THE TWO ANCIENT IBERIAS FROM THE LINGUISTIC POINT OF VIEW *

The topic of this paper was suggested to me by Professor J. de Hoz. It is generally known that in antiquity the name of *Iberia* referred to two regions widely separated from each other, in Spain and in the Caucasus[1]. Spain was known to the Romans as Hispania and to the Greeks as Ἰβηρία (Tovar 1977). Hübner pointed out in his *Monumenta linguae Ibericae* 1893, p. 232: «Ἴβηρ, Ἴβηρες, Ἰβηρία, Ἰβηρικός: scriptores Graeci ab Hecataeo usque ad Zosimum»[2]); the Celtiberians (Κελτίβηρες) were first mentioned by Polybius (2nd c. B.C.)[3]. Eusebius[4], on the other hand, reported that Nebukadnezar deported part of the Spanish Iberians εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου. The text, which was translated into Armenian as well, has been ascribed to Megasthenes who flourished around 300 B.C.:

(1) Μεγασθένης δέ φησι, Ναβουχοδρόσορον Ἡραχλέος ἀλκιμώτερον γεγονότα ἐπὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίην στρατεῦσαι· ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενον, ἀποδασμὸν αὐτέων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου χατοιχίσαι - Mecazawrn asē Nabukodrosoros or užgnagoyn ēr k'an zHeraklēs, 'i Libēaçuç ew yIberaçuç ašxarhn zawražołov linel hasanēr. ew vaneal vkandeal ənd jeramb nuačēr. ew zmasn mi i noçanēn yarajakołmn Pontos covu tareal bnakeçuçanēr[5].

Although this wording might seem to imply an indirect allusion to Caucasian Iberia, the first actual mention of the name was made by Strabo (69 B.C. - 19 A.D.)[6]. Megasthenes may have been connected with this context through a later addition, as the history of the name *Iberia* shows.

The *GSE* defines *Iberia* (later *Iveria*) as follows: «in ancient and Byzantine sources, name for eastern and southern Georgia and the realm in this territory. In Georgian sources and in the Georgian literature of the late Middle Ages and the present time *(ax. da uaxlesi drois)* the term 'Iveria' designates the whole of Georgia. In this connection eastern Georgia has been called *Zemo Iveria* (Upper Iberia) and western Georgia *Kvemo Iveria* (Lower Iberia)». Attempts to identify the name *Iberia/Iveria* on the basis of Georgian, i.e. South Caucasian (SC), have failed completely. 1) The comparison with *Imereti* designating western Georgia must be rejected, since Imereti actually means 'the land beyond'[7]. 2) The explanation of *ber* as one of the four elements *(yon,*

[1] Cf. Knobel 1850, p. 113: «Die Namengleichheit läßt Verwandtschaft anmuthen», a hypothesis that is no longer valid today.

[2] Νέα ἱστορία, 5th c. A.D.

[3] Cf. Holder 1896, pp. 659 ff.; Koch 1979, p. 397; as to the name of the Celts in Spain cf. Tovar 1977a.

[4] Euseb. Pr. Ev. IX, p. 456, D (cf. Müllerus 1848, p. 417), composed between 315 and 323 A.D.

[5] Cf. Markwart 1930, pp. 71 f.; Melikišvili 1965, pp. 9 ff.; reluctantly Deeters 1956, p. 88.

[6] Cf. Deeters 1956, p. 87; Qauxčišvili 1957, pp. 80 ff. (quoted by Melikišvili 1965, p. 11[19]) was not available to me.

[7] Cf. the titles of the 15th c. Georgian kings: Ranta, Kaxta, Somexta, Kartvelta Lixt imerta da Lixt amerta «(König) der Albaner, Kachen, Armenier, Georgier jenseits und diesseits der Lixi-Berge» (Deeters 1956, p. 86) and see Allen 1932, p. 25: «The historical division of the Georgian peoples - the western Georgians, the Imierni 'on that side' and the eastern Georgians, the Amierni 'on this side' - had appeared».

roš, sal, ber) of N. Marr's Japhetic Theory[8] is entirely unrealistic and is only of historiographical interest today. 3) Other etymological suggestions include Basque, although a relationship between Basque and SC has not been established:

> (2) Svan *Ipari, Pari* (village names); Georgian *bari* 'plain'; Basque *ibar* 'river valley, estuary' etc. (Zycar' 1955, pp. 54 f.)[9].

Compared with these suggestions, the derivation of *ber* from Old Armenian *vir-k'* 'Georgians, Georgia' is more convincing, but still difficult to prove[10]. In the theory presented by Deeters 1956, pp. 87 f. the basis is Old Armenian (Old Arm.) *i Virs* 'among the Georgians, in Georgia' in Greek transcription and post-classic pronunciation:

> (3) Old Armenian *Vir-k'* 'Georgians, Georgia', *i Virs* 'among the Georgians, in Georgia' [ivírəs], Greek IB(E)IPEΣ, IBHPEΣ [11].

The name was introduced during the campaigns of Pompeius (66-64) who invaded Iberia from Armenia and communicated with the indigenous population by means of Armenian interpreters who spoke Greek. The advantage of this hypothesis lies in the fact that it coincides chronologically with Strabo, the oldest source of the name of the Caucasian Iberians. The accent was changed —[ivírəs] (no. 3) vs. Ἴβηρες— in analogy to the older model from Hispania. That *Iberia/Iveria* must be a designation applied to Georgia from the outside also becomes apparent from the fact that the Georgians have always called themselves by a different name: *Kartveli* 'Georgian', adjective *kartuli, Sakartvelo* 'Georgia'. According to the Georgian annals, the name of *Kartli* 'Georgia' was derived from *Kartlos,* the legendary progenitor[12]. Kartli is already attested in Iakob Curtaveli's *Martvilobaj šušanikisi* 'The Martyrdom of Saint Šušanik', a document dated to the 5th c. which has been regarded as the oldest literary text of the Georgian language; the extant manuscripts date back to the 11th c.:

> (4) *Da vitarca moiçia igi sazɣvarta kartlisata* 'And when he reached the borders of Kartli...' (Šuš. 2, 1 f.)[13].

