Studies in West Circassian Phonology and Morphology
STUDIES IN WEST CIRCASSIAN PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor in de letteren aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, Dr. A.H.H. Kassenaar, hoogleraar in de faculteit der geneeskunde, volgens besluit van het college van dekenen te verdedigen op dinsdag 27 november, te klokke 14.15 uur door Henricus Joannes Smeets, geboren te Maastricht in 1946.

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PREFACE

This book is a contribution to the study of Circassian, a West Caucasian language.

The description focuses on the language of a group of Circassians in Anatolian Turkey living in and around the town of Düzce. They speak a form of Shapsug, a West Circassian dialect. The Düzce Shapsug data were collected both in Turkey and in the Netherlands. I spent three periods of a month doing fieldwork in Turkey. My main informant was a now 56-year-old man who had lived in the Netherlands for years. Data he provided were constantly checked with his family and other members of the Düzce community. I am very grateful to him and his relatives for their unselfish help and for their hospitality.

The Introduction, the first of the four parts of this book, gives an ethnolinguistic survey of the languages of the Caucasus and offers a short exploration of the West Caucasian linguistic type; the final section of the Introduction places this work within the larger framework of the study of West Caucasian languages as a whole.

Part 2, Phonology, presents, in five chapters, a phonology and morphophonology of Düzce Shapsug. Chapters 1, 2 and 5 mainly provide data, and chapters 3 and 4 are primarily concerned with analysis.

Part 3, Morphology, consists of a synchronic (chapter 6) and a diachronic (chapter 7) study of the expression of negation in Circassian.

Part 4 (chapters 8-11) offers four adapted versions of articles
which have appeared or will appear elsewhere (see References).

Presentation of material and terminology have been adapted where necessary. Chapters 8 and 9 also deal with morphology, chapter 8 with the expression of possession and chapter 9 with the indication of direction and location. Chapter 10 discusses a few developments in Shapsug consonant systems and chapter 11 presents a religious Düze Shapsug text.

The References and the Abbreviations/Conventions cover all chapters. In addition, chapters 8-11 are each accompanied by a list of abbreviations. The Introduction and each chapter are followed by a set of notes. The four parts of this volume, and also the chapters making up part 4, can be read as studies in their own right. This explains why there is a certain amount of overlap in the introductory sections and notes of some chapters.

I am indebted to Colin Ewen for correcting the English of the manuscript, Koos 't Hoen for parts of the English translation, proof-reading and general logistic support, Jean-Robert Smeets for the French translation of chapter 8, Jan Timmers for his meticulous proofreading and editorial assistance, Marianne Boere for typing parts of the book, Ineke Smeets for proofreading, Arie Speksnijder for drawing the first two maps, and Mark Smeets for his patience.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CoINS</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>confirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONF</td>
<td>ending coordinating NPs (Shapsug: -re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoNu</td>
<td>ending coordinating predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoPN</td>
<td>two or more sequences CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoPr</td>
<td>downwards (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAI</td>
<td>Dumezil (1960) (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAI III</td>
<td>Dumezil (1965) (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>Dagestan (Tian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darg.</td>
<td>Dargva (EC language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite (article, ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des.</td>
<td>ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOWN</td>
<td>downwards (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPR</td>
<td>Kuipers (1975) (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUSHP</td>
<td>Shapsug of Duzce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dy</td>
<td>dynamic (verb class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dy/1</td>
<td>first dynamic (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dy/2</td>
<td>second dynamic (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyn.</td>
<td>dynamic (affix; Abkhaz, Dubykh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST</td>
<td>the whole of the East Circassian dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>East Caucasian / East Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>elative (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic (-coordinating ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXH</td>
<td>exhaustive (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExV</td>
<td>extrovert (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu/1</td>
<td>first future (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu/2</td>
<td>second future (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAI</td>
<td>Grammatika abxazskogo jazyka (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo.</td>
<td>Georgian (SC language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorg.</td>
<td>Geo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germ.</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GeSSR</td>
<td>Georgian SSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKSLJ</td>
<td>Grammatika kabardino-terkesskogo literaturnogo jazyka (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GnSHP</td>
<td>Genceli Shapsug (Chapter 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>hither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HKSHP</td>
<td>Hakuchi Shapsug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>illative (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>imperfect (suffix / enclitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ing.</td>
<td>Ingush (EC language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>InsCo</td>
<td>instrumental connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interrogative (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTE</td>
<td>intensive (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>InV</td>
<td>introvert (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io</td>
<td>indirect object (personal prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J-A</td>
<td>Jakovlev-Ashxamov (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAB</td>
<td>Kabardian (EAST dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>Kalmyk (Mongolian language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kar.</td>
<td>Karaim (Turkic language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaz.</td>
<td>Kazakh (Turkic language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-B</td>
<td>K-Balk. - Karachay-Balkar (Turkic language(s))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-Ch.</td>
<td>Karachay-Cherkess (AO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRS</td>
<td>Kabardinsk-o-russkij slovar' (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kum.</td>
<td>Kumyk (Turkic language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LiAD</td>
<td>Literary Adyghe (West Circassian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LiKAB</td>
<td>Literary Kabardian (East Circassian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modal (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSD</td>
<td>masdar / verbal noun (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/1</td>
<td>first (attributive) negation (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/2</td>
<td>second (predicative) negation (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>negation (affix; Dubykh, Abkhaz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NeINT</td>
<td>negative interrogative (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>main informant of DUSHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.-O</td>
<td>North-west</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NoFW</th>
<th>not forwards (directional suffix)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nog.</td>
<td>Nogay (Turkic language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalising suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NuCO</td>
<td>numeral connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occid.</td>
<td>western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKD</td>
<td>Oktik kabadino-cherkesskoy dialektologii (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>io</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oss.</td>
<td>Ossete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dub.</td>
<td>Oubiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural (after &quot;1&quot;, &quot;2&quot;, &quot;3&quot;: in translations, indicating plurality of &quot;you&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>goal/patient (actant with transitive forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>participial (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfect (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>plural (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUPF</td>
<td>pluperfect (sequence of endings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO</td>
<td>preverb object (personal prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pos.</td>
<td>position/slot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Possession (preverb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot/1</td>
<td>first potential (preverb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot/2</td>
<td>second potential (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>possessive (personal prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>any resonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAS</td>
<td>Russko-adygejski slovar' (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>iterative-reparative (&quot;as previously, again&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>reflexive (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-K</td>
<td>Rogava-Keraševa (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-sequence</td>
<td>consonant sequence containing at least one resonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru.</td>
<td>Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>the single actant with an intransitive form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sb.</td>
<td>somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>South Caucasian/South Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEM</td>
<td>semelfactive (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>sing. - singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHP</td>
<td>Shapsug (WEST dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>subject-predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sth.</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>SB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-</td>
<td>subordinated</td>
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<tr>
<td>subst.</td>
<td>substantive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff-dér</td>
<td>derivational suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>any obstruent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tab.</td>
<td>Tabasaran (EC language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcn.</td>
<td>tcherk. - Circassian</td>
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<td>T-C</td>
<td>Turčaninov-Cagov (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEM</td>
<td>Tem. - Temirboy (WEST dialect)</td>
</tr>
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<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporary (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th</td>
<td>thither (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToCL</td>
<td>closely towards (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToQU</td>
<td>quickly towards (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop.</td>
<td>total population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>trans. - transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSAJ</td>
<td>Tolkovyj slovar' adygejskogo jazyka (see &quot;References&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu.</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukr.</td>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNINT</td>
<td>unintentional (preverb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW</td>
<td>upwards (directional suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>any vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>any vowel but a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>voluntative (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voy.</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vser</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>West Caucasus / West Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WC</td>
<td>Common West Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST</td>
<td>the whole of the West Circassian dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>1st person plural (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2nd person plural (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3rd person plural (prefix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONVENTIONS**

I present here the conventions I use for the presentation and analysis of Circassian material.

Surface words are presented in a transcription which is almost phonemic. Occasionally morphophonemic considerations have been taken into account (cf. §§ 1.2.3, 1.3.2, 1.3.5, 1.3.6, 4.6.4).

// - phonemic slashes are only used when there is a special reason to do so.

[] - phonetic transcriptions are given between the usual square brackets. The phonetic transcription is rather broad. For the transcription of vowels, see § 1.4.2.

Titles of publications that were unavailable to me are put in square brackets (cf. Smirnova under "References").

- Circassian material is normally underlined, but not when cited between slashes or square brackets; e.g.

\[\text{\underline{s\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}g\text{\`a}}}} /\text{s\text{\`e}l\text{\`a}g\text{\`a}}/ [\text{\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}g\text{\`a}}]

- indicates stress; stress can be variable (§ 1.5.2); it is indicated on all syllables that can be stressed; e.g.

\[\text{\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}r} \quad [\text{\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}r}], \text{ i.e. } [\text{\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}r}] \text{ or } [\text{\`a}l\text{\`e}r] \]

[i], [y] stand for pronunciations that vary from full-fledged resonants to hardly noticeable glides.

- indicates palatality with plain palatal obstruents and with plain velar plosives. In § 1.4.5 it is used to indicate rising pitch.
- indicates the release of a consonant not followed by a vowel (§ 1.3.4).
- indicates length with vowels and absence of aspiration with consonants.
- links words occurring in close combination, for instance clitics are linked by means of this symbol with forms they are dependent on.
- in principle, the constituent morphemes of a word are separated from each other, either by a hyphen (free combinations) or by a dot (fixed combinations);
  e.g.
  s-æ xe-ø ə-ø; thek-ame-kena 'long ear', thek-ame-kena 'hare'
Dots are also used in combinations of the cranberry type.

\[f\]

- when used in words, and occasionally also when cited in isolation, stem-prefixes are provided with a raised number.
The number indicates the slot to which the prefix belongs (cf. § 2.1.3).
  e.g.
  s\[f\]x\[f\]æ xe-ø ə-ø

\[f\]

- zero-morphs are usually not indicated in parts 2, 3 and 4; in the introduction they are normally indicated;
  ø-ø\[f\]æ xe-ø ə-ø

\[f\]

- Circassian forms are usually followed by a translation. The translations are normally placed between single quotation marks. Literal or approximate translations are often given between double quotation marks;
  e.g.
  psæ.ne 'well' ("water.eye").

(s)he - Circassian pronouns and personal prefixes do not distinguish classes; normally I give just one of the various possible English renderings.

\(\)\)

Circassian forms are often followed (between round brackets) by their morpheme inventory. These inventories present, by means of glosses or translations, the constituent morphemes of the forms in question. Zero-morphs are represented by underlined glosses. The hyphens I use in the inventories run parallel with the hyphens occurring in the corresponding surface forms.
  e.g.
  s\[f\]æ xe-ø ə-ø (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it' ['saw it']

\[f\]

Circassian words are occasionally followed by their underlying form. Underlying forms are presented between plusses; they are underlined. The constituent morphemes are represented by their (appropriate) basic morph (see chapter 3, pasing).
  e.g.
  s\[f\]æ xe-ø ə-ø +ø-s-æ xe-ø ə-ø+ (the base is separated from prefixes and suffixes/ending by blanks).

\[f\]

The symbols for the morphophonemes are the same as those used in the surface transcription, with one exception: the additional symbol ø. This symbol represents instances of the mid vowel that never change to ø (§ 4.5.1).
  this symbol indicates the right-hand boundary of the stem in underlying forms, see § 4.5.1 (for "stem" and "base", see § 2.1.2).
the symbol \( \downarrow \) indicates the right-hand boundary of the domain of the e/a-alternation in cases when this boundary does not coincide with the right-hand boundary of the stem (in underlying form).

\[ \] indicates the left- or right-hand boundary of a word.

verbs are occasionally provided with an index (between square brackets) which contains at least the figure 1. The index indicates (a) that the preceding element is a verb, (b) the minimal number and the grammatical functions of the personal prefixes that obligatorily occur in S-forms derived from that specific verb, (c) if necessary - obligatory fillers of specific slots, (d) the dynamic (no marker) or stative (ST) character of the verb in question.

e.g.
\[ \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \ [1-6] \] 'to see' ('6 sees 1': the actant referred to in slot 6 sees the actant referred to in slot 1).

e.g.
\[ w\varepsilon 1 \downarrow \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon -\text{st} \] (2/SB-1/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'I will see you'
('of you / by me / seeing / will be the case')

+\[ w\varepsilon - \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon -\text{sta}+. \]

abc... - the alphabetical order used throughout is (compare the chart in § 1.1.2):

\[ a, e, a, (i, o, u, ū), p, b, \ddot{p}, f, \ddot{f}, r, t, d, \ddot{t}, \ddot{c}, c, \ddot{c}, s, z, į, s, ĭ, ĭ, ħ, \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}, s, \ddot{s}, \ddot{z}, \ddot{z}, \ddot{z}, z, ŷ, λ, 1, 1, k, g, ĵ, x, ĵ, k, k, g, k, g, k, g, k, q, x, ĵ, q, q, x, g, 30.

In the Introduction and in chapter 7, I have used some Oubyn and Abkhaz material; the presentation of that material is in accordance with the above. In the Introduction I am more explicit than in the later parts of this book; for instance, zero-morphs are usually indicated in the forms themselves in the Introduction. The analysis of Oubyn and Abkhaz material is largely Dumézil's (Oubyn: Dumézil 1975, Abkhaz: Dumézil 1967).
1. The Caucasus

The Caucasus is the mountainous region in the south of the Soviet Union which is situated between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and which borders in the south on Turkey and Iran. In the north, along an axis running from north-west to south-east, the Caucasus is intersected by the Great Caucasus (Bol'oj Kavkaz), a mountain chain which, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, was practically uncrossable. To the south lies the Little Caucasus (Malyj Kavkaz), which encompasses the Armenian highland.

Transcaucasia, the territory south of the Great Caucasus watershed, is divided into three republics: the Georgian, the Azerbaydzhan and the Armenian SSR (see map 2). Virtually the whole region north of the watershed forms part of the RSFSR, the largest of the 15 Union Republics of the USSR. The division of the USSR is based partly on geographic-economic and partly on ethnic principles. Some Union Republics are subdivided
along similar lines. In the Caucasus we find ASSRs (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics) and AOs (Autonomous Regions, avtonomnye oblasti) as lower administrative units serving compact ethnic groups.

Approximately every ten years a census is carried out in the USSR. Below I give a population statistics survey of the SSRs, the ASSRs and the AOs of the Caucasus area, taken from the 1970 and 1979 censuses. For each of the units I present the total number of inhabitants, indicating the proportions of the various ethnic groups. As will become apparent, the 1970 and 1979 census data at my disposal are not equally detailed for all of the ethnic groups concerned.¹)

One should bear in mind that a speaker's first language need not necessarily be the language connected with his nationality. The language retention of a number of the peoples of the region is commented upon in section 3.

[The following abbreviations will be used:

- Abkh. - Abkhaz
- Ad. - Adyghe
- Azer. - Azerbaydzhan
- Arm. - Armenian
- Balk. - Balkar
- Chech. - Chechen
- Cher. - Cherkes
- Dag. - Dagestan
- Darg. - Dargva
- Geo. - Georgian
- Ing. - Ingush
- Kab. - Kabardian
- Kalm. - Kalmyk
- Kaz. - Kazakh
- Kum. - Krumy
- Nog. - Nogay
- Oss. - Ossete
- Russ. - Russian
- Tab. - Tabasaran
- Ukr. - Ukrainian]

Armenian SSR (29,800 km²)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,491,873</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3,037,000</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

¹) The 1970 and 1979 census data are not equally detailed for all of the ethnic groups concerned.
²) Data not available.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1979</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgian SSR (69,700 km²)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abkhaz ASSR (8,600 km²)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adzhar ASSR (3,000 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Geo. Russ. Arm. Greek Ukr. others</td>
<td>76.5 11.6 5.0</td>
<td>309,768</td>
<td>354,224</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>South-Ossete AO (3,900 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Oss. Geo. Russ.</td>
<td>66.5 28.3 2.0</td>
<td>99,421</td>
<td>98,000</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Azerbaydzhan SSR (86,600 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Azer. Arm. Russ. Lezgi Avar Jew Tatar Ukr. others</td>
<td>73.8 9.5 10.0</td>
<td>5,117,081</td>
<td>6,026,515</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain-Karabakh AO (4,400 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Arm. Azer. Russ.</td>
<td>80.5 18.1 0.9</td>
<td>150,313</td>
<td>153,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RSFSR - ASSRs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabard-Balkar ASSR (12,500 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Ossete ASSR (8,000 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Oss. Russ. Ing. Arm. Geo. Ukr. Kum. others</td>
<td>48.7 36.6 3.3 2.4 1.9 1.7 1.2 4.2</td>
<td>552,581</td>
<td>592,002</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chechen-Ingush ASSR (19,300 km²)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Chech. Russ. Ing. Arm. Ukr. Kum. Nog. Avar</td>
<td>47.8 34.5 10.7 1.4 1.2</td>
<td>1,064,471</td>
<td>1,155,805</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dagestan ASSR (50,300 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot.pop. Avar Darg. Kum. Russ. Lezgi Lak Tab. Azer.</td>
<td>24.5 14.5 11.8 14.7 11.4 5.1</td>
<td>1,426,540</td>
<td>1,628,159</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalmyk ASSR (75,900 km²)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36

37
ISFSR - A0s

Adyghe A0 (7,600 km²)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>tot. pop.</th>
<th>Russ.</th>
<th>Adyghe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>385,644</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>405,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Karachay-Cherkes A0 (14,100 km²)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>tot. pop.</th>
<th>Kar.</th>
<th>Cher.</th>
<th>Abaza</th>
<th>Nogay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>344,651</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>380,000</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I do not have available detailed 1979 figures for A0s; what is available to me are the 1970 and 1979 figures presenting the overall numbers of ethnic Karachay, Cherkes and Adyghe living in the whole of the USSR. I give these figures below, adding between round brackets the 1970 numbers of Karachay and Cherkes living in the Karachay-Cherkes (K-Ch.) A0 and of Adyghe living in the Adyghe (Ad.) A0:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Karachay (K-Ch.A0)</th>
<th>Cherkes (K-Ch.A0)</th>
<th>Adyghe (Ad.A0)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>113,000 (97,000)</td>
<td>40,000 (31,000)</td>
<td>100,000 (81,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>131,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>109,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. A Survey of the Languages of the Area

Not all languages spoken in the Caucasus area are Caucasian languages. Only the languages indigenous to the region are called Caucasian, or Ibero-Caucasian (or Palaeo-Caucasian). Languages which were demonstrably imported into the region, at some point in the course of the last three millennia, are considered as non-indigenous.

There are three groups of Caucasian languages, a South (Kartvelian) group and, further to the north, a West (Abkhazo-Adyghe) and an East (Nakh-Dagestan) group. Some scholars distinguish four groups: instead of one single East group, they present a North-central (Nakh) and a North-east (Dagestan) group.

For any of the three groups, the genetic relationship between the member languages within the group concerned is beyond doubt. The Caucasian languages differ considerably from group to group. There is every reason to speak of three Caucasian linguistic types. It is taken for granted by a number of scholars - especially Soviet - that all Caucasian languages are genetically related. However, the genetic relationship between the three, or, indeed, between any two of the groups, has never been firmly established.

The reconstruction of common languages has as yet not made enough progress to allow comparison to take place; the greatest progress has been made in the reconstruction of Common Kartvelian. Comparison of reconstructed Caucasian material with non-Caucasian languages is tempting but premature. Comparison of individual present-day Caucasian languages with non-Caucasian languages can be relevant only from a typological point of view; it is methodologically unsound if it aims at establishing genetic relations.

Below I give two surveys: the first presents the Caucasian languages group by group, the second lists the non-Caucasian languages of the area. I use for all languages in question (except Kabartian and Adyghe) the same designations as Comrie/Hewitt (1981). For each language I list at least the (or a) Russian name, the (main) area where it is spoken and - insofar as the data were available - some (mostly 1979 and 1970) figures.
Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus:

A. South Caucasian or Kartvelian Languages (SC)

1. Georgian (gruzinskij), GeSSR, 3,671,000 (3,245,000).7)
2. Svan (svanskij), NW GeSSR, ca. 43,000.8)
3. Mingrelian (megreli'skij), W GeSSR, ca. 400,000.9)
4. Laz/Chan (laiskij/zanskiij), the village of Sarpi in the
   Adzhhar ASSR, a few hundred; possibly ca. 50,000
   in NE Turkey.

3 and 4 are referred to as Zan (zanskiij) by those consider-

B. West Caucasian or Abkhazo-Adyghe Languages (WC)

5. Abkhaz (abxazskij), Abkhaz ASSR, 91,000 (83,000).
6. Abaza (abazinskij), Karachay-Cherkes AO, 29,000
   (25,000).
7. Oubykh (ubyxskij), there are no speakers of Oubykh in
   the USSR.

8. West Circassian/Adyghe (adygejskij), Adyghe AO, 109,000
   (100,000).
9. East Circassian/Kabardian (kabardinskij, kabardino-cherkess-
   skij): Kabard-Balkar ASSR, 322,000 (280,000);
   Karachay-Cherkes AO, 46,000 (40,000).

In view of their territorial dispersal, the Abkhaz and Aba-
za are officially considered as two peoples, and their lan-
guage as two languages (there are two literary languages).

Linguistically, the Abkhaz and Abaza dialects can be taken
together as constituting one language: Abkhaz. Abkhaz pro-
per consists of two dialects, the southern Abzhuy-Samurza-
kan and the northern Bzyb dialect. Abaza has two
dialects as well: Tapanta and Askhar. Askhar is closer to
the dialects of Abkhaz proper than to Tapanta. Tapanta is
the basis of literary Abaza, whilst Abzhuy, which is phono-
logically simpler than Bzyb, is the basis of literary Ab-
khaz.

Oubykh ceased to be spoken in the Caucasus about 120 years
ago (see the next section).

Officially, there are two Circassian languages and three
Circassian peoples in the Soviet Union. The three peoples
are (a) the Adyghe (adygejcy), who mostly live in the Adyghe
AO (1970: 81 pc.), (b) the Kabardians (kabardincy), i.e.
the East Circassians living within the Kabard-Balkar ASSR,
(c) the Cherkes (čerkessy), i.e. the East Circassians that
live outside the Kabard-Balkar ASSR.10) There are two
literary languages: literary Adyghe, serving the West Cir-
cassians, and literary Kabardian, serving the East Circa-
sians living in the Kabard-Balkar ASSR and those living in
the Karachay-Balkar AO.

Linguistically, the Circassian dialects constitute one lan-
guage: Circassian. The dialect division of Circassian is
as follows:

West Circassian Bzhedug, Shapsug (western West Circ.)
   Abadzekh, Temirgoy (eastern West Circ.)

East Circassian Besleney (western East Circ.)
   Kabardian (eastern East Circ.)

Kabardian can be subdivided as follows:

West Kabardian: Kuban KAB (Adyghe AO), Kuban-Zelenchuk KAB
   (Karachay-Cherkes AO).
Central Kabardian: Baksan KAB (Great Kabardia: north-east and north-central of the Kabard-Balkar ASSR; Malka KAB (a small group in the N of Great Kabardia).

East Kabardian: Terek KAB (in the E of the Kabard-Balkar ASSR), Mozdok KAB (Stavropol'skij Krai).

C. East Caucasian or Nakh-Dagestan Languages (EC)

[Nakh group]

0. Chechen (chećenskij), Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 756,000 (613,00).
11. Ingush (ingušskij), Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 186,000 (158,000).
12. Bats (babczijskij), N GeSSR, ca. 3,000.

[Dagestan: Avar-Andi-Dido group]

13. Avar (avariskij), N Dagestan ASSR, 483,000 (396,000).

[Andi languages, Dagestan ASSR, W of Avar]

14. Andi (andijskij) 18 Bagval (bagvalinskij)
15. Karata (karatinskij) 19 Chamalal (camalinskij)
16. Akhvakh (axvaxskij) 20 Botlikh (botlixskij)
17. Tindi (tindinskij) 21 Godoberi (godoberinskij).

The Andi languages had about 35,000 speakers in 1970; no exact figures are available. Andi has the largest number of speakers (ca. 9,000), the others numbering between 3,000 and 5,000 (Isaev 1970:164ff.).

The Tokita dialect of Karata differs considerably from Karata proper. 17 and 18 are considered by some scholars as forming one language; the same holds for 20 and 21.

[Dido languages, Dagestan ASSR, S of the Andi group]

22. Dido/Tsez (didojskij/cezskij)
23. Khvarsh (xvaršinskij)
24. Bezhti/Kapuch (bež(t)inskijskij/kapučinskijskij).

The total number of speakers of Dido languages was about 11,000 speakers in 1970; Isaev (1970:166) gives the following figures: 22: 7,000, 23: 1,000, 24: 2,500, 25: 600, 26: 200.

24 and 25 are also presented as one language.

[Dagestan: Lak-Dargva group]

27. Lak (lakskij), Dagestan ASSR, 100,000 (86,000).
28. Dargva (darginskij), Dagestan ASSR, 287,000 (231,000).
29. Kubachi (kubačinskijskij), Dagestan ASSR, ca. 5,000.

29 is generally presented as a dialect of 28.

[Dagestan: Lezgi group]

30. Lezgi (lezginskij), Dagestan ASSR, 383,000 (324,000).
31. Tabasaran (tabasaranjskij), Dagestan ASSR, 75,000 (57,000).
32. Rutul (rutul'skj), Dagestan ASSR, 15,000 (12,000).
33. Agul (agul'skij), Dagestan ASSR, 12,000 (8,800).
34. Archi (arčinskijskij), Dagestan ASSR, ca. 1,000.
35. Tsakhur (czazurskij), S Dagestan ASSR and N AzSSR, 14,000 (11,000).
36. Kryz (kryzskij), N AzSSR, ca. 6,000.
37. Udi (udinskijskij), NE GeSSR, N AzSSR, ca. 7,000.
38. Budukh (buduxskij), N AzSSR, ca. 1,000.
39. Khinalug (xinalugskij), N AzSSR, ca. 1,000.

Both 34 and 39 have an isolated position within the Lezgi (?)
The following indigenous languages of the Caucasus have literary status:

SC: Georgian.

WC: Abkhaz (twice), Circassian (twice).

EC: Chechen, Ingush; Avar; Lak, Dargva; Lezgi, Tabasaran; 2, 3, 4 and 12 use Georgian as their literary language. The Andi and Dido (14-26) have Avar as their literary language; many speakers of these languages are bilingual (X plus Avar). 32 and 35 use Azerbaydzhan or Lezgi, 33 only Lezgi, 34 Avar, 36, 38 and 39 Azerbaydzhan, and 37 Georgian or Azerbaydzhan.

Non-indigenous Languages of the Caucasus

[Indo-European Languages]

40. Armenian (armjanskij), Armenian SSR, Mountain Karabakh AO, throughout the area, 4,151,000 (3,559,000).

41. Ossete (osetinskij) [North-east Iranian], North-Ossete ASSR and South-Ossete AO, 542,000 (488,000).

42. Talysh (talyshskij) [North-west Iranian], AzSSR, 1931: ca. 90,000.18

43. Kurdish (kurdskij) [North-west Iranian], ArSSR, GeSSR, AzSSR, Turkmen SSR, 116,000 (89,000).

44. Tat (tatskij) [South-west Iranian], AzSSR, Dagestan ASSR, Nalchik (Kabard-Balkar ASSR), ca. 25,000.19

45. Russian; 46. Ukrainian; 47. Greek.

[Turkic]

48. Karachay-Balkar (karachaevo-balkarskij) [Ponto-Caspian Kipchak]; Karachay-Cherkes AO: 131,000 (113,000); Kabard-Balkar ASSR: 66,000 (60,000).

49. Nogay (nogajskij) [Uralo-Caspian Kipchak], N Dagestan ASSR, Stavropol'skij Krai, 60,000 (52,000).

50. Kumyk (kumykskij) [Ponto-Caspian Kipchak], N Dagestan ASSR, 228,000 (189,000).

51. Azerbaydzhan (azerbajdzanskij) [Oghuz], AzSSR, including the Nakhichevan ASSR, GeSSR, ArSSR, 5,477,000 (4,380,000).

[Mongolian]

52. Kalmyk (kalmyckij), Kalmyk ASSR, 147,000 (137,000).

[Semitic]

53. Aysor/Assyrian (assirijskij), Transcaucasian republics, 25,000 (24,000).

42 uses Azerbaydzhan, 43, 47 and 53 use different languages for writing. All others have literary status; from these, 44 also uses Azerbaydzhan.

3. The West Caucasus

Until the 1860s West Caucasian tribes formed the main ethnic element between Mozdok in theeast and the mouth of the Kuban in the west, and from the Great Caucasus in the south to the Kuban and the upper course of the Kuma in the north. They also constituted the entire population of the Black Sea coast from the mouth of the Kuban in the north to the river Ingur in the south. For the approximate distribution of WC peoples and tribes before 1850, see the map published by C. Paris (1974b:21), and Bell's 1841 map.

The presence of the West Caucasians in the area dates back to antiquity: there are no clues as to when or from where they moved to their Caucasian habitat. The same is true for the South
and East Caucasians. Archeologists do not see sudden changes in the history of the habitation of the area that could throw any light on this (cf. Krupnov 1960:378-397). Historical linguistics may make its contribution by trying to solve the question as to whether the languages of two or possibly all three groups were originally related.

Ancestors of the present-day West Caucasians were well known in antiquity (cf. Latyshev 1890; Dumézil 1965:15 and Paris 1974b:12ff.). The oldest non-indigenous neighbours of West Circassians were the Ossetes, descendants from the Scythian nomads who settled in the north-central Caucasus well before our era. The ethnogenesis of the Karachay-Balkar, other non-indigenous neighbours of West Caucasians, took place in the Caucasus by the end of the first millennium AD, mainly on the basis of Alan and Kipchak elements (cf. Narody Kavkaza I, 1960:68ff.).

The peoples of the north-west and a large part of the north-central Caucasus are in many ways homogeneous, despite their diversity of languages. Their anthropological type, social structure, manners and customs, and their oral tradition are very similar. The people were conscious of this unity and demonstrated it by calling themselves and each other Circassians. Nowadays, the Turkish term Çerkes (as used by the North Caucasians themselves) covers West Caucasians, Karachay, Ossetes and the East Caucasian Chechen, Ingush, Avar and Lezgi living in Turkey; the term definitely excludes the SC Georgians and Laz.

Around 1100, a part of the Circassian population, who until then had probably been living in one group, left the original habitat. Common Circassian had by this time already split up. The group that migrated south-east were to become ancestors of the present-day Kabardians. Together with the ancestors of the present-day Besney they had made up one dialect group, possibly in the south-east of the Circassian territory. Present-day Mozdok was as far east as these Circassians ultimately reached. Large groups settled in the regions that were later to be called Great and Little Kabardia. The Kabardians represent an amalgamation of Alan (North-east Iranian), Ponto-Caspian Kipchak and - above all - Circassian elements.

Well before 1500, at least two groups of Abkhaz split off, crossed the mountains and settled north-east of their original habitat along the upper courses of the Great and Little Zelenchuk and the Urup, all affluent of the Kuban (cf. Narody Kavkaza I, 1960:232). The present-day Abaza are descendants from these groups.

The southward expansion of Muscovite Russia began in the 16th century. By the end of the 18th century, the territories NW of the Circassians, including the Crimea, were under Russian control. Next came the Kabardian and Ossete territory in the north-central Caucasus. In 1801 Georgia became a province of Tsarist Russia.

In 1829, the Ottomans transferred sovereignty over the West Caucasian Black Sea coast to the Russian Empire, leaving the West Caucasians surrounded by the Russians on every side. It took the Russians 35 years of unrelenting war to subdue the West Caucasian peoples.

From the mid-century onward dramatic changes took place. The conquest of the West Caucasus by Tsarist Russia triggered mass emigration to the territories of the Ottoman Empire. This exodus was provoked by at least two factors: the West Caucasians - muslims - were invited by the Sultan to settle within the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and on the other Russia was only too glad to be able to dispose of its fierce opponents and potential rebels, the West
The Oubykh were the last to be subjugated: "Le 21 mai 1864, après le départ des derniers Oubykh, le grand-duc Michel, gouverneur général du Caucase, put annoncer officiellement à Saint-Pétersbourg la fin de la pacification." This quotation is taken from the moving account of the last 150 years of the history of the Oubykh published by Georges Dumézil (1965:30), to whom we thank most of what we know about the Oubykh people and their language.

The total number of West Caucasians in the Caucasus around 1850 is estimated at about one million (cf. Paris 1974b:16). More than half a million people (mostly West Caucasians) were involved in the exodus (Narody Kavkaza I 1960:99). Apart from virtually the entire Oubykh population, there were Abkhaz and Circassians from all tribes, and also other North Caucasians. The Circassians, especially the West Circassian Shapsug and Abadzekh, made up the greater part, but there must also have been fair numbers of Besny and Kabardians, and of Abkhaz proper. Apart from West Caucasians, there were also relatively small groups of Karachay, Nogay, Ossetes, Lezgi and Chechen involved.

Many people died as a result of the hardships during the exodus, badly prepared and exhausted as they were. At first, large groups were sent to the Balkans in order to help the Ottomans in the war they were losing to the rebelling Balkan peoples, who were supported by Russia. Ultimately, practically all emigrants from the Caucasus found a place scattered throughout the Asiatic areas of the Ottoman Empire. Nowadays we can find their descendants in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, and also - but only in very small numbers - in Yugoslavia.

All the Oubykh ultimately settled down in Anatolia. Apart from

a few isolated villages, there were conglomerates of Oubykh villages near Lake Sapanca (E of İzmit), in the neighbourhood of Manyas (W of Bursa), near Adana, in the Uzun Yayla region and in the vilayets of Samsun and Maraş. As before, in the Caucasus, the Oubykh in Turkey were surrounded by other West Circassians, and they continued their -linguistic- assimilation to these. There are many Circassians all over Turkey who claim to be Oubykh.

There is, in all probability, only one speaker of Oubykh left, the now 80 year old Tevfik Eseç, who has been Dumézil's collaborator and informant for almost 30 years, and to whom we thank more than half of the texts that constitute the Oubykh literature. He is an Oubykh from the Manyas region. The language of the Sapanca Oubykh was investigated in the early years of this century, by Dírr in 1913 (Dírr 1927, 1928), by Dumézil in 1930 (Dumézil 1931), by Mészáros in 1930 and 1931 (Mészáros 1934), and by Benediktsen in 1896 (manuscript, used by Dírr). Two anthropological studies, by A. and U. Landmann (1981), give a detailed account of many aspects of the life in and structure of two Circassified Oubykh villages in the vilayet of Maraş.

There are, all over Turkey, hundreds of Circassian villages. The Turkish census figures of 1945 (listing ca. 66,000 Circassians) reflect the circumstances under which that census was held rather than anything else. Nowadays the number of ethnic West Caucasians can be estimated at well over half a million. Very detailed information on the distribution of Circassian in Turkey was published in the journal Kafkasya in the course of the 1970s, e.g. İzzet Aydemir (1973:215-237).

In Turkey, there are large numbers of Shapsug and Abadzekh,
This map gives an idea about the distribution of "Circassian" villages throughout Turkey. I have indicated only those provinces in which there are Circassian villages. The figures indicate the number of villages; the letters are explained below.

a - Çanakkale  n - İzmir  B - Amasya
b - Balıkesir  o - Aydın  C - Tokat
c - Bursa  p - Denizli  D - Sivas
d - Kocaeli  q - Muğla  E - Kırşehir
e - İstanbul  r - Burdur  F - Kayseri
f - Sakarya  s - Antalya  G - Adana
g - Bolu  t - Konya  H - Hatay
h - Bilecik  v - İçel  I - Maraş
i - Manisa  w - Niğde  J - Adıyaman
j - Kütahya  x - Yozgat  K - Gümüşhane
k - Eskişehir  y - Çorum  L - Bingöl
l - Ankara  z - Sinop  M - Bitlis
m - Afyon  A - Samsun  N - Mardin

[u - the plateau of Uzun Yayla]

Many fewer Bzhedug (near Biga), and almost no Temirgoy. 21) There are fair numbers of both Besny and Kabardians. As to Abkhaz, most Abkhaz in Turkey are Abkhaz proper. Notwithstanding this fact, they call themselves Abaza. They are concentrated mainly in the region Hendek-Adapazarı (Sakarya). Considerable numbers of Chechen, Lezgi and Ossetian villages are found in the vilayet of Muş. Chechen villages are also mentioned as occurring in the vilayet of Sivas, and Kumyk villages in the neighbourhood of Biga. Note that the "Circassian" villages listed by İ. Aydemir are inhabited by Ab(a)dzeh/Ab(a)dzah, Şapsuş, Bžedug, Kemirguvey, Mehöç, Hatukay/Hatko (all West Circassians), by Besleney and Kabartay/Kaberdey (East Circassians), by Abhaz and Abaza (Abkhaz), by Yubuh (Obykh), by the East Caucasian Lezgi, Çeçen and "Dagistanlı", and by other North Caucasians (Asetin, Karaqay, Nogay, Kumuk). I do not know the affiliation of the Brakey (who are indicated as Braki on the map by Bell, between the Besny and Obykh); nor do I know which dialects the Yendirey or Anzurey should be assigned to (both are mentioned as co-occurring with Kabardians; each in one village only).

In Jordan there are about 30,000 Circassians; both East (Kabardians) and West Circassians (Bzhedug, Shapsug, Abadzekh) are represented. They are concentrated in and around Amman. There are also some Chechen. The younger generations generally do not speak Circassian; an attempt to teach Circassian at school has failed (personal communication). On the Circassians of Jordan, see Tlebzū (1981).

In the beginning of the 1960s, there were about 40,000 Circassians in Syria. There were (and still are) about 13 Circassian villages near Homs, 2 near Aleppo, and there were 14 Circassian settlements on the Golan Heights. After the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and the destruction of Quneitra (where many Circassians
lived) the Circassians were moved from there. Most of them ended up in Paterson (USA); a minority went to Damascus. There are fair numbers of Abadzekh and Kabardians among the Syrian Circassians. Until 1956 there were schools where Circassian was the medium of instruction (Paris 1974b:29).

In Israel there are two Circassian villages, Kfar Kanna and Rehaniye. The inhabitants of both villages are generally trilingual: Circassian, Arabic and Hebrew. Circassian is taught at school in both villages.

In Yugoslavia there are about 200 Abadzekh Circassians, who live in a number of villages not far from Pristina, mostly in the village of Stanovats, see Bersirov (1981), cf. also Paris (1977, 1978).

The present-day habitats of Abkhaz proper and Abaza in the Caucasus approximately coincide with those of about 150 years ago. There are, however, two vital differences: 150 years ago the Abkhaz proper lived in a rather homogeneous group and were bordered on the north by fellow West Caucasians, the Oubykh. Nowadays, there is not one single Oubykh left, and both to the north and among the Abkhaz proper live considerable groups of Russians, Ukrainians and Armenians. The Abkhaz proper form only a minority in the Abkhaz ASSR.

Only a small number of Circassian enclaves are now found in the once vast West Circassian territory. After the Caucasian war and the exodus following it, the West Circassians who remained were concentrated in a relatively small area of their previous habitat, in the north of the present-day Adyghe AO. There are small groups of Shapsug, most of them Hakuchi Shapsug; in the Circassian enclaves around Tuapse. Formerly, the Circassian Black Sea coast was inhabited by Shapsug and Natukhaya. The latter are likely to have spoken a sub-dialect of Shapsug. Today there is only one Abadzekh village left, Shovgenovskij, which is not situated in the area indicated as Abadzekh on pre-1864 maps. There are 5 Shapsug villages near Krasnodar. The bulk of the West Circassian inhabitants of the Adyghe AO are Bzhedug and Temirgoy, who live in the north of the AO, in territory that was also inhabited by these West Circassians before the arrival of the Russians. In the Adyghe AO there are also East Circassians: there are Besney in the villages of Blechepsin and in Uljap, and there are Kabardians ("Kuban Kabardians") in these same two villages and in Khodz and in Koshhexa (NE Adyghe AO).

In the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, under the pressure of Russians conquests, part of the Kabardian population left Great and Little Kabardia; for more western re-
regions that had not yet been conquered. The present-day KAB speaking population of the Kara~aevo-~erkesskaja AO and of the Adygejskaja AO descend from these emigrants. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were approximately as many Besney as Kabardians.

The habitats of present-day East Circassians in the Kabard-Balkar ASSR and in the Karachay-Cherkes AO fall within the pre-1864 East Circassian territories.

Jakovlev (1930:11ff.) presents the following mid 1920 figures:

West Circassians 45,250
East Circassians 152,079
Abaza 14,290

The figures for Circassian are specified:

West Circassian: Abadzekh - 2,337; Temirgoy plus Bzhedug - 35,271; Shapsug - 3,599 in the Adyghe AO, 500 on the Taman peninsula and 4,000 around Tuapse.

East Circassian: Besney - 4,290; Mozdok KAB - 3,713; Great and Little Kabardia - 122,402; Karachay-Cherkes AO - 14,150; Adyghe AO - 9,351.

In the USSR the survival of the WC languages will be secure for a long time to come; outside the USSR they are doomed to quick extinction. I shall comment first on the developments outside the USSR.

My own experience and that of my colleagues is that the post-war generations of Circassians, in Turkey as well as in other countries in the Middle East, generally have a passive rather than an active knowledge of the language of their grandparents. Their parents are mostly bilingual. Such is the situation in and near cities, and in villages that do not form part of a conglomerate of Circassian villages. But in non-urbanised areas with large groups of Circassian or - for that matter - Abkhaz villages the chances of survival are only slightly better. One can safely state that in less than a century there will be no WC language speaking community left outside the Soviet Union. The developments, now well on their way, seem irreversible.

Education at school in Turkey is in Turkish; the law does not actually prohibit minorities from using other languages as the medium of education, but in practice minority languages are not even taught as a secondary subject.

In the history of Kemalistic Turkey the unofficial policy has wavered between repressive tolerance, indifference and state-terrorism. As to the official policy, I quote Lewis (1965:181): "All one can say is that the Turkish Government's policy is one of complete liberalism; officially there is no minorities problem because officially there are no minorities."

The West Caucasians that had chosen or had been forced to leave the Caucasus arrived in societies that were very different from their own society. Side by side with the Ottomans, who had provided them with generous hospitality, they had loyally fought on the Balkans in the 1860s and 1870s, and they had joined the Ottomans in their resistance against foreign invaders during the First World War. However, lack of insight in the complex and fermenting societies in which they had arrived, uncertainty as to their fate, gratitude for being accepted and a low degree of organisation had the effect that - on some occasions - Circassians were a trifle late in joining those that were coming to power. This also had its effect on the Kemalist policy towards the Çerkesler: it changed from bad to worse. I quote from Dumézil (1933:XIV), where he relates the history of the Sapanca Obykh.
"La guerre générale, mais surtout la guerre de l'indépendance türque ont beaucoup éprouvé les villages oubyks. Les Grecs ont occupé la région pendant plusieurs années et il s'est fait, pendant leur séjour, des compromissions qui ont été payées cher après la victoire kémaliste: beaucoup de jeunes gens ont fui avec l'armée grecque en retraite; beaucoup d'autres ont été fusillés ou pendus. Même ceux qui n'ont rien à se reprocher pâtissent des fautes des autres et de la méfiance que le nouveau régime témoigne à tout "l'élément tcherkesse", coupable d'être resté trop longtemps attaché au sultanat. Enfin et surtout la politique d'Ankara, maintenant qu'il n'y a plus de chrétiens en Anatolie, est de turquer à grande vitesse tous les allo-gènes musulmans: lazés, géorgiens, kurdes, tcherkesses, ossetes, etc.: des écoles ont été ouvertes un peu partout ...; les instituteurs et la gendarmerie veillent à "faire oublier" aux enfants les langues barbares. Quant aux adultes et aux vieillards, il arrive de temps en temps un ordre d'Ankara leur interdisant sous peine d'amende ou d'ex-pulsion, de parler, même dans le privé, une langue autre que le turc; mais l'excès même de ces prétentions les rend inefficaces: les cafés restent muets pendant quelques jours, la foire hebdomadaire de Sapan-ja est pleine de murmures et de tristesse, et, après deux ou trois procès-verbaux, la vie reprend normalement."

Dumézil (1965:30) relate l'histoire de l'Oubykh de la région de Manyas:

"Pendant l'occupation grecque de l'Anatolie occidentale, un pacte tacite avait permis aux soldats grecs et aux paysans tcherkesses de s'ignorer: les premiers éviterent de paraître dans les villages et les seconds, qui conservaient leurs armes, s'abstinrent de toute "provocation". Après la déroute des envahisseurs, de hauts personnages d'Ankara interprétèrent cette réserve comme une trahison."

The West Caucasians never had territorial claims or elaborate political aspirations in Turkey (or in any other country in the Middle East). The present-day generations consider themselves as Turkish citizens who happen to be of Circassian or Caucasian origin, and, to boost their self-respect, they are proud of this origin. I can fully agree with Dumézil, when he writes (1965:31):

"Formée par l'école et par l'armée, la jeunesse tcherkesse, oubykh, abkhaz, ne veut plus être que turque. Elle participe, à propos de Chypre par exemple, aux colères nationales. Avec plus ou moins de confiance elle se partage entre les partis politiques."

My experiences confirm the above: in the summer of 1974 I heard my Circassian friends defend the government's Cyprus policy, and I have to admit that I have often heard Circassians defend the unofficial policy towards the Kurds.

The unofficial policy only accelerates a process that is imminent anyway: parents understand that their children have to have a perfect command of Turkish if they want to make their way in the world. The high degree of dispersion of, for instance, Circassians over Turkey and the arrival of technology and literacy even in the Turkish village contribute to the extinction of the WC languages. It would require a centrally organised language policy to save them. Ignorance and unwillingness will see to it that such a policy will never be adopted. And if this ignorance and unwillingness is to disappear, which is hardly likely in a country where even scholars let patriotism prevail over scholarship, then it will be too late, if it is not already.\(^\text{23}\)

The situation in the USSR differs fundamentally from that in, e.g., Turkey; indeed, it is hardly feasible to find a more positive aspect of Soviet internal policy than the policy towards
ethnic minorities. This policy is on the whole to be applauded; it does not have its equal in any other country.

Immediately after the establishment of Soviet power, literacy programs were set up for most of the more than 130 languages that are spoken in the Soviet Union. Illiteracy was successfully fought: in 1897, 24 percent of the Russian population (over 9) was literate. By the end of the 1930s this percentage was 81.2. Nowadays illiteracy is an exceptional phenomenon.

Many languages were assigned literary status. At present there are 52 administrative units that were created to serve ethnic groups: 14 Union Republics, 20 ASSRs (16 in the RSFSR, 2 in the GeSSR and 1 each in the Uzbek SSR and in the AzSSR), 8 AOs (5 in the RSFSR and one each in the GeSSR, the AzSSR and the Tadzhik SSR), and 10 Autonomnye Okruga (all in the RSFSR).

The administrative units in the Northern Caucasus that are based on the ethnic principle are mentioned in section 1 above. As stated, there are four literary languages: Abkhaz (proper), Abaza, Adyghe (West Circassian) and Kabardian (East Circassian). This means that there is at least optional education in the native language in the first years at primary school. In the subsequent years the literary language is a compulsory subject. There is also broadcasting, fiction, and journals and newspapers in the literary languages.

Most of the new literary languages (mladopismennye jazyki) were at first written in an alphabet which was based on the Latin one, and later - after the revision of the constitution in 1936 - in Cyrillic-based alphabets. The history of the alphabets used for the WC literary languages is rather complex:

**Literary Adyghe**: 1918-1927 - Arabic, 1927-1938 - Latin, from 1938 onward Cyrillic.

**Literary Kabardian**: 1924-1936 - Latin, from 1936 onward Cyrillic.


**Literary Abaza**: 1932-1938 - Latin, from 1938 onward Cyrillic.

The present-day alphabets are corrigeble: the Abkhaz alphabet is very anomalous and is very different from the alphabet used for Abaza. The alphabets of Abaza, West and East Circassian have the same underlying principles; however, they show some inconsistencies among them.24) As to the choice for the Latin alphabet and the change from the Latin to the Cyrillic basis for the alphabets of the mladopismennye jazyki, I quote Comrie (1981:23 and 32):

"One of the main reasons given for the choice of the Latin alphabet at this period was the need to avoid the impression, especially among traditionally Islamic peoples, that the replacement of their traditional script, with its religious connotations, was part of a policy of linguistic, cultural and religious Russification. The Latin alphabet was thus a compromise neutral between the conflicts of the Arabic and the Cyrillic scripts."

"...certain practical problems had arisen with literacy projects, especially where students were being taught literacy in both the local language and Russian: acquiring literacy was a big problem in itself, made only worse by the need to acquire two different alphabets.. In addition to this educational reason, there was probably also a more political reason: at this time, the U.S.S.R. was becoming increasingly inward-looking, with the realisation that world revolution was not imminent and that the U.S.S.R. would for a long time be virtually the sole Soviet-style state, surrounded by hostile political systems. This led to a consolidation of internal unity, and demarcation
from outside forces, both of which functions were served by the Cyrillic alphabet."

When a language has several dialects, as a rule one with the more simple phoneme system is taken as the basis of the literary language. The WC languages had no standard forms. Standards are now being developed, and much of the linguistic activity concerning the languages in question aims at the development of the literary standard. The creation of such standards is a *conditio sine qua non* for the survival of such minority languages as the West Caucasian in a modern society like the Soviet Union. Its effect is the gradual disappearance of dialectal diversity. For the time being, the WC literary languages do not have one spoken standard, but it can be expected that this will sooner or later be the case. For the moment, grammars and other studies on the literary languages necessarily have a prescriptive character, and I can only agree with C. Paris when she says (about Circassian):

"la langue "tcherkesse" n'existe qu'à travers un ensemble de parler, de dialectes et de groupes dialectaux, et doit être définie du point de vue linguistique comme une notion abstraite." (1984:17).

The Soviet censuses also provide information on language retention (e.g. what percentage of the ethnic Abkhaz actually have Abkhaz as their first language?) and on bilingualism (do you have a free command of Russian? / do you have a free command of a "language of the Soviet Union" other than Russian?). 25)

Below I present the 1979 and (between round brackets) 1970 figures concerning the ethnic WC and - for the sake of comparison - SC and EC groups that are served by a literary language. In column 1, I present the 1979 (and in column 2 the 1970) number of ethnic Abkhaz (etc.), and in column 3 the 1979 (column 4: 1970) percentages of the ethnic Abkhaz (etc.) that have Abkhaz (etc.) as their first language. Column 5 and 6 indicate, respectively, the 1979 and 1970 percentages of those that have a free command of Russian, and column 7 and 8 the percentages of those that have a free command of a "language of the Soviet Union" other than Russian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WC</th>
<th>(x 1,000)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abkhaz</td>
<td>91 (83)</td>
<td>94.3 (95.9)</td>
<td>73.3 (59.2)</td>
<td>3.0 (2.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaza</td>
<td>29 (25)</td>
<td>95.3 (96.1)</td>
<td>75.4 (69.5)</td>
<td>4.6 (6.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adyghe</td>
<td>109 (100)</td>
<td>95.7 (96.5)</td>
<td>76.7 (67.9)</td>
<td>1.3 (1.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabardian</td>
<td>322 (280)</td>
<td>97.9 (98.0)</td>
<td>76.7 (71.4)</td>
<td>0.6 (0.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td></td>
<td>98.3 (98.4)</td>
<td>26.7 (21.3)</td>
<td>0.9 (1.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian</td>
<td>3,571 (3,245)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC - Dagestan</td>
<td></td>
<td>97.7 (97.2)</td>
<td>59.3 (37.8)</td>
<td>6.0 (5.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avar</td>
<td>483 (396)</td>
<td>90.9 (93.9)</td>
<td>47.6 (31.6)</td>
<td>21.3 (22.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lezgi</td>
<td>383 (324)</td>
<td>98.3 (98.4)</td>
<td>64.1 (43.0)</td>
<td>2.0 (2.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dargwa</td>
<td>287 (231)</td>
<td>95.0 (95.6)</td>
<td>73.0 (56.0)</td>
<td>2.5 (3.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lak</td>
<td>100 (86)</td>
<td>97.4 (98.0)</td>
<td>59.0 (31.9)</td>
<td>7.8 (10.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabasaran</td>
<td>75 (55)</td>
<td>99.1 (98.9)</td>
<td>52.0 (30.7)</td>
<td>12.3 (18.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutul</td>
<td>15 (12)</td>
<td>95.2 (96.5)</td>
<td>22.4 (12.2)</td>
<td>48.7 (43.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsakhur</td>
<td>14 (11)</td>
<td>98.3 (99.4)</td>
<td>62.9 (39.8)</td>
<td>8.0 (9.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agul</td>
<td>12 (8.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EC - Nakh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>756 (613)</td>
<td>98.6 (98.7)</td>
<td>76.0 (66.7)</td>
<td>0.7 (1.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingush</td>
<td>186 (158)</td>
<td>97.4 (97.4)</td>
<td>79.6 (71.2)</td>
<td>0.6 (0.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparable figures for West Caucasians outside the Soviet Union are not available, but it is certain that retention figures
would be much lower and the percentages indicating free command of the countries' first language much higher.

Prognoses as to the further fate of these languages within the USSR are hard to give. The retention figures indicate on the one hand that survival is secure for a long time to come; on the other hand it is highly probable that future generations will move very gradually - to Russian as their first language, retaining their original language for limited, more or less folkloristic purposes. This seems to be a long-term goal of Soviet language policy. This development will only be furthered by the fact that Russian - quite naturally - influences, and will go on influencing, lexicon and grammar of the minority languages.27)

Traditionally West Caucasians intermarried. Nowadays mixed marriages play an important role in razing the walls between nationalities and, often, in furthering the use of Russian. Cf. (Lane 1970:448)

"More detailed figures are available on intermarriage in Karachaev-Cherkess in the Northern Caucasus[5] = reference to Smirnova 1967]. Here mixed marriages range from 2.6 per cent of marriages among the Karachaev rural population to 56.2 per cent among the urbanised Abaziny. Among four national groups more than a quarter of all marriages were mixed, in the other four groups studied the range was from 3.3 per cent to 10.1 per cent ... A closer look at Smirnova's research suggests that in urban areas, 18.2 per cent of the Cherkesy, 25 per cent of the Abaziny and 33.3 per cent of the Nogaytsy married Russians and other non-Caucasians."

4. The West Caucasian Languages

Dubykh, Abkhaz and Circassian are obviously related, both typologically and genetically. The overall structure of the three languages is similar to such an extent that one can safely speak of a West Caucasian linguistic type. My studies in Circassian aim at providing a consistent and detailed description of a Circassian idiolect seen as a representative of the WC linguistic type. The idiolect in question is a form of the West Circassian Shapsug dialect, and is spoken in Düzce, a town in Anatolian Turkey. This book is to be followed by a volume presenting texts and a dictionary of Düzce Shapsug, by a series of articles, and, finally, by a grammar.

The present section briefly introduces a number of features that are characteristic of the WC linguistic type and a few idiosyncrasies of individual languages or dialects. Two areas will be dealt with in some detail: the WC sound systems (section 5) and the structure of the WC simple sentence (section 6).

The WC languages have elaborate consonant systems with anything from 45 to 83 members, and minimal vowel systems. Most vowel systems present three vowels, which differ phonologically only in their degree of aperture. DUSHP has 56 consonants (§1.1.2) and three vowels (§1.1.3): close /a/, mid /e/ and open /o/. See further section 5.

The WC morpheme has two favoured types: £(V) and £VE(V) (£ denotes a consonant or a consonant sequence; the make-up of clusters varies considerably within WC, though labial-initial clusters are relatively frequent in all dialects, both in the lexicon and in running texts).
The vast majority of the lexical morphemes exhibit one of the favoured types. Longer morphemes (EVEVEV...) are usually loans. Morphemes of other types (V, VC, etc.) usually turn out to be affixes. The morphophonemics of Circassian are more complex than those of Oubyykh, and much more complex than those of Abkhaz. For the make-up of the Circassian morpheme, see chapter 3 of this book; for a discussion of the morphophonemics of Circassian, see chapter 4. 28)

The WC languages have rather restricted morpheme inventories; unanalyzable South Caucasian lexemes, for instance, often correspond to WC compounds made up of two nouns, or a verb and an affix. The low number of lexemes is counterbalanced by a relatively high number of different grammatical morphemes and by polysemy (see below).

e.g. (Circassian)

- ne.pse 'tara' (eye.water)
- psa.ne 'well, fountain' (water.eye)
- ne.pe 'face' (eye.nose)
- ?e.pe 'finget' (arm.finger) LiAD ?e.pe
- le.pe 'toe' (leg.finger) LiAD le.pe
- ?e.she 'wrist' (arm.head)
- le.she 'ankle' (leg.head)
- le.ca 'hair (on the head)' (head.wool)
- le.ke 'beard' (chin.tail)
- pe.pse 'mucus' (nose.water)
- ?o.pse 'spittle' (mouth.water)
- meza.keta 'pheasant' (wood.fowl).

The WC languages display a great deal of polysemy (e.g. Circ. pe 'nose, front, front part, beginning'. She 'head, top, roof, bulb, ear (of corn)', ke 'tail, back part' [cf. sheke me ke 'ear-lobe']); and homonymy. For examples of homonymy in Circassian, see § 3.2.1, for an Oubyykh example, cf. la 1. 'army', 2. 'bowels', 3. 'hare', 4. 'to pass (time)', 5. 'OK', 6. (la-) 'there (preverb)', 7. (-la) 'exhaustive (suffix)', 8. (-la, allomorph of -ala) 'and (coordinating ending)' (cf. Vogt 1963:885-893).

Suppletion is one of the idiosyncrasies of Oubyykh as a WC language and is found with some very frequent verbs and a few nouns. Suppletion is a very frequent phenomenon in the WC languages.

e.g. -s / -s?e 'to sit', -i / -i?e 'to stand', -o / -o?e 'to give'

The morphemes in the left-hand column are used when the subject is not explicitly plural. In forms derived from the transitive verb 'to give', the "gift" is referred to by the subject prefix, the "donor" by the agent prefix. The ergative principle is operative in this type of suppletion. The WC languages make extensive use of the ergative principle (cf. section 6).

The WC languages share a considerable number of borrowed morphemes. The etymological dictionary of Circassian (Sagirov 1977) identifies numerous loans in WC, especially from Turkic languages. For loans in Circassian, see § 2.4.1 ff.).

The reconstruction of the WC sound system and lexicon has not made much progress. This is in the first place due to the paucity of the morpheme inventories and to the fact that the very limited inventory of Oubyykh contains many loans from West Circassian. In addition, we very often do not find comparable forms for comparable notions:
Traditional morphological typology will classify the WC languages as highly agglutinating and very moderately fusional. WC words can contain large numbers of morphemes (15 is not exceptional); morpheme boundaries are normally clear-cut. In view of the large number of morphemes WC words can contain, the WC languages can also be classified as polysynthetic (and as verb-final [see below], SOV [see section 6], and ergative [ibidem]).

Compare also the cardinal numbers from 1 to 10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oubykh</th>
<th>(W.) Circ. (East Circ.)</th>
<th>Abkhaz (Abaza)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>4a</td>
<td>-4a/-3°a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'two'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'four'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'six'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'seven'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eight'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nine'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
<td>4°4a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Abkhaz -4°4a: non-human/human. The correspondence of Oubykh and Circassian laterals with Abkhaz palatal fricatives is regular. The comparison of WC lexemes yields many correspondences which do not form any pattern.]29

The make-up of the WC word is as follows: (prefixes-)base([-suffixes]-endings). I have adopted the term "stem" for the word exclusive of any endings. The base can simply consist of a single root; it can also be filled by a sequence of two or more roots and can also contain base-affixes (which are mostly derivational). In running texts, words consisting only of a base are infrequent (most of them are particles). Most words contain at least one (stem-)affix, and a large proportion of the words that occur in phrase-final position are provided with an ending. Most endings convey syntactic information; there are, for instance, several types of subordinating and coordinating endings in all 3 languages. The order of the affixes is fairly rigid, and long sequences of prefixes and suffixes are found.

The (stem-)affixes can indicate a whole arsenal of grammatical categories (for a short survey of the stem-affixes of DÜSHP, see chapter 5). The affix-systems of the three languages are not totally congruent; the differences are mainly a question of order. All 3 languages have, for instance, personal prefixes, a causative, a potential and a negative prefix. In all three we also find local and ver- 

cional ('for [the sake of]', 'against [the will of]', 'together with' etc.) preverbs. Tenses and moods are generally indicated by means of suffixes. An example from Circassian:

\[\text{so-qa-b-de-}k°o-za-\text{t}°a-\text{-t-ep} \sqrt{1} (\text{so-}: \text{subject prefix} \ \text{will}) \ (-\text{t-}: \text{tense suffix} \ \text{not}) \ (-\text{ep}: \text{negative ending} \ \text{be able} \ (-3°a: \text{potential suffix}) \ \text{come} (k°o: 'to go'; 3°a: 'hither', directional prefix), \text{back} (-\text{a} iterative/frequentative suffix: 'as previously') \ \text{together with} (de-: preverb) \text{you} (b-: preverb object prefix)'.

In all three languages direction is indicated morphologically,
but neither the distinction nor the morphological means used to indicate them are similar. Circassian has an elaborate system of directional suffixes, and one directional prefix, whereas the two other languages have directional prefixes only. The number and nature of these prefixes differ between Oubyk and Abkhaz, and also within Abkhaz, between Abkhaz proper and Abaza (cf. Dumézil 1975:131). Chapter 9 of this book presents the directional suffixes of Düzce Shapsug.

In all three WC languages we find prefixal as well as suffixal marking of negation. In Oubyk and Abkhaz the prefixal and suffixal marker are almost identical in form (Abkhaz m(a)-, -m; Oubyk m(a)-, -ma). In West Circassian we find ma- as the prefixal and -ep as the suffixal marker of negation; in East Circassian we find mē- and -Qam. Chapter 6 analyses the marking of negation in Circassian; as a result of that analysis I propose that Circassian, as opposed to Oubyk and Abkhaz, has two categories of negation.

In all three languages, possession is indicated by means of prefixes. Abkhaz and Oubyk have one type of morphologically expressed possession. In a number of Circassian dialects two types of possession are distinguished: alienable and inalienable possession. This distinction, an innovation of Common Circassian, is no longer found in Kabardian, and only traces of it remain in Besney, the other East Circassian dialect. In most of West Circassian this opposition is still operative. In chapter 8, I give a detailed account of the category of possession as it is manifested in Düzce Shapsug. I distinguish alienable, inalienable and shared possession.

The main selection classes of the WC languages are: verb, noun, pronoun and particle. Verbs and nouns share a large part of their morphological possibilities. Verbs and nouns can be distinguished by means of the following device: a verb, when used in isolation - or as isolated as possible - yields an imperative form, whereas a noun under the same conditions is interpreted as a present predicate with identifying meaning.

e.g. (Circassian: \( \bar{a} \) (noun) 'man', \( \bar{\text{oe}} \) (verb) 'to go')

\( \bar{a} \) 'he (she/it) is a man'.

\( \bar{\text{oe}} \) 'you (you) go!'

In all three languages there is a small group of stative verbs, the bulk of the verbs being dynamic. For some remarks on stative as opposed to dynamic verbs in Circassian, see § 4.4.2 and, for a discussion of this opposition, Smeets (forthcoming d).

Abkhaz, Oubyk and Circassian verbs can be subcategorised with respect to number and nature of the actants that minimally have to be indicated (by means of personal prefixes) in derived predicative forms. Most verbs are either intransitive or transitive; besides these, the WC languages have small groups of "labile" verbs, from which both transitive and intransitive forms are derived. Some verbs require the indication of an indirect object, other verbs admit this, but most verbs do neither. There are also verbs that admit, require or exclude the indication of a preverb object. In Smeets (forthcoming e) I shall present a categorisation of the verbs of Circassian with respect to their valence. Circassian differs from Abkhaz and Oubyk insofar as it has developed a morphological device for indicating a difference in valence, e.g.:

\( \text{bza} 'to cut' \) (bi-actantial, transitive)

\( \text{bze} 'to cut' \) (mono-actantial, intransitive)
to write' (bi-actantial, transitive)
tke 'to write' (mono-actantial, intransitive)
ple 'to look at' (bi-actantial, intransitive)
ple 'to look' (mono-actantial, intransitive)
bes 'to curse at' (bi-actantial, intransitive)
bes 'to curse' (mono-actantial, intransitive)

In my analysis, tke, tke, ple and bes contain an actant-deleting base-suffix -e. Such pairs occur in all Circassian dialects; there are nowhere, it seems, more than about 50 verbs with which this suffix combines.

A first subdivision of the nouns yields substantives, adjectives and numerals. Substantives and adjectives can be distinguished by a feature of order. Within a complex base one can find two (or more) nouns. One of them is normally determined by the other(s): a determining adjective follows, and a determining noun precedes what is determined. Compare (Circassian):

tele-ka- 'a pram' (child.car[t]).
ke-ka- 'a good car(t)' (car[t].good).

ele-ka-tes- 'a good pram'.

The pronouns can be subcategorised as follows: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and others. I shall here comment on the WC demonstrative and personal pronouns.

Oubykh has a two-term, Abkhaz and Circassian a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oubykh</th>
<th>Abkhaz</th>
<th>western Cir.</th>
<th>other Cir.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>ya-na</td>
<td>a-na</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this/that'</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-na</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>wa-na</td>
<td>a-na</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oubyk and Abkhaz have a definite article -o-.

As to the personal pronouns, Abkhaz differs fundamentally from Oubyk and Circassian by having a much richer system. The Abkhaz system of personal pronouns and that of its personal prefixes distinguish classes: there is an opposition male/female for the second person singular, and a distinction non-human/human-male/human-female for the third person singular (i.e. 2M/2F, 3M/3F/3N).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oubykh</th>
<th>Circ.(East)Abkhaz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>se-ga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ke-ga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(wa.)ka'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>sa-ga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To the particles belong adverbs, postpositions (there are no prepositions), interjections, and a very limited number of conjunctions. Coordination is, in all three languages, normally expressed by means of coordinating endings. Both predicative forms and NPs can be coordinated. Cf. (Circassian)

sa-ga'ne-noy B-se-wake-n ('I will go there and kill him').

s-sa-neha-ke-re sa-sa-neha-ta-re re-la-ge-x (1/possessive-brother-more-young-absolutive-CoNP=ending coordinating predicative forms) (3/subject-to die-perfect-plural) 'my younger and my older brother have died'.

I will continue the introduction to morphosyntax in section 6.
5. Phonology

The WC languages oppose complex consonant systems to simple vowel systems. The large numbers of consonants result from (a) an almost maximal exploitation of the possibilities as to places of articulation, (b) a three-fold opposition of voiceless, voiced and glottalic consonants (in, at least, the plosive and affricate series), and (c) the use of secondary articulation types such as labialisation, palatalisation and pharyngealisation.

In the consonant systems that will be presented below, the various places of articulation are indicated by numbers: 1: labials, 2: dentals, 3: alveolars, 4: alveolo-palatais, 5: palatais, 6: labiodentals, 7: velars, 8: uvulars, 9: pharyngeals, 10: laryngeals.

Oubykh lacks pharyngeals, but has pharyngealised uvulars. The interpretation of a number of back fricatives in terms of laryngeal and pharyngeal in Byzb Abkhaz and in Abaza has not been definitely resolved. Their placement in the systems below is tentative.

Oubykh, Abkhaz and most of Circassian have the three abovementioned manners of laryngeal articulation for plosives and affricates. Oubykh and Abkhaz lack glottalic fricatives. In both East and West Circassian, we find glottalic besides voiced and voiceless fricatives. The various dialects of Circassian have widely varying sub-systems of glottalic fricatives. The two westernmost dialects of West Circassian, Shapsug and Bzhedug, present four types of laryngeal articulation: voiceless aspirated (lenis), voiceless unaspirated (fortis), voiced and glottalic. This four-fold opposition is common with plosives and affricates. Bzhedug and Shapsug exhibit a three-fold opposition lenis/fortis/voiced fricatives in the palatal series. For the opposition lenis/fortis in an Anatolian form of Shapsug, see Paris (1972).

As far as secondary articulation is concerned, pharyngealisation is found only in Oubykh (e.g. pharyngealised q vs. plain q). Palatalisation (e.g. q') is a much used device in Oubykh and Abkhaz. In Circassian it only seldom has phonemic relevance. The two-fold opposition found with the palatais in some West Circassian dialects is a matter of plain vs. velarised rather than plain vs. palatalised. I mark velarised palatais with the symbol * (e.g. *ê').

The labialisation of the velars and other back consonants and of palatais as well, consists of the coarticulation of the labial resonant w. The labialised dentals of Abkhaz proper and, apparently, those of Oubykh as well, consist of the simultaneous articulation of a dental and a corresponding labial plosive. Common Abkhaz *tʰo, etc. have developed into dentals in Ashkhar Abaza (cf. Starreveld 1983:77) (and into .modify, etc. and also, still further, into Ș, etc. in other forms of Abaza - Dumézil [1975:14]), whereas Oubykh speakers that do not have a good command of their language replace the labialised dentals with labials (ibidem).

The labialisation of the alveolo-palatais often gives the impression of consisting of a combination of the a two types of labialisation mentioned above: e.g. (West Circassian) ș'ɔ [ș'ɔɔ, ș'ɔ].

Note that the labialised alveolo-palatais of Common Circassian have developed into labial fricatives in East Circassian.

In the consonant systems below, phonemes found only in loans are presented between square brackets. I have adapted both presentation and notation of the various (ly presented) systems in order to provide internally consistent representations (there is no consensus, insofar as Oubykh and Abkhaz are concerned, as to the attribution of labialised fricatives to the various places of articulation; the same holds for Abkhaz laryngeal and pharyngeal fricatives).

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Resonants: m, w, y, n, r.

Literary Abkhaz (Abzhuy) (cf. Lomtatidze 1967:106-7; Dumézil 1975:14)

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Resonants: m, w, y, n, r.

Literary Abaza (Tapanta) (cf. Lomtatidze 1967:126-9)

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Resonants: m, w, y, n, r.

Resonants (for all Circassian systems given here): y, w, m, n, r.

West Circassian

[xʰ is aspirated [or lenis], x: is unaspirated [or fortis]]


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Resonants (for all Circassian systems given here): y, w, m, n, r.

Shapsug (cf. Paris 1974a:19) [One should bear in mind that there are more standard WC dialects than there are standard WC languages: there are, for instance, no two Shapsug sub-dialects with totally identical consonant systems; cf. the system below (Cemilbey Shapsug) with those of Fakahmet (Paris 1974a:19), of Düzce Shapsug (§1.1.2 of this book), and of Gençeli Shapsug (§10.2.1)]

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Resonants: m, w, y, n, r.
The opposition aspirated/unaspirated is old (Kuipers 1963); some Shapsug sub-dialects and the whole of eastern West Circassian (Abadzekh and Temirgoy) merged the aspirated and the unaspirated into one voiceless series. In the Shapsug of Düzce only some traces are left of the old opposition (§§ 7.5, 10.4).

