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Georgij A. Klimov

**ETYMOLOGICAL
DICTIONARY OF
THE KARTVELIAN
LANGUAGES**

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Etymological Dictionary
of the Kartvelian Languages



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Editors

Werner Winter

Richard A. Rhodes

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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. Kartoziā, Z. Saržvelaže, and B. Giginēišvili.

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. Saržvelaže (1995). The dictionary of Georgian dialects by A. ūlonti (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 *Ētimologičeskij 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 *tred-* 'dove': Zan *toroʒ* < Pre-Zan **trad-* or Georgian *tred-* < **trad-* alongside regular Zan *toroʒ-*). 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 **s₁*, and **z₁*, and the affricates **c₁*, **c̣₁*, and **ʒ₁*, which are reflected in the Zan languages and Svan by *š* and *ž* and by *č*, *č̣*, and *ʒ*, respectively. Besides, the Common-Kartvelian fricative **š* and the affricates **č*, **č̣*, and **ʒ* develop into the complexes *šk*, *čk*, *č̣k*, and *ʒg*, 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 Kartoziā 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 *ɣvalp-* '(hot) ashes' beside Georgian *ɣvelp-* 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-

respondence 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 **s₁t*, 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-*, **c₁*, *oc₁*,-) 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-*, **wac₁*,-, 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-*, **c₁x-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 macrohydronyms 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. *Çorox-*, *Çxala-*) 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...' (ČT₃: 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', *koma-* 'smoke', *mčima-* 'rain'. For the Svan equivalent cf. *gargla* 'talk', *dagra* 'murder', *kweda* 'lack, deficiency'.

|| ĖSKJa: 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', *kual-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 *ako* '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*₁.

*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-*, **eks₁w-*, **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 *anç₁l- '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 (*vitarka ayserulnes 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-*, **c₁ol-*, **ç₁ul-*, 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-s₁-* deictic stem: Georg. *ase* ‘so’; Megr. [*aš-*]; Laz [*aš-*]; Svan *aš* ‘so’.

A combination of the pronominal stems **a-* and **s₁-*; cf. also **i-s₁-*. 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 **as₁ir-* ‘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 lanklita 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*.

Amplly 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 coli axlad...* 'when a man hath taken a new wife...' Deut. 24.5. Cf. its derivative *axlad-šobil-* 'new-born' (Abulaže 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 loanword. 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 *bād, 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 *baḷi*, 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 šeni...* '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. Үлonti 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. Ylonti 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 ***barç₁-** 'barren, dry': Georg. *berç-* 'barren'; Megr. *burç-* 'dry (of a cow)'.
 Adjective widely attested in Old Georgian: cf. *neṭar 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.

|| ÈSKJa: 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-* (Ylonṭi 1984: 67). For Svan cf. action noun *li-bz-e*, its regular noun correlate *biz* 'surfeit, satiety', and *u-bz-ad* 'insatiablelely'. 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. *bek-n-* ‘to trample down’; Megr. *bak-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian: *ibeḡn 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. Ḳlonti 1984: 67) shows an extension. Cf. also its derivative *bak-un-* ‘footfall, tramp’ (Neisser 1953: 30). The action nouns are Georg. *bekna-*, Megr. *bakua-*. According to Schmidt (1962: 96), Deeters perceived their cognate in the Svan *li-bek* ‘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 Abulaḡe 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 **barǰ-*).

|| Fährnich (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. *iqemal-* and its Zan correspondence (cf. Čikobava 1938: 126) is hardly demonstrable. According to Schmidt (1960: 135), the Svan form may be a Georgian loanword.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 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 *reγw- : rγw- '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 *be3g- 'to push, shove': Georg. [*be3g-*] 'to push, shove (with hand, shoulder)'; Laz *ba3g-* '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-ba3g-u* 'to lean on earth' and *ba3gei-ba3gei* 'leaning (on), pushing off' (*ge-g-o-ba3g-am* 'I tread on your foot').

*be₃y-

GZ(?) *be₃y- '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.

|| ÈSKJa: 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 Ačariyan (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.

|| ÈSKJa: 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-ondu* 'he became numb // died' alongside 1 pers. sing. *go-b-zik-on-di* '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. *bzūkuna-* '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. ʎlonti 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-, *gus₁- : gs₁-, etc.

|| Klimov (1973: 361).

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

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

|| ÈSKJa: 52.

*bi₃g-

GZ *bi₃g- 'push, bump': Georg. *bi₃g-* 'push, bump (by the hand, shoulder); impulse'; Megr. [*bi₃g-*].

It is a regular apophonic noun formation based on the verb stem *be₃g- (cf. *bi₃ž-, *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 *bi₃g-ap-* 'to push, shove'.

CK *bi₃ž- 'step, support': Georg. *bi₃ž-* 'step'; Megr. *bi₃žg-* 'support, prop'; Svan *bi₃žg* 'step'.

Attested mainly in Old Georgian (cf. Abula₃e 1973: 32). For modern Georgian prefixed *na-bi₃ž-* 'step' is more usual. The lexeme belongs to a series of apophonic deverbative formations with vowel *i* being based on *be₃ž- : *b₃ž-* 'to lean (on), rest (against) sth.'. Cf. the analogous word-formation type in *bi₃g-, *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. Penrxi-Saržvela₃e (1990: 56).

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

The Georgian word is known also in the dialectal (Imer.) form *blikv-* (cf. Ÿlonti 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 ***boḱw-** 'stump, stub': Georg. *boḱv-* '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-, *pac₁-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 hbrzodes...* '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 *brz₁-, reflected in correspondence Georg. *z* ~ 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...' Ier. 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-*, **wrc₁-el-*, **purc₁-el-*, **ç₁it-el-*, **ç₁rp-el-*, **qm-el-*.

GZ *brtq-wn- 'to pluck (bird)': Georg. *b(r)tqvn-* 'to pluck (bird)'; Megr. *burtqon-*.

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' (Penrxi-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).

*brçaml-

GZ *brçaml- 'pomegranate (small)': Georg. *brçaml-* 'pomegranate (small)'; Megr. [*burçumol-*]; Laz *purçum(b)ol-*, *burçumol-*.

The word occurs in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaḡe 1973: 36). In Georgian it has sometimes a meaning 'cultivated pomegranate'. A regular Megrelian cognate can be seen in the West Georgian dialect word *burçumela-* (cf. ᶒlonti 1984: 95) which shows the secondary suffix.

|| Gigineiṡvili (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 ikmniaṡ 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.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 54.

CK *buz(w)- 'fly': Georg. *buz-* 'fly'; Laz [*buz-*]; Svan *buz-ül*.

In Old Georgian variant *buzu-* (Abulaḡe 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-*).

|| *ÈSKJa*: 55.

GZ *burdya- 'down, plumage': Georg. *burdya-* 'down, plumage'; Megr. *burdya-* 'down, shaggy'; Laz *bundyā-* 'down, plumage'.

In Old Georgian texts the lexeme seems to be absent. The word underlies the Georgian-Zan denominative verb stem **brdy-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 *bur̥tq̥l- 'down and plumage': Georg. *bur̥tq̥l-* 'down and plumage'; Megr. *bu̥tq̥u-* 'soft'; Laz *bu(r)̥tq̥u-* '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-*, **čq̥intl-*. Svan *bin̥tq̥il-* 'down' seems to be borrowed (though *-il* might be a diminutive suffix).

|| ÈSKJa: 55.

GZ *bur̥c̥x- 'kind of weed': Georg. *bur̥cxala-* 'kind of weed'; Megr. *bur̥c̥x-*; Laz *bu(r)̥c̥x-* 'kind of weed (*Echinochloa crus galli*)'.

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

|| Kaxaze (1987: 168–169)

GZ *bur̥z̥g- 'to bristle (up); ruffle': Georg. *bur̥z̥g-n-* 'to bristle (up), ruffle'; Megr. *bu̥z̥g-*, *bi̥z̥g-*; Laz *bu̥z̥g-in-*.

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

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

GZ *bur̥z̥ga- 'bristle': Georg. *bur̥z̥gal-* 'pile'; Megr. *bu̥z̥ga-* 'needles of chestnut'.

Georgian-Zan archetype. Identity of the vowel *a* presupposes secondarity of *l* in Georgian form. For similar development cf. **bark-*, **kurcx-*, **kupx-*, **maqw-*. Cf. also Georg. *bu̥z̥g-* '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'.

*butk-ar-

The word may be identified in Old Georgian through the derivative action noun *gamobutkoeba* 'to blossom': *rtoni misni daččnian da purceli gamobutkoin...* '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 *butk-ar- 'bee' the original meaning must have been 'inflorescence'. Any connection with Arm. *ptuk-* 'bud, sprout' (cf. Ačaryan 1979: 112)?

|| Čikobava (1938: 136).

GZ *butk-ar- 'bee': Georg. *putkar-* 'bee'; Laz *butkuž-*.

Derived from *butka- 'inflorescence, leaf' with the suffix -ar. It is attested also in Old Georgian: *gamoavlinos upalman ...putkari* '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 *tk*. 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*; *qän byāw* 'bull lows, moos'. Arm. *byavel* with the same meaning seems to be dependent on Kartvelian forms.

|| Georgian, Svan: Kerkaze (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-* (Abulaže 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-k-* : *bywn-k-*.

GZ ***bywen-k-** : **bywn-k-** 'to curve, twist': Georg. *byunk-* 'to curve'; Megr. *ywank-* 'to twist'.

Undoubtedly connected with **bywen-* : *bywn-*, *-k* being an enlargement (cf. **-ek* : *-(i)k*). Cognates reflect different grades of the vocalism. The Megrelian deverbative noun is *ywank-al-*. Svan *li-byunk(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-ež-** : **byn-ž-** 'to frown, grin': Georg. *bynež-* : *byniž-* 'to frown, grin'; Megr. *yinžg-*.

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 *-ež* : *-(i)ž*. This represents an alternative interpretation of the history of the Megrelian stem given under **yr-ež-* : *yr-iž-*.

|| 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. Abulaže 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 ***bčk-wn-** 'to nip, pinch': Georg. *bčkvn-* 'to nip, pinch'; Megr. *bičkon-*, *biskon-*.

*bž-en- : bž-in-

Verb stem possibly connected with *perčk- : prčk- and *prčka- 'splinter, pip'. The action nouns are Georg. *bčkvn-*, 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 (*gbovil-* '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-*, **gus₁-* : *gs₁-*). 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 [*ngāw-* : *ng-*].

Occurs in Old Georgian: *gangave saxli šeni* 'sweep your house', action noun *gangva-* (Abulaze 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-* (Ylonti 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. Abulaže 1973: 50): *uitarca 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* (*uķuetu ... ganvasxam ešmaķta...* '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. Abulaze 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).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 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: *ĖSKJa*: 59–60.

GZ ***gen-** : **gn-** 'to hear, learn': Georg. *gen-* : *gn-* 'to learn, recognize'; Megr. *gin-*, *gən-* '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. Abulaze 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. **ĝen-*, **ĝnō-* '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. mrv. 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.) **gwal-* 'to flame, blaze' is noteworthy.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 218).

CK(?) *gwal- 'to go': Georg. [*gval-*] 'to go'; Svan [*gwāl-*, *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 *gwāl!* or *gwäle!* An interjectional nature is not excluded. According to Topuria (cf. 1979: 69) the Svan form is a Georgian loanword.

|| ÈSKJa: 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. *gvān-* 'to resemble'; Svan *ḡōn-*.

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-*, **s₁wen-* vs. **s₁wer-*, **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 Iesu gare...* '(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-*, **werz₁-*, **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-* (Vlonti 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 *gördil-*, *ķərtil-* (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. Penrxi-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 **mč₁q-es-* : *mč₁q-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*.

|| Fährnich (1985: 26).

GZ **gl-ež-* : *gl-iž-* : *gl-ž-* 'to tear, to break': Georg. *glež-* : *gl-iž-* : *g(l)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.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34).

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

Found in Old Georgian sources (cf. Abulaze 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?

|| ÈSKJa: 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 (Abulaze 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 ertsas...* '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 *ç₁n-ex-. The Megrelian stem has variants: cf. action noun *giroxua-*, *kiroxua-* 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. Penrivi-Saržvelaže 1990: 85).

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

The word has been found in Old Georgian (Abulaḡe 1973: 96, 473). It is a past participle based on *g_{rex}- : g_{rix}- with the affix *-il.

GZ *grk-al- 'ring, hoop': Georg. r_kal- 'hoop, ring'; Laz [k_{ir}kol-].

Traceable in Old Georgian in the shape of gr_kal- (Abulaḡe 1973: 96). Cf. the East Georgian dialect forms k_{ir}k_{al}- and k_{ri}k_{al} (Ylonti 1984: 293, 310). The Zan equivalent can be found in the verb o-k_{ir}kol-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)z_{el}- 'long'; Megr. g_{ar}za-//e-, girze-, g_{an}za-//e-; Laz ginze-, gunze- 'long, high'.

Adjective derived from the verb stem *gr₃-. It is widely attested in Old Georgian (gr₃el q_vian 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 *gr_çq-il- 'flea': Georg. (r)çqil- 'flea'; Megr. çqir-, çqar-; Laz mçki(r)-, mçir-; Svan zisq, zəsq.

The most archaic shape of this word has been preserved in Old Georgian gr_çqil- (cf. Xevs. girçqil-). 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(?) *gr₃ya- 'branchy bough': Georg. 3ya- 'branchy bough'; Megr. 3ya-; Svan gə3y- '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. Abulaže 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. ÈSKJa: 65) must be rejected.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 258). Cf. ÈSKJa: 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: *vitarka 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 *gugul(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 amçane* 'love for her stole my heart' (Sv. P. 344.2).

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

CK ***gus₁-** : **gs₁-** '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*, *çavides!* '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 içqos 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)'.
|| Rosen (1845: 32).

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,ma-did-* 'elder brother'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 29).

CK ***datw-** 'bear': Georg. *datw-* 'bear'; Megr. *tunt-*; Laz (*m*)*tut-*; Svan *däšdw*, *dešdw*, *däšt^hw*, *dašt^hw*.

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

*dgr-

champing)'. Its structure remains non-transparent, although the element *-ep* : *-ip* seems to be an enlargement.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34).

GZ *dgr- 'to din, rumble': Georg. *dgr-ial-* 'to din, rumble'; Megr. [*dgir-*, *dgur-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem attested in language of Rustaveli (1122,4). A parallel Georg. *gr-ial-* 'crash' demonstrates the same derivatory element peculiar to the onomatopoeic formations (cf. **z,r-ial-*, **sr-ial-*). A Megrelian cognate may be recognized in reduplicative verb stems *dgir-dgin-*, *dgur-dgin-* with the same meaning.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34).

CK *deg- : dg- 'to stand': Georg. *dek-* : *dg-* 'to stand'; Megr. *dg-*; Laz *dg-*; Svan *g-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem attested in the shape *deg-* : *dg-* in Old Georgian (*eri dga...* 'people stood...' Mk. 4.3), where it had a number of derivatives: cf. *adgil-* 'place', *dgroma-* 'to stop, stay', etc. In Zan and Svan only the zero ablaut grade is reflected. The Svan root is simplified: the form *lāg* 'he stands' shows apparently a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In Atina dialect of Laz one comes across the same development.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 294). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 268).

CK *deda- 'mother': Georg. *deda-* 'mother'; Megr. *dida-*; Laz *dida-* 'old woman, grandmother'; Svan *di-* 'mother'.

The kinship term. It is an obvious nursery word widely documented in Old Georgian, where it meant also 'woman' (*ganewtos...dedaj asulisagan da asuli dedisagan* 'they will be divided...mother against daughter and daughter against mother' Lk. 12.53). A number of its derivatives is also known here. Cf. **deda-l-* 'female'. The vowel *i* of Zan and Svan words finds its analogy in the Old Georgian bound forms *diac-* 'woman', *di-saxlis-* 'hostess of house'. The Svan forms *dia-s* (dat.) and *dia-d* (trans-form.) show an ancient stem-final vowel (cf., however, *dede!* – child's addressing mother).

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 31). Svan: Gren (1890: 128).

CK(?) *deda-l- 'female': Georg. *dedal-* 'female, hen'; Megr. *dadul-*; Laz *dadul-*; Svan *dādw*, *dedw* (?).

Georgian-Zan formation well known also in the Old Georgian sources: *mamalad da dedalad šekmna igini* '(he) made them male and female' Mt. 19.4. In the Zan form expected *o* results in *u* in neighborhood of *l* (or under impact of *mamul-* 'male'). The Svan *w* regularly reflects ancient word-final *l*. However the meaning 'hen' is secondary everywhere. Cf. *katam-.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 105). The rest of cognates is adduced in Marr (1912.2: 425).

GZ *deda-mtil- 'wife's // husband's mother': Georg. *deda-mtil-* 'husband's mother'; Megr. *dia-mtir-* 'wife's // husband's mother'; Laz *da-nti(r)e-*.

Problematic equation of the Georgian-Zan level. It is a compound consisting of *deda- 'mother' and the verbal base *til- 'to replace, substitute'. In Zan words *mt* > *nt*. Cf. *mama-mtil- 'wife's // husband's father' of the analogous structure. Svan *dimtil* 'husband's mother' must be viewed as a Georgian loan, showing the substitution of its first component by Svan *di-* 'mother' (Proto-Kartvelian final *l* does not survive in Svan).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 110). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 37-38).

CK *dew- : dw- 'to lie, lay': Georg. *dev-* : *d(v)-* 'to lie, lay'; Megr. *d(v)-*; Laz *d(v)-*; Svan *d-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. Action noun Georg. *deba-*, Megr. *dvala-*, Laz *do-dval-u*, Svan *li-d-i*, *li-d-ēsg*. In Old Georgian it had an additional meaning 'to have': *gaiqida qoveli rajca edva* '(he) sold everything he had' Mt. 13.46 (cf. derivative *advil-* 'light, easy'). Both grades of ablaut alternation are retained only in Georgian. Stem-final *w* may have left a trace also in Zan forms: cf. Laz *tude kododvi!* 'put it down!'. The Laz word means also 'to put on'. Svan *li-d-ēsg* seems to show compensatory lengthening of the stem vowel.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 269-270). Cf. also Schmidt (1962: 104).

GZ *der- : dr- 'to bend, curve': Georg. [*der-* : *dr-*] 'to bend, curve'; Megr. [*dir-*]; Laz [*dir-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem surviving only in bound forms. It may be extracted from *dr-ek- : dr-ik- : dr-k- 'to bend, stoop', characterized by an extension *-ek : -(i)k. Cf. the Georgian (Jav.) derivative verb *dr-es-*

**dwire-*

'to twist, roll; to stretch, draw on' attested also in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 142).

|| Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 101).

CK **dwire-* 'log, beam; squared beam': Georg. *dire-* 'log, squared beam'; Megr. *dəre-* 'cross-beam'; Svan *dīr* 'log, beam'.

Apparently Common Kartvelian word. In Old Georgian it is attested in the shape of *dwire-*, *dire-*: *dwiresa ara ixedav...* 'pay no attention to the plank...' Mt. 7.3. Cf. Georgian dialectal forms *dviro-* (Gur.) and *diro-* (Imer.). Megr. (Sam.) *dəre-*, attested in the north-western part of the area, seems to be a native form. The Svan correspondence has compensatory lengthening of the vowel. The Greek origin of the word claimed in Rogava (1975: 348) needs more argumentation.

GZ **did-* 'big, large': Georg. *did-* 'gib, large; elder'; Megr. *did-*, Laz *did-*.

Georgian-Zan adjective. Together with its numerous derivatives (*dideba-* 'grandeur, praise', *didad-* 'numerous', etc.) it is widely in use in Old Georgian: *mas didi erkuas...* 'will be called great...' Mt. 5.19. Apparently the word has a sound-symbolic nature. Cf. its probable reduplicated structure and similarity to Lit. *didis* 'great, big' (see Abaev 1988: 73).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 36). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 234).

CK **didy-in-* 'to mumble, mutter': Georg. *didyin-* 'to mumble'; Megr. *dyirdyin-*; Svan *ddyən-*, *dədyən-* 'to grumble'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem of an onomatopoeic nature unattested in Old Georgian. Its final *-in // -ən* seems to be a derivatory element. The Svan action noun is *li-ddy-un-e*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34; 1987: 33).

GZ **dika-* 'spring wheat': Georg. *dika-* 'spring wheat'; Laz (*m*)*dika-* 'wheat, corn'.

Georgian-Zan agricultural term. It occurs also in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 142). In Megrelian it seems to be lost. Word-initial *m* in Laz is a secondary augment. As an areal culture word it is attested in some Daghestanian languages: cf. Tab. *duk*, Rut. *dük*, Cax *dik* 'millet'.

|| Georgian, Laz: Šavaxišvili (1930: 328–330, 406–412).

GZ ***dindg-el-** ‘propolis’: Georg. *dindgel-* ‘propolis’; Megr. *dgvindgv-* ‘resin’; Laz *dindgu-*, *dundg(a)-* ‘propolis’.

Georgian-Zan term. The word shows a widely represented correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ Zan *-u* in the suffixal position. In the Megrelian form in accordance with a well-known rule the word-final consonant cluster is copied in the word-initial syllable (cf. **txel-*, **titx-wn-*, **ʒiʒg-wn-*, etc.). Svan *dindgw-ild* (cf. *Sv. P.* 168.34), *dingw*, *dwing*, *dwindgw* ‘resin’ show that their origin must be due to a Zan source.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 73.

CK ***diyvam-** ‘fertile soil’: Georg. *diyvam-* ‘black earth, sufficiency’; Svan *diyvam* ‘damp low place with fertile soil’.

The term is attested in Old Georgian probably as a toponym *Diɣvam-* // *Diɣom-* (*Kartl. cx.* 179.20) a suburb of Tbilisi notable for archeological finds of an ancient agricultural complex. For modern Georgian cf. Rača variant *diyvam-* and Imer. *di(l)ɣvam-*. Connotation ‘sufficiency’ of the latter form must be secondary. This etymologically non-transparent word resembles PIE **dheghom-* ‘earth’ (cf. Kretschmer 1931: 66–67).

|| Klimov (1994: 51–53).

GZ ***d(l)aqw-** ‘elbow’: Georg. (*n*)*idaqv-*, *daqv-* ‘elbow’; Megr. *du-*; Laz *du(r)qu-*.

Georgian-Zan archetype. It is attested in Old Georgian (*ukuetu ara idaqvitgan daibannian qelni?* ‘don’t they wash their hands from the elbow?’ Mk. 7.3), where the word combined meaning ‘arch, vault’ (cf. Ex. 38.20). Georg. *dlaqv-* adduced by S. Orbeliani is supported by the Laz cognate. The first vowel of the latter derives from *o* (Gudava 1960: 120). For such a change, especially in neighborhood of historical *l*, see the following entry. In Zan *q* alternates with *°*. However, the Laz compound *xe-duy-* ‘elbow’, where *xe-* is ‘hand’, shows a strange similarity to the analogically formed Kabardian ‘*æ(n)-dæy*’ of the same meaning. In Georg. *nidaqv-* usually a word-forming element is recognized (cf. Topuria 1979: 70–71).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Deeters (1927: 12). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 50).

CK ***dn-** ‘to melt, thaw’: Georg. *dn-* ‘to melt, thaw’; Megr. *din-*, *dən-* ‘to disappear, get lost’; Laz *din-*, *dun-*; Svan *n-* ‘to melt, thaw’.

Probably Common Kartvelian verb stem. The stem occurs also in Old Georgian sources: *dadnis sicxisagan...* ‘in the heat vanish...’ Job 6.17. It

*dola-

is tempting to reconstruct a full-grade form of the stem *den-, apparently nowhere attested. The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *din-apa-*) underwent a semantic shift. Cf. the Svan action noun *lī-n-e*, where the root consonant directly derives from *dn- (the root allomorph (h)in- seems to be due to the metanalysis of the stem).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: cf. Topuria (1979: 35). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 271).

GZ *dola- 'hornless': Georg. *dola-* 'hornless'; Megr. *dulu-*.

The Georgian-Zan adjective unattested in Old Georgian. For Megr. *u* instead of *o* expected in word-final position cf. *rabo-, *yelo-, *yolo-, *c₁xro-. The Laz equivalent seems to be lost. It is tempting to compare the lexeme with Indo-European dialectal (Balt.) *dola- 'hornless'.

|| Žyenti (1953: 140). Cf. Klimov (1988: 154).

GZ *dr-ek- : dr-ik- : dr-k- 'to bend, curve; stoop': Georg. *drek-* : *drik-* 'to bend, curve'; Megr. *dirak-* : *dirk-* : *dirik-* 'to bend; stoop'; Laz *drak-* : (n)*drik-*.

Georgian-Zan verbal formation. It seems to be derived from the elsewhere unknown base *der- : dr- with an extension *-ek- : -(i)k-. The stem is attested in Old Georgian, where the zero ablaut grade was also present (*da igini midrkes...* 'and they bowed low...' Gen. 43.28). Megr. *dirak-* and *dirik-* are at present distinguished as to intransitivity ~ transitivity. The Laz action noun is *o-(n)drik-u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 270).

GZ *dreḱ-il- 'bent, curved': Georg. *dreḱil-* 'bent, curved'; Megr. *dirakil-* 'curved; perfidious' Laz *ndrakel-*.

Georgian-Zan past participle well attested in Old Georgian, where it usually acquires various preverbs (cf. Abulaḱe 1973: 142) and underlies a number of compounds. It is derived from Georgian-Zan *dr-ek- : dr-ik- : dr-k- with the participial affix -il. The Laz form recorded in Sarpi is adapted to adjectives ending in -er // -el.

|| Cf. Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965: 192-193).

CK *dud- 'tip': Georg. *dud-* 'tip; comb, crest (of bird)'; Megr. *dud-* 'head'; Laz *dud-* 'head, top of the head; top; tip'; Svan *dudūl* 'nipple (of breast)'.

Common Kartvelian archetype. For Georgian it is attested in Western dialects (Ylonti 1984: 213). The Svan form contains a diminutive suffix.

The semantics of the cognates presupposes an original meaning 'tip'. For the old term for head see **taw-*. On the Zan correspondence see (Čikobava (1938: 44).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 75.

CK ***dum-** 'to be(come) silent': Georg. *dum-* 'to be(come) silent'; Svan *dwm-*, *dwim-* 'to keep a secret'.

Apparently Common Kartvelian verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: *igini dumnes...* 'they remained silent...' Mk. 3.4. The Georgian action noun *dum-il-* points to the sound-symbolic nature of the stem. The Svan action noun is *li-dwm-e*.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 42).

GZ ***duy-** 'to boil, cook': Georg. *duy-* 'to boil; make boil'; Megr. *duy-*; Laz [*nduy-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem. It occurs in Old Georgian, where it meant also 'to trouble, agitate; rage' (cf. Abulaze 1973: 143). In the Xevs. dialect it means also 'to cook' (an analogical semantic alternation in the stem **gab-* : *gb-*). In the Zan languages the stem may be extracted from Megr. *duya-* 'boiling water' and Laz *ge-nduy-er-* 'a kind of national food' (formally - past participle 'boiled, cooked') In Georgian (action noun *duy-il-*) the stem by sound-symbolic relations is connected with *tux-* in *tux-tux* 'bubbling'.

|| Klimov (1985: 169).

CK ***dyab-** : **dyb-** 'to soil, dirty; to botch, bungle': Georg. *dyab-* 'to botch, bungle'; Svan *dyb-* 'to soil, dirty'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. Its Georgian continuant is extended by a suffix: action noun *dyabna-*, past participle *da-dyabn-il-* 'botched'. The cognates reflect different ablaut grades. The Svan equivalent (cf. action noun *li-dyb-e*) has no extension.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 34-35).

CK ***dye-** 'day': Georg. *dye-* 'day'; Megr. *dya-*; Laz *dya-*, *ndya-*; Svan *la-dey*, *la-däy*, *lä-dey*.

Common Kartvelian archetype. Its continuant is widely attested in Old Georgian (*daadgra mun or dye...* 'he stayed two days...' Jn. 4.40), where it had a number of derivatives. The stem-final *a* in Zan may be due to the frequent adverbial use of the word, and/or to a plural form of the stem

*dyweb- : dywib-

dyal- (*dyal-ep-i* 'days'). The Svan equivalent is marked by an unclear prefixal element *la-* (possibly reflecting a tendency towards a disyllabic structure) and metathesis of the root vowel.

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 33). Svan: Gren (1890: 135).

GZ *dyweb- : dywib- 'to churn': Georg. *dyveb-* : *dyvib-* 'to churn'; Megr. *dyvab-* 'to flop, plump (into water), to churn'; Laz *ndyvab-* 'to churn; go bad'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. In view of its sound-symbolic connection with Georgian-Zan *tkwep- 'to whisk (eggs)' rendering the weakened action, its initial meaning must have been 'to churn'. In Megrelian the secondary semantics predominates (*tik dinodyvabu* 'he plumped into'). A maximal deviation of meaning is found in the Laz form (action noun *o-ndyvab-u*, past participle *mdyvaber-* 'foul, tainted, gone bad'). The stem seems to be related to PIE *dheubh- : *dhubh-* 'to hit, beat' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 268).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 271). Cf. Sardschweladse (1987: 18).

GZ *dyl- 'to be liquid, fluid': Georg. [*dyl-*] 'to be liquid, fluid'; Megr. (*n*)*dyul-*, *dyvil-* 'to melt'; Laz (*n*)*dyul-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. Whereas in Georgian the stem can be traced back only through nominal *dyl-u* 'slush, dirt' (see the pejorative affix *-u*), in the Zan languages it remains as a verbal one: cf. action noun Megr. *dyulapa-*, *dyvilapa-*, Laz *o-ndyul-u* (initial *n* must be here a secondary augment).

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 272). Georgian: ÈSKJa: 76.

GZ *dyl-ez- : dyl-iz- 'to tear, rend (roughly)': Georg. *dylez-* : *dyliz-* 'to tear, rend (roughly)'; Megr. *dyiraz-* // *dyiroz-* : *dyiriz-*.

Georgian-Zan verbal formation. In Laz it seems unattested. The phonetic correspondences are consistent. A connection with the preceding stem seems plausible (*-ez-* : *-iz-* is certainly an extension). Megr. *dyiraz-* and *dyiriz-* are distinguished as to intransitivity ~ transitivity. The Megr. form *dyiroz-* points to former non-functional alternation *e* // *a* in the stem.

|| Gudava (1974: 135). ÈSKJa: 77.

E

CK ***e-** pronominal element: Georg. *e-*; Megr. *e-*; Laz (*h*)*e-*; Svan *e-*.

Common Kartvelian item. At present it usually occurs in bound state (cf. Georg. *e-s-*, *e-g-*, dial. *e-ma-*, etc; Megr. *e-na-*, *e-ši*; Laz *he-a-*, *he-s*; Svan *e-ž-*, *e-š-*). Cf., however, Laz *he* (*he bigate...* 'with that stick...') ČT₁ 21.31). In view of its interjectional origin the element is not subject to regular phonetic correspondences.

GZ ***-eb** verbal thematic suffix: Georg. *-eb*; Megr. *-ap*; Laz *-ap*.

Georgian-Zan item. It is well known also in Old Georgian: *odes-igi azovebda...* 'while he was grazing...' Gen. 36.24. The Zan form shows a regular sound correspondence in vocalism and reveals a change *b > p* (cf. **ten-eb-a*). The suffix marks presentic word-forms. Cf. Rosen (1847: 408) and Deeters (1930: 125).

CK ***e-g-** pronominal stem: Georg. *e-g* 'this; it, he, she'; Svan [*e-ž-*].

Common Kartvelian demonstrative pronoun well attested in Old Georgian: *merme movkueto ege...* 'then cut it down...' Lk. 13.9. In the Zan languages it seems to be lost. Their Svan equivalent appears in the dialectal variants *eži* (cf. Georgian dial. *egi*), *eže* and *ežä*, showing regular shift *g > ž*. The stem must be considered a bound formation (cf. **e-* and **-g-*).

|| Bopp (1847: 71). Cf. Schmidt (1962: 106).

GZ ***egr-** root element, underlying ethnonym **m-egr-el-*: Georg. [*egr-*]; Megr. [*arg-*].

Georgian-Zan root extracted from the ethnonym **m-egr-el-* 'Megrelian', which must originally have been a designation of inhabitants of the historical region *Egr-is-*. According to Kaxaże (1991: 27-29) it is attested in Old Georgian in the shape of *Egr-* (name of province) and *Egur-* (hydronym in Western Georgia). Beside regular shift **e > a* the Megrelian root underwent a consonant metathesis.

|| Brosset (1849: 70). Cf. Berize (1920: 23).

GZ ***-ed** : **-id** a verbal extension: Georg. *-ed* : *-(i)d*; Megr. *-ad* : *-(i)d*; Laz *-id*.

Georgian-Zan inheritance. It may be traced historically in several verbal stems, having as its variants *-et* : *-(i)t*: cf. **sr-et-* : *sr-it-*, **cr-ed-* :

*-et

cri-d- : *cr-d-*, **qwr-et-* : *qwr-it-*, etc. Originally it might have been a marker of Aktionsart.

CK (?) *-et a toponymic affix: Georg. -et; Megr. -at; Laz -at; Svan -ešd(?).

Possibly Common Kartvelian element. It appears mostly in names of villages and regions and is well known also in Old Georgian: cf. *Kvirik-et-*, *Tuš-et-*, *žožox-et-* 'hell'. In Zan it is regularly reflected: cf. *Zan-at-*, *Max-at-*, etc. According to A. Oniani, in Svan it occurs rarely.

|| Georgian, Zan: Megrelidze (1938: 31, 68).

GZ *-et a verbal extension: Georg. -et; Megr. -at.

Perhaps Georgian-Zan archetype. Although its presence is admissible in such stems like **plet-* : *plt-* it appears usually in verb stems specific for Georgian or the Zan languages: cf. Georg. *čkl-et-* 'to tear (in scraps)'.
|| Fähnrich (1987: 33).

GZ *-ek̇ : -(i)k̇ a verbal extension: Georg. -ek̇ : -(i)k̇; Megr. -ak̇ : -(i)k̇; Laz -ak̇ : -ik̇.

Georgian-Zan inheritance which may be extracted from a number of verb stems: cf. **dr-ek̇-* : *dr-ik̇-* : *dr-k̇-*, **px-ek̇-* : *px-ik̇-*, **ywr-ek̇-* : *ywr-ik̇-*, etc. Perhaps it reflects a former marker of the weakened (superficial) Aktionsart. Cf. also *-ex : -ix and *-ež̇ : -iž̇ in other stems.

GZ *-el affix of noun derivation: Georg. -el - derivatory affix of adjectives; Megr. -a; Laz -a.

Productive Georgian-Zan word-forming element. Cf. the adjectives **grž-el-* 'long', **wrc₁-el-* 'wide', **qm-el-* 'dry', and many others. Historically it is present also in nouns of syncretic semantics: cf. **nat-el-* 'light (noun and adjective)'. The correspondence Georg. -el ~ Zan -u is usually peculiar to substantives: cf. **bey-el-* 'barn', **č₁n-el-* 'switch', etc. For the affix see Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965: 88-89).

CK *el- 'to sparkle (of lightning)': Georg. *el-* 'to sparkle (of lightning)'; Megr. *val-*; Laz *val-*; Svan *el-*, *hel-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (action noun *elva-*: *vitarca elvaj raj gamobrčqindis...* 'as the lightning cometh

out of the East...' Mt. 24.27), where it has a series of derivatives. The Zan form (action noun Megr. *valua-*, Laz *o-val-u*) eliminates the word-initial vowel by means of *v*. Cf. also a Laz (Atina) action noun *o-al-u* adduced in (Marr 1910: 143). The Svan action noun is *li-el-e* (< **li-hel-e?*). Cf. Svan (Upper Bal) *hel-* 'lightning'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 27–28). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 272–273). Svan: Klimov (1960: 24) and *ĖSKJa*: 78–79.

CK **-en* : *-in* derivatory affix of causative verbs: Georg. *-en* : *in*; Megr. *-in*; Laz *-in*; Svan *-in*.

Common Kartvelian word-forming element attested in a number of verbs in Old Georgian: ... *rajtamca moakudines igi* '...they could put him to death' Mt. 26.59. Georg. *-en* appears only in the presentic word-forms of the verb. Cf. action noun Georg. *da-dg-en-a* 'to establish', Megr. *dg-in-apa* 'to put, set', Laz *o-skur-in-u* 'to make dry', Svan *li-tr-in-e* 'to drag'.

|| Deeters (1930: 211–214)

GZ **ert-* 'one': Georg. *ert-*, *er-* 'one'; Megr. *art-*; Laz *ar-*, *art-*.

Georgian-Zan numeral which seems to be an innovation replacing Common Kartvelian **s₁xwa-*. It is tempting to derive the word from Georg.-Zan **rt-* 'to be a single, whole, intact'. The lexeme is widely attested in Old Georgian (*erti šenda*, *erti Mosesa...* 'one for you, one for Moses...' Mt. 17.4), where it has a number of derivatives (cf. Abulaze 1973: 148–150). In Laz word-final *t* is ordinarily absent.

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ **-es* : *-(i)s* a verbal extension: Georg. *-es* : *-is*; Megr. *-as* : *-is*.

Georgian-Zan element which may be extracted from a number of verbal formations: cf. **gl-es-* : *gl-is-*, **mç₁q-es-* : *mç₁q-is-* and **sr-es-* : *sr-s-*. The extension is present also in a number of verbs retained only in Georgian or Zan languages. Its original function remains obscure.

CK **e-s₁-* pronominal stem: Georg. *ese* 'so'; Megr. *eši*; Laz *eše* 'so, there'; Svan *eš* 'so'.

Common Kartvelian stem represented in adverbs. In Old Georgian it is attested usually in a bound form *esre* (Abulaze 1973: 151). It consists of a combination of simple bases **e-* and **s₁-*. Cf. also **a-s₁-* and **i-s₁-*.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 80.

*eks₁w-

CK *eks₁w- 'six': Georg. *ekvs-* 'six'; Megr. *amšv*; Laz *a(n)š-*; Svan *usgwa*, *uskwa*.

Common Kartvelian numeral widely attested in Old Georgian: *ekus čel stese...* 'for six years you are to sow...' Ex. 23.10. The Georgian form underwent a consonant metathesis. The sequence *kš* of the cluster *kšv* regularly results in Zan in *rš* (cf. **gus₁-* : *gs₁-*). Further substitution *r* > *m* (> *n*) yields the modern Zan forms. The Svan word underwent also a series of transformations. See Gamqrelize (1959: 29–30). The phonetic shape of the lexeme reflects its non-Kartvelian origin. It undoubtedly derives from continuants of PIE **ueks-* 'six'. However, an Armenian source is excluded for chronological reasons. Cf. **otxo-* 'four'.

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ *ešw- 'wild boar, pig': Georg. *ešv-* 'fang'; Megr. [*askv-*] 'pig'.

Georgian-Zan archetype. The word is attested in Old Georgian with a meaning 'wild boar' (Abulaže 1973: 152). Its Megrelian cognate may be extracted from the derived formation *o-sk-u* (< **o-askv-u*) 'pigsty'. Their Laz equivalent is possibly lost, although I. Kobalvava (*IKE IX–X*, 1958: 71) finds it in Laz *čkva-* 'fang'. A protoform **hešw-* is also admissible.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 81.

GZ *ečw- 'hatchet': Georg. *ečo-* 'hatchet'; Megr. [*ackw-*].

Apparently a Georgian-Zan technical term. The word is represented in Old Georgian in the shape of *ečo-*, *ečve-* and *ečva-* (Abulaže 1973: 152; Saržvelaže 1995: 80): *ečuita ... gamotalnes* 'with a hatchet ... (they) trimmed them' Sin. mr. 11.29. Megr. *ečva-* is a Georgian loanword. The phonetic form of the Svan *ackw* allows one to consider it as an old Zan borrowing. Besides, the word-initial vowel makes one suspect an ancient cultural term of unknown origin.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

GZ *-ex : -ix a verbal extension: Georg. *-ex* : *-ix*; Megr. *-ax* : *-ix*, *-ox*; Laz *-ax*.

Georgian-Zan archetype which may be extracted from verb stems **gr-ex-* : *gr-ix-*, **ç₁n-ex-* : *ç₁n-ix-*, **çr-ex-* : *çr-ix-*, and some others. The Zan correspondences presuppose a parallel archetype **-ax*. The original function of the extension needs clarification.

W

GZ *wal- : wl- 'to go': Georg. val- : vl- 'to go'; Megr. ul-, ur-; Laz ul-.

Georgian-Zan verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian (*moziebad vals Herode...* 'Herod is going to search...' Mt. 2.13), where it had a number of derivatives. The Georgian forms retain ablaut alternation. The origin of *s* in the modern Georgian action noun *svla-* needs explanation (cf. its Megrelian match *ula-*). The Megrelian root allomorph *ur-* arises in word-forms of the 3 person combinatorially: **me-ul-s* > *me-ur-s* 'he goes'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 13). Laz: Čaraia (1918: 265).

GZ *warcx-wn- 'to comb': Georg. varcxn- 'to comb'; Megr. rcxon-; Laz (n)cxon-.

Georgian-Zan formation known in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 356). In Georgian it occurs also as dialectal (Gur.) *barcxn-* (Ylonti 1984: 60). The Zan continuants (action noun Megr. *rcxonua-*, Laz *o-(n)-cxon-u*) lost their initial syllable through an intermediate step **orcxon-*: cf. Megr. *gircxonu primuli* '(he) combed (his) moustache' *MT* 155.8 and Laz *oncxonžiti cxonuman* '(one) combs with a comb' *ČT₂* 85.12. For the suffix *-*wn* cf. **krt-wn-*, **put-wn-*, **yrɣ-wn-*, etc. Svan *li-cxēn-e* 'to comb' despite Lafon (1934: 38) seems rather to continue **prcx-en-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 22). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 180).

CK *warç₁- 'kneading trough': Georg. varçl- 'kneading trough'; Svan *ywarč'in* 'kneading trough; kind of skimmer'.

Apparently Common Kartvelian word, attested also in Old Georgian, where it meant 'rather small vessel' (Abulaze 1973: 159). Cf. also Georg. (Gur.) variant *varçxl-* (Ylonti 1984: 221). The Svan equivalent contains an affix of unknown function. Rogava (1978: 123) derived the Georgian word through misunderstanding from Italian *vascello* 'ship'.

|| U. Tsindeliani (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaze 1990: 119).

GZ *warç- : wrç- 'to sit' (?): Georg. [varç-] 'to sit'; Laz [rç-].

Georgian-Zan verb stem. It occurs only in a bound form and may be extracted from its derivative **sa-warç-el-* 'sitting'. No certain cognate is

*wasx–

found in Megrelian. The meaning of the stem is reconstructed with reservations.

|| Čikobava (1938: 161). Cf. Penixi-Saržvelaze (1990: 119).

GZ(?) *wasx– ‘to lend, borrow’: Georg. *vasx–* ‘to lend, borrow’; Megr. (r)*sx–*; Laz *cx–*.

Problematic equation of the Georgian-Zan level. It is widely attested in Old Georgian (*mavasxen samni purni...* ‘lend me three loaves of bread...’ Lk. 11.5), where it has a number of derivatives. Just as in the three preceding entries the Zan stem is somewhat simplified. The Laz form underwent a change *sx* > *cx* (cf. **msxal–*, **sxep–*, etc.): *o–cx–u* ‘to lend’, *ecxer–* ‘debt’. Megr. *r* arises secondarily: *žiri maneti...kimersxi* ‘lend me two roubles’ *MT* 72.8. Sometimes one connects these stems with Middle Persian (cf. Deeters 1930: 76) or Armenian (cf. Ačariyan 1979: 306) sources.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 81–82.

CK **wašl–* ‘apple’: Georg. *vašl–* ‘apple’; Megr. *uškur–*; Laz *uškur–*; Svan *wisgw* : *usgw*.

Common Kartvelian archetype. The word is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 154). The Zan cognate regularly corresponds to the Georgian one (for some deviations in Laz cf. *oškur–*, *oškir–*, *uškir–*). Svan *wi* in forms of the singular with umlaut indicates **wa* > *u*. Word-final *šw* (< **šl*) according to Gamkrelidze’s rule (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 29) results in *sgw*; this points to the age of the shift *l* > *w* in Svan. The archetype **vašl–*, posited in Vogt (1954: 543), reflects an earlier stage of research.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 71). Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 291). Laz: Marr (1915: 825).

CK **wac₁–* ‘Caucasian goat’: Georg. *vac–* ‘billy goat’; Megr. *oč–*; Laz *oč–*, *boč–*; Svan *ɣwäš* ‘Caucasian goat’.

Common Kartvelian lexeme well known in Old Georgian: cf. *txaj orasi*, *vaci oci...* ‘two hundred female goats and twenty male goats...’ Gen. 32.14. The Zan forms underwent change **wa* > *o* with an obscure emergence of *b* in word-initial position (in this connection see **wenaq–* and **we(r)c₁xl–*). Svan *ɣ* is regular, while word-final *š* is due to spirantization of the regular *č*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 20). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 82. Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 59).

GZ *wed- : wid- ‘to go, walk’: Georg. *ved-* : *vid-* ‘to go’; Megr. *id-*; Laz *id-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem which is widely attested in Old Georgian: cf. *aydeg da vidode!* ‘get up and walk!’ Lk. 5.23. Vowel alternation is found only in Georgian. The Zan forms have lost initial *w* (cf. Čikobava 1938: 273). In Megrelian an “infixation” of the subject index of the 1 person *-b* is possible: *i-b-d-at* ‘let us go’.

|| Čikobava (ibidem).

GZ *wel- ‘valley, field’: Georg. *vel-* ‘field, plain’; Megr. *ve(l)-*.

Georgian-Zan word. It occurs quite often in Old Georgian texts: cf. *ganved velad...* ‘go out to the open country...’ Gen. 27.3. Although Megrelian *l* is preserved only in plural forms of the word the Georgian cognate assures its age. The sequence *we* remains unchanged as in a number of other nouns (cf. **gwel-*, **gwerd-*, **werz₁-*, etc.). A connection with Arm. *vayr* ‘field’ proposed by Marr is unwarranted. Cf. Deeters (1927: 67–68) and Ačaryan (1979: 301). More interesting seems to be a comparison with IE dialectal (Hitt.) *wellu-* ‘meadow, valley’ (cf. Giorgadze 1979: 65; Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1995: 793).

|| Čaraya (1912: 34).

GZ *wenaq- ‘vine’: Georg. *venax-* ‘vineyard’; Megr. *binex-* ‘vine’; Laz *binex-*, *benex-*.

Georgian-Zan agricultural term. The word occurs also in Old Georgian, where it meant ‘vine’: cf. *kačman vinme daasxa venaqi* ‘a man planted a vine’ Mk. 12.1. The Georgian word shows the regular shift *q > x*. Dialectal (Ing.) *menaq-* underwent assimilation *w > m*, due to the nasal *n*. For *e > i* before *n* in Zan see **me(n)-*, **nen-*, **sen-*, etc.; for *e* instead of expected *o* cf. **oc₁-*, **yor*, etc.; initial *b* remains obscure. The Svan *wenāq-* ‘vineyard’ in view of its meaning must be treated as a Georgian loanword. According to Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (1995: 558–559, 778) the lexeme is connected with some Indo-European source (cf. PIE **ueinag-*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). Laz: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 292).

GZ *wer – negation particle: Georg. *ver*; Megr. *va(r)*; Laz *va(r)*.

Georgian-Zan particle. It is widely attested in Old Georgian: *ver etqoda mat ...* ‘(he) could not speak unto them ...’ Lk. 1.22; *ver yirs var...* ‘I am not worthy...’ Mk. 1.7. Contrary to the Zan languages in modern

*werc,xl-

Georgian it has a semantics of impossibility of action: cf. *ver mirbis* '(he) can't run'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Cf. Schmidt (1962: 109).

GZ *werc,xl- 'silver': Georg. *vecxl-* 'silver'; Megr. *varčxil-*.

Georgian-Zan term. In the earliest Georgian sources it is attested in the form *vecxl-*: *daabnia vecxli igi...* '(he) threw the money...' Mt. 27.5. In Laz the word is replaced by a Turkish loan. Svan uses borrowings from other Kartvelian languages (a Common Kartvelian designation of silver has been absent since the metal itself is known only from the II millennium B.C.). It is tempting to juxtapose the word with Megr. *barčxal-an-s* 'it glitters, sparkles'. Attempts to compare the Kartvelian word with Nax-Daghestanian forms like Avar *Řarac*, Lak *arcu*, Darg. *arc* 'silver' (Čikobava 1942: 51) or with PIE **ar(e)ǵ-* (Lafon 1933: 91-92) don't seem to be attractive.

|| Brosset (1849: 74).

GZ *werz₁- 'male, ram': Georg. *verz-* 'ram'; Megr. *erž-* 'male, ram'.

Georgian-Zan word which is widely known in Old Georgian: *šerčiros... verži...* 'he is to bring... a ram...' Lev. 5.15. As in a number of other cases *we* remains unchanged in Zan (the loss of the word-initial *w* needs an explanation). In both Kartvelian languages an original meaning 'male' may be reconstructed: cf. Megr. *šxuriši erži* 'male of sheep'. The analogy with the form and history of continuants of PIE **uers-* 'male, ram' is obvious (cf. Andronikašvili 1966: 86).

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 111).

GZ *werxw- 'aspen': Georg. *verxv-* 'aspen'; Megr. *vex-*.

Possibly Georgian-Zan archetype. The word occurs in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 157). For the retention of the sequence *we* in the Zan languages see the preceding entries. Megr. *vex-* is a result of simplification. Megr. *verxv-* and Svan *jerxw-la* (< *jerxw-ra*), *xerxw-la* seem to be recent loanwords from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 593). Megrelian: ÈSKJa: 84.

CK *wes₁- : ws₁- 'to fill, be filled': Georg. *vs-* 'to fill, be filled'; Megr. (*p*)š-; Laz *pš-*; Svan *gweš-* : *gwš-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem which is amply attested in Old Georgian: *ayvivsi me cremlita* 'I got filled with tears' Sin. mr. 201.23. The

ablaut alternation is retained only by Svan. The Zan cognate (cf. action noun Megr. *e-pš-apa*) shows a change *w > p* in a consonant cluster. The Svan word (action noun *li-gwš-e*) has an augment (?) *g*. If, however, the latter is an archaism (cf. also unclear Megr. *gopša-* 'full'), it would be justified to reconstruct **gwe₃₁-* : *gws₁-*. The stem has an ancient derivative *(*s*)*a-ws₁-e* 'full'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 6). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 333). Svan: Deeters. Cf. Schmidt (1962: 110).

GZ *we₃₁- 'mineral spring': Georg. *veža-* 'mineral spring'; Megr. *menž-*.

Georgian-Zan term. The Georgian form contains a diminutive affix. Cf. also dialectal (Rača) variant *verža-* (Yloni 1984: 225). Megrelian word-initial *w* results in *m* owing to assimilation to the following *n* (cf. **win* 'who'). A connection of the Megrelian word with Georg. *maril-* 'salt' is highly unlikely, since the latter originates from a Greek source. More interesting is Georg. (Xevs.) *muža-* 'mineral spring' whose phonetic shape needs explication.

|| T. Gudava.

GZ *win 'who': Georg. *vin-* 'who'; Megr. *mi(n)-*; Laz *min-*.

Georgian-Zan pronoun which is amply represented in Old Georgian: cf. *vin ars dedaj čemi?* 'who is my mother?' Gen. 24.47. Word-initial *w* was reconstructed already in Bopp (1847: 30). In Zan forms *w > m* because of the following *n*. The relation of the Svan stem *-i-* < *wi-* ? (cf. *i-ša haswiš li?* 'whose daughter is she?') needs argumentation.

|| Georgian, Laz: Bopp (1846: 286). Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112).

GZ *wi₁q- 'to forget': Georg. *vičq-* 'to forget'; Megr. [*čq-*]; Laz [*čq-*].

Difficult Georgian-Zan verb stem. In unbound form it is represented only in Georgian. For its use in Old Georgian see Abulaze (1973: 109, 262, 474). In the Zan languages it can be extracted from its derivative *vičq-d-* (with a historical passive mark *-d*). Cf. Megr. *čqolad-* : *čqolid-* : *čqord-* and Laz *č(k)ond-*, *čondr-*, which are obviously lexicalized. Since the history of the first syllable in the Georgian form and of the middle part of Zan variants is obscure the reconstruction remains tentative.

|| Čikobava (1938: 416).

*wl-a-

GZ *wl-a- 'walk': Georg. *svla-* 'walk'; Megr. *ula-*, Laz *ulva-*, *ülva-*.

Georgian-Zan action noun. It is a derivative with suffix *-a* from *wal- : wl-. In Old Georgian the word is represented in the shape of *svla-* (Abuladze 1973: 399–400), showing metathesis of consonants and secondary *s*. Antiquity of the latter (cf. Čikobava 1942: 276) is hardly demonstrable.

CK *wlt- 'to divide, separate': Georg. *vlt-*, *vt-* 'to divide, separate'; Megr. *rt-*; Laz *lt-*, *rt-*; Svan *t-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem characteristic for Old Georgian: cf. *ganevtas mamaj zisagan...* 'they will be divided, father against son...' Lk. 12.53 (action noun *ganvltola-*). In the modern language its continuants seem to be absent (according to Ačaryan (1977: 355) Georg. *nivt-* 'thing' goes back to Arm. *niwt-* 'element, substance'). The Zan variants underwent simplification (action noun Megr. *go-rt-u-ala*, Laz *o_{ko}-rt-u* and *o_{ko}-lt-u*, cf. *gverdi ka_{ko}-gi-rt-up* 'I'll apportion you a half'). The most thoroughly reduced stem is that of Svan. Cf. the action noun *lī-t-e* and *nā-t-i* 'part', which show a compensatory lengthening.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 309). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 85.

CK *wlt- 'to run away, escape': Georg. *lt-* 'to run away, escape'; Megr. *rt-*, *nt-*; Laz *rt-*, *mt-*; Svan *tw-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. In Georgian it is known mainly from ancient sources: cf. *pirisagan Sarajsa ... vivlti* 'I am running away from Sarah' Gen. 16.8 (action noun is *si-vlt-ol-a-*). The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *ntina-*, *rtina-*, Laz *o-mtin-u*) have lost the word-initial consonant and replaced the sequence *lt* by more common clusters. For the Svan correspondence (action noun *lī-tw*; cf. *i_{tw}* 'runs away' alongside Georg. *ivltis*) loss of *l* and consonant metathesis must be assumed.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 51). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 393). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 85.

GZ *wn- 'to injure, harm; to torment, suffer': Georg. *vn-* 'to injure, harm'; Megr. *n-*.

An uncertain Georgian-Zan comparison. The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian (cf. *m_ravali mevno me...* 'I have suffered a great deal...' Mt. 27.19; action noun *vneba-*), where some derivatives were also known. The Megrelian stem underwent simplification: *on-ən-s* 'he injures him' (the identity of the Georgian and Megrelian deverbative nouns in the

shape of *neba-* casts some doubts on the native status of the Megrelian verb). In Laz no certain cognate exists.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 23).

GZ *-wn stem-forming enlargement: Georg. -(v)n; Megr. -on; Laz -on, -ol.

Georgian-Zan item. It may be recovered from a number of verb stems: cf. *brdy-wn-, *warcx-wn-, *krt-wn-, *yry-wn-, etc. Whereas *w* in the consonant clusters of Georgian forms is usually lost, in their Zan counterparts it underwent vocalization. In Laz a secondary change *n > l* may have taken place.

|| ÈSKJa: 85.

GZ *wrc₁- 'to be broad, wide': Georg. vrc- 'to widen'; Megr. [pirč-] 'to be broad'; Laz [pirč-].

Georgian-Zan stem of a semantically stative verb. As such it is retained only by Georgian (action noun *ganvrcoba-*), being attested also in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 161). Cf. the deverbative adjective *wrc₁-el- 'broad, wide'. In the Zan languages the stem may be found only in the continuants of the adjective. For initial *p* in Zan cf. *wes₁- : ws₁-.

|| Georgian, Zan: Klimov (1985: 169).

GZ *wrc₁-el- 'broad, wide': Georg. vrcel- 'wide, vast'; Megr. pirča- 'broad (of eyes), branchy (of trees)'; Laz [pirče-].

Georgian-Zan adjective which is widely attested in Old Georgian (cf. *vrcel ars gzaj...* 'broad is the road...' Mt. 7.13; cf. also variant *vcel-*) being in competition with a loanword *parto-*. For correspondence Georg. *v* ~ Zan *p* in the consonant cluster cf. *wes₁- : ws₁-. Ancient sonant *r* regularly results in Zan in *ir*. For parallels in the word-final position see *grz-el-, *çrp-el-, *çit-el-, etc. The Laz cognate may be extracted from the compound *leke-pirče-* 'spot'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: A. Shanidze. Cf. ÈSKJa: 86.

Z

CK(?) *z- 'to press, squeeze': Georg. [z-] 'to press, squeeze'; Megr. z-, zu- 'to squeeze, knead, rub'; Laz z-; Svan *zih-* 'to press, squeeze'(?).

*za-

Apparently Common Kartvelian verb stem. In Georgian it may be found in the continuant of the derived Georgian-Zan stem *z-el-. Megr. *zel-* 'dough' is its derivative. Laz has an action noun *me-z-u*. The deviating Svan stem casts some doubts at the level assignment of the archetype.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 274). Svan: ÈSKJa: 86.

CK *za- 'year, season': Georg. [za-] 'season'; Megr. [zo-]; Svan *zäj-* 'year'.

Common Kartvelian archetype. In Georgian and the Zan languages it may be extracted from compounds, such as *za-mtar- 'winter' and in Georg. *za-pxul-* 'summer'. These compounds apparently point to an old division of the year into two basic seasons adopted in the ancient Kartvelian calendar. Cf. also Svan *zäw* 'this year'.

|| Marr (1913.1: 316-317; 1936: 222).

GZ *zak(u)w- 'to incite, instigate': Georg. *zakv-* 'to incite, to act perfidiously'; Megr. *zokul-* 'to incite, preach'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. Cf. the Old Georgian deverbative noun *zak(u)va-* 'perfidy, treason; incitement', although *zakuleba-* is also known. The semantic side of the reconstruction remains tentative. An attempt at an internal analysis of the Georgian stem see in Činčarauli (1987: 52-53). The Megrelian action nouns are *zokulua-* and meta-thesized *zulokua-*. For the correspondence Georg. *v* ~ Zan *l* in the stem-final position see *te(w)-, *pe(w)-, *ça(w)- : ç(w)-, *xwe(w)-.

|| Klimov (1988: 20).

GZ *za-mtar- 'winter': Georg. *zamtar-* 'winter'; Megr. *zotonž-*.

Georgian-Zan formation which is well represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 162). The word is a compound of *za- 'year, season' and a bound form *mtar- with a conjectural meaning 'cold'. Zan *-tonž* regularly corresponds to its Georgian equivalent. The second part of the Georgian-Zan form may be compared with that of Svan *li-ntw* (Upper Bal.), *lu-nt* (Lašx.) 'winter', which allows us to reconstruct its less complex earlier form *mt- // *nt-.

|| Marr (1936: 222).

CK *zar- : zr- 'to take care, keep': Georg. [zr-] 'to take care, keep'; Svan *zār-* 'to economize (on sth.)'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. Its Georgian continuant may be seen in the derivative *zr-un-* 'to take care, keep', which in Old Georgian had a great number of meanings (Abulaze 1973: 169). Contrary to the Svan stem (action noun *li-zāz-e*) the Georgian one reflects a zero ablaut-grade and is provided with an affix *-un*.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 42).

CK *zard- : zrd- 'to grow': Georg. *zard-* : *zrd-* 'to grow; to bring up'; Megr. *rd-*; Laz *rd-*; Svan *rd-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. It is attested in Old Georgian, where it had a connotation 'to feed': *mamaj tkueni ... zrdis mat* 'your Father ... feeds them' Mt. 6.26 (cf. action noun *zrda-*). The ablaut alternation is retained only in Georgian, where the zero-grade form has the shape *zrd-* or *rd-*. The Zan and Svan stems reflect zero-grade form: cf. action nouns Megr. *rduala-*, Laz *o-rd-u*, Svan *lī-rd-i* (with compensatory lengthening).

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Džanašvili (1902: 29). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 308–309).

GZ *zel- 'to crumple, press, rub': Georg. *zel-* : *zil-* 'to press, rub'; Megr. *zal-*; Laz [*zal-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem. It is well known in Old Georgian: action noun (*da*)*zela-* (Abulaze 1973: 109; Saržvelaze 1995: 83). Cf. its Megrelian counterpart *zala-*. The stem is derived from *z- (see above) with an extension *-el*. The Laz correspondence may be extracted from *o-zal-e* 'trough for making dough'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 130).

GZ *zep- 'to thrash, flog': Georg. *zep-* 'to thrash, flog'; Megr. *zap-* 'to lash; to scorch'; Laz *zap-*, *zrap-* 'to lash'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem of onomatopoeic origin, underlined by its expressive *p* in word-final position. Cf. the Georgian reduplicative formation *zapa-zup-* 'flogging'. Georgian variant *zvep-* reflects a metathesis of *v* in the deverbative noun form *zepva-*. For the Zan cognates cf. action noun Megr. *zapua-* and Laz *o-z(r)ap-u*. See also *zop-.

|| ÈSKJa: 87.

GZ *zer- : zir- 'to look': Georg. *mzer-* : *mzir-* 'to look'; Megr. *zir-* 'to look, see'; Laz *zir-*, *zir-*.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan verb stem. It occurs also in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 238). For the Zan languages cf. action nouns Megr. *zir-apa-* and Laz *o-zir-u*. The phonetic history of the word remains unclear. Word-initial *m* may be an organic part of the stem.

|| Brosset (1844: 15), Čikobava (1938: 390).

CK *zw- 'to calve, fawn': Georg. *zv-* 'to calve'; Svan *z(w)-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem which is well attested in Old Georgian (*iremni velta zeda izwebodes...* 'the does in the field fawned...' Jer. 14.5), where a number of derivatives are known: cf. *ne-zu-* 'heifer', *u-zueb-* 'barren, dry'. At present it has a dialectal use: cf. Xevs. action noun *zveba-* (Ylonti 1984: 232) alongside aoristic word-form *i-zv-a*, Ing. *da-j-z-o* 'it calved'. The Svan action noun is *li-z-äl*, *li-zw-el-i*.

|| Šavaxišvili (1937: 193–194).

CK *zwer- : zwr- 'to gather, collect': Georg. *zver-* 'to gather tax, duty'; Megr. *zir-, zər-*; Svan *zwer- : zwr-* 'to gather (inanimate objects)'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. In Old Georgian it is identified in the noun *zuer-* 'tax, duty' and its derivative *me-zuer-e* 'tax collector' (Abulaže 1973: 170, 229). Action nouns are Georg. *zerva-*, Megr. *zirua-, zərua-*, Svan *li-zwr-i*. The Megrelian forms may have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Gigineišvili (1972: 151). Svan: Nadareišvili (1975: 114).

GZ *zid- 'to drag, pull': Georg. *zid-* 'to drag, pull'; Megr. *zi(n)d-*; Laz *zd-* 'to take, arise, drag'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. It is known in Old Georgian: cf. *qoveli movi-zido čemda...* 'I will draw all men to myself...' Jn. 12.32. The Megrelian form (action noun *zindua-*) often has a secondary *n*. The zero-vocalism of the semantically deviating Zan cognate remains unexplained (cf. Laz *ezdu* 'he took it', action noun *o-zd-u*).

|| Čikobava (1938: 275–276).

GZ *zizin- 'to crowd (to overflowing)': Georg. *zizin-* 'to crowd (to overflowing)'; Megr. *zizin-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem formed in analogy to reduplicated Georgian-Zan **s₁is₁in-* 'to eat to satiety', to which it is related by sound-symbolic

consonant alternation. Action nouns are Georg. (Gur.) *gazizineba-*, Megr. *gozizinapa-*.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

CK *zixl- 'blood': Georg. *sixl-* 'blood'; Megr. *zixir-*, *zixər-*, *zixer-*; Laz *dicir-*, *dincir-*; Svan *zix*.

Common Kartvelian archetype. The word is amply attested in Old Georgian: *ese ars sixli čemi...* 'it is my blood...' Sin. mr. 175.32. For word-initial *z* cf. Georg. (dial.) *zixsa-* 'dysentery'. The Laz form underwent combinatory changes *z > d*, *sx > cx* (cf. **msxal-*, **sxwəp-*, etc.) and has a variant with a secondary *n*. The stem-final *l* ordinarily results in Svan in *w* (cf. dative *zixsw*) and further in zero.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 58). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 595). Cf. also Marr (1912.1: 426).

GZ *zm- 'to dream': Georg. [*zm-*] 'to dream'; Megr. *zim-*; Laz [*zm-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem. In unbound form it is preserved in Megrelian (cf. action noun *zimapa-*), whereas in Georgian and Laz it may be found only in the derivatives **zm-an-* and *(*s*)*i-zmar-*. The relation of the two stems forms a parallel to **gaw-* : *gw-* vs. **gw-an-* and **qaw-* : *qw-* vs. **qw-an-*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

GZ *zm-an : zm-n- 'to dream': Georg. *zman-* 'to dream'; Laz *zmon-* 'to think'.

Georgian-Zan formation. It is well attested in Old Georgian: cf. its action noun *zmaneba-* and past participle *zmanebul-* (Abulaze 1973: 167). Its old noun derivative is also *(*s*)*i-zmar-* 'sleep, dream'. The lexically detached Georgian stem *zmn-* 'to see, foresee, foreknow' (cf. action nouns *zmna-*, *zmnoba-*) must have been a counterpart of the first stem form in the frame of original ablaut alternation. In Megrelian its cognate seems to be lost. The Laz equivalent (cf. *me-v-o-zmon* 'I think') reflects full ablaut grade.

|| ÈSKJa: 88.

GZ *zmu- 'to yelp, squeal': Georg. *zmu-* 'to yelp, squeal'; Megr. *zum-in-*; Laz *zum-in-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem of onomatopoeic origin (cf. **bzu-*, **ymu-*, **çk-mu-*). In the Zan forms the initial consonant sequence is broken up

*zom-

into two syllables. The deverbative nouns contain characteristic word-forming affixes: cf. Georg. *zmu-il-*, Megr. *zum-in-*.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 88.

CK *zom- 'to measure, be measured': Georg. *zom-* 'to measure, be measured'; Megr. *zim-*, *zəm-*; Laz *zum-*, *zim-*; Svan *z(e)m-*, *zəm-*.

Apparently a Common Kartvelian verb stem. It is attested in Old Georgian, where it had a number of derivatives (Abulaže 1973: 168). Contrary to modern *zomva-* Georg. *zoma-* 'measure' may reflect an earlier form of the action noun. For Megrelian cf. action noun *zim-apa-*. In Laz the dialect variation of *zim-* (Xopa) and *zum-* (Viçe, Arx.) is regular. The history of the Svan variants, especially of their *e* vocalism (cf. *li-z(e)m-e*, *li-zm-i* 'to measure'), which appears to be original, is less clear. Svan *zum-* may have been borrowed from Megrelian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 303). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 276).

GZ *zop- 'to talk': Georg. *zop-* 'to boast, brag; to lie'; Laz *zop-on-* 'to talk, converse'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. In Georgian its continuant is attested only in sources of the XI–XII-th centuries: action noun *mozopva-* and derivative *mzopav-* 'boaster, trickster' (Saržvelaže 1995: 117, 132). For Laz cf. the action noun *zop-in-*. Final *p* points to expressive nature of the stem. Cf. the parallel archetype *zep-*.

|| Saržvelaže (1980: 120–121).

GZ *zrd-il- 'grown up, brought up': Georg. *zrdil-* 'brought up'; Megr. *rdil-* 'grown up, brought up'; Laz *rder-*, *der-*.

In Old Georgian the word may be traced indirectly: cf. the secondary formation *zrdileba-* (Abulaže 1973: 169), *zrdiloba* (Saržvelaže 1995: 84) 'upbringing'. It is a past participle in *-il* based on *zard- : zrd-. The Laz equivalent is adapted to the adjectives in *-er*.

GZ *zrz-en- : zrz-in- 'to perturb, excite': Georg. *zrzen-* : *zrzin-* 'to perturb'; Megr. *zirzin-* 'noise, din, uproar'.

Apparently Georgian-Zan formation which is well attested in Old Georgian: *rajta azrzenen mas...* 'to perturb him...' Bal. 123.35; action noun *zrzena-*. The Georgian stem reflects two ablaut grades. The descriptive nature of the complex *zrz-* seems to be evident: cf. *z₁r_z₁- 'to shiver, tremble'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 88–89.

GZ *zrk- 'to be thick, clumsy': Georg. *zrk-* 'to grow fat, stout'; Megr. [*zirk-*] 'to be clumsy'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. Contrary to the modern language in Old Georgian it was used also in its original form: *ganzrka* (*maxvili*) *cmelagan...* '(the sword) ... is covered with fat' Is. 34.6; action noun *ganzrkoma-*. The irregular correspondence Georg. *k* ~ Zan *g* needs explanation (cf. the next entry). In modern Georgian the stem may be extracted also from a deverbative adjective reflecting *zrk-el-.

GZ *zrk-el- 'thick, clumsy': Georg. *skel-* 'thick'; Megr. *zirk-a(l)-* 'clumsy, awkward'.

Georgian-Zan formation. In Old Georgian the adjective occurs in the shape *zrkel-* with a meaning 'fattened, well-fed' (Abulaze 1973: 169). It is a derivative from *zrk-. For the irregular correlation Georg. *k* ~ Zan *g* cf. the Georgian dialectal (Moxev.) form *zgel-*. Analogical Svan *sgel* 'thick, dense' derives from Georgian.

|| Klimov (1988: 20).

CK *zu- 'to weep, sob; cry': Georg. *zu-* 'to weep, sob'; Megr. *zu-l-*, *zvi-l-*; Svan *zū-*, *zə-* 'to weep softly'.

Apparently Common Kartvelian verb stem. It belongs to a series of descriptive formations, provided with the affix *-(i)l*. Action noun Georg. *zu-il-*, Svan *li-zū-l-i*. Their Megrelian cognate underwent metanalysis (*zul-an-s* 'he sobs, weeps', noun of action *zul-a-* // *zvil-a-*). Cf. also the Georgian reduplicative formation *zuzun-* with the same meaning.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26; 1987: 33-34).

CK (?) *zura- 'female': Megr. *zura-* 'coward'; Laz *zura-* 'female', Svan *zuräj*.

A problematic Common Kartvelian equation. The doubts are due partly to the phonetical structure *CuCa* of cognates, characteristic for borrowings (cf. *guda-, *guga-, etc.). The meaning of the Megrelian form seems to be secondary. In Svan is attested also its derivative *zurāl* 'woman', formed with the affix *-al*. Similar words occur in some North-East Caucasian languages: cf. Chechen *zuda* 'woman', Lak *žura* 'bitch'. See Goniašvili (1940: 602).

|| Kipšidze (1914: 238). Cf. ÈSKJa: 89.

*zywa-

CK *zywa- 'sea': Georg. *zyva-* 'sea'; Megr. *zyva-*; Laz *zyua-*, *zuya-*, (*m*)*zoŷa-*; Svan *zuywa*, *zuywa*, *zywa*.

Common Kartvelian lexeme widely attested in Old Georgian: *štavarda zyusa...* '(it) jumped into the sea...' Jn. 21.7. In Zan and Svan forms a vocalization of *w* has developed. Cf. also a metathesis and secondary *m* in Laz. The Svan word shows change *z* > *ʒ*. The consonant cluster in the archetype may be deduced from its repetition in all languages. Therefore an archetype **zuyva-* (cf. Bouda 1950: 293) seems less plausible.

|| Georgian, Zan: Brosset (1844: 15; 1849: 70, 76). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 623).

CK *zywan- 'to limit, restrict': Georg. *zyvan-* 'to limit, restrict'; Laz [*zyon-*] (?); Svan [*ywan-*].

Apparently Common Kartvelian verb stem. It is known in Old Georgian (Abulaʒe 1973: 171). In accordance with a well-known morphophonemic rule (verbal *n* ~ nominal *r*: cf. **zman-* ~ *(*s*)*i-zmar-*, **qan-* ~ **qar-*, etc.) it has a nominal counterpart **zywar-* 'limit, bound', owing to which the stem may also be reconstructed for earlier stages of Zan and Svan languages.

CK *zywar- 'limit, bound: Georg. *zyvar-* 'limit, border'; Laz *yoʒ-* 'border (of house), court'; Svan (*h*)*aywar*, (*h*)*äywra* 'limit, bound'.

Common Kartvelian archetype based on the verb stem **zywan-*. It occurs in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaʒe 1973: 171), where its derivatives are also found. The word-initial consonant cluster has been simplified in Zan and Svan words (cf. in this connection **zard-*: *zrd-*). For the augmentation of the first syllable in Svan see **dye-*, **ḱud-*, **qba-*, etc.

|| Georgian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 96). Laz: Klimov (1985: 169-170).

GZ *zyw-ed- : *zyw-d-* 'to limit, enclose': Georg. *zyud-* 'to enclose'; Megr. *zyvind-* : *zyod-* 'to destroy, exterminate'.

A tentative Georgian-Zan comparison. In Old Georgian this verb stem is represented by the action noun *mozyudva-* (Sarʒvelaʒe 1995: 132) and past participle *zyudvil-* 'enclosed' (Abulaʒe 1973: 171). The Zan forms are represented by Megr. *zyvindua-* and *zyodua-* although their meaning makes an alignment with the Georgian stem somewhat difficult.

GZ *zywel- 'to pour (of heavy shower)': Georg. *zyvel-* 'to pour (of heavy shower)'; Megr. [*zyval-*].

Georgian-Zan verb stem. Its Georgian continuant is known from Imer. dialect (cf. Yloni 1984: 236). In Megrelian the stem can be extracted from the reduplicative formation *zyvar-zyval-* of the same meaning, which shows the typical dissimilation $l > r$ in the first syllable. Cf. Georgian-Zan **tkaš-* 'heavy shower'.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

Z₁

CK *z₁ar- : z₁r- 'to be lazy': Georg. *zar-* 'to be lazy'; Svan *žar-* : *žr-* 'to bore, pester; be bored'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem attested also in Old Georgian: *ara daizaret...moslvad* 'don't be lazy...to come' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 109). Georgian action noun is *dazareba-*. The Svan continuant preserves ablaut alternation: action nouns *li-žar*, *li-žr-an-i*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

CK *z₁e 'up(wards), upon': Georg. *ze* 'up(wards), on'; Megr. *ži(n)*, Laz *ži(n)*; Svan *ži*.

Common Kartvelian adverb. The lexeme with its derivatives is widely used in Old Georgian texts (*ze zis igi virsa...* '(he is) sitting upon an ass...' Mt. 21.5). As in a number of other cases Georg. *e* corresponds to Zan *i* in position before *n*: cf. **wenaq-*, **plenz₁-*, **sen-*, etc. Cf. derivatives **z₁eda*, **z₁emo-*, **z₁en-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 62). Svan: Deeters (1930: 16).

GZ *z₁e-da- 'upper': Georg. *zeda-* 'upper'; Megr. *žindo-*; Laz *žindo-*.

Georgian-Zan formation representing one of the derivatives of **z₁e*. This form is known in Old Georgian (not infrequently in the function of a preverbal element). Its Megrelian match may be also identified in the adverb *židoxše* 'from above'. The vocalic shape of the Georgian and Zan cognates is regular.

|| ÈSKJa: 90.

GZ *z₁ez₁- 'to strike, thrash, rumple': Georg. *zez-* 'to thrash, flog'; Megr. *žaž-* 'to strike, rumple'.

*z₁e-mo-

Georgian-Zan verb stem attested with a slightly deviating meaning in Old Georgian (Abulaḡe 1973: 165). Action noun Georg. *zezva-*, Megr. *žaḡua-*. In Laz it is apparently absent. The sound correspondences between the forms are regular. Cf. also vague **žeḡ-*.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 300). Cf. also Fähnrich (1975: 341).

GZ *z₁e-mo- 'upper; top'; Georg. *zemo-* 'upper'; Megr. *ḡimo-* compound preverb 'upwards'.

Georgian-Zan formation attested still in Old Georgian as adverb with meaning 'upstairs, upwards' (Abulaḡe 1973: 165). In Megrelian the form is represented as a compound preverb of the same meaning (cf. the derivative adverb *ḡimoleše* 'upwards'). Vestigially similar deverbative formations are known also from Old Georgian: cf. *zemo-čeril-* 'written above'.

GZ *z₁e-n(a)- 'upper': Georg. *zena-* 'upper'; Megr. *ḡino-*.

Georgian-Zan adjective derived from *z₁e. In Old Georgian it is extended by the suffixal -a. A close parallel of the modern Georgian form may be found in the first element of Megrelian compound *ḡino-skua-* 'offspring of a nobleman'. The difference in meaning from *z₁eda- remains unclear, though.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 34). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 90.

GZ *z₁wa(w)- : z₁wl- 'to fall; crush down': Georg. *zul-* 'to fall; crush down'; Laz *ḡul-*, *ḡol-* 'to be missing, disappear'.

Georgian-Zan verb stem, which occurs in Old Georgian: *ḡesni igi daiḡunen da dazulen* 'the heavens shall pass away' III Peter 3.10 (action noun *zuleva-*, *dazuleul-* 'fallen to the ground'). In Laz the stem may be extracted from the verb word-form *mi-ḡol-een* 'it has been disappeared' (resultative).

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 18):

CK *z₁wa(w)- 'avalanche, snow-slip': Georg. *zvav-* 'avalanche, snow-slip'; Laz *šva-* 'landslide' (?); Svan *ḡaj*, *ḡäj*, *ḡah* 'avalanche, snow-slip'.

Common Kartvelian archetype characterizing the ecological conditions of the earliest Kartvelian's habitat. In Old Georgian the word is represented in the shape of *zuav-*. Word-final *v* in Georgian seems to be secondary: cf. **taw-*, **xwaw-*. Georgian dialects have also a variant *zov-* (Ylonti 1984: 234). In the Zan languages no certain cognate is found. Cf., how-

ever, vague Laz *šva-* 'landslide' and West Georg. (Gur.) *švav-* (Ylonti 1984: 631). The Svan forms reflect reduction of the word-initial consonant sequence.

|| Georgian, Svan: Abaev (1949: 294).

CK *z₁r- 'to become damp, wet; freeze': Georg. *zr-* 'to freeze, congeal'; Svan *žr-* 'to become damp, wet'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. In the Zan languages it seems to be lost. Cf. Georgian action noun *zvra-* with a metathesized *v* and the past participle *damzral-* 'frozen'. For Svan cf. action noun *li-žr-e* and the derivative adjective *mə-žər* 'damp'.

|| Mačavariani (1965: 28).

GZ *z₁rz₁- 'to shiver, tremble': Georg. *zrz-ol-* 'to shiver, tremble'; Megr. *žarž-al-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. It is attested also in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 169). The forms compared differ in word-formation affixes *-ol* and *-al*. Possibly they also reflect different ablaut grades. The descriptive character of the stem may be confirmed by its North-Caucasian parallels: cf. Chech. *zirz*, Lak *zirz-ilu* 'to shiver, tremble'.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

GZ *z₁r-ial- 'to twitter, ring': Georg. *zrial-* 'to twitter, ring'; Megr. *ržiol-* 'to tinkle, jingle'.

Georgian-Zan formation. In Old Georgian this verb stem is not attested. Both forms compared contain a common word-forming element. The Megrelian stem shows a metathesis. For an analogous formation see **sr-ial-*.

CK *z₁ɣap- : z₁ɣp- 'to tumble; plop down': Georg. *zyap-* 'to tumble; plop down'; Svan *žyp-* 'to splash'.

Apparently Common Kartvelian verb stem. In Old Georgian it is not attested. The glottalized *p* signals its clear expressive character (cf. **s₁wlep-*, **tkep-*, **qlap-*, etc.). Whereas the Georgian form reflects the full ablaut grade its Svan equivalent continues the zero-grade.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

T

CK ***tagw-** 'mouse': Georg. *tagv-* 'mouse'; Laz *mtug-*, *mtuj-*; Svan *šdugw*, *štugw*.

Common Kartvelian archetype. Its continuant is widely used in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 172). In Megrelian it was lost (due to taboo?). In Laz the word-initial *m* must be a secondary development, whereas *u* instead of expected *o* is due to assimilation to the disappeared word-final labial. In the Svan cognate the change *a* > *u* is due to the final *w* (cf. Topuria 1979: 8).

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 29). Svan: Bork (1907: 27).

CK ***taw-** 'head': Georg. *tav-* 'head, ear (of cereals), beginning'; Megr. [*ti-*] 'family, court'; Laz *ti-* 'head'; Svan *šda*, *šta* 'ear (of cereals)'.

Common Kartvelian word. Together with its numerous derivatives it is attested in Old Georgian (*nuca tavsa šensa pucav...* 'neither shalt thou swear by thy head...' Mt. 5.35). The Zan equivalent shows the result of a development **aw* > *u* > *i*. Megrelian preserves a petrified form of the word in its allative case *tiša* 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'). The parallel Svan form lost final *w* (cf. also **z₁waw-*, **xwaw-*). The Old Kartvelian designation of 'head' may also be extracted here from the adverb *šdašw* (Upper Bal), *šdašwd* (Lašx.) 'in private, à deux'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 43). Svan: Cf. Topuria (1979: 201).

GZ ***taw-da** 'head over heels': Georg. *tawda* 'head over heels'; Megr. *tudo* 'under, below'; Laz *tude*.

Georgian-Zan formation. The adverb consists of the noun **taw-* 'head' and an adverbial element *-da*. The Georgian form is found in dialectal (Kax.) *tavda qira* 'head over heels'. The Zan words are widely used. Cf. also "enlarged" Megr. *tudole* and Laz *tudele* with the same semantics.

GZ ***tal-** : **tl-** 'to plane, shave, hew': Georg. *tal-* : *tl-* 'to plane, shave, hew'; Megr. *tol-*.

Georgian-Zan verb stem which is well known in Old Georgian (*kacisa xati gamotales...* '(they) planed the image of man...' Sin. mr. 38.34; action noun *gatla-*, past participle *gatlil-*). Contrary to the Georgian forms, Megrelian (action noun *tolua-*) shows only a full ablaut grade: cf.

doteles didi oçinax... '(they) planed a big press...' *MT*. 119.34. In Laz the stem seems have disappeared.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 90–91.

CK ***tapl-** 'honey': Georg. *tapl-* 'honey'; Megr. *topur-*; Laz *topu(r)-*, *topr-*; Svan *tu*, *twi*.

Common Kartvelian archetype. The word is attested in Old Georgian sources (*čamda... taplsa velursa* 'he did eat... wild honey' Mk. 1.6, derivative *tapluč-* 'honey drink'). The Zan forms regularly correspond to the Georgian one. The Svan equivalent shows a maximum of changes: here the second syllable is lost, *twi* derives through umlauted *tū* from **tup-*, which presupposes the development **a* > *u* next to a labial consonant.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 115–116). Svan: Mačavariani (1956: 81–83).

CK(?) ***te-** 'light': Georg. [*te-*] 'light'; Megr. [*te-*]; Laz *te-*; Svan [*te-*].

A difficult case. In its unbound shape the word occurs nowadays only in Laz. The prototype is reconstructed on the basis of derived forms such as the verb stem **ten-* : *tn-* 'to dawn, to become visible'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 91.

CK ***teb-** : **tb-** 'to raise (of dough)': Georg. [*tb-*] 'to raise (of dough)'; Svan *šdeb-* : *šdb-*.

Verb stem. In Georgian it may be extracted from the derivative noun *tb-e-* 'dough', attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaze 1973: 179). While the Georgian stem reflects zero ablaut grade Svan has preserved both ablaut forms (cf. the Svan action noun *li-šdeb*; *i-šdb-i* 'dough raises').

|| Suxišvili (1987: 76–80).

GZ ***tel-** 'sucking-pig': Georg. *tel-* 'sucking-pig'; Megr. *tu-* (pl. stem *tul-*); Laz *tila-*.

In modern Georgian the use of the word is limited. It seems to have been better known in the language of an earlier period (being also registered in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani). The Georg. *-el* ~ Zan *-u* correspondence is quite regular: cf. **dindg-el-*, **ttx-el-*, **txm-el-*, and others. The *l* element is an insertion in Megrelian forms of the plural. The phonetic history of the Laz correspondence remains unclear. The word seems to be a cultural borrowing from an Indo-European source: cf. PIE

tel- : tl-

*tāl- (< *tHel-?) 'an ovary, the young of a domestic animal'. Cf. *yor- 'swine'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 244). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 87).

CK tel- : tl- 'to trample, to tighten': Georg. tel- 'to trample, crush'; Megr. tal-; Svan tel- : tl- 'to tighten, touch'.

The verb stem was quite common in Old Georgian (action noun *motelva-*). In Svan the stem distinguishes two grades of the ablaut alternation *e* and zero, which serve for making a differentiation between transitive and intransitive verb forms (cf. action nouns *li-tle* 'to tighten, trample' and *li-tel* 'to touch'). The vocalism *i* is also attested here.

|| Georgian, Svan: ÈSKJa: 92. Megrelian: Fähnrich (1982: 35).

CK *ten- : tn- 'to become visible; be getting light': Georg. ten- 'be getting light'; Megr. tan- 'be getting light, to spend the night'; Laz tan- 'be getting light, be visible'; Svan ten- : tn- 'to become visible; be born'.

The verb stem is well represented in Old Georgian texts (*da vitar gantena yame...* 'and when the morning was come...' Mt. 27.1). The phonetic correspondence is regular: cf. the Zan action nouns Megr. *gotana-*, Laz *o-tan-u*. The Svan facts show the interchange of two grades of ablaut. Svan admits also the internal reconstruction of a simple stem *twen- (cf. a variant of the action noun *li-twen-i*). The semantic history of the stem has much in common with that of the stem *čen- : čn-.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 240). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 277). Svan: ÈSKJa: 92.

GZ *ten-eb-a- 'dawn': Georg. ten-eb-a- 'dawn'; Megr. tan-ap-a-; Laz tan-ap-a-.

Deverbative formation. The lexeme is known in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 56, 179). The Zan form almost completely corresponds to the Georgian one, its single peculiarity being a devoicing *b > p in the affix *-eb. In Megrelian beside the basic meaning 'dawn' the word has a special technical meaning 'Easter' (hence stems the Svan *tanap*). Cf. *ten- : tn-.

|| Čikobava (1938: 277).

CK *ter- : tr- 'to drag, pull': Georg. ter- : tr- 'to drag'; Megr. (n)tir-, (n)tər-; Laz tir-, tor-, tur-; Svan tir- : tr-.

Verb stem. It is in use in Old Georgian (action noun (*mo*)*treva-* 'to drag', *satromel-* 'sweep net'). In some Georgian dialects (for example, in Xevs.) instead of the expected *e* we find *a*, which points to a very early nonfunctional alternation of these vowels. The Megrelian variants (cf. action noun (*n*)*tirua-*) reflect only the zero grade. In Laz we can find both: the zero one (cf. *tir-*) and the *e//a* (cf. action noun *o-tor-u*). Consequently, the alternation **tar-* : *tr-* is also of Georgian-Zan age. Megr. *n* at the beginning of the word must be a later augmentation. For Svan cf. action noun *li-tr-in-e*. Arm. *t'rev gal* 'to trail along, loaf about' seems to be based on the Georg. action noun.

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 602). Zan: Čikobava (1938: 281–282), where a different interpretation of the stem vocalism for Laz is proposed.

CK **ter-* : *tr-* 'to drink (wine)': Georg. *tver-* : *tr-* 'to get drunk'; Svan *tr-* 'to drink, to get drunk'.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian (*da daitrvnes mis tana* 'and they drank with him' Gen. 43.34; cf. the derivatives *mtrval-* 'drunk', *simtrvale-* 'drunkenness', etc.). In Georgian the historically affixal (thematic) *v* is included in the stem as the result of a metathesis: **ter-v-* > *tver-*. The *e* ablaut grade cannot be discerned in Svan (cf. action noun *li-tr-e*). According to Topuria, the Svan derivative stem in *li-twn-e* 'to give to drink' (cf. also *na-tun* 'drunk') goes back to **li-tər-un-e*. In the Zan languages the stem has been lost.

|| Wardrop (1911: 602).

GZ **tes-* 'to sow, seed': Georg. *tes-* 'to sow, seed'; Megr. *tas-*; Laz *tas-*.

The verb stem represents a typical isogloss in agricultural terminology, leaving Svan aside. The stem with a number of its derivatives is found in Old Georgian (*stesavs teslsa ketilsa* 'soweth the good seed' Mt. 13.37; cf. also *natesav-* 'family, relative', *mtesvel-* 'sower' and others). Cf. the Megrelian action noun *tasua-*. In Laz (*p-tas-um* 'I seed', *ge-tas-ul-e* 'kitchen-garden') the stem competes with *xack-* (see **qeč-*). In the past, through a misunderstanding, the stem was compared with Svan *laš-* 'sow' (cf. *IKE* VI, 1954: 51–53).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Deeters (1930: 125).

GZ **tes-I-* 'seed': Georg. *tesl-* 'seed'; Megr. *tas-*; Laz *tas-*.

The deverbative origin of the word seems to be evident (see the preceding entry). It is well known from Old Georgian sources (*dastesa tesli ketili*

*tes-w-a

‘(he) sowed good seed’ Mt. 13.24), where it had an additional meaning of ‘offspring, heir’. It is worth noting that the equivalent of Georg. *l* is absent in the Zan forms.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1949: 77). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 145–146).

GZ *tes-w-a ‘sowing’: Georg. *tesva-* ‘sowing’; Megr. *tasua-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 180), where its derivatives are also known. It is an action noun in *-a* based on the verb stem *tes- and containing the Georgian-Zan thematic affix *-aw // -w. Its Laz equivalent seems to be unattested.

CK *tex- : tx- ‘to pour, exhaust’: Georg. *tx-* ‘to pour, spill’; Svan *šdex-* ‘to be exhausted’; *šdx-*, *štx-* ‘to exhaust’.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts: *dastxion...sisxli igi misi* ‘(they) shall pour...his blood’ Lev. 3.13; the action noun (*da*)*txeva-*. In Svan two historical ablaut grades are distinguished at present as to intransitivity ~ transitivity: cf. action nouns *li-šdex* and *li-šdx-e*, *li-štx-e*. Semantic proximity of the forms compared seems to be rather noticeable.

|| Schmidt (1962: 115–116).

CK *twal- ‘eye’: Georg. *tval-* ‘eye’; Megr. *tol-*; Laz *tol-*; Svan *te, ter*.

In Old Georgian the lexeme is recorded in the form *tual-* (*tuali tualisa cil-...* ‘an eye for an eye...’ Mt. 5.38). The *tol-* variant represented in modern Georgian dialects develops as a result of the *wa > o* process (cf. **s₁xwa-*, **c₁xwar-* and others). The Svan form goes back to an older **tö-* < *twe-* (at the end of the nominal stem the original *l* is regularly lost). The final *r* in the Svan plural forms causes some difficulties. The Georgian and Megrelian words have acquired a number of new meanings (e.g., ‘wheel, gem’). Another Svan equivalent *šdul* ‘loophole’ given by Deeters (cf. Schmidt 1962: 113) and Fähnrich (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 148–149).

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 30). Svan: Gren (1890: 127).

GZ *ttx- ‘to be thin’.

Verb stem extracted only from its derivatives. Cf. Georg.-Zan **ttx-el-* ‘thin, sparse’ and Georg. *si-tx-e* ‘liquid’.

GZ *ttx-el- 'thin, sparse': Georg. *txel-* 'thin, sparse'; Megr. *txitxu-*; Laz *titxu-*, *tutxu-*.

In all probability a Georgian-Zan adjective. It is attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abuladze 1973: 185). For the correspondence Georg. -el ~ Zan -u see *beyel-, *dindgel-, *mtkawel-, and others. In the Georgian form the initial homogeneous consonant cluster is simplified. Zan achieves the cluster reduction through the insertion of a vowel. For reconstructing such clusters cf. *cc-, *ʒiʒiwal-. In the Megrelian form there is a typical repetition of *x* after the initial consonant as well (cf. *titx-wn-; the fact was noted by T. Gudava). The phonetic shape of the similar Svan *dətx-el* 'thin' shows that it can be a very old borrowing from Georgian. To its non-inherited character may point the word-final *l*. The change *t > d is due to dissimilation (cf. *tuta-). A connection between the lexeme and *txle is not excluded.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 113). Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 22-23).

GZ *tib- 'grass': Georg. *tiv-a-* 'hay'; Megr. *tip-* 'hay'; Laz *tip-* 'grass'.

In Old Georgian there was no longer the *tib-* form, where as a result of a contamination with an action noun *tibva-* 'to mow' it apparently yielded *tiva-* with the meaning of 'grass' (*ganqma tivaj...* 'the grass withered...' *Ḳat. ep.* 018.24). Cf., however, the *tiba-* form in the Ajar. dialect of modern Georgian. In the Zan branch the *b > p* process is well known. The Megrelian form is characterized by a shift of the meaning 'grass' > 'hay'. There exists a corresponding verb stem (see *tib-). In Svan no certain cognate is found.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 132-133).

GZ *tib- 'to mow': Georg. *tib-* 'to mow'; Megr. *tip-*; Laz *tip-*.

A verb stem recorded in Old Georgian (*ver moitibos...* 'will not be cut down...' *Job* 8.12). In the Zan form the stem final *b* has become *p* (cf. Megr. *tipua-*, Laz *tipala-* 'mowing'). The interrelation between Georg. *tiva-* and *tibva* was noted in Marr (1912: 40).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112). Laz: cf. Topuria (1979: 9).

GZ *tit- 'finger': Georg. *tit-* 'finger'; Megr. *ki(n)t-*; Laz *kit-*, *tit-*.

The word is known from Old Georgian texts (*dačeriłni titita...* 'written with a finger...' *Ex.* 31.18). The Zan forms may reflect dissimilation

*titx-wn-

of the consonants. Laz has also a non-dissimilated form: cf. *titi-mč̣kon-* 'the little finger' (*Contes*: 81), which makes it possible to reconstruct the archetype proposed above.

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

GZ *titx-wn- 'to soil': Georg. *titxn-* 'to soil'; Megr. *txitxon-*.

A verb stem marked by the stem-forming affix *-wn* (q.v.). The old sonant *w* is lost in the Georgian form, but is ordinarily present in Megrelian (action noun *txitxonua-*), where the development of *x* after the word-initial consonant is natural. The interconnection between the stem and **tiqa-* 'soil, clay', suggested by Ja. Testelec (personal communication), seems quite admissible.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 94.

GZ *til- 'to replace': Georg. [*til-*] 'to replace'; Megr. (*n*)*tir-*; Laz [*ti(r)-*].

The verb stem occurs in its unbound shape in Megrelian: cf. the action noun (*n*)*tirua-*. In Georgian and Laz it can be extracted from the continuants of its derivatives **deda-mtil-* 'mother-in-law' and **mama-mtil-* 'father-in-law'. The Svan *dimtil-* 'husband's mother' is borrowed from Georgian.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 134.

GZ *tiqa- 'soil, clay': Georg. *tixa-* 'clay, mud'; Megr. *dixa-*, *dexa-* 'soil, earth'; Laz (*n*)*dixa-*.

In Old Georgian the word occurs in the form *tiqa-* (*da šekmna tiqaj...* 'and made clay...' Jn. 9.6; cf. its derivative *tiqovan-* 'dirty'). The transition *q > x* is regular. The **t > d* dissimilation is typical of Zan; in Laz there occurs *n*-augmentation in the word-initial position. Semantic variations of the lexeme in the languages can be easily explained.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 35). Laz: Tseretheli (1959: 82).

CK *tm- 'to endure; to need': Georg. *tm-* 'to bear, endure'; Svan *təm-* 'to need'.

The verb stem is widely attested in Old Georgian texts: action nouns *tmena-* and *tmoba-* (see Abulaže 1973: 182). In Svan the stem is found both in a simple form and with *-in* enlargement: cf. action noun *li-təm-in-e* and *təmi* 'need'.

|| Saržvelaže (1980: 118), Fähnrich (1985: 26).

GZ *tma- 'hair': Georg. *tma-* 'hair'; Megr. *toma-*, *tuma-* (plural base *tomal-*); Laz (*n*)*toma-* (plural base – (*n*)*tomal-*) 'hair, wool, feathers'.

Occurs in Old Georgian (*tmaj tawisa tkuenisa...* 'a hair of your head...' Lk. 21.18). The presence of the final *a* in the languages indicates that in the Zan languages the addition of *l* to the stem is secondary. The historical sonant *m* is reflected regularly. The Laz equivalent may contain inorganic word-initial *n*. Contrary to its phonetics the meaning of the Laz word may be archaic.

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

CK *to(w)- 'to snow': Georg. *tov-* 'to snow'; Megr. *tu-*; Laz (*m*)*tu-*; Svan *šdu-*, *štu(w)-*.

The verb stem is present in Old Georgian: action noun *datoeba-* (cf. Abulaže 1973: 110). In Zan and Svan cognates the old *o* in position before *w* yields *u*. In Laz the augmentation of *m* is possible in word-initial position (action noun Megr. *tuala-*, Laz *o-mt-u-*; cf. *mtups* 'it snows'). There exists also a Svan variant of the stem *šdw-* (cf. action noun *li-šdw-e*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (see Erckert 1895: 294). See further Marr (1912.1: 28).

GZ *tow-l- 'snow': Georg. *tovl-* 'snow'; Megr. *tir-*, *tər-*; Laz (*m*)*tvi(r)-*, *mtur-*.

The lexeme has been derived from the verb stem **tow-* by means of the affixal element **-l* (cf. **tes-l-*, **kwam-l-*, **čkint-l-*, and others). The word is known also in Old Georgian (... *spetak iqo vitarca tovoli* '...became white as snow' Mk. 9.3). Cf. Georg. (Xevs.) *tol-*, (Per.) *toul-*. The reflexes of **l* in the languages are regular.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 38). Laz: Marr (1912.1: 28).

GZ *toq- 'hoe': Georg. *tox-* 'hoe'; Megr. *tox-*; Laz *tox-*.

A problematic comparison. Since the artefact meant by this word refers to the Bronze or Iron Age, the word goes at best back to the Georgian-Zan stage. In Old Georgian the lexeme is known in the form of *toq-*; cf. also a derivative *toqna-* 'to hoe' (Abulaže 1973: 182, 264). It is one of the most important terms in the agricultural economy of the Kartvelians which seems to reflect a word of culture (cf. also Arm. *t'oxr*, *t'orx* 'hoe, pick-axe').

|| Klimov (1988: 155).

*trt-

GZ *trt- 'to tremble': Georg. *trt-* 'to tremble, to shiver'; Megr. *tirt-ol-* 'to tremble; to fuss'; Laz *tirt-in-* 'to tremble'.

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian sources (action noun *trtola-*). In the Zan languages (cf. action noun Megr. *tirtolua-*– Laz *o-tirtin-u*) it is extended by different affixes. Georgian and Zan reflexes are in conformity with sonant *r*. The Megrelian form's meaning is broadened. The stem has a sound-symbolic character: hence the analogies in the shape of the PIE *tres-: *ters-* and Turk. **titrä-* 'to tremble'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 281).

CK *tute- 'moon': Georg. *tve-* 'moon, month'; Megr. *tuta-*; Laz *(m)tuta-*; Svan *došd-ul, došt-ul*.

The lexeme is widely represented in Old Georgian where it is known in three variants: *twite-*, *ttue-*, *tue-* (cf. *xut twite* 'five months' Lk. 1.24; *daadgra Mariam mistana sam ttue* 'Mary stayed with her about three months' Lk. 1.56). In modern Georgian the word has been simplified. The stem's end vowel remains unclear. An *m-* augmentation is possible in Laz. In Svan the historical diminutive affix *-ul* has been singled out (see Topuria 1979: 23–24); cf. Svan *došd-iš // dešd-iš* 'Monday' – literally 'the moon's (day)'. Other archetype **dute-* is proposed in Penrxi–Saržvelaze (1990: 107).

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 33). Svan: Gren (1890: 123). Cf. further Bork (1907: 26).

GZ *tutk- 'to scald, scald oneself': Georg. *tutk-* 'to scald, scald oneself'; Megr. *tkutk-*; Laz *tutk-*.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan verb stem. In conformity with the known rule in the Megrelian form a secondary *k* is developed after the initial consonant (cf. **titx-wn-*, **čečk-*, **zežg-*, **žežg-*, **čečq-*). The Megrelian action noun is *tkutkua-*; Laz (Xopa) *o-tutk-u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Fähnrich (1984: 43). Laz: Klimov (1993: 100).

GZ *tkar- : tkr- 'to break out, burst': Georg. *tkr-* 'to break out, burst'; Megr. *ntkor-*, *ntkir-*.

The verb stem is found in Old Georgian: the action noun *tkroma-* (Abulaze 1973: 185). The Georgian form reflects only the zero grade, whereas the Megrelian forms (action noun *ntkirua-*) continue full grade as well. The origin of the parallel Megrelian form *ntker-* requires explanation.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 26).

GZ *tkaš- 'heavy shower': Georg. *tkeš-* 'heavy shower'; Megr. *tkoš-*.

Not found in Old Georgian. The Georgian form may point to the effect of old umlaut. The expected development of *šk* is not realized because of the presence of *k* in the stem (cf. **kreč-* : *krič-*, **yeč-*). The stem may have an onomatopoeic origin. Fähnrich (1984: 43) sees here the *tk-* root and tries to relate it with the Svan *li-tk-e* 'to pour'. Cf. also Georgian-Zan verb stem **zywel-* 'to pour (on heavy shower)'.

CK *tkw- 'to speak, say': Georg. *tkv-* 'to say, speak'; Megr. *tk(v)-*; Laz *tk(v)-*; Svan *kw-*.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian (*šeešina priad da tkues...* 'they feared greatly, saying...' Mt. 27.54). The instability of *v* in Zan languages (action noun Megr. *tkuala-*, Laz *o-(n)tkval-u*) can be seen from contrasting Laz *tk-u* 'he said' and *tkv-es* 'they said'. In the Georgian-Zan area there exists also a derivative stem **tkw-am-* : *tk(w)-m-*. In Svan (action noun *lī-kw-isg*) the stem is simplified. The vowel lengthening in the prefix *lī-* apparently points to the loss of a consonant.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 13). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 282). Svan: Klimov (1960: 25).

GZ *tkw-am- : tk(w)-m- 'to speak, say': Georg. *tkvam-* : *tkm-* 'to speak, say'; Megr. *tkum-*; Laz [*tkum-*].

This verb stem is derived from Common Kartvelian **tkw-* with an extension **-am* : *-m*. It is well known in Old Georgian where both grades of the ablaut alternation have been registered. The zero grade occurs in the form of *tkum-*: cf. *arasada egre vis utkuams kacsā* 'never man spoke so' Jn. 7.46 alongside the action noun *tkuma-*. Cf. Megrelian action noun *tkumua-*.

|| ÈSKJa: 95.

CK(?) *tkwen 'you (plur.)': Georg. *tkven* 'you'; Megr. *tkva(n)-*; Laz *tkva(n)*; Svan *sgāj(?)*.

Possibly a Common Kartvelian pronoun. It is represented in Old Georgian in the form *tkuen* (*nu vinme gactunnes tkuen...* 'no man deceive you...' Mt. 24.4). In modern Georgian the dialectal variants *ken(a)* and *kten* are also known. In the Zan form the final *n* often disappears. It is more difficult to explain the phonetic history of the Svan pronoun. If this

*tkwen-

comparison holds the latter derives from *štkwen (> škwen > sgwen > sgāj). Cf. Gamqrelize (1959: 30–31).

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1847: 411). Svan: Marr (1913.2: 10).

CK(?) *tkwen- ‘your (plur.)’: Georg. *tkven-* ‘your’; Megr. *tkvan-*; Laz *tkvan-*; Svan *isgwe(j)* (?).

The stem of the possessive pronoun does not differ phonetically from the form of the personal one given above. It is amply attested in Old Georgian (cf. *bade tkueni...* ‘your nets...’ Lk. 5.4). For the Svan form see the preceding entry.

GZ *tkwep- : tk(w)ip- ‘to shake; to beat up’: Georg. *tkvep-* : *tkvip-* ‘to shake; to beat up’; Megr. *tkvap-*; Laz *tkvap-*.

The verb stem, in accordance with the rules of Kartvelian sound symbolism, denotes a less intensive action than Georg. *dyveb-* (cf. **dyweb-* ‘to churn’). The stem is attested in Old Georgian texts: action noun *aytkuepa-* ‘to beat up; to shake, to mix’ (see Abulaze 1973: 14). The Laz form (action noun *o-tkvap-u*) has an additional meaning ‘to beat’.

|| Klimov (1985: 170).

GZ *tk(w)lep- : tk(w)lip- ‘to guzzle, champ’: Georg. *tk(v)lep-* : *tk(v)lip-* ‘to champ, gulp down’; Megr. *rtkap-* ‘to guzzle’.

The sound-symbolic relations specific for Kartvelian languages regularly connect this verb stem with Georgian-Zan **dgw(l)ep-* : *dgw(l)ip-* and **tkw(l)ep-* : *tkw(l)ip-*. In the Megrelian form (action noun *rtkapua-*) we are faced with re-arrangement in the consonant cluster.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 307). Sometimes a Georgian form is compared with the parallel Megr. *tkvap-* (Fähnrich (1982: 35).

GZ *txaz- : txz- ‘to plait, weave; to compose’: Georg. *txz-* ‘to compose, fabricate’; Megr. *txoz-* ‘to follow, chase; pursue’; Laz *(n)txoz-* ‘to plait’.

The verb stem is well known in Old Georgian, where alongside an archaic meaning (cf. the action noun *txzva-* ‘to plait’, *gantxzva-* ‘to unplait’: *šetxzes gvirgvini ekaltagan* ‘they had plaited a crown of thorns’ Mt. 27.29) a form with *a* vocalism is represented: *vtxaz* ‘I plaited’. Along with the narrowing of semantics in modern Georgian only a zero ablaut grade is preserved; on the contrary only a full grade is reflected in Zan languages. Cf. the Laz action noun *o-(n)txoz-u* (*ma toma vitxozup* ‘I’m

plaiting my hair', *txozer-* 'plaited, a plait'). In the Zan languages forms with an enlargement *-in* are found: cf. Megr. *txoz-in-* with the semantic deviation 'to follow, pursue'. The formal and semantic proximity of the archetype of PIE **teks-* 'to plait, compose' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1058–1059) deserves attention.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 285). Georgian: Vogt (1947a: 68). See also Žyenti (1956: 93).

CK ***txam-** 'top': Georg. *txem-* 'back of the head'; Svan *txum*, *txwim* 'head, top'.

The word is known from Old Georgian, where it had an additional meaning 'top, summit' (*ganvida adgilsa mas txemisasa...* '(he) went forth to the place of skulls...' Jn. 19.17). There are no traces of it in the Zan languages. The interrelation between Georg. *e* and Svan *u* allows one to reconstruct primary *a* (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 269). In Svan the change *u > wi* presupposes an umlaut effect (cf. **gul-*, **xut-*, etc.).

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (see Erckert 1895: 292). Cf. also Čaraya (1912: 42).

GZ ***txaml-** 'pus': Georg. *txaml-*, *txraml-* 'pus'; Megr. *txomur-*, *txumur-*; Laz *txomu(r)-*, *txom(b)r-*.

In Georgian the word is known only from ancient literary texts (*txramli aymosdioda adgild-adgild* '(she) had pus oozing out here and there' Krest. 156.37). The Old Georgian variant *txaml-* comes closer to the Zan forms. The Georg. *l* and the Zan *ur* are regular reflexes of the sonant **l* (cf. **wašl-*, **matl-* and others); the vocalism of its Zan reflexes is owed to the proximity of the labial consonant. The Georgian *txraml-* emerged most likely as a result of contamination of the stem with a verbal base **txar-* : *txr-* 'to dig, dig into'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 74).

CK ***txar-** : **txr-** 'to dig; bury, bury oneself': Georg. *txar-* : *txr-* 'to dig'; Megr. *(n)txo(r)-* 'to dig; bury oneself'; Laz *(n)txo(r)-*; Svan *štxar-* : *štxr-*.

Verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian (*motxara ... vecxli igi* '(he) dug ... silver' Mt. 25.18; cf. the derivatives *mtxrobl-* 'pit, hole', *txril-* 'pit, hole'). The vowel alternation *a ~ 0* is preserved in Georgian and Svan (action nouns are *txra-* and *li-štxr-i*, respectively). The Zan cognate is characterized by the *a* grade (action noun Megr. *(n)txorua-*, Laz

*txewl-

o-(n)-txo(r)-u), with the initial *n* being secondary. The additional meaning of the Laz stem 'to vomit' is based on the main one.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1896 I: 51). Laz: Topuria (1979: 14). Svan: Klimov (1960: 22).

CK ***txewl-** 'to catch; to look for': Georg. *txevl-* 'to catch fish (with a net)'; Svan *txēl-* 'to hunt'.

Verb stem known in Georgian only from the language of ancient literature (*itxevlides raj igini zyusa mas...* 'casting a net into the sea...' Mk. 1.16; *mtxevlar-* 'a hunter', *satxevel-* 'net'). As a result of the loss of *w* in the Svan form (the noun of action *li-txēl-e*) there emerged a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. For the preservation of the final *l* in the verb stem compare **gal-* : *gl-*, **tel-* : *tl-*, and others. Marr (1913.2: 10) brought together the Georgian stem and Svan *metxwjar-* 'hunter'.

|| ÈSKJa: 98.

CK ***txil-** 'hazel-nut': Georg. *txil-* 'hazel-nut'; Megr. *txir-*; Laz (*n*)*txir-*, *mtxi(r)-*; Svan *šdix*, *štix*, *štix*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The relation between Georg. *l* and Zan *r* at the end of a nominal stem is regular. In the Svan form like in other cases the expected consonant cluster is eliminated by metathesis of the historical root vowel, i.e. **šdxi* > *šdix*. See Marr (1915.1 II: 827). A different viewpoint can be found in Čikobava (1938: 124). In the Svan form the old **l* is lost through the intermediate step *w*. According to Ačaryan (1979: 412) Arm. *txil* 'hazel-nut, acorn' has a Kartvelian source.

|| Georgian, Svan: Marr (1911: 1201). Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 124–125).

GZ ***txip-** 'to soil': Georg. *txip-* 'to soil, stain'; Megr. *txip-*.

A verb stem apparently unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language it is found in the Pšav. dialect: its action noun is *txipva-*. Cf. Megr. action noun *txipua-*.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 27).

GZ ***txl-e-** 'sediment (of wine): Georg. *txle-* 'sediment, sediment of green wine'; Megr. *txolo-*, *txole-* 'sediment (of the cooked *bekmes* [boiled grapes])'.

The lexeme forms one of the terminological isoglosses denoting economic achievements of ancient Kartvelians at this epoch. The word is also attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 186). The identity of the word-final vowel in Georgian and Zan substantives is regular. This lexeme is probably connected with **ttx-el-* 'thin' (see Čikobava 1942: 39). Despite Rogava (1975: 346) it can not go back to Greek θολός 'muddy'. In Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 156) an archetype **txal-* is proposed.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 106). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 98.

GZ **txl-eš- : txl-iš-* 'to tear up, cut in': Georg. *txleš-* : *txliš-* 'to tear up, cut in'; Megr. *txiraš-* : *txiriš-*.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian. In modern language the dialectal (Gur.) variant *txreš-* : *txriš-* also is known (cf. (Ylonti 1984: 256). The verb stem contains a rarely occurring enlargement *-eš-* : *-iš-*. There is no expected *šk* in the Megrelian form due to the presence of the velar *x* in the stem (cf. action noun *txirašua-*).

|| Gudava (1974: 133–134).

GZ **txmel-* 'alder': Georg. *txemla-*, *txmela-* 'alder'; Megr. *txomu-*, *txumu-*; Laz (*n*)*txomu-*, *ntxombu-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian, where it had a more archaic form *txmel-* (the word-final *a* of the Modern Georgian form is a secondary affix). It gravitates to West-Georgian dialects and is characterized by the relation Georg. *-el* and Zan *-u*. The *n* and *b* elements of the Laz forms must be treated as secondary augmentations.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 113). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 129).

GZ **txo(w)-* 'to ask': Georg. *txov-* 'to ask, to marry'; Megr. *tx(v)-*; Laz *tx(v)-*.

The verb stem is well known from Old Georgian where it quite often took the form *txo-* (cf. the action noun *txo(v)a-* 'to ask': compare also *mtxove me, rajca gnebavs* 'ask of me whatsoever thou wilt' Mk. 6.22). In the Zan form *v* is absent when it is followed by the suffix *-u* (cf. Laz *txu* 'he asked' alongside *ne-ti gamabi-txv-apur-ja...* 'I'll neither marry...'). In Laz the stem seems to be now uncommon (Čikobava (1938: 284).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 114). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 284).

*tqa-

CK *tqa- 'she-goat': Georg. *txa-* 'she-goat'; Megr. *txa-* (pl. *txal-*); Laz (*m*)*txa-*, *ntxa-*; Svan *daq-əl*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian where the process $q > x$ already made itself felt (*da qoveli txaj...* 'and all female goats...' Gen. 30.35; there is also a derivative *txier-* 'wineskin'). The identity of the lexeme vocalism indicates a secondary character of *l* of the Zan plural form *txal-ep-*. The *m* or *n* augmentation is possible in Laz. The Svan forms *daq-är* 'female goats' and *la-tq-ir*, *la-tx-ir* 'sheep-fold' point to the historical affixal character of *-əl* and the antiquity of *q*. The initial group of consonants is here broken up by a vowel lost in the word-final position (cf. **txil-*). Slightly different proto-forms are found in Topuria (1979: 18–20) and Čikobava (1938: 81 and 1942: 16).

|| Georgian, Megrelian and Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 18). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 81).

I

CK *i- – deictic stem (denoting remote objects in contrast to *a-): Georg. *i-*; Megr. *i-*; Laz (*h*)*i-*; Svan *i-*.

As a free stem it occurs rarely in Georgian and Megrelian (cf. Megr. *iši* [gen.] *çamali ma giçole* 'I'll tell you a remedy for that'). Usually it occurs in historical compounds: cf. **i-ma-*, **i-k-*. The initial *h* of the Laz form is secondary.

GZ **-ia* diminutive affix of substantive: Georg. *-ia*; Megr. *-ia*.

A word-forming suffix with limited use in present-day Georgian: cf. *zamia-* 'old chap', *baçia-* 'little hare'. In Megrelian it is much more common: *žimaia-* 'old chap', *ķiboia-* 'crawfish', *parpalia-* 'butterfly', *borbolia-* 'spider', etc. However, the diminutive meaning in such forms has been largely obliterated.

GZ(?) **-ik* – diminutive affix: Georg. *-ik* – a diminutive affix; Megr. *-ik*; Laz *-ika*.

The word-forming element is attested in Old Georgian texts (cf. *vac-ik-* 'small goat'). Of both Zan languages it is most widely used in Laz, where it is provided with a final *a*: cf. *xož-ika-* 'a steer, bull-calf'. Compare also the Laz diminutive complex affix *-ikina* (*xož-ikina-* 'bull-calf'). The relation to its Armenian analogue *-ik* remains obscure.

GZ *–il – an affix producing participles: Georg. –il; Megr. –il, –ir; Laz –ir.

Highly productive in Old Georgian (*çeril iqo ebraelebr...* ‘it was written in Hebrew...’ Jn. 19.20). Now it is very common for Megrelian: *tax-il-* ‘broken’, *ul-ir-* ‘gone’. In Laz, while continuing to be an element of some nominal and verb stems (cf. *kibir-* ‘tooth’, *mkir-* ‘flour’, *skir-* ‘son’), it is usually contaminated with one of the adjectival affixes –er. Compare **kb-il-*, **pkw-il-*, **s,xw-il-*, **tp-il-*. In modern languages the affix forms the passive participle, however historically its semantics was not differentiated by voice.

GZ *–il an affix producing a verbal noun: Georg. –il – an affix of noun of action; Megr. –ir; Laz [–ir].

The affix is widely documented in Old Georgian: *tir-il-* ‘weeping’, *zax-il-* ‘crying, weeping’, *çux-il-* ‘sadness’. It is rare now in Megrelian: cf. *kitx-ir-* ‘reading, asking’; *id-ir-* ‘purchase’, *škid-ir-* ‘to benefit’. In Laz it may be extracted from the action noun *o-lasir-u* ‘to sharpen, rub’.

|| Deeters (1930: 217).

CK *i–ma– a pronominal stem of demonstrative semantics (in contrast to *a–ma– it denotes remote objects): Georg. *i–ma-*; Megr. *i–mu-*; Laz (*h*)*i–mu-*; Svan [*i–m-*].

A combination of the *i– and *ma– stems; it is well known in Old Georgian (*mivedit dabasa imas...* ‘go into that village...’ Mt. 21.2). In Megrelian it occurs frequently combined with other stems: cf. *imu–dyas* ‘that day’; *timu seri* ‘that night’. In Laz it usually functions independently: *himus ar mumuli ujonurtu* ‘he had a cock’ ČT₂ 76.5. In Svan it can be found for example in the adverb *im–eg* ‘there’.

|| ÈSKJa: 101–102.

GZ *ireč– ‘snare (for catching birds)’: Georg. *ireč-* ‘snare (for catching birds)’; Megr. [*irančk-*].

Technical term registered for Old Georgian in Abulaže (1973: 189) and in the shape of *ilenč-* in Saržvelaže (1995: 96). Its Zan equivalent is identified in the Georgian (Upp. Imer.) dialectal Megrelianism *irančka-* (Ylonti 1984: 261). Cf. also the Gur. and Imer. “crossing” form *irenčka-* and Rača *renčka-* with the same meaning. The word looks like a verbal derivative with the *i-* prefix.

|| Danelia (1984: 77–78).

*i-sar-

GZ *i-sar- 'arrow': Georg. *isar-* 'arrow'; Megr. *isinž-* 'spear, lance; kind of competition'; Laz *isiž-* 'arrow'.

A nominal derivative from the verb stem *sar- : sr- 'to throw' which preserves its verbal prefix i-. The word is represented in Old Georgian: cf. *esrodes ... isrita* 'they shot arrows' Sin. mr. 273.16. The variations *isind-*, *isənd-* are widely used in Megrelian, where the shift of the original meaning is obvious. The correlation of the second syllable's vocalism in the languages remains rather vague. There are no grounds for an opinion according to which the word was borrowed from Avestan (cf., however, Bouda 1950: 301).

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 97).

GZ *isl- 'sedge': Georg. *isl-* 'sedge'; Megr. *isir-*, (*l*)*isər-*; Laz *isir-* 'apera'(?).

In the Zan correspondences (cf. Laz *boi uyun muço dayiš isiri* 'its fragrance calls to mind that of apera' [Kipšidze 1911: 22.30]) the *ir* element is a regular reflex of the old sonant *l which is rendered by Georg. *l*. The Svan *isr* with the same meaning must be a loanword from Megrelian (Gamqrelize-Maçavariani 1965: 84).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Cf. also Žyenti (1960: 61).

GZ *i-s₁- deictic element: Georg. *is-* 'that, he'; Megr. [*iš-*]; Laz [(*h*)*iš-*].

The pronominal stem represents historically a combination of the simple stems *i- and *s₁-. In its unbound shape it occurs nowadays only in Georgian. In Old Georgian it is known in the shape *isi* with the function of an article. In the Zan languages it can be identified in such adverbs as Megr. *iš-o*, *viš-o* 'there' and Laz (*h*)*iš-o* 'this way, over there' (initial *v* and *h* are secondary in both cases). Cf. also *a-s₁-.

|| ÈSKJa: 102-103.

CK *-(i)s₁ topoformative element: Georg. *-is* - topoformative element; Megr. *-(i)š*; Laz *-(i)š*; Svan *-(i)š*.

Common Kartvelian topoformant. The suffix is known also from Old Georgian toponymy: *Tpil-is-* 'Tbilisi', *Kutat-is-* 'Kutaisi' and others. Its regular phonetic equivalents are known in the other languages: cf. Megr. *Ca-iš-*, *žixa-iš-*, Laz *žingila-š-*, Svan *Qar-iš-*. In Laz and Svan toponymy the affix is also represented quite widely.

GZ *-is₁-eul- affix producing adjectives of similarity: Georg. *-iseul*; Megr. *-(i)šor*.

This word-forming element is built by adding the *-*eul* affix to the genitive case form *-*is*₁. The Zan cognate regularly corresponds to the Georgian one: compare Megr. *nina-šoro* 'as a tongue' ~ Georg. *eniseulad* (in Laz the affix is absent). The attribution to this series of the Svan affix -*šal* (cf. *nin-šal* 'as a tongue') is not quite reliable because etymological *l* was not preserved at the end of Svan stems.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 10). *ĖSKJa*: 104.

GZ *i-pk-l- 'wheat': Georg. *ipkl-* 'wheat'; Megr. *irk-*.

Seems to be an old deverbative formation connected with the verb stem *[*pekw-*]: *pkw-* 'to grind' (for the prefix *i-* cf. **i-sar-*). The word is well attested in Old Georgian, where it had also a meaning 'bread, grain' (Abulaze 1973: 189). It does not exist in Laz. The phonetic history of the Megrelian cognate is very complicated. Whereas the loss of *p* can easily be explained, the further history of the stem presupposes apparently intermediate steps *ikl-* > *ikr-* > *irk-*. The attribution of the Svan *itk* 'grain' to the reconstructed archetype is by far less reliable.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 249).

CK *ipxl- 'fern': Georg. *ipxla-*, *imxla-* 'fern'; Laz [*limx-*] 'a sort of fern (*Pteridium tauricum*)'; Svan *ipx*.

A term apparently absent in old literature although S. Orbeliani recorded the word in the supposedly Old Georgian form *ipxl-* (*a* of the modern Georgian form seems to be a recent affix). N. Kutelia sees the Laz correspondence in the form *limx-ona-* 'brushwood of fern', where the beginning of the word is metathesized. In the Svan form final *l* has regularly been lost.

|| Georgian, Laz: Fähnrich (1987: 34). Svan: Osizė (1987: 30–31).

GZ *i-k- 'there, over there': Georg. *ik(a)* 'there, over there'; Megr. *ik*; Laz (*h*)*ik*.

The adverb is attested in Old Georgian in the form *iki: aka ars Kriste gina iki...* 'here is Christ, or there...' Mt. 24.23. Cf. also a Georgian dialectal variant *ika*. It is a combination of the simple pronominal stems **i-* and **k-*. In the Laz form *h* may be of later origin. Compare **aka-* which is in contrast to it.

GZ *iç,ro- 'tight, narrow, strait': Georg. *viçro-* 'tight, narrow, strait'; Megr. [*erço-*] 'ravine'.

*ixwir-

A problematic equation. In Old Georgian the word occurred in the form of *ic̣ro-* (*ševīdodet ic̣rosa mas bčesa...* 'Enter ye in at the strait gate...' Mt. 7.13) and had its derivatives. The Georgian dialectal (Rača) *erč̣o-* 'ravine' is considered to be a borrowed Megrelian equivalent. What puzzles here is the phonetically irregular vowel correlation at the beginning of the word. Cf., however, Old Georgian *si-vič̣r-e* 'narrowing' (Saržvelašvili 1995: 189), where *v* is a means of overcoming the hiatus in expected *si-ic̣r-e*.

|| Šanišvili (1965: 734–735).

GZ *ixwir- 'duck': Georg. *ixv-* 'duck'; Megr. *ixvinž-* 'a sort of wild duck'.

Found in Old Georgian (in particular in the meaning of 'goose': Abulašvili 1973: 190). Similar to **kata(m)-* 'hen' it is likely to be an old loanword, which is perhaps confirmed by the initial *i*. Its Megrelian equivalent is preserved as a Georgian dialectal (Imer.) Zanism. Georg. *xvirika-* 'a sort of wild duck' points to the antiquity of *r* at the end of the stem. For the word-final *r* cf. **as₁ir-* 'hundred'.

|| Rogava (1966: 233).

K

CK **kaw-* : *ḳw-* 'to take': Georg. *kaw-* 'to take, occupy, hold'; Megr. [*k-*] 'to hold; to pull'; Laz [*k-*] 'to snatch'; Svan *ḳäw-* : *ḳw-* 'to take, catch'.

A problematic juxtaposition. The Zan forms (Megr. *ḳun-*, *ḳin-* and Laz *ḳn-*) may be interpreted as a combination of the historically simple stem with the element *n*. Cf. Svan action noun *li-ḳw-en-i*, past participle *ḷə-ḳäw* 'taken, seized'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 294). Svan: Fähnrich (1984: 43).

GZ **katxa-* 'wooden goblet': Georg. *katxa-* 'wooden goblet'; Megr. *kotxo-*.

Georgian-Zan archetype. The lexeme occurs in Old Georgian (Abulašvili 1973: 19). Its Megrelian variants *kortxo-*, *kortxu-* show secondary development. The form *kotxo-* as a Zanism is known also in West Georgian dialects. The final Megrelian *o* is regular, and may be explained by the

frequent attributive use of the word: Georg. *ori katxa yvino* 'two wine goblets' (cf. the same picture in *kope-, *qweza-). Similar Svan *katx(a)-* is an evident loanword from Georgian. The relation of the Kartvelian data to Arm. *kədyə(y)*, *kət'xa(y)* 'cup, glass' (cf. Ačaryan 1973: 584) remains unclear.

GZ *kaka- 'stone, kernel (of fruit)': Georg. *kaka-* 'grain, kernel (of fruit)'; Megr. *kaka-* 'grain, round clasp, piece'; Laz *kaka-* 'grain, kernel (of fruit)'.
 A sound-symbolic designation of a solid and, as a rule, round article, as confirmed by the Old Georgian material (Abulaže 1973: 191). Compare also Laz *čkoniš kaka* 'corn'. The relation with the verb stem *kač-* seems to be plausible. Similar sound complexes are used for denoting round objects in a number of other languages. Cf. Abaev (1958: 505).

GZ *kakab- 'partridge': Georg. *kakab-* 'partridge'; Megr. *kokobe-*.

The word is registered in the Old Georgian sources: *qma-go kakabman...* 'partridge cried...' Physiologus 185: 10. The bird represents a popular character of the Megrelian folklore. The stem especially resembles analogical Indo-European material (cf. Hittite *kakkapa*, Greek *κακκάβη*, Arm. *kak'av* 'partridge'). However, its dependence on a Greek or Armenian source is excluded. Cf. Klimov (1994: 116–118).

|| Schmidt (1962: 117).

CK *kal- : kl- 'to lack; to be short of': Georg. *kal-* : *kl-* 'to lack; to be short of'; Megr. [*kul-*]; Laz [*kul-*]; Svan *kl-* 'to lack'.

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 200). A parallel vocalism *e* is more ordinary for Georgian contrary to the vocalism *a*, found in the Xevs. dialect. Cf. the Svan action noun *li-kl-e*. The stem has a Georgian-Zan derivative **m-kl-e-* 'missing, deprived'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 296). Georgian: Mačavariani (1958: 270). Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 27).

CK *kap- : kp- 'to chatter; to rattle with one's teeth': Georg. *kap-* 'to chatter'; Laz [*kap-*?]; Svan [*kap-* : *kp-*].

In its unbound shape the verb stem occurs only in Georgian: cf. the action noun *kap-un-*, with a typical affix of a sound-symbolic stem derivation, which may point to an original *e* vocalism. Cf. Georg.

***kap-**

brag-un- ‘crash, din’ alongside **breg-* ‘to strike; make a noise’. There exists an ancient derivative (see **ni-kap-* ‘chin’). The stem seems to be a part of the Georgian compound *Ru-kap-* ‘Baba-Yaga (witch with huge jaws)’ and Svan *kap-ra-* ‘chin’. Compare also Laz (Arx.) *kapkap-* ‘evil spirit’ with the irregular vowel reflexes. The connection with a verb stem **kb-* remains problematic.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 294).

CK ***kap-** ‘stick; pole, post’: Georg. *kap-* ‘stick, bough’; Svan *kap* ‘stake; pole, post’.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. In modern language it is a dialectal word (Ylonti 1984: 271). Cf. its derivative adjective *or-kap-ian-* ‘bifurcated stick’. Both forms compared match each other regularly.

|| Fähnrich (1975: 342).

GZ ***kar-** : **kr-** ‘to strike, beat’: Georg. *kar-* : *kr-* ‘to strike, beat’; Laz *kor-* : *kir-*.

The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun *krva-* (Abulaze 1973: 202). The stem has not been found in Megrelian. The Laz forms regularly show both grades of the historical ablaut alternation: compare the action noun *o-(n)kor-u* alongside *biga gjokiru* ‘he beat (him) with a stick’ (ČT₃. 30.17).

|| Janashvili (see Erckert 1895: 292).

CK ***kar-** : **kr-** ‘to bind’: Georg. *kar-* : *kr-* ‘to bind’; Megr. *kir-* : *kər-*; Laz *kor-* : *kir-*; Svan *čar-* : *čr-*.

Verb stem, well represented with a number of derivatives in Old Georgian: *šekres igi...* ‘(they) had bound him...’ Mt. 27.21; compare also *šekrul-* ‘bound’, *sakrvel-* ‘ties’. The Zan forms with *i* reflect the historical zero grade, whereas the forms with *o* preserve its full grade. For the historical ablaut alternation cf. also the Svan action noun *li-čr-eni* ‘to bind’ alongside *li-čar* ‘knot’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 106). Laz: Deeters (1930: 125).

CK ***kac₁-** ‘man, male, husband’: Georg. *kac-* ‘man, male’; Megr. *koč-* ‘man, male’; Laz *koč-*; Svan *čāš, čaš* ‘husband’.

Amplly represented in Old Georgian (*mohguares mas kaci...* ‘they brought to him a man...’ Mt. 9.32), where it has a much wider meaning

as well as some derivatives. The sound correspondences between cognates are consistent in all languages. In particular, for the Svan reflex of the historical *k, cf. *kar- : kr-, *ked-el-, *kwircx-, and others. In connection with the meaning of the word in Georgian and Zan cf. Georgian-Zan *kmar- 'husband'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 30), Brosset (1849: 72). Svan: Marr (1912.1: 1094).

GZ *kb- 'to bite': Georg. [kb-] 'to bite'; Megr. [kib-]; Laz [kib-].

The verb stem does not occur in unbound form and can only be extracted from its evident derivative *kb-il- 'tooth'. It may be considered to be the base underlying also Georg.-Zan *kibo- 'lobster'. Cf. *kben- : kb-in-.

GZ *kb-en- : kb-in- 'to bite': Georg. kben- : kbin- 'to bite'; Megr. kibir-; Laz kibin-.

The stem is well attested in Old Georgian (*ikbinebian vitarca zaylni* 'they bite like dogs' Bal. 8.15), where it has a derivative *kbenil-* 'a bite'. It is formed from a simple stem *kb-. While the Laz correspondence (cf. the action noun *o-kibin-u*) is regularly similar to the Georgian one, in Megrelian the stem was reshaped after *kibir-* 'tooth' (action noun *kibirua-*).

|| Čikobava (1938: 291).

GZ *kb-il- 'tooth': Georg. kbil- 'tooth'; Megr. kibir-, kəbir-; Laz kibi(r)-, kibr-, kirb-, çibr-.

Widely known from Old Georgian texts (*kbili kbilisa çil...* 'a tooth for a tooth...' Mt. 5.38). It is a historical past participle ending in *-il based on the simple verb stem *kb-. The word seems to be a common Georgian-Zan innovation in comparison with the Svan *šdik, štik* 'tooth'. In Georgian dialects one finds the variants *kibil-* (Ajar.) and *kmil-* (Tuš.). The Zan form *kibir-* is in full conformity with its Georgian equivalent.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Laz: Deeters (1930: 52).

CK *ked- : kd- 'to build, construct': Georg. [ked-] 'to build, construct'; Megr. kid- 'to partition off'; Laz kid- : kod- 'to build, construct'.

In all probability a Common Kartvelian verb stem. In its free form it has been lost in Georgian and Svan. Cf., however, Georg. *ked-el-* 'wall' (according to S. Orbeliani it means 'building, structure') with the

*k(e)d-el-

probable Old Georgian nominal correlate of this stem *ked-* 'corner (with reference to building stones)'. In the Zan languages the stem occurs in its unbound form: cf. the Laz action noun *o-kid-u*, *o-kod-u* 'to build, to construct' (the last form must point to a parallel vocalism *a). In Megrelian its meaning is much narrower.

|| Čikobava (1938: 294).

GZ *k(e)d-el- 'wall': Georg. *kedel-* 'wall'; Megr. *kida(la)-*, *kədala-*; Laz *kida-*, *koda-*.

The connection with the verb **ked-* : *kd-* is obvious. The word also was known in Old Georgian, where it had also the meaning 'fence' (Abulaže 1973: 195). The vocalism *o* of the Laz variant might be secondary, and the loss of the final *l* is confirmed here by the presence of the form *mkidale-* 'constructor'. The irregular Svan *čwed*, *čwäd* with the same meaning needs more clarification.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 154).

GZ *ket- 'to add; to mix': Georg. *ket-* 'to make, create'; Megr. *kat-* 'to add, gather; to produce'; Laz *kat-* 'to add, gather; to accompany'.

The verb stem represented in Old Georgian with the meaning 'to decorate': the action noun *ganketeba-* (Abulaže 1973: 58). There are also some derivatives: *ketil-* 'kind, good' *uketur-* 'evil' and others. The meaning 'to make, create' characterizes the modern Georgian stem. The evolution of the stem's meaning may be inferred from the polysemy of the Zan correspondence (cf. also Megr. *čkrials ginikatuns* 'it makes squeak').

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1911–1914 XI: 398). Megrelian: ÈSKJa: 108.

GZ *kek- 'to stoke, poke (with beak); to knock': Georg. *kek-* 'to stoke, poke (with beak); to knock'; Megr. *kak-* 'to pound, grind; to knock'; Laz *kank-*.

The verb stem apparently served as a base for the derivative **kek-wn-* (see below). Action noun Georg. *kekva-*, Megr. *kakua-*, Laz *o-kank-u* (cf. ...*peperi dokankupan* '...pepper (they) shall pound' ČT I 139.31). The Laz form contains a secondary increment *n*.

|| Megrelian Laz: Čikobava (1938: 288). Georgian: Schmidt (1962: 118).

GZ *kek-wn- 'to peck, to eat little by little': Georg. *kenk-* 'to eat little by little'; Megr. *kikon-*, *kəkon-* 'to peck'; Laz *kikon-* 'to eat little by little, to peck'.

The stem seems to be derived from the simple base **kek-* (see the preceding entry) by adding the word-formation element *-*wn*. The expected *w* is lost in the Georgian form as well as in some other cases; one must admit here also a metathesis **kn* > *nk*. In the Zan forms historical *w* is regularly reflected in *o*: cf. **warcx-wn-*, **krt-wn-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Vogt (1947: 75). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 108.

CK **kel-* : *kl-* 'to be lame, to limp': Georg. *kel-* 'to be lame, to limp'; Svan *kl-* : *kil-*.

Attested in Old Georgian: *igi kelobda barklita* 'he halted upon his thigh' Gen. 32.31; action noun *keloba-*, cf. *mkelobel-* 'lame'). In Zan languages no certain correspondence is found. For Svan cf. *i-kl-i* 'he limps' and *mə-kl-i* 'lame'. The stem may be the same as **kel-* : *kl-* 'to lack, to be short of'. If Arm. *kał* 'lame' belongs here it retains an expected Zan reflex of the stem *kal-*.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 23).

CK **kel-* : *kl-* 'to lack; to be short of'; Georg. *kel-* : *kl-* 'to lack; to be short of'; Megr. [*kul-*]; Laz [*kul-*]; Svan *kl-* 'to lack'.

The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian: *rajya makls me...* 'what lack I yet...' Mt. 19.20; action noun *kleba-* (cf. Abulaže 1973: 200). Cf. a parallel vocalism *a* in the Xevs. dialect. In the Zan languages the stem is reflected in its derivative (see **m-kl-e-* 'missing, deprived'). Cf. the Svan action noun *li-kl-i* 'to lack' and *x-o-kl-i* 'he lacks'.

|| Zan: Čikobava (1938: 296). Georgian: Mačavariani: 1958: 270). Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 27).

GZ **kenk-* 'to peck out': Georg. *kenk-* 'to peck out, eat little'; Laz *kank-* 'to thresh'.

In Old Georgian it seems to be unattested. The action nouns are Georg. *kenkva-*, Laz *o-kank-u*. According to Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 174), here belongs also Megr. *kank-* 'to chew'.

GZ **kert-* : *krt-* 'to tremble, to get frightened': Georg. *krt-* 'to tremble, to get frightened'; Megr. *kut-* 'to get frightened; to gasp'; Laz (*m*)*kut-* 'to get frightened, lose one's head'.

Widely represented in the Old Georgian texts (*gankrta guli mati* 'they were frightened' Gen. 42.28; action noun *krtoma-*; *ganhkertit*

*kert- : krt-

'you shuddered'). The relation between Georg. *r* and Zan *u* causes some difficulties. For Zan cf. action noun Megr. *kutua-*, Laz *o-mkut-in-u*, where the word-initial *m* must be a secondary increment. The original meaning of the stem was 'to tremble, shudder'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 299).

CK *kert- : krt- 'to pluck (out)': Georg. *kert-* : *krt-* 'to pluck (out)'; Megr. [*kirt-*]; Laz [*kirt-*]; Svan [*kərt-*].

In its free state the verb stem is represented only in Georgian: cf. Xevs. (*s*)*kertva-* (it remains unclear whether the Old Georgian *še-kertva-* 'to stare' belongs here). In other languages it can be traced back either through the verbal derivative **krt-wn-* 'to peck' or through the noun derivative (see **ni-krt-* 'beek'). Compare also Megr. *kirte-* 'jaws'. A Georgian form with a mobile *s* is of interest in view of PIE *(*s*)*kert-* 'to strike, to hit'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 568). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 116. Svan: Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 102-103).

GZ *kec- 'clay, clay vessel': Georg. *kec-* 'clay frying pan'; Megr. *kič-*, *kəč-*, Laz *kič-* 'stone frying pan'.

Well attested in Old Georgian where it had the meanings 'clay, clay vessel, tile' (Abulaze 1973: 197). The correspondence between Georg. *e* and Zan *i* occurs in a number of other cases. The Laz stem is somewhat deviant semantically. Svan *kec-* 'a clay wine vessel' (cf. Fähnrich 1982: 36) is probably not original.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraya (1912: 10). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 108.

GZ *kec₁- 'to put together': Georg. *kec-* 'to put together'; Megr. *kič-*, *kəč-* 'to put together, fold; to roll'.

The verb stem is recorded in Old Georgian texts (*sakēcili ertsa adgilsa...* 'wrapped together in a place...' Jn. 20.7; action noun *gardakeca-*, *šekeca-*; cf. also adverb *or-kec-ad* 'twice'). The Megrelian action noun is *kičua-*, *kičil-* 'folded, wrapped'. In Laz the stem does not occur. We have here one of the examples of the correspondence Georg. *e* ~ Zan *i*. Despite Ačaryan (1973: 597) the stem cannot derive from Arm. *ke'el* 'to fasten, join'.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 110).

GZ *kwal- 'track, footprint': Georg. *kval-* 'track, trace'; Megr. [*kul-*]; Laz [*kul-*].

Found in Old Georgian (cf. *šeudges kwalisa missa...* '(they) followed him...' Jn. 1.40), where it had numerous derivatives: cf. *kualad* 'then, again', *kualta* 'after, following' etc. (Abulaže 1973: 203–204). In Zan its stem may be recovered only in a bound state: cf. Megr. *u-kul-i* 'after, then', Laz *i-kul-e* 'after' and postposition *-kule*, *-kule* 'after'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1925: 112). Cf. Čikobava (1942: 22).

CK *kwam- : kwam- 'to smoke': Georg. *km-* 'to use incense'; Megr. *kum-* 'to smoke'; Laz *mkom-*; Svan *kwām-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem is represented as *kum-* (*qoveli igi mtaj kumoda* 'all the mountains were smoking' Sin. mr. 267.23; action noun *kumeva-* 'to incense') and has a number of derivatives, among them *sakumevel-* 'fragrance, perfume' (Abulaže 1973: 205). The noun *kwam-l- 'smoke' is its derivative. The Megr. *kuma-* 'smoke' must have been historically a deverbative noun ending in *-a; here is registered also a derivative *o-kumap-u* 'censer'. Compare also the Svan action noun *li-kwām-e* alongside *kwāme* 'it emits smoke'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 295). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 108–109.

CK *kwam-l- 'smoke': Georg. *kvaml-* 'smoke'; Svan *kwām*.

The lexeme is well documented in Old Georgian texts (*vitarca kuamli gankardebis* 'it will vanish like smoke' Bal. 171.17). It must be treated as a historical derivative of *kwam- : kwam- 'to smoke' with the affix *-l- (compare *tes-l-, *tow-l-, *čkep-l-, and others). The lexeme is lost in the Zan languages. At the end of the Svan form the transition *l > 0* is regular. Schmidt (1962: 118) does not consider the Svan noun to be native. Proximity of the word to Germ. *Qualm* 'smoke' must be fortuitous.

|| Wardrop (1911: 625). See also Vogt (1947.1: 52).

CK *kwed- : kwed- 'to lose (caused by death)': Georg. *kved-* : *kvd-* 'to die'; Svan *kwäd* 'loss (caused by death)'.

The verb stem has a continuant in Old Georgian (cf. *ražams moxuda Herode...* 'when Herod had died...' Mt. 2.19; action noun *kudoma-*). The meaning of the Georgian form seems to be secondary. The attempt to derive the Georgian form from an archetype *kula-ed- (cf. the scarcely reported Old Georgian action noun *moxula-* alongside the root *kal-* : *kl-*

**kvet-* : *kwt-*

‘to kill’ and the affix of the passive form *-ed*) cannot be accepted in view of phonetic difficulties.

|| Fährnich (1982: 36). Giginešvili (1984: 38–39).

CK **kvet-* : *kwt-* ‘to chop, to cut off’: Georg. *kvet-* : *kvt-* ‘to chop, to cut off’; Megr. *kvat-*; Laz *kvat-*; Svan [*kwešd-*].

Well attested in Old Georgian texts (*moikuete igi da ganagde...* ‘cut it off and cast...’ Mt. 5.30; cf. its action noun *mokueta-*). In modern Georgian the verb stem has partly been replaced by *čar-* : *čr-*. The two ablaut grades are preserved in Georgian and Svan forms (cf. the Georgian derivative *sa-kut-ar-* ‘one’s own’). The Zan form reflects the full grade (action noun Megr. *kvatua-*, Laz *o-kvat-u*). The Svan cognate can be extracted from the derivative *me-kwešd* ‘short’, where *šd* regularly corresponds to Georgian-Zan *t*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čaraia (1895 XII: 105); Marr (1938: 332). Svan: Klimov (1960: 24). A different Svan equivalent was proposed in Sardschweladse (1987: 19).

GZ **kvet-il-* ‘chopped off, cut off’: Georg. *kvetil-* ‘chopped off, cut off’; Megr. *kvatil-*.

A past participle in *-il* based on **kvet-*. Attested in Old Georgian where it usually acquires various preverbs and underlies a number of compounds: cf. *ena-kuetil-* ‘with a tongue chopped off’ (Abulaže 1973: 204, 205). It occurs also with the meaning ‘wound’ (cf. Saržvelaže 1995: 101). The forms regularly match each other phonetically.

GZ **kwenr* ‘marten’: Georg. *kvern-a-* ‘marten’; Megr. *kvinor-*, *kunor-*; Laz *kvenu(r)-*.

Georg.-Zan term attested in Old Georgian as *kuern-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 101) which shows the affixal nature of *a* as well as consonantal metathesis. The Georgian dialectal (Lečx.) *rķven-* seems to have been borrowed in Svan (cf. Svan *rķwen*, *k(w)en*). Kerkaže (1974: 82) endeavors to derive the word from the verb stem *kver-* : *kvr-* ‘to mark, to brand (cattle)’.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 90).

GZ **kwer-* ‘flat cake, cookie (round)’: Georg. *kver-* ‘flat cake, cookie (round)’; Megr. *kvar-* ‘small round loaf, cookie (maize)’; Laz *kvar-*, *nķvar-* ‘cookie (round for children)’.

The lexeme is widely attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 205). According to Rogava (1990.2: 80) the presence of word-final *r* in the Zan cognates instead of expected \check{z} may be ascribed to the ordinary use of the lexeme in a plural form. There exists also an old reduplicated Georgian-Zan derivative (see *kwer-kwer-).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Marr (1910: 58).

CK *kwer- 'crow': Megr. *kvaria-*, *qvaria-* 'crow'; Laz *qva(r)-ož-*, *kva-ož-*; Svan *čwēr*, *čwēr-ol*.

Continuant forms are not always exact matches phonetically because the Zan variants are influenced by the onomatopoeic complex *qva*, which has replaced the old word in Georgian (cf. Georg. *qvav-* 'a crow', a lexeme which was already known in Old Georgian). The Megr. *-ia* and the Laz *-ož* (< **-ar*) are recent estimation suffixes. Cf. also Svan *čer-*. The alignment of the word with Greek *κόραξ* (Rogava 1986: 32) must be rejected.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 108). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 209.

CK *kwertx- 'stick': Georg. *kvertx-* 'staff'; Svan *kwärtx*, *kwertx* 'wooden hammer'.

Supposed to be a Common Kartvelian word widely attested in Old Georgian with the meaning 'stick' (*araraj miiyon gzasa zeda, garna kuertxi xolo* '(they) should not take nothing for the journey save a staff only' Mk. 6.8). The verb *kurtxeva-* 'to bless' is likely to have been derived from it. The Svan correspondence underwent a semantic shift.

GZ *kwer-kwer- 'round object': Georg. *kverkver-a-* 'round pie'; Megr. *kvarkvalia-* 'round'; Laz *korkol-a-* 'curls, sheep's excrement'.

Formed by reduplication of the simple base *kwer- (cf. Deeters 1927: 55). Georg. *-a* in word-final position must be a recent affix. In the Megrelian form the final *-ia* can be identified as the estimation suffix (see **-ia*). The Laz correspondence shows a semantic shift alongside the phonetic change *va* > *o*.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 110.

GZ *kwerc₁x- 'to break up, split, crush, smash': Georg. *kvercx-* 'to pile up'; Megr. [*kvačx-*] 'to break to pieces'; Laz *kvančx-* 'to smash, crumble'.

In Georgian (the action noun *da-kvercx-w-a-*) the verb stem can be identified in the noun *kvercx-* 'egg' attested in the most ancient Old

**kwes-* : *kws-*

Georgian texts (cf. *gina tu kuercxsa stxovdes...* ‘or if he shall ask for an egg...’ Lk. 11.12). The Georgian-Zan **na-kwerc₁x-al-* ‘fragment, splinter’ is also derivative. In contrast to Megrelian the Laz stem functions independently: cf. its action noun *o-kvančx-u*. Compare also *qona kai dokvančxit!* ‘harrow the field properly!’ (ČTI 6.23–24).

|| Čikobava (1938: 159).

CK **kwes-* : *kws-* ‘to moan’: Georg. *kus-*, *k₁rus-* ‘to moan’; Megr. *kus-*; Laz *kus-*; Svan *kwec-*.

In Georgian the verb stem contains an affixal element and metathesis: cf. Old Georg. *kunes-* < **kus-en-* (see Vogt 1947.1: 48) alongside the action noun *kunesa-*. In modern Georgian it belongs to a series of onomatopoeic stems with the characteristic suffix *-un* (action noun *kus-un-*, *k₁rus-un-*). The Zan correspondence reflects the zero ablaut grade (cf. action nouns Megr. *kusap-*, Laz *o-kus-u*), whereas Svan (action noun *li-kwec*) shows full grade. The latter underwent also a substitution *s > c*. The stem is similar to PIE **k₁ues-* : *k₁us-* ‘to sigh, puff’ (Pokorny 1959: 631), due perhaps to its descriptive nature.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 300). Svan: Vogt (1947.1: 48).

GZ **kwes₁-* : *kws₁-* ‘to strike (fire)’: Georg. *kves-* ‘to strike fire’; Megr. *kvas-*.

Verb stem occurs in Old Georgian. *kves-* ‘steel’ as well as the deverbative *na-kves-* ‘spark’ are found in the language of Rustaveli. Its Zan equivalent is retained in Megrelian: action noun *kvasua-*. Our comparison of the Georgian verb with Svan *kweš-* : *k₁wš-* ‘to crunch, splinter’ (cf. *ĚSKJa*: 111) must be rejected.

|| Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 182).

GZ **kwex-* ‘to push, to fill in’: Georg. *k₁vex-* ‘to push in, to fill in’; Megr. *k₁vax-*.

The verb stem seems to be unattested in Old Georgian. The action nouns are Georg. *ča-k₁vex-eba-*, Megr. *k₁vaxua-*. In Laz the stem does not occur. The transition of the historical sequence *we > wa* within the verb stem in Zan is regular.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35).

GZ **kwir-* ‘to astonish, surprise; to be astonished, be surprised’: Georg. *k₁vir-* ‘to astonish; to be surprised’; Megr. *k₁vir-*.

Verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian: *šen nu gikwirn!* 'don't be astonished!' Jn. 3.7 (cf. action noun *gankwirveba-*). For Megrelian cf. action noun *kwirapa-*. If Svan *kwir-* (action noun *li-kwir-i* 'to look') belongs here and is not borrowed (cf. Sardschweladse 1987: 19), then reconstruction can be made at a deeper level.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 256).

GZ *kwircx- 'to be awake, wake up': Georg. [*kwircx-*] 'to be awake'; Megr. *kurcx-* 'to be awake, wake up'; Laz *kuncx-*.

For Georgian the verb stem can be seen in the Old Georgian derivative *m-kwircx-e* 'cheerful, awake' (*iqo mkwircxe činaše ymertsā* 'cheerful was he near God' Kat. ep. VII.10). In Zan (action noun Megr. *kurcxinapa-*, Laz *o-kuncx-u*) attention should be paid to *u* instead of Georg. *vi* and to the frequent intra-Zan correspondence of Megr. *r* ~ Laz *n*. The Svan form *jcx-* (cf. action noun *li-cxin-e* 'to wake up') can possibly originate from an earlier *čæcx- or *kæcx-.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 300–301).

CK *kwi(r)c₁x- 'leg': Georg. [*kwircx-*] 'leg'; Megr. *kučx-*; Laz *kučxe-*; Svan *čišx*, *čəšx*.

In Georgian the lexeme can be extracted from Old Georg. *m-kwircx(l)-* 'pedestrian', which has a parallel variant with *u* vocalism (Abulaže 1973: 257). The connection with the first component of Old Georgian *kuarx₁-be(r)k-* 'pedestal' remains unclear. The stem seems to have been semantically detached from the other designation of a leg *perq-. In the Laz form the final *e* must be secondary (impact of *xe-* 'hand'?). The affricate of the Svan cognate is regular: cf. *kac₁-, *kar- : kr-, *ked-el- and others. The spirantization process čx > šx is also regular.

|| Megrelian, Svan: Gren (1890: 142). Laz: Marr (1912.2: 1094–1095). Georgian: Čikobava (1938: 62–63).

CK *kwic- 'mountain she-goat': Georg. *kwic-* 'colt'; Megr. *kwic-*; Svan *kwic-ra* 'mountain she-goat'.

If the comparison holds, the word belongs to the Common Kartvelian stage. In the form of *kicw-* 'colt' the word is attested in Old Georgian (*powes kicwi igi dabmuli...* '(they) found the colt tied...' Mk. 11.4) and in a dialectal speech. The Megrelian lexeme may be a Georgian borrowing. It is difficult to define the original meaning of the word.

|| Fähnrich (1980: 73).

*ki-

CK ***ki-** 'to cry': Georg. *ki-v-* 'to cry'; Megr. *rki-*; Laz *kij-*, *ki(r)-*, *k(r)-*, *k(r)i-*; Svan *ki-*.

One of the onomatopoeic stems in *-i* (cf. **qi-*, **čxi-*, **ci-*). In Georgian the stem occurs in the language of Rustaveli (cf. 1038.1, 1588.2). The consonant *v* historically did not belong to the stem. *r* of the Zan correspondences must be interpreted in the same way: cf. Megr. *rkiap-* 'to cry', *rki-* 'a cry', Laz *o-kirap-u*, *o-kij(ap)-u* 'to cry' (see Čikobava 1938: 298). For Svan cf. the action noun *li-kil-i*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 297–298). Svan: Tseretheli (1959: 80).

GZ ***kibo-** 'lobster': Georg. *kibo-* 'lobster'; Megr. *kibo-*, *kiboia-*.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan lexeme. A connection with the verb stem **kb-* is possible. In Megrelian the form with an estimation suffix **-ia* seems to be more common. In Laz it is not recorded. The word does not occur in Svan: no lobsters are found in Svanetia.

|| Brosset (1849: 74).

CK ***kid-** 'to take; to hang': Georg. *kid-* 'to take; to hang'; Megr. *kid-*, *kind-* 'to take with a hand'; Laz *kid-* 'to snatch; to hang'; Svan *kid-*: *kd-* 'to take'.

Verb stem well known from the earliest Old Georgian manuscripts: *ayikidos žuari misi...* 'to hang his cross...' Mt. 27.32 (the action noun *a(y)kideba-*). In Zan and Georgian the stem is found with identical vocalism (action noun Megr. *kidapa-*, Laz *o-kid-u*). In Svan other ablaut grades of the stem occur: *ked-*, *käd-*, *kd-* (action noun *li-ked*). Sometimes the connection of the stem **kid-* with Georg. *čidil-*, *čidaoba-* 'wrestling' is assumed (Tseretheli 1959: 85). A connection with Georgian-Zan **ked-* 'to build' seems improbable.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 292).

GZ ***kit-** 'finger, toe': Georg. *tit-* 'finger, toe'; Megr. *kint-*, *kit-*; Laz *kit-*, [*tit-*].

The word is known from Old Georgian texts (*dacerilni titita...* 'written with a finger...' Ex. 31.18). The Georgian form may reflect assimilation of the first consonant: cf. Georg. *kit-* 'kind of grape' (according to Penixi-Saržvelaze 1990: 184 – "finger-like"). If the Laz *titi-mčkon-* 'little finger' (cf. *Contes*: 81: 3) is not a misprint it allows us to reconstruct the archetype **tit-*.

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

GZ ***kitx-** ‘to ask’: Georg. *kitx-* ‘to ask, read’; Megr. *kitx-*; Laz *ki(n)tx-*, *čitx-* ‘to ask, scold, read’.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian: *hkitxa ertman matganman...* ‘one of them asked him ...’ Mt. 22.35 (action noun *kitxva-*). The main Zan variant is identical with the Georgian one (action noun Megr. *kitxir-*, Laz *o-kitx-u*). In Laz insertion of *n* may take place, besides in its Artashen dialect the stem undergoes a change *k* > *č*. It is evident that the meaning ‘to read’ must be secondary. The connotation ‘to scold’ is specific of Laz.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 292–293).

GZ ***kik-wn-** ‘to eat little by little, peck’: Georg. *kikn-* ‘to eat little by little, pluck’; Megr. *kikon-*, *kəkon-* ‘to peck’; Laz *kikon-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The stem is derived from the simple base **kek-* by adding the word-forming element *-*wn*. The expected *w* is regularly lost in Georgian as in other cases of such formation whereas in its Zan cognates it is reflected as *o*: cf. **warcx-wn-*, **krt-wn-*, **lš-wn-* etc. For the shift *e* > *i* in analogous cases cf. **yeč-* alongside **yič-wn-*, **ceck-* alongside **cick-wn-*, and many others.

|| Megrelian, Laz: ÈSKJa: 108. Georgian: Fähnrich (1980: 180).

CK(?) ***klde-** ‘rock’: Georg. *klde-* ‘rock’; Megr. *kirde-*, *kərde-*; Svan *kož-* (?).

Well known in Old Georgian written sources: *sxuaj davarda kldeša zeda* ‘some fell upon stony places’ Mt. 13.5 (cf. its derivative *klđovan-* ‘rocky’). There are also the forms *kilde-*, *kte-*, *kde-* in Georgian dialects (Yloni 1984: 278, 291, 311). In Laz the word seems to have been lost. The identity of the stem-final vowel in the substantive is regular (there are, however, also such Megrelian forms as *kirda-*, *kərda-*). The connection with the Svan word remains in dispute.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Svan: Mačavariani (1965: 62).

GZ ***kod-** ‘to hew, hollow’: Georg. *kod-* ‘to hollow, to castrate’; Megr. [*kod-*]; Laz [*kod-*] ‘to hollow’.

The verb stem exists only in Georgian if used on its own. It is also attested in Old Georgian: *da dakoda šešaj* ‘and he hewed firewood’ Gen. 22.3 (action noun *koda-*). In some nominal formations the stem is also preserved in the Zan languages. See the following entry and **kodal-*.

|| ÈSKJa: 113

**ko*d-

GZ **ko*d- 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub': Georg. *ko*d- 'vessel (and measure) for dry substances, tub'; Megr. *ko*d- 'vessel made of one piece of wood'; Laz *ko*d-.

In Georgian the word is known also from medieval literature. It seems to be connected with the verb stem **ko*d- 'to hew, hollow'. The phonological correspondences are regular. Svan (L. Bal) *kwed* with the same meaning does not seem to be native. Arm. *ko*t 'measure for dry substances' is an evident Kartvelian loanword.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 113.

GZ **ko*dal- 'woodpecker': Georg. *ko*dal- 'woodpecker'; Megr. *ki*du-, *kə*də; Laz *ki*d-; (*m*)*ku*d-.

The lexeme is derived from the verb stem **ko*d-. It is registered in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani, who interprets the word like *xe-ko*da- 'hollowing the tree' (cf. Čikobava 1938: 107). Cf. also West Georgian *ko*dara- (Ylonti 1984: 297), which shows another word-forming suffix. It is not quite clear whether the Georgian derivatory suffix *-al* corresponds to the Zan one in Megrelian forms.

|| Čikobava (1938: 106–107).

GZ **ko*wz- 'spoon': Georg. *ko*wz- 'spoon'; Megr. *kə*z-, *ki*z-; Laz *ku*z, *ki*z- 'wooden spoon'.

A Georgian-Zan isogloss in technical terminology. The word is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 201). Forms *ko*bz-, *ko*mz-, *ko*z- are attested in Georgian dialects (Ylonti 1984: 298). Megr. *ko*vz- must be viewed as a recent Georgian loanword. According to Schmidt (1962: 120) the Georgian lexeme underwent metathesis *zv* > *vz* which leads to the protoform **ko*zw-. For the correspondence in vocalism cf. **ko*dal- and **kr*ko-.

|| Čikobava (1938: 176).

GZ **ko*n- 'to tie together': Georg. *ko*n- 'to tie together'; Svan *čwēn*-.

In Old Georgian the verb stem may be identified in the noun *ko*na- 'bundle' (Abulaze 1973: 201). In the Zan languages no certain cognate is found. For Svan cf. action noun *li-čwēn-i* 'to tie together', *li-čōn-e* 'to be wrapped'. The form belongs to a number of stems where ancient **k* is rendered in Svan by the affricate *č* (see also **ka*c₁-, **ke*del-, **kwarc*₁xl-, **mkerd*-).

|| Georgian, Svan: Marr (1912.2: 1094).

GZ ***kɔnc₁x-** ‘top’: Georg. *kɔncx-* ‘cape, top’; Megr. [*kɔnčx-*].

In Old Georgian the word is attested with the meaning ‘top, a heap of stones’ (Abulaze 1973: 201; Saržvelaže 1995: 100). Its Megrelian correspondence is preserved as a toponym *Končx-* denoting a mountain in West Georgia. The Svan (Upper Bal) *kacx* ‘top (of the tree)’ does not belong here.

|| Georgian, Zan: Fähnrich (1984: 43).

GZ ***kɔpe-** ‘scoop (for wine)’: Georg. *kɔpe-* ‘scoop (for wine)’; Megr. *kɔpa-*; Laz *kɔpa* ‘big spoon’.

In Old Georgian texts the word does not seem to occur. In the Zan form the change **e* > *a* must have a sandhi origin. Megr. *kɔpešia-* ‘gourd used for making dishes’ seems to be based on the Georgian word. The semantic shift in Laz is determined by the dominance of Islam among the native speakers.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Marr (1925.2: 85–86).

GZ ***kɔyɔ-** ‘gnat’: Georg. *kɔyɔ-* ‘gnat’; Megr. *kɔyɔ-*.

Might be of a sound-symbolic nature as indicated by its vocalism. The Zan forms *kɔyɔna-*, *kɔ(r)yɔn-*, as well as the Svan forms *kɔyɔn*, *kuyɔn* and *kəyən* are Georgian loanwords based on Georg. *kɔyɔna-* (< *kɔyɔ-un-a-*). There exists also an evidently secondary parallel formation *kɔyɔnia-* with an estimation suffix *-ia* in Megrelian.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 113–114), where the stem is considered to be *kɔy-*.

CK ***kr-** ‘to shine’: Georg. *kr-* ‘to shine’; Svan *kr-*, *kəɾ-*.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian texts. However, in the modern language its derivatives are found: *kr-ial-* ‘lustre’ and *sa-rk-e-* ‘mirror’ (with metathesis *kr* > *rk*). Svan *kr-* (action noun *li-kr-e* ‘to shine’, *na-kr-i* ‘lustre’) is identical with the Georgian stem.

|| Tseretheli (1959: 90).

GZ ***kraw-** ‘lamb’: Georg. *krav-* ‘lamb’; Megr. *kirib-*, *kərib-*.

The lexeme is well attested in Old Georgian written sources (*daazoven kravni čemni...* ‘feed my lambs...’ Jn. 21.15). Here we are faced with a rare correspondence Georg. *a* ~ Zan *i* in the stem (the first-syllable vocalism of the Megrelian stem regularly corresponds to the sound zero

**kreb-* : *krb-*

of the Georgian one). For the unusual correspondence Georg. *v* ~ Zan *b* cf. **tqaw-*, **qew-*. Deeters (1926–1927: 6) considered the Megrelian lexeme a Georgian loanword.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 102).

GZ **kreb-* : *krb-* ‘to gather, to get together’: Georg. *kreb-* : *krb-* ‘to gather’; Megr. *korob-*; Laz *ko(r)ob-*.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian texts (with several grades of vowel alternation *kreb-* : *krib-* : *krb-* // *kerb-*), where there is a number of its derivatives (*da damokrba krebuli* ‘and (all) the council gathered’ Jg. 20.1). The Zan pleophony (action noun Megr. *korobua-*, Laz *o-ko(r)ob-u*) is secondary. Since Zan *o* presupposes ancient **a* the reconstruction of the *e* vocalism as well as in a number of other cases remains somewhat doubtful. Vogt (1947.1: 39–40) accepts the connection of the stem with **kar-* : *kr-* ‘to connect’ and reconstructs the prototype **kar-eb-*). The parallel variant of the stem **krep-* : *krip-* is also old.

|| Marr (1914: 74–75).

GZ **krep-* : *krip-* ‘to gather, pick (fruit, flowers)’: Georg. *krep-* : *krip-* ‘to gather, pick (fruit, flowers)’; Megr. *korop-*.

The verb stem forms a parallel to **kreb-* : *krib-*. The reconstruction of *e* for its full grade vocalism (instead of *a* suggested by the Megr. action noun *koropua-*) remains conjectural. There is a special semantics in the stem in comparison with the preceding one. Its similarity to PIE **(s)krep-* : **(s)kerp-* ‘to pick, to cut’ is worth mentioning.

GZ **kreč-* : *krič-* : *krč-* ‘to cut, cut off’: Georg. *kreč-* : *krič-* ‘to cut, to clip’; Megr. *kirač-* : *kirč-* ‘to cut’; Laz *krič-*.

The available material (action noun Georg. *kreča-*, Megr. *kiračua-*, Laz *o-krič-u*) reflects three ablaut grades. The complex *čk* expected in the Zan continuants does not develop because of the back *k* contained in the archetype. The syllable **-eč* : **-ič* might be a historical extension. Svan *li-klič-e* with the same meaning can hardly be inherited.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Gudava (1974: 133–134). Laz: Sardschweldse (1987: 19).

GZ **krkil-* ‘moth’: Georg. *rkil-* ‘moth’; Megr. *ki(r)kil-*, *kikič-*.

The modern Georgian lexeme underwent simplification. Its Megrelian equivalent preserves an ancient word-initial *k*; the initial cluster of the

protoform is reflected here in the regular way. Its variant with the final *t* (cf. also Megr. *kətīt-*) must be secondary; *r* may be missing. The word confirms that the Georgian-Zan **c₁ic₁-* meant rather 'small insect'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 116.

GZ ***krko-** 'acorn': Georg. *rko-* 'acorn'; Megr. *ki-*, *kə-*, (*r*)*ku-*.

The word is found also in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 348). In modern Georgian dialects forms occur with an old initial consonant (Tuš. *kurko-*, Pšav. *girko-*) as well as with a simplified consonant cluster (Ajar., İmer. *ko-* 'oak tree'). This cluster is fully simplified in the Zan forms. A similarity of the word to the "dialectal" Indo-European designation of the oak tree (cf. Lat *quercus*) is registered in Šaniže (1947: 3-4).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 116.

GZ ***krux-** 'to cluck (about a sitting hen)': Georg. *krux-* 'to cluck (about a sitting hen)'; Megr. *kux-*; Laz *kljux-*, *k(r)ox-*.

At best the stem comes from a later Georgian-Zan stage as the hen itself could not have been known in the Caucasus in the Common Kartvelian period. There are no clear phonetic equivalents in the languages. As a rule there is no *r* in the Zan forms, whereas in the Laz correspondence the vowel *o* is usually combined with it. It has been assumed that the stem is of nominal origin (cf. Čikobava 1938: 299).

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 116.

GZ ***krux-** 'brood hen': Georg. *krux-*, *krux-* 'brood hen'; Megr. [*krux-*]; Laz *krux-*.

The lexeme cannot be older than the Georgian-Zan unity since this kind of poultry penetrates into Caucasus comparatively late. It is related to the verb stem *krux-* 'to cluck (about a sitting hen)'. The form *krut-*, found in Georgian mountain dialects (see Țlonți 1984: 311) and in Megrelian, repeats the analogous "area norm" of the languages of the Northern Caucasus. In Laz the lexeme has a limited sphere of use (usually in both Zan languages another stem *mončva-* is found). The resemblance to PIE **krok-* in the designations of birds (cf. Pokorny 1959: 568) deserves attention

|| *ĖSKJa*: 117.

CK(?) ***kr̥t-wn-** 'to pluck (out), nip': Georg. *kr̥tn-* 'to pluck (out), nip'; Megr. *kir̥ton-*, *kər̥tən-* 'to peck'; Laz *kir̥ton-*; Svan *kər̥tən-* (?).

*k(r)čxi-

The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian (*dahkr̥t̥nnian žuelni prteni...* 'they are nipping out old wings...') Krest 281.36; action noun *kr̥tna-*). The stem is formed by suffixation of *-wn to a simple base **ker̥t-* : *kr̥t-* 'to peck'. The Zan cognates (cf. Megr. action noun *kirtonua-*) regularly correspond to the Georgian form. Cf., however, the parallel Georg. *kor̥tna-* 'to peck'. The genetic status of the Svan stem (action noun *li-kr̥rt̥ən-e*) remains unclear.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 568). Laz, Svan: ÈSKJa: 116.

GZ *k(r)čxi- 'to scream': Georg. *čx-iv-* 'to scream, cry (about birds)'; Megr. *rčx-v-* 'to cry, squeal'; Laz *čx-i-*.

In Old Georgian the stem is found in the shape of *kr̥čx-*: cf. *ik̥r̥čxialna* '(she) screamed, cried' alongside reduced form *kr̥xial-* 'scream' (Saržvelaže 1995: 101). The modern Kartvelian forms reflect its simplification: cf. action nouns Georg. *čxiv-il-*, Megr. *rčxviap-*. Georg.-Zan **čxikw-* 'jay' may be its derivative (if metathesized). The stem has an obvious descriptive character. The question arises whether Svan *čəčx-ən-* (< *kəčx-*?) 'to croak' is related to it.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Sardschweladse (1985: 23). Cf. ÈSKJa: 221.

CK(?) *kr̥čxa- 'branchy knot': Georg. (Pšäv.) *kir̥čxa-* 'a branchy knot'; Svan (Lašx.) *ar̥čxal-* 'knots, branches'.

A problematic comparison. There are simplified forms *rčxa-* and *čxa-* (Ylonti 1984: 457) with similar meaning in Georgian dialects (Kax., Tuš., Imer., etc.). The Svan word (cf. also Upper Bal *ar̥šxal*, *ašxal*) may be related to the Georgian one: its final *-(a)l* seems to be a historical diminutive affix. For a non-organic initial *a* in the Svan form cf. **zywar-*, **kud-*, *qba-*, etc. The lexeme appears to be a parallel formation to **gr̥žya-*. Other connections proposed for the Svan word run against more serious phonetic difficulties. If our protoform holds it may underlie the nouns **ne-ker̥čxa-* and **kr̥čxib-*.

GZ *kr̥čxib- 'prickly (insect, animal)': Georg. *kir̥čxib-* 'lobster'; Megr. *gir̥žyibe-* 'tick'.

A tentative comparison. The word occurs in the Georgian medieval literature. For modern language it is recorded in Pšäv. dialect. Cf. also Gur. *žyiba-* 'tick' (Ylonti 1984: 787), which might be borrowed from a Zan source. The archetype seems to be a derivative of **kr̥čxa-*.

GZ ***krč-** 'to grit': Georg. *krč-en-* 'to grit'; Laz *kirč-*.

A continuant is recorded in Old Georgian. In Laz it can be extracted from the verb *o-kirč-ol-u* 'to grit'. As a result of the presence of the velar element in the stem there is no development of the expected *k* after *č*. The relation to **kreč-* : *krič-* : *krč-* 'to cut off' remains unclear. Similarity to Arm. *krčel* with the same meaning is ascribed by Ačařyan (1973: 683) ascribes to its descriptive nature.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 19).

GZ ***ku-** 'tortoise': Georg. *ku-*, *kuv-* 'turtle'; Megr. *ku-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian: *kuvi zyvisaj...* 'turtle of sea...' Physiologus 184: 24. The final *v* might be a recent development. A dialect form *rku-* with a secondary *r* is found in Georgian. There are no traces of the lexeme in Laz. Since the animal does not exist in Svanetia, parallel Svan *ku-* does not seem to be native.

CK ***kud-** (//*kwed-*) 'tail': Georg. *kud-* 'tail, end'; Megr. *kudel-*; Laz *kudel-*; Svan *hakwäd*, *häked*, *akwed*, *akwat*.

Attested in Old Georgian (*danakis kudi* 'date', literally 'the tail of a knife'). The Zan form element *-el* might be a historical estimation suffix. The existence of the initial syllable (*h*)*a-* // *hä-* in Svan deserves attention. Topuria assumes the Svan form to be a loanword from Georgian (cf. Topuria 1979: 96). Rogava (1978: 122) derived the word through a misunderstanding from Lat. *cauda* 'tail'. Cf. the exactly opposite assumption in Charachidze (1986: 219).

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvilli (cf. Erckert 1895: 295). Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 92).

GZ ***kut-** 'to moan (weakly)': Georg. *kut-* 'to moan (weakly), to pipe (about a thrush)'; Megr. *kut-*; Laz *kut-* 'to moan (weakly)'.
Compare **kwes-* : *kws-* 'to moan'. There is an additional meaning 'to pipe' (speaking about a thrush) in Georgian and Megrelian (action noun *kutua-*). In Laz the stem is enlarged by an extension (action noun *o-kut-in-u*; *mkutiner-* 'frightened').

|| Klimov (1985: 171).

GZ ***kutx(u)-** 'angle': Georg. *kutxe-* 'angle'; Megr. *ku(n)txu-*, *kurtxu-*; Laz *kuntxu-*.

The lexeme is attested in Old Georgian, where it is known in the form *kutx-*; cf. also its derivative *otx-kutx-ed-* 'quadrangle' (Abulaže 1973:

**kukul-*

205). It is one of the nouns showing the correspondence Georg. *o* ~ Zan *u* in word-final position (cf. also, **nek(u)-*, **ret(u)-*, **kec(u)-*, **yom(u)-*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Deeters (1927: 13)

GZ **kukul-* 'bud, burgeon': Georg. *kukur-*, *kokor-* 'bud, burgeon'; Megr. *kvikvil-* 'bud'; Laz *kukul-*.

Tentative reconstruction since the phonological correspondence Georg. *r* ~ Zan *l* at the end of the word is very unusual. The Georgian variant with the vowel *o* must be secondary. The lexeme is of a sound-symbolic type: cf. Arm. *kokon*, Russian *kokon*, *kokor*' with the same meaning. Cf., however, Ačaryan (1973: 618) treating the Georgian word as a borrowing.

CK **kum-* 'to press (on lips, fist)': Georg. *kum-* 'to press (on lips, fist)'; Svan *kum* 'dumb'.

Problematic equation. If it holds, the verb stem may belong to the Common Kartvelian level. Its somewhat unusual phonetic shape (especially taking into account the canonical structure of the Kartvelian verb stem) makes one doubt the validity of the comparison.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 37).

GZ(?) **kumin-* 'to moan, grumble': Georg. *kmin-* 'to moan, grumble'; Megr. *kumin-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem may be identified in the action noun *kuminva-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 102). Its morphological structure remains obscure. In modern Georgian a parallel variant *gmin-* is attested. As there is no Laz equivalent the Megrelian form (action noun *kuminua-*) may be a Georgian loanword.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 35–36).

GZ **kurka-* 'stone (of a fruit)': Georg. *kurka-* 'stone (of a fruit)'; Laz *kurka-* 'grain, stone (of a fruit)'.

The variants *gurka-* and *kurka-* are attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 103). Cf. also modern Georgian dialectal forms *burka-* and *kurko-* (Ylonti 1984: 93, 316). The word seems to have been lost in Megrelian.

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 144).

CK(?) **kurcx-* 'hail': Georg. *kurcxal-* 'tears'; Megr. *kircx-*, *kərcx-* 'hail'; Laz *kicx-*; Svan *kicx* 'fragment, scrap'.

Rather attractive but problematic comparison. If correct, the proto form must be a Common Kartvelian word. The Georgian form is characterized by formerly suffixal *-al* and a semantic shift. An ancient Kartvelian designation of tears seems to have been **c₁reml-*.

|| Megrelian, Svan: Mačavariani (1969: 160). Georgian: Fähnrich (1980: 73).

CK ***kutu-** 'boy, penis (pueri)': Georg. *kuta-* 'boy'; Megr. *kutu-* 'penis (pueri)'; Laz *kutu-*; Svan *kōtol, kōčol* 'little'.

The lexeme is found in Western Georgian dialects: cf. Gur., Imer. *kuta-* 'boy' (in Imer. it means 'penis pueri' as well). In Megrelian a derivative *kutula-* 'boy' is encountered. In the Svan cognate the word-final *l* must be a later diminutive suffix (the ancient *l* must have been lost at the end of Svan substantives). For the correspondence Georg.-Zan *u* ~ Svan *o* compare **u-*, **gur-*, **šubl-*, etc. The adjectival use of the stem in Svan seems to be secondary.

|| Georgian, Zan: Šavaxišvili (1950: 205–206). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 118.

CK ***kux-** 'drop, small scrap': Georg. *kuxal-* 'a small scrap of a bunch of grapes'; Laz *kumx-*; Svan *kwipx-* 'a drop'.

In Old Georgian the lexeme is attested with the meaning 'grain' (Abulaze 1973: 206). According to Čikobava the combination *mx*, which is found in Zan, must reflect an earlier shape of the word. No Megrelian equivalent has been discovered. The word belongs to a series of substantives with formerly suffixal *-al* in Georgian (cf. **bark-*, **burzq-*, **maqw-*, and others). Cf. also Georg. *kuxa-kuxad* 'in a stream'. The semantic shift may have taken place in the Georgian-Zan branch, where the word is an element of viticulture terminology.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 134).

GZ ***kuč₁-** 'to shred (into small pieces)': Georg. *kuč-* 'to shred (into small pieces)'; Megr. *kuč-*

Unattested in Old Georgian. The Megrelian cognate may be extracted from the adjective *kuču-* 'small, low', where *-u* is a word-forming element. Cf. *lib-u-* 'soft' alongside **lab-* : *lb-*, *tib-u-* 'warm' alongside **tep-* : *tp-*, etc.

|| Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 195).

L

GZ ***lab-** : **lb-** ‘to become tender, soft; to moisten’: Georg. *lb-* ‘to make something tender; to moisten’; Megr. *lib-*; Laz *lob-* : *lib-*.

The verb stem is well represented in Old Georgian (action noun *molboba-*: *rtoni misni molbian...* ‘her branch becomes tender...’ Mk. 13.28). Contrary to Laz the Georgian and Megrelian cognates reflect only the zero ablaut grade. The Laz word-form *do-lob-in-u* ‘he made it soft’ allows us to reconstruct the full ablaut grade of the stem in the shape of **lab-*. There is a Georgian-Zan derivative adjective **lb-il-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 123). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 302–303).

CK ***lag-** : **lg-** ‘to plant’: Georg. *lag-* ‘to put’ : *rg-* ‘to plant’; Megr. [*rg-*]; Laz [*rg-*]; Svan *laž-* : *lž-* ‘to plant; to attach, fasten’.

The verb stem attested in Old Georgian. The Zan equivalents are found under **rg-* ‘to plant’, which has formed the basis of a special lexical unit. The variant *rg-* derives from the zero grade of the stem *lg-*. Svan action noun is *li-lž-eni*. For the affricatization of *g* see **gab-* : *gb-*, **gwel-*, **gs₁-* : *gus₁-*, etc. The similarity of the stem to PIE **leg^h-* ‘to put, to lie’ deserves attention (cf. Vogt 1938: 337).

|| *ĒSKJa*: 118.

GZ ***lal-** ‘to drive out the cattle to graze’; Georg. *lal-* ‘to drive out the cattle to graze; to send (about people)’; Megr. *lol-*.

The verb stem is not found in Old Georgian. In modern Georgian it is a dialectal (Kartl., Kax., Xevs., Tian.) form; cf. the action noun *ga-lal-v-a* (Ylonti 1984: 119). For its semantics cf. Xevs. *cxvar galales zvavze...* ‘(they) sent the sheep to the snow-slip...’ and *čalal mamam švil...* ‘the father sent the son...’. Megrelian action noun is *lolua-*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ ***lal-** ‘to sing (a bird, a pig)’; Georg. *lal-* ‘to sing (a bird, a pig)’; Megr. *lol-*, *lul-* ‘to smoke, fill smth. with smoke’.

In Old Georgian the verb stem has not been found. At present it occurs as a dialectal (Imer.) item (Ylonti 1984: 321). The Megrelian variant with *u*-vocalism can be due to the influence of the neighboring *l*. Cf. also Megr. *lol-* ‘smoke’.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 43).

GZ *lal- ‘to bark’: Georg. *lal-* ‘to argue, to quarrel’; Megr. *lal-* ‘to bark’; Laz *lal-*.

Well attested with the meaning ‘to quarrel’ in Old Georgian texts (*ilalvides urtiertas...* ‘they strove among themselves...’ Jn. 6.52). The Zan languages retain the original meaning of the stem (cf. the action noun Megr. *lalu-*, Laz *o-lal-u*). The identity of its vocalism in the languages as well as its proximity to the reduplicated PIE Schallwurzel **lal(l)a-* (without reduplication – **lā-*, **lē-*) can be explained by the onomatopoeic origin of the stem.

|| Čikobava (1938: 301–302).

GZ *layw- ‘fig’: Georg. *leyw-* ‘fig’; Megr. *luy-*; Laz *luy-*.

It is also known in Old Georgian (*ixiles leywi igi...* ‘they saw the fig-tree...’ Mk. 11.20; cf. the derivative *leyu-sulel-* ‘a wood fig’, *leyovan-* ‘the place where fig-trees grow’). To explain the vocalism of the Zan equivalent it is natural to proceed from the original **a* (cf. Gudava 1960: 120).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 77). Laz: Čaraia (1918: 162).

GZ *laqe- ‘rotten’: Georg. *laqe-* ‘rotten’; Laz *loqa-* ‘sweet’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language a parallel form *mlaqe-* is also known. While the phonetic correspondences of the compared forms are regular, their semantic difference can be explained by assuming a metaphorical shift in Laz. Another comparison for the Laz word in Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 201–202).

|| Fähnrich (1980: 73).

GZ *laš- ‘lip’: Georg. *laš-* ‘lip (of animal), mouth’; Megr. *lečkv-* ‘lip’; Laz *lešk-*.

In Old Georgian it may be identified in *laš-parto-* ‘large-lipped’ (Saržvelaže 1995: 102). The word is widespread in such Georgian dialects as *Ḳax.*, *Pšav.*, *Xevs.*, *Moxev.*, *Ḳiz.* (Ylonti 1984: 325). The Laz form is close to the Georgian one. For the correspondence in the vocalism cf. **ṭqaw-*, **zaml-*, **zaryw-*. In the Megrelian word we are faced with a later phonetic development (possibly under the impact of some other stem?). Another opinion in Čikobava (1938: 52). It is tempting to connect the word with the verb stem **lš-wn-*. Cf. Čuxua (1991: 91).

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

*lb-il-

GZ *lb-il- 'softened, soft (about inanimate objects)': Georg. *rbil-* 'soft'; Megr. *libu-*, *ləbu-*; Laz *libu-*.

The adjective occurs in the earlier form *lbil-* in Old Georgian (*guakus enaj lbili...* 'our language is soft...' Sin. mr. 281.14). Georgian *r* results from dissimilation in the sequence *l...-l*. Other modern Georgian dialectal forms are *bil-*, *mbilo-*, *mbila-* (Yloni 1984: 74, 354). The lexeme is a historical participle with the word-formation affix *-il.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 123). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 302).

GZ *lez₁w- 'saliva': Georg. *lezv-* 'saliva'; Megr. *ležva-a-* 'mouth foam'; Laz *ležv-*.

While the consonantal correspondences are regular, the vowels may have to be accounted for by umlaut effects in the Zan languages. The Megrelian form shows later affixal *-a*; compare also Megrelian attributive *ležv-am-* 'slobbery' with suffix *-am*. The form *ležv-* is used by speakers of Laz in Abxazia. The stem may also be extracted from Laz *ležv-er-* 'mouth foam, saliva'. Its connection with Osset. *liwzæ* 'moist, slippery, dirty' (cf. Andronikašvili 1966: 75) or Arm. *lizeł* 'to lick' (cf. Ačaryan 1973: 278) is difficult to accept.

|| Georgian, Laz: Fähnrich (1975: 341). Megrelian: Klimov (1988: 20).

GZ *lekw- 'puppy': Georg. *lekv-* 'puppy'; Megr. *lakv-*; Laz *lak-*, *lač-* 'dog'.

Well attested in Old Georgian (*vitarca lekuman lomisaman* 'as a lion's whelp' Gen. 49.9). The final *w* is lost in Laz, where the affrication *k > č* also takes place. There is also a shift of meaning here (for 'puppy' Laz has *lakot-*, which according to Ačaryan (1973: 261) may be a source of Arm. *lakot* with the same meaning).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Marr (1909: 072). Cf. also Tseretheli (1959: 93).

GZ *lel- 'cane': Georg. *lel-* 'cane'; Megr. [*lar-*].

The word is found in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 208). It forms the base of the derivative **ler-ç₁em-*. In the Zan languages its correspondence may be identified only through the latter form.

|| Rogava (1945: 231).

GZ *lele- 'silly, stupid': Georg. *lele-* 'silly, stupid'; Megr. *lala-* 'ider, coward, lazy-bones'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the Imer. dialect of Georgian the meaning of the word coincides with the Megrelian one (Ylonti 1984: 328). The correspondence in the word-final vocalism points to its historically attributive use. The reduplicative structure presupposes the descriptive origin of the word.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 27).

GZ *ler-ç₁em- 'reed': Georg. *lerçam-*, *lelçam-* 'reed'; Megr. *larçam-*.

The word is well attested in Old Georgian (*hscemdes mas tavsa lerçmita* 'they smote him on the head with a reed' Mk. 15.19). It must be treated as a compound, containing the stems **lel-* and **ç₁em-*. The parallel variant *larçem-* is found in Megrelian. The lexeme may have been lost in Laz.

|| Rogava (1945: 231). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 121.

GZ *les- 'to rub, sharpen': Georg. *les-* 'to sharpen'; Megr. *las-* 'to rub, to prevent (from listening)'; Laz *las-ir-*, *las-ij-* 'to rub, sharpen'.

A verb stem well represented in Old Georgian (*ayilese enaj šeni* 'You did sharpen your tongue' Bal. 8.36; action noun *lesva-*; past participle *aylesil-* 'sharpened'). The stem is widely known in Megrelian (action noun *lasua-*; *lasir-* 'rubbed off'), where the original meaning has been preserved. In Laz it may be extracted from the derivative verb stem *o-lasir-u* 'to sharpen', formed in its turn from the ancient participle formation with the affix *-*il*. The dependence on Arm. *lesul* 'to crumble, crush' (see Ačaryan 1973: 277) is difficult to accept.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 107). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 121.

CK *leqw- : lqw- 'to thaw, to melt': Georg. *lexv-* : *lx(v)-* 'to thaw, to melt'; Svan *leqw-* : *lqw-*.

Verb stem. The two grades of the original ablaut alternation are preserved in both languages. Action nouns are Georg. *lxoba-* and Svan *li-leqw*. There is also a secondary stem with *a*-vocalism in Svan.

|| Z. Chumburidze.

GZ *lip- 'to fashion, model; to slip': Georg. *lip-* 'to become slippery'; Megr. *lip-* 'to fashion, model; to slap smb. (in the face)'.

Verb stem. In Georgian (action noun *lipva-*) a passive participle *molipul-* 'slippery' is also known. Cf. also the dialectal (Kiz.) adjective

*lok-

lip- 'slippery, smooth'. In the Sam. dialect of Megrelian there is an action noun *lipua-*. The symbolic character of the stem seems to be plausible. Hence its proximity to the PIE verb base **leip-*: *lip-* 'to stick, smear' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 670).

CK ***lok-** 'to lick': Georg. *lok-* 'to lick'; Megr. *lok-*, *lo(n)tk-*; Laz *lo(s)k-*; Svan *lök-*, *läk-*.

Verb stem of an onomatopoeic nature. It is attested in Old Georgian (... *da ičqo lokaj misi* '...and began to lick him' Bal. 37.9). The base (cf. action noun *li-lök-e*) underlies probably Georg. *lokokina-* 'snail'. In the Zan branch the forms with *(n)tk* and *sk* clusters (action nouns Megr. *lo(t)kua-*, Laz *o-lo(s)k-u-* need explanation. The Svan variant with a long vowel (cf. action noun *li-lök-e*) may point to stem simplification. Similar onomatopoeic stems are widespread in different linguistic families: cf. PIE **lak-*, Sem. **laqq-*, Esk. *alluk*, Maya *lekak*, Finn. *latkia*.

|| Rosen (1845: 429), Čikobava (1938: 303).

GZ ***ltw-** 'to wet, to get wet': Georg. *lt-* 'to soften (by wetting)'; Megr. *rt(v)-*.

The verb stem is well represented in Old Georgian: *da daalto igi...* 'and he softened it...' Lev. 2.6; the aorist form of the 3 person *da-a-lt-o* (< **da-a-ltv-a*) points to the age of *w* in the stem. Cf. also the Old Georgian action nouns *lt-ob-a-* and *da-(v)lt-ob-a-* 'to wet, get wet'. The Megrelian form (action noun *rtv-op-a-*) reflects a change *l > r* in the consonant cluster. An archetype **wlt-* seems also admissible.

|| T. Gudava.

GZ ***lukupxa-** 'breakable buckthorn': Georg. *lukupxa-* 'breakable buckthorn'; Megr. *lukuxa-*, *lekuxa-*; Laz *lukumxa-*, *nuikumxa-*.

Possibly a Georgian-Zan term unattested in Old Georgian. Its word-formation structure is not transparent. If the word is not borrowed, it may have as a second component either **kupxa-* or **pxa-*.

|| Čikobava (1938: 130–131).

GZ ***lul-** 'to doze, sleep': Georg. *lul-* 'to doze, sleep'; Megr. *lur-*, *rul-* 'to sleep'; Laz *lir-* 'to doze'.

The verb stem in the form *rul-* is well known from Old Georgian texts (*mierula qovelta* 'they all slept' Mt. 25.5; *rul-* 'drowsiness'). Georgian and Zan cognates underwent dissimilation of *l...l* (Čikobava 1938: 302).

The Laz form points to a vocalic shift $u > i$. Vogt (1954: 544) considered the stem to be of sound-symbolic nature. Cf. Russ. *l'uli*, Norv. *lulle* Vogt (1954: 544).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1914: 43). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 302).

CK(?) *lumb- 'to get wet': Georg. *lump-* 'to get wet'; Svan [*lamb-*] 'be wet, moist'.

A problematic comparison. In Georgian this verb stem has a dialectal use: Gur. *ga-lump-v-a-* 'to get wet' (ylonti 1984: 121). Its Svan correspondence may be extracted from the adjective *mə-lamb* 'wet, moist'. The abruptivization $b > p$ must have an expressive function (cf. Georgian-Zan **cumb-* with the same meaning). One cannot be sure of the genetic nature of the parallelism.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 27).

GZ *lš-wn- 'to eat (rudely)': Georg. *lošn-* 'to kiss (rudely)'; Megr. *riskon-*, *raskon-* 'to gorge, to nibble'.

Two variants of the verb stem are known from Old Georgian *lošn-* and *lušn-* (*zaylnica movidodes da hlošnides cqlulebata mista* 'the dogs came and licked his sores' Lk. 16.21: cf. action noun *loš(n)a-* alongside *aylušos* '(he) will eat (it) up'). Being in position before w original *š is reflected in Zan languages as *sk* in accordance with Gamkrelidze's law (Gamkrelidze 1959: 51 sqq). The Megr. *i*-vocalism reflects the zero grade of the stem: this explains the transition $l > r$ (action noun *riskonua-*). The vocalic alternation $o // u$ of the Georgian forms is secondary (cf. also Georg. *kořtn-* 'to peck' alongside **kořt-wn-*). For the semantic history of the stem cf. also Georg. *lořloř-* 'to eat (greedily)'.

|| ÈSKJa: 122.

M

CK *m- word-formation prefix: Georg. *m-* participial prefix; Megr. [*m-*]; Laz [*m-*]; Svan *m(ə)-*.

Formerly the prefix seems to have been highly productive, which has resulted in a number of substantives produced by it. This word-formation type is best preserved in Svan: cf. *mə-žyir* 'wet', *mə-ķar* 'open', *mə-txeli* 'seeker', *mə-ķet* 'friend, lover', etc. The participles with *m-* are very

*m- - -e

common also in medieval Georgian: *m-ḱvet-* 'sharp', *m-šven-* 'standing in beauty', *m-čen-* 'visible', and others. In the Zan languages the purely prefixal formation ceased to exist.

|| Deeters (1930: 224–225).

CK *m- - -e word-forming circumfix: Georg. *m- - -e*; Svan *m- - -e*.

The productivity in Old Georgian is beyond doubt: cf. *m-n-e-* 'manager', *m-r-e-* 'conqueror', *m-č-e-* 'assistant'. In modern languages the circumfix is used to derive verbal nouns of substantive and adjectival function. In the Zan languages it was lost, since the initial *m-* in combination with the following consonant of the stem does not survive here. In Svan the circumfix remains to be productive (cf. *mə-čm-e* 'mower', *mə-gč-e* 'one who holds', *mə-tr-e* 'drinker').

|| ĚSKJa: 124.

GZ *m- - -el- word-formation circumfix: Georg. *m- - -el-*; Megr. *m- - -al-*; Laz *m- - -al-*.

The circumfix derives names of individuals from toponyms. While in Georgian this word-formation type may be observed in a number of examples (see Čikobava 1942: 144–145), in the Zan languages, especially in Laz, it has a limited productivity: cf. **m-egr-el-*. Cf. also **m-čed-el-* 'smith, blacksmith', which raises a question on the meaning of this circumfix.

|| Brosset (1849: 70).

CK *ma- 'what' (pronoun): Georg. [*ma-*] 'what'; Megr. *mu-*; Laz *mu-*; Svan *ma(j)*, *mäj*.

In Georgian the pronoun ceased to be used as a free form already at the time of the first written monuments of Old Georgian (it seems to be extractable in the form *romel-* 'which'). In the Zan languages it occurs in its unbound shape: cf. Megr. *mus ragadans?* 'what is he saying?', Laz *mu ptkva?* 'what am I to say?'. Cf. also Megr. *namu-* 'which', *muta-* 'nothing'. The pronoun also exists in Svan (*mäj xekwes?* 'what did they want?'). The Zan reflex regularly corresponds to the Svan one: the historical *a* next to a labial consonant is often reflected here as *u* (cf. **mał-*, **sam-*, **yame(n)-*, and others).

|| ĚSKJa: 124.

CK *ma- pronominal stem of the third person: Georg. *ma-*; Megr. *mu-*; Laz *mu-*; Svan [*m(a)-*].

The pronominal stem is widely attested in ancient Georgian sources (*man hrkua mas* 'he said to her' Ruth 3.18). Its vocalism is regularly differentiated in languages (in the Zan branch the expected *o* gives *u* next to the labial). In Svan the stem does not occur in unbound state at present, but it can be extracted from the Common Kartvelian derivative **a-ma-*.

|| Georgian, Laz: Bopp (1846: 263). Megrelian: Čikobava (1936: 73). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 124.

CK ***ma-** word-forming element: Georg. [*ma-*] word-forming element; Megr. [*mo-*, *mu-*]; Laz [*mu-*]; Svan *ma-*.

A prefix found mainly in present participles. It was apparently still functioning in Old Georgian; at present it is productive only in Svan: cf. *ma-žoγ* 'leader of a choir', *ma-šād* 'assistant, rescuer', *ma-qad* 'harvest, yield', etc. In the Zan languages its vocalism undergoes assimilation to the labial *m*. The prefix may be discerned in **matl-* 'worm'.

|| Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 207).

CK ***mad** verbal negative particle: Laz *mo(t)* verbal prohibitive particle; Svan *mād(e)*, *mōd(e)* particle of modal negation.

Lacking in Georgian. In the Zan languages it exists only in Laz: *mo čarum!* 'do not write!'. In Svan the particle is found with a number of phonetic variations: *isgu dagra maķu māde* 'I don't want to kill you' (Sv. P. 66.18).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 124–125.

GZ ***maķe-** 'heavy': Georg. *maķe-* 'heavy with young (about a female animal)'; Megr. *mo(n)ķa-* 'heavy'; Laz *monķa-*.

The adjective occurs in Old Georgian (*ganera maķej igi mati* 'their cow with calf saved' Job 21.10). The vowel correspondence is regular. The form with the secondary insertion of *n* is found in the Zan languages; cf. the Megrelian derivatives *si-monķ-a-* 'heaviness', *monķatu-* 'pregnant'; the last word is historically a form of the adverbial case. See Čikobava (1938: 242). The meaning of the Zan cognate is primary. The verb stem **maķen-* is connected with the lexeme.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 37). Georgian: Kipšidze (1914: 281).

GZ ***maķen-** 'to get heavy, pregnant': Georg. *maķen-* : *maķn-* 'to get pregnant'; Laz *monķan-*.

The verb stem may have been formed from nominal **maķe-* (Čikobava 1938: 304). It occurs also in Old Georgian (*ražams maķndebodes*

*mama-

cxovarni... 'when ewes were conceiving...' Gen. 31.10). The historical presence of *en* in the stem (the Megrelian present tense form *a-monkan-s* 'grows heavy' contrasting with the aoristic form *di-monk-u* is considered to be extended with a thematic affix) is confirmed by the Laz form of the aorist *di-monkan-u* '(it) grew heavy' (cf. *Contes*: 19.3). The phonetic correspondence of the cognates is regular.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 125.

CK ***mama-** 'father': Georg. *mama-* 'father'; Megr. *muma-* (plural – *mumal-*); Laz [*muma-*]; Svan *mū*.

The kinship term is well known from Old Georgian (*ert ars mamaj tkueni* 'one is your Father' Mt. 23.9), where there exists a number of derivatives. *l* of the Megrelian plural form is secondary. In Megrelian compounds the stem occurs as *mua-*: cf. *mua-čkim-* 'my father'. In Laz it may be identified in the derivative *mumul-* (see **mama-l-*). Its Svan continuant shows a simplification: the long *ū* must point to the loss of the word's final material. Cf. also the form of the adverbial case *mua-d*. The word belongs to the nursery lexicon, hence its analogies in some other languages (cf. Avar *emen* (< *emem*), Lak *mänma*, and others).

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Rosen (1847: 408). Cf. also Rosen (1845: 29).

GZ ***mama-l-** 'male': Georg. *mamal-* 'male, cock'; Megr. *mumul-*; Laz *mumul-*, *mamul-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian texts (*mamalad da dedalad šekmna igini* 'he made them male and female' Mt. 19.4). It is formed from **mama-* with the suffix *-l*. The Zan vocalism regularly corresponds to the Georgian one in adjacency to the nasals. The Svan *mamäl-* with the same meaning stems from the Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 8). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 98).

GZ ***mama-m-til-** 'father-in-law': Georg. *mama-mtil-* 'father-in-law (husband's father)'; Megr. *mua-ntir-* 'father-in-law (husband's father, wife's father)'; Laz *mtir-*.

Despite the formally correct correspondences the attribution of the material to the Georgian-Zan stage remains doubtful. The word is known from Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 214). It must be treated as resulting from addition of the deverbative formation from **til-* to **mama-*. Compare analogous **deda-m-til*. Megrelian knows a variant *mua-ntil-*

(with *nt* originating from *mt*). The absence of the first component in Laz remains unclear. The comparison causes some other difficulties. Svan *mimtil-* must have been borrowed from Georgian with substitution of the first component.

|| Čikobava (1938: 37).

GZ ***ma(n)čw-** ‘badger’: Georg. *mačv-*, *mančv-* ‘badger’; Megr. *mu(n)čkv-*; Laz *munčk(v)-*, *munčx-*, *munčq-*, *mumčkv-*.

Attested in Old Georgian (*da mačwi...* ‘and badger...’ Lev. 11.6). In modern Georgian dialects a variant *marčv-* is also known. Zan *u* in proximity to nasal regularly corresponds to Georg. *a* (cf. Gudava 1960: 120). Laz variants with a final consonant cluster *čx* and *čq* are of later origin. Svan *minčkw* ‘badger’ derives from the Zan form through an intermediate stage *münčkw*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 90).

GZ ***martwe-** ‘young one’: Georg. *martve-* ‘cub (of animal or bird)’; Megr. *mota-* ‘grandson’; Laz *mota-*.

The word is known in Old Georgian: *katamman šeikribnis martueni...* ‘a hen gathereth her chickens...’ Mt. 23.37. One gets the impression that the lexeme is a historical adjective of verbal origin. There are its derivatives *bozo-mota-* ‘girl’ and *motal-* ‘animal’s young’ in Laz. Arm. *mont* ‘pupil of the church school’ is considered a loanword from Zan (cf. Kapancjan 1975: 370).

|| Georgian, Zan: Lomtatiže (1961: 263–268).

CK ***marčqw-** ‘strawberry’: Georg. *marčqv-* ‘strawberry’; Svan *bäsq-*, *bäsqi-*.

The term is found in its Old Georgian form in the dictionary by S. Orbeliani. A derivative character of the word is not precluded. In the Zan languages it seems to be lost, which may be ascribed to the climatic conditions in Megrelia. Svan *b* derives from *m*. For the spirantization of the affricate in Svan see also **grčqil-*, **čqw-*.

|| Marr (1922: 20).

CK ***maržw-** ‘to conquer, overcome’: Georg. *maržw-* ‘to conquer, to defeat’; Megr. *moržgv-*; Laz [*maržgv-*]; Svan [*mursgw-*].

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian (*sadamca visme hmaržuda...* ‘where it was comfortable for one...’ Xanž. 30.11). Ancient

*marʒw-

ʒ before *w* is regularly reflected in Zan as ʒg, according to Gamkrelidze's law (Gamqrelidze 1959: 28 sqq). In Laz and Svan the stem does not occur independently and can be identified only in the continuants of the derivative *marʒw-en-.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 128.

GZ *marʒw- 'adroit, comfortable': Georg. *marʒve-* 'adroit, comfortable'; Megr. *marʒgv-* 'successful, accurate'.

The adjective is well known from Old Georgian (*eʒiebdā žamsa marʒuesa* 'he sought the opportunity' Mt. 26.16), where it had a number of derivatives. It may be viewed as an earlier participle **m-marʒw-e-* with the circumfix **m-* – *-e* added to the verb stem (see **marʒw-*). For Megrelian cf. its derivative adverb *morʒgv-as* 'adroitly, neatly'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 128.

CK *ma-rʒw-en- 'right hand': Georg. *marʒvena-* 'right hand, side'; Megr. *marʒgvan-*; Laz *marʒgvan-*, *marçkvan-* 'the right hand'; Svan *mursgwen-* 'the right hand, side'.

The form *marʒuene-* is known from Old Georgian texts (*çarhkueta quri marʒuenej* 'he cut off his right ear' Lk. 22.50). It is formed with the affix **-en* from the verb stem **marʒw-* (root **rʒw-*). The first-syllable vocalism in the Zan forms seems to be assimilated to the continuants of **març₁x-en-*. The *sg* sequence in Svan regularly reflects old ʒ before *w*. In Svan, parallel forms *lersgwen* and *lärsgwän*, pointing to the prefixal character of the segment *ma-*, are found. For the further analysis of the stem see Rogava (*IKE XXV*, 1986: 32–38). Marr (1911–1914 VI: 419) considered the Svan lexeme to be a loanword from Zan languages.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 298). Laz: Marr (1936: 65).

GZ *mase- 'fish-net': Georg. *mase-* 'sort of fish-net'; Megr. *mosa-* 'net'; Laz *mosa-* 'net, fish-net'.

In modern Georgian the word does not seem to occur, but it can be found in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani. The correlation of vowels at the end of the Georgian and Megrelian forms needs explanation (if the lexemes were of substantive type their final vowel identity could have been expected).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 199). Laz: Čaraia (1918: 223).

CK ***ma-tl-** 'worm': Georg. *matl-* 'worm'; Megr. *muntur-*; Laz *muntu(r)-*, *muntr-*; Svan *mət*.

The lexeme is well attested in Old Georgian (*matli mati ara daesrulebis* 'their worm dieth not' Mk. 9.48). It must be taken to be a nominal derivative with a prefix *ma-* from the verb stem **tl-* 'to gnaw (about worms)'. Georgian *l* and Zan *ur* regularly reflect an old *l*. The original vowel underwent a change *a > o > u* in Megrelian in proximity to the labial. The vocalism of the Svan form needs explanation.

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 634). Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Laz: Marr (1915.1: 828).

CK ***maṭql-** 'wool (of sheep), fleece': Georg. *maṭql-* 'wool (of sheep)'; Megr. *montqor-*; Laz *montko(r)-*; Svan *mätq*, *maṭq*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian: *spetak iqo witarca maṭqli* 'they were as white as wool' Bal. 23.34; cf. its derivative *maṭq(l)ier-* 'woollen' (Abulaṣe 1973: 220). The lexeme may be of a derivative origin; Deeters (1955, 32) assumed it to be related to **tqaw-* 'skin'. The original stem-final *l* is regularly reflected in all the forms. The Laz inter-dialectal correspondence reflects the *q > k* process.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 95). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 634).

CK ***maqw-** 'blackberry': Georg. *maqval-* 'blackberry'; Megr. *mu'-*, *mu'e*; Laz *muq-*; Svan *muqw-*.

The lexeme occurs in Old Georgian texts (*ese tazari ars da ara maquali* 'it is a temple but it is not blackberry' Sin. mr. 26.9; cf. also its derivative *maqulo(v)an-* 'blackberry shrub'). The Zan forms originating from **maqw-* (cf. Gudava 1960: 120) may point to the secondary character of Georg. *-al*. Svan *wiyw* of the same meaning (cf. Šarazenize 1991: 127) may hardly be accepted as a regular correspondence of the Georg.-Zan forms.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1911–1914 II: 824). Laz: ÈSKJa: 129. Svan: Penrxi-Saržvelaṣe (1990: 211–212).

GZ ***maxa-** 'sort of wheat': Georg. *maxa-* 'sort of wheat'; Laz *moxa-*.

The agricultural term represented in Georgian dialects (Lečx., Rača). There are no traces of it in Megrelian. The Laz correspondence was noted in Marr (1910: 168). A possibility of reconstructing an underlying form **maqā-* cannot be ruled out, especially if we take into account material

*me-

parallelisms in Nax-Daghestanian languages (cf. Chechen and Ingush *muq*, Cez *maqa*, Darg. *muqa* alongside Archi *maxa* 'barley'). The word seems to reflect an old cultural property.

|| Қазақе (*IKE* XII, 1960: 191–195).

CK *me- word-forming prefix: Georg. *me-*; Megr. *ma-*; Laz *ma-*; Svan *me-*.

The prefix derives forms with the meaning of the names of origin and occupation. At present the prefix can rarely be found without additional affixes: cf. *me-ç₁wel-. The additional affixation is available in the forms: *me- – -e, *me- – -el, *me- – -al. The prefix seems to be connected with the prefix *m-*. Its historical connection with the pronominal stem *ma- is quite possible (cf. the analogy in derivation of Semitic participles and names of instruments and places with the help of the prefix etymologically originating from a pronominal stem meaning 'what, which'). At present the prefix has an active use in Svan.

GZ *me- – -al – word-forming element: Georg. *me-* – -al; Megr. *ma-* – -ol.

Old Georgian had only a minimum of lexemes containing it. The analogous formations are better represented in Megrelian. Below this element is illustrated by the substantive *me-ç₁rx-al-.

CK *me- – -e – word-forming element: Georg. *me-* – -e; Megr. *ma-* – -a; Laz *ma-* – -a(n); Svan *me-* – -e.

The circumfix is well known from Old Georgian, where it formed nominal derivatives: cf. *me-zuer-e* 'tax-collector', *me-etl-e* 'coachman', *me-vep-e* 'story-teller' (cf. below *me-(u)p-e- and *me-px-e-). As for the ordinal numerals which are formed in Kartvelian languages after the same model (cf. Georg. *mesame-*, Megr. *masuma-*, Svan *mesme-* 'third') they are rather a parallel formations which arose separately in the various languages.

GZ *m-egr-el- 'Megrelian': Georg. *megrel-* 'Megrelian'; Megr. *margal-*, Laz *margal-* (?).

Attested in Old Georgian (cf. Čikobava 1942: 144), where its derivative *Sa-megrel-o-* 'Megrelia' is also found (Saržvelaže 1995: 176). Derived with the help of the circumfix *m- – -el from the stem *Egr(is)-* denoting a part of Western Georgia in the Ingur River basin. The *gr > rg

metathesis is typical of Megrelian. The borrowing from Georg. *megrel-* is now used in Laz; the Zan form proper, found in the Laz texts from Abxazia (*arti kortu, mažura margali...* 'one is a Georgian, the other, a Megrelian...' ČT 4 76.6), is most likely a loanword from Megrelian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 70). Cf. Berizė (1920: 23). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 132.

GZ(?) ***mel-** 'fox': Georg. *mela-* 'fox'; Megr. [*mal-*](?).

The form *mel-* without the final estimation suffix *-a* is well known from Old Georgian (*utxart melsa mas...* 'tell that fox...' Lk. 13.32). There exists also the form *melia-* with the estimation suffix **-ia*. Contrary to Megr. *mela-* and Laz *mel-* which can hardly be native, the Svan forms *māl-* and *ma(l)w-* seem to go back as loanwords to the Zan proper **mal-*. Džaukjan (1967.1: 93), Rogava (1984: 106) and others treat the word as an ancient Indo-European borrowing: cf. PIE *(s)mēlo- 'small animal' (Pokorny 1959: 724).

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 605). Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 89).

CK ***men** 'I': Georg. *me* 'I'; Megr. *ma*; Laz *ma(n)*; Svan *mi*.

The variants *me* and *men* of the pronoun are found in Old Georgian (*didebul var men...* 'I am glorified...' Jn. 17.10; *mces me puri...* '(he) will give me bread...' Gen. 28.20). The final *n* that can easily be reconstructed for the Georgian-Zan period (cf. also dialectal Georg. *men, mena*) probably dates back to even more ancient times. Cf. Gamqrelize (1959: 44).

|| Rosen (1847: 411, 412), Bopp (1846: 289).

GZ ***me-rčx-e** 'shallow (about water), rare': Georg. *mečxer-* 'rare'; Megr. *marčxa-* 'shallow (about water)'; Laz *mančxa-* 'gutter'.

The adjective must be a derivative with the circumfix **me-* – *-e* based on the verb stem **rečx-* : *rčx-* 'to murmur, to purl'. The Georgian form is characterized by *r-*metathesis. The Zan forms illustrate the intra-Zan correspondence *r* ~ *n*. The semantic difference of all words does not preclude their comparison.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 586). Laz: Klimov (1973: 362).

CK ***me-(r)čed-** 'finger-ring': Georg. *bečed-* '(finger-)ring; signet ring; stamp' (?); Megr. *marčkind* '(finger-)ring'; Laz *maç(k)ind* '(finger-)ring, wedding ring'; Svan *māškad* '(finger-)ring'.

*meser-

The lexeme is found in Old Georgian (*šeacut bečedi qelsa missa* 'put a ring on his hand' Lk. 15.22). It is tempting to consider it a derivative of the verb stem *čed- : čd- 'to hammer in' with the prefix *me-. The correspondence Georg. č ~ Zan čk ~ Svan sk points to the antiquity of the Megrelian variant with r (cf. also *ywl-erč- 'earthworm'). The meaning 'signet-ring, stamp' attested for the Georgian lexeme (if it has no relation to similar Iranian and Armenian word) reflects a later development.

|| Zan, Svan: Marr (1912: 32). Georgian: Deeters (1937: 275).

GZ *meser- 'palisade; stake': Georg. *meser-* 'palisade'; Megr. *masar-* 'stake'; Laz *masar-*.

The lexeme does not seem to be attested in Old Georgian texts. The reason for the occurrence of final r instead of ž expected in Zan forms remains unclear provided the correspondence of vocalism is regular. The analogous Svan *masēr-*, *meser-* must have been borrowed from other Kartvelian languages. The possibility of adopting the lexeme from a non-Kartvelian language is not ruled out.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 146).

GZ *me-up-e- 'owning, owner': Georg. *mepe-* 'tsar, ruler, king'; Megr. *mapa-*; Laz [*mapa-*].

A social term reflected by *mepe-* and *meupe-* in Old Georgian (*meupej miuvaln sxuasa meupesa* 'a king makes war against another king' Lk 14.31). It is a derivative with circumfix *me- -- -e based on a verb stem *up-. In Georgian dialects there occurs also a variant *nepe-*. The correspondence Georg. e ~ Zan a in word-final position points to its former adjectival nature. In Laz it can be recognized in the toponym *Mapa-čkari* 'King-source' (cf. ČT II 4.18, 19, 36).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103), Marr (1914: 72). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 133.

CK *me-px-e- 'clear sky, fine weather': Laz *mapxa-* 'clear sky, fine weather'; Svan *mēpxe*, *māpxe*.

The word seems to be a derivative with the circumfix *me- -- -e based on a verb stem *px- with a vague meaning. There are no traces of it either in Georgian or in Megrelian. The correspondence Laz a ~ Svan e in word-final position of a substantive requires explanation.

|| Čikobava (1938: 188–189).

GZ *me-ç₁wel- 'milked, milch': Georg. *mecvel-* 'milch'; Megr. *mačval-*; Laz *mančvalu-*.

The word is derived from the verb stem *ç₁wel- 'to milk' with the help of the prefix *me-. The correspondences between Georgian and Megrelian cognates are regular. The word-final *u* in the Laz form remains quite unclear (the *n* of the latter has undoubtedly a secondary character).

|| ÈSKJa: 133.

GZ *me-ç₁rx-al- 'swallow': Georg. *mercxal-* 'swallow'; Megr. *marčixol-*, *mačrixol-*, *mačir(i)xol-*.

Well attested in Old Georgian (*guritman da mercxalman...* 'a turtle dove and a swallow...' Sin. nr. 226.20). It is a derivative with the circumfix *me- -- -al based on the verb stem *ç₁irx- : ç₁rx- 'to twitter'. Thus the original meaning of the word must have been 'twittering, chirping'. Cf. Megr. *šošia marčixol-i* 'nightingale-bird' (Berize 1920: 150.21-25). The change of the glottalized ç₁ to the aspirate *c* in a stem of the onomatopoeic type is admissible.

|| Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 297). Cf. Gudava (1964).

CK *mz₁e- 'sun': Georg. *mze-* 'the sun'; Megr. *bža-*; Laz [*mža-*, *bža-*]; Svan *məž*, *miž*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian (*vitarka mzej aymoqda...* 'when the sun was up...' Mk. 4.6). *bze-* and *ze-* forms occur in Georgian dialects (cf. Yloni 1984: 71, 230). The Zan continuants with *b* are secondary (cf. *mz₁ware-). The original vocalism *e* is corroborated by the genitive form of the Svan word *məže(š)* and Megr. Sam. *žešxa-* 'Sunday'. The correspondence Georgian *e* ~ Zan *a* can be accounted for by the possibility of an attributive use of the lexeme still in the Georgian-Zan period. In the past some arbitrary reconstructions of the protoform have been proposed. Cf. Marr (1908: 3).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rosen (1845: 34). Svan: Gren (1890: 139). Laz: Janashvili (see Erckert 1895: 285).

CK(?) *mz₁ware- 'sunny side': Georg. *mzore-* 'sunny side'; Laz (*m*)žora-, *bžora-*, *žura-* 'sun'; Svan: *məžär* 'sunny'.

In Old Georgian texts the lexeme occurs in the form *mzware-* with the meaning 'East' (Abulaze 1973: 239). It is a derivative based on the nominal stem *mz₁e- 'the sun'. In modern Georgian it is represented by the forms *mzore-* and *mzor-* of the Moxev. dialect and by the form

*mz,yw-

mzvare- of the Tian. dialect (Ylonṭi 1984: 361). In Laz the lexeme has acquired the meaning 'sun'. The relation of Svan *məžär* 'sunny' to this material needs clarification.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 23).

CK *mz,yw- 'to press, crumple, squeeze': Georg. *mzyv-l-* 'to break'; Svan *mžy(w)-* 'to press, crumple, squeeze'.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language it occurs as a dialectal (Rača) form: the action noun *da-mzyvl-ev-a* (cf. Ylonṭi 1984: 178). The complex consonant structure of the stem may suggest its historically complex character. The Svan action noun is *li-mžy-un-e*.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 27).

CK *mt- 'cold'(?): Georg. [*mt-*] 'cold'(?); Megr. [*t-*]; Svan [*nt-*].

Common Kartvelian stem with an uncertain meaning. At present it can be identified only in derivatives: compare, on the one hand, Georgian-Zan **za-mt-ar-* 'winter' and, on the other, Svan *lintw* (Upper Bal), *lunt* (Lašx.) 'winter'. It is semantically contrasted to the stem **px-* which may be extracted, in particular, from Georg. *za-pxul-* 'summer'. The absence of old designations of spring and autumn in the Kartvelian languages indicates that the ancient Kartvelians distinguished only two main seasons.

|| ÈSKJa: 134.

GZ *mi- preverb of direction meaning 'aside from the speaker': Georg. *mi-*; Megr. *mi-*, *me-*; Laz *me-*.

The preverb may etymologically be related to the objective prefix **m-* of the first person (cf. also the preverb **mo-*). It is well attested in Old Georgian: cf. *mivrdoma-* 'to rush (there)', *mirbola* 'to run (there)', *mislva-* 'to come, to go (there)'. The *e* vocalism of the Zan form, which is especially stable in Laz needs an explanation.

GZ *mḳal- 'grasshopper, locust': Georg. *ḳalia-* 'grasshopper, locust'; Megr. *ḳol-*; Laz *mḳol-*, *nḳol-*.

In Old Georgian the word occurs in the form *mḳal-* (*čamda mḳalsa...* 'he ate locusts...' Mk. 1.6). Old Georgian and Laz forms show the primary character of the initial *m*. The final *-ia* in Georgian is the estimation suffix frequently found also in other designations of

small animals and insects. According to A. Činčarauli (*IKE* XXIII: 130) the lexeme derives from the present participle **m-mk-al-* ‘harvesting’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895: V). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 113).

CK ***mkerd-** : **mkrd-** ‘breast, chest’: Georg. *mkerd-* ‘breast, chest’; Megr. *kidir-*, *kədar-*; Svan *məčwed*, *mučod*.

Well represented in Old Georgian (*icemda mkerdsa da itgoda...* ‘smote upon his breast, saying...’ Lk. 18.13). The age of the word-initial *m* is proved by Georgian and Svan forms. For its loss in Megrelian cf. **mkał-*, **mčad-*, **mxal-*, **mqar-*, and others. In Svan the process *k > č* is usual. The stem’s similarity to PIE **kērd-* : *kērd-* ‘heart’ is worth noting. Cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1995: 775.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (1942: 99). Svan: Deeters (1930: 44), *ĖSKJa*: 135.

GZ ***m-kwax-e-** ‘unripe, sour’: Georg. *mkvaxe-* ‘unripe, sour (about fruit)’; Megr. *koxa-* ‘unripe (about grapes)’; Laz *koxa-* ‘unripened grapes, sour juice of unripened grapes’.

The lexeme, lacking in Old Georgian texts is found in Georgian medieval literature (cf. Rustaveli 207.4). In the dictionary of S. Orbeliani it is listed with the meaning ‘unripe fruit’. The word seems to be a formation derived from the unattested verb stem **kwax-*. The Zan forms have lost the initial *m* (compare, however, Laz *mčoxa-* ‘sour’); here the development *wa > o* is quite common. The Svan forms *kux*, *küxw* are likely to have been borrowed from the Zan source.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 292). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 109–110.

GZ ***m-kl-e-** ‘deprived, lacking’: Georg. *mokle-* ‘short’; Megr. [*kule-*] ‘deprived’; Laz *mčule-* ‘short’.

Derived from the Common Kartvelian verb stem **kel-* : *kl-* ‘to lack; to be short of’ with the circumfix **m-* – *-e*. The word is registered as *mokle-* in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaž 1973: 265). Dialectal Xevs. *mkle-* is a more regular Georgian correspondence to the Zan word. The Megrelian equivalent can be extracted from compound *xe-kule-* ‘deprived of a hand’. *e* at the end of the Zan word is preserved since it is substantivized.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 229).

*mo-

GZ *mo- preverb of direction with the meaning of 'in the direction towards the speaker': Georg. *mo-*; Megr. *mo-*; Laz *mo-*.

Contrasts with the preverb *mi- (see above) in meaning. It is widely attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaze 1973: 259–292). In some modern Georgian dialects its parallel form *ma-* can be found: cf. Xevs. *kač mawed* 'the husband came'. The prefix is likely to be somehow related to the first person objective prefix *m-.

|| Deeters (1930: 14).

GZ *mo-zrd-il- 'grown, grown-up': Georg. *mozrdil-* 'grown-up, adult'; Megr. *mordil-* 'grown, brought up, (well) bred'; Laz *morde(r)-* 'grown-up, big'.

Deverbative formation. It may be viewed as an original participle in *-il based on the verb stem *zard- : zrd- 'to grow'. In Laz, owing to analogy with later attributive formations, the old suffix is replaced by -e(r).

|| ÈSKJa: 136.

GZ *mo-rgw- 'ball, skein': Georg. *morgv-* 'ball, skein'; Megr. *murgv-*; Laz *murg-* 'ball, lump'.

In Old Georgian the word *morgu-* is attested in the meaning 'potter's wheel' (Abulaze 1973: 273). By its origin it is a prefix derivative from the verb *gor- : gr- 'to wheel, to roll'. In Megrelian its reflex is preserved also in the adjective *murgva-* 'unpleasant, disagreeable, elusive, tricky (of humans)'. In Laz the word often refers to a skein of silk thread. The Zan form is reflected in Georgian (Gur.) *murg-* 'skein of thread or rope'.

|| Klimov (1985: 171).

CK *mos- 'to get dressed, put on': Georg. *mos-* 'to get dressed, put on'; Svan *msw-* 'to cover oneself with smth.; to get dressed'.

The verb stem is widely attested in Old Georgian: *samoseli ara šee-mosa...* '(he) wore no clothes...' Lk. 12.27 (action noun *šemosva-*, cf. derivative *sa-mos-el-* 'clothes'). The Svan action noun is *li-msw-i*. The labial element of the Svan stem underwent a metathesis.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 43).

GZ *mo-čr-il- 'cut off': Georg. *močril-* 'cut off'; Megr. *močkiril-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaze 1973: 290). It is a past participle in -il based on the verb stem *čer- : čr- 'to cut, chop, fell'. The Megrelian equivalent regularly corresponds to the Georgian form.

GZ *mžyr– ‘to wither, fade’: Georg. *mžyr–* ‘to fade (about flowers)’; Megr. (*b*)žyir–, (*b*)žyər– ‘to fade’; Laz žyir– ‘to rot’.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian sources. The initial *m* in Georgian seems to be original since its antiquity can be proved probably by word-initial consonant in Megrelian (action noun (*b*)žyirapa–) and the *ž* > *ẓ̌* process in Laz (cf. žyirer– ‘rotten’), which could be explained by former vicinity of *ž* to *m*. The reflexes of stem-final *r* are regular. The semantic connection between the cognates is evident.

|| ÈSKJa: 137.

GZ *m–rt–el– ‘safe, intact, healthy’: Georg. *mrtel–* ‘healthy’; Megr. *tar–*.

The word is well known from Old Georgian texts (Abulaze 1973: 294). It is a derivative of a verb stem *rt– ‘to unite, to join, to connect’ (Vogt 1954: 542), which is also present in *ert– ‘one’. In the Megrelian equivalent the consonant cluster is simplified. The other correlations between the forms are regular. Georg. *mtel–* ‘whole’ is a lexicalized variant of the stem.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 240). Cf. Marr (1936: 63).

GZ *m–(s)čw–al– ‘point, thorn’: Georg. *mčval–* ‘colic (in the body)’; Laz *mčkul–*, *mčkil–* ‘sharp; thorn, wedge’.

In Old Georgian the stem can be discerned in the structure of the derivative *sa–msčual–* // *sa–mrčual–* ‘nail’. The word is a derivative from the verb stem *(s)čw– ‘to hammer in, stick in’. Concerning the sound correspondence between Georg. *čv* and Zan *čkv* see Kartoza (1990: 39–42).

|| Kartoza (ibidem).

CK *msxal– ‘pear’: Georg. (*m*)*sxal–* ‘pear’; Megr. *sxul–*; Laz *cxul–*; Svan *wicx*, (*w*)*icx(w)* (pl. stem *ucx–*).

In Old Georgian it occurs in the form of *sxal–*. In modern dialects also the form *psxal–* is known. The initial *m* is reconstructed here because of the change of expected *o* into *u* in Zan (see Gudava 1960: 121) as well as in view of the affricatization *s* > *c* in the consonant cluster in Laz and Svan. In the latter word-final *l* underwent regular change > *w* > 0. Topuria assumed a prefixal nature of the Svan *i* (cf. Topuria 1979: 98).

|| Georgian, Svan: Brosset (1849: 76). Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Marr (1912.1: 37).

GZ *(m)s,xw–il– ‘stout, big’: Georg. (*m*)*sxvil–* ‘big, large’; Megr. *šxu–*, *šxū–* ‘stout, fat’; Laz (*m*)*čxu–*.

*mtwer-

In Old Georgian alongside the adjective *msxwil-* (Saržvelaze 1995: 151) the form of the comparative *u-msx-o* 'more, larger' (Abulaže 1973: 426) is also attested. Modern Georgian has variants *psxvil-*, *sxvil-* and *sxil-*. For the correspondence between Georgian *-il* and Zan 0 see **srsw-il-*, etc. A number of circumstances supports the antiquity of the Georgian extended form: cf. the lengthening of Megrelian final *u*, the Megrelian plural form *šxul-ep-*, the Laz plural form *čxvel-epe-*. Affricatization of the spirant is found in the Laz consonant cluster (cf. also **zisxl-*, **msxal-*, and others).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 61). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 231–232).

GZ ***mt̃wer-** 'dust, whirlwind of dust': Georg. *mt̃ver-* 'dust, whirlwind of dust'; Megr. *t̃ver-*; Laz *mt̃ve(r)-*, *mt̃ver-*.

The lexeme is well known in Old Georgian: *miiyo Mose mt̃ueri igi...* 'and Moses took dust (ashes)...' Ex. 9.10. The Georgian and Laz forms support the antiquity of *m* posited at the beginning of the word. The reflexes of *we* are regular in all languages. In some dialects the Laz correspondence means also 'ashes'. The similarity of Kartvelian material to the PIE verb stem **t̃uer-* : *tur-* 'to turn, to whirl' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1100) is striking.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 36). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 393).

GZ **mt̃il-** 'greens, vegetables': Georg. *mt̃il-* 'kitchen-garden, garden'; Megr. [*rt̃il-*, *rt̃vin-*] 'greens, vegetables'.

Found in Old Georgian (*mt̃ilsa mas...* 'in the garden...' Jn 18.26). In the Zan branch it can be identified in Megr. *o-rt̃il-*, *o-rt̃vin-* 'kitchen-garden'. Laz *o-nt̃ul-e* 'kitchen-garden' does not belong here (cf. Arm. *btut* 'fruit'). There are even less reasons for identifying the lexeme with Svan (*lartam-*, *lertām-* 'greens').

|| Šavaxišvili (1934: 98–100).

GZ ***mt̃kaw-el-** 'span, inch': Georg. *mt̃kavel-* 'a span – distance between thumb and little finger extended'; Megr. *t̃ku-*, *t̃kū-*, *t̃kou-*; Laz *mt̃ko-*, *mt̃ku-*, (*m*)*tu-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 299). It belongs to the lexemes supporting the correspondence Georg. *-(v)el* ~ Zan *-u*. The Georgian and Laz forms point to the antiquity of the initial

m. Similar Svan lexemes (*kaməl*, *kamin* and others) must have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 113). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 75).

GZ ***muql-** ‘knee, corner’: Georg. *muxl-* ‘knee’; Megr. *muxur-* ‘corner, edge’.

The lexeme is well known from Old Georgian (*ševvrda muqlta Iesujsta* ‘he fell down at Jesus’ knees’ Lk. 5.8). Old Georgian and some modern Georgian dialects show the priority of *q* over *x*. Old **l* is reflected regularly. The semantic similarity of the Georgian and Megrelian forms seems obvious. In comparing the word with Georg. *mxare-* ‘side’ Marr and some other researchers face insurmountable phonetic difficulties.

|| ÈSKJa: 138.

CK(?) ***my-** ‘moth(?)’: Georg. *my-il-* ‘moth, a small worm’; Svan *my-ul* ‘insect’.

The word is found in Old Georgian: *arca myilman ganrqunis...* ‘neither moth corrupteth...’ Lk. 12.33. The Georgian and Svan cognates have different derivational affixes (the final *l* of the inherited stem could not have been preserved in Svan).

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ ***mqar-** ‘strong, sound, solid’; Georg. *mqar-* ‘strong, sound’; Laz *pež-*.

An adjective well attested in Old Georgian (cf. *mixwidet mqarsa mas kldesa...* ‘come to the solid rock...’ Sin. mr. 156.18). The initial sequence *mq* regularly yields *p* in Laz (compare **mqen-* : *mqn-*). At the end of the stem the unusual Zan development *r* > *ž* (instead of regular *ž*) is found. For the replacement of expected Zan *o* by *e* see **oc₁-*, **yor-*, **ž₁aryw-*.

|| G. Kartozia.

GZ ***mqen-** : **mqn-** ‘to graft’: Georg. *mqen-* : *mqn-* ‘to graft’; Megr. ‘*on-*, Laz *mpon-* ‘to graft, cross’.

A verb stem attested in Old Georgian: action noun *damqna-* (cf. Abulaže: 117). In Georgian the stem shows two ablaut grades. As in **gr-ex-* : *gr-ix-*, **ckend-* : *cknd-*, **čer-* : *čr-*, the Zan forms reflect the

*mš(i)–

full grade of the parallel underlying vocalism *a*. The age of *m* in word-initial position is supported by Georgian and Laz forms. In Laz (action noun *ge-mpon-u*) *p* has developed through the interaction of *m* and *q*. If the analogous phenomenon in Megrelian is taken into account (cf. *puns* < *mquns* ‘I have’; *piluns* < *mquviluns* ‘I am being killed, sth. finishes me’), Laz action noun *o-mpon-u* can be compared with Megr. *ponua-* ‘to lean against, put against’. The Svan stem *mqin-* (action noun *li-mqin-e* ‘to graft, inoculate’) is likely to be borrowed from a Georgian source.

|| Georgian and Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 142). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 306–307).

GZ *mš(i)– ‘to be hungry’: Georg. *ši-* ‘to be hungry’; Megr. *škir-*, *škər-*; Laz (*m*)*škir-*, (*m*)*ško(r)-*.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian where in the most ancient texts it has the form *mši-* (cf. *neṭar xart, romelta gmšiš* ‘blessed are ye that hunger now’ Lk. 6.21; action noun *mševa-*, *šimšil-*). The Georgian and Zan forms (cf. action noun Megr. *škirena-*, *škirenul-* ‘hungry’) indicate the priority of word-initial *m*, which was later eliminated from the stem because of its homophony with the objective prefix of the first person *m-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 360). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 368).

CK *m-šw-e ‘child’: Georg. [*mšo-*] ‘child’; Megr. *skua-* ‘son’; Svan *sge(j)*, *msge(j)*, *ške* ‘child (boy)’.

The Georgian continuant is represented in the Old Georgian compound *pir-mšo-* ‘first-born, elder’ (*šva zej igi misi pirmšoj* ‘brought forth her firstborn son’ Lk. 2.7), where the second component is a derivative from the verb stem *šew- : šw- with the circumfix *m- – -e. In Georgian a development *we* > *o* took place. In Megrelian *m* has been lost; *š* before *w* regularly yields *sk* in Zan and *sg* (> *sk*) in Svan. See Gamqrelize (1959: 59–60). In Svan the glide *w* has been lost.

|| Georgian, Svan: Marr (1911–1914 VI: 421). Megrelian: Gamqrelize (1959: 60).

CK *m-šwen– ‘beautiful, beauty’: Georg. *mšven-* ‘beautiful, wonderful’; Megr. *skvam-*, *skvam-*; Laz *mskva-*, *mskvalina-*, *pskva-*; Svan *musgwen*.

The Old Georgian continuant is represented by the derivative formation *šuen-ier-* ‘standing in beauty’. The lexeme is formed with the

prefix *m-* (found in numerous substantives) from the verb stem *šw-en-. Cf. modern Georgian *mšvenier-* 'beautiful'. The end of the Zan word is transformed.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Schuchardt (1902.1: 295). Laz: Lafon (1929: 161).

GZ *mšwil- 'to shoot (an arrow)': Georg. *mšvil-* 'to shoot (an arrow)'; Megr. *škvil-*.

The Georgian continuant is known from Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 305). The verb stem is likely to be derived from the noun *mšwild- 'bow' with the final consonant cluster simplified.

|| Čaraia (1918: IX).

GZ *mšwild- 'bow': Georg. *mšvild-*, *švild-* 'bow'; Megr. *škvil-*, *škvind-* 'bow, catapult'.

The word is well known from Old Georgian texts (*ač ayiye ... mšwildi* 'Now take ... a bow' Gen. 27.3) where it had a connotation 'rainbow' (Saržvelaže 1995: 155). Compare also Georgian dialectal (Tuš.) *pšvind-*. The Megrelian forms have lost *m* and reveal a change *š > šk (instead of expected *sk*) before the *wi* syllable (Kartozia 1984: 138–140). The final *d* could be lost here under the impact of the compound *škvildosagan-* (< *škvild-do-sagan-*) 'bow and arrows'. Čikobava's view differs from this (cf. Čikobava (1938: 99).

|| Čaraia (1918: IX), Čikobava (1938: 99).

GZ *mcire- 'little, small': Georg. *mcire-* 'little, small, few'; Megr. *cira-* 'girl'.

The lexeme is widely represented in Old Georgian texts (*twirti čemi mcire ars* 'my yoke is easy' Mt. 11.30). The word looks like a verbal derivative with the circumfix **m-* – *-e*. The correspondence Georg. *e* ~ Zan *a* at the end of the adjective is regular. Certain authors recognize the connection of the Georgian word with the Svan stem *hwr-*: cf. *li-hwr-e* 'to decrease in weight'. Cf. Topuria (*IKE* XII, 1960: 156).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 73).

GZ *mc,en- : mc,n- 'to leave (to), charge, entrust': Georg. *mcen-* : *mcn-* 'to leave (to), command'; Megr. *čin-* 'to leave (to), charge, entrust'; Laz *mčin-* 'to entrust bequeath'.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian texts (*man mamcno me* 'he gave me the commandment' Jn. 13.49; compare *mcneba-* 'com-

*mʒaye-

mandment'). The Zan forms (cf. action noun Megr. *dočina-*) reflect the zero grade of the stem. The Megrelian consonant cluster has lost word-initial *m* (cf. **mkał-*, **ms₁xw-il-*, **mcire-*, **mç₁er-*, and others). The stem is likely to be derived from **c₁an-* : *c₁n-* 'to know'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Mačavariani (1961: 258).

CK(?) **mʒaye-* 'rancid (nut)': Georg. *mʒaye-* 'rancid (nut)'; Megr. *ʒuye-*; Svan *məʒiy-* (?).

Cf. also Georgian dialectal (Gur.) *ʒaye-* (Ylonti 1984: 684). The Megrelian form's vocalism gives evidence of the loss of the word-initial *m* (cf. Gudava 1960). The history of the vocalism in the second syllable of the Svan correspondence makes its relatedness somewhat doubtful and gives grounds to see in the Svan word a borrowing from Megrelian. The structure of the lexeme resembles the deverbative formations containing the circumfix **m-* -- *-e*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Mačavariani (1965: 25). Megrelian: Klimov (1973: 363).

GZ(?) **m-ʒ₁ew-al-* 'foundling (egg)'; Georg. *mʒeval-* 'foundling (egg); hostage'; Megr. *ʒa(a)l-*.

In Old Georgian texts the word is attested in the secondary meaning 'hostage' (Abulaʒe 1973: 307). It is probably a derivative with the circumfix **m-* -- *-al*. However, the identification of its root with the verb stem **ʒew-* : *ʒw-* 'to lie (about inanimate objects)' entails great difficulties because of word-initial *ʒ* in Zan.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 411).

GZ **mʒ₁iy-* 'fist': Georg. *mʒiy-* 'fist'; Megr. *ʒix-*; Laz *mʒix-*, *nʒix-* 'fist, handful'.

The form *mʒiy-* (*da aces mʒiyita...* 'and will strike with fist...' Ex. 21.18), which is typical of modern Georgian, is already found in Old Georgian. However, the variant *mʒiy-* preserved in S. Orbeliani's dictionary parallel with the Zan equivalents makes it preferable to assume *ʒ₁* in the archetype. The Georgian and Laz forms point to the priority of *m* in word-initial position. In the Zan forms *y* undergoes devoicing.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 62).

GZ(?) **mçikw-* 'to soil, to make dirty': Georg. *mçik-* 'to soil'; Megr. *çik(v)-*; Laz *çikv-* (?).

A problematic comparison since the inherited character of the stem in the Zan languages is difficult to prove. If the comparison holds, the stem may date back to the Georgian-Zan period. It is attested in Old Georgian (*mçinkulita šemyebe me* 'Yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch (filth)' Job 9.31). The Megrelian form has lost the initial *m*. The final *v* often disappears here: cf. the action noun *çikua-*, *çikvil-* 'dirty' (*arçok dicikə* 'everything has become dirty'). Apparently the Laz form has been registered only with native speakers living in Georgia (*kamuicikveen* 'he became dirty').

|| ÈSKJa: 140.

GZ *mçqat- 'salt, salted'; Georg. [mçqat-] 'salt, salted'; Megr. *çqət-*.

In Georgian the stem can be extracted from the dialectal (Lečx.) derivative *na-mçqat-o* 'saline solution for conserving brynza (sheep's cheese)' (Ylonti 1984: 408). For Megrelian cf. adjective *çqət-am-* 'salt(ed)' and *çqət-kvar-* 'oversalted flat cake'.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 20).

GZ *mç₁are- 'bitter': Georg. *mçare-* 'bitter'; Megr. [çor-].

Probably a Georgian-Zan adjective. In the same shape the word is represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 309). In Megrelian it can be discerned in the verb *gito-çor-apa-* 'to remove a bitter tast'. The phonetic correspondence is regular. The lexeme contains the historical word-formation circumfix **m-* – *-e*.

|| Berize (1956: 247–248). Cf. Gigineišvili (1984: 34).

CK *mç₁er- 'insect, fly': Georg. *mçer-* 'insect'; Megr. *çanž-*, *çand-* 'fly'; Laz *mç₁až-*; Svan *mēr*.

The word is widely known from Old Georgian texts where it meant 'fly' (*zaylis mçeri* 'dog fly' Ex. 8.21, 31). In all probability it is formed from the verb stem **ç₁er-* 'to scratch; to depict, portray' with the help of the word-forming prefix *m-* (Penruxi-Saržvelaže 1990: 204). The Megrelian correspondence has lost *m* (cf. the preceding entries), while the Svan form shows a compensatory vowel lengthening due to the loss of a glottalized affricate (for the latter process in Svan see **ç₁ad-* : *ç₁d-*, **ç₁am-*, **ç₁er-* : *ç₁r-*, etc.). Already Marr stated that Arm. *çanč-*, *çanž-* 'fly' which can be found in the fifth-century texts is a Zan loanword (cf. also Kapancjan 1975: 370; Ačarjan 1977: 184–185).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Riabinin (1897: 21). Laz: Marr (1909: 072). Svan: (Wardrop 1911: 605).

*mç₁q-

GZ *mç₁q- ‘to train (to), break in’: Georg. mçq- ‘to break in (cattle)’; Megr. nçq-; Laz mçk-, çk- ‘to train (cattle)’.

The verb stem is well known from Old Georgian sources: cf. *u-mçq(v)*- ‘unbroken’, the action noun *damçqa-* (Abulaze 1973: 118). For Megrelian compare the action noun *mçquala-* and attributive *unçqapu-* ‘unbroken’ with changed nasal. Svan *li-nçq-i* ‘to break in, tame, curb’ is likely to be borrowed from Megrelian, because instead of the expected spirant (cf. **nerç₁qw-*, **ç₁qar-*, **ç₁qwed-*, etc.) it shows the affricate.

|| Cindeliani (1969: 9), Kartoziya (1979: 63–64), Giginešvili (1981: 131–136).

GZ *mç₁q-es- : mç₁q-s- ‘to pasture, shepherd (cattle)’: Georg. çqes- ‘to pasture (cattle)’; Megr. çqes-, çqis-; Laz mçkes-, mçes-, çes- ‘to guard, watch’.

The verb stem’s continuant in Old Georgian still had the initial *m* (*qnvides an mçqsides...* ‘plowing or feeding cattle...’ Lk. 17.7; action noun *mçqsva-*). The Laz forms also confirm the age of *m*. The stem may perhaps be considered as a derivative from the stem **mç₁q-* extended by the historical enlargement **-es* : *-s*. The history of its vocalism remains rather obscure: the Zan *e* // *i* is likely to reflect the zero grade. In the Zan word the process *s* > *š* seems to be the result of distant assimilation to the preceding hushing consonant.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 265). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 412–413) with different conclusion.

GZ *mç₁qes- ‘shepherd’: Georg. mçqems- ‘shepherd’; Megr. çqis-, çqas-, çqes-; Laz mçkes-, mçes-.

The lexeme is well known from Old Georgian texts (*davsce mçqemsi...* ‘I will smite the shepherd...’ Mt. 26.31). Cf. also Georg. (dial.) çqes-. It may be treated as a derivative noun with prefix *m-* formed from the verb stem **mç₁q-es-* : *mç₁q-s-*. The phonetic history of the word is similar to the history of the preceding stem. Its specific feature is the secondary *m* in word-internal position in the Georgian form.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 96).

GZ *mçad- ‘bread (of millet), churek’: Georg. (m)çad- ‘bread (of millet), churek’; Megr. çkid-, çkæd-; Laz (m)çkud-, (m)çkid-.

The lexeme occurs in Old Georgian texts, where it had a form çad- (*me çadi makvs çamad* ‘I have bread to eat’ Jn. 4.32). Cf. Georgian

dialectal (Ing.) čat–. The Laz forms point to the priority of *m*, which is also confirmed by the vocalism of the Zan variants, where *u* alternates with *i* (cf. Gudava 1960: 121). The Svan forms čkid–, čkəd–, čkət– point to a Zan source. As a cultural term the word is known in some other languages of the Caucasus (Arm. čat*, Kryz. čat, Lak ččat, Avar čed).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112). Laz: Marr (1912.1: 34).

GZ *mčaxe– ‘sour’: Georg. mčaxe– ‘sour’; Laz mčoxa–.

The adjective can be found in Old Georgian in the form mčax– (Abulaze 1973: 312). The archetype resembles the formations provided with the derivational circumfix *m– –e. However, its underlying root remains unknown. The *k* expected after the affricate does not develop in Laz because of the presence of a velar consonant in the word.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 20).

GZ *m–čed–el– ‘smith, blacksmith’: Georg. mčedel– ‘smith, blacksmith’; Megr. čkadu–.

Occurs in Old Georgian: *misca igi mčedelsa...* ‘gave it to the smith...’ Jg 19.4. It is derived from the verb stem *čed– ‘to hammer in’ with the help of the circumfix *m– –el. The cognates are phonetically regular, although the Megrelian form underwent simplification of the word-initial consonant cluster. The expected Laz equivalent is displaced by a Turkish loanword. Similar Svan *məškid–* ‘smith’ reflects another word-forming type.

|| Rogava (IKÉ IV, 1953: 47).

GZ *mčle– ‘lean, skinny, thin’: Georg. mčle– ‘lean, thin’; Megr. čkola–.

The adjective occurs in Old Georgian texts (...*da mčleni qorcita* ‘...and leanfleshed’ Gen. 41.3). The lexeme may belong historically to deverbal derivatives with a circumfix (see *m– –e). The initial *m* is regularly lost in Megrelian. The correspondence between Georg. *e* and Megr. *a* in word-final position in an adjectival form is regular. The presence of *o* in the Megrelian word needs explanation. The Megrelian form of the equative *ma–čkol–a* ‘as lean as...’ led Rogava (IKÉ IX–X, 1957: 99–100) to the assumption that in the Georgian word as well we have a former equative form of the analogous type. According to Ačaryan (1977: 204) Arm. člel ‘extreme leanness’ may have a Georgian source.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 112).

GZ *mxal– ‘vegetables, greens’: Georg. mxal– ‘greens (edible)’; Megr. xul– ‘kohlrabi’.

*mxar-

A lexeme attested in Old Georgian (*mxali iqo sazrdeli mata* 'their food was greens' Job 30.4). A dialectal form *pxal-* occurs in Georgian. In Megrelian word-initial *m* was lost, as indicated by the *u*-vocalism (cf. Gudava 1960: 122). The Laz correspondence has not been found. A comparison with Svan *ipx-* 'a sort of fern' is rather difficult semantically.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112).

GZ *mxar- 'to eat': Georg. *mxar-* 'to eat (in the evening)'; Laz *mxor-*, *pxor-*, *mpxor-*.

In Georgian the verb stem has been preserved only in the derivative *sa-mxar-* 'dinner', which is also known from Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 356). The first Laz form corresponds regularly to the Georgian one. The final *r* remains invariable as in other verb stems. For an alternative view see Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 232).

|| Machavariani.

GZ *mxul- 'lizard': Georg. *mxuliv-* 'lizard'; Megr. *xvi(l)ar-*, *xolar-*, *xvelar-*; Laz *mtxola(r)-*, *xolura-*.

The Georgian form is found in Old Georgian texts (*da mxulivi* 'and the lizard' Lev. 11.30). The Georgian and Laz lexemes retain the initial *m*. In Laz *t* is patently secondary. Only the root part of the word can reflect a common protoform. For the modern Georgian designation of lizard see **ywl-ek-* : *ywl-ik-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Schmidt (1962: 125). Laz: ÈSKJa: 144.

CK *mqar- 'shoulder': Georg. *mxar-* 'shoulder'; Megr. *xuž-*; Laz (*m*)*xuž-*, *pxuž-*; Svan *meqer* 'the part of the arm between shoulder and elbow'.

In Old Georgian the lexeme occurs in the form *mqar-* (*ayikida mqarta twista...* 'took upon her shoulders...' Gen. 21.14). In Georgian dialects a variant *pxar-* is found. Cf. also Moxev. *mqar-* 'measure of length'. Loss of *m* in Megrelian is indicated by *u*-vocalism indirectly (cf. Gudava 1960: 121). The Georgian and Svan correspondences require a reconstruction with *q*. The vocalism of Svan *meqär-* and *meqar-* is secondary.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz, Svan: Marr (1909: 071).

CK *mqw- 'to overthrow, overturn': Georg. *mx-* 'to overthrow, overturn'; Megr. *xu-*; Laz *xu-* 'to throw, splash out'; Svan *nqw-* 'to overthrow; to fall'.

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian (*tablebi igi daamqua* 'he overthrew the tables' Jn. 2.15; cf. the action noun *damqueba-*). The modern Georgian forms (action noun *damxoba-* and *daamxo* < *da-a-mxv-a* 'he overturned it') point also to an etymological *w* in the root. Whereas in Zan *m* of the stem was lost (cf. Megr. action noun *xuapa-*), in Svan (action noun *li-nqw-i*) it underwent change to *n*. The antiquity of *q* is evident. The Zan stem shows a deviation from old semantics.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 149.

CK *mqc₁e- 'grey hair': Georg. (*m*)*xce-* 'grey hair'; Megr. *če-* 'white'; Laz (*k*)*če-*, *xče-*, *čke-*; Svan *meči* 'old man'.

The lexeme is widely represented in the form *mqce-* in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 316), where there is also a derivative *mqcovan-* 'grey-haired' (see **m-qc₁-oan-*). The age of the word-initial *m* needs no commentary. The Megrelian stem has been simplified (the former *q* is vestigially reflected here in the Laz forms). The identity of the Georgian and Zan word-final *e* points to the fact that historically the lexeme was a substantive.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1912.1: 39–40). Svan: Mačavariani (1965: 113).

GZ *mqc₁-oan- 'hoary with age': Georg. *mxcovan-* 'hoary with age'; Megr. *rčin(u)-* 'old man, old woman'; Laz *xčīn-*, *kčīn-* 'old woman'.

Known from Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 316). It is derived from **mqc₁e-* with the help of the suffix **-oan*. In the Zan word the suffixal part is simplified.

|| Čikobava (1938: 40).

N

CK *n- 'to want, desire, wish': Georg. *n-* 'to want, wish, desire'; Laz *n-*; Svan *n-*.

Verb stem amply attested in Old Georgian: cf. *minda šekrebaj našobta šentaj* 'often would I have gathered thy children together' Mt. 23.37; *unda gančeveba Iesujsi...* 'willing to release Jesus...' Lk. 23.20 (the action noun is *neba-* 'wish, will'). In Megrelian the stem is re-

*na-

placed. For Laz cf. *u-n-on* 'he wants', *mi-n-on* 'I want'. In Svan it is rarely found: *erxis xo-n-dax sgimxän lizi* 'some wished to leave the source' (Sv. P. 178.12).

|| ÈSKJa: 145.

CK *na- word-formation affix of the past participle: Georg. *na-*; Megr. *no-*; Laz [*no-*]; Svan *na-*.

A word-forming prefix very common in Old Georgian participles (which often function also as substantives): cf. *na-parev-* 'stolen', *na-tex-* 'broken, broken off' *na-šob-* 'born'. In the Zan languages it can be identified in some old verbal formations (see below **na-wal-*, **na-kwerc₁x-al-*, **na-perçk-*). The Svan affix is highly productive to this day: cf. *na-kid-* 'taken', *na-səm* 'heard'.

|| Georgian, Svan: Deeters (1930: 227-228). Megrelian, Laz: ÈSKJa: 145.

GZ *nad- 'collective help (assistance) in agriculture': Georg. *nad-* 'collective assistance'; Megr. *nod-*; Laz *node(r)-*.

The agricultural term is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 317). Since the Zan forms' vocalism shows a regular correspondence to Georgian the word cannot derive from Arabic *nād* 'union, association, meeting'. This assertion may be corroborated also by the now unproductive affix *-e(r)* in the Laz form. However, an Old Semitic source of the word is quite admissible (cf. Penrxi-Saržvelaze 1990: 236). The similar Svan *nad(w)*, *ned*, *nadār* and *nodār* seem to be borrowed from Georgian and Zan forms respectively.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 104). Laz: Schmidt (1962: 127).

GZ *na-wal- 'gone, done; covered; beaten': Georg. *naval-* 'gone; covered; beaten'; Laz *novel-* 'trace, trail; footstep'.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan formation. It is a past participle based on the verb stem **wal-* : *wl-* and contains the word-formation affix *na-*. The Zan vocalism can be explained as caused by umlaut.

|| Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 167, 337).

GZ *nat- : nt- 'to shine, give light': Georg. *nat-* : *nt-* 'to shine, give light'; Megr. [*not-*]; Laz [*not-*].

A verb stem which is also registered in Old Georgian texts (the action noun *nateba-*, *natoba-*). Cf. modern Georgian *a-nat-eb*s 'lights up,

illuminates' alongside *a-nt-ia* '(it) shines, gives light'. In the Zan languages the stem can be extracted now only from a derivative noun *note-* 'splinter, torch' (see *nat-e-).

GZ *nat-e- 'light': Georg. *natel-* 'light, bright'; Megr. *note-* 'splinter, torch'; Laz *note-*.

Deverbative formation. It is a derivative of the verb stem *nat- : nt-. In Old Georgian the word functioned as both adjective and substantive: cf. its meaning 'light, ray' (Abulaze 1973: 318). The lexeme's original substantive character is proven by the final vowel in Zan. Topuria interprets the structure of the word in a different way, decomposing it into a prefix *na- and a stem *te-* 'light' (cf. Topuria 1979: 70).

|| Schmidt (1962: 113).

GZ *na-kwet- 'piece, cut, section; lump': Georg. *nakvet-* 'piece; lump'; Megr. *nokvet-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian in the shape of *na-kuet-* (Abulaze 1973: 320). By its origin it is a past participle with a prefix *na- based on the verb stem *kwet- : kwt-. The vocalism *e* of the Zan form derives from unlauded *a*.

|| Rogava (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 166).

GZ *na-kwerc₁x-al- 'splinter, fragment': Georg. *nakvercxal-* 'spark'; Megr. *nakvačxir-* 'charred log'; Laz *nokančxule-*.

It is a derived with circumfix *na- -al- from the verb stem (see *kwerc₁x- 'to break to pieces, to smash, to split up'). In Old Georgian it is recorded in the forms *nakuercxal-* and *nakuerčxal-* (cf. Abulaze 1973: 320). In the Megrelian form the Zan *no-* is contaminated with Georgian *na-*, which entered the language with a number of Georgian borrowings. The Laz form has lost its *w*. The suffixal part of the word needs clarification.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraya (1912: 28). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 159).

GZ *nana- 'mummy': Georg. *nana-* 'lullaby'; Megr. *nana-* 'mummy'; Laz *nana-* 'mother'.

A lexeme manifesting a typical sound-symbolic stem ("nursery word"), a common form of address of mother to child and vice-versa. Variants of this form are present in lullabies (cf. Georg. *nanina*, Laz *nani*). The interlanguage identity of the words is caused by their sound-symbolic

*na-perçk-

nature. Similar stems are widely known in the Caucasian area (cf. Abx. *a-nan*, Chechen *nana* 'mother'), and beyond its boundaries (cf. PIE **nana-*, *nena-* 'mother, nurse').

|| *ĖSKJa*: 146.

GZ *na-perçk- 'splinter, chip; spark': Georg. *na-perçk-al-* 'spark'; Laz *no-pinçk-al-e* 'splinter; spark'.

Deverbative formation. By origin it is a past participle with the prefix *na-* based on the verb stem **perçk-* : *prçk-*. In Old Georgian it occurs in the form *na-berçq-al-* 'spark, lightning' (Abulaže 1973: 316), which is likely to have been contaminated with the verb *brçqinva* 'to shine'. The uniform suffix *-al* needs explanation.

|| Deeters (1926: 82).

GZ *na-rg- 'planted': Georg. *narg-* 'planted'; Megr. *norg-* 'seedling, sapling'.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan formation. It is a past participle with the prefix **na-* based on the verb stem **rg-* 'to plant'. The word reflects a level of agriculture achieved still at the Common Kartvelian age.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 146.

GZ *na-ṭex- 'broken; fragment(s)': Georg. *naṭex-* 'splinter, fragment(s)'; Megr. *notex-*; Laz *notex-*.

Deverbative formation. It is a past participle with the **na-* prefix based on the verb stem **ṭex-* 'to break'. The word is known in Old Georgian: *ravdeni kueli savsej naṭexisaj ayiyet?* 'how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?' Mk. 8.19. Cf. also Abulaže (1973: 322). In the second syllable of the Zan form the expected *a* is replaced by *e* under the umlaut effect of the nominative ending.

|| Rogava (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 166).

GZ *na-car- 'powder': Georg. *nacar-* 'ashes'; Megr. *nocer-* 'bran'.

Probably a Georgian-Zan formation. The word is also attested in Old Georgian texts: *nacarsa zeda msxdomareta šeinanes...* 'they had ... repented, sitting in ... ashes' Lk. 10.13. Cf. also Abulaže (1973: 324). Formally it is a past participle with the **na-* prefix based on the verb stem **car-* : *cr-* 'to pour out'. The *o* vocalism is original for the Megrelian form. The deviation of the words in meaning does not rule out their later independent origin.

|| Rogava (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 165–166).

CK *nazw- 'spruce, fir(-tree)': Georg. *naʒv-* 'spruce, fir(-tree)'; Megr. *nuzu-*, *nuzu-*; Svan *nezw-ra* 'spruce, pinetree (female)'.

Attested in Old Georgian with the meaning 'spruce, cypress' (Abulaze 1973: 324), where it had also a derivative *naʒovan-* 'fir-grove'. The lexeme has been lost in Laz. The Svan form ends in the affix *-ra*, characteristic of names of plants and trees. For the regularity of the Zan vocalism cf. *payw- 'outgrowth, protuberance'. Marr saw in the Svan cognate traces of the Kartv. *ne-zw- 'female'. If the word is an Iranism (cf. Andronikašvili 1946: 389; Bielmeier 1994: 443; Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1995: 545–546), it must be very old.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rogava (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 163). Svan: Gigineišvili (1984: 35).

GZ *na-č₁qwed- 'scrap, lump': Georg. *načqvət-* 'scrap, lump'; Megr. *nočqvəd-*.

A deverbative formation attested in Old Georgian. Formally it is a past participle derived from the verb *č₁qwed- : č₁qwd- 'to break; to tear'. The Georgian and Megrelian forms correspond phonetically to each other. The *e* vocalism of the Megrelian cognate is due to umlaut (cf. also the usual preservation of the ancient *we* sequence in Zan penultima).

|| Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 162).

GZ *na-qšir- 'coal': Georg. *naxšir-*, *našxir-* 'coal'; Megr. *nošker-*, *noškver-*; Laz *noške(r)-*.

In Old Georgian it is represented by *naqšir-*, *naqšir-* (Abulaze 1973: 326). Cf. also Xevs. *naqšir-*. The lexeme appears to be a former past participle with the prefix *na- derived from an unidentified verb stem (cf. *šwer- : šwr- 'to put out, extinguish'). There is no connection with Svan *šix-* 'coal' (see *c₁xe-).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 160).

GZ *na-čer- 'piece, portion, cut, section, lump': Georg. *načer-* 'lump'; Megr. *nočker-*.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan formation. In Old Georgian texts it seems to be unattested. It is a derivative with the prefix *na- from the verb stem *čer- : čr- 'to cut'. The *e* vocalism of the Megrelian word apparently presupposes an *o* > *ö* > *e* development.

|| Rogava (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 166).

*ne-

CK *ne- word-forming prefix: Georg. [ne-]; Megr. [na-]; Laz [na-]; Svan [ne-, nã-].

Word-forming element. In its function this now unproductive prefix shows similarity to *na-, which derives deverbative noun formations.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 146.

CK(?) *neb- 'palm': Georg. *neb-* 'palm'; Svan [neb-].

Probably a Common Kartvelian protoform. Its Georgian continuant is well attested in Old Georgian texts (*dadva nebi twisi...* 'he laid his palm...' Keimena, I, 139.15). Cf. also (Abulaze 1973: 326). In Svan the stem is found in the lexicalized form *nebär* 'gloves', where -är must be interpreted as a plural affix.

|| Gelenize (1974: 74).

GZ *nedl- 'damp, moist, fresh': Georg. *nedl-* 'damp, moist, fresh'; Megr. *ladir-*, *ladər-*; Laz *ladre-*, *larde-*.

The lexeme is well known from Old Georgian texts (*nedl ars igi mzisagan...* 'He is green before the sun...' Job 8.16). It is not quite clear whether it contains the prefix *ne- or not (the unbound verb stem *dl- has not been attested). Old *l* is regularly reflected in all languages. The Laz word may show metathesis of consonants.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 244).

CK *ne-zw- 'female of small livestock': Georg. *nezv-* 'female of small livestock'; Svan *nezw*.

The term is known from Old Georgian in the form of *nezw-* (*da qoveli txaj nezwi čreli...* 'and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted...' Gen. 30.35). It is a derivative with the prefix *ne- based on the verb stem *zw- 'to calve, to kitten'.

|| Wardrop (1911: 619).

GZ *ne-kerčxa- 'maple': Georg. *nekerčxal-* 'maple'; Megr. *lakinčxa-*.

Word-formation structure allows us suspect some connection with *krčxa- 'branchy knot'. For the correspondence between Georg. *n* and Zan *l* in word-initial position cf. *nedl-, *nems₁-, *ne-rc₁qw-. The final *l* of the Georgian form must be secondary (this is shown typical of the Georgian-Zan substantives finals).

|| Klimov (1988: 20).

GZ *nek(u)- 'little finger': Georg. nek- 'little finger'; Megr. naku-.

Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 327). Cf. also Georg. (Xevs.) *nikora titi* 'little finger'. For the final *u* of Megrelian form see *kutx(u)-, *ret(u)-, *kec(u)-, *yom(u)-. In Laz the lexeme seems to be lost.

|| Klimov (1985: 172).

GZ *nems,- 'needle': Georg. nems- 'needle'; Megr. le(p)š-, li(p)š-; Laz lems-.

The word is attested also in Old Georgian (...*gansvlad qurelisa nemsisasa*... '...to go through the eye of a needle...' Mt. 19.24). In modern Georgian dialects it has many variants: *nevs-*, *lems-*, *leps(a)-*, *nepsa-* (cf. Yloni 1984: 329). If in the word-initial position we have the historical prefix *ne- the Zan *l* must be secondary. The identity of *e* vocalism in all the languages remains obscure. It is difficult to agree with Bouda's assertion (1950: 300) that the word is borrowed from an Indo-European source (cf. PIE *siū 'to sew').

Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 33). Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 43).

CK *nena- 'tongue, word': Georg. ena- 'tongue'; Megr. nina-; Laz nena- 'tongue, word'; Svan nin, nən 'tongue'.

Widely represented in Old Georgian texts (*enata axalta itqodian* 'they shall speak with new tongues' Mk. 16.17). The word-initial *n* seems to be lost in Georgian. The end of the word is regularly reflected in the languages. The lexeme has a symbolic character (cf. Vogt 1954: 544-545), whence follows its proximity to similar formations in different languages (Sumerian *ema*, Aztec *nənə*, Arawakan *nene-*, etc.) and the identity of *e* in Georgian and Laz forms. The meaning 'word' is sometimes preserved in Megrelian poetry. A different analysis of the stem is given in Čikobava (1938: 53).

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 30). Svan: Gren (1890: 140). Cf. also Wardrop (1911: 630) and Marr (1914: 81).

GZ *ne-rg- 'planted, seedling': Georg. nerg- 'sapling, seedling'; Megr. narg- 'planted'.

The lexeme is well attested in Old Georgian, where it had the derivatives *nergva-* 'to plant' and *nergovan-* 'thick wood' (Abulaže 1973: 327). Formed with the prefix *ne- from the verb stem *rg-. Laz *nerg-* with the same meaning must be treated as a loanword from Georgian. Cf. also *na-rg-.

|| ÈSKJa: 147.

*ne-rc₁qw-

CK *ne-rc₁qw- 'saliva, spittle': Georg. *nerçqv-* 'saliva, spittle'; Megr. *lerçqva-* 'saliva'; Laz *lenčkva-*, *lemč(k)va-*, *lemškva-*, *lemžkva-*; Svan *nāšqw*, *nāšxw* 'spittle'.

The word is attested in Old Georgian texts (*šekmna tiqaj nerçqwisagan* '(he) made clay of the spittle' Jn. 9.6). It is a derivative with the prefix *ne- from the verb stem *rc₁qw- 'to puke, to vomit'. The Georgian and Svan material points to the primacy of the initial *n* in relation to *l*. The stem shows the intra-Zan correspondence between Megr. *r* and Laz *n* (cf. *burɟa-, *grɟ-el-, *warcx-wn-, etc.). The Svan word underwent a regular spirantization *ç* > *š*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 314). The rest of the material can be found in Topuria (cf. *IKE* XII: 154; 1979: 67).

CK *ne-stw- 'nostril': Georg. *nesto-* 'nostril'; Svan [*nešt-*].

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian where it meant 'slit, pipe' and had several derivatives (Abulaze 1973: 327–328). It must be analyzed as derived with the prefix *ne- from the verb stem *stw- 'to pipe, to whistle'. The Svan equivalent can be discerned in the form *neštral* 'nostrils'. However, its hissing *š* needs explanation.

|| Schmidt (1962: 128).

CK *ni- word-forming prefix: Georg. [*ni-*]; Megr. [*ni-*]; Laz [*ni-*]; Svan [*ni-*].

Derivatory element. Presently its productivity has been lost. It can be discerned in the forms *ni-*kap-* and *ni-(s)*krt-*. The possibility that it historically had a complex structure cannot be ruled out (cf. *na- and *ne-).

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 70–72).

CK *ni-*kap-* 'chin': Georg. *nikap-* 'chin'; Svan (Lašx.) *nikpa*.

In Old Georgian its continuant occurs in the slightly deviating form *nikap-* (Abulaze 1973: 329). The word must be analyzed as derived with prefix *ni- from the onomatopoeic verb stem *kap- : *kp-* 'to chatter'. In the Zan languages the lexeme is likely to have been lost (it may have been contaminated with the continuants of *ni-*kel-* 'snout'). For Svan cf. also *nipka* (Upp. Bal) and *nebka* (L. Bal).

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 294).

GZ *nikel- 'snout': Georg. *nikel-* 'snout, lip'; Megr. *niku-*, *nuku-*, *nəḳə-* 'chin'; Laz *nu(n)ku-*, *numku-* 'mouth, beak, chin'.

Occurs in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 329). Inter-language phonetic correspondences are maintained. It may contain the historical word-formation prefix *ni-. In the Zan languages the word is likely to have been contaminated with the reflex of *ni-*kap-* 'chin', as evidenced by the meaning.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 279). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 49–50).

GZ *ninw-el- 'boy, lad, adolescent': Georg. *ninvel-* 'boy, lad, adolescent'; Megr. [*ninu-*].

The Georgian lexeme is preserved in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani. The Megrelian form seems to survive in the family name *Ninua*, extended by the secondary word-forming affix *-a*. For the regular correspondence between the forms cf. *kartw-el-.

|| Sardžweladze (1991: 142–143).

CK *ni-(s)krt- 'beak': Georg. *ni(s)kart-* 'beak'; Svan *nikrat*, *nikrät*.

Attested in Old Georgian in the form of *nikrat-* (Saržveladze 1995: 164). It is a combination of the prefix *ni- with the verb stem *(s)kert- : (s)krt- 'to peck'. The contrast between Georg. *ar* and Svan *ra* seems to be the result of different vocalization of the former sonant *r*. In the Zan languages no certain cognate is found.

|| Wardrop (1911: 594).

GZ(?) *nisl- 'mist, fog': Georg. *nisl-* 'mist, fog'; Megr. *nirs-*, *nərs-(?)*.

Well attested in Old Georgian: *yrubeli da nisli...* 'clouds and fog...' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 329). The reflexes of the prototype in both languages are regular, although in the case of borrowing the Megrelian word would show the same kind of metathesis.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 115).

GZ *ničw- 'snout, mug, lip': Georg. *ničv-* 'snout, mug, lip'; Megr. [*ničkv-*] 'ugly face, mug, snout'.

Georgian-Zan archetype. Its continuant in Old Georgian is represented by the complex form *ničur-* 'the nose of an animal, trunk' (Abulaže 1973: 330). Whereas in the Zan languages the word seems to be lost, its regular correspondence is available in the Georgian (Imer., Lečx.) Zanism *ničkv-* (cf. Țlonti 1984: 422). The alternative comparison of the Georgian

*noya-

form with Megr. *ni(n)zgv-* 'beak' leads to the assumption that two words are to be derived from **nižw-*.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 24). Cf. also *ĖSKJa*: 148.

GZ *noya- 'lowland': Georg. *noqa-* 'bog, marsh, swamp'; Megr. *noya-*, *noyo-* 'low place, (river)-bed'; Laz *noya-* 'lowland, bank'.

Cf. the Georgian derivative *noqier-* 'fertile' available also in Old Georgian. The West-Georgian form *noya-* (cf. *Ÿlonti* 1984: 423) seems to be a Zanism. For the correspondence Georg. *q* ~ Zan and Svan *ɣ* cf. **d(l)aqw-*, **qoqo-*. Word-final *a* is regular.

CK *nu 'no, not'(prohibitive particle): Georg. *nu* 'no, not' (prohibitive particle); Megr. *nu*; Svan [*no*].

Its continuant is well known in Old Georgian (*nu iparav, nu cilsa hšcameb...!* 'Do not steal, do not bear false witness...!' Mk. 10.19). In Svan it can be extracted from the compound particle with the same meaning (see **numa*). For the correspondence between Georgian-Zan *u* and Svan *o* see **tute-*, **qur-*, **šubl-*.

|| Georgian, Svan *Šaraženiže* (*IKE* 1, 1946: 323-324). Megrelian: Schmidt (1962: 128). Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 148-149.

CK *numa 'no, not' (the prohibitive particle) : Megr. *numu, nəmə* 'no, not (prohibitive particle)'; Svan *nōma, nōm-*.

Prohibitive particle. Although its first component seems to be evident (see **nu*), its structure needs explanation. While in Georgian and Laz languages the form does not occur at all, in Megrelian it has a restricted use.

|| Klimov (1973: 363).

J

CK *jor- 'two': Georg. *or-*, *vor-* 'two'; Megr. *žir-*, *žər-*; Laz *žu(r)-*, *žu(r)-*, *jur-*; Svan *jōri, jori, jerbi*.

The numeral is amply represented in Old Georgian (*orita perqita* 'with two feet' Mk. 9.45). In word-initial position *j* is reflected regularly. The transition *ž* > *ž* occurs in Laz also in other cases. The Georgian and Svan correspondences preserve the original vocalism. The identical final *r* in the

attributively used forms is also regular. The final *i* of the Svan form may be a reinterpreted former ending of the nominative (cf. **sam-* 'three'). Svan *jerbi* reflects a secondary effect of umlaut: **jori* > *jewri* > *jerwi* > *jerbi*. According to Ačaryan (1977: 114) the designation of the second month of an old Arm. calendar *hoři* comes back to a Georgian source. Cf. also **sam-* 'three'.

|| Rosen (1845: 11), Bopp (1847: 32–33).

O

CK(?) ***oboba-** 'spider': Georg. *oboba-* 'spider'; Megr. [*bo(r)bo-*]; Laz [*bobo-*]; Svan *opopa*, *wopopä*, *op(l)opāj* (?).

The assignment of the lexeme to a chronological level remains uncertain. Irregular consonant correspondences and the vocalism point to a descriptive origin of the word. The reconstructed form is therefore merely an approximation. In Zan languages the stem can be extracted from its derivatives: Megr. *bo(r)bolia-* with the diminutive affix *-ia*, Laz *bobončva-*. Cf. also Georgian (Ajar.) Zanisms *bobo-čvav-*, *bobo-čxika-* 'spider'. Svan *wobobua-* and *bobola-* seem to be loanwords.

CK ***ode** 'hardly, just; while': Georg. [*ode*] 'hardly, just'; Megr. *onde* 'hardly, slightly'; Svan *wode* 'hardly, while'.

Apparently a Common Kartvelian adverb. Its continuant is well attested in Old Georgian (*amas zraxvida oden...* 'while he thought on these things...' Mt. 1.20; cf. Old Georgian *ode-s* 'when', *es-oden* 'so much', etc.). It is preserved also in the Georgian particle *-ode*: *oriode* 'only two', *samiode* 'only three', etc. Cf. Megr. *onde-t* 'faintly, feebly'.

|| ÈSKJa: 150.

CK ***otxo-** 'four': Georg. *otx-* 'four'; Megr. *otx-*; Laz *otxo-*, *ontxo-*, *otxu-*; Svan *wošt(x)w*, *wōšd(x)w*.

The numeral is amply attested in Old Georgian (*ganiqves otxad načilad...* '(they) divided into four parts...' Jn. 19.23; cf. *otx-meoc-* 'eighty' and other derivatives). The form illustrates the correspondence Georg.-Zan *t* ~ Svan *št*. The Laz and Svan cognates as well as Georgian (dial.) *otxo-* 'four knucklebones (kind of play)' allow the reconstruction of word-final *o*. Like in other cases in Svan word-initial *o* results in *wo*:

*om-

cf. *oboba-, *ode, *opl-, *oqar-. The numeral is a very early Indo-European loanword: cf. PIE *oktō(u) 'eight', where -ōu marks a dual (cf. Klimov 1994: 472–478).

|| Rosen (1845: 11), Bopp (1847: 37).

GZ *om- 'to wage war': Georg. om- 'war'; Megr. lim- 'to wage war; choppiness, surf'.

Presumably a Georgian-Zan verb stem. In Old Georgian it is attested in the shape of hom-: cf. me-hom-e 'warrior, soldier; rival' (Abulaze 1973: 237, 576). The Megrelian equivalent has developed a secondary l to avoid a vocalic onset; its action noun is lima- 'war' (cf. *ipxl-, *ube-//a-). For the correspondence Georg. o ~ Megr. i see *c₁ol-. The origin of the lexeme remains unknown. Possibly an old loanword.

GZ *o(m)pe- 'navel': Georg. upe- 'navel'; Megr. ompa- 'upper log of roof'; Laz ompa-, umpa- 'navel'.

The word is widely used in Old Georgian texts: *aymoavsebad upesa da mucelsa...* 'to fill navel and body...' Sin. mr. 110.18. In modern Georgian it has almost been displaced: cf. upe- 'hollow of the eye'. The change o > u is due to the following labial. The shift e > a in word-final position may point to the possibility of an adjectival use of the lexeme. The Megrelian cognate deviates semantically. The word may have a symbolic origin. Cf. PIE *ombh- : embh- 'navel' (Pokorny 1959: 314), Proto-Hokan unap-, ump- (Sapir 1925: 407).

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 69). Megrelian: ÈSKJa: 186.

CK *opl- 'sweat': Georg. opl- 'sweat, perspiration'; Megr. up(u)-; Laz up-; Svan wep, wop.

The lexeme is well known from Old Georgian texts: *da mohqocdes oplsa...* 'and they wiped off sweat...' Keimena I 152.29. Word-initial o became u in Zan form before a subsequent labial. Not unusual is also the correspondence of final Georg. l ~ Zan u (cf. *burtql-, *čqintl-). The Svan sequence we presupposes intermediate step ö.

|| Rosen (1845: 31).

GZ *opop- 'hoopoe': Georg. opopa- 'hoopoe'; Megr. opop-; Laz opampe-.

Attested in Old Georgian: *da opopi da myami...* 'hoopoe and noctule...' Lev. 11.19. For Megrelian cf. also a diminutive form *opopia-*. The Svan variants *opopa*, *opopä* repeat the modern Georgian form with the

later suffixal *-a* and therefore must be viewed as loanwords. In spite of its possible onomatopoeic origin, deviating from a specific "areal norm" characteristic for designations of this bird in the Caucasus, more likely is dependence of the word on an ancient Indo-European source: cf. PIE **opop-* // *epop-* alongside Lat. *upupa-*, Lit. *puppukis*, Latv. *puputis*, Arm. *hopop* 'hoopoe' (Pokorny 1959: 325; Čikobava 1938: 105). However, the Armenian lexeme cannot be (except for Ing. *hopop*) a direct antecedent on phonetical grounds. Cf. Deeters (1926–1927: 61), Klimov (1994: 129–130).

|| Čikobava (see above).

GZ **oc*₁- 'twenty': Georg. *oc-*, *voc-* 'twenty'; Megr. *eč-*; Laz *eč-*.

The reflex of the numeral occurs in Old Georgian: *vacni ocni...* 'twenty he-goats...' Ex. 32.14. *e* of the Zan equivalents derives from *o* through intermediate *we*. A Megrelian form *oč-* still survived in 1849. See Brosset (1849: 73). For the history of the vocalism see also Čikobava (1938: 219). A connection of the Georgian-Zan numeral with Svan *jer(w)ešt* 'twenty' (cf. Bopp 1847: 40) is excluded, since the latter is a compound based on the combination 'two' + 'ten'.

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

CK(?) **oqar-* 'solitary, lone (person)': Georg. *oxer-* 'neglected, nasty, rotten'; Svan (*w*)*oqar*, *wiqar* 'orphan'.

A rather problematic equation. The form *oqer-* in its meaning 'childless, uninhabited, devastated' occurs in Old Georgian (*saxli tkueni oqeri...* 'your house is left...' Mt. 23.38), where a number of its derivatives are also known (cf. Abulaže 1973: 336). Cf. Georgian epithet of an orphan *oxer-tial-*. Svan *w* is due to a secondary development. If the comparison holds, the protoform must have been a substantive. Its origin remains unknown.

|| ÈSKJa: 151–152.

P

GZ **papa-* 'grandfather': Georg. *papa-* 'grandfather'; Megr. *papu-* 'great grandfather'; Laz *papu(l)-* 'grandfather'.

The kinship term is attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 337). In Georgian this stem is somehow connected with *čina-par-* 'forefather',

*payw-

where *čina-* means 'fore-, pre-'. The identity of the vocalism of the first syllable through the languages points to the symbolic character of the stem (cf. PIE **pap(p)a-*). The vowel *u* in the Zan words proves the age of the stem-final *l* (in substantives the vowel at the absolute end of a word remained unchanged). In Zan the expected *o* becomes *u* next to a labial. The meaning of the Megrelian equivalent is shifted.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 287), Laz: Čikobava (1938: 14–15), Schmidt (1962: 94).

GZ ***payw-** 'outgrowth, protuberance': Georg. *payv-* 'belly, paunch'; Megr. *puyu-*, *puxu-* 'hump(back)'.
Apparently a Georgian-Zan lexeme. The semantic deviation of its continuants can be easily explained by the suggested proto-meaning. There exists also a widespread Megrelian variant of the word *puxurua*. In Laz the stem seems to be lost.

|| Klimov (1985: 172–173).

GZ ***pew-** 'to find, to discover': Georg. *pov-* 'to find, to acquire'; Megr. *pal-*.

Verb stem. In the *po(v)-* form its continuant is attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaḡe 1973: 342). For the correspondence in vocalism and correlation *v ~ l* between the Georgian and Zan stems (cf. the Megrelian action noun *palua-*) see **tew-* 'to leave' and **xwew-* 'to embrace, wind (round)'.
|| Kipšidze (1914: 296). Cf. Klimov (1973: 363–364).

CK ***pent-** : **pnt-** 'to scutch (wool)': Georg. *pent-* 'to scutch (wool, flax, cotton)'; Megr. *pint-*; Svan *pēnt-*.

A term reflecting a typical livestock-raising economy. Although in the Old Georgian texts the verb does not occur it is present in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani. The action nouns are Georgian *pentva-*, Megrelian *pintua-*, Svan *li-pēnt-e*. Megrelian has derivatives *pint-* (diminutive *pintia-*) 'rag, duster, piece of cloth' and *pintu-pantu-* 'muddle-headed'. However, the Svan *pinti* 'rag' must be considered a Zan loanword.
|| Klimov (1988: 20).

CK ***per-** 'lather': Georg. *per-* 'lather'; Megr. *panž-* 'poison'; Laz *paž-*; Svan *pēr* 'lather'.

A lexeme, which is also well known from Old Georgian, where it had parallel variants *pero-* and *perul-* (cf. *romelni perad aymopkureven...*

'which pour out lather...' *Ḳat. ep.* 037.15). Both Zan forms regularly reflect the archetype. The rarely used Megrelian cognate shows change of meaning. It is found in folklore texts (cf. Samušia 1971: 76.695) and in the formula *panži skan piš!* 'poison into your mouth!'). The Laz equivalent has been preserved in the compound *zoḡa-paž-* 'pumice(-stone)', literally 'sea foam' (for the semantics cf. Lat. *spuma* 'foam' and *pumex* 'pumice(-stone)').

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 299). Zan: *ÈSKJa*: 152, Klimov (1988: 157).

CK *per- 'to fly': Georg. [*per-*] 'to fly'; Megr. [*par-*]; Svan *per-*.

Verb stem. In Georgian and Zan it can now be found in reduplications. Cf. Georg. *pepela-* 'butterfly' (< **perpel-*) and Megr. *parpalua-* 'to move quickly'. In Svan the stem is present in its unbound form: action noun *li-per* 'to fly' (cf. *per-n-i* 'he flies', *ne-pr-* 'bird'). The stem has a tangible onomatopoeic character. Cf. PIE **per-* 'to fly' (Pokorny 1959: 817) and similar forms in many other languages.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 152.

CK *perper- 'butterfly': Georg. *pepel-a-* 'butterfly'; Megr. *parpal(ia)-*, *papralia-*; Laz *parpal-*; Svan *pepel*, *pärpold*, *pärpänd*.

Possibly dates from the Common Kartvelian stage. The word is formed by reduplicating the verb stem **per-* 'to fly'. It occurs in Old Georgian (*pepeli igi okrojsaj* 'a gold butterfly' Lev. 8.9). The final *a* of the Georgian form is a recent evaluation affix. The same must be said on the word-final *-ia* of the Megrelian cognate. The unusual replacement of *p* by *p* in Zan may be ascribed to the onomatopoeic character of the verb stem. Analogies of the latter are available also in the Svan forms.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 295), Wardrop (1911: 597). Cf. also *ÈSKJa*: 153.

GZ *perṭq- : prṭq- 'to beat out, knock out': Georg. [*prṭq-*] 'to beat out, knock out'; Megr. [*birṭq-*].

Verbal stem with a variant **bertq-*. In its unbound state it does not appear in the Kartvelian languages. The word-forming element *-el* derives the adjective **prṭq-el-* 'flat, beaten out'. Does Common Kartvelian **tqirb-* 'spleen' have a relation to this stem?

|| Klimov (1988: 158).

*perčk- : prčk-

CK *perčk- : prčk- 'to crack, split': Georg. *pčk-en-* 'to chip off, split'; Laz *pinčk-*; Svan *pečk-* : *pčk-* 'to crack'.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian texts by the form *na-bercq-al-* 'spark, flash, lightning'. Cf. modern Georgian action noun *pčkena-*. In Laz it can be identified in the action noun *o-pinčk-u* and in such lexemes as *pinčkil-* 'particle', *penčka-* 'splinter', *no-pinčk-al-e* 'splinter, spark'. Cf. also the Svan action noun *li-pečk* 'to crack, chap (a little)', *li-pčk-e* // *li-bcq-e* 'to crack, chap' (trans.) and their nominal derivative *pick* // *picq* 'crumb'. The onomatopoeic character of the stem is rather felt here (cf. Kab., Adyg. *pæsk-* 'to pinch, to tweak [each other]'). Cf. also its Georgian-Zan derivative **na-perčk-* 'splinter, chip'.

|| Nadareišvili (1974: 147).

GZ *peč- 'to blink, wink': Georg. [*peč*] 'to blink, wink'; Megr. *pačk(v)-*.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan verb stem. In Georgian it can be found in the sound-symbolic formation *pač-un-* 'to blink, wink', which presupposes the existence of an original neutral stem *peč-* (cf. *brag-un-* 'crash, din' alongside *breg-* 'to knock, strike', *tax-un-* 'beating, smashing' alongside *tex-* 'to beat, strike', etc.). The Megrelian action noun *pačkual-* with the suffix *-al* naturally corresponds to the Georgian stem.

GZ *pilen₃- 'copper': Georg. *spilen₃-* 'copper'; Megr. *lin₃-*, *lan₃-*.

The lexeme is found in Old Georgian mainly without later word-initial *s* (*pilen₃i ... ganubnia* '(he) scattered...copper' Jn. 2.15). The same form we find in the Jav. dialect. In Laz it is absent. Word-initial *p* of the consonant cluster is lost in Megrelian. It forms a typical isogloss uniting Georgian and Zan (Svan *spilen₃* and *spelen₃* are later borrowings). Since the cognates are in phonetical agreement they cannot – *pace* Ačariyan (1979: 84) – go back to Arm. *p₃inc* 'copper'. Together with the latter and isolated Arab. *filiz* (< **piliz*) 'metal' the word apparently derives from an old cross-cultural term: cf. PIE extended formation *(s)*plēnd-* 'to shine, to sparkle, glitter'. Cf. Klimov (1994: 130–134).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 48).

CK *pir- 'edge': Georg. *pir-* 'mouth, face, edge'; Megr. *piž-*; Laz *piž-*; Svan *pil*, *bil* 'edge, lip'.

A lexeme well known from Old Georgian (*moartues pirsā missa* '(they) put it to his mouth' Jn. 19.29; hence a number of derivatives: *pirspir* 'opposite', *pir-mšo-* 'first-born', etc.) In Svan the word-final *l*

derives from *r*. In the Lašx. dialect of Svan *p* has resulted in *b*. The specific semantic feature of the Svan lexeme is its connotation 'lip'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 30). Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 295). Cf. also Marr (1909: 071) and Abaev (1958: 278).

GZ *pir- 'to sharpen (scythe)': Georg. *pir-* 'to sharpen (scythe)'; Megr. *pir-*.

Verb stem. It is a denominative formation from **pir-* 'edge'. In the verb stem old *r* has been regularly preserved. It is a typical Georgian-Zan isogloss pertaining to settled farming (cf. **cel-* 'scythe').

GZ *prtq-el- 'flat': Georg. *prtqel-*, *brtqel-* 'flat'; Megr. *birtqa-* 'flat (and round)'.
 Attributive lexeme derived from the verbstem **pertq-* : *prtq-*. In Georgian there are parallel dialectal forms *ptqel-*, *tqrpel-*. The word-initial voiced consonant is secondary (there is also Megrelian derivative *la-partq-ia-* 'flat'). For the suffixal part cf. **grz-el-* 'long, high', **wrc₁-el-* 'wide', **c₁it-el-* 'red', **qm-el-* 'dry', etc.

|| Klimov (1988: 158).

GZ *pruɕ₁-in- 'to squelch': Georg. *pruɕun-* 'to squelch'; Megr. *purɕin-*, *burɕin-* 'to squelch, to wind'.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. The phonetic shape of the Megrelian equivalent underwent some transformations. First, it shows a metathesis of *r*. Second, word-initial *p* may undergo dissimilation. The meaning of the Megrelian cognate is somewhat extended.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 299).

GZ *prɕka- 'fragment, splinter; stone': Georg. *prɕkal-*, *brɕkal-* 'fragment, splinter (of bone, wood)'; Megr. *ɕka-* 'stone (of fruit)'; Laz *mɕka-* 'spark'.

A nominal correlative of the verb stem **perɕk-* : *prɕk-* 'to crack, to split'. It remains unclear whether Old Georgian *brɕkal-* registered with a deviating meaning (cf. Abulaɕe 1973: 36-37) belongs here. In the Zan forms the word-initial consonant cluster has been simplified (cf. also Laz (Xopa, Viɕe) *penɕka-* 'spark'). A semantic shift has taken place in Laz. Among derivatives of the word may be mentioned the noun *pɕkora-* 'place around the hearth'. For the connection of the

*pu-

Georgian suffixal form with the suffixless Zan one cf. *bark-, *kupx-, *maqw-, etc.

|| Klimov (1985: 173).

CK *pu- 'to chop, hack, cut to pieces': Georg. p- 'to chop, hack, cut to pieces'; Svan [pu-].

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: *ganipo aeri...* 'the air has opened wide...' (the final *o* instead of the expected *-a* ending of the third person is due to *u* at the end of the stem); the action noun *ganpeba-*, past participle *ganpebul-* 'chopped' (Abulaze 1973: 65). Its Svan equivalent can be extracted from *nā-pu, nā-pu* 'piece, lump' (literally 'chopped'). In view of the "s-mobile" found in Kartvelian languages (cf. *ni-(s)krt-, *plenz₁-, *qid-) the relation to Georg. *mo-sp-oba-*, Megr. *spuala-* 'to destroy, annihilate' deserves attention. Cf. the similar PIE verb stem *pu-: *peu-* 'to cut', which points to the descriptive nature of the stem.

|| ÈSKJa: 154.

GZ *puṭ- 'whisper, low muttering': Georg. *puṭ-un-* 'whisper, low muttering'; Megr. *puṭ-in-* 'whisper, chirp'.

In Old Georgian the lexeme seems to be unattested. The descriptive character of the stem is evidenced by the word-formation affixes Georg. *-un* and Megr. *-in*. Compare also Georg. *but-but-* 'muttering' – a reduplicative formation with dissimilation of the word-initial consonant.

GZ *puṭ-wn- 'to pluck (poultry)': Georg. *puṭ(n)-* 'to pluck (poultry)'; Megr. *puṭon-*; Laz *puntol-* 'to pluck, tousle'.

A verb stem which belongs to a series of stems containing the suffixal element **-wn*. In the Zan forms (cf. action noun Megr. *puṭonua-*, Laz *o-puntol-u*) as in other similar cases, the sonant *w* has become *o*. In Laz the stem-final *n* results in *l*. The meaning is here expanded, cf. *toma gopuntoleri* 'with tousled hair'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 299).

Ž

GZ *žež- 'to crumple; to thrash': Georg. *žež-* 'to crumple; to thrash'; Megr. *žaž-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Cf. the action noun Georg. *žežva-*, Megr. *žažua-*. The verb stem proves the rarity of the spirant *ž* in the Georgian-Zan stage. Cf. also **z₁ez₁-*.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 300).

R

CK **r-* 'to be': Georg. *r-* 'to be'; Megr. [*r-*]; Laz [*r-*]; Svan *r-*.

Verb stem widely known from Old Georgian texts. Used here with the preverb *gan-* it had the meaning 'to be saved (from), to escape, to get rid (of)' (*ganernet sašanžwelsa* '(ye) escape the damnation of hell' Mt. 23.33; action noun *ganroma-*). In the Zan languages the stem is preserved only in the derivative stem *or-* of the same meaning (see **ar-* 'to be'). In Svan it is represented by such word-forms as *mi-r-i* 'I have (that)'. The stem underlies the Georgian-Zan causative base **r-en-* : *r-in-* (cf. Georg. *gan-rin-eba-* 'to save', Megr. *rina-* 'to live, exist'). The semantic deviation across the languages makes its age doubtful.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 628). The rest of the material is brought together in Čikobava (1938: 307).

GZ **rabo-* 'ditch': Georg. *rabo-* 'ditch'; Megr. *robu-* 'ditch, ravine'; Laz *ruba-*, *o(r)uba-*.

Agricultural term reflecting settled farming. In Georgian the word has become dialectal (Imer., Okrib.). While the Megrelian form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one, the Laz equivalent appears to have been contaminated with some other stem. Compare the Megr. (*g*)*ino-robu-* (with preverb (*g*)*ino-*) 'the place abounding in ravines'. The semantic deviation in the Atina dialect of Laz resulting in 'river' is worth noting. An old borrowing is not ruled out (cf. PIE **ghrabho-* 'ditch').

|| Megrelian, Laz: Kipšidze (1914: 308). Georgian: Klimov (1988: 158).

CK **ratx-* : *rtx-* 'to stretch out; break, disconnect': Georg. *ratx-* : *rtx-* 'to stretch out; break, disconnect'; Megr. (*r*)*tx-* 'to stretch, extend'; Laz *ntx-* 'to stretch; to disconnect'; Svan *rtx-*.

Verb stem. In Georgian it is represented almost exclusively in the language of ancient literature (action noun *ganrtxma-*), where it showed

*ratq- : rtq-

ablaut alternation (*çarmoiratx qeli šeni! da çarmoirtxa...* 'stretch forth thine hand! And he stretched it out...' Mk. 3.5). An *r // n* interchange occurs in the Zan material (cf. *grže-l-, *warcxwn-, etc.). In Svan the stem may be extracted from the derivative *irtxin // rtxin* 'span, inch'. The Georgian-Zan extended base *rtx-am- : rtx-m- is its derivative.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 283–284). Svan: ÈSKJa: 156.

CK *ratq- : rtq- 'to gird, engird': Georg. *ratq- : rtq-* 'to gird, engirdle'; Megr. *rtq-*; Laz *tk-*; Svan *rtq-*.

Verb stem amply known in Old Georgian (*šearthqa mat sartqelebi...* 'and girded them with girdles...' Lev. 8.13, where *sa-rtqel-* is 'girdle'). In Laz the consonant cluster has been simplified resulting in *tk*. The Zan (cf. action noun Megr. *mo-rtq-apa-*, Laz *go-tk-u*) and Svan (cf. *lä-rtq* 'girdle') correspondences reflect only the zero ablaut grade of the stem.

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 595). Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 323).

GZ *racx- : rcx- 'to count, compute, calculate; to expect': Georg. *racx-* 'to count, calculate; to consider'; Megr. *ko-rocx-*; Laz *ko-(r)ocx-*, *ko-recx-*.

Verb stem well documented in Old Georgian (*daždes da ayiracxos...* 'sitteth (no) down first, and counteth...' Lk. 14.28; *ayracxil-* 'counted, calculated'). In modern Georgian the stem is preserved only in its derivatives, cf. *še-u-racx-qopa-* 'an insult'. The nominal correlative of the stem *ricxv-* 'number' is known from Georgian (cf. Old Georgian *varskulavt mricxvel-* 'astrologer', literally 'calculator of stars'). Word-initial *ko-* in Zan probably derives from the prefix of the mutual version *oko-*; a different analysis can be found in Čikobava (1938: 297). In Megrelian the stem is not widely used. Megr. *muricx-* and Laz *murucx-* 'star' are likely to belong here as well as some derivatives. The connection of Svan *li-cx-e* 'to count, suppose' with this stem needs more argumentation.

|| Laz, Georgian: Marr (1908: 2). Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 297).

CK(?) *rg- 'to be fit, be useful': Georg. *varg-* : *rg-* 'to be fit, be useful'; Megr. *rg-*; Laz *rg-*; Svan *rg-*.

Possibly a Common Kartvelian verb stem widely known in Old Georgian (*aras argebs mas* '(he) can prevail nothing' Mt. 27.24), where its derivatives are also represented. Contrary to other languages (cf. the Laz

action noun *o-rg-u* 'to be fit, to suit', *mo-rg-un* 'it will suit me', Svan action noun *li-rg-ie* in Georgian there is also a form *varg-* (cf. *vargi* 'suited'), which evokes some doubts in the Kartvelian origin of the stem: cf. Arm. *vark* 'prestige, reputation' (see Ačaryan 1979: 322).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 304). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 81. Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 34).

GZ *rg- 'to plant': Georg. *rg-* 'to plant'; Megr. *rg-*; Laz *rg-*.

Verb stem well represented in Old Georgian texts: cf. action noun *dargva-* (Abuladze 1973: 120). It seems to be a lexicalized zero grade of the base **lag-* : *lg-*. The sequence *lg*, unusual for Kartvelian languages, yields *rg*. The stem underlies the derivatives **na-rg-* and **ne-rg-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: cf. Topuria (1979: 10). Laz: *Žavaxišvili* (1930: 214).

GZ(?) *-re enclitic particle: Georg. *-re*; Megr. *-le*; Laz *-le*.

Probably a Georgian-Zan item. The particle is well known in Old Georgian (cf. *ga-re* 'onside, beyond'). In Zan languages it is used nowadays more widely than in Georgian: Megr. *ga-le* 'beyond', *me-le* 'on the opposite side', *mo-le* 'on this side', *cox(o)-le* 'in front, ahead', etc. The difference in the consonant element makes this equation tentative.

GZ *regw- 'to throw on, fall upon': Georg. [*regv-*] 'to throw on, fall upon'; Megr. *ragv-*; Laz [*rag-*].

Verb stem. In Georgian it may be extracted from its derivative *sa-regv-*, *sa-regv-av-* 'trap' (it is unlikely that Georg. *daregva-* 'to spoil' belongs here). In Laz the stem is attested by the noun *rag-* 'trap'. In its verbal state the stem survives only in Megrelian: action noun *ragvin-*, *ragvapa-* (here *ragv-* 'trap' is also available).

|| Georgian, Zan: Neisser (1958: 45). Cf. Schmidt (1962: 129).

CK *reḱ- 'to knock, tap, strike': Georg. *reḱ-* 'to knock, strike, ring'; Laz [*raḱ-*] 'to ring'; Svan *reḱ-*, *rk-*.

A verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*hreked mas...* '(the servants) did strike him...' Mk. 14.65). In Laz it may be extracted from the later formation *o-ral-u* 'to ring'. Cf. Georgian-Zan derivative *(*s*)*a-reḱ-el-* 'small bell, bluebell'. The meaning 'to ring' must be secondary. For Svan cf. action noun *li-rḱ-ən-i* and *ad-reḱ-aw-e* '(he) rung'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 155.

*ret(u)-

GZ *ret(u)- 'foolish, stupid, silly; fool': Georg. *ret-* 'foolish, stupid, silly'; Megr. *rintu-*, *rəntə-* 'fool'.

Apparently a Georgian-Zan adjective, which is attested in Georgian medieval literature (cf. Rustaveli 269.2). It belongs to the words which have lost (?) their stem-final vowel in Georgian: cf. also *nek(u)-, *kecu-, *yom(u)-. The inserted *n* in Megrelian causes the shift *e* > *i*. In Megrelian subdialects the word has also the meaning 'she-goat'.

|| Klimov (1988: 158).

CK *rekw- : rkw- 'to cover': Georg. *rkv-* 'to cover'; Svan *rakw-* : *rkw-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is well represented in Old Georgian: action noun *darkuma-*, cf. a derivative *sa-rkw-el-* 'cover, lid (of a vessel)'. In Svan it shows ablaut alternation (action noun *li-rkw-i*, cf. *li-rekw* 'clothes, garments'). The stem characterizes the word-forms of the aoristic series of tenses.

|| Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 298).

CK *rekw- : rkw- 'to say': Georg. *rkv-* 'to say'; Svan *rekw-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian sources: *brmaman man hrkua mas...* 'the blind man said unto him...' Mk 10.51. Action noun - *rkuma-* (Abulaze 1973: 350). Contrary to Svan in Georgian the zero grade of ablaut is retained. Cf. Svan *räkw* 'he said' and *le-rekw* 'clothes'.

|| Topuria (1931: 255).

CK *reyw- : ryw- 'to pour, pull down, destroy; fall in, collapse': Georg. *ryv-* 'to pour, pull down; fall in, collapse'; Megr. (*r*)*yv-* 'to pour, throw (oneself)'; Svan *reyw-* 'to fall down, collapse : ryw- 'to destroy'.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian texts: *davarywio tazari ese...* 'I will destroy this temple...' Mk. 14.58 (action noun *ryueva-*, *mryuie-* 'muddy'). In the Megrelian continuant the word-initial *r* is usually absent (cf. the action noun (*r*)*yvapa-*). If the connection with the Laz *o-by-u* holds the latter form must have been substantially contaminated with some other stem. Its Svan match (action nouns *li-reyw* and *li-ryw-e*) preserves the ablaut alternation *e* (/i) ~ 0. The similarity of the stem to PIE *re(H)u- 'to tear, break' is worth noting.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Cf. Topuria (1979: 84).

CK *req- : rq- 'to drive (multitude of objects)': Georg. *rek-* 'to drive, drive out (multitude of objects)'; Megr. *ra-*; Svan *req-* : *rq-*.

Verb stem. In Georgian it seems to be contaminated with *rek-, which resulted in a change $q > k$. The old q is regularly reduced in Megrelian (action noun *ra'ua-*). The stem has developed here a number of secondary meanings. Its original phonetic shape has been preserved in Svan (cf. the action noun *li-rǫ-in-e*; *lāj-req* 'he drove (that) home, brought (that) in').

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 27). Svan: Rogava (*IKE* I, 1946: 4).

CK *req- : rǫ- 'to oscillate, shake': Georg. *rǫ-* 'to oscillate, shake'; Megr. *ra'-*; Svan *req- : rǫ- (rǫq-)* 'to shake, tremble; to fall, overthrow, topple'.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: *qovelni borcuni irqeodes* 'all the hills were swaying' Jer. 4.24 (action noun *rǫeva-*). For Megrelian cf. the action noun *ge-ra'ua-*, *go-ra'ua-* 'to shake (of the nut trees)'. In Svan the stem retains two grades of ablaut alternation (action noun *li-rǫ-ǝn-i*).

|| Georgian, Svan: Deeters. Cf. Schmidt (1962: 130).

GZ *rečx- : rčx- 'to purl, babble, murmur': Georg. [*rečx-*]- : *čxr-* 'to purl, babble, murmur'; Megr. *račx-*; Svan *rčx-*.

Verb stem. Its onomatopoeic character is obvious (cf. the Georgian action noun *čxrial-* with a typical formative *-ial*). In Georgian the stem is found side by side with the noun *rečx-* 'pit-a-pat'. The Megrelian action noun is *račx-al-*. The Svan form reflects only the zero grade of the stem: cf. its action noun *li-rčx-ǝn-e*. There exists also a Georgian-Zan derivative **me-rčx-e* 'shallow (water), thin; rare'.

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 34).

CK *rec₁- : rc₁- 'to spread; make a bed': Georg. *rec-* 'to spread, make a bed'; Megr. *rč-*; Laz (*r*)*č-*; Svan *raš-* : *rš-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian (*dareca* 'he spread it' Sin. mr. 215.18; *darecil-* 'spread, laid', *sarecel-* 'bed'). The Zan equivalent reflects zero grade of the stem (cf. the action noun Megr. *rčapa-*). The Svan forms contain both ablaut grades: cf. the action noun *li-rš-i* alongside its derivative *lǝ-raš(w)* 'laid, spread, made'. For the spirantization of the original affricate in Svan cf. **wac₁-*, **kač₁-*, **c₁en-* : *c₁n-*, etc.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Marr (1914: 37, 1911-1914 V: 219). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 310).

*rec₁x- : rc₁x-

CK *rec₁x- : rc₁x- 'to wash, launder': Georg. *recx-* : *rcx-* 'to wash'; Megr. *rčx-* 'to wash'; Laz *čx-*; Svan *rčx-* 'to rinse'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem which occurred in Old Georgian with two grades of the ablaut alternation (*perqni misni ganrcxna* '(he) washed ... the legs' Lev. 8.21; *mrcxel-* 'washing', action noun *ganrecxa-*). In Megrelian the action noun is *rčxuala-*, in Laz *o-čx-u* (the latter form has lost the initial *r*). The Svan action noun is *li-rčx-ine*. The semantic unity of the cognates remains obvious. Cf. the Georgian-Zan derivative *(s)a-rc₁x-el-.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1910: 212). Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 312). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 159.

CK *rečk- : ričk- 'to jingle, tinkle, ring': Georg. [rečk-] : ričk-; Laz *ra(n)čk-*, *raņ-*; Svan *ršk-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Its modern Georgian derivative *račk-un-* presupposes an underlying verb stem *rečk-. A different grade of ablaut alternation is reflected in *ričk-in-* with the same meaning. For Laz cf. *oračkoniķ račkalaps* 'bell rings' ČT V: 182.312, where *o-račk-on-* is a noun derivative of the same stem (action noun *o-raņķ-al-u*). Its Svan equivalent is found with a spirant *s* (action noun *li-ršk-ən-e*). The stem bears a patently onomatopoeic character, which is indicated by the characteristic Georgian word-forming suffixes *-un* and *-in*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 35).

GZ *rex- 'to beat, strike (with sth.)': Georg. *rex-* 'to bang, beat, strike (with sth.)'; Megr. *rox-* 'to bang, beat out'.

Verb stem found in Old Georgian texts in the form of action noun *rexu-eba-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 170). The Megrelian stem's vocalism (action noun *roxua-*, cf. *go-b-rox-i* 'I struck, beat it out') indicates the former existence of a parallel vocalization with *a* (cf. *gr-ex-, *gem- : gm-, *c₁ew- : c₁w- etc.). Laz *rax-* (action noun *o-raxun-u*) with the same meaning seems to be borrowed from Georgian *raxun-* id.

GZ *rt- 'to join, unite; to become united, whole': Georg. *rt-* 'to join, unite'; Megr. [rt-]; Laz [rt-].

Verb stem used independently only in Georgian: *ač vinaj hrtavs yuarzli?* 'from whence then hath it tares?' Mt. 13.27 (action noun *šertva-*). In Old Georgian there existed *rtva-* 'to join, unite, add' and *dartva-* 'to add' (Abulaže 1973: 347). The stem underlies the Georgian-

Zan numeral **e-rt-* 'one' and, apparently, **m-rt-el-* 'whole'. Sometimes one is tempted to connect it with *(*s*)*t-* 'to spin (with a spindle)'.

GZ **rtw-* 'to cover': Georg. *rt-* 'to cover'; Megr. (*r*)*t(v)-* 'to don (hat)'; Laz *t(v)-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: *daurton mas zeda samoseli* '(they) will put him on the clothes' Num. 4.8; cf. its derivative *sartul-* 'roof' (Abulaze 1973: 368). In the Zan equivalents the stem-initial resonant is poorly preserved (action noun Megr. (*r*)*tuala-*, Laz *o-tval-u*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1913.2: 19). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 279–280).

GZ **rtx-am-* : *rtx-m-* 'to stretch (out); to break, disconnect': Georg. *rtxam-* : *rtxm-* 'to stretch (out); to disconnect'; Megr. *txim-*, *txəm-* 'to stretch, extend'; Laz *ntxim-* 'to stretch (out); disconnect'.

Verb stem widely known from Old Georgian (action noun *ganrtxma-*, *dartxma-*). It is a derivative of the simple verbal base **ratx-* : *rtx-*, which was formed by adding the thematic affix (see **-am* : *-m*). The Georgian forms reflect both ablaut grades of the stem, whereas their Zan correspondence (action noun Megr. *txəma-*, Laz *xe go-ntxim-eri* 'with outstretched hands') continues only its zero grade.

|| ÈSKJa: 156.

GZ **ris,x-* 'to be angry; to swear, to quarrel (with)': Georg. *risx-* 'to be angry; to swear, quarrel (with)'; Megr. *išx-* 'to walk (swearing)'.

Verb stem attested with its derivatives in Old Georgian: *ara šerisxnet mas* 'don't reprove him' Ruth 2.15 (action noun *risxva-*). The Megrelian cognate has lost the initial *r* (for combinatory reasons?): *išxāns* 'he walks swearing'. Usually the stem occurs with preverbs.

|| Rogava (1981: 58–60).

GZ(?) **rken-* : *rkin-* 'to fight, wrestle': Georg. *rken-*, *rkin-* 'to fight, wrestle'; Megr. *rkin-*.

Possibly a Georgian-Zan verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*erkineboda mas...* 'there wrestled a man with him...' Gen. 32.34), where it had its derivatives. Georg. *rkena-* 'wrestle' recorded by S. Orbeliani reflects the historical *e* vocalism. Action noun Georg. *rkinēba-*, Megr. *rkinā-*, *rkināpa-*. A dependence of the Megrelian stem on the Georgian source cannot be ruled out.

*rkw-

CK *rkw- 'to clean, sort out': Georg. rkv- 'to clean, sort out'; Svan rk-.

Verb stem, apparently unattested in Old Georgian. The Georgian action noun is rkveva- (cf. ga-rkveva- 'to clear up, reveal'). Its Svan cognate (cf. the action noun li-rk-an-e) has lost w of the root and added the affixal element. A connection between the stem and Georgian-Zan *kwal- 'track, trace' can hardly be proved.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 34).

GZ *rum- 'to get dark': Georg. rum- 'to get dark, grow dark'; Megr. rum-.

Verb stem. In Old Georgian its continuant may be discerned in the derivatives m-rum-e 'dark' (Abulaže 1973: 295) and mo-m-rum-e- 'darkish' (Saržvelaže 1995: 136). The identical shape of the stem in Georgian and Megrelian is regular. Cf. the Megrelian action noun rumua- (irumu 'it is getting dark').

|| Kipšidze (1914: 310). Cf. also Lomtatiže (IKE XI, 1959: 72-73).

CK *rkw-am- : rk-m- 'to cover, be covered': Georg. rkvam- : rkm- 'to cover'; Svan (r)kw-em- 'to dress, clothe (oneself)'.
Verb stem. Its continuant is found in Old Georgian: action noun darkuma- (Abulaže 1973: 121). The stem is derived from the base *rekw- : rk-w- with the help of the thematic suffix (see *-am : -m). It is used in the word-forms of the presentic series of tenses.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 158.

GZ *rč- 'to listen (to), obey': Georg. rč- 'to listen (to), obey'; Megr. rčk- 'to hear, to be heard'.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian texts: erčda Abraham qmasa Sarajsa 'Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarah' Gen. 16.2 (action noun morčola-). In Megrelian the stem is extended by the historical affix -il: cf. action noun rčkila-.

|| Schmidt (1962: 130).

GZ *rč- 'to shake, swing': Georg. rč- 'to shake, swing'; Megr. [rč-, nč-]; Laz nč- 'to turn over; to move, stir; to touch; to disturb'.

Verb stem. The Georgian action noun is rčeva, the derivative sa-rčeval-a- 'cradle'. The Zan equivalent shows an intra-Zan correspondence r ~ n. In Megrelian the stem may be discerned in the

derivative *o-nč-e* 'cradle' (see *(s)a-rč-e). The Laz action noun is *me-nč-u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 291). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 159.

GZ *rčam- : rčm- 'to believe': Georg. *rčam-* : *rčm-* 'to believe'; Megr. *rčum-*.

Verb stem widely documented in Old Georgian texts: cf. the action noun *rčmena-* 'to believe' and *rčmuneba-* 'to assure, convince, persuade' (Abulaže 1973: 351). The Megrelian equivalent is easily identified in the derivative *u-rčum-* (> *u-rčkum-*) 'unbelievable, huge; enormously thick, dense'. Cf. also later Megrelian action noun *rčumeba-* 'to believe (in), assure'.

|| Klimov (1985: 173).

CK *rč₁qaw- : rč₁qw- 'to vomit; to throw out, excrete, eject liquid': Georg. *rčqav-* : *rčqv-* 'to press out, squeeze out (abscess, boil); to water, irrigate'; Megr. [*rčqv-*] 'to spit'; Laz *nčk_v-al-*; Svan [*šqv-*].

Verb stem recorded in Old Georgian texts (*vidremde ara moirčqos goveli mčuanvili* 'it withereth before any other herb' Job 8.12; cf. the derivatives *u-rčqul-* 'unwatered', *me-rčqul-* 'water-carrier'). In Megrelian and Svan it may be discerned only in the derivative **ne-rč₁qw-*. The Laz continuant of the stem is preserved in the form of *mčk(v)-* or *nčk(v)-* 'to squeeze out (abscess)'; action noun *o-mčk-u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 314). Laz, Svan: Topuria (*IKE* XII, 1960: 154). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 160.

CK *rčw- 'to overcome, conquer': Georg. [*rčv-*] 'to overcome, conquer'; Megr. [*rčgv-*]; Laz [*rčgv-*]; Svan [*rsgw-*].

Verb stem. In modern languages as well as in Old Georgian it does not occur in its unbound form and may be extracted only from derivatives (see **marčwe-* and **marčwen-*). Compare also *č-.

S

GZ *sa- interrogative pronominal stem: Georg. [*sa-*]; Megr. [*so-*]; Laz [*so-*].

Pronominal element, which can be discerned through languages in the lexicalized derivative **sa-d* 'where'. In Georgian the stem is also present

*sa-d

in the Old Georgian particle *sa-me* 'and really, then, well, somewhere' (Abulaze 1973: 362).

|| Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 161.

GZ *sa-d 'where': Georg. *sad(a)* 'where'; Megr. *so, sode*; Laz *so-*.

Interrogative pronoun. It is amply represented in Old Georgian (*sada ars Sara?* 'where is Sarah?' Gen. 18.9) and must be treated as a lexicalized form of the adverbial case of the pronominal element *sa-. Cf. the relative adverb Georg. *sada-c*, Megr. *sode-t*. In Laz the end of the word is usually reduced.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Bopp (1847: 44–45).

GZ *sal- 'steep': Georg. *sal-* 'steep, high'; Megr. *sol-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Since the vocalic shape of the cognates is regularly differentiated they cannot derive from the Arm. *sal* 'anvil' as was sometimes believed in the past. Cf. Ačaryan (1979: 155–156).

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

CK *sam- 'three': Georg. *sam-* 'three'; Megr. *sum-*; Laz *sum-*; Svan *semi*.

The numeral is widely attested in Old Georgian (*sam dye da sam yame...* 'three days and three nights...' Jonah 2.1, cf. its derivatives *sameba-* 'trinity, trio', *smnier-* 'three-year-old steer'). In the Zan lexeme the regular shift *o > u* takes place adjacent to the labial consonant. The Svan dative case form *sam* reflects the primary vocalism of the stem which has been changed in the form of the nominative. According to Ačaryan (1979: 163) the designation of the third month of an old Armenian calendar *sahmi* goes back to Georg. *sam-* 'three'. Cf. also **jor-* 'two'.

|| Rosen (1845: 11), Bopp (1847: 36).

GZ *sar- : sr- 'to throw': Georg. *sar-* : *sr-* 'to throw, shoot'; Megr. [*sir-*]; Laz [*sir-*].

Verb stem registered in Old Georgian texts (*esrodes ... urtiertas isrita...* '(they) shot arrows at each other...' Sin. mr. 237.16). Its derivative **i-sar-* 'arrow' has preserved the characteristic verbal prefix *i-*. It is precisely through the latter noun that the stem may be historically traced back in the languages of the Zan branch.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 97), *ÈSKJa*: 161–162.

GZ *sašw- 'thrush (blackbird)': Georg. *šašv-* 'thrush (blackbird)'; Megr. *zeskv-*; Laz *mzesku-*, *mzesku-*.

In the form *šašu-* the lexeme is found in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 471). The word-initial *s* was reconstructed by Kipšidze. The consonant *m* in Laz equivalents is treated as a secondary augmentation. The Zan vocalism is likely to have developed through umlaut **ö* > *ve* (cf. **oc₁-*, **yor-*, **z,aryw-*). According to Gamkrelidze's law the old *š* before *w* gives *sk* in Zan (Gamqrelidze 1959: 27). Čikobava (1938: 105–106) supposed that the stem contains a petrified historical prefix.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 114), Marr (1936: 64). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 105).

GZ *saž- : sž- 'to judge, try, punish': Georg. *saž-* : *sž-* 'to judge, try, punish'; Megr. *zož-* 'to wish, desire'.

Verb stem. Its continuant is well known in Old Georgian: ...*gsažo šen* '...will I judge thee' Lk. 19.22; action noun *sža-*, derivative *sžul-* > *ržul-* 'law, trust'. The Megrelian form (cf. action noun *zožua-*) represents a simplification (with assimilation *s* > *z*) of expected regular **sožg-*. Apparently this earlier form of the Megrelian stem is found with consonants transposed in the Svan Zanism *sgož-* 'to judge, to try'.

|| T. Gudava. Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 162.

GZ *sel- 'flax': Georg. *sel-* 'flax'; Megr. *su-*, *psu-*; Laz [*su-*].

Well attested in Old Georgian texts (*seli da krtili iguema...* 'the flax and the barley was smitten...' Ex. 9.31). The correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ Megr. *-u* at the end of the noun stem is regular. The initial *p* in the Megrelian form must be secondary. In Laz the stem is identified in derivatives: cf. *o-sul-u* 'to chip hemp (for strings)', *sule(r)-* 'fibre' (in Colchis flax was cultivated as early as the first millennium B.C.; according to Herodotus it was exported from there). Žavaxišvili (1930: 372) supposed Svan *sal-* 'flax' to be inherited, which is hard to agree with because of its final *l*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr. Laz: Rogava (1962: 99).

CK *sem- : sm- 'to hear, to be heard': Georg. *sm-* 'to hear, to be heard'; Megr. *sim-*; Laz *sim-*; Svan *sm-*, *səm-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian, where it has kept also the *e* grade (*qmaj misi gesmis* 'you hear its sound' Jn. 3.8; cf. *šegesemin čemi!* 'listen to me!'). The Zan cognates reflect the zero grade of the stem. The use of

the Megrelian correspondence is rather restricted: cf. *kegjasimu* 'it was heard (indistinctly)'. Cf. the Svan action noun *li-sim*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 318). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 314). Cf. also *ĚSKJa*: 164.

CK *sen 'you' (sing.): Megr. *si* 'you' (sing.); Laz *si(n)*; Svan *si*.

Pronoun of the 2nd person singular. Already in Old Georgian this stem is replaced by the stem of the possessive pronoun *šen-* (see *šwen-). The end of the Zan forms vestigially preserves the old word-final *n*. The protoform has been reconstructed in Čikobava (1938: 8–9). Bopp (1847: 411) has compared the Laz *si* directly with Georg. *šen*.

|| Rosen (1847: 411).

GZ *ser- : sr- 'to slide, slip, glide': Georg. [*sr-*] 'to slide, slip, glide'; Megr. [*sar- : rs-*] 'to slide; to turn, spin'; Laz *sur-*.

Verb stem. In Old Georgian it seems to be unattested. In its unbound state the stem occurs only in Laz (action noun *o-sur-u*). Its zero grade is reflected in the derivative **sr-ial-* 'to slide', whereas the full grade is preserved only in the languages of the Zan branch: cf. Megr. *sarsal-* (< *sar-sar-*) 'sliding' and *sarsalia-* 'slippery'. The metathesis *sr > rs* takes place regularly in Megrelian. Georgian-Zan **sr-es-* : *sr-s-* may be treated as its derivative.

CK *sw- 'to stick in, stab, thrust': Georg. *sv-* 'to stick in, thrust'; Megr. [*s(v)-*] 'to thrust, plunge'; Laz [*s(v)-*]; Svan *sw-* 'to stick in'.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts: action noun *dasoba-*, *šesoba-* (Abulaze 1973: 123). Its derivative **sw-am-* : *sw-m-* is formed with the help of the thematic affix. Georgian *sv-eṭ-* 'column' derives possibly from it as well. The Svan action noun is *li-sw-e*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Fährnich (1982: 36, 1987: 36).

GZ *sw- 'to pass over; to oil, smear (with)': Georg. *sv-* 'to pass one's hand (over); to smear (with)'; Megr. *s(v)-*; Laz *s(v)-*.

Verb stem attested in the same form in Old Georgian. The Zan correspondence coincides essentially with the Georgian one: cf. Megr. *usvana* '(they) smear him'. The final *v* is absent in the forms with following suffixal *u*: cf. Megr. *komisu* 'he smeared (for) me'. For Laz cf. action noun *o-s-u*. The stem is used in the word-forms of the aoristic series of

tenses. Its derivative *sw-am- : sw-m- is formed by adding the thematic affix *-am : -m.

|| Čikobava (1938: 311).

CK *sw-am- : sw-m- 'to stick into, stab': Georg. *svam-* : *sm-* 'to stick into, stab'; Laz [*sum-*]; Svan *swem-*.

Common Kartvelian stem. It is also available in Old Georgian: cf. action noun *suma-* (Abulaže 1973: 405–406). At present the stem is used independently only in Georgian (action noun *sma-*) and Svan (action noun *li-swem*). In Svan also its derivative *lu-swem* 'nail' is known.

GZ *sw-am- : sw-m- 'to pass (over); to smear': Georg. *svam-* : *sm-* 'to pass hand (over); to smear'; Megr. *sum-*; Laz *sum-*.

Georgian-Zan verbal formation which is also registered in Old Georgian: action noun *suma-* (Abulaže 1973: 406). It is formed from a simple base of the same meaning (see *sw-) with the help of the thematic affix *-am : -m. Two ablaut grades of the stem are preserved only in Georgian. The Zan form (cf. action noun Megr. *sumala-*, Laz *o-sum-u*) reflects the historical zero vocalism. The stem is used in word forms of the presentic tenses.

Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 163.

GZ *swe- 'wing, feather': Georg. *sve-* 'wing'; Megr. *sua-*, *psua-* 'wing, feather'; Laz (*p*)*sva-*, *psua-*, *mwa-*.

For Georgian it is testified in language of Rustaveli (cf. 957.3, 1616.2). At present its continuant survives in the Xevs. and Pšav. dialects of Georgian. For the initial *p* in Zan cf. *sel-. The correlation between the word-final vocalism of the Georgian and Zan lexemes remains unclear, since the substantive function of the word presupposes here an identical vowel. For the rendering of *w* in Megrelian cf. *arwa-, *kwa-, *m-šw-e-, etc.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 101). Georgian: Lomtazi (1945: 307–312).

GZ *swer- : swr- 'to lay out; to arrange, order; to draw up': Georg. [*svr-*] 'patch, strip (of cultivated land)'; Megr. *svar-* 'to march'; Laz (*n*)*svar-* 'to form row, column; to arrange'.

Verb stem. It does not occur in Old Georgian texts. In modern Georgian it can be extracted from dialectal (Kartl.) *svr-e-* 'strip (of cultivated land)'. Cf. also the Imer. *srv-el-* 'ploughed up strip' (Ylonti 1984: 492).

*stw-

These forms reflect zero grade of the stem, while their Zan equivalent (action noun Megr. *gile-svar-ua-*, Laz. *o-(n)svar-u*) contains its full grade. In Megrelian the stem occurs infrequently.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 311–312). Georgian: Fähnrich (1984: 43).

GZ *stw- ‘to break away, fall’: Georg. [*stv-*] ‘to break away, fall’; Laz *st(u)-*, *stu* ‘to break away, slip off, slide down’.

The verb stem, which may be seen in the Georgian nominal derivative *rtvel-* ‘autumn, gathering (fruits) in harvest’, represented in Old Georgian in the form *stuel-*: action noun *stuleba-*; *ttuej stulisaj* ‘October’ (cf. Abulaže 1973: 388). While in Megrelian no certain cognate is found, Laz has preserved the verbal use of the stem: *mustu* ‘(it) broke away, was torn off’.

|| Čikobava (1938: 313).

CK *sir- ‘bird’: Georg. *sir-* ‘small bird, sparrow’; Megr. *sind-* ‘duck’; Svan [*sir-*] ‘black grouse (black cock)’.

The word is well documented in Old Georgian (*anu ara ori siri ertis dangis ganiqidebis?...* ‘Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?...’ Mt. 10.29). The Megrelian form presupposes the regularly expected *siž-*. Cf. the Svan Zanism *çqāsinž-* ‘duck’ alongside *çqar-šind-* in modern Megrelian, where *çqar-* means ‘water’. The native Svan equivalent of the lexeme is attested in Svan *mə-sir* ‘black grouse’, where *mə-* is a word-forming prefix. The assumption of a Greek origin of the word (Rogava 1983: 13–14) is unwarranted.

|| Georgian, Zan: ÈSKJa: 163. Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 27).

GZ *skw- ‘to tie (up), bind (up): Georg. [*skv-*] ‘to conclude; to enclose, comprise’; Megr. *skv-*, *skv-* ‘to tie (up)’; Laz *skv-*, *skv-*.

Verb stem represented in Georgian complex from *skv-en-* : *skv-n-*, attested also in Old Georgian (*da daaskunes ese esret* ‘and decided it in this way’ Kartl. cx. 4.16; cf. also *skul-* ‘knot’). The cause of the irregular alternation *k ~ k* in Zan cognates needs an explanation. The Megrelian derivative *skvir-* ‘fastened’ (action noun *skuala-*) has the figurative meaning ‘stingy, greedy’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Gamqrelize (1959: 71). Laz: ÈSKJa: 164.

GZ *slek- : slk- ‘to lick, smack’: Georg. *slek-* : *slik-* ‘to lick, smack’; Megr. *sirk-*.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. It survives, however, in modern Georgian (Gur., Imer.) dialects (Ylonti 1984: 273). Whereas the Georgian forms reflect both ablaut grades, the Megrelian continues only zero grade (action noun *sirkua-*). Similar relations are attested in *gen- : gn-, *deg- : dg-, *zard- : zrd-, and in many other instances. In Laz the stem is likely to have been lost. It may have an onomatopoeic origin. Cf. PIE *(s)leigh- 'to lick' (Pokorny 1959: 669). The affiliation of similar Arm. (dial.) *slk'il* 'to slip, slide' remains unclear.

|| ÈSKJa: 164.

CK sm-en- : sm-in- 'to listen (to)': Georg. *smen-* : *smīn-* 'to listen (to)'; Megr. *simin-*; Laz *simin-*, *sibin-*; Svan *smīn-*.

Verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian texts (*smenit ismino qmaj mati* 'you will hear their cry' Ex. 22.23; cf. its derivatives *smenil-* 'well-known', *sasmenel-* 'ear'). The stem is formed from the simple base *sem- : sm- by adding the causative affix *-en : -in. For Megrelian cf. *ma-simin-apal-* 'divulging (person)'. In Laz (cf. *vi-simin-i* 'I heard') an irregular change *m > b* may have occurred. For Svan cf. action noun *li-smīn-e*.

|| ÈSKJa: 165.

GZ *sr-et- 'to destroy, exterminate': Georg. *sret-* 'to destroy, exterminate'; Megr. *sirət-* 'to crush, destroy; to wipe off'.

Verb stem containing a historical extension *-ed : -id, which presupposes the existence of a root *sr- (cf. *ser- : sr-). As in several other cases the Megrelian (cf. action noun *sirətua-*) form shows *o* instead of the expected *a*, which makes possible a reconstruction of the parallel *sr-at- (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 265 and sqq). In both languages the historical sonant *r* is reflected regularly. In Laz the stem has been lost.

|| Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 295).

CK(?) *sr-es- : sr-s- 'to polish; to rub (in), grind': Georg. *sres-* : *sris-* 'to polish; to rub (in), grind'; Megr. *sirs-ol-*; Laz [*sirs-*]; Svan *srā-s-* 'to cut, trim, square' (?).

Verb stem. In Old Georgian it is identifiable in the derivative *srswil-* 'abscess, pimple' (see *srsw-il-). Georgian forms reflect both grades of ablaut alternation, whereas the Zan cognate contains only zero grade. For Megr. -ol (action noun *sirsolua-*) cf. *c₁xikw-, *xut-, and other entries. In Laz the stem is extracted from the derivative *srsw-il-. The vocalism

*sr-ial-

of the Svan analogue (action noun *li-srās-e*), which can be considered a Zan borrowing, remains unclear.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: *ĖSKJa*: 165–166. Svan: Klimov (1985: 173).

GZ *sr-ial- ‘sliding, slipping; twisting’: Georg. *sr-ial-* ‘sliding, slipping’; Megr. *rs-iol-* ‘twisting; turning, rotation’.

Derived from the verb base **ser-*: *sr-* by adding the historical suffix **-ial*, which usually occurs in sound-symbolic stems (cf. **z,r-ial-*, Georg. *gr-ial-* ‘crash, thunder’; *pr-ial-* ‘brightness, shine’, etc.). In the Megrelian form there is the usual metathesis *sr* > *rs*.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 165.

GZ *srsw-il- ‘pimple, abscess’: Georg. *sirsvil-* ‘pimple, abscess, lichen, herpes’; Megr. *sursu-* ‘pimple, abscess, bump’; Laz *msursu-*, *msirsu-*.

The lexeme is documented in Old Georgian texts (*vitarka srswilman sažovari povos* ‘like lichen (it) will find soil’ Krest. 147.88). It derives from the stem **sr-es-*: *sr-s-* by the adding of the past participle affix *-il*. Cf. also the Georgian dialectal variants *sirswela-*, *sursul(a)-* with the same meaning (Vlonti 1984: 495, 502). The word-initial *m* in Laz is secondary. For the reflex of the stem’s end cf. **ms₁xw-il-*.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1910: 169). Megrelian: Rogava (1962: 98).

CK *stw- ‘to whistle; to pipe’: Georg. *stū* ‘to whistle; to pipe’; Megr. [*švit-*]; Laz [*stv-*]; Svan [*št-*].

Verb stem of a descriptive character, which accounts for irregular reflexes of the initial *s* and analogies of the stem in other languages (for Megrelian cf. Abx. *a-šš*ra*, Old Arm. *šuem* ‘to whistle’, etc. which reflect an “areal norm” of languages of the Caucasus). In an unbound form it is known only in Old Georgian (cf. action noun *stūwa-* with an evident secondary semantics ‘to lie, to tell lies’). Its derivatives are the verb stem **stw-en-*: *stw-in-* and the noun stem **ne-stw-*.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 166 and Klimov (1985: 173).

GZ *stw-en- : stw-in- ‘to whistle; to pipe’: Georg. *stven-* : *stvin-* ‘to whistle; to pipe’; Megr. *švitin*; Laz *stvin-*, *stvin-*.

Verb stem reflected in Old Georgian (*gistwinevdi tkuen...* ‘we have piped unto you...’ Mt. 11.17). It is derived from the simple base **stw-* by adding the affix *-en-*: *-in-*. Cf. also Georgian dialectal (*p*)*stven-*. It cor-

relates with the Georgian noun formation *stvīr-* ‘pipe’. The Megrelian cognate underwent a consonant metathesis.

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 314–315). Megrelian: *ĖSKJa*: 166.

GZ *sur- ‘ivy’: Georg. *sur-o-* ‘ivy’; Megr. [*suž-*]; Laz (*m*)*suž-*, *msiž-*, *psiž-*.

The Georgian lexeme contains the affix *-o*. Its Megrelian continuant is extracted from the toponym *Sužuna-* < **Sužona-*, where a typical Zan formant *-ona* can be identified. The Svan *suž-*, *swiž-* are overt Zan loanwords (Rogava 1990.1:77). Initial *m//p* is secondary in Laz (cf. **sel-*, **swe-*). The final *ž* of Laz regularly corresponds to Georg. *r* at the end of the substantive.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1909: 071). Megrelian: Rogava (1990.1: 77).

CK *sx- ‘to bear fruit; to grow’: Georg. *sx-* ‘to bear fruit; to grow’; Svan [*cx-*].

Verb stem. Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian: *romelsa esxa purceli...* ‘which had leaves...’ Mk. 11.13. For correspondence of the Georgian cluster *sx* with the Svan *cx* compare **msxal-*, **sxep-* : *sxiṗ-*, **sxerp-* : *sxiṗ-*, etc. The stem underlies a derivative formation **sx-am-* : *sx-m-* with the same meaning provided with affixation of thematic **-am* : *-m*.

GZ *sxal- : sxl- ‘to slide, to glide; to hack, hew (down)’: Georg. *sxal-* : *sxl-* ‘to hew (branches, vine)’; Megr. (*r*) *sxil-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is well known in Old Georgian: *da sxlven venaqta...* ‘and (they) hew the rod...’ Sin. mr. 159.12; *na-sxlev-* ‘the cut-off rod’ (action noun *sxlvā-*, *gansxlvā-*). The Megrelian action noun is (*r*)*sxilua-*. Comparison of Georg. *sxal-* : *sxl-* with Svan *a(r)šxal //* *arčxal* ‘branch’ (cf. Rogava 1988. 1: 14–17) can hardly be accepted for phonetic reasons. The Svan forms *li-sxlaw-i*, *li-sxlāw-i* go back to a Georgian source. Georgian-Zan derivative **sxl-et-* : *sxl-t-* ‘to stumble, slip’ shows that the actual semantics of the stem is secondary. Its similarity to some descendants of PIE **sk(h)el-* ‘to stumble’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 929) deserves mention.

|| Cf. Klimov (1994: 136–137).

CK *sx-am- : sx-m- ‘to bear fruit; to grow’: Georg. *sxam-* : *sxm-* ‘to bear fruit’; Svan *cxem-* ‘to grow’.

*sxep- : sxip-

A derivative formation with the thematic affix *-am : -m from *sx- with the same meaning. The stem is well attested in Old Georgian, where there occurs also its nominal derivative *m-sxm-o-* 'fruit-bearing'. Action noun Georg. *sxma-*, Svan *li-cxem*. The stem reflects the variability of old vocalism *a // e* and occurs in the word-forms of the presentic series of tenses.

|| Cf. Topuria (1967: 164).

CK *sxep- : sxip- 'to make a quick movement': Georg. *sxep-* : *sxip-* 'to hew branches'; Megr. *sxap-* 'to move quickly, skip, dance'; *sxip-* 'to hew (cut) branches'; Laz *cxap-* 'to strip bast'; *cxip-*, *ncxip-* 'to cut branches'; Svan *cxep-* : *cxap-* 'to leap up'.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian texts (Abulaze 1973: 408). At its end there is an expressive *p*. In the Zan languages forms reflecting different vocalism are lexicalized. The vowel *a* regularly renders here the historical vocalism *e*. In Laz *n* must be a phonetic augmentation. Here the change *sx > cx* has also taken place like in a number of other cases (cf. *zisxl-, *msxal-, *sxwerp-, etc.).

|| Georgian, Zan: ÈSKJa: 166. Svan: Ja.G. Testelec.

CK *sxerp- : sxirp- 'to draw, stretch': Georg. *sxerp-* : *sxirp-* 'to draw, stretch'; Megr. (*r*)*sxip-* 'to stretch out'; Svan *cxep-* : *cxip-* 'to cover (with); to tie round'.

Verb stem. Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian: action noun *dasxerpa-* (Abulaze 1973: 124). The end of the stem shows an expressive *p*. The Megrelian correspondence underwent metathesis of the sonorant: action noun *go(r)sxipua-*, cf. *mosxipil-* 'tight'. The Svan equivalents (action noun *li-cxep*) reflect some later transformations: the initial complex *sx* results in *cx*, whereas the sonorous element is lost.

|| Georgian, Svan: Giginėšvili (1984: 39-40). Megrelian: Fährnich (1985: 27).

CK *sxwerp- 'to catch; to encompass': Georg. [*sxverp-*]; Megr. *sxup-* 'to catch, embrace'; Svan *cxōrp-* 'to embrace'.

A problematic comparison. In Georgian the verb stem may be extracted only from the derivative noun *m-sxverp-l-* 'sacrifice, gift' (cf. Old Georg. *šecire msxuerpli igi šeni* 'offer thy gift' Mt. 5.24). The Megrelian form (action noun *sxup-in-*) is simplified. Together with the Svan stem it illustrates the change *sx > cx*. Difficulties in the juxtaposition of the material follow mainly from its semantics.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 167.

GZ ***sxwe(r)t-** ‘to tear off, pick, break off’: Georg. *sxvert-* ‘to break off, pick’; Megr. *cxot-* ‘to cut off (branches); to jump’; Laz *cxo(n)t-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is well known in Old Georgian (*içqes ... sxuertad tavsa quvilisasa* ‘(disciples) began ... to pluck the ears of corn’ Mk. 2.23). The Moxev. *sxwert-* means ‘to cut branches to pieces’. Zan forms (action noun Megr. *cxotua-*, Laz *o-cxont-u*) are distinguished by a change *sx* > *cx* and a simplified final. A different comparison see in Čikobava (1938: 385–386).

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 167.

GZ ***sxl-et-** : **sxl-t-** ‘to stumble, slip’: Georg. *sxlet-* : *sxlt-* : *sxlit-* ‘to slip, dart off’; Megr. *cxilat-* : *cxirt-* : *cxilit-* ‘to slip, stumble’; Laz *lt-(?)*.

Verbal formation. In Old Georgian alongside action noun *mosxleta-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 142) this stem may be found in other extended forms (Abulaze 1973: 298, 321, 408). Cf. further its use in Rustaveli (1404.3). It is derived from the simple base **sxal-* : *sxl-* by adding the affix **-et* (cf. Marr 1925: 141), which designates the weakened manner of action. The Megrelian action nouns are *cxilatua-* and *cxilitua-*. If the Laz form belongs here, then it is substantially simplified and reflects the historical zero grade: cf. the Laz word-form *gemi-lt-u* ‘(my foot) slipped’.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: I. Kobalava (*IKE IX-X*: 70).

CK ***sxmartl-** ‘medlar’: Georg. *zymartl-* ‘medlar’; Megr. *cxumu(n)tur-*; Laz *cximuntur-*; Svan *zunt(u)-*, *žunt(u)-*.

Dialectal variations are in abundance in the languages. Cf. Georg. *sxmartl-*, *z(y)martl-*; Megr. *ckumuntur-*, *ckimuntur-*, *cx(u)mutur-*; Laz *ckirmuntur-*, *ckimut-*, *cxemuntur-*, *skilimuntr-*; Svan *žunt(u)*, *zuntw*. In Georgian and Svan forms the initial *z* derives from *s*, accordingly. Georg. *y* goes back to a voiceless spirant. The original vocalism is regularly rendered in the languages (in Zan and Svan historical *a* next to a labial results in *u*). Svan compensatory lengthening of the vowel apparently points to simplification of the consonant structure of the word. Some difficulties in reconstructing the archetype lie in the initial part of the word.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1936: 827–828). See also Čikobava (1938: 136). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 168.

GZ ***sqwen-** ‘ceiling, roof’: Georg. *sxven-* ‘ceiling, attic’; Megr. *cxven(d)-*, *cxvin(d)-* ‘ceiling’.

*(s)a-

Georgian-Zan lexeme. In Old Georgian it is represented by *squen-* (Abulaze 1973: 409). The Zan forms illustrate a change *sx > cx*. Similar to many other cases the complex *we* is preserved here. The origin of final *d* in Megrelian remains obscure. The Megrelian word is sometimes supposed to be a Georgian borrowing (cf. Schmidt 1962: 133). Svan *cxwen-* repeats one of the Megrelian variants and seems to be borrowed. The reconstruction of an archetype **sqwan-* is also possible. Its similarity to PIE **skein-*, *skoni-* 'shade, canopy' deserves mention. However, Arm. (dial.) *c'xin-k'* with the same meaning might have been a Zan loanword (cf. Abulaze 1976: 132-133).

(S)

CK(?) ***(s)a-** word formation prefix: Georg. *sa-*; Megr. *o-*; Laz *o-*; Svan *la-(?)*.

Dates at least from the Georgian-Zan stage. It derives verbal and partly denominative formations, which as a rule have the semantics of a substantive. Without accompanying co-affixes it occurs rarely (cf. **(s)a-xl-*), while derivatives with **(s)a--al*, **(s)a--ar*, **(s)a--e*, **(s)a--el*, **(s)a--is*, are very common. The connection with Svan *la-*, which is functionally very close, remains unclear. If it is proved to be a phonetic equivalent of the Georgian-Zan **(s)a-*, the prefix will be of Common Kartvelian origin. According to Schmidt (1962: 78-79) the correspondence *s ~ l* goes back to a former lateral *ʃ*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 11). Cf. also Deeters (1930: 228-229).

GZ ***(s)a-bm-el-** 'tie, leash': Georg. *sab(m)el-* 'tie, leash, rope'; Megr. *obumal-*.

Deverbative formation. In Old Georgian texts the word occurs in both variants; the form with *m* usually is found in compounds (Abulaze 1973: 202, 352). It is derived from the verb stem **bam-*: *bm-*. The structure of the short Georgian form (cf. Xevs. *sabel-*) reflects another word-formation type based on an aoristic stem.

GZ ***(s)a-gz-al-** 'breakfast (provision) for the way': Georg. *sagzal-* 'breakfast'; Megr. *orzol-*.

Denominative formation represented in Old Georgian (*micemad sagzali gzasa zeda...* 'to give provisions for the way...' Gen. 42.25). It is derived from the noun *gza- with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- -al. The Zan vocalism corresponds regularly to the Georgian one. The Megrelian word illustrates the change *g > r* in a consonant cluster.

|| Cf. Deeters (1930: 28).

GZ *(s)a-dg-is₁- 'awl': Georg. *sadgis-* 'awl'; Megr. *odgiš-*.

Deverbative formation. It is attested in Old Georgian texts (*ganuquritos ... sadgisita* '(he) shall bore ... with an awl' Ex. 21.6). The lexeme is formed from the verb stem *deg- : dg- with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- -is₁. Both forms are in regular agreement.

|| Cagareli (1889: 11).

GZ *(s)a-warcx-ar- 'comb': Georg. *savarcxel-* 'comb'; Megr. *orcxonž-*, *orcxond-*; Laz *o(n)cxož-*.

Deverbative formation which occurs in Old Georgian in the form *savarcxal-* (Abulaže 1973: 336). It is derived from the simple verb stem *warcx- (see *warcx-wn-). In the Georgian form *r* apparently results in *l* in dissimilation with the root *r*. As in some other cases we have here a change *a > e* in the last syllable (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 275-276).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Lafon (1934: 38). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 180).

GZ *(s)a-warž-el- 'seat': Georg. *savaržel-* 'arm-chair'; Laz *oržu-*, *orzo-*, *orzo-* 'bench, chair'.

Deverbative formation. In Old Georgian it occurs in the forms *savaržel-* (Abulaže 1973: 356) and *savržel-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 173). The word is derived from the verb stem (see *warž-) with the help of the prefix *(s)a- and the suffixal element, which reflects the correspondence between Georgian -el and Zan -u. In Laz there exists a derivative *oržalon-* 'sound bench'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 162).

GZ *(s)a-ws₁-e- 'full, complete': Georg. *savse-* 'full'; Megr. *opša-*, *epša-*; Laz (*j*)*opša-*.

Adjective widely attested in Old Georgian (*zmrita savsej* 'full of vinegar' Jn. 19.29). It is derived from the verb stem (see *wes₁- : ws₁-) with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- -e. Modern Georgian has the dialectal variants *sapse-* and *samse-* (cf. ʎlonti 1984: 479). According to

***(s)a-zrd-el-**

Čikobava the Megr. *epša-* goes back to **jopša-*. The Svan *g(w)eši // goši* 'full' has a different structure; so does Megr. *gopša-* with the same meaning.

|| Čikobava (1938: 240).

GZ ***(s)a-zrd-el-** 'food, subsistence': Georg. *sazrdel-* 'food, subsistence'; Megr. *ordal-*.

Deverbative formation widely attested in Old Georgian: *sazrdelad misa iqo mkali...* 'his meat was locusts...' Mt 3.4. It is a former participle in circumfix **(s)a- -el-* from the verb **zard-* : *zrd-*. The Megrelian correspondence is strictly regular.

GZ ***(s)a-rek-el-** 'small bell, bluebell': Georg. *sarekel-* 'small bell, bluebell'; Laz [*oraḱal-*].

Deverbative formation represented in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 367). It is derived from the verb stem **rek-* by means of the circumfix **(s)a- -el-*. The Laz variant can be extracted from the more extended form *oraḱalon-* 'small bell, bluebell'.

GZ ***(s)a-rtw-l-** 'roof': Georg. *sartul-* 'floor, storey'; Megr. *ortval-*.

Deverbative formation. In the meaning 'roof, ceiling' the word is widely known in Old Georgian (*ayzarcues sartuli* '(they) uncovered the roof' Mk. 2.4). It is derived from the verb stem (see **rtw-*) with the help of the circumfix **(s)a- -l-*. The vowel *a* of the Megrelian form needs explanation.

|| Čikobava (1942: 74).

GZ ***(s)a-rc₁x-el-** 'linen, clothes (for washing)': Georg. *sarcxel-* 'linen, clothes (for washing)'; Megr. *orčxal-*.

Deverbative formation. The form adduced for Georgian is well known in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 368) and recorded in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani. It is derived from the verb stem **rec₁x-* : *rc₁x-* 'to wash' with the help of the circumfix **(s)a- -el-*. In modern Georgian the word has been replaced by the form *sarecx-*. Georgian and Megrelian forms regularly correspond to each other.

|| Čikobava (1938: 310).

GZ ***(s)a-rc₂e-** 'cradle': Georg. *sarčev-, sarčeb-* 'cradle'; Megr. *onče-*; Laz *omčel-, ončel-, ončer-*.

Deverbative formation based on the verb stem *rč- 'to rock, to shake' with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- -- -e. In Georgian it is represented by dialectal forms (cf. also a complex form *sa-rčev-ela* which contains a further suffix transferred from another word-formation class). The identity of the second vowel is regular for the end of substantives and points to a more recent origin of the elements following it. A change *r > n* took place in Zan. The Svan *henc* 'cradle' must be considered a Zan loanword.

GZ *(s)a-(s)tum-al- 'head of the bed': Georg. *sastumal-* 'head of the bed'; Megr. *ortumel-*; Laz *omtunal-* 'bearing log of the fire'.

Denominative formation. In the form *sastumal-* the word is attested in Old Georgian (*daidva sastunlad...* 'put them for his pillows...' Gen. 28.11; cf. *stunal-* with the same meaning and the adverbial form *stunlit*). In West-Georgian dialects a secondary form *sartumal-* is known. The Georgian and Zan material (Laz *omtunal-* derives from *ontumal-*) points to the presence of *m* in the root morpheme. Osiže (1987: 34-37) thinks that the word is based on an old Kartvelian designation of ear, reflected in Svan *šdim-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1914: 37).

GZ *(s)a-s₁wm-el- 'drinking': Georg. *sasmel-* 'drinking, drink'; Megr. *ošumal-*.

Deverbative formation. In Old Georgian, where the lexeme had also a meaning 'cup, bowl', it is found in the form *sasumel-* (...*češmariti sasumeli ars* '...is drink indeed' Jn. 6.55). The word is derived from the verb stem (see *s₁wam- : s₁wm- 'to drink') with the help of circumfix *(s)a- -- -el.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 170.

GZ *(s)a-cer- 'sieve': Georg. *sacer-* 'sieve'; Laz *oncor(u)-, oncir(u)-*.

Deverbative formation. The word occurs in Old Georgian texts (Abulaze 1973: 379). It is derived from the verb stem *cer- : cr- with the help of the prefix *(s)a-. In Megrelian the lexeme has been replaced. The Laz form shows a secondary *n*. The origin of *u* optionally represented in word-final position has not yet been determined.

|| Čikobava (1938: 171).

GZ *(s)a-c₁em-ar- 'mortar': Georg. *sacemar-* 'mortar'; Megr. *očamure-*; Laz *ončamure-*.

*(s)a-*ç₁nex-el-*

A technical term. It is a deverbative formation derived from the verb stem **c₁em-* with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- – *-ar*. The final *r* is not reflected in Zan forms like *ž* because of the participial origin of the word. The recently developed *n* is characteristic for the Laz cognate.

|| Schmidt (1962: 149).

GZ *(s)a-*ç₁nex-el-* ‘wine-press’: Georg. *saçnixel-* ‘wine-press’; Megr. *oçinax(u)-*; Laz *oçinaxu-*.

Deverbative formation derived from the verbal base **ç₁nex-* ‘to press’ with the help of the prefix *(s)a- and suffix showing a correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ Zan *-u*. It is attested in Old Georgian (*kmna mas šina saçnexeli* ‘dugged a winepress in it’ Mt. 21.33). The word belongs to the ancient Kartvelian wine-making terminology.

|| Georgian, Laz: Žavaxišvili (1918: 6). Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 396).

GZ *(s)a-*čm-el-* ‘food, meal’: Georg. *sačmel-* ‘food, meal’; Megr. *očkomal-*, *očkumal-*; Laz *očkomale-*, *oškomale-*.

Deverbative formation derived from the verb stem **čam-* : *čm-* with the help of the circumfix *(s)a- – *-el*. The word is also present in most ancient Georgian texts (*sačmel gakus raja?* ‘haven’t you any food?’ Jn. 21.5). The final vowel of the Laz equivalent must have been of a secondary origin (Deeters 1930: 228–229).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Schuchardt (1902.1: 295). Laz: ÈSKJa: 171.

GZ *(s)a-*xl-* ‘house’: Georg. *saxl-* ‘house’; Megr. *oxor-* ‘dwelling, abode; farm-stead’; Laz *oxor-* ‘house’.

Deverbative formation. The word contains the prefix *(s)a- and the verbal stem **xal-* : *xl-* ‘to be amidst sth, near sth’. It is well known in Old Georgian (*ayašena saxli* ‘(he) built a house’ Jn. 7.24; cf. also its Old Georgian variant *saxel-*), where it has a number of derivatives. In Megrelian the lexeme is found also in the derivatives *oxoraskil-* ‘brother-in-law, sister-in-law’ and *xorua-* < **oxorua-* ‘to settle’.

|| Čikobava (1938: 150–151).

GZ *(s)a-*qs-ar-* ‘coupling, joint, articulation’: Georg. *saxsar-* ‘joint, tendon’; Megr. *o(n)cxond-* ‘bearing beam’; Laz *o(n)cxon-* ‘ceiling made of beams’.

Deverbative formation. The word is derived from the verb stem **qas-* : *qs-* by adding the circumfix *(s)a- – *-ar*. In Old Georgian it had a

meaning 'redemption, ransom' (*misces mas saqsari...* 'he shall give for the ransom...' Ex. 21.30). In Zan beside the insertion of secondary *n* also the metathesis *xs* > *sx* > *cx* took place. The Megr. *d* goes back to *š* which corresponds to Georg. *r*. The end of the Laz form had the same *d*: cf. *oncxondure*— 'the ceiling made of beams'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: T. Gudava. Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 171–172.

CK *(s)et- : (s)t- 'to spin': Georg. *rt-* 'to spin'; Megr. *rt-* 'to spin, to turn'(?); Svan *let-* : *lt-* 'to spin'.

Verb stem reflected as *st-* in Old Georgian texts (*arca stavs...* 'neither do they spin' Mt. 6.28; action noun *stva-*). The modern Georgian form coincides with the Zan one. Both of them reflect the zero ablaut grade of the stem. The Megrelian cognate apparently underwent an expansion of meaning. In Laz the stem seems to have been replaced. The Svan (Upper Bal) action noun is *li-lt-e*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Deeters (1930: 220). Megrelian: *ÈSKJa*: 172.

GZ *(s)i- word-forming affix: Georg. *si-*; Laz *i-*, *e-*.

Georgian-Zan derivatory prefix which seems to have been unproductive for a long time. As a rule it occurs as part of a circumfix which derives action nouns. The prefix is attested e.g. in the Georgian-Zan *(s)i-*zmar-* 'dream'. It is supposed to be related to the Svan prefix of the action noun *li-* (cf. Deeters 1930: 220; Schmidt 1962: 78).

GZ *(s)i-*zmar-* 'dream': Georg. *sizmar-* 'dream'; Laz *izmož-*, *izmože-*, *ezmoža-*.

Georgian-Zan lexeme formed by adding the prefix *(s)i- to the verb stem **zman-*. It can be found in Old Georgian (*vitarka sizmari žilsa šina...* 'as a dream of a night vision...' Is. 29.7). The final vocalism in both Laz forms is secondary.

|| Marr (1911: 1202).

CK *(s)ž₁e- 'milk': Georg. *rže-* 'milk'; Megr. *bža-*; Laz *bža-*, *bža-*, *mža-*, *mža-*; Svan *ləže-*.

In Old Georgian the word is recorded in the form *sže-* (*moiyo erboj da szej* 'he took butter, and milk' Gen. 18.8). In modern Georgian dialects the variants (*r*)*že-* and *ze-* are found (cf. Țlonti 1984: 230 and 685). The Zan vowel *a* needs an explanation because *e* would be expected. Initial *m*

*(s)čw-

and *b* are secondary. For the correlation between the Old Georg. *s* and Svan *l* see *(s)a-, *(s)et- : (s)t- and *(s)i-.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 94). Svan: Janashvili (Erckert 1895: 297). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 94).

GZ *(s)čw- 'to drive, knock (in), stick in(to)': Georg. [rčv-] 'to knock in, stick in'; Laz [čk(v)-].

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian in the substantive *m-sčw-al-* 'point, spike, edge' and its derivative action noun (*gan*)*msčualva-* 'to stick in, plunge, thrust (into)' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 298; Saržvelaže 1995: 34), which was used with various preverbs. The correspondence of the forms is regular. In accordance with Gamkrelidze's law historical *čw results in Laz in *čkv*. Cf. **m-(s)čw-al-*.

S₁

CK **s₁-* pronominal stem: Georg. [s-]; Megr. [š-]; Laz [š-]; Svan [š-].

Pronominal stem; it may be extracted from a number of its derivatives: see **a-s₁-*, **e-s₁-*, **i-s₁-*. The original deictic function of the stem remains obscure.

GZ **s₁ar-* : *s₁r-* 'to destroy, ruin': Georg. *sar-* : *sr-* 'to destroy, ruin'; Megr. *šir-*, *šar-* 'to wear out; to destroy'; Laz *šir-* 'to wear out; to evaporate'.

Verb stem which is represented in the Old Georgian texts (*mosrna kueqanaj...* 'the land was corrupted...' Ex. 8.24). The Zan forms (cf. Megr. action noun *do-šir-ua-*, Laz *p-šir-ap* 'I wear out') reflect the zero ablaut grade. Since the Megrelian stem preserves also the meaning 'to destroy, ruin', maximum semantic difference characterizes the Georgian and Laz cognates.

|| Čikobava (1938: 365–366).

CK **s₁er-* : *s₁r-* 'to sharpen': Georg. [sr-] 'to sharpen'; Svan *šēr-*.

Verb stem. In modern Georgian beside its mention by S. Orbeliani it is identified in Moxev. *sa-sr-ev-* 'whetstone, grindstone' (Ylonti 1984: 476). While the latter form reflects the zero grade of the stem, the Svan action noun *li-šēr-e* reflects its full grade.

|| Penruxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 281).

CK *s₁w- 'to drink': Georg. *sv-* 'to drink'; Megr. *š(v)-*; Laz *š(v)-*; Svan *š(w)-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is well known in Old Georgian (*su da aklemta šenta asu!* 'Drink, and give thy camels drink also' Gen. 24.14). The stem-final *w* followed by the affixal *-u* in Zan languages and Svan disappears: cf. Megr. *koš-u* 'he drank', but *ošv-es* 'they drank', Svan *lalāš* 'he drank', but *mi-šw-a* 'I drank' (result.). The stem occurs in the verbal word-forms of the aoristic tenses. Cf. derived *s₁w-am- : s₁w-m-.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 78). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 360). Svan: Topuria (1979: 9).

GZ *s₁w-am- : s₁w-m- 'to drink': Georg. *svam-* : *sm-* 'to drink'; Megr. *šum*; Laz *šum-*.

Verbal formation. The stem is derived from the base *s₁w- by affixation of thematic *-am : -m. It is attested in Old Georgian (*čamen do suman* '(they) eat and drink' Lk. 5.33), where its full ablaut grade shows non-functional alternation *suam-* // *suem-*. The stem occurs in the word-forms of the presentic tenses. The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *šumua-*, Laz *o-šum-u*) apparently reflect the zero grade.

CK *s₁wan- 'Svan': Georg. *svan-* 'Svan'; Megr. *šon-*; Svan *šwän* 'Svanetia'.

Represented in Old Georgian texts as *suan-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 194). It is one of the most important Kartvelian ethnonyms. Contrary to other Kartvelian languages in Svan the stem occurs in its simple shape only in the plural: *šwan-är*. Its singular form is *mə-šwan* // *mu-šwan* // *mu-šwän* (the form *šwän* has here a toponymic function referring to Svanetia).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918 VI). Laz: Gamqrelize (1959: 17). Svan: S. Žanašia (*Šromebi*, Vol. III, Tbilisi, 1959: 2).

CK *s₁wen- : s₁wn- 'to breathe, sigh; to rest': Georg. *sven-* 'to rest'; Megr. [*švan-*] 'to breathe, sigh'; Laz *švan-*; Svan *šwem-* : *šwm-* 'to rest'.

Verb stem. Its reflex is well attested in Old Georgian (*ganisuenet mcired!* 'rest a while!' Mk. 6.31). It must be related to the Georgian substantive *sun-* 'breath, smell'. In Megrelian the stem can be found in a set of expressions like *art švans* 'once', *namu švans* 'when'. In Laz it occurs independently (cf. *šuri dobišvanaši...* 'with (each my) breath...'). The Svan stem is characterized by a final consonant, which possibly testifies to a historically complex structure of the protoform.

|| Georgian, Zan: ÈSKJa: 174. Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 11).

*s₁wēr-

CK *s₁wēr- 'sigh, breath': Georg. [sver-] 'sigh'; Megr. *svaṣ-* 'rest'; Laz *švaṣ-* 'rest, respite'; Svan *šwār-* 'sigh'.

In Georgian the lexeme is lost and can be traced in the verbal correlative *sur-* (see *s₁wēr- : s₁wr-). In the Zan languages the lexeme forms the basis of the denominative verb (action noun Megr. *mošvanda-*, *svaṣa-*; Laz *o-švaṣ-in-u* 'to rest'). Megrelian word-initial *s* is a result of dissimilation with *ṣ* which testifies to the denominative origin of the corresponding verb. The noun stem is also represented in Svan: *šwār ankid* 'he sighed'. Arm. *sunṣ, šunč* 'breath, soul' derives according to Marr (1911–1914 V: 181) from a Zan source; however, it can be explained as well in Indo-European terms.

|| Machavariani.

CK *s₁wēr- : s₁wr- 'to sigh': Georg. *sur-* 'to wish'; Megr. *šur-* 'to smell'; Laz *šur-* 'to smell (at), smell (of)'; Svan *šwr-, šur-* 'to sigh'.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian sources: action noun *surveba-*, *survil-* 'wish, desire' (Abulaṣe 1973: 406). The full grade of the stem can be reconstructed by comparing it with its noun correlative (see the preceding entry). The Georgian form shows a deviation in meaning. For the Zan languages cf. Megr. *go-šur-apa-*, for Svan cf. action noun *li-šur-jēl*.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 366). Georgian: Machavariani.

GZ *s₁wl-ep- : s₁wl-ip- 'to eat (champing, smacking one's lips); to lap': Georg. *svlep-* : *svlip-* 'to eat (sipping), to lap'; Megr. *šlip-*; Laz *šlip-*.

Verbal formation unattested in Old Georgian. It may be based on the verb stem *s₁owl- 'to wet, to become wet' and belongs to the stems with the expressive *p* in their enlargement. The Zan form is distinguished by a simplified consonant cluster: action noun Megr. *šlipua-* Laz *o-šlip-u*. In Megrelian the stem has a connotation 'to strike, hit; coire'.

|| Cf. Klimov (1988: 159).

GZ *s₁i- 'to make noise, rustle': Georg. *siv-il-* 'to whistle; to rustle'; Laz *ši-* 'rustle, noise'.

Verb stem of the descriptive type. In Georgian its action noun is marked by *-il*, an affix characteristic for such verbs.

|| Fähnrich (1980: 73).

CK *s₁i(w)- 'to swell, swell up': Georg. *siv-* 'to swell, swell up'; Megr. *šin-*; Svan *ši(w)-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts (*dausivdes perqni misni* 'her feet swelled out' Krest 156.37; action noun *gansiveba-*). *w* probably is to be reconstructed at the end of the stem: cf. the Georgian action noun *siveba-* and Svan derivative *mə-ši(w)* 'swollen'. The Megrelian form (action noun *šin-apa-*) together with Georg. *si-m-sivn-e* 'swelling' presupposes the existence of the later protoform *s₁iw-n-. The Georgian-Zan *s₁is₁in- apparently depends on the stem.

|| Georgian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 11). See also Deeters (1930: 205). Megrelian: *ĖSKJa*: 177.

GZ *s₁i(w)-s₁i(w)n- 'to stuff oneself': Georg. *sisin-* 'to stuff oneself'; Megr. *šišin-*.

Verbal formation unattested in Old Georgian. Action noun Georg. *gasisineba-*, Megr. *gošišinapa-*. It is likely to be a reduplication of the simple Common Kartvelian stem *s₁i(w)-. In Laz no certain cognate is found.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 357).

CK *s₁iž₁e- 'son-in-law, bridegroom': Georg. *siže-* 'son-in-law'; Megr. *si(n)žā-*, *sinda-*; Laz *sižā-* 'son-in-law, bridegroom'; Svan *čīže* 'son-in-law'.

Widely represented in Old Georgian, where it was used in the meaning 'bridegroom, fiancé' (*aha esera sizej movals* 'Behold, the bridegroom cometh' Mt. 25.6). The reflex of the etymological ž₁ is regular in all languages. In Zan stem-final *e* changes in *a* due to the addition of the secondary *l* in the plural forms: Megr. *sinda-l-epi*. Word-initial *č* of the Svan cognate needs a convincing explanation. For an alternative reconstruction see Penrivi-Saržvelaže (1990: 272).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 79). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 36). Svan: Topuria (*IKE* XII: 153).

GZ *s₁loḵ- 'to hiccup': Georg. *sloḵ-* 'to hiccup'; Megr. *šikin-*; Laz *šikin-*; Svan *šdəkun-*, *štukun-*(?).

Onomatopoeic verb stem (cf. Germ. *schlucken* alongside PIE *(s)leuk-: see Pokorny 1959: 964); thus it does not show regular sound correspondences in the languages. Cf. also Georg. *sluḵ-sluḵ-* 'hiccup'. Georgian-Zan *-in* is a historical suffix. The relation of the Svan forms to this stem requires clarification.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 364). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 177.

*s₁ow-

GZ *s₁ow- 'to be wet': Georg. [sov-] 'to be wet, soak'; Laz šuv-.

Verb stem. In its unbound state it occurs only in Laz: cf. a-šuv-u '(his, him sth.) became wet' (cf. also ošuvoni mčima 'the rain making you soaked, downpour'). The stem underlies the adjective *s₁ow-el- (see below).

|| Saržvelaže (1970: 233).

GZ *s₁ow-el- 'wet, soaked': Georg. sovel-, sobel- 'wet, soaked'; Megr. šə-; Laz šu-.

Deverbative adjective. Both Georgian forms are dialectal (Ylonti 1984: 498) alongside Standard Georgian svel-. The stem belongs to the formations showing at their end the phonetic correspondence of Georgian -el and Zan -u. In its turn it serves as underlying base for the Georgian-Zan verb stem *s₁owl-.

On the juxtaposition of the material see the preceding entry.

GZ *s₁owl- 'to wet, make wet': Georg. [sovl-] 'to wet, make wet'; Megr. šol-; Laz šol-.

Verb stem. The Georgian form is attested in ancient texts: cf. the action noun dasovleba-, šesovleba- (Abulaže 1973: 400). Georg. dasveleba- is a later denominative formation (see *s₁owel-). The Zan match regularly corresponds to the Georgian one: action noun Megr. šolua- (šolir- 'wet, soaked'), Laz o-šol-u. Despite Ačaryan (1977: 529) Arm. šot 'dampness, moisture' most likely derives from Zan.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 362–363). The comparison with the Georgian cognate see under *s₁ow-.

GZ *s₁ul- 'soul, spirit': Georg. sul- 'soul, breath, smell'; Megr. šur-; Laz šur-.

Amply attested in Old Georgian texts (ganixara sulman čemman 'my soul was delighted' Sin. mr. 13.35–36). Here it had a number of derivatives (Abulaže 1973: 404–405). The word is undoubtedly related to *s₁wen : s₁wn- and *s₁wer- : s₁wr-. Cf. the Laz derivative šur-on- 'fragrant, odorous'.

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 32). Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 51).

CK *s₁us₁- 'to be silent, be quiet': Georg. sus- 'to be silent, be quiet'; Megr. šuš- 'quiet, calm'; Svan šuš- 'to fall silent'.

Verb stem. Its characteristic phonetic shape allows us to assume its interjectional origin. However, a connection with forms such as Georg.

su! or Svan *sud!* 'be silent, be quiet!' is hardly possible phonetically. The Svan (action noun *li-ššw-e*, *ad-šuš-e* '(he) made (sby.) to be silent') and Megrelian cognates show a regular correspondence to the Georgian stem. Arm. *sus* 'silently' may possibly go back to a Georgian source.

|| Fährnich (1982: 36; 1985: 27).

CK *s₁uq- 'to grow stout, fat': Georg. *suq-* 'to grow stout, fat'; Svan *nšq-*.

Not found in Old Georgian. For modern Georgian cf. the action noun *suqeba-* and a derivative attributive *msuqe-* 'obese, grown fat'. The Svan equivalent one sees in the action noun *li-n-šq-e* 'to grow fat, fatten', where *n* requires an explanation. From a semantic point of view the lexeme reflects a cattle-breeding structure of the economy.

|| Schmidt (1961: 150).

GZ *s₁uš- 'to dry up; to bake well': Georg. *šuš-* 'to dry up; to bake well'; Laz *šušk-* 'to bake well, fry'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian sources. Action noun – *dašušeba-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 72). Its Laz action noun is *o-šušk-u* (cf. attributive *šušker-* 'well-baked, fried'). The reflection of the protoform is regular in both languages. A reconstruction **suš-* is also possible. In the latter case one has to assume assimilation of the word-initial *s* in Georgian. The stem is one of the old Indo-Iranian borrowings: cf. Old Ind. *śus-* 'to dry'.

|| Kartožia (1984); Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 385).

GZ *s₁x- 'to hang, to sit (about multitude)': Georg. *sx-* 'to hang, to sit (about multitude)'; Megr. *šx-* 'to hang, to encircle (about multitude)'.

Verb stem. It is well known in Old Georgian texts (*romelsa esxa purceli...* 'having leaves...' Mk. 11.13; cf. *sx-d-a* '(people) were sitting', *msxdomare-* 'sitting' and others). Cf. Megr. *mi-v-o-šx-ət* 'we attacked, surrounded him'. In both languages the stem is a polysemantic one; among its meanings one finds 'to sit; to plant, put; to attack, drive; to have'. Cf. also its derivative **s₁x-am-* : *s₁x-m-*.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 178.

GZ *s₁x-am- : s₁x-m- 'to hang, to sit (about multitude)': Georg. *sxam-* : *sxm-* 'to hang; to sit (about multitude)'; Megr. *šxim-*, *šxəm-*.

Found in Old Georgian with various preverbs: *eri igi daesxmoda mas smenad sitqata ymrtisata* 'the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God' Lk. 5.1; action nouns *sxma-*, *dasxma-*, etc.). It is derived from

*s₁xat- : s₁xɫ-

the simple verbal base *s₁x- by adding the thematic suffix *-am : -m. Similar to the underlying base it is polysemantic at least in Georgian. Cf. Megrelian action noun *šximua-*, *šxəmuə-*. The stem is used in word-forms of the presentic tenses.

CK(?) *s₁xat- : s₁xɫ- 'to fence, hedge': Georg. [*sxt-*, *sxlt-*, *xst-*] 'to fence, hedge'; Svan *šxat-* : *šxt-*.

Verb stem. In Georgian it is found in the deverbative form *sx(l)t-e-* 'wattle fencing' (with the suffix -e) and its dialectal variants. In Svan the stem occurs as a verb: action noun *li-šxt-en-i* 'to fence'.

|| Deeters (cf. Schmidt 1962: 134).

GZ *s₁xw- 'to be fat, stout, large': Georg. [*msxv-*] 'to be large'; Megr. [*šxu-*]; Laz [(*m*)*čxu-*].

Verb stem absent in Kartvelian languages in an unbound form. It may be extracted from the derivative adjective *(*m*)s₁xw-il-. The Georgian *si-(m)sx-o* 'with the fatness of...' is also derived from the stem. Compare also Laz *mčxvana-* 'stoutness'. The protoform was reconstructed by G. Machavariani.

|| Cf. Čikobava (1938: 232).

CK *s₁xwa- 'one; other': Georg. *sxva-* 'other, another; foreign'; Megr. *šxva-*; Laz *čkwa-* 'other, one more'; Svan *ešxu* 'one'.

The numeral is well attested in Old Georgian (*ars sxua mraval...* 'are many other (things)...' Jn. 21.25). Cf. dialectal *sxo-*, *cxva-*, *cxo-* (Ylonti 1984: 503, 681). In Laz the change *š* > *č* takes place conditioned by sandhi in the high-frequency word-combination *art šxva* > *arčkva* 'once again, once more'. Cf. Svan *ašxw* (dative case), where the consonant cluster is provided with a protethic vowel with the timbre lost at the end of the word. Georgian-Zan **e-rt-* 'one' is an innovation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 61). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 246). Svan: P. Ertelishvili (1950: 203).

T

GZ(?) *tal- 'flint': Georg. *tal-* 'flint'; Megr. [*tol-*].

Attested in Old Georgian (Saržvelaže 1995: 196). In the modern language the word is used primarily in the mountain dialects – Tuš.,

Moxev., Xevs. (ylonti 1984: 506). Its regular Zan equivalent can be seen in Svan *tol-* 'flint', whose final *l* makes it possible to consider it a loanword from Megrelian (where the lexeme is not recorded). Further borrowings from the Kartvelian source may be represented in Ingush *tol-g* 'pebble' and Chechen *tul-g* 'small stone' (with a well-known Nax word-forming suffix).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ ***tax-** 'to break, to strike (on)': Georg. *tax-* 'to break, to strike (on)'; Megr. *tox-*.

Verb stem. It must be treated as apophonic transformation of the verb root **tex-* : *tx-* with the same meaning. Action noun *tax-un-* 'breaking'. The Megrelian cognate (action noun *toxua-*) regularly corresponds to the Georgian stem

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

CK ***tba-** 'lake': Georg. *tba-* 'lake'; Megr. *toba-* 'lake'; Laz *toba-*, *tiba-* 'lake, pond'; Svan *tub(a)* 'ravine, lake'.

The word is also recorded in Old Georgian (*ars Ierusalem ... t̄baj* 'there is at Jerusalem ... a pool' Jn. 5.2). The identity in the final vowel of the substantive is regular. The deviating Megrelian *tobo-* 'deep' must be explained by the adjectival function of the form. The vowel alternation of Zan *i* : Svan *u* : Georgian 0 points to the adequacy of the protoform. Zan variations alongside Georgian toponyms *Ṭaba xmela-* and *Ṭabis qur-* point to the former existence of a parallel protoform with middle vowel *a* (Svan *tōmb-* 'pool' seems to be borrowed).

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 34). Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 179.

GZ ***te(w)-** 'to leave, let go': Georg. *tev-* 'to leave, let go'; Megr. *tal-*; Laz *tal-* 'to leave'.

Verb stem. Its direct continuation is represented in Old Georgian (*martoj damiteva me* 'hath left me (to serve) alone' Lk. 10.40; action noun *dateveba-*), whereas the form *tov-* is typical of modern Georgian. In Megrelian the stem shows sometimes a complex interaction with the borrowing from Georgian: cf. noun of action *taleba-* alongside *teeba-*. For Laz cf. *do-m-i-tal-es* '(they) left me'. It belongs to the series of forms illustrating the correspondence Georg. *v* ~ Zan *l* in the stem-final position.

|| Čikobava (1938: 320–321). Cf. also Vogt (1947: 56–57).

*te(w)- : ti(w)-

GZ *te(w)- : ti(w)- 'to go in; to be contained': Georg. te(v)- : ti(v)- 'to contain'; Megr. (n)tir-, (n)ti-, tr-; Laz (n)ti(r)-, (n)ti(n)-, (n)tr-.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian texts (*romeli šemzlebul ars datevnađ, daiťien* 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it' Mt. 19.12). The Georgian action noun is teva-. In Zan we find only the vocalism *i*. The origin of the more usual Zan stem (n)tir- // '(n)tr- (cf. Megr. dāntireno? and Laz intreni? 'does it fit in?') needs clarification. What is its relation to the stem in the preceding entry?

|| Čikobava (1938: 326); cf. Vogt (1947.1: 55).

GZ *ten- 'to fill, to stuff, pack (tight) with': Georg. ten- 'to fill, pack (tight) with'; Megr. tin-.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*čamadita dešteno...* 'fill with food...') Sin. mr. 109.37: action noun datena-). It is undoubtedly somehow related to *te(w)- : ti(w)-. In Megrelian the stem is found in the reduplicated formation titin-apa- 'to stuff tight' and apparently in a variant of the preceding stem (n)ti-. For Laz cf. the action noun o-(n)ti(n)-u 'to contain'.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 180.

CK(?) *tep- 'bark, crust, peel': Georg. tep- 'sole (of boot)'; Svan tep 'birch bark, crust, peel'.

A problematic juxtaposition. Its Georgian continuation is attested in Old Georgian (*vidre qamlis tepadmde...* 'to a shoe latchet...') Gen. 14.23), and possibly in dialectal (Upp. Imer.) tepa- 'bark'. For Svan cf. also a-tp-ur-e '(he) skins'.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 180.

GZ *tep- : tp- 'to warm, heat; to warm oneself': Georg. tb- 'to warm, heat; to warm oneself'; Megr. tib-, tǎb-; Laz tub-, tib-.

Verb stem amply attested in Old Georgian (*dga da tpeboda* 'stood and warmed himself' Jn. 18.25; cf. *gan-v-tep* 'I warmed myself'; action noun *tpoba-*). While the zero grade of the stem is reflected in all these languages (cf. action noun Megr. *tibin-*, Laz *o-tub-u*) its full grade appears only in Georgian. The modern Georgian form underwent also a change *t > t*. For Svan *li-tbid-e* based on *tebdi, tebid, tebedi* 'warm' see *tp-il-). The Georgian-Zan stem points to an Indo-European source, cf. PIE *tep- (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1069).

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 35).

CK *t₁ex- : t₁x- 'to break': Georg. t₁ex- : t₁q- 'to break'; Megr. t₁ax-; Laz t₁ax-; Svan [t₁x-].

Verb stem. It is found with its derivatives in Old Georgian (*ganitexa purni igi* '(he) brake the loaves' Mk. 6.41). The zero ablaut grade of the stem is preserved in the Georgian action noun *t₁qdoma-* 'to break', whereas the Zan vocalism regularly reflects the full grade (cf. action noun Megr. *t₁axua-*, Laz *o-t₁ax-u*). The Svan correspondence may be discerned in the derivative *la-t₁xi* 'chisel'. The stem may have an onomatopoeic origin (cf. Laz *t₁axa-t₁axa!* 'bang!').

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: Marr (1936: 63). Cf. also Deeters (1930: 125). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 134).

GZ *t₁ex-a- 'breaking': Georg. t₁exa- 'breaking'; Megr. t₁axa- 'breaking, ache'; Laz t₁axa-.

Deverbative formation. A historical form of the action noun of the verb stem *t₁ex- : t₁x- 'to break'. The form is recorded in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 412). Cf. also Megr. *dudiš t₁axa-* 'headache' (different from the action noun *t₁axua-* being in use today).

GZ *t₁ex-il- 'broken': Georg. t₁exil- 'broken'; Megr. t₁axil-; Laz [t₁axer-].

Occurs in Old Georgian sources (cf. Abulaže 1973: 41). It is a past participle in -il based on the verb stem *t₁ex- : t₁x- 'to break'. Its Laz continuant can be identified in the form *mo-t₁axer-* with the same meaning.

CK *t₁war- : t₁wr- 'to light (up)': Megr. t₁ur- 'to kindle'; Svan t₁war- : t₁wr- 'to light (up)'.

Apparently a Common Kartvelian verb stem unattested in Georgian. Action nouns: Megr. *ito₁turapa-* (cf. past participle *ito₁turapil-* 'enkindled'), Svan *li-t₁war* 'to light up' and *li-t₁wr-e* 'to light (sth.)'. Cf. the Svan derivatives *mu-t₁war* and *le-t₁wr-e* 'candle': *ešxu letwre txurmäš xetwri...* 'one enkindles one candle at the head of the bed...' (Sv. P. 164. 60).

GZ *t₁win- 'brain': Georg. t₁vin- 'brain'; Megr. t₁vin-, t₁ven-.

In the form *t₁win-* it is represented in Old Georgian (*t₁wini misi ganpenil i₁qo* 'his bones are moistened (with marrow)' Job 21.24; hence the action noun *gan-t₁win-v-a-* 'to smash'). In Laz the word seems to have been lost.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 181.

**til-*

CK **til-* 'louse': Georg. *ṭil-* 'louse'; Megr. *ṭi(j)-*; Laz *mṭi-*, *mṭij-*; Svan *tiš*.

Well known from Old Georgian (*ṭili ... dasxmuli qo* 'it was swarmed... with lice' Krest. 156.25–26). The word-final *l* of the Zan cognate is lost, whereas its initial *m* is a secondary augmentation. It is an example of correspondence between Georg. *l* and Svan *š*. Sometimes one believes that the Svan form has been borrowed from a Zan source (cf. Čikobava 1942: 118). The word underlies the verb stem **tiš₁-wn-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 113). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 392–393). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 613).

GZ **tiš₁-wn-* 'to seek for insects, examine clothes with the object of insects': Georg. *ṭizn-* 'to seek for insects, examine clothes with the object of finding insects'; Megr. *ṭišon-*; Laz *ṭišon-*, *ṭišin-*.

Verbal formation undoubtedly related to the above-mentioned **til-*. It contains the historical word-forming affix **-wn*. The dialectal Georgian (Kartl.) *ṭisvn-* corresponds precisely to the Zan cognates in the phonetics (action nouns Megr. *ṭišonua-*, Laz *o-ṭišon-u*). In Laz there is also a variant where *o* has been changed into *i*: *ti utišinums* 'cleans, combs out his hair' (ČT I 55.27–28). Despite Kipšidze (1914: XX) the stem has nothing to do with Arm. *tašel* 'to stroke'.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 181.

CK(?) **ṭitin-* 'to stuff, fill (tight)': Megr. *ṭitin-* 'to fill, stuff (tight)'; Svan *tətən-*, *ttən-* 'to fill to the brim'.

The native character of the Svan forms remains in doubt. The stem can be treated as a reduplication of the simple verbal base **te(w)-* : *ti(w)-*. In this connection see Vogt (1947.1: 55). Cf. also **ten-*.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 183.

CK **tkeb-* : *tḱb-* 'to press, press oneself': Georg. *tkeb-* : *tḱb-* 'to press'; Laz *tḱab-*, *nṭḱab-* 'to press, squeeze'; Svan *tkeb-* : *tḱb-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is widely used in Old Georgian (*davtkebnne perqita čemita...* 'I'll trample under foot...' Krest. 193.22; action noun *tḱebna-*). The historical zero grade of the stem is likely to be reflected in Old Georgian *še-tḱb-ob-a-* // *še-tḱb-ob-a-* 'to press, to embrace'). The Georg. *tḱbil-* 'sweet' may possibly belong here too. The Laz and Svan equivalents (Laz action noun *o-(n)tḱab-u*, Svan *-li-tḱeb*) correspond regularly to the Georgian stem. Cf. a derivative verb stem **tkep-*.

GZ *tkep₁- 'to press, trample': Georg. tkep- 'to trample'; Laz tkap-, ntkap-.

Verb stem. The action noun tkepna- is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 412). It represents an expressive transformation of the verb stem *tkeb- : tkb-. For the expressive function of the glottalized p see *zep-, *zop-, *sxep-, *s₁wlep-, *čql-ep-, *xwlep-, etc.

CK *tkerc₁- : tkrc₁- 'to crack, crash': Georg. tkrc- 'to crack, crash'; Megr. tkarč-; Svan tkərč-.

Verb stem revealing the regular phonetic correspondences in modern languages. It occurs in Georgian medieval literature (cf. Rustaveli 1414.4). In Laz the stem has evidently been lost. The word has an obvious onomatopoeic character also reflected in the word-formation suffixes of the action noun: cf. Georg. tkrc-ial-, Megr. tkarč-al-, Svan tkərč-ən-.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Fähnrich (1982: 36). Svan: Klimov (1985: 173).

GZ *tkec- 'to skin, bark': Georg. tkec- 'to skin, bark'; Megr. tkic-.

Verb stem. In Old Georgian it is identified in the past participle natkec- 'scrap' (cf. Abulaze 1973: 322 and 412). The Megrelian continuant of the stem shows a vowel alternation e : i: cf. tkecir-, tkicil- 'stripped'.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 24).

CK *tkec₁- : tkc₁- 'to strike': Georg. tkec- : tkic- 'to strike'; Megr. tkač-; Svan tkeč- : tkč- 'to strike (with a stick)'.

Verb stem. In modern Georgian its continuant is used mainly in dialects (Xevs., Tuš.). Perhaps, here belongs also the Old Georgian tkec- : tkic- which is identified in mtkice- 'strong, firm, stable' (Abulaze 1973: 300) and in the participle damtkecil- 'confirmed'. Megrelian (action noun tkačua-) and Svan (action noun li-tkč-i) equivalents regularly correspond to the Georgian one. The Svan stem reflects two grades of the historical vowel alternation.

|| Klimov (1960: 25).

CK *tkwer- : tkwr- 'to crack (a nut)': Georg. tkver- 'to crack (a nut)'; Megr. tkvar-, ntkvar-; Laz tkvar-; Svan tkur-n-.

Verb stem. While the Georgian and Zan forms reflect full grade (action noun Georg. tkvera-, Megr. (n)tkvarua-), Svan retains only the zero grade. Modern Georgian knows also a dialectal (Gur.) variant tqver-. The

***t̥kw(l)ep-**

Svan continuant is expanded by an affixal element: cf. the action noun *li-tkurn-e*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: T. Gudava. Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 182.

GZ ***t̥kw(l)ep-** 'to champ, to smack one's lips (whilst eating)': Georg. *t̥kvlep-* : *t̥kvlip-* 'to champ, to smack one's lips'; Megr. *t̥kvap-*.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. Its onomatopoeic nature is indicated in particular by expressive *p*. Action noun Georg. *t̥kvlepa-*, Megr. *t̥kvapua-*. Common Kartvelian sound symbolism connects the stem with **dgw(l)ep-*. In Georgian the stem occurs in dialectal speech.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

CK ***t̥l-** 'to eat up (about worms)': Georg. *t̥l-* 'to eat up (about worms)'; Megr. [*t̥ul-*]; Laz [*t̥ul-*]; Svan [*t̥-*].

Verb stem. In Old Georgian it is represented by the action noun *t̥l-ob-a-* 'worm eating' (Abulaže 1973: 413). Cf. also Georg. *t̥l-u-* 'worm eaten tree (without branches)'. According to Saržvelaže (1980: 116) this stem underlies the Common Kartvelian derivative **matl-* 'worm'. Some authors note its similarity to the Indo-European designations of decay and plant-louse.

|| Saržvelaže (1980: 116–117).

GZ ***t̥lap-** 'mud': Georg. *t̥lapo-* 'mud': Laz *t̥olop-*.

There is a form *t̥lap-* in "Middle Georgian" (Besiki), where the word-final consonant became similar to the initial one in glottality. Connection with synonymic Georgian *lap-* remains unclear. In Megrelian no certain equivalent is found.

|| Kartožia (1979: 66).

GZ ***t̥lek-** : **t̥rk-** 'to lick, lick oneself': Georg. *t̥lek-* 'to lick, lick oneself'; Megr. *t̥irk-*.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. The Georgian (action noun *t̥leka-*) and Megrelian (action noun *t̥irkua-*) cognates seem to reflect different ablaut grades of the stem vocalism. In Megrelian zero grade is preserved. A possible relation to Megr. *t̥ark-al-* 'to chatter' needs further study.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ ***t̥li(n)k-** 'lower part of a leg': Georg. *t̥link-* 'lower part of leg; kicking by hooves'; Laz *t̥rik-* 'shin, hoof'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. For the modern language cf. also dialectal (Moxev.) *tlunk-* 'hoof' and *tlunkva-* 'to kick'. There is a simplified Xopa form *tik-* in Laz beside the full form represented in Viçe and Arx. dialects. The semantic similarity of the lexemes is obvious. Georg. *tlik-in-* 'to go with long strides' and Megr. *ti(r)konua-* 'to run headlong' seem to be its derivatives.

|| Kutelia (1989: 33).

GZ ***tnt-al-** 'to drag along, stagger': Georg. *tant-al-* 'to drag along, stagger'; Megr. *tint-ol-*.

Verbal formation. Apart from the first vowel Georgian and Megrelian cognates correspond phonetically to each other. The stem contains a historical suffixation *-al (Megrelian action noun is *tintolua-*). For the root morpheme compare also Old Georgian *mi-tonť-man-eba-* 'to stagger'. The comparison with Svan *li-tərtān* 'to stagger' remains uncertain. Can Arm. *dandatel* 'to linger, loiter' be somehow connected?

|| Cf. Klimov (1985: 174).

GZ ***top-** 'to spawn': Georg. *top-* 'to spawn'; Megr. *(n)top-*.

Verb stem. It is not recorded in Old Georgian. One notes also a dialectal variant *tob-* as well as a substantive *top-* 'spawning place'. Cf. the Megrelian action noun *topua-* and a designation of small fish *top-*. The toponym *O-ntop-o*, literally 'spawning', must be treated as a regular derivative of the stem. The relation of Laz *o-ntop-u* 'to dip in' to this stem is not quite clear.

GZ ***trad-** 'dove': Georg. *(m)trəd-* 'dove'; Megr. *toronǰ-*; Laz *to(r)oǰ-* 'dove (and other dove-type birds)'.

It is amply attested in Old Georgian texts (*prdidēs ... tredsa* '(they) sold ... doves' Jn. 2.14). The Georgian and Zan vocalism is based on the protoform **trad-* assuming umlaut on the pre-Georgian level. Cf. Sarǰvelaǰe (1985: 199). Georg. *m* in word-initial position is a secondary augmentation. Deeters (1927: 6) assumes a syncope in the Georgian form. The Zan equivalent underwent a change **d* > *ǰ*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Deeters (ibidem). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 104).

GZ ***tua-** 'udder': Georg. *tua-*, *tu-* 'udder'; Megr. *tu-*, *tə-*; Laz *tua-*, *tura-* 'bag'; Svan *tua* 'udder (fat)' (?).

In modern Georgian it has the status of a dialectal (Lečx., Gur., Imer.) word (Ylonťi 1984: 517). The Laz stem underwent a semantic shift. The

***tuta-**

Svan (Lašx.) lexeme does not seem to be original. The stem has a sound-symbolic shade. Cf. Darg. *uti*, Tab. *tta* 'udder'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Axvlediani (1938: 159).

CK(?) ***tuta-** 'ashes': Georg. *tuta-* 'alkali'; Megr. *tuta-* 'ashes'; Laz *mtuta-*; Svan *tət(a)*, *dət(a)*.

The identity of the vowel *a* is regular at the end of the substantive stem. The Svan forms are sometimes considered to have been borrowed from some other Kartvelian language. The initial *d* must be the result of dissimilation. Semantic deviation characterizes the Georgian word.

|| Čikobava (1938: 160–161).

GZ ***tp-il-** 'warm': Georg. *tbil-* 'warm'; Megr. *tibu-*, *təbu-*; Laz *tibu-*, *tubu-*.

Deverbal noun formation. It is a historical participle with the affix *-*il* based on the verb stem **tep-* : *tp-*. In Old Georgian it was attested in the form *tpil-* (Abulaže 1973: 414). The toponym *Çqal-tubo-* reveals its Zan origin and seems to point to an earlier final *o* in the Zan forms. The irregular Svan *tebdi*, *tebedi* 'warm' might have been borrowed from Ossetic *tævdæ* 'warm' (cf. Abaev 1979: 283).

|| Bopp (1847: 75), Džanašvili (1902: 9).

GZ ***tqaw-** 'hide': Georg. *tqav-* 'hide, skin'; Megr. *tqeb-*; Laz *t(k)eb-*.

The stem is well represented in Old Georgian (*sartqeli tqavisaj* 'leathern girdle' Jn. 3.4). In Zan the history of the word final remains unclear. Compare also Megr. *tqabarua-* 'to strip the skin off' with a word-forming affix *-ar*. Deeters (1955: 32) asks whether the stem is related to **matql-* 'wool'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 70).

CK ***tqar-** : **tqr-** 'pedere; to have diarrhoea': Georg. *tqar-*; *tqr-* 'to clatter'; Megr. *tqor-in-* 'pedere'; Laz *t(k)o(r)-in-*; Svan *tqr-ən-* 'to have diarrhoea'.

Verb stem. In Georgian it is attested in the dialectal (Pšav.) action noun *tqroma-* 'to clatter' (Ylonti 1973: 520). Whereas the Zan continuants reflect a full ablaut grade, Svan retains a zero grade. The Zan cognates are characterized by the affix *-in*.

|| Zan, Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 184. Georgian: Fähnrich (1984: 43–44).

CK(?) *tqe(n)- 'forest, tree': Georg. *tqe-* 'forest'; Megr. *tqa-* 'wood, weed'; Laz (m)*tka-* 'grass, dog-rose'; Svan *tqen-* 'piece of wood, stick'.

The lexeme is known in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 414). The correlation of the vocalism of the Georgian and Zan words may point to a former *e* in closed syllable, an assumption supported not only by the Zan plural form (cf. Megr. *tqal-ep-*), but also by the Svan word. Still the meaning of the latter causes a difficulty. For the meaning of the protoform cf. Georg. (Moxev.) *tqe-* 'tree, log'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 2). See also Marr (1911-1914 VI: 423). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 247). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 184.

GZ *tqw- to report, to let know': Georg. *tqv-* 'to say; to report'; Megr. *tqv-*.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian texts (*ar vici rasa itqw* 'I know not what you sayest' Mt. 26.70); the action noun *tqueba-*. Georg. *tqu(v)il-* 'to tell lies, lie' (Abulaze 1973: 415) seems also to belong here. The Megrelian form is identical with the Georgian one: cf. the action noun *tqveba-*.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 184.

CK *tqirb- 'spleen': Georg. *tqirb-*, *tqirp-* 'spleen'; Megr. *tqil-*; Svan [*tqərb-*].

In Old Georgian there occurs the form *tqirb-* (Abulaze 1973: 415). The Megrelian variant *tqip-* is likely to derive from the Georgian dialectal form *tqlip-*. At the same time the variant *tqil-* may be treated as a transformation of the protoform. The Svan correspondence is found in the derivative *na-tqərb-el* 'freckles' (cf. Gelenize 1974: 115). Is there any connection with the root of *prtq-el- 'flat'?

GZ *tql-eš- : tql-iš- 'to hit strongly; to strike': Georg. *tqleš-* : *tqliš-* 'to hit strongly; to strike': Megr. *tqiraš-* : *tqiriš-*.

Verb stem connected by regular sound-symbolic relations with Georgian-Zan *txl-eš- : txl-iš-. The Megrelian variant *tqiroš-* presupposes the existence of the former parallel vocalism *a*. The expected development of *k* after *š* does not take place here because of a back (pharyngeal) consonant in the stem.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

**tqoc-*

CK **tqoc-* 'to throw; to strike (with a crack)': Georg. *tqorc-n-* 'to throw'; Megr. *tqvac-*, *tkvac-* 'to thunder'; Laz *t(k)vac-* 'to strike (with a crack); to shoot'; Svan *tqc-* 'to strike, hit'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun *tqorceba-* (Abulaže 1973: 415). The Zan correspondences underwent a change *o > va* (action nouns Megr. *tqvacap-*, Laz *o-t(k)vac-u*). The parallel existence of the Laz stem *t(k)oč-* 'to throw' somewhat complicates the comparison.

|| Zan, Svan: Čikobava (1938: 325).

CK **tqub-* 'twins': Georg. *tqub-* 'twins'; Megr. *tqup-*, *tqub-*; Laz *tqub-*, *t(k)ub-*; Svan *tqwib-*.

The word is known in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 415). The Zan forms with *q* may derive from a Georgian source. The sequence *wi* in Svan has arisen through umlaut of *u*. In view of Georg. *tquč-* 'two joined fruits' one sometimes assumes a compound character of the stem (cf. Žavaxišvili 1937: 398–400).

|| Georgian, Svan: Wardrop (1911: 618). Megrelian, Laz: Marr (1911–1914 VI: 420). Cf. also Deeters (1926: 82).

CK **tqu(r)b-* 'mushroom, fungus': Georg. *tqurbla-* 'tree fungus'; Svan *tqub-ul-* 'mushroom'.

The word does not occur in Old Georgian texts. Word-final *a* in the modern Georgian form has an affixal nature. Its Svan equivalent contains a diminutive affix. A connection with the word in the preceding entry is not excluded (cf. ÈSKJa: 185).

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 24).

U

CK **u-* derivational affix of participles: Georg. *u-*; Megr. *u-*; Laz *u-*; Svan *u-*.

Privative prefix widely productive in Old Georgian: cf. *u-tqw-* 'dumb', *u-šret-* 'inextinguishable', *u-val-* 'impassable', etc. It underlies also a number of later derivatives provided with additional suffixal elements: cf. Megr. *u-škirat-u* 'inextinguishable', Laz *u-mčk-u* 'unbroken (of horse)', Svan *u-dgar-a* 'immortal'.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 77), Sardschweladse (1985: 24).

GZ ***-u** derivational affix of pejoratives: Georg. *-u* derivational affix of pejoratives; Megr. *-u*. See **gur-u-*.

GZ ***u-** – *-es₁* derivational coaffixes of elative (in adjectives): Georg. *u-* – *-es*; Megr. *u-* – *-aš*; Laz *u-* – *-aš*.

Word forming element widely used in Old Georgian (*čemsā uadres...* ‘before me...’ Jn. 5.7). The Georgian and Zan forms clearly correspond to each other: cf. **x-u-c₁-es₁-*. Unlike in Georgian and Megrelian languages, in Laz the elative is preserved only vestigially in a few isolated lexemes: cf. *u-nkil-aš* ‘junior’, *u-žgu-š* ‘better, best’.

GZ ***ubell/a-** ‘bosom, lap’: Georg. *ube-* ‘bosom, lap’; Megr. (*l)uba-*, *lōba-*; Laz *uba-*, *oba-* ‘bosom, breast (of woman)’.

Attested in Old Georgian (*štavida ubesa mas navisasa...* ‘(he) was gone down into the sides of a ship...’ Jonah 1.5). The unusual phonetic shape of the word may point to its sound-symbolic nature. Word final *e // a* can hardly be suffixal.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 185.

CK ***-un** affix of causative verbs: Georg. *-un*; Megr. [*-un*]; Laz [*-un*]; Svan *-un*.

Verb stems containing this affix are well known in Old Georgian (*actunebs ersa...* ‘he deceiveth the people...’ Jn. 7.12). The phonetic shape of the affix remains identical: cf. **kb-un-*, **kd-un-*, **c₁x-un-*. Possibly it stems from the combination of root final *w* with **-en // -in*.

|| Cf. Deeters (1930: 214); *ÈSKJa*: 185–186.

GZ ***určx-** ‘large intestine’: Georg. *určx-* ‘large intestine’; Laz [*inčx-*].

A problematic reconstruction. The word occurs in Old Georgian (Saržvelaže 1995: 210). According to S. Orbeliani it means ‘back intestine’, which indicates a semantic difference from **c₁el-*. The correspondence Georg. *r* ~ Laz *n* in a consonant cluster is not unusual. The Laz equivalent is found in the compound *inčxi-menčx-* ‘intestine, pluck’.

|| Sardžveladze (1991: 143).

CK ***usx-** ‘sacrificial ox, bull’: Georg. *usx-* ‘ox, bull-calf (fattened for slaughter)’; Svan *usxwa-*, *wisxw-*, *wicxw-* ‘sacrificial ox’.

Well attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 433). In modern Georgian it survives in some dialects (ylonti 1984: 527). Its primary

*up-

meaning is preserved in Svan. The form with initial *wi* shows the effect of umlaut. The lexeme seems to reflect an archaic custom widespread in the ancient Near East. Probably borrowed from some continuant of PIE *uk^ws-on- 'ox, bull' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1118).

|| Klimov (1988: 159–160; 1994: 63–68).

GZ *up- 'to possess, own': Georg. [(u)p-] 'to possess, own'; Megr. [p-]; Laz [p-].

Verb stem found in Old Georgian in some derivatives: cf. *upal-* 'Lord, God', *meupe-* 'king'. In Megrelian the stem still functions in verbal word-forms: cf. *a-p-u(n)* 'he has him // her'. In Laz one can extract it only from the derivative **me-(u)p-e* 'king'.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 186.

CK *uy- 'yoke': Georg. *uyel-* 'yoke'; Megr. *uyu-*; Svan *ūywa, uywa, uywal*.

For the Georgian-Zan level an intermediate form **uyel-* must be posited to account for the correspondence between Georg. *uyel-* (cf. Old Georgian *uyeli čemi tkbil ars...* 'my burden is light...' Mt. 11.30) and Megr. *uyu-*, which contain a highly productive word-forming suffix. Cf. also the derivatives Georg. *uyleul-* ~ Megr. *uyul-* 'team of oxen'. Svan long *ū* may reflect loss of the word-initial "weak" consonant. The lexeme is usually considered an ancient borrowing from Indo-European (see Deeters 1957: 390; Charachidzé 1986: 219; Klimov 1994: 70–71; Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1995: 774): cf. Old Iranian **yuy(a)-* 'yoke' (< PIE **iugo-m*). The comparison with Semitic **yull* of the same meaning is difficult to accept for phonetic reasons.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 113). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 634).

GZ *uq̣- 'to know': Georg. *uq̣-* 'to know'; Megr. *orcq-* 'to see'; Laz *oq̣(k)-* 'to look'.

A somewhat problematic comparison. The stem is attested in Old Georgian (*šen uq̣i...* 'see thou to that...' Mt. 27.4; action noun *uq̣eba-*). Since the correspondence Georg. *u* ~ Zan *o* is unusual the identification is doubtful (Megrelian internal *r* may be a secondary insertion). The change *cq* > *čk* is characteristic of Laz dialects.

|| Mačavariani. (1953: 121–124). Cf., however, Čikobava (1938: 398).

P

GZ ***pal-** : **pl-** 'to hide, to bury': Georg. *pal-* : *pl-* 'to bury; to stick in'; Megr. *pul-* 'to hide; to bury'; Laz *mpul-* 'to hide'.

Verb stem. It is widely represented in Old Georgian, where it meant 'to hide; to bury' (*dapla vecxli...* '(he) hid money' Mt. 25.18; *saplav-* 'grave', action noun *daplv-*). The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *pulva-*, Laz *o-mpul-u*) reflect the full grade of the vocalism; expected *o* became *u* adjacent to a labial. Laz *m* is a secondary augmentation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 359), Deeters (1930: 125). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 330).

CK ***pant-** 'to throw about, disperse': Georg. *pant-* 'to throw about, disperse'; Megr. *pant-* (?); Svan *pant-*.

Verb stem represented in the same shape in the language of Rustaveli (618.1). If the comparison of the Georgian and Zan material holds the vocalic shape of the Megrelian form requires explanation (interaction with the stem **pent-* : *pnt-*?). For an irregular correspondence Georg.-Zan *p* ~ Svan *p* cf. **pirtw-*. The stem apparently underlies the derivative **petw-* 'millet'. If Arm. *p'andanel* with the same meaning stems from Kartvelian (cf. Džaukjan 1967: 99), it yields a new example of reflecting Kartvelian glottal *t* by a voiced consonant *d* (cf. **tnt-al-*).

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 187.

CK ***par-** : **pr-** 'to cover': Georg. *par-* 'to cover; to hide'; Megr. *por-* 'to cover'; Svan *par-* : *pr-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*rametu dahpare...* 'because thou hast hid...') Mt. 11.25; action noun *daparva-*, *parul-* 'secret, covert'). However, Georg. *par-* 'shield' alongside Arm. *pah* (< *parh*) must be treated as a borrowing from Middle Persian *pāhr* 'guard' (Vogt 1969: 106). The Megrelian (action noun *porua-*) and Svan (action nouns *li-l-pär-i*, *li-pr-en-i*) forms clearly correspond to the Georgian stem.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Tseretheli (1959: 81). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 187.

GZ ***parpat-** 'to flit, flutter': Georg. *parpat-* 'to flit, flutter'; Megr. *porpot-*.

Verb stem. Despite the regular correspondence of the stem vocalism the proximity of its structure to a reduplicated type allows one to assume its onomatopoeic origin. Cf. also the sequence *pr* in the verb **pr-en-* : *pr-in-* 'to fly'.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

**parc₁x-*

GZ **parc₁x-* 'harrow': Georg. *parcx-* 'harrow'; Megr. [*porčx-*].

A typical term of the stable agriculture. Although presently it is absent in Megrelian its phonetically regular Zan correspondence has been borrowed in some Georgian (Imer., *ᲕᲁᲗ.*) dialects, where its meaning is 'harrow' as well as 'rake'. In the Gurian dialect of Georgian the word means also 'branchy bough' (cf. *ᲚᲗᲗᲗ* 1984: 547).

GZ **parx-un-* 'to brag about, boast': Georg. *parxun-* 'to brag about, boast'; Megr. *purxon-*.

Deverbative formation. Like in some other cases it is characterized by the word-forming affix **-un* reflected in Zan in the respective Megrelian forms (cf. also **brag-un-*, **pacx-un-*, **pac₁-un-*). The phonetic correspondence in the root vocalism is consistent. This comparison presupposes a directly unattested base **perx-*.

|| Fährnich (1982: 36).

GZ **papa-* 'milk porridge': Georg. *papa-* 'milk porridge'; Megr. *papir-*; Laz *papa-*.

Whereas the word-final vowel is regularly rendered in Laz, the internal one does not show the correspondence expected in Zan languages. The latter difference points to the sound-symbolic character of the word if it is not borrowed from Georgian. In the Megrelian cognate secondary affixation has taken place. Cf. the PIE nursery lexeme **pap(p)a-* 'food' (Pokorny 1959: 187).

GZ **papar-* 'mane': Georg. *papar-* 'mane'; Megr. *popor-*.

Whereas the correspondence in the stem vocalism is regular, the identity of word-final *r* in Megrelian requires explanation. In the analogous Svan *papal* 'mane' the final *l* cannot be original and may have arisen from *r* (cf. **pir-*). Along with the vocalism of the Svan word this fact shows that the lexeme has been borrowed from Georgian. This seems to agree with a rather late introduction of the horse in Kartvelian culture.

|| Bouda (1955: 200). Cf. Schmidt (1962: 135).

GZ **pac-* 'fuss, trouble': Georg. *pac-* 'fuss, trouble'; Megr. *poc-*.

In Georgian it functions on its own as well as being a part of a reduplicated formation with the vowel alternation *paca-puc-* of the same meaning. Cf. the derivative **pac-ur-*. Cf. also the Megrelian action noun *pocua-*.

GZ ***pac-ur-** 'to fuss': Georg. *pacur-* 'to fuss'; Megr. *pucor-*.

Verbal formation. It is a derivative with an affix *-ur* from the simple base **pac-*. The difference of the first-syllable vocalism in the Megrelian cognate (action noun *pucorua-*) as compared with Megr. *poc-* in the preceding entry is in all probability due to vowel metathesis.

|| Cf. *ĚSKJa*: 188.

GZ ***pacx-un-** 'to scratch, claw': Georg. *pacxun-* 'to scratch, claw'; Megr. *pucxon-*; Laz *pucxol-*.

Verbal formation. Apparently a derivative with the affix *-un* based on a simple stem (cf. **brag-un-*, **parx-un-*), deriving also the noun **pocx-* 'rake'. The material compared presupposes the existence of an underlying verb stem **pecx-* which remains unattested directly. The suffix *-ol* is productive in Laz, as can be seen in a number of other cases.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 333). Georgian: Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ ***pac₁-un-** 'to stroke': Georg. *pacun-* 'to stroke'; Megr. *pučon-*.

Verbal formation unattested in Old Georgian. The stem (action noun Georg. *pacun-*, Megr. *pučonua-*) has a historical word-forming suffix although the expected underlying verbal stem **pec₁-* remains unknown.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 44).

CK ***petk-** : **ptk-** 'to break; to blow up': Georg. *petk-* 'to break; to blow up'; Megr. *partk-al-* 'to palpitate, tremble'; Laz *pa(r)tk-al-* 'to break; to palpitate'; Svan *pitkw-* : *ptk-* 'to break off, to erupt'.

Verb stem. For Georgian it is attested in the language of Rustaveli (867.1). Its Zan cognates contain an inorganic *r* as well as a historical suffix *-al*. Svan knows a variant of the stem *betk-* (action noun *li-ptk-e*). The semantic unity of the forms is more or less preserved in all languages.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 328). Svan: Fähnrich (1984: 44).

CK ***pen-** : **pin-** 'to spread; to straw': Georg. *pen-* : *pin-* 'to spread'; Megr. *pin-*; Laz (*m*)*pin-*; Svan *pīn-*.

Verb stem recorded in Old Georgian (*dahpendes gzasa zeda* '(they) strawed in the way' Mt. 21.8; action noun *dapena-*). The Georgian form reflects *e* ablaut grade. The stem-initial *m* of Laz is a secondary augmentation. The vowel lengthening in the Svan correspondence (action noun *li-pīn-e*) deserves attention. In the past a more complicated structure of the stem has been posited. Cf. Marr (1908: 4), Tseretheli (1959: 81).

**pertx-* : *prtx-*

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 104). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 329). Svan: Klimov (1960: 24).

CK **pertx-* : *prtx-* 'to shake; to knock out'.

Verb stem. In view of an early lexicalization of each ablaut grade, **pertx-* and **prtx-* are viewed below as two different (transitive and intransitive) verb stems.

|| ÈSKJa: 188.

CK **pertx-* 'to shake': Georg. *pertx-* 'to shake; to knock out'; Megr. *partx-* 'to shake; to clean'; Laz *patx-* 'to shake; to knock out'; Svan *pətx-*, *ptx-*.

Verb stem. Contrary to **prtx-* it is consolidated in all Kartvelian languages mainly in its transitive meaning. In Laz (cf. action noun *o-patx-u* alongside Megr. *partxua-*) *r* is lost. The stem is clearly connected by the rules of Kartvelian sound symbolism with *[*berdy-*]: *brdy-* and **pertq-* : *prtq-*. Cf. also **bertq-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 334). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 327–328). Svan: (cf. Penrixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 317).

GZ(?) **pesw-* 'root': Georg. *pesv-* 'root'; Megr. *pos(ve)-*; Laz *poso-*.

A tentative comparison. The word occurs also in Old Georgian (*šexo ... pesusa samoslisa...* '(he) touched ... the tails of clothes' Sin. mr. 227.11). Cf. the Georgian dialectal forms Gur. *persv-* and Adj. *peso-*. The Zan evidence allows to posit a primary vocalism *a* (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 265). The Laz equivalent occurs rarely and shows a secondary change *we* > *o*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraya (1912: 35). Laz: ÈSKJa: 187.

CK **peṭw-* 'millet': Georg. *peṭv-* 'millet'; Megr. *paṭ-*; Laz *paṭ-*; Svan *peṭw*, *pāṭw*.

The word is well known from Old Georgian texts (*keri da peṭwi...* 'barley and millet...' Is. 28.25). Sometimes one considers it to be derived from the verb stem **pant-*. Svan knows a derivative formation *peṭw-ra* 'millet flour'. Millet is one of the most ancient attributes of Kartvelian agriculture.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: V). Laz: Marr (1910: 193). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 615).

CK *pekʷ- : pkʷ- ‘to grind’: Georg. *pkv-* ‘to grind’; Megr. *k(v)-*, Laz *mk(v)-*; Svan [*pek-*].

Verb stem occurring in Old Georgian (*pkviden pkvilsa...* ‘(they) were grinding flour...’ Lk. 18.35; action noun *pkva-*). In the Zan forms (cf. action noun Megr. *kuala-*, Laz *o-mk-u*) a simplification of the consonant cluster usually takes place although the Laz one may have an inorganic *m*. In Svan the stem may be discerned in the substantive *pek-* ‘flour’. A Georgian-Zan derivative **pkʷ-il-* may be posited.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 31). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 305). Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 293).

CK *peš- : pš- ‘to dehisce (noisily, with a crack)’: Georg. [*pš-*] ‘to husk’; Megr. *pašk-*, *pešk-*; ‘to dehisce, burst (noisily)’; Svan *pešk-*: *pšg-* ‘to become untied; to open (noisily)’.

Onomatopoeic verb stem attested in the modern Georgian action noun (*gamo*)*pš-vn-a* ‘to husk’ (at present it means also ‘to crumble’). Cf. also the Megrelian derivatives *peškvere-* ‘swelled, plump’ and *peškvinia-* ‘popcorn’, where the stem vocalism is adjusted in conformity with a word-forming model. The Svan action nouns are *li-pešg* ‘to become untied’ and *li-pšg-e* ‘to open (a vessel noisily)’.

|| Megrelian, Svan: Topuria (cf. 1979: 10). For Georgian cf. Fähnrich (1980: 73).

CK *pešw- ‘to feel, touch; to caress’: Georg. *pešv-* ‘to feel, touch’; Svan *pāšgw-*, *paškʷ-* ‘to smooth, caress’.

Occurs in Old Georgian: *epešuebodes vitarca brmani kedelsa* ‘grobe for the wall like the blind’ Is. 59.10; action noun *pešueba-*, *puešueba-* (Abulaže 1973: 445). For Svan cf. action noun *li-pāšgw-e* (Upper Bal), *li-paškʷ-e* (Lent.), where stem-internal vowel underwent labial umlaut effect. These forms show an exception from Gamkrelidze’s law (cf. **mšwild-*, **šwd-*, **šwid-*).

|| Suxišvili (1990: 84).

CK *pirtw- ‘lungs’: Georg. *piltv-*, *pirtv-* ‘lungs’; Megr. *pirtv-*; Laz *purpu-*; Svan *peršwa-*, *pērešwda-* (?).

In some Georgian dialects as well as in Old Georgian the lexeme occurs in the shape of *pirtw-* (*šečeuł iqo pirtuad* ‘(it) reached the lungs’ Kartl. cx. I 202. 16–17). In Megrelian a simplified variant *pišv-* is more usual. The Laz form seems to have been contaminated with some other

*pit- : pt-

one. The specific shape of the Svan word, especially its initial *P*, is difficult to explain. Georgian *l* must be treated as a secondary substitution. The lexeme is related to the verb stem *prt^hw-in-. Other reconstructions (cf. Tseretheli 1959: 94) are uncertain.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895: 110). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 67). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 613).

CK(?) *pit- : pt- 'to make a hole': Georg. pit- 'to make a hole'; Svan pit- : pt-.

Possibly a Common Kartvelian verb stem (if the Svan form is not borrowed from Georgian). Cf. the undoubtedly Common Kartvelian verb stem *qwer- : qwr- with the same meaning. The Svan analogy distinguishes two ablaut grades: action noun li-pt-e alongside pite 'he makes a hole'.

|| Mačavariani (1965: 25).

GZ *pic₁x- 'dry brushwood': Georg. picx- 'hot-tempered'; Megr. [pičx-] 'dry brushwood'; Laz pičx-.

The Georgian word underlies an adjective picx-el- of the same meaning and a verb gan-picx-eb-a- 'to become hardened' attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 72 and 446). The meaning of the Georgian lexeme seems to be the result of a metaphoric transfer of the original one preserved in Zan languages. The expected Megrelian equivalent is found in West-Georgian dialects as a Zan borrowing. Cf. also the Megrelian form perčx- 'dry brushwood' and action noun pičxolua- 'to break brushwood'. The originality of the Laz cognate remains somewhat doubtful since it is recorded only in Abxazia.

|| Klimov (1988: 20–21).

CK *plet- : plit- : plt- 'to wear out': Georgian plet- : plit- 'to wear out'; Megr. pat-; Laz plat- 'to get worn out; to tear to pieces'; Svan pet- : pt- 'to scutch wool'.

Verb stem. Cf. also the Georgian participle da-plet-il- 'worn out' and a parallel dialectal (Xevs.) aoristic word-form dapita 'he wore out, he tore out'. For Megrelian cf. the action noun patua-. In Laz (dialect of Xopa) an action noun o-plat-u has been recorded. One believes the Svan cognate (cf. ä-pt-i 'he scutched wool') also to be simplified.

|| Georgian, Svan: Gamqreliže-Mačavariani (1965: 200). Laz: Klimov (1993: 136).

GZ ***polo-** 'hoof': Georg. *polo-*, *pol-* 'large hoof'; Megr. *polo-* 'hoof, foot'; Laz (*m*)*polo-*, *mpulo-* 'calf of leg, lower part of leg'.

Its unusual vocalism as well as its meaning, referring to a specific kind of animal, speak against the native character of the word. Georgian (Gur.) *polo-* 'big foot, ugly foot' may be a Zan loanword. Cf. also the Megrelian derivative *na-pol-e-* 'hoof tracks'. Svan *pol* 'hoof' can, in view of its final *l*, not be ancient and must derive from Georgian. The Kartvelian material stems apparently from continuants of PIE **pōlo-* 'big toe, thumb' (cf. Klimov 1994: 143–144).

|| Fähnrich (1975: 338).

GZ ***pocx-** 'rake': Georg. *pocx-* 'rake'; Megr. *bucx-*; Laz *bucx-*.

The term is an important element of the Kartvelian agricultural vocabulary missing in Svan. It must be treated as a derivative from the verb stem (cf. **pacx-un-*). The Zan form shows a change *o > u* adjacent to the labial consonant and shows, as in some other cases, a kind of the consonantal dissimilation. Arm. *p'oc'x* with the same meaning seems to be borrowed from Georgian (cf. Marr 1910: 133; Ačaryan 1979: 521).

|| Čikobava (1938: 164).

GZ ***pocx-** 'to rake': Georg. *pocx-* 'to rake'; Megr. *bucx-*; Laz *bucx-*, *bumcx-*.

The verb stem attested in the poem of Rustaveli (1623.4). Its phonetic history in the languages is analogous to its nominal counterpart treated in the preceding entry. The stem *pacx-*, *pcx-*, recorded in Svan is unlikely to be original. According to K. Dondua (unpublished manuscript) it must be borrowed from Georgian. For Arm. *p'oc'xel* cf. the preceding entry.

|| Čikobava (1938: 255–256).

GZ ***pr-en- : pr-in-** 'to fly': Georg. *pren-* : *prin-* 'to fly'; Megr. *purin-*; Laz *purtin-*.

Verb stem well represented in Old Georgian (*martueni igi gamoprindes...* 'the nestlings flew out' Sin. mr. 34.19). The Zan *u* breaks up the consonantal sequence in stem-initial position. Its timbre is conditioned by the proximity of the labial. The Laz correspondence (cf. action noun *purt-in-* alongside Megr. *purinua-*) seems to be contaminated with some other verb stem. The word contains an onomatopoeic sequence *pr* reiterated in other languages of the Caucasus and beyond it (cf. Abx. *pər-*, Sem. *pr̄r*, etc.).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 106). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 190.

**preç-* : *pric-*

GZ **preç-* : *pric-* ‘to tear, rend’: Georg. *preç-* : *pric-* ‘to tear, rend’; Megr. *buric-*; Laz *bric-*, *bruc-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts: cf. the action noun *gan-preç-a-* (Abulaze 1973: 72). It has a sound-symbolic shape. There is a parallel variant of the stem **pxrec-* : *pxric-*. The initial consonant in the Zan forms (action noun Megr. *buricua-*, Laz *o-bric-u*, *o-bruc-u*) results from a process of dissimilative voicing.

|| Čikobava (1938: 225).

GZ **preç-il-* ‘torn’: Georg. *precil-* ‘torn’; Laz *bracel-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. It is a past participle in *-il* based on the verb stem **preç-* : *pric-* ‘to tear, rend’. The Laz form recorded in Sarpi is adapted to adjectives ending in *-el*.

|| Cf. Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 192).

CK **prtx-* ‘to tremble; to rouse oneself’: Georg. *prtx-* ‘to rouse oneself; to take care’; Megr. (*p*)*ntx-*, *tx-*; Laz *putx-* ‘to fly’; Svan *pə(r)tx-ən-* ‘to tremble’.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian texts (*aç ganiprtxve...* ‘rouse thyself from now on...’ Bal. 28.30; *prtx-il-* ‘careful’). Unlike **pertx-* it has an intransitive meaning. The Zan stem (cf. action noun Megr. *ntxeba-*, Laz *o-putx(in)-u*) shows a trend toward simplification. The Svan cognate (action noun *li-pə(r)tx-ən-i*) contains a suffixal element (cf. here also a voiced variant of the stem *bərdy-ən-*).

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 190.

GZ **prtw-in-* ‘to snort’: Georg. *prtvín-* ‘to snort’; Megr. *purvin-* ‘to spit’; Laz *purvin-* ‘to snort’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Saržvelaze 1995: 222). Its simple stem may be discerned in the nominal derivative **pirtw-*. The original sonant *r* is regularly reflected in all languages. The Megrelian form (action noun *purvinua-*) underwent a semantic shift. Laz *o-futin-u* ‘to neigh (of horses)’ seems to be a transformation of this stem.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 190–191

CK **prcxa-* ‘nail, claw’: Georg. *prčx-il-* ‘nail’; Megr. *bircxa-* ‘nail, claw’; Laz *bu(r)cxa-*; Svan *cxá*.

The continuant form in Old Georgian is widely attested in the shape of *prcxil-* (*prcxenen prcxilita* ‘they scratch with claws’ Lev. 11.4).

Among Georgian dialectal variants mention may be made of Gur. *prcxil-*, Xevs., Tuš. *pirčxil-*, Pšav. *brčxil-* (cf. ʃlonti 1984: 544), extended by the later word-forming suffix *-il*. The age of the final *a* is indicated by Zan and Svan lexemes. While in the Georgian form an unclear change *c > č* is attested, in its Zan cognates we see a typical dissimilation of the word-initial voiceless consonant (sometimes one assumes here a reverse process). The onset of the Svan correspondence is simplified.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 62). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 191.

CK *prcx-en- 'to scratch oneself': Georg. *prcxen-* 'to scratch oneself'; Megr. *pucxon-*, *pucxol-* 'to scrape'; Laz *pucxol-* 'to scrape, scratch'; Svan *cxēn-* 'to comb'.

A verbal formation attested in Old Georgian texts (see the preceding entry). One considers it a derivative from the noun *prcxa-. The Zan cognates (action noun Megr. *pucxonua-*, Laz *o-pucxol-u*) contain a secondary affixation. The semantic unity of the data needs no commentary.

|| Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 191.

GZ *prc₁-wn- 'to peel': Georg. *prckvn-* 'to peel, to clean'; Megr. *purčon-*.

A verbal formation. The Georgian form differs by a secondary *k*. The Megrelian cognate as well as based on its root *purc₁-el- 'husk, foliage' (that is also found in Laz) indicate its absence in the original shape of the stem. Megr. *purckonua-* of the same meaning seems to be a contamination of the native stem and the Georgian form.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Gudava (1979: 86). Some others compare the Georgian stem directly with Megr. *purckonua-*. Cf. Fähnrich (1982: 36).

CK *ps- 'to urinate': Georg. *ps-* 'to urinate'; Megr. (p)s-; Laz ps-; Svan [s-].

Verb stem of an evidently onomatopoeic nature. In the Sen. dialect of Megrelian it is simplified. The Svan match, without the initial *p*, can be seen in the suffixal formation *sēn-* (action noun *li-sēn-e*). The stem occurs in forms of the aoristic tense series. Cf. its derivative *ps-am- : ps-m- with the thematic suffix.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 208). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 329). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 191.

*ps-am- : ps-m-

GZ *ps-am- : ps-m- 'to urinate': Georg. *psam-* : *psm-* 'to urinate'; Megr. (*p*)*səm-*, *bsəm-*; Laz *psim-*.

Verbal formation derived from *ps- by suffixation of the thematic *-am : -m, found in the word forms of the presentic tense series. It is attested in Old Georgian: action noun *psma-* (Abulaže 1973: 448). Unlike Georgian, the Zan forms (cf. action noun Megr. (*p*)*səma-*, Laz *o-psim-u*) reflect only a zero grade.

|| Cf. *ĚSKJa*: 191.

CK *pu- 'to inflate; to rise': Georg. *pu(v)-* 'to rise (about the dough)'; Megr. *pu-* 'to boil'; Laz *pu-*; Svan *pw-*.

Verb stem documented in Old Georgian by a number of derivatives: cf. *puar-* 'dough' (Abulaže 1973: 448). The Megrelian action noun is *puala-*. In Georgian as well as in Svan the change *u* > *w* is conditioned by position: cf. Svan action noun *li-pw-e* alongside *pūl-* 'whiff'. The semantic unity and the onomatopoeic origin of the data are obvious.

|| Cf. *ĚSKJa*: 192.

CK *pu-wn- 'to boil': Georg. *puvn-* 'to leaven (dough)'; Megr. *pun-* 'to boil'; Laz *pun-*; Svan *pw-in-*, *pū-jn-*.

Verb stem derived from *pu-. It is well attested in Old Georgian (*vidremdis ganapuvna qoveli* 'till the whole was leavened' Mt. 13.33; cf. the action noun *ganpuvneba-*). One assumes a semantic shift in the Georgian stem. Cf. Svan action noun *li-pwīn-e*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 664). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 330). Svan: *ĚSKJa*: 192.

CK *pur- 'cow': Georg. *pur-* 'cow, she-buffalo'; Megr. *puž-*; Laz *puž-* 'cow'; Svan *pūr*, *pirw* (pl. stem *pur-*).

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian texts (*purman matman ara moagdo...* 'their cow did not throw out...' Job 21.10). Cf. *pur-irem-* 'doe, female deer' where *irem-* means 'deer'. Its continuants have a regular phonetic shape. The original semantics is better preserved in Laz and Svan. Cf. Čikobava (1938: 78).

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 29). Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 071). Cf. *ĚSKJa*: 192.

GZ *pu(r)č- 'to whisper': Georg. *puč-un-* 'to whisper'; Megr. *pu(r)čk-in-*.

Verb stem of an onomatopoeic character (cf. Georg. *čurčul-* with the same semantics). The correspondence of Georg. *č* ~ Zan *ck* in the position after *r* is well known in a number of other cases: see **arčw-*, **qleč-* and others (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 76). The stems are extended by word-forming affixes characteristic of onomatopoeic formations.

|| Čikobava (1938: 331).

GZ ***purc₁-el-** 'foliage, husk': Georg. *purcel-* 'foliage'; Megr. *purča-* 'chaff, husk'; Laz *purča-*.

Well known from Old Georgian texts (*purceli gamobuṭḡoin...* 'putteth forth leaves...' Mt. 24.32). Derived from a simple stem of the verb **prc₁-wn-* by adding the word-forming affix: cf. **wrc₁-el-*; **č₁it-el-*, **č₁rp-el-*, and others. In Laz the word has a derivative *purčumale-* (Xopa), *porčumale-* (Atina) 'a kind of weed' with an unclear second component.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Lomtatiže (1984: 34). Laz: Klimov (1985: 160).

GZ ***puṭuro-** 'rotten (about fruit, trees), rot': Georg. *puṭuro-* 'rotten (about trees, fruit); rot, mouldering'; Megr. [*puṭur-*]; Laz *puntura-* 'rotten, empty (about nuts)'.

In Megrelian the lexeme is identified in a denominative verb *puṭurua-* 'to rot' (cf. past participle *puṭurel-* 'rotten, worm-eaten'). For the correlation Georg. *o* ~ Zan *a* in word-final position cf. **buṭko-*. The Laz cognate contains an inorganic augmentation *n*. The unusual vocalic shape of the lexeme makes one doubt its Kartvelian origin. Cf. in this connection PIE **pu-tro-* 'rotten, rotten stuff', where *-tro* is a well-known derivatory element (less probable seems a connection of the word with Lat. *putris*).

|| Georgian, Laz: Žyenti (1953: 94). Megrelian: Klimov (1994: 146–147).

GZ ***pupul-** 'abscess': Georg. *pupula-* 'pimple, abscess'; Megr. *pupul-*; Laz *pupu(r)-*, *pupul-*.

The word contains a reduplication of the verb stem **pu-*. According to Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 323) the root is **pul-*. The Georgian continuant is extended by the affix *-a*. Its Megrelian cognate occurs only rarely. Similar lexemes are also attested beyond the area of Kartvelian languages. Cf. Lat. *pupula* 'pimple', Lit. *pupulė* 'full bud' alongside PIE **pu-p-* (Pokorny 1959: 848).

|| ÈSKJa: 193.

***puč₁**-

GZ ***puč₁**- 'to swear': Georg. *puč-*, *pic-* 'to swear'; Megr. *puč-*; Laz *pu(r)č-*.

A verb stem still represented in Old Georgian with vowel *u* (*epuca mas...* 'he swore an oath to him...' Gen. 25.33; action noun *pučva-*). In modern Georgian it is replaced by the stem with *i* (cf. the following entry). The Laz form may have an augmentation *r* (action noun *o-pu(r)č-u* alongside Megr. *puč-apa-*). If Svan *ps-* of the same meaning (action noun *li-ps-i*) is not related, it may have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 110). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 331-332).

GZ ***puč₁**- 'oath': Georg. *pic-* 'oath'; Megr. *puč-*.

The lexeme is widely represented in Old Georgian texts: *misce ... pici šeni...* 'perform ... thine oaths...' Mt. 5.33. It seems that the Georgian form underwent an old process of umlautization. For the correlation of the noun and verb stems in Old Georgian cf. *picit apuca...* '(he) had straightly sworn...' Ex. 13.19.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 193.

GZ ***pkw-il-** 'ground, flour': Georg. *pkvil-* 'flour'; Megr. *k(v)ir-*; Laz *(m)ki(r)-*, *(m)kver-*, *(m)pkver-*.

Deverbative formation. It is a historical past participle in *-il* derived from the verbal stem *[*pekw-*] : *pkw-* 'to grind'. The stem is amply attested in Old Georgian (*šehrto igi pkvilsa...* '(she) added it into flour...' Mt. 13.33). Cf. also Georgian dialectal variants *kvil-*, *kpil-*, *kbil-* (Ŷlonti 1984: 564, 581). In the Zan forms the original consonant cluster is reduced. Besides the regular reflex of the participial suffix a later form in *-er* is also available here. The similar Svan *pek-* shows a different word-formation type.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 31). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 305).

GZ ***pknar-** : **pknr-** 'to yawn': Georg. *mtknar-* 'to yawn'; Megr. *kir-*, *kil-*; Laz *nkor-*, *mkor-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem occurs in the shape of *pknar-* (Abulaze 1973: 450). The modern Kartvelian forms have endured a complicated phonetic history, the details of which require further clarification. At any rate the insertion of an inorganic *t* into the Georgian form and the general

simplification of its Zan correspondences are obvious. For the Zan languages cf. the action nouns Megr. *kir-on-* and Laz *o-mkor-u*. The proto-form is reconstructed in Saržvelaze (1970: 235).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 339–340).

GZ *pšala- ‘hop’: Georgian *pšala-* ‘hop’; Laz *pškvela-* ‘young alder-tree’.

The word seems to be absent in Megrelian. Ancient *š* is regularly reflected in the Laz form, where the sequence *ve* presupposes former *o*. Therefore the conditions for the realization of Gamkrelidze’s law did not exist here. Since a different Georgian-Zan designation of alder-tree is reconstructed (see **txmel-*) the meaning of ‘hop’ should be given preference.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 194.

CK(?) *pšw-en- : pšw-n- ‘to crumble, make friable’: Georg. *pšven-* : *pšvn-* ‘to crumble’; Svan *puršgwīn-* ‘to crumble, make friable’.

Apparently a Common Kartvelian verb stem. Its Old Georgian continuant may be extracted from the form of the past participle *na-pšuen-* ‘crumb’. In modern Georgian there is also its suffixal derivative *pšvn-et-* with the same meaning. A Zan correspondence apparently is lacking. *r* of the Svan cognate must have been inserted at a later time. The sequence *šg* of the intervocalic consonant cluster (instead of the expected *sg*) needs an explanation. In this connection the question arises of the relation of this stem to Common Kartvelian **peš-* : *pš-*.

|| Klimov (1985: 174).

CK *px- ‘to be clear (of weather)’: Georg. [*px-*] ‘to be clear (of weather)’; Laz [*px-*]; Svan [*px-*].

A verb stem reflected in all Kartvelian languages only in its derivatives. Cf. **me-px-e* ‘clear sky, fine weather’ as well as Georg. *za-px-ul-* and Svan *lu-px-w* ‘summer’. Precisely the meaning of **me-px-e* helps us to establish a tentative meaning of this stem.

|| Cf. Čaraya (1912: 35–36).

CK *p α a- ‘frame, small bone’: Georg. *p α a-* ‘awn of cereals; fishbone’; Megr. *x α -* ‘cartilage of snake; scales of fish’; Laz *m α a-* ‘fishbone’; Svan *p α a-* ‘fishbone’; small snake’.

*px-ek- : px-ik-

The continuant of the protoform is known with the meaning of 'awn of cereals' in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 450). In both Zan languages the word-initial consonant sequence underwent some transformation. Cf. analogous changes in *kuxpa- and *lukuxpa-. As in other substantives the word-final vowel is regularly identical in all languages.

|| ÈSKJa: 194.

GZ *px-ek- : px-ik- 'to scrape': Georg. *pxek-* : *pxik-* 'to scrape'; Megr. [*xak-*]; Laz [*xak-*]; Svan *pxič-* (?).

The stem may be treated as a derivative from *pxa- with affixation of *-ek. It occurs also in Old Georgian (*mopxekon šignit* '(they) scrape from the inside' Lev. 14.41: action noun *ganpxeka-*, *mopxeka-*). While the onset of the Zan form is changed regularly, it ends in a secondary affix -ar: cf. the Megrelian action noun *xakarua-* (alongside *tqabarua-* 'to strip the skin off', *švabarua-* 'to bark a lime-tree'). The age of the Svan stem remains unclear (cf. Svan *pxik* 'bald patch').

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 419).

CK(?) *pxot- 'to scratch, to peck': Georg. *pxot-* 'to scratch'; Svan *pxət-* 'to pick out'.

Verb stem apparently unattested in Old Georgian. There is a dialectal variant *pxoč-* in modern Georgian (Ylonti 1984: 557). In Svan the stem is extended by an affix (action noun *li-pxt-ən-e*).

|| Fähnrich (1985: 28).

GZ *pxreç- : pxriç- 'to tear (roughly)': Georg. *pxreç-* : *pxriç-* 'to tear (roughly), rip'; Megr. *xiriç-*.

A verb stem showing sound symbolism. It has a simpler parallel variant *preç- : priç-, which is reflected in Old Georgian: action noun *ganpreça-* (Abulaže 1973: 72). There is also its modern Georgian variation with *l* replacing *r* (cf. action noun *pxleça-*). The Megrelian correspondence (action noun *xiricua-*) underwent a simplification of the initial consonant cluster.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

GZ *pxuč₁- 'to pucker': Georg. *pxuč-* 'to pucker; to gather'; Megr. *xuč-*.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. Action nouns Georg. *pxučva-*; Megr. *xučua-*. The word-initial consonant sequence of the Megrelian form underwent simplification. The correspondence of the stem affricates in both languages is regular.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 36).

K

GZ ***-k-** pronominal stem: Georg. [-k-]; Megr. [-k-]; Laz [-k-].

Pronominal stem. In modern languages it can be discerned only in its historical derivatives (cf. **a-k* and **i-k*). If the stem is to be genetically identified with Svan *-g-*, which is found in the adverbs *ameg* 'here' and *demeg* 'nowhere', then it can date back to the Common Kartvelian stage in the shape of **-g-*.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 194.

CK(?) ***kab-** : **kb-** 'to know': Georg. *ceb-* : *cb-* 'to know; to expect'; Svan *kab-* : *kb-*.

Despite some divergence in meaning apparently a Common Kartvelian verb stem. The base is widely used in Old Georgian: cf. action noun *cebna-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 252). In modern Georgian the derivatives *cb-ier-* 'insidious' and *uceb-* 'sudden' are found. For the phonetic correspondence between Svan back occlusive and Georgian-Zan affricate see **brg-*, **kad-* : *kd-*, **kreml-*, etc. For non-functional alternation *a // e* cf. **barç₁-*, **kreb-* : *krb-*, **rec₁-* : *rc₁-*, **čer-* : *çr-*, and many others. There is also a common adverbial formation Georg. *u-cb-ad* 'not knowing, unexpectedly' and Svan *u-kb-ad* 'secretly, against one's will'. Cf. also its ancient derivative **kb-un-*.

|| Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 297). See also Marr (1914: 45–46).

CK ***kad-** : **kd-** 'to make mistake, err': Georg. *cet-* : *cd-* 'to make mistake, err'; Megr. *čilat-* : *čilit-* : *čirt-*; Laz *čulet-* : *čit-* 'to get rid; to escape'; Svan *kad-* : *kd-* 'to make mistake, err'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*tkuen priad hsctebit* 'ye do greatly err' Mk. 12.27; action noun *ctoma-*). For other examples of the correspondence Svan *k* ~ Georgian-Zan *c₁* and instability of the vocalism *a // e* in Kartvelian material see **kab-* : *kb-*. The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *čilata-*, Laz *o-čulet-in-u*) show an insertion of *l* of later origin through the intermediate step *čirt-*. Cf. also derivative **kd-un-*. For Svan cf. action noun *li-käd*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 63). Svan, Laz: Marr (1914: 45). Cf. Čikobava (1938: 374).

GZ ***katam-** 'hen': Georg. *katam-* 'hen'; Megr. *kotom-*; Laz *kotume-*, *korme-*.

*kam- : km-

Well documented in Old Georgian (*katamman šeikribnis martueni* 'a hen gathereth her chickens' Mt. 23.37). Laz cognates show an inorganic *e* and shift of the expected *o* into *u* next to a labial consonant. The sequence *rm* emerged here from *tm*. Svan *katal* 'hen' originates from the simplified form of the word and contains an affixal *-(a)l*. According to common knowledge this kind of fowl did not exist at the Common Kartvelian stage in the Caucasus. Therefore the Svan word must be a loanword from a Georgian source. The similarity of some other Caucasian designations of the hen points to the cultural character of the word.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 70). Laz: Marr (1936: 63).

CK(?) *kam- : km- 'to do': Georg. *kam-* : *km-* 'to do, make'; Megr. *kim-*; Laz *kum-*, *kom-*, *kip-*; Svan *čwem-* : *čwm-*(?).

The verb stem is widely represented in Old Georgian, where some derivatives are also known (*rasa ikman...* 'what they do...' Lk. 23.34; action noun (*še)kmna-*). The ablaut alternation is still typical of some Georgian dialects nowadays. While Laz *o* reflects full grade, the zero grade is here attested in forms with *i*. The phonetic history of the Svan correspondence remains unclear.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 87). Laz: Munkacsi (1901: 620).

GZ *kan- : kn- 'to wave, rock, swing': Georg. *kan-* : *kn-* 'to wave, rock, swing'; Megr. *kirin-* 'to wave' (?); Laz *nkin-*.

A verbal stem attested in Old Georgian: cf. action noun *kneva-* (Abulaze 1973: 455). In the Zan languages the stem must have been contaminated with the designation of the horn (cf. Megrelian action noun *rkia(la-)* 'to raise sth. against sby.'). The Laz form (action noun *mo-nkin-u*) clearly shows the zero ablaut grade.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1910: 197). Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 336).

GZ *kar- : kr- 'to disperse; to disappear': Georg. *ker-* : *kr-* 'to disperse; to extinguish, get extinguished'; Megr. (*n*)*kir-* 'to disappear (suddenly)'.

The continuant of the stem is widely known in Old Georgian texts (*uķuetu marili gankardes...* 'if the salt shall lose savour...' Mt. 5.13; action nouns *gankarveba-* 'to disperse, get dispersed', *krola-* // *nkreva-* 'to blow (about wind)'; cf. *kar-* 'wind'). In the Georgian forms both ablaut grades are reflected. The emergence of an inorganic *n* may be due to the last consonant of the preverb *gan-* (> modern Georgian *ga-*). In its

Megrelian counterpart only the zero grade is reflected (cf. action noun *gon-kir-apa-*).

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 35).

GZ ***kart(w)-** simple base underlying Georgian-Zan derivatives **kartw-el-* and **kart-ul-*. Similar Svan *Kärt-* 'Tbilisi' seems to be a later acquisition.

GGZ ***kartw-el-** 'Georgian': Georg. *kartvel-* 'Georgian'; Megr. *kortu-*; Laz *kortu-*.

The ethnonym is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 451). Whereas in Megrelian the word is commonly used, in Laz it occurs only rarely (cf. *arti - kortu, mažura - margali...* 'one is Georgian, the other is Megrelian...' ČT II 76.6). The forms show the well-known correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ Zan *-u*. Together with **m-egr-el-* 'Megrelian' the word indicates the presence of an important ethnic division as early as in the period of the Georgian-Zan unity.

|| ÈSKJa: 196.

GGZ ***kart-ul-** 'Georgian (of non-human objects)': Georg. *kartul-* 'Georgian (of non-human objects)'; Megr. *kortul-*; Laz *kortul-* 'Georgian (kind of plum)'.

The word is found in Old Georgian texts (*damarxul ars enaj kartuli* 'the Georgian language is buried' Sin. mr. 283.3). Contrary to **kartw-el-* it is not used with reference to people. In Laz a semantic narrowing of the lexeme has occurred.

|| ÈSKJa: 196.

GGZ ***kacw-** 'sea buckthorn': Georg. *kacv-* 'sea buckthorn'; Megr. *kuc-*.

The word occurs in medieval Georgian written sources (cf. Rustaveli 689.2, 709.2). The final consonant of its Megrelian counterpart is lost. From the latter are formed derivatives *kucuc-* 'prickle' and *kucucam-* 'prickly' (epithet of hedgehog). For the vocalic correlation of these forms see Gudava (1960: 119 sqq.).

|| Čaraia (1918: 369).

GCK ***kb-un-** 'to tempt': Georg. *cbun-* 'to tempt'; Svan *kbun-*.

A stem widely attested in Old Georgian: action noun *cbuneba-* (Abulaze 1973: 514). It is based on the simple verb stem **kab-* : *kb-* and contains the word-forming affix *-un-*. The Svan action noun is *li-kbun-e*.

*kd-un-

CK *kd-un- 'to seduce': Georg. *cdun-* 'to seduce; to mislead'; Svan *kdun-*.

The verb stem is represented in Old Georgian texts: cf. the action noun *cduneba-* (Abulaze 1973: 516). It is a derivative of the simple base *kad- : kd- formed by addition of the affix -un. The Svan action noun *li-kdun-e*.

GZ *ked- 'back of head; neck': Georgian *ked-* 'back of head, spine'; Megr. *kind-ir-* 'back of head'.

Attested in Old Georgian: *damoikidos ... kedsa* '(it) were hanged about his neck' Mt. 18.6. For its derivatives see Saržvelaze (1995: 223). In the Megrelian word a suffixal element and an inorganic phonetic augmentation *n* are present. The change *e* > *i* in the position before *n* is regular. A question arises on the relation of these forms to Georg. (*tavis*) *kindrva* 'to hang (one's head)'.

|| Topuria (*IKE* I: 76).

CK *ket- : kt- 'to turn': Megr. *rt-* 'to turn, turn into'; Laz *kt-* 'to turn; to wave'; Svan *kešd-* : *kšd-* 'to turn'.

A verb stem with no certain cognate in Georgian. Possibly it coincided with the reflex of the etymological *keci- : kc₁-. The stem illustrates a correspondence Georg.-Zan *t* ~ Svan *šd*. The transformation *kt* > *rt* is regular for Megrelian.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 200.

CK *ke(n)k- 'to pick, dig into': Georg. *kek-* 'to pick, dig into'; Laz *kank-*; Svan *kīnk-* 'to dig into, stir'.

A verb stem found in medieval Georgian texts. The Zan and Svan forms are extended by an inorganic *n* (action noun Laz *o-kank-u*, Svan *li-kīnk-e*). The semantic unity of the cognates is self-evident. The Laz stem has an additional meaning 'to scutch (flax)'.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 197.

CK *kel- 'to recover one's breath': Georg. *kel-* 'to recover one's breath'; Megr. (*n*)*kal-*; Svan *kāl-* 'to sigh, breathe heavily, pant'.

For Georgian it is attested in the language of Rustaveli (605.4). In the Megrelian cognate a secondary insertion of *n* may have taken place (action noun (*n*)*kalua-*, *kal-* 'breathing'). Its relation to Megr. *kakal-* 'whiff, breathing' remains unclear. The Svan action noun is *li-kāl-i*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Žyenti (1960: 56). Megrelian: *ĖSKJa*: 197. Svan: Gagua (*IKE* XVII, 1970: 130).

GZ ***kertl-** ‘dandruff’: Georg. *kerɬl-* ‘dandruff’; Laz *ka(r)to-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Cf. the Georgian dialectal (Imer.) metathesized form *keɬer-* (Yloni 1984: 566). Word-final *o* of the Laz equivalent seems to be a later development.

|| Kutelia (1989: 23).

CK ***kerc₁l-** ‘scale’: Georg. *kercl-* ‘scale’; Svan *kärč*.

Not found in Old Georgian texts (see the following entry). In the modern language a dialectal (Imer.) *kerkl-* (cf. Yloni 1984: 566) is noteworthy. The Zan equivalent seems to be absent: Megr. *kerca-*, *kirca-* and Laz *kercela-*, *cela-* with the same meaning are Georgian borrowings. The Svan form must be treated as a regular correspondence of the Georgian lexeme.

GZ ***kec(u)-** ‘rind, scale’: Georg. *kec-* ‘fish scale’; Megr. *kacu-*.

A tentative reconstruction for the Georgian-Zan level. The word is attested in Old Georgian: *ver moiyon erti keci bolojsa misisaj* ‘(they) cannot pierce (one piece of) skin of its tail’ Job 40.26; *u-kec-o* ‘scaleless’ (Saržwelaže 1995: 214). The Modern Georgian word also means ‘itch’. For the reconstruction of its coda cf. **kutx(u)-*, **nek(u)-*, **ret(u)-*, **yom(u)-*. The relation to **kerc₁l-* needs elucidation.

GZ(?) ***kec₁-** : **kc₁-** ‘to turn, convert’: Georg. *kec-* : *kc-* ‘to convert, turn’; Megr. *čk(v)-* ‘to convert’.

Problematic comparison for the Georgian-Zan level. The stem is well attested in Old Georgian texts (*ara tu ikcet...* ‘except ye be converted...’ Mt. 18.3). In Georgian it may have been contaminated with **ket-* : *kt-*. The Megrelian form has an unclear *v* at the end: *mapat očkvans ina čičes* ‘he converts a petty into king’ (Berize 1920: 166); action noun *čkvapa-*, *čkumala-*. The comparison is possible on the assumption that a metathesis of consonants has led in Megrelian to the emergence of the characteristic cluster.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 200.

GZ ***kwa-** ‘stone’: Georg. *kva-* ‘stone’; Megr. *kua-* (plural form – *kual-*); Laz (*n*)*kva-* (plural form – (*n*)*kval-*), *mkva-*.

The lexeme is amply attested in Old Georgian (*ara daštes kvaj kvasa zeda* ‘there shall not be left one stone upon another’ Mt. 24.2; some derivatives are also found here). The identity of *a* in all languages points to its historically word-final position and therefore to a later development of *l*,

*kwab-

which occurs in Zan plural forms. In the Megrelian word we are faced with vocalization of the sonant *w* (cf. *arwa-, *swe-, *m-šw-e-, and others).

|| Marr (1936: 331).

CK(?) *kwab- 'cave': Georg. *kvab-* 'cave; boiler'; Megr. *kvib-* 'cave, hollow; small cauldron'; Svan *kwäb, kwaba* 'cave'.

The word is well known from Old Georgian (*daemkwidra kuabsa šina...* 'he settled down in a cave...' Gen. 19.30). Cf. also Georgian dialectal variants *kob-* and *kub-* (Ylonti 1984: 577). The Megrelian cognate is poorly attested. For the correspondence of Georgian and Zan words in their vocalic frame cf. *anc₁l-, *at-, and some other entries. There are some doubts about the native character of the Svan word.

|| ÈSKJa: 197.

CK *kwe 'below, down': Georg. *kve* 'down, under'; Svan [*kw-*].

The adverb is attested in Old Georgian texts (*kuē šedgian igi qumirsa* '(they) put it under a vessel' Mt. 5.15; *kuemo* 'down', *kuena* 'lower', etc.). In modern Georgian and Svan it can be extracted from derivative adverbs: cf. Georg. *kveš* 'down', Svan *le-kw-a* 'down, below'. The Svan preverb *čw-* 'down' is thought also to belong here (cf. Deeters 1930: 16).

|| Wardrop (1911: 613).

GZ *kwe affirmative particle: Georg. *k(v)e* affirmative particle; Megr. *ko*; Laz *ko*.

The item occurs in Georgian medieval literature. At present the particle is used in some dialects (Imer., Rača, Xevs.). The Zan correspondence underwent a change *ve* > *o*. In Georgian and the Zan languages this particle underlies the verbal affirmative prefix (cf. Megr. *ko-zir-u* 'he saw that', Laz *ko-moxt-u* 'he came here').

|| Topuria (1931: 65).

CK *kwec- : kwc- 'to cut': Georg. *kucn-* 'to mow'; Svan *kwic-* : *kwc-* 'to cut off'.

A verb stem, extended in Georgian by the enlargement (?) -*n*, with a meaning 'to reap a crop of corn'. The Svan cognate shows two ablaut grades (action noun *li-kwc-e*). Full ablaut grade is tentatively assigned to the protoform.

|| A. Činčarauli (*IKĖ* XIX, 1974, 59). Cf. also Fähnrich (1975: 342).

CK *kwin- 'breathing, spirit': Georg. *kvin-* 'breathing, spirit'; Svan *kwin*, *kun* 'spirit, smell, odor'.

The lexeme occurs in Old Georgian (cf. action noun *aymo-kuin-va-*), however, it seems to be absent in modern Georgian. There is no ground for including Laz *kun-* or *kin-* 'brain' here.

|| Mačavariani (1965: 62).

CK *kwis,ɪ- 'brother-in-law': Georg. *kvisl-* 'brother-in-law'; Megr. *kvišil-*; Svan. [*kwš-*].

The kinship term is attested in Old Georgian. The Georgian and Megrelian forms regularly match each other phonetically. In Laz the word seems to be lost. The Svan correspondence is reflected in the derivative *me-kwš-el* // *me-kwš-öl* // *mo-kš-āl* with the same meaning. In the past one believed the word to have been borrowed from Armenian.

|| Klimov (1960: 25). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 198.

GZ *kwrdeml- 'anvil': Georg. *grdeml-* 'anvil'; Megr. *kulamur-*, *kulamor-*.

In Old Georgian the lexeme occurs in the shape of *kwirdeml-* and *gurdeml-* (Abulaze 1973: 103). Cf. also the dialectal Georgian variants *kurtemul-* (Xevs.) and metathesized *dgvlem-* (Imer.). In the Megrelian cognate the consonant cluster is simplified. In Laz the word seems to have been replaced by a loanword. Svan *kurmil* with the same meaning has been borrowed from Megrelian (cf. *Ḳarṭozia* 1979: 78). The term is remarkable since it reflects a metallurgical production of the ancient Kartvelians. Lezg. *girdim* 'block', Tab. *gerdem* 'boulder' and Udi *gürdüm* 'block' apparently have a Kartvelian source.

|| Klimov (1973: 364).

GZ *kian- 'to swing': Georg. *kian-* 'to swing'; Megr. *kion-*.

The verb stem must be related to the stem *kan- : kn-. For an analogous correlation of the vocalism see *bzar- and *xar-. In Laz the stem is absent.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 198.

GZ *kinkl- 'midge': Georg. *kinkl-a-* 'midge'; Megr. *kinkil-* 'midge of hen'.

The Georgian form has a suffix with a diminutive shade of meaning. The dialectal (Pšav.) variant *gingl-* 'tender wing of a fledgling' is related

*kmar-

by the rules of Kartvelian sound symbolism. In Megrelian the word has a connotation 'fluff on the youngsters' face'.

|| Klimov (1988: 161).

GZ *kmar- 'husband': Georgian *kmar-* 'husband'; Megr. *komonž-*; Laz *komož-*, *kimož-*.

The kinship term is amply attested in Old Georgian (*ara givis kmari* 'you have not a husband' Jn. 4.17). The alternation of *o* // *i* in the Zan forms reflects different types of vocalization of sonants. A pair of lexemes Megr. *komol-* ~ Laz *komol-* // *kimol-* 'husband, man' presupposes the parallel Zan archetype **kmal-*. Another reconstruction is proposed in Čikobava (1938: 34). Sometimes one assumes a relation of the word with the verb stem **kam-* : *km-* (cf. Žavaxišvili 1937: 227; Topuria 1991: 127).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 64). Cf. also Marr (1909: 071). Laz: Deeters (1927: 11).

CK(?) ***km-en-** : **km-n-** 'to make': Georg. *kmen-* : *kmn-* 'to make'; Megr. *kimin-*; Laz (*n*)*kimin-* 'to knead dough'; Svan *čwemin-* : *čwmin-* 'to commit, make; to happen'?

The verb stem is derived from a simple stem **kam-* : *km-* with a suffix **-en*. Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian where the ablaut alternation has been still preserved (*kmen es! da kmnis...* 'make that! and makes...' Mt. 8.9; further derivatives were known). In Old Georgian the stem had a meaning similar to that of the Laz form : *puri zetita kmnuli...* 'the cake of oiled bread...' Lev. 8.26. Cf. action nouns Megr. *kiminua-*, Laz *o-kimin-u*, Svan *li-čwmin-e*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1980: 31). Laz, Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 199.

GZ ***kon-** 'fat, brain': Georg. *kon-* 'fat'; Megr. *kon-*; Laz *kun-*, *kin-* 'brain'.

The word is documented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 455). The Laz form shows some deviation in its phonetics as well as in meaning; therefore its relation to the stem is sometimes considered problematic.

|| Čikobava (1938: 45).

GZ ***kor-** 'hawk': Georgian *kor-* 'hawk'; Megr. *kor-*; Laz *kur-*, *mkur-*, *mki(r)-*.

The word is well attested in Old Georgian texts: *dadgis kori...* 'does the hawk take flight...' Job 38.26. Cf. also Old Georgian compound *zer-kor-* 'griffon' (Abulaže 1973: 524). The original form for the Zan

equivalents must be *kor-. The Laz correspondence shows secondary *m* as well as a change *u* > *i*. Relation to Chechen *küjr* and Ingush *ker* 'hawk' requires clarification.

|| Čikobava (1938: 103).

GZ *kreml- 'tear': Georgian *creml-* 'tear'; Megr. *čilamur-*; Laz *čilamre-*, *čelamre-*, *čelamur(e)-*; Svan *kim* (plural form *kəmr-*).

The word is amply attested in Old Georgian (*cremlita perqni daibanna* 'with tears he washed (his) feet' Sin. mr. 32.14). Among Georgian dialectal variants cf. the metathesized Lečx. *rcmel-*. The lexeme illustrates the correspondence of the Svan back occlusive to the Georgian-Zan affricate: cf. *gab- : gb-, *brg-, *kab- : kb-, *kad- : kd-. Beside the metathesis common for Zan and Svan data the latter shows the loss of the stem-final sonant.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849:75). Laz, Svan: Marr (1914:34).

CK *krcxml- 'hornbeam': Georg. *cxeml-a-* 'hornbeam'; Megr. *cxemur-*, *cximur-*; Laz *cxemu(r)-*, *mcxe(m)br-*; Svan *cxəm-ra*, *cxum-ra*, *cxwim-ra*.

In Old Georgian the word occurs in the form of *krcxeml-*. Its modern Georgian variants are characterized by the secondary affix *-a*: cf. *rcxila-* (a literary form), *cxila-*, *rcxemla-*. The word-initial consonant cluster is simplified in all the languages. The Svan cognate shows the tree-designation suffix *-ra*. The initial *k* has been preserved only in Old Georgian. A slightly deviating reconstruction is proposed in Penrxi-Saržwelaze (1990: 402).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1915.1 II: 822). Laz, Svan: ÈSKJa: 200.

GZ *kumel- 'oat flour': Georg. *kumel-* 'oat flour'; Megr. *kumu-*.

In Georgian dialects the meaning varies somewhat (cf. Țlonti 1984: 578). The coda of the cognates shows a well-known correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ *-u*. In Laz the lexeme seems to be absent.

|| Klimov (1973: 364).

GZ *kursl- 'heel': Georg. *kusl-* 'heel'; Megr. *kurs-*, *kurc-*, *kur-* 'heel; kick by hoof'; Laz *kus-*, *ku(r)-*.

A lexeme well attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 459). Its most complex shape *kursl-* occurs in the Xevs. dialect. In Zan languages the stem is usually simplified. For the loss of the final *l* in Zan see *tes-l-,

*kurc₁-

ç₁irpl-, etc. (cf., however, Laz *k(r)us-* 'kick by hoof, kick by foot'). The similarity of the Kartvelian forms to PIE **krus(n)-* 'lower part of leg, shin' deserves mention.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 115). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 65).

GZ ***kurc₁-** 'to peel, remove crust': Georg. *kurc-* 'to peel, remove husk'; Megr. [*kurč-*]; Laz [*kurč-*].

In Old Georgian the verb stem is found in its noun derivative *na-kurc-en-* // *na-kurt-en-* 'crust' (Abulaze 1973: 322). Its Zan correspondence is preserved vestigially: cf., on the one hand, the obvious Megrelianism *kurčala-* 'maize husk' in the Gur. dialect of Georgian and, on the other hand, the Laz derivative *do-kurč-ol-a-* 'removing of the maize husk'.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 21).

Y

CK ***yad-** : **yđ-** 'to do; to speak (loudly)': Georg. [*yad-*] 'to speak, appeal'; Laz *yod-* 'to do; to report'; Svan *yđ-* 'to confer'.

In Old Georgian the verb stem is reflected in the action noun *yad-eb-a-* 'to appeal, shout' and the substantive *m-yđ-el-* 'priest, clergy-man'. The Laz action noun is *o-yod-u* 'to do; to report'. In Svan the stem is represented in the action noun *li-yđ-e* 'to confer' with the zero grade. The Kartvelian facts show semantic alternation 'to do' // 'to speak' known from a number of other languages.

|| Georgian, Laz: Saržvelaze (1976: 217). Svan: Fähnrich (1984: 44).

GZ ***yame-** 'last night': Georg. *yame-* 'night, at night'; Megr. *yuma-* 'last night'; Laz *yoma(n)* 'yesterday'.

The adverb is widely attested in Old Georgian (*masve yamesa...* 'at the same night...') Sin. mr. 103.12), where its derivatives are also known (Abulaze 1973: 460). In the Megrelian cognate expected *o* underwent change into *u* next to the labial. For the Laz word-final *n* cf. *yomaner-* 'yesterday's'. The semantic unity of the material needs no commentary. The further comparison with Svan *li-yamn-e* 'to wait' seems unlikely.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 2). Laz: Marr (1936: 62). Cf. also Čikobava (1938: 198).

CK *yar- : yr- 'to cry; to sing': Georg. *myer-* 'to sing'; Megr. *yor-*, *yvar-* 'to cry, howl'; Laz *myor-*; Svan *yar-* : *yr-* 'to sing'.

A verb stem well attested in Old Georgian, where it had additional meanings 'to play, leap': *ayimyerna qrmaman...* 'the babe leaped...' Lk. 1.41. As assumed by H. Schuchardt (1899: 393), the Georgian and Zan correspondences presuppose an intermediate archetype **m(y)ar-*. The vocalism of the full grade **a* is preserved in Svan. The zero grade is reflected in the derivative **yr-en-* : *yr-in-*. The stem has an onomatopoeic nature. Hence its similarity to the analogous material of different languages. Cf. PIE **ger-* (Pokorny 1959: 383).

|| Georgian, Svan: Schuchardt (1899: 393). Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 352). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 349).

GZ *yare- 'gutter, furrow': Georg. *yar-* 'gutter, furrow'; Megr. *yore-* 'gutter of mill; wooden dam'.

The word is known from Old Georgian in the shape of *yar-* (Abulaže 1973: 460). The identity of the sonorous *r* in both languages allows one to reconstruct the word-final vowel. In Laz the word seems to have been replaced. A connection with Svan *yar* 'ravine' is hardly probable.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

CK *yaryad- 'goose': Georg. *yeryed-* 'goose'; Megr. *yoryonž-*; Laz *yoryož-*; Svan *yaryād*.

From Old Georgian forms of the word such as *yeryed-*, *yryed-* and *yeryet-* are known (Abulaže 1973: 461). The stem has an obviously reduplicated structure and seems to be connected with the verb stem **yar-* : *yr-*. For the history of its vocalism in Georgian see Mačavariani (1958: 268), Saržvelaže (1985: 199). In both Zan languages the word-final **d* results in *ž* (cf. **trad-*, **qid-*, **qund-*). The Svan correspondence is marked by the vowel length. Originally the lexeme may have referred to a wild goose.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (Erckert 1895: 682). Svan: Gren (1890: 124). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 103).

GZ *yaryar- 'to talk a lot': Georg. *yayad-* 'to cry, howl'; Megr. *yaryal-* 'to chat'; Laz *ya(r)yal-* 'to speak'.

A verb stem amply attested in Old Georgian texts (*uyayada mas...* '(he) howled at him...' Sin. mr. 10.18), where a number of its derivatives were also present. The stem contains a reduplication of the simple stem

**yaç₁w-*

**yar-* : *yr-*. The breach of the regular vowel correspondence must be ascribed to the onomatopoeic nature of the forms. For a different comparison of the Zan material see Čikobava (1938: 346).

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (ibidem). Georgian: *ÈSKJa*: 201.

CK **yaç₁w-* 'cheek': Georg. *yaçv-* 'cheek'; Svan *yāča*.

Attested in Old Georgian where it used to mean 'chin' too (cf. Abulaže 1973: 461). While the adduced Svan cognate belongs to the Lašx. dialect, in Svan poetry a form *yačōl* (cf. *Sv. P.* 354.3) containing a diminutive affix is found. The vocalism of the latter may reflect an ancient word-final **w*.

|| Žyenti (1949: 130).

CK **yač-* 'jaw': Georg. *yanč-* 'jaw'; Svan *yčk-* 'to jaw; to chatter'.

In the Georgian word *n* seems to be secondary. The Svan continuant of the stem may be seen in the verb (its action noun is *li-yčk-e*), which forms the derivative *mə-yčk-e* 'chatterer'.

|| Sardžveladze (1991: 143).

GZ **yeb-* 'to paint, color': Georg. *yeb-* 'to paint, color'; Megr. *yap-*; Laz *yap-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*šemyebe me...* 'you would plunge me...' Job 9.31). As in some other cases the Zan correspondence (action noun Megr. *yapua-*, Laz *o-yap-u*) shows a change **b* > *p*. The similar Svan verb stem *yp-en-* 'to paint black' has a Zan source as is shown by its consonant *p*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: cf. Topuria (1979: 90). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 347).

GZ **yel-* 'to be nervous; to get frightened': Georg. *yel-* 'to be nervous'; Megr. *yal-* 'to get frightened'.

In Old Georgian the action noun *yelva-* usually means 'wave'. A number of derivatives is also known here (Abulaže 1973: 761). The Megrelian action noun is *yalua-*. The difference in the meaning of the cognates does not exclude the possibility of comparison.

|| Sardschweladse (1982: 37).

GZ **yelo-* 'ravine, gully': Georg. *yelo-*, *yele* 'ravine, gully'; Megr. *yal(u)-* 'stream, rivulet'; Laz *yal-* 'rivulet, river'.

The word occurs in Old Georgian in the form *yele-* (*šeitkunes yelesamas* '(they) came together into the valley' Gen. 14.3); cf. the derivative *yelovan-* 'covered with ravines'. The vocalic shape of the Megrelian cognate regularly corresponds to the Georgian form. The similar Svan *yel(a)* 'rivulet' is a loanword from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 5). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 183).

CK *yer- 'stem, stalk': Georg. *yer-* 'stem'; Laz *yanž-* 'leg, thigh, calf of leg'; Svan *yēr* 'stem'.

Occurs in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 461). A parallel Georgian *yero-* is also widely in use. The Laz form corresponds well phonetically to the Georgian one. The Svan word seems to be inherited (cf. its vowel length). One considers the verbal stem *yer- : yir- to have been derived from this noun. Cf. (Čikobava 1938: 348).

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 35).

GZ *yer- : yir- 'to stretch; to raise one's hand': Georg. *yer-* : *yir-* 'to stretch; to raise one's hand against sby.'; Laz *yir-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: the action noun is *ayereba-* (Abulaže 1973: 13). It seems to have a denominative origin (cf. the preceding entry). For Laz cf. action noun *o-yir-u* with the same meaning and *o-yar-u* 'to draw'. According to Fähnrich (1982: 37) Svan *li-yer*, *li-yr-e* 'to remove' also belongs here.

|| Čikobava (1938: 348).

GZ *yery- : yry- 'to grind (coarsely); to gnaw': Georg. *yery-* 'to grind (coarsely); to gnaw'; Megr. *yary-*; Laz [*yary-*].

Reflected in Old Georgian by its derivative (see the following entry). The Megrelian stem (cf. action noun *yaryua-*) has a connotation 'to talk nonsense'. In Laz it may be recovered in the derivatives **yery-il-* and **yry-wn-*. The stem derives from PIE **ghergh-* 'to rub coarsely' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 439). For 'to grind' see *[*pekw-*] : *pkw-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 103). Laz: ÈSKJa: 202.

GZ *yery-il- 'coarse-ground flour': Georg. *yeryil-* 'coarse-ground flour'; Megr. *yaryil-*; Laz *yaryil-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian (cf. *yeryil-* 'ground grains' Lev. 2.14). It must be treated as a past participle with the affix *-il from the

*yey-

verb *yery- : yry-. Svan *yeryil-* with the same meaning is a Georgian loanword.

|| Čikobava (1938: 173).

GZ *yey- 'to move apart, shovel aside': Georg. *yey-* 'to fling open; to move apart'; Laz *yay-* 'to shovel aside; to peck'.

The complete formal and semantic agreement of the Georgian and Laz data is obvious (action nouns are Georg. *yeyva-* and Laz *o-yay-u*). In Laz the action refers for the most part to ashes or hay. Megrelian has no certain cognate.

|| Kartoziya (1979: 66–67).

CK(?) *yeč- 'to chew': Georg. *yeč-* 'to chew'; Megr. *yač-* 'to chew; to cut'; Laz *yvanč-* 'to chew'; Svan *yarč-* (?).

Verb stem, which underlies the derivative *yič-*wn-* formed by the addition of the extension *-*wn*. Cf. action nouns Georg. *yečva-*, Megr. *yačua-*, Laz *o-yvanč-u*. The complex *čk* expected for Zan cognates does not develop in conformity with the presence of the stem initial *y* (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 21). Cf. *yač₁*w-*, *yič-*wn-*, *yoč-. The Laz correspondence underwent further transformations. It remains uncertain whether the Svan form is inherited.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Mačavariani (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 21). Laz: Kartoziya (1979: 64). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 202.

CK *y(w)- 'to take, take away (of inanimate objects)': Georg. *y(v)-* 'to take, take away (of inanimate objects)'; Megr. *y-*; Laz *y-*; Svan *y-* 'to take away (of inanimate objects)'.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian (*čariyes guami misi...* '(they) took up his body...' Mt. 14.12; cf. the action noun *yeba-*), where its derivatives are also found. The old **w* is reflected vestigially in Georg. *aiyo* < **ai-yv-a* 'he took' and Svan action nouns *lī-y-e*, *li-yēšg-i*. This stem may underlie the verbs with an abstract meaning of possession (cf. Megr. *yvena-*, Svan *li-ywēn-e*).

|| Georgian, Svan: Gren (1890: 125). Cf. Erckert (1895: 296). Megrelian: Čaraja (1912: 22). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 345). See also Tseretheli (1959: 84).

GZ *ywarzł- 'weed, dandel, tare': Georg. *yvarzł-* 'weed; anger'; Megr. *yurzul-* 'plaque; misfortune': Laz *yurzul-* 'poison; plaque; misfortune'.

An agricultural term well attested in Old Georgian (*dastesa yuarzli* 'he sowed tares' Mt. 13.25). Cf. also the Georgian dialectal (Pšav., Mtiul., Gud.) variant *yorzl-* (Ylonti 1984: 594). In the Xopa dialect of Laz the word has the additional meaning 'wicked, bad; spite'. For the vocalism of the Zan form cf. **wašl-*. Despite the semantic deviation of the Zan stem the comparison seems plausible (connecting link is 'poison'). According to Žaukyan (*IKE XVIII*, 1973: 94), Arm. *xorzuil*, *xrzuil* 'rhubarb' derives from a Kartvelian source.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 203.

CK *γwac₁- : γwč₁- 'to hurry; to chase': Georg. *yvac-* 'to endeavor; to seek'; Megr. *yunč-* 'to strain oneself'; Svan *yweč-* : *ywč-* 'to chase, to follow'.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts, where it had a considerable range of meanings (action noun *yuca-*) and a number of derivatives (Abulaže 1973: 464). The Megrelian cognate (action noun *yunčua-*) has a secondary *n*. The correspondence Georg. *a* ~ Svan *e* (action noun *li-yweč*) occurs in a number of other verb stems.

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 35). Megrelian: Klimov (1988: 20).

CK *γweb- 'to weave, wattle': Georg. *yob-* 'to weave, wattle fence'; Megr. *yob-*; Laz *yob-*; Svan [*yweb-*].

In Old Georgian the verb stem is represented by the derivative *yobe-* (see **yob-e-*). The Georgian-Zan forms reflect the shift **we* > *o* (action noun Georg. *yobva-*, Megr. *yobua-*, Laz *o-yob-u*). In Svan the stem may be identified in a noun of obscure structure *yweb*, *yeb* 'log-trough; beehive' (a wattled beehive is one of the earliest cultural achievements of the Kartvelians). The similarity to PIE **uebh-* or **Huebh-* 'to weave' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1114) deserves attention.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 351). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 146). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 205.

CK(?) *γwed- 'belt, leash': Georg. *yved-* 'belt, girdle'; Megr. *yved-*, *yvend-*; Laz *yved-*; Svan *ywed(?)*.

In Old Georgian the lexeme is attested in the form *yued-* with the meaning 'leash of yoke' (Abulaže 1973: 464) and 'leather' (Saržvelaže 1995: 227). The Zan cluster *ve* like in other similar cases retains the original vocalism. The Svan form may have been borrowed from Georgian. The word seems to be one of the most ancient borrowings from an Indo-Euro-

**ywel-* : *ywl-*

pean source. Cf. PIE **(H)uedh-* 'leash, belt' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1116). Cf. Klimov (1994: 74–75).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 203.

CK **ywel-* : *ywl-* 'to curve; to bend': Georg. [*yul-* : *yvl-*] 'to curve; to bend'; Megr. [*yul-*]; Laz [*yul-*]; Svan [*yul-*].

The verb stem may be extracted from numerous derivatives: cf. **ywl-* 'bent, curved', **ywl-arč-* 'to roll', **ywl-erč-* 'earth worm', **ywl-ek-* : *ywl-k-* 'to curve'. Cf. also Megr. *yul-iz-* 'to bend'. The similarity of the stem to PIE **(H)uel-* 'to curve' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1140) is remarkable.

|| Klimov (1985: 174–175).

GZ **ywent-* 'to stream down': Georg. *yvent-* 'to stream down, flow (through)'; Megr. *yvant-* 'to splash; to lap'; Svan [*ywēnt-*] 'drop'.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian texts. It may have a denominative origin: cf. the above-mentioned Svan form and the Georgian nominal correlate *yvent-* 'drop (of wax, fat)'. The Megrelian action noun is *yvant-ap-* (cf. *i-yvant-u* 'he splashed'). In Svan only a related substantive *ywēnt-il* can be found. In view of the Georgian-Zan **ç₁wet-* 'drop' it would be risky to reconstruct here a nominal protoform.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Fähnrich (1985: 37). Svan: Klimov (1985: 175).

GZ **ywer-* : *ywr-* 'to bend': Georg. *yver-* 'to bend'; Megr. [*yir-*]; Laz [*y_r-*].

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. In modern Georgian it is represented in its unbound form in the Imer. dialect: action noun *yverva-* (cf. *Ŷlonti* 1984: 587). Contrary to the Georgian form its Zan correspondences reflect the zero grade. The stem forms a number of other verbal derivatives: see **y(w)r-ek-* : **y(w)r-ik-* : *y(w)r-k-* 'to curve', **y_r-ež-* : **y_r-iž-* : *y_r-ž-* 'to show one's teeth'. Cf. also Georg. *y_r-eč-* 'to make a wry face', *y_r-ec-* 'to distort', etc.

|| Klimov (1985: 175).

CK **ywi-* 'juniper': Georg. *yvi-a-* 'juniper'; Megr. [*yviyv-*]; Svan *y(w)iw-*.

Occurs in Old Georgian in the shape of *ywi-* and *ywiv-* (cf. Abulaze 1973: 464). In modern Georgian its dialectal variant *yvio-* is also attested

(Ylonti 1984: 588). The Megrelian cognate can be extracted from the continuant of the denominative verb stem *ywiw- 'to smoulder, glimmer'.

CK *ywiw- 'to smoulder; to twinkle': Georg. *yviv-* 'to smoulder; to twinkle'; Megr. *yviyv-*; Laz *my-* (?); Svan *ywiw-*, *yīw-*.

Verb stem. In the Megrelian form a secondary *y* has been developed (for the analogous process see **dindg-el-*, **ttx-el-*, **zizg-wn-*, etc.). If the Laz form is related it must have undergone more substantial changes. A compensatory lengthening of the root vowel in the Svan cognate has resulted from the loss of the first *w*. If the stem is connected with Georg. *yvia-* 'juniper' (used in the past to be smouldered for ritual purposes in the Caucasus) the word for this tree, present only in Georgian, may be reconstructed for Common Kartvelian.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 203.

CK *ywino- 'wine': Georg. *yvino-* 'wine'; Megr. *yvin-*; Laz *y(v)in-*; Svan *ywin-el*, *ywin-äl*.

In the form *ywino-* the term is widely attested in Old Georgian, where it meant also 'vinegar' and formed some compounds (*štaasxian ywinoj axali...* '(they) put new wine...' Mt. 9.17; *misces mas sumad ywinoj navyelreuli* '(they) gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall' Mt. 27.34). The word-final vowel in Georgian is not stable (cf. its genitive form *yvin-is*). The Svan correspondence is represented only with the petrified diminutive affix, which speaks in favor of its inherited character. The lexeme must be treated as a very early Indo-European loanword: cf. PIE **ueino-* (Pokorny 1959: 1121). It cannot go back to Armenian *gini* because the change **u* > *g* probably must have been accomplished there long before the first Kartvelian-Armenian contacts in the 7th–6th centuries B.C. (cf. Diakonoff 1985: 600–601).

|| Bopp (1847:28). Cf. also Erckert (1895: 294), Čaraya (1912:41), Deeters (1938: 39).

GZ *ywl- 'bent, curved': Georg. *yul-* 'kind of sickle'; Megr. *yula-* 'bent, crooked'; Laz *yul(a)-* 'crooked, squint'.

In Old Georgian the word occurs in the form of *myul-* (Abulaze 1973: 303). The lexeme must be related to the verb stem **ywel-* : *ywl-* 'to curve'. In the Zan cognates a word-formation element *-a* is usually present. Cf. also the Laz adjective *toli-yula-* 'squint-eyed'. It remains unclear whether the Svan *yulaj* 'knee' belongs here.

Klimov (1985: 175).

**ywl-az-*

GZ **ywl-az-* 'to get crooked; to bend': Georg. *yvlaz-* 'to get crooked; to bend (not good-looking)'; Megr. *yuloz-*.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language it is reflected in dial. (Imer.) *yvlazva-* (cf. *Ylonti* 1984: 591). For Megrelian cf. the action noun (*mo*)*yulozua-*. The form is derived from **ywel-* : *ywl-* with an enlargement *-az*. A connection with Old Georg. *gularžna-* 'to get crooked; to bend' is hardly acceptable.

CK **ywl-arž₁-* 'to get crooked; to bend': Georg. *gularč₁-n-* 'to get crooked; to bend'; Svan *yurž₁a-n-*.

Verb formation attested in Old Georgian, where a past participle *yularč₁n-il-* // *gularž₁n-il-* 'crooked' is also found (Abulaze 1973: 83, 99; Saržvelaze 1995: 227). It is derived from **ywel-* : *ywl-* 'to curve' by adding an unclear element **arž₁-*. The shift of the initial *y* into *g* in the Georgian word seems to be due to its contamination with the noun stem *gul-* 'heart'. In Svan *l* was lost whereas the former consonant sequence *rž₁-* is regularly reflected as *rž₁-*. In both languages a suffixal enlargement is to be noted.

|| Georgian, Svan: Sadschweladse (1987: 17).

CK **ywl-arč-* 'to twist, roll': Georg. *yvlarč₁-n-* 'to twist, roll'; Megr. *yuloč₁-*; Svan [*ywasq-*].

The continuant of the verb stem occurs in Old Georgian in the form *yularč₁n-*, *yvlarč₁n-* (Abulaze 1973: 464). Cf. also a past participle *yularč₁n-il-*. It is one of the derivatives formed from the verb **ywel-* : *ywl-* 'to curve', which has a noun correlate **ywl-erč-* 'earthworm' (see below). The Georgian form contains an extension *-n*. In the Zan languages the cluster *č₁k* according to Gamkrelidze's law regularly reflects the historical morpheme *-(a)rč₁-* with an obscure meaning. The Svan equivalent of the stem can be seen in its noun correlate.

|| Klimov (1985: 175).

GZ **ywl-ek₁-* : **ywl-ik₁-* 'to get crooked, get curved'; Georg. [*yvlek₁-*] 'to get crooked, get curved'; Megr. [*ylik₁-*]; Laz *yvelik₁-*, *ylik₁-*.

Verb stem derived from the simple base **ywel-* : *ywl-* 'to get curved' by addition of **-ek₁-* : *-ik₁*. In Georgian it is reflected in its noun correlate *xvlik₁-* (< **ywlik₁-*) 'lizard', where the word-initial consonant is assimilated to the final one. The stem is preserved in its unbound state only in Laz (cf. action noun *o-yvelik₁-u*).

|| Klimov (1985: 175).

CK *ywl-erč- 'earthworm': Georg. *yvle(r)č-* 'spiral rod'; Megr. *yve(r)čk-*, *yve(n)čk-* 'earthworm'; Svan *ywäsq*.

A noun correlate of the verb stem *ywl-arč-. Its vocalism reflects the effect of earlier umlaut. Cf. also the Georgian dialectal form *yvlenč-*. In Laz the word seems to be lost. The Svan replacement of expected *sk* by *sq* requires an explanation. The Georgian lexeme underwent a semantic shift.

|| Megrelian, Svan: Rogava (1952–1963: 61). Georgian: Klimov (1985: 175–176).

GZ *y(w)r-ek- : y(w)r-ik- : y(w)r-k- 'to crook (get crooked), curve (get curved)': Georg. *yrek-* : *yrik-* 'to crook (get crooked), curve (get curved)'; Megr. *yirak-* : *yrik-* : *yirik-*; Laz *yrik-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem is found in the past participle *yrek-il-* 'bent, crooked'. The stem is derived from the simple base *ywer- : ywr- by adding the extension *-ek- : -ik and seems to be connected with *xr-ek- : xr-k- with a similar meaning. Its further derivative is *y(w)rek-il-. The Georg. *yria(n)kal-* 'scorpion' appears also to be related. The similar Svan stem *ywrek-* derives from a Georgian source.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 206.

GZ *y(w)rek-il- 'crooked, bent': Georg. *yrekil-* 'crooked, bent; maimed'; Megr. *yirakil-* 'crooked; maimed'.

Attested in Old Georgian (*yrekilni ganikurnebodes...* 'the maimed got whole...' Mt. 15.31). It is a past participle derived from the verb stem *y(w)r-ek- : y(w)r-k- with the suffix *-il. A Laz cognate seems to be absent.

|| Klimov (1988: 162).

GZ *yi- 'to weep': Georg. *yi(v)-* 'to weep softly'; Megr. *yi-* 'to weep'.

The verb stem belongs to a number of descriptive formations imitating sounds: cf. *ki-, *qi-, *ci- etc. The action nouns are Georg. *yiv-il-*, Megr. *yi-ap-*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

GZ(?) *yitin- 'to tickle': Georg. *yitin-* 'to tickle'; Megr. *xicin-*; Laz *xitin-*.

The Zan forms underwent a change *y > x* through a process of regressive assimilation. It is more difficult to explain the substitution of *t* in the

*yič-wn-

Megrelian cognate. The word contains an element of sound-symbolism (cf. Arm. *xitil*, Udi *xitik* with the same meaning).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 204.

GZ *yič-wn- 'to gnaw': Georg. *yičn-* 'to gnaw'; Megr. *xičon-*, *xičor-*.

A derivative from the simple base *yeč- formed with the affix *-wn. The Megrelian cognate (action noun *xičonua-*) shows a change $y > x$. The form with stem-final *r* is due to the analogy with some other Megrelian verbs with the same meaning.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 204.

GZ *yiž-in- 'to speak (with a smile)': Georg. *yiž-in-* 'to speak (with a smile)'; Megr. *yižg-in-* 'to smile, laugh (wryly)'.
Verb stem containing the suffix -in. In Old Georgian it is unattested. At present it occurs as a dialectal (Moxev.) form (cf. *Ylonti* 1984: 591); cf. also the Kartl. reduplicated formation *yižyiž-* 'din, row'. The relation to *yr-ež- : yr-iž- : yrž- is possible.

|| Fährnich (1982: 37).

GZ *yl- 'to tear': Georg. [*yl-*] 'to fight; to tear'; Megr. [*yl-*, *yr-*]; Laz [*yl-*].

Simple verb base which no longer occurs in its unbound state, but may be extracted from the derivative stem *yl-et- : *yl-it- : yl-t- with the same meaning.

GZ *yl-et- : yl-it- : yl-t- 'to tear up': Georg. *ylet-* : *ylit-* 'to tear up'; Megr. *yilat-* : *yilit-* : *yrt-*; Laz *ylat-* : *ylit-*.

Derived from the simple base *yl- with the extension -et- : -it- (see *-ed : -id). Cf. the action nouns Georg. *yleta-*, Megr. *yilatua-* (intrans.), *yilitua-* (trans.), Laz *o-ylit-u* and its derivative *ylet-il- 'torn, ragged'. Svan *li-yrt-in-e* 'to gnaw' does not seem to be related.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: cf. *Topuria* (1979: 37). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 204.

GZ *ylet-il- 'torn, ragged': Georg. [*yletil-*] 'torn, ragged'; Megr. *yilatir-*; Laz *ylate(r)-*.

A past participle in -il based on the verb stem *ylet- : ylit- : ylt- 'to tear up'. The Georgian form may be extracted from modern participle *da-yletil-* with the same meaning. The Laz equivalent is adapted to adjectives ending in -er.

GZ(?) *y_lia- 'armpit': Georg. *y_lia-* 'armpit'; Megr. (*r*)*y_lia-*.

Attested in Old Georgian (Abulaḡe 1973: 462). The parallel form *iy_lia-* used more frequently in modern Georgian contains, according to Topuria (1979: 456), a former prefix. The Megrelian correspondence underwent a consonant metathesis. The question arises whether the first component of Laz *yala-ḡiḡ-* with the same meaning is related. As to the *-y_lia* extracted from the Svan prefixal formation *lay_lia* 'armpit', its native character is very doubtful.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 114). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 204.

GZ *y_mu- 'to howl, roar': Georg. *y_mu-* 'to howl, roar'; Laz *y_m-in-* 'to roar (about sea)'.
 The verb stem has a transparent onomatopoeic structure: cf. **bzu-*, **zmu-*, **čkm-* as well as its characteristic word-forming affixes. Cf. the action nouns *y_m-il-* in Georgian and *y_m-in-* in Megrelian.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 204.

CK(?) *y_ob-e- 'wattle-fence': Georg. *y_ob-* 'wattle-fence'; Megr. *y_ober-*; Laz *y_ob(r)-*; Svan *yweb* (pl. stem *y_ob-*) 'bee-hive'(?).

Apparently a Common Kartvelian word attested in Old Georgian (Sarḡvelaḡe 1995: 226). The identity of the vowel *e* in Georgian and Zan forms indicates a secondary character of *r* in the latter (reshaping to the participles ?). The lexeme must be considered a nominal derivative from the verb stem **yweb-* formed with the suffix *-e*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 351). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 146). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 205.

GZ *y_olo- 'horse sorrel': Georg. *y_olo-* 'horse sorrel'; Megr. *oyvalo-* 'wood sorrel'; Laz *yval(u)-* 'horse sorrel'.

The specific vocalic shape of the word deserves attention. The transformation *o > va* is found elsewhere in the Zan branch. The development of the word-initial vowel in Megrelian is hardly conditioned phonetically.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 44).

GZ *y_om(u)- 'fox-tail millet': Georg. *y_om-* 'fox-tail millet; millet porridge'; Megr. *y_omu-*; Laz *y_om(u)-*.

This agricultural term belongs to a number of examples illustrating a correspondence Georg. *o* – Zan *u* in word-final position. The change *o >*

**yor-*

u in the Megrelian form is due to the adjacent *m*. The word seems to be one of the cultural borrowings from an ancient Near Eastern source. Its East Iranian analogies (cf. Ishkashmi, Wakhi *jomu*, Munji *jomū* 'fodder bean plant, lentil') must have the same origin and testify to the age of the word-final *u*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 174).

GZ **yor-* 'swine': Georg. *yor-* 'swine'; Megr. *yež-*; Laz *yež-*.

Attested in Old Georgian texts: *kol̄ti yorta* 'herd of swines' Mt. 8.30. The vocalism of the Zan form presupposes an intermediate step *ve* (cf. Čikobava 1938: 82). The question arises whether Georg. *yož-* 'fang' represents an ancient Zan loanword. The comparison with Svan *xām* 'swine' (cf. Tseretheli 1959: 82) is impossible. The word seems to be an ancient cultural borrowing from Indo-European: cf. PIE **ghor-* or **ghoir-* 'swine, sucking pig' (Pokorny 1959: 445).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Laz: Marr (1909: 0158), Čikobava (1938: 82).

GZ **yor-* 'to deceive': Georg. *yor-* 'to deceive'; Megr. *yor-*; Laz *yord-*, *yerd-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Saržvelaže 1995: 144) and in the language of Rustaveli (524.4, 745.1). Cf. the modern Georgian action noun *moyoreba-*. In Laz the later passive marker *-d* (cf. *mo-b-yor-d-i* 'I am deceived') became, as a result of metanalysis, a part of the stem (action noun *o-yerd-in-u*). A connection with **yor-* 'swine' seems possible (cf. French *abêtir* 'to deceive' alongside *bête* 'animal').

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 34). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 350).

GZ **yoržo-* 'gob (fish)': Georg. *yoržo-* 'gob (fish)'; Megr. *yo(n)žgo-* 'worthless'; Laz *yoržgo-* 'gob (fish), worthless' (refers to things).

Seems to be a derivative from the verb stem **yr-ež-* : *yr-iž-* : *yr-ž-* with a characteristic vocalism *o*. In the Zan cognates the original *ž* next to *r* according to Gamkrelidze's law is reflected by the cluster *žg*. In Megrelian the lexeme is almost replaced by the Georgian word, the native term being preserved only in certain phrases: cf. *yo(n)žgo boši* 'worthless fellow'. The apparent polysemy of the Laz word provides an ex-

planation for the difference in meaning of the Georgian and Megrelian forms.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 206.

GZ *yoč- 'to crumple': Georg. *yoč-* 'to crumple'; Megr. *yuč-*.

Verb stem. Action nouns are Georg. *yočva-* and Megr. *yučua-*. In the Megrelian form the expected velar element does not develop after the affricate due to the presence of *y* in the stem. The shift *o* > *u* needs explanation.

|| Fährnich (1972: 661).

GZ *yr- 'to fade': Georg. *yr-* 'to fade'; Svan [*yr-*].

A dialectal (Gur.) form in Georgian (action noun *yr-om-a-*, *da-yr-a-*). Its Svan equivalent may be extracted from *mā-yr-a* 'dried-up tree'. Cf. also *(*m*)žyr- with the same meaning.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 21).

GZ *yr-en- : yr-in- 'to snarl' (refers to dog and other animals): Georg. *yr-en-* : *yr-in-* 'to snarl'; Megr. *yrin-*, *yrin-*; Laz *yi(r)in-*.

Verb formation from the base *yar- : yr-. Its derivative is known in Old Georgian : *m-yrin-av-* 'brown owl' (Abulaze 1973: 303); Cf. also Rustaveli 911.3. The element -en : -in may derive from the causative affix. For the Zan languages cf. action noun Megr. *yrinua-* and Laz *o-yrin-u*. As a rule *r* is absent in the Laz form.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 106). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 206.

GZ *yr-ež- : yr-iž- : yr-ž- 'to frown': Georg. *yr-ež-* : *yr-iž-* 'to frown'; Megr. *yrinžg-in-*; Laz [*yrinžg-*].

The verb stem is known from Old Georgian (cf. past participle *dayrežil-* 'frowned, sad') and the medieval Georgian texts (*dayrežit zis...* '(he) is sitting and frowning...' Rustaveli 102.4). It is one of the derivatives from the base *ywer- : ywr-. The correspondence Georg. *r* ~ Zan *n* remains unexplained. Representation by *žg* confirms the age of Zan *n*. The Megrelian form contains a secondary affix. The Laz correspondence is extracted from the derivative noun (see *yrž-il-).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 55). Another connection for the Georgian form is proposed in Fährnich (1984: 44).

GZ *yrma- 'hole, pit': Georg. *yrma-* 'deep'; Megr. [*ryoma-*] 'deeping'; Laz *yrma-* 'hole, pit, chink'.

**yrmat-*

The lexeme is widely used in Old Georgian (*žurymuli ese yrma ars* ‘the well is deep’ Jn. 4.11). Cf. also the Georgian dialectal variants *ryma-*, *yma-*, *yrime-*. The Megrelian match may be extracted from derivatives like *ino-ryoma-* ‘deepening’ and *ryoma-žā-* ‘hollow tree’ showing a consonant metathesis. The identity in final vowels points to the former substantive character of this stem, reflected still in Old Georgian texts (*šēavline navi ege yrmad* ‘launch out the ship into the deep’ Lk. 5.4). Similarity to dialectal Indo-European **r(u)ghma-* ‘hole, pit’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 869) deserves mention. Cf. Klimov 1994: 152–154.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1936: 146). Megrelian: Fähnrich (1984: 44).

CK **yrmat-* ‘God’: Georg. *ymert-* ‘God’; Megr. *yoront-*; Laz *yormot-*; Svan *yērbet*, *yermet*, *yermat*.

Common Kartvelian term. It is amply attested in Old Georgian (*movida ymerti...* ‘God has come...’ Ex. 20.20) with a number of derivatives. The Georgian form is characterized by a consonant metathesis and the effect of historical umlaut. The Svan dative case form *yērbat* as well as the Zan data serves to support positing an earlier historical vocalism *a*.

|| Rosen (1845: 33).

GZ(?) **yrtil-* ‘cartilage’: Georg. *xrtil-* ‘cartilage’; Megr. *xintķir-*, *xantķir-*.

In Old Georgian the word occurs in the form *yrtil-* (Abulaze 1973: 463). If this comparison holds one must admit devoicing of the word-initial consonant. However, the complex consonant cluster in Megrelian remains unclear.

|| Klimov (1973: 367).

GZ **yr(u)n̄t-* ‘to grunt’: Georg. *yrut-un-* ‘to grunt’; Megr. *yvint-*; Laz *yrut-*, *xrut-* (?).

The Georgian form contains a secondary word-forming affix. The Megrelian correspondence reminds one of parallel Georgian *yvrit-in-*. The Svan analogy (cf. the action noun *li-yrut-ən-i*) seems to be borrowed from Georgian. Taking into account the Georgian (Gur.) form *yrunt-* the connection with its Indo-European analogies like Lat. *grundio* and English *grunt* alongside PIE **gru-* (cf. Pokorny 1959: 406) may be admitted. See Klimov 1994: 154–155. North Caucasian designations of grunting clearly reflect the area norm of the onomatopoeia and stand phonetically far apart.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 207.

GZ *yry-wn- 'to gnaw': Georg. *yryn-* 'to gnaw'; Megr. *yiryon-*; Laz *yiryol-*.

Verb stem derived from the simple base *yery- : yry- by adding the word-forming suffix *-wn. The Georgian and Megrelian cognates (action noun Georg. *yryna-*, Megr. *yiryonua-*) match regularly. In Laz (action noun *o-yiryol-u*) a change $n > l$ is attested (cf. *brdy-wn-, and others). The archetype *yuryura- proposed in Marr (1936: 146) has no support.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 207.

GZ(?) *yrz₁- 'to embrace': Georg. *yrz-* 'to suffocate'; Megr. [*yurž-*, *yurž-*] 'to embrace'.

A problematic comparison. The Georgian action noun *yrzoba-*, *dayrzoba-* is adduced by S. Orbeliani. The Megrelian variants are characterized by the addition of the suffix -ol (action noun *yuržolua-*) and by possible spirantization of ž.

|| Klimov (1988: 21).

CK *yrč-en- : yrč-in- 'to gnash, grit the teeth': Georg. *yrč-en-* : *yrč-in-* 'to gnash, grit the teeth'; Megr. *yirčkin-*, *yərčkin-*; Laz *yričkin-*, *yričkil-*; Svan *yəlčkin-*, *yəlčkən-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: ...*yirčenn kbilta* '...(he) gnashes (his) teeth' Mk. 9.18 (cf. action noun *γ(r)čena-*). -en : -in must be a former suffix. The correspondence Georg. č ~ Zan čk in position after r is regular. Cf. Gamqrelize (1959: 76). Stem-final l of the Laz cognate is secondary. l in the Svan form (cf. action noun *yəlčk-ən-e*) replaces the original r.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 207.

GZ *yrž-wn- 'to cut (with a blunt knife)': Georg. *yržn-* 'to cut (with a blunt knife), shred'; Megr. *yiržgon-*, *yəržgon-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian: ...*rtota mat yržnides* '...(they) shredded branches' (Saržvelaze 1995: 227). It contains the no longer productive affix -wn. Megr. action noun - *yiržgonua-*. Georgian dial. (Imer.) *yiržgna-* (cf. Țlonti 1984: 90) seems to be contaminated with the Megrelian word. It is tempting to see a relation to the root *yr-ež- : yr-ž-.

GZ *yrž-il- 'gums, molars': Georg. *yrzil-*, *yržil-* 'gums, molars'; Megr. *žirgil-* 'gums'; Laz *yinžgil-*, *yenžgil-* 'gums; sting (of bee)'.

*yu-

A derivative of the verb stem **yr-ež-* : *yr-ž-* formed by the past participle suffix *-il*. The Georgian form with *ž* may have resulted from a blend of the word with *yržoba-* 'to wrench, dislocate'. The Megrelian correspondence has undergone maximal change (cf. also the variant *žiržil-*).

|| Čikobava (1938: 55).

CK *yu- 'owl': Megr. *yu-* 'owl'; Laz (*m*)*yu-*; Svan *yuh*.

Uncertain reconstruction. In view of the existence of forms with word-initial *b* another protoform must also be admitted (see **b(y)u-*). In both cases the onomatopoeic character of the cognates remains beyond doubt. The Svan form belongs to the Upper Bal dialect.

GZ *yuy-un- 'to coo': Georg. *yuyun-* 'to coo'; Megr. *yuyin-*.

The transparent onomatopoeic nature of the verb is confirmed by its characteristic word-forming affix. Similar lexemes with this meaning or with the meaning of dove occur in many languages (cf. Godob. *yuyu*, Inguš *qoq*, Turk. *qoq*, etc.).

|| Kipšidze (1914: 353).

Q

CK *qaw- : qw- 'to lead, have' (referring to animate objects): Georg. *qav-* : *qv-* 'to lead, have' (referring to animate objects); Megr. '(o)-'; Laz *qo-*, 'v-; Svan *q(a)-*.

Verb stem rarely attested in Old Georgian; it was usually replaced by the extended stem *qvan-*. The Georgian and Zan forms match regularly. The history of their Svan counterpart is a little more complicated. The meaning of possession must be secondary.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 40). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 356). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 208.

GZ *qaw : qw- 'to make': Georg. *qav-* : *qv-* 'to make'; Megr. 'v-; Laz *q(v)-*, 'v-, *j(v)n-*.

The verb stem is especially characteristic for Old Georgian (...*qves egre* '...(they) made so' Mt. 21.6; action noun *qopa-*). Its connection with the identical Georgian-Zan stem 'to lead, have' is recognized in Kartvelo-

logy. The Zan forms reflect only the zero ablaut grade. The final *v* disappears here positionally.

|| Čikobava (1938: 351–353).

GZ *qaw- : qw- ‘to curdle (milk)’: Georg. *qav-* : *qv-* ‘to curdle (milk)’: Megr. [*v-*]; Laz [*qv-*, *v-*].

The verb stem forms the basis of the noun derivative **qw-el-* ‘cheese’ owing to which it is identified also in the Zan languages. Laz *meqwaper-* ‘sour milk’ contains the same base. For Georgian an unbound use of the stem is attested only in ancient texts (cf. M. Sanizc 1960: 63, where its relation to **qaw-* : *qw-* ‘to make’ is admitted). Its modern Georgian match *ded-* (action noun *še-ded-eb-a-*) strikingly resembles PIE **dhedh-* with the same meaning (cf. Mayrhofer 1991: 692), although most probably it goes back to *deda-* ‘rennet’.

|| Klimov (1973: 364).

GZ *qamal- ‘wild cherry-plum’: Georg. *tqemal-* ‘wild cherry-plum’; Megr. *omur-*; Laz *qomur-*, *omur-*, *omr-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian, but represented in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani. Since the word-initial *t* cannot disappear in Zan languages one must assume a contamination of the Georgian form with *tqe-* ‘wood’. In the Zan languages **a* next to a labial regularly results in *u*.

|| Čikobava (1938: 126).

GZ *qana- ‘cornfield, ploughed field’: Georg. *qana-* ‘cornfield, ploughed field’; Megr. *vana-*; Laz *qona-*, *ona-*, *jona-*.

A term referring to the settled agriculture and unattested in Svan. Its continuant is widely used in Old Georgian texts (*ixilet qanebi...* ‘look on the fields...’ Jn. 4.35; cf. the derivatives *qanobir-* ‘ploughed field’ and *kue-qana-* ‘land, country’). The Zan equivalents underwent the changes *q* > *ʷ* and *o* > *va*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1909: 0155), Šavaxišvili (1930: 122).

GZ *qar- : qr- ‘to stink’: Georg. *qar-* : *qr-* ‘to stink, reek’; Megr. [*or-*].

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*qrodis-ya...* ‘(he) stinketh...’ Jn. 11.39). Cf. the Georgian action noun *qrola-* alongside *qars* ‘it stinks’. In Megrelian the stem may be extracted from the extended formation *or-ad-* : *or-id-* : *or-d-* ‘to rot (trans., intrans.), stink’.

|| Vogt (1947: 75).

*qar- : qr-

GZ *qar- : qr- 'to pour, run out; to stream': Georg. qar- : qr- 'to pour, run out'; Laz qor-, or- 'to stream, flow'.

Verb stem found in Old Georgian, where it meant also 'to shake; to nod, wag (one's head)': ...qrides tavsa matsa '...wagging their heads' Mk 15.29. Cf. Laz (Xopa) action noun me-or-u 'to stream, flow'. No certain Megrelian cognate is known. For the semantics cf. Engl. *pour*, Arm. *acel*, t'ap'vel.

|| Kartozia (1979: 67–68).

GZ *qarqant- 'gullet, throat': Georg. qarqant- 'gullet' (refers to animals); Megr. qorqont- 'gullet'; Laz qirqint-.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The sound-symbolic nature of the stem is shown by its phonological structure. Cf. dialectal Georgian (Gur.) qront- with the same meaning. Georg. (Imer.) qanqrato- (> Svan qanqrät) and (Javax) qaqlanto- show metathesis. The parallel Svan qarqand is also unlikely to be native.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1909: 0155–0156), Megreliдзе (1938: 191). Megrelian: Klimov (1973: 364).

CK *qba- 'jaw': Georg. qba- 'jaw'; Megr. 'viba- 'the man with the stupid face'; Svan (h)a-qba, a-baqa, qab(w), qpa ô 'cheek'.

The word is attested in Old Georgian texts (qbani ... štamusvril arian 'jaws ... are broken' Krest 151.19–20). In the Upper Bal and Lower Bal dialects of Svan the initial consonant cluster is disrupted by the insertion of a vowel of the timbre peculiar to the dropped word-final vowel (for such a phenomenon cf. *dye-, *tqa-, etc.). In view of Svan qab 'beard', an archetype *qab- is proposed in Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 360).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: I. Kobalava. Svan: Schmidt (1960: 140).

CK *qel- 'neck': Georg. qel- 'throat, neck of vessel'; Megr. 'al- 'neck, neck of vessel'; Laz (q)al-, 'al-; Svan [ql-] 'neck'.

In Old Georgian the word meant 'neck' (šeexvia qelsa missa... '(he) fell on his neck...' Lk. 15.20). In Megrelian the lexeme has been almost completely replaced (cf. its derivative o'ales- 'collar'). The Svan correspondence is preserved in the derivative mə-ql-a 'neck, throat'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz: Marr (1936: 308). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 140).

CK *qem- : qm- 'to thirst': Georg. qm- 'to hunger'; Megr. 'um- 'to thirst'; Laz (q)om-, mb-; Svan qm- 'to choke'.

Although its continuant does not exist in modern Georgian, the verb stem is well represented in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun *si-qm-il-* and *da-qm-oba-* as well as the derivative *da-qm-eda-* 'to fast' (Abulaze 1973: 129). In the Zan languages the stem is extended by affixation (action noun Megr. 'um-en-, Laz o-(q)om-in-u) and reflects the full ablaut grade. The Svan action noun is *li-qm-e*. In view of Common Kartvelian *mš(i)- 'to hunger' the meaning of the Zan cognates must be the original one.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Topuria (1927: 287). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 355).

CK *qemal- 'wild cherry-plum': Georg. *tqemal-* 'wild cherry-plum'; Megr. 'omur-; Laz *qomu(r)-*, 'omur-, ombr-.

The word-initial *t* in Georgian can be accounted for by an association of the lexeme with **tqe(n)-* 'forest'. Čikobava (1938: 126) has seen in it the former exponent of a grammatical class. In the Zan languages **a* next to a labial regularly results in *u*. The Zan cognates may reflect an earlier form with *a* in the first syllable (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 268).

|| Čikobava (1938: 126).

GZ *qeq- 'to be quite full': Georg. *qeq-* 'to be quite full; to eat to satiety'; Megr. *qaq-*.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language found in Imer. and Gur. dialects (Ylonṭi 1984: 607), it belongs to the stock of expressive vocabulary, as indicated by its consonantal frame. Action nouns are Georg. *qeqva-*, Megr. *qaqua-*.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 35).

GZ *qwan- 'to conduct, bring (of animate objects)': Georg. *qvan-* 'to conduct, bring (of animate objects)'; Megr. 'on-, 'un-; Laz (q)on-, 'on-, jon-.

Verb stem amply attested in Old Georgian (*moiqvane qrmaj...* 'bring the boy...' Gen. 21.18). It is formed from a simple base **qaw-*: *qw-* 'to lead' by an extension *-an*. In modern Georgian it occurs also in the meaning 'to have' (cf. *zmebi mqvanan* 'I have brothers').

|| Čikobava (1938: 356–357).

GZ *qwar- 'to love': Georg. *qwar-* 'to love'; Megr. 'or-; Laz (q)or-, 'or-.

*q̄w-el-

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian (*mamasa uquars zej* 'the Father loveth the son' Jn. 3.35; action noun *si-quar-ul-* 'love'). The forms compared regularly match each other. In Laz the cognate is more typical of the Xopa dialect. It is uncertain whether Svan *qur-* // *qwir-* (action noun *li-l-qwir* 'coire') belongs here as is assumed sometimes.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 401).

GZ *q̄w-el- 'brynza': Georg. *qvel-* 'brynza, cheese'; Megr. 'val-; Laz (q)val-, k̄val-.

A word widely attested in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 466). It is derived from the verb stem *q̄aw- : q̄w- 'to curdle (milk)' by adding the word-forming affix *-el. The Zan dialects show the regular correspondence q // ' ~ k̄. The Svan stem represented in the verb *li-q̄ēl-e* 'to curdle milk' showing a compensatory vowel lengthening is borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849:76). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 95).

CK *q̄welp- 'hot ashes': Georg. *yvelp-* 'hot ashes'; Megr. *yvalp-*; Laz *yvampo-*, *yvampu-* 'soot'; Svan *qwelp* 'ashes'.

In the shape of *yuelp-* the lexeme occurs in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 464). Contrary to the Georgian and Megrelian words, which regularly correspond to each other, Laz shows a certain semantic shift along with substitution *l > m* (the latter can probably be accounted for by the formal repulsion from Laz *yvalpu-* 'mole cricket'). For the phonetic correspondence Georg. *y* - Svan *q* cf. *q̄wiṣ₁-l- (it may go back to the alleged Common Kartvelian voiced pharyngeal lost in all modern languages).

|| Klimov (1988: 21).

GZ *q̄went- : q̄wnt- 'to oscillate, vacillate': Georg. *qunt-al-* 'to rock (while walking)'; Megr. 'vant- 'to oscillate'.

In Georgian (Imer. dialect) the verb stem is extended by the word-forming affix -al (Ylonti 1984: 616). In both languages different ablaut grades are reflected. The Megrelian action noun is 'vantua-.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

CK *q̄wer- 'testicle': Georg. *qver-* 'testicle'; Megr. 'vaṣ-; Laz *qvaṣ-*; Svan [*qur-*].

Represented in Old Georgian manuscripts as *qer-* (cf. Sarṣvelaze 1995: 228). The Georgian and Zan forms regularly reflect the protoform.

Their Svan equivalent seems to be attested in the complex formation with the same meaning *qurna(j)* containing the element *-naj*, sometimes in the past considered a former plural marker (cf. Marr 1915.I: 772). For the correspondence Georgian-Zan *ve* ~ Svan *u* see **tkwer-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1936: 275). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 353). Svan: Klimov (1960: 25).

CK(?) **qwer-* ‘to geld, castrate’: Georg. *qver-* ‘to geld’; Megr. ‘*var-*’; Laz *qva(r)-*; Svan *qor-*(?).

Possibly Common Kartvelian verb stem. This characteristic cattle-breeding term has apparently a denominal origin. For Old Georgian cf. past participle *querul-* ‘castrated’ (Saržvelaže 1995: 228). In Laz the stem-final *r* may be missing (cf. the action noun *o-qva(r)-u* alongside Megr. ‘*varua-*’). Some doubts exist concerning the inherited status of the Svan form because of its vocalic shape (cf. the preceding entry).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (1936: 275). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 353). Svan: Klimov (1960: 25).

GZ **qwerb-* ‘hearth’: Georg. *qverb-* ‘hearth, brazier’; Megr. *qebur-*, ‘*ebur-*, *kebur-*’; Laz [*krebul-*].

A problematic equation. This technical term is well attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 469), where its derivative *querbeul-* ‘bread baked in the ashes’ also occurs. In the Zan forms one can see the result of a metathesis *rb* > *br*. The vocalism *e* is regularly preserved in the original sequence *we*. The Laz correspondence may be extracted from its derivative *o-krebul-e* // *o-rkebul-e* ‘place around the hearth’. The lexeme seems to be an ancient cross-cultural loanword.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 211.

CK **qwint-* ‘to plunge (into smth)’. Georg. *qvint-* ‘to dive, plunge (into drowsiness)’; Megr. ‘*vint-* ‘to plunge into the water; to doze’; Svan *qwēnt-* ‘to plunge’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The Georgian action noun is *qvintva-*, the Megrelian one – ‘*vintua-*’. In Laz no continuant seems to be preserved. It remains somewhat disputable whether its Svan analogue (action noun *li-qwēnt* and *li-qunt-e*) is native.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 211.

CK **qwiž₁-* ‘to raise, wake, be awake’: Georg. *γviž-* ‘to raise, wake, be awake’; Megr. [*qviž-*]; Svan [*qwiž-*].

*qwiʒ₁-l-

Verb stem preserved as such only in Georgian, where it occurs also in the ancient written sources: cf. action noun *ywiʒeba-* (Abulaʒe 1973: 465). In other languages the stem may be seen in the continuants of its nominal derivatives *qwiʒ₁l- 'liver'. The semantic connection of the latter with the stem can be proposed as the basis of an assumption that for the ancient Kartvelians physical and mental health depended on the liver.

CK *qwiʒ₁-l- 'liver': Georg. *yviʒl-* 'liver'; Megr. [*qviʒil-*] 'black-violet'; Svan *qwiʒe, quʒe* 'liver'.

The word is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaʒe 1973: 465). Alongside dialectal Georg. *yvirʒl-* note the adjective *qvit-el-* 'yellow'. The regular Zan correspondence is reflected in the Georgian loanword from Zan *qviʒil-* 'black-violet'. Cf. also Megrelian word-form *i-qviʒin-an-s* '(he) looks yellow and unhealthy'. The nature of the word-final *e* in the Svan cognate remains obscure.

|| Georgian, Svan: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 296). Megrelian: *ÈSKJa*: 211.

CK *q̣w(l)ep- : q̣w(l)ip- : q̣w(l)p- 'to strip off, scratch off; to fade': Georg. *qvlep-* : *qvlip-* 'to strip off, pluck'; Svan *qwep-* 'to fade'.

Verb stem. For the parasitic *l* in the Georgian forms cf. **dgw(l)ep-*, **tkw(l)ep-*, **čxw(l)-et-*, and others. In the Zan languages the stem seems to be unattested. While the Georgian material shows an *e ~ i* alternation, its Svan equivalent reflects a different pattern; cf. action noun *li-qwp-e* (transitive), *li-qwep* (intransitive).

|| Gamqrelize-Maçavariani (1965: 201).

GZ *q̣wl-iw- 'bone': Georg. *qvliv-* 'shoulder bone'; Megr. 'vil-, 'vile-' 'bone'; Laz *qvil-*, 'il-, il-.

The protoform is reconstructed tentatively because of the obscure structure of the word end. Its meaning also remains uncertain in view of competing *ʒ₁ʒ₁wal- 'bone'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 27). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 71).

GZ *q̣i- 'to crow' (of a rooster): Georg. *qi-v-* 'to crow (of a rooster); cry'; Megr. 'i-; Laz *qi-*.

Verb stem. Its continuant is attested in Old Georgian: *meqseulad katami qiva* 'immediately the cock crew' Lk. 22.60. Action noun Georg.

qiv-il-, Megr. 'i-on-, Laz o-qi-u. The stem has an onomatopoeic nature cf. *ki-, *s,i-, *ci-, *čqi-, etc.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 419). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 354–355).

GZ *qid- 'to acquire, gain': Georg. *qid-* 'to buy'; Megr. 'id-; Laz *qird-*, *jindr-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts: action noun *qidva-* and *sqida-* 'to acquire, buy' (Abulaze 1973: 466). The Megrelian action noun is 'id-ir-. The Laz forms, on account of their inorganic *r* and general similarity to the Megrelian action noun, make one doubt their age. Their Svan analogue (action noun *li-qd-i*) seems to be borrowed.

|| Deeters. Cf. Schmidt (1962: 141).

GZ *qin- 'to cool, freeze': Georg. *qin-* 'to cool, freeze'; Megr. 'in-; Laz (*q*)in-, 'in-; Svan *qgən-*, *qəgn-* (?).

Verb stem amply attested in Old Georgian (*mqinvarita mit šeiqinnes...* 'from the glacier (they) were frozen...') Sin. mr. 119.20; action noun *daqineba-*, derivative *qin-el-* 'ice'). The Zan cognates (action noun Megr. 'inua-, Laz o-qin-u) regularly correspond to Georgian. It is much more difficult to connect with the stem the similar Svan form. Sometimes the Kartvelian stem is considered to be denominative (cf. Laz *qin-* 'cold, frost').

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 34). Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76).

CK *qlap- : qlp- 'to swallow': Georg. *qlap-* 'to swallow'; Megr. 'ulip-; Svan *qəlp-*.

A descriptive verb stem (cf. the final expressive *p*). The Megrelian correspondence (action noun 'ulipua-) like the Svan one appears to reflect zero grade. The change *p* > *p* may be due to a blend of the stem with some other one. The Svan action noun is *li-qəlp-i*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Sardschweladse (1985: 25). Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 35).

CK *qle- 'penis': Georg. *qle-* 'penis'; Megr. 'ole-; Laz *qole-*, *ole-*, *kole-*; Svan [ql-].

Possibly Common Kartvelian archetype. The word-final vowel is regularly identical in Georgian and the Zan languages. Their Svan equivalent is compared with the Georgian-Zan material only tentatively: it

*qowl-

is extracted from Svan *qlaw* 'child (boy)'. Cf. the analogous semantic pattern under **kutu-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Schmidt (1962: 141). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 212.

GZ ***qowl-** 'all, every': Georg. *qovel-* 'every, any'; Megr. *ir-* 'every'; Laz *ir-*.

The word is available in Old Georgian, where it meant also 'all, whole': *ese qoveli migce šen* 'all these things I give thee' Mt. 4.9. Cf. also Old Georgian *qowl-ad* 'completely, wholly'. The Zan reflex of the protoform greatly resembles the reflex of Common Kartvelian **tow-l-*. Yet Bopp (1847:23) believed the initial consonant to have been lost in the Zan form. The reconstruction of the protoform is proposed in Gigineišvili (1984: 42–43).

|| Marr (1914: 89).

GZ ***qown-** 'to be late, tarry': Georg. *qovn-* 'to tarry, be late'; Laz [*qon-*] 'to wait'.

The verb stem is well attested in Old Georgian (*qovnida sizej...* 'the bridegroom tarried...' Mt. 25.5; action noun *qovna-*). In Laz the stem may be extracted from the derivative *o-qond-in-u* 'to delay', where an earlier stem-fused passive voice marker *-d* is identified.

|| Čikobava (1938: 358).

GZ ***qorq** 'throat, gullet': Georg. *qorq-* 'throat, gullet'; Megr. *qorqel-*.

Georgian-Zan lexeme. The Megrelian correspondence contains an earlier evaluation suffix *-el* (cf. also **kud-*). The word has a sound-symbolic character supported by similar forms available in this meaning in the North Caucasian languages as well as far beyond them (cf. Abx. *a-qərqə*, Agul *qurq*, Finn. *kurkku*, etc.).

|| Marr (1909: 0155–0156).

GZ ***qoqo-** 'calf of buffalo': Georg. *qoqo-* 'calf of buffalo'; Megr. *yoyo-*.

The Georgian continuant is attested in the Kartl. and Gur. dialects (Ylonti 1984: 594). For the phonetic correspondence Georg. *q* ~ Zan *ɣ* see **d(l)aqw-*, **noqa-*, etc. The reduplicated structure of the word may suggest its sound-symbolic nature.

|| Klimov (1988: 162).

CK *qrt(w)- // qnt(w)- 'to swallow'; Megr. *qirt-*, *qint-* 'to swallow'; Svan *rtqw-*, *ntqw-*.

A tentative reconstruction. Cf. nouns of action: Megr. *qirtua-*, (*r*)*qintua-*, Svan *li-rtqw-i*, *li-ntqw-i*. In one of the languages compared the consonant cluster underwent metathesis. In Georgian no reliable equivalent is found (cf. Schmidt 1962: 128). Some possible links see under *qarqant-.

CK *qu- 'to howl': Georg. *qu(v)-* 'to howl'; Svan *qū-* 'to cry, howl'.

A verb stem attested in Old Georgian: *dga da quoda* '(it) stood and howled', cf. the action noun *quil-* (Abulaze 1973: 469). The stem belongs to the descriptive formations with a suffix *-il*. The Svan action noun is *li-qū-l-i*. Cf. *-qur-*.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ *qua- 'handle of an axe': Georg. *qua* 'handle of an axe; crust of bread'; Megr. *ua-*; Laz *qva-*, *kva-* 'forehead'; Svan *qu(w)a* 'handle' (?).

The correspondence Georg. *u* ~ Zan *v* remains unclear since more often one can see the reverse (cf. *arwa-, *swe-, *kwa-). In Megrelian its phonetic variant *va-* 'forehead' is attested. Laz (Xopa dial.) *qua-* means 'handle of hoe'. In general the meaning 'handle' is considered to be original: cf. Common Kartvelian *šubl- 'forehead'. The word may be somehow connected with PIE *kou- : *kū-* 'to beat; forge' with a particular resemblance to Slav. *kova* 'handle of an axe'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 30). Georgian: Čikobava (1938: 49). Svan: ÈSKJa: 213.

GZ *qud- 'to put against; to stick': Georg. *qud-* 'to put against'; Megr. [*ud-*].

The verb stem is attested with a number of its derivatives in Old Georgian. Cf. its action noun *daqudeba-* which has a secondary meaning 'calming' (cf. *qudro-* 'quiet, calm'). In Megrelian this stem may be extracted from its nominal derivative *ud-e* 'house' (cf. Čikobava (1938: 19).

GZ *qud-e 'house': Georg. [*qude-*] 'house'; Megr. *ude-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. It seems to be a noun formation in *-e* based on the verb stem *qud-. Contrary to Megrelian where the word is widely in use, the Georgian equivalent may be extracted from its

*qu(n)c-

derivative *sa-qud-el-* 'cloister, refuge' (cf. also Georg. *kva-qude-* 'stone house'). In Laz their cognate remains unknown.

GZ *qu(n)c- 'to squat': Georg. *qunc-* 'to squat'; Megr. 'uc-.

Georgian-Zan verb stem. In the Lečx. dialect of Georgian the verb means 'to fidget (sitting)'. Cf. ʃlonti (1984: 616). In Megrelian the stem underwent regular change *q* > ' . Its action noun is 'uc-in-.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ *qur- 'ear': Georg. *qur* 'ear; edge'; Megr. 'už- 'ear'; Laz (*q*)už-, 'už-, juž-.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian texts (*carhkueta quri misi...* 'smote off his ear...' Mt. 26.52; cf. the compound *qurimal-* 'cheek'). It underlies such Georgian-Zan derivatives as *qur-u- 'deaf' and *qur-č- 'eye of needle'. The connection sometimes proposed with Svan *qōr* 'door, yard' remains semantically problematic. For the correspondence Georg.-Zan *u* ~ Svan *o* see *ttwe-, *šubl-, etc.

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

GZ *qur- 'to howl' (of wolves, dogs): Georg. [*qur-*] 'to howl' (of wolves, dogs); Megr. 'ur-; Laz (*q*)ur-, qu(r)- 'to cry; be angry'.

In Georgian the verb stem may be extracted only from the reduplicative formation *qurqul-* with the same meaning and showing the dissimilation of *r* in the second syllable. The Megrelian action noun is 'urua-, 'urap-. The Laz cognate (cf. *qu(r)aps* '(it) howls') underwent a semantic shift.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 359). Georgian: Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ *qurs- 'to become dumb; be silent': Georg. *qurs-* 'to become dumb'; Megr. 'urs- 'to become dumb; be silent'.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. The forms are hardly connected with Georg.-Zan *qur- 'ear'. The Megrelian verb may be a Georgian loanword (cf. action nouns Georg. *qursva-*, Megr. 'ursua-).

|| Fähnrich (1984: 44).

GZ *qurs₁- 'to load oneself (heavily)': Georg. *qurs-* 'to load oneself (heavily)'; Megr. 'urs- 'to get drunk'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language the verb stem occurs in dialects (ʃlonti 1984: 193). The phonetic correspondence is

regular. The meaning of the Megrelian stem must be secondary and emerged in the metaphoric use of the protoform.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 44).

GZ *qur-u- 'deaf, dumb': Georg. *qru-* 'deaf, dumb'; Megr. *uru-* 'silly'.

The adjective is well known in Old Georgian: *brmaj da qruj...* 'blind and deaf...' Mt. 12.22 (cf. its derivative *qruoba-* 'silence'). It is a derivative from *qur- formed by the privative suffix *-u. In Georgian the stem underwent syncope.

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 78).

GZ *qur-ç- 'ear of the needle': Georg. *qunç-* 'ear of the needle; cutting'; Megr. *qurç-*.

Attested in Old Georgian in the secondary form *kurç-* (cf. Abulaze 1973: 206) showing the change *q > k*. Cf. also dialectal Western Georgian *qurç-* (Ylonti 1984: 617). It is a derivative from *qur- 'ear' extended by the unproductive diminutive suffix *-ç. In the past one considered the Megrelian word to have been borrowed from Georgian (cf. Kipšidze 1914: 355). Similar Svan *kwirç-* with the same meaning goes back to Georgian source. Relation of Laz *kukunç-* 'cutting, graft; tip' remains unclear.

CK *quq- 'to squat': Georg. *quq-* 'to squat'; Svan *qqw-*.

Verb stem of sound-symbolic nature. In Georgian it is part of dialectal vocabulary (cf. Ylonti 1984: 194). Action nouns are Georg. *da-quq-eba-* and Svan *li-qqw-e*.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 44).

Š

GZ *še- 'into' (preverb): Georg. *še-* 'into' (preverb); Megr. *ša-*; Laz *š(k)a-*, *ška-*.

Widely used in Old Georgian texts (*ševēd misa!* 'Go in unto her!' Gen. 39.3). The expected Zan correspondence is found in the Atina dialect of Laz, where it forms part of the complex preverbs *me-ška* and *e-ška*. In the rest of the Zan area it is simplified (cf. Megr. *mi-ša-dguma-* 'to put in', *mi-ša-lapa-* 'to fall into'). Cf. also the preverb *ča-* 'inside and down'

*šed- : šd-

< šta- < še-da-. Ultimately the preverb can go back to the noun šowa-, as does the Svan adverb sga 'into, within'.

|| Gamqrelize (1959: 56–57). Cf. also Deeters (1930: 14).

CK *šed- : šd- 'to be proper': Megr. škid- 'to be proper'; Svan šged- : šgd- 'to deem smth. worthy'.

In Georgian the verb stem seems to be unattested. While the Megrelian form reflects only a zero grade (cf. Megrelian action noun škidir-), the Svan forms preserve both ablaut grades (the Svan action noun is li-šgd-e).

|| Cf. Topuria (1979: 10).

CK *šew- : šw- 'to give birth; to beget'; Georg. šv- 'to give birth'; Megr. sk(v)- 'to lay eggs (of birds)'; Laz sk(v)-; Svan [sg-] 'to be born'.

Verb stem amply represented in Old Georgian, where the ablaut alternation was still preserved (*Abraham šva Isaki* 'Abraham begat Isaak' Mt 1.12; v-šev 'I begot'). A semantic shift is found in the Zan form: cf. analogous dependence between Lit. perēt 'to hatch eggs' and PIE *per- 'to give birth, to produce'. The derivatives *m-šw-e- and *šw-il- are formed from the stem. In Svan it can be extracted only from the continuation of the first of these. Its similarity to PIE *sū-: seu- 'to bear, beget' seems accidental.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 31). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 315). Svan: Gamqrelize (1959: 59).

CK *šw- 'to befit smb., be proper': Georg. šv- 'to befit smb., be proper'; Megr. sku- 'to decorate'; Laz msku- 'to impress by one's beauty, to be proud'; Svan sgw-, sgu- 'to befit smb.'.

In Georgian the verb stem is attested only in ancient texts: šemašus cxorebaj igi... 'For me life is proper...'; see (Čikobava 1942: 83). The Zan (action noun Megr. skveba-, Laz o-msk-u) and Svan (action noun li-sgw-e) equivalents reflect Gamkrelidze's law. In the Laz cognate, initial *m* has been augmented. Among derivatives of the stem cf. *m-šwen- 'beautiful'.

|| Topuria (cf. *IKE* I, 1946: 80).

CK *šw- 'to let somebody go; to leave': Georg. šv- 'to let somebody go; to leave'; Megr. šk(v)-; Laz šk(v)-; Svan [šgw-] 'to let somebody go; to send'.

The stem is represented in Old Georgian (*da miušvi mat...* 'and let them go...') Bal. 97.16; action noun šueba-). For the Zan languages cf.

action noun Megr. *e-škv-apa-*, Laz *me-škv-in-u*. The probable Svan equivalent is found in the extended stem *šgw-an-* (action noun *li-šgwan*). The semantic field of the verb stem *skw-* 'to tie' could have prevented the operation of Gamkrelidze's law in the Zan-Svan area (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 71).

|| Georgian, Zan: (Čikobava 1938: 366–367). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 214.

CK *šwd- 'to choke; to suffocate, be suffocated; to drown, get drown': Georg. *xrč-* 'to choke; to suffocate, to drown'; Megr. *škv-id-*; Laz *šk(v)id-*, *škid-*; Svan *šgwd-* : *šgud-*.

The verb stem occurs as *št(v)-* in Old Georgian texts (*daištves zyuasa mas šina...* '(they) were choked in the sea...' Mk. 5.13; action noun *štoba-*, *šdoba-*; the form of the stem in *šišudil-* < *si-šud-il-* 'suffocation' is even more ancient). See Topuria (1979: 213). It is believed that the modern Georgian stem is formed by the augmentation of *r* to *č* < *šd*; the additional initial *x* remains obscure (phonetical grounds are unlikely). The Zan (cf. action noun Megr. *škvida-*, Laz *o-škv-id-u*) and Svan (action noun *li-šgud-e*) forms are affected by Gamkrelidze's law probably on account of counteraction of the semantic field of the stem *šwed- : šwd- 'to remain' (Gamqrelize 1979: 70).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 31). Laz: Marr (1811–1914 VII: 258). Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 20–21).

CK(?) *šwed- : šwd- 'to remain': Georg. *rč-* 'to remain'; Megr. *skid-*, *skəd-*; Laz *skid-*, *skud-*, *sked-* 'to live'; Svan *sed-* : *sd-*; *säd-* 'to remain'(?).

The verb stem is widely attested in Old Georgian, where the ablaut alternation *šed-*: *šd-* was still preserved (*dašda Iesu...* 'Jesus remained...' Sin. mr. 98.4; action noun *šdoma-*, *štoma-*; cf. also unregular derivative *ne-št-* 'remainder, posterity'). The modern Georgian form has arisen by hitherto unexplained augmentation of *r* to *č* < *št* < *šd* (cf. Topuria 1979: 38). The Zan and Svan reflexes (action nouns Megr. *skilada-*, Laz *o-skid-u* 'life', Svan *li-sed*) point to the former presence of *w* in the stem; at the same time *g* expected in Svan is lost (Gamqrelize 1959: 66–67). In Zan languages an irregular change *k* > *k̄* may occur. The Laz form underwent a shift in meaning. A former complexity of the stem is quite probable (cf. *šw- 'to let go; to leave').

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 61). Laz, Svan: Čikobava (1938: 316–318).

*šwel-

GZ *šwel- 'roe, chamois': Georg. *švel-* 'roe, chamois'; Megr. *skver-*, *skver-*; Laz *mskver-*, *pskver-*, *mskver-* 'deer'.

The word is documented in the Georgian medieval literature. In modern Georgian a dialectal variant *pšvel-* is found. The Zan cognates are affected by Gamkrelidze's law (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 27). The complex *we* is preserved here as elsewhere. Word-initial augmentations are typical of Laz. It has been suggested that the meaning of the Laz word is original (cf. Čikobava (1938: 91).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Laz: Marr (1911–1914 VI: 421).

CK *š(w)en- 'your (sing.)': Georg. *šen-* 'your (sing.)'; Megr. *skan-*; Laz *skan-*, *ckan-*; Svan *isgwi*, *isgu*.

The possessive pronoun is amply attested in Old Georgian texts (*zeni šenni da ... monagebi šeni* 'your sons and ... your household' Gen. 45.11). The Zan and Svan reflexes point to an ancient *w* preserved at present only in Svan (Gamqrelize 1959: 36–37). The end of the Svan pronoun has been simplified, whereas its initial *i* is a prothetic vowel.

|| Rosen (1945: 411, 421).

CK *šw-en-: *šw-n-* 'to decorate; to be proper, befit': Georg. *šven-* 'to decorate; to be proper; to befit'; Megr. [*skvam-*]; Laz *skvan-*; Svan [*sgwen-*].

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian (*esre šuenis čuenda* 'it becometh us' Mt. 3.15; action noun *šueneba-*). It is derived from the simple base *šw- by adding the extension *-en*. Cf. its derivative *šno-* 'charm, fascination', which, according to Vogt (1938: 330), cannot stem from Arm. *šnorh* 'charity, plenty'. The Laz continuant occurs in an unbound state: *domoskvanu* 'he decorated me'. It was subject to Gamkrelidze's law (cf. Gamqrelize 1959: 27). Stem-final *m* of the Megrelian form (action noun *skvameba-*) is owed to the adjective *skvam-* 'beautiful' marked by the word formation suffix *-am*. The Svan correspondence may be seen in the continuant of the stem **m-šwen-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 322). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 230). Svan: Topuria (*IKE* I, 1946: 80).

GZ *šwer-: *šwr-* 'to get dry; to become dim': Georg. *šr-* 'to get dry'; Megr. *skir-*, *skər-*; Laz *skir-*, *skur-* 'to become dim'.

Verb stem. Its two derivatives were characterized in Old Georgian by substantial semantic differences: cf. action nouns *šroba-* 'to dry' and

šuroma- 'to work, to get tired' (cf. *daašro igi amboxi* 'it muffled indignation' Sin.mr. 104.37; the verb-final *o* points here to an earlier presence of *w* in the stem: *daašro* < *da-a-šrw-a*). The cluster *sk* in the Zan forms (action noun Megr. *skirapa-*, Laz *me-skir-u*) calls for the same interpretation. According to Gamqrelize (1959: 61–66) the full grade of this stem is reflected in the Old Georgian word-form *da-v-šuer-it* 'we got tired'. Cf. also the derivative **šret-* : **šrit-* : *šrt-*. The similarity to Arm. *šor* 'dry, stale' seems to Ačařyan (1977: 630) to be fortuitous.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 323). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 318–319).

CK **šwid-* 'seven': Georgian *švid-* 'seven'; Megr. *škvit-*; Laz *šk(v)it-*; Svan *išgwid*.

The numeral is amply known from Old Georgian texts (*mat hrkues: švidi...* 'they said, seven...' Mk. 8.5; cf. its derivatives *šwideul-* 'week' and *mešwide-* 'seventh'). Cf. also modern Georgian (Ing.) *šüd-* (Ylonti 1984: 637). The Georgian and Svan lexemes point to the age of *d* in word-final position. Initial Svan *i* may be explained either as a prothetic vowel (Žyenti 1949: 189) or as an argument in favor of the archetype **š(i)wid-*. Bopp (1847: 38–39) reconstructed here **šiwid-*, comparing it with PIE **septm-*. However, a closer relationship of the word to Akkad. *šibit* 'seven' is quite evident (for the rendering of the Sem. *b* cf. **arwa-* 'eight').

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ **šw-il-* 'born': Georg. *švil-* 'child'; Megr. [*skī-*, *skil-*]; Laz *skir-*, *skir-*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian (*ara esua mat švili* 'they had no son' Lk. 1.7, where a number of its derivatives are available). It is formed from the verbal stem **šew-* : *šw-* by the participle affix **-il*. In modern Georgian the dialectal variants *šül-* and *šul-* are found (cf. Ylonti 1984: 637). The Zan forms *skir-*, *skil-* basically correspond to the Georgian, although original *w* is here lost and the irregular change *k* > *ḳ* may take place. In Megrelian the lexeme survives vestigially: cf. the compound *oxora-skil-* 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law'.

Rosen (1845: 11). Cf. also Marr (1911–1914 VI: 421).

GZ **š(w)in-* 'to frighten, get frightened': Georg. *šin-* 'to frighten, fear'; Megr. (*r*)*skin-*, *ckin-* 'to frighten'.

*ši(n)d-

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian (*nu gešinia matgan* 'fear them not' Mt. 10.26; action noun *šineba-*, *šiš-* < *si-š- 'fear'). The Megrelian form (action noun *skinapa-*) regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. An early appearance of initial inorganic *r* is also a precondition of action of Gamkrelidze's law.

|| Rogava (1956: 83).

GZ *ši(n)d- 'cornel': Georg. *šind-*, *švind-* 'cornel'; Laz [*škid-*].

The lexeme is not attested in Old Georgian. The forms *šind-* and *šünd-* are used in dialects (cf. ʎlonti 1984: 632, 637). The Laz equivalent seems to have survived in the microtoponym *Škidona-*, literally 'cornel grove' (its *š* points to the later emergence of *v* in Georgian).

|| Memišiši (1988: 90–91).

CK *šowa- 'middle; in the middle': Georg. *šua-* 'middle; between'; Megr. *ška-* *ška-*; Laz *ška-*, *ška-* 'waist'; Svan *isg(a)* 'between'.

The lexeme is found in the form *šuwa-*, *šowa-* in Old Georgian (*da iqo šuwa yames oden...* 'when it was midnight...' Ruth 3.8). The Svan equivalent reflects the operation of Gamkrelidze's law, due to an early contact of *w* with *š* (Gamqrelize 1959: 51–54). Its word-initial *i* is a prothetic vowel. The semantic relatedness of the forms is beyond doubt.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 68). Svan: Topuria (1979: 10).

CK(?) *šor- 'Rhododendron ponticum': Megr. *šker-*, *pšker-* 'Rhododendron ponticum'; Laz (*m*)*šker-*, *mšker-*, *pšker-*; Svan *šgōri*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. According to Schmidt (1961: 152), West Georgian dialectal (Gur. and Imer.) forms *šker-*, *šker-* have been borrowed from a Zan source. A transition *o* > *ō* > *e* is assumed for the Zan forms (cf. *yor- 'swine'). There remains a possibility that Svan *šgōri* is also a Zan loanword.

|| Megrelian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 10). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 131).

GZ *šr-ēt- : šr-it- : šr-ṭ- 'to extinguish': Georg. *šret-* : *šrit-* 'to extinguish, get extinguished; to exhaust, evaporate'; Megr. *škirat-* : *škirit-* 'to extinguish, get extinguished'.

The verb stem is well represented in Old Georgian texts, where the zero grade was still in use (*daušrṭa cecxli twisi* 'extinguished his fire' Sin. mr. 261.7; action noun *šreta-*; *ušret-* 'unextinguishable'). According to

Gamqrelize (1959: 65), it must be viewed as a derivative from the simple base *šwer- : šwr- with the suffix *-et (< *-ed). Its Georgian and Zan continuants point to an early loss of the former w. Georgian apophonic derivative šrat- ‘whey, serum’ is the source of Arm. šrat with the same meaning. Cf. Ačaryan (1977: 543).

|| Cagareli (1880: 61). Cf. also Čaraia (1895 XII: 112).

GZ *šrek-il- ‘extinct’: Georg. [šret-il-] ‘extinct’; Megr. škiratil-.

A past participle in -il based on the verb stem *šret- : šrit- : šrt-. In Old Georgian it is reflected in da-šretil- with the same meaning (Abulaže 1973: 131). The cognates regularly match each other phonetically.

CK *šubl- ‘forehead; front part’: Georg. šubl- ‘forehead’; Megr. skibu-, skəbu- ‘millstone’; Laz mskibu-, pskibu- ‘mill’; Svan [sgob-, sgweb-] ‘front part’.

Attested in Old Georgian (daičera žuari šublsa... ‘crossed his forehead...’ Krest. 161.17). In Zan and Svan the word is affected by Gamkrelidze’s law. For the correlation Georg. l ~ Zan u cf. *opl-, *čqintl-. Initial m or p in the Laz forms is secondary. The Svan match may be identified in the derivative sgobin, sgwebin ‘in front of, forward’. The Zan cognates have undergone a semantic shift. Their relation to the archetype remains somewhat in doubt. Cf. Penrxi-Saržvelaže (1990: 381 and 384).

|| Georgian, Svan: Marr (1911: 1203). Megrelian, Laz: T. Gudava.

CK *šur- ‘to be in an awkward situation; fear’: Georg. šur- ‘to envy’; Megr. škur- ‘to fear’; Laz škur-, škur-; Svan šgur- ‘to be ashamed’.

Since the semantic alternation ‘to fear’ – ‘to be ashamed’ is attested in some other languages, only the connection of the Georgian verb with the reconstructed stem remains somewhat problematic (note the Old Georgian action noun šureba- [Abulaže 1973: 509] and Georg. m-šur-s ‘I envy’). With a meaning ‘fear’ the stem is found in Megr. mo-škur-u ‘I fear’, Laz ma-škur-in-u ‘I got frightened’. Cf. also Svan mi-šgur ‘I am ashamed, I am in an awkward situation’ (action noun li-šgwr-in-e).

|| Zan, Svan: Schmidt (1962: 144). Georgian: Klimov (1985: 176).

CK *šur- ‘shame, envy’: Georg. šur- ‘envy’; Megr. [škur-]; Laz [škur-]; Svan šgur, šgwir ‘shame’.

It is a nominal correlate of the identical verb stem. In the Xevs. dialect the Georgian lexeme means ‘hatred’. In the languages of the Zan branch the

*šurdun–

stem can be extracted only from the parallel verbal formations (see the preceding entry). The Svan cognate *šgwir* reflects a regular trace of umlaut.

|| Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1980: 73).

GZ *šurdun– ‘sling’: Georg. *šurdul–* ‘sling’; Megr. *škurdon–* ‘catapult’.

A lexeme well represented in Old Georgian texts, where its derivative *šurdlosan–* ‘thrower from sling’ is found (Abulaze 1973: 508–509). The reconstruction of the word-final part remains tentative. It is tempting to think of a connection of the lexeme with Georg.-Zan **mšwild–* ‘bow’.

|| Rogava (1962: 98).

CK(?) *šxep– ‘to splash’: Georg. *šxep–* ‘to splash, lap’; Megr. *čxap–* ‘to splash’; Laz *čxap–*; Svan *čxp–(?)*.

An onomatopoeic verb stem (cf. the expressive *p* in its end), which accounts for the diversity in the structure of the initial consonant cluster. For the Zan form the process *šx* > *čx* must be admitted. Contrary to Laz (action noun *o–čxap–u*) the Megrelian stem is extended by an affixal element (action noun *čxap–al–*). The genetic pairing of the Georgian-Zan material and Svan base *čxp–* (action noun *li–čxp–e* ‘to splash’) is somewhat problematic.

|| *ĚSKJa*: 221.

GZ *šxwert– ‘to be refined, elegant’: Georg. *šxvert–* ‘refined, elegant, slender’; Megr. *šxvart–* ‘to look elegant; to wear clothes elegantly’.

Verb stem apparently unattested in Old Georgian. The correlation of the vocalism is regular. The Georgian dialectal (Gur.) adjective *šxvart–* ‘elegant’ (Ylonti 1984: 638) must be viewed as a Zan loanword. A denominative origin of the Megrelian verb stem (action noun *šxvartua–*) is also plausible.

Č

GZ *čan–: čn– ‘to be seen’: Georg. *čan–*; *čn–* ‘to be seen; to seem’; Megr. *čkun–*, *čkin–* ‘to know; to suppose’; Laz *škun–*, *čkin–*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*bnelsa šina čans* ‘shines in the darkness’ Jn. 1.5). In modern Georgian the historical ablaut alternation serves to distinguish the lexical meaning: cf. *čn–* ‘to suppose, believe’. In

the Zan languages the zero grade is regularly reflected as *i* (cf. the Megrelian action noun *čkina-* 'to know'). In Laz spirantization of *č* can be assumed. The Zan forms underwent a semantic deviation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 311, 364). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 378).

CK *č(w)em- 'my': Georg. *čem-* 'my'; Megr. *čkim-*; Laz *čkim-*, *škim-*; Svan [*šgwi*; *šgu*].

Well attested in Old Georgian texts (*dedaj čemi...* 'my mother...' Mt. 12.48), where a variant *čejm-* also occurs. In Laz a form with *š* is characteristic of the Atina dialect. Georgian-Zan material presupposes an intermediate protoform *čem-. The Svan equivalent is represented in the pronoun *mi-šgwi*, *mi-šgu* 'me', where *mi-* seems to be another element pointing to the first person. The Svan cognate permits one to reconstruct *čwem-.

|| Georgian, Zan: Bopp (1846: 280), Rosen (1847: 411), Brosset (1849: 73). Svan: Gamqrelize (1959: 41–42).

GZ *čen-: čin- 'to make visible': Georg. *čen-* : *čin-* 'to make visible; to create'; Megr. (*r*)čkin- 'to establish, create'; Laz *čkin-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (...*gamogačinebs šen* '...(it) bewrayeth thee' Mt. 26.73). It is related with *čan- : čn-. In Georgian both ablaut grades are preserved. Its Megrelian equivalent may contain a secondary extension *r*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 88). Laz: Mačavariani (1961: 258).

GZ *čerč- 'chaff': Georg. *čerč-* 'chaff, rind'; Megr. [*čkarčk-*].

In Georgian it is a dialectal (Rača) word (Ylonți 1984: 653). Its Megrelian correspondence is absent as a substantive, but may be extracted from the verb stem *čkarčk-al-* 'to grind (roughly)'.
|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

CK *čečw- : ččw- 'to soften': Georg. *čv-* 'to soften'; Megr. *čkičk-ar-*; Svan [*šgw-*].

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian with two *č* (*moáččo guli čemi* '(he) softened my heart' Gen. 23.16; action noun *moččueba-*). The Megrelian stem contains a later affixal element (action noun *čkičkarua-*). Their Svan correspondence may be discerned in the derivative *mē-šgw-e*

*čečk–

‘soft’. The change $\check{c} > \check{s}$ may have occurred here when Gamkrelidze’s law had already ceased to operate (Gamqrelize 1959: 20, 42).

|| Gamqrelize (ibidem). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 221.

GZ *čečk– ‘to hollow; to break’: Georg. *čečk–* ‘to hollow; to pound’; Megr. *čkačk–* ‘to break (an apple); to split’; Laz *čačk–* ‘to pound’.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian texts: action noun (*da*)*čečkuva–* (Abulaže 1973: 512; Saržvelaže 1995: 72). It may have an onomatopoeic origin. The second *k* in the Megrelian form (action noun *čkačkua–* alongside Laz *o-čačk–u*) emerged not as a result of regular phonetic development, but in view of the reduplication rule of the back element in structures like **titx–wn–*, **tutk–*, etc.

|| N. Natadze (*IKE XI*, 1959: 131).

GZ *čw(e)– ‘to get accustomed; to train, school’: Georg. *čve–*, *čvi–* ‘to get accustomed; to train, school’; Megr. *rčkv(a)–*; Svan *čkw–* ‘to get accustomed’(?).

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian (*čueul iqo mtavari igi* ‘governor was wont’ Mt. 27.15). The Megrelian form corresponds basically to the Georgian one. Only the initial *r* remains unclear (action noun *rčkvana–*). A similar Svan form (action noun *li-čkw–n–e*) seems to be a Zan borrowing.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: G. Dumézil (1933: 88). Cf. also Vogt (1947.1: 55). Svan: Fähnrich (1982: 37).

CK *čwen ‘we’: Georg. *čven* ‘we’; Megr. *čki*, *čkə*; Laz *čkun*, *čkin*, *šku*; Svan [*šgwej*].

In the form *čuen* the personal pronoun is attested in Old Georgian (*čuen guesma magisi siṭquaj* ‘we heard his words’ Mk. 14.58). In the Megrelian form the end of the stem is reduced. The Svan correspondence may be extracted from the secondary possessive formations *gu-šgwej* ‘our (inclusive)’ and *ni-šgwej* ‘our (exclusive)’. The latter forms prove that the earliest Kartvelian pronoun was neutral to an inclusive ~ exclusive opposition.

|| Georgian, Zan: Bopp (1847: 25), Rosen (1847: 411). Svan: Gamqrelize (1959: 41–49).

CK *čwen– ‘our’: Georg. *čven–* ‘our’; Megr. *čkin–*, *čkan–*; Laz *čkun–*, *čkin–*, *škun–*, *škin–*; Svan [*šgwej*].

Amplly represented in Old Georgian (*mamaman čuenman...* 'our Father...'¹ Gen. 44.27). For the Zan forms the variation in the vocalism is typical. In Svan the stem is identified in the personal pronouns mentioned in the preceding entry.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 63). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 220.

GZ *čig-wn- 'to cut, chop off': Georg. *čig(v)n-* 'to cut, chop off'; Megr. *čigon-*.

In all probability the verb stem contains the word-forming suffix *-wn, although the underlying verb base does not occur on its own. In Megrelian (action noun *čigonua-*) the initial č does not develop the expected *k* since the stem already has one back consonant.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

CK(?) *čiqw- 'goitre': Georg. *čiqv-* 'goitre'; Megr. *čiqv-*, *čiqvaqv-*; Svan *qwiqw*, *quqw*, *qwič*.

Sound-symbolic word (cf. Lak *čuh*, Darg, *čivh* 'crop of bird'). Its place in the history of Kartvelian languages is difficult to establish. In view of the substantial divergence of the data in phonetics the reconstruction of a protoform remains tentative. The Svan forms may reflect regressive assimilation. At the same time they are closer to Megr. *qveqvere-* 'a man with hurt expression of the face' and *i-qviqv-in-an-s* '(he) looks hurt'. The Svan *qwič* seems to be a loanword.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 220.

GZ *čičk-wn- 'to dig in, rummage in': Georg. *čičkn-* 'to dig in, rummage in'; Megr. *čkičkon-* 'to dig in, rummage in; to eat poorly'.

The forms contain an earlier suffix *-wn attached to the root *čečk- 'to hollow; to split'. The additional Megr. *k* is likely to have resulted not from regular development, but from reduplication of the back element in the first syllable.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 220.

GZ *čn-d- 'to appear, emerge': Georg. *čnd-* 'to appear, emerge'; Megr. (*r*)*čkind-*; Laz *čkind-*.

A merging of the stem *čn- : čn- with the passive marker -d. The form is documented in Old Georgian (*da araraj gamočnda* 'and nothing has appeared' Gen. 41.21). The Zan stem regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. Megr. *r* is secondary. The Laz cognate (cf. *mtuti-ti ek kečkindu* 'and the bear appeared here' *ČT* 3, 42.21) shows a clear trace of

*čum–

the passive suffix *–d*. Evidently this suffix merged with the simple stem at a very early stage.

|| Deeters (1930: 205).

GZ(?) *čum– ‘to calm down’: Georg. *čum–* ‘to calm down, fall silent; quiet’; Svan *čkwim* ‘quiet, calm’.

A difficult stem. It might belong to the Common Kartvelian period (Georgian action noun *dačumeba–*), however the Svan form is likely to be an ancient borrowing from the Zan languages (cf. its word-initial cluster representing a typical Zan continuant of the Common Kartvelian *č). Therefore an assignment of the form to the Georgian-Zan inheritance seems preferable.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

GZ *čkal– : čkl– ‘to tear into pieces’: Georg. *čkl–et–* ‘to tear into pieces’; Megr. *čkol–* ‘to tear, break’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The modern Georgian continuant is extended by an affixal element *–et* (action noun *čkleta–*). The Megrelian action noun is *čkolua–*. The forms reflect different ablaut grades.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 37).

GZ *čkep– ‘to well up, purl; to be agitated’: Georg. *čkep–* ‘to well up, purl; to be agitated’; Megr. *čkap–*.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian in the shape of *čkuep–*: *čkuepda gonebaj čemi...* ‘my mind was agitated’, action noun *čkuepa–* (Abulaže 1973: 513). Cf. also the adverb *m–čkuep–r* ‘at once; immediately’ (its forms without *r* occur in Rustaveli 405,2 and 1318,3). For modern Georgian cf. *mčkepare–* ‘welling up, seething’ and a dialectal (Imer.) *čkep–* ‘waterfall’. In Megrelian the stem is reflected in the adjective *čkap–* (evidently formed from *m–čkap–*) ‘bubbling, welling up’.

GZ *ččw–il– ‘soft (of animate objects), tender’: Georg. *čvil–* ‘tender, soft’; Megr. *čkičku–, čkəčkə–*; Laz *čičku–, čučku–*.

Apparently an earlier past participle based on the stem *čečw– : ččw–. The word is well attested in Old Georgian in the shape of *ččuil–* (...*da moiba qboj ččvili* ‘... and (he) took a tender calf’ Gen. 18.7), where it used to mean ‘new-born, new-born child’. This comparison shows the correspondence Georg. (v)il ~ Zan u in word-final position (cf. *ms₁xw–il–, *srsw–il–).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 86). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 242).

GZ *čxam– ‘fish’: Georg. čxama– ‘small fish’; Megr. čxom– ‘fish’; Laz čxom–, nčxom–.

In Old Georgian seems to be unattested. In modern Georgian it is a dialectal (Upp. Imer.) word, which contains a later diminutive suffix –a. The Zan lexeme regularly corresponds to its Georgian cognate.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 29). Georgian: Vogt (1954: 543), Fähnrich (1985: 25).

CK *čxartw– ‘magpie’: Georg. čartv– ‘magpie’; Svan čxurušt, čxərišt, čxirwišt.

Lost in the Zan languages (if Megr. žyəržyə– is not its radical transformation). The age of the word may be indicated by the correspondence Georg. t ~ Svan št > št. Reduplicated Georg. kačkač– ‘magpie’ must be an onomatopoeic innovation. The word contains a descriptive cluster čx (cf. *krcx–, *čxikw–).

|| Fähnrich (1985: 28).

CK *čxeb– : čxb– ‘to entangle, interlace’: Georg. čxib– ‘to interlace’; Svan šxeb– : šxb– ‘to sew’.

A verb stem lacking in the Zan languages. It occurs in Old Georgian (cf. action noun čxibva– and its derivative mčxibav– ‘sorceress’). The vocalism of the Georgian form remains unclear. In Svan (action noun li–šxb–i) the word-initial consonant is spirantized.

|| Rogava (IKE IV, 1952: 47).

GZ *čx–ek– ‘to shake down (by pole)’: Georg. čxek– ‘to shake down (by pole)’; Laz [nčxak–].

In Georgian the verb stem is now a dialectal (Imer.) item: cf. action noun čxekva– (Ylonti 1984: 668). Its Zan equivalent may be extracted from the Laz nominal derivative o–nčxak–al–e ‘pole for shaking down nuts’, which has developed a secondary n. The variant of the latter word o–nčxrak–al–e supports the historical identity of the stem with the base *čxr–ek– : čxr–k–.

|| Georgian, Laz: Sardschweladse (1987: 22).

CK *čxer– : čxir– : čxr– ‘to pick (with stick)’: Georg. čxer– : čxir ‘to pick (with stick)’; Megr. [čxir–]; Laz [čxir–], Svan [čxir–].

Its Old Georgian continuant is attested in the action noun dačxera– and in the past participle dačxeril– (Abulaze 1973: 132). In the Zan languages

*čxw-

it can be discerned in the reflexes of the derivatives *čxir- and *čxr-ek- : čxr-k-.

|| Klimov (1973: 365).

GZ *čxw- 'to prick, pierce': Georg. [čxv(l)-] 'to prick, pierce'; Megr. [čx(v)-]; Laz [čx(v)-].

In the modern languages the stem does not occur in an unbound state. The Georgian-Zan derivative *čxw(l)-eṭ- : *čxw(l)-iṭ- 'to prick; whip up' contains an extension *-eṭ. In Old Georgian the stem is attested in its derivative action noun čxuepa- 'to stab, to sting' with an expressive *p* in the affix (Abulaṣe 1973: 514).

GZ *čxwe(r)k- 'brushwood': Georg. čxverk- 'dry brushwood'; Megr. [čxvaḱ-]; Laz čxverk 'dry bough'.

In Georgian the word is represented by a dialectal (Gur.) form for 'dry brushwood; twigs'. The Megrelian correspondence is preserved as a loanword in the same Georgian dialect in the verb čxvaḱva- 'to wattle a fence' (Ylonti 1984: 668). The vocalism of the Laz cognate seems to be a result of umlaut of *a*.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 22).

GZ *čxw(l)-eṭ- : čxw(l)-iṭ- 'to prick; to whip': Georg. čxvleṭ- : čxvliṭ- 'to prick, to stick into'; Megr. čxvat-, čxvit- 'to whip; to prick'.

In Old Georgian the stem is attested in the derivative sa-čxvleṭ-el- 'point of arrow' (Abulaṣe 1973: 378). Its Megrelian cognate with the vocalism *a* is attested in the past participle form čxvat-il- 'cut'; cf. also the action nouns čxvatua- (intrans.), čxvitua- (trans.). The relation to the Megrelian and Laz stem čxoṭ- 'to scratch; to wound slightly' and 'to card hemp' respectively seems admissible.

|| Cf. ĖSKJa: 222.

GZ *čxw(l)eṭ-il- 'pricked, pierced': Georg. [čxvleṭil-] 'pricked, pierced'; Megr. čxvatil-.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. It is a past participle in -il based on the verb stem *čxwl-eṭ : čxwl-iṭ- 'to prick, pierce'. The Georgian form may be extracted from the modern participle ga-čxvleṭil- with the same meaning.

GZ *čxikw- 'jay': Georg. čxikv- 'jay'; Megr. čxvik-; Laz čxvik-.

In Old Georgian the lexeme occurs in the shape of čxiku- (Abulaže 1973: 531). It seems to have a descriptive character (cf. verb stem *krčx-). The Zan correspondence underwent a kind of metathesis.

|| Čikobava (1938: 195).

CK *čxir- 'stick': Georg. čxir- 'stick'; Megr. [čxinž-]; Svan čxir, cxir.

A nominal correlate of the verb stem *čxer- : čxr- derived by apophonic word formation. The word occurs in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 515). The expected Megrelian continuant is reflected in the Abxaz borrowing a-čxənč, a-čxənž 'stick fixed above the hearth'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Abaev (1958: 297). Svan: Klimov (1973: 365).

GZ *čxr-ek- : čxr-ik- : čxr-k- 'to pick (with stick)'; Georg. čxrek- : čxrik- 'to pick with stick'; Megr. čxirk-; Laz čxrak-.

Verb stem derived from the simple base *čxer- : čxr-. It is attested in Old Georgian: action noun čxreka-, participle mčxrekal- 'scratching' (Abulaže 1973: 306, 514). Whereas the Megrelian correspondence reflects historical zero grade of the stem (cf. action noun čxirkua-), the Laz form continues its full grade (action noun o-čxrak-u; cf. also o-nčxrak-al-e- 'pole for shaking off nuts'). The similar Svan form (action noun li-čxark-e 'to sew poorly') is likely to have been borrowed from the Zan source.

|| ÈSKJa: 222.

C

CK *ca- 'sky': Georg. ca- 'sky'; Megr. ca-; Laz (m)ca-; (n)ca- 'sky, palate'; Svan [ca-].

Widely documented in Old Georgian (*caman mosca čwima* 'the sky gave rain' *Ķat. ep.* 50.18; cf. its derivatives *ze-ca-* 'sky', *cis-ka-* 'dawn'). The dialectal (Lečx.) *rca-* must be secondary. In the Laz cognates the nasals may be augmented. The Svan equivalent is attested in the form *cä-š* 'Thursday', literally 'of the sky' (genitive case). The reconstructions *caw- // cam- (Marr 1914: 92) and *cxa- (Tseretheli 1959: 96) cannot be accepted.

|| Rosen (1845: 34).

*cad- : cd-

GZ *cad- : cd- 'to toil, labor; to endeavor': Georg. *cad-* : *cd-* 'to endeavor; trouble oneself'; Megr. [*cod-*].

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun *cda-* (Abulaže 1973: 514). In Georgian two ablaut grades have been preserved. In Megrelian the stem may be extracted from the derivative *codil-* 'endeavor, effort'.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

GZ *cal- 'part, piece': Georg. *cal-* 'piece, one'; Laz *co(r)-* 'piece'.

In Old Georgian the word is attested by the derivatives *cal-tual-* 'one-eyed', *cal-qel-* 'one-armed' (Abulaže 1973: 514). The phonetic correspondence of forms as well as their semantic proximity is beyond doubt.

GZ *car- : cr- 'to sift; to disperse': Georg. *cer-* : *cr-* 'to sift, disperse'; Megr. *cir-* 'to sift'; *ncor-* 'to jump (with ease)'; Laz *ncor-* : (*n*)*cir-* 'to sift'.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*gamogitxovna ... aycrad* '(he) wanted ... to sift you' Lk. 22.31; action noun *cra-*). If Zan *i* reflects the old zero grade, the correlation Georg. *e* – Zan *o* may go back to etymological *a* (cf. Mačavariani 1959: 265 sqq), preserved as such in Georgian *na-car-* 'ashes': While the Laz forms are regional phonetic variants, the Megrelian forms differ semantically. The Kartvelian stem can hardly derive from Arm. *c'rel* 'to disperse'. Cf. Ačarjan (1979: 456–457).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 384). Another analysis of the Megrelian data in Sardschweladse (1973: 520).

CK *caj- 'elm': Megr. *ci-*, *cə-* 'elm'; Svan *caj-ra*, *cah-ra*.

In Georgian no certain cognate is found. The original quality of the word-final consonant requires clarification, so that the reconstruction remains in this part tentative. The Svan match contains the affix denoting plants (cf. *(*h*)*ad-*, **naʒw-*, **çip-* and **ʒacxw-*).

|| Marr (1911–1914 II: 837).

GZ *cel- 'scythe': Georgian *cel-* 'scythe'; Megr. *cel-*.

A technical term represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 514). In the Megrelian word the expected *a* became *e* due to the umlaut (see the verb stem **cel-*; cf also Megr. *berg-* 'hoe' alongside *barg-* 'to hoe', *gen-* 'calf' alongside *gan-* 'to feed a calf before milking a cow' and other

analogical pairs). In the past the age of the lexeme in Megrelian has been called in question. Cf. (Šavaxišvili 1934: 91).

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 223.

GZ *cel- 'to mow': Georg. *cel-* 'to mow'; Megr. *cel-*; Laz (*n*)*cal-*, (*m*)*cal-* 'to cut into pieces'.

Verb stem, attested in Old Georgian texts forms a typical fragment of the agricultural terminology uniting Georgian and the Zan languages (action noun Georg. *celva-*, Megr. *calua-*, Laz *o-ncal-u*). The Georgian form has also been compared with *cal-* 'straw' (Schmidt 1961: 151), found both in Georgian and Zan. Sometimes the stem has been considered a denominative.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 24). All material is aligned in Schuchardt (1902.2: 394).

CK *cel- : cl- 'to peel, strip off': Georg. *cal-* : *cl-* 'to peel; to come off'; Megr. *rc(v)-(?)*; Svan *cel-* : *cl-* 'to tear, strip off'.

A verb stem well attested in Old Georgian: cf. action noun *cla-* (Abulaze 1973: 517). It represents an example of the non-functional alternation of *e* and *a* in Kartvelian roots. Consonant metathesis *cl* > *rc* is rather likely in the Megrelian stem (action noun *rcuala-*). For Svan cf. the action nouns *li-cel* (intrans.), *li-cl-e* (trans.) and the derivative noun formation *cil* 'bark, rind, peel'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian (*ĖSKJa*: 225).

GZ *cec- 'to walk fumblingly; to grope one's way'; Georg. *cec-* 'to walk fumblingly; to grope one's way'; Megr. *cac-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. A relation of this form, showing sound-symbolic coloring, to Georg. *cacia-* 'left-handed' remains obscure although it cannot be excluded. Megrelian action noun is *cacap-*, *cacua-*. No Laz cognate seems to exist.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

GZ *ceck- 'to pull down; to break': Georg. *ceck-* 'to pull down'; Megr. *ckack-* 'to pull down; to break'.

To be compared with **zezg-*, **čečk-*, *cečk-*, *čečk-*, *žežg-*. The development of the second *k* in the Megrelian form is regular. The stem underlies the Georgian-Zan derivative **cick-wn-*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

*cex-

GZ *cex- 'to remove stubble': Georg. *cex-* 'to remove stubble'; Megr. *cax-* 'to grind; to crush'.

A verb stem represented in Old Georgian: cf. its derivative *sa-cexu-el-* 'mowing board' (Abulaḡe 1973: 378). It is one of the agricultural terms uniting Georgian with Zan languages (Megrelian action noun *caxua-*). Its connection with Laz (*n*)*cax-* 'to caulk' seems to be very disputable. Svan *li-cēxw-e* 'to mow' is an obvious Georgian borrowing (parallel Svan *li-cx-un-e* must be a later formation).

|| Schmidt (1961: 152).

CK *cw- 'to put on; to string': Georg. *cv-* 'to put on; to string'; Megr. *cun-*; Laz *cun-*, *con-*; Svan *cw-*.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian texts (*šea-cut bečedi..!* 'put a ring..!' Lk. 15.22). It underlies an extended stem **cw-am-* : *cw-m-*. The Zan cognates are extended by an *n*, the nature of which requires clarification. For the Svan correspondence cf. the word-form *x-a-cu-d-a* 'he had (something) on'. The stem is used in the forms of the aoristic tenses.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 383). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 226.

CK **cwal-* : *cwl-* 'to change, replace': Georg. *cval-*: *cvl-* 'to change, replace'; Svan *cād-*.

A verb stem widely documented in Old Georgian: cf. action nouns *gancvla-* 'to replace', *cvaleba-* 'to change' (Abulaḡe 1973: 515–516). No certain Zan match seems to exist. The lengthening of the stem vocalism in Svan (cf. *lo-x-cād-e* 'he replaced') compensates for the loss of *w*. For the correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Svan *d* see **c₁wil-*, **xial-*.

|| Gamqreliḡe-Mačavariani (1965: 250).

CK **cw-am-*: *cw-m-* 'to put on; to hoist on': Georg. *cvam-* : *cm-* 'to put on; to string'; Svan *cwem-* 'to shoulder'.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian (*ḡuars-cuma šeni* 'thy crucifixion' Jn. 19.16; action noun *cuma-*). It is derived from the simple base **cw-* by the addition of the thematic suffix **-am* : *-m*. In the Svan form (action noun *li-cwem*) this suffix always shows *e* vocalism. The stem characterizes the presentic set of verbal tenses. Topuria (1979: 195) considered the Svan stem to have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 223.

GZ *cwar- 'to walk (hopping)': Georg. [cvar-] 'to walk (hopping)'; Megr. *cor-*, *ncor-* 'to hop, jump'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language a continuant is found in a dialectal (Imer.) reduplicative formation *cvar-cval-* (cf. Ylonti 1984: 673) with a dissimilation $r...r > r...l$.

|| Sardschweladse (1973: 520).

GZ *cwar- 'dew, drop of dew': Georg. *cvar-* 'dew'; Megr. *cunž-*, *cund-*; Svan *cwar* 'drop' (?).

The continuant is widely attested in Old Georgian: *vitarca cuari ciskrisaj...* 'like dew at daybreak...' Hos. 6.4 (cf. Abulaže 1973: 520), where it was used also to mean 'drop'. Whether the Svan lexeme is inherited remains unclear.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Riabinin (1897: 21).

CK *cwem-: *cwm-* 'to smear': Georg. [*cm-*] 'to smear'; Megr. [*cim-*, *cəm-*]; Laz [*cim-*]; Svan *cwm-* : *cm-*.

In Georgian and the Zan languages the verb stem may be extracted only from its derivatives (cf. **c(w)m-el-* 'fat'). It is used in its unbound state only in Svan (action noun *li-cw(m)-en-i*). Cf. also Svan *na-cm-un* 'ointment'.

|| ÈSKJa: 225.

GZ *cw(i)- 'to pour, fall': Georg. *cvi-* 'to pour, fall'; Megr. *c(i)-*; Laz (*n*)*c-*.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian sources (...*gardamocwiven zecit* '(they) ...shall fall from heaven' Mt. 24.29). Cf. action nouns Georg. *cvena-*, Megr. *cuma-*. The Zan forms are simplified, though at the onset of the Laz cognate augmentation may have occurred: cf. *encu* '(it) fell apart'.

|| ÈSKJa: 224.

CK(?) **c(w)m-el-* 'fat': Georg. *cmel-* 'fat, mineral fertilizer'; Megr. *cimu-*, *cəmu-* 'scum (of fat)'; Laz [*cimu-*] 'fat'; Svan *cemil*.

The continuant is well attested in Old Georgian (*da moiyo cmeli...* 'and (he) took the fat...' Lev. 8.25). It is a derivative from the verb stem **cwem-* : *cwm-* 'to smear'. While in Megrelian the word is used independently, in Laz it may be identified only in compounds: cf. *cimu-luy-* 'very ripe fig', *luy-cimu-* 'kind of white fig'. The Svan

*cid(a)–

cognate is characterized by the elimination of the consonant cluster and addition of the evaluation suffix *-il*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: (Čaraia XII: 313). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 225. Svan: Gelenize (1974: 23)

GZ(?) *cid(a)– ‘span’: Georg. *cida*– ‘span’: Megr. *cida*–, *cinda*–; Laz *mcida*–.

The word occurs in Old Georgian, along with a variant *cid*– (cf. Abulaže 1973: 516). In the Zan forms a trend toward inserting the nasals is noticeable. If final *a* of the Georgian stem is an affix, the Zan forms must be considered loanwords from Georgian.

|| Čikobava (1938: 75).

CK(?) *cik– ‘to stick into’: Megr. *cik*– ‘to stick into, stick out’; Laz *cig*– ‘to stick into, to string’; Svan *ciq*–, *cq*–(?).

Possibly a Common Kartvelian verb stem. It seems to be of sound-symbolic origin, thus accounting for an obscure correlation of the final consonant (action noun Megr. *cikua*–, Laz *o-cig-u*, Svan *li-cq-e*). In Svan two vocalic shapes of the stem are attested (cf. also *cäg* ‘pin, thorn’). For the interrelations of the Zan forms see Čikobava (1938: 383).

|| *ÈSKJa*: 224.

GZ *cila– ‘white (of egg)’: Georg. *cila*– ‘white (of egg)’; Megr. *cila*–, Laz *cil(a)*–, *cela*–.

The word is virtually identical in the languages. The Laz variant with *e* is likely to be secondary. The similar Svan form *cil* must have been borrowed from other Kartvelian languages since ancient *l* in word-final position would not be preserved here.

|| Čikobava (1938: 111).

CK *cic(o)– ‘wild cat’: Georg. *cica*– ‘wild cat’; Svan *cicw* ‘cat’.

Evidently of an interjectional origin associated with addressing a wild cat. For Georgian cf. Per., Pšav., Xevs. *cica*– and Ing., Tuš. *cico*– (Ylonti 1984: 676). A diminutive suffix is attested in the Georgian (Rača) dialectism *cicuna*–. The analogues of the word in some other languages support its interjectional nature (cf. Hung. *cica*, Chechen *cicig*, Inguš *cisk* < *cick*). The designations of the domestic cat represented by Georg. *kaṭa*– (diminutive *kaṭuna*–) and Zan *kaṭu*– are later cultural loanwords close to Arm. *katu* ‘cat’ (cf. Ačařyan 1973: 540).

|| Klimov (1967: 379).

GZ *cick-wn- 'to nibble': Georg. *cickn-* 'to nibble'; Megr. *ckickon-*, *ckæckon-*.

A verb stem obviously related with *čičk-wn-, *čičk-wn-, *zižg-wn- and *žižg-wn- by Kartvelian sound-symbolic rules (unvoiced consonantism indicates a weak mode of action, while the voiced one refers to full strength of it). The development of secondary *k* in this case is a regular feature of Megrelian phonemic syntagmatics: cf. action noun *ckickonua-*. The stem contains the extension *-wn. In view of the substantial semantic difference it is difficult to assert a connection with *ceck- 'to pull down; to break'.

|| ÈSKJa: 225.

CK *cmqwa- 'cowberry': Georg. *cmqva-* 'strawberry'(?); Megr. *cim'va-*, *cəm'va-*; Svan *cīnqa*, *cinaqa* 'cowberry'.

The Georgian and Megrelian forms are very similar; the former needs confirmation. The Svan lexeme stands phonetically and semantically apart. The meaning of the Georgian and Megrelian words can hardly be primary in view of the Common Kartvelian *marçqw- 'strawberry'.

|| ÈSKJa: 224.

GZ *cr-il- 'sifted': Georg. [*crił-*] 'sifted'; Megr. *ciril-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. It is a past participle in -il based on the verb stem *cer- : cr-. In modern Georgian the word is reflected in *ga-cril-* 'sifted'.

|| Nadareišvili (IKE XIII: 189).

GZ *crec- : cric- 'to rub away; to fade': Georg. *crec-* : *cric-* 'to rub away; to fade'; Megr. *cirac-* : *ciric-* : *circ-*.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. The regular phonetic correspondences are maintained. Megr. *cirac-* (action noun *ciracua-*) has a parallel form *ciroc-* which points to an earlier non-functional variation *e* // *a* in the stem as in a number of other cases.

|| Gudava (1974: 133-134).

GZ(?) *ckwr-en- : ckwr-in- 'to draw out': Georg. *ckvren-* : *ckvrin-* 'to draw out'; Megr. *ckvir-in-* 'to prick up one's ears'.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. The action nouns are Georg. *ckvrena-* and Megr. *ckvirin-*. The meaning of the forms causes some difficulties. For another comparison of the Megrelian stem see Saržvelaze (1987: 22).

*cc-

GZ *cc- 'to laugh': Georg. *c-* 'to laugh'; Megr. *ʒic-*, *ʒæc-*; Laz *ʒic-*, *dic-*.

Verb stem known in Old Georgian in the form of the action noun *si-c-il-* 'laughter' (Abulaze 1973: 357). Cf. modern Georg. *i-c-in-i-s* 'he laughs' with an extension *-in* (see *cc-in-). In the Zan correspondences double *cc* is broken up by a narrow vowel (action noun Megr. *ʒica-*). A dissimilation is also attested here: *cic-* > *ʒic-* > *dic-*. Slightly similar Svan forms with long vowels (cf. the action nouns *lī-cw* 'to mock at' and *lā-cw* 'laughter') in view of their *w* perhaps do not belong here.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (see Erckert (1895: 295). Cf. also Marr (1914: 64).

GZ *cc-in- 'to laugh': Georg. *cin-* 'to laugh'; Megr. *ʒicin-*; Laz *ʒicin-*, *dicin-*.

The stem is attested in Old Georgian: *da ganicina...* 'and (he) laughed...' Gen. 17.17; action noun *gancineba-* (Sarʒvelaze 1995: 44). The Zan action nouns are Megr. *go-ʒicin-* and Laz *o-ʒicin-u*. It is derived from the simple stem *cc- by the addition of the affix *-in*, which in the view of some scholars is identical with the causative affix. Cf. Čikobava (1938: 382).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 226.

CK *cxek- 'brushwood': Megr. *cxve(r)k-* 'brushwood, dry boughs'; Laz *cxik-*; Svan *cxek* 'wood, forest'.

One of the isoglosses not including Georgian. In the Megrelian word the position of *r* is not stable. Cf. semantically similar Georg.-Zan *pic₁x-. For a Common Kartvelian designation of wood see *tqe-.

|| Megrelian, Svan: Marr (1911-1914: 372). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 226.

CK (?) *cxwi- 'arrow, thorn': Megr. [cxvi-] 'thorn'; Svan *cxwi*, *cxu* 'arrow'.

In Megrelian the stem is found in *o-cxva-cxvi-n-aia-* 'thorny, burning', derived by circumfix *o-* - *-n-aia* from the reduplicated stem with vowel alternation. The similarity to PIE *sk(h)ui(i)- 'needle or thorn' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 958) deserves mention.

|| Illič-Svityč (1971: 197).

C₁

CK *c₁- 'to be older': Georg. [c-] 'to be older'; Megr. [(n)č-]; Laz [(n)č-]; Svan [š-].

Unattested in an unbound state, but found in the Common Kartvelian derivative *x-u-c₁-e- 'elder, older'. In the Zan correspondence a secondary *n* occurs. The original meaning of the stem requires possibly a more accurate definition.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Marr (1911–1914 VII: 360–361). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 262.

GZ *c₁- 'to give; to beat': Georg. c- 'to give; to beat'; Megr. č-; Laz č-.

A verb stem with a wide range of meanings (cf. Megrelian 'to feed'). It is well represented in Old Georgian (...*mces me puri* '... (he) shall give me bread' Gen. 28.20; action noun *micema-* 'to give', *cema* 'to beat'). The stem is found in the word forms of aoristic tenses. Cf. its derivative *c₁-em-.

|| Čikobava (1938: 369–370).

GZ *c₁ad- : c₁d- 'to have time; to wait': Georg. *cad-* : *cd-* 'to wait; to delay'; Megr. *čod-* 'to wait; to have spare time'; Laz *čod-* 'to have spare time; to empty, finish, end'.

A verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts (*macade... aymogiyo...* 'let me pull out...' Mt. 7.4; *acadet mat čarslvad* 'let these go' Jn. 18.8; action noun *cadeba-*). The Georgian material shows both ablaut grades. The stem interacts in a complicated manner with *c₁al- : c₁l-. For the Zan continuants cf. Megr. *r-čod-ə* 'you have time', Laz *ma-čod-en-an* 'we have time'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 377–378). Georgian: *ĖSKJa*: 227.

GZ *c₁al- : c₁l- 'to empty': Georg. *cal-* : *cl-* 'to empty; to have spare time'; Megr. *čol-*; Laz [*čol-*].

A verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts (*da mocale xart* 'and you are lazy' Ex. 5.17; action noun *mocla-*). The Laz correspondence has been affected by the continuants of *c₁ad- : c₁d-. In Georgian and Megrelian the stems also interact with the latter (cf. the shared action noun *čolama-* in Megrelian).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 366). Cf. also Čikobava (1938: 377–378) and *ĖSKJa*: 227.

*c₁an-: c₁n-

GZ *c₁an-: c₁n- 'to learn, know': Georg. *can-* : *cn-* 'to learn, know'; Megr. *čin-*; Laz *čin-*.

A verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian texts: *ese aravin cna* 'no man ... knew (it)' Jn. 13.28; cf. also the action noun *cnoba-* and a number of derivatives. Different from Georgian, where both ablaut grades are preserved, Zan languages retain only the zero grade: action nouns Megr. *čineba-*, Laz *o-čin-u*. In Laz the derivative *o-čin-ad-u* 'to charge; to bequeath' is found.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 63). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 376-377).

CK *c₁ew-: c₁w- 'to take care; to watch': Georg. *cav-* : *cv-* 'to take care, keep safe, preserve'; Megr. *č(v)-* 'to preserve, keep safe; to take care; to hide'; Laz *č(v)-* 'to watch, wait'; Svan *č-* 'to preserve'.

Verb stem documented in Old Georgian, where it retained the ablaut alternation *e ~ 0* (*me vhcevd mat* 'I kept them safe' Jn. 17.12; action noun *cva-*; *saco-* 'congregation'). In Zan languages (action noun Megr. *čuala-*, Laz *o-čval-u* and *o-č-u*), the final *v* is absent in position before *u* (cf. Megr. *do-v-čv-i* 'I have preserved'). In Svan the stem is also reduced (action noun *li-l-č-e*).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 372-373). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 229.

GZ *c₁eķa- 'basket; body (with a sharp bottom)': Georg. *ceķa-* 'basket; body with a sharp bottom'; Megr. *čaka-*.

The Georgian and Megrelian forms agree regularly. Since the word is isolated in the Kartvelian lexicon, it may go back to a cross-cultural borrowing from an ancient language of the Near East.

|| Klimov (1973: 365).

GZ *c₁-em- 'to give; to beat, smite': Georg. *cem-* 'to give; to beat, smite; to fall'; Megr. *čam-* 'to give; to beat, smite; to feed'; Laz *čam-* 'to beat, smite; to feed'.

Verb stem derived from the simple *c₁- by addition of thematic *-em. The stem is well represented in Old Georgian: *mcem me* 'smitest thou me' Jn. 18.23. Cf. the action nouns Georg. *cema-*, Megr. *čama-*, Laz *o-čam-u*. The stems are used in the presentic-tense word forms. Deeters connected them with Svan *li-kem* 'to add' (cf. Schmidt 1962: 149).

|| Schmidt (ibidem). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 227.

GZ *c₁em-in- 'to scratch': Georg. *cemin-* 'to scratch; to tickle'; Megr. *čamin-* 'to bite, sting'; Laz *čamin-* 'to scratch'.

The verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. Its connection with the stem in the preceding entry remains unclear (causative marker *-in*?). The meaning of the cognates (action noun Megr. *čaminua-*, Laz *o-čamin-u*) does not support such a comparison.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 228.

CK *c₁en- : c₁n- 'to grow, flourish (about plants)': Georg. *cen-* 'to grow, flourish (about plants)'; Megr. *čan-*; Laz *čan-*; Svan *šen-* : *šn-*, *šän-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian texts, where the variant *cejn-* and a number of its derivatives are found (*igi aymoscenda* 'it flourished' Gen. 40.10; action noun *ceneba-*; *mcenare-* 'plant'). The Zan and Svan cognates regularly correspond to the Georgian stem (cf. the action nouns Megr. *čanapa-*, Laz *o-čan-u*, Svan *li-šn-e*). In Svan the ablaut alternation is preserved.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 371). Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 89).

CK(?) *c₁er- 'thumb, big toe': Georg. *cer-* 'thumb, big toe'; Megr. *čan(š)-*; Svan [*čer-*].

Documented in Old Georgian (*cersa zeda dganan* '(they) are standing on big toes' Bal. 164.28). The Megrelian form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. The Svan compound *čer-šda* 'part of spinning-wheel' is sometimes considered to contain their Svan equivalent. Alongside this lexeme Georgian and the Zan languages have a special term for 'little finger' or 'toe'. Cf. **nek(u)-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Topuria (1937: 143). Svan: Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ *c₁ec₁- 'to crumble': Georg. [*cec-*] 'to crumble'; Megr. *čač-* 'to thresh, crumble'.

In Georgian the verb stem may be seen in the derivative *na-m-cec-* 'bread crumbs' (cf. Old Georgian *namcuec-* with an unclear *u*). The Megrelian form corresponds phonetically to the Georgian one: cf. *kimiočaču* 'he crumbled that'. In view of the Old Georgian derivative a protoform *c₁uec₁- seems also possible. Cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 410).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 228.

GZ *c₁wet- : c₁wt- 'to wear out': Georg. *cvet-* : *cvt-* : *cvit-* 'to wear out; to circumcise': Megr. [*čut-*].

*c₁wil-

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*čina-daicvita Abraham...* 'Abraham was circumcised...' Gen. 17.24; action noun *cueta-*). Georg. *cud-* 'bad' (in Old Georgian it meant 'empty, vain') and *cvedan-* 'impotent' also belong here. In the Zan languages the stem is represented by the Megrelian derivative *čutu-* 'impotent'. Svan *čut* and *čuturaj* with the same meaning apparently go back to a Zan source.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 229.

CK(?) *c₁wil- 'wax': Georg. *cvil-* 'wax'; Megr. *čir-*; Laz (*m*)*čir-*; Svan *žwid* (?).

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian texts, where it meant also 'candle' (*vitarka cwilni* 'as wax (candles)' Sin. mr. 219.36). Cf. dial. (Ing.) *cvin-* (Ylonti 1984: 673). The Megrelian stem was recorded in Brosset (1849: 75). In Laz it is in current use. The connection with the Svan word remains doubtful.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz: Marr (1910: 211). Svan: Janashvili (cf. Eckert 1895: 297).

GZ *c₁ic₁- 'small insect, moth': Georg. [*cic-*] 'small insect'; Megr. *činč-*, *čič-* 'moth'; Laz *čič-*.

In Georgian the stem seems to be part of the compound *cici-natela-* 'firefly', the second component of which means 'light' (cf. **nat-e-*). If our analysis of the Georgian word holds the latter cannot derive from Lat. *cicindēla* 'firefly'. Armenian *c'ec'* and Udi *cec* 'moth', not considered native (cf. Ačaryan 1979: 454), possibly support the existence of a genuinely Kartvelian lexeme. Svan *činč*, *čimč* 'moth' probably are loanwords.

|| Georgian, Laz: Fähnrich (1975: 341).

CK *c₁ol- 'wife': Georg. *col-* 'wife'; Megr. *čil-*; Laz *čil-*; Svan [*čoš*].

Widely represented in Old Georgian texts (*ganiqvane coli...* 'take (thy) wife...' Gen. 19.15). The Zan forms underwent a change *o > u > i*. The Svan cognate is found in the denominative derivative *li-ščw-iel* 'coire' (cf. its root *čoš-*, past participle of the passive voice *na-čoš*). The word belongs to the substantives showing the correspondence Georg.-Zan *l ~* Svan *š*. Šaniže (1958: 253–258) recognized the Svan equivalent in dialectal (Rača, Lečx.) Georg. *šil-* 'wife of brother-in-law'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 31). Georgian: Brosset (1849:75). Svan: Klimov (1960: 27), *ĖSKJa*: 230.

GZ *c₁o₁a- 'few, little' (adv.): Georg. *co₁a* 'few, little (adv.)'; Megr. *čiča*, *čiče*; Laz (*m*)*čuta*, *čita*.

The adverb occurs in medieval Georgian literature. Cf. also especially close to its Laz cognates Georgian dialectal (Jav.) *cu₁a*. For the Zan forms expressive glottalization of the initial consonant must be assumed. In Megrelian the second *č* may have resulted from distant assimilation. The correlation *i* – *u* is standard for Zan. The word-final vocalism is regular for adverbs.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 19).

GZ *c₁o₁c₁- 'to climb': Georg. *coc*- 'to climb'; Megr. *čoč*-.

A verb stem whose form indicates a descriptive nature. Nevertheless the phonetic correspondences between Georgian (action noun *cocva*-) and Zan (Megrelian action noun *čočua*-) are maintained consistently. Dialectal Arm. *č'oč'el* 'to crawl, creep' may be an old borrowing from Zan languages (cf. Kapancyan 1975: 371).

|| *ÉSKJa*: 230.

CK *c₁o₁c₁x- 'besom': Georg. *cocx*- 'besom'; Megr. [*čorčx*-]; Svan *čečx*, *čäčx*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Although in the Zan languages no continuant seems to be present, vestigially it may be found in the dialectal (Ajar.) Georgian Zanism *čorčx*- with the same meaning. The vocalic shape of the Svan correspondence goes back to *o* through the intermediate steps *ö* > *we*.

|| Georgian, Svan: Žyenti (1949: 130).

CK *c₁o₁x- 'to ruminate': Georg. *cox*- 'to ruminate'; Megr. *čix*- 'to eat with appetite'; Svan *čexw*-, *čxw*- 'to graze.'

A verb stem well attested in Old Georgian, where a number of derivatives are also found: cf. the action noun *coxna*- (with an extension *-n*), *nacoxal*- 'cud', *sacoxnel*- 'jaws' (Abulaze 1973: 324, 379, 519). The Megrelian form (action noun *čixua*-) is sometimes translated as 'to stuff, to feed with force'. The Svan stem (action noun *li-čexw*, *li-čx(w)-i*, cf. *la-čaxw* 'pasture') regularly corresponds to the Georgian.

|| Georgian, Svan: Kaldani (1969: 78). Megrelian: Kačitaže (1968: 141).

GZ *c₁ur- 'to swim': Georg. *cur*- 'to swim; to slide'; Megr. (*n*)*čur*- 'to swim'; Laz *nčur*-, (*n*)*čvir*-, *nčir*-, *mčvi*(*r*)-

*c₁kip-

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian (action noun *curva-*; *mcurval-* 'swimming'). The Zan forms often contain an inorganic word-initial augmentation *n*. In Laz final *r* may be absent.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 63). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 373–374).

GZ *c₁kip- 'broken branch': Georg. *ckip-* 'broken branch'; Megr. *čkip-* 'fork'.

The Georgian continuant is recorded in the Imerian dialect (Ylonți 1984: 679). The phonetic form of the Megrelian cognate is regular. Analogous Svan and West-Georg. *čkip-* 'fork, broken branch with furcation' (cf. Ylonți 1984: 666) must be considered a Megrelian borrowing. The semantic discrepancy between words does not exceed allowable limits (cf. Lit. *šakutė* 'fork' alongside *šaka* 'branch'). Another juxtaposition of the Georgian word in Penrivi-Saržvelaze (1990: 415).

|| Klimov (1993: 136).

GZ *c₁kw- 'to send': Georg. [*cikv-*] 'to send'; Megr. *čk(v)-*; Laz *čk(v)-*, *šk(v)-*.

A verb stem whose use was very restricted already in Old Georgian (*Kristestwis ukue vhcikut* 'we are sent on behalf of Christ'; one of its derivatives is *mocikul-* 'apostle'). In the Zan languages the stem remains in active use (action noun Megr. *čkumala-*, Laz *o-čkvin-u*, *o-škvin-u*). The Zan cognates reflect zero grade. The vocalism of the Georgian form is unclear.

|| Čikobava (1938: 379).

GZ *c₁x- 'to oil': Georg. *cx-* 'to oil'; Laz *čx-*.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian sources: action noun *cxeba-*, *cxebul-* 'anointed at coronation' (Abulaže 1973: 521). In Laz the stem has a limited use. No Megrelian cognate is found.

CK *c₁x- 'to burn; to scorch (of the sun)': Georg. *cx-* 'to burn; to scorch (of the sun)'; Megr. [*čx-*]; Laz *čx-*; Svan *šx-*, *šix-* 'to burn'.

Verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian (*dascxa mas...* 'it was scorched...' Mk. 4.6; action noun *dacxoma-*). For the Georgian stem an old *w* can be posited: alongside *da-cx-a* 'it became hot' we have an action noun *cxoba-* < **cxveba-*. In Laz the same picture may be observed: beside *do-čx-u* 'it became hot' (cf. *ngresta dočxu-dortun* 'the

frying-pan was heated' (*Contes* 35.12) there is also (m)čxopa- // (m)čxvapa- 'heat, hot weather' presenting an analogy to the Georgian action noun. The Megrelian cognate may be extracted from its derivatives (cf. čxana- 'heat, hot weather'). In Svan the expected č results in a spirant (action noun li-šx-i; cf. äd-šix 'he burned it down', me-šx-e 'black' < 'burnt'). From the stem the noun *c₁x-e- 'heat' is derived.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 55). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 236 and 381). Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 89).

GZ *c₁x-e- 'heat': Georg. cxel- 'hot, heated'; Megr. čxe-; Laz čxe- 'heat, fever'.

Deverbative formation well known from Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 521). The identity of the vocalism of Georgian and Zan forms may be explained by their being original substantives, a use preserved in Laz (Georg. l in word-final position is evidently secondary). Cf. also Megr. sinčxe- 'heat'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 55). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 236).

GZ(?) *c₁xwar- 'sheep': Georg. cxvar- 'sheep'; Megr. šxur-; Laz (m)čxu(r)-, mškur-, mcxur-.

The word is well attested in Old Georgian in the form of cxovar- (*dautevnis cxovarni* 'leaveth the sheep' Jn. 10.12). Old Georgian cxoreba- 'life' seems to be its derivative. Cf. the dialectal (Moxev., Mtiul.) variant of the lexeme cxor- (Ylonti 1984: 681). The word is interesting from the point of view of economic characteristics of ancient Kartvelian society. However, some phonetic irregularities suggest doubts in the adequacy of this equation (cf. the unexpected spirantization of č in Megrelian).

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1911-1914 VI: 420).

GZ *c₁xwir- 'nose': Georg. cxvir- 'nose'; Megr. čxvind-; Laz čx(v)ind-, čxund-.

The lexeme is attested in Old Georgian texts, where it meant 'nose, nostrils, snout' (cf. *cxwirta šina čemta...* 'in my nostrils...' Job 27.3) and had several derivatives. The Zan forms accurately correspond to the Georgian one (the word-final d as in other cases goes back to š). Topuria thought that the word is somehow related to the Georgian verb rcxven- : rcxvin- 'to be ashamed' (cf. Topuria 1979: 79).

|| Rosen (1845: 30).

*c₁xim-

CK *c₁xim- 'fat, grease': Georg. *cxim-* 'fat, grease'; Svan [*čxim-*].

Unattested in Old Georgian. The modern Georgian word is in full agreement with the form, found in Svan *mə-čxim* with the same meaning. For the derivatory element *mə-* cf. **sir-* and **s₁wan-*. For Georg. *cxim-* Čikobava (1938: 118) proposes another comparison.

|| Klimov (1960: 27).

GZ *c₁xi(n)k- 'to sneeze': Georg. *cxikv-* 'to sneeze'; Megr. *čxvink-*; Laz *čxink-ol-*.

Verb stem is likely to have an onomatopoeic character. Cf. the Georgian action noun *dacxikveba-* and dialectal (Rača) *dacxvinkeba-* (Ylonti 1984: 196). The Megrelian action noun is *čxvinkap-* (here the additional meaning 'to get broken' is found). In Laz the stem contains an affix *-ol-*: action noun *o-čxinkol-u* (*xčinič čxinkolu* 'the old woman sneezed' LT 13.1).

GZ *c₁xow-el- 'animal, animated': Georg. *cxovel-* 'animal'; Megr. *čx(o)u-* 'cow'.

Well known in Old Georgian, where it meant 'alive, animated, animal, beast': cf. *me cxovel var...* 'I live...' Jn. 6.57 (cf. Abulaže 1973: 522). The stem of the Megrelian plural form *čxou-l-ep-* is characterized by a secondary insertion.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 368).

GZ *c₁xo(w)n- 'to save (soul)': Georg. *cxon-* 'to save (soul), be saved; to live, be alive (about soul)'; Megr. *čxon-*.

Verb stem well represented in Old Georgian sources (...*gacxovna šen* '...hath made thee whole' Mt. 9.22; action noun *cxoneba-*). The Megrelian form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one: cf. *šursi mu gičxonuans?* 'what can save your soul?' (action noun *čxonapa-*).

|| Cagareli (1880: 63).

CK *c₁xra- 'nine': Georgian *cxra-* 'nine'; Megr. *čxoro-*; Laz *čxo(v)ro-*, *nčxoro-*; Svan *čxara*.

Numeral widely attested in Old Georgian (*vidre cxra žamamde...* 'until the ninth hour...' Lk. 23.44), where it had a number of derivatives. The word-final **a*, which according to Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 416) is a suffix, results in Zan forms in *o* because of the attributive use of the numeral. The Laz correspondence may contain inserted *v* (by the analogy with *ovro-* 'eight') and an augmentation of the initial *n*. Megr. *čxoria-*

'ray' seems to be its historical diminutive formation. In view of the history of the preceding numerals 'seven' and 'eight' a borrowing cannot be ruled out.

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ *c₁xro- 'cold, chill; shivering': Georg. *cxro-* 'chill; shivering'; Megr. *čxuru-* 'severe cold'; Laz [*čxur-*].

The continuant is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 522). The Zan form agrees with the Georgian one. Their Laz correspondence may be extracted from the derivative *če-čxur-* (<*čxe-čxur-*) 'fever', literally 'fever-shivering'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 236–237). Georgian: ÈSKJa: 232.

GZ *c₁x-un- 'to warm; to bake': Georg. *cxun-* 'to burn (of sun); bake well'; Megr. *čun-* 'to bake well; to dry'(?); Laz *čxun-*, *čxvin-* 'to warm'.

Verb derived from the simple base *c₁x- by adding the causative suffix *-un. The Georgian action noun is *cxuneba-*. For the Laz form one assumes a change *vi > u* (cf. Čikobava (1938: 381), although the inverse process seems no less likely. If the comparison with the Megrelian stem (action noun *čunapa-*) holds, the loss of *x* needs an explanation.

|| ÈSKJa: 233.

3

GZ *3aml- 'kind of rat': Georg. *3aml-* 'rat'; Laz *3emur-* 'big mountain mouse'.

In Georgian the word is known only from ancient texts: *mčav(i) 3amli mdinarisa ars* 'musquash is a rat of the river' Physiologus 188.27. The unusual phonetic correlation Georg. *a* ~ Laz *e* needs explanation.

|| Gigineišvili (1980: 123–126).

GZ *3an3- 'to be hung (with fruits)': Georg. *3an3-* 'to be hung (with fruits)'; Megr. *3on3-*.

Verb stem represented in the Gurian dialect of Georgian (action noun *da3an3va-*). The Megrelian action noun is *do3on3ua-*. Cf. the derived past participle *do3on3il-* 'hung with fruits'.

|| Žyenti (1940: 225).

***ʒarc₁w-**: ʒrc₁w-

GZ ***ʒarc₁w-**: ʒrc₁w- 'to take off (clothes)': Georg. *ʒarcv-*: ʒrcv- 'to rob'; Megr. *rč(v)-*; Laz *č(v)-*.

In Old Georgian the continuant has the meaning 'to take off (clothes and the like)': *ganizarcua man samoseli* 'he took off his clothes' Krest 192: 26–27; action noun *ʒarcuva-*, *moʒrcva-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 146). While Old Georgian forms still distinguish two grades of the ablaut alternation, the modern language possesses only the full grade. The simplification of the Zan correspondences (cf. action noun Megr. *rčuala-*, Laz *go-č-u*) results in the loss of *v* in position before *u* and in weakening of *r* in Laz. According to Džaukjan (1988: 78), Arm. *crceł*, *ʒrzel* 'to extort, take // tear away' is connected with Kartvelian forms.

|| Čikobava (1938: 372).

CK ***ʒacxw-** 'lime (tree)': Georg. *cacxv-* 'lime (tree)'; Megr. *cxacxu-*, *cacxu-*; Laz *ducxu-*; Svan *zesx-ra*.

In Old Georgian the lexeme was represented as *cacxu-* (Abulaže 1973: 514). While the initial consonant of the Georgian word was assimilated to *c*, in Laz it became desaffricated (cf. **ʒeša-*, **ʒec₁xl-*, **ʒeʒw-*). The Zan vocalism *u* is regular (cf. Gudava 1960: 120). The Megrelian form seems to be a blend of the original word with Georgian: hence follows the Georgian shape of the first syllable and the Zan one of the second (cf. Megrelian toponym *Cucxv-at-* showing the expected Zan reflex of the reconstructed vocalism). In the Svan form both affricates have become spirants and *e* goes back to *a*. The old final *w* is preserved in the toponym *Zesxw-iš-* (in Lečxumi region). Cf. also a suffix *-ra* attested also in other Svan designations of trees.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 129). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 148).

GZ ***ʒga-** 'edge, brim': Georg. *gʒ-il-* 'edge, brim': Megr. *ʒga-* 'bank, shore'; Laz *ʒga-*, *mʒga-* 'bank, shore; edge'.

Its continuant is represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 104). The comparison with the Zan forms is to some extent problematic although several other examples of the correspondence between Georgian affixed stem and affixless Zan one (cf. **bark-*, **maqw-*, **prcx-*) are known. The Georgian form probably underwent a metathesis *ʒg > gʒ*. The Laz cognate contains a word-initial augmentation.

CK ***ʒgib-** 'to stuff (tight), drive in': Georg. *ʒgib-* 'to tense, strain; to knit

one's brows'; Megr. *ʒgib-* 'to stuff (tight), drive in'; Laz (*n*)*ʒgip-* 'to caulk'; Svan *ʒgub-* : *ʒgb-* 'to stuff (tight)'.

The verb stem does not occur in Old Georgian. The Megrelian action noun is *ʒgibua-*. For the Laz forms the initial inorganic *n* as well as the devoicing *b > p* are rather characteristic (action noun *o-(n)ʒgip-u*). They have also the connotation 'to burn, scorch'. Cf. Marr (1910: 216). The deviation in the vocalism of the Svan cognate requires clarification.

|| Klimov (1985: 176).

CK *zew- : zw- 'to lie (of inanimate)': Georg. *ʒev-* 'to lie (of inanimate)'; Megr. *ʒ(v)-*; Laz *ʒ(v)-*, *z(v)-*; Svan *z-*.

Common Kartvelian verb stem. Its continuant is widely attested in Old Georgian, where it had mainly the shape of *ʒe-* alongside devoicing *ʒ > c* in the word-final position (cf. *aha culi ʒirta tana xetasa ʒes* 'now the axe is laid unto the root of the trees' Mt. 3.10 and *dire gic tualsa šensa* 'a beam is in thine eye' Mt. 7.3., where *gic* goes back to *gi-ʒ-s*). The Megrelian action noun is *ʒvena-* // *ʒəna-*. For Svan cf. the word form *x-o-z* 'it lies (at him)'. Sometimes the stem is believed to be a phonetic derivative of **dew-* : *dw-*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 387–388). Svan: Schmidt (1961: 152).

GZ *ʒek- 'simple, simpleton; silly': Georg. *ʒek-* 'simple, simpleton; silly'; Megr. *ʒak-* 'simple, ordinary'.

Adjective unattested in Old Georgian. In modern Georgian it occurs in dialects. Cf. also the derived Kartl. and Kiz. verb *ʒekva-*, *gaʒekva-* 'to fill; to stuff' (Ylonti 1984: 144). For Megrelian cf. *ʒakī koči* 'ordinary man'.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ *ʒen- : ʒin- 'to add, increase': Georg. *ʒen-* : *ʒin-* 'to add, increase'; Megr. *ʒin-*; Laz (*n*)*ʒin-*.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian: *šeiʒine ʒmaj igi šeni* 'thou hast gained thy brother' Mt. 18.15; action noun *ʒineba-*. Megrelian action noun *ʒina-*, *ʒinua-*. In the Laz a variant with inorganic *n* occurs (cf. action noun *mo-(n)ʒin-u*).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 389).

GZ *ʒe(n)ʒ- 'to scutch (flax)': Georg. *ʒenʒ-* 'to scutch (flax)'; Megr. *ʒanʒ-*; Laz *ʒanʒ-* (?).

**ʒey-* : *ʒy-*

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian sources without stem-middle *n*: cf. the past participle *na-ʒeʒ-* ‘scutched’ (Abulaʒe 1973: 324). By Kartvelian sound-symbolic rules it seems related to GZ **ç₁ec₁-*. Action nouns are Georgian *ʒenʒva-*, Megr. *aʒozanʒua-*. The correspondence in vocalism is regular. In Laz the stem can be tentatively seen in the form *o-ʒanʒ-u* ‘to pierce with spike, awl’, which allegedly corresponds to its noun correlative *danʒ-* ‘thorn’ (see **ʒeʒw-*). The word for flax see under **sel-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Sardschweladse (1987: 23).

GZ **ʒey-* : *ʒy-* ‘to be sated; be filled’: Georg. *ʒey-* : *ʒy-* ‘to be sated; be filled’; Megr. *rʒy-*; Laz *ʒy-*.

Verb stem also well known from Old Georgian texts: *da ganzʒeyit* ‘(and) feedeth them’ Mt. 6.26 (action noun *ganzʒyoma-*; *u-ʒyeb-* ‘insatiable’). Both ablaut grades are retained only in Georgian. The Megrelian form shows an inorganic *r* (action noun *rʒyapa-*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Deeters (1930: 127). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 390).

GZ **ʒeša-* ‘firewood’: Georg. *šeša-* ‘firewood’; Megr. *diška-*; Laz *diška-*; Svan *zek* (?).

The word is attested in Old Georgian (*daasxian šešaj...* ‘and lay the wood in order upon the fire...’ Lev. 1.7.) It offers one of the examples of the correspondence between Georg. *e* and Zan *i*. Cf. also West Georgian dialectal *šiša-* (Ylonti 1984: 634). In Georgian the affricate has become a spirant with its subsequent assimilation to *š*. The Zan data show a change *ʒ > d*. Their plural form *diška-l-ep-* contains secondary *l*. The connection with the Svan lexeme seems very disputable because of irregular *k* of the latter.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 157).

GZ **ʒec₁xl-* ‘fire’: Georg. *cecxl-* ‘fire’; Megr. *dačxir-*, *da(n)čxər-*; Laz *dačxir-*, *dačxur-*, *dačxer-*.

The word is widely attested in Old Georgian (*dačua cecxlita...* ‘burned up (their city)...’ Mt. 22.7; *sacecxur-* ‘thurable’). Cf. the dialectal (Gur.) variant *cexl-* (Ylonti 1984: 678). In the Georgian form the initial *ʒ* (*ʒ₁*?) became assimilated to *c*, while in Zan it underwent dissimilation. The cluster *cx* // *čx* is sometimes considered to be connected with the verb stem **c₁x-*.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 34). Georgian: Brosset (1849: 70, 72).

GZ *ʒeʒg- 'to crumple, press upon': Georg. ʒeʒg- 'to crumple, press upon'; Megr. ʒgaʒg- 'to chew'.

A verb stem of sound-symbolic nature which enters a common structural set with the stems *čėčk-, *ceck-, *čėčq-, *ʒeʒg-. Action nouns – Georg. ʒeʒgva-, Megr. ʒgaʒgua-. The meaning of the Megr. form underwent change. The stem has a derivative *ʒiʒg-wn.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 37).

GZ *ʒeʒ(w)- 'thistle, thorn (plant)': Georg. ʒeʒv- 'thorn'; Laz da(n)ʒ-, ndaʒ- 'thistle'.

The term is well known from Old Georgian texts (Abulaʒe 1973: 524–525). In Zan word-initial ʒ underwent dissimilation (see *ʒeša-, *ʒec, xl-). Compare, however, Laz o-ʒanʒ-u 'to pierce with a thorn, edge' which is likely to belong here. In the Zan form, n must be a secondary augmentation. Similar designations of 'thorn' are recorded in other languages of the Caucasus (cf. Lak ccacc, Darg. ʒanʒi, Tab. ʒeʒ) and far beyond its boundaries.

|| Marr (1915.1. II: 834).

GZ *ʒiʒg-wn- 'to pinch, nip, tweak (large portion)': Georg. ʒiʒgn- 'to pinch, nip, tweak (large portion)'; Megr. ʒgiʒgon-, ʒgəʒgon-.

Apparently the form can be considered a derivative from the verb stem *ʒeʒg- formed with the help of the affix *-wn (Georgian action noun ʒiʒgna-). In Megrelian forms g is appropriately developed by attraction to ʒg at the beginning of the word. The rest of the phonetic correspondence is regular.

|| ÈSKJa: 235

GZ *ʒunʒul- 'to trot, jog (about walk)': Georg. ʒunʒul- 'to trot, jog (about walk)'; Megr. ʒvanʒval-.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The unusual correlation of vocalism between the Georgian and Megrelian forms is conditioned by their sound-symbolic nature. The same fact is indicated by its quasi-reduplicated form. Cf. the similar correlations in *č₁urč₁ul-.

GZ *ʒuʒu- 'breast (female)': Georg. ʒuʒu- 'breast (female)'; Megr. ʒuʒu-; Laz buʒ- (?).

The word occurs in Old Georgian texts (*neṭar ... ʒuʒuta, romelta ara acoes* 'blessed are ... paps, which never gave suck' Lk. 23.29; there are

* \mathfrak{z}_1 ag-: \mathfrak{z}_1 g-

also a number of derivatives here). The irregular change of the Laz continuant can be explained by the symbolic nature of the stem or by the influence of Greek $\beta\upsilon\zeta\iota$ or Adyg. $b\check{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{a}$ // Kab. $b\check{a}\mathfrak{z}$ of the same meaning. Contrary to Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 297) Svan *dudül* 'nipple' most probably is an affixal derivative from **dud-*. Similar symbolic formations are known in many languages of the area (cf. Agul *biži*).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 235.

\mathfrak{z}_1

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ag-: \mathfrak{z}_1 g- 'to poison': Georg. *zag-* 'to despise, be ugly'; Megr. *žog-*; Laz *žog-*, (*n*)*žug-* 'to be ugly; get on the nerves'; Svan *žag-*: *žg-* 'to poison'.

Common Kartvelian verb stem represented in Old Georgian (*mžori mati gžagdin...* 'ye shall have their carcasses in abomination...') Lev. 11.11; action noun *žageba-*), where its derivatives are also known. Contrary to the Megrelian form (cf. action noun *go-žog-apa*) the Laz cognate (cf. action noun *go-nžug-u*) points to a change $o > u$ and an inorganic *n* in the stem-initial position. For the Svan cognate a regular spirantization $\mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{z}$ is characteristic. Cf. the action noun *li-žg-en-i* (*ot-žag-a* 'he has poisoned him') and *žag* 'gun-powder'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rogava. Laz, Svan: Klimov (1960: 25).

CK(?) * \mathfrak{z}_1 al- 'sinew, string': Georg. *žal-* 'string'; Svan *žal(ä)* (?).

The term is attested in Old Georgian sources (Abulaže 1973: 523). The fact that the word-final *l* could not be preserved in Svan raises doubts on the adequacy of this comparison. In case the Svan form is a borrowing from Megrelian, which seems to be more probable, the lexeme belongs to the Georgian-Zan stage. If this comparison holds, the word primarily designated sinew, which was used for making strings.

|| Abulaže (*IKE* XIII, 1962: 219).

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 aryw- 'vein, sinew': Georg. *žaryw-* 'vein'; Megr. *žeryw-*; Svan *žäryw* (?).

The word is well known in Old Georgian texts (*žaryuni čemni...* 'my sinews...') Job 30.17). Like in some other cases, in the Megrelian word instead of the expected *o* we have *e* (cf. **oc₁-*, **yor-*, etc.). Their Laz

equivalent seems to have been replaced by a Turkish loanword. According to Žyenti (1949: 130) and Topuria (*IKE* XII: 157) the Svan word is not native.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 64). Svan: Gren (1890: 131).

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ayl- ‘dog’: Georg. *zayl-* ‘dog’; Megr. *žoyor-*; Laz *žoyo(r)-*; Svan *žey, žay*.

A word widely represented in Old Georgian (*zaylnica movidodes...* ‘(and) the dogs came..’ Lk. 16.21). An earlier suffixal nature of *l* is probable (Čikobava (1938: 83). Cf. the Old Georgian pejorative lexeme *zayuer-* ‘stupid, canine’. In Svan the word-initial affricate has regularly become a spirant, and final *l* has been lost. The vocalism *a* of the oblique cases stem (cf. dative *žayw*) is here primary.

|| Georgian, Megrelian, Svan: Rosen (1845: 408–409). Laz: Marr (1914: 33).

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ax-: \mathfrak{z}_1 x- ‘to call, be called’: Georg. *zax-* ‘to call; to cry, shout’; Megr. *žox-* ‘to be called’; Laz *žox-*, *jox-* ‘to call’; Svan *žäx-*: *žx-* (*šx-*) ‘to be named, be called’.

The verb continuant is well attested in Old Georgian, where it shows mainly a spirantized word-initial consonant (*izaxis lomman...* ‘the lion is roaring on...’ Isaiah 31.4; action noun *zaxeba-*). For the transitive verb ‘to call’ Megrelian uses the Georgian borrowing *zax-* (cf. however, *mžoxo ...* ‘my name is’...’). The Laz correspondence is apparently based on the derivative noun *žoxo-* ‘name’ (Čikobava (1938: 437–438; cf. Marr 1936: 92–93). In Svan (action noun *li-žäx*) the affricate is regularly reflected as a spirant. The phonetic shape and meaning of the stem does not encourage a search for its source beyond Kartvelian languages. Cf., however, Andronikašvili (1966: 325).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849:76). Laz: Čaraja (1912: 43). Svan: Deeters (1930: 96, 127).

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ax-e- ‘name’: Georg. *saxel-* ‘name’; Megr. *žoxo-*; Laz *žoxo-*, *joxo-*; Svan *žaxe, žäxe*.

Attested in Old Georgian texts (*raj ars saxeli šeni?* ‘What is thy name?’ Lk. 8.30), where it had several derivatives (cf. Abulaže 1973: 383). Its connection with the verb stem * \mathfrak{z}_1 ax- : \mathfrak{z}_1 x- needs no commentary. While the Georgian form shows an inorganic *l*, the Svan cognate underwent regular desaffrication $\mathfrak{ž} > \mathfrak{z}$. The end of the stem needs clarifi-

* \mathfrak{z}_1 aqw-

cation (the Zan data and the form of the Svan stem in the dative and genitive cases *žaxa-* speak in favor of **a*).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). Laz: Marr (1914: 90). Svan: Gren (1890: 132).

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 aqw- 'birch': Georg. *žaxv-el-* 'guelder rose'; Svan *žaqw-ra* 'birch'.

In the dictionary of S. Orbeliani the word is represented in its Old Georgian form *žaqwel-*. All the Svan variants of its match (Lent. *žaqwar*, Upper Bal *žaqwār*, Lašx. *žaqwēr*, Lower Bal *žāqw-ra*) are thought to stem from **žaqwe-ra-*. In the Zan languages the lexeme seems to be absent. The semantic reconstruction of the archetype is somewhat conventional.

|| Gigineišvili (1972: 151–152).

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 ger- 'to bang; to beat (against)': Georg. *žger-* 'to bang; to beat (against)'; Megr. [*žgar-*]

The verb stem is reflected in Old Georgian: action noun *šezgereba-* (Abulaže 1973: 496). Its Megrelian correspondence may be seen in the reduplicative formation *žgar-žgal-* 'to tremble, shake' marked by a dissimilation *r > l*. The stem is apparently related to Georg. *žigžig-* (see * \mathfrak{z}_1 ig- \mathfrak{z}_1 ig-) and *žagžag-* 'tremble, shiver'. Cf. Vogt (1947: 49).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 237.

CK(?) * \mathfrak{z}_1 gwamb- 'to strike': Georg. *žgvamb-* 'to drain at one draught, swallow'; Svan *žgwēmb-* 'to bang (with fist)'.

The Georgian continuant is represented in the Imer. dialect (Ylonți 1984: 685). In spite of the regular phonetic correspondence between the Georgian and Svan stems they may be considered to have an onomatopoeic nature, which is corroborated by the evident difference in their semantics. The Svan action noun is *li-žgwēmb-e*.

|| Klimov (1988: 21).

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 egw- 'blackthorn, sloe': Georg. *žegv-* 'blackthorn, sloe'; Megr. [*žag(v)-*].

The Georgian word occurs at present in the Lečx. dialect (Ylonți 1984: 685). A regular Megrelian correspondence can be seen in the form *žagv-* represented in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani (interpreted here as 'small shrubbery') and considered to go back to the Megrelian substrate.

|| Danelia (1984: 86).

GZ * ζ_1 el- 'tree, wood': Georg. ζ el- 'bar'; Megr. ζ a- (pl. stem ζ al-) 'tree, wood'; Laz (n) ζ a- (pl. stem (n) ζ al-), $m\zeta$ a-.

The word is well documented in Old Georgian, where it denoted 'tree, wood' (*damoekida zelsa...* 'he hanged him...' Gen. 41.13). In the Jav. dialect it denotes 'bearing (bridge) log of house'. In Zan the ancient *l* is preserved in the plural forms of the word.

|| Marr (1912.1: 1096).

GZ * ζ_1 er- 'kite': Georg. ζ er-a- 'kite': Megr. [ζ a ζ -]; Laz $m\zeta$ a ζ -.

In Old Georgian the word is attested in a form without suffix -a (Abulaze 1973: 524). The former Megrelian match is found in the Georgian Zanism ζ a ζ a- with the same meaning, borrowed by the Gur. dialect (cf. Υ lonti 1984: 777). The Laz cognate occurs in Xopa dialect. Georg. ζ er ζ eruka-; Old Georgian ζ er ζ eruka- noted in Sar ζ velaze (1995: 255) 'bird similar to hawk' is based on ζ er- and its derivative ζ eruka- 'little kite'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rogava (1947: 354). Laz: Sard ζ veladze (1991: 144).

CK * ζ_1 e Υ w- : ζ_1 Υ w- 'to lead, march at the head (of)': Georg. ζ e Υ w- : ζ Υ w- 'to lead, march at the head'; Megr. ζ Υ (v)-; Laz [(n) ζ Υ (v)-]; Svan ζ oyw-.

Well-known from Old Georgian where it preserved the ablaut alternation (*caruzeyu ersa mas...* 'lead the people...' Ex. 32.34). In the Zan languages (the Laz stem may be extracted from derivatives) there is no *v* before the affixal *u*: Megr. *b- ζ Υ u-k* 'I go in front of', but ζ Υ ver- 'leader'. The Svan form shows a regular spirantization $\zeta > \zeta$ and metathesis ζ e Υ w- > ζ wey- > ζ oyw-; action noun *li- ζ oyw*; *m ζ oy*- 'leader'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1914: 60-62). Svan: Šanidze (1941: 183).

GZ * ζ_1 e \check{c} ,w- 'chain': Georg. ζ e \check{c} k ν - 'little chain'; Megr. ζ a \check{c} v- 'chain'.

A difficult word. Beside ζ e \check{c} k ν - and its dialectal (Rača) variant ζ e ζ gv- the form ζ a \check{c} v- is also known in Georgian. Its Old Georgian shape is ζ a \check{c} u- (Abulaze 1973: 573). The development of *k* in the Georgian form is irregular (cf., however, * ζ_1 n-el-). Other interpretations of the stem proceeding from the reverse assignment of the data (cf. Gigineišvili 1965; Penixi-Sar ζ velaze 1990: 502-503), are faced with greater difficulties. In Laz no certain cognate is found. The lexeme reflects the age of metal.

|| Marr (1912.1: 30).

* $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{e}\mathfrak{c}_1(\text{w})\text{n-}$

CK(?) * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{e}\mathfrak{c}_1(\text{w})\text{n-}$ 'willow': Georg. *zečn-a-* 'willow'; Megr. *zičon-*, *čičon-*; Svan *čičōnd* (?).

In Old Georgian the form lacked affixal *-a* (*rtoj zečnisaj* 'a branch of willow' *Keimena* I, 115. 20). According to Čikobava (1942: 33) it is a former compound * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{el-}$ 'tree' + * $\mathfrak{c}_1\text{n-}$ 'to braid, plait', which repeats the semantic structure of the Indo-European names for willow (cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1995: 540). The Svan form, which may be viewed as an old Megrelian borrowing, shows word-final *nd* found also in some other names of trees.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Machavariani. Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 237. Also Topuria (1979: 262).

CK * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{eqw-}$ 'pouch of skin': Georg. *zeqv-* 'ham'; Svan *žāq(i)* 'wineskin, water-skin'.

In Old Georgian sources the lexeme seems to be unattested. The phonetic correspondences are basically regular. For the semantics cf. **guda-* 'leather bag, wineskin'. The Svan cognate alongside spirantization of an etymological affricate points to age of *q*.

CK * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-}$ 'to be old (of things)': Georg. [*zv-*] 'to be old (of things)'; Megr. [*žv-*]; Laz [*žv-*]; Svan [*žw-*].

A stative verb which at present occurs only in bound forms. The stem may be seen in the Georgian-Zan derivatives * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{iw-en-}$: $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-in-}$ 'to become old' and * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-el-}$ 'old (of things)'.

GZ * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-el-}$ 'decrepit, old' (about things): Georg. *zvel-* 'decrepit, old (mostly about things)'; Megr. *žveš-*; Laz *žve(š)-*, *nžveš*, *mžve-*.

The adjective is widely known in Old Georgian (*aravin štaaxis ywino axali txiarta zuelta...* 'no man putteth new wine into old bottles...') Mk. 2.22; cf. its derivative *si-zuel-e-* 'decrepitude'). It is derived from the base * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-}$ with the help of the word-forming affix *-el*. In the Zan forms one sees sometimes an ending of the genitive. Despite Čikobava (1938: 238–239) the correlation between Georg. *l* and Zan *š* has a phonological character.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Laz: Marr (1912: 39).

CK * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-en-}$: $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-in-}$ 'to become old': Laz *mžven-* 'to become old'; Svan [*žwin-*].

The verb stem is derived by adding a suffix **-en* : *-in* to the simple verb stem * $\mathfrak{z}_1\text{w-}$. Čikobava (1938: 436) recognized a denominative char-

acter of the Laz form. The Svan equivalent is extracted from the derivative *ʒwin-el-* 'old'.

|| Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 239.

CK(?) *ʒ₁ig-ʒ₁ig- 'to tremble, shiver': Georg. *ʒigʒig-* 'to tremble, shiver'; Svan *ʒʒg-ən-*.

The reduplicated structure allows us to see in it a symbolic formation. For the antiquity of the element *ʒ₁ig- cf. *ʒ₁ger-. In Svan the stem is extended by the affix *-ən* : *-un* (action noun *li-ʒʒg-ən-e*). The comparison presupposes the existence of the simple stem. Cf. Penixi-Sarʒvelaʒe (1990: 433) where its possible simple Laz equivalent *ʒg-* is extracted from *o-ʒg-ial-u* 'tremble'.

Cf. Georgian, Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 238.

GZ *ʒ₁il- 'dream, sleep': Georg. *ʒil-* 'dream, sleep'; Megr. [*ʒir-*]; Laz (*n*)*ʒir-*, *nʒi-*.

Widely represented in Old Georgian texts (*ganiywiza ... ʒilisagan* 'being raised from sleep' Mt. 1.24). In Megrelian the stem is traceable in the denominative derivative *ʒira* 'to sleep'. In the Laz form an augmentation *n* may occur. This nominal stem is related to the verbal *ʒ₁in-.

|| Čikobava (1938: 435).

GZ *ʒ₁in- 'to sleep, fall asleep': Georg. *ʒin-* 'to sleep, fall asleep'; Megr. *ʒir-* 'to lie (down); to lean (on)'; Laz *ʒin-*, *ʒir-* 'to go to bed; to sleep'.

The verb stem is documented in Old Georgian (*kualad daviʒine* 'then I fell asleep' Gen. 41.21; action noun *daʒineba-*). In Megrelian (action noun *do-(n)ʒira-*) and partly in Laz (action noun *o-ʒin-u* // *o-nʒir-u*) the stem is contaminated with its nominal correlate having *r* at the end (see the preceding entry).

|| Megrelian, Georgian: Brosset (1844: 16). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 434).

GZ *ʒ₁in- 'to look, see': Georg. *ʒin-* 'to look, see'; Megr. *ʒin-* 'to see; to wait'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts: cf. the action noun *ʒin-eb-a-* (Abulaʒe 1973: 286 and 525). In Megrelian (action noun *ʒina-*) the stem is widely used. The correspondence between the consonants of the two forms is regular.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

* \mathfrak{z}_1 ir-

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 ir- 'root, bottom': Georg. *zir*- 'root, bottom'; Megr. *žin(ž)*-; Laz *žiž*-.

The lexeme is attested in Old Georgian texts (*žiri ara akun...* 'he has no root...') Mt. 13.21; there are also several derivatives). Among its modern derivatives one finds *žr-o-* 'bottom of vessel'; cf. Vogt (1939: 128). The Georgian and the Zan forms match each other regularly. The Georgian-Zan derivative * \mathfrak{z}_1 ir-*k(w)*- is derived from this stem. According to Shanidze, Arm. *žənžel* 'to eradicate, destroy' is borrowed from Zan.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 64). Laz. Schmidt (1962: 152).

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 ir-*k(w)*- 'stump, stub': Georg. *žirkv*- 'stump, stub'; Megr. *ži(r)k*-; Laz *žirek*-.

Derived from * \mathfrak{z}_1 ir- with an unclear word-forming (?) element. In Old Georgian its continuant may be discerned in a derivative *sa-žirku-el*- 'foundation, base' (Abulaze 1973: 380). Cf. also dialectal (Gur.) *žirk*- 'stump' (Ylonti 1984: 688). Georgian *žir(e)k*- 'block' and Svan *žik* 'stump, stub' are likely to be Zanisms.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 136-137). Georgian: Saržvelaze (1964: 10-11).

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ic₁x(w)- 'wooden spoon': Georg. *cicxv*- 'large wooden spoon'; Svan *žišxe*, *žišxa*.

In medieval Georgian literature the term is found in the Old Georgian form *cicxu*-. In the Zan languages no certain cognate appears. The word-final vowel of the Svan equivalent needs explanation.

|| Schmidt (1962: 150).

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1 ixe- 'fortified settlement': Georg. *cixe*- 'fortress, prison', Megr. *žixa*-; Laz *žixa*-.

The word is well known in Old Georgian, where it had several derivatives (Abulaze 1973: 517). It is represented also in toponymics: cf. *Armaz-cixe*- (Greek *Ἀρμακτικά*, *Ἀρμυσίκη*), *Axal-cixe*-, etc. The word-initial consonant in Georgian is assimilated. The discrepancy in the final vowels in Georgian and Zan forms requires explanation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 34). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 239.

CK * \mathfrak{z}_1 ma- 'brother': Georg. *žma*- 'brother'; Megr. *žima*- (pl. *žimal*-); Laz *žuma*- (pl. *žumal*-); Svan *žəm-il*, *žim-il*, *žum-il* 'brother (in relation to the sister)'.
||

Kinship term well attested in Old Georgian (*hrkua Iaḡob ʒmata...* ‘Jacob said to his brothers...’ Gen. 31.41). The identity of *a* in Georgian and Zan words points to its final position in a substantive stem. Therefore *l* of the plural forms of the Zan cognates must be a secondary development. The Svan lexeme contains the former estimation suffix *-əl // -il* (cf. also the Svan oath formula *ʒim-daj* ‘brother-sister’). On the basis of the Georgian dialectal addressing interjection *ʒamo!* ‘old chap!’ and *ʒman-eb-i* ‘brothers’ as well as the Zan forms containing *l* one has reconstructed in the past prototypes **ʒam-an-* for Georgian and **ʒom-al-* for Zan incompatible with each other in their suffixal part (cf. Čikobava 1938: 26–27).

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1845: 32). Svan: Marr (1912.3: 428–430).

GZ *ʒ₁ma-did- ‘elder brother’: Georg. *ʒmad-* ‘best man (of fiancée)’; Megr. *ʒimad-* ‘uncle’; Laz *ʒumad-*.

Kinship term well known in Old Georgian sources (*ʒmadi igi szalsa etqvis...* ‘best man says to the bride...’ Sin. mr. 230.15). According to one opinion it is a compound consisting of *ʒ₁ma- ‘brother’ and *did- ‘big, elder’ (cf. Čikobava (1938: 28). Alternatively the lexeme may be the adverbial case form of ‘brother’ *ʒ₁ma-d. The parallel *da-did- ‘elder sister’ must have an analogous structure.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 240.

GZ *ʒ₁m-ar- ‘vinegar’: Georg. *ʒmar-* ‘vinegar’; Megr. [*ʒimol-*]; Laz *ʒumo(r)-*, *nʒumor-*; Svan *ʒimar* (?).

Well known in Old Georgian texts (*misces mas ʒmari* ‘they gave him vinegar’ Mt. 27.34). It is a derivative based on *ʒ₁m(u)- ‘salt’. In Megrelian the stem may be seen in the verb *ʒimolua-* ‘to salt’. For the other cases of identity of *r* in the noun stem’s end cf. *meser-, *jor-, *c₁xwar-. The native character of the Svan word causes doubt. Cf. Schmidt (1961: 152).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Laz: Deeters (1926–1927: 51). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 240.

CK *ʒ₁m(u)- ‘salt’: Georg. [*ʒm-*] ‘salt’; Megr. *ʒimu-*; Laz (*n*)*ʒumu-*; Svan *ʒim*, *ʒəm*.

The stem was replaced already in Old Georgian by a Greek loanword. Its stem can be discerned in the derivative *ʒmar-* ‘vinegar’ (cf. the

* \mathfrak{z}_1n-

preceding entry). In the Zan languages and Svan the old sonant is reflected as a combination of a vowel with the following *m*. The end of the archetype needs more clarity.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 32). Svan: Čaraja (1912: 23). Georgian: *ĖSKJa*: 239.

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1n- ‘to load burden’: Georg. $\mathfrak{z}n-$ ‘to get heavy, difficult’; Laz $\mathfrak{z}in-$ ‘to load (burden)’.

Attested in Old Georgian sources: *ara mi- $\mathfrak{z}n-s$ ege* ‘it does not oppress me’, *$\mathfrak{z}nel-$* ‘heavy, difficult’ (Abulašvili 1973: 527). For Laz cf. the action noun *ge- $\mathfrak{z}in-u$* ‘to load burden’ and past participle *ge $\mathfrak{z}iner-$* ‘burdened.’

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1ow- ‘to graze, pasture’: Georg. $\mathfrak{z}ov-$ ‘to graze, pasture’; Laz (n) $\mathfrak{z}v-$, *n \mathfrak{z} -*, *m \mathfrak{z} (v)-*.

The verb stem is attested with its derivatives in Old Georgian (*$\mathfrak{z}ovdes$ *kidesa zeda* ‘they fed in a meadow’ Gen. 41.18; action noun *$\mathfrak{z}ovna-$* ‘to graze’, *$da\mathfrak{z}oveba-$* ‘to pasture’). In Megrelian the stem has been lost. In the Laz forms (action noun *$o-\mathfrak{z}-u$* ‘to graze’, *$o-\mathfrak{z}vin-u$* ‘to pasture’) *v* disappears before *u*. In initial position an inorganic *n* or *m* often develops.*

|| Čikobava (1938: 437).

CK(?) * \mathfrak{z}_1u- ‘bitch, female of beasts of prey’: Georg. $\mathfrak{z}u-$ ‘bitch, female of beasts of prey’; Megr. *$\mathfrak{z}ua-$* ; Svan *$\mathfrak{z}u(w)a$* (?).

The lexeme occurs often in Old Georgian in the form *$\mathfrak{z}uv-$* (*$qmaj$ *lomisa $\mathfrak{z}uvisa...$* ‘the roaring of the lioness...’ Job 4.10). The Megrelian word-final *a* seems to be a secondary affix. The Svan analogue may be a recent Zan borrowing. The word finds its parallels in some Daghestanian languages.*

|| Georgian, Zan: cf. Topuria (1979: 68). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 240.

GZ * \mathfrak{z}_1ua- ‘horse-hair’: Georg. *$\mathfrak{z}ua-$* ‘horse-hair’; Megr. *$\mathfrak{z}ua-$* ; Svan *$\mathfrak{z}i$, $\mathfrak{z}ə$* (?).

In Old Georgian sources the word seems to be absent. The Megrelian form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. Their Svan analogue in all probability is a Zan loanword. There can be little doubt that Kartvelians of the time of the proto-language did not know domestic horses.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraja (1895 XII: 111). Svan: Marr (1915.1: 773).

CK *ʒ₁u(w)an- : *ʒ₁u(w)n- 'to be in heat (of animals)': Georg. *ʒuvn-*, *ʒun-* 'to be in heat (of animals)'; Megr. *ʒun-*, *ʒud-*, *ʒvid-* 'to kiss'; Laz *ʒund-*; Svan *ʒwan-*, *ʒuwn-* 'to be in heat (of animals)'.

In Old Georgian the verb stem seems to be unattested. It can be viewed as a derivative from *ʒ₁u- 'female, bitch'. Cf. the Georgian action nouns *mʒuvnoba-* and *mʒundoba-*. For the Zan forms a change in meaning and the development of *d* are characteristic (action noun Megr. *ʒuma-*, Laz *o-ʒund-u*). Cf. also the Svan action nouns *li-ʒwan-āl* 'to copulate' and *li-ʒwän-i* 'to cover (of cattle)'.

|| Fährnich (1982: 37; 1984: 45).

CK *ʒ₁ɣw-an- : ʒ₁ɣw-n- 'to take; to send': Georg. *ʒɣvan-* : *ʒɣvn-* 'to send gift'; Megr. *ʒyon-*, *ʒyun-*; Laz (*n*)*ʒyon-*, *ʒyun-*; Svan *ʒɣwän-*, *ʒoywän-* 'to take with oneself; to deliver judgement'.

Derived from the simple verb stem *ʒ₁eɣw- : ʒ₁ɣw- by means of the affix *-an* having in this case causative function. The stem is well represented in Old Georgian: *miuʒyuana Herodes...* 'he sent him to Herod...' Lk. 23.7; action nouns *moʒyuneba-* 'to gift, donate' and *moʒyuaneba-* 'to send'; cf. also *ʒyuen-* 'gift'. The Zan (action noun Megr. *ʒyonapa-*, Laz *o-nʒyon-u*) and Svan (action noun *li-ʒoywan-*) cognates show regular phonetic development.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1914: 60–61). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 241.

CK *ʒ₁ʒ₁w-al- 'bone': Georg. *ʒval-* 'bone'; Megr. [*ʒiʒgv-*] 'bony, thickset'; Svan *ʒiʒw* 'bone'.

Represented in Old Georgian (*ʒual ar asxen* '(it) hath not ... bones' Lk. 24.39). Cf. modern Georgian dialectal variant *mʒval-*. In Megrelian the word is seems to be lost, but may be found as a Zanism in the Gur. dialect although its *g* requires an explanation; cf. Čikobava (1940: 93–94). The initial "geminated" consonant is eliminated in Megrelian and Svan by inserting the narrow vowel.

|| Georgian, Svan: *ʒanašvili* (1906: 20). Megrelian: Čikobava (ibidem).

Ç

GZ *çaw- : çw- 'communicate, inform, announce': Georg. *šav-* 'to mean, to designate; to inform; to teach'; Megr. *ç(o)-* 'to inform, to tell'; Laz *ç(v)-* 'to speak, to tell'.

*catx-

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian, where it had a wide range of meanings (*asçaveda mat...* 'he taught them...' Mk. 1.22; action noun *sçaveba-*). In the Georgian word the former prefix of the oblique object *s-* is fused with the stem. The Megrelian present tense forms contain *l*: cf. *micou* 'he told me' vs. *micolens* 'he will tell me'. In Laz the position of *v* is instable: cf. *u-çv-es* 'they told him', but *u-ç-u* 'he told him'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 393–394). Georgian: Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ ***çatx-** 'salted, pickled': Georg. *çatx-* 'salted, pickled'; Megr. *çutx-e*; Laz *çutx-e*, *mçutx-e*; Svan *çätx-* (?).

Adjective known from Old Georgian with meaning 'pus': *zaylnica ... hlošnied çutxsa* 'dogs... licked the pus' Mam. sçav. 58.29. The irregular correspondence Georg. *a ~ u* points to age of *m* in the Zan form. The Svan form is likely to have been borrowed from a Georgian source.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 243). Georgian, Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 28).

CK(?) ***çam-** 'moment, instant': Georg. *çam-* 'moment, second'; Megr. *çum-*, *çun-* 'minute, second'; Laz *çun-*; Svan *çäm* (?).

Represented in Old Georgian texts where it meant also 'eyelash'. Cf. also *çamçam-* 'eyelashes' and *çamçameba-* 'to blink' (Abulaze 1973: 531, 532). Its Zan equivalents are characterized by the change *m > n*. The adduced Svan form, despite parallel *çamçam* 'fast', may not be native.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 64). Laz: Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 440). Svan: ÈSKJa: 242.

GZ ***çam-** 'to bequeath, charge'; Georg. *çam-* 'to bequeath; to inform'; Laz *çum-* 'to charge'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts (*uçame ersa mas...* 'bequeath to the people...' Ex. 19.10; cf. a derivative *çameba-* 'information'). In modern Georgian dialects (Gur., Ajar., Kartl.) the action noun *damo-çm-eb-a-* 'to charge, bequeath' shows zero vocalism (Ylonti 1984: 179). In Laz regularly expected *o* in position next to the labial *m* results in *u*.

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 23).

GZ ***çar-** preverb of direction 'down, away, off': Georg. *ça(r)-* preverb 'away, off'; Megr. *ço-* preverb 'down, below'; Laz *ço-*.

Widely in use in Old Georgian texts as *çar-* (*çarvida mat tana* '(he) went with them' Lk. 7.6), which points to its relation to the adverb

*ça-re- (see below). The Zan form of the preverb regularly corresponds to the Georgian one.

GZ *çar- : çr- 'to have time; forestall; to warn': Georg. *şar-* : *şr-* 'to have time; forestall; to warn'; Megr. *çor-*.

Verb stem widely in use in Old Georgian (*asçro mas Iesu* 'Jesus prevented him' Mt. 17.25; action noun *şrola-*). The Georgian form seems to be augmented with the prefix of the third person of the indirect object *s*. The Megrelian cognate (action noun *çorapa-*) reflects only the full grade. The comparison of the Georgian-Zan material with the Svan verb stem *ser-*: *sr-* 'to overcome, surpass' (cf. Topuria *IKE* XII, 1960: 155) remains tentative.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Rogava.

GZ *çap- 'to study, to learn': Georg. *çap-* 'to teach, to study, to learn'; Laz (*n*)*çop-*.

Verb stem known in Old Georgian through its derivatives: cf. *mçapel-* 'leading', *mocape-* 'follower, pupil' (Abulaşe 1973: 309). Cf. also the modern Georgian action noun *ga-çap-v-a-* 'to perfect oneself'. In Megrelian the stem seems to be lost. The Laz correspondence (action noun *o-nçop-ul-u*) shows the augmentation of *n*.

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 402).

GZ *çel- 'year': Georg. *çel-* 'year'; Megr. [*çi-*, *çə-*] 'this year'; Laz [*ço-*].

The lexeme is attested in Old Georgian (*mas çelsa...* 'in the same year...' Gen. 26.12). In the Zan languages the vocalism *o* occurs mainly in the derivatives: cf. Megr. and Laz *go-ço-s* 'last year'. The Georgian variant *çen-* vs. Megr. *çana-* 'year' poses an additional problem. The history of the stem needs more clarification.

|| Čikobava (1938: 205).

GZ *çeç- 'to touch': Georg. *çeç-*, *çenç-* 'to touch'; Megr. *çaç-* 'to dip'.

Verb stem apparently unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language (action noun *çeçeba-*) there is a variant with secondary *n-*. Cf. the Megrelian action noun *ge-çaç-ap-a-*. It is not ruled out that the form in question reflects historically the full grade of the stem, whose zero grade is rendered by the form *ç- < *çç- (cf. *ç(w)-).

|| Sardžveladze (1991: 144).

**ceç-*: *çiç-*

GZ **ceç-*: *çiç-* 'to stretch, draw': Georg. *ceç-*: *çiç-* 'to scutch, pull about'; Megr. *çiç-*, *çviçv-* 'to pull out; to tear up'; Laz *çi(n)ç-* 'to pull (slowly)'.
In Georgian (action noun *çiçva-*) the old vowel alternation is preserved. The Megrelian variant with *v* seems to be secondary (cf. action noun *çiçonua-*). An inorganic *n* is possible in the Laz cognate: *çi(n)çups* '(he) pulls'. The semantic deviation of the material is rather noticeable.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1910: 219). Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 396).

GZ **ceçk-* 'to crack (into small pieces)': Georg. *ceçk-* 'to crack (into small pieces)'; Megr. *çkançk-* 'to chew'.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. The Megrelian form (action noun *çkançkua-*) agrees completely with the Georgian one (action noun *ceçkva-*). The inorganic *n* of the Megrelian cognate shows a minimal deviation. The stem underlies the derivative **çiçk-wn-* 'to nip, pinch (into small pieces)' formed by adding the affix *-wn*.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ **ç(w)-* 'to dip': Georg. *ç-* 'to dip'; Megr. *ç(v)-*; Laz *nç-*.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian (*daaço puri...* 'dip bread...' Ruth 2.14; action noun *daçoba*). The Georgian forms in *o* and the Megrelian action noun *geçuapa-* prove that *w* belongs to the root. The Laz cognate (action noun *o-nç-u*) has developed an inorganic *n*.

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 391). Megrelian: Fähnrich (1987: 36).

CK **çw-* 'to appear, be seen': Georg. [*çv-*] 'to seem, appear'; Megr. [*çv-*]; Laz [*çv-*]; Svan *çv-*.

In Georgian and Zan languages the verb stem can be extracted only from a bound form *çon-* (see **çw-en-*). In Svan it is used independently: cf. *xo-çv-a* 'it turned out he had seen'.

|| Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965: 251–252).

CK **çwel-* 'dry stem, straw': Georg. *çvel-* 'chaff'; Megr. *çu-*; Laz *çu-* 'straw, stem'; Svan *çwi*, *çiw* 'stalk, stem'.

Attested in Old Georgian (*pirvelad çueli...* 'first the blade...' Mk. 4.28). It illustrates the well-known correlation between Georg. *-el* and

Zan -u in word-final position. The Laz lexeme has a derivative *o-čval-e* 'chaff'. The Svan cognate reflects the umlaut process.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Topuria (*IKE* I, 1946: 78–79). Laz: *ÈSKJa*: 243. Svan: Fähnrich (1985: 38).

CK *čw-en- 'to see, show': Georg. *čon-* 'to like, please'; Megr. *čon-*; Laz *čon-* 'to like; to seem'; Svan *čwēn-* 'to show; to appear'.

The verb stem is derived from the base *čw- with the help of the affix *-en. In Georgian and the Zan languages it underwent a change *we* > *o*. The meaning 'to seem' is represented in the Laz phrases *kai ačonu* 'he liked' (literally 'it seemed to be well to him'), coinciding from the point of view of content with an analogous Abxaz construction (cf. also *paṭi ačonu* 'he did not like', where *paṭi* is 'bad'). For Svan cf. the action noun *li-čwēn-e*.

|| Gamqrelize-Mačavariani (1965: 251–252).

GZ *čwl-il- 'little, small': Georg. *čvril-* 'small'; Laz *čulu-* 'little, small'.

In Old Georgian the adjective is represented in the shape of [(*m*)čulil-, *čuril-* (cf. Abulaže 1973: 552) and with the meaning 'small, little, narrow': *icro ars bčej da čulil gzaj* 'strait is the gate and narrow is the way' Mt. 7.14. In Laz the meaning of the word appears distinctly in the designation of the little finger *čulukit-* where *kit-* is 'finger'. For the correspondence between Georg. -il and Zan -u see **tp-il-*, *(*m*)*s,xw-il-*, **srsw-il-*.

|| Nadareišvili (*IKE* XX, 1978: 144–146).

CK *či- 'to squeak, cheep': Georg. *či-v-* 'to squeak, cheep': Megr. *či-*, *nči-*; Laz *či-*; Svan *čil-* (?).

Verb stem of a descriptive nature. Action nouns are Georg. *čiv-il-*, Megr. *či-ap-*, Laz *o-či(j)-u*. Georgian *v* as in other similar formations is a specific trait, whose reconstruction for the protoform remains disputable (cf. **ki-*, **qi-*, **čxi-*, etc.). It is supported, however, by Arm. *cval* of the same meaning, reflecting the rules of the areal onomatopoeia.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 394). Svan: *ÈSKJa*: 243.

CK *čid(a)- 'mud, dirt (on body)': Georg. *čida-* 'mud, dirt (on body)'; Megr. *či(n)da-*, *čimda-* (?); Svan *čid-* 'mud, excrement'.

The lexeme is well documented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 544), where it had a derivative *čido(v)an-* 'dirty; menstruating'. In Megrelian

**çikw-*

the word may have been borrowed. In Svan it has a wider semantic range.

|| Georgian, Svan: Sardschweladse (1987: 23). Megrelian: Klimov (1988: 163).

GZ **çikv-* 'to soil (oneself)': Georg. *çikv-* 'to soil (oneself)'; Megr. *çikv-*; Laz *çikv-*.

Attested in Old Georgian: action noun *šemçikeba-* (cf. Saržvelaže 1995: 237). The verb stem is well known in some modern Georgian dialects. The Megrelian action noun is *çikua-*, *doçikua-*. In Laz the stem has a restricted use: cf. *komuiçikveen* '(it) became dirty' (ÇT V: 65.14).

|| Klimov (1988: 163).

GZ **çil-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)': Georg. *çil-* 'to gather, pick (fruit, flowers)'; Megr. *çil-* 'to pick (fruit, flowers)'; Laz *çil-*.

The verb stem, lost in modern Georgian, has been preserved as a gloss in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani (action noun *moçilva-*). The sound type of the cognates coincides: cf. the Megrelian action noun *çilua-* (*vardiši çilua* 'to pick roses') and Laz *o-çil-u*). The deviations in meaning are almost imperceptible.

|| Čikobava (1938: 395).

CK **çip-* 'beech nut': Georg. *çip-* 'beech nut'; Megr. [*çip-*]; Laz [*çip-*]; Svan *çip*.

The word underlies the Kartvelian designation of the tree (see the following entry). In Georgian beside dialectal (Kartl.) *çip-* (Ŷlonti 1984: 706) the widely used reduplicated formation *çičibo-* 'chestnut' may be related. In both of the Zan languages the stem is discerned in the designation of the beech.

|| Klimov (1985: 177).

GZ **çip-l-* 'beech': Georg. *çipela-* 'beech'; Megr. *çipur-*; Laz *çipu(r)-*.

Formation derived from the designation of the beech nut **çip-* by adding the suffix *-l*. The old word-final sonant is regularly reflected. In Laz a derivative *ma-(n)çipur-e-* 'squirrel' occurs. The Svan form *çip-ra* 'beech' belongs to another word-formation type (cf. its suffix *-ra* characterizing the names of plants and trees).

|| Georgian and Megrelian: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895: 292) and Čaraia (1895 XII: 109). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 127).

GZ(?) *çicil- 'young snake': Georg. *çicil-* 'young snake'; Laz *çicila-* 'snake'.

A problematic Georgian-Zan juxtaposition since in Georgian the variant with a diminutive suffix *-a* may also be adduced. In the light of the Laz verbal word-form *gama-çil-up-s* 'it hatches out eggs' a reduplicative structure of the word seems to be probable.

|| Fähnrich (1975: 40).

GZ *çick-wn- 'to pinch, hack to small pieces': Georg. *çickvn-* 'to pinch, hack to small pieces'; Megr. *çikickon-*, *çkæckon-* 'to eat with a feeling of disgust'.

The verb stem based on *çeck- 'to crack (into small pieces)' and connected through the regular rules of Kartvelian sound-symbolics with *çick-wn-, *cick-wn-, *çiçg-wn-, *çiçg-wn-. In the first syllable of the Megrelian form (action noun *çikickonua-*) *k* appears due to the attraction of the structure of the second syllable.

|| ÈSKJa: 244.

GZ *çkand-: çknd- 'to get cleared, refined (of sediment)': Georg. *çknd-* 'to be cleared, refined (of sediment)'; Megr. *çkond-* 'to spin thread; to be cleared of sediment'; Laz *çkond-* 'to spin thread'.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. Whereas in Georgian a zero ablaut grade is reflected, the Zan form retains a full grade (the action nouns are Georg. *çkndoma-*, Megr. *çkondua-*). The Zan cognate presupposes an original vocalism *a*. Cf. also Megr. *çqari çkonda* 'settled water'. Megr. *çkant-il-* 'clean' formally resembles the stem *çkend-. The meaning of the Laz stem is narrowed. The material similarity to PIE *skendh- 'to fall out' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 930) is noteworthy.

|| Čikobava (1938: 399).

CK *çkend- 'to exude, ooze': Georg. *çkent-* 'to ooze, exude; to press out'; Megr. [*çkint-*] 'to ooze, exude'; Laz [*çkint-*]; Svan *skind-*.

For its Old Georgian continuant see *çkintl-. Whereas in Georgian and Svan the verb has an independent use (cf. the action nouns *çkenta-* and *li-skind-e* respectively), in the Zan languages it may be traced only in its derivative *çkintil-* (cf. *çkintl-). The change *d > t* may be ascribed to the rules of Kartvelian sound symbolics (cf. *çr-ed- : çr-d- : çr-id- and ç₁qwed- : ç₁qwd-).

**čkep-*

GZ **čkep-* ‘to split, splinter’: Georg. *čkep-* ‘to split, splinter’; Megr. *čkap-*.

The verb stem has a nominal derivatives **čkep-l-* ‘twig, birch’ and **čkip-* ‘flick’. Cf. Georgian *čkip-* ‘flick’. The Megrelian form has a number of additional meanings (for instance, ‘to draw in line’); its past participle is *čkap-il-* ‘finely cut’. The stem may be included in a group of verbal formations containing expressive stem-final *p*. Therefore its similarity to PIE **skep-* ‘to split’ (Pokorny 1959: 930, cf. Abaev 1988: 72) must not be overrated.

|| Klimov (1985: 177).

GZ **čkep-l-* ‘twig, birch’: Georg. *čkepl-a-* ‘twig, birch’; Megr. [*čkapul-*].

A transparent noun derivative from the verb stem **čkep-*. The word is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 549). While in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani it occurs still without the suffix *-a*, for modern Georgian the latter is characteristic. The historical Megrelian equivalent may be discerned in the denominative verb stem *čkapulua-* ‘to cut into small pieces’. The alignment of Svan *čkăp-* ‘row’ seems doubtful.

|| ÈSKJa: 244.

CK **čker-* : *čkr-* ‘to cut into small pieces’: Georg. [*čker-*] ‘to cut into small pieces’; Megr. *čkir-*; Svan *čkr-* ‘to sharpen, point’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 209). In modern Georgian it may be deduced from its noun correlative *čkir-* ‘thin stick, wooden spit, metal rod’ represented in particular in the Pšav. dialect (cf. Ÿlonti 1984: 709). The Megrelian action noun *čkirua-* reflects the zero grade of the stem. The same grade is found in the Svan parallel (cf. the action noun *li-čkr-e*). The material similarity to PIE *(*s*)*ker-* (cf. Pokorny 1959: 938) may be noted.

|| Georgian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 204). Megrelian, Laz: Nadareišvili (1974: 145).

GZ **čker-* : *čkr-* ‘to grind, clang’: Georg. *čkr-ial-* ‘grind, clang’; Megr. *čkir-in-*.

A verb stem known from Old Georgian sources (Abulaže 1973: 549). The derivatory affixation of the forms points to their descriptive nature. The vocalic shape of the Megrelian cognate regularly corresponds to the zero ablaut grade of its Georgian match. Is there any relation to the preceding stem?

|| Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ *čkwār- : čkwr- ‘to screw up, narrow eyes’: Georg. čkur- ‘to blink, wink; to narrow eyes’; Megr. čkur- ‘to screw up, narrow eyes’.

Verb stem. The unbound forms contain the zero grade. In Megrelian (action noun čkurua-) a derivative čkur-in- ‘to put out eyes’ is formed by means of the causative affix. Georgian-Zan substantive *čkwaram- ‘darkness, abyss’ seems to be related to the stem (though its word-forming structure is not quite transparent). The inherited character of Svan čkuru- ‘crack, slit’ remains questionable.

|| Klimov (1982: 163).

GZ *čkwār-am- ‘darkness; abyss’: Georg. čkvaram-, škvaram- ‘darkness; abyss’; Megr. čkurum- ‘darkness; chasm’.

Although the word-forming structure of the word is opaque a relation to the verb stem *čkwār- : čkwr- is seems possible. The Georgian dialectal form with initial *s* (Ylonti 1984: 497) seems to be due to the impact of the stem škw- ‘to tie up’. According to Topuria (cf. 1979: 204) it illustrates a spirantization process. The Georgian dialectal (Lečx.) form ručkum- is a Zanism showing the effects of metathesis. The Megrelian form (n)čkvaram- derives from Georgian.

|| Klimov (1985: 177).

GZ(?) *čkwert- ‘to twist’: Georg. čkvert- ‘to twist’; Megr. čkimont-, čkəmont-.

A rather problematic juxtaposition. The phonetic correspondences in the stems compared remain quite unclear. Taking into account other cases of the correspondence of Zan *n* to Georgian *r*, the adequacy of this equation is not ruled out. The semantically deviating Megr. čkventere- ‘straight; sharp’ is formally closer to the Georgian stem (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 447).

|| ÈSKJa: 244–245.

GZ *čkint-/- ‘excrement, droppings (of birds)’: Georg. čkintl-, škint(l)- ‘excrement, droppings (of birds)’: Megr. čkintil-; Laz čkintil-; Svan skidil (?).

Represented in Old Georgian as škintl- (Saržvelaže 1995: 193). Besides it may be discerned in the derivative action noun škintlva- ‘to excrete’ (Abulaže 1973: 399). Georgian dialectal (Ing.) čkintl- shows a metathesis. The word is based on the verb stem *čkend- by adding the nominalizing affix *-l. The Zan lexeme regularly corresponds to the

***čkip-**

Georgian one, though in the latter the sporadic change *ç > s* and loss of the word-final consonant may occur. Similar Svan form may be borrowed from Megrelian.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 245.

GZ ***čkip-** ‘flick’: Georg. *čkip-* ‘flick’; Megr. [*čkip-*].

Unattested in Old Georgian. The word belongs to a series of apophonic deverbative formations with the vowel *i* from **čkep-* ‘to split, to cut (into small parts)’. The Megrelian equivalent may be extracted from *čkipurt-*.

GZ ***čkipart-** ‘flick, fillip’: Georg. *čkipart-* ‘flick, fillip’; Megr. *čkipurt-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The archetype has a non-transparent word-forming structure, although in its first part we have **čkip-* ‘flick’ (Adj. *čklipart-* and Ing. *čipartkl-* are secondary forms). The regular sound correspondences are maintained consistently: in Megrelian the expected *o* results in *u* in adjacency to labial *p*. In Georgian a *čkipurt-* variant is also widely known. The Svan *čkipart*, *čkipärt* with the same meaning have a Georgian source.

CK ***čkir-** ‘thin stick; twig’: Georg. *čkir-* ‘thin stick; twig’; Megr. *čkir-* ‘sharpen (pointed) stick’; Svan *čkir-* ‘splinter; thorn’.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language it occurs in the Pšav. dialect (Ylonti 1984: 709). Whether Laz *mčkil-* ‘sharpened’ belongs here remains disputable. Cf. also the Svan diminutive *čkirild*. The word must be treated as an apophonic derivative with the vocalism *i* based on the verb stem **čker-*: *čkr-* ‘to cut into small pieces’.

|| Nadareišvili (1974: 145).

GZ ***čkmu-** ‘to whine (about dog)’: Georg. *čkmu-* ‘to whine (about dog)’; Megr. *čkum-*; Laz *čkum-*.

Onomatopoeic verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Saržvelaže 1995: 270). In accordance with its sound type it belongs to such stems as **bzu-*, **zmu-*, **ymu-*. Its action nouns are Georg. *čkmu-il*, Megr. and Laz *čkmu-in*. Cf. also the enlarged parallel verb formation *čkmut-un-* in Georgian. The sound correspondences are regular.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 245.

GZ ***čmart-** ‘calf (of leg)’: Georg. [*čmart-*] ‘calf’; Megr. *čimort-*, *čəmort-*.

In Old Georgian sources its continuant is found in the derivative *sa-çmart-ul-* 'sort of trousers' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 381). In modern Georgian the form *sa-çmert-ul-* occurs alongside the old one. Judging by the inner form of the word it first denoted long trousers covering calves.

|| T. Gudava. Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 245.

GZ *çow- 'to suck': Georg. *çov-* 'to suck'; Megr. *ç(v)-*; Laz *ç(v)-*.

A verb stem well known in Old Georgian (*gamosçovs sixxltá* '(he) will suck out the blood' Job 6.4; action noun *çova-*). In the Zan correspondence (cf. action nouns Megr. *çuala-*, Laz *o-ç-u*) the final *v* is lost in position before *u*. Due to the descriptive character of the stem numerous parallels can be found in North Caucasian and other languages.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 48). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 392).

GZ *çon- 'to weigh': Georg. *çon-* 'to weigh'; Megr. *çon-*; Laz *çon-*, *çin-*.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian texts (*çonit ayçonna...* '(he) thoroughly weighted...' Job 6.2). The Zan continuant is regularly identical to the Georgian one. In Laz the variant *çin-* occurs too. Čikobava claimed a connection of the stem with *çw-en- 'to see, show'.

|| Čikobava (1938: 401).

GZ *çr-ed- : çr-id- : çr-d- 'to filter, strain': Georg. *çret-* : *çrit-* : *çrt-* 'to filter, strain, flow down'; Megr. *çirad-* : *çirid-* : *çird-* 'to filter, strain; to be filtered'; Laz *çrod-* : *çurd-*.

The verb stem is represented in Old Georgian (*daçridos sixxli misi* 'the blood ... shall be wrung out' Lev. 1.15; action noun *daçreda-*, *mocreda-*). The stem is formed from the base *çur- by means of the old extension *-ed : -id (cf. Marr 1911-1914 V: 180). The Georgian and Megrelian cognates reflect three ablaut grades. Georg. *çert-il-* 'point' seems to be its derivative (for the semantics cf. Lit. *taškas* 'point' parallel to *taškyti* 'to splash, sprinkle'). The history of the Laz continuants (cf. action noun *o-çurd-in-u*) seems to be less clear. The similar Svan verb stem *nçard-* with the inorganic *n* typical of Zan must be a recent borrowing. Arm. *crtel* 'to defecate (of birds)' and *cirt*, *cird* 'dung of bird' alongside their possible PIE links (cf. Džaukjan 1967.2: 257-258) show suspicious resemblance to the Georgian forms.

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1928: 402). Megrelian: (1979: 37).

*cred-il-

GZ *cred-il- 'filtered, strained': Georg. [çretil-] 'filtered, strained'; Megr. çiradil-, çaradil-.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. In modern Georgian the form is reflected in its derivative *dacretil-* with the same meaning. It is a past participle in *-il* based on the verb stem *cred- : çrid- : çrd- 'to filter, strain'.

|| Cf. Rogava (1962: 79).

GZ *çr-ex- : çr-ix- 'to twist, weave; interlace': Georg. çrex- : çrix- 'to twist, weave; interlace'; Megr. çirox-, çirix-.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. A connection with *cur- is not ruled out. Anyhow the historical extension *-ex : -ix can be detached from it. In Georgian the stem is typical of Imer., Gur., and some mountain dialects (Ylonti 1984: 197, 711). The Megrelian action noun is *çiroxua-*. Formally the full grade of the Megrelian stem corresponds more properly to the Georgian one in the parallel *da-çrax-n-a-* 'to twist tightly'.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ *çrip- 'to cheep, peep': Georg. çrip- 'to squeak, cheep'; Laz çip- 'to cheep, peep'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. It is an obvious onomatopoeic formation (cf. Lit. *cỹpti* 'to cheep'). The action nouns are Georg. *çrip-in-* (cf. also *çrip-çrip!*) and Laz (Arx.) *o-çip-u* (cf. *kinčik çipoms* 'bird peeps'). In Laz the word-inner *r* is regularly lost.

GZ *çumb- // çump- 'to become wet, be soaked with water': Georg. çump- 'to become wet, be soaked with water'; Megr. çump- 'to become wet, be bespattered'; Laz çump-, çomp-.

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian with metathesis in the form *mçub-* (*çori imçuba sagorelsa mçwirisasa* 'the sow ... was wallowing in the mire' II Peter 2.22; action noun *mçubeba-*). The stem characterizes West Georgian dialects. Taking into account the derivative *çumbe-* 'mire' adduced by S. Orbeliani (modern variant *çumpe-*) one may reconstruct also the protoform *çumb- (cf. Ertelišvili 1976: 165). For the Zan languages cf. the action nouns Megr. *doçumpua-* and Laz *o-çump-u* alongside their respective attributives *doçumper-* and *çumper-*. The parallelism with PIE *suomb(h)o- 'spongy, porous' deserves attention.

|| Klimov (1991: 111–116).

CK **çur-* ‘to press, squeeze out; to flow out’: Georg. *çur-* ‘to press, squeeze out; to flow out’; Megr. *çur-*, *çər-*; Laz (*n*)*çor-*, (*n*)*çir-* ‘to press, squeeze’; Svan *çwr-*, *çur-* ‘to squeeze out’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*gamovçure sasumelsa šina...* ‘(I) pressed them into ... cup...’ Gen. 40.11; action noun *çurva-*). From this base the stems **çr-ed* : *çr-id-* : *çr-d-* and apparently **çr-ex-* : *çr-ix-* are derived. The Svan action noun is *li-çwr-e* (the Svan form *nçur-* ‘to empty; to filter’ with the inorganic *n* characteristic for Zan must have been borrowed). The stem bears a descriptive character, which explains its parallels in some other languages of the Caucasus.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 402). Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 36).

GZ **çur-* ‘to sink; to fall; to bend, bow’: Georg. *çur-* ‘to bend, bow’; Megr. *çur-* ‘to sink; to fall’.

Attested in Old Georgian texts (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 452). The Georgian action noun is *miçurva-*. For the Megrelian cf. action noun *ila-çur-ua-* and past participle *uži-ila-çur-il-* ‘with lowered ears’.

|| Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ **çuç-wn-* ‘to suck, suck out’: Georg. *çuç(v)n-* ‘to suck, suck out’; Megr. *çurçon-*; Laz *çicon-*.

The verb stem has a Georgian variant *çuçkn-*. The stem contains the no longer productive extension **-wn*. *r* of the Megrelian form is secondary. Topuria believed that Svan *çusd-* (action noun *li-çusd-an-i*) with the same meaning belongs also here (cf. *IKE* XII, 1960: 152). The expressive character of the stem seems quite obvious. According to Ačariyan (1973: 471) the Arm. stem *cuc-* underlying *ccel* ‘to suck’ derives from a Kartvelian source. Cf. also Vogt (1938: 332).

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 403). Megrelian: Schmidt (1962: 155).

GZ **çq-* ‘to feel hurt (by); to resent’: Georg. *çq-en-* : *çq-in-* ‘to feel hurt (by); to resent’; Megr. *çq-in-*; Laz *çk-un-* ‘to ache, hurt’.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian sources (*momeçqina cxorebaj...* ‘I am weary of life...’ Gen. 27.46). Georgian *-en-* : *-in-* and Laz *-un-* are likely to be former affixes of the causative. The correspondence between Megr. *q* and dialectal Laz *k* is regular. The semantic deviation of the Laz form does not seem serious enough to cause doubts about its relation to the rest of the material.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 384). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 399–400).

*c̣q(a)–

GZ *c̣q(a)– ‘to measure off’: Georg. c̣q– ‘to measure off’; Megr. [rc̣q–].

Verb stem is found in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun *mic̣qva*– and a derivative *sac̣qaul*– ‘measure’ (Abuladze 1973: 254). Cf. also modern Georg. *sac̣qao*– ‘measure’. For Megrelian the stem may be identified in the substantive *o-ṛc̣q-e*– ‘measure’ where *r* is an inorganic element. A connection with stem *c̣qw– ‘to lay; to pack, arrange’ is not ruled out (the stem *c̣qaw– : c̣qw– ?).

|| Sardschweladse (1987: 23).

GZ *c̣qa– ‘water’: Georg. c̣qal– ‘water’; Megr. c̣qar–; Laz c̣ka(r)–, c̣ar–.

The protoform is extremely difficult to reconstruct correctly. The word is widely attested in Old Georgian (*mec me c̣qali* ‘give me water’ Jn. 4.10). The nature of its vocalism makes it possible to assume either a secondary origin of the final sonorant in the Zan forms (in which case the word will be placed in the same set with the protoforms *bark–, *maq̣w–, *pṛck–, and the like) or a borrowing of the lexeme in the Zan languages from Georgian. The latter point of view has been defended by Marr and Čikobava. Cf. also Schmidt (1960: 156). In this case a most unusual borrowing of a lexeme from the basic vocabulary would have to be acknowledged (see in this connection Čikobava 1942: 21). The supposed connection of the word with *rc̣₁qaw– : rc̣₁qw– ‘to sprinkle’ (cf. Vogt 1954: 544) needs additional argumentation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 60). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 182).

GZ *c̣qa(w)– ‘cherry-laurel’: Georg. c̣qav– ‘cherry-laurel’; Megr. c̣qol–; Laz ṃcko(l)–, (m)cu–.

For the correspondence between Georg. *v* and Zan *l* in stem-final position: cf. *zaḳu(w)–, *pe(w)–, *te(w)–, *xwe(w)–. The Zan vocalism points to the primary nature of the word-final consonant. The initial *m* of the Laz forms must be secondary. The correspondence Megr. *q* ~ dialectal Laz *k* is regular. Marr considered the lexeme to have been borrowed from Georgian, which is apparently true for the parallel Megr. *c̣qe*– and *c̣qi*–. The Svan *c̣qaw*–, *c̣qew*– with the same meaning are hardly very old.

|| Georgian, Zan: Marr (1915.1 II: 832), Čikobava (1938: 130).

GZ *c̣qec̣q– ‘to pinch, squeeze; to press’: Georg. c̣qec̣q– ‘to pinch; to press’; Megr. c̣qac̣q–.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The reduplicated structure points to a descriptive nature of the verb. Action nouns are Georg. *c̣qec̣qva*– and

Megr. *çqac̣qua-*. The regular correspondence in vocalism points to the inherited character of the stem.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38).

CK ***çqw-** 'to lay; to pack, arrange'; Georg. *çq(v)-* 'to lay; to pack, arrange'; Megr. *nc̣qv-*; Laz *çq-*, *çk-* 'to regulate, assemble, make friends'; Svan *sq-* 'to make, to arrange'.

Represented in Old Georgian (*daic̣qvna qelni da perqni...* '(he) folded arms and legs...' Sin. mr. 272.3-4; action noun *daçqoba-*). Georg. *çqvil-* 'pair' is derived from this stem. The initial *n* of the Megrelian form (action noun *nc̣qala-*) must be secondary. The formally corresponding Laz form (action noun *me-çq-v-en-u*) deviates to a certain extent semantically. In the Svan analogue (action noun *li-sq-i*) the old *ç* underwent spirantization.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1896 I: 51). Laz: Topuria (*IKE* XII, 1960: 154). Svan: Sardschweladse (1987: 23).

GZ ***çqw-** 'to destroy, husk': Georg. *çqv-* 'to destroy, annihilate'; Megr. *nc̣qv-*, *nc̣q-*, *çq-* 'to destroy'; Svan *nc̣qw-* (?).

The Georgian stem is extracted from such word-forms as *ga-çqv-a-* 'it destroyed', *ga-çqv-eb-a-* 'it will be destroyed'. For the Megrelian cf. action noun *nc̣qala-* and *nc̣qvir-* 'destroyed'. The Svan action noun is *li-nc̣qw-e*, whose phonetic shape perhaps points to a Zan source.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Sardschweladse (1985: 25). Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 37).

Ç₁

CK (?) ***ç₁abl-** 'chestnut': Georg. *çabl-* 'chestnut'; Megr. *çubur-*; Laz *çubu(r)-*, *çubr-*; Svan *heb-ra-*, *jeb-ra-* 'cherry(-tree)' (?).

Attested in Old Georgian in the same form (Saržvelaze 1995: 257), it may be discerned in its derivative *mo-çabl-e* 'chestnut-colored' (Abulaze 1973: 287 and 531). Zan forms regularly correspond to the Georgian word. The relation of the Svan lexeme, which is in phonetic agreement with the rest of material (cf. the regular change **ç₁* > *h* // *j* and the usual loss of the word-final *l* alongside the suffix *-ra* which forms names of plants and trees), remains tentative because of its essential

*ç₁ad- : ç₁d-

deviation in meaning. According to Kapanecjan (1975: 369), Arm. (dial.) *čyopur* 'nut' goes back to Megr. *čubur-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 13). Laz, Svan: Marr (1915.1 II: 825).

CK *ç₁ad- : ç₁d- 'to wish, desire': Georg. *çad-* 'to wish, desire'; Svan *had-* : *hd(w)-*.

The verb stem is well known in Old Georgian (*sçadoda ... xilvaj misi* 'he was desirous to see him' Lk. 23.8; action noun *çadil-*). In Zan languages its continuant seems to be unattested. The Svan cognate is characterized by the development *ç₁ > *h* (cf. action noun *li-hdw-i*, *li-wad-i*). The nature of the mobile *w* needs clarification.

|| Marr (1914: 37).

GZ *ç₁at- 'cudgel': Georg. *çat-* 'cudgel, club'; Megr. *çort-* 'pole'.

The lexeme is well attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 531) and seemingly absent in the modern language. Usually one assumes a later development of *r* in the Megrelian cognate, however, phonetically more close to the latter is Old Georg. *çalt-* 'kind of axe' (cf. Abulaže 1973: 531). In both cases the forms are comparable. There is an action noun (*do*)*çortua-* 'to beat with cudgel, club' in Megrelian.

|| D. Mačavariani (1975: 48–49).

CK *ç₁am- 'morning': Megr. *çume* 'to-morrow'; Laz *çume-*; Svan *ham* 'morning'.

No certain cognate is found in Georgian. The correspondence Zan *ç* ~ Svan *h* presupposes *ç₁ of the protolanguage. Laz *çuman-* 'morning' forms a link between the Zan and Svan forms since it ends in *n*, which can be identified in other adverbial formations.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 196). Svan: Schmidt (1961: 151).

CK(?) *ç₁am- // ç₁em- 'grass': Georg. [çam-] 'grass'; Laz (*n*)*çam-* 'medicine, drug'; Svan *çēm* 'hay' (?).

In Georgian it may be extracted from the derivatives *çamal-* 'medicine, drug' and *ler-çam-* 'reed'; both are attested in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 531, 208). For the cases of a correspondence Georg. *a* ~ Svan *e* see *ç₁ayl-, *ç₁abl-. Much more problematic seems to be a connection of these forms with Megr. (*r*)*çem-* and Svan *çīma-* 'pubes'.

|| Rogava (1945: 231–232).

GZ *ç₁an- : ç₁n- 'to braid, plait, weave': Georg. çan- : çn- 'to braid, plait, weave'; Megr. [çin-, çən-]; Laz [çin-, çun-].

Verb stem identifiable in Old Georgian in the derivative çnel- 'branch, twig' (Abulaže 1973: 549) which reflects Georgian-Zan *ç₁n-el-. Cf. further Rustaveli 760.3. Contrary to Georgian, where the stem is used in its unbound form, which shows two ablaut grades, the Zan cognates can be extracted only from the more complex descendants. Sometimes one includes here also the second part of *ç₁eç₁(w)n- 'willow' (cf. Čikobava (1942: 33).

|| Klimov (1973: 366).

GZ *ç₁ar- 'to anger, be angry; to irritate, be irritated': Georg. [çar-] 'to anger, be angry; to grieve'; Megr. çor- 'to calm down, cool down'.

In Georgian the verb stem can be extracted from the derivative mçare- 'bitter', which is represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 309). Its Megrelian equivalent can be found in the verb gito-çor-ap-a- 'to calm down, cool down'. The Georgian dialectal (Imer.) gan-çor-eb-a- with the same meaning is an obvious Zan borrowing.

|| Berize (1956: 247–248).

GZ *ç₁arb- 'eyebrow': Georg. çarb- 'eyebrow'; Megr. [çob-].

Well attested in Old Georgian texts (çarbta čemta zeda... 'on my eyelids (brows)...' Job 16.17), where its derivatives are also found. Cf. Saržvelaže (1995: 257). Although at present its regular Megrelian correspondence has been replaced by the Georgian loanword çar- it was still recorded in Brosset (1849: 74).

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 248.

CK *ç₁(e)- : ç₁(i)- 'to pull, stretch; to reach': Georg. çe- : çī- 'to pull, stretch; to reach, attain'; Megr. (n)ç- 'to reach, attain'; Laz nç- 'to reach; to ripen'; Svan (m)h- 'to ripen'.

Verb stem well known in Old Georgian (içie da arku! 'overtake (them) and say!' Gen. 44.4; action noun moçev(n)a-). The Georgian forms preserve the ablaut alternation. The Zan cognates usually have a secondary *n* (cf. action nouns Megr. nçapa-, Laz o-nç-u). In their Svan equivalent (action noun li-(m)h-e, li-h-i) *m* is equally optional, whereas *h* regularly reflects the former *ç₁.

|| Georgian, Svan: Marr (1918: 333). Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 388).

* \check{c}_1 eb-

GZ * \check{c}_1 eb- 'to glue': Georg. *ceb-* 'to glue'; Megr. *čab-*; Laz *čab-*.

Verb stem occurring in Old Georgian: *kari šemoiceba zurgit* '(he) shut the door after him' Gen. 19.6; action noun *dacebva-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 73). It must be viewed as a verbal derivative from the noun * \check{c}_1 ebo- 'mistletoe; gum'. The Zan form (action noun Megr. *čabua-*, Laz *me-čab-u*) regularly corresponds to the Georgian one.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 110). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 406).

GZ * \check{c}_1 ebo- 'mistletoe, gum': Georg. *cebo-* 'gum, glue'; Megr. *čabu-*; Laz *čabu-* 'mistletoe, gum'.

Attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 541). In word-final position the correspondence Georg. *o* ~ Zan *u* is regular. Svan *čäb*, *čäbr* 'mistletoe' must be regarded as a Zan loanword. The lexeme reflects the tradition of extracting glue from mistletoe which has been followed in Western Georgia till recent times. Arm. *cep* '(-o) 'putty' seems to be borrowed from Georgian (cf. Ačaryan 1973: 453; Vogt 1939: 332).

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 248.

CK(?) * \check{c}_1 el- 'gut(s), intestines': Georg. *cel-* 'waist, loin; intestine' Megr. *či-*, *čə-* 'gut, intestine'; Laz *ču-*, *mču-*; Svan [*čil-*].

Found in Old Georgian sources (*iqvned celni tkuenni mortqmul* 'let your loins be girded' Lk. 12.35). In modern Georgian the plural form *cel-eb-* means 'intestines' and *cel-* refers to 'waist, loin'. The word illustrates a correspondence between Georg. *-el* and Zan *-u* in noun formations. Cf. the Megrelian derivative *o-č-iš-* 'waist, loin'. The Laz cognate may contain an inorganic word-initial *m*. The Svan match is extracted from the reduplicative formation *činčil-* with the same meaning (however, its antiquity seems disputable).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 69–70). Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 37).

GZ(?) * \check{c}_1 en- 'to summon, invite': Georg. [*čan-*] 'to invite'; Megr. *čan-* 'to call, appeal'; Laz *čand-* 'to invite'.

The verb stem may be traced in Old Georgian *čan-a* 'feast, banquet' which can be interpreted as a form of the action noun (cf. also Laz *čanda-* 'invitation; wedding, marriage procession'). The Georgian stem possibly points to the old non-functional alternation *e* // *a*. Megr. action noun is *čanapa-*. The extra *d* in Laz (cf. action noun *o-čand-u*) needs ex-

planation. A different point of view on the connections of the Zan material has been expressed by Čikobava (1938: 406).

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr. Megrelian: *ĖSKJa*: 249.

GZ *ç₁enga- 'weed'(?): Georg. *çenga-* 'kind of grass'; Laz *çanga-* 'weed (Cynodon dactylon)'.

In modern Georgian the noun occurs in the Mtiul. dialect (Ylonti 1984: 699). The Laz form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. The affixal nature of the word-final *a* is not ruled out.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 37).

CK *ç₁er- : ç₁r- 'to scratch; to depict': Georg. *çer-* 'to write; to depict'; Megr. (*n*)*çar-*; Laz (*n*)*çar-*, *ça(r)-*; Svan (*j*)*r-*.

Widely known in Old Georgian: cf. *daçere otmeoci* 'write fourscore' Lk. 16.9. The primary meaning of the stem is preserved in Georg. *žvaris daçera* 'to depict a cross', i.e. 'to cross oneself'. Cf. dial. (Kiziq) *çerva-* 'to make paintings on windows and doors', (Moxev.) *ga-çera-* 'to depict a line', etc. The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *çarua-*, Laz *o-nçar-u*) often develop a secondary *n*. In Svan *ç₁ is regularly lost, and compensatory lengthening has developed (cf. the Svan action noun *ñ-r-e*). One of the derivatives of the stem is **m-ç₁er-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 74). Laz, Svan: Marr (1914: 37).

GZ *ç₁ero- 'crane': Georg. *çero-* 'crane'; Megr. [*çaro-*] 'fishing bird'.

In the form *mçero-* the word is attested in Old Georgian: ...*da mçeroni da šašuni* '...and cranes and thrushes' (Abulaže 1973: 309). Its regular Megrelian equivalent can be seen in the form *çaro-* which is mentioned in the dictionary of S. Orbeliani and possibly is retained in the Megrelian surname *Čaraia*. However, a similar Svan *çärw-* is an obvious Georgian loanword. The Kartvelian word may eventually derive from the Indo-European designation of the crane (cf. PIE **ger(o)-*).

|| Rogava (1988.2: 59–60).

GZ *ç₁eç₁- 'to tangle, get tangled; to string, thread': Georg. *çeç-* 'to get tangled; be mixed'; Megr. *çaç-* 'to string, thread'.

Unattested in Old Georgian sources. The Georgian and Megrelian stems regularly correspond to each other (cf. their respective action nouns

ceçva- and *čačua-*). Their semantic deviation remains within admissible limits. The Georgian match has a connotation 'to scutch wool'. By Kartvelian sound-symbolic rules the stem seems related to GZ **ze(n)z-* 'to scutch (flax)'. Arm. *cecel* with the same meaning alongside its assumed Indo-European links (cf. Ačaryan 1973: 451) is suspiciously close to the Georgian form.

CK **ç₁w-* 'to bake, fry': Georg. *çv-* 'to burn; to fry'; Megr. *č(v)-* 'to burn; to ache; to fry'; Laz *č(v)-*; Svan *č-* 'to bake, scorch'.

Verb stem widely represented in Old Georgian: *bzej igi daçuas* '(he) will burn up the chaff' Mt. 3.12; action noun *daçua-* and *daçuva-*. In the Zan cognate (action noun Megr. *çua-*, *çuala-*, Laz *o-č-u*) the final *v* disappears before *u*. The respective Svan stem is represented by the consonant *č*: action noun *li-č-i*; cf. *āčī* '(he) scorches, bakes'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 66). Laz: Žavaxišvili (1913: 6). Svan: Mačavariani (1965: 29).

GZ **ç₁wart-* : *ç₁wrt-* 'to run (adroitly); to exercise, train': Georg. *çvrt-n-* 'to exercise, train'; Megr. *čvirt-* 'to run (adroitly)'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts, where it preserved the ablaut alternation and a wider meaning: cf. action noun *çuart(n)a-* and past participle *çurt-il-* (Abulaže 1973: 550). For the Megrelian cognate reflecting zero grade cf. the action noun *čvirt-ap-* and the parallel adjective *čvirt-* 'dexterous, bold, lively'.

CK **ç₁wed-* : *ç₁wd-* 'to give, to serve': Georg. *çvd-* 'to let, grant'; Svan *hod-* : *hwd-* 'to give; to sell'.

Verb stem is well known from Old Georgian (cf. action noun *çudoma-*). The stems compared correspond to each other. The historical ablaut alternation has been retained at present only in Svan: action noun *li-hwd-i*; cf. *hodi* < **hwedi* 'he sells'.

|| Georgian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 205).

GZ **ç₁wet-* : *ç₁wt-* 'to drip, drop': Georg. *çvet-* 'to drip, drop'; Megr. *čvat-*; Laz [*čot-*].

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian texts (*čascuta naçueti misi* 'his drop fell' Bal. 6.9), where it still retained the ablaut alternation. In the Zan branch it functions independently in Megrelian (action noun *čvat-ap-*). Their Laz equivalent may be traced back in the derivative *o-čot-ur-a-*

'rubbish heap, dump in the yard'. There exists also a related noun stem (see below).

|| Cf. *ĚSKJa*: 250.

GZ *č₁wet- 'drop': Georg. *čvet-* 'drop'; Megr. *čvat-*, *čvet-*; Laz [*čot-*].

Noun correlate of the preceding stem. In Old Georgian it is represented in the form of *čuet-* (Abulaže 1973: 551). One may assume that Georg. *čut-* 'minute' is related with the word. For the Laz correspondence see the preceding entry. The tentative comparison with Svan *wed-* 'drop, dew' expressed formerly in (*ĚSKJa*: 250) seems to be very problematic.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 66). Laz: *ĚSKJa*: 250.

GZ *č₁wel- 'to milk': Georg. *čvel-* 'to milk'; Megr. *čval-*; Laz (*m*)*čval-*, (*n*)*čval-*.

Verb stem documented in Old Georgian (cf. Abulaže 1973: 551). The Laz form has optional word-initial *m* or *n*. From this stem are formed the derivatives *č₁wel-*a-* and **me-*č₁wel-. In the past one suggested an earlier suffixal character of the sequence *el* and connection of the stem with *č₁wet- (Čikobava 1938: 409). The relation between the Georgian-Zan material and the Svan *li-čw-e* 'to crumple' requires argumentation.

|| Georgian, Zan: Šavaxišvili (1913: 6).

GZ *č₁wel-*a-* 'daily yield of milk': Georg. *čvela-* 'daily yield of milk, cheese (of one milking)'; Megr. *čvala-*.

Noun correlate of the preceding verb. It is attested in Old Georgian (*nu ixilos čuelaj...* 'he shall not see the floods (of milk)...' Job 20.17). By its origin it is an action noun. The Georgian and Megrelian forms regularly correspond to each other.

|| Čikobava (1938: 409).

GZ *č₁wer- 'tip, point': Georg. *čver-* 'tip, point; beard'; Megr. *čvanž-*, *čvand-* 'tip, top'; Svan *wēre*, *wär(e)* 'beard'(?).

The word is widely represented in Old Georgian (*tavi da čveri...* 'head and beard...'. Krest. 162.36; note the derivative *mčuerval-* 'top, peak'). Its verb correlate is *č₁wer- (see below). The Megrelian cognate presupposes the intermediate step *č₁vanž- and subsequent dissimilation. In Laz the

*ç₁wer-

word seems to be lost. The meaning 'beard' must be secondary. The relation of the Svan form remains doubtful.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashvili (cf. Erckert 1895:296). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 594).

GZ *ç₁wer- 'to root out, stub out (a field)'; Georg. *çver-* 'to root out, stub out (a field)'; Megr. *čvar-*; Laz *nčvar-* 'to weed'.

Verbal correlate of the noun *ç₁wer-. The Georgian (Rača dial.) and Zan forms regularly correspond to each other phonetically. The meaning of the Laz stem deviates. The verb is a typical term of settled agriculture common only for Georgian and the Zan languages.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: D. Mačavariani (1970: 92-96). Laz: Klimov (1985: 177).

CK *ç₁wer- 'to set, disappear (of the sun)': Georg. *çver-* 'to set, disappear (of the sun)'; Svan *huer-, wer-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. For modern Georgian cf. action noun *çverva-*; *i-çver-eb-a* 'disappears (of the sun)'. No Zan cognates are found. For Svan cf. action noun *li-hwer, li-wer* and *li-m-her* 'West'.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 37).

GZ *ç₁wim- 'to rain': Georg. *çvim-* 'to rain, to pour'; Megr. *čvim-, čvem-*; Laz *(m)čim-, (m)čvim-*.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian (*çvimn martalta zeda...* '(he) sendeth rain on the just...' Mt. 5.45). In Megrelian there is also a variant with vocalism *e*. The Laz form often contains an inorganic initial *m*. In the past one assumed a suffixal character of the sequence *im* (cf. Čikobava 1938: 409).

|| Schuchardt (1902.2: 394).

GZ *ç₁wim-a- 'rain': Georg. *çvima-* 'rain'; Megr. *čvima-, čvema-*; Laz *(m)čima-, (m)čvima-*.

Widely known in Old Georgian: *gardamoqda çvimaj* 'the rain descended' Mt. 7.25 (its variant *çuma-* also occurs). It is an action noun derived from the verb stem *ç₁wim-. The Laz word may contain an inorganic initial *m*. The origin of the Megrelian variant with *e* needs elucidation.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 76). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 394).

GZ *ç₁wis₁- 'to attain': Georg. [çvis-] 'to attain, reach'; Megr. *čiš-*; Laz *čiš-* 'to attain, reach; to mature'.

Verb stem. In Georgian it may be traced in the noun derivative *mçwis-* 'grown up' (Abulaže 1973: 312), which in its turn serves as the basis for the denominative verb. The Zan form has lost a glide *v* but in other respects it regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. Cf. the action nouns Megr. *čišapa-* and Laz *me-čiš-u*.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 404–405). Georgian: Gigineišvili (1972: 151).

GZ *ç₁it- 'to redden, become red': Georg. *çit-* 'to redden, become red'; Megr. [čit-]; Laz [čit-].

In its unbound state the verb stem is attested only in Old Georgian (*çits caj* 'the sky is red' Mt. 16.2). By means of the derivatory affix *-el* it forms the adjective *ç₁it-*el-* whose continuants make it possible to trace the stem in both Zan languages. Marr (1915.1, II: 778) believed the stem to have originated from the protoform *çvit-.

GZ *ç₁it-el- 'red': Georg. *çitel-* 'red'; Megr. *čita-*; Laz (*m*)čita-.

The adjective is widely used in Old Georgian (*umžobes ars çuncubasa çitelsa...* '(it is) better than red sulphur...' Bal. 28.9). It is based on the stem of the stative verb *ç₁it-. The cognates are phonetically regular. The Laz correspondence may contain an augmentation *m*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Rosen (1945: 3).

GZ *ç₁iku- 'tiny, wee; small things': Georg. *çiku-* 'smallest; crumb'; Megr. *čiku-* 'small, little'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In modern Georgian it is a dialectal (Tuš.) word. Cf. also the Kartl. derivative *çiko-mako-* 'small things' (Ylonti 1984: 702).

|| Fähnrich.

GZ *ç₁irpl- 'pus (in the eye)': Georg. *çirpl-* 'pus (in the eye)'; Megr. *čirp-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The phonetic correspondences between the Georgian and Megrelian lexemes are regular. For the loss of the final *l* in the Zan languages see *tes-*l-*, *opl-, *çqintl-*, etc. Arm. *čipr* with the same meaning is a loanword from Zan (cf. Ačaryan 1977: 201; Vogt 1938: 332).

* ζ_1 irx- : ζ_1 rx-

GZ * ζ_1 irx- : ζ_1 rx- ‘to twitter, chirp (about swallow)’: Georg. [rcx-] ‘to twitter, chirp (about swallow)’; Megr. $\check{\zeta}$ irx-.

In its unbound form the verb stem occurs only in Megrelian: cf. $\check{\zeta}$ irx-ol- ‘to chirp (of swallow), babble’. Its descriptive nature is rather felt and draws it closer together with similar forms in some other languages of the Caucasus and beyond it. Cf. also Megr. $\check{\zeta}$ irx-in- ‘neighing (of horse)’. Among derivatives of the stem is Georg.-Zan *me- ζ_1 rx-al- ‘swallow’.

GZ * ζ_1 i ζ_1 il- ‘chick, chicken’: Georg. $\check{\zeta}$ icil-a- ‘chick, chicken’; Laz $\check{\zeta}$ učul-.

A problematic equation. The end of the Georgian word contains the evaluation suffix -a. The symbolic nature of the lexeme denoting a small object causes a defective correspondence in the vocalic shape of the material.

|| Megreliдзе (1938: 173).

GZ * ζ_1 mas₁- ‘to interlace, twist’: Georg. $\check{\zeta}$ mas-n- ‘to weave, interlace tightly’; Megr. $\check{\zeta}$ imosš-, $\check{\zeta}$ umosš- ‘to twist, tie up (tobacco leaves)’; Laz (n) $\check{\zeta}$ imosš- ‘to interlace, twist’.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian texts: cf. the action noun $\check{\zeta}$ masna-, $\check{\zeta}$ masnva- (Abulaže 1973: 549). An extraction of the affix -as (cf. Vogt 1947.1: 48) needs argumentation. There exists also the Georgian dialectal variant $\check{\zeta}$ mas-n-. The correspondences between the forms are regular. While in Laz (action noun o- $\check{\zeta}$ imosš-u) the meaning of the stem remains sufficiently broad (cf. its connotation ‘to be struck dumb’) in Megrelian it underwent a narrowing.

|| \check{E} SKJa: 251.

GZ * ζ_1 n- ‘to press’: Georg. $\check{\zeta}$ n- ‘to press’; Megr. [$\check{\zeta}$ in-]; Laz [$\check{\zeta}$ in-].

In its unbound state the verb stem is preserved only in Georgian (action noun $\check{\zeta}$ neva-). The stem serves as a basis for derivative * ζ_1 n-ex- : ζ_1 n-ix- which makes it possible to trace it in both Zan languages.

GZ * ζ_1 n-el- ‘twig’: Georg. $\check{\zeta}$ nel- ‘twig, birch’; Megr. $\check{\zeta}$ in(u)-, $\check{\zeta}$ ənə-; Laz $\check{\zeta}$ unu-, $\check{\zeta}$ inu-, $\check{\zeta}$ ino-.

Deverbative formation represented in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 549). In the modern language a dialectal (Gur.) variant $\check{\zeta}$ knel- (Ylonti 1984: 709) is also known. The lexeme is derived from the verb stem * ζ_1 an- : ζ_1 n-. Its end shows the correspondence Georg. -el ~ Zan -u.

|| Georgian, Laz: Marr (1910: 228). Megrelian: Čaraja (1912: 49).

GZ * ζ_1n -ex- : ζ_1n -ix- 'to press; to squeeze': Georg. $\zeta n\acute{e}x-$: $\zeta n\acute{i}x-$ 'to press (grapes)'; Megr. $\check{\zeta}inax-$ 'to press'; Laz $\check{\zeta}inax-$ 'to press; to squeeze'.

Verbal formation attested in Old Georgian: cf. the action noun $\zeta n\acute{e}x\acute{a}-$, and the derivative participles $\zeta n\acute{e}x\acute{i}l-$ 'pressed' and $m\zeta n\acute{e}x\acute{a}r-$ 'pressing'. It is formed from a simple stem (see * ζ_1n-) by means of the extension *-ex : -ix. In its turn the stem serves as a basis for the Georgian-Zan derivative * $sa-\zeta_1n\acute{e}x-el-$. The cognates are phonetically regular (cf. action noun Megr. $\check{\zeta}inaxua-$, Laz $o-\check{\zeta}inax-u$). In Megrelian the stem occurs also in the simplified form $\check{\zeta}ax-$. Arm. $\check{\zeta}\acute{a}n\check{s}-el$ 'to press; to oppress' seems to be an old Zan borrowing.

|| Georgian, Laz: Šavaxišvili (1913: 6). Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 396).

CK * ζ_1rtxa- 'cubit, ell': Georg. $\zeta r\acute{t}x\acute{a}-$ 'cubit, ell'; Megr. $\check{\zeta}q\acute{i}(r)ta-$, $\check{\zeta}q\acute{a}(r)ta-$; Svan $\check{\zeta}itx-$.

The word is found in Old Georgian (or $\zeta r\acute{t}x\acute{a} sigr\check{z}ej...$ 'two cubits (shall be) the length...' Ex. 25.23). The Megrelian form corresponds well phonetically to the Georgian one. The presence of the word-initial affricate in Svan proves that earlier it stood next to the sonant r (cf. Gamqrelize 1968: 10). This assumption is supported by the existence of the Georgian derivative $\zeta ir\acute{t}xl-$ '(door-, window-)post'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 110). Svan: Klimov (1960: 24). Cf. ÈSKJa: 254.

GZ * ζ_1rp- 'to stretch; to reach': Georg. [$\zeta rp-$] 'to reach, attain; to be in time'; Megr. $r\check{\zeta}ip-$, $r\check{\zeta}ip-$ 'to stretch'.

In Georgian the verb stem can be identified in the derivative adjective $\zeta rp-el-$ well known from Old Georgian. In Megrelian the stem is used as a verbal base; cf. action noun $r\check{\zeta}ip-ap-$ // $r\check{\zeta}ip-ap-$ (the second form contains an expressive p) showing metathesis of r .

|| Klimov (1985: 177–178).

GZ * $\zeta_1rp-el-$ 'stretched, narrow': Georg. $\zeta rpel-$ 'straight; right; true'; Megr. $\check{\zeta}irpa-$, $\check{\zeta}ripa-$ 'sort of long fish'; Laz $m\check{\zeta}ipa-$ 'holy, sacred, pure' (?).

The adjective is attested in Old Georgian with the meaning 'straight, true' ($\zeta rpel qvenit alagni misni$ 'make his paths straight' Mt. 3.3). It is a derivative from the verb stem * ζ_1rp- formed by means of the suffix $-el$. The comparison of the Georgian word with Megr. $\check{\zeta}ipe-$ 'thin' proposed

*ç₁u-

in Čikobava (1938: 231) is weakened by the final vocalism in Zan forms. The adduced Laz cognate significantly deviates in its semantics. Under these conditions the cited Megrelian word must be a regular Zan continuant of the archetype.

|| Klimov (1985: 17). Cf. Fähnrich (1987: 37).

CK *ç₁u- 'to hum, whistle': Georg. *çu-il-* 'to hum, buzz'; Svan *çu-l-* 'to whistle'.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. All forms correspond phonetically to each other. They belong to a number of descriptive stems derived by the characteristic affixes *-il* (in Georgian) and *-l* (in Svan).

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38).

GZ *ç₁uḳ- 'copper cauldron': Georg. *çuḳ-al-a-* 'small copper cauldron'; Laz *çuḳ-* 'copper cauldron'.

The Georgian word is attested in the Gur. dialect (Ylonti 1984: 712). It contains diminutive suffixes. Its Laz equivalent has a derivative *çuḳ-an-* 'large cauldron'. Cf. also the vague Laz (Atina) *çuḳ-* with the same meaning.

|| Georgian, Laz: Fähnrich (1975: 341).

GZ *ç₁uḳ- 'little, small': Georg. *çuḳ-* 'little, small'; Megr. *çuḳ-* 'mouse'.

In Georgian the stem can be discerned in the dialectal (Moxev.) form *çuḳ-an-ia-j* 'little, small'. Since the Common Kartvelian word for 'mouse' is **tagw-*, the meaning of the Megrelian form must be secondary (effects of taboo?).

|| Fähnrich (1975: 341).

CK *ç₁ul- 'baby, child (male)': Georg. *çul-* 'baby, child (male, sometimes also female)'; Svan *çuš*.

Well known in Old Georgian sources (*ganikurna çuli igi...* 'the child was cured...') Mt. 17.18; cf. its derivatives *kal-çul-* 'girl' and *dis-çul-* 'nephew'). It illustrates the correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Svan *š* at the end of nouns. In view of the Svan derivative *na-çwl-aš* 'a kind of property-compensation' *ç₁ must be reconstructed in word-initial position.

|| Rogava (1951: 636). Cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 467–468).

GZ *ç₁urç₁ul- 'to purl, murmur; to stream': Georg. *çurçul-* 'to purl, murmur; to stream'; Megr. *çvarçval-* 'to splash; to stream'.

The reduplicative structure of the verb stem points to its descriptive nature. Cf. the correlation of the same type between Georgian and Megrelian forms descended from **zunzul-*.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38).

GZ *ç₁qal- ‘to feel sorry (for), to regret; to spare’: Georg. *çqal-* ‘to feel sorry, regret; to spare’; Megr. [çqol-] ‘to provide charity, favor, mercy’.

Verb stem documented in Old Georgian texts (*mecqaleba me eri ese* ‘I have compassion on the multitude’ Mk. 8.2; cf. its derivatives *çqaloba-* ‘mercy’ and *sacqal-* ‘pitiful’). In Megrelian the stem may be traced in a derivative *çqolopua-* ‘charity’.

|| Cagareli (1880: 85).

GZ *ç₁qal- : ç₁ql- ‘to injure, be wounded, be injured’: Georg. *çql-* ‘to injure, be injured’; Megr. *çqol-* ‘to injure, be injured’.

Verb stem well represented in Old Georgian: *dacqles da çarvides...* ‘(they) wounded him and departed ...’ Lk. 10.30 (action noun *dacqlva-*), where its meaning was much wider (Abulaze 1973: 554). Cf. modern Georgian *çqlul-* ‘ulcer, sore, wound’. In Megrelian the stem reflects a vocalism *a*; cf. the action noun *çqolua-*. The comparison leads to the reconstruction of the ablaut alternation.

|| Schmidt (1962: 157).

GZ *ç₁qan- ‘oak’: Georg. [çqan-] ‘oak’; Megr. *çqon-*; Laz (*m*)çkon-, *mçon-*.

In Georgian it can be discerned in the toponym *Çqan-et-* (village near Tbilisi). In Laz it frequently has secondary word-initial *m*. The diversity of modern designations of the oak in Kartvelian languages (cf. Georgian *muxa-* < Old Georgian *muqa-* and Svan *ži(h)ra-*) is likely to be explained by tabooing of the inherited name of the tree, which was sacred for the ancient Kartvelians. For the taboo replacement of this term in Indo-European languages cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (1995: 530–531).

|| Megrelian, Laz: Marr (1912.1: 39). Georgian: Čikobava (1938: 128).

GZ *ç₁qar- ‘quail’: Georg. *mçqer-* ‘quail’; Megr. *çqor-*; Svan *šqäžw*, *šqežw* (?).

Attested in Old Georgian texts (Abulaze 1973: 312). The initial *m* of the Georgian word seems to be an inorganic element. The *-e-*vocalism points to an umlaut effect on the pre-Georgian stage (cf. Saržvelaze 1985:

**ç₁qew-* : *ç₁qw-*

199). The identity of the stem-final *r* remains unclear: cf. the same pattern in **kwer-*, **meser-*, *c₁xwar-*. Since the Svan word shows instead of the expected *r* a consonant *ž* (< *ž*) one prefers sometimes to consider it a loanword from Zan (cf. Penixi-Saržvelaže 1990: 470).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). All Kartvelian material is aligned in Marr (1914: 45).

GZ **ç₁qew-* : *ç₁qw-* ‘to curse, damn’: Georg. *çqev-* ‘to curse, damn’; Megr. *çq(u)-*.

Verb stem widely used in Old Georgian (...*romeli hscqeve* ‘...which thou cursedst’ Mk. 11.21; action noun *çqeva-*). In modern Georgian the stem is enlarged with *l*: cf. the action noun *çqevla-*. The Megrelian cognate reflects the zero grade. Its final *u* is frequently absent (cf. action noun *çq(u)ala-* and past participle *çqel-*, *çqer-* ‘cursed’).

|| Kipšidze (1914: 393).

GZ **ç₁qen-* : *ç₁qin-* ‘to bore, pester; be tired’; Georg. *çqen-* : *çqin-* ‘to bore, pester; be tired’; Laz [*çkin-*] ‘to be tired’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian where it meant ‘to be tired; to upset, grieve’; action noun *moçqineba-* (Abulaže 1973: 289). In Laz the stem may be extracted from its derivative *çqin-d-* // *çkin-d-* (cf. action noun *do-çkin-d-in-u* ‘to get tired’).

|| Čikobava (1938: 414–415).

CK(?) **ç₁qer-* : *ç₁qr-* ‘to take offense (at); to be angry (with)’; Georg. *çqer-* : *çqr-* ‘to take offense (at)’; Megr. (*n*)*çqor-*; Svan [*çqr-*]?

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*guli giçqrebis...* ‘are ye angry...’ Jn. 7.23; action noun *çqroma-*). The vowel of the Megrelian forms (action noun *çqorin-*) points to parallel *a* vocalism of the protoform (cf. Mačavariani 1958: 266, 599). Their Svan correspondence can be seen in the form *li-çqr-un-āl* ‘to bristle’ if it is not borrowed from Megrelian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 25). Cf. also Lafon (1952: 78). Svan: Fähnrich (1987: 37).

GZ **ç₁q-* ‘to begin’: Georg. *çq-* ‘to begin’; Megr. *çq-* ‘to begin; to intend’; Laz *çk-*, *ç-*.

Verb stem amply represented in Old Georgian (*içqo sitquad* ‘(he) began to say’ Mk. 10.28; action noun *daçqeba-*). The Zan stem (cf. action nouns Megr. *ge-çqap-a*, Laz *ge-çqap-u*) regularly corresponds to the

Georgian one. In Laz, apart from the well-known development $q > k$, the consonant cluster may have been reduced.

|| Schuchardt (1902.2: 396).

CK *c₁qwed- : c₁qwd- 'to break, tear': Georg. *cqvət-* : *cqd-* : *cqvīt-* 'to break, tear; to cease, end; to decide'; Megr. *čqvad-* : *čqud-* : *čqvid-* 'to break, tear; to cease, end; to strike'; Laz *čkvad-* : *čko(r)d-* : *čkvid-*; Svan *šqed-* : *šqd-* 'to fall'.

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*močqvīda qoveli qrmēbi* '(he) slew all the children' Mt. 2.16; action noun *čqvēda-*). The expressive substitution $d > t$ is common for Georgian. The stem preserves the ablaut alternation (cf. also the form *šqad-* in Svan). In Megrelian its zero-grade is seen in the form *čqud-* reflected also in a derivative *mo-čqud-u* 'bride', lit. 'alienated (from father's family)'. The Svan forms have lost *w*; their initial affricate underwent spirantization.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 110). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 413–414). Svan: Mačavariani (1958: 273).

GZ *c₁qurt- 'diabetes': Georg. *cqurt-* 'diabetes'; Megr. [*čqurt-*].

Apparently unknown from Old Georgian texts. It is not recorded in the Zan languages either. However, the Georgian dialectal (Lečx.) word *čqurt-* with the same meaning preserves a regular Zan correspondence being an old borrowing. Cf. also Lečx. *mačqurtia-* of the same semantics and Mesx. verb stem *čqurt-* 'to drink hard'.

|| Alavize (1955: 12).

Č

CK *čam- : čm- 'to eat': Georg. *čam-* : *čm-* 'to eat'; Megr. *čkom-*, *čkum-*; Laz *čkom-*, *škom-*; Svan *ēm-*.

Verb stem amply represented in Old Georgian (*šeginebulita qelita čamen pursa* '(they) eat bread with unwashed hands' Mk. 7.5; action noun *čama-*, cf. *čamad-* 'food'). Cf. a derivative **sa-čm-el-* 'food, meal'. The Zan form regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. The changes $o > u$ and $č > š$ are also known here. The Svan form (cf. *la-l-ēm* 'he ate' and *lī-m-n-e* 'to feed') as in some other cases goes back directly to the *č form and not to the *čk* reflex. The evident symbolic nature of the stem

*čed-

explains its numerous analogies in languages of the Caucasus and beyond it.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 73). All the Kartvelian material is aligned in Marr (1914: 44–45).

CK *čed- ‘to hammer in, nail’: Georg. čed- ‘to hammer in, nail; to shoe’; Megr. čkad-, čkand- ‘to nail; to shoe’; Laz č(k)ad-; Svan škäd-.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian: *maxvili mčedeltagan ganičedis* ‘a sword is hammered (forged) by the smith’ Sin. mr. 97.21 (cf. action noun čedva- and čde- ‘notch’ which reflects the zero grade of the ablaut alternation). For derivatives see under *me-(r)čed-, *m-čed-el-, *čed-il-. The Zan stem (cf. action noun Megr. čkadua-, Laz me-čkad-u) regularly corresponds to the Georgian one. The Svan form (action noun *li-škäd-i*) shows a non-combinatorial length of the vowel and the regular transformation of the affricate into a spirant. Vogt (1939: 133) considered its vocalism *a* to be ancient. The meaning ‘to shoe, forge’ cannot be original. Similar Daghestanian forms (cf. Lezg. ččad, Tab. žad, Rutul žad ‘forge, smithy’) are likely to have been borrowed from Georgian.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1895 XII: 112). For the rest of the material see Marr (1911–1914 I: 145).

GZ *čed-il- ‘wrought, forged’: Georg. čedil- ‘wrought, forged’; Megr. čkadir-; Laz čkader-.

Noun formation attested with the same meaning in Old Georgian texts (Abulaže 1973: 556). The word is a past participle in *-il* from the verb stem *čed- : čd- ‘to hammer in, nail’. The Laz cognate is adapted to adjectives ending in *-er*. Cf. also *gačedil- ‘hammered in, stuffed’.

CK *čer- : čir- ‘to hold; to catch’: Georg. čer- ‘to hold; to catch’; Megr. [čkor-] ‘to catch’(?); Svan [čkar-].

Verb stem documented in Old Georgian where it had also the meaning ‘to attain, reach’. The Georgian action noun is čera-, which seems to correspond to Svan čkara ‘care, meditation’ if the latter is not borrowed. In Zan languages the stem can be traced in the continuants of its apophonic derivative *čir- ‘to need; to suffer misfortune’. Another Zan continuant of the stem may perhaps be Megr. čkor- ‘slave’ which reflects the parallel vocalism **a* (cf. Schmidt 1962: 157).

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Schmidt (ibidem).

CK *čer- : čr- 'to cut, chop, fell': Georg. čer- : čr- 'to cut, chop, fell'; Megr. čkir- : čkər-; Laz čki(r)- : čkor-; Svan [r-].

Verb stem well attested in Old Georgian (*mohčrides tavsā quvilisasa* '(they) plucked the ears of corn' Lk. 6.1; action noun čra-). In Georgian dialects one finds also the full grade *a* which is reflected in Laz (cf. action noun *o-čkor-u* alongside *o-čkir-u*). The Megrelian form (action noun *čkirua-*) also has the meaning 'to reap, mow'. For Svan the stem may be identified in its probable derivative *lā-r-e* 'meadowland, meadow' showing the compensatory lengthening of the vowel. The well-known Svan verb stem *čkor-*, *čkwr-* with the same meaning must be treated as a Zan borrowing.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 28). Laz: Marr (1936: 64). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 255–256.

GZ *čečk- 'to cut (fine)': Georg. čėčk- 'to cut (fine)'; Megr. čkačk-.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. It belongs to a series of descriptive stems of similar phonological structure: cf. *čečk-, *zəzəg- *cečk-, and some others. Concerning the repetition of the velar element in Megrelian see the cited forms and many others.

|| Žyenti (1940: 230).

GZ *čečq- 'to crush; to squash, squeeze': Georg. čėčq- 'to crumple, to press'; Megr. čqa(n)čq-; Laz [čančq-].

Verb stem apparently unattested in Old Georgian texts. For Georgian cf. the dialectal *čenčq-* and *čenčex(o)-* 'quagmire, mud'. The Zan forms regularly correspond to the Georgian one (cf. the Megrelian action noun *mečqa(n)čqua-* with an optional *n*). The Laz equivalent may be extracted from the derivative noun *čančq-op-* 'bog, swamp'. Arm. *jənjxel* 'to crush, squash' may go back to a Zan source.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (1940: 95).

GZ *čil- 'nit': Georg. čil- 'nit'; Megr. čkir-; Laz mčkir-.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In its modern continuant there is a change *č > c* which occurs in forms designating small objects. Apart from the inorganic Laz word-initial *m* the Zan forms regularly reflect the proto-form.

|| Mačavariani (1965: 42).

*čir-

CK *čir- 'to need; to suffer a misfortune': Georg. čir- 'to need'; Megr. čkir-, čkər-; Laz čkār-, nčkər-, čir- 'to need, to grieve'(?); Svan čkər- 'to worry, upset'.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian sources (*araj gčirs šen...* 'neither carest thou...' Mt. 22.16). The stem must be viewed as a denominative apophonic formation based on *čir- 'need, misfortune; plague'. One of the Laz forms lacks of *k* since it is recorded in the Atina dialect where a change *čk* > *č* takes place. The parallel Megrelian form čir- is likely to be a Georgian loan. Cf. also the Svan action noun *li-čkər-e*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 410).

CK(?) *čir- 'need, plague': Georg. čir- 'want, need; plague'; Svan [čkər-].

Possibly a noun correlative of the verb stem *čer- : čir- 'to hold; to catch'. At the same time it forms the basis of the secondary verb stem *čir- 'to need; to suffer a misfortune'. It is well known in Old Georgian (*aryara moiqsenis čiri* 'remembered no more anguish' Jn. 16.21). The Svan cognate may be extracted from *čkəra-* 'anxiety, thought'.

CK(?) *čr- 'to squeak; to chirp': Georg. čr-ial- 'to squeak'; Megr. [čkir-] 'to chirp; to squeak'; Laz čkir-al- 'to squeak'; Svan čkər-mən- 'to chirp'.

Onomatopoeic verb stem usually occurring with word-forming affixes. In Megrelian the stem may be discerned in the derivative *čkirčkin-* (see *črcin-). The Zan form is in regular agreement with the Georgian one. The element *-mən* of the Svan stem needs explanation. Arm. čr- shows the same onomatopoeic stem.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Žyenti (1949: 140). Laz, Svan: ÈSKJa: 256.

GZ *čr-il- 'cut, chopped': Georg. čril- 'cut, slit, break'; Megr. čkiril- 'cut'; Laz čkire(r)-.

In Old Georgian it can be extracted from the derived formation *močril-* 'cut off'. The word must be viewed as a past participle in *-il* from the verb stem *čer- : čr- 'to cut, chop, fell'. In Laz its structure is adapted to adjectives ending in *-er*.

Georgian, Megrelian: Schuchardt (1902.1: 295).

GZ *črčin– ‘to chirp, to squeak’: Georg. čričin– ‘to chirp’; Megr. čkirčkin–, čkərčkən– ‘to chirp, to squeak’.

The verb stem is attested in Old Georgian: *vitarka mercxali včrčinevd* ‘I chirped like a swