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 dekanen te verdedigen op dinsdag 27 november, te klokke 14.15 uur door Henricus Joannes Smeets, geboren te Maastricht in 1946.

L E I D E N

The Hakuchi Press

1984

promotiecommissie

promotor:	Prof. Dr. F.H.H. Kortlandt
referent:	Prof. Dr. C.L. Ebeling
overige leden:	Prof. Dr. J.C. Anceaux
	Prof. Dr. R.S.P. Beekes
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CIP-data Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

Smeets, Henricus Joannes

Studies in West Circassian Phonology and Morphology / Henricus Joannes Smeets. Leiden : The Hakuchi Press
Also thesis Leiden. With ref.
ISBN 90-71176-01-0
UDC 809.46-4+809.46-55
Subject headings: Circassian linguistics ; phonology / Circassian linguistics ; morphology.

Printed in the Netherlands by Verhagen, Rijnsburg.

for Nazım and Nazik

PREFACE

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

The description focusses 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 Düzce 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, proofreading 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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ABBREVIATIONS

ABD - Abadzekh (WEST dialect)
Abkh. - Abkhaz (WC language)
ABS - absolutive (ending)
Abz. - Abaza (/Abazinian) (Ciscaucasian Abkhaz)
Ad. - Adyghe (West Circassian)
A-D - Alparslan-Dumézil (see "References")
Adj. - adjective
AG - agent (personal prefix)
An. - Anatolian
AO - Avtonomnaja Oblast' (Autonomous Region)
APP - appellative (particle)
Arm. - Armenian
ArSSR - Armenian SSR
ASS - assertive (ending)
ASSR - Avtonomnaja Sovetskaja Socialističeskaja Respublika
Azer. - Azerbaydzhan (Turkic language)
AzSSR - Azerbaydzhan SSR
Balk. - Balkar (Turkic language)
BM - basic morph
BSN - Bes(le)ney (EAST dialect)
BZH - Bzh. - Bzhedug (WEST dialect)
C - any consonant
Ć - any consonant and any obstruent cluster
Ç - any consonant but y
Ca - Caucasian
CaSHP - Caucasian Shapsug
CAUS - causative (prefix)
CbSHP - Cemilbey Shapsug (cf. Paris 1974a)
ChDz - DüSHP - Shapsug of Düzce
Chech. - Chechen (EC language)
Cher. - Cherkes
Circ. - CIRC - Circassian
*CIRC - *Circ. - Common Circassian
co- - coordinated (NP, predicate)
Coca - ending of causal co-predicates

CoINS - InsCo
COND - conditional (ending)
CONF - confirmative (ending)
CoNP - ending coordinating NPs (Shapsug: -re)
CoNu - NuCo
CoPN - CoNP
CoPr - ending coordinating predicates
ØV.. - two or more sequences ØV
DAI - Dumézil (1960) (see "References")
DAIII - Dumézil (1965) (see "References")
Dag. - Dagestan(ian)
Darg. - Dargva (EC language)
DEF - definite (article, ending)
dēs. - ending
DOWN - downwards (directional suffix)
DPR - Kuipers (1975) (see "References")
DÜSHP - Shapsug of Düzce
DY - dynamic (verb class)
Dy/1 - first dynamic (prefix)
Dy/2 - second dynamic (ending)
dyn. - dynamic (affix; Abkhaz, Oubykh)
E - east
EAST - the whole of the East Circassian dialects
EC - East Caucasus / East Caucasian
ELA - elative (directional suffix)
EMPH - emphatic(-coordinating ending)
EXH - exhaustive (suffix)
ExV - extrovert (directional suffix)
F - female
Fu/1 - first future (suffix)
Fu/2 - second future (suffix)
GAJ - Grammatika abxazskogo jazyka (see "References")
Geo. - Georgian (SC language)
gēorg. - Geo.
Germ. - German
GeSSR - Georgian SSR
GKčLJ - Grammatika kabardino-čerkesskogo literaturnogo jazyka (see "References")

GnSHP - Genceli Shapsug (chapter 10)
Hh - hither (prefix)
HkSHP - Hakuchi Shapsug
HUM - human
ILL - illative (directional suffix)
IMPF - imperfect (suffix/enclitic)
INDF - indefinite (ending)
Ing. - Ingush (EC language)
INS - instrumental (ending)
InsCo - instrumental connective
INT - interrogative (ending)
INTE - intensive (directional suffix)
intr. - intransitive
InV - introvert (directional suffix)
io - indirect object (personal prefix)
IRR - IR - irrealis
J-A - Jakovlev-Ašxamav (see "References")
KAB - Kab. - Kabardian (EAST dialect)
Kalm. - Kalmyk (Mongolian language)
Kar. - Karaim (Turkic language)
Kaz. - Kazakh (Turkic language)
K-B - K-Balk. - Karachay-Balkar (Turkic language(s))
K-Ch. - Karachay-Cherkes (AO)
KRS - Kabardinsko-russkij slovar' (see "References")
Kum. - Kumyk (Turkic language)
L - loan
LiAD - Literary Adyghe (West Circassian)
LiKAB - Literary Kabardian (East Circassian)
MOD - modal (ending)
MSD - masdar/verbal noun (suffix)
N - non-human
N - north
N/1 - first (attributive) negation (prefix)
N/2 - second (predicative) negation (ending)
Neg. - negation (affix; Oubykh, Abkhaz)
NeINT - negative interrogative (ending)
n.f. - not found
NM - main informant of DÜSHP
N.-O - North-west

NoFW - not forwards (directional suffix)
Nog. - Nogay (Turkic language)
NOM - nominalising suffix
NP - noun phrase
NuCO - numeral connective
Ø - zero
occid. - western
OKD - Očerki kabardino-čerkesskoj dialektologii (see "References")
OI - io
OP - PO
OPT - optative (prefix)
Oss. - Ossete
Oub. - Oubykh (WC language)
p - plural (after "1", "2", "3"; in translations, indicating plurality of "you")
P - goal/patient (actant with transitive forms)
PART - participial (prefix)
PF - perfect (suffix)
Pl - plural (prefix)
PL - plural (ending)
PLUPF - pluperfect (sequence of endings)
PO - preverb object (personal prefix)
pos. - position/slot
POS - Possession (preverb)
Pot/1 - first potential (preverb)
Pot/2 - second potential (suffix)
PS - possessive (personal prefix)
R - any resonant
RAS - Russko-adygejskij slovar' (see "References")
RE - iterative-reparative ('as previously, again') (suffix)
REC - reciprocal (prefix)
REF - reflexive (prefix)
REL - relative (ending)
R-K - Rogava-Keraševa (see "References")
R-sequence - consonant sequence containing at least one resonant

Ru. - Russ. - Russian
S - the single actant with an intransitive form
S- - containing an SB prefix
sb. - somebody
SB - subject (personal prefix)
SC - South Caucasus/South Caucasian
SEM - semelfactive (prefix)
sg. - sing. - singular
SHP - Shapsug (WEST dialect)
S-P - subject-predicate
ST - stative (verb class)
sth. - something
SU - SB
sub- - subordinated
subst. - substantive
suff=dêr - derivational suffix
T - any obstruent
Tab. - Tabasaran (EC language)
tch. - tcherk. - Circassian
T-C - Turčaninov-Cagov (see "References")
TEM - Tem. - Temirgoy (WEST dialect)
TEMP - temporary (suffix)
Th - thither (prefix)
ToCL - closely towards (directional suffix)
ToQU - quickly towards (directional suffix)
tot.pop. - total population
tr. - trans. - transitive
TSAJ - Tolkovyj slovar' adygejskogo jazyka (see "References")
Tu. - Turkish
Ukr. - Ukrainian
UNINT - unintentional (preverb)
UPW - upwards (directional suffix)
V - any vowel
V̲ - any vowel but a
VOC - vocative (ending)
VOL - voluntative (suffix)
voy. - vowel

Vser	-	verbaliser
W	-	west
WC	-	West Caucasus / West Caucasian
*WC	-	Common West Caucasian
WEST	-	the whole of the West Circassian dialects
1	-	1st person (prefix)
1p	-	1st person plural (prefix)
2	-	2nd person (prefix)
2p	-	2nd person plural (prefix)
3	-	3rd person (prefix
3p	-	3rd person plural (prefix)

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.
sλeǧ°əǧ /Sλeǧ°əǧ/ [sλɛǧ°ˈuǧ]

ˈ - indicates stress; stress can be variable (§ 1.5.2); it is indicated on all syllables that can be stressed;
e.g.
čaler [ˈčˈalœr], i.e. [ˈčalœr] or [čˈalœr]

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

ˇ - 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-λeǧ°ə-ǧ; tḥeǩ°əme-ǩeḥə 'long ear', tḥeǩ°əm.ǩeḥə 'hare'
Dots are also used in combinations of the cran.berry type.

1,2.. - 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^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ

Ø- - zero-morphs are usually not indicated in parts 2, 3 and 4; in the introduction they are normally indicated;
Ø-^{1}s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ

' ' - 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.
psə.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-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it' [I^{6} saw it^{1}]

+ + 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, passim).
e.g.
s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ +Ø-s- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+ (the base is separated from prefixes and suffixes/endings by blanks).

+ê+ the symbols for the morphophonemes are the same as those used in the surface transcription, with one exception: the additional symbol ê. This symbol represents instances of the mid vowel that never change to a (§ 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 + 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.

[1] 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.
λeǧ°ə [1-6] 'to see' ("6 sees 1": the actant referred to in slot 6 sees the actant referred to in slot 1).
e.g.
wə-s^{6}-^{1}λeǧ°ə-šṭ (2/SB-1/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'I will see you' ("of you / by me /seeing / will be the case")
+wə-s- λeǧ°ə -šṭə+.

abc.. - the alphabetical order used throughout is (compare the chart in § 1.1.2):
ə, e, a, (i, o, u, ü ,) p, b, ṗ, f, ṗ°, f°, t, d, ṫ, ṫ°, c, 3, ċ, s, z, ṡ, ŝ, ẑ, s̈, ĉ°, ĵ°, ŝ°, ẑ°, s̈°, č, ǰ, č̣, š, ž, ṣ̌, λ, l, l̇, k, g, k̇, x̂, ĝ, k°, g°, k̇°, q, x̌, ǧ, q°, x̌°, ǧ°, ḥ, ʔ, h, ʔ°, y, w, m, n, r.

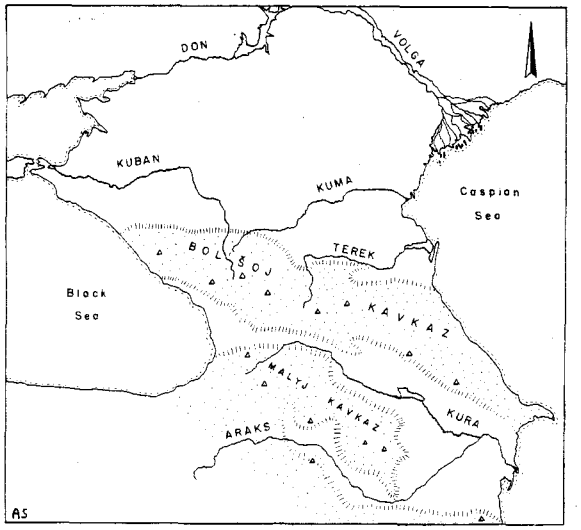
In the Introduction and in chapter 7, I have used some Oubykh and Abkhaz material; the presentation of that material is in accordance with the above. In the Introduction I am more explicit than in the later parts of this book; for instance, zero-morphs are usually indicated in the forms themselves in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

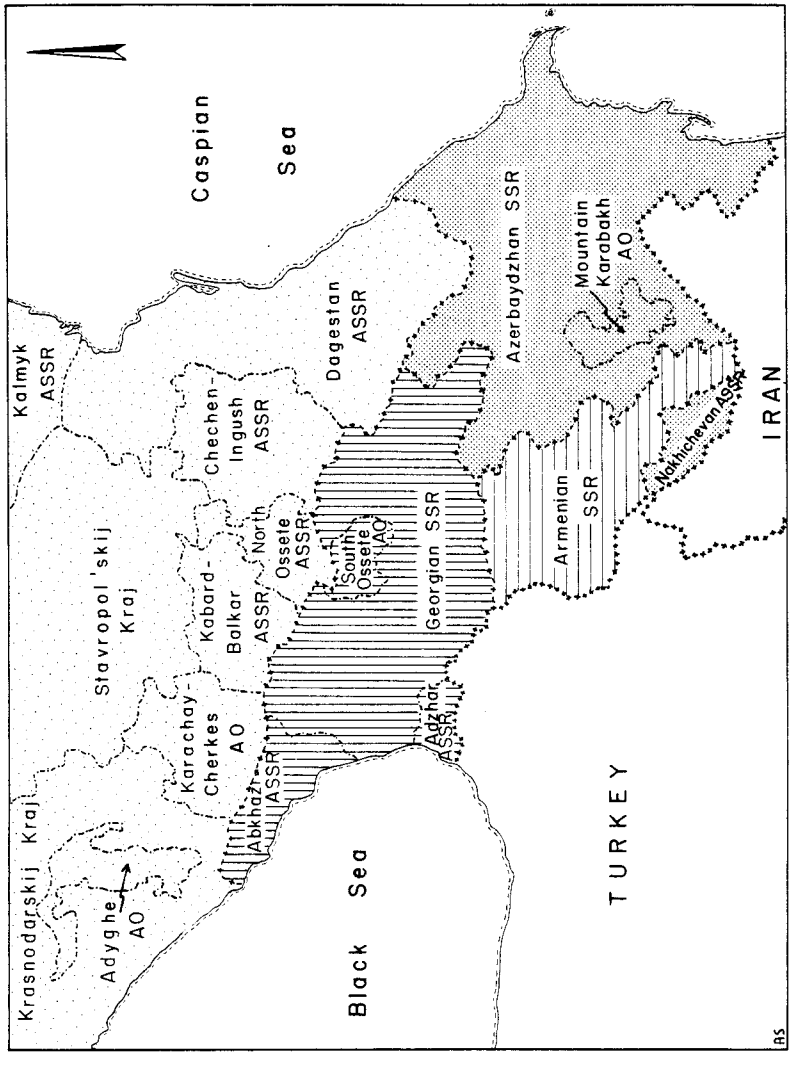
INTRODUCTION

PART I

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

Armenian SSR (29,800 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Arm.	Azer.	Russ.	Kurd
1970	2,491,873	88.6	5.9	--	--[2]
1979	3,037,000	89.7	5.3	2.3	1.7

Georgian SSR (69,700 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Geo.	Arm.	Russ.	Azer.	Oss.	Greek	Abkh.	Ukr.	Jew
1970	4,686,358	66.8	9.7	8.5	4.6	3.2	1.9	1.7	1.0	--
1979	4,993,182	68.8	9.0	7.4	5.1	3.2	1.9	1.7	0.9	0.6

Abkhaz ASSR (8,600 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Geo.	Abkh.	Russ.	Arm.	Greek	Ukr.	others
1970	486,959	44.6	15.9	19.1	15.4	--	--	--[3]
1979	486,082	43.9	17.1	16.4	15.1	2.8	2.1	2.6

Adzhar ASSR (3,000 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Geo.	Russ.	Arm.	Greek	Ukr.	others
1970	309,768	76.5	11.6	5.0	--	--	--
1979	354,224	80.1	9.8	4.5	2.0	1.5	2.1

South-Ossete AO (3,900 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Oss.	Geo.	Russ.
1970	99,421	66.5	28.3	2.0
1979	98,000	--	--	--

Azerbaydzhan SSR (86,600 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Azer.	Arm.	Russ.	Lezgi	Avar	Jew	Tatar	Ukr.	others
1970	5,117,081	73.8	9.5	10.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
1979	6,026,515	78.1	7.9	7.9	2.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	1.2

Nakhichevan ASSR (5,500 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Azer.	Russ.	Arm.	Kurd	others
1970	202,187	93.8	2.0	3.0	0.5	0.7
1979	240,459	95.6	1.6	1.4	--	1.4

Mountain-Karabakh AO (4,400 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Arm.	Azer.	Russ.
1970	150,313	80.5	18.1	0.9
1979	153,000	--	--	--

RSFSR - ASSRs

Kabard-Balkar ASSR (12,500 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Kab.	Russ.	Balk.	Ukr.	Germ.	Oss.	others
1970	588,203	45.0	37.2	8.7	1.7	1.5	--	--
1979	666,546	45.5	35.1	9.0	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.6

North-Ossete ASSR (8,000 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Oss.	Russ.	Ing.	Arm.	Geo.	Ukr.	Kum.	others
1970	552,581	48.7	36.6	3.3	2.4	1.9	1.7	1.2	4.2
1979	592,002	50.5	33.9	4.0	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.3	4.1

Chechen-Ingush ASSR (19,300 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Chech.	Russ.	Ing.	Arm.	Ukr.	Kum.	Nog.	Avar
1970	1,064,471	47.8	34.5	10.7	1.4	1.2	--	--	--
1979	1,155,805	52.9	29.1	11.7	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4[4]

Dagestan ASSR (50,300 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Avar	Darg.	Kum.	Russ.	Lezgi	Lak	Tab.	Azer.
1970	1,428,540	24.5	14.5	11.8	14.7	11.4	5.1	--	--
1979	1,628,159	25.7	15.2	12.4	11.6	11.6	5.1	4.4	4.0[5]

Kalmyk ASSR (75,900 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Russ.	Kalm.	Darg.	Chech.	Kaz.	Germ.	Dag.
1970	267,993	45.8	41.1	--	--	--	--	--
1979	294,527	42.6	41.5	2.9	2.8	2.1	1.9	1.4[6]

SFSR - AOs

Adyghe AO (7,600 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Russ.	Adyghe
1970	385,644	71.7	21.1
1983	405,000	--	--

Karachay-Cherkes AO (14,100 km^2)

	tot.pop.	Russ.	Kar.	Cher.	Abaza	Nogay
1970	344,651	47.1	28.2	9.1	6.6	3.2
1983	380,000	--	--	--	--	--

I do not have available detailed 1979 figures for AOs; 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 Cherkess living in the Karachay-Cherkes (K-Ch.) AO and of Adyghe living in the Adyghe (Ad.) AO:

	Karachay	(K-Ch.AO)	Cherkes	(K-Ch.AO)	Adyghe	(Ad.AO)
1970	113,000	(97,000)	40,000	(31,000)	100,000	(81,000)
1979	131,000		46,000		109,000	

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 millenia, 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 Kabardian 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, 3,571,000 (3,245,000).[7]
2. Svan (svanskij), NW GeSSR, ca. 43,000.[8]
3. Mingrelian (megrel'skij), W GeSSR, ca. 400,000.[9]
4. Laz/Chan (lazskij/čanskij), the village of Sarpi in the Adzhar ASSR, a few hundred; possibly ca. 50,000 in NE Turkey.

\+ 3 and 4 are referred to as Zan (zanskij) by those considering them a single language.

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-čerkesskij); Kabard-Balkar ASSR, 322,000 (280,000); Karachay-Cherkes AO, 46,000 (40,000).

\+ In view of their territorial dispersal, the Abkhaz and Abaza are officially considered as two peoples, and their language as two languages (there are two literary languages). Linguistically, the Abkhaz and Abaza dialects can be taken together as constituting one language: Abkhaz. Abkhaz proper consists of two dialects, the southern Abzhuy-Samurzakan and the northern Bzyb dialect. Abaza has two

dialects as well: Tapanta and Ashkhar. Askhar is closer to the dialects of Abkhaz proper than to Tapanta. Tapanta is the basis of literary Abaza, whilst Abzhuy, which is phonologically simpler than Bzyb, is the basis of literary Abkhaz.

\+ 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 pct.), (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 Circassians, and literary Kabardian, serving the East Circassians living in the Kabard-Balkar ASSR and those living in the Karachay-Balkar AO.

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

- West Circassian
  - Bzhedug, Shapsug (western West Circ.)
  - Abadzekh, Temirgoy (eastern West Circ.)
- East Circassian
  - Bes(le)ney (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 Kraj).

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

[Nakh group]

0. Chechen (čečenskij), Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 756,000 (613,00).

11. Ingush (ingušskij), Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 186,000 (158,000).

12. Bats (bacbijskij), N GeSSR, ca. 3,000.[11]

[Dagestan: Avar-Andi-Dido group]

13. Avar (avarskij), 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	(čamalinskij)
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 considerd 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) 25. Gunzib (gunzibskij)

23. Khvarsh (xvaršinskij) 26. Ginukh (ginuxskij)

24. Bezhti/Kapuch (bež(i)tinskij/kapučinskij).

\+ 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 (kubačinskij), Dagestan ASSR, ca. 5,000.[12]

\+ 29 is generally presented as a dialect of 28.

[Dagestan: Lezgi group]

30. Lezgi (lezginskij), Dagestan ASSR, 383,000 (324,000).

31. Tabasaran (tabasaranskij), Dagestan ASSR, 75,000 (57,000).

32. Rutul (rutul'skij), Dagestan ASSR, 15,000 (12,000).

33. Agul (agul'skij), Dagestan ASSR, 12,000 (8,800).

34. Archi (arčinskij), Dagestan ASSR, ca. 1,000.[13]

35. Tsakhur (caxurskij), S Dagestan ASSR and N AzSSR, 14,000 (11,000).

36. Kryz (kryzskij), N AzSSR, ca. 6,000.[14]

37. Udi (udinskij), NE GeSSR, N AzSSR, ca. 7,000.[15]

38. Budukh (buduxskij), N AzSSR, ca. 1,000.[16]

39. Khinalug (xinalugskij), N AzSSR, ca. 1,000.[17]

\+ Both 34 and 39 have an isolated position within the Lezgi (?)

group.

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

42. Talysh (talyšskij) [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 (karačaevo-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, S Stavropol'skij Kraj, 60,000 (52,000).

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

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

[Mongolian]

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

[Semitic]

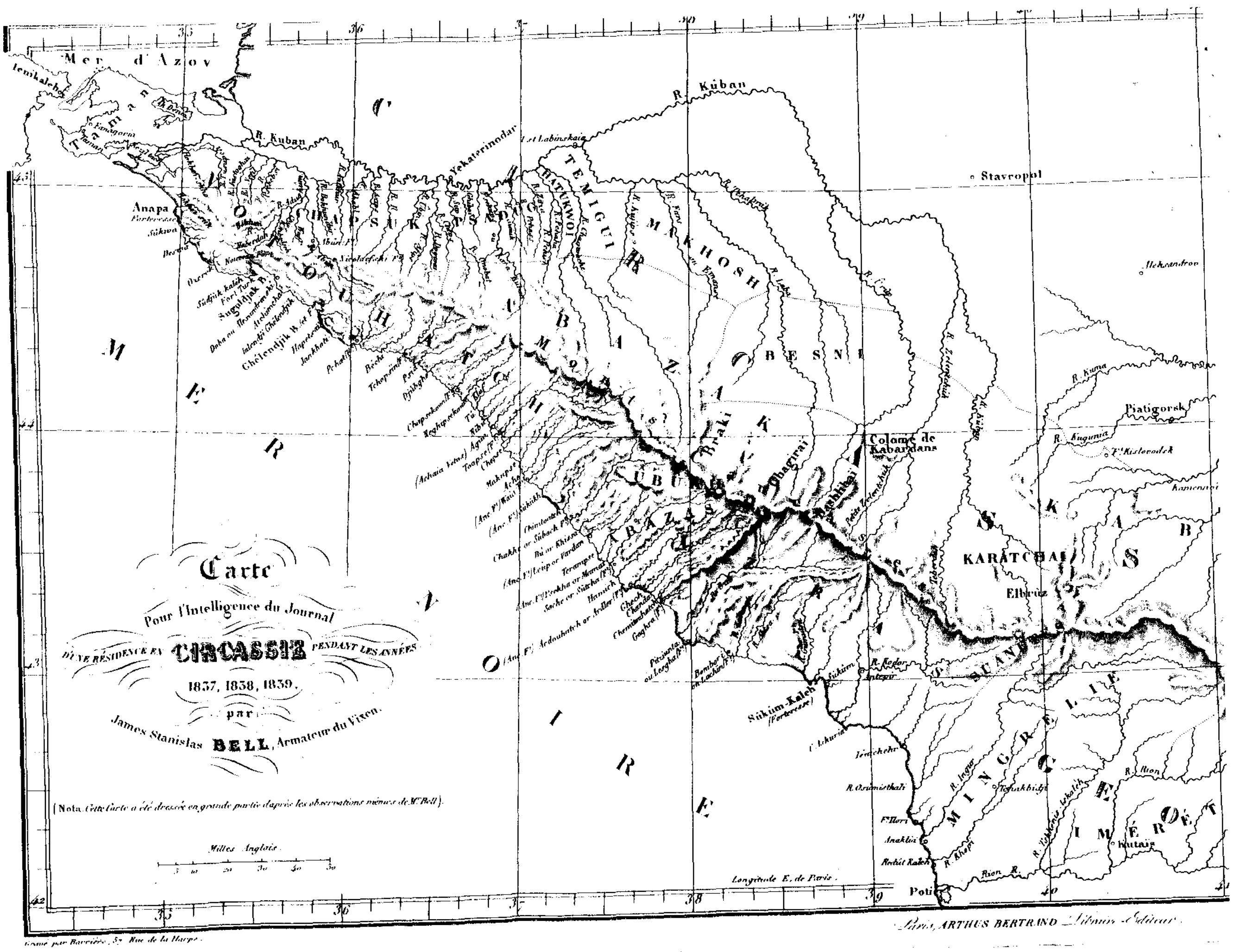
53. Aysor/Assyrian (assirijskij), Transcaucasian republics, 25,000 (24,000).

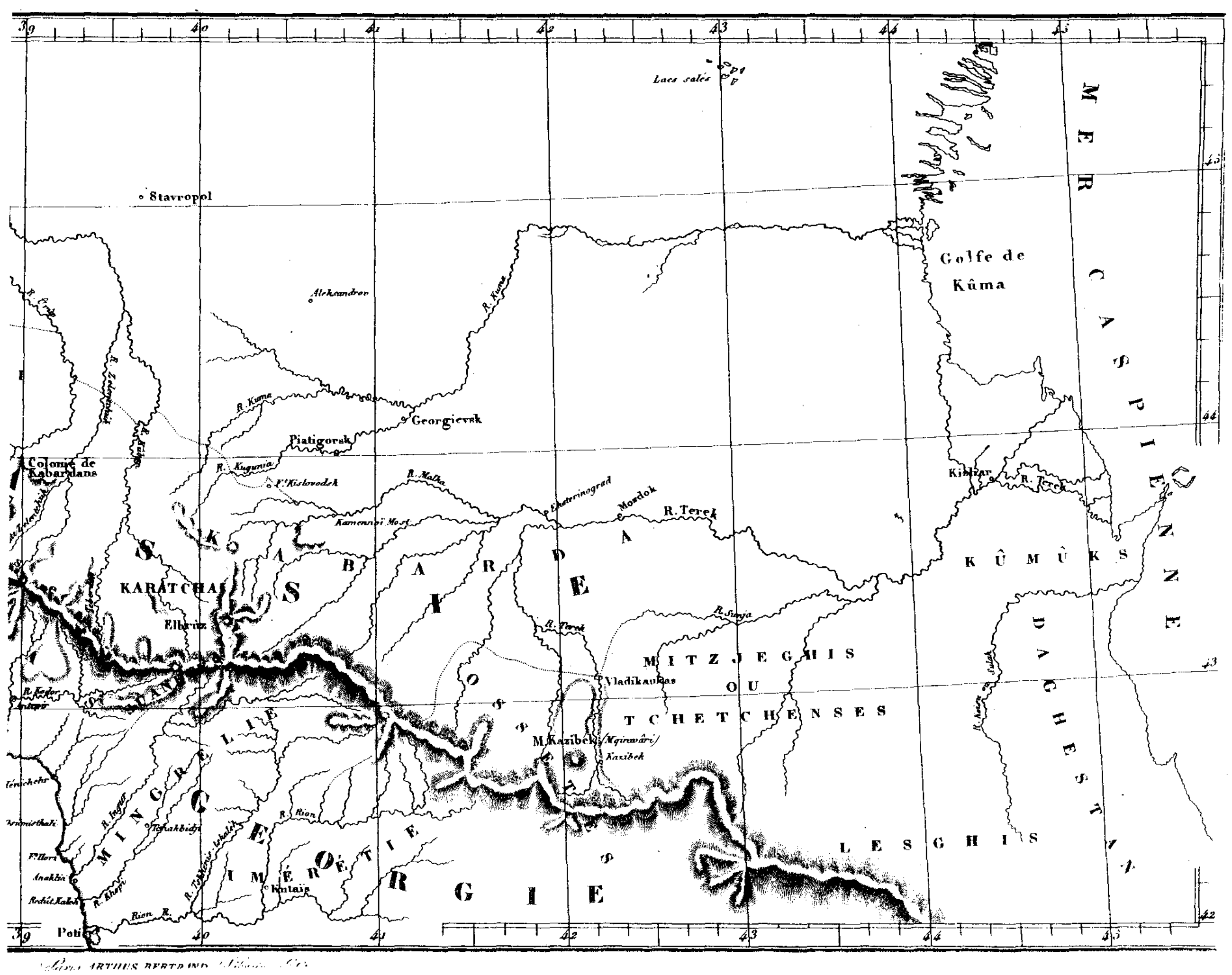
\+ 42 uses Azerbaydzhan, 43, 47 and 53 use different languages for writing. All others have literary status; from these, 44 also uses Azerbaydzhan.

3. The West Caucasus

Until the 1860s West Caucasian tribes formed the main ethnic element between Mozdok in the east 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


Carte
Pour l'Intelligence du Journal
D'UNE RÉSIDENCE EN CIRCASSIE PENDANT LES ANNÉES
1837, 1838, 1839,
par
James Stanislas BELL, Armateur du Vixen.
(Nota. Cette Carte a été dressée en grande partie d'après les observations même de Mr. Bell).
Milles Anglais
Longitude E. de Paris
Mer d'Azov
MER NOIRE
Anapa
R. Kuban
Yekaterinodar
TEMIGUI
MAKHOSH
BESNI
Stavropol
Piatigorsk
Colonie de Kabardans
KARATCHAI
Elbruz
Sukum Kaleh
MINGRELIE
IMÉRÉTIE
Kutais
Poti
Paris, ARTHUS BERTRAND Libraire Éditeur


MER CASPIENNE
Golfe de Kûma
Lacs salés
Stavropol
Alekxandrov
Georgievsk
Piatigorsk
Colonie de Kabardans
KARATCHAI
Elbruz
Mosdok
R. Terek
KÛMÛKS
MITZJEGHIS OU TCHETCHENSES
Vladikaukas
M. Kazibek
LESGHIS
DAGHESTAN
MINGRELIE
IMÉRÉTIE
GÉORGIE
Kutais
Poti
Paris, ARTHUS BERTRAND Libraire Éditeur

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. Latyšev 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.[20] 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 1300, 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 affluents 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

Caucasians.

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 Besney 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.

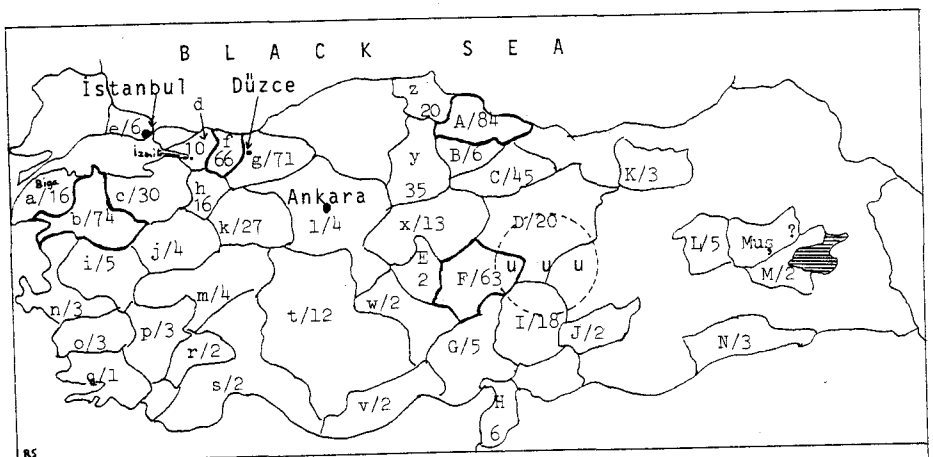
All the Oubykh ultimately settled down in Anatolia. Apart from

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 Esenç, 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 Dirr in 1913 (Dirr 1927, 1928), by Dumézil in 1930 (Dumézil 1931), by Mészáros in 1930 and 1931 (Mészáros 1934), and by Benediktsen in 1896 (manuscript, used by Dirr). 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 Çerkesler 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 Besney 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 Ossete 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, Şapsığ, Bjeduğ, Kemirguvey, Mehoş, Hatukay/Hatkoy (all West Circassians), by Besleney and Kabartay/Kaberdey (East Circassians), by Abhaz and Abaza (Abkhaz), by Vubuh (Oubykh), by the East Caucasian Lezgi, Çeçen and "Dağıstanlı", and by other North Caucasians (Asetin, Karaçay, Nogay, Kumuk). I do not know the affiliation of the Brakey (who are indicated as Braki on the map by Bell, between the Besney and Oubykh); 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 Tlebzu (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.

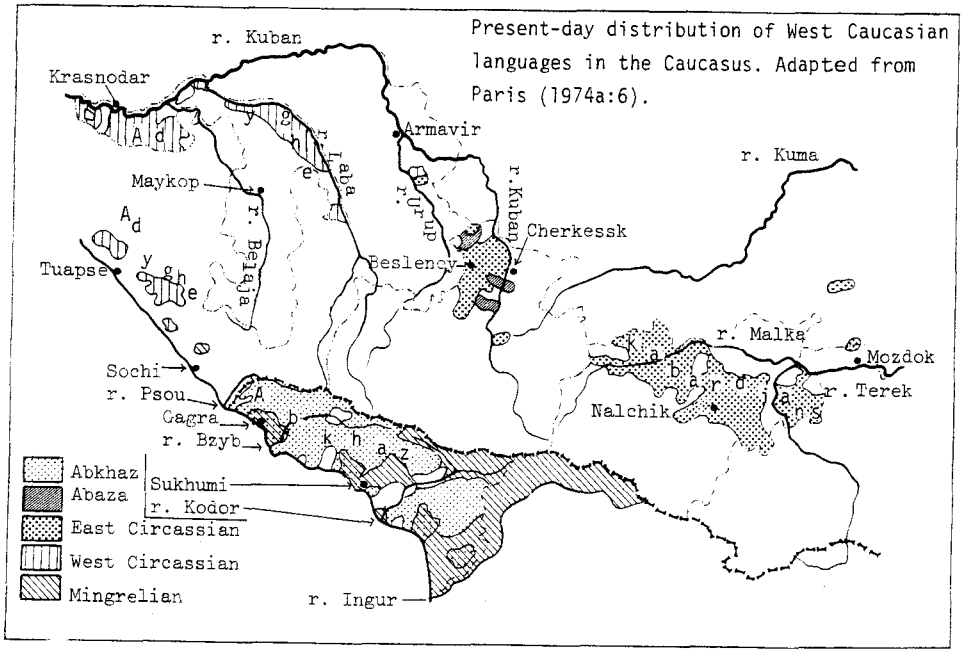
In Yugoslavia there are about 200 Abadzekh Circassians, who live in a number of villages not far from Prishtinë, mostly in the village of Stanovats, see Bersirov (1981), cf. also Paris (1977, 1978).

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 Natukhay. 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 Ulyap, and there are Kabardians ("Kuban Kabardians") in these same two villages and in Khodz and in Koshexabl (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-



Present-day distribution of West Caucasian languages in the Caucasus. Adapted from Paris (1974a:6).

gions that had not yet been conquered. The present-day KAB speaking population of the Karačaevo-čerkesskaja 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.[22)]

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 liberality; 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 Kemalistic policy towards the Çerkesler: it changed from bad to worse. I quote from Dumézil (1931:XIV), where he relates the history of the Sapanca Oubykh:

"La guerre générale, mais surtout la guerre de l'indépendance turque ont beaucoup éprouvé les villages oubykhs. 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 turquiser à grande vitesse tous les allogènes musulmans: lazes, géorgiens, kurdes, tcherkesses, osses, 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'expulsion, 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 Sapanja est pleine de murmures et de tristesse, et, après deux ou trois procès-verbaux, la vie reprend normalement."

Dumézil (1965:30) relates the history of the Oubykh of the region of 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 évitèrent 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.[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 Avtonomnye 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 (mladopis'mennye 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 NC 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 Abkhaz: 1928-1938: Latin, 1938-1954 - Georgian, from 1954 onward Cyrillic.

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

The present-day alphabets are corrigible: 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 mladopis'mennye 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 parlers, de dialectes et de groupes dialectaux, et doit être definie 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.

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

[26)]

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 Karachaevo-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

Oubykh, 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. DÜSHP has 56 consonants (§ 1.1.2) and three vowels (§ 1.1.3): close /ə/, mid /e/ and open /a/. See further section 5.

The WC morpheme has two favoured types: Ⱡ(V) and ⱠVⱠ(V) (Ⱡ 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 (ȻVȻVȻV..) 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 Oubykh, 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; unanalysable 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.psə	'tear'	(eye.water)	
psə.ne	'well, fountain'	(water.eye)	
ne.pe	'face'	(eye.nose)	
?e.pχ̌e(m)be	'finger'	(arm.finger)	LiAD ?e.pe
λe.pχ̌e(m)be	'toe'	(leg.finger)	LiAD λe.pe
?e.ŝḥe	'wrist'	(arm.head)	
λe.ŝḥe	'ankle'	(leg.head)	
ŝḥe.cə	'hair (on the head)'	(head.wool)	
ž̌e.k̇e	'beard'	(chin.tail)	
p̣e.psə	'mucus'	(nose.water)	
?°ə.psə	'spittle'	(mouth.water)	
mezə.ketə	'pheasant'	(wood.fowl).	

The WC languages display a great deal of polysemy (e.g. Circ. pe 'nose, front, front part, beginning', ŝḥe 'head, top, roof, bulb, ear (of corn)', k̇e 'tail, back part' [cf. tḥek̇°əme.k̇e 'ear-lobe'])

and homonymy. For examples of homonymy in Circassian, see § 3.2.1, for an Oubykh example, cf. la 1. 'army', 2. 'bowels', 3. 'hare', 4. 'to pass (time)', 5. 'OK!', 6. (la-) 'there (preverb)', 7. (-là) 'exhaustive (suffix)', 8. (-la, allomorph of -ala) 'and (coordinating ending)' (cf. Vogt 1963:885-893).

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

e.g.	-s	/	-ẑ°a	'to sit'
	-t°, -t	/	-x̂a	'to stand'
	t°	/	q́a	'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 (Šagirov 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 Oubykh contains many loans from West Circassian. In addition, we very often do not find comparable forms for comparable notions:

	'army'	'dog'	'to pass' (time)	'sheep'	'mill'	'we'
Oubykh	la	ẇa	la	bəyə	məwa	š´ə.ǧ°a
Abkhaz	ar	la	č	wasa	3lagara	ha.ra
Circ.	3e	he	še	melə	šhelə	te (~ t:e(.re)

Compare also the cardinal numbers from 1 to 10:

	Oubykh	literary (W.)Circ. (East Circ.)	Abkhaz (Abaza)
'one'	za	zə	-ḳə/-ĵ°ə
'two'	ṭq°a	ṭ°ə (ṭəw)	y°-
'three'	ŝa	š´ə (ŝə)	x̌-
'four'	p̣λə	p̣λə	pš´-
'five'	š´x̌ə	tfə (tx̌°ə)	x̌°-
'six'	fə	x̌ə	f- (c-)
'seven'	blə	blə	bž´-
'eight'	ǧ°a	yə	a:- (aḥ-)
'nine'	bǧ´ə	bǧ°ə	ẑ°-
'ten'	ẑ°ə	p̣šə	ẑ°a-

[Abkhaz -ḳə/-ĵ°ə: 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)]

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]).

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 versional ('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:

sə-qə-b-de-ḳ°e-žə-ŝ°ə-št-ep 'I (sə-: subject prefix) will (-št: tense suffix) not (-ep: negative ending) be able (-ŝ°ə: potential suffix), come (ḳ°e: 'to go'; qə-: 'hither', directional prefix), back (-žə iterative/frequentative suffix: 'as previously') together with (de-: preverb) 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 Oubykh 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 Oubykh and Abkhaz the prefixal and suffixal marker are almost identical in form (Abkhaz m(ə)-, -m; Oubykh m(ə)-, -ma). In West Circassian we find mə- as the prefixal and -ep as the suffixal marker of negation; in East Circassian we find mə- and -q̇əm. Chapter 6 analyses the marking of negation in Circassian; as a result of that analysis I propose that Circassian, as opposed to Oubykh and Abkhaz, has two categories of negation.

In all three languages, possession is indicated by means of prefixes. Abkhaz and Oubykh 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: λ̇ə (noun) 'man', k̇°e (verb) 'to go')

λ̇ə	'he (she/it) is a man'.
k̇°e !	'(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, Oubykh 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 Oubykh insofar as it has developed a morphological device for indicating a difference in valence, e.g.:

bzə	'to cut'	(bi-actantial, transitive)
bze	'to cut'	(mono-actantial, intransitive)

tx̌ə 'to write' (bi-actantial, transitive)

tx̌e 'to write' (mono-actantial, intransitive)

pλə 'to look at' (bi-actantial, intransitive)

pλe 'to look' (mono-actantial, intransitive)

bǧə 'to curse at' (bi-actantial, intransitive)

bǧe 'to curse' (mono-actantial, intransitive)

In my analysis, bze, tx̌e, pλe and bǧe 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.[30)]

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):

čele-k°ə 'a pram' (child.car[t]).

k°ə-š°ə 'a good car(t)' (car[t].good).

čele-k°ə-š°ə 'a good pram'.[31)]

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:

	Oubykh	Abkhaz	western West Circ.	other Circ.
'this	yə-na'	a.r-	mə	mə
'this/that'		a.n-	wə	mew
'that'	wa-na'	w-	a	a

[Oubykh and Abkhaz have a definite article a-.]

As to the personal pronouns, Abkhaz differs fundamentally from Oubykh 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).

	Oubykh	Circ. (East)	Abkhaz
1	sə.ǧ°a'	se	sa.ra'
1p	š´ə.ǧ°a'	te (de)	ha.ra'
2	(wə.)ǧ°a'	we	wa.ra' M / ba.ra' F
2p	š°ə.ǧ°a'	š°e (fe)	š°a.ra'
3	--	--	ya.ra' M / la.ra' F / ya.ra' N
3p	--	--	da.ra'

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)

sə-ǩ°e-n-əy Ø-sə-wəǩə-n (1/subject-to go-future 2-CoPr=ending coordinating predicative forms) (3/subject-1/agent--to kill-future 2) 'I will go there and kill him'.

s-šə-neḥə-čе-re s-šə-neḥə-žə-re re-ĺa-ǧe-x̌ (1/possessive-brother-more-young-absolutive-CoNP=ending coordinating nominal phrases) (..old..) (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-palatals, 5: palatals, 6: laterals, 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 Bzyb 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 above-mentioned 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 subsystems 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 q̣ vs. plain q). Palatalisation (e.g. q̇) is a much used device in Oubykh and Abkhaz. In Circassian it only seldom has phonemic relevance. The two-fold opposition found with the palatals in some West Circassian dialects is a matter of plain vs. velarised rather than plain vs. palatalised. I mark velarised palatals with the symbol ˋ (e.g. šˋ).

The labialisation of the velars and other back consonants and of palatals 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 *t°, etc. have developed into dentals in Ashkhar Abaza (cf. Starreveld 1983:77) (and into ĉ°, etc. and also, still further, into ĉ, 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-palatals often gives the impression of consisting of a combination of the two types of labialisation mentioned above: e.g. (West Circassian) š°e [š^{f}°œ, š°œ]. Note that the labialised alveolo-palatals 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).

<u>Oubykh</u> (cf. Dumézil 1975:13; Vogt 1963:13; Comrie[-Hewitt] 1981:202)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10
p p̮	t t°	c	ĉ ĉ°	č´ čˋ		k´[k] k°	q´ q q° q̮ q̮°	
b b̮	d d°	ʒ	ʒ̂ ʒ̂°	ǯ´ ǯˋ		g´[g] g°		
p̓ p̮̓	t̓ t̓°	c̓	ĉ̓ ĉ̓°	č̓´ č̓ˋ	ƛ̓	k̓´[k̓] k̓°	q̓´ q̓ q̓° q̮̓ q̮̓°	
f		s	ŝ ŝ°	š´ š° šˋ	λ	x̂	x̌´ x̌ x̌° x̮̌ x̮̌°	[h]
v̮		z	ẑ ẑ°	ž´ ž° žˋ	l	ĝ	ǧ´ ǧ ǧ° ǧ̮ ǧ̮°	

Resonants: m, m̮, w, w̮, y, n, r.

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

1	2	3	4	5	7	8	10
p	t t°	c	ĉ°	č´ čˋ	k´ k k°		
b	d d°	ʒ	ʒ̂°	ǯ´ ǯˋ	g´ g g°		
p̓	t̓ t̓°	c̓	ĉ̓°	č̓´ č̓ˋ	k̓´ k̓ k̓°	q̓´ q̓ q̓°	
f		s		š´ š° šˋ		x̌´ x̌ x̌°	h h°
v		z		ž´ ž° žˋ		ǧ´ ǧ ǧ°	y°

For an Anatolian form of Abkhaz, see Dumézil (1967:9).

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

Literary <u>Abaza</u> (Tapanta) (cf. Lomtatidze 1967:128-9)

1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9/10	10
p	t	c	č´ č° čˋ		k´ k k°	q q°		
b	d	ʒ	ǯ´ ǯ° ǯˋ		g´ g g°			
p̓	t̓	c̓	č̓´ č̓° č̓ˋ	[ƛ̓]	k̓´ k̓ k̓°	q̓´ q̓ q̓°		ʔ
[f]		s	š´ š° šˋ	[λ]	[x̂´ x̂ x̂°]	x̌´ x̌ x̌°	h h°	
[v]		z	ž´ ž° žˋ	[l]		ǧ´ ǧ ǧ°	ħ ħ°	
[f̓]								

For a form of Ashkhar Abaza, see Starreveld (1983:77)

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

<u>West Circassian</u>

(x^h is aspirated [or lenis], x: is unaspirated [or fortis])

<u>Bzhedug</u> (cf. Kuipers 1963:65; Comrie(-Hewitt) 1981:204)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p^h	t^h	c^h	$\hat{c}^{h\circ}$	$\check{c}^{h}$´ $\check{c}^{h}$ˋ		$k^{h\circ}$	q^h $q^{h\circ}$		
p:	t:	c:	ĉ:°	č:´ č:ˋ		k: k:°	q: q:°		
b	d	ʒ		ǯ´ ǯˋ		g°			
p̓ p̓°	t̓ t̓°	c̓		č̓´ č̓ˋ		k̓ k̓°			ʔ ʔ°
				$\check{s}^{h}$´ $\check{s}^{h}$ˋ					
f		s	ŝ ŝ°	š:´ š:ˋ	λ	x̂	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
		z	ẑ ẑ°	ž´ žˋ	l	ĝ	ǧ° ǧ°		
			ŝ̓ ŝ̓°		ƛ̓				

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

<u>Shapsug</u> (cf. Paris 1974a:19) [One should bear in mind that there are no more standard WC dialects than there are standard WC languages: there are, for instance, no two Shapsug subdialects 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 Genceli Shapsug (§ 10.2.1)]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p^h	t^h	c^h		$\check{c}^h$		k^h $k^{h\circ}$	q^h $q^{h\circ}$		
p:	t:	c:	ĉ:°	č:		k: k:°	q: q:°		
b	d	ʒ		ǯ		g g°			
p̓ p̓°	t̓ t̓°	c̓		č̓		k̓ k̓°			ʔ ʔ°
f f°		s	ŝ ŝ°	š: $\check{s}^h$	λ	x̂	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
		z	ẑ ẑ°	ž	l	ĝ	ǧ ǧ°		
		s̓	ŝ̓ ŝ̓°		ƛ̓				

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)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p	t	c	ĉ°	č˝ č˘		k k°	q q°		
b	d	3	ĵ ĵ°	ǯ˝		g g°			
p̓ p̓°	t̓ t̓°	c̓		č̓˝		k̓ k̓°			ʔ˝ ʔ ʔ°
f		s	ŝ ŝ°	š˝ š˘	λ	x̂ x̂°	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
		z	ẑ ẑ°	ž˝ ž˘	l	ĝ	ǧ ǧ°		
			ŝ̓ ŝ̓°	š̓˝ š̓˘	λ̓				

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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p	t	c	ĉ°	č˝ č˘		k k°	q q°		
b	d	3	ĵ°	ǯ˝ ǯ˘		g g°			
p̓ p̓°	t̓ t̓°	c̓		č̓˝ č̓˘		k̓ k̓°			ʔ ʔ°
f		s	ŝ ŝ°	š˝ š˘	λ	x̂ x̂°	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
		z	ẑ ẑ°	ž˝ ž˘	l	ĝ	ǧ ǧ°		
			ŝ̓ ŝ̓°		λ̓				

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.

Caucasian Besney (Jakovlev 1930)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p	t	c		č˝ č˘		k k°	q q°		
b	d	3		ǯ˝ ǯ˘		g g°			
p̓	t̓	c̓		č̓˝ č̓˘		k̓ k̓°	q̓ q̓°		ʔ ʔ°
f		s	ŝ	š˝ š˘	λ	x̂ x̂°	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
v		z	ẑ	ž˝ ž˘	l	ĝ	ǧ ǧ°		
f̓					λ̓				

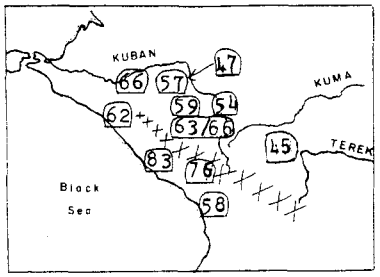
Anatolian Besney (cf. Paris 1974b:120-1)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p	t	c		č		k k°	q q°		
b	d	3		ǯ		g g°			
p̓	t̓	c̓		č̓		k̓ k̓°	q̓ q̓°		ʔ ʔ°
f		s	ŝ	š	λ	x̂	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	h h°
v		z	ẑ	ž	l		ǧ ǧ°		
f̓					λ̓				

Kuban Kabardian (cf. Jakovlev 1930)[32]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
p	t	c				č/k k°	q q°		
b	d	3				ǯ/g g°			
p̓	t̓	c̓				č̓/k̓ k̓°	q̓ q̓°		ʔ ʔ°
f		s	ŝ	š	λ	x̂ x̂°	x̌ x̌°	ḥ	
v		z	ẑ	ž	l	ĝ	ǧ ǧ°		
f̓			ŝ̓		λ̓				

Though the number of consonants a system contains is not relevant in itself, it is interesting to consider the distribution over the pre-1850 area of WC consonant systems, viewed in terms of the number of consonants they distinguish. Oubykh, which occupied a central position in the WC area, had the largest system (83). Next on the scale came the immediate neighbours of the Oubykh: Bzyb Abkhaz (76) to the south, Abaza to the east (Tapanta 66, Ashkhar 63), Shapsug (62) and Bzhedug (66) to the north. Dialects that were not spoken by immediate neighbours of the Oubykh had still more restricted systems: Abzhuy (58) to the south and the eastern West Circassian dialects Abadzekh (59) and Temirgoy (57) in the north. Furthest away, and totally surrounded by non-West Caucasians were the East Circassians; correspondingly, we find 54 consonants for Caucasian Besney and 47 and 45 consonants for, respectively, Kuban and Literary (Šagirov 1967:167) Kabardian.



All WC vowel systems that are made up of more than two members can be proved to derive from a former two-term system. Excluding vowels occurring in non-adapted loans, most vowel systems at present consist of three members. The WC vowel systems all contain 2 vowels allowing for a wide range of allophonic variation, which is determined by the nature of adjacent consonants. Phonologically they are opposed through their degree of openness. The closer of the two is normally written ə, and the more open one e or ă in Circassian, and a in other languages.

I quote Vogt (1963:22) (on Oubykh, but also applicable to other WC languages):

"Si elles [les distinctions consonantiques/RS] réussissent à se maintenir, c.-à-d. à être perçues .. c'est précisement 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 two other 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 ä, a:, aa. The stable vowel can often be analysed as a sequence of two phonemes. Kuipers (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, ə 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 ə 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 ə, 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 a (a is the mid vowel); (b) a special notation is developed for consonant sequences whose members cannot be separated by a vowel; (c) long a is interpreted as a (the mid vowel) preceded (syllable-initially) or followed (elsewhere) by the laryngeal fricative h; (d) the opposition ə versus zero (absence of a vowel) is interpreted as a juncture phenomenon, the occurrence of ə 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 ə 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 y or w 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. Lomtatidze, for instance, remarks for Abkhaz proper (1967:105) and for Abaza (1967:127) that (the dynamic) stress in Abkhaz is not fixed. For Oubykh, 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, Düzce Shapsug is a typical representative of West Caucasian excluding East Circassian (see, for instance, Vogt's remarks concerning stress in Oubykh [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).

6. The Simple Sentence

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	(io)[33]	(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-k̂ʼa-n	(1/SB-to go-dynamic)	'I am going'.
(a-)k̂ʼà-n	(3/SB-to go-dynamic)	'he/she/it is going'.

transitive forms:

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

Circ.: intransitive forms:

s-e-k̂ʼe	(1/SB-Dy/1-to go)	'I am going'.
Ø-ma-k̂ʼe	(3/SB-Dy/1-to go)	'he is going'.

transitive forms:

s-y-e-λeǧʼə	(1/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to see)	'(s)he/it sees me'.
Ø-s-e-λeǧʼə	(3/SB-1/AG-Dy/1-to see)	'I see him/her/it'.

A set of East Circ. corresponding forms (LiKAB, Jakovlev

1948:90ff.) is s-ew-k̂ʼe(-r), Ø-ma-k̂ʼe(-r), s-y-e-λaǧʼ, Ø-s-ew-λaǧʼ.

Abkhaz: intransitive forms:

s-ca-wa.yt	(1/SB-to go-dyn.present)	'I am going'.
d-ca-wa.yt	(3HUM/SB-...)	'(s)he is going'.
y-ca-wa.yt	(3N/SB-...)	'it is going'.

transitive forms:

sə-y-ba-wa.yt	(1/SB-3M/AG-to see-dyn.present)	'he sees me'.
sə-l-ba-wa.yt	(1/SB-3F/AG-...)	'she sees me'.
s-a-ba-wa.yt	(1/SB-3N/AG-...)	'it sees me'.
də-z-ba-wa.yt	(3HUM/SB-1/AG-...)	'I see him/her'.
yə-z-ba-wa.yt	(3N/SB-1/AG-...)	'I see it'.[34]

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 Oubykh, Circassian and Abkhaz forms that contain an indirect object prefix.

Oubykh: intransitive forms with io prefix:

sə-wə́-ya-n (1/SB-2/io-to kick-dynamic) 'I kick you'.

a-šʷə́-ya-n (3/SB-1p/io-...) '(s)he kicks us'.

a-šʷə́-y-ạ-n (3/SB-1p/io-to kick-plural-dyn.) 'they kick us'.

transitive forms with io prefix:

sə-wə́-n-t°ə-n (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-to give-dyn.) '(s)he gives me to you'.

w-ə́-s-t°ə-n (2/SB-3p/io-1/AG-to give-dyn.) 'I give you to them'.

Circ.: intransitive forms with io prefix:

sə-wa-Ø-we (1/SB-2/io-Dy/1-to kick) 'I kick you'.

Ø-qə-sa-Ø-we (3/SB-hither-1/io-Dy/1-to kick) '(s)he kicks me'.

Ø-qə-ta-Ø-we (3/SB-hither-1p/io-Dy/1-to kick) 'they kick us'.

transitive forms with io prefix:

sə-w-y-e-tə (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-Dy/1-to give) '(s)he gives me to you'.

w-y-a-s-e-tə (2/SB-3/io-Pl-1/AG-Dy/1-to give) 'I give you to them'.

Abkhaz: intransitive forms with io prefix:

sə-wə́-s-wa.yt̡ (1/SB-2M/io-to kick-dyn.present) 'I kick you(M)'.

sə-bə́-s-wa.yt̡ (1/SB-2F/io-..) 'I kick you(F)'.

d-hə́-s-wa.yt̡ (3HUM/SB-1p/io-...) '(s)he kicks us'.

y-ha-s-wa.yt̡ (3p/SB-1p/io-...) 'they kick us'.

transitive forms with io prefix:

s-wə́-y-ta-wa.yt̡ (1/SB-2M/io-3M/AG-to give-dyn.present) 'he gives me to you(M)'.

w-rə́-s-ta-wa.yt̡ (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:

Oubykh: intransitive form:

sə́-w-bǧʷa-k̂ʷa-n (1/SB-2/PO-on-to go-dynamic) 'I conquer you' ("I go on you").

transitive form:

á-w-bǧʷa-sə-wt̡°ə-n (3/SB-2/PO-on-1/AG-to take(ELA)-dynamic) 'I take it from you(r surface)'.

Abkhaz: intransitive form:

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

transitive forms:

d-wə́-k°(ə)-s-x̌-wa.yt̡ (3HUM/SB-2M/PO-on-1/AG-to take-dyn. present) 'I take him/her from you(M)'.

Circ.: intransitive form:

sə-p-ta-Ø-k̂°e (1/SB-2/PO-on-Dy/1-to go) 'I conquer you' ("I go on you").

transitive form:

Ø-qə-p-te-s-e-x̌.ə (3/SB-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)

Ø-p-f-ye-s-tə-ǧ (3/SB-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-tə-ǧ (2/SB-3/io-1/AG-to give-PF) 'I gave you to him'

with a derived causative form

w-yə-sə-ryə-ǧe-tə-ǧ (2/SB-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-lə-s-rə́-r-ta-wa.yt̬ (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-məzə-n tχəλ-Ø (a-)z-bya-n (the-child-REL) (book-ABS) (3/SB-3/AG-to see-dynamic) 'the child sees a book' (Dumézil 1931:21).

sə-t°ə-n sə-Ø-bya-q̇a (1/possessive-father-REL) (1/SB--3/AG-to see-PF) 'my father saw me' (Vogt 1963:1152).

a-tət-n-a s-ą-bəya-q̇a (the-human being-REL-PL) (1/SB-3p/AG--to see-PF) 'the people saw me' (Vogt, ib.).

a-məz-n-a yə-Ø-s-t°-q̇a (the-child-REL-PL) (3/SB-3/io-1/AG--to give-PF) 'I gave it to the children' (Vogt, ib.; for the interpretation of yə- 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 coreferring 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-bya-q̇a (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it'.

wə-ẉaˆz-bya-q̇a (2/possessive-dog-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw your dog' ("avec un seul accent").

Compare the corresponding Abkhaz forms (ibidem):

yə-z-bą-yt̡ (3N/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it'.

w-la z-ba-yt̡ (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-x̌ʷaca a-fə̀ à-s-wa-m ... [(the-lightning) (the-hornbeam) (3N/SB-3N/IO-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 -r in most of Circassian

(in the western West Circassian Bzhedug and Shapsug dialects: -er) and the "definite" REL ending is usually -m. The "indefinite" markers are in both cases -Ø. Demonstrative pronouns take -r ABS; they take -š(ʼ) or -y (West Circ.) or -bə̀ (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 ə 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:

čə̀ale-m tx̌ə.λ-Ø Ø-y-e-λeǧʷə (child-REL) (book-ABS) (3/SB--3/AG-Dy/1-to see) 'the child sees a book'.

čə̀ale-m tx̌ə.λ-er Ø-y-e-λeǧʷə (child-REL) (book-ABS) ( ) 'the child sees the book'.

mə čə̀ale-m s-yə-tx̌ə.λ-Ø Ø-y-e-λeǧʷə (this) (child-REL) (1/possessive-possession-book-ABS) ( ) 'this child sees my book'.

s-yə-šʷəzə-Ø Ø-yə-wəq̀ə-št (1/possessive-possession-wife--REL) (3/SB-3/AG-to kill-future/1) 'my wife will kill him/her/it'.

s-yə-ŝ°əz-Ø Ø-yə· '(s)he/it will kill my wife'.

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 inversive 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 məğe Holandem səqyəkəy tyəxəğeg°ə səqek°ağ.

1b se mə.ğe Holande-m sə-q-Ø-yə-k-əy t-yə-xəğeg°ə-Ø sə-qe-k°a-ğ.

1c (I) (this.year) (Holland-REL) (1/SB-Hh-3/PO-inside-to leave--CoPr) (1p/PS-POS-country-REL) (1/SB-Hh-to go-PF).

1d This year I left (hither) Holland and came to our country.

2a səqəzəfek°ağer : se syəɑ°eċək°ə yeplənew zə pŝeŝeċək°əg°erem səqələk°ağ.

2b sə-qə-zə-fe-k°a-ğ-er : se s-yə-q°e-ċək°ə-Ø Ø-ye-plə-n-ew zə pŝeŝe-ċək°ə-g°ere-m sə-qə-Ø-lə-k°a-ğ.

2c (1/SB-Hh-PART/PO-for(reason)-to go-PF-ABS) (I) (1/PS-POSS-son--little-REL) (3/SB-3/io-to look-Fu/2-MOD) (a) (girl-little-certai--REL) (1/SB-Hh-3/PO-behind-to go-PF).

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 pŝeŝeċək°er desŝen ŝ?°əy syeža ğ.

3b pŝeŝe-ċək°-er Ø-de-s-še-n Ø-ŝ-?°-əy s-ye-ža-ğ.

3c (girl-little-ABS) (3/SB-with-1/AG-to lead-Fu/2) (3/SB-1/AG-to say-CoPr) (1/SB-3/io-to set out (for)-PF).

3d I will take the girl with [me], I said and I set out [to find one].

4a sələ x°ə ğ, zezğeğ°etə ğ.

4b sə-Ø-lə-x°ə-ğ, Ø-ze-z-ğe-ğ°etə-ğ.

4c (1/SB-3/PO-behind-to look (for)-PF) (3/SB-REF/io-1/AG-CAUS-to find-PF).

4d I looked for her and I found her ("I made myself find her").

5a yane yate pŝeŝeċək°er qağek°enew qəsəra?°ağ.

5b Ø-y.a.ne-Ø Ø-y.a.te-Ø pŝeŝe-ċək°-er Ø-q-Ø-a-ğe-k°e-n-ew Ø-qə-sə-r-a-?°a-ğ.

5c (3/PS-mother-REL) (3/PS-father-REL) (girl-little-ABS) (3/SB--Hh-3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to go-Fu/2-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF).

5d Her mother and father told me that they would let the girl go [with me].

6a serəyk x°ən ŝ?°əy ?°efəm səlyeža ğ.

6b se.r-əyk Ø-x°ə-n Ø-ŝ-?°-əy ?°efə-m sə-Ø-l-ye-ža-ğ.

6c (I-EMPH) (3/SB-to happen-Fu/2) (3/SB-1/AG-to say-CoPr) (work--REL) (1/SB-3/PO-behind-3/io-to set out (for)-PF).

7a ŝḥak̂e mə te tyəx̂əğeg°ə mewštew pŝeŝeĉək̂°əg°ere yəpšənəy se səzədəšə?e Holandex̂əğeg°əm pšen feŝ̂əge bew tx̂əλəx̂eme yawəžə wyətən fay, bew tx̂əλ yabğeŝ̂ən fay.

7b ŝḥak̂e mə te t-yə-x̂əğeg°ə-∅ m.ew.š.t.ew pŝeŝe-ĉək̂°ə-g°ere-∅ ∅-∅-yə-p-š-ə-n-əy se sə-zə.də-šə-?e Holande-x̂əğeg°ə-m ∅-p-še-n-∅ fe.ŝ̂ə.ge b-ew tx̂ə.λə-x̂e-m-e ∅-y-a-wəžə-∅ w-∅-yə-tə-n-∅ ∅-fa-y b-ew tx̂ə.λ-∅ ∅-y-a-b-ğe-ŝ̂ə-n-∅ ∅-fa-y.

7c (however) (this) (we) (1p/PS-POS-country-REL) (in this way) [*"it(∅-) be(t)-ing(-ew) there(š´ə) like(-ew) this(m)] (g.-l.-certain-ABS)// (3/SB-3/PO-inside-2/AG-to lead-ELA-MSD-CoPr) (I) (1/SB-PART. place("the place where")-there-to be) (Holland-country-REL)// (3/SB--2/AG-to lead-MSD-REL) (in order to) (much-MOD) (paper-PL-REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-Pl-behind-REL) // (2/SB-3/PO-inside-to stand-MSD-ABS) (3/SB-"for"-to be necessary), (much-MOD) (paper-ABS) (3/SB-3/io--Pl-2/AG-CAUS-to make-MSD-ABS) (3/SB-"for"-to be necessary).

7d But, to get ("lead") a (little) girl out of this country of ours, in this way, and take her to Holland(country) where I live, you have to take care ("to stand in the space behind") of a lot of paperwork, you have to get (them) a lot of papers done.

8a mə tx̂əλəx̂eme yawəžə syəḥağ.

8b mə tx̂ə.λə-x̂e-m-e ∅-y-a-wəžə-∅ s-∅-yə-ḥ.a-ğ.

8c (this) (paper-PL-REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-Pl-space behind-REL) (1/SB--3/PO-inside-to enter-PF). 8d I went in pursuit of these papers.

9a səzyeḥem notorləq zəfəra?°erem sək̂°ağ.

9b sə-z-∅-y-e-ḥ.e-m notorləq-∅ ∅-zə-fə-r-a-?°e-re-m sə-k̂°a-ğ.

9c (1/SB-when-3/PO-inside-SEM-to enter-REL) (notary's office-ABS) (3/SB-PART-for-3/AG-Pl-to say-Dy/2-REL) (1/SB-to go-PF).

9d Then ("when I went into it [sc. in pursuit of the papers]") I went to what they call a "notary's office".

7. 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.

Oubykh 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 Oubykh dictionary.[35] 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 Oubykh 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 Temirgoy and Kabardian parallel versions of Oubykh 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 polypersonalism 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 Šagirov (who wrote the Étimologičeskij

slovar'), Rogava and Kumaxov.

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 ℄V and ℄V℄V 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

1 The statistical data given throughout this introduction are taken from various sources: Narodnoe xozjajstvo SSSR v 1979 g., statističeskij ežegodnik, Narodnoe xozjajstvo SSSR 1922-1982, jubilejnyj statističeskij ežegodnik, Isaev (1970), Comrie (1981) and Jakovlev (1930).

2. -- indicates "not found".

3. 1970 continued: 3,300 Jews and 1,900 Estonians.

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.

8. Comrie[-Hewitt](1981:197).

9. Isaev(1970:148).

10. The designations used for Circassian, its dialects and its speakers are confusing: West Circassian is called, in Russian, adygejskij (and literary West Circassian literaturnyj adygejskij) jazyk. East and West Circassian together are referred to by the term adygskie jazyki. East Circassian is mostly referred to as Kabardian (kabardinskij), and literary East Circassian as kabardino-čerkesskij 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 Bes(le)ney). 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 "Cherkess" 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 Besney.

11. Comrie[-Hewitt] (1981:197).

12. Magometov (1963:3).

13. Isaev (1970:170).

14. Isaev (1970:169).

15. Schulze (1982:206).

16. Isaev (1970:170: also called bžeduxskij [sic]).

17. Isaev (1970:170).

18. Isaev (1970:61).

19. Comrie (1981:164).

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, Oubykh, Circassians, Karachay-Balkar, Ossetes, Lezgi and Chechen all have their Nart epic, cf. Dumézil 1930, 1965), Inal-Ipa

(1962), Nartxer (1968), Narty (1974), etc. A comprehensive introduction to the history of the area written in English is Halasi-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. Apperently, the Temirgoy 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 Mamkheg, the Dzhambechi and the Khatazhukay (cf. Zekox 1969:224). Cf. also Jakovlev (1930:19): "Der von uns vorläufig temirgoisch (abadzechotemirgoisch) genannte Dialekt ist ein noch späteres Produkt dialektischer Verschmelzung, die zu einer Zeit vor sich ging, als der Handelsknotenpunkt sich einigermassen nach Westen, von den Beslenejern ausgerechnet, verschob. Er ist eben ein Übergangsdialekt zwischen den westkjachischen, abadzechischen und beslenejischen Dialekten."
In Turkey I once met a Circassian who, to all appearances was a speaker of Temirgoy; he himself, however, declared that he spoke Pedasay (in Dumézil [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): "Ömer Asım 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 congres of Altaists held at Ankara in 1973, a Turkish scholar presented the thesis that Kürt

is a metathesis of Türk (cf. also Kırzıoğlu [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 I, which, depending on the language concerned, may signify a glottal stop, glottalic initiation, or either pharyngal or laryngal 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 tetragraph кхъу (qʰ°). In different languages the same sign may have different values .. and the same phone may be represented by different signs, e.g. [ç] is тш in Abaza but чъ 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 [š] in Adyge is ш and in Kabard ш, whilst ш in Kabard represents the alveolo-palatal voiceless fricative [ś], which in Adyge is written шъ. 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

Turkic peoples					
Azerbaydzhan	5,477	(4,380)	97.9 (98.2)	29.5 (16.6)	2.0 (2.5)
Kumyk	228	(189)	98.2 (98.4)	72.6 (57.4)	0.8 (1.2)
Nogay	60	(52)	90.3 (89.8)	75.6 (68.5)	1.4 (1.1)
Karachay	131	(113)	97.7 (98.1)	75.5 (67.6)	0.9 (1.2)
Balkar	66	(60)	96.9 (97.2)	77.4 (71.5)	1.4 (2.5)
Indo-European peoples					
Armenian	4,151	(3,559)	90.7 (91.4)	38.6 (30.1)	5.7 (6.0)
Ossete	542	(488)	88.2 (88.6)	64.9 (58.6)	12.2 (10.7)
Kurd	116	(89)	83.6 (87.6)	25.4 (19.9)	40.7 (36.2)
Other peoples					
Kalmyk	147	(137)	91.3 (91.7)	84.1 (81.1)	1.0 (1.5)
Assyrian	25	(24)	54.9 (64.5)	41.7 (46.2)	21.4 (14.7)

27. Cf. Isaev (1970:43-47), Comrie (1981:37).

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:

(pŝese 'girl', meẍe 'voice', deẍe 'beautiful')

pŝeŝe-daẍe-m 'the beautiful girl, REL'.

pŝeŝe-maẍe-m 'the voice of a girl, REL'.

pŝeŝe-meẍe-daẍe-m 'the beautiful voice of a girl, REL'.

pŝeŝe-deẍe-maẍe-m 'the voice of a beautiful girl, REL'.

y-a-wəne-fə.žə-čək̓°ə-daẍe-x̂-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) h, others lack ŝ. The reflexes of Common Circassian *k, *g and *k̓ are velars ([k´], etc.) in some subdialects and palatals ([č´], etc.) in other subdialects — there are also subdialects where [k´], etc. are in free variation with [č´], etc. There are East KAB subdialects that substitute palatalised alveolars for alveolo-palatal fricatives (cf. Očerki 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 Oubykh forms are taken from Dumézil (1975, passim); the Abkhaz forms are taken from Dumézil (1967 and 1975). Abkhaz awayṭ is realised as [oṭ], 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.[10] [note 10: A possible exception is the Circassian preposition qe-, qə-, 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[1)]

The inventory of DÜSHP 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

		obstruents						resonants		
		plosives			fricatives			nasals	glides	trill
		1	2	3	1	2	3			
labials	plain	p	b	p̣	f			m	w	
	labialised			p̣°	f°					
dentals	plain	t	d	ṭ						
	labialised			ṭ°						
alveolars		c	ɜ	ċ	s	z	ṣ	n		
alveolo-palatals	plain				ŝ	ẑ	ṣ̂			r
	labialised	ĉ°	(ɜ̂°)		ŝ°	ẑ°	ṣ̂°			
palatals	plain	č	ǯ	c̆	š	ž			y	
	velarised				š̄					
laterals					λ	l	λ̣			
velars	plain	k	g	k̦	x̄	ḡ				
	labialised	k°	g°	k̦°						
uvulars	plain	q			χ̄	ɣ̄				
	labialised	q°			χ̄°	ɣ̄°				
pharyngeal					ḥ					
laryngeals	plain			ʔ	h					
	labialised			ʔ°						

Obstruents are (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 ʂ alternates with š. The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate ʒ̂° alternates with č°, and the laryngeal ḥ with h. The phonemes ʒ̂°, ḥ and ʂ have a very limited distribution.[3)] 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

DÜSHP 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, ü.

high	ə
mid	e
low	a

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 ʔ and ʔ°, 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 [ɹ̝].