Abadzekh (cf. Jakovlev 1930)

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Literary Adyghe = Temirgoy (Rogava-Keräševa 1966:56)

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Below I shall give the consonant systems of three East Circassian (two Besney and one Kabardian) subdialects. The East Circassian (and within East Circassian the Kabardian) systems are relatively simple. They present concessions to the systems of Ossete and - probably - of Karachay-Balkar.
"Si elles [les distinctions consonantiques/RS] réussissent à se maintenir, c.-à-d. à être perçues .. c'est précisément parce qu'elles sont renforcées par les différences de timbre qu'elles provoquent dans l'articulation des voyelles qui suivent ou qui précèdent les consonnes. Mais cette influence qui s'exerce sur les voyelles, suppose une latitude très grande dans les réalisations phonétiques des voyelles — latitude qui elle de son côté suppose un inventaire vocalique pauvre."

If there are more than two vowels, the third will be a stable open vowel: stable in the sense that its realisation is not, or only slightly (cf. § 1.4.5) influenced by adjacent consonants, and open in the sense that it is more open than the other two vowels. The stable vowel is usually also longer than the other vowels, but then the mid vowel is relatively long as compared with the close vowel. For Circassian this vowel is mostly written a; other devices are a, a, a. The stable vowel can often be analysed as a sequence of two phonemes. Kuiipers (1960:32-9), for instance, has demonstrated that the stable a in a particular form of Kabardian is analysable as a sequence consisting of the mid vowel and a following or preceding laryngeal fricative.

The phonemic status of the close vowel has often been disputed, though never quite convincingly.

In her introduction to the Cemilbey texts C. Paris (1974a:20) claims that, in Cemilbey and Fakahmet Shapsug, a does not have phonemic status and must be considered a voyelle de liaison. In a review of the book in question (1978:108-9), I have argued that a must be considered a full-fledged phoneme, as it is opposed to the other vowels as well as to the absence of a vowel — just as in Düzce Shapsug (cf. § 2.2.3). Fortunately, the Cemilbey texts make use of the
symbol \( a \), whatever its status.

The conclusion of Kuipers (1960) is that there is no vowel/consonant opposition in the form of Kabardian under discussion (and not that Kabardian is "a vowelless language" — cf. Halle 1970). I present a brief summary of Kuipers' analysis: (a) the inventory of single phonemes is established; stable \( a \) is classified as long \( \ddot{a} \) (\( \ddot{a} \) is the mid vowel); (b) a special notation is developed for consonant sequences whose members cannot be separated by a vowel; (c) long \( \ddot{a} \) is interpreted as \( \ddot{a} \) (the mid vowel) preceded (syllable-initially) or followed (elsewhere) by the laryngeal fricative \( h \); (d) the opposition \( \ddot{a} \) versus zero (absence of a vowel) is interpreted as a juncture phenomenon, the occurrence of \( \ddot{a} \) depending on partly phonetic and partly syntagmatic criteria: once the morphemic make-up and the stressed syllable of a word are known the occurrence of \( \ddot{a} \) is predictable; (e) finally, the mid vowel, which is found only after consonantal articulations, is interpreted as the feature of openness (of a preceding consonantal segment).

This analysis has been subject to tenacious misunderstanding and vehement criticism. "La structure réelle du kabarde a donné lieu à d'originales recherches de M. Aert H. Kuipers, qui ont provoqué des discussions d'une vivacité étonnante." (Dumézil 1975:18). For a discussion of these discussions, see Comrie-Hewitt (1981:205-6).

Kuipers' analysis cannot be applied blindly: it cannot be applied to forms of Circassian that do not have stable stress, nor to forms of the languages in which the close vowel has phonemic status.

The WC vowel systems are nowadays subject to much influence from languages with larger vowel systems: both in and outside the Soviet Union the WC languages are being invaded by numerous loans which introduce vowels with qualities that are not motivated from the WC point of view. Originally, vowels occurring in loans were adapted (cf. § 2.4.2). At present, the afflux of loans is so massive and bilingualism so rampant, that loans are no longer, or hardly, adapted. This may accelerate the tendency observed everywhere in WC for combinations consisting of a non-stable vowel and \( a \) or \( \ddot{a} \) to develop (mostly long) monophthongal realisations. It can safely be assumed that the forms of WC that succeed in surviving the next few decades will have vowel systems that are considerably larger than the present-day ones.

Nowhere in the West Caucasian languages does stress carry a significant functional load. Descriptive works generally mention the existence of dynamic stress. Lomtadidze, for instance, remarks for Abkhaz proper (1967:105) and for Abaza (1967:127) that (the dynamic) stress in Abkhaz is not fixed. For Ubykh, Dumézil (1975:18) remarks that nouns have partly fixed and partly mobile stress, whereas in predicative forms stress is either fixed or not fixed, but never predictable. Dumézil (1965:208) rejects virtually all of the minimal pairs given by Vogt (1963:32). As to the behaviour of stress, Düzcê Shapsug is a typical representative of West Caucasian excluding East Circassian (see, for instance, Vogt's remarks concerning stress in Ubykh [1963:31-2]). Only in East Circassian it is possible to predict where the stress will occur (cf. Kuipers [1960: 34-5] for Kabardian and Paris [1974b:172ff.] for Anatolian Besney).
West Caucasian sentences normally contain a predicative form; they often consist of a predicative form only. Predicates contain one or more "personal" prefixes; they obligatorily contain a subject prefix. I call forms containing a subject prefix S-forms; to the S-forms belong different types of predicative forms and certain types of nominalisations, for instance participles (cf., for Circassian, § 6.3.1). Any S-form is the head of a clause.

There are three groups of predicative forms (all of them S-forms): (main) predicates, sub-predicates (subordinated predicates) and co-predicates (coordinated predicates). Sub- and co-predicates do not normally occur as the only S-form of a sentence; they are normally followed by a main predicate. Main predicates have more elaborate morphological possibilities than other types of S-forms; however, the indication of actants (by means of personal prefixes) is absolutely identical in all three types of predicative forms — and this holds for all three WC languages. The relations in clauses that are headed by different types of S-forms are fundamentally the same. I can therefore restrict the discussion to simple sentences, i.e. sentences containing no more than one S-form: a main predicate (there are no formal differences between the single predicate of a simple sentence and the main predicate of a complex sentence). At the end of this section, I present some Circassian (Düzce Shapsug) sentences with their analysis. As a matter of fact, most of these sentences (all but one) are complex.

In sentences containing more than one constituent, the predicate normally occupies the final position. The predicate contains one or more personal prefixes; the number and the nature of these prefixes are primarily determined by the valence of the base. The valence of the base is not necessarily automatically reflected in the derived S-form; various morphological processes influence both number and nature of the actantial prefixes that are indicated in the actual S-forms (for Circassian, cf. my forthcoming e.).

There are four types of personal prefixes. Each type has its own slot in the system of prefix-slots. The relative order of these slots is the same in the 3 WC languages; their absolute order is not totally identical. I will refer to the different slots by means of letters (cf. § 2.1.3 for the place of the personal prefixes within the system of prefix-slots in Circassian): A, B, C and D. I assign the following grammatical functions to these slots:

- **A** - subject (SB) (prefix-slot 1 in Circ.)
- **B** - preverb object (PO) (prefix-slot 4 in Circ.)
- **C** - indirect object (i0) (prefix-slot 5 in Circ.)
- **D** - agent (AG) (prefix-slot 6 in Circ.)

Occupation of slot B and/or C and/or D presupposes occupation of slot A, the subject slot. The WC subject has the following two semantic roles: (a) the (more or less agentive) single argument of uni-personal S-forms and (b) patient or goal in forms in which slot D is occupied. The actant referred to by the AG prefix (slot D) is always more agentive than any other actant that is referred to in the same form. Forms that contain an AG prefix are transitive; verbs that normally require that the AG slot is filled in derived S-forms are also transitive.

As stated above, the ergative principle underlies the coding of actants in WC predicative (and other S-)forms: the single argument of intransitive verbs and the patient of transitive forms are treated in the same way.
The ergative principle is extensively used throughout the WC languages. Nevertheless, I will not say that these are "ergative languages". There is no single principle that is so powerful that it can be used to characterise an entire language. In the second place, all so-called ergative languages make also use of the opposite (i.e. accusative) principle, which is operative when there is identical treatment of the single argument of an intransitive verb and the more agentive argument of a transitive verb.

I will not make extensive use of the term "ergative", because it is used nowadays in so many different ways that we have to invoke homonymy rather than polysemy in order to describe its meaning.

I now provide some examples (all one-word sentences):

**Oubykh:** intransitive forms:

- \( s\-k\'-a\-n \) (1/SB-to go-dynamic) 'I am going'.
- \( a\-k\'-a\-n \) (3/SB-to go-dynamic) 'he/she/it is going'.

transitive forms:

- \( s\-y\-b\-y\-a\-n \) (1/SB-3/AG-to see-dynamic) '(s)he/it sees me'.
- \( a\-z\-b\-y\-a\-n \) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-dynamic) 'I see him/her/it'.

**Circ.:** intransitive forms:

- \( s\-e\-k\oe \) (1/SB-Dy/I-to go) 'I am going'.
- \( a\-m\-a\-k\oe \) (3/SB-Dy/I-to go) 'he is going'.

transitive forms:

- \( s\-y\-e\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \) (1/SB-3/AG-Dy/I-to see) '(s)he/it sees me'.
- \( a\-s\-e\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \) (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/I-to see) 'I see him/her/it'.

A set of East Circ. corresponding forms (LiKAB, Jakovlev 1948:90ff.) is \( s\-e\-w\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \), \( a\-m\-a\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \), \( s\-y\-e\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \), \( a\-s\-e\-\lambda\varkappa\oe \).

**Abkhaz:** intransitive forms:

- \( s\-c\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (1/SB-to go-dyn.present) 'I am going'.
- \( a\-c\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (3HUM/SB-...) '(s)he is going'.
- \( y\-c\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (3N/SB-...) 'it is going'.

transitive forms:

- \( s\-e\-y\-b\-a\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (1/SB-3M/AG-to see-dyn.present) 'he sees me'.
- \( s\-e\-l\-b\-a\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (1/SB-3F/AG-...) 'she sees me'.
- \( s\-a\-b\-a\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (1/SB-3N/AG-...) 'it sees me'.
- \( d\-e\-z\-b\-a\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (3HUM/SB-1/AG-...) 'I see him/her'.
- \( y\-e\-z\-b\-a\-w\-\lambda\varkappa \) (3N/SB-1/AG-...) 'I see it'.

Compare the following ergative and accusative paraphrases of semantically identical sentences:

**erg.**

- (of me _______ walking _______ is the case)
- (of me — by you — seeing _______ is the case)

**acc.**

- (by me _______ walking _______ is the case)
- (of me — by you — seeing _______ is the case)

The semantic role of the actant referred to by an indirect object prefix is often recipient or beneficiary. In causative forms derived from transitive verbs, the "instigated" actant is referred to by an indirect object prefix, the instigator - being the most agentive actant - by an agent prefix (slot D). The indirect object never is the most agentive actant of a form. There are cases where the WC languages can choose between a transitive form and a bi-personal intransitive form containing a SB and an IO prefix; the main difference in meaning seems to be that in the second type of form the less agentive actant is less thoroughly involved in the
event referred to than in the first type.

I present some straightforward examples of intransitive and transitive Oubykht Circassian and Abkhaz forms that contain an indirect object prefix.

Oubykht: intransitive forms with io prefix:

- **sa-wa-ya-n** (1/SB-2/io-to kick-dynamic) 'I kick you'.
- **a-s-y-a-n** (3/SB-1p/io-...) '(s)he kicks us'.
- **a-s-y-a-n** (3/SB-1p/io-to kick-plural-dyn.) 'they kick us'.

Transitive forms with io prefix:

- **sa-wa-n-ta-wa.yt** (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-to give-dyn.) '(s)he gives me to you(M)'.
- **w-a-s-ta-wa.yt** (2/SB-3p/io-1/AG-to give-dyn.) 'I give you to them'.

Circ.: intransitive forms with io prefix:

- **sa-wa-0-we** (1/SB-2/io-Dy/1-to kick) 'I kick you'.
- **o-qa-sa-0-we** (3/SB-hither-1/io-Dy/1-to kick) '(s)he kicks me'.
- **o-qa-ta-0-we** (3/SB-hither-1p/io-Dy/1-to kick) 'they kick us'.

Transitive forms with io prefix:

- **sa-w-y-e-te** (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-Dy/1-to give) '(s)he gives me to you'.
- **w-y-a-s-e-te** (2/SB-3/io-P1-1/AG-Dy/1-to give) 'I give you to them'.

Abkhaz: intransitive forms with io prefix:

- **sa-wa-s-wa.yt** (1/SB-2M/io-to kick-dyn.present) 'I kick you(M)'.
- **sa-ba-s-wa.yt** (1/SB-2F/io-...) 'I kick you(F)'.
- **d-ha-s-wa.yt** (3HUM/SB-1p/io-...) '(s)he kicks us'.

**v-ha-s-wa.yt** (3p/SB-1p/io-...) 'they kick us'.

Transitive forms with io prefix:

- **s-wa-y-ta-wa.yt** (1/SB-2M/io-3M/AG-to give-dyn.present) 'he gives me to you(M)'.
- **w-ra-s-ta-wa.yt** (2M/SB-3p/io-1/AG-...) 'I give you(M) to them'.

Preverb object prefixes are only found in combination with a following preverb. Such combinations usually correspond to prepositional phrases in languages such as English. Preverbs combine with both intransitive and transitive verbs. In all 3 languages one comes across many fixed combinations of verbs and preverbs. Some examples:

Oubykht: intransitive form:

- **sa-w-b-y-a-n** (1/SB-2/pO-on-to go-dyn) 'I conquer you' ('"I go on you")',

Transitive form:

- **a-w-b-y-a-sa-wa.yt** (3/SB-2/P0-on-1/AG-to take(ELA)-dyman. 'I take it from you(r surface)'.

Abkhaz: intransitive form:

- **s-á-k°-ha-wa.yt** (1/SB-3N/P0-on-to fall-dyn.present) 'I fall on it'.

Transitive forms:

- **d-wa-k°(a)-s-x-wa.yt** (3HUM/SB-2M/P0-on-1/AG-to take-dyn. present) 'I take him/her from you(M)'.

Circ.: intransitive form:

- **sa-p-te-0-k°e** (1/SB-2/P0-on-Dy/1-to go) 'I conquer you' ('"I go on you")',

Transitive form:
"Te-pe-o-ki-Theta (3SB-hither-2/PO-on-1/AG-Dy/1-to take (ELA)) 'I take it from you'.

In Oubykh and Abkhaz, forms containing more than three personal prefixes are avoided (for Oubykh, see Dumézil 1975:178, for Abkhaz, Dumézil 1967:34). In Circassian, S-forms containing 4 personal prefixes are common. Circassian S-forms maximally contain 5 personal prefixes; such forms are considered as artificial by most informants. In Circassian, co-occurrence of PO and io prefixes is not avoided; e.g. (Circassian)

"Te-p-f-ye-s-ta-\theta (3SB-2/PO-for-3/io-1/AG-to give-PF) 'I gave it to him for/instead of you' ('of it-you-for-to him-by me-giving-was the case').

Circassian causative forms derived from tri-personal verbs contain four personal prefixes; compare the following non-causative form

w-ye-s-ta-\theta (2SB-3/IO-1/AG-to give-PF) 'I gave you to him'

with a derived causative form

w-ya-sa-rae-to-\theta (2SB-3/IO-1/IO-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he caused me to give you to him'.

In Circassian, such forms are matched by corresponding periphrastic constructions. In similar cases, we find in Oubykh exclusively, and in Abkhaz virtually exclusively, periphrastic constructions, e.g., however, (Abkhaz, Dumézil 1967:34):

y-\theta-\theta-\theta-ra-ta-wa-yt (3N/SB-3F/IO-1/IO-3p/AG-CAUS-to give-dyn.present) 'they make me give it to her'.

As already noted, simple sentences frequently consist of a single predicative form. More often, however, they have more than one constituent. In sentences exhibiting an unmarked order of constituents, the predicate is preceded by all the other constituents. These other constituents are all subordinated to the predicative forms; I will call them subordinates. I shall not deal here with the internal structure of subordinates. Subordinates can consist of more than one word; I will restrict myself as much as possible to one-word subordinates in the examples below.

It is important to distinguish between subordinates that are co-referential with a personal prefix of a subordinate (in this case the predicate) and subordinates that are not. I will call the former nominal and the latter adverbial subordinates.

Adverbial subordinates usually have a special (instrumental, modal, privative, etc.) ending; adverbs can occur in their lexical form as adverbial subordinates. Adverbs often contain a petrified subordinating ending. However, it is the nominal subordinates I want to discuss at this point.

Oubykh and Circassian nominal subordinates can have different marking according to the prefix with which they corefer: there are absolutive and relative subordinates. Absolutive subordinates corefer with a subject prefix, relative subordinates corefer with any other personal prefix. The coding of subordinates by means of this case-system, as compared with the coding in the predicate by means of personal prefixes, does not imply a new principle of ordering of the actants referred to. The distinction is isomorphic with one of the distinctions made in S-forms.

There is never a formal difference between personal pronouns that corefer with different personal prefixes of predicative
forms (when occurring as the lexical part of adverbial subordinates, personal pronouns are always provided with a subordinating ending).

The special position of personal pronouns is not surprising: in one S-form there cannot be more than one 1 (1st person sg.), 1p (1st person pl.), 2 (2nd person sg.) or 2p (2nd person pl.) prefix. From the arrangement of the prefixal part of an S-form, and - usually - from the form of a personal prefix itself, and from the make-up of the S-form as a whole, both grammatical function and semantic role of non-third person personal prefixes is unambiguously clear.

The function of personal pronouns being used as nominal subordinates is not to specify, but rather to introduce the *dramatis personae* that are referred to in the S-form.

WC S-forms, especially main predicates, provide an enormous amount of information. It is, however, a simplification to say that, for instance, Circassian is faster at providing information than the average language.

The listener is not normally unprepared for the confrontation with the vast amount of information that can be contained in one S-form, and, often, part of that information is repeated in one of the first forms of the following sentence.

Oubykh and Circassian mark their nominal subordinates in different ways; in Oubykh things are simpler than in Circassian. As a rule, Oubykh relative subordinates are provided with an ending (-n in singular, -n-a in plural forms), whereas absolutive subordinates carry no special marker.

e.g. a-maze-n \( t \theta \lambda \_\_ \) (a-)z-bya-n (the-child-REL) (book-ABS) (3/SB-3/AG-to see-dynamic) 'the child sees a book' (Dumézil 1931:21).

\( s \_b \_t \_o-a-n \) s-em-bya-qå (1/possessive-father-REL) (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'my father saw me' (Vogt 1963:1152).

\( a \_t \_t \_a-n-a \) s-a-baya-qå (the-human being-REL-PL) (1/SB-3p/AG-to see-PF) 'the people saw me' (Vogt, ib.).

\( a \_m \_a \_n \_e \) ya-\( \_a \_s \_t \_o-a \_q a \_) (the-child-REL-PL) (3/SB-3/o/1/AG-to give-PF) 'I gave it to the children' (Vogt, ib.; for the interpretation of ya- as an SB prefix [and not as an io prefix], see Paris 1969:119,2b).

There is still another device which facilitates the identification of absolutive noun phrases: an expected subject prefix can be missing when the noun phrase corefering with that prefix immediately precedes. In Oubykh, this device is optional; the same device is the rule in Abkhaz. An Oubykh example (Dumézil 1975:76):

\( a \_z \_b \_y a \_q a \_) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it'.

\( w \_w \_z \_b \_y a q å \) (2/possessive-dog-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw your dog' ('avec un seul accent').

Compare the corresponding Abkhaz forms (ibidem):

\( y a \_z \_b \_a \_y \_y \) (3N/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it'.

\( w \_l \_a \_z \_b \_a \_y \_y \) (2/possessive-dog) (3N/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw your dog'.

Unlike Oubykh and Circassian, Abkhaz does not have the possibility of making a formal difference between noun phrases that correspond with different personal prefixes. There are even some languages that have verb-agreement on an ergative-absolutive basis but have no overt case-marking of noun phrases; in fact, this type is not parti-
cularly rare, being found for instance in some of the Northwest Caucasian languages (Abkhaz, Abaza; see, for instance, Allen 1956), and quite general in the Mayan languages of Mexico and Central America." (Comrie 1978:339).

At first sight it may seem that Abkhaz is here, as compared with Oubykh (and with Circassian), rather ambiguous. However, Abkhaz offers its speakers another device which helps them to link a particular NP to a particular 3rd person prefix (the identificatory devices discussed here are insofar redundant that they also apply in cases when there is no ambiguity, for instance, when the predicate does not contain more than one 3rd person prefix): whereas Oubykh and Circassian have only one type of 3rd person prefix, Abkhaz distinguishes, as we have already seen, two classes for 3rd person singular subject prefixes and three classes for other 3rd person prefixes. The lesser distinctive power of the two-term system found with the subject prefixes does not lead to extra ambiguity. Ambiguity can occur only when two (or more) 3d person prefixes cooccur in one form. The personal prefixes other than the subject ones distinguish all three classes. This means, that when there are two NPs in the sentence with different class-membership it will always be perfectly clear which NP corefers with which 3rd person prefix. In practice, however, common sense will do in most cases:

"Ainsi, dans le proverbe a-x'aca a-fè a-s-wa-m ... [(the-lightning) (the-hornbeam) (3N SB-3N/Ag-to strike-dynamic-negation: "it does not strike it")/RS] le sujet est "la foudre", non pas seulement pour une raison de bon sens ...". (Dumézil 1967:11).

In Circassian things are different again. Circassian actually has two absolutive and two relative endings ("definite" and "indefinite"). The "definite" ABS ending is -м in most of Circassian (in the western West Circassian Bzhedug and Shapsug dialects: -er) and the "definite" REL ending is usually -м. The "indefinite" markers are in both cases -о. Demonstrative pronouns take -я ABS; they take -о(,) or -ы (West Circ.) or -б (East Circ.) REL. Personal pronouns are not marked for nominal subordination.

In most NPs the speaker does not have a free choice between "definite" and "indefinite" endings; for instance, in plural NPs the "definite" endings are obligatory - these same endings are also obligatory in NPs containing a demonstrative element, whereas (at least in most of West Circassian) the "indefinite" endings have to be used with NPs that contain indication of possession. In most of West Circassian there is a formal difference between ABS and REL "indefinite" NPs with (underlying) final shwa that contain (underlyingly) more than one vowel: the final о is usually dropped in the "indefinite" ABS NPs (cf., for instance, Smeets 1978:109). In this book I shall neglect the distinction "definite/indefinite" and in my analyses I will work with one absolutive and one relative ending. In Smeets (forthcoming b) I will discuss this distinction in detail. Here a few examples must suffice:

Čale-m tkà.x-о Ø-v-e-xëọ (child-REL) (book-ABS) (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to see) 'the child sees a book'.
Čale-m tkà.x-er Ø-v-ẹ-xëọ (child-REL) (book-ABS) () 'the child sees the book'.
me čale-m s-ya-tkà.x-о Ø-v-e-xëọ (this) (child-REL) (1/plimitive-possession-book-ABS) () 'this child sees my book'.
s-ya-x'ạọ-о Ø-ya-wàkà-st (1/plimitive-possession-wife-REL) (3/SB-3/Ag-to kill-future/1) 'my wife will kill him/her/it'.

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There is, however, still another clue which provides information on the structure of the sentence: the order of its constituents. It is customary to argue that the order of the nominal subordinates (in sentences displaying unmarked order) derives from the order of the personal prefixes with which they corefer: it is claimed, then, that with intransitive verbs they display the same order and with transitive verbs the reverse (e.g. Allen 1956:154-155 "mirror-concord" [which is opposed to "leapfrog concord"]; Paris 1969:179 "effet de miroir"). However, the order of the nominal subordinates is to a great extent determined by a principle of agentivity. The subordinate which is coreferential with the subject prefix precedes all subordinates with the exception of more agentive ones. The procedure of the agentive principle can be observed both in the sentence and in the S-form; it very clearly determines the distribution of the personal prefixes in invasive and causative forms (cf. my forthcoming e).

I shall conclude this brief exploration of the WC linguistic type by showing it in action: I will present and analyse the first nine sentences of a Düzce Shapsug story.

1a se make Holandem saqyaqay tyakekəpə səqaqəpə.
1b se me.ə Holandem-ə sa-qə-ya-ka-ey t-ya-ʁægəp ə-ə sə-qə-ɾa-ʁə.
1c (I) (this.year) (Holland-REL) (1/SB-Hh-3/PO-inside-to leave-CoPr) (1/p/PS-POS-country-REL) (1/SB-Hh-to go-PF).
1d This year I left (hither) Holland and came to our country.

2a saqəzaekoqəɣəqər : se syaqəcəkəpə yəplənəw zə pəse-çəkəpəgərəm saqəlaqəpə.
2d The reason why I have come here [is]: I have come "behind (i.e. to look for)" a (little) girl to take care of my little son.

3a pəseçəkəpə ədesən ʃəqə syəqaqə.
3b pəse-ce-kəpə ə-de-s-ʃe-ən ə-ʃə-ʁə-qə ə-ye-əqə-ə.
3d I will take the girl with [me], I said and I set out [to find one].

4a səlaqəpə, əvəqəʃeəpə.
4d Thereason why I have come here [is]: I have come "behind (i.e. to look for)" a (little) girl to take care of my little son.

5a vane yate pəseçəkəpə qąbekənəw qəsaraqəqə.
5d Her mother and father told me that they would let the girl go [with me].

6a saɾəyə kəm ʃəqə syəfəm səlaqəqə.
The Study of Circassian

The importance of the study of Circassian and, more generally, of the West Caucasian linguistic type lies in the preservation of a variety of human speech that will cease to exist within a few centuries. Both linguistics and the memory of the West Caucasian peoples are served by the recording of the WC languages for posterity.

Oubyk is being saved (as far as possible) by its last speaker and by the Paris school of Caucasology, above all by Georges Dumézil, who, together with G. Charachidzé, is preparing a new Oubyk dictionary. The first description of Abkhaz is Uslar’s 1863 (1887) grammar, which, like the six other grammars of Caucasian languages he wrote in the space of hardly more than a decade, has not lost its value. Uslar’s grammar is the starting point of a tradition of Abkhaz grammars. Abkhaz is more fully described than, for instance, Circassian: (a) Uslar provided the impetus for the description of Abkhaz, (b) Circassian has more dialectal variation than Abkhaz, (c) Abkhaz dialectology describes dialects as autonomous entities rather than as variations of a (variable) standard language. For the most important studies on Oubyk and Abkhaz, see, for instance, the bibliography of Dumézil (1975). In the period after 1975, Hewitt (1979) formed a major contribution to the study of Abkhaz.

The study of Circassian inside the Soviet Union has always been oriented towards the literary languages: studies of Circassian dialects usually contrast their data with either LiKAB or LiAD. As yet, however, these literary languages do not have “living” spoken or even written standard forms. Soviet studies touching on Circassian dialects almost invariably inform us that these dialects
are fading away. For the moment we cannot expect detailed and consistent descriptions of either "living" or standard forms of Circassian to be written in the Soviet Union.

The best known variety of Circassian is the Zennun Köyü subdialect of Besney (East Circassian); Alparslan, Dumézil and Paris have published several studies on this subdialect. Alparslan-Dumézil (1963) presents a grammatical introduction; Paris (1974b) gives a detailed account of the phonology of the subdialect in question. Furthermore, there are numerous texts: Alparslan-Dumézil (1964, 1965, 1966); Paris (1968); Alparslan (1971); Paris (1972, 1976). The texts are published in the Dumézil tradition (introduced for Oubukh): they are authentic (i.e. not normalised), annotated and, in addition, interpreted by rather literary translations. The answer to many questions that are left open by the short but comprehensive grammatical introduction can be found in the texts.

Another detailed phonological description of a form of East Circassian is Kuipers (1960). Dumézil has published (passim) many Temirgo and Kabardian parallel versions of Oubukh and Abkhaz texts. In 1974, Paris published a series of Shapsug texts, with dictionary (1974a), and, later, a few Abazekh texts. A full description of a "living" form of West Circassian has not been written.

One of the first Soviet scholars to undertake the study of Circassian was the late N.F. Jakovlev, who wrote a series of very important (but also much reviled) studies on both East and West Circassian. After some smaller studies on Kabardian he published in 1948 a grammar of literary East Circassian. Together with D. Ashkhamaf he had published a grammar of literary West Circassian in 1941. In the two grammars, prescription and description are carefully distinguished. Their morpho-syntactic parts are concise and very systematic.

The other grammar of LiAD has the opposite qualities; it is among others - much more elaborate than Jakovlev-Ashkhamaf. This second major LiAD grammar, Rogava-Keraševa (1966), was done great injustice in a fanciful article on the phenomenon of polypersonism in "North and South Caucasian" (Fox 1970).

Fox reproduces some Georgian and West Circassian paradigms from two grammars which are unnecessarily rich in paradigms (Tschenkéli for Georgian, Rogava-Keraševa for Circassian). In the article we find scores of forms that one will look for in vain in Rogava-Keraševa: they are not correct in any form of Circassian. It is to be feared that the author himself constructed them.36)

One should be very careful in using Circassian data from publications by non-Circassianists; often these data and/or their interpretations are incorrect.

A striking feature of the field of the historical study of Circassian is that scholars usually neglect each other's studies. The first important step in this field was made by Jakovlev (1930). His article is a comprehensive survey of sound correspondences obtaining between 9 Circassian dialects. Jakovlev's aim was not reconstruction; however, using the material presented by Jakovlev's article, linguists could have carried out most of the reconstructions that were later agreed on. From the 1930s onwards Dumézil has been following his own line, focussing on the reconstruction of morphology (cf. Dumézil 1932). His 1975 Le Verbe Oubykh actually presents a comparative morphology of WC S-forms. Distinguished Soviet scholars in the field are Şagirov (who wrote the Etimologiteski...
Kuipers was the first to tackle the problem of the reconstruction of the Common Circassian sound system with strict methodology. He started out from a large corpus of Kabardian (partly taken from Jakovlev's early publications) and Bzhedug EV and ÉEV morphemes (unanalysable ones and fixed combinations). Thus, by comparing East and West Circassian material, taking into account the data of Jakovlev (1930), and neglecting almost all other studies on the subject, he reconstructed the sound system of Common Circassian (Kuipers 1963). In 1975 he published the full material on which his reconstructions were based. Kuipers (1963) and (1975) form a solid basis for further comparative studies.

My Circassian studies aim at filling a gap; they should, eventually, provide a more or less complete description of a "living" form of West Circassian. In 1976, I published seven annotated texts; 1985 will see the publication of a large number of texts with a dictionary presenting the material contained in (a) the texts, (b) this volume, and (c) forthcoming articles. In this volume, I present a phonology and morphophonology of Düzce Shapsug, and an introduction to my approach to the morphosyntax. This introduction is contained in a series of chapters that deal with certain aspects of the morphology of Düzce Shapsug (chapter 6: negation, chapter 8: possession, chapter 9: location and direction). A number of articles dealing with other aspects of the morphosyntax are forthcoming (see "References"). The study of Düzce Shapsug will be completed by the publication of a grammar. The historical study of Circassian is occasionally touched upon in this volume: chapter 7 presents a historical study of negation in Circassian. Chapter 10 discusses a few developments of Shapsug consonant systems. Chapter 11, finally, introduces a religious Düzce Shapsug text which was written and printed by Circassians in the 1910s in Turkey.

NOTES


2. -- indicates "not found".


4. 1979 continued: 0.1 Dargva, 0.1 Lak, 2.1 others.

5. 1979 continued: 3.0 Chechen, 1.5 Nogay, 1.2 Jew, 0.9 Rutul, 0.7 Agul, 0.5 Tat, 0.3 Tsakhur, 1.9 others.

6. 1979 continued: 1.3 Ukrainians, 3.5 others.

7. In the surveys of the indigenous and the non-indigenous languages of the Caucasus, the figures do not indicate numbers of speakers, but the number of people in the USSR that constitute the corresponding ethnic group. Unless there is any indication to the contrary, the figures present 1979 and (between round brackets) 1970 numbers. For the distribution of the peoples that will be enumerated, see Geiger (1959). For language retention, see at the end of section 3.


10. The designations used for Circassian, its dialects and its speakers are confusing. West Circassian is called, in Russian, adiveskij (and literary West Circassian literaturnyj adiveskij) jazyk. East and West Circassian together are referred to by the term adiveskie jazyki. East Circassian is mostly referred to as Kabardian (kabardinskij), and literary East Circassian as kabardino-cherkesskij literaturnyj jazyk, or simply as kabardinskij literaturnyj jazyk. I prefer to use the term Kabardian for one of the two East Circassian dialects (the other being Beslenej). The term Cherkes is sometimes used for all inhabitants of the North-west Caucasus who have the same cultural background as the Circassians. Unless in quotes, I will not use the term "Cherkes" for the speakers of East Circassian who live outside the Kabard-Balkar ASSR. Depending on their dialectal affiliation, I shall call them either West Kabardians or Besneys.

16. Isaev (1970:170: also called bzeduxskij [sic]).
20. Cf. Luzbetak (1951). The peak of the vast oral literature of the North Caucasus is formed by the cycles of the Nart epic. Abkhaz, Obykh, Circassians, Karachay-Balkar, Ossetes, Lezgi and Chechens all have their Nart epic, cf. Dumézil 1930, 1965), Inal-Ipa (1962), Nartker (1968), Narty (1974), etc. A comprehensive introduction to the history of the area written in English is Halosi-Kun (1963) (with many references to other studies), for Russian introductions, see (among others) Narody Kavkaza I (63-138) or istorija Kabardino-Balkarskoj ASSR.

21. Apparently, the Temirgoys were a relatively small tribe in the pre-1850 Caucasus that spoke a form of West Circassian which was very close to the language of such tribes as the Yegerukhay, the Namkhes, the Dzhambekhi and the Khatazhukay (cf. Zekos 1969:224). Cf. also Jakovlev (1930:19): "Der vor uns vorläufig temirogoisch (abadezch-temirogoisch) genannte Dialekt ist ein noch späteres Produkt dialek-tischer Verschmelzung, die zu einer Zeit vor sich ging, als der Handelsknotenpunkt sich einigermaßen nach Westen, von den Beslenejern ausgerechnet, verschob. Er ist eben ein Übergangsdiälekt zwischen den westkachischen, abadezchen und besenejischen Dialekten." In Turkey I once met a Circassian who, to all appearances was a speaker of Temirgoys; he himself, however, declared that he spoke Pedasay (in Dumezil 1954:47 I found a reference to a family Pedas).
22. Jakovlev's figures are not totally internally consistent; I have reproduced them without any changes.
23. Cf. Lewis (1965:176): "Omer Asim Aksoy, in his brilliant study of the dialect of Gaziantep ... insists that there are no Arabic-speakers there at all. This would suggest a high concentration of Arabic-speakers in the other frontier vilayets, but the assertion more probably represents a victory of patriotism over scholarship. It is conventional among Republican Turks to pretend that the population is homogeneous." On the annual congress of Altaists held at Ankara in 1973, a Turkish scholar presented the thesis that Kürt
is a metathesis of Türk (cf. also Kırzioni [1966]).

24. Cf. Comrie-[Hewitt] (1981:199): "The present-day, post-Revolutionary orthographies are all based on Cyrillic. Except in Abkhaz, only one non-Cyrillic sign is employed, and this is capital Ы, which, depending on the language concerned, may signify a glottal stop, glottalic initiation, or either pharyngeal or laryngeal articulation. As the Caucasian languages possess richer consonantal (and, generally, vocalic) inventories than Russian, the result is that certain phonemes have to be represented by means of digraphs, trigraphs, and, in one rare instance (the Kabard voiceless aspirated labialised uvular plosive) a tetragram "КХУ" (qо). In different languages the same sign may have different values; and the same phone may be represented by different signs, e.g. [צ] is Κ in Abaza but " in Adyge. But this desire to endow each literary language with its own orthographic identity has resulted in the following absurd situation obtaining in the orthographies of such closely related languages as Adyge and Kabard: the palato-alveolar voiceless fricative [s] in Adyge is m and in Kabard m, whilst m in Kabard represents the alveolo-palatal voiceless fricative [l], which in Adyge is written m. However, the strangest of the new orthographies incontrovertibly belongs to Abkhaz. Apart from employing 14 characters unknown in Cyrillic, it is amazingly inconsistent in its marking of aspirates and ejectives." The fate of Abkhaz as to the vicissitudes of its writing devices (Latin-Georgian-Cyrillic) is partly shared by Ossete: Cyrillic-Latin-Georgian-Cyrillic (in the South-Ossete AO), Cyrillic-Latin-Cyrillic (in the North-Ossete ASSR).

25. For the notion "language of the Soviet Union", see Comrie (1981:8).

26. I present here the corresponding figures (as far as they are available) for non-Caucasian languages of the Caucasus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkic peoples</th>
<th>Indonesian peoples</th>
<th>Indo-European Peoples</th>
<th>Other peoples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaydzhan</td>
<td>Armenian</td>
<td>Ossete</td>
<td>Kelmyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,477 (4,380)</td>
<td>4,151 (3,559)</td>
<td>542 (488)</td>
<td>147 (137)</td>
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<td>90.7 (91.4)</td>
<td>88.2 (88.6)</td>
<td>91.3 (91.7)</td>
</tr>
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<td>38.6 (30.1)</td>
<td>64.9 (58.6)</td>
<td>84.1 (81.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 (2.5)</td>
<td>5.7 (6.0)</td>
<td>12.2 (10.7)</td>
<td>1.0 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


28. Unspecified Circassian material presented in this introduction originates from Düzce Shapsug.

29. Cf. Kuipers (1963:57): "...few such series of correspondences are found between NWC and NEC, or even within NWC between Circ. and Abkh. ... setting up a phoneme in the proto-language for each individual pair leads to an impossibly large number of phonemes, and though in this way one has no counter-examples casting doubt on the comparisons, one also has little or no supporting evidence for each individual case, so that the procedure is without value."
30. Compare the Russian suffix -sja as used in, for instance, rugat'sja 'to swear, to use bad language' (vs. rugat 'to rail at, to abuse somebody').

31. Cf. also:

\[\text{psëše 'girl', meše 'voice', deże 'beautiful'}\]

\[\text{psëše-daše-m 'the beautiful girl, REL'.}\]

\[\text{psëše-maše-m 'the voice of a girl, REL'.}\]

\[\text{psëše-mêše-daše-m 'the beautiful voice of a girl, REL'.}\]

\[\text{psëše-deše-maše-m 'the voice of a beautiful girl, REL'.}\]

\[\text{y-a-wane-fa-zAČÈ-daše-m-ER (3/PS-POS-Pl-house-white-little-beautiful-PL-ABS) 'their beautiful little white houses, ABS'.}\]

32. Within Kabardian, consonant systems vary considerably.

Some add (as compared with Kuban KAB) \(\hat{\text{k}}\), others lack \(\hat{\text{x}}\). The reflexes of Common Circassian \(\text{k}, \text{g}\) and \(\text{g}'\) are velars ([k'-], etc.) in some subdialects and palatals ([ç'], etc.) in other subdialects — there are also subdialects where [k'], etc. are in free variation with [ç'], etc. There are East KAB subdialects that substitute palatalised alveolars for alveolo-palatal fricatives (cf. Dčerki kabardino-čerkesskoj dialektologii, passim). Most Kabardian consonant systems contain 45, 46 or 47 members. There is no single LiKAB system.

33. It is merely for typographical reasons that I use io for indirect object (and not IO).

34. The Oubylk forms are taken from Dumézil (1975, passim); the Abkhaz forms are taken from Dumézil (1967 and 1975). Abkhaz away (c) is realised as [oč], cf. Dumézil (1967:27).

35. Vogt's 1963 dictionary should not be used without Dumézil's comments on it (Dumézil 1965:197-269).

36. "It may be noted from the forms presented here that what is most characteristic of the languages possessing objective verbal conjugations is their rigorous regularity." (note 10: A possible exception is the Circassian preposition qe-, qa-, qa- 'to', found in many of the forms presented above. The actual rules governing its use have not as yet been thoroughly formulated.) Once the structure of a form and the pronominal affixes are known, it is possible to construct any transitive verb objectively." (Fox 1970:46).
PART II
CHAPTER 1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

1.1.1 Introduction

The inventory of DUSHP phonemes comprises 56 consonants and 3 vowels, listed in two charts below. The consonants show little phonetic variation. The vowels are very variable; they vary as a function of the adjoining consonants. Consonants occur singly or in sequences. Vowel sequences do not occur.

1.1.2 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>obstruents</th>
<th>fricatives</th>
<th>resonants</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plosives</td>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>nasals glides</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>laryngeals</td>
<td>labialised</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.3 Vowels

The inventory of DUSHP vowels comprises 15 vowels, listed in two charts below. The vowels show little phonetic variation. The consonants are very variable; they vary as a function of the adjoining vowels. Vowel sequences do not occur.
Oppositron is (1) voiceless, (2) voiced or (3) glottalic. Roughly speaking, there are ten areas of articulation, in six of which there is an opposition plain/labialised. In the palatal series we find a remnant of an opposition palatalised/velarised. 2) The velarised fricative palatal ɔ alternates with ɔ. The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate ɔ alternates with ɔ, and the laryngeal h with h. The phonemes ɔ, h and ɔ have a very limited distribution. In one specific position (cf. §1.3.6) the voiceless and glottalic fricatives of the alveolar, alveolo-palatal and palatal series are realised as affricates.

1.1.3 Vowels

DwiSHP has a vertical vowel system: only the degree of aperture of the vowels is phonologically relevant. In addition to the three native vowels one also finds, in loans with a low degree of assimilation, i, o, u, ə.

1.2 THE PHONETICS OF SINGLE CONSONANTS

1.2.1 Laryngeal Articulation

The voiceless plosives are aspirated; the aspiration is strongest before vowels, and stronger in stops than in affricates. Strong aspiration can have expressive function. The voiceless velar and uvular plosives range from stops to affricates.

The voiced obstruents are lenis as compared to the voiceless ones. Word-finally they may be devoiced to a greater or lesser extent. They remain distinct from their voiceless counterparts, especially the plosives because of the lack of aspiration. The resonants are voiced.

In the glottalic consonants other than ɔ and ɔ, the glottal release normally follows the oral one. The interval between the two releases is relatively long (a) in fricatives and (b) in word-final position.

The details on the articulation of the obstruents discussed here are not reflected in my (broad) phonetic notation.

1.2.2 Oral Articulation

As to place of articulation, the labial plosives are bilabial, the fricatives labiodental.

The alveolo-palatals are predorso-prepalatal. The lips are strongly protruded with the labialised alveolo-palatals; with the plain ones the lower lip is slightly drawn down. The trill is denti-alveolar. It can have fricative-like realisations which come close to [ɔ].

The timbre of the plain palatais is comparable to that of "soft" Russian ɔ (rather than "hard" ɔ, ɔ). In fast speech it is hard to distinguish plain alveolo-palatal and plain palatal fricatives, phonetically [ɔ] and [ɔ] vs. [ɔ] and [ɔ]. The phoneme ɔ is usually realised as [ɔ] but may be realised as [ɔ] (comparable to Russian ɔ).

The laterals are unilateral. With NM the release is at the right. The voiced lateral ɪ has resonant variants, especially in loans, while ɪ has affricate variants.

For the velars, the plain plosives are markedly prevelar [k, g, k], the plain fricatives are articulated further back, the labialised stops further back still. The uvulars are clearly distinct from the velars. Unaffricated variants of the uvular plosives sometimes give the impression of being glottalised, especial-
ly in the clusters \( pq \) and \( pq^o \). The fricative \( \mathbf{h}^o \) has realisations with a very wide aperture which come close to \( [w] \). Word-final \( ah \) containing \( -k \) PF is pronounced as \( [a^g] \) or as \( [c:] \).

The pharyngeal is comparable to Arabic \( 
\). The laryngeal fricative \( \mathbf{h} \) is usually voiceless. As well as laryngeal realisations, pharyngeal realisations of this fricative also occur.

Identification of consonants is facilitated by the effect they have on adjacent sounds (cf. § 1.4).

1.2.3 Labialisation

In the chart in § 1.1.2, "labialisation" refers to strong lip-rounding which characterises a consonant from onset to release, so that both preceding and following sounds are affected. The labialised labials are no exception. However, in these full lip-rounding is necessarily interrupted. Plain obstruents tend to become labialised before the sequences \( aw \) and \( ew \), and after \( aw \). This is especially the case with \( q \) and \( \mathbf{h} \).

e.g. \( saq^o : [\text{sap}^o] '\) educate me!\(' (saq^o : 1/\text{SB}-2/\text{AG}-\text{to raise}).\)

\( bzw \) \[\text{baw} \] / \[\text{baw} \] 'much, MOD' (\( b-ew \) : much-MOD).

\( waqebzw \) : \[\text{waq}ebzw \] / \[\text{waq}ebzw \] 'clean it!' (\( wa.qebzw \) : 3/\text{SB}-2/\text{AG}-to clean). \( yaxew \) \[\text{yalx}o \] / \[\text{yalx}o \] '(he) knitting it' (\( ya.x-ew \) : 3/\text{SB}-3/\text{AG}-to knit-MOD). \( yax^o ew \) \[\text{yalx}o \] 'his pig, MOD' (\( ya.-x^o-ew \) : 3/\text{PS}-POS-pig-MOD).

1.3 THE PHONETICS OF CONSONANT SEQUENCES

1.3.1 Introduction

In what follows the term "cluster" refers to sequences consisting of obstruents only. The symbol \( \mathbf{h} \) will be used for the combined class of single consonants and clusters. For lists of consonant sequences that occur within the morpheme, see § 2.3. For sequences that occur at morpheme boundaries, see § 4.10.

1.3.2 Laryngeal Articulation

In clusters, a voiceless final member has relatively weak aspiration, whereas a non-final member is pronounced with less articulatory force than a single consonant. The non-final member usually lacks aspiration or glottal release of its own.

Voiced initial consonants have partially devoiced variants. Phonemically, clusters are voiceless, voiced or glottalic as a whole, with the laryngeal articulation being determined by the final member. If the final member of a cluster is glottalic, the laryngeal closure sets in at the onset of a preceding plosive (\( c^o, q \) and \( q^o \) do not occur as non-final members of clusters), but a preceding fricative tends to be pronounced with open glottis, even if it has a glottalic correlate.

e.g. \( psa \) \[\text{psw} \] 'it is water' (\( psa : 3/\text{SB}-\text{water} \) /\( \text{Psaw} /\).

\( bza \) : \[\text{bzw} \] 'cut it!' (\( bzw : 3/\text{SB}-2/\text{AG}-\text{to cut} \) /\( \text{Pzw} /\).

\( p\) : \[\text{pr}w \] 'tell a lie!' (\( p\) : 2/\text{SB}-to lie) /\( \text{Pw} /\).

\( ma\)ke \[\text{maw} \] / \[\text{maw} \] 'it is a spark' (\( ma.k\) : 3/\text{SB}-spark) /\( \text{Maske} /\).

The non-final obstruents of the cluster \( ps \) always seem to be pronounced with open glottis.

1.3.3 Morpheme Boundaries in Consonant Sequences

In normal speech, identical sequences with and without an internal morpheme boundary sound alike.
Affricates are clearly distinct from corresponding sequences of plosives plus homorganic fricatives by virtue of the shorter duration of their fricative element, e.g. \( c \) \([\text{t}^8]\) vs. \( ts \) \([\text{ts}]\). The sequences always contain a morpheme boundary.

e.g. \( ceSt \ [\text{t}^8\text{c}^8\text{t}] \) 'he will run' \( (ce-St: \text{3/SB-to run-Fu/1}) \).

\( teSt \ [\text{t}^8\text{c}^8\text{c}^8\text{t}] \) 'we will sell it' \( (te^8se-St: \text{3/SB-1p/AG-to sell-Fu/1}) \).

If the affricates were interpreted as sequences of plosive plus fricative, we would have to work with phonemic morpheme boundaries. As it is not necessary to invoke an analysis in terms of juncture phenomena elsewhere, I refrain from introducing them here. In phonetic transcription I render \( c \), etc. as \([c]\) and \( ts \), etc. as \([ts]\).

### 1.3.5 Some Morphophonemic Combinations Compared with Single Consonants

The morphophonemic combinations \( p-p \), \( b-b \), \( t-p \), \( s-o-s^6 \), etc. (involving personal prefixes as first element) are distinct from single \( p \), \( b \), \( t \), \( s \), etc. Word-medially, the relatively long duration of the closure is easily observable. Word-initially after a pause the difference is hard to hear in the case of the plosives, though the articulatory effort is clearly different.

e.g. \( tSt \ [\text{t}^8\text{c}^8\text{c}^8\text{t}] \) 'we will give it' \( (tSt: \text{3/SB-1p/AG-to give-Fu/1}) \).

Free variation of \([d]\) and \([d^8]\) occurs in ma(d)de 'here', wa(d)de 'there (near you)', ra(d)de 'there (near him)', and in derived forms. The lengthening may originally have had expressive force; nowadays medde, etc. are the usual forms. In native material
there are no other cases of "long" consonants in which no morpheme boundaries are involved.

Morphophonemic /ɛ-/, /ɛv/, ɛ- and /ɛ-? and /ɛ-? are usually not distinct from the unit phonemes ɛ, ɛv, ɛ, ɛ, ɛ, ɛ and ɛv. Again, word-medially there can be a difference in careful speech. The transcription is morphophonemic.

e.g. /ɛsɪɪt/ [pʰoɔ'ɛt] 'it will be a bed' (pʰo-ɛ-st : 3/SB-bed-Fu/1). /ɛsɪɪt/ [pʰɔ'ɛt] 'you will say it' (pʰɔ-ɛ-st : 3/SB-2/AG-to say-Fu/1).


In fast speech there is no difference between ɛ and ɛv either, both being pronounced [ɛv].

e.g. ɛv [ɛv] 'it is good' (ɛv : 3/SB-good).

gəşəyaşək [gəsʰaʃək] 'he took it out of it against her wish' (gəsʰa-ɛgəxək, a-ə : 3/SB-Hh-3/pO-against-3/pO-1n-3/AG-to take(ELA)-PF).


1.3.6 On s-s, ʃ-ʃ, s-ʃ, etc.

The clusters s-s, ʃ-ʃ, s-ʃ, ʃ-ʃ, ʃ-ʃ, s-ʃ and s-ʃ (all containing an initial first person sg. prefix) are pronounced

[(s)c], [(s/s')c'], [(s)c'], [(s/s')e'], [(s)e'], [(s/s')e'°], [(s)e'°] and again [(s)e']. Word-initially [ɛ], etc. are more common than [ɛ], etc. Word-medially [s], etc. are preferred.

e.g. /ɛsɪɪt/ [ɛsɪɪt] / [ɛsɪɪt] 'I will do it' (ɛsɪɪt : 3/SB-1/AG-to do-Fu/1).


Compare:

feşəst [felɔ'ʃəst] 'you will do it for him' (felɔ-ʃə-st : 3/SB-3/pO-for-2/AG-to do-Fu/1).

The sequences s-ʃ and s-ʃ in s-ʃ and s-ʃ are pronounced analogously:
sşəst [(s)şə'st] 'I will eat it' (şsə-st : 3/SB-1/AG-to eat-Fu/1).
sşhe [(s)şhe] 'it is my head' (şs-şhe : 3/SB-1/PS-head).

Occasionally, the combination s-ş is pronounced [şş] or [şş].

1.3.7 Cluster-initial Alveolo-palatal and Palatal Fricatives

As non-final members of clusters the palatal and the plain alveolo-palatal fricatives are not opposed to each other. We find:

(a) [ʃ] and [ʃ] before plain uvulars and h;
(b) [ʃ/ʃ] or [ʃ] before labialised uvulars;
(c) [ʃ] or [ʃ] before velars and f;
(d) [ʃ] before t.
I transcribe (a) as ӑx, ӑk, ӑh; (b) as ӑg, ӑk; (c) as ӑk, ӑk, ӑk and ӑk; (d) as ӑl. Before ӑ and ӑ (b) we find [a] as well as [a],
[arp] is always found in the bimorphemic sequences ӑg-qa and ӑk-x (with initial 2nd person plural prefix).
e.g. ӑkante [a(arp)kante] 'it is green' (ӑxkante : 3/SB-green).

1.3.8 About ӑ, ml and b才干
The sequence ӑl is pronounced as [ml] or [ml], the sequence 
ml as [ml] or [ml]. The first of these sequences occurs in hem emulate
'like' only, the second is found in ӗkemle 'food' and ӗkemle 'treat'.
The sequence b才干 is realised as [bx'] or as [bx']; it occurs,
for instance, in b才干e 'winter' and ӗb才干e 'friend (age-fellow)';
the sequence b才干 is always pronounced as [bx'].

1.4 THE PHONETICS OF VOWELS

1.4.1 Vowel Colouring

The timbre of the vowels is determined by the character of
the adjacent consonants. The colouring is strongest in ӑ and weakest in ӑ. The main tendencies are fronting, rounding and retraction.
With all three vowels front (and high) variants are found in contact with y, and with the vowels ӑ and ӑ also in contact with other
'soft' consonants. These same vowels, ӑ and ӑ, have rounded (and back) variants in contact with w and in contact with labialised con-
sonants. The vowel ӑ can be coloured by w, but not by labialised consonants. Retracted variants of all three vowels occur in contact
with plain back consonants, especially with h and ? (§ 1.4.8).

Vowels between consonants that colour in a different way
have swift-moving polyphthongal variants. Vowels between similar-colouring consonants are coloured more strongly than those occurring
between a colouring and a "neutral" consonant, and much more strongly
than word-final vowels preceded by colouring consonants. Colouring is relatively strong in fast speech.

There is a considerable amount of free variation, and also
individual variation. The individual variation has the effect that
with every new informant one first has to become familiar with his
or her treatment of the vowels.

1.4.2 Vowel Variants

The neutral variants of the vowels are: [a] for ӑ, [e] / [a]
for ӑ and [a] for a. The variant [e] of ӑ is common in and before
stressed position; following stressed position [a] is often observed.
The following symbols are used to indicate non-neutral vowel vari-
ts: /a/ [i] fronted and raised
[ u] rounded and backed and raised
[ e] half (fronted and raised)
[ o] half (rounded and backed and raised)
[
] fronted, rounded and raised
[ e] retracted and raised
/e/ [e] fronted and raised
[o] rounded and raised and back
[ o] rounded and back
[ a] retracted
[ e] retracted and lowered
1.4.3 Length

Stressed vowels are longer than unstressed ones. Unstressed medial a is very short. It is easily dropped, even in normal speech.

e.g. qasät: [qasët] / [qasët] 'give it to me!' (qaṣaeṣët: 3/5B-1/io-2/AG-to give).

The dropping of a is regular after w and after m in word-medial \( V_m^w - V \); the vowel preceding \( v \), or \( m \), is usually lengthened.

e.g. sawamatew [swammatöy] / [swammatöy] / [swammatöy] '(you) not giving me (to somebody)'

\( sə-wa-mët-ew : 1/5B-2/AG-N/1-to give-MOD \).


syawan [sija:wë] 'it is my house' (sya4wa: 3/5B-1/PO-POS-house).

Instances of a occurring immediately before the boundary of two morphemes that underlyingly each contain at least two vowels, are extremely often dropped.

e.g. natafadeger [natafedeği'ær] / [natafedeği'ær] 'the good maize'

\( natafa-deği'ær : maize-good-ABS + natafa-deği'ær \).

1.4.4 Vowels in Contact with non-intervocalic y or w

In contact with non-intervocalic \( y \) or \( w \) vowel colouring is strongest of all. When \( y \) and \( w \) are not followed by a vowel the situation is as follows:

\( a \) fronted and raised
\( e \) retracted
\( x \) rounded and raised and fronted/backed

The realisations \( iː \) and \( eː \) are heard word-medially, \( iː \) and \( eː \) both word-medially and word-finally. In both positions the - broad - transcription makes only use of \( iː \), \( eː \), etc. An identical situation is observed before \( w \).

e.g. wamabzay: [wumabźä] 'do not cut it, and...!' (wa₆mabźbzet: 3/5B-2/AG-N/1-to cut-CoPr).

wamabzay: [wumabźä] 'do not lick it!' (wa₆mabźbez: 3/5B-2/AG-N/1-to lick).

wamabzay: [wumabźä] 'do not lick!' (wa₆mabźbza: 2/5B-N/1-to lick).

wamaw: [wumaw] 'do not shoot!' (wa₆ma₇w: 2/5B-N/1-to shoot).

m.ew [møy] 'here'.

wamazaw: [wumazaq: y] 'do not fight!' (wa₆ma₇za₇w: 2/5B-N/1-to fight).

qaynew [qajnew] 'difficult, MOD' (qaynew: difficult-MOD).

maytege [mayteʒe] 'with an old axe' (mayte: axe-INS).

mayte [mayte] 'it is an axe' (mayte: 3/5B-axe).

downyem [dqwnym]: 'the world, REL' (dównyem: world-REL).


thawmařem [thǎwmařem] 'on Sunday' (thawmařem: Sunday-REL).

The sequences \( V_y \) and \( V_w \) dealt with above occur only in or after the central part of the word (the "base", cf. § 2.1.2). They
do not occur before the base, i.e. in the domain of the stem-pre-fixes. There, however, we find sequences $\dd$; these sequences are not matched by sequences containing $\dd$. The sequences $\dd$ show no special behaviour when the vowel involved is $\dd$. With the other vowels the situation is as follows:

$\dd - [\dd] / [\dd] / [\dd]$

$\dd - [\dd] / [\dd] / [\dd]$

Word-initially we most often find $[\dd]$ and $[\dd]$, word-medially $[\dd]$ and $[\dd]$; however, in both positions all three realisations are heard. In word-initial syllables I shall use $[\dd]$, otherwise $[\dd]$.

**e.g.**

$s\dd$?

$[\dd]?$ 'I have it' ($s\dd$ : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be)

$w\dd$?

$[\dd]?$ 'I have you' ($w\dd$ : 2/SB-1/PO-POS-to be).

$t\dd\dd$

$[\dd]$ 'we are looking at it' (t$\dd\dd$ : 1p/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to look).

$t\dd\dd\dd$

$[\dd]$ 'we are looking at it together' (t$\dd\dd\dd$ : 1p/SB-REC/PO-with-3/io-Dy/1-to look).

1.4.5 The Vowel $\dd$

The vowel $\dd$ is pronounced $[\dd]$ before $\dd$ not followed by a vowel (cf. § 1.4.4). In a word-final sequence $\dd\dd$, $\dd$ is pronounced as $[\dd]$; here the fronting effect of $\dd$ is neutralised by the retracting effect of $\dd$. The back variant is heard in contact with (retracting) plain back consonants (cf. § 1.4.8); $\dd$ is pronounced as $[\dd]$ before $\dd$ not followed by a vowel (cf. § 1.4.4).

The vowel $\dd$ most often occurs word-medially. Word-finally it is only found in the following three endings: - a interrogative, -$\dd$ vocative and -$\dd$, a negative interrogative. In these endings $\dd$ is pro-

nounced as $[\dd]$; it can be pronounced with rising pitch.

**e.g.**

$\dd$?

$[\dd]$ / $[\dd]$ 'is it a house?' ($\dd$ : 3/SB-house-INT).

Compare:

$\dd$

$[\dd]$ 'it is a house' ($\dd$ : 3/SB-house).

Word-initial $\dd$ is still less common. Its occurrence is limited to a 'that one', an allomorph of $\dd$ ($\dd$ is preferred word-initially, $\dd$ word-medially).

**e.g.**

$\dd$?

$[\dd]/[\dd]$ 'that one, ABS' ($\dd$ : that-ABS).

$\dd$

$[\dd]/[\dd]/[\dd]/[\dd]/[\dd]$ id. ($\dd$).

1.4.6 Front Variants of $\dd$ and $\dd$

The palatalisation other than $\dd$ and the plain velar plosives tend to cause $\dd$ to be realised as $[\dd]$; $\dd$ tends to give it the realisation $[\dd]$. Before these same consonants one finds $[\dd]$, and after them $[\dd]$ as realisations of $\dd$. A very slight front colouring is noticeable (only in $\dd$) in contact with velar fricatives and $\dd$.

**e.g.**

$\dd$

$[\dd]$ / $[\dd]$ 'he is there' ($\dd$ : 3/SB-there-to be[long]).

$\dd$

$[\dd]$ / $[\dd]$ 'they are eight' ($\dd$ : 3/SB-eight).

$\dd$


$\dd$

$[\dd]$ 'it is dirty' ($\dd$ : 3/SB-dirty).

1.4.7 Rounded Variants of $\dd$ and $\dd$

Rounded (plus backed) variants of $\dd$ and $\dd$ are found in contact with labialised consonants and $\dd$. Half-rounded variants of especially $\dd$ are usually found word-finally after $\dd$ or after $\dd$. 

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Word-medially, both \( \tilde{a} \) and, again, especially \( \tilde{a} \), have half-raised variants before labialised consonants or \( \tilde{w} \) in open syllables. The labialised alveolo-palatais and also - but to a much lesser extent - \( \hat{a} \) and \( \hat{a} \) have a rounding and, as far as \( \tilde{a} \) is concerned, a fronting effect.

**Examples:**

- **Bzaw\(\hat{a}\)**: [be\(\hat{u}\)w\(\hat{e}\)] 'a bird, ABS' (bzaw\(\hat{a}\) : bird-ABS).
- **C\(\hat{a}\)k\(\hat{a}\)**: [\(\hat{e}\)\(\tilde{u}\)k\(\tilde{e}\)] 'an ox-cart, ABS' (c\(\hat{a}\)-k\(\hat{a}\) : ox-cart-ABS).
- **K\(\hat{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\hat{t}\)**: [\(\tilde{e}\)\(e\)\(\hat{u}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\hat{e}\)] 'it will happen' (k\(\hat{a}\)-\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\hat{t}\) : 3/SB-to happen-Fu/1).
- **Wama\(\hat{a}\)**: [\(\tilde{u}\)\(\tilde{u}\)\(\tilde{u}\)] 'do not become!' (w\(\hat{a}\)-ma\(\tilde{a}\) : 2/SB-N/1-to become).
- **K\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\)**: [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'a road, ABS' (k\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\) : road-ABS).
- **K\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\)-m**: [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\hat{u}\)] 'the road, REL' (k\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\)-m : road-REL).
- **K\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\)-\(\hat{e}\)**: [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'a country, REL' (k\(\hat{a}\)eg\(\hat{a}\)-\(\hat{e}\) : country-REL).
- **P\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\hat{e}\)**: [p\(\hat{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'you will say it' (p\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\hat{e}\) : 3/SB-2/AG-to say-Fu/1).
- **T\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)**: [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'it is a book' (t\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-book).

### 1.4.8 Retracted Vowel Variants

Plain back consonants - especially \( \tilde{b} \) and \( \tilde{b} \) - have a tendency to retract (and raise) \( \tilde{a} \) to \( [\tilde{u}] \), to retract \( \tilde{e} \) to \( [\tilde{a}] \) or to retract and lower it to \( [\tilde{a}] \), and to retract \( \tilde{e} \) to \( [\tilde{a}] \). This colouring is suppressed by simultaneous front colouring.

**Examples:**

- **Be** : [\(\tilde{e}\)] 'carry it!' (be : 3/SB-2/AG-to carry).
- **Yah** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'it is his dog' (y\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-3/PO-POS-dog).
- **S\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'it is my dog' (s\(\tilde{a}\) \(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-dog).
- **He** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'it is a dog' (he : 3/SB-dog).
- **M\(\tilde{a}\)** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] '(interjection) take it!' (m\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-boat).
- **X\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)** [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'it is not a boat' (x\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\tilde{e}\) : 3/SB-boat-N/2).

### 1.4.9 Concurrent Colouring

Usually, the realisation of a vowel that occurs between non-similar consonants is determined more by the following than by the preceding consonant. This is always the case in word-final syllables.

**Examples:**

- **Way** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'this, REL' (wa-y : this/that-REL).
- **Vaw** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'beat into it!' (v\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-3/PO-in-to beat-ILL).
- **Yaw** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'enter into it!' (y\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter).
- **Hey** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'carry it, and ..!' (h\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{e}\) : 3/SB-2/AG-to carry-CoPr).
- **Wey** [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'you, REL' (we-y : you-REL).
- **Yew** [\(\tilde{e}\)\(\tilde{e}\)] 'beat him!' (y\(\tilde{e}\) : 3/SB-3/PO-POS-dog).
- **Syaw** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\)**] '(interjection) take it!' (s\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\) : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-dog).

### 1.4.10 Colouring at a Distance

Colouring can extend itself to vowels other than directly adjacent ones, and also over word boundaries.

**Examples:**

- **Saq\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] / [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] / [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'he led me hit me into it' (s\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\)-\(\tilde{a}\) : 1/SB-Hh-3/PO-in-3/AG-to lead-ILL-PF).
- **Se wasawak\(\tilde{e}\)** [\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)\(\tilde{a}\)] 'I will kill you' (se : 1) wa-sawak\(\tilde{e}\)-\(\tilde{e}\) : 2/SB-1/AG-to kill-Fu/1).
1.5 **INTONATION - STRESS - SANDHI - CONTRACTIONS**

1.5.1 **Intonation**

The main features of sentence intonation are the following: before a pause there is a relatively high or low pitch; high at the end of a clause and, generally, low at the end of a sentence. Sentence-final high pitch expresses amazement. After a pause we find a mid pitch, after which lowering follows. In long clauses the pitch can, once or more than once, be restored to mid, or even raised to high. Characteristic is the high pitch that accompanies the final element -by (CoPr) of coordinate clauses. The interrogative endings -a INT and -b.a NeINT, and the vocative ending -a, are as a rule pronounced with rising pitch.

Occasionally one finds a predicate not in sentence-final position; in that case it is followed by one of its subordinates. Both the predicate and the subordinate then have a final pitch pattern. Instrumental investigation of intonation - and stress - remains a task for the future.  

1.5.2 **Stress**

Words usually have a prominent syllable, but one cannot predict with certainty which syllable will be the stressed one. The tendency is to have a stress on one of the last two syllables of the stem, for "stem" cf. § 2.1.2. Most often it is the penultimate vowel of the stem that is stressed. A non-stressed stem-final vowel is often dropped when occurring word-finally (see section 4.6).

- **e.g.** ęalər [ę'alər] 'the boy, ABS' (ęal-er : boy-ABS).
- **sełaže** [səˈləţə] 'I am working' (sə-łaže : 1/5B-Dy/1-to work).

- **wabat(a) :** [wubat(ə)] 'catch it!' (wabat(a) : 3/5B-2/AG-to catch).

In longer words there may be several stressed syllables at a time; secondary stress often falls on the first syllable.

- **e.g.** ęeleceba-rer [ę'eləkə'ba-ærər], possible stress patterns:

  - [---], [---], [---], [---], [---] 'the little boy, ABS' (ęele-ceba-rer : boy-little-ABS).

On the other hand, in running texts many words have no prominent syllable at all. This is especially the case with non-final words in longer phrases.

The functional load of stress is extremely low. Ideal minimal pairs do not occur; one does, however, find pairs that differ optionally.

- **e.g.** ęyašeřačerem [-] / [-] 'when he will buy them'
  
  - ziyašeřa-fa-re-rem [3/5B-when-3/AG-to buy-PL-Dy/2-REL];
  - the stem ends before the ending -ře.

- **zyašeřačerem [-] / [-] 'when he will finish buying'**

  - ziyašeřa-fa-re-rem [3/5B-when-3/AG-to buy-EXH-Dy/2-REL];
  - -ře exhaustive is a stem-suffix.

Often stress is used to emphasize one or another of the constituent morphemes of a word.

- **e.g.** ęelečačer 'the small BOY, ABS'.
- **čelečačer** 'the SMALL boy, ABS'.

One striking regularity can be mentioned: the stative verb ra 'to be identical to' is always stressed when it occurs word-finally.

- **e.g.** ęera [-] 'it is me' (ęera : 3/5B-1/1-to be identical to).
- **Čera[-]me [-] 'it is me' (čera-me : 3/5B-1/1-to be id.-COND).
1.5.3 Sandhi and Contractions

In fast speech we find at word boundaries:

(i) The insertion of a plosive element between two non-plosive consonants. The inserted element is homorganic with the word-
initial consonant.

\[ təa\ [t] sya?ep 'I do not have a book' \]
\[ (s^2_y^a?ep : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be-N/2). \]
\[ əa [p] feŋge 'for the man' \]
\[ (əa-m : man-REL) \]
\[ (fe.əa.ge : for). \]

(ii) The dropping of word-initial \( y \) of a sequence \( y-a \) 3/(PO, 1o, AG)-Pl after a word-final vowel. The latter itself can also be dropped.

\[ ?axeme ya?aŋ \[.meyəa... ,ma?a... ,ma... \] 'they have said it' \]
\[ (a-əe-m-e : that-PL-REL-PL) \]
\[ (ya.əaŋ-ə-g : 3/SB-3/AG- Pl-to say-PF). \]

(iii) The merging of word-final \( a \) or \( e \) and word-initial \( ya \) into \( [i:] \), \[ [j] \].

\[ themate \]
\[ (teyi... ,ti... ,ti... ) 'near the elder' \]
\[ (themate : elder-REL) \]
\[ (ya-daŋa : 3/PS-POS-nearness-REL). \]

The fixed combination \( əa?əe.a?ə \) 'what kind of?' (cf. əa?əe 'issue') has various other realizations besides the expected but infrequent \( [əa?əeəəwə]: [əməo:yyξ]/[əməo:yyξ]/[məo:yyξ]. \)

Special mention must also be made of combinations of \( ma 'this', we 'that/this' and te 'which?' with the copula əa?əe 'it is (that one)'

\[ ma?are \[ mə\arə]/[ma?ərə] 'it is this one'. \]

NOTES

1. In the present chapter Circassian forms do not contain hyphens or dots separating morphemes (see Conventions).

2. See chapter 10, section 5.

3. The velarised fricative \( ə \) occurs only in \( əe \) 'brother' and in \( əa \) 'horse'. The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate \( ə \) occurs in one root, viz. in \( əa?əeə : \) (freely varying with \( əa?əeə \) 'wooden hook'. The phoneme \( h \) is found in \( əa?əe 'now', in əe.ə.əe 'then, afterwards', and in a number of loans.

4. The pronunciation \[ [i] \] is rare; one can come across it when a root \( əa \) is used in isolation (i.e. not preceded or followed by overt affixes).

\[ əə [iə / [i:i] 'it is a horse' \]
\[ əə [iə / [i:i] 'it is a brother'. \]

The transcription always uses \( ə \) in the roots "horse" and "brother".

