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SADZ, AN ABKHAZ DIALECT IN TURKEY

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0. The Abkhaz language, which, together with Circassian and Ubykh, belongs to the West Caucasian group of the North Caucasian family, has the following dialects: Bzyp, Abzhywa, Sadz, Ashkharywa, and Tapanta. The latter two are usually known as Abaza, but Ashkharywa is much closer to (Transcaucasian) Abkhaz, whence the linguistic term Abaza should be used while speaking about the Tapanta dialect only (cf. Genko 1957:187, 189; Starreveld 1983:76), though Ashkharywas themselves now constitute part of the *abazinskij narod,* i.e., the Abazin people, and use Tapanta as their literary language. Hitherto all these dialects have been described, except Sadz. This dialect, before the total exodus of its speakers to the Ottoman empire, caused by the Russian invasion in the middle of the XIX century, was spoken from the river Bzyp in western Abkhazia up to the river Matsesta and further to the northwest, to the river Sochypsta (contemporary Sochi). Thus it neighbored on the east with Bzyp Abkhaz, on the north with Ahchypsy Abkhaz, and on the west with Ubykh. Sadzians used to live in such villages as *xaməš* (now Xosta), *arədkət* (contemporary Adler), *xašxa, candrəpš´, gač´rəpš´, bagrəpš´, mk´alrəpš´,* and *gagra//gagrəpš´.* On the river *k´°ədəpsta* (Russian *kudepsta*) there settled a Sadz community Tswydzhy *(č°əǯə),* and on the river *mcasta* (> contemporary Russian *Matsesta*) was situated a Chywa *(č´əwa)* tribe (cf. Volkova 1974:76). Now speakers of Sadz can be found only in Turkey.

Sadz data were first recorded as early as in the 17th century by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, as a number of features of the Abkhaz linguistic specimens Çelebi cites point to the Sadz dialect. Among these features are alternation of the final stem vowel *a* into *ə* in the imperative forms, which is known also in Bzyp, but is more widespread in Sadz; the weakening of the final stop in the present finite forms of dynamic verbs, which is purely a Sadz and Ashkharywa feature; the regular insertion of the emphatic particle *-g´ə-* in the negative forms, which is found in Sadz, Ahchypsy, Ashkharywa, and Tapanta; the use of the finite dynamic ending *t´* for a group of stative verbs, as in Ashkharywa, instead of the ending *-p´/b* in Abkhaz and Tapanta; absence of the present tense marker *-w-* in the stative present forms, also a

feature shared with Ashkharywa and Tapanta. Apart from this, Çelebi's material shows the existence in 17th century Sadz of archaic middle spirants, fully preserved now only in Bzyp. Sadz data were not available to any of the linguistic commentators on Çelebi, Jost Gippert's (1992) recent revision of Çelebi's Caucasian specimens included. One of the other earliest recording of Abkhaz, the word list made by the English traveller James StanilsausBell (Bell 1841:353-354) in the first part of the XIX century, also in all probability represents a specimen of Sadz. Among the undoubtedly Sadz features is the gemination of consonants, unknown in other sister dialects (cf. such words from Bell's list as *wassa* 'sheep,' *alla* dog', *assə* 'snow'), full vowel grade form of the word: □*amašəna* 'sea,' □*abəna* 'forest,' *j-aba* □'his father,' □*əməra* 'sun.' Cf. also such specifically Sadz lexical items in the Bell list as *alaǯəta* 'maize,' *at'əwra* 'forest' (presented by Bell as *Atwu**; the last word is met also in South Abkhaz dialects, but only in combination with □*a-bna*□'forest': □*a-bna-t'əwra* 'thick forest').□

In spite of such early fixations of Sadz, as a result of the expulsion of the Sadzians to Turkey in the middle of the last century, very little is known about this Abkhaz dialect (cf. Bgažba 1974; Kilba 1983; 1992) and it has not played any role in comparative West Caucasian study. My fieldwork in Turkey in November-December 1991, which became possible due to the support of the University of Leiden, allowed me to clarify to a certain extent the main peculiarities of the dialect.

0.1. Sadz can be subdivided into two subdialects: (1) Khaltsys, or Sadz proper, and (2) Tswydzhy, the speakers of which do not regard themselves as "Sadzians." The generic self-designation of Sadz proper is *apsəw [apsuw]*, i.e. 'Abkhazian.' More specifically they refer to themselves as *a-saʒ-wa*, or *a-x̌alc'əs//a-x̌əlc'əs*, and there are still smaller tribal subdivisions, like *x̌aməš̌-aa, gagr-aa, taapsa*. Before emigration *x̌aməš̌-aa* lived in *xaməš̌*, or *x̌asta* > Russian *Xosta*, a place near Sochi, while *gagr-aa* are emigrants from the contemporary town of Gagra in Abkhazia. Now their distribution in northwest Turkey is as follows:

Vilayet Sakarya, region Akyazı: villages of Harmanlı (Abkhaz name: *c(ə)x̌ən(a)ra*, ca. 35-36 households), Akbalık (ca. 40 households), Taşburun (ca. 17 households), Yongalık (previous Abkhaz name: *bejzir jəkəta* 'the village of Beyzir'; ca. 10 households), Kuzuluk (ca. 100 households, population ca. 300), Mesudiye (ca. 10 households),

Bıçkıdere (ca. 50 households, pop. ca. 260), Gebeş (mixed Sadz-Bzyp-Ahchypsy population; ca. 70 households); around the city of Adapazarı: Kemaliye (Abkhaz name: *x̌aməš̌*; 37 households, population ca. 120), Şükriye-köy (Abkhaz name: *dayʟaǯa;* 10 households, population ca. 60), Çaybaşı Yeni köyü (Abkhaz name: *taapsa(a);* ca. 20 households, population ca. 80-100); here is also a Sadz district called in Abkhaz *tarask'°a;* Geyve region: Boğazköy (older Turkish name: Şahanbey köyü, Abkhaz name: *č'əwaa rkəta;* ca. 25 households, population ca. 50); the inhabitants are a mixture of Ubykhs and Sadzians (the former changed their language long before); for the supposed place of emigration see above a community Chiwa on the river Matsesta; Doğançay (very few are left); Hendek region: Karadere (about 10 households); in total 14 villages.

Tswydzhy are living in three villages near the town Bilecik in northwestern Turkey: Küncaz (ca. 30 households, population ca. 120), Hasan-dere (ca. 25 households, population ca. 100), Elmabahça; in the last village, due to out-migration, only two Abkhaz families are left now. The speech of the above-mentioned Sadz village Boğazköy by some of its features (lexicon, verbal endings of present dynamic, etc.) suggests, probably, also its Tswydzhy affiliation. Many Tswydzhy have moved from villages to towns, mostly to Bilecik. Their general self-designation is *apsawa,* i.e. 'Abkhaz,' while the name of their community is *č'əǯaa,* which is the plural of *č'əǯə.*

1. Phonology. The vocalic system of Sadz is the same as in other Abkhaz dialects, i.e., two phonemic vowels, /a, ə/. The consonant inventory of Khaltsys Sadz, on the whole, coincides with that of Abzhywa, the only distinction being the loss of glottalisation in the morpheme meaning 'thin': **a-f'a > a-ffa* (cf. Abzhywa *a-f'a,* Ashkharywa *f'a,* Bzyp *a-p'a* and Tapanta *c'a* 'thin'). Unlike Khaltsys Sadz, in this morpheme Tswydzhy has *p': a-p'a* 'thin,' *a-ffa* being only a variant (cf. the similar situation with the use of *f* in Abzhywa). Some Khaltsys, and all the Tswydzhy speakers, retain an opposition between back and middle labialized spirants, namely, *ž̌° ž̌°* and *š̌° š̌°.*

PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF KHALTSYS AND TSWYDZHY SADZ

Stops:	b p p'	d t t'		g k k'	q'
		dᵒ tᵒ tⁿ		gᵒ kᵒ kⁿ	qⁿ
				g' k' k''	q''

Affricates:		ʒ c c'	ǯ č č'	
		ʒᵒ ćᵒ ćⁿ	ǯᵒ č'ᵒ č''	

Spirants:	v f	z s	ž š		ɣ x̌ ħ
		(žᵒ šᵒ)	žᵒ šᵒ		ɣᵒ x̌ᵒ ħᵒ
			ž' š'		ɣ x̌'

Sonorants: m n r   l

Semivowels: w j
             jᵒ

1.1. Peculiarities in vowels.

1.1.1. In word-final syllable /a/ and /ə/ are often, but not necessarily, neutralized into an intermediate sound [æ], which occurs mainly in the stressed syllable.

(a) neutralization of final /ə/ in [æ]:

a-pəzzæ	< a-pəzə 'hedgehog'
a-kⁿət't'æ	< a-kⁿət'ə 'hen'
a-dᵒdᵒæ	< a-dᵒə 'field'
a-ffæ	< a-fə 'lightning'
a-š'ap'p'æ	< a-š'ap'ə 'leg'
a-cəgᵒgᵒæ	< a-cgᵒə 'cat'
a-ʒʒæ	< a-ʒə 'water'
a-kəddæ	< a-kədə 'stump, stubb'

In the indefinite singular form the original vowel is restored: *pəzzə-k'* 'one hedgehog,' *k'ⁿət't'ə-k'* 'one hen,' *dᵒdᵒə-k'* 'one field,' *ffə-k'* 'one lightning,' *š'ap'p'ə -k'* 'one leg,' *cəgᵒgᵒə-k'* 'one cat,' *ʒʒə-k'* 'a water,' *kəddə-k'* 'one stump.'

(b) neutralization of final /a/ in [æ]:

a-ffæ	< a-ffa 'thin'; indefinite singular: ffa-k'
jə-ffa-ʒæ-x̌	< jə-ffa-ʒa-x̌ 'very thin'

In certain cases the original final -*a* in the indefinite singular is changed into -*ə*: *a-ć'ᵒć'ᵒa* 'apple' vs. *ć'ᵒć'ᵒə-k'* 'one apple'(Abkhaz *ć'ᵒa-k'*), *a-k'ᵒk'ᵒa* 'rain' vs. *k'ᵒk'ᵒə-k'* 'a rain' (Abkhaz *k'ᵒa-k'*), *a-š'š'a* 'blood' vs. *š'š'ə-k'* 'a blood' (Abkhaz *š'a-k'*), etc. Cf. similar examples in 1.1.4.

1.1.2. Retention of stem vowel. A characteristic feature of Sadz, as well as of Ashkharywa, is the preservation of the unstressed vowel in many stems, whereas in other dialects in the same position a reduced vowel or vowel elision are observed. Examples of retained vowels:

(a) medial *a-*:

a-baɣ'a 'leaf,' cf. Abkhaz a-bɣ'ə, Tapanta bɣ'ə
a-bana 'wood,' cf. Abkhaz a-bna, Ashkharywa, Tapanta bna
a-pahal 'clay jug,' cf. Abkhaz a-phal
a-zakᵒa (//a-zəkᵒa) 'back,' cf. Abkhaz a-zkᵒa, Tapanta zkᵒə
za-nə 'once,' cf. Abkhaz, Tapanta znə, Ashkharywa zanə
a-šᵒaq'a 'book,' Abzhywa a-šᵒq'(ᵒ)ə
a-x̌aħᵒ-sasa 'metal,' Abzhywa a-x̌aħᵒ-ssa
a-x̌aj'a 'lid, cover,' cf. Abzhywa a-x̌j'a
a-mahasta 'stick to stir corn pap,' Bzyp a-mhasta
a-mara 'sun,' cf. Abzhywa a-mra, Bzyp a-mra//a-mər, Tapanta
    mara
a-x̌ᵒašᵒ 'medicine; gun powder,' cf. Abkhaz a-x̌ᵒšᵒ
a-ć'ašᵒa 'ivy,' cf. Abkhaz a-šᵒč' (with metathesis in one of the
    dialects)

(b) final *a-*:

aba 'father,' cf. Abkhaz ab, Ashkharywa, Tapanta aba
a-tərasa 'fern,' Abkhaz a-təras
a-kⁿaca 'meat,' cf. Abzhywa a-kⁿac
j'ə-n-tⁿa 'twice,' Abkhaz j'ə-n-tⁿ
a-matta (//a-mattə) 'snake,' Abkhaz a-mat
a-jaša 'squirrel,' Abkhaz a-jaš

(c) medial ə:

apš°əma 'host,' Abkhaz apš°ma

a-dədə-ra (Boğazköy), a-dədd-ra (Kuzuluk) 'thunder,' Abkhaz a-dəd-ra, Tapanta dd-ra

a-č'əč'a-ra//a-č'əč'ə-ra 'to laugh,' Abkhaz a-č'č'a-ra, Tapanta qə-č'č'a-ra

a-x̌'əš' 'hawk,' cf. Abkhaz a-x̌'š', Tapanta x̌'š'ə

a-məšən(a) 'sea,' Abkhaz a-mšən

a-məš° 'bear,' cf. Abkhaz a-mš°, Tapanta mš°ə

(d) final ə:

až°ət'°ə 'in old times,' cf. Abzhywa až°ət'°

The full grade in Sadz, likewise in Ashkharywa, cannot be regarded as an innovation, but rather as a preservation of the original situation, which can be verified by comparison with the source words in cases of loans, and with cognate in sister-languages.

1) Loans:

Abkhaz a-pħal, Sadz a-paħal   < Georgian poxal-i 'jug'

Abkhaz apš°ma, Sadz apš°əma 'host' < Ossetic fusum 'id'

2) Comparison with sister-languages:

Abkhaz a-bna, Sadz a-bana 'wood,' cf. Circassian pana 'prickled bush,' Ubykh bana 'grass'

Abkhaz z-nə, Sadz za-nə, cf. Circassian zə, Ubykh za 'one'

Abkhaz a-mš°, Sadz a-məš° 'bear,' cf. Circassian məśa, Ubykh məš°a 'id'

Abxaz a-mš, Sadz a-məš 'day,' cf. Adyghe māx°a, Ubykh məś°a 'id'

1.1.3. Preservation of the unreduced vowel. Many stems retained the unreduced vowel a, whereas in (some) other dialects it was changed into ə:

a-x̌a 'head,' cf. Abzhywa a-x̌ə, vs. Ashkharywa, Tapanta qa < Common Abkhaz *qa 'head'

a-jⁿna, Abkhaz a-jⁿnə, Tapanta ħⁿna 'home,' cf. Circassian wəna

ak'a 'one,' cf. Abkhaz ak'ə, Tapanta za-k'ə

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sa sə-č'a 'at my place,' cf. Abkhaz sa s-č'ə, cf. Tapanta č'a 'mouth, surface'

a-x̌alpa 'hat,' cf. Abzywa a-x̌əlpa, derivative from a-x̌a 'head'

a-x̌aza 'blanket,' cf. Abzhywa a-x̌əza, derivative from a-x̌a 'head'

a-x̌°x̌°a, Abkhaz a-x̌°ə, Tapanta x̌°a 'hill, mountain'

a-baca 'twigs for wattling,' cf. Abzhywa a-bəca, Tapanta baca

1.1.4. Alternation a > ə. In many other cases Sadz, on the contrary, shows reduction of the stem vowel a into ə. Though this process involves more or less all the dialects of Abkhaz group, in Sadz it is much more common:

wə-t'°ə 'you (masc./human, non-human) sit down!,' cf. Abkhaz wə-t'°a, Ashkharywa wə-t'a, Tap wə-č'a 'id'

wə-cə 'you (masc./human, non-human) go!,' cf. Abkhaz, Ashkharywa, Tapanta wə-ca 'id'

sə-cə-jt' 'I went,' cf. Bzyp s-ća-jt,' Abzhywa s-ca-jt'

s-t'°ə-r-əj 'if I sit down,' Abkhaz s-t'°a-r

ħ-aj-ba-bə-n 'we saw each other,' cf. Abzhywa ħ-aj-ba-ba-n

wə-bə-ca-wa 'where are you going to?,' Abzhywa wə-ba-ca-wa

a-bgə-larž' 'jackal,' Abkhaz a-bga-laž'

a-lək'° 'fairy-tale,' Abkhaz a-lak'°

a-labə-š'a 'walking stick,' Abkhaz a-laba-š'a

a-təca 'bride,' Abzhywa a-taca

a-px̌aš'ə-ra '(feeling of) shame,' Abkhaz a-px̌aš'a-ra

a-k'ⁿarəx̌° 'revolver,' Abkhaz a-k'ⁿarax̌°

ajaš'ə-sa 'as brother,' cf. Abkhaz jaš'a-s

až°ə-la 'by means of word,' Abzhywa až°a-la

nəs 'then,' Abkhaz nas

-ćʰə plural suffix (human), cf. Abkhaz, Ashkharywa -ćʰa

-k'ə plural suffix (human/inhuman), cf. Abkhaz, Ashkharywa, Tapanta -k'a

1.1.5. Elision of the final vowel. Elision of the final vowel in Sadz is not as common as, for example, in Bzyp. The rare examples are: Sadz arď'ən 'blackbird,' cf. Bzyp arď'ən(a), Abzhywa arď'əna, Sadz arx̌'ən 'thrush,' Bzyp arx̌'ən(a), Abzhywa arx̌'əna, Sadz a-š'anc' 'flint stone,' Bzyp a-š'anć', Abzywa a-š'anc'a, etc. But in personal pronouns, unlike

Bzyp or Abzhywa, the final vowel is normally dropped: *wa-r* (< *wa-ra*) 'you (man),' *ba-r* (< *ba-ra*) 'you (woman),' *sa-r* (< *sa-ra*) 'I,' *ħa-r* (< *ħa-ra*) 'we,' etc. Cf. also *ǯa-r* 'somewhere' (< *ǯa-ra*).

1.2. Peculiarities in consonants.

1.2.1. Geminate Consonants. One of the most peculiar features of Sadz, not known in other dialects, is the presence of geminate (or strong) consonants. At first glance one can get the impression that geminates have a phonetically conditioned distribution, as they occur mainly in final stressed open syllable, cf. Khaltsys *a-lla//a-llə* 'dog,' *a-k'ºət't'æ* 'hen' (Tswydzhy *a-k'ºət't'ə*), *a-ž'ž'a* 'hare,' *a-čədda* 'donkey,' *a-ffa* 'thin,' *a-ssa* 'snow,' *a-x'x'ə* 'hill' (Tswydzhy *a-x'x'a*),' cf. Bzyp, Abzhywa *a-la, a-k'ºt'ə, a-ž'a, a-čada, a-x'ə*. However, in other words the initial consonant of a final stressed open syllable does not geminate, cf. *a-xa* 'head,' *a-qºasa* 'alycha' (kind of damson), *a-c'ay'a* 'mattress,' etc. Moreover, the geminate character of the above-mentioned consonants does not tend to be neutralized in other positions, cf. *a-lla* 'dog,' *llal∂-k'* 'one dog,' *a-llal∂-k'a* 'dogs,' *a-k'ºət't'æ* 'hen,' *k'ºət't'∂-k'* 'one hen'. The only position of neutralization is in clusters (*a-k'ºət't'æ* 'hen,' pl. *a-k'ºət'k'a*), though in clusters with *r* geminate can remain (*a-r-t't'-ra* 'to open,' *a-dədd-ra* 'thunder'). From these examples it is evident that geminate (strong) consonants can also be found in closed stressed syllables and in non-stressed syllables. There can be found minimal pairs demonstrating the contrast between "geminate" vs "non-geminate" consonants in one and the same phonetic position; cf., for example, *llal∂-k'a-k'* 'some dogs' ~ *lal∂k'a-k'* 'one eye,' *a-xxa* 'bullet' ~ *a-xa* 'head,' *axa* 'stick supporting the plants,' *a-pssa* 'soul; corpse' ~ *a-psa* 'fir tree,' *a-rassa* 'fern' ~ *a-rasa* 'hazelnut.' In all other dialects of Abkhaz geminates are clusters, and they are either a result of vowel elision (cf. Bzyp, Abzhywa *a-č'č'a-ra* vs. Sadz *a-č'əč'al∂-ra* 'to laugh,' Bzyp, Abzhywa *a-ǯǯara* vs. Ashkharywa *a-ǯaǯa-ra* 'to wash'), or expressive gemination, usual in the Caucasus (cf. Abkh *a-p-c'ºa-ra* 'to break,' *a-p-c'ºc'ºa-ra* 'to break in many places,' *a-ħºa-ra* 'to speak,' *a-ħ'ħ'a-ra* 'to cry, shout,' etc.). But it is certainly not the case with the geminates in Sadz. Their phonological status is still to be defined.

1.2.1.1. Some parallel to Sadz gemination can be seen probably in Ubykh, which also geminates consonants, cf. Ubykh *bzə-la* 'inundation,' pronounced [bzə-lla], *la* 'army' = [lla], *wa-ba* 'god' = [wa-bba], etc.

(Dumezil 1967:104). As Vogt 1963:27 puts it, this gemination is regular after stressed *a*, and is especially noticeable in resonants, e.g. *yana* 'his mother,' *awa* 'dog,' *ama* 'apple,' where Dirr and Dumezil often recorded gemination (i.e., -nn-, -ww-, -mm-). The example of *la* [lla] 'army' shows, however, that gemination preserves in the conditions other than after the stressed *a*, which makes it more similar to the situation in Sadz. Perhaps we can suppose here an areal Ubykh-Sadz feature

1.2.1.2. The monosyllabic roots with double consonants, resulting from the vowel elision (*CVCV > CCV) of the other dialects, correspond in Sadz to bisyllabic roots with the geminate consonant (*CVCV > CəCV), cf. Sadz *a-ħ'əħ'a-ra* 'to shout' vs. Abzhywa *a-ħ'ħ'a-ra*, Sadz *jə-x'əx'x'a-ǯə-x'* '(very) long' vs. Abzhywa *jə-x'x'a-ʒa*, Sadz *a-rš'əš'ºš'ºº-ra* 'to rock, shake' vs. Abzhywa *a-rš'ºš'a-ra*, Sadz *a-y'əy'y'a* 'hard, strong' vs. Abzhywa *a-y'y'a*, Sadz *a-t'ət't'ə-ra* 'to rip' vs. Abzhywa *a-t't'a-ra*, Sadz *a-y'əy'y'a-ħ'a* 'with much noise' vs. Abzhywa *a-y'y'a-ħ'a*, etc.

1.2.2. The final consonant in the ending of the present dynamic is often realized as a glottal stop; cf. *jə-z-dar-wə-t'* [ızdaruʔ] 'I know,' *wa-r wə-c-wə-t'* [ucuʔ] 'you (man) go.'

1.2.3. The affricates *ʒ, c,* and *č* are often realized as sounds intermediate between *ʒ* and *z, c* and *s,* and *č* and *š,* respectively.

1.2.4. Some speakers pronounce the labialized *d'* in the preverb *d'ə* 'outside' as *b*; cf. *wə-d'ə-lə-c'//wə-bə-lə-c'* 'go out!,' *jə-d'ə-lə-gа//jə-bə-lə-gə* 'take it out!,' etc.

2. Morphology. Morphological peculiarities include the formation of a group of stative verbs, the endings of verbal forms, phonetic shape of some postpositions, position of numerals, etc.

2.1. The present finite of a certain group of stative verbs in Sadz is formed by means of the finite dynamic suffix *jt',* attached to the root, while in Bzyp and Abzhywa the present finite form of stative verbs is formed by means of temporal suffix *wə* (< *wa*) plus finite stative ending *p'* (*wə+p'*):

a-ma-z+aa+ra 'to have': Sadz *jə-sə-ma-jt'*, Abkhaz *jə-sə-ma-w(ə)+p'* 'I have'

a-tax-ra 'to want': Sadz *jə-s-taxa-jt'*, Abzhywa *jə-s-taxə-w(ə)+p'* 'I want'

aq'a-z+aa+ra 'to be': Sadz d-aq'a-jt', Abkhaz də-q'a-w(ə)+p'
'he is'

a-š'+ta-z+aa+ra 'to follow': Sadz d-a-š'+tə-jt', Abkhaz d-a-š'-
ta-w(ə)+p' 'he follows it'

a-nə-z+aa-ra 'to be on sth': Sadz jə-nə-jt', Abkhaz j-a-nə-w(ə)+p'
'it is written there'

Such formation of stative verbs has its parallel in the Kuvinsk
subdialect of Ashkharywa. The marker *w* is also absent in the Tapanta
present tense forms, though in differentiating finite suffixes for stative
and for dynamic forms, Tapanta is closer to Bzyp and Abzhywa.

2.2. Unlike Tapanta, all other Abkhaz dialects form their present
finite form of dynamic verbs by means of the present marker *w* plus
finite dynamic suffix *jt'*. Here, again, Sadz shows closeness to the
the Kuvinsk subdialect of Ashkharywa, as the vowel of its present marker
is *ə* (hence *wə*), while in Bzyp and Abzhywa it is *a* (hence *wa*). The
phonetic output in the first case is [ujt'], and in the latter [ojt']; cf.
Sadz *s-ca-wə-jt'* [scujt'], vs. Bzyp, Abzhywa *s-ca-wa-jt'* [scojt'] 'I
go.' Note that the suffix of the present marker of stative verbs in Bzyp
and Abzhywa also has vowel *ə: s-t'ºa-wə+p'* 'I am sitting.' The
Tswydzhy subdialect of Sadz shows finite dynamic endings close to
Ahchypsy, Tsabal, and some subdialects of Abzhywa: *s-ca-wa-jt'* [s-
cōjt'] 'I go,' i.e. with long [ō].

The conditional, as in Ashkharywa, and as in Turkish Bzyp, is formed
by means of the suffix *-rə-j* (i.e., conditional *rə* plus the conjunction
j), while in Bzyp and Abzhywa we have *-r*, e.g., Sadz *ak' jə-s-ħ'a-rə+j*,
Bz *ak' s-ħ'a-r* 'if I say anything'. The non-finite form with the meaning
'when' in other Abkhaz dialects is formed by means of prefix *an*,
while in Sadz it is formed by circumfix *an-...- j*, lit. 'when ... and,' cf.
Abkhaz *j-an-j-aħa* 'when he heard,' Sadz *j-an-j-aħa-j*. The indefinite
forms in Sadz, as in Ashkharywa, are formed by means of the suffix
*-l(*a)+aa+k'(ə)(-g'ə)*, while in other dialects it is *-la+k'(-g'ə)*.

2.3. The meaning 'have to' in Abzhywa and Bzyp is rendered by the
combination of conditional plus the copula verb *-wə+p'* (< *awə-p'* <
ak'ºə-p'); cf. *wə-ca-r-wə+p'* 'you must go,' lit. 'you-go-if-be'; Sadz
uses here the older (uncontracted) analytical form *wə-ca-ra (-)ak'ºə+p'*,
where the latter verb *(ak'º-z+aa-ra* 'to be, exist') is used as an auxiliary.

2.4. The negative verbal forms, like in Ahchypsy, Ashkharywa, and

Tapanta, contain the emphatic prefix *g'ə*, which is only optional in
Bzyp and Abzhywa.

2.5. In forms expressing purpose Sadz can use the complex suffix
rə+nə+j (cf. *s-na-j-rə-nə-j s-g'ə j-a-l-wə-t'* 'I intend to go there'),
which is a combination of the conditional suffix *-r* with absolute plus
connective *(nə+j)*, while in Abkhaz here simply the conditional suffix
-r is used *(s-na-j-r* 'so as to go').

2.6. Postpositions in Sadz show some peculiarities. Apart from those
which are used in Bzyp and Abzhywa, Sadz makes use of the specific
postpositions, constructed however on common Abkhaz material. Thus,
the common directional element *-q'a* is used to produce such
postpositions as *ampaq'a* 'about, beside' (cf. Abkhaz *ampa*), *a-x̌'taq'a*
'in, among,' *apəx̌'q'a* 'before' (cf. Abkhaz *apəx̌'a*), *aš'taq'a* 'behind'
(cf. Abkhaz *aš'tax̌'*, Sadz *aš'tax̌'ə*). Other common Abkhaz postpositions
show peculiar phonetic forms, cf. *a-č'a*, besides *a-č'ə*, Abkhaz *a-č'ə*
'in,' *px̌'aʒa* 'every time,' Abkhaz *cə-px̌'aʒa*, *-jəš'a* 'since,' Abkhaz
jəš'taj, cf. also the prepositive *asə* 'each, every,' Abkhaz *jas(ə)*, etc.

3. Lexicon. The Sadz lexicon, besides the words occurring in other
Abkhaz-Abaza dialects, includes a number of specific items. In
comparison with Bzyp and especially Abzhywa, Sadz contains far
fewer Kartvelian loans. More prominent are borrowings from Circassian,
though they are not as abundant as in Ashkharywa or Tapanta.

a-p'əzzæ 'hedgehog' (Akbalık) < Adyghe pəźə, cf. Kabardian
   cəź-bāna', Tapanta pəź°-bana 'hedgehog,' Kabardian pəź
   'thorn,' pəź-bana' 'thorn-bush'

a-dəš°aq'a (Tskhynara, Akbalık, Mesudiye), a-d°əš°aq'a
   (Taşburun) 'turtle,' Ashkharywa adaž'maq'º, Tapanta
   adabəž'maq'º, Ubykh taš'məq'º, Adyghe hadāpč'āməʔº; for
   the possible source of the Ubykh form cf. (Turkic) Karachay
   taš-maqa 'turtle,' lit. 'stone (taš) frog (maqa),' cf. also Nogay
   tas-baka 'id'; could the other West Caucasian forms be
   dependent of Karachay as well?

a-tk'ə-ra 'to sell,' cf. Bzyp, Abzhywa a-təj-ra

a-tlač'a (Tswydzhy) 'lame' < Circassian

a-tlax̌'a (Bıçkıdere) 'an old man, representing a certain family'
   < Circassian, cf. Kabardian λ'əx̌º 'brave, able man'

a-t'ºəmž'əš'x̌a (Akbalık, Taşburun), a-t'ºəməž'ha (Yongalık),

a-dəwmbəč'ҳa//á-t'əməč'ҳa (Kuzuluk) < a-dawə-bəž'-ҳa 'seven-
  headed giant'
a-q'ač'a (Tswydzhy) 'one-handed' < Circassian
a-qʷasa 'alycha' (Tskhynara), cf. Bzyp a-pħʷaśa, Abzhywa a-
  bħʷasa 'alycha,' Tapanta ħʷasa 'prune,' 'alycha'
a-ćʷҳʷədać'ʷə (Taşburun), a-ćʷҳʷədəć'ʷa (Yongalık, Taapsa),
  a-ćʷҳʷəć'ʷəć'ʷa (Khamysh) 'joke'
a-ž'ag°at (Kuzuluk), a-ž'ək°at (Khamysh), a-ž'əkʷat (Boğazköy),
  a-ž'ak'ʷat (Tswydzhy) 'small axe' < Circassian; cf. Kabardian
  žag°at 'gouge'
a-č'ərč'ələš' (Akbalık), a-č'eš'ləš (Boğazköy) 'lizard'
a-zakʷan (Tswydzhy), same in Bzyp < Russsian *zakon*
a-š'ərš'ər 'duck,' cf. Bzyp, Abzhywa a-kʷat'a, Kabardian
  šəra-šəra 'call word for ducks, geese'
a-š'ҳrəp 'sickle' (Akbalık, Yongalık), a-čҳrəp (Taapsa), cf.
  Tapanta, Ashkharywa ҳš'rəp < Ossetic
a-γəbza (Tswydzhy) 'funeral song' < Circassian
a-ҳazəmž°a (Akbalık), a-ҳəmʒəž°a (Taşburun), a-ҳəmʒa// a-
  ҳəmʒəž°ja (Boğazköy) 'wing'
a-ҳ°a 'feather' (Akbalık), cf. Bzyp a-ҳ°ə, Tapanta q°ə
a-ħač''aš' 'the guest house' (Akbalık) < Circassian, sporadically
  met also in Bzyp
ħamp'alaž' (Tskhynara) 'round smooth pebble to grind *adzhika*'
  cf. Ashkharywa ħamp'laž' 'pebble'
a-markʷ°əsa 'mulberry' (Akbalık, Taşburun), cf. Adyghe mārkʷ°a,
  Kabardian marākʷ°a 'mulberry, blackberry'
aj-təz-g°əla-ć°a (Tskhynara), a-təz-g°əla(-ć°a) (Taşburun), a-təz-
  g°ə-la (Mesudiye) 'close neighbor(s)'

Though Sadzians were immediate neighbours of Ubykhs, the traces
of their linguistic contacts are not as obvious as might be expected.
The word for 'turkey' is, however, common for Sadz, Ubykh, and also
Shapsyh Circassian: Sadz a-kʷ°ərkʷ°ər 'turkey,' cf. Ubykh kʷ°ərkʷ°ər,
Shapsygh kʷ°ərkʷ°ər (Kerasheva 1957: 103) 'turkey,' an obvious
onomatopoeia, cf. Temirgoy kʷ°ərkʷ°ər (Kerasheva, ibid.), Kabardian
g°əra-g°əra 'interjection for calling the turkeys.' Cf. also 1.2.1.1.
  4. Position of Sadz among the other Abkhaz dialects. In order to
define the place of Sadz within Abkhaz, we must take into consideration

its closeness to the Akhchypsy subdialect (also found now only in
Turkey), and in some respects to Ashkharywa. It is probable, that
Sadz and Ashkharywa came out of the same dialect within Proto-
Abkhaz, but Ashkharywa split earlier, while Sadz never lost close
contacts with other Abkhaz dialects.
  There may be only a few specific isoglosses between Sadz and Tapanta
which could not be found in Ashkharywa. The common features between
Sadz and Ashkharywa include formation of stative verbs, the phonetic
shape of certain verbal and nominal affixes, full vowel grade of many
stems, and some parallels in lexicon.
  On the other hand, Sadz shows much greater closeness to Abzhywa
and Bzyp in many other respects than to Ashkharywa, let alone Tapanta.
Phonetically Sadz and Akhchypsy underwent the same evolution as
Bzyp and Abzhywa. The phonemic system of Khaltsys Sadz is
practically identical with that of Abzhywa, with the exception that it
lacks glottalized *f*. Tswydzhy Sadz preserved middle labialised spirants,
which can be found also in Ashkharywa and Bzyp. But if in Ashkharywa
these sibilants are of a bilabial type, in Tswydzhy Sadz and in Bzyp
they are labiodental. The Proto-Abkhaz uvular stops *q, q°* were preserved
only in Tapanta and Ashkharywa, and while in Bzyp and Ahchypsy
they gave pharyngealized reflexes (*ҳ̌, ҳ̌°*), in Sadz and Abzhywa these
stops merged with uvular spirants (*ҳ̌, ҳ̌°*), though sometimes the Bzyp-
type sounds can be heard in Sadz as well. The Proto-Abkhaz voiced
laryngals (*ħ, ħ'*) are well preserved in Tapanta; in Ashkharywa the
unrounded member is preserved either in its original form, or as a
long *ā*. In Sadz and Ahchypsy, just like in Bzyp and Abzhywa, the
plain laryngeal was transformed in cluster *aa* (underlyingly {aħ} or
{ħa}), while the labialized counterpart lost its laryngeal focus and
became a labialized palatal spirant *j°*, thus becoming a pair to unrounded
j. In forming its past absolute with the help of the suffix -*nə* Sadz is
again closer to Bzyp and Abzhywa than to Ashkharywa, where this
form is normally produced with the help of suffix -*ҳ̌a*, while in Tapanta
the suffix -*ta* is used, both latter suffixes originating from *ҳ̌+ta*, meaning
'trace.'
  In some respects Ashkharywa, though much closer to the southern
dialects than to Tapanta, can be regarded as a transitional dialect
between both two subgroups. Sadz, in terms of transitional features,
can be regarded, in its turn, as a transition between Bzyp-Abzhywa

and Ashkharywa.

The following table depicts the deviation of Abkhaz dialects from Proto-Abxaz:

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Tapanta   Ashkharywa   Sadz (Ahchypsy) Bzyp Abzhywa


                          Proto-Abkhaz
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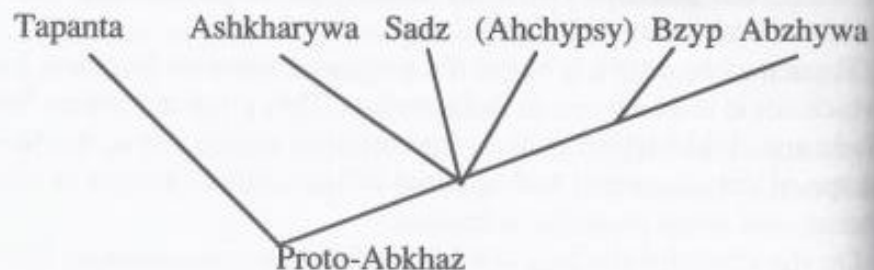
This scheme shows the level of closeness of the dialects to each other, distributed between the two poles Abzhywa and Tapanta. Tapanta split from Common Abkhaz somewhere in medieval times, possibly after the Mongol invasion, i.e., after the thirteenth century, when the fertile lands on the northern slopes of the Great Caucasus Range, previously occupied by Iranian-speaking Alans, were emptied. Ashkharywas remained in historical Abkhazia much longer and moved in the same direction as the Tapantas sometime at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For a long time before that migration they had been occupying the mountainous regions of Abkhazia (hence their name, derivative from *a-š'xa* 'mountain,' i.e., 'the mountaineers'). A long isolation in the mountains and close contacts with Circassians determined their linguistic peculiarities and typological closeness to Tapanta, also isolated from the Transcaucasian *Uhrheimat* and also developing in conditions of close contact with Circassian. Sadzians for millennia stayed where they were eventually found by Russians, just as Bzyps and Abzhywas. Long-term proximity determined the common evolution of these three dialects, which share a number of important innovations. There is no obvious trace of an Ubykh or Circassian substratum in Sadz, as had been suggested by some historians, and analysis of surnames shows only little Ubykh infiltration, partly explained by the assimilation of small numbers of Ubykhs both in the Caucasus as well as already in their new habitat in Turkey (though the problem of Sadz-Ubykh mutual influence has yet to be investigated). Actually, Sadz and Ahchypsy data fill in the gap between Bzyp-Abzhywa and Ashkharywa and show that between Abzhywa and Tapanta there once existed a natural dialectal continuum, connecting the whole area by smooth changes of linguistic features. This continuum was broken up only in the middle of the last century by the brutal interference of external force. By driving out all the Ubykhs to Ottoman Turkey, the Russians created another gap in the linguistic landscape of the Western Caucasus, as Ubykhs linguistically and geographically represented a natural link connecting the Circassian and Abkhaz-speaking areas.

Ubykhs were always threatening Sadzians with punitive actions should they accept Russian rule. The result was that the Russian military command exiled all Ubykhs and Sadzians to Turkey. But if Ubykhs rather quickly lost their own language and national identity, the Sadzians were more lucky in preserving their language, culture, and common Abkhaz consciousness. It is obvious, though, that their dialect, as much as all Caucasian dialects in Turkey and in the Middle East, has no future, and will cease to exist within the life of one, or, at best two, generations. This necessitates thorough and timely description of Sadz, as well as other Abkhaz and Circassian dialects in Turkey.

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