The timbre of the plain palatals is comparable to that of "soft" Russian x̌ (rather than "hard" š, ž). In fast speech it is hard to distinguish plain alveolo-palatal and plain palatal fricatives, phonetically [ʂ] and [ɹ̝] vs. [š′] and [ž′]. The phoneme ʂ is usually realised as [š′] but may be realised as [ʂ] (comparable to Russian š).[4)]

The laterals are unilateral. With NM the release is at the right. The voiced lateral l has resonant variants, especially in loans, while ʎ 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°. The fricative ɣ° has realisations with a very wide aperture which come close to [w]. Word-final aɣ containing -ɣ PF is pronounced as [aɣ̆] or as [a:].

The pharyngeal is comparable to Arabic ح . The laryngeal fricative 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 əw and ew, and after wə. This is especially the case with q and ʔ.

e.g. səp̓° ! [sʊp'°] 'educate me!' (sə-p̓° : 1/SB-2/AG-to raise).

bew [bo̯ʊ̯] / [b°o̯ʊ̯] 'much, MOD' (b-ew : much-MOD).

wəqebzə ! [wuqœbzə́] / [wuq°ɔbzə́] 'clean it!' (wə.qebz.ə : 3/SB-2/AG-to clean).

yəx̆ew [yɨx̆o̯ʊ̯] / [yɨx̆°o̯ʊ̯] '(he) knitting it' (yə-ɣ̆-ew : 3/SB-3/AG-to knit-MOD).

yəx̆°ew [yɨx̆°o̯ʊ̯] 'his pig, MOD' (yə-x̆°-ew : 3/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 ℓ 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 (c̓°, q and q° 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. psə [psə] 'it is water' (psə : 3/SB-water) /Psə/.

bzə ! [bzə] 'cut it!' (bzə : 3/SB-2/AG-to cut) /Pzə/.

p̓s̓ə ! [p's'ə] 'tell a lie!' (p̓s̓ə : 2/SB-to lie) /Ps̓ə/.

maš̓ke [mas̓k'ɛ/mas̓'k'ɛ] 'it is a spark' (maš̓ke : 3/SB-spark) /maSk̓e/.

The non-final obstruents of the cluster psk̓ 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.

e.g. tfəšt [tfɪš´t] 'it will be five' (tfə-št : 3/SB-five-Fu/1).
tfəšt [tfɪš´t] 'we will drive it' (t^{6}fə-št : 3/SB-1p/AG-to drive-Fu/1).

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 [t^{s}] vs. ts [ts]. The sequences always contain a morpheme boundary.

e.g. češt [t$^{š´}$ɛš´t] 'he will run' (če-št : 3/SB-to run-Fu/1).
tšešt [tš´ɛš´t] 'we will sell it' (t^{6}še-št : 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].

1.3.4 Sequences with Initial Monoconsonantal Personal Prefixes

Most consonant sequences which display an internal morpheme boundary are made up of two or three obstruents, the first of which itself constitutes an allomorph of a personal prefix. As sequences of this type call for some remarks, I will illustrate them here, using the AG (agent) prefixes (to which I will return in §§ 2.1.3 and 4.2.3).

s- 1/AG, allomorphs: s-/z-/ṣ-/sə-, /Ṣ-, sə-/.
t- 1p/AG, allomorphs: t-/d-/ṭ-/tə-, /Ṭ-, tə-/.
p- 2/AG, allomorphs: p-/b-/ṗ-/wə-/w-, /P-, wə-, w-/.
ṣ°- 2p/AG, allomorphs: ṣ°-/ẓ°-/ṣ̣°-/ṣ°ə-, /Ṣ°-, ṣ°ə-/.

e.g. stəšt 'I will give it' (s^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-1/AG-to give-Fu/1).
ttəšt 'we will give it' (t^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-1p/AG-to give-Fu/1).

ptəšt 'you will give it' (p^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-2/AG-to give-Fu/1).
ṣ°təšt 'you(p) will give it' (ṣ°^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-2p/AG-to give-Fu/1).

In careful (perhaps overcareful) speech, NM can emphasise the personal elements, pronouncing them with a partial or total release of their own (indicated by the symbol "‹"). This phenomenon can only be observed in word-medial position. It need not be referred to in statements about normal speech.

e.g. zedetfəšt [zɛdɛtfɪš´t] 'together they will be five' (ze^{4}de^{4}tfə-št : 3/SB-REC/PO-with-five-Fu/1).
zedetfəšt [zɛdɛtfɪš´t] / [zɛdɛt‹fɪš´t] 'we will drive it together' (ze^{4}de^{4}t^{6}fə-št : 3/SB-REC/PO-with-1p/AG-to drive-Fu/1).

1.3.5 Some Morphophonemic Combinations Compared with Single Consonants

The morphophonemic combinations p-p, b-b, ṗ-ṗ, ṣ°-ṣ°, etc. (involving personal prefixes as first element) are distinct from single p, b, ṗ, ṣ°, 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. ttəšt [t(:)ɪš´t] 'we will give it' (t^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-1p/AG-to give-Fu/1).
qettəšt [qɛt:ɪš´t] 'we will give it (hither)' (qe^{2}t^{6}tə-št : 3/SB-Hh-1p/AG-to give-Fu/1).

Free variation of [d] and [d:] occurs in mə(d)de 'here', wə(d)de 'there (near you)', ʔa(d)de 'there (near him)', and in derived forms. The lengthening may originally have had expressive force; nowadays mədde, etc. are the usual forms. In native material

there are no other cases of "long" consonants in which no morpheme boundaries are involved.

Morphophonemic p̓-ʔ, p̓-ʔ°, t̓-ʔ, t̓-ʔ°, s̓-ʔ and ŝ̓°-ʔ are usually not distinct form the unit phonemes p̓, p̓°, t̓, t̓°, s̓ and ŝ̓°. Again, word-medially there can be a difference in careful speech. The transcription is morphophonemic.

e.g. p̓°ešt [p'°ɔš́'t] 'it will be a bed' (p̓°e-št : 3/SB-bed-Fu/1).

p̓ʔ°ešt [p'°ɔš́'t] 'you will say it' (p̓-ʔ°e-št : 3/SB-2/AG-to say-Fu/1).

yap̓°ew [yáp'°ou̯] '(they) educating him' (y-a-p̓°-ew : 3/SB--3/AG-Pl-to raise-MOD).

yap̓ʔ°ew [yáp'°óu̯] / [yáp'ʔ°óu̯] '(you) telling it to them' (y-a-p̓-ʔ°-ew : 3/SB-3/io-Pl-2/AG-to say-MOD).

In fast speech there is no difference between ŝ̓°-ʔ° and ŝ̓° either, both being pronounced [ɕ'°].

e.g. ŝ̓°ə [ɕ'°ʊ] 'it is good' (ŝ̓°ə : 3/SB-good).

qəŝ̓°əx̂yəx̂əǧ [qʊɕ'°üχiχəǧ] 'he took it out of it against her wish' (qə-ŝ̓°ə-x̂-yə-x̂.ə-ǧ : 3/SB-Hh-3/PO-against-3/PO--in-3/AG-to take(ELA)-PF).

qəŝ̓°ʔərax̂əǧ [qʊɕ'°ʊraχəǧ] / [qʊɕ°ʔəraχəǧ] 'they took it from your(p) hand' (qə-ŝ̓°-ʔə-r-a-x̂.ə-ǧ : 3/SB-Hh-2p/PO--hand-3/AG-Pl-to take(ELA)-PF).

qəŝ̓°ʔ°ərax̂əǧ [qʊɕ'°ʔ°uraχəǧ] / [qʊɕ'°uraχəǧ] 'they took it from your(p) mouth' (qə-ŝ̓°-ʔ°ə-r-a-x̂.ə-ǧ : 3/SB-Hh-2p/PO--mouth-3/AG-Pl-to take(ELA)-PF).

1.3.6 On s-s, s̓-s̓, s-ŝ, etc.

The clusters s-s, s̓-s̓, s-ŝ, s̓-ŝ̓, s-ŝ°, s̓-ŝ̓°, s-š and s-ṣ̌ (all containing an initial first person sg. prefix) are pronounced [(s)c], [(s/s')c'], [(s)ɕ], [(s/s')ɕ'], [(s)ɕ°], [(s/s')ɕ'°], [(s)č́'] and again [(s)č́']. Word-initially [c], etc. are more common than [sc], etc. Word-medially [sc], etc. are preferred.

e.g. sŝ̓əšt [ɕ'ɪš́'t] / [s(')ɕ'ɪš́'t] 'I will do it' (s-ŝ̓ə-št : 3/SB-1/AG-to do-Fu/1).

fesŝ̓əšt [fɛs(')ɕ'ɪš́'t] / [fɛɕ'ɪš́'t] 'I will do it for him' (fe-s-ŝ̓ə-št : 3/SB-3/PO-for-1/AG-to do-Fu/1).

Compare:

fep̓ŝ̓əšt [fɛp'ɕ'ɪš́'t] 'you will do it for him' (fe-p̓-ŝ̓ə-št : 3/SB-3/PO-for-2/AG-to do-Fu/1).

The sequences s-š and s-ŝ in s-šx̂ and s-ŝḥ are pronounced analogously:

sšx̂əšt [(s)č́(')χ̈ɪš́'t] 'I will eat it' (s-šx̂ə-št : 3/SB--1/AG-to eat-Fu/1).

sŝḥe [(s)ɕḥæ] 'it is my head' (s-ŝḥe : 3/SB-1/PS-head).

Occasionally, the combination ŝ°-ŝ° is pronounced [ɕ°ɕ°]; [ɕ°:] is more usual.

e.g. ŝ°ŝ°e [ɕ°:œ] 'your(p) skin, ABS' (ŝ°-ŝ°e : 2p/PS-skin--ABS); also [ɕ°ɕ°œ].

Compare, finally:

š	- [š́']	sš	-	[(s)č́']	tš	-	[tš́']
č	- [č́']	sč	-	[sč́']	tč	-	[tč́'].[5]

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) [ɕ] and [ʑ] before plain uvulars and ḥ;

(b) [ɕ/ɕ°] or [ṣ̌] before labialised uvulars;

(c) [š́'] or [ṣ̌] before velars and f°;

(d) [š́'] before t.

I transcribe (a) as ŝx̌, ẑǧ, ŝh; (b) as ŝq°, ŝx̌°; (c) as šk, šk̂, šx̌ and šf°;(d) as št. Before q° and x̌° (b) we find [s] as well as [s°]; [s°] is always found in the bimorphemic sequences ŝ°-q° and ŝ°-x̌° (with initial 2nd person plural prefix).

e.g. ŝx̌°anţe [s(°)x̌°ánt'æ] 'it is green' (ŝ°x̌°anţe : 3/SB-green).

ŝ°x̌°eǯəšt [s°x̌°ɔǯ'ɪš't] 'you(p) will exchange it'

(ŝ°ɓx̌°e.ǯə-št : 3/SB-2p/AG-to exchange-Fu/1).

1.3.8 About mŝ, ml and bš̌

The sequence mŝ is pronounced as [ms'] or [mp's'], the sequence ml as [ml] or [mbl]. The first of these sequences occurs in ẖemŝəye 'rye' only, the second is found in ǧ°emle.pǩe 'food' and f°e.mlek̂e 'rein'.

The sequence bš̌ is realised as [bš̌'] or as [bž']; it occurs, for instance, in bš̌əẖe 'winter' and nəbš̌.eǧ°ə 'friend("age.fellow")'; the sequence bǩ is always pronounced as [bž'].

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 ə and weakest in a. 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 ə and e also in contact with other "soft" consonants. These same vowels, ə and e, have rounded (and back) variants in contact with w and in contact with labialised consonants. The vowel a 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 ẖ and ʔ (§ 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: [ə] for ə, [ɛ] / [œ] for e and [a] for a. The variant [ɛ] of e is common in and before stressed position; following stressed position [œ] is often observed. The following symbols are used to indicate non-neutral vowel variants:

/ə/	[i]	fronted and raised
	[u]	rounded and backed and raised
	[ɪ]	half (fronted and raised)
	[ʊ]	half (rounded and backed and raised)
	[ü]	fronted, rounded and raised
	[ɨ]	retracted and raised
/e/	[e]	fronted and raised
	[o]	rounded and raised and back
	[ɔ]	rounded and back
	[ʌ]	retracted
	[æ]	retracted and lowered

/a/ [æ] fronted and raised

[ɑ] retracted

[æ°] rounded and raised and fronted/backed

1.4.3 Length

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

e.g. qəset ! [qəsɛ̀t] / [qˤsɛ̀t] 'give it to me!' (qə^{2}se^{5}t : 3/SB-1/io-2/AG-to give).

The dropping of ə is regular after w and after m in word-medial sequences $\not{C}V\overset{w}{\underset{m}{}}$—$\not{C}V$; the vowel preceding w, or m, is usually lengthened.[6)]

e.g. səwəmətew [sʊwʊ́mətə́ʊ̯] / [sʊ́ːʊ̯mətə́ʊ̯] / [sʊwʊ́ːmtə́ʊ̯] / [sʊ́ːʊ̯mtə́ʊ̯] '(you) not giving me (to somebody)' (sə^{1}wə^{6}mə^{8}t-ew : 1/SB-2/AG-N/1-to give-MOD).

syəwəne [sʲi̯iwʊ́nɛ̀] / [sʲi̯ʊ́ːʊ̯nɛ̀] 'my house, ABS' (s-yə-wəne : 1/PS-POS-house-ABS).

syəwən [sʲi̯iwʊ́n] 'it is my house' (s^{4}yə^{4}wən : 3/SB-1/PO--POS-house).

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

e.g. natəfədeǧ°er [natəfˤdə́ǧ°œr] / [natəfədə́ǧ°œr] 'the good maize' (natəfə-deǧ°-er : maize-good-ABS) +natəfə-deǧ°ə-er+.

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:

əy	-	[ii̯] / [iː]	əw	-	[uʊ̯] / [uː]
ey	-	[ei̯] / [eː]	ew	-	[oʊ̯] / [oː]
ay	-	[æi̯]	aw	-	[æ°]

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

e.g. wəməbzəy ! [wʊməbzi̯ì̯] 'do not cut it, and..!' (wə^{6}mə^{8}bz-əy : (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to cut-CoPr).

wəməbzey ! [wʊməbzé̯i̯] 'do not lick it!' (wə^{6}mə^{8}bze.y : 3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to lick).

wəməbzay ! [wʊməbzǽi̯] 'do not lick!' (wə^{1}mə^{8}bza.y : 2/SB-N/1--to lick).

wəməw ! [wʊmʊ́ʊ̯] 'do not shoot!' (wə^{1}mə^{8}w : 2/SB-N/1-to shoot).

m.ew [moʊ̯] 'here'.

wəməzaw ! [wʊməzǽ°ʊ̯] 'do not fight!' (wə^{1}mə^{8}za.w : 2/SB-N/1--to fight).

qəynew [qʲi̯i̯nə́ʊ̯] 'difficult, MOD' (qəyn-ew : difficult-MOD).

meyteżəge [mei̯tɛ̀ʒɪgˈɛ́] 'with an old axe' (meyte-ż-ə-ge : axe--old-INS).

mayte [mǽi̯tɛ̀] 'it is an axe' (mayte : 3/SB-axe).

dəwnayem [dʊʊ̯naʲɛ́m] 'the world, REL' (dəwnaye-m : world-REL).

mewge [mə́ʊ̯gˈɛ́] / [mə́ʊ̯gˈœ] 'from/via here' (m.ew-ge : (here-INS).

tḥawmafem [tḥæ°ʊ̯mə́fœ́m] 'on Sunday' (tḥa.w.mafe-m : Sunday-REL).

The sequences Vy and Vw 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-prefixes. There, however, we find sequences ƚyV; these sequences are not matched by sequences containing w. The sequences ƚyV show no special behaviour when the vowel involved is a. With the other vowels the situation is as follows:

ƚyə - ƚ[i̭i] / ƚ[i:] / ƚ[ii̭]

ƚye - ƚ[i̭e] / ƚ[e:] / ƚ[ei̭].

Word-initially we most often find ƚ[i̭i] and ƚ[i̭e], word-medially [i:] and [e:]; however, in both positions all three realisations are heard. In word-initial syllables I shall use [i̭ $\frac{i}{e}$], otherwise [$\frac{i}{e}$:].

e.g. syə? [si̭i?] 'I have it' (s^{4}-yə^{4}-? : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be)

wəsyə? [wusi:?] 'I have you' (wə^{1}-s^{4}-yə^{4}-? : 2/SB-1/PO-POS-to be).

tyepλə [ti̭epλə] 'we are looking at it' (t^{1}-y^{5}-e^{7}-pλe : (1p/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to look).

təzedyepλə [təzɛde:pλə] 'we are looking at it together' (tə^{1}-ze^{4}-d^{4}-y^{5}-e^{7}-pλə : 1p/SB-REC/PO-with-3/io-Dy/1-to look).

1.4.5 The Vowel a

The vowel a is pronounced [æ] before y not followed by a vowel (cf. § 1.4.4). In a word-final sequence ?ay, a is pronounced as [a]; here the fronting effect of y is neutralised by the retracting effect of ?. The back variant is heard in contact with (retracting) plain back consonants (cf. § 1.4.8); a is pronounced as [æ^{ɔ}] before w not followed by a vowel (cf. § 1.4.4).

The vowel a most often occurs word-medially. Word-finally it is only found in the following three endings: -a interrogative, -a vocative and -b.a negative interrogative. In these endings a is pronounced as [a(:)] or as [æ:]; it can be pronounced with rising pitch.

e.g. wəna ? [wuna(:)] / [wunǽ:] 'is it a house?' (wən-a : 3/SB-house-INT). Compare:

wəne [wúnœ] 'it is a house' (wəne : 3/SB-house).

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

e.g. ?ar [?ɑr] / [?ar] 'that one, ABS' (?a-r : that-ABS).

ar [hɑr] / [har] / [ˤɑr] / [ˤar] id. (a-r).

1.4.6 Front Variants of ə and e

The palatals other than x̌ and the plain velar plosives tend to cause ə to be realised as [ɪ]; y tends to give it the realisation [i]. Before these same consonants one finds [e], and after them [ɛ] or [e] as realisations of e. A very slight front colouring is noticeable (only in ə) in contact with velar fricatives and r.

e.g. x̌əx̌ [x̌'ɪx̌'] / [x̌'ix̌'] 'he is there' (x̌ə^{4}-x̌ : 3/SB-there-to be[long]).

yət [yit] 'he is (standing) in it' (yə^{4}-t : 3/SB-3/PO-in-to stand).

yə [yɪ] / [yi] 'they are eight' (yə : 3/SB-eight).

yepλ ! [yɛpλ] / [yepλ] 'look at it!' (ye^{5}-pλ : 2/SB-3/io-to look).

ŝ°eyə [ŝ'°eyɪ] 'it is dirty' (ŝ°eyə : 3/SB-dirty).

1.4.7 Rounded Variants of ə and e

Rounded (plus backed) variants of ə and e are found in contact with labialised consonants and w. Half-rounded variants of especially e are usually found word-finally after ƚ°, or after w.

Word-medially, both ə and, again, especially e, have half-raised variants before labialised consonants or w in open syllables. The labialised alveolo-palatals and also - but to a much lesser extent - x̂ and ĝ have a rounding and, as far as ə is concerned, a fronting effect.

e.g. bzəwə [bzʉ̟wʊ̟] 'a bird, ABS' (bzəwə : bird-ABS).

č°ək°ə [č°ʉ̟k°ʊ̟] 'an ox-cart, ABS' (č°ə-k°ə : ox-cart-ABS).

x̂°əšt [x̂°ʉʉ̟š´t] 'it will happen' (x̂°ə-št : 3/SB-to happen-Fu/1).

wəməx̂° ! [wʉmʉ̟x̂°] 'do not become!' ($wə\overset{1}{-}mə\overset{8}{-}x̂°$: 2/SB-N/1-to become).

ǧ°eg°ə [ǧ°ʊ̟g°ʊ̟] 'a road, ABS' (ǧ°eg°ə : road-ABS).

ǧ°eg°əm [ǧ°ʊ̟g°ʉ̟m] 'the road, REL' (ǧ°eg°ə-m : road-REL).

x̂əǧeg°ə [x̂əǧ^{œ}ɔ̟g°ʊ̟] 'a country, REL' (x̂əǧeg°ə : country-REL).

p̓?°ešt [p'°ɔš´t] 'you will say it' ($p̓\overset{6}{-}?°e$-št : 3/SB-2/AG-to say-Fu/1).

tx̂əλ [tx̂^{ʉ}ɪλ] 'it is a book' (tx̂ə.λ : 3/SB-book).

1.4.8 Retracted Vowel Variants

Plain back consonants - especially ḥ and ʔ - have a tendency to retract (and raise) ə to [ɐ], to retract e to [ʌ] or to retract and lower it to [æ], and to retract a to [ɑ]. This colouring is suppressed by simultaneous front colouring.

e.g. ḥə ! [ḥɐ] 'carry it!' (ḥə : 3/SB-2/AG-to carry).

yəḥ [yɪḥ] 'it is his dog' ($yə\overset{4}{-}ḥ$: 3/SB-3/PO-POS-dog).

syəḥ [sɨ̟iḥ] 'it is my dog' ($s\overset{4}{-}yə\overset{4}{-}ḥ$: 3/SB-1/PO-POS-dog).

ḥe [ḥæ] 'it is a dog' (ḥe : 3/SB-dog).

meḥ ! [mæḥ] '(interjection) take it!'.

x̂°eḥep [x̂°æḥʌ̟p] 'it is not a boat' (x̂°eḥ-ep : 3/SB-boat-N/2).

ḥap [ḥɑp] 'it is not a dog' (ḥa-p : 3/SB-dog-N/2).

yara?°aǧ [yʌ̟ra?°ʌ̟ǧ] 'they told it to them' ($y\overset{5}{-}a\overset{5}{-}r\overset{6}{-}a\overset{6}{-}?°a$-ǧ : 3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Pl-to tell-PF); also [yʌ̟ra?°ɑ̟:].

?əǧ ! [?ɐ̟ǧ] 'keep it (in your hands)!' (?ə.ǧ : 3/SB-2/AG-to hold).

həgə [hɪ̟g´ɪ̟] / [ḥɐ̟g´ɪ̟] 'now'.

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.

e.g. wəy [wiɨ̟] 'this, REL' (wə-y : this/that-REL).

yəw ! [yuu̟] 'beat into it!' ($yə\overset{4}{-}w$: 2/SB-3/PO-in-to beat-ILL).

yəḥ ! [yɐ̟ḥ] 'enter into it!' ($yə\overset{4}{-}ḥ$: 2/SB-3/PO-in-to enter).

həy ! [ḥiɨ̟] 'carry it, and ..!' (ḥ-əy : 3/SB-2/AG-to carry-CoPr).

wey [weɨ̟] 'you, REL' (we-y : you-REL).

yew ! [yoʊ̟] 'beat him!' ($ye\overset{5}{-}w$: 2/SB-3/io-to beat).

1.4.10 Colouring at a Distance

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

e.g. səqəryəšaǧ [səqx̂əri:šʌ̟ǧ] / [səqx̂ɪri:šʌ̟ǧ] / [sɪqx̂ɪri:šʌ̟ǧ] 'he led me hitner into it' ($sə\overset{1}{-}qə\overset{2}{-}r\overset{4}{-}yə\overset{6}{-}š$-a-ǧ : 1/SB-Hh--3/PO-in-3/AG-to lead-ILL-PF).

se wəsəwəʌ̟əšt [sœ^{ɔ}wʉ̟suwʊk'´ɪ̟š´t, sɔw.., sɛ wu..] 'I will kill you' (se : I) ($wə\overset{1}{-}sə\overset{6}{-}wəʌ̟ə$-št : 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 -əy (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.[7)]

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. čaler [č'ˈalˈœr] 'the boy, ABS' (čal-er : boy-ABS).

selaže [sɛlˈaž'ˈœ] 'I am working' (s-^{1}e-^{7}laže : 1/SB-Dy/1--to work).

wəbət(ə) ! [wubˈət(ˈə)] 'catch it!' (wəbət(ə) : 3/SB-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. čeleč̣ǩ°er [č'ˈɛlɛcˈuk'°ɔr], possible stress patterns: [--ˈ-], [---ˈ], [ˈ---], [ˈ-ˈ-], [ˈ--ˈ] 'the little boy, ABS' (čele-č̣ǩ°-er : 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. zyəšefəx̌erem [-ˈ---] / [--ˈ--] 'when he will buy them' (z-^{3}yə-^{6}še.fə-x̌e-re-m : 3/SB-when-3/AG-to buy-PL-Dy/2-REL); the stem ends before the ending -x̌e PL.

zyəšefəx̌erem [--ˈ--] / [---ˈ-] 'when he will finish buying' (z-^{3}yə-^{6}še.fə-x̌e-re-m : 3/SB-when-3/AG-to buy-EXH-Dy/2-REL); -x̌e exhaustive is a stem-suffix.

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

e.g. čˈeleč̣ǩ°er 'the small BOY, ABS'.

čeleč̣ˈǩ°er 'the SMALL boy, ABS'.

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

e.g. serə [-ˈ] 'it is me' (se-^{5}rə : 3/SB-1/io-to be identical to).

seməme [ˈ-ˈ-] 'if it is me' (se-^{5}rə-me : 3/SB-1/io-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.

e.g.

tx̂əλ [t] syəʔep 'I do not have a book' (tx̂ə.λ : book-ABS) (s^{4}-yə^{4}-ʔ-ep : 3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be-N/2).

λ̂əm [p] feŝəge 'for the man' (λ̂ə-m : man-REL) (fe.ŝə.ge : for).

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

e.g.

ʔax̂eme yaʔ°aǧ [..mɛya.., ..mʌ^{h}a.., ..ma..] 'they have said it' (ʔa-x̂e-m-e : that-PL-REL-PL) (y^{6}-a^{6}-ʔ°a-ǧ : 3/SB-3/AG--Pl-to say-PF).

(iii) The merging of word-final ə or e and word-initial yə into [iː], [ii̯].

e.g.

t̲hemate yədəẑə [..teyi.., ..tiː.., ..tii̯..] 'near the elder' (t̲hemate : elder-REL) (yə-dəẑə : 3/PS-POS-nearness-REL).

The fixed combination ŝəd.λ̂ewəẑ? 'what kind of?' (cf. ŝədə 'what?', λ̂e.wəẑə 'issue') has various other realisations besides the expected but infrequent [ŝəd(ə)λ'owuẑ′]: [s'λ'oːu̯ẑ′]/[slʔoːu̯ẑ′]/[s'oːu̯ẑ′].

Special mention must also be made of combinations of mə 'this', wə 'that/this' and te 'which?' with the copula a.rə 'it is (that one)' e.g. məˆarə [məˤarə]/[maːrə] 'it is this one'.

NOTES

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

2. See chapter 10, section 5.

3. The velarised fricative x̌ occurs only in x̌ə 'brother' and in x̌ə 'horse'. The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate ǯ° occurs in one root, viz. in qanəǯ°e (freely varying with qanəč°e) 'wooden hook'. The phoneme h is found in həgə 'now', in he.t̂°.ene 'then, afterwards', and in a number of loans.

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

e.g. x̌ə [x̌ə] / [š′ɪ] 'it is a horse' (x̌ə : 3/SB-horse).

x̌ə [x̌ə] / [š′ɪ] 'it is a brother' (x̌ə : 3/SB-brother).

The transcription always uses x̌ in the roots "horse" and "brother".

5. Further illustrations:

x̂essaǧ [ʁɛscaǧ] 'I stuck it into it' (x̂e^{4}-s^{6}-s.a-ǧ : 3/SB--3/PO-in-1/AG-to stick.ILL-PF); compare:

x̂epsaǧ [ʁœpsaǧ] 'you stuck it into it' (with p^{6} 2/AG).

ŝŝe [s'c'ɛ/c'ɛ] 'it is my name' (ŝ-ŝe : 3/SB-1/PS-name); compare:

p̂ŝe [p's'ɛ] 'it is your name' (with p̂- 2/PS).

sŝešt [ĉɛš′t]/[sĉɛš′t] 'I will weave it' (s^{6}ŝe-št : 3/SB--1/AG-to weave-Fu/1); compare:

pŝešt [pʂɛš´t] 'you will weave it' (with p^{6} 2/AG).

x̂esŝ°əšt [ʁœsɐ°üš´t] [ʁœɐ°üš´t] 'I will drink it out of it' (x̂e-s^{6}ŝ°-ə-št : 3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to drink-ELA-Fu/1); compare:

x̂epŝ°əšt [ʁœpʂ°üš´t] 'you will drink it out of it' (with p^{6} 2/AG).

žž°efab [(ʒ)ɐ´°ɔfab] / [ɐ´°ɔfab] 'it is hot to me' (ž-ž°e-fab : 3/SB-1/PO-against-hot); compare:

pžž°efab [pʼʂʼ°ɔfab] 'it is hot to you' (p^{4} 2/PO).

qesšešt [qx̌ɛsč´ɛš´t] / [qx̌ɛč´ɛš´t] 'I will marry her' "I will lead her hither" (qe-s^{6}še-št : 3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to lead-Fu/1); compare:

qepšešt [qʌpš´ɛš´t] 'you will marry her' (with p^{6} 2/AG).

sšep [č´ɛp] / [sč´ɛp] 'he is not my brother' (s-š-ep : 3/SB-1/PS-brother-N/2); compare:

pšep [pš´ɛp] 'he is not your brother' (with p- 2/PS).

Compare also:

dečəğ, desšəğ, desčəğ, detšəğ, detčəğ.

dečəğ [dɛč´iğ] 'he ran out of it' (de-^{4}č-ə-ğ : 3/SB-3/PO-in--to run-ELA-PF).

desšəğ [dɛ(s)č´iğ] 'I led it out of it' (de-s^{6}š-ə-ğ : 3/SB--3/PO-in-1/AG-to lead-ELA-PF).

desčəğ [dɛsč´iğ] 'I ran it together with him' (de-s^{6}čə-ğ : 3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to run(tr.)-PF).

detšəğ [dɛtš´iğ] 'we led it out of it' (with t^{6} 1p/AG).

detčəğ [dɛtč´iğ] 'we ran it together with him' (with t^{6} 1p/AG).

6. In certain fixed combinations some morphemes have generalised their allomorphs with dropped shwa; cf. zewže 'all' (*ze-wəžə : REC/PS-trace), bəsəm.g°eše 'lady of the house' (compare bəsəmə 'master, g°eše 'princess, lady').

7. Pauses are used to mark the interruption of a clause.

e.g. mə [pause] q°aǰem desə čaler 'this boy that is living in the village' (mə : this) (q°aǰe-m : village-REL) PART/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) (čal-er : boy-ABS).

mə q°aǰem desə čaler '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

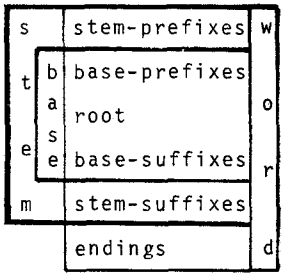
2.1. MORPHEMIC MAKE-UP

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.

sə-^{1}ʔ°e-št (1/SB-to go-Fu/1) 'I will go' ("of me-going-will be the case").

sə-^{1}p-^{6}λeǧ°ə-št (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.

sə-^{1}b-^{4}de-^{4}ʔ°e-št-ep (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.

sə-^{1}we-^{5}pλə-št (1/SB-2/io-to look-Fu/1) 'I will look at you'.

we-^{5}s-^{6}tə-št (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it to you'.

slot 6 by an agent (AG) prefix; cf.

sə-^{1}p-^{6}λeǧ°ə-št, we-^{5}s-^{6}tə-št (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.[6] 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 x̌č occurs only in mex̌če 'camel' and in λex̌če 'low', and the cluster x̂ʔ only in čəx̂ʔene 'blanket'. Consequently, word-initial x̌č does not occur, nor will we find word-periphal x̂ʔ. Compare:

max̌č-er (camel-ABS) 'the camel, ABS'.

s$\overset{4}{-}$yə$\overset{4}{-}$max̌č (3/SB-1/PO-POS-camel) 'it is my camel'.

Compare also:

s$\overset{1}{-}$e$\overset{7}{-}$psk̓e (1/SB-Dy/1-to jump) 'I am jumping'.

psk̓e ! (2/SB-to jump) 'jump!'

wə$\overset{1}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$psk̓ ! (2/SB-N/1-to jump) 'do not jump!'

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

The part of the word to which the rule of the e/a-alternation applies normally coincides with the stem (§ 4.5). In principle, there is in the word only one position where underlying +e+ (as opposed to

+ê+) is changed to 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. č̓al-er (boy-ABS) 'the boy, ABS'.

č̓ele-dax̂-er (boy-beautiful-ABS) 'the handsome boy, ABS'.

č̓ele- does not occur independently, and in normal speech there is never a pause between č̓ele- and -dax̂-er. Combinations of substantives and adjectives that lack this diagnostic possibility are analogously treated as constituents of one word; cf.

wəne-ẑ-er (house-old-ABS) 'the old house, ABS'.[7]

There are cases where the language hesitates; cf.

ʔadəĝe bz-er / ʔadəĝa-bz-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. re$\overset{1}{-}$λ̓a-ǧˆg°ə.še / re$\overset{1}{-}$λ̓e-g°ə.ša-ǧ (3/SB-to die-PFˆalas) / (3/SB-to die-alas[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.

Vowels 42.3 %	e	19.5 %	Resonants 21.0 %	y	6.0 %
	ə	16.5 %		m	4.5 %
	a	6.3 %		r	4.5 %
Obstruents 36.7 %	fricatives	21.1 %		w	4.0 %
	plosives	15.6 %		n	2.0 %

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:

sə-^{1}ɣə-ɣ (1/SB-to weep-PF) 'I wept'.

sə-^{1}ɣe-^{9}ɣ ! (1/SB-2/AG-CAUS-to weep) 'make me weep!'

sə-^{1}ɣə-ɣa-ɣ (1/SB-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:

yə-^{6}y-əy (3/SB-3/AG-to coat-CoPr) 'he coated it, and'.

y-^{4}e-^{7}y ! (3/SB-3/PO-POS-OPT-to belong) 'may he possess it!'

y-^{4}a-^{4}y (3/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to belong) 'they possess it'.

pəy-əy-y (enemy-NuCo-eight-ABS) 'eight enemies, ABS'.

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

ye-^{5}t ! (3/SB-3/io-2/AG-to give) 'give it to him!'

y-^{6}e-^{7}tə (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/l-to give) 'he is giving it'.

s-yə-n-ew (1/PS-POS-eye-MOD) 'my eye, MOD'.

sə-^{1}yən-ew (1/SB-big-MOD) '(I) being big'.

yə-š°əz (3/PS-POS-wife-ABS) 'his wife, ABS'.

yə-š°əzə (3/PS-POS-wife-REL) 'his wife, REL'.

de-^{4}s (3/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) 'he is sitting in it'.

de-^{4}sə (3/SB-3/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 DŭSHP and also those polymorphemic sequences that occur at the boundary of two morphemes that are the constituents of a fixed combination. For other polymorphemic 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, polymorphemic 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, S̄ for an alveolo-palatal/palatal fricative, Ŝ° for a labialised alveolo-palatal fricative, and L, X̂ and X̌ for a lateral, a velar and a uvular fricative respectively.

	f/f°	t d t̰	c ɜ c̰	s z s̰	ŝ ẑ ŝ	č ǯ č̰	š ž	λ l λ̰	k g k̰	x̂ ĝ	k° — k̰°	q	χ ɣ	q°	χ° ɣ°	ḥ	ʔ
P			pc bɜ p̰c̰	ps bz p̰s̰	pŝ bẑ p̰ŝ	pč bǯ p̰č̰	pš bž	pλ bl p̰λ̰	pk bg p̰k̰	px̂ bĝ		pq	pχ bɣ		pχ° bɣ°		
T	tf	(d)d							t̰k̰	tx̂	t̰k̰°		tχ		tχ°	tḥ	
S		st							s̰k̰		s̰k̰°		sχ zɣ				
S̄	(ʃ)f°	šť							šk̰	šx̂	šk̰°		ʃχ ʒɣ	ʃq°	ʃχ°	ʃḥ	
Ŝ°		s°t s̰°t̰									s̰°k̰°						
L	λf								lg						λχ°		
X̂																	ʔ?
X̌		χt		χs		χč											

2.3.3 CCC Clusters

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

pšt	psk ps k̰	(p)ʃḥ

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 s̰, 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 (ms̰ and ml), see § 1.3.8. Before back consonants (i.e. velars, uvulars and the plain laryngeal), we find only r.

	mp	rb	mb	rp̰	mp̰						
rt	nt	rd	nd	rt̰	nt̰						
	nc		nɜ					rz			ms̰
						rs̰				rs̰	
	nč		nǯ		nč̰						
								rl	ml		
rk°		rg rg°		rk̰ rk̰°							
rq rq°						rχ		rɣ rɣ°			
				r?							

2.3.5 Remaining R-sequences

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

yC: yt, ys, yk̰/y?

wC: ws, wž, wl

CR: sm, sn, zy, λm

RR: yn, ry, rm

2.3.6 Polymorphemic C.Ø Sequences

In a number of fixed combinations of two morphemes (e.g. ØVØV + ØV) polymorphemic consonant sequences can occur as a result of the fact that the first morpheme occurs - in this specific environment - without its final vowel (ØVØ.ØV). 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.

s.pč in təǧ°es.pčəḥe 'yesterday evening'; cf. təǧ°ese 'yesterday', pčəḥe 'evening'.

s.č in təǧ°es.češə 'yesterday night'; cf. češə 'night'.

m.ǩ in tḥeǩ°əm.ǩeḥə 'hare'; cf. tḥeǩ°əme 'ear', ǩeḥə 'long', tḥeǩ°əme-ǩeḥə 'long ear'.

m.g° in bəsəm.g°eše 'lady (of the house)'; cf. bəsəmə 'master, lord', g°eše 'lady, mother-in-law'.

f.t in ʔ°ef.te 'to send sb. on an errand'; cf. ʔ°efə 'work', te 'to give'(?); one also finds ʔ°efə.te.

s.ḥ in ɬə.s.ḥe 'to sit down (ILL)'; cf. ɬə.sə 'to sit down', -ḥe ILL.

λ.ḥ in λ.ḥe 'to put sth. (ILL)'; cf. (?) λə 'to lie'.

r.ž in deǧe.r.že "sort of pancake"; cf. deǧe 'fat', -rə- InsCo, že 'to get baked'.

š.m in newəš.məšǩe 'the day after tomorrow'; cf. newəšə 'tomorrow', for -məšǩe cf. ʔa.də.re.məšǩe 'the second day after tomorrow', ʔa.də.re 'that one over there, the other'.

w.m in tḥa.w.mefe 'Sunday'; cf. tḥe 'God', .w. '?', mefe '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 Šagirov 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-Caspian 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 Osmanlı 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)]

ǯəg°əndərə 'beet' (DŭSHP) [a: other Circassian, b: WC, c: Turkic]

(a) LiKAB ǯeg°ənde, CaSHP ǯəg°əmdər

(b) Abz. ǯ'ag°ə̀nda, Oub. ǯ'əg°əndə̀r

(c) Tu. çükündür/çuğundur, K-B čügündür, Nog. šuvəldər.

ʔaλməqə 'bag' (DŭSHP)

(a) LiAD ʔaλmeq, LiKAB aλtmaq̀

(b) Abkh. artmaq̀, Abz. artmaq̀, Oub. aλmə̀q

(c) K-B artpak/artmaq, Nog. artpak, Kar. artmak/artmağ.

maxsəme 'boza' (DŭSHP)

(a) LiAD baxsəme/maxsəme, LiKAB maxsəme

(b) Abkh. a-baǧsmə̀, Abz. baxsə̀ma, Oub. baq(ə)smə̀

(c) Kar. maxsəma.

məynə 'thousand' (DŭSHP)

(a) LiAD məyn, LiKAB məyn

(b) Oub. min/bin

(c) Tu. bin, K-B miŋ, Nog. məŋ.

qaməšə 'whip' (DŭSHP)

(a) LiAD qaməš', LiKAB q̀aməšə

(b) Abkh. a-q̀amč'ə̀, Abz. q̀amč'ə̀, Oub. qamč'(ə̀)

(c) Tu. kamçı, K-B qamči, Nog. kaməšə.

qeme 'dagger' (DŭSHP)

(a) LiAD qame, LiKAB q̀ame[10)]

(b) Abkh. a-q̀ə̀ma, Abz. q̀amə̀, Oub. qa:mə̀

(c) Tu. kama, K-B qama, Nog kama.

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 DŭSHP and CaSHP:

baləqə 'fish'; cf. Tu. balık.

k°e(m)pərə 'bridge'; cf. Tu. köprü.

čəwalə(čəwele) 'sack', CaSHP š'ewal; cf. Tu. çuval.

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

sempele 'trigger'; cf. Ru. samopal 'gun with wick'.

qartopə 'potato'; cf. Ru. kartofel', kartoška, Tu. top 'ball', LiAD kartof, kartošk, LiKAB k̀ent̀raf/k̀ert̀of, Nog. kartop.

bêške 'barrel'; cf. Ru. bočka.

psəme 'letter' (unknown to NM); cf. Ru. pis'mo.

bətərbəfə Peterburg; compare Oub. batərbə̀f.

sə(m)bərəye 'Siberia'; cf. Ru. Sibir'.

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:

boyaǰə 'painter'; cf. Tu. boyacı.

qanunə 'law'; cf. Tu. kanun.

qayənče 'brother-in-law'; cf. Tu. kayın(çe).

notorləqə 'notary's office'; cf. Tu. notorlık.

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. ɬ.eǩ°e 'painter', x̌ebze 'law, tradition', meλχ°e '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. čəwalə(čəwele) 'sack' (DüSHP); cf. Tu. çuval, CaSHP š´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:
čayə(čeye) 'tea' (DüSHP); cf. LiAD š´ay(ə), Tu. çay.
düneye(dəwneye) 'world'; cf. LiAD dəwneye, 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 λeǧ°ə 'to see' are common (cf. any Turkish dictionary under görmek).[11]

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 ə. 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. dermenə 'mill'; cf. Tu. de(ǧi)rmen.
baləqə 'fish'; cf. Tu. balık.
Osmanə a name; cf. Tu. Osman.
seq°eq°e 'street'; cf. Tu. sokak.
q°ər?ane(q°ər?ene) 'Koran'; cf. Tu. Kur'an.
χ°ərše(q°ərušə) 'small coin, cent'; cf. Tu. kuruş.

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

e.g. ?osman qe^{2}ǩ°a-ǧ (O.-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'Osman arrived'.
?osman-ə ye^{5}s^{6}tə-ǧ (O.-REL) (3/SB-3/io-l/AG-to give-PF) 'I gave it to Osman'.
?osmanə-ǧ (3/SB-O.-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. q°ətə 'box'; cf. Tu. kutu.
?°ədə 'room'; cf. Tu. oda.
q°ər?ane(q°ər?ene), χ°ərše, k°e(m)pərə see above.
k°eyə 'village'; cf. Tu. köy.

čəwene 'boiler'; cf. Tu. çüven.

g°eneḥə 'sin'; cf. Tu. günah.

hükmetə 'government'; cf. Tu. hükûmet.

boyne 'continually'; cf. Tu. boyuna.

(iii) In loans Turkic i is realised as [i], and not as [i̯i] or [i̯i] i is therefore used in the transcription.

e.g. ?izinə 'leave, permission'; cf. Tu. izin.

hisapə(ḥəsapə) 'plan, intention'; cf. Tu. hisab/hesap.

In two older loans the pronunciation justifies a notation əy, viz. in qəynə 'difficult(y)' and in məynə 'thousand'; cf. Tu. kıyın- 'to have a sensation of debility and aching', and bin 'thousand', respectively.

(iv) Turkic ə, e and a are normally realised as [ə], [ɛ] and [a], and transcribed as ə, e and a.

e.g. dermenə 'mill'; see above.

baləqə 'fish'; see above.

dərməqə 'harrow'; cf. Tu. dırmık/tırmık.

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.

e.g. ?aqələ 'reason, mind'; cf. Tu. akıl.

boyne 'continually'; cf. Tu. boyuna.

?amǰe 'paternal uncle'; cf. Tu. amca.

?aǰče(?eǰče) 'money'; cf. Tu. akça/akçe.

waǰte(weǰte) 'time'; cf. Tu. vakit^{kti}.

čorba 'soup'; cf. Tu. çorba.

daha 'more, any longer'; cf. Tu. daha.

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)ɣe.

e.g. čəwane-m (boiler-REL) 'the boiler, REL'.

čəwena-ɣ (3/SB-boiler-PF) 'it was a boiler'.

čəwene-ẑə-m (boiler-old-REL) 'the old boiler, REL'.

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.

e.g. mase-m (table-REL) 'the table, REL'.

masa-ɣ/mesa-ɣ (3/SB-table-PF) 'it was a table'.

mase-ẑə-m/mese-ẑə-m (table-old-REL) 'the old table, REL'.

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

e.g. ?°ede-m (room-REL) 'the room, REL'.

?°eda-ɣ (3/SB-room-PF) 'it was a room'.

Compare finally the following three well adapted loans:

qeme 'dagger'; cf. Tu. kama.

nemeze 'prayer'; cf. Tu. namaz.

reze 'approving'; cf. Tu. razı.

2.4.5 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 [ḥ]. The DüSHP 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 [ḥ] is generalised. In those cases I transcribe h, e.g. in ḥeramə.ǧe 'something unlawful, forbidden'; cf. Tu. haram. I know of three loans - in DüSHP - in which a resonant has been inserted before a medial obstruent:

k°e(m)pərə	'bridge'; cf. Tu. köprü.
sa(m)bərə	'quiet, resigned'; cf. Tu. sabır.
sə(m)bərəye	'Siberia'; cf. Ru. Sibir'.[12]

2.4.6 Peculiarities of Loans

From loans result:

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

e.g. muhabetə 'friendship'; cf. Tu. muhabbet.
dandərəq°e 'top (toy)'; cf. Nog. nanürik.

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

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

e.g. semêne 'straw'; cf. Tu. saman.
taǰə 'crown'; cf. Tu. tac.
daha 'more, any longer'; cf. Tu. daha.

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

e.g. ǰewapə(ǰevepe) 'answer'; cf. Tu. cevab.
qawe(qawə/qewe) 'tinder'; cf. Tu. kav.

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

(vi) the phoneme ĵ° and the following consonant sequences not found in native material: xt, xs, pk, šk°, r?, mp, ys, sm, λm, yn. In loans with a low degree of adaptation, all Tu. clusters can be found.[13]

NOTES

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

2. See Introduction, section 6.

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: y^4a^4 3/PO-Pl, y^5a^5 3/io-Pl, y^6a^6 3/AG-Pl (the 3/SB prefix is pluralised by the ending -xe PL). These sequences are made up of, respectively, $ø^4$(y-) 3/PO, $yê^5$ 3/io and $yə^6$ 3/AG plus -a Pl.
(iii) The 1, 1p, 2 and 2p SB and io prefixes actually are analysable (which is not reflected in my practical transcription): cf. $sə^1$, actually: s.ə- 1.SB, se^5, actually: s.e- 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 ($mə^8$), the latter by an ending (WEST: -ep, EAST: -q̓əm).

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 rə '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:
wə-[1]žə-ɣ (2/SB-old-PF) 'you were old'.
wə-[1]čele-ʒəḱ°ə-deχa-ɣ (2/SB-boy-little-beautiful-PF) 'you were a beautiful little boy'.
ze.re-[3]mə-[8]wəne-ž-er (3/SB-that-N/1-house-old-ABS) 'that it is not an old house'.

8. I keep to Benzing's classification of the Turkic languages as presented in Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta (1959:1-5). For other classifications cf. Benzing (ib.:5-8), Baskakov in Tjurksie Jazyki (1966:7-16) and Comrie in Languages of the Soviet Union (1981:42-46)

9. My sources are (i) for DÜSHP: NM and relatives of NM, (ii) for Literary Adyghe: Tolkovyj slovar' Adygejskogo jazyka, (iii) for Literary Kabardian: Russko-kabardinskij slovar', (iv) for Caucasian

Shapsug: Keraševa, Z.I. Osobennosti Šapsugskogo dialekta, (v) for Abkhaz: Russko-abxazskij slovar', (vi) for Abaza: Abazinsko-russkij slovar', (vii) for Oubykh: Vogt, H. Dictionnaire de la langue Oubykh, (viii) for Turkish: Redhouse Sözlüğü, (ix) for Karachay-Balkar: Russko/Karačaevo-balkarskij slovar', (x) for Nogay: Nogajsko-russkij slovar', (xi) for Karaim: Karaimsko-russkij slovar'.

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 DÜSHP 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 ŝ°e 'you(p)'. For NM ŝ°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.[1)]

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/SB-Hh-to go-Dy/2-N/2)

(b) +Ø-qe- ʔ°e -re-ep+ [Ø- is the primary basic morph of Ø-[1](yê-/rê-) 3/SB; Ø- must be inserted when one (or more than one) of the prefix slots up to and including 7 is filled.]

(c) +Ø-qe- ʔ°e -re-ep+

(d) qaʔ°erep

(qa-[2]ʔ°e-r-ep)

'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 ØV.. 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.[2)] 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.

ƛə	'man'	ƛə/ƛ
f°e	'big'	f°e/f°a/f°
melə	'sheep'	melə/mel
wəne	'house'	wəne/wəna/wən
pŝeše	'girl'	pŝeše/pŝeša/pŝeš/pŝaše/pŝaš
ž°e	'to plough'	ž°e/ž°a/ž°
leže	'to work'	leže/leža/lež/laže/laž
ḥenťərq°eq°e	'frog'	ḥenťerq°eq°e/ḥenťerq°eq°a/ḥenťerq°eq°/ḥenťerq°aq°e/ḥenťerq°aq°
səmege	'ill'	səmege/səmega/səmeg/səmage/səmag.[3]

Compare:

sə-[1]leže-št (1/SB-to work-Fu/1) 'I will work' +sə- leže -štə+.

s-[1]y-[4]e-[7]lež-eḥə (1/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to work-INTE) 'I am working in it' +sə-Ø-yə-me- leže -eḥə+.

s-[1]e-[7]laže (1/SB-Dy/1-to work) 'I am working' +sə-me- leže+.

wə-[1]mə-[8]laž ! (2/SB-N/1-to work) 'do not work!' +wə-mə- leže+!.[4]

sə-[1]leža-ğ (1/SB-to work-PF) 'I have worked' +sə- leže -ğe+.

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 leže and pŝeše in the following examples:

s-[1]e-[7]leže-š°ə (1/SB-Dy/1-to work-Pot/2) 'I am able to work' +sə-me- leže -š°ə=+; the symbol "=" marks the end of the stem.

pŝeše-žə-m (girl-old-REL) 'the old girl, spinster, REL' +pŝeše-žə =m+.

(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.	-nə	Fu/2	-nə/-n
	-ğe	PF	-ğe/-ğa/-ğ
	-re.ğ°e	voluntative	-re.ğ°e/-re.ğ°a/-re.ğ°/-ra.ğ°e/-ra.ğ°
	-šə	REL	-šə/-š; secondary basic morph of -m(-šə/-y, -Ø) REL.

Compare:

qe^{2}ǩ°e-nə-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-to go-Fu/2-PL) 'they will come hither'.
+Ø-qe- ǩ°e -nə-x̌e+.

sə^{1}qe^{2}ǩ°e-n (1/SB-Hh-to go-Fu/2) 'I will come'
+sə-qe- ǩ°e -nə+.

The rule of thumb is: for stem-suffixes allomorphs occurring immediately before -x̌e 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 ɬə, containing an initial voiceless consonant. I first give some prefixes:

qe^{2}	Hh	qe-/qa-/qə-/q-
zə^{3}	'when'	zə-/z-
mə^{8}	N/1	mə-
me^{7}	Dy/1	me-/ma-/e-/Ø- (cf. § 4.1.2)
sə^{1}	1/SB	sə-/s-
s^{4}	1/PO	s-/z-/ś-/sə- (PO prefixes are always followed by a preverb)
s^{6}	1/AG	s-/z-/ś-/sə-

Compare:

sə^{1}tə-x̌t (1/SB-father-Fu/1) 'I will be a father'
+sə- tə -x̌tə+.

qə^{2}s^{4}λə^{4}ǩ°a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-behind-to go-PF) 'he followed me'
+Ø-qe-s-λə- ǩ°e -ǧe+.

s^{6}tə-x̌t (3/SB-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it'
+Ø-s- tə -x̌tə+.[5)]

me^{7}bəbə (3/SB-Dy/1-to fly) 'it is flying' +Ø-me- bəbə+.

cf. ma^{7}ǩ°e (3/SB-Dy/1-to go) 'he is going' +Ø-me- ǩ°e+.
s^{1}e^{7}ǩ°e (1/SB-Dy/1-to go) 'I am going' +sə-me- ǩ°e+.

qa^{2}ǩ°(e) ! (2/SB-Hh-to go) 'come here!' +Ø-qe- ǩ°e+!;
Ø^{1} is a secondary basic morph of wə^{1}(Ø-) 2/SB, it is obligatory in positive intransitive imperatives.

qe^{2}bəbə-r-ep (3/SB-Hh-to fly-Dy/2-N/2) 'it does not fly hither' +Ø-qe- bəbə -re-ep+.

qə^{2}se^{5}wə^{6}mə^{8}t ! (3/SB-Hh-1/io-2/AG-N/1-to give) 'do not give it (hither) to me!' +Ø-qe-se-p-mə- tə+!.

q^{2}a^{6}x̌a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Pl-to lead-PF) 'they have led it hither' +Ø-qe-yə-a- x̌e -ǧe+.

(iv) By definition endings fall outside the domain of the e/a-alternation; for endings we do not find allomorphs that differ by opposing e to a in the same vocalic position. Most endings have longer and shorter allomorphs. As a rule the long ones are selected as basic morphs (for two exceptions, see § 4.9.1).

e.g. -me COND -me/-m.
-ew(-e) MOD -ew/-w, -e.

Compare:

λ̓-ew (man-MOD) 'as a man' +λ̓ə -ew+.
ḥa-w (dog-MOD) 'as a dog' +ḥe -ew+.

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

e.g. bəsəm.g°eše 'lady (of the house)', allomorphs: bəsəm.g°eše/bəsəm.g°eša/bəsəm.g°eš/bəsəm.g°aše/bəsəm.g°aš; cf. bəsəmə 'master, lord' and g°eše 'lady, princess'.

wə.qebz.ə 'to clean sth.' allomorphs: wə.qebz.ə/wə.qebz; cf. qebze 'clean', wə- -ə verbaliser.

For invariable words, whether primary or secondary, the basic morph is identical with the surface form.

e.g. <u>yə.ḥaw</u> 'objection'.[6)]

3.1.3 Make-up of Basic Morphs

In basic morphs no special symbols are needed for consonants. For the vowels I use <u>ə, e, a</u> and, in addition, <u>ê</u>. The symbol <u>ê</u> stands for instances of <u>e</u> that do not participate in the <u>e/a</u>-alternation; <u>ê</u> counts as a closer vowel than <u>e</u> (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 <u>ê</u>, which is not needed in surface forms.

Most basic morphs are of the ȻV.. type, which means that they consist of a consonant (or a cluster) and a vowel, or of a concatenation of two or more sequences ȻV. A considerable number of roots have the shape ȻV; most frequent with roots is the type ȻV(R)ȻV. 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 Ȼ, which yields the types ȻVRȻV, ȻVRȻVȻV, ȻVȻVRȻV, etc.

The majority of the affixes has the shape ȻV. Most members of the small group of ȻVCV affixes consist of a fixed combination of two elements ȻV. The type ȻVRȻV is not found with affixes.

There are small numbers of especially affixes displaying basic morphs of the following atypical types: ∅, C, V, V(R)C, VCV.

3.2 CONSONANTS IN MORPHEMES OF THE ȻV.. TYPE

3.2.1 Single Consonants

There are few restrictions on the distribution of single consonants in basic morphs of the ȻV.. type. There are no native roots that begin with <u>r</u>.[7)] Initial <u>mə</u> and <u>me</u> are common with all types of

morphemes other than verbs.[8)] Other restrictions are accidental. For <u>ʒ̂°</u>, <u>š</u> and <u>h</u>, see chapter 1, note 3.

Almost all single consonants constitute together with following <u>ə</u> as well as <u>e</u> (basic morphs of) morphemes of the type CV. With these morphemes there is much homonymy.

e.g.	<u>zə</u>	'one'	<u>č̓e</u>	'young'	<u>šə</u>	'three'
	<u>zə</u>	'to sieve'	-<u>č̓e</u>	'to need'	<u>šə</u>	'to milk'
	-<u>zə</u>	"full"	-<u>č̓.e</u>	'to meet (.ILL)'	<u>šə</u>	'to feel tart'
	-<u>z.ə</u>	'to fall (.ELA)'	<u>č̓e</u>[4]	'under'		
	<u>zə</u>[1,4]	REF/SB,PO	-<u>č̓e</u>	'recently'	<u>šə</u>	'to be spun'
	<u>zə</u>[3]	'when'	<u>šə</u>	'to measure'	<u>šə</u>[4]	'there'
	<u>zə</u>[4,6]	PART/PO,AG	<u>š.ə</u>	'to be visible (.ELA: "from")'		

Sequences not found within the morpheme are <u>ʒ̂°ə</u> and <u>şe</u>. In surface words, however, we do find (with internal morpheme boundary) the sequences <u>ʒ̂°-ə</u> and <u>ş-e</u>.[9)] A number of sequences CV are not found as morphemes CV, but do occur in longer morphemes, or as elements of fixed combinations. These sequences are:

<u>p̓ə, p̓e, f°ə, t̓°e, ċə, ĉ°e, ʒ̂°e, ǯə, ǯe, ĝə, ˀə, hə</u> and <u>he</u>.

The list in the following section presents all sequences C<u>ə</u> and C<u>e</u> occurring in basic morphs of - if possible - morphemes CV, otherwise in longer morphemes of the ȻV.. type.

3.2.2 Sequences Cə and Ce in ȻV.. Morphemes

<u>pə</u>[4]	'at (the point of)'	<u>pe</u>	'nose'
-<u>bə</u>	'to sink'	<u>be</u>	'much'
<u>p̓əsə</u>	'futuere'	<u>wəp̓eˀ°ə</u>	'to pluck (a bird)'
<u>fə</u>	'to drive'	<u>fe</u>	'to fall'
<u>p̓°ə</u>	'to raise'	<u>p̓°e</u>	'bed'
<u>f°əžə</u>	'pelvis'	<u>f°e</u>	'big'

tə	'father'	te	'we'
də	'to sew'	de	'nut'
ɬə	'ram'	ɬe	'to dig'
ɬ°ə	'two'	ɬ°.eč̌ə	'twenty'
cə	'wool'	ce	'tooth'
3ə	'to throw'	3e	'army'
č̓əfə	'human being'	č̓e(š̓e)	'louse'
-sə	'to sit'	se	'I'
zə	'one'	ze	'to fall'
š̓ə	'to defecate'	š̓e	'name'
ŝə	'to dawn'	ŝe	'hundred'
ẑə	'old'	ẑe	'to be baked'
š̓ə	'to do'	š̓e	'to know'
ĉ°ə	'ox'	ʔe.bə.ĉ°e	'mitt'
*ĵ°ə	not found	qanəĵ°e(qanəĉ°e)	'wooden hook'
ŝ°ə	'to rot'	ŝ°e	'skin'
ẑ°ə	'to melt'	ẑ°e	'to plough'
š̓°ə	'good'	š̓°e^{4}	'against'
čə	'to harden'	če	'to run'
λeməǰə	'bridge'	ǰeməšx̌e	'spoon'
č̓ə^{4}	'upwards'	č̓e	'young'
šə	'three'	še	'bullet'
x̌ə	'wind'	x̌e	'mouth'
šə	'horse'	*še	not found
λə	'blood'	λe	'to jump'
lə	'flesh'	le	'to paint'
l̓ə	'man'	l̓e	'to die'
kə	'twig'	ke	'spleen'
gə	'to spin'	ge	'to shout'

-k̓.ə	'to leave'	k̓e	'tail'
x̌ə	'sea'	x̌e^{4}	'in'
ĝənə	'powder'	ĝe	'testicle'
k°ə	'cart'	k°e	'thigh'
g°ə	'heart'	-g°e	'temporarily'
-k̓°ə-	NuCo	k̓°e	'to go'
qə	'to be benumbed'	qe^{2}	'hither'
-x̌ə	'net'	x̌e	'grave'
ǧə	'to weep'	ǧe-	CAUS
-q°ə	'to suffice'	q°e	'son'
x̌°ə	'to occur'	x̌°e	'pig'
ǧ°ə	'to dry out'	-ǧ°e	'time'
ḥə	'to carry'	ḥe	'dog'
ʔə.ǧə	'to hold'	ʔe	'hand'
həgə	'now'	he.ɬ°.ene	'afterwards'
ʔ°ə	'orifice'	ʔ°e	'to thresh'
yə	'eight'	-ye	'to belong to'
wə^{1}	1/SB	we	'to beat'
mə^{8}	N/1	-me	COND
nə	'mother'	ne	'eye'
-rə-	InsCo	-re	Dy/1.

3.2.3 CC and CCC Clusters in ØV.. 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 ə as well as with e, thus forming ØV 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. psǩ, occurs in more than one morpheme. The three others all occur in a morpheme ƛe — 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 ƛV.. Morphemes

The majority of the 25 labial-initial clusters (cf. § 2.3.2) occur in a morpheme ƛə as well as in a morpheme ƛe (see the list below). The sequences pkə, pχ°e, b3e, bǯə, bǯe, p̀c̀ə, p̀c̀e and p̀še are not found in ƛV morphemes, but do occur in longer morphemes. The sequences *pke, *b3ə, bẑə and *bǧə do not occur in any morpheme. In surface words we find, however (with internal morpheme boundary), b-3-ə, bẑ-ə, pk-e and bǧ-ə.[10]

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

pc	pcə	(h)	'chisel'	pc.e		'to nail (ILL)'
ps	psə		'water'	pse		'soul'
pŝ	pŝə	(h)	'to get tired'	pŝe		'neck'
pč	pčə		'to count'	pče		'door'
pš	pšə		'father-in-law'	pše		'to blow'
pλ	pλə		'to blaze'	pλe	(h)	'to look'
pk	ʔapkə	(h/L)	'glass'	*pke		not found
pχ	pχə		'to tie'	-pχe		'habitual'

pq	pqə		'body'	-pqe	'land destined for cereals'
pχ	pχə	(h)	'carrot'	pχe	'wood'
pχ°	pχ°ə		'daughter'	pχ°e.te(pχe.te)	'to grasp'
b3	*b3ə		not found	ʔab3eχe(ʔeb3eχe)	(h) 'Abadzekh'
bz	bzə		'female'	bze	'language'
bẑ	*bẑə		not found	bẑe	'horn'
bǯ	bǯəḥe		'winter'	nəbǯ.eǧ°ə	(h) 'friend'
bχ	bχə		'yoke'	bχe	'bee'
bl	blə		'seven'	ble	'snake'
bĝ	bĝə		'hill'	bĝe	'to curse'
bǧ	*bǧə		not found	bǧe	'breast'
bǧ°	bǧ°ə		'nine'	bǧ°e	'broad'
p̀c̀	p̀c̀əχ°e	(h)	a waterbird	p̀c̀eŝχ°e	'swallow'
p̀s̀	p̀s̀ə		'to lie'	p̀s̀e	'to turn sour'
p̀š	p̀šə		'ten'	p̀šep̀še	'to ferment'
p̀č	p̀čə		'to swarm'	p̀če	'price'
p̀λ	p̀λə		'four'	p̀λe	'to get ironed'.

3.2.5 Non-labial-initial CC Clusters in ƛV.. 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 tχ, tχ, tχ°, th, sχ, ŝχ, ŝh and šǩ 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).

tf	tfə	'five'	λə.tfe(h)	'artery'
tx̂	tx̂ə	'backbone'	tx̂e	'to write'
tχ	tχ.ə	'to be torn (ELA)'	tχe	'to prosper'
tχ°	tχ°ə	'butter'	tχ°e	'to grab'
tḥ	*tḥə	not found	tḥe	'God'
dd	*ddə	not found	-(d)de (h)	"place"
ṭḳ	ṭḳəš°ə	'dark'	*ṭḳe	not found
ṭḳ°	ṭḳ°ə (h)	'to melt'	ṭḳ°e.psə (h)	'to drip'
st	stə	'to burn'	meste	'needle'
sχ	*sχə	not found	sχe	'to become rough'
zǧ	*zǧə	not found	ʔazǧe(ʔezǧe)(ḥ)	'Abkhazian'
šḳ	*šḳə	not found	mešḳe	'sparkle'
šḳ°	pχešḳ°ə(ḥ)	'to scratch sth.'	pχešḳ°e (ḥ)	'to scratch'[11]
ŝχ	ǧe.ŝχə	'to bend down'	ŝχe (h)	'small'
ŝq°	*ŝq°ə	not found	ŝq°eyə (h)	'to get grated'
ŝχ°	*ŝχ°ə	not found	ŝχ°enṭe	'green'
ŝḥ	ŝḥə[4] (h)	'over'	ŝḥe	'head'
žǧ	wəžǧə (h)	'peeling-mill'	*žǧe	not found
š°t	š°tə	'genitals'	*š°te	not found
š°ṭ	*š°ṭə	not found	lə.š°ṭe (ḥ)	'birthmark'
š°ḳ°	neš°ḳ°ərṭe.žə (h)	'blakberry'	*š°ḳ°e	not found
šf°	*šf°ə	not found	(š)f°e (h)	'bit'
št	mešte (h,L)	'mosque'	šte	'to be frightened'
šḳ	*šḳə	not found	šḳe	'calf'
šx̂	šx̂ə	'to eat sth.'	šx̂e	'to eat'
šk°	*šk°ə	not found	šk°ekə (h,L)	'rifle'
šḳ°	šḳ°əne (h,L)	'noose'	*šḳ°e	not found
λf	λfə (h)	'to give birth to'	λfe	'to give birth'
λχ°	*λχ°ə	not found	λχ°eče	'kettle-chain'

lg	*lgə	not found	ʔe.l.gene (h)	'arm'
x̂ʔ	*x̂ʔə	not found	čəx̂ʔene (h)	'blanket'
χt	*χtə	not found	weχte (L)	'time'
χs	maχsəme (h,L)	'boza'	*χse	not found
χč	*χčə	not found	meχče	'camel'.

3.2.6 CCC Clusters in ØV.. Morphemes

Below I give all occurrences of CCC clusters in morphemes.

psk	*pskə	not found	pske (h)	'to cough'
psḳ	ǧe.psḳə (h)	'to wash sb.'	psḳe (h)	'to jump'
pŝḥ	*pŝḥə	not found	(p)ŝḥepe (h)	'useful'
pšt	*pštə	not found	pšte (h)	'to boil'.

3.2.7 R-sequences with Initial m, n or r

R-sequences with initial m, n or r are — with one exception (-nče "-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, nž and rš below).[12]

Sequences mC:			Sequences nC:		
mp	sempele (L)	'trigger'	nt	š°entə	'leather sack'
mb	-pχe(m)be	'finger'	nd	č°əndə	'rook'
mṗ	ḥemṗəyə	a name	nṭ	ŝχ°enṭe	'green'
mś	ḥemśəyə	'rye'	nc	ḥence	'spade'
ml	ǧ°emle.pχe	'food'	n3	ḥen3eg°ə	'ant'
The Sequence mØ:			nč	-nče	"-less"
mpλ	ḥempləžə	'lizard'	nž	pχe(n)žə	'wrong'
			nč	zenče	'straight'.

Sequences rC:

rb	k°ərbə	'hole'	rḵ	p̀°erḵə	'to puff'
rp̀	hederp̀əyə	'butterfly'	rk°	merk°e	'tape-worm'
rt	-q°ərtə	'broody'	rg°	t̀ərg°e	'to butt'
rd	x̌°ərde	'big'	rḵ°	t̀ərḵ°ə.blərḵ°ə	'bumpy, uneven
rt̀	p̀ert̀e	'to burst'	rq	qərqə	'to stagger'
rz	t̀ərze	'to gambol'	rx̌	šerx̌ə (L)	'wheel'
rŝ	x̌°ərŝe (L)	'cent, money'	rǧ	ʔarǧenə	'sheaf'
rs̀	x̌°ə(r)s̀e	'to scold'	rq°	tḥerq°e	'dove'
rl	q°ərlə (L)	'enclosed space'	rǧ°	ʔarǧ°eyə (L)	'mosquito'
rg	ǧ°ərge	'mirror'	rʔ	q°ərʔene (L)	'Koran'.

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'	sn	besnəye (L ?)	'Besney'
ys	qandəysə (L)	'bet with the wishbone'	zy	zə^{6}(zyə-)	PART/AG
yḵ/yʔ	-əyḵ(-əyʔ)	EMPH	λm	ʔaλməqə (L)	'sack'
ws	tḥawsəx̂e	'to complain'	yn	məynə (L)	'thousand'
wx̌	zewx̌e	'all'	ry	ryə^{4}	'instrumental'
wl	zewle (L)	'some'	rm	dərməqə (L)	'harrow'.
sm	bəsmenə (L)	'muslim'			

3.3 VOWELS IN ƛV.. MORPHEMES

3.3.1 Vowels in ƛV Morphemes

Most basic morphs of the ƛV type have the vowel ə or e (see passim section 3.2). There are two morphemes Cə (a pronoun and an

ending) and a small number of morphemes ƛê (all of them affixes). Below I list a few examples of the morphemes ƛə and ƛe, and all cases of basic morphs Cə and ƛê.

