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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2000

The Caucasian language material in Evliya Çelebi's travel book A Revision

Jost Gippert

When in 1934, Robert BLEICHSTEINER published the Caucasian language specimina contained in the "travel book" of the 17th century Turkish writer Evliya Çelebi¹, he was struck by the amount of reliability he found in Evliya's notations: "(Die Sprachproben) sind, von einzelnen Mißverständnissen abgesehen, und wenn man die falschen Punktierungen und Irrtümer der Kopisten abrechnet, außerordentlich gut, ja zuweilen mit einem gewissen phonetischen Geschick wiedergegeben, was der Auffassungsgabe und dem Eifer Evliyas ein hohes Zeugnis ausstellt. Man muß bedenken, wie schwer das arabische Alphabet, ohne weitere Unterscheidungszeichen, wie sie die islamischen Kaukasusvölker anwenden, die verwickelten, oft über 70 verschiedene Phoneme umfassenden Lautsysteme wiederzugeben imstande ist. Wenn trotzdem die Entzifferung der Sprachproben zum größten Teil geglückt ist, so muß man der ungewöhnlichen Begabung des türkischen Reisenden und Gelehrten schrankenlose Bewunderung zollen" (85).

BLEICHSTEINER's judgment must be seen under the aspect that the material he had to rely upon was far from being apt for a thorough linguistic analysis: As is widely accepted today, neither the first edition (by Ahmet CEVDET), published in Istanbul between 1896 and 1901², nor Joseph von HAMMER-PURGSTALL's translation, which had appeared

¹ "Die kaukasischen Sprachproben in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahetname", in: *Caucasica* 11, 84-126.

² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahetname*, Vols. I-VI; Vols. VII-VIII were edited by Kilisli RİFAT and appeared in Istanbul 1928, Vols. IX-X ib. in 1935-1938.

half a century earlier³, offer a sufficient basis for detailed studies, both being based on late and incorrect manuscripts only. Now, however, we are in a happier position, since Evliya's original autograph has been identified in the so called Bağdat Köşkü series of Istanbul manuscripts⁴. On the basis of this autograph, a reconsideration of the Caucasian language material, which in the case of Abkhaz, Ubykh, Circassian, and Megrelian represents the oldest cohesive material available at all, suggests itself. Having Evliya's manuscript at hand, BLEICHSTEINER's judgment must, as we will see, not only be sustained but even reinforced. No longer having to face the "wrong punctuations and errors of the copyists", we are in the position to elucidate quite a lot of problematical words and phrases in the language specimens of interest to us here. In addition, even some new material can be adduced.

In the following treatise, Evliya's Caucasian material is arranged in the order he himself presents it: It starts with **Abkhaz** (in Evliya's words: *lisān-i ʿacīb u garīb-i Abāza*, i.e. "the strange and peculiar language of the Abaza"; as is well known, Abkhaz was Evliya's mother's tongue) and **Ubykh** (*lisān-i Şadşa-Abaza*, "language of the Sadşa-Abaza"), both appearing in pag. 258b f. of manuscript Bağdat 304, within the second book of the Seyāhat-nāme. Later on in the same book, we find the **Georgian** (*Şawşad Gürcüleriniñ lisānı*, "the language of the Şawşat=Şavşeti – Georgians") and the **Megrelian** (*Megrel kavminiñ lisānları*, "the languages of the Megrel tribe") specimen, on pag. 320a and 332b, respectively. The **Circassian** (*lisān-i Çerākize-yi māmālūqa*, "language of the Mamluk-Circassians") specimen is contained in pag. 157b of the manuscript Bağdat 308 within the seventh book.

Of the five specimina, the Ubykh alone deserves no further exhaustive study, because it was the object of a detailed investigation by Elio PROVASI⁵ recently who did use the autograph manuscript (although he seems not to have recognized its actual value). It will be included here for the sake of completeness only.

For all five languages, Evliya's material will be presented in the following way: For all single entries, first the Turkish equivalent is given both in (Osmanist) transcription and in Evliya's original Arabic-Ottoman notation. Then, former interpretations of the Caucas-

³ "Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa ... by Evliya Effendi", London 1846-1850.

⁴ Cf. F. KREUTEL, "Neues zur Evliya Çelebi Forschung", in: *Der Islam* 48, 1972, 269-298, esp. 274.

⁵ "Encore sur l'oubykh d'Evliyā Çelebi", in: *Annali (dell') Istituto Universitario Orientale (di) Napoli*, vol. 44, 1984, 307-317.

ian word or sentence in question are quoted for comparison; except for Ubykh, where G. DUMÉZIL's study is used as a reference⁶, this is normally R. BLEICHSTEINER's interpretation. Next, for all languages but Ubykh, an equivalent of Evliya's entry in today's "normal" language (and orthography) as well as a phonological interpretation is proposed. Every entry closes with Evliya's original notation of the words he heard, together with a "Turkicizing" transcription, which is intended as a means of linking the — most often ambiguous — Arabic notation with what can be assumed as its contents. In the transcription, I make use of the methodic principles as developed by R. DANKOFF for his "Evliya Çelebi Glossary" of "Unusual, Dialectal and Foreign Words in the Seyahat-name", the preparation of which gave rise to the present study⁷. Especially the following rules should be kept in mind here: Arabic *alif* (ا) is transcribed as *a* or *ä*, the mark of *a*-vocalization, *fatha* (َ), as *e* or *á*, Arabic *yā* (ي / ي) and the mark of *i*-vocalization, *kasra* (ِ), as *i* or *é*, Arabic *wāw* (و) and the mark of *u*-vocalization, *damma* (ُ), as *o*, *u*, *ö*, or *ü*, according to the sounds they are likely to represent. For some of the languages, additional principles have turned out necessary; these are explained in the introduction to each treatise. Whenever a single entry deserves an explicite commentary, this is added immediately after it.

For all five specimina, the part of the manuscript containing it is presented here as a facsimile in order to allow for an examination of the readings. Note that in his second book, Evliya chose an interlinear arrangement for the foreign material and its Turkish translation (each pair of lines belonging together is marked by an additional brace, here), whereas the Circassian is arranged in a succeeding way (except for the numbers).

No attempts will be made here to deal with a four (half-)verse poem within Evliya's material that was formerly regarded as Laz⁸: The poem, contained in page 253a of the second volume of Evliya's book, occurs in a nearly identical shape in vol. 8 (336b) again, where it forms part of the specimen of the Trabzon Greek dialect, and there are only Greek elements to be detected in it; cf. DANKOFF's glossary (114) for this.

⁶ "L'oubykh d' Evliya Çelebi", in: *Journal Asiatique* 266, 1978, 57-66. PROVASI (l.c.) does not deal explicitly with all entries presented by Evliya.

⁷ The volume, published at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of Harvard University (*Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures*, ed. by Şinasi TEKIN & Gönül Alpay TEKIN, 14: Turkish sources XII), has just appeared (1991; the main title is Turkish: *Evliya Çelebi lügatı. Seyahat-name'deki Yabancı kelimeler, Mahallî İfadeler*); on pages 121 sq., it contains a short account of Evliya's Caucasian language materials.

⁸ Cf. e.g. S.S. ŽIKIA, "Evliya Çelebi lazebişa da lazuriş şesaxeş / Evliya Çelebi o lazax i lazskom jazyke", in: *Iberiul-kavkasiuri enatmecniereba / Iberijsko-kavkazskoe jazykoznanie*, 6, 1954, 243-256.

Maybe some readers will find that the translation of Evliya's examples sounds a little bit too rough or straightforward at times; to them, we may quote as an apologia what Evliya felt necessary to state himself on behalf of his Megrelian material:

سیاحلره بوکونه شتوملر دخی بلمک لازمدر کم کندویه سؤکدکلری معلوم اولور
اول محلده هرکسله حسن الفت ایدوپ بر تقریب ایله جانب سلامتته چیقه

*seyyāhlara bu gūne şutūmları daxı bilmek lāzımdır kim kendüye sögdükleri ma'lūm olup
ol maḥalde herkesle ḥüsn-i ülfet édüp bir taqrīb ile cānib-i selāmete çıqa.*

"Travellers must know such insultings too, so that they may understand what they were insulted with and may find safety from danger in a certain way by keeping friendly relations with everybody in this region."⁹

My thanks are due to Robert DANKOFF, Klaus KREISER and Semih TEZCAN, who checked all readings and contributed many improvements, especially for the Turkic part, as well as Winfried BOEDER and George HEWITT, to whom I owe many ideas and corrections in the Caucasian part. It goes without saying, that all errors and shortcomings of the present study are mine.

⁹ Lines 30-31 within the Megrelian specimen (pag. 332b).

لسان غریب و عجیب کبازہ
 ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱ ۱۲
 ۱ وَاِذَا رَاٰ اٰیَاتِهَا بِشَا خُوفًا رُبَّمَا رُبَّمَا عَجَبًا رُبَّمَا اَقْرَبُ زُفَا وَبَا اَنْفَا
 ۲ وَاِذَا رَاٰ اٰیَاتِهَا اَوْجِبِن اَوْتَوْفِ اَوْقِل اَوْنَجِبِن اَرْبِش بِسَجَاب اَلْخُوش
 ۳ کُل کِبِش اَوَّلَمَر قَالِق کِثَم اَوْغَلان کِیدِه رَم عَوَر
 ۴ بِسِکْهَام اَوْرَمُجُورِش اَرْبِش بِسِیْرَه اَرْدِزَوِی اَوْرَه یُوْدِزَو اَمَلَه یُوْدِزَو وَاَخ تَسِی
 ۵ کَبِش نَجُور کَهَرَسْک اَوْغَلان بِن بِلِیْسِر مَسَنَه بِلِیْرَسْک جَانِم کَدُورَم
 ۶ بِسِیْرَه اَرْدِزَوَه بِسِیْرَه اِسْرَقَت اَرِش اَرْدِزَوَه زَوِی وَاَزِیُوْرَوَه اِسْخَوَه زَوِی
 ۷ بِن بِلِیْکِم نَاکَه یَسِر بُوِلَه نَجِش سَوِیْلِرَسْک حَایَقَلَرَمِش نَه سَوِیْلِرِیُوْر
 ۸ بِسِیْرَه اِسْرَدِزِر اَوْرَه یُوْخَوَه اَوْرَه یُوْدِزَوَه آقَه اَوْرَه اَوْقَه غُوث آقِیْکِب
 ۹ بِن بِلِیْمَر سَنَد سَوِیْلِرَسْک سَن بِلِیْرَسْک اَمَلَسْک عَقَلَه یُوْدِر اَلْقَهْم
 ۱۰ اَوْعِکِی اَرِشِش س اَرِکِی سِیْرَه اَرِشِش اَوْشِن قَوُج بِسِر شَحَب بِسِیْرَه آقَر اَوْتَلُون
 ۱۱ وَخَلَق حَقِیْقَت بِرِشَوِیْلِمَر وَالْهَب اَلْجَه بَکَه یَازَقَدِر یَازِشِیُوْر سَوِیْلِرِیُوْر
 ۱۲ اَجَزِش اِشِش اَمَلَه بِسِشِشَوِش بِسَجَاب بِضَطْلَه یُوْغَزِر مِیْغَزِر یُوْغَزِر وَانِشِش مِوِش
 ۱۳ وَالْهَب کَبَزَه قَرَم اَجِدِر کِیدِه رَم بِضَطْلَه یَمَر مَشَاخَم یَد اَنکِر سِکِم

In the phonological spelling, aspirated consonants are marked by ^ˆ, glottalized ones by ^ˁ. Palatalization is marked by ^ʲ, labialization by ^ʷ. Vowel length is marked by :. Word accent is only indicated, by ' , where I am sure. Morpheme boundaries are represented by hyphens. In the "Turkicizing" transcription of Evliya's notations, necessary additions (mostly of vocalizations) are given in parentheses, whereas necessary deletions (mostly of prothetic or epenthetic vowels and the like) are given in square brackets; notations of a vowel in a position where phonologically an ə may be assumed, are indicated by braces. When other corrections are necessary, an asterisk is used.

Turkish	meaning	BLEICHSTEINER	today	phonologically	reading	
<i>(bir)</i>	۱ 1	<i>ak^əa</i>	акы	<i>ak^əə</i>	<i>aqı</i>	آقِ
<i>(iki)</i>	۲ 2	<i>°w-ba</i>	Ѡбá	<i>°°(ə)b'a</i>	<i>w{ü}ba</i>	وُبا
<i>(üç)</i>	۳ 3	<i>h^ə-p^əa, h^əə-p^əa</i>	хпá	<i>(ə)xp^əa</i>	<i>{ı}xpa ?</i>	اِحْپَا
<i>(dört)</i>	۴ 4	<i>p^əš^əə-ba</i>	пшьбá	<i>p^əš^ə '(ə)b'a</i>	<i>b{ı}šba</i>	بِشْبَا
<i>(beş)</i>	۵ 5	<i>hvə-ba</i>	хубá	<i>x°(ə)b'a</i>	<i>xuba</i>	خُوبَا

(<i>altı</i>)	٦	6	<i>f-ba</i>	фбá	<i>f(ə)b'a</i>	<i>f{ɪ}ba</i>	فَبَا
(<i>yedi</i>)	٧	7	<i>bž'-ba</i>	бжъбá	<i>b(ə)ž 'b'a</i>	<i>b{ɪ}zba</i>	بَزْبَا
(<i>sekiz</i>)	٨	8	<i>ā-ba</i>	аабá	<i>a:b'a</i>	<i>°ába</i>	عَبَا
(<i>doquz</i>)	٩	9	<i>ž'v-ba</i>	жэбá	<i>ž°(ə)b'a</i>	<i>j{ɪ}ba</i>	ژَبَا
(<i>on</i>)	١٠	10	<i>žva-ba</i>	жэабá	<i>ž°ab'a</i>	<i>*ju(a)ba ?</i>	زَوْبَا

Today's forms *z°ba* "9" and *ž°aba* "10" have the same initial consonant, a labialized *ž*; so Evliya's *ز* <z> in the latter word must stand for a *ژ* <ž> as in the first one; cp. the following two entries too. If "10" had the medial *-a-* at his time already, he must have confused *ḍamma* and *fatha* additionally; but cp. the following two entries.

(<i>on bir</i>)	۱۱	11	<i>žvejza</i>	! жэ́иза	<i>ž°'aiza !</i>	<i>[aqɪ zu(a)ba]</i>	آقِ زُونَا
(<i>on iki</i>)	۱۲	12	<i>žva°wa</i>	! жэ́аѰа	<i>ž°'a°a !</i>	<i>[w{ü}ba ju(a)pa]</i>	وَنَا زُونَا

As against today's forms, Evliya's Abkhaz numerals for "11" and "12" are arranged in reverse internal order, viz. "one-ten" and "two-ten" instead of "ten-and-one, ten-two"; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (105: 11). I have no sources that indicate Evliya's combinations as possible variants; even Baron USLAR in the first Abkhaz Grammar (*Ėtnografija Kavkaza I*, Tiflis 1887, p. 98) gave only today's forms. Cp. the Ubykh and Megrelian numbers too.

<i>gel</i>	كَمِ	"come"	<i>u-āj</i>	уааи	<i>w-'a:-i</i>	<i>wa°(e)y</i>	وَأَيِّ
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Evliya's *°ayn* written above the *elif* seems to be correct, because "to come", inf. *ааи–па а:у-ра*, contains the sound /a:/, written <aa> today, which is assumed to have developed by the loss of a voiced intervocalic pharyngeal fricative similar to arab. *°ayn*. Cp. the spelling of the numeral *a:'ba* "eight" above. Note that the word *إمالة imāle* "flexion" is written above the *ي* <y> in this entry which might indicate a higher articulation of the vowel denoted by the *kasra*; cp. the first Georgian entry for this. - The form given here is possibly contained in Evliya's Megrelian specimen, too, as a borrowing.

<i>git</i>	كَيْت	"go"	<i>u-ća, u-ca</i>	уце́и (?)	<i>w(ə)-c°'a-i (?)</i>	<i>uç(é)y (?)</i>	اَوْچِي
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I don't see a reason for a *-i* in this form (inf. "to go": *а–ца–па а-с°'а-р'а*), unless it be the "suffix of categoriality" as, more probably, in the following item. The form would have to be read as *uc°e-i* or *uc°e-y* (уце–и) in this case, the *kasra* perhaps denoting a close pronunciation of the *-e-*, which is due to an "umlaut" caused by the *-i* itself. A.N. GENKO (O jazyke Ubyxov; in: *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Gumanitarnyx Nauk*, 1928, 242) pointed to the Bzyb variant *wəḡa*, i.e. *uc°'a*, with a palatal affricate,

for Evliya's spelling; together with the suffixed *-i*, this would yield *uc^ε 'e-i* as G. HEWITT states (letter dated 22.7.91; the grammar of the "Bzybskij dialekt abxazskogo jazyka" by X.S. BGAŽBA, Tbilisi 1964, was not available to me so far). Compare *umçin* "don't go", below. Note that there is a *sukūn* above the final *ي* <y>.

oṭur اوڤور "sit" *u-t³və* утә́э–и *w(ə)-t³o'a-i* *ut(u)wey* (?) اوئوي

The vocalization mark above the *و* <tu> in this word seems rather to be a *ḍamma* than a *fatha*, Evliya thus probably denoting the labial *-t³-*. In addition, the word *imāle* is noted above the *ي* <y> again; this might indicate the raised pronunciation of the root-internal *-a-* (cf. the infinitive *а–тәа–рә́ a-t³o'a-r'a*) as *-e-* due to the following *-i* which will be the so-called "суффикс категоричности", cf. the *Grammatika abxazskogo jazyka*, Suxumi 1968, p. 117.

qalq قالق "get up" *u-gəl* угы́л *w(ə)-g'əl* *uqil* اوُقُل
gitme كِتمه "don't go" *u-m-ć-ən* умца́н *w(ə)-m-ć'a-n* *umçin* (?) اوُمچين

Compare *uç(é)y*, above. BLEICHSTEINER gives an *-ə-* in the "Prohibitiv" instead of the radical *-a-*, but the Abkhaz Grammar (118) has the form *y-m-ца́-н u-m-ć'a-n* for "не ходи" only. Evliya's *-i-* is clear, however; possibly, there is an additional *kasra* below the *ج* <ç>. So this may rather be a variant as used in the Bzyb dialect again, where a form *умц 'ы́н u-m-ć^ε 'ə-n* is possible according to G. HEWITT (l.c.). - By the way, all imperative forms so far have a **masculine** agent indicated.

oglan اوغلان "boy" *àrp^εəžba* арп̄ыс *'arp^εəs* *arp(ι)ş* ارپش

As against Evliya's notation, which well represents today's standard form, BLEICHSTEINER's *àrp^εəžba* which he obviously owed to N. MARR's Abkhaz dictionary (*Abxazsko-russkij slovar'*, Leningrad 1926, 71: *à-rpəzba* "юноша"), is enlarged with a suffix *-ba* otherwise used in building family names, and derived from *ап̄а ap^εa* "son" according to the Abkhaz grammar (47). GENKO (l.c.) points to the Bzyb variant, *àrpəş*, i.e. *'arp^εəs* ', once again to cope with Evliya's *ش* <ş>.

giderim كيدرم "I go" *sə-ć-ap³* сцап *sc^εap³* *s(ι)çab* سيچاب

This is a future form, better translated as "I shall go"; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (105: 19). Note that Evliya writes it with a final *ب* instead of a *پ* <p>.

'avret عورت "wife" *a-p^εhvəs, a-p^εhvəs* ап̄хэ́ыс *ap^εx'o'əs* *apxw(ι)ş* اپخوش

According to my sources, *ап̄хэ́ыс ap^εx'o'əs* means both "жена" and "женщина". - As for Evliya's *ش* <ş>, GENKO (l.c.) points to the Bzyb variant again, which ends in a

palatal -s^ʰ; cp. 'arp^əs "boy".

<i>gitmem</i>	كْتَمَم	"I don't go"	<i>sə-k^əvə-č-am</i>
сыгыцуам (?)	<i>sə-g^ʰ(ə)-c^ə-w'a-m</i> (?)	<i>sik{ɪ}ç(w)am</i> (?)	سِكْچَامْ

In today's literary Abkhaz, "I don't go" would be *сџом s(ə)-c^əo-m* in the present or *сџарым s-c^əa-rə-m* in the future, the latter maybe from earlier **s-c^əa-m*. As against these forms, Evliya's entry contains an additional element *-ki-* which must be some kind of infix. BLEICHSTEINER (105: 21) obviously thought of *-кy-* *-k^ə(ə)-*, meaning "up", but the new dictionary (Аџсуа бызшџа ажџар / Slovar' abkhazskogo jazyka, I, Акya / Suxumi 1986, 375) gives the transitive meaning "сгонять откуда-н." for *á-кyцара* only (as well as MARR, 94: "отгонять"). The same holds true for *а-кацарá a-kac^əar'a* "угонять" (Ажџар, 304 / MARR, 111). So we should rather presume a feature of the Bzyb dialect here again, which according to G. HEWITT (l.c.) uses an infixed element *-eg^ʰ-* in negated verbal forms. This leads to *s-eg^ʰ-c^ə-w'a-m* for "I'm not going" which may well lie behind Evliya's notation. The same element appears in the Abaza language too, where the corresponding form would be *сы-гъ-цу-м sə-g^ʰ-c^ə'ə-w-m* for the present and *сы-гъ-ца-рџы-м sə-g^ʰ-c^əa-r'ə-m* for the first future; cf. A.N. GENKO, *Abazinskij jazyk*, Moskva 1955, 160 and K.V. LOMTATIDZE, *Abazinskij jazyk*, in: *Jazyki narodov SSSR*, 4, Moskva 1967, 136.

<i>niçün gitmezsiñ oğlan?</i>	نچون كتمزسك اوغلان	"Why don't you go, boy?"
<i>u-zə-m-čə-z-uej arp^əəzba</i>	узымцози / -зеи арџыс	
<i>wə-zə-m-c^əa-wa-zəy / -zay 'arp^əs</i>	<i>uzumçoz[iw]iy arp(ɪ)s</i>	اوژمچوزيوي آرپش

Evliya's *-ziwi*y seems to mean today's interrogative suffix *-зи -zəy / -зеи -zay* for which cp. the Abkhaz grammar (120); Evliya's *-w-* is not clear like this, as BLEICHSTEINER remarked (106: 22). For 'arp^əs see above.

<i>ben bilirim</i>	بَنْبَلِيرِم	"I know"	<i>sara i-z-dər-vej^t</i>
сарá издџыруеит	<i>sar'a yə-z-d'ər-wa-yt^ə</i>	<i>sérá izdirwey(t)</i>	سيره اذدروي

According to the meaning (better: "I know **it**"), this must be a finite form which has the suffix *-yt^ə* today. If Evliya's spelling is correct, he either didn't hear the final *-t^ə* or it was not (yet) present; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (106: 23) as well as GENKO, who explained the lack of a final *-t^ə* (or, at least, its missing explosion) as a feature of the Bzyb dialect (l.c.). The non-finite equivalent of *издџыруеит*, as the present absolutive

meaning "I knowing it .." or the like, would be издырыа *yə-z-d'ər-wa* today; there may be some confusion with the forms discussed in the third entry to follow too.

<i>sen ne bilirsin</i>	سَنَنَه بِلِرْسِيْڭ	"what do you know?"	<i>uara i-u-dər-va</i>
уарá иудырыа	<i>war'a</i>	<i>yə-w-d'ər-wa</i>	<i>orá yudırva</i> اَوْرَه يُوْدِرْوَا

We should expect one of the interrogative suffixes, -и -əy, -зи -zəy, -зеи -zəy, if this is really a question; according to G. HEWITT (l.c.), the normal way of expressing "what do you know?" would be *war'a* *yə-w-d'ər-wa* (Ø)-z-a-k^oə-wə-y, lit. "that which you know, what is it?". уарá иудырыа alone would be the non-finite form again ("You knowing it .." or "[that] what you know .."). Cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (106: 24). - Note that the word *imāle* is written above the first ر <r> in this entry again.

<i>cānum gözüüm</i>	جَانِم كُوزُوْم	"my soul my eye"	<i>u-xažə si-p^csə</i>
??	??	<i>w{ɪ}xaç fissi</i>	وَحَاجْ فِيسِي

The words in question seem to be а-хаѣы *a-xač'ə* "face, mouth" and а-псыы *a-p^cs'ə* "soul". *wxaç*, then, could mean ухаѣы *w(ə)-xač'ə* "your face", and *fissi*, у-псыы *w(ə)-p^csə*, "your soul". This would lead to a reading *w{ɪ}xaç* (*wɪ*)*p^csi*. BLEICHSTEINER, who read *uḡaḡ ksi* (106: 25), presumed *u-xažə* as "für dich", lit. "for (-žə) your head (*wə-xə*)", and *sə-p^csə*, "my soul", which seems to be more understandable, but it is hard to believe that Evliya denoted a z by چ <ç>.

<i>benim bildigim</i>	بِنِم بِلْدِيْڭِم	"what I know"	<i>sara i-z-dər-va</i>
сарá издырыа	<i>sar'a</i>	<i>y'ə-z-dər-wa</i>	<i>sérá izdırva</i> سِيْرَه اِزْدِرْوَا

The expected form would be издырыа meaning either "(that) what I know" (this form called "participle" in Abkhaz grammar, "Relativform" by BLEICHSTEINER) or "I knowing it .." (called "absolute"), depending on the word accent; as G. HEWITT states (l.c.), we will have the former here, which is accented *y'ə-z-dər-wa*. Note that Evliya writes an *alif* above the final ь <h>, surely in order to indicate an -a-sound; if he had heard an -e, the form could mean "What do I know?" as a question which would be издырыеи *yə-z-d'ər-wa-y*.

<i>baḡa yeter</i>	بَاڭَه يَتِر	"(it) suffices me"	<i>sara i-sə-žx-ejt', i-sə-zx-ejt'</i>
сарá исызхеит	<i>sar'a</i>	<i>yə-sə-zxa-yt'</i>	<i>sérá isızqe(y)t</i> سِيْرَه اِسْزَقْتْ

Evliya seems to have noted a so-called "aorist" form here which would have to be rendered as "it sufficed me". The present would be исызхоит *yə-sə-zxa-wa-yt'* today. There is no need of reading an -a- in the ending, if the *fatha* can represent an -e-

standing for the diphthong *-ey-* as developed from */-ay-/*. If we had to read *-qát* instead, we could think of the Abaza equivalent of the Abkhaz aorist, ending in *-a-t'* with verbs in *-a-*, but this excluded here because the Abaza present form *йсызхъапI y(ə)-sə-zχa-p'* "it suffices me" (cf. e.g. the *Russko-abazinskij slovar' / Урышв-абаза словарь*, Moskva 1956, 545 s.v. хватить) shows that the verb is "statical" in this language so that we cannot expect an aorist ending in *-t'* at all.

böyle niçin söylersin بُوَيْلَه نِيچْن سُوَيْلَرْسِيكْ "Why do you talk like this?" *arś i-z-u-ḥ^va-z-uej*

*арис изухэ́зи / -зеи

*arəys yə-zə-w-ḥ^oa-w'a-zəy / -zay (?)

aris izuh[u]waz[iw]iy

أَرِسْ اِنْوَحُوْهْزِيْ

A word corresponding to Evliya's *aris* is not attested in today's dictionaries, but it would be the regular adverbial form built from *ари arəy* "this (here)"; cf. already MARR, Dictionary 6 with *arş || ars* "такъ, сякъ", and BLEICHSTEINER (107: 28). Today's normal word for "so" would be *ac as*. The verb form rather represents the present *изухэ́з(е)и yə-zə-w-ḥ^oa-w'a-z^o/ay* "Why do you say it?" than the aorist *изухэ́зеи yə-zə-w-ḥ^oa-z^o/ay* meaning "Why did you say it?"; for Evliya's spelling cf. the fourth entry to follow. For the interrogative suffix see above.

şayıqlar mısın صَائِقْلَرْ مِيسِنْ "are you raving?" *j-u-b-va-ma / j-u-b-va / j-u-b-va-zii* (??)

??

??

wawbuzwá

وَاوْبُوْزُوْهْ

According to BLEICHSTEINER, "das fragliche Verbum ist sicher *a-bə-rà*, 'sehen'", but this is a mere guess. G. HEWITT (l.c.) proposes to see a verbal complex *w-ay-v'a-s-ma* (уеивы́сма) here which would mean "Did you pass beside each other?" literally (from *á-vc-pa 'a-vəs-ra* "to pass by") and "Are you mad?" metaphorically, but this is still quite distinct from what Evliya wrote. The actual Abkhaz verb meaning "to rave" would be *апатара a-p'at'a-ra* (cf. e.g. the *Аурыс-Ап̄суатэ Жэар / Russko-abkhazskij slovar' by X.S. BGAŽBA, Akya / Suxumi 1964, 62 s.v. бредить*).

ne söyleyiyorum نَه سُوَيْلَهْيِيْ يُوْرَمْ

"What am I saying?"

i-s-ḥ^va-z-uej

исхэ́зи / -зеи

y'ə-s-ḥ^oa-wa-zəy / -zay

ishwáz[iw]ey

اِسْحُوْهْزِيْ

This is most probably the present form *исхэ́зи / -зеи y'ə-s-ḥ^oa-wa-z^o/ay* "What do I say?" as against the aorist *исхэ́зеи / -зеи yə-s-ḥ^oa-z^o/ay* "what did I say?" again; cp. the second entry to follow.

<i>ben bilmem</i>	بن بلمم	"I don't know"	<i>sara səz-dər-am</i>
сарá исыздыруам	<i>sar'a yə-sə-z-dər-wa-m</i>	<i>sérá isızdır(w)am</i>	سیرە ایسزدرم

This is obviously the so-called "potentialis", lit. "I cannot know this", which according to G. HEWITT (l.c.) is the obligatory way of building negated forms of the verb "to know". A *wāw* seems to be missing, but cp. the fifth entry to follow.

<i>seniñ söylediğin</i>	سنى سويلديكى	"what you say"	<i>uara i-u-h^v-ua</i>
уарá и́хəə	<i>war'a y'ə-w-ħ^oa-wa</i>	<i>orá yuh[u]wa</i>	اۆرە يۇخوۋا

This seems to be the present *и́хəə y'ə-w-ħ^oa-wa* "(that) what you are saying" rather than the aorist *и́хəə yə-w-ħ^oa* "(that) what you said", as Evliya's spelling with double *و* <w> after the *ح* <h> indicates. According to G. HEWITT (l.c.), we may have a feature of the Bzyb dialect here again, where the present form is "contracted" to *y'ə-w-ħ^o-wa*. Having this at hand, we can assume a present form lying behind Evliya's spellings in the last but one and last but three sentences too. Note that Evliya writes an *alif* above the final *و* <h> again.

<i>sen bilirsin</i>	سنى بلىرسى	"you know"	<i>uara i-u-dər-va</i>
уарá иуды́руа	<i>war'a yə-w-d'ər-wa</i>	<i>orá yudırwá</i>	اۆرە يۇدرۋە

This, again, is more likely to be the non-finite form "you knowing it .., as you know" or the "participle" "(that) what you know" than the finite present which would be *иудыруйт yə-w-dər-wa-yt^o* today; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (107: 33).

<i>ammā seniñ 'aqlıñ yoqdur</i>	امّا سنى عقلك يوقدر	"but you have no sense"	<i>axà uara u-q-ovp^o</i>
ахá уарá ухáгоуп	<i>ax'a war'a wə-x'aga-w-p^o</i>	<i>aqá orá uqáxoub</i>	آقه اۆرە اوقه خوب

While *axá ax'a* "but" and *yapá war'a* "you" are clear, *uqáxob* should in my opinion rather be identified with *y-xáгоуп, wə-x'aga-w-p^o*, "you are crazy, wicked" (from *a-xáга, a-x'aga*, "сумасшедший"), than with BLEICHSTEINER's *aga .. u-q-ovp^o* "du bist ein Dummkopf" (108: 34), in spite of the unexpected spelling of the -g-. Note the combination of *alif* and *و* <h> in *orá*, again.

allāhım ve xalq haqqıyçün اللّهم و خلق حقچون "for the sake of my God and the people"

<i>anc^oa-g'ə a-ónə-g'ə a-d-nəs</i>	анцагагы ауаагы рныс	
<i>anc^oo-g'ə awa:-g'ə rnəs</i>	<i>anç(wa)gı aw^oagı [ɪ]rniş^s</i>	آنچکي اوعکي ازينش ^s

In the form noted here, the formula would mean "by God and men", literally. *анцаá an^oo'a* "God" is perfectly clear, *aw^oa-* fits well with *ayaa awa:* "men, people" (plural of

ayaḡy *awa*[°]ə "man, Mensch"; for *-aa-* see above), and -гъы .. -гъы -g 'ə .. -g 'ə is the conjunction "as well .. as ..". For the rest, this leaves *r-* as the marker of a third person plural possessor ("their"), and *-niṣ* seems to stand for the word *-nəṣ* *-nəs* used in swearing as noted in MARR's dictionary (64; the word is kept distinct from *a-nəu* = а-нѣшъ *a-n'əṣ*¹ "лодка" and *a-nəu* = а-нѣшә *a-n'əs*[°] "земля" here); cf. also BLEICHSTEINER (108: 35). According to the new dictionary (488: а-нѣс *a-n'əs*), this is a verb ("аҕац[арбá]") meaning "клясться"; it constitutes idioms such as ажәлар рныс *až°lar nəs* "by the people!" exactly matching with what Evliya has here. The single س <s> in the final position is a little bit exposed and is possibly intended as a correction for the ش <š>, Evliya thus trying to cope with a palatal pronunciation of an *-s*¹ as denoted by MARR's -ṣ. Note that анцә́ "god" originally was a plurale tantum in Abkhaz, so that the plural possessive marker *-r-* is correct in the following entries too (cf. already GENKO, l.c.). - In the Turkish equivalent, we certainly read *xalq*, not *maxlūqāti* as in DANKOFF's treatise (Glossary, 121).

bir şey bilmem vallāhi

بر شيء بلمم واللّٰهي

"I know nothing, by God"

ak³ə sə-ž-dər-om anc°inəs

акгъы сыздыруам, анцәа-рныс

ak³g 'ə sə-z-d'ər-wa-m anc°a r-nəs á(k)gı sızdır(w)am, anç(w)arnıṣ اگي سیزدیرم آذجرنش

ági obviously represents ак-гъы, *ak³-g'ə*, meaning "one (thing) even"; for сыздыруам *sə-z-d'ər-wa-m* "I cannot know" see above. As for the formula *anç(w)arnıṣ*, cp. the preceding item; the *fatha* seems to belong to the چ <ç> (where it should belong) rather than the ر <r>.

incitme bağa yazıqdır

انجتمه بکه یازقدر

"Don't hurt me, it's a shame"

usùx°a sə-rəçhovp°

усмъысын хучы срыцхап (?)

wə-s-m'ə-sə-n xuč° 'ə sə-rəçhap (?) *u(sm)sin quç(ı) sırışáb* (?) اوسن قوچ سیرشعَب

If *usin* really stands for усмъысын, *wə-s-m'ə-sə-n*, "Do'nt hit me!", as G. HEWITT proposes (l.c.), we have to assume that Evliya's spelling *usin* is haplographical; this is in any case more probable than BLEICHSTEINER's *usùx°a* "helf mir". *sırışab* obviously contains а-рыцха-, *a-r'əçha-* "бедняга, несчастный", which in connection with хучы, *xuč° 'ə*, "small, little" could mean something like German "ich bin (doch) nur ein armer Schlucker". With BLEICHSTEINER (108: 37), we should expect a present form ending in *-oup°* here; Evliya's spelling may represent a dialectal variant of the Abaza type instead, where the present of a static verb with a stem in *-a* ends in *-a-p°*. For Abaza рыцхIа *rəçha* "бедняк, нищий" cf. the Abaza-russkij slovar' / Абаза-урышв

ажвар by V.B. TUGOV, Moskva 1967, 327.

ya ben bir şey mi söyleyiyorum يا بَنْ بَرْ شَيْمِي سَوِيلِي يَوْم "Am I saying anything?"

sara ak're u-s-ḥ^v-wan сарá акыр ус исхəón (?)

sar'a ak'ər wəs yə-s-ḥ^oa-w'a-n (?) *sérá aqır [a]wıs (i)shwon* ? سِيرَه أَقْرَأَوْسَحُون

In the way indicated here, the sentence could mean something like "I (сарá) said (исхəón) something (акыр) thus (ус)"; the latter word, which is proposed by G. HEWITT (l.c.), is the better choice as against ааџс *a:˞əs* "aside" which would fit quite well with Evliya's spelling. Note that there is neither a marker of interrogation nor one of negation, cp. BLEICHSTEINER's translation "ich sprach beinahe zu dir". Possibly, the assertive form could be used in interrogations without additional markers, exceptionally. For Evliya's spelling of the verb in question, cp. the Abaza variant which would be йысхІвун *yə-s-ḥ^oa-w-n*.

vallāhi abaza qarnım açdır واللّٰهِي أَبَازَه قَرْنِمِ أَجْدَر "By God, Abaza, I am hungry"

anc^vineš ap^sua amla səp^svojt^v анцəа–рныс, а́псуа, а́мла сы́псуеит

anc^oa r-nəs, 'ap^swa, 'amlá sə-p^s(ə)-wa-yt^v

anç(wa)rniş ap[ɪ]ş(wa) amlá sips{ɪ}w(e)y(t) آنچَرْنِشْ آیشْ آملَه سِپْشِوئِ

For *anç(wa)rniş*, see above. "Abaza" should be а́псуа, *ap^swa*, which seems to be defective here if it is not simply *apiş* reflecting а́псы́, *ap^ss'ə*, "soul" (or а́рпы́с *'arpəs* "lad" again, as G. HEWITT [l.c.] supposes). а́мла сы́псуеит *'amlá sə-p^s(ə)-wa-yt^v* means "I am dying (of) hunger", literally; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (109: 39).

giderim pašta yerim كِيدَهَرِم بِصَطَه يَرِم "I am going to eat pašta"

səçap^v p^aasta iufvam сцап, паста иуфарым / -ма (?)

s(ə)c^ap, pasta iufarəm / -ma (?) *s{ɪ}çab, páştá yuf(a)rım(a)* (?) سِچَاب بِصَطَه يُوْفَرَمْ

While сцап *s-c^ap^v* is clearly the future form "I shall go", the second verbal form, *yufirm*, is hardly anything like "(in order) to eat"; the prefix *-u-* rather indicates a second person singular, which would lead to the negative иуфарым, *iufarəm*, "you will not eat it", or, more probably, the interrogative иуфарыма, *iufarəma*, "will you eat it?", although Evliya's vocalization is not in favour of this solution. BLEICHSTEINER's present form, *jufvam*, "du ißt (keine Pasta)" is less likely. - The following items were not known to BLEICHSTEINER:

taşagım ye طِشَاغِم يَه "Eat my testicles" сғыргуы иуф

*s-gə-r-g°(ə) yə-w-f**şığırğu yuf*

صِغْرُغُو يُوْفْ

The word for "testicles", which is not present in today's dictionaries, is given to me as *(a-)gə-r-g°(ə)* by G. HEWITT (l.c.); according to him, this is a compound consisting of *(a-)gə* "penis" (cp. MARR's dictionary, 89 with *a-ğə* "id."), and *r-g°ə*, lit. "their heart" (cp. а-гуы *a-g°ə* in the new dictionary, 169), which implies that the word for "penis" is "singular for plural" in Abkhaz. In Evliya's *şığırğu*, we have the compound combined with a prefix *s-*, being the first person singular marker of inalienable possession what is what we expect with parts of the body. As for the imperative "eat (it/them)", Evliya's form is also correct, as G. HEWITT confirms, because á-фа-па '*a-fa-ra* "to eat" belongs to those Abkhaz verbs which in the imperative lose their (unaccented) root vowel.

anaŋi sikeyim

انكي سيكيم "Let me fuck your mother"

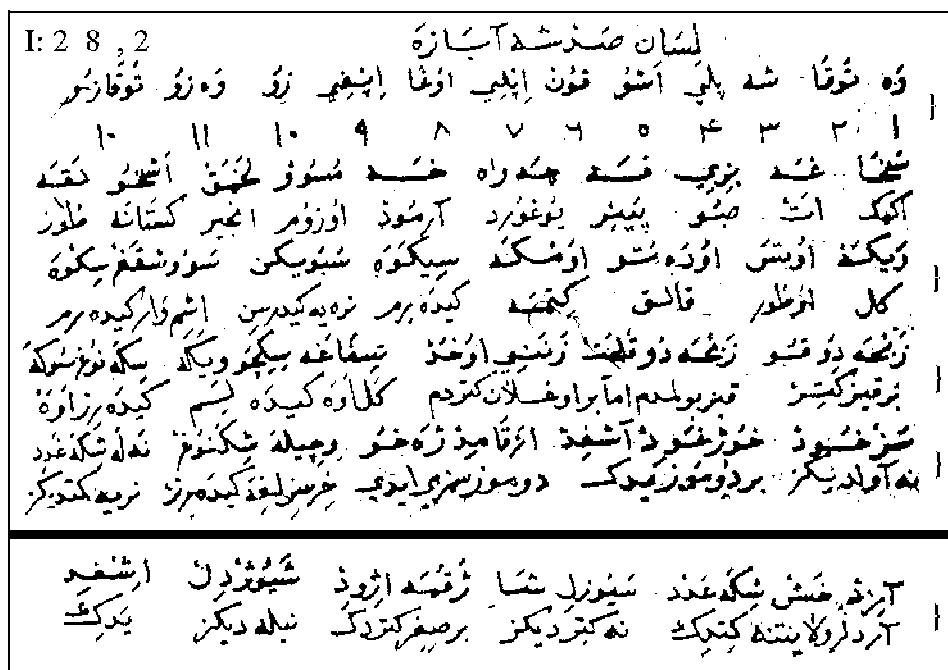
уан дыскуыџт

*w-an də-s-k°ə-s-t°**wan disqust*

وَانْدِسْ قَوْسْتْ

For this entry, too, the correct analysis is provided by G. HEWITT (l.c.). уан represents *w-an* "your mother", Evliya's *-dis* belonging to the following verbal form as the prefix complex of a first person singular agent (*-s-*) combined with a second person singular feminine patient (*d-*). The verb must be акырпə *a-k°ə-s-r'a* as given in MARR's dictionary with the meaning "coitus" (48: *a-ḡsrà*). This has to be preferred to а-кpə *a-k°-r'a* which means "to hold, to grasp" generally, but which a secondary meaning "coire" is attributed to in the same dictionary (49). The form in question must be the aorist дыскуыџт *də-s-k°ə-s-t°* "I fucked your mother" although we have to state a modal and temporal difference as against Evliya's Turkish translation like this.

