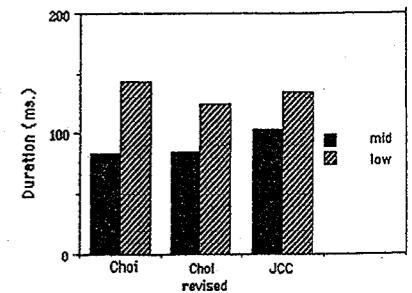


Fig. 1a Durations of e and a (Spkr 3)

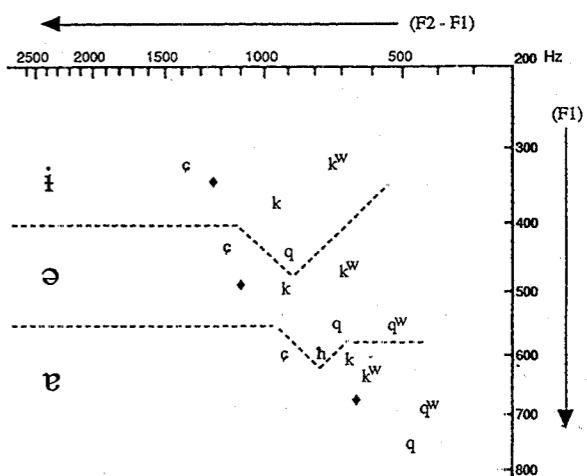


Fig.2 Vowel variation contextually determined by consonants (Choi, 1991)

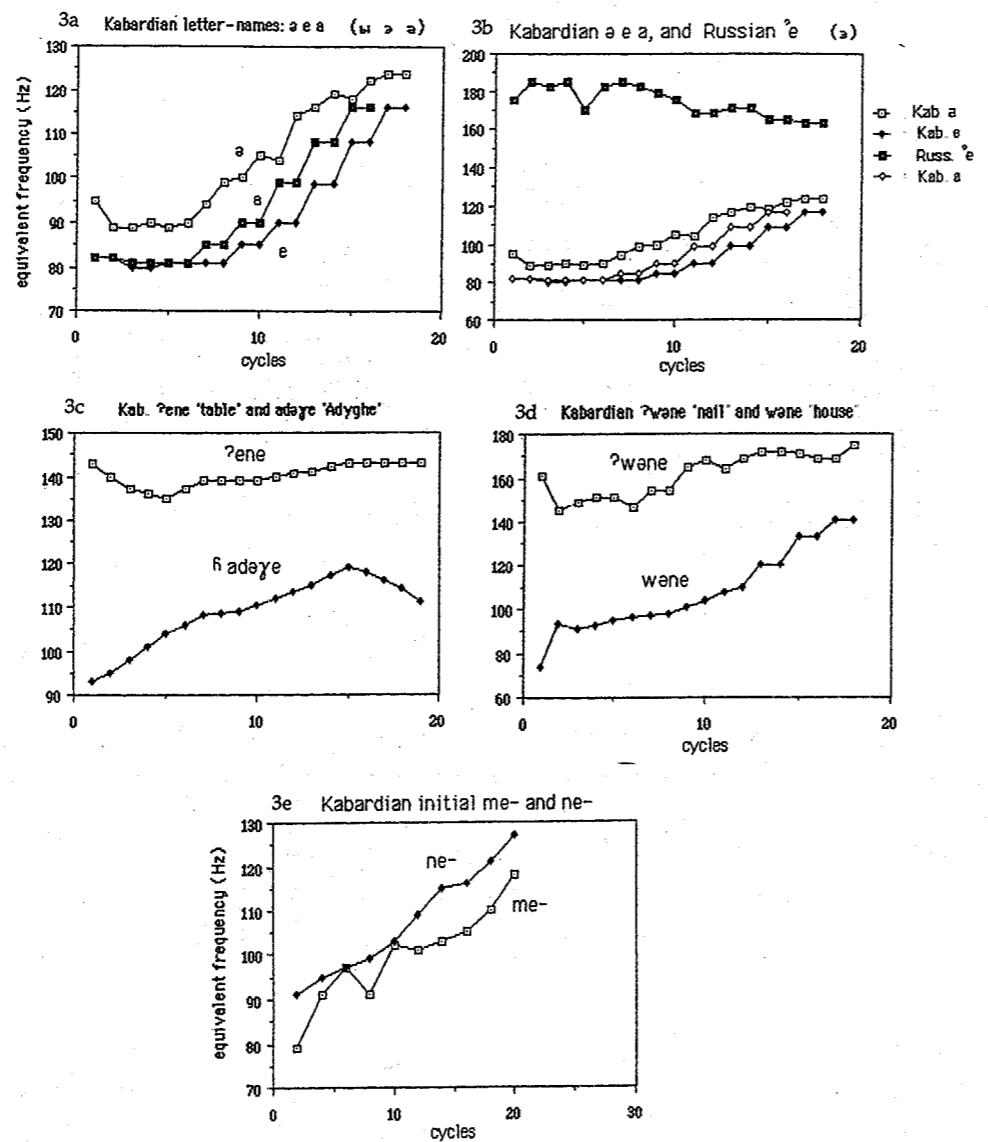
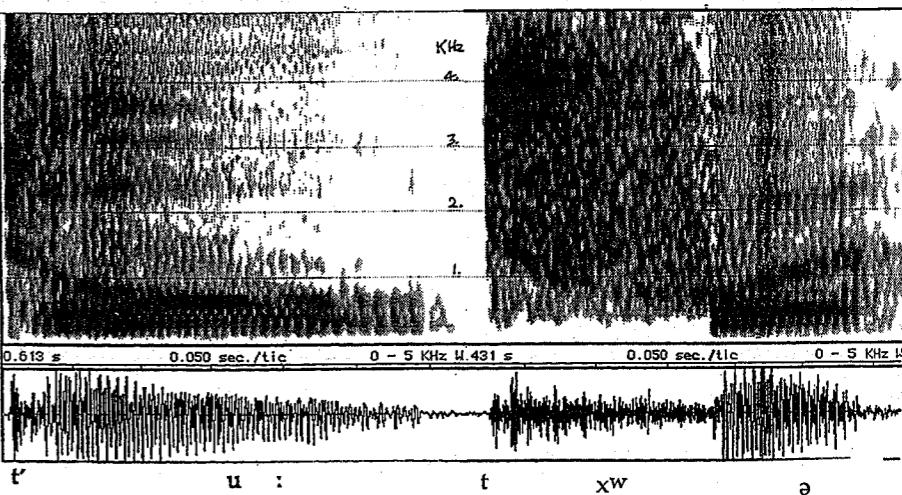
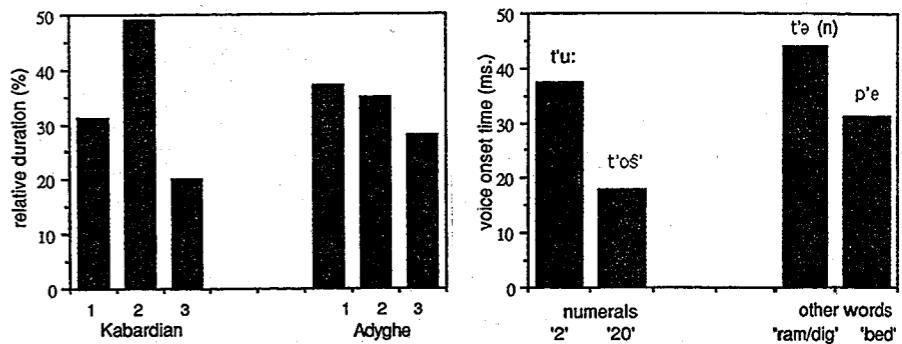
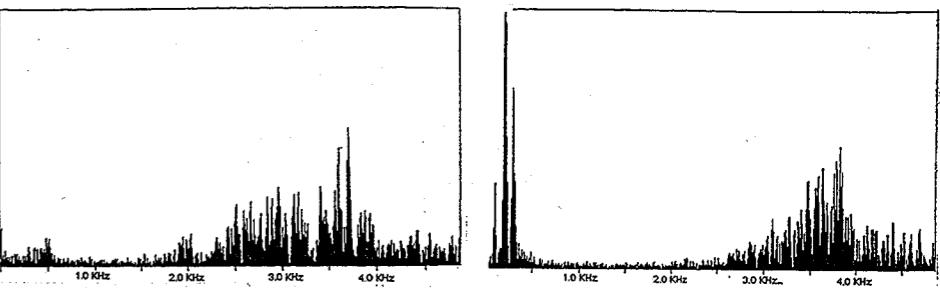
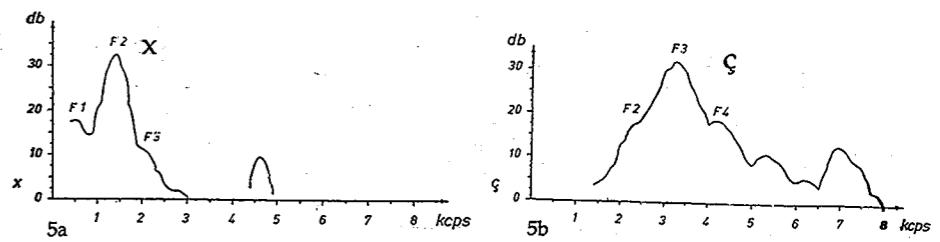


Fig.3 Onset frequencies of Kabardian sonorants (vowels, semi-vowel and nasals) compared with glottal stop (ɥ, ?w) onsets.

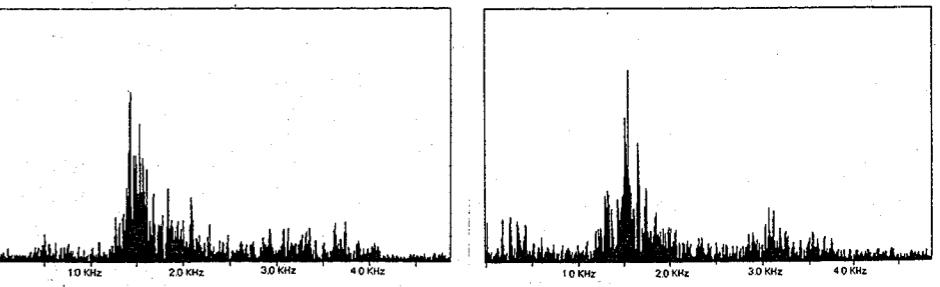


4b. Spectrograms of [t'u:] 'two' and [txwə] 'five'.



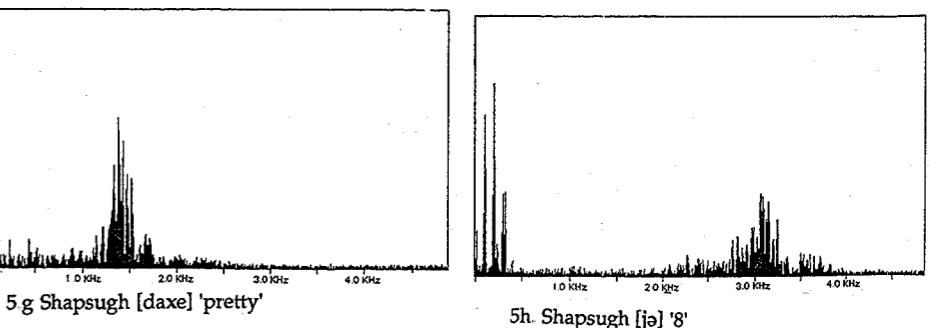
5c. Besney [çabze] 'custom'

5d. Besney [çim] 'powder'



5e. Kabardian [xə] '6'

5f. Kabardian [yən] 'powder'



5g Shapsugh [daxe] 'pretty'

5h. Shapsugh [jə] '8'

THE OBLIGATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KABARDIAN¹

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The grammatical expression of obligation has been given little attention in studies of the grammar of Circassian, even though it plays an important role in sentence formation. The obligative construction is characterized by a number of morphological, syntactic and semantic features. The paper deals with the structure of the obligative construction and its occurrence with different types of matrix predicates, encountered variation of prefix alignment in the infinitival part of the obligative construction, word order and alternative case assignment.

The paper is based on data from East Circassian (Kabardian) that shows important similarities to West Circassian (Adyghe) in this respect.

1. The structure of the obligative construction

Obligation is expressed by a non-finite analytic construction, similar in meaning to the English auxiliaries *must*, *have to* + infinitive. The construction appears in two varieties, as illustrated in (1-2).

- (1) Fe f-s'əy'əps'-a-s' fa-zerə-lez'e-n χ°ej -r
You S2pl-forget-perfl-assert S2pl-sbr-work-inf must pres-abs
'You forgot that you had to work'
- (2) Se si-g° q'e-čəžə-nu-s' s-txə-n zerə-χ°ej -r
I poss1sg-heart or-remember-fut2-assert S1sg-write-inf sbr-must pres-abs
'I will remember that I have to write.'

In both (1) and (2) the subordinating prefix *zer(a)-* occurs, which is similar in meaning to complementizers in other languages such as Russian *čto* 'that' or Georgian *rom* 'that'. (1) and (2) differ in that the subordinating prefix appears in the infinitive in (1) but in the participle in (2). From a semantic point of view the constructions are identical and may occur in the same contexts.

The construction is embedded as the complement of the matrix verbs *f-s'əy'ə-ps'-a-s'* 'forget' and *si-g° q'e-čəžə-nu-s'* 'remember', that takes participles as one of their

complement types, as shown in (3), hence the verb *zerə-χ°ej-r* 'must' appears as a case-marked (absolutive) participle (cf. Kumakhov & Vamling 1993).

- (3) a. Ane-m je- s"e jə- q'e -r q'ə-zerə-k"e-žə-r
mother-erg S3sg-know pres poss3sg-son-abs or- sbr- go-back-abs
'Mother knows, that her son returns home'
- b. We se q'ale-m wə- zerə- s- š -a -r p-s'əy'əps'e -ž -a -s'
you I town-oerg O2sg-sbr-S1sg-take-perfl-abs S2sg-forget -rev-perfl-assert
'You have already forgotten that I took you to town.'

The complements of the verb *zerə-χ°ej-r* 'have to, must' in (1-2) are the infinitives *fə-zerə-lez'e-n* 'work' and *s-txə-n* 'write'. As illustrated in (4), complements of this matrix predicate appear in the infinitive.

- (4) a. Se we wə- s-łay'ə -n χ°ej -s'
I you O2sg-S1sg-see-inf have.to-assert
'I have to see you'
- b. De də-k"e-n χ°ej -a -s'
we S1pl-leave-inf have.to-perfl-assert
'We had to leave.'

Note that when the predicate *zerə-χ°ej-r* 'have to, must' itself occurs in the complement of various matrix predicates, certain features emerge that characterize the construction that we call the obligative construction. The order between the infinitive and participle is fixed: the infinitive always precedes the participle. The subordinating prefix *zerə-*, that apart from the obligative construction is strictly limited to participles, may in this case occur either in the infinitive or the participle.

2. The obligative construction and types of matrix predicates

Below, the obligative construction is shown in complements of a number of classes of matrix verbs (the classification is based on Noonan 1985, with some adjustments).

(a) Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge: *s"e-n* 'know', *q'es"e-n* 'find out', *zexes"əčə-n* 'understand', *zexeyečə-n* 'find out', *s'əy'əps'e-n* 'forget (that)', *s"ežə-n*, *g'əm jələ-n* 'remember (that)', *q'es"ežə-n*, *q'eg"əbzəyəžə-n*, *q'eg"əpsəsəžə-n* 'come to think of, remember (that)'.

- (5) a. Se s- s"e -t fe txədə-r zerə- f- txə -n χ°ej -a -r
I S1sg-know-imp you book-abs sbr-S2pl-write-inf must-perfl-abs
'I knew that you were to write the book'
- b. We zexə- p'-s"əč' -a -s' a -r psəns"e-w ø- zerə-k"e-žə-n
You loc-S2sg-understand-perfl-assert he-abs quick -adv S3sg-sbr-go-rev-inf
χ°ej -r
must pres-abs
'You understood that he had to return (home) quickly.'

c. Fe f-s'ey'eps'e -n -s' z'a -we fə- zerə-təžə -n χ°ej -r
 You S2pl-forget-fut1-assert early-adv S2pl-sbr-get up-inf must pres-abs
 'You will forget that you have to get up early.'

d. Se q'e-s- s"ež -a -s' wə-zerə-s-łay'ə-n χ°ejə-nu -r
 I or-S1sg-recall-perf1-assert O2sg-sbr-S1sg-see-inf must-fut2-abs
 'I remembered that I have to see you.'

(b) Utterance predicates such as žə?e-n 'say', xəbar jeyes"e-n, q'e?ex'ə-n, q'epsele-n 'inform'.

(6) a. De žə- t'- ?e -nu -s' we wəne-r p's"ə-n zerə-χ°ej -r
 We loc-S1pl-say-fut2-assert you house-abs S2sg-do-inf sbr-must pres-abs
 'We will say that you have to build the house.'

b. Fəzə -m q'ə- s- χ°- i- ?ež' -a -s' šxən-χe-r q'e-s-s'ex'ə-n
 Women-erg or-IO2sg-V-S3sg-report-perf1-assert food-PL-abs or-S1sg-buy-inf
 zerə-χ°ej-r
 sbr-must pres-abs
 'The woman told me that I had to buy food.'

(c) Desiderative predicates: fefə-n, χ°ejə-n, jəg'epə-n, fejəy'ə-n, g'əm jərihə-n, psem fefə-n 'want, wish, like'.

(7) a. Se s- fef -s' we nobe zə- b- yepsež'ə-n zerə-χ°ej-r
 I S1sg-like pres-assert you today refl-S2sg-rest-inf sbr-must pres-abs
 'I like that you have to rest today.'

b. Ps'as'e-m jə- g'ape-t k'ed-re sə-zerə-s'ə-mə-sə-n χ°ej -a -r
 Girl-erg poss3sg-like-imp much-adv S1sg-sbr-loc-neg-sit-inf must-perf1-abs
 'The girl liked that I was not to sit down for long.'

(d) Commentative predicates: dey'ə-n 'excellent', good', g'əy'ə-n 'difficult', heləmətə-n 'interesting', nes'xəjəy'ə-n 'sad'.

(8) a. Dey'ə -s' q'alə-šx'ə-m fə- zerə-s'ə-mə-psəwə-n χ°ej -r
 good.pres-assert town-big-oerg S2pl-sbr-loc-neg-live-inf must pres-abs
 'It is excellent that you will not have to live in a big city'

b. G'əy' -t a- χe-m də- ra-yebleye-n zerə-χ°ej-a -r
 difficult-imp they-pl-erg O1pl-S3pl-invite-inf sbr-must-perf1-abs
 'It was difficult that they were to invite us'

(e) Predicates of concealment, for instance, wəs'ex'ə-n, s"əx'əme-n, s"ewəfe-n, bzəs"ə-n 'hide, conceal'.

(9) a. S'ak"e-m jə- bzəs"ə-nu -s' dəy'əz'ə-r ø- zer-i-wəčə-n χ°ej -r
 hunter-erg S3sg-hide-fut2-assert wolf-abs O3sg-sbr-S3sg-kill-inf must pres-abs
 'The hunter will hide (the fact that) he have to kill the wolf'

b. A-bə jə- wəs'ex'ə -s' sə- q'ə-zer-i- še-n χ°ej -a -r
 He-erg S3sg-hide-perf1-assert O1sg-or-sbr-S3sg-bring-inf must-perf1-abs
 'He hid (the fact that) he had to take me here.'

(f) Emotive predicates – šəne-n 'fear', g'əzeve-n 'worry', g'əf'e-n 'be happy', g'ə?e-n 'be sad' – occur with the postposition s'heč'e 'for', as shown in (10a-b).

(10) a. De də-šəne-t [fe fə-q'ə-zerə-k"e-n χ°ej -a -m] s'heč'e
 We S1pl-fear-imp you S2pl-or-sbr -go -inf must-perf1-erg for
 'We were afraid that you were to come here'

b. Sə s- o- g'əzave we žes' -če wə-zerə-lez'e-n χ°ej -m s'heč'e
 I S1sg-dyn-worry pres you night-instr S2sg-sbr-work-inf must pres-erg for
 'It worries me that you have to work at night'

As is seen in (11), the simple complement of emotive predicates such as šəne-n 'fear' also takes the form of a PP with the postposition s'heč'e 'for' governing the ergative/oblique case -m of the participle.

(11) Se se- šən -a -s' si- ade -r q'ə-zerə-k" -a -m s'heč'e
 I S1sg-frighten-perf1-assert poss1sg-father-abs or- sbr- go-perf1-erg for
 'I was scared, that my father came here'

3. The morphological structure of the infinitive

The morphology of the obligative construction exhibits many special features. Below we will focus on the morphology of the infinitive of the obligative construction, as the participle itself, 'have to, must' does not take any agreement markers (cf. for example, sentences (1-2) and (11)). Both intransitive and transitive infinitives will be examined. As will be shown, in particular the third person plural indirect object marker exhibits a peculiar behavior. A summary of affix orderings discussed is given at the end of this section.

In a monovalent intransitive infinitive, the subordination marker follows the initial subject marker. In a bivalent intransitive, the subordination prefix follows the subject marker but precedes the object marker, as shown in (12).

(12) ... təxədə-m fə- zer- je- žə -n χ°ej -r
 book-oerg S2pl-sbr-IO3sg-read²-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to read the book'

In a transitive infinitive, the direct object marker occupies the initial position, followed by the subordination prefix and the subject marker (13).

(13) ... sə- zerə-f-łay'ə-n χ°ej -r
 O1sg-sbr-S2pl-see-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to see me'

A ditransitive verb takes three agreement markers, in the order: direct object, indirect object and subject. The subordinating prefix is placed between the direct and indirect objects.

(14) ... sə- zer- je- f- tə -n χ°ej -r
 O1sg-sbr-IO3sg-S2pl-give-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to give me to him'

Other markers may be added as well – version, comitative, locative, reflexive, causative, negation. The infinitive in example (15) illustrates the following additional prefix slots (from left to right): orientation, version, negation, causative.

- (15) ... fə- q'ə-zerə- s- χ'- i- mə- ye- k"e-n χ'ej -r
 O2pl-or-sbr-IO1sg-V-S3sg-neg-caus-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that he does not have to force us to come for my sake'

Turning now to the form and distribution of the indirect object marker, we note that it shows certain peculiarities. As shown in examples (12, 14, 15) the indirect object marker follows the subordinating prefix. However, this is not always the case. The position of the indirect object marker depends on factors such as the number of the indirect object and the transitivity of the infinitive.

In (16a-b) the first person indirect object marker is placed between the subordinating and version prefixes, which is the ordinary order in other verb forms. (16c) shows a \emptyset -marking of a third person singular indirect object. In (16d) the third person plural indirect object is marked by the prefix *a-*, which is placed not after (as in (16a-b)) but before the subordinating prefix. (16e) illustrates that the expected placement of the third person plural indirect object after the subordinating prefix is not allowed. Such a placement did occur in earlier stages of the language, but the movement to the left of the subordinating prefix is now the norm.

- (16) a. ... wə- zerə- s- χ'e-k"e-n χ'ej -r
 S2sg-sbr-IO1sg-V-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to go for my sake'
 b. ... wə- zerə- t- χ'e-k"e-n χ'ej -r
 S2sg-sbr-IO1pl-V-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to go for our sake'
 c. ... wə- zerə- \emptyset - χ'e-k"e-n χ'ej -r
 S2sg-sbr-IO3sg-V-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to go for his sake'
 d. ... w- a- zerə- χ'e-k"e-n χ'ej -r
 S2sg-IO3pl-sbr-V-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to go for their sake'
 e. *... wə- zer- a- χ'e-k"e-n χ'ej -r
 S2sg-sbr-IO3pl-V-go-inf must pres-abs
 '... that you have to go for their sake'

Other peculiarities in the third person indirect object marker may also be noted, as illustrated in (17a-b). The agreement markers are found in their expected slots in the ditransitive form in (17a), the direct object marker in the initial position before the subordinating prefix, followed by the indirect object and subject markers. In (17b) the third person plural indirect object marker is placed after the initial direct object marker. In the regular indirect object slot the third person singular marker is inserted, although it does not correspond to any third person singular indirect object. The fact that it is the third person singular marker that is the 'empty' one is confirmed by (17c), that may only have the reading given in (17b) with a singular indirect object.

- (17) a. ... wə- zer- je- s- tə -n χ'ej -r
 O2sg-sbr-IO3sg-S1sg-give-inf must pres-abs
 '... that I have to give you to him'
 b. ... w- a- zer- je-s- tə -n χ'ej -r
 O2sg-IO3pl-sbr-IO3sg-S1sg-give-inf must pres-abs
 '... that I have to give you to them'
 c. ... *w- a- zer- je- s- tə -n χ'ej -r
 O2sg-IO3pl-sbr-IO3sg-S1sg-give-inf must pres-abs
 '... that I have to give you to him'

There might be a phonetic explanation to the presence of the third person singular marker *-je-* in (17b), as it links the subordinating prefix *zer-* to the consonantal subject prefix *s-*.

In the intransitive infinitives of (18a-b), the markers appear in their regular positions; the subject marker in the initial position and the object marker following the subordinating marker. The third person singular subject is \emptyset -marked in (18b). The distribution of the agreement morphemes in (18c) differs from (18a-b). The marker of the third person plural object has merged with the subordinating prefix: *ze-* + *a-r* > *za-r*, whereas an empty third person singular object marker has been included after this merged prefix.

- (18) a. ... sə- zer- je- we -n χ'ej -r
 S1sg-sbr-IO3sg-hit³-inf must pres-abs
 '... that I have to hit him'
 b. ... \emptyset - zer- je- we -n χ'ej -r
 S3sg-sbr-IO3sg-hit-inf must pres-abs
 '... that he has to hit him'
 c. ... \emptyset - z[a]r- je- we-n χ'ej -r
 S3sg-sbr[IO3pl]sbr-IO3sg-hit-inf must pres-abs
 '... that he has to hit them'

It is interesting to see what happens to the affix order if a marker of orientation is included into such a verb form (19). Here, the prefix *a-* does not merge with the subordinating prefix but appears between the marker of orientation and *zer-*.

- (19) ... \emptyset - q'- a- zer- je- we-n χ'ej -r
 S3sg-or-IO3pl-sbr-IO3sg-hit-inf must pres-abs
 '... that he has to hit them from there to here'

The placement of the third person plural object marker *a-* in the infinitive shows even more variation in the obligative construction. Yet another example illustrates this fact: in (20) the prefix *a-* precedes the orientation marker *q'-* (it followed in (19)) at the same time as the subject agreement is overtly marked in the initial position.

- (20) ... s- a- q^ə- zer- je- we -n χ^əej -r
 S1sg-IO3pl-or-sbr-IO3sg-hit-inf must pres-abs
 '... that I have to hit them from there to here'

The variation of the placement of the third person object marker is characteristic only of the plural marker *a-*. The markers of the third person singular and the first and second person objects are regularly found in the same slot.

Table 1. Summary of variation in prefix orderings

	Examples
Intransitive infinitives	
S—SBR—IO	(12)
S—SBR—IO [1 SG/PL]—V	(16a-b)
S—IO[3PL]—SBR—V	(16d)
S /ø/—SBR+IO[3PL]+SBR—(IO[3SG])	(18c)
S /ø/—OR—IO[3PL]—SBR—(IO[3SG])	(19)
S—IO[3PL]—IOR—SBR—(IO[3SG])	(20)
Transitive infinitives	
O—SBR—S	(13)
O—SBR—IO—S	(14)
O—OR—SBR—IO—V—S—NEG—CAUS	(15)
O—IO[3PL]—SBR—(IO[3SG])—S	(17b)

4. Restrictions on the expression of tense

As noted above, the participle 'have to, must' does not take any agreement marker. However, it does express a range of tenses. The choice of tense form is dependent on various factors, among them (a) the type of the obligative construction, (b) the grammatical form of the participle, (c) the morphology of the infinitive, (d) the semantics of the matrix verb, (e) the word order of the whole sentence (i.e. the position of the obligative construction in relation to the matrix verb). The main features of these restrictions in connection with the obligative construction will be discussed below (without going into details).

The range of tenses occurring in the obligative construction is limited compared to finite forms. On the whole, it follows the same pattern as observed in other participles (present, perfect1, pluperfect2, future). In construction type (2), where the subordinating prefix has moved to the infinitive, the paradigm is even more restricted. Here, the form future2 is not allowed, as illustrated below.

- (21) a. se s-s'əy^əps'-a-q^əm fe fə- zera- s- ɿay^ə-n χ^əej -r
 I S1sg-forget-perf1-neg you O2pl-sbr-S1sg-see-inf must pres-abs
 (χ^əej-a-r, χ^əejə-nu-r)
 (must-perf1-abs, must-fut2-abs)
 'I didn't forget, that I have (had to, will have to) see you.'

- b. se s-s'əy^əps'-a-q^əm fe fə- s- ɿay^ə-n zera- χ^əej -r
 I S1sg-forget-perf-neg you O2pl-S1sg-see-inf sbr-must pres-abs
 (zera-χ^əej-a-r, *zera-χ^əejə-nu-r)
 (sbr-must-perf1-abs, sbr-must-fut2-abs)
 'I didn't forget, that I have (had to, will have to) see you.'

The morphology of the participle may also impose restrictions on the use of tenses. When the participle is negated, the future2 is not allowed. The present and perfect1 are typical in use with the negated participle (22). Note the position of the negation marker. It is preceded by the version prefix and followed by the possessive marker. Etymologically, the participle may be analyzed as a combination of the version prefix and the third person possessive marker. Compare the stative verb *səse-je-s'* (my-poss3sg-assert) 'it belongs to me', where a similar situation holds.

- (22) Lə-m jə- bzəs"- a -s' wə-q^ə-zera-k"e-n χ^əe-me -j -r
 man-erg S3sg-hide-perf1-assert S2sg-or-sbr- go-inf V -neg-poss-abs
 (χ^əe-me-j-a-r χ^əe-me-jə-nu-r)
 V-neg-poss-perf1-abs V-neg-poss-fut2-abs
 'The man hid (the fact that) you are not to (were not to, should not) come here.'

The morphology of the infinitive of the obligative construction may also play a role in the use of tense forms. The future2 is allowed in (23a) but not used in (23b), or at least very seldom. The difference between (23a) and (23b) is that the infinitive in (23b) includes the maleficative version marker *f'e-* 'against the will of...'.

- (23) a. A-bə ž- i- ? -a -s' wə-zerə-lez'e-n χ^əejə-nu-r
 he-erg loc-S3sg-say-perf1-assert S2sg-sbr-work-inf must-fut2-abs
 'He said that you will have to work.'
 b. *A-bə ž- i-? -a-s' wə- zera- s- fe- lez'e -n χ^əejə-nu-r
 he-erg loc-S3sg-say-perf1-assert S2sg-sbr-IO1sg-V-work-inf must-fut2-abs
 He said that you have to work against my will.'

One may also observe a difference in occurrence of tense forms in the obligative construction related to different matrix predicates. Compare, for instance, (21a) to the following examples with the commentative predicate 'wonderful'. Here, only the present tense occurs (24a), perfect1 is not allowed (24b).

- (24) a. Dey^əe -s' fe fə- zera- s- ɿay^ə-n χ^əej-r
 wonderful-pres-assert you O2pl-sbr-S1sg-see-inf have-to-pres-abs
 'It is wonderful that I have to see you.'
 b. *Dey^əe -s' fe fə- zera- s- ɿay^ə-n χ^əej-a-r
 wonderful-pres-assert you O2pl-sbr-S1sg-see-inf have-to-perf1-abs
 'It is wonderful that I have to see you.'

A number of other commentative matrix predicates show the same selection of the present tense form of its complement.

When the present tense of the matrix (cf. (24a)) is changed for the imperfect, the complement occurs in the perfect1 form.

- (25) Dey'e -t fe fə- zerə- s-ʌyə-n χ°ej-a-r
 wonderful-imp you O2pl-sbr-S1sg-see-inf have-to-perf1-abs
 'It was wonderful that I had to see you.'

The mood of the matrix verb also has an impact on the use of the tense forms of the complement. For instance, in the complement of 'see' either the present, perfect¹ or future² may be used when the matrix is in the indicative. In (26a) it has been substituted for the optative mood, with the effect that the complement is used only in the present tense. As (26b) illustrates, it is not acceptable with the complement in the future² form.

- (26) a. A-bə jə-ʌey°-a-s'eret we wə-k"e-n zerə- χ°ej -r
 he-erg S3sg-see-perf1-opt you S2sg-go-inf sbr-have to-pres-abs
 'If he only saw that you had to go.'

- b. *A-bə jə-ʌey°-a-a-s'eret we wə-k"e-n zerə- χ°ej -a -r
 he-erg S3sg-see-perf1-opt you S2sg-go-inf sbr-have to-perf1-abs
 (zerə- χ°ej -nu -r)
 (sbr-have to-fut2-abs)
 'If he only saw that you had to (will have to) go.'

In principle, when the matrix verb is in the optative, it is unusual to have a tense opposition in the obligative complement. Actually, the present form is *ø*-marked, which might be considered to be absence of tense marking.

When the matrix verb appears in the imperative, again we see restrictions on the range of tenses. The present tense is the tense that is found in obligative complements of many types of matrix predicates in the imperative.

Even word order, in particular the order within the complement, has an effect on the occurrence of tenses. For instance, in (27), there is an opposition between the present and perfect¹.

- (27) Se s- s"e -t fe tχələ-r f- tχə -n zerə- χ°ej -r (zerə- χ°ej -a -r)
 I S1sg-know-imp you book-abs S2pl-write-inf sbr-must pres-abs sbr-must-perf1-abs
 'I knew that you have to (had to) write the book'

If the word order in (27) is changed, the opposition present - perfect¹ becomes unusual. In (28) the present participle is acceptable in initial position of the complement, although such an order is stylistically marked, i.e. is not neutral. However, if the present participle is changed for a perfect participle, this would have been a violation of the norm of the language.

- (28) Se s- s"e -t zerə- χ°ej -r (*zerə- χ°ej -a -r) fe tχələ-r f- tχə -n
 I S1sg-know-imp sbr-must pres-abs sbr-must-perf1-abs you book-Abs S2pl-write-inf
 'I knew that you have to (had to) write the book.'

The participle of the obligative construction appears in the absolute case, except for when it is governed by the postposition 'for'. In such instances, it is marked by the (oblique) ergative case. As noted above, the postposition occurs with emotive matrix

predicates.

Apart from tense and case, the markers of negation, coordination and reflexive occur in the participle. Negation was illustrated above (22), the coordination marker follows the case marker (29a) and the reflexive precedes the tense (29b).

- (29) a. Ps'as'ə-m q'- i s" -a -s' we wə-q'ə-zerə-k"e-n χ°ej- a- r -i
 Girl-erg or-S3sg-learn-perf1-assert you S2sg-or- sbr- go -inf must-perf1-abs-coord
 'The girl found out that you also had to come here.'
 b. Fə-t fe fə- lez'e -n zerə-χ°e-me-jə -ž -a -r -i
 Good-imp you S2pl-work-inf sbr- V -neg-poss-refl-perf1-abs-coord
 'It is good that you didn't have to work again.'

Markers of the interrogative (30a), conditional (30b) and other non-indicative forms (30c) are only found in non-indicative forms of the matrix verb, not of the complement.

- (30) a. We p-s'əy°əps'e -re sə- p-ʌyə-n zerə-χ°ej -r
 You S2sg-forget pres-Q O1sg-S2sg-see-inf sbr-must pres-abs
 'Do you forget that you have to see me?'
 b. De žə- t'- ? -ate -me we zə- b- ye-pseχ°ə-n zerə-χ°ej-a -r
 We loc-S1pl-say-perf2-cond you refl-S2sg-caus-rest-inf sbr-must-perf1-abs
 'If we had told you, you should have taken a rest'
 c. Se s- s" -a -re -t we wə-zerə-žejə-n χ°ej -a -r
 I S1sg-know-perf1-opt-imp you S2sg-sbr-sleep-inf must-perf1-abs
 'If I only knew that you had to sleep'

5. Word order

The placement of the obligative complement may vary within the sentence. However, there are stylistic restrictions and even certain positions that are strictly ruled out (31).

- (31) a. Fəzə-m je- s"e [l'ə-m wəne-ø zer- i- s"ə-n χ°ej -r]
 Women-erg S3sg-know pres man-erg house-abs sbr-S3sg-do-inf must pres-abs
 'The woman knows that the man must build a house.'
 b. [l'ə-m wəne-ø zer- i- s"ə-n χ°ej- r] fəzə-m je- s"e
 c. Fəzə-m [l'ə-m wəne-ø zer- i- s"ə-n χ°ej- r] je- s"e
 d. Je- s"e [l'ə-m wəne-ø zer- i- s"ə-n χ°ej- r] fəzə-m

The word orders of (31a-b) are normal, (31c) quite acceptable. The order in (31d) is stylistically marked due to the postposing of the subject. However, the word order internal to the obligative construction is rigid. There is, however, a difference between the two types of obligative construction. Type (1), where the prefix is found in the infinitive, allows only the order infinitive+participle. The subject and the object of the obligative construction are found in clause initial position, although it is possible to

postpose them for stylistical reasons (32).

- (32) Fəzə-m je-s"e [zer-i-s"ə-n χ°ej-r l'ə-m wəne-∅]
 Women-erg S3sg-know pres sbr-S3sg-do-inf must pres-abs man-erg house-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'

Note that it is not allowed to split either the infinitive+participle (33a) or the subject-object sequence and place the matrix verb or the matrix subject between them (33).

- (33) a. *Fəzə-m zer-i-s"ə-n je-s"e χ°ej -r l'ə-m wəne-∅
 women-erg sbr-S3sg-do-inf S3sg-know pres must pres-abs man-erg house-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'
- b. *Je-s"e zer-i-s"ə-n fəzə -m χ°ej -r l'ə-m wəne-∅
 S3sg-know pres sbr-S3sg-do-inf women-erg must pres-abs man-erg house-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'
- c. *Fəzə-m zer-i-s"ə-n χ°ej -r je-s"e l'ə-m wəne-∅
 Women-erg sbr-S3sg-do-inf must pres-abs S3sg-know pres man-erg house-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'
- d. *Je-s"e zer-i-s"ə-n χ°ej -r fəzə -m l'ə-m wəne-∅
 S3sg-know pres sbr-S3sg-do-inf must pres-abs woman-erg man-erg house-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'

The blocking of (33a-d) is thus not due to the placement of the complement but the fact that it is not possible to include elements from the matrix clause into the complement.

The word order is less rigid in type (2) of the obligative construction. As was shown in (28), the participle may be placed before the infinitive. This is possible in sentences that are stylistically marked or where tense restrictions are at hand. When such a word order change has occurred, the complement subject and object (or one of them) are usually present. As an alternative to the neutral sentences in (31a-c), (34) may be used.

- (34) a. Fəzə-m je-s'ə zerə-χ°ej -r l'ə-m wəne-∅ je-s"ə-n
 woman-erg S3sg-know pres sbr-must pres-abs man-erg house-abs S3sg-do-inf
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'
- b. Fəzə-m je-s'ə wəne-∅ je-s"ə-n l'ə-m zerə-χ°ej -r
 woman-erg S3sg-know pres house-abs S3sg-do-inf man-erg sbr-must pres-abs
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'

In (34a) the participle is found in the initial position and separated from the infinitive by the complement subject and object, which would be excluded in type (1) of the obligative construction. In contrast to (31a-c) with neutral word order, (34a-b) is used for special communicative purposes in connection with the topicalization of the complement.

Examples (35a-b) contrast with (34a-b) in that members of the matrix clause have been moved into the complement, which is not acceptable.

- (35) a. *Fəzə-m zerə-χ°ej -r l'ə-m je-s"e wəne-∅ je-s"ə-n
 women-erg sbr-must pres-abs man-erg S3sg-know pres house-abs S3sg-do-inf
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house.'
- b. *Je-s"e zerə-χ°ej-r l'ə-m fəzə-m wəne-∅ je-s"ə-n
 S3sg-know pres must pres-abs man-erg women-erg house-abs S3sg-do-inf
 'The woman knows that the man has to build a house'

6. The case of the subject

Turning now to coreference relations, we note that the obligative construction involves coreferential relations between matrix and complement subjects. In (36) the subject of the infinitive is coreferent with the matrix subject. Under such conditions one of the subjects may be dropped. Note that depending on which subject is dropped, the case marking changes. The subject of the transitive matrix is marked by the ergative case, but the subject of the intransitive infinitive in the complement is assigned the absolute case.

- (36) Ps'as'e-m (-r) je-žap'e-m Ø-zerə-k°e-n χ°ej -r jə-s"ež -t
 Girl-erg(-abs) poss3sg-school-oerg S3sg-sbr-go-inf must pres-abs S3sg-remember-imp
 'The girl_i remembers that she_j has to go to school.'