Apart from the fact that identity of names does not necessarily mean genetic identity of the bearers of the names, from the historical point of view the two Iberias do not even go by the same name. If, in spite of this fact, it does not seem superfluous to deal with this topic, the reason for this is that numerous attempts are still being made to connect Georgian and the other Caucasian languages (CL) as to their origin with Iberian and particularly with Basque.

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[8] Cf. the references given by Schmidt 1962, p. 4⁵.

[9] The Svan place names (PlN) have been cited by Abaev 1949, p. 293; for a critical discussion of the whole question cf. Deeters 1956, pp. 86 f.; Tovar 1961, p. 61 gives the history of *ibar,* determined *ibarra,* explaining the name of the Ebro, *Iberus,* «as an Ionic form of the primitive Basque *'ibar'*» (p. 61).

[10] Cf. Kiepert 1878, p. 86 «Iberia wird das mittlere Reich am obern Kyros, welches die Römer von Armenien aus betraten, mit der daselbst gehörten Form des Volksnamens *Vêr* genannt, aus welchem auch die mittelalterlichen und heutigen Landesnamen bei Persern, Byzantinern, Russen entstanden sind».

[11] Cf. in this context Parth. *wyršn,* i.e. *Virčān* in the inscription of Šapur I, the name being also attested as *Varjan* 'Georgia' in the Armenian Geography of Ps. Mosēs Xorenaçi; Persian *Gurǰ, Gurz,* the model of both Russian *Gruzija* and English *Georgia,* can be derived

either from *virč-* or from *var(u)č-* (Deeters 1956, p. 87).

[12] Cf. Allen 1932, p. 16: «The authors of the Georgian Annals derive the peoples of the Caucasus from Targamos, a descendant of Japhet. Targamos is the Torgom of Armenian tradition, the Togarmah of Genesis. Of the sons of Targamos, Haos was the ancestor of the Armenians (HA'IQ), his seven brothers of the various peoples of the main chain of the Caucasus and its southern valleys. ... Kartlos, the second of the eight sons of Targamos, is the ancestor of the Kartlians —of the eastern branch of the Georgians, as his brother Egros is of the Mingrelians or western Georgians».

[13] Cf. Abulaʒe 1978, p. 5; Schmidt 1984, pp. 299 f.: «Iberia, das spätere Kartli mit seiner Hauptstadt *Mcxeta* ist in stärkerem Maße persischem Einfluß ausgesetzt. Seine Herrscher müssen politisch zwischen Persien und Rom lavieren. 65 v. Chr. von Pompeius besiegt...».

In my talk, which centres on an evaluation of the linguistic situation, I intend to scrutinize the grounds on which this hypothesis is based. The paper is arranged as follows: (A) Iberia I (Spain), (B) Iberia II (Caucasus), (C) Comparison between Iberia I and Iberia II.

A) IBERIA I (SPAIN)

Fundamental for the modern study of ancient Hispania is the analysis of the ethnical and linguistic strata of the Peninsula on the basis of Gómez-Moreno's conclusive reading of the Iberian characters in 1921[14]. A further important factor was the identification of the Celtiberian (CI) inscriptions as Celtic by Tovar 1946. The renewed analysis of the material included a revision of the famous works of the 19th and early 20th c., such as W. von Humboldt 1821, E. Hübner, *MLI*, H. Schuchardt 1907, E. Philipon 1909.

Among the pre-Roman strata which are neither Greek nor Phoenician, several non-IE and IE regions are generally mentioned. IE remnants have been discovered from the SW of the Peninsula, the region of the ancient Conii[15] or Kynetes, up to Teruel and the middle Ebro and from Zaragoza up to Bilbao (Tovar 1977, pp. 283 f.). Particularly important are two IE languages attested in inscriptions: Lusitanian (written in the Latin alphabet) in what is now Portugal, Galicia and Spanish Extremadura[16] and, to the east, Celtiberian with documents in Latin and Iberian script. CI must be regarded as a particularly archaic Celtic language as has been recently confirmed by the bronze of Botorrita discovered in 1971[17]. This text, written in the Iberian alphabet, shows the word order subject-object-verb (SOV)[18]. Among the CI archaisms unknown both in Gaulish and Old Irish may be mentioned: the fully inflecting relative pronoun *$\dot{i}os$, the repeated (double) use of the conjunctions *k^we, *nek^we, *$\breve{u}\breve{e}$, the use of the conjunction *uta which is also attested in Indo-Iranian, and the preservation of thematically inflected s-subjunctive-futures of the 3rd person singular:

> (5) *uta : oscues : stena : uersoniti : silabur : sleitom : conscilitom : gabiseti* 'Und wer auch immer diese (Gebäude) hinzuzugewinnen sucht, soll nehmen *(gabiseti)* Silber zum Spalten abgeteiltes'; 4) *uta : oscues : boustomue : coruinomue macasi[a]mue ailamue ambitiseti* 'und wer den Rinderstall oder den Rundbau oder ein Mauerwerk oder ein anderes (sc. Gabäude) herumbauen will...', 8) *iãs : osias : uertatosue : temeiue : robiseti : saum : tecametinas : tatus : somei* 9) *enitousei* 'welche *arsnas* (f. pl.) er entweder draußen oder zu Hause zerlegen/töten wird, von diesen jeweilig die Zehnten sollen sie opfern diesem Tousos'. 10) *tocoitei : ios : ur : antiomue : auseti : aratimue : tecametam : tatus* 'für den Togets, der U. oder A. gedeihen lassen soll/wird, sollen sie den zehnten Teil opfern'.

