



CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

KEITH BROWN • SARAH OGILVIE



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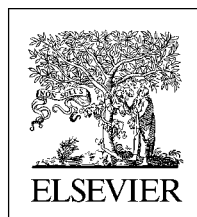
CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

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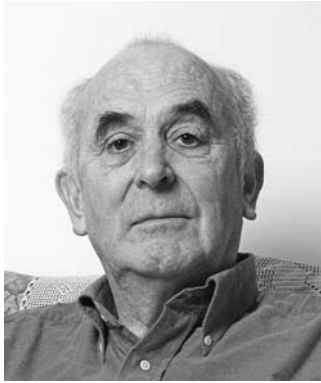
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Keith Brown was Editor-in-Chief of the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Elsevier, 2006). He is now an Associate Lecturer in the Faculty of English at Cambridge. From 2007 he has been President of the Philological Society. From 1990 to 1994 he was President of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, and he has been a Member of Council of the Philological Society since 1998. He is author of *Linguistics Today* (Fontana, 1984) and co-author, with Jim Miller, of *Syntax: A Linguistic Introduction to Sentence Structure* and *Syntax: Generative Grammar* (Hutchinson, 1981). Keith was joint editor of *Concise Encyclopedia of Linguistic Theories* and *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories* (Pergamon Press, 1997 and 1998), *Common Denominators in Art and Science* (Aberdeen University Press, 1983) and *Language, Reasoning and Inference* (Academic Press, 1986).



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Caucasian Languages

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Around 38 languages are deemed to be indigenous to the Caucasus; often difficult demarcation between language and dialect explains the uncertainty. The ancestral homelands are currently divided between:

1. Russia’s north Caucasian provinces (Circassian, Abaza, Ingush, Chechen, Avaro-Ando-Tsezic, Lako-Dargic, northern Lezgetic);
2. *de facto* independent Abkhazia (Abkhaz, Mingrelian, Svan, Georgian, Laz);
3. Georgia (Georgian, Mingrelian, Svan, Laz, Bats, Chechen, Avar, Udi);
4. Azerbaijan (Lezgi, Budukh, Kryts’, Khinalugh, Rutul, Ts’akhur, Avar, Udi) Turkey (Laz, Georgian).

Diaspora-communities of North (especially north-west) Caucasians can be found across former Ottoman territories, particularly Turkey, where the majority Circassian and Abkhazian populations reside and where the term ‘Cherkess’ often indiscriminately applies to any North Caucasian. Circassians are found in Syria, Israel, and Jordan, home also to a significant Chechen population. Speaker numbers range from 500 (Hinukh) to 3–4 million (Georgian). Many of the languages are endangered.

Three families are usually recognized:

- A. South Caucasian (Kartvelian)
- Georgian
 - Svan
 - Mingrelian (Megrelian)
 - Laz (Ch’an)

[Scholars in Georgia regard Mingrelian and Laz as codialects of Zan]

- B. North West Caucasian

Abkhaz
Abaza
 Ubykh (extinct from 1992)
West Circassian (Adyghe)
East Circassian (Kabardian)

- C. Nakh-Daghestanian

(a) *Nakh (North Central Caucasian)*

Chechen
Ingush
 Bats (Ts’ova Tush)

(b) *Daghestanian (North East Caucasian)*

1. Avaro-Ando-Tsezic(/Didoic):
 Avaric: **Avar**
 Andic: Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, K’arat’a (Karata), Akhvakh, Bagvalal, T’indi (Tindi), Ch’amalal (Chamalal)
 Tsezic: Tsez (Dido), Khvarshi, Hinukh, Bezht’a (Bezhta) (K’ap’uch’a), Hunzib (these last two are sometimes regarded as codialects)

2. Lako-Dargic:
 Lakic: **Lak**
 Dargic: **Dargwa** (Dargi(n)) – some treat K’ubachi, Chiragh, and Megeb as full languages

3. Lezgetic:
Lezgi(an), **Tabasaran** (Tabassaran), Rutul (Mukhad), Ts’akhur (Tsakhur), Aghul, Udi, Archi, Budukh, Khinalugh, Kryts’ (Kryts)

Some challenge the Lezgetic status of Archi, Khinalugh, Budukh, and Kryts.’ Mutual intelligibility basically

exists between Laz and Mingrelian, Abkhaz, and Abaza, West and East Circassian. Only Georgian has an ancient tradition of writing, but during the Soviet period the languages in bold all enjoyed literary status. Publishing in Mingrelian, Laz, Ts'akhur, Aghul, Rutul, and Udi was tried in the 1930s but discontinued, though there have been some post-Soviet attempts to publish more widely (including Dido).