The dropping or retaining of the subject depend on various factors, among them the transitivity/intransitivity of the predicates, the word order and the distribution of the obligative construction.

In (36) the complement has been placed between the initial subject and the final matrix predicate. In this position immediately before the intransitive infinitive, the subject may be assigned case by this verb (which is the closest) or by the final transitive matrix verb. When these conditions are not at hand, the freedom of case marking of the subject disappears (37).

- (37) Ps'as'e-m (*-r) jə-s"ež je-žap'e-m Ø-zerə-k°e-n χ°ej -r
 Girl-erg (-abs) S3sg-remember pres poss3sg-school-oerg S3sg-sbr-go-inf must pres-abs
 'The girl_i remembers that she_j has to go to school.'

In (37) a change of word order has taken place and no alternative case marking is allowed. The subject may only be assigned the ergative case, i.e. the subject case of the transitive matrix verb. As a result of this the coreferent complement subject has been dropped. When the matrix verb is adjacent to the initial subject, case assignment by the intransitive complement verb is blocked.

In (37) the subject immediately precedes the matrix predicate. If the order is switched the case assignment remains the same (still under coreference conditions), as shown in (38).

- (38) Je-s"ež ps'aš'e-m (-r) je- žap'e -m ø-zerə-k"e-n χ°ej -r
 S3sg-remember pres girl-erg (-abs) poss3sg-school-oerg S3sg-sbr-go-inf must pres-abs
 'The girl_i remembers that she_i has to go to school'

The matrix verb is placed in initial position in (38). Even if it immediately precedes the subject it does not dominate as the case assigner over the complement verb, being placed in final position. In (38) both the matrix and the complement verbs seem to be equal in determining the case of the subject (which one of the matrix and complement subject will be dropped and which one will remain).

However, if the complement in (38) is moved to the left, as in (39), there is no longer a choice between an overt subject marked by the absolute or ergative cases.

- (39) Je- žap'e -m ø-zerə-k"e-n χ°ej -r ja -s"ež ps'aš'e-m (*-r)
 poss3sg-school-oerg S3sg-sbr-go-inf must pres-abs S3sg-remember pres girl-erg (*-abs)
 'The girl_i remembers that she_i has to go to school'

Even if the ordering of the matrix verb and the subject is the same as in (38) – in both sentences the matrix verb immediately precedes the subject – the case assignment by the intransitive complement verb is no longer available in (39).

Summing up, as shown by the examples above, the free dropping of either the (coreferent) subject of the matrix clause or the subject of the infinitive takes place only when the two verbs both are potential subject case assigners, which requires the word order subject + complement.

Footnotes

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²The Circassian verb 'read' is classified as intransitive, which means that it assigns the absolute case to its subject and has the same ordering of agreement affixes in the verb, as other intransitive verbs do (cf. Kumakhov 1989).

³The Circassian verb 'hit' is classified as intransitive.

Abbreviations

abs	Absolutive	part	Participle
assert	Assertive	perf	Perfect
coord	Coordinating suffix	poss	Possessive
dyn	Dynamic	Q	Interrogative
erg	Ergative	refl	Reflexive
imp	Imperfect	rev	reversed action
loc	Locational verbal prefix	sbr	Subordinating prefix
neg	Negating affix	V	Version prefix (i.e. benefactive/maleficative relation)
oerg	Oblique ergative		
opt	Optative		
or	Orientation		

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**CONTRIBUTION TO THE
LEXICOGRAPHY OF ABKHAZ**

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In my 'Structural-Reference Grammar of Georgian' (to be published 1995-96 by Benjamins) I included a comprehensive list of body-parts within the final chapter, entitled 'Sample Vocabularies in Semantic Fields'. Below I present the identical list with the equivalent terms in Abkhaz.

The stressed syllable is shown in bold-type.

	<u>Body-parts</u>	<u>a-tçʷ.aj.ʒ_a-xʷ.tə.kʷa</u>
a-x.tçʷə	hair	a-kə.ʃʷ
a-xə	head	a-ʒʷ.ya/.xər/ (cf. a-ʒʷ.ʃʷ.a.qʷ'a)
a-ləm.ħa	ear	a-gʷə.s.pə
a-la.χ	forehead	a-gʷə.p.ħʷə, a-gʷə.ħʷ.pə, a-kək'ā
a-r.gʷə.ts'ə.s.ta	temple	a-kək'.m.a.tçʷ
a-x.sə.baq	skull	a-gʷə
a-x.bəq.la.sə	brain	a-ɥə.ts'.ra
a-dzəmʃ	eyebrow	a-ma.xʷ.ar, a-ma.xʷ-
a-m.ʃxʷə.l.ts'	elbow	tçʷ'a
a-l.a.tçʷa	eyelid	a-na.tçʷ.a.dəw
a-la.pə.dʒ	eyelash	a-na.p'ə.xʷ.da
a-la	eye	a-na.p'ə
a-la.k'ə.ts'a	top of cheek	a-na.tçʷ.a
a-dzə.a.mya	cheek	a-na.tçʷ.xə.r.qʷ'a.ra
a-tçʷə	mouth; face	a-xə.s.na.tçʷ'a
a-x.a.tçʷə	face	a-gʷ.bzə.na.tçʷ'a
a-x.a.pə.ts	tooth	a-ma.tçʷ.a.z.na.tçʷ'a
a-bz	tongue	a-na.tçʷ.k'ə.s/a-na.tçʷ.k'ə.ra.kʷ'a
a-x.a.pə.ts a-ʒə	gum	a-tatʃ'kʷəm

/a-/alviolar	alveolar ridge	a-na.p'xə.ts, a-na.tçʷ.xə.p	nail
a-tçʷə.ts'a	palate	a-na.tçʷ.a.qʷ'a.r.tʷ.ra	knuckle
a-q'ərq'ə	throat	a-ʒ.tçʷ'a	coughed up mucus
a-q'ərq'ə	base of throat	a-r.pħa (cf. a-ləm.ħa.r.t, a-ləm.ħa.r.t.a.k'ata, a-ləm.ħa.r.t.a.hata)	lung (cp. gill)
a-faringal	pharynx	a-mgʷ'a	abdomen
a-q'ərq'.tʃ'əda	larynx	a-tsa	stomach
a-	vocal cords	a-gʷ.a.tçʷ'a	liver
bzə.q'a.ra.xʷə.ts.kʷ'a			
a-fa.tʷ.myə	oesophagus	a-tʃ'atʃ'ə	kidney
a-xʷ.la.mʃʷə	windpipe	a-bya, a-z.kʷ'a, a-qʷaqʷ'a	back
a-xʷ.da	neck	a-qʷaqʷ'a.baq	spine
a-xʷ.da.dʒal	nape, back of head	a-v.a.kʷə.s, a-v.a.ts's/a-v.a.ts'	rib(s)
a-x.a.kʷ.tçʷ'a	top of head, cranium	ara.kʷ'a	
a-ts.lə/a.mħʷ'a	jaw	a-dza.ra, a-maq'.tʃ'ə.a.ħʷ'a.ra, a-bya-dzara	waist
a-ts.lə/a.mħʷ'a.tʃ'ə.a.ħʷ'a	dimple	a-gʷ.tʃ'ama/x/a-k'at'aj	(top of) hip intestine
a-ts.ʃə/a.mħʷ'a	chin	a-k'at'aj.ʃ'p'a	rectum
a-pə.n.ts'a	nose	a-wəħʷ, /a-/aħʷ	bottom
a-pə.n.ts'a.k'əl.tçʷ'a.ra	nostril	a-yə	penis
a-qʷaltara.kʷ'a	testicle(s)	a-tʃə/w/r, a-tʃə.ətʃ	pudenda (2nd word is babytalk)
a-g'	cunt (vulgar)	?	vagina
a-mgʷ.a.r.ta	uterus	a-watʷ'a	thigh
a-ʃ.a.m.xə	knee	a-ʃ.a.p'ə.ya.ra, a-ʃ.a.r.gʷ.a.tçʷ.baq.dəw	shin (cf. calf)
a-ʃ.a.p'qʷ.a.r.tʷ.ra	ankle	(cf. a-ʃ.a.r.gʷ.a.tçʷ.)	
a-ʃ.a.p'ə	foot, leg	a-ʃ.xʷ'a	heel
a-ʃ.a.tçʷ.k'ə.s/a-ʃ.a.tçʷ.k'ə.ra.kʷ'a	toe(s)	a-ʃ.a.p'ə.baq	foot-bone
a-baq.aj.bə.r.k'ə.ra	skeleton	a-tçʷ.aj.ʒ/ə/; a-xʷ.a.mts	body; body above the waist
a-tçʷ'a	skin	a-baq	bone
a-ʂʂa	fat	a-ʒə	flesh, meat
a-ʒəja.tçʷ'a, a-ʒə.ʃʷ'a		a-ʃ.a (cf. a-ʃ.a.mp'əl.ʂ.kʷ.akʷ'a/ a-ʃ.a.mp'əl.q'apʃ)	blood (cf. white/red corpuscle)
a-γʷayʷ	muscle	a-wat'ala	gland
	membrane	a-pħʷəz.ba.ra a-yʷayʷ	hymen

