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**INTERCALATION AND INTERFERENCE IN THE SPEECH OF  
CIRCASSIANS IN TURKEY**

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**Abstract**

The article is devoted to the study of linguistic intercalation and interference as a result of the interaction of various linguistic systems. The article reveals the phonetic, grammatical, semantic integration of foreign language elements in the speech of the Circassian diaspora in Turkey. The article analyzes theoretical material, audio recordings of the phono archive of the Institute for Humanitarian Research of the Kabardino-Balkarian Scientific Center of the RAS, field materials of the author, some features of the reproduction of lexical units in the speech of Circassians living in a foreign language environment. It determines the main forms of existence of the Kabardino-Circassian language in the diaspora. It states that the result of contacts between different language systems is foreign language inclusions from one language to another, that is, the formation of interference and intercalation. It reveals pure and modified intercalation, characterized phonetic and lexical-semantic interference. It notes that the appearance of speech peculiarities among the Circassians abroad was a consequence of their mass emigration from the territory of the Caucasus in the 60s of the 19th century. It explains that linguistic, communicative, socio-cultural practices of the Circassians (Adyghe) living abroad have changed consequently. The article concludes that under the influence of migration processes, the speech (language) of Circassians abroad has undergone significant changes. Firstly, the Kabardino-Circassian language abroad functions as an areal language with the preservation of the main features of the proto-language. Secondly, some features of the Circassian diaspora speech were formed in phonological, lexical and grammatical relations.

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## **1. Introduction**

Migration is one of the main reasons for the transformation of language. This is especially clearly manifested in examples of mass migrations of large ethnic groups, such as resettlement of most of the Circassian people to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Caucasian War in the 60s of the 19th century. The consequences of migration processes were reflected in the most important marker of ethnic identity of representatives of the Circassian diaspora – their language. It is revealed during a comparative analysis of the current state of language of the Circassian diaspora abroad and Kabardino-Circassian literary language.

## **2. Problem Statement**

One of the most important rules for the study of language practices is study of language migration features using specific examples. The study of linguistic migration processes is particularly interesting as it uses an example of the speech of the Circassian diaspora abroad. This study makes it possible to characterize several changes in the speech of the Circassian diaspora abroad, as well as to reveal the peculiarities of interaction of various linguistic systems, which are important for understanding the peculiarities of adaptation to linguistic and sociocultural systems of different countries. The transformation of the speech (language) of Circassians is particularly interesting because of migration. Interinfluence of languages and mechanisms of borrowing vocabulary as a result of linguistic contacts have been and remain important problems of general linguistics. In this regard, this article is aimed at studying interference and intercalation in the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora in comparison with Kabardino-Circassian literary language. Meanwhile, the study of language, culture, traditions in a foreign language environment is currently an urgent scientific problem in theoretical and practical terms, since the study of the speech of representatives of the Circassian diaspora abroad helps to recreate the history of the language, the culture of speech, to determine the degree of influence of the foreign language environment.

## **3. Research Questions**

The subject of the research is the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora in Turkey.

Linguistic intercalation in the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora in Turkey.

The phenomenon of interference in the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora in Turkey.

## **4. Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this work is to determine forms of transformation of the speech of the Circassian diaspora abroad as a result of migration of Circassians from their historical homeland and incorporation with a different ethnic linguistic environment; to study linguistic interference and intercalation in the speech of the Circassian diaspora.

## 5. Research Methods

To reconstruct some facts of the history of the Circassian diaspora abroad, and to determine the degree of influence of migration processes on its speech, the article uses a set of methods and techniques (descriptive, comparative, comparative historical, contextual and ethnolinguistic methods).

This research is based on an integrated approach to the study, analysis and systematization of a wide range of sources: audio-video recordings of conversations with respondents of different gender and age groups living in Turkey; materials of the phono archive and the library of the Institute for Humanitarian Research of the Kabardino-Balkarian Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which store the recordings of the speech of representatives of the Circassian diaspora, collected during expeditions to Turkey, Syria, Jordan; empirical material in scientific works on the topic under study.

## 6. Findings

Language is one of the most striking distinctive features of the identity of a person and a social group. In the case of Circassian (Adyghe) language abroad, its original version – literary – is the determining factor for the characteristics of group affiliation.

Migration is one of the factors in the transformation of language (speech) of Circassian ethnic society in a foreign language environment. Resettlement of most of Circassian people to the Ottoman Empire in the 60s of the 19th century at the end of the Caucasian War led to penetration of elements of one culture into another, borrowing of foreign words in speech to facilitate communication, etc. Cultural adaptation is a process and result of interinfluence of national cultures and languages, which is about adaptation of an individual or a cultural community to a foreign cultural environment. Kerswill notes that migration is the main reason for change in the titular language of a particular ethnic group, caused by numerous intercultural contacts. (Kerswill, 2006). According to Blazhevich (2018), “languages survive thanks to preserved traditions and way of life in closed communities. The process of transferring ethnic languages from generation to generation in such communities contributes to the preservation of languages and cultures, guaranteeing their survival...” (p. 90).

The study of the speech of the Circassian diaspora abroad showed that Circassian (Adyghe) language in the diaspora functions as a territorially limited form of literary Kabardino-Circassian language, in which its archaic and natural elements are still preserved (Abazova et al., 2018). The speech of the Circassian diaspora abroad can be attributed to the areal forms of the existence of language, where the main criterion is that to this day the diaspora has managed to preserve the main features of proto language, but at the same time there have been changes at all levels of the language system.

First, linguistic changes were associated with the active development of the state language by representatives of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora, assimilation of various dialects and dialects.

The Kabardino-Circassian language in the diaspora is represented to a greater extent by interlingual inclusions, that is, intercalation, which manifests itself at the phonetic and lexical levels and is associated with the study of regularities of the influence of L2 on speech works on L1 (Pak, 2004). Interference is expressed by a deviation from the norm and the system of a foreign language under the

influence of the native language, that is, “the interaction of linguistic systems under conditions of bilingualism, which develops either during linguistic contact or during the individual assimilation of a foreign language” (Vinogradov, 1990, p. 25). The appearance of foreign languages interspersed in the speech of the Circassian diaspora is closely connected, firstly, with the level of proficiency in the native language; secondly, influence of neighboring languages spoken by most of the population of the country of residence (Abazova, 2017).

The linguistic reasons for the manifestation of intercalation include “the need to make up for the deficit of expressive means of a particular language or to replace the R1 or R2 element with a more convenient option in terms of brevity and imagery” (Zhikeeva, 2011, p. 59).

In the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora, lexical inclusions were divided into two groups: pure intercalation and modified intercalation.

Pure intercalation is the use of foreign words in speech while preserving the phonetic, grammatical, semantic and graphic features of the borrowing word: *yani* [yani] – “that is,” instead of *negueshchIuzhyIeme*, *çok* [chok] – “very” instead of *cuedu*, *tabii* [tabi] – “of course”, instead of *shechshemylyu*, *evet* [evet] – “yes”, instead of *ntle*, *maydanoz* [moydonosis] – “parsley”, *vilâye’ t* [vilaet] – “district”, etc. (phono archive, cass. 1073, 1078, 1068; age and gender groups, 0011, 0014, 0015).

Modified intercalation – foreign words designed in accordance with the grammar of the borrowing language, that is, Kabardino-Circassian. For example: *çorba* [chorbe] – “soup” instead of *khentkhups*, *ama* [ame] – “but” instead of *aue*, *sonra* [den sonre] – “then” instead of *itlane*, *çatal* [chetal] – “fork” instead of *guakhue*. (age and gender groups, 0011, 0014, 0021; phono archive cash. 1078, 1079), etc. In these words, the open (and in some cases also closed) vowel of the back row of the lower lift -a goes into a narrow vowel of the middle row of the lower lift – e in an unstressed position. *Bahce* [bakhche] – “garden, personal plot” instead of *хадэ, унэ нуллантэ*. This word in the speech of the diaspora undergoes phonetic changes. In Turkish, the sound [хъ] is absent. But in the speech of the diaspora in the word *бахъчэ*, instead of the voiceless middle spirant kh, they use the voiceless aspirated uvular spirant хъ, they also pronounce in the ergative case with the formant – м. *Kahire* [Chair] – “Cairo” (phonoarchive, No. 1079), here at the beginning of the word the phoneme K goes into Ch. In the proto-language, in the preliterate period, the phoneme **K** was replaced by **KI** and **Ch** which is affricatization of back-lingual stops.

The interaction of languages leads to the formation of linguistic interference, and in some cases there is also a transfer of some patterns of functioning of one language to another, in which the acting language does not cause a violation of the norm in the first, but stimulates patterns, processes and phenomena already existing in it (Abazova et al., 2019). “The confusion of languages is not so much the result of borrowing as the mutual adaptation of the languages in contact in the direction of their simplification” (Schuhardt, 2003).

In the speech of representatives of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora abroad, phonetic interference is often encountered, as a result of the influence of various dialects and dialects. The main types are:

a) an increase in a vowel sound or syllable in the middle and at the end of a word. For example, compare: *езыбыри* instead of the literary Kabardino-Circassian language *езыри* “by yourself”, *зымахуэ зурэ* instead of *зыри жимытэу щытмэ* “on some day” (Bizhoeff, 2000);

b) metathesis, for example, compare: *кIэнтIыроф* instead of *кIэртIоф* “potato”, *зыри жимыIэу ицтымэ...* instead of *зыри жимыIэу ицтымэ...* “in case he/she doesn't say anything” (Phonoarchive, 1075; 1079, 1073).

c) syncope (loss of sound in the middle of a word), for example: *сиIэIым сэ сIкьыицIыхихар* instead of *сиIэкьым сэ ськьыицIыхихар* “I don't know why I was chosen” (Bizhoviev, 2000), *сIту дахэ* instead of *сыту дахэ* “how beautiful” (Phonoarchive, 1074);

d) apocopy (the disappearance of the final consonant in the word), for example: *адреI* instead of *адрей* “other”, *КьэбэрдеI* instead of *Кьэбэрдей* “Kabarda” (Fonoarkhiv, 1073, 1074; PMA 0016).

e) elision (falling off an unstressed vowel at the end of a word), for example, compare: *майI* instead of *дауэ фыцыитхэ?* instead of *дауэ фыцыитхэ* “how are you” (PMA 0016), *ауI* instead of *ауэ* “no” (Fonoarchiv, 1073, 1076).

Phonetic interference gives rise to the appearance of an accent, which manifests itself in speech in the target language. Depending on the language that has an interfering effect on the learner, the type of accent can be determined. The main languages influencing the speech of Circassians abroad are Turkish, for those who live in Turkey and Arabic – Syria, Jordan.

In the speech of the Circassian diaspora, lexical-semantic interference is often encountered, in which verb word forms with a different meaning are used than in the literary Kabardino-Circassian language. For example, the representatives of the Circassian diaspora in Turkey use *доуIыху* in the meaning of “to know” which was formed from the verb *цIыхун* – “to know”, the equivalent of this word in the literary Kabardino-Circassian language is lexical unit “доцIэ”. *Иуэху ицIу хэту* “working” instead of *цылажьэу* derived from the stable combination of *Иуэху ицIэн* “to work”. *Dzykness* means “we live together” from the verb *зэхэсын* “sit, live together” instead of *дызэдонсэу*. Representatives of the Circassian diaspora use words with lexical and semantic deviations. These are deviations from the norm of the native language system under the influence of a non-native language (in our case, dialects and dialects of the Abkhaz-Adyghe language family).

## 7. Conclusion

Thus, the transformation of linguistic and socio-cultural communicative practices among the Circassians living in Turkey is the result of long-term interaction.

In the context of bilingualism, Kabardino-Circassian language in the diaspora is predominantly subject to intercalation. The appearance of foreign language inclusions in the speech of the Circassian diaspora is closely connected with the level of proficiency in the native language. It is also connected with the influence of neighboring languages or the state language of the countries of residence. In everyday communication, Circassians switch to mixed communication, which leads to partial mixing of two (or more) languages, including not only words, but also expressions, as well as constructions, more often from Turkish and Arabic.

In the speech of representatives of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora abroad, the linguocultural component is represented by foreign language inclusions, which have undergone grammatical and word-formation adaptation. The abundance and variety of intercalation and interference in the studied language is explained by the different levels of proficiency in Kabardino-Circassian and state languages of the

countries of residence, their close interaction, as well as stable communication skills in the native language.

The analysis of sources shows that among lexical inclusions there are both significant and service parts of speech with dominating numerals and conjunctions.

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