These and other archaisms lead to the conclusion that within the Celtic language family, both CI and Goidelic, the ancestor of Irish, fulfil the conditions of a marginal language according to Meillet's (1966, p. 16) definition: «Les langues qui occupent les extrémités... ont chance d'avoir été apportées par les colons qui se sont les premiers détachés du gros... et par suite d'avoir con-
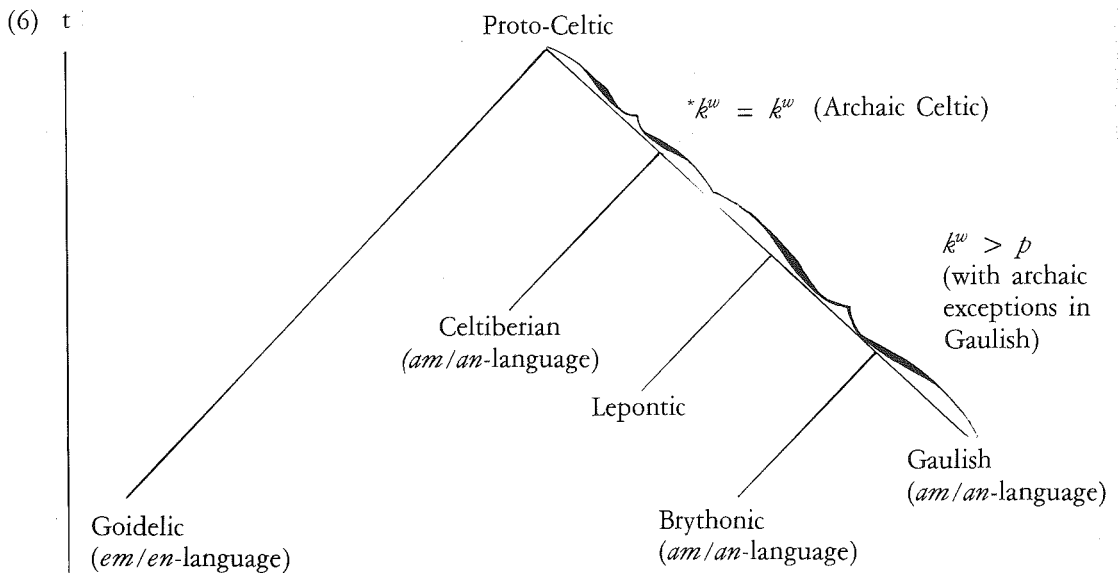
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[14] Cf. Gómez-Moreno 1925.
[15] Cf. Polybius 10, 7, 5: Ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐν τοῖς Κονίοις προσαγορευομένοις; Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, p. 36.
[16] Cf. the references given by Untermann 1983, 805[40], to which may be added Schmidt, *Actas Lisboa*, pp. 319-341.

[17] As to the discussion of this text cf. the references given by Beltrán/Tovar 1982.
[18] Cf. Schmidt 1977; as to the Basic Order SOV in Peñalba de Villastar cf. Ködderitzsch, 1985, *Festschrift Knobloch*, pp. 211-222.

servé des archaismes inconnus aux colons dont la langue des régions centrales continue la tradition». On this basis the separation of the Celtic languages must have taken place as follows:

(6) t

$$*k^w = k^w \text{ (Archaic Celtic)}$$

$$k^w > p$$
(with archaic exceptions in Gaulish)

Proto-Celtic

Celtiberian
(*am/an*-language)

Lepontic

Gaulish
(*am/an*-language)

Goidelic
(*em/en*-language)

Brythonic
(*am/an*-language)

Even more important than CI for our considerations are, however, three non-IE linguistic areas of the Peninsula, i.e. the southwestern, the Iberian and the Basque regions. In the extreme SW we find the South Lusitanian inscriptions from the province of Algarve, together with the *Ilipa* stone (Alcalá del Río, Sevilla)[19]. The texts are written in an archaic script[20] and seem to reflect a language that is independent of Iberian[21]. It has been connected with ancient Tartessos (cf. Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, pp. 31 f.).

As to Iberian, its sources consist of coin legends, inscriptions and names and are located from the upper Guadalquivir up to the Pyrenees and southward along the coast of Granada and the Sierra Nevada up to the south of France[22]. The Iberians had linguistic contacts with Phoenicians, the authors of the Algarve inscriptions, Greeks, Celts, Ligurians, Romans, Aquitanians and Basques, among others[23]. The use of the Iberian script which is attested in two main variants[24] im-

[19] Cf. Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, pp. 13 f.; 36.

[20] As supposed by De Hoz 1981, p. 32: «podemos pensar que las escrituras hispánicas han nacido ya en el siglo VII antes de Cristo en el bajo valle del Guadalquivir, como uno más entre muchos otros fenómenos que se explican por influencias orientales, y especialmente fenicias».

[21] Cf. Schmoll 1961; 1962; Gómez-Moreno 1961; De Hoz 1977; 1979, p. 270. As to the elements in PlN and personal names (PN) restricted to the region west of the upper Guadalquivir cf. Untermann, *MLH* I, p. 78: PlN in *-ippo, -uba*; PN element *Sis*-vs. possesive particle *-ṁi*, PN elements *iscer, beles* in Iberian.

[22] Cf. Lejeune 1960; Jannoray 1955; Untermann, *MLH* II.

[23] Cf. Untermann 1969; 1969a; *MLH* II; Lejeune 1960; Gómez-Moreno 1925 = *Misceláneas*, p. 246; Albertos Firmat, «Onomastique», p. 859; De Hoz 1979a.

[24] Cf. Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, p. 14: (a) «a series of inscriptions on coins and on some other objects coming from the Andalusian area, which must be classed as South-Iberian. Within the same group must be placed an important relic found in the eastern zone: the lead of Mogente. The documents from the region of Albacete link Andalusian with the eastern provinces»; (b) «includes the districts of Valencia, Catalonia, and the central valley of the Ebro, with some examples in the South of France».

plies an underdifferentiation of the language in two respects: a) voiced and voiceless occlusives are not differentiated from the graphemic point of view; b) the occlusives are bound to a following vowel with the result that, for instance, the character *ti* can be read *di*, *t* or *d* as well (cf. Michelena 1979, p. 25). Because of this, the Iberian inscriptions and names written in the Greek and Latin alphabets are of particular importance for the identification of the phonemic system of the language[25]. The phonemic inventory of Iberian has recently been discussed by Michelena 1979, pp. 26 f. in his important survey on the Iberian language. It consists of five vowels, five occlusives, two sibilants and several sonants, the phonetic identification of which is not quite clear[26].

(7) i   e   a   o   u
          b   t   d   k   g
                               s   ś
                                   n   m   m̄
                               r   ŕ
                               l   L[27]

The lack of /p/ and the exclusion of vibrants in initial position is consistent with universal linguistic tendencies.

Iberian morphology and lexicology are little known. J. Vallejos' (1954) hypothesis that the Iberian inscriptions consist only of names is extreme and improbable (cf. Michelena 1979, pp. 32, 37). In analysing the material three main methods have been used: a) Segmentation of the grapheme chain in order to detect recurrent morphemes; b) classification of the morphemes together with an attempt at discovering their functions:

(8) GAROK-AN, BA-GAROK, TAGIS-GAROK (Alcoy)

From the arrangement of the elements in no. 8, Michelena 1979, p. 35 has drawn the conclusion that GAROK and TAGIS are lexemes, AN a suffix and BA a prefix. Although this explanation seems obvious, it would be even more convincing if the recurrence of the grammatical elements could be proved.

In other cases the grammatical analysis remains uncertain:

(9) *X eban-en* 'X his *(en)* eban' 'eban of X' (Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, pp. 63 f.) vs. 'of *(en)* the eban of X' (Michelena 1979, p. 34).

If we compare no. 10, Michelena's interpretation of *en* as a genitive morpheme seems to be preferable:

(10) *iltiŕbicis-en seltar-m̄i* 'of *(en)* Iltiŕbigis the tomb I (am)' (Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, p. 64[28]).

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[25] Cf. especially the archaic Ibero-Greek inscriptions from the regions of *Alicante* and *Murcia*, the lead tablet of *Elne/Illiberi* in a later Hellenistic variant of the Greek alphabet (Lejeune 1960) and the Ibero-Latin bronze tablet of Ascoli dated 89 B.C. and containing the Latinised names of the Iberian horsemen of the *turma Salluitana* (Gómez-Moreno 1925).

[26] Cf. e.g. Schmoll 1956; 1960; 1963, p. 49 f.; 1966; Lejeune 1960, p. 78; 1983; Tovar 1962; Siles 1976, pp. 21 ff.; Untermann 1983, p. 796.

[27] On the basis of graphemic correspondences —«ib. -Lt- (gr. -LD-, lat. -LL-, plus tard -L-)» (Michelena 1979, p. 26)— the phoneme has been defined by Schmoll as retroflex *l(l)*, by Michelena 1979, p. 26 as the «contrepartie forte de -*l*- entre voyelles», cf. also Untermann 1976, p. 125. On the other hand, one might think of a lateral spirant: iber. *iltirda* = *Ilerda*, 'Ιλέρδα, 'Ιλέρτη 'Lérida', *Ilerdenses*; iber. *salduie* (coin) = *Salduba* (Plin. Ms.), *Sal(l)u(u)ia (Salluitana)*.

[28] Cf., on the other hand, Untermann 1975, p. 78: «Possessiv-partikel -*mi*»; 78[4] «erscheint in Besitzerinschriften auf Keramik und Stein, stets an Personennamen angefügt».

And perhaps it is no accident that Basque has a possessive genitive in -en[29].

Linguistic comparisons: the examples in no. 11 are taken from Michelena 1979, p. 38:

(11)		ib.	Pyr.	Basque
Bsq.	'coeur'	BIOS-	Bihox-	bihotz
»	'noir'	beleś, bels	Belex	beltz
»	'tordu'	biuŕ	—	bihur
»	'fils'	—	Sembe-	seme
	—	-talsco, talscu-	Talsco	—
	—	—	Silex	—
	—	balce	—	—
	—	bilos	—	—

The identification of the word correspondences of no. 11 is complicated by the fact that we know the meaning of the words only in Basque. If, however, word correspondences belong to the same semantic field, as seems to be the case with the Basque-Aquitanian material under no. 12, their value as evidence is increased:

(12) Aquit. PN ANDERE, NESCATO, CISON, SEMBE-: Basque *andere* 'señora, mujer', *neskato* 'muchacha', *gizon* 'hombre', *seme* 'hijo' (Mitxelena 1984, p. 27; Gorrochategui, *Onom. Aquitana, passim*).

The fact that Basque *andere* has an apparent equivalent in Celtic: Middle Irish *ander* 'young woman', Welsh *anner* 'heifer'[30] has raised the question whether we have to do originally with a Celtic or a Basque word. Pedersen's hypothesis (1909, p. 21) of a Celtic origin is supported by the meaning of Welsh *anner* 'heifer'. Moreover we must consider the possibility of further Celtic loans in Basque-Aquitanian; an often discussed item in this context is the word for *bear*[31]:

(13) Basque *(h)artz*, Aquit. HARSI: Celtic *arto-

Finally, hybrid Gaulish-Aquitanian PN are attested within the Celtic-Aquitanian contact zone[32]:

(14) *Attaio-rix, Belheio-rix, Bonno-ris, Dunoho-rix*

On the other hand, the integration of *andere* into the semantic field of no. 12 supports the theory that it is a genuine Basque word.

In general, it may be taken as established that PN and PlN from Aquitanian and Navarra[33] enable us to trace the Basque language back to antiquity, although its written tradition begins with single words and word lists as late as the 10th c., while its oldest coherent texts belong to the 16th c. As pointed out by Michelena 1968, p. 1.417: «Il est donc juste d'employer le terme 'euskarien' (du basque *euskara*, langue basque), pour désigner l'ensemble basque-aquitain»[34].

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[29] Cf. Allières 1979, p. 55: *Génitif possessif:* complément de nom exprimant un rapport abstrait d'appartenance (*Baigorri-r-en izena* 'le nom de B.')».

[30] Cf. Vendryes, *LEIA*, A-76; Gorrochategui, *Onom. aquitana*, pp. 127 ff. As to Gaulish *anderon* in Chamalières cf. Fleuriot 1976/77, pp. 181 f.; Schmidt 1981, p. 261.

[31] Cf. the references given by Gorrochategui, *Onom. aquitana*, pp. 220 f.

[32] Cf. Schmidt *KGP*, pp. 50 f.; 1980, pp. 33 f.; Gorrochategui, *Onom. aquitana*, pp. 53 ff.; 148 f.; 161; 173; 198.

[33] As to Basque toponymy cf. the investigations by Corominas cited by Gorrochategui, *Onom. aquitana*, pp. 19 f.

[34] Cf. also Luchaire 1879; Tovar 1959, pp. 38 ff.; *Ancient Languages*, pp. 127 ff.; De Hoz 1981, pp. 52 ff.; Gorrochategui, *Onom. aquitana*.

Outside the scope of these arguments lies the problem of Basque-Iberian relationship; in the case of possible Basque-Iberian word correspondences of the type shown in no. 11, we may have to do with loans from one language into the other. Particularly interesting, however, are the similarities of the phonological inventaries, both vocalic (Michelena 1977, p. 47) and consonantal. As to the latter I refer to Michelena's reconstruction of the Old Basque consonant system under no. 15 which may be compared with the Iberian system under no. 7:

(15)   Fuertes: - t c c̆ k N L R
       Lenes: b d s ś g n l r   (Michelena 1977, p. 374)

However, the conclusiveness of this evidence is reduced by the fact that the phonological systems of «Languages in Contact»[35] tend to get assimilated to each other, as has been shown e.g. for the Caucasus by Job 1977. Therefore, Humboldt's «Basko-Iberismus» cannot be taken as proven before we attain a better understanding of Iberian structure and word meanings. This restriction applies even more to the hypothesis of «Hammito-Iberismus»[36].

Let us pass on to some grammatical features of Basque: a) the ergative construction in which the object of the transitive verb falls together with the subject of the intransitive verb in a largely unmarked case which is called *nominative* or *absolute* case or *casus indefinitus*, while the agent in the *ergative* case is marked:

(16)   *Baigorri-k* (erg.) *partida irabazi du* 'B. a gagné la partie' vs. *Baigorri* (nom.) *mendi-artean da* 'B. est au milieu des montagnes' (Allières 1979, p. 55).

b)   the declension system consisting of twelve cases which are differentiated as to indeterminedness (numerus generalis) vs. determinedness (singular vs. plural):

(17)   *xuri* 'blanc': nom. *xuri*, determ. *xuri-a*, pl. *xuri-a-k*, erg. *xuri-k*, *xuri-a-k*, *xuri-e-k*, instr. *xuri-z*, *xuri-a-z*, *xuri-e-(ta)-z*, dat. *xuri-r-i*, *xuri-a-r-i*, *xuri-e-r(i)/-e-i* (Allières 1979, p. 56 f.).

c)   Polypersonal verb:

(18)   *aita mintzatu da* 'el padre ha hablado': *aita semeari mintzatu zaio* 'el padre ha hablado al hijo'; *aitak txapela galdu du* 'el padre ha perdido la boina': *aitak txapela galdu dio semeari* 'el padre le ha perdido la boina al hijo' (o sea, 'ha perdido la boina del hijo') (Mitxelena 1984, p. 42).

B)   IBERIA II (CAUCASUS)

According to Deeters' definition (1963, p. 3), the term *Caucasian languages* is applied to all languages «die im kaukasischen Gebirge und den nördlich und südlich vorgelagerten Ebenen gesprochen werden oder noch im 19. Jahrhundert gesprochen wurden, die nicht einem der be-

[35]   Cf. Weinreich 1966, pp. 14 ff.

[36]   As to «Hammito-Iberismus» Schmoll, *Die Sprachen*, 3, mentions that this theory was first put forward by v. d. Gabelentz 1893 and Giacomino 1895; cf. moreover the references given by Tovar, *Ancient Languages*, p. 60. As to «Basco-Iberismus» cf. Caro Baroja 1942; Michelena 1968, pp. 1.417 and 1.419 seems to pre-fer the basco-iberian Hypothesis: «des ressemblances dans l'inventaire des phonèmes et dans leur distribution, dans la forme canonique des thèmes nominaux, des identités matérielles dans certains éléments lexicaux et même, à ce qu'il semble, grammaticaux. On hésitera à voir dans tout cela... le seul effet de la proximité dans l'espace».

nachbarten großen Sprachstämme angehören und sich dadurch als von jüngeren Zuwanderern getragen erweisen». Soviet linguists call these languages Ibero-Caucasian (Russian *iberijsko-kavkazskie jazyki,* Georgian *iberiul-kavkasiuri enebi*), stressing by this designation the connection with ancient *Iberia* as a name for Georgia. The *GSE* also uses the term *paleokavkasiuri enebi* 'Palaeo-Caucasian languages', among other names. From the genetic point of view the CL are subdivided into three groups: South Caucasian (SC), West Caucasian (WC), and East Caucasian (EC).

The lingustic area of the four SC languages (SCL), Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz and Svan, extends over the river basins of the Rioni and middle Kura approximately up to Batumi, and southward along the Black Sea Coast. Mingrelian and Laz are also regarded as a unit called Zan. Georgian, spoken at present by about 3 1/2 million speakers, is the only CL with an unbroken older tradition. As already mentioned, its literary tradition goes back to the 5th c. A.D. Together with IE Armenian and Caucasian Albanian, the latter became extinct in the 13th c. A.D., Georgian is one of the three old Christian literary languages of the Caucasus with writing systems of their own[37].

(19)   Proto-Kartvelian
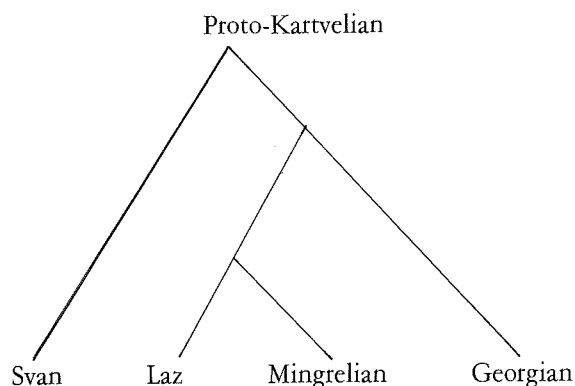
Svan   Laz   Mingrelian   Georgian   (Deeters 1930 § 4)

The WC or Abkhazo-Adyghian languages, with the exception of Ubykh, whose speakers emigrated to Turkey in the mid 19th c., are all spoken in the northwestern Caucasus between the Kuban river and the Black Sea, in the valleys of the upper Kuma and the left tributaries of the middle Terek. They can be divided into three groups:

(20)   Abkhazo-Adyghian languages: 1) Abkhaz, Abaza; 2) Adyghian, Kabardian; 3) Ubykh

The 29 EC or Nakho-Dagestanian languages consist of four groups:

(21)   Nakho-Dagestanian languages: 1) Nakh: Chechen, Ingush, Bats; 2) Avaro-Ando-Dido (14 languages); 3) Lak-Dargwa (2 languages); 4) Lezgian (10 languages).

Of the languages listed under no. 21, groups 2-4 are located in Dagestan.