a-da-\$	tendon, sinew	?a-ba	tissue, material
a-da	vein	a-na.p'sə.r.g"ə.ts'a/	palm
a-la a-g"ə/a-la.g"	pupil	a-k'ən.ts'əts'ə.ra	wart
a-ʃ"ra	spot	a-px dzə	sweat
a-psə	corpse	a-ʃ's'a.dzə	saliva
a-z	bile	a-tʃ'ap'an	navel
a-va.nə.za	spleen	a-tʃ	hernia
a-psə.k'ra	rheumatism	a-mg"ax'	diarrhoea
a-rak', a-k"əjba	cancer	a-tʃ'a	pus
a-żak'a	beard	a-p.a.ts'a	moustache
a-x"ra	ulcer, wound	a-k'an	freckle
a-la.tç"k"ab	rheum	a-ʂ	cataract
a-la a-k"ak"	corner of eyelid	a-nʃ an (cf. a-ya.za)	mole (cf. mark on the face, usually from illness or pregnancy)
a-ts'k'ar	splinter	a-k'tʃ'ə.ra	wrinkle
a-pxt.ra	scabies	a-bya.ʒ"	scab
a-psh"əst.ra	herpes	?a-k".psa.ra (e.g. jə- sə-k"-na-psa-jt')	rash (e.g. I have a rash)
a-tʃ əq"	goitre	a-ʒ".ʃ.a.q'a, a- ʒə.ʃ.a.q'a (cf. a- l.ʃ.ʒ.a)	shoulder-blade (cf. collar-bone)
a-xapəts.dzadza	protruding teeth	a-tç".aj.ʒ a-bə.ts.a.q"	cell
a-embriοn	embryo	a-kərtsa	dandruff
a-dzə.q"ra	hump on back	a-pe.n.ts'a.r.x"a	hooked nose
a-lajza	dribble	a-ʃ"ax	foam (from mouth)
a-ʒ.tç"a	sputum	a-tsts	down (on face or body)
a-pe.n.ts'a.q" ts'aya	watery snot	a-pe.n.ts'a.q"	thick snot
a-tsa.ts.xa.x'aa	stitch	a-qəz.tʃ əmaza.ra	jaundice
a-msa	corn	a-dz.ay'a	blister
a-ʃ ana	birthmark	a-ʃ a /ə-/la-z-ga- qa-z-ga-wa a-da	vein for bleeding on the hand
a-ʃ".a.x.s.ta	scar	a-sabəj jə-xə a- t'at'a.ra	top of new born baby's skull where the bone has not yet knitted
a-mg"a.tç"a.k'ələ.ʃ.ʃ. ra	beer-belly	a-tç"ər.pşdza.təp	pockmark(s)
a-la.yə.r.dz	tear	a-la.yə.r.dz.təp	tear-duct/gland
a-psə	soul	a-x"ə	whisker
a-pə.ʃ"ə.r.tʃ tʃ a.ra	smile	a-tʃ tʃ a.ra	laugh(ing)
a-la.x' /a-/ aj.ma.r.tsts.ra, a-la.x' /a-/aj.ma.r.dzax".ra	frown(ing)	a-x'.aa	pain
(a-mg"a) a- q"ər.q"ər.ra	rumble in the stomach	a-fa.ra	itch(ing)

a-blaam	phlegm	a-msa	bunion
a-q"ər.tç".ra	joint	na.tç"ə-la a-s-ra	flick of finger
a-tʃ əx"ra	urine	a-n.k"əp'əsta	bladder
a-q"ə	fæces	a-ma.xa.ʃ a.xa	limb, organ
a-ʃ"ə.f'a	bruise	a-ʃ's'a.s-ra	slap
ʃ.a.p'ə-la a-s-ra	kick	a-x.a.la.m"	upper jaw
a-x"der/a/	cartilage	a-psə.dz.ləm.ha	shell of the ear
a-q'ərq'.mədʒ	Adam's apple	a-q"tç"ə.ra	secretion
a-q".tç"ə.ra.təp	secretion-glands	a-x.h"ə.ts.ra	sprain
a-məjndal.ps.ra /ə-/	tonsils	a-tʃ .ra	lump, tumour
z-ma-w a- wat'ala k"a			
a-ra	cubit	a-psə.dza	thumb-forefinger span
a-dza	thumb-little finger	s-na.p"/sə-bz a.k' /ə-/a-l-ʃ"ə.jt'	I have a pimple on my hand//tongue (lit. something has erupted from my hand//tongue)
a-g".tʃ am	loins	a-sp'əjd	Aids
a-k"əf'aj.la.ʃ"	appendix	a-mza.t"	menstrual period
a-ʃ a.ha.ra.k'ra	blood-pressure	a-ləm.ha.tə"a	(ear-)lobe
a-x.tç"ə.r.h"ə	curl	zə-x.tç"ə.r.h"ə-w a- wa.χə	curly-haired person
a-dəw	anthrax	a-bəz.tʃ'əda, a- bəz.x"ətʃ'ə	uvula
a-d.aj.s.ra	pulse	a-x.tç".ləmt'	grease & dirt in hair
a-mg"a	placenta	a-g".a.bətsa.q'a	chest, thorax
a-ʃ a.m.xə, a-k'alt	lap	a-r.h"ə.r.a.x	entrails
a-k"ə	bosom	a-wat"ə.baŋ	thigh-bone
a-pə.lgədə	pelvis	a-pə.ma.tç"	fore-portion of shin
a-g".tʃ am	rump	a-dz.q"aq", a- bya.baŋ, a- bya.q"ə.r.t"ra	vertebra
/a-/a-h" a-baŋ	coccyx	a-dəjabət', a-ʃ akar. tʃ əmaza.ra	diabetes
a-x".da.r.tʃ ə	mumps	a-baŋ.laşa vs a- bya-x"ə.r.sə	bone-marrow vs spinal fluid
a-ʃ a.p'sə.r.g"ə.ts'a	instep	a-pə.n.ts'.aj.x.a.tʃ .ra	cold
a-pə.n.ts'a.q" ʒ".p'a	bogey	a-y".a.ha.ra	belch
/a-/aj.tç"ə.s-ra	hiccup	a-tsaa.ra	fart
a-tʃ x"ra	urinate	a-tsts.ra, a-k"ək"- ra	defecate
a-ʃ"ə-r.ha.s-ra	yawn	/a-/aj.m-sa.ra	sneeze
/a-/aj.m-h"ə.ra	cough	/a-/aj.m.h"ə.r.ʃ"ar	whooping-cough
a-χ".da a-bʒə a-ga- ra	snore	a-va.ra vs a-ʒə	side vs soft flank
a-k"əθ(?)	groin	a-k"əs.ra	below ribs
			fuck ¹

a-q^maltasə.r.ta*scrotum*a-ñ^wəñ^wey.k'ra*gout*

**L'INTEGRATION DES IMMIGRANTS DU CAUCASE DU NORD-OUEST
DANS L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN (DE LA FIN DU XIX EME SIECLE AU DEBUT
DU XX EME SIECLE)**

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Au début du XIX ème siècle, le Caucase du Nord-ouest compte plus d'un million d'habitants. Il est, au moins théoriquement, sous souveraineté ottomane. Mais, après la guerre russo-turque de 1828-1829, l'Empire ottoman cède à la Russie ses droits sur la Circassie, par le traité d'Andrinople (1829). A partir de cette année, et pendant plus de trente ans, les Caucasiens du Nord-ouest¹ se battent, en vain, pour tenter de repousser l'envahisseur russe.

Après la guerre de Crimée (1853-1856), les Circassiens commencent à émigrer vers l'Empire ottoman. Environ 80.000 d'entre eux quittent le Caucase, de 1855 à 1863, pour les ports ottomans de la mer Noire ; mais c'est surtout en 1864-1865 qu'a lieu l'exode massif¹. Au total, on estime entre 400 et 600.000 le nombre de ceux qui émigrent dans ces années vers l'Empire ottoman. D'autres vagues suivent en 1866, 1877-1878, 1918-1920, 1945 ; mais aucune n'atteint des proportions aussi gigantesques.

Ce sont en majorité des Circassiens et non des Caucasiens du centre (Ossètes) et du Nord-est (Tchétchène-ingouches et Daghestanais), qui fournissent les gros contingents d'émigrés. Plus qu'une explication religieuse (la volonté de populations locales islamisées de rester sous la domination, théorique, d'un souverain musulman), il faut mettre en avant une cause politique : la volonté russe de coloniser le Caucase du Nord et de déplacer les populations autochtones du Nord-ouest vers les plaines au Nord du Caucase. On est ici en présence d'un véritable accord russo-turc : l'Etat ottoman prévoit d'accueillir ces réfugiés, dans une proportion de 50 à 60.000. Mais les Ottomans sont vite dépassés par l'ampleur de l'exode circassien ; leur imprévoyance- voire leur impéritie - est fatale à de nombreux immigrants tcherkesses; L'Etat ottoman agit non seulement par charité ou par fraternité, mais aussi dans un but politique. Les immigrés n'ont pas le choix du lieu de leur implantation ; moins de 100.000 d'entre eux sont dirigés, à partir d'Istanbul et des ports des Balkans, vers l'Anatolie du Nord-Ouest, mais surtout vers l'intérieur des terres balkaniques pour constituer des cordons de villages qui doivent renforcer démographiquement l'élément musulman et servir de force militaire irrégulière d'appoint en cas de conflit avec la Russie ou les peuples chrétiens des Balkans². En Anatolie, depuis les ports de la mer Noire de Samsun, Sinope et Trébizonde où ils ont été débarqués, les autres immigrés caucasiens s'installent jusqu'à la Méditerranée (dans le Hatay et la région

¹If one bears in mind that the verb 'hit' is *a-s-ra*, one might think that this verb is to be analysed as a sequence of proverb/determiner plus root, signifying literally 'strike the groin'. However, there is no evidence for such a morpheme-division, as is clear from the position of the agent-affix (e.g. *də-s-k'əsə-jt'* 'I fucked her'). Also my main informant does not know the noun *ak'ə* in the sense of 'groin', even though it was given to me by another informant on my first visit to Abkhazia in April 1976. Furthermore, Slava Chirikba, whom I thank for a number of comments on and corrections to an earlier version of this list, informs me that in Bzyp the root 'hit' is *-q-*, whereas the root here is *-k'əs-*, which excludes any possibility that the sibilant here could mean 'hit'. Ubykh also has this verb (e.g. in the Present *a-s-k'əsə-n*, which in Circassian is /ə-/se-p'ə sə). Do we have here a bifurcated North West Caucasian development of an original labio-velar (labialized velar), preserved in part of its area but shifted to a bilabial elsewhere, to parallel that seen in Indo-European where Latin *quinque* '5' is cognate with Welsh *pump*, and Latin *sequi-itur* 'X follows' is cognate with Ancient Greek *kúo:/kuéo:* => Aorist Active *ékusa* [ækysa] 'I (male) impregnated' (cf. Aorist Middle *ekusáme:n* 'I (female) conceived'), and not to be confused with the poetical *ékusa* [ækysa] for prose *ekúne:sə* 'I kissed!' Nominal derivatives of the root were *kusós* (or *kústʰos*) = Latin *cunnus* = English *cunt*. Abkhaz also uses the verb *a-k'-r a* 'seize, hold' with the secondary meaning equivalent to *a-k'əs-ra*. In Abkhaz 'she conceived' will be *d-a-la-f "a-jt'*.

d'Adana) en passant par les régions de Çorum, Amasya, Tokat, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri et Maraş. En Anatolie, ils forment de la sorte une "ligne" verticale de peuplement, destinée à renforcer l'élément musulman dans des régions où les Chrétiens grecs orthodoxes et arméniens sont particulièrement nombreux et où les tribus kurdes et turkmènes ne sont pas encore sédentarisées³. Ainsi dans la région de Uzunyayla, où les Tcherkesses sont envoyés en grand nombre, l'Etat ottoman espère que ces hommes à la réputation belliqueuse pourront être utilisés contre les nomades en voie de sédentarisation⁴. On installe aussi ces immigrés dans le Nord-ouest de l'Anatolie.

Avant de poursuivre l'examen de l'évolution de cette immigration et implantation caucasienne, arrêtons-nous un instant à la manière dont sont nommés et perçus ces immigrants. Dans les récits des voyageurs occidentaux, la presse et les sources diplomatiques européennes, ces Caucasiens sont souvent désignés, sans distinction supplémentaire, comme des "Circassiens". On assimile ici les groupes proches des Adyghés, comme les Abazes et les Oubykhs, et même les Abkhazes. Côté ottoman, la même confusion est entretenue, on va même jusqu'à inclure, sous le vocable "*Çerkesler*", les groupes ethnolinguistiques du Centre nord (Ossètes) et du Nord-est (Tchétchèno-ingouches et Daghestanais).

Avant leur arrivée, les Caucasiens du Nord-ouest bénéficiaient d'une réputation flatteuse dans l'Empire ottoman. Les femmes tcherkesses, vendues comme esclaves, alimentaient alors quasi exclusivement le harem impérial (où elles avaient supplanté les Grecques et les Géorgiennes) et les demeures des grands notables musulmans⁵. Elles étaient perçues comme un canon esthétique : la beauté de la jeune fille circassienne était proverbiale ; on vantait la finesse de sa taille, la couleur de ses yeux clairs, la blancheur de son teint, ses pommettes hautes et sa chevelure⁶. Quant aux hommes, souvent vendus eux aussi comme esclaves, ils étaient perçus, à l'instar des femmes, par le biais d'un stéréotype : leur goût des armes, leur agilité prodigieuse à cheval en faisait des soldats très prisés et l'on se souvenait dans l'Empire ottoman que ces Circassiens avaient joué en Egypte aux XIV et XV èmes siècles un rôle majeur au sein de la société militaire mamelouke⁷.

Ces stéréotypes sont confrontés, avec l'épisode de l'émigration, à une réalité beaucoup plus prosaïque et "noire". Il ne s'agit plus seulement des éléments les plus beaux ou les plus valeureux amenés par le système du trafic d'esclaves, mais de sociétés entières, avec leur complexité et leurs contradictions et de peuples entiers, avec leur variété physique et linguistique, qui arrivent sur le territoire ottoman.

L'Etat ottoman, s'il appelle de ses voeux cette migration, n'est absolument pas prêt à faire face à un déferlement d'une telle ampleur, qui succède d'ailleurs aux immigrations des Tatars de Crimée et des Tatars nogays. Si le décompte des immigrés est aléatoire, comme je l'ai mentionné plus haut, c'est à cause des conditions dramatiques de l'exode des Caucasiens du Nord-Ouest. Mourrant en grand nombre de blessures, de maladies ou de privations de nourriture, les immigrés sont parqués, à leur arrivée dans les ports de la mer Noire, dans des camps établis dans ou à proximité des villes. Là, ils meurent de faim par milliers, quand ils ne sont pas décimés par des épidémies qui contaminent aussi les populations locales⁸. La réaction de ces dernières, qu'elles soient chrétiennes ou musulmanes, se transforme très rapidement en hostilité déclarée, attestée par le nombre de pétitions demandant le départ de ces immigrants vers l'intérieur. Cette hostilité est

renforcée par les déprédatations causées sur place par des immigrés affamés et désœuvrés, livrés à eux-mêmes.

Quant éclate la guerre russo-turque de 1877-1878, ces populations caucasiennes installées en dernier dans les Balkans et de la manière la plus précaire et la plus misérable, sont dénoncées par les Chrétiens pour leur violence. Au Congrès de Berlin (en 1878), la Russie qui, pendant la guerre, avait expulsé les Tcherkesses des territoires balkaniques conquis sur la puissance ottomane, obtient qu'un article du traité de Berlin empêche en particulier les Tcherkesses (et les Tatars) de revenir s'installer dans leurs colonies de peuplement. L'Etat ottoman les dirige, avec les autres immigrés des Balkans vers ce qui reste de Turquie d'Europe et vers l'Anatolie (surtout dans le nord-ouest : provinces de Sakarya, Bolu, Kocaeli, Istanbul, et de Bursa, Bilecik, Balikesir), mais les envoie aussi vers les ports du Proche-Orient pour créer des villages d'agriculteurs à l'intérieur des terres⁹. Ces agriculteurs sont censés servir en même temps de défenseurs militaires des frontières contre les incursions des bédouins arabes du désert. Les populations tcherkesses qui vivent aujourd'hui dans les pays du Proche-Orient (Israël, Syrie et surtout Jordanie) sont les descendants de ces immigrés.

Pour revenir à ce qui constitue notre sujet, il faut insister sur le fait que la grande majorité des Circassiens est installée dans des villages. Ceux-ci ont souvent été créés de toutes pièces par les immigrés eux-mêmes et sont en général peuplés quasi exclusivement de Caucasiens du Nord-Ouest. Souvent, de nouvelles vagues d'arrivants viennent s'ajouter à la première. Dans une même localité, il n'est pas rare de trouver des personnes originaires de villages, voire de régions différentes ou quelquefois même de groupes ethnolinguistiques nord caucasiens différents. Ainsi jusqu'aux années 1960, grande période d'exode rural, les villageois caucasiens, qu'ils pratiquent l'endogamie (comme les Daghestanais) ou l'exogamie (comme les Caucasiens du Nord-ouest) continuent à épouser des Nord-caucasiens. Dans le cadre clos de la société de village, ils préparent largement leur identité culturelle. La présence, dans un même lieu, de locuteurs de langues et dialectes caucasiens différents génère des influences et des échanges linguistiques (par exemple des emprunts de l'oubikh au tcherkesse) et l'apprentissage par les villageois de plusieurs langues et dialectes¹⁰. Le village d'immigrés a une physionomie particulière : il est dessiné selon un plan géométrique à damier, chaque carré a été divisé en parcelles égales. Ces parcelles sont reliées par des chemins qui se croisent à angles droits. La disposition des champs qui l'entourent s'effectue en bandes et non pas en carrés¹¹. Ces types de plans ne résultent pas comme on pourrait le penser d'une décision étatique, mais d'un partage initial égalitaire entre des réfugiés qui sont arrivés souvent totalement démunis et qui partagent une condition très pauvre. On retrouve cette forme de villages chez les immigrés laz, géorgiens ou balkaniques ; elle tranche avec celle des localités autochtones où le pouvoir des petits chefs et des grands propriétaires fonciers est nettement visible dans la structure même du village.

Cet égalitarisme initial (les écarts sociaux se creusent en effet par la suite) est problématique lorsque l'on sait que la société circassienne se transporte en Turquie avec ses pratiques quelquefois inégalitaires, comme l'a magistralement démontré l'étude de Ehud Toledano *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression (1840-1890)*, pour ce qui concerne l'esclavage et le trafic d'esclaves.

Même si ces dernières pratiques tendent à disparaître rapidement, à mesure que l'Etat ottoman adopte, sous la pression britannique, une position ferme sur ce sujet, les Tcherkesses continuent à être perçus en Anatolie comme des fauteurs de troubles : vendeurs d'esclaves, mais aussi voleurs de chevaux, bandits détrousseurs sur les routes, massacreurs de Chrétiens. Si la délinquance et le banditisme tcherkesses existent bien, ils semblent exagérés : face au "bon" immigrant balkanique, jugé travailleur et porteur de la modernité occidentale, le "bandit" tcherkesse fait figure de sauvage. On retrouve cette opposition de stéréotypes dans le théâtre d'ombres turc *Karagöz*, où la marionnette du "Çerkes" présente un personnage coiffé d'un bonnet à poil, armé et belliqueux alors que celle du "muhacir", loin de représenter tous les immigrés musulmans, renvoie au seul Balkanique¹². En fait, la plupart des villageois tcherkesses de Turquie sont de paisibles agriculteurs ou éleveurs de chevaux. Cette démonisation des Nord-caucasiens sert en fait à trouver des boucs émissaires. Ainsi lorsque se produisent, en 1897, des émeutes anti-arméniennes à Tokat et dans ses alentours accuse-t-on officiellement les immigrés et notamment des villageois tcherkesses d'en être responsables pour détourner la colère des Arméniens et des puissances européennes¹³.

Après avoir évoqué la majorité vivant dans les campagnes, il faut dire quelques mots des Tcherkesses vivant en milieu urbain dès la fin du XIXème siècle, et en particulier des citadins d'Istanbul. Il y a d'abord ceux qui appartiennent au Palais du Padishah ou qui servent dans l'armée. Celle-ci est le véritable instrument d'intégration des immigrés tcherkesses dans la société ottomane ; elle est aussi un instrument de mesure de leur loyauté. Des officiers d'origine tcherkesse sont souvent envoyés en poste en province pour mater des bandes de bandits composées de leur compatriotes et ils ne montrent à cette occasion aucune faiblesse ou indulgence.