Phonetics and Phonology

All Caucasian languages have voiced vs. voiceless aspirate vs. voiceless ejective plosives, affricates, and occasionally fricatives, to which some add a *fortis* series (voiceless unaspirated or geminate). North West Caucasian is characterized by large consonantal inventories coupled with minimal vowel systems, consisting of at least the vertical opposition open /a/ vs. closed /ə/. Ubykh possessed 80 phonemes (83 if the plain velar plosives attested only in loans are admitted), with every point of articulation between lips and larynx utilized and displaying the secondary features of palatalization, labialization, and pharyngalization – Daghestanian pharyngalization is normally assigned to vowels (Table 1).

Some recent analyses of Daghestanian languages have produced inventories rivaling those of the North West Caucasian, though no parallel minimality among the vowels is posited. One analysis of Archi assigns it 70 consonants (Table 2).

Table 1 Consonantal phonemes for Ubykh

p	b	p'		m	w
p ^ʃ	b ^ʃ	p ^ʃ		m ^ʃ	w ^ʃ
			f		
			v ^ʃ		
t	d	t'		n	r
t ^w	d ^w	t' ^w			
ts	dz	ts'	s	z	
ts ^w	dz ^w	ts' ^w	ɕ	ʒ	
tʃ	dʒ	tʃ'	e ^w	z ^w	
tʃ ^w	dʒ ^w	tʃ' ^w	ʃ	ʒ	
			ʃ ^w	ʒ ^w	
ts̥	dz̥	ts̥'	ʂ	ʒ̥	
			ɸ		ɸ'
					l
					j
(k)	(g)	(k')	x	ɣ	
k ^ʃ	g ^ʃ	k ^ʃ			
k ^w	g ^w	k ^w			
q		q'	χ	ʁ	
q ^ʃ		q ^ʃ	χ ^ʃ	ʁ ^ʃ	
q ^j		q ^j	χ ^j	ʁ ^j	
q ^w		q ^w	χ ^w	ʁ ^w	
q ^{ʃw}		q ^{ʃw}	χ ^{ʃw}	ʁ ^{ʃw}	
			h		

Noticeable here, is the presence of 10 laterals, though some specialists recognize no more than three or four.

Kartvelian occupies a mid-position with between 28 and 30 consonants (see Georgian). Georgian shares with Avar and Andi the simple five-vowel triangle (Table 3).

Schwa is added to this in the other Kartvelian languages, while the various Svan dialects have length and/or umlaut, Upper Bal having the richest system (Table 4).

Triangular or quadrilateral vowel systems are attested in Nakh-Daghestanian (Table 5).

All but /y, ε, œ/ possess long counterparts, and the nasalized vowels: /ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ, û, ũ, ã̃, ỹ:/ have also been recognized. Table 6 shows the Hunzib basic vowels.

Table 2 Consonantal system of Archi

p	b	p'	p:			m	w
t	d	t'	t:			n	r
t ^w	d ^w						
ts̥		ts̥'		ts:	s	z	
ts ^w		ts ^w '			s ^w	z ^w	
tʃ		tʃ'		tʃ:	ʃ	ʒ	
tʃ ^w		tʃ ^w '			ʃ ^w	ʒ ^w	
k̥		k̥'		ɸ	ɸ:	ɸ	l
k̥ ^w		k̥ ^w '		ɸ ^w	ɸ ^w :	ɸ ^w	
							j
k	g	k'	k:				
k ^w	g ^w	k ^w '	k ^w :				
q		q'	q:	χ	χ:	ʁ	
q ^w		q ^w '		χ ^w	χ ^w :	ʁ ^w	
				h		ɸ	
		ʔ		h			

Table 3 Georgian-Avar-Andi vowel system

i				u
	ε		ɔ	
		a		

Table 4 Svan's upper Bal vowel system

i	i:	y	y:		u	u:
				ə	ə:	
ε	ε:	œ	œ:		ɔ	ɔ:
a	a:				ɑ	ɑ:

Table 5 Bezht'a basic vowel system

i	y			u
	ε	œ		ɔ
		a	a	

All these Hunzib vowels have long counterparts, and fluctuating nasalization on short vowels has been observed.

The simplest (near-)quadrilateral system is attested in Chiragh Dargwa, with four pairs distinguished by length (Table 7). Udi has been analyzed in Table 8, whilst Chechen presents the complicated system (Table 9).

