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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 Achhyspy Abkhaz, and on the west with Ubykh. Sadzians used to live in such villages as xamgys (now Xosta), araakta (contemporary Adler), kaxysa, candrapyi, gacrapyi, bagrapyi, mkalarpy, and gaggaga. On the river k'adysta (Russian kudepsa) there settled a Sadz community Tswydzhy (c'awa), and on the river mcsaya (contemporary Russian Matsesta) was situated a Chywa (c'owa) 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 ò 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'ò- in the negative forms, which is found in Sadz, Achchyspy, 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

B. TEXTUAL SOURCES

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 Stanilsaus Bell (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,' assa 'snow'), full vowel grade form of the word: ḍamašəna 'sea,' ḍabona 'forest,' j-aba ḍ 'his father,' ḍo[mərə 'sun.' Cf. also such specifically Sadz lexical items in the Bell list as alažəš 'maize,' atərwə 'forest' (presented by Bell as Atwu*; the last word is met also in South Abkhaz dialects, but only in combination with ḍa-bna 'forest': ḍa-bna-tə ərwə '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. Bgaza 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) Khaltsy, or Sadz proper, and (2) Tsveysdy, 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-saz-wa, or a-xək'as/a-xək'as, and there are still smaller tribal subdivisions, like xaməş-a, gagr-aa, taapsa. Before emigration xaməş-a lived in xaməş, or xəstə > 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 Harmalı (Abkhaz name: c(ə)čən(ə)rə, ca. 35-36 households), Akbalık (ca. 40 households), Taşburun (ca. 17 households), Yongalık (previous Abkhaz name: bezir joksta 'the village of Beyzir'; ca. 10 households), Kuzuluk (ca. 100 households, population ca. 300), Mesudiye (ca. 10 households),

Bıçkdere (ca. 50 households, pop. ca. 260), Gebes (mixed Sadz-Bzyp-Achhpsya population; ca. 70 households); around the city of Adapazarı: Kemaliye (Abkhaz name: ḍaməz; 37 households, population ca. 120), Şükrette köy (Abkhaz name: daylažə; 10 households, population ca. 60), Çaybaşı Yeni köy (Abkhaz name: taapsa; ca. 20 households, population ca. 80-100); here is also a Sadz district called in Abkhaz tarak'ə; Geyve region: Boğazköy (older Turkish name: Şahanbey köyü, Abkhaz name: ḍəwənə rəkə; ca. 25 households, population ca. 50); the inhabitants are a mixture of Ubykh 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.

Tsveysdy are living in three villages near the town Bilecik in northwestern Turkey: Kuncaz (ca. 30 households, population ca. 120), Hasan-dere (ca. 25 households, population ca. 100), Elmabahçe; 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 Tsveysdy affiliation. Many Tsveysdy have moved from villages to towns, mostly to Bilecik. Their general self-designation is apsəw, i.e. 'Abkhaz,' while the name of their community is ḍəxəra, which is the plural of ḍəxərə.

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 Khaltsy Sadz, on the whole, coincides with that of Abzhywa, the only distinction being the loss of glottalisation in the morpheme meaning 'thin': *a-fə > a-ffa (cf. Abzhywa a-fə, Ashkharywa fə, Bzyp a-pə and Tapanta cə 'thin'). Unlike Khaltsy Sadz, in this morpheme Tsveysdy has p': a-pə 'thin,' a-ffa being only a variant (cf. the similar situation with the use of f' in Abzhywa).

Some Khaltsy, and all the Tsveysdy speakers, retain an opposition between back and middle labialized spirants, namely, 2ə 2ə and 3ə 3ə.
PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF KHALTSYS AND TSWYDZHY SADZ

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 /a/ in [æ]:

- a-pazzə < a-pə 'hedgehog'
- a-k’at’tə ə < a-k’at’ə 'hen'
- a-d’də ‘field’
- a-ffa < a-fə ‘lightning’
- a-š’ap’pə < a-ş’ap’ə ‘leg’
- a-cog’gə < a-cə ‘cat’
- a-33ə < a-3ə ‘water’
- a-kəddə < a-kədə ‘stump, stubb’

In the indefinite singular form the original vowel is restored: pazzə-к’ ‘one hedgehog,’ k’ət’tə ə ‘one hen,’ d’də-к’ ‘one field,’ fə-к’ ‘one lightning,’ ʃ’ap’pə-к’ ‘one leg,’ cog’gə-к’ ‘one cat,’ 33ə-к’ ‘a water,’ kəddə-к’ ‘one stump.’