En 1908, dans la foulée de la révolution jeune turque, la promulgation d'une nouvelle Constitution -qui rétablit en fait la Constitution très libérale de 1876- donne la possibilité aux Tcherkesses, comme aux autres citoyens, de créer des associations et des journaux. Cette même année, ils créent l'Association d' Union et d'Entraide Tcherkesse (Çerkes İttihad ve Teavun Cemiyeti) qui publie, de 1911 à 1913, un journal intitulé *Guaze* ("le guide" en adyghe) en langues turque et adyghe. Ce club, où se côtoient une pléiade de généraux, des professions libérales, des intellectuels et des étudiants tcherkesses, et son organe d'expression, développent une idéologie -le "circassianisme" ou en turc *çerkeslik* -prônant à la fois, contre l'assimilation, la préservation (voire la redécouverte) de l'identité circassienne en exil et la libération militaire d'un Caucase du Nord qui deviendrait indépendant. L'idée du retour, à terme, sur les terres des ancêtres, apparaît comme un devoir sacré. En 1914, est fondée l'Association de Diffusion de l'Education au sein des Caucasiens à Istanbul (Istanbul'da Kafkasyalilar Arasında Nesr-i Maarif Cemiyeti) et 1918 voit naître l'Association d'Entraide des Femmes Tcherkesses (Çerkes Kadınlari Teavun Cemiyeti)¹⁴ qui publie après-guerre une revue, *Diyane* ("notre mère" en adyghe), elle aussi en turc et en adyghe. Ces deux associations sont très significatives, car elles témoignent de la "modernité" d'une communauté qui vivait quelques décennies auparavant dans le cadre d'une société rurale et montagnarde traditionnelle du Caucase du Nord. Elles renvoient au souci, on pourrait presque dire à l'obsession, d'éducation, d'instruction, de pédagogie de ces immigrés, qui vont jusqu'à envoyer, en 1910-1912, des équipes d'enseignants tcherkesses dans le Caucase du Nord-Ouest pour y fonder des écoles. La deuxième association, qui a à son actif la création de la première et seule école

primaire tcherkesse (Çerkes Örnek İlkokulu) de Turquie¹⁵, fait partie des nombreuses sociétés de femmes créées à partir de 1908, dans la mouvance du Comité Union et Progrès, et luttant pour l'émancipation féminine .

Pendant la première guerre mondiale, les Tcherkesses sur-représentés dans les milieux militaires ottomans, se montrent actifs sur tous les fronts et en particulier à l'est contre l'armée russe. Caressant un temps le rêve de voir leur programme politique devenir réalité, ils doivent y renoncer après-guerre. Ils jouent néanmoins encore un rôle important, dans la guerre d'Indépendance qui déchire alors l'Empire ottoman. On les retrouve autant chez les partisans du padishah que du côté des Kemalistes¹⁶. Parmi ceux qui sont attachés à la légitimité du Sultan, il y a d'abord des militaires (soulèvement d'Anzavour Ahmet dans l'été 1919), mais aussi de nombreux Tcherkesses de l'Anatolie du Nord-ouest (soulèvements à Bolu, Adapazarı et Düzce en 1920) et du centre (émeutes à Yozgat en 1920). Aux cotés de Mustafa Kemal, on trouve des hommes tels que Rauf Bey, fils d'un amiral circassien, héros de la première guerre mondiale et chef de la délégation turque à l'armistice de Moudros, ou Bekir Sami Bey (Koundoukhov). Ce dernier, Ossète, fils d'un général de l'armée russe ayant émigré dans l'Empire ottoman et servi lors du siège de Kars en 1878, est un ancien diplomate et gouverneur de Van, Bursa, Trabzon, Beyrouth et Alep. Par l'intermédiaire de Rauf Bey, Kemal a gagné l'appui de bandes armées tcherkesses commandées par trois frères : Rashid, Tawfik et Ethem, fils d'un fermier de la région de Balikesir. Les bandes de Çerkes Ethem offrent aux Kemalistes une aide militaire précieuse contre les Grecs mais aussi pour mater les révoltes... circassiennes de Düzce et Yozgat. A la suite de désaccords profonds avec les Kemalistes qui se méfient de sa puissance militaire et de son prestige, Çerkes Ethem entre en conflit ouvert avec l'armée régulière et finit par s'enfuir en Grèce en janvier 1921. La figure de Çerkes Ethem devient dès lors, et jusqu'à nos jours, dans le discours politique et l'historiographie officielle turque le traître par excellence¹⁷. Les Circassiens du nord-ouest de l'Anatolie sont punis collectivement pour les révoltes de 1920 et la "trahison" de Çerkes Ethem ; de nombreux villages sont "nettoyés" dans la région de Balikesir à partir de 1920 ; et surtout en août 1923 le gouvernement turc se livre à la déportation de populations de quatorze villages circassiens du Nord-ouest (régions de Biga et Manyas) vers l'Est de l'Anatolie pour les punir d'avoir collaboré avec l'occupant grec et abrité des hors-la-loi. En réalité, les Circassiens ne représentent qu'une infime partie des hors-la-loi, mais les villages turcs sont néanmoins épargnés par ces mesures de déportations discriminatoires. Devant le tollé provoqué par ces mesures, on annule la déportation prévue de la population de trente autres villages et l'on revient sur les premières déportations en autorisant finalement le retour des villageois¹⁸. Quant aux associations et à l'école primaire tcherkesse, elles sont toutes supprimées en cette même année 1923. La leçon est bien comprise par les Tcherkesses de Turquie qui n'opposent désormais plus de résistance à la politique d'assimilation de l'Etat nation turc.

Footnotes

¹ On emploiera ici indifféremment "Caucasiens du Nord-ouest", "Circassiens" ou "Tcherkesses" pour désigner l'ensemble formé par toutes les tribus nord caucasiennes de langue adyghe, et leurs cousins linguistiques Abkhazes et Oubykhs. Comme il est précisé dans le cours de cet article, un emploi extensif et

abusif des deux derniers termes en a fait des synonymes de Nord-caucasiens, incorporant les régions du Centre et de l'Est du Nord Caucase.

² Pour ce qui concerne cet exode, on doit d'abord se reporter à PINSON (1970), travail fondateur effectué essentiellement à partir d'une documentation russe. On consultera le chapitre III ("Russian expulsion of mountaineers from the Caucasus, 1856-1866, and his historical background"). On trouvera par ailleurs dans BERZEG (1995) des références historiographiques soviétiques non recensées par PINSON :

- G. A. DZAGUROV, *Pereselenii gortsev v Turtsiyu* (L'émigration des Montagnards en Turquie), Rostov-sur-le-Don, 1925.

- M. S. TOTOEV, *K voprosu o pereselenii Osetin v Turtsiyu (1859-1865)* (Questions liées à l'émigration des Ossètes en Turquie (1859-1865), Izvestiya Severo-Osetinskogo naučno issledovateskogo instituta, T. XIII, Vip. 1, Seriya Istoriceskaya, Odjornikidzé, 1948.

- Kh. O. LAYPANOV, *K istorii pereseleniya gortsev Severnogo Kavkaza v Turtsiyu* (Histoire de l'émigration en Turquie des Montagnards du Caucase du Nord), Irudi Karaçaevo-Çerkesskogo naučno issledovatelskogo instituta yazyka i literaturi, Vip. V, Seriya Istoreçeskaya, Stravopol, 1966.

- Georgiy A. DZIDARIYA, *Makhacirstvo i problemi istorii Abkhazii XIX stoletiya* ("l'Hégire" et les problèmes historiques de l'Abkhazie au XIXe siècle), Editions Alashara, Sohum, 1982.

On regardera aussi avec profit les travaux de KARPAT (1985), en particulier les pages 65 à 70, et TUTUM (1995) qui s'appuient sur des sources diplomatiques britanniques et HABIÇOGLU (1993) pour les sources ottomanes (archives et presse).

³ Pour l'émigration circassienne dans les Balkans, se reporter à PINSON (1972).

⁴ Pour visualiser cette "ligne" verticale et la diagonale S-O / N-E que tracent les villages tcherkesses dans les Balkans voir la carte présentée par ÖZBEK (1991), p. 163.

⁵ Cf DUMONT (1975), p. 119, 127-128.

⁶ Cf. TOLEDANO (1980), *passim* et le témoignage d'OSMANOGLU (198), p. 21-22.

⁷ La volumineuse littérature sur le Harem a fort bien diffusé ce stéréotype; à titre d'exemple on peut lire dans HANOUM (1991), pp. 50-71, le passage intitulé "les esclaves circassiennes", qui esquisse un portrait physique et moral des belles circassiennes.

⁸ Sur les Circassiens à la période mamelouke, cf. AYALON (1961), p. 24-25.

⁹ Cf. le témoignage du médecin BAROZZI (1864) sur les conditions sanitaires d'accueil des émigrés circassiens sur la côte turque de la mer Noire.

¹⁰ Sur l'implantation des Circassiens venus des Balkans en Syrie, cf. KARPAT(1980).

¹¹ Concernant la très intéressante question des emprunts et échanges linguistiques intervenus dans les villages d'immigrés nord caucasiens en Turquie, je ne peux que renvoyer aux très nombreux travaux du "maître" Georges DUMEZIL et de ses disciples Catherine PARIS et Georges CHARACHIDZE.

¹² Cf. HÜTTEROTH (1968) , pp. 159-161, pour le type idéal de village d'immigré des Balkans ou du Caucase.

¹³ Cf. AND(1987) , p. 73 (pour le *muhacir* des Balkans), p. 75 (pour le Tcherkesse) et GÖKTAŞ(1992) p. 109 et reproduction 24 (pour le Tcherkesse) et p. 121 et reproduction25 (pour le *muhacir* des Balkans).

¹⁴ Cf. Archives du MAE (Nantes), Constantinople, Affaires arméniennes(Sivas-Trébizonde), dossiers thématiques, 1897-1898,*passim*

¹⁵ On trouvera dans BERZEG (1985), pp. 5-31, les statuts de ces associations ainsi que quelques renseignements Cf aussi AYDEMIR (1991), p. 120-122, et BERZEG(1995),*passim*.

¹⁶ Cf. AYDEMIR (1991), p.123 et BERZEG(1995),*passim*

¹⁷ Cf. BERZEG(1990),*passim*

¹⁸ On ne mentionnera pas ici la copieuse littérature parue en Turquie , de qualité d'ailleurs fort médiocre en général, et qui brode autour du thème de la trahison de Çerkes Ethem et de ses frères . Mais pour avoir une idée du "révisionnisme" qui touche désormais l'histoire officielle kémaliste, on peut consulter le très utile volume intitulé *Çerkesler basında* ("les Tcherkesses dans la presse"), paru en 1993 et qui recense tous les articles parus dans la presse turque entre le début 1988 et août 1992, qui traite des Nord Caucasiens. On trouvera à la p. 330 de l'index une liste des articles parus sur Çerkes Ethem

¹⁹Sur ce terrible événement qui traumatisa pour longtemps les communautés tcherkesses du Nord-ouest de l'Anatolie, nous avons une source de premier plan à notre disposition : il s'agit d'une série de plaidoyers envoyés à l'époque à l'Assemblée Nationale Turque par un des plus prestigieux et respectés idéologues du "circassianisme" (Çerkescilik), Mehmet Fetgerey Şoenu. Cf ŞOENU (1993). Sur ce personnage, on peut se reporter aux notices figurant dans AYDEMIR (1991), pp. 15-17 et BERZEG(1995), pp. 232-234.

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