Basic morphs ƛə:

tə	'father'
x̌°ə	'to become'
-štə	Fu/1
blə	'seven'.

Basic morphs ƛe:

te	'we'
x̌°e	'pig'
šte	'to be frightened'
bɬe	'snake'.

Basic morphs Cə:

ʔə(ə, yə) 'that' -b.ə NeINT (the negative interrogative ending, a fixed combination of -ep N/2 and -ə INT).

Basic morphs Cê:

ø^{1}-(yê-/rê-) 3/SB	ø^{1}-(yê-/rê-) PART/SB
nê^{4} 'at'	yê^{5} 3/io
ze^{5}(zyê-) PART/io	čе^{4}(čê-) 'under'.[13]

3.3.2 Vowel Patterns in ƛV(R)ƛV Morphemes

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

The ə-ə pattern:

š°əzə	'woman'
bəbə	'to fly'
dəgə	'sour'
č°əndə	'rook'.

The ə-e pattern:

wəne	'house'
čəye	'to sleep'
psənč̀e	'swift'
λə.x̌e^{4}	'(leaving) to'.

The e-ə pattern:

melə	'sheep'
tegə	'to get up'
zeẑ°ə	'narrow'
ḱ°eć̣ə-[4]	'within'.

The e-e pattern:

pšešе	'girl'
bene	'to fight'
šx̌°enṭe	'green'
-re.ǧ°e	VOL(untative).[14]

In the ØV(R)ØV morphemes we find the following marginal patterns a - ə, a - e, e - ê, ê - 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 - ə and a - e, and all cases for the remaining three patterns.

The a-e pattern:

?ate	'haystack'
?azǧe(?ezǧe)	'Abkhazian'
?ade(?ede)	'tumour'
?ax̌če(?ex̌če)	(L) 'money'
ṗaste(ṗeste)	(L) 'maize porridge'.

The a-ə pattern:

?agºə	'small haystack'
?alə	'trough'
šawə(šewe)	'yard'
gºa.bžə(gºe.bže)	'to be angry'
?apsə	(L) 'wooden bowl'
čayə(čeye)	(L) 'tea'.

The e-ê cases:

ze.rê-[3]	'that'
zerê-[6]	REC/AG
werê-[7]	OPT.

The ê-e cases:

nêpe	'today'
-dêde(-dəde)	'very, same'
-gºê.re	'certain'
gêne	(L) 'again'.

The a-a case:

daha (L) 'more, any longer'.

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

The patterns of the last two vowels of longer morphemes of the ØV.. type hardly differ from the patterns found in disyllabic morphemes: common are ə - ə, ə - e, e - ə and e - e; less frequent - and mostly occurring in loans - are a - ə, a - e and ê - e (e - ê 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 ə, 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 a after initial ?. Morphemes with a as the antepenultimate (or earlier) vowel are mostly loans. Almost all trisyllabic morphemes of the ØV.. type are roots (there is one exception: šḥe.pə-[4](šḥe.pə.rə-) 'above').

The pattern ə / e / a - ə - ə:

məgºərə	'plum'
pčedəžə	'morning'
natəfə	'maize'
balәqə (L)	'fish'
?aqələ (L)	'brains'.

The pattern ə / e / a - ə - e:

dəbzəḱe	'balcony'
tḥebələ	'lungs'
šapsəǧe	'Shapsug'
qawəme	'some'
?adəǧe	'Circassian'.

The pattern ə / e / a - e - ə:

yəlesə	'year'
x̌əǧegºə(x̌eǧegºə)	'country'
?arǧºeyə (L)	'mosquito'
ḥen3egºə	'ant'
?ašefə	'millet'.

The pattern ə / e / a - e - e:

təǧºese	'yesterday'
tḥemete	'elder'
tḥa.w.mefe	'Sunday'
?ateqe(?eteqe)	'rooster'
?ab3ex̌e(?eb3ex̌e)	'Abadzekh'.

Some trisyllabic morphemes with marginal final V-V patterns:

sepête (L) 'basket' čəyanə(čəyene) (L) 'sharp'

dəwane(dəwene) (L) 'flail'.

Some tetrasyllabic morphemes:

ḥenťerq°eq°e 'frog' dandərəq°e (L) 'top (toy)'

pəraməǰə unidentified bush ǰəg°əndərə (L) 'beet'.

3.4 ATYPICAL BASIC MORPHS

3.4.1 Introduction

This section deals with basic morphs that have a shape other than ØV.. 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	$Ø^{1}$(yê-/rê-)	3/SB	$wə^{1}$(Ø-)	2/SB
		$Ø^{1}$(yê-/rê-)	PART/SB	p^{6}(Ø-)	2/AG
		$Ø^{4}$(y-)	3/PO	-er(-Ø)	ABS.

[Phonologically conditioned zero allomorphs are found with me^{7} Dy/1 (allomorphs: me-/ma-/e-/Ø), $ê^{7}$ SEM (allomorphs: e-/Ø-), $werê-^{7}$ OPT (allomorphs: were-/ere-/re-/e-/Ø-), -e(-ḥe) ILL (allomorphs: -e/-a/-Ø, -ḥe/-ḥa/-ḥ), -ə(-əǩə) ELA (allomorphs: -ə/-Ø, -əǩə/-əǩ), $yə^{4}$ POS (yə-/y-/r-/Ø-, cf. § 5.4.4.iv), $yê^{5}$ 3/io (ye-/y-/r-/ryə-/Ø-), cf. § 5.5.2.iii), $yə^{6}$ 3/AG (yə-/y-/ryə-/ry-/Ø-). With a few affixes we find accidental zero allomorphs, which, in view of their pathological character must be accounted for in the lexicon.[15]

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	s^{4}	1/PO	s^{6}	1/AG
t-	1p/PS	t^{4}	1p/PO	t^{6}	1p/AG
p-	2/PS	p^{4}	2/PO	p^{6}	2/AG
š°-	2p/PS	$š°^{4}$	2p/PO	$š°^{6}$	2p/AG, and for:

-m(-šə/-y, -Ø) REL.

Secondary basic morphs of the C type are assumed for:

-m REL (see above),

$Ø^{4}$(y-) 3/PO (allomorphs: Ø-, y-/r-).

The type CVC is only found with:

-t.əy CoCa (cf. -əy CoPr, -t '?').

[Most morphemes of the shape ØV 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

$a^{4,5,6}$	P1	(allomorph: a-)
$ê^{7}$	SEM	(allomorphs: e-/Ø-)
-ə(-əǩə)	ELA	(allomorphs: -ə/-Ø, -əǩə/-əǩ)
-e(-ḥe)	ILL	(allomorphs: -e/-a/-Ø, -ḥe/-ḥa/-ḥ)
-a	INT	(allomorph: -a)
-a	VOC	(allomorph: -a).

Secondary basic morphs of the V shape are assumed for:

ʔa(a, ya) 'that'

-ew(-e) MOD (allomorphs: -ew/-w, -e).

[Phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the V shape are found with werê[7] OPT and me[7] 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 -əy- NuCo and for the following endings:

-er(-Ø)	ABS	-əy	CoPr
-ew(-e)	MOD	-əyḵ(-əyʔ)	EMPH.
-ep	N/2		

[All VCV 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:

-eḥə	INTE	-əḵə	ExV
-əḥe	InV	-eḵə	NoFW.
-exə	DOWN		

Secondary basic morphs of this type are assumed for:

-ə(-əḵə)	ELA	-ye(-əye)	UPW.
-xə(exə)	ToCL		

[Phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the VCV type are found with: werê[7] OPT and -re CoNP; for the allomorph -əre of -re CoNP, and for the allomorph ət.əy of -t.əy 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.[16)]

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:

le.psə	'clear soup'; cf. lə 'meat', psə 'water'.
šə.sə	'to mount a horse'; cf. šə 'horse', -sə 'to sit'.
pqə.š°e	'well-built'; cf. pqə 'frame, body', š°ə 'good'.
-b.a	NeINT (the negative interrogative ending); cf. -ep N/2 (allomorphs: -ep/-p) and -a INT.

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

e.g.	newəš.məšḵe	'the day after tomorrow'; the element -məšḵe occurs only in fixed combinations.
	ṯ°.eč̣ə	'twenty'; cf. ṯ°ə 'two'; in DŭSHP the element -eč̣ə is not found in other combinations, but cf LiAD šˊ.eč̣ˊə 'thirty' and šˊə 'three'.
	-ḵ.ə	'to leave (.ELA)'.
	-ḥ.e	'to enter (.ILL)'.[17)]
	pe.se	'early'; cf. pe 'nose, beginning' and -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. Ø^{4}(y-) 3/PO: y- must be inserted (a) between an immediately preceding overt SB prefix and following yə- POS, (b) before immediately following a- Pl; otherwise Ø- is required.

- (a) (2/SB-3/PO-POS-daughter) 'you are his daughter'
  (b) +wə-Ø-yə- pŝeŝe+
  (c) +wə-y-yə- pŝeŝe+
  (d) wəryəpŝaŝ (wə-^{1}r-^{4}yə-^{4}pŝaŝ)
- (a) (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-for-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for them'
  (b) +Ø-Ø-a-fe-s- šə -ǧe+
  (c) +Ø-y-a-fe-s- šə -ǧe+
  (d) yafešəǧ (y-^{4}a-^{4}fe-^{4,6}s-šə-ǧ)
- (a) (3/SB-3/PO-POS-daughter) 'she is his daughter'
  (b) +Ø-Ø-yə- pŝeŝe+
  (c) +Ø-Ø-yə- pŝeŝe+
  (d) yəpŝaŝ (yə-^{4}pŝaŝ)
- (a) (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-N/1-neighbour-MOD) '(I) not being their neighbour'
  (b) +sə-Ø-yə-a-mə- nəbǯ.eǧ°ə -ew+
  (c) +sə-y-yə-a-mə- nəbǯ.eǧ°ə -ew+
  (d) sər(y)amənəbǯeǧ°ew (sə-^{1}r-^{4}(y-^{4})a-^{4}mə-^{8}nəbǯ.eǧ°-ew)

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(mefə) 'day': mefe: no restrictions,
mefə: may be inserted before the postposition ye.nə 'whole'.

- (a) (day-REL) (whole) 'the whole day'
  (b) +mefe-m+ +ye.nə+ / +mefə-m+ +ye.nə+
  (c) +mefe-m+ +ye.nə+ / +mefə-m+ +ye.nə+
  (d) mafem yenə (mafe-m ye.nə) / mefəm yenə (mefə-m ye.nə)
- (a) (day-beautiful-REL) 'the beautiful day, REL'
  (b) +mefe-deχe-m+
  (c) +mefe-deχe-m+
  (d) mefedaχem (mefe-daχe-m)

e.g. -žə(-yə) 'as previously, again' (RE):
-žə: no restrictions,
-yə: may be inserted before -štə Fu/1 and before -štə.ǧe IRR/1.

- (a) (1/SB-to go-RE-Fu/1) 'I will go back'
  (b) +sə- ǩ°e -žə-štə+
  (c) +sə- ǩ°e -žə-štə+ / +sə- ǩ°e -yə-štə+
  (d) səǩ°ežəšt (sə-^{1}ǩ°e-žə-št) / səǩ°eyəšt (sə-^{1}ǩ°e-yə-št)
- (a) (1/SB-to go-RE-Fu/2) 'I will go back'
  (b) +sə- ǩ°e -žə-nə+

(c) +sə- ǩ°e -žə-nə+

(d) səǩ°ežən (sə-^{1}ǩ°e-žə-n)

In the case of -žə(-yə) the conditioning is presented in terms of adjacent morphemes; it may as well be stated in terms of adjacent phonemes: "the palatal fricative of the suffix -žə is dissimilated to y before an immediately following other palatal fricative." Cf. also werê-^{7} OPT and me^{7} Dy/1 (§ 4.9.2). I avoid non-recurrent morphophonemic rules as much as possible.

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) š̡/č̡:

e.g. š̡°əš̡e(š̡°əč̡e) 'black', š̡e(č̡e) 'name'; compare š̡e 'louse' (with stable š̡) and č̡əfə 'human being' (with stable č̡).

(ii) bǧ°/bǧ, pχ°/pχ, p̡°/p̡:

e.g. bǧ°e.de^{4}(bǧe.de-) 'next',

pχ°e.te(pχe.te) 'to grasp',

λep̡°e(λep̡e) 'dear'.

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

For ĵ° (found in one loan only) freely varying with č° and for x̌ freely varying with š, see chapter 1, note 3.

Incidental cases of free variation of consonants are found with:

wət̡ǩə.bze(ǧ°ət̡ǩə.bze) 'key' čə?e(č̌ə?e) 'cold'

-wəžə.pqe(-wəžə.pχe) 'behind' -əyǩ(-əy?) EMPH.

3.6.2 Vowels

Basic morphs of the type ℓV with different vowels do not occur.[18] 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:

yežə(yəžə) 'self' x̂əǧeg°ə(x̌eǧeg°ə) 'country'

-dəžə(-deže, -dəže) '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 ℓ, and to a few isolated cases.

e.g. psənčə(psəčə) 'swift' (see also § 3.2.7).

?a(a,ya) 'that' (?a and a are in free variation).

šhe.pə-^{4}(šhe.pə.rə-) 'above'.

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 qe^{2} 'hither' and ø^{4}a^{4} 3/PO-Pl

With one exception, the morpheme sequence 3/PO-Pl is always found immediately before the preverb (slot 4) to which it belongs;[19] however, underlying canonical +CV^{1}qe^{2}ø^{4}a^{4}CV..+ can be replaced by +CV-ø-a-qe-CV..+.

e.g. tə^{1}q^{2}a^{4}de^{4}ǩ°e-št (1p/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-with-to go-Fu/1) 'we will come with them', also t-a-qə-de-ǩ°e-št.

(a) (1p/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-with-to go-Fu/1)

(b) +tə-qe-ø-a-de- ǩ°e -štə+ / +tə-ø-a-qe-de- ǩ°e -štə+

(c) +tə-qe-y-a-de- ǩ°e -štə+ / +tə-y-a-qe-de- ǩ°e -štə+

(d) təqadeǩ°ešt / taqədeǩ°ešt.

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. sə^{1}šə^{4}b^{4}de^{4}ǩ°e-št (1/SB-3/PO-there-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/1) 'I will marry you("go with you") there', also sə^{1}p^{4}šə^{4}de^{4}ǩ°e-št.

(a) (1/SB-3/PO-there-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/1)

(b) +sə-ø-šə-p-de- ǩ°e -štə+ / +sə-p-ø-šə-de- ǩ°e -štə+[20]

(c) +sə-ø-šə-p-de- ǩ°e -štə+ / +sə-p-ø-šə-de- ǩ°e -štə+

(d) səšəbdeǩ°ešt / səpšədeǩ°ešt.

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 sometimes 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 səǩ°eč̌aǧ / səǩ°eǧač̌ 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 -x̌e PL; however, they can also be found before -x̌e. In words in which this is observed, the domain of the e/a-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 -x̌e mainly in participles.

e.g. qa^{2}ǩ°e-x̌e-fe^ne.sə (3/SB-Hh-to go-PL-till^until) 'until they come here', also qa^{2}ǩ°e-fe-x̌e^ne.sə.

qa^{2}ǩ°e-x̌e-r-er (PART/SB-Hh-to go-PL-Dy/2-ABS) 'those that are coming hither, ABS', also qa^{2}ǩ°e-re-x̌-er.

3.7.6 Clitics or Stem-suffixes

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

e.g. te^{4}tə-x̌^š.tə.n (3/SB-3/PO-on-to stand-PL^may be) 'may be they are standing on it', also te^{4}tə-š.tə.nə-x̌. Compare also re^{1}λ̓a-ǧ^g°ə.še / re^{1}λ̓e-g°ə.ša-ǧ (§ 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 yə- POS are normally taken up in slot 4 of the stem-prefix of S-forms. However, occasionally complexes containing yə- are taken up in the basis; monoconsonantal possessive prefixes are always taken up in the basis.

e.g. s-yə-tx̌ə.λə- (1/PS-POS-book) "my book".

s^{4}-$yə^{4}$-tx̌ə.λ (3/SB-1/PO-POS-book) 'it is my book'.

s-pe- (1/PS-nose) "my nose".

s-pe (3/SB-1/PS-nose) 'it is my nose'.

ze.re^{3}-s^{4}-$yə^{4}$-tx̌ə.λ-er (3/SB-that-1/PO-POS-book-ABS) 'that it is my book'.

ze.re^{3}-s^{4}-$yə^{4}$-$mə^{8}$-tx̌ə.λ-er (3/SB-that-1/PO-POS-N/1-book-ABS) 'that is not my book', also ze.re^{3}-$mə^{8}$-s-yə-tx̌ə.λ-er.

s-yə-š°əzə- (1/PS-POS-wife) "my wife".

$wə^{1}$-s^{4}-$yə^{4}$-š°əz (2/SB-1/PO-POS-wife) 'you are my wife'.

$wə^{1}$-s^{4}-y^{4}-ere^{7}-š°əz ! (2/SB-1/PO-POS-OPT-wife) 'may you be my wife!', also w^{1}-ere^{7}-s-yə-š°əz.

ze.re^{3}-$mə^{8}$-s-p-er (3/SB-that-N/1-1/PS-nose-ABS) 'that it is not my nose'.

NOTES

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. šawə(šewe) 'yard': šawə is the primary, šewe the secondary basic morph; šawə has a marginal, šewe 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 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)ɬe). Paris (1974a) presents verbs different from nouns: before stem-final (R)ɬe the e-step is found in verbs, the a-step in nouns. Cf. (my notation) DüSHP səmege 'ill', (Tolkovyj slovar' Adygejskogo jazyka 1960:518) LiAD səmaǯ'(e), (Paris 1974b) CbSHP səmag'e 'malade', səmeg'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 (ə, e, a and ê for instances of e not changing to a) instead of five (with an additional â for instances of a not changing to e).

(Notation using:)	e-step only	a- or e-step	[(some) allomorphs]
'eye'	ne	ne	ne/na/..
3/io	yê^{5}	yê^{5}	ye-/..
'girl'	pŝeŝe	pŝaŝe	pŝeŝe/pŝeŝa/pŝeša/..
'certain'	-g°êre	-g°ere	-g°ere/-g°era/..
'haystack'	?ate	?âte	?ate/?ate/?ata/..
('mother'	nə	nə	nə/..)

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 [wə-^{1}(Ø-)] (intransitive forms) and of the 2/AG prefix [p-^{6}(Ø-)] (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. sə-^{1}mə-^{8}t-ew (1/SB-N/1-father-MOD) '(I) not being a father'.
sə-^{6}mə-^{8}t-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, yə.ḥaw is a petrified ABS form; cf. (DÜSHP): yə.ḥaw s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ-ep (3/PS.POS."no".ABS) (3/SB-1/PO-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 arezə 'satisfied' (cf. Tu. razı); cf. also (DÜSHP): češə.ḥet^qə-^{2}we-^{5}ǩ° '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 mə- N/1 is especially frequent immediately before verbs.

9. Cf.
qanəǯ°-əyǩ (wooden hook-ABS-EMPH) 'and a wooden hook'.
ǰ-ep (3/SB-horse-N/2) 'it is not a horse'.

10. Cf.
yə-^{4}b-^{6}3-əy (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-CoPr) 'you threw it out of it, and' +Ø-Ø-yə-p- 3ə -ə-əy+.
bž-əy-ť°ə-m (horn-NuCo-two-REL) 'the two horns' +bže-əy-ť°ə -m+.
ʔapk-ep (3/SB-glass-N/2) 'it is not a glass' +Ø- ʔapkə -ep+.
bǧ-əyǩ (breast-ABS-EMPH) 'and a breast' +bǧe -Ø-əyǩ+.

11. Cf. the pairs:

- pχeɜ̌k°ə [1-5] 'to scratch sb./sth.' ("the subject[slot 1] scratches the indirect object[slot 5]").
  pχeɜ̌k°e [1] 'to scratch' ("the subject is scratching").
- šχə [1-6] 'to eat sth./sb.' ("the agent[slot 6] eats the subject").
  šχe [1] 'to eat' ("the subject is eating").
- λfə [1-6] 'give birth to sb./sth.' ("the agent gives birth to the subject").
  λfe [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: pχeɜ̌k°ə/pχeɜ̌k°.e, šχə/šχ.e, λfə/λf.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 čeˉ⁴, with others čê-.
cf. čeˉ⁴f-e-r-ep (3/SB-3/PO-under-to fall-ILL-Dy/2-N/2) 'it does not fall under it' +Ø-Ø-čê- fe -e-re-ep+.
taˉ⁴f-e-r-ep (3/SB-3/PO-on-to fall-ILL-Dy/2-N/2) 'it does not fall on it' +Ø-Ø-te- fe -e-re-ep+.

The preverb feˉ⁴ normally participates in the e/a-alternation (but not before -de: -de [1-4:fê-] 'to be like 4', cf. § 4.5.4).

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

ə - ə: pčəḥə 'dream'
e - ə: neḥə 'more'
ə - e: bǯəḥe 'winter'

Morpheme-initial ḥə is rare; ḥə 'to carry' is the only morpheme ḥə; the sequence ḥe is more common. The sequence aḥ does not occur, in basic morphs. The sequence ḥa is found in yə.ḥaw 'objection', tḥawsəχe 'to complain' and tḥa.w.mefe 'Sunday'. For the occurrence of ə, e and a in contact with ḥ in surface forms, see § 4.6.

15. For instance: (i) instead of expected pˉ⁴feˉ⁴ we often find just fe-; e.g.
pˉ⁴feˉ⁴;⁶ˌ³šˉəğ-ğ (3/SB-2/PO-for-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for you', also feɜ̌šəğ; compare:
feˉ⁴;⁶ˌ³šˉəğ-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-for-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for him'.

NB: in combinations pˉ⁶f.. p is never dropped; cf.
pˉ⁶f-ew (3/SB-2/AG-to drive-MOD) '(you) driving it'.

For instance: (ii) before šte 'to take' one finds deˉ⁴ instead of expected zəˉ⁴deˉ⁴ REF-with; e.g.
deˉ⁴pˉ⁶šta-ğ-a ? (3/SB-REF/PO-with-2/AG-to take-PF-INT) 'did you take it with you?' [compare Flemish ik heb mijn boek niet bij ("I do not have my book with") with Dutch ik heb mijn boek niet bij me ("I do not have my book with me")].

16. Cf. the actant-deleting suffix -e (note 11), the verbaliser wə- -ə and the VCV suffixes -ešə "dwelling-place", -eğ°ə 'companion',

-eḵ°e "-er(nomen agentis)", -ene "fractionaliser":

pčen.ešə	'goat-shed'; cf. pčenə 'goat'.
ḥeče.ešə	'guest-house'; cf. ḥeče 'guest'.
q°eǰ.eɣ°ə	'co-villager'; cf. q°eǰe 'village'.
geg°.eḵ°e	'player'; cf. geg°ə 'to play'.
y.a.š.ene.re	'third'; cf. šə 'three'.

17. The elements ḥ- and ḵ- do not recur in other roots. The verb ḵ°e 'to go, walk' does not combine with the ILL or the ELA suffix. Analysis: ḵ°e(-ḵ, -ḥ) 'to go'; -ḵ is obligatory before -ə ELA, and -ḥ before -e ILL; ḵ°e is used elsewhere.

18. The two basic morphs of šə(še) 'to do' do not allow for totally free choice: as it seems, šə can always be used, whereas še is preferred to šə with a preceding indirect object prefix and also with preceding fe^{4}- 'for (the sake of)'. Cf.

šə^{6}-ɣ(e) (3/SB-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I have done it', exceptionally also šə^{6}-a-ɣ.

ye^{5}-š^{6}-a-ɣ (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it to him'.

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

e.g. sə-^{1}r-^{4}y-^{4}a-^{4}pšaš (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-daughter) 'I am their daughter', also sə-^{1}r-^{4}a-^{4}pšaš (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-daughter).

Cf. also sə-^{1}r-^{4}(y-^{4})a-^{4}mə-^{8}nəbǰ.eɣ°-ew (§ 3.5.2).

20. Or, for that matter, +sə-Ø-p-šə-de- ḵ°e -štə+.

CHAPTER 4 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a series of partly obligatory, partly optional rules that are applicable to underlying word forms made up of the unique or appropriate basic morphs of their constituent morphemes.

In this chapter, I do not try to present an ordered rule-system. Instead, similar processes are presented in a group. Most of this chapter is concerned with vowels, with vowel deletions (§ 4.3-4) and with vowel alternations (§ 4.5-7). With respect to consonants most space is needed for the allomorphy of consonants that form personal prefixes: section 4.2 presents the allomorphic variation of the monoconsonantal personal prefixes; section 4.8 deals with the allomorphy of prefixes with initial y, most of which are 3rd person markers. Occasionally the order of processes is commented upon.

In chapter 5 all stem-prefixes and endings are considered, and basic morphs, allomorphs and examples illustrating the environmental conditioning of the allomorphs are presented. In the case of the y-initial prefixes (§ 4.8), the reader might first take a cursory glance at the relevant sections of chapter 5, the morphophonology of these prefixes being rather complex.

This chapter has two appendixes: the first, section 4.10,

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) werê^{7} OPT changes to erê- (and occasionally to ê-) when it is preceded by an overt prefix; ê- is found almost exclusively after the 3/AG prefix, especially in wishes and curses.

e.g. were^{7}ǩ° : (3/SB-OPT-to go) 'may he go!' +Ø-werê- ǩ°e+!.[1)]
s^{1}ere^{7}ǩ° : (1/SB-OPT-to go) 'may I go!' +sə-werê- ǩ°e+!.
w^{1}ere^{7}ǩ° : (2/SB-OPT-to go) 'may you go!' +wə-werê- ǩ°e+!.
y^{6}ere^{7}s̨!/ y^{6}e^{7}s̨! (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may he do it!' +Ø-yə-werê- s̨ə+!.

See also § 5.7.

(ii) me^{7} Dy/1 changes to ê- when it is preceded by an overt prefix.

e.g. me^{7}ǩ°e-žə (3/SB-Dy/1-to go-RE) 'he is going back' +Ø-me- ǩ°e -žə+.
s^{1}e^{7}ǩ°e-žə (1/SB-Dy/1-to go-RE) 'I am going back' +sə-me- ǩ°e -žə+.

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, 1p, 2 and 2p.

The members of the three sets have identical basic morphs (C) and identical allomorphs, but display a slightly different allomorphic 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:

s-	s- /z- /s̨- /sə-	1/PO, AG, PS
t-	t- /d- /ṭ- /tə-	1p/PO, AG, PS
p-	p- /b- /p̣- /wə-	2/PO, AG, PS
š°-	š°-/ž°-/s̨°-/š°ə-	2p/PO, AG, PS.

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

before	PO	AG/PS
voiceless obstruents	s-	
voiced obstruents	z-	z-/sə-*
glottalic obstruents	s̨-	
the resonant n	s-/z-	sə-
other resonants/vowels	sə-	

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

4.2.2 Preverb Object Prefixes

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

e.g. qə^{2}s^{4}fe^{4}ǩ°a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-to go-PF) 'he came (hither) to me' +Ø-qe-s-fe- ǩ°e -ǧe+.
sə^{1}b^{4}de^{4}ǩ°e-št (1/SB-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/1) 'I will go with you' +sə-p-de- ǩ°e -štə+.
sə^{1}p̣^{4}c̨e^{4}s (1/SB-2/PO-under-to sit) 'I am sitting under you' +sə-p-c̨e- sə+.

qə²s⁴ne⁴sə-ǧ / qə²z⁴ne⁴sə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-at-to arrive-PF) 'he arrived at my place' +Ø-qe-s-nê- sə -ǧe+.

sə¹wə⁴ryə⁴šx̂e-št (1/SB-2/PO-with-to eat-Fu/1) 'I will eat with you (addressing a spoon)' +sə-p-ryə- šx̂e -štə+.

wə¹s⁴yə⁴y (2/SB-1/PO-POS-to belong) 'I own you ("you belong to me")' +wə-s-yə- ye+; +s-yə+ → +sə-yə+ → +s-yə+ (§ 4.3.3).

4.2.3 Agent Prefixes

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

e.g. s⁶tə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it' +Ø-s- tə -štə+.

wə⁶də-št / b⁶də-št (3/SB-2/AG-to sew-Fu/1) 'you will sew it' +Ø-p- də -štə+.

de⁴b⁶də-št / de⁴wə⁶də-št (3/SB-3/PO-with-2/AG-to sew-Fu/1) 'you will sew it with her' +Ø-Ø-de-p- də -štə+.

t̂⁶t̂ə-št (3/SB-1p/AG-to dig-Fu/1) 'we will dig it' +Ø-t- t̂ə -štə+.

ṣ°ə⁶yə-št (3/SB-2p/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you(p) will coat it' +Ø-ṣ°- yə -štə+.

x̂e⁴sə⁶n.e-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to leave(.ILL)-Fu/1) 'I will leave it in it' +Ø-Ø-x̂e-s- n.e -štə+.

sə⁶mə⁸tə-me (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-to give-COND) 'if I do not give it' +Ø-s-mə- tə -me+.

s⁶e⁷tə (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/1-to give) 'I am giving it' +Ø-s-me- tə+; +s-me+ → +s-ê+ (§ 4.1.2).

zə¹w⁶ere⁷mə⁸wək̂ə-ž ! (REF/SB-2/AG-OPT-N/1-to kill-RE)'may you not kill yourself!' +zə-p-werê-mə- wək̂ə -žə+!; +p-werê+ → +p-erê+ (§ 4.1.2) → +wə-erê+ (§ 4.2.1) → +w-erê+.

4.2.4 Possessive Prefixes

[The short possessive prefixes have a limited distribution: they are found only with a restricted number of substantives.[2)] There are no substantives with initial r or with an initial vowel. I have found no cases of short possessive prefixes before m or w either. PS prefixes are mostly found before the preverb yə- POS(session). Short possessive prefixes not followed by yə indicate inalienable possession; combinations of possessive (personal) prefixes and yə- POS indicate neutral possession.]

e.g. s-pe (1/PS-nose-ABS) 'my nose, ABS' +s- pe -Ø+.[3)]

sə-g°ə / z-g°ə (1/PS-heart-ABS) 'my heart, ABS' +s- g°ə -Ø+.

ṡ-k̂°eċ (1/PS-innards-ABS) 'my innards' +s- k̂°eċə -Ø+.

sə-ne (1/PS-eye-ABS) 'my eye' +s- ne -Ø+.

s-yə-wəne-x̂-er (1/PS-POS-house-PL-ABS) 'my houses, ABS' +s-yə- wəne -x̂e-er+; +s-yə+ → +sə-yə+ (§ 4.2.1) → +s-yə+ (§ 4.3.3).

See also chapter 5, section 10.

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 primarlily 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 y (§ 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:

ə + ə → ə		e + ə → ə	
ə + ê → ê	ê + ê → ê	e + ê → e	a + ê → a
ə + e → e	ê + e → e	e + e → e	a + e → a
ə + a → a	ê + a → a	e + a → a	

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 + ə → ə (in such sequences ə 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 VV to V:

ə-ə ŝ°əz-əyǩ (woman-ABS-EMPH) 'and a woman, ABS' +ŝ°əzə -Ø-əyǩ+.

ə-ê $s^{1}e^{7}$ǩ°e (1/SB-Dy/1-to go) 'I am going' +sə-me- ǩ°e+; +sə-me+ → +s-ê+ (§ 4.1.2).

ə-e ŝ°əz-ep (3/SB-woman-N/2) 'it is not a woman' +Ø- ŝ°əzə -ep+.

ə-a ŝ°əz-a ? (3/SB-woman-INT) 'is it a woman?' +Ø- ŝ°əzə -a+.

ê-ê $y^{5}e^{7}$ge (3/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to read) 'he is reading it' +Ø-yê-me- ge+; +yê-me+ → +yê-ê+ (§ 4.1.2).
$sə^{1}z^{3}y^{5}e^{7}$ge-m (1/SB-when-3/io-SEM-to call-REL) 'when I had called him' +sə-zə-yê-ê- ge -m+.

ê-e $y^{5}ere^{7}g$! (3/SB-3/io-OPT-to read) 'may he read it!' +Ø-yê-werê- ge+; +yê-werê+ → +yê-erê+ (§ 4.1.2).

ê-a $y^{5}a^{5}$ge-št (3/SB-3/io-Pl-to call-Fu/1) 'he will call them' +Ø-yê-a- ge -štə+.

e-ə $de^{4}p^{6}$š-ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead-ELA-PF) 'you have led it out of it' +Ø-Ø-de-p- še -ə-ğe+.

e-ê $sə^{1}qe^{2}$ǩ°e-žə (1/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go-RE) 'I am coming back' +sə-qe-me- ǩ°e -žə+; +qe-me+ → +qe-ê+ → +qe-Ø+.
$sə^{1}qa^{2}$ǩ°e (1/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go) 'I am coming' +sə-qe-me--ǩ°e+; +qe-me+ → +qe-ê+ → +qe-Ø+ (+qe-Ø-ǩ°e+ → +qa-Ø-ǩ°e+).

e-e wən-ep (3/SB-house-N/2) 'it is not a house' +Ø- wəne -ep+.

e-a wən-a ? (3/SB-house-INT) 'is it a house?' +Ø- wəne -a+.

a-ê $y^{6}a^{6}$ẑə (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/1-to do) 'they are doing it' +Ø-yə-a-me- ẑə+; +yə-a-me+ → +yə-a-ê+ → +y-a-ê+ → +y-a-Ø+.
$z^{3}y^{6}a^{6}$ẑə-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-Pl-SEM-to do-REL) 'when they had done it' +Ø-zə-yə-a-ê- ẑə -m+.

a-e $y^{6}a^{6}re^{7}$ẑ ! (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-OPT-to do) 'may they do it!' +Ø-yə-a-werê- ẑə+!; +a-werê+ → +a-erê+ → +a-rê+.

4.3.3 Vowel Deletion Before Prefixal yV

A less general rule, applying in the domain of the stem-pre-

fixes only, is that vowels other than a are dropped before prefix-initial yV (but the e of prefixes with the form ze- is never dropped before prefixal yV). 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. s^{1}yə^{6}λeǧ°ə-št (1/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'he will see me'
+sə-yə- λeǧ°ə -štə+; compare:
sə^{1}p^{6}λeǧ°ə-št (1/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'you will see me'
+sə-p- λeǧ°ə -štə+.

q^{2}ye^{5}ge-št (3/SB-Hh-3/io-to shout-Fu/1) 'he will shout (hither) at him' +Ø-qe-yê- ge -štə+.

z^{3}y^{6}e^{7}λeǧ°ə-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to see-REL) 'when he saw it' +Ø-zə-yə-ê- λeǧ°ə -m+.

w^{4}yə^{4}ʔ (3/SB-2/PO-POS-to be) 'you have it ("it is yours")'
+Ø-p-yə- ʔe+; +p-yə+ → +wə-yə+ (§ 4.2.1) → +w-yə+.

r^{5}yə^{6}tə-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to him'
+Ø-yê-yə- tə -ǧe+; +yê-yə+ → +y-yə+ → +r-yə+ (§ 4.8.2).

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

f^{4}yə^{6}s̈ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for him'
+Ø-Ø-fe-yə- s̈ə -ǧe+; also: fə^{4}yə^{6}s̈ə-ǧ.

[A doublet with optional r-insertion:

fə^{4}ryə^{6}s̈ə-ǧ 'id.'; +fe-yə+ → +fe-ryə+ (§ 4.8.4) → +fə-ryə+ (§ 4.7.1).]

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

ze^{5}ryə^{6}tə-ǧ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ǧe+; +ze-yə+ → +ze-ryə+ (§ 4.8.3).
Compare:
z^{1}yə^{6}tə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself'
+zə-yə- tə -ǧe+.

No deletion takes place before non-prefixal yV, or before prefixal y not followed by a vowel:

wə^{6}yə-št (3/SB-2/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you will coat it'
+Ø-p- yə -štə+; +p^{6}yə+ → +wə-yə+ (§ 4.2.1).

wə^{1}r^{4}yə^{4}y (2/SB-3/PO-POS-to belong) 'he owns you ("you belong to him")' +wə-y-yə- ye+; +y-y+ → +ry+ (§ 4.8.2);
y^{4} is the secondary basic morph of Ø^{4}(y-) 3/PO (§ 3.5.2).

wə^{1}yən-ew (2/SB-tall-MOD) '(you) being tall' +wə- yənə -ew+.
Compare:
w^{1}yə^{4}n-ew (2/SB-3/PO-in-to remain(.ILL)-MOD) '(you) remaining in it' +wə-Ø-yə- n.e -ew+.

4.3.4 An Incidental Case of Word-medial Vowel Deletion

Optional dropping of e before the ending -me COND is observed in the sequences +psewe-me+ and +fe-ye-me+ (cf. pse.we 'alive', ye [1-4:fe-] 'to want' ("the subject wants the preverb object, or: 1 wants 4")).

e.g. tə^{1}psawe-me / tə^{1}psaw-me (1p/SB-alive-COND) 'if we are alive'
+tə- psewe -me+.

wə^{1}fa^{4}ye-me / wə^{1}fa^{4}y-me (2/SB-3/PO-for-to want-COND) 'if you want it' +wə-Ø-fe- 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 ə is affected, in the other cases both ə 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. sə-^{1}š-ə-^{4}s (1/SB-there-to sit) 'I am sitting there' +sə-šə- sə+; a stative form derived from a stative verb (-sə [1-4, ST] 'to sit in(etc.) 4'; -sə combines with most of the local preverbs). Compare the corresponding dynamic form:

sə-^{1}š-^{4}e-^{7}sə (1/SB-there-Dy/1-to sit) 'I go on sitting there' +sə-šə-me- sə+; +šə-me+ → +š-ê+ (§ 4.1.2).

Compare also the following (dynamic) present form derived from a dynamic verb:

sə-^{1}š-^{4}e-^{7}geg°ə (1/SB-there-Dy/1-to play) 'I am playing in it' +sə-šə-me- geg°ə+.

wə-^{1}de-^{4}t (2/SB-3/PO-in-to stand) 'you are standing in it'. +wə-Ø-de- tə+; a stative form from a stative verb.

wə-^{1}de-^{4}tə (2/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to stand) 'you go on standing in it' +wə-Ø-de-me- tə+.

de-^{4}tə-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-in-to stand-PL) 'they are standing in it' +Ø-Ø-de- tə -x̌e+; a stative form from a stative verb.

de-^{4}tə-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to stand-PL) 'they go on standing in it' +Ø-Ø-de-me- tə -x̌e+.

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 -x̌e 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:

wəne-m yə-^{4}sə čal-er (house-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) (boy-ABS) 'the boy (, ABS) who is sitting in the house' +wəne -m+ +Ø-Ø-yə- sə+ +čele -er+.

The following examples illustrate present predicates derived

from nouns.

wə^{1}-ƛ̓ (2/SB-man) 'you are a man' +wə- ƛ̓ə+; a stative form; the dynamic counterpart is:

w^{1}-e^{7}-ƛ̓ə (2/SB-Dy/1-man) 'you are behaving like a man' +wə-me- ƛ̓ə+.

ƛ̓ə (3/SB-man) 'he is a man' +Ø- ƛ̓ə+; a stative form.

me^{7}-ƛ̓ə (3/SB-Dy/1-man) 'he is behaving like a man' +Ø-me- ƛ̓ə+; the dynamic counterpart of ƛ̓ə, above.

wə^{1}-ŝ°əz (2/SB-woman) 'you are a woman' +wə- ŝ°əzə+; a stative form; its dynamic counterpart is:

w^{1}-e^{7}-ŝ°əzə (2/SB-Dy/1-woman) 'you are behaving like a woman' +wə-me- ŝ°əzə+.

sə^{1}-ẑ (1/SB-old) 'I am old' +sə- ẑə+.

s^{1}-e^{7}-ẑə (1/SB-Dy/1-old) 'I am getting old' +sə-me- ẑə+.

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.

e.g. [I provide underlying forms of imperatives, optatives and vocatives with the label "!"; like most vocatives, and as opposed to optatives, imperatives have no special marker.]:

wə^{1}-mə^{8}-ƙ°! (2/SB-N/1-to go) 'do not go!' +wə-mə- ƙ°e+!.

qa^{2}-ƙ°(e) ! (2/SB-Hh-to go) 'come here!' +Ø-qe- ƙ°e+!.

laž(e) ! (2/SB-to work) 'work!' +Ø- leže+!.

ŝ°ə^{1}-laž ! (2p/SB-to work) '(you[p]) work!' +ŝ°ə- leže+!.

q^{2}-ere^{7}-ƙ° ! (3/SB-Hh-OPT-to go) 'may he come hither!'

+Ø-qe-werê- ƙ°e+!; +qe-werê+ → +qe-erê+ (§ 4.1.2) → +q-erê+ (§ 4.3.2).

y^{6}-ere^{7}-tə-ž ! (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to give-RE) 'may he give it back!' +Ø-yə-werê- tə -žə+!.

čal(e) ! (boy) 'boy!' +čele+!.

s-yə-čal ! (1/PS-POS-boy) 'my boy!' +s-yə- čele+!.

čale-x̂, ŝ°ə-^{1}-qə-^{2}-z-^{4}-da-^{4}-ƙ° ! (child-PL) (2p/SB-Hh-1/PO-with--to go) 'children! come with me!' +čele -x̂e+! +ŝ°ə-qe-s-de- ƙ°e+!.

4.4.4 Final Vowel Deletion in Absolutive Forms

Word-finally, underlying base-final ə tends to be dropped in absolutive forms with the ending -Ø ABS.[5] 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 e.

e.g. s-yə-ŝ°əz (1/PS-POS-woman-ABS) 'my wife, ABS' +s-yə- ŝ°əzə -Ø+; compare:

s-yə-ŝ°əzə (1/PS-POS-woman-REL) 'my wife, REL' +s-yə- ŝ°əzə -Ø+

s-yə-ŝ°əz newəšə s-^{6}-ƛeǧ°ə-št (1/PS-POS-woman-ABS) (tomorrow) (3/SB -1/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'I will see my wife tomorrow' +s-yə- ŝ°əzə -Ø+ +newəšə+ +Ø-s- ƛeǧ°ə -štə+.

s-yə-ŝ°əzə newəšə s-^{1}-yə-^{6}-ƛeǧ°ə-št (1/PS-POS-woman-REL) () (1/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'my wife will see me tomorrow' +s-yə- ŝ°əzə -Ø+ +newəšə+ +sə-yə- ƛeǧ°ə -štə+.

natəf s^{6}še.fə-ğ (maize-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-to buy-PF) 'I bought some maize' +natəfə -Ø+ +Ø-s- še.fə -ğe+; compare:

natəfə $sə^{1}fa^{4}y$ (maize-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-for-to want) 'I want some maize' +sə-Ø-fe- 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:	-štə	Fu/1	-štə.ğe	IRR/1
	-nə	Fu/2	-nə.ğe	IRR/2
	-ğe	PF	-nə.ye	IRR/3.
The endings are:	-x̌e	PL	-šə	REL

The clitics are: ˆš.tə.ğe IMPF ˆš.tə.nə 'maybe'
ˆče.ǩ.ə.nə 'presumably' ˆze.pə.tə 'continually'.

e.g. ǩ°e-št (3/SB-to go-Fu/1) 'he will go' +Ø- ǩ°e -štə+.

ǩ°e-štə-x̌ (3/SB-to go-Fu/1-PL) 'they will go' +Ø- ǩ°e -štə-x̌e+.

ǩ°e-štə-x̌e-me (3/SB-to go-Fu/1-PL-COND) 'if they will go' +Ø- ǩ°e -štə-x̌e-me+.

ǩ°e-štə ċəf-er (PART/SB-to go-Fu/1) (person-ABS) 'the person (, ABS) that will go'; here -štə does not occur phrase-finally.

The deletion of the vowel of -ğe PF is not automatic; it is common only in words containing at least one prefixal (underlying) V.

e.g. $sə^{1}$ǩ°a-ğ (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I have gone' +sə- ǩ°e -ğe+.

ǩ°a-ğ(e) (3/SB-to go-PF) 'he has gone' +Ø- ǩ°e -ğe+; also re^{1}ǩ°a-ğ / ye^{1}ǩ°a-ğ (see chapter 5, section 1).

qe^{2}ǩ°a-ğe-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL) 'they have arrived' +Ø-qe- ǩ°e -ğe-x̌e+.

ʔa-š (that-REL) 'that, REL' +ʔa-šə+.

ʔa-šə-(m-)ge (that-REL-(REL-)-instrumental) 'by means of that one' +ʔa -šə-m-ge+.

qa^{2}ǩ°eˆze.pə.t (3/SB-Hh-to goˆcontinually) 'he keeps coming' +Ø-qe- ǩ°e ˆze.pə.tə+.

qa^{2}ǩ°eˆze.pə.tə-ğ (3/SB-Hh-to goˆcontinually-PF) 'he kept coming, he came all the time' +Ø-qe- ǩ°e ˆze.pə.tə-ğe+.

4.4.6 Final Vowel Deletion in a Number of Adverbs

When used as adverbial subordinates, ṫeǩ°ə 'little', neḥə 'more' and fe.d.əy.ze 'as big as' drop their final vowel.

e.g. ṫeǩ° $sə^{1}$leža-ğ (a little) (1/SB-to work-PF) ' I have worked a bit' +ṫeǩ°ə+ +sə- leže -ge+.

The basic morph of the adverb 'now' is həgə; a morpheme with the meaning 'here' is mə.šə. In the sentence we find both həgə and həg and mə.šə and mə.š. NM considers the long forms as less correct.

Complex adverbial subordinates which consist of a noun, the NuCo infix -əy-, 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. mef-əy-ṫ°(ə) $sə^{1}$leža-ğ (day-NuCo-two) (1/SB-to work-PF) 'I worked two days' +mefe-əy-ṫ°ə+ +sə- leže -ğe+.

mef-əy-ṫ°ˆmef-əy-šˆmef-əy-ṗλ(ə) $sə^{1}$leža-ğ (day-NuCO-twoˆ day-NuCo-three-day-NuCo-four) () 'I worked two, three, four days' +mefe-əy-ṫ°əˆmefe-əy-šəˆmefe-əy-ṗλə+ + +.

4.5 THE e/a-ALTERNATION

4.5.1 The General Rule

The general rule is that an underlying stem-final sequence ..e(R)ɬe is changed to ..a(R)ɬe .

[ê does not change to a; the stem is the whole of the word (including any stem-affixes) without endings; endings are -x̌e 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 " ⊥ ".[6)]

e.g. pŝaŝe-m (girl-REL) 'the girl, REL' +pŝeŝe =m+.

pŝeŝe-š̊°ə-m (girl-good-REL) 'the good girl, REL' +pŝeŝe-š̊°ə =m+.

pŝeŝa-č̊e-m (girl-young-REL) 'the young girl, REL'. +pŝeŝe-č̊e =m+.

pŝeŝe-dax̌e-m (girl-beautiful-REL) 'the beautiful girl, REL' +pŝeŝe-dex̌e =m+.

wə-^{1}pŝeŝa-ǧ (2/SB-girl-PF) 'you were a girl' +wə- pŝeŝe -ǧe=+.

wə-^{1}pŝeŝe-dex̌a-ǧ (2/SB-girl-beautiful-PF) 'you were a beautiful girl' +wə- pŝeŝe-dex̌e ǧe=+.

k̊°a-ǧe (3/SB-to go-PF) 'he went (away)' +Ø- k̊°e -ǧe=+.

k̊°e-ǧa-ǧ (3/SB-to go-PF-PF) 'he had gone away' +Ø- k̊°e -ǧe-ǧe=+; PF+PF= PLUPF.

sə-^{1}p-^{4}fa-^{4}ẑ°e (1/SB-2/PO-for-Dy/1-to plough) 'I am ploughing for/instead of you' +sə-p-fe-me- ẑ°e+; +fe-me+ → +fe-ê+ (§ 4.1.2) → +fe-Ø+ (§ 4.3.2); +fe-Ø-ẑ°e=+ → +fa-Ø-ẑ°e=+.

sə-^{1}p-^{4}fe-^{4}ẑ°e-š̊°ə (1/SB-2/PO-for-Dy/1-to plough-Pot/2) 'I am able to plough for you' +sə-p-fe-me- ẑ°e -š̊°ə=+.

qe-^{2}z-^{6}ǧe-^{9}k̊°e-št (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send him hither' +Ø-qe-s-ǧe- k̊°e -štə=+; +s-ǧe+ → +z-ǧe+ (§ 4.2.3); +-štə+ → +-št+ (§ 4.4.5).

qe-^{2}z-^{6}ǧa-^{9}k̊°e-r-ep (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Dy/2-N/2) 'I do not send him hither' +Ø-qe-s-ǧe- k̊°e =re-ep+.

Compare:

(a) ma-^{7}ẑ°e-x̌ (3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-PL) +Ø-me- ẑ°e =x̌e+

(b) me-^{7}ẑ°a-x̌e (3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-EXH) +Ø-me- ẑ°e -x̌e=+

(a) 'they are ploughing'.

(b) 'he finishes ploughing'.

In the first form the final vowel of -x̌e PL is dropped phrase-finally; the domain of the e/a-alternation comes to an end before the ending -x̌e.

The second form contains the stem-suffix -x̌e 'exhaustive'; -x̌e EXH preserves its final vowel in word-final position.

Cf. finally:

me-^{7}ẑ°a-x̌e-x̌ (3/SB-Dy/1-to plough-EXH-PL) 'they finish ploughing' +Ø-me- ẑ°e -x̌e=x̌e+.

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. § 2.1), and before the deletion of vowels in the rest of the word.

e.g. qa-^{2}k̊°e (3/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go) 'he is coming (hither)' +Ø-qe-me- k̊°e=+; +qe-me+ → +qe-ê+ (§ 4.1.2) → +qe-Ø+

(§ 4.3.2); +qe-Ø-ḳ°e=+ → +qa-Ø-ḳ°e=+.[7]

qa²ḳ°-əy (3/SB-Hh-to go-CoPr) 'he came (hither) and'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e =əy+; +qe-ḳ°e=+ → +qa-ḳ°e=+; +ḳ°e=əy+ → +ḳ°-əy+ (§ 4.3.2).[8]

qə²z⁴da⁴ḳ° ! (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-with-to go) 'come with me!'
+Ø-qe-s-de- ḳ°e=+!; +de-ḳ°e=+ →+da-ḳ°e=+; +da-ḳ°e=+! → +da-ḳ°=+! (§ 4.4.3).[9]

s-yə-čal ! (1/PS-POS-boy) 'my boy!' +s-yə- čele=+!; +čele=+! →+čale=+! → +čal=+! (§ 4.4.3).

xa⁴b⁶3-e-r-ep (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not throw it into it' +Ø-Ø-xe-p- 3ə -e=re-ep+; +3ə -e=+ → +3-e=+ (§ 4.3.2); +xe-p-3-e=+ → +xa-p-3-e=+.[10]
Compare:
xe⁴b⁶3-ə-r-ep (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not throw it out of it' +Ø-Ø-xe-p- 3ə -ə=re-ep+.

xa⁴b⁶3-əy (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-CoPr) 'you threw it into it, and' +Ø-Ø-xe-p- 3ə -e=əy+; +3ə-e=+ → +3-e=+ (§ 4.3.2); +xe-p-3-e=+ → +xa-p-3-e+=; +3-e=əy+ → +3=əy+ (§ 4.3.2).
Compare:
xe⁴b⁶3-əy (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-CoPr) 'you threw it out of it, and' +Ø-Ø-xe-p- 3ə -ə=əy+.

xa⁴3 ! (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL) 'throw it into it!' +Ø-Ø-xe-Ø- 3ə -e=+!; +3ə-e=+! → +3-e=+!; +xe-Ø-3-e=+! → +xa-Ø-3-e=+! → +xa-Ø-3-Ø=+! (§ 4.4.3).
Compare:
xe⁴3 ! (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA) 'throw it out of it' +Ø-Ø-xe-Ø- 3ə -ə=+!; +3ə-ə=+! → +3-ə=+!.

4.5.3 No Alternation

Below I list 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 pšešeš̡°əm in section 4.5.1 and the forms xeb3ərep, xeb3əy and xe3 in the preceding section).

qe²ḳ°e-št (3/SB-Hh-to go-Fu/1) 'he will come (hither)'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e -štə=+.

ʔazǧe-š̡°ə-m (Abkhazian-good-REL) 'the good Abkhazian, REL'
+ʔazǧe-š̡°ə =m+.

were⁷ḳ°e-x̌ ! (3/SB-OPT-to go-PL) 'may they go!'
+Ø-werê- ḳ°e =x̌e+.

tə¹zer⁶e⁷š̡e (1p/SB-REC/AG-Dy/1-to know) 'we know each other' +tə-zerê-me- š̡e=+; +zerê-me+ → +zerê-ê+ (§ 4.1.2) → +zer-ê+ (§ 4.3.2).

ye⁵w(e) ! (2/SB-3/io-to beat) 'beat him!' +Ø-yê- we=+!.

s¹y⁵e⁷we (1/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to beat) 'I am beating him'
+sə-yê-me- we=+; +yê-me+ → +yê-ê+ → +y-ê+.
Compare:
sə¹wa⁵we (1/SB-2/io-Dy/1-to beat) 'I am beating you'
+sə-we-me- we=+; +we-me+ → +we-ê+ → +we-Ø+.

s¹ye⁵we-r-ep (1/SB-3/io-to beat-Dy/2-N/2) 'I do not beat him' +sə-yê- we =re-ep+.

sə¹z³e⁷ḳ°e-m (1/SB-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when I had gone'
+sə-zə-ê- ḳ°e =m+; +zə-ê+ → +z-ê+.

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 -g°ê.re 'certain', -dêde(-dəde) 'very, same' and -g°e TEMP call for no special remarks when they do not occur in stem-final position; if they do, the e/a-domain (indicated by "ǂ") ends before them. The same is true for the base-suffix -re.

e.g. čale-dede-m (boy-very-REL) 'the very boy, REL'
+čele ǂdêde=m+.

zə čale-g°ere-m (one) (boy-certain-REL) 'a certain boy, REL' +zə+ +čele ǂg°êre=m+.

ma-^{7}ǩ°e-g°e (3/SB-Dy/l-to go-TEMP) 'he is walking for the time being' +Ø-me- ǩ°e ǂg°e=+.

Compare:

bzag-ew zə-g°e.ra-ğ (evil-MOD) (3/SB-one-certain-PF) 'he was an evil person' +bzege =ew+ +Ø- zə-g°êre -ğe=+; +re-ğe=+ → +ra-ğe=+ → +ra-ğ=+ (§ 4.4.5).

An instance of the nominalising base-suffix -re is found in:

təğ°ase.re-m (yesterday.re-REL) 'yesterday's, REL'
+təğ°eseǂre =m+.

Compare:

təğ°ese.ra-ğ (3/SB-yesterday.re-PF) 'it was yesterday's one' +Ø- təğ°ese.re +ğe=+.

(ii) There are two possibilities when the adjective f°e 'big' occurs stem-finally, after a noun: either the e/a-domain ends before f°e (+..ǂf°e..+), or the e/a-rule does not apply at all. Thus, instead of expected *čela-f°e-m we find, either:

čale-f°e-m (boy-big-REL) +čeleǂf°e =m+, with ǂf°e 'big'; or:

čele-f°e-m +čelê-f°e =m+.

Everything is as expected provided f°e does not occur stem-finally after a noun:

e.g. wə-^{1}čele-f°a-ğ (2/SB-boy-big-PF) 'you were a big boy' +wə- čele-f°e -ğe=+.

z-^{1}y-^{6}e-^{7}ğa-^{9}f°e (REF/SB-3/AG-Dy/l-CAUS-big) 'he makes himself important ("big")' +zə-yə-me-ğe- f°e=+.

(iii) The constituents of closely knit two-word-constructions normally each have their own e/a-domain; cf.

sə-^{1}laž-eˆš.tə.ğ (1/SB-to work-MODˆIMPF) 'I was working' +sə- leže =eˆš.tə.ğe=+.

sə-^{1}laž-eˆš.tə.ğa-ğ (1/SB-to work-MODˆIMPF-PF) 'I had been working' +sə- leže =eˆš.tə.ğe-ğe=+.

In comparable constructions we can find one or two e/a-domains, for instance when the clitic ˆqe.sə is involved:

?a-r qa-^{2}ǩ°eˆqe.sə / qe-^{2}ǩ°eˆqe.sə (that-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-to goˆevery) 'every time he comes/came/will come' +?a =er+ +Ø-qe- ǩ°eˆqe.sə+ / +Ø-qe- ǩ°eˆqe.sə=+.

(iv) Normally, the e of the preverb fe-^{4} 'for' participates in the e/a-alternation; there is one exception: in forms derived from de [1-4:fê-] 'to be like 4, resemble 4' we never find fa.

e.g. fe-^{4}de-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-for-to be like-PL) 'they are like him' +Ø-Ø-fê- de =x̌e+.

Compare:

fa-^{4}ye-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-for-to want-PL) 'they want ("for") it' +Ø-Ø-fe- ye =x̌e+; cf. also chapter 3, note 13.

4.6 VOWELS IN CONTACT WITH h

4.6.1 Introduction - ə Before and After h

In surface words we find, preceding or following h, either stable ə, 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 əh and hə need no special discussion: they derive from underlying +ə(-)h+ and +h(V-)ə+ respectively.

e.g. hə ! (3/SB-2/AG-to carry) 'carry it!' +Ø-Ø- hə+!

ṗčəhə-m (dream-REL) 'the dream, REL' +ṗčəhə -m+.

h-əyǩ (dog-ABS-EMPH) 'and a dog, ABS' +he -Ø-əyǩ+.

yə-^{6}hə-št (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-Fu/1) 'he will carry it' +Ø-yə- hə -štə+.

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- Pl; cf.

y-^{6}a-^{6}hə-ǧ (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-to carry-PF) 'they carried it' +Ø-yə-a- hə -ǧe+.

y-a-h-əyǩ (3/PS-POS-Pl-dog-ABS-EMPH) 'and their dog' +Ø-yə-a- he -Ø-əyǩ+.

One always finds stable a after h in forms derived from tha.w.mefe 'Sunday', thawsəx̌e 'to complain' and yə.haw 'objection'.

e.g. ʔa tha.w.mafe-m (that) (Sunday-REL) 'on that Sunday' +ʔa+ +tha.w.mefe -m+.

wə-^{1}mə-^{8}thawsəx̌ ! (2/SB-N/1-to complain) 'do not complain!' +wə-mə- thawsəx̌e+!.

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' +Ø- he -ep+; +he-ep#+ → +ha -ep#+ → +ha-p#+ (§ 4.3.2).

ha-r (dog-ABS) 'the dog, ABS' +he -er+.

bǰəha-r (winter-ABS) 'the winter, ABS' +bǰəhe -er+.

yə-^{4}h.a-w (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-MOD) '(he) entering into it' +Ø-Ø-yə- h.e -ew+.

Compare the following forms with final heC from +hə-eC+:

x̌°eh-ep (3/SB-ship-N/2) 'it is not a ship' +Ø- x̌°ehə -ep+.

ṗčəh-er (dream-ABS) 'the dream, ABS' +ṗčəhə -er+.

yə-^{6}h-ew (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-MOD) '(he) carrying it' +Ø-yə- hə -ew+.

Besides the last three examples one occasionally finds x̌°ehap, etc. (cf. § 4.6.4); forms like hep, her, etc. (doublets 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 +ê-h+ and +h-ê+ respectively.

e.g. w-^{6}e-^{7}hə (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to carry) 'you are carrying it' +Ø-p-me- hə+; +p-me+ → +p-ê+ → +wə-ê+ → +w-ê+.

y⁶ere⁷ḥ ! (3/SB-3/AG-OPT-to carry) 'may he carry it!'
+Ø-yə-werê- ḥə+; +yə-werê+ → +yə-erê+ → +y-erê+.

sə¹šḥ⁴e⁷psǩe (1/SB-3/PO-over-Dy/1-to jump) 'I am jumping over it' +sə-Ø-šḥə-me- psǩe+; +šḥə-me+ → +šḥə-ê+ → +šḥ-ê+.[11]

4.6.4 Free Variation of e and a in Contact With ḥ

Underlying +e(-)ḥ+ gives both eḥ and aḥ, underlying +ḥ(-)e+ gives both ḥe and ḥa. 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. ḥaǩe-m (guest-REL) 'the guest, REL' +ḥeǩe -m+, also ḥeǩem.

da⁴ḥ.e-r-ep (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-Dy/2-N/2) 'he does not go into it' +Ø-Ø-de- ḥ.e -re-ep+; also .eḥe., .eḥa., .aḥa.

wə¹neḥə⁴f° (2/SB-3/PO-more-big) 'you are taller than him' +wə-Ø-neḥə- f°e+, also wənaḥəf°.

ḥe-m (dog-REL) 'the dog, REL' +ḥe -m+, also ḥam.

Compare:

yə⁶ḥ-əy (3/SB-3/AG-to carry-CoPr) 'he carried it, and' +Ø-yə- ḥə -əy+.

y⁶e⁷ḥ-əy (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to carry-CoPr) 'he carries it, and' +Ø-yə-me- ḥə -əy+.

y⁶a⁶ḥ-əy (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-to carry-CoPr) 'they carried it and' +Ø-yə-a- ḥə -əy+, or:

(3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/1-to carry-CoPr) 'they carry it, and' +Ø-yə-a-me- ḥə -əy+.

Compare also:

yə-ḥe (3/PS-POS-dog-REL) 'his dog, REL' +Ø-yə- ḥe -ə+.

y⁴e⁷ḥ.e (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to enter) 'he is entering it' +Ø-Ø-yə-me- ḥ.e+, also yeḥa.

y-a-ḥe (3/PS-POS-Pl-dog-REL) 'their dog, REL' +Ø-yə-a- ḥe -ə+, also yaḥa.

And compare:

yə⁴ḥ-a ? (3/SB-3/PO-POS-dog-INT) 'is it his dog?' +Ø-Ø-yə- ḥe -a+.

y⁶e⁷ḥ-a ? (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to carry-INT) 'does he carry it?' +Ø-yə-me- ḥə -a+.

y⁴a⁴ḥ-a ? (3/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-dog-INT) 'is it their dog?' +Ø-Ø-yə-a- ḥe -a+.[12]

4.7 THE e/ə-ALTERNATION

4.7.1 The General Rule

The general rule is as follows: final e (and ê) of a prefix in slots 2, 4 and 5 changes to ə 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/ə-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. qə²s⁴fe⁴ǩ°ə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-to go-PF) 'he came for me' +Ø-qe-s-fe- ǩ°e -ǧe+.

qə²se⁵we-št (3/SB-Hh-1/io-to beat-Fu/1) 'he will beat me' +Ø-qe-se- we -štə+.

qə^{2}-fə^{4}-se^{5}-we-št (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-for-1/io-to beat-Fu/1) 'he will beat me for him' +Ø-qe-Ø-fe-se- we -štə+.

wə^{5}-s^{5}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-tə-ǧ (3/SB-2/io-1/io-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he made me give it to you' +Ø-we-se-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+.

NB: Such a change never takes place before an immediately following prefix in slot 6, 8 or 9.

e.g. qe^{2}-p^{6}-ša-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-2/AG-to lead-PF) 'you have married her ("led her hither")' +Ø-qe-p- še -ǧe+.

qe^{2}-s^{6}-e^{7}-še (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-Dy/1-to lead) 'I am marrying her' +Ø-qe-s-me- še+.

qa^{2}-p^{6}-š-ew (3/SB-Hh-2/AG-to lead-MOD) '(you) marrying her' +Ø-qe-p- še =ew+.

sə^{1}-qe^{2}-mə^{8}-ḵ°-ew (1/SB-Hh-N/1-to go-MOD) '(I) not coming (hither)' +sə-qe-mə- ḵ°e -ew+.

qə^{2}-s^{4}-fe^{4}-ǧa^{9}-ḵ° ! (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-2/AG-CAUS-to go) 'send him to me (hither)!' +Ø-qe-s-fe-Ø-ǧe- ḵ°e+!.

The prefixes of slot 7 all have an initial vowel when they are preceded by an overt prefix. Underlying sequences +V-V(..)^{7}+ are reduced to +V+; the e/ə-alternation rule need not be applied.

e.g. sə^{1}-p^{4}-f^{4}-ere^{7}-laž ! (1/SB-2/PO-for-OPT-to work) 'may I work for you!' +sə-p-fe-werê- leže+; +fe-werê+ → +fe-erê+ → +f-erê+.

4.7.2 Violations of the e/ə-alternation

The e of prefixes with the shape ze- is never changed to ə. The shape ze- is found with:

ze^{4}	REC/PO		zə^{4}(ze-)	PART/PO	
ze^{5}(zyê)	PART/io	ze^{5}	REC/io	ze^{5}	REF/io

[For these prefixes, see chapter 5, section 5.]

e.g. ze^{5}-ryə^{6}-tə-ǧ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ǧe+; +ze-yə+ → +ze-ryə+ (§ 4.8.3).[13]

(ii) The e/ə-alternation is optional in the case of prefixes (..)ǧe^{4,5} (i.e. occurring in slot 4 or 5) that are followed by a prefix with initial r in slot 5 or 6 (see section 4.8 for r-initial allomorphs of "y-prefixes").

e.g. fə^{4}-ryə^{6}-ʒə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for him' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə- ʒə -ǧe+; +fe-yə+ → +fe-ryə+ (§ 4.8.4); also feryəʒəǧ (also fyəʒəǧ).

qə^{2}-sə^{5}-wə^{5}-ryə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-tə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-2/io-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he made you give it to me' +Ø-qe-se-we-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+, also qəsəweryəǧetəǧ (also qəsəwyəǧetəǧ).

(iii) The e/ə-alternation is also optional in the fixed combination zə.de^{4} "the place where" (PART/PO."place").

e.g. zə.də^{4}-šə^{4}-ʔ-er / zə.de^{4}-šə^{4}-ʔ-er (3/SB-"the place where"--there-to be-ABS) 'his address, ABS', 'the place where he lives (, ABS)' +Ø-zə.de-šə- ʔe -er+.

4.8 y-PREFIXES

4.8.1 Introduction

This section presents three processes by means of which the allomorphy of five prefixes that have a basic morph with initial y can be accounted for.[14] The allomorphy of these prefixes is comparatively complex. The processes involved are: y/r-alternation (dissimilation) (§ 4.8.2), r-insertion (obligatory § 4.8.3, optional

§ 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:

$\emptyset^4$(y-)	3/PO	[y^4a^4 3/PO-Pl]
$yë^5$	3/io	[y^5a^6 3/io-Pl]
$yə^6$	3/AG	[y^6a^6 3/AG-Pl]
$yə^4$	'in'	
yə-	POS	

The formation of the plural complexes precedes any of the processes mentioned above.

[Ø-(y-) 3/PO: the secondary basic morph is obligatory before a- Pl and also between an overt SB prefix and yə- POS. Normally a- Pl immediately follows the actant prefix it pluralises; there is one exception to this: Ø-y-a (3/PO-POS-Pl) +Ø-yə-a+ (cf. chapter 3, note 19).]

To conclude this introduction I give four forms illustrating very common sequences of y-prefixes:

$r^5yə^6$tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to him' +Ø-yê-yə- tə -ğe+; +yê-yə+ → +y-yə+ → +r-yə+.

r^5a^6tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it to him' +Ø-yê-yə-a- tə -ğe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +yê-y-a+ → +y-y-a+ → +r-y-a+; +#r-y-a+ → +#r-a+.

$y^5a^5ryə^6$tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə- tə -ğe+; +yê-a+ → +y-a+; +a-yə+ → +a-yə+.

$y^5a^5r^6a^6$tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə-a- tə -ğe+; +yê-a+ → +y-a+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +a-y-a+ → +a-ry-a+ → +a-r-a+.

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. $r^5yə^6$?°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he told it to him' +Ø-yê-yə- ?°e -ğe+; +yê-yə+ → +y-yə+ (§ 4.3.3) → +r-yə+.

$r^4yə^6$x̌.ə-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-3/AG-to take(.ELA)-Fu/1) 'he will take it out of it' +Ø-Ø-yə-yə- x̌.ə -štə+; see the preceding example.

r^4a^6x̌.ə-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-3/AG-Pl-to take(.ELA)-Fu/1) 'they will take it out of it' +Ø-Ø-yə-yə-a- x̌.ə -štə+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +yə-y-a+ → +y-y-a+ → +r-y-a+ → +r-a+.

$sə^1r^4yə^4$q° (1/SB-3/PO-POS-son) 'I am his son' +sə-y-yə- q°e+; +y-yə+ → +r-yə+; +q°e+ → +q°+ (§ 4.4.2)

$wə^1r^4yə^4$y (2/SB-3/PO-POS-to belong) 'he possesses you ("you belong to him")' +wə-y-yə- ye+.

4.8.3 Obligatory r-insertion

r must be inserted in the underlying sequences:

+ryV—yV+	[→ +ryVryV+]
+a——yV+	[→ +aryV+]
+ze——yV+	[→ +zeryV+]

e.g. $ryə^4ryə^6$šx̌ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-instrumental-3/AG-to eat-PF) 'he ate it with it' +Ø-Ø-ryə-yə- šx̌ə -ğe+.

Compare:

ryə^{4}p^{6}šx̌ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-instrumental-2/AG-to eat-PF) 'you ate it with it' +Ø-Ø-ryə-p- šx̌ə -ğe+.

r$^{5\acute{}}$yə$^{5\grave{}}$ryə^{6}ğe-tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/io-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he^{6} made him$^{5\acute{}}$ give it^{1} to him$^{5\grave{}}$' +Ø-yê-yê-yə-ğe- tə -ğe+;

+yê-yê+ → +y-yê+ (§ 4.3.3) → +r-yê+ (§ 4.8.2);

+r-yê-yə+ → +r-yê-ryə+ → +r-yə-ryə+ (§ 4.7.2).

y^{5}a^{5}ryə^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he told it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə- ʔ°e -ğe+; +yê-a+ → +y-a+; +y-a-yə+ → +y-a-ryə+.

y^{4}a^{4}ryə^{4}ḥ.a-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to enter-PF) 'he entered into them' +Ø-y-a-yə- ḥ.e -ğe+.

y^{4}a^{4}ryə^{4}ryə^{6}ğe^{9}ḥ.e-št (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-3/AG-CAUS-to enter--Fu/1) 'he will make him enter them' +Ø-y-a-yə-yə-ğe- ḥ.e -štə+; +y-a-yə+ → +y-a-ryə+; +ryə-yə+ → +ryə-ryə+.

ze^{5}ryə^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ğe+.

ze^{5}r^{6}a^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it to themselves' +Ø-ze-yə-a- tə -ğe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+ (§ 4.3.2); +ze-y-a+ → +ze-ry-a+ → +ze-r-a+ (§ 4.8.5).

ze^{4}ryə^{4}sə wən-er (3/SB-PART/PO-in-to sit/live) (house-ABS) 'the house (, ABS) he lives in' +Ø-ze-yə- sə+ +wəne -er+; the secondary basic morph ze- of zə^{4}(ze-) is obligatorily inserted before yə^{4} 'in'.[15]

ze^{5}ryə^{6}tə-št-er (3/SB-PART/io-3/AG-to give-Fu/1-ABS) 'the one he will give it to' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -štə -er+.

4.8.4 Optional r-insertion

r may be inserted in underlying sequences:

+(..)ÇV^{4,5}——y(-)V^{6}+ [→ +(..)ÇVry(-)V^{6}+/+(..)ÇVy(-)V^{6}-+]:

i.e. between a prefix in slot 4 or 5 with a final sequence ÇV (Ç = any consonant other than y, V = any V other than a) and a prefix in slot 6 with the shape y(-)V.

e.g. fə^{4}ryə^{6}s̆ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for him' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə- s̆ə -ğe+; +fe-yə+ → +fe-ryə+ → (optionally) +fə-ryə+ (§ 4.7.2); also feryəs̆əğ; fyəs̆əğ (, fəyəs̆əğ), cf. § 4.3.3.

qə^{2}sə^{5}ryə^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it (hither) to me' +Ø-qe-se-yə- tə -ğe+; also qəseryətəğ; qəsyətəğ.

fə^{4}r^{6}a^{6}s̆ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-Pl-to do-PF) 'they did it for him' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə-a- s̆ə -ğe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +fe^{4}y^{6}a^{6}+ → +fe-ry-a+ → +fe-r-a+ (§ 4.8.5) → +fə-r-a+ (§ 4.7.2); also feras̆əğ and f^{4}a^{6}s̆ə-ğ; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +fe-y-a+ → +f-y-a+ → +f-a+.

r-insertion before y(-)V^{6} never takes place after sequences (..)ÇV not occurring in slot 4 or 5.

e.g. q^{2}yə^{6}x̌a-ğ (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led her hither' / 'he married her' +Ø-qe-yə- x̌e -ğe+; +qe-yə+ → +q-yə+.

s^{1}yə^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me' +sə-yə- λeğ°ə -ğe+.

Normally, there is no r-insertion between a preverb (..)ÇV^{4} and a following yV^{5} prefix; however, r-insertion can obviously take place between a preverb and an io prefix in sequences:

+(..)ÇY^{4}—yV^{5}y(^{6})V^{6}+.

e.g. qə^{2}s^{4}fə^{4}ryə^{5}ryə^{6}ğe^{9}šə-ğ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/io-3/AG-CAUS--to do-PF) 'he caused him to do it for me' +∅-qe-s-fe-yê-yə-ğe- šə -ğe+; +fe-yê-yə+ → +fe-ryê-yə+ → +fe-ryê-ryə+ (§ 4.8.3) → +fə-ryê-ryə+ → +fə-ryə-ryə+;

also:

qə^{2}s^{4}fə^{4}r^{5}yə^{6}ğe^{9}šə-ğ; +fe-yê-yə+ → +fe-y-yə+ (§ 4.3.3) → +fe-r-yə+ (§ 4.8.2) → +fə-r-yə+ (§ 4.7.2).

4.8.5 Word-medial y-deletion Before a

In a number of prefixal environments +ya+ must or can be changed to +a+.

(i) +..yar+ → +..ar+

e.g. q^{2}a^{5}ryə^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-Hh-3/io-Pl-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it (hither) to them' +∅-qe-yê-a-yə- tə -ğe+; +yê-a+ → +y-a+; +qe-y-a-yə+ → +q-y-a-yə+ → +q-y-a-ryə+ (§ 4.8.3) → +q-∅-a-ryə+.

s^{1}a^{4}ryə^{4}h.e-št (1/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to enter-Fu/1) 'I will enter into them' +sə-y-a-yə- h.e -štə+; +sə-y-a-yə+ → +s-y-a-yə+ → +s-y-a-ryə+ → +s-∅-a-ryə+.

(ii) +..rya+ → +ra+; this deletion is optional if y is an allomorph of yə- POS.

e.g. qə^{2}r^{5}a^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-Hh-3/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it (hither) to him' +∅-qe-yê-yə-a- tə -ğe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +qe-yê-y-a+ → +qe-y-y-a+ → +qe-r-y-a+ → +qe-r-∅-a+ → +qə-r-∅-a+.

wə^{1}r^{4}y^{4}a^{4}? (2/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be) 'they have you'

+wə-y-yə-a- ?e+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +wə-y-y-a+ → +wə-r-y-a+; also

wə^{1}r^{4}a^{4}? (2/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be); +wə-r-y-a+ → (optionally) +wə-r-∅-a+.

(iii) +..y^{4}a^{4}+ → +..a+.

e.g. s^{1}a^{4}de^{4}k̇°e-št (1/SB-3/PO-Pl-with-to go-Fu/1) 'I will go with them' +sə-y-a-de- k̇°e -štə+; +sə-y-a+ → +s-y-a+ → +s-∅-a+.

Compare:

y^{4}a^{4}de^{4}k̇°e-št (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-with-to go-Fu/1) 'he will go with them' +∅-y-a-de- k̇°e -štə+.

(iv) +..y^{5}a^{5}+ → +..a+; this rule is optional.

e.g. q^{2}y^{5}a^{5}ge-št (3/SB-Hh-3/io-Pl-to call-Fu/1) 'he will call them (hither)' +∅-qe-yê-a- ge -štə+; +yê-a+ → +y-a+; +qe-y-a+ → +q-y-a+, also

q^{2}a^{5}ge-št (3/SB-Hh-3/io-Pl-to call-Fu/1); +q-y-a+ (see above) → +q-a+.

Compare:

y^{5}a^{5}ge-št (3/SB-3/io-Pl-to call-Fu/1) 'he will call them' +∅-yê-a- ge -štə+.

(v) +..y^{6}a^{6}+ → +..a+ after (..)ÇY^{2,4} and after ze.rê^{3},
→ +..a+ after ÇY^{1,5}, this rule is optional,
" → "+..y-a+ after zə^{3}.

e.g. q^{2}a^{6}ša-ğ (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Pl-to lead-PF) 'they led it hither' +∅-qe-yə-a- še -ğe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +qe-y-a+ → +q-y-a+ → +q-∅-a+.

f^{4}a^{6}šə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-Pl-to do-PF) 'they did it for him' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə-a- šə -ǧe+; +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +fe-y-a+ → +f-y-a+ → +f-Ø-a+, also fə^{4}r^{6}a^{6}šə-ǧ, fe^{4}r^{6}a^{6}šə-ǧ (cf. § 4.8.4).

s^{1}y^{6}a^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1/SB-3/AG-Pl-to see-PF) 'they saw me' +sə-yə-a- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+, also s^{1}a^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1/SB-3/AG-Pl-to see-PF); +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +sə-y-a+ → +s-y-a+ → +s-a+.

qə^{2}w^{5}y^{6}a^{6}tə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it to you' +Ø-qe-we-yə-a- tə -ǧe+, also qə^{2}w^{5}a^{6}tə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF); +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +we-y-a+ → +w-y-a+ → +w-Ø-a+, also qə^{2}wə^{5}r^{6}a^{6}tə-ǧ, qə^{2}we^{5}r^{6}a^{6}tə-ǧ (see § 4.8.4).

sə^{1}z^{3}y^{6}a^{6}λeǧ°ə-m (1/SB-when-3/AG-Pl-to see-REL) 'when they saw me' +sə-zə-yə-a- λeǧ°ə -m+.

(vi) +..y-a+ (containing yə- POS and a- Pl) → +..a+ before local nouns.[16] This rule is optional.

e.g. s-y-ə-dəžə (1/PS-POS-Pl-"nearness"-REL) 'near me' +s-yə-a- dəžə -Ø+, also s-a-dəžə (1/PS-POS-Pl-"nearness"-REL); +yə-a+ → +y-a+; +s-y-a+ → sə-y-a+ (§ 4.2.4) → +s-y-a+ (§ 4.3.3) → +s-Ø-a+.

4.9 NON-RECURRENT PROCESSES - METATHESIS

4.9.1 Non-recurrent Processes

(i) ze.rê^{3} 'that, how' optionally changes to ze- when it is immediately followed by zerê- REC/AG.

e.g. ze.re^{3}zere^{6}šə-x̌e-r-er (3/SB-that-REC/AG-to know-PL-Dy/2--ABS) 'the fact (, ABS) that they know each other', also ze^{3}zere^{6}šə-x̌e-r-er.

(ii) +ǧe^{9}ǧe^{9}+ (CAUS-CAUS) optionally changes to +ǧe-Ø+ (or +Ø-ǧe+).

e.g. w^{1}ye^{5}z^{6}ǧe^{9}ǧe^{9}k̓°a-ǧ (2/SB-3/io-1/AG-CAUS-CAUS-to go-PF) 'I^{6} made him^{5} send you^{1}' +wə-yê-s-ǧe-ǧe- k̓°e -ǧe+, also w^{1}ye^{5}z^{6}ǧe^{9}Ø^{9}k̓°a-ǧ.

(iii) Underlying +-ep-t.əy+ (N/2-CoCa) yields +-ep-ət.əy+.

e.g. sə-k̓°a-ǧ-ep-ət.əy (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoCa) 'I did not go, and therefore' +sə- k̓°e -ǧe-ep-t.əy+. For a short discussion see under (iv).

(iv) The sequences +-ew-re+ (MOD-CoNP) and +-m-re+ (REL-CoNP) give +-ew-əre+ and +-m-əre+ respectively.

e.g. šə°-ew-əre dax̌-ew-əre (good-MOD-CoNP) (beautiful-MOD-CoNP) 'in a good and nice way' +šə°ə -ew-re+ +dex̌e -ew-re+.

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-t+, +w-r+ and +m-r+ there are: +m-g+ giving m-g, and +w-g+ giving w-g. Cf.

ʔe-m-ge (hand-REL-INS) 'with the hand' +ʔe -m-ge+.

ʔa.w-ge (there-INS) 'from/via there' +ʔa.w -ge+.

It seems as if ə is automatically inserted between two underlying consecutive similar (i.e. both resonant or both obstruent) consonants that belong to different endings. Whether this is true or not, this much is clear that the endings -ep N/2, -m REL and -ew MOD do not have allomorphs with final ə in other environments, and also that the insertion of ə results from the adding of word-final endings. Therefore, I tentatively ascribe to the ə the status of a connective, forming a fixed combination with -t.əy and -re.

4.9.2 Metathesis

We find free variation of word-initial stem-prefixal sequences Cəwyə.. and Cyəw, and Cəryə.. and Cyər; the sequences Cəwyə.. and Cəryə are what one expects.

e.g. sə-^{1}w-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔe-šṭ (1/SB-2/PO-POS-to be-Fu/1) 'you will have me' +sə-p-yə- ʔe -štə+; +p-yə+ → +wə-yə+ (§ 4.2.2) → +w-yə+ (§ 4.3.3), also syəwʔešṭ.

sə-^{1}w-^{5}yə-^{6}tə-ǧ (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave me to you' +sə-we-yə- tə -ǧe+, also syəwtəǧ.

sə-^{1}ryə-^{4}šχa-ǧ (1/SB-3/PO-instrumental-to eat-PF) 'I have eaten with it' +sə-Ø-ryə- šχe -ǧe+, also syəršχaǧ.

4.10 APPENDIX 1: POLYMORPHEMIC CONSONANT SEQUENCES

4.10.1 C-C Clusters Containing Monoconsonantal Personal Prefixes

All obstruents except f°, ʒ̂°, ǯ, q and ḥ occur as final member of a cluster C-C:

s-p	p-p	t-p	ŝ°-p	z-ẑ	b-ẑ	d-ẑ	ẑ°-ẑ	z-ǧ	b-ǧ	d-ǧ	ẑ°-ǧ
z-b	b-b	d-b	ẑ°-b	s̀-ŝ	ṗ-ŝ	ṭ-ŝ	ŝ°-ŝ	s̀-ǩ	ṗ-ǩ	ṭ-ǩ	ŝ°-ǩ
s̀-ṗ	ṗ-ṗ	ṭ-ṗ	ŝ°-ṗ	s-ĉ°	p-ĉ°	t-ĉ°	ŝ°-ĉ°	s-χ̂	p-χ̂	t-χ̂	ŝ°-χ̂
s-f	p-f	t-f	ŝ°-f	s-ŝ°	p-ŝ°	t-ŝ°	ŝ°-ŝ°	z-ǧ	b-ǧ	d-ǧ	ẑ°-ǧ
s̀-ṗ°	ṗ-ṗ°	ṭ-ṗ°	ŝ°-ṗ°	z-ẑ°	b-ẑ°	d-ẑ°	ẑ°-ẑ°	s-k°	p-k°	t-k°	ŝ°-k°
s-t	p-t	t-t	ŝ°-t	s̀-ŝ°	ṗ-ŝ°	ṭ-ŝ°	ŝ°-ŝ°	z-ǧ°	b-ǧ°	d-ǧ°	ẑ°-ǧ°
z-d	b-d	d-d	ẑ°-d	s-ǩ	p-ǩ	t-ǩ	ŝ°-ǩ	s̀-ǩ°	ṗ-ǩ°	ṭ-ǩ°	ŝ°-ǩ°
s̀-ṭ	ṗ-ṭ	ṭ-ṭ	ŝ°-ṭ	s̀-ĉ	ṗ-ĉ	ṭ-ĉ	ŝ°-ĉ	s-χ̌	p-χ̌	t-χ̌	ŝ°-χ̌
s̀-ṭ°	ṗ-ṭ°	ṭ-ṭ°	ŝ°-ṭ°	s-š	p-š	t-š	ŝ°-š	z-ǧ	b-ǧ	d-ǧ	ẑ°-ǧ
s-c	p-c	t-c	ŝ°-c	z-ž	b-ž	d-ž	ẑ°-ž	s-q°	p-q°	t-q°	ŝ°-q°
z-ʒ	b-ʒ	d-ʒ	ẑ°-ʒ	s-ǯ	p-ǯ	t-ǯ	ŝ°-ǯ	s-χ°	p-χ°	t-χ°	ŝ°-χ°
s̀-ĉ	ṗ-ĉ	ṭ-ĉ	ŝ°-ĉ	s-λ	p-λ	t-λ	ŝ°-λ	z-ǧ°	b-ǧ°	d-ǧ°	ẑ°-ǧ°
s-s	p-s	t-s	ŝ°-s	z-l	b-l	d-l	ẑ°-l	s-ḥ	p-ḥ	t-ḥ	ŝ°-ḥ
z-z	b-z	d-z	ẑ°-z	s̀-λ̀	ṗ-λ̀	ṭ-λ̀	ŝ°-λ̀	s̀-ʔ	ṗ-ʔ	ṭ-ʔ	ŝ°-ʔ
s̀-s̀	ṗ-s̀	ṭ-s̀	ŝ°-s̀	s-k	p-k	t-k	ŝ°-k	s̀-ʔ°	ṗ-ʔ°	ṭ-ʔ°	ŝ°-ʔ°
s-ŝ	p-ŝ	t-ŝ	ŝ°-ŝ								

Illustration:

s-p qə-^{2}s-^{4}pe-^{4}pλ-e-šṭ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-in front of-to look-ILL-Fu/1) 'he will wait for me', and qə-^{2}p-^{4}pe-^{4}pλ-e-šṭ, qə-^{2}ṭ-^{4}pe-^{4}pλ-e-šṭ, qə-^{2}s°-^{4}pe-^{4}pλ-e-šṭ 'he will wait for you, for us, for you (p)', etc., etc.

z-b qe-^{2}z-^{6}bəb-eḥə-šṭ (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to fly-INTE-Fu/1) 'I will fly all over it'.

s̀-ṗ s̀-^{6}ṗəṭə-šṭ (3/SB-1/AG-to press-Fu/1) 'I will press it out'.

s-f s^{6}fə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to drive-Fu/1) 'I will drive it'.

s̓-p̓° s̓^{6}p̓°ə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to raise-Fu/1) 'I will raise him'.

s-t s^{6}tə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to give-Fu/1) 'I will give it'.

z-d de^{4}z^{6}də-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to sew-Fu/1) 'I will sew it together with him'.

s̓-t̓ s̓^{6}t̓ə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to dig-Fu/1) 'I will dig it'.

s̓-t̓° s̓^{6}t̓°əpšə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to release-Fu/1) 'I will release it'.

s-c s-ce (1/PS-tooth-ABS) 'my tooth, ABS'.

z-3 yə^{4}z^{6}3-e-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/1) 'I will throw it into it'.

s̓-c̓ s̓^{6}c̓əc̓ə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to crumple-Fu/1) 'I will crumple it'.

s-s x̌e^{4}s^{6}s.e-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to stick(.ILL)-Fu/1) 'I will stick it into it'.

z-z de^{4}z^{6}zə-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to sieve-Fu/1) 'I will sieve it together with him'.

s̓-s̓ s̓-s̓e (1/PS-name-ABS) 'my name, ABS'.

s-ŝ s^{6}ŝe-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to weave-Fu/1) 'I will weave it'.

z-ẑ pə^{4}z^{6}ẑ-ək̓ə-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-point-1/AG-to burn-ExV-PF) 'I burnt it from the tip of it'.

s̓-ŝ̓ s̓^{6}ŝ̓ə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to do-Fu/1) 'I will do it'.

s-ĉ° s^{6}ĉ°etx̌e-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to tear-Fu/1) 'I will tear it'.

s-ŝ° x̌e^{4}s^{6}ŝ°-ə-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to drink-ELA-Fu/1) 'I will drink it out of it'.

z-ẑ° de^{4}z^{6}ẑ°a-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to plough-PF) 'I ploughed it together with him'.

s̓-ŝ̓° s̓^{4}ŝ̓°e.yə^{4}x̌° (3/SB-1/PO-ŝ̓°e.yə-to wish) 'I^{4} wish it^{1}'.

s-x̌ s^{6}x̌ə-x̌ (3/SB-1/AG-to run-PF) 'I ran it (a distance)'.

s̓-č̓ qə^{2}s̓^{4}č̓e^{4}s (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-under-to sit) 'he is sitting under me'

s-š s^{6}še-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to sell-Fu/1) 'I will sell it'.

z-ž de^{4}z^{6}žə-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to comb-Fu/1) 'I will comb it together with him'.

s-š s-šə.px̌° ! (1/PS-sister) 'oh, my sister!'.

s-λ s-λa.q°e (1/PS-leg-REL) 'my leg, REL'.

z-l de^{4}z^{6}le-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to paint-Fu/1) 'I will paint it together with him'.

s̓-λ̓ s̓^{6}λ̓ə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to stifle-Fu/1) 'I will stifle him'.

s-k s-ke (1/PS-spleen-REL) 'my spleen, REL'.

z-g de^{4}z^{6}gə-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to spin-Fu/1) 'I will spin it together with him'.

s̓-k̓ s-k̓e (1/PS-tail-REL) 'my tail, REL'.

s-x̂ qə^{2}ʔe^{4}s^{6}x̂.ə-šṯ (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-hand-1/AG-to take(.ELA)-Fu/1) 'I will take it^{1} from him^{4}'.

z-ĝ de^{4}z^{6}ĝəč̓ə-šṯ (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to wash-Fu/1) 'I will wash it together with him'.

s-k° s-k°e (1/PS-thigh-REL) 'my thigh, REL'.

z-g° qə^{2}z^{4}g°e^{4}s (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-beside-to sit) 'he is sitting beside me'.

s̓-k̓° s̓^{6}k̓°ə-x̌ (3/SB-1/AG-to go-PF) 'I went it (a distance)'.

s-x̌ s^{6}x̌e-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to knit-Fu/1) 'I will knit it'.

z-x̌ z^{6}x̌e^{9}k̓°e-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send him away'.

s-q° qə^{2}s^{4}q°e^{4}s (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-behind-to sit) 'he is sitting behind me'.

s-x̌° s^{6}x̌°e.žə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to exchange-Fu/1) 'I will exchange it'.

z-x̌° z^{6}x̌°etə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to find-Fu/1) 'I will find it'.

s-ẖ s^{6}ẖə-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to carry-Fu/1) 'I will carry it'.

s̓-ʔ s̓-ʔe (1/PS-hand-REL) 'my hand, REL'.

s̓-ʔ° s̓^{6}ʔ°e-šṯ (3/SB-1/AG-to say-Fu/1) 'I will say it'.

4.10.2 C-CC Clusters Containing Monoconsonantal Personal Prefixes

There are 59 obstruent clusters (§ 2.3.2); 22 of them can be preceded by short personal prefixes:

s-pc	p-pc	t-pc	ŝ°-pc	z-bǧ	b-bǧ	d-bǧ	ẑ°-bǧ
s-pŝ	p-pŝ	t-pŝ	ŝ°-pŝ	z-bǧ°	b-bǧ°	d-bǧ°	ẑ°-bǧ°
s-pč	p-pč	t-pč	ŝ°-pč	ś-ṕč	ṕ-ṕč	t́-ṕč	ŝ°-ṕč
s-pš	p-pš	t-pš	ŝ°-pš	s-tx̌	p-tx̌	t-tx̌	ŝ°-tx̌
s-pλ	p-pλ	t-pλ	ŝ°-pλ	s-tx̌	p-tx̌	t-tx̌	ŝ°-tx̌
s-pχ̌	p-pχ̌	t-pχ̌	ŝ°-pχ̌	s-tx̌°	p-tx̌°	t-tx̌°	ŝ°-tx̌°
s-pq	p-pq	t-pq	ŝ°-pq	s-tḥ	p-tḥ	t-tḥ	ŝ°-tḥ
s-pχ̌	p-pχ̌	t-pχ̌	ŝ°-pχ̌	s-ŝḥ	p-ŝḥ	t-ŝḥ	ŝ°-ŝḥ
s-pχ̌°	p-pχ̌°	t-pχ̌°	ŝ°-pχ̌°	s-šṭ	p-šṭ	t-šṭ	ŝ°-šṭ
z-bz	b-bz	d-bz	ẑ°-bz	s-šx̌	p-šx̌	t-šx̌	ŝ°-šx̌
z-bl	b-bl	d-bl	ẑ°-bl	s-λf	p-λf	t-λf	ŝ°-λf

Illustration:

s-pc de^{4}-s^{6}-pcə-št (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to chisel-Fu/1) 'I will chisel it together with him'.

s-pŝ s-pŝe (1/PS-neck-REL) 'my neck, REL'.

s-pč s^{6}-pčə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to count-Fu/1) 'I will count it'.

s-pš s^{6}-pšə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to kneed-Fu/1) 'I will kneed it'.

s-pλ qe^{2}-s^{6}-pλ-eḥə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to look-INTE-PF) 'I have looked it all over'.

s-pχ̌ s^{6}-pχ̌ə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to tie up-Fu/1) 'I will tie it up'.

s-pq s-pqə (1/PS-body-REL) 'my body, REL'.

s-pχ̌ χ̌e^{4}-s^{6}-pχ̌-a-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to sow-ILL-PF) 'I sowed it into it'.

s-pχ̌° s-pχ̌°ə (1/PS-daughter-REL) 'my daughter, REL'.

z-bz de^{4}-z^{6}-bzə-št (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to cut-Fu/1) 'I will cut it together with him'.

z-bl qə^{2}-z^{4}-ble^{4}-ḱ.ə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-past-to leave(.ELA)-PF) 'he went past me'.

z-bǧ de^{4}-z^{6}-bǧe-št (3/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-to cover-Fu/1) 'I will cover it together with him'.

z-bǧ° qə^{2}-z^{4}-bǧ°e.de^{4}-s (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-next-to sit) 'he is sitting next to me'.

ś-ṕč ś^{6}-ṕčе-št (3/SB-1/AG-to weed-Fu/1) 'I will weed it'.

s-tx̌ s^{6}-tx̌ə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to write-Fu/1) 'I will write it'.

s-tx̌ χ̌e^{4}-s^{6}-tx̌.ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to tear(.ELA)-PF) 'I tore it from it'.

s-tx̌° s^{6}-tx̌°ə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to dig-Fu/1) 'I will dig it'.

s-tḥ s-tḥeḱ°əme (1/PS-ear-REL) 'my ear, REL'.

s-ŝḥ s-ŝḥe (1/PS-head-REL) 'my head, REL'.

s-št qe^{2}-s^{6}-šta-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to take-PF) 'I took it'.

s-šx̌ s^{6}-šx̌ə-št (3/SB-1/AG-to eat-Fu/1) 'I will eat it'.

s-λf qe^{2}-s^{6}-λfə-št (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-to give birth-Fu/1) 'I will give birth to it'.

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-psḱ p-psḱ t-psḱ ŝ°-psḱ

s-psḱ qe^{2}-s^{6}-psḱ-eḥə-ǧ (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 n can be preceded by monoconsonantal per-

sonal prefixes; the sequences containing n are:

s-n/z-n   p-n/b-n   t-n/d-n   ŝ°-n/ẑ°-n (§ 4.2.1).

Illustration:

qə^{2}-s^{4}-ne^{4}-sə-ǧ / qə^{2}-z^{4}-ne^{4}-sə-ǧ (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 yV (§ 4.3.3).

The following types are found: ("T" stands for "obstruent")

(i) T-y: as "T" I found: p, f, t, d, ĉ̓, s, z, ŝ°, ŝ̓°, č̓, š, λ, k̓, x̂, g°, q, q°, ʔ, ʔ°.

e.g. s^{1}-yə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me'.

z^{1}-yə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw himself'.

f^{4}-yə^{6}-ŝ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for him'.

w^{1}-ye^{5}-ge-št (2/SB-3/io-to read-Fu/1) 'you will read it'.

(ii) TT-y: before prefixal -y I found two TT clusters: bl and ŝh.

e.g. bl^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-k̓.ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-past-3/AG-CAUS-to leave(.ELA)-PF) 'he^{6} caused him^{1} to go past it^{4}'.

(iii) R-y: found with initial w, n and r:

r^{5}-yə^{6}-ʔ°a-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to him'.

w^{1}-yə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (2/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw you'.

qə^{2}-n^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-sə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-at-3/AG-CAUS-to arrive-PF) 'he^{6} made him^{1} arrive at it^{4}'.

The majority of the sequences with final -y presented in this section can be preceded by monoconsonantal personal prefixes.

e.g. qə^{2}-s^{4}-f^{4}-yə^{6}-ŝ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for me'.

qə^{2}-z^{4}-bl^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-k̓.ə-ǧ (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 -əy- NuCo is required.

e.g. wən-əy-t̓°ə-m (house-NuCo-two-REL) 'the two houses, REL' +wəne-əy-t̓°ə -m+.

The numerals requiring -əy- NuCo are:

t̓°ə	'two'	x̂ə	'six'	p̓ŝ̓ə	'ten'
šə	'three'	blə	'seven'	ŝe	'hundred'.
p̓λ̓ə	'four'	yə	'eight'		
tfə	'five'	bǧ°ə	'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-g, w-g (§ 4.9.1) and w-m and y-m (§ 4.3.4).

4.11 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 and vowel alternations 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 fas 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: +..werê^{7}+ (OPT) → +erê+ (§ 4.1.2 [i]).

1b: +..me^{7}+ (Dy/1) → +ê+ (§ 4.1.2 [ii]).

[1c: +(..)ze.rê^{3}zerê^{6}+ (that-REC/AG) -- +zezerê+ (§ 4.9.1 [i]).] Step 1c is optional: "[.....]".

[1d: +(..)ǧe^{9}ǧe^{9}+ (CAUS-CAUS) → +ǧe+ (§ 4.9.1 [ii]).]

2 Assimilation of the short (i.e. monoconsonantal) prefixes (§ 4.2).

3 First Vowel Deletion: +(..)yV—a+ → +ya+ (§ 4.3.2).

[4 Optional r-insertion (§ 4.8.4).]

5 Second Vowel Deletion: +(..)yV—y(-)V+ → +yyV+; not after r, y or a (§ 4.3.3).

6 y to r Dissimilation: +(..)y-y+ → +ry+ (§ 4.8.2).

7 Obligatory r-insertion (§ 4.8.3).

8 Third Vowel Deletion: +(..)CV—y(-)V+ → +CyV+; 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: +..V-V..+ → +V+; in the part of the word up to and including the directional suffixes slot (§ 4.3.2).

11 e/ə-alternation (§ 4.7.1: obligatory; § 4.7.2: optional).

12 e/a-alternation (§ 4.5).

13 +(..)he-eC#+ → +haeC+ (§ 4.6.2).

14 ə-insertion (§ 4.9.1).

15 Fifth Vowel Deletion: +..V-V(..)+ → +V+; from the specifying suffixes slot onward (§ 4.3.2).

16 Sixth Vowel Deletion: Word-finally (§ 4.4).

[17 Free Variation of e and a in contact with h (§ 4.6.4).]

[18 e-deletion (§ 4.9.1).]

[19 Metathesis (§ 4.9.2).]

4.11.3 Examples

(1) were^{7}k̓° ! (3/SB-OPT-to go) 'may he go!'

(c) +Ø-werê- k̓°e+!

16 +Ø-werê- k̓°+! : werek̓°.

(2) s^{1}ere^{7}k̓° ! (1/SB-OPT-to go)'may I go!'

(c) +sə-werê- k̓°e+!

1a +sə-erê- k̓°e+!

10 +s-erê- k̓°e+!

16 +s-erê- k̓°+! : serek̓°.

(3) s^{1}e^{7}k̓°e (1/SB-Dy/1-to go) 'I am going'

(c) +sə-me- k̓°e+

1b +sə-ê- k̓°e+

10 +s-ê- k̓°e+ : sek̓°e .

(4) qa^{2}k̓°e

(c) +Ø-qe-me- k̓°e+

1b +Ø-qe-ê- k̓°e+

10 +Ø-qe-Ø- k̓°e+

12 +Ø-qa-Ø- k̓°e+ : qak̓°e.

(5) qa^{2}k̓°-əy (3/SB-Hh-to go-CoPr) 'he came, and'

(c) +Ø-qe- k̓°e -əy+

12 +Ø-qa- k̓°e -əy+

15 +Ø-qa- k̓° -əy+ : qak̓°əy.

(6) x̌a^{4}3 ! (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL) 'throw it into it!'

(c) +Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3ə -e+!

10 +Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3 -e+!

12 +Ø-Ø-x̌a-Ø- 3 -e+!

16 +Ø-Ø-x̌a-Ø- 3 -Ø+! : x̌a3.

(7) qə^{2}s^{4}fa^{4}k̓°-ew (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-to go-MOD) '(he) coming towards/for me'

(c) +Ø-qe-s-fe- k̓°e -ew+

11 +Ø-qə-s-fe- k̓°e -ew+

12 +Ø-qə-s-fa- k̓°e -ew+

15 +Ø-qə-s-fa- k̓° -ew+ : qəsfak̓°ew.

(8) sə^{1}qə^{2}fe^{4}w^{6}e^{7}ɣa^{9}k̓°e (1/SB-Hh-3/PO-for-2/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-to go) 'you are sending me (hither) for his sake'

(c) +sə-qe-Ø-fe-p-me-ɣe- k̓°e+

1b +sə-qe-Ø-fe-p-ê-ɣe- k̓°e+

2 +sə-qe-Ø-fe-wə-ê-ɣe- k̓°e+

10 +sə-qe-Ø-fe-w-ê-ɣe- k̓°e+

11 +sə-qə-Ø-fe-w-ê-ɣe- k̓°e+

12 +sə-qə-Ø-fe-w-ê-ɣa- k̓°e+ : səqəfeweɣak̓°e.

(9) x̂a^{4}-b^{6}-3-əy (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-CoPr) 'you threw it into it, and'

(c) +Ø-Ø-x̂e-p- 3ə -e-əy+

2 +Ø-Ø-x̂e-b- 3ə -e-əy+

10 +Ø-Ø-x̂e-b- 3 -e-əy+

12 +Ø-Ø-x̂a-b- 3 -e-əy+

15 +Ø-Ø-x̂a-b- 3 -Ø-əy+ : x̂ab3əy.

(10) ḥa-p (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog'

(c) +Ø- ḥe -ep+

13 +Ø- ḥa -ep+

15 +Ø- ḥa -p+ : ḥap.

(11) ḥačᵉ-m (guest-REL) 'the guest, REL', also ḥečᵉ-m

(c) +ḥečᵉe -m+

12 +ḥačᵉe -m+ : ḥačᵉem [-17]

[17 : ḥečᵉem] (§ 4.6.4).

(12) r^{5}yə^{6}tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to her'

(c) +Ø-yê-yə- tə -ğe+

5 +Ø-y-yə- tə -ğe+

6 +Ø-r-yə- tə -ğe+

16 +Ø-r-yə- tə -ğ+ : ryətəğ.

(13) y^{5}a^{5}ryə^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he told it to them'

(c) +Ø-yê-a-yə- ʔ°e -ğe+

3 +Ø-y-a-yə- ʔ°e -ğe+

7 +Ø-y-a-ryə- ʔ°e -ğe+

12 +Ø-y-a-ryə- ʔ°a -ğe+

16 +Ø-y-a-ryə- ʔ°a -ğ+ : yaryəʔ°ağ.

(14) r^{5}a^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF) 'they told it to him'

(c) +Ø-yê-yə-a- ʔ°e -ğe+

3 +Ø-yê-y-a- ʔ°e -ğe+

5 +Ø-y-y-a- ʔ°e -ğe+

6 +Ø-r-y-a- ʔ°e -ğe+

9 +Ø-r-Ø-a- ʔ°e -ğe+

12 +Ø-r-Ø-a- ʔ°a -ğe+

16 +Ø-r-Ø-a- ʔ°a -ğ+ : raʔ°ağ.

(15) y^{5}a^{5}r^{6}a^{6}ʔ°a-ğ-ep-ət.əy (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF--N/2-CoCa) 'they did not tell it to them, and therefore'

(c) +Ø-yê-a-yə-a- ʔ°e -ğe-ep-t.əy+

3 +Ø-y-a-yə-a- ʔ°e -ğe-ep-t.əy+

3 +Ø-y-a-y-a- ʔ°e -ğe-ep-t.əy+

7 +Ø-y-a-ry-a- ʔ°e -ğe-ep-t.əy+

9 +Ø-y-a-r-a- ʔ°e -ğe-ep-t.əy+

12 +Ø-y-a-r-a- ʔ°a -ğe-ep-t.əy+

14 +Ø-y-a-r-a- ʔ°a -ğe-ep-ət.əy+

15 +Ø-y-a-r-a- ʔ°a -ğ-ep-ət.əy+ : yaraʔ°ağepətəy.

(16) s^{1}yə^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me'

(c) +sə-yə- λeğ°ə -ğe+

8 +s-yə- λeğ°ə -ğe+

16 +s-yə- λeğ°ə -ğ+ : syəλeğ°əğ.

(17) w^{4}yə^{4}ʔ (3/SB-2/PO-POS-to be) 'you have it ("it is yours")'

(c) +Ø-p-yə- ʔe+

2 +Ø-wə-yə- ʔe+

8 +Ø-w-yə- ʔe+

16 +Ø-w-yə- ʔ+ : wyəʔ.

(18) qə²s⁴fə⁴ryə⁶šə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for me', also qə²s⁴f⁴yə⁶šə-ǧ, qə²s⁴fe⁴ryə⁶šə-ǧ

(c) +Ø-qe-s-fe-yə- šə -ǧe+
4 +Ø-qe-s-fe-ryə- šə -ǧe+ [- 4 +Ø-qe-s-fe-yə- šə -ǧe+]
11 +Ø-qə-s-fe-ryə- šə -ǧe+
11 +Ø-qə-s-fə-ryə- šə -ǧe+ [¬11 +Ø-qə-s-fe-ryə- šə -ǧe+]
16 +Ø-qə-s-fə-ryə- šə -ǧ+ : qəsfəryəšəǧ.

[-4 continued:
+Ø-qe-s-fe-yə- šə -ǧe+
8 +Ø-qe-s-f-yə- šə -ǧe+
11 +Ø-qə-s-f-yə- šə -ǧe+
16 +Ø-qə-s-f-yə- šə -ǧ+ : qəsfyəšəǧ.]

[-11 continued:
+Ø-qə-s-fe-ryə- šə -ǧe+
16 +Ø-qə-s-fe-ryə- šə -ǧ+ : qəsferyəšəǧ.]

(19) ze⁵ryə⁶tə-ǧ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself'

(c) +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ǧe+
7 +Ø-ze-ryə- tə -ǧe+
16 +Ø-ze-ryə- tə -ǧ+ : zeryətəǧ.

(20) z¹yə⁶λeǧ°ə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw himself'

(c) +zə-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+
8 +z-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+
16 +z-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧ+ : zyəλeǧ°əǧ.

(21) zə¹r⁵yə⁶tə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself to her'

(c) +zə-yê-yə- tə -ǧe+
5 +zə-y-yə- tə -ǧe+
6 +zə-r-yə- tə -ǧe+
16 +zə-r-yə- tə -ǧ+ : zəryətəǧ.

(22) sə¹r⁴yə⁴q° (1/SB-3/PO-POS-son) 'I am his son'

(c) +sə-y-yə- q°e+
6 +sə-r-yə- q°e+
16 +sə-r-yə- q°+ : səryəq°.

(23) s¹a⁴ryə⁴ḥ.e-št (1/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to enter-Fu/1) 'I will go into them (e.g. houses)', also s¹a⁴ryə⁴ḥ.a-št

(c) +sə-y-a-yə- ḥ.e -štə+
7 +sə-y-a-ryə- ḥ.e -štə+
8 +s-y-a-ryə- ḥe -štə+
9 +s-Ø-a-ryə- ḥ.e -štə+
16 +s-Ø-a-ryə- ḥ.e -št : saryəḥešt [-17]
17 : saryəḥašt.

(24) qə²r⁵a⁶tə-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-Pl-to give-PF) 'they gave it (hither) to him'

(c) +Ø-qe-yê-yə-a- tə -ǧe+
3 +Ø-qe-yê-y-a- tə -ǧe+
5 +Ø-qe-y-y-a- tə -ǧe+
6 +Ø-qe-r-y-a- tə -ǧe+

9 +Ø-qe-r-Ø-a- tə -ǧe+

10 +Ø-qə-r-Ø-a- tə -ǧe+

16 +Ø-qə-r-Ø-a- tə -ǧ+ : qəratəǧ.

(25) y^{5}a^{5}ry^{6}e^{7}tə (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Dy/l-to give) 'he is giving it to them'

(c) +Ø-yê-a-yə-me- tə+

1b +Ø-yê-a-yə-ê- tə+

3 +Ø-y-a-yə-ê- tə+

7 +Ø-y-a-ryə-ê- tə+

10 +Ø-y-a-ry-ê- tə+ : yaryetə.

(26) y^{5}a^{5}r^{5}a^{5}ryə^{6}ǧe^{9}tə-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/io-Pl-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he caused them^{5} to give it to them'

(c) +Ø-yê-a-yə-a-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

3 +Ø-y-a-yə-a-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

3 +Ø-y-a-y-a-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

7 +Ø-y-a-ry-a-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

7 +Ø-y-a-ry-a-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

9 +Ø-y-a-r-a-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

16 +Ø-y-a-r-a-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧ+ : yararyəǧetəǧ.

(27) r^{5}yə^{5}ryə^{6}ǧe^{9}tə-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-3/io-3/AG-CAUS-to give-PF) 'he caused her to give it to him'

(c) +Ø-yê-yê-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

5 +Ø-y-yê-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

6 +Ø-r-yê-yə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

7 +Ø-r-yê-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

11 +Ø-r-yə-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧe+

16 +Ø-r-yə-ryə-ǧe- tə -ǧ+ : ryəryəǧetəǧ.

(28) q^{2}a^{4}ryə^{4}r^{6}a^{6}ǧe^{9}ǩ.ə-št (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-in-3/AG-Pl-CAUS--to leave-Fu/l) 'they will make him leave("go out of") them'

(c) +Ø-qe-y-a-yə-yə-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

3 +Ø-qe-y-a-yə-y-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

7 +Ø-qe-y-a-ryə-y-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

7 +Ø-qe-y-a-ryə-ry-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

8 +Ø-q-y-a-ryə-ry-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

9 +Ø-q-Ø-a-ryə-r-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+

16 +Ø-q-Ø-a-ryə-r-a-ǧe- ǩ.ə -štə+ : qaryəraǧeǩəšt.

(29) tə^{1}psaw-me (1p/SB-alive-COND) 'if we are alive', also tə^{1}psawe-me

(c) +tə- psewe -me+

12 +tə- psawe -me+ : təpsaweme [- 18]

18 +tə- psaw -me+ : təpsawme.

(30) da^{4}b^{6}l-ew (3/SB-3/PO-with-2/AG-to paint-MOD) '(you) painting it together with him', also de^{4}wə^{6}l-ew.

(c) +Ø-Ø-de-p- le -ew+

2 +Ø-Ø-de-b- le -ew+ / +Ø-Ø-de-wə- le -ew+

12 +Ø-Ø-da-b- le -ew+ --

15 +Ø-Ø-da-b- l -ew+ / +Ø-Ø-de-wə- l -ew+

: dablew : dewəlew.

(31) y^{6}a^{6}ŝə (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/l-to do) 'they are doing it'

(c) +Ø-yə-a-me- ŝə+

1b +Ø-yə-a-ê- ŝə+

3 +Ø-y-a-ê- ŝə+

10 +Ø-y-a-Ø- ŝə+ : yaŝə.

(32) sə-^{1}zə-^{6}mə-^{8}λeǧ°ə-ǧe-m (1/SB-PART/AG-N/1-to see-PF-REL)
'the one (, REL) that did not see me'

(c) +sə-zə-mə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe-m+ : səzəməλeǧ°əǧem.

(33) sə-^{1}w-^{5}yə-^{6}tə-ǧ (1/SB-2/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave me to you'

(c) +sə-we-yə- tə -ǧe+

8 +sə-w-yə- tə -ǧe+

16 +sə-w-yə- tə -ǧ+ : səwyətəǧ [- 19]

19 syəwtəǧ.

(34) χa-^{4}ḥ.e (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to enter) 'he goes into it (e.g. water)'

(c) +Ø-Ø-χe-me- ḥ.e+

1b +Ø-Ø-χe-ê- ḥ.e+

10 +Ø-Ø-χe-Ø- ḥ.e+

12 +Ø-Ø-χa-Ø- ḥ.e+ : χaḥe [-17]

[17 : χaḥa

: χeḥe

: χeḥa].

(35) ŝ°ə-^{1}q-^{2}a-^{4}χə-^{4}r-^{6}a-^{6}ǧe-^{9}ḥ.e-žə-ŝ°ə-χe-r-ep-ət.əy

(2p/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-in-3/AG-Pl-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) +ŝ°ə-qe-y-a-χe-yə-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

3 +ŝ°ə-qe-y-a-χe-y-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

4 +ŝ°ə-qe-y-a-χe-ry-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

(for [-4] see below)

8 +ŝ°ə-q-y-a-χe-ry-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

9 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χe-ry-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

9 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χe-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

11 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χə-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+ [-11]

14 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χə-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-ət.əy+

15 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χə-r-a-ǧa- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-r-ep-ət.əy+

17 : ŝ°əqaχəraǧaḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy [-17^{a}]

: ŝ°əqaχəraǧaḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy

: ŝ°əqaχəraǧeḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy.

[-4 continued:

+ŝ°ə-qe-y-a-χe-y-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

8 +ŝ°ə-q-y-a-χe-y-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

8 +ŝ°ə-q-y-a-χ-y-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

9 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χ-y-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

9 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χ-Ø-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

14 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χ-Ø-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-ət.əy+

15 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χ-Ø-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-r-ep-ət.əy+

17 : ŝ°əqaχaǧaḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy [-17^{b}]

: ŝ°əqaχaǧaḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy

: ŝ°əqaχaǧeḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy.]

[-11 continued:

+ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χe-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-t.əy+

14 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χe-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-re-ep-ət.əy+

15 +ŝ°ə-q-Ø-a-χe-r-a-ǧe- ḥ.e -žə-ŝ°ə-χe-r-ep-ət.əy+

17 : ŝ°əqaχeraǧaḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy [-17^{c}]

ŝ°əqaχeraǧaḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy

ŝ°əqaχeraǧeḥažəŝ°əχerepətəy]

[17a : ŝ°əqaχəraǧeḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy

17b : ŝ°əqaχaǧeḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy

17c : ŝ°əqaχeraǧeḥežəŝ°əχerepətəy.]

(36) xa^{4}-ḥ.a-w (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter-MOD) '(he) going into it', also xe^{4}-ḥ.a-w (, also xa^{4}-ḥ-ew, xe^{4}-ḥ-ew)

(c) +Ø-Ø-xe- ḥ.e -ew+

12 +Ø-Ø-xa- ḥ.e -ew+

13 +Ø-Ø-xa- ḥ.a -ew+ [- 13]

15 +Ø-Ø-xa- ḥ.a -w+ : xaḥaw [- 17]

17 : xeḥaw.

[- 13 continued:

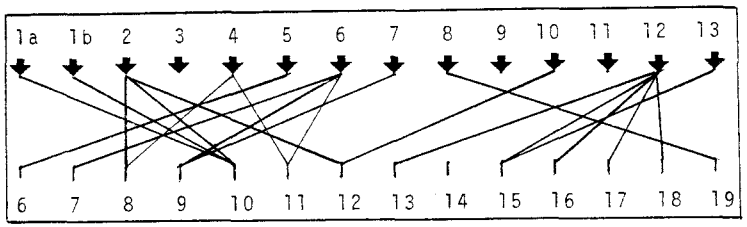
+Ø-Ø-xa- ḥ.e -ew+

15 +Ø-Ø-xa- ḥ -ew+ : xaḥew [- 17]

17 : xeḥew.]

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➡ 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).

NOTES

1. For the deletion of final vowels in instructive forms see § 4.4.3, for ê not changing to a 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 -Ø+.

s-pe (3/SB-1/PS-nose) 'it is my nose' +Ø- s-pe+.

4. Cf.

yə^{4}-sə^{6}-3-ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to throw-ELA-PF) 'I threw it out of it' +Ø-Ø-yə-s- 3ə -ə-ǧe+.

5. Cf. Introduction, section 6.

6. The symbols "=" and "⊥" are not used outside this section (4.5) unless there is special reason to do so.

7. Compare:

(a) DüSHP and LiAD qa^{2}-ḳ°(e) ! (2/SB-Hh-to go) 'come here!'.

(b) DüSHP qa^{2}-ḳ°e (3/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go) 'he is coming'.

(c) LiAD q^{2}e-^{7}-ḳ°e (3/SB-Hh-Dy/1-to go) 'he is coming'.

- (a) +Ø-qe- ḳ°e+!

- (b) +Ø-qe-me- ḳ°e+; +qe-me+ → +qe-ê+ → +qe-Ø+; +qe-Ø-ḳ°e+

→ +qa-Ø-k̓°e+.

- (c) +Ø-qe-me- k̓°e+; +qe-me+ → +qe-ê+ → +q-ê+.

8. From (c) to (d) (cf. § 3.1.1), step by step:

(c) +Ø-qe- k̓°e -əy+
+Ø-qa- k̓°e -əy+
+Ø-qa- k̓° -əy+

(d) qak̓°əy

9. From (c) to (d):

(c) +Ø-qe-s-de- k̓°e+!
+Ø-qe-z-de- k̓°e+!
+Ø-qe-z-da- k̓°e+!
+Ø-qe-z-da- k̓°+!
+Ø-qə-z-da- k̓°+!

(d) qəzdak̓° !

10. I present for x̌ab3erep and for the rest of the forms given in § 4.5.2 the processes that lead from underlying (c) forms to the (d) forms.

	x̌a^{4}b^{6}3-e-r-ep	x̌e^{4}b^{6}3-ə-r-ep
(c)	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-p- 3ə -e-re-ep+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-p- 3ə -ə-re-ep+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3ə -e-re-ep+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3ə -ə-re-ep+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -e-re-ep+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -ə-re-ep+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-b- 3 -e-re-ep+	
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-b- 3 -e-r-ep+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -ə-r-ep+
(d)	x̌ab3erep	x̌eb3ərep
	[Ø-Ø-x̌a-b-3-e-r-ep	Ø-Ø-x̌e-b-3-ə-r-ep]

	x̌a^{4}b^{6}3-əy	x̌e^{4}b^{6}3-əy
(c)	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-p- 3ə -e-əy+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-p- 3ə -ə-əy+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3ə -e-əy+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3ə -ə-əy+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -e-əy+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -ə-əy+
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-b- 3 -e-əy+	
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-b- 3 -Ø-əy+	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-b- 3 -Ø-əy+
(d)	x̌ab3əy	x̌eb3əy
	[Ø-Ø-x̌a-b-3-Ø-əy	Ø-Ø-x̌e-b-3-Ø-əy]
	x̌a^{4}3 !	x̌e^{4}3 !
(c)	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3ə -e+!	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3ə -ə+!
	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3 -e+!	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3 -ə+!
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-Ø- 3 -e+!	
	+Ø-Ø-x̌a-Ø- 3 -Ø+!	+Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø- 3 -Ø+!
(d)	x̌a3 !	x̌e3 !
	[Ø-Ø-x̌a-Ø-3-Ø !	Ø-Ø-x̌e-Ø-3-Ø !] !

11. The three forms given in § 4.6.3, from (c) to (d):

	w^{6}e^{7}ẖə	y^{6}ere^{7}ẖ!	sə^{1}šẖ^{4}e^{7}psk̓e
(c)	+Ø-p-me- ẖə+	+Ø-yə-werê- ẖə+!	+sə-Ø-šẖə-me- psk̓e+
	+Ø-p-ê- ẖə+	+Ø-yə-erê- ẖə+!	+sə-Ø-šẖe-ê- psk̓e+
	+Ø-wə-ê- ẖə+		
	+Ø-w-ê- ẖə+	+Ø-y-erê- ẖə+!	+sə-Ø-šẖ-ê- psk̓e+
		+Ø-y-erê- ẖ+!	
(d)	weẖə	yereẖ !	səšẖepsk̓e

12. In LiAD the behaviour of vowels in contact with ẖ seems to be similar to that in DÜSHP. I found in the LiAD grammar by Jakovlev and Ašxamav (1941) the following forms:

ḥembar (p.242), ḥambar (p.290), cf. DüSHP ḥembarə 'granary'.

ḥeləǧ° (p.233), ḥaləǧ°əm (169), cf. DüSHP ḥe.lə.ǧ°ə 'bread'.

šḥaǰ̌-e (p.396), šḥeǰ̌-e (p.403), cf. DüSHP šḥeǰ̌e 'but'.

-tḥaǰ̌-ə, tḥeǰ̌-e (p.122), cf. DüSHP tḥeǰ̌ə 'to wash'.

ḥaw (p.20), cf. DüSHP yə.ḥaw 'objection'.

šḥew (p.136), cf. DüSHP s^{6}ḥ-ew (3/SB-1/AG-to carry-MOD) '(I) carrying it' +Ø-s- ḥə -ew+.

13. Compare:

zə^{1}r^{5}yə^{6}tə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave himself to her' +zə-yê-yə- tə -ǧe+; from (c) to (d):

(c) +zə-yê-yə- tə -ǧe+

+zə-y-yə- tə -ǧe+

+zə-r-yə- tə -ǧe+

+zə-r-yə- tə -ǧ+

(d) zəryətəǧ

14. There are two more stem-prefixes with a y-initial basic morph than those treated in § 4.8.1, viz. Ø^{1}-(yê-/rê-) 3/SB and Ø^{1}-(yê-/rê-) PART/SB. The basic morphs yê- always give ye in surface forms; yê- (or rê-, 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 yə- POS we find zə- PART; cf.

z^{4}-yə^{4}-y-er (3/SB-PART/PO-POS-to belong-ABS) 'the owner, possessor, ABS' ("the one to whom he/she/it belongs") +Ø-zə-yə- ye -er+.

16. For the local nouns of DüSHP see chapter 9, note 7.

CHAPTER 5 BASIC MORPHS AND ALLOMORPHS 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)	sə-	1/SB	sə̆-/s-
(2)	tə-	1p/SB	tə-t-
(3)	wə-(Ø-)	2/SB	wə-/w-, Ø-
(4)	ŝ°ə-	2p/SB	ŝ°ə-/ŝ°-
(5)	Ø-(yê-/rê-)	3/SB	Ø-, ye/re-
(6)	zə-	REF/SB	zə-/z-
(7)	Ø-(yê-/rê-)	PART/SB	Ø-, ye-/re-

Remarks:

\+ sə-, tə-, wə- and ŝ°ə- are actually fixed combinations involving .ə SB.

+(3): Ø-: in positive intransitive imperatives;
wə-: in other positions.

+(5,7): yê-/rê-: when none of slots 2-7 is occupied;
Ø-: in all positions. Most speakers of DüSHP have Ø-(rê-). NM and some of his relatives have rê- in free variation with yê-. Plurality of 3/SB is marked by the ending -x̌e.

5.1.2 Occurrence

(i) (1, 2, 3, 4, 6)

sə^{1}-leže-št (1/SB-to work-Fu/1) 'I shall work'
+sə- leže -štə+.

s^{1}-e^{7}-laže (1/SB-Dy/1-to work) 'I am working' +sə-me- leže+.

s^{1}-yə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me'
+sə-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

ŝ°ə-^{1}t-^{6}ere-^{7}λeǧ° ! (2p/SB-1p/AG-OPT-to see) 'may we see you (p)!' +ŝ°ə-t-werê- λeǧ°ə+!.

s^{1}-a-^{4}de-^{4}ḳ°a-ǧ (1/SB-3/PO-PL-with-to go-PF) 'I went with them' +sə-y-a-de- ḳ°e -ǧe+.

wə-^{1}mə-^{8}ḳ° ! (2/SB-N/1-to go) 'do not go!' +wə-mə- ḳ°e+!.

ḳ°e ! (2/SB-to go) 'go!' +Ø- ḳ°e+!.

zə-^{1}s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (REF/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw myself'
+zə-s- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

z-^{1}yə-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (REF/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw himself'
+zə-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

(ii) (5)

ḳ°e-r-ep/ye-^{1}ḳ°e-r-ep/re-^{1}ḳ°e-r-ep (3/SB-to go-Dy/2-N/2)/(3/SB-...)/(3/SB-...) 'he is not going'
+Ø- ḳ°e -re-ep+/+yê...+/+rê...+.

me-^{7}laže-x̂ (3/SB-Dy/1-to work-PL) 'they are working'
+Ø-me- leže -x̂e+.

tə ! (3/SB-2/AG-to give) 'give it!' +Ø-Ø- tə+!.

tə-x̂ ! (3/SB-2/AG-to give-PL) 'give them!'
+Ø-Ø- tə -x̂e+!.

ye-^{1}mə-^{8}ḳ°-ew/re-^{1}mə-^{8}ḳ°-ew/mə-^{8}ḳ°-ew (3/SB-N/1-to go-MOD)/(3/SB...)/(3/SB...) '(he) not going'
+yê-mə- ḳ°e -ew+/+rê...+/+Ø-...+.

(iii) (7)

ḳ°e-r-er/ye-^{1}ḳ°e-r-er/re-^{1}ḳ°e-r-er (3/SB-to go-Dy/2-ABS)/(3/SB-...)/(3/SB-...) 'the one that is going, ABS'

+Ø- ḳ°e -re-er+/+yê-...+/+rê-...+.

qa-^{2}ḳ°e-r-er (PART/SB-Hh-to go-Dy/2-ABS) 'the one that is coming, ABS' +Ø-qe- ḳe -re-er+.

qe-^{2}mə-^{8}ḳ°e-re λ̊-er (PART/SB-Hh-N/1-to go-Dy/2) (man-ABS) 'the man that is not coming, ABS'
+Ø-qe-mə- ḳ°e -re+ +λ̊ə -er+.

5.2 SLOT 2: qe- HITHER

5.2.1 Inventory

(8) qe- 'hither' (Hh) qe-/qa-/qə-/q-

5.2.2 Occurrence

qe-^{2}ḳ°a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'he came hither'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e -ǧe+.

qa-^{2}ḳ°e-r-ep (3/SB-Hh-to go-Dy/2-N/2) 'he is not coming'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e -re-ep+.

qe-^{2}s-^{6}e-^{7}ǧa-^{9}ḳ°e (3/SB-Hh-1/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-to go) 'I make him come' +Ø-qe-s-me-ǧe- ḳ°e+.

qə-^{2}sa-^{5}ge (3/SB-Hh-1/io-Dy/1-to call) 'he is calling me'
+Ø-qe-se-me- ge+.

q-^{2}a-^{5}r-^{6}a-^{6}tə-žə (3/SB-Hh-3/io-P1-3/AG-P1-Dy/1-to give-RE) 'they give her back to them' +Ø-qe-yê-a-yə-a-me- tə -žə+.

wə-^{1}q-^{2}yə-^{4}ḳ.ə-ǧ (2/SB-Hh-3/PO-in-to leave-PF) 'you came outside (hither)' +wə-qe-Ø-yə- ḳ.ə-ǧe+.

qə-^{2}r-^{5}yə-^{6}tə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-3/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it (hither) to him'; and also gyərtəǧ, cf. § 4.9.2:
+Ø-qe-yê-yə- tə -ǧe+.

5.3 SLOT 3: zə- 'when' and ze.rê- 'that'

5.3.1 Inventory

(9) zə- 'the moment, period' (when) zə-/z-

(10) ze.rê- 'the fact that' (that), 'the way in which', (how) ze.re-/ze.r-/ze-

Remarks:

+ forms containing zə- or ze.rê- are stem-nominalisations, i.e. non-predicative S-forms with a nominalising stem-affix.

+ ze.rê- varies freely with ze- when it occurs immediately before zerê^{6} REC/AG.

5.3.2 Occurrence of zə- 'when'

sə^{1}-zə^{3}-k̓°e-re-m (1/SB-when-to go-Dy/2-REL) 'when I go, REL'
+sə-zə- k̓°e -re-m+.

sə^{1}-z^{3}-e^{7}-k̓°e-m (1/SB-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when I had gone'
+sə-zə-ê- k̓°e -m+.

z^{3}-yə^{6}-ʔ°e-re-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-to tell-Dy/2-REL) 'when he tells it' +Ø-zə-yə- ʔ°e -re-m+.

z^{3}-y^{6}-e^{7}-ʔ°e-m (3/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to tell-REL) 'when he had told it' +Ø-zə-yə-ê- ʔ°e -m+.

qə^{2}-zə^{3}-s^{6}-e^{7}-mə^{8}-še-m (3/SB-Hh-when-1/AG-SEM-N/1-to lead-REL) 'when I did not marry her("lead her hither")' (on that specific occasion) +Ø-qe-zə-s-ê-mə- še -m+.

sə^{1}-z^{3}-y^{6}-a^{6}-λeǧ°ə-re-m (1/SB-when-3/AG-Pl-to see-Dy/2-REL) 'when they see me' +sə-zə-yə-a- λeǧ°ə -re-m+.

sə^{1}-zə^{3}-mə^{8}-deχe-žə-re-m (1/SB-when-N/1-beautiful-RE-Dy/2-REL) 'when I am no longer pretty' +sə-zə-mə- deχe -žə-re-m+.

wə^{1}-z^{3}-yə^{4}-sə-ǧe maf-er (2/SB-when-3/PO-in-to sit-PF) (day--ABS) 'the day you were sitting in it'.
+wə-zə-Ø-yə- sə -ǧe+ +mefe -er+.

5.3.3 Occurrence of ze.rê- 'that (, how)'

ze.re^{3}-k̓°a-ǧ-er s^{6}-e^{7}-ʃ̓e (3/SB-that-to go-PF-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG--Dy/1-to know) 'I know that he has gone'
+Ø-ze.rê- k̓°e -ǧe-er+ +Ø-s-me- ʃ̓e+.

wə^{1}-qə^{2}-ze.re^{3}-mə^{8}-k̓°e-št-er (2/SB-Hh-that-N/1-to go-Fu/1-ABS) 'that you will not come, ABS'
+wə-qe-ze.rê-mə- k̓°e -štə-er+.

qə^{2}-ze.re^{3}-t^{4}-f^{4}-yə^{6}-mə^{8}-ʃ̓ə-ǧe-m fe.ʃ̓ə.ge (3/SB-Hh-that-1p/PO--for-3/AG-N/1-to do-PF-REL) (because of) 'as he had not made it for us'
+Ø-qe-ze.rê-t-fe-yə-mə- ʃ̓ə -ǧe-m+ +fe.ʃ̓ə.ge+.

ze.r^{3}-yə^{4}-mə^{8}-nəbǯ.eǧ°ə-m fe.ʃ̓ə.ge (3/SB-that-3/PO-POS-N/1--friend-REL) ( ) 'as he is not his friend'
+Ø-ze.rê-Ø-yə-mə- nəbǯ.eǧ°ə -m+.

qə^{2}-ze.re^{3}-b^{4}-də^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-ǧe^{9}-k̓°e-nə-m-ge ʔimzə qə^{2}-p^{4}-fə^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-št (3/SB-Hh-that-2/PO-with-3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to go-Fu/2-REL-INS) (signature-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-2/PO-for-3/AG-Pl-to make-Fu/1) 'they will put a signature for you (in order to confirm) that they will make her go with you'; also qə^{2}-p^{4}-fe^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-št and qə^{2}-p^{4}-f^{4}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-št;
+Ø-qe-ze.rê-p-de-yə-a-ǧe- k̓°e -nə-m-ge+ +ʔimzə -Ø+
+Ø-qe-p-fe-yə-a- ʃ̓ə -štə+.

ze^{3}-zere^{6}-wək̓ə-žə-ǧ-er (3/SB-that-REC/AG-to kill-RE-PF-ABS) 'that they killed each other, ABS'; also

ze.re^{3}zere^{6}wəǩə-žə-ǧ-er; +Ø-ze.rê-zerê- wəǩə -žə-ǧe-er+.

ze.r^{3}a^{6}ǯə-štə ǯə.ǩ-er (3/SB-that-3/AG-Pl-to do-Fu/l)

(do.way-ABS) '(the way) how they will do it, ABS'

+Ø-ze.rê-yə-a- ǯə -štə+ +ǯə.ǩe -er+.

5.4 SLOT 4: PREVERB OBJECT PREFIXES AND PREVERBS

5.4.1 Preverb Object Prefixes, Inventory

(11)	s-	s-/z-/š-/sə-	1/PO
(12)	t-	t-/d-/ť-/tə-	1p/PO
(13)	p-	p-/b-/p̌-/wə-/Ø-	2/PO
(14)	š°-	š°-/ž°-/ǯ°-/ŝ°ə-	2p/PO
(15)	Ø-(y-)	Ø-, y-/r-	3/PO
(16)	a-	a-	Pl
(17)	zə-	zə-/z-	REF/PO
(18)	ze-	ze-	REC/PO
(19)	zə-(ze-)	zə-/z-, ze-	PART/PO

Remarks:

\+ For the distribution of the allomorphs of (11-14), see § 4.2.1.

\+ (13): before fe^{4} 'for', Ø- is more usual than expected p-.

\+ (15): basic morph y-: before a- Pl, and between an immediately preceding overt SB prefix and yə^{4} POS (for y → r, see § 4.8.2); in all other positions basic morph Ø-.

\+ (16): occurs only in combination with preceding 3/PO (, 3/io, 3/PS and 3/AG); for irregular positioning of sequences 3/PO-Pl, cf. § 3.7.2.

\+ (17): before de- 'with', zə- varies freely with Ø- (in trans. forms)

\+ (19): ze-: before yə^{4} 'in', in all other positions: zə-.

5.4.2 Occurrence of Preverb Object Prefixes

(i) (11-14)

qə^{2}s^{4}fe^{4}p^{6}ǯə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-2/AG-to do-PF) 'you did it for me' +Ø-qe-s-fe-p- ǯə -ǧe+.

p^{4}fe^{4}s^{6}ǯə-ǧ / fe^{4}s^{6}ǯə-ǧ (3/SB-2/PO-for-1/AG-to do-PF) / (..2/PO..) 'I did it for you' +Ø-p-fe-s- ǯə -ǧe+.

tə^{1}b^{4}de^{4}ǩ°e-št (1p/SB-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/1) 'we will go with you' +tə-p-de- ǩ°e -štə+.

qə^{2}ť^{4}ʔ^{4}yə^{6}x̌.ə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1p/PO-hand-3/AG-to take(, ELA)-PF) 'he took it from us' +Ø-qe-t-ʔe-yə- x̌.ə -ǧe+.

wə^{1}s^{4}yə^{4}y (2/SB-1/PO-POS-to belong) 'you are mine' +wə-s-yə- ye+.

(ii) fe^{4}s^{6}ǯə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for him' (15-16) +Ø-Ø-fe-s- ǯə -ǧe+.

y^{4}a^{4}fe^{4}s^{6}ǯə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-for-1/AG-to do-PF) 'I did it for them' +Ø-y-a-fe-s- ǯə -ǧe+.

wə^{1}de^{4}z^{6}ǧe^{9}ǩ°e-št (2/SB-3/PO-with-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send you with him' +wə-Ø-de-s-ǧe- ǩ°e -štə+.

w^{1}a^{4}de^{4}z^{6}ǧe^{9}ǩ°e-št (2/SB-3/PO-Pl-with-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send you with them' +wə-y-a-de-s-ǧe- ǩ°e -štə+.

ze.r^{3}a^{4}fe^{4}s^{6}ǯə-ǧ-er (3/SB-that-3/PO-Pl-for-1/AG-to do-PF--ABS) 'that I did it for them, ABS' +Ø-ze.rê-y-a-fe-s- ǯə -ǧe-er+.

yə^{4}ʔ (3/SB-3/PO-POS-to be) 'he has it' +Ø-Ø-yə- ʔe+.

s^{4}yə^{4}ʔ (3/SB-1/PO-POS-to be) 'I have it' +Ø-s-yə- ʔe+.

y^{4}a^{4}ʔ (3/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be) 'they have it' +Ø-Ø-y-a- ʔe+.

sə^{1}r^{4}yə^{4}ʔ (1/SB-3/PO-POS-to be) 'he has me'

+sə-y-yə- ʔe+.

sə-^{1}r-^{4}y-^{4}a-^{4}ʔ / sə-^{1}r-^{4}a-^{4}ʔ (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be) (...3/PO...) 'they have me' +sə-y-yə-a- ʔe+.

sə-^{1}q-^{2}a-^{4}fe-^{4}k̓°a-ǧ (1/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-for-to go-PF) 'I came for them' +sə-qe-y-a-fe- k̓°e -ǧe+; also s-a-qə-fe-k̓°a-ǧ.

(iii) (17-18-19)

zə-^{4}fe-^{4}t-^{6}s̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-REF/PO-for-1p/AG-to do-PF) 'we did it for ourselves' +Ø-zə-fe-t- s̓ə -ǧe+.

ze-^{4}fe-^{4}t-^{6}s̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-REC/PO-for-1p/AG-to do-PF) 'we did it for each other' +Ø-ze-fe-t- s̓ə -ǧe+.

zə-^{4}fe-^{4}t-^{6}s̓ə-ǧ-er (3/SB-PART/PO-for-1p/AG-to do-PF-ABS) 'the one we did it for, ABS' +Ø-zə-fe-t- s̓ə -ǧe-er+.

zə-^{4}fe-^{4}k̓°a-ǧ-er s̓-^{6}s̓e-r-ep (3/SB-PART/PO-for-to go-PF-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-to know-Dy/2-N/2) +Ø-zə-fe- k̓°e -ǧe-er+ +Ø-s- s̓e -re-ep+ 'I do not know why he has gone'.

z-^{4}yə-^{4}y-er (3/SB-PART/PO-POS-to belong-ABS) 'the owner, ABS' +Ø-zə-yə- ye -er+.

z-^{4}yə-^{4}k°-er (3/SB-PART/PO-POS-car-ABS) 'the owner of the car, ABS' ("the one whose car it is") +Ø-zə-yə- k°ə -er+.

ze-^{4}ryə-^{4}sə wən-er (3/SB-PART/PO-in- to sit) (house-ABS) 'the house (, ABS) he is living in' +Ø-ze-yə- sə+ +wəne -er+.

(iv) 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).]

qə-^{2}zə-^{4}s-^{4}fə-^{4}fe-^{4}k̓°a-ǧ-er (3/SB-Hh-PART/PO-1/PO-for-for-to go--PF-ABS) '(the reason, ABS) why he came to me' +Ø-qe-zə-s-fe-fe- k̓°e -ǧe-er+.

sə-^{1}qə-^{2}š-^{4}a-^{4}de-^{4}p-^{4}pe-^{4}pλ.e-ŝ°ə-žə-ǧ-ep (1/SB-Hh-there-3/PO-Pl--with-2/PO-"for"-to look(.ILL)-Pot/2-RE-PF-N/2) 'I could not wait for you there together with them any longer' +sə-qe-šə-y-a-de-p-pe- pλ.e -ŝ°ə-žə-ǧe-ep+.

5.4.3 Preverbs, Inventory

(20)	pə-	'at (the end of)'	pə-/p-
(21)	pe-	'in front of'	pe-/pə-/pə-/p-
(22)	pe.s̓°e-	'(fixed) at'	pe.s̓°e- (4 x)
		["4 x": pe.s̓°e- / pe.s̓°a-/pe.s̓°ə-/pe.s̓°-]	
(23)	pe.č̓e-	'before'	pe.č̓e- (4 x)
(24)	pe.ʔ°ə-	'in front of'	pe.ʔ°ə-/pe.ʔ°-
(25)	ble-	'past'	ble-/blə-/bl-
(26)	bǧ°e.de-(bǧe.de-)	'beside'	bǧ°e.de- (4 x), bǧe.de- (4 x)
(27)	fe-	'for, towards'	fe- (4 x)
(28)	fe-	Pot(ential)/1	fe- (4 x)
(29)	te-	'on'	te- (4 x)
(30)	də.ʔe-	'(offering help) to'	də.ʔe-/də.ʔə-/ də.ʔ-
(31)	de-	'(together) with'	de- (4 x)
(32)	de-	'in (e.g. a yard)'	de- (4 x)
(33)	zə.de	'the place where'	zə.de- (4 x)
(34)	ŝhə-	'above'	ŝhə-/ŝh-
(35)	ŝhe.pə(.rə)	'across'	ŝhe.pə-/-ŝhe.p-, ŝhe.pə.rə-/ŝhe.pə.r-
(36)	ŝhe.te-	"above/over"	ŝhe.te- (4 x)
(37)	ŝhe.de	"above/over"	ŝhe.de-/ŝhe.də-/ ŝhe.d-

(38) ŝḥe.šə- "above/over" ŝḥe.šə-/ŝḥe.š-

(39) ŝḥe.rə- "above/over" ŝḥe.rə-/ŝḥe.r-

(40) ŝ°e- 'on (top of)' ŝ°e- (4 x)

(41) ŝ°e- 'against (the will of)' ŝ°e- (4 x)

(42) ŝ°e.x̌e- '(hanging) on' ŝ°e.x̌e- (4 x)

(43) ŝ°e.yə- '(wished) by' ŝ°e.yə-/ŝ°e.y-

(44) č̣ə- '(upwards) in/on' č̣ə-/č̣-

(45) č̣e- 'under' č̣e- (4 x)

(46) č̣e.ǩe- '(secretly) from/to' č̣e.ǩe-/č̣e.ǩə-/č̣e.ǩ-

(47) šə- 'there, in' šə-/š-

(48) šə- 'on (the body of)' šə-/š-

(49) λə- 'behind' λə-/λ-

(50) λə.x̌e- '(leaving) to' λə.x̌e- (4 x)

(51) ǩe.λə- 'with, near' ǩe.λə-/ǩe.λ-

(52) x̌e- 'in (e.g. a mass, group)' x̌e- (4 x)

(53) g°ə.λə- "supposing" g°ə.λə-/g°ə.λ-

(54) g°e- 'next, against' g°e- (4 x)

(55) ǩ°ec̣ə- 'within (filling up totally)' ǩ°ec̣ə-/ǩ°ec̣-

(56) q°e- 'behind (the corner of)' q°e- (4 x)

(57) ʔe- 'in (the hand of)' ʔe- (4 x)

(58) ʔe.pə- 'from (the fingers of)' ʔe.pə-/ʔe.p-

(59) ʔe.č̣e- 'by (the unconscious)' (UNINT) ʔe.č̣e- (4 x)

(60) ʔ°ə- 'at (the mouth of)' ʔ°ə-/ʔ°-

(61) yə- 'in' (e.g. a house) yə-/y-/ryə-/ry-/r-

(62) yə- '(belonging) to' (POS) yə-/y-/r-/Ø-

(63) nê- 'at (the house of)' ne-/nə-/n-

(64) neḥə- 'more than' neḥə-/neḥ-

(65) ryə- 'with (instr.)' ryə-/ry-

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 ɬe.

