

ABKHAZ LOANS IN MEGRELIAN*

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Abstract

The paper presents a thorough investigation of the Abkhaz borrowings in Megrelian, including structural loans, grammatical elements, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, and appellativa (anatomical and medical terms, household items, terms related to husbandry and pasture, floristic and zoological names, religious terms, landscape, food, etc.). The author examines also the cases of the Abkhaz influence on Megrelian onomasticon.

In Memory of the Great Caucasologist
Professor Georgij Andreevič Klimov

1. INTRODUCTION

Megrelians, the representatives of the western branch of the Kartvelian-speaking peoples,¹ have for many centuries lived in the conditions of close cultural, economic and political ties with the Abkhazians, the neighbouring people speaking an unrelated West Caucasian language.² In different historical periods Abkhazia and Megrelia together were parts of a number of state entities: from the semi-legendary Kolkhian kingdom (whose reality is, however, seriously doubted by many historians) to the historically attested kingdom of Lazica, later—the Abkhazian kingdom (8-10 c. A.D.), and thereafter—the united Georgian kingdom until its disintegration in the 14th century. In the beginning of the 19th century the Megrelian (in 1803)

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¹ Kartvelian linguistic family comprises four languages: Georgian, Svan, Megrelian, and Laz (only the latter two are mutually intelligible).

² West Caucasian, or Abkhazo-Adyghean branch, together with East Caucasian, or Nakh-Dagestanian branch, form the independent North Caucasian linguistic family.

and Abkhazian (in 1810) principalities became parts of the Russian empire, and in the Soviet period both Abkhazia (from 1931—as an Autonomous republic) and Megrelia were parts of the Georgian SSR.

There was a tradition of dynastic marriages between the representatives of the princely houses of Abkhazia and Megrelia, i.e. between the Abkhaz ruling princes Chachbas (called in Georgian Sher-vashidze) and Megrelian Dadianis. The south-Abkhazian aristocrats often knew the Megrelian language and, conversely, some Megrelian nobles knew Abkhaz. Reflecting the situation typical for the beginning of the 19th century, E. Spencer (1838: 308) wrote: “It appears that the peasants of Mingrelia do not speak the Circassian dialect [by which Abx was meant—VCh], which is only used by the princes and nobles, who claim a common origin with the untameable spirits of Circassia...”.

The linguistic contact was especially intensive in the zone of the immediate Abx-Megr marchland, in the Samurzaqan province of southern Abkhazia (the modern Gal region) and the adjacent areas of Megrelia. The population of the majority of the settlements in Samurzaqan until the end of the 19th century was either bilingual (Megr-Abx), or at least understood the Abx language, which knowledge was more widespread among the men and especially among the local aristocracy. According to A. Cagareli (1880: ix), “Abkhaz in all Samurzaqan was until recently the language of the highest society, of princes and nobles; they boasted of their knowledge of it”.

The dynamics of the influence of one language over the other in various historical epochs was not equal. In general, it is correct to say, that the intensity of the Abx linguistic influence on Megr, which peak probably coincided with the time of the existence of the Abkhazian kingdom, was gradually weakening towards our time, though in the Megr-Abx contact zone Abx still preserved its positions until the first quarter of the 20th century. The strongest Megr influence on Abx was probably in the middle of the 19th—the first quarter of the 20th centuries, which was explained by the fact that the majority of the Abx lands became empty due to the mass forced emigration of tens of thousands of Abkhazians unwilling to live under Russian rule. This in turn stimulated the active process of migration to Abkhazia of a considerable number of Megrelians, which continued, with different intensity, until very recently. This led to a considerable intensification of the Megr-Abx contacts, which was reflected, in particular, in the Abx lexicon, which adopted quite a

number of Megr words, including many Georgian words acquired via the Megr intermediary.

Although of all North Caucasian languages Abx is the second, after Bats, in the number of Kartvelian loans, only a small part of it, some 30 lexemes, is found in the Tapanta dialect of the closely related Abaza (whose ancestors migrated from Abkhazia to the Northern Caucasus in late Middle Ages) and is thus reconstructable for the CABx period (cf. Chirikba 1996: 101-102). Such a modest number of Kartv words in CABx indicates a relatively weak intensity of direct Abx-Kartv contacts in the CABx period (i.e. approximately up to the 14th century). Besides, the traces of such contacts are found exclusively in the lexicon, not involving morphology or syntax.

The lexical influence of the Kartv languages involved first of all the coastal areas of Abkhazia and, to a considerably less degree, its mountainous parts. The relative share of Kartv loans is increasing in the direction from west to east, reaching a maximum in the borderline of Abx-Megr contact zones with infrequent Abx-Megr and, more rarely, Megr-Abx bilingualism, and decreases roughly by half in the Bzyp dialect, reaching here not much more than one hundred lexemes.

It is necessary to note that, beside a small part of the Kartv loans, which goes back directly to a Geo source, the major part of the Kartv lexicon, which entered Abx orally, including the majority of Geo loans, has Megr as its source or intermediary (the traces of the contact of Abx with Svan, despite the earlier views on the mixed Abx-Circ-Kartv character of Svan, on the contrary, are not obviously visible; though cf. Topuria 1967: 69-70 and Hewitt 1992: 245-246). A different situation appeared in the Soviet period, after the incorporation of Abkhazia into Georgia in 1931, when literary Abx acquired a certain number of Geo learned words.

The question of the Megr linguistic influence on Abx has been studied rather satisfactorily thanks to the works by Čaraya 1912, Genko 1928, Schmidt 1950, Bgažba 1964 (BD), Cik'oliya 1969, Lucassen 1980, Šagirov 1989, Džonua 2002, etc. At the same time the problem of the Abx influence on Megr has until recently not been sufficiently studied. This does not mean, of course, that this topic was never investigated by scholars. A number of Abx lexical loans in Megr were noted in the grammar and dictionary of Megr by I. Kipšidze. A. Cagareli (1880: viii-ix) depicted an interesting, from the historical point of view, picture of the linguistic situation characteristic for the Abx-

Megr marchland of the second half of the 19th century. A number of observations were made by N. Marr (1938; cf. also Marr's notes in Čaraya 1912). Later some aspects of this theme were discussed in the works by Čikobava (1942), Rogava (1942), Gudava (1947), Lomtadze (1956), Cik'oliya (1977), Klimov (1971), Dzidzariya (1987; 1988; 1989; 2000), Hewitt (1992; 1992a), Gubliya (2002), and some other authors.

In this paper I discuss the phonetic peculiarities of Abx loans in Megr, as well as the etymology of these loans. I touch upon the problem of the possible influence of Abx on Megr morphology and syntax only briefly, as these interesting themes deserve a separate discussion. The major part of the lexical material analysed below has already been discussed in the literature, another part was revealed by me. The main sources on Megr were the above-mentioned dictionary by I. Kipšidze (Kipš), the large new three-volume Megr-Geo dictionary by O. Kadžaia (OK I, II, III), works by A. Cagareli, P. Čaraya, and others, as well as lexical material additionally collected by me during the field-work. The Megr lexemes, wherever it was possible, were checked with speakers of both Megr dialects (i.e. Senaki and Zugdidi-Samurzaqan).

The Abx loans form a special layer in the Megr vocabulary and can be divided into several thematic groups. The biggest group is represented by agricultural terms, words belonging to animal husbandry and dairy products. The second largest group is the terminology of the household. Then follow the names of plants, religious terms, body parts, natural objects, personal characteristics, sea-faring terms, etc. I regard as Abx loans also words, which in Abx itself are borrowed from other languages, as, e.g., Megr *bžak'e* 'beard', *dagva* 'deaf', *uro* 'wooden hammer' (in Abx from Circ), *naxut// naxuto// naxwta* 'bridle' (eventually from Turkic, but in Abx probably from Circ), *čnori* 'hired shepherd' (eventually from Iranian languages).

The material analysed here was discussed with the late Professor Georgij Klimov in Moscow, during my work there at the Caucasian languages Department of the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, and some years later, during the Seventh Caucasian Colloquium, Marburg (in 1994). All his remarks and criticisms were taken into consideration in the final version of this paper. I devote this paper to Georgij Andreevič, a great scholar beside whom I was happy to work and communication with whom contributed much to my development as a specialist in Caucasian linguistics.

2. AREAL TRAITS IN PHONETICS

The phonemic inventories of Abx and Megr represent a striking contrast both from the point of view of the vocalism and the consonantism. One can name but a few traits, common to the phonological systems of both languages, the main of which is the three-fold consonant opposition "voiced-voiceless-glottalised" and a relative simplicity of the resonant system. But these features are typical of the majority of the indigenous Caucasian languages. The main difference in the consonant system is that the majority of Abx consonants have a timbre correlation of palatalisation and labialisation, which are lacking in Megr and other Kartv languages. On the other hand, the Abx vocalic system has only two phonemes differing by the degree of openness ($a \sim \text{ə}$), whereas Megr has five vocalic phonemes (some authors regard schwa as the sixth Megr vowel,—cf. Imnadze 1971: 6).

Despite the considerable differences in the phonemic inventories, there is an observable mutual phonetic accommodation between the contacting Megr and Abx isolects, which manifests itself in the adaptation of the articulatory features originally possessed by only one of the contacting languages. Thus, the Abž dialect of Abx, neighbouring with Megr, simplified some of the older contrasts, such as the difference between the middle and front simple sibilants, which merged in the simple series ($\text{z } \epsilon > \text{z } s, \text{dz } \text{t}\epsilon \text{ t}\epsilon' > \text{z } c \text{ c}'$). Cf. also the elimination of the pharyngealised uvular fricatives, which merged with simple uvulars ($\text{x } \text{x}^\circ > \text{x } \text{x}^\circ$). All these phonemes are still preserved in the Bz dialect. In the Abx speech, bordering Megr, a specific Megr accent is heard in the phrasal intonation, in the general melodic of the speech and in the softened pronunciation of the lateral resonant *l*. The Megr influence is also manifested in the considerable number of lexical loans and in the Abx-Megr bilingualism in some areas of Southern Abkhazia.

On the other hand, there is an obvious Abx influence on the pronunciation of the Megr sounds, which is stronger in the zones of immediate contact. This is especially typical for the Samurz speech of Megr (which is not surprising, given the ethnically mixed Abx-Megr origin of the majority of its speakers), somewhat less in the Zugd speech and even less so in the Sen dialect, more remote from Abkhazia and undergoing the influence of the West-Geo dialects. These peculiarities of the Megr speech were noted already by P. Čaraya (: 2), who observed that "in Samurzaqan everybody speaks the Megrelian

dialect from the phonetic point of view very close to Abkhaz". According to Čaraya (: 59), "the Svan language and the Samurzaqan dialect of Megrelian represent an intermediary stage between the Georgian sound system and the Abkhaz one. Both Svan and Megrelian have a sound *a*, which plays a great role in the Abkhaz phonetics, ... the sound *l* in the Megrelian is pronounced very softly, more softly than in Georgian; but in Samurzaqan it is pronounced very hard, just in the same way as in Abkhaz" (cf. also Cagareli 1880: 9, 18; Kipš: 012-013). It is probable that Megr developed the sound schwa, which, as I noted above, some authors even regard as a sixth vocalic phoneme of Megr, under the influence of Abx.

It is also possible to envisage the Abx influence in the tendency to split the vowel *o* into the diphthong *va* [wa], which is attested in a number of words in the Zugd-Samurz dialect of Megr, cf. *Sen kora* : Zugd-Samurz *kvara* 'belly', *Sen gola* : Zugd-Samurz *gvala* 'mountain' (cf. Kiziria 1967: 63), which resembles the situation in Abx, which lacks the vocalic phoneme *o* and in loans with *o* splits the latter into *wa* (admittedly, a similar process is attested in some Geo dialects as well). Cf. also the noted in the literature change *o* ~ *va* [wa] in such Megr words as *čikovani*//*čikvani*, *xorava*//*xvarava* (family names), *q'varani*//*q'orani* 'crow' and in Megr *ečva* borrowed from Geo *ečo* 'small axe'. Another example of a possible influence of Abx phonetics is the tendency in the Zugd-Samurz speech to the elision of the final vowels, e.g. *doyur* < *doyuru* 'he died', *doʔvil* < *doʔvilu* 'he killed', which is compared by Cik'oliya (1975: 47) with similar processes in Abx.

3. THE PHONETIC ANALYSIS OF ABX LOANS IN MEGRELIAN

(1.) *Vocalic correspondences*

One can observe both regular and spontaneous correspondences between vowels in words borrowed by Megr from Abx and their Abx originals. Depending on the adjacent consonant, one and the same Abx vowel can be reflected in Megr by various ways.

(1.1.) Beside the usual correspondence Abx *a* > Megr *a*, cf. such cases as:

Abx		Megr	
<i>a</i>	>	<i>u</i>	: Abx <i>Aq'°a</i> > Megr <i>Aq'u</i> 'Sukhum' (under the influence of the labialised <i>q'°</i>); <i>a-š'xarəž'</i> > <i>šxuriči</i> 'wild grapes'.
<i>a</i>	>	<i>e</i>	: Abx <i>h-taca</i> 'our bride' > <i>xateci</i> 'bride', <i>a-pha</i> > <i>xe</i> 'daughter' (in female forms of surnames), <i>a-š'amək°a</i> > <i>čemkva</i> 'a kind of

dairy product', *a-xč'at* > *xec'eti* 'cream', *a-ha-č'jč'ja* > *xec'eč'i* 'a sort of pear'. Beside other possible explanations, the rendition of Abx *a* by *e* in Megr can be explained by a somewhat front articulation of the Abx vowel.

a > *o* : this process is typical mainly for the final position: Abx *a-wəra* > Megr *uro* 'wooden hammer', *a-xač'ja* > *xač'o* 'curds', *a-k'(a)k'ara* > *k'ak'aro* 'thicket'; cf. also Abx *ak'ə* < *(y)ak'a 'one' > Laz *ak'o* 'once'.

(1.2.) The Abx vowel *ə* can be either preserved, or changed into other vowels:

Abx		Megr	
<i>ə</i>	>	<i>i</i>	: Abx <i>a-nəš'</i> > Megr <i>niši</i> 'boat', <i>k'əla</i> > <i>k'ila</i> preverb 'through', <i>a-nəga</i> > <i>niga</i> 'wooden milk-pail', <i>a-c'əc'əndra</i> > <i>c'ic'indera</i> 'strawberry', <i>a-təy'</i> > <i>tiyi</i> 'ram'; this substitution is especially often observed in the Sen dial.
<i>ə</i>	>	<i>u</i>	: Abx <i>aapən</i> > Megr <i>apuni</i> 'spring', <i>a-ləg</i> > <i>luga</i> 'fool', <i>napər-nəxa</i> > <i>napurnaxa</i> 'name of a divinity', <i>a-pəčxa</i> > <i>pučxa</i> 'crumble'.
<i>ə</i>	>	<i>a</i>	: <i>napər-nəxa</i> > <i>napurnaxa</i> 'name of a divinity'.
<i>ə</i>	>	<i>ø</i>	: Abx <i>a-č'amək'a</i> > Megr <i>čemkva</i> 'a kind of dairy product'

(1.3.) It is possible to suppose that final vowels, sometimes present in Megr loans from Abx but absent in Abx, could indicate older Abx phonetic forms, cf. Abx *a-təp* > Megr *tipu//təpə* 'summer station of shepherds', Abx *a-x^oaž^o* 'rhododendron' (< CABx *q^oaž^oə) > Megr *xozo* in *xozo-k'vari* 'large cone-shaped dumpling', Abx *a-ləg* > Megr *luga* 'fool' (> Geo *lungi*, with the epenthetic nasal; to CABx *ləga ?). In the case of non-final vowels, cf. also *k'ak'ara/o* and *xec'eč'i* below.