5. Further illustrations:

\[ əə[əəəəəə] 'I stuck it into it' \]
\[ (əa?əa?ə : 3/SB-3/PO-in-l/AG-to stick.ILL-PF); compare: \]
\[ əə[əəəəəə] 'you stuck it into it' (with \( p^6 \) 2/AG). \]

\[ əə [pæ-ce-e] 'it is my name' \]
\[ (əa?ə : 3/SB-1/PS-name); \]

\[ əə [pæ-ce-e] 'it is your name' (with \( p^6 \) 2/PS). \]

\[ əəəəəə [əəəəə] 'I will weave it' \]
\[ (səəəəə : 3/SB-3/AG-to weave-Fv). \]

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psect [p3e3'c] 'you will weave it' (with p 2/AG).

xesqeszt [xmeq'eu'ec] [xmeq'uu'ec] 'I will drink it out of it' (xesqeszt-e-Kt : 3/SB-3/PO-in-l/AG-to drink-ELA-Fu/1);

compare:

qepeszt [qmeq'uu'ec] 'you will drink it out of it' (with p 2/AG).

§16e3b [e3'es3b] / [e3'es3b] 'it is hot to me' (§16e3b-e3b : 3/SB-1/PO-against-hot); compare:

qepeszt [qmeq'uu'ec] 'it is hot to you' (q 2/PO).

gesst [qexa3'e3's] / [qexa3'e3's] 'I will marry her'

"I will lead her hither" (gesst-e-k : 3/SB-Mh-1/AG-to lead-Fu/1); compare:

qepeszt [qap3'e3's] 'you will marry her' (with p 2/AG).

ssep [s3'ep] / [s3'ep] 'he is not my brother' (s3sep : 3/SB-1/PS-brother-N/2); compare:

psep [p3'ep] 'he is not your brother' (with p 2/PS).

Compare also:

desk, destek, destek, detek, detek.

detek [de3'ig] 'he ran out of it' (de3'ig-e-K : 3/SB-3/PO-in-to run-ELA-PF).

desk [de3'es3'ig] 'I led it out of it' (de3'es3'ig-e-K : 3/SB-3/PO-in-l/AG-to lead-ELA-PF).

destek [de3'es3'ig] 'I ran it together with him' (de3'es3'ig-e-K : 3/SB-3/PO-with-l/AG-to run(tr.)-PF).

detek [de3'es3'ig] 'we led it out of it' (with 1 1p/AG).

detek [de3'es3'ig] 'we ran it together with him' (with 1 1p/AG).

6. In certain fixed combinations some morphemes have generalised their allomorphs with dropped shwa; cf. zewyo 'all'

("ze-wa'ya : REC/PS-trace), basam.g'eşke 'lady of the house' (compare basam 'master, g'eşke 'princess, lady').

7. Pauses are used to mark the interruption of a clause.
e.g. ma [pause] q'asem desa çaler 'this boy that is living in the village' (ma : this) (q'asem : village-REL) PART/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) (çaler : boy-ABS).

ma q'asem desa çaler 'the boy that is living in this village' (this) (village-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO-in-to live) (boy-ABS).
CHAPTER 2  MAKE-UP OF THE WORD

2.1. MORPHEMIC MAKE-UP

2.1.1  Introduction

Circassian is highly agglutinative: the word contains anything from 1 to 15 morphemes (but seldom more). Cases of fusion are rare. Most morphemes display allomorphy. A basic morph is selected for each morpheme. In chapter three I discuss these basic morphs, in chapter four I give rules that can be applied to underlying word forms made up of (appropriate) basic morphs.

2.1.2  Stem - Base - Root - Affixes

Words consist of a stem, to which one or more endings can be added. The stem consists of a base, which can be preceded and/or followed by stem-affixes. In all there are about 120 stem-affixes. They indicate, among others, person, location, direction, tense and mood. Bases consist of a root, which may be extended with base-affixes. Within one stem several bases can combine. This goes for both simple and extended bases. Stem-prefixes, stem-suffixes and endings (the latter two will often jointly be referred to as "suffixes") are presented in chapter 5. As they are very frequent, they will be introduced briefly in the following sections.

2.1.3  Stem-prefixes

Stem-prefixes, especially the personal prefixes, are extremely frequent and show a great deal of allomorphy. Nine slots can be set up for the stem-prefixes.1) The order of these prefixes is very stable (for some vacillations see § 3.7). Four of the slots of the stem-prefixes can be filled by personal prefixes:

- slot 1 by a subject (SB) prefix; cf.
  \[\text{sa}^{1}\text{lee}\text{-st}\] (1/SB-to go-Fu/1) 'I will go' ("of me-going-will be the case")
  \[\text{sa}^{1}\text{p}^{6}\text{xe}\text{-a}\text{-st}\] (1/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'you will see me' ("of me-by you-seeing-will be the case")

- slot 4 by a preverb object (PO) prefix followed by a preverb (there are about 40 preverbs; most of them correspond semantically to English prepositions); cf.
  \[\text{sa}^{1}\text{b}^{4}\text{de}\text{-e}\text{-st}\text{-en}\] (1/SB-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/1-N/2) 'I will not go with you'.

- slot 5 by an indirect object (io) prefix; cf.
  \[\text{sa}^{1}\text{we}\text{5}\text{p}^{6}\text{le}\text{-st}\] (1/SB-2/io-to look-Fu/1) 'I will look at you'.
  \[\text{we}\text{5}\text{sto}\text{-st}\] (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it to you'.

- slot 6 by an agent (AG) prefix; cf.
  \[\text{sa}^{1}\text{p}^{6}\text{xe}\text{-a}\text{-st}\], \[\text{we}\text{5}\text{sto}\text{-st}\] (see above); forms with a filled sixth slot are transitive; the system of actant marking is based on the ergative principle.2)

The five remaining slots all have few fillers: slot 2, 8 and 9 have one filler only, slot 3 has two, and slot 7 three different fillers, cf. the survey below.3)
2.2 PHONEMIC MAKE-UP

2.2.1 The Phonological Word

Vowels occur word-medially and word-finally. Vowel sequences do not occur. Certain types of forms have an optional final vowel. (cf. § 4.4). Single consonants as well as consonant sequences are found in initial, medial and final position. Definitely excluded are word-initial sequences consisting of a resonant followed by one or more obstruents, and word-final sequences consisting of one or more obstruents and a final resonant. Other limitations in the distribution of consonants generally have a morphological background. For instance, hapax sequences occurring in longer morphemes are therefore excluded from certain positions in the word.

The cluster \( \mathbb{X} \) occurs only in \( \text{ma}\mathbb{X} \) 'camel' and in \( \lambda\mathbb{X} \) 'low', and the cluster \( \mathbb{X}^2 \) only in \( \text{ka}\mathbb{X} \) 'blanket'. Consequently, word-initial \( \mathbb{X} \) does not occur, nor will we find word-peripheral \( \mathbb{X}^2 \). Compare:

- \( \text{ma}\mathbb{X} \)-er (camel-ABS) 'the camel, ABS'.
- \( \text{s}^4\text{ye}\text{ma}\mathbb{X} \) (3/5B-1/POS-camel) 'it is my camel'.

Compare also:

- \( \text{s}^1\text{e}\text{pske} \) (1/SB-Dy/1-to jump) 'I am jumping'.
- \( \text{pske} \) (2/SB-to jump) 'jump!'
- \( \text{wa}\text{pske} \) (2/SB-N/1-to jump) 'do not jump!'

There are two single consonants that do not occur in all three consonantal positions: \( \text{h} \) - in native material - is found only word-initially, \( \text{\textdegree} \) only word-medially (cf. chapter 1, note 3).

The part of the word to which the rule of the e/o-alternation applies normally coincides with the stem (§ 4.5). In principle, there is in the word only one position where underlying \( \text{e}+\text{e} \) (as opposed to \( \text{e}^2 \)) is changed to \( \text{a} \). The behaviour of the vowels tells us therefore in many cases whether we have to do with one or with two words.

- e.g. \( \text{\check{f}a}\text{-er} \) (boy-ABS) 'the boy, ABS'.
- \( \text{\check{f}e}\text{le-d\check{a}}\text{-er} \) (boy-beautiful-ABS) 'the handsome boy, ABS'.
- \( \text{\check{f}e}\text{le} \) does not occur independently, and in normal speech there is never a pause between \( \text{\check{f}e}\text{le} \) and -d\( \check{a} \)-er. Combinations of substantives and adjectives that lack this diagnostic possibility are analogously treated as constituents of one word; cf.
- \( \text{\check{w}e}\text{n}\text{-t-er} \) (house-old-ABS) 'the old house, ABS'.

There are cases where the language hesitates; cf.

- \( \text{\check{a}d}\text{\check{a}}\text{\check{e}} \) \text{\textbar} \text{\check{a}d}\text{\check{a}}\text{\check{a}}\text{-er} \) (Circassian[-]language-ABS) 'the Circassian language, ABS'.

Another type of hesitation concerns elements that can occur as clitics as well as as suffixes.

- e.g. \( \text{rel\textbar} \text{e}\text{\textbar} \text{e}\text{\textbar} \text{\check{a}} \text{-e/rel\textbar} \text{e}\text{-g\textbar} \text{e/rel\textbar} \text{\check{a}} \text{-e/g\textbar} \text{e/rel\textbar} \text{\check{a}} \text{-e} \) (3/SB-to die-PF'alas) / (3/SB-to die-abis[specifying suffix]-PF) 'alas, he died'.

2.2.2 Some Figures

In texts (five samples of 1500 phonemes each were counted) the vowel / consonant ratio is 42.3 / 57.7 %. This ratio differs depending on the nature of the texts, the extremes being 40.6 / 59.4 % and 43.9 / 56.1 % respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>42.3 %</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>19.5 %</th>
<th>( \text{\check{a}} )</th>
<th>16.5 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resonants</td>
<td>21.0 %</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstruents</td>
<td>36.7 %</td>
<td>( \text{\check{r}} )</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>21.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>15.6 %</td>
<td>( \text{\check{n}} )</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On an average, a word contains (including zero morphs) 3.9
or (excluding zero-morphs) 3.5 morphemes, and 6.7 phonemes.

2.2.3 The Vowels Opposed

The following examples oppose the three vowels to each other:

\( l/SB-\text{to weep-PF} \) 'I wept'.
\( l/SB-2/AG-\text{CAUS-to weep} \) 'make me weep!'.
\( l/SB-\text{to weep-PF-PF} \) 'I had wept'.

In the following set of forms the three vowels are not only opposed to each other, but also to absence of a vowel:

\( l/SB-3/AG-\text{to coat-CoPr} \) 'he coated it, and'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PO-POS-OPT-to belong} \) 'may he possess it!'
\( l/SB-3/\text{PO-POS-Pl-to belong} \) 'they possess it'.
\( \text{enemy-NuCo-eight-ABS} \) 'eight enemies, ABS'.

The opposition high vowel / absence of vowel is also demonstrated by the pairs:

\( l/SB-3/10-2/AG-\text{to give} \) 'give it to him!'
\( l/SB-3/AG-Dy/l-\text{to give} \) 'he is giving it'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PS-POS-eye-MOD} \) 'my eye, MOD'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{big-MOD} \) '(I) being big'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PS-POS-wife-ABS} \) 'his wife, ABS'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PS-POS-wife-REL} \) 'his wife, REL'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PO-in-to sit} \) 'he is sitting in it'.
\( l/SB-3/\text{PO-in-Dy/l-to sit} \) 'he goes on sitting in it' / 'he is continually sitting in it'.

2.3 CONSONANT SEQUENCES

2.3.1 Introduction

In this section I introduce the monomorphemic sequences of DuSHP and also those polymorphic sequences that occur at the boundary of two morphemes that are the constituents of a fixed combination. For other polymorphic sequences, see § 4.10. The occurrence within morphemes of the sequences introduced below is treated in § 3.2. Remarks on the phonetics of consonant sequences have been given in § 1.3. The term "clusters" refers to consonant sequences consisting of obstruents only; sequences containing (or consisting of) resonants are referred to as "R-sequences".

Monomorphemic consonant sequences consist of 2 or 3, polymorphic sequences of up to 4 consonants.

2.3.2 CC Clusters

In the morpheme we find 59 CC clusters (see the chart on the next page). In most of them the second consonant has a more back articulation than the first one (regressive clusters). A labial plosive is the favoured initial member. In the lexicon, clusters with initial labial plosives are also relatively frequent. Clusters with (initial) \( h \) have not been included as they occur only in recent, unassimilated loans.

In the chart \( P \) stands for an (initial) labial plosive, \( T \) for a dental plosive, \( S \) for an alveolar fricative, \( Z \) for an alveo-palatal/palatal fricative, \( X^e \) for a labialised alveo-palatal fricative, and \( L \), \( X \) and \( X \) for a lateral, a velar and a uvular fricative respectively.
2.3.3 CCC Clusters

There are four monomorphemic CCC clusters, all with an initial labial plosive:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{pšt} & \text{psk} & (p)št \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

2.3.4 R-sequences with Initial m, n or r

Sequences made up of m, n or r and an obstruent are distributionally different from other R-sequences (cf. § 3.2.7). As the table on the next page shows, m is found before š, before l and before labial consonants, whereas n is not found in combination with these consonants. Eight of the ten combinations with a final fricative have initial r; for the realisation of the remaining two combinations (mš and ml), see § 1.3.8. Before back consonants (i.e. velars, uvulars and the plain laryngeal), we find only r.

2.3.5 Remaining R-sequences

The sequences that fall under this heading do not form a neat system; they are:

- \( \text{zC: } \text{yt}, \text{ys}, \text{yf/yf?} \)
- \( \text{wC: } \text{ws}, \text{wl} \)
- \( \text{CR: } \text{sm}, \text{sn}, \text{zy, šm} \)
- \( \text{RR: } \text{yn, ry, rm} \)

2.3.6 Polymorphemic C, C Sequences

In a number of fixed combinations of two morphemes (e.g. \( \text{EVEV + EV} \)) polymorphemic consonant sequences can occur as a result of the fact that the first morpheme occurs - in this specific environment - without its final vowel (EVE.EV). The combinations be-
low vary from easily analysable to opaque. A number of the consonant sequences presented in the preceding sections undoubtedly derive from what were originally polymorphemic sequences. The list below provides some examples; it does not claim to be exhaustive.

\[\text{s.pf} \text{ in } \text{tašes.pče } ' \text{yesterday evening}'; \text{ cf. } \text{tašše } ' \text{yesterday}, \text{ pče } ' \text{evening}'.\]

\[\text{s.c} \text{ in } \text{tašes.češ } ' \text{yesterday night}'; \text{ cf. } \text{češ } ' \text{night}'.\]

\[\text{m.k} \text{ in } \text{teškám.češ } ' \text{hare}'; \text{ cf. } \text{teškám } ' \text{ear}, \text{ češ } ' \text{long}, \text{ teškám-češ } ' \text{long ear}'.\]

\[\text{m.g trumpet } ' \text{day (of the house)}'; \text{ cf. } \text{basama } ' \text{master, lord}, \text{ gęš } ' \text{lady, mother-in-law}'.\]

\[\text{f.t in } \text{čeffe } ' \text{to send sb. on an errand}'; \text{ cf. } \text{čefe } ' \text{work}, \text{ če } ' \text{to give'}(?); \text{ one also finds } \text{čeffe.če}.\]

\[\text{s.p in } \text{češ.še } ' \text{to sit down (ILL)}'; \text{ cf. } \text{češ.še } ' \text{to sit down}, \text{ še ILL}'.\]

\[\text{λ.b in } \text{češ.še } ' \text{to put sth. (ILL)}'; \text{ cf. (?) } \text{la } ' \text{to lie}'.\]

\[\text{r.ž in } \text{deš.dež } ' \text{sort of pancake}'; \text{ cf. } \text{deš } ' \text{fat}, \text{ -ra-InsCo, če } ' \text{to get baked}'.\]

\[\text{š.m in } \text{newaš.masže } ' \text{the day after tomorrow}'; \text{ cf. } \text{newaš } ' \text{tomorrow}, \text{ for } \text{masže } \text{cf. } \text{ša.de,še.masže } ' \text{the second day after tomorrow}, \text{ša.de,še } ' \text{that one over there, the other}'.\]

\[\text{w.m in } \text{ša.w.mefe } ' \text{Sunday}'; \text{ cf. } \text{ša. '?', mefe } ' \text{day}'.\]

2.4 LOANS

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section I am mainly concerned with assimilation and peculiarities of loans from Turkic languages. Loans of older layers are well assimilated and, therefore, do not need special mention here. Hardly anything at all is known about old loan relations among the different W(est) C(aucasian) languages. Almost the same goes for old relations between WC languages and languages of other families. This situation is partly due to the fact that the WC languages submit themselves less easily to the comparative method than, for instance, the South Caucasian languages (cf. the introductions of Kuipers 1963 and Şagirov 1977). As far as recent borrowings between the WC languages are concerned, one can observe that Circassian has been much more a lending than a borrowing language. Abazinian has taken many loans from East Circassian, whereas the loans from Circassian in Oubykh mainly have a West Circassian origin.

2.4.2 Loans from Turkic Languages

Several Turkic peoples had been in contact with NW Caucasians long before contacts intensified strongly in the 15th and 16th century. Since that time Karachay-Balkar and Karaim (both West Turkic or Kipchak-Koman, Ponto-Caspiian group), Nogay (West Turkic, Uralo-Caspian group), and Turkish and Crimean Osmanlı (both South Turkic or Oghuz, Osmanlı group) have belonged to the immediate neighbours of the Circassians.8) An enormous layer of loans originates from these languages, many of which go back to third languages, the majority to Arabic or Persian.

The tracing back of loans from Turkic languages is impeded by a number of factors. The donor-languages involved are closely related to each other. The intensity of the contacts with the different peoples continually changed, a loan originally taken from one language can have been reshaped under the influence of another
language. East and West Circassian, while keeping in contact with each other, had partly different neighbours; loans can have been passed on by other WC languages. Furthermore, the Turkic languages in question are not all equally well described. There is, for instance, no Karachay/Balkar-Russian dictionary, and only very little has been published on Ossetian Crimean. It is obvious, however, that Karachay-Balkar and Nogay have been important donor-languages. I give below some older loans from Turkic languages: 9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Loan</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LiAD</td>
<td>dagme</td>
<td>'dagger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LiKAB</td>
<td>dagme</td>
<td>(D\text{\textSHP})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abkh.</td>
<td>a-dagme</td>
<td>Abz. dagme, Oub. qa:mâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3 Recent Loans

Loans originating from Turkish fall into two groups: one that is shared by Caucasian Shapsug, and one that is not. The loans of the first group date from before the Exodus of the 1860s and are, as a rule, not shared by other Circassian dialects. (During at least the last century before the Exodus mainly Shapsug Circassians had been living on the Black Sea Coast.)

Examples of loans shared by DuSHP and CaSHP:
- **Balqâ** 'fish'; cf. Tu. balik.
- **Ke(m)pârî** 'bridge'; cf. Tu. köprü.
- **Çawala(Cawene)** 'sack', CaSHP 'çewal'; cf. Tu. çuval.

Loans from Russian dating from before the Exodus are scarce; in DuSHP I came across:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sempîle</td>
<td>'trigger'; cf. Ru. samopal 'gun with wick'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qartopa</td>
<td>'potato'; cf. Ru. kartofel, kartofka, Tu. top 'ball', LiAD kartof, kartofka, LiKAB komleref/ kertzof, Nog. kartop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâşke</td>
<td>'barrel'; cf. Ru. bočka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psâmê</td>
<td>'letter' (unknown to NM); cf. Ru. pis'mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batarbaf</td>
<td>Petersburg; compare Oub. batarbaf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa(m)bârâyê</td>
<td>'Siberia'; cf. Ru. Sibir.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the Exodus, and especially after the establishment of Soviet-power in the Caucasus, Caucasian Circassian was considerably influenced by Russian. Similarly, Anatolian Circassian was influen-
ced by Turkish. The recent loans from Turkish are not shared by Caucasian Circassian, and are less well adapted than older loans (which must be ascribed to the rapid increase of bilingualism).

Some recent loans from Turkish:
- boyan ('painter'; cf. Tu. boyancı)
- gânane ('law'; cf. Tu. kanun)
- qayânene ('brother-in-law'; cf. Tu. kâyın(ce))
- notorlğa ('notary's office'; cf. Tu. notorlik)

A number of such loans have native equivalents. The loans are mainly used when Turkish situations are referred to, and the native equivalents in Circassian contexts; cf. ı.ek'ı 'painter', ı. seabze 'law, tradition', melmek'ı 'brother-in-law'.

Many older loans from Turkic languages which had already been assimilated, have been reshaped in Anatolia under the influence of Turkish.

E.g. ğawala(ğawele) 'sack' (DÜSHP); cf. Tu. ğuvâl, ÇaSHP ı.ewal — in Circassian certain affricates fricativised, in loans as well as in native elements; DÜSHP restored the affricates in the loans under influence of Turkish. Compare also: ğaya(ğeye) 'tea' (DÜSHP); cf. LiAD ı.ay(a), Tu. çey. düneye(duwneye) 'world'; cf. LiAD dawneye, Tu. dünya.

Until recently borrowing only concerned nouns. In DÜSHP the borrowing of elements other than nouns is a common phenomenon for the younger generation, especially for those that live in the town. NM occasionally uses a Turkish adverb. Unlike many other speakers of DÜSHP, he does not use Turkish suffixes — the use of -miş and -lik is wide-spread. Like many other speakers of DÜSHP, NM counts in Turkish as soon as it comes to serious counting.

In the speech of those having a good command of the language one does not find much calquing; however, expressions containing forms derived from legende 'to see' are common (cf. any Turkish dictionary under gormek).

2.4.4 Adaptation of Vowels in Loans

(i) Final Vowels. Non-native roots originally lacking a final vowel are provided with one, mostly with e. Final e is often added when a basic morph with a final vowel pattern e-e can be secured (cf. § 3.3.2).

E.g. dermene 'mill'; cf. Tu. de(ğ1)rmen.
- balağ 'fish'; cf. Tu. balık.
- Osmane a name; cf. Tu. Osman.
- seqeqe 'street'; cf. Tu. sokak.
- X'arše(qarışe) 'small coin, cent'; cf. Tu. kurus.

These final vowels are dropped under the same conditions as the final vowels of native morphemes.

E.g. ı.osman ı.े?a-ı (0.-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'Osman arrived'.
- ı.osman-e ı.ye?eto-ı (0.-REL) (3/SB-3/1/AG-to give-PF)
  'I gave it to Osman'.
- ı.osmana-ı (3/SB-0.-PF) 'it was Osman'.

(ii) Turkic rounded vowels tend to be replaced by a native vowel and an adjacent labialised consonant, or w. In recent loans and in ad hoc borrowings the rounded vowels are usually retained.

E.g. qara 'box'; cf. Tu. kutu.
- qarede 'room'; cf. Tu. oda.
- qar?ane(qar?ene), X'arše, k'ene para see above.

k'eya 'village'; cf. Tu. köy.


In loans Turkic ı is realised as [ı], and not as [ı̈] or [ı̆].

(iii) In loans Turkic i is realised as [i], and not as [ï] or [ĭ].

The same is true for e (but not for those instances of e marked with the symbol "~") followed by morpheme-final (R)E.

A fair number of loans alternately participate and do not participate in the e/a-alternation. This is accounted for by assuming two basic morphs with different vowel patterns (cf. § 3.3.2).

An example is mase(mese) 'table'; cf. Tu. masa.

For an instance of e not participating in the e/a-alternation, cf. ?oede-room'; cf. Tu. ode.

Initial Turkic a is as a rule matched by ?a. Final a is usually replaced by e; in loans with a low degree of adaptation it may be retained.

Final e in loans normally participates in the e/a-alternation; the same is true for e (but not for those instances of e marked with the symbol "~") followed by morpheme-final (R)E.

Adaptation of Consonants in Loans

The consonants need relatively few comments. As a rule, voiceless consonants are realised as voiceless consonants, and voiced consonants as voiced consonants. The sounds corresponding to Turkish h are [h] and [v]. The DuSHP phoneme h allows for these same two pronunciations. The transcription can therefore use h.

There are some loans in which, in word-initial position, the pro-
nunciation [p] is generalised. In those cases I transcribe h, e.g. in heramə 'something unlawful, forbidden'; cf. Tu. haram. I know of three loans - in DUSHP - in which a resonant has been inserted before a medial obstruent:

- kəp(m)əra 'bridge'; cf. Tu. kəpərə.
- sa(m)ərə 'quiet, resigned'; cf. Tu. sabər.
- sa(m)ərəyə 'Siberia'; cf. Ru. Sibir'.

2.4.6 Peculiarities of Loans

From loans result:

(i) numerous unanalysable roots əV(R)əV.

- məhəbetə 'friendship'; cf. Tu. məhəbet.

(ii) the non-native vowels ə, u, ü and i.

(iii) a large number of roots with vowel patterns that are rare in native morphemes.

- səmənə 'straw'; cf. Tu. səman.
- təə 'crown'; cf. Tu. təc.
- dəha 'more, any longer'; cf. Tu. dəha.

(iv) many morphemes for which more than one basic morph must be assumed (with different vowel patterns).

- əxəwəpə (əxəvəpə) 'answer'; cf. Tu. cevəb.
- gəwə (gəwə/gəwə) 'tinder'; cf. Tu. kəv.

(v) an extension of the distribution of h (which - in native material - is only found word-initially).

(vi) the phoneme ə and the following consonant sequences not found in native material: kə, xə, pk, skə, rə, mp, yə, sm, əm, yən. In loans with a low degree of adaptation, all Tu. clusters can be found.

NOTES

1. This partition into slots goes back to Kuipers (1955:202).


3. Most slots can be filled by a single prefix as well as by a sequence of prefixes.

(i) I include both preverb and preverb object in one slot, viz. in slot 4. In one form several preverb complexes can be found; I place all of them in one slot (cf. the examples in § 3.7.2).

(ii) third person plural actants are normally referred to by a sequence of prefixes: yəəə ə 3/P0-Pl, yəəə ə 3/io-Pl, yəəə ə 3/AG-Pl (the 3/Sl prefix is pluralised by the ending -ə Pl). These sequences are made up of, respectively, əəə(y-) 3/P0, yəəə 3/io and yəəə 3/AG plus -ə Pl.

(iii) The 1, 1p, 2 and 2p Sl and io prefixes actually are analysable (which is not reflected in my practical transcription): cf. sə1, actually: sə- 1.Sl, səə, actually: sə- 1.io, etc.

(iv) In one and the same form, two indirect object prefixes can be found; I insert both of them in slot 5 (for examples see section 5.5).

(v) In one and the same form, we can also come across two causative prefixes. I place both of them in slot 9 (for examples see section 5.9).

4. In Circassian there is an opposition attributive negation / predicative negation, the former is indicated by a prefix (meə), the latter by an ending (WEST: -əp, EAST: -əam).

5. Slot 10, the base-slot is not discussed in this study. I refer to the chapter "Composition" in Paris (1974b:63-93) which was
written on the basis of Besney (East Circassian) material (there are only minor differences with respect to "composition" in the dialects).

6. One proviso has to be made: occasionally one comes across a word-initial instance of a. The demonstrative ?a(a, ya) is rather exceptional with respect to its formal side: there is no other root which has a basic morph with an initial vowel; there is no other monosyllabic root containing a, there is no other (native) root with final a; furthermore, this demonstrative has an exceptional set of basic morphs.

Word-initially (when not immediately followed by the static root ra 'to be identical to') both ?a and a are found (though in that position ?a more often than a). For the realisation of word-initial a see § 1.4.5.

7. Compare also the following one-word examples:

\[ \text{walźa-} \] (2/SB-old-PF) 'you were old'.
\[ \text{wale-će-} \text{deša-} \] (2/SB-boy-little-beautiful-PF) 'you were a beautiful little boy'.
\[ \text{ze-re-} \text{me-} \text{wane-} \text{-er} \] (3/SB-that-N/1-house-old-ABS) 'that it is not an old house'.


10. I present material from Literary Adyghe and from Literary Kabardian as it is given in the sources mentioned in note 9. The way I present DuSHP material is different, especially with respect to the vowels (cf. also chapter 3, note 3).

11. A wide-spread calque from Tu. is the honorific (singular) use of §e 'you(p)'. For NM §e is always plural.

12. Compare also CaSHP qart 'layer' with Tu. kat.

13. Interestingly, when speaking Dutch NM breaks down clusters in the same way as monolingual Turks.
CHAPTER 3 BASIC MORPHS

3.1 BASIC MORPH SELECTION

3.1.1 Allomorphs and Basic Morphs

Most morphemes have at least two allomorphs. For all morphemes basic morphs are selected. In principle, the basic morph is identical with one of the actually occurring allomorphs. With the bulk of the morphemes one (unique) basic morph is adequate: for these morphemes all allomorphs can be derived from one basic morph (by means of morphophonemic rules). In many cases doublet forms can be accounted for by assuming optional rules.

There are, however, morphemes for which more than one basic morph is needed. One of the "concurrent" basic morphs is selected as the primary basic morph; non-primary basic morphs are referred to as secondary.

The choice between two concurrent basic morphs is either a question of free variation (especially with [borrowed] roots), or is determined by morpholexical factors. Morpholexical conditioning is found mainly with affixes. Morpholexical conditioning differs virtually from case to case. Combination of free variation and morpholexical conditioning also occurs.

Below I give for a Shapsug word meaning "he/she/it does not come hither"

(a) the morpheme inventory,
(b) the underlying form made up of a string of the unique or primary basic morphs of the constituent morphemes (in the appropriate order),
(c) the underlying form made up of a string of the unique or appropriate basic morphs of the constituent morphemes,
(d) the surface form (in my practical transcription).

(a) (3/5B-Hh-to go-Dy/2-N/2)
(b) +p-ge- ṭe-re-ep+
(c) +p-ge- ṭe-re-ep+
(d) qak-rep
(qa= ṭe-r-rep)
'he/she/it does not come hither'.

In chapter 4, I present morphophonemic rules which account for the step from (c) to (d). In the present chapter I shall discuss aspects of the steps from (a) to (b) and from (b) to (c).

First, in this section, I will present the selection and - in general terms - the shape of the basic morphs. In section 3.2 the distribution of single consonants and consonant sequences in basic morphs will be presented, in section 3.3 that of vowels. In section 3.4 basic morphs of types other than CV.. are presented. In section 3.5 I shall touch upon free variation and morpholexical conditioning of concurrent basic morphs. In section 3.7 free variation in the order of certain morpheme sequences is discussed.

In an overall grammar, information on free variation and morpholexical conditioning would belong in the dictionary. The reader is referred to chapter 5, where basic morphs, allomorphs and illustrations of the use of stem-affixes (including endings)
are given. The examples in chapter 5 are selected so as to show the environments in which the different allomorphs of the stem-affixes occur.

3.1.2 Basic Morph Selection

As has been stated above, basic morphs are selected from actual allomorphs. Most morphemes have longer and shorter allomorphs: usually the longer ones have - as compared with the shorter ones - an additional final vowel. Many morphemes have allomorphs that are different with respect to their ultimate and/or penultimate vowels, the difference in both cases being a question of the alternation of e and a.

Basic morphs are normally chosen from the longer allomorphs; this is virtually always so in the case of longer allomorphs displaying an additional final vowel. As to the e/a-alternation, in my basic morphs I always present the e-step of this alternation. Starting out from these two devices, basic morphs can be selected for (i) roots and (ii) stem-suffixes. For (iii) stem-prefixes and (iv) endings more specific devices are given below.

(i) Below I give the basic morph, meaning and allomorphs of a number of roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Allomorphs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>la/a, la/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foε</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>fo/e, fo/a, fo/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melα</td>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>mel/mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wane</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>wane/wane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psεɛe</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>psεɛe/psɛεe/pɛεe/pσεɛe/pσɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zeα</td>
<td>'to plough'</td>
<td>ze/ze/a/ze/ze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| leze | 'to work' | leze/leze/le/leze/la \*

hɛntɛɛqeqeqe 'frog'

hentaqeqeqe/hentaqeqeqeqa/hentaqeqeqeqa

samege 'will'
samege/samege/samege/samege/samege/samege/samege/samege.3)

Compare:

salileze-że (1/SB-to work-Fu) 'I will work' +sa-le-że-še:
lysileze-čebo (1/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to work-INTE) 'I am working in it' +sa-če-ya-me-čebo-čebo.

slileze (1/SB-Dy/1-to work) 'I am working' +sa-me-łe-że.
wlema-że (2/SB-N/1-to work) 'do not work!' +wa-me-łe-że+;

salileza-ž (1/SB-to work-PF) 'I have worked' +sa- će-że-že.

The following rule of thumb can be used; for roots those allomorphs are selected as basic morphs that occur before a stem-final sequence, as is the case with ležo and psεɛe in the following examples:

slileze-še (1/SB-Dy/1-to work-Pot/2) 'I am able to work'
+sa-me-łe-še-še+a; the symbol "a" marks the end of the stem.

psεɛe-za-m (girl-old-REL) 'the old girl, spinster, REL'
+psėɛɛ-za-me.

(ii) For stem-suffixes the same devices are used as for roots: e-step of the e/a-alternation; no allomorph is taken as basic morph which lacks a final vowel (as compared with other allomorphs of the same morpheme).

e.g. -na Fu/2 -na/-n
-że PF -że/-że/-że
-re.że voIuntative-re.że-re.że-a/-re.że/-re.że-re.że/-re.że
-se REL -še/-še; secondary basic morph of
-m(-še/-še, -m) REL.

Compare:
The rule of thumb is: for stem-suffixes allomorphs occurring immediately before -xe PL are selected as basic morphs.

(iii) For prefixes I select as basic morphs the allomorphs that occur, on the one hand, word-initially (i.e. not preceded by another overt prefix) and, on the other hand, followed by an (if possible base-initial) sequence qa, containing an initial voiceless consonant. I first give some prefixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qa}^2 & \quad \text{Hh} & \text{qa-qa-qa-qa-qa-} \\
\text{za}^6 & \quad \text{'when'} & \text{za-z-z-z-z}
\end{align*}
\]

For fixed combinations basic morphs are selected according to the same principles as those set out above.

For invariable words, whether primary or secondary, the basic morph is identical with the surface form.
3.1.3 Make-up of Basic Morphs

In basic morphs no special symbols are needed for consonants. For the vowels I use a, e, a and, in addition, ₃. The symbol ₃ stands for instances of e that do not participate in the e/a-alternation; ₃ counts as a closer vowel than e (cf. § 4.3.2).

In § 3.1.1 it was said that basic morphs are in principle identical to actual allomorphs. The proviso refers to the use of ₃, which is not needed in surface forms.

Most basic morphs are of the ₃V.. type, which means that they consist of a consonant (or a cluster) and a vowel, or of a concatenation of two or more sequences ₃V. A considerable number of roots have the shape ₃V; most frequent with roots is the type ₃V(R)₃V. Still longer units are rare; most of them are loans.

There is quite a number of roots having an (often optional) resonant (R) before a non-initial ₃, which yields the types ₃V₃V, ₃V₃V, ₃V₃V, ₃V₃V, etc.

The majority of the affixes has the shape ₃V. Most members of the small group of ₃V₃V affixes consist of a fixed combination of two elements ₃V. The type ₃V₃V is not found with affixes.

There are small numbers of especially affixes displaying basic morphs of the following atypical types: ₃, ₃, ₃V(R)₃V, ₃V₃V, ₃V₃V, etc.

The list in the following section presents all sequences ₃C and ₃C occurring in basic morphs of - if possible - morphemes CV, otherwise in longer morphemes of the ₃V.. type.

3.2.2 Sequences ₃C and ₃C in ₃V.. Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>₃C</th>
<th>₃C</th>
<th>₃C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe⁴</td>
<td>'at (the point of)'</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>'to sink'</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₃epe⁶a</td>
<td>'future'</td>
<td>₃wep⁶a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₃e</td>
<td>'to drive'</td>
<td>₃e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₃e</td>
<td>'to raise'</td>
<td>₃e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₃e</td>
<td>'pelvis'</td>
<td>₃e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3 CC and CCC Clusters in EY. Morphemes

A large number of the CC clusters, and all four CCC clusters, have an initial labial plosive (cf. §§ 2.3.2-3). Labial-initial clusters have the same distributional characteristics as single consonants: they combine, in principle, with a as well as with e, thus forming EY morphemes. In chapter 1 it was pointed out that clusters have one laryngeal articulation, just like single consonants.

The four CCC clusters have a limited distribution: only one
of them, viz. psē, occurs in more than one morpheme. The three others all occur in a morpheme fe — it is remarkable that of the CC and CCC clusters that combine with one vowel, the majority combines with e.

Clusters that do not have an initial labial plosive are less systematic than the labial-initial ones. They occur as a rule in a very limited number of different morphemes, often in one morpheme only. Some of the non-labial initial clusters are limited to loans, others can be supposed to derive from bimorphemic clusters (cf. § 2.3.6).

3.2.4 Labial-initial CC Clusters in ŶV... Morphemes

The majority of the 25 labial-initial clusters (cf. § 2.3.2) occur in a morpheme fe as well as in a morpheme fe (see the list below). The sequences pke, px:e, bJe, bJe, bJe, pJe, pJe and pJe are not found in ŶV morphemes, but do occur in longer morphemes. The sequences *pke, *bJe, *bJe and *bJe do not occur in any morpheme. In surface words we find, however (with internal morpheme boundary), b3-e, b3-e, pk-e and b3-e.

("h" is added to sequences occurring in just one morpheme; "L" stands for "loan")

| pē | pēe | 'chisel' | pēe 'to nail (ILL)' |
| pē | pēe | 'water' | pēe 'soul' |
| pē | pēe | 'to get tired' | pēe 'neck' |
| pē | pēe | 'to count' | pēe 'door' |
| pē | pēe | 'father-in-law' | pēe 'to blow' |
| pē | pēe | 'to blaze' | pēe (h) 'to look' |
| pē | pēe | 'to tie' | -pēe 'habitual' |

3.2.5 Non-labial-initial CC Clusters in ŶV... Morphemes

The majority of the clusters that do not have an initial labial plosive are found in one morpheme only, and, consequently, combine with one vowel only. The clusters tē, tē, tē, th, sē, sē, sē and sē are relatively frequent; notice that among these there are no voiced clusters, and note also that all of them except st are regressive (i.e. they have a second member which is articulated further back than the initial member). In the lexicon, dental-initial clusters come second with respect to frequency (after labial-initial clusters).
### 3.2.6 CCC Clusters in ṢV.. Morphemes

Below I give all occurrences of CCC clusters in morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>psk</td>
<td>'to cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psk</td>
<td>'to jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psh</td>
<td>'useful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>'to boil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.7 R-sequences with Initial m, n or r

R-sequences with initial m, n or r are—with one exception (nCe "-less")—limited to roots; and they are found only word-medially. Relatively frequent in the lexicon are combinations of n plus dental plosives, and combinations of r plus uvulars. With a number of roots the sequence-initial resonant is optional, which yields concurrent basic morphs (cf. mb, n3 and p̱ below).12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>'trigger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>a name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>'rye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m1</td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp1</td>
<td>'lizard'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sequence mp:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n3</th>
<th>ṉ</th>
<th>ṉ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṉ</td>
<td>'ant'</td>
<td>ṉ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sequence mb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ṉ</th>
<th>ṉ</th>
<th>ṉ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṉ</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
<td>ṉ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sequences RC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rb</th>
<th>kəarba</th>
<th>'hole'</th>
<th>rə</th>
<th>ɾəerka</th>
<th>'to puff'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rb</td>
<td>nederpayə</td>
<td>'butterfly'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾəkə</td>
<td>'tape-worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>-gotərne</td>
<td>'broody'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərge</td>
<td>'to butt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd</td>
<td>ɾərde</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərke, ɾələrke</td>
<td>'bumpy, uneven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>ɾərte</td>
<td>'to burst'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərə</td>
<td>'to stagger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rz</td>
<td>ɾəre</td>
<td>'to gambol'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərə</td>
<td>'wheel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs</td>
<td>ɾəra (L)</td>
<td>'cent, money'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərənə</td>
<td>'sheaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾəra (L)</td>
<td>'to scold'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərə</td>
<td>'dove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r1</td>
<td>ɾəra (L)</td>
<td>'enclosed space'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərə</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾəra (L)</td>
<td>'mirror'</td>
<td>rə</td>
<td>ɾərənene (L)</td>
<td>'Koran'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8 Remaining R-sequences

The remaining R-sequences show hardly any regularity in make-up (in terms of constituent phonemes) and in distribution. They are found in roots and in affixes. About half of them are limited to loans, most of them occur in just one morpheme.

yt | meyte (L) | 'axe' | sm | besnoye (L ?) | 'Besney' |
|---|------------|--------|----|--------------|---------|
vs | qandəyə (L) | 'bet with the wishbone' | zv | ɾəzə(ɾəzə-) | PART/AG |
| yə/ʔ | -ayʔ(-ayʔ) | EMPH | ɾəm | ɾəałəmə (L) | 'sack' |
ws | thawsoxe | 'to complain' | vən | ɾəmənə (L) | 'thousand' |
| wz | zewə | 'all' | ɾə | ɾərə | 'instrumental' |
| wl | zewle (L) | 'some' | ɾə | ɾədəmə (L) | 'harrow'. |
| sm | basmene (L) | 'muslim' |

3.3 VOWELS IN ɾY, ɾY Morphemes

3.3.1 Vowels in ɾY Morphemes

Most basic morphs of the ɾY type have the vowel a or e (see passim section 3.2). There are two morphemes Ca (a pronoun and an ending) and a small number of morphemes ɾə (all of them affixes).

Below I list a few examples of the morphemes ɾə and ɾə, and all cases of basic morphs Ca and ɾə.

**Basic morphs ɾə:**
- te 'we'
- ɾəe 'pig'
- te 'to become'
- ɾəe 'to be frightened'
- bə 'seven'.

**Basic morphs ɾə:**
- bə 'snake'.

**Basic morphs Ca:**
- ?ə(a, yə) 'that'
- bə NeINT (the negative interrogaive ending, a fixed combination of -ep N/2 and -a INT).

**Basic morphs Ce:**
- ɾə(yə-/ɾə-) PART/AG
- ɾə(yə-/ɾə-) PART/AG
- yə 3/10

3.3.2 Vowel Patterns in ɾV(ɾ)bV Morphemes

In basic morphs of the ɾV(ɾ)bV type there are four common vowel patterns: a - a, a - e, e - a and e - e. Most disyllabic morphemes are roots; the few ɾV(ɾ)bV affixes are nearly all analysable. Below I list examples for each of the four common vowel patterns.

The a-a pattern:
- ɾəa 'woman'
- wane 'house'
- bə 'to fly'
- ɾəye 'to sleep'
- dəga 'sour'
- ɾəmanda 'rook'.

The a-e pattern:
The e-a pattern:

mela 'sheep'
tega 'to get up'
tsæ'ø 'narrow'
ste 'within'.

The e-e pattern:

pæse 'girl'
bene 'to fight'
sæ'ente 'green'
ste 'within'.

In the EY(R)EY morphemes we find the following marginal patterns a - a, a - e, e - e, e - e and a - a. The last three are extremely rare. Quite a number of disyllabic roots have concurrent basic morphs with different vowel patterns, usually a marginal and a common one. This has often to do with the assimilation of loans.

Below I list examples for the patterns a - a and a - e, and all cases for the remaining three patterns.

The e-e pattern:

?ate 'haystack'
?azæ(?)e 'Abkhazian'
?ade(e) 'tumour'
?axæ(?)e (L) 'money'
?aste(?)e (L) 'maize porridge'.

The e-a pattern:

?ata 'haystack'
?aza 'small haystack'
?ala 'trench'
?aw(?)e 'yard'
?æ(?)æ(gæ.e.e) 'to be angry'
?apsa (L) 'wooden bowl'
?aya(?)e (L) 'tea'.

The e-e cases:

ze.re 'that'
zere 6 REC/AG
were 2 OPT.

The a-e pattern:

The e-e cases:

Ze.re 2 'that'
Zeræ 6 REC/AG
Wæra 2 OPT.

The a-a case:

daha (L) 'more, any longer'.

3.3.3 Vowels in Trisyllabic (and longer) Morphemes EY...

The patterns of the last two vowels of longer morphemes of the EY.. type hardly differ from the patterns found in disyllabic morphemes: common are a - a, a - e, e - e and e - e; less frequent - and mostly occurring in loans - are a - a, a - e and e - e (e - e and a - a do not occur). In chapter 4 it will be seen that only the last two vowels of a morpheme are involved in morphophonological alternations. The vowels occurring before the penultimate vowel of a morpheme are a, e and a; with these vowels we find cases of free variation (and no morphophonologically conditioned alternations). We regularly find free variation of e and æ after initial 2. Morphemes with a as the antepenultimate (or earlier) vowel are mostly loans. Almost all trisyllabic morphemes of the EY.. type are roots (there is one exception: zhepe 4 (zhe.pe.ra-) 'above').
Some trisyllabic morphemes with marginal final V-V patterns:
sepête (L) 'basket'  
dawane (dawene) (L) 'flail'.

Some tetrasyllabic morphemes:
heuntereqe (L) 'frog'  
dandaraqeqe (L) 'top (toy)'  
unidentified bush 3agandara (L) 'beet'.

3.4 ATYPICAL BASIC MORPHS

3.4.1 Introduction

This section deals with basic morphs that have a shape other than ~V.. The following types are found: Ø, C and CVC, V, V(R)C and VCV. With a few exceptions, these types are found with affixes only. The different types are successively presented in the following sections. In the last section I discuss the shape of morphemes occurring in fixed combinations. For examples of the use of all affixes (including endings) that will be presented below, I refer to chapter 5, passim.

3.4.2 Zero Basic Morphs

I assume for one morpheme a unique, for three morphemes a primary, and for another three morphemes a secondary zero basic morph:
Ø 3/PS g₁(ye-/re-) 3/SB wa₁(y-) 2/SB  
g₁(ye-/re-) PART/PS p⁶(Ø-) 2/AG  
Ø (y-) 3/PO -er(Ø) ABS.

[Phonologically conditioned zero allomorphs are found with me² DyI (allomorphs: me-/me-/e-/Ø), ø² SEM (allomorphs: e-/Ø), were-⁷ OPT (allomorphs: were-/ere-/re-/e-/Ø-), -e(he) ILL (allomorphs: -e/-a/-Ø, -he/-ha/-h), -ₐ(ₐₐₐ) ELA (allomorphs: -ₐ/-Ø, -ₐₐₐ/-ₐₐₐ)]

3.4.3 Basic Morphs of the C (and CVC) Type

I assume unique or primary basic morphs of the C shape for:
s- 1/PS s⁴ 1/PO s⁶ 1/AG  
t- 1p/PS t⁴ 1p/PO t⁶ 1p/AG  
p- 2/PS p⁴ 2p/PO p⁶ 2p/AG  
s²- 2p/PS s²⁴ 2p/PO s²⁶ 2p/AG, and for:
-m(-ₐₐₐ/-y, -Ø) REL.

Secondary basic morphs of the C type are assumed for:
-m REL (see above),  
ø²(y-) 3/PO (allomorphs: Ø-, y-/r-).

The type CVC is only found with:
-t.avy CoCa (cf. -avy CoPr, -t '?').

[Most morphemes of the shape ~V have phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the shape Ø.]

3.4.4 Basic Morphs of the V Type

I assume primary or unique basic morphs of the V type for:
ø⁴,5,6 Pl (allomorph: ø-)  
ø² SEM (allomorphs: e-/Ø-),  
-ₐ(ₐₐₐ) ELA (allomorphs: -ₐ/-Ø, -ₐₐₐ/-ₐₐₐ),  
-e(he) ILL (allomorphs: -e/-a/-Ø, -he/-ha/-h),  
ₐ INT (allomorph: -ₐ),  
ₐ VOC (allomorph: -ₐ).
Secondary basic morphs of the V shape are assumed for:

?a(a, ya) 'that'
\( -\text{ew}(e) \) MOD (allomorphs: \( -\text{ew}/-\text{w}, -\text{e} \)).

[Phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the V shape are found with \( \text{were}^2 \) OPT and \( \text{me}^2 \) Dy/1 (cf. § 4.1.2).]

3.4.5 Basic Morphs of the V(R)C Type

I assume unique or primary basic morphs of the V(R)C type for the infix -ay- NuCo and for the following endings:

\( -\text{er}(-\theta) \) ABS -\( \text{ay} \) CoPr
\( -\text{ew}(-\theta) \) MOD -\( \text{ayk}(-\text{ay}?) \) EMPH.
\( -\text{ep} \) N/2

[All VEV morphemes have phonologically conditioned allomorphs VC.]

3.4.6 Basic Morphs of the VCV Type

I assume unique or primary basic morphs of the VCV type for:

\( -\text{eh}a \) INTE -\( \text{ok}a \) ExV
\( -\text{he} \) Inv -\( \text{ek}a \) NOfW.
\( -\text{ex} \) DOWN

Secondary basic morphs of this type are assumed for:

\( -\text{a}(-\text{a}k) \) ELA -\( \text{ey}(-\text{aye}) \) UPW.
\( -\text{a}(-\text{a}k) \) ToCL

[Phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the VCV type are found with: \( \text{were}^2 \) OPT and -\( \text{re} \) CoNP; for the allomorph -\( \text{are} \) of -\( \text{re} \) CoNP, and for the allomorph at.\( \text{ay} \) of -\( \text{t}\cdot \text{ay} \) CoCa, see § 4.9.2.)]

All VCV morphemes listed here are directional suffixes; directional suffixes always immediately follow the base. There are also base-suffixes of the V and the VCV type.}

3.4.7 The Shape of Morphemes in Fixed Combinations

In fixed combinations, some morphemes exhibit allomorphs that cannot be accounted for on the basis of the basic morph(s) which suffice for the derivation of the allomorphs occurring in free combinations. Fixed combinations are presented as one whole in the dictionary, under their own basic form. I consider the special forms occurring only in fixed combinations as subgrammatical basic morphs. I list a few examples:

\[ \text{le.pse} \] 'clear soup'; cf. \( \text{le} \) 'meat', \( \text{pse} \) 'water'.
\[ \text{se.s}a \] 'to mount a horse'; cf. \( \text{se} \) 'horse', -\( \text{sa} \) 'to sit'.
\[ \text{pse.s}e \] 'well-built'; cf. \( \text{pse} \) 'frame, body', \( \text{s}e \) 'good'.
\[ -\text{b}a \] NeINT (the negative interrogative ending); cf. -\( \text{ep} \) N/2 (allomorphs: -\( \text{ep} / \text{p} \) and -\( \text{a} \) INT).

No discrete basic morphs are needed for elements that occur exclusively in fixed combinations.

\[ \text{newa.maska} \] 'the day after tomorrow'; the element -\( \text{maska} \) occurs only in fixed combinations.
\[ \text{le.ako} \] 'twenty'; cf. \( \text{le} \) 'two'; in DuSHOP the element -\( \text{ako} \) is not found in other combinations, but cf. LiAD \( \text{seo} \) 'thirty' and \( \text{so} \) 'three'.
\[ -\text{k}a \] 'to leave (.ELA)'.
\[ -\text{he} \] 'to enter (.ILL)'.
\[ \text{pe.se} \] 'early'; cf. \( \text{pe} \) 'nose, beginning' and -\( \text{se} \) '?'.

3.5 Free Variation and Morpholexical Conditioning of Concurrent Basic Morphs

3.5.1 Introduction

The choice between concurrent basic morphs is free or condi-
tioned. Morpholexical conditioning is total (§ 3.5.2) or partial (§ 3.5.3). Morpholexical and morphophonological conditioning sometimes intertwine.

### 3.5.2 Total Conditioning

The situation that a morpheme has two (or more) concurrent basic morphs which occur in mutually exclusive, morpholexically definable positions is not common, and it is found with affixes only. e.g. 3/PD: y- must be inserted (a) between an immediately preceding overt SB prefix and following va- POS, (b) before immediately following a- PI; otherwise y- is required.

- (a) (2/SB-3/PD-POS-daughter) 'you are his daughter'
- (b) +wa-y va- pšeše+
- (c) +wa- y va- pšeše+
- (d) waryapaš (va r va pšeš)

- (a) (3/SB-3/PD-POS-daughter) 'I did it for them'
- (b) +θ-θ ya-yva- pšeše+
- (c) +θ-θ ya-yva- pšeše+
- (d) yapešaš (y va pšeš)

### 3.5.3 Partial Conditioning

I use the term "partial conditioning" when a morpheme has two (or more) concurrent basic morphs, one (or more) of which may always be inserted in the underlying word form, whereas the other(s) can be selected only under certain, morpholexically definable conditions. Partial conditioning is rare with roots and not uncommon with affixes.

e.g. mefe(mefa) 'day': mefe: no restrictions, mefa: may be inserted before the postposition ye na 'whole'.

- (a) (day-REL) (whole) 'the whole day'
- (b) *mefe-m+ ye-na+ / +mefa-m+ ye-na+
- (c) *mefe-m+ ye-na+ / +mefa-m+ ye-na+
- (d) *mefe yena (mefa- m ye na) / mefa yena (mefa- m ye na)

- (a) (day-beautiful-REL) 'the beautiful day, REL'
- (b) *mefe-dele-m+
- (c) *mefe-dele-m+
- (d) mefedalem (mefe-dale-m)

E.g. -xa(-ye) 'as previously, again' (RE):

- ya: no restrictions,
- xe: may be inserted before -xta Fu/1 and before -xö xe IR/1.

- (a) (1/SB-to go-RE Fu/1) 'I will go back'
- (b) +sa- xe- ya-xta+
- (c) +sa- xe- ya-xta+ / +sa- xe- ya-xta+
- (d) sa xe xta (sa xe-xa-xt) / sa xe xta (sa xe-xa-xt)

- (a) (1/SB-to go-RE Fu/2) 'I will go back'
- (b) +sa- xe- ya-na+
3.6 Differences between Concurrent Basic Morphs in Free Variation

3.6.1 Consonants

There are two cases of free variation of consonants that are typical of Shapsug:

(i) 
\( \xi/\xi \):

e.g. 
\( \xi\text{o}s\text{e}(\xi\text{o}s\text{e}) \) 'black', \( \xi\text{e}(\xi\text{e}) \) 'name'; compare \( \xi\text{e} \) 'louse' (with stable \( \xi \)) and \( \xi\text{a}\text{e} \) 'human being' (with stable \( \xi \)).

(ii) \( b\xi/b\xi\), \( p\xi/p\xi\), \( b\xi/b\xi\):

e.g. 
\( b\xi\text{e}\text{e}(b\xi\text{e}\text{e}) \) 'next', 
\( p\xi\text{e}\text{e}(p\xi\text{e}\text{e}) \) 'to grasp', 
\( \lambda\xi\text{e}\text{e}(\lambda\xi\text{e}\text{e}) \) 'dear'.

See the lists in section 3.2 for morphemes exhibiting stable instances of the members of these pairs.

For \( \xi\text{o} \) (found in one loan only) freely varying with \( \xi\text{o} \) and for \( \xi \) freely varying with \( \xi \), see chapter 1, note 3.

Incidental cases of free variation of consonants are found with:

- \( \text{wa}\text{\text{a}k\text{e}.\text{b}z\text{e}}(\text{\text{w}a}\text{\text{a}k\text{e}.\text{b}z\text{e}}) \) 'key'
- \( \xi\text{e}(\xi\text{e}) \) 'cold'
- \( \text{\text{\text{w}a}\text{\text{a}z\text{e}.\text{p}e}(\text{\text{w}a}\text{\text{a}z\text{e}.\text{p}e}) \) 'behind'
- \( \text{\text{-\text{\text{a}v\text{\text{e}}}(\text{-\text{-\text{a}v\text{\text{e}}})} \) EMPH.

3.6.2 Vowels

Basic morphs of the type \( \xi V \) with different vowels do not occur. For disyllabic and longer concurrent basic morphs with different vowel patterns (mostly a regular and a marginal one), see section 3.3. Free variation of regular vowel patterns is found with:

- \( \text{ye}\text{\text{e}(\text{ye}\text{e}) \) 'self'
- \( \lambda\text{o}\text{\text{e}(\lambda\text{o}\text{\text{e}) \) 'country'
- \( \text{-\text{\text{-\text{d}e}(\text{-\text{-\text{d}e}, \text{-\text{d}e}) \) 'with, near'.

3.6.3 Otherwise

Concurrent basic morphs can also differ from each other with respect to their make-up in terms of \( C \) and \( V \). This is what we often find with concurrent basic morphs that are not in free variation. With concurrent basic morphs in free variation this phenomenon is limited to roots that are found with and without a resonant before medial \( \xi \), and to a few isolated cases.

For \( \xi\text{o}( \xi\text{o}) \) freely varying with \( \xi\text{o} \), see section 3.2.7.

3.7 SWITCHING MORPHEMES

3.7.1 Introduction

Some morphemes are not stable with regard to their placement in the word. However, for all "switching" morphemes a canonical position can be established. A deviation from the canonical order should form part of the step from (a) to (b) (cf. § 3.1.1) above). As far as I know, the deviations involved do not imply a difference in meaning.
3.7.2 $\text{ge}^2 'hither' \text{ and } \theta^4 a^4 3/PO-P1$

With one exception, the morpheme sequence $3/PO-P1$ is always found immediately before the preverb (slot 4) to which it belongs; however, underlying canonical $+CV\text{ge}^2\theta^4 a^4 CV.+$ can be replaced by $+CV\theta^4 a^e CV.+$. e.g. $\text{ta}^1\theta^4 a^4 e^4 k^e-x^e$ (1p/SB-Hh-3/PO-P1-with to go-Fu/1) 'we will come with them', also $\text{ta}^1\theta^4 a^e e^4 k^e-x^e$.

(a) (1p/SB-Hh-3/PO-P1-with to go-Fu/1)
(b) $+\text{ta}\theta^4 a^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$ / $+\text{ta}\theta^4 a^e e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$
(c) $+\text{ta}\theta^4 a^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$ / $+\text{ta}\theta^4 a^e e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$
(d) taqadek$e\text{eest} / taqadek$e\text{eest}$.

3.7.3 Two Preverbs and Their Preverb Objects

When, in one form, there are two preverbs, one with a zero $3/PO$ prefix, the other with an overt $PO$ prefix, then the overt prefix can occur before the first preverb even if it belongs to the second preverb.

E.g. $s\text{a}^1\theta^4 a^4 e^4 k^e-x^e$ (1/SB-3/PO-there-2/PO-with to go-Fu/1) 'I will marry you("go with you") there', also $s\text{a}^1\theta^4 a^4 e^4 k^e-x^e$.

(a) (1/SB-3/PO-there-2/PO-with to go-Fu/1)
(b) $+s\text{a}^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e+ / +s\text{a}^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$
(c) $+s\text{a}^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e+ / +s\text{a}^4 e^4 \text{de-} k^e-x^e$
(d) $\text{sakadek}\text{eest} / \text{sapsadek}\text{eest}$.

3.7.4 Specifying Suffixes

The stem-suffixes can be distributed over four slots; the second slot is that of the specifying suffixes. In one form one some-

times finds two specifying suffixes. Neither the order of two specifying suffixes, nor the order of a specifying suffix and a suffix belonging to the attitudinal or the tense/mood suffixes, is totally fixed. For examples I refer to chapter 5, section 12 (cf. also $s\text{a}^2 k^e \text{e}\text{e} / s\text{a}^2 k^e \text{e}$ in § 2.1.4).

3.7.5 The Endings -fe, -ye and -re

The endings -fe 'until', -ye 'though' and -re Dy/2 normally follow $k^e$ PL; however, they can also be found before -ke. In words in which this is observed, the domain of the $e$-alternation invariably ends before the first ending. For -fe and -ye the choice between the two orders seems totally free, -re Dy/2 is found before -ke mainly in participles.

E.g. $\text{ga}^2 e^4 k^e \text{e}-\text{e}n\text{e}^\text{sa}$ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PL-till' until) 'until they come here', also $\text{ga}^2 e^4 k^e \text{e}-\text{e}n\text{e}^\text{sa}$.
$\text{ga}^2 e^4 k^e \text{e}-\text{e}n\text{e}^\text{sa}^{\text{ra}-\text{e}}$ (PART/SB-Hh-to go-PL-Dy/2-ABS) 'those that are coming hither, ABS', also $\text{ga}^2 e^4 k^e \text{e}-\text{e}n\text{e}^\text{sa}^{\text{ra}-\text{e}}$.

3.7.6 Clitics or Stem-suffixes

There are elements that alternately occur as clitics and as suffixes.

E.g. $\text{te}^4 \text{ta}\text{e}^\text{k}\text{e}^{\text{e}^\text{e}}\text{.ta}\text{.na}$ (3/SB-3/PO-on-to stand-PL'may be) 'may be they are standing on it', also $\text{te}^4 \text{ta}\text{e}^\text{k}\text{e}^{\text{e}^\text{e}}\text{.ta}\text{.na}$.

Compare also $\text{re}^4 \text{la} e^4 \text{g}^\text{e}^\text{e}.\text{sa} e^\text{sa} e^\text{sa}$ / $\text{re}^4 \text{la} e^4 \text{g}^\text{e}^\text{e}.\text{sa} e^\text{sa}$ (§ 2.2.1).

3.7.7 Stem-prefixes or Base-prefixes

In non-S-forms we find only one type of prefix, viz. possessive prefixes (for a survey of these prefixes, see chapter 5, section 10). S-forms can be derived from nouns as well as from verbs, also from nouns that are preceded by possessive prefixes. Possessive
prefix complexes containing the preverb ya- POS are normally taken up in slot 4 of the stem-prefix of S-forms. However, occasionally complexes containing ya- are taken up in the basis; monoconsonantal possessive prefixes are always taken up in the basis.

e.g. s-ya-txa.λe (1/PS-POS-book) "my book".
      s-ya-txa.λ (3/ SB-1/PO-POS-book) 'it is my book'.
    s-pe- (1/PS-nose) "my nose".
    s-pee (3/ SB-1/PS-nose) 'it is my nose'.

ze.re3s-ya-txa.λ-er (3/ SB-that-1/PO-POS-book-ABS) 'that it is my book'.

ze.re3s-ya-ma8-txa.λ-er (3/ SB-that-1/PO-POS-N/1-book-ABS) 'that it is not my book', also ze.re3s-ya-txa.λ-er.

s-ya-§oaza- (1/PS-POS-wife) "my wife".

wa1-ya-§oaza (2/ SB-1/PO-POS-wife) 'you are my wife'.

wa1-ya-§eze-§oaza (2/ SB-1/PO-POS-OPT-wife) 'may you be my wife!', also wa1-ya-§e-§oaza.

ze.re3ma8-s-p-er (3/ SB-that-N/1-1/PS-nose-ABS) 'that it is not my nose'.

1. If one of the concurrent basic morphs clearly has a wider range of applicability than the other basic morphs of the same morpheme, that one is selected as the primary basic morph. For morphemes which have concurrent basic morphs in free variation (primarily roots), it often is not possible to establish which is the one that is most widely applicable. In those cases I select a basic morph which has a relatively atypical shape as the primary one. Secondary basic morphs are presented - between round brackets - following the primary basic morph; cf. Sawa(§ewe) 'yard'; Sawa is the primary, §ewe the secondary basic morph; Sawa has a marginal, §ewe a common vowel pattern.

2. In my forthcoming "Shapsug Texts with Dictionary" I shall provide this type of information; the "dictionary" will present the morphemes - and fixed combinations of morphemes - occurring in the "texts" and in other publications on the Shapsug of Düzce, and morphemes I have come across during field work sessions, that do not occur in the existing dictionaries and word-lists.

3. In Soviet studies on Circassian isolated morphemes are normally given under the form they exhibit when occurring in stem-final position (e-step in morpheme-final position, a-step before morpheme-final (R)e). Paris (1974a) presents verbs different from nouns: before stem-final (R)e the e-step is found in verbs, the a-step in nouns. Cf. (my notation) DÜSHP samege 'ill', (Tolkovyj slovar' Adyghejskogo jazyka 1960:518) LiAD soma3(e), (Paris 1974b) CbSHP sameg'e 'malade', sameg'e 'tomber malade'.
There are two reasons to prefer a notation which makes use only of the e-step of the e/a-alternation for basic morphs or - for that matter - for lexical entries. 1° The e/a-alternation gains in simplicity: only one change (e→a) has to be accounted for instead of two (e→a and a→e). 2° One can make do with 4 vocalic morphophonemes (e, a, and a for instances of e not changing to a) instead of five (with an additional a for instances of a not changing to e). (Notation using: e-step only / a-or e-step [(some) allomorphs]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>e-step only</th>
<th>a-or e-step</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/io</td>
<td>ye3</td>
<td>ye3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>pšeše</td>
<td>pšeše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'certain'</td>
<td>-gʊere</td>
<td>-gʊere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'haystack'</td>
<td>?ate</td>
<td>?ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('mother'</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. There is no discrete morpheme "imperative". There are, however, imperative forms with their own characteristics which play a role in the step from (a) to (b) and in the step from (b) to (c): + from (a) to (b): in positive imperative forms the secondary basic morphs (both zero) of the 2/SB prefix [wa3(ʊ-)] (intransitive forms) and of the 2/AG prefix [pa3(ʊ-)] (transitive forms) have to be inserted. + from (b) to (c): most imperative forms drop their word-final vowel, cf. § 4.4.3; (in the same way as optatives and vocatives).

Underlying forms of imperatives are provided with the symbol "!". This label is in fact superfluous as the make-up of the underlying form indicates unambiguously that we have to do with an imperative. The label is also added to underlying optatives and vocatives.

5. The position before, for instance, m is not diagnostic; cf. se3-ma9t-ew (1/SB-N/1-father-MOD)'(I) not being a father'. se9ma9t-ew (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-to give-MOD)'(I) not giving it'.

6. Many invariable words are secondary; among them we find petrifications of various types of forms, e.g. ABS and REL subordinates, and predicative forms. For instance, ya.haw is a petrified ABS form; cf. (DUSHP): ya.haw 4-ya9ʔ-ep (3/PS-P1S."no".ABS) (3/SB-1/P0-POS-to belong to-N/2) 'I have no objection'.

7. Nowadays r-initial loans are accepted. For older loans, cf. LiAD wərəsə 'Russian', LiKAB areza 'satisfied' (cf. Tu. rəzə); cf. also (DUSHP): kešə.het qa9ʔ-we9ʔ- 'good night!' (night.quiet-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-2/IO-OPT-to come to) ("may a quiet night come to you!"). cf. Tu. rahat 'quiet'.

8. This must be due to the fact that ma-N/1 is especially frequent immediately before verbs.

9. Cf. qana3ʔ-ayk (wooden hook-ABS-EMPH) 'and a wooden hook'. ʔ-ep (3/SB-horse-N/2) 'it is not a horse'.

10. Cf. se9-ye3-ay (3/SB-3/P0-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-CoPr) 'you threw it out of it, and' +3a-ʔ-yo-p- 3a-ʔ-ay+. b2-ay-tə-m (horn-NuCo-two-REL) 'the two horns' +b2e-ay-te-o-m+. ?apk-ep (3/SB-glass-N/2) 'it is not a glass' +ʔ-ʔapko-ep+. b8-ayk (breast-ABS-EMPH) 'and a breast' +b8e-ʔ-ayk+. 
11. Cf. the pairs:
- pxeškā [1-5] 'to scratch sb./sth.' ("the subject[slot 1] scratches the indirect object[slot 5]").
- pxeškē [1] 'to scratch' ("the subject is scratching").
- šəe [1-6] 'to eat sth./sb.' ("the agent[slot 6] eats the subject").
- šəe [1] 'to eat' ("the subject is eating").
- ḡa [1-6] 'give birth to sb./sth.' ("the agent gives birth to the subject").
- ḡa [1] 'to give birth/drop young' ("the subject ...").

There are scores of pairs of both types ([1-5] / [1]; [1-6] / [1]) of verbs. I consider the forms with final e as fixed combinations containing the actant-deleting base-suffix -e:
pxeškə/pxeškə.e, šəe/šə.e, ḡa/ḡ.e.

12. Sequences with initial m, n and r have been discussed several times in the literature on Circassian; cf. Kuipers (1960:78), Rogava-Keraševa (1966:56), Paris (1974b:144, ff.).

13. With some verbs we find ḡə, with others ḡe-.

14. In basic morphs a sequence ...ehe(...) does not occur; around ḡ do we find the following patterns:

15. For instance: (i) instead of expected ḡe- we often find just ḡe; e.g.

16. Cf. the actant-deleting suffix -e (note 11), the verbaliser ḡe- and the VCV suffixes -ešo "dwelling-place", -ešə "companion", -ešo "companion".
17. The elements -h- and -k- do not recur in other roots. The verb koe 'to go, walk' does not combine with the ILL or the ELA suffix.
Analysis: koe(-h, -k) 'to go'; -k is obligatory before -a ELA, and -h before -e ILL; koe is used elsewhere.

18. The two basic morphs of əa(əe) 'to do' do not allow for totally free choice: as it seems, əa can always be used, whereas əe is preferred to əa with a preceding indirect object prefix and also with preceding fe- for (the sake of). Cf.

əsə-əe (3/SB-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I have done it', exceptionaly also əsə-e.
veəsə-əe (3/SB-3/IO-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it to him'.

19. The exception: in sequences containing the preverb ya- POS we always find the following order: 3/PO-preverb-Pl, never expected 3/PO-Pl-preverb.

E.g.
S1-4 ya-rəpəsə (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-daughter) 'I am their daughter', also S1-4 a-rəpəsə (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-daughter).
Cf. also S1-4 (yə)yəmənəbə əgə-ew (§ 3.5.2).

20. Or, for that matter, +ə-ə-p-ə-de- koe -stər+.
lists and illustrates polymorphemic consonant sequences, the second, section 4.11, orders the processes given below.

Some non-recurrent phenomena (mostly concerning just one morpheme) are given in section 4.9. Before considering the recurrent processes, I shall introduce a type of alternation which is found with two prefixes occurring in slot 7 of the stem-prefixes.

4.1.2 CV(CV) Initially, V(CV) Medially

(i) were\textsuperscript{2} OPT changes to er\textsuperscript{-} (and occasionally to \textsuperscript{4}) when it is preceded by an overt prefix; \textsuperscript{4} is found almost exclusively after the 3/AG prefix, especially in wishes and curses.

\textbf{Example:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}were\textsuperscript{2} : (3/SB-OPT-to go) 'may he go:' +\textsuperscript{4}were\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
  \item \textsuperscript{2}were\textsuperscript{2} : (1/SB-OPT-to go) 'may I go:' +\textsuperscript{4}were\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
  \item \textsuperscript{3}were\textsuperscript{2} : (2/SB-OPT-to go) 'may you go:' +\textsuperscript{4}were\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
  \item \textsuperscript{4}were\textsuperscript{2} : (3/SB+3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may he do it:' +\textsuperscript{4}were\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
\end{itemize}

See also § 5.7.

(ii) me\textsuperscript{2} Dy/l changes to \textsuperscript{4} when it is preceded by an overt prefix.

\textbf{Example:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item me\textsuperscript{2} : (3/SB-Dy/l-to go-RE) 'he is going back' +\textsuperscript{4}me\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
  \item s\textsuperscript{1}me\textsuperscript{2} : (1/SB-Dy/l-to go-RE) 'I am going back' +\textsuperscript{4}me\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
\end{itemize}

See also § 5.7.

4.2 THE SHORT PERSONAL PREFIXES

4.2.1 Introduction

There are three sets of "short" personal prefixes: preverb object (PO), agent (AG) and possessive (PS) prefixes. Each of these sets has four members, viz. 1, lp, 2 and 2p.

The members of the three sets have identical basic morphs (C) and identical allomorphs, but display a slightly different allomorph distribution between the PO prefixes on the one hand and the AG and PS prefixes on the other hand.

The basic morphs and allomorphs are:

\begin{align*}
\text{PO} & : \text{AG/PS} \\
\text{s-} & : s-/z- /\text{sa-} \\
\text{i-} & : t-/d- /\text{ta-} \\
\text{p-} & : p-/b- /\text{wa-} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{z}o-} & : \text{\textsuperscript{z}o-/\textsuperscript{z}o-} /\text{2p/PO, AG, PS.}
\end{align*}

The distribution of the allomorphs is (using s- as an example):

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Before} & \textbf{PO} & \textbf{AG/PS} \\
\hline
\textbf{voiceless obstruents} & \textbf{s-} & \\
\textbf{voiced obstruents} & \textbf{z-} & \textbf{z-/sa-} \\
\textbf{glottalic obstruents} & \textbf{\textsuperscript{z}o-} & \\
\textbf{the resonant n} & \textbf{s-/z-} & \textbf{sa-} \\
\textbf{other resonants/vowels} & \textbf{sa-} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

* sa- is more frequent in word-initial, z- in word-medial position.

4.2.2 Preverb Object Prefixes

[There are no preverbs with initial m, m or vowel.]

\textbf{Example:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}me\textsuperscript{2} : (3/SB-Hh-l/PF) 'he came (hither) to me' +\textsuperscript{4}me\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
  \item \textsuperscript{2}me\textsuperscript{2} : (1/SB-2/PO-under-to sit) 'I am sitting under you' +\textsuperscript{4}me\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{-}\textsuperscript{2} e+.
\end{itemize}
4.2.3 Agent Prefixes

[Agent prefixes are found before all consonants except ꜚ.]

e.g. 

\[\text{sa}- \text{sta}\] (3/SB-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it'

\[\text{wa}- \text{da}- \text{st} / \text{de}- \text{wa}- \text{da}- \text{st} (3/SB-2/AG-to sew-Fu/1) 'you will sew it'

\[\text{de}- \text{da}- \text{st} / \text{de}- \text{we}- \text{da}- \text{st} (3/SB-3/PO-with-2/AG-to sew-Fu/1)

'you will sew it with her'

\[\text{sm}- \text{st} (3/SB-1p/AG-to dig-Fu/1) 'we will dig it'

\[\text{sa}- \text{ey}- \text{st} (3/SB-2p/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you(p) will coat it'

\[\text{sa}- \text{ne}- \text{st} (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to leave(.ILL)-Fu/1) 'I will leave it in it'

\[\text{sa}- \text{ma}- \text{ta}- \text{me} (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-to give-COND) 'if I do not give it'

\[\text{sa}- \text{ta} (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/1-to give) 'I am giving it'

\[\text{za}- \text{ere}- \text{ma}- \text{ba}- \text{t} (\text{REF/SB-2/AG-OPT-N/1-to kill-RE}) 'may you not kill yourself!'

\[\text{za}- \text{ow}- \text{ere}- \text{ma}- \text{wa}- \text{ke}- \text{za}+ \] (3/SB-2/AG-OPT-N/1-to kill-RE) 'may you not kill yourself!'

4.3 WORD-MEDIAL VOWEL DELETION

4.3.1 Introduction

Vowel deletion occurs both word-medially and word-finally. The cases of word-medial deletion are primarily phonologically conditioned, the word-final cases primarily morphophonologically.

There are two main types of word-medial vowel deletion. The first (§4.3.2) eliminates underlying vowel sequences and is obligatory. The second concerns deletion of vowels before ꜚ (§4.3.3); this deletion applies only in the domain of the word-prefixes and is also subject to other restrictions. In §4.3.4 a non-serial case
of word-medial vowel deletion is discussed.

4.3.2 Elimination of Underlying Vowel Sequences

Vowel sequences occurring in underlying word forms are reduced. The following VV sequences appear in underlying forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a + a → a</th>
<th>e + a → a</th>
<th>a + e → a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a + e → e</td>
<td>e + e → e</td>
<td>a + a → a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a + e → e</td>
<td>a + e → a</td>
<td>e + a → a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This deletion can be described as follows: as a rule the higher of two consecutive underlying vowels is dropped. There is one exception to this: e + a → a (in such sequences a is always the initial vowel of a suffix). In practice this deletion mostly boils down to the dropping of the first of two consecutive vowels. In the case of two identical consecutive underlying vowels I also assume that it is the first of the two that is deleted. This choice has the effect that for a number of morphemes with a basic morph of the V type, zero allomorphs can be avoided in certain environments. 4)

Underlying vowel sequences VVV also occur; first, one of the two first vowels is deleted, then one of the remaining two — examples of such sequences are given in § 4.5.2. Here I give examples of the reduction of underlying VVV to V:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a + a → a</th>
<th>e + a → a</th>
<th>a + e → a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a + e → a</td>
<td>a + e → e</td>
<td>a + a → a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a + e → e</td>
<td>e + e → a</td>
<td>e + a → a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A less general rule, applying in the domain of the stem-pre-
fixes only, is that vowels other than ə are dropped before prefix-initial ɣV (but the ə of prefixes with the form ze- is never dropped before prefixal ɣV). Instead of this deletion we find - in certain combinations - obligatory (§ 4.8.3) or optional (§ 4.8.4) r-insertion. In a few exceptional cases neither the deletion nor r-insertion takes place.

e.g. 6s1ya§aεya-stå (1/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'he will see me' +ə-pə-λεκυεa-stå+; compare:
sa-ya§aεya-stå (1/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'you will see me' +sα-λεκυεa-stå+.

q2ye5εya-stå (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to shout-Fu/1) 'he will shout (hither) at him' +y-γε-γε-stå+.

2§ye7εya-stå (3/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to see-REL) 'when he saw it' +y-θο-γα-ε-λεκυεa-stå+.

w1ya1 (3/SB-2/PO-POS-to be) 'you have it' ('it is yours') +p-θυ-ŋya+; +p-ŋya+ → +w-ŋya+ (§ 4.2.1) → +w-ŋya+.

r5ya1 (3/SB-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to him' +y-ŋe-ŋa-ta-dest+; +y-ŋa+ → +y-ŋa+ → +r-ŋa+ (§ 4.8.2).

Occasionally, the final vowel of a prefix in slot 4 or 5 is not dropped:

r5ya1 (3/SB-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for him' +p-θe-ŋa-ə-gε+; also: r1ya1-ha-ee-

[A doublet with optional r-insertion: r1ya1 (3/SB-3/AG-to for-PF) 'he did it for him' +p-θe-ŋa-ə-gε+; also: r1ya1-ha-ee-

Obligatory r-insertion (and no vowel deletion) in a form containing a prefix with the form ze-

ze5rya1 (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +θ-ze-ŋa-ta-ṛest+; +ze-ŋa+ → +ze-ṛya+ (§ 4.8.3).

Compare:

w1yr7 (REF/SB-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself' +ze-ŋa-ta-ṛest+.

No deletion takes place before non-prefixal ɣV, or before prefixal ɣ not followed by a vowel:

w16ya1 (3/SB-2/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you will coat it' +θ-ŋe-ŋa-stå+; +p-ŋa+ → +w-ŋa+ (§ 4.2.1).

w1yr1 (2/SB-3/PO-POS-to belong) 'he owns you' ('you belong to him') +wə-ŋe-ŋa-ye+; +y-y+ → +r-y+ (§ 4.8.2); y4 is the secondary basic morph of ɣ2(y-) 3/PO (§ 3.5.2).

w1yan-ew (2/SB-tall-MOD) '(you) being tall' +wə-ŋe-ŋa-ew+.

Compare:

w1ya1 (2/SB-3/PO-in-to remain(.ILL)-MOD) '(you) remaining in it' +wə-ŋe-ŋa-ə-ew+.

4.3.4 An Incidental Case of Word-medial Vowel Deletion

Optional dropping of ə before the ending -me COND is observed in the sequences +psewe-me+ and +fe-ye-me+ (cf. pse.wε 'alive', ye [1-4:fe] 'to want' ('the subject wants the preverb object, or: 1 wants 4').

e.g. ta1psawe-me / ta1psawe-me (1p/SB-alive-COND) 'if we are alive' +θe- psewe- me+.

w1fa-ye-me / w1fa-ye-me (2/SB-3/PO-for-to want-COND) 'if you want it' +wə-θe- ye- me+.
4.4 WORD-FINAL VOWEL DELETION

4.4.1 Introduction

Five types of word-final vowel deletion are distinguished; in all of these the deletion is morphologically conditioned. In two cases (§§ 4.4.4-5) only a is affected, in the other cases both a and e.

In section 4.4.2 I discuss the dropping of final vowels in stative present forms, in section 4.4.3 the dropping in instructive forms (i.e. imperatives, optatives and vocatives), and in section 4.4.4 final vowel dropping in absolutive forms. Section 4.4.5 deals with suffixes that drop their final vowel in phrase-final position, and section 4.4.6 with final vowel deletion in adverbs.

4.4.2 Final Vowel Deletion in Stative Forms

Present forms from stative verbs have an opposition stative/dynamic. The dynamic forms contain a marker of dynamicity. The bulk of the verbs is dynamic. From dynamic verbs only one type of present form can be derived; these present forms have the same formal characteristics as the dynamic forms derived from stative verbs. Present forms derived from nouns also oppose stative to dynamic forms.

Word-finally, the base-final vowel of a dynamic form is always retained, whereas it is always dropped in stative forms that occur in phrase-final position and that are derived from verbs. With stative forms from nouns the situation is more complex: when there is a prefixal vowel in the underlying word form the final vowel is normally deleted; if there is no prefixal vowel in the underlying form, the word-final vowel is never deleted in monosyllabic forms, often in disyllabic and usually in trisyllabic and longer forms.

e.g. sa1̱a̱a (1/SB-there-to sit) 'I am sitting there' +sa-3̱a̱-sa+: a stative form derived from a stative verb ('-sa-1̱a̱ [1-4, ST] 'to sit in (etc.)' 4'; -sa combines with most of the local preverbs). Compare the corresponding dynamic form:

sa1̱a̱e ̱sa (1/SB-there-Dy/-1-to sit) 'I go on sitting there'

+sa-3̱a̱me -sa+: +3̱a̱me+ +3̱e+ (§ 4.1.2).

Compare also the following (dynamic) present form derived from a dynamic verb:

sa1̱a̱e ̱gep̱a (1/SB-there-Dy/-1-to play) 'I am playing in it'

+sa-3̱a̱me -gep̱a+.

we1̱de-t (2/SB-3/PO-in-to stand) 'you are standing in it'.

+wə-0̱de-ta+; a stative form from a stative verb.

we1̱de-t (2/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/-1-to stand) 'you go on standing in it'.

+wə-0̱de-me-ta+.

dėta̱-k (3/SB-3/PO-in-to stand-PL) 'they are standing in it'.

+θ̱-0̱de-to -ḵe+; a stative form from a stative verb.

dėta̱-k (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/-1-to stand-PL) 'they go on standing in it'.

+θ̱-0̱de-me -ṯe+.

In the last two forms the base-final vowel does not occur in word-final position; for the dropping of the final vowel of the ending -ḵe see § 4.4.5.

The stative form in the next example does not occur in phrase-final position: the base-final vowel, which does occur in word-final position, is not dropped:

wane-m ya̱-s̱o ŋe1̱er (house-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) (boy-ABS) 'the boy (, ABS) who is sitting in the house'

+wane-m+ θ̱-0̱ ja̱-sa+ +ŋe1̱er -e+.

The following examples illustrate present predicates derived
from nouns.

\(2/\text{SB-man})\) 'you are a man' \(\text{wa-} \lambda a+\); a stative
form; the dynamic counterpart is:

\(2/\text{SB-Dy/l-man})\) 'you are behaving like a man'
\(+\text{wa-me-} \lambda a+\).

\(3/\text{SB-man})\) 'he is a man' \(\theta- \lambda a+\); a stative form.

\(3/\text{SB-Dy/l-man})\) 'he is behaving like a man'
\(+\theta- \text{me-} \lambda a+\); the dynamic counterpart of \(\lambda a\), above.

\(2/\text{SB-woman})\) 'you are a woman' \(\text{wa-} 6^oaza+\); a
stative form; its dynamic counterpart is:

\(2/\text{SB-Dy/l-woman})\) 'you are behaving like a woman'
\(+\text{wa-me-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{SB-old})\) 'I am old' \(\text{sa-} za+\).

\(1/\text{SB-Dy/l-old})\) 'I am getting old' \(\text{sa-me-} za+\).

4.4.3 Final Vowel Deletion in Instructive Forms

Instructive forms whose underlying form contains two or more
vowels normally drop their final vowel. The final vowel is always
dropped when the underlying form contains three or more vowels, one
of which is part of a prefix.

\(1/\text{SB-old})\) 'I am old' \(\text{sa-} za+\).

\(1/\text{SB-Dy/l-old})\) 'I am getting old' \(\text{sa-me-} za+\).

4.4.4 Final Vowel Deletion in Absolutive Forms

Wordfinally, underlying base-final \(\theta\) tends to be dropped
in absolutive forms with the ending \(-\theta \text{ ABS})\) Here, too, the tendency
is observed that the longer the form, the more usual the deletion, and also the tendency that the deletion is practically obligatory if the form in question contains a prefixal vowel. Exceptionally we find analogous dropping of \(\theta\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-ABS})\) 'my wife, ABS'
\(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-REL})\) 'my wife, REL'
\(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-ABS})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-REL})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-ABS})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-REL})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-ABS})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).

\(1/\text{PS-POS-woman-REL})\) (tomorrow) \(3/\text{SB-1/AG-to see-Full})\) 'I will see my wife
tomorrow' \(+s-\text{ya-} 6^oaza+\).
4.4.5 Final Vowel Deleting Suffixes and Clitics

A number of stem-suffixes, two endings and a number of clitics drop their final vowel in phrase-final position.

The suffixes are:  
- uesta Fu/1 uesta pe IRR/1  
- uesta Fu/2 -uesta pe IRR/2  
- pe PF -pe ye IRR/3.

The endings are:  
- pe PL -pe REL

The clitics are:  
- be kana IMPF 'be maybe'  
- be kana na 'presumably'  
- ze pa ta 'continually'.

4.4.6 Final Vowel Deletion in a Number of Adverbs

When used as adverbial subordinates, tekoe 'little', nehe 'more' and fe.day.ze 'as big as' drop their final vowel.

4.5 Final Vowel Deleting Suffixes and Clitics

When used as adverbial subordinates, tekoe 'little', nehe 'more' and fe.day.ze 'as big as' drop their final vowel.

nehe sa-ye (3/SB-Hh-togo-PF) 'they have arrived' +pe- ke- se-ke.

nehe (that-REL) 'that, REL' +nehe se.a.

nehe se.(m) ge (that-REL-(REL-)instrumental) 'by means of that one' +nehe se-m-ge.

qe ke-ze.pa.ta (3/SB-Hh-togo-continually) 'he keeps coming' +pe- ke- ce-ze.pa.ta.

qe ke-ze.pa.ta-ye (3/SB-Hh-togo-continually-PF) 'he kept coming, he came all the time' +pe- ke- ce-ze.pa.ta-ye.

4.4.5 Final Vowel Deleting Suffixes and Clitics

A number of stem-suffixes, two endings and a number of clitics drop their final vowel in phrase-final position.

The suffixes are:  
- uesta Fu/1 uesta pe IRR/1  
- uesta Fu/2 -uesta pe IRR/2  
- pe PF -pe ye IRR/3.

The endings are:  
- pe PL -pe REL

The clitics are:  
- be kana IMPF 'be maybe'  
- be kana na 'presumably'  
- ze pa ta 'continually'.

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e.g. tekoe salieza-a (a little) (1/SB-to work-PF) 'I have worked a bit' +teke-a +sae-lieze-ge.

The basic morph of the adverb 'now' is haga; a morpheme with the meaning 'here' is ma.xa. In the sentence we find both haga and hag and ma.xa and ma.xa. NM considers the long forms as less correct.

Complex adverbial subordinates which consist of a noun, the NuCo infix -ay-, and a cardinal number can drop their-final vowel. They always do so when they are the non-final element of a series of such forms.

e.g. mefe-ay-ta(a) sa-leza-ye (day-NuCo-two) (1/SB-to work-PF) 'I worked two days' +mefey-ta +sae-leze-ge.

mef-ay-ta mefe-ay-ta-sa mefe-ay-ay-ta (day-NuCo-two day-NuCo-three-day-NuCo-four) (1) 'I worked two, three, four days' +mefey-ta mefe-ay-xa mefe-ay-ayta +ta.
4.5 THE e/a-ALTERNATION

4.5.1 The General Rule

The general rule is that an underlying stem-final sequence \( \ldots e \) is changed to \( \ldots a \).

If \( e \) does not change to \( a \); the stem is the whole of the word (including any stem-affixes) without endings; endings are -xe PL and all suffixes that can follow it.

In the examples below, the symbol "\( = \)" marks the end of the stem and, as a rule, also the end of the "e/a-domain". When the end of the stem and the end of the e/a-domain do not coincide, the end of the e/a-domain is indicated by the symbol "\( \cdot \)."

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad p\text{se}-m \quad \text{(girl-REL)} \quad \text{the girl, REL} \quad +p\text{se}e = m. \\
p\text{se}-\text{la}-e-m \quad \text{(girl-young-REL)} \quad \text{the young girl, REL} \quad +p\text{se}e-lae = m. \\
p\text{se}-\text{de}-l-a-
\text{m} \quad \text{(girl-beautiful-REL)} \quad \text{the beautiful girl, REL} \quad +p\text{se}e-de-la=e = m. \\
\text{wa}l\text{-pse}-a-x \quad \text{(2/SB-girl-PF)} \quad \text{you were a girl} \quad +\text{wae-} p\text{se}e - xe = +. \\
\text{wa}l\text{-pse}-\text{de}-l-a-x \quad \text{(2/SB-girl-beautiful-PF)} \quad \text{you were a beautiful girl} \quad +\text{wae-} p\text{se}e-de-la=e xe =+. \\
k\text{e}-x-x \quad \text{(3/SB-to go-PF)} \quad \text{he went (away)} \quad +\text{fe} k\text{e} -xe =+.
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{e.g.} \quad sa\text{-fe}-z-e-x \quad \text{(1/SB-2/PF-for-Dy/1-to plough Pot/2)} \quad \text{I am able to plough for you} \quad +sa-p-fe-me- z\text{e} -xe =+. \\
\text{ge}\text{z}\text{e}-x\text{e}-x \quad \text{(3/SB-Hh-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1)} \quad \text{I will send him hither} \quad +\text{fe-g}\text{e} -xe -xe =+; \quad +\text{fe} -z\text{e}+ \rightarrow +z\text{e}+ \\
(\S 4.1.2); \quad +\text{fe} =+ \rightarrow +\text{fe}+ \quad (\S 4.3.2); \quad +\text{fe} -z\text{e}++ \rightarrow +\text{fa} -z\text{e}+.
\]

Compare:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(a)} & \quad m\text{e}z\text{e}-x \quad \text{(3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-PL)} \quad +\text{me} -z\text{e} =x+ e. \\
\text{(b)} & \quad m\text{e}z\text{e}-x \quad \text{(3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-EXH)} \quad +\text{me} -z\text{e} -xe =+. \\
\text{(a)} & \quad \text{they are ploughing}. \\
\text{(b)} & \quad \text{he finishes ploughing}.
\end{align*}
\]

In the first form the final vowel of -xe PL is dropped phrase-finally; the domain of the e/a-alternation comes to an end before the ending -xe.

The second form contains the stem-suffix -xe 'exhaustive'; -xe EXH preserves its final vowel in word-final position.

Cf. finally:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me}z\text{e}-x\text{e} \quad \text{(3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-EXH-PL)} \quad \text{they finish ploughing} \quad +\text{me} -z\text{e} -xe =xe =+. \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.5.2 The e/a-alternation and Vowel Deletion

The rule of e/a-alternation must be applied after the deletion of vowels in the part of the word that ends with the directional suffix slot (i.e. the first slot after the base - cf. \( \S 2.1 \)), and before the deletion of vowels in the rest of the word.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad ga\text{z}\text{e} \quad \text{(3/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go)} \quad \text{he is coming (hither)} \\
& \quad +\text{fe} -z\text{e}+ \rightarrow +\text{fe}+ \quad (\S 4.1.2) \quad +\text{fe} +
\end{align*}
\]
4.5.3 No Alternation

Below is a list of forms whose underlying representations do not have a vowel pattern that calls for the application of the e/a-rule (in addition to the forms ḥaḍašem in section 4.5.1 and the forms ḥeḇṣaḥep, ḥeḇṣay and ḥeš in the preceding section).

\[ \text{qad} \] 3e-š-t (3/6b-3-3/2/to come-grey) 'he will come (hither)'
\[ +\theta-\text{ke}-ö-e+-m \]
\[ ?aže-šo-m (Abkhazian-good-REL) 'the good Abkhazian, REL' \]
\[ +\theta-were-šo-o =e+. \]
\[ \text{were} \] 2e-š-x : (3/6b-3/to go-PL) 'may they go:'
\[ +\theta-were-šo-o =e+. \]
\[ \text{t} \] 1e-žer=š-e (1/6b-3/to know) 'we know each other'
\[ +t-e-žer-še-še-m; +žer-še-m +žer-še+ (§ 4.1.2) \]
\[ +žer-še+ (§ 4.3.2). \]
\[ \text{ye} \] 5e-we (1/6b-3/to beat) 'beat him:'
\[ +\theta-ye-še-w+e+. \]
\[ \text{ye} \] 3e-še (1/6b-3/to beat) 'I am beating him'
\[ +śe-ye-še-w+e; +ye-še+ +ye-še+. \]
\[ \text{ye} \] 3e-we (1/6b-3/to beat-PL) 'I am beating you'
\[ +śe-ye-še-w+e; +we-še+ +we-še+. \]
\[ \text{ye} \] 3e-e-ep (1/6b-3/to beat-Dy/3-3/to go-REL) 'I do not beat him'
\[ +śe-ye-še-we-re-še-. \]
\[ \text{še} \] 3e-še-m (1/6b-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when I had gone'
\[ +śe-zo-še-še-še-še-m; +zo-še+ +zo-še+. \]
4.5.4 The e/a-alternation: Peculiarities

A number of morphemes affect in one way or another the operation of the e/a-alternation.

(i) The stem-suffixes -gOe.re 'certain', -dède(-dade) 'very, same' and -gOe TEMP call for no special remarks when they do not occur in stem-final position; if they do, the e/a-domain (indicated by "L") ends before them. The same is true for the base-suffix -re.

\[ \text{e.g.} \text{ } \text{ } \text{ca}l_{-dèd} \text{e} = \text{m+} \]

\[ \text{boy-very-REL} \] 'the very boy, REL'

\[ +c\text{e}\text{le} \text{ } \text{dèd} \text{e} = \text{m+}. \]

\[ za \text{ } \text{c}a\text{l}_{-gOe} \text{e} = \text{m} \]

\[ \text{one (boy-certain-REL)} \] 'a certain boy, REL'

\[ +za+ \text{ } +c\text{e}\text{le} \text{ } gOe \text{e} = \text{m+}. \]

\[ za\text{ } \text{c}a\text{l}_{-gOe} \text{e} = \text{m} \] (3/SB-Dy/1-to go-TEMP) 'he is walking for the time being' +0-me- kOe tgOe = e+.

\[ \text{Compare:} \]

\[ zb\text{er}\text{e} \text{w} \text{za-gOe} \text{e} = \text{m} \] (evil-MOD) (3/SB-one-certain-PF) 'he was an evil person' +bzege = ew+ +0- za-gOe =r = ge+; +re-ge+ +ra-ge+ +ra-zg+ (§ 4.4.5).

\[ An \text{ } \text{instance } \text{of } \text{the } \text{nominalising } \text{base-suffix } -re \text{is found in:} \]

\[ taOe\text{se} = \text{m} \] (yesterday.re-REL) 'yesterday's, REL'

\[ +taOe\text{se}lre = m+. \]

\[ \text{Compare:} \]

\[ taOe\text{se} = w \] (3/SB-yesterday.re-PF) 'it was yesterday's one' +0- taOe\text{se}re +re = e+.

(ii) There are two possibilities when the adjective fOe 'big' occurs stem-finally, after a noun: either the e/a-domain ends before fOe (+fOe =e+), or the e/a-rule does not apply at all. Thus, instead of expected "c\text{e}\text{le}-f\text{Oe} = \text{m+} we find, either:

\[ \text{\text{c}e\text{le}-f\text{Oe} = m} \] (boy-big-REL) +c\text{e}\text{le} = f\text{Oe} = m+, with f\text{Oe} 'big';

\[ or: \]

\[ \text{\text{c}e\text{le}-f\text{Oe} = m} +c\text{e}\text{le} = f\text{Oe} = m+. \]

\[ Everything \text{is as } \text{expected provided} \text{f\text{Oe} does not occur stem-finally after a noun:} \]

\[ e.g. \]

\[ wa\text{-c}a\text{l}_{-f\text{Oe}} = x \] (2/SB-boy-big-PF) 'you were a big boy' +wa- c\text{e}\text{le}-f\text{Oe} = x+.

\[ za\text{ } \text{c}a\text{l}_{-f\text{Oe}} = x \] (REF/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-big) 'he makes himself important ("big")' +za-ya-me = f\text{Oe} = e+.

(iii) The constituents of closely knit two-word-constructions normally each have their own e/a-domain; cf.

\[ sa\text{ } \text{lax}_{-x} = x \] (1/SB-to work-MOD-IMPF) 'I was working' +sa- le\text{e} = x ta = ge++.

\[ sa\text{ } \text{lax}_{-x} = x \] (1/SB-to work-MOD-IMPF-PF) 'I had been working' +sa- le\text{e} = x ta = ge++.

\[ In \text{comparable } \text{constructions we can find one or two e/a-domains, for instance when the clitic "ne.s\text{a} is involved:} \]

\[ ?a- ra\text{ } ga\text{e}\text{Oe} = x = x = x \] (that-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-to go'every)'every time he comes/came/will come' +?a- er+ +0-ge- kOe = x sa+ / +0-ge- kOe = x sa+.

(iv) Normally, the e of the preverb f\text{e}2 'for' participates in the e/a-alternation; there is one exception: in forms derived from de [1-4:x\_e] 'to be like 4, resemble 4' we never find f\text{e}.

\[ e.g. \text{fe} = x \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-to be like-PL) 'they are like him' +0-0-f\text{e}- de = x+.

\[ \text{Compare:} \]

\[ fe = x \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-to want-PL) 'they want ("for") it' +0-0-f\text{e}- ye = x+; cf. also chapter 3, note 13.
4.6 VOWELS IN CONTACT WITH h

4.6.1 Introduction - a Before and After h

In surface words we find, preceding or following h, either stable a, e or a, or e and a in free variation. For the phonetics of vowels in contact with h see § 1.4.8; for vowels and vowel patterns in basic morphs containing h, see note 14 of chapter 3.

Sequences ah and ha need no special discussion: they derive from underlying +a(-)h+ and +h(V-)a+ respectively.

e.g. **ha** : (3/SB-2/AG-to carry) 'carry it!' +0-0- ha++

**bhaha-m** (dream-REL) 'the dream, REL' +bhaha-m++.

**h-ayk** (dog-ABS-EMPH) 'and a dog, ABS' +he -0-ayk+.

**ya$6$ha$-y$ (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-Fu/1) 'he will carry it'
+0-ya- ha -yta++.

The following sections deal with the occurrence of stable a (§ 4.6.2) and stable e (§ 4.6.3) before and after h, and with the occurrence and transcription of e and a in free variation, again before and after h (§ 4.6.4).

4.6.2 Stable a Before and After h

Sequences ah and ha with stable a derive from underlying +a(-)h+ and +h(V-)a+ respectively.

We find ah with stable a only in sequences involving the stem-prefix a- P1; cf.

**y$6$ha$-p$ (3/SB-3/AG-P1-to carry-PF) 'they carried it'
+0-ya- a- ha -5p+.

**y-a-h-ayk** (3/PS-POS-P1-dog-ABS-EMPH) 'and their dog'
+0-ya-a- he -0-ayk+.

One always finds stable a after h in forms derived from

tha.w.mefe 'Sunday', thawsake 'to complain' and ya$h$him 'objection'.

e.g. **?a thea.w.mefe-m** (that) (Sunday-REL) 'on that Sunday'
+?a+ +thea.w.mefe -m++.

**we$1$-ma$8$thawsak** : (2/SB-N/1-to complain) 'do not complain!'
+wa-ma theawsake++.

**Underlying he** is almost obligatorily changed to ha before word-final -eC, i.e. before -ep N/2, -er ABS and -ew MOD.

e.g. **ha-p** (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog' +0- ha -ep+

**+te-ep+** ➔ **ha-ep** ➔ **ha-ep++** (§ 4.3.2).

**ha-r** (dog-ABS) 'the dog, ABS' +he -er++.

**b$3$ha$-r$** (winter-ABS) 'the winter, ABS' +b$3$he -er++.

**ya$4$ha$-w$ (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-MOD) '(he) entering into it' +0-0-ya- h.e -ew++.

Compare the following forms with final heC from the-ec:

**x$6$e$-ep** (3/SB-ship-N/2) 'it is not a ship' +0- x$6$e$-ep++.

**b$6$e$-er** (dream-ABS) 'the dream, ABS' +b$6$he -er++.

**ya$6$-ew** (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-MOD) '(he) carrying it'
+0-ya- ha -ew++.

Besides the last three examples one occasionally finds x$6$ehap, etc. (cf. § 4.6.4); forms like hep, her, etc. (doubles of ha-p, ha-r above) are only seldom found.

4.6.3 Stable e Before and After h

Stable eh and he represent underlying +e-h+ and +h-é+ respectively.

e.g. **$y$e$-ha** (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to carry) 'you are carrying it'
+0-0-me- ha++; +m-me+ ➔ +p-é+ ➔ +wa-é+ ➔ +w-é+,

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4.6.4 Free Variation of e and a in Contact With h

Underlying +e(-)h+ gives both eh and ah, underlying +h(-)e+ gives both he and ha. However, where one expects a on account of the e/a-alternation a actually is more frequent than e, and vice versa. I generalise this tendency in my transcription.

e.g. hače-m (guest-REL) 'the guest, REL' +heče-m+, also hečem.
delhe-er-ep (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-Dy/2-N/2) 'he does not go into it' +he-de-er-ep+; also .heh., .eha., .aha.
wa³neha³fo (2/SB-3/PO-more-big) 'you are taller than him' +wa³-neha³-fo+, also waña³ha³fo.
he-m (dog-REL) 'the dog, REL' +he-m+, also ham.

Compare:
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-CoPr) 'he carried it, and' +he³-ay+.
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to carry-CoPr) 'he carries it, and' +he³-ay+.
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/AG-Pi-to carry-CoPr) 'they carried it and' +he³-ay+, or:
(3/SB-3/AG-Pi-Dy/1-to carry-CoPr) 'they carry it, and' +he³-ay+.

Compare also:
yae (3/SB-3/PO-POS-dog-REL) 'his dog, REL' +ha-ay+.
yae (3/SB-3/PO-Dy/1-to enter) 'he is entering it' +ha-ay+.
yae (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to carry-INT) 'does he carry it?' +ha-ay+.
yae (3/SB-3/AG-Pi-dog-INT) 'is it their dog?' +ha-ay+.

And compare:
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/PO-Dog-INT) 'is it his dog?' +he³-ay+.
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to carry-INT) 'does he carry it?' +he³-ay+.
ye³h-ay (3/SB-3/AG-Pi-dog-INT) 'is it their dog?' +he³-ay+.

4.7 THE e/a-ALTERNATION

4.7.1 The General Rule

The general rule is as follows: final e (and a) of a prefix in slots 2, 4 and 5 changes to a when it is followed by a prefix in slot 3, and/or 4, and/or 5. The violations of this rule are given in § 4.7.2.

The common effect of the e/a- and the e/a-alternations is that we frequently find an open vowel in the central part of the word, close vowels in the initial half, and mid vowels in the second half of longer prefix-sequences.

e.g. qa²-se²we² (3/bh³-l/PO-for-to go-PF) 'he came for me' +qa²-se²-we²+.
qa²se²we² (3/bh³-l/io-to beat-Fu/1) 'he will beat me' +qa²-se²-we²+.
The shape ze-is found with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>Prefix Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REC/PO</td>
<td>ze-ze-ze-ze-ze</td>
<td>aexample phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zyé</td>
<td>PART/IO</td>
<td>ze-ze-ze-ze-ze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 4.8.4) and y-deletion (§ 4.8.5). Here I shall discuss these 
processes rather than the individual prefixes with their allomorphy. 
I refer to chapter 5, sections 4, 5 and 6 for examples illustrating 
the environments in which the various allomorphs of the prefixes in 
question can be found.
The y-prefixes of slot 4, 5 and 6 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>3/PO</th>
<th>3/io</th>
<th>3/AG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y^2</td>
<td>3/PO-P1</td>
<td>3/io-P1</td>
<td>3/AG-P1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y^5</td>
<td>3/PO</td>
<td>3/io-P1</td>
<td>3/AG-P1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y^6</td>
<td>'in'</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of the plural complexes precedes any of the 
processes mentioned above.

[O-(y-) 3/PO: the secondary basic morph is obligatory before 
a-P1 and also between an overt SB prefix and ya- POS. 
Normally a-P1 immediately follows the actant prefix in plural-
rises; there is one exception to this: O-y-a (3/PO-POS-P1) 
+O-y-a+ (cf. chapter 3, note 19).]

To conclude this introduction I give four forms illustrating 
very common sequences of y-prefixes:
r^5ye^6ta^-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to 
him' +O-y-a-ya- to -ge+; +y-ya+ — +y-ya+ — +r-ya+.
r^5ye^6ta^-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to give-PF) 'they gave it 
to him' +O-y-a-ya-a- to -ge+; +y-a+ — +y-a+; +y-ya+ 
— +y-a+ — +y+a+; +y-ya+ — +r-ya+.
ye^5tye^5ta^-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to 
them' +O-y-a-ya- to -ge+; +y-ya+ — +y-ya+; +a-ya+ — 

4.8.2 The y/r-alternation

The first y of an underlying sequence +y-y+ which occurs in 
the stem-prefixal part of the word is dissimilated to r.

e.g. r^5ye^6te^-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he told it to him' 
+O-y-a-ya-ya- to -ge+; +y-ya+ — +y-ya+ (§ 4.3.3) — +r-ya+.
r^4ye^6ta-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to take(.ELA)-Ful) 'he will 
take it out of it' +O-y-ya-ya- to -taa+; see the preced-
ing example.
r^4ye^6ta-x (3/SB-3/PO-3/AG-to take(.ELA)-Ful) 'they will take it out of it' +O-y-ya-ya- to -taa+; 
+ya+a+ — +y+a+; +y-a+ — +y+a+ — +r-ya+ +r-ya+ — +r-ya+.

se^1^1r^4ye^4 (1/SB-3/PO-POS-son) 'I am his son' 
+O-y-ya-ya-a+; +y-ya+ — +r-ya+; +y-a+ — +r-ya+ (§ 4.4.2) 
wa^1^1r^4ye^4 (2/SB-3/PO-POS-to belong) 'he possesses you 
(you belong to him') +O-y-ya-ya- ye+.

4.8.3 Obligatory r-insertion

r must be inserted in the underlying sequences:
+ryV—v+ [ — +ryVryV+] 
+a—v+ [ — +aryV+] 
+z—v+ [ — +zryV+] 

e.g. ^2^2rye^6ta-x (3/SB-3/PO-instrumental-3/AG-to eat-PF) 'he 
ate it with it' +O-y-ya-ya- ya- ge+.
Compare:

\[ rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \] (3/SB-3/PO-instrumental-2/AG-to eat-PF) 'you ate it with it' +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \] (3/SB-3/io-3/io-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he gave it to him' +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) to \( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ \text{Compare:} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+( \theta )-( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 )</td>
<td>+( \theta )-( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 )</td>
<td>+( \theta )-( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Optional \( \theta \)-insertion

\[ \theta \]-insertion may be inserted in underlying sequences:

\[ (+)(\sigma \tilde{\nu})^6 - (\nu)^6 \]

i.e. between a prefix in slot 4 or 5 with a final sequence \( \tilde{\nu} \) (\( \sigma = \) any consonant other than \( \nu \), \( \nu = \) any \( \nu \) other than \( \tilde{\nu} \)) and a prefix in slot 6 with the shape \( \nu^\sigma \).

\[ \text{Examples:} \]

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for him' +\( \theta \)-\( fe^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \) +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'they did it for him' +\( \theta \)-\( fe^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \) +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he gave it to him' +\( \theta \)-\( fe^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \) +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'they gave it to him' +\( \theta \)-\( fe^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \) +\( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +\( \theta \)-\( ze^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) to \( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'they gave it to themselves' +\( \theta \)-\( ze^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) to \( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) +\( \theta \)-\( ze^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) to \( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'the one he will give to' +\( \theta \)-\( ze^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \) to \( \theta \)-\( rya^5_p^5 x^a_k^5 \)

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he led her hither' /

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /

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\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /

\[ fa^6_p^6 x^a_k^6 \] (3/SB-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' /
Word-medial y-deletion Before a

In a number of prefixal environments +ya+ must or can be changed to +a+.

(i) 

\[ +y_a+ \rightarrow +a+ \]

e.g. 
\[ q^2_{y_a} + e^4_{y_a} + (3/SB-Hh-3/IO-1-AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it (hither) to them' \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} + +a+ \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]

(ii) 

\[ +y_a+ \rightarrow +r_a+ \]
\[ +y_a+ \]
\[ +y_a+ \]
\[ +y_a+ \]
\[ +y_a+ \]
\[ +y_a+ \]

Note: this deletion is optional if y is an allomorph of ya- POS.

e.g. 
\[ q^2_{y_a} + e^4_{y_a} + (3/SB-Hh-3/IO-1-AG-to give-PF) 'they gave it (hither) to him' \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} + +a+ \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]

4.8.5 Word-medial y-deletion Before a

In a number of prefixal environments +ya+ must or can be changed to +a+.

(i) 

\[ +y_a+ \rightarrow +a+ \]

e.g. 
\[ q^2_{y_a} + e^4_{y_a} + (3/SB-Hh-3/IO-1-AG-to give-PF) 'he caused him to do it for me' \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} + +a+ \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]
\[ +e^4_{y_a} \]

(ii) 

\[ +y_a+ \rightarrow +r_a+ \]
[This rule is optional.]
4.9  NON-RECURRENT PROCESSES – METATHESIS

4.9.1 Non-recurrent Processes

(i)  ze.ɾe²³ 'that, how' optionally changes to ze- when it is immediately followed by ze- REC/AG.

   e.g.  ze.ɾe²³ɾe³-x-e-r-ær  (3/SB-that-REC/AG-to know-PL-Dy/2-ABS) 'the fact (, ABS) that they know each other', also
   ze.ɾe²³ɾe³-x-e-r-ær.

(ii) e.g.  w.ɾe²³ɾe³-x-e-r-ær  (CAUS-CAUS) optionally changes to +x-Ø (or +Ø-Ø+).

   e.g.  w.ɾe²³ɾe³-x-e-r-ær  (2/SB-3/Jo-1/AG-CAUS-CAUS-to go-PF)
   'he made him send'  w.ɾe²³ɾe³-x-e-r-ær, also

(iii) Underlying ++-ep-t.æy+ (N/2-CoCa) yields ++-ep-at.æy+.

   e.g.  s.ã-ep-at.æy  (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoCa) 'I did not go, and therefore'  s.ã-ep-at.æy. For a short discussion see under (iv).

(iv) The sequences ++-ew-re+ (MOD-CoNP) and ++-m-re+ (REL-CoNP) give ++-ew-ære+ and ++-m-ære+ respectively.

   e.g.  ã-ew-ære  dal-ew-ære  (good-MOD-CoNP) (beautiful-MOD-CoNP)
   'in a good and nice way'  ã-ew-ære  +de.ẽ-ew-ære.

   In (iii) we find two underlying consecutive obstruents, and in (iv) two underlying consecutive resonants, belonging to different endings. As most basic morphs of endings end in a vowel, such sequences C-C are rare. Besides +p-ø, +w-ø and +m-ø there are: +x-ø+ giving -æ, and ++-ø+ giving w-ø. Cf.

   ?e-+m-ãe  (hand-REL-INS) 'with the hand'  +?e-+m-ãe.
4.9.2 Metathesis

We find free variation of word-initial stem-prefixal sequences Cawya... and Cyaw, and Carya... and Cyar; the sequences Cawya... and Carya are what one expects.

e.g. sa\(^1\)w-ya\(^4\)-e\(\#\)t (1/SB-2/PO-POS-to be-Fu/1) 'you will have me' +sa-p-ya- +e-ta+ +a-ya- (§ 4.2.2) -

+wa-ya- (§ 4.2.2) -

syaw?e\(\#\)t.

sa\(^1\)w-ya\(^4\)-\(\#\)ta + (1/SB-2/i0-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave me to you' +sa-we-ya- -ta +\(\#\)e +, also

syawta +.

sa\(^1\)w-ya\(^4\)-\(\#\)a + (1/SB-3/PO-instrumental-to eat-PF) 'I have eaten with it' +sa-\(\#\)-ya- -\(\#\)-e +, also

syaw\(\#\)a +.

Illustration:

s-p qa\(^2\)\(\#\)e-\(\#$\)p\(\#\)r-e\(\#\)t (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-in front of to look-ILL-Fu/1) 'he will wait for me', and qa\(^2\)\(\#$\)p\(\#\)e-\(\#\)p\(\#\)r-e\(\#\)t, qa\(^2\)\(\#$\)p\(\#\)r-e\(\#\)t, qa\(^2\)\(\#$\)p\(\#\)r-e\(\#\)t 'he will wait for you, for you (p)' etc., etc.

z-b qa\(^2\)\(\#$\)ba-\(\#$\)e-\(\#$\)t (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to fly-INTL-Fu/1) 'I will fly all over it'.

s-p qa\(^2\)\(\#$\)a-\(\#$\)e-\(\#$\)t (3/SB-1/AG-to press-Fu/1) 'I will press it out'.

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I will drive it.

I will raise him.

I will give it.

I will sew it together with him.

I will dig it.

I will release it.

I will throw it into it.

I will crumple it.

I will stick it into it.

I will sieve it together with him.

My name, ABS.

I will weave it.

I will burn it from the tip of it.

I will do it.

I will tear it.

I will drink it out of it.

I ploughed it together with him.

I wish it.

I ran it (a distance).

I am running (a distance).

I will exchange it.

I will find it.

I will carry it.

My hand, REL.
There are 59 obstruent clusters (§ 2.3.2); 22 of them can be preceded by short personal prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s-pc</th>
<th>p-pc</th>
<th>t-pc</th>
<th>°-pc</th>
<th>s-bz</th>
<th>b-bz</th>
<th>d-bz</th>
<th>°-b°</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-pk</td>
<td>p-pk</td>
<td>t-pk</td>
<td>°-pk</td>
<td>s-bk</td>
<td>b-bk</td>
<td>d-bk</td>
<td>°-b°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pk</td>
<td>p-pk</td>
<td>t-pk</td>
<td>°-pk</td>
<td>s-pk</td>
<td>p-pk</td>
<td>t-pk</td>
<td>°-pk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pk</td>
<td>p-pk</td>
<td>t-pk</td>
<td>°-pk</td>
<td>s-tk</td>
<td>p-tk</td>
<td>t-tk</td>
<td>°-tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pl</td>
<td>p-pl</td>
<td>t-pl</td>
<td>°-pl</td>
<td>s-pl</td>
<td>p-pl</td>
<td>t-pl</td>
<td>°-pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pk</td>
<td>p-pk</td>
<td>t-pk</td>
<td>°-pk</td>
<td>s-bk</td>
<td>b-bk</td>
<td>d-bk</td>
<td>°-b°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-bz</td>
<td>b-bz</td>
<td>d-bz</td>
<td>°-b°</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-bl</td>
<td>b-bl</td>
<td>d-bl</td>
<td>°-bl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-af</td>
<td>p-af</td>
<td>t-af</td>
<td>°-af</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Illustration:

s-pc  de$^2$§pc-a-st (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to chisel-Fu/1) 'I will chisel it together with him'.

4.10.3 C-CCC Clusters Containing Monoconsonantal Personal Prefixes

Only one of the four CCC clusters can be preceded by monoconsonantal personal prefixes:

s-psk  p-psk  t-psk  °-psk

s-psk  ab$^2$§psk-ehe-a-g (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to jump-INTE-PF) 'I jumped all over it'.

4.10.4 Single Resonants preceded by Monoconsonantal Personal Prefixes

The resonants y and z can be preceded by monoconsonantal per-
sonal prefixes; the sequences containing n are:

\[ s-n/z-n \quad p-n/b-n \quad t-n/d-n \quad s^6-n/z^6-n \] (§ 4.2.1).

Illustration:

\[ qo^2s^6-ne^4-sa^8 / qo^2e^6-ne^4-sa^8 \] (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-at-to arrive-PF)

'he arrived at my place'.

For the sequences containing y see the next section.

4.10.5 Sequences with final y

Sequences with final y occur in the stem-prefixal part of the word; they result from vowel deletion before y (§ 4.3.3).

The following types are found: ("T" stands for "obstruent")

(i) \(T-y: \) as "T" I found: p, t, d, ċ, s, z, ŭ, ų. y, \( \hat{\epsilon}, \hat{\varepsilon}, q, q^6, \hat{\varepsilon}, \).

e.g. \( s^6-\varepsilon^6-y^6-e^8-k.a^8 \) (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me'.

(ii) \(TT-y: \) before prefixal -y I found two TT clusters: bl and sń.

e.g. \( bl^4-\varepsilon^6-g-e^6-k.a^8 \) (3/SB-3/P0-past-3/AG-CAUS-to leave(.ELA)-PF)

'he caused him to go past it'.

(iii) \(R-y: \) found with initial w, n and r:

\( r^5-y^6-e^8-a^8 \) (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to him'.

\( w^1-y^6-e^8-a^8 \) (2/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw you'.

\( qo^2n^4-\varepsilon^6-g-e^6-sa^8 \) (3/SB-Hh-3/P0-3/AG-CAUS-to arrive-PF)

'The majority of the sequences with final -y presented in this section can be preceded by monoconsonantal personal prefixes.

e.g. \( qa^2s^4-y^4-\varepsilon^4-a^8 \) (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for me'.

\( qa^2b^4-\varepsilon^6-g-e^6-k.a^8 \) (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-past-3/AG-CAUS-to leave-PF)

'he caused him to go past me'.

The metathesis forms discussed in § 4.9.2 also contain Ty and Ry sequences; no new sequences are added to those presented above.

4.10.6 \(y-T, y-TT \) and \(y-R \) Sequences in Numeral Compounds

Cardinal numbers normally follow the noun they determine; the noun and the cardinal number together constitute a complex base. With certain numbers the infix -ay- NuCo is required.

e.g. \( wan-ay-t^6-o-m \) (house-NuCo-two-REL) 'the two houses, REL'

\(+wane-ay-t^6-o-m.\)

The numerals requiring -ay- NuCo are:

\( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'two' \( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'six' \( \hat{\beta}a \) 'ten' \( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'three' \( \hat{\beta}a \) 'seven' \( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'hundred' \( \hat{\beta}a \) 'four' \( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'eight' \( \hat{\varepsilon}a \) 'five' \( \hat{\beta}a \) 'nine'

4.10.7 Incidental Sequences Containing a Morpheme Boundary

There are four more sequences which occur at the boundary of morphemes in free combinations: m-k, w-k (§ 4.9.1) and w-m and y-m (§ 4.3.4).
APPENDIX 2: ORDERING THE RULES

4.11.1 Introduction

The rules as presented in chapter 4 do not make up a system. In this appendix, I shall demonstrate what an ordered system might look like. In section 2, I present a system of 19 ordered steps. Most of these steps do not coincide with rules as given in chapter 4: certain rules (e.g., those concerning vowel deletions) are spread over different steps, others have been taken together.

The place of the majority of the steps is not arbitrary. Especially the steps concerning y-prefixes and those concerning vowel deletions require strict ordering. In section 3, I shall present examples illustrating the procedure of the step-system; in section 4, I shall comment on the ordering of the steps.

The step-system applies to underlying word forms of the (c) type (§ 3.1.1). In the word, one should proceed from left to right. In as far as I was at liberty to assign a place within the system to a given step, I followed as a rule of thumb a left-to-right principle: steps dealing with prefixes precede other steps, and steps dealing with suffixes follow other steps.

By applying the system to underlying word forms of the (c) type one ultimately arrives at correct surface forms, or at sets of doublets of correct surface forms. "Correct" means here: as uttered by NM and by those sharing his idiolect.

In view of its schematic character I have presented this system as an appendix.

4.11.2 The Nineteen Steps

1. Four non-serial and not mutually interfering rules:
   1a: +..wērē+ → +wērē+ (§ 4.1.2 [i]).
   1b: +.meē+ → +ē+ (§ 4.1.2 [ii]).
   1c: (+..)zeōrēōζεō (that-REC/AG) → +zeōrēō (§ 4.9.1 [i]). Step 1c is optional: "[...]."
   1d: (+..)beōgō (CAUS-CAUS) → +beō (§ 4.9.1 [ii]).

2. Assimilation of the short (i.e., monoconsonantal) prefixes (§ 4.2).

3. First Vowel Deletion: +(..)yyV+ → +ya+ (§ 4.3.2).

4. Optional r-insertion (§ 4.8.4).

5. Second Vowel Deletion: +(..)yyV+ → +yyV+; not after r, v or a (§ 4.3.3).

6. Y to r Dissimilation: +(..)y-y+ → +y+y+ (§ 4.8.2).

7. Obligatory r-insertion (§ 4.8.3).

8. Third Vowel Deletion: +(..)eyV+ → +eyV+; virtually obligatory (§ 4.3.3).

9. Word-medial y-deletion before a (§ 4.5.8: (ii, iv) are optional, (i, iii, v, vi) are obligatory).

10. Fourth Vowel Deletion: +..Y-Y+ → +Y+; in the part of the word up to and including the directional suffixes slot (§ 4.3.2).

11. e/e-alternation (§ 4.7.1: obligatory; § 4.7.2: optional).

12. e/e-alternation (§ 4.5).

13. +(..)he-eC+ → +heC+ (§ 4.6.2).
4.11.3 Examples

(1) 
were-êk: (3/SB-Opt-to go) 'may he go:'

(2) 
\( s \)-ere-êk: (1/SB-Opt-to go) 'may I go:'

(3) 
\( s \)-ere-êk (1/SB-Dy/l-to go) 'I am going'

(4) 
\( q \)-êk: 

(5) 
\( ga^2k^m-ay \) (3/SB-Hh-to go-CoPr) 'he came, and'

(6) 
\( q \)-êk: (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL) 'throw it into it!'
(9) 
\[ \text{sab3-ay} \] (3/SB-3/PD-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-CoPr) 'you throw it into it, and'

(10) 
\[ \text{hep} \] (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog'

(11) 
\[ \text{heem} \] (guest-REL) 'the guest, REL', also heem

(12) 
\[ \text{ryata} \] (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to her'

(13) 
\[ \text{ryer3a} \] (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to say-PF) 'he told it to them'

(14) 
\[ \text{ryer3a-\$} \] (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-P1-to say-PF) 'they told it to him'

(15) 
\[ \text{yara\$/et\$ay} \] (3/SB-3/io-1/P1-3/AG-P1-to say-PF-N/2-CoCa) 'they did not tell it to them, and therefore'

(16) 
\[ \text{yara\$/et\$ay} \] (3/SB-3/io-1/P1-3/AG-P1-to say-PF) 'he saw me'

(17) 
\[ \text{wer3} \] (3/SB-2/PO-POS-to be) 'you have it ("it is yours")'

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(18) \( q_a^2 s^2 f^n y_6^5 a \) (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for me', also \( q_a^2 s^2 f^n y_6^5 a \), \( q_a^2 s^2 f^n y_6^5 a \)

(c) \( +\)qe-s-fe-ya- sa -ge+  
4 \( +\)qe-s-fe-rya- sa -ge+  
11 \( +\)qe-s-fe-rya- sa -ge+  
11 \( +\)qe-s-fe-rya- sa -ge+  
16 \( +\)qe-s-fe-rya- sa -ge+ : gafarya\( \rho \). 

[-4 continued:  
+\( q_e-s-f-e-ya- sa -ge+  
8 \( +\)q-e-s-f-ya- sa -ge+  
16 \( +\)q-e-s-f-ya- sa -ge+ : gafarya\( \rho \). ]

[-11 continued:  
+\( q_e-s-f-e-rya- sa -ge+  
16 \( +\)q-e-s-f-rya- sa -ge+  
16 \( +\)q-e-s-f-rya- sa -ge+ : gafarya\( \rho \). ]

(19) \( z^5 e^3 r_y a^6 t a^8 \) (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself'

(c) \( +\)ze-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) 
7 \( +\)ze-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) 
16 \( +\)ze-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) : zerya\( \rho \). 

(20) \( z^7 y^6 a e^8 a \) (REF-SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw himself'

(c) \( +\)za-\( a e^8 a \) 
8 \( +\)za-\( a e^8 a \) 
16 \( +\)za-\( a e^8 a \) : zya\( \rho \). 

(21) \( z^1 r_y a^6 t a^8 \) (REF/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself to her'

(c) \( +\)za-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) 
5 \( +\)za-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) 
6 \( +\)za-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) 
16 \( +\)za-\( r_y a^6 t a^8 \) : zerya\( \rho \). 

(22) \( s^1 y a^6 a g \) (1/SB-3/PO-POS-son) 'I am his son'

(c) \( +\)sa-r-ya- ga+ 
6 \( +\)sa-r-ya- ga+ 
16 \( +\)sa-r-ya- ga+ : sarya\( \rho \). 

(23) \( s^1 a^6 r_y a^6 e -a^8 t \) (1/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-Full) 'I will go into them (e.g. houses)', also \( s^1 a^6 r_y a^6 a -a^8 t \)

(c) \( +\)sa-y-a-ya- h.e -sta+ 
7 \( +\)sa-y-a-ya- h.e -sta+ 
8 \( +\)sa-y-a-ya- h.e -sta+ 
9 \( +\)sa-y-a-ya- h.e -sta+ 
16 \( +\)sa-y-a-ya- h.e -sta+ : sarya\( \rho \)h\( \rho \) [17] 
17 : sarya\( \rho \)h\( \rho \). 

(24) \( s^2 e^6 e -a^8 t \) (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'they gave it (nither) to him'

(c) \( +\)ae-\( e y r_y a^6 a -ta -ge+  
3 \( +\)ae-\( e y r_y a^6 a -ta -ge+  
5 \( +\)ae-\( e y r_y a^6 a -ta -ge+  
6 \( +\)ae-\( e r-y a^6 a -ta -ge+  

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(25) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+ (3/SB-3/PO-1/3/AG-Dy/l-to give) 'he is giving it to them'

(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-me-ta+

(1a) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(3) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(7) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+


(26) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+ (3/SB-3/IO-1/3/IO-1/3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he caused them to give it to them'

(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(3) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(3) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(7) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(9) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+


(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(5) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(6) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(7) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(11) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+


(28) a²-yə-yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ (3/SB-Hh/3/PO-1/3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to leave-Fu/l) 'they will make him leave ("go out of") them'

(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(3) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(7) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(29) a²-yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-1/3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he caused them to give it to them'

(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(2) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(12) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+

(18) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+


(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(2) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(12) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(15) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(31) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-ta-n+ (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/l-to do) 'they are doing it'

(c) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(1) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(3) ṣə>yə-yə-yə-yə-ye-κ.κ-κ

(32) sazaema-Ae~oa-~e-m (1/SB-PART/AG-N/1-to see-PF-REL) 'the one (, REL) that did not see me'

(c) *sa-za-ma- Ae~oa-~e-m+ : sazamaAe~oa~em.

(33) *sa-w~ya-~em (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave me to you'

(c) *sa-we-ya-~a-~e+ 8 *sa-w-ya-~a-~e+

16 *sa-w-ya-~a-~e+ : sawyataq [-19]

(34) xaha (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to enter) 'he goes into it (e.g. water)'

(c) *x-0-xe-~e- h.e+

1b *x-0-xe-~e- h.e+

10 *x-0-xe-0- h.e+

12 *x-0-xa-0- h.e+ : xaha [-17]

[17] : xaha

: xaha

: xaha.

(35) *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay (2p/SB-Hh-3/PO-P1-in-3/AG-P1-CAUS-to enter-RE-Pot/2-PL-Dy/2-N/2-CoCa) 'they are not able to make you(p) enter their group again, and therefore' ('they' ≠ "their")

(c) *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

3 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

4 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-ry-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

(for [-4] see below)

8 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-ry-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

9 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-ry-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

[continued:]

9 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

11 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

14 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

15 *sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

17 : *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~ekerepatay.

[-4] continued:

+sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

8 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

9 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

9 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

14 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

15 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

17 : *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay.

[17a:]

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

17b: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

17c: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay.

[continued:]

7 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

9 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

14 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

15 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

17 : *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay.

[-11] continued:

+sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

14 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

15 +sa-qa-y-a-xe-0-xe-0-xe-r-ep-at.ay+

17 : *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay.

[17a:]

: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

17b: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay

17c: *saqaxaraqahaheza~a~a~a~ekerepatay.
4.11.4 The Order

The considerations which have led me in assigning the order to the various steps can to a great extent be deduced from the schedule below. In the case of 1c, 1d, 3 and the last 5 steps the order varies from arbitrary to highly arbitrary. In the schedule the lines indicate which steps (indicated in the upper row) necessarily precede which other steps (indicated in the lower row).

1a 1b 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
   
6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

7.17 13 10 (cf. ex.) (2); 1b ♣ 10, (3, 4, 34); 2 ♣ 8, (17), 2 ♣ 10, (8), 2 ♣ 12, (30); 4 ♣ 8, (18), 4 ♣ 11, (18); 5 ♣ 6, (12, 14, 21), 6 ♣ 7, (27), 6 ♣ 9, (14, 24), 6 ♣ 11, (24); 7 ♣ 9, (15, 23), 8 ♣ 19, (33), 10 ♣ 12, (4, 6, 9); 12 ♣ 13, (36), 12 ♣ 15, (5, 7, 9), 12 ♣ 16, (6, 13), 12 ♣ 17, (11, 34), 12 ♣ 18, (29); 13 ♣ 15, (10, 36).

(36) ū24h.a.w (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-MOD) '(he) going into it', also ū24h.a-w (, also ū24h-ew, ū24h-ew)

(c) +θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+
12 +θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+ [- 13]
13 +θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+ [- 13]
15 +θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+ : ūahaw [- 17]
17 : ūehaw.

[- 13] continued:
+θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+
15 +θ-θ-ũ2h- h.e -ew+ : ūahew [- 17]
17 : ūehew.

4.11.4 The Order

The considerations which have led me in assigning the order to the various steps can to a great extent be deduced from the schedule below. In the case of 1c, 1d, 3 and the last 5 steps the order varies from arbitrary to highly arbitrary. In the schedule the lines indicate which steps (indicated in the upper row) necessarily precede which other steps (indicated in the lower row).

NOTES

1. For the deletion of final vowels in instructive forms see § 4.4.3, for α not changing to ε see § 4.5.3. As a rule I comment only on the process under discussion. References to processes that have not yet been treated are not normally given. I refer back only a few times to processes that have already been treated.

2. Cf. chapter 8, § 2.3.

3. Compare:

- s-pe (1/PS-nose-REL) 'my nose, REL' +s-pe-ε+.
- s-pe (3/SB-1/PS-nose) 'it is my nose' +0- s-pe+.

4. Cf.

- ye26h3-a-ε (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to throw-ELA-PF) 'I threw it out of it' +θ-θ-ye2-3a-ε+.


6. The symbols "*" and "l" are not used outside this section (4.5) unless there is special reason to do so.

7. Compare:

(a) DùSHP and LiAD ù2h-ε(e) (2/SB-Hh-to go) 'come here!'.
(b) DùSHP ù2h-ε (3/SB-Hh-Dy/-to go) 'he is coming'.
(c) LiAD ù2h-ε (3/SB-Hh-Dy/-to go) 'he is coming'.
- (a) +θ-ε-ε+; +ae-ε+ → +aε-ε+ → +aε-ε+; +ae-ε-ε+
8. From (c) to (d) (cf. § 3.1.1), step by step:

(c) \( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  

(d) \( \varepsilon \text{ak} \varepsilon \text{ay} \)

9. From (c) to (d):

(c) \( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  

(d) \( \varepsilon \text{az} \varepsilon \text{ek} \)

10. I present for \( \varepsilon \text{aba} \varepsilon \text{ep} \) and for the rest of the forms given in § 4.5.2 the processes that lead from underlying (c) forms to the (d) forms.

(c) \( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  

(d) \( \varepsilon \text{aba} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ab} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)

11. The three forms given in § 4.6.3, from (c) to (d):

(c) \( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  

(d) \( \varepsilon \text{aba} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ab} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)

12. In LiAD the behaviour of vowels in contact with \( \varepsilon \) seems to be similar to that in DùSHP. I found in the LiAD grammar by Jakovlev and Ašxamav (1941) the following forms:

\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ge} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{e} - \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  

(d) \( \varepsilon \text{aba} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)  
\( \varepsilon \text{ab} \varepsilon \text{ep} \)
hambar (p.242), hambar (p.290), cf. DuSHP hembare 'granary'.
helak (p.233), helakam (169), cf. DuSHP hel-aka, 'bread'.
shače (p.396), shače (p.403), cf. DuSHP sheke 'but'.
-thache, theče (p.122), cf. DuSHP theke 'to wash'.
haw (p.20), cf. DuSHP wa-haw 'objection'.
shew (p.136), cf. DuSHP *še-ew (3/5B-1/AG-to carry-MOD)
'(1) carrying it' +š- he -ew+.

12. Compare:
za-yè-ya- to- zè (REF/SA-3/10-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself to her' +za-yè-ya- ta -rè+; from (c) to (d):
(c) +za-yè-ya- ta -rè+
+za-yè-ya- ta -rè+
+za-yè-ya- ta -rè+
+za-yè-ya- ta -rè+
(d) zaryatak

13. There are two more stem-prefixes with a y-initial basic morph
than those treated in § 4.8.1, viz. 3(yè-/rè-) 3/5B and 4(yè-/rè-)
PART/SA. The basic morphs yè- always give ye in surface forms; ye-
(or rè-, free variation) may only be selected when the form contains
no overt prefix in slot 2 to and including 7. See also § 5.1.

15. Before ya- POS we find za- PART; cf.
za-yè-ya-rè (3/5B-PART/PO-POS-to belong-ABS) 'the owner, posses-
sor, ABS' ("the one to whom he/she/it belongs")
+ząza-ya- ve -ere.

16. For the local nouns of DuSHP see chapter 9, note 7.

CHAPTER 5  BASIC MORPHS AND ALLDOMORPHS OF STEM-AFFIXES AND ENDINGS*

5.1 SLOT 1: SUBJECT PREFIXES

5.1.1 Inventory

The basic morphs and allomorphs of the subject prefixes are:

| (1) sa- | 1/SA | sa/-s- |
| (2) ta- | 1p/SA | te/-t- |
| (3) we- (0-) | 2/SA | wa/-w-, 0- |
| (4) fè- | 2p/SA | fè/-fè- |
| (5) (yè-/rè-) | 3/SA | è-, ye/re- |
| (6) zè- | REF/SA | zè/-z- |
| (7) (yè-/rè-) PART/SA | è-, ye/re- |

Remarks:
+ sa-, fè-, we- and fè- are actually fixed combinations in-
volving a SB.
+(3): è-: in positive intransitive imperatives;
we-: in other positions.
+(5,7): yè-/rè-: when none of slots 2-7 is occupied;
è-: in all positions. Most speakers of DuSHP have è-(rè-).
NM and some of his relatives have rè- in free variation with
yè-. Plurality of 3/SA is marked by the ending -xe.

5.1.2 Occurrence

(1) (1, 2, 3, 4, 6)
sal-lezego (1/SA-to work-Fu/1) 'I shall work'
+sal-lezego-aka.
5.3 SLOT 3: za- 'when' and ze.ré- 'that'

5.3.1 Inventory

(9) za- 'the moment, period' (when)  za/-z-
(10) ze.ré- 'the fact that' (that), 'the way in which', (how) ze. ré/-ze. r/-ze-

Remarks:

+ forms containing za- or ze. ré- are stem-nominalisations, i.e.
  non-predicative 5-forms with a nominalising stem-affix.
+ ze. ré- varies freely with ze- when it occurs immediately be-
  fore ze. ré REC/AG.

5.3.2 Occurrence of za- 'when'

- za-
  (1) za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'when I go, REL'
  +za-za- koe.re-m.
  (2) za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when I had gone'
  +za-za- koe-re-m.
  (3) za2koe.re-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-to tell-Dy/2-REL) 'when he
tells it' +za-za- koe.re-m.

- ze. ré-
  (4) ze. ré-koe.re-m (1/SB-when-3/AG-to tell-REL) 'when he
  had told it' +za-za- koe-re-m.
  (5) ze. ré-koe.re-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to tell-REL) 'when he
  tells it' +za-za- koe-re-m.
  (6) ze. ré-koe.re-m (3/SB-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when he
tells it' +za-za- koe-re-m.
  (7) ze. ré-koe.re-m (3/SB-when-SEM-to tell-REL) 'when he
  had told it' +za-za- koe-re-m.
  (8) ze. ré-koe.re-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to tell-REL) 'when he
  tells it' +za-za- koe-re-m.

5.3.3 Occurrence of ze. ré- 'that', (how)

- ze. ré-
  (9) ze. ré-koe.re-er (2/SB-when-N/I-to go-REL) 'that you will not come, ABS'
  +za-za- koe.re-er.

- za-
  (10) za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'when I go, REL'
  +za-za- koe.re-m.

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
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za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-

za2koe.re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+za-za- koe.re-er. ze. ré-ze. r.-ze-
5.4 SLOT 4: PREVERB OBJECT PREFIXES AND PREVERBS

5.4.1 Preverb Object Prefixes, Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-/z-/3-/sa-</td>
<td>1/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-/d-/1-/ta-</td>
<td>1p/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-/b-/b-/wa-/y-</td>
<td>2/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ñ-</td>
<td>ño-/ño-/ño-ñño-</td>
<td>2p/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>ño-ño-ñño-ñño-</td>
<td>3/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>P1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>za-</td>
<td>za-/z-</td>
<td>REF/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>REC/P0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>za~ze-</td>
<td>za-z,ze-</td>
<td>PART/P0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks:

+ For the distribution of the allomorphs of (11-14), see § 4.2.1.
+ (13): before fe~s~ for', b- is more usual than expected ñ-.
+ (15): basic morph y-: before a- P1, and between an immediately preceding overt SB prefix and ye~s~ POS (for y → r, see § 4.8.2); in all other positions basic morph ñ-.
+ (16): occurs only in combination with preceding 3/P0 (3/1o, 3/PS and 3/AG); for irregular positioning of sequences 3/P0-P1, cf. § 3.7.2.
+ (17): before de- 'with', za- varies freely with ñ- (in trans. forms)
+ (19): ze-: before ye~s~ 'in', in all other positions: ze-.

5.4.2 Occurrence of Preverb Object Prefixes

(1) (11-14)

qa~s~fe~s~fe~s~ (3/SB-Hh-1/P0-for-2/AG-to do-PF) 'you did it for me' +0-ye-s-ye-s- ñe-ñer.

e~s~fe~s~o~e~ (3/SB-2/P0-for-1/AG-to do-PF) / (2/P0/.) 'I did it for you' +0-p-ye-s- ñe-ñer.

ta~o~de~s~e~st (1p/SB-2/P0-with-to do-Fu/1) 'we will go with you' +0-ye-ñ-ñe-ñer.

(15-16)

qa~s~ya~o~e~ (3/SB-Hh-1/p/PO-hand-3/AG-to take-ELAQ-PF) 'he took it from us' +0-ye-t-ñe-ñe-ñer.

we~s~ya~ñ~ (2/SB-1/p/PO-POS-to belong) 'you are mine' +0-ye-ñ-ñer.

+ For the distribution of the allomorphs of (11-14), see § 4.2.1.
+ (13): before fe~s~ 'for', b- is more usual than expected ñ-.
+ (15): basic morph y-: before a- P1, and between an immediately preceding overt SB prefix and ye~s~ POS (for y → r, see § 4.8.2); in all other positions basic morph ñ-.
+ (16): occurs only in combination with preceding 3/P0 (3/1o, 3/PS and 3/AG); for irregular positioning of sequences 3/P0-P1, cf. § 3.7.2.
+ (17): before de- 'with', za- varies freely with ñ- (in trans. forms)
+ (19): ze-: before ye~s~ 'in', in all other positions: ze-.
Preverbs, Inventory

(20) pe-  'at (the end of)'  pe- /pe-
(21) pe-  'in front of'  pe- /pe- /pe- /pe-
(22) pe,pe-  '(fixed) at'  pe,pe- /pe- /pe- /pe- (4 x)
(23) pe,pe-  'before'  pe,pe- (4 x)
(24) pe,pe-  'in front of'  pe,pe- /pe,pe- /pe,pe- /pe,pe-
(25) pe-  'past'  ble-/ble-/ble-/ble-
(26) b>pe.de-(b>pe.de-) 'beside'  b>pe.de- (4 x),
       b>pe.de- (4 x),
(27) fe-  'for, towards'  fe- (4 x)
(28) fe-  'potential'  fe- (4 x)
(29) te-  'on'  te- (4 x)
(30) de,de-  '(offering help) to'  de,de- /de,de-
       de,de- (4 x),
(31) de-  '(together) with'  de- (4 x)
(32) de-  'in (e.g. a yard)'  de- (4 x)
(33) ze.de  'the place where'  ze.de (4 x)
(34) she-  'above'  she- /she-
(35) she,pa,(,re)  'across'  she,pa,(,re) /she,pa,,-
       she,pa,,-/she,pa,,-
(36) she,te-  'above/over'  she,te- (4 x)
(37) she.de  'above/over'  she.de /she.de/

Sequences of Preverb Complexes

When there are two overt PO prefixes in one form both of
them often jointly precede the first of the two preverbs (cf. § 3.7.3).
Remarks:

The meaning of the majority of the preverbs cannot be understood from the glosses/translations that are provided above. Their use will be explained in my forthcoming dictionary. The examples in § 5/4.4 illustrate only formal aspects.