\+ (26): bǧ°e.de- and bǧe.de- are in free variation.

\+ (27): before the verb de, fe- never changes to fa; cf. qə^{2}s^{4}fe^{4}de-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-"for"-to be like-PL) 'they look like me'.

\+ (30): only in the combination: pə.ʔe [1-4:də.ʔe-] 'to help' ("1 helps 4"); cf. wə^{1}qə^{2}z^{4}də.ʔe^{4}mə^{8}pə.ʔ ! (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-"offering help to"-N/1-to help) 'do not help me!' (also: wə^{1}qə^{2}z^{4}də.ʔe.pə^{4}mə^{8}ʔ).

\+ (35): ŝḥe.pə- and ŝḥe.pə.rə- 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: ǧ°e [1-4:ŝ°e.yə- Stative] 'to wish' ("4 wishes 1"); cf. ŝ^{4}ŝ°e.yə^{4}ǧ° (3/SB-1/PO-"by"-to be wished) 'I wish it' (also: ŝ^{4}ŝ°e^{4}yə.ǧ°).

\+ (45): with a restricted number of verbs (e.g. fe 'to fall') č̣e- does not change to č̣a- before stem-final ɬe.

\+ (47): with all preverbs except šə- 'there', there is every reason to assume a zero 3/PO prefix when there is no preceding overt PO prefix. Before šə- '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. wə^{1}-qə^{2}-s^{4}-neḥə^{4}-f° (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-more-tall) 'you are taller than me'; tḥe-m we wə^{1}-qə^{2}-s^{4}-neḥ^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-f°a-ǧ (God-REL) (you) (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-more-3/AG-CAUS-tall-PF) 'God has made you taller than me'.

+ NB: pe 'nose, beginning' (20, 21), šḥe 'head, top' (34), ʔe 'hand' (57), ʔ°ə 'mouth (60).

5.4.4 Occurrence of Preverbs

(i) Preverbs "4 x"

sə^{1}-b^{4}-de^{4}-leže-št (1/SB-2/PO-with-to work-Fu/1) 'I will work with you' +sə-p-de- leže -štə+.

qə^{2}-z^{4}-da^{4}-k̓° ! (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-with-to go) 'come with me!' '(you, female) marry me!' +Ø-qe-s-de- k̓°e+!.

ze^{4}-də^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-šə-ǧ (3/SB-REC/PO-with-3/AG-Pl-to do-PF) 'they did it together'; also ze^{4}-de^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-šə-ǧ, ze^{4}-d^{4}-a^{6}-šə-ǧ.*

qə^{2}-s^{4}-š°^{4}-yə^{6}-šə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-against-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it against my will' +Ø-qe-s-š°e-yə- šə -ǧe+.

(ii) Preverbs (..)ɬə-/(..)ɬ

cf. the two forms containing the preverb neḥə-, under "+ (64)"

(iii) yə- 'in' (61)

yə^{4}-s (3/SB-3/PO-in-to sit) 'he is sitting in it' +Ø-Ø-yə- sə+.

y^{4}-ere^{7}-s ! (3/SB-3/PO-in-OPT-to sit) 'may he sit in it!' +Ø-Ø-yə-werê- sə+!.

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* with the underlying form: +Ø-ze-de-yə-a- šə -ǧe+.

y^{4}-a^{4}-ryə^{4}-sə-x̌ (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to sit-PL) 'they are sitting in them' +Ø-y-a-yə- sə -x̌e+.

y^{4}-a^{4}-ry^{4}-ere^{7}-sə-x̌ ! (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-OPT-to sit-PL) 'may they be sitting in them!' +Ø-y-a-yə-werê- sə -x̌e+!.

r^{4}-yə^{6}-teq°-a-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-in-3/AG-to pour-ILL-PF) 'he poured it into it' +Ø-Ø-yə-yə- teq°e -e-ǧe+; compare: yə^{4}-s^{6}-teq°-a-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to pour-ILL-PF) 'I poured it into it'.

iv) yə- '(belonging) to' (POS), (62)

wə^{1}-s^{4}-yə^{4}-ʔ (2/SB-1/PO-POS-to be) 'I have you("you are my possession")' +wə-s-yə- ʔe+.

wə^{1}-r^{4}-yə^{4}-ʔ (2/SB-3/PO-POS-to be) 'he has you' +wə-y-yə- ʔe+.

yə^{4}-ʔ (3/SB-3/PO-POS-to be) 'he has it' +Ø-Ø-yə- ʔe+.

y^{4}-a^{4}-ʔ (3/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be) 'they have it' +Ø-Ø-yə-a- ʔe+.

s^{4}-yə^{4}-wən (3/SB-1/PO-POS-house) 'it is my house' +Ø-s-yə- wəne+.

s^{4}-y^{4}-e^{7}-wəne (3/SB-1/PO-POS-Dy/1-house) 'it becomes my house' +Ø-s-yə-me- wəne+.

r^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-ʔa-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-POS-3/AG-CAUS-to be-PF) 'he made him have it' +Ø-Ø-yə-yə-ǧe- ʔe -ǧe+.

sə^{1}-r^{4}-y^{4}-a^{4}-ʔ/sə^{1}-r^{4}-(Ø^{4})-a^{4}-ʔ (1/SB-3/PO-POS-Pl-to be)/(...POS...) 'they have me' +sə-y-yə-a- ʔe+.

sə^{4}-r^{4}-yə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-ʔa-ǧ (3/SB-1/PO-POS-3/AG-CAUS-to be-PF) 'he made me have it' +Ø-s-yə-yə-ǧe- ʔe -ǧe+.

sə^{1}-r^{4}-yə^{4}-ryə^{6}-ǧe^{9}-ʔa-ǧ (1/SB-3/PO-POS-3/AG-CAUS-to be-PF) 'he made him have me' +sə-y-yə-yə-ǧe- ʔe -ǧe+.

[For more forms containing yə- POS, see chapter 8.]

5.5 SLOT 5: INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES

5.5.1 Inventory

(66)	se-	1/io	se-/sa-/sə-/s-
(67)	te-	1p/io	te-/ta-/tə-/t-
(68)	we-	2/io	we-/wa-/wə-/w-
(69)	ŝ°e-	2p/io	ŝ°e-/ŝ°a-/ŝ°ə-/ŝ°-
(70)	yê-	3/io	ye-/y-/r-/ryə-/Ø-
(71)	ze-	REF/io	ze-/za-/z-
(72)	ze-(y.a.ze-)	REC/io	ze-/za-/z-, y.a.ze-
(73)	ze-(zyê-)	PART/io	ze-/za-, zye-

Remarks:

+ (69, 16): by not giving *ya-, yê- 3/io remains distinct from $y^{5}a^{5}$ 3/io-Pl. 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 prefix.

+ (73): ze- varies freely with zyê-.

5.5.2 Occurrence

(i) (66-67-68-69)

$we^{5}s^{5,6}$?°a-ğ (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to say-PF) 'I said it to you' +Ø-we-s- ?°e -ğe+.

$wa^{5}s^{5,6}$?°e-r-ep (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-to say-Dy/2-N/2) 'I do not say it to you' +Ø-we-s- ?°e -re-ep+.

$qə^{2}wə^{5}ryə^{6}$?°a-ğ (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to you' +Ø-qe-we-yə- ?°e -ğe+.

$qə^{2}w^{5}ere^{7}w$! (3/SB-Hh-2/io-OPT-beat) 'may he beat you!' +Ø-qe-we-werê- we+!.

$qə^{2}se^{5}pλ$! (2/SB-Hh-1/io-to look) 'look at me!' +Ø-qe-se- pλə+!.

$qə^{2}sa^{5}$?° ! (3/SB-Hh-1/io-2/AG-to say) 'say it to me!' +Ø-qe-se-Ø- ?°e+!.

$qə^{2}sə^{5}w^{5}yə^{6}ğe^{9}$?°a-ğ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-2/io-3/AG-CAUS-to say--PF) 'he made you say it to me' +Ø-qe-se-we-yə-ğe- ?°e -ğe+.

(ii) (71-72-73)

$sə^{1}za^{5}we$ (1/SB-REF/io-Dy/1-to beat) 'I am beating myself' +sə-ze-me- we+.

$ze^{5}s^{5,6}$?°e-žə-ğ (3/SB-REF/io-1/AG-to say-RE-PF) 'I said it to myself' +Ø-ze-s- ?°e -žə-ğe+.

$z^{5}ere^{7}mə^{8}w$! (3/SB-REF/io-OPT-N/1-to beat) 'may he not beat himself!' +Ø-ze-werê-mə- we+!.

$ze^{5}ryə^{6}tə$-ğ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to give-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ğe+.

$tə^{1}ze^{5}pλə$-ğ (1p/SB-REC/io-to look-PF) 'we looked at each other' +tə-ze- pλə -ğe+; or, with ze- REF/io: 'at ourselves'.

$y.a.ze^{5}pλə$-x̂ (3/SB-REC/io-Dy/1-to look-PL) 'they are looking at each other' +Ø-y.a.ze-me- pλə -x̂e+; also: $ze^{5}pλə$-x̂ (also: 'they are looking at themselves').

$tə^{1}z^{5}ere^{7}mə^{8}g$! (1p/SB-REC/io-OPT-N/1-to shout) 'may we not shout at each other!' +tə-ze-werê-mə- ge+!.

$ze^{5}ryə^{6}ğe^{9}ğ$°ən.eğ°ə-ğe-x̂ (3/SB-REC/io-3/AG-CAUS-neighbour--PF-PL) 'he made them neighbours' +Ø-ze-yə-ğe- ğ°ən.eğ°ə- ğe-x̂e+.

sə-^{1}ze-^{5}mə-^{8}pλə-r-er (1/SB-PART/io-N/1-to look-Dy/2-ABS) 'the one I am not looking at, ABS' +sə-ze-mə- pλə -re-er+.

wə-^{1}za-^{5}ge-r-er (2/SB-PART/io-to shout-Dy/2-ABS) 'the one you are shouting at, ABS'; also wə-zye-ge-r-er; +wə-ze- ge -re-er+.

zə-^{1}ze-^{5}s-^{6}tə-št-er we-^{5}rə (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' +zə-ze-s- tə -štə-er+ +Ø-we- rə+.

ŝ°ə-^{1}ze-^{5}ŝ°e-štə-m se.r-əyǩ s-^{1}ye-^{5}ŝ°e-št (2p/SB-PART/io--to drink-Fu/1-REL) (I-EMPH) (1/SB-3/io-to drink-Fu/1) 'as to me, I will drink what you(p) will drink' +ŝ°ə-ze- ŝ°e -štə-m+ +se.rə -əyǩ+ +sə-yê- ŝ°e -štə+.

(iii) (70-16)

ye-^{5}wa-ğ (3/SB-3/io-to beat-PF) 'he has beaten him' +Ø-yê- wa -ğe+.

y-^{5}e-^{7}we (3/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to beat) 'he is beating him' +Ø-yê-me- we+.

y-^{5}a-^{5}we (3/SB-3/io-Pl-Dy/1-to beat) 'he is beating them' +Ø-yê-a-me- we+.

q-^{2}y-^{5}a-^{5}pλə (3/SB-Hh-3/io-Pl-Dy/1-to look) 'he is looking at them (hither)' +Ø-qe-yê-a-me- pλə+; also q-^{2}a-^{5}pλə (i.e. q-^{2}Ø-^{5}a-^{5}Ø-^{7}pλə).

r-^{5}yə-^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to him' +Ø-yê-yə- ʔ°e -ğe+; compare qə-^{2}s-^{5}yə-^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to me', and ye-^{5}s-^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to say-PF) 'I said it to him' +Ø-yê-s- ʔ°e -ğe+.

y-^{5}a-^{5}ryə-^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə- ʔ°e -ğe+.

r-^{5}a-^{6}ʔ°a-ğ (3/SB-3/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF) 'they said it to him' +Ø-yê-yə-a- ʔ°e -ğe+.

ryə-^{4}ryə-^{5}ryə-^{6}ğe-^{9}šx̌ə-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-with-3/io-3/AG-CAUS-to eat-PF) 'he made him eat it with it' +Ø-Ø-ryə-yê-yə-ğe- šx̌ə -ğe+.

y-^{5}a-^{5}ryə-^{5}r-^{6}a-^{6}ğe-^{9}tə-ğ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/io-3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to give-PF) 'they caused him to give it to them' ("they ≠ "them") +Ø-yê-a-yê-yə-a-ğe- tə -ğe+.

qə-^{2}z-^{3}à-^{5}r-^{5}á-^{5}r-^{6}a-^{6}ğe-^{9}tə-žə-re-m (3/SB-Hh-when-3/io-Pl-3/io--Pl-3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to give-RE-Dy/2-REL) 'when they will cause them to give it back to them' +Ø-qe-zə-yê-a-yê-a-yə-a-ğe- tə -žə-re-m+.

5.6 SLOT 6: AGENT PREFIXES

5.6.1 Inventory

(74)	s-	1/AG	s-/z-/ŝ-/sə-
(75)	t-	1p/AG	t-/d-/t̂-/tə-
(76)	p-(Ø-)	2/AG	p-/b-/p̂-/wə-/w-/Ø-
(77)	ŝ°-	2p/AG	ŝ°-/ẑ°-/ŝ°-/ŝ°ə-
(78)	yə-	3/AG	yə-/y-/ryə-/ry-/Ø-
(79)	zerê-	REC/AG	zerê-/zer-
(80)	zə-(zyə-)	PART/AG	zə-, zyə-

Remarks:

+ (76): basic morph Ø-: in positive transitive imperative forms; in other positions: basic morph p-.

+ (78): combines with a- Pl (16).

+ (80): zə- and zyə- are in free variation.

5.6.2 Occurrence

(i) (74-75-76-77)

p^{6}-tə-r-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to give-Dy/2-N/2) 'you don't give it' +Ø-p- tə -re-ep+.

p̓^{6}-t̓ə-r-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to dig-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not dig it' +Ø-p- t̓ə -re-ep+.

wə^{6}-də-r-ep/b^{6}-də-r-ep (3/SB-2/AG-to sew-Dy/2-N/2) 'you do not sew it' +Ø-p- də -re-ep+.

wə^{6}-yə-št (3/SB-2/AG-to coat-Fu/1) 'you will coat it' +Ø-p- yə -štə+.

w^{6}-e^{7}-yə (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to coat) 'you are coating it' +Ø-p-me- yə+.

tə ! (3/SB-2/AG-to give) 'give it (away)!' +Ø-Ø- tə+!.

wə^{6}-mə^{8}-t ! (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to give) 'do not give it!' +Ø-p-mə- tə+!.

š°ə^{6}-mə^{8}-t ! (3/SB-2p/AG-N/1-to give) '(you[p]) do not give it!' +Ø-š°-mə- tə+!.

š°-tə ! (3/SB-2p/AG-to give) '(you[p]) give it!' +Ø-š°- tə+!.

(ii) (79-80)

tə^{1}-zere^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1p/SB-REC/AG-to see-PF) 'we saw each other' +tə-zerê- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+; compare

zə^{1}-t^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (REF/SB-1p/AG-to see-PF) 'we saw ourselves'.

zer^{6}-ere^{7}-ǧ°etə-žə-x̌ ! (3/SB-REC/AG-OPT-to find-RE-PL) 'may they find each other again!' +Ø-zerê-werê- ǧ°etə- žə-x̌e+!.

zə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ-er (3/SB-PART/AG-to see-PF-ABS) 'the one who has seen him, ABS' +Ø-zə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe-er+.

sə^{1}-zə^{6}-mə^{8}-λeǧ°ə-ǧe š°əz-er (1/SB-PART/AG-N/1-to see-PF) (woman-ABS) 'the woman who did not see me, ABS' +sə-zə-mə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+ +š°əzə -er+.

zə^{1}-zə^{6}-wəǩə-žə-ǧ-er (REF/SB-PART/AG-to kill-RE-PF-ABS) 'the one who has killed himself, ABS' +zə-zə- wəǩə -žə-ǧe-er+.

(iii) (78-16)

yə^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it' +Ø-yə- ʃ̓ə -ǧe+.

s^{1}-yə^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1/SB-3/AG-to see-PF) 'he saw me' +sə-yə- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

y^{6}-e^{7}-λeǧ°ə (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to see) 'he is seeing it' +Ø-yə-me- λeǧ°ə+.

y^{6}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-to do-PF) 'they did it' +Ø-yə-a- ʃ̓ə -ǧe+.

t^{1}-a^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (1p/SB-3/AG-Pl-to see-PF) 'they saw us' +tə-yə-a- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

y^{6}-a^{6}-λeǧ°ə (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/1-to see) 'they are seeing it' +Ø-yə-a-me- λeǧ°ə+.

q^{2}-yə^{6}-x̌a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to lead-PF) 'he led it hither' +Ø-qe-yə- x̌e -ǧe+.

q^{2}-a^{6}-x̌a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Pl-to lead-PF) 'they led it hither' +Ø-qe-yə-a- x̌e -ǧe+.

f^{4}-yə^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ/fə^{4}-ryə^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-to do-PF) 'he did it for her' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə- ʃ̓ə -ǧe+.

f^{4}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ/fə^{4}-r^{6}-a^{6}-ʃ̓ə-ǧ (3/SB-3/PO-for-3/AG-Pl-to do-PF)/ (...3/AG...) 'they did it for him' +Ø-Ø-fe-yə-a- ʃ̓ə -ǧe+.

qə^{2}-s^{5}-yə^{6}-ʔ°a-ǧ/qə^{2}-sə^{5}-ryə^{6}-ʔ°a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he said it to me' +Ø-qe-se-yə- ʔ°e -ǧe+.

qə²s⁵a⁶ʔ°a-ǧ/qə²sə⁵r⁶a⁶ʔ°a-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF)/(...3/AG...) 'they said it to me'
+Ø-qe-se-yə-a- ʔ°e -ǧe+.

Compare (§ 5.5.2, [iii]) r⁵yə⁶ʔ°a-ǧ, r⁵a⁶ʔ°a-ǧ, y⁵a⁵ryə⁶ʔ°a-ǧ.

y⁵a⁵r⁶a⁶ʔ°a-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF) 'they said it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə-a- ʔ°e -ǧe+.

y⁵a⁵r⁵a⁵r⁶a⁶ǧe⁹ʔ°e-žə-š°ə-ǧe-x̂e-p-əy (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Pl-CAUS-to say-RE-Pot/2-PF-PL-N/2-CoPr) 'they were not able to make them say these things ("them") to them again, and' +Ø-yə-a-yê-a-yə-a-ǧe- ʔ°e -žə-š°ə-ǧe-x̂e-ep-əy+.

y⁵a⁵ry⁶e⁷ʔ°e (3/SB-3/io-Pl-3/AG-Dy/1-to say) 'he is telling it to them' +Ø-yê-a-yə-me- ʔ°e+.

ze⁵ryə⁶tə-ǧ (3/SB-REF/io-3/AG-to say-PF) 'he gave it to himself' +Ø-ze-yə- tə -ǧe+.

qə²s⁴fə⁴r⁵yə⁶ǧe⁹šə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/io-3/AG-CAUS-to do -PF) 'he made him do it for me' +Ø-qe-s-fe-yê-yə-ǧe- šə -ǧe+; also qə²s⁴fə⁴ryə⁵ryə⁶ǧe⁹šə-ǧ.

5.7 SLOT 7: THE OPTATIVE, SEMELFACTIVE AND DYNAMIC/1 PREFIXES

5.7.1 Inventory

(81)	werê-(ê-)	optative (OPT)	were-/ere-/re-, e-/Ø
(82)	me-	dynamic/1 (Dy/1)	me-/ma-/ê-/Ø-
(83)	ê-	semelfactive (SEM)	ê-/Ø-

Remarks:

+ (81-82): see § 4.1.2.

+ (81): the basic morph ê- is optional when yə- 3/AG precedes; it is found almost exclusively in more or less fixed expressions

+ (82): me- may be absent between yə- 3/AG and ǧe- CAUS.

+ (83): the semelfactive prefix never occurs word-initially (i.e. in Düzce Shapsug).

5.7.2 Occurrence

(i) (81) OPT

were⁷laž ! (3/SB-OPT-to work) 'may he work!'
+Ø-werê- leže+!.

t¹ere⁷laž ! (1p/SB-OPT-to work) 'may we work!'
+tə-werê- leže+!.

w⁶ere⁷šˀ ! (3/SB-2/AG-OPT-to do) 'may you do it!'
+Ø-p-werê- šˀə+!.

y⁶a⁶re⁷šˀ ! (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-OPT-to do) 'may they do it!'
+Ø-yə-a-werê- šˀə+!.

w⁴y⁴ere⁷š°əz ! (3/SB-2/PO-POS-OPT-wife) 'may she be(come) your wife!' +Ø-p-yə-werê- š°əzə+!.

q²a⁴f⁴y⁶e⁷šˀ ! (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-for-3/AG-OPT-to do) 'may he do it for them!' +Ø-qe-y-a-fe-yə-werê- šˀə+!; also q²a⁴f⁴y⁶ere⁷šˀ.

češə.het^qə.we.k̂° ! 'good night!' ["may a quiet(het) night(češə) come to you!"); cf. qə²we⁵k̂°/qə²w⁵ere⁷k̂°!
(3/SB-Hh-2/io-OPT-to go) 'may it come to you!'/(..OPT..).
+Ø-qe-we-ê- k̂°e+!/+...werê...+!.

(ii) (82) Dy/1

me⁷k̂°e-žə (3/SB-Dy/1-to go-RE) 'he is going back'
+Ø-me- k̂°e -žə+.

ma⁷k̂°e (3/SB-Dy/1-to go) 'he is going' +Ø-me- k̂°e+.

s¹e⁷səmage (1/SB-Dy/1-ill) 'I am getting ill' +sə-me- səmege+.

y^{6}e^{7}šə (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to do) 'he is doing it'
+Ø-yə-me- šə+.
y^{6}a^{6}šə (3/SB-3/AG-Pl-Dy/1-to do) 'they are doing it'
+Ø-yə-a-me- šə+.
yə^{6}ğa^{9}k°e (3/SB-3/AG-CAUS-to go) 'he is sending him away' +Ø-yə-ğe- k°e+; also y^{6}e^{7}ğa^{9}k°e (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1--CAUS-to go) +Ø-yə-me-ğe- k°e+.

(iii) (83) SEM

sə^{1}z^{3}e^{7}k°e-m (1/SB-when-SEM-to go-REL) 'when I had gone' (REL) +sə-zə-ê- k°e -m+.
sə^{1}z^{3}y^{6}e^{7}λeğ°ə-m (1/SB-when-3/AG-SEM-to see-REL) 'when he saw me' +sə-zə-yə-ê- λeğ°ə -m+.
sə^{1}z^{3}y^{6}a^{6}λeğ°ə-m (1/SB-when-3/AG-Pl-SEM-to see-REL) 'when they saw me' +sə-zə-yə-a-ê- λeğ°ə -m+.
qə^{2}ze.re^{3}s^{6}e^{7}še (3/SB-Hh-that-1/AG-SEM-to lead) 'since I got married' +Ø-qe-ze.rê-s-ê- še+.

5.8 SLOT 8: mə- NEGATIVE/1

5.8.1 Inventory

(84) mə- negative 1 (N/1) mə-

Remarks:

+ (84): See chapter 6.

5.8.2 Occurrence

wə^{1}mə^{8}p̓s̓ ! (2/SB-N/1-to lie) 'do not lie!' +wə-mə- p̓s̓ə+!.
sə^{6}mə^{8}λeğ°ə-ğe-x̂-er (PART/SB-1/AG-N/1-to see-PF-PL-ABS) 'the ones that I have not seen, ABS' +Ø-sə-mə- λeğ°ə -ğe-x̌e-er+.

5.9 SLOT 9: ğe- CAUSATIVE

5.9.1 Inventory

(85) ğe- CAUS ğe-/ğa-

Remarks:

+ (85): In double causative forms we find occasionally one instead of two causative prefixes.

5.9.2 Occurrence

wə^{1}k°e-št (2/SB-to go-Fu/1) 'you will go' +wə- k°e -štə+.
wə^{1}z^{6}ğe^{9}k°e-št (2/SB-1/AG-CAUS-to go-Fu/1) 'I will send you' +wə-s-ğe- k°e -štə+.
p̓^{6}šə-ğe (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF) 'you did it' +Ø-p- šə -ğe+.
we^{5}z^{6}ğe^{9}šə-ğ (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-CAUS-to do-PF) 'I made you do it' +Ø-we-s-ğe- šə -ğe+.
1-er ma^{7}ž°e (meat-ABS) (3/SB-Dy/1-to to get cooked[in water]) 'the meat is cooking' +lə -er+ +Ø-me- ž°e+.
se 1-er s^{6}e^{7}ğa^{9}ž°e (I) (meat-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-to cook) 'I am cooking the meat' +se+ +lə -er+ +Ø-s-me-ğe- ž°e+.
s-y.a.ne se 1-er s^{5}y^{6}e^{7}ğe^{9}ğa^{9}ž°e (1/PS-mother-REL) () () (3/SB-1/io-3/AG-Dy/1-CAUS-CAUS-to cook) 'my mother makes me cook the meat' +s-y.a.ne -Ø+ ++ ++ +Ø-se-yə-me-ğe-ğe- ž°e+; also s^{5}yə^{6}ğe^{9}ğa^{9}ž°e, s^{5}y^{6}e^{7}ğa^{9}ž°e, s^{5}yə^{6}ğa^{9}ž°e.
tə^{1}ğa-k̓° ! (1p/SB-2/AG-CAUS-to go) 'let's go (you [sg.] and I)!' +tə-Ø-ğe- k̓°e+!.
tə^{1}ž°^{6}ğa^{9}k̓° ! (1p/SB-2p/AG-CAUS-to go) 'let's go (you[p] and I)!' +tə-ŝ°-ğe- k̓°e+!.

5.10 POSSESSIVE PREFIXES

5.10.1 Inventory

In non-S-forms, the following prefixes are involved in the marking of possession:

(86)	s-	1/PS	s-/z-/ṡ-/sə-
(87)	t-	1p/PS	t-/d-/ṫ-/tə-
(88)	p-	2/PS	p-/b-/ṗ-/wə-/w-
(89)	ṣ°-	2p/PS	ṣ°-/ẓ°-/ṩ°-/ṣ°ə-
(90)	Ø-	3/PS	Ø-
(91)	a-	Pl	a-
(92)	ze-	REC/PS	ze-
(93)	yə-	POS	yə-/y-

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

(94)	-e(-ḥe)	illative (ILL)	-e/-a/-Ø, -ḥe/-ḥa/-ḥ
(95)	-ə(-ə̀kə)	elative (ELA)	-ə/-Ø, -ə̀kə/-ə̀k
(96)	-əḥe(-eḥe)	introvert (InV)	-əḥe/-əḥa/-əḥ, -aḥe/-eḥe/-eḥa.
(97)	-ə̀kə	extrovert (ExV)	-ə̀kə/-ə̀k
(98)	-eḥə	intensive (INTE)	-eḥe/-eḥ

(99)	-e̊kə	not forward (NoFW)	-e̊kə/-e̊k
(100)	-ye	upwards (UPW)	-ye/-ya-/y-
(101)	-ex̌ə(-x̌ə)	downwards (DOWN)	-ex̌ə/-ex̌, -x̌ə/-x̌
(102)	-l̊e(,əl̊e)	towards (close) (ToCL)	-l̊e/-l̊a/-l̊, -əl̊e/-əl̊a/-əl̊
(103)	-ž̊e	towards (quickly) (ToQU)	-ž̊e/-ž̊a/-ž̊-
(104)	-sə	till (TILL)	-sə/-s

Remarks:

\+ see chapter 9, passim.

5.11.2 Occurrence

e.g. y^{4}e^{7}bəb-e (3/SB-3/PO-in-Dy/1-to fly-ILL) 'it is flying into it' +Ø-Ø-yə-me- bəbə -e+.

yə^{4}bəb-a-ğ (3/SB-3/PO-in-to fly-ILL-PF) 'it flew into it' +Ø-Ø-yə- bəbə -e-ğe+.

yə^{4}bəb-əy (3/SB-3/PO-in-to fly-ILL-CoPr) 'it flew into it and' +Ø-Ø-yə- bəbə -e-əy+.

bzəw-er wəne-m y^{4}e^{7}bəb-eḥə (bird-ABS) (house-REL) (3/SB--3/PO-in-Dy/1-to fly-INTE) 'the bird is flying (everywhere) in the house' +bzəw -er+ +wəne -m+ +Ø-Ø-yə-me-bəbə bzəwə-m šaw-er q^{2}yə^{6}bəb-eḥə-ğ (bird-REL) (yard-ABS) -eḥə+. (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to fly-INTE-PF) 'the bird flew all over the yard' +bzəwə -m+ +šawə -er+ +Ø-qe-yə- bəbə -eḥə-ğe+.

ze^{5}bəb-e̊kə-x̌e-r-ep (3/SB-REF/io-to fly-NoFW-PL-Dy/2-N/2) 'they do not fly backwards' +Ø-ze- bəbə -e̊kə-x̌e-re-ep+.

bzəw-er čəğə-m de^{4}bəbə-ye-št (bird-ABS) (tree-REL) (3/SB--3/PO-de-to fly-UPW-Fu/1) 'the bird will fly (upwards) in to the tree' ++ ++ +Ø-Ø-de- bəbə -ye-štə+.

qə^{2}se^{5}bəbə-l̊a-ğ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-to fly-ToCL-PF) 'it flew up

(and came) very close to me' +Ø-qe-se- bəbə -ɬ̓e-ǧe+.

For more examples of the occurrence of directional prefixes, see chapter 9.

5.12 SLOT B: SPECIFYING SUFFIXES

5.12.1 Inventory

(105)	-žə(-yə)	'as previously, again'	(RE)	-žə/-ž, -yə
(106)	-ŝ°ə	potential/2	(Pot/2)	-ŝ°ə/-ŝ°
(107)	-še	excessive/1		-še/-ša/-š
(108)	-ʔ°e	excessive/2		-ʔ°e/-ʔ°a/-ʔ°
(109)	-pe	affirmative		-pe/-pa/-p
(110)	-x̂e	exhaustive	(EXH)	-x̂e/-x̂a/-x̂
(111)	-č̓e	recentive		-č̓e/-č̓a/-č̓
(112)	-g°e	temporary	(TEMP)	-g°e/-g°
(113)	-g°ê.re	'certain'		-g°e.re/-g°e.ra-/-g°e.r
(114)	-dêde(-dəde)	'very, just'		-dede/-deda/-ded, -dəde/-dəda

Remarks:

+ (105): basic morph -yə is optional before -štə Fu/1 and -štə.ǧe IRR/1; the use of -žə 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.

-žə sə-^{1}ɬ̓°e-žə-št/sə-^{1}ɬ̓°e-yə-št (1/SB-to go-RE-Fu/1) 'I will go back' +sə- ɬ̓°e -žə-štə+/+..-yə..+.

s^{1}yə-^{6}s̓e-žə-ǧ-ep (1/SB-3/AG-to know-RE-PF-N/2) 'he did not recognise me' +sə-yə- s̓e -žə-ǧe-ep+.

qe-^{2}ʒ°^{6}ǧ°etə-yə-št (3/SB-Hh-2p/AG-to find-RE-Fu/1) 'you(p) will find her again' +Ø-qe-ŝ°- ǧ°etə -yə-štə+.

qə-^{2}s-^{5}yə^{6}ʔ°e-ž-əy (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-RE-CoPr) 'he answered it to me and' +Ø-qe-se-yə- ʔ°e -žə-əy+.

-ŝ°ə y-^{6}e-^{7}s̓ə-ŝ°ə (3/SB-3/AG-Dy/1-to do-Pot/2) 'he is able to do it' +Ø-yə-me- s̓ə -ŝ°ə+.

ɬ-^{6}s̓ə-žə-ŝ°ə-ǧ-ep (3/SB-1p/AG-to do-RE-Pot/2-PF-N/2) 'we could not repair it' +Ø-t- s̓ə -žə-ŝ°ə-ǧe-ep+.

-še pŝaŝ-er me-^{7}g°ə.še?a-še (girl-ABS) (3/SB-Dy/1-to speak-excessive/1) 'this girl talks (too) much' +pŝeše -er+ +Ø-me- g°ə.še?e -še+.

-pe se s̓-^{6}s̓a-pe-r-ep (I) (3/SB-1/AG-to know-affirmative-Dy/2--N/2) 'I really do not know' +se+ +Ø-s- s̓e -pe-re-ep+.

sə-^{1}ɬ̓°e-pa-ǧ (1/SB-to go-affirmative-PF) 'I did go away' +sə- ɬ̓°e -pe-ǧe+.

-x̂e ḥač̓-er šx̂a-x̂e-me pče-m y-^{5}e-^{7}pλə (guest-ABS) (3/SB-to eat--EXH-COND) (door-REL) (3/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to look)'when a guest finishes his meal, he looks at the door' +ḥeč̓e -m+ +Ø- šx̂e -x̂e-me+ +pče -m+ +Ø-yê-me- pλə+.

wə-^{6}mə-^{8}s̓a-x̂-ew qə-^{2}we-^{5}we-št (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to know-EXH-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-2/io-to hit/shoot-Fu/1) 'just when you are not

aware of it, he will hit you' +Ø-p-mə- šʲe -x̌e-ew+ +Ø-qe-we- we -štə+.

-čʲe čʲal-er me^{7}-ǩ°e-š°ə-čʲe (child-ABS) (3/SB-Dy/1-to go-Pot/2--recentive) 'the child is recently capable of walking' +čʲele -er+ +Ø-me- ǩ°e -š°ə-čʲe+.

qə^{2}-z^{3}-e^{7}-x̌°ə-čʲe-m (3/SB-Hh-when-SEM-to become/to be born-recentive-REL) 'immediately after its birth (..)'. +Ø-qe-zə-e- x̌°ə -čʲe-m+.

5.13 SLOT C: ATTITUDINAL SUFFIXES

5.13.1 Inventory

(115)	-px̌e	"must"	-px̌e/-px̌a/-px̌
(116)	-re.ǧ°e	"wish" (VOL)	-re.ǧ°e/-re.ǧ°a/-re.ǧ°/ -ra.ǧ°e/-ra.ǧ°
(117)	-(ǧ°e.)ǧ°e.šʲ°ə	"easy"	-ǧ°e.šʲ°ə/-ǧ°e.šʲ°, -ǧ°e.ǧ°e.šʲ°ə/-ǧ°e.ǧ°e.šʲ°
(118)	-(ǧ°e.)ǧ°e.ye	"difficult"	-ǧ°e.ye/-ǧ°e.ya-/-ǧ°e.y/ -ǧ°a.ye/-ǧ°a.y, -ǧ°e.ǧ°e.ye/-ǧ°e.ǧ°e.ya, etc.

Remarks:

\+ (117-118): the "long" basic morphs are found in all environments; they are, however, considerably less frequent than the short ones. (Cf. šʲ°ə 'good', -ye 'bad' and -ǧ°e 'time'.)

\+ Forms that contain an attitudinal suffix never contain a dynamic affix.

\+ (116) does not change the valence of the base; forms containing (115) that are derived from a transitive base are usually intransitive. Forms containing (117) or (118) are not normally transitive (they are reminiscent of English adjectives with

final -able.

5.13.2 Occurrence

(115) wə-^{1}λeǧ°ə-px̌ (2/SB-to see-must) 'you must be seen' ("you are seeing-material", cf. px̌e 'wood, material') +wə- λeǧ°ə -px̌e+.

wə-^{1}t-^{6}λeǧ°ə-px̌a-ǧ (2/SB-1p/AG-to see-must-PF) 'we had to see you' ("you were our seeing-material") +wə-t- λeǧ°ə -px̌e-ǧe+.

sə-^{1}ǩ°a-px̌-ep (1/SB-to go-must,N/2) 'I do not have to go' +sə- ǩ°e -px̌e-ep+.

ʔadəĝa-bz-er tx̌ə-px̌ (Circassian-language-ABS) (3/SB-to write-must) 'Circassian must be written' +ʔadəĝe-bze -er+ +Ø- tx̌ə -px̌e+.

šʲ-^{6}šʲə-px̌e-me šʲ-^{6}šʲə-šx̌t (3/SB-1/AG-to do-must-COND) (3/SB-1/AG--to do-Fu/1) 'if I have to do it, I will do it' +Ø-s- šʲə -px̌e-me+ +Ø-s- šʲə -štə+.

[ǩ°e is intransitive, the other verbs contained in the above examples are all transitive.]

(116) wə-^{1}s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ra.ǧ°-ep (2/SB-1/AG-to see-wish-N/2) 'I do not want to see you' +wə-s- λeǧ°ə -re.ǧ°e-ep+.

sə-^{1}ǩ°e-žə-re.ǧ°a-ǧ (1/SB-to go-RE-wish-PF) 'I wanted to go back' +sə- ǩ°e -žə-re.ǧ°e-ǧe+.

dex̌e-ra.ǧ°e-x̌ (3/SB-beautiful-wish-PL) 'they want to be(come) beautiful' +Ø- dex̌e -re.ǧ°e-x̌e+.

sə-^{1}qe-^{2}ǩ°e-žə-me wəne šʲ-^{6}šʲə-re.ǧ°e-šx̌t (1/SB-Hh-to go-RE--COND) (house-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-to make-wish-Fu/1) 'if I return, I shall want to make a house'

zə-^{6}še.fə-re.ǧ°a-ǧ-er (3/SB-PART/AG-to buy-wish-PF-ABS) 'the one who wanted to buy it' +Ø-zə- še.fə -re.ǧ°e-ǧe-er+.

(117-118):

k°-er fə-ǧ°a.y (car-ABS) (3/SB-to drive-difficult) 'the car is hard to drive' +k°ə -er+ +Ø-fə -ǧ°e.ye+ (fə is a transitive verb).

čal-er ḳ°e-ǧ°a.y (boy-ABS) (3/SB-to walk-difficult) 'the boy walks with difficulty' +čeḷe -er+ +Ø- ḳ°e -ǧ°e.ye+.

mə-r s^{4}šə-^{4}ǧ°əpšə-ǧ°e.s̱° (this-ABS) (3/SB-1/PO-"there"-to forget-easy) 'I easily forget this / I am inclined to forget this) +mə -r+ +Ø-s-šə- ǧ°əpšə -ǧ°e.s̱°e+ (NB: "4 forgets 1").

pxe.ṭeḳ°ə-m te^{4}sə-ǧ°a.y (chair-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-on-to sit--difficult) 'it is difficult to sit on the chair / ... is difficult to sit on' +pxe.ṭeḳ°ə -m+ +Ø-Ø-te-sə -ǧ°e.ye+.

wəne-m yə-^{4}ḥ.e-ǧ°e.s̱°a-ǧ (house-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to enter--easy-PF) 'it was easy to enter the house' +wəne -m+ +Ø-Ø-yə- ḥ.e -ǧ°e.s̱°e-ǧe+.

5.14 SLOT D: TENSE AND MOOD SUFFIXES

5.14.1 Inventory

(119)	-štə	future/1	(Fu/1)	-štə/-št
(120)	-nə	future/2	(Fu/2)	-nə/-n
(121)	-ǧe	perfect	(PF)	-ǧe/-ǧa/-ǧ
	-ǧe-ǧe	pluperfect	(PLUPF)	-ǧe-ǧe/-ǧe-ǧa/ ǧe-ǧ/-ǧa-ǧe/-ǧa-ǧ.
(122)	-štə.ǧe	irrealis/1	(IRR/1)	-štə.ǧe/-štə.ǧa/-štə.ǧ
(123)	-nə.ǧe	irrealis/2	(IRR/2)	-nə.ǧe/-nə.ǧa/-nə.ǧ
(124)	-nə.ye	irrealis/3	(IRR/3)	-nə.ye/-nə.ya/-nə.y
[(125)	-e.š.tə.ǧe	imperfect	(IMPF)	-e.š.tə.ǧe/-e.š.tə.ǧa/ -e.š.tə.ǧ]

Remarks:

\+ For the deletion of final vowels in phrase-final position, see § 4.4.5.

\+ (121): this suffix also combines with (122) to (125); e.g. -štə.ǧe-ǧe remote IRR/3.

\+ (125): the IMPF marker is sometimes a suffix (-e.š.tə.ǧe), and sometimes a clitic (ˆš.tə.ǧe). IMPF forms are developing from periphrastic constructions. In DüSHP we find, side by side, periphrastic and one-word IMPF expressions; cf.

sə-^{1}ḳ°-e.š.tə.ǧ (1/SB-to go-IMPF) 'I was going'
+sə- ḳ°e -e.š.tə.ǧ+.

sə-^{1}ḳ°-e(w)ˆš.tə.ǧ (1/SB-to go-MODˆIMPF) 'I was going'
+sə- ḳ°e -e(w)ˆš.tə.ǧe+.

sə-^{1}ḳ°-ew šə-^{4}tə-ǧ (1/SB-to go-MOD) (3/SB-there-to be (standing)-PF) 'I was going' ("I going / it was the case").

The following two remote IMPF forms are absolutely equivalent:

sə-^{1}ḳ°a-ǧ-e.š.tə.ǧ (1/SB-to go-PF-IMPF) 'I had been going'
+sə- ḳ°e -ǧe-e.š.tə.ǧe+.

sə-^{1}ḳ°-e.š.tə.ǧa-ǧ (1/SB-to go-IMPF-PF) +sə-ḳ°e -e.š.tə.ǧe-ǧe+.

5.14.2 Occurrence

qe-^{2}ḳ°a-ǧe-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL) 'they have come'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e -ǧe-x̌e+.

qe-^{2}ḳ°e-ǧa-ǧe-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PLUPF-PL) 'they had come'
+Ø-qe- ḳ°e -ǧe-ǧe-x̌e+.

sə-^{1}qe-^{2}ḳ°a-ǧ (1/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'I have come'
+sə-qe- ḳ°e -ǧe+.

Compare the following two forms:

s̱-^{6}s̱ə-štə.ǧ (3/SB-1/AG-to do-IRR/1) 'I would do it'

+Ø-s- šə -štə.ǧe+.

s-šə-e.š.tə.ǧ (3/SB-1/AG-to do-IMPF) 'I was doing it'
+Ø-s- šə -e.š.tə.ǧe+.

5.15 ENDINGS

5.15.1 Introduction

As already stated, endings are -x̌e PL and all suffixes that can follow -x̌e. Most endings invariably follow -x̌e; there are three that can also be found before it. The e/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)	-x̌e	plural (PL)	-x̌e/-x̌
(127)	-re	dynamic/2 (Dy/2)	-re/-r

Remarks:

+ (126): -x̌e 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): -re is one of the endings that can be found before -x̌e (cf. § 3.7.5).

(ii) Occurrence

s-λeǧ°ə-ǧ (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw it' +Ø-s- λeǧ°ə -ǧe+.

s-λeǧ°ə-ǧe-x̌ (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-PL) 'I saw them'
+Ø-s- λeǧ°ə -ǧe-x̌e+.

čale-x̌ (3/SB-child-PL) 'they are children' +Ø- čele -x̌e+.

čal-er (child-ABS) 'the child' +čele -er+.

čale-x̌-er (child-PL-ABS) 'the children' +čele -x̌e-er+.

čale-x̌-er s-λeǧ°ə-ǧ(e-x̌) () () 'I saw the children'.

sə-laže-r-ep (1/SB-to work-Dy/2-N/2) 'I do not work'
+sə- leže -re-ep+.

sə-zə-laže-re waxt-er (1/SB-when-to work-Dy/2) (time-ABS)
'the time when I am working' +sə-zə- leže -re+ +wexte -er+.

zə-λeǧ°ə-re-x̌-er (3/SB-PART/AG-to see-Dy/2-PL-ABS) 'the one who is seeing them' +Ø-zə- λeǧ°ə -re-x̌e-er+; cf.

zə-λeǧ°ə-x̌e-r-er (3/SB-PART/AG-to see-PL-Dy/2-ABS) 'those who are seeing it' +Ø-zə- λeǧ°ə -x̌e-re-er+.

5.15.3 Endings Occurring in Main Predicates

(i) Inventory

Apart from -x̌e and -re, we can also find the following endings in main predicates:

(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.

(ii) Occurrence

-ep: see chapter 6, passim

-a: see chapter 6, section 4.3.b.

-b.a: see chapter 6, section 4.3.e.

5.15.4 Coordinating Endings

(i) Inventory

(131)	-əyḵ(-əy?)	emphatic (EMPH)	-əyḵ, -əy?
(132)	-re	coordinating ending of NPs (CoNP)	-re/-əre
(133)	-əy	coordinating ending of predicates (CoPr)	-əy

Remarks:

+ (131): -əyḵ and -əy? are in free variation; this ending, too, coordinates NPs

+ (132): for -əre see § 4.9.1.

(ii) Occurrence

maf-əyḵ češ-əyḵ tə-^{1}leža-ǧ (day-EMPH) (night-EMPH) (1p/SB--to work-PF) 'we worked day and night' +mefe -əyḵ+ +češə -əyḵ+ +tə- leže -ǧe+.

mə š°əzə-m-əre mə λ̓ə-m-əre y-a-č̓ale-x̌-er s^{6}e^{7}š̓e-x̌ (this) (woman-REL-CoNP) (this) (man-REL-CoNP) (3/PS-POS--Pl-child-PL-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-Dy/1-to know-PL) 'I know the children of this man and this woman' +mə+ +š°əzə -m-re+ +mə+ +λ̓ə -m-re+ +Ø-yə-a- č̓ele -x̌e-er+ +Ø-s-me- š̓e -x̌e+.

še.žəye-ge-re caca-ge-re (knife-INS-CoNP) (fork-INS-CoNP) 'with knife and fork' +še.žəye -ge-re+ +cece -ge-re+.

qe^{2}t^{6}še.fə-n-əy tə-^{1}qe^{2}ḵ°e-žə-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' +Ø-qe-t- še.fə -nə-əy+ +tə-qe- ḵ°e -žə-nə+.

5.15.5 Subordinating Endings

(i) Inventory

(134)	-er(-Ø)	absolutive	(ABS)	-er/-r, -Ø
(135)	-m(-Ø, -šə/-y)	relative	(REL)	-m, -Ø, -šə/-š// -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 -ye.me	irrealis conditional/b		-ye.me
	-ye.te.me	irrealis conditional/c		-ye.te.me
	[-me-əyḵ/-əy? (138+131) 'even if'			-m-əyḵ/-m-əy?]
(141)	-fe	until		-fe
(142)	-ye	though		-ye

Remarks:

+ (138-142): 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.sə, and -ye the enclitic (š)heḵe.

+ (134-135): cf. Introduction, section 6.

(ii) Occurrence

q^{2}a^{6}wəḵə-ǧe-ge s^{1}y^{5}e^{7}ne.g°ə.ye (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Pl-to kill-PF--INS) (1/SB-3/io-Dy/1-to presume) 'I presume that they killed him' +Ø-qe-yə-a- wəḵə -ǧe-ge+ +sə-yê-me- ne.g°ə.ye+.

qalemə-m-ge (pencil-REL-INS) 'with the pencil' +qalemə -m-ge+.

se mə-r sə^{6}mə^{8}wəx̌ə-ğ-ew Utrechtə-m sə^{1}qe^{2}k̓°a-ğ
(I) (this-ABS) (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-to finish-PF-MOD) (U-REL)
(1/SB-Hh-to go-PF) 'without having finished this, I have
come to Utrecht' +se+ +mə -r+ +Ø-s-mə- wəx̌ə -ğe-ew+
+Utrechtə -m+ +sə-qe- k̓°e -ğe+.

š°-ew p̓^{6}šə-ğe (good-MOD) (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF) 'you did it
well' +š°ə -ew+ +Ø-p- šə -ğe+.

qe^{2}mə^{8}k̓°e-x̌ə-x̌e-me (3/SB-Hh-N/1-to go-RE-PL-COND) 'if they do
do not come back' +Ø-qe-mə- k̓°e -x̌ə-x̌e-me+.

ye^{1}mə^{8}k̓°e-te.me (3/SB-N/1-to go-IRR.COND/a) 'if he would
not go' +ye-mə- k̓°e -te.me+.

w^{1}ye^{5}λe.ʔ°ə-m-əyk̓ qə^{2}w^{5}yə^{6}tə-št-ep (2/SB-3/io-to beg-COND-
-EMPH) (3/SB-Hh-2/io-3/AG-to give-Fu/1-N/2) 'even if
you beg him, he will not give it to you'
+wə-yê- λe.ʔ°ə -me-əyk̓+ +Ø-qe-we-yə- tə -štə-ep+.

sə-^{1}λ̓e-feˆne.sə sə^{1}leže-št (1/SB-to die-untilˆuntil) (1/SB-
-to work-Fu/1) 'I will work till I die' +sə- λ̓e -feˆ
ˆne.sə+ +sə- leže -štə+.

ye^{1}pŝə-x̌e-feˆne.sə (3/SB-to get tired-PL-until-until)
'until they get tired'.

we mə-r p̓^{6}ʔ°e-yeˆŝn̓aǩe sə^{1}we^{5}de.ʔ°ə-št-ep (you) (this-ABS)
(3/SB-2/AG-to say-thoughˆbut) (1/SB-2/io-to listen-Fu/1-
-N/2) 'although you say this, I will not listen to you' ++
+mə -r+ +Ø-p- ʔ°e -yeˆŝn̓aǩe+ +sə-we- de.ʔ°ə -štə-ep+.

* In the present chapter I am primarily interested in formal aspects of the stem-prefixes, stem-affixes and endings that are listed. As the suffixes (especially the endings) have less allomorphic variation than the prefixes, I shall give relatively restricted numbers of examples illustrating their occurrence.

For the sake of convenience I number the affixes and endings. Some elements are listed more than once, for instance alone and in a combination. The list does not claim to be exhaustive. A number of fixed combinations have been left out, especially combinations involving endings.

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 Keraševa'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.[1] 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) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I have gone'.[4)]

(2) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ-ep (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone'.

(3) qe-^{2}ǩ°a-ǧe-x̌ (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL) 'they have come'.[5)]

(4) qe-^{2}ǩ°a-ǧe-x̌-ep (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-PL-N/2) 'they have not come'.

(5) wə-^{1}ƛ̀ (2/SB-man) 'you are a man'.

(6) wə-^{1}ƛ̀-ep (2/SB-man-N/2) 'you are not a man'.

(7) qə-^{2}s-^{4}f-^{4}yə-^{6}šə-yə-št (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-for-3/AG-to do-RE-Fu/1) 'he will repair it ("make it again") for me'.

(8) qə-^{2}s-^{4}f-^{4}yə-^{6}šə-yə-št-ep (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 "NeINT" 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. +ə-e+ → +e+; +e-ê+ → +e+; +a-e+ → +a+). There is one major exception: +e-ə+ gives +ə+. 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´) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ-ep +sə- ǩ°e -ǧe-ep+.[8)]

(4´) qe-^{2}ǩ°a-ǧe-x̌-ep +Ø-qe- ǩ°e -ǧe-x̌e-ep+.

(6´) wə-^{1}ƛ̀-ep +wə- ƛ̀ə -ep+.

(8´) qə-^{2}s-^{4}f-^{4}yə-^{6}šə-yə-št-ep +Ø-qe-s-fe-yə- šə -yə-štə-ep+.

The allomorph /p/ is found after /ha/ (underlying word-final +he-eC+ as a rule changes to +ha-eC+).[9)]

e.g. (9) ha-p (3/SB-dog-N/2) 'it is not a dog' +Ø- he -ep+ → +Ø- ha -ep+ → +Ø- ha -p+; also h-ep (< +Ø- he -ep+).

(c) Non-word-final use of the N/2 ending is found in co(ordinated)-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 wəne-m yə^{4}sə-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) sə^{1}k̂°a-ǧ-ep-əy .. (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 mə-. 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 beginning of the word. The last slot can only be filled by the CAUS(ative) prefix ǧe-, the preceding only by mə- N/1. In other words: the prefix mə- either directly precedes the base (the central part of the word), or is separated from it by ǧe- CAUS. The remaining prefixes, including all actant prefixes, precede mə-.

I first present a number of pairs of corresponding positive and negative (Shapsug) forms; section (b) will briefly deal with the realisation of (unstressed) mə-.

(12) ŝ°ə^{1}k̂° ! (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go!'

(13) ŝ°ə^{1}mə^{8}k̂° ! (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go!'

(14) w^{1}ere^{7}k̂° ! (2/SB-OPT-to go) 'may you go!'

(15) w^{1}ere^{7}mə^{8}k̂° ! (2/SB-OPT-N/1-to go) 'may you not go!'

(16) wə^{1}k̂°e-me ŝ°ə, wə^{1}mə^{8}k̂°e-me neḥə^{4}ŝ° (2/SB-to go-COND) (3/SB-good) (2/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 /mə/ calls for no special remarks. If the stress does not fall on it, /mə/ is generally realised with an ultrashort vowel. Often only a long [m:] is heard, either syllabic or not:

(17) wə^{1}mə^{8}k̂° ! (2/SB-N/1-to go) 'do not go!' [wumŭk'°].

(18) wə^{1}mə^{8}k̂°e-ž ! (2/SB-N/1-to go-RE) 'do not go back!' [wum^{υ}k'°œ̆ž] / [wumυ..] / [wu:m:..] / [wum̩:..].

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: /q̇əm/ (the prevailing form), /?əm/ and also /?em/ and /q̇em/ (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.[10)] In "literary" Kabardian (LiKAB) /q̇əm/ is the norm. The difference between WEST -ep and EAST -q̇əm 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) ye^{5}ǯ-a-q̇əm (3/SB-3/io-to read-PF-N/2) 'he has not read it' (Kumaxov 1971:245).

(20) sə^{1}k̂°e-r-q̇əm (1/SB-to go-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not going' (Kumaxov 1971:246).

(21) lež-a-x̂e-q̇əm (3/SB-to work-PF-PL-N/2) 'they have not worked' (Turčaninov-Cagov 1940:109).[11)]

(22) s(ə)^{1}x̌°ə-n.g°e-q̇əm (1/SB-to become-Fu/1-N/2) 'I shall not become (so and so)' (Nogma II:97 [1843] s(ə)x̌ungoq̇am).

The corresponding forms in WEST (Shapsug) are: (19´) ye^{5}ga-ğ-ep, (20´) sə^{1}k°e-r-ep, (21´) re^{1}/ye^{1}leža-ğe--x̌-ep, (22´) sə^{1}x°ə-št-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. x̌°eyteq̇əməy in the following sentence:

(23) q̇ə^{2}g°e^{4}č-a ne.wəž.če y-a-dəynə-m x̌°e^{4}y-te-q̇əm-əy wərəs-x̌e-m-əy x̌^{4}a^{6}ğe·zə.ḥ-a-q̇əm (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-side-to·leave-PF) (after) (3/PS-POS-Pl-religion-REL) (3/SB-3/PO--for-to want-IMPF-N/2-CoPr) (Russian-PL-REL-EMPH) (3/SB--in-3p/AG-CAUS·to press.INTE-PF-N/2) '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 udivlenija) come close to negative co-predicates: (24) ye^{5}x̌-3-a-q̇əm-əy (3/SB-3/io-to read-PF-N/2-CoPr) '(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 mə-. A few examples will suffice (most material is to be found in Nogma [KAB], Alparslan-Dumēzil 1963 [AnBSN] and Kumaxov 1971 [LiKAB]; in the LiKAB grammars [Turčaninov-Cagov 1940; Jakovlev 1948; GKčLJ 1957] little is offered on negation).

(25) wə^{1}mə^{8}x°! (2/SB-N/1-to become) 'do not become!'

(26) rey^{7}mə^{8}x°ə-x̌e ! (3/SB-OPT-N/1-to become-PL) 'may they not become!'

(27) sə^{1}mə^{8}x°ə-me .. (1/SB-N/1-to become-COND) 'if I do not become ..'.

(28) de^{4}mə^{8}ʔe.pə.q̇°-a-r (PART/SB-3/PO-with-N/1-to help-PF--ABS) 'the one who has not helped him, ABS'.

These 5 examples have been taken from Nogma (II:95-98; 1843; his notation: umuxu, rejmuxux̌e, s(ə)m(ə)x̌ume, dam(ə)ápuq̇ar). The corresponding forms in WEST (Shapsug) are: (25´) wə^{1}mə^{8}x°, (26´) were^{7}mə^{8}x°ə-x̌, (27´) sə^{1}mə^{8}x°ə-me, (28´) de^{4}mə^{8}ʔe.pə.ʔa-ğ-er / də.ʔe^{4}mə^{8}ʔe.pə-ʔa-ğ-er.

6.1.5 Lexical Negation - EAST and WEST

(a) In addition to the (grammatical) negation introduced above, we also find lexical negation. I use the term lexical negation when referring to complex bases containing a negativising element (always mə-, always in a fixed combination). Two examples: mə.ğ°e 'unhappy' ("un.time"), mə.x°ə.mə.bzə 'hermaphrodite' ("un.male.un.female").

A single form may very well exhibit both lexical and grammatical negation:

(29) sə^{1}mə.ğ°-ep (1/SB-unhappy-N/2) 'I am not unhappy'.

(30) w^{1}ere^{7}mə^{8}mə.ğ° ! (2/SB-OPT-N/1-unhappy) 'may you not be unhappy!'.

I also regard as lexical negation such negative passive adjectives as (Shapsug): mə.də 'unsewn' and mə.bzə 'uncut' (cf. də tr. 'to sew' and bzə tr. 'to cut'). Cf.

(31) ʔa ḥe.lə.ğ°e-mə.bz-er qə^{2}se^{5}t ! (that) (bread-uncut--ABS) (3/SB-Hh-1/io-2/AG-to give) 'give me that uncut

bread!'.

(32) mə ḥe.lə.ǧ°-er mə.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 zə 'one'. Cf. (WEST/Shapsug):

(33) z-əyḳ s^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ-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) zə-m-əyḳ q^{2}-ye^{5}-wə^{6}-mə^{8}ʔ° ! (one-REL-EMPH) (3/SB-Hh-3/io--2/AG-N/1-to say) 'do not tell it to anybody! ("..to even one")!'.

(35) zə čal-əyḳ s^{4}-yə^{4}ʔ-ep (one) (child-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB--1/PO-POS-to be-N/2) 'I do not have any child'.

(36) se ʔa-r nəbž-əyḳ s^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ-ep (I) (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 -q̇am or -q̇em 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 mə-; in personal forms of the verb this prefix is replaced by postpositive qäm, while at the same time the pronominal root r is inserted; so, mə-šen 'not to know', sse s-še-r-qäm '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(ə)- ..".

Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:357-EAST/AnBSN) first observe that -q̇əm 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, 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 infixé.

2° Il en est de même à l'impératif et aux optatifs-subjonctifs, en sorte que l'indice suffixé est partout réservé aux (tch.) [Circassian] ou à une partie des (abkh., oub.) [Abkhaz, Oubykh] 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 Imperatif; sonst wird die Negation

durch -ep ausgedrückt.";

and (Hewitt 1981:212):

"Adyghe [i.e. WEST/RS] suffixes -(r)ăp to the positive of its finite verbal forms, whilst m(ə)- is placed before the root of nonfinite (including imperative) forms."

and (Provasi 1982:174):

"m- is the negative marker in dependent predicates, corresponding to -ʔm (literary Kabardian -q̇m) as a last-position suffix in independent predicates..".

The above quotations show how the decriptions 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-Ašxamav'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 mə- are not included in this mood. Negative imperatives, for instance, are said to be a sub-mood of the imperatives. Jakovlev-Ašxamav remark (p.276) that mə-

"is used in all moods, except for the affirmative and the negative, and also with deverbal nouns and many subordinate (pridatočnye) forms..".

By "affirmative" forms they mean what others call positive indicatives. The observation that mə- 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 Kumaxov proposes that (p.245; WEST and EAST):

"The suffixal way of expressing negation is used in the indicative, the subjunctive and also in the conjectural 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 GKčLJ (Grammatika Kabardino-čerkesskogo 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." (GKčLJ: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 formed by means of the suffix -ġəm ..". (ib.:100).
- "The negative form of nonfinite verbs is derived by means of the prefix mə-." (ib.:100).
- "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 (mə-): wə-mə-ǩ° 'do not go!'." (Keraševa 1960a:300; Rogava-Keraševa 1966:175).[13]

(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 GKčLJ (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 -əy CoPr ("and")

or -t.əy CoCa ("and therefore"). An example (WEST/Shapsug):

(37) sə-^{1}ɻ°e-n-əy sə-^{1}qe-^{2}ɻ°e-žə-št (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-CoPr) (1/SB-Hh-to go-RE-Fu/1) 'I will go (away) and I will come back'.[15]

- Sub-predicates are also marked by special endings; -ge INS, -ew 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) sə-^{1}ɻ°e-me wə-^{1}s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-š°ə-št (1/SB-to go-COND) (2/SB-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 WEAST, negation is always and exclusively marked by means of the prefix mə- 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.rê- '[the fact] that, [the way] how' in slot 3), (also c) temporals (containing in slot 3 the prefix zə- '[the moment/period] that') and (d) masdars (verbal nouns, marked as such by the suffix -nə MSD). The examples have been taken from Shapsug, but hold for the whole of Circassian.

(b) Participles:

(39) sə-^{1}ze-^{5}wa-ɣ-er (1/SB-PART/io-to beat-PF-ABS) 'the one that I have beaten, ABS'.

(40) sə-^{1}ze-^{5}mə-^{8}wa-ɣ-er (1/SB-PART/io-N/1-to beat-PF-ABS) 'the one that I have not beaten, ABS'.

(41) zə-^{4}de-^{4}s$^{\circ}$-^{6}šə-ɣ-er (3/SB-PART/PO-with-1/AG-to do-PF-ABS) 'the one who I have done it together with, ABS'.

(42) zə-^{4}de-^{4}sə-^{6}mə-^{8}šə-ɣ-er (3/SB-PART/PO-with-1/AG-N/1-to do--PF-ABS) 'the one who I have not done it together with, ABS'.

(c) Factuals and Temporals:

(43) wə-^{1}qə-^{2}ze.re-^{3}k$^{\circ}$e-št-er (2/SB-Hh-that-to go-Fu/1-ABS) '(the fact) that you will come here, ABS'.

(44) wə-^{1}qə-^{2}ze.re-^{3}mə-^{8}k$^{\circ}$e-št-er (2/SB-Hh-that-N/1-to go-Fu/1--ABS) 'that you will not come here, ABS'.

(45) sə-^{1}z-^{3}e-^{7}daxe-m (1/SB-when-SEM-beautiful-REL) 'when I was beautiful ("at the time when I..")'.

(46) sə-^{1}zə-^{3}mə-^{8}dexe-žə-re-m (1/SB-when-N/1-beautiful-RE-Dy/2--REL) 'when I am no longer beautiful'.

(47) mə sə-^{1}zə-^{3}mə-^{8}laže-re maf-er b-ew k$^{\circ}$eḥə (this) (1/SB--when-N/1-to work-Dy/1) (day-ABS) (much-MOD) (3/SB-long) 'this day, on which I am not working, is very long'.

(d) Masdars:

(48) w-^{1}ye-^{5}s$^{\circ}$e-n-er š$^{\circ}$ə, w-^{1}ye-^{5}mə-^{8}s$^{\circ}$e-ner neḥə-^{4}š$^{\circ}$ (2/SB-3/io--to drink-MSD-ABS) (3/SB-good) (2/SB-3/io-N/1-to drink--MSD-ABS) (3/SB-more good) 'you(r) drinking it is good, you(r) not drinking it is better'.

(49) mə-r wə-^{6}mə-^{8}ʔ$^{\circ}$e-nə-m sə-^{1}fa-^{4}y (this-ABS) (3/SB-2/AG-N/1--to say-MSD-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-for-to want) 'I want you not to say this'.

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):

(50) ʔa-r qa-^{2}k$^{\circ}$-ew qə-^{2}sə-^{5}r-^{6}a-^{6}ʔ$^{\circ}$a-ɣ (that-ABS) (3/SB-Hh--to go-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF) 'they told me he was coming'.

(51) ʔa-r qe-^{2}mə-^{8}k$^{\circ}$-ew qə-^{2}sə-^{5}r-^{6}a-^{6}ʔ$^{\circ}$a-ɣ (that-ABS) (3/SB--Hh-N/1-to go-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-Pl-to say-PF) 'they told me he was not coming'.

(52) wə-^{1}mə-^{8}k$^{\circ}$e-me wə-^{1}s-^{6}λeɣ$^{\circ}$ə-š$^{\circ}$ə-št (2/SB-N/1-to go-COND) (2/SB-1/AG-to see-Pot/2-Fu/1) 'if you do not go, I will be able to see you'.

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-Dumézil (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.[17] 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) ɬ°-əy mə-r šə ! (2/SB-to go-CoPr) (this-ABS) (3/SB--2/AG-to do) 'go (away)and do this!'.

(54) ɬeɬ° tə^{1}ze^{4}d^{4}ere^{7}g°ə.šaʔ-əy s^{1}ere^{7}tegə-x̌ ! (a bit) (1p/SB-REC/PO-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) wə^{1}mə^{8}ɬ°-əy mə-r wə^{6}mə^{8}š ! (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^{7}mə^{8}ɬ°-əy qə^{2}s^{4}f^{4}y^{6}ere^{7}š ! (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) sə^{1}ɬ°e-n-əy sə^{1}de^{4}leže-x̌t (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-CoPr) (1/SB-3/PO-with-to work-Fu/1) 'I will go (there) and work with him'.[18]

(58) sə^{1}ɬ°-əy sə^{1}de^{4}leža-ɣ (1/SB-to go-CoPr) (1/SB-3/PO--with-to work-PF) 'I have gone (there) and I have worked with him'.

(59) wəne-m s^{1}yə^{4}ɦ-əy sə^{1}tə.s-əy ɬeɬ° sə^{1}de^{4}laž-əy sə^{1}tegə-ž-əy s^{1}yə^{4}ɬ.ə-žə-ɣ (house-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-in--to enter-CoPr) (1/SB-to sit down-CoPr) (a bit) (1/SB--3/PO-with-to work-CoPr) (1/SB-to get up-RE-CoPr) (1/SB--3/PO-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) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧe-p-əy ṣ^{6}-ṣə-ǧ-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'.[19]

(61) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ-ep-ət.əy ṣ^{6}-ṣə-ǧ-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) sə-^{1}čəy-ep-ət.əy / sə-^{1}mə-^{8}čəye-t.əy qə^{2}-se^{5}ʔ°ə-ǧ (1/SB--to sleep-N/2-CoCa) / (1/SB-N/1-to sleep-CoCa) (3/SB--Hh-1/io-to be audible-PF) 'I did not sleep and that is why I did not hear 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 mə- 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-Dumézil (1963:376) provide two Temirgoy forms with suffixal negation; cf.

(63) sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ-ep-t.əy ṣ^{6}-λeǧ°ə-ǧ-ep (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoCa) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone (there) and therefore I have not seen him'.

Only Rogava-Keraševa discuss negative co-predicates to some extent; Kumaxov (1971) makes no reference to them at all in his chapter

on coordination in Circassian. Virtually all the forms in Rogava--Keraševa have suffixal negation. There is one instance (1966:254) of suffixal marking alternating with prefixal marking of negation:

(64) ǩ°e-ǧe.n-ep-t.əy / mə-^{8}ǩ°e-ǧe.n-t.əy (3/SB-to go-PF.may be-N/2-CoCa) / (3/SB-N/1-to go-PF.may be-CoCa) 'perhaps he did not go, but ..'.[20]

(e) For EAST I have only found ordinary (i.e. non-instructive) co-predicates with suffixal negation. Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:376) present the following AnBSN examples:

(65) sə-^{1}ǩ°-a:-te-q̇əm-əy ṣ^{6}-λaǧ°-a:-q̇əm (1/SB-to go-PF-IMPF--N/2-CoPr) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-PF-N/2) 'n'étant pas allé je n'ai pas vu.'

(66) sə-^{1}ǩ°e-nə.w-q̇əm-əy ṣ^{6}-λaǧ°ə-nə.w-q̇əm (A-D: "fut.") 'I will not go and I will not see it' (with, twice, -nə.w Fu/1).[21]

Alparslan-Dumézil state that KAB (i.e. an AnKAB subdialect of Uzun Yayla) has forms which are identical to these AnBSN forms, except for one detail (-ʔəm-əy N/2-CoPr, instead of -q̇əm-əy). Cf. also (23-24).

6.4. NEGATION 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) wə-qə-te-mə-w ! (2/SB-Hh-1p/io-N/1-to beat) 'do not beat us!'.

(68) wə-qə-t-ere-mə-w ! (2/SB-Hh-1p/io-OPT-N/1-to beat) 'may you not beat us!'.

(69) t-ere-k° ! (1p/SB-OPT-to go) 'let's go!'.

(70) t-ere-mə-k° ! (1p/SB-OPT-N/1-to go) 'let's not go!'.

(71) t-ere-k°-a ? (1p/SB-OPT-to go-INT) 'shall we go?'.

(72) t-ere-mə-k°-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 mə- as a marker of negation in ordinary main predicates. In studies on Circassian such forms occur sporadically (WEST: Rogava-Keraševa 1966; EAST: GKČLJ 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) sə-b-de-mə-k°e-n (1/SB-2/PO-with-N/1-to go-Fu/2) 'I won't (I refuse to) marry you ("to come with you")!' (Nartxer 1968:104-WEST/Bzhedug).

Compare with (74), which occurs earlier in the same text, for which see § 5.3.

(74) sə-qə-b-de-k°e-n-ep (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I will not marry you'.

(75) .. a.š´.e.x°-əy we-sə-mə-?°e-n (apart from that-EMPH) (3/SB-2/io-1/AG-N/1-to say-Fu/2) '.. and I won't tell you anything else!' (Narty 1974:67-"Adyghe" [Temirgoy?/RS]).

(76) welaḥe, a-š´ fe-de ?°ef z.ye-sə-mə-ḥ.a-ǧ, zə-g°er-əy qe-sə-mə-?°epš´ə-ǧ (by Jove) (that-REL) (PART/SB-3/PO--for-to resemble) (thing-ABS) (3/SB-z.ye-[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!' (Narty 1974:175-Adyghe).

The following LiAD examples are taken from Rogava-Keraševa (1966:253):

(77) welaḥe, aslan a-x̌´ a^{4}-x̌ę^{4}-mə^{8}-tə-ǧ ! () (Aslan-ABS) (that-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-N/l-to stand-PF) 'I swear, Aslan has not been among them!'.

(78) "a-x̌-er x̌´te" p̣^{6}ʔ°e-m.əy p̣^{4}ʔə^{4}-sə^{6}-mə^{8}-x̌.ə-x̌t (that-PL--ABS) (3/SB-2/AG-to take) (3/SB-2/AG-to say-even if) (3/SB-2/PO-hand-l/AG-N/l-to take.ELA-Fu/l) 'even if you say "take them!" I will not take them from you!'.

(79) x̌´ə.ʔe.nə.ǧe-m naḥ-laṗe z-əy x̌´ə-mə^{8}ʔ ! (life-REL) (more-precious) (one-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-there-N/l-to be) 'there is nothing more precious than life!'.

(80) .. qə^{2}-f^{4}-y^{6}-e^{7}-mə^{8}-d (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-for-3/AG-Dy/l-N/l-to accept) ".. he does not approve of it for him!".

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) . .Sewsərəq̣°-əy sə-l-x̌°e-^{4}-mə^{8}-y (S-REL-EMPH) (l/SB-3/PO--for-N/l-to want) '.. and I do not want S. either!' (Lopatinskij 1891: texts:26 - i Sosruka tože ne xoču).

(82) mew.rˆz.əy.wa.fe s-l-əy^{4}-mə^{8}-sə-nə.w (by Jove[this.ABS. PART/PS.POS.heaven]) (l/SB-3/PO-in-N/l-to sit-Fu/l) 'I swear, I won't (go and) live("sit") there!' (GKČLJ 1957:122-LiKAB).

This is the only instance of a main predicate containing mə- in GKČLJ; 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 mə-."

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) mew.rˆz.əy.wa.fe, se sə-l-ŝə-^{4}-mə^{8}-s () (I) (l/SB-there--N/l-to sit) 'I swear, I am not sitting/living there!'.

(84) mew.rˆz.əy.wa.fe, sə-l-ŝə-^{4}-mə^{8}-s-a / sə-l-ŝə-^{4}-mə^{8}-sə-nə.w () (l/SB-there-N/l-to sit-PF) / (..-Fu/l) 'I swear, I have not been/will not be sitting there (Kardanov 1957: 530: kljanus' nebom, ja ne sižu (83) ne sidel/ne budu sidet'!).

(d) Kuaševa (1969:148-149) mentions main predicates with mə- for Mozdok KAB (the easternmost subdialect of KAB): "The negative particle mə- often occurs instead of the negative particle -q̣əm in the subdialect [of Mozdok/RS]." This is followed by three examples, each provided with a LiKAB equivalent:

(85) de a-bə də-l-mə-x̌°e-y [Mozdok][25] (we) (that-REL) (1p/SB--N/l-3/PO-for-to want) 'we do not want that!'.

The LiKAB equivalent:

(86) de a-bə də-l-x̌°e-^{4}-y-q̣əm () () (1p/SB-3/PO-for-to want--N/2) 'we do not want that'.

(87) "də-l-mə-s´ə-tə-n.e" sə-l-g°ə.ǧ-a-s´ [Mozdok] (1p/SB-N/l--there-to be/stand-Fu/l) (l/SB-to think-PF-ASS) ' "we will not be there" I thought'.

The LiKAB equivalent:

(87a) "də-l-ŝə-^{4}-mə^{8}-tə-nə.w" s-^{4}-əy-^{4}-g°ə.ǧ-a-ŝ (1p/SB-there-N/l--to be/stand-Fu/l) (3/SB-1/PO-POS-idea-PF-ASS) ' "we will not be there" I thought("it was my idea")'.

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 mə- 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-čerkesskoj dialektologii.

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 mə- 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) w$\overset{1}{-}$e$\overset{7}{-}$k̓°-a ? / wə$\overset{1}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$k̓°-a ? (2/SB-Dy/1-to go-INT) / (2/SB-N/1-to go-INT) 'are you going?' / 'are you not going?'.

(89) k̓°e-š´t-a ? / mə$\overset{8}{-}$k̓°e-š´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) ŝ°ə$\overset{1}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$k̓°a-ǧ-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 mə-) predicate (both having -a INT) are common for all WEST:

(91) ŝ°ə$\overset{1}{-}$k̓°e-š´t-a˜ŝ°ə$\overset{1}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$k̓°e-š´t-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) wə$\overset{1}{-}$ɣ̌´ə$\overset{4}{-}$ʔ-a˜wə$\overset{1}{-}$ɣ̌´ə$\overset{4}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$ʔ-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) p̓$\overset{6}{-}$ŝ̓ə-ǧ-a˜wə$\overset{6}{-}$mə$\overset{8}{-}$ŝ̓ə-ǧ-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.

e.g. (93) thepšə.re wə-[1]ǩ°e-re ? (how often?) (2/SB-to go-Dy/2) 'how many times are you going?' (Shapsug).[26]

(94) š°e šəd-e(w) š°ə-[1]mə-[8]ǩ°e-re ? (you[p]) (what?-MOD) (2p/SB-N/1-to go-Dy/2) 'why aren't you going?' (Shapsug).

(95) .. səd pa.ye ye-[5]š°ə-[6]mə-[8]tə-ğ ? (what?) (because of) (3/SB-3/io-2p/AG-N/1-to give-PF) '.. why didn't you(p) give it to him?' (Rogava-Keraševa 1966:257-LiAD).

(96) xet-ə ye-[5]wə-[6]mə-[8]ʔ°a-ğ ? (who?-REL) (3/SB-3/io-2/AG--N/1-to say-PF) 'to whom didn't you tell it?' (Shapsug).

Compare:

(97) ze-[5]wə-[6]mə-[8]ʔ°a-ğ-er xet(-a) ? (3/SB-PART/io-2/AG-N/1--to say-PF-ABS) (3/SB-who?[-INT]) 'who is the one you did not tell it to?' (Shapsug).

Generally, English constructions with an interrogative pronoun are matched by constructions having participles and interrogative predicates. Cf. also:

(98) p-[6]λeğ°ə-ğ-er / wə-[6]mə-[8]λeğ°ə-ğ-er xet(-a) ? (PART/SB--2/AG-to see-PF-ABS)/(PART/SB-2/AG-N/1-to see-PF-ABS) (3/SB-who?[-INT]) 'who have/haven't you seen ? ("the one you have/have not seen who is it?")' (Shapsug).

(e) Let us finally consider forms with final ba. Following Jakovlev-Ašxamav I assume there are two classes of such forms: CONF (confirmative) and NeINT (negative-interrogative) (J-A 1941:346: podtverditel'noe and voprositel'no-podtverditel'noe naklonenie).

CONF forms presuppose a confirmation on the side of the hearer. NeINT forms ask the hearer whether the information supplied is not true, actually with the intention to have it confirmed. The NeINT forms always have a negative connotation.

The two types of forms are distinct with respect to intonation and, with dynamic present forms, morphologically as well.[27] The CONF forms indicate dynamicity by means of a prefix (just like positive main predicates), whereas NeINT forms have suffixal marking of dynamicity (just like negative main predicates). I consider the CONF ending -ba as unanalysable and the NeINT ending as a fixed combination of the N/2 ending (-ep) and the INT ending (-a): -b.a (Jakovlev-Ašxamav: -ba and -ba).[28]

Examples [(99-102): Jakovlev-Ašxamav 1941:346; (103-104): Rogava-Keraševa 1966:256-257; (105-107): J-A 1941:345 - all LiAD]:[29]

(99) s-[1]e-[7]txe-ba ! (1/SB-Dy/1-to write-CONF) 'I am writing (as you will agree)!' (J-A: ja že [voobšče] pišu/ved' pišu - se-txe-ba).

(100) sə-[1]txe-re-b.a ? (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-NeINT) 'I am writing, am I not?' (J-A: razve ja ne pišu?/ved' ja pišu - sə-txe-re-ba !).

(101) sə-[1]txa-ğe-ba ! (1/SB-to write-PF-CONF) 'I was (really) writing (as you will agree)!' (J-A: ja pisal že[vo--obšče]).

(102) sə-[1]txa-ğe-b.a ? (1/SB-to write-PF-NeINT) 'I was writing, wasn't I?' (J-A: razve ja ne napisal?/ ved' ja napisal).

(103) ma-[7]ǩ°e-ba ! (3/SB-Dy/1-to go-CONF) 'he is going (as you will agree)!'.

(104) ǩ°e-re-b.a ? (3/SB-to go-Dy/2-NeINT) 'he is going, isn't he?'.

Compare how dynamicity is indicated in corresponding positive

and negative main predicates:

(105) s-^{1}e-^{7}tx̌e (1/SB-Dy/1-to write) 'I am writing'.

(106) sə-^{1}tx̌e-r-ep (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not writing'.

Compare also:

(107) s-^{1}e-^{7}tx̌-a (1/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 mə-. 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) sə-^{1}tx̌-a-ŝ (1/SB-to write-PF-ASS) 'I have written'.

(109) sə-^{1}tx̌-a-q̇əm (1/SB-to write-PF-N/2) 'I have not written'.

(110) sə-^{1}tx̌-a ? (1/SB-to write-PF) 'have I written?'.

(111) sə-^{1}šə-^{4}t-ŝ (1/SB-there-to be/stand-ASS) 'I am (standing) there'; like (112-113) a stative present form.

(112) sə-^{1}šə-^{4}t-q̇əm (1/SB-there-to be/stand-N/2) 'I am not (standing) there'.

(113) sə-^{1}šə-^{4}t ? (1/SB-there-to be/stand) 'am I (standing) there?'.

The above forms have the following endings: -ŝ assertive (not negative, not interrogative), -q̇əm 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 subdialects that do not have the ASS ending.[31]

Cf. also the following dynamic present forms (Jakovlev 1948: 90-LiKAB):

(114) s-^{1}ew-^{7}tx̌e(-r) (1/SB-Dy/1-to write[-Dy/2]) 'I am writing'.[32]

(115) sə-^{1}tx̌e-r-q̇əm (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-N/2) 'I am not writing'.

(116) sə-^{1}tx̌e-r-e ? (1/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 -r-e Dy/2-INT, on account of the comparison of (116) with (114-115), and also with such forms as (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):

(117) sə-^{1}-tx̌e-r-t (1/SB-to write-Dy/2-IMPF) 'I was writing'.

(118) sə-^{1}-tx̌e-r-e-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 wəməǩ°a (88), are apparently not very frequent. The first reference to them is found in GKčLJ (1957:122). I list the cases found there:

(119) wə-^{1}-mə-^{8}-ǩ°e-r-e ? (2/SB-N/1-to go-Dy/2-INT) 'so you are (actually) not going?' (ne ideš' [značit]?).

(120) wə-^{1}-mə-^{8}-ǩ°-a ? (2/SB-N/1-to go-PF) 'did you (actually) not go?' (ne xodil [značit]?).

(121) w-^{1}-ye-^{5}-ǯ̌e-r-e ḥeme w-^{1}-ye-^{5}-mə-^{8}-ǯ̌e-r-e ? (2/SB-3/io-to read--Dy/2-INT) (or) (2/SB-3/io-N/1-to read-Dy/2-INT) 'are you reading it, or are you not?' (čitaeš' ili ne čitaeš'?).

Furthermore we find in Bagov (1969:41-West KAB):

(122) a-r newbe leža.ṗe ġe-^{2}-mə-^{8}-ǩ°-a-re ? (that-ABS) (today) (working.place-REL) (3/SB-Hh-N/1-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) sətə-w wə-^{1}-mə-^{8}-ǩ°-a-re ? (what?-MOD) (2/SB-N/1-to go--PF-INT) 'why did you not go?'

(d) This subsection briefly presents three types of suggestive interrogativity. Forms with final -ġe which in fact belong here, are treated separately under (e).

"Doubt-interrogatives" with w(e)ˆṗere are generally mentioned as a subtype of interrogatives (e.g. Jakovlev 1948:9, 83; GKčLJ 1957:122; Kumaxov 1971:244). These interrogatives formally consist of a sub-predicate with final -w(e) MOD, followed by a clitic ˆṗere. Cf. (Jakovlev 1948:90-LiKAB):[33,34]

(124) sə-^{1}-tx̌e-wˆṗere ? (1/SB-to write-MODˆṗere) "do you believe I am (really) writing?" (ne pišu li ja?).

(125) wə-^{1}-tx̌-a-weˆṗere ? (2/SB-to write-PF-MODˆṗere) 'have you (really) been writing?'

Such forms have prefixal marking of negation obviously because of their sub-predicative background. Cf. (GKčLJ 1957:122-LiKAB): (126) w-^{1}-ye-^{5}-mə-^{8}-ǯ̌e-wˆṗere ? (2/SB-3/io-N/1-to read-MODˆṗere) 'are you not reading, then?'

Forms with final -əy/-w.əy 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.)əy form is interrogative or not. Cf. (GKčLJ 1957:123-LiKAB):[35]

(127) wə-^{1}-ǩ°-a-w.əy ? (2/SB-to go-PF-w.əy) 'gosh, did you actually go?' (neuželi xodil?).

(128) de newbe d-ew-laže-r-əy (we) (today) (1p/SB-Dy/1-to work-Dy/2-əy) 'gosh, we are working! / aren't we working today!' (ax, kak my [sil'no, xorošo] segodnja rabotaem?! - Jakovlev 1948:9).

GKčLJ observes that negative -w.əy forms have prefixal marking of negation (I have not come across any example). As it seems, -əy and -w.əy are in free variation. GKčLJ (1957:123) provides interrogative -w.əy forms, expressing a "question with surprise", and non-interrogative forms of the mirative mood (naklonenie udivlenija) with final -əy. 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 ˆ(a/n)ṫe. Jakovlev observes that such forms suggest a denial on the side of the hearer.[37] In additon to ˆnṫe Jakovlev's examples contain the CONF ending -ḍe. Cf. Jakovlev (1948:9-LiKAB): (129) se ḍale-m sə-ǩ°e-r-ḍeˆnṫe ? (I) (town-REL) (1/SB-to go-Dy/2-CONFˆnṫe) '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 ˆ(a)ṫe forms (all without -ḍe); the negative ones contain mə-. Cf. (Kumaxov 1971:243-LiKAB):

(130) sə-ǩ°e-nˆṫe (1/SB-to go-Fu/2ˆṫe) 'shall I go then?' (pojdu čto li?/idti mne čto li?).

In KRS we find a "particle" aṫe (p.20) 'nu, da, tak', and another "particle" (p.280) nṫe 'da'.[38]

(e) Forms with the ending -ḍe are generally mentioned (Turčaninov-Cagov 1940:120; Jakovlev 1948:9,83; GKčLJ 1957:122; Kardanov 1957:531; Šagirov 1967:174; Kumaxov 1971:244). Turčaninov-Cagov call them "doubt-question" forms. Jakovlev distinguishes two types of -ḍe forms: "affirmative" and "interrogative-affirmative".[39] GKčLJ remarks only that a positive answer is expected by the questioner. Kardanov lists forms only. Šagirov calls -ḍe forms "exhortative" (uveščevatel'noe naklonenie), and does not classify them as interrogative. Kumaxov also calls -ḍe forms "interrogative-affirmative", but observes that depending on the context -ḍe 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 -ḍe in imperatives, which are thereby softened to exhortations.[40] -ḍe forms as occurring in various EAST subdialects are briefly touched upon in Očerki Kabardino-čerkesskoj dialektologii, 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 -ḍe forms. The data are so scanty that only tentative suggestions can be made.

This much is clear: there are no -ḍe forms containing prefixal marking of negation. Alparslan-Dumézil [see (f)] analyse certain -ḍe(/-ʔe) forms of AnBSN and AnKAB as containing the negative suffix. At least in certain western subdialects of EAST -ḍe forms may have a negative connotation, probably as a result of WEST influence. Bagov, for instance, observes that the West KAB (Zelenčuk) form ḍeməǩ°are [see (122)] is matched by "LiKAB":

(131) ḍe-ǩ°-a-ḍe ? (3/SB-Hh-to go-PF-CONF) 'did not he come?'

(Bagov 1969:41).

It seems right not to classify -ḏe as a marker of interrogativity. Interrogative -ḏe forms are interrogative by intonation; the various shades of meaning must also be determined by the intonation. In general, -ḏe appears to convey the expectation of a reaction from the hearer - usually a confirmation. For the time being I gloss the ending -ḏe as CONF.

Some examples (Jakovlev 1948:11-LiKAB):

(132) ḏ^{6}šə-r-ḏe ? (3/SB-2/AG-to do-Dy/2-CONF) 'you are doing it (, aren't you)?' (ty ved' delaeš'?).

(133) ḏ^{6}šə-r-ḏe ! (3/SB-2/AG-to do-Dy/2-CONF) '(well,) you are doing it (as you will agree)!' (delaeš' ved' ty!).

Jakovlev supplies alongside (133) a West KAB equivalent:

(134) w^{6}ew^{7}šə-r-ḏe ! (3/SB-2/AG-Dy/1-to do-Dy/2-CONF).[41]

(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 mə- and such forms do not occur in any of the texts published by Alparslan-Dumézil, by Alparslan or by Catherine Paris.

Alparslan-Dumézil do mention interrogatives with suffixal marking of negation. Cf. (A-D 1963:358-AnBSN):

"Au négatif, l'indice interrogatif est partout -ḏ-a: wə-ḱ°e-ḏ-a? 'ne vas-tu pas?', wə.ḱ°e.te-ḏ-a ? 'n'allais-tu pas?', wə.ḱ°e.n(ə:w)-ḏ-a ? 'n'iras-tu pas?' [qb. (KAB/RS) id. avec -ʔ-a; km. (Temirgoy/RS) -(e)b-a: wə-ḱ°e-b-a ? 'ne vas-tu pas?' ..]".

Dumézil (1975:200) observes about these forms:

"En tcherkesse oriental, et encore seulement dans certains parlers, a n'apparaît qu'aux formes négatives (besl. [BSN/RS]

ʔəm + a > ʔ.a); dans les autres parlers, les formes interrogatives négatives ordinaires sont déduites des formes positives par insertion de l'indice négatif m(ə) infixé devant le complexe radical; kab. ḏ.a (< ḏəm + a) 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) wə.ḱ°e.ʔəm (2/SB.to go.N/2) 'you are not going'.

(136) wə.ḱ°e-ʔ.a ? (2/SB.to go-N/2.INT) 'are you going?'.

AnKAB:

(137) wə.ḱ°e.ḏəm () 'you are not going'.

(138) wə.ḱ°e.ḏ.a ?/wə.mə.ḱ°e.re ?; cf.(136) and (119).

I do not accept Dumézil's analysis. Firstly, the vowel of the sequence -ḏ-a (or, for that matter, -ʔ-a) is not different from the vowel in common EAST -ḏe. In AnBSN, as well as in KAB in general, the mid vowel /e/ is realised as [a] after back consonants without secondary articulation.

Cf. Paris (1974b:157-AnBSN):

"Après consonnes uvulaires, pharyngales et laryngales, la voyelle à timbre /e/ prend un timbre [a], sauf si elle est suivie d'un /y/ en finale de syllabe."

Cf. also Kuipers (1960:22-KAB):

"The articulation of the short vowels ə and a [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 (i, e) are found after laterals, palatalized palatovelars and j, back variants (y, a) after plain uvulars, pharyngals and h, ʔ ..".

Another argument against a discrete ending -a 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 -ʔəm + a › -ʔ-a (or, for that matter, -ḍəm + a › -ḍ-a) is also unlikely; cf. -ḍəm-əy N/2-CoPr [as in (65)], not *-ḍ-əy.

The AnKAB form wəməǩ°ere (138) seems to be a common KAB negative non-suggestive interrogative, which may be analysed as (119). The AnKAB form wəǩ°eḍa seems to be a fairly common CONF form:[42] wə-l-ǩ°e-ḍa/wə-l-ǩ°e-ḍe (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) -ḍ-a [or -ʔ-a (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 -ḍe CONF. In West KAB subdialects the use of -ḍe 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 -a, or the existence of short allomorphs -ḍ/-ʔ 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/1) 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/-ḍəm) 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 nexal 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 (nexal negation)."

Compare:

(139) ʒ-ɣ°ʔ°e-n-ep (3/SB-1/AG-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) sə-^{6}mə-^{8}ʔ°e-n (3/SB-1/AG-N/1-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 səbdemaǩ°en (73) and səqəbdeǩ°enep (74) offer an excellent illustration of the difference between prefixal and suffixal negation in non-instructive main predicates. I will give them in their full context (Nartxər 1968:104-WEST/Bzhedug):

(141) "qə-^{2}z-^{4}da-^{4}ǩ°, Setenay !" (2/SB-Hh-1/PO-with-to go) (S.)

(142) "sə-^{1}qə-^{2}b-^{4}de-^{4}ǩ°e-n-ep, Werzemež'." (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with--to go-Fu/2-N/2) (W.)

(143) "šəd s-^{4}yə-^{4}laž', Setenay ?" (what?-ABS) (3/SB-1/PO-POS--fault) (S.)

(144) "sə-^{1}we-^{5}pλə-me wə-^{1}š°əc, (1/SB-2/io-to look-COND) (2/SB-black)

(145) sə-^{1}ze-^{5}pλə-ž'ə-me sə-^{1}fə.ž' (1/SB-REF/io-to look-RE-COND) (1/SB-white)

(146) t.ewˆẍ°ə-me sə-^{1}qə-^{2}b-^{4}de-^{4}ǩ°e-n ?" (how?["if it happens in what way?"]) (1/SB-Hh-2/PO-with-to go-Fu/2)

(147) "a-š' fe.šə.ž'e qe-^{2}wə-^{6}mə-^{8}ɣa-^{9}n ! (that-REL) (because of) (3/SB-Hh-2/AG-N/1-CAUS-to leave)

(148) t-yə-melə-m-e fə.ž' a-^{4}xe-^{4}t, (1p/PS-POS-sheep-REL--PL) (white-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to be/stand)

(149) fə.ž'-ew a-^{4}xe-^{4}tə-m - š°əc'e q-^{2}y-^{6}e-^{7}λfə , (white-MOD) (PART/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to be/stand-REL) (black-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Dy/1-to drop [young])

(150) š°əc'-ew a-^{4}xe-^{4}t-m-əy - fə.ž'-ew q-^{2}y-^{6}e-^{7}λfə." (black-MOD) (PART/SB-3/PO-Pl-in-to be/stand-REL-EMPH) (white-MOD) (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-Dy/1-to drop [young])

(151) "s-y.a.ne.pse sə-^{1}b-^{4}de-^{4}mə-^{8}ǩ°e-n !" (1/PS-mothersoul) (1/SB-2/PO-with-N/1-to go-Fu/2).

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 suffixal 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 mə- 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 suffixal negation: (a) suffixal negation almost exclusively occurs in main predicates, (b) most negative ordinary main predi-

cates have suffixal marking of negation.

(c) In WEST there are interrogative negative main predicates with N/1 and with N/2. The interrogatives with prefixal marking of negation are non-suggestive, those with suffixal marking of negation suggestive.

e.g. (152) wə-^{1}mə-^{8}ʔ°a-ǧ-a ? (2/SB-N/1-to go-PF-INT) 'did you (really/actually) not go?'; "([of you-not-going]-it was the case)-?" [confirm or do not confirm (..)!].

(153) wə-^{1}ʔ°a-ǧe-b.a ? (2/SB-to go-PF-NeINT) 'you did go, did you not?' ("yes, I did"); "([of you-going]-it was the case)-is it not?" [confirm (..)!].

In EAST (with the exception of AnBSN) we also find interrogatives with prefixal marking of negation [cf. (119-122)]. EAST has no exact parallel to the WEST interrogatives with suffixal negation. In the more westward subdialects, -ǧe forms probably come close to the WEST forms with -b.a. In view of the scanty data I refrain from comment on negative interrogatives in EAST.

Main predicates displaying mə- do not occur in AnBSN. What may be expressed morphologically elsewhere has to be indicated periphrastically, or by means of intonation in AnBSN.

In WEST and in EAST (no data for AnBSN) we find only prefixal marking of negation in negative predicates which are accompanied by an interrogative lexical element. In general, the contrastive element is clearly present in these "x-questions" (Jespersen 1924:303).[45] Cf. (Shapsug):

(154) xet qe-^{2}mə-^{8}ʔ°a-ǧ ? (who?-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-N/1-to go-PF) 'who has not come?'

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.

e.g. (155) wə-^{1}mə-^{8}ʔ° ! (2/SB-N/1-to go) 'do not go!' "(of you-not-going)-may it be the case!".

Compare:

(156) wə-^{1}k°-ew were-^{7}mə-^{8}x° ! (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) wə-^{6}mə-^{8}šə-me sə-^{1}we-^{5}we-št (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) qe-^{2}mə-^{8}k°a-ğ-er xet ? (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 ê (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. -štə Fu/1 (first future) and -nə 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 dynamicity (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 P1 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) qe-/q̇e- hither (Hh); 3 - ze.rê/ə- 'that, how', zə- '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 - mə- N/1, contrastive negation; 9 - ǧe- 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.

6. For vowel-deletion in Shapsug see chapter 4, section 3 and 4. For vowel-deletion in Circassian in general, see Kumaxov (1981:75, ff.), Paris (1984:104, ff.).

7. Suffixes of the shape V thus retain an overt representation in most environments. Cf.

wə^{6}3ə-št (3/SB-2/AG-to throw-Fu/1) +Ø-p- 3ə -štə+
'you will throw it'.

de^{4}wə^{6}3-e-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/1)
+Ø-Ø-de-p- 3ə -e-štə+ 'you will throw it into it'.

de^{4}wə^{6}3-ə-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to throw-ELA-Fu/1)
+Ø-Ø-de-p- 3ə -ə-štə+ 'you will throw it out of it'.

Cf. also:

p^{6}še-št (3/SB-2/AG-to lead-Fu/1) +Ø-p- še -štə+
'you will lead it'.

de^{4}p^{6}š-ə-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead-ELA-Fu/1)
+Ø-Ø-de-p- še -ə-štə+ 'you will lead it out of it'.

de^{4}p^{6}š-e-št (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead-ILL-Fu/1)
+Ø-Ø-de-p- še -e-štə+ 'you will lead it into it'.

8. Here the e/a-alternation is operative: stem-final underlying +..eC^{3}e+ (but not +..êC^{3}e+) is changed to +..aC^{3}e+ (C^{3}: C, CC, CCC). See chapter 4, section 5.

+sə- k̇°e -ǧe-ep+ → +sə- k̇°a -ǧe-ep+ → +sə- k̇°a -ǧ-ep+; -ep, being an ending, is outside the range which determines the e/a-alternation.

9. Cf. chapter 4, section 6.

10. For the distribution of -q̇əm, -ʔəm, -q̇em and -ʔem, 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 -x̂e 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) "Infinitnaja forma glagolov vyražaet dejstvie neopredelennoe, dobavočnoe, zavisimoe po otnošeniju k osnovnomu dejstviju, vyražennomu finitnoj formoj glagola."

(iii) "Otricatel'nuju formu finitnye glagoly obrazujut pri pomošči suffiksa -q̇əm..".

(iv) "V infinitnyx že glagolax otricatel'naja forma obrazuetsja pri pomošči prefiksa mə- ..".

(v) "Povelitel'nye formy vtorogo lica po svoej strukture i po svoemu obrazovaniju javljajutsja infinitnymi, poskol'ku otricanie obrazuetsja prefiksom (mə-): u-my-kIu ! "ne xodi!" ".

14. Compare, for instance, Dumézil's (1975:155) three-fold system (indicative, imperative, optative) with Turčaninov-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 -nə (Fu/2), whereas participles only take -štə (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 positive ordinary 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 *sə-k̇°e-p-əy or *sə-mə-k̇°-əy "I did not go, and" the informants suggest (60) or constructions containing a modal sub-predicate like:

sə-^{1}mə-^{8}k̇°e-w ṡ^{6}ṡə-ğ-ep (1/SB-N/1-to go-MOD) (3/SB-1/AG-to do-PF-N/2) "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-Keraševa (1966:254) observe that some nonfinite formations do not have negative forms. One of the examples provided is: k̇°-əy (3/SB-to go-CoPr) 'he went (away), and ..' (R-K: "pošel"). In a note R-K add that corresponding negative forms of the second person do occur, e.g.:

wə-^{1}mə-^{8}k̇°-əy (2/SB-N/1-to go-CoPr) '(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-Keraševa (1966:254): "Nekotorye infinitnye obrazovanija mogut obrazovat' otricatel'nye formy i pri pomošči suffiksa i pri pomošči prefiksa: kIog"ën-ëp-ti 'vozmožno, on ne pošel, no..', my-kIo-g"ën-ti 'vozmožno, on ne pošel, no..".

21. Alparslan-Dumézil list Temirgoy counterparts (1963:376):
sə-^{1}ǩ°e-š´t-ep-əy s^{6}λeğ°ə-š´t-ep (1/SB-to go-Fu/1-N/2-CoPr) (3/SB-1/AG-to see-Fu/1-N/2) 'I will not go and I will not see it'.

Temirgoy negative səǩ°eš´tepəy is matched by positive sə-^{1}ǩ°e-n-əy (ib.). Note the use of Fu/1 in the negative and Fu/2 in the positive form.

22. Cf. Tolkovyj slovar' Adygejskogo jazyka (1960:226):
ze.r^{5}yə^{6}ḥ.a-ğ 'he has spread/told it'; slot 5 of this form contains a fixed combination of ze- REC(?) and yê- 3/io (together: "in various directions") which is also found before, for instance, the root če 'to run': 'to run in various directions'.

23. Cf. also Zekox (1969:178-Bzhedug):
welaḥe sə^{6}mə^{8}šə-re (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 mə- 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: -r-a (-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-Aš-xamav (1941:18) for WEST, and in Paris (1974b:179-180) for EAST (An-BSN). The solution of a number of questions concerning negation and interrogation could be reached on the basis of instrumental investigations.

28. Most scholars present just one type of -ba forms; cf. Rogava-Keraševa (1966:256: voprositel'no-utverditel'nye formy) and Kumaxov (1971:244: voprositel'no-podtverditel'nye formy).

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 Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük, Istanbul, 1968:145) "be^{2} 1° in vocatives expressing reproach, oh, you, e.g., be kadın!; 2° 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 'suffixe interrogatif négatif'.

30. Kardanov mentions a LiKAB interrogative suffix -a which is said to occur in, e.g.,
we məwzəy-m wə-^{1}šə-^{4}ʔ-a ? (you) (museum-REL) (2/SB-3/PO--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 -ŝ and -ḑəm is here the morphological indication of interrogativity.

31. The ASS ending -ŝ 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:

wə-l-ḑ°-à: (2/SB-to go-PF) 'you have gone'.

wə-l-ḑ°-a: ? (2/SB-to go-PF) 'have you gone?'

It is also observed that wə-l-ḑ°-à: (), 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 različajutsja oni tol'ko intonaciej).

In the Central KAB subdialect of Malka we find a situation close to that in AnBSN, cf. Šagirov (1969:306-307):

wə-l-ḑ°-a 'have you gone?' (with secondary stress on a, which itself is relatively short),

wə-l-ḑ°-à: 'you have gone' (one stress feature, a is relatively long', "Èto udlinennoe proiznošenie dolgogo a i sozdaet utverditel'nuju intonaciju. Takim obrazom, v otličie ot literaturnogo kabardinskogo jazyka, gde voprositel'noe i iz"javitel'noe naklonenija različajutsja i intonacionno i posredstvom suffiksa, v malkinskom govore raznica meždu voprositel'nym nakloneniem i iz"javitel'nym v utverditel'noj forme tol'ko intonacionnaja.").

32. The Dy/2 ending often seems to indicate durativity. Whatever the exact meaning of -r in forms like (114), I cannot agree with Turčaninov-Cagov (1940:115): ".. the positive form can have the consonant -r after the root vowel, whose presence gives a meaning of definiteness to the event."

33. From *ḑ-ʔe-re (3/SB-2/AG-to say-?[INT or Dy/2]) 'do you say so?; cf. chapter 7, section 6.

34. Jakovlev (1948:9) says about -w(e)ˆḑere forms: "vyražaet takoj vopros, pri kotorom sprašivajuščij voobšče somnevaetsja v suščestvovanii dannogo fakta ili ožidaet (želaet) utverditel'nogo otveta."

35. Jakovlev (1948:9) says about -əy/-wəy forms: "vyražaet, čto suščestvovanie dannogo fakta predstavljaet soboj polnuju neožidannost' dlja govorjaščego ili čto dejstvie protekaet s neožidannoj dlja nego intensivnost'ju (siloj) ili vysotoj kačestva (obyčno ètot ottenok imeet mesto po otnošeniju k pervym licam). Predloženie udivlenija možet takže imet' podtverditel'nyj xarakter."

36. Grammars of "literary" languages by nature have an important prescriptive intention. As far as Circassian "literary" grammars are concerned, Jakovlev is the only to consistently keep apart prescription and description.

37. Jakovlev (1948:9) says about ˆ(a/n)ḑe forms: "vyražaet takoj vopros, pri kotorom sprašivajuščij predpologaet otsutstvie v dejstvitel'nosti dannogo fakta ili ožidaet (želaet) otricatel'nogo otveta."

38. The ˆ(a/n)ḑe forms illustrate some general problems: the Li-KAB's of different authors need not be identical; the origin of Li-

KAB (and, for that matter, of LiAD) data is not usually given. The ^(a/n)ṫe forms of Jakovlev and Kumaxov may very well belong to different subdialects.

39. Jakovlev (1948:9) says about CONF (podtverditel'nye) forms: "vyražaet podtveržđenie suščestvovanija fakta, často s ottenkom udivlenija. V nastojaščem vremeni v dialektax ono otličaetsja ot podtverditel'no-voprositel'nogo tipa inoj formoj ličnyx prefiksov skazuemogo ..".

Jakovlev (ib.) says about NeINT (podtverditel'no-voprositel'nye) forms: "vyražaet takoj vopros, pri kotorom sprašivajuščij uveren v suščestvovanii fakta i želaet polučit' liš' podtveržđenie ètogo."

40. Compare, however, Kardanov (1957:547): "the affix -q̇e, which corresponds to the Russian particles 'že', '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:

1° we w-^{6}ew-^{7}še-q̇e 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/Kubano-zelenčuk);

2° s-^{1}ew-^{7}ve-r-q̇e ? (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: sə-^{1}ve-r-q̇e, with Dy/2 only;

3° wə-^{1}k°e-q̇e, no dynamicity marker, AnBSN, see note 42.

44. For an additional example from CaShapsug, cf. (Keraševa 1957: 86): ye sə-^{1}mə-^{8}k°e-n ! (interjection) (1/SB-N/1-to go-Fu/2) 'I won't go in any case!' (ni za čto ne pojdu!).

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 (N/1), indicated by a prefix, and predicative negation (N/2), 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
- sə-ḳ°a-ɣ (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I have gone (away)'.[3]
- sə-ḳ°a-ɣ-ep (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone (away)'.
- ŝ°ə-ḳ° ! (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go (away)!'.
- ŝ°ə-mə-ḳ° (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go (away)!'.

OOST
- sə-ḳ°-a-ŝ (1/SB-to go-PF-ASS) 'I have gone (away)!'.
- sə-ḳ°-a-q̇əm (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2) 'I have not gone (away)'.
- fə-ḳ°e ! (2p/SB-to go) '(you[p]) go (away)!'.
- fə-mə-ḳ°e ! (2p/SB-N/1-to go) '(you[p]) do not go (away)!'.

Compare also (WEST/Shapsug):[4]

sə-ḳ°e-n-ep (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I am not going, I will not go ("my going will not be the case")'.

sə-mə-ḳ°e-n (1/SB-N/1-to go-Fu/2) 'I will not go ("my not-going will be the case")'.

Attributive negation (N/1) is marked, in EAST and WEST, by a prefix mə- 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 -q̇əm. 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, Oubykh and Abkhaz. Both prefixal and suffixal marking of negation are also found in Oubykh and in Abkhaz. In both languages prefix and suffix have a form m(V). In Abkhaz the form of prefix and suffix is m(ə), whereas in Oubykh we find m(ə)- for the prefix, and -ma for the suffix. Apparently, the distribution of the two ways of negation marking in Oubykh and Abkhaz is complementary. Furthermore, there are no indications that more than a single category of negation can be distinguished, either in Oubykh or in Abkhaz.

Dumézil (1975:163) observes on the distribution of the negativing 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 infixé.

2° Il en est de même à l'impératif et aux optatifs-subjonc-

tifs, en sorte que l'indice suffixé est partout réservé aux (tch.) ou à une partie des (abkh., oub.) temps de l'indicatif en fonction proprement verbale."

For Circassian matters are considerably more complicated than can be concluded from this quotation. In main predicative forms we find suffixal marking of negation alternating with prefixal marking. The fact that the two differ semantically is essential for the analysis of negation in Circassian.

The following examples, taken from Dumézil (1975:164-165), illustrate the alternating (non-distinctive) use of prefixal and suffixal negation in Oubykh and Abkhaz indicative forms.

Oubykh

sə.m.ḳ'ȧ.n (1/SB.Neg.to go.Dyn) 'I am not going'.

s.ḳ'ȧ.na:yṭ'.ma (1/SB.to go.IMPF.Neg) 'I was not going'.

Abkhaz

s.ċa.wȧ.m (1/SB.to go.Dyn.Neg) 'I am not going'.

sə.m.ċȧ.(3a.)yṭ' (1/SB.Neg.to go.3a.PF) 'I have not gone'.[5]

In the Grammatika Abxazskogo jazyka (1968:125) it is suggested (without argumentation) that the suffixal way of forming negatives in Abkhaz is secondary.[6]

7.3 Allomorphy of the Circassian Negation Markers

Before moving on to the actual subject of this article - which is to advance and discuss ideas on the development of negative forms I shall first give a summary of the allomorphy of the affixes involved in negation marking as found in the modern dialects.[7]

As was mentioned above, the negative prefix is mə- 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.a (NeINT). Cf. (Jakovlev-Ašxamav 1941:346-LiAD):

s-tx̌ə-re-b.a ? (3/SB-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: -p, -əp 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:

ŝ°əz-ep (3/SB-woman-N/2) 'it is not a woman' +Ø- ŝ°əzə -ep+.

wən-ep (3/SB-house-N/2) 'it is not a house' +Ø- wəne -ep+.

bž̌əḥa-p/bž̌əḥ-ep (3/SB-winter-N/2) 'it is not winter' +Ø- bž̌əḥe -ep+.

These examples would seem to hold for the whole of WEST.

The following forms are given for the EAST negative suffix: -q̇əm, -ʔəm, -q̇em, -ʔem (, -q̇-/-ʔ-). 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.[8]

Besney: Caucasian BSN (Balkarov 1959,1969) as well as Anatolian BSN (Alparslan-Dumézil 1963,1964,1965; Paris 1974b,1976) have -q̇əm N/2 and -q̇e CONF.

West Kabardian: Kuban Kabardian (Kumaxov 1969) and Zelenčuk Kabardian (Bagov 1969) both have -q̇əm and -q̇e too.

For Central Kabardian one finds -ʔəm as well as -ʔem N/2.[9]

The CONF suffix is -?e in Baksan Kabardian (Mamrešev 1959,1969). For Malka Kabardian (Šagirov 1969) I have not come across any data. Mamrešev (1969:250) observes that senior male members of the Baksan KAB speaking population also make use of -ḍəm and -ḍe, but this occurs only rarely (Mamrešev 1959:13).

Kuaševa (1969:124) writes with respect to EAST KAB (Terskie) subdialects that there again -?əm and -?e 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 -ḍem/-ḍam, mentioned by Nogma in 1843, Turčaninov asserts that these are nowadays found in Little Kabardia. Mamrešev (1959:13) reports Kuaševa as having said in the avtoreferat of her kandidatskaja dissertacija [1954] that in the Terskie subdialects the negative suffix has initial ?, and the CONF suffix initial -ḍ.

Older information is to be found in the grammatical sketch by Lopatinskij (1891:40). Lopatinskij only mentions -ḍ̈am. The CONF suffix does not occur in Lopatinskij (1891), in Nogma it does, namely as -ḍe.

For LiKAB Turčaninov-Cagov (1940:92) present us with -ḍəm besides "dialectal -?əm and -?em") and -ḍe (1940:120). In Jakovlev (1948:303) we find -ḍəm and (but less frequently) -ḍem, and -ḍe. Nothing but -ḍəm and -ḍe 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 -?əm and (apparently) also -?a.

The situation is summarised in section 7.

7.4 Common Circassian Developments

Dumézil, in 1932, and Kumaxov, in 1971, both went into the diachronic aspects of negative forms in Circassian - the former in greater detail than the latter. Some scattered remarks are to be found in Turčaninov-Cagov and in Rogava-Keraševa. Dumézil starts his chapter Expression de la négation (1932:185-191) as follows:

> "Les trois langues expriment la négation par m (ou m + voy.) mis à des places diverses suivant les formes. En Abz. [Abadzekh/RS] seulement (et dans les autres dialectes occid. du tcherkesse), ce -m, en position finale, est remplacé par -p (qui lui-même devient -b- devant la voyelle qui marque l'interrogation). Il est probable que ce -p est une transformation de -m, mais l'hypothèse est invérifiable, faute de cas analogues .. on notera que le tcherk. occid. n'ignore pas -m final, mais que ces -m correspondent à ub. -n; enfin le kab. a bien le -m négatif attendu."

On page 187 Dumézil informs us that the situation in Kabardian (i.e. EAST) is similar to that in WEST except for one point:

> "-əp du tcherk. occid. y est remplacé par -ḍ̈a-m, -ḍe-m, composé sans doute de la particule affirmative -ḍe .. et du -m négatif .."

In chapter XI (Formes Négatives) of Dumézil (1975:163-169), which gives a synchronic presentation of corresponding negative forms of the three WC languages, we find no diachronic remarks.

At the end of chapter 10 (Voprositel'nye i otricatel'nye formy) of Kumaxov (1971) page 247 has been reserved for observations "On the history of negative forms". Comparing Circassian with the two other WC languages, Kumaxov arrives at the conclusion that the

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 -q̇əm Kumaxov claims that it consists of:

> "the common Abxazo-adygskij [*WC/RS] negative affix -m and the suffix -q̇ə → -q̇e, which goes back to the interrogative suffix -q̇e."
>
> He continues:
>
> "The suffix -q̇ə, which is a part of the negative affix -q̇əm, and its original form, the interrogative suffix -q̇e, 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 mə '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) yə-nə́ 'this' and wa-nə́ 'that', and the Oubykh 3/AG prefixes -n- (singular) and -n-a- (plural) (Dumézil 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-a 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 *nə 'this', *-n REL and *-n-e REL-PL, and a postpositive (and a prepositive) negation marker containing *m.

Development 1: *nə 'this' gives, via *nə/mə, *mə(/nə).

This development may have been triggered by assimilation in forms containing *w.[14] Remnants of *n are found in a number of temporal adverbs containing a labial obstruent;

cf. (LiAD)	(LiKAB)		
nyepe	newbe	'today'	[Šagirov 1977:964,
nə.pǩ´ḥepe	nəšḥebe	'tonight'	986,937; TSAJ 1960:
(ǧe.rə.ǩ°e)	ne.ǧe.be	'last year'	412; KRS 1957:42]

and

mə.ǧe	mə.ǧe.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 *-(ə)m.

Thus:	'this'	REL	REL-PL	N/2
*CIRC-X	*nə	*-n	*-n-e	*-(ə)m
*CIRC-X+1	*nə/mə	*-n	*-n-e	*-(ə)m
*CIRC-X+2	*mə(/nə)	*-n	*-n-e	*-(ə)m
*CIRC-X+3	*mə(/nə)	*-n/m	*-n/m-e	*-(ə)m
*CIRC-X+4	*mə(/nə)	*-m	*-m-e	*-(ə)m
*CIRC-X+5	*mə(/nə)	*-m	*-m(-e)	*-(ə)m ↓ ?

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-Keraševa (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 *-(ə)m. I assume its form was *-(ə)m in late *CIRC and in early *WEST (see section 4, in fine). It is not surprising that it was not replaced by *-(ə)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 *-(ə)m was to give up nasality; in other words: a development towards *b.[17] This is what happened. This development is exclusively WEST. Early *EAST resorted to quite another solution (see section 7).

From *-(ə)m to *-(ə)b takes one, and from *-(ə)b to -ep takes two steps (*-(ə)b ⟶ *-(ə)p ⟶ -ep). The transition of *-(ə)b to *-(ə)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

entirely devoiced realisations, but they will still differ from their voiceless counterparts in the absence of aspiration.

Many morphemes can occur both word-medially and word-finally. Most morphemes have allomorphs with and without a vowel after their last consonantal segment. Voiced consonants are completely voiced in intervocalic position. Voiced consonants which take the position (..)—V within a morpheme occurring (with preserved final vowel) in word-medial position and (with dropped final vowel) in word-final position, are never entirely devoiced. Some illustrations (WEST/Shapsug):

ǧə ! (2/SB-to weep) 'weep!' [ǧə].

wə-ǧə-št (2/SB-to weep-Fu/1) 'you will weep' [wuǧɨš´t^{h}].

wə-mə-ǧ ! (2/SB-N/1-to weep) 'do not weep!' [wumə̀ǧ^{ˠ}].

də ! (3/SB-2/AG-to sew) 'sew it!' [də].

yə-də-št (3/SB-3/AG-to sew-Fu/1) 'he will sew it' [yidɨš´t^{h}].

wə-mə-d ! (3/SB-2/AG-N/1-to sew) 'do not sew it!' [wəmə̀d, ..əd^{t}, ..t].

I suppose that the transition from *-(ə)b to *-(ə)p was encouraged by the absence of the voice-preserving factor mentioned above: the negative suffix was and is found almost exclusively in word-final position and (as the negative suffix mainly occurs in main predicates) very often in sentence-final position as well.

There are two types of form in which the negative suffix does not occur word-finally, namely in forms with final -b.a NeINT and in negative co-predicates.

The frequency of negative co-predicates was (and still is) very low, and to the speaker negative co-predicates were obvious combinations of negative predicates with a coordinating element (the ending -əy).[18] This contributed to the devoicing of b in the sequence *-(ə)b-əy; cf. (Shapsug):

sə-l-ǩ°a-ǧ-ep-əy (1/SB-to go-PF-N/2-CoPr) 'I have not gone and'; < *səǩ°aǧebəy < *səǩ°aǧeməy.

I agree with the interpretation of -b.a as a sequence, though a fixed one, of the negative suffix and the interrogative ending -a.

The ending -a is a WEST innovation which - I assume - has developed from an originally appellative particle *a 'hey!'. Nowadays we find prepositive reflexes of a introducing vocatives, and postpositive reflexes, viz. the interrogative ending and, with a limited number of nouns, a vocative ending. Cf. (Shapsug):

a, s-yə-ǯal ! (hey!) (1/PS-POS-boy) 'hey, my son!'.

n-a !, t-a ! (mother-VOC), (father-VOC) 'mother!, father!'.

The appellative particle must originally have been optional after positive and negative interrogative predicates that did not have subordinated NPs containing an interrogative lexical element. It must have developed into the interrogative ending before the (final) devoicing of the *b in the negative ending. It is possible that the particle was realised with a voiced laryngeal or pharyngeal onset which might again have contributed to the retention of voice in this instance of *b.[19]

The next step, that from *-(ə)p to -ep implies a development from a situation where the *p 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 -er, which is -r

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):

ŝ°əzə-m (woman-REL) 'the woman, REL' +ŝ°əzə -m+.

wəne-m (house-REL) 'the house, REL' +wəne -m+.

ŝ°əz-ew (woman-MOD) 'as a woman' +ŝ°əzə -ew+.

wən-ew (house-MOD) 'as a house' +wəne -ew+.

ŝ°əz-ep (3/SB-woman-N/2) 'it is not a woman' +Ø- ŝ°əzə -ep+.

wən-ep (3/SB-house-N/2) 'it is not a house' +Ø- wəne -ep+.

ŝ°əz-er (woman-ABS) 'the woman, ABS' +ŝ°əzə -er+; id. in Bzhedug, in the rest of WEST: ŝ°əzə-r, in EAST: fəzə-r.

wən-er (house-ABS) 'the house, ABS' +wəne -er+; elsewhere: wəne-r.

ŝ°əz-əyk̓ (woman-ABS-EMPH) 'and a woman, ABS' +ŝ°əzə -Ø-əyk̓+.

wən-əyk̓ (house-ABS-EMPH) 'and a house, ABS' +wəne -Ø-əyk̓+.

The development of the monoconsonantal negative ending into an ending of the shape VC seems to be part of a more general tendency which is especially strong in Shapsug and Bzhedug, i.e. in the western WEST dialects.

The development in co-predicates is again similar to that in main predicates: *-(ə)p-əy → -ep-əy; cf. (Shapsug):

ŝ°əz-ep-əy (3/SB-woman-N/2-CoPr) 'it is not a woman, and' *ŝ°əzə-p-əy < *ŝ°əzə-b-əy < *ŝ°əzə-m-əy.

As a matter of fact, -b.a with its CV shape did not develop into *-eb.a; cf. (Shapsug):

ŝ°əzə-b.a (3/SB-woman-NeINT) 'it is a woman, is it not?'.

A representation of the WEST developments presented above:

	N/2	N/2-CoPr	N/2 + APP (NeINT)
Late *CIRC	*-(ə)m	*-(ə)məy	*-(ə)m
*WEST-X	*-(ə)m/b	*-(ə)məy	*-(ə)m/b a
*WEST-X+1	*-(ə)m/b	*-(ə)m/bəy	*-(ə)m/b a
*WEST-X+2	*-(ə)b	*-(ə)bəy	*-(ə)b a
*WEST-X+3	*-(ə)b/p	*-(ə)bəy	*-(ə)b^a
*WEST-X+4	*-(ə)p	*-(ə)b/pəy	*-(ə)b^a
*WEST-X+5	*-(ə)p	*-(ə)pəy	*-(ə)ba
*WEST-X+6	*-(ə)p/-ep	*-(ə)pəy/-epəy	*-(ə)ba
*WEST-X+7	*-(e)p	*-(e)pəy	*-(ə)ba
DŭSHP	-ep	-ep-əy	-b.a

7.6 EAST: The Origin of -g̓e CONF

In three places the negative EAST suffix -g̓əm is presented as going back to a combination of the CONF suffix -g̓e and the original negative suffix (Dumézil 1932:187; GKČLJ 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) express a dissenting opinion:

"The negation -g̓əm is formed on the basis of the negation mə and the root of the verb yə?en '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, -g̓əm, as -?em, -?əm, e.g., ŝə?eg̓əm, dialectally ŝə?e?em // ŝə?e?əm 'is not', and from the parallel use of such interrogative forms as ŝə?eg̓e, dialectally ŝə?e?e 'is it

(there)?" [20]

Subsequent authors have not commented on Turčaninov-Cagov's analysis, but Jakovlev (1948:343) proposes - without any comment - that "historically" -ḍem/-ḍəm means 'is not' (ne est'), and -ḍe 'there is' (est'). As the Ètimologičeskij slovar' by Šagirov (1977) is only concerned with lexemes, no statements can be found about the origin of -ḍəm, or - for that matter - about the origin of WEST -ep.

There are formally weak spots in these hypotheses: they do not account for the very unusual alternation ḍ/ʔ or the less unusual alternation ə/e (cf. -ḍəm/-ʔəm/-ḍem/-ʔem). Turčaninov-Cagov's analysis is also invalidated by the fact that the root of the verb yəʔen 'to have' is always bound, in both EAST adn WEST: -ʔe is never used without a preverb (see section 7).

The advocates of the prevailing theory confer upon -ḍe the term "affirmative" (Dumézil 1932:187), "affirmative-interrogative" (GKČLJ 1957:100) and "interrogative" (Kumaxov 1971:247), I assign the label CONF(irmative) to it. It is typical of forms containing -ḍe 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 -ḍe in itself does not have interrogative meaning, but that forms with -ḍe may or may not be realised with question-intonation; cf. (Jakovlev 1948:11):

ṗ-s̄-a-ḍe ! (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF-CONF) 'you have done it (, haven't you)!' (sdelal ved' ty!).

ṗ-s̄-a-ḍe ? (3/SB-2/AG-to do-PF-CONF) 'you have done it, haven't you?' (ty ved' sdelal?).

I will first focus on -ḍe before discussing the origin of -ḍəm.

Dumézil (1932:89-90) comments on the origin of -ḍe; he relates

the "affirmative particle" -ḍe to final q̄a in Oubykh zaːq̄a 'alone, lonely' (Vogt 1963:228l; Dumézil 1965:252), which, incidentally, Šagirov (1977:610) regards as a loan from Circassian, cf. *CIRC zeqː°e (Kuipers 1975:23). Furthermore, Dumézil mentions the possibility that -ḍe has a common origin with the *CIRC prefix *qːe- 'hither', whereas Šagirov (1977:703) relates *qːe to the Abkhaz preverba aː (Dumézil 1967:22) 'vers ici'.

However, rather than speculate about the relations of -ḍe CONF with elements in the other WC languages, we had better first turn to the question of the development of -ḍe in Circassian. There is no exact semantic plus formal counterpart in WEST for -ḍe; so I shall start with EAST.

An inquiry along these lines points to the development of -ḍe 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 *ḍ°e 'to say'.

Digression on the Development of the *CIRC Uvulars

At an early stage *CIRC must have had the following system of uvulars: [21]

*qʰ	*qː	*ḍ	*χ	*ɣ
*qʰ°	*qː°	*ḍ°	*χ°	*ɣ°

[qʰ, qʰ°: aspirated/lenis; qː, qː°: unaspirated/fortis]

The reflexes of the glottalic uvulars are ʔ and ʔ° 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 Oubykh influence.[22] 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):[23]

*CIRC	EAST	WEST				
		east WEST	west WEST			
		TEM/ABD	BZH	DÜSHP	GnSHP	HkSHP
*q^h	q	q	q^h	χ	χ	q^h
*$q^h{}_\circ$	q°	q°	$q^h{}_\circ$	χ°	χ°	$q^h{}_\circ$
*q:	q̓	q	q:	q	q	q:
*q:°	q̓°	q°	q:°	q°	q°	q:°
*q̓	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ/k̓	q̓
*q̓°	ʔ°	ʔ°	ʔ°	ʔ°	k̓°	q̓°

Paris (1972) discusses in great detail the mechanism of the developments for a number of dialects.

Digression on the Development of *CIRC *q̓°e 'to say'

The transitive verb 'to say' was *q̓°e in Common Circassian (Kuipers 1975:106). In WEST we find the usual reflexes: ʔ°e and - in Hakuchi - q̓°e/k̓°e. In EAST the reflex of *q̓°e is -ʔe or (in one East KAB subdialect only) -ʔ°e. The main correspondence (WEST/EAST) ʔ°/ʔ is irregular, and this is the only instance known to me. In EAST the root -ʔe is always used in combination with the preverb žə-/ž́ə- (KAB/BSN), the origin of which - pace Šagirov (1977:589) - remains uncertain.

East KAB -ʔ°e is mentioned by Kuaševa (1969:129) as occurring in, e.g.

žə-ʔ°e ! (3/SB-žə-2/AG-to say) 'say it!'.

Kuaševa propses that -ʔe derives from early *EAST *-ʔ°e, referring to such related roots as ʔ°e.te 'to announce, relate', ʔ°ə 'orifice', ʔ°ə 'to resound, be heard'.

Šagirov also traces -ʔe back to *-ʔ°e (1977:589,1555). In a note to his entry 1555 Šagirov doubts the correctness of Kuaševa's observation concerning -ʔ°e (rather than -ʔe) in the form žə-ʔ°e He claims to have heard a Great Kabardian say žəwʔe '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]

žə-w-mə-ʔe ! (3/SB-žə-2/AG-N/1-to say) 'do not say it!'.

Šagirov takes Kuaševa to have incorrectly rendered žəwʔe as žəʔ°e. 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 Šagirovs form žəwʔe.

A number of authors, among them Kuaševa and Šagirov, have stated that -ʔe results from a delabialisation (*ʔ°e → *ʔe). 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) posits - the clusters *p̓q̓° and *t̓q̓°. The reflexes of these clusters are p̓ and t̓ in EAST, and p̓° and t̓° in almost the whole of WEST (in Hakuchi we find p̓k̓/p̓q̓°, t̓k̓°/t̓q̓°, elsewhere in Shapsug

also p̣ʔ and ṭ̣ʔ [Dumézil 1960:91]). In EAST a remnant of the labialisation of *ṭ̣q̣° is found in the form of a sequence wə preceding, or a sequence əw following, ṭ̣.[25]

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) *ṣ-ʔ°e.., *ṭ̣-ʔ°e.., *p̣-ʔ°e.. and *f̣-ʔ°e.. I suggest that these bi-morphemic clusters were subject to the same change as *p̣ʔ° (from *p̣q̣°) and *ṭ̣ʔ° (from *ṭ̣q̣°): early *EAST *p̣ʔ°/*p̣-ʔ° → *p̣ʔ/*p̣-ʔ, early *EAST *ṭ̣ʔ°/*ṭ̣-ʔ° → *ṭ̣ʔ/*ṭ̣-ʔ plus preceding wə or following əw. After this development a large number of the instances of this root had the form *-ʔe, 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 ʔ°e.te. ʔ°ə, see above) *-ʔe was restored to -ʔ°e.

Šagirovs form žəwʔe can be accounted for as follows: the labialisation of *ʔ° did not disappear, but left its trace in the form of preposed wə. The form can then be analysed thus:

žə-wə.ʔe ! (3/SB-žə-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 -q̣e 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 worthwile investigating whether the formal problem posed by the alternation q̣/ʔ (-q̣e/-ʔe) 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 ˆp̣ere 'actually?'. Constructions with ˆp̣ere are interrogative and convey an element of doubt (Jakovlev 1948:11: somnitel'no-voprositel'noe naklonenie). Constructions with ˆp̣ere are main predicates. An example (Kardanov 1957:531-LiKAB):

a-r pŝedey q̣e-ḳ°e-žə-nə-wˆp̣ere ? (that-ABS) (tomorrow) (3/SB-Hh-to go-RE-Fu/2-MODˆactually?) 'will he really/actually come back tomorrow?' (< *"his future coming back tomorrow, do you say so?").[28]

We must assume that both the particle from which -q̣e CONF can be derived and ˆp̣ere 'actually?' must have developed at a stage of *EAST after the change from *ʔ°e 'to say' to *ʔe, but before the preverb *š́ə [present-day žə-/š́ə- (KAB/BSN)] became obligatory.

There are also particle-like forms that developed after *š́ə had become obligatory, for instance žəy and žerəy. These forms are petrified contractions of forms derived from 'to say'; they are mostly used to mark the end of direct speech. žəy and žerəy are contractions of forms like:

žə-y-ʔe-r.əy (3/SB-žə-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-Dumézil go into detail.[29] I quote from Alparslan-Dumézil (1964:335):

"En outre, il y a des formes contractées: šʼey.rəy, šʼa.rəy pour šʼə.y.ʔa.rəy, šʼ.a.ʔa.rəy "lui, eux l'ayant dit", et même .. šʼo(:w:re) pour šʼə.y.ʔ.ew(:re) "lui le disant" (étendu à toutes les personnes, valant géorg. o, turc diye)."

and from Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:381):

"Plusieurs formes très contractées du verbe šʼə.ʔa "dire" ont des emplois remarquables ..: 1° šʼo: (gérondif présent) .. conclut les citations de style direct (comme oubykh ḏan, abkhaz hºa).[30] 2° šʼe (impératif?) s'emploie dans de telles interrogations quand, en outre, on ne souhaite pas la chose qu'on met en doute:

wə.tx̌ʼa:.te-me šʼe ? "j'espère que ce n'est pas toi qui l'a(vai)s écrit?"."[The example analysed:

wə-tx̌ʼ-a:-te-me^šʼe (2/SB-to write-PF-IMPF-COND^"say" - PF+IMPF: PLUPF).] šʼe must be a contraction of a form

šʼə-ʔe (3/SB-šʼə-2/AG-to say) 'say it!'.

I have now arrived at the formal problem, i.e. the alternation q̇/ʔ in the CONF suffix. The form -ʔe is what one expects (*q̇ºe → *ʔºe → *ʔe → *-ʔe). 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 *-q̇e, assumes a secondary transition in *EAST from *q̇ to *ʔ, which would have involved the *q̇ of *-q̇əm and *-q̇e only; cf. (Rogava 1974:74):

"Instances are also known, in the Kabardian language, of a transition of a secondary q̇ into a laryngeal abruptive ʔ in a certain verbal form, Kab. səḵºerʔəm // ← səḵºerq̇əm ← *səḵºerq̇əm 'I am not going'."[31]

The alternation q̇/ʔ in the negative and the confirmative ending is an incidental one, for which an ad hoc explanation can be found.

I assume that -q̇e CONF does not - or at least not exclusively - go back to a form *ʔe ! 'say it!', but rather to a form *q̇a-ʔe ! (3/SB-Hh-2/AG-to say) '(come on,) say it!'.

The prefix (LiAD/LiKAB) qe-/q̇e- 'hither' (Hh) derives from *CIRC *q:e-; 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):

q̇ə-z-šʼə-y-ʔa-nə.w (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-šʼə-3/AG-to say-Fu/1) 'he will say it to me'.

(nə-)b-šʼə-z-ew-ʔa (3/SB-(thither-)2/PO-šʼə-1/AG-Dy/1-to say) 'I am saying it to you'.

Compare also (Shapsug):

qə-s-yə-ʔºa-ɣ-ep (3/SB-Hh-1/io-3/AG-to say-PF-N/2) 'he did not say it to me'.

ye-ṡ-ʔºa-ɣ-ep (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to say-PF-N/2) 'I did not say it to him'.

ʔºe ! (3/SB-2/AG-to say) 'say it!'.

qa-ʔº(e) ! (3/SB-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 *q̇a-ʔe and a particle-like homophone existed side by side. The latter became really petrified when *šʼə became obligatory before *-ʔe 'to say'. When the particle *q̇a.ʔe was no longer matched by a formally identical free predicate (but instead by *q̇ə-šʼə-ʔe), the way was open to a separate development, and the particle contrac-

ted to *ˆq̣a/ˆq̣e (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) žəy and žerəy, and with (BSN) ǯ́e , from *ǯ́ə-?e ! 'say it!' (cf. the latter quotation from Alparslan-Dumézil above).

The petrification of -q̣e and ˆp̣ere dates back to an earlier stage of *CIRC than that of the particle-like forms with initial žə-/ǯ́ə-. The parallel between -q̣e (from *q̣ə-?e) and ǯ́e (from *ǯ́ə-?e) is striking

> Compare also LiAD qa (TSAJ 1960:271:) 'give!' "defective verb", which can be assumed to go back to *WEST *q:a-ḥ (3/SB-Hn-2/AG-to bring) 'bring it hither!'.

There are, at first sight, several explanations one can think of in order to account for the alternation q̣/? in the CONF suffix.

> [(a) *q̣a.?e contracted on the one hand to *-q̣e, on the other hand to *-?e; (b) -q̣e goes back to a form *qa-?e ! 'say it (hither)!' and -?e to a form *?e ! 'say it!'; (c) the contraction of *qa-?e to *-q̣e was followed by was followed by a development *-q̣e → *-?e in part of the EAST area under the influence of the initial ? of -?əm N/2.]

I will return to the problem of the alternation q̣/? in the next section, together with that of the alternation q̓/? in the N/2 suffix.

7.7 EAST: The Development of the Negative Ending

I do not accept the prevailing theory that -q̣əm 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(ə)-] of attributive negation and a suffixal marker [*-(ə)m] 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 *ŝə-?e-m (or, at that stage, possibly still *ǯ́ə-?e-m) (3/SB-there-to be-N/2). This form is derived from a bound verb *-?e 'to be, exist' (cf. Kuipers 1975:95), which occurred (and still occurs in both EAST and WEST) in combination either with the prefix "there" (*ǯ́ə-) or with the preverb "possession" (*yə-; cf. the quote from Turčaninov-Cagov in section 6).

Then, we may have had, side by side, forms like:
*sə-k̓°e-nə-m (1/SB-to go-Fu/2-N/2) 'I will not go', and:
*sə-k̓°e-n(ə)ˆŝə?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 (*[ŝə-ʔe]-m → *[ŝə]-ʔem). Cf.

*sə-ḱ°e-n(ə)^ŝəʔem / *sə-ḱ°e-n(ə)-ʔem 'I will not go'.

*sə-ḱ°e-n / *sə-ḱ°e-n(ə)-ŝ '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, are mutually exclusive and have no WEST counterparts. Nowadays, in most of Kabardian, main predicates are obligatorily marked for factuality; -ŝ assertive (ASS), -q̇əm predicative negative (N/2), -q̇e confirmative (CONF), -ṗere dubito-interrogative and -ŝeret optative are factuality markers.

Nowadays we find -q̇e and -ʔe CONF, and -q̇əm, -ʔəm, -q̇em and -ʔem N/2 (cf. section 3):

Besney	-q̇e	-q̇əm
West KAB	-q̇e	-q̇əm
Central KAB	-ʔe(/-q̇e)	-ʔəm/-ʔem(/-q̇əm)
East KAB	-q̇e	-ʔəm
	-q̇e	-q̇em
	-ʔe	-ʔəm
AnKAB	-ʔe	-ʔəm
"Old" KAB	-q̇e	-q̇em/-q̇am
LiKAB	-q̇e	-q̇əm/-q̇em

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 (*-ʔem → *-q̇em, cf. *-q̇e). Nowadays we find -q̇əm N/2 and -q̇e 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 *ə when the clitic turned into a suffix.

There are forms of East KAB where the initial consonants of *-ʔəm and *-q̇e have remained unaltered (Kuaseva 1954); in other forms of East KAB (as well as in Central KAB) we find -ʔəm N/2 and -ʔe 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.

4. Unspecified "Shapsug" stands for Düzce Shapsug (cf. Smeets 1976).

5. The analysis of the Oubykh 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 prétérit négatif sə.m.ca.3ȧ.yṫ "je ne suis

pas allé", plutôt que sə.m.cȧ.yṫ)." In Dumézil 1932 other uses of -3a "renforçant" are mentioned (p.94: in adverbs, p.217: in positive predicates).

6. "Suffiksal'nyj sposob obrazovanija otricanija 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-əm-bl-əc'-əz-t 'I had not burnt it' (p. 189) is commented upon as follows: "-(ə)c' doit être une variante d'une particule renforçante .. qui, jointe à le négation 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 tchétchène, 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 -q̇-/-ʔ- occurs in Dumézil (1975:200) and in Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:358). A-D represent word-final (BSN)-q̇a/(KAB)-ʔa as -q̇-a/-ʔ-a (NeINT). In 1975 Dumézil repeats this presentation: "(besl. ʔəm + a › ʔ.a.)" (though then speaking of BSN -ʔ-a and KAB -q̇-a). I think we are dealing here with single morphemes: BSN -q̇a (or -ʔa), possibly in free alternation with -q̇e (or -ʔe), KAB -ʔa (or -q̇a), etc.; cf. chapter 6, section 4.f.

9. The data are contradictory. For instance, the negative suffix in Baksan KAB is said to be -ʔəm in the grammatical part (p.250) of

Mamrešev 1969; however, in Mamrešev's Baksan texts we also find -ʔem (p.271,279, etc.) and -q̇em (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) dəy deẑ tχəlǩ´e ʔezeteq̇əm; (1969:116) dəy dey tχəlǩ´e ʔezeteq̇em 'with us they did not cure with (the help of) book(s)' [d-əy-de(ẑ) tχəlǩ´e ʔeze-te-q̇Vm (1p/PS-POS-with) (book--instrumental) (3/SB-to cure-IMPF-N/2].

10. In "LiKAB" texts one occasionally comes across -q̇em 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. -q̇əm and -q̇e, 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 nenenene (short ĕ) 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 vowel: it is only the gesture of turning up one's nose made audible".

13. The demonstratives of Circassian are: (this, this/that, that)

WEST (SHP/BZH):	mə	wə	a
WEST (ABD/TEM):	mə	mew	a
EAST :	mə	mew	a

Circassian a has the same origin as the prepositive Oubykh and Abkhaz definite article a-, cf. Dumézil (1932:34, 110).

14. Early *CIRC presumably had the following two-term system of demonstratives: *nə 'this' and *wə 'that' and, in addition, an element *a whose usage must have been close to that of the present-day Oubykh and Abkhaz definite articles (a- in both languages). Early *CIRC possibly had a MOD form *nəw.

15. Cf. present-day

LiKAB	šʲale-m	šʲale-me	šʲale-χe-m
LiAD	čʲ´ale-m	čʲ´ale-me	čʲ´ale-χe-m(-e)/čʲ´ale-m-e
SHP	čʲale-m	čʲale-me	čʲale-χe-m-e/čʲale-m-e
	'the boy, REL'	(3/SB-boy-if) 'if it is a boy'	'the boys, REL'

16. For DüSHP I distinguish two suffixes -nə: -nə Fu/2 and -nə M(a)SD(ar).

Cf.	LiKAB	LiAD	SHP
Fu/1	-nə.w	-š´t	-štə
Fu/2	-n(ə)	-n(ə)	-nə
MSD	-n(ə)	-n(ə)	-nə

	Dumézil 1975:149	Kumaxov 1971:213	Jakovlev 1948:
Fu/1	fut. général	"fut 2" kategoričeskoe	faktičeskoe
Fu/2	fut. immédiat	"fut 1"	vozmožnoe, neobxodimoe

Some quotations: (Kumaxov 1971:213) "Fu/1 [my Fu/2, RS] can be used with the meaning of an infinitive.". Dumézil (1975:196): "L'infinitif tcherkesse 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. Šagirov (1977:908) (LiAD/LiKAB) bəsλəmen/musλəmen 'Muslim' (in WEST also busλəmen, musλəmen, in EAST also busλəmen; cf. Šagirov (1977:875) baxsəme/maxsəme "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. -bə́ (with the bulk of the NPs the REL ending is -m), seems to be one which involves dissimilation. Original *mə-m (this-REL) and *m.ew-m (this/that-REL) dissimilated into *mə-b^{ə}, *m.ew-b^{ə}, after which final stress developed on the analogy of other pronouns, such as *se(.ré), *we(.ré) 'I', 'you', etc., and ye.zə́ '3 self' (cf. Paris 1974b:181, n.1). The third demonstrative, *a, followed: *a-m (that-REL) gave a-bə́. Cf. Kumaxov (1971:158) "Proisxoždenie že formantov -š˝(y), -bə, -ə(e) nastol'ko zatemneno, čto na dannom ètape izučennosti adygskix jazykov nevozmožno dostoverno ob"jasnit' ix ètimologiju, xotja suščestvuet uže nemalo gipotez i predpoloženij."

18. Negative co-predicates, for instance, have a tense-system that is almost identical to that of main predicates, whereas positive co-predicates differ considerably from main predicates in this respect. The development of co-predicates with final -əy "and" can be supposed to have taken place in rather late *CIRC [see Kumaxov (1971-179)].

19. Compare Jakovlev-Ašxamav (1941:409), where it is remarked that word-initial LiAD a (and ə) are realised with a voiced laryngeal fricative onset ["javstvenno slyšimoe v samom načale glasnogo zvuka šumnoe pridyxanie (meždusvjazočnyj gortannyj zvonkij spirant xripjaščego tipa, t.e. tipa "x")."].

Jakovlev (1948:343) observes that word-initial KAB a has - in "living" subdialects, for instance in Little Kabardian - the pronunciation "ʿɛ", in which "ʿ" stands for "glottalic voiced aspiration".

20. "Èto vytekaet iz parallel'nogo upotreblenija samogo otricanija -ḍəm kak -ʔem, -ʔəm, naprimer: šəʔeḍəm dial. šəʔeʔem//šəʔeʔəm 'ne est'', i parallel'nogo upotreblenija takix form voprositel'nogo naklonenija, kak šəʔeḍe dial. šəʔeʔe 'est' li?', opredeljajuščix zakonomernoe čeredovanie ḍə s ʔə, ḍe s ʔe." The forms analysed: šə-ʔe-ḍəm (3/SB-there-to be-N/2) 'it is not there', šə-ʔe-ḍe (3/SB--there-to be-CONF) 'it is there, isn't it?'.

21. Cf. Kuipers (1963:72; 1975:4). Rogava has repeatedly stated that *CIRC originally had a four-fold system of uvular plosives (Rogava-Keraševa 1966:37; Rogava 1974:73). The extra uvulars of Rogava would have been voiced ones. Rogava does not make his supposition plausible and I find neither internal nor external evidence in favour of it.

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. *q (and *q°), and *q̇ (and *q̇°); *q̇ would have given *ʔ everywhere (except in HkSHP), whereas *q would sometimes have an aspirated (q^h) and sometimes an unaspirated (q:) reflex in part of present day WEST, and sometimes q, sometimes q̇ in EAST (Kumaxov does not explain why the distribution of BZH/SHP q^h and EAST q, and that of BZH/SHP q: and EAST q̇ 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, Šagirov's supposition is improbable (cf. also Kumaxov 1971:240).

25. Cf., for instance, (LiAD/LiKAB) p̣°ə/p̣ə 'to raise (a child)', p̣°e/p̣e 'cover, shell'; ṭ°ə/ṭew 'two', ṭ°əpš´ə/wəṭəpŝ 'to release, set free' - cf. Kuipers (1975:13-14).

26. This analysis implies that wə- is a verbal prefix. There is a large group of verbs with initial wə- and final -ə. In most cases wə- -ə can be regarded as a verbaliser. There are discrepancies between the dialects; cf. BZH g°eš^h-ə, DüSHP wə.g°eš-ə 'to distribute' (BZH from Kuipers [1975:84]). The classic study of this subject is Dumézil-Namitok (1939). Some examples (Shapsug): ŝ°əŝe 'black', wə.ŝ°əŝ.ə 'to blacken' (tr.); dərməqə 'harrow', wə.dərməq.ə 'to harrow' (tr.), cf. tu. tırmık/dırmık; wəḳə 'to kill' (tr.), cf. (?) ḳe 'tail, end'.

27. For WEST we find the particle (Shapsug) š°ə?°(əy)a/š°e?°a 'really?/I wonder', TEM š°ə?°a [Alparslan-Dumézil (1963:358)], which probably goes back to *š°-e-?°-a (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) "ŝ°ə" yə-?°-əy yə-?°a-ğ (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" he said it and 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. šəd.a´p̣.?°e.me (LiAD, RAS:1960:potomu čto). ŝət.we^žə.p̣.?e.me (Turčaninov-Cagov 1940:156, LiKAB) 'as, because of' [LiAD: (3/SB.what.INT^3/SB.2/AG.to say.COND) "if you say "what is it?""], [LiKAB: (3/SB.what.MOD^3/SB.žə.2/AG.to say.COND) "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..".

28. ˀpere goes back to *p-ʔe-re ? (3/SB-2/AG-to say-INT) 'do you say so/it?'. Jakovlev's remark (1948:304) that it derives from *žəpere "govoriš'" does not hold as this petrification started to develop before the time when the preverb *šˊə- became obligatory before *ʔe.

29. The particles žəy and žeyrəy are extremely frequent, in KAB and in BSN, and in the written language; cf. the text Nartəẑ wered (Narty 1974:128-9), where every line ends in žəy.

30. The text continues thus (Alparslan-Dumézil 1963:381): "On le rencontre en outre dans des interrogations de la nuance wə.tx̌.a:t šˊo ? "tu l'a(vai)s vraiment écrit? (J'en doute)"; ye.gˊe.nə:w.yə šˊo "tu prétends que tu étudieras? (C'est bien tard)".

31. (Rogava 1974:74:) "Izvestny slučai v kabardinskom jazyke perexoda i vtoričnogo ġ v laringal'nyj abruptiv ʔ v opredelennoj forme glagola, Kab. səḳ°ărʼəm // ← səḳ°ărġəm ← *səḳ°ărqʼəm "ja ne idu". Kumaxov (1981:148) is of the same opinion as Rogava.

PART IV

CHAPTER 8

MORPHOLOGIE TCHERKESSE: LA CATEGORIE DE POSSESSION

première partie

DESCRIPTION DE LA CATEGORIE 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).[1,2] 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 sera 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 matériau 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-tcherkessisant 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 munie 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-référants. Les subordonnés qui co-réfèrent avec un préfixe-sujet ont la désinence ABS(olue); les subordonnés qui co-réfèrent avec des préfixes personnels autres ont, en principe, la désinence REL(ative)

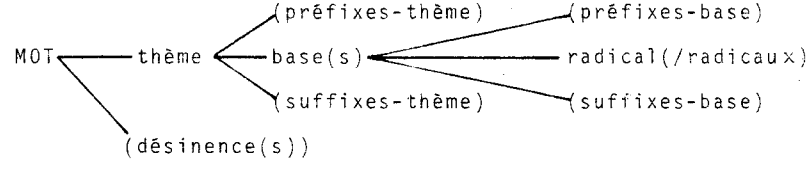
Les subordonnés non-co-référents de la phrase minimale ont, le plus souvent, la désinence INS(trumentale) ou celle MOD(ale).[4]

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 examples 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.



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 préfixes qui peuvent se présenter dans les formes-S peuvent être répartis en neuf positions. Dans quatre de ces neuf positions peuvent se trouver des préfixes personnels. Dans la plupart des positions on peut trouver des préfixes complexes, et dans trois positions (4, 5, 9) des complexes de préfixes. Dans les positions non-personnelles ne peuvent figurer, en général, qu'un nombre fort restreint de différents préfixes. L'ordre des préfixes est fixe au cent pourcent, ou peu s'en faut. Ainsi, par exemple, aucun des préfixes attribués à des positions d'un nombre inférieur à 8 ne saurait se trouver - en comptant à partir du début du mot - au delà du préfix négatif mə-[8].

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-OI); 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-Pl), un préfixe-PART(icipe), un préfixe-REC(iproque) - excepté dans la position 1 - ou un préfixe-REF(léchi) - excepté dans la position 6.

[pronoms]		pos.1:SU	pos.4:OP	pos.5:OI	pos.6:AG
se	1	sə-	s-	se-	s-
te	1p	tə-	t-	te-	t-
we	2	wə-	p-	we-	p-
ŝ°e	2p	ŝ°ə-	ŝ°-	ŝ°e-	ŝ°-
	3	Ø-(rê-/yê-)	Ø-(y-)	yê-	yə-
	3-Pl		y-a-	y-a-	y-a-
	REF	zə-	zə-	ze-	—
	REC	—	ze-	ze-	zerê-
	PART	Ø-(rê-/yê-)	zə-	ze-(zyê-)	zə-(zyə-)

Les préfixes-SU et les préfixes-OI 1, 1p, 2 et 2p sont analysables en s.ə- (1.SU), etc., et en s.e- (1.OI), etc., respectivement. Je m'abstiendrai le plus possible de donner des règles morphophonologiques. Observons toutefois que nommément 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: qe^{2} 'vers ici', ze.rê^{3} 'le fait que, la manière dont', zə^{3} 'le temps que, le moment où' (ze.rê- et zə- nominalisent), werê^{7} OPT(atif), me^{7} Dy(namique)/l (les deux derniers sans la consonne initiale en position médiale), mə^{8} N(égatif)/l et ğe^{9} CAUS(atif).

8.1.5 Conventions et exemples

A 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 ǩ°e [1] 'aller' et du verbe transitif tə [1-(5-)6] 'donner (à)' – 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 ǩ°e c'est le cas pour la seule position-sujet, dans les formes de tə pour la position-sujet et la position-agent, tandis que la position-objet indirect peut être occupée.

sə^{1}ǩ°e-št (1/SU-aller-Fu/1) 'j'(y) irai'.

sə^{1}-b^{4}-de^{4}ǩ°e-št (1/SU-2/OP-avec-aller-Fu/1) 'j'(y)irai avec toi'.

sə^{1}-b^{4}-d^{4}-yə^{6}ğe^{9}ǩ°e-št (1/SU-2/OP-avec-3/AG-CAUS-aller-Fu/1) 'il me fera/laissera aller avec toi'.

wə^{1}-qə^{2}-z^{4}-de^{4}-zə^{6}ğe^{9}ǩ°e-št-er (2/SU-vers ici-1/OP-avec-PART/AG--CAUS-aller-Fu/1-ABS) 'celui qui te fera venir avec moi'

z^{6}ğe^{9}ǩ°e-št (3/SU-1/AG-CAUS-aller-Fu/1) 'je l'enverrai'.

s^{6}tə-št (3/SU-1/AG-donner-Fu/1) 'je le donnerai'.

w^{1}-ye^{5}-s^{6}tə-št (2/SU-3/OI-1/AG-donner-Fu/1) 'je te donnerai à lui'.

ye^{5}wə^{6}mə^{8}t ! (3/SU-3/OI-2/AG-N/1-donner) 'ne le lui donne pas!'.

ye^{5}t ! (3/SU-3/OI-2/AG-donner) 'donne-le-lui!'

ze.re^{3}-s^{6}tə-ğ-er (3/SU-que-1/AG-donner-PF-ABS) 'le fait que je l'ai donné'.

se ǰal-er s^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ (je) (garçon-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF) 'j'ai vu le garçon'.

ǰale-m se s^{1}-yə^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ (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.

wə^{1}-daχ (2/SU-beau) 'tu es belle'.[23)]

w^{1}-e^{7}-daχe (2/SU-Dy/1-beau) 'tu deviens belle'.

wə^{1}-ze.re^{3}-mə^{8}-daχ-er s^{6}e^{7}še (2/SU-que-N/1-beau-ABS) (3/SU--1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que tu n'es pas belle'.

tḥe-m we w^{1}-yə^{6}ğe^{9}deχa-ğ (Dieu-REL) (tu) (2/SU-3/AG-CAUS--beau-PF) 'Dieu t'a rendue belle'.

Les préfixes-zéro ne seront présentés qu'exceptionellement 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-S

8.2.1 Introduction

Les moyens formels (tous préfixes) dont je vais décrire ici le fonctionnement indiquent directement ou indirectement - une "appartenance". Ces relations d'appartenance ont toujours un élément 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 référent de l'élément déterminé (et qui est placé directement après le préfixe) et le référent du préfixe déterminant possessif qui renvoie 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 possessives. Aussi la plupart des distinctions 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 possible 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-yə-čemə (1/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'ma vache'.

se s-yə-čemə (je) (1/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'ma vache (à moi)'.

yə-čemə (3/PS-POS-vache-REL) 'sa vache'.

ɬə.žə-m yə-čemə (vieillard-REL) () 'la vache du vieillard'.

z^{4}yə^{4}čem-er (3/SU-PART/OP-POS-vache-ABS) 'celui à qui appartient la vache'.

ɬə.ž-ew z^{4}yə^{4}čem-er (vieillard-MOD) () 'le vieillard à qui appartient la vache'.

Des relations d'appartenance déterminative peu possessive se présentent quand le préfixe possessif a un référent non-humain.

cf. wəne-m yə-pče (maison-REL) (3/PS-POS-porte-ABS) 'la porte de la maison'.

wəna-pč-er (maison-porte-ABS) 'la porte de maison'.

wəna-pče (maison-porte ABS) 'une porte de maison'.

Dans les formes-non-S il ne peut pas y avoir d'autres préfixes (de thème) que ceux dont il sera fait état ci-dessous. Notre objet est donc d'étudier dans cet article les emplois déterminatifs - dits possessifs - des préfixes (de thème) qui peuvent se présenter dans les formes-non-S.

8.2.2 Possession neutre

Dans la très grande majorité des substantifs on ne peut renvoyer que d'une seule façon à la personne du possesseur, à savoir par un préfixe personnel qui fait complexe avec le préverbe yə- POS. Les préfixes personnels possessifs précèdent yə-, tandis que la marque a-, qui indique pluralité de la troisième personne, se trouve placée après yə-.

cf. s-yə-wəne (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ma maison'.
t-yə-wəne (1p/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'notre maison'.
w-yə-wəne (2/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ta maison'.
ŝ°-yə-wəne (2p/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'votre maison'.
yə-wəne (3/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'sa maison'.
y-a-wəne (3/PS-POS-Pl-maison-REL) 'leur maison'.
w-yə-wəne s^{6}-λeğ°ə-ğ-ep (2/PS-POS-maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG--voir-PF-N/2) 'je n'ai pas vu ta maison'.
se s-yə-wəne-x̌-er žə-x̌ (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, ŝ°- 2p/PS, Ø- 3/PS, yə- 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 présentent avec des substantifs qui renvoient aux parties d'entités vivantes, comme famille, corps humain ou animal, et également avec ṣ̌e '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'opposition 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 combiner avec les préfixes possessifs "longs", c'est à dire avec les complexes où entre yə- POS. La dernière observation ne vaut 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 opposition possession organique / possession neutre, plutôt qu'à une opposition possession organique / possession non-organique.

cf. s-yə-wəne (1/PS-POS-maison-REL) 'ma maison'.
s-pe / s-yə-pe (1/PS-nez-REL) / (1/PS-POS-nez-REL) 'mon nez'.
s-λa.q°e / s-yə-λa.q°e (1/PS-jambe-REL) / (1/PS-POS-jambe--REL) 'ma (propre) jambe'.
s-yə-λa.q°e (1/PS-POS-jambe-REL) 'ma patte (p. ex. d'un animal tué qu'on partage)'.

Dans le matériau dont je dispose se présentent les substantifs suivants en combinaison avec un préfixe personnel court:

pe	'nez'	ŝḥe	'tête'
pe.cə.pe	'pointe du nez'	ŝḥe.cə	'cheveux'
pe.ǯe	'moustache'	ŝ°e	'peau'
pse	'âme'	ǯəbə	'dos'
pqə	'corps/squelette'	ṣ̌ə	'frère'
px̌°ə	'fille'	ṣ̌ə.px̌°ə	'soeur'
bə3ə	'sein'	ž̌e	'bouche'
bğe	'poitrine'	λe.px̌e(m)be	'orteil'
teme	'épaule, aile'	λe.ŝḥe	'cheville'
tx̌ə	'épine dorsale, dos'	λe.g°e.ǯe	'genou'
		λe.q°e	'jambe, pied'
tḥe.pe	'feuille'	kəyə	'gorge'
tḥeḵ°əme	'oreille'	ke	'rate'
ce	'dent'	k°əċə	'cerveau, moelle'
ce.ğe	'côte'	ḵe	'queue'
ṣ̌e	'nom'	k°ereŝ°ə	'bouton'

ĝe	'testicule'	ʔe	'bras, main'
k°e	'cuisse'	ʔe.teǧ°ə	'coude'
g°ə	'coeur'	ʔe.pǰe(m)be	'doigt'
ǩ°eć̣ə	'intestins'	ʔe.ŝẖe	'pouls'
q°ə.teme	'branche'	ʔe.l.gene	'bras'
q°əŝẖe	'os'	ʔ°ə	'(cavité de la) bouche'
q°e	'fils'	ne	'oeil'.

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.

pŝe	'cou'	ǯe.ǩe	'menton, barbe'
bze	'langue'	mene	'pénis'
bĝə	'taille'	nəbə.ǯə	'nombril'
ŝ°tə	'cul, sexe'	nəbe	'ventre'.

Je fais suivre les formes de base des préfixes personnels possessifs 1, 1p, 2 et 2p avec leurs allomorphs:

s- 1/PS	t- 1p/PS	p- 2/PS	ŝ°- 2p/PS	devant consonnes:
s-	t-	p-	ŝ°-	sourdes
ś-/s-	ť-	ṕ-	ś°-/ŝ°-	glottalisées
sə-	tə-	wə-	ŝ°ə-	sonantes
sə-/z-	tə-/d-	wə-/b-	ŝ°ə-/ẑ°-	sonores

Remarques: (i) des groupes de consonnes occlusives et/ou constrictives seul l'élément final a une articulation laryngale distinctive; (ii) les combinaisons de s-, préfixe de la première personne du singulier, avec s, ś, ŝ, ŝ́, ŝ°, ś°, ǰ, ǰ suivant sont notées s-s, ś-ś, etc., mais sont réalisées [(s)c, (s/ś)ć], etc.; (iii) les combinaisons de Cə ou Ce plus yV donnent - dans la partie préfixale du mot - normalement C-yV; (iv) devant consonnes glottalisées je ne note que ś- et ś°-.

cf. s-pe t-pe p-pe ŝ°-pe 'mon, etc., nez (pe), ABS'.
ś-ʔe ť-ʔe ṕ-ʔe ś°-ʔe 'ma, etc., main (ʔe), ABS'.
sə-ne tə-ne wə-ne ŝ°ə-ne 'mon, etc., oeil (ne), ABS'.
s-yə-pče t-yə-pče w-yə-pče ŝ°-yə-pče 'ma, etc., porte (pče), ABS'.
sə-g°ə tə-g°ə wə-g°ə ŝ°ə-g°ə
z-g°ə d-g°ə b-g°ə ẑ°-g°ə > 'mon, etc., coeur (g°ə), ABS'.

(Dans la note 13 on peut trouver quelques règles morphophonologiques.)

p-ǰə-neẖə-ǯ sᴳλeǧ°ə-ǧ-ep (2/PS-frère-plus-jeune-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF-N/2) 'je n'ai pas vu ton frère cadet'.

ś-ʔe-x̌-er ś°eyə-x̌ (1/PS-main-PL-ABS) (3/SU-sale-PL) 'mes mains sont sales'.

s-ǰə.pǰ°! (1/PS-soeur) 'ma soeur!'

Les possesseurs de la troisième personne ne peuvent être indiqués qu'au moyen de Ø-yə et Ø-y-a (v. § 2.2). Il y a des dialectes qui ont également des préfixes possessifs courts pour la troisième personne, à savoir ə- 3/PS et a- 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.

cf. s-pe / s-yə-pe (1/PS-nez-ABS) / (1/PS-POS-ABS) 'mon nez'.
s-yə-pčе (1/PS-POS-porte-ABS) 'ma porte'.
yə-pe (3/PS-POS-nez-ABS) 'son nez'.
yə-pčе (3/PS-POS-porte-ABS) 'sa porte'.
s-tḥa.pe-x̂-er / s-yə-tḥa.pe-x̂-er (1/PS-feuille-PL-ABS) / (1/PS-POS-feuille-PL-ABS) 'mes feuilles (d'un arbre présenté comme parlant)'.
s-yə-tḥa.pe-x̂-er (1/PS-POS-feuille-PL-ABS) 'mes feuilles' (qui se trouvent dans ma cour)'.

8.2.4 Possession réciproque

La possession réciproque s'exprime au moyen du préfixe ze-. Ce préfixe s'allie à un nombre restreint de substantifs:

šə	'frère'	nəse	'belle-soeur'
šə.pχ°ə	'soeur'	meλχ°e	'beau-frère'
nəbǰ.eǧ°ə	'ami'	ǧ°ə.se	'compagnon de voyage'
pəyə	'ennemi'	ǧ°ən.eǧ°ə	'voisin'.

Remarques: (i) nəse ne s'emploie qu'exceptionellement avec ze-, on trouve plutôt nəs.eǧ°ə; (ii) -eǧ°ə est un élément de dérivation qui indique le compagnon en général; cf. nəbžə 'l'age', ǧ°əne 'la frontière', ǧ°ə [1-4:čə-] 'se trouver bien ensemble (avec)'; (iii) dans les formes ABS et INS qui co-réfèrent avec un préfixe personnel du pluriel on trouve - normalement parlant - -x̂e PL, ceci en opposition avec les formes REL et MOD.

šə-x̂-er (frère-PL-ABS) 'les frères (qui ne le sont pas nécessairement l'un de l'autre, ou les uns des autres)'.
ze-šə-x̂-er (REC/PS-frère-PL-ABS) 'les frères (l'un de l'autre, ou les uns des autres)'.
s-šə-neḥə-č-əy-ť°-er ze-pəyə-x̂-ew χ°ə-ǧe-x̂ (1/PS-frère-

-plus-jeune-NuCo-deux-ABS) (REC/PS-ennemi-PL-MOD) (3/SU-devenir-PF-PL) 'mes deux frères plus jeunes sont devenus ennemis'.
ze-šə-m fe.d.ew tə[1]šə[4]s (REC/PS-frère-REL) (comme) (1p/SU-là-être (assis)) 'nous sommes (là) comme des frères'.

Le même élément ze- se présente dans un certain nombre de combinaisons fixes de caractère énumératif:

ze.λ̊(ə)ˆze.š°əzə	(REC/PS.hommeˆREC/PS.femme) 'les époux'.
ze.šəˆze.šə.pχ°ə	'soeur(s) et frère(s)'.
ze.teˆze.rə.q°e	(REC/PS.pèreˆREC/PS.InsCo.fils) 'père et fils'.
ze.teˆze.rə.pχ°ə	'père et fille'; avec pχ°ə 'fille'.
ze.neˆze.rə.q°e	'mère et fils'; avec -ne 'mère'.
ze.neˆze.rə.pχ°ə	'mère et fille'.

Quand, dans les publications sur le tcherkesse, on traite des préfixes possessifs, il n'est point question d'un préfixe possessif ze-.[7] Les considérations qui m'ont ammené à classer ze- parmi les préfixes possessifs sont les suivantes: (i) ze- indique un rapport d'appartenance possessive, ou - mieux dit - deux de tels rapports; (ii) dans les positions qui peuvent être occupées par des préfixes personnels on peut s'attendre aussi à un préfixe REC (v. § 1.4); (iii) les préfixes personnels mentionnés plus haut et ze- REC s'excluent (devant les quelques substantifs qui font combinaison avec ze-); (iv) dans les formes-S ze- est traité - de même que les préfixes possessifs reconnus généralement comme tels - comme un préfixe de thème; (v) en rangeant ze- dans le groupe des préfixes possessifs il est possible de classer dans un ensemble

cohérent tous les préfixes non-figés qui sont susceptibles de se présenter dans les formes-non-S.

A l'opposé de ce qui se fait avec les autres préfixes possessifs, ze- n'admet pas un subordonné spécifiant: possesseurs et "possédés" sont déja spécifiés par le substantif auquel s'allie le préfixe ze-.[8)]

[8.2.5-8 Possession partagée]

8.2.5 Dans la séquence préfixale Ø-y-a (v. § 2.2) y- a été interprété comme une réalisation de yə- POS, Ø- comme un préfixe possessif de la 3ème personne et, finalement, a- comme un préfixe pluralisateur indiquant qu'il s'agit d'une 3ème personne du pluriel. J'ai attribué à l'élément a- la glose Pl. Ici je montrerai que l'emploi de a- est beaucoup plus large qu'il ne résulterait du cas avancé dans § 2.2: la séquence y-a- peut aussi se trouver en combinaison avec des préfixes personnels autres que celui de la 3ème personne, et a- peut indiquer la pluralité de différentes façons. Dans tous les cas où on emploie a- dans un complexe de préfixes possessifs, il est question de ce qu'on peut appeler "possession partagée". Tout en maintenant la glose Pl dont je me suis déja servi, je présenterai dans les pages qui suivent les différents emplois de a-. On verra que la rôle de a- est toujours d'indiquer que - d'une façon ou d'autre - la personne qui se trouve indiquée devant (y-)a- n'est pas la seule qui se trouve dans un rapport de possession envers l'élément possédé. Dans les études concernant l'expression de la possession en tcherkesse seul est traité l'emploi de a- pluralisateur.

8.2.6 "Possession collective"

Le possesseur n'est pas seulement la personne indiqée par le préfixe personnel, mais encore un collectif auquel elle appartient.

cf. pŝaŝe-m yə-wəne (jeune fille-REL) (3/PS-POS-maison-ABS) 'la maison de la jeune fille'.

pŝaŝe-m y-a-wəne () (3/PS-POS-Pl-maison-ABS) 'la maison de la famille/des appartenants de la jeune fille'.

s-y.a.ne y-a-wəne tə-$\hat{k}^{\circ}$e-št (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 préfixes possessifs de la 1ère et de la 2ème personne du pluriel dans des phrases du type de:

se t-yə-nəse s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ-ep (je) (1p/PS-POS-belle=soeur--ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF-N/2) 'je n'ai pas vu notre belle-soeur', 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 tə et nə respectivement; dans un nombre de bases complexes on trouve -ne et -te.[9)] Dans les formes possessives 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.

cf. s-y.a.ne (1/PS-mère-REL) 'ma mère'.

t-y.a.ne (1p/PS-mère-REL) 'notre mère'.

w-y.a.ne (2/PS-mère-REL) 'ta mère'.

ş°-y.a.ne (2p/PS-mère-REL) 'votre mère'.

y.a.ne (3/PS-mère-REL) 'sa mère'.

(y-a-)y.a.ne [3/PS-(POS-Pl-)mère-REL] 'leur mère'.

se s-y.a.ne sə^{1}k̊°e-x̌t (je) (1/PS-mère-REL) (1/SU-aller--Fu/1) 'j'irai chez ma mère'.

ʔa-x̌e-m-e y-a-y.a.ne-x̌-er y-a-y.a.te-x̌-er qe^{2}k̊°a-ğe-x̌ (celui=là-PL-REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-Pl-mère-PL-ABS) (3/PS-POS--Pl-père-PL-ABS) (3/SU-vers ici-aller-PF-PL) 'leurs mères et leurs pères sont venus'.

se-r-əyk̊ sə^{1}t (je-NOM-EMPH) (1/SU-père) 'moi aussi, je suis père'.

t·əyk̊ n-əyk̊ s^{4}yə^{4}ʔ-ep (père-ABS-EMPH) (mère-ABS-EMPH) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-être-N/2) 'je n'ai père ni mère'.

On peut poser en principe qu'il n'est point étonnant que précisément avec 'père', et 'mère' - du moins dans leurs variantes possessives - il soit question de la notion de possession partagée, notion qui se présente également dans y.a.te.şə 'oncle paternel', y.a.te.şə.px̌°ə 'tante paternelle', y.a.ne.şə 'oncle maternel' et y.a.ne.şə.px̌°ə 'tante maternelle'.

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 morphologiques réduites. Ce sont les 'substantifs locaux'[10]. Le déterminant précédent est le plus souvent un préfixe personnel suivi de yə- (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 yə- suivi de a-, indiquant la possession partagée. Quand il s'agit de la 3ème personne du singulier, on trouve presque exclusivement ∅-yə-, rarement ∅-y-a 'possession collective'. Dans le cas de la 3ème personne du pluriel on trouve exclusivement ∅-y-a-, avec a- pluralisant ∅-. Il n'y a aucune règle, il n'y a même pas une tendance à avancer, qui détermine l'emploi de complexes sans a- à côté de ceux avec a-. Dans l'adyghé littéraire l'emploi de 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 kabarde littéraire on ne rencontre jamais un élément a- devant les substantifs locaux ou 'postpositions' comme ils sont appelés traditionellement dans les grammaires du tcherkesse écrites en russe.

cf. -č̊əbə 'espace derrière'.

s-y-a-č̊əbə (1/PS-POS-Pl-espace derrière-REL) '(l'espace) derrière moi'.

wəne-č̊əbə-m (maison-espace derrière-REL) '(l'espace) derrière la maison'.

w-y-a-č̊əbə-ge me^{7}g°ə.ş̊°e (2/PS-POS-Pl-espace derrière-INS) (3/SU-Dy/1-rire) 'il est en train de rire derrière toi'.

wəne-č̊əbə-m de^{4}k̊.ə-ğ (maison-espace derrière-REL) (3/SU--3/OP-dans-sortir-PF) 'il est parti de derrière la maison'.

se s-y-a-pe-ge ma^{7}ƛ̊°e (1/PS-POS-Pl-espace devant-INS) (3/SU--Dy/1-aller) 'il marche devant moi'.

t-y-a-ƛ̊°ačе / t-yə-ƛ̊°ačе de^{4}ƛ̊-eḥə-ǧ (1p/PS-POS-Pl-espace entre-REL) / (1p/PS-POS-espace entre-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-dans--mourir-INTE-PF) 'il mourut (dans l'espace) entre nous'.

w-y-a-dəžə tə^{1}ƛ̊°e-št (2/PS-POS-Pl-espace chez-REL) (1p/SU--aller-Fu/1) 'nous irons chez toi'.

pŝaše-m yə-dəžə tə^{1}ƛ̊°e-št (jeune fille-REL) (3/PS-POS-espace chez-REL) ( ) 'nous irons chez ('dans l'espace près de') la jeune fille'.

pŝaše-m y-a-dəžə tə^{1}ƛ̊°e-št ( ) (3/PS-POS-Pl-espace chez--REL) ( ) 'nous irons chez la famille de la jeune fille'.

pŝaše-x̌e-m-e y-a-dəžə tə^{1}ƛ̊°e-št (jeune fille-Pl-REL-Pl) (3/PS-POS-Pl-espace chez-REL) ( ) 'nous irons chez les jeunes filles'.

Si l'on tient à expliquer la présence de l'élément a- dans les formes présentées plus haut, alors il est possible, ici encore, de faire appel à la notion de possession partagée. Puisque, à côté de la personne indiquée par le préfixe personnel devant y(ə)-, il y a toujours une personne grammaticale autre qui est en relation avec l'espace auquel on réfère. Cette personne autre est le sujet de la forme-S dont la forme qui loge le substantif local est un subordonné. Les deux personnes ont une relation avec l'espace auquel le substantif local renvoie.

cf. s-y-a-čəbə zə čem de^{4}t (1/PS-POS-Pl-espace derrière-REL) (une) (vache-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-dans-être (debout)) 'derrière moi il y a une vache'; 'moi' aussi bien que 'la vache' ont une relation spatiale vis-à-vis de l'espace indiqué.

we w-(y-)a-dəžə sə^{1}šə^{4}leže-št (tu) (2/PS-(POS-)Pl-espace chez-REL) (1/SU-ʔ/OP-y-travailler-Fu/1) 'je travaillerai (dans l'espace) près de toi'.

8.2.8 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 dérivatif -ene et, finalement, d'un suffixe dérivatif 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 ou l'on s'exprime en tcherkesse 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.pe.re	'premier'
y.a.ƛ̊°.ene.re	'deuxième'
y.a.š.ene.re	'troisième'
y.a.p̊ƛ̊.ene.re	'quatrième'
y.a.tf.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 précédant la combinaison figée y.a- 'possession partagée', qui fait partie de la base.

y.a.pe.re čal-er f°e (premier) (enfant-ABS) (3/SU-grand) 'le premier enfant est grand'.

se s-y.a.ƛ̊°.ane.re čal-er re^{1}ƛ̊-ǧ (je) (1/PS-deuxième) (enfant-ABS) (3/SU-mourir-PF) 'mon deuxième enfant est mort'.

ʔa-š y.a.pe.re š°əz-er s^{6}λeǧ°ə-ǧ (celui=là-REL) (3/PS-premier) (femme-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF) 'j'ai vu sa première femme'.

ʔa-x̌e-m-e (y-a-)y.a.š.ane.re-m sə^{1}-fa^{4}-y (celui=là-PL-REL-PL) (3/PS-(POS-Pl-)troisième-REL) (1/SU-3/PO-"pour"-"vouloir") 'j'en veux le troisième'.

L'emploi d'un nom de nombre cardinal implique que l'élément déterminé par le nom de nombre en est un pris dans un total d'éléments plus ou moins semblables. Par la suite l'élément possédé a deux relations d'appartenance: l'une avec un possesseur indiqué par un préfixe personnel, l'autre avec les autres éléments grâce auxquels il est le tantième. Ce type de possession partagée d'un caractère quelque peu particulier se présente non seulement dans le ChDz, mais dans l'ensemble du tcherkesse occidental.

Finalement nous trouvons également y-a- indiquant la possession partagée avec les noms de nombre cardinaux, le plus souvent devant zə 'un'. Quelques examples:

t-y-a-z(ə) k̀°e-n fa^{4}-y (1p/PS-POS-Pl-un-ABS) (3/SU-aller--MSD-ABS) (3/SU-"pour"-"falloir") 'un de nous doit y aller'.

š°-y-a-zə-m sə^{1}-fa^{4}-y-ep (2p/PS-POS-Pl-un-REL) (1/SU-3/OP--"pour"-"vouloir"-N/2) 'je ne veux pas l'un de vous'.

ʔa-x̌e-m-e y-a-z s^{6}-λeğ°ə-ğ (celui=là-PL-REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-Pl--un-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-voir-PF) 'j'en ai vu un d'entre eux'.

y-a-zˆy-a-z-əyk̀ s^{6}-šx̌ə-ğ-ep (3/PS-POS-Pl-unˆ3/PS-POS-Pl-un--ABS-EMPH) (3/SU-1/AG-manger-PF-N/2) 'je n'en ai rien mangé du tout'.

Comparez:

t-y-a-t̀°ə re^{1}-k°e-nə-x̌ (1p/PS-POS-Pl-deux-ABS) (3/SU-aller--Fu/2-PL) 'deux de nous (y) iront'; l'emploi de a- comporte que le groupe auquel appartiennent les 'deux' se

compose de plus de deux membres.

t-əy-t̀°-əyk̀ tə^{1}-k̀°e-št (nous-CoNu-deux-ABS-EMPH) (1p/SU--aller-F/2) 'nous irons tous les deux'.

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 préfixe possessif, prennent les désinences indéfinies.

	déf.	indéf.	dém.	poss.
ABS	š°əz-er	š°əz(ə)	mə š°əz-er	s-yə-š°əz
REL	š°əzə-m	š°əzə	mə š°əzə-m	s-yə-š°əzə
INS	š°əzə-m-ge	š°əzə-ge	mə š°əzə-m-ge	s-yə-š°əzə-ge
MOD	š°əz-ew		mə š°əz-ew	s-yə-š°əz-ew
	'la femme'	'femme'	'cette femme'	'ma femme'

cf. y-a-š°əzə-x̌-er (3/PS-POS-PL-femme-PL-ABS) 'leurs femmes'.

mə s-yə-š°əz-er (celui=ci) (1/PS-POS-femme-ABS) 'cette ma femme'.

Comparez:

s^{4}-yə-š°əz-er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'celle qui es ma femme'.

Les subordonnés (secondaires) qui spécifient un préfixe personnel possessif ont la désinence REL. Ces subordonnés pré-

cèdent 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 désinence REL on trouve - généralement parlant - la séquence de désinences -x̂e-m-e (PL-REL-PL). Dans les subordonnés qui spécifient un préfixe possessif on rencontre très souvent le seul -m-e.

cf. čale-m yə-ḥe dax̂-ep (garçon-REL) (3/PS-POS-chien-ABS) (3/SU-beau-N/2) 'le chien du garçon n'est pas beau'.

čale-(x̂e-)m-e y-a-ḥe dax̂-ep (garçon-(PL-)REL-PL) (3/PS-POS-Pl-chien-ABS) () 'le chien des garçons n'est pas beau'.

se s-yə-čale yə-ḥe yə-ŝ°e dax̂-ep (je) (1/PS-POS-fils-REL) (3/PS-POS-chien-REL) (3/PS-POS-peau-ABS) () 'la peau du chien de mon fils n'est pas belle'.

La séquence spontanément donnée la plus longue que présentent nos textes est:

s-y.a.ne.ʒ̂ə-m yə-čale yə-daye yə-bəsəm.g°aše yə-ʒ̂ə.px̂°ə-neḥə-č re-¹λa-ǧ (1/PS-oncle maternel-REL) (3/PS-POS-fils-REL) (3/PS-POS-oncle maternel [emprunt]-REL) (3/PS-POS-épouse-REL) (3/PS-POS-sœur-plus-jeune-ABS) (3/SU-mourir-PF) 'la sœur cadette de la femme de l'oncle maternel du fils de mon oncle maternel est morte'.

Les subordonnés à préfixe possessif peuvent se présenter en coordination; ils peuvent aussi avoir des subordonnés coordinés secondaires.

cf. s-yə-pŝaŝe-re s-yə-čale-re ze-⁴de-⁴geg°ə-x̂ (1/PS-POS-fille-CoPN) (1/PS-POS-fils-CoPN) (3/SU-REC/OP-avec-Dy/1-jouer-PL) 'ma fille et mon fils jouent ensemble'.

ʔa λə-m-əre ʔa ŝ°əzə-m-əre y-a-čale-x̂-er psawe-x̂ (celui=là) (homme-DEF-CoPN) (celui=là) (femme-DEF-CoPN) (3/PS-POS-Pl-enfant-PL-ABS) (3/SU-vivant-PL) 'les enfants de cet homme et de cette femme sont vivants'.

Dans un subordonné de plus d'un mot les pronoms démonstratifs occupent la position initiale; rien n'y fait la présence de préfixes possessifs. Les subordonnés contenant un démonstratif peuvent être interrompus par un subordonné secondaire spécifiant le préfixe possessif.

cf. s-yə-wəne 'ma maison'.

mə s-yə-wən-er 'cette mienne maison'.

mə s-yə-ǧ°ən.eǧ°-ə yə-wəne s-⁶šefə-ŝt (celui=ci) (1/PS-POS-voisin-REL) (3/PS-POS-maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-acheter-Fu/1) 'j'achèterai cette maison qui appartient à mon voisin'.

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 élaborés 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-yə-wəne 'ma maison'.

s-yə-wəne-čək°ə-fə.žə-dax̂e-x̂-er (1/PS-POS-maison-petit-blanc-beau-PL-ABS) 'mes maisons petites blanches belles'.

s-pe (/s-yə-pe) 'mon nez'.

s-yə-pe-ŝ°eyə (/s-pe-ŝ°eyə) '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 appellons 'prépositifs' qui précèdent et définissent, il est vrai, mais celà en tant que mot indépendant. Les préfixes possessifs précèdent, généralement parlant, ces noms prépositifs.

cf. s-yə-ʔadəǧe wəne (1/PS-POS-Circassien) (maison-ABS) 'ma maison tcherkesse'; le préfixe possessif peut aussi précéder le mot-noyau.

ʔadəǧe s-yə-wəne (Circassien) (1/PS-POS-maison-ABS) 'ma maison (incidemment) tcherkesse'.

Une différence de sens est plus nettement sensible dans les cas comme:

s-yə-zə n-er me^{7}-wəzə (1/PS-POS-un) (œil-ABS) (3/SU-Dy/1--faire mal) 'mon œil (unique) me fait mal'.

zə s-yə-ne me^{7}-wəzə (un) (1/PS-POS-œil-ABS) (3/SU-Dy/1--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:

mə re^{1}-ɬ̂a-ǧe s-yə-š-er b-ew dexa-ǧ (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 č̂al-er (1/PS-premier) (enfant-ABS) 'mon premier enfant'.

w-y-a-dəžə.re ɬ̂-er xet ? (2/PS-POS-Pl-chez.suff=dér.) (homme--ABS) (3/SU-qui) 'qui est l'homme (qui se trouve) chez toi?'

s-y.a.te yə-dəžə šə-^{4}-laže-re s-yə-č̂ale-x̂-er (1/PS-père--REL) (3/PS-POS-chez-REL) (PART/SU-3/OP-y-travailler--Dy/2) (1/PS-POS-enfant-PL-ABS) 'mes enfants qui travaillent chez mon père'.

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 combinaisons 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: wəne-š̂°ə (maison-bon) 'une bonne maison', ii: base de formes prédicatives et d'autres formes-S: wə-^{1}-dax̂-ep (2/SU-beau-N/2) 'tu n'es pas belle', iii: adverbe - avec la désinence MOD: š̂°-ew 'bien'). Les formes ABS et REL dont la base ne comporte qu'un seul adjectif sont rares, et doivent être interprétées comme participes:

dax̂-er (PART/SU-beau-ABS) 'la belle ("celle qui est belle")'.

Les préfixes possessifs ne se combinent que sporadiquement avec les participes. La forme:

s-^{4}-yə-^{4}-dax̂-er (PART/SU-1/PO-POS-beau-ABS) 'ma belle ("celle qui est ma belle")' ne fut pas donnée spontanément.

Les formes du pluriel semblent être plus acceptables que celles du singulier:

s-^{4}-yə-^{4}-daxe-x̂-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':

ʔ°e.ǩe 'façon de parler'; cf. ʔ°e [1-6] 'dire qqch'.

s-yə-ʔ°e.ǩe 'ma façon de parler'.

s-yə-ǩ°e.ǩe 'ma façon de marcher'.

s-yə-ye.ǧe.g.eǩ°e 'mon professeur'; cf. ge [1-5] 'lire qqch', ǧe- CAUS et -eǩ°e '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-yə-qe^{2}na-ǧe čale-x̌-er (1/PS-POS-PART/SU-vers ici-rester-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 intransitif:

k'°e-n-er (marcher-MSD-ABS) 'le marcher'.

sə^{1}ǩ°e-n-er / s-yə-ǩ°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 sequences préfixales possessives contenant yə- POS sont - comme on s'y pourrait attendre — hébergées dans la position 4 des formes-S.[11] 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 y-a- (POS-Pl) 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 celà 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 yə- POS, des préfixes personnels indiquant la personne du possesseur, ainsi que de a- Pl.

mə-r yə^{4}wən (celui=ci-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-maison) 'celle-ci est sa maison'.

mə-x̌-er yə^{4}wəne-x̌ (celui=ci-PL-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-maison-PL) 'celles-ci sont ses maisons'.

mə-r s^{4}yə^{4}wən-ep () (3/SU-1/OP-POS-maison-N/2) 'celle-ci

n'est pas ma maison'.

wə-s-yə-šʷəz (2/SU-1/OP-POS-femme) 'tu es ma femme'.

sə-wʷ-yə-λ̓ (1/SU-2/OP-POS-homme) 'je suis ton mari'.

ʔa-r y-a-ǧʷən.eǧʷ (celui=là-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-voisin) 'celui-là est leur voisin'.

mə λ̓ə.žə-x̂-er ʔa-š yə-ǧʷən.eǧʷə-x̂ (celui=ci) (vieillard-PL-ABS) (celui=là-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-voisin-PL) 'ces vieillards sont ses voisins'.

šʷə-t-yə-pəyə-št-a ? (2p/SU-1p/OP-POS-ennemi-Fu/1-INT) 'serez-vous nos ennemis?'

sə-t-yə-ǧʷən.eǧʷ-ep (1/SU-1p/OP-POS-voisin-N/2) 'je ne suis pas notre voisin'.

Dans un nombre de ces exemples se présente la séquence Ø-yə- (3/OP-POS) où zéro indique - comme dans les formes-non-S - la 3ème personne. Dans les formes-S ce préfixe se présente encore sous une autre forme, à savoir r-. Cette variante s'emploie quand le préfixe personnel de la 3ème personne se trouve entre yə- POS et un préfixe-sujet qui est matériellement réalisé (non-zéro)

cf. sə-r-yə-šʷəz (1/SU-3/OP-POS-femme) 'je suis sa femme'.

wə-r-yə-ǧʷən.eǧʷə-ǧ-a ? (2/SU-3/OP-POS-voisin-PF-INT) 'est-ce que tu étais son voisin?'.

La séquence attendue ..r-y-a-.. se présente à côté de ..r-a-..:

sə-r-(y-)a-čal (1/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-enfant) 'je suis leur enfant'.

tə-r-(y-)a-pəy (1p/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-ennemi) 'nous sommes leurs ennemis'.

Je pose en principe que le préfixe 3/OP a deux formes de base, celle primaire: Ø- et celle secondaire: yə-, dont yə- est à insérer dans la forme sous-jacente des mots entre un préfixe-sujet non-zéro et le préverbe yə- POS; dans tous les autres cas c'est Ø- qui est à insérer.[12, 13]

Finalement je donne quelques exemples où se montre la position qu'occupe le complexe préfixale contenant yə- à l'intérieur de séquences de préfixes élaborées:

s-y-e-wəne (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Dy/1-maison) 'ça devient ma maison'.

wə-ze.re-s-yə-šʷəz-er s-e-šə (2/SU-que-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que tu es ma femme'.

sə-ze.re-w-yə-mə-šʷəz-er y-e-šə (1/SU-que-2/OP-POS-N/1--femme-ABS) (3/SU-3/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'il sait que je ne suis pas ta femme'.

s-y-ere-wən ! (3/SU-1/OP-POS-OPT-maison) 'puisse cela être ma maison!'

the-m mə-r sə-r-yə-ǧe-wəna-ǧ (Dieu-REL) (celui=ci-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-maison-PF) 'Dieu a fait cette maison mienne'.

the-m we mə-š wə-r-yə-ryə-ǧe-šʷəzə-ǧ (Dieu-REL) (tu) (celui=ci-REL) (2/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-femme-PF) 'Dieu t'a faite la femme de celui-ci'.[12]

se ʔa-š sə-z-y-e-ǧʷən.eǧʷə-m tə-ze-pəy-eˆš.tə.ǧ (je) (celui=là-REL) (1/SU-le temps que-3/OP-POS-SEM-voisin--REL) (1p/SU-REC/OI-ennemi-MODˆIMPF) 'quand j'étais son voisin, nous étions ennemis'.

ʔa čal-er ze.r-yə-čal-er w-e-šə-a ? (celui=là) (enfant-ABS)

(3/SU-que-3/OP-POS-enfant-ABS) (3/SU-2/AG-Dy/1-savoir-INT)
'sais-tu que cet enfant-là est son fils?'

Le préfixe zə- REF(léchi) ne peut pas s'allier à yə- POS, ni dans les formes causatives, ni dans les formes simples. 'Je suis mon (propre) ennemi' est rendu:

sə-^{1}ze-^{5}pəy (1/SU-REF/OI-ennemi).[14]

On peut imaginer des formes causatives possessives comportant un préfixe REF/OP comme, par exemple:

*wə-^{1}z-^{4}yə-^{4}z-^{6}ǧe-^{9}š°əzə-ǧ (2/SU-REF/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF)
'je t'ai faite ma (propre) femme'.

Cependant, ces formes sont rejetées. Les formes causatives possessives comportant un préfixe-sujet REF se présentent bien, mais sont assez rares.

cf. zə-^{1}w-^{4}yə-^{4}z-^{6}ǧe-š°əzə-ǧ (REF/SU-2/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF)[15] 'je me suis faite ta femme'.

Pour les formes possessives participales (avec zə- PART précédant yə-) v. § 3.6.

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 yə- 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. mə-r s-pe (celui=ci-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-nez) 'c'est mon nez'.

mə-r we w-^{4}yə-^{4}pe-f°-a ? ( ) (tu) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-nez-grand-INT) 'est ce-là ton grand nez?'

ze.re-^{3}s-^{4}yə-^{4}λa.q°-er / ze.re-^{3}s-λa.q°-er (3/SU-que-1/OP-POS-jambe-ABS) (3/SU-que-1/PS-jambe-ABS) 'que c'est ma jambe'.

ze.re-^{3}s-^{4}yə-^{4}mə-^{8}λa.q°-er / ze.re-^{3}mə-^{8}s-λa.q°-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 exceptionellement une forme comme:

ze.re-^{3}sə-mə-^{8}λa.q°-er (3/SU-que-1/PS-N/1-jambe-ABS).

Ici encore il est de règle que l'on trouve presque exclusivement des préfixes possessifs courts avec les substantifs qui indiquent les parents de premier degré (v. § 2.3):

wə-^{1}s-ǧ (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 préfixe ze- REC qui occupe — dans les formes-S — la position 5.

cf. tə-^{1}ze-^{5}nəbǰ.eǧ°ə-št (1p/SU-REC/OI-ami-Fu/1) 'nous serons amis (l'un de l'autre)'.

tə-^{1}ze.re-^{3}ze-^{5}mə-^{8}nəbǰ.eǧ°-er w-^{6}e-^{7}š-a ? (1p/SU-que-REC/OI-N/1-ami-ABS) (3/SU-2/AG-Dy/1-savoir-INT) 'sais-tu que nous ne sommes pas amis?'

z-^{5}ere-^{7}pəyə-x̌ ! (3/SU-REC/OI-OPT-ennemi-PL) 'puissent-ils être ennemis!'

ʔa bšaše-x̌-er ze-^{5}z-^{6}ǧe-^{9}nəs.eǧ°ə-štə-x̌ (celui=là) (j.fille-PL-ABS) (3/SU-REC/OI-1/AG-CAUS-belle=sœur-Fu/1-PL) 'j'aurai soin que ces jeunes filles deviennent belles-sœurs

(l'une de l'autre)'.[16]

8.3.5 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"

pŝaŝe-m ze.r(e)^{3}y-a^{4}-mə^{8}wən-er w^{6}e^{7}ŝ-a ? (jeune fille-REL) (3/SU-que-3/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-maison-ABS) (3/SU-2/AG-Dy/1--savoir-INT) 'sais-tu que ce n'est pas la maison de la famille de la jeune fille?'.

mə-r s-y.a.n (celui=ci-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-mère) 'c'est ma mère'.

we wə^{1}s-y.a.n (tu) (2/SU-1/PS-mère) 'tu es ma mère'.

se ?a-š sə^{1}r(y).a.n (je) (celui=là-REL) (1/SU-3/PS-mère) 'je suis sa mère'.

?a-r ?a-x̌e-m-e y.a.t / y^{4}a^{4}r(y).a.t (celui=là-ABS) (celui=-là-PL-REL-PL) (3/SU-3/PS-père)/(3/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-père) 'il est leur père'.[17]

se ?a-x̌e-m.e s^{1}a^{4}r(y).a.t (je) ( ) (1/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl--père) 'je suis leur père'.

ze.re^{3}w-y.a.n-er s^{6}e^{7}ŝe (3/SU-que-2/PS-mère-ABS) (3/SU--1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais qu'elle est ta mère'.

ze.re^{3}w^{4}y^{4}mə^{8}y.a.n-er / ze.re^{3}w^{4}y^{4}a^{4}mə^{8}n-er s^{6}e^{7}ŝe (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:

ze.re^{3}mə^{8}w-y.a.n-er (3/SU-que-N/1-2/PS-mère-ABS) 'qu'elle n'est pas ta mère'.

wə^{1}s^{4}y^{4}ere^{7}y.a.n ! (2/SU-1/OP-POS-OPT-mère) 'puisse tu être ma mère!'

wə^{1}s^{4}y^{4}ere^{7}mə^{8}y.a.n !/wə^{1}s^{4}y^{4}a^{4}re^{7}mə^{8}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.

?a-r zə.de^{4}laže-r-er s^{4}y^{4}a^{4}dəž-ep (celui=là-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 près de moi'.

?a-r zə.^{4}de^{4}laže-r-er s^{4}y^{4}a^{4}dəž-ew qə^{2}če^{4}ǩ.ə-ǧ ( ) ( ) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-chez-MOD) (3/SU-vers ici-sous-sortir--PF) 'il se trouva que l'endroit où il travaille était près de moi'.

s^{4}y^{4}a^{4}mə^{8}dəž-ew qə^{2}če^{4}ǩ.ə-ǧ (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-chez--MOD) ( ) 'il se trouva que ce n'était pas près de moi'.

Formes-S 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 suffix dérivatif -re:

se ʔa-x̌e-m-e sə-^{1}r-^{4}(y-^{4})a-^{4}š.an (je) (celui=là-PL-REL-PL) (1/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-troisième) 'j'en suis le troisième'.

sə-^{1}r-^{4}(y-^{4})a-^{4}mə-^{8}š.an-ew qə-^{2}č̓e-^{4}k̓.ə-ǧ (1/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl--N/1-troisième-MOD) ( ) 'il se trouva que je n'étais pas le troisième d'eux'.

Finalement, j'ai noté des formes-S dérivées de noms de nombre cardinaux munis de préfixes possessifs:

sə-^{1}r-^{4}y-^{4}a-^{4}z-ep (1/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-un-N/2) 'je ne suis pas un d'eux'.

ʔa-[illegible] t-^{4}y-^{4}a-^{4}z (celui=là-ABS) (3/SU-1p/OP-POS-Pl-un) 'il est un de nous'.

t-^{4}y-^{4}a-^{4}mə-^{8}z-ew qə-^{2}č̓e-^{4}k̓.ə-ǧ (3/SU-1p/OP-POS-Pl-N/1-un-MOD) (3/SU-vers ici-sous-sortir-PF) 'il se trouva qu'il n'est pas un de nous'.

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. (λ̓-ew) qa-^{2}k̓°e-r-er ([homme-MOD]) (PART/SU-vers ici-aller--Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) qui arrive'.

(λ̓-ew) sə-^{1}zə-^{4}de-^{4}laže-r-er ( ) (1/SU-PART/OP-avec-travailler-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) avec lequel je travaille'.

(λ̓-ew) sə-^{1}ze-^{5}pλə-r-er ( ) (1/SU-PART/OI-regarder-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je regarde'.

(λ̓-ew) sə-^{1}zə-^{6}λeǧ°ə-r-er ( ) (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-Dy/1-ABS) '(l'homme) qui me voit'.

(λ̓-ew) s-^{6}λeǧ°ə-r-er ( ) (PART/SU-1/AG-voir-Dy/2-ABS) '(l'homme) que je vois'.[18]

Ceci vaut aussi pour les positions où peuvent se présenter des préfixes personnels dans les prédicats possessifs dénominatifs.

Position 1:

s-^{4}yə-^{4}š°əz-er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme-ABS) 'celle qui est ma femme'.

Comparez:

s-^{4}yə-^{4}š°əz (3/SU-1/OP-POS-femme) 'elle est ma femme'.

č̓əf-ew s-^{4}yə-^{4}š°əz-er (être-MOD) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-femme--ABS) 'l'être qui est ma femme'.

s-^{4}yə-^{4}mə-^{8}š°əz-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 yə-; dans ce cas nous avons affaire à des formes qui indiquent des possesseurs.

z-^{4}yə-^{4}ḥ-er (3/SU-PART/OP-POS-chien-ABS) 'celui/celle de qui c'est le chien'.

mə ḥ-er z-^{4}yə-^{4}ḥ-er š-^{6}š̓e-r-ep (celui=ci) (chien-ABS) (3/SU--PART/OP-POS-chien-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-savoir-Dy/2-N/2) 'je ne sais pas à qui est ce chien'.

we wə-^{1}z-^{4}yə-^{4}š°əz-er x̌et ? (tu) (2/SU-PART/OP-POS-femme-ABS) (3/SU-qui) 'qui est celui dont tu es la femme?'.

Comparez:

w^{4}yə^{4}ŝ°əz-er x̂et ? (PART/SU-2/PO-POS-femme-ABS) (3/SU-qui) 'qui est (celle qui est) ta femme?'

se sə^{1}z^{4}yə^{4}q°-er ʔa-rə (je) (1/SU-PART/OP-POS-fils-ABS) (3/SU-celui=là-être identique à) 'celui dont je suis le fils est celui-là'.[19]

Comparez:

s^{4}yə^{4}q°-er ʔa-rə (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-fils-ABS) ( ) 'celui qui est mon fils, est celui-là'.

se sə^{1}z^{4}yə^{4}mə^{8}q°-er mə-rə ( ) (1/SU-PART/OP-POS-N/1-fils-ABS) (3/SU-celui=ci-être id. à) 'celui dont je ne suis pas le fils est celui-ci'.

se s-y.a.t-er ( ) (PART/SU-1/PS-père-ABS) 'celui qui est mon père'.

s^{4}y^{4}a^{4}mə^{8}t-er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-P1-N/1-père-ABS) 'celui qui n'est pas mon père'.

wə^{1}z-y.a.t-er se^{5}rə (2/SU-PART/PS-père-ABS) (3/SU-1/OI-être id. à) 'celui dont tu es le père c'est moi'.

wə^{1}z^{4}y^{4}a^{4}mə^{8}t-er (2/SU-PART/OP-POS-P1-N/1-père-ABS) 'celui dont tu n'es pas le père'.

z^{4}yə^{4}pŝaŝe-x̂-er qe^{2}ǩ°a-ğe-x̂ (3/SU-PART/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'.

mə čal-er z^{4}yə^{4}čal-er s^{6}še-r-ep (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'.

mə čal-er z^{4}yə^{4}čale-x̂-er s^{6}še-x̂-er-ep ( ) ( ) (3/SU-PART/OP-POS-

-enfant-PL-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-savoir-PL-Dy/2-N/2) 'je ne sais pas de quels gens ce garçon est l'enfant'.

mə čale-x̂-er z^{4}yə^{4}čale-x̂-er s^{6}še-x̂-er-ep (celui=ci) (garçon-PL-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 - formalement 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 imaginable en théorie, et celà 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.

cf. wə^{1}s^{4}yə^{4}zə^{6}ğe^{9}ŝ°əzə-ğ-er (2/SU-1/OP-POS-PART/AG-CAUS-femme-PF-ABS) 'celui qui t'a faite ma femme'.

8.3.7 Constructions possessives relatives sans préfixe-sujet initial

Les constructions en question se composent ordinairement de deux mots. Le premier commence par la séquence z-yə- qui indique le possesseur relatif "celui qui a, possède". La séquence z-yə- est suivie d'un substantif renvoyant à ce qui fait l'objet de la possession. Ce substantif peut être suivi de la désinence -x̂e PL, qui attribue le trait de pluralité au substantif (donc, au possédé, mais non pas au possesseur). Après -x̂e 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 -x̌e, 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 du tcherkesse (le déterminé précédant le déterminant; l'emploi de la désinence -x̌e). Je fais suivre un bon nombre d'exemples:

z-yə-wəne re^{1}stə-ğ-er s-y.a.t (PART/PS-POS-maison) (PART/SU-brûler-PF-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-père) 'celui dont la maison est brûlée est mon père'.

z-yə-pe pλə.x̌-er we^{5}rə (PART/PS-POS-nez) (PART/SU-rouge-ABS) (3/SU-2/OI-être id. à) 'tu es celui dont le nez est rouge'.

z-yə-pe (re^{1})mə^{8}pλə.x̌-er se^{5}rə ( ) ([PART/SU]-N/1-rouge-ABS) (3/SU-1/OI-être id. à) 'je suis celui dont le nez n'est pas rouge'.

z-yə-wəne žə-m b-ew ʔ°efə yə^{4}ʔ (PART/PS-POS-maison) (PART/SU-vieux-REL) (beaucoup-MOD) (travail-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-être) 'celui qui a une vieille maison a beaucoup de travail'.

z-yə-wəne re^{1}dexa-ğ-er s-y.a.t (PART/PS-POS-maison) (PART/SU-beau-PF-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-père) 'celui qui avait une belle maison est mon père'.

z-yə-wəne čə-m yə-dəža tə^{1}k̂°e-n (PART/PS-POS-maison) (PART/SU-nouveau-REL) (3/PS-POS-chez-REL) (1p/SU-aller-Fu/2) 'allons chez celui qui a une nouvelle maison'.

z-yə-pe ŝ°ey-er s^{4}yə-^{4}čal (PART/PS-POS-nez) (PART/SU-sale-

-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-fils) 'celui au nez sale est mon fils'.

z-yə-pe ŝ°eyə-x̌-er s^{4}yə-^{4}čale-x̌ (PART/PS-POS-nez) (PART/SU-sale-PL-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-enfant-PL) 'ceux qui ont le nez sale sont mes enfants'.

z-yə-ne-x̌-er daxˇ(e-x̌)-er s^{4}yə^{4}pŝaŝ (PART/PS-POS-œil-PL-ABS) (PART/SU-beau-(PL-)ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-fille) 'celle aux beaux yeux est ma fille'.

z-yə-ne-x̌-er daxˇe-x̌-er s^{4}yə^{4}pŝaŝe-x̌ ( ) ( ) (....-PL) 'celles aux beaux yeux sont mes filles'.

z-yə-λə sə^{1}zə^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ-er mə-rə (PART/PS-POS-mari) (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-PF-ABS) (3/SU-celui=ci-être identique à) 'celle dont le mari m'a vu est celle-ci'.

z-yə-pŝaŝe daxˇe-m sə^{1}de^{4}g°ə.še?e-št (PART/PS-POS-fille) (PART/SU-beau-REL) (1/SU-3/OP-avec-parler-Fu/1) 'je parlerai avec celui qui a une belle fille'.

txˇə.λ-er z-yə-ŝhe f°e-m ye^{5}s°^{6}t ! (livre-ABS) (PART/PS-POS-tête) (PART/SU-grand-REL) (3/SU-3/OI-2p/AG-donner) 'donnez le livre à celui à la grande tête!'

Le préfixe participe possessif de ces formes peut être spécifié par un subordonné à la désinence -ew MOD, comme cela se fait pour les participes:

čal-ew z-yə-pe pλə.x̌-er s^{4}yə-^{4}čal (garçon-MOD) (PART/PS-POS-nez) (PART/SU-rouge-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-fils) 'le garçon au nez rouge est mon fils'.

Les deux termes de la construction peuvent être séparés par un subordonné du participe:

z-yə-ŝ°əzə təğ°ase sə^{1}zə^{6}λeğ°ə-ğ-er s^{4}yə^{4}ğ°ən.eğ° (PART/PS-

-POS-femme) (hier) (1/SU-PART/AG-voir-PF-ABS) (3/SU-1/PS-
-POS-voisin) 'celui dont la femme m'a vu hier est mon voisin'.

La construction à deux termes peut aussi se présenter de rares fois prépositivement - donc sans désinence finale du second terme - devant un substantif qui, lui, est pourvu de désinences:

z-yə-pe pλə.žə čal-er yə^{4}-s-ep (PART/PS-POS-nez) (PART/SU-
-rouge) (garçon-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-dans-être assis-N/2)
'le garçon au nez rouge n'est pas là ("dans la maison")'.

8.4 Deux verbes possessifs

8.4.1 Introduction

Dans le ChDz il y a deux radicaux verbaux qui se combinent avec le préverbe yə- POS et dont les formes-S dérivées expriment des relations "possessives": le préfixe personnel qui précède immédiatement yə- indique, ici encore, le possesseur tandis que le préfixe-sujet renvoie à l'élément possédé. Les deux verbes sont des verbes d'état intransitifs: ?e [1-4:yə-] 'avoir qqch/qqun', ye [1-4:yə-] 'avoir posséder qqch/qqun, appartenir à'. La combinaison yə-?e indique l'existence et la relation d'appartenance de ce qui est possédé; la combinaison yə^{4}-ye indique seulement une relation d'appartenance. Le radical ?e se combine également avec le préverbe šə- 'y, là'; cette dernière combinaison exprime l'existence (quelque part) de la personne à laquelle renvoie le préfixe-sujet. J'identifie ye de yə^{4}-ye 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:

čel-əy-ť° s^{4}-yə^{4}-? (enfant-CoNu-deux-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-
-être) 'j'ai deux enfants'.
mə čal-er se s^{4}-yə^{4}-y (celui=ci) (enfant-ABS) (je) (3/SU-1/OP-
-POS-"être possédé") '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 posséderait. Donc, on peut bien dire:

λə.ğe s^{4}-yə^{4}-? (courage-ABS) ( ) 'j'ai du courage'.

mais on ne peut pas le dire en se servant de ye. Le sens de ye [1-4:yə-] 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 ?ə.ğe 'tenir/avoir temporairement'. Ce dernier verbe n'entre pas dans cet exposé: il ne se combine pas avec yə- POS.[21]

8.4.2 ?e [1-4:yə-] et ye [1-4:yə-]: illustration

(i) ?e [1-4:yə-] 'avoir'
šəše t^{4}-yə^{4}-? (argent-ABS) (3/SU-1p/OP-POS-être) 'nous avons de l'argent'; forme statique du présent.
šəše s^{4}-y^{4}-e^{7}-?e (ze.pə.t) ( ) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-Dy/1-être) ((continuellement)) 'j'ai tout le temps (continuellement) de l'argent'; forme dynamique du présent.
se we wə^{1}-s^{4}-yə^{4}-? (je) (tu) (2/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'je t'ai'.
sə^{1}-r^{4}-yə^{4}-? (1/SU-3/OP-POS-être) 'il m'a'.
?a-xe-m-e we wə^{1}-r^{4}-(y^{4})a^{4}-?-ep (celui=là-PL-REL-PL) (tu) (2/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-être-N/2) 'ils ne t'ont pas'.

tə-^{1}ze-^{4}ryə-^{4}ʔ (1p/SU-REC/OP-POS-être) 'nous nous avons l'un l'autre'.

sə-^{1}z-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ-er (1/SU-PART/OP-POS-être-ABS) 'celui qui m'a'; participe.

s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ-er (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être-ABS) 'ce que j'ai'; participe.

w-^{4}y-^{4}ere-^{7}ʔ ! (3/SU-2/OP-POS-OPT-être) 'puisses tu l'avoir!'

wə-^{1}r-^{4}y-^{4}ere-^{7}mə-^{8}ʔ ! (2/SU-3/OP-POS-OPT-N/1-être) 'puisse-t-il ne pas t'avoir!'

(ii) ye [1-4:yə-] 'avoir, posséder'

mə-r we w-^{4}yə-^{4}y (celui=ci-ABS) (tu) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-être possédé) 'c'est à toi, tu possèdes celà'.

ze.re-^{3}w-^{4}yə-^{4}y-er s-^{6}e-^{7}šə (3/SU-que-2/OP-POS-être possédé-ABS) (3/SU-1/AG-Dy/1-savoir) 'je sais que c'est à toi'.

ʔa-š y-^{4}ere-^{7}mə-^{8}y ! (celui=là-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-OPT-N/1-être possédé) 'puisse-t-il ne pas l'avoir!'

thə-m mə-r r-^{4}yə-^{6}gə-^{9}ya-ɣ (Dieu-REL) (celui=ci-ABS) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-être possédé-PF) 'Dieu a fait ceci le sien' ("Dieu" et "sien" ne co-réfèrent pas).

mə wən-er s-^{4}yə-^{4}gə-^{9}y ! (celui=ci) (maison-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-2/AG-CAUS-être possédé) "fais de la sorte que cette maison m'appartient!"

te mə wən-er z-^{4}yə-^{4}d-^{6}gə-^{9}ye-št (nous) ( ) ( ) (3/SU-REF/OP-POS-1p/AG-CAUS-être possédé-Fu/1) 'nous ferons cette maison la nôtre'.

sə-^{1}r-^{4}(y-^{4})a-^{4}y-ep (1/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-être possédé-N/2) 'ils ne me possèdent pas, je ne suis pas à eux'.

z-^{4}yə-^{4}y-er (3/SU-PART/OP-POS-être possédé-ABS) 'le possesseur'; participe.

ʾ-ew mə k°-er z-^{4}yə-^{4}y-er baye (homme-MOD) (celui=ci) (voiture-ABS) ( ) (3/SU-riche) 'l'homme qui est le propriétaire de cette voiture est riche'.

se s-^{4}yə-^{4}y-er (je) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être possédé-ABS) 'ce que je possède'; participe.

se s-^{4}yə-^{4}ye k°-er ʾə (je) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être possédé) (voiture-ABS) (3/SU-vieux) 'la voiture que j'ai est vieille'.

mə čʾale-x̌-er x̌etə yə-^{4}ye-x̌ ? (celui=ci) (enfant-PL-ABS) (qui-REL) (3/SU-3/OP-POS-être possédé-PL) 'à qui sont ces enfants?'

ze-^{4}de-^{4}t-^{4}yə-^{4}y (3/SU-REC/OP-avec-1p/OP-POS-être possédé) 'nous le possédons ensemble'.

8.4.3 ʔe [1-4:yə-] et ye [1-4:ya-]: commentaire

Le verbe yə-ʔe 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 yə-ʔe est un verbe inversif.[22)]

A la différence des verbes non-inversifs on ne saurait construire de yə-ʔe ni 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. wə-^{1}s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ (2/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'je t'ai'.

x̌əše s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ (argent-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'j'ai de l'argent'.

*x̌əše yə-ʔ ! 'aie de l'argent!'

x̌əše z-^{4}yə-^{4}ǧa-^{9}ʔ (argent-ABS) (3/SU-REF/OP-POS-2/AG-CAUS-être 'aie soin d'avoir de l'argent'.

*zə-^{1}s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ (REF/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'j'ai moi-même'.

Comparez les formes non-inversives:

sə-^{1}b-^{4}de-^{4}k̓°e-št (1/SU-2/OP-avec-aller-Fu/1) 'j'irai avec toi'.

s°ə-^{1}qə-^{2}z-^{4}da-^{4}k̓° ! (2p/SU-vers ici-1/OP-avec-aller) '(vous,) venez avec moi!'

sə-^{1}ze-^{4}de-^{4}geg°ə-ǧ (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 differencie de ce qu'on trouve d'ordinaire (le subordonné 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 active' occupe la position initiale de la phrase.

cf. se we wə-^{1}s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ (je) (tu) (2/SU-1/OP-POS-être) 'je t'ai'.

we se wə-^{1}qə-^{2}z-^{4}de-^{4}k̓°e-št-a ? ( ) ( ) (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 préverbial ou un objet indirect.

Le verbe yə-ye, qui conserve des traces de son origine nominale, a des traits en commun aussi bien avec des verbes inversifs qu'avec des verbes non-inversifs. Je parlerai amplement de ce

verbe dans Smeets à paraître d.

8.4.4 Comparaison de phrases à constructions possessives

(1) s-yə-wəne y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ (1/PS-POS-maison-ABS) (3/SU-3/AG-Pl--peindre-PF) ils ont peint ma maison'.

(2) s-^{4}yə-^{4}wən-er y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ (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-^{4}yə-^{4}ye wən-er y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ (je) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS-être-possédé) (maison-ABS) ( ) 'ils ont peint la maison qui est à moi'.

(4) y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ-er se s-^{4}yə-^{4}wən (PART/SU-3/AG-Pl-peindre-PF-ABS) (je) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-maison) 'ce qu'ils ont peint est ma maison'.

(5) y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ-er se s-yə-wəneˆa.rə (PART/SU-3/AG-Pl-peindre--PF-ABS) (je) (1/PS-POS-maisonˆêtre identique à [copule]) 'ce qu'ils ont peint, c'est ma maison'; avec incorporation de se s-yə-wəne dans la position-sujet de la copule.

(6) y-^{6}a-^{6}la-ǧ-er se s-^{4}yə-^{4}ye wəneˆa.rə ( ) ( ) (PART/SU-1/OP--POS-être possédé) (maisonˆêtre identique à) 'ce qu'ils ont peint c'est la maison que j'ai/qui m'appartient'.

(7) mə-r se s-^{4}yə-^{4}wən (celui=ci-ABS) (je) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-maison) 'c'est ma maison'.

(8) mə-r se s-yə-wəneˆa.rə ( ) ( ) [cf. (5)] 'voici ma maison'.

(9) mə-r se s-^{4}yə-^{4}ye wəneˆa.rə ( ) ( ) (PART/SU-1/OP-POS--être possédé) (maisonˆêtre identique à) 'voici/c'est ici la maison qui m'appartient'.