Most, if not all, of these can be nasalized as a result of the weakening of a following /n/.

Stress is sometimes distinctive (Abkhaz-Abaza) but usually not. Tonal distinctions have been proposed for some of the Daghestanian languages (Andi, Akhvakh, Ch'amalal, Khvarshi, Hinukh, Bezht'a, Tabasaran, Ts'akhur, Ingush, and Budukh).

Table 6 Hunzib basic vowel system

i				ɨ	u
	ɛ		ə	ɔ	
		a	ɒ		

Table 7 Chiragh Dargwa vowel system

i(:)	u(:)
ɛ(:)	ɑ(:)

Table 8 Udi vowel system

i i ^ɕ (y)		u u ^ɕ
ɛ ɛ ^ɕ (œ)	ə	ɔ ɔ ^ɕ
(a)		ɑ ɑ ^ɕ

Table 9 Chechen vowel system

i i: y y:	u u:
je ie ɥœ yœ	wo uo
e e:	o o:
a a:	ɑ ɑ:

Table 10 Avar locative case endings

Series	Essive	Allative	Ablative
1. 'on'	-d(.)ɑ	-d.ɛ	-d(.)ɑ.s:ɑ
2. 'near'	-q:	-q:.ɛ	-q:.ɑ
3. 'under'	-ɕɕ:'	-ɕɕ:'.ɛ	-ɕɕ:'.ɑ
4. 'in (mass)'	-ɕɕ:	-ɕɕ:.ɛ	-ɕɕ:.ɑ
5. 'in (space)'	-D (= class-marker)	-D-ɛ	-s:ɑ

Morphology

North West Caucasian sememes are typically C(C)(V), and minimal case systems combine with highly polysynthetic verbs, which may contain up to four agreement prefixes, locational preverbs, orientational preverbs and/or suffixes, interrogative and conjunctive elements, and markers of tense-modality, (non-)finiteness, causation, potentiality, involuntariness, polarity, reflexivity, and reciprocity (see Abkhaz). Kartvelian balances a moderate total of cases with reasonably complex verbs, which may contain: agreement with two or three (rarely four) arguments via two sets of agreement affixes, directional/perfectivizing preverbs (the large total in Mingrelian-Laz suggests North West Caucasian influence), and markers of tense-aspect-modality, causation, potentiality, version (vocalic prefixes indicating certain relations between arguments), and voice – Kartvelian is the only family to have a full active-passive diathetic opposition. Nakh-Daghestanian has complex nominal systems with both grammatical and sometimes large numbers of locative cases; Lezgi(an), Aghul, and Udi apart, nouns fall into one of between two and (depending on the analysis) five or eight (largely covert) classes. Verbs are correspondingly simple: agreement is totally absent from Lezgi(an) and Aghul; elsewhere, verbs with an agreement slot typically allow only class agreement (Andic), though some languages (Bats, Lak-Dargwa, Tabasaran, Akhvakh, Archi, Hunzib, and Avar dialects) have added perhaps rudimentary person agreement, whilst Udi has person agreement only. Some languages have a small selection of preverbs. Some distinguish perfective from imperfective roots. Some North Caucasian verbs can be construed transitively or intransitively (?passively), depending on the clausal structure. Antipassives are also attested.

Avar illustrates a typical system of locative-cases (Table 10).

Ergativity and some other oblique case function are often merged in a single morph.

Deictic systems range from two-term (Mingrelian, Ubykh, Kryts'), through three-term (Georgian, Abkhaz, Circassian), to five-term in a swathe of Daghestanian, and even six-term (Lezgi(an), Godoberi).

Counting systems are predominantly vigesimal, at least up to ‘99’ (though Bats is vigesimal throughout), but some systems are decimal.

Syntax

Word orders are: Kartvelian and Nakh-Daghestanian AN, GN, N-Postposition, SOV, though Old Georgian was rather NA and NG; North West Caucasian GN, predominantly NA, N-Postposition, SOV. Some degree of ergativity characterizes all the languages, but in Mingrelian, where the system was originally as illustrated for Georgian (*q.v.*), the ergative case marker was extended vertically to replace the original nominative for intransitive (including indirect) verbs in Series II (aorist indicative and subjunctive), where it functions as a Series II nominative allomorph, the original nominative effectively becoming an accusative just for Series II. Laz has extended the case marker horizontally across its three series for all transitive subjects. Active–inactive alignment plays a role in some languages (Bats).

