

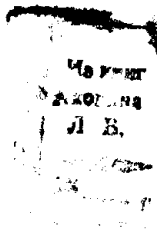
Studia Caucasologica I

Proceedings of the
Third Caucasian Colloquium,
Oslo, July 1986

Edited by
Fridrik Thordarson

Norwegian
University Press 

The Institute for
Comparative Research
in Human Culture



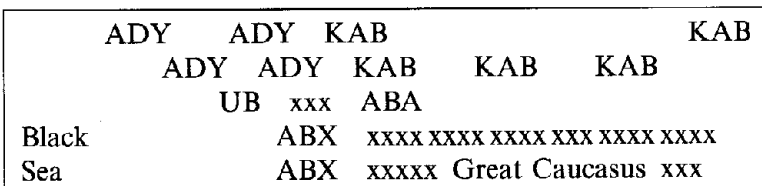
On Ubykh Circassian*

Rieks Smeets

The aim of this article is to define the status of the form of Circassian that is reportedly spoken by all present-day Ubykh, both by the few Ubykh that have retained their original language and by those who have not. It will be argued that Ubykh Circassian (Uci) should be considered a very early split-off from West Circassian.

1. It is well known that there are three, four or five West Caucasian languages. There are at least Abkhaz (AB), Ubykh (UB) and Circassian (CI). Some authors, however, consider Abkhaz and/or Circassian as language groups, with Abkhaz consisting of Abkhaz proper (ABX) and Abaza (ABA), and Circassian consisting of West Circassian or Adyghe (ADY), and of East Circassian (KAB). East Circassian is generally called Kabardian, after its most widely spoken dialect. I shall speak in terms of three or five languages, depending on what is most expedient for the purpose.

2. The relative geographical location of the five language areas as it must have been in the beginning of the nineteenth century can be schematized as follows:



Abkhaz and, further to the north, Ubykh were spoken along the Black Sea coast, between the shore and the watershed. Abaza was spoken then, as it still is today, to the north-east of Abkhaz at the other side of the mountain chain of the Great Caucasus. The ancestors of the Abaza originally also inhabited the Black Sea coast; however, they split off from their fellow Abkhaz, traversed the mountain chain and settled down in the neighbourhood of Circassians, to the east of their original habitat. This migration, which took place in several distinct waves and occupied a considerable period, was completed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century (Jakovlev 1930, Danilov 1984).

Circassian was spoken, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, north of Ubykh along the coast, and also in large regions in the hinterland of the North Caucasus, along the Kuban river and, further east, along the Terek.

Bilingualism must have been a constant factor in the West Caucasus: two recent instances of bilingualism are provided by Abazinians and Ubykh speaking a form of Circassian. Nowadays all those Abazinians who live in the Karachay-Cherkes AO reportedly also speak a form of East Circassian and, apparently, all Ubykh speak a form of West Circassian, both those who have retained their original language and those who did not (cf. § 5). Some Anatolian Ubykh were trilingual in Ubykh, Abkhaz and Circassian (Dumézil 1965: Introduction).

3. The relative location of the West Caucasian languages schematized above dates from the period before the final incorporation of the West Caucasus into Czarist Russia. As is well known, the conquest of the West Caucasus had as one of its results a mass emigration of Caucasians, especially West Caucasians, to the Ottoman Empire. Today there are at least as many Abkhaz and Circassians in Turkey as there are in the Caucasus itself. As far as Ubykh is concerned, there is not a single speaker left in the Soviet Union, and very few in Turkey; indeed, there is just one who can be consulted as native speaker. However, many people may be encountered today in Turkey who profess to be Ubykh: these are ethnic Ubykh who either have given up their language themselves, or whose ancestors had already abandoned it. As early as 1930/1 Mészáros constructed a list

of Anatolian Ubykh villages where the language was no longer spoken (1934:24).

4. There have been many attempts to determine the genetic affiliation of the West Caucasian languages.¹ Unfortunately, none of the options proposed has been supported by convincing evidence. So far it has proved impossible to determine whether features common to two of the three languages constitute common innovations or shared retentions. Virtually all authors who have treated the subject tell us that it is not really feasible to establish regular sound correspondences that hold for all three West Caucasian languages, or even correspondences that would hold between any two of the three.²

The question of the internal relationship of the West Caucasian languages is still open and can be resolved only when we have at our disposal (a) more complete reconstructions of the sound system and the morphosyntax of Abkhaz and Circassian, (b) more descriptive and historical-comparative data on the Kipchak languages that have been in contact with West Caucasian languages and (c) a clear picture of what is native and what is borrowed in Ubykh.

5. Uslar is in fact the only linguist to provide us with useful data on Ubykh when it was still spoken in the Caucasus; all other information dates from after the exodus, when the Ubykh already lived in different parts of Anatolia.³

After the exodus, Ubykh was spoken in at least four conglomerations of Anatolian villages, situated:

- (1) In the region of Lake Sapanca, east of İzmit.

The Dane Benedictsén, the German Dirr and the young Dumézil gathered their materials here. The Introduction to Dumézil (1965) gives a detailed account of the few speakers alive at that time: by then the language had virtually died out in region 1 (and very few speakers were left in region 2).

- (2) In north-western Anatolia, south of Lake Manyas.

Tevfik Esenç, the famous last Ubykh informant, comes from Hacı Osman köyü, one of the villages of this region. Mészáros worked here in the early thirties. Since 1954 Du-

mézil has been working mainly with Tevfik Esenç, and it is on his Ubykh that Vogt's (1963) dictionary is primarily based.

- (3) In the *vilayet* of Maraş, south-east Anatolia.
Here Ubykh used to be spoken in the villages of Akifiye and Büyükçamurlu. U. Landmann (1981:12) informs us that the last speaker of Ubykh in Büyükçamurlu died in 1967 and that the language had died out well before that time in Akifiye. The villages of region 3 (and 4) were never visited by linguists.
- (4) Near Samsun, north-central Anatolia.
İ. Aydemir (1973:229-230) lists a number of Ubykh villages for the Kavak *İlçesi* in the region of Samsun. In the literature there is no mention whatsoever of the Ubykh there. An ethnic Ubykh of that region whom I met briefly in Holland in 1974 told me that there were no Ubykh there who spoke a second language, alongside Turkish, other than Circassian.

All authors on Ubykh, beginning with Uslar, have said that Ubykh was on the verge of extinction and that the Ubykh were bilingual (in Ubykh and Circassian, or in Ubykh and Abkhaz) or trilingual (in Ubykh, Circassian and Abkhaz). As early as 1861, Uslar noticed that it was hard to find a monolingual Ubykh. A hundred years later in fact, Dumézil describes a similar situation: he reported that the Manyas Ubykh were bilingual in Ubykh and Circassian (cf. also Hewitt 1981:196). It appears that the language has now died out completely in regions 1, 3 and 4; the ethnic Ubykh living there are reported to speak Circassian and Turkish.

In both the Manyas and the Sapanca region there must have been large numbers of Ubykh: Mészáros mentions 28 villages in these two regions in which Ubykh was spoken, or had been spoken. I myself have observed that among the Circassians between Adapazarı and Düzce, i.e. east of Lake Sapanca, there are many people who call themselves Ubykh and who no doubt descend from Ubykh-speaking Ubykh.⁴

Dumézil (1965:15 ff.) estimates the number of Ubykh that emigrated from the West Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire at about 25,000. A large number must have perished during the

crossing and in the first years of settling in the Empire. It is unlikely that Ubykh villages will be found elsewhere, either in Turkey, or in any of the neighbouring countries that once formed part of the Ottoman Empire.

6. It appears that the different forms of Circassian spoken by Ubykh in the different parts of Anatolia are very similar.

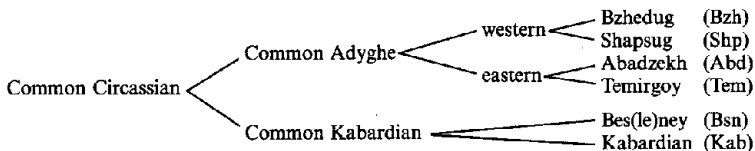
Dumézil has occasionally published remarks on the form of Circassian spoken by Tevfik Esenç (region 2); in the comments to his Ubykh texts he includes words, sentences, and also a few short (fragments of) texts illustrating what I shall call Ubykh Circassian and gloss "Uci".⁵ Dumézil (1960:79) remarks that other Ubykh of the Manyas region are speakers of the same variety of Circassian, and that the Circassian spoken by Sapanca Ubykh is very close to the Circassian of the Manyas Ubykh. It is the form of Circassian that is spoken by Sapanca Ubykh that represents, as "Abadzekh", West Circassian in Dumézil's (1932) *Etudes comparatives* (cf. §8).

I should add that I have indications that Circassian as spoken by ethnic Ubykh in regions 3 and 4 is also close to Tevfik Esenç's Circassian. In Holland, I met an inhabitant of Akifiye, who speaks Circassian and Turkish. The sound system of his Circassian is close to that of Tevfik Esenç. The same holds for the sound system of the Circassian spoken by the ethnic Ubykh from Samsun I met in Holland.

Dumézil is sceptical about Tevfik's Circassian; on many occasions he qualifies it as deviant and incorrect without however specifying what exactly he means by these terms.⁶ Dumézil (1960:79) regrets having used Sapanca Ubykh Circassian in 1932 "sans assez mesurer son aberrance".

It appears, however, that Ubykh Circassian is a rather consistent form of Circassian.

7. A traditional view on the dialects of Circassian is that there are four Adyghe and two Kabardian dialects, with the implicit suggestion of the following *Stammbaum*:



The tree indicates two groups of Adyghe dialects, a western group consisting of Bzhedug and Shapsug and an eastern group made up of Temirgoy and Abadzekh. Kabardian, i.e. East Circassian (KAB), consists of two dialects, Bes(le)ney and Kabardian proper (Kab).

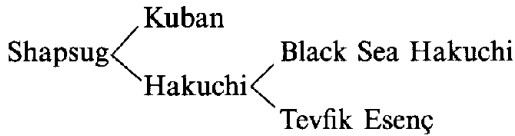
The relative location of these dialects with respect to each other and with respect to Ubykh, as they were before the exodus, are schematized below. The Ubykh had Abadzekh and Shapsug Circassians as neighbours. Contact between the Ubykh and their Circassian neighbours was intensive. A. Landmann (1981:9) writes, quoting Bodenstedt (1844:I:171) and Danilevskij (1847:132) (neither available to me), that the Ubykh and their Circassian neighbours had a well-established tradition of intermarriage.

	Shp	Bzh	Tem	(Kab)		
		Shp	Abd	(Kab/Bsn)		(Kab)
		UB	xxx	ABA	(Kab)	(Kab)
Black			ABX	xxxx	xxxx	xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxxx
Sea				ABX	xxxxx	Great Caucasus xxx

[Kabardian dialects are given between brackets]

The dialects of Circassian are not homogeneous, least of all Shapsug, it would appear. Shapsug is considered to consist of two subdialects: Kuban or Interior Shapsug, and Hakuchi Shapsug, which was/is spoken along the Black Sea Coast (eg. Jakovlev 1930:7, Keraševa 1959:9, Paris 1974:18).

8. Dumézil says that Tevfik's Circassian is a form of West Circassian but he does not specify it any further. He remarks (1974:37) that the Ubykh themselves are under the mistaken impression that they speak Abadzekh Circassian. The ethnic Ubykh from Akifiye mentioned earlier believes his own Circassian to be Shapsug. Cathérine Paris is the only author to include Uci, or "the language of TE", as she calls it, in a presentation of Circassian dialects. She considers Uci a form of the Hakuchi subdialect of Shapsug (Paris 1978:337):



U. Landmann reports that the Ubykh from region 3 call themselves “Çerkez” and, when asked for further specification, “Ubykh”. They are said to consider Ubykh, Shapsug, Abadzekh and Kabardians as constituting equivalent subgroups of Circassian. The Landmanns base their account on Dumézil (1932:7) when they say that the form of Circassian spoken by those Ubykh is Abadzekh (see U. Landmann (1981:62) and A. Landmann (1981:32)). Had they consulted Dumézil (1965) they would have seen that in the 1960s Dumézil no longer designated as Abadzekh what he considered as such in 1932.

I shall try to demonstrate that Uci must be viewed as a distinct Adyghe dialect. It is my assumption that when bilingual Ubykhs lost their Ubykh, they did not adopt one or other form of Circassian spoken in the neighbourhood, but simply retained one of their maternal languages, thus turning from bilingual Ubykh/Circassians into speakers of Circassian (and, of course, Turkish). I also assume that the Ubykh/Circassian bilingualism of the Ubykh must be of great antiquity.

Below, I shall concentrate on what evidence can be derived from the information concerning Tevfik Esenç’s Circassian that can be found in works by Dumézil on Ubykh from 1960 onward.

I will be mainly concerned with the comparison of sound systems. The discussion can be limited to obstruent systems because one normally finds identical one-to-one correspondences for the sonorants of the Circassian dialects.

Hakuchi Shapsug will not be discussed here. I assume Hakuchi Shapsug presents us with a spectrum of forms intermediate between Shapsug Circassian and Uci.

9. The phoneme system of Common Circassian, the hypothetical ancestor of the Circassian dialects, has been reconstructed by Rogava, Kuipers, and others. Kuipers (1963, 1975) and Rogava agree on many points. Since 1975 no criticism has been levelled which calls for a thorough revision of the system.⁷

Kuipers' reconstruction is based mainly on Bzhedug (Adyghe) and Kabardian proper. Comparison of the obstruent system of all dialects with the system reconstructed for Common Circassian shows that the Kabardian dialects, and especially Kabardian proper, are innovative, and that the Adyghe dialects, especially the western two, Bzhedug and Shapsug, are rather conservative. The phoneme system of Kabardian proper can be seen as a compromise between a Circassian system and non-Circassian systems such as Karačay-Balkar and Ossetic.

Kuipers' 1975 reconstruction of the obstruent system of Common Circassian can be represented as follows:

	vcd	vcl:	vcl ^h	glt		vcd	vcl:	vcl	vcl ^h	glt
labial	b	p:	p ^h	p'						
dental	d	t:	t ^h	t'						
alveolar	ʒ	c:	c ^h	c'		z		s		s'
alveopalatal labialised	ʒ ^o	c: ^o	c ^h o		ʒ̣		š			š'
palatal velarised	ʒ̣	č: ^o	č ^h o	č' ^o	ʒ̣'	š: ^o		š ^h o		š' ^o
lateral						ʒ̣				
velar labialised	g	k:	k ^h	k'		l		ɬ		ɬ'
	g ^o	k: ^o	k ^h o	k' ^o	ġ		ɬ̣			
uvular labialised		q:	q ^h	q'		ġ		ɬ̣		
		q: ^o	q ^h o	q' ^o	ġ ^o		ɬ̣ ^o			
pharyngeal								ħ		

[vcd = voiced, vcl = voiceless not participating in the opposition aspirate (vcl^h) ~ nonaspirate (vcl:), glt = glottalic]

10. The obstruent system of present-day Uci can be deduced from the fragments published by Dumézil.

	vcd	vcl	glt		vcd	vcl
labial	b	p	p'			f
dental	d	t	t'			
alveolar	ʒ	c	c'		z	s
alveopalatal labialised	ʒ ^o	c ^o	c' ^o		ʒ̣	š
					ʒ̣ ^o	š ^o
palatal velarised	ʒ̣'	č'	č' ^o		ʒ̣'	š'
		č	č'		ʒ̣	š
lateral			ɬ'		l	ɬ
velar labialised	g	k	k'		ġ	ɬ̣
	g ^o	k ^o	k' ^o			ɬ̣ ^o
uvular labialised		q	q'		ġ	ɬ̣
		q ^o	q' ^o		ġ ^o	ɬ̣ ^o

Notice that, as far as laryngeal articulation is concerned, we regularly find a threefold opposition (voiced-voiceless-glottalic) in the Uci stop system and a twofold opposition (voiced-voiceless) in the fricative system. In the system reconstructed for Common Circassian, however, one regularly finds fourfold and threefold oppositions instead.

This striking difference is due to the fact that the opposition aspirate-naspirate that must be assumed for Common Circassian is unknown in Uci.

11. The opposition aspirate-naspirate is preserved in two dialects of Adyghe, viz. in Bzhedug and in Shapsug. It has been lost in all other dialects of Circassian. However, in the two Kabardian dialects the naspirate *stops* have merged with their *voiced* counterparts, whereas in Temirgoy and Abadzekh, the eastern dialects of Adyghe, they have merged with their *aspirated* counterparts. Uci shows the same correspondences vis-à-vis Common Circassian as Temirgoy and Abadzekh. By way of illustration, a set of correspondences exemplifying the developments of the dental *stops* of Common Circassian is given below.

KAB	ComCI	ADY		
		Bzh/Shp	Tem/Abd	
<i>de</i>	* <i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	'nut'
<i>de</i>	* <i>t:e</i>	<i>t:e</i>	<i>te</i>	'we'
<i>tə</i>	* <i>tʰə</i>	<i>tʰə</i>	<i>tə</i>	'give'
<i>t'ə</i>	* <i>t'ə</i>	<i>t'ə</i>	<i>t'ə</i>	'ram'

The developments illustrated here are confirmed by a large number of similar sets of correspondences which can be found in Kuipers (1975:*passim*).

The aspirate and naspirate *fricatives* are preserved as such in western Adyghe, whereas they merged into plain voiceless fricatives both in eastern Adyghe (and in Uci) and in Kabardian.

12. Kabardian can be dismissed as a candidate for the origin of Uci:

(1) The old fourfold opposition of laryngeal articulation is reduced in Uci to a threefold one quite differently from what happened in Kabardian (and in the same way as happened in part of Adyghe).

(ii) Uci shares the old Adyghe shift of single $*\hat{x}^\circ$, i.e. \hat{x}° not occurring in a cluster, to f (which remained \hat{x}° in Kabardian); cf.

ADY	KAB	
<i>mafe</i>	<i>ma\hat{x}°e</i>	'day'
<i>fə</i>	<i>\hat{x}°ə</i>	'drive'

(iii) Morphologically, Uci gives the impression of an Adyghe dialect: where Kabardian and Adyghe diverge, Uci normally behaves like Adyghe and Uci does not share any of the morphological innovations of Kabardian.

I now turn to Adyghe in order to see whether Uci has special affinities with a specific form of Adyghe. I shall begin with Shapsug.

13. Almost every Shapsug village has its own *parler*; for a number of Shapsug *parlers* there are fairly extensive descriptions (cf. Paris 1974, Smeets 1984), but for most of them we only have fragmentary information.

We can safely assume that the opposition aspirate-nonaspirate was a feature of the obstruent system of Common Shapsug. It appears that most subdialects preserve this opposition, whereas some subdialects are in the process of losing it. Other subdialects have already done so. Where it has disappeared or is disappearing, the aspirate and nonaspirate voiceless consonants merge, just as in Abadzekh and Temirgoy and just as in Uci.

The reason that Uci has been connected with Shapsug, however, undoubtedly is that Shapsug stands alone among the traditional dialects of Adyghe, but joins Uci in preserving as velars the plain velar plosives ($*g$, $*k$, $*k^h$, $*k'$) of Common Circassian. In the rest of Adyghe the old velar stops have merged with the palatals \check{z} , \check{c}' , \check{c}^h , \check{c}'' . As an example, consider the present day reflexes in Adyghe of the palatal, the velarised palatal and the velar glottalic stop of Common Circassian:

ComCI	Uci	Shp	Bzh	Tem	Abd-1	Abd-2
$*\check{c}''$	\check{c}''	\check{c}'	\check{c}''	\check{c}''	\check{z}''/p'	p'
$*\check{c}'$	\check{c}'	\check{c}'	\check{c}'	\check{c}'	\check{z}'	\check{z}'
$*k'$	k'	k'	\check{c}''	\check{c}''	\check{c}''	\check{c}'

It is important to note that where Common Circassian had three distinct series the traditional Adyghe dialects all have only

two: in Bzhedug and Temirgoy, and later also in Abadzekh, the plain velars stops merged with the plain palatals and an opposition of plain versus velarised palatals was retained (except in Abd-2), whereas Shapsug preserved the velar series and merged the two palatal series. Uci stands alone in preserving the old threefold opposition, which is also present in the system of Ubykh.

However, in a good many subdialects of Shapsug we find traces of the opposition plain versus velarised palatals. For Common Shapsug we must therefore assume the same threefold opposition as for Common Circassian. On the basis of the data supplied thus far, we cannot show that Uci did not develop from Common Shapsug.

There are other points on which Shapsug and Uci diverge. In the sound systems of the known Shapsug subdialects one finds a number of features, none of which can be found in Uci. For instance, in Shapsug we find f° where most other dialects have clusters with final x° , reflecting Common Circassian $*\check{\xi}x^\circ$ or $*\check{\zeta}x^\circ$, and in all Shapsug subdialects we find a fricative s' where the other dialects have (and where Common Circassian had) c' . These Shapsug features are not found in Uci.

The same holds for typical morphological features of Shapsug: such phenomena as the 3rd person subject prefix *re-*, the voluntative suffix *-rag^oe*, and the form *-er* of the Absolutive case ending. None of these can be found in Uci. This is sufficient reason not to consider Uci a form of Shapsug.

14. In 1930 Jakovlev introduced the terms "New" and "Old" Abadzekh (Abd-1 and Abd-2 respectively in the scheme above). If we look at the phoneme systems of Abadzekh we quickly discover that Uci does not have special affinities with them. Compare, for instance:

ComCI	Abd-1	Abd-2	Uci
#ž'	ž'	ž'	ž'
*č'	š'	š'	č'
*č ^h '	š'	š'	č'
*č ^v '	š ^v /ɽ'	ɽ'	č ^v '

Uci shows no affinity with the Abadzekh (and the Temirgoy) systems other than the merger of the aspirate and nonaspirate consonants, and Abadzekh must be dismissed as a candidate for

the origin of Uci. However: (i) Abadzekh is the only Circassian dialect which possesses a palatalised, a plain and a labialised laryngeal—one cannot help seeing the influence of Ubykh, which exploits the same threefold opposition on a large scale in the domain of the uvulars (§15), (ii) in the two forms of Abadzekh given by Jakovlev the glottalic lateral has affricate realisations (§19); (iii) in Uci we will find instances of palatal fricatives instead of the expected affricates (§21); (iv) it is not improbable that the Abd and Tem merger of aspirate and nonaspirate obstruents was triggered by the Uci merger.

15. As Paris (1978:336) observes, the Uci obstruent system gives an archaic impression. Uci does not join Kabardian in any of its specific developments; it joins Adyghe in one early development that sets it apart from Kabardian (single $*\hat{x}^\circ$ yielded *f*), but has not taken part in other, more recent, developments (with one possible exception that will be treated below, §21).

The obstruent system of common Adyghe may be supposed to have differed from that of Common Circassian only by the development of *f* (from single $*\hat{x}^\circ$) and by the disappearance of single $*\hat{x}^\circ$.

The second sound change that can be postulated for all of the traditional Adyghe dialects is the merger of the aspirated palatal affricates with their fricative counterparts. Uci did not undergo this change, or did so only partly.

In the discussion below, the influence of the Ubykh sound system on that of Uci will be taken into consideration. I therefore present the system of Ubykh here:

	vcd	vcl	gl	vcd	vcl
labial pharyngealised	b b̥	p p̥	p' p'̥	ḃ	f
dental labialised	d d°	t t°	t' t'°		
alveolar	ʒ	c	c'	z	s
alveopalatal labialised	ʒ̥ ʒ̥°	ç ç°	ç' ç'°	ʒ̥ ʒ̥°	ʃ̥ ʃ̥°
palatal labialised velarised	ʃ̥ ʃ̥°	ç ç	ç' ç'	ʒ̥ ʒ̥°	ʃ̥ ʃ̥°
lateral			λ'	l	ɬ
velar palatalised plain labialised	g̥ g̥°	k̥ k̥°	k̥' k̥'°	g̥	ɣ̥
uvular palatalised plain labialised		q̥ q̥°	q̥' q̥'°	g̥̥ g̥̥°	ɣ̥̥ ɣ̥̥°
pharyngeal labialised		q̥̥ q̥̥°	q̥̥' q̥̥'°	g̥̥̥ g̥̥̥°	ɣ̥̥̥ ɣ̥̥̥°
laryngeal					h

16. In the following sections I shall discuss the main points of divergence between the obstruent systems of Uci (§ 10) and Common Adyghe (§ 15). These points are:

- (i) Uci does not have the aspirate-nonaspirate opposition (§ 17).
- (ii) Uci has no *h* (§ 18).
- (iii) Uci does not have the glottalic fricatives *s*' , *s*'° and *f*' (§ 19).
- (iv) Uci does not have *ɮ* , *ɮ*'° , *p*'° , *t*'° (§ 20).
- (v) Uci has (cf. iii) *ç*' , *ç*'° , *λ*' and (cf. iv) *q*' , *q*'° , *p'q*'° , *t'q*'°.

17. The opposition aspirate-nonaspirate is, to all appearances, a Circassian innovation; no instances are found in Abkhaz or in Ubykh, nor, as far as I know, have any phenomena been discovered in these languages that might be interpreted as remnants of this opposition. It seems logical to suppose that the Ubykh, for whom there was no such thing as a distinctive degree of aspiration, merged nonaspirate and aspirate consonants in their Circassian. Geographical factors suggest that the loss of this opposition in Adyghe originated in Uci: in the two eastern dialects of Adyghe we find the same merger as in Uci, which (see § 10) was different from the Kabardian merger.

18. In Uci we find \check{x} corresponding to Adyghe \check{x} and \check{h} ; compare, for instance, $\check{s}\check{x}a$ 'head', $\check{x}a$ 'to enter', $t\check{x}amate$ 'elder' (Dumézil 1965:148-9). The evidence from Circassian points to a merger in Uci of old \check{h} with \check{x} . This may also be ascribed to Ubykh influence: in addition to an extensive set of uvulars, Ubykh has an almost equally impressive set of pharyngeal or pharyngealised sounds. The phonemes in question, which can be found in the pharyngeal series of the Ubykh system in § 15, have been described as pharyngeal consonants, and also as pharyngealised uvulars. Whatever the more correct interpretation, the plain voiceless fricative of the set of Ubykh pharyngeal(ised uvular) sounds, i.e. \bar{x} , is not phonetically close to the Circassian voiceless fricative pharyngeal \check{h} . The latter is articulated further back than Ubykh \bar{x} .

Ubykh had no exact counterpart for Circassian \check{h} , and \check{h} was replaced by \check{x} and not, as one might have expected, by the Ubykh pharyngeal \bar{x} . In loans from Circassian into Ubykh, Circassian \check{h} is also always replaced by \check{x} (cf. Dumézil and Esenc 1974).⁸

19. Instead of \check{s}' , \check{s}'° and \check{t}' , which occur in all other dialects of Adyghe, with the proviso that there is free variation of \check{t} and λ' in subdialects of Abadzekh (Jakovlev 1930), Shapsug (Smeets 1984) and Temirgoy (Jakovlev 1930) we find in Uci corresponding affricates: \check{c}' , \check{c}'° and λ' . There are no glottalic fricatives in Ubykh or, for that matter, in Abkhaz. For Common Circassian, glottalic fricatives are postulated on the basis of the traditional Circassian dialects; cf:

ComCI	Uci	ADY	KAB
* \check{s}'	\check{c}'	\check{s}'	\check{s}'/\check{s}
* \check{s}'°	\check{c}'°	\check{s}'°	f'
* \check{t}'	λ'	\check{t}' , \check{t}'/λ'	\check{t}'

The first explanation that comes to mind is that, here too, we are dealing with an adaptation to the Ubykh system, which does not have glottalic fricatives. The Ubykh who started speaking Circassian would have replaced unfamiliar sounds by familiar (\check{c}' and \check{c}'°) or more familiar (λ') ones.

The second explanation starts from the hypothesis that the glottalic fricatives of Circassian originate from corresponding

affricates. Lomtadze (1953), for instance, argues for \hat{s}' from $*\hat{c}'$ and Paris (1978:338) for \hat{s}° from $*\hat{c}^{\circ}$. Lomtadze bases her reasoning on a restricted number of Abkhaz/Circassian etymologies (cf. Kuipers 1963:69), and Paris on Tefvik Esenç's Circassian (Uci) having \hat{c}° , and on the fact that Cemilbey Shapsug shows free variation of \hat{s}° and \hat{c}° .⁹ If the hypothesis is correct, we may assume long standing retention of the original glottalic affricates in Circassian territory that bordered on Ubykh, at least until the time that Ubykh started using Circassian as their second language.

20. The next point of divergence concerns the non-fricative uvulars and laryngeals: evidence from a number of dialects led Kuipers (1963:72) to reconstruct for Common Circassian two series of uvular plosives, each consisting of a voiceless aspirate and a voiceless nonaspirate member, and a plain and a labialised glottal stop; cf.

ComCI (Kuipers 1963)	*q:	*q: ^o	*q ^h	*q ^h ^o	*ʔ	*ʔ ^o
ADY Bzh Tem/Abd	q:	q: ^o	q ^h	q ^h ^o	ʔ	ʔ ^o
KAB Bsn/Kab	q'	q' ^o	q	q ^o	ʔ	ʔ ^o

However, Kuipers (1975:4), agreeing with Balkarov (1970:258), placed his 1963 *ʔ and *ʔ^o as *q' and *q'^o in the uvular series, thus giving more weight to the Hakuchi Shapsug reflexes. The correspondences for a number of forms of Shapsug and Uci are given below:

Shp-1	q:	q: ^o	q ^h	q ^h ^o	ʔ	ʔ ^o
Shp-2	q	q: ^o	q	q ^o	ʔ	ʔ ^o
Shp-3	q	q ^o	ḡ	ḡ ^o	ʔ	ʔ ^o
Shp-4	q:	q: ^o	q ^h	q ^h ^o	q'	q' ^o
Shp-5	q	q ^o	q	q ^o	ʔ	q' ^o
Shp-6	q/k	q ^o	ḡ	ḡ ^o	ʔ/k'	k' ^o
Uci	q	q ^o	q	q ^o	q'	q' ^o
ComCI (Kuipers 1975)	*q:	*q: ^o	*q ^h	*q ^h ^o	*q'	*q' ^o

[For Shp-1, see Paris (1974) (Cemilbey Shapsug), Jakovlev (1930) and Troubetzkoy (1934); for Shp-2, see Dréan (1985) (Kfar Kama Shapsug); for Shp-3, see Smeets (1976) (Düzce Shapsug); for Shp-4, see Jakovlev (1930) ("Alt-Hakuchi"); for Shp-5, see the Hakuchi texts in Zekox (1969) and Keraševa's (1957:13) reference to L'Huillier; for Shp-6, see Smeets (1983) (Genceli Shapsug)]

Here, again, I see two solutions: the first, involving adaptation to Ubykh, is that Common Circassian, as well as Common Adyghe, had *ʔ and *ʔ[◌] (as in Kuipers' 1963 reconstruction), and that Uci replaced the glottal stops by sounds very close to them, that is by *q'* and *q*[◌]. Neither Ubykh, nor Abkhaz has glottal stops. Notice that both Dumézil and Trubetzkoy have remarked that they found it sometimes extremely difficult to hear whether they were dealing with ʔ or with *q'* in Circassian.

The other hypothesis is that an archaic feature that was lost in all of remaining Circassian was preserved on Circassian territory bordering on Ubykh. Common Circassian would then have had, as in Kuipers' 1975 reconstruction, **q'* alongside **q*: and **q*^h, and **q*[◌] alongside **q*:[◌] and **q*^h:[◌]. These glottalic uvulars would have been preserved in the Circassian of bilingual Ubykh, whereas they would have been replaced by glottal stops throughout the rest of Circassian.

21. The palatal consonants call for comments. As was remarked above, the aspirate and nonaspirate voiceless consonants of Common Circassian are reflected by plain voiceless consonants in Uci and in the eastern dialects of Adyghe. The merger in eastern Adyghe must have taken place after the early Adyghe merger of *č^h and *č^h with *š^h and *š^h respectively. Uci either did not share this merger, or did so only in the case of *č^h. The Uci *plain* (i.e. nonvelarised) voiceless palatal affricate č is hence matched in most other forms of Adyghe by a fricative and an affricate. Compare:

ComCI	Uci	Bzh	Shp ¹⁰	Tem	Abd-1	Abd-2
*č ^h	č	š ^h	š ^h /š/ṣ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̌	š
*č:	č:	č:	č	č	ṣ̌	š
*š:	š:	š:	š:/š/ṣ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̌	š
*š ^h	š	š ^h	š ^h /š/ṣ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̌	š

Examples:

ComCI	ADYGHE			
	Uci	Bzh	Tem	
*č:ema *č:ale *č:es':ə	č'ema č'ale č'es':ə	č':ema č':ale č':es':ə	č'ema č'ale č'es':ə	'cow' 'village(rs)' 'night'
*č'əǰ'ə *wəč'ə *nəč'ə *beč'ə *č'ərə *č'əne	č'əǰ'ə wəč'ə nəč'ə beč'ə č'ərə č'əne	š'əǰ'ə wəš'ə nəš'ə beš'ə š'ərə š'əne	š'əǰ'ə wəš'ə nəš'ə beš'ə š'ərə š'əne	'salt' 'wake up' 'sacrificial animal' 'stick' 'young of animal' 'be afraid'
*š:ə *t'ə'əpš':ə *č:es':ə	š'ə t'ə'əpš':ə č'es':ə	š':ə t'ə'əpš':ə č'es':ə	š'ə t'ə'əpš':ə č'es':ə	'three' 'release' 'night'
*š'ə-	š'ə-	š'ə-	š'ə-	'there' (local preverb)

The old Adyghe merger did not extend to East Circassian; in the Besney dialect the affricates have retained their affricate character and in most of Kabardian proper all Common Circassian palatal affricates are reflected by fricatives; compare, for instance, the following Bsn/Shp counterparts from the lexicon in Paris (1974): čəǰ'ə/šəǰ'ə 'salt', wəčə/wəšə 'wake up', bač/bešə 'stick'; cf. also Txarkaxo (1974).

22. The Uci reflexes of the *velarised* palatals of Common Circassian do not entirely parallel those found for the plain palatals. Although the available material is rather limited, we can see that the two voiceless fricatives of Common Circassian are matched by š, as might have been expected in view of Uci š' matching Common Circassian *š:' and *š'. However, all occurrences of the Uci morphemes for 'brother' and 'horse' have initial š as the reflex of Common Circassian *č'. The same reflex is also found in one more Uci morpheme; cf.

ComCI	Uci	Bzh	Tem	
*č'ə	š'ə	š'ə	š'ə	'brother'
*č'ə	š'ə	š'ə	š'ə	'horse'
*pχəç'ə	pχəše	pχəš'ə	pχəše	'tough'

I have found no Uci reflexes of other Common Circassian morphemes that had *č'; I cannot, therefore, determine whether 'tough' and 'brother' and 'horse', the latter two both extremely frequent morphemes, are exceptions or testify to a general rule.

In the latter case, one might suppose that Uci participated in one part of the old Adyghe merger of aspirated palatal affricates and fricatives. This would mean that that merger did not take place simultaneously for the plain and the velarised palatals, but in two stages.

However, for Common Circassian *č̣: we find unexpected reflexes as well; here too, the material is limited: we find three instances of ṣ̌, and one of č̣, where we would expect only č̣; cf.:

ComCI	Uci	Bzh	Tem	
*maḫ(°)č̣:e	maḫ ^o č̣e	maḫč̣:e	maḫč̣e	'camel' (Dumézil 1960:87)
*pč̣:e	pṣ̌e	pč̣:e	pč̣e	'door' (Dumézil 1960:96)
*č̣:əye	ṣ̌əye	č̣:əye	č̣əye	'sleep' (Dumézil 1960:96)
*č̣:e	ṣ̌e	č̣:e	č̣e	'run' (Dumézil 1960:96)

I am inclined to posit influence from Abadzekh here: in Abadzekh we find ṣ̌ (Abd-1) or ṣ̌ (Abd-2) as the reflex of Common Circassian *č̣:, *č̣^h, *ṣ̌: and *ṣ̌^h. The situation in Uci seems to be fairly close to that in Abadzekh. I assume Uci did not join in the old Adyghe merger of the aspirated palatal affricates and fricatives at all, and that in more recent times the two velarised palatal affricates of Uci started undergoing fricativisation under the influence of intensive contacts with speakers of Abd. The fact that in forms of Hakuchi Shapsug we find č̣^(h) reflecting *č̣^h can be considered an argument in favour of this view (cf. Keraševa 1956: *passim* and Txarkaxo 1974).

23. As we have seen, the details of the development from Common Circassian to Uci are not all equally clear. However, there seems to be sufficient reason to consider Uci a distinct dialect within Adyghe; a revision of the tree given in § 7 is presented below:

		Ubykh Circassian
		Bzhedug
Common Circassian	Common Adyghe	Shapsug
		Abadzekh
		Temirgoy
	Common Kabardian	Kabardian
		Bes(le)ney

The simplest way to account for the Uci consonant system is, to all appearances, to assume an early split-off from Adyghe and a further development that was influenced by Ubykh, and, possibly, in more recent times, by Abadzekh. There are, appar-

ently, many different forms of Hakuchi Shp, showing different mixtures of Shp and Uci. A more or less complete description of Hakuchi Shp is badly needed.

Further study of Ubykh Circassian can help us to understand better what is borrowed from Circassian into Ubykh; our insights in the early history of Circassian may also benefit from such a study.¹¹

Notes

Most of the transcription used here is self-explanatory. There is one point that should be noted: plain palatals in systems that oppose plain (phonetically palatalised) palatals to velarised palatals are marked by the diacritic ' (eg. č''), their velarised counterparts being provided with a *cedille* (eg. č''). Palatals (usually also phonetically palatalised) that do not show this opposition are not provided with special diacritics (eg. č'').

1. There are four current ways of looking at the genetic relations of the three West Caucasian languages: the first is that Ubykh and Circassian are closer to each other than either of them is to Abkhaz; this is, for instance, Kumaxov's position (1981:7-20)—he claims that the first split of the West Caucasian proto-language yielded proto-Abkhaz on the one hand and proto-Ubykh/Circassian on the other.

The second view is that Ubykh occupies an intermediate position between Abkhaz and Circassian, or in other words, that Ubykh is closer to both Abkhaz and Circassian than Abkhaz and Circassian are to each other; Deeters (1963:9) and Šagirov (1977 and 1984) are advocates of this point of view.

The third point of view is that Ubykh, Abkhaz and Circassian are three independent, equivalent branches of West Caucasian. Dirr (1916) and Dumézil (various works), for instance, have treated them in this way.

The fourth point of view is not well known to me: A group of Moscow scholars, including V.G. Ardzinba, S.L. Nikolaev and S.A. Starostin, classify all North Caucasian languages into one "Caucasian phylum"; this phylum consists of two families, a "Western", or "Abkhazo-Adyghian" and an "Eastern" one. The Western family includes the five traditional West Caucasian languages plus the long extinct Hattic; this last idea is old: cf. Mészáros (1934) and Dunaevskaja's studies from the sixties. For references see the bibliographies of the articles in *Drevnjaja Anatolija*. This may be true; however as long as the reconstructions on which the Moscow scholars base their assumptions are not published *in extenso*, we will not be able to form an opinion (cf. D'jakonov and Starostin (1986:1): "S.A. Starostin and S.L. Nikolaev have

- reconstructed the Common North Caucasian as well as the Common North Eastern Caucasian vocabulary and phonological system.”).
2. Eg. Dumézil (1937), Kuipers (1963), Kumaxov (1981). The territory along the Black Sea coast that was occupied by the ancestors of the present-day Abazinians was at least partly identical to the territory that was later occupied by the Ubykh. I suppose that the Ubykh arrived on the Black Sea coast while this area was being vacated by the ancestors of the present-day Abazinians and that it was then and there that they started experiencing influence from Circassian.
 3. Prior to Uslar we have a small list of isolated words and short sentences that was compiled by Evliya Çelebi (seventeenth century, cf. Dumézil 1978), and a short word list by J.S. Bell (1840:II:447).
 4. The ethnic Ubykhs are aware that their Circassian exhibits certain specific features. When asked which, they always (and sometimes only) mention that they have *g°əč'aq'e* 'speak' (with č' and not, as in all the rest of Circassian, with a palatal fricative). Curiously, the other distinguishing feature this verb contains (*q'* instead of *ʃ*) is not mentioned by them as such.
 5. Cf. especially Dumézil (1960:79 ff.), where Tevfik Esenç's translation into Uci of a large number of Mészáro's Ubykh proverbs can be found, and Dumézil (1965:148-149), where 38 lines are given of a translation from Ubykh into TE's Uci. Dumézil and Namitok (1955:1-14) present the interlinear Uci translation of an Ubykh text by Ali Çavuş; Dumézil and Namitok (1955a:457-459) present the Uci translation by Tevfik Esenç of 4 short Ubykh texts. The notation of the Uci texts published in 1955 is not always in line with the one that was used from 1960 on.
 6. Cf., for instance, (Dumézil 1961) "... TE a rendu les formes ou phrases de l'oubykh dans son tcherkesse, malheureusement aberrant et incorrect", or: (Dumézil 1961a) "... le bilingue TE a traduit le texte oubykh dans son parler tcherkesse occidental aberrant et certainement incorrect", or: (Dumézil 1961b) "C'est TE qui a fait ces traductions dans la variété particulière et peu correcte de tcherkesse occidental qu'il parle."
 7. The most serious objection is from Kumaxov (1981:166 ff.), who argues that the opposition aspirate-nonaspirate does not go back to Common Circassian but is to be considered an innovation of the western dialects of Adyghe (cf. Smeets, ms.).
 8. In Ubykh there are many loans from Circassian. Vogt indicated in his dictionary which words Tevfik Esenç considered loans from ("Abadzekh") Circassian. In 1974 Dumézil published an article in which he listed the Circassian loans in Ubykh. He rejected part of the loans mentioned in Vogt and added many of his own. Dumézil's article is the main source for these loans. Dumézil's list cannot be accepted as it is: it is puzzling why certain words are considered loans from Circassian, especially in the case

of words that occur only in Ubykh and in just one of the Circassian dialects that border on Ubykh, or in Ubykh and in Adyghe only. For many of these words it does not seem clear *prima facie* which way the borrowing went. Whether similar elements in Circassian and in Ubykh were borrowed by one from the other, or whether they have a common origin is often hard to decide.

I intend to return to these loans elsewhere; here, I want to stress (i) that the form of a large number of loans in Ubykh can be explained only if we assume that the loan was taken from Uci, (ii) that the form of certain loans from Circassian can only be explained if we assume an intermediary language (in some cases Abaza seems a good candidate), and (iii) that the majority of the loans from Turkic origin in Ubykh seem to have been transmitted to Ubykh by Circassian.

9. The cases of free variation occur in a very limited number of morphemes (C. Paris, personal communication).
10. For the development of Common Shapsug *š', *š', *š: and *šʷ see Smeets (1983).
11. Two striking archaisms in the morphology of Uci are the connective suffix -y (elsewhere -əy) and the Imperfect marker -te (also preserved as such in East Circassian, but in Adyghe only preserved in the Connective causal marker -t.əy), cf. Dumézil (1961:290, note 17) *məg°əč'əq'atere* 'who had not been speaking' and Dumézil (1960a:453, note 29) *č'eterer* 'what he was doing'.

References

- Aydemir, I. 1973. *Türkiye Çerkesleri. Kafkasya, 39-42*, Ankara, 215-237.
- Bell, J.S. 1840. *Journal of a residence in Circassia during the years 1837, 1838 and 1839*. London.
- Benedictson, A. 1898. [Notes prises en 1898 chez les émigrés de la région de Sapanca et restées manuscrites, utilisées par Dirr et par Mészáros (Dumézil and Namitok 1954)].
- Bodenstedt, F.von. 1848. *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen, Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte des Orients*. Frankfurt a.M.
- Dréan, P-M. 1985. Une anecdote tcherkesse en dialecte chapsoug de Kfar-Kama, Israël. *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*, 1, 35-46.
- Danilewski, N. 1847. *Der Kaukasus. Physisch-geographisch, statistisch, ethnographisch und strategisch*. Leipzig.
- Danilova, E.N. 1984. *Abaziny*. Moskva.
- Deeters, G. 1963. Die Kaukasischen Sprachen, *Handbuch der Orientalistik I*. Leiden-Köln.
- D'jakonoff, I.M. & S.A. Starostin. 1986. *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian language*. München.

- Dirr, A. 1916. Die Stellung des Ubychischen in den nordwestkaukasischen Sprachen. *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*. München: Breslau, 413-419.
- Dumézil, G. 1932. *Études comparatives sur les langues caucasiennes du nord-ouest (morphologie)*. Paris.
- Dumézil, G. 1937. Morphologie comparée et phonétique comparée. A propos des langues caucasiennes du nord. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris*, 38, 122-138.
- Dumézil, G. 1954. Textes Chepsoug. *Journal Asiatique*, 242, 1-48.
- Dumézil, G. 1960. *Documents anatoliens sur les langues et les traditions du Caucase I*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, t. 9. Paris.
- Dumézil, G. 1960a. Récits oubykhs IV. *Journal Asiatique*, 248-3, 431-462.
- Dumézil, G. 1961. Récits oubykh V. *Journal Asiatique*, 249-3, 269-296.
- Dumézil, G. 1961a. Chah-Meymun. Texte oubykh, traduit et commenté. *Orientalia Suecana*, 10, Uppsala, 41-80.
- Dumézil, G. 1961b. L'Arménien et le prince tcherkesse, récit oubykh. *Handès Amsoreay*, 75, col. 855-868.
- Dumézil, G. 1965. *Documents anatoliens sur les langues et les traditions du Caucase, III*. Paris.
- Dumézil, G. 1978. L'oubykh d'Evliya Çelebi. *Journal Asiatique*, 266, 57-66.
- Dumézil, G. & Esenç, T. 1974. Notes d'étymologie et de vocabulaire sur le caucasique du nord-ouest 11. *Bedi Kartlisa*, 32, 37-47: Emprunts de l'oubykh au tcherkesse.
- Dumézil, G. & Esenç, T. 1975. *Le verbe oubykh, études descriptives et comparatives*. Paris.
- Dumézil, G. & Namitok, A. 1955. Récits oubykh (I). *Journal Asiatique*, 243-1, 1-47.
- Dumézil, G. & Namitok, A. 1955a. Récits oubykh II. *Journal Asiatique*, 243-4, 439-457.
- Hewitt, B.G. 1981. Caucasian languages. Chapter 5 of: B. Comrie, *The languages of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge.
- Jakovlev, N.F. 1930. Kürze Übersicht über die tscherkessischen (adygheischen) Dialekte und Sprachen. *Caucasica*, 6, Leipzig 1-19.
- Keraševa, Z.I. 1957. Osobennosti šapsugskogo dialekta adygejskogo jazyka. Majkop.
- Kuipers, A.H. 1963. Proto-Circassian phonology: an essay in reconstruction. *Studia Caucasica*, I, Den Haag.
- Kuipers, A.H. 1975. *A Dictionary of Proto-Circassian Roots*. Louvain.
- Kumaxov, M. A. 1981. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika adygskich (čerkesskich) jazykov*. Moskva.
- Landmann, A. 1981. *Akifiye-Büyükçamurlu. Ubychen-Dörfer in der Südost-Türkei; Untersuchungen zu Partnerwahl und Hochzeitsbrauchtum*. Heidelberg.
- Landmann, U. 1981. *Akifiye-Büyükçamurlu. Ubychen-Dörfer in der*

- Südost-Türkei (Ökosituation, Siedlungsbild und Gebäudeformen)*. Heidelberg.
- Lomtadidze, K.V. 1953. K genezisu odnogo rjada troečnyx spirantov v adygskix jazykax. *Inst. jazykoznanija AN SSSR, Doklady i soobščeniya, IV*. Moskva, 91-98.
- Mészáros, J. von. 1934. *Die Päkhy-Sprache*. The oriental institute of the university of Chicago, Studies in ancient oriental civilisation, no. 9. Chicago.
- Paris, C. 1974. *La Princesse Kahraman, contes d'Anatolie en dialecte chapsough (tcherkesse occidentale)*. Paris: SELAF/Louvain.
- Paris, C. 1978. Review of Kuipers 1975. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris (comptes rendues)*, 333-342.
- Rogava, G.V. 1943. Četveričnaja sistema smyčnyx v adygskix jazykax. *Soobščeniya AN gruzinskoj SSR, 4*. Tbilisi.
- Rogava, G.V. 1974. Osnovnye fonetičeskie processy soglasnyx v adygskix jazykax. *Annual of Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics, 1*. Tbilisi, 71-79.
- Smeets, R. 1976. *Sept histoires en šapsəğ*. Louvain.
- Smeets, R. 1983. On the obstruents of Genceli Shapsug. *Studia Caucasica, 5*. Louvain, 45-54.
- Smeets, R. 1984. *Studies in West Circassian phonology and morphology*. Leiden: The Hakuchi Press.
- Smeets, R. ms. On the antiquity of the opposition aspirate-nonaspirate in Circassian. *In defence of Rogava's Law*.
- Trubetzkoy, N. 1934. Erinnerungen an einen Aufenthalt bei den Tscherkessen des Kreises Tuapse. *Caucasica, 11*. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1-39.
- Txarkaxo, Ju. A. 1974. Ob odnoj fonetičeskoj zakonomernosti v adygskix jazykax. *Annual of Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics, 1*. Tbilisi, 91-97.
- Uslar, P.K. 1887. O jazyke ubyxo (77-102 of:), *Abxazskij jazyk, Etnografija Kavkaza, 1*. Tiflis.
- Vogt, H. 1963. *Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh*. Oslo.
- Zekox, U.S. 1969. *Sistema sklonenija v adygejskom jazyke*. Majkop.
- * Thanks are due to George van Driem, Colin Ewen, Frederik Kortlandt and Willem Vermeer for their comments on contents and form of this article.