+ (25, 30 and 38): these preverbs never occur before stem-final *e-.
+ (26): *b*~e.de- and *b*~e.de- are in free variation.
+ (27): before the verb de, fe- never changes to fa; cf. wa~e.de- (3/SB-Hh-1/PD-"offering help to")-N/1-to help) 'do not help me!' (also: wa~e.de-; wa~e.de-)
+ (30): only in the combination: pa~e~ [1-4:da~e~] 'to help' ("1 helps 4"); cf. wa~e~ [1-4:da~e~] (2/SB-Hh-1/PD-"offering help to")-N/1-to help) 'do not help me!' (also: wa~e~ )
+ (35): *she.pa- and *she.pa.ra- are in free variation.
+ (36-37-38-39): these preverbs combine only with a very restricted number of verbs; the gloss "..." is tentative.
+ (43): only in the combination: *g*~e~ [1-4:da~e~; Stative] 'to wish' ("4 wishes 1"); cf. *g*~e~ [1-4:da~e~] (3/SB-1/PD-"by-to be wished") 'I wish it' (also: *g*~e~ [1-4:da~e~].
+ (45): with a restricted number of verbs (e.g. fe 'to fall') ce- does not change to *a- before stem-final *e-.
+ (47): with all preverbs except *a- 'there', there is every reason to assume a zero 3/P0 prefix when there is no preceding overt PO prefix. Before *a- 'there' one can find (a) overt
PO prefixes, (b) a zero (3/SB) prefix which can be specified by a coreferential nominal subordinate, (c) no PO prefix at all.

+ (64): e.g. *wa dabas* neha (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-more-tall) 'you are taller than me'; the non-*wa dabas* neha (God-REL) (you) (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-more-3/AG-CAUS-tall-PF) 'God has made you taller than me'.

+ N3: pe 'nose, beginning' (20, 21), she 'head, top' (34), qa 'hand' (57), qa 'mouth' (60).

5.4.4 Occurrence of Preverbs

(i) Preverbs "4 x"

sa ba de leze st (1/SB-2/PO-with-to work-Fu/1) 'I will work with you' +qa-p-de-leze-qa+.

cq2 qa da a (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-with-to go) 'come with me!'

'(you, female) marry me!' +qa-qe-s-de-ke+.

zq3 qa da a (3/SB-REC/Po-with-3/AG-to-do-PF) 'they did it together'; also zq3 qa da a, zq3 qa da a.

ca qa da a (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-against-3/AG-to-do-PF) 'he did it against my will' +qa-qe-s-de-yawla-ge+.

(ii) Preverbs (...)/ (...)

cf. the two forms containing the preverb neha-, under "+(64)"

(iii) ya- 'in' (61)

ya x (3/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) 'he is sitting in it' +qa-ya-sa+.

ya x (3/SB-3/PO-in-OPT-to sit) 'may he sit in it!'

[Form more forms containing ya- POS, see chapter 8.]
5.5 SLOT 5: INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES

5.5.1 Inventory

(66) se- 1/io se-/sa-/sa-/s-
(67) te- 1p/io te-/ta-/ta-/t-
(68) we- 2/io we-/we-/we-/w-
(69) qa-we- 2p/io qa-we-/qa-we-/qa-
(70) yë- 3/io ye-/y-/y-/y-
(71) ze- REF/io ze-/za-/za-/za-
(72) ze-(y.a.ze-) REC/io ze-za-z-, y-a.ze-
(73) ze-(zya-) PART/io ze-/za-, yza-

Remarks:

+ (69, 16): by not giving "ya-, yë- 3/io remains distinct from yës 3/io-P/1. The plural prefix can be found in slot 4, slot 5 and slot 6.
+ (72): ze- varies freely with y.a.ze- in all positions, with the exception of the position immediately before the 3/AG pre-
fix.
+ (73): ze- varies freely with yza-.

5.5.2 Occurrence

(1) (66-67-68-69)

we²[a]-r (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to say-PF) 'I said it to you'
+θ we-s= ʔoe-ge+p.
we²[a]-r-e (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to say-Dy/2-N/2) 'I do not say it to you' +θ we-s= ʔoe-re-ep+p.
qa²we²[a]-r- (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to you' +θ oe-we-ya-ʔoe-ge+p.
qa²we²[a]-r (3/SB-Hh-2/io-OPT-beat) 'may he beat you' +θ ge-ya-ʔoe-ge+p.
the one I am not looking at, ABS; also wa-ze-ge-r-er;
+wa-ze-ge-r-er.
za-le-sa-st-er wa-ra (REF/SB-PART/io-1/AG-to give-Fu/1-ABS) (3/SB-2/io-to be equal to) 'the one I will give myself to is you' +za-ze-ma- to sta-er+ +we-ra- ra.
§a-le-sa-sta-m se.r-ayk §ye-ye-ye-ye (2p/SB-PART/io-to drink-Fu/1-REL) (1/EMPH) (1/SB-3/io-to drink-Fu/1) 'as to me, I will drink what you(p) will drink'
+§a-ze-§e-sta-m +se-ra-ayk+ +sa-ye-§e-§e-sta.

ye-ya (3/SB-3/io-to beat-PF) 'he has beaten him'
+0-ye-ya-8e.

ye-ya (3/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to beat) 'he is beating him'
+0-ye-ya-8e.

q2-y2-pa (3/SB-Hh-3/io-Pi-Dy/1-to look) 'he is looking at them (hither)' +0-ce-ye-a-me-ple+; also q2-pa (i.e. q2-e-pe-pla).

r2-ya (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to him'
+0-ye-ya-§e-8e; compare
q2-5ya (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to me', and
ye-ya (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to say-PF) 'I said it to him' +0-ye-§e-§e-8e.

Remarks:
+ (76): basic morph 0-: in positive transitive imperative forms; in other positions: basic morph p-.
+ (78): combines with a- Pi (16).
(80): *za- and *yəa- are in free variation.

5.6.2 Occurrence

(1) (74-75-76-77)

\[p^6ta-re-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to give-Dy/2-N/2) 'you don't give it' +θ-p- ta-re-ep.\]

\[ja^6ta-re-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to dig-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not dig it' +θ-p- ta-re-ep.\]

\[w^6de-r-ep/ja^6de-r-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to sew-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not sew it' +θ-p- da-re-ep.\]

\[w^6ya-xt (3/SB-2/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you will coat it' +θ-p- ya-xt.\]

\[w^6-ya (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to coat) 'you are coating it' +θ-p- me- ya+.\]

\[to (3/SB-2/AG-to give) 'give it (away)!' +θ-θ- ta+.\]

\[w^6ma^8t (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to give) 'do not give it:' +θ-p- ma- ta+.\]

\[s^6-3ma^8t (3/SB-2p/AG-N/1-to give) '(you[p]) do not give it:' +θ-s^6- ma- ta+.\]

\[s^6-to (3/SB-2p/AG-to give) '(you[p]) give it:' +θ-s^6- ta+.\]

(ii) (79-80)

\[za1zer- le^6gə-a-γ (1p/SB-REC/AG-to see-PF) 'we saw each other' *ta-zer- le^6gə-a-γ; compare ze1le^6gə-a-γ (REF/SB-1p/AG-to see-PF) 'we saw ourselves'.\]

\[za1le^6gə-etα-za-γ (3/SB-REC/AG-OPT-to find-RE-PL) 'may they find each other again!' +θ-zer-er- le^6gə- za-ke+.\]

\[za6le^6gə-a-γ-er (3/SB-PART/AG-to see-PF-ABS) 'the one who has seen him, ABS' +θ-za- le^6gə-a-γ-er+.\]
5.7 Slot 7: The Optative, Semelfactive and Dynamic/l Prefixes

5.7.1 Inventory

(81) werē- (ere-) optative (OPT) werē-/ere-/-re-, e-/e-
(82) me- dynamic/l (Dy/l) me-/ma-/e-/e-
(83) e- semelfactive (SEM) e-/e-

Remarks:

+ (81-82): see § 4.1.2.
+ (81): the basic morph e- is optional when ye- 3/AG precedes; it is found almost exclusively in more or less fixed expressions.
+ (82): me- may be absent between ye- 3/AG and re- CAUS.
+ (83): the semelfactive prefix never occurs word-initially (i.e. in Dûze Shapsug).

5.7.2 Occurrence

(i) (81) OPT
werē27aax: (3/SB-OPT-to work) 'may he work:'
+0-were- lexe+.
tere27aax: (1p/SB-OPT-to work) 'may we work:'
+ta-were- lexe+.
tere27aax: (3/SB-2/AG-OPT-to do) 'may you do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.
tyere27aax: (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may they do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.
yere27aax: (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may they do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.
were27aax: (3/SB-2/AG-OPT-to do) 'may you do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.
were27aax: (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may they do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.
were27aax: (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may they do it:'
+0-p-were- leza+.

(82) Dy/l
meẑê-za (3/SB-Dy/l-to go-RE) 'he is going back'
+0-me- k̂e-zaa.
ma2ke (3/SB-Dy/l/to go) 'he is going' +0-me- k̂e+.
sle2samege (1/SB-Dy/l-11) 'I am getting ill' +sa-me- samegi+.
5.8.1 Inventory

(84)  ma- negative 1 (N/1)  ma-

Remarks:
+ (84): See chapter 6.

5.8.2 Occurrence

wo-l$m: (2/SB-N/1-to lie) 'do not lie!' +wo-ma- p$em+.

5.8.3 Remarks:
+0-va-ge- k$e+; also y6$vga$k$e (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-to go) +0-va-me- ge- k$e+.

5.9 SLOT 9: ge- CAUSATIVE

5.9.1 Inventory

(85)  ge- CAUS ge-/$a-

Remarks:
+ (85): In double causative forms we find occasionally one instead of two causative prefixes.

5.9.2 Occurrence

wa-k$e-$st (2/SB-to go-Fu/1) 'you will go' +wo- k$e- kta+.
w0$6ge$9$e-$st (2/SB-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send you' +wo-s-ge- k$e- kta+.

5.8 SLOT 8: ma- NEGATIVE/1

5.8.1 Inventory

(84)  ma- negative 1 (N/1)  ma-

Remarks:
+ (84): See chapter 6.

5.8.2 Occurrence

wo-la$m: (2/SB-N/1-to lie) 'do not lie!' +wo-ma- p$em+.

5.8.3 Remarks:
+0-va-ge- k$e+; also y6$vga$k$e (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-to go) +0-va-me- ge- k$e+.
5.10 POSSESSIVE PREFIXES

5.10.1 Inventory

In non-S-forms, the following prefixes are involved in the marking of possession:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86) s-</td>
<td>1/PS</td>
<td>s-/z-/ś-/sa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87) t-</td>
<td>1p/PS</td>
<td>t-/d-/t-/ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88) p-</td>
<td>2/PS</td>
<td>p-/b-/p-/wa-/w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89) ṣp-</td>
<td>2p/PS</td>
<td>ṣp-/ṭp-/ṭp-/wa-/w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90) 0-</td>
<td>3/PS</td>
<td>0/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91) a-</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92) ze-</td>
<td>REC/PS</td>
<td>ze-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93) ye-</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td>ya-/y-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks:
- See chapter 8, section 2, *passim.*

5.10.2 Occurrence

For the occurrence of possessive prefixes in non-S-forms, see chapter 8, section 2; for their occurrence in S-forms, see sections 3 and 4 of the same chapter.

5.11 SLOT A: DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

5.11.1 Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(94) -e(-he)</td>
<td>illative (ILL)</td>
<td>-e/-a/-ə, -he/-ha/-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(95) -a(-aka)</td>
<td>elative (ELA)</td>
<td>-a/-ə, -aka/-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(96) -ahe(-ehe)</td>
<td>introvert (INV)</td>
<td>-ahe/-aha/-əh, -ahe/-ehe/-əh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(97) -ake</td>
<td>extrovert (EXY)</td>
<td>-ake/-ək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(98) -ehe</td>
<td>intensive (INTE)</td>
<td>-ehe/-eh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks:
- See chapter 9, *passim.*

5.11.2 Occurrence


Remarks:
- See chapter 8, section 2, *passim.*

5.11.3 Remarks

- See chapter 8, section 2, *passim.*

5.11.4 Remarks

E.g. (3/8-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to fly-ILL) 'it is flying into it' +ə-th-ya-mababa-əe.

Remarks:
- See chapter 9, *passim.*

5.11.5 Remarks


Remarks:
- See chapter 9, *passim.*
(and came) very close to me' +pe-se-ba-ba +te-ge+

For more examples of the occurrence of directional prefixes, see chapter 9.

5.12 SLOT B: SPECIFYING SUFFIXES

5.12.1 Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(105)</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>'as previously, again' (RE) -za/-y, -ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>potential/2 (Pot/2) -ze/-ze/-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(107)</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>excessive/1 -ze/-ze/-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(108)</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>excessive/2 -ze/-ze/-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(109)</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>affirmative -pe/-pe/-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(110)</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>exhaustive (EXH) -ze/-ze/-ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(111)</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>recentive -ze/-ze/-ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(112)</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>temporary (TEMP) -pe/-pe/-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(113)</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>'certain' -pe/-pe/-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(114)</td>
<td>-dede(-dade)</td>
<td>'very, just' -dede/-dede/-dede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks:

+ (105): basic morph -ye is optional before -sta Fu/1 and -sta.ze
IRR/1; the use of -za is not subject to any restrictions.
+ (107, 108): (107) indicates a higher degree than (108); these two suffixes occasionally combine.
+ (110): see § 1.5.2 and § 4.5.1.
+ (112, 113, 114): see § 4.5.4.
+ (113, 114): these two suffixes also occur in non-S-forms.

5.12.2 Occurrence

The morphophonemics of the suffixes that are listed here and that will be listed in the following sections are relatively simple.

I will therefore present a restricted number of examples illustrating the occurrence of the suffixes and, for that matter, the occurrence of the endings.

-ze  
\[
\text{ske-za-st} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{ske-ye-kt} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-RE-Fu/1})' \text{I will go back}' +pe- -te -za-sta+/...-ye...+. \\
\text{te-ke-ze-ka-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-3/AG-to know-RE-PF-N/2})' \text{he did not recognise me}' +pe- -te -za-ge-ep+. \\
\text{te-ze} \quad \text{eta-ya-st} \quad (3/\text{SB-Hh-2p/AG-to find-RE-Fu/1})' \text{you(p) will find her again}' +pe- -te -ze-eta -ya-ke-sta+. \\
\text{te-ke-ye-ya-ay} \quad (3/\text{SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-RE-Cop})' \text{he answered it to me and}' +pe- -te -ze-ya-sta-o-ayt+. \\
\text{te-ke} \quad \text{te-za-ke-ep} \quad (3/\text{SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to do-Pot/2})' \text{he is able to do it}' +pe- -te -ze-ke-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (3/\text{SB-1p/AG-to do-Pot/2-PF-N/2})' \text{we could not repair it}' +pe- -te -ze-ke-ep+. \\
\text{-pe} \quad \text{pe-se-ye-ske} \quad (\text{girl-ABS}) (3/\text{SB-Dy/1-to speak-excessive/1})' \text{this girl talks (too) much}' +pe- -se- -ye- -te- -se- -te+.

-ze  
\[
\text{se-ke} \quad \text{pe-re-ep} \quad (1) (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2-} \\
\text{-N/2})' \text{I really do not know}' +pe+ +pe- -te -ze-re-re-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-affirmative-PF})' \text{I did go away}' \\
\text{te+ -te- -ze-ke-ke+}.

-ze  
\[
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1) (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2-} \\
\text{-N/2})' \text{I really do not know}' +pe+ +pe- -te -ze-re-re-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-affirmative-PF})' \text{I did go away}' \\
\text{te+ -te- -ze-ke-ke+}.

-ze  
\[
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1) (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2-} \\
\text{-N/2})' \text{I really do not know}' +pe+ +pe- -te -ze-re-re-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-affirmative-PF})' \text{I did go away}' \\
\text{te+ -te- -ze-ke-ke+}.

-ze  
\[
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1) (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2-} \\
\text{-N/2})' \text{I really do not know}' +pe+ +pe- -te -ze-re-re-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-affirmative-PF})' \text{I did go away}' \\
\text{te+ -te- -ze-ke-ke+}.

-ze  
\[
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1) (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2-} \\
\text{-N/2})' \text{I really do not know}' +pe+ +pe- -te -ze-re-re-ep+. \\
\text{te-ke-ke-ep} \quad (1/\text{SB-to go-affirmative-PF})' \text{I did go away}' \\
\text{te+ -te- -ze-ke-ke+}.
aware of it, he will hit you' +θ-qa-we-θe-θ-e-me+
qε2ε2ε2ε-θe-θe-θe-(child-ABS) (3/SB-Dy/to go-Pot/-
-recensive) 'the child is recently capable of wal-
king' +θεθε-θε-+θ-me-θe-θε-θe-θe+.

5.13 SLOT C: ATTITUINAL SUFFIXES

5.13.1 Inventory

(115) -pθe "must" -pθe/-pθa/-pθ
(116) -re.θe "wish" (VOL) -re.θe/-re.θa/-re.θe/
-ra.θe/-θa.θe
(117) -(θe.θe)θε.θe "easy" -θe.θe.θe/-θe.θe.
(118) -(θe.θe)θe.θe "difficult" -θe.θe.θe.θe.

Remarks:

+ (117-118): the "long" basic morphs are found in all environments; they are, however, considerably less frequent than the short ones. (Cf. θθa 'good', -ye 'bad' and -εθe 'time'.)
+ Forms that contain an attitudinal suffix never contain a dy-
namic affix.
+ (116) does not change the valence of the base; forms contain-
ing (115) that are derived from a transitive base are usually intransitive. Forms containing (117) or (118) are not normal-
ly transitive (they are reminiscent of English adjectives with final -able.

5.13.2 Occurrence

(115) wa1θεθa-pθ (2/SB-to see-must) 'you must be seen' ("you are
seeing-material", cf. pθe 'wood, material')
+θ-θe-θe-θe-θe+.
wa1θεθa-pθa-θe (2/SB-lp/AG-to see-must-PF) 'we had to see
you' ("you were our seeing-material") +θe-t-wa-θe-θe-θe-θe+
sa1θe-θe-θe (1/SB-to go-must, N/2) 'I do not have to go'
+θa-θe-θe-θe+.

Remarks:

+ (116) does not change the valence of the base; forms contain-
ing (115) that are derived from a transitive base are usually intransitive. Forms containing (117) or (118) are not normal-
ly transitive (they are reminiscent of English adjectives with final -able.

5.13.2 Occurrence

(115) wa1θεθa-pθ (2/SB-to see-must) 'you must be seen' ("you are
seeing-material", cf. pθe 'wood, material')
+θ-θe-θe-θe-θe+.
wa1θεθa-pθa-θe (2/SB-lp/AG-to see-must-PF) 'we had to see
you' ("you were our seeing-material") +θe-t-wa-θe-θe-θe-θe+
sa1θe-θe-θe (1/SB-to go-must, N/2) 'I do not have to go'
+θa-θe-θe-θe+.

Remarks:

+ (116) does not change the valence of the base; forms contain-
ing (115) that are derived from a transitive base are usually intransitive. Forms containing (117) or (118) are not normal-
ly transitive (they are reminiscent of English adjectives with final -able.

5.13.2 Occurrence

(115) wa1θεθa-pθ (2/SB-to see-must) 'you must be seen' ("you are
seeing-material", cf. pθe 'wood, material')
+θ-θe-θe-θe-θe+.
wa1θεθa-pθa-θe (2/SB-lp/AG-to see-must-PF) 'we had to see
you' ("you were our seeing-material") +θe-t-wa-θe-θe-θe-θe+
sa1θe-θe-θe (1/SB-to go-must, N/2) 'I do not have to go'
+θa-θe-θe-θe+.

Remarks:

+ (116) does not change the valence of the base; forms contain-
ing (115) that are derived from a transitive base are usually intransitive. Forms containing (117) or (118) are not normal-
ly transitive (they are reminiscent of English adjectives with final -able.
5.14.1 Inventory

(119) -kte future/1 (Fu/1) -ste/-st
(120) -na future/2 (Fu/2) -na/-n
(121) -ke perfect (PF) -ke/-ka/-k
-ke-ke pluperfect (PLUPF) -ke/-ka/-ke/-ka/-ka.

(122) -sta.ke irrealis/1 (IRR/1) -sta.ka/-sta.ka/-sta.ka
(123) -na.ke irrealis/2 (IRR/2) -na.ka/-na.ka/-na.ka
(124) -na.ye irrealis/3 (IRR/3) -na.ye/-na.ye/-na.ye
(125) -e.e.ta.ke imperfect (IMPF) -e.e.ta.ka/-e.e.ta.ka/
-e.e.ta.ka.
5.15 ENDINGS

5.15.1 Introduction

As already stated, endings are -že PL and all suffixes that can follow -že. Most endings invariably follow -že; there are three that can also be found before it. The v/a-domain always ends before the first ending. As before, with the prefixes and suffixes, I shall restrict myself to an inventory of the endings and to sets of forms that should illustrate their occurrence. Most endings convey information as to the position in the sentence of the constituent they are added to. I shall present in section 2 non-ordinating endings, in section 3 endings that occur in main predicates, in section 4 coordinating and, finally, in section 5 subordinating endings.

5.15.2 Non-ordinating Endings

(i) Inventory

(126) -že plural (PL) -že/-ž
(127) -že dynamic/2 (DV/2) -že/-ž

Remarks:
+ (126): -že combines with all other endings; it occurs in predicates (where it indicates plurality of a 3rd person SB), in other S-forms and in noun phrases (where it indicates plurality of the notion referred to).

+ (127): -že is one of the endings that can be found before -že (cf. § 3.7.5).

(128) -ep negative/2 (N/2) -ep/-p
(129) -a interrogative (INT) -a
(130) -b.a negative interrogative (NeINT) -b.a

Remarks:

+ (128): -ep is normally found in main predicates; it can also occur in co-predicates (cf. § 6.3.3.c).

+ (129-130): -a and -b.a only occur in main predicates.
5.15.4 Coordinating Endings

(1) Inventory

(131) -ayk (-ay?) emphatic (EMPH) -ayk, -ay?
(132) -re coordinating ending of NPs (CoNP) -re/-are
(133) -ay coordinating ending of predicates (CoPr) -ay

Remarks:

+ (131): -ayk and -ay? are in free variation; this ending, too, coordinates NPs
+ (132): for -are see § 4.9.1.

(ii) Occurrence

maf-ayk cës-ayk to-leza-x (day-EMPH) (night-EMPH) (lP/SB-to work-PF) 'we worked day and night' +mefe -ayk+
+ëke -ayk+ to-leze-x.

ma 6iya-are ma 3a-m-are y-a-çale-x-er 6e2ße-x (this) (woman-REL-CoNP) (this) (man-REL-CoNP) (3/PS-POS-
P1-child-PL-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/l-to know-PL) 'I know the children of this man and this woman' +ma+ +6iya-are -m-re+
+ma+ +3a-m-re+ +6ya-a- çale-xe-er+ +3-s-me- ñe -ke+.

ße.zaye-ge-re ceca-ge-re (knife-INS-CoNP) (fork-INS-CoNP)
'with knife and fork' +ße.zaye -ge-re+ +cece -ge-re+.

ge2ße.xa-n ay taqe2ße.ya-n (3/SB-Hh-1P/AG-to buy-Fu/2-
-CoPr) (1P/SB-Hh-to go-RE-Fu/2) 'we will buy it and come back' +qo-ge-t ñe, fa -na-ay+ +ta-ge- úo -ya-nu+

5.15.5 Subordinating Endings

(1) Inventory

(134) -er (-Ø) absolutive (ABS) -er/-r, -Ø
(135) -m (-p, -sa/-y) relative (REL) -m, -Ø, -sa/-y//y
(136) -ge instrumental (INS) -ge/g
(137) -ew (-e) modal, (MOD) -ew/-w, -e
(138) -me if (COND) -me/-m
(139) -te in-te.me irrealis conditional/a -te.me
(140) -ye in-yê.te.me irrealis conditional/b -ye.me

[me-ayk/-ay? (138+131) 'even if' -m-ayk/-m-ay?]
(141) -fe until -fe
(142) -ye though -ye

Remarks:

+ (135-142): these endings occur only in sub-predicates; (136-137)
can occur in sub-predicates; (134-135) do not occur in sub-
predicates.
+ (141-142): -fe requires the enclitic ne,sa, and -ye the enclitic
(Ø)heke.

(ii) Occurrence

4e2waka -ge-ge sîye2ne, gea, ye (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-P1-to kill-PF-
-INS) (1/SB-3/io-Dy/l-to presume) 'I presume that they
killed him' +qo-ge-ya-a- waka -pe-ge+ +so-yê-me- ne, gea, ye+.

galema-m-ge (pencil-REL-INS) 'with the pencil' +galema-m-ge.
se+ma-r+sa6me6ba-lo-3-ew+Utrechta-m+sa6we2lo-a-8

(1) (this-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-N/l-to finish-PF-MOD) (U-REL)
(1/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'without having finished this, I have
come to Utrecht' +se+ +ma-rr+ +θ-s-ma-wa-lo-3-ew+
+Utrechta-m+ +sa-ge-7oe-7ae-8e+.

8o-ew+θ6lo-re (good-MOD) (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF) 'you did it
well' +θ6o- -ew+ +θ-p-8a- -ae+.

g6ma6θko-e-7o-e-me (3/SB-Hh-N/l-to go-RE-PL-COND) 'if they do
do not come back' +θ-ge-mo-7oe-7a-7e-me+.

ye1ma6θko-te-me (3/SB-N/l-to go-IRR.COND/a) 'if he would
not go' +ye-ma-7oe-te-me+.

w1ye5le,7o-m-6yk qa26yg6ta-st-ept (2/SB-3/io-to beg-COND-
-EMPH) (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-to give-Fu/l-N/2) 'even if
you beg him, he will not give it to you'
+w6-ye-λe,7ο-m-6yk+ +θ-ge-ye-7o-to-sta-ept+.

sa1le-fe-ne-sa+sa1leze-st (1/SB-to die-until-until) (1/SB-
to work-Fu/l) 'I will work till I die' +sa-λe-fe-
-ne,sa+ +sa-leze-sta+.

ye1p6a-7e-fe-ne-sa (3/SB-to get tired-PL-until-until)
'until they get tired'.

we+ma-r+θ6ye-7o-shake+sa1we6de,7o-st-ept (you) (this-ABS)
(3/SB-2/AG-to say-though'but) (1/SB-2/io-to listen-Fu/l-
-N/2) 'although you say this, I will not listen to you' +
+ma-rr+ +θ-p-7o-ye-7o-shake+ +sa-we-de,7o-st-a-ep+.
PART III
CHAPTER 6: NEGATION

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Both prefixal and suffixal marking of negation occur in WEST (i.e. the whole of the West Circassian dialects) and EAST (i.e. the whole of the East Circassian dialects). Section 1 deals with the form, and with the place in the word of the affixes in question. Section 2 presents observations on the distribution of the two affixes gathered from the literature on Circassian, and discusses in detail Rogava and Kerashova's theory connecting the distinction between suffixal and prefixal marking of negation with the distinction between finite and nonfinite forms. Sections 3 and 4 offer an alternative description of the distribution of the negative affixes.

It is demonstrated that there is no question of complementary distribution. For both EAST and WEST, cases of overlap can be found, specifically with main predicates. Complementary distribution probably does occur in an Anatolian subdialect of Besney (EAST). Section 5 suggests an analysis which does not start from one category of negation indicated sometimes by a prefix, sometimes by a suffix, but from two distinct categories.

Negative forms in EAST and WEST are, to a great extent, identical. WEST presents such a homogeneous picture that any dialect can be taken as a basis for discussion. Here I shall discuss the Shapsug dialect as spoken in and around Düzce, Turkey. Other WEST material and all EAST data are taken either from texts or from studies on Circassian.
This chapter is concerned with grammatical negation. Lexical negation is discussed only briefly, in § 1.5. Suffixal negation is glossed "N/2", prefixal negation "N/1".2)

6.1. FORM AND PLACE IN THE WORD OF THE NEGATIVE AFFIXES

6.1.1 Suffixal Negation - WEST

(a) The marker of suffixal negation in WEST is the ending -ep.3) This ending has the following allomorphs: /ep/, /p/ and (in one fixed combination) /b/. The distribution of those allomorphs is dealt with in (b).

The ending -ep usually occurs in word-final position, which often coincides with sentence-final position: suffixal negation is found almost exclusively in main predicates, and main predicates are normally speaking the last constituent of the sentence. In (c) I will introduce non-word-final use of -ep.

Some pairs of corresponding positive and negative forms are given below, all one-word sentences whose sole constituent is a main predicate.

(1) sai מרכזי 'I have gone'.4)
(2) sãl|ka-¥ (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I have not gone'.
(3) qe|k|a-¥ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL) 'they have come'.5)
(4) qa|ya-¥ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL-N/2) 'they have not come'.
(5) waa|¥ (2/SB-man) 'you are a man'.
(6) waa-¥ (2/SB-man-N/2) 'you are not a man'.
(7) qa|ya-¥ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-RE-Fu/1) 'he will repair it ("make it again") for me'.
(8) qa|ya-¥ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-RE-Fu/1-N/2) 'he will not repair it for me'.

(b) The allomorph /b/ of the ending -ep occurs only in the fixed combination -b.a, the negative interrogative ending, for which I will use the gloss "heINT" in morpheme inventories. Forms containing -b.a (cf. -a interrogative) are discussed in § 4.4. For an introductory example, see (c). The choice between /ep/ and /p/ depends on the analysis. I give a brief account here.6)

The Circassian word does not show vowel sequences. Vowel sequences occurring in underlying forms of words are reduced. The closer one of two consecutive underlying vowels is generally dropped (e.g. ta-et → +et; te-ët → +et; ta-ët → +et). There is one major exception: te-et gives +et. In practice this often boils down to the deletion of the first of two consecutive underlying vowels. This is the first reason why I take the first vowel to be deleted in the case of two identical consecutive underlying vowels, the second being that there are suffixes that consist of a mere vowel.7)

Examples (2, 4, 6, 8) are repeated below, this time with their underlying forms:

(2') sai|ka-¥ +sa-¥ +ke-¥ +ke-¥
(4') qe|ka-¥ +qe-¥ +k+ +ke-¥
(6') waa-¥ +wa-¥
(8') qe+ya-¥ +qe+s-fe+ +ya-¥

The allomorph /p/ is found after /he/ (underlying word-final +he-¥ as a rule changes to +ha-¥).9)

Examples (9, 12, 16, 18) are repeated below, this time with their underlying forms:

(9) hai-p (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog' +ha +he +ep+ → +ha +he +ep+ +ha +he +ep+
(12) haa-p (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog' +ha +he +ep+ → +ha +he +ep+ +ha +he +ep+

The allomorph /p/ is found after /he/ (underlying word-final +he-¥ as a rule changes to +ha-¥).9)
Non-word-final use of the N/2 ending is found in co(ordinat-
ed)-predicates and in forms containing the (consistently final) sequence -b.a NeINT. Both types of form will be dealt with later on (§§ 3.3 and 4.3.e). Here I confine myself to two examples:

(10) ?a-r wane-m ye² sa-re-b.a? (that-ABS) (house-REL)
     (3/SB-2/PO-in-to sit-Dy/2-NeINT) 'he is at home, isn't
     he?'
(11) sa²l-e-g-ep-ay .. (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoPr) 'I have not
gone and ..'.

6.1.2 Prefixal Negation - WEST

(a) The marker of prefixal negation - in both EAST and WEST - is
    ma-. This prefix belongs to the limited number of prefixes which do
    not display allomorphy.

    S-forms (i.e. forms containing a SB-prefix) may contain whole
    series of (stem-)prefixes, which are distributed over nine slots. I
    have numbered the slots from one to nine, starting from the begin-
    ning of the word. The last slot can only be filled by the CAUS(ative)
    prefix ke-, the preceding only by ma- N/1. In other words: the
    prefix ma- either directly precedes the base (the central part of
    the word), or is separated from it by ke- CAUS. The remaining pre-
    fixes, including all actant prefixes, precede ma-.

    I first present a number of pairs of corresponding positive
    and negative (Shapsug) forms: section (b) will briefly deal with
    the realisation of (unstressed) ma-.

    (12) s=ko³ : (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go:'
    (13) s=ko³-möeko³ : (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go,'
    (14) wëreko³ : (2/SB-OPT-to go) 'may you go,'
    (15) wëreko³-möeko³ : (2/SB-OPT-N/1-to go) 'may you not go,'
    (16) wëko³-möeko³ : (2/SB-to go-COND)
        wa-leko³-möeko³ (2/SB-good) (3/SB-N/1-to go-COND) (3/SB-more-good) 'if you
        go, it is good, if you don't go, it is (even) better'.

(b) The realisation of stressed /ma/ calls for no special remarks.
    If the stress does not fall on it, /ma/ is generally realised with
    an ultrashort vowel. Often only a long [m:] is heard, either syl-
    labic or not:

    (17) wëko³ =ma弱点 : (2/SB-N/1-t6 go) 'do not go!' [wum'o:
    (18) wëko³=ma弱点 =e : (2/SB-N/1-to go-RE) 'do not go back!
        [wum'o弱点] / [wum:] / [wum:] / [wum:].

6.1.3 Suffixal Negation - EAST

(a) The suffixal marker of negation is not the same for all (sub-)
    dialects. The following forms are found: /qam/ (the prevailing form),
    /qam/ and also /qem/ and /qem/ (the latter written with an a instead
    of an e in older publications). We have to do partly with dialectal
    variation and partly with free variation within the different (sub-)
    dialects. In "literary" Kabardian (LiKAB) /qam/ is the norm. The
    difference between WEST -ep and EAST -qam is primarily a matter of
    a different phonemic make-up, as may be clear from the following
    examples (from LiKAB, except when stated otherwise):

    (19) ye³-a-qam : (3/SB-3/i0-to read-PF-N/2) 'he has not
        read it' (Kumaxov 1971:245).
    (20) sa³-ke-r-qam : (1/SB-to go-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not going'
        (Kumaxov 1971:246).
    (21) lez-a-ke-qam : (3/SB-to work-PF-PL-N/2) 'they have not
        worked' (Turčanošev-Cago 1940:109).
    (22) s(a)-ke³=ng-ë-be-qam : (1/SB-to become-Fu/1-N/2) 'I shall
        not become (so and so)' (Nogma:II:97 [1843] s(a)Xungoqam).
The corresponding forms in WEST (Shapsug) are: (19')
\[\text{ye}^{5}\text{ga-}x^{5}\text{-ep}, \ (20') \text{sa}^{1}\text{he-}r^{2}\text{-ep}, \ (21') \text{re}^{3}/\text{ye}^{1}\text{le}^{3}\text{ka-}x^{5}\text{-ep}, \ (22') \text{sa}^{1}\text{x}^{5}\text{a-}x^{5}\text{-ep}.\]

(b) The EAST N/2 ending is also found in non-word-final position, though only in co-predicates. The grammars do not provide us with any information on negative co-predicates in EAST. However, Kuaševa (1969:156-LiKAB) shows us that such forms do exist; cf. \text{x\text{o}eyteq\text{amov} in the following sentence:

\[\text{(23) } \text{da}^{3}\text{e}^{4}\text{c-a } \text{ne}^{4}\text{wa}^{2}\text{.x}^{6} \text{y-a-flow}\text{a-m } \text{x}^{5}\text{e}^{5}\text{y-te-}\text{dam-ay} \text{waras-}x^{5}\text{e-m-ay} \text{z}^{4}\text{e}^{4}\text{zo}. \text{b-a-dam } (3/\text{SB}-\text{Hh-3/PO-side-to-leave-PF}) \text{ (after) } (3/\text{PS}-\text{POS-Pl-religion-REL}) (3/\text{SB}-3/PO-for-to want-IMPF-N/2-CoPr) (\text{Russian-PL-REL-EMPH}) (3/\text{SB}-in-3p/AG-CAUS-to press.INTE-PF-N/2) \text{ 'after they had split off, they no longer needed their religion and the Russians did not press them'}.\]

What Kumaxov (1971:245) calls negative forms of the "mirative" mood (naklonenie udvilenija) come close to negative co-predicates:

\[\text{(24) ye}^{5}\text{a-dam-ay} (3/\text{SB}-3/IO-to read-PF-N/2-CoPr) \text{ ' (hey,) he obviously has not read it! '}.\]

For EAST forms which are regarded as counterparts of the NeINT WEST forms with final -b-a, cf. § 4.4.e.

6.1.4 Prefixal Negation - EAST

In EAST the prefixal marker of negation is always ma-. A few examples will suffice (most material is to be found in Nogma [KAB], Alparslan-Dumëzil 1963 [AnBSN] and Kumaxov 1971 [LiKAB]; in the LiKAB grammars [Turćaninov-Cagov 1940; Jakovlev 1948; GKLJ 1957] little is offered on negation).
(32) ma he.1a.8^-er ma.bz-ep (this) (bread-ABS) (3/SB-un. cut-N/2) 'this bread is not uncut'.

(b) In Circassian there are no negative pronouns or adverbs. Where languages such as Dutch will have constructions consisting of a negative pronoun or adverb and a predicate which is not marked for negation, the corresponding Circassian constructions will contain a negative predicate (with prefixal or suffixal marking of negation) and an NP with - in final position - the emphasizing ending. These NPs often contain za 'one'. Cf. (WEST/Shapsug):

(33) z-ayk 5^a_e^a-^u-ep (one-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-N/2) 'I have seen nothing/nobody ("I have not seen even one")'.

(34) za-m-ayk 5^t-xe^a-^o ma-8^o : (one-REL-EMPH) (3/SB-Hn-3/io-2/AG-N/1-to say) 'do not tell it to anybody ("...to even one")'.

(35) za 8^o-ayk 5^o^o-y^o-ep (one) (child-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be-N/2) 'I do not have any child'.

(36) se 5^o-ayk 5^a_e^a-^u-ep (1) (that-ABS) (age-EMPH) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-N/2) 'I have never seen him'.

6.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATIVE AFFIXES AS PRESENTED IN THE LITERATURE

6.2.1. Various Accounts

(a) When negation is discussed in a study on Circassian, distribution of the negative affixes is usually one of the topics introduced. Some authors list forms more or less at random and mention that they take prefixal or suffixal negation markers. Others seek to describe the distribution as complementary. All start from the (explicit or implicit) assumption that there is one single category of negation.

I shall first present a number of descriptions of the distribution as proposed in other publications. In § 2.2, I shall discuss at some length the theory according to which prefixal negation: suffixal negation = nonfinite forms: finite forms.

(b) Nogma [II:95-KAB] was the first to mention the subject:

"In order to say in Kabardian "I was not", "I do not have", "I do not see", "they do not say [it]", etc. the final negative particle -êâm or -ôêm must be added to the participle for the present, past and future tenses; the syllable mu- or m- is put at the beginning with the imperative mood, the same goes for the conditional, the subjunctive and the optative ..".

In Nogma's work we find a coupling prefixal:suffixal (negation) = non-indicative:indicative forms, which will return in subsequent studies - but usually in more explicit terms.

The following contribution to the subject marks an advance insofar that it takes the first step towards a description of the distribution in terms of different types of S-form:

"Negative verbs in the indefinite mood [i.e. masdars:RS] have the prefix ma-; in personal forms of the verb this prefix is replaced by postpositive gâm, while at the same time the pronominal root ŭ is inserted; so, na-šên 'not to know', se 5-ê-r-gâm 'I don't know'". (Lopatinskij 1891:39-KAB).

(c) Various publications by Dumézil (with or without a co-author)
touch upon the distribution of the negation markers.

Dumézil-Namitok (1938:22-LiAD):

"Le négatif de tous les temps de l'indicatif .. est formé par la suffixation de -ep à la forme verbale .. Le négatif de toutes les autres formes verbales .. est formé par -m(a)- ..".

Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:357-EAST/AnBSN) first observe that -ğam is suffixed to a series of indicative forms, after which they continue:

"Les formes pourvues de -me "si" et généralement de suffixes à valeur de conjonction prennent la négation intérieure ..mə.. placée juste devant le thème ..".

Imperatives (which include my optatives) are said to have prefixal negation.

Finally, Dumézil makes the following observation for the three West Caucasian languages (1975:163):

1° Toute forme de l'indicatif traitée en forme nominale (participes, gérontifs, éventuellement infinitif) ou suivie d'un élément conjonctif qui en fait dans la phrase un élément subordonné (mais non suivie d'un suffixe interrogatif) reçoit l'indice infixé.

2° Il en est de même à l'imperatif et aux optatifs-subjonctifs, en sorte que l'indice suffixé est partout réservé aux (tch.) [Circassian] ou à une partie des (abkh., oub.) [Abkhaz, Oubyk] temps de l'indicatif en fonction proprement verbale."

Cf.also (Deeters 1934:76):

"Diese Partikel [die Negationspartikel m/RS] steht in den infiniten Formen und im Imperativ; sonst wird die Negation durch -ep ausgedrückt."

and (Hewitt 1981:212):

"Adyghe [i.e. WEST/RS] suffixes -r(ş)ap to the positive of its finite verbal forms, whilst m(a)- is placed before the root of nonfinite (including imperative) forms."

and (Provasi 1982:174):

"m- is the negative marker in dependent predicates, corresponding to -m (literary Kabardian -ğm) as a last-position suffix in independent predicates..."

The above quotations show how the descriptions become more and more detailed. Nevertheless, even the most recent observations are not entirely correct: there are co-predicates with suffixal negation, and there are also indicative forms with prefixal negation.

(d) In Jakovlev-Aşxamav's presentation moods are of primary importance; these authors suggest (1941:344-LiAD) that -p is the specific marker of the negative mood. Forms with ma- are not included in this mood. Negative imperatives, for instance, are said to be a sub-mood of the imperatives. Jakovlev-Aşxamav remark (p.276) that ma-

"is used in all moods, except for the affirmative and the negative, and also with deverbal nouns and many subordinants (pridatočnye) forms.."

By "affirmative" forms they mean what others call positive indicatives. The observation that ma- does not occur "in negative forms" is rather peculiar but, surprisingly, we find something similar in (Kumaxov 1967:160-LiAD):

"Negation is expressed with the help of the prefix m- in circumstantial, participial, gerundial, masdar-like, inter-
Rogative, imperative and other nonfinite forms. In the positive form of the verb, negation is expressed by means of the suffix -p."

In 1971 Kumakov proposes that (p. 245; WEST and EAST):
"The suffixal way of expressing negation is used in the indicative, the subjunctive and also in the conjunctural and mirative mood." 12), and he continues:
"For the derivation of the prefixal form of negation the common Circassian prefix me- is used, which is characteristic of the conditional, the imperative and the optative, and of participles, gerunds and masdar-forms."

So far I have presented various analyses, all of which to a greater or lesser extent start from moods. The distinction finite/nonfinite appears in a number of these studies. Below I shall discuss a wide-spread theory which regards the distinction finite/nonfinite as the primary factor in the distribution of prefixal vs. suffixal negation.

6.2.2 Prefixal Negation in Nonfinite, Suffixal Negation in Finite Forms?

(a) Imperatives and optatives are claimed to be nonfinite forms in GKELJ (Grammatika Kabardino-Kerkesskogo Literaturnogo Jazyka, 1957-LiKAB). The reasoning is as follows: (1) nonfinite forms (which are defined in more or less usual terms) have prefixal marking of negation; (2) imperatives and optatives have prefixal marking of negation; (3) imperatives and optatives are nonfinite forms.

The same line of reasoning is followed for LiAD by Keraševa (1960a: 300; 1960b: 1080) and by Rogava-Keraševa (1966: 110-112, 175, 203). Here are some quotations:

- "A finite verbal form expresses a definite basic action which is not dependent on another verb." (GKELJ: 98).
- "A nonfinite verbal form expresses an indefinite, additional action, which is dependent in relation to the main action, which is expressed by a finite verbal form." (ib.: 99).
- "The negative form of finite verbs is expressed by means of the suffix -gam."
- "The negative form of nonfinite verbs is derived by means of the prefix ma-.
- "Imperatives of the 2nd person are nonfinite with respect to their structure and formation, as the negative form is derived by means of the prefix (ma-): wa-ma-ę 'do not go!'" (Keraševa 1960a: 300; Rogava-Keraševa 1966: 175).

(b) A reasoning which has finite forms come out as nonfinite cannot be correct. Whatever definition is used for the notion "finite", it should not exclude groups of forms which can make up a sentence on their own - and often do so.

Apart from imperatives and optatives there are other main predicates - i.e. finite forms - with prefixal marking of negation. Such forms are regularly found in both EAST and WEST, and in older as well as recent texts. In the literature on Circassian they appear for the first time as more or less accidental examples in GKELJ (1957-LiKAB) and, slightly more explicitly, in Rogava-Keraševa (1966-LiAD). Precisely these two grammars present the argument referred to under (a).

Apart from finite forms with prefixal negation, we also find nonfinite forms with suffixal negation (see the negative co-predicates in § 3.3).
6.2.3 **Premises**

(a) The descriptions discussed above involve two problems which have not been settled yet: the question of moods and that of the distinction finite/nonfinite. Moreover, it is taken for granted that prefixally and suffixally marked negation are one and the same thing.

As Kumaxov (1971:226) notes, each author has his own system of moods. No one - not even Kumaxov - is explicit about the premises on which his/her system is based. The systems are strikingly heterogeneous.14 As for the distinction finite/nonfinite, it is clear from the above sections that there are widely divergent views.

(b) Grammatical negation is found in S-forms, i.e. forms containing a SB-prefix. They are always the head of a clause. Depending on their status in the sentence, S-forms can be divided into **main predicates**, **co-predicates**, **sub-predicates** and **stem-nominalisations**.

- **Main predicates** can by themselves constitute a sentence; in sentences with more than one constituent they generally occur sentence-finally. A more elaborate system of morphological categories is found in main predicates than in any other type of S-forms. The main predicate is the superordinate of the sentence; any other constituent of the sentence can be regarded as - directly or indirectly - subordinated to it. Subordinates are usually and coordinated elements always marked as such by special endings. The subordinating and coordinating endings are incompatible with main predicates. The interrogative endings are the only ones that combine exclusively with main predicates. For examples of main predicates, see (1-10) above.

- **Co-predicates** have the coordinating ending -ay CoPr ("and") or t-ay CoCa ("and therefore"). An example (WEST/Shapsug):

\[
(37) \text{sal-s}^e-\text{n-ay} \quad \text{sal-}s^e\text{k-\text{e-b-s}}^t \quad (1/SB-to \text{-Fu}/2-CoPr)
\]

\[
(1/SB-Hh-to \text{-go-RE-Fu}/1) 'I will go (away) and I will come back'.15
\]

- **Sub-predicates** are also marked by special endings; -ae INS, -ow MOD and -me COND are most frequent. The morphological possibilities of sub-predicates - as compared with those of main predicates - are restricted, without being identical to those of co-predicates, however. Like co-predicates, sub-predicates are not normally used as the only S-form of a sentence. An example (WEST/Shapsug):

\[
(38) \text{sal-s}^e-\text{me} \quad \text{wa-s}^e\text{A}^e-s^o-\text{a-}\text{x-t} \quad (1/SB-to \text{-go-COND}) \quad (2/SB-\text{-1/AG-to see-Pot}/2-Fu/1) 'if I go, I will be able to see you'.
\]

- **Stem-nominalisations** can be regarded as derivations of main predicates. They contain a nominalising stem-affix. Stem-nominalisations occur in NPs, either as the only lexical element, or as determiner of the head. For examples of stem-nominalisations, see §3.1.

(c) In the following sections I shall give a description of the distribution of prefixal and suffixal marking of negation for each of the types of S-form distinguished above. I shall avoid mentioning moods as much as possible.16

As to the distinction finite/nonfinite: main predicates are typically finite - or, to quote Dumézil, autonomous. Finite use of non-main predicates is atypical.
6.3. **NEGATION IN S-FORMS OTHER THAN MAIN PREDICATES**

6.3.1 Negation in Stem-nominalisations

(a) In both EAST and WEST, negation is always and exclusively marked by means of the prefix ma- in stem-nominalisations. Below I will provide examples of (b) participles (which contain a nominalising/participial prefix in one of the slots that can be filled by a personal prefix), (c) factuals (which contain the nominalising prefix ze.re- '[the fact] that', [the way] how' in slot 3), (also c) temporals (containing in slot 3 the prefix za- '[the moment/period that'] and (d) masdars (verbal nouns, marked as such by the suffix -m MSD). The examples have been taken from Shapsug, but hold for the whole of Circassian.

(b) Participles:

(40) sa[2]ze[3]ma[8]-wa[5]-er (1/SB-PART/IO-N/1-to beat-PF-ABS) 'the one that I have not beaten, ABS'.

(c) Factuals and Temporals:


6.3.2 Negation in Sub-predicates

(a) Sub-predicates too, in EAST as well as in WEST, exclusively take prefixal negation. Some examples are given below (as before, all from Shapsug):


6.3.3 Negation in Co-predicates

(a) Where a language like English makes use of conjunctions, Circassian operates with coordinating endings. Co-predicates, at least positive ones, are a frequent phenomenon. Very little can be found about co-predicates, either positive or negative, specifically in studies on EAST.

The most informative material is presented by Alparslan-Dumelzil (1963:376), who give a series of relevant forms from AnBSN (EAST), together with corresponding Temirgoy (WEST) and KAB forms.

It is useful to distinguish between instructive and non-instructive forms, both with co-predicates and - as will be seen in § 4.1.a - with main predicates. Instructive forms are imperatives and optatives. Instructive forms differ from non-instructive forms not only semantically, but also, in some respects, morphologically. Instructive forms, for instance, do not have Tense. Interrogative instructive forms are exceptional. Negative instructive co-predicates, as opposed to corresponding non-instructive forms, are fairly frequent.

Instructive forms - whether they are main or co-predicative - exclusively take prefixal marking of negation, and that goes for all Circassian.

"Ordinary" (i.e. non-instructive) co-predicates exclusively (EAST) or almost exclusively (WEST) show suffixal marking of negation.

(b) Where instructive co-predicates are concerned, I will once more limit myself to a few examples from Shapsug.

(53-54) show positive instructive co-predicates and main predicates:

(53) k'-ay ma-r sa : (2/SB-to go-CoPr) (this-ABS) (3/SB-2/AG-to do) 'go (away) and do this!'.

(54) teko to'ze-dere-e Sa-ay s'ere-tego-y : (a bit) (1p/SB-REC/POL-with-OPT-to speak-CoPr) (1/SB-OPT-to get up-RE) 'let's talk a bit and then I had better go ("and may I go")'.

(55-56) show negative instructive co-predicates and main predicates:

(55) wa-ma'k'-ay me-r wa'ma'ma' : (2/SB-N/1-to go-CoPr) (this-ABS) (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to do) 'do not go (there) and do not do this!'.

(56) were'ma'k'-ay ge'F-e'g-e'er-e' : (3/SB-OPT-N/1-to go-CoPr) (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may he not go and may he not do this for me!'.

(c) Whereas positive ordinary co-predicates are very common (as I have stated above) the opposite is true for negative ones. (57-59) illustrate positive forms in Shapsug:

(57) sa'ku-ay sa'de-2-tet-2t (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-CoPr) (1/SB-3/POL-with-to work-Fu/1) 'I will go (there) and work with him'.

(58) sa'k'-ay sa'de-2-tea-8 (1/SB-to go-CoPr) (1/SB-3/POL-with-to work-PF) 'I have gone (there) and I have worked with him'.

(59) won-e'm sa'k'-ay sa'te-2-ay teko sa'de-2-ay sa'tego-y-ay s'ya'ka-a-2-y (house-REL) (1/SB-3/POL-in-to enter-CoPr) (1/SB-to sit down-CoPr) (a bit) (1/SB-3/POL-with-to work-CoPr) (1/SB-to get up-RE-CoPr) (1/SB-3/POL-in(side)-to leave-RE-PF) 'I went into the house, sat down, worked a little with him, got up again and..."
went outside again'.

Negative ordinary co-predicates occur almost exclusively in combination with a subsequent negative main predicate; cf. (WEST/ Shapsug):

(60) salkoa-~ep-t.ay 16a-~ep (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoPr) (3/SB-1/AG-to do-PF-N/2) 'I did not go and I did not do it'.

(61) sa-~ay-ep-t.ay 16a-~ep (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoCa) (3/SB-1/AG-to do-PF-N/2) 'I did not go and that is why I did not do it'.

I have come across the use of prefixal negation in ordinary co-predicates only once in Shapsug:

(62) sa-~ay-ep-at.ay / sa-ma-~aye-t.ay qa2se5pea-ay (1/SB-to sleep-N/2-CoCa) / (1/SB-N/1-to see-PF-N/2) 'I did not sleep and that is why I did not see it'.

The data are too limited to make a pronouncement on a possible difference between the two negative co-predicates in (62). The informant who produced the two forms declared, on further questioning, that he considered the form with ma- less correct.

(d) The scanty material available for WEST warrants the supposition that in WEST as a whole the situation is not very different from the one in Shapsug. Alparslan-Dumezil (1963:376) provide two Temirgoy forms with suffixal negation; cf.

(63) sa-~e-a-te-~e.m-ay s2la-~e-a-~e.m-ay (1/SB-to go-PF-IMPF-N/2-CoPr) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-N/2) 'n'étant pas allè je n'ai pas vu.'

(64) salkoe-na.w-~e.m-ay s2la-~e-na.w-~e.m-ay (A-D: "fut.") 'I will not go and I will not see it' (with, twice, -na.w Fu/1).

Alparslan-Dumezil state that KAB (i.e. an lnKAB subdialect of Uzun Yayla) has forms which are identical to these AnBSN forms, except for one detail (-~e.m-ay N/2-CoPr, instead of -~e.m-ay). Cf. also (23-24).

6.4. NEGAN IN MAIN PREDICATES

6.4.1 Introduction - Instructive Forms

(a) For main predicates it is helpful to make a distinction not only between instructive and non-instructive forms, but also between interrogative and non-interrogative forms. Interrogative instructive forms hardly ever occur, cf., however, (71-72). I shall briefly deal with instructive main predicates under (b). In § 4.2 I shall discuss negation in ordinary (i.e. non-instructive, non-in-
terrogative) main predicates. Negative interrogative main predicates of WEST and EAST are dealt with in §§ 4.3 and 4.4 respectively.

It will be shown that instructive main predicates, like instructive co-predicates, have exclusively prefixal marking of negation. It will also be shown that ordinary main predicates mostly have suffixal negation, but can also have prefixal marking of negation in both EAST and WEST. Finally, we will see that most interrogative forms take prefixal marking of negation.

(b) In addition to the forms (13, 15, 17-18, 25-26, 55-56) a few more negative instructive main predicates are given below: (WEST/Shapsug):

(67) wa\textsuperscript{1}g\textsuperscript{2}te\textsuperscript{5}ma\textsuperscript{8}w : (2/SB-Hh-1p/io-N/1-to beat) 'do not beat us!'.
(68) wa\textsuperscript{1}g\textsuperscript{2}tere\textsuperscript{2}ma\textsuperscript{8}w : (2/SB-Hh-1p/OPT-N/1-to beat) 'may you not beat us!'.
(69) t\textsuperscript{1}tere\textsuperscript{2}g\textsuperscript{0} : (1p/SB-OPT-to go) 'let's go!'.
(70) t\textsuperscript{1}tere-ma\textsuperscript{2}g\textsuperscript{0} : (1p/SB-OPT-N/1-to go) 'let's not go!'.
(71) t\textsuperscript{1}tere\textsuperscript{2}g\textsuperscript{0}-a : (1p/SB-OPT-to go-INT) 'shall we go?'.
(72) t\textsuperscript{1}tere-ma\textsuperscript{2}g\textsuperscript{0}-a : (1p/SB-OPT-N/1-to go-INT) 'shall we not go?'.

6.4.2 Negation in Ordinary Main Predicates

(a) Negation in ordinary main predicates is generally taken to be expressed by means of a suffix, both in EAST and in WEST. However, regularly in WEST and slightly less so in EAST, we find ma- as a marker of negation in ordinary main predicates. In studies on Circassian such forms occur sporadically (WEST: Rogava-Keraševa 1966; EAST: GKELJ 1957; Kardanov 1957). In his chapter on negation Kumaxov does not mention "indicative" forms with prefixal marking of negation. On the contrary, his discussion of negation starts as follows (1971:245): "The suffixal way of expressing negation is applied to the indicative ..". Rogava-Keraševa, who passim present a fair number of main predicates with prefixal marking of negation, ignore these forms in their analysis.

Below I shall mainly provide forms with prefixal negation, first for WEST, subsequently (c) for EAST. For main predicates with suffixal marking of negation I refer to the bulk of the examples presented at the beginning of this article. The material will be discussed in section 5.

(b) Prefixal negation in main predicates - WEST.

(73) \textsuperscript{1}b\textsuperscript{4}de\textsuperscript{4}ma\textsuperscript{8}e\textsuperscript{n} (1/SB-2/PO-with-N/1-to go-Fu/2) 'I won't (I refuse to) marry you ('to come with you').'

Compare with (74), which occurs earlier in the same text, for which see § 5.3.

(74) \textsuperscript{1}b\textsuperscript{4}de\textsuperscript{4}de\textsuperscript{4}ma\textsuperscript{8}e\textsuperscript{n} (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I will not marry you'.

(75) a.x\textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{e}x\textsuperscript{e}y we\textsuperscript{5}sa\textsuperscript{6}ma\textsuperscript{8}e\textsuperscript{n} (apart from that-EMPH) (3/SB-2/1-AG-N/1-to say-Fu/2) '.. and I won't tell you anything else!' (Nartx 1974:67-"Adyghe" [Temirgoy?/RS]).

(76) \textsuperscript{1}e\textsuperscript{2}we\textsuperscript{1}b\textsuperscript{4}de \textsuperscript{e}x\textsuperscript{e}y ze\textsuperscript{5}sa\textsuperscript{6}ma\textsuperscript{8}h.a.x. z\textsuperscript{e}p\textsuperscript{e}er-ay q\textsuperscript{2}sa\textsuperscript{5}sa\textsuperscript{6}ma\textsuperscript{8}e\textsuperscript{2}ep\textsuperscript{e}x-a-x (by Jove) (that-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO-for-to resemble) (thing-ABS) (3/SB-z. ye\textsuperscript{22}) 1/AG-N/1-to carry.ILL-PF), (one-certain-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-N/1-to send-PF) 'I swear, I have not spread("rumoured about") such a thing, I have not sent anybody (for anything) either!' (Nartx 1974:175-Adyghe).
The following LiAD examples are taken from Rogava-Keraševa (1966:253):

(77) welahe, aslan  a-x  a-x a-ma- te-x ! ( Aslan-ABS) (that- REL) (3/ SB-3/P O-in-N/1-to stand-PF) 'I swear, Aslan has not been among them!'.

(78) a-x-x- er  x-te  ᵃᵗᵉ- xe- m.e-y  ᵃᵗᵉ  a-x-x t (that-PL- ABS) (3/ SB-2/AG-to take) (3/ SB-2/AG-to say-even if) (3/ SB-2/P O-hand-l/AG-N/1-to take.ELA-Fu/1) 'even if you say "take them:" I will not take them from you!'.

(79)  x-a- na xe- m nah- lahe x- a-x-a ma- x (life-REL) 

(80) qa₂f₁6 x-e ma- b (more-precious) (one-ABS-EMPH) (3/ SB-there-N/1-to be) 'there is nothing more precious than life!' .

The forms above show prefixal negation in past, future and present (stative and dynamic) main predicates. ²³)

(c) I have come across slightly fewer ordinary main predicates with prefixal negation in EAST than in WEST. In BSN I have not found any at all. ²⁴) Some examples (KAB or LiKAB):

(81) Sewsaraŋə-av  sa₁əxe-ma- b (S REL-EMPH) (1/ SB-3/P O- for-N/1-to want) '... and I do not want S. either!' (Lopatinškij 1891: texts:26 - I sosruke tože ne xoçu). ²⁵)

(82) mev. r₂ ay. wa. fe  sa₁xe-ma-ba-a-w (by Jove[his.ABS. PART/P S.POS.heaven]) (1/ SB-3/P O-in-N/1-to sit-Fu/1) 'I swear, I won't (go and) live("sit") there!' (GKLJ 1957:122-LIKAB).

This is the only instance of a main predicate containing ma- in GKLJ; it is apparent from the introductory sentence that this type is not really uncommon: "The negative form of the indicative can also be expressed by means of the prefix ma- ."

The only other place where such forms are mentioned for LiKAB is the grammatical sketch by Kardanov in the appendix of KRS (1957). All of Kardanov's examples start with the same expletive as did (82):

(83) mev. r₂ ay. wa. fe, se sa₁xe-ma-ba-a-w (1/ SB- there-N/1-to sit) 'I swear, I am not sitting/living there!'.

(84) mev. r₂ ay. wa. fe, sa₁xe-ma-ba-a-w / sa₁xe-ma-ba-a-w (1/ SB-there-N/1-to sit-PF) / (..-Fu/1) 'I swear, I have not been/will not be sitting there (Kardanov 1957: 530: klijanus' nebom, ja ne sišu (83) ne sideł/ne budu sidet').

(d) Kuraševa (1969:148-149) mentions main predicates with ma- for Mozdok KAB (the easternmost subdialect of KAB): "The negative particle ma- often occurs instead of the negative particle qa- in the subdialect [of Mozdok/R5]." This is followed by three examples, each provided with a LiKAB equivalent:

(85) de a-be de₃ma-xe-av [Mozdok]²⁵ [we] (that-REL) (1p/ SB-N/1-3/P O-for-to want) 'we do not want that!'.

The LiKAB equivalent:

(86) de a-be de₃xe-y-qa- (1p/ SB-3/P O-for-to want) 'we do not want that'.

(87) "de₃ma-s' a-ta-n.e" sa₁xe-8-a-s [Mozdok] (1p/ SB-N/1- there-to be/stand-Fu/1) (1/ SB-to think-PF-ASS) 'we will not be there' I thought'.

The LiKAB equivalent:

(87a) "de₃xe-ma-ba-a-w" sa₁xe-8-a-s (1p/ SB-there-N/1- to be/stand-Fu/1) (3/ SB-1/P O-POS-idea-PF-ASS) 'we will not be there' I thought("it was my idea")'.

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It should be noted that the majority of the negative ordinary main predicates occurring in Kuaševa's sketch do have suffixal marking of negation. It is surprising (in view of the fact that main predicates with prefixal negation are relatively regular in WEST) that we have not found any instances of such forms for the westernmost form of EAST (i.e. for BSN). From Kuaševa I conclude that main predicates with mo- are relatively frequent in the easternmost subdialect of KAB.

There is no reference to main predicates with prefixal marking of negation in any of the other sketches of EAST subdialects occurring in Očerki Kabardino-čerkesskoci dialectologii.

6.4.3 Negation in Interrogative Predicates - WEST

(a) A Circassian interrogative sentence contains an interrogative (main) predicate, or an interrogative lexical element, and/or a special intonation pattern. This section deals mainly with interrogative predicates which have morphological marking of interrogativity. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 take up some space because the difference between the marking of interrogation in EAST and WEST is considerable, and because there is no survey of this subject that can be referred to (despite Kumaxov 1971:242-244).

In negative interrogatives we mainly find prefixal marking of negation. Actually it seems that in negative interrogative forms the speaker never has the choice between prefixal and suffixal negation.

(b) The neutral WEST interrogative ending -a INT is only used with main predicates. This ending combines with all tenses. The LiAD grammar of Rogava-Keraševa lists a whole paradigm of corresponding negative and positive interrogatives. The negative forms all have ma- N/1. Although such negative forms are only sporadically found in studies on WEST, or in texts, they are still geographically widely used: both in Shapsug and in Abadzekh they are current. (Kumaxov 1971 does not mention them, neither under "interrogative", nor under "negative forms"). I quote some examples from LiAD (Rogava-Keraševa 1966:255):

(88) wa1-ma§-a / wa1-ma§-e-a ? (2/SB-Dy/1-to go-INT) / (2/SB-N/1-to go-INT) 'are you going?'/ 'are you not going?'.

(89) e-e§-t-a ? / ma§-e-e§-t-a ? (3/SB-to go-Fu/1-INT) / (3/SB-N/1-to go-Fu/1-INT) 'will he go?'/ 'will he not go?'.

(90) e-e§-a§-a ? (2p/SB-N/1-to go-PF-INT) 'you(p) did not go, did you?'

(c) Sequences of an initial positive and a following corresponding negative (with ma-) predicate (both having -a INT) are common for all WEST:

(91) e-e§-t-a - e-e§-a ? (2p/SB-to go-Fu/1-INT) / 2p/SB-N/1-to go-Fu/1-INT) 'are you(p) going, or are you not?' (Rogava-Keraševa 1966:257-LiAD).

(92) e-e§-a§-a ? / wa1-ma§-a§-a ? (2/SB-there-to be-INT/2/SB-there-N/1-to be-INT) 'are you alive or are you not?' (Narty 1974:153-LiAD).

(92a) wa1-ma§-a ? (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF-INT/3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to do-PF-INT) 'have you done it or have you not?' (Shapsug).

(d) Negative main predicates which are accompanied by an interrogative lexical element also express negation by means of a prefix.
In this position dynamic present predicates, both positive and negative, take the ending -re Dy/2.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{thep} \text{a} \text{re re} \text{a} \text{re} \text{re}_D \text{(how often?)} \text{2/2/} \text{to go-Dy/2} \text{ 'how many times are you going?'} \text{(Shapsug).26} \]

and negative main predicates:

(105) $\text{sa}^{\text{e-txe}}$ (l/SB-Dy/1-to write) 'I am writing'.
(106) $\text{sa}^{\text{txe-r-ep}}$ (l/SB-to write-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not writing'.

Compare also:

(107) $\text{sa}^{\text{e-txa}}$ (l/SB-Dy/1-to write-INT) 'am I writing?'.

6.4.4 Negation in Interrogative Predicates - EAST

(a) It is also true for EAST that grammatical interrogativity is only found in main predicates. Negation in EAST interrogatives appears to be indicated exclusively by means of $\text{ma}-$. Before turning to negative interrogatives I give a brief account of the marking of interrogativity in general, distinguishing suggestive and non-suggestive interrogativity. A caveat is in order: only scanty data are available for some of the (sub-)dialects, whereas in most cases data are lacking altogether. Furthermore, what can be found on suggestive interrogatives of LiKAB in particular is partly contradictory. The available material of AnBSN is more extensive than that of any other form of EAST. This section is concerned entirely with non-instructive forms: there is no indication that interrogative instructive forms are used in EAST. I shall first consider non-suggestive and suggestive interrogatives in KAB and then turn to BSN.

(b) Non-suggestive nexus-questions can be asked by means of positive as well as negative predicates; however, positive non-suggestive interrogatives are common, whereas negative ones (c) are rather unusual.45 I will confine the discussion to the available material of LiKAB.

It makes sense to oppose positive interrogatives to the corresponding non-interrogative positive and negative forms. Circassian has an opposition stative/dynamic in present tense predicates as far as the present discussion is concerned, dynamic present forms are distinct from all other forms.

Two sets of "other forms" (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):

(108) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-a}}$ (l/SB-to write-PF-ASS) 'I have written'.
(109) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-qam}}$ (l/SB-to write-PF-N/2) 'I have not written'.

(110) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-t}} ?$ (l/SB-to write-PF) 'have I written?'.

(111) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-t-a}}$ (l/SB-there-to be/stand-ASS) 'I am (standing) there'; like (112-113) a stative present form.

(112) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-t-qam}}$ (l/SB-there-to be/stand-N/2) 'I am not (standing) there'.

(113) $\text{sa}^{\text{t-xa-t-t}}$ ? (l/SB-there-to be/stand) 'am I (standing) there?'.

The above forms have the following endings: -a assertive (not negative, not interrogative), -qam N/2 and no ending in the case of the interrogative forms.30 There are in the literature several references to the fact that LiKAB interrogatives differ from the corresponding non-interrogatives with respect to intonation (e.g. Kumaxov 1971:242). The primary distinction in LiKAB, however, is morphological. Kumaxov's observation does hold for sub-dialects that do not have the ASS ending.31)

Cf. also the following dynamic present forms (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):

(114) $\text{sa}^{\text{e-txe(-r)}}$ (l/SB-Dy/1-to write[-Dy/2]) 'I am writing'.
(115) $\text{sa}^{\text{txe-r-qam}}$ (l/SB-to write-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not writing'.
(116) $\text{sa}^{\text{txe-r-t}} ?$ (l/SB-to write-Dy/2-INT) 'am I writing?'.
The dynamic prefix is obligatory and the dynamic suffix optional in non-interrogative positive forms [cf. (114)]. I tentatively analyse final -re of (116) as -re Dy/2-INT, on account of the comparison of (116) with (114-115), and also with such forms as (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):

(117) sal_the-re-t (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-IMPF) 'I was writing'.
(118) sal_the-re-t? (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-INT-IMPF) 'was I writing?'

In the literature (e.g. Kumaxov 1971:243) -re is analysed as an INT marker in forms such as (116, 118). There are other forms, however, that do contain unanalysable -re INT, e.g. the INT PF forms in (122-123).

(c) Non-suggestive negative interrogatives, i.e. counterparts of WEST forms like wama_q’a (88), are apparently not very frequent. The first reference to them is found in GKLLJ (1957:122). I list the cases found there:

(119) wama_q’a-re-e ? (2/SB-N/l-to go-Dy/2-INT) 'so you are (actually) not going?' (ne ide'[zna'kit]?).
(120) wama_q’a-e ? (2/SB-N/l-to go-PF) 'did you (actually) not go?' (ne xol_[zna'kit]?).
(121) wye_3e-re home wye-ma_q’a-re-e ? (2/SB-3/io-to read-Dy/2-INT) (or) (2/SB-3/io-N/l-to read-Dy/2-INT) 'are you reading it, or are you not?' (Citaek' ili ne Citaek'?).

Furthermore we find in Bagov (1969:41-West KAB):

(122) a-t newe maha_de de-ma_q’a-a-re ? (that-ABS) (today) (working.place-REL) (3/SB-Mh-N/l-to go-PF-INT) 'did he (actually) not come to the working-place today?'

EAST (as well as WEST) uses prefixal marking of negation in predicates that have a subordinate displaying lexical interrogativity. Cf. (Kumaxov 1971:243-LiKAB):

(123) sata-w wama_q’a-a-re ? (what?-MOD) (2/SB-N/l-to go-PF-INT) 'why did you not go?'

(d) This subsection briefly presents three types of suggestive interrogativity. Forms with final -de which in fact belong here, are treated separately under (e).