A nominative/absolute argument is the obligatory minimum in a clause, and where verbs have class agreement, this is the determiner for the class marker (which in some languages also appears on adverbs and as part of a locative case exponent); the determiner for person agreement in languages with class agreement might be this same or a different argument (e.g., the logical subject), depending on a variety of factors.

Verbs such as *want*, *have*, *hear* are construed indirectly with the logical subject in an oblique case, but, if Kartvelian and North West Caucasian employ just the dative/general oblique case for this argument, greater distinctions can apply in Nakh-Daghestanian: Avar employs its dative case with verbs of emotion (*love*), a locative (Series I essive) with verbs of perception (*see*), and the genitive for the possessor in conjunction with the copula.

Only Kartvelian has the category of subordinating conjunctions, naturally associated with full clauses containing indicative or subjunctive finite verbs. Such structures are rare in North Caucasian, where one finds a variety of nonfinite (nominalized) verb forms fulfilling the subordinate role.

Examples:

ilu-di rikʰiʼi b-ε3-a vs. rikʰiʼi b-ε3-a
mother- meat. 3-fry-
Erg Absol₃ Past
 ‘Mother fried the meat’ vs. ‘The meat (was) fried’
 (Andi)

is-tʼi si kart:ɔl-tʰa
brother-Erg water.Absol boil-Pres
 ‘Brother is boiling the water’ (Bezhtʼa)

vs.

is si-d kart:ɔl-dar-tʰh
brother.Absol water-Instr boil-AntiPass-Pres
 ‘Brother is regularly engaged in boiling water’
 (Bezhtʼa)

kʼɔʃ-k dʒʰab-i kɔ-ø-dʒir-u
man-Nom_A girl-Acc_B Prev-her_B-see-he.Aor_A

vs.

dʒʰab-k dɔ-kur-u
girl-Nom_A Prev-die-she.Aor_A
 ‘The man saw the girl’ vs. ‘The girl died’
 (Mingrelian)

kʼɔʃ-s dʒʰab-i ø-a-dʒir-ε
man-Dat_B girl-Nom_A he_B-Pot-see-her.Pres_A
 ‘The man can see the girl’ (Mingrelian)

vs.

kʼɔʃ-s dʒʰab-k k-ø-a-dʒir-u
man-Dat_B girl-Nom_A Prev-he_B-Pot-see-her.Aor_A
 ‘The man could see the girl’ (Mingrelian)

ins:u-je j.as j-ɔʰʰiʼ-u-la
father-Obl-Dat daughter₂.Absol 2-love-TV-Pres
 ‘Father loves (his) daughter’ (Avar)

ins:u-d.a w.as-ul r-ix:u-la
father-Obl-LocI son-Pl.Absol Pl-see-TV-Pres
 ‘Father sees (his) sons’ (Avar)

ins:u-l tʃu b-ugɔ
father-Obl-Gen horse₃.Absol 3-be.Pres
 ‘Father has a horse’ (Avar)

lamʃged-χen-iʃ bikw-d sga
shade-from-Gen wind-Erg_A Prev
 la-ø-j-kʼwiʃ-ø, εre
Prev-it_B-SV-admit-it.Aor_A that
 mine uʃχwar nensga
their each.other.Dat between
 χ.ɔ-l.qmaʃ-a miʒ
CompPref-strong-CompSuff sun.Nom_A

lə.m.ar-ø
apparently.be-it_A
 ‘The north wind admitted that the sun was
 apparently the stronger of them’
 (Lower Bal Svan)

təka-ʒə-m təka-r jaʒ naħ.rəj naħ
sun-wind-the. sun-the. self much more
Erg/Obl_{III} Absol_I

ø-za.rə-4aʃə-r ø-qə-gʷə.rə-ø-mə-ʔʷa-ma
it_I-how-strong- it_I-Prev-Prev-it_{III}-not-
Absol.N/E. admit.
Stat.Pres_I N/F-if_I

ø-mə-χʷə-n-aw ø-χʷə-ka
it_I-not-happen-Fut-Abs_I it_I-happen-Aor.Fin
 ‘It became impossible for the north wind not to
 admit how/that the sun is stronger than it’
 (Temirgoi West Circassian)

Kinship

Kartvelian is unrelated to any known language or language family, but the debate continues concerning the relationship between the northern families. Linkage to Hattic is postulated for northwestern Caucasian and to Hurrian for Nakh-Daghestanian. Udi has recently been conclusively demonstrated to descend from Caucasian Albanian.

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