(1.4.) The preservation of the initial *a-* Megr borrowed Abx words either with the definite-generic article, or, more often, without it, though the number of words borrowed with the article is rather high (some 30 lexemes). Sometimes parallel forms both with the article and without it are found, cf. Abx *a-xk'aara* 'temporary fenced enclosure for cattle during the summer season' > Megr *xek'ara//axk'ara* 'temporary shepherds' station'. Megr preserves also the Abx root-initial *a-*, as in *ak'a* 'on(c)e' (also Laz *ak'o* 'once') < Abx *ak'ə* < *yak'a 'one', *aywiri* 'bridle' < Abx *ay^ora*, *ašvamk'yad* (Samurz) < Abx *aš^oə-mk'jat* 'a small table for cheese' (*aš^o* 'cheese').

(1.5.) Changes in diphthongs

(a) Abx *aa* > Megr *a*

Megr avoids hiatus in Abx words with the vocalic diphthong *aa* (which is the surface realisation of the underlying voiced pharyngeal ʕ) by means of its monophthongisation:

Abx		Megr
<i>aapən</i>	>	<i>apuni</i> 'spring'
<i>a-xk'aara</i>	>	<i>axk'ara</i> 'fenced enclosure for the cattle'
<i>a-xaac'a</i>	>	<i>xac'a</i> 'ferment'.

Cf. also the epenthetic increment *v* in the family names suffix *-aa// -ava*.

(b) Abx *aa* : Megr *y*

In several cases the modern Abx *aa* corresponds to Megr *y*, which reflects the older phonetic form of *aa*, namely, the voiced emphaticised pharyngeal ʕ, preserved as such in Abaz, cf. Abx *Maan* (< **Maʕan*) > Megr *Maryan-ia* 'aristocratic family name' (with the epenthesis *-r-* and the adding of the usual Megr surnames suffix *-ia*), Abx *aanda* > Megr *yanda* 'fence'. Cf. also Megr *apxaza* 'Abkhazian', via **abyaza* < **abazyā*, from OAbx **abaz(a)-ʕa* (see below).

(c) Changes in the rendering of other diphthongs:

Abx		Megr
<i>aw</i> [ow]	>	<i>ou, ū, u</i> : Abx <i>abawra</i> [abowra] > Megr <i>aboura, abūra, ambura</i> 'cattle-shed'
<i>ay</i>	>	<i>e</i> : Abx <i>ayla(r)ʒ'</i> > Megr <i>ela(r)ʒi</i> 'hominy prepared with fresh cheese'
<i>ay</i>	>	<i>ø</i> : Abx <i>ayk'aya</i> > Megr <i>k'vaya</i> 'small axe' (but see below, in 4.2.).

(2) Consonant correspondences

(a) Palatalised consonants

Both simple and palatalised Abx back sibilants are rendered in Megr by means of (phonetically palatalised) simple back sibilants. Abx palatalised velar stops are changed into simple stops with the transfer of palatalisation to the adjacent vowels. Thus, the sequence /*C'a*/ (where *C* denotes any consonant) gives in Megr the combination /*Ce*/:

Abx / <i>C'a</i> /	>	Megr / <i>Ce</i> /
<i>a-žak'a</i>	>	<i>bžak'e</i> 'beard'
<i>a-q'at'ama</i>	>	<i>yetama</i> 'pintle of the yoke'
<i>a-ck'a bzəya</i> '(ritually) clean (and) good'	>	<i>ckebzi</i> 'ritual cheese'.

The sequence /Cʲə/, pronounced [Cʲi], is rendered as /Ci/:

Abx		Megr
<i>a-k'áčʲəčʲ</i>	>	<i>k'áč'ič'i</i> 'a sort of grapes with small berries'
<i>a-pš'ərha</i>	>	<i>apširha</i> 'wooden vessel for keeping yoghurt'.

(b) Labialised consonants

Labialised consonants, which are absent in Megr, are usually rendered by the sequence /Cv/ or /Cu/:

Abx /C ^o a/	>	Megr /Cva/:
<i>a-dag^oa</i>	>	<i>dagva</i> 'deaf'
<i>a-maž^oa</i>	>	<i>mazva</i> 'dough'
<i>a-g^oarta</i>	>	<i>agvarta</i> 'herd'
<i>a-max^oar</i>	>	<i>maxvari</i> 'arm'
<i>a-k^oadac</i>	>	<i>k'vadaci</i> 'sea-buckthorn'.

The sequence /C^oə/, in case of velar and postvelar stops, phonetically realised as [C^wu], is pronounced in Megr as /Cu/:

<i>K^oəžʲmaxan</i>	>	<i>Gužmaxan</i> 'male name'.
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The words with final labialised consonants are rendered by means of the final sequence "simple consonant plus labialised consonant":

Abx		Megr
<i>a-x^oaž^o-k^oak^oar</i>	>	<i>xozo-k'vari</i> 'ritual large dumpling'
<i>a-bac^o</i>	>	<i>bacu</i> 'medlar'.

(c) Other substitutions of consonants:

Abx		Megr
<i>y^o</i>	>	<i>v</i> : Abx <i>Nay^oey</i> > Megr <i>Naveia</i> 'male name'
<i>qʲ</i>	>	<i>ɣ, x</i> : Abx <i>a-qʲat'ama</i> > Megr <i>ɣetama</i> 'pintle of the yoke', Abx <i>a-bacqʲa</i> 'wicker-work' > Megr <i>pacxa</i> 'wicker hut'
<i>q^o</i>	>	<i>ʔu</i> : Abx <i>Aq^oa</i> > Megr <i>Aʔu</i> 'Sukhum', Abx <i>Bataq^oa</i> > Megr <i>Bataʔua</i> 'masculine name'.

(d) Abx voiceless emphaticised pharyngeal *h* [h̥] is usually replaced in Megr by the uvular *x*, cf. Abx *a-hata* > Megr *xarta* 'wineskin', *h-taca* 'our bride' > *xateci//xaceci* 'bride', *-pha* 'daughter' > *xe* 'feminine surnames suffix'. In some cases Abx *h* corresponds to a cluster in Megr, cf. Abx *a-č'amha* > Megr *čamhva//čamkva* (also *čampa*) 'maple'. Given CCirc **p̄xa* 'wood', a supposed cognate to Abx *-mha* (preserved in compounds, cf. Šagirov 1982: 79), the reason for the presence of the cluster in Megr is obscure.

(3) Epenthetic sounds

The insertion of the epenthetic sounds, mainly resonants, is quite typical for Megr and Laz. Cf. the following examples with increments

in Abx loans: Abx *abowra* > Megr *ambura* 'cattle-shed', *a-xaga* > *xanga* 'madman', *a-hata* > *xarta* 'wineskin' (> Geo *xalta*), *a-xc'ara* > *x(ə)nc'(a)ra* 'to mark cattle' (> Svan *xənc'əra*), *a-t'ama* > Megr *at'ama* > Laz *ant'ama*, *ant'arma*, *at'amba* (cf. also Imeret *art'am-i*, Osset *alt'ami*) 'peach', Abx *a-ʒəyk⁰a* < Megr *ʒikva//ʒirkva* 'trousers'. Cf. also the epenthetic *v* in *-a-va* surnames suffix.

(4) Consonant clusters

(a) Substitution of consonants in clusters:

Abx	Megr	
<i>yt</i>	>	<i>nt</i> : Abx <i>Aytar</i> > Megr <i>Antar</i> 'name of divinity';
<i>nd</i>	>	<i>nd/md</i> : Abx <i>a-c'əc'əndra</i> > Megr <i>c'ic'indera//c'ic'imdera</i> 'strawberry'.
<i>ms</i>	>	<i>mc//nc</i> : Abx <i>a-x⁰amsa</i> 'Caucasian rhododendron' > Megr <i>xvamca</i> , <i>xvanca</i> 'holly, ilex'.

(b) Simplification of clusters:

Abx consonant clusters are usually simplified in Megr by means of the insertion of a vowel (*ə*, *i*, *e*, *a*).

Initial clusters:

Abx		Megr
<i>a-bgəʒər</i>	>	<i>bəgəʒəri</i> 'cornel'
<i>a-xk'aara</i>	>	<i>xek'ara//axk'ara</i> 'temporary fence for the cattle'
<i>a-xraʒaga</i>	>	<i>xəraʒaga//xiraʒaga</i> 'wooden milk strainer'
<i>a-xc'ara</i>	>	<i>xnc'ra//xənc'ara</i> 'marking of the cattle'
<i>a-xč'at'</i>	>	<i>xəč'et'i</i> 'cream'
<i>h-taca</i> 'our bride'	>	<i>xateci</i> 'bride'
<i>a-č'nər</i>	>	<i>činori</i> 'hired shepherd'
<i>a-k'k'ara</i>	>	<i>k'ak'ara</i> 'thicket' (can as well be the reflection of the older Abx form).

Non-initial clusters:

Abx		Megr
<i>a-hač'ə'ə'a</i> 'wild pear'	>	<i>xəč'eč'i</i> (Sen) 'a sort of pear with small fruits'
<i>a-c'əc'əndra</i>	>	<i>c'ic'indera//c'ic'imdera</i> 'strawberry'
<i>a⁰ra</i>	>	<i>ayviri</i> 'bridle'.

Cf. also the elision of one of the components of the cluster in the suffix of feminine forms of surnames *-xe* < Abx *-pha* 'daughter'.

(5) Metathesis

This process is very usual in Megr and is observed in both native and borrowed words. One can mention two structural varieties of metathesis in Megrelian:

(a) $C_1C_2 > C_2C_1$:

Abx	>	Megr
<i>a-pra</i> 'sail'	>	<i>apra</i> // > <i>arpa</i> 'girder-beam'
<i>a-xra</i>	>	<i>axra</i> // > <i>arxa</i> 'rock; hill; steep mountain'
<i>a-bgəzəɾ</i>	>	<i>bəgəzəri</i> // > <i>bzɡiri</i> 'cornel'.

(b) Another typical metathesis is the change of the structure of the type (V)CVCCV into the structure (V)CCVCV:

Abx	>	Megr
<i>a-g^əarta</i>	>	<i>agvarta</i> // > <i>argvata</i> 'herd, crowd'.

Cf. similar transformations in words borrowed from Geo: *kupri* > Megr *kupri*//*krupi* 'darkness', *karva* > Megr *karva*//*krava* 'amber', *okro* > Megr *vrke* 'gold'. Cf. also Megr *margali* from the original **magral-i* (Geo *megrel-i*) 'Megrelian', *xrabi* 'greedy' from *xarbi*, etc.

The popularity in Megr of the metathesis of the type (V)CVCCV > (V)CCVCV allows us to explain the origin of the Megr ethnic term *apxaza* 'Abkhazian': from the OAbx plural form **abaz(a)-ʒa* (**abaza* 'Abaza'³ + plural human suffix *-ʒa*) < Megr **abazya* > **abyaza*, whence, with the devoicing of the medial cluster,⁴ the modern form *apxaza*. This modified Megr form was then borrowed into Geo with the loss of the final *-a* (Megr *apxaza* > Geo *apxaz-i*), in the same way as Megr (from Abx) *at'ama* 'peach' gave Geo *at'am-i*. The Geo *apxaz-* was then borrowed into Russian and other languages. On the other hand, OAbx **abaz(a)-ʒa* became the source for the Middle Greek form *abazg-oi* 'Abaz(g)ians'

4. LEXICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL COMMENTS

4.1. *Back loans*

Sometimes Abx borrowed words which earlier were acquired by Megr from Abx. Such are the designations of the wicker hut (*a-pacxa*), of dry twigs (*a-pacxʷ*), of crumb (*a-pəčʰxa*) (see below under *pacxa* and *pučʰxa*). Another probable example of a back loan is Abž *a-ɣʷat'ama* 'pintle of the yoke'. The original form is probably preserved in the Bz dialect—*a-qʷat'ama*, whereas the Abž form with the initial *ɣʷ-* can indicate the Megr intermediary, cf. Megr (Zugd-Samurz) *ɣeta-ma* 'pintle of the yoke' (Megr does not have the consonant *qʷ*). The

³ *Abaza*—one of the ancient Abx tribes, known from Georgian sources as *abasgoi*.

⁴ For the alternation of voiced and voiceless consonants in Megr clusters, cf. also *bšapa* ~ *pšapa* 'the filling (of smth)', *bšxu* ~ *pšxu* 'thick; big', *abšil-uri* ~ *apšil-uri* '*Apsilian', etc.

Abx word, as proposed by Bgažba (BD 225), is related to Ad *q^oətame*, Kab *q^oədame* ‘pintle of the yoke’ (< CCirc **q^oət:ama*).

4.2. The closeness to Abaza forms

It is interesting that some loans in Megr are phonetically more reminiscent of the northern, i.e. Abaz, than of south-Abx forms. Cf. Megr *k’vaya* ‘small axe’, which is closer to Tap *k^oaya* ‘id.’, than to Abž *ayk^oaya* or Bz *ayk^oay*. Cf. also Megr *pacxa* ‘shelter made of twigs; wicker hut’ with Ašx, Tap *bacq^oa* ‘wicker work’, *bzi* in Megr *cke bzi* ‘ritual cheese’ with Tap *bziy* vs. Abx *bziya* ‘good’. These and some other facts might indicate that, contrary to the widespread view (especially in the historical literature), according to which the ancestors of Tapanta Abazas migrated to the North Caucasus from the territory of Western Abkhazia (where historically the Sadz dialect was spoken, which is not directly connected with Tapanta), it seems to be conceivable that they used to live in the south-eastern part of Abkhazia, either on the territory of the ancient province of Misiminia (the Kodor valley, the historical province of Dal-Tsabal), or in Apsilia (which included the territory of the present-day Gal region of Abkhazia), i.e. in any case in the immediate contact with the Megrelian-speaking area. It is possible to surmise that it is from there, South Abkhazia, where the ancestors of Tapanta Abazas crossed approximately in the 13th-14th centuries the Klukhor pass and entered the North Caucasian plain, rich in land and pastures, where their descendants live to the present day. It is worthwhile noting that the Tap dialect has such Megr loans, which are lacking in both central (Bz) and the western (Sadz) dialects of Abx, cf. Tap *ka* ‘yes’, Abž *ko* < Megr *ko* ‘yes’.

5. MORPHOLOGY

The Abx influence on Megr was not limited to vocabulary only, manifesting obvious traces in morphology as well. I shall not dwell here in the details of this interesting topic, as it deserves a special discussion, and shall mention only the most interesting results of the research in this field.

Megr-Laz and Abx demonstrate obvious parallels in the categories of potentiality and reciprocity (cf. Klimov 1971: 258). A sophisticated system of preverbs in Megr is also close to that of Abx and differs from the sister-languages, which have poorer systems of preverbs. Many authors pointed out not only the structural affinities of

Megr and Abx verbs with preverbs, but also their sometimes material identity. Thus, Marr, in his review of the Megr grammar by Kipshidze, indicated the Abx origin of the Megr preverb *k'ila-//k'ala-* 'through (the opening)' (Marr 1915). Marr also suggested the borrowed nature of the Megr preverb *ta-//to-* 'inside' (cf. Abx preverb *ta-* 'inside'), whereas Šanidze supposed the same for the Megr preverb *a-l-//la-//i-la* (cited in Čikobava 1942: 155). Čikobava (ibid.: 151-152) thought that the Megr preverbs *c'a-* 'below', *k'a-* 'upon', *no-* 'there', *to-* 'inside', *la-* 'to inside', which do not have parallels in Geo and Svan, were borrowed from Abx. Gudava (1947), in his turn, argued that the Megr directional suffix *-x* is borrowed from Abx (see below). According to S. Džanašia (1959: 226), Megr borrowed its subordinating suffix *-ni* from the Abx converb suffix *-nə*, while Hewitt (1992a) supposes the Abx origin of the Megr irrealis mood suffix *-k'o-(n)i*.