Ubykh:



The phonological spelling follows the same principles as with Abkhaz. In addition, apical sibilants and affricates are marked by a dot above (e.g. *š*) and pharyngealized consonants by a stroke above (e.g. *ḡ*) as in DUMÉZIL's notation.

Turkish	meaning	DUMÉZIL	phonolog.	reading
(bir)	۱ 1	za	(za)	wá ? وَه

PROVASI (o.c., 310), expecting *za* as the normal form of the numeral "one" in Ubykh, assumes a misspelling with Arabic و <w> instead of ز <z> as did BLEICHSTEINER (111: 1) and, implicitly, DUMÉZIL (59: 1). But note that in the numeral "eleven" too, a *wāw* appears.

(iki)	۲ 2	tʰq°a	tʰq°a	t{u}q(w)a	تَقَا
(üç)	۳ 3	ša	ša	šá	شَه

In this word, BLEICHSTEINER (111: 3) and DUMÉZIL (59: 3) had to cope with an internal *k* which is not present in the autograph at all; cf. PROVASI (312: 3.) too.

(dört)	۴ 4	pʰlʰə	pʰtʰə	pli	پَلِي
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(<i>beṣ</i>)	۵	5	<i>š'χə</i>	<i>š' x' ə</i>	<i>[e]ṣ(x)u</i>	أَشُو
(<i>alt</i>)	۶	6	<i>f.ōn(ə)</i>	<i>f'-ōnə</i>	<i>fon</i>	فُونْ

According to DUMÉZIL (60: 6) this is the numeral for "six" in the instrumental, not in the oblique case as BLEICHSTEINER proposed (111: 6).

(<i>yedi</i>)	۷	7	<i>blə</i>	<i>blə</i>	<i>[ɪ]plɪ</i>	إِيلِي
(<i>sekiz</i>)	۸	8	<i>γ°a</i>	<i>γ°a</i>	<i>[u]ḡ(w)a</i>	اَوْعَا
(<i>doquz</i>)	۹	9	<i>bγ'ə</i>	<i>bγ' ə</i>	<i>[ɪ]pḡɪ</i>	إِبْعِي
(<i>on</i>)	۱۰	10	<i>ž°ə</i>	<i>ž°ə</i>	<i>zu</i>	زُو
(<i>on bir</i>)	۱۱	11	<i>(ž°ə-zə)</i>	<i>(ž°əzə)</i>	<i>[wázu]</i>	وَهَزُو
(<i>on iki</i>)	۱۲	12	<i>(ž°ə-t'q°a)</i>	<i>(ž°ə t'q°a)</i>	<i>[t{u}q(w)azu]</i>	تُوفَازُو

As with Abkhaz (and Megrelian), Evliya's Ubykh numerals for 11 and 12 are arranged in reverse internal order, viz. "one-ten" and "two-ten" instead of "ten-one, ten-two"; cf. already A.N. GENKO, *O jazyke ubykhov* (Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Gumanitarnyx Nauk, 1928), 239, BLEICHSTEINER (111: 11/12), and DUMÉZIL (60).

<i>ekmek</i>	اَكْمَكْ	"bread"	<i>s°əba ? s°əq°á ? cax'.q°á ?</i>	??	<i>sáxá</i>	سَخَا
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Evliya's notation yields no new arguments for deciding between the three words as considered by DUMÉZIL, meaning "bread", "smear", and some kind of "pie", resp.

<i>et</i>	اَتْ	"meat"	<i>γ'a</i>	<i>γ'a</i>	<i>ḡá</i>	عَهْ
<i>su</i>	صُو	"water"	<i>bzə</i>	<i>bzə</i>	<i>b{ɪ}zɪ</i>	بَزِي
<i>peynir</i>	پَينِرْ	"cheese"	<i>fa(č'°ə) (?)</i>	<i>fa (?)</i>	<i>fá</i>	فَهْ

DUMÉZIL (60: 16) was surely right in proposing that the normal word for "cheese", *fač'°ə*, is a compound, Evliya's *fa*, which is confirmed by the autograph now, representing the first member alone; cf. PROVASI (313: 16) who points to the doublet *fač'°əbzə* / *fabzə*, both denoting "jus de fromage". S. TEZCAN proposes to see some kind of haplography here, because the following word starts with a $\text{چ} <\text{ç}>$ as expected in *fač'°ə* (personal communication).

<i>yogurd</i>	يُوغُورْدْ	"yoghurt"	<i>č'a-t°a.(q)°á ?</i>	<i>č'°a-t°a(q)°a</i>	<i>čá(t)wa°á</i>	چَهْوَهْ
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In Evliya's notation, the *alif* seems to be added later. - For the structure of the Ubykh word to be analyzed as meaning "milk having become sour" as proposed by DUMÉZIL, compare the Circassian entry for "yoghurt" below.

<i>armud</i>	آرمۇد	"pear"	<i>x'a</i>	$\chi^{'a}$	<i>xá</i>	خە
<i>üzüm</i>	اۈزۈم	"grape"	<i>məs^oə</i>	<i>məs^oə</i>	<i>musuw</i>	مُسُوْ
<i>encīr</i>	انجیر	"fig"	<i>lax'-máq^o</i>	<i>la:χ^l-m'əq^l</i>	<i>laxmáq</i>	لَحْمَقْ
<i>kestāne</i>	كستانه	"chestnut"	<i>á-š'χə</i>	<i>š^lx^lə</i>	<i>[e]šxu</i>	أَشْخُوْ

That Evliya's *alif* reflects the definite article, *a-*, as BLEICHSTEINER (112: 21) and DUMÉZIL (61: 21) presumed, is hardly probable. In Evliya's notation, we should expect a prothetic vowel before a word-initial consonant cluster as *š^lx^l-* in any case, for which compare the number "five" above. Note that the autograph has the expected *š*-letter.

<i>tuz</i>	طوز	"salt"	<i>laq'á ?</i>	<i>laq^la</i>	<i>lāqá</i>	لَقَه
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That Evliya heard not a word for "salt" but *laq^la* "stone" as BLEICHSTEINER (112: 22) proposed, remains probable. "Salt" is *ž^lə* in Ubykh according to H. VOGT (Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh, Oslo 1963, 233 sq.).

<i>gel</i>	كل	"come"	<i>wə.y.k'^oá</i>	<i>wə-y-k^la</i>	<i>weyká</i>	وَيْكَه
<i>oṭur</i>	اۋطور	"sit"	<i>wə.t^oás</i>	<i>wə-t^oas</i>	<i>ut(w)ás</i>	اۋتُس
<i>qalq</i>	قالق	"get up"	<i>wə.dat^oə</i>	<i>wə-dat^oə</i>	<i>udátuw</i>	اۋدَهتُوْ
<i>gitme</i>	گیتمه	"don't go"	<i>wə.m.k'^oá</i>	<i>wə-m-k^la</i>	<i>umká</i>	اۋمَكَه
<i>giderim</i>	کیدرم	"I shall go"	<i>sə.y.k'^oô</i>	<i>sə-y-k^lo:</i>	<i>styk[á]wá</i>	سَيَكُوْه

If this is really a future form "que j'aille, je vais ou dois aller" matching the Turkic "aorist" as BLEICHSTEINER (113: 27) and DUMÉZIL (62: 27) proposed, we have to note Evliya's spelling of the final vowel with double *fatha* for which compare the second entry to follow.

<i>nereye gidersin</i>	نرهبه کیدرسین	"Where are you going?"
<i>sába wə.y.k'^oá.n</i>	<i>s'a:ba wə-y-k^la-n</i>	<i>sábuykan ?</i> سَبُوْیْکَن

According to BLEICHSTEINER (113: 28), DUMÉZIL (62: 28) and PROVASI (313: 28), this does not mean "where do you go?" but "why you come" as a non-finite form. In Evliya's writing, the first vocalization mark seems to be a *damma* as in the second syllable rather than a *kasra*, requiring a reading *subuykan*.

<i>işim var giderim</i>	اِشِم وَاَر کیدرم	"I have something to do, I am going"
<i>s^owa^hs.q^o á.γ, s(ə).k'^oô</i>	<i>s^owa s-q'a:-γ sə-k^lo:</i>	<i>s[á]wuw sqág s{t}kwá</i> سَوُوْسَقَع سَكُوْه

This sentence has to be rendered as "j'ai une affaire, que je m'en aille" according to

DUMÉZIL (62: 29). Note that the first letter in the second word is a س <s> with a *sukūn*, matching the expected sound of an *s*-, rather than a ش <š> as in the printed edition. The vocalization of the first word is strange, if it really represents Ubykh *s°wa*.

bir qız getir بر قیز گتیر "bring a girl"
za-px'ádak° wə *za-p°χ 'adək° wə* *zábħáduquw* زَبْحَهُدُوقُو

For this sentence, which was omitted in the printed edition but was available through J. VON HAMMER's, Evliya's autograph exactly reveals the reading expected by BLEICHSTEINER (116: 37) as against GENKO's (241, fn. 1). According to DUMÉZIL (65: 37), the imperative *wə* means not "amène, getir" but "emmène, götür".

qız bulmadım ammā bir oğlan getirdim قیز بولمدم اما بر اوغلان کتردم
 "I didn't find a girl but I brought a boy" *za-px'ádak° (a.)la.mə.t za-náyns°-žayt° (?)*
za-p°χ 'adək° la-m'ə-t° za-nan'ə wə-χ°ad'a (?)
zábħáduq{u}lám(ı)t zánanı uxád زَبْحَهُدُوقُلْمَتْ زَنْبِي اَوْخَدْ

This sentence, too, was omitted in the printed edition. DUMÉZIL translated it as "il n'y a pas de jeune fille, c'était un jeune homme" (65: 38); trying to cope with the spelling *zeni* for the word for "boy", *naýns°*, he proposed that a pronunciation *ne°s°* with a nazalized *ä* could be reflected here. As against this, Evliya's autograph presents a clear reading with a double ن <n> in the word. PROVASI reads it as "<n°ns°y>, où <s> est écrit avec un long trait au lieu de la forme ى, ce qui est usuel dans les manuscrits" (313: 31). In my opinion, the position of the dot of the second <n> makes this reading improbable; if we read زَنْبِي *zánanı* instead, this can possibly reflect a stem *nan'ə* as assumed as the basis of *naýns°* regarded as a compound by DUMÉZIL himself (66: **nan(ə)-s°* with *-s°* "petit"). As for the last word, Evliya's اَوْخَد *uxad* can hardly represent DUMÉZIL's "copule suffixe d'identification", *žayt°*, as PROVASI correctly states; as against his own proposal, *a.z.γ°áwə.yt°* "je l'ai trouvé", BLEICHSTEINER's *u-xod* "kaufe!" (116: 38), to be corrected in *wə.x°adá* according to DUMÉZIL, is still very much nearer to Evliya's spelling except for the final د <d> bearing a *sukūn*. As for the sense of the sentence, seeming "étrange" to DUMÉZIL and PROVASI, we can compare one of Evliya's Georgian phrases where "boys" are the object of "buying" too.

gel eve gidelim كَلَاوَه كِيدَلِم "come let's go home" *s-fa.γá š'.k'°á.n.ō [wə.y.k'°á]*
s-fa-γ'a š 'k 'a-n-o: wə-y-k 'a s{ı}fágá s{ı}kíquw wıyk(á) سِفَاغَه سِکِچُو وَيْکَه

As against DUMÉZIL's interpretation, to be rendered as "allons chez-moi, viens" literally,

we have to note that in Evliya's spelling, the second word has an initial س <s>, not ش <š>, that the vocalization mark of its second letter is a *kasra*, not a *fatha*, and that its third letter is a clear چ <č>, not a ن <n>. Compare the following entry too.

gideriz eve كیده‌رز آوه "We are going home"
 š'.k'á.nō s á-dak'á ? š 'k 'a-n-o: s'ə-dak 'a ? sıkánog suwká ? سیکه نوغ سوکه

Here again, Evliya has a س <s> instead of the ش <š> expected. DUMÉZIL's *s á-dak'á* presupposes that Evliya erroneously wrote a و <w> instead of a د <d> which is not impossible; cf. PROVASI (314: 33) too.

ne avladınız نه آولدیکن "What did you hunt?"
 ša-z°:γ°áwə.yt° (PROVASI) sa-z°-γ°'awə-yt° sázxod سَزْ حَوْدْ

Both BLEICHSTEINER's *sa-s'əx-ōt'* "Was wird euch gehören?" (114 sq.: 32) and DUMÉZIL's *šəd.o š°x°ə.γα*, a Circassian sentence meaning "qu'êtes-vous devenu?" (63 sq.: 32), were based upon the reading *ne oldunuz* "what did you become?" for the Turkic equivalent. As PROVASI correctly states (314: 34), we have to depart from the question *ne avladınız* meaning "What did you hunt?" instead, to which the following entry represents a good answer. Evliya's notation *sázxod* may then reflect a second person plural preterite form, combined with the interrogative prefix *sa-* "what?", of the verb *-γ°aw-* "to find, trouver", which is contained in the following sentence, too, in the first person plural. With PROVASI, we have to realize, however, that Evliya's spelling of the verb is quite different in both sentences, and that the usual plural marking is missing.

bir domuz yedik بر دُوموز یدک "We ate a pig" x̄°a ž'.γ°áwə.yt° a.š'.f á.yt°
 x̄°a ž 'γ°'awə-yt° a-š 'f'ə-yt° xo jgáwid áşfid حَوْزْ عَوْدْ أَشْفِدْ

As against BLEICHSTEINER (115: 33), DUMÉZIL (64: 33) was right in identifying two verbal forms in this sentence, which thus means "nous avons trouvé du cochon, nous l'avons mangé". The last but one letter may in my opinion well be read as a ه <-f-> instead of a گ <-g-> as PROVASI did (310: 35); compare the last Ubykh entry for this.

domuz semiz mi idi دُوموز سَمِزِمِ ایدی "Was the pig fat?" a.w.f.a.mə.t š'ə-x̄°á ? ?
 x̄°a ázqámud já xo أَزْقَامِدْ ژَه حَو

Here again, BLEICHSTEINER's (115 sq.: 34) and DUMÉZIL's (64: 34) considerations are based upon a wrong Turkic equivalent: Instead of *domuzumuz-mi yedi* meaning "did he eat our pig?", Evliya's question was whether "the pig was fat"; cf. already PROVASI (315: 36), who seems not to be sure about this, because for him, the third *m* is missing.

In any case, all assumptions that the verbal form to be seen here could belong to the root *f*- "to eat", are unnecessary, all the more since the word contains a clear ق <q>, not a ف <f>. We cannot decide with certainty, however, whether the second letter is a ز <z> or a ر <r> with a *sukūn* above. Thus, the actual verb form, which seems to contain the negative infix *-m-*, remains unclear. The same holds true for the element *žá* which can hardly represent a first person plural possessive marker *š* 'ə-, because it is written with an undoubtful *fatha* above; besides, there is no need for a first person plural marker in this sentence at all. Should it reflect the interrogative particle *š* 'a(y) as in the fourth entry to follow?

xırsızlığa gideriz خریسزلیغه کیده ریز "We are going to do a theft"

wəç:áy:la š'.k'á.n.ō wəç'a:yla š' -k' 'a-n-o: wıç(á)ylá ş{ı}kánog وچيله شكنوغ

According to DUMÉZIL, the exact meaning of this sentence would be "allons voler de nouveau, complètement, allons poursuivre et terminer le vol" (64 sq.: 35).

nereye gitdiñiz نريه كتيديز "Where did you go?"

mə:k'á s°.k'°a.q'á.na(-y) ?? nálá ş{ı}kágádíd نمله شكه عديد

DUMÉZIL's proposal is the attempt to reconstruct a sentence meaning "où êtes vous allés?" and thus matching the Turkic equivalent. As PROVASI states (315: 38), this is not further supported by Evliya's autograph, because it shows a second د <d> as the final letter as against the ambiguous ه <h> of the printed edition; can this be a reflex of the preterite marker, *-yt'*? - The following four sentences have been omitted in the edited text, probably because in the autograph, they are divided from the rest by a page break; these sentences were dealt with by PROVASI for the first time.

Aridler vilāyetine gitdik آردلر ولايته كتيديك "We went to the country of the Arids"

ard-γa-š s°(ə).k'°a.q'á.n(a) ard qāš'ə š' -k' 'aq'a-yt' (??)

árid xáš ş{ı}kágádd آريد خش شكه عديد

As against PROVASI (315 sq.: 39) who proposed that Evliya's <h^aš> could reflect the locative postposition *-γa* combined with the interrogative particle *š*, the present word may well represent Ubykh *qāš'ə* meaning "village" (cf. VOGT, Dictionnaire, 172) as an equivalent of Turkish *vilāyet*. Like this, the sentence need not be recognized as a question "êtes-vous allés à Ard" but may well be the reply to the preceding sentence. The verbal form may then be different from the one of the question before; as we have to assume different personal prefixes in both cases, Evliya's *š*- must represent the second person plural prefix *s°*- in the first and the first person plural prefix *š* ' in the second

one. The verbal ending, here written with two *ds*, the first with a *sukūn* above, remains unclear; can it be a preterite in *-yt'* again? - The locality named here must be today's Адлер, which according to Evliya was neighbouring with the "Sadša"-Ubykh (on this, cf. already GENKO, *O jazyke ubyxov*, 237 and BLEICHSTEINER, 125).

ne getirdiñiz نه كترديكنز "What did you bring?"
sa-y.z° .wə.yλ-š'a(y) (?) sa--y-z°-wə-yt--š' a(y) sāyuwzıl şa سَيُوزِلْ شَا

For this entry, PROVASI's proposal (316: 40) is convincing: The initial *sa-* reflects the interrogative particle "What?" again, the final *şa* represents the enclitic interrogative particle *š' a(y)*, and the verbal form is a second person plural preterite of *yə-wə-* "to bring" (cf. VOGT, *Dictionnaire*, 216), the whole sentence meaning "qu'avez vous apporté?". This is confirmed by the following sentence to be regarded as an answer to it.

bir şığır getirdik بر صغر كردك "We brought one cow"
za-g°əma (a.)y.ž'.wə.yt' za-g°əma' a y-ž' -wə-yt' jáqumá ijwid زَقْمَه اِيْوِدْ

Here again, PROVASI's interpretation (316: 41) can be sustained, Evliya's notation exactly matching with what has to be expected for "one cow" (*za-g°əma' a*, cf. VOGT, *Dictionnaire*, 129) and "we brought it" (*a-y-ž' -wə-yt'*, cf. VOGT, 216: *yə-wə-*).

neylediñiz نيلهديكنز "What did you do?"
sa-y.s° .š' .a.ná.yλ sa-y-s°-š' - -yt' ?? šáyujdıl شَيُوزِدِلْ

PROVASI's *sa-y.s° .s' .a.ná.yt'* "que faisiez-vous" fits exactly with the Turkic translation, but it bears some problems in comparison with Evliya's spelling, as the author himself states: First, Evliya wrote a clearly distinguishable <š> ش for the interrogative *sa-* here, which may be tolerated. If the verb in question is really *yə-š' -* "to do" (cf. e.g VOGT, *Dictionnaire*, 215), the second person plural marker must be regarded as assimilated to the *š' -* (as against VOGT's *áys°š' an* "vous faites"), the resulting sound being written with a ز <ž>, which would be noteworthy at least. For the plural marker *-na-* represented by a د <d>, PROVASI points to the same phenomenon in the last but four entry, which does not speak in favour of a mere misspelling; can we assume that Evliya heard a different morpheme in these cases?

yedik يَدِكْ "we ate" *aš'fəyt'* *a-š' -fə-yt'* *işfid* اِشْفِدْ

With PROVASI (317: 43), this obviously represents the Ubykh verbal form *a-š' -fə-yt'* meaning "we ate it". Note that the initial *alif* has a *kasra*, not the *fathā* expected. The last but one letter may be the expected ھ <-f-> as against PROVASI's ڭ <ğ> again.

