

Etymological Dictionary  
of the Kartvelian Languages



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# Etymological Dictionary of the Kartvelian Languages

*by*

Georgij A. Klimov †

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## Foreword

When the preparations for the publication of the present book had reached the stage of first proof and when Georgij A. Klimov had entered his corrections together with some substantial additions, his sudden death put an end to his scientific work; it was therefore only a preliminary version of his *magnum opus* that he was able to inspect. The task of seeing it through to completion was taken over by the late scholar's wife, Džoj I. Èdel'man, by two further Moscow colleagues, Jakov Testelec and Katino Godilia, and by myself; it is our hope that we achieved our goal of faithfully honoring G. A. Klimov's intentions.

One of the strong points of the present volume is the emphasis placed on what the author considered to be evidence of ties between Kartvelian and Indo-European languages. Regardless of whether such ties point to some kind of genetic relationship or to prolonged contacts in the area south of the Caucasus, the data on which G. A. Klimov's conclusions were based deserve the close attention of Indo-Europeanists. They are of particular importance for an evaluation of the much-discussed "glottalic theory" as proposed in publications by Hopper and Gamkrelidze – Ivanov, respectively, and its implications for the question of the Indo-European "Urheimat"; Klimov's findings, which are by no means simple and non-controversial, should contribute greatly to a clarification of issues.

At the time of his death, the author was deeply involved in the collection of data for an inventory of central items from the lexicon of Caucasian languages; it is to be hoped that this work, the record of which now consists of numerous lists of forms, will eventually result in a published book.

For the linguistic community the untimely death of G.A. Klimov means the loss of a renowned typologist, Caucasologist, and Indo-Europeanist; those of us who has the privilege of knowing him more closely deplore not only the passing away of a great scholar, but also that of a gentle person, a gentleman, and a friend. He will not be forgotten.

*Werner Winter*



## Preface

This edition of the etymological dictionary of the Kartvelian languages, prepared at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, represents a major revision of its first version published more than thirty years ago (Klimov 1964). Kartvelian etymological studies have seen many new developments over this period of time, causing a difference of the present book from the previous one both in quality and in quantity. The dictionary contains about 1,400 word entries (the first edition had 954). More than thirty grammatical morphemes reconstructed earlier were excluded by the author; likewise, some twenty word comparisons which in the author's view had not stood the test of time, were omitted (usually, they are relatively recent borrowings – a fact which can be clearly demonstrated). All in all then, the glossary has been extended now by 440 new entries, which had been proposed by the present author or by other Kartvelologists such as K.H. Schmidt, T. Gamqrelize, G. Mačavariani, H. Fähnrich, G. Kartoza, Z. Saržvelaze, and B. Gigineišvili.

The remarkable increase in the number of suggested lexical correspondences derives mainly from two favorable factors:

On the one hand, they were the result of a rather substantial expansion of the sources used by etymological research in Kartvelian linguistics. The *Old Georgian dictionary* (Abulaze 1973) has, in this respect, been one of the most helpful works over the past two decades. According to the estimates of A. Šaniže, this dictionary contains about 80% of the vocabulary found in Old Georgian literary texts. At present, it is supplemented by the no less impressive *Old Georgian dictionary* by Z. Saržvelaze (1995). The dictionary of Georgian dialects by A. ŷlonti (1984), which has seen two editions in a short period of time, also deserves attention. An enormous amount of lexical material, as of now not part of the literary standard, is found here; the work itemizes the data in a strict way, thus making it possible to identify Georgian Zanisms that left no trace in either of the Zan languages, Megrelian and Laz. The publication of a number of new dictionaries of individual Georgian dialects as well as of several articles on lexicology and comparative phonetics of the Kartvelian languages has also added to the contents of the *Ětimologičeskij slovar' kartvel'skix jazykov*.

On the other hand, momentum was gained by the publication of a fundamental monograph on the reconstruction of the phonological and morphophonological systems of the Common Kartvelian stage (Gamqrelize-Mačavariani 1965, 1982). The regularities observed by the authors in the phonological structure of Kartvelian roots and stems provide a firm basis for a multitude of comparisons.

Finally, a new etymological dictionary appeared (H. Penixi – Z. Saržvelaze 1990; German version: Fähnrich-Saržweladze 1995), which in our view noticeably advanced the general state of knowledge about Kartvelian etymology (cf. Klimov 1993). The present work is, however, based on different principles. First and foremost, it is a dictionary of lexemes. Second, it provides reconstructions of the semantics of the archetypes proposed. Third, it systematically registers the Indo-European equivalents of the Kartvelian forms – a matter of considerable current interest. Last, it is intended as a contribution to the discussion of the largely neglected question of Kartvelian-Armenian interaction.

Two chronological levels of archetype reconstructions – an earlier (Common Kartvelian) stage and a later (Georgian-Zan) one, continue to be distinguished as they were in the earlier version of the dictionary; this distinction is of greatest importance for the analysis of Kartvelian language filiation. The approach used here consistently was first proposed by Deeters (1930); following it, the material common to Svan and Georgian or Zan languages is derived from proto-forms assigned to the Common-Kartvelian stage, while vocabulary shared by Georgian and one of the Zan languages can be projected back at least to the Georgian-Zan stage.

Quantitative aspects of the present dictionary indicate that there is a much greater genetically-caused similarity between Georgian and the Zan languages than there is between any of these languages and Svan. Thus, while some 480 lexemes and derivational elements are shared by Georgian and Svan and approximately 415 by Zan languages and Svan (the lower number explainable by the fact that less data are available for the Zan languages), more than 1,200 Georgian-Zan correspondences have been identified. (The proportions observed remain roughly the same for newly added material.) Qualitative characteristics of the Common-Kartvelian inventory and of the exclusive Georgian-Zan isoglosses serve to confirm the different degrees of relatedness. Thus, while, for instance, adjectives can be reconstructed with confidence for the Georgian-Zan stage, their presence at the Common Kartvelian level is open to question –

of four adjectives claimed to date from the proto-language stage, two derive from participles with a prefix *m-*, while the other two seem to be borrowed forms (cf. Klimov 1992). Furthermore, there is ample evidence in terms of meaning that the Georgian-Zan correspondences reflect a considerably more recent stage in the historical development of Kartvelian society. The new material now available to scholars, as well as other considerations, can be used to support this author's earlier expressed view that cattle-breeding vocabulary is common to Svan and other Kartvelian languages while agricultural terms are rarely shared; the designations of metals and of all kinds of equipment of a more recent period common to other Kartvelian languages are absent in Svan.

Using the methods of glottochronology as introduced by Morris Swadesh, the absolute time of separate development can be fixed for these languages at approximately 2,600 and 4,200 years, respectively. In other words, the Georgian-Zan complex should have begun to disintegrate at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., while the differentiation of Georgian-Zan and Svan should date from a period not later than the last centuries of the third millennium B.C.

Common-Kartvelian (and Georgian-Zan) forms have undergone a number of changes in the daughter languages.

In the realm of vocalism, Common Kartvelian *\*e* and *\*a* yield in Megrelian and Laz *a* and *o*, respectively (the shift does not take place in the coda of substantives). If in Zan forms *o* is found instead of regularly expected *a* (corresponding to Georgian *e*), it is assumed that either such forms formerly contained a parallel vocalism *\*a* or that Georgian *e* resulted from an ancient umlaut (cf. the alternative interpretations Georgian *ṭred-* 'dove': Zan *ṭorož* < Pre-Zan *\*ṭrad-* or Georgian *ṭred-* < *\*ṭrad-* alongside regular Zan *ṭorož*-). Even taking into account a number of cases which have been explained in special publications, it has to be noted that there are clearly more correspondences Georgian *a*: Zan *o* than Georgian *e*: Zan *a*.

Changes of Common-Kartvelian consonants affect the fricatives *\*s<sub>1</sub>*, and *\*z<sub>1</sub>*, and the affricates *\*c<sub>1</sub>*, *\*c̣<sub>1</sub>*, and *\*ʒ<sub>1</sub>*, which are reflected in the Zan languages and Svan by *š* and *ž* and by *č*, *č̣*, and *ẓ̌*, respectively. Besides, the Common-Kartvelian fricative *\*š* and the affricates *\*č̣*, *\*č̣̣*, and *\*ẓ̣̌* develop into the complexes *šk*, *čk*, *č̣k*, and *ẓ̌g*, respectively. This interpretation of the evolution of the phonological systems under consideration is corroborated by some ancient borrowings from Indo-European and Semitic sources (cf. Georgian *švid-*, Zan *škvit-*, Svan *išgwid-* 'seven')

beside Akkadian *šibit* ‘seven’ or Georgian *šus-*, Zan *šušk-* ‘to bake well, to dry’ beside Indo-Aryan *suš-* ‘to dry’). The conditions for the development of clusters in Zan and Svan were determined long ago (for Gamkrelidze’s Law – cf. Gamqrelize 1959 and Mačavariani 1965; some exceptions are discussed in Kartozia 1984).

The model of a Common-Kartvelian phonological system developed by Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965) provides the essential basis for the sound shape of the reconstructed forms; among other things the authors assume that the phonological system of Common Kartvelian contained, along with vowels and consonants proper a class of resonants (*\*w, \*j, \*l, \*r, \*m, \*n*) with syllabic and nonsyllabic allophones.

The two scholars suggest that a Common-Kartvelian opposition between short and long vowel phonemes was partly preserved in Svan; this suggestion is accepted by the present author. The canonical structure of the Kartvelian verb and noun root can then be described as *CV(:)C*; the positions *C* can be filled not only by a single consonant (or resonant), but also by a harmonic cluster or a *Cw* combination; the position *V* is mostly filled by *e*. The claim that Kartvelian root ablaut (with full and zero vowel grades) is an old phenomenon has in this dictionary been taken to be justified.

A number of other proposals made in the past is also taken into account. Here belongs the observation that in both native and borrowed forms of Megrelian the second element of a *CC* cluster is anticipated in the preceding syllable – cf. Georgian-Zan *\*čečk-* ‘to make hollow, to break to pieces’ > Megrelian *čkačk-* (cf. Mačavariani 1965; Gudava-Gamqrelize 1981). Also, the old conclusion is still valid that in Zan languages the sequence *we* in the penultimate syllable of a noun does not undergo change (as opposed to the development *\*e > a* found elsewhere in this position), in most cases apparently due to an earlier effect of umlaut (cf. Gamqrelize-Mačavariani 1965) – isolated cases such as Megrelian *γvalp-* ‘(hot) ashes’ beside Georgian *γvelp-* and Megrelian *čvat-* alternating with *čvet-* ‘drop’ are in need of an explanation. Furthermore, the regularity of the correspondence between word-internal Megrelian *r* and Laz *n* (cf. Megrelian *girze-*: Laz *ginze-* ‘long’) is also taken into consideration.

Finally, this dictionary takes note of some conclusions recently reached in the field of comparative Kartvelian phonetics. Two findings by I. Melikišvili (1981) are to be mentioned: She observes a change *\*e > i* before *n* in Zan languages, and she arrives at the conclusion that the cor-

responsiveness Svan *št* (> *šd* // *št*): Georgian-Zan *t* presupposes a pre-aspirated *\*t* at the Common-Kartvelian stage (which means that there is no need to postulate, here and in similar cases, a Proto-Kartvelian cluster *\*s<sub>1</sub>t*, which would complicate the phonological structure of a number of root morphemes and would result in a deviation from the canonical pattern). The increase in lexical entries makes the sound-symbolic role of final abruptive *-p* in verb stems (cf. *\*zep-*, *\*lip-*, *\*tkep-*, *\*čkep-*, etc.) and of *o* in some nouns and verbs (cf. *\*bod-*, *\*gor-*, *\*lok-*, *\*c<sub>1</sub>*, *oc<sub>1</sub>-*,) even more obvious. In the dictionary there are also some examples of that type of irregular correspondences which V.I. Abaev considers to be cross-isoglosses.

In some cases our current state of knowledge puts limitations on the explanation of the data. Thus, side-by-side with the not uncommon realization of the development *\*a > \*o > u* next to a labial in Zan languages, there are a great many cases of an absence of *u* grade (cf. *\*bade-*, *\*baga-*, *\*bandy-*, *\*wac<sub>1</sub>-*, etc.). Because of the obvious difficulties in determining quantity in Common Kartvelian and in Georgian-Zan, no vowel length has been indicated in proto-forms; while Svan facts and certain correspondences between Georgian and Zan vowels do offer helpful hints, it seems unwarranted to base conclusions in this matter above all on data from Svan dialects distinguishing vowel length. As concerns *x* vs. *q*, in many cases where the identity of the sound cannot be established on Old Georgian or Svan evidence, an *x* has been tentatively entered.

The present version of the dictionary gives special attention to matters of word formation; in this way it has become possible to see derivational relations between a number of lexemes formerly considered unrelated to each other. Derivational archetypes were discovered; thus, a group of Georgian-Zan deverbal nouns formed with a suffix *-e* (*\*nat-e-*, *\*yob-e-*, *\*c<sub>1</sub>x-e-*, etc.) is identified.

