

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON ACCENT CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN SOME LANGUAGES OF DAGESTAN

In the present communication we shall focus our attention upon accent correspondences between 4 languages of Western Dagestan — Tindi, Chamalal, Avar (Avaro-Andian subgroup) and Inkhokwari (usually considered to be a dialect of the Khwarshi language, Didoan subgroup). The materials on the accent systems of those languages have been gathered by linguistic expeditions of the Department of Structural and Applied Linguistics of Moscow University; the Avar data are taken from existing dictionaries.

Tonal systems of Tindi, Chamalal and Inkhokwari may be described in short as (1) consisting of 2 tones (Chamalal rising and falling; on long vowels more tones can be distinguished); (2) consisting of 3 tones (Tindi: level, rising, falling); (3) consisting of 4 tones (Inkhokwari: high level, low level, rising, falling). All the tones are generally distinguished on the first syllable of the word, which determines the pitch contour of the other part of the word. In Chamalal, however, there exists a system of paradigmatic accent which is obviously secondary and will not be considered in this article. Unlike the other three languages, Avar seems not to possess relevant tonal features (this is true at least for some dialects of Avar). Instead, it possesses a system of accent paradigms, characterised by different patterns of accent movements:

(1) paradigm A — immobile accent on the first syllable in the genitive singular and nominative plural, e. g. *miḱ* 'oak' — gen. *miḱil*, nom. pl. *miḱal*; (2) paradigm 3 — accent on the second syllable in both forms mentioned, e. g. *çeṭ* 'flea' — *çoṭól*, *çuṭúl*; (3) paradigm C — accent on the second syllable

in the genitive singular, but on the first syllable in the nominative plural, e. g. *cer* ‘fox’ — gen. *carál*, nom. pl. *cúrdul*.

Let us first consider the correspondences between purely tonal systems. The correspondences between Tindi and Chamalal (Low Gakwari dialect) are the following (only words with short vowels in Chamalal are considered):

(a) Tindi level tone — Chamalal rising tone;

(b) Tindi rising and falling tones — Chamalal falling tone.

Examples: Tindi *ihu* ‘udder’ — Chamalal *ih* ^w id.; Tindi *eXu* ‘jaw’ — Chamalal *érXw* id.; Tindi *čāji* — Chamalal *čátw* ‘raspberry’; Tindi *háka* — Chamalal *hàča* ‘eye’; Tindi *rixa* — Chamalal *ixá* ‘sheep’; Tindi *mili* — Chamalal *mìl* ‘sun’; Tindi *rèhan* — Chamalal *jèhī* ‘year’.

Such correspondences lead us to believe that the Tindi system is more archaic (there are, however, reasons to suppose that more archaic accent systems may be preserved in some other Chamalal dialects). The process of reducing the number of tones in Chamalal may be described as follows: (1) merger of oblique tones (rising → falling); (2) transition from level to rising. One may note that in Tindi level tone is accompanied by a lax voice articulation, which has been preserved in the manner of articulating the Chamalal rising tone.

If we now proceed to compare the Tindi system with Avar accent paradigms, we obtain the following results:

(1) Paradigm A may correspond to any of the Tindi tones. As shown by S. L. Nikolayev, the origin of Avar paradigm A probably has nothing to do with tonal oppositions [Dybo, Nikolayev, Starostin 1978].

(2) Paradigm B corresponds to Tindi level and rising tones.

(3) Paradigm C corresponds to the Tindi falling tone.

Examples: (1) (paradigm B): Tindi *čandi*, Chamalal *čan*, Avar *čet* (*čoťól*, *čuťúl*) ‘flea’; Tindi *qwača*, Avar *qwačá* (*qwačíl*, *qučbi*) ‘wineskin’; Tindi *xinka* ‘a kind of dumpling’, Chamalal *xinč*, Avar *xinč* (*xinkíl*, *xinkál*) id.; Tindi *hali*, Chamalal *hàl*, Avar *holó* (*halíl*, *halál*) ‘pea’; Tindi *ésaba* ‘side’, Chamalal *èsbe* (plur.), Avar *xibil* (*xolból*, *xalbál*) id.; Tindi *huma*, Chamalal *hùma*, Avar *hubí* (*huból*, *hubál*) ‘stalk’;

(2) (paradigm C): Tindi *gàru*, Chamalal *žaj-X*, Avar *gabúr* (*gorból*, *gárbal*) ‘neck’; Tindi *beka*, Chamalal *bèča*, Avar *boróx* (*borxíl*, *bórxal*) ‘snake’; Tindi *ràxi*, Chamalal *jàxil*, Avar *raXá* (*roXól*, *rúXbi*) ‘bone’ etc.