Georgian:

I: 3 0a 0

لسانہ بکلم ایدر لسان فصاحت کورجی شوشاد آدمی زاد
 ارشیر اوریر سارم اوغور حوت اکسیر شریف نرواین عروای آتی پوری چیقان
 غیثہ یاک پشخان قوداخ لغب نور زنیب انجالیہ ششہ بروجونولوب خر بوجیق
 شراب کراز آرسود قنات الجیر اوزوم صدق قاون ناسر قریون
 یزولوب قون قان آق مود یغور چاموش کراچید یسور جاغیہ زہ نہ موقناتیر
 دود قسن قریب کلاوغلان آکک یدیلیم اوغور اوغلان والدہ کی کلد سکیسن
 آرزویدسن قینامر آق پاتون پوری چاموش ایزرب آق مود آرسویدسن داچد پاتو
 کتہ یابانہ کلاغا آکک یدیلیم ایدر کلا کتہ اوغور اغا
 پاتون ارش اوریر بکلم عاز کراچید آغودش آقیم پشتریکه دیدیہ آرش آغودش
 اغا بر ایگور اوغلان وار دور الرمین باقیم کوبوکی یوق بیکم السامر
 قیس مدام قیسی قایم آرش قلسا چو خور پوری پوری باغلو قودبان
 واللہ ایما بوغلاندر ایو دکلہ فنا در آت قاجر اشک کوبک سراماز

In the phonological spelling, aspirated consonants are marked by °, glottalized ones by ˀ. Word accent is not indicated. In the "Turkicizing" transcription of Evliya's notations, necessary additions (mostly of vocalizations) are given in round brackets, whereas necessary deletions (mostly of prothetic or epenthetic vowels and the like) are given in square brackets. In addition to DANKOFF's transcription of the vocalization marks, *ä* is used for a *fatha* plus *alif* representing Georgian *e*, and *ë* for a *fatha* representing a high vowel; *â* is used for a *fatha* plus *alif* standing for a Georgian *o*. When other corrections are necessary, an asterisk is used.

Turkish	meaning	BLEICHSTEINER	today	phonologically	reading
(bir)	۱ 1	ert ⁱ i	ერთი	ert ⁱ i	ert(i)

As against BLEICHSTEINER (91: 1), the vocalization intended by Evliya was clearly not *ā* (*alif-madda*) or *ī* (*alif* with *kasra*) but *ā* (*alif* with *fatha*). The final *-i* of today's nominative form is missing, anyway, unless it be indicated by the notation of *imāle*, lit. "flexion", written below the <ت> *t*; the meaning of this word, a verbal noun of the Arabic root *māla* "to bend", in grammatical literature is described as "giving to fatha a sound like that of kasra" (cf. e.g. F. STEINGASS, *Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1977, 97 b). For the lack of a final *-i* in some of Evliya's Georgian forms, Winfried

BOEDER (letter dated 17.9.91) thinks of a Megrelian influence. Should Evliya's informant for Georgian have been a Megrelian bilingual?

(iki)	۲ 2	<i>ori</i>	ორი	<i>ori</i>	<i>ori</i>	اُورِي
(üç)	۳ 3	<i>sami</i>	სამი	<i>sami</i>	<i>sami</i>	سَام
(dört)	۴ 4	<i>otʰi</i>	ოთხი	<i>otʰxi</i>	<i>otxi</i>	اَوْتَحِي
(beş)	۵ 5	<i>hufʰi</i>	ხუთი	<i>xufʰi</i>	<i>huti</i>	خَوْت
(altı)	۶ 6	<i>ekʷsi</i>	ექვსი	<i>ekʷsi</i>	<i>ek(w)si</i>	اَكْسِي
(yedi)	۷ 7	<i>šwidi</i>	შვიდი	<i>švidi</i>	<i>šüdi</i>	شَدِي
(sekiz)	۸ 8	<i>rvaj</i>	რვა(დ)	<i>rva(y)</i>	<i>r[u]way</i>	رَوَاي

Evliya's form clearly indicates a final consonantal -y as against today's standard form, *rva*; cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (91: 8). This is attested as a feature of the Gurian dialect (West-Georgia) by S. ŽGENTI (Guruli kılo / Gurijskij govor gruzinskogo jazyka, Tbilisi 1936, 58).

(doquz)	۹ 9	<i>chraj</i>	ცხრა(დ)	<i>cxra(y)</i>	<i>ç[ɪ]xray</i>	چَحْرَاي
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For the final -y, cf. the preceding item.

(on)	۱۰ 10	<i>atʰi</i>	ათი	<i>atʰi</i>	<i>ati</i>	آتِي
<i>ekmek</i>	اَكْمَك "bread"	<i>pʰuri</i>	პური	<i>pʰuri</i>	<i>puri</i>	پُورِي
<i>su</i>	صو "water"	<i>cʰqali</i>	წყალი	<i>cʰqʰali</i>	<i>ç[ɪ]qal(i)</i>	چِقَال

Note that there is no indication whatsoever of the nominative ending -i in Evliya's form.

<i>et</i>	آت "meat"	<i>horci</i>	ხორცი	<i>xorcʰi</i>	<i>xorci</i>	حَرْج
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In contrast to the preceding form, this one has a final -i indicated by a *kasra* below the ج <c>.

<i>şarāb</i>	شَرَاب "wine"	<i>ḡwino</i>	ღვინო	<i>ḡvino</i>	<i>ḡ(w)inā</i>	غِيْنَه
<i>kiraz</i>	كَرَاز "cherry"	<i>bali</i>	ბალი	<i>bali</i>	<i>bal(i)</i>	بَال

BLEICHSTEINER (91: 15) was right in postulating *bal-* instead of the printed form *bak*; cf. already S.S. DŽIKIA, Ėvlija Čelebi o mingrel'skom i gruzinskom jazykax, Sovetskoe jazykoznanie 1936/2, 123, according to whom the manuscript Pertev Paşa 458 which he used has the wrong spelling بَك *bak*, too. The ك <k> seems to have arisen out of the combination of *lām* with *sukūn*. - Note that the nominative -i is missing as in *cʰqʰal-*.

<i>armud</i>	آرْمُوذ "pear"	<i>pʰšali</i>	ფშხალი	<i>pʰsxali</i>	<i>p[ɪ]sxal(i)</i>	پَشْحَال
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As BLEICHSTEINER correctly stated (91: 16), *p^sxali* is a dialectal variant of the word for "pear" in Georgian, the normal form being *msxali* as in K. TSCHENKÉLI, *Georgisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 2, 1970, 845; according to S. ŽĠENTĬ, the form is familiar to the Gurian dialect of West-Georgia once more (Guruli *kilo*, 247). - As in all words with a stem ending in *-(a)l-* so far, the nominative *-i* is missing here again.

qabaq قَبَاق "gourd, pumpkin" *k^owahi* კვახი *k^ovaxi* *q[u]wax(i)* قَوَوَاح

This is a dialectal word, too; cf. TSCHENKÉLI, who quotes it for the Imereti, Rača and Lečxumi dialects (1, 575), or A. ĠLONTĬ, according to whom it is Gurian, too (Kartul *kilo*-tkmata sitqvis *kona*, Tbilisi ²1984, 285). - There seems to be no indication of a final *-i* in this form, either.

<i>encīr</i>	انجير	"fig"	<i>leḡwi</i>	ლელვი	<i>leḡvi</i>	<i>leḡiŭ</i>	لَعِي
<i>üzüm</i>	اوزوم	"grapes"	<i>qurḏeni</i>	ყურძენი	<i>q^uurzeni</i>	<i>qurzeni</i>	قُورْزَنِي
<i>findıq</i>	فندق	"hazelnut"	<i>f^hili</i>	თხილი	<i>f^hxili</i>	<i>[i]txili</i>	إِتْخِيلِي
<i>qavun</i>	قاون	"melon"	<i>neswi</i>	ნესვი	<i>nesvi</i>	<i>nes[u]w(i)</i>	نَسُو

Here again, there is no marking of a nominative *-i*. DŽIKIA read the word as *neswu* (120: 21).

<i>nār</i>	نار	"pomegranate"	<i>broc^oeuli</i>	ბროწეული	<i>broc^oeuli</i>	<i>p[u]roçö[ḡ]uli</i>	پُرُوچُوغُولِي
<i>qarpuz</i>	قربوز	"watermelon"	<i>harbuzakⁱ</i>	ხარბუზაკი	<i>xarbuzakⁱ</i>	<i>xárbucáqi</i>	خَرْبُوجَقِ
<i>dud</i>	دود	"mulberry"	<i>bžola</i>	ბჟოლი	<i>bžoli</i>	<i>p[ɪ]zoli</i>	بِزُولِي

The form *bžoli* with a nominative in *-i* and a consonantal stem is Gurian and Ačarian as against BLEICHSTEINER's *bžola* (92: 24) which is Imeretian, Račian and Lečxumian; cf. ĠLONTĬ's dialect dictionary, 86. Evliya's material is clearly exposed as Southwest Georgian, like this. Note that DŽIKIA's manuscript has the expected *ژ* <ž> (126, l. 10 from below).

<i>qız</i>	قز	"girl"	<i>gogo</i>	გოგო	<i>gogo</i>	<i>qoqo</i>	قُوْقُو
<i>qarı</i>	قري	"old woman"	<i>k^oali</i>	ქალი	<i>k^oali</i>	<i>qal(i)</i>	قَالْ

Again, the nominative *-i* is missing after a stem ending in *-al*.

gel oglan ekmek yeyelim كل اوغلان اكمك يهيلم "Come boy let's eat bread"

ak^o modi bič^oo p^uuri č^oamos (?) აქ მოდ(ი), ბიჭო, პური(ი) ჭამოს

ak^o mod(i), bič^oo, p^uur(i) č^oamos აკ[i] მოდ(i) ბიჭო პური(i) ცამოს

BLEICHSTEINER (93: 28) was right that *č'amos* is a third person singular optative, "he ought to eat"; cf. DŽIKIA, too, who translated the form as "пусть кушает хлеб" (120, fn. 2). Note that *p'ur* as the direct object has no nominative ending *-i* indicated; if it were present (as in the fourth entry to follow) one could think of a passive *p'uri ič'amos* "bread should be eaten". - The *kasra* in *aqi* as rendering Georgian აჟ *ak'* "here, hither" is unexpected unless we have a dialectal variant *ak'i* here which could have been influenced by Megrelian *ak'i*, *ak'a* (W. BOEDER's proposal [l.c.]; for the Megrelian word cf. e.g. I. KIPŠIDZE [QIPŠIŽE], *Grammatika mingrel'skago (iverskago jazyka s xrestomatiju i slovarem*, S.-Peterburg 1914, 197 f.). DŽIKIA's manuscript seems to have a *sukūn*, instead. But cp. the fourth entry to follow.

oṭur oḡlan اۆطور اوغلان "sit boy" *daḡed bič'o*
 დაჯედ ბიჭო *daḡed bič'o* *dacéd bico* داجِد بِيچو

დაჯედი *dač'edi* must be a misprint for დაჯედი *daḡedi* in DŽIKIA's list (121: 29). The form without *-i* is a morphological variant within Georgian. Note that today's standard form is *daḡek'(i)* (with *-k'* in analogy to *-dek'(i)* "stand").

vālideṇi kelbler siksin والده كي كلبلر سيكسن "May dogs fuck your mother"
ḡaḡlma deda moṭ'qnas (DEETERS) ძაღ(ლ)მა დედა მოგიტყნას (?)
zag(l)ma deda mogit'q'nas (?) *caḡmá dedá moq(i)t(q)[a]n(a)s* ? جاعمه دهده موقتانس

As against BLEICHSTEINER's own analysis who took the sentence as two entries (93: 30-31), seeing in the last word an equivalent of *seksen* "80" instead of *siksin*, DEETERS' solution as quoted by BLEICHSTEINER has to be preferred; cf. also DŽIKIA, 127. According to DEETERS, the verbal form is a third person singular optative and must be read as *moṭ'q'nas*. As BLEICHSTEINER assumed, in the context given here a form *mogit'q'nas* with a second person singular objective marker ("to you") would fit better. Both proposals do not match completely, however, with Evliya's spelling, esp. in his vocalizations. Taking his form as it is, we should expect it to be a third person singular of the Old Georgian iterative (ending: *-is*), meaning "the dog used to fuck your mother", but this should have no *-a-* in the root, *-t'q'n-*, either. Maybe this is a dialectal variant not attested elsewhere. - For the missing *-l-* in *caḡma* "dog" cf. ŽĠENTĠ, *Guruli kġlo*, 55; in any way, in the Georgian sentence, the "dog" is singular as is the verbal form.

gitme yabana گيمه يابانه "don't go out" *ar c'awides (hšam) ?*
 არ წავიდეს აქიდან (?) *ar c'avides ak'idam* (?) *ar sáwides xitnam* (?) آر سَوِيدَس خِيتنام

BLEICHSTEINER (94: 32) was surely right in interpreting *ar sáwides* as *ar c'avides*, "he

should not go out"; DŽIKIA made the same proposal (121: 31). The last word, however, remains unclear, although the reading *xitnam* is better than BLEICHSTEINER's *hšam* which was "unverständlich" to him; DŽIKIA read حُشَام, as well, and to him it was equally "непонятно" (123). Taking "out" as the sense to be looked for, we would expect one of the adverbs ending in *-dam* such as *šignidam* "out from inside" or, rather, *ak^εidam* "out from here" or *ik^εidam* "out from there". Possibly, Evliya's *x-* is a reflex of the *-k^ε-* in one of the latter two words, the aspirated pronunciation being perceived as a spirantization. In any way, Evliya's form would lack the first vowel, and the consonant cluster *-tn-* is not what we would expect as a transcription of the Georgian *-d-*. Maybe, we have the reflex of an older variant of the forms here, which can be restored as **akit-gam(o)* and **ikit-gam(o)*, resp.

gel aga ekmek yeyelim كل اغا اكمك يهيلم "Come sir let's eat bread"

ak^ε bat'ono puri č'amos აქ ბატონო პური ჭამოს

ak^ε bat'ono p'uri č'amos *aq[ɪ] patoni puri č'amos* آق پاتون پوري چامو س

As above, Georgian აქ *ak^ε* "here" has a final *-i* indicated. Instead of the expected vocative ending, *-o*, Evliya's *patoni* clearly shows the nominative ending, *-i*; I have no indication that the substitution of the vocative by the nominative is regular in any Georgian dialect, but this may be due to Megrelian influence again as W. BOEDER proposes (l.c.). As for the first consonant in this word, note that Evliya's *p-* may well represent the older form of the word which was *p²at²ron-i* originally (a borrowing from a Romance language); in this case, the dissimilation of *p²-t²-* to *b-t²-* must have occurred later than Evliya's time, at least dialectally, unless the *p²-* be due to Megrelian influence again as G. HEWITT presumes (letter dated 22.7.91; for Megrelian *p²at²oni* cf. e.g. KIPŠIDZE's Grammar, 297). - For *p'uri č'amos*, lit. "he should eat bread", cf. above.

eydir ايدِر "it is good" *iri* რიგზეა (??) *rigzea* (??) (r)ibzéà (?) ايزي

In the form written in the manuscript, this can hardly be a Georgian word, not even a dialectal one; DŽIKIA, who rendered it as იყი (126, l. 6 from below), stated that this "one word or sentence allows for a decipherment neither in the Georgian text nor in its Turkish translation" (121, fn. 3). Given the spelling in the autograph and the meaning of Turkish *eydir*, we could think of რიგზეა *rigzea*, meaning "(it) is in order" which could lie behind Evliya's spelling if his ა (*alif*) stands for a რ <r>, if the final ი <i> can be read as an *-a*-vowel, and if Evliya's ბ can represent the Georgian *-g-*. For the latter proposal, cp. the word *xitnam* above if it means (*a*)*kitgam*. As it is, Evliya's form strongly reminds one of the Abkhaz word for "good", აбзиа *a-bzia*, which we would

expect in a finite form such as и-бзиоуп *i-bzioup* "it is good" to match with Evliya's translation. Whether Evliya can have heard an Abkhaz word within the Georgian context is not clear to me. - R. DANKOFF (letter dated 3.7.91) wonders whether the Turkish word could be *eder* "he makes", perhaps in the secondary sense of "he fucks", instead of *eydir*; but this would not help for the Georgian word.

gel gitme كل كتمه "come don't go" *ak^c mod(i), ar c^awides*

აქ მოდ, არ წავიდეს *ak^c mod, ar c^avides aq[i] mod(i), ar sáwides* آقِ مُوْدْ اَرْ سَوَيْدِسْ

As for the final *-i* indicated in *aqi*, see above. Note that *ar c^avides* is a third person singular form "he should not go", again; cf. also DŽIKIA who translated the clause as "иди сюда, пусть не уйдет!" (121, fn. 4).

otur aga اَوْتُورَاغَا "sit sir" *dažed, bat^oono*

დაჯედ, ბატონო *dažed bat^oono* *dacéd paton(o)* دَاچَدْ پَاتُونْ

Here, the word for "Sir" seems to have no ending although we should expect the vocative *-o*, again. If this is not due to Megrelian influence, it could be explained by a writing problem here, because the ن <n> itself didn't fit into the line anymore, so that the vocalization marker might have been omitted; but cp. the next entry too. DŽIKIA's manuscript seems to have a *kasra* below the ن <n>, again (126, l. 6 from below). For the *p-*, see above.

aga bir iki oğlanım var durur alırmısın اَغَا بَرِ اِيكِي اَوْغْلَانِمِ وَارْ دُورُرْ اَلِرْمِيسِنْ

"Sir, I have one or two boys, stay, will you buy?" *paton ert (! ...)*

ბატონო, ერთი ორი ბიჭი მყავ(ს) დაჯედ იყიდოს (?)

bat^oono, erfⁱ ori bič^oi mq^aav(s), dažed, iqⁱidos (?)