"Doubt-interrogatives" with w(e)'pere are generally mentioned as a subtype of interrogatives (e.g. Jakovlev 1948:9, 83; GKLLJ 1957:122; Kumaxov 1971:244). These interrogatives formally consist of a sub-predicate with final -w(e) MOD, followed by a clitic 'pere. Cf. (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):

(124) sal_the-w’pere ? (1/SB-to write-MOD’pere) 'do you believe I am (really) writing?' (ne pišu li ja?).
(125) wa-t’a-w’pere ? (2/SB-to write-PF-MOD’pere) 'have you (really) been writing?'

Such forms have prefixal marking of negation obviously because of their sub-predicative background. Cf. (GKLLJ 1957:122-LiKAB):

(126) wye_3e-ma_q’a-w’pere ? (2/SB-3/io-N/l-to read-MOD’pere) 'are you not reading, then?'

Forms with final -ay/-w’’ay expressing surprise are also common in discussions of interrogatives. Following Jakovlev (1948:9) I would not like to call these forms inherently interrogative. Here again it must be the intonation which determines whether a construction containing a -(w)’ay form is interrogative or not. Cf. (GKLLJ 1957:123-LiKAB):

(127) wye-a-w’’ay ? (2/SB-to go-PF-w’’ay) 'gosh, did you actually go?' (newželi xodii?).
GKLvlJ observes that negative -w.ay forms have prefixal marking of negation (I have not come across any example). As it seems, -ay and -w.ay are in free variation. GKLvlJ (1957:123) provides interrogative -w.ay forms, expressing a "question with surprise", and non-interrogative forms of the mirative mood (naklonenie udi-vlenija) with final -ay. This distribution is found nowhere else. It is apparently a matter of prescription rather than description. 36)

Furthermore, Kumaxov (1971:243) and Jakovlev (1948:9) - but no one else - mention suggestive interrogative constructions containing a clitic "(a/n)te. Jakovlev observes that such forms suggest a denial on the side of the hearer.37) In addition to 'nte Jakovlev's examples contain the CONF ending -de. Cf. Jakovlev (1948:9-LIkAB): (129) se dafe-m safe-r-ea-te ? (1) (town-REL) (1/SB-to go-Dy/2-CONF) 'am I going to town, then?' ("no, you are not!") (ja v gorod ne jedu/razve ja v gorod jedu?).

Jakovlev leaves out such forms in his survey of LiKAB moods (pp.82-83). Kumaxov gives positive and negative "(a)te forms (all without -de); the negative ones contain me-. Cf. (Kumaxov 1971:243-LikAB):

(130) safe-e-n-te (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-te) 'shall I go then?' (pojdu cto li/idi mne cto li?).

In KRS we find a "particle" ate (p.20) 'nu, da, tak', and another "particle" (p.280) nite 'da'. 38)

(e) Forms with the ending -de are generally mentioned (Turčaninov-Cagov 1940:120; Jakovlev 1948:9,83; GKLvlJ 1957:122; Kardanov 1957:531; Šagirov 1967:174; Kumaxov 1971:244). Turčaninov-Cagov call them "doubt-question" forms. Jakovlev distinguishes two types of -de forms: "affirmative" and "interrogative-affirmative".39) GKLvlJ remarks only that a positive answer is expected by the questioner. Kardanov lists forms only. Šagirov calls -de forms "exhortative" (uveščevatel'noe naklonenie), and does not classify them as interrogative. Kumaxov also calls -de forms "interrogative-affirmative", but observes that depending on the context -de forms have different shades of meaning (which he does not specify). In a study on Kuban KAB (a West KAB subdialect) Kumaxov (1969:215) mentions the occurrence of -de in imperatives, which are thereby softened to exhortations.40) -de forms as occurring in various EAST subdialects are briefly touched upon in Očerki Kabardino-Cerkesskoj dialetkologii, notably in terms of deviations from the LiKAB norm. The LiKAB norm turns out not to be the same for all the authors of the sketches in OKD. Furthermore it becomes clear that there are considerable differences between subdialects in make-up and semantics of the -de forms. The data are so scanty that only tentative suggestions can be made.

This much is clear: there are no -de forms containing prefixal marking of negation. Alparslan-Dumézil [see (f)] analyse certain -de/-?e) forms of AnBSN and AnKAB as containing the negative suffix. At least in certain western subdialects of EAST -de forms may have a negative connotation, probably as a result of WEST influence. Bagov, for instance, observes that the West KAB (Zelenčuk) form ĝemsk'are [see (122)] is matched by "LiKAB":

(131) ĉe e.a-de ? (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-CONF) 'did not he come?'
It seems right not to classify -æ as a marker of interrogativity. Interrogative -æ forms are interrogative by intonation; the various shades of meaning must also be determined by the intonation. In general, -æ appears to convey the expectation of a reaction from the hearer - usually a confirmation. For the time being I gloss the ending -æ as CONF.

Some examples (Jakovlev 1948:11-LiKAB):

(132) וא-ר-א ? (3/SB-2/AG-to do-Dy/2-CONF) 'you are doing it, aren't you?'
(133) וא-ר-א : (3/SB-2/AG-to do-Dy/2-CONF) '(well,) you are doing it (as you will agree)'

Jakovlev supplies alongside (133) a West KAB equivalent:

(134) וּבֶשָּׁא-ר-א : (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to do-Dy/2-CONF).

(f) AnBSN apparently does not have prefixal marking of negation in interrogatives (whether suggestive or non-suggestive) at all. Alparslan-Dumézil (1963) do not mention interrogatives with ma- and such forms do not occur in any of the texts published by Alparslan-Dumézil, by Alparslan or by Catherine Paris.


Dumézil (1975:200) observes about these forms:

"En tcherkesso oriental, et encore seulement dans certains parlers, à n'apparaît qu'aux formes négatives (besl. [BSN/RS] ?ם + א rp.آ); dans les autres parlers, les formes interrogatives négatives ordinaires sont déduites des formes positives par insertion de l'indice négatif m(a) infixé devant le complexe radical; kab. ַו (ַו + א) s'emploie surtout si l'on attend ou désire une réponse positive."

I list some of Dumézil 1975's examples (AnBSN, Dumézil's notation):

(135) wa-קֶּה-ט-ע-א (2/SB.to go.N/2) 'you are not going'.
(136) wa-קֶּה-ט-א ? (2/SB.to go-N/2.INT) 'are you going?'

AnKAB:

(137) wa-קֶּה-ט-א () 'you are not going'.
(138) wa-קֶּה-ט-א ?/wa-מ-קֶּה-ר-א ?; cf. (136) and (119).

I do not accept Dumézil's analysis. Firstly, the vowel of the sequence -א (or, for that matter, -א) is not different from the vowel in common EAST -א. In AnBSN, as well as in KAB in general, the mid vowel /א/ is realised as [א] after back consonants without secondary articulation.


"Après consonnes uvulaires, pharyngales et laryngales, la voyelle à timbre /א/ prend un timbre [א], sauf si elle est suivie d'un /א/ en finale de syllabe."

Cf. also Kuipers (1960:22-KAB):

"The articulation of the short vowels ַא and א [i.e. the mid vowel/RS] in terms of front-back, rounded-unrounded, and to a certain extent also in terms of high-low, depends on the surrounding consonants. Front variants (א, א) are found after laterals, palatalized palatal velars and ַא, back variants (א, א) after plain uvulars, pharyngals and ַא."

Another argument against a discrete ending א INT in AnBSN.
and AnKAB is the absence of such an ending elsewhere in EAST, e.g. in AnBSN and AnKAB positive interrogatives.

Furthermore, a contraction -qa/-qa (or, for that matter, -qa/-qa) is also unlikely; cf. -qa/qa N/2-CoPr [as in (65)], not *-qa/qa.

The AnKAB form wamakoere (138) seems to be a common KAB negative non-suggestive interrogative, which may be analysed as (119). The AnKAB form wamakoere seems to be a fairly common CONF form:42) wamakoere (2/SB-to go) CONF, which (Dumézil 1975:200) "s'emploie surtout si l'on attend ou désire une réponse positive."

The AnBSN forms with final (Alparslan-Dumézil 1963) -qa [or -qa (Dumézil 1975)] I take to be CONF forms, which apparently have a wider use than, for instance, LiKAB CONF forms. It is probable that AnBSN CONF forms also have negative-interrogative meaning, due to the influence of WEST. This negative-interrogative connotation should be attributed to the intonation rather than to -qa CONF. In West KAB subdialects the use of -qa has also been broadened due to the influence of WEST.43)

To sum up: I do not think we have to assume an EAST INT ending -qa, or the existence of short allomorphs -qa/-qa of the N/2 ending. Furthermore, there is no EAST subdialect having interrogatives (whether suggestive or non-suggestive) with suffixal marking of negation.

6.5. AN ANALYSIS: PREDICATIVE VERSUS ATTRIBUTIVE NEGATION

6.5.1 Introduction

The material presented in section 4 shows that prefixal and suffixal negation are not complementary. This goes for WEST and probably with the exception of AnBSN - for EAST. The distributional overlap occurs exclusively (EAST) or almost exclusively (WEST) with main predicates.

The choice between the two is no question of free variation. There are in my opinion two discrete categories of negation, one of which can be called "attributive" (N/2) and the other "predicative" (N/2).

Predicative negation negates a nexus (cf. Jespersen 1924:86-144, passim). It dissolves the relation between the notions involved in the nexus. Predicative negation applies to the nexus contained in main predicates and - though this is far less often the case - in co-predicates. The negative ending (N/2, -ep/-qa) can be thought of as a negative copula "it is not the case."

Attributive negation negates a single notion; it often has a contrastive effect (see below, passim).

The opposition between predicative and attributive negation is reminiscent of Jespersen's opposition between nexus and special negation, cf. (1924:329):

"In a more general way we may say that the negative notion may belong logically either to one single idea (special negation) or to the combination of two parts of a nexus (nexus negation)."

Compare:

(139) 3/3B-3AG-to say-Fu/2-N/2, "I will not say
it'; "([of it-by me-saying]-it will be)-it is not the case" (predicative negation).

(140) sa6me8eo-ep (3/SB-1/AG-N/l-to say-Fu/2) 'I will "not-say" it!'; "(of it-by me-not-saying)-it will be the case" (attributive negation).

In the following sections I shall work through the various types of S-form, commenting on the way - or ways - in which negation is expressed.

6.5.2 Negation in Non-instructive Main Predicates

(a) The examples sa6de9aen (73) and saqade9eneep (74) offer an excellent illustration of the difference between prefixal and suffixed negation in non-instructive main predicates. I will give them in their full context (Nartxer 1968:104-West/Bzhedug):

(141) "sa92da94, Setenay?" (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-with-to go) (S.)

(142) "sa929da94de9aen-ep, Werzeme3." (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/2-N/2) (N.)

(143) "sad 5ye-la44, Setenay ?" (what?-ABS) (3/SB-1/PO-POS-fault) (S.)

(144) "sa92we-9pa-me wa193ac, (1/SB-2/io-to look-COND)
(2/SB-black)

(145) sa19ze5pala2-x-em sa19Fa-a1-1 (1/SB-REF/io-to look-RE-COND)
(1/SB-white)

(146) t9ew-9x-a-me sa1929de94de9aep ? (how?="if it happens in what way") (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/2)

(147) "a-5 fe.9e.3 e qa92we9me8go-ep : (that-REL) (because of) (3/SB-Hh-2/AG-N/l-CAUS-to leave)

(148) t9ewe-mel-a-me fe.9e.3 (ip/Ps-POS-sheep-REL-PL) (white-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-P1-in to be/stand)

Translation: (141) "Marry me, Setenay!" (142) "I will not marry you, Werzemedzh!" (143) "What is wrong with me, Setenay?" (144) "If I look at you, you are black, (145) if I look at myself, I am white, (146) how can I marry you?" (147) "Don't refuse ("leave it") for that reason: (148) Among our sheep there are white ones, (149) the white ones (among them) may drop a black one, (150) and the black (among them) may drop a white one." (151) "By my mother's soul, I still won't marry you."

(b) The form with suffixed negation in (142) can be paraphrased as follows: "([of me-hither-you-with-going]-it will be)-it is not the case", and the form with prefixal negation in (151) thus: "(of me-you-with-not-going)-it will be the case".

It is remarkable that a large number of the ordinary main predicates with ma- which I have collected (cf. § 4.2) are introduced by an expletive-like interjection. These interjections, together with the use of prefixal negation, indicate a mostly deprecatory attitude by the speaker towards the notion negated.44)

However, the ordinary main predicate is essentially the domain of suffixed negation: (a) suffixed negation almost exclusively occurs in main predicates, (b) most negative ordinary main predi-
6.5.3 Negation in Non-instructive Co-predicates

(a) Non-instructive negative co-predicates have exclusively suffixal marking of negation in EAST (65-66) and almost exclusively in WEST (§3.3). The sporadic occurrence of prefixal negation in co-predicates in WEST has been illustrated in (62, 64). The possibility that these forms have a different meaning from corresponding forms with N/2 cannot be entirely excluded.

It can be assumed that prefixal and suffixal marking of negation was originally found in both sentence-final and non-sentence-final predicates. Co-predicates have resulted from the addition of a coordinating element (originally a clitic, later an ending) to the non-final elements of sequences of paratactic predicates. With the development into co-predicates the non-sentence-final predicates became in certain respects dependent on the sentence-final predicate (see, for instance, note 18 on co-predicates without tense-marker).

The loss of independence was accompanied by a decrease of morphological possibilities and the co-predicates no longer joined the main predicate in the development of new distinctions. This explains why main predicates, as opposed to co-predicates, distinguish two categories of negation (and, for instance, two categories of future tense).15)

6.5.4 Negation in Instructive Forms

Negative instructive forms (i.e. imperatives and optatives) contain prefixal marking of negation only.

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(156) \( wāl^2 \text{-} ew \) were\( māx^2 \text{-} wē \): (2/SB-to go-MOD) (3/SB-OPT-N/1-to become) "may your going not be the case!".

6.5.5 Negation in Sub-predicates

Sub-predicates can be considered as participants in a nexus of a higher level; in sub-predicates we also find prefixal marking of negation. Cf. (Shapsug):

(157) \( wāx+māsəwē-e \text{-} t \) (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to do-COND) (1/SB-2/io-to beat-Fu/2) 'if you do not do it, I will beat you'.

6.5.6 Negation in Stem-nominalisations

In stem-nominalisations, too, only prefixal negation is found. Negation in such forms is typically contrastive (or, in Jespersen's terms, special). When I talk about a man I did not see, I evoke at the same time someone I did see. When I talk about the way somebody does not walk, I evoke the thought of how he does walk. Stem-nominalisations are always participants in a nexus. Cf. (Shapsug):

(158) \( qē+māsə-wē-ə \text{-} t \) (PART/SB-Hh-N/1-to go-PF-ABS) (3/SB-who?) 'who has not come?/who is the one that did not come?' ('I already know who is the one that did come').

NOTES

1. For Düzce Shapsug, see Smeets 1976. Throughout this chapter "Shapsug stands for the Shapsug of Düzce. For the symbols used in surface forms I refer to chapter 1, and to the list of Conventions.

In underlying forms the same symbols are used as in surface forms, plus the symbol φ (cf. note 8). There are more than a dozen transcription systems for Circassian. For the sake of simplicity, and for typological reasons, I represent material from other sources according to the system given above. Occasionally I also give the original notation.

2. Cf. -ste Fu/1 (first future) and -na Fu/2 (second future); cf. also Dy/1, the dynamic prefix and Dy/2, the dynamic ending. Fu/1 and Fu/2 are clearly distinct (at least in main predicates). Dy/1 and Dy/2 indicate - I suggest - different types of dynamicy (the use of especially Dy/2 is not the same in all dialects). Plurality is also indicated alternatively by a prefix or a suffix (glossed Pl and PL respectively). Here I am less certain that a further analysis will yield two discrete categories.

3. Endings constitute a subclass of the (stem-)suffixes; they are -xe PL and all suffixes that may follow -xe. Endings are alternatively referred to as suffixes and as endings. For the make-up of the word in terms of root, base, stem, base-affixes, stem-affixes and endings, see chapter 2, section 1.

4. In principle all examples are analysed. In the examples - separates morphemes in free, and - morphemes occurring in fixed combinations. Examples are followed, word-by-word, by morpheme inventories between ( ), which present - by means of glosses or translations - the constituent morphemes (and fixed combinations of morphemes) in the appropriate order. Occasionally I also give underlying wordforms*. For the choice of the basic morphs constituting underlying wordforms, see chapter 3, section 1.2.
In the examples stem-prefixes are usually followed by a raised number; these numbers indicate the slot filled by the prefix in question. For a short presentation of the prefix slots, see for instance chapter 2 of this volume. The slots and their fillers are: 1 - subject (SB) prefixes; 2 - (WEST/EAST) ge-/ğe- hither (Hh); 3 - ge. re/-a-'that, how', șe- 'when'; 4 - preverb object (PO) prefixes and preverbs; 5 - indirect object (io) prefixes; 6 - agent (AG) prefixes; 7 - OPT(ative), Dy(namic)/1, SEM(elfactive) prefixes; 8 - ma-N/1, contrastive negation; 9 - ge- CAUS(ative).

Translations are normally given between ' '; very literal or otherwise peculiar renderings are given between " ".

5. Zero-morphs are matched by underlined glosses in the morpheme inventories.


7. Suffixes of the shape V thus retain an overt representation in most environments. Cf.

\[\text{wa}^s_3a-\text{st} \quad (3/\text{SB}-2/\text{AG-to throw-Fu/1}) +\theta-\text{p-3a-} \text{-sta}+\]

'you will throw it'.

\[\text{de}^s_3a-\text{e-st} \quad (3/\text{SB}-3/\text{PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/1}) +\theta-\text{de-p-3a-} \text{-e-sta}+\]

'you will throw it into it'.

\[\text{de}^s_3a-\text{a-st} \quad (3/\text{SB}-3/\text{PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-Fu/1}) +\theta-\text{de-p-3a-} \text{-a-sta}+\]

'you will throw it out of it'.

Cf. also:

\[\text{p}^s_3e-\text{st} \quad (3/\text{SB}-2/\text{AG-to lead-Fu/1}) +\theta-\text{p-} \text{e-} \text{-sta}+\]

'you will lead it'.

8. Here the e/a-alternation is operative: stem-final underlying +..eC3e+ (but not +..eC3e+) is changed to +..aC3e+ (C3: C, CC, CCC). See chapter 4, section 5.


10. For the distribution of -șem, -șam, -șem and -șem, and for a discussion of developments that may have led to that distribution, see chapter 7.

11. In LiKAB texts and studies one invariably finds -șe as the form of the plural ending, though in most of EAST the suffix actually is -he (cf. Kumaxova 1972:100).

12. "Conjectural mood" is a tentative translation of Russian predpoložitel’noe naklonenie.

13. Cf. the Russian original of these quotations:

(i) "Finitnaja forma glagola vyražaet opredelennoe, osnovnoe, nezavisimoe ot drugogo glagola dejstvie.'

(ii) "Finitnaja forma glagolov vyražaet dejstvie neopredelennoe, dozavočno, zavisimoe po otnošeniju k osnovnomu dejstviju, vyražen- nomu finitnoj formoj glagola."
(iii) "Otricitel'nuju formu finitnye glagoly obrazujut pri pomoči suffiksa -čam...".

(iv) "V infinitnyx že glagolax otricitel'naja forma obrazuetsja pri pomoči prefiksa ma- ...",

(v) "Povelitel'nuye formy vtorogo lica po svoej strukture i po svoemu obrazovaniju javljajutsja infinitnymi, poskol'ku otricanie obrazuetsja prefiksom (mar): v-my-klu : "ne xodi!" ".

14. Compare, for instance, Dumézil's (1975:155) three-fold system (indicative, imperative, optative) with Turkaniyev-Cagov's (1940:117) eightfold system (indicative, imperative, interrogative, permissive [optative/RS], conjectural, optative [irrealis/RS], conditional, subjunctive).

15. Main predicates have an opposition between Fu/1 (factual future) and Fu/2 (modal future), whilst other types of S-form have one category of future only, some with the Fu/1 marker, others with the Fu/2 marker. For instance, co-predicates only take -na (Fu/2), whereas participles only take -šta (Fu/1) (Shapsug).

16. If it were my goal to set up a system of moods, I would also begin by working through the various groups of S-form.

17. I shall discuss Circassian instructive forms (i.e. imperatives, optatives and vocatives) elsewhere.

18. Usually ordinary passive co-predicates contain overt tense-marking. Such marking, however, is as a rule lacking in positive co-predicates that precede a PF main predicate. These co-predicates without tense-marker present the event they refer to as having taken place immediately (and naturally) before the event referred to by a following similar co-predicate or main predicate.

19. It is striking that negative non-instructive co-predicates always have an overt tense-marker. Positive co-predicates such as those occurring in (58-59) do not have immediate negative counterparts. Instead of *ša-kše-p-ay or *ša-ma-kš-ay "I did not go, and" the informants suggest (60) or constructions containing a modal sub-predicate like:

\[
\text{še} \text{ma-še-w} \text{še} \text{p-ay} \quad (1/\text{SB-N/1-to} \text{ go-MOD}) \quad (3/\text{SB-1/AG-to do-PF-N/2}) \quad "I, not going, have not done it."
\]

Thus, both positive and negative co-predicates differ in their own way from main predicates with respect to the system of tense-marking. It seems that tense-marking in negative co-predicates is more autonomous (i.e. less determined by tense-marking in a following predicative form) than in positive co-predicates.

Rogava-Kerashova (1966:254) observe that some nonfinite formations do not have negative forms. One of the examples provided is: 

\[
\text{še} \text{ko-ay} \quad (3/\text{SB-to go-CoPr}) \quad "he went (away), and ..." \quad (R-K: "posel").
\]

In a note R-K add that corresponding negative forms of the second person do occur, e.g.:

\[
\text{we} \text{ša-ma-še-ay} \quad (2/\text{SB-N/1-to go-CoPr}) \quad "(even) if you do not go..."
\]

However, this is incorrect: here we have to do with an instance of concessive use of a negative co-predicative imperative.

20. Rogava-Kerashova (1966:254): "Nekotorye infinitnye obrazovaniya mogut obrazovat' otricitel'nuye formy i pri pomoči suffiksa i pri pomoči prefiksa: klo-g"en-ep-ti 'vozmožno, on ne pošel, no...', my-klo-g"en-ti 'vozmožno, on ne pošel, no...".
\[ \text{sal}^\text{a} \text{e}^\text{t} \text{-}\text{ep-aw} \quad \text{sal}^\text{a} \text{e}^\text{t} \text{-}\text{ep} \quad (1/SB-to \text{go-Fu/1-N/2-CoPr}) \\
(3/SB-1/AG-to \text{see-Fu/1-N/2}) \ 'I \text{will not go and I will not see it}'.
\]
Temirgoy negative sa\text{a}^\text{t}e\text{p}ay is matched by positive sa\text{a}^\text{t}e\text{n-ay} (ib.). Note the use of Fu/1 in the negative and Fu/2 in the positive form.

\[ \text{ze.}^\text{b} \text{e}^\text{h} \text{-a-} \quad \text{he has spread/told it'; slot 5 of this form}
\]
contains a fixed combination of ze- REC(?) and \text{v}3/0 (together: "in various directions") which is also found before, for instance, the root \text{ze} 'to run': 'to run in various directions'.

\[ \text{welae} \quad \text{sub}^\text{b} \text{e-} \quad \text{(by Jove)} \ (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-to know-Dy/2) \\
'God, I do not know!' (jej-bogu, ne znaju!)
\]
I give this example separately as the status of the ending -re it contains is not clear to me.

24. This is true for both AnBSN and CaBSN; however, in view of the comprehensive character of Alparslan-Dumézil (1963) we can be more positive that the forms do not actually occur in AnBSN than in CaBSN.

25. The position of ma- in (85, 87) is absolutely exceptional in all Circassian; these forms might be accounted for by assuming for Mozdok KAB large-scale incorporation of preverbs in the base.

26. Such forms may have -ra instead of -re in "WEST". Kumaxov (1971:243) labels final -ra as "phonetic variant" or -re Dy/2. I would prefer to analyse: -re (-Dy/2-INT), as do Rogava-Keraševa (1966:256).

27. What little we know about the prosody of -ba and -b.a forms and, more generally, about interrogatives, is found in Jakovlev-Asxamov (1941:18) for WEST, and in Paris (1974b:179-180) for EAST (AnBSN). The solution of a number of questions concerning negation and interrogation could be reached on the basis of instrumental investigations.


29. Here I do not use Shapsug data, as the situation in the Shapsug of Düzce deviates from the usual (in WEST). Instead of a CONF ending -ba, confirmative forms in DÜSHP have a clitic -be/ba, probably under the influence of Turkish. cf. (Redhouse Yeni Türkce-Ingilizce Sözlük, Istanbul, 1968:145) "be² 1o in vocatives expressing reproach, oh, you, e.g., be kadin'; 2o vulg. in terminal position, hey!, you fellow, I say: e.g., Neredesin be? Hey, where are you?". Cf. also Paris (1974a: Lexicon 32-33 - AnSHP [Cemilbey]) -be/-bæ 'suf- fixe interrogatif négatif'.

30. Kardanov mentions a LiKAB interrogative suffix -a which is said to occur in, e.g.,
\[ \text{we} \quad \text{mawzay-a} \quad \text{waliya²-a} \quad \text{(you) (museum-REL)} \ (2/SB-3/P0-
\text{-there-to be-PF) 'have you been to the museum?' (1957:531).}
\]
Kardanov analyses the final -a as INT, which is incorrect: the absen-
-ce of -š and -тaw is here the morphological indication of interrogativity.

31. The ASS ending -š does not occur in all KAB subdialects, and where it does occur, not always with the same distribution. In BSN (AnBSN: Alparslan-Dumézil [1963:356-357], CaBSN: Balkarov [1969:87]) it is entirely absent. The difference between corresponding interrogative and non-interrogative forms is then a matter of stress and, probably, also of intonation. For AnBSN (Alparslan-Dumézil 1963: 358) we find:

walkoš: (2/SB-go-PF) 'you have gone'.
walkoš: ? (2/SB-go-PF) 'have you gone?'

It is also observed that walkš:():, realised with "interrogative intonation" implies doubt: 'tu es vraiment allé?'.

Balkarov (1969:88) remarks that, in CaBSN, morphemically identical interrogative and non-interrogative forms differ with respect to intonation (..i razlichajutsja oni tolko intonacii). In the Central KAB subdialect of Malka we find a situation close to that in AnBSN, cf. Šagirov (1969:306-307):

walkš: 'you have gone?' (with secondary stress on š, which itself is relatively short),
walkš: 'you have gone' (one stress feature, š is relatively long', "Èto udlinennoe proiznoenije dolgogo š i sozdaet utverditel'nuju intonaciju. Takim obrazom, v otličie ot literaturnego kabardinskogo jazyka, gde вопросительное iz 'javitel'nnoe naklonenija razlichajutsja i intonacionno i posredstvom suffixa, v malkinskom govore raznica među вопросительnym nakloneniem i iz 'javitel'nym v utverditel'noj forme tol'ko intonacii'aj).
KAB (and, for that matter, of LiAd) data is not usually given. The "(a/n)te forms of Jakovlev and Kumaxov may very well belong to different subdialects.

39. Jakovlev (1948:9) says about CONF (podtverditel'nye) forms: "vyražaet podtverždenije sučeststovanija fakta, často s ottenkom udvielija. V nastojačem vremeni v dialektax ono otiščaetsja ot podtverditel'no-voprositel'nogo tipa inoj formoj ličnych prefiksov ska- zuemogo ."

Jakovlev (ib.) says about NeINT (podtverditel'no-voprositel'nuye) forms: "vyražaet takoj vopros, pri kotorom sprašivajučij uveren v sučeststovanii fakta i želat polučit' liš' podtverždenije etogo."

40. Compare, however, Kardanov (1957:547): "the affix -de, which corresponds to the Russian particles 'de', 'ved', is used as an intensifying particle."

41. This West KAB form exhibits influence from WEST insofar as it has a dynamic prefix.

42. NB: the Dy/2 ending is lacking.

43. Compare:
1st we "e 6e-De a-r (you) (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to know-CONF) (that-abs) 'you know that (as you will agree)'; with Dy/1 (Bagov 1969:40-West KAB/Kubans-zelenčuk);
2nd e 6e-De ? (1/SB-Dy/1-to plough-Dy/2-CONF) 'I am ploughing, am I not?'; with Dy/1 and Dy/2 (Balkarov 1969:93-CaBSN), as LiKAB equivalent is given: sa 3ve-r-de, with Dy/2 only;
3rd "e 6e-De, no dynamicity marker, AnBSN, see note 42.

44. For an additional example from CaShapsug, cf. (Keraševa 1957:85): ve sa1me-goe-n : (interjection) (1/SB-N/1-to go-Fu/2) 'I won't go in any case!' (ni za čto ne pojudu).

45. Cf. (Jespersen 1924:303): "There are two kinds of questions; "Did he say that?" is an example of the one kind, and "What did he say?" and "Who said that?" are examples of the other. Many names have been proposed for these two kinds.. An unambiguous terminology may be easily found if we remember that in the former kind it is always a nexus the truth of which is called in question: the speaker wants to have his doubt resolved whether it is correct to connect this particular subject with this particular predicate. We may therefore call questions of this kind nexus-questions. In the other kind of questions we have an unknown "quantity" exactly as in algebraic equation; we may therefore use the well-known symbol x for the unknown and the term x-question for a question aiming at finding out what x stands for."
CHAPTER 7 NEGATION, DIACHRONICALLY

7.1 Negation Marking in Circassian

In Circassian S-forms negation is indicated either by a prefix or by an ending.¹) This holds for both EAST(-Circassian) and WEST(-Circassian). Synchronic aspects of negation marking in Circassian are discussed in chapter 6. There I have argued that the distribution of the negative affixes is not complementary; furthermore, I have proposed that Circassian does not have one, but two morphologically expressed categories of negation. I distinguish attributive negation (N1), indicated by a prefix, and predicative negation (N2), marked by an ending.²)

In chapter 6 I have gone into the distribution and semantics of the negative affixes, supplying ample illustrative material. I restrict myself here to a few representative examples:

WEST

so-kə-a-
(1/SB-to go-PF) 'I have gone (away)'.

so-kə-a-n-ep
(1/SB-to go-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone (away)'.

so-kə : (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go (away)'.

so-ma-kə : (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go (away)'.

OOST

so-kə-a-š
(1/SB-to go-PF-ASS) 'I have gone (away)'.

so-kə-a-qam
(1/SB-to go-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone (away)'.

so-kə : (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go (away)'.

so-ma-kə : (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go (away)'.

Compare also (WEST/Shapsug):³)

so-kə-e-n-ep
(1/SB-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I will not go ("my not-going will be the case")'.

Attributive negation (N1) is marked, in EAST and WEST, by a prefix ma- immediately preceding the base of the word, or separated from it only by the causative prefix. The basic form of the negative suffix is -ep in WEST; its most common form in EAST is -qam.

In section 3, I will present the various allomorphs of the negative affixes.

7.2 Negation Marking in the West Caucasian Languages

The group of the (North-)West Caucasian (WC) languages consists of Circassian, Oubyk and Abkhaz. Both prefixal and suffixal marking of negation are also found in Oubyk and in Abkhaz. In both languages prefix and suffix have a form ma(V). In Abkhaz the form of prefix and suffix is m(a), whereas in Oubyk we find m(a) for the prefix, and -ma for the suffix. Apparently, the distribution of the two ways of negation marking in Oubyk and Abkhaz is complementary. Furthermore, there are no indications that more than a single category of negation can be distinguished, either in Oubyk or in Abkhaz.

Dumézil (1975:163) observes on the distribution of the negative affixes in the WC (West Caucasian) languages:

"1° Toute forme de l'indicatif traitée en forme nominale (participes, gérondifs, éventuellement infinitif) ou suivie d'un élément conjonctif qui en fait dans la phrase un élément subordonné (mais non suivie d'un suffixe interrogatif) reçoit l'indice infixe.

2° Il en est de même à l'imperatif et aux optatifs-subjoncti-
As was mentioned above, the negative prefix is ma- in all Circassian dialects. This prefix belongs to the small group of morphemes that display no allomorphic variation.

In WEST the negative suffix generally contains a p (-ep/-p); an allomorph b is found in the complex negative interrogative ending -b-e (NeINT). Cf. (Jakovlev-Aškamav 1941:346-LiAD):

s-t’a-re-b-e ? (3/3B-1/AG-to write-Dy/2-NeINT) 'I am writing it, am I not?'

In the literature one comes across the following notations of p containing allomorphs: -b, -ep and -ep. I use -ep and -p. For the motivation of my notation, see chapter 4, sections 4 and 6. The following Shapsug examples illustrate my analysis:

S̄a.az-ep (3/3B-woman-N/2) 'it is not a woman' +0- S̄a.az-ep-
wen-ep (3/3B-house-N/2) 'it is not a house' +0- wen-ep-
b3ahe-p/b3ahe-ep (3/3B-winter-N/2) 'it is not winter' +0- b3ahe-ep+

These examples would seem to hold for the whole of WEST.

The following examples are given for the EAST negative suffix:

-dam, -tam, -qem, -qem (- - - -). I will now give a survey of the distribution of these forms. This survey is based on the sometimes conflicting data found scattered in the literature, and on material found in texts. In the survey I also include the distribution of the allomorphs of the CONF irmative) suffix.

Besney: Caucasian BSN (Balkarov 1959, 1969) as well as Anatolian BSN (Alparslan-Dumézil 1963, 1964, 1965; Paris 1974b, 1976) have -dam N/2 and -de CONF.

West Kabardian: Kuban Kabardian (Kumaxov 1969) and Zelenčuk Kabardian (Bagov 1969) both have -dam and -de too.

For Central Kabardian one finds -tam as well as -qem N/2.9)
The CONF suffix is -pe in Baksan Kabardian (Mamreşev 1959,1969).

For Malka Kabardian (Şagirov 1969) I have not come across any data. Mamreşev (1969:250) observes that senior male members of the Baksan KAB speaking population also make use of -qem and -qe, but this occurs only rarely (Mamreşev 1959:13).

Kuaşeva (1969:124) writes with respect to EAST KAB (Terskie) subdialects that there again -tem and -te are the norm. This is in conflict with a remark made by Turčaninov in Nogma II (1959:171, note 108): in a comment on the forms of the negative suffix -tem/-tem, mentioned by Nogma in 1843, Turčaninov asserts that these are nowadays found in Little Kabardia. Mamreşev (1959:13) reports Kuaşeva as having said in the autoreferat of her kandidatskaja dissertacija [1954] that in the Terskie subdialects the negative suffix has initial ʔ, and the CONF suffix initial -q.

Older information is to be found in the grammatical sketch by Lopatinskij (1891:40). Lopatinskij only mentions -qam. The CONF suffix does not occur in Lopatinskij (1891), in Nogma it does, namely as -q. For LiKAB Turčaninov-Cagov (1940:92) present us with -qem besides "dialectal -tem and -tem" and -qe (1940:120). In Jakovlev (1948:303) we find -qam and (but less frequently) -qem, and -qe. Nothing but -qem and -qe are given for LiKAB in GKČLJ (1957:100) and Kumaxov (1971:243) [10,11].

Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:357) give passim forms of an Anatolian variant of KAB which has -tem and (apparently) also -qa.

The situation is summarised in section 7.
cooccurence of prefixal and suffixal marking of negation is old and that the question as to which is the older of the two is only relevant to *WC. Kumaxov claims that Circassian originally had a negative suffix *-m as well. He regards the negative suffix -p as a WEST innovation which has superseded the older suffix. Regarding the EAST suffix -qam Kumaxov claims that it consists of:

"the common Abxazo-adygskij [*WC/RS] negative affix -m and the suffix -qe, which goes back to the interrogative suffix -qe."

He continues:

"The suffix -qe, which is a part of the negative affix -qam, and its original form, the interrogative suffix -qe, is a Kabardian [i.e. EAST/RS] innovation."

Like Dumézil and Kumaxov, I assume that *Circassian differed little from present-day Oubykh and Abkhaz, and consequently from *WC, with respect to the formal side of the marking of negation. In other words, *Circassian had a prepositive and a postpositive negation marker, both containing an *m.12)

The prepositive element poses few problems: the situation in the whole of West Caucasian is strikingly similar, both materially and with respect to position within the word. The postpositive marker raises greater problems. Nowhere has the marker alleged for early *Circassian remained unchanged. Furthermore, EAST and WEST have been subject to obviously distinct developments.

I assume a common trigger for the fact that the situation in both EAST and WEST is rather different from that in *Circassian. First I shall consider this in greater detail, after which I shall discuss the possible developments in WEST (section 5) and in EAST (sections 6 and 7).

Circassian has a number of morphemes containing instances of m that can be supposed to derive from *n. I have in mind ma 'this'. -m the REL ending (also in -m-e REL-PL).

There are no indications in either of the two other WC languages that the m of the demonstrative pronoun is old. On the contrary, both in Oubykh (which is closest to Circassian genetically) and in Abkhaz there are data implying that the instances of m referred to go back to original 'n. Elsewhere I shall pursue the reconstruction of WC demonstratives. For the moment I shall merely mention Oubykh (which has a two-fold system of demonstratives) ya-nâ 'this' and wa-nâ 'that', and the Oubykh 3/AG prefixes -n- (singular) and -n-e (plural) (Dumezil 1959:16-17; Vogt 1963:2247, 1991,1153,1158).

For Abkhaz I refer to the occurrence of n in both demonstrative pronouns and personal prefixes; cf. w- 'that', a-n- 'that/this', a-r- 'this' (Dumézil 1976:14; Grammatika Abxazskogo Jazyka 1968: 36), and to the allomorph -na- of the 3 non-human/AG prefix (Dumézil 1967:18; GAJ:1968:96).13)

Abkhaz does not distinguish between ABS(olutive) and REL(ative) NPs through endings, as Oubykh and Circassian do. In Oubykh ABS NPs are not marked overtly, whereas REL NPs have their own characteristic endings: -n REL and -n-e REL-PL (Dumézil 1959:14; Vogt 1963:1152,1157). Compare the Circassian REL endings of non-pronominal NPs: -m REL and -m-e REL-PL.

For *Circassian I assume a number of developments that resulted in pressure on the postpositive marker of negation. *Circassian originally had *na 'this', -n REL and -n-e REL-PL, and a postpositive (and a prepositive) negation marker containing *m.

Development 1: *na 'this' gives, via *na/ma, *ma/[na].
This development may have been triggered by assimilation in forms containing *"n*. Remnants of *"n* are found in a number of temporal adverbs containing a labial obstruent:

cf. (LiAD) (LiKAB)


na.Þehebe na.Þebebe 'tonight' (Še.Þe.Þe.Þo)ne.Þe.be 'last year'

and

ma.Þe ma.Þe.m 'this year'.

Development 2: the *"n* of the REL ending changes into *"m*. This development was triggered by the former. Before the REL-PL sequence a discrete PL marker came into use, which prevented confusion with conditional forms with the ending -me. Subsequently the PL marker -e was occasionally dropped.15)

Development 3: pressure is put on the postpositive negation marker, which probably had the form *"-(a)m*.

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REL-X</th>
<th>REL-X+1</th>
<th>REL-X+2</th>
<th>REL-X+3</th>
<th>REL-X+4</th>
<th>REL-X+5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;this&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;na&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;na/ma&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ma(/na)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ma(/na)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;ma(/na)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL-PL</td>
<td>&quot;-n&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-n&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-n&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-n/m&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-n/m&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/2</td>
<td>&quot;-m&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-m&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-m&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-m/e&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-m/e&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not surprising that it was not replaced by *"-(a)n*, as in that case it would have become homophonous with the frequent Fu/2 and MSD suffixes.16) Another alternative might have been resorting to exclusively prefixal marking of negation. This was blocked by the fact that late *CIRC* already had developed two categories of negation (attributive and predicative negation).

7.5 WEST: The Development of the Negative Ending

Dumézil and Kumaxov are not very explicit. Kumaxov suggests that -p is a WEST innovation which superseded older *"-m*; why and how is not explained. Dumézil actually admits that he ignores whether a transformation - as he puts it - is involved, or not. Rogava-Kerāeva (1966:256) suggest - following Dumézil (1932:187) - that the "interrogative-affirmative particle -ba" derives from a combination of the negative suffix -ep and the interrogative suffix -a.

It can be shown that a transformation is involved here. I return to the *"CIRC* negative suffix *"-(a)m*. I assume its form was *"-(a)m* in late *CIRC* and in early *WEST* (see section 4, in fine). It is not surprising that it was not replaced by *"-(a)n*, as in that case it would have become homophonous with the frequent Fu/2 and MSD suffixes.16) Another alternative might have been resorting to exclusively prefixal marking of negation. This was blocked by the fact that late *CIRC* already had developed two categories of negation (attributive and predicative negation).

An other solution to the problem created by the pressure exerted on *"-(a)m* was to give up nasality; in other words: a development towards *"-e*. This is what happened. This development is exclusively WEST. Early *EAST* resorted to quite another solution (see section 7).

From *"-(a)m* to *"-(a)b* takes one, and from *"-(a)b* to *"ep* takes two steps (*"-(a)b* → *"-(a)p* → *"ep*). The transition of *"-(a)b* to *"-(a)p* is in itself unusual in the recent history of Circassian, but there is an explanation for this exception:

Word-final voiced obstruents generally have a voiced onset and a voiceless release. Voiced plosives in this position can have
The next step, that from *-(a)b to -(a)b implies a development from a situation where the *o of the negative suffix was preceded by a vowel which could be predicted from the make-up of the preceding morpheme, into a situation where it is virtually always preceded by the mid vowel (i.e. by e).

Parallels for this development can be found, for the whole of WEST, in the MOD(al) ending -ew (-w or -we in EAST) and, for two WEST dialects (Bzhedug and Shapsug) in the ABS(olutive) ending -e, which is *-
elsewhere. On the other hand, EAST and WEST usually have a ə before the y of the coordinating ending, also when the basic form of the preceding morpheme contains the mid vowel. Cf. (Shapsug):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shapsug</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{əzə}-\text{m}$ (woman-REL) 'the woman, REL' +$\text{əzə}-\text{m}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wane}-\text{m}$ (house-REL) 'the house, REL' +$\text{wane}-\text{m}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{əzə}-\text{ew}$ (woman-MOD) 'as a woman' +$\text{əzə}-\text{ew}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wane}-\text{ew}$ (house-MOD) 'as a house' +$\text{wane}-\text{ew}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{əzə}-\text{ep}$ (3/5B-woman-N/2) 'it is not a woman' +$\text{əzə}-\text{ep}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wane}-\text{ep}$ (3/5B-house-N/2) 'it is not a house' +$\text{wane}-\text{ep}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{əzə}-\text{er}$ (woman-ABS) 'the woman, ABS' +$\text{əzə}-\text{er}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wane}-\text{er}$ (house-ABS) 'the house, ABS' +$\text{wane}-\text{er}$.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A representation of the WEST developments presented above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/2</th>
<th>N/2-CoPr</th>
<th>N/2 + APP (NeINT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late *CIRC</td>
<td>*-(ə)m</td>
<td>*-(ə)m/ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X</td>
<td>*-(ə)m/b</td>
<td>*-(ə)m/ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+1</td>
<td>*-(ə)m/b</td>
<td>*-(ə)m/ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+2</td>
<td>*-(ə)b</td>
<td>*-(ə)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+3</td>
<td>*-(ə)b/p</td>
<td>*-(ə)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+4</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+5</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+6</td>
<td>*-(ə)p/-ep</td>
<td>*-(ə)p/-ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*WEST-X+7</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
<td>*-(ə)p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dধশ</td>
<td>-ep</td>
<td>-ep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### EAST: The Origin of -ə CONF

In three places the negative EAST suffix -ɡam is presented as going back to a combination of the CONF suffix -ɡe and the original negative suffix (Dumézil 1932:187; GKELJ 1957:100; Kumaxov 1971:247). This hypothesis is not supported by arguments; however, the formal nor the semantic side of the theory is self-evident.

Turčaninov-Cagov (1940:92) expresses a dissenting opinion:

"The negation -ɡam is formed on the basis of the negation ma and the root of the verb ypəen 'to have'."

T-C offer arguments which cannot be regarded as supporting this view:

"This is clear from the parallel use of the negation itself, -ɡam, as -ɡam, -ɡam, e.g., $\text{əzə}^\text{e}^\text{d}^\text{e}^\text{m}$, dialectally $\text{əzə}^\text{e}^\text{d}^\text{e}^\text{m}$ 'is not', and from the parallel use of such interrogative forms as $\text{əzə}^\text{e}^\text{d}^\text{e}^\text{m}$, dialectally $\text{əzə}^\text{e}^\text{d}^\text{e}^\text{m}$ 'is it
Subsequent authors have not commented on Turčaninov-Cagov's analysis, but Jakovlev (1948:343) proposes - without any comment - that "historically" -qem/-qam means 'is not' (ne est'), and -qe 'there is' (est'). As the etimologitcheskij slovar by Šagirov (1977) is only concerned with lexemes, no statements can be found about the origin of -qem, or - for that matter - about the origin of WEST -qe.

There are formally weak spots in these hypotheses: they do not account for the very unusual alternation a/? or the less unusual alternation a/e (cf. -qam/-qem/-qem/-qem). Turčaninov-Cagov's analysis is also invalidated by the fact that the root of the verb ya?en 'to have' is always bound, in both EAST and WEST: -qe is never used without a preverb (see section 7).

The advocates of the prevailing theory confer upon -qe the term "affirmative" (Dumezil 1932:187), "affirmative-interrogative" (GK976 1957:100) and "interrogative" (Kumaxov 1971:247). I assign the label CONF(irmative) to it. It is typical of forms containing -qe that they ask for or assume confirmation by the listener. The confirmation is not related to the speaker. Since the work by Jakovlev it has been obvious that -qe in itself does not have interrogative meaning, but that forms with -qe may or may not be realised with question-intonation; cf. (Jakovlev 1948:11):

ā-ä-āqe?: (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF-CONF) 'you have done it, haven't you?' (sdela ved' ty).  
ā-ā-āqe?: (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF-CONF) 'you have done it, haven't you?' (ty ved' sdela??).

I will first focus on -qe before discussing the origin of -qem.

Dumezil (1932:89-90) comments on the origin of -qe; he relates the 'affirmative particle' -qe to final qa in Oubykh qa:qa 'alone, lonely' (Vogt 1965:2281; Dumezil 1965:252), which, incidentally, Šagirov (1977:610) regards as a loan from Circassian, cf. *CIRC *qOe (Kuipers 1975:23). Furthermore, Dumezil mentions the possibility that -qe has a common origin with the *CIRC prefix *q:e- 'hither', whereas Šagirov (1977:703) relates *q:e to the Abkhaz pre-verba ā (Dumezil 1967:22) 'vers ici'.

However, rather than speculate about the relations of -qe CONF with elements in the other WC languages, we had better first turn to the question of the development of -qe in Circassian. There is no exact semantic plus formal counterpart in WEST for -qe; so I shall start with EAST.

An inquiry along these lines points to the development of -qe CONF in early EAST from an imperative form derived from a transitive verb 'to tell, say'. Before I give my arguments for this claim, I will make a digression on the development of the *CIRC uvulars and another digression on the development of the *CIRC transitive verb *qOe 'to say'.

Digression on the Development of the *CIRC Uvulars

At an early stage *CIRC must have had the following system of uvulars:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{*q}^R & \text{*q} & \text{*q} & \text{*q} \\
\text{*q}^R & \text{*q} & \text{*q} & \text{*q} \\
\text{[q}^R, \text{q}^R: \text{aspirated/lenis}; \text{q}, \text{q}: \text{unaspirated/fortis}] \\
\end{array}
\]

The reflexes of the glottalic uvulars are ? and ? in the whole of EAST and in virtually the whole of WEST; the peripheral Hakuchi subdialect of the (WEST) Shapsug dialect has generally uvular and
occasionally velar reflexes. The development from uvulars to laryngeals dates back to a time before the division into EAST and WEST. The deviant facts in HKSHP (Hakuchi Shapsug) may be explained by Obykh influence. In the whole of EAST we find glottalic uvulars as reflexes of the fortes, and voiceless uvulars as reflexes of the lenes. In WEST various sets of reflexes of the lenes and fortes are found. Cf. (GnSHP is an Anatolian variety of Hakuchi).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*CIRC</th>
<th>EAST</th>
<th>WEST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>east WEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TEM/ABD</td>
<td>BZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qʰ</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qʰo</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qʰ</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paris (1972) discusses in great detail the mechanism of the developments for a number of dialects.

Digression on the Development of *CIRC *qʰe 'to say'

The transitive verb 'to say' was *qʰe in Common Circassian (Kuiipers 1975:106). In WEST we find the usual reflexes: *qʰe and - in Hakuchi - ḏe/ke. In EAST the reflex of *qʰe is -e or (in one East KAB subdialect only) -e. The main correspondence (WEST/EAST) *qʰe/-e is irregular, and this is the only instance known to me. In EAST the root -e is always used in combination with the preverb ḏe-* (KAB/BSN), the origin of which - pace Šagirov (1977:589) - remains uncertain.

Last KAB -e is mentioned by Kuaševa (1969:129) as occurring in, e.g., ḏa-*e: (3/SB-є ø-2/AG-to say) 'say it'.

Kuaševa proposes that -e derives from early *EAST *e-e, referring to such related roots as *e-te 'to announce, relate', *e 'orifice', *e 'to resound, be heard'.

Šagirov also traces -e back to *e-e (1977:589,1555). In a note to his entry 1555 Šagirov doubts the correctness of Kuaševa's observation concerning *e-e (rather than *e-e). He claims to have heard a Great kabardian say *e-e 'say it'; and interprets the w of this form as a 2/AG prefix, suggesting that the prefix occurs in this positive imperative form on the analogy of negative imperative forms such as:24)

e-ma-*e : (3/SB-є ø-2/AG-N/1-to say) 'do not say it'.

Šagirov takes Kuaševa to have incorrectly rendered *e-e as ḏe. Whether Šagirov is right in supposing that Kuaševa has not written down what she has heard cannot be verified. It is in any case clear that there is a better explanation for Šagirov's form e-e.

A number of authors, among them Kuaševa and Šagirov, have stated that -e results from a delabialisation (*e-e → -e). As far as I know, none of them accounts for this delabialisation, though an explanation is at hand.

*Circassian had - as among others Kuipers (1975) points - the clusters *qʰo and *qʰ. The reflexes of these clusters are ḏ and ḏ in EAST, and ḏ and ḏ in almost the whole of WEST (in Hakuchi we find ḏ dad, ḏ ḏ, elsewhere in Shapsug...
The transitive root 'to say', then, is and was frequently used in combination with an immediately preceding uni-consonantal 1, 1p, 2 or 2p AG prefix; cf. (*EAST) *ṭ-ṣe-e, *ṭ-ṣe-e, *ṭ-ṣe-e, and *ṭ-ṣe-e. I suggest that these bi-morphemic clusters were subject to the same change as *ṭ-ṣe (from *ṭ-ṣa) and *ṭ-ṣe (from *ṭ-ṣa): early *EAST *ṭ-ṣe/*ṭ-ṣe — *ṭ-ṣ/*ṭ-ṣ, early *EAST *ṭ-ṣe/*ṭ-ṣe — *ṭ-ṣ/*ṭ-ṣ plus preceding wa or following aw. After this development a large number of the instances of this root had the form *ṭ-ṣe, which was eventually generalised.

Kuaševa's form can be explained in two ways: (a) the generalisation did not cover all of the EAST area, (b) under the influence of related morphemes (such as ṭe-te, ṭe, see above) *ṭ-ṣ was restored to ṭ-ṣ. Šagirovs form ṭaw-e can be accounted for as follows: the labialisation of ṭa did not disappear, but left its trace in the form of preposed wa. The form can then be analysed thus:

Ya-wa-ṣe (3/SA-Ya-2/AG—to say) 'say it!' 26)

There are several particles which are petrified forms of the transitive verb 'to say'. In EAST these are more numerous than in WEST. 27) I suggest that the CONF suffix -e goes back to such a particle and ultimately to an imperative form derived from the verb 'to say' (or, possibly, to two different imperative forms). From a semantic point of view I consider it plausible that a free form meaning '(you) say it!' developed - via a particle 'say!' - into a CONF suffix asking for or supposing confirmation by the listener. Therefore it is worthwhile investigating whether the formal problem posed by the alternation ṭ-ṣe/ ṭ-ṣe can be accounted for within the frame of this hypothesis.

Among the other particles ultimately deriving from the verb 'to say' I will introduce in the first place ḏe-re 'actually?'. Constructions with ḏe-re are interrogative and convey an element of doubt (Jakovlev 1948:11: somnītel'no-voprositel'noe naklonenie). Constructions with ḏe-re are main predicates. An example (Kardanov 1957:531-LiKAB):

a-r ṭe-de-e-yu-na-w ḏe-re ? (that-ABS) (tomorrow) (3/SA-Hh-to go-RE-Fu/2-MOD—actually?) 'will he really/actually come back tomorrow?' (<<'his future coming back tomorrow, do you say so?'). 26)

We must assume that both the particle from which -e CONF can be derived and ḏe-re 'actually?' must have developed at a stage of *EAST after the change from ṭ-ṣe 'to say' to ṭ-ṣe, but before the preverb ṭ-ṣa [present-day ṭ-ṣa- (KAB/BSN)] became obligatory.

There are also particle-like forms that developed after ṭ-ṣa had become obligatory, for instance ṭay and ṭeray. These forms are petrified contractions of forms derived from 'to say'; they are mostly used to mark the end of direct speech. ṭay and ṭeray are contractions of forms like:

Ya-y-ṭe-r ay (3/SA-Ya-3/AG—to say-CoPr) 'he said so("it") and'.

Whereas Turčaninov-Cagov (1940:159) and Jakovlev (1948:52) just mention these two forms, Alparslan-Dumėzil go into detail. 29) I quote from Alparslan-Dumėzil (1964:335):
"En outre, il y a des formes contractées : 3ayray, 3a ray pour 3a y ?e ray, 3a ?a ray "lui, eux l'ayant dit", et même 3o (w:re) pour 3a y ?e ew (re) "lui le disant" (étendu à toutes les personnes, valant géorg. d. turc dive).

and from Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:381):

*plusieurs formes très contractées du verbe 3a ?a "dire" ont des emplois remarquables : 1° 3 : o (gérondif présent) .. conclut les citations de style direct (comme oubykh ọ ẹn, abkhaz hpa). 30) 2° 3 ? e (impératif ?) s'emploie dans de telles interrogations quand, en outre, on ne souhaite pas la chose qu'on met en doute:

wa-tx'ale-tem 3 ? e ? "j'espère que ce n'est pas toi qui l'a(vai)s écrit ?". [The example analysed: wa-tx'ale-tem 3 ? e (2/SG to write-PF-INPF-COND "say" - PF+INPF: PLUFF).] 3 ? e must be a contraction of a form 3a ?e (3/SG-3a-2/AG-to say) 'say it'.

I have now arrived at the formal problem, i.e. the alternation q/?, in the CONF suffix. The form -?e is what one expects (*qae -> *?e -> ?e -> -?e). The shift from uvular to laryngeal articulation took place well before the division into *EAST and *WEST and we can safely assume that it was without exception in the whole of *CIRC.

Rogava, who gives no etymology for *-?e, assumes a secondary transition in *EAST from *q to *?, which would have involved the *? of *qam and *-?e only; cf. (Rogava 1974:74):

"Instances are also known, in the Kabardian language, of a transition of a secondary q into a laryngeal abruptive ? in a certain verbal form, Kab. sak?erqam // sak?erqam // *sak?erqam 'i am not going'."

The alternation q/? in the negative and the confirmative ending is an incidental one, for which an ad hoc explanation can be found.

I assume that -?e CONF does not - or at least not exclusively - go back to a form *?e : 'say it!', but rather to a form *qae : (3/SG-Hh-2/AG-to say) 'come on, say it!'.

The prefix (LiAD/LiKAB) qe/-q?e- 'hither' (Hh) derives from *CIRC qae-; it is extremely frequent. Most of its uses can be classed under the common denominator of "orientation towards the speaker". Cf. (Alparslan-Dumézil 1964:335-BSN):

qa-z-3a-y ?a-naw (3/SG-Hh-1/P0-3a-3/AG-to say-Fu/1) 'he will say it to me'.

(na-)b-3a-z-ew ?a (3/SG-thither-2/P0-3a-1/AG-Dy/1-to say) 'I am saying it to you'.

Compare also (Shapsug):

qa-s-y? ?a-x-ep (3/SG-Hh-1/0-3/AG-to say-PF-N/2) 'he did not say it to me'.

ve-3 ? ?a-x-ep (3/SG-3/AG-to say-PF-N/2) 'I did not say it to him'.

?o : (3/SG-2/AG-to say) 'say it!'.

qa-?o (e) : (3/SG-Hh-2/AG-to say) '(come on,) say it'/ 'say it to me/us!' .

I assume that at first, in early *EAST, the free imperative form *qa-?e and a particle-like homophone existed side by side. The latter became really petrified when *3a became obligatory before *-?e 'to say'. When the particle *qa-?e was no longer matched by a formally identical free predicate (but instead by *qa-3a-?e), the way was open to a separate development, and the particle contra-
tated to "*da/*de (in the whole of EAST there is no opposition e vs. a in contact with plain back obstruents). The particle lost the sequence *?e, the reflex of the root 'to say', as must have been the case with (KAB) ęay and ęeay, and with (BSN) ęe, from *3-a-?e: 'say it!' (cf. the latter quotation from Alparslan-Dumézil above).

The petrification of *de and *he dates back to an earlier stage of *CIRC than that of the particle-like forms with initial *a-/3-?a. The parallel between *de (from *da-*?e) and ęe (from *3-a-?e) is striking.

Compare also LiAD qa (TSAJ 1960:371) 'give:' 'defective verb', which can be assumed to go back to *WEST *qa-a-h (3/SB-Hn-2/Aq-to bring) 'bring it hither!'.

There are, at first sight, several explanations one can think of in order to account for the alternation *?a/*?a in the CONF suffix. [(a) *da-*?e contracted on the one hand to *-de, on the other hand to *-?a; (b) -de goes back to a form *qa-*?e: 'say it (hither)'; and -?e to a form *?a-*?e: 'say it!'; (c) the contraction of *qa-*?e to *-de was followed by was followed by a development *-de → *-?e in part of the EAST area under the influence of the initial ? of *?e/N/2.]

I will return to the problem of the alternation *?a/*?a in the next section, together with that of the alternation *?a/*?a in the N/2 suffix.

7.7 EAST: The Development of the Negative Ending

I do not accept the prevailing theory that *da/*de historically represents a combination of the confirmative ending and the negative suffix. The alleged development is neither semantically nor formally plausible (see the beginning of section 6). The same objections can be made to Turčaninov-Cagov's hypothesis. However, my hypothesis shares an important feature with Turčaninov-Cagov's.

Like early *WEST, early *EAST can be supposed to have had a prefixal marker [*m(a)-] of attributive negation and a suffixal marker [*-a] of predicative negation. As the frequent relative ending had become homophonous with the negative suffix, it had become necessary to avoid ambiguity (see section 4, in fine).

The first *EAST development along this line was that a predicative form which was semantically very close to the negative suffix ("it is not (there)/it is not the case") began to be used in a petrified form side by side with the negative suffix.

The predicative form in question was *sa-*?e-m (or, at that stage, possibly still *sa-*?e-m) (3/SB-there-to be-N/2). This form is derived from a bound verb *-?e 'to be, exist' (cf. Kulppers 1975:95), which occurred (and still occurs in both EAST and WEST) in combination either with the prefix "there" (*S-a-) or with the preverb "possession" [*ya-; cf. the quote from Turčaninov-Cagov in section 6).

Then, we may have had, side by side, forms like: *sa-*k?-e-na-m (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I will not go', and: *sa-*k?-e-n(a)-s?em (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'id.'.

When the clitic had superseded the old negative suffix and changed sufficiently from the original predicative form, it was re-
interpreted as being made up of two constituents, an initial assertive and a following negative, which then began to be used independently (*[sa-*e]*-m → *[sa]-?em). Cf.

*sa-~e-n(a)-?am / *sa-~e-n(a)-?em 'I will not go'.

*sa-~e-n / *sa-~e-n(a)-~s 'I will go'.

[For a few present-day forms containing the assertive (ASS) ending, see chapter 6, example (108, ff).]

The developments up to this point must have been early, as they took place in all of EAST. From here on, developments start to diverge.

Early *EAST developed a set of factuality markers. The markers in question originate from petrified predicative forms, and are mutually exclusive and have no WEST counterparts. Nowadays, in most of Kabardian, main predicates are obligatorily marked for factuality: -~ assertive (ASS), -?em predicative negative (N/2), -?e confirmative (CONF), -?em dubito-interrogative and -?em optative are factuality markers.

Nowadays we find -?e and -?e CONF, and -?am, -?am, -?em and -?em N/2 (cf. section 3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Besney</th>
<th>-?e</th>
<th>-?am</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West KAB</td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central KAB</td>
<td>-?e/-?e</td>
<td>-?am/-?em (-?am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East KAB</td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnKAB</td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Old&quot; KAB</td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?em/ -?am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LiKAB</td>
<td>-?e</td>
<td>-?am/ -?em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conflation seems to have taken place here.

The first conflation may have taken place when only part of the future Kabardian population had left the original EAST habitat in order to settle in more south-eastern regions (*-?em → *-?em, cf. *-?e). Nowadays we find -?em N/2 and -?e CONF in BSN (the ancestors of the Besney had remained in the old habitat - cf. Introduction, section 3), in the West KAB subdialects and, especially in the language of the older generation, in central KAB. Presumably *e became *a when the clitic turned into a suffix.

There are forms of East KAB where the initial consonants of *-?am and *-?e have remained unaltered (Kuaseva 1954); in other forms of East KAB (as well as in Central KAB) we find -?em N/2 and -?e CONF. Here we observe an instance of conflation the other way round.

One can think of several scenarios to account for the present-day distribution of the different forms of the two endings under discussion. However, due to the confusion caused by warfare, migrations and plagues, it is hardly possible to trace the exact lines of the developments involved. More details are required before one can weigh up the pros and cons of the various explanations.
NOTES

1. For the make-up of the Circassian word, see chapter 2, section 1. For S-forms, see § 6.2.3.b. "WC refers to Common West Caucasian, a hypothetical language from which the WC languages are assumed to descend; in the same way, "CIRC stands for Common Circassian, and "EAST and "WEST for Common East and Common West Circassian respectively.

2. Endings are a subclass of the suffixes; occasionally endings and stem-suffixes are jointly referred to as "suffixes". For endings see chapter 5, section 15.

3. For the presentation of Circassian (and other West Caucasian) material, see "Conventions" (p. 27ff.). This chapter quotes material from various sources. For the sake of clearness - and for typological reasons - I have rendered practically all material in my own notation (see chapter 1). For the soundsystems of Circassian dialects, and also for the soundsystems of forms of other WC languages, the reader is referred to "Introduction", section 5.


5. The analysis of the Oubyk and Abkhaz examples does not claim to be definitive. The use of the gloss "dyn" is tentative. For Abkhaz -3a, cf. Dumézil (1967:24): "La négation peut être renforcée par un élément 3a placé juste après la racine. Ce dernier élément est si usuel qu'il perd pratiquement sa valeur renforçante (il est presque de rigueur au prétérít négatif sa.m.ca.3â.yî "je ne suis pas allé", plutôt que sa.m.ca.yî)." In Dumézil 1932 other uses of -3a "renforçant" are mentioned (p.94: in adverbs, p.217: in positive predicates).

6. "Suffiksal'nýj sposob obrazovaniya otricaniya sčitaetsja vtoričnym": 'the suffixal formation of negatives is considered secondary'. This statement is not worked out. One could refer to Dumézil (1932:190), where a negative form i-s-am-bl-ac'-az-t 'I had not burnt it' (p.189) is commented upon as follows: "-(a)c" doit être une variante d'une particule renforçante... qui, jointe à l'negation signifie "pas-du-tout, nullement ..", and (in a note) thus: "A moins qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'un indice -c- proprement négatif que l'abx. aurait été seul des langues N.-O. à conserver? En tchetchène, la négation s'exprime par ma à l'impératif et à l'optatif, par -c- aux autres temps."

7. For the dialect division of EAST an WEST, see "Introduction", section 3.

8. For the CONF(irmative) suffix see section 5. A negation marker -ã/-? occurs in Dumézil (1975:200) and in Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:358). A-D represent word-final (BSN)-â/(KAB)-?a as -ã/-?a (NeINT). In 1975 Dumézil repeats this presentation: "(bes). ?am + a > ?a", (though then speaking of BSN -?a and KAB -ã-a). I think we are dealing here with single morphemes: BSN -ãa (or -?a), possibly in free alternation with -â (or -?e), KAB -?a (or -?a), etc.; cf. chapter 6, section 4.f.

9. The data are contradictory. For instance, the negative suffix in Baksan KAB is said to be -?am in the grammatical part (p.250) of
Mamrešev 1969; however, in Mamrešev’s Baksan texts we also find -šem (p.271,279, etc.) and -šem (p.278,279, etc.). Caution is required when using text material from OKD (and from many other sources). For instance, both Balkarov 1959 and 1969 present BSN texts, largely the same. The texts show hundreds of minor differences, the bulk of which must be due to printing errors. Cf., for instance:

(1959:142) day dey tlašk'e ḍezetęqem; (1969:116) day dey tlašk'e ḍezetęqem 'with us they did not cure with (the help of) book(s)' [d-av-de(z) tlaš-l-k'e ḍezetqem (lp/PS-POS-with) (book-instrumental) (3/5B-to-cure-IMPf-N/2)].

10. In “LiKAB” texts one occasionally comes across -šem N/2. The data one finds in the various grammars of LiKAB are often contradictory. The differences we find can often be explained by assuming “influence” from different subdialects. None of the grammars is explicit about the exact origin of the material they present in the form of paradigms.

11. Interestingly, the forms usually given as LiKAB, i.e. -šem and -še, are exceptional in Baksan KAB, which still forms the basis for LiKAB.

12. Cf. Jespersen (1922:136): “Most children learn to say ‘no’ before they can say ‘yes’ - simply because negation is a stronger expression of feeling than affirmation. Many little children use nenene (short ə) as a natural expression of fretfulness and discomfort. It is perhaps so natural that it need not be learnt: there is good reason for the fact that in so many languages words of negation begin with n (or m). Sometimes the n is heard without a vow-
Some quotations: (Kumaxov 1971:213) "Fu/1 [my Fu/2, RS] can be used with the meaning of an infinitive.". Dumézil (1975:196): "L’infini-fif tcherkessë en n a même caractéristique que le futur immédiat."

Rogava-Keraševa (1966:198): "Fu/2 refers, just like Fu/1, to an action which is to take place in the future. Fu/1 and Fu/2 are similar in meaning." Jakovlev (1948:303): "not to be mixed up with the suffix of the deverbal noun in the sense of the indefinite mood."

17. Cf. Šagirot (1977:908) (LiAD/LiKAB) baxsamen/muslaman 'Muslim' (in WEST also buslaman, muslaman, in EAST also buslaman; cf. Šagirot (1977:875) baksame/naksame "buza", a loan with a Turkic m-initial origin).

The best hypothesis to account for the origin of the EAST REL ending as occurring with demonstrative pronouns, viz. -bo (with the bulk of the NPs the REL ending is -m), seems to be one which involves dissimilation. Original *mo-m (this-REL) and *m.ew-m (that-REL) dissimilated into "mo-b", "m.ew-b", after which final stress developed on the analogy of other pronouns, such as "se(re), "we(re) '1', 'you', etc., and ye.re '3 self' (cf. Paris 1974b:181, n.1). The third demonstrative, "A, followed: "a-m (that-REL) gave a-ba. Cf. Kumaxov (1971:158) "Proisxostzenie že formantov -S(y), -ba, -e[eg] nastol'ko zatemneno, čto na dannom etape izučennosti adygskix jazykov nevozmožno dostoverno ob"jasnit' ix etimologiju, xotja sučestvuje če ne malo gipotez i predpolaženij."
Kumaxov mistakenly claims (1981: passim) that the opposition aspirated/unaspirated occurring in present-day BZH and SHP voiceless obstruents is an innovation within WEST. Kumaxov assumes *CIRC to have had only two uvular plosives, viz. *g (and *g'), and *q (and
"q"); *g would have given *g everywhere (except in HKSHP), whereas
"g would sometimes have an aspirated ("h) and sometimes an unaspirated (g) reflex in part of present-day WEST, and sometimes g, sometimes q in EAST (Kumaxov does not explain why the distribution of BZH/SHP *g and EAST *g, and that of BZH/SHP g; and EAST *g are virtually the same).

22. I will revert to this matter in "On Hakuchi Circassian" (ms.).

23. For columns 1, 2, 4 see Kuipers (1963:72, 1975:4, passim); for 2, 3, 4, 7 see Jakovlev (1930:IX), for 5 see Smeets (1977), for 6 Smeets (1983); for the complete diagram see Paris (1972); cf. also Rogava (1974:73).

24. Imperative forms convey an instruction for a 2 or 2p; in the case of a 2p we always find the personal prefixes also found in non-instructive forms. The same holds true for negative imperatives instructing a 2; in the corresponding positive forms, however, one normally finds a zero prefix instead of the expected overt one. This is the general situation in EAST and in WEST. In WEST there are certain exceptions; in EAST exceptions are rare. Therefore, Sagirov's supposition is improbable (cf. also Kumaxov 1971:240).

25. Cf., for instance, (LiAD/LiKAB) ¿ê?ê/ë'ha \tob raise (a child)', õê/ë'be \tcover, shell'; ëa/ë'f ew 'two'; ëap/ë'wa/ëap 'to release, set free' - cf. Kuipers (1975:13-14).

26. This analysis implies that wa- is a verbal prefix. There is a large group of verbs with initial wa- and final -a. In most cases wa- a can be regarded as a verbaliser. There are discrepancies between the dialects; cf. BZH g?ê'ê'ê' a, DUSHP wa, pê'ê'ê' 'to distribute' (BZH from Kuipers [1975:84]). The classic study of this subject is Dumézil-Namitok (1939). Some examples (Shapsug): 

\[\text{ê}g\text{ê}e \text{black}, \text{wa, }\text{ê}g\text{ê}a \text{to blacken} \text{(tr.)}; \text{darmaq, }\text{harrow}, \text{wa, }\text{darmaq, }\text{to } \text{harrow} \text{(tr.)}; \text{cf. tu, }\text{tirmand/\text{dirmand; }} \text{wa, }\text{to kill} \text{(tr.)}, \text{cf. (?) ke 'tail, end'.}

27. For WEST we find the particle (Shapsug) êêaêa/êa 'really?/I wonder', TEM êêaêa (Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:358)), which probably goes back to *êêaêêa (3/SB-2p/AG-Dy/l-to say-INT) 'do you (p) say it/so?'. The use of certain co-predicative forms derived from "to say" is also particle-like. Cf. (Shapsug) "ê'êêya-êa-êy (3/SB-good) (3/SB-3/AG-to say-and) (3/SB-3/AG-to say-PF) "it's good", he said' ("it is good" we, wêwêê wêêê he said it).  

A number of EAST particles are given in the text. In WEST and EAST petrified forms of the verb "to say" also occur in complex expressions, e.g. ëêêehê-êe (LiAD, RAS:1960:potomu cê).  

\[\text{êêt, we, }\text{êêt, we }\text{(Turcaninov-Cagov 1940:156, LiKAB) 'as, because of' }\text{LiAD: (3/SB.what.INT-3/SB.2/AG.to say.COND) }\text{"if you say "what is it?"}, \text{LiKAB: (3/SB.what.MOD-3/SB.2/AG.to say.COND) }\text{"if you say "it being what?"'}

Cf. also the confirmative use of Dutch "zeg": "say (it):" in, for instance "mooi, zeg:" 'beautiful, isn't it?', cf. also French "dis-donc", and English "I say", in, for instance, "I say, do you know..".

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28. 'Here goes back to *p-?e-re? (I/8-2/AG-to say-INT) 'do you say so/it?'. Jakovlev's remark (1948:304) that it derives from *zapere "govoris' does not hold as this petrification started to develop before the time when the preverb *z- became obligatory before *?e.

29. The particles Zay and Zeyray are extremely frequent, in KAB and in BSN, and in the written language; cf. the text Nartaz wered (Narty 1974:128-9), where every line ends in Zay.

30. The text continues thus (Alparslan-Dumžil 1963:381): "On le rencontre en outre dans des interrogations de la nuance wa.t.a.t 3'o ? "tu l'(vais vraiment écrire? (J'en doute)'; ye.g.ë.na:w.ya 3'o "tu prétends que tu étudieras? (C'est bien tard)".

31. (Rogava 1974:74:) "Izvestny slučai v kabardinskem jazyke perrexoda i vtoričnogo ť.v laringal'nyj abruptiv? v opredelennoj forme glagola, Kab. sakôr'äm // ← sakôr'äm ← "sakôr'äm "ja ne idu". Kumaxov (1981:148) is of the same opinion as Rogava.

PART IV

CHAPTER 8

MORPHOLOGIE TCHERKESSE: LA CATÉGORIE DE POSSESSION

première partie

DESCRIPTION DE LA CATÉGORIE EN CHAPSOUG DE DÜZCE

8.1. INTRODUCTION

8.1.1 Avant-propos

L'article présente une description synchronique de la catégorie de possession dans le Chapsoug de Düzce (ChDz). Le point de départ de l'auteur est formel: est présenté le fonctionnement des préfixes qui peuvent se combiner avec des noms dans des formes qui ne comportent pas un préfixe-sujet. Ces préfixes (possessifs), qui peuvent aussi se présenter dans des formes prédicatives et dans d'autres formes à préfixe-sujet, expriment des relations d'appartenance. Il y aura question de possession neutre, organique, réciproque, partagée et, finalement, relative. Le lecteur trouvera bien des exemples. Ils ne sont pas inutiles vu le caractère peu étudié des formations et tenu compte du fait qu'on chercherait en vain une présentation systématique du matériau dans quelque grammaire. Le matériel analysé a été collecté par l'auteur en Turquie.

Avant d'aborder la description envisagée je donnerai quelques observations générales sur le tcherkesse pour que le non-tcherkessant puisse suivre également l'exposé (Introduction). Le reste de l'article se subdivise en trois sections: la première - la plus lon-
gue - présente la forme et l'emploi des moyens formels qui expriment la "possession" dans les syntagmes nominaux qui ne contiennent pas de préfixe-sujet. Dans la deuxième section il sera question du fonctionnement des mêmes moyens formels dans les formes comportant un préfixe-sujet ("formes-S"). Dans cette même section je parlerai de la possession relative. La troisième section, finalement, est consacrée aux deux verbes possessifs du ChDz.

8.1.2 Sur la phrase minimale

Une phrase peut se composer d'un seul mot, d'un prédicat. Les prédicats peuvent être formés de verbes aussi bien que de noms. Tout prédicat comporte, en position initiale, un préfixe indiquant l'actant-sujet. Le sujet tcherkesse est l'équivalent du sujet de verbes intransitifs, et de l'objet direct de verbes transitifs, de langues comme, par exemple, le latin. Une forme comportant un préfixe-sujet peut, en principe, héberger plusieurs préfixes personnels. La phrase minimale se caractérise entre autres par le fait qu'elle ne saurait comporter plus d'une forme unique d'un préfixe-sujet ("forme-S").

Les autres constituants de la phrase minimale peuvent être considérés comme autant de (syntagmes) subordonnés du prédicat qui, dans les phrases ayant un ordre de constituants neutre, occupe la position finale.3) Les subordonnés ont, en principe, une désinence subordonnante. Les subordonnés se divisent en deux groupes selon qu'ils co-réfèrent avec un préfixe personnel, ou non. Dans cet exposé il sera question presque exclusivement de subordonnés co-référents. Les subordonnés qui co-réfèrent avec un préfixe-sujet ont la désinence ABS(olute); les subordonnés qui co-réfèrent avec des préfixes personnels autres ont, en principe, la désinence REL(ative).

Les subordonnés non-co-référents de la phrase minimale ont, le plus souvent, la désinence INS(trumentale) ou celle MOD(ale).4)

Les subordonnés, ainsi que les prédicats, peuvent être composés d'un ou de plus d'un mot. Pour plus de clarté j'éviterai - si possible - de présenter dans mes exemples des syntagmes comportant plus d'un mot.

Divers types de formes qui comportent de même un préfixe-sujet peuvent être tirés de prédicats, ainsi que les prédicats coordonnés et subordonnés, et quatre types de nominalisation. Dans l'exposé qui suit je parlerai incidemment des nominalisations, notamment des participes.

8.1.3 Sur la structure des mots

Un mot peut se composer d'un seul morphème, le radical; le plus souvent, cependant, il s'agit de formations plus complexes. Un mot comporte un "thème", suivi ou non d'une ou de plus d'une désinence. Ce thème se compose d'une partie centrale, la base, qui peut être précédée d'un ou de plus d'un préfixe-thème, et suivi d'un ou de plus d'un suffixe-thème. La base est faite d'un radical ou d'un composé fixe de plusieurs radicaux et peut comporter des affixes-base. Un mot peut comporter plusieurs bases, aussi bien simples que complexes.

\[ \text{MOT} \rightarrow \text{thème} \rightarrow \text{base(s)} \rightarrow \text{radical(radicaux)} \rightarrow \text{(suffices-thème)} \rightarrow \text{(suffices-base)} \rightarrow \text{(déCISION(s))} \]
Dans les formes-S peuvent se présenter des séquences compliquées de préfixes et/ou de suffixes de thème. Dans cet exposé nous aurons principalement affaire à ces affixes-là. Pour plus de concision je parlerai de préfixes - et de suffixes - tout court alors qu'il s'agira de préfixes et suffixes-thème. Il reste encore à souligner que certains des éléments qui normalement sont des préfixes-thème peuvent aussi se présenter dans la base, mais alors dans des composés fixes.

8.1.4 Sur les préfixes des formes-S


Les positions où se logent les préfixes personnels sont celles indiquées par les numéros 1, 4, 5 et 6. La position 1 héberge le préfixe-SU(jet); la position 4 contient normalement un préfixe du groupe des préverbes ('dans', 'sur', 'pour', '(ensemble) avec'), précédé d'un préfixe personnel qui renvoie à l'objet préverbial (préfixe-OP). La position 5 peut contenir un préfixe renvoyant à l'actant-objet indirect (préfixe-0I); la position 6, finalement, peut loger un préfixe renvoyant à l'agent (préfixe-AG).

Les formes qui contiennent un préfixe-AG sont transitives.

Je fais suivre les formes de base des préfixes personnels des différentes positions. Ce sont là les formes que j'insère ailleurs dans la forme sous-jacente des mots.5) Dans les positions susceptibles de loger des préfixes personnels on peut trouver, à côté des préfixes indiquant la première, deuxième et troisième personne du singulier et du pluriel (symbolisés: 1, 2, 3 et 1p, 2p, 3-P1), un préfixe-PART(icipe), un préfixe-REC(iproque) - excepté dans la position 1 - ou un préfixe-REF(léch) - excepté dans la position 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[pronoms]</th>
<th>pos.1:SU</th>
<th>pos.4:OP</th>
<th>pos.5:OI</th>
<th>pos.6:AG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>sο-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>sο-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εοη</td>
<td>εοη-</td>
<td>εοη-</td>
<td>εοη-</td>
<td>ζοη-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>β-(ré/-yβ-)</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-P1</td>
<td>β-(ré/-yβ-)</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
<td>yβ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>β-(ré/-yβ-)</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Les préfixes-SU et les préfixes-0I 1, 1p, 2 et 2p sont analysables en s.a- (1.SU), etc., et en s.e- (1.0I), etc., respectivement. Je m'abstiendrai le plus possible de donner des règles morpho-phonologiques. Observons toutefois que normalement la morphophonologie des préfixes des formes-S - et à l'intérieur de ceux-ci des préfixes à y initial - est fort compliquée.6)

La plupart des préfixes non-personnels ne pourront pas être évités dans les exemples dont je me servirai dans la suite. Ce
sont: \textit{ze}² 'vers ici', \textit{ze.re}³ 'le fait que, la manière dont', \textit{za}³ 'le temps que, le moment où' (\textit{ze.re}- et \textit{za}- nominalisent), \textit{wer}² OPT(atif), \textit{me}² Dy(namique)/1 (les deux derniers sans la consonne initiale en position médiale), \textit{me}² N(àatif)/1 et \textit{ze}³ CAUS(atif).

8.1.5 Conventions et exemples

À la fin de cet article on trouvera le tableau des abréviations. J'ajoute aux préfixes des formes-S le numéro de la position qu'ils occupent. Les morphèmes sont séparés par un tiret ou (dans les combinaisons fixes) par un point. A la suite des exemples et de leur traduction (souvent très littérale) suivra entre parenthèses un inventaire morphémique (mot à mot). Les morphèmes et les combinaisons fixes de morphèmes y sont représentés soit par des traductions, soit par des abréviations-glose. Les gloses de morphèmes-zéro sont soulignées. Pour illustrer le tout je donnerai quelques formes tirées du verbe intransitif \textit{ze}² [1] 'aller' et du verbe transitif \textit{te} [1-(5)-6] 'donner (â)' — les verbes sont pourvus d'un indexe qui mentionne les positions qui, dans les formes-S dérivées, doivent être occupées de toute façon. Dans les formes dérivées de \textit{ze}² c'est le cas pour la seule position-sujet, dans les formes de \textit{te} pour la position-sujet et la position-agent, tandis que la position-objet indirect peut être occupée.

\textit{ze}²\textit{e}=\textit{st} (1/SU-aller-Fu/1) 'j'(y) irai'.
\textit{se}²\textit{de}=\textit{ke}=\textit{st} (1/SU-2/OP-avec-aller-Fu/1) 'j'(y)irai avec toi'.
\textit{ze}²\textit{g}²\textit{g}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}=\textit{st} (1/SU-2/OP-avec-3/AG-CAUS-aller-Fu/1) 'il me fera/laissera aller avec toi'.
\textit{za}²\textit{g}²\textit{z}²\textit{g}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}=\textit{st}=\textit{er} (2/SU-vers ici-1/OP-avec-PART/AG-CAUS-aller-Fu/1)ABS) 'celui qui te fera venir avec moi'.

\textit{ze}²\textit{g}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}=\textit{st} (3/SU-1/AG-CAUS-aller-Fu/1) 'je l'enverrai'.
\textit{se}²\textit{ta}=\textit{st} (3/SU-1/AG-donner-Fu/1) 'je le donnerai'.
\textit{we}²\textit{za}=\textit{e}²\textit{ta}=\textit{st}=\textit{er} (2/SU-3/OI-1/AG-donner-Fu/1) 'je te donnerai à lui'.
\textit{we}²\textit{za}=\textit{e}²\textit{ma}=\textit{st} (3/SU-3/OI-2/AG-N/1-donner) 'ne le lui donne pas!'.
\textit{ve}²\textit{t} (3/SU-3/OI-2/AG-donner) 'donne-le-lui!'
\textit{ze}=\textit{re}²\textit{e}=\textit{ta}=\textit{er} (3/SU-que-1/AG-donner-PF-ABS) 'le fait que je l'ai donné'.
\textit{se}²\textit{ba}=\textit{er} \textit{se}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}=\textit{st} (je) (garçon-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF) 'j'ai vu le garçon'.
\textit{ba}=\textit{m} \textit{se}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}=\textit{st} (garçon-REL) (je) (1/SU-3/AG-voir-PF) 'le garçon m'a vu'.

Les formes-S peuvent être tirées également de noms. De même que les verbes statiques — et à l'opposé des verbes dynamiques — les noms présentent, au présent, une opposition formes statiques / formes dynamiques.

\textit{we}²\textit{dax} (2/SU-beau) 'tu es belle';
\textit{we}²\textit{de}²\textit{kax} (2/SU-Dy/1-beau) 'tu deviens belle'.
\textit{w}²\textit{ze}=\textit{re}²\textit{e}=\textit{ma}=\textit{dax}=\textit{er} \textit{se}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{e}² (2/SU-que-N/1-beau-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que tu n'es pas belle'.
\textit{the}=\textit{m} \textit{we}²\textit{g}²\textit{e}²\textit{de}²\textit{kax} (Dieu-REL) (tu) (2/SU-3/AG-CAUS-beau-PF) 'Dieu t'a rendue belle'.

Les préfixes-zéro ne seront présentées qu'exceptionnellement dans les exemples, mais il sera toujours tenu compte d'eux dans les inventaires morphémiques.
8.2 L'Expression de possession dans les formes-non-Σ

8.2.1 Introduction

Les moyens formels (tous prefixes) dont je vais décrire ici le fonctionnement indiquent directement ou indirectement - une "appartenance". Ces relations d'appartenance ont toujours un élé-
ment de détermination, mais ne s'identifient pas toujours à la notion de possession dans le sens non-linguistique, loin de là.

L'appartenance est présentée comme existant entre le réfé-
rent de l'élément déterminé (et qui est placé, directement après le préfixe) et le référent du préfixe déterminant possessif qui ren-
voie à des personnes grammaticales. Dans le cas de préfixes de la première et de la deuxième personne nous avons presque toujours affaire à des actants humains et, en conséquence, à des relations d'appartenance souvent possesseuses. Aussi la plupart des distinc-
tions à signaler concernent la possession par une première ou 
deuxième personne: § 2.2: possession neutre, § 2.3: possession organique, § 2.5: possession partagée; la possession réciproque (§ 2.4) ne se présente que dans le cas de possesseurs humains.

Les possesseurs de la 1ère et 2ème personne sont déterminés sans confusion possible. Aussi est-il impossible de les spécifier, s'il est vrai qu'on peut toujours les souligner (emphase) par un pronom personnel qui précède immédiatement le préfixe et qui ne prend pas de désinence subordonnante.

Les préfixes possessifs de la 3ème personne, ainsi que le préfixe possessif relatif, ne déterminent pas sans confusion pos-
sible et peuvent être, eux, spécifiés: les préfixes de la 3ème personne par des subordonnés à la désinence REL, le préfixe PART des formes possessives relatives par un subordonné à la désinence MOD.

cf. s-ya-ćema (1/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'ma vache'.
se s-ya-ćema (je) (1/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'ma vache (à moi)'.
y-ćema (3/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'sa vache'.
ā-ya-m y-ćema (vieillard-REL) () 'la vache du vieill-
ard'.
zā-ya-ćem-er (3/SU-PART/OP-POS-vache-ABS) 'celui à qui ap-
partient la vache'.
zā-ye-ćem-er (vieillard-MOD) () 'le vieillard à qui 
appartient la vache'.

Des relations d'appartenance déterminative peu posses-
seuses se présentent quand le préfixe posses-
vif a un référent non-human.

Les possesseurs de la 3ème personne, ainsi que le préfixe possesseur relatif, ne déterminent pas sans confusion pos-
sible et peuvent être, eux, spécifiés: les préfixes de la 3ème personne par des subordonnés à la désinence REL, le préfixe PART des formes possesseuses relatives par un subordonné à la désinence MOD.

§ 2.2: possession neutre

Dans la très grande majorité des substantifs on ne peut ren-

voyer que d'une seule façon à la personne du possesseur, à savoir par un préfixe personnel qui fait complexe avec le préverbe ya-POS. Les préfixes personnels possesseurs précèdent ya-, tandis que la marque γ-, qui indique pluralité de la troisième personne, se trouve placée après ya-.
cf. s-ya-wane (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ma maison'.
t-ya-wane (1p/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'notre maison'.
w-ya-wane (2/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ta maison'.
§-ya-wane (2p/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'votre maison'.
va-wane (3/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'sa maison'.
y-a-wane (3p/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'leur maison'.
w-ya-wane sê-le-ra-ep (2/PS-POS-maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/A-voir-PF-N/2) 'je n'ai pas vu ta maison'.
se s-ya-wane-3-er ²a-ix (je) (1/PS-POS-maison-PL-ABS) (3/SU-vieux-PL) 'mes maisons (à moi) sont vieilles'.

Les formes de base des morphèmes dont il s'agit ici sont:
s- 1/PS, t- 1p/PS, p- 2/PS, §- 2p/PS, y- 3/PS, ya- POS, a- PL;
pour la morphophonologie de ces préfixes v. § 2.3.

8.2.3 Possession organique

Pour un certain nombre de substantifs on peut renvoyer aussi
d'une autre façon à la personne du possesseur, à savoir au moyen du
seul préfixe personnel de la première et de la deuxième personne
singulier et pluriel. Ces préfixes possessifs "courts" se présen-
tent avec des substantifs qui renvoient aux parties d'entités vi-
vantes, comme famille, corps humain ou animal, et également avec le
'nom'.

Il y a des dialectes tcherkesses occidentaux où il est encore
question d'une véritable opposition entre possession organique et
possession non-organique. Dans le ChDz, et non seulement là, l'op-
position est en voie de neutralisation: la plupart des substantifs
ne peuvent pas se combiner avec les préfixes possessifs dits
"courts", tandis que les substantifs qui peuvent se combiner avec
les préfixes possessifs "courts" sont aussi en mesure de se combi-
ner avec les préfixes possessifs "longs", c'est-à-dire avec les
complexes où entre ya- POS. La dernière observation ne veut pas
dans la même mesure pour tous les substantifs en question. On peut
poser en principe que dans le ChDz nous avons affaire à une opo-
sition possession organique / possession neutre, plutôt qu'à une
opposition possession organique / possession non-organique.

cf. s-ya-wane (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ma maison'.
s-pe / s-ya-pe (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'mon nez'.
s-λa.λa.qe / s-ya-λa.qe (1/PS-jambe-REL) / (1/PS-POS-jambe-
-REL) 'ma (propre) jambe'.
s-ya-λa.qe (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ma patte (p. ex. d'un
animal tué qu'on partage)'.

Dans le matériel dont je dispose se présentent les substan-
tifs suivants en combinaison avec un préfixe personnel court:

pe 'nez'
pe.ca.pe 'pointe du nez'
pe.še 'moustache'
ps.e 'âme'
pq.e 'corps/squelette'
x.še 'sœur'
be.še 'sein'
be.qe 'poumon'
tw.še 'épaule, aile'
tw.xe 'orteil'

Il y a des dialectes tcherkesses occidentaux où il est encore
question d'une véritable opposition entre possession organique et
possession non-organique. Dans le ChDz, et non seulement là, l'op-
position est en voie de neutralisation: la plupart des substantifs
ne peuvent pas se combiner avec les préfixes possessifs dits
"courts", tandis que les substantifs qui peuvent se combiner avec
les préfixes possessifs "courts" sont aussi en mesure de se combi-
Les préfixes courts s'emploient le plus souvent, d'une part avec des substantifs qui indiquent les parents (de premier degré) — pour 'père', 'mère', v. § 2.6 —, d'autre part avec des substantifs qui ont une consonne initiale glottalisée ou sourde.

Avec les substantifs donnés ci-dessous les préfixes possessifs longs ont - semble-t-il - supplanté les préfixes courts : les derniers sont acceptés par mes informateurs, mais ils ne s'en servent pas spontanément.

Je fais suivre les formes de base des préfixes personnels possessifs 1, 2p, 2 et 2p avec leurs allomorphes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-1/PS</th>
<th>-lp/PS</th>
<th>-2/PS</th>
<th>-2p/PS</th>
<th>devant consonnes:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>sourdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>glottalisées</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>sonantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sse-</td>
<td>tse-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>sonores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Les possesseurs de la troisième personne ne peuvent être indiqués qu'au moyen de s-y-a et s-y-a (v. § 2.2). Il y a des dialectes qui ont également des préfixes possessifs courts pour la troisième personne, à savoir s- 3p/ps et g- 3p/ps. Il s'ensuit que dans le ChDz l'emploi des préfixes courts est très restreint quand il s'agit de possesseurs non-humains.
s-pe / s-yë-pe (1/PS-nez-ABS) / (1/PS-POS-ABS) 'mon nez'.
s-yë-pëe (1/PS-POS-porte-ABS) 'ma porte'.
yë-pe (3/PS-POS-nez-ABS) 'son nez'.
va-pëe (3/PS-POS-porte-ABS) 'sa porte'.
s-thë-pe-ë-er / s-yë-thë-pe-ë-er (1/PS-feuille-PL-ABS) /
(1/PS-POS-feuille-PL-ABS) 'mes feuilles (d'un arbre
présenté comme parlant')
s-yë-thë-pe-ë-er (1/PS-POS-feuille-PL-ABS) 'mes feuilles'
(qui se trouvent dans ma cour').

6.2.4 Possession réciproque

La possession réciproque s'exprime au moyen du prédicat ze-.

Ce prédicat s'allie à un nombre restreint de substantifs:

Ze 'frère' nase 'belle-sœur'
Ze.pë 'soeur' melë 'beau-frère'
Nabe 'ami' kë.se 'compagnon de voyage'
Paya 'ennemi' Xë-an.kë 'voisin'.

Remarques: (i) nase ne s'emploie qu'exceptionnellement avec
ze-, on trouve plutôt nas.ekëa; (ii) -ekëa est un élément de dériva-
tion qui indique le compagnon en général; cf. nabe 'l'âge',
xë 'la frontière', xë [1-4:xë] 'se trouver bien ensemble
(avec)'; (iii) dans les formes ABS et INS qui co-réfèrent avec un
prédicat personnel du pluriel on trouve - xë PL, ceci en opposition avec les formes REL et MOD.

Ze-ë-er (frère-PL-ABS) 'les frères (qui ne le sont pas
nécessairement l'un de l'autre, ou les uns des autres)'.
Ze-ë-er (REC/PS-frère-PL-ABS) 'les frères (l'un de
l'autre, ou les uns des autres)'.
Ze-xë-er (REC/PS-frère-PL-ABS) 'les frères plus jeunes (REC/PS-ennemi-PL-MOD)
devenus ennemis'.
coherent tous les prefixes non-figes qui sont susceptibles de se presenter dans les formes-non-S.

A l'opposé de ce qui se fait avec les autres prefixes possessifs, ze- n'admet pas un subordonné spécifiant: possesseurs et "possédés" sont déjà spécifiés par le substantif auquel s'allie le prefixe ze-.

[8.2.6 Possession collective]

Le possesseur n'est pas seulement la personne indiquée par le prefixe personnel, mais encore un collectif auquel elle appartient.

cf. pšaš-em va-wane (jeune fille-REL) (3/PS-POS-maison-ABS) 'la maison de la jeune fille'.

pšaš-em y-a-wane () (3/PS-POS-pl-maison-ABS) 'la maison de la famille/des appartenants de la jeune fille'.

y-a-wane te-lke-st (1/PS-mère-REL) () (1p/SU-aller-Fu/1) 'nous irons à la maison de la famille de ma mère'.

Cet emploi est à comparer avec celui des prefixes possessifs de la 1ère et de la 2ème personne du pluriel dans des phrases du type de:

se t-ya-nase šešěxš-a-ep (je) (1p/PS-POS-belle-soeur-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF-N/2) 'je n'ai pas vu notre belle-soeur', ou 'notre', où "notre" peut être aussi bien exclusif qu'inclusif.

"Père" et "mère":

Les racines "père" et "mère" admettent un certain nombre de variantes. A l'état isolé on trouve te et na respectivement; dans un nombre de bases complexes on trouve te et t-a. 9 Dans les formes possesives on trouve les bases complexes y-a.te et y-a.ne. La séquence y-a- est à considérer comme faisant partie de la base parce que y-a- peut être précédé par une séquence de préfixes de thème ø-y-a-. Plus loin (§ 3.5) on verra que y-a- fonctionne comme partie de la base dans les formes-S aussi bien que dans les formes-non-S.
8.2.7 Possession partagée avec substantifs locaux

Il y a un groupe de quelque vingt substantifs qui ont un sens local, qui ne se présentent pas sans déterminant précédant et qui, comparés à d'autres substantifs, ont des possibilités morpholo-

gies réduites. Ce sont les 'substantifs locaux'\textsuperscript{10}. Le déter-
minant précédent est le plus souvent un préfixe personnel suivi de \textit{va} - (POS). La plupart de ces substantifs locaux admettent également comme déterminant un autre substantif. Quand, dans un complexe de préfixes possessifs précédant un substantif local, on indique une 1ère ou 2ème personne du singulier ou pluriel, on trouve généralement \textit{va} - suivi de \textit{a} - , indiquant la possession partagée. Quand il s'agit de la 3ème personne du singulier, on trouve presque exclusivement \textit{va} - , rarement \textit{va} - 'possession collective'. Dans le cas de la 3ème personne du pluriel on trouve exclusivement \textit{va} - , avec à- pluralisant \textit{va} -. Il n'y a aucune règle, il n'y a même pas une tendance à avancer, qui détermine l'emploi de complexes sans \textit{a} - à côté de ceux avec \textit{a} -. Dans l’adyghé littéraire l'emploi de \textit{a} - est de règle, dans le cas des préfixes de la 1ère et de la 2ème personne du singulier aussi bien que du pluriel. Dans le kabaré littéraire on ne rencontre jamais un élément \textit{a} - devant les substantifs locaux ou 'postpositions' comme ils sont appelés traditionnellement dans les grammaires du tcherkesse écrites en russe.

\[\text{cf.} \quad s-y-a-\text{caba} \quad (1/PS-POS-PI-espace derrière-REL) \quad '(l'espace) derrière moi'.\]

\[\text{cf.} \quad -\text{caba} \quad 'espace derrière'.\]

\[\text{wane-caba-m (maison-espace derrière-REL) '(l'espace) derrière la maison'.}\]

\[\text{wane-caba-m dek-\text{ap} (maison-espace derrière-REL) '(l'espace) derrière la maison'.}\]
Possession partagée avec noms de nombre

Les noms de nombre ordinaux se composent de y.a.- initial, suivi d'un nom de nombre cardinal, suivi d'un élément dérivative -ene et, finalement, d'un suffixe dérivative nominalisant -re. Les noms en -re font partie du groupe de noms 'prépositifs' (v. § 2.9). Les noms de nombre au-dessus de 'cinquième' sont rares. Au lieu d'eux - même là où l'on s'exprime en tcherkessé pour le reste de la phrase - on se sert d'équivalents turcs. La base indiquant 'premier' se forme en partant de pe -nez, commencement'.

cf. y.a.de.re 'premier'
y.a.ene.re 'deuxième'
y.a.ene.re 'troisième'
y.a.ene.re 'quatrième'
y.a.ene.re 'cinquième'

Ces noms de nombre ordinaux s'emploient avec ou sans préfixes personnels possessifs. De même qu'avec 'père' et 'mère' ces préfixes peuvent être employés directement précédent la combinaison figée y.a- 'possession partagée', qui fait partie de la base.

y.a.de.re čal-er (premier) (enfant-ABS) (3/SU-grand) 'le premier enfant est grand'.

se y.a.ene.re čal-er reli-s (je) (1/PS-deuxième) (enfant-ABS) (3/SU-mourir-PF) 'mon deuxième enfant est mort'.

s-a y.a.de.re čal-er s6axol-o-a (celui-là-REL) (3/PS-premier) (femme-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF) 'j'ai vu sa première femme'.
8.2.9 Sur le fonctionnement des préfixes possessifs dans les subordonnés

Les subordonnés ont deux séries de désinences subordonnantes: celles définies et celles indéfinies. Quand il s'agit de (syntagmes nominaux) subordonnés du singulier qui ne présentent pas de déterminants deictiques, on a le choix. Dans les formes du pluriel, par exemple, on ne peut se servir que des désinences définies; ceci vaut également pour les subordonnés où entre un pronom démonstratif. Les subordonnés du singulier qui n'ont pas d'élément démonstratif mais, en revanche, un prénom possessif, prennent les désinences indéfinies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>déf.</th>
<th>indéf.</th>
<th>dém.</th>
<th>poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>6°az-er</td>
<td>ma 6°az-er</td>
<td>s-ya-6°az</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>6°aza-m</td>
<td>ma 6°aza-m</td>
<td>s-ya-6°aza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>6°aza-ge</td>
<td>ma 6°aza-ge</td>
<td>s-ya-6°aza-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>6°az-ew</td>
<td>ma 6°az-ew</td>
<td>s-ya-6°az-ew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'the femme' 'femme' 'cette femme' 'ma femme'

cf. y-a-6°aza-er (3/PS-POS-PL-femme-PL-ABS) 'leurs femmes'.

Les subordonnés (secondaires) qui spécifient un prénom personnel possessif ont la désinence REL. Ces subordonnés pré-
cédent toujours directement le préfixe avec lequel ils co-réfèrent. Ils peuvent, à leur tour, avoir des préfixes possessifs qui, eux aussi, peuvent être spécifiés. Dans les formes du pluriel à désinences REL on trouve - généralement parlant - la séquence de désinences -ke-me (PL-REL-PL). Dans les subordonnés qui spécifient un préfixe possessif on rencontre très souvent le seul -me.

cf. ėčale-m ya-čhe dáx-ep (garçon-REL) (3/PS-POS-chien-ABS)
(3/SU-beau-N/2) 'le chien du garçon n'est pas beau'.
Čale-(-če)m-e ya-če dáx-ep (garçon-(PL)-REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-PL-chien-ABS) 'le chien des garçons n'est pas beau'.
La séquence spontanément donnée la plus longue que présentent nos textes est:
s-ya-ša-ye ya-čale ya-šaye ya-basam.gšaže
va-ša.pxša-nehe-č relža-č (1/PS-oncle maternel-REL)

Les subordonnés à préfixe possessif peuvent se présenter en coordination; ils peuvent aussi avoir des subordonnés coordinaux secondaires.


Le mot-noyau d'un subordonné peut comporter plusieurs bases. Comme les désinences servent tout ce qui les précède dans le subordonné, de même les préfixes possessifs déterminent tout ce qui leur suit. Dans les mots plus élargis de ce type on trouve davantage des préfixes possessifs longs que dans les mots dont la base se compose d'un seul substantif.

cf. s-ya-wane 'ma maison'.
s-pe (/s-ya-pe) 'mon nez'.
s-ya-pe-ščeye (/s-pe-ščeye) 'mon nez sale'.

Le substantif qui en détermine un autre précède le plus sou-
vent directement le substantif déterminé à l’intérieur d’un même mot.
Il y a quelques groupes restreints de noms que nous appelons ‘pré-
positifs’ qui précèdent et définissent, il est vrai, mais cela en tant que mot indépendant. Les préfixes possessifs précèdent, généra-
lement parlant, ces noms prépositifs.

cf.  $s$-$y$a-$?a$dä$e$ wane  (1/PS-POS-Circassien) (maison-ABS)
\textit{ma maison tcherkesse}; le préfixe possessif peut aussi précéder le mot-noyau.

$?a$dä$e$ s-$y$a-wane  (Circassien) (1/PS-POS-maison-ABS)
\textit{ma maison (incidemment) tcherkesse}.

Une différence de sens est plus nettement sensible dans les cas comme:

$s$-$y$a-za n-$er$ me$^7$waza  (1/PS-POS-un) (œil-ABS) (3/SU-Dy/l-
-faire mal) ‘mon œil (unique) me fait mal’.

$ze$ s-$y$a-ne me$^7$waza  (un) (1/PS-POS-œil-ABS) (3/SU-Dy/l-
-faire mal) ‘un œil (à moi) me fait mal’.

Quand le mot-noyau est déterminé par un participe précédant, alors, le préfixe possessif se met devant le mot-noyau:

ma re$^1$la-$ê$e$ s-$y$a-$ê$-er b-$ew$ dë$a$-$ê$ (celui-ci) (PART/SU-
mourir-PF) (1/PS-POS-cheval-ABS) (beaucoup-MOD) (3/SU-
-beau-PF) ‘ce cheval mort à moi était très beau’.

Comparez finalement:

$s$-$y$a.pe.re $s$al$-$er  (1/PS-premier) (enfant-ABS) ‘mon premier enfant’.

w-$y$a-da$ge.re 1-$er$ xet? (2/PS-POS-pl-chez.suff=dér.) (homme-
-ABS) (3/SU-qui) ‘qui est l’homme (qui se trouve) chez
toi?’

Les exemples donnés ci-dessus présentent des combinaisons de préfixes possessifs avec des substantifs (ordinaires, locaux, prépositifs), et avec des noms de nombre. Ce sont là les combinai-
sions les plus usuelles.

Les préfixes possessifs ne se combinent presque pas avec un adjectif. Les adjectifs ne sont pas munis de préfixes possessifs dans leurs emplois les plus usités (i: déterminant postpositif:

\textit{wane-êgo} (maison-bon) ‘une bonne maison’, ii: base de formes prédi-
catives et d’autres formes-S: \textit{wo}$^1$dë$a$-$ê$ (2/SU-beau-N/2) ‘tu n’es pas belle’, iii: adverbe - avec la désinence MOD: \textit{êgo-ew} ‘bien’).

Les formes ABS et REL dont la base ne comporte qu’un seul adjectif sont rares, et doivent être interprétées comme participes:

$dë$a$-$er$  (PART/SU-beau-ABS) ‘la belle (“celle qui est belle”)’.

Les préfixes possessifs ne se combinent que sporadiquement avec les participes. La forme:

4 $s$-$y$a$dë$a$-$er$  (PART/SU-1/PO-POS-beau-ABS) ‘ma belle
(“celle qui est ma belle”)’ ne fut pas donnée spontané-
ment.

Les formes du pluriel semblent être plus acceptables que celles du singulier:

4 $s$-$y$a$dë$a$-$ê$-er ‘mes belles’.

Les préfixes possessifs ne se combinent pas du tout avec des pronoms ou des verbes.
Les 'noms déverbaux' (bases complexes dérivées au moyen d'un affixe de base nominalisant) peuvent se combiner avec des préfixes possessifs 'longs':

- əe-ke 'façon de parler'; cf. əe [1-6] 'dire qqch'.
- s-ya-əe-ke 'ma façon de parler'.
- s-ya-ke-ke 'ma façon de marcher'.
- s-ya-ye-ge-ge-ke 'mon professeur'; cf. ge [1-5] 'lire qqch', xe- CAUS et -ge-ke 'celui qui fait le travail de (ici : faire lire)'.

Les nominalisations (des formes dé-prédicatives qui comportent des préfixes personnels de formes-S et un affixe de thème nominalisant) ne prennent pas, en principe, un préfixe possessif. Exceptionnellement on trouve un tel préfixe devant un participe prépositif.

- s-ya-ge-na-na-ke-x-er (1/PS-POS-PART/SU-vers ici-reste--PF) (enfant-PL-ABS) 'mes enfants qui sont restés (quelque part)'.

Les masdars forment un cas à part parmi les nominalisations : ils se présentent avec et sans préfixes personnels des formes-S. Dans le dernier cas on peut trouver un préfixe possessif quand il s'agit d'un verbe intratransitif:

- k'e-n-er (marcher-MSD-ABS) 'le marcher'.
- sa-ke-n-er / s-ya-k'e-n-er (1/SU-aller-MSD-ABS) / (1/PS-POS-aller-MSD-ABS) 'mon marcher, mon allure'.

8.3 L'expression de possession dans les formes-S dénominales

8.3.1 Introduction

De même que des noms sans préfixes, on peut tirer des formes prédicatives (et d'autres formes-S) de noms pourvus de préfixes (possessifs).

Les préfixes courts se logent soit dans la base, soit sont remplacés par des préfixes longs qui se mettent à la place 4.

En ce qui concerne la séquence -ya- POS, on trouve des cas d'emplacement dans la base aussi bien qu'à la position 4 ; souvent le choix de l'emplacement est libre. Ze- REC/PS se met dans la pos. 5.

Dans cette section je donnerai maint exemple parce que dans les études sur le tcherkesse on n'en trouve que peu, et cela souvent présentant des formes sans valeur diagnostique décisive. Il est vrai que la fréquence de nombre des formes pertinentes en ce qui concerne l'analyse est fort réduite et qu'un bon nombre des formes qui seront présentées ci-dessous ont été élicitées.

8.3.2 Possession neutre

Les exemples qui suivent illustrent l'emplacement dans les formes-S du préverbe ya- POS, des préfixes personnels indiquant la personne du possesseur, ainsi que de à- PL.

- əo- əo-ya-wo-ep (1/3/SU-1/OP-POS-maison-N/2) 'celle-ci
Je pose en principe que le prédicat 3/0P a deux formes de base, celle primaire: 0- et celle secondaire: va-, dont va- est à insérer dans la forme sous-jacente des mots entre un prédicat sujet non-zéro et le préverbe va- POS; dans tous les autres cas c'est 0- qui est à insérer.12, 13)

Finalement je donne quelques exemples où se montre la position qu'occupe le complexe préfixale contenant va- à l'intérieur de séquences de préfixes élaborées:

va-ze-re-sa-ya- — 3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir)'onsait que tu es ma femme', wae-re-sa-ya- — 3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir)'je sais que tu es ma femme'.

Le suffixe -re- est toujours présent.

sa-ze-re-wa-ye-se (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir)'onsait que tu es notre voisin'.

Dans un nombre de ces exemples se présente la séquence 0-ya- (3/OP-POS) où zéro indique - comme dans les formes-non-S - la 3ème personne. Dans les formes-S ce prédicat se présente encore sous une autre forme, à savoir r-. Cette variante s'emploie quand le prédicat personnel de la 3ème personne se trouve entre ya- POS et un prédicat sujet qui est matériellement réalisé (non-zéro)

cf. sa-ye-sa-ya- (1/OP-POS-femme) 'je suis sa femme'.

La séquence attendue ..r-y-a- se présente à côté de ..r-a-.

Le suffixe -re- est toujours présent.

sa-ya- (1/3/0P-POS-femme) 'je suis sa femme'.

sa-ye-sa-ya- (1/3/0P-POS-voisin-PL)'c'est que tu étais son voisin'.

La séquence attendue ..r-y-a- se présente à côté de ..r-a-.

sa-ye-sa-ya- (1/3/0P-POS-femme) 'je suis leur enfant'.

sa-ye-sa-ya- (1/3/0P-POS-voisin-PL)'nous sommes leurs ennemis'.

Je pose en principe que le prédicat 3/0P a deux formes de base, celle primaire: 0- et celle secondaire: va-, dont va- est à insérer dans la forme sous-jacente des mots entre un prédicat sujet non-zéro et le préverbe va- POS; dans tous les autres cas c'est 0- qui est à insérer.12, 13)
'sais-tu que cet enfant-là est son fils?'

Le prédicat ze- REF (160 chi) ne peut pas s'allier à ya- POS, ni dans les formes causatives, ni dans les formes simples. 'Je suis mon (propre) ennemi' est rendu:

ma-r we 4 ya-pe-fe-o a ? ( ) (tu) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-nez-grand-INT) 'est ce-là ton grand nez?'

ze.re 2 ye 4 ya.a.qe-o er / ze.re 3 ya.a.qe-o er (3/SU-que-1/OP-POS-jambe-ABS) (3/SU-que-1/PS-jambe-ABS) 'que c'est ma jambe'.

ze.re 2 ya 4 ma 9 ya.a.qe-o er / ze.re 3 ma 9 ya.a.qe-o er (3/SU-que-1/OP-POS-N/1-jambe-ABS) / (3/SU-que-N/1-1/PS-jambe-ABS) 'que ce n'est pas ma jambe'; à côté de la dernière forme on trouve exceptionnellement une forme comme:

ze.re 3 ya 4 ma 9 ya.a.qe-o er (3/SU-que-1/PS-N/1-jambe-ABS).

Ici encore il est de règle que l'on trouve presque exclusivement des formes possessives courts avec les substantifs qui indiquent les parents de premier degré (v. § 2.3):

wa 1 z- x
(2/SU-1/PS-frère) 'tu es mon frère'.

8.3.4 Possession réciproque

Le morphème ze- REC des formes-non-S correspond formellement et sémantiquement au prédicat ze- REC qui occupe — dans les formes-S — la position 5.

8.3.3 Possession organique

Les préfixes possessifs courts peuvent être incorporés dans la base des formes-S. Souvent, cependant, on rencontre des séquences préfixales comportant ya- dans des formes-S qui sont tirées de substantifs précédés, normalement parlant, de préfixes possessifs courts. Cette dernière suite se rencontre surtout quand — dans la forme-S — il y a encore d'autres préfixes non-zéro.

cf. ma-r ya-p 3 (celui-ci=ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-nez) 'c'est mon nez'.

On peut imaginer des formes causatives possessives comportant un prédicat REF/OP comme, par exemple:

'sais-tu que la femme'.

Ce prédicat, qui est refusé, ne peut être formé dans les formes participiales (avec ze- PART précédent ya-) v. § 3.6.

Pour les formes possessives participiales (avec ze- PART précédent ya-) v. § 3.6.

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Possession partagée

Je ferai le tour des différents cas dans l'ordre où ils ont été discutés dans les §§ 2.5-8.

Dans le cas de 'père' et de 'mère' la séquence ya est insérée tantôt dans la base, tantôt dans la position 4 des préfixes.

Dans les cas non-diagnostiques nous admettons que ya fasse partie de la base. Dans les autres cas de possession partagée il n'y a jamais une indication explicite qui permette de conclure que ya puisse être inséré dans la base. C'est pourquoi je présente ya toujours dans ces formes-là à la position 4 des préfixes, aussi dans les cas non-diagnostiques.

"père" et "mère"

\[\text{ptâ} \text{ze.} \text{r(e)} \text{3} \text{-zma} \text{wan-er} \text{6} \text{-z-a} \text{?} \text{ (jeune fille-REL)} \]
\[\text{ (3/SU-que-3/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-maison-ABS) (3/SU-2/AG-Dy/1-savoir-INTI) 'sais-tu que ce n'est pas la maison de la famille de la jeune fille?'}.\]

\[\text{mâ-r} \text{5-y-a.n} \text{ (celui-ci-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-mère) 'c'est ma mère'}.\]

\[\text{we wa} \text{s-y-a.n} \text{ (tu) (2/SU-1/PS-mère) 'tu es ma mère'}.\]

\[\text{se} \text{pa-s} \text{sa-r(y).a.n} \text{ (je) (celui-là-REL) (1/SU-3/PS-mère) 'je suis sa mère'}.\]

\[\text{pa-r} \text{za-xe-m-e y.a.t} / \text{za-xe-m-e y.a.t} \text{ (celui-là-ABS) (celui-là-PL-REL-PL) (3/SU-3/PS-père)/ (3/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-père) 'il est leur père'.} \text{17)}\]

\[\text{se} \text{za-xe-m-e \text{si} \text{a-r(y).a.t} \text{ (je) (1/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-père) 'je suis leur père'}.}\]

\[\text{ze.re} \text{3} \text{w.y.a.n-er} \text{6} \text{-z-a} \text{e} \text{ (3/SU-que-2/PS-mère-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais qu'elle est ta mère'}.\]

\[\text{ze.re} \text{3} \text{w-y.a.n-er} / \text{ze.re} \text{3} \text{w-a-ma} \text{8-y.a.n-er} \text{6} \text{-z-a} \text{e} \text{ (3/SU-que-2/OP-POS-N/1-mère-ABS) / (3/SU-que-2/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-mère-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais qu'elle n'est pas ta mère'}.\]

Certains locuteurs du ChDz acceptaient également:

\[\text{ze.re} \text{3} \text{w-y.a.n-er} \text{ (3/SU-que-N/1-2/PS-mère-ABS) 'qu'elle n'est pas ta mère'}.\]

\[\text{we \text{1a-y.a.n} : (2/SU-1/OP-POS-OPT-mère) 'puisse tu être ma mère'}\]

\[\text{wa \text{1a-y.a.n} / \text{wa \text{1a-y.a.n} : (2/SU-1/OP-POS-OPT-N/1-mère) (2/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-OPT-N/1-mère) 'puisse tu ne pas être ma mère'}\]

Formes-S tirées de substantifs locaux

Les formes-S dans lesquelles se présentent des substantifs locaux sont rares. Si le premier exemple à suivre a été donné spontanément, les deux autres n'ont pu être obtenus qu'avec peine.

\[\text{za-de4-là-xe-r-er} \text{4-y-a-daz-ep} \text{ (celui=la-ABS) (3/SU-PART/OP.'endroit'-travailler-Dy/2-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-chez-N/2) l'endroit où il travaille n'est pas prés de moi'.} \]

\[\text{za-de4-là-xe-r-er} \text{4-y-a-daz-ew qa2}\text{a}\text{2}\text{a}\text{4}\text{a}\text{p-a} \text{ (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-chez-MOD) (3/SU-vers ici-sous-sortir-PF) 'il se trouve que l'endroit où il travaille était prés de moi'.} \]

\[\text{4-y-a-ma} \text{8-daz-ew qa2}\text{a}\text{2}\text{a}\text{4}\text{a}\text{p-a} \text{ (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-chez-MOD) ( ) 'il se trouva que ce n'était pas prés de moi'.} \]
Formes tirées de noms de nombre pourvus de préfixes possessifs

Les formes-S dérivées de noms de nombre ordinaux sont très peu fréquentes. Je n'ai rencontré que des formes sans le suffixe dérivatif -re:

1. sa-ze-pAa-r-er (1/SU-PART/OI-regarder-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je regarde'.
2. sa-za-Ae~oa-r-er (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-Dy/1-ABS) '(l'homme) qui me voit'.
3. sa-za-Ae~oa-r-er (PART/SU-1/OP-voir-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je vois'.

Ceci vaut aussi pour les positions où peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels dans les prédicats possessifs dénominatifs.

Position 1:

4. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'celle qui est ma femme'.

Comparez:

5. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az (3/SU-1/OP-POS-femme) 'elle est ma femme'.

6. caf-ew s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (être-MOD) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'l'être qui est ma femme'.

7. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-N/1-femme-ABS) 'celle qui n'est pas ma femme'.

A la position 4 on peut trouver le préfixe-PART devant ya-; dans ce cas nous avons affaire à des formes qui indiquent des possesseurs.

8.3.6 Formes participiales possessives

A toutes les positions où — dans les formes prédicatives — peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels, on peut rencontrer également des préfixes qui forment un participe.

cf. (\textsuperscript{1}-ew) ga\textsuperscript{2}ke\textsuperscript{2}e\textsuperscript{-er} ([homme-MOD]) (PART/SU-vers ici-aller- Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) qui arrive'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}de\textsuperscript{2}aze\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/OP-avec-travaille- ler-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) avec lequel je travaille'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}pl\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/OI-regarder-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je regarde'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}ke\textsuperscript{2}ea\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-Dy/1-ABS) '(l'homme) qui me voit'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) s\textsuperscript{5}ke\textsuperscript{2}ea\textsuperscript{-er} (PART/SU-1/OP-voir-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je vois'.

Ceci vaut aussi pour les positions où peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels dans les prédicats possessifs dénominatifs.

Position 1:

4. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'celle qui est ma femme'.

Comparez:

5. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az (3/SU-1/OP-POS-femme) 'elle est ma femme'.

6. caf-ew s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (être-MOD) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'l'être qui est ma femme'.

7. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-N/1-femme-ABS) 'celle qui n'est pas ma femme'.

A la position 4 on peut trouver le préfixe-PART devant ya-; dans ce cas nous avons affaire à des formes qui indiquent des possesseurs.

8.3.6 Formes participiales possessives

A toutes les positions où — dans les formes prédicatives — peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels, on peut rencontrer également des préfixes qui forment un participe.

cf. (\textsuperscript{1}-ew) ga\textsuperscript{2}ke\textsuperscript{2}e\textsuperscript{-er} ([homme-MOD]) (PART/SU-vers ici-aller- Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) qui arrive'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}de\textsuperscript{2}aze\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/OP-avec-travaille- ler-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) avec lequel je travaille'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}pl\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/OI-regarder-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je regarde'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) sa\textsuperscript{2}ze\textsuperscript{2}ke\textsuperscript{2}ea\textsuperscript{-er} (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-Dy/1-ABS) '(l'homme) qui me voit'.

(\textsuperscript{1}-ew) s\textsuperscript{5}ke\textsuperscript{2}ea\textsuperscript{-er} (PART/SU-1/OP-voir-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je vois'.

Ceci vaut aussi pour les positions où peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels dans les prédicats possessifs dénominatifs.

Position 1:

4. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'celle qui est ma femme'.

Comparez:

5. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az (3/SU-1/OP-POS-femme) 'elle est ma femme'.

6. caf-ew s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (être-MOD) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'l'être qui est ma femme'.

7. s\textsuperscript{4}ya\textsuperscript{4}e\textsuperscript{2}az'er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-N/1-femme-ABS) 'celle qui n'est pas ma femme'.

A la position 4 on peut trouver le préfixe-PART devant ya-; dans ce cas nous avons affaire à des formes qui indiquent des possesseurs.
Comparez :
\[
w\-ya\-z\-ya\-qO\-er \texttt{ret} ? \text{(PART/SU-2/PO-POS-femme-ABS)} (3/SU-qui) 'qui est (celle qui est) ta femme?'
\]
\[
se z\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(je) (1/SU-PART/OP-POS-fils-ABS)}
\]
(3/SU-celui=là-être identique à) 'celui dont je suis le fils est celui-là'.

Comparez :
\[
s\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(PART/SU-1/OP-POS-fils-ABS)} (3/SU-celui=ci-être identique à) 'celui qui est mon fils, est celui-là'.
\]
\[
se s\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(1/SU-PART/OP-POS-N=1-fils-ABS)} (3/SU-celui=ci-être identique à) 'celui dont je ne suis pas le fils est celui-ci'.
\]
\[
se s\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(PART/SU-1/PS-père-ABS)} 'celui qui est mon père'.
\]
\[
s\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(PART/SU-1/OP-POS-PL-N=1-père-ABS)} 'celui qui n'est pas mon père'.
\]
\[
wa\-ya\-q\-er se\-ra \text{(2/SU-PART/PS-père-ABS)} (3/SU-1/PL-être id. à) 'celui dont tu es le père c'est moi'.
\]
\[
w\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(2/SU-PART/OP-POS-PL-N=1-père-ABS)} 'celui dont tu n'es pas le père'.
\]
\[
s\-ya\-q\-er ?a\-ra \text{(PART/SU-1/OP-POS-jeune fille-PL-ABS)} (3/SU-vers ici-aller-PF-PL) 'les parents de la jeune fille ("ceux dont elle est la jeune fille") sont venus'.
\]
\[
ma \-ya\-q\-er \texttt{z\-ya} \text{(celui=ci) (garçon-ABS)}
\]
(3/SU-PART/OP-POS-enfant-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-savoir-Dy/2-N=2)'je ne sais pas de qui ce garçon est l'enfant'.
\]
\[
ma \-ya\-q\-er \texttt{z\-ya} \text{(celui=ci) (garçon-ABS)}
\]
(3/SU-PART/OP-POS-enfant-PL-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-savoir-PL-Dy/2-N=2) 'je ne sais pas de qui (sg./pl.) ces garçons sont les enfants'.

A côté de ces expressions participiales d'un mot on trouve des expressions périphrastiques de - normalement parlant - deux mots, dont l'un est une forme participiale d'un des deux verbes possessifs (v. § 8.4.2).

La présence d'un préfixe-PART à la position 5 d'une forme-S possessive est imaginaire en théorie, et celle dans des formes doublement causatives, mais n'est pas admise par nos informateurs.

L'insertion d'un préfixe-PART à la position-AG (pos. 6) d'une forme-S possessive est admise; toujours est-il qu'ici on préfère se servir de constructions périphrastiques.

\[
\text{cf. ~w\-ya\-z\-ya\-qO\-er} \quad (2/SU-1/OP-POS-PART/AG-savoir-PL-ABS) 'celui qui t'a faite ma femme'.
\]

6.3.7 Constructions possessives relatives sans préfixe-sujet initial

Les constructions en question se composent ordinairement de deux mots. Le premier commence par la séquence z\-ya- qui indique le possesseur relatif "celui qui a, possède". La séquence z\-ya- est suivie d'un substantif renvoyant à ce qui fait l'objet de la possession. Ce substantif peut être suivi de la désinence -ke PL, qui attribue le trait de pluralité au substantif (donc, au possédé, mais non pas au possesseur). Après -ke la présence de la désinence ABS semble être obligatoire. Le second mot se compose d'un participe
formé soit d'un verbe, soit d'un adjectif, et qui détermine le substantif du mot précédant. Le second mot peut avoir la désinence -Re, qui attribue le trait de pluralité au possesseur. Dans la position finale du second mot se trouve toujours une désinence subordonnante qui indique la position de tout le syntagme dans la phrase. Nous avons affaire ici à un genre de construction qui est rebelle aux analyses et qui est, dans une certaine mesure, atypique duucherkesse (le déterminé précédant le déterminant; l'emploi de la dési-

nence -Re). Je fais suivre un bon nombre d'exemples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{z-ya-wane relzo-x-er s-y.a.t} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-maison}) (\text{PART/}
\text{SU-brûler-PF-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/\text{PS-père}) \quad 'celui dont la maison est brûlée est mon père'.
\text{z-ya-pe plà.z-er we5ra} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-nez}) (\text{PART/PS-rouge-
\text{ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-2/01-être id. à) \quad 'tu es celui dont le nez est rouge'.
\text{z-ya-pe (rel)ma2yb.y-er se5ra} & \quad (\text{(PART/SU)-N/1-rouge-
\text{ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-2/01-être id. à) \quad 'je suis celui dont le nez n'est pas rouge'.
\text{z-ya-wane ë-b-dw 7eäfo ya5} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-maison}) (\text{PART/}
\text{SU-vieux-REL}) (\text{beaucoup-MOD}) (\text{travail-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-3/0P-
\text{POS-être}) \quad 'celui qui a une vieille maison a beaucoup de travail'.
\text{z-ya-wane rë-peka-x-er s-y.a.t} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-maison}) (\text{PART/}
\text{SU-beau-PF-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/PS-père), 'celui qui avait une belle maison est mon père'.
\text{z-ya-wane ë-b-m ya-daga ta4e-n} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-maison}) (\text{PART/}
\text{SU-nouveau-REL}) \quad (3/PS-POS-chez-REL) \quad (1p/\text{SU-aller-Fu/2}) \quad 'allons chez celui qui a une nouvelle maison'.
\text{z-ya-pe dëey-er s4.y-écal} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-nez}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{sale-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/0P-POS-fils} 'celui au nez sale est mon fils'.
\text{z-ya-pe ëeye-x-er s4.y-écal} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-nez}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{sale-PL-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/0P-POS-enfant-PL} 'ceux qui ont le
\text{nez sale sont mes enfants'.
\text{z-ya-ne-x-er daë(e-x)-er s4.y-épsat} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-oëit-PL-ABS})
\quad (PART/PS-beau-(PL-)ABS) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/0P-POS-fille} 'celle
\text{aux beaux yeux est ma fille'.
\text{z-ya-ne-x-er daëe-x-er s4.y-épsae-x} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-maison}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{PL-ABS}) 'celles aux beaux yeux sont mes filles'.
\text{z-ya-ta sa2zolëgq-x-er ma-ra} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-mari}) (1/\text{SU}-
\text{PART/AG-voir-PF-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-celui-ci-etre identique à}
\quad 'celle dont le mari m'a vu est celle-ci'.
\text{z-ya-péaste daëe-m sa2-degøa.øem sa5st} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-fille})
\quad (\text{PART/PS-beau-REL}) \quad (1/\text{SU}-3/0P-avec-parler-Fu/1) \quad 'je par-
\text{lerai avec celui qui a une belle fille'.
\text{tak.x-er z-ya-ta ëe-m ye5gøi :} \quad (\text{livre-ABS}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{POS-tete}) \quad (\text{PART/PS-grand-REL}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-3/01-2p/AG-donner})
\text{'donnez le livre à celui à la grande tête'.}
\end{align*}
\]

Le préfixe participe possessif de ces formes peut être spé-
cifié par un subordonné à la désinence -ew MOD, comme cela se fait pour les participes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ëal-ew z-ya-pe plà.z-er s4.y-écal} & \quad (\text{garçon-MOD}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{POS-nez}) \quad (\text{PART/PS-rous-ABS}) \quad (3/\text{SU}-1/0P-POS-fils} 'le gar-
\text{çon au nez rouge est mon fils'.
\end{align*}
\]

Les deux termes de la construction peuvent être séparés par
un subordonné du participe:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{z-ya-ta8e ta8e-n} & \quad (\text{PART/PS-POS-nez}) (\text{PART/PS-
\text{sale-418}})
\end{align*}
\]
Deux verbes possessifs

8.4.1 Introduction

Dans le ChDz il y a deux radicaux verbaux qui se combinent avec le préverbe ya- POS et dont les formes-S dérivées expriment des relations "possessives": le préfixe personnel qui précède immédiatement ya- indique, ici encore, le possesseur tandis que le préfixe-sujet renvoie à l'élément possédé. Les deux verbes sont des verbes d'état intransitifs: ye [1-4:ye-] 'avoir qqch/qqun', ye [1-4:ye-] 'avoir possédé qqch/qqun, appartenir à'. La combinaison ya-ye indique l'existence et la relation d'appartenance de ce qui est possédé; la combinaison ye4ye indique seulement une relation d'appartenance. Le radical ye se combine également avec le préverbe ya- 'y, là'; cette dernière combinaison exprime l'existence (quelque part) de la personne à laquelle renvoie le préfixe-sujet. J'identifie ye de ye4ye avec le verbe statique ye de ye [1-4:fe-] 'vouloir (avoir/recevoir) qqch/qqun'.20 Souvent les deux verbes sont interchangeables. Je fais suivre deux exemples où ce n'est pas le cas:

\[
\text{Cel-ay} \text{-}\text{ye4ye}^2 \quad \text{(enfant-CoNu-deux-ABS)} \quad \text{(3/SU-1/OP-POS-être)} \quad \text{'(j'ai deux enfants').}
\]

\[
\text{mo cel-er ye4ye}^2 \quad \text{(celui-ci)} \quad \text{(enfant-ABS)} \quad \text{(je)} \quad \text{(3/SU-1/OP-POS-"être possédé") \quad \text{'(cet enfant est de moi').}
\]

Dans le dernier cas, où l'existence de ce qu'on possède est supposée connue, on se sert du verbe qui n'indique que l'appartenance. La mise en relief du fait de posséder qui se réalise à l'aide de ye n'est pas de mise avec une abstraction qu'on possèderait. Donc, on peut bien dire:

\[
\text{ia-re ye4ye}^2 \quad \text{(courage-ABS)} \quad \text{(}{j\text{'ai du courage'.}}
\]

mais on ne peut pas le dire en se servant de ye. Le sens de ye [1-4:ye-] comporte aussi la notion de "avoir la disposition de", mais alors il ne s'agit pas d'une possession temporaire, car dans ce cas-là on se sert de formes du verbe d'état transitif ye ye "tenir/avoir temporairement". Ce dernier verbe n'entre pas dans cet exposé: il ne se combine pas avec ya- POS.21)

8.4.2 ye [1-4:ye-] et ye [1-4:fe-]: illustration

(i) ye [1-4:fe-] 'avoir'

\[
\text{xaže 4ye}^3 \quad \text{(argent-ABS)} \quad \text{(3/SU-1p/OP-POS-être)} \quad \text{"nous avons de l'argent"; forme statique du présent.}
\]

\[
\text{xaže 4ye4ye}^7 \quad \text{(ze-pe,t)} \quad \text{(3/SU-1/OP-POS-"y/l-être") (continuellement)} \quad \text{"j'ai tout le temps (continuellement) de l'argent"); forme dynamique du présent.}
\]

\[
\text{se we wa4ye}^3 \quad \text{(je) \quad \text{tu}) \quad \text{(2/SU-1/OP-POS-être)} \quad \text{"je t'ai".}
\]

\[
\text{se1-4ye}^6 \quad \text{(1/SU-3/OP-POS-être)} \quad \text{"il m'a".}
\]

\[
\text{a-xe-me we wa1-ye2 ye4ye}^7 \quad \text{(celui-ci) \quad \text{pl-REL-PL}) \quad \text{(tu)} \quad \text{(2/SU-3/OP-(POS-)pl-être-N/2) \quad \text{"ils ne t'ont pas".}}
\]
(i) "avoir, posséder"

ma[r] we 4-ya4 (celui-ci-ABS) (tu) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-être possédé) 'c'est à toi, tu possèdes celle'.

ze.re 3^-ya4-er (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que c'est à toi'.

?a-g z^-ere-3-ge (celui=la-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-PR/1-être possédé) 'puisse-t-il ne pas l'avoir'.

the.m ma[r] r4-ya4-er (Dieu-REL) (celui-ci-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-être possédé-PL) 'Dieu a fait ceci le sien' ('Dieu' et 'sien' ne co-réfèrent pas).

ma wan-er 4-ya4-er (celui-ci) (maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-2/AG-CAUS-être possédé) "fais de la sorte que cette maison m'appartienne!"

te ma wan-er 4-ya4-er (nous) ( ) ( ) (3/SU-REF/OP-POS-1p/AG-CAUS-être possédé-Fu/1) 'nous ferons cette maison la nôtre'.

sa[r] 4-y-er (1/SU-3/OP-(POS)-PL-être possédé-N/2) 'ils ne me possèdent pas, je ne suis pas à eux'.

(ii) "avoir, posséder"

ma[r] 4-ya4 (celui-ci-ABS) (tu) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-être possédé) 'c'est à toi, tu possèdes celle'.

ze.re 3^-ya4-er (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que c'est à toi'.

?a-g z^-ere-3-ge (celui=la-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-PR/1-être possédé) 'puisse-t-il ne pas l'avoir'.

the.m ma[r] r4-ya4-er (Dieu-REL) (celui-ci-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-être possédé-PL) 'Dieu a fait ceci le sien' ('Dieu' et 'sien' ne co-réfèrent pas).

ma wan-er 4-ya4-er (celui-ci) (maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-2/AG-CAUS-être possédé) "fais de la sorte que cette maison m'appartienne!"

te ma wan-er 4-ya4-er (nous) ( ) ( ) (3/SU-REF/OP-POS-1p/AG-CAUS-être possédé-Fu/1) 'nous ferons cette maison la nôtre'.

sa[r] 4-y-er (1/SU-3/OP-(POS)-PL-être possédé-N/2) 'ils ne me possèdent pas, je ne suis pas à eux'.

8.4.3 ye [1-4:ya-] et ye [1-4:ya-] : commentaire

Le verbe ya-?-e tranche sur la majorité des verbes intransitifs bi-personnels par le fait que dans les formes dérivées ce n'est pas le préfixe-SU qui renvoie à la personne "la plus active" mais au contraire - le préfixe-OP. Le verbe ya-?-e est un verbe inversif.22)

A la différence des verbes non-inversifs on ne saurait construire de ya-?-en des formes réfléchies, ni des formes impératives. A la rigueur on peut en tirer des formes impératives causatives (donc transitives), dans lesquelles c'est le préfixe-AG qui indique la personne adressée.

cf. wa[1-4:ya-] (2/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'je t'ai'.

xa.e 4-ya4 (argent-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'j'ai de l'argent'.

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*xaše ya-?: 'aie de l'argent!'

xaše 7ye-4 ga-g? (argent-ABS) (3/SU-REF/OP-POS-2/AG-CAUS-être
'aie soin d'avoir de l'argent'.

*za14-ya?: (REF/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'j'ai moi-même'.

Comparez les formes non-inversives:

se-bô de êre-st (1/SU-2/OP-avec-aller-Fu/1) 'j'irai avec
toi'.

se-ê qa-z-4 da-k?: (2p/SU-vers ici-1/OP-avec-aller) '(vous,
venez avec moi!'

se-ê de êerê-o-ê (1/SU-REF/OP-avec-jouer-PF) 'j'ai joué
à moi seul ("avec moi-même")'.

Dans des phrases qui se terminent par un prédicat inversif
l'ordre des subordonnés d'une part - c'est à dire du point de vue
formel - se différencie de ce qu'on trouve d'ordinaire (le subordon-
né spécifiant le préfixe-OP y précède le subordonné spécifiant le
préfixe-SU), d'autre part - au niveau sémantique - il n'y a aucune
différence puisque le subordonné qui spécifie la personne 'plus ac-
tive' occupe la position initiale de la phrase.

cf. se we 4 7ya-? (je) (tu) (2/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'je t'ai'.

we se 4qô-zô de êe-o-st-o? ( ) ( ) (2/SU-vers ici-1/OP-
-avec-aller-Fu/1-INT) 'est-ce que tu viendras avec moi?';
dans les formes non-inversives intransitives le sujet est
toujours 'plus actif' qu'un objet préréverbal ou un objet
indirect.

Le verbe ya-ye, qui conserve des traces de son origine nomi-
nale, a des traits en commun aussi bien avec des verbes inversifs
qu'avec des verbes non-inversifs. Je parlerai amplement de ce

8.4.4 Comparaison de phrases à constructions possessives

(1) s-ye-wane 6êla-ê (1/PS-POS-maison-ABS) (3/SU-3/AG-Pi-
-peindre-PF) 'ils ont peint ma maison'.

(2) s4-ya-ye-wan-er 6êla-ê (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-maison-ABS) ( )
'c'est (ce qui est) ma maison qu'ils ont peint'; avec un
participe dénominal.

(3) se s-ye-ye wan-er 6êla-ê (je) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être-
possédé) (maison-ABS) ( ) 'ils ont peint la maison qui
est à moi'.

(4) 6êla-ê-wan (PART/SU-3/AG-Pi-peindre-PF-ABS)
(3/SU-1/OP-POS-maison) 'ce qu'ils ont peint est ma
maison'.

(5) 6êla-ê-wan (PART/SU-3/AG-Pi-peindre-
-PF-ABS) (je) (1/PS-POS-maison')être identique à [copule]
'ce qu'ils ont peint, c'est ma maison'; avec incorpo-
ration de se s-ya-wane dans la position-sujet de la copu-
le.

(6) 6êla-ê-wan (PART/SU-3/AG-Pi-peindre-
-PF-ABS) (je) (1/PS-POS-maison')être identique à [copule]
'ce qu'ils ont peint, c'est ma maison'; avec incorpo-
ratation de se s-ya-wane dans la position-sujet de la copu-
le.

(7) se r se s4-ye-ye wane-a-ra ( ) ( ) (PART/SU-1/OP-
-POS-être possédé) (maison'ètre identique à) 'ce qu'ils
ont peint c'est la maison que j'ai/qui m'appartient'.

(8) se r se s-ye-wane-a-ra ( ) ( ) [cf. (5)] 'voici ma mai-
son'.

(9) se r se s4-ye-ye wane-a-ra ( ) ( ) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-
-être possédé) (maison'ètre identique à) 'voici/c'est ici
la maison qui m'appartient'.

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10. *me wan-er se s-ya-wan (celui-ci) (maison-ABS) (je) (3/SU-1/OF-POS-maison) 'cette maison est ma maison'.

11. *ma wan-er se s-ya-wane'a.re () () (cf. [5]) 'cette maison (ci) est ma maison'.

12. *ma wan-er se s-ya2 ye wane'a.re () () (cf. [6]) 'cette maison est la maison qui est à moi'.

13. *me wan-er se s-ya2 x (celui-ci) (maison-ABS) (je) (3/SU-1/OF-POS-être possédé) 'cette maison est à moi'.


15. *se s-ya2 ye wan-ay-1e-er ma-re-x (je) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être) (maison-CoNu-deux-ABS) (celui-ci-être identique à-PL) 'les deux maisons que j'ai sont celles-ci'.
NOTES

1. Le Chapsoug est un dialecte tcherkessé occidental; Düzce est une ville située entre Istanbul et Ankara. En URSS il y a deux langues tcherkesses "littéraires": l'adyghé littéraire (tcherkessé occidental) et le kabarde littéraire (tcherkessé oriental). Pour le Chapsoug de Düzce, v. Smeets 1976.

Transcription (mon ordre alphabétique): voyelles: a, o, e; consonnes (labiales:) p, b, ë, ëo; (dentales:) t, d, ñ, ño; (sifflantes:) ç, z, ʒ, ʒz; (alvéolaires:) k, k, ʁ, ʁz; (chuintantes:) ʁ, ʁ, ʁz, ʁk; (velaires:) ʁ, ʁ, ʁz, ʁk; (uvulaires:) ë, ë, ëz, ʃ, ʃz; (pharyngales:) h, h, hz; (sonantes:) t, t, t, t, t; (sonorantes:) t, t, t, t, t; (velaires:) ʁ, ʁ, ʁz, ʁk; (uvulaires:) ë, ë, ëz, ʃ, ʃz; (pharyngales:) h, h, hz; (sonantes:) t, t, t, t, t; (sonorantes:) t, t, t, t, t;

L'accent affecte normalement parlant la dernière ou la pénultième voyelle du thème. Pour le thème, v. § 1.3.

2. Je projette une série d'études pareilles. Ces études se veulent, d'une part, un complément de la grammaire du ChDz que j'espère faire paraitre dans un proche avenir, d'autre part elles ont pour but de décrire l'image totale des catégories traitées du tcherkessé pris dans son ensemble, en partant de la situation telle qu'elle se présente en ChDz.

3. En général, c'est le déterminant qui précède le déterminé. L'exception la plus importante est constituée par la combinaison à l'intérieur d'un mot - d'un substantif suivi d'un adjectif déterminant: wane-ša 'une bonne maison ("maison-bonne")'.

4. Les quatre désinences ABS, REL, INS et MOD sont celles qui indiquent, dans la phrase minimale, les fonctions des syntagmes subordonnés. Pour les illustrations, v. § 2.9. Les pronoms personnels ne prennent pas de désinence quand ils co-réfèrent avec des préfixes personnels des formes-S.

5. Pour les formes de base des morphèmes du ChDz v. chapitre 3 de ce volume; pour quelques exemples v. la note 13.

6. V. chapitre 4 de ce volume; v. aussi la note 13. En traduisant je rends we, etc., par 'tu', etc., et ze, etc., par 'vous', etc. Les préfixes de la troisième personne et les pronoms démonstratifs ne connaissent pas la catégorie de genre; ils sont rendus tantôt par 'il', etc., tantôt par 'elle', etc.

7. Ce préfixe manque, par exemple, dans les grammaires mentionnées sous "références", ainsi que dans les textes cités de Mr. Kuz'mon, Rogova-Kerasova (1966:276) le présentent bien dans le par. formy vznimnostiimen, où ils remarquent que ze- se combine avec des substantifs qui autrement sont munis d'un préfixe possessif. Cette observation ne tient pas pour le ChDz, où les substantifs en question peuvent également se présenter sans préfixe.

8. Cf. les préfixes réciproques dans les formes-S suivantes: te telz4 de gëy4a (nous) (1p/SU-REC/OP-avec-Dy/1-jouer) 'nous jouons ensemble'.

telz4 de gëy4a (nous) (1p/SU-REC/OI-Dy/1-regarder) 'nous nous regardons'.

telz4 de gëy4a (1p/SU-REC/AG-Dy/1-voir) 'nous nous voyons (l'un l'autre)'.

9. Cf. ze te se, ra, se, etc. (§ 2.4), et ne ra, se 'grand-mère', te te ze 'grand-père' (ze 'vieux'), newe 'vieille femme' (cf. (?)) nase 'brule', na(n) : 'maman', ta(t) : 'papa', ne ne, se se 'la jeune fille enlevée qui attend que son mariage soit réglé'.

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10. Pour la liste des substantifs locaux du ChDz v.chap.9, note 7.

11. D'ordinaire, on trouve dans la position 4 des formes-S une séquence de deux préfixes, le premier étant un préfixe personnel (OP), l'autre un préfixe à traits de lexème appelé préverbe. Le sens d'une combinaison d'un préverbe et d'un radical verbal est "predictable" dans la majorité des cas.

Il y a en tout env. 40 préverbes (simples et complexes). La plupart ont un sens local, cf. ŋ-BO (1/OP-sur) 'sur moi', ŋ-BA 'sous toi', p-BO 'à côté de lui'; cf. aussi p-BO 'pour toi', p-BO 'avec vous'. Je n'identifie pas y-POS avec y- 'dans (p. ex. une maison)' (cf. -k- 'dans [p. ex. l'eau]', de- 'dans [p. ex. un court]'). Je n'y vois pas de motivations sémantiques (ni d'ailleurs diachroniques). Les argumentations contre une telle identification sont fournies par l'emploi de ̄-p1 après y-POS (avec tous les autres préverbes, y compris y- 'dans', -̄ précède le préverbe dont l'objet est indiqué) et par le comportement du prêx y-POS (devant y-POS on peut trouver -̄- ̄-p1, que l'on ne trouvera jamais devant y- 'dans' - v. la note 13). Comparez:

s-ya- (1/SU-3/OP-dans-entrer-PF) 'j'y suis entré'
(forme sous-jacente:) +sa-ø-ya- h-e- ̄we+

s1-ya- (1/SU-3/OP-POS-chien-PF) 'j'étais son chien'
(forme sous-jacente:) +sa-ø-ya- h-e- ̄we+

s1-ya- (1/SU-3/OP-1-dans-entrer-PF) 'j'y suis entré ("dans eux")' +sa-ø-ya- h-e- ̄we+

s1-ya- (1/SU-3/OP-POS-chien-PF) 'j'étais leur chien' +sa-ø-ya- h-e- ̄we+

12. Cf. (a) la représentation morphémique,
(b) la forme sous-jacente comportant les formes de base (éventuellement primaires) des morphèmes constituants,
(c) la forme sous-jacente comportant les formes de base (éventuellement secondaires) des morphèmes constituants (c.-à-d. les formes sous-jacentes de la note 11),
(d) des formes intermédiaires résultant de l'application successive de règles morphophonologiques,
(e) la représentation phonologique, et
(f) la représentation phonétique, de trois mots-phrases:

(i) w-ya- 'elle est ta femme'
   (a) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-femme)
   (b,c) +ø-ya- ̄za+
   (d-1) +ø-ya- ̄za+
   (d-2) +ø-ya- ̄za+
   (d-3) +ø-ya- ̄za+
   (e) /wy-ya-z/
   (f) [w-ya-z] 

(ii) sa-ø-ya- 'je suis sa femme'
   (a) (1/SU-3/OP-POS-femme)
   (b) +sa-ø-ya- ̄za+
   (c) +sa-ø-ya- ̄za+
   (d-1) +sa-ø-ya- ̄za+
   (d-2) +sa-ø-ya- ̄za+
   (e) /sary-ya-z/
   (f) [sary-ya-z] 

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(iii) wáryáryáge-sazà-à 'il t'a faite la femme de lui' (*il* ≠ "lui")

(a) (2/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-femme-PF)
(b) +wá-y-a-va-à-sazà -àë+
(c) +wá-y-a-va-à-sazà -àë+
(d-1) +wá-r-ya-va-à-sazà -àë+
(d-2) +wá-r-ya-ru-va-à-sazà -àë+
(d-3) +wá-r-ya-ru-va-à-sazà -àë+
(e) /waryaryàge-sazaà/
(f) [wuriríge-súzaá]

13. Illustration des remarques (ii) et (iii) (v. per. 2.3):

- ́sê 'mon nom'
  (a) (1/PS-nom-ABS)
  (b) +s- ́se -er+
  (c) +s- ́se -0+
  (d-1) +s(′)- ́se -0+
  (e) /SÚe/ (/S/ est l'archiphonème de /ś/ et /č/), et /S/
    de /ś/, /ć/ et /ś/.)
  (f) [s(′)čč].

- ́s para-ge-sazà-à 'il m'a vu'
  (a) (1/SU-3/AG-voir-PF)
  (b-c) +sa-ya- lekò-a -ë+
  (d-1) +sa-ya- lekò-a -ë+
  (d-2) +sa-ya- lekò-a -ë+
  (e) /sañaèkòàèwà/
  (f) [sáilàkòàèwà]

Autres règles: de deux voyelles sous-jacentes consécutives

c'est en principe la plus fermée qui tombe; dans le cas de deux

14. Tandis qu'un verbe n'est qu'un verbe, tout nom en principe est

aussi un verbe intransitif, à l'indexe [1]. L'occupation de la posi-
tion 5 (01) dans les formes-S tirées d'un nom est exceptionnelle;
payà 'ennemi' en présente un exemple. Donc, nous avons payà [1(-5)]

'etre l'ennemi [de ("à") 5]'.

15. Le tcherkessé n'accepte pas, à l'intérieur d'une seule forme,

la présence de deux préfixes personnels co-référents: ni

*sa-wáryáryáge-sazà-à* (1/SU-2/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF) 'je

me suis faite la femme', ni

voyelles identiques j'admets que c'est la première qui tombe:

+y-a-wàne (3/PS-POS-PI-maison-REL) 'leur maison, REL'

+θ-ya-wàne -à+

+t-ayk (père-ABS-EMPH) 'et mon père' +ta-θ-ayk+

Une séquence sous-jacente +++C(C)+ qui se présente en posi-
tion finale du thème devient +++C(C)+ (-ë ne donne jamais +ë+):

psàë-m (jeune fille-REL) 'la jeune fille, REL' +psàë-m-

za-gàë.re-m (un-certain-REL) 'un certain, REL' +za-gàë.re -m+

Une séquence +()y-y.+ donne — dans la partie préfixale du

mot — +()y-y.+:

salr1ya1soaz (v. note 12)

yà-ge-saza à (3/SB-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-êtrePF) 'il l'a fait

le sien' ('"il" ≠ "sien") +θ-θ-ya-ge-saza -àë+; +ya-ya-

— +y-ya+ — +r-ya+.

Une séquence ya donne — dans la partie préfixale du mot —

ryà après à, ze et rya:

yà-ge-saza (3/SB-3/0I-1/AG-donner-PF) 'il l'a donné à

eux' +yà-ge-saza to -àë+.

16. Tandis qu'un verbe n'est qu'un verbe, tout nom en principe est

aussi un verbe intransitif, à l'indexe [1]. L'occupation de la posi-
tion 5 (01) dans les formes-S tirées d'un nom est exceptionnelle;
payà 'ennemi' en présente un exemple. Donc, nous avons payà [1(-5)]

'etre l'ennemi [de ("à") 5]'.

17. Le tcherkessé n'accepte pas, à l'intérieur d'une seule forme,

la présence de deux préfixes personnels co-référents: ni

*sa-wáryáryáge-sazà-à* (1/SU-2/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF) 'je

me suis faite la femme', ni

voyelles identiques j'admets que c'est la première qui tombe:

+y-a-wàne (3/PS-POS-PI-maison-REL) 'leur maison, REL'

+θ-ya-wàne -à+

+t-ayk (père-ABS-EMPH) 'et mon père' +ta-θ-ayk+

Une séquence sous-jacente +++C(C)+ qui se présente en posi-
tion finale du thème devient +++C(C)+ (-ë ne donne jamais +ë+):

psàë-m (jeune fille-REL) 'la jeune fille, REL' +psàë-m-

za-gàë.re-m (un-certain-REL) 'un certain, REL' +za-gàë.re -m+

Une séquence +()y-y.+ donne — dans la partie préfixale du

mot — +()y-y.+:

salr1ya1soaz (v. note 12)

yà-ge-saza à (3/SB-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-êtrePF) 'il l'a fait

le sien' ('"il" ≠ "sien") +θ-θ-ya-ge-saza -àë+; +ya-ya-

— +y-ya+ — +r-ya+.

Une séquence ya donne — dans la partie préfixale du mot —

ryà après à, ze et rya:

yà-ge-saza (3/SB-3/0I-1/AG-donner-PF) 'il l'a donné à

eux' +yà-ge-saza to -àë+.

16. Tandis qu'un verbe n'est qu'un verbe, tout nom en principe est

aussi un verbe intransitif, à l'indexe [1]. L'occupation de la posi-
tion 5 (01) dans les formes-S tirées d'un nom est exceptionnelle;
payà 'ennemi' en présente un exemple. Donc, nous avons payà [1(-5)]

'etre l'ennemi [de ("à") 5]'.

17. Le tcherkessé n'accepte pas, à l'intérieur d'une seule forme,

la présence de deux préfixes personnels co-référents: ni

*sa-wáryáryáge-sazà-à* (1/SU-2/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF) 'je

me suis faite la femme', ni
14. Comparez les formes suivantes du verbe \( \text{Pla} \) (1-5) 'regarder qqn/qqch':

\[
\text{ta}_1^\text{ze}_{\text{Pla}}-x_t \quad (1p/\text{REC/OI-regarder-Fu/1}) \ 'nous nous regardons'.
\]

\[
\text{ta}^\text{ze}_{\text{Pla}}-\text{ra}_1^\text{er} \quad (1p/\text{REC/OI-N/1-regarder-Dy/2-ABS}) \ '(le fait, ABS) que nous ne nous regardons pas'.
\]

\[
\text{ze}^\text{er}_{\text{Pla}}-x \quad (3/SU-REC/OI-OPT-regarder-PL) \ 'qu'ils se regardent!'
\]

\[
\text{ze}^\text{en}_{\text{Pla}}-\text{ta}_1^\text{x} \quad (3/SU-REC/OI-1/AG-CAUS-regarder-Fu/1-PL) \ 'je les ferai se regarder (l'un l'autre)'.
\]

17. \( \text{y}_1^\text{A-r(y)_a.t} \quad (3/SU-3/OP-POS-P1-père) \ 'il est leur père'


19. Pour l'analyse des formes-S tirées de pronoms et qui comportent un élément \( \text{ya} \), v. à paraître b.

20. Ce verbe sera plus amplement traité dans Smeets à paraître c.

21. Je ne parlerai pas non plus du verbe statique \( \text{cose} \) (1-4:ya-), 'aimer qqn/qqch', qui - s'il comporte bien l'élément \( \text{ya} \), POS - ne saurait être compté parmi les verbes possessifs pour des raisons d'ordre sémantique. Référant à Smeets à paraître d, je me borne ici à quelques exemples:

\[
\text{se} \text{ \text{ya}}_1^\text{a}^\text{c} \quad (je) \quad \text{(celui=là-ABS)} \quad (3/SU-3/OP-POS-être aimé) \ 'il m'aime ("il est l'aimé de moi")'.
\]
CHAPTER 9 ON LOCATION AND DIRECTION IN CIRCASSIAN

FIVE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

9.1 Introduction

There is a group of suffixes in (Shapsug) Circassian which occur in a well-definable position in the word, which are mutually exclusive, and most of which have directional meaning. I shall call them directional suffixes. These suffixes occur in combination either with a particular prefix or with almost any member out of the set of locational preverbs. Often these prefixes refer to the goal of the movement, whose direction is indicated by the directional suffix. This article is specifically concerned with five directional suffixes that freely combine with locational preverbs. First, however, I shall give some general information on Circassian (section 2) and the various devices the language makes use of to indicate location and direction (section 3). Section 4 presents neutral and intensive non-directional forms, section 5 illative and elative forms, and section 6 introvert and extrovert forms. The distinctions presented in sections 4 and 6 have not yet been described in the literature on Circassian.

9.2 General Observations on Circassian

In principle, all Circassian words can be analysed in the same way: a word consists of a stem to which one or more endings can be added. The stem consists of a base which can be preceded and/or followed by stem-affixes. The base, in its turn, consists of a central part, the root, which can be provided with base-affixes. A word can contain several bases.

As a rule, the order of prefixes and suffixes is fixed. Sets of affixes that fill the same slot can be established. For the stem-prefixes it is convenient to adopt a system of nine slots. Four of these slots can be filled by personal prefixes: slot 1 by a subject prefix, slot 2 by a preverb object prefix, slot 3 by an indirect object prefix and slot 4 by an agent prefix. Slot 2 can be filled by re- 'hither' only. Slot 4 is filled by a personal and a non-personal prefix; for the latter I reserve the term preverb. Most preverbs have locational meaning. They locate in relation to the actant that is referred to by the preverb object prefix. The fillers of the other slots are of no relevance here.

Forms with a filled sixth slot are transitive. The goal of a transitive form and the only actant of an intransitive form are both referred to by the subject prefix (slot 1); the agent is referred to in slot 6. Subject prefixes are specified by ABS(olutive) NPs, all other personal prefixes by REL(ative) NPs.

A sentence consists at least of a (main) predicate. Typical of predicates is a S(ubject)-P(redicate) nexus. The main predicate generally occurs in sentence-final position. All other words of the sentence are subordinated to it. Subordinates that have an S-P nexus are at the same time superordinates insofar as they can have their own subordinates. In principle morphological indication of location and/or direction only occurs in forms with an S-P nexus. In the examples I shall restrict myself to main predicates. Predicates can be derived from verbs as well as from nouns. In predicates from nouns indication of location and direction is exceptional. There are stative and dynamic verbs. Directional suffixes do
not combine with stative verbs.

9.3 Various Devices

Slot 2 of the stem-prefixes can contain ae- 'hither' (Hh), which indicates direction in a different way from the directional suffixes, namely deictically. Roughly speaking, ae- indicates directedness towards the place of utterance, and also directedness from a person further away from the speaker towards a person closer to him (e.g., he [there] \(\rightarrow\) he [here]; he \(\rightarrow\) you; he \(\rightarrow\) I and you \(\rightarrow\) I). When the speaker relates events that are not located at the place of utterance, he places himself as it were at a point in the related situation and reports from there. One finds ae- in forms in which a movement is expressed towards the speaker's imaginary position. There are several types of form in which ae- does not have its usual meaning. Improper use of the affixes that normally contribute to the indication of location or direction is common.

Locational preverbs locate the subject in relation to the preverb object. The preverb object is referred to by a personal prefix immediately preceding the preverb. Locational preverbs are neutral with regard to direction. They can simply combine with stative verbs such as ta- 'to stand', so- 'to sit' and Åb- 'to lie'. These stative verbs obligatorily take a locational prefix.

e.g. (1) s\(\text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \text{d} \text{a} \text{a} \text{e} \text{t} \text{a} \text{s}\) (1/SB-2/PO-on-to sit) 'I am sitting on you'.
(2) wane-n s\(\text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \text{d} \text{a} \text{a} \text{e} \text{t} \text{a} \text{s}\) (house-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) 'I am sitting in the house'.

There are about 30 locational preverbs; the most general of them is so- 'there', which locates in a vague way only. There are several preverbs that express inessive location. It is mainly the form of the space that is referred to by the PO prefix that determines their choice; cf. ya- 'in (a closed space)', de- 'in (an open space)', Úe- 'in (a mass)', Úe- 'within (totally filling up)' 4)

The locational preverbs other than so- 'there' and Åb- 'behind' do not simply combine with dynamic verbs. They require marking of direction by means of a directional suffix.

The directional suffixes indicate a wide variety of directions. The list of these suffixes follows below. With each of them I indicate the prefix, or set of prefixes, with which they combine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i.</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>ILL</th>
<th>illative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>-ahe</td>
<td>ImV</td>
<td>introvert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>-ako</td>
<td>ExV</td>
<td>extrovert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>-eno</td>
<td>INTE</td>
<td>intensive/rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi.</td>
<td>-eké</td>
<td>NoFW</td>
<td>not forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>-ve</td>
<td>UPW</td>
<td>upwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii.</td>
<td>-eke</td>
<td>DOWN</td>
<td>downwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>ToCL</td>
<td>closely towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x.</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>ToQU</td>
<td>quickly towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>till</td>
<td>w. Åa⁴ 'at'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the suffixes combining with locational preverbs, see sections

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There is also periphrastic indication of location, namely by means of locational nouns. Some of these indicate — though in a more explicit way — the same spatial relations as the locational preverbs. Others indicate locations that cannot be indicated by these preverbs (e.g., 'between', 'near'). Most locational nouns can be used in two ways:

(3) \( \text{wane-} \text{k-eka-m} \text{ s} \text{y-} \text{h} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (house-inside-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-PF) 'I entered the house'.

(4) \( \text{wane-} \text{ya-k-eka \ s} \text{y-} \text{h} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (house-REL) (3/PS-POS-inside-REL) () 'I entered the house'.

The demonstrative pronouns have a three-term system: \( \text{ma} \) 'this', \( \text{wa} \) 'that (near you)' and \( \text{za} \) 'that'. Various sets of deictic local adverbs are derived from these pronouns.

Finally, REL NPS can indicate the goal of a movement expressed in a (mostly following) form containing a subject prefix, which is derived from a verb of motion and which does not contain reference to that goal. Similarly, NPs with the instrumental ending can indicate the object past which an action takes place.

(6) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{a-m} \text{ s} \text{a-} \text{k} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (village-REL) (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I went to the village'.

(7) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{a-m-ge \ s} \text{a-} \text{k} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (village-REL-INS) (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I passed by the village'.

The indication of location and direction has been presented above from a point of view of form, and schematically only. Some semantic distinctions are presented in the following.

9.4 Neutral and Intensive Rest

With dynamic verbs there is an opposition between what I shall call neutral and intensive non-directional forms. In the intensive forms it is emphasised (or presented as especially relevant, or as unexpected) that the event in question takes place at the indicated location — and not elsewhere. In addition, by using an intensive form, the speaker can stress that the event takes place all over the indicated location. The intensive suffix is \( \text{ehe} \). It combines both with verbs concerned with motion and with other verbs. Corresponding neutral non-directional expressions are mostly periphrastic. Inessive intensive forms, however, are also matched by neutral forms containing \( \text{a} \) 'there'.

(8) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{a-m \ de} \text{y-} \text{ehe-s} \text{x} \) (village-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to die-INTE-PF) 'he died in the village (for instance: unexpectedly, as he did not live there)'.

(9) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{a-m \ de} \text{y-} \text{ehe \ rel} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (village-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to be/stand-MOD) (3/SB-to die-PF) 'he died (being) in the village'.

(10) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{a-m \ ka} \text{a-s} \text{x} \) (3/3/SB-3/PO-there-to die-PF) 'he died in the village'.

(11) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{e-er \ wane-m \ ya-} \text{le} \text{x-ehe-s} \text{x} \) (woman-ABS) (house-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to work-INTE-Fu/l) 'the woman will be working in the house (for example: cleaning it)'.

(12) \( \text{q} \text{a-} \text{e-er \ wane-m \ ka} \text{a-le} \text{x-ehe-s} \text{x} \) (woman-ABS) (house-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-there-to work-Fu/l) 'the woman will be working in the house (for instance: type-writing)'.

(13) \( \text{eal-er \ wane-m \ y-} \text{e-ps-} \text{ehe} \) (child-ABS) (1) (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to jump-INTE) 'the child is jumping all over the house'.
Illativity and Elativity

Illative and elative forms indicate the subject's appearance at, or disappearance from, a location that is referred to by the preverb object. In intransitive forms it is the agent that causes the locomotion. In intransitive forms the subject moves by itself. The usual allomorph of the illative suffix is -e. The other allomorph, -he, is found with a small number of verbs. The elative suffix has the allomorphs -e and -a.e.

The two suffixes as a rule combine with verbs of motion. The illative suffix occasionally also combines with verbs not concerned with motion; in that case the suffix introduces an element of motion.

(14) ḡaıl-er wane-m e-7e-pške (I) (3/SB-3/PO-there-Dy/1-to jump) 'the child is jumping in the house'.

(15) qa-qa-eğ-eğ-ehe-ʁ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-beside-to die-INTE-PF) 'he died beside me'.

(16) se qa-qa-eğ-eğ-ew re§a-ʁ (I) (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-beside-to sit-MOD) (3/SB-to die-PF) 'he died (sitting) beside me'.

9.5 Illativity and Elativity

As to the elative suffix, some verbs take only -a, others can have -e as well as -a.e, and a small number only has -a.e. According to my informants, there generally is no difference in meaning between forms with -a and -a.e which are otherwise identical. Occasionally, however, there is a difference in meaning for them. As it seems, in forms with -a.e the elative movement requires more effort or strain than in forms with -a.e.

(17) ma2-er te-§e-§3-e-ʁt (stone-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-on-1/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone on it'.

(18) ma2-er te-§e-§3-e-ʁt (stone-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-on-1/AG-to throw-ELA-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone from it'.

(19) ma2-er se-§3-ʁt (I) (3/SB-1/AG-to throw-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone'.

(20) ḍem-er de-§e-§a-ʁ (cow-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead-ILL-PF) 'you led the cow into it'.

(21) ḍem-er de-§e-§a-ʁ (cow-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead-ELA-PF) 'you led the cow out of it'.

(22) ḍem-er p-§a-x(e) (I) (3/SB-2/AG-to lead-PF) 'you led the cow'.

(23) wane-m wa-§e-§e-§e-§e-ʁ (house-REL) (2/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to see-ILL-PF) 'I saw you in the house' (either from outside, or after entering - "movement" by the agent).

(24) wane-m wa-§e-§e-§e-§e-ʁ (I) (2/SB-3/PO-there-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw you in the house'.

(25) wane-m wa-§e-§e-§e-§e-ʁ (I) (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to see-INTE-PF) 'I saw you in the house'.

A large group of verbs of motion combines with the illative and the elative suffix. There are also verbs that only combine with one of these. Small groups of bound verbs occur only in combination with one or both of the suffixes under discussion.
Introvert and Extrovert Forms

In introvert and extrovert forms emphasis is laid on a change in condition or shape of the actant that is indicated by the subject prefix. Sometimes this actant is presented as the result of the event referred to. In the introvert forms the subject is affected at the location which is referred to by the preverb object. The introvert suffix is -ahe; word-finally one also finds -eha/-ahe.

In extrovert forms the suffix -ahe is found. The actant referred to by the PO prefix indicates the background against which, or the starting-point from which the change of the subject actant takes place. The preverb indicates the original spatial relation of these two actants. Often there is a partitive element of meaning.

Introvert forms are clearly distinct from illative (and from intensive non-directional) forms. The distinction between extrovert and elative forms is less precise. It is the existence of the distinction introvert/illative which suggests a parallel distinction extrovert/elative.

(29) $\text{wane-m wane de-p6t-ahe-x}$ (yard-REL) (house-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to make-InV-PF)'you have made a house in the yard'.

(30) $\text{p6t-m wane de-p6t-ahe-x}$ (timber-REL) (house-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to make-ExV-PF)'you have made a house from the timber'.

(31) $\text{k6a-m 6a-mek-ahe-x}$ (car-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to faint-InV-PF)'he fainted in the car'; compare (32-33):

(32) $\text{k6a-m 6a-mek-ahe-x}$ (car-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to faint-INTE-PF)'he fainted in the car'.

(33) $\text{k6a-m 6a-mek-ahe-x (3/SB-3/PO-there-to faint-PF)'he fainted in the car'.}$

(34) $\text{k6t6=a-m sate-p5s-ahe-x}$ (road-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-on-to get tired-InV-PF)'I got tired on the road'; compare (35):

(35) $\text{k6t6=a-m sate-p5s-ahe-e}$ (road-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-on-to get tired-INTE-PF)'I got tired on the road'.

(36) $\text{k6t6=a-m y6t-ahe-x}$ (cheese-REL) (3/PS-POS-surface-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-on-to get hard-ExV-PF)'the surface of the cheese became hard ("the cheese its surface, it became hard on it")'.

(37) $\text{wane-m y6t-6x-er zwæ xe}$ (house-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO-in-to lie-PL-ABS) (all) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to burn-ExV-PF-PL)'all the things that were lying in the house got burned'.

(38) $\text{a kn6=a=m y6t-6x-ed-ahe-x}$ (that) (country-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to disappear-ExV-PF)'he disappeared from that country' (i.e. (after) leaving that country).

(39) $\text{a kn6=a=m y6t-6x-ed-ahe-a}$ (that) (country-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to disappear-ILL-PF)'he disappeared in that country (after having entered)'.

(40) $\text{a kn6=a=m y6t-6x-ed-ahe-x}$ (3/SB-3/PO-in-to disappear-INTE-PF)'he disappeared in that country'.

(41) $\text{a kn6=a=m y6t-6x-ed-ahe-x}$ (3/SB-3/PO-there-to disappear-PF)'he disappeared in that country'.

(42) $\text{wane-m y6t-6x-ahe-x}$ (illness-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to die-ExV-PF)'he died becase of ("out of") the illness'.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS - absolutive (ending)
AG - agent (prefix)
CAUS - causative (prefix)
COND - conditional (ending)
CoPr - coordinating (ending)
DOWN - downwards (suffix)
Dy/1 - first dynamic (prefix)
Dy/2 - second dynamic (ending)
ELA - relative (suffix)
ExV - extrovert (suffix)
Fu/1 - first future (suffix)
Fu/2 - second future (suffix)
Hh - hither (prefix)
ILL - illative (suffix)
INS - instrumental (ending)
INTE - intensive (suffix)
intr. - intransitive
Inv. - introvert (suffix)
Io - indirect object (prefix)
MOD - modal (ending)
MOD - modal (ending)
MSD - masdar (suffix)
N/2 - negative 2 (ending)
NoFW - not forward (suffix)

PART - participial (prefix)
PF - perfect (suffix)
Pi - plural (prefix)
PL - plural (ending)
PO - preverb object (prefix)
POS - possession (preverb)
PS - possessive (prefix)
REF - reflexive (prefix)
REL - relative (ending)
SB - subject (prefix)
SG. - singular
S-P - subject-predicate
ToCL - closely towards (suffix)
ToQu - quickly towards (suffix)
Tr. - transitive
UPW - upwards (suffix)

NOTES

1) Shapsug is a West-Circassian dialect, speakers of which are found scattered throughout Turkey, and also in a few villages in the Caucasus. The data presented in this paper has been collected in Düzce, a small town between Istanbul and Ankara. For Düzce Shapsug, cf. Smeets, R., Sept histoires en šapsug, The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse/Peeters, Leuven, 1976.

2) Illustration:

(43) š aw-se-yt (1/SB-to sleep-Fu/1) 'I will sleep'.
(44) š aw-se-yt (girl-ABS) (1/SB-to sleep-Fu/1) 'the girl will sleep'.
(45) š aw-se-yt (1/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'you will see me'.
(46) š aw-se-yt (girl-REL) (1/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'he/she will see him/her/it'.
(47) š aw-se-yt (boy-REL) (girl-ABS) (3/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'the boy will see the girl'.
(48) š aw-se-yt (girl-REL) (boy-ABS) (3/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'the girl will see the boy'.

3) Subordinates with an S-P nexus are: coordinated predicates (ending -ay), subordinated predicates (various endings; e.g. -me COND) and stem-nominalisations [participles, masdars, temporals (the moment that'), factuals (the fact that; the way how')]. Examples with indication of location and direction:

(49) š aw-se-yt (3/SB-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/2-CoPr) 'you will throw it on it, and'.

CONVENTIONS

A raised figure following a stem-prefix indicates the number of the slot filled by the prefix. In the word, morphemes are separated by means of hyphens and dots; dots figure between members of fixed combinations. Circassian words are followed by their morpheme inventories (between round brackets). The morpheme inventories present the constituent morphemes by means of glosses and/or translations. Underlined glosses render zero-morphs.
Preverbs are monosyllabic, C(C)V, or disyllabic, C(C)VCV. The preverb əeəcə- 'inside' is the only disyllabic preverb that cannot be analysed. Some monosyllabic (viz., šə-, te-, ne-) and most disyllabic preverbs have a limited distribution.

The monosyllabic locational preverbs are: po- 'at (the end of)', pe- 'in front of', ble- 'past', te- 'on', de- 'in', zo.de- 'the place, where' (za-: PART/PO), šəe- 'above', še- 'on (the top of)', əe- 'upwards', ke- 'under', še- 'on (the body of)', šə- 'behind', ke- 'in, amidst', aee- 'next, against', aəe- 'behind', te- 'in (the hand of)', pəe- 'at, along', ya- 'in', ne- 'at'.

The disyllabic locational prefix are: pe.əeə- '(fixed) at', pe.əe- 'before', pe.pa- 'in front of', bəəe.de- 'next, near', šəe.po(.ra)- 'across', šəe.te- 'above', šəe.de- 'across', šəe.əe- 'across, above', še.əe xe- '(hanging) on', še.əe ke- 'away from', šə.əe xe- '(leaving) to', ke.əa- 'with, near', ke.əəca- 'within'.

5) (55) ba.əeəca-m šaw-er əeəya.əeəca-əeəca (bird-REL) (yard-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to fly-INTE-PF) 'the bird has flown round the whole yard' (v).

7) The locational nouns are:
- ñe.o.on, ñe.o.a 'above (closely)', -psê 'above (without contact)', -êe.o 'under (closely)', -êe.ह 'under', -pe.ह 'before, in front of (facing, standing upright)', -pe.ñe 'before, in front of (below, seated)', -gêa.pe 'before, in front of, in the front part of', -pe 'before, in front of (moving)', -êêa 'behind', -qê.e 'behind, round the corner', -wêa 'behind (moving)', -êêe 'between' (cf. êe 'two'), -êêa.zê.o 'among', -gêa 'near, with', -bêa 'beside', -êêe 'inside'.

8) Cf. ma.de, m.e.w, ma.êe 'here'; wa.de, w.e.w, wa.êe 'there (near you)'; ña.de, ña.w, ña.êe 'there (near him)'; te 'which, what?', also 'where?', ta/e.de 'where?'.

9) ñê.o.e from underlying +sê- êo.e-ôe; underlying sequences +êê.o.e are changed to +ôê-ôe-ôe in stem-final position. Compare also (49) ñê.e.o.e-n-ay and (50) ñê.e.o.e-mê. A number of suffixes drop their final vowel in word-final position.

10) One finds -e or -he with: êêê.o.e (tr.) 'to release', ñêê.o.e (tr.) 'to pull, drag', ñêe (tr.) 'to tie up, to bind', and ñê.e.be.ñê (tr.) 'to hide', a fixed combination with ñê-CAUS. Only -he is found with ñê.e.o 'to sit down' (NB: ñê.o.o), ñê.e.ñê 'to lie down' (NB: ñê.e.ñê), ñê.e.zê (tr.) 'to drive' (ñê.e.zê-he), one also finds -he in ñê.zê (tr.) 'to put (ILL)', cf. (?) ñê 'to lie'.

11) My informants are not always unanimous, and they often hesitate. With bound verbs one finds only -ê (cf. note 12).

With many verbs one finds -e as well as -ako (often one of them being preferred to the other, as is the case with -ako for the verb babà 'to fly'). Only -ako is found with, for instance, ñê.e.zê-(tr.) 'to drive'.

12) There are:
(1) free verbs that combine with both the illative and the elative suffix; e.g., ñe (tr.) 'to throw' (ñê.o(ka)/ñê-e), ñe (tr.) 'to lead' (ñ-ñ/ñ-ñ), babà 'to fly' (bab-a(ka)/bab-ê), psê 'to jump' (psê.o(ka)/psê-e);
(2) free verbs that combine with only one of the two suffixes; e.g., ñe to fall', f-e 'to fall (ILL)', ñêê.o (tr.) 'to see', ñêê.o.e 'to see (ILL)', ñêê.e 'to seize, grasp', ñêê-ako 'to seize (ELA)';
(3) bound verbs that occur with both suffixes; e.g., ñe.zê- (tr.) 'to drive' (ñê.e.zê(ka)/ñê.e.zê-he);
(4) bound verbs that occur with only one of the two suffixes; e.g., ñêê.o(ka) 'to hurl oneself (ELA)', ñê.o (tr.) 'to take (ELA)', ñê.e (tr.) 'to insert (ILL)'. The most general verb of motion, ñê.o 'to go', does not combine with -ê or -e. One finds, however, the fixed combinations ñê.o 'to go (ILL)' and ñê.e 'to go (ELA)'.

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CHAPTER 10  \hspace{1cm} ON THE OBSTRUENTS OF GENCELI SHAPSUG

10.1 Introduction

As is well known, Adyghe (or West Circassian) has four dialects: two eastern ones, Temirgoy and Abadzekh, and two western ones, Bzhedug and Shapsug. In the Caucasus the Shapsug originally outnumbered the speakers of any other dialect.\(^1\) At present there are only a few Shapsug villages left in the Caucasus. There is one group along the Kuban River, west of Krasnodar, and another group along the coast of the Black Sea, around Tuapse. There are two sub-dialects: Kuban Shapsug and Hakuchi Shapsug. Hakuchi Shapsug is exclusively spoken around Tuapse, Kuban Shapsug both along the Kuban and, as a result of migrations dating from after the 1864 exodus, around Tuapse.\(^2\)

Scattered over the territory that once formed the Ottoman Empire one finds, among the villages that are inhabited by Circassians, a considerable number in which Shapsugs live. The parlors of some of these villages have been investigated.\(^3\)

Gencele is a small Anatolian village, situated some 15 kms south-west of the town of Dinar, in the vilayet of Afyon. There is only one other Circassian village in the neighbourhood, viz. Yapaglı, north-west of Dinar. Gencele has about 200 inhabitants, all of them Circassians. They call their village šhapsuğ(e) and are aware of speaking Shapsug. Though their language belongs to the Hakuchi sub-dialect, they do not remember the name Hakuchi. They do remember that their ancestors were first sent to the Balkans and that from there they were allowed to come to Dinar.

I passed by Gencele in the summer of 1979 and stayed there for what turned out to be only a short time, as most people were in the middle of harvesting. The environments of the village are not at all Caucasian-like: the landscape is rather flat, there is no open water, and vegetation is very poor. This partly explains why much of the original lexicon - especially nouns - has been lost. Up to school-age the children speak Circassian only.

10.2 The Sound-system of Gencele Shapsug

10.2.1 The sound-system of Gencele Shapsug comprises 3 vowels, viz. high \(a\), mid \(e\), and low \(a\). 5 resonants, viz. \(w\), \(y\), \(m\), \(n\), \(r\), and 54 obstruents:

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\[ a: \text{voiceless aspirated}, \ b: \text{voiceless,} \ c: \text{voiceless unaspirated}, \ d: \text{voiced,} \ e: \text{glottalic;} \ f: \text{palatalised velars,} \ g: \text{palatalised palatal affricates and fricatives,} \ h: \text{plain alveolo-palatales,} \ i: \text{plain alveolar affricates and fricatives,} \ j: \text{plain alveolarised labial,} \ k: \text{labialised labial,} \ l: \text{plain labialised labial,} \ m: \text{plain dentals,} \ n: \text{labialised alveolar,} \ o: \text{labialised alveolo-palatal,} \ p: \text{labialised alveolarised alveolar,} \ q: \text{lateral,} \ r: \text{plain velars,} \ s: \text{labialised velars,} \ t: \text{plain uvlars,} \ u: \text{labialised uvlars,} \ v: \text{pharyngeal,} \ w: \text{laryngeal} \]

10.2.2 The phonemes \( *f^a < *k^a, *k^{o} \) (DPR:90) and \( *s < *z^a \) are typical of Shapsug. Other Shapsug features are:

10.2.3 The opposition as such (\( *k^a, *k^o, *g^o \)) as such \( (\hat{k}^a, \hat{k}^o, \hat{g}^o, \hat{g}^o) \) results from a very recent development. As far as I know the same opposition has not been attested in any other form of Circassian.

10.2.4 The merger of the velarised palatal affricates \( *k' \)-series) with the palatalised palatal affricates \( *k'' \)-series), and the incomplete merger of the corresponding fricatives. The rest of West-Circassian kept the two series apart.

10.2.5 The (partial) preservation of the opposition unaspirated/aspirated (also preserved in Bzhedug, but merger of \( *p^a, \ etc. \) with \( *t^a, \ etc. \) in other West-Circassian dialects).

10.2.6 Typically Hakuchi is the preservation in certain environments of \( *q^a \) (in GnSHP as \( \hat{q}^a \) and in all environments of \( *q^{o} \) (in GnSHP as \( \hat{q}^{o} \)), which are maintained, in Kuban Shapsug as well as in all other Circassian dialects, as \( q^a \) and \( q^{o} \) respectively. A related phenomenon is the absence from the GnSHP system of the phonemes \( \hat{z}^a, \hat{z}^{o} \), which do occur in the rest of West Circassian (including Kuban Shapsug).

In the next three sections I shall discuss the opposition aspirated/unaspirated (section 3), the velars and uvulars (section 4) and the palatales (section 5).

10.3 The Opposition Aspirated/Unaspirated

The old opposition aspirated/unaspirated has been preserved through *Adyghe, *W. Adyghe, *Shapsug and *Hakuchi; Hakuchi SHP as well as Kuban SHP parlers have retained the opposition and at least traces of it are found in all Shapsug parlers. In GnSHP the opposition tends to disappear. It is preserved as such only with the more front consonants (series 1, 3, 4, and 6); the consonants of the series involved call for no special remarks: the aspirated sounds are strongly aspirated, the unaspirated ones are unaspirated, laxness and tenseness just being concomitant features. With the velars the opposition has not been preserved as such: \( \hat{z}^a, \hat{z}^{o} \) are always aspirated, \( \hat{g}^a, \hat{g}^{o} \), however, vary from aspirated to unaspirated. The palatal \( \hat{z} \) usually is unaspirated; it is the reflex of \( *z^a, *z^{o} \) and \( *z' \). The uvulars \( q^o \) (from \( *q ' \) and \( *q ^{o} \)) are usually aspirated. Their aspiration varies with homorganic friction: \( [q^o q^o, q^o q^o] \).

10.4 Velars and Uvulars

10.4.1 *Circassian had the following system of uvulars (DPR:92,ff.):
The cluster $\ddag$ is easily distinguished from the cluster $\ddagger$ as in $\ddagger$ 'calf': [$\ddagger$] vs. [$\ddagger$/$\ddagger$ $\ddagger$].

10.4.5 The frontward development from glottalic uvulars to glottalic velars is a recent one. A number of older people still pronounce uvulars beside velars. Some people originating from Yapakli have the laryngeal reflexes of the glottalic uvulars that are found throughout Circassian; cf. $\ddagger$ 'to know', $\ddagger$ 'work'.

10.4.6 An optional feature of labialisation was found (checked with 3 informants) in $\ddagger$ 'to educate', $\ddagger$ 'bed', $\ddagger$ 'place' and $\ddagger$ 'dear', a constant feature of labialisation was observed in $\ddagger$ 'to cover', and no labialisation in $\ddagger$ 'flat' and $\ddagger$ 'time'. The situation differs from parler to parler. An explanation is suggested in Paris (1978:341). The GNSHP data do not throw new light on this question.

10.4.7 In the Caucasus uvular reflexes of $\ddagger$ and $\ddagger$ are only observed in the Hakuchi region. This region was formerly bounded on the south by the Oubykh. Oubykh has a rich system of uvulars (cf. Dumézil 1975:13), and no phonemic glottal stop. It is highly probable that influence of Oubykh has been an important — if not decisive —
factor for the immediately neighbouring Circassians either not to join in the shift \( \hat{q} \rightarrow q \) (and only partly in the shift \( \hat{q} \rightarrow \hat{q} \)), or to restore \( \hat{q} \) to \( q \) and \( \hat{q} \) to \( \hat{q} \). The term Hakuchi is not used unambiguously; in particular Circassian as spoken by bilingual Oubynks should not be given this name.

10.5 Palatals

10.5.1 Proto-Circassian had the following system of palatals (Kuipers 63:78-79):

- (palatalised)
- (velarised)

The correspondences between "Circassian and GnSHP are:

10.5.2 The developments from which these correspondences result are the following:

(i) early *Adyghe: merger of *h with *h and of *h with *h; the resulting system was:

(ii) *Shapsug: merger of *c, *c, and *c with *c, *c, and *c respectively. An early development: I know of no parler that has

escaped this merger. The system became:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\zeta(1) & \rightarrow 3 & *3 & *h & *h & * & 2 \\
*\zeta(1) & \rightarrow 3 & *h & *h & * & 2
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) *Shapsug: simplification of the system of the voiceless fricatives; the reflexes of these sounds differ according to the parlers. We usually find a two-member system; some dialects have ended up with one *z. GnSHP has *h and *z; other parlers have *z (corresponding with GnSHP *h) and *z (corresponding with GnSHP *z). This amounts to merger of the two aspirated sounds into one aspirated + velarised sound and a merger of the two unaspirated sounds into one unaspirated + palatalised fricative:

\[
\begin{align*}
*\zeta & \rightarrow 3 & *3 & *h & *h & * & 2
\end{align*}
\]

10.5.3 In GnSHP, which for the greater part retained the opposition aspirated unaspirated, the opposition became, in the first place, a question of presence vs. absence of aspiration; in parlers that gave up that opposition the distinction became a question of palatal vs. velar.

\[
\begin{align*}
*z & \rightarrow z \\
*3 & \rightarrow 3
\end{align*}
\]

10.5.4 Dumezil (1960:91) lists peculiarities of the Shapsug idiolect of his informant Hüseyin Şemi Tümer (HtSHP); among these: "la confusion totale de \( z \) et de \( \zeta \), de \( z \) et de \( \zeta \), de \( \tilde{z} \) et de \( \tilde{\zeta} \), au profit de \( \zeta \), \( z \), \( \tilde{z} \) ; dans un grand nombre de mots, mais non dans tous, \( z \) à la place de \( \zeta \) bijedough, kémirgoy, etc. ; dans quelques cas l'inverse ; sur ce dernier point, qui peut surprendre les tcherkessissants, les notations ont été itérativement vérifiées.."

458

459
Checking the instances of ə~ and ə~ in the two HtSHP texts (Dumézil 1960:92 ff; 1965:177 ff.) it appears that we are dealing with a parler that phonemicised ə~: and ə~: differently from GnSHP.

10.5.5 Below I compare the HtSHP reflexes of the Circassian palatal voiceless fricatives with the reflexes in GnSHP, Temirgoy and Bzhedug (NB: Bzhedug retained the original *Adyghe system). B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HtSHP</th>
<th>GnSHP</th>
<th>Tem.</th>
<th>Bzh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.5.6 Another presentation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HtSHP</th>
<th>ə~</th>
<th>ə~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bzhedug</th>
<th>ə~</th>
<th>ə~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə~</td>
<td>ə~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.5.7 It follows that material from Temirgoy and from Shapsug parlers such as GnSHP and HtSHP suffices for the reconstruction of the voiceless palatal fricatives in *Adyghe in cases where no Bzhedug cognate is available. For the reconstruction of the *Circassian sounds East Circassian cognates are needed.

As one can see below six *Circassian sounds can be recon- structed on the basis of their HtSHP, Temirgoy and Kabardian reflexes. Note that none of these three modern forms of the language has more than two different reflexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HtSHP vs. Temirgoy</th>
<th>Adyghe vs. Kabardian</th>
<th>*Circassian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) ə~ (A) ə~ (A) *ə~ (AA) ə (A) *ə~ (AAA/DPR:47)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) ə~ (A) ə~ (B) *ə~ (AB) ə (A) *ə~ (ABA/DPR:58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) ə~ (B) ə~ (A) *ə~ (BA) ə (B) *ə~ (BAB/DPR:37)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) ə~ (B) ə~ (A) *ə~ (BA) ə (A) *ə~ (BAA/DPR:45)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ə~ (B) ə~ (B) *ə~ (BB) ə (B) *ə~ (BBB/DPR:51)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) ə~ (B) ə~ (B) *ə~ (BB) ə (A) *ə~ (BBA/DPR:57)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

[1] HtSHP/Tem./Kab./*Circ. 'gloss' [finding-place HtSHP]

(1) gəeš'ə/gəeš'-e/gəeš'-ə/*gəeš'-ə 'princess' (DA1:92,4)
(2) ə'ena/ə'ena/əen(a)/*ə'eno 'character' (DA1:92,37)
(3) -waš'ə/-waš'ə/-waš(a)/*-wašh-ə 'to wake up' (DA11:178,15)
(4) ə'sešebZ-e/ə'sešebZ'-e/šešebZ(a)/*šešh-e 'bellows' (DA1:94,96)
(5) ə'aš'ə/əš'ə/*əh'ə 'horse' (DA1:93,52)
(6) ə'apə/ə'apə/əap(ə)/*əh'ə 'mountain' (DA1:93,94)

10.5.8 The few exceptions and hesitations in HtSHP indicate a tendency to merge ə~ with ə~; cf. zeš'ə (DA11:180,89) beside zeš'ə (DA111:177,3) 'to get bored', via *Shapsug *zešh-ə from *Circassian *zešh-ə.

10.5.9 Düzce Shapsug, too, has two reflexes, viz. ə~ and ə~; the latter is observed only in ə'a 'brother' and ə'a 'horse' and varies freely with ə~. In DÜSHP the opposition aspirated/unaspirated no longer exists. *Shapsug *ə~ and ə~ gave ə~ and ə~ respectively. The merger of ə~ with ə~ is almost totally complete.
10.5.10 In Cemilbey Shapsug (CbSHP; Paris 1972, 1974a) there are also two voiceless palatal fricatives: \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \), lax rather than aspirated, and \( \varepsilon \), tense rather than unaspirated (in Paris notation \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) and \( \varepsilon \)). From Paris (1972) we can conclude that \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) is pronounced as \( [\varepsilon^\text{t}] \), and \( \varepsilon \): as \( [\varepsilon^\text{h}] \), but in "strong" position only; elsewhere it is pronounced \( [\varepsilon^\text{t}] \). Note that the opposition aspirated/unaspirated has been preserved both in GnSHP (which has \( \tilde{\varepsilon}^\text{h} \) and \( \varepsilon \)) and in CbSHP. The \( \varepsilon \) of CbSHP is found in two roots only, viz. in \( \varepsilon \text{ie} \) 'to sell' and \( \varepsilon \text{ie} \) 'to bend'. The \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) of \( \varepsilon \text{ie} \) is what one expects: "Circassian \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \text{ie} \) gave "Shapsug "\( \varepsilon \text{ie} \), which gave CbSHP \( \varepsilon \text{ie} \). The \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) of \( \varepsilon \text{ie} \) poses problems."

NOTES


2. cf. Keraševa (1957:9,ff.), Paris (1974a:18); for the exodus see Dumézil (1965:19,ff.).
6. In 1976 I called attention to another threefold opposition of velar plosives that I had observed in DuSHP, in the idiolects of two brothers: \(k^h-o'\) for expected \(k^h\). Back in Düzce, I found no one else having this \(k^h-o\), not even among the relatives of the two brothers. It appears that we are dealing with a shared 'idiosyncrasy' of idiolects in decay.

7. I render \(\xi, \xi\), etc. of Dumézil's notation as \(\xi^-\), \(\xi\), etc.

8. Temirgoy material is taken from the dictionaries of Literary Adyghe: Literary Adyghe is mainly based on the Temirgoy dialect. Kabardian material is taken either from Kuipers 1975, or from the dictionaries of Literary Kabardian.

9. This means that, in spite of Kuipers (1975:4) and Paris (1978:336, n° 5) there is a possibility of determining the absence/presence of aspiration in *Adyghe voiceless fricatives without having recourse to Bzhedug.

10. The affricate character of *Circassian \(\chi^h\) and \(\chi^h\) has been preserved in the East Circassian Besney dialect, and also, as it is supposed, in Hakuchi (cf. Kuipers 1963:78). However, Hakuchi material may not be considered as decisive here.

11. In Paris (1972:283) \(\xi-a\) is related to a Besney (East Circassian) root \(\xi-e\) 'to bend' and it is stated that it has no cognates. CbSHP \(\xi-a\) can be linked with *Circassian \(\{\xi-e\}\)h-o* (DPR:37) 'to bend', which regularly gives Literary Adyghe \(\xi-e\) and Literary Kabardian \(\xi-e\mid\xi\). We did not find a direct Besney reflex. We did find Besney \(\xi-e\) 'diforme, tordu' (Paris 1976:268, 58) corresponding to Literary Adyghe \(\xi-e\), to Literary Kabardian \(\xi-e\), and to Bzhedug \(\xi-h\). This element derives from *Circassian \(\chi^h\) e, and cannot be separated from *\(\{\xi-e\}\)h-a. This does not solve the whole problem: *Circassian \(\chi^h\) gives *Adyghe \(\chi^h\), which gives *Shapsug \(\chi^h\). Therefore, one expects \(\xi\) in CbSHP (and not \(\xi\)). We are dealing here with an irregularity which presents the last flicker of a vanishing opposition.
11.1 THE CIRCASSIAN MEVLID

In this article I introduce a Circassian text, a poem of about 1000 lines, written, edited and printed by Circassians. These activities were carried out in the early part of this century. We know of no other Circassian text of any length that has been edited in Turkey. This text is especially interesting because it enables us to make generalisations about a Circassian idiolect as it was spoken 70 years ago. Seventy years is a considerable age for a Circassian text. That it has been written down by a native speaker who had obvious linguistic talents renders the text still more valuable.

11.1.1 Circassian

Circassian is one of the (North-)West Caucasian languages, the others being Abkhaz and the almost extinct Oubykh. The Circassian dialects fall into two groups which differ to such an extent that they are often considered to constitute two distinct languages, namely Kabardian (East Circassian) and Adyghe (West Circassian). Large communities of West Caucasians can be found scattered over the territories that made up the Ottoman Empire at the time of the exodus from the Caucasus. This exodus was the direct result of the conquest of the North Caucasus by the Czar, which was completed in 1864.

In and around Düzce, a town of about 30,000 inhabitants half-way between Istanbul and Ankara, lives an important Circassian community. The majority of its members speak Shapsug, a West Circassian dialect. For more information on Circassian and Circassians see Kuipers 1960 and Paris 1974, for information on Düzce Shapsug, see Smeets 1976.

11.1.2 The Mevlid

The Mevlid - in full Mevlid-i Nebi'ev or Mevlid-i Şerif, i.e. "(Hymn on) The Nativity of the Prophet" or "The Holy Nativity" was written in about 1410, by the Ottoman poet Süleyman Çelebi. The oldest manuscripts date from two centuries later. These manuscripts contain cantos relating the birth of the Prophet and also miracles performed by him. The cantos are preceded by an invocation to Allah and a request to pray for the author. They are followed by a number of prayers. More recent manuscripts also contain cantos on the death of the Prophet and the fate of his daughter Fatima, her husband Ali and their children.

In Turkey the Mevlid is very popular. One can safely state that it is the most beloved text written in Turkish dealing with a religious subject. Parts of the poem are recited annually on the 12th day of the third month of the Muslim year, when the birthday of the Prophet is celebrated. The poem is also recited in mosques and in private homes on occasions of public or private mourning or rejoicing. It is not surprising that the Mevlid has been translated into Circassian. For more information on the Mevlid see Gibb (1909: 225, ff.) and Lyman McCallum 1957.

11.1.3 The Düzce Mevlid

The booklet contains 64 pages, mostly of 18 lines which are usually made up of 11 syllables. In the 11 syllable lines there is
a caesura after the 4th and the 8th syllable. The third syllable of the three resulting groups is very prominent, the first one being only relatively prominent:

\[ \text{- - I / - - I / - - I.} \]

The Circassian Mevlid has the usual contents, and in addition two cantos which are considered to be apocryphal. The prayers at the end are in Arabic and throughout the text one finds Arabic words. The first page provides information on the realisation of some of the symbols used in the booklet. The colophon tells us that the Mevlid was translated into Circassian by Abd al-Rahman and that it was printed in the year A.H. 1332, i.e. between 30.11.1913 and 18.11.1914, in the town of Düzcé. The printing was paid for by the poet and by al-Hafiz Zakariya, also from Düzcé.

Jh first came across fragments of the Circassian Mevlid in 1975. These fragments belonged to Habibe Hanım (HH), the mother of my main informant for Düzcé Shapsug, Nazım Met (NM). Back in Düzcé in 1979 I found a complete copy of the booklet. By courtesy of its owner, another relative of NM, there is now a microfilm copy of it in the Leiden University Library.

Only older Circassians are able to read from the Mevlid. In a number of villages in the region of Düzcé children were taught to read and write Circassian from this very booklet. The mosque schools in which this was done were closed down in Kemalistic Turkey. Most copies of the Circassian Mevlid are reported to have vanished at about the same time in autos-da-fé, when so many books in Arabic script were destroyed.

There are differences in the way pupils of different schools recite the poem: often the text is recited rather than sung. I have met about ten people who were able to recite from the Mevlid, none of them under the age of 65. Their reading is often defective: some words are replaced by others and parts of the text are omitted. The whole poem has been recorded on tape; the greater part was sung by HH, the rest by three others, including NM's mother-in-law.

### 11.2 Orthography

Up till 1923 Circassians in the Caucasus used an alphabet based on the Ottoman Turkish one. It is that alphabet, with some adaptations for Shapsug, which is used in the Mevlid. The Ottoman Turkish alphabet combines the symbols of Arabic with orthographic devices of its own, see Németh/Halasi-Kun (1962:21-27).

#### 11.2.1 The Alphabet

Vowels: /a/, initially Ɂ, medially ĭ; /e/ ɹ; /o/, initially ʊ, medially ɿ; often /a/ is not indicated at all. The way the vowels are indicated was for the greater part adopted from Ottoman Turkish orthography.

Resonants: /m/ ɹ, /n/ ɹ; /w/ ɹ, /y/ ɹ, /r/ ɹ, /l/ ɹ.

Obstruents: see the chart on the next page (a: voiceless, b: voiced, c: glottalic, 1: labials, 2: dental plosives, 3: alveolar affricates and fricatives, 4: alveolo-palataes, 5: palataes, 6: laterals, 7: velars, 8: uvulars, 9: pharyngeal, 10: laryngeals; the b-series are labialised).

Misprints mainly involve dots: either too many or too few are printed. Systematically one finds the symbol for /Ɂ/ (two dots) where the symbol for /č/ (three dots) should have been given.

#### 11.2.2 Remarks

No special symbol has been developed for /č/, a sound typical of Shapsug; instead one finds the symbol that is also used for /č/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Common Circassian *č* gave /č/ or /š/ in Shapsug (conditions not clear) and everywhere else only /č/.

The Mevlid distinguishes between ֱ and ֵ(1); cf. ֱ in paše 'large' (/paše/, Common Circassian *paše) and ֵ(2) in ֵe (also written: ֵe, ֵe, ֵe, ֵe) 'place' (/ֵe/, Common Circassian *ֵe*). It also distinguishes between ֵ (Common Circassian *š*) and ֵ (Common Circassian *š*); for example, forms derived from ֵ to 'do' only show ֵ, whereas forms derived from ֵ 'to know' show ֵ. Interestingly, in ֵe 'miracle' we always find ֵ, although it is derived from the causativised verb ֵ to 'know'. This is not a phenomenon limited to Düzce Shapsug: in the village of Senceli (Afyon, Turkey) I found /šše/ 'to know' vs. /šše/ 'miraculous, amazing'. It follows that Troubetszkoy (1939:55) was obviously not mistaken when he presented /šše/ 'gab zu erkennen' as different from /šše/ 'merkwürdig'.

The use of commas is not consistent. They can be found (1) at the end of a line, (2) within a word, separating two consonants that make up a cluster, and (3) at word-boundaries, often coinciding with a caesura.

The notation of the resonants /y/ and /w/, of the vowel /a/ and of sequences involving /y/ or /w/ and /o/ or /e/ is not consistent either. Firstly, the dots of the symbol for /y/ are easily dropped (as in Ottoman printed texts), which leaves a symbol identical with the symbol for /a/. Both symbols can be found for /a/, /y/, /ya/ and /ay/. Front variants of /a/ are often indicated by ֵ and rounded variants by ֵ.

The Mevlid uses ֵ and ֵ (in transliteration ֵ and ֵ); the latter is introduced (page 1) as "long u". Both symbols are used for (1) /a/ when [u], (2) Turkish /u/ in loans, (3) /o/, i.e. labialisation (of a preceding obstruent) plus a rounded variant of /a/: [o], (4) /ew/, i.e. [ow], (5) /ew/, i.e. [ow], and for (6) /w/. The symbol ֵ is also used (1) for labialisation alone and (2) for the sequence /wa/.

11.3 SAMPLE OF THE TEXT

Page 50 of the booklet has been chosen as a sample: 3.1 presents the transliteration, 3.2 a broad phonetic transcription written down from HM's version as recorded on tape, 3.3 a phonemic transcription of the sample as it sounds in the idiolect of NM, 3.4 an analysis of 3.3 with comments on 3.1 and 3.2, and, finally, 3.5 a translation. A complete edition of the Circassian Mevlid is forthcoming; there, too, the text will be given as reproduced by NM.
11.3.1 Transliteration

1. mafèkegazepatqenebàk,
   wa' sauàcaguazepéguregùeàkà,
   yeà, xeyèsuweyàm?e'yeqenebàk,
   wàte'suàzamàzforùeàkà,
   ay'ueràuàtes, retauaurfàta
tèw, zèn, se'stat, uafrèta
   àna?usàtyèg, tedekumàkar, melul,

8. tèdeqanay'sytàdàkutàresul,
   yeguèguègùm, tetquetùtèkààkà,
   gueguza'fèm, tetfayùàr, ààkà,
   sesgumhza'meseufèqàxàneàg,

12. sa'gèlenàgùr, ?eù'fuemsà'ùçàkà,
    ay'ueregerejàrepidùètàkààkà,
    aynemèla'gàle'keyfàreàkààg,
    mafèguerem, bùsèhàbezeùçàkà

16. ya'laye'ù, wùmègà'èr, ra?uebàkà
tafègàmèqékùèzynùxùàgà
dà, jèlèjù'mafèkàtàìagnà

Misprints: è (1, 2, 18), read ë; ë (3, 8), read ë; yèm (3), read yèm;
ku (7), read ku; ëu (11), read ëu.

11.3.2 Phonetic Transcription of HH's Recital

1. [màfìè'èkì] èzu'gàtòw qàkìneàgà
   wàsì'ègoì zèpi'ègòw ràkìègà
   yeà'keàgà tòìwàqìè'òw qìkìneàgà

4. wùtè'èàgòw zìmòbòì'òw ràkìçùgà
   hàbò'òriwà hàsàtàwa fiqàtèkà
   tòwàçòèmè èsàtàtàwà fiqàtèkà

hàbòwàì'ètòg tìdeà'èmàkì 'àrmelùlì
8. tìdeqàxàní sì'òtàdàgòw tàrènsùlì
   yègà'è'ègà'òùm tìtògò'òw tòkì 'àràgì
   (ò)ògà'uàfèm tìtìfì'ìwò hàkì 'àràgì
   gìgà'òmbòè gìqàkì 'àlà'

12. sìgàgà'èònò wòwù'ò'òìfèm sòpò'òàgì
    hàbò'òògì'èc rèqòìpò bò'òtìgì 'àlì
gònè'màlì qàkk'à'èk'ìfè ràqìgà
    mafè'òrem bòkòdàbòc èkì 'àràgì

16. ya'atìiyè'ì wùmògìgàr ràpò'òàgì
tòfègòmè zìkìkòè'ìnò wòpàgì'mì
    zàbàgàcè'òw màfìè'èèì tà'ònì]

( ' indicates primary, ′ secondary prominence, ″ palatalisation; aspiration is not indicated (voiceless plosives and affricates are usually aspirated); other informants pronounce the second syllable group of line 10 with four syllables: [tìtìfì'ì'òw])

11.3.3 Practical Transcription of NM's Version

1. mafèkà òçeà'yà ëzèpàtèw qènàgà,
   wa'séà'yà ëqàgà'èyà zèpyàgàbèw règàgà,
   yeà'xeyè'sè yèmà'èzèw q ènàgà,

4. watè'sè'ègàw zòmàòè'sèw rèx'ègàgà
   yàwàrèày ò'ìhàsàtëtìà, wa fiqàtëtìà,
tèw za'shàì àe. òà yàsàtìà, wa fiqàtìà?
   yàwà'èw ðàtòg ò'ìhàsè'màk àà, melul,

8. tède qànàyèk, sàyàtdàxèw tìyàrènsùlì
   yàwà'dèègà'è'mè tòàq'ètëw tàsò'ègà,
   ëgà'èzàfèm te tàfàsàt èmè tàsò'ègà,
   se sàgà(w)m hòg tà nèmè'èfè èqàxàneàgà,
12 sylalene new geqo²ge?e²ofem seqo²eisag
yao²erege regew repew sestarág
yaneme la qalekase [nsa] regebág.
mafeq²erem be hasabeb zeqo²eisag.
16 "ya τáli, yeqó, wamaqeg? ar raqo²eisag.
"tasegaqe qalalene new Xaemayk
zadqo²eilew mafayk ceayk teqanay".
[For the transcription used here, see chapter 1 of the present volume.
As opposed to his mother, NM adds nesa in line 14.]

11.3.4 Analysis of 11.3.3

Below I analyse NM's version of the fragment of the Mevlid,
line by line. For abbreviations see the list at the end of this ar-
ticle. As a rule, morphemes are separated by hyphens; between con-
tituents of fixed combinations I use dots. Each word is provided
with its morpheme inventory; the morpheme inventory of a word con-
tains (between round brackets) glosses and/or translations of the con-
tituent morphemes, presented in the appropriate order. Glosses re-
presenting zero morphs are underlined. Stem-prefixes are normally
followed by a raised number indicating the slot filled (for the sys-
tem of the prefix-slots see, for instance, chapter 2, section 1.3).

1. maf-ayk keq-ayk na²ze-pa-t-ew qe²ne-pa-x
(day-EMPH) (night-EMPH) (3/SB-to cry-continuously-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-to
remain-PF-PF); "day and / night and / she crying all the time / she
remained"; HH has -ay(-ayx) EMPH, NM has -ay(-ayx); the symbol "-" links
the clitic ze-pa.ta with qa; with the verb me 'to remain, stay'
the prefix ge² Hn is obligatory; PF+PF=PLUPF.

2. wae²-ayk qa.g-ayk ze²pe²ye²ge²-ew re³²-qa-x
(heaven-ABS-EMPH) (earth-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-REC/P0-in front of-3/AG-
-CAUS-to cry-MOD) (3/SB-to cry-PF-PF); "heaven and / earth and / she
causingshemtocrymutually(lit.in front of each other) / she
cried"; ABS NPs are coreferential with SB prefixes; SB prefixes in-
dicate the single argument of intransitive forms and the goal of
transitive forms. REL NPs corefer with other personal prefixes.

3. ye.±e, ye.±e ye²me²bge²-e-ew ge²ne-pa-x
(food=drink-REL) (3/SB-3/IO-N/1-to reach for-RE-MOD) (see line 1);
"food=drink / she no longer reaching for it / she remained", with
the verb ±e 'to drink' an io prefix (referring to what is being
drunk) is obligatory; the monopersonal verb ±e 'to eat' does not
normally combine with ye- 3/IO; the Mevlid gives yeme²e²ew, a
form which is correct in itself: ye²ma²bge²-e-ew (3/SB-3/P0-POS-
-N/1-to be-RE-MOD) "she not having it (sc. food=drink) any long-
er"; both NM and his mother prefer yeme²e²ew.

4. wae²-x²-ew ²lye²me²bge²-e-ew re³³-qa-x
(3/SB-to be/get drunk-PF-MOD) (REF/SB-3/AG-N/1-to know-RE-MOD)
(3/SB-to become-PF-PF); "she having become drunk / she not knowing
herself any longer / she became"; NM does not oppose 1 to 1.

5. qa.g-ayk qa.x²-ew wa hesreta, wa firaqta
(3/SB-3/AG-to say-Dy/2-CoPr) (oh) (grief) (oh) (separation); "she
kept saying it and / o. / o. / o. / Ar(abic)."; HH has word-initial
a [ha] and a [ha] where the idiolect of her son has ye [yi] and ye
[yi] or (with the demonstrative 'that') qa(a,ya); the dynamic ending
contributes a durative element of meaning.

474 475
6. t-ew ʔa'-g=a-n ʔe, ʔa s-y-a-tat, we firg=eta?

(REF/ST-1/AG-to do-Fu/2) (1) (appellative inter-
jection) (1/PS-POS-father) (wa) (firg=eta); "how? / I will do myself
/ I / hey / my father: / oh / separation"; morphophonemic ʔa- is
pronounced as [(ʔa-)] - the Mevlid transcribes ʔa; te is 'father', t-a
and tat are vocative forms 'father!' (cf. no 'mother', and n-=-a and
man ! 'mother').

7. ya-g=a-ew ʔa-ta-g ʔa-?a-ta-g=el)

\Ar.); "she saying it / she was (standing) there / where? / he
ever goes / he / melancholy".

8. te.de ʔa-g=a-ayk, s-y.a.te-da=g=el)

(see 7) (3/ST-Hh-to remain-EMPH) (1/PS-father-beautiful-MOD) (1p/PS-
-PS-prophet \<Tu,\Ar.>); "where? / he ever remains / my beautiful
father (who is:) / our prophet"; y.a.te is the possessive form of
ta 'father' (POS.PL.father).

9. ya-g=a.ʔe.ʔa=m te ta-l=q=a-t=ew ʔa-l=q=a-g a-ʔa

(3/PS-POS-heart.under.location-REL) (we) (1p/ST-3/PO-behind-to stand-
-MOD) (1p/ST-there-to be-PF); "his pity / we / we standing behind it
/ we were there".

10. ʔa-g=a-zafe-m te ta-l=q=a-y=x ew ʔa-r ʔa-l=q=a-g

(road-straight-REL) (we) (1p/ST-3/PO-for/towards-3/AG-to lead-MOD)
(that-ABS) (3/ST-there-to be-PF); "the straight road / we / we lead-
ing us towards it / that one / he was there"; HH has ta-l=q=a-rye'-
-8=ew, which is also accepted by NM.

11. se sa-g=a/sa-g=a-m ʔa-g=x e-fee qa-x=em.n.a-ʔa

(1) (1/PS-heart-REL/-REL) (now) (a) (fire-big-ABS) (3/ST-Hh-3/PO-in-
to catch fire-PF); "I / my heart / now / a / big fire / it leapt up
in it"; NM prefers sa-g=a, HH sa-g=a-m; the usual meaning of the
combination qa-x=em.n.e is 'to stay, remain in sth.', with the subject
'fire' the meaning is 'to catch fire'.

12. s-y=g=a-l=e-nt=ew ʔa-g=a-ʔa=e-re=m sa-l=q=a-g a-ʔa

(1/ST-3/AG-CAUS-to die-Fu/2-MOD) (sorrow-big-REL) (1/ST-3/PO-at-to
meet(.ILL)-PF); "it causing me to die (in the future) / a big sor-
row / I have met it"; NM omits the \r from HHS g=a_e=e=e-re=e-m;
the word is only vaguely known to him; the inherently illative root
\g=a_l=e combining with the preverb \g=a_e 'at, along' yields: 'to meet
sb./sth. (the referent of the PO prefix before \g=a_e').

13. ya-g=a-e-re=ge re-l=q=ew re-l=q=ew ʔa-g=x=ayk

(3/ST-under-to stand-PF-PF); "she, by saying it all the time / she
crying / she sighing / she was under it."
16.  "Say, Ali, ye a-1i, wa 6-ma 6-g 3e 3-a 3-r 3a-r 3a-g 3e 3-a 3-r (hey) (A.) (3/SB-3/io-2/AG-to say) (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-CAUS-to cry) (that-ABS) (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-P1-to say-PF-PF); "hey / Ali / tell it to her / do not allow her to cry / that / they said it to him".

17.  za 1-le 2-6e 3-me ge 6-g 3e 3-a 3-r ma 3-f 3-ayk (1p/SB-3/PO-for to cry-COND) (3/SB-Hn-to go-RE-Fu/2-MOD) (3/SB-to happen/become-PF-COND.EMPH); "if we cry for him / he coming back / if it would happen".

18.  za 1-le 2-6e 3-me ma 3-f 3-ayk le 2-6e 3-me ayk tu 1-6a-n 3-ay (REF/SB-1p/AG-Caus-to die-RE-MOD) (day-EMPH) (night-EMPH) (1p/SB-to cry-Irr/3); "we, causing to die ourselves / day and / night and / we would cry".

11.3.5 Translation

(1) Day and night she kept crying, (2) crying, she made heaven and earth cry; (3) reaching for neither food nor drink she stayed there, (4) she became (like) drunk, not knowing herself any more. (5) And she was saying "Wa hasreta, wa firoeta," (6) what will I do with myself, oh, my father, wa firoeta? (7) She said "Wherever he went, oh, melancholy, (8) wherever he dwelled: my beautiful father, our Prophet, (9) he always took mercy upon us, (10) he always guided us to the straight path. (11) In my heart, now, a great fire has leapt up, (12) I have met with great grief which will cause me to die." (13) Saying this all the time, weeping and sighing she was there. (14) She wept till blood came forth out of her eyes. (15) One day, many friends came together, (16) "Say, Ali, tell her not to cry!", that is what they told him. (17) "If he would return because of our crying, (19) we would cry day and night, killing ourselves."

"I am grateful to J.J. Witkam for analyses of Arabic forms.

Common Circassian material is taken from Kuipers 1975.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>agent (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoPr</td>
<td>ending coordinating predicates</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dy/2</td>
<td>second dynamic (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu/2</td>
<td>second future (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hh</td>
<td>'hither' (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>illative (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io</td>
<td>indirect object (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irr/3</td>
<td>third irrealis (suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modal (ending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/1</td>
<td>first (attributive) negative (prefix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/2</td>
<td>second person (prefix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p - plural (after 1,2)
PF - perfect (suffix)
PL - plural (prefix)
POS - possession (prefix)
'as previously' (specifying suffix)
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b "Circassian Morphology: Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns".

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