There are a number of exceptions from the rules as formulated. The most numerous type of exceptions is presented by Avar words which are either monosyllabic (in nominative singular) or disyllabic with a stressed first syllable (most of the words ending in *-u*, e. g. *náku* ‘knee’, *ťínu* ‘bottom’, *máfu* ‘tear’ etc.). Such words have a strong tendency to preserve in the plural

the same placing of accent as in the singular, i. e. on the first syllable, thus uniformly passing into accent paradigm C. This is not at all surprising, because a system with dynamic accent is always liable to analogical changes. Still the main pattern of correspondences stays as formulated above.

Thus we see that correspondences between the 3 Avaro-Andian languages reveal a proto-system with three tones (probably level, rising and falling, as in Tindi). The way in which a tonal system may develop into a system of mobile dynamic accent is dwelt upon in [Dybo, Nikolayev, Starostin 1978]. Of course, new data on tonal systems of other Avaro-Andian languages may considerably change our notion of correspondences.

Now if we compare the Avaro-Andian 3-tone system with the 4 tones of Inkhokwari, we get the following picture:

(A) Inkhokwari high level tone (or low level tone in words with two back vowels *u* or *o*) — Tindi rising tone. Examples: Inkhokwari *liʃa* ‘hand’ — Tindi *réla* (Chamalal *jèla*, Avar *raʃá, roʃól, ruʃbí*); Inkhokwari *ɬwē* ‘dog’ — Tindi *ɣwá* (Chamalal *ɣwàj*, Avar *hoj*, pl. *habí*); Inkhokwari *ãqwa* ‘mouse’ — Tindi *hékwaa*, Avar *ɬunq̄* (*ɬunq̄ól, ɬunq̄ál*); Inkhokwari *lōko* ‘dung’ — Tindi *kíla*, Chamalal *čila*;

(B) Inkhokwari low level tone — Tindi level tone. Examples: Inkhokwari *lāga* ‘body’ — Tindi *laga*, Avar *lagá* (*logól, lugbí*); Inkhokwari *nōco* ‘louse’ — Tindi *naçi*, Chamalal *nás*; Inkhokwari *būʃu* ‘cattle-shed’ — Tindi *beʃi*, Chamalal *béʃw*;

(C) Inkhokwari rising tone — Tindi rising tone. Examples: Inkhokwari *žébla* ‘side’ — Tindi *ésaba*, Chamalal *èsbe* (pl.), Avar *xibíl* (*xolból, xalbál*); Inkhokwari *jócu* ‘saliva’ — Tindi *láçi*, Chamalal *hàs*; Inkhokwari *ʃíle* ‘lamb’ — Tindi *ʃér* (pl. *ʃíla*), Chamalal (pl.) *ʃíle*, Avar *ʃeʃér* (pl. *ʃaʃí*);

(D) Inkhokwari falling tone — Tindi falling tone. Examples: Inkhokwari *mihe* ‘tail’ — Tindi *mìva*, Chamalal *mìva* (cf. also Avar *maβáʃ, maβʃíl, máβʃal* ‘part of horse’s harness fixed under the tail’ (paradigm C)); Inkhokwari *bèkol* ‘snake’ — Tindi *bèka*, Chamalal *bèca*, Avar *boróx* (*borxíl, bórʃal*); Inkhokwari *bišandu* ‘beard’ — Tindi *mižatu*, Avar *megžž* (*magžíl, múgžul*); Inkhokwari *lòzol* ‘bone’ — Tindi *ràʃi*, Chamalal *jàʃil*, Avar *raʃá* (*roʃól, rúʃbi*).

The above correspondences characterize words which are polysyllabic in Inkhokwari (or monosyllabic with structure CV). For words with CVC structure other, somewhat more complicated rules must be formulated. But we think that the material presented here is enough for a general understanding of the situation. Particularly interesting is the question of phonation (voice) and tone interrelationship. In analysing Inkhokwari tones one may clearly discern that low level tone has an additional lax voice

characteristic. It obviously must be connected with low pitch. While in Tindi this tone lost its low character and became the only level tone (the high level tone turned into rising), it still preserves an additional lax voice articulation — which, however, has already nothing to do with pitch. Finally, in Chamalal the level tone becomes rising — still maintaining the lax phonation. In fact the Chamalal system may be already looked upon as a system with a binary opposition of two phonations, one of which has an additional rising tone characteristic and the other — an additional falling tone.

Recently new data on accent systems of some Dagestan languages have been obtained. On the whole they seem not to contradict the correspondences presented above, but, of course, a detailed investigation (including, furthermore, analysis of verbal accentuation) is necessary.