*paton(o) erti ori *bice mxav(s) dacéd *ig(i)dos (?)* پَاتُونْ اَرْتِ اُورِي بِجَمِ حَارْ دَاچَدْ اَغْدُوسْ

BLEICHSTEINER had the first two words only (95: 38); DŽIKIA saw three single sentences here, the first one ending with *erfⁱ*, the second one with *mq^aavs*. As for *paton*, the *-n* is clearly marked as final, this time, by a *sukūn* again; so this may indeed be a (dialectal) variant of the vocative expected. The word for "boy" should be *bič^oi* in the nominative, not *bič^oe*, but this may be a dialectal (or "Megrelized") variant, too (see below). The *-m* surely belongs to the following verbal form, which, according to the context, should be *mq^aavs*, "I have (with me)", *xar* being a second person singular "you are" only; DŽIKIA posited *mq^aavs*, too (121: 37). If Evliya did mean *mq^aavs*, he must have confused و <w> and ر <r> in his notebook, which is easy to assume, and must have omitted the final *-s*

which is a general feature of today's colloquial speech as W. BOEDER underlines (l.c.). *dacid* might be the imperative *dažed* "sit down" once again (cp. DŽIKIA: 121, fn. 5), better transcribed as *dacéd* as in the preceding clause; it corresponds to the Turkic *durur*. The last word is problematical. If we assume the sense of "will you buy", we expect the verb *-q'id-* which means "to buy" as well as "to sell", depending on preverbs and "versions". The form that comes nearest to Evliya's spelling would be *ოყიდოს iq'idos* which means "he should (or will) buy". If this is the form needed (for the third person, cp. some of the preceding sentences), Evliya's *ĩ* (*alif-madda*) must be corrected into *ı* (*alif* with *kasra*) and his *gayn* should have a *kasra* too, no *sukūn*. As a different solution, we could think of Evliya's *ĩ* reflecting the Georgian negative particle, *ar*; the word would thus have to be interpreted as a question *a(r) (i)q(i)dos* "won't he (you?) buy". In this case, Evliya must have omitted the *r* (with *sukūn*) as present in the third entry to follow. DŽIKIA did not try to identify the word (121: 38).

baqayım küçük mi باقیم کوچوكمي "Let me see, is he little" *ak^c im pat^aaria*
 აჟ, იმ(ი) პატ(ა)რავ-ა *ak^c, im(e) p^aat^a(a)ray-a* *aq-im(e) pát(a)ráyá* آقِيم پَتَرِيَه

As against DŽIKIA who gave no solution for *aqim* (121: 39), BLEICHSTEINER may have been right in separating it into *ak^c* plus *im*, the first word being the adverb "here" (95: 39). *im* would be the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun *is*, *igi* "that (one)" in standard Georgian, which is unexpected in a nominal sentence like "he is small" or "is he small", though. So it may rather represent an abbreviated form of the interjective *ime*, which TSCHENKELI notes as a Gurian word in his dictionary (1, 525), attesting it the meaning of "ei! nicht möglich! ja was!" in German. The whole sentence could be paraphrased as "here, (look,) how small he is!" like this. As a different solution, W. BOEDER (l.c.) proposes to separate *aqim* into *ak^ci*, the variant of standard Georgian *ak^c* we had in several sentences before, and the first person singular pronoun *me*, here being used as an equivalent of standard Georgian *č'emt'vis* "for me"; the sentence could thus mean "is he (too) little for me". - The predicative adjective in the form Evliya spells it is *p^aat^ara-* as against standard *p^aat^aara-*, "small, little"; the "syncopated" form is listed in GLONTI's dialect dictionary (436), but not for Gurian. Note that Evliya clearly records a nominative ending *-y* before the short copula *-a*.

yoq büyükdür يوق بيوكدر "No, he is big" *didi aris*
 დიდი არის *didi aris* *didi aris* دِيْدِي اَرِسْ

There is no equivalent of Turkish *yoq* in this sentence, *didi aris* meaning "(he) is big" simply.

almam آلمام "I won't buy" *ar h̄dos* (?) არ იყიდოს *ar iq'idōs* *ar (i)gidos* آر غَدُوسْ

The *kasra* written below the *gayn* clearly excludes BLEICHSTEINER's *ar h̄dos* "er soll nicht (ab)nehmen" which is improbable from a semantic point of view, too, as DŽIKIA stated (128). Instead, we should look for a form of the verb *q'id-* again. "I shan't buy" would be *ar viq'idō*, which seems to exclude itself, however. As it is, *ar gidos* could represent *ar q'idōs* "he should not sell" or, rather, *ar iq'idōs* "he should not / won't buy" as, perhaps, in the last but one entry; the latter form is preferred by DŽIKIA, too (122: 41).

vallāhi eyi oglandı واللّٰهي اي اوغلاندر "By God, he is a fine boy" /

ღვთის მად(ლ)მა, კაი ბიჭე(დ)ა *gv̄tis mad(l)ma, k'ai bič'e(y)a*

(*gw*)tis *mádma q(a)y b(i)ceya*

تَسْ مَدْمَا قِي بَجِيَا

This entry was omitted in BLEICHSTEINER's treatise. *tis medma* most probably represents the common formula *gv̄tis madlma*, lit. "(by) God's mercy", the meaning of which is given as "bei Gott" in TSCHENKELI's dictionary (I, 705); cf. DŽIKIA, too, for this solution (122: 42). For the missing *-l-* in *mad(l)ma*, cp. the notation of *zag(l)ma* "dog", above. Less probable is the formula *gmertma ic'is* or, rather, *ic'is gmertma* "God knows", because the rendering of the affricate *-c'* by a <t> would be curious as well as the missing *-r-*. Other proposals are still less probable, take, e.g. *gv̄tis dedama* "God's mother" (in the ergative) which we should expect with a finite verb beside. *qy* is *k'ai*, the shortened form of *k'argi* "good" as in the following entry. Note that the word for "boy", *bič'i*, has a stem in *-e* indicated once again, which speaks in favour of this being a dialectal variant.

eyi degildir fenādır ايي دكلدر فنادر "He is not good, he is bad" *k'arg(i) ar aris, glaḥa-a*

კაი არ არის, გლახაა *k'ai ar aris, glaxa-a* *qai araris q[ɪ]láxa(a)* قَايَ اَرَارِسَ فَلَحَا

As against BLEICHSTEINER (95: 42), the first word is the shortened *k'ai*, again, not the full stem *k'argi*; cf. already DŽIKIA, 128. Note that *glaxa-a* "he is poor, bad" has no nominative *-y* indicated as against *p'at'ra-y-a*, above.

at آت "horse" *cheni* ცხენი *c'xeni* *ç[ɪ]xén(i)* چي خُنْ

There is a clear *sukūn* above the final ن <n> in this word, excluding the expected nominative form *cxeni*.

<i>qatır</i>	قاطر	"mule"	<i>ḵori</i>	ჯორი	<i>ḵori</i>	<i>çori</i>	چوري
<i>eşek</i>	اشك	"donkey"	<i>wiri</i>	ვირი	<i>viri</i>	<i>wiri</i>	وري

<i>köpek yaramaz</i>	كوپك يراماز	"the dog is naughty"	<i>ḍaḡli k'udiani</i>
ძაღლი კუდიანია	<i>ḡaḡli k'udiania</i>	<i>caḡli qudyan(ia)</i>	جاغلي قُوديان

If Evliya really meant a sentence "the dog is naughty" here, *qudyan* must represent the form *k'udiania* "he is naughty" (lit. "geschwänzt", from *k'udi* "tail"), but there is no indication of either the nominative *-i* or the shortened copula, *-a*. Note that there is a composite *ḡaḡlik'uda*, lit. "dog's tail", in Georgian too, which denotes a bad person; cf. T. SAXOḲIA, *Kartuli xaṭovani siṭṡva-tkmata*, Tbilisi ²1979, 833 sq. For DŽIKIA, these were two entries, the second being the simple adjective *k'udiani* "хитрый, дурной" (122: 48). Note that in his Turkish translation, Evliya uses *köpek*, not *kelb*, here, which could point to the meaning of an invective as K. KREISER suggests (personal communication).

Megrelian:

I: 3 2 1
 لسان اصطلاحات ملال مرزبل لسان ماکرز زلمبال
 دیار کورجستان اون ییدی فرقه قوم ملت سبیلده درجه لدا حبیب و نسید یکم تا حق باشو دادبان و شوشاد و
 کوربلر اما بونلر بینه مکرل سو پایه زبلل و زبلل قوم مرزومدر کم العاطل مخصوصه
 لرو بینه اول آرتی ژری سومی اولی خونی بیکونیش کونیش رودو چوغوز و قی آر تو قی
 ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱ ۱۲
 کوربلر دایرغوز پوزر اشغوری دزفات دودب دیکه چوغوز اشغور کیش اچم اینچون
 آتیش آتیش قیون قوشاق باش اولدن کوبک صغیر بوزلغ طوز آت
 غاج کیش قوت قول قریق وان قویچ چوغوز خودی وای چای داخود ملالو بینه
 دونهز اشک آب سیر یغورن اوکر فریم طشاف کل آدم اولدر کیش قیر
 اوچقونم وای چای آتیش قوت ملالو بینه چای آتیش قوت وای وای وای اوچقونم
 یه نیم کل آدم بوزایا آتیش آدم یا عظه دار کل یا یا کل آتیش بر دو سوره یه نیم
 چوغوز دایر کاش کان یک شای غوز شای غوز شای غوز بکونه شتو مکر دخی بکله لازمدم کدوبه شوکد کله یه معکرو اولو
 کللر آتیش وایا کدوبه سیر یغورن آتیش اول عاده هر کسه خبش الفت ایدوب بر تقرب ایلد جان سلامه عینه
 قی یاور چوغوز کاشه غنچه غنچه غنچه ویکو غنچه آچغوز ایدوب کیش یه غاج آچغوز ایدوب
 دیرم حق سیر طاش ایلز اولان صغیر سنو سنم سکدب لراش گوی دو سوره یه سکدی اولان
 وای چای کچر ملالو بینه اشغوری کوبان اوچقونم وای چای داخود قول کوبان مرغفات اوچقونم
 کل آدم یا عله کچمه قیون آتیش یه یاسم کل آدم اولدر یغورن اشک یوغورن یه یاسم
 قدامون وای دایم غنچه غنچه غنچه دوون بری اوپ بنی باکل با شیکون اولسون

Today's forms are given according to I. KIPŠIDZE (QIPŠIŽE), *Grammatika mingrel'skago (iverskago) jazyka s xrestomatiejju i slovarem*, S.-Peterburg 1914 (Materialy po jafeti-českomu jazykoznaniju, 7.). The principles of the phonological spelling and of the "Turkicizing" transcription are the same as with Georgian.

Turkish	meaning	BLEICHSTEINER	today	phonologically		reading
(bir)	۱ 1	<i>arti</i>	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	<i>artʰi</i>	<i>arti</i>	آرتي
(iki)	۲ 2	<i>žiri</i>	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	<i>žiri</i>	<i>j(i)ri</i>	ژری
(üç)	۳ 3	<i>šumi</i> (!)	ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ	<i>sumi</i>	<i>sumi</i>	سومی

I. KIPŠIDZE (321) and BLEICHSTEINER (98: 3) quoted Evliya for the Megrelian number "three" in the form *šumi*, which would match well with R. VON ERCKERT's *šumi* (*Die Sprachen des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Wien 1985, Repr. Wiesbaden 1970, 23) with *š*- against today's *sumi* which might be influenced by Georgian *sami*. This cannot be main-

tained, given the clear reading *sumi* in the autograph. In the case of ERCKERT's notation (*šumi* is put beside *sumi* here), there may be doubts, too, as to whether it can be relied upon, because the older word-lists have only *sumi* such as J. GÜLDENSTÄDT's (cf. the edition of G. GELAŠVILI, *Giuldenštedtis mogzauroba sakartveloši / Putešestvie Gjul'denštedta po Gruzii / Johannes Gueldenstaedtius, Peregrinatio Georgica*, II, Tbilisi 1964, 305), and J. VON KLAPROTH's (in: *Kaukasische Sprachen. Anhang zur Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*. Halle u. Berlin 1814, 270; quoted in G. ROSEN, *Über die Sprache der Lazen*, Berlin 1845, 11). In "Asia polyglotta" (Paris 1823, 122), KLAPROTH has Megr. *Šumi* (and "Šuanisch" *Šemi*) as against Georgian *Sami*, but his *š* means just a word initial voiceless *s*-.

(dört)	۴ 4	<i>ot^hi</i>	ოთხი	<i>ot^hxi</i>	<i>otxi</i>	اَوْنَحْ
(beş)	۵ 5	<i>hut^hi</i>	ხუთი	<i>xut^hi</i>	<i>xuti</i>	خَوْتِي
(altı)	۶ 6	(<i>amšwi</i>)	ამშვი	<i>amšvi</i>	(<i>a</i>)p[i]šku ^y	پَشْكُوِي

Cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (98: 6) for a discussion of this word. That the *-k-* is not due to an influence of the following numeral but is an authentic feature, is indicated by the form *apch'schui* (= *apxšvi*) given in the list of Mingrelian numerals in KLAPROTH's "Kaukasische Sprachen", 270. KLAPROTH's Mingrelian form is quoted as *apxhuui* in his own "Asia polyglotta" and as *apchšui* in G. ROSEN's "Über die Sprache der Lazen", 11. GÜLDENSTÄDT, however, had today's *amschi* already (GELAŠVILI's edition, 305). Taking KLAPROTH's form as granted, we can interpret Evliya's *piškuy* as **ap^hšxvi* or, rather, *ap^hšk^hvi*. For S.S. DŽIKIA (*Ėvlija Čelebi o mingrel'skom i gruzinskom jazykax, Sovetskoe jazykoznanie* 1936,2, 113), the *-k-* was still unexplainable ("во всяком случае присутствие в этом слове к теперь не объяснимо").

(yedi)	۷ 7	<i>šk^hwit^hi</i>	შვიდი	<i>šk^hvit^hi</i>	[i]šküti	اَشْكُوْتِي
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This numeral is given as *schqwithi* in KLAPROTH's word-list (270) and as *šqwithi* in ROSEN's (11). Evliya's *i-* is a prothetic vowel provoked by the consonant cluster; cf. already DŽIKIA, 123, according to whom this is a normal feature of Turks starting to speak Megrelian (or Georgian). GÜLDENSTÄDT's *skwiti* (with *s-* instead of *sch-*: 305) may be an error.

(sekiz)	۸ 8	<i>ruo</i>	რუო	<i>ruo</i>	<i>ruwo</i>	رُوُوُو
(doquz)	۹ 9	<i>čhoro</i>	ჩხორი	<i>č^hxoro</i>	ç[o]gor(o)	چُوغُوْر

There is a clear *sukūn* above the final *-r*, but the *-o* vocalism of today's form must be authentic. GÜLDENSTÄDT gives *rua* "8" and *tschchora* "9" with a final *-a*, but this is not

attested elsewhere.

(on)	10	<i>wit^ɛi</i>	ვიტი	<i>vit^ɛi</i>	<i>w(i)ti</i>	وتي
(on bir)	11	<i>wit^ɛaart^ɛi</i> (!)	(ვითაართი	<i>vit^ɛaart^ɛi</i>)	<i>[art^ɛi w(i)t^ɛi]</i>	آرتيوتي

As BLEICHSTEINER pointed out (99: 11), Evliya notes the numbers 11 and 12 in Caucasian languages universally with reverse order of their elements. As for Megrelian, this "error" was first mentioned in KIPŠIDZE's grammar (XXIII). GÜLDENSTÄDT had the "normal" form *witarti*, already (305).

<i>ekmek</i>	اِكمَك	"bread"	<i>k^ɔobali</i>	ქობალი	<i>k^ɔobali</i>	<i>kobal(i) (?)</i>	كوبال (؟)
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This word is hardly legible in the autograph. If there is really no indication of a final *-i*, we can compare Evliya's Georgian words with a stem in *-al*. Cf. KIPŠIDZE's grammar, already, for a discussion of this word as attested in the published text of Evliya's travel book (XXIV). As against BLEICHSTEINER, Megr. *kobali* cannot be identified etymologically with Georgian *p^ɛk^ɛvili* "flour" but rather with Georgian *xorballi* "wheat" (cf. Arn. ČIKOBAVA, Čanur-megrul-kartuli šedarebiti leksiķoni, Tbilisi 1938, 175, quoting I. ŽAVAXIŠVILI). Cp. KIPŠIDZE, who denotes *kobali* as "пшеница" as well as "пшеничный хлебъ" (345), and GÜLDENSTÄDT who has Megr. *xorballi* for "triticum" and *tschkomi* for "bread" (309/310). Curiously, KLAPROTH notes *kobali* as the Mingrelian word for "Kuh" in Asia polyglotta (117); this must be due to a confusion of Georgian *p^ɛuri* "cow" and *p^ɛuri* "bread".

<i>āteş</i>	آتش	"fire"	<i>dač^hiri</i>	დაჩხირი	<i>dač^hxiri</i>	<i>dacxir(i)</i>	داخِخِر (؟)
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In the autograph, Evliya seems to have corrected himself with respect to the medial ج <x>, so that it is not completely clear whether there is a *kasra* below both the خ <c> and the ر <r> or whether there is one *kasra*, only. The final ر <r> seems to have a *sukūn*, too, which would exclude a nominative *-i*. GÜLDENSTÄDT has *datschche* for "ignis", but the lack of a final *-r* must be a mistake.

<i>qalqan</i>	قلقان	"shield"	<i>p^ɛori</i> (DEETERS)	ფორი ?	<i>p^ɛori ?</i>	<i>por(i)</i>	پور
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Cf. BLEICHSTEINER (99: 14) for a discussion of this word. It is true that the regular sound equivalent of Georgian *pari* "shield" would be *p^ɛori* in Megrelian as DEETERS assumed, but this is unexpected in an Iranian loanword unless the Megrelian form be remodeled after the Georgian according to rules of interdialectal sound correspondances as W. BOEDER proposes (letter dated 17.9.91: "dialektale Umsetzungsregeln"). The word seems not to be attested in any one of the older sources.

<i>qoyun</i>	قِيون	"sheep"	<i>š^huri</i>	შხური	<i>š^hxuri</i>	<i>[u]š^hxuri</i>	أشخوري
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Note that there is a clear indication of a final (nominative) *-i* in this word (as against the two preceding ones). - The initial *ʾ* (*alif* with *ḍamma*) seems to be a "turkicizing" prothetic vowel (to be read as *u-* for the sake of vowel harmony) to avoid the consonant cluster *ṣx-*.

<i>quṣaq</i>	قوشاق	"waistband"	<i>ortʰqʰapʰu</i>
(დო) ორტყაფუ (?)	(do) <i>ortʰqʰapʰu</i> (?)		* <i>dortqap(u)</i> (?)
			دُرَقَات

Cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (99: 16) for an attempt to join Evliya's spelling with the Megrelian word for "girdle", *ortʰqʰapʰu*. The initial *d-* might be the remnant of an older form with a prefix *do-* building verbal nouns instead of today's *o-* or, more probably, the reflex of Megr. *do* "and" contracted with the word initial *o-* as W. BOEDER proposes (l.c). If we can assume that Evliya changed the final *ت* <t> for a *پ* <p> and that the medial *-tʰ-* in the verbal root *rtʰqʰ* was lost due to a simplification of the consonant cluster *-rtʰqʰ-*, we can well assume today's form as lying behind Evliya's *dorqat*. Note, that there is a clear *sukūn* above the final letter which is more easily explained if this represented *-pʰu*. We cannot exclude, however, that Evliya's form stands for a different word such as, e.g., **durt(u)qi* or the like; cf. DŽIKIA (113), who grouped دُرَقَات in the words "которые совсем не читаются или читаются, но представляют непонятный комплекс звуков".

<i>baṣ</i>	باش	"head" <i>dudi</i>	დუდი	<i>dudi</i>	<i>dudi</i>	دُودِي
<i>odun</i>	اودُون	"wood" <i>diškʰa</i>	დიშქა	<i>diškʰa</i>	<i>dišká</i>	دِشْكَة

This word is noted as *dischcha* in GÜLDENSTÄDT's word-list (310: "lignum").

<i>köpek</i>	كُوكِ	"dog" <i>joğori</i>	ჯოღორი	<i>joğori</i>	<i>çoğor(i)</i>	جُوعُور
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There is no vocalization mark at all for the final *ر* <r> in this word.

<i>şığır</i>	صغر	"cattle" <i>hoji</i>	ჩხ(ო)უ	<i>čx(o)u</i>	<i>c[u]xu</i>	جُخُو
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According to BLEICHSTEINER (99: 20), Evliya must have confused the punctuation marks of *ج* <c> and *خ* <x> in this word if he really meant *ხოჯო* *xoži* "steer". For the clearly indicated rounded vowel in the final position, we would have to assume an *-ü* due to progressive assimilation to match with the *-i* expected. Much more probably, Evliya's word is *ჩხუ* *čxu*, however, which means "корова" according to KIPŠIDZE (368); KIPŠIDZE has the variants *čxuu* for the Eastern (S= Senak-) and *čxou* for the Western dialect (MZ= Sa-Murzakan / Zugdidi-). For this equation cf. already DŽIKIA (115 and 128). GÜLDENSTÄDT has *chodgi*, already, for "bos" (308, fn. 14). *ჯოხო* *joxo* would mean "name" in Megrelian (KIPŠIDZE, 416: имя); according to G. HEWITT (letter dated

22.7.91) the dialect of Očamčira has *žoxo* only as a verbal form meaning "X is called Y" (Georgian *hkvia*), whereas for "name" it has the Georgian *saxeli*.

buzagi بوزاغي "calf" *geni, gini* გენი / გინი *geni / gini gin(i)* گِنْ

According to KIPŠIDZE, *geni* belongs to the Eastern dialect (S), while *gini* is the form noted in the West (MZ: 215). As Evliya normally denotes a *-i-* by *kasra*, he will have heard the latter one (but cp. the second entry to follow). GÜLDENSTÄDT has *geni* (308: "vitulus") as well as KLAPROTH (*Kaukasische Sprachen*, 267). DŽIKIA read گِین <giin> in his manuscript (128).

tuz طوز "salt" *žimu* ჯიმუ *žimu* [i]cim(u) اِجِم

For the unexpected initial ʾ *alif* cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (99: 22) and DŽIKIA (128). That this is a combination with *e* "that", as BLEICHSTEINER presumed, is hardly believable; according to DŽIKIA, there is a *kasra* below the *alif* in his manuscript, which would render BLEICHSTEINER's solution even less probable, but there is no *kasra* in the autograph. Anyhow, as in the following word, the initial ʾ will rather be due to a simplification of a word initial consonant (cluster). GÜLDENSTÄDT has *Ĝumi* (311, fn. 4) which shows the reverse order of the vowels as against today's form. Evliya's spelling of the final م with *sukūn* may mean today's *-mu* rather than GÜLDENSTÄDT's *-mi*.

at ات "horse" *čeni* ცხენი *c'xeni* [i]çxen(i) اِچْخِنْ

For the initial ʾ, see the preceding word. Megrelian *c'xeni*, which is surely a borrowing from Georgian, is attested in PALLAS' edition of GÜLDENSTÄDT's word-list, but not in GÜLDENSTÄDT's material itself, cf. GELAŠVILI's edition, 308, fn. 15. KLAPROTH (*Asia polyglotta*, 118) has *Zcheni*.

domuz دُمُوز "pig" *geži* ღეჯი *geži* *gäc(i)* غَاج

As there is no variant like *gaži* attested anywhere, Evliya's *-a-*, clearly indicated by *alif* plus *fatḥa*, is unexpected. Even GÜLDENSTÄDT has *Gedği* alone (309, fn. 5), as well as KLAPROTH (*Asia polyglotta*, 119), who writes it *Geduci*. The *sukūn* above the final ج <ğ> is quite faint in the autograph.

ešek اَشَك "donkey" *girini, gərani* გირინი / გერანი *girini / gərani* *gır(ı)ni گِرْتِ

Of the two forms as given in KIPŠIDZE's grammar (218), the first one belongs to the Eastern dialect (S), the latter to the Western dialect (MZ), again (but cf. DŽIKIA, 112, according to whom გირინი *girini* is not met with in Eastern Mingrelia at all). Evliya must have confused ت <t> and ن <n> here if we presume today's form. The *qāf* written above the *kāf* is perhaps meant to indicate a non-palatal pronunciation which could point to the

Western *a* instead of the Eastern *i*. GÜLDENSTÄDT has *Girin* (308), as well as KLAPROTH (*Asia polyglotta*, 113).

ayl	آي	"bear"	t ^u nt ⁱ	თუნთი	t ^u nt ⁱ	tut(i)	توت
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Evliya's form is nearer to the Laz equivalents of Megrelian *t^untⁱ*, viz. *t^untⁱ* and *mt^untⁱ*, than to today's Megrelian word itself. As the *-n-* is regarded as a secondary element in Megr. *t^untⁱ* (and similar cases; cf., e.g., K.H. SCHMIDT, *Studien zur Rekonstruktion des Lautstandes der südkaukasischen Grundsprache*, Wiesbaden 1962, 89 sq.), Evliya may well have heard an older form.

peynir	پینر	"cheese"	w ^u ali, w ^u ai	ყვალი, ყვაი	v ^u ali, v ^u ai	qol(i)	قول
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As against today's form, Evliya's *qwal* seems to represent an older stage as attested by Laz *q^uvali*, which still has the initial *q^u*, agreeing with Georgian *q^uveli*. GÜLDENSTÄDT, too, has *Kwali* for "caseus" (310). For the rendering of today's *-va-* by *و* <w> with *damma*, cf. DŽIKIA (128), according to whom this must be read *qol*; is this a dialect variant? For the missing *-i*, cp. *kobal(i)* above.

yogurd	يُغُورْدُ	"sour milk"	marc ^u weni
მარწვენი, მარწვინი	marc ^u veni, marc ^u vini	márcwän	مَرَجَوَان

Evliya's vocalization is unexpected. PALLAS, in his edition of GÜLDENSTÄDT's word-list, gives *Madsoni* as the Megrelian word for "lac coagulatum" but this is clearly the Georgian word; the same holds true for KLAPROTH's *Mađoni* (*Asia*, 117).

zeker	زَكَر	"penis"	p ^u č ⁱ	ფუჩი	p ^u č ⁱ	fuc(i)	فُوج
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BLEICHSTEINER's proposal that this is Megrelian *p^učⁱ* (= Georgian *p^uicⁱ*) meaning "oath" would be quite convincing if we could assume that Evliya asked for زَكَر *zeker*, which is likely because of the following words (and, as DŽIKIA stated, because Evliya never asked abstract terms at all: 128), but that زَكْر *zīkr* was understood by his informants (in the sense of "invocation of God's name"). That Evliya rendered the aspirated *p^u* as ف <f> would not be surprising. I don't see, however, that Megrelian *p^učⁱ* can have the meaning of "penis"; as G. HEWITT (l.c.) reports, there is a Megr. *p^učⁱ* which "is used of a **girl's** private parts when talking to children - i.e. it's less suggestive than *čuri* [for which see the next entry]. But it can't be used of a penis". - A different solution is offered by DŽIKIA who reads the word as فُوج <quc> and interprets this as Megrelian ჟაჯი *važi* meaning "мужское яичко" (115, fn. 1; cf. KIPŠIDZE, 418, who gives the meaning "шулятное яйцо", i.e. "testicle"). That Megrelian *v* was heard as a *q^u* by Evliya is further suggested by the word for "cheese" above; the same holds true

for the rendering of *-va-* by *ṽ* (*wāw* with *ḍamma*). As for the missing *-i*, we can cp. *gäc(i)* "pig" in any case.

<i>ferc</i>	فرج	"vagina"	<i>čuri</i>	ჩური	<i>čuri</i>	<i>čur(i)</i>	چور
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For the missing *-i*, cp. *çogor(i)* above.

<i>taşaq</i>	طشاق	"testicles"	/	ხოდო (?)	<i>xodi</i> (?)	<i>xodi</i>	خودي
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I cannot verify this word in the published material; BLEICHSTEINER omits it. It is possible, that Megrelian once possessed a word *xodi*, equivalent to Georgian *xvadi* "male (animal), male dog, stallion" etc.; cp. KIPŠIDZE (405) who notes a verbal root *xod-* meaning "coire" which he compares with Georgian *xvadi*, too. For DŽIKIA, it is just this verb in the imperative, equivalent to Latin "coi", not a word for "testicles" (115, fn. 2); cp. several entries below for this. That Evliya's *xodi* conceals a variant of the normal word for "testicle", *ḡvaži*, as discussed in the last but one entry, is less probable.

<i>gel</i>	كل	"come" (<i>morf'i</i>)	ვაი (?)	<i>vai</i> (?)	<i>way</i>	واي
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BLEICHSTEINER, in regarding *way* as an interjection, obviously thought of KIPŠIDZE's *ვაი!* meaning "woe!" ("ой, о rope!"). Possibly, this is the Abkhaz word for "come", *yaan wa:i*, borrowed into Megrelian as some kind of interjection, in this sense; cf. already DŽIKIA (115 and 123) for the same assumption.

<i>adam</i>	آدم	"man"	<i>č'aš</i> (Svan. ?)	წოგ ?	<i>c'ie</i> ?	<i>çay</i> ?	چاي
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BLEICHSTEINER was right that there is no Megrelian word meaning "man" which would match with Evliya's *çay* (100: 32). It is highly improbable, however, that Evliya heard the Svan word *č'äš*, here, because the same form is recorded several times in the same spelling in clear Megrelian sentences, later on. DŽIKIA (116) proposes Megrelian *წოგ* *c'ie*, instead, which means "мальчик" according to KIPŠIDZE (378) and which seems a better solution, though not without problems. Note that in contrast to the preceding item, *çay* is written with a *sukūn* above the final *ي* <y>.

<i>otur</i>	اوطور	"sit"	<i>dohod</i>	დოხოდო	<i>doxodi</i>	<i>dāxod(i)</i>	داخود
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Cf. BLEICHSTEINER (100: 33) for the right analysis. Surprisingly, Evliya spells the first *-o-* with *fatha* plus *alif* (cf. already DŽIKIA, 124), which may be due to an influence of the frequent Georgian preverb *da-* equivalent to Megrelian *do-*. According to G. HEWITT (l.c.), this word is problematical in Megrelian "because of the association of *do-xod-i* with the meaning 'fuck X!'". This is why "the meaning 'sit down!' is usually represented by a doubling of the preverbs *do-do-xod(-i)* (assuming the polite *do-zož(-i)* is not used), though *do-xod(i)* can still mean 'sit down!'." Maybe, the "Georgianization"

of the preverb was another way to avoid the conflict.

git كِت "go" *melaula* (?) მელეულა ? *meleula* ? *meläwli* مَلَاوْلِي

As against DANKOFF's edition (Glossary, 122), the Turkish equivalent in the autograph is clearly *git* "go", not the negative *gitme* "don't go". Like this, we could easily assume a verbal compound *mele-ula* meaning "you go over there" here, consisting of *mele-* "по ты сторонь" (KIPŠIDZE, 278 s.v. 2.*me*) and the second person singular present form *ula/u* "you go" (KIPŠIDZE's root 2.1, 264). In this case, BLEICHSTEINER's proposal (100: 34) that we have a reduced form of today's prohibitive particle *nəmə* plus *elaula* "geh nicht vorbei!" here, could be disposed of. The identification of Evliya's *meläwli* with the positive Turkish *git* is problematical, however, because the same Megrelian form corresponds to the negative *gitme* in two other sentences below. So we have to face the possibility that Evliya's Turkish form was misunderstood as *gitme* by his informant and that his answer is a negative form anyhow. In this case, we can accept an explanation given by G. HEWITT (l.c.), according to whom the form represents a Megrelian *mele-* "over there" plus *va* "not" plus *ula/u* "you go" which would fit well with Evliya's writing.

qiz قِيز "girl" *fena* თინა *fina* *tina* تِينَة

BLEICHSTEINER's proposal (100: 35) that this is not a word meaning "girl" but a demonstrative pronoun "diese" is quite convincing, although one should prefer *fina* "that one" to *fena* "this one", because of Evliya's *kasra* below the ت <t>; cf. DŽIKIA, too (128). We can not exclude totally, however, that Evliya's spelling means the Megrelian word for girl, ცირა *c'ira*, instead, the ن <n> being used erroneously for a ر <r> and the ت <t> representing a *c'*, as in Evliya's *tis* if this represents Georgian *ic'is* (cf. the Georgian specimen for this).

yeyelim يَهْيَلِم "let's eat" *o-w-č'k'om-at* ოჭკომ(ი) (?) *oč'k'om(i)* (?) *oçqom(i)* اَوْجَقَوْمْ

BLEICHSTEINER's form (101: 36) would be the exact rendering of "let's eat" in Megrelian, but he himself wonders whether this can be represented by Evliya's spelling. His proposal that we have *o-č'k'om-u* "das was zu essen ist" here, instead, is not convincing either. A better candidate seems to be the form *oč'k'omi* which is the second person singular aorist "you ate" and which would be used as the imperative "eat!" as well; this solution is preferred in DŽIKIA (116, fn.2) too. The final *-i* might have been omitted in spelling as in many other Megrelian words listed here, or it was absent due to morphological variation comparable to the Georgian aorist; according to G. HEWITT (l.c.) such vowels are generally lost in the Megrelian dialect of Očamčira which speaks in

favour of the latter solution. Cp. the second entry to follow too.

gel adam كل آدم "come man" (*waj čai*) ვაი წიე ?? *vai c'ie* ?? *way çay* وَاي چَاي

For both words, see above. Note that there is a *sukūn* above the ي <y> in the latter word only, again.

buraya بُورَايَا "hither" *ašo mort'i* აშო მორთი *ašə mort'i aš(ı) mort(i)* أَش مُورْت

As against BLEICHSTEINER (101: 40) it seems easier to presume that Evliya's *aş* represents Megr. *ašə* than *ašo*, both meaning "here, hither"; cp. the second entry to follow too, where the same word is written with a final ي <i>. As for the imperative *mort'i*, the final -i seems to be missing again, but cp. the second entry to follow. Note that the sentence means "come here", not just "here, hither" (cp. DŽIKIA, 116, fn. 3).

gitme adam كُتْمِه آدَم "don't go man" (*[nə]mə elaulə čai*)

(მელე-ვა-ულე წიე ??) *mele-va-ulə c'ie* ?? *mélawlı çay* مَلَاوْلِي چَاي

For both words, see above. Note that *çay* has a *sukūn* above the ي <y> again.

pašta var gel baba بِاصطه وار كل بابا "There is *pašta*, come father"

ašə mort'i, wai mamaw აშო მორთი, ვაი ? მამავ ?

ašə mort'i, vai ?? mamav ? *aşı *mor[i]t(i) way *mamaw* أَشِي مُورِنْ وَاي مَلَمَاذ

Cp. the last but one entry for the first two words. As for *mort'i*, it is obvious that Evliya confused ن <n> and ت <t> in the final position here; possibly, the *kasra* noted below the ر <r> stood below the final ت <t>, originally. As for *way*, note that this word has a *sukūn* above the final ي <y>, this time. With respect to Evliya's *mamad*, BLEICHSTEINER was right in stating that this must be the Georgian form of the word for "father", *mama*, as against Megr. *muma* or *mua*, and that it must show a reflex of the Georgian vocative particle, -o/-v, the د <d> being written for a و <w>, erroneously; cf. DŽIKIA (124) for the same assumption. Megrelian has no vocative of its own. Note that the sentence means "come here, come, father" and that there is no equivalent for "there is *pašta*" at all (cf. already DŽIKIA, 116, fn.4).

gel ana كَلْ آنا "come mother" *wai dias!* ვაი ? დიას ? *vai ? dias ? way diyas* وَاي دِيَّاسْ

way has a *sukūn* here, once again. As for *dias*, this is not the expected form, the word for "mother" being *dia* (or *dida*) in the nominative. BLEICHSTEINER (101: 41) presumes that this is the dative case instead, provoked by *way* which he interprets as an interjection, the whole sentence meaning something like "weh, Mutter". Such a syntactical behaviour of the interjection ვაი *vai* is not attested anywhere else, however. DŽIKIA

seems to doubt the *-s* too, rendering Evliya's entry as "*waay* და (?)".

bir domuz yeyelim بر ذوموز يهيلم "let's eat a pig" *art'i gēži oč'k'omu*

ართი ღეჯი ოჭკომ(ი) *art'i gēži oč'k'om(i)* *arti gäç(i) oçqom(i)* ارثی غاچ اوچقۇم

As against BLEICHSTEINER (101: 42) this will be the second person singular aorist = imperative *oč'k'om(i)*, again, a sentence like "ein Schwein (ist) zu essen" hardly representing normal Kartvelian syntax; cf. DŽIKIA, again, for the right solution (116, fn. 5). Besides, I am not sure whether *oč'k'omu* "das was zu essen ist" does exist in Megrelian at all, because KIPŠIDZE gives *oč'k'omali* as the deverbial noun in this sense only (391). If Evliya's *oçqom* is the imperative form "eat!", instead, the nominative object *art'i gēži* is exactly what we have to expect. Note that the word for "pig" is written with *alif* plus *fatha* again.

kelpir anaŋı ve babaŋı ve seni yef'allesin

كلپر اناكي و باباكي و سني يفعللەسن

"May dogs fuck your mother and your father and you"

žogori (! ...)

ჯღორქ დია-სქანი მიგიშახოდ(ას) ??

žogork^ε dia-sk^εani migišaxod(as) ??

coğor(k) diyaskan(i) migaşa[y]xod(as) ??

جغور دياسن كان ميكي شاي خود

BLEICHSTEINER (101: 43) treated only the first word of this sentence, *žogori* "dog"; DŽIKIA (117: 44) read it as ჯღორი დიასქან მიქი.. *žogori diaskan miki*..., but didn't try an explicit interpretation. Taking Evliya's translation as a basis, we can arrive at the following suggestions: The verb in question must be *-xod-* for which see above; this is obviously contained in Evliya's خود *-xod-*. In the modal sense of "May he do sth.!" we would expect a third person optative (= aorist subjunctive), which would be *xod-as*. The subject of this form must be in the ergative case, which would be *žogor-k^ε* "a dog" in the singular or *žogor-ep^ε-k^ε* "dogs" in the plural. The object "your mother" would have to be in the nominative, *dia-sk^εani*, which may well be preserved in Evliya's *diyaskan*. If the verbal form were not an optative but a subjunctive present (or future), it would have to be something like *xod-u/ən-das*; we would expect the "dog(s)" in the nominative then (*žogori* / *žogorep^εi*) and "your mother" in the dative (*dias-sk^εans*). It is clear that this solution can be excluded. As it is not likely that Evliya could have overheard the optative ending *-as*, we have to think of a third possibility. This is offered by G. HEWITT (l.c.) and W. BOEDER (l.c.): As HEWITT states, "one sometimes finds the simple Aorist where you would expect a subjunctive expressing a wish, cf. ღორონთ-ქ დო-რ-ხვამ-ეს [goront^ε-k^ε do-r-xvam-es] 'God blessed you (Pl.)' for expected 'God bless you!' = დო-რ-ხვამ-ან [do-r-xvam-an]" (cf. KIPŠIDZE's grammar, 0139, § 146 and W. BOEDER,

"Über einige Anredeformen im Kaukasus", in: *Georgica* 11, 1988, 12 for the same phenomenon). Like this, Evliya's *xud* could be a third singular aorist ხოდ(–უ) *xod(u)* simply, the final *-u* being omitted as otherwise. - In any case, we are left with the two words *miki şay* which can hardly be identified with "your father", *mua-skʿani*, and "you", *si*. Instead, I would prefer to see a complex of verbal prefixes here, such as, e.g., *mi-gi-ša-*. This could consist of the compound preverb *mi-ša-* meaning "into the middle, in between" (cf. KIPŠIDZE's grammar, 0120), and the objective marker of the second person, *-gi-*, "for you, to you", which would be coreferential to the notion of *skʿan-* "your" here. There is a difficulty, however, in the fact that the normal order of the elements would be *miša-gi-*, but as KIPŠIDZE admits, objective markers "sometimes" ("иногда") are met with in an intermediate position within compound preverbs too (Grammar, 0106, § 111 and 090, § 101, примечание). G. HEWITT (l.c.) makes two further objections to this analysis: first, the marker of the objective version would be pleonastic, when a possessive pronoun is present, and second, the *-g-* of the "would tend to disappear within a verb form, and, because of syncope in verbs, it is unlikely that *migišaxod(as)*, even if it ever existed, would have been so pronounced" (l.c.). A different solution would take Evliya's يى <y> in *şay* as the marker of the so-called "subjective version", meaning "for himself" as correlative to the subject of the action, which would exclude *-ki-* as an objective marker. In this case, I could only think of an inversed complex, *kʿi-miša-*, *kʿi-* being a phonetic variant of the perfective particle *kʿo-* as in *kʿi-miša-mi-bogi* "build a bridge for me in the middle" (KIPŠIDZE, Grammar, 0121, § 120). I wonder, however, whether the verb in question could have a subjective marker at all. G. HEWITT again thinks of the second person objective marker, *-gi-*, reduced to *-i-* within a complex *mikʿi-še-(g)i-xod(-u)* "X fucked Y inside for you", with *mikʿi* "all around" (variant of *mukʿi* "кругом", cf. KIPŠIDZE, 280 / 283), which would fit quite well with Evliya's notation. The problem of the "pleonastic" objective marker persists like this, however.

dilerim haq seni taş eylesin oglan şıgır

دیلرم حق سنی طاش ایلسن اوغلان صیغر

"I wish God would turn you to stone, boy steer" *şeni tʿawi nacw(l)ad hatʿma kʿwa ...(?)*

ტანი ბიჭო, ქუათ მაცუაფუე, ბიჭო ჩხოე ? *tʿani bičʿo, kuaf maʿuapʿu, bičʿo čʿxou*

táni yawo (?) biçowo hatmá gáfá biçowo c[u]xu ?