From the typological point of view the CL are characterised by a number of common features: the phonological differentiation of the consonant system according to three-member correlations —voiceless, voiced, ejective; some ECL have a series of strong or intense consonants as well. The complex consonant systems of the CL, in particular of WC and the Dagestanian languages —SCL have 27-30 phonemes, EC: Tabasaran 44, Chinalug 59 phonemes; WC: Abkhaz 67,

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[37]   As to Albanian, cf. now Schulze 1982, pp. 279 ff.; Greppin 1982.

Ubykh 80 phonemes —arise among other things from the great frequency of affricates and spirants, and from the series of sounds articulated at the rear of the oral cavity (uvulars, pharyngeals, laryngeals). On the other hand, the WCL have very few vowels. The complexity of WC consonant systems is demonstrated by the example of Adyghian:

(22)

p	t	c	ĉ	č	c̃		k	q	ʕ
ṗ	ṭ	ç	ĉ̣	č̣	c̣̃	λ	ḳ		
b	d	ȝ	ȝ̂	ȝ̌	ȝ̃		g		
f		s	ŝ	š	s̃	η	x	χ	ħ
			ṣ̂						
v		z	ẑ	ž	z̃	l	g	γ	
			ĉ°				k°	q°	ʕ°
ṗ°	ṭ°						ḳ°	q̇°	
			ȝ̂°				g°		
			ŝ°					χ°	
			ṣ̂°						
			ẑ°				γ°		(Deeters 1963, p. 21)[38]

A syntactic similarity shared by the CL and Basque is the differentiation between the transitive ergative construction, with the agent in an oblique or special case called the ergative, and the intransitive nominative construction (cf. no. 16). *Verba sentiendi et percipiendi* follow the affective construction, with the person affected in an oblique case or the locative. I should like to illustrate this with a Georgian example:

(23) Trans. *monadirem* (erg.) *moḳla iremi* (nom.) 'the hunter killed the deer'; intr. *monadire* (nom.) *iqo ḳalakši* 'the hunter was in the city'; affect. *u-qvar-s ḳalçuli* (nom.) 'he loves the girl' (*'to him the girl is pleasing').

Typological contrasts exist between the ECL and the WCL. The prototype of EC is characterised by the following features: a) Class inflection (verbs and other parts of the sentence can have a class marker conditioned by the noun, which itself is unmarked) and impersonal verb:

(24) Grammatical classes in Avar:

	sg.	pl.
I	v	
II	j	r
III	b	

va.c *v*ačana 'the brother came', ja.c *j*ačana 'the sister came', ču *b*ačana 'the horse came', va.cal *r*ačana 'the brothers came' (Čikobava/Cercvaȝe 1962, p. 89).

b) A strongly developed agglutinative declension system using postpositions:

(25) Tabasaran γwan 'stone', erg. γwan-ži, gen. γwan-ži-n, locative (meaning 'under'): γwan-ži-.ḳ, allative γwan-ži-.ḳ-na, ablat. γwan-ži-.ḳ-an 'from under the stone' etc. (Magometov 1965, p. 119).

In contrast to this, the WCL express syntactic relations by means of polypersonal verbs and preverbs:

(26) Adyghian trans. *se we wə-s-e-šʼe* 'I lead you', intr. *se we sə-qə-w-e-že* 'I wait for you' (Rogava/Keraševa 1966, p. 97).

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[38] Modernized version.

The SCL occupy an intermediate position: on the one hand they are polypersonal, but to a less degree than the WCL, while on the other hand they have a case system with postpositions, which, however, is less developed than that of the ECL[39] and is used along with preverbs.

GENETIC IDENTIFICATION OF THE CL

There is no doubt that the CL can be traced back to three proto-languages —SC, WC and EC. The reconstruction of these models has been particularly elaborated for SC[40], while for EC the reconstruction of the subgroups under no. 21 is yet to be established. The situation here is comparable to that of IE, the proto-model of which must be reconstructed from Germanic, Celtic, Iranian, Baltic etc., and not from Gothic, Breton, Ossetic, Latvian etc. As to the relation of the three Caucasian proto-Languages among each other, the genetic relationship between EC and WC was established as probable by Trubetzkoy in his *Nordkaukasische Wortgleichungen* (1930)[41]. The relation between the two northern groups on the one hand and SC on the other hand, however, is much less certain; cf. Vogt 1942, p. 247: «Jusqu'ici aucune preuve n'a été fournie de la parenté des langues du Caucase du Sud et celles du Caucase du Nord». There are a few correspondences between WC, EC and SC which from the point of view of semantics belong to the basic vocabulary:

(27)   WC, EC, SC: 'heart': $^*g^{\,o}a$, $^*da\text{-}\dot{k}w$, $^*gul\text{-}$; 'soul': $^*ps\partial$, $^*sswan$, $sul\text{-}$ (Klimov 1969, p. 68)

But in other cases Klimov's list concedes «considerable deviations» as to the «meaning of the SC prototypes», which has discredited these etymologies:

(28)   WC $^*m(a)za$, EC $^*ma\mathfrak{z}$ 'moon' vs. SC $mz_1e\text{-}$ 'sun'; WC $^*cca$, EC $^*cer$ 'tooth' vs. SC $ca(l)$ 'piece, specimen'; WC $^*c^o$, EC $^*oc$ 'bull' vs. SC $^*wac_1\text{-}$ 'ram' (Klimov 1969, p. 68).

As to word formation and recurrency, the sound correspondences do not suffice to establish reconstructions as e.g. in IE. Moreover, even though the Old Georgian tradition begins in the 5th c., we do not know what the CL looked like two or three thousand years ago. From the point of view of phonology, Georgian has changed only slightly since the 5th c. But in comparison to the other SCL its affricate and sibilant inventory has been renewed. Moreover, if we confront it with Svan, we can obtain surprising results, e.g. in reconstructing a lateral from Georgian /s/ and Svan /l/:

(29)   Georgian: Svan: *sa-katme* 'hen-house': *la-ktalar; sa-texi* 'chisel': *la-txi; sǯe (>rǯe)* 'milk': *ləǯe; si-* (prefix): *li-* etc. (Schmidt 1962, p. 78).