Although some of the mentioned Megr affixes might well be of Kartv origin, the others could indeed have been borrowed from Abx, which is especially obvious in the case of the preverb *k'ila-//k'ala-* 'through (the opening)' and the second part of the directional suffix *-ša-x(i/ə)*.

Another possible area of Abx linguistic influence is the evidentiality category: a large number of evidential forms in Megr contrasts with their more limited use in the sister-languages, but finds a direct parallel in Abx, which has a sophisticated system of evidentials (cf. Chirikba 2003: 267).

6. STRUCTURAL LOANS

Structural models of some of Megr compounds and idiomatic expressions correspond to their counterparts in Abx (and in its sister-languages); cf. Megr *nina-dačxiri*, Abx *a-mca-bz* 'flame', in both languages lit. 'tongue of the fire' (cf. having the same structure Kab *mafe bzəy*, Ub *məž'a bza* 'flame'). G. Hewitt (1992a: 405) points out the peculiarity of the structure of the Megr expression 'barrel full of wine', where 'barrel' is in Genitive, which differs from the corresponding Geo expression (where 'barrel' is in Nominative) and is closer to Abx, which in this type of construction uses the postposition with the possessive prefix. Hewitt assumes here a calque from Abx.

Some of the examples of Megr-Abx structural parallels have their continuation also in Laz, whose present habitat does not border on

the Abx one, now being separated from the latter by the West-Geo and Megr speech, which can shed a certain light on the ancient linguistic geography, when Abx and Laz were immediate neighbours. An interesting example is the construction with the postposition 'then, after'. In Megr and Laz it is formed by means of the morpheme *-k'ule*, which is preceded by the Genitive suffix *-š*, cf. Laz *ondye(r)-i-š-k'ule* 'in the afternoon', *oxor-ša mo-p-ti-š-k'ule* 'after/when I came home'. Geo uses in this case the adverbs *roca*, *rodesac*: *roca saxls mi-vuaxlovdit* 'when we came home', *roca is dabrundeba* 'when he returns'. The element *k'ule* is also found in the adverb: Laz *e-k'ule*, Megr *u-k'uli* 'then, after' and is derived from *k'ule* 'trace', akin to Geo *k'val-i* 'id.'. In Geo *k'val-i* is not used in such a function, but in Abx we find a similar use of the word *a-šj+ta* 'trace': *d-an-ca-[a+]šj+ta+xj* 'when/after he left', *d-anə-z-ba a+šj+ta+xj* 'when I saw him/her', etc. Cf. also the adverb *a-šj+ta+xj* 'after, then' (**šj+ta-a+xjə*, lit. 'towards the trace'), parallel to *u-k'uli//e-k'ule* in Megr and Laz. In Tap Abaz the same element *šj+ta*, in the phonetically simplified form *ta*, is used to form past converbs, cf. Tap *d-ca-ta* < *d-ca-šj+ta* '(s)he having left', i.e. 'after (s)he has left', *s-č'ə-a-ta* < *s-č'ə-a-šj+ta* 'I having sat', etc., whereas in the Ašx dialect the same morpheme is found in the form *-šja*, cf. *d-ca-šja* '(s)he having left', *s-t'a-šja* 'I having sat'. The Abaz data even more resemble the Laz constructions with *-š-k'ule*.

7. SYNTAX

Specialists point out a number of syntactic traits in Megr, which fall outside of the standard common-Kartv syntactic model and can be regarded as the result of the Abx influence. Thus, according to Cik'oliya (1977: 96), such features of the Megr sentence as the word order, the specific syntactic construction of two contacting verbs with the suffix *-ni* 'when', the use of some adverbs and postpositions, the presence of the construction identical to Abx phrase, which includes the finite verb with an adverbial particle, etc., in some cases are closer to Abx than to Geo and Svan, and, according to Cik'oliya, are the result of long-term Abx-Megr contacts (cf. also Cik'oliya 1987). Interesting facts of a possible influence of Abx syntactic models on Megr are discussed in Hewitt (1987: 248, 260; 1992; 1992a; 2001). In particular, Hewitt explains the presence of the atypical for the Kartv languages postverbal marking of subordination in Megr by the influence of Abx.

Below I present the main corpus of Megr loans from Abx subdivided into the following rubrics: grammatical elements, common words, and onomastics. The majority of the discussed material has reliable Abx etymologies, which indicates the direction of the borrowing.

8. GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

8.1. *Preverbs*

k'āla-//k'īla- preverb meaning 'through (a hole, cavity)', e.g. (Zug-Samurz) *k'īle-b-le* 'I shall pass through the hole'.

From Abx *k'āla-* translative preverb 'through (a hole, cavity)' (Džanašia 1959: 226; Čikobava 1942; Čirikba: 132, 139); cf. also the nouns *a-k'āl+aa-ra//a-k'āl+ha-ra*, *a-k'āl+c^oa-ra* 'hollow, opening'. Čaraya (: 27) regarded Megr and Abx preverbs as genetically related. Cf. his examples of full parallelism in both languages:

Abx	Megr	
<i>a-k'āl-ca-ra</i>	<i>k'āla-raʔua</i>	'to drive out'
<i>a-k'āl-pa-ra</i>	<i>k'āla-sxap'ua</i>	'to jump out'
<i>a-k'āl-pər-ra</i>	<i>k'āla-purinoa</i>	'to fly out'
<i>a-k'āl-da-ra</i>	<i>k'āla-dvala//k'āla-ryvapa</i>	'to put through'
<i>yə-k'āl-sə-yt'</i>	<i>k'āl-ed < k'āla-i-d(-u)</i>	'came out, appeared'.

Cf. also Abx *a-k'āl-pš-ra*, Megr *k'īla-žina* 'to peep (in/through the whole, opening)'. The element *k'āla-//k'īla-* is used also in substantivised derivatives like *k'īla-rxvili ža* '(tree) hollow' (lit. 'a drilled-through tree'), *k'īla-xit'onili* 'gouged, dug through', *k'īla-xixonili* 'id.', etc.

8.2. *Postpositions*

-x// -xi// -xə postposition meaning 'till, up to'; usually combines with the postposition *-ša*, e.g. *ʔude-ša+x(ə/i)* 'till the house', *yura dya-ša+x* 'till the day of the death', *zugidi-ša+x* 'till Zugdidi'.

From Abx directional postposition *-ax'(ə)* 'towards' (Gudava 1947), cf. *a-bna-[a-a]x'* 'to the forest', *a-y^on-a-[a]x'(ə)* 'to/in the house'. The first part of the Megr compound suffix *-ša+x* has a Laz parallel, cf. Laz *k'oči-ša* 'towards a man', *oxo(r)i-ša* 'towards the house'. But the second part too can correspond to the Laz directional suffix *-xa* 'towards'. It is not quite clear whether the Laz suffix *-ša-xa* meaning 'like, such as' also belongs here, which is a possible cognate to Megr *-ša-x* 'towards', cf. *baba škimi-ša+xa* 'like my father', *hamu-ša+xa* 'like this' (Marr 1910: 228), where the comparative meaning could have de-

rived from the locative one. Gudava (1947: 194) thought that the Abx directional suffix *-xʹ* is also present in such Megr words like *žido-x-še* 'from above', *ekʹo-x* 'upward', *dikʹo-x* 'downward', *dolo-xe* 'inside', *ukʹač-xe/a* 'behind', etc.

9. LEXICON

9.1. NOUNS

9.1.1. Anatomical terms

aqʹvaqʹva 'neck' (OK I: 200).

From Abž Abx *a-qʹoʹaqʹoʹa* 'back (from waist to neck)'; in Bz – *a-qʹoʹaqʹoʹ*.

bžakʹe 'beard' (OK I: 258).

From Abx *a-žakʹʹa* 'beard' (Kipš: 207; Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 133; Gubliya: 44). The Abx origin of this Megr word was also pointed out by Marr, in his editorial notes in Čaraya (: 24); the latter regarded the Megr word as genuinely related to Abx. The initial bilabial in Megr is epenthetic. The name for 'beard' in Sen Megr is *primuli*. The Abx word itself is regarded as a loan from Circ *žáčʹje* < *žakʹʹe* 'beard' (cf. the Circ etymology in ESAY I: 199).

čʹačʹa 'kidney (anat.)' (OK III: 460).

From Abx *a-čʹʹačʹʹa* 'kidney' (Klimov: 182; Gubliya: 72). Via Megr, the word entered also Geo (*čʹʹačʹʹa* 'kidney') and Svan (*žáčʹ*, with the usual voicing of the initial consonant). Gubliya (: 72) connects Abx *a-čʹʹačʹʹa* with the verb *a-čʹʹačʹʹa-ra* 'to string (smth on thread)'. From Abx comes also Ub *čʹʹāčʹʹa* 'kidney'.

maxvari 'arm' (OK II: 235).

From Abx *a-maxʹar* 'arm' (Kipš: 278; Marr [in Čaraya: 30]; Čirikba: 133; Gubliya: 53); cf. Ašx *maxʹa* 'id.'. The Abx word is analysed as *ma* 'hand' and *xʹa* 'handle' (Chirikba 1996a: 111; Gubliya: 53). The final *-r* < *-ra* can be the abstract suffix. Čaraya (: 29-30) compares the Megr and Abx words as genetically related, adding here also Svan *mexer* 'id.'. But in his editorial comments to Čaraya 30, Marr rightly points out that Megr < Abx, and that the Svan word is related to Geo *mxar-i* and Megr (*m*)*xuži* 'shoulder'.

9.1.2. Medical terms

ababara 'jaundice' (OK I: 161).

From Abx *a-baba+ra* 'sickness accompanied by swelling' (OK I: 161).

The Abx word is analysed as *a-baba* ‘downy, fluffy’, plus the abstract suffix *-ra*.

9.1.3. Household items

abšira ‘mould into which cheese is placed’ (OK I: 164).

Cf. also Geo Lečx *apšara* ‘mould for preparing cheese’ (*sulgunis q'alibi*) (Ghlont'i: 44). The source can be Abx *a-pš'ərha* ‘wooden cylindrical vessel for yoghurt and water’ (cf. also below).

apšara ‘a kind of wooden vessel’ (OK I: 199).

Same as *abšira* and *apširha* ? (see below). The connection with *apširha* was suggested also by Kadžaia (OK I: 199). Cf. also Geo Lečx *apšara* ‘mould for (making) cheese’ (Ghlont'i: 44).

apširha ‘wooden vessel for yoghurt’ (OK I: 199).

From Abx *a-pš'ərha* ‘wooden cylindrical vessel for yoghurt and water’ (Kipš: 197; Inal-ipa 1965: 216; Čirikba: 133; OK I: 199; Gubliya: 65), cf. also Abaz *pš'ərha* ‘bucket’. The Abx word is analysed as *a-pš'* ‘side’ (cf. Rus *bočka* ‘bucket’ from *bok* ‘side’) and *-r-ha* ‘elongate, oblong’, ‘heightened’ (Kvarčiya 2002: 124).

ašvank'iad ‘small table for cheese’ (Samurz).

From Abx *a-š'əmk'jat* ‘the shepherd’s small table on tall legs for cheese’ (Čirikba: 132, 136). Another meaning of this word: ‘a wicker table on four legs on which they put the sacrificial meat during pagan rituals’ (Kaslandziya 2005: 661). Džanašia (1915: 81) proposes a Megr etymology for this word: *sum-k'et'i* ‘three sticks’. But beside the unsatisfactory semantic side of such an explanation (no obvious motivation for the meaning ‘three sticks’), phonetically too it is not quite satisfactory: Megr *k'et'i* ‘stick’ gives Abx *a-k'jat*, with the final ejective, not aspirated, which we have in *a-š'əmk'jat*. Kvarčiya 2002: 114-115, on the contrary, argues for the Abx source for Megr; he analyses Abx *a-š'əmk'jat* as *a-š'o* ‘cheese’ and *mk'jat*, understood as ‘container, place of smth’, found also in Abx *y^o+ažə-mk'jat* ‘vessel for young wine’ (*y^o* ‘wine’), an archaic term preserved in the Abx Nart epics. Cf. also *a-psə-mk'jat* ‘a special place where the hunters put the bones of wild animals killed and eaten by them’ (*a-psə* ‘soul’).⁵ Besides, the very geography of this term—the southern Abkhazian province of Samyrzaqan, indicates its Abx source.

⁵ Cf. Dbar (2004: 281); this paper was pointed out to me by B. Džonua.

čaq'va 'wooden vessel for yoghurt' (Kipš: 182), 'deep wooden dish/cup with handle' (OK III: 297).

From Abx *a-č'aq'ʷa* 'small wooden pitcher' (Klimov: 182). The Abx word is akin to Ub *čaq'ʷə* 'basin', with further correspondences in Dagestian languages: Arč *č'aq'ʷ* 'spoon', Tab (Diub) *č'aq'a* 'wooden jug for yoghurt and other products' (cf. Starostin 1985: 87).

ye'tama, yat'am-i, ye'tam-i 'pintle of the yoke' (OK III: 172).

From Abx *a-q'atama* 'id.' (Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 133, 135); in Abž—*y'atama*, probably a back loan from Megr. Bgažba (BD 224-225), beside Megr, points out also at Ad *q'ətame*, Kab *q'ədame* 'pintle of the yoke'. Another Megr term for this item is *t'abuk'i*, Sen *t'abik'i* (< Geo).

k'əga, k'ga 'hallstand, peg' (OK II: 114).

Probably, from Abx *a-k'əga* 'handle' (as of jug, bucket), also 'smith's tongs', lit. 'the holder' (*k'ə* 'to hold', *-ga* agentive suffix).

k'vaya 'small axe' (OK II: 127).

From Abx *ayk'ʷaya* 'small axe' (Čirikba: 133, 135); for the anlaut, see especially Abaz *k'ʷaya* 'id.'.

labaša 'long wooden cane with iron tip, or with iron or wooden hook at the handle, which is carried during the walking in the mountains' (Kipš: 269).

From Abx *a-labaša* 'id.' (Klimov: 182; Gubliya: 63). In Abx it is used also without the final *-ša* (*a-laba* 'stick, cane'). Čikovani (1966: 15) erroneously suggested the reverse direction of the borrowing.

nəga, niga 'milk-pail' (OK II: 387, 403).

From Abx *a-nəga* 'wooden bucket for milking' (Kipš: 281; Klimov: 182; Gubliya: 71). Čaraya (: 31) compared the Abx and Megr words as genetically related. Gubliya (: 71) derives the Abx word from the verb *a-nə+ga-ra* 'to take away' (the centrifugal preverb *nə-* 'from the surface' plus the root *ga* 'to take, carry'). Cf. also Gur Geo *niga/e* 'cast-iron pitcher (for water)' (Ghlont'i: 421) < Megr ?

svira 'handbag made of linden bark' (OK II: 594), also *sura* 'little basket made of linden bark' (OK II: 618).

Probably from Abx *a-š'əra* 'bag, knapsack, travel/hunting bag' (if Megr is not somehow related to Geo *sura* 'a small wine jug').

uro 'wooden hammer' (OK III: 67).