(10) mə wən-er se s-^{4}yə-^{4}wən (celui=ci) (maison-ABS) (je) (3/SU--1/OP-POS-maison) 'cette maison est ma maison'.

(11) mə wən-er se s-yə-wəneˆa.rə () () () (cf. [5]) 'cette maison (c')est ma maison'.

(12) mə wən-er se s-^{4}yə-^{4}ye wəneˆa.rə ( ) ( ) ( ) (cf. [6]) 'cette maison est la maison qui est à moi'.

(13) mə wən-er se s-^{4}yə-^{4}y (celui=ci) (maison-ABS) (je) (3/SU--1/OP-POS-être possédé) 'cette maison est à moi'.

(14) se wən-əy-ṫ° s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔ (je) (maison-CoNu-deux-ABS) (3/SU--1/OP-POS-être) 'j'ai deux maisons'.

(15) se s-^{4}yə-^{4}ʔe wən-əy-ṫ°-er mə-rə-x̌ (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'.

ABREVIATIONS

ABS - désinence absolue
AG - préfixe personnel agent
CAUS - préfixe causatif
ChDz - Chapsoug de Düzce
CoINS - infixe connectif instrumental
CoNP - dés. coordonnante (de phrases nominales)
CoNu - infixe connectif (devant noms de nombre)
DEF - désinence relative/définie
des. - désinence
Dy/1 - préfixe dynamique
Dy/2 - dés. dynamique
EMPH - dés. coordonnante/emphatique
Fu/1 - suffixe futur 1 (-štə)
Fu/2 - suffixe futur 2 (-nə)
IMPF - marque (enclitique) d'imparfait
INS - dés. instrumentale
INT - dés. interrogative
INTE - suffix intensif
MOD - dés. modale
MSD - suffixe masdar (nom verbal)
N/1 - préfixe négatif
N/2 - dés. négative
NOM - suffixe nominalisant (de pronoms personnels)
OI - préfixe personnel objet indirect
OP - préfixe personnel objet préverbial
OPT - préfixe optatif
PART - préfixe relatif (dans les participes)
PF - suffixe du parfait
Pl - préfixe du pluriel
PL - désinence du pluriel
pos. - position
POS - possession (préverbe: yə-^{4})
PS - préfixe personnel possessif
REC - préfixe réciproque
REF - préfixe réfléchi
REL - désinence relative
S - sujet (dans "forme-S")
SEM - préfixe sémelfactif
SU - préfixe personnel sujet
suff=dér. - suffixe de dérivation
1 - première personne
1p - première personne du pluriel
2 - deuxième personne
2p - deuxième personne du pluriel
3 - troisième personne

NOTES

1. Le Chapsoug est un dialecte tcherkesse occidental; Düzce est une ville située entre Istanboul et Ankara. En URSS il y a deux langues tcherkesses "littéraires": l'adyghé littéraire (tcherkesse occidental) et le kabarde littéraire (tcherkesse oriental). Pour le Chapsoug de Düzce, v. Smeets 1976.
Transcription (mon ordre alphabétique): voyelles: ə, e, a; consonnes (labiales:) p, b, pʲ, f, pʲ°, f°; (dentales:) t, d, tʲ, tʲ°; (sifflantes:) c, ʒ, cʲ, s, z, sʲ; (alvéolaires:) ŝ, ẑ, ŝʲ, ĉ°, ŝ° ẑ°, ŝʲ°; (chuintantes:) č, ǯ, čʲ, š, ž, (vélarisée:) š̫; (latérales:) λ, l, λʲ; (vélaires:) k, g, kʲ, x̂, ĝ, k°, g°, kʲ°; (uvulaires:) q, χ, ǧ, q°, χ°, ǧ°; (pharyngale:) ḥ; (laryngales:) ʔ, h, ʔ°; (sonantes:) y, w, m, n, r. L'accent affecte - normalement parlant - la dernière ou la pénultième voyelle du thème. Pour le thème, v. § 1.3.

2. Je projète une série d'études pareilles. Ces études se veulent, d'une part, un complément de la grammaire du ChDz que j'espère faire paraître dans un proche avenir, d'autre part elles ont pour but de décrire l'image totale des catégories traitées du tcherkesse 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: wəne-ŝʲ°ə '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 ŝʲ°e, 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 travaux cités de Mr. Kumaxov. Rogava-Keraševa (1966:276) le présentent bien dans le par. formy vzaimnosti imen, 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 tə^{1}ze^{4}de^{4}geg°ə (nous) (1p/SU-REC/OP-avec-Dy/1-jouer) 'nous jouons ensemble'.
te tə^{1}ze^{5}pλə (nous) (1p/SU-REC/OI-Dy/1-regarder) 'nous nous regardons'.
tə^{1}zer^{6}e^{7}λeǧ°ə (1p/SU-REC/AG-Dy/1-voir) 'nous nous voyons (l'un l'autre)'.

9. Cf. ze.teˆze.rə.q°e, etc. (§ 2.4), et ne.ne.ẑə 'grand-mère', te.te.ẑə 'grand-père' (ẑə 'vieux'), nəwe 'vieille femme' (cf. (?) nəse 'brue'), na(n) ! 'maman!', ta(t) ! 'papa!', ne.nə.g°eše "la jeune fille enlevée qui attend que son mariage soit réglé",

ne.nə.ẑəye "le garçon ravisseur qui attend ..".

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 préverbs (simples et complexes). La plupart ont un sens local, cf. $s^{4}te^{4}$ (1/OP-sur) 'sur moi', $p^{4}\check{c}e^{4}$ 'sous toi', $ø^{4}g^{o}e^{4}$ 'à côté de lui'; cf. aussi $p^{4}fe^{4}$ 'pour toi', $ẑ^{o4}de^{4}$ 'avec vous'. Je n'identifie pas $yə^{4}$ POS avec $yə^{4}$ 'dans (p. ex. une maison)' (cf. -$x̌e$ 'dans [p.ex. l'eau]', de^{4} 'dans [p.ex. un cour]'). Je n'y vois pas de motivations sémantiques (ni d'ailleurs diachroniques). Les argumentations contre une telle identification sont fournies par l'emploi de a^{4} Pl après $yə$- POS (avec tous les autres préverbes, y compris $yə^{4}$ 'dans', a- précède le préverbe dont l'objet est indiqué) et par le comportement du préfixe 3/OP (devant $yə$- POS on peut trouver r- 3/OP, que l'on ne trouvera jamais devant $yə$- 'dans' - v. la note 13). Comparez:

$s^{1}yə^{4}ḥ.a$-ǧ (1/SU-3/OP-dans-entrer-PF) 'j'y suis entré'
(forme sous-jacente:) +sə-Ø-yə- ḥ.e -ǧe+.

$sə^{1}r^{4}yə^{4}ḥa$-ǧ (1/SU-3/OP-POS-chien-PF) 'j'étais son chien'
(forme sous-jacente:) +sə-y-yə- ḥe -ǧe+.

$s^{1}a^{4}ryə^{4}ḥ.a$-ǧ (1/SU-3/OP-Pl-dans-entrer-PF) 'j'y suis entré ("dans eux")' +sə-y-a-yə- ḥ.e -ǧe+.

$sə^{1}r^{4}(y^{4})a^{4}ḥa$-ǧ (1/SU-3/OP-(POS-)Pl-chien-PF) 'j'étais leur chien' +sə-y-yə-a- ḥe -ǧe+.

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) $w^{4}yə^{4}ŝ^{o}əz$ 'elle est ta femme'
(a) (3/SU-2/OP-POS-femme)
(b,c) +Ø-p-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(d-1) +Ø-wə-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(d-2) +Ø-w-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(d-3) +Ø-w-yə- ŝ°əz+
(e) /wyəŝ°əz/
(f) [$w^{j}iŝ^{o}ü z^{s}$]

(ii) $sə^{1}r^{4}yə^{4}ŝ^{o}əz$ 'je suis sa femme'
(a) (1/SU-3/OP-POS-femme)
(b) +sə-Ø-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(c) +sə-y-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(d-1) +sə-r-yə- ŝ°əzə+
(d-2) +sə-r-yə- ŝ°əz+
(e) /səryəŝ°əz/
(f) [sɪr^{j}iŝ°ü z^{s}]

(iii) wə-r^{1}-$yə^{4}$-$ryə^{6}$-ğe-^{9}ŝ°əzə-ğ 'il t'a faite la femme de lui'
("il" ≠ "lui")

(a) (2/SU-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-femme-PF)

(b) +wə-Ø-yə-yə-ğe- ŝ°əzə -ğe+

(c) +wə-y-yə-yə-ğe- ŝ°əzə -ğe+

(d-1) +wə-r-yə-yə-ğe- ŝ°əzə -ğe+

(d-2) +wə-r-yə-ryə-ğe- ŝ°əzə -ğe+

(d-3) +wə-r-yə-ryə-ğe- ŝ°əzə -ğ+

(e) /wəryəryəğeŝ°əzəğ/

(f) [wuririğœŝ°ʉzəğ$^{\chi}$]

13. Illustration des remarques (ii) et (iii) (v. par. 2.3):

- ṡ-ṡe 'mon nom'

(a) (1/PS-nom-ABS)

(b) +s- ṡe -er+

(c) +s- ṡe -Ø+

(d-1) +s(ʾ)- ṡe -Ø+

(e) /SṠe/ (/Ṡ/ est l'archiphonème de /ṡ/ et /ċ/, et /S/ de /s/, /z/ et /ṡ/.)

(f) [s(ʾ)ċɛ].

- s^{1}-$yə^{6}$-λeğ°ə-ğ 'il m'a vu'

(a) (1/SU-3/AG-voir-PF)

(b-c) +sə-yə- λeğ°ə -ğe+

(d-1) +s-yə- λeğ°ə -ğe+

(d-2) +s-yə- λeğ°ə -ğ+

(e) /syəλeğ°əğ/

(f) [s^{i}iλœğ°uğ$^{\chi}$]

Autres règles: de deux voyelles sous-jacentes consécutives c'est en principe la plus fermée qui tombe; dans le cas de deux

voyelles identiques j'admets que c'est la première qui tombe:

y-a-wəne (3/PS-POS-Pl-maison-REL) 'leur maison, REL'
+Ø-yə-a- wəne -ə+.

t-əyk̇ (père-ABS-EMPH) 'et mon père' +tə -Ø-əyk̇+.

Une séquence sous-jacente +..eC(C)e+ qui se présente en position finale du thème devient +..aC(C)e+ (+ê+ ne donne jamais +a+):

pŝaŝe-m (jeune fille-REL) 'la jeune fille, REL' +pŝeŝe -m+.

zə-g°e.re-m (un-certain-REL) 'un certain, REL' +zə-g°e.re -m+.

Une séquence +(..)y-y..+ donne — dans la partie préfixale du mot — +(..)r-y..+:

$sə^{1}$-r^{4}-$yə^{4}$-ŝ°əz (v. note 12)

r^{4}-$yə^{6}$-ğe-^{9}ʔa-ğ (3/SB-3/OP-POS-3/AG-CAUS-être-PF) 'il l'a fait le sien' ("il" ≠ "sien") +Ø-Ø-yə-yə-ğe- ʔe -ğe+; +yə-yə+ → +y-yə+ → +r-yə+.

Une séquence yə donne — dans la partie préfixale du mot — ryə après a, ze et ryə:

y^{5}-a^{5}-$ryə^{6}$-tə-ğ (3/SB-3/OI-Pl-3/AG-donner-PF) 'il l'a donné à eux' +Ø-$yê^{1}$-a^{5}-$yə^{6}$ tə -ğe+.

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 position 5 (OI) dans les formes-S tirées d'un nom est exceptionelle; pəyə 'ennemi' en présente un exemple. Donc, nous avons pəyə [1(-5)] 'être l'ennemi [de ("à") 5]'.

15. Le tcherkesse n'accepte pas, à l'intérieur d'une seule forme, la présence de deux préfixes personnels co-référants: ni

*$sə^{1}$-w^{4}-$yə^{4}$-z^{6}-ğe-^{9}ŝ°əzə-ğ (1/SU-2/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF) 'je me suis faite ta femme', ni

*wə^{1}-s^{4}-yə^{4}-z^{6}-ɣe^{9}-š°əzə-ɣ (2/SU-1/OP-POS-1/AG-CAUS-femme-PF)

'je t'ai faite ma femme', ne sera accepté.

16. Comparez les formes suivantes du verbe pλə [1-5] 'regarder qqun/qqch':

tə^{1}-ze^{5}-pλə-št (1p/SU-REC/OI-regarder-Fu/1) 'nous nous regarderons'.

tə^{1}-ze.re^{3}-ze^{5}-mə^{8}-pλə-r-er (1p/SU-que-REC/OI-N/1-regarder-Dy/2--ABS) '(le fait, ABS) que nous ne nous regardons pas'.

z^{5}-ere^{7}-pλə-x̂ ! (3/SU-REC/OI-OPT-regarder-PL) 'qu'ils se regardent!'

ze^{5}-z^{6}-ɣe^{9}-pλə-štə-x̂ (3/SU-REC/OI-1/AG-CAUS-regarder-Fu/1-PL) 'je les ferai se regarder (l'un l'autre)'.

17. y^{4}-a^{4}-r(y).a.t (3/SU-3/OP-POS-Pl-père) 'il est leur père' +Ø-Ø-yə-a- y.a.te+.

18. Pour les participes de l'Adyghé littéraire v. Hewitt 1979.

19. Pour l'analyse des formes-S tirées de pronoms et qui comportent un élément rə, 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 čese [1-4:yə-] 'aimer qqun/qqch', qui — s'il comporte bien l'élément yə- 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:

se ʔa-r s^{4}-yə-^{4}čas (je) (celui=là-ABS) (3/SU-1/OP-POS-être aimé) 'je l'aime ("il est l'aimé de moi")'.

ʔa-š se sə^{1}-r^{4}-yə-^{4}čas (celui=là-REL) (je) (1/SU-3/OP-POS--être aimé) 'il m'aime ("je suis l'aimé(e) de lui")'.

se sə^{1}-z^{4}-yə-^{4}čase čəf šə^{4}-ʔ-ep (je) (1/SU-PART/OP-POS-être aimé) (personne-ABS) (3/SU-lă-être-N/2) 'il n'y a personne qui m'aime'.

22. Cf. Rogava-Keraševa (1966:167):

"V adygejskom jazyke glagoly mogut imet' inversivnyj stroj. Pri inversivnyx glagolax pokazatel' grammatičeskogo kosvennogo ob"ekta vyražaet real'nyj sub"ekt, a pokazatel' grammatičeskogo sub"ekta - real'nyj ob"ekt."

23. La voyelle sous-jacente finale d'une forme-S statique tombe sous certaines conditions (v. § 4.4.2).

CHAPTER 9 ON LOCATION AND DIRECTION IN CIRCASSIAN

FIVE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

9.1 Introduction

There is a group of suffixes in (Shapsug) Circassian[1] 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 one 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 4 by a preverb object prefix, slot 5 by an indirect object prefix and slot 6 by an agent prefix. Slot 2 can be filled by qe- '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.[2]

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.[3] 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 qe- 'hither' (Hh), which indicates direction in a different way from the directional suffixes, namely deictically. Roughly speaking, qe- 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] → he[here]; he → you; he ⟶ I; and you → 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 qe- in forms in which a movement is expressed towards the speaker's imaginary position. There are several types of form in which qe- 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 tə 'to stand', sə 'to sit' and λə 'to lie'. These stative verbs obligatorily take a locational prefix.

e.g. (1) sə-p^{4}-te^{4}-s (1/SB-2/PO-on-to sit) 'I am sitting on you'.

(2) wəne-m s-$yə^{4}$-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 šə- '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. yə- 'in (a closed space)', de- 'in (an open space)', x̌e- 'in (a mass)', k̊°ec̊ə- 'within (totally filling up)'.[4]

The locational preverbs other than šə- 'there' and λə- '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.

i.	-e	ILL	-	illative	w(ith) locational preverbs
ii.	-ə	ELA	-	elative	
iii.	-əḥe	InV	-	introvert	
iv.	-ək̊ə	ExV	-	extrovert	
v.	-eḥə	INTE	-	intensive	
		intensive/rest			
		intensive/transitive			w. qe^{2}
vi.	-ek̊e	NoFW	-	not forward	
		backwards			w. ze^{5} REF/io
		sideways, around			w. io prefixes
		around (a contour)			w. $ryə^{4}$ instrumental
		aimless, in the wrong direction			w. de^{4}
vii.	-ye	UPW	-	upwards	w. de^{4}
viii.	-ex̌ə	DOWN	-	downwards	w. io prefixes
ix.	-λ̊e	ToCL	-	closely towards	w. io prefixes
x.	-x̌e	ToQU	-	quickly towards	w. io prefixes
xi.	-sə	till			w. $nê^{4}$ 'at'.

For the suffixes combining with locational preverbs, see sections

4, 5 and 6 below. The use of the other suffixes is illustrated in a note.[5]

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) wəne-ǩ°ečə-m s-^{1}yə-^{4}ḥ.a-ǧ (house-inside-REL) (1/SB-3/PO--in-to enter-PF) 'I entered the house'.

(4) wəne-m yə-ǩ°ečə s-^{1}yə-^{4}ḥ.a-ǧ (house-REL) (3/PS-POS--inside-REL) () 'I entered the house'.[6]

Compare:

(5) wəne-m s-^{1}yə-^{4}ḥ.a-ǧ (house-REL) () 'I entered the house'.[7]

The demonstrative pronouns have a three-term system: mə 'this', wə 'that (near you)' and ?a 'that'. Various sets of deictic local adverbs are derived from these pronouns.[8]

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) q°aǯe-m sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ (village-REL) (1/SB-to go-PF) 'I went to the village'.[9]

(7) q°aǯe-m-ge sə-^{1}ǩ°a-ǧ (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 -eḥə. 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 šə-^{4} 'there'.

(8) q°aǯe-m de-^{4}ƛ-eḥə-ǧ (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) q°aǯe-m de-^{4}t-ew re-^{1}ƛa-ǧ (village-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in--to be/stand-MOD) (3/SB-to die-PF) 'he died (being) in the village'.

(10) q°aǯe-m šə-^{4}ƛa-ǧ () (3/SB-3/PO-there-to die-PF) 'he died in the village'.

(11) š°əz-er wəne-m yə-^{4}lež-eḥə-št (woman-ABS) (house-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to work-INTE-Fu/1) 'the woman will be working in the house (for example: cleaning it)'.

(12) š°əz-er wəne-m šə-^{4}leže-št (woman-ABS) (house-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-there-to work-Fu/1) 'the woman will be working in the house (for instance: type-writing)'.

(13) čal-er wəne-m y-^{4}e-^{7}psǩ-eḥə (child-ABS) () (3/SB-3/PO--in-Dy/1-to jump-INTE) 'the child is jumping all over the house'.

(14) čal-er wəne-m $š^{4}e^{7}psǩe$ () () (3/SB-3/PO-there-Dy/1-to jump) 'the child is jumping in the house'.

(15) $qə^{2}z^{4}g^{o}e^{4}λ$-eḥə-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/PO-beside-to die-INTE-PF) 'he died beside me'.

(16) se $qə^{2}z^{4}g^{o}e^{4}s$-ew $re^{1}λa$-ǧ (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

Illative and elative forms indicate the subject's appearance at, or disappearance from, a location that is referred to by the preverb object. In transitive 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.[10] The elative suffix has the allomorphs -ə and -əǩə.

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.

(17) məž°-er $te^{4}sə^{6}$3-e-št (stone-ABS) (ø/SB-3/PO-on-1/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone on it'.

(18) məž°-er $te^{4}sə^{6}$3-ə-št (stone-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-on-1/AG--to throw-ELA-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone from it'.

(19) məž°-er $sə^{6}$3ə-št () (3/SB-1/AG-to throw-Fu/1) 'I will throw the stone'.

(20) čem-er $de^{4}p^{6}š$-a-ǧ (cow-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead--ILL-PF) 'you led the cow into it'.

(21) čem-er $de^{4}p^{6}š$-ə-ǧ (cow-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to lead--ELA-PF) 'you led the cow out of it'.

(22) čem-er $p^{6}ša$-ǧ(e) () (3/SB-2/AG-to lead-PF) 'you led the cow'.

(23) wəne-m $w^{1}yə^{4}s^{6}λeǧ^{o}$-a-ǧ (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) wəne-m $wə^{1}šə^{4}s^{6}λeǧ^{o}$-ə-ǧ () (2/SB-3/PO-there-1/AG-to see-PF) 'I saw you in the house'.

(25) wəne-m $w^{1}yə^{4}s^{6}λeǧ^{o}$-eḥə-ǧ () (2/SB-3/PO-in-1/AG-to see--INTE-PF) 'I saw you in the house'.

As to the elative suffix, some verbs take only -ə, others can have -ə as well as -əǩə, and a small number only has -əǩə.[11] According to my informants, there generally is no difference in meaning between forms with -ə and -əǩə which are otherwise identical. Occasionally, however, there is a difference in meaning for them. As it seems, in forms with -əǩə the elative movement requires more effort or strain than in forms with -ə.

(26) bzəw-er wəne-m $yə^{4}$bəb-ə(ǩə)-ǧ (bird-ABS) () (3/SB--3/PO-in-to fly-ELA-PF) 'the bird flew out of the house'.

(27) čəwal-er wəne-m $yə^{4}s^{6}λeš^{o}$-ə-ǧ (sack-ABS) () (3/SB--3/PO-in-1/AG-to drag-ELA-PF) 'I dragged the sack out of the house'.

(28) čəwal-er wəne-m $yə^{4}s^{6}λeš^{o}$-əǩə-ǧ (sack-ABS) () (3/SB--3/PO-in-1/AG-to drag-ELA-PF) 'I dragged the sack out of the house (with difficulty)'.

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.[12]

9.6 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 -əḥe; word-finally one also finds -eḥe/ -aḥe.

In extrovert forms the suffix -əǩə 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) šawə-m wəne de-^{4,6}p-^{6}š-əḥa-ǧ (yard-REL) (house-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to make-InV-PF) 'you have made a house in the yard'.

(30) pχe-m wəne de-^{4,6}p-^{6}š-əǩə-ǧ (timber-REL) (house-ABS) (3/SB-3/PO-in-2/AG-to make-ExV-PF) 'you have made a house from the timber'.

(31) k°ə-m yə-^{4}meχ-əḥa-ǧ (car-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to faint--InV-PF) 'he fainted in the car'; compare (32-33):

(32) k°ə-m yə-^{4}meχ-eḥə-ǧ (car-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to faint--INTE-PF) 'he fainted in the car'.

(33) k°ə-m šə-^{4}meχə-ǧ () (3/SB-3/PO-there-to faint-PF) 'he fainted in the car'.

(34) ǧ°eg°ə-m sə-^{1}te-^{4}pš-əḥa-ǧ (road-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-on-to get tired-InV-PF) 'I got tired on the road'; compare (35):

(35) ǧ°eg°ə-m sə-^{1}te-^{4}pš-eḥə-ǧ (road-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-on-to get tired-INTE-PF) 'I got tired on the road'.

(36) χ°aye-m yə-č̌ə.ʔ° te-^{4}č-əǩə-ǧ (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) wəne-m yə-^{4}λə-χ-er zewže yə-^{4}st-əǩə-ǧe-χ (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) ʔa χəǧeg°ə-m yə-^{4}k̂°ed-əǩə-ǧ (that) (country-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to disappear-ExV-PF) 'he disappeared "from" that country' (i.e. (after) leaving that country).

(39) ʔa χəǧeg°ə-m yə-^{4}k̂°ed-a-ǧ (that) (country-REL) (3/SB--3/PO-in-to disappear-ILL-PF) 'he disappeared in that country (after having entered)'.

(40) ʔa χəǧeg°ə-m yə-^{4}k̂°ed-eḥə-ǧ () () (3/SB-3/PO-in-to disappear-INTE-PF) 'he disappeared in that country'.

(41) ʔa χəǧeg°ə-m šə-^{4}k̂°edə-ǧ () () (3/SB-3/PO-there-to disappear-PF) 'he disappeared in that country'.

(42) wəzə-m yə-^{4}λ̂-əǩə-ǧ (illness-REL) (3/SB-3/PO-in-to die--ExV-PF) 'he died because of ("out of") the illness'.

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 - elative (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)
MSD - masdar (suffix)
N/2 - negative 2 (ending)
NoFW - not forward (suffix)
N/2 - negative/2 (ending)
PART - participial (prefix)
PF - perfect (suffix)
Pl - 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)
1 - first person sg.
1p - first person plural
2 - second person sg.
2p - second person plural
3 - third person

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.

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 šapsəğ, The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse/Peeters, Leuven, 1976.

2) Illustration:

(43) sə-^{1}čəye-št (1/SB-to sleep-Fu/1) 'I will sleep'.

(44) pŝaŝ-er re-^{1}čəye-št (girl-ABS) (3/SB-to sleep-Fu/1) 'the girl will sleep'.

(45) sə-^{1}p-^{6}λeğ°ə-št (1/SB-2/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'you will see me'.

(46) yə-^{6}λeğ°ə-št (3/SB-3/AG-to see-Fu/1) 'he/she will see him/her/it'.

(47) čale-m pŝaŝ-er yə-^{6}λeğ°ə-št (boy-REL) (girl-ABS) () 'the boy will see the girl'.

(48) pŝaŝe-m čal-er yə-^{6}λeğ°ə-št (girl-REL) (boy-ABS) () 'the girl will see the boy'.

3) Subordinates with an S-P nexus are: coordinated predicates (ending -əy), 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) te-^{4}b-^{6}3-e-n-əy (3/SB-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw-ILL-Fu/2--CoPr) 'you will throw it on it, and'.

(50) ta^{4}b^{6}3-e-me (3/SB-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw-ILL-COND) 'if you throw it on it'.

(51) te^{4}zə^{6}3-e-št-er (3/SB-3/PO-on-PART/AG-to throw-ILL--Fu/1-ABS) 'the one that will throw it on it'.

(52) te^{4}b^{6}3-e-n-er (3/SB-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw-ILL-MSD-ABS) 'your throwing it on it'.

(53) zə^{3}ta^{4}b^{6}3-e-re-m (3/SB-when-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw-ILL--Dy/2-REL) 'when you will throw it on it'.

(54) ze.re^{3}ta^{4}b^{6}3-e-r-er (3/SB-that-3/PO-on-2/AG-to throw--ILL-Dy/2-ABS) 'the fact, that you throw it on it'.

4) Preverbs are monosyllabic, C(C)V, or disyllabic, C(C)VCV. The preverb ḵ°eċə- 'inside' is the only disyllabic preverb that cannot be analysed. Some monosyllabic (viz., ŝḥə-, ʔe-, nê-) and most disyllabic preverbs have a limited distribution.

The monosyllabic locational preverbs are: pə- 'at (the end of)', pe- 'in front of', ble- 'past', te- 'on', de- 'in', zə.de- 'the place, where' (zə-: PART/PO), ŝḥə- 'above', ŝ°e- 'on (the top of)', čə- 'upwards', če- 'under', šə- 'there', šə- 'on (the body of)', λə- 'behind', x̌e- 'in, amidst', g°e- 'next, against', q°e- 'behind', ʔe- 'in (the hand of)', ʔ°ə- 'at, along', yə- 'in', nê- 'at'.

The disyllabic locational prefixes are: pe.ŝ°e- '(fixed) at', pe.čə- 'before', pe.ʔ°ə- 'in front of', bǧ°e.de- 'next, near', ŝḥe.pə(.rə)- 'across', ŝḥe.te- 'above', ŝḥe.de- 'across', ŝḥe.šə- 'across, above', ŝ°e.x̌e- '(hanging) on ', čə.ḵe- 'away from', λə.x̌e- '(leaving) to', ḵe.λə- 'with, near', ḵ°eċə- 'within'.

5) (55) bzəwe-m šaw-er q^{2}yə^{6}bəb-eḥə-ǧ (bird-REL) (yard-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-3/AG-to fly-INTE-PF) 'the bird has flown round the whole yard' (v).

(56) wə^{1}ze^{5}pλ-eḵə-ǧ (2/SB-REF/io-to look-NoFW-PF) 'you have looked back' (vi).

(57) wəne-m ye^{5}s^{6}ḥ-eḵə-ǧ (house-REL) (3/SB-3/io-1/AG-to carry-NoFW-PF) 'I have put it aside in the direction of the house' (vi).

(58) ʔane-m tə^{1}ryə^{4}ṯə.s-eḵə-ǧ (table-REL) (1p/SB-3/PO-instrumental-to sit down-NoFW-PF) 'we sat down around the table' (vi).

(59) wə^{1}de^{4}pλ-eḵə-ǧ (2/SB-de-to look-NoFW-PF) 'you have looked in the wrong direction' (vi).

(60) de^{4}wa-ye (3/SB-(3/PO-)de-Dy/1-to shoot-UPW) 'he is shooting (at it) in the air' (vii).

(61) qə^{2}se^{5}pλ-ex̌ə (3/SB-Hh-1/io-Dy/1-to look-DOWN) 'he is looking down at me' (viii).

(62) qə^{2}se^{5}ṯə.sə-ƛa-ǧ (3/SB-Hh-1/io-to sit down-ToCL-PF) 'he (came and) sat down (very) close to me' (ix).

(63) ye^{5}če-ža-ǧ (3/SB-3/io-to run-ToQU-PF) 'he quickly/suddenly started running (towards it)' (x).

(64) ḵaš°e-m sə^{1}ne^{4}ʔe-sə-r-ep (ceiling-REL) (1/SB-3/SB-at--to reach-till-Dy/2-N/2) 'I cannot reach the ceiling' (xi).

6) Compare yə-ḵ°eċə (3/PS-POS-inside-REL) +Ø-yə- ḵ°eċə -Ø+ 'its inside, REL', 'in it', with yə-ḵ°eċ (3/PS-POS-inside-ABS) +Ø-yə-ḵ°eċə -Ø+ 'its inside, ABS'; cf. § 4.4.4.

7) The locational nouns are:

-čə.ʔ°ə 'on', -ŝhe.ğə 'above (closely)', -pŝe 'above (without contact)', -če.ğə 'under (closely)', -x̂e 'under', -pe.ʔ°ə, -ne.ʔ°ə 'before, in front of (facing, standing upright)', -pe.ŝhe 'before, in front of (below, seated)', -g°ə.pe 'before, in front of, in the front part of', -pe 'before, in front of (moving)', -čəbə 'behind', -q°e.ğ°ə 'behind, round the corner', -wəžə 'behind (moving)', -ṯ°eče 'between' (cf. ṯ°ə 'two'), -g°ə.ze.g°ə 'among', -dəžə 'near, with', -bğ°ə 'beside', -ḵ°ečə 'inside'.

8) Cf. mə.de, m.ew, mə.ṯeḵ°ə- 'here'; wə.de, w.ew, wə.ṯeḵ°ə- 'there (near you)'; ʔa.de, ʔa.w, ʔa.ṯeḵ°ə- 'there (near him)'; te 'which, what?', also 'where?', tə/e.de 'where?'.

9) sə-^{1}ḵ°ə-ğ from underlying +sə- ḵ°e -ğe+; underlying sequences +..eC$^{1-3}$e+ are changed to +..aC$^{1-3}$e+ in stem-final position. Compare also (49) te-^{4}b-^{6}3-e-n-əy and (50) ta-^{4}b-^{6}3-e-me. A number of suffixes drop their final vowel in word-final position.

10) One finds -e or -he with: ṯ°əpšə (tr.) 'to release', λeŝ°ə (tr.) 'to pull, drag', pxe (tr.) 'to tie up, to bind', and ğe.bə.λə (tr.) 'to hide', a fixed combination with ğe- CAUS. Only -he is found with ṯə.sə 'to sit down' (NB: ṯə.s.he), ğ°e.λə 'to lie down' (NB: ğ°e.λ.he) and ğe.zə- (tr.) 'to drive' (ğe.zə-he); one also finds -he in λ.he (tr.) 'to put (ILL)', cf. (?) λə 'to lie'.

11) My informants are not always unanimous, and they often hesitate. With bound verbs one usually finds only -ə (cf. note 12).

With many verbs one finds -ə as well as -əḵə (often one of them being preferred to the other, as is the case with -əḵə for the verb bəbə 'to fly'). Only -əḵə is found with, for instance, ğe.zə- (tr.) 'to drive'.

12) There are:

(1) free verbs that combine with both the illative and the elative suffix; e.g., 3ə (tr.) 'to throw' (3-ə(ḵə)/3-e), šə (tr.) 'to lead' (š-ə/š-e), bəbə 'to fly' (bəb-ə(ḵə)/bəb-e), psḵe 'to jump' (psḵ-ə(ḵə)/psḵ-e);

(2) free verbs that combine with only one of the two suffixes; e.g., fe 'to fall', f-e 'to fall (ILL)', λeğ°ə (tr.) 'to see', λeğ°-e 'to see (ILL)', pxete (tr.) 'to seize, grasp', pxet-əḵə 'to seize (ELA)';

(3) bound verbs that occur with both suffixes; e.g., ğe.zə- (tr.) 'to drive' (ğe.z-əḵə/ğe.zə-he);

(4) bound verbs that occur with only one of the two suffixes; e.g., ŝ°t.ə(ḵə) 'to hurl oneself (ELA)', x̂.ə (tr.) 'to take (ELA)', s.e (tr.) 'to insert (ILL)'. The most general verb of motion, ḵ°e 'to go', does not combine with -ə or -e. One finds, however, the fixed combinations h.e 'to go (ILL)' and ḵ.ə 'to go (ELA)'.

CHAPTER 10 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 subdialects: 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 parlers of some of these villages have been investigated.[3]

Genceli 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. Yapağlı, north-west of Dinar. Genceli has about 200 inhabitants, all of them Circassians. They call their village šʰapsəğ(e) and are aware of speaking Shapsug. Though their language belongs to the Hakuchi subdialect, 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 Genceli 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 Genceli Shapsug

10.2.1 The sound-system of GnSHP comprises 3 vowels, viz. high ə, mid e, and low a, 5 resonants, viz. w, y, m, n, r, and 54 obstruents:

	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e
1	pʰ		p:	b	p̀		f			
2							f°			
3	tʰ		t:	d	t̀					
4	cʰ		c:	ʒ	c̀		s		z	s̀
5							ŝ		ẑ	ŝ̀
6	ĉʰ°		ĉ:°				ŝ°		ẑ°	ŝ̀°
7		č		ǯ	č̀	šʰ		š:	ž	
8							λ		ł	λ̀
9	kʰ-		k:-	g-	k̀-					
10		k			k̀		x̂		ĝ	
11	kʰ°		k:°	g°	k̀°					
12		q					x̌		ǧ	
13		q°					x̌°		ǧ°	
14							ḥ			
15					ʔ					

[a: voiceless aspirated, b: voiceless, c: voiceless unaspirated, d: voiced, e: glottalic; 1: plain labials, 2: labialised labial, 3: dentals, 4: alveolar affricates and fricatives, 5: plain alveolo-palatals, 6: labialised alveolo-palatals, 7: palatals, 8: laterals, 9: palatalised velars, 10: plain velars, 11: labialised velars, 12: plain uvulars, 13: labialised uvulars, 14: pharyngeal, 15: laryngeal][4]

10.2.2 The phonemes f° < *šx°, *čx° (DPR:90) and ṣ < *ć are typical of Shapsug. Other Shapsug features are:

10.2.3 The preservation of the *Circassian velars (*k^h, *k:, *g, *q̇) as such (k^h-, etc.); the rest of West Circassian merged the *k-series with the *č´-series.[5]

The threefold opposition in the velar series (´, plain, °) results from a very recent development. As far as I know the same opposition has not been attested in any other form of Circassian.[6]

10.2.4 The merger of the velarised palatal affricates (*č¯-series) with the palatalised palatal affricates (*č´-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:, etc. with *p^h, etc. in other West Circassian dialects).

10.2.6 Typically Hakuchi is the preservation in certain environments of *q̇ (in GnSHP as k̇) and in all environments of *q̇° (in GnSHP as k̇°), which are maintained, in Kuban Shapsug as well as in all other Circassian dialects, as ʔ and ʔ° respectively. A related phenomenon

is the absence from the GnSHP system of the phonemes ʔ°, ṗ°, and ṭ°, 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 palatals (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: k^h¯ and k^h° are always aspirated, k:¯ and k:°, however, vary from aspirated to unaspirated. The palatal č usually is unaspirated; it is the reflex of *č:´ and *č:¯. The uvulars q and q° (from *q: and *q:°) are usually aspirated. Their aspiration varies with homorganic friction: [q^h/q^x, q^h° q^x°]. The same goes for aspirated velars.

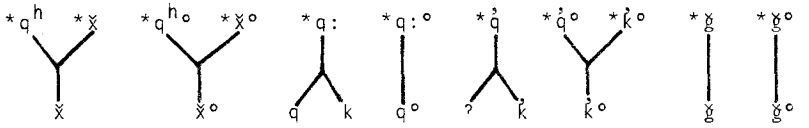
The aspirated palatal fricative is very strongly aspirated. The aspiration varies with velar friction [š^h¯/š$^{x̂}$¯]. The aspirated fricative is velarised; all other palatals are palatalised.

10.4 Velars and Uvulars

10.4.1 *Circassian had the following system of uvulars (DPR:92,ff.):

*q^h	*q:	*$\dot{q}$	*χ	*ɣ
*q^h°	*q:°	*$\dot{q}$°	*χ°	*ɣ°

The correspondences between *Circassian and GnSHP are:



10.4.2 The merger of *q^h with *χ (and of *q^h° with *χ°) has also been observed in DÜSHP. Keraševa (1957:37) mentions this merger for "certain parlers" of Shapsug. Unfortunately these parlers are not specified as to their subdialect. It seems that there are parlers with and without this merger in both subdialects.

e.g.	wəšʲ°erχə	'to trouble'	< *wəšʲ°erq^{h}ə	DPR:36.
	χ°əžə	'pear'	< *q^h°əžə	DPR:104.
	χ°eye	'cheese'	< *q^h°eye	DPR:104.

However, q° in ɦe-q°eš°e 'feeding trough' < *-q^h°eš°e (DPR:104) and χ° in $\dot{t}\dot{k}$°erχ°e 'fork' < *$\dot{t}\dot{q}$°erq:°e (DPR:14) do not fit.

10.4.3 *q: normally gives q. The reflex k is limited to the extremely frequent prefix ke- < *q:e- 'hither'; *q:° is always continued by q°.

e.g.	qebze	'clean'	< *q:ebze	DPR:93.
	q°e	'son'	< *q:°e	DPR:105.
	ke-	'hither'	< *q:e-	cf. DPR:21 (sə).

10.4.4 *$\dot{q}$ by itself gives ʔ. In clusters, i.e. in *š$\dot{q}$ and *p$\dot{q}$, it gave $\dot{k}$. All instances of *$\dot{q}$° gave $\dot{k}$°.

e.g.	ʔe	'arm'	< *$\dot{q}$e	DPR:95.
	šʲ$\dot{k}$e	'to know'	< *šʲ$\dot{q}$e	DPR:29.
	šʲ$\dot{k}$eš$\dot{k}$e	'to rustle, crackle' - no cognate known in other dialects.		
	p$\dot{k}$eč̆e	'flat'	< *p$\dot{q}$°eč̆e	DPR:4.
	$\dot{k}$°e	'to say'	< *$\dot{q}$°e	DPR:106.
	$\dot{k}$°efə	'work'	< *$\dot{c}$°eχ°ə	DPR:106.
	$\dot{t}\dot{k}$°ə	'two'	< *$\dot{t}\dot{q}$°ə	DPR:14.

The cluster šʲ$\dot{k}$ is easily distinguished from the cluster šʲ$\dot{k}$´ as in šʲ$\dot{k}$´e 'calf': [šʲ$\dot{k}$] vs. [š´$\dot{k}$´/š´$\dot{k}$´].

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 Yapağlı have the laryngeal reflexes of the glottalic uvulars that are found throughout Circassian; cf. šʲe 'to know', ʔ°efə 'work'.

10.4.6 An optional feature of labialisation was found (checked with 3 informants) in p$\dot{k}$(°)ə 'to educate', p$\dot{k}$(°)e 'bed', (č̆ə.)p$\dot{k}$(°)e 'place' and λep$\dot{k}$(°)e 'dear', a constant feature of labialisation was observed in p$\dot{k}$°e 'to cover', and no labialisation in p$\dot{k}$eč̆e 'flat' and p$\dot{k}$eλe '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 *$\dot{q}$ and *$\dot{q}$° 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 -

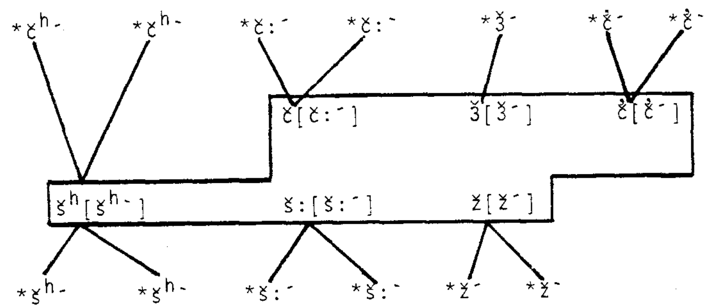
factor for the immediately neighbouring Circassians either not to join in the shift *q̇° ⟶ ?° (and only partly in the shift *q̇ ⟶ ?), or to restore *? to q̇ and *?° to q̇°. The term Hakuchi is not used unambiguously; in particular Circassian as spoken by bilingual Oubykhs should not be given this name.

10.5 Palatals

10.5.1 Proto-Circassian had the following system of palatals (Kuipers 63:78-79):

*č^{h}´	*č:´	*ǯ´	*č̇´	*š^{h}´	*š:´	*ž´	(palatalised)
*č^{h}`	*č:`		*č̇`	*š^{h}`	*š:`	*ž`	(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 *č^{h}´ with *š^{h}´ and of *č^{h}` with *š$^{h}$`; the resulting system was:

*č(:)´	*ǯ´	*č̇´	*š^{h}´	*š:´	*ž´
*č(:)`		*č̇`	*š^{h}`	*š:`	*ž`

(ii) *Shapsug: merger of *č`, *č̇`, and *ž` with *č´, *č̇´, and *ž´ respectively. An early development: I know of no parler that has

escaped this merger. The system became:

*č(:)´ *ǯ´ *č̇´ *š^{h}´ *š:´ ž´
š^{h}` *š:`

(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 š. GnSHP has š^{h} and š:; other parlers have š`(corresponding with GnSHP š^{h}) and š´ (corresponding with GnSHP š:). 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:

*č´ *ǯ´ *č̇´ *š:´ *ž´
*š^{h}`

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.

*š:´ ⟶ š´
*š^{h}` ⟶ š`

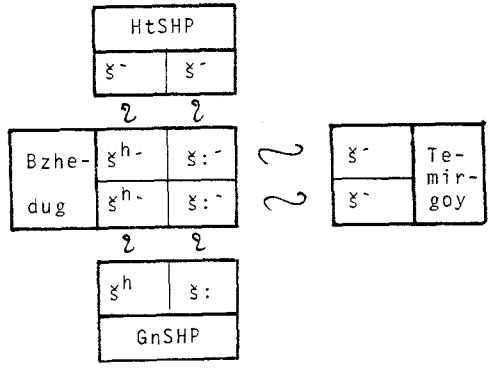
10.5.4 Dumézil (1960:91) lists peculiarities of the Shapsug idiolect of his informant Hüseyin Şemi Tümer (HtSHP); among these: "la confusion totale de č` et de č´, de č̇` et de č̇´, de ǯ` et de ǯ´, au profit de č´, č̇´, ǯ´; dans un grand nombre de mots, mais non dans tous, š´ à la place de š` bjedough, kémirgoy, etc.; dans quelques cas l'inverse; sur ce dernier point, qui peut surprendre les tcherkessisants, les notations ont été itérativement vérifiées..".[7)]

Checking the instances of ӿ̀ and ӿ́ in the two HtSHP texts (Dumézil 1960:92 ff; 1965:177 ff.) it appears that we are dealing with a parler that phonemicised *ӿ̀:́ and *ӿ̀ʰ- 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).[8)]

HtSHP	GnSHP	Tem.	Bzh.
ӿ̀	ӿʰ	ӿ́	ӿʰ-
ӿ́	ӿ:	ӿ́	ӿ:́
ӿ̀	ӿʰ	ӿ̀	ӿʰ-
ӿ́	ӿ:	ӿ̀	ӿ:̀

10.5.6 Another presentation:



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.[9)] For the reconstruction of the *Circassian sounds East Circassian cognates are needed.

As one can see below six *Circassian sounds can be reconstructed 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.

	HtSHP vs. Temirgoy			*Adyghe vs.Kabardian			*Circassian
(1)	ӿ́	(A)	ӿ́	(A)	*ӿ:́ (AA)	ŝ	(A)	*ӿ:́ (AAA/DPR:47)
(2)	ӿ́	(A)	ӿ̀	(B)	*ӿ:̀ (AB)	ŝ	(A)	*ӿ:̀ (ABA/DPR:58)
(3)	ӿ̀	(B)	ӿ́	(A)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BA)	ӿ	(B)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BAB/DPR:37)[10)]
(4)	ӿ̀	(B)	ӿ́	(A)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BA)	ŝ	(A)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BAA/DPR:45)
(5)	ӿ̀	(B)	ӿ̀	(B)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BB)	ӿ	(B)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BBB/DPR:51)
(6)	ӿ̀	(B)	ӿ̀	(B)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BB)	ŝ	(A)	*ӿ̀ʰ- (BBA/DPR:57)

Examples:

[HtSHP/Tem./Kab./*Circ. 'gloss' (finding-place HtSHP)]

(1) g°eӿ́e/g°eӿ́e/g°eše/*g°eӿ:́e 'princess' (DA1:92,4)

(2) ӿ́enə/ӿ̀enə/šen(ə)/*ӿ:̀enə 'character' (DA1:92,37)

(3) -wəӿ̀ə/-wəӿ́ə/-wəš(ə)/*-wəčʰ-ə 'to wake up' (DAIII:178,15)

(4) ӿ̀ədəbž́e/ӿ́ədəbӿ̀e/šedəbẑ(e)/*ӿʰ-ə̲dəbӿ̀e 'bellows' (DA1:94,96)

(5) ӿ̀ə/ӿ̀ə/šə/*čʰ-ə 'horse' (DA1:93,52)

(6) ӿ̀əg°ə/ӿ̀əg°ə/ŝəg°(ə)/*ӿʰ-əg°ə '(mountain) top' (DA1:93,94)

10.5.8 The few exceptions and hesitations in HtSHP indicate a tendency to merge ӿ̀ with ӿ́; cf. zeӿ̀ə (DAIII:180,89) beside zeӿ́ə (DAIII:177,3) 'to get bored', via *Shapsug *zeӿʰ-ə from *Circassian *zečʰ-ə.

10.5.9 Düzce Shapsug, too, has two reflexes, viz. ӿ́ and ӿ̀; the latter is observed only in ӿ̀ə 'brother' and ӿ̀ə 'horse' and varies freely with ӿ́. In DüSHP the opposition aspirated/unaspirated no longer exists. *Shapsug *ӿʰ- and *ӿ:́ gave ӿ̀ and ӿ́ respectively. The merger of ӿ̀ with ӿ́ is almost totally complete.

10.5.10 In Cemilbey Shapsug (CbSHP; Paris 1972, 1974a) there are also two voiceless palatal fricatives: š, lax rather than aspirated, and š:, tense rather than unaspirated (in Paris notation š´ and šš´). From Paris (1972) we can conclude that š is pronounced as [š´], and š: as [š:´], but in "strong" position only; elsewhere it is pronounced [š´]. Note that the opposition aspirated/unaspirated has been preserved both in GnSHP (which has $š^h$ and š:) and in CbSHP. The š: of CbSHP is found in two roots only, viz. in š:e 'to sell' and š:ə 'to bend'. The š: of š:e is what one expects: *Circassian *š:´e gave *Shapsug *š:´e, which gave CbSHP š:e. The š: of š:ə poses problems.[11])

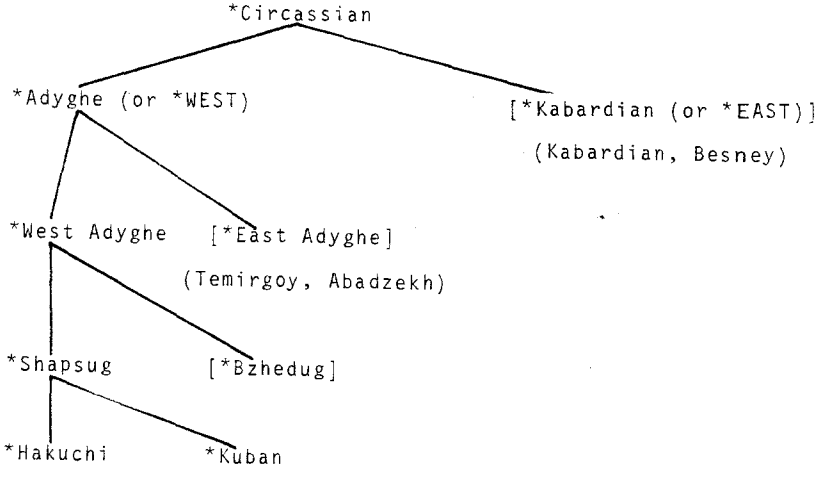
ABBREVIATIONS

Bzh.	-	Bzhedug	DüSHP	-	Düzce Shapsug
CbSHP	-	Cemilbey Shapsug	GnSHP	-	Genceli Shapsug
Circ.	-	Circassian	HŞT	-	Hüseyin Şemi Tümer
*Circ.	-	Common Circassian	HtSHP	-	Shapsug of HŞT
DAI	-	Dumézil (1960)	Kab.	-	Kabardian
DAIII	-	Dumézil (1965)	SHP	-	Shapsug
DPR	-	Kuipers (1975)	Tem.	-	Temirgoy

NOTES

1. cf. Paris (1974a:14,ff.).
2. cf. Keraševa (1957:9,ff.), Paris (1974a:18); for the exodus see Dumézil (1965:19,ff.).

3. I will compare Genceli Shapsug with Cemilbey Shapsug [CbSHP, Paris (1972,1974a)], with Düzce Shapsug [DüSHP, Smeets (1976, 1980)], and with the language of Dumézil's 1960 and 1965 Shapsug informant (HtSHP).
4. The palatals other than $š^h$ are palatalised. I do not indicate non-phonemic palatalisation. In systems that oppose palatalised to non-palatalised palatals I provide the members of both series with a special diacritic; cf. palatalised š´ vs. non-palatalised š`.
5. The sound system of Common Circassian has been reconstructed by Kuipers 1963. Proto-Circassian material is quoted from Kuipers' 1975 Dictionary. The reconstructions are mainly based on comparisons of Bzhedug (West Circassian) and Kabardian (East Circassian) cognates. I will operate with the following layers: (the symbol * stands for "Common")



6. In 1976 I called attention to another threefold opposition of velar plosives that I had observed in DÜSHP, in the idiolects of two brothers: k´~k´°~k°. They pronounce [k^{h}-°] for expected [$\hat{c}^{h}$°]. Back in Düzce, I found no one else having this [k^{h}-°], 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 č, š, etc. of Dumézil's notation as č̣, ṣ̌, 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, nº 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 *$\check{c}^{h}$- and *$\hat{c}^{h}$- 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) š:ə is related to a Besney (East Circassian) root š´ə 'to bend' and it is stated that it has no cognates. CbSHP š:ə can be linked with *Circassian *(ğe-)$\check{c}^{h}$-ə (DPR:37) 'to bend', which regularly gives Literary Adyghe ğe-š´ə and Literary Kabardian ğe-š(ə). We did not find a direct Besney reflex. We did find Besney š´e 'difforme, tordu' (Paris 1976:268, 58) corresponding to Literary Adyghe -š´e, to Literary Kabardian -še, and to Bzhedug -$š^{h}$-e. This element derives from *Circassian

*-$\check{c}^{h}$-e, and cannot be separated from *(ğe-)$\check{c}^{h}$-ə. This does not solve the whole problem: *Circassian -$\check{c}^{h}$- gives *Adyghe *$š^{h}$-, which gives *Shapsug *$š^{h}$-. Therefore, one expects š in CbSHP (and not š:). We are dealing here with an irregularity which presents the last flicker of a vanishing opposition.

CHAPTER 11 A CIRCASSIAN MEVLID*

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 Neb(ev)i 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 MacCallum 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:

˘ - ˉ - / ˘ - ˉ - / ˘ - ˉ.

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 Düzce. The printing was paid for by the poet and by al-Hafiz Zakariya, also from Düzce.

I first came across fragments of the Circassian Mevlid in 1975. These fragments belonged to Habibe Hanım (HH), the mother of my main informant for Düzce Shapsug, Nazım Met (NM). Back in Düzce 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 Düzce 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 آ , medially ا ; /e/ ه ; /ə/, initially ای, medially ی ; often /ə/ is not indicated at all. The way the vowels are indicated was for the greater part adopted from Ottoman Turkish orthography.

Resonants: /m/ م , /n/ ن , /w/ و , /y/ ي , /r/ ر .

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-palatals, 5: palatals, 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 /č̣/ (two dots) where the symbol for /č/ (three dots) should have been given.

11.2.2 Remarks

No special symbol has been developed for /ṣ/, a sound typical of Shapsug; instead one finds the symbol that is also used for /c̣/.

	a		b		c		a		b		c	
1	p	پ	b	ب	p̣	پ	f	ف				
b					p̣°	پئو	f°	فو				
2	t	ت	d	د	ṭ	ط						
b					ṭ°	طئو						
3	c	ث	3	ذ	c̣	ز	s	س	z	ز	ṣ	ز
4							ṣ	ص	ẓ	ظ	ṣ	ص
b	ĉ°	چو					ṣ°	صو	ẓ°	ظو	ṣ°	صو
5	č	چ	ǯ	ج	č̣	ج	š	ش	ž	ژ		
6							λ	ل	l	ل	λ̣	ل
7	k	ک	g	گ	ḳ	گ	x̌	خ	ğ	غ		
b	k°	کو	g°	گو	ḳ°	گو						
8	q	ق					x	خ	ğ	غ		
b	q°	قو					x°	خو	ğ°	غو		
9			ʔ	ع			ḥ	ح				
10					ʔ	ئ	h	ه				
b					ʔ°	ئو						

Common Circassian *c̣ gave /c̣/ or /ṣ/ in Shapsug (conditions not clear) and everywhere else only /c̣/.

The Mevlid distinguishes between p̣ and p̣ʔ(°); cf. p̣ in p̣aše 'large' (/p̣aše/, Common Circassian *p̣aše) and p̣ʔ(°) in čp̣ʔue (also written: čup̣ʔe, čup̣,ʔe, čp̣ʔe) 'place' (/čəp̣ʔ°e/, Common Circassian *čəp̣q̣(°)e). It also distinguishes between ṣ̌ (Common Circassian *š) and ṣ̌ʔ (Common Circassian *šq̣); for example, forms derived from ṣ̌ə 'to do' only show ṣ̌, whereas forms derived from ṣ̌ʔe 'to know' show ṣ̌ʔ. Interestingly, in ğeṣ̌eğ°enə 'miracle' we always find ṣ̌, although it is derived from the causativised verb ṣ̌ʔe 'to know'. This is not a phenomenon limited to Düzce Shapsug: in the village of Genceli (Afyon, Turkey) I found /ṣ̌ǩe/ 'to know' vs. /ğeṣ̌ağ°e/ 'miraculous, amazing'. It follows that Troubetzkoy

(1939:55) was obviously not mistaken when he presented /ğeṣ̌ʔağ(e)/ 'gab zu erkennen' as different from /ğeṣ̌ağ°e/ '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 /ə/ and of sequences involving /y/ or /w/ and /ə/ or /e/ is not consistent either. Firstly, the dots of the ۓ symbol for /y/ are easily dropped (as in Ottoman printed texts), which leaves a symbol identical with the symbol for /ə/. Both symbols can be found for /ə/, /y/, /yə/ and /əy/. Front variants of /ə/ are often indicated by ي and rounded variants by و.

The Mevlid uses و and ۆ (in transliteration u and ŭ); the latter is introduced (page 1) as "long u". Both symbols are used for (1) /ə/ when [u], (2) Turkish /u/ in loans, (3) /°ə/, i.e. labialisation (of a preceding obstruent) plus a rounded variant of /ə/: [°u], (4) /ew/, i.e. [ow], (5) /°ew/, i.e. [°ow], and for (6) /w/. The symbol و is also used (1) for labialisation alone and (2) for the sequence /wə/.

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 HH'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 mafčešəğəzepətŭqeneğağ,
uašuəčəguəzepğeğureğğağ,
yeš,xeyešueyəm?ežŭqeneğağ,
4 uŭtešuağŭzəmš?ežurexuğağ,
ay?uerəuaḥes,retauafrqeta
teu,zčn,seāstat,uafrqeta
aə?ušətyğ,tedekuemk̓ar,melul,
8 tedeqanəsyatedaxŭtəresul,
yəgučeğum,tetquetŭtəš?ağ,
ğueguzafem,tetfəyšuār,š?ağ,
sesgumhgzəmešuefueqəxenağ,
12 səğeλenŭgur,?ue?ufuemsə?učağ,
ay?ueregereğurepŭčetğağ,
aynemeλəqačekyfereğğağ,
mafeguerem,bŭšeḥabeze?učağ
16 yaˁləye?u,uŭmğeğ,ār,ra?ueğağ
təfeğəmeqek̓uežynŭxuğemə
zd,ğeλežŭmafčešətəğnə

Misprints: č (1,2,18), read č; x (3,8), read x̌; yəm (3), read yem; ku (7), read k̓u; šu (11), read šu.

11.3.2 Phonetic Transcription of HH's Recital

1	[màfič'ɛ́š'i	ğ̀ʌzɛpə̀tow	qx̌ɛ̀nɛğáğ
	wàš°ič'ə́g°i	zɛ̀piğɛ́ğow	rɛ̀ğəğáğ
	yɛ̀šxɛyɛ́š°ɛ	yɛ̀mə?ɛ́ž'ow	qx̌ɛ̀nɛğáğ
4	wùtɛš°áğow	zìməšʌ́ž'ow	rɛ̀x̌°uğáğ
	hə̀?°ɔríwa	ḥàsrɛtáwa	fìrqɛtæ̀
	tòwzəčə́nsɛ	àsitátwɛ	fìrqɛtæ̀
	hʌ̀?°owš'ə́təğ	tɛ̀dɛk̓°ɛ́mik'	àrmɛlúl'
8	tɛ̀dɛqx̌áni	syàtɛdáxow	tìrɛsúl'
	yìg°uč'ɛ́ğ°um	tɛ̀təqx̌°ɛ́tow	tə̀š'ə?áğ
	(ğ)°ɔ̀g°uzáfɛm	tɛ̀tɪfíriš'ow	àrš'ə?áğ
	sɛ̀səg°úmhɪg'	zə̀mɛš°ɔ́f°ʌ	qx̌ə̀xɛnáğ
12	sìğɛλɛ́now	g°ùr?°ɔ?°ófɛm	sə̀?°učáğ
	hə̀?°ɔrɛ́g'ɛ	rɛ̀ğorɛ́pow	č''ɛ̀təğáğ
	hə̀nɛmɛ́λɪ	qx̌àč'ek̓'ífɛ	rɛ̀ğəğáğ
	màfɛg°ɛ́rem	bòwšəhábɛ	zɛ̀?°uč'áğ
16	yàˁalíyɛ?°	wùməğɛ́ğār	rà?°ɔğáğ
	tə̀fɛğə́mɛ	qx̌ɛ̀k̓°ɔž'ínow	x̌°ùğɛmí
	zə̀dğɛλɛ́ž'ow	màfič'ɛ́š'i	tə̀ğəní]

(' indicates primary, ` secondary prominence, ˉ 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: [tɛ̀tɪfíš'ow])

11.3.3 Practical Transcription of NM's Version

1 mafəyk̓ češəyk̓ ğəˆzepətew qeneğağ,
wašᵒəyk̓ čəgᵒəyk̓ zepyəğeğew reğəğağ,
yešxeyešᵒe yemə?ežew qeneğağ,
4 wətešᵒağew zyəməšežew rex̌ᵒəğağ
yə?ᵒerəy "wa hesreta, wa firqeta,
tew zəššən se, ?a syətat, wa firqeta?"
yə?ᵒew šətəğ "tede k̓ᵒeməyk̓ ?ar, melul,
8 tede qanəyk̓, syatedaxew tyəresul.
yəgᵒəčeğᵒəm te təqᵒetew təšə?ağ,
ğᵒegᵒəzafem te təfyəšew ?ar šə?ağ.
se səgᵒə(m) həg zə mešᵒefᵒe qəxenağ,

syəğeƛenew g°ə?°e?°əf°em sə?°əčağ"
yə?°erege reğew repew četəğağ
yəneme λə qačeḵəfe [nesə] reğəğağ.
mafeg°erem bew šehabe ze?°əčağ,
"ya ?ali, ye?°, wəməğeğ" ?ar ra?°eğağ.
"təfeğəme qeḵ°ežənew x°əğeməyḵ
zədğeƛežew mafəyḵ češəyḵ təğənəy".

[For the transcription used here, see chapter 1 of the present volume. As opposed to his mother, NM adds nesə in line 14.]

11.3.4 Analysis of 11.3.3

Below I analyse NMs version of the fragment of the Mevlid, line by line. For abbreviations see the list at the end of this article. As a rule, morphemes are separated by hyphens; between constituents of fixed combinations I use dots. Each word is provided with its morpheme inventory; the morpheme inventory of a word contains (between round brackets) glosses and/or translations of the constituent morphemes, presented in the appropriate order. Glosses representing zero morphs are underlined. Stem-prefixes are normally followed by a raised number indicating the slot filled (for the system of the prefix-slots see, for instance, chapter 2, section 1.3).

1. maf-əyḵ češ-əyḵ ğə^ze.pə.t-ew qe^{2}ne-ğa-ğ

(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 -əy(-əyḵ) EMPH, NM has -əyḵ(-əy?); the symbol "^" links the clitic ze.pə.tə with ğə; with the verb ne 'to remain, stay' the prefix qe^{2} Hh is obligatory; PF+PF=PLUPF.

2. waš°-əyḵ čə.g°-əyḵ ze^{4}-p^{4}-yə^{6}ğe^{9}ğ-ew re^{1}ğə-ğa-ğ

(heaven-ABS-EMPH) (earth-ABS-EMPH) (3/SB-REC/PO-in front of-3/AG--CAUS-to cry-MOD) (3/SB-to cry-PF-PF); "heaven and / earth and / she causing them to cry mutually (lit. in front of each other) / she cried"; ABS NPs are coreferential with SB prefixes; SB prefixes indicate the single argument of intransitive forms and the goal of transitive forms. REL NPs corefer with other personal prefixes.

3. ye.šxe.ye.š°e ye^{5}mə^{8}?e-ž-ew qæ^{2}ne-ğa-ğ

(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 š°e 'to drink' an io prefix (referring to what is being drunk) is obligatory; the monopersonal verb šxe 'to eat' does not normally combine with ye- 3/io; the Mevlid gives yəmə?ežew, a form which is correct in itself: yə^{4}mə^{8}?e-ž-ew (3/SB-3/PO-POS--N/1-to be-RE-MOD) "she not having it (sc. food=drink) any longer"; both NM and his mother prefer yemə?ežew.

4. wəteš°a-ğ-ew z^{1}yə^{6}mə^{8}še-ž-ew re^{1}x°ə-ğa-ğ

(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 š to š?.

5. yə^{6}?°e-r-əy wa hesreta, wa firqeta

(3/SB-3/AG-to say-Dy/2-CoPr) (oh) (grief) (oh) (separation); "she kept saying it and / o. / g. / o. / s. / Ar(abic)."; HH has word-initial ə [^{h}ə] and a [^{h}a] where the idiolect of her son has yə [yi] and ya [ya] or (with the demonstrative 'that') ?a(a,ya); the dynamic ending contributes a durative element of meaning.

6. t.ew zə-$\overset{1}{s}$-$\overset{6}{s}$ə-n se, ʔa s-yə-tat, wa firqeta?

(how?[which?.MOD])(REF/SB-1/AG-to do-Fu/2) (I) (appellative interjection) (1/PS-POS-father) (wa) (firqeta); "how? / I will do myself / I / hey / my father! / oh / separation"; morphophonemic s-$\overset{1}{s}$ is pronounced as [(s/š)č] - the Mevlid transcribes $\overset{1}{č}$; tə is 'father', t-a and tat are vocative forms 'father!' (cf. nə 'mother', and n-a ! and nan ! 'mother!').

7. yə-$\overset{6}{ʔ°}$-ew x̌ə-$\overset{4}{t}$ə-ǧ te.de $\overset{1}{k}$°e-m.əy$\overset{1}{k}$ ʔa-r melul

(3/SB-3/AG-to say-MOD) (3/SB-there-to stand-PF) (where?["which?.place"]) (3/SB-to go-COND.EMPH) (that-ABS) (low spirited, melancholy Tu[rkish]. <Ar.); "she saying it / she was (standing) there / where? / he ever goes / he / melancholy".

8. te.de qa-$\overset{2}{n}$-əy$\overset{1}{k}$, s-y.a.te-dax̌-ew t-yə-resul.

(see 7) (3/SB-Hh-to remain-EMPH) (1/PS-father-beautiful-MOD) (1p/PS--POS-prophet [<Tu.<Ar.]);"where? / he ever remains / my beautiful father (who is:) / our prophet"; y.a.te is the possessive form of tə 'father' (POS.Pl.father).

9. yə-g°ə.$\overset{1}{č}$e.ǧ°ə-m te tə-$\overset{1}{q}$°e-$\overset{4}{t}$-ew tə-$\overset{1}{x̌}$ə-$\overset{4}{ʔ}$a-ǧ

(3/PS-POS-heart.under.location-REL) (we) (1p/SB-3/PO-behind-to stand--MOD) (1p/SB-there-to be-PF); "his pity / we / we standing behind it / we were there".

10. ǧ°eg°ə-zafe-m te tə-$\overset{1}{f}$-$\overset{4}{y}$ə-$\overset{6}{x̌}$-ew ʔa-r x̌ə-$\overset{4}{ʔ}$a-ǧ

(road-straight-REL) (we) (1p/SB-3/PO-for/towards-3/AG-to lead-MOD) (that-ABS) (3/SB-there-to be-PF); "the straight road / we / he leading us towards it / that one / he was there"; HH has tə-$\overset{1}{f}$-$\overset{4}{r}$yə-$\overset{6}{x̌}$-ew, which is also accepted by NM.

11. se sə-g°ə / sə-g°ə-m həg zə me$\overset{1}{š}$°e-f°e qə-$\overset{2}{x̌}$e-$\overset{4}{n}$.a-ǧ

(I) (1/PS-heart-REL/-REL) (now) (a) (fire-big-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-into catch fire-PF); "I / my heart / now / a / big fire / it leapt up in it"; NM prefers sə-g°ə, HH sə-g°ə-m; the usual meaning of the combination x̌e-$\overset{4}{n}$.e is 'to stay, remain in sth.', with the subject 'fire' the meaning is 'to catch fire'.

12. s-$\overset{1}{y}$ə-$\overset{6}{ǧ}$e-$\overset{9}{λ}$e-n-ew g°ə.ʔ°eʔ°ə-f°e-m sə-$\overset{1}{ʔ}$°ə-$\overset{4}{č}$.a-ǧ

(1/SB-3/AG-CAUS-to die-Fu/2-MOD) (sorrow-big-REL) (1/SB-3/PO-at-to meet(.ILL)-PF); "it causing me to die (in the future) / a big sorrow / I have met it"; NM omits the r from HHs g°ə.rʔ°eʔ°e-f°e-m, the word is only vaguely known to him; the inherently illative root -$\overset{1}{č}$.e combining with the preverb ʔ°ə-$\overset{4}{}$ 'at, along' yields: 'to meet sb./sth. (the referent of the PO prefix before ʔ°ə-$\overset{4}{}$)'.

13. yə-$\overset{6}{ʔ°}$e-re-ge re-$\overset{1}{ǧ}$-ew re-$\overset{1}{p}$-ew $\overset{1}{č}$e-$\overset{4}{t}$ə-ǧa-ǧ

(3/SB-3/AG-to say-Dy/2-INS) (3/SB-to cry-MOD) (3/SB-to sigh-MOD) (3/SB-under-to stand-PF-PF); "she, by saying it all the time / she crying / she sighing / she was under it."

14. yə-ne-m-e λə q-$\overset{2}{ə}$-$\overset{4}{č}$e-$\overset{4}{k}$.ə-fe [ne.sə] re-$\overset{1}{ǧ}$ə-ǧa-ǧ

(3/PS-POS-eye-REL-PL) (blood-ABS) (3/SB-Hh-3/PO-Pl-under-to leave--till) ([until]) (3/SB-to cry-PF-PF); "her eyes / blood / till it came from under them / until / she cried"; for NM addition of ne.sə is almost obligatory - for HH the addition of ne.sə implies reinforcing -fe.

15. mafe-g°ere-m b-ew ŝeḥabe ze-$\overset{4}{ʔ}$°ə-$\overset{4}{č}$.a-ǧ

(day-certain-REL) (much-MOD) (friend-ABS Ar.) (3/SB-REC/PO-at-to meet(.ILL)-PF); "a certain day / in great numbers / friend / they came together"; HH pronounces [ŝəh..], NM [ŝæh..].

16. ya ʔali, ye^{5}ʔ°, wə^{6}mə^{8}ɣe^{9}ɣ ʔa-r r^{5}a^{6}ʔ°e-ɣa-ɣ

(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-Pl-to say-PF-PF); "hey / Ali / tell it to her / do not allow her to cry! / that / they said it to him".

17. tə^{1}fe^{4}ɣa-me qe^{2}ǩ°e-ɣə-n-ew x°ə-ɣe-m.əyǩ

(1p/SB-3/PO-for-to cry-COND) (3/SB-Hh-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. zə^{1}d^{6}ɣe^{9}λe-ɣ-ew maf-əyǩ češ-əyǩ tə^{1}ɣə-n.əy

(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 ḥasreta, wa firqeta, (6) what will I do with myself, oh, my father, wa firqeta ?" (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

ABS	-	absolutive (ending)	p	-	plural (after 1,2)
AG	-	agent (prefix)	PF	-	perfect (suffix)
CAUS	-	causative (prefix)	Pl	-	plural (prefix)
COND	-	conditional (ending)	PL	-	plural (ending)
CoPr	-	ending coordinating predicates	PLUPF	-	pluperfect (sequence of suffixes)
Dy/2	-	second dynamic (ending)	PO	-	preverb object (prefix)
EMPH	-	emphatic (ending)	POS	-	possession (preverb)
Fu/2	-	second future (suffix)	PS	-	possessive (personal prefix)
Hh	-	'hither' (prefix)	RE	-	'as previously' (specifying suffix)
ILL	-	illative (suffix)	REC	-	reciprocal (prefix)
INS	-	instrumental (ending)	REF	-	reflexive (prefix)
io	-	indirect object (prefix)	REL	-	relative (ending)
Irr/3	-	third irrealis (suffix)	SB	-	subject (prefix)
MOD	-	modal (ending)	1	-	first person (prefix)
N/1	-	first (attributive) negative (prefix)	2	-	second person (prefix).

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