

THE ADYGHE (KABARDIAN-CIRCASSIAN) DIASPORA LANGUAGE IN INTERLINGUAL INTERACTION

A LÍNGUA DA DIÁSPORA ADYGHE (CABARDINO-CIRCASSIANA) NA INTERAÇÃO INTERLINGUAL

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Abstract. The Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) diaspora language is studied in the article. The main form of the Kabardian-Circassian language existence outside the historical homeland is revealed, as well as some linguistic specifics of its functioning in historical retrospect. It is noted that migration processes (the 60s of the 19th century), as well as exogenous and endogenous factors, entailed a significant transformation of the Circassian diaspora speech. It is determined that long-term residence far from fellow citizens, lack of writing and interlingual interaction resulted in significant changes of the Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) diaspora language. The linguistic and sociocultural communicative practices of the Circassians abroad have also changed, which indicate modern forms of existence of the Kabardian-Circassian language in diaspora. The article concludes that currently the Kabardian-Circassian language in diaspora has its own specifics: it functions as an areal language with phonetic, grammatical, lexical, semantic, and stylistic specifics, but preserving the main features of the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. The materials of the article may be useful for researchers interested in studying Adyghe languages around the world.

Keywords: diaspora, Adyghe, Circassian- Kabardian language, phonetics, vocabulary, intercalation, Turkisms, areal language, stylistics, language existence form.

Resumo. Este artigo estuda a língua da diáspora adyghe (cabardino-circassiana). Revela a principal forma de existência da língua cabardino-circassiana fora de sua pátria histórica, bem como algumas particularidades linguísticas de seu funcionamento em retrospectiva histórica. Observa-se que os processos migratórios (anos 60 do século XIX), assim como fatores exógenos e endógenos, implicaram uma transformação significativa do discurso da diáspora circassiana. Determinou-se que a residência prolongada longe de seus compatriotas, a falta de escrita e de interação interlinguística provocaram mudanças significativas na língua da diáspora adyghe (cabardino-circassiana). As práticas comunicativas linguísticas e socioculturais dos circassianos no exterior também mudaram, indicando formas modernas de existência da língua cabardino-circassiana na diáspora. O artigo conclui que atualmente a língua cabardino-circassiana na diáspora possui suas próprias particularidades: funciona como uma língua regional com características fonéticas, gramaticais, léxicas, semânticas e estilísticas, mas preservando as principais características da língua literária cabardino-circassiana. Os materiais do artigo podem ser úteis para os pesquisadores interessados no estudo das línguas Adyghe em todo o mundo.

Palavras-chave: diáspora, Adyghe, língua circassiana-cabardiana, fonética, vocabulário, intercalação, turquismos, língua regional, estilística, forma de existência da língua.



1. INTRODUCTION

The modern language of the Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) diaspora is characterized by certain peculiarities. Comparing to the Kabardian-Circassian literary language, the diasporic colloquial speech shows phonetic, grammatical, lexical, and semantic deviations caused by long-term living in a foreign language environment, as well as a mixture of Adyghe dialects.

Native speakers use in their everyday life the mixed language, emerged under sociolinguistic conditions and extralinguistic factors, different through territories. Consonants, sound combinations, words, and phrases from the linguistic unity periods are maintained in the modern diasporic language. The lexical layer covers diverse concepts, some of them became historicisms in the historical homeland. The above suggests that "currently, in the diaspora, Kabardian-Circassian functions as an aerial language with the main features of the parent language" (Abazova et al., 2018; Jamalpour & Yaghoobi-Derab, 2022).

The topic being studied is believed to be relevant for learning the current state of the Circassian diaspora language, for determination of the depth of phonetic, lexical, stylistic, morphological changes in speech and interaction forms of various language systems (for example, Abkhaz-Adyghe and Turkic).

Theoretically, the study of this topic is important for understanding the current state of the Kabardian-Circassian language abroad, peculiarities of the language maintenance under interlingual interaction in countries of residence. Consequently, this article is focused upon some features of the Circassian diaspora language. The article objective is to study the speech of the Circassians living outside their historical homeland in the context of intercultural interaction and to determine the forms of existence of Kabardian-Circassian in a foreign language environment.

The theoretical basis of the research consists of research papers on the study of diasporas by (Abazova, 2022; Azimov et al., 2009; Bashieva et al., 2011; Jamalpour & Derabi, 2023). These materials help identify the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora speech specifics, determine its change, the form of existence under intercultural interaction.

The research material is based on field materials (colloquial speech of the Circassian diaspora in Turkey) collected by Abazova (2014), and the phono-archive of the Humanitarian Research Institute of the Kabardino-Balkar Scientific Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Field materials were collected through conversations in Adyghe with native speakers on various topics. The respondent sample was selected considering their age and gender. Various subjects were discussed during conversations, since research interest was focused mainly on the verbal designation of certain objects and events, the pronunciation of sounds, etc. The RAS KBSC HRI phono-archive materials (Azimov & Shchukin, 2009) are represented by audio recordings made by the institute employees during business trips to the Circassian diaspora residential countries in the 90s of the 20th century.

2. METHOD

The research methodology is based on an integrated approach to the study, systematization and analysis of research papers covering certain aspects of the study of the diaspora language, field materials, available phono-archives and researches on some aspects of the study of the Circassians abroad.

The research methodology consists of such linguistic analysis techniques as analytical and semantic-stylistic. Descriptive, comparative, historical, contextual and ethnolinguistic methods and synchronous linguistic description of the material are used in the research paper. The descriptive method was used to collect and systematize materials on the research topic. The comparative method was used to involve materials from the languages of various subethnic Circassian groups. The comparative historical method – to restore some facts of the Adyghe (Circassian) diaspora history. The contextual method was used to determine the degree of



transformation of the Circassian diaspora speech in a foreign language environment. The ethnolinguistic method was used to characterize specific dialects of Kabardian. The synchronous linguistic description method was used to identify and describe loan-words in the speech of the Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora. The combination of linguistic research methods help identify the main forms of existence of the Kabardian-Circassian language in diaspora and determine the main factors of its change under the influence of external and internal factors.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.

Whenever the Adyghe live, they retain the endonym "Adyghe", showing the unity of the ethnos by genetic, linguistic, and ethnocultural indicators. The Adyges (Circassians), who have lived abroad for over a century and a half (Turkey, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, etc.), are constantly influenced by the foreign cultural information field. Outside their historical homeland, the diaspora members actively learn the local language and culture elements. The dense long residence of small ethnic groups in a foreign ethnic environment results in the language system transformation. Within the general theory of language, the study of the topic helps characterize certain changes in the Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) diaspora language, as well as to the forms of the language maintenance in the diaspora and the interaction of different language systems. Besides, the comparative historical characteristic of the language under discussion and the modern Kabardian-Circassian literary language serves as an indicator shedding new light on certain little studied aspects of the transformation of the Adyghe ethnic society outside their historical homeland. Theoretically, it helps characterize the main directions of interlingual communication between the Circassian diaspora and the local population and determine some patterns of changes in the speech of an ethnic group relocated to a new place of residence under the influence of endogenous and exogenous factors.

Migration is one of the factors in the Circassian diaspora speech transformation. Relocation of most of the Circassians to the Ottoman Empire in the 60s of the 19th century at the end of the Caucasian War resulted in significant language changes. Migration consequences affected the most important element of the diaspora ethnic identity - their language. A comparative analysis of the modern Kabardian literary language and the speech of Circassian diaspora clearly shows changes in phonetics and vocabulary.

Linguistic changes, first of all, were caused by the active learning of the new state local language by the Adyghe, the assimilation of various dialects of the Adyghe languages. Besides, the transformation of the Circassians' speech in a foreign ethnic environment entailed certain changes in the sociocultural communication. The local culture elements and lexicon were borrowed during the involvement of the Circassians in the ethnocultural environment of nations living on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. To retain ethnicity and prevent complete assimilation with the local population, the Circassians created various public organizations and associations, national schools, published newspapers, etc. As a result, traditional linguistic and sociocultural communicative practices among Circassians living abroad have been significantly transformed, acquiring new functions, meanings, and connotations.

Some phonetic specifics of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora language

Comparing to the Kabardian-Circassian literary language, the following phonetic specifics were identified in the diasporic language:

- use of velar obstruents g', k', kI' instead of secondary sibilant affricates dj, ch, chI: ig'y instead of idjy – "now"; iuzhkl'e instead of iuzhchle – "later", k'ezuue instead of chezuue – "by turns";
- use of spirant h in the end of the plural names and verbs, corresponding to the voiceless mediopalatal spirant kh in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language: aher instead of akher "they";



- use of laryngeal glottalized consonant I instead of pharyngeal k' in the negation suffix: sykhueIym instead of sykhuekym - "I don't want"; at the beginning of the word: IikIa instead of k'ichIa – "profit"; in the negative interrogative suffix: uueIe instead of uueyk'e - "not yours?";
- transition of hissing spirants into sibilant spirants:
 - in copula: iss instead of isch – "live"
 - at the beginning of the word: s'eupschIym s'yg'ue instead of scheupshIym schyg'ue - "when asked";
 - use of soft sibilant voiceless spirant sh' instead of the hissing spirant shch at the beginning of the word: sh'aukhua instead of shchauhua - "created"; in the middle of the word: yash'yg'yupsh'ezhme instead of yashchyg'yupshchezhme - "if they forget";
 - at the end of the word: k'ashezhash' instead of k'ashezhashch - "brought";
- use of palatalized dorsal spirants g' and h', which in some cases replace non-palatalized g, h in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. For example, kh'abze instead of habze – "etiquette", adyg'e instead of adyge - "Adyghe";
- peculiarities in the vocalism system:
 - y: e dakh'yu instead of daheu – "beautiful";
 - a: e: mahueku instead of mehueku – "Thursday";
 - ae: e: merem instead of maerem - "Friday";
 - y: i: Ad'ige instead of Adyge "Adyghe";
- positional phonetic processes are observed in the consonantism and vocalism system:
 - substitution: zysIa instead of zhysIa – "he said";
 - metathesis: kIetIrof instead of kIertIof - "potato";
 - syncope: zhaIs instead of zhalash – "they said";
 - ethclipsis: shIedza neuzh instead of shIeddza neuzh – "after started";
 - consonant augment: h'eume instead of h'eme - "or";
 - apocope: au instead of aue – "but";
 - loss of vowels and consonants at the beginning of a word: tIane instead of itIane
- "later" (Bashieva et al., 2011; Belykh, 2019a; Shariati et al., 2013).

The above-mentioned sound changes, untypical for the Kabardian-Circassian literary language are fixed in the speech of the Circassians living abroad under the influence of the environment and dialects mixing. Historical phonetic changes are also observed which in homeland retained only in various dialects, however, in the literary language, new ones are used instead of certain consonants or vocals, thereby forming new forms of words and later became the norm of the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. In our case, far from homeland, without a written language, the language was maintained through audio perception, oral colloquial. Certainly, it was not enough to accurately remember the sound of words, improve and further develop the language. In some cases, earlier forms of word usage were retained in speech, and in other cases there are innovative changes, which are absent in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language.

Lexical and stylistic features of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora speech.

The vocabulary of the Adyghe diaspora reflects connections, contacts, and common life of its main native speaker (the Kabardians) with other nations. Borrowings from these languages and various Adyghe dialects make up a certain lexical layer of the Kabardian-Circassian language (Belykh I.N. 2019b; Kushkhabiev, 2007).

Bizhiov B.Ch. identifies a whole layer of borrowed words from the Arabic and Turkish languages, absent in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language, as a result of communication



with speakers of these languages for almost a century and a half (Berezgov, 2000). Taov (2005) believes that an analysis of the Adyghe diaspora speech shows that, on the one hand, it retained archaisms from the period of common Adyghe linguistic unity. On the other hand, he highlights neologisms and borrowings resulted by long-term isolated development and under the strong influence of a foreign language environment. He gives examples from Arabic and Turkish: arpe - "barley", asker - "soldier", zeytun - "olive", etc. (Berzedzh, 1996).

The modern Circassian diaspora language, formed from various Adyghe and other ethnic groups, lost daily contact with their former fellow countrymen and surrounded by foreign-speaking people, could not retained the full vocabulary, coinciding with the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. In this regard, words with semantic deviations appear in their speech (its - "to be situated" (literary language) – its - "prevails" (diaspora speech), kh'eubyd "dog owner" (literary language) – kh'eubyd "police" (diaspora speech)); Turcisms, in spite of analogues to these foreign words in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language (Vilayet (vilâye't) – instead of region, shlypIe, Mekteb (mekte'p(bi') – instead of shkol / edzhaple "school"); neologisms (eg'eza instead of kheg'ezyhyyn "to force, compel", g'ueshkh instead of sagyz "chewing gum"); phraseological units (sigu hels instead of sigu ils "intend, think", llyg'em pl'ue instead of llyg'em zeg'ekhyyn "to overcome yourself"); phonetically changed words (bzhyekher instead of bzhyg'ekher "numbers", syshcheg'em instead of syshchedzhem "when studied", daure h'uami instead of daue h'uami "no matter how it turns out").

Lexical and stylistic specifics of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora language

While studying the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora language, we conditionally differentiated the lexical layer into two groups: stylistically neutral and formal (Bizhoev, 2005). The speech of the Circassians living abroad is rich in stylistically neutral lexicon, indicating unmarked objects reflecting the life, culture, and own history. For example, people in private conversations often use the following:

- designations of specific objects: k'ale - "city", sabiy[kh]er - "children", g'emahue - "summer", Iesh - "cattle", p[sh]lyne "harmonica", khabze – "custom, etiquette", nartykhu – "corn", etc.;
- designations of actions or states (verbs): zyvokh'e – "keep", zeg'epeshchyn – "create", sylyg[Iy]m – "I don't hold", shchyIesh[s] – "situated", yaschenu[s] – "sell", syk'alkhu[s] - "born", [sh]lyph'umefyn - "retain", sykIua[s] - "went", etc.;
- numerals plly – "four", mhuy – "five", minre shibg'ure pshlyre pllym – "one thousand seven hundred eighty-four", shyI – "two hundred", shish – "three hundred", minre shibg'ure tkhushIre bg'u – "one thousand nine hundred fifty-nine".

A comparative analysis of the Circassian diaspora speech and the Kabardian-Circassian literary language in the homeland showed some specifics of neutral vocabulary. Under extralinguistic factors, native words are used with phonetic deviations. Almost all respondents use the spirant s instead of the sibilant spirant sch in copula: dyIas instead of diIasch "was", unem syshles instead of syshIesch "I'm home", etc. Some sound correspondences are observed in the Circassian diaspora speech. The sound chI is often used instead of the phoneme kI to denote a hissing ejective affricate: – k'yshchochI instead of k'yishchokI "grow". In the speech of the older generation and young people, the sound g is often substituted: dj – h'y[g]ebz instead of h'y[dj]ebz "girl". This phenomenon is also observed in the Baksan dialect of the Kabardian language in the historical homeland, palatalized velar g', k', k'I as variants of the phonemes dj, ch, kI: g'ane instead of dzhane "shirt" (Kulturbaeva, 2007). The glottalized obstruent k' in the negation suffix is replaced by the glottalized laryngeal obstruent I: sylyg'Iym instead of slyg'k'ym "I don't hold", syhueiIym instead of syhueik'ym "I don't want". All the above

peculiarities retained in the dialects of the modern Kabardian language show archaic forms of words used in the diaspora speech.

The second group of the stylistic layer of vocabulary consists of formal vocabulary, in which we included archaisms (obsolete words), barbarisms (borrowings) and neologisms. For example, *gu* in the meaning of "machina" instead of machine (the literary language borrowed the word from the Russian language with the final vowel *a* is replaced by the short mid-vowel *e*); *g'uey* meaning "cry" instead of the literary *g'yn*; *dyk'rokIue* meaning "we live" instead of *dyk'og'uegurykIue*, *etsIykhuzh* (*tsIykhuzhyn*) meaning "remember" instead of *ezhIezh*; *zephkrykIybzhe* meaning "inner door" instead of *kIuetsIrykIybzhe*. The older generation often use the word *nerybge* with the meaning "person, daughter-in-law; in general, any woman in the family." In the historical homeland, in some dialects, this word is found with the same meaning as in the diaspora. This indicates that it goes back to the common Adyghe lexical fund. Most of the formal vocabulary consists of barbarisms, i.e. loan-words subordinated to the borrowing language rules, in our case, to the Kabardian literary language. For example, *bakh'che* "garden" instead of *khade*, *une pshIantIe*; *belki* "maybe, perhaps" instead of *Iemal zeriIekIe*; *er* "area" instead of *shIypIe*; *ne... ne* (conjunction) "neither... nor" instead of *ikIi*; *on iki* "twelve" instead of *pshchylutI*; *yani* "that is, namely, means" instead of *neg'ueschIu zhypleme*; *alpha'be* "alphabet" instead of *alphavit*. So, most borrowings are Turkisms adapted in accordance with the grammar of the borrowing language, i.e. the Turkic sounds, unusual in articulation and compatibility, were replaced by Kabardian sounds similar in quality.

Neologisms are part of the formal vocabulary and formed by mixing and merging dialects, as well as under the influence of the official languages of the countries of domicile. For example: *bidafeh* meaning "unlimited, to luxuriate"; *gynypl* meaning "beetroot"; *g'ueshkh* meaning "chewing gum"; *yeg'za* meaning "to force, compel"; *zg'eubyl'yn* meaning "hide", etc.

The form of the Kabardian-Circassian language existence in diaspora

A diaspora language is "a language of a certain ethnic group, community living outside its native territory or statehood with specifics of the language of emigrants living outside the territory of a particular language functioning" (Kumakhov, 1981).

To determine the modern forms of the Kabardian-Circassian language in diaspora, it seems important to study its transformation in historical retrospect. It helps identify main changes in their speech at all levels (in sound structure, vocabulary, morphology, syntax, word formation).

In linguistics, there are several forms of language existence, including: dialects (territorial), vernacular (speech of illiterate people), jargons (speech of professional, social groups for linguistic isolation) and literary language (Dume'zil, 1965, 1975). Territorially limited forms of the Kabardian-Circassian literary language with archaic and natural elements can be found in the speech of the Circassians abroad. Generally, the Circassian diaspora speech can be related to the areal forms of language existence, which in turn can be differentiated into oral (in most cases) and written (in Latin).

The main criterion of the attribution of the diaspora speech to this form is that the diaspora has managed to keep the main features of the source language, but at the same time, all levels of the language system have been changed.

Constant communication of the Circassians with local population resulted in intercalations in their speech, for example, *yani* (*ya'ni*) instead of *neg'ueschIu zhypleme* "that is"; (*tabi* instead of *dauikI*, *shech hemyl'u* "surely"; *dah'a* (*daha*) instead of *ijyri* "yet"; *ae-ae* instead of *pezhu-pezhu* "right-right" (Pashtova, 2021), which can be replaced with equivalents from the Kabardian literary language. In the speech of young people, lexical inclusions are observed even more often. It indicates that the younger Circassians are switching to the local state or dominating language. "The older generation still speaks Circassian, however, it is certainly losing its position as a factor in expressing ethnic identity amongst young people" (Taov Kh,

2005). Besides, the situation is complicated because in these conditions children are assimilating and forget their native speech, spending significant time with foreign-language peers.

The analysis of field materials and phono-archive recordings shows that the Circassian diaspora language is also changing at other levels: in sound structure, vocabulary, morphology, syntax, word formation, as described above.

The study identified the main factors in the transformation of speech patterns of the Circassians living abroad and new forms of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora language. The main factor is the mass migration of the Circassians abroad at the final stage of the Caucasian War in the 60s of the 19th century, as well as their scattered settlement. In the second half of the 19th century, from 500 thousand to 1.7 million people left the Caucasus (Helig, 1993). Since then, the language has changed under permanent communication of the Circassians with the Turkic- and Arabic-speaking population of the Ottoman Empire, its ethnic policy, the collapse at the beginning of the 20th century.

Based on the analysis of field materials and available phono-archives recordings, it was revealed that the Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) language functions outside its historical homeland as an areal language, territorially limited. Archaic lexical units are still retained (for example, the numerals 40 *tloshchlitl* meaning two by twenty, instead of *plyshchl*; 50 *shchenyk'ue* meaning half a hundred, instead of *thuschl*). Over time, because of contacts of the diaspora members with local people, intercalations, Turkisms, Arabisms appeared in Circassian, which can be replaced by equivalents from the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. The specificity of changes in the diaspora speech was revealed at other levels of the language as well (in sound structure, vocabulary, morphology, syntax, word formation). Not only the mechanisms for retaining Kabardian in the diaspora are determined, but also further prospects for its existence. New forms of the Kabardian language existence are characterized in the conditions of the massive return of the Circassians to their historical homeland (repatriation) these days.

All the above changes in the speech of the Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) diaspora helps conclude that the Circassian language exists in diaspora as an areal language. This is determined by diglossia - no writing (after all, it is impossible to write Kabardian words with the Cyrillic or Latin alphabet, since some sounds consist of 2 or more letters, for example, "kgh'u", where 4 letters mean 1 sound), a close connection with the Circassians in their historical homeland and the multilingual environment in the residence country. The formation of the areal language is schematic: Abkhaz-Adyghe languages (including all dialects) + Turkish + Arabic → areal language.

Studying the diaspora language forms helps determine not only its preservation mechanisms, but also further prospects for its existence. At different times, various preservation mechanisms were developed: courses, teaching the Circassian language, public organizations, newspapers, etc. In addition, according to B. Ch. Bizhoev, the language situation in the diaspora especially worsened at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries due to fast urbanization in the countries with the Circassian diaspora (Pashtova, 2021). He also believes that "the most reliable, and perhaps the only measure to retain the language, to avoid assimilation is to return to the historical homeland. We can agree with this, since "mandatory components of (any) language policy must include measures aimed at retaining languages as a cultural value and protecting the cultural national identity of the people" (Taov Kh, 2005).

However, in modern conditions, other mechanisms for retaining language can be specified as well. Thus, in a post-industrial society, with new information technologies, some forms of language existence move to virtual space (the Internet). It "is not only an important factor in preserving a single ethnocultural environment, but also in the reunification of peoples separated in the historical past" (Kulturbaeva, 2007). With various social networks (Facebook, Skype,

etc.), the young Circassians abroad have more opportunities to communicate with people from their home countries. There are also virtual courses (for example, "TeleStudio" (the Kabardian and Balkar lessons) (<https://telestudio.pro>), North Caucasian News, etc.), helping to significantly improve the level of proficiency in the Kabardian literary language.

Besides, an important extralinguistic factors influencing the language situation not only abroad, but also in the historical homeland are: family, kindergarten, school, etc., which have to participate in language building. Many mechanisms are used to maintain the language, the most effective are their legal (to adopt a law in the countries where the Circassians live, to allow the official study of their native language), economic, and social objective, such as publication of textbooks and tutorials in native languages, social programs aimed at retaining language norms, behavioral norms, and culture outside their historical homeland.

It should be specifically noted that currently new forms of Kabardian appear due to return of the Circassians to their historical homeland (repatriation). For example, at the moment, a large number of Circassian repatriates live in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic, mostly from Turkey and Syria. More than 500 Circassians from different countries study in various higher educational institutions of the Republic. Living in their historical homeland, according to the students, they better master their native and Russian languages, learn the alphabet, and become bilingual, that is, in addition to Turkisms and Arabisms, the diaspora members also begin to use Russisms. We believe that this situation, in addition to new forms of the Kabardian language existence, gives an additional impulse to its retaining.

4. CONCLUSIONS

A comparative study of the vocabulary of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora and in the historical homeland helps us identify discrepancies between the literary and colloquial languages. The diaspora speech has some differences from the literary language in the consonantism and vocalism system. Phonetic isoglosses combine the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora speech with some dialects in their historical homeland. It shows cross phonetic specifics amongst the Adyghe dialects and the diaspora speech, proving the existence of these phonetic phenomena before the migration.

Learning the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora lexicon provides valuable material not only for reconstructing the history of the Kabardian-Circassian vocabulary, but also for understanding its current state. The lexical layer of the Kabardian-Circassian diaspora colloquial includes words that develop on their own language base, neologisms, words with changed semantics, words with phonetic changes and phraseological units. It should be noted that the Circassian diaspora language has lexical and stylistic specifics: stylistic neutral and formal lexicon, resulted from isolated development and lack of writing.

The Adyghe (Kabardian-Circassian) language exists in diaspora, but as an areal language, determined by diglossia, namely little connection with the people living in Russia and a multilingual environment. They created their own language with main specifics of the source language. Without a written or literary language, the Circassian diaspora today has managed to retain their language of communication and pass traditions, customs (Adyghe *khabze* "Adyghe etiquette"), rituals, culture from generation to generation. Even some archaic words still remained although lost in their historical homeland. Also, neologisms in their speech are revealed as well as many phraseological units, some of which are absent in the Kabardian-Circassian literary language. Thus, the most effective methods should be used to maintain the Kabardian-Circassian language in diaspora. The main one is to transfer the language to the younger generation.

The results of the research are important for understanding the specifics of linguistic and ethnocultural processes in the modern Middle East and partly the Caucasus, and can also be used in further studying the interlingual communication of the Circassians in general; in

scientific researches not only in linguistics, but also in history and ethnography of the Circassians; in the preparation of lecture courses, textbooks and manuals on the philology of the North Caucasus nations.

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