In the area of semantic reconstruction, the author tried to follow a history-based approach and to avoid ascribing meanings to lexical proto-forms which they could not have possessed at a given time; above all he tried to avoid an unintentional modernization of their semantic structure. As far as possible the book attempts to identify probable sources of old loanwords from other languages, with particular emphasis given to parallelisms in Indo-European languages. Such parallelisms are of particular interest for areal-linguistic studies now under way. Recent work on the subject (Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984, 1994; Klimov 1994) can be seen to

support claims of early contacts between Kartvelian and Indo-European languages and the hypothesis that the Indo-European Urheimat should be located to the south of the historical homeland of the Kartvelians (if proof could be offered for a genetic relationship between the two language groups, the hypothesis mentioned would gain in probability). The Kartvelian homeland seems to have been the Great Caucasus and the Little Caucasus; this appears to be indicated by lexical data. In the view of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 880–881, 1994: 777), the Common Kartvelian language is to be dated in the fourth and third millennia B.C. These authors state furthermore (1984: 881, 1994: 777): “Proto-Kartvelian prior to its breakup must be placed, on the evidence of archaic lexical and toponymic data, in the mountainous regions of the western and central part of the Little Caucasus (the Transcaucasian foothills). The first wave of Kartvelian migrations to the west and northwest, in the direction of the Colchidian plains, must have begun with one of the western dialects in the third millennium B.C. and led to the formation of Svan, which spread to the western Transcaucasus and was superimposed on local languages, probably of the Northwest Caucasian type, which thus became substratal to Svan. Svan was gradually displaced to the north, to the Great Caucasus range, by the next wave of migrations, which occurred approximately nine centuries later (on glottochronological evidence) and removed the westernmost remaining dialect as far as the Black Sea coast. This western dialect gave rise to the later Colchidian – or Zan, or Mingrelian-Laz – language, one of the languages of ancient Colchis. The dialects which remained in the ancient Kartvelian homeland underlie Georgian. In historical times, speakers of Georgian spread to the west, to part of the Colchidian territory, splitting the Colchidian language into two dialects and setting up the development of Mingrelian and Laz (Chan) into independent languages. They also spread to the north and northeast, displacing languages of the Northeast Caucasian type.” (English version by Johanna Nichols; deviations from the Russian original will be disregarded here.)

The impossibility, noted in special writings, of etymologizing Georgian macrohydronymics on the basis of Kartvelian languages is not surprising once one accepts a relatively late date for Kartvelian settlement in the lower valleys of the major Transcaucasian rivers; conversely, it makes sense that some rivers in the extreme southwest of the Kartvelian area (cf. *Čorox-*, *Čxala-*) seem to have genuine Kartvelian names in Zan guise.

It is only natural to expect that further growth of etymological research in Kartvelian will depend crucially on more lexical data from Laz and Svan becoming available.

The dictionary uses a number of conventional symbols. Abbreviations CK and GZ point to the Common Kartvelian or Georgian-Zan level of reconstruction respectively. Square brackets signify that the form inside them is not used as such in the modern language, but can be somehow extracted (for instance, it is found in a bound form only). Brackets in the phonological recordings show the optional nature of the phonemes inside them. A colon dividing verbal roots indicates their alternations (above all, in accordance with ablaut). Old Georgian forms are documented by their occurrences in medieval literary texts. The names of the original proponents of comparisons are given whenever it is possible.



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## A

CK \***a-** pronominal stem, proximal (opposed to distant \**i-*): Georg. *a-*; Megr. *a-*; Laz *a-*, *ha-*; Svan *a-*.

In unbound form the stem is rarely attested: cf. Laz *a ham mtuti boškurina-*... 'there's a bear I'll frighten...' (ČT<sub>3</sub>: 37.31). It occurs ordinarily combined with other pronominal stems: cf. Georg. *a-ma-* 'that, this', *a-k-a* 'here', *a-s-e* 'so'. Absence of regular correspondence in the vocalism of the stem is due to its interjectional nature.

CK \***a-** verbal prefix of causative: Georg. *a-*; Megr. *o-*; Laz *o-*; Svan *a-*.

Causative and permissive. In Zan languages it is regularly reflected as *o-*: cf. Georg. *m-a-su* 'he gave me to drink', Megr. *m-o-pučuans* 'he makes me swear', Svan *x-a-tr-e* 'he gives him to drink'. A Georgian-Zan causative is usually formed with a circumfix: see \**a-* – *-in*.

CK \***-a** suffix of deverbative action noun: Georg. *-a*; Megr. *-a*; Laz *-a*; Svan *-a*.

Widely attested in Old Georgian: cf. *sum-a-* 'drinking', *čam-a-* 'eating', *zraxv-a-* 'thinking'. Being productive in modern Georgian and Megrelian (cf. *šum-a-* 'drinking', *ngar-a-* 'weeping', *gimu-a-* 'cropping', etc.), it survives in Laz only in a few nouns: *barva-* 'blowing', *ko-ma-* 'smoke', *mčima-* 'rain'. For the Svan equivalent cf. *gargla* 'talk', *dagra* 'murder', *kweda* 'lack, deficiency'.

|| ÈSKJa: 42.

GZ \***-ad** affix of adverbial derivation: Georg. *-ad*; Megr. *-o(t)*; Laz [*-o(t)*].

In Old Georgian characterized by high productivity: cf. *did-ad* 'strongly, very', *kaal-ad* 'afterwards, again', *ert-ad* 'together, at once'. It coincides with the ending of the Common Kartvelian transformative case \**-ad*. Productive in Megrelian, in Laz it is found only in a few petrified forms like *ačo* 'once' and *dido* 'very'.

CK \***ad-//had-** 'azalea (pontica)': Megr. [*od-*] 'azalea (pontica)'; Svan *ad-ra-*, *had-ra-*.

Retained only in Svan, where *-ra* functions as a derivational element usually in the names of plants and trees. From here probably originates the Svan toponym *Adiš-*. A Megrelian cognate may be extracted from the traditional designation of Megrelia *Odiš-*. For *-iš* in both cases see \**-is*<sub>1</sub>.

\*adr-a(d)

GZ \*adr-a(d) 'early, fast': Georg. *adrad* 'fast'; Megr. *ordo-* 'morning'; Laz *odro, ordo* 'early, fast'.

The Georgian adverb is well attested in medieval texts (cf. also modern Georgian *adre* 'early, soon'). The word reflects the form of transformative case. Cf. Old Georgian *adre* 'quickly, tomorrow'. The semantically deviating Megrelian form is a noun. In Zan cognates metathesis of consonants has occurred.

|| Čikobava (1938: 199–200).

GZ \*a- --en//in circumfix of the causative verbs: Georg. *a- --en//in*; Megr. *o- --in*; Laz *o- --in*.

Georg. *-en* marks only the presentic tense word-forms (cf. *a-dg-en-s* 'he establishes' alongside *da-a-dg-in-a* 'he established'). In Zan languages only *-in* is found. Cf. Megr. *v-o-dg-in-ank* 'I put it', Laz *v-o-xom-in-ap* 'I dry it'.

CK \*at- 'ten': Georg. *at-* 'ten'; Megr. *vit-*; Laz *vit-*; Svan *ješd-, ješt-*.

Attested in Old Georgian. In the Zan branch and in Svan its initial vowel is removed in different ways. Already Bopp (1847: 40) assumed that *j* of the Svan numeral had arisen phonetically. The correspondence Georg.-Zan *t* ~ Svan *št* (> *šd* // *št*) presupposing so-called preaspirated \**t* is regular. An early borrowing? Cf. \**arwa-*, \**eks<sub>1</sub>w-*, \**otxo-*, \**š(i)wid-*.

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

CK \*-am : -m verbal thematic affix: Georg. *-am* : *-m*; Megr. *-um, -əm*; Laz *-um, -im*; Svan *-em*.

Less characteristic for Svan (cf. \**bam-* : *bm-*; \**dgam-* : *dgm-*; \**tkwam-* : *tkm-*, etc.). The Georgian-Zan material reflects two ablaut grades – full and zero grade, whereas Svan *-em* continues only the full one. In Old Georgian *-am* sometimes alternates with *-em* (cf. *vsuam* // *vsuem* 'I drink'). The use of this affix is limited to the presentic tense word-forms.

|| Deeters (1930: 122–123).

CK \*a-ma- 'that, this': Georg. *ama-* : *am-* 'that, this'; Megr. *amu-*; Laz *(h)amu-*; Svan *am(a)-*.

Demonstrative pronoun combining the deictic stems \**a-* and \**ma-*: *a* of the latter is reflected in Zan as *o* (> *u* next to labial) in accordance with

a sound correspondence known for words used as adjectives. In Svan it is attested in *ama-s* ‘to that’ (dat.) and *ama-w* ‘here, so far’. In Megrelian the stem is not used as a free form; it occurs only as the first part of compounds with an adverbial function.

|| Schmidt (1962: 92).

CK \*anç<sub>1</sub>l- ‘elder’: Georg. *ançl-* ‘elder’; Megr. *inçir-*, *inçər-*; Laz *inçir(a)-*; Svan *gänçw-*.

Priority of the initial vowel seems unlikely, but difficulties with initial *g* in Svan permit one to assume here a loss of some “weak” consonant (cf. Marr 1912.2: 1095; Gamqrelize – Mačavariani 1965: 82). A former stem-final *l* is regularly rendered in Svan by *w*, which makes it impossible to consider the word a Zanism. For *i* in the first syllable of the Zan forms instead of Georg. *a* cf. \**at-*, \**kraw-*, \**kwab-*, \**žinçar-*.

|| Marr (1912.2: 1095).

CK \*a-r- ‘to be’: Georg. *ar-* ‘to be’; Megr. *or-*; Laz *or-*; Svan *är-*, *ar-*.

Widely attested in Old Georgian: *igavi igi ese ars...* ‘the parable is this...’ Lk. 8.11. Apparently it is a lexicalized form of the verb stem \**r-* merged with the former version prefix *a-*. Cf. the modern Georg. *v-ar* ‘I am’, *x-ar* ‘you are (sing.)’. For its Zan cognate cf. Megr. *or-d-a-s* and Laz *or-t-a-s* ‘let him be’. In Svan the stem is represented in such forms as *xw-är-i* ‘I am’, *x-är-i* ‘You are’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 628). Laz, Svan: Čikobava (1938: 307).

CK \*arwa- ‘eight’: Georg. *rva-*, *rua-* ‘eight’; Megr. *ruo-*, *bruo-*; Laz *orvo-*, *ovro-*; Svan *ara-*.

Well documented in Old Georgian (*vitarca ayesrulnes dyeni rvani...* ‘when eight days were accomplished ...’ Lk. 2.21). Final \**a* as in other attributively used words yields Zan *o*. Georgian and Megrelian forms lost the initial vowel. Consonantal metathesis in Laz as well as loss of *w* in Svan result from a reshaping of the cluster *rw*, unusual for Kartvelian roots. For the reconstruction of the protoform see Gamqrelize (1959: 52). The word belongs to a set of early Semitic loanwords (cf. Akkad. *arbā* as dual of *arba* ‘four’).

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ \*arčw- ‘chamois’: Georg. *arčv-* ‘chamois’; Megr. *erckem-*, *erskem-*.

For the correspondence Georg. *č* ~ Zan *ck* (in position after *r*) see

\**asul-*

\**purč-*, \**gleč-*. The element *-em* in Megrelian requires an explanation. Svan *jerskän, jersken, hersk(n)-* ‘chamois’ is apparently a Zan loanword, cf. Megr. *ercken-k* (narrative case).

|| Marr (1915.1: 213). Cf. Schmidt (1961: 153).

CK \**asul-* ‘daughter’: Georg. *asul-* ‘daughter’; Megr. *osur-* ‘woman, wife’; Laz *osur-* ‘daughter, girl’; Svan *asuš, (h)aswiš*.

The kinship term is widely attested in Old Georgian: *asuli martoj esua mas* ‘he had only one daughter’ Lk. 8.42. According to Vogt (1974: 107) the root is the same as that found in the verbal word-form *e-su-a* ‘he had him, her’. Hence the initial *a* would be a prefix. For the correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Svan *š* in nouns see \**til-*, \**c<sub>1</sub>ol-*, \**ç<sub>1</sub>ul-*, etc. The change *u* > *wi* in Svan is a result of umlaut. The Megrelian form underwent a semantic shift.

|| Georgian, Zan: Brosset (1849: 70–72). Svan: Marr (1917: 314).

CK \**a-s<sub>1</sub>-* deictic stem: Georg. *ase* ‘so’; Megr. [*aš-*]; Laz [*aš-*]; Svan *aš* ‘so’.

A combination of the pronominal stems \**a-* and \**s<sub>1</sub>-*; cf. also \**i-s<sub>1</sub>-*. In Old Georgian it survives in *asre* ‘so’. In Zan languages it can be seen in some adverbs: cf. Megr. *ašo* ‘here’, *aš(i)* ‘so’ and Laz *ašo // hašo* ‘so’, where *-o* is a petrified case ending.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 46.

CK \**as<sub>1</sub>ir-* ‘hundred’: Georg. *as-* ‘hundred’; Megr. *oš-*; Laz *oš-*; Svan *ašir, äšir*.

The numeral is widely attested in Old Georgian: ...*asi mari zeti* ‘...hundred measures of oil’ Lk. 16.6. Since Svan lacks a derivational element *-ir*, it is natural to consider it to be an organic part of the stem lost in the Georgian–Zan area (cf. \**ixwir-* ‘duck’). The numeral has apparently a Semitic source (cf. Akkad. ‘*esr* ‘ten’).

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ \**a-k-* ‘here’: Georg. *ak* ‘here’; Megr. *ak, tak, atak*; Laz *ak, ako*.

The adverb *aka* is well attested in Old Georgian: *momec me aka lanĸlita tavi Iovane natlis-mcemelisa...* ‘Give me here John Baptist’s head in a charger ...’ Mt. 14.8. It contains a combination of the pronominal stems \**a-* and \**k-*; its counterpart is \**i-k-* ‘there’.

|| Cf. Čikobava (1938: 225).

GZ \*ay- preverb of direction 'up, upwards': Georg. *a-* preverb of direction 'up, upwards'; Megr. *o-*; Laz. *o-*.

The Old Georgian form is *ay-*: cf. *ayzrda* 'education', *ayslva* 'ascent, rise', *ayprena* 'flying up', etc. Cf. its derivative *m-ay-al-* 'high'. In many cases the prefix has lost its locative function. In all languages the preverb underwent simplification: cf. Georg. *a-vedi* 'I rose', Megr. *o-b-č̣komi* 'I ate', Laz *o-putxu* 'he flew up'.

|| Cf. Deeters (1930: 14).

CK \*aqare- 'gourd': Megr. *qoqore-* 'gourd'; Laz *qoqore-*, *ojore-*, *ore-*; Svan (*h*)*aqar*, *aqār*.

Apparently Common Kartvelian term. The Zan forms, where word-initial *q* must be secondary, and their Svan equivalent are regular phonetical matches. In view of the initial vowel the term seems to be an old loanword. Cf. also Georg. *aqiro-* with the same meaning which, however, does not fit the archetype.

Cf. Šavaxišvili (1934: 273).

GZ \*a-č- 'henceforth, from now on': Georg. *ač*, *ači* 'henceforth, from now on'; Megr. *ač(i)*, *anč(i)*; Laz *a(n)či*.

Amply attested in Old Georgian (cf. *ač iqsenin igi ...* 'let him deliver him now...' Mt. 27.43), where it formed the basis for a number of derivatives. The initial \*a- can be identified as the pronominal stem \*a-.

|| ÈSKJa: 47.

GZ \*axl-a(d) 'now, recently' (adv.): Georg. *axla* 'now'; Laz *xolo* 'now, again'.

Found in Old Georgian in the shape of *axlad*: *še-tu vinme-irtos colixlad...* 'when a man hath taken a new wife...' Deut. 24.5. Cf. its derivative *axlad-šobil-* 'new-born' (Abulaze 1973: 27). Its Laz equivalent points to an earlier form *oxolo*. Whether Megr. *xolo* 'again' is connected directly remains unclear.

GZ \*axlo- 'near' (adverb): Georg. *axlo-* 'near' (adv. and adj.); Megr. *xolo* 'near, by'.

Widely used in Old Georgian sources: *axlo arn arej...* 'summer is near...' Mk. 13.28; cf. its synonym *axlos* with the parallel Megr. *xolos*. The word must be regarded as a derivative from the verbal base \*xal- : *xl-* 'to be among, amidst sth., near to sth.'. The Megrelian equivalent presupposes an earlier form \*oxolo.

## B

CK \*b- ‘to pour’: Megr. *b-* ‘to pour’; Laz *b-*; Svan *b-*.

The protoform is based on Zan and Svan material: cf. Megr. *geiobes* ‘they poured’, Laz *kogobu* ‘he poured’, Svan *maba* ‘it is poured on me’ (action noun of the latter is *li-bem*). In Georgian the stem seems to be lost. It remains uncertain whether the Svan base *bib-* // *bb-* ‘to pour, spill, shed’ (*xwabbe* ‘I pour’, noun of action *li-bb-e*) is related.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 250). Svan: ÈSKJa: 47.

CK \*b- ‘to tie, bind’: Georg. *b-* ‘to tie, bind; to hang’; Megr. *b-*; Laz *b-*; Svan *b-*.

The stem occurs in Old Georgian: *mun eba...* ‘there was attached...’ (cf. Abulaže 1973: 32). It characterizes the word-forms of aoristic group tenses. For the Zan equivalent cf. Laz. *koço-v-o-b-i* ‘I tied’, for Svan – *lə-b-e* ‘tied’. Cf. also the derivative stem \**bam-* : *bm-*, formed by means of the thematic extension *-am* : *-m*. The meaning ‘to hang’ of the Georgian and Zan cognates seems to be secondary.

|| Čikobava (1938: 250).

GZ \*baga- ‘sheep-pen, goat-pen; floor of pen; crib’: Georg. *baga-* ‘crib’; Megr. *boga-* ‘floor of pen, floor of cattleshed; little bridge made of planks’; Laz *boga-* ‘sheep-, goat-pen’.

Attested in Old Georgian: *pirutquta bagasa...* ‘in the crib of the cattle...’ Sin. mr. 7.21. The primary meaning remains uncertain; the Megrelian verb *bogua-* ‘to lay a bridge’ apparently is denominal. West-Georg. *boga-* ‘shelf’ is a Zan loanward. Svan (Lašx.) *baga* must have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 41). Laz: ÈSKJa: 48.

CK(?) \*bade- ‘net, cobweb’: Georg. *bade-* ‘net’; Laz *boda-* ‘netting for picking fruits’; Svan *bäd, bad* ‘netting, cobweb’ (?).

Georgian-Zan word well known in Old Georgian: *ara ganstkda badej igi* ‘was not the net broken’ Jn. 21.11. In Megrelian it is perhaps lost. The final vowel needs an explanation: cf. the unexpected *a* in Laz. The Svan equivalent may stem from a Georgian source.

|| Georgian, Laz: Deeters (cf. Schmidt (1962: 95). Svan: ÈSKJa: 48.

GZ \*bal- ‘sweet cherry’: Georg. *bal-* ‘sweet cherry’; Megr. *bul-* ‘sweet cherry, birch’; Laz *bul-* ‘cherry, sweet cherry’.

In Old Georgian texts the word seems to be unattested. The vowel correspondence is regular (cf. expected *o* > *u* next to labial consonant). The lexeme must be a cross-cultural term borrowed from an unknown Asianic source. Arm. *bal* ‘cherry’, Class. Pers. *bālū*, Kurd. *balū*, and similar Daghestanian forms (cf. Cax. *bali*, Andi *bali*, Avar *baRli* ‘sweet cherry’) must have the same origin.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). The material is summarized in Marr (1915.1: 826).

CK \*b-am- : b-m- ‘to tie, bind’: Georg. *bam-* : *bm-* ‘to tie, bind; get attached’; Megr. *bum-*; Laz *bum-*; Svan *bem-*.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian: cf. action nouns *abma-*, *gamobma-*, etc. (Abulaze 1973: 1, 40). Derived from \*b- ‘to tie, bind’ with a thematic extension \*-am : -m (action noun Georg. *bma-*, Megr. *buma-*, Svan *li-bem*) characteristic for word-forms of the presentic series.

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 629). Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 192). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 48.

GZ \*ban- ‘to wash, wash oneself’: Georg. *ban-* ‘to wash, wash oneself; bathe’; Megr. *bon-*; Laz *bon-*, *mbon-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: *daibane piri ŧeni...* ‘wash your face...’ Mt. 6.17 (action noun *bana-*, *banil-* ‘washed’, *ubanel-* ‘unwashed’). The initial *m* of the Laz cognate is a recent development. The question arises whether the archetype is related to the parallel stem \*bar- : br- with the same semantics.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895, XII: 105). Cf. Čikobava (1938: 254–255).

CK(?) \*band- ‘to interweave, plait’: Georg. *band-* ‘to interweave, plait’; Megr. *bond-*; Svan *bānd-* ‘to darn, patch up’(?).

According to S. Orbeliani, the Georgian derivative *band-ul-* denotes a kind of bast shoe. At present the base in its initial meaning occurs in Xevs. dialect, whereas in Gur. it means an incoherent talk (cf. Ÿlonti 1984: 53). The Megrelian cognate is represented by the nouns *bond-* ‘suspended bridge (wattled with living plants)’ and *bondul-* ‘seine’. The Svan stem may, however, be a simplification of a Georgian borrowing *blandva-* ‘to patch up’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Illič-Svityč (1971: 194).

\*bandy–

GZ **\*bandy–** ‘to twist, tie together’: Georg. *bandy–* ‘to interlace’; Megr. *bondy–* ‘to net, spin, web’.

Apparently the verb stem does not occur in Old Georgian texts. Cf. the Georgian dialectal (Imer.) noun correlate *bandy–* ‘cobweb’ and the Megrelian action noun *bondyua–* alongside *gobondyil–* ‘cobweb’ (literally past participle ‘interlaced’). The Laz equivalent is probably lost. Note a special similarity to Indo-Aryan *bandh–* ‘to tie’ (< PIE *\*bhendh–*).

|| Žyenti (1940: 225). Cf. Fähnrich (1982: 34).

GZ **\*ban–il–** ‘washed’: Georg. *banil–* ‘washed’; Megr. *bonil–, bonir–*; Laz *boner–*.

Attested in Old Georgian sources: *banilsa mas ara uqms bana...* ‘he that is washed needeth not...’ Jn. 13.10, where it means also ‘baptized’ (Abulaze 1973: 29). It is a past participle in *–il* based on the verb stem *\*ban–*. The Laz cognate is adapted to adjectives ending in *–er*.

CK **\*bar– : br–** ‘to wash’: Laz *bor–, mbor–* ‘to wash, bathe’; Svan *bar– (bär–) : br–*.

In Laz the verb stem functions as a complement to *bon–* (see *\*ban–*): *umbortuša...* ‘while he washed him...’ alongside *ibondes* ‘they washed themselves’. In Svan, where it shows ablaut alternation (cf. action noun *li–bar, li–br–al // li–br–äl*), the parallel stem is lacking. In Georgian no certain cognate is found.

|| Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 44).

GZ **\*barbac–** ‘to reel, stagger’: Georg. *barbac–* ‘to reel, stagger’; Megr. [*borboc–*].

Unattested in Old Georgian. The Zan cognate seems to have been lost in the Zan languages, but is reflected in the Georgian dialectal (Ajar.) Zanism *borboca–* ‘staggering (man)’ (cf. Ÿlonṭi 1984: 81). This obviously reduplicated form must be somehow connected with the verb stem *\*bec–* ‘to move by touch, grope’.

GZ **\*bard–** ‘blackthorn, sloe’: Georg. *bard–* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; Megr. *burd–*.

Attested in medieval Georgian texts. The vowel correlation in the compared forms is regular – *o* expected in Megrelian yields *u* next to a labial. The Georgian compound *bard–burd–* ‘sloe’ is based on the alternation *a ~ u*, characteristic for reduplicative formations and its second

component has nothing to do with the Megrelian form. The word cannot derive from Arm. *barti* 'poplar' (cf., however, Ačaryan 1971: 430).

|| Klimov (1988: 153).

CK(?) \***bark-** 'thigh, haunch': Georg. *bark-al-* 'thigh (of animal, bird)'; Megr. *bork-* 'shin, shank'; Svan [*bark-*].

Occurs in Old Georgian texts: *igi kelobda barklita...* 'he halted upon his thigh...' Gen. 32.31. Georg. *-al* is a word-formation affix. According to Schmidt (1962: 95), the Megr. form underlies derivative *borkua-* 'to fetter'. In Svan the stem can be recovered in the derivative *barkä-* 'bow-legged'. Cf. Gelenize (1974: 81).

|| Georgian, Megrelian : Marr (1913.3: 27).

GZ \***barç<sub>1</sub>-** 'barren, dry': Georg. *berç-* 'barren'; Megr. *burç-* 'dry (of a cow)'.  
 Adjective widely attested in Old Georgian: cf. *netar arian berçni...* 'blessed are the barren...' Lk. 23.29, action noun *berçoba-* 'barrenness'. Occurs also in a variant *belç-* (Ylonti 1984: 68). In Laz it is apparently lost. The vocalic pattern of cognates allows one to reconstruct a vowel \**a* resulting in Zan in *o > u* next to a labial. Cf. Mačavariani (1958: 275–276). Svan *bruč-* with the same meaning seems to be a Megrelian loanword.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 49.

GZ \***ba(r)ž-** 'brace, prop; stake, picket': Georg. *barž-* 'stick (forked)'; Megr. [*bo(r)žg-*] 'brace, stake'; Laz *božg-* 'tree (branchy)'.  
 Attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 29). The Megrelian cognate survives vestigially as a Zan loanword in Western dialects of Georgian (Ylonti 1984: 82, 86). The connection with the Common Kartvelian verbal stem \**bež-* : *bž-* 'to lean (on); rest (against)' is obvious.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Klimov (1988: 153).

GZ(?) \***baqv-** 'thigh, haunch': Georg. *baqv-* 'thigh, haunch'; Megr. *boqv-*.

Somewhat problematic comparison. In Old Georgian the lexeme seems to be absent. The vowel *o* in Megrelian remains unclear: after a regular shift *a > o* next to a labial the expected vocalism would be rather *u*.

GZ \***bger-** 'to utter; sound, ring': Georg. *bger-* 'sound, sounding'; Megr. *ngar-*, *gar-* 'to tear, mourn'; Laz *bgar-*, *mgar-*.

A tentative comparison. The noun *bgera-* is well known in Old Georgian, where it meant 'loud sound, groan(ing), noise' (Abulaže 1973: 30). Among

\*bdw-

Zan forms the Laz one retains an ancient shape (action noun *o-bgar-u*, *o-bgar-in-u*). In Megrelian the stem is reinterpreted: cf. *i-b-gar-k* 'I tear', where *b* is a subject prefix of the 1 person singular. Though this equation holds formally, semantically it seems somehow dubious.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 393). Georgian: *ÈSKJa*: 49.

CK \*bdw- 'to set, catch fire'; Georg. [*bdv-*] 'to set, catch fire'; Laz *d(v)-*; Svan *bid-*, *bd-*.

The verb stem occurs in its unbound shape only in Laz and Svan. Cf. the action noun Laz *o-d-u*, Svan *li-bid* (and *mə-bid* 'combustible'). Their Georgian cognate may be extracted from the derivative \*bdw-in-.

CK \*bdw-in- 'to set fire'; Georg. [*bdvin-*] 'to set fire'; Laz *dvin-*; Svan *bdin-*.

A verb stem based on \*bdw-. It is attested in Old Georgian indirectly: cf. participle *m-bdwin-vare-* 'kindled' (Abulaze 1973: 224). In other languages the consonantal cluster has been simplified. For Laz cf. action noun *me-dvin-u*, *b-u-dvin-am* 'I set fire to it'. The Svan action noun is *li-bdin-e*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 26).

GZ \*bez- 'to thrash, belabor': Georg. *bez-* 'to belabor, beat strongly'; Megr. *baz-*; Laz *baz-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem seems to be lacking. Note the Zan action nouns *bazua-* (Megr.), which can mean also 'to pounce' (cf. Kipšidze 1914; 199), and *o-baz-u* (Laz). The correspondence Georg. *e* ~ Zan *a* in word-internal position is regular. According to Schmidt (1961: 150; 1962: 97), the stem may be compared with *biz-* in Svan *mə-biz* 'replete' (see the following entry).

|| Schmidt (ibidem).

CK \*bez- : bz- 'to fill; to get full, sated': Georg. *bez-* 'to get sated'; Svan *bz-* 'to satiate'.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. In modern Georgian the verb is fixed in the Imeretian dialect: action noun *bezva-* (Ylonti 1984: 67). For Svan cf. action noun *li-bz-e*, its regular noun correlate *biz* 'surfeit, satiety', and *u-bz-ad* 'insatiablely'. The stem may underlie GZ \*bz-ek- : *bz-ik-*.

|| Cf. Schmidt (1962: 150).

GZ **\*betk-** ‘to beat strongly’: Georg. *betk-* ‘to beat strongly’; Megr. *batk-* ‘to beat strongly and continually’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The verb stem must be treated as a lexicalized form of the Common Kartvelian stem *\*petk-* : *ptk-*. The shift  $p > b$  has perhaps a sound-symbolic function.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

GZ **\*bek-** ‘to trample down’: Georg. *beḱ-n-* ‘to trample down’; Megr. *baḱ-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian: *ibeḱn velsa zeda...* ‘(the horse) paweth in the valley’ Job 39.21. Since the word-final *n* is here a personal ending its modern Georgian continuant known from the Western dialects (cf. Ḷlonṭi 1984: 67) shows an extension. Cf. also its derivative *baḱ-un-* ‘footfall, tramp’ (Neisser 1953: 30). The action nouns are Georg. *beḱna-*, Megr. *baḱua-*. According to Schmidt (1962: 96), Deeters perceived their cognate in the Svan *li-beḱ* ‘to press close’.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

CK **\*ber-** ‘to blow; inflate, distend’: Georg. *ber-* ‘to blow, inflate, distend’; Megr. *mbar-*, *bar-*; Laz *bar-*; Svan *bēl-* ‘to be troubled with wind’.

The verb stem occurs in Old Georgian texts: *štahbera mat da hrkua...* ‘(he) breathed on them and said...’ Jn. 20.22, cf. also Abulaḷe 1973: 31, 501). The Zan action nouns are Megr. *barua-*, *barapa-* and Laz *o-bar-u*. The Svan cognate (action noun *li-bēl-e*) points to old vowel length. In view of the deviating stem-final consonant in Svan the protoform is somewhat conjectural. An alternative reconstruction *\*bāl-* (Vogt 1939: 133) can, however, hardly be proved.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103, 107). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 399). Svan: Vogt (ibidem).

CK **\*berg-** ‘to hoe’: Megr. *barg-* ‘to hoe’; Laz *berg-*; Svan *bērg-*.

A verbal stem unattested in Georgian. It reflects an agricultural economy of ancient Kartvelians. The action nouns are Megr. *bargua-*, Laz *o-berg-u*, Svan *li-bērg-e*. The Laz cognate underwent impact from the parallel noun stem *berg-* ‘hoe’. Marr (1936: 382) thought that the Zan word has been borrowed from Svan. Similarity to the continuants of PIE *\*bherg-*, *bhreig-* ‘to break up, crush’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 167) is worth noting.

|| Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965: 162).

\*ber-w-a

GZ \*ber-w-a 'blowing': Georg. *berva-* 'blowing, whiff'; Megr. *barua-*; Laz *barua-*, *barva-*, *bavra-* 'wind'.

The action noun is well attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaze 1973: 31). It shows the thematic extension *-(a)w* and the action noun affix *-a*. Antiquity of this form is indicated by the existence of the secondary Zan forms of the action noun: cf. Megr. *bar-ap-a-*, Laz *o-bar-u*.

GZ \*bertq- 'to beat out; shake': Georg. *bertq-* 'to shake (large objects); knock out'; Megr. *bartq-*.

Verb stem found also in Old Georgian. The action noun is *bertqa-*, *ganbertqa-* (cf. Abulaze 1973: 31, 51). It continues the full grade of Georg.-Zan \**pertq-* : *prtq*. Georgian noun *bartq-* 'nestling' shows an apophonic word-formation from the verb stem (cf. also \**barž-*).

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

CK(?) \*berqen- 'wild pear; wild plum(-tree)': Georg. *b(e)rqena-* 'wild pear'; Svan *barqwen(d)*, *bärqen* 'wild plum(-tree)'.

Phonetic irregularities make this equation somewhat problematic. Final Georg. *-a* must be a diminutive affix. In the Zan branch no cognate is found. A connection with Georg. *tqemal-* and its Zan correspondence (cf. Čikobava 1938: 126) is hardly demonstrable. According to Schmidt (1960: 135), the Svan form may be a Georgian loanword.

|| ÈSKJa: 54.

CK \*berq- 'leg, step': Georg. *pex-* 'leg'; Megr. [*bax-*]; Svan *bērq*, *bä(r)q*, *bāq* 'step'.

The word is amply reflected by *perq-* in Old Georgian: *qeli šeni anu perqi...* 'thy hand or foot...' Mt. 18.8; cf. also *sa-brq-e*, *sa-prq-e* 'trap, net'. The modern Georgian variants *peq-* and *berq-* have a dialectal use. In the Zan languages one extracts its stem from Megr. *la-bax-u* 'passage in wattle-fence'. For Svan cf. also *na-barq-* 'track, foot-print'.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 93).

GZ \*bey- : by- 'to be enough, suffice': Georg. [*bey-*] 'to suffice, be enough'; Megr. *bay-*; Laz *bay-*: [*by-*].

The verb stem survives in Georgian in the deverbal derivative \**bey-el-* 'barn' and in \**bey-ur-* 'sparrow'. Both grades of vowel alternation are apparently reflected in the Laz forms, which underwent a lexical separation of *o-bay-u* 'to suffice' and *o-by-u* 'to pour, fall' (the semantic

deviation of the latter may be due to the contamination with the continuants of Common Kartvelian \*reyw- : ryw- ‘to pour’).

GZ \*bey-el- ‘barn, storehouse’: Georg. *bey-el-* ‘barn, storehouse’; Megr. *bayu-*; Laz *bayu-*.

A nominal formation from the verb stem \*bey- : by- ‘to be enough, suffice’, attested in Old Georgian by its derivative *me-beyle-e-* ‘house-serf’ (Saržvelaže 1995: 112). It represents one of the characteristic Georgian-Zan isoglosses reflecting the developed agricultural stage of the ancient Kartvelians (scarcely to be equated with Svan *bye-*, *bəye-* ‘pit, hole’). The historical position of dialectal Georg. *beyo-* remains unclear.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895: XII, 113). Laz: Marr (1910: 10).

GZ \*bey-ur- ‘sparrow’: Georg. *beyura-* ‘sparrow’; Megr. *bayəre-*, *bayire-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The word is related to \*bey-el- or \*beyo-(?) ‘barn, storehouse’. This finds support in parallel correlations found in some other languages. The Georgian form contains the diminutive affix -a.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 201).

GZ \*bec- ‘to move by touch, grope’: Georg. *bec-* ‘to sneak, slink’; Megr. *bac-* ‘to steal on tiptoe, grope’.

Verb stem found in medieval Georgian sources. It seems to be symbolic in origin. Georgian has a nominal correlate *bec-* ‘blind’. The Megrelian action noun is *bacua-*, *bacap-*; *aca-baca-* is a Megrelian epithet of the jackal. Cf. Georg.-Zan \*barbac- ‘to reel, stagger’. Svan *bembec-* ‘dark’ may be also related. The stem conforms to the Caucasian area norm: cf. Avar *becc-a-b* ‘blind, dark’, Bezh. *boc-dijo* ‘blind’ (Fähnrich 1988: 36).

|| ÈSKJa: 51.

GZ \*bezg- ‘to push, shove’: Georg. [*bezg-*] ‘to push, shove (with hand, shoulder)’: Laz *bazg-* ‘to lean (on, against)’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In modern Georgian the stem is reflected in its regular noun correlate *bi3g-* ‘push, bump’ (see \*bi3g-). In Laz its equivalent is preserved in its unbound form: cf. action noun *do-bazg-u* ‘to lean on earth’ and *bazgei-bazgei* ‘leaning (on), pushing off’ (*ge-g-o-bazg-am* ‘I tread on your foot’).

\*be<sub>3</sub>y-

GZ(?) \*be<sub>3</sub>y- 'to scold, rail; be angry': Georg. *bezy-* 'to slander, denounce'; Megr. *beržy-el-* 'to yell, howl; make a hubbub'; Laz *bežy-* 'to scold; be angry'.

The identity in vocalism probably points to the onomatopoeic nature of the stem, although Zan *e* instead of expected *a* can be due to some other factor. The Megrelian form has a secondary word-formation suffix. Cf. also the Laz action noun *o-bežy-in-u*. The meaning of the Georgian stem causes some difficulties.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 51.

CK \*beč- : bič- 'to crumble, break': Georg. [*bič-*] 'to crumble'; Svan *bečkw-*, *bičkw-*, *bčkw-* 'to break (bread, apple, etc.)'.

The verb stem may be extracted from Old Georgian participial derivatives *na-bič-* // *na-bič-ev-* 'crumb' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 316). According to Deeters (1955: 31) here belongs also *bič-* 'boy, fellow' (in Old Georgian – 'illegitimate child'), compared by Ačařyan (1971: 451) with Arm. *bič* with the latter meaning. No certain cognates are found in the Zan languages. The Svan stem shows a vowel alternation: *bečkw-* (intrans.), *bčkw-* (trans.) are stems of an action noun.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 52.

CK \*bež- : bž- 'to lean (on); rest (against)': Georg. [*bž-*] 'to lean (on); rest (against)'; Megr. *bižg-*; Laz *bežg-*; Svan [*bžg-*].

The verb stem is reflected in Georgian in the derivative *bž-en-* : *bž-in-* 'to lean (on)', in Svan – in the derivative *bžg-en-*. The vocalic shape of Georgian, Megrelian, and Svan forms reflects the zero grade of the ablaut alternation. The vowel *e* of the Laz form needs explanation. Cf. also the noun correlates \**ba(r)ž-* and \**biž-*.

GZ \*bzar- 'to crack': Georg. *bzar-* 'to crack'; Megr. [*zor-*].

Verb stem attested in the Old Georgian action noun *dabzarva-*, *dabzarva-* (Abulaže 1973: 105, 106). Georg. *bzar-* 'crack, split' is its noun correlate. In Megrelian the stem may be traced through the secondary verbal base *zior-* (action noun *ziorua-* 'to crack'). For an analogical correlation see \**kan-* ~ \**kian-*, on the one hand, and \**xar-* ~ \**xiar-*, on the other. These examples raise the question of the functional value of *i* in such cases.

|| Gudava (1979: 84).

GZ \*bz-ek- : bz-ik- 'to stretch, pull out': Georg. *bzek-* : *bzik-* 'to stretch, pull out'; Megr. *zik-* 'to become numb; harden'.

For the extension see \*-ek : -(i)k. The Georgian action noun is *bzeka-*. The Megrelian stem (action noun *zik-in-*, *go-zik-in-apa-*) underwent reanalysis: cf. *go-zik-ondi* 'he became numb // died' alongside 1 pers. sing. *go-b-zik-ondi* 'I became numb'.

CK \*bzu- 'to hum, buzz': Georg. *bzu-* 'to hum, buzz'; Megr. *buz-in-* 'pedere'; Laz *buz-al-*; Svan *bzū-l-* 'to hum, buzz'.

The stem shows a characteristic onomatopoeia (cf. \*zmu-, \*ymu-, \*çkmu-), setting Kartvelian apart from North Caucasian languages. Cf. its elements shared with \*buz(w)- 'fly' and Arm. *bəzzel* 'to hum, buzz'. The Zan variants contain a recent affixation. The Svan action noun is *li-bzūl-i*. According to Deeters (1954: 329), Georg. *bzukuna-* 'kind of fly' and *bzik-* 'wasp' are its derivatives (the latter has an extra-Kartvelian onomatopoeic analogy in Russ. *bzyk* and Pol. *bzik* 'gadfly').

|| ÈSKJa: 51.

GZ \*bibil- 'shoots, sprouts; edge': Georg. *bibilo-* 'comb, crest, tuft (of bird)'; Megr. *birbil-* 'catkin, amentum (of tree, tambourine)'; Laz *bibil-* 'comb (of cock)'.

A word perhaps of descriptive origin. The Megrelian correspondence as well as dialectal Georg. (Gur.) *birbilo-* shows reduplication. Final *o* in the Georgian form is secondary. Svan *bimbil-* 'comb, crest (of bird)' derives from the Georgian word.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (*IKE* VI: 45). Laz: ÈSKJa: 51.

CK \*biga- 'stick, cudgel': Georg. *biga-* 'cross-beam (wooden)'; Megr. *biga-* 'stick'; Laz *biga-*; Svan *biž*.

A wide-spread dialectal word in Georgian (cf. ʎlonṭi 1984: 73). For the Zan form see Čikobava (1938: 137). In Svan it shows the shift *g > ž*, known from a number of other cases: cf. \*gab- : gb-, \*gwel-, \*gus<sub>1</sub>- : gs<sub>1</sub>-, etc.

|| Klimov (1973: 361).

GZ \*bir- 'to entice, lure': Georg. *bir-* 'to entice, lure'; Megr. *bir-*.

Well documented in Old Georgian sources: *ḳualad yayadebdes-ve birebita...* 'they cried out again (with incitation) ...' Mk. 15.13. Action nouns are Georg. *bireba-* and Megr. *birapa-*.

|| ÈSKJa: 52.

\*biʒg-

GZ \*biʒg- 'push, bump': Georg. *biʒg-* 'push, bump (by the hand, shoulder); impulse'; Megr. [*biʒg-*].

It is a regular apophonic noun formation based on the verb stem \*beʒg- (cf. \*biʒ-, \*pirtw-, \*čxir-, \*čkir-, \*čir- etc.). In modern Georgian the word has a connotation 'impulse, stimulus'. In Megrelian its cognate may be extracted from the secondary action noun *biʒg-ap-* 'to push, shove'.

CK \*biʒ- 'step, support': Georg. *biʒ-* 'step'; Megr. *biʒg-* 'support, prop'; Svan *biʒg* 'step'.

Attested mainly in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaʒe 1973: 32). For modern Georgian prefixed *na-biʒ-* 'step' is more usual. The lexeme belongs to a series of apophonic deverbative formations with vowel *i* being based on \*beʒ- : *bʒ-* 'to lean (on), rest (against) sth.'. Cf. the analogous word-formation type in \*biʒg-, \*pirtw-, \*čxir-, \*čir-, etc.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: ÈSKJa: 52. Svan: Fähnrich (1982: 34).

GZ \*blagw- 'blunt, obtuse': Georg. *blagv-* 'blunt, obtuse'; Megr. *lug-a-* 'obtuse, stupid'.

Attested in Georgian medieval literature as a verbal base (cf. Rustaveli 1604.4). The sound correspondences are regular: for loss of the initial *b* in the Megrelian consonant cluster cf. \*bger-, \*bz-ek : bz-ik, \*blikw-, \*byun-; for analogous vowel correspondences see \*maqw-, \*kacw-, etc. The Megrelian lexeme has a word-forming suffix *-a*.

|| Klimov (1988: 20).

GZ \*blanc- 'kind of fern': Georg. [*blenc-*] 'kind of fern'; Laz *bilonca-* 'forest fern'.

The Georgian stem can be extracted from the derived formation *belnc-nar-a-*, mentioned by S. Orbeliani (cf. the affixal *-nar*). The vocalic shape of cognates points to an original vocalism *a*. There is some doubt about a Kartvelian origin of the term.

|| A. Tandilava. Cf. Penixi-Sarʒvelaʒe (1990: 56).

GZ(?) \*blikw- 'fist': Georg. *blikv-* 'fist'; Megr. *likv-*, *nikv-*.

The Georgian word is known also in the dialectal (Imer.) form *blikv-* (cf. ʏlonti 1984: 77). In the Megrelian cognate the initial consonant sequence is simplified (cf. the two preceding entries). A borrowing from Georgian is not excluded.

GZ \***bod-** ‘to rave’: Georg. *bod-* ‘to rave’; Megr. *bond-*; Laz *bod-* ‘to rave; to dart in trouble (of a brood-hen)’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The action nouns are Georg. *bodva-*, Megr. *bondua-*, Laz *o-bod-u*. In Georgian the stem has also the meaning ‘to roam’. Such semantic syncretism finds its analogies elsewhere: cf. PIE \**bhred(h)-* : \**bhrod(h)-* (Pokorny 1959: 164). Apparently a symbolic stem: cf. its root vowel *o* and obvious connection with Georg. *abda-ubda-* ‘nonsense, incoherent babble’. Cf. similar Megrelian extended forms of the stem *bord-iš-* with the same meaning.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 52.

CK \***boḵw-** ‘stump, stub’: Georg. *boḵv-* ‘stump’; Megr. *buk-* ‘stump, block’; Svan *bik* ‘stump’.

In modern Georgian the word has a dialectal use. No certain cognate is found in Laz. The Megrelian form shows the change \**o* > *u* next to labial consonant. The vowel *i* in the Svan equivalent derives from \**ü*, as a result of umlaut. For another explanation of the Svan word see Abaev (1958: 260).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 52.

GZ \***borbal-** ‘spider’: Georg. *borbala-* ‘spider’; Megr. *bo(r)bolia-*; Laz *bombula-*.

In standard Georgian the word has practically been replaced by the continuant of \**obob(a)-*, with which it may be connected. Contrary to the Laz form with \**o* > *u* next to a labial, Megrelian does not show this development, possibly because of a symbolic coloring of this lexeme. All words are extended by word-forming affixes.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 112–113). Georgian: *ĖSKJa*: 53.

GZ \***br-** ‘to twirl, whirl’: Georg. [*br-*] ‘to twirl, whirl’; Megr. [*bur-*].

Verb stem unattested in an unbound state. It is extracted from Georg.-Zan \**brun-* and survives also in Georgian in the form *bru-* ‘spinning, turbulence’. Sometimes one assumes a connection with the Georgian designation of the wheel *borbal-* (cf. Schmidt 1962: 98).

CK \***br-** ‘to sing’: Megr. *bir-* ‘to sing, play’; Laz *bir-*; Svan *br-* ‘to sing’.

Action noun – Megr. *bir-apa-*, Laz *o-bir-u*, Svan (Lašx.) *li-br-jal-i*. There is no certain correspondence in Georgian. The Zan and Svan

\*brag-un-

material reflects a zero-grade vocalism of the stem. Cf. also Svan *la-brjäl* 'singing'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 254). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 53.

GZ \*brag-un- 'crash, din': Georg. *brag-un-* 'crash, din'; Megr. *burg-on-* 'hollow crash'.

A derivative from Common Kartv. \*breg- 'to knock, strike' with an apophonic alternation and derivatory suffix -un. The root in Megrelian shows a regular transformation. For the analogous change see \*parx-un-, \*pacx-un-, \*pac<sub>1</sub>-un-. A tie-in with \*brg- 'to wrestle, struggle' seems very doubtful.

|| Čaraia (1918: 499).

CK \*brg- 'to wrestle': Georg. *brz-* 'to wrestle, fight'; Megr. *burž-* 'to wrestle, grapple (roughly), turn, toss'; Svan *bərg-* 'to wrestle'.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian (*msaxurni igimca čemni hbržodes...* 'then would my servants fight...' Jn. 18.36). The action nouns are Georg. *brz-ola-*, Megr. *burž-apa-*, Svan *li-bərg-əl*, *li-bərg-jel*. Relation to Zan *burgul-* 'knee' seems uncertain. For the Georgian-Zan stage an intermediate form \*brž<sub>1</sub>-, reflected in correspondence Georg. *ž* ~ Zan *ž*, must be posited.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Deeters (1926: 51). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 99). Also *ĖSKJa*: 53.

GZ \*brdywn- 'to pluck (bird)': Georg. *b(r)dyvn-* 'to pluck (bird)'; Megr. *burdyon-*; Laz *burdyol-*, *bundyol-*.

A denominal verb stem derived with the suffix \*-wn from \*burdyā- 'down, feathering'. By known consonant alternation it is related to Georg.-Zan \*burtq-wn-. The Laz cognates reveal a secondary shift  $n > l$ .

|| *ĖSKJa*: 54.

GZ \*brdyw-en- 'to growl, grumble': Georg. *brdyven-* : *brdyvin-* 'to growl, grumble'; Megr. *burdyin-* 'to growl, mutter'; Laz *bundyin-* 'to grumble, snap'.

A verb stem attested in Old Georgian: *mis zeda ibrdyuendes lomni...* 'lions have roared... at him...' Jer. 2.15; action noun *brdyuena-*, which also meant 'to menace' (Saržvelaže 1995: 17). Cf. also Georgian formations with a different suffix *burdy-un-*, *burtq-un-* 'grumbling'. The

Zan forms illustrate an intra-Zan correspondence  $r \sim n$ . According to Kipšidze (1914: 244) Megr. *burdyuna-* is a taboo designation of the bear.

|| ÈSKJa: 54.

CK \*breg- ‘to strike, knock; make a noise’: Georg. *breg-* : *brig-* ‘to strike (softly)’: Laz *brang-al-* ‘to strike (with feet)’: Svan *breg-* ‘to strike, knock’.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian. The Laz cognate (cf. action noun *o-bra(n)g-al-u*, *bragalaps* ‘he strikes with feet’) contains secondary *n*. For Svan cf. *breg-n-i* ‘he strikes, knocks’ and its nominal correlate *brig-* ‘knock, noise’. Cf. its derivative \**brag-un-*. A connection with Common Kartv. \**brg-* ‘to wrestle’ can hardly be accepted.

GZ \*brtq-el- ‘flat’: Georg. *brtqel-* ‘flat’: Megr. *birtqa-* ‘flat (and rounded)’.

Adjective derived with suffix \*-el from verb stem \**pertq-* : *prtq-*. Therefore it presupposes an intermediate form \**prtq-el-*. Cf. the Georgian dialect variants *p(r)tqel-*, *tqrpel-*. The initial voiced consonant, attested already in Old Georgian (Saržvelaže 1995: 17), is secondary (cf. also the Megrelian derivative *la-partq-ia* ‘flat’). For the derivatory suffix see \**grz-el-*, \**wrc<sub>1</sub>-el-*, \**purc<sub>1</sub>-el-*, \**ç<sub>1</sub>it-el-*, \**ç<sub>1</sub>rp-el-*, \**qm-el-*.

GZ \*brtq-wn- ‘to pluck (bird)’: Georg. *b(r)tqvn-* ‘to pluck (bird)’: Megr. *buritqon-*.

An evident parallel formation to \**brdy-wn-* with the same meaning. It seems to be secondary compared with the latter. Cf. the correlated noun stem \**burtql-* ‘down and plumage’.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34).

GZ \*brun- ‘to spin, whirl’: Georg. *brun-* ‘to spin, rotate’: Megr. *burin-* ‘to throw with spinning; to whirl’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian by action noun *brunva-* and its derivative *dambrunebel-* ‘rotating’ (Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 58). Cf. Megr. action noun *burinua-* (*burin-* < \**birun-*) and *burin-burinit* ‘like a whirlwind’. The forms presuppose an underlying base \**br-*.

|| Čaraia (1918: 499).

\*br̥çaml–

GZ **\*br̥çaml–** ‘pomegranate (small)’: Georg. *br̥çaml–* ‘pomegranate (small)”; Megr. [*bur̥çumol–*]; Laz *pur̥çum(b)ol–, bur̥çumol–*.

The word occurs in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 36). In Georgian it has sometimes a meaning ‘cultivated pomegranate’. A regular Megrelian cognate can be seen in the West Georgian dialect word *bur̥çumela–* (cf. ʃlonti 1984: 95) which shows the secondary suffix.

|| Gigineišvili (1982: 120). Cf. Marr (1915.1 II: 830; III: 938).

CK **\*bude–** ‘nest’: Georg. *bude–* ‘nest’; Megr. *bude–*; Svan *bud–, bid–* ‘vulva’.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian texts (*da ikm̄nian budej twisi...* ‘and make their nest...’ Sin. mr. 225.9), where its derivatives are also present. In Georgian and Zan nouns the identity of the final vowel is regular. For Svan the transition *u > ü > i* is due to the umlaut effect.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 54.

CK **\*buz(w)–** ‘fly’: Georg. *buz–* ‘fly’; Laz [*buz–*]; Svan *buz–ül*.

In Old Georgian variant *buzu–* (Abulaže 1973: 37) is known. The word has an onomatopoeic origin: cf. *\*bzu–* ‘to hum, buzz’. The Laz correspondence is found in *ma–buz–al–e–, ma–puz–al–e–* ‘wagtail’, *purz–* ‘gadfly’. The Svan form contains a diminutive suffix (reflecting the former word-final *w*).

CK **\*bur–** ‘to muffle up, wrap up; darken’: Georg. *bur–* ‘to muffle up; darken’; Megr. *bur–* ‘to patch up, darn’; Laz *bur–* ‘to patch up’; Svan *bur–* ‘to darken’.

The action noun is Georg. *da–burva–*, Megr. *burua–*, Laz *o–bur–u*, Svan *li–bwr–e*. The stem is attested with its derivatives in Old Georgian: *dahbures tavsa* ‘(they) blindfolded him’ Lk. 22.64. Cf. Georg. *daburuli tqe* ‘dense forest’, Svan *məbur–* ‘dark’ (participle in prefix *mə–*).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 55.

GZ **\*bur̥dya–** ‘down, plumage’: Georg. *bur̥dya–* ‘down, plumage’; Megr. *bur̥dya–* ‘down, shaggy’; Laz *bundya–* ‘down, plumage’.

In Old Georgian texts the lexeme seems to be absent. The word underlies the Georgian-Zan denominative verb stem *\*br̥dy–wn–*. It occurs mostly in Zan and to some extent in Georgian. Its firmness in the latter

ensures a parallel functioning here of the verbal stem. The word illustrates the well-known intra-Zan correspondence Megr. *r* ~ Laz *n*. Any connection with arm. *burd* 'wool'?

|| Čikobava (1938: 101).

GZ \***bur̥t̥ql-** 'down and plumage': Georg. *bur̥t̥ql-* 'down and plumage'; Megr. *bur̥t̥qu-* 'soft'; Laz *bu(r)t̥qu-* 'kind of insect'(?).

The semantic deviation of the Laz form makes its inclusion somewhat doubtful. For correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Zan *u* in the word-final position cf. \**opl-*, \**čqintl-*. Svan *bin̥t̥qil-* 'down' seems to be borrowed (though *-il* might be a diminutive suffix).

|| ÈSKJa: 55.

GZ \***bur̥cx-** 'kind of weed': Georg. *bur̥cxala-* 'kind of weed'; Megr. *bur̥čx-*; Laz *bu(r)čx-* 'kind of weed (*Echinochloa crus galli*)'.

A tentative reconstruction. For Georgian the word is found in Imer. and Gur. dialects (Ylonṭi 1984: 94). Its Laz correspondence often lacks *r*. Georg. *bur̥čxa-* seems to be borrowed from Zan source. Cf., however, Penixi-Saržvelaṣe (1990: 66), where the latter form is treated as a regular correspondence of the Zan words.

|| Kaxaṣe (1987: 168–169)

GZ \***bur̥zḡ-** 'to bristle (up); ruffle': Georg. *bur̥zḡ-n-* 'to bristle (up), ruffle'; Megr. *bur̥zḡ-*, *bi̥zḡ-*; Laz *bur̥zḡ-in-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The Zan action nouns are Megr. *bur̥zḡua-* and Laz *o-bur̥zḡ-in-u*. The stem may be treated as a denominative formation: cf. *bur̥zḡ(a)-* 'bristle'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 256). Georgian: Klimov (1973: 361).

GZ \***bur̥zḡa-** 'bristle': Georg. *bur̥zḡal-* 'pile'; Megr. *bur̥zḡa-* 'needles of chestnut'.

Georgian-Zan archetype. Identity of the vowel *a* presupposes secondary of *l* in Georgian form. For similar development cf. \**bark-*, \**kurcx-*, \**kupx-*, \**maqw-*. Cf. also Georg. *bur̥zḡ-* 'little hedgehog' fixed by S. Orbeliani. The Laz equivalent seems to be lost.

|| Klimov (1973: 361)

GZ \***but̥ka-** 'inflorescence, leaf': Georg. *but̥ko-*, *but̥k-* 'inflorescence'; Laz *but̥ka-* 'leaf'.

\*butk̄-ar-

The word may be identified in Old Georgian through the derivative action noun *gamobutk̄oeba* 'to blossom': *rtoni misni daččnian da purceli gamobutk̄oin...* 'when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves...' Mt. 24.32. The Megrelian equivalent seems to be lost. The final vowel is reconstructed tentatively. In view of the derivative \*butk̄-ar- 'bee' the original meaning must have been 'inflorescence'. Any connection with Arm. *ptuk-* 'bud, sprout' (cf. Ačaryan 1979: 112)?

|| Čikobava (1938: 136).

GZ \*butk̄-ar- 'bee': Georg. *puṭkar-* 'bee'; Laz *butkuṣ-*.

Derived from \*butk̄a- 'inflorescence, leaf' with the suffix -ar. It is attested also in Old Georgian: *gamoavlinos upalman ...puṭkari* 'Lord will whistle... for bees' Is. 7.18. The Megrelian cognate is lost, but can be traced back in Georg. (dial.) *butkura-* 'kind of wine in Ajaria' and in the place-name *Butkuriš-* in West Georgia. Initial Georg. *p* derives from assimilation of *b* to *t̄k̄*. Marr (1912.1: 31) saw here a prefix *pu-* // *bu-*. According to Abaev (1988: 74), the word goes back to Old Iranian \**madu-kara-* 'honey-maker'.

|| Marr (1909: 071).

GZ \*buq-wn- 'to eat (roughly), gorge': Georg. *buqvn-* 'to eat (roughly), gorge'; Megr. *bu'on-*.

Verb stem containing derivative element \*-wn. The root is evidently connected with a descriptive base *buq-*: cf. the Georgian reduplicated formation *buqbuq-* 'gurgle, rumbling, muttering'.

|| Žyenti (1965: 39).

CK \*bya(w)- 'to low, moo; to yell': Georg. *byav-* 'to low, moo'; Laz *byo(r)-*, *mbyo(r)-* 'to low, moo; to yell(?)'; Svan *byu-*.

The stem shows an obvious onomatopoeia. In Old Georgian it may be extracted from *mbyavan-* 'cattle'. Cf. modern Georgian action noun *byav-il-*. Its Zan equivalent may be seen in Laz *o-mbyor-u* where *r* is probably due to contamination of this stem with *o-myor-in-u* 'to cry'. For Svan cf. action noun *li-byül-i*; *qān byāw* 'bull lows, moos'. Arm. *byavel* with the same meaning seems to be dependent on Kartvelian forms.

|| Georgian, Svan: Kerkaže (1974: 12).

GZ \*bywen- : bywn- 'to bend, curve': Georg. *yun-* 'to bend, curve'; Megr. *yun-*.

In Old Georgian sources occurs the more archaic form *byun-*: action noun *byunva-* (Abulaḡe 1973: 38). Cf. Megrelian action noun *yunua-*. Much more dubious seems the comparison with Svan *ywn-*, extracted from *u-ywn-a* ‘elbow’, which coincides formally with a participle of absence of quality. The material presented here reflects a zero grade. For the full grade cf. derivative \**bywen-ḱ-* : *bywn-ḱ-*.

GZ \***bywen-ḱ-** : **bywn-ḱ-** ‘to curve, twist’: Georg. *byunḱ-* ‘to curve’; Megr. *ywanḱ-* ‘to twist’.

Undoubtedly connected with \**bywen-* : *bywn-*, *-ḱ* being an enlargement (cf. \**-ek* : *-(i)ḱ*). Cognates reflect different grades of the vocalism. The Megrelian deverbative noun is *yvanḱ-al-*. Svan *li-byunḱ(w)-e* with the same meaning must be a recent borrowing from Georgian.

GZ(?) \***bywer-** : **bywr-** ‘to growl, look sternly’: Georg. *byver-* ‘to look sternly’; Megr. *bury-in-* ‘to growl, grumble’.

A problematic juxtaposition. Whereas Georgian reflects apparently the full-grade of the protoform, Megrelian retains its zero-grade. The latter underwent also a metathesis and was extended by a derivatory affix. The difference in meaning causes some difficulties.

GZ \***byn-eḱ-** : **byn-ḱ-** ‘to frown, grin’: Georg. *byneḱ-* : *byniḱ-* ‘to frown, grin’; Megr. *yinḱg-*.

The verb stem is known in Georgian medieval texts (cf. Rustaveli 868.2) and can be viewed as derived from \**bywen-* : *bywn-* with a suffix *-eḱ* : *-(i)ḱ*. This represents an alternative interpretation of the history of the Megrelian stem given under \**yr-eḱ-* : *yr-iḱ-*.

|| Gigineišvili (1979: 79–80).

GZ \***b(y)u-** ‘owl’: Georg. *bu(v)-* ‘owl’; Laz *byu-*, *mbyu-*.

A lexeme of obvious onomatopoeic origin, hardly separable from \**yū-* with the same meaning. In Old Georgian the word is attested in the form *buv-* (cf. Abulaḡe 1973: 37). A connection with Arm. and Arab. *bu* seems unlikely. For analogous formations in other languages cf. PIE \**bh(e)u-* (Pokorny 1959: 97), Chechen *buha*, Godob. *buhu*.

|| Žyenti (1956: 62).

GZ \***bḱḱ-wn-** ‘to nip, pinch’: Georg. *bḱḱvn-* ‘to nip, pinch’; Megr. *bḱḱon-*, *biskon-*.

\*bž-en- : bž-in-

Verb stem possibly connected with \*perčk- : prčk- and \*prčka- 'splinter, pip'. The action nouns are Georg. *bčkvna-*, Megr. *bickonua-*. In Georgian a variant form *brčkvn-* is found. No correspondence exists in Laz. For the reflex of the old suffix *-wn* in Zan cf. \*brdy-wn-, \*buq-wn-, \*krt-wn-, \*put-wn-, etc.

|| ÈSKJa: 56–57.

CK \*bž-en- : bž-in- 'to prop up; lean, rest': Georg. *bžen-* : *bžin-* 'to prop up; lean, rest'; Svan *bžgen-* : *bžgin-*.

Verb stem derived from the simple base \*bež- : bž- with the help of the affix \*-en : -in. Occurs in Old Georgian: *tu poos kedeli ebržinebodis...* 'if finds a wall, will lean on it...' Krest. 303.26–27. In the Georgian stem a secondary *r* sometimes appears. The Svan action noun is *li-bžgin-e*.

|| ÈSKJa: 57.

## G

CK \*g- pronominal base of unclear deictic function (cf. \*a-k-, \*e-g-, \*k-).

GZ \*g- 'to build, construct': Georg. *g-* 'to build, construct'; Megr. *g-*; Laz *g-*.

The verb stem retains an identical shape (the action nouns – Georg. *geba-*, Megr. *gapa-*) in all languages. Its meaning reflecting a settled way of life also coincides. The absence of the stem in Svan deserves attention.

GZ \*g- 'to string, thread; put through': Georg. *g-* 'to string, thread; put through'; Megr. *g-*.

Contrary to Megrelian, where the verb stem is widely used (cf. *marčkindi ... kitis komaages* '(they) put on the finger ... the ring'), in Laz it seems to be absent. A connection with the verb stem in the preceding entry is not excluded.

GZ \*g- 'to acquire, gain, win': Georg. *g-* 'to acquire, gain, win'; Megr. *g-*; Laz *g-* 'to win'.

Cf. action nouns Georg. *mogeba-*, Megr. *mogapa-*, Laz *o-gap-u*. The stem is well known in Old Georgian (*nu moigebt okrosa...* 'provide neither gold...' Mt. 10.9), where it had a great range of meaning. The Georgian aoristic word form of 3 pers. sing. *moigo* (< \**mo-i-gv-a*) 'he acquired, gained' may point to old *u* in the stem. The Laz equivalent has a narrower meaning.

|| Čikobava (1938: 257).

CK \***gab-** : **gb-** 'to cook, boil': Georg. *gb-* 'to cook, boil'; Megr. *gib-*, *gəb-* 'to boil a silk thread'; Laz *gub-*, *gib-*, *žib-* 'to cook, boil'; Svan *žäb-* : *žb-* 'to cook'.

The zero-grade form is reflected in all languages: action nouns – Georg. *gboba-*, Megr. *gibua-*, Laz *o-gib-u*, Svan *li-žb-i*. Full grade is retained in Georgian (cf. Rača dial. *u-gab-av-* 'uncooked') and in Svan (cf. *məžäb* 'cooked'). The stem is widely attested in Old Georgian (*gbolvil-* 'cooked', *umgbar-* 'not cooked, raw'), but in the modern language it is used only dialectally. Svan and the Atina dialect of Laz show the shift \**g* > *ž*. The meaning 'to boil' may be a Georgian-Zan innovation.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 10).

CK \***gaw-** : **gw-** 'to resemble': Georg. *gav-* 'to resemble'; Megr. *g-*, *gu-*; Laz *g-*; Svan *ž-eš-*, *gw-*.

The forms of 3 pers. singular are Georgian and Old Georg. *gav-s*, Megr. *gu-n*, Svan *xa-ž-eš* 'he resembles him'. Cf. the derived verb stem \**gwan-*. The Svan equivalent has an enlargement *-eš*, whereas the root *ž* is a result of affricatization (cf. \**gab-* : *gb-*, \**gwel-*, \**gus<sub>1</sub>-* : *gs<sub>1</sub>-*). The original form is better reflected in Svan *li-m-gw-i* 'to liken'. Among Georgian derivatives cf. *igav-* 'parable, allegory' (analogous word-formation pattern see under \**sar-* : *sr-*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cf. Topuria (1979: 10). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 258). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 99).

CK \***gaw-** : **gw-** 'to sweep': Georg. *gav-* : *gv-* 'to sweep'; Svan [*ngäw-* : *ng-*].

Occurs in Old Georgian: *gangave saxli šeni* 'sweep your house', action noun *gangva-* (Abulaže 1973: 83). Cf. also *nagev-* 'litter' alongside modern Georg. *na-gav-* of the same meaning. In the Zan languages no certain cognates are found. The Svan match may be extracted from some

\*gal- : gl-

derivatives of the stem: cf. *la-ngāw* ‘besom, broom’ and *le-ng-uli* ‘rubbish heap, dump’.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 18).

CK \*gal- : gl- ‘to tear, pick; to break, burst’: Georg. *gal-* : *gl-* ‘to tear, pick (to break, burst)’; Svan *gl-* (*gil-*) : *gel-*.

Verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian: cf. the deverbative action noun *dagla-* (*i-gal-a* ‘it burst, broke’, past participle *daglil-*). For modern Georgian the derived stem *gl-ež-* : *gl-iž-* ‘to tear, burst’ is more common. Cf. the dialectal form of the action noun *gla-* (Ylonṭi 1984: 154). The Svan action nouns are *li-gl-e* (transitive, cf. *gil-e* ‘he tears, breaks’, *na-gil* ‘piece, bit’), and *li-gel* (intransitive). The root shows non-functional vowel alternation *a ~ e*.

|| Topuria (1942: 971).

GZ \*ga-mo- complex preverb of direction ‘outwards toward the speaker’: Georg. *ga-mo-* preverb ‘outwards toward the speaker’; Megr. *go-mo-*; Laz *go-mo-*.

An independent emergence in Georgian and the Zan languages cannot be excluded. The preverb is widely attested in Old Georgian: *gamovida Abraham Egwiptit...* ‘Abraham went up from Egypt...’ Gen. 13.1; *gamoiqvanen igini čuenda...* ‘bring them out to us...’ Gen. 19.5.

GZ \*gan- ‘side’: Georg. *gan-* ‘side; width, breadth’; Megr. [*gon-*]; Laz [*gon-*].

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian, where it had a wider semantic range (cf. Abulaṣe 1973: 50): *vitarka gani isrita...* ‘as a mark for his arrows...’ Lament. 3.12. No direct cognates are found in the Zan languages. Cf. the preverb \*ga(n)-

|| ÈSKJa: 59.

GZ \*ga(n)- preverb of direction ‘outside, outwards’: Georg. *ga(n)-* preverb ‘outside, outwards’; Megr. *go-*; Laz *go-*.

In Old Georgian the preverb had a final *n* (*ukuetu ... gamvasxam ešmakta...* ‘if I ... cast out devils...’ Mt. 12.27) and had some additional meanings. In all modern languages it ends in vowel except in borrowed Old Georgian forms. The preverb is based on the preceding noun. Cf. R. Lafon (*Word* 7, 1951; 236).

|| Čaraia (1896, I: 51), Deeters (1930: 14).

GZ \***gangl-** ‘to soil, dirty; get dusty’: Georg. *gangvl-* ‘to get dusty’; Megr. *gingol-* ‘to soil, dirty’.

In Old Georgian sources the verb stem is apparently unattested. The action nouns are Georg. *gangvla-* and Megr. *gingolua-*. Its vocalism remains unclear (a metathesis in the Megrelian cognate?).

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 23).

GZ \***ga(n)-čed-il-** ‘hammered in, stuffed’: Georg. *gačedil-* ‘hammered in, stuffed’; Megr. *gočkadil-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian in the shape of *gančedil-* (cf. Abulaže 1973: 80). It is a past participle in *-il* based on the verb stem \**čed-* ‘to hammer in, nail’ containing a preverb \**ga(n)-*. Cf. also \**čed-il-*.

|| Cf. Rogava (*IKE XXVI* 1987: 191).

GZ \***gen-** ‘to make suck (calf before milking of cow)’: Georg. *gen-* ‘to make suck (calf before milking of cow)’; Megr. *gan-*.

In modern Georgian the verb stem occurs in dialects (Gur., Imer.). The action noun is *genva-*, the 3 person singular, *genavs*. Because of the regular sound correspondence with the Zan form the stem cannot have been borrowed from Megrelian: cf. the Megrelian action noun *ganua-*, aoristic 3 person singular – *moganu*. Its nominal counterpart is \**gen-* ‘calf’. The connection of the stem with the latter form first noted in Kipšidze (1914: 215).

|| *ÈSKJa*: 59–60.

GZ \***gen-** ‘calf (suckling)’: Georg. *gen-* ‘calf (suckling)’; Megr. *gen-*, *gin-*; Laz *gen-*, *žen-*, *nžen-*.

In modern Georgian it is a dialectal (Imer.) word. The Zan variants show vestigially umlaut from underlying \**gan-*; Laz *nžen-* is the most deviating form. \**gen-* in the preceding entry must be treated as a denominative verb stem. Attempts to connect the word with Svan *yun* ‘calf’ are untenable.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 84). Georgian: *ÈSKJa*: 59–60.

GZ \***gen- : gn-** ‘to hear, learn’: Georg. *gen- : gn-* ‘to learn, recognize’; Megr. *gin-*, *gan-* ‘to learn, understand’; Laz *gn-* ‘to hear, learn’.

The action nouns are Georg. *migneba-*, *šegneba-*, Megr. *ginapa-*, Laz *o-gn-u*. In Old Georgian it occurs very seldom (cf. Abulaže 1973: 94). Whereas the Georgian stem shows full and zero grade, the Zan forms

\*gwal-

reflect only the latter. In Megrelian it occurs rarely. Connection with Georgian-Zan \*gon- seems to be illusory. Rarely occurring Svan *mgən-* (cf. *mamgəna* 'I consider, think') is apparently a borrowing from Georgian. The similarity to PIE. \**ġen-*, \**ġnō-* 'to know, recognize' stated in Bopp (1847: 78, 79) seems to be deceptive.

|| Čikobava (1938: 262–263).

GZ \*gwal- 'to be (of drought)': Georg. *gval-*, *gol-* 'to be (of drought)'; Megr. *golop-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: *da esevitari ese gualvaj...* 'and such a drought...' Sin. mrav. 67.37. Action noun Georg. *gvalva-*, Megr. *golopa-*; cf. *golopans* 'there is drought'. The Megrelian cognate underwent realignment by analogy with *čoropa-* 'damp weather'. The resemblance to PIE (dial.) \**gual-* 'to flame, blaze' is noteworthy.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 218).

CK(?) \*gwal- 'to go': Georg. [*gval-*] 'to go'; Svan [*gwäl-*, *gwal-*].

A problematic equation. In both languages the stem appears only in the imperative. Its Old Georgian shape is *gwale!* 'go!'. Its Svan correlate is *gwal!* or *gwäle!* An interjectional nature is not excluded. According to Topuria (cf. 1979: 69) the Svan form is a Georgian loanword.

|| ĚSKJa: 60.

CK \*gwam- 'body, fore-part (of body)': Georg. *gvam-* 'corpse, cadaver'; Svan *gwäm* 'breast, fore-part of body'.

Well attested in Old Georgian, where its meaning was 'body', changed later: cf. *gamoitxowa guami Iesujsi...* '(he) begged the body of Jesus' Mt. 27.58. In the Zan languages no certain cognates are found.

|| Marr (1915.1: 850). Cf. also Deeters (1957: 384).

CK \*gw-an- 'to resemble': Georg. *gvan-* 'to resemble'; Svan *žōn-*.

Verb stem derived with the enlargement \**-an* from \**gaw-* : *gw-* of the same meaning, known also in Old Georgian: cf. action noun *šegvaneba-* 'to resemble', *šeugvanebel-* 'improper, unsuitable'. No certain cognate appears in the Zan languages. Its regular Georgian noun correlate is *gvar-* 'kin, clan, kind'. For the alternation *n* ~ *r* in such pairs cf. \**zywan-* vs. \**zywar-*, \**s<sub>1</sub>wen-* vs. \**s<sub>1</sub>wer-*, \**qan-* vs. \**qar-*, and others.

|| Deeters (1930: 28). Cf. Topuria (1979: 10).

CK \*gwar- : gwr- 'to lead, conduct': Georg. *gvar-* 'to lead, conduct'; Svan *gwr-* 'to lead (cattle on pasture)'.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian texts (*gamohguara Iesugare...* '(he) led Jesus away...' Jn. 19.13), where both ablaut grades were still in use. The verb apparently was combined with direct objects denoting animate beings. For Svan cf. action noun *li-gwr-i*.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 33).

CK \*gwel- 'snake': Georg. *gvel-* 'snake'; Megr. *gver-*; Laz *mgver-*; Svan *hižw-* : *už-*, (*h*)*wiž-* : *už-*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian: *gueli nu miscesa mas?* 'will he give him a serpent?' Mt. 7.10. For the identity of the sequence *ve* in Georgian and Zan nouns see \**gwerd-*, \**werz<sub>1</sub>-*, \**mtwer-* and some others. Whereas in Laz the lexeme occurs rarely, in the Upper Bal dialect of Svan it has been entirely replaced by *hercam* (*hwiž* means here 'grass-snake'). The vowel *u* characterizes in Svan forms of the plural, whereas *i* – forms of the singular. In both cases a tendency of the labial element to metathesize is evident.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 28). Laz: Deeters (1926: 67). Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 10).

GZ \*gwerd- 'side, flank': Georg. *gverd-* 'side, flank'; Megr. *gverd-* 'half'; Laz *gver(d)-*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian where it also meant 'rib': *da štaqade guerdsa čemsa...* 'and thrust it into my side...' Jn. 20.27. In modern Georgian it has a dialectal variant *görd-* (Yloni 1984: 159). Among its derivatives are Old Georg. *i-gurd-iv* 'near, side by side', Megr. *gorda-* 'curved, crooked', Laz *o-gverd-u* 'to halve', etc. Svan *gərdil-*, *kərtil-* (Upper Bal) are loanwords. For the semantics cf. Finn. *puoli* 'side, half'.

|| Marr (1909: 070).

GZ \*gwimra- 'fern': Georg. *gvimra-* 'fern'; Megr. *gvimora-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Word-final *a* and sonant *r* are reflected regularly in both languages. In Megrelian expected *a* > *o* next to the labial. Megr. *gvimara-*, *gumara-* as well as Svan *gwimbra*, *gwrimb* seem to be borrowed from Georgian. Cf. Penrivi-Saržvelaze (1990: 80). Cf. \**blanc-*.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 106).

\*gz-

GZ(?) \*gz- 'to kindle, set fire': Georg. *gz-*, *gzn-* 'to kindle, set fire'; Megr. *rz-*; Laz *gz-*, *z-*.

The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian: *ayagznes cecxli...* 'they had kindled a fire...' Lk. 22.55. Action nouns are Georg. *gzneba-*, *gzeba-*, Megr. *rzama-*, Laz *o-gz-u*. Cf. also Georg. *muguz(al)-* 'charred log', *guzguza cecxli* 'flaming fire'. The element *n* in the Georgian stem is secondary. In the Megrelian equivalent *rz* derives from *gz* (cf. \**gza-*). The Laz stem sometimes loses its *g* and shows a change *g* > *ž*. May Arm. *kizel* 'to kindle' be dependent?

|| Deeters (1930: 61).

GZ \**gza-* 'way, path': Georg. *gza-* 'way, path'; Megr. *za-* (Plur. *zal-*); Laz (*n*)*gza-*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian: *parto ars gzaj...* 'broad is the way...' Mt. 7.13. It is a typical isogloss setting Georgian-Zan apart from Svan. Megrelian final *l* of the plural must be a secondary element removing hiatus. For the change *gz* > *rz* in Megrelian see the preceding entry. Cf. also derivative \*(*s*)*a-gz-al-*. A comparison with Svan *lī-z-i* 'to go' remains disputable.

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 33). Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 57).

GZ \**gl-es-* : *gl-is-* 'to smear, spread': Georg. *gles-* : *glis-* 'to smear, spread'; Megr. *gilos-*.

Verb stem known from Old Georgian: action noun is *gan-gles-a* (Abulaze 1973: 53). Apparently it contains an enlargement \**-es-* : *-is-*, attested also in \**mç<sub>1</sub>q-es-* : *mç<sub>1</sub>q-s-* 'to pasture', \**sr-es-* : *sr-is-* 'to rub'. For the root cf. Georg. *gl-u-* 'slippery'. Megrelian has the phonetic variants *gilors-* and *gilorc-* with a meaning 'to wheedle'. The Megrelian correspondence reflects a protoform with *a*.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

GZ \**gl-ež-* : *gl-iž-* : *gl-ž-* 'to tear, to break': Georg. *glež-* : *gl-iž-* : *gl(i)ž-* 'to tear, break'; Megr. *gurž-on-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 94, 106). It is derived from \**gal-* : *gl-* with an extension *-ež-* : *-iž-*. Cf. action noun *gleža-* and dial. (Imer.) *dagžoma-*. Through sound symbolism it is connected with \**ql-eč-* : *ql-ič-* : *qlč-*. The Megrelian cognate has a secondary extension *-on* (< \**-wn?*). The expected cluster *žg* does not

develop because of the guttural in the stem. Arm. *gžlel* ‘to tear off’ derives from a Kartvelian source.

|| Fährnich (1982: 34).

GZ \*glo(w)- ‘to grieve, deplore’: Georg. *glov-* ‘to grieve, deplore’; Megr. *rg(v)-*.

Found in Old Georgian sources (cf. Abulaže 1973: 94). Action noun – Georg. *glova-*, Megr. *rguala-*, *rgueba-*. Beside metathesis the Megrelian stem underwent a change *l > r* in the cluster; final *v* disappears before the suffixal *-u* (cf. *gemikirgu* ‘he deplored’). The suffixal nature of *-ow* is difficult to prove (cf. Vogt 1947.1: 57). Is Svan *li-gwn-i* ‘to weep’ related?

|| *ĖSKJa*: 63.

GZ \*gon- ‘to think, remember’: Georg. *gon-* ‘to think, remember, hear’; Megr. *gon-*; Laz (*n*)*gon-* ‘to think, remember’.

The verb stem widely used in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 95). Cf. action noun – Georg. *goneba-*, Megr. *mogonua-*, Laz *o-ngon-u*. Note also Georg. *gon-* ‘reason, mind’. The Laz form usually has an initial *n*. A connection with the verb stem \*gen- : *gn-* ‘to hear, learn’ seems improbable both on formal and semantic grounds. The relationship with Svan *gn-* (cf. *li-gn-ew-i* ‘to think up, inspire’) remains unclear.

|| Čikobava (1938: 262–263).

CK \*gor- : gr- ‘to roll, wallow’: Georg. *gor-* ‘to roll, lie about’; Megr. *gorgol-*; Laz *ngor-*, *gr-*; Svan *gwr-*, *gur-*.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian: *gorvida da perooda* ‘he fell on the ground, and wallowed, foaming’ Mk. 9.20 (action noun *gorveba-*). The Old Georgian variant *ngor-* (cf. *ngorebul-* ‘wallowing’) yields a parallel to the Laz form. In the Zan languages two ablaut grades are present. Cf. Laz action nouns *o-ngor-u* ‘to roll’ and *o-rg-in-u* ‘to twist, roll (trans.)’. Besides the Megrelian correspondence is reduplicated.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 263–264). Svan: Marr (1911–1914: 596).

GZ \*gora- ‘mount, hill’: Georg. *gora-* ‘mount, hill’; Megr. *gola-*, *gvala-*; Laz *gola-* ‘summer roaming place’.

The word is attested in Old Georgian: *ayqda gorasa erts...* ‘climbed on the mount.’. Kartl. cx. 10.11. In the Zan cognate *r* seems to have been transformed into *l* under the influence of the derived adjective *golur-* (<

\*gr-

\*gor-ur-) 'mountainous, mountaineer', where two *r* would have been inadmissible. The Megrelian dialectal (Sam.) form shows a change *o* > *va* (cf. \*qana-).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 9). Laz: ÈSKJa: 64.

CK \*gr- 'to lay eggs': Georg. *gr-* 'to lay eggs'; Svan *gr-*.

The verb stem represents a lexicalized zero-grade form of the preceding stem. The stem is attested only in Old Georgian (action noun *groba-*; *magrobal-* 'layer') and Svan (action noun *li-gr-e*; cf. also *lə-gr-e* 'egg').

|| ÈSKJa: 64.

CK \*grgw- 'round artefact, ring': Georg. [(g)rgv-] 'round artefact'; Megr. [rgv-]; Laz [rgv-]; Svan *girg-od* 'ring on wicket'.

The stem forms the basis of a number of derivatives. Cf. \*grgw-in-, \*m-grgw-al-, \*mo-rgw-, \*grk-al-. The Svan form seems to have developed from \*grgw-ad-. This stem reflects a Caucasian area norm of the onomatopoeia (cf. Avar *gurg-in-ab*, Chechen *gorga* 'round').

CK(?) \*grgw-in- 'to thunder': Georg. *grgvin-* 'thunder'; Megr. *gurgin-*, *gvirgvin-*; Laz *girgin-*; Svan *gurgwn-(?)*.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian: *da ikmnebodes ... grgvin-vani* 'and there was thundering' Kartl. cx. 112. A derivative from \*grgw- with the suffix -in. For the Zan languages cf. action noun Megr., Laz *gurg-in-*. Less clear is the affix of the Svan form (action noun *li-gurgwn-i*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rosen (1845: 34). Cf. ÈSKJa: 64-65.

GZ \*gr-ex- : gr-ix- 'to roll, twist': Georg. *grex-* : *grix-* 'to roll, twist'; Megr. *girax-* : *girix-*; Laz *ngrix-*.

Traceable in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 96). The verb stem is a derivative from \*gor- : *gr-*. For the word-forming affix \*-ex- : -ix see \*ç<sub>1</sub>n-ex-. The Megrelian stem has variants: cf. action noun *giroxua-*, *ķiroxua-* which points to the parallel archetype \*gr-ax-. The Laz action noun is *o-ngrix-u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 271). Laz: Saržvelaže (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 85).

GZ \*grex-il- 'twisted, rolled': Georg. *grexil-* 'twisted, rolled'; Megr. *giraxil-*, *giroxil-*.

The word has been found in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 96, 473). It is a past participle based on \**grex-* : *grix-* with the affix \*-*il*.

GZ \***grk-al-** 'ring, hoop': Georg. *rkal-* 'hoop, ring'; Laz [*kirkol-*].

Traceable in Old Georgian in the shape of *grkal-* (Abulaze 1973: 96). Cf. the East Georgian dialect forms *kirkal-* and *krikal* (Ylonti 1984: 293, 310). The Zan equivalent can be found in the verb *o-kirkol-u* 'to curl, twist'.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 19).

CK(?) \***gr3-** 'to be long, to be high': Georg. *gr3-* 'to prolong, continue'; Megr. [*gin3*]; Svan [*g3-*, *gz-*].

Without further affixation the stem is found only in Georgian: cf. *gan-a-gr3-o* 'he continued'. In other languages it is extended by different word-forming elements: action nouns – Megr. *gin3orua*, Svan *li-g3-an-e*. Cf. the derivative \**gr3-el-*.

GZ \***gr3-el-** 'long, high': Georg. *g(r)3el-* 'long'; Megr. *gar3a-//e-*, *gir3e-*, *gan3a-//e-*; Laz *gin3e-*, *gun3e-* 'long, high'.

Adjective derived from the verb stem \**gr3-*. It is widely attested in Old Georgian (*gr3el qvian pesuebi...* 'they make broad their phylacteries...' Mt. 23.5), where its meaning 'high' can also be found. The original *r* gives regular reflexes in all languages. Cf. also the intra-Zan correspondence Megr. *r* (> *n*) ~ Laz *n*. The Zan forms ending in *e* require an explanation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895; XII, 113). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 229).

CK \***grçq-il-** 'flea': Georg. (*r*)*çqil-* 'flea'; Megr. *çqir-*, *çqar-*; Laz *mçki(r)-*, *mçir-*; Svan *zisq*, *zasq*.

The most archaic shape of this word has been preserved in Old Georgian *grçqil-* (cf. Xevs. *gircqil-*). Other forms underwent various simplifications. The Laz cognate has a secondary *m*. Initial *z* of the Svan correspondence remains entirely unclear (\**gr* > *z*?). There are other examples of the desaffrication of *ç* in Svan. The word gives the impression of a derivative in \*-*il*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 300). Megrelian: Čaraya (1912: 25). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 116).

CK(?) \***gržya-** 'branchy bough': Georg. *žya-* 'branchy bough'; Megr. *žya-*; Svan *gəžy-* 'tick'(?).

\*gu-

Not found in Old Georgian. S. Orbeliani cites *gržya-*. Cf. also Georgian dialectal (Gur.) *ržya-* 'branchy prop' (Ylonti 1984: 458). The Megrelian word means also 'block'. According to Ja. G. Testelec (personal communication) the Georgian-Zan forms can be compared with the Svan word for 'tick'. Parallel words containing the voiceless consonants enable us to reconstruct also \**krčxa-*.

GZ \***gu-** 'to get accustomed, train': Georg. *gu(v)-* 'to get accustomed, train'; Megr. *g(u)-*; Laz *g-*.

Verb stem allegedly attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaze 1973: 98, 473). The Zan forms represent its simplification: cf. alongside Megr. *gitmu-v-a-gu-k* 'I accustom', action noun Megr. *ge-g-apa-* and Laz *o-g-ap-u*. A connection with *gul-* 'heart' (cf. *ĖSKJa*: 65) must be rejected.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 258). Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 65.

CK \***guga-** 'core, kernel': Georg. *guga-* 'pupil (of eye)'; Megr. *gunga-*, *guga-* 'core of the corn-cob'; Svan *gwigw* (Plur. *gug-är*) 'core, kernel'.

Attested in Old Georgian: *uitarca gugaj tualisa...* 'as the apple of (his) eye...' Deut. 32.10. Cf. also the Svan (Lašx.) *gugw-*. The semantic proximity of the forms is obvious. The word may be compared with PIE \**gugā-* 'core, kernel' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 394).

CK \***gugul-** 'cuckoo': Georg. *gugul-* 'cuckoo'; Megr. *gugul-*; Laz *gugul-*; Svan *gigu-*.

Except for Georgian dialectal *guguṭ(a)-* (Ylonti 1994: 161) the Georgian-Zan forms are identical. The loss of the word-final *l* in Svan is regular. An onomatopoeic origin of the word needs no commentary. Hence it has numerous analogies in other linguistic families.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (see Erckert 1895: 295). Megrelian, Laz: Kipšidze (1914: 219).

GZ \***guda-** 'leather bag, wineskin': Georg. *guda-* 'leather bag, wineskin'; Megr. *guda-*; Laz *guda-*.

Widely attested in Old Georgian: *nuca gudaj moigot ...* '(provide) nor scrip...' Mt. 10.10. Svan *gudra-* seems to be borrowed from some other Kartvelian language; it belongs to a series of formations in affixal *-ra*. We have here a cross-cultural term, borrowed from Indo-European (cf. Old

Indian *gudá-h* ‘intestines’ < PIE \**gudo-*) and known also in Semitic languages (cf. Aram. *gowdā* ‘leather bag for water’).

|| Marr (1915.1: 773).

CK \***gul-** ‘heart, core’: Georg. *gul-* ‘heart, core’; Megr. *gur-*; Laz *gur-*, *gu-*; Svan *gwi-* : *gu-*, *guh-*.

Widely attested in Old Georgian: *munca iqos guli tkueni...* ‘there will your heart be also...’ Lk. 12.34 (derivatives *guleba-* ‘intention’, *gulitad-* ‘true, devoted’, *gulis-tkuma-* ‘wish, desire’). The Zan forms show the expected change *l* > *r*. The loss of the final *l* and the umlaut effect are regular for Svan. In Svan poetry a form without umlaut occurs: *eča malatd gu amčane* ‘love for her stole my heart’ (Sv. P. 344.2).

|| Rosen (1845: 31; idem 1847: 408), Bopp (1846: 327).

CK \***gus<sub>1</sub>-** : **gs<sub>1</sub>-** ‘to weave’: Georg. *ks-* ‘to weave’; Megr. *rš(v)*; Laz *š(v)*; Svan *žiš-* : *žš-*.

The verb stem occurs in Georgian in bound forms: cf. Old Georg. *ks-el-* ‘cloth, fabric’, *ks-ov-a-* ‘to weave’. A more archaic shape of the stem is preserved in Old Georgian *sa-gus-al-* ‘warp’. The Georgian-Zan material undergoes changes *gs* > *ks*, on the one hand, and *gš* > *rš* // *kš* > *š*, on the other. Svan *g* > *ž* (cf. action noun *li-žš-i*) is positionally regular.

Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Čaraya (1912: 25). Laz: cf. Topuria (1979: 16).

## D

GZ \***-da** clitic of condition: Georg. *-da* ‘if’; Megr. *-da*; Laz *-da*.

Basically the clitic is inherent in Georgian (cf. *midis-da, čavides!* ‘if he leaves, let him leave!’) and Megrelian. In Laz it occurs rarely (*minon-da...* ‘if I wish...’). Identity of the final vowel is regular. A connection with the conjunction *da* (q.v.) seems plausible.

|| ÈSKJa: 68.

GZ \***da** ‘and’ (conjunction): Georg. *da* ‘and’; Megr. *do, ndo*; Laz *do*.

Georgian-Zan conjunction. It is well attested in Old Georgian: *da ičqos guemad monata da mqevalta...* ‘and he then begins to beat the manservants and maidservants...’ Lk. 12.45. Georg. *a* is regularly

\*da-

matched in the Zan languages by *o* because of its usual proclitic position. Cf. also Zan compounds like Megr. *vitosum* < \**vit-do-sum*– ‘thirteen’.  
|| Cagareli (1880: 11). Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 68.

GZ \***da**- preverb of direction ‘down(wards) on surface’: Georg. *da*-preverb ‘downwards on surface’; Megr. *do*-; Laz *do*-.

Georgian-Zan word-forming element. It is widely in use in Old Georgian: *ara daeca igi...* ‘it fell not...’ Mt. 7.25; *romelman daasxa venaqi...* ‘which planted a vineyard...’ Mt. 21.33. Georgian preverb *ča*- pointing to direction of action inside and downwards had in Old Georgian the form *šta*- which derived from a combination of the preverbs \**še*- and \**da*-. The ancient vowel is appropriately rendered in the Zan forms. Cf. (Deeters 1930: 14).

CK \***da**- ‘sister’: Georg. *da*- ‘sister’; Megr. *da(l)*-; Laz *da(l)*-; Svan *udil*, *widil* ‘sister (relatively to other sister)’.

A kinship term amply attested in Old Georgian: *iqo daj misi...* ‘there was her sister...’ Lk. 10.39 (cf. its derivatives: *disçul*- ‘nephew’, *mdad*- ‘step-mother’). The *l* in the Zan plural forms (cf. Megr. *dal-ep*- ‘sisters’) is indicated as being secondary by the identity of the vowel in word-final position. Cf. also Megr. *da-skua*- ‘niece’. Svan *-il* is a diminutive affix. The narrower meaning of the Svan correspondents may be original.

|| Rosen (1845: 32).

CK \***dab(a)**- ‘cornfield, village, hamlet’: Georg. *daba*- ‘hamlet, village’; Megr. *dobera*-, *dobira*- ‘arable earth’ (?); Svan *dāb* ‘cornfield’.

Well known in Old Georgian, where it had the meaning ‘cornfield, hamlet’ (plur. *dabn-eb*-, derivatives – *u-dabn-o* ‘desert’, *m-dab-al*- ‘low’). The connection with the Megrelian word remains uncertain because of the non-transparent structure of the latter.

|| Georgian, Svan: Shanidze (cf. Topuria 1927: 309).

GZ \***da-did**- ‘elder sister’: Georg. *mdad*-, *mdade*- ‘Jungfer’; Laz *dad*- ‘aunt, step-mother’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. It is a compound consisting of \**da*- ‘sister’ and \**did*- ‘big, elder’. Alternatively the term may be considered an adverbial case form of \**da*- ‘sister’. Similar Megr. *dade*- ‘Jungfer’ goes back to the Georg. word. Cf. a parallel formation \**ᶑ<sub>1</sub>ma-did*- ‘elder brother’.

|| Čikobava (1938: 29).

CK **\*datw-** ‘bear’: Georg. *datw-* ‘bear’; Megr. *tunt-*; Laz (*m*)*tut-*; Svan *däšdw*, *dešdw*, *däšt<sup>w</sup>*, *dašt<sup>w</sup>*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian sources (Abulaze 1973: 110). The Zan forms underwent considerable changes: cf. initial *d* > *t* (through assimilation), ancient *a* > *o* > *u* parallel to *w* (Gudava 1960: 119–120), optional augment *m* in Megrelian. The data reflect a correspondence Georg. – Zan *t* ~ Svan *št*. The archetypes *\*taRtvi* // *tvaRtvi* (Bork 1907: 26) and *\*tut(w)-* (Bouda 1950: 296) are untenable.

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 29). Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Svan: Gren (1890: 128).

CK **\*dar-** : **dr-** ‘to be unfit, bad’: Georg. [*dar-*] ‘to be unfit, bad’; Svan [*dr-*] ‘to be bad’.

Possibly Common Kartvelian verb base. It can be reconstructed from derived adjectives revealing two grades of vowel alternation: Georg. *m-dar-e* (Old Georg. *dare-*) ‘unfit’, Svan *xo-dr-a* ‘bad’. Cf. also Georg. *u-dar-es-* alongside Svan *ma-dr-en-e* ‘worse’.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 71).

CK **\*dg-am** : **dg-m-** ‘to put, stand’: Georg. *dgam-* : *dgm-* ‘to put, stand’; Megr. *dgum-* : *dgəm-*; Laz *dgim-*; Svan *gem-* : *gm-* ‘to put’.

Action noun is Georg. *dgma-*, Megr. *dguma-*, Laz *o-dgim-u*, Svan *li-gem*. The stem is attested in Old Georgian: *orta perqta dgmasa...* ‘to stand by two feet...’ Mt. 18.8. It contains the base *\*deg-* : *dg-* and the extension *\*-am* : *-m*. Contrary to other forms Laz *dgim-* reflects only the zero ablaut grade. In the Svan equivalent the initial cluster is simplified (for the vocalism cf. *\*b-am-* : *b-m-*).

GZ **\*dg-en-** : **dg-in-** ‘to put’: Georg. *dgen-* : *dgin-* ‘to put’; Megr. *dgin-*; Laz *dgin-*.

Georgian-Zan formation. It is a base *\*deg-* : *dg-* extended by the causative affix *\*-en* : *-in*. The stem is well represented in Old Georgian: *daadgina igi...* ‘(he) led him up...’ Lk. 4.5. Action nouns in the Zan languages are Megr. (*e*)*dgina-* and Laz *do-dgin-u*.

|| Deeters (1930: 127).

GZ **\*dgw(l)ep-** : **dgw(l)ip-** ‘to eat (with champing)’: Georg. *dgvlep-* : *dgvlip-*; Megr. *dgvap-*.

The verb stem connected by onomatopoeia with Georg.-Zan *\*tkw(l)ep-* ‘to eat roughly, gorge’ and *\*tkw(l)ep-* ‘to eat (with