تني يآوو بچوو حاتمّه غفّه بجوو جخو

This sentence was regarded as Georgian by BLEICHSTEINER, but his interpretation, which was obviously invoked by *hatma* identified with the Georgian ergative *xatʿma* "the icon", is quite improbable, at least because of the rendering of *kʿva* "stone" by *gfa* and

because of the reading *nac(w)lad* "instead of" for "*baǰwad*", which turns out to be the vocative *bič'o* "oh boy", spelt as بِچَوُ by Evliya. Although this vocative is Georgian, the whole sentence may be Megrelian as was the case with *mamav* "oh father" above; but it remains hard to analyze even so. Starting from Evliya's translation (note that we have *eylesin*, not *etsün* as in DANKOFF's "Glossary", 122), again, we may presume in حَاتَمَه عَفَه a combination of the word for stone, being *k'ua* in Megrelian as in Georgian, in the adverbial case (ending *-t'* with a vocalic stem), and the verbal form *ma'uap'u* < **maq'uap'u*, meaning "he/she/it will be as a stone for me" (for the adverbial case, cp. German "er wird **zu** Stein werden"). The second person singular would be *ma'uap'u-k'* "you will be for me" (for the verbal forms, cf. KIPŠIDZE's grammar, 099). The third person would be right if the first word is *t'ani* "the body", which has no equivalent in Evliya's translation, however. The second word, *yawo* or the like, remains unclear in any case; we should expect something meaning "I'd beg God". There is but little chance that Evliya's first word represents *t'ini*, which means "right, righteous" in Megrelian and which could be a literal equivalent of Evliya's *haq*. It is not certain even that we are right in reading تَنِي *táni*, because there seems to be a second ت <t> instead of a ن <n> rather. DŽIKIA's transcript of his manuscript has شَتِي *šati*, even (125, l. 2 from below). - "I'd beg" would be *p't'xia*, "to wish" would be *-ndom-* or *-nat'r-* in Megrelian, none of which seems to lie behind Evliya's notation. - The last two words, clearly representing *bič'o* "oh, boy" and *čxou* "cow", again, seem rather to belong to the following phrase, as DŽIKIA's notation supposes (117: 45-46).

<i>seni kesem</i>	سَنِي كَسَم	"I'll cut you (?)"	/
ვა (6)გიზოდი	<i>va (n)gixodi</i>	<i>wángi xodi?</i>	وَنَكِي خَوْدِي

This sentence was omitted in BLEICHSTEINER's treatise. DŽIKIA added the preceding two words as well as the following აჯღვადრი *aǰǵvardi* (?) but he did not give an interpretation of the whole phrase, translating only "парень, бык тебя ..", "boy, a bull .. you". There is a difference, however, in his reading because his second word is not *čxou* "cow" but ზოჯი *xoǰi* "bull" for which see above; this reading can now be excluded, the autograph showing a clear جَخُو to be read as *c[u]xu*. As for the following words, we may look for a verbal form of the root *-xod-*, again, as in the last but one sentence. We would come very near to Evliya's spelling if we could presume *va gixodi* which would give the whole sentence a meaning of "boy, I did not fuck (your cow)", *gi-* being the objective-possessive marker "for, to you", again, and *va* being the regular negation particle. Evliya's *-n-* would have to be a secondary phonetic element developed before the *-g-* in

intervocalic position, a phenomenon, which is styled "frequent" in KIPŠIDZE's grammar (07: § 3f) but which I have not noted in a verbal complex like this, so far. Note that the *kasra* must belong to the ζ <k>, not to the η <n>, if my solution is right.- A different analysis could interpret the first word as the verb *neba* "to damage" in the first person singular present, *vonək*, meaning "I (will) damage" (cf. KIPŠIDZE, 285, s.v. 2.n). As this verb is intransitive in Megrelian (a so-called relative passive), we should expect an indirect object in the dative, which would be *čxous* for "the cow". This interpretation would leave *xudi* unexplained, however, unless it could be a noun meaning "membrum virile" or the like, as was proposed before. This solution seems to be excluded if the "cow" really belongs to the same sentence.

sikdiler eṣegimi domuzumu sikdi oḡlan سکدي لړ اشکمي دُوموزمي سکدي اوغلان

"They fucked my donkey, the boy fucked my pig" /

ეთეშ (მი)ხოდი გერგნი ე?? ღეჯი ეთეშ ცხოდა ბიჭო ??

eʔeṣə (mi)xodi gəṛəni, e ?? ġeǰi eʔeṣə vxoda, bičʰo

*açǵıwadi[ri] ǵırın(i) ye ġäç(i) *açǵıwad bico*

آچغوادري کړن په غاچ آچغواد بچو

This sentence was omitted in BLEICHSTEINER's treatise too. DŽIKIA attributed the first word to the preceding sentence; his interpretation was limited again: "осел или свинья ... парень", "a donkey or a pig ... boy" (117: 47). This rules *gırin* = *gəṛən(i)* "donkey", *ġaç* = *ġeǰ(i)* "pig" and *bičʰo* "boy" out. As the last word is in the (Georgian) vocative again, it cannot be the subject of the verbal form expected, which, according to Evliya's translation, should contain the root *-xod-*, once more. This may be concealed behind the spellings *غَوَاد* and *غَوَار* (if Evliya confused د <d> and ر <r> here), but the difference as against the usual spelling *خود* deserves an explanation anyway, all the more since the remaining elements such as the ending *-ri*, the double *aç-* and the conjunctive *ye* are far from being clear either. My proposal is that *aç-* renders a colloquial form of the coordinate conjunction *eʔeṣi/ə ... eʔeṣi/ə* meaning "wie ... so ...", "так ... как ...", and that *ye* represents an element *e-* meaning "thus". The whole sentence could mean "In the way you fucked (my) donkey, in this way I shall fuck (your) pig, boy", if the first verbal form were an aorist *xodi* "you fucked" or *mixodi* "you fucked for me" and the second were an optative *vxoda* "I shall fuck" or *gixoda* "I shall fuck for you". "They fucked for me" would be *mixodes*, and "he fucked for me", *mixodu/ə*. - Several different solutions are possible; for example, *aç-* could represent the preverb აწყო/ღ – *ačʰo/ə*– meaning "forward" ("впереди, прочь": KIPŠIDZE, Grammar, 0118), and the verb in question could be *-xvad-* "to meet" which, in comparison with Georgian *-xvedr-*, may well have

had a root final *-r-* earlier (**-xvadr-*), matching with Evliya's notation.

gel adam yat gitme qoyun ekmek yeyelim كل آدم ياط كتمه فيون اكمك ييلم

"come man lie down don't go let's eat sheep and bread"

wai čai, donžira [nu] midaulə, šhuri, k'obali oč'komu

ვაი წიე ? დინჯირ მელე-ვა-ულე შხური კობალი ოჭკომი

vai c'ie ? dinžir, mele-va-ulə, šxuri, k'obali oč'komi

way cay dën[e]cir mélawlı [u]š[e]xuri kobal(i) oçqom(i)

وَأَيَّ جَائِي دَنْجِر مَلَاوْلِي أَشْخُورِي كُوبَالِ أَوْجَقُومُ

According to DŽIKIA (113), دنجر is a misspelling for ديجر დიჯირ *dižir* "ложись". As the *<n>* is perfectly clear in the autograph, this may rather be *dinžir*, which would be a second person singular aorist = imperative "lie down" too, although Evliya's vocalizations suggest the transitive *donžire* "lay (sb.) down". BLEICHSTEINER's *donžira* would be the action noun "lying down", which he seems to analyze as a complement of "*midaulə*" (= *melawlı* for which see above) "geh nicht"; but as in Georgian, this would be no normal syntax in Megrelian. The imperative is more probable because of the following entry, too. For the other words, see above. Note that Evliya seems to have confused *fatha* and *sukūn* twice.

gel adam otur peynir ekmek yogurd yeyelim كل ادم اوطور پينر اكمك يوغورد ييكم

"come man sit let's eat cheese bread yoghurt"

wai čai, (!) 'wali, k'obali, marc'weni oč'komu

ვაი წიე (?) დოხოდი, ცვალი, კობალი, მარწვენი ოჭკომ(ი)

wai c'ie (?) doxodi, 'wali, k'obali, marc'veni oč'kom(i).

way cay dāxodi qoli kopal(i) marcwän(i) oçqom(i)

وَأَيَّ جَائِي دَاخُودِ قُولِ كُوبَالِ مَرْجُوانِ أَوْجَقُومُ

For all words appearing here, see above. The verbal form will represent the second person singular imperative "eat", again. Note that *dāxodi* "sit down", which is missing in BLEICHSTEINER's treatise, and *qoli* = 'wali have a clearly indicated final *-i*, and that *kobali* "bread" is written with a پ <p> instead of a ب .

dön beri öp beni babanîñ başıyçün olsun دُون بَرِي وَپ بَنِي بَابَاكَ بِأَشِييْچُون السُّون

"Turn this way, kiss me, by your father's head"

gadmobrunde / damikoce (!) mama(w), da(h)k'ar čongu(r)

გადმობრუნდე, დამაკოცე, მამა დავ(ი)რჩება-ო ??

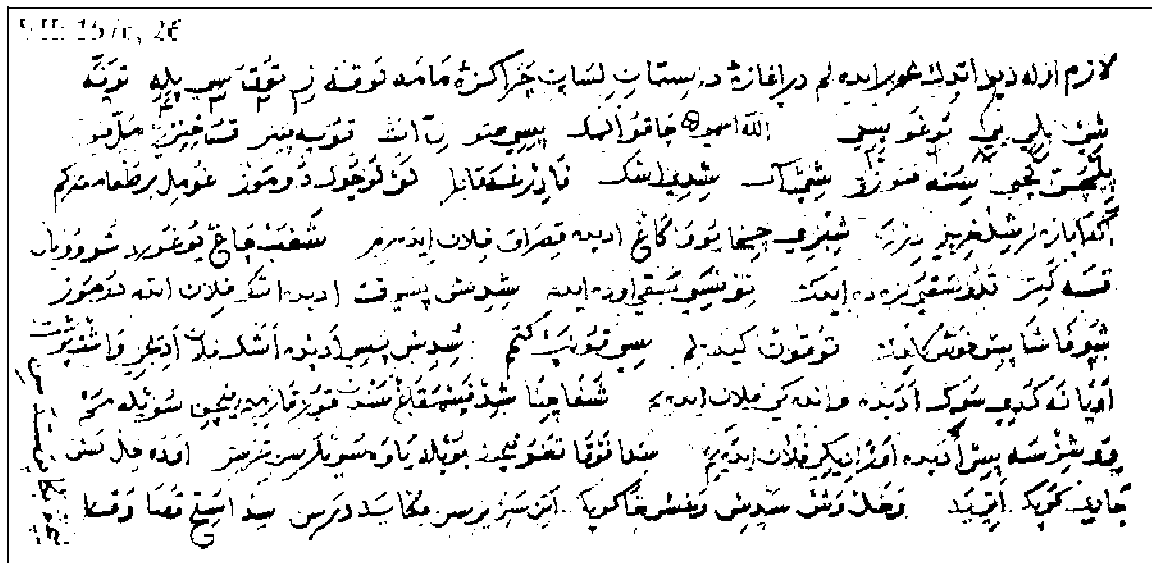
gadmobrunde, damak'oc'e, mama dag(i)rč'eba-o ??

*qádmobrundé damáqoçe mama *dagërčepá-(g)o ?*

قَدْ مُوْبِرُونْدِي دَامَهَقُوْچَه مَامَا ذَاكَرْ چِيْعُوْ

As BLEICHSTEINER (102: 47-48) and DŽIKIA (124) correctly stated, this sentence is not Megrelian but Georgian. DŽIKIA was also right that BLEICHSTEINER's interpretation of the third formula as *mama(w) da(h)k'ar čongu(r)* "Vater spiel die Zither" is far from being probable. DŽIKIA's own proposal (128) is the Georgian blessing *mama dagirčes*, lit. "may (your) father be sustained for you", which is convincing semantically in the given context. A crucial point remains, however, in Evliya's spelling of the last word to be rendered as *dagerçepeğu*. One solution I see is that we have not an optative (= aorist subjunctive) here but a future subjunctive which would be *dag(i)rčebodes* and which might have been spelt دَاگِرْچِيُوْدَسْ in Evliya's notebook (for the پ <p> instead of a ب cp. the preceding sentence); this subjunctive would fit as well with the given meaning. The final س <s> would be missing in this case, anyhow. W. BOEDER (l.c) proposes to explain this by assuming that the person referred to by *mama* "father" is identical with the speaker so that the verbal form could be a first person singular *dagirčebode* "ich, dein Vater, möge dir erhalten bleiben" (for such cases, cf. his paper "Verbal person marking, noun phrase and word order in Georgian", in: Configurationality, ed. L. MARÁČZ / P. MUYSKEN, Dordrecht 1989, 178). - A second, perhaps more probable solution, would take the word in question as a third singular future *dagirčeba* "he will be sustained for you", additionally marked with a suffixal -o as a marker of indirect speech, the whole sentence thus meaning ".. kiss me (with the words) 'your father will be sustained for you'". For the hiatus between the final -a of the verbal form and the -o-marker rendered by -g-, cp. Evliya's writing *puroçöguli* of the Georgian word for "pomegranate", *broc'euli*.

Circassian:



The phonological spelling follows the same principles as with Abkhaz. Kabardian forms are normally noted for single words only, and only if they differ from their Adyge equivalents. In addition to DANKOFF's transcription of the vocalization marks, *ë* is used for a *fatha* representing a high vowel.

Turkish	meaning	BLEICHSTEINER	today	phonologically	reading
(bir)	۱ 1	zə	3Ы	zə	zɪ
3Ы zə is the attributive form of the numeral "one" in Adyge and Kabardian. Evliya's spelling could also represent the quantitative numeral 3ə ze "once", cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (119: 3), but the vocalization of this and most of the following entries speaks in favour of the cardinal number.					
(iki)	۲ 2	t ^u u, t ^u u	тIy	t ^o ə	t[u]qu

Evliya's spelling obviously represents an earlier or dialectal variant of today's Adyge and Kabardian standard forms; cp., e.g., A.K. ŠAGIROV, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' adygsikix (čerkesskix) jazykov*, [II]: II-I, Moskva 1977, 86 f. who notes *mlkəɪyɪ*, i.e. *t^uq^uwə*, as the form of the Xakuča-dialect. Cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (119: 2), who quotes E(RCKERT's) Abadzex and Šapsuğ-forms. There seems a second *ḍamma*-mark of *u*-vocalization as expected by the authentic forms to be present above the *q* letter. -

"Twice" would be тІо / тІеу, i.e. *tʷe* / *tʷew*.

(<i>üç</i>)	۳ 3	śə	щы	š'ə	sl	سي
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"Three times" would be щə *s'e*.

(<i>dört</i>)	۴ 4	<i>pʰə</i>	плы	<i>pʰə</i>	<i>p[ɪ]h[h]</i>	پله
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"Four times" would be плІə *pʰə*.

(<i>beş</i>)	۵ 5	<i>tʰu</i>	тфы / тхуы	<i>tʰə</i> / <i>tʰə</i>	<i>t[u]ffe</i> (?)	توفه
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Here, Evliya's material is clearly recognizable as Adyge (West-Circassian), not Kabardian, because of the regular correspondance between Adyge *f* and Kabardian *x°*. - "Five times" would be тфə / тхуə *tʰə* / *tʰə*, which could be indicated by Evliya's -*e* (*fathə* plus final *h*) if this is intended.

(<i>altı</i>)	۶ 6	<i>hə</i>	хы	<i>xə</i>	şl	شي
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As BLEICHSTEINER pointed out, "*h* erinnert stark an *š*". He possibly thought of the characteristic sibilant of the Pashto language in Afghanistan, which is something between *f* and *χ*, too, and which is sometimes spelt as -(*k*)*kh*- as in the name of the language itself (*Pakkhto*). - "Six times" would be хə *xə*.

(<i>yedi</i>)	۷ 7	<i>blə</i>	блы	<i>blə</i>	<i>b[ɪ]lɪ</i>	بلي
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"Seven times" would be блə *ble*.

(<i>sekiz</i>)	۸ 8	<i>i, jə</i>	и	<i>yə</i>	yl	ي
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"Eight times" should be *ye* in both written languages but the form is not contained in the dictionaries.

(<i>doquz</i>)	۹ 9	<i>b̄gu</i>	бгъу / бгъуы	<i>b̄ə</i>	<i>b[u]̄gu</i>	بوغو
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"Nine times" would be бг̄о / бг̄уə *b̄ə* which, again, seems to be excluded by Evliya's spelling using *dammas* only.

(<i>on</i>)	۱۰ 10	<i>pʰə</i>	пшы / пщы	<i>pʰə</i> / <i>pʰə</i>	<i>p[ɪ]sl</i>	پسي
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"Ten times" would be пшІə *pʰə* / пщІə *pʰə*. Possibly, Evliya's س <*s*> is a misspelling for ش <*š*>. The Turkish equivalent is clearly the numeral ۱۰ "10", not ۲۰ "20" as in DANKOFF's treatise, the horizontal stroke not belonging to the first digit but to the Circassian word above as a *kasra*. - BLEICHSTEINER discusses the words الله اسمي *allāh ismi* "der Name Gottes" following after this entry with no Circassian equivalent and states that "God" should be something like *tʰa*. Possibly, Evliya meant the word пщы *pʰə* "князь" here, which surely, notably in the expression табыу-уа-пщи "mercy, o

Lord", could be used as an address of God, too (the expression as a whole was borrowed into Ossetic, cf. V.I. ABAEV, *Istoriko-ëtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, 3, 1979, 219: *tabuafsi*. Compare Russian спаси-бо[г]). If Evliya meant this word, he could have added it to the numeral "10" because of its similar sounding. But note that there is enough space for a Circassian *the* or the like between *pısi* and *allāh ismi*.

ekmek اکمک "bread" *čʼakʼo* кІакъу / щІакхъуэ *čʼʼaqʼə / šʼʼaqʼe* *çaqu* چاقو

Today's usual word for "bread" in Adyge is хьалыгъу *haləgʼə*.

su صو "water" *pʼsə* псы *pʼsə* *p[ɪ]sɪ* بَسي

et ات "meat" *lə* и-л ? ы-л ? *i-l ? ə-l ?* *il[l] ? ul[l] ?* اَلْ

If Evliya really wrote اَلْ = *ill* here (the reading is not sure), this must be a possessive form of the word for "meat", the stem of which is simply лы *lə* in the written languages. This could be и-л *il* or ы-л *əl*, both meaning "his, her, its meat". The difference in both forms lies in the distinction of alienable and non-alienable possession. Preferably, Evliya's form is the non-alienable ы-л *əl*. The spelling with *tašdīded l* is noteworthy, but cf. the third and fourth entry to follow.

peynir پينر "cheese" *qʼo(j)* къуае / кхъуей *qʼaje / qʼe:j* *qoye* قَوِيَه

xinzīr خنزير "pig" *qʼo* къо / кхъуэ *qʼe / qʼe* *qo* قُ

qoyun قيون "sheep" *mel* мэл *mel* *mel[l]* مَلْ

keçi كچي "goat" *pʼčən* пчэны / бжэн *pčʼʼenə / bžen* *p[i]çen[n]* بِيچَن

The spelling with *-nn* reminds one of the double *l* in the preceding words.

quzu قوزو "lamb" *šəne* шъынэ / щынэ *šəne / šʼʼəne* *sine* سِيَنَه

at آت "horse" *šə* шы *šə* *šɪ[y]* شِيْ

eşek اشك "donkey" *šəda* щыды / шыд *šʼʼəda / šəd* *şıdı* شِيْدِي

qāṭır قاطر "mule" *kadər ?* къыдыр-хэ ? *qədər-xe ?* *qadır-ge* قَادِرْغَه

The *-ge*, whose meaning was "unerfindlich" to BLEICHSTEINER, could be the plural morphem *-xe*. As for the word-final vocalism, there is no difference in marking as against, e.g., *sine* "lamb", the *-e* being written with *fathā* plus ʾ <h> in both cases. The first vowel in the word is clearly indicated as an *a* by *fathā* plus ʾ *alif*, so that this might represent an older form of the word, viz. *qadər*, still closer to Turkish *qatır* which is assumed to be its original; cp. J. v. KLAPROTH's "Kaukasische Sprachen", 237, who notes *kadir* as a "Tat[ar]" loanword for Circassian.

küçük domuz گۆچوک دؤموز "piglet" *q'olou* лэу *lew* *lew* لَو

The form is not "verstümmelt" as BLEICHSTEINER meant (120: 23). Both the Adyge-Russian dictionary (Адыгабзэм изэхэф гушцыІалъ / Tolkovyj slovar' adygejskogo jazyka, Majkop 1960, 390) and the Kabardian-Russian dictionary (Kabardinsko-russkij slovar' / Къэбэрдей-Урыс словарь, Moskva 1957, 245) contain a word лэу with the meaning "свинья, поросенок", the Kabardian form being marked as obsolete ("уст."). BLEICHSTEINER's Kabardian *q'olou*, which he obviously owed to L. LOPATINSKIJ's Russko-kabardinskij slovar' (Tiflis 1890, 123: *koloy*), is likely to be a compound къо-лэу *q'e-lew* "pig-piglet", ср. *qo* above.

bir ta'āmdir kim aṇa abazalar şilxirçi dirler بر طعامدر کم آ که ابازلر شیلخیرچی دزلر
"a food which the Abkhazians call *şilxirci*" *gomil*

ГЪОМЫЛ / ГЪУЭМЫЛЭ *g'eməl* / *g'eməle* *gomil* غومیل

Adyg. гъомыл *g'eməl* is "пища, продовольствие" in general as well as "дорожная пища" in particular (Tolkovyj slovar', 71). Kabardian гъуэмилэ *g'eməle* is "провиант" according to the Russian-Kabardian dictionary (Russko-kabardinsko-čerkesskij slovar' / Урыс-къэбэрдей-шэрджэс словарь, Moskva 1955, 636; the form is missing in the Kabardian-Russian dictionary).

(*edepde*) *qışraq filān edeyim* ادپده قىصرق فلان ايدەرم "(begging pardon) I'll fuck the mare"

şəbzə-şha juwakag ? шыбзы / шыбз .. ? *şəbzə* / *şəbz* ..

şıbzı çıxa yuwakag شىبزی چىخا يۇواکاغ

Except for the word for "mare", шыбзы *şəbzə* / шыбз *şəbz*, no part of this entry can be verified in the published dictionaries. BLEICHSTEINER's proposal that "*çha*" has to be identified with шъхъэ *š'ħe* / щхъэ *š'ħe* "head" is not convincing. His assumption that the verbal prefixes point to a second person agent and that the ending -*g* marks a preterite form is right, however. Note that the second *alif* in *yuwakag* is very faint.

yogurd يوغورد "yoghurt" *š'e-ḡep'čag(e)* (DEETERS) щэгъэпцІагъ / шэ пцІа

š'e-ḡep'čag / *še pč'a* *še ḡebčag* شَعْبُ چاغ

From the Adyge and Kabardian forms given here (taken from the Russian-Adyge dictionary, Russko-adygejskij slovar' / Урыс-адыге гушцыІалъ, Moskva 1960, and the Russian-Kabardian dictionary, s.v. простокваша) it is clearly the first one which is represented by Evliya's spelling. As against his own guesses, BLEICHSTEINER quoted D(EETERS) for the right analysis: The form has to be divided into *š'e* "milk" and

ġep^cc³ag as the participle form of a verb. The verb in question means "to let sth. become sour" and is given in the preterite form as *ы-гъэпцIагъ æ-ġep^cc³ag* in the Adyge-Russian dictionary (92); so what we have here is the preterite participle, not the present participle as with BLEICHSTEINER. The Kabardian form contains the same verb, albeit not in the causative (with Adyge prefix *гъэ- ġe-*) but as an intransitive "to become sour"; the meaning is "milk that has become sour" as against the Adyge "milk that has been let become sour".

bal بال "honey" *šowu* шъоу / фо *š^oew / fo* *šo[w]u[w]* شوؤو

Note the regular sound correspondance between Adyge шъу *š^o* and Kabardian ф *f*. Evliya's form is clearly recognizable as a West Circassian one again.

getir كتر "bring" (*k³o*) къа ? *qa* ? *qá* قه

The Adyge *Tolkovyj slovar'* (271) gives къа *qa* not only as a verbal prefix meaning "hither" (сюда) but also as a separate word meaning "give!" (дай) which might be identical with the prefix, cp. German "her (damit)!". The explicit form for "bring!" would be къысэт *qaset^f* (lit. "bring-to-me"), used as an equivalent of ²къа in the dictionary. BLEICHSTEINER erroneously thinks of the verb "to go" (confusing Turkish *getir* and *gider*).

nerede idiŋ نروده ايدى "where were you?" *f³ade u-š³īaġ*

тыде ущыIагъ-а / дэнэ ущыIащ-а *f³ade wə-š³ 'ə³a-ġ-a / dene wə-š³ 'ə³a-š³ 'a*

təd(e) uš(ɪ)áqá (?) تَدوشقى

In comparison with the following item, the verbal form present here seems to be vocalized in the way that there is a final *-a* which can easily be explained as the interrogative marker *-a* used in the literary Adyge language; cf. e.g. Г.В. РОГАВА / З.И. КИЭРЭШЭ (KERAŠEVA), Адыгабзэм играмматик / Grammatika adygejskogo jazyka, Krasnodar/Majkop 1966, 354 with examples such as .. тыде къэкIыгъ-а *tade qe-k³əġ-a* "where did it (the snow) arise from" showing that this particle is even used in connection with interrogative pronouns such as тыдэ "where". In the verbal form noted by Evliya, this would leave the *q* as a reflex of the verbal ending -гъ *-ġ* to be expected in the preterite. As against today's form of the verb "to be, to live", Adyge щыIэн *š³ 'ə³en*, there seems to be no indication of the glottal stop forming the central consonant of the root. It is less probable that in Evliya's form, the *q* could substitute the radical ³ although some scholars think that the glottal stop here reflects an older къI, i.e. *q³*; cp. ŠAGIROV's etymological dictionary, where dialectal forms are discussed too (2, 150). In Evliya's

notation, the consonant of the verbal prefix -щы- -š^ʰ- seems to be indicated by س <s> plus *fatħa* rather than by ش <š> without vocalization.

evde idim اوده ايدم "I was at home" *t-un se-si^caḡ*

тиунэ сыщылаḡ / диунэ сыщылащ *tⁱ-une sə-š^ʰ 'ə^ʰa-ḡ / di-une sə-š^ʰ 'ə^ʰa-š^ʰ*

tiwne sɪs(ɪ)áq[ɪ]

تُونَي سَقِي

As against BLEICHSTEINER, the correct form for "our house" is not *tⁱ-une* but *тиуне tⁱ-une*, here clearly indicated by a *kasra* below the ت <t>, because a house is an alienable possession. BLEICHSTEINER was right, however, in assuming that -sɪ (in his transcript, -se, which is not better) should be part of the following verbal form, viz. the first person singular prefix. For the spelling with *q*, cf. the preceding item as well as the following one. The final vowel mark could indicate the remainder of a former -e in the preterite suffix yielding -гъ, i.e. -ḡ < *-ḡe, as it is generally assumed in Adyge grammar, cf. ROGAVA / KERAŠEVA, 181. By the way, we should expect the oblique case, *тиунэм tⁱune-m*, for "in our house", but the *m* seems to be missing.

(*edepde*) *eṣek filān etdim (domuz)*

ادپده اشك فلان ائدم دُومُوز

"(begging pardon) I fucked the donkey (pig)" *šad sə-p^cic^ʰ-əḡ* шыды сып^цэсыḡ

šadə sə-p^ʰesə-ḡ

şıdı spesiq[o]

شیدس پسیق

As шыды *šadə* "donkey" is clear, the final -s of *şıdı*s should be regarded as the verbal prefix belonging to the following verbal form, cf. already BLEICHSTEINER (121: 31). The verb itself, given as *p^cic^ʰ* by BLEICHSTEINER after TRUBETZKOY, cannot be verified in the published dictionaries. Starting from Evliya's spelling, we could think of *пыс-ын p^cas-ən* "to sit (upon)" or *пэс-ын p^ces-ən* "to sit (before)", both being used in a metaphorical way; cp. German "besteigen". According to G. HEWITT (letters dated 11.9. / 15.9.91), the actual verb is *p^ʰes'ən*, however. The form in question then must be *сы-п^цэси-гъ(ə) sə-p^ʰesəḡ(e)*. Compare the fifth entry to follow, too. For the preterite suffix, cp. the preceding items; the vocalization mark seems to be a *ḡamma*, here. - Note that Evliya adds the word *domuz* "pig" after his Turkish sentence; R. DANKOFF (letter dated 3.7.91) proposes that Evliya understood the final -qo as the word for "pig". BLEICHSTEINER's explanation that this *domuz* represents the comment of a scribe cannot be maintained anymore.

xoş geldin

خوش کلدی

"welcome"

š^və-fə-sap^c-šə

шІуфэсапши (?)

š^ʰə-fes-a-pš^ʰ 'əy ?

şıfaşap[i]s(i) ?

شوفاشاپس

For this entry, BLEICHSTEINER quoted TRUBETZKOY according to whom this is a complex $\check{s}^{\circ}\partial$ - $f\partial$ - sap° - $\check{s}\partial$ meaning "euch sei gutes Glück" and containing the second person plural marker $\check{s}^{\circ}\partial$, i.e. Adyge $\text{ш\ddot{т}у-}$ $\hat{s}^{\circ}\partial$ - (as against Kabardian фы- $f\partial$ -). Neither TRUBETZKOY's translation nor the grammatical statement can be taken for granted, however. On the basis of today's sources, we have to start from a word фэсапци $fesap^{\circ}\check{s}$ 'i given in the dictionaries with приветствие "greeting" as its Russian equivalent (cf. the *Tolkovyj slovar'*, 596); the *Адыгэ-урыс гущыIалъ / Adygejsko-russkij slovar'* by Ж.А. ШТАУКЪО ($\check{\text{S}}\text{AOV}$, Majkop 1975) translates it even with "добро пожаловать", i.e. "welcome" (360). The question is, how this word has to be analyzed itself and whether it can be combined with a second person plural prefix as TRUBETZKOY proposed. I don't see that it can mean something like "gutes Glück" as it is, which would be насыпышIу $nasap^{\circ}\partial\check{s}^{\circ}\partial$ instead (given with the meaning "счастливым" in the *Tolkovyj slovar'*, 420). This consists of the word for "luck", насып $nasap^{\circ}$, which is hardly anything else but Arabic $naṣīb$ "portion, (good) fortune", and the postponed adjective шIу $\check{s}^{\circ}\partial$ "good". For фэсапци , we have to compare a second word meaning "привет, приветствие" instead, namely шIуфэс $\check{s}^{\circ}\partial fes$ (to this word, my attention was drawn by W. BOEDER [letter dated 17.9.91]; it is mentioned e.g. in the *Tolkovyj slovar'*, 663). This is clearly a compound consisting of шIу "good" and an element fes identical with the first part of фэсапци . Although fes is not attested as a single word anywhere - Adyge фэс meaning "fez" excludes itself, of course - we can suppose that it is a substantive; фэсапци may then represent a syntagma comparable to the expression табыу-ya-пцы "mercy, o Lord" as mentioned above. I wonder whether such a syntagma could combine with a second person plural marker, verbal or possessive, at all; in the latter case, we would even have to accept that the possession were inalienable. So I propose that Evliya's şüfaşapıs represents a word шIуфэсапци instead, containing not the simplex fes but the compound шIуфэс . As for Evliya's entry, it is not clear whether he intended to write the last syllable as پس $-pis$ or as پسى $-psi(y)$.

gidelim كيدلم "let's go" $t^{\circ}\partial k^{\circ}on$ ТЫКIон $t^{\circ}\partial$ - $k^{\circ}e$ - n $t[u]qon$ توقون

BLEICHSTEINER was right in positing $t^{\circ}\partial k^{\circ}on$ as the first person plural of the second future of the root -кIо- $-k^{\circ}e$ - "to go". There is but a minor problem in Evliya's spelling of the first syllable where a $-u$ -vowel is clearly indicated by ḍamma plus و <w>. As no preverb $-u$ - seems to exist in Circassian, this must be due to some kind of sporadic "umlaut" caused by the following $-k^{\circ}o$ -; such "anticipations" of labial vowels are often present in Evliya's notations.

gitmem كتمم "I won't go" $s\partial$ - $k^{\circ}on$ - ep° сыкIонэп $s\partial$ - $k^{\circ}e$ - ne - p° $sıqonep$ سيقونپ

(*edepde*) *eşek filān edici* أدبده أشك فلا أدیجی "(begging pardon) one who fucks donkeys"

šad-č'e p'ic'e шыды зы-пІэсы ? *šadə zə-p'esə* ? *şıdı s(ı)-pesı* ? شیدس پیسی

As against BLEICHSTEINER, the final -s of *şıdı* is more easily explained as the prefix of a relative agent in a so called participle form, meaning "who (does sth.)". This requires the verb to be transitive which is true for the verb *p'esən* as G. HEWITT confirms (letter dated 11.9.91). *šadə* "donkey" has no plural marker so that a translation "one who fucks a donkey" would fit better for the Circassian sentence.

puşt پوشت "catamite" *ḡuašā* ? ?? ?? *wəšt* ? واشت

BLEICHSTEINER's proposal to think of a word for "whore" is not convincing, all the more since for his *ḡuašā*, better *g'aš'e* (гыашэ), only positive meanings such as "княжна, свекровь, супруга" are given in the dictionaries.

edebde vālideṇi filān edeyim أدبده والدکی فلان ایدیم

"(begging pardon) I'll fuck your mother" *u-jane gudə sə-wak* уянэ (?) гуды (?) сэ- (?)

wə-jane gudə s-e- (?) *uyane gudi sewék* (?) أویانه گدی سَوک

uyane is not the usual form of "your mother" in Adyge today; cp. the Tolkovyj slovar' which gives ны *nə* for "mother" (422), leading to ун *un* for "your mother". But the same dictionary has ян *yan* for "his mother" (678), too, which might have been *yane* earlier; cp. Kabardian анэ *ane* "mother" (Kabardian-Russian dictionary, 18). Maybe *uyane* reflects this form marked with the second person possessive prefix additionally. As for *gudə* "cunnus" cf. TRUBETZKOY apud BLEICHSTEINER (123: 37); the form cannot be verified in today's printed sources but appears in KLAPROTH's "Kaukasische Sprachen" (236) in the form *gut*. *sewék* may represent the same verb as *yuwakag* above, but with a first person singular agent prefix (*s-* / *sı-*) and in the present, not in the preterite. In this case, Evliya's spelling with a *kasra* instead of a *fatha* in the root remains noteworthy.

senden qorqarmıyım niçin söylemem سندن قورقارمیم نیچن سؤیلمم

"Should I fear you? Why shouldn't I say?" (*u-*)*šha s-šəna, səd k'əsmə'va*

шъуфэсшына, сыд фэсмыкъуагъ? (?) *šə-fe-s-š'ən-a, səd fe-s-mə-q'a-g?* (?)

şüfaçına şıd fesmuqağ (?) شُفاچنا شِد فِسْمَقَاغ

BLEICHSTEINER was probably right in analyzing *çına* as *s-šəna*, i.e. с-шына *s-š'əna* meaning "do I fear" in a question. The first word, now to be read as *şüfa* instead of *šga*, cannot be *šha* "head" but is rather the "versional" prefix фэ *fe* combined with the

marker of a second person plural, шты- $\hat{s}^{\circ}\partial$ -, thus meaning "for you" or, in the given context, "from you". *şid* must be сыд *səd* "what", the *ş*- being due to a (perseverating?) misspelling rather than a dialectal variant, cp. Kabardian сыт, *sət*, too. The final verbal form is not completely clear. As for the root, this seems to be a variant of Adyge -Io- $^{\circ}e$ - "to speak", namely a form like Хакуча кѣІуѣн *q^{\circ}en* given in ŠAGIROV's etymological dictionary (2, 159). This would yield us *-smuqağ* as a preterite form *-s-mə-q^{\circ}a-g* "I did not speak (it)". *fe-* could be the "versional" prefix again, which in connection with the interrogative pronoun could have meant something like "what didn't I speak it for"; but DEETERS (apud BLEICHSTEINER, 38) was right in expecting a participle construction like *ar sada zafəsmək'venər* for today, to be paraphrased as "what (is it) that I should not speak that for?" If the construction as proposed here was possible at Evliya's times, we still keep missing the modal component.

edepde avradıñı filān edeyim أَدِيْدَه اَوْرَادِيْكِ فِلَان اِيْدِيْم (begging pardon) I'll fuck your wife"

u-š^vəz sə-p^ic^ уштыз сәпІәс ? *wə-š^əz s-e-p^es* ? (w)uşız sepéş سَهْشِيْزْ

Note that *y-штыз wə-š^əz* "your wife" has the marker of inalienable possession. For the verb which seems to be in the present tense here, see above; for the *kasra* written below the پ <p>, cp. *sewék* above.

nîçün böyle yava söylersin xırsız

نِچُون بُوْیْلَه يَاوَه سُوْیْلَرْسِنْ خِرْسِزْ

"Why are you swearing like this, thief?" *sada p^xva t^eğü* сыда фэокъІуа (?) тыгыу
səd-a fə-we-q^{\circ}-a (?) *t^əğ^{\circ}ə* *sida fewqa tēgu* سِيْدَا فَوَقَّا تَعُوْ

сыда *sada* is a variant of сыд *səd* "what" as above, enlarged with the interrogational *-a*. For *fe-w-q^{\circ}-a* cp. *fesmuqağ*, above; here, we expect a present form, second person singular agent, with a second interrogative particle attached, meaning "what do you speak for, thief" or, rather, "why do you say 'thief'". For uncomposed тыгыу *t^əğ^{\circ}ə*, the dictionaries give the meaning "воровство", not "вор"; but ŠAGIROV in his etymological dictionary seems to consider "вор" as the original meaning. Maybe, this was still preserved in Evliya's time.

cadı köpek eti ye جَادِيْ كُوْپِك اَتِيْه "Witch, eat dog meat"

ude həl šhə

уды, хьэл(ы) шхы ? *wadə, hə-l(ə) šxə* ? *udē xél (l)ěş* ? اُوْدَه خَلْ لَشْ

While *уды wadə* "witch" and *хьэл hə-l(ə)* "dog meat" are clear, the verbal form should be *шхы šxə* "eat", possibly written as *ş* only. Unless *le-* be a prefix or the like - the reading is not beyond doubt -, it could be due to some kind of liaison with the preceding *хьэл*, e.g. in a form *həl(ə)šx(ə)* where the medial vowel could be the remnant of the

original final vowel of лы *la* "meat" normally lost in composition. But cp. the following entry:

köpek etin sen yersin baṇa ye dersin

كويك ائن سن يرسن بگا يه درس

"You eat the dog meat, you tell me to eat"

o hel ušhə, səd se o kʷasuʿva

о хьэл ошхы (?), сыд сәугушылаḡа (?)

we ħe-l w-e-šxə, səd se-w-gʷəš ʿəʿa-ḡ-a (?)

we xel weš səd[ɪ] s(e) wuḡ(u)ṣ(a)xa (?)

وَحَلْ وَشْ سَدِسْ وَغْشَا

The initial *و* *we* is the second person singular pronoun, *o* = *we*, and has to be separated from *xel* = *ħel* "dog meat" for which compare the last entry. *weš* must represent a verbal form meaning "you eat" in the present for which we should expect ошхы *w-e-šxə* "you are eating (it)"; as for the spelling of the root -шх- *-šx-*, cp. the last entry. The rest of the sentence is more problematical. If *sed-* represents the interrogative pronoun сыд(а) *səd(a)* once again, as BLEICHSTEINER assumed, the following *-s* must belong to the following verbal complex as the first person singular prefix. According to the sense, this must be the oblique object marker, the subject of the verb being the second person singular. In the way proposed here, the whole complex would be сыд сәугушылаḡа-а *səd se-w-gʷəš ʿəʿa-ḡ-a*, i.e. "what (or: why) did you say (that) to me?" If this is correct, there are some different readings necessary: the *kasra* should not belong to the *-d-* but to the *-s*, whereas the *-d-* should have a *sukūn*, not the *s*. The vowel sign above the *wāw* in the second word should not be a *fathā* but a *ḍamma*, giving it the sound of *(w)u-*, and the *-s-* with *sukūn* (سْ) should be a *-š-* (شْ). The final *xa* seems to represent the preterite marker, -ḡ *-ḡ*, plus the interrogative particle *-a* again. BLEICHSTEINER thinks of the other word for "speaking", -Io-, which we had in *fesmuqaḡ* and *fewqa*, above, but this leaves at least the *-ḡs-* unexplained.

niṣūn baṇa puṣt dersin

نيچون بگا پُوست درس

"Why do you call me a catamite?"

sədə-šħa kʷusaʿva

сыд ?? къысэокъIya? (?)

səd ?? qə-se-w-e-qʷəʿa? (?)

sīd usiḥḥ (?) quṣew(u)qa

سید اسیح قضا و قا (!)

As against BLEICHSTEINER, *usiḥḥ* is not likely to be a reflex of шъхъэ *šħe* "head" because the parallel he had found in *šūfa* above has to be dismissed. Instead, we have to look for a word for "catamite", here; can we think of Iусыḡэ- *ʷəsəḡe* "расположившийся"? The word final consonants seem to be a ligature *-tḥ-* تج rather than *taš-* *dīded* -ḥ- ح, which does not help. The verb can be -къIуэ- *-qʷə-* "to say", once again, as in *fesmuqaḡ* and *fewqa*, above, with an additional preverb къы- *qə-* "hither", the whole verbal complex meaning something like "(why) do you say .. in my direction?".