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

- a-ffa < a-ffa ‘thin’; indefinite singular: ffa-k’
- jo-ffa-3ə-x < jo-ffa-3ə-x ‘very thin’

In certain cases the original final -a in the indefinite singular is changed into -ə: a-č’ė-ə ‘apple’ vs. ə-č’ė-ə-k’ ‘one apple’ (Abkhaz ə-č’ə-k’), a-k’k’ə ‘rain’ vs. k’k’ə-k’ ‘a rain’ (Abkhaz k’ə-k’), a-ş’ə-ə ‘blood’ vs. ʃ’ə-ə-k’ ‘a blood’ (Abkhaz ʃ-ə-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-bay’a ‘leaf,’ cf. Abkhaz a-by’ə, Tapanta by’ə
- a-bana ‘wood,’ cf. Abkhaz a-bna, Ashkharywa, Tapanta bna
- a-pahal ‘clay jug,’ cf. Abkhaz a-phal
- a-zak’a (ə-/a-zak’a) ‘back,’ cf. Abkhaz a-zək’a, Tapanta zkə
- za-nə ‘once,’ cf. Abkhaz, Tapanta znə, Ashkharywa zənə
- a-ş’əq’ə ‘book,’ Abzhya wa a-ş’əq’ (ə)ə
- a-xah’-sasa ‘metal,’ Abzhya wa a-xah’-ssa
- a-xaj’a ‘lid, cover,’ cf. Abzhya wa a-xj’a
- a-mahasta ‘stick to stir corn pap,’ Bzyb a-mahasta
- a-mara ‘sun,’ cf. Abzhya wa a-mra, Bzyb a-mra/a-mər, Tapanta mara
- a-xah’as ‘medicine; gun powder,’ cf. Abkhaz a-xəs
- a-ćəs’ə ‘ivy,’ cf. Abkhaz a-ş’ə (with metathesis in one of the dialects)

(b) final a-:

- aba ‘father,’ cf. Abkhaz ab, Ashkharywa, Tapanta aba
- a-taras ‘fern,’ Abkhaz a-təras
- a-k”aca ‘meat,’ cf. Abzhya wa a-k”əc
- ʃə-n’t’a ‘twice,’ Abkhaz ʃə-n’t’a
- a-matta (ə-/a-mattə) ‘snake,’ Abkhaz a-mat
- a-jaša ‘squirrel,’ Abkhaz a-jaš
(c) medial ə:
apš'ema ‘host,’ Abkhaz apš'ema
a-dod-ra (Boğazköy), a-dod-ə (Kuzuluk) ‘thunder,’ Abkhaz
a-dod-ra, Tapanta dđ-ra
a-č'oč'ə-ra/a-č'oč'ə-ra ‘to laugh,’ Abkhaz a-č'ə-ra, Tapanta
qo-č'ə-ra
a-xəs' ‘hawk,’ cf. Abkhaz a-x's', Tapanta x's'
a-məşən(a) ‘sea,’ Abkhaz a-məşən
a-məşə ‘bear,’ cf. Abkhaz a-məs’, Tapanta məşə

(d) final ə:
aζ'ət’ə ‘in old times,’ cf. Abzhywa aζ'ət’ə

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-phal, Sadz a-pahal < Georgian poξal-i ‘jug
Abkhaz apš'ema, Sadz apš'ema ‘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-no, Sadz za-no, cf. Circassian zə, Ubykh za ‘one.
Abkhaz a-məs', Sadz a-məs' ‘bear,’ cf. Circassian məšə, Ubykh
məşə ‘id’
Abxaz a-məs, Sadz a-məs ‘day,’ cf. Adyghe məx’a, Ubykh məx’ə ‘id’

1.1.3. Preservation of the unreduced vowel. Many stems retained
the unreduced vowel ə, whereas in (some) other dialects it was changed
into ə:
a-xə ‘head,’ cf. Abzhywa a-xə, Ashkharywa, Tapanta qa <
Common Abkhaz *qə ‘head’
a-jna, Abkhaz a-jnə, Tapanta hi-na ‘home,’ cf. Circassian wəna
ak’a ‘one,’ cf. Abkhaz ak’ə, Tapanta za-k’a

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:
wa-t’ə ‘you (masc./human, non-human) sit down!’, cf. Abkhaz
wa-t’ə, Ashkharywa wa-t’a, Tap wa-č’a ‘id’
wə-čo ‘you (masc./human, non-human) go,’ cf. Abkhaz,
Ashkharywa, Tapanta wə-ca ‘id’
sə-ca-jτ ‘I went,’ cf. Bzyp s-ca-jτ, Abzhywa s-ca-jτ
s-t’a-r-o ‘if I sit down,’ Abkhaz s-t’a-r
h-aj-ba-bo-n ‘we saw each other,’ cf. Abzhywa h-aj-ba-ba-n
wə-bo-ca-wa ‘where are you going to?’, Abzhywa wə-ba-ca-qua
a-bə-lə(r) ‘jackal,’ Abkhaz a-bə-la(r)
a-lə ‘fairy-tale,’ Abkhaz a-lə
a-ləbə ‘walking stick,’ Abkhaz a-ləbə
a-təca ‘bride,’ Abzhywa a-təca
a-pəxə-ə-rə ‘(feeling of) shame,’ Abkhaz a-pəxə-ə-ra
a-k’ərə ‘revolver,’ Abkhaz a-k’ərə
ajəə-sə ‘as brother,’ cf. Abkhaz ja-sə
a-zə-la ‘by means of word,’ Abzhywa a-zə-la
nas ‘then,’ Abkhaz nas
-ə plural suffix (human), cf. Abkhaz, Ashkharywa -čə
-kə plural suffix (human/inhuman), cf. Abkhaz, Ashkharywa,
Tapanta -kə

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
ardən ‘blackbird,’ cf. Bzyp ardən(a), Abzhywa ardənə, Sadz arxən
‘thrush,’ Bzyp ar’xən(a), Abzhywa ar’xənə, Sadz a-š’anc ‘flint stone,
Bzyp a-š’anc’, Abzhywa a-š’anc’a, etc. But in personal pronouns, unlike
Bzyb 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,’ ha-r (<ha-ra) ‘we,’ etc. Cf. also ʒ ara ‘somewhere’ (<ʒ ara).

1.2. Peculiarities in consonants.

1.2.1. Geminates 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-l lā/a-l lō dog, a-k ʷət t ʷə hen (Tswydzhy a-k ʷət t ʷə), a-zə ʷəhare, a-čəddə ‘donkey,’ a-fə ‘thin,’ a-səsa ‘snow,’ a-ʃə ʷə hill (Tswydzhy a-ʃə ʷə), cf. Bzyb, Abzhywa a-la, a-k ʷət t ʷə, a-zə, a-čada, a-ʃə. However, in other words the initial consonant of a final stressed open syllable does not geminate, cf. a-xa ‘head,’ a-qə ‘asa alycha (kind of damson),’ a-cə ‘a mattress,’ etc. Moreover, the geminate character of the above-mentioned consonants does not tend to be neutralized in other positions, cf. a-l lā ‘dog,’ llalə-k ʷə ‘one dog,’ a-l lā-a-k ʷə ‘dogs,’ a-k ʷət t ʷə ‘hen,’ k ʷət t ʷə ‘one hen.’ The only position of neutralization is in clusters (a-k ʷət t ʷə ‘hen,’ pl. a-k ʷət k ʷə), though in clusters with r geminate can remain (a-r t ʷət r ʷə ‘to open,’ a-dəddə-r t ʷət ‘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 “geminates” vs “non-geminates” consonants in one and the same phonetic position; cf., for example, llaə-kə-k ʷə ‘some dogs’ - llaə-kə-k ʷə ‘one eye,’ a-xa ʷə ‘bullet’ - a-xa ʷə ‘head,’ a-xa ‘stick supporting the plants,’ a-pəsə ‘soul; corpse’ - a-pəsə ‘fir tree,’ a-rəsə ‘fern’ - a-rəsə ‘hazelnut.

In all other dialects of Abkhaz geminates are clusters, and they are either a result of vowel elision (cf. Bzyb, Abzhywa a-č ʷə t a-ra vs. Sadz a-č ʷə t a-ra ‘to laugh,’ Bzyb, Abzhywa a-ʃə ʷə t a-ra ‘to wash’), or expressive gemination, usual in the Caucasus (cf. Abkh a-p-č ʷə t a-ra ‘to break,’ a-p-č ʷə t a-ra ‘to break in many places,’ a-ʃə ʷə t a-ra ‘to speak,’ a-ʃə ʷə t 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 bə-lə ‘inundation,’ pronounced [bə-lə], la ‘army’ = [lə], 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 [lə] ‘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 (*CVCC > CCV) of the other dialects, correspond in Sadz to bisyllabic roots with the geminate consonant (*CVCC > CoCV), cf. Sadz a-hə tə lə rə-a-ra ‘to shout’ vs. Abzhywa a-hə tə rə-a-ra, Sadz jə-ʃə ʷə tə a-gə-x (very) long vs. Abzhywa jə-ʃə ʷə tə ʒə, Sadz a-rəsə-rə tə-rə-a-ra ‘to rock, shake’ vs. Abzhywa a-rəsə-rə-a-ra, Sadz a-yə ʷə yə-a-ra ‘hard, strong’ vs. Abzhywa a-yə ʷə yə-a-ra, Sadz a-tə tə-rə-a-ra ‘to rip’ vs. Abzhywa a-tə tə-rə-a-ra, Sadz a-yə ʷə yə-a-ra ‘with much noise’ vs. Abzhywa a-yə ʷə yə-a-ra, 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 [izdaru] ‘I know,’ wa-r wa-c-wə t [ucu] ‘you (man) go.’

1.2.3. The affricates ʒ, ʒ, and ɛ are often realized as sounds intermediate between ʒ and z, c and s, and ɛ and ʃ, respectively.

1.2.4. Some speakers pronounce the labialized ʒ in the preverb də ‘outside as b; cf. wə-də ʷə la-ːcə /wə-bə ʷə la-ːcə ‘go out’!, jə-də ːla-ːgə/jə-ːba-la-ːgə ‘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 jət attached to the root, while in Bzyb 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-jət, Abkhaz jə-sə-ma-w(ə)+p ‘I have’
a-təxə-ra ‘to want’: Sadz jə-s-təxə-jət, Abzhywa jə-s-təxə-w(ə)+p ‘I want’
a-q'a-z+aa-ra 'to be': Sadz d-aq'a-ji', Abkhaz da-q'a-w(ə)+p'
'he is'
a-š+tz+aa-ra 'to follow': Sadz d-aš+ta-ji', Abkhaz d-š-ta-w(ə)+p'
'he follows it'
a-nn-z+aa-ra 'to be on sth': Sadz jə-nə-ji', Abkhaz j-a-nə-w(ə)+p'
'it is written there'

Such formation of stative verbs has its parallel in the Kuvinsk subdialect of Ashkhaiyva. The marker w is also absent in the Tapanta present tense forms, though in differentiating final 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 the finite dynamic suffix j. Here, again, Sadz shows closeness to the Kuvinsk subdialect of Ashkhaiyva, as the vowel of its present marker is ə (hence wa), while in Bzyp and Abzhywa it is a (hence wa). The phonetic output in the first case is [uʃi], and in the latter [oʃi]; cf. Sadz s-ca-wə-ji' [s周刊], vs. Bzyp, Abzhywa s-ca-wə-ji' [s周刊] 'I go.' Note that the suffix of the present marker of stative verbs in Bzyp and Abzhywa also has vowel ə: s-tə-a-wə+p' 'I am sitting.' The Tswydzhy subdialect of Sadz shows finite dynamic endings close to Achhyps, Tsabal, and some subdialects of Abzhywa: s-ca-wə-ji' [s周刊] 'I go,' i.e. with long ə.

The conditional, as in Ashkhaiyva, and as in Turkish Bzyp, is formed by means of the suffix -ra-i (i.e., conditional -ra plus the conjunction j), while in Bzyp and Abzhywa we have -ər, e.g., Sadz ak' jəs-tə-a-əi-j. Bz ak' s-tə-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-a-hə 'when heard,' Sadz j-an-j-hə-j. The indefinite forms in Sadz, as in Ashkhaiyva, are formed by means of the suffix -l(ə*)+aa+k(ə)-g(ə), while in other dialects it is -la+k'(ə)g(ə).

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

2.4. The negative verbal forms, like in Achhyps, Ashkhaiyva, 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 -nəj (cf. s-na-j-ra-nəj s-gə a-l-əwə-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-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-xtaq'a 'in, among,' apoxq'a 'before' (cf. Abkhaz apoxa), a-staq'a 'behind' (cf. Abkhaz a-sta, Sadz a-staə). Other common Abkhaz postpositions show peculiar phonetic forms, cf. a-č'a, besides a-č'ə, Abkhaz a-č'ə 'in,' pač'a 'every time;' Abkhaz ca-pač'a, -jač'a 'since,' Abkhaz jač, cjač, also the prepositive asə 'each, every,' Abkhaz jasə, 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 Ashkhaiyva or Tapanta.

a-p'əazz 'hedgehog' (Akbalk) < Adyghe poža, cf. Kabardian což-bana', Tapanta pož'-bana 'hedgehog,' Kabardian pož 'thorn,' pož-bana 'thorn-bush'
a-č'əq'a (Tskhynara, Akbalik, Mesudiye), a-č'əq'a (Tašburun) 'turtle,' Ashkhaiywa adə'-maq', Tapanta adə'-maq', Ubykh tə'-maq', Adyghe hadə'-maq'; for the possible source of the Ubykh form cf. (Turkic) Karachay taš-maq 'turtle,' lit. 'stone (taš) frog (maq),' cf. also Nagay tas-baka 'id'; could the other West Caucasian forms be dependent of Karachay as well?

a-tk'ə-ə to sell,' cf. Bzyp, Abzhywa a-taj-ra
atlač'a (Tswydzhy) 'lame' < Circassian
atlač'a (Bruskidere) 'an old man, representing a certain family' < Circassian, cf. Kabardian lə'-ə 'brave, able man'
a-t'əmẓ'-əxa (Akbalk, Tašburun), a-t'əmẓ'-ha (Yongalik),
Though Sazdians 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 Sazd, Ubyk, and also Shapsy Circassian: Sazd a-k'ork'ar ‘turkey,’ cf. Ubyk k'ork'ar, Shapsy k'ork'ar (Kerasheva 1957: 103) ‘turkey,’ an obvious onomatopoeia, cf. Temirgoj K'ork'ar (Kerasheva, ibid.), Kabardinian g'ora-g'ora ‘interjection for calling the turkeys.’ Cf. also 1.2.1.1.

4. Position of Sazd among the other Abkhaz dialects. In order to define the place of Sazd within Abkhaz, we must take into consideration its closeness to the Akkhchpsy subdialect (also found now only in Turkey), and in some respects to Ashkharya. It is probable, that Sazd and Ashkharywa came out of the same dialect within Proto-Akkhaz, but Ashkharywa split earlier, while Sazd never lost close contacts with other Abkhaz dialects.

There may be only a few specific isoglosses between Sazd and Tapanta which could not be found in Ashkharywa. The common features between Sazd and Ashkharywa include formation of static 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, Sazd shows much greater closeness to Abzhywa and Bzyp in many other respects than to Ashkharywa, let alone Tapanta. Phonetically Sazd and Akkhchpsy underwent the same evolution as Bzyp and Abzhywa. The phonemic system of Khaltsys Sazd is practically identical with that of Abzhywa, with the exception that it lacks glottalized f. Tswydzh Sazd 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 Tswydzh Sazd and in Bzyp they are labiodental. The Proto-Akkhaz uvular stops q, qʷ were preserved only in Tapanta and Ashkharywa, and while in Bzyp and Achkhpsy they gave pharyngealized reflexes (ʕ, ʕʷ), in Sazd and Abzhywa these stops merged with uvular spirants (χ, χʷ), though sometimes the Bzyp-type sounds can be heard in Sazd as well. The Proto-Akkhaz voiced laryngals (ʕi, ʕʰ) are well preserved in Tapanta; in Ashkharywa the unrounded member is preserved either in its original form, or as a long ə. In Sazd and Achkhpsy, just like in Bzyp and Abzhywa, the plain laryngeal was transformed in cluster əə (underlyingly əi) or (əia), while the labialized counterpart lost its laryngeal focus and became a labialized palatal spirant f, thus becoming a pair to unrounded ʃ.

In forming its past absolute with the help of the suffix -na Sazd is again closer to Bzyp and Abzhywa than to Ashkharywa, where this form is normally produced with the help of suffix -sylvania, while in Tapanta the suffix -ta is used, both latter suffixes originating from š + ta, meaning 'tripe.'
and Ashkharywa.

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

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Tapanta   Ashkharywa   Sadz (Achchysy)   Bzyp Abzhywa
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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-šša 'mountain,' i.e., 'the mountainiers'). 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 substrate 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 Ubykh 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 Achchyp data fill 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 Ubykh to Ottoman Turkey, the Russians created another gap in the linguistic landscape of the Western Caucasus, as Ubykh linguistically and geographically represented a natural link connecting the Circassian and Abkhaz-speaking areas.

Ubykh were always threatening Sadzians with punitive actions should they accept Russian rule. The result was that the Russian military command exiled all Ubykh and Sadzians to Turkey. But if Ubykh 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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