Probably from Abx *a-wəra* 'big wooden hammer' (Čirikba: 132; Gubliya: 74), itself regarded as a loan from Circ (cf. Klimov 1968: 294; ESAY II: 97). According to Bgažba (BD 203), the word is known only in the

Abž dialect, for which he supposed the Megr source. While Rogava (1956: 109) suggested for Geo *uro* ‘hammer’ a direct borrowing from Circ, Šagirov did not exclude here the Abx intermediary (ESAY II: 97), probably via Megr. Svan *uro* ‘hammer for forging’ can be either directly from Abx, or from Megr.

xarta ‘wineskin’ (OK III: 517).

From Abx *a-hata* ‘wineskin, leather sack’ (Čirikba: 134; Gublia: 71). According to V. Ardzinba (p.c.), the Abx word can be analysed as the combination of the root of the verb *a-ha-ra* ‘to weave’ and the locative suffix *-ta*. The rhotic resonant in the Megr form is a usual epenthesis. With the same meaning, the word also entered Geo (*xalta*, from Megr) and Ub (*xāta*).

xirazaga//xərazaga//xarazaga//xarazak’a ‘wooden strainer for filtering milk’ (OK III: 515, 558, 591).

From Abx *a-xrazaga* ‘id.’ (Čirikba: 134; OK III: 591, citing P. Čaraya; Gubliya 57-59), analysed as *x(ə)* ‘milk’, *r+aʒa* ‘to filter’ and the agentive suffix *-ga*. The connection of Megr and Abx words was noted in Bžaniya 97 and Inal-ipa (1976: 347).

zəga ‘woollen yarn’ (OK III: 393).

From Abx *a-zəga* ‘woollen lisle thread, yarn’; in Bz *a-zəga* (BD 47). The first part of the Abx word can be connected with $\frac{z}{\bar{z}}$ in Abž *a-zax-ra*, Bz *a-zax-ra* ‘to sew’, the final *-ga* is the agentive suffix.

9.1.4. Architectural terms, buildings

abarc’a ‘porch, open balcony’ (Kipš: 191; OK I: 162).

From Abx *a-barc’a* ‘open balcony, verandah’ (Kipš: 191; Klimov: 182; Dzidzariya 2000: 146). The final *-c’a* in Abx can be *a-c’a* ‘bottom, lower part’. Sadz *a-barac’a* ‘verandah’ represents probably an older non-reduced form. For the part *bar(a)* cf. *a-xə-bra* ‘roof’ (*a-xə* ‘head’) < **a-xə-bara*?

aboura, abora, abūra, abura, ambura, ambūra ‘cattle-shed’ (OK I: 162, 163, 184).

From Abx *a-bawra* [abowra//abora] ‘cattle-shed’ (Klimov 1968: 291-292; Inal-ipa 1976: 347; ESAY I: 101; NS 497; Čirikba: 133). In Abaz *bawra* [bora]. Čaraya (: 20) wrongly supposed the reverse direction of the borrowing, connecting the Megr word with Geo *boseli-i* ‘cattle-shed’. Kipš: 192 strangely enough derived from this Abx word Megr *agvara* (see below). The Abx word is being connected with Kab *baw* [bow] ‘cattle-shed’, which is supposed to have lost the final syllable

(cf. ESAY I: 101). Cf. also Kar-Balk *bau* '(cattle-)shed, stable' and Svan *bāw* '(big) mountain-hut', both from Kab. In Šagirov's view (ESAY I: 101), the source for the Abx word can be Slavic *obor(a)* 'cattle-pen, cattle-shed', which penetrated also into Rumanian, Moldavian and Albanian, although it is unclear how it could find its way into Abx. An alternative etymology is also possible: if the final *-ra* is the usual abstract suffix (cf. Klimov 1968: 292), then the connection of the Abx word with Kab becomes more plausible (cf. such idea in NS 497; Klimov 1968: 291-292 regarded both Abx and Circ words as borrowed, but for Abx he supposed the Circ intermediary). In this case the affinity with the Slavic word can be simply fortuitous.

agvara 'cattle-shed, cattle-pen' (Kipš: 192; OK I: 164).

From Abx *a-g^oara* 'fence, yard' (Bleichsteiner 1931: 74; Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 137; cf. also OK I: 164). The Megr toponymical element *agvara*, derived from this word, according to Eliava (1987: 95), is found on the territory of Megrelia up to the River Cxenisc'q'ali. Kipš: 192 erroneously derived the Megr word from Abx *a-bowra* (see above).

agvarta 'watch-hut of shepherds and hunters in mountains or in the wood' (Bleichsteiner 1931: 74; Ghlont'i: 22; not in Kipš: or OK).

From Abž Abx *a-g^oar+ta* 'fence', 'fenced place', 'cattle-shed', cf. the full-grade Bz form *a-g^oara+ta*. The Abx word is derived from *a-g^oara* (see above) and the locative suffix *-ta*, lit. 'the fenced place'. It is not connected with Abx *a-g^oarta* 'herd, flock' (see sub *argvata*). The word entered also into the West-Geo dialects, cf. Gur *agvarta(i)* 'hut for overnight stop in the distant field' (Bleichsteiner 1931: 74) and Imeret *agvarta* 'bee-garden' (BD: 229); in Ghlont'i (: 22) the semantics of the Gur word is the same as in the Megr one given above; cf. also in Žghent'i (1965: 278) Lower-Gur *agvarta* 'tent, marquee'; the indication of the Abx source for Gur is in Inal-ipa (1965: 216) and for Imeret is in BD: 229.

amxara 'a small house for a newly-married couple' (OK I: 185).

From Abx *a-mhara* 'a small house or a hut for a newly-married couple'. The Abx word can be analysed as containing the negative prefix *m-*, the verb (*a*)*ha-* 'to hear' and the abstract suffix *-ra*, lit. 'not hearing' (cf. Džanašija 1917: 193). The Turkish Abkhazians still use this term in a fuller form: *a-taca mhara*, lit. 'not hearing of the (newly-married) bride (*a-taca*)', which reflects the typical ritual of "avoidance" by the newly-wed bride of the husband's family (the young couple had to spend a certain time in this wedding-house, situated

nearby the main house, and only after a special ritual the bride was allowed to enter the main house).

apra 'two highest vertical beams in the middle of two opposite walls of the wooden house, whose heads support the horizontal beam, to which the whole span roof is attached' (Kipš: 197), Sen: 'beam-girder, on which the hearth chain is being hung'.

From Abx *a-pra* 'sail' (Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 137; Dzidzariya 2000: 143; Gubliya: 68). Kipš (: 197) indicated Geo as the source for the Megr word (cf. Geo *apra* 'sail'), but Marr (1938: 87) regarded the Geo word itself as an Abx loan. Marr derived the Abx word from the verb *a-prə-ra* 'to fly', taking into account the Abx association of a vessel or a boat with the bird, and the fact that 'oar' in Abkhaz is designated by the word *a-ž^oy^oa* 'wing'.

aptara 'fenced place for cattle' (OK I: 199).

From Abx *aaptra* 'shepherds' spring-station' (OK I: 199), cf. especially Džg Abž *aaptara*; in Bz *aaptra/ə*. The word contains the compound root *aa+p-* 'spring' and *ta+ra* 'the placement of X' (*ta* 'be inside', *-ra* abstract suffix), preserved as a separate word in Abaz (*ta+ra* 'vessel; placement for cattle', etc.).

arpa (OK I: 195), a metathesis from *apra* (see above).

axk'ara//xek'ara//xək'ara 'fenced place in the pasture', 'fenced place for the cattle', 'a temporary pastoral station', 'wattled fence'; also as a toponymic element in Megrelia (cf. OK I: 207, III: 509, 528, 591).

From Abx *a-xk'aara* 'fenced place', 'fenced part of the field', 'summer-time enclosure for horses and calves adjacent to the farm-yard' (Čirikba: 132; OK III: 528). The Abx source for the Megr toponymic element was indicated by Cxadaya (1975: 34). The Abx lexeme is derived from the verb *a-x+k'aa-ra* 'to fence (around)'.⁶

yanda 'fence', 'wall' (Kipš: 349).

Probably, from Abx *aanda* < **ʕanda* 'fence' (Čirikba: 132, 138).⁶

nəši, niši 'boat' (OK II: 391, 404).

Cf. also Laz *nuši//niši*, Geo (dial.) *nuša//nuš-i*, in the Geo dictionary by Saba Orbeliani (18th century) *nuša* 'boat'. Probably, from Abx *a-nəš* 'boat'. Despite Čaraya (: 13), who regarded the Abx word as bor-

⁶ G. Klimov suggested to me the Turkish source for this Megr word, probably having in mind Tur *hendek* 'fence', but the Abx connection seems more plausible phonetically.

rowed from Megr, Dzidzariya (2000: 142) thinks that the presence of *a* in the Megr form can, on the contrary, indicate the Abx source for the latter; for the dialect Geo dialect forms and Laz it is possible to suppose the Megr intermediary. It is noteworthy that both Megr and Geo borrowed another Abx nautical term, *a-pra* 'sail' (see above). Abx *a-nəš* can eventually have some IE source, continuing IE **nau-s* 'sea vessel' (cf. Gr *nau-s*, Lat *nāvi-s*, Skr *nau-s* 'ship'), though the preservation of the Nominative suffix in the borrowing is not quite usual.

pacxa 'shelter made of branches and twigs; wattled hut' (OK III: 92).

Cf. also Geo *pacxa* 'wattled hut (in Western Georgia)' (K'ank'ava 1965: 323), Imeret *pacxa* 'small basket put on the stone in the mill, into which maize pours from the box' (Ghlont'i: 538), Gur *pacxa* 'wattled hut covered with sedge' (Ghlont'i: 538), Laz *pacxa* 'a kind of basket wattled from thick raw twigs of hazel-tree or chestnut' (Vits), 'a hastily built wooden construction used as a cattle-shed' (Atin) (Bucaklişi/Uzunhasanoğlu 1999: 379), 'basket' (Arx), 'stable' (Ardaš).⁷ The word is known also in north-eastern Tur dialects having Arm (Hamšen) substrate⁸ (probably via Laz). Kipš: (: 335) suggested Geo as the source for the Megr word, but it is known only in areas of Western Georgia adjacent to Megrelia. Cf. also Abž Abx *a-pacxa* 'wattled hut, wattled kitchen', for which Bgažba (BD: 203) suggests the Geo source, while Klimov (: 182), on the contrary, sees in Megr an Abx loan.

The Kartv words can be derived from the Abx term for the wicker-work: Abž *a-bəcaqʲa*, Bz *a-bətəaqʲ*, Tur Bz *a-bəcqʲa* 'wicker wall, wattle', cf. from the point of view of vocalism especially such forms as Tsw Sadz *a-bacqʲa*, Ašx, Tap *bacqʲa* 'wattle' (< CABx **batəa-qʲa* 'wattle', from **batəa* 'twigs used for wattle' and *-qʲa* 'flat', cf. Chirikba 1996a: 13; Čirikba: 133, 135). The original meaning of the word is thus 'something wattled', which could be a wattled hut, wicker fence or a wicker basket. The form *bacqʲa* could thus yield Megr *pacxa*, with the devoicing of the initial bilabial (by regressive assimilation) and the substitution of the Abx palatalised and glottalised uvular stop *qʲ*, absent in Megr, by the uvular fricative *x*. Abž *a-pacxa*, thus, can be a back loan from Megr. It is worthwhile mentioning that this word

⁷ R. Lacroix, p.c.

⁸ U. Bläsing, p.c.

spread to Western Abkhazia only relatively recently (perhaps during the last 50 years), from the Abž dialect, because of the chain of popular wattled restaurants called *a-pacxa* with traditional Abx cuisine. Another Megr derivative from *bacqʷa* is *pacxi* ‘thorny or other twigs’, which was also borrowed into Abž: *a-pacxʷ* ‘dry twigs, small fire-wood’.

tipu ‘shepherd’s cabin on the mountain pasture’ (Kipš: 243); OK II: 69: ‘area around a sheepfold (where guard-dogs are placed)’, *təp*, *təpə* ‘place to keep cattle by night’, ‘reportedly, a woman in confinement had her own corner (place) to be, which they named *təpə*’.

From Abx *a-təp* ‘shepherd’s cabin’, ‘cabin’, ‘place’ (Dzidzariya 1987: 38; 1988: 69; 2000: 144; Čirikba: 132), cf. also Abaz (Ašx) *təp* ‘cabin, tent’. The Abx word can contain *tə/a* ‘place’ (cf. Kvarčiya 113; Dzidzariya 2000: 144), though the analysis of the final element (*-p*) is less clear (though see Kvarčiya 113). Kipš (: 243) connected the Megr word with the verb *tip* ‘to mow’, *tipi* ‘hey’, which seems less probable. There are also attempts to connect both Abx and Megr words with Gr *topo-s* ‘place’ (cf. Dzidzariya 1987: 39; 2000: 144).

xek’ara/*xək’ara*, see *axk’ara*.

9.1.5. Clothes, etc.

k’vaxča, *ʔvaxča* ‘goat or sheep fell used as spreading by shepherds (in the mountains)’ (OK II: 128; III: 222).

From Abx *a-k’^oax’č’a* ‘spreading from goat (or other) fell used in the mountains (mainly by shepherds)’. Kvarčiya (: 122) analyses the word as *k’^oa* ‘bosom’ and *x’č’a* ‘to protect, guard’.

zikva ‘trousers’, ‘kind of men’s breeches with narrow lower part of trouser legs’; also *zirkva* (OK III: 389, with *r*-epenthesis).

Probably, from Abx *a-z+ayk^oa* [aɖɛyɤk^{hwa}], *a-z+əy^ok^oa* [aɖziyɤk^{hwa}] ‘kind of men’s breeches with narrow lower part of trouser legs’, ‘trousers’, ‘underpants, drawers’ (Klimov: 182; Gubliya: 112). The part *ayk^oa* means in Abx ‘trousers’, *z* is explained by B. Džonua (p.c.) as *a-za* ‘thin’, i.e. ‘the thin trousers’. The word also penetrated into Laz: *zikva*, *zik’va*, *zip’k’a*, *c’ik’va* ‘underpants, drawers’ (Marr 1910: 145),⁹ and via Laz – into Tur dialects, cf. such Tur forms as *zipka*, *zibga*, *zibka*, *zivga*, *zibka*, *zivga*, *zipka*, *zivka*, *zivra*, *cikva*, *zağva*, *zika* ‘breeches with narrow lower part of trouser legs’ (cf. Eren 1999: 469; Emiroğlu

⁹ In some Arx isolects *zip’k’a* means ‘narrow’, rather than ‘trousers’ (R. Lacroix, p.c.).

1989: 239), and the Kurd dial. of Erzurum (Tur and Kurd forms were pointed out to me by U. Bläsing, p.c.).

9.1.6. *Terms related to animal husbandry and pasture*

agvarta ‘herd, flock, drove’; ‘innumerable, immense number of cattle’ (OK I: 164).

From Abx *a-g^oarta* ‘herd, flock’; ‘multitude, great number’ (Čirikba: 133). The Abx word is connected with Abaz *g^oarta*, Kab *g^oarte*, Ad *k^oert* ‘herd, flock’, in Ad also ‘group’ (cf. ESSAY I: 109; Chirikba 1996: 336). See also *argvata*, *gvarta* below.

ayviri ‘bridle’ (OK I: 200).

Probably from Abx *ay^ora* ‘bridle’ (Čirikba: 132, 136; Gubliya: 71), cf. also Abaz *y^ora* ‘id.’ Although Starostin (1985: 80) regards the Abx word as borrowed from Kartv, I think that it can be native in Abx. If we have had here a Kartv loan, the Megr/Geo *ayviri* should have been adapted in Abx as *ay^oər*, which is not the case. Abaz usually preserves the root-initial *a-*, but not here, though the Abx possessive forms (e.g. *w-ay^ora* ‘your (male: human) bridle’) indicate the presence of the root-initial vowel. For CABx we can reconstruct **(a)y^ora*. The Abx word can be further connected with such EC items as Lak *xxuri*, Darg *urxxur*, Tab *furu* and, probably, also Avar, Bežt, Hunz *royo*, if we suppose a metathesis here (the EC forms are from Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 158). It is symptomatic, that the Kartv lexemes were not included by Klimov in his Proto-Kartv dictionary. If this word is really native in Abx, then Megr is the source for Geo *ayviri* and Svan *hayvr-il* (with the diminutive suffix *-il*). Via Geo the term entered also Laz (*ayviri*) and Bats (*aƿwir* ‘bridle’).

činori ‘hired shepherd’.

Probably, from Abx *a-č^onər* ‘hired shepherd’, *a-č^onər-ra* ‘the hiring of shepherds’ (Dzidzariya: 1987: 39; Čirikba: 134). The word is known mainly in the Abzhywa province of Abkhazia, which neighbours Megrelia. Cf. also Abaz *č^orən* ‘servant, farm-hand’, *č^orən-ra* ‘to work as farm-labourer’. Inal-IPA (1965: 215) regarded the Abx word as borrowed from Megr. Kvarčiya (: 117) derives Abx-Abaz words from Osset *čærun* ‘to live’ < ‘to graze cattle’, the opinion shared by Dzidzariya (1987: 39). But cf. also Pers *čāra-ni* ‘pasturage’, Kurd *čarin* ‘to graze’. In any case, the Abaz form seems to be original, as compared with the Abx one (with the metathesis), which could have been the source for Megr *činori*.

naxvta//naxta//naxuta ‘halter’ (OK II: 376).

Klimov (:182) regarded it as borrowed from Abx *a-nax^ota* ‘id.’. Though this word comes eventually from Turkic languages (found also in Mongolian) and has, as assumed, a Chinese source (cf. Šagirov 1989: 94), it is not found in Geo and is spread mainly in the North Caucasian area (cf. Abaz *nax^ota*, Circ *nax^ote*, Ub *nax^ota*, Kar-Balk *noxta*, Kum *naxuta* ‘halter’, Osset *naxæt-bos* ‘part of a saddle’), with the exception of Azer *noxta*; cf. also Ottom Tur *noxda* (both from Pers *noqta* ?). It is thus safe to assume that the term entered Megr via Abx, together with a number of other terms associated with livestock breeding.

xnc’ra//xənc’ara (OK III: 556, 566) ‘the marking of the cattle by making incisions on animals’ ears’.

From Abx (Abž) *a-x+c’a+ra* ‘the marking of cattle by shepherds by making incisions on animals’ ears’ (Inal-ipa 1965: 219; Kvarčiya 109; Čirikba: 134; Gubliya 62; OK III: 556). Cf. also Bz *a-x+c’a+r*, Abaz *x+c’a+ra* ‘id.’. The Abx word contains the verbal root *c’a* ‘to put’ and the abstract suffix *-ra*; the initial *x-* is not quite clear. In Megr *-n-* can be epenthetic. The word entered also Svan (*xənc’əra* ‘id.’), probably via Megr.

Cf. also *nəga*, *xirəzaga*, *aboura*, *agvara*, *agvarta*, *aptara*, *axk’ara*, *tipu*, *k’vaxča*, *aču*, *tiyi*, *antari*, *ažmax-i/ə*, *ckebszi*, *xac’a*, *xac’o*, *xeč’eti*, *xižəža*.

9.1.7. Botanical terms

9.1.7.1. Wild plants

aia ‘the name of a plant’ (Kipš: 193), cf. *aia žešxa* ‘Aia Sunday’, Zugd *ai-oba* ‘the name of the spring festival’.

Cf. also Svan *aya mišladey* ‘the Sunday day of Aia’ (from Megr ?). The source of the Megr and Svan word may be Abx *a-yə-ra* ‘vegetation’ (Čirikba: 133), cf. also Abaz *šayə-ra* ‘plant’. The resemblance of Svan and Abx words was noted by Bžaniya 150. The Abx word is derived from the verb *a-y-ra* ‘to be born’, ‘to grow, bear fruit’; the alternative etymology, connecting *ayə-ra* with the adjective *a-ya+c^oa* ‘green, blue’ (cf. Šakryl 1961: 111) is less satisfactory phonetically.

anč’a ‘mountain maple’.

From Abx *a-mč’ja*, (dial.) *a-nč’ja* ‘acutifoliate maple’. The genuine Megr name for ‘maple’ is *cxali* (in Geo – *korap-i*).

axešra ‘kind of black grass tall as a man, with white flowers’ (OK I: 207), probably ‘cow-parsnip’.

From Abx *a-xəš+ra* 'limestone cow-parsnip, *heracleum calcareum*'. The Abx word can be analysed as *a-xə-š* 'white head', plus the abstract suffix *-ra*.

axšara 'kind of tall and thick grass' (OK I: 208).

Probably same as *axešra* (see above).

bacu 'medlar, *Mespilus germanica*'; cf. also *tuntiši bacu* 'a kind of mountain ash' (Maq': 11: 'рябина греческая, *Sorbus graeca*'), lit. 'bear's medlar' (*tunti* 'bear').

From Abx *a-bac^o//a-brac^o* '*Mespilus germanica*' (BD: 217; Čirikba: 133). Ub *b(ə)rəc^o* 'id.' can also come from Abx, although it can as well be related on a genetic level (cf. Chirikba 1996: 335). The genuine Megr word for this plant is *ckumut'uri* (Kipš: 202), *ckumunt'uri//cxumunt'uri*, akin to Laz *ckirmut'uri* (Maq': 29), *cximunt'uri* and Geo *zymart'l-i*.

bač'a 'Caucasian bilberry'.

Probably from Abx, cf. Abž *p'ač'a* in *a-h^oa-r-p'ač'a* 'bilberry' (for the first part see probably *a-h^oa* 'pig'), Bz *p'ač'* in *a-h^oə-r-p'ač'*, *a-š'xa-r-p'ač'* 'bilberry' (*a-š'xa* 'mountain', *-r-* connective element). It is not excluded that the name for this plant is etymologically connected with the name for the insect discussed in 9.1.8.1. The other names for 'bilberry' in Megr are *maʔurzene* (from *ʔurzeni* 'grapes') and *melišiaš ža*, lit. 'fox's tree'.

bəgəzəri (Zugd-Samurz, Kipš: 210), *bzɡiri* (Maq': 81; OK I: 276) 'cornel, *Cornus mas L.*'.

From Abx *a-bgəzər* 'cornel' (Čirikba: 134). The second part of the Abx word (*-zər*) is being connected with Abaz *zarə* 'cornel' and further with Ad *zarə-ž'* 'snowball tree' (*ž'* 'bad'), Kab *ze* 'cornel' (ESAY I: 204, 205, 207). Abdokov (1973: 52) explains the first part in Abx (*bgə*) as 'slope'. Alternatively, it can be connected (as an attribute) with *a-bga* 'wolf' ('the wolf's cornel'). Megr *bzɡiri* is from *bəgəzəri* via metathesis. Svan *zigir* 'blackberry, *Rubus*', Megr *zəɡiri* '*Smilax*' can represent a different root. Memišiši (1988: 90) tries to connect Megr *bzɡiri* with Geo *bazgi* and Laz *bazgari* 'cicuta (Rus 'веха мышья')', which does not seem plausible.

c'ic'indera//c'ic'indara//c'ic'imdera 'strawberry' (OK III: 424).

From Abx (Abž) *a-c'əc'əndra* 'strawberry' (Čirikba: 132); cf. also Bz *a-tə'atə'əndər*, *a-tə'ətə'əndər*, Sadz *a-c'əc'əndara*. Though the Abx etymology is not quite certain (cf. for the second part the last element in *a-k^oək^oəmdər* 'shrub'), the fact of its presence in all Abx dialects, and its phonetic shape in the Bz form (with the middle sibilant affricate *tə'*),

allows us to see here a genuine Abx word. Via Megr, it entered into West-Geo dialects, cf. Upper-Rač *c'ic'indera* 'strawberry' (Maq': 47). Megr has also other names for this berry: *xvixvinia*, *čəm(?)ua* 'strawberry'; cf. also in the sister-languages: Geo *marc'q'v-i*, *xendro*, Imeret Geo *dardala*, *c'iamp'ola*, Svan *basq'(i)*, *bäsq*, *mayōl*, Laz *k'andʒu/o*.

čamkva, *čamhva*, *čampa* 'mountain maple'; cf. also *čamua* 'a kind of mountain plant' (OK III: 291).

From Abx *a-š'amha* 'maple' (Čirikba: 134). The second element (*mha*) can be akin to Circ **pxa* 'wood'. The presence of the labial element in Megr forms (*-kva// -hva// -pa*) is quite interesting—can they reflect an older Abx form? The genuine word for 'maple' in Megr—*mek'enčxali*.

k'ak'ara/o 'thick wood with big trees'; also a toponymic element in mountainous Megrelia.

From Abx *a-k'k'ara* 'thick wood with big trees; wood without undergrowth and thickets' (Čirikba: 132, 137), derived from the root *k'(a)k'a* 'open, clean, clear, free from smth' and the abstract suffix *-ra* (etymology by B. Džonua, p.c.). Cxadaya (1975: 34) pointed out the Abx origin of the toponymic *k'ak'ara/o*. The Megr form can reflect an older (unreduced) Abx form (**a-k'ak'a+ra*).

k'vadaci, *k'vadaca*, *k'vadacia* (OK II: 118), *k'udacia* (Maq': 73) 'sea-buckthorn'.

From Abx *a-k'ʷadac* 'id.' (Čirikba: 133). The Abx word probably contains *-dac* 'root', but the first part is not clear. The word is known also in Geo (< Megr ?): *k'ʷadac-i* 'blackthorn' (cf. Čubinašvili 1984: 606), beside the more usual *kacv-i*.

šxuriči 'wild grapes' (Kipš: 361; OK III: 286).

Probably, from Abx *a-š'xarəž'* 'wild grapes' (*a-š'xa* 'mountain', *a-ž'* 'grapes'; cf. Čirikba: 131). Kipšidze (Kipš: 361) and Kadžaia (OK III: 286) derive the Megr word from *šxuri* 'sheep' (according to Kadžaia, from *šxuri-š č'i* 'intestine/waist of the sheep'), which is doubtful semantically. Another Megr word for 'wild grapes' is *burexi*.

xvamca, *xvanca* 'holly, ilex' (OK III: 539).

From Abx *a-xʷamsa* 'Caucasian rhododendron' (*rhododendron caucasica*); in Bz *a-hʷamsə*.

9.1.7.2. Cultivated plants

at'ama, *ant'ama* 'peach' (OK I: 197, 188).

From Abx *a-t'ama* 'peach' (Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 134; Gublia: 67; cf. also

NS: 1005). Cf. also Sadz *a-t'ama*, *a-t'ama* 'peach', Batum Abx: Fer *a-t'amə* (Kilba: 25), Sam *a-t'ama* 'peach', Ašx *t'ama* 'apricot', *ʒən-t'ama* 'peach' (*ʒən* 'winter').

Via Megr, the word spread to Geo (*at'am-i*, Imeret *art'am-i*) and Svan (*at'ama*). Cf. also such compounds as Megr *uškur-at'ama*, Geo *vašl-at'ama* 'the nectarine peach', lit. 'apple-peach' (Maq': 27; Megr *uškuri*, Geo *vašl-i* 'apple'). Via Geo, the word entered Laz: Xop *at'ama*, Vits *ant'ama*, Ardaš *at'amba* (cf. Bucaklişi/Uzunhasanoğlu 1999: 5, 8), Arx *ant'ama*, *ant'arma*,¹⁰ Osset: *at'ami*, *alt'ami*, and a number of Dagestanian languages, cf. Bežt *at'ami*, Hunz *fat'ami*, Ants Avar *fat'am* 'peach' (cf. Khalilov 1989: 110, 114).

The lexeme is present also in Ub (*t'ama* 'peach') and in Šap Ad (*q⁰a-t'amə* 'a kind of pear', lit. 'pear-peach', cf. *q⁰a-zə* 'pear'). Mészáros (1934: 257) and Dumézil's (1974: 19) proposed the Ub etymology: *t'ə* 'soft, a bit overripe', plus *ma* 'apple', i.e. 'the sappy and soft apple'. Šagirov (1989: 68) doubted this etymology because of the unusual position of the constituents in the Ub form: the determiner (*t'ə*) should be postposed, not preposed to the head noun. Starostin (NS 1004-5), on the other hand, reconstructs for CWC **t'Vma* 'peach, apricot', which he connects with Proto-Nakh **t'um* 'marrow', 'kernel (of a fruit, nut)', Proto-Lezgi **t'um(:)-ul//t'um(:)ut* 'grape', 'plum' (Tab *t'umut*, Agul *t'ibit*, Rutul *t'imil*, Tsaxur *t'umilʃ*, Bud *t'ombul*, Arč *t'ummul*, Udi *t':ul*). Acc. to Starostin, Xinalug *t'umbol* 'damson' is from Bud, and Udi *damp:ul* 'plum' is also an old loan from the Shakhdağ languages; part of Lezgi languages reflect the form **t'um(:)ut*, which is a reduplication.

The genetic connection of WC and EC forms seems to be plausible both phonetically and semantically ('marrow', 'a kind of fruit'). The WC languages preserve related forms which probably explain the original semantics of this NC root: 'sappy, soft, overripe', cf. Abx *a-t'am+t'am* 'soft, slightly swollen', *yə-t'am+t'am-wa* 'soft (of dough, fruit)', e.g. *a-x⁰ərma t'am+t'am-wa* 'soft and sappy persimmon', *a-t'ama t'am+t'am-wa* 'soft and sappy peach', Abaz *t'am+t'am* 'sappy, overripe', *yə-t'am+t'amə+ʒ'ə-t'* 'it becomes overripe', Circ *t'emə//t'amə* in Ad *qe-t'emə-*, Kab *q'e-t'amə-* 'to swollen, get plump' (preverb *qe-//q'e-* 'hither').

Besides the etymology of the Abx word, the initial *a-* in Kartv forms is an additional indication of their Abx origin. Incidentally, one of Arm words for 'plum' (cf. Classical Arm *damon*, Artvin *damun*,

¹⁰ R. Lacroix, p.c.

Arm dial. *dambul*), which does not have an IE etymology, seems to have come from the EC source, cf. especially Bud *t'ombul*, Xinalug *t'umbol* and Udi *damp:ul* (it cannot be excluded, however, that the Udi form might be a back loan from Arm); Starostin explains *b* in Bud as epenthetic (NS 1004); this naturally raises the question about the relation between Arm *damon* and *dambul*: are they chronologically different loans (*damon* < **damol* < **damul* – earlier, and *dambul* – later loan), or do they reflect borrowings from different EC dialects? Interestingly, in the Arm dialect of Svedia (Syria) the name for ‘plum’ is *tama*, beside more usual *d'ammen* (Martirosyan, p.c.). H. Martirosyan sees in the Arm word *tanj* ‘pear’ (acc. to him, supposedly < **tam-* + Arm “plant-suffix” -*j*) a possible borrowing from the discussed above WC root for ‘peach’.

k'ač'ič'i ‘kind of black grapes with small berries’.

From Abx *a- k'ač'ič'i* ‘id.’ (Čirikba: 132). The Abx word is explained as being derived from the name of the Abx peasant who first cultivated this sort in his farm (BD 210). The term is known also in Western Georgia (Kontariya/Čanba 1987: 50), probably via Megr.

xeč'eč'i ‘a kind of pear with small fruit which ripens late’.

From Abx *a-ha+č'jč'a* ‘pear with small fruit’, ‘wild(ing) pear’ (Čirikba: 131), containing *a-ha* ‘pear’ and suffix *-č'jč'a* (< **-č'jəč'a* < **-č'jač'a*) ‘small, little’. Cf. a similarly built *a-c'o+a+č'jč'a* ‘wild apple with small fruits’ (*a-c'o* ‘apple’), *a-k'o+ara+č'jč'a* ‘small river, rivulet’ (*a-k'o+ara* ‘creek’). Abx *a-ha* is related to Circ *qəz-zə* and Ub *x'a* ‘pear’. Via Megr, the lexeme entered also West-Geo dialects, cf. Ačar *xeč'eč'+ur+a*, *xeč'eč'+ur-i* *sxali* (*sxali* ‘pear’), Gur *xeč'eč'+ur-i*//*xič'ič'+ur-i* (with the attributive suffix *-ur*; cf. Ghlont'i: 748, 756), as well as Laz: *xač'ač'uri* (*mcxuli*) ‘a kind of pear with small fruit’, also *mcxul xeč'eč'uli* ‘a kind of pear’ (Marr 1910: 230; *mcxuli* ‘pear’), Arx *xač'ač'i/e*, *xeč'eč'uli* ‘a kind of pear with high sugar content’ (Bucakliši/Uzunhasanoğlu 1999: 196). Klimov (1971: 259) pointed out the Abx origin of the Laz word. Given the presence of the Geo suffix *-ur*, (Ačar) Geo must have served as an intermediary for Laz. Probably from Laz, the word spread among the languages of north-eastern Anatolia, cf. Arm (the Pontos area) *xač'ha-žur*, Tur *xačažur armud-u* (*armud* ‘pear’), *xečečur*, *hečečur* (the Hamšen region), *hežežulap* (the Trabzon area) (Bläsing 2004: 101-102); according to Bläsing (2004: 102), the element *-ap* in the last form indicates the Pontic Gr medium (cf. Gr *ap* ‘pear’); thus, the Laz form *xeč'eč'uli* was the source for Pontic Gr, whence it found its way into Tur of the Trabzon area.

9.1.8. Zoological terms

9.1.8.1. Wild animals

bač'a 'tick' (zool.), metaphorically 'small, shortish', *bač'a-bač'a* 'very small' (OK I: 230).

From Abx, cf. especially Tsab *a-bač'a* 'tick'; in Abž *a-p'ač'a*, Bz *a-p'ač'*, Sadz *a-baža*, Ašx *baža* 'id.' (Čirikba: 135); for the second meaning cf. Abx *a-p'ač'* 'short, small'. Kipshidze (Kipš: 202) suggests the connection of this Megr word with Geo *bač'k'a* 'stake with hooks', which is doubtful semantically. The Tsab form and the Megr one derived from it reflect the CAbx form (**bač'a*), which later underwent the regressive (in Bz and Abž) or progressive (as in Sadz and Ašx) assimilation. The reverse direction of the borrowing (Megr > Abx) is excluded, in view of the Abx dialect forms, and of the fact that Megr *č'*, which is phonetically palatalised, would have invariably given in Abx the palatalised affricate (*čʲ*), not *č'*. The genuine Megr term for this blood-sucking insect is *giržyibe*.

9.1.8.2. Domesticated animals

aču 'horse'; also *aču*, *aču-aču* 'interjection for driving horses'; *ačua* 'horse (in baby talk)' (OK I: 204).

Probably, from Abx *a-čə* 'horse'. The alternation *u/ə* is usual for Megr. Cf. also Geo *aču-a* 'horse (in baby talk)' (with the diminutive *-a*), *aču//ači* 'interjection for driving horses'. Džanašia (1959: 226), not mentioning the Megr word, regarded Geo *aču* as borrowed from Abx. Nikolayev and Starostin (NS: 520-521) regard the Geo word as acquired from EC languages, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 919) think of a loan from some IE source, while Klimov (1994: 171) suggested the closeness of the Geo form to the OInd one. Given the phonetics of the Megr and Geo words, exactly matching that of Abx with the definite-generic article, as well as the fact of quite a number of cattle-breeding and pasture terms borrowed by Megr from Abx, the Abx source for this term seems to be more probable. The borrowing could chronologically correspond to the time of the Abkhazian Kingdom (i.e. 8-10 centuries). See also below, sub *čou*, in 9.5.

tiyi 'ram' (Kipš: 243; OK II: 53), 'sire ram', 'ram for breeding purposes' (OK II: 53).

From Abx *a-tə+ɣʲ* '(sire) ram' (Kvarčiya: 75; Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 132). The Abx word is analysed as *tə* 'ram' and *ɣʲ* 'semen'.

9.1.9. *Ritual and religious terms*

antari, *žini-antari* ‘the chief god of livestock-breeding’ (OK I: 187, II: 500), ‘patron saint of small horned cattle’ (Bžaniya: 265); *žini* ‘the above, upper’.

From Abx *aytar*//*aytər* ‘the chief god of livestock-breeding’ (Čirikba: 134, 137; Adžindžal 2003: 42). The nasal epenthesis before the dental stop (*ayt* > *ant*) is usual for Megr. The prayers cycle to the especially revered deity *Aytar*, regarded by Abkhazians as one in seven fractions, used to start in spring, on the first Monday of Lent (Bžaniya: 127). Most probably, under the cover of the pagan deity we have here the old Christian saint, St Theodore Tyro,¹¹ to which in Abkhazia the Anakopia temple was consecrated (in the present-day Novy Afon). The form *aytar*//*aytər* comes from Gr *Agios Theódōros* ‘St Theodore’ as a result of haplology: **ay todə/ar* > **ay tatə/a* > *aytar*//*aytər*. This etymology can be corroborated by the presence in the Osset pantheon of the deity *Tūtyr* (Iron)//*Totur* (Digor) ‘patron saint of wolves’, also ‘patron saint of cattle-stealers’, which Abaev (1979: 323) also derives from the name of this saint. The festival dedicated to this deity took place, as in Abkhazia, in the first week of Lent. Abaev regarded the Kartv languages as the source for the Osset forms, like Svan *li-Toduri*, *li-Tōdri* festival dedicated to St Theodore, the first week of Lent, Geo Mox festival *Tevdoreba*, Rač *Tedoroba*, during which they prayed for the reproduction of cattle. Abaev also drew attention to the Balk toponymic name *Aš-Totur taš-i* ‘the stone (*taš*) of St Theodore’. Cf. also Kar-Balk *Totur-nu al ayə* ‘March’, *Totur-nu art ayə* ‘April’, containing the name of the saint. The Osset form with voiceless intervocalic stop *t* is also phonetically close to the Abx one (vs. *d* in Svan and Geo forms). The Abx source (intermediary) for Megr is quite probable given the modified as a result of haplology Abx form (the Kartv languages preserve the name of this saint in a more original form) and the voiceless character of the second stop. Besides, the Megrelians do not associate this pagan deity with the Christian saint, in full conformity to its function among the Abkhazians. The Abx source is also indicated by the special terminology accompanying this cult, also borrowed from Abx (see below *ckebszi*, *xozo-k’vari*). Beside Megr, cf. also the deity *Anatori* known among the

¹¹ A Christian martyr, who was a recruit (*tiro*) in the Roman army at Pontos (Black Sea area).

mountainous Georgian groups (from Megr or a parallel development?).¹²

napra//napurnaxa ‘the name of a deity, to which a sacrifice is made in July, exclusively on Saturday’ (Kipš: 286-287; OK II: 366, 367), ‘patron saint of cattle, during whose prayer they stood with faces turned to the west; the deity was asked to provide wealth, health and to protect cattle and people’ (Bžaniya: 265).

From Abx *anapra//napər-nəxa* ‘the deity of internal diseases, of gastric ailments’, ‘the patron saint of the sick’ (*a-nəxa* ‘shrine’) (Čirikba: 132, 137). The similarity of Megr and Abx words was noted in Bžaniya 265. As in the case of the preceding item, here too under the guise of a pagan deity we have, in all probability, the old Christian Saint Onuphrius (Gr *Ονουφριος*).¹³ Interesting parallels to Megr and Abx popular beliefs can be found in the Russian popular tradition, where Saint Anufrij protects the cattle from all the evil, heals people from bleeding from a wound and protects them from a sudden death (cf. Yudin 1997). The initial *a-* in Abx *anapra* belongs to the root. The Abx source for Megr is indicated by the element *naxa/e* < Abx *a-nəxa* ‘shrine’.

živov ‘ritual procession to Dziuou’ (Samurz, Calendžixa), ‘ritual doll called Dziuou’ (Samurz); cf. also in a somewhat modified form (as a result of the progressive assimilation) *živava* ‘ritual prayer for rain by women, in which figures a specially made doll’ (OK III: 390).

From Abx *zə-ywov* ‘the ritual prayer for rain, in which figures a specially made doll’ (Čirikba: 137). The first part of the Abx word is *a-zə* ‘water’, the second part is not quite clear (from *ayəw-ra//ayaw-ra* ‘to get, receive’?). In Calendžixa Megr the doll is called *moč’k’udia*, i.e. ‘bride’, ‘doll’, ‘hostess’ (Kontariya & Čanba 1987: 52).

9.1.10. Geographical terms, relief, mountains, ponds

algədə ‘a cone-shaped hollow’ (OK I: 181).

From Abx *a-lgət* ‘ravine, gully, hollow, depression’. Cf. also the Abx toponym *a-lgət//lgət* found in several places in Bzyp Abkhazia, and its variant *a-lgəd(ə)* in Abzhywa Abkhazia (cf. Kvarčiya: 2002: 582).

¹² Adžindžal (2003: 42) regards both Megr and Geo names of the deity as borrowed from Abx.

¹³ A hermit in the desert of Upper Egypt in the late 4th century, venerated as saint by both Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodoxy; his feast day was marked on 12 June.

The etymology of the Abx word is not clear, though it has probably deverbal origin (for the initial consonant cf. the centrifugal preverb ‘from the mass’, as, for instance, in *a-l-g⁰ag⁰-ra* ‘protuberance, prominence’). Cf., on the other hand, *a-g(ə)də* ‘hornless (animal)’ (?). In any event, the presence of the initial *a-* in Megr points to the Abx source.

apsta ‘river, ravine’.

From (Abž) Abx *a-psta* ‘gorge, canyon’ (Kipš: 197, OK I: 199), in Bz *a-psta*. The Abx word is thought to contain the old word for ‘water, river’ (**psə*), akin to Circ *psə* ‘id.’, whereas the final *-ta* is the locative suffix (cf. ESSAY II: 16), i.e., ‘the place of water, river’ (the bottom of a canyon is usually a river-bed in the mountains), which renders the Megr meaning ‘river’ quite symptomatic.

arxa ‘rock; hillock; steep mountain’ (OK I: 196)

A metathesis from *axra* (see below sub *axira*, *axəra*, *axra*).

ašta ‘meadow, field’; also a toponymic element in mountain Megrelia.

From Abx *ašta* ‘yard, small field (especially before the house), glade’ (Cxadaya 1975: 34; Čirikba: 137), which comes from **yaša-ta* ‘a flat place’, consisting of *a-yaša* ‘right, even’ and the locative suffix *-ta* (with the loss of the initial *y-*).

axira, *axəra*, *axra* ‘rock; hillock; steep mountain’ (OK I: 207, 208); also *xəra* ‘high rocky slope’ (OK III: 591).

From Abx *a-xra* ‘rock’. See also *arxa* (above).

azmax-i/ə//azmax-i ‘artificial water reservoir, made near the summer station (*təp*)’ (Dzidzariya 1987: 39), ‘the place outside the cattleshed (*agvara*) to get the cattle to drink’ (OK I: 165), ‘puddle, pool, pond’ (Cxadaya 1975: 34; OK I: 165, 204); also as a toponymic element in Megrelia.

From Abx *a-3max* ‘swamp, mire, bog’ (cf. Cxadaya 1975: 34; Dzidzariya 1987: 39; 1988: 69; 2000: 144; Čirikba: 133, 137; Gubliya: 53), the first part of which contains Abx *a-3ə* ‘water’. The Bz form is *a-3max* (BD: 60), which presupposes CAbx **3ə-maq*. According to Dzidzariya (2000: 144), the word is found also in Gur Geo (< Megr?).

9.1.11. Food

kekbə ‘a cone-shaped cut piece of cheese in the middle of the ritual bread made of maize flour and used during the prayer about the reproduction of cattle to the god *žini antari*’ (Kipš: 195; OK III: 360).

From Abx *a-ckʲa* ‘(ritually) clean, sacred’ and *a-bzəya* ‘good’ (Džanašia 1915: 77; Čirikba: 133, 135). The Abx parallel to this term is *a-ckʲ-ašʷ* ‘(ritually) clean cheese (*ašʷ* ‘cheese’) used during the prayer to the god *aytar*’ (cf. Bžaniya 126).

čemkva, čemxva, čemhva ‘a kind of porridge prepared on milk and maize flour with cheese’ (OK III: 299), ‘a milk dish’ (Kipš: 364).

From Abx *a-čʲaməkʷa* ‘hominy made of maize flour and cooked with milk and cheese’ (Čirikba: 131); cf. also Abaz *čʲaməkʷa* ‘dish made of sour cream, cheese and maize flour’, Kab *žaməkʷe* ‘hominy-like dish made of sour cream, maize flour and fresh cheese’, which is thought to have come from Abaz (cf. ESAY II: 193). Historically the Kab form derives from **žaməkʷe < *žʲaməkʷe < *čʲ:aməkʰʷa*. The etymology is unclear; the first part can contain Abx *čʲa* ‘wheat flour’ (?).

ela(r)ži ‘maize hominy cooked with fresh cheese’ (cf. Kipš: 231, OK I: 546).

From Abx *ayla(r)žʲ* ‘id.’ (Čirikba: 133; Gubliya: 63). The Abx word is analysed as preverb *ay+la-*, meaning ‘together in the mass’, and the root *žʲ*, which Marr (1926: 11) connected with the verb *a-žʲ-ra* ‘to bake’, explaining the whole word as ‘a baked mixture’, which is not quite felicitous from the semantic point of view (the dish is cooked, not baked). Probably, it is better to suppose an original form **ay+la-žʲ*, from the verb *ay+la-žʲ-ra* ‘to heap together in the mass’. The sonorant vibrant is most likely a non-etymological increment.

According to Inal-IPA (1965: 341), in the form *elarži* the word is known also in Geo dialects (from Megr?).

mazva ‘flat cake made by Abkhazians of flour and honey’.

From Abx *a-mažʷa* ‘dough’ (Schmidt 1950: 19; Ardzinba 1985: 162; Čirikba: 133; Gubliya: 53). Čaraya 12 erroneously saw in Abx the Meg loan, and in the latter—the borrowing from Greek *māza* ‘dough, flat cake’, which does not explain the labialization of the fricative in Abx. Besides, the semantics of the Megr word indicates its Abx origin.

pučxa//punčxa//pinčxa ‘crumb (of bread, etc.)’, the verb *pučxolua* ‘to crumble’ (Kipš: 340; OK III: 120).

According to Lomtadidze, from Abx *a-pčxa < a-p+čə+xa//a-pə+č+xa* ‘crumb’. The word is found also in West-Geo dialects: Imeret, Gur *pučxa//punčxa//pičxa //pinčxa* ‘crumb (of bread, etc.)’, and with the suffixed *-l*: *pinčxa-l* (Lomtadidze 1989: 49-50); cf. also Laz *punčxa* ‘crumb’. Abx *a-p+čə+xa* is derived from the verb *a-p+č-ra* ‘to break’ (the preverb *p(ə)-*), with the nominal suffix *-xa* ‘the rest of’. As argued

by Lomtadidze (1989: 51-52), it was borrowed back by Abž Abx (*a-pač'xa* 'crumb'), which is indicated by the palatalised *č'* (if this palatalization is not the result of the "diminutivisation" of the word. What is the relation to these words of Svan *na-picx* 'crumb, remains', West Geo *prčxvna* 'to crumble'¹⁴?

xac'a 'ferment for producing yoghurt' (OK III: 524).

From Abx *a-xaac'a* 'id.' (Dzidzariya 1989: 145; Čirikba: 132; Gubliya: 58), analyzable as *x(ə)* 'milk', the preverb *aa-* 'hither' and the verbal root *c'a* 'to put'. Cf. the similarly built *a-3+aa+c'a-ra* 'to put hither (*aa+c'a*) [into] water (*3ə*)'. An alternative etymology is dependent on the technology of the fermenting, whereby a piece of lead or a leaden bullet (*a-xə*) was put into the milk to stimulate the fermenting process; thus *a-x+aa+c'a* 'lead/bullet put [in the milk]'.
xac'o 'curds'.

From Abx *a-xač'ja* 'curds' (Čirikba: 132; Dzidzariya 2000: 145; Gubliya: 58). In the first part we have probably *x(ə)*- 'milk' found as the first part of compounds in many Abx terms for dairy products, e.g. *a-xə+r+c'oə* 'yoghurt' (*r+c'oə* 'to sour'). Cf. also *a-x+š* 'milk' as an independent word (*š* 'white'). The second part (*-č'ja*) is not clear. Gubliya: 58 analyses *-č'ja* as 'grains', i.e. 'grains of milk', and Dzidzariya (2000: 145) as 'tiny'. The word penetrated also Geo: *xac'o* 'curds', whence *xac'a-p'ur-i* 'xačapuri, a cake with cheese' (*p'ur-i* 'bread', from Gr), borrowed into Abž Abx (*a-xač'jap'ər*), despite its own form *a-č'jaš'o*.

xec'eti 'cream' (Samurz).

From Abx *a-xč'jat* 'cream' (Čirikba: 131; Dzidzariya 2000: 145; Gubliya: 58), which is analysed by Abdokov (1973: 75) as *x-* 'milk' and *č'jat*, connected with Ašx *č'ata*, Ub *č'ata*, Ad *š'ate* < **č'hat'ha* 'sour cream', without explaining the glottalization in the Abx form. The explanation of Abx *č'jat*, Circ-Ub *č'ata* as a loan from Turkic *čati*, *sathi* 'roof', 'surface', suggested by Kvarčiya 119, does not seem plausible. A more probable etymology is the contamination in Abx of the borrowed from Circ **č'hat'ha* 'sour cream' (containing **č'ha* 'milk') with the native *a-xač'ja* 'curds'.

xič'až'a//xəž'až'a//xaž'až'a 'beestings' (OK III: 526, 565, 592).

From Abx *a-xž'až'a* 'beestings' (OK III: 592 citing P. Čaraya; Dzidzariya 1989: 145; 2000: 144, who gives the Megr form as *xž'iž'i*). The Abx word is analysed as *x* 'milk' and *a-ž'až'a* 'coarse, rough' (Dzidzariya 1989: 145).

¹⁴ G. Hewitt, p.c.

xozo in *xozo-k'vari*//*xozo-k'ori*//*xozo-k'oni* 'large ritual cone-shaped dumpling, at the start of Lent they would place a rhododendron (or walnut) stalk in one of them, and the person to choose it would have good luck for a year'; cf. also *xozo-k'vari-ši č'k'umua* 'the eating of dumplings on the first Monday of Lent', *xozo* 'a kind of dumplings made of maize flour with fresh cheese'.

Probably, from Abx *a-x^oaž^o* 'cone-shaped, round or half-round dumplings or cakes, mainly of maize flour, sometimes filled with cheese' (Čirikba: 133; Gubliya: 52); in Bz *a-x^oaž^o* (BD 64), *a-x^oaž^o* < CABx **q^oaž^o*. Cf. also Abx *x^oaž^o-k'ə-n* 'the time of a special prayer during which they prepare ritual dumplings *a-x^oaž^o*' (*k'ə* 'to hold', *-n* 'the time of'), *x^oaž^o-k'ə-ra* 'ritual prayer when they prepare ritual dumplings in the first day of the Shrove-tide' (*k'ə-ra* 'the holding (of)'), *x^oaž^ok'ə-ra-mza* 'February' (or 'March') (lit. 'the month of the holding of *a-x^oaž^o*') (*a-mza* 'month'), *x^oaž^o-nəh^oa* 'ritual prayer during the *x^oaž^ok'ə-ra* ritual' (*a-nəh^oa* 'prayer'). Cf., besides this, Abx *a-x^oaž^o-k^oak^oar* 'ritual cone-shaped cake prepared during the *x^oaž^ok'ə-ra* festival', when they made a ritual prayer devoted to Aytar, the god of fertility and cattle, which coincided with the first day of the Christian Lent (*a-k^oak^oar* 'flat cake filled with cheese'). Čaraya 15 regarded the Abx words as borrowed from Megr, though, curiously, he explained the Megr word as 'a small cone-shaped cake used by the Abkhazians during the ritual sacrifices'.

Etymologically, Abx *a-x^oaž^o* is being associated with the name of the rhododendron—*a-x^oaž^o* (cf. Akaba 1984: 52, 54). Indeed, rhododendron played a special role during this ritual. The maize cakes were prepared, with the filling made of ritually clean cheese. Covered with the rhododendron leaves, they were baked in hot embers (Bžaniya: 126). Besides, an elderly, ritually "clean" (i.e. not having sexual life), woman put into one of the dumplings or cakes a little rhododendron stick, called 'the happy stick' (*a-nasəp a-c^oə*) or 'the rhododendron stick' (*a-x^oaž^o c^oə*). The one who happened to get the cake with this stick, was regarded as destined to happiness during the whole year, and was supposed to give a feast on that occasion (Akaba 1984: 52). A similar ritual was practised by the Megrelians: "During the time of Lent they cook by the dinner-time the truncated cone-shaped cakes, into one of which the house woman, before the cooking, secretly sticks a wooden nail *c'k'əri*; the cake with the nail is called *xozo-k'vari*. The one who got the *xozo-k'vari*, had to give a feast" (cf. Kobaliya 1903: 102).

The etymological connection of the word for the ritual cake with the name of the rhododendron seems to be plausible. An alternative etymology of *a-x⁰až⁰* was proposed by Gubliya: 52: *x⁰a* from *x⁰až* ‘millet’ and *ž⁰a* from *ž⁰* ‘to cook’, which is problematic from the semantic point of view. O. Kadžaia translates the Megr term as ‘a big cooked dumpling’, probably under the influence of the Megr word *xozo* ‘big; separate’ (cf. OK III: 566), but cf. above Čaraya’s translation: ‘a small cone-shaped cake...’. Beside Megr, the word *xozo* is known also in Geo dialects, cf. Mtiul, Imeret *xozo* ‘coarse-grained bread’ (Ghlont’i: 758). Cf. also in the Georgian dictionary by Saba Orbeliani (18th century): *qweyza* ‘round bread’. Marr (in Čaraya: 15) connected Megr *xozo* with OGeo *qweza-y* ‘bread’ and Abx *a-x⁰až⁰* ‘dumpling’ with Imeret *xozo* (in Marr 1938: 32).

9.1.12. Seasons

apun-i ‘spring’ (Kipš: 197; OK I: 199); also *apun-oba* ‘spring’ (OK I: 199).

From Abx *aapən* ‘spring’ (Kipš: 197; Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 132; OK I: 199). Čaraya 18 regarded Megr and Abx words as related. Abx *aa-pə-n* is analysed as ‘time-front/before-season’, i.e. ‘the early time of the year’.

9.1.13. Varia

agaga ‘shadow’; ‘lean, skinny’, ‘one who is barely alive’ (OK I: 164). From Abx *a-gaga* ‘shadow, silhouette’. The Abx word can contain the agentive suffix *-ga*. Kadžaia (OK I: 164) suggests the connection of Megr *agaga* with *magagia* ‘tramp, vagabond’ (cf. OK II: 202) and with the verb *gagap-i* ‘to be hardly able to walk, to drag oneself along’ (OK I: 278), which, given the Abx connection, does not seem quite plausible.

argvata ‘crowd, mob, people’ (Kipš: 196; OK I: 190).

From Abx *a-g⁰arta* ‘herd, flock, pack’ (Inal-ipa 1965: 216; Čirikba: 134), connected with Abaz *g⁰arta*, Kab *g⁰arte*, Ad *k⁰ert* ‘id.’. The Megr form is the result of the metathesis usual for this language from *agvarta* (see below sub *gvarta*), cf. similar cases of metathesis described above.

ašxara ‘swindler, rascal’ (OK I: 204).

Probably not from Geo (from Pers) *ašk(‘)ara* ‘obvious, public, open’ (cf. Megr adverb *aškarat* < Geo *ašk(‘)arad* ‘evidently, openly, publicly’)

because of the semantics. Maybe from Abx *a-ṣ̌xarəwa* ‘mountaineer, mountain dweller’ (?).

bžou ‘fool, blockhead’; ‘rude, uncouth, impolite’ (OK I: 259). Probably, from Abx *yə-bž'o-w* ‘cripple, defective’, derived from *a-bža* ‘half’.

c'ic'i-k'vak'va ‘words from the children’s game’ (OK III: 423). Probably, from Abx *c'ic'i-k'ak'oa* ‘words from the children’s game’; cf. also *c'ic'i-g'ag'oa*, Abaz *c'uc'u-g'ag'oa* ‘id.’. Abx *c'ic'i-k'ak'oa* rhymes in the juvenile folklore with the word *ayc'ark'ak'oa* ‘yoghurt with bits of maize hominy’ (B. Džonua, p.c.).

gvarta ‘(big) wave’, ‘pile, heap’ (OK I: 320), cf. also the adverb *gvarta-gvarta-d/s* ‘by heaps, piles’ (id.).

Same as *argvata* (see above), as suggested also in OK I: 320; this time the word is without the Abx definite-generic article. Cf. also Abx *g'arta-k'* ‘many, big quantity, multitude, heap’ (-k' indefinite article).

luga ‘fool, stupid (man)’.

Probably, from Abx *a-ləg* < **ləga* ‘id.’ (Čirikba: 132).¹⁵ Kipšidze (Kipš: 274) alternatively connects the Megr word with Geo (č)*lung-i* ‘blunt’, while Klimov (1998: 16) derives *luga* from PKartv **blagw-* ‘blunt, obtuse’. The dilemma is thus in the choice of one of the alternative hypotheses: the borrowing from Abx, or the genuine kinship with the Geo adjective. In Abx the second part (*ga*) functions as a separate word: *a-ga* ‘foolish, bad fellow’ and is connected with Ub *aj'a* ‘bad, fool’ and Circ **-g'a* privative suffix (ESAY I: 93).

q'ala ‘crazy’, *q'ala-ni* ‘id.’ (OK III: 217).

Maybe, from Abx *a-q'ala* ‘stray; tramp’, derived from the verb *a-q'a-la-ra* ‘to tramp; to go astray; to get confused’, which consists of the root *q'a* ‘to hit’, or *q'a* ‘to jump out’, plus the root extension *-la*.

q'un-i ‘silver decorations on the belt’ (OK III: 214).

Probably, from Abx *a-q'əna* ‘silver decorations on the thong, belt, bridle, saddle-girth, etc.’. The Abx word is connected with the pre-verb *q'ən(ə)-* ‘on the belt’, as well as with possible cognates in sister-languages, cf. Ub *q'əna* ‘buckle, clasp’ and, possibly, CCirc **q'əna* ‘nail’ (cf. Chirikba 1996: 222).

t'at'a ‘affective vocative to children’ (Samurz).

From Abx *t'at'a*; Abaz *t'at'a* ‘id.’. The Abx word means actually ‘soft’.

¹⁵Abaz *laga* ‘fool, bad man’ is probably connected with another Abx word, *aj+la+ga* ‘mad, crazy’.

t'at'a 'soft small things'.

From Abx *t'at'a* 'soft, relaxed' (Klimov: 182); same as above.

vara(y)da, sivarayda 'refrain in popular songs'.

From Abx *wara(y)da, səywarayda* 'refrain in popular songs'. The same refrain is known in Circ, Ub and Abaz, and from Kab it went to Osset (ESAY II: 92-93). The part *sə-* in *səywarayda* means 'my' in all West Caucasian languages, though the form *sə-y-* (with the marker *y-* of the alienable possession) is purely Ad, which gives reason to regard the Abx word as borrowed from Ad (pointed out by G. Klimov). Apart from Megr, the refrain is known also in West-Geo dialects, and even in some eastern Geo dialects too, cf. Mox *varada-varada* (Ghlont'i: 223). Cf. also the first part of Megr *vara-nani* 'refrain in songs' (if it is not the vocative *vara*, see below).

xač'a-mač'u//xič'u-mač'u//xič'-muč'u//xič'ə-mač'ə 'small items, minute' (OK III: 524, 564).

From Abx *a-x⁰əč'jə-məč'j//a-x⁰əč'jə-mč'j* 'small items, things', from *a-x⁰əč'jə* 'small, little' and the alliterational repetition of the word with the change of the first consonant to *m*, although the second part too can correspond to Abx *a-mač'j* 'little; small'. Abx Bz *a-xəč'j-məč'j* 'small dry twigs for kindling' can be a phonetic variant of the same reduplicated word (with the loss of the labialization of *x*).

xanga 'madman', 'boor', 'fool', *ga-xang-eba* 'to make mad, crazy', *ga-xang-ebuli, ga-xang-uli* 'mad, crazy', and many other derivates (cf. OK I: 296; III: 512-513).

From Abx *a-xaga* 'mad, crazy, loony (man)', *a-xaga-ra* 'madness, craziness' (Schmidt 1950: 19; Čirikba: 134; Gubliya: 71). The Abx word is analysed as *a-xə* 'head', *aga* 'foolish, defective'. The nasal in the Megr form is epenthetic. Čaraya erroneously supposed both words to be genetic cognates.

xateci//xaceci//xace//xatisi 'bride, a newly-wed bride, the new daughter-in-law' (OK III: 509, 524).

From Abx *h-taca* 'our (*h-*) bride, our daughter-in-law (*taca*)' (Kipš: 396; Marr in Čaraya 44; Čirikba: 133). The first *c* in Megr *xateci* is the result of regressive assimilation.

9.2. Adjectives

dagva 'deaf'.

From Abx *a-dag⁰a* 'deaf' (Kipš: 221; Čaraya 23; Klimov: 182; Čirikba: 133; OK I: 425; Gubliya: 69). Cf. also the toponym *dagva* in Western

Georgia. The Abx word is itself regarded as borrowed from Circ (cf. Schmidt 1950: 19; ESAY I: 146).

9.3. Adverbs

ak'ak'a see in 9.4.

mačxoma 'enough' (OK II: 232).

From Abx *mač'x⁰əwma* 'much, enough', in essence a rhetoric question meaning 'is it little?' (< *mač'^j+x⁰ə-w-ma* 'little+share-STAT:PRES-QU' = 'there's plenty').

9.4. Numerals

ak'a 'one', *ak'a c'uns* '(for) a minute', '(in) a moment', 'immediately', *ak'a xvale* 'the only one', whence the proper name *ak'axvale* (Cagareli 1880: 26), *ak'a bu(r)cxa* 'a bit, of a size of a nail', *ak'a-žans* 'one hour', Sen *ak'a skua p'unsu* 'I have an only child', Zugd *ak'a c'uti* 'one minute', etc.

From Abx *ak'ə* 'one' (non-human) (Kipš: 193; Džanašia 1959: 226; Čirikba: 132; Gubliya: 55) < CABx *(y)ak'a. Here belongs, probably, also Laz (Atin) *ak'o* 'once'; Klimov (1998: 1) explains the final -o as the remainder of the petrified adverbial suffix (akin to Megr -o(t) and Geo -ad). The presence of the word in Laz can indicate its borrowing already in the Common Zan period. Čaraya erroneously regarded the Megr and Abx words as genetically related. The Abx numeral *ak'ə* 'one' and the indefinite article -k' derived from it are connected with the Ub indefinite article -k'ə.

ak'ak'a 'one by one' (OK I: 170).

From Abx *ak'+ak'a* 'one by one', the reduplication of *ak'ə* 'one' (non-human). The final -a in Abx can be either the preservation of the older form, or the old multiplication suffix found in numerals (cf. Chirikba 1996: 369).

9.5. Interjections

čou//ču interjection for driving the horse (OK III: 316).

Probably, from Abx *čow//č'u* (Bz) 'id.'. Cf. also above, sub *aču*.

(*he(i)//ei*), *vara* (OK III: 134, 632), *varə* (OK III: 216) vocative word while addressing smb.

From Abx *wa-ra* 'you (male)', also as a vocative word while addressing a male.

way 'come!'. Recorded by the 17th century Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi in his book *Seyahatname* ("Book of Travels"). Currently seems to be unattested.

From Abx *w-aa+y* 'you (human:male; non-human) come!' (cf. Džikia 1936: 115, 123; Gippert 1992: 44).

ʔa, ʔah 'no!' (OK III: 216, 218).

Probably, from Abx *ʔah//ʔah-ʔah, ʔay//ʔay-ʔay* 'no!'.

9.6. Onomasticon

The Megr-Abx onomastic parallels, with rare exceptions, have not yet been a subject of a special discussion. From the point of view of the topic of the present paper, a number of Abx loans can be pointed out.

9.6.1. Toponymics

Abžua 'Abkhazia' (OK I: 163).

From Abx *abžə+wa* 'the Abzhywa (region of Abkhazia)'. Analysed as *bžə* 'middle' and *-wa* 'ethnic suffix' and designates the middle part of Abkhazia.

Aq'u, or *Aq'u-žixa* (lit. 'Aqu-fortress') 'Sukhum' (OK I: 200).

Cf. also Geo *Aq'u* 'Sukhum', *Aq'u-s cixe* 'the Sukhum fortress'. From Abx *Aq'ʔa* 'Sukhum' (the Abx name of the capital of Abkhazia), usually derived from *aq'ʔa-ra* 'the stony (sea)shore, coast'.

9.6.2. Personal names

The following Megr personal names can be mentioned as borrowed from Abx:

bataʔua < Abx *bataq'ʔa* (from Circ)

gudu < Abx *gʔə-dəw* 'big heart'

gužmaxan < Abx *kʔəž'ma-xan* 'wolf-khan'

gvaša < Abx *gʔaš'a* feminine name < Circ *gʔaš'e* 'lady, mistress'

naweia < Abx *nayʔey* masculine name (lit. 'the Nogay').

9.6.3. Family names

A number of Megr surnames (especially noticeable by the presence of the Abx surname-formant *-ba*) have Abx origin, cf. *alšibaia* < *alšʔən-(d)-ba*, *čik'oba-va* < *a-čʔəgʔ-ba*, *šxvacaba-ia* < *a-šxʔac'aa*, etc. It is interesting that the Megr surname *apšila-va* preserves the name of the ancient Abx tribe of Apsilians/Apšilians, who used to be neighbours of the ancestors of the Megrelians; cf. by analogy a somewhat later

Megr surname *apxaza-va*, based on the ethnic term *apxaza* ‘Abkhazian’. In OGeo the same ethnic term is found as the base of the toponymic *apšil-et-i* ‘the country of the Apshilians’ (Džuanšer’s Chronicles of the 11th century). Beside the surname, the ancient ethnic term *apšil* is preserved in such Megr words as *abšil-uri uča* ‘a sort of grapes’ (OK I: 163-164), lit. ‘the black (*uča*) Apshilian’, and in the adjective *apšil-uri* ‘a sort of grapes with white berries’ (OK I: 199). The back fricative (š) in both Megr and Geo reflects the archaic middle sibilant fricative (ɕ), preserved only in the Bz dialect. On the etymology of the ethnonymic root *apɕ-*, which lies at the basis of the Abx self-designation (*apɕ-wa*), see Chirikba (1991).

9.6.3.1. Family names suffixes

-va the suffix of family names, e.g. *bok’uč’a-va*, *apxaza-va*, *leča-va*, *mika-va*, *p’ap’a-va*, *karda-va*, etc.

The allomorph of this suffix is *-a* (cf. *bok’uč’a-a*, *apxaza-a*, *leča-a*, *mika-a*, *p’ap’a-a*, *karda-a*, etc.), which Kipš: 233 derived from *-va*, though see below the discussion of the latter. The suffix *-va// -a* can have as its source Abx *-aa* (< **-ʃa*) human plural suffix (e.g. *apswa* ‘Abkhazian’, pl. *apsw-aa*) used also to form collective forms of family names, cf. *agr-aa*, *tar-aa*, *žəy-aa* ‘the members of family clans *Agr-ba*, *Tar-ba*, *Zhi-ba*’, etc. (cf. Čirikba: 134, 137-138). The rendering of Abx *-aa* by means of *-a* in Megr is regular, cf. above other cases of similar replacement of Abx *-aa*. In this case the form *-va* must be secondary, the labiodental being epenthetic, in order to avoid the hiatus in the sequence “vowel+vowel” (e.g. *bok’uč’a-[*a]a* > *bok’uč’a-va*), cf. in a similar way Megr *ma-va* < *ma-a* ‘I:QUOT’, *psva* ‘wing’, beside *psua*, *xubu-va* ‘Xubua (surname)’, beside *xubua*, etc.

A somewhat less probable possibility is to regard the older form of the Abx plural suffix **-ʃa* as the source of *-va*. Though from the phonetic point of view the shift of intervocalic velars or post-velars into labiodental is plausible (cf. Rus *segodniya* ‘today’, pronounced as [sivodn’a]), there are at least two examples where old Abx **ʃ* is rendered in Megr as *y*, not as *v*, cf. *maryania* ‘Marghania (family name)’ < Abx *maʃan* (the modern form – *maan*), Megr *yanda* ‘fence’ < Abx **ʃan-da* (> modern *aanda*).

The Abx origin of the Megr surnames suffix was suggested already by N. Marr (1912: 5), who linked it, however, with Abx *pa* ‘son’, whence the Abx family masculine suffix *-ba* (cf. above *agr-ba*, etc.). Though this is also a feasible alternative possibility, in this case one has to suppose in Megr the shift *b* > *v*. Džanašia (1959: 41, 76) did

not accept Marr's etymology, deriving this suffix from the assumed older Megr form **-van* < *-v-an* and connecting the last element with the Svan surnames suffix *-an*. Kaldani (1980: 69-74), rejecting in his turn Džanašia's etymology, connects Megr *-av-a* (deriving it from **-v-an*), with the Geo-Svan suffix *-el-a*, explaining the shift *l > v* in Megr by the labialization of the lateral and the shift of the labialization to the fore. Yet I regard the Abx etymology of the Megr suffix as quite plausible. Beside the suffix *-va*, Megr borrowed from Abx also the feminine family suffix *-xe* (see below).

9.6.3.2. Feminine family names suffixes

-xe feminine family names suffix, cf. *zinc'are-xe* 'female of the family clan Zints'are', *zik'i-xe* 'female of the family clan Zik'i', *dadi-xe* 'female of the family clan Dadia(ni)', *mocik'a-xe* 'female of the family clan Mocik'a', etc. (Kipš: 400). The same suffix in the form *-pxe* is found also in West-Geo Gur, Imeret and Ačar dialects, cf. Gur *gurieli-pxe*//*guri-pxe* 'female of the clan Gurieli', *beri-pxe* 'female of the family clan Beridze', *rami-pxe* 'female of the clan Ramishvili', Ačar *noyaideli-pxe* 'female of the clan Noghaideli', *dadiani-pxe* 'female of the clan Dadiani', Imeret *čikovani-pxe*, *ratiani-pxe* 'female of the clan Čikovani, Ratiani', etc. (cf. Ghlont'i: 556). In Lower Imeret both *-pxe* and *-xe* are found (Marr 1938: 42). Megrelidze (1938: 140) indicates that there is a strong Megr substrate in these West-Geo dialects, cf. such feminine forms as *ža-ši-pxe* 'female of the family clan Dža', *t'uɣu-ši-pxe*//*t'uɣu-pxe* 'female of the family clan T'uɣhu', etc., containing the Megr-Laz genitive suffix *-ši*, often used in family names. The suffix *-pxe*//*-xe* is becoming archaic in both West-Geo and Megr, and its use with the woman's surname, according to Megrelidze (1938: 134), acquires sometimes a mocking connotation. Cf. a humorous song in Gur, compiled of the feminine family names:

ali-pxe, mali-pxe,
bzik'i-pxe, bzik'i-č'ila-pxe,
malazoni mocik'a-pxe (Megrelidze 1938: 136).

The feminine surnames suffix *-pxe* (which indicates the maiden name of a married woman) is found sporadically also in Laz (in Atin, Vits-Arx and Xop dialects), cf. Laz *gurieli-pxe* 'female of the clan Gurieli', *žaq'eli-pxe* 'female of the clan Džaq'eli', *c'ulu-pxe* 'female of the clan C'ulu-ši', *murut'i-pxe* 'a woman whose maiden name is *murut'i*', *bost'anži-pxe* 'a woman whose maiden name is *bost'anži*', etc. (cf. Megrelidze 1938: 134; Kojima/Bucak'lişi 2003: 395). Sometimes the Laz

forms with this suffix even masculine forms of family names (e.g. *c'u-lu-pxe-ši*), which testifies to the weakening of the original semantics of this suffix and its transformation into a genderless family names formant (I. Megrelidze). In one case, this suffix is found in a Svan folklore text (Megrelidze 1938: 137).

From Abx family names feminine suffix *-pha*, derived from *a-pha* 'daughter' (akin to Circ *px^oə* and Ub *px^əə* 'daughter' < CWC **px^oə*); in Abx dialects the suffix is found also in the form *-ha* (and exclusively as *-ha* in the speech of Abkhazians in Turkey). The Abx origin of Megr and West-Geo suffixes was pointed out already by Marr (1938: 42; cf. also Kipš: 400; Inal-İpa 1976: 334; Čirikba: 131, 134, 138-139). In this case, taking into account the phonetic differences between the Megr and West-Geo forms, one has to suppose a direct borrowing of this suffix from Abx into West-Geo, without the intermediary of Megr, unlike many other cases of Abx loans in Geo. The spread of the Abx feminine surnames suffix in Megrelia, West-Georgia, Adzharia and Lazistan can be attributed, undoubtedly, to the time of the Abkhazian Kingdom (after its capital was moved from Anakopia in central Abkhazia to Kuta(t)isi in Western Georgia), i.e. to the 9th-10th centuries, when Abx, together with Geo, became the prestigious language of the royal court and of the highest aristocracy in the whole of Western Georgia (including Megrelia). The same explanation holds for the spread in Megr of the Abx masculine surname suffix *va/-a* (see above).

Despite the obvious Abx source of the feminine suffix under discussion, there are attempts to prove its Kartv origin. Thus, Čikobava (1942a: 26) connected *-pxe//xe* with OGeo *mqev-al-* 'female slave', regarding *-al* as a derivational suffix, though he was not sure whether the part *mqev-* was genuine or borrowed. Čurguliya (1983: 134) regarded *-xe* as being of Kolkhian (Zan) origin, without any further etymology. Megrelidze's (1938: 137-138) etymology of this suffix stands apart in that he analyses *-pxe* in the spirit of Marr's infamous Yaphetic four-element analysis. Bgažba (1987: 91), nevertheless, emphasised that the feminine surname suffix has a clear Abx origin (*a-pha* > *ha* 'daughter'), and that *pxe* is not known in Eastern Georgia.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The material presented in this paper demonstrates that the Abx linguistic influence left its obvious traces in Megr lexicon, morphology

and syntax, which testifies to a very long period of contact between these unrelated neighbouring languages. It also supports Marr's (1915: 214) thesis about a substantial Abkhaz ethnic influence on the Megrelians. Some of the borrowings or structural calques from Abx are found also in Laz, which at present time occupies a geographical area distant from Abkhazia, which can shed a certain light on the ancient geolinguistic situation of the Western Transcaucasia.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abaz	Abaza
Abx	Abkhaz
Abž	Abzhywa dialect of Abkhaz
Ačar	Acharan dialect of Georgian
Ad	Adyghe
Ants Avar	Antsukh dialect of Avar
Arč	Archi
Ardaš	Ardashen dialect of Laz
Arm	Armenian
Arx	Arhavi dialect of Laz
Atin	Atina dialect of Laz
Ašx	Ashkhar(ywa) dialect of Abaza
Azer	Azeri
Balk	Balkar
Batum Abx	Batum speech of Abkhaz
Bežt	Bezhta
Bud	Budux
Bz	Bzyp dialect of Abkhaz
CABx	Common Abkhaz
CCirc	Common Circassian
Circ	Circassian (Adyghe and Kabardian together)
CWC	Common West Caucasian
dial.	dialect
Darg	Dargwa
Diub	Diubek dialect of Tabasaran
Džg	Dzghiarda subdialect of the Abzhywa dialect of Abkhaz
EC	East Caucasian
Fer	Feria speech of Batum Abkhaz
Geo	Georgian
Gr	Greek
Gur	Gurian dialect of Georgian

Hunz	Hunzib
IE	Indo-European
Imeret	Imeretian dialect of Georgian
Kab	Kabardian
Kar-Balk	Karachay-Balkar
Kartv	Kartvelian
Kum	Kumyk
Kurd	Kurdish
Lat	Latin
Lečx	Lechkhum dialect of Georgian
Megr	Megrelian
Mox	Mokhev dialect of Georgian
NC	North Caucasian
OAbx	Old Abkhaz
OGeo	Old Georgian
OInd	Old Indian
Ottom Tur	Ottoman Turkish
Osset	Ossetic
Pers	Persian
PKartv	Proto-Kartvelian
QUOT	Quotative
Rus	Russian
Sam	Sameba speech of Batum Abkhaz (author's field notes)
Samurz	Samurzaqan speech of Megrelian
Sen	Senaki subdialect of Megrelian
Skr	Sanskrit
Šap	Shapsygh dialect of Adyghe
Tab	Tabasaran
Tap	Tapanta dialect of Abaza
Tsab	Tsabal subdialect of Abkhaz
Tsw Sadz	Tswydzhy subdialect of Sadz Abkhaz
Tur	Turkish
Tur Bz	Bzyp Abkhaz as spoken in Turkey
Ub	Ubykh
Upper-Rač	Upper-Racha subdialect of the Racha dialect of Georgian
Vits	Vitse subdialect of the Vitse-Arhavi dialect of Laz
WC	West Caucasian
West-Geo	West-Georgian
Xop	Khopa dialect of Laz
zool.	zoological
Zugd	Zugdidi speech of Megrelian

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