Another example is the detection of a palatal [t']:

(30)   Georgian t : Svan $\check{s}d$ < $^*[t']$: *txra* 'to dig', Ming. Laz *txor : šdux; txili* 'hazel-nut', Ming. Laz *txiri: šdix; tagvi* 'mouse', Laz *mtugi : šdug; otxi* 'four', Ming. *otxi,* Laz *otxo : wošdxw* etc. (Schmidt 1962, p. 75; Melikišvili 1981).

These examples make it clear that a great many detailed genetic investigations must be carried out before we can make any positive statements as to the existence and structure of a Caucasian proto-language.

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[39]   Cf. Deeters 1957, Schmidt 1972.
[40]   Cf. the references given by Schmidt 1962 and Boeder's survey in Gamkrelidze/Mačavariani 1982.

[41]   Cf. Moreover the references given by Schmidt 1984, p. 315[55].

C) COMPARISON BETWEEN IBERIA I AND IBERIA II

Because of their similar geographic situations in the Pyrenees, the Caucasus or the south of the Pamir mountains it is tempting to explain the non-IE and non-Semitic-Hamitic languages spoken in these areas —Iberian, Basque, CL, Burushaski and Werchikwar— as remnants of an ancient language family which has left its traces in other parts of the ancient world as well (Asia Minor, Italy and Greece)[42]. Numerous attempts at proving genetic relationship between Basque and CL have been undertaken by scholars such as Trombetti, Uhlenbeck, Dumézil, Bouda and Lafon[43]. They used word correspondences and grammatical similarities as evidence for their theories, which may be regarded as aspects of this historical model. But the line of argumentation remains problematic, as may be illustrated by two examples: 1) Dumézil 1933, 124 attempts to «préciser la comparaison du CN et du basque» withouth realising that a reconstruction of EC and WC as entities should precede their comparison with Basque. 2) Bouda 1949, 9, after presenting his «Baskisch-kaukasische Etymologien» without sufficient proof, uses them as the basis for his conclusion «daß das Baskische sowohl mit den südkaukasischen als auch mit den nordkaukasischen, d.h. west- und ostkaukasischen Sprachen sehr enge sprachliche Beziehungen hat, so daß man nunmehr berechtigt ist, von der euskaro-kaukasischen Sprachgruppe zu reden».

In spite of the critical objections by scholars such as Deeters 1963, pp. 76 ff., Vogt 1955 or Michelena 1968[44], the Euskaro-Caucasian hypothesis has recently led to quite a number of activities, two of which I shall mention here: 1) In the *Revue de Kartvélologie Bedi Kartlisa* vol. 25-29/30 (1968-1972) R. Lafon published a series of articles «Pour la comparaison du basque et des langues caucasiques». In another publication of 1972, p. 1.788, the same scholar claims that the Basque language was brought to Europe by «a migration coming from the Caucasus, Asia Minor, or some adjacent region»; 2) in the Soviet Republic of Georgia we can at present observe a boom of the Basque-Caucasian. It was energetically promoted by the late A. Čikobava, one of the leading scholars in Caucasian studies. In this context works by R. Lafon[45] and A. Tovar[46] have been translated into Georgian or Russian, while Š. Ʒiʒiguri 1981 published a little book on «Baskurkavkasiuri problema»[47] and the Polish scholar J. Braun 1981, p. 219 tried to prove that «the Basque language shows particularly close connections with the southern group of the Caucasian languages». It must be added, however, that in his article on «The Basque and Caucasian languages: Typological Indices» Tovar 1983, p. 377 come to a very prudent conclusion: «It is also noted that the results obtained by such a method remain problematic from the point of view of the genetic relationship of languages»[48].

As to the Euskaro-Caucasian hypothesis itself, in spite of all endeavours no proof is forthcoming. In this situation it might be useful to scrutinise the given conditions of time and space and to confront the applied procedures with the principles of genetic reconstruction.

Let us begin with the space factor. The distance between the two areas need not necessarily be an impediment for genetic relationship, expecially if we regard both the Caucasus and the

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[42] Cf. Deeters 1963, p. 76: «Räumlich gehören die KS in jenen sich von den Pyrenäen bis zum Himalaya erstreckenden Gebirgsgürtel und seine südlichen Vorlande, der vor dem 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. nur von nicht-indogermanischen und nicht-semitisch-hamitischen Sprachen eingenommen wurde».

[43] For the references cf. Schuchardt 1923, 1968², pp XV ff., Schmidt 1962, pp. 6 ff.

[44] Cf. also Schmidt 1962, pp. 6 ff.

[45] Cf. Čikobava 1976 containing a Georgian translation of Lafon 1972; Lafon 1984.

[46] Cf. Tovar 1979; 1983.

[47] Cf. also Syzar' 1984.

[48] On the other hand, I disagree with Tovar 1959, p. 33: «Tanto los dialectos del sur, como los del noroeste y nordeste, se prestan a ser comparados con el vasco».

Iberian Peninsula as areas where the remains of one or several formerly more widely extended language families spoken. Moreover, there are of course parallels for genetic relationship between languages spoken in widely separated areas, e.g. among the IE languages where the distances between Tokharian in eastern Turkestan or Sanskrit in India on the one hand and Italic or Celtic on the other are even greater. Certainly, Celtic remnants have been discovered all over Middle Europe up to Asia Minor, and most of the IE languages have been spoken between eastern Turkestan and Western Europe, but this does not affect the great distance between the extremes.

As to the time perspective, we should differentiate between absolute and relative chronology. In the Caucasus the absolute chronology is limited. Apart from Georgian and the fragmentarily attested Caucasian Albanian, from which the EC Udi is probably descended, CL have no old tradition. The problem of genetic relations with the ancient languages of Asia Minor is still unsolved[49], although the possibility of a relationship between CL and Hattic has been discussed[50]. In Spanish Iberia, the Aquitanian-Basque language also lacks a time perspective, but this is compensated partly by the Aquitanian names. Iberian is too obscure from both the grammatical and the etymological point of view to confirm or disprove Humboldt's theory of «Basko-Iberismus'.

With regard to relative chronology the correspondences between Aquitanian and Basque (cf. 11 and 12) rather indicate conservative behaviour of the Basque language.

In the CL, differences in relative chronology become apparent by linguistic comparison, as I would like to illustrate by two examples:

1. SC Svan has preserved a series of archaisms such as an undifferentiated adverbial ergative case in *-d,* the categories inclusive and exclusive in the 1st person plural of the verbal inflection, frequent use of prefixes for word formation and instances of tmesis instead of uniform verbal composition. Even Georgian with its much longer tradition has not preserved all these archaic features to any significant extent (cf. Schmidt 1976, p. 215).

2. Among the ECL, Udi has innovated by losing its class concordance and developing a personal verbal inflection by means of affixed personal pronouns instead:

(31) Sg.   Pl.
      besa-z(u) 'I make'   *besa-jan*
      besa-n(u)   *besa-nan*
      besa-ne   *besa-q̇un*

Avar, on the other hand, being characterised both by class inflection (cf. no. 24) and an impersonal verb, remains essentially closer to the prototype of EC.

The fact that conservative behaviour is not necessarily bound to particularly old tradition can be observed in IE as well: the modern Celtic languages did not fully develop the category of infinitive and moreover lack a synthetic conception of 'to have'; when inflecting the numerals 'three' and 'four', the Brythonic languages even today differentiate between masculine and feminine; the older Baltic and Slavic declension systems have preserved the instrumental and locative cases which have been lost in languages with an essentially earlier tradition like Greek and Latin, etc.

Let us, finally, pass on to some methodical principles:

a) Relevant for the proof of linguistic relationship between Basque and Caucasian are only the «stoffliche Übereinstimmungen», as they were called by Trubetzkoy 1968, p. 217, i.e. the

[49] Cf. Schmidt 1962, pp. 9 f.
[50] Cf. Deeters 1963, p. 76 and the references given by Kammenhuber 1969, p. 440; cf. also Diakonoff / Starostin, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language.* München 1986.

linguistic sign substance, but not its structure or type which can change irrespective of a language's genetic connection. This may also be illustrated by IE examples: Ossetic and Modern Armenian adopted an agglutinative declension; the thematic as well as half-thematic verbs of Lithuanian express singular and plural of the first two persons by agglutinating personal endings to the unmarked third person which is neutral as to number, while tense is dependent on different stem formation; from the typological point of view the basic word order verb-subject-object (VSO) of the unmarked affirmative sentence in the Insular Celtic languages is comparable to the basic word order of most of the Semitic languages, etc.

Amont the CL relationship confirmed by word correspondences is most probable between WC and EC, although the linguistic types of these two groups strongly deviate from each other. It follows from these examples that typological features of Basque grammar such as ergativity (no. 16), polypersonal verb (no. 18) and the well developed case system (no. 17) are not decisive for the proof of genetic relationship, and the evidence of the interesting observation made by Dumézil 1933, p. 131 that both Basque and WC have attributive syntagms consisting of substantive and adjective which display group inflection is restricted to typology:

> (32)   Adyghian *wǝc qašχ°e-r* 'the green grass' (lit. 'grass green the'): pl. *wǝc qašχ°e-xe-r;* Basque *gizon bat* 'a man' (lit. 'man a'): erg. *gizon bat-ek*[51].

b)   The second methodical statement concerns the reconstruction of smaller units within the frame of WC and EC (cf. nos. 20 and 21) and the reconstruction of SC, WC and EC protolanguages. In contrast to these procedures it is wrong to take the material for Basque-Caucasian word correspondences indiscriminately from all three groups on the supposition that Proto-Caucasian changed so little during some thousand years that the direct identification of the material is still possible. Even if we could regard the linguistic unity of Caucasian as proven, the process of reconstruction must take into account the fact that the effect of sound laws is limited in time and space, so that etymological identity should rather be manifested by diversity of the word correspondences than by similarity. Let us illustrate this with an example: Among the more convincing Basque-Caucasian word correspondences is the word for *fire* which has been connected with Georgian *çva* 'to burn':

> (33)   Basque *su* 'fire': Adyghian *ma-s°e*: Lak *çu*: Georgian *çv-a* 'to burn', Laz, Ming. *čv-,* Svan *šw* (Lafon 1972, p. 1.786; Michelena 1968, p. 1.426)[52].

But if we scrutinize this evidence with a critical eye we can produce a series of objections: the Laz-Mingrelian and Svan equivalents should result in *ču,* not **çu* as the SC reconstruct. Moreover, the words for *fire* and *burn* need not be identical from the etymological point of view, as becomes evident e.g. in IE: here the IE equivalents of Latin *ignis* and Greek πῦρ are quite separate from the root **dhegʷh* 'to burn'. Georgian, too, has a word for 'fire' *(cecxli)* which has nothing to do with the *root* 'to burn'.

c)   The third methodical requirement is the separation of innovations and archaisms: Innovations such as borrowings, semantic developments, analogical changes etc. which can be introduced at any stage of linguistic development must be excluded before beginning the process of reconstruction. Thus, to give an example from IE, the semantic shifts restricted to Germanic and Celtic:

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[51] Cf. Rogava/Keraševa 1966, p. 374; Schuchardt 1923, 1968, p. 1; Allières 1979, p. 108.

[52] Cf. Lafon 1972, p. 1.786; Michelena 1968, p. 1.426.

(34) IE *oitos 'act of going' > 'oath'; *orbho- 'orphan' > *orbhio- 'heir, heritage'; *priịos 'own, dear, beloved' > 'free'.

are as irrelevant for the reconstruction of the IE protolanguage as are the Iranian loan words in Old Armenian. It was only after the exclusion of this Iranian material that Hübschmann 1875 succeeded in proving that Armenian is a separate language, completely independent of Iranian.

Let us consider in this context the statistical distribution of the SC etymologies:

(35)   800 Georgian - Zan vs. 360 Georgian - Svan, 335 Zan - Svan.

The different proportions are necessarily due to innovations which must be taken into account when comparing SC with non-SCL.

d)   Finally we must consider the enormous differences between the consonant inventories of Iberian, Basque and the CL (cf. nos. 7, 15, 22). An attempt at reconstructing a Basque-Caucasian proto-language, if ever one existed, can only be made under the supposition that this proto-language possessed a common phonological system. But at present it would be quite impossible to reconstruct this system.

Let me conclude with this statement: Before answering the question whether there existed a Basque-Caucasian proto-language, quite a number of detailed investigations must be undertaken. It will be the task of one of the next generations to decide whether the results of this research are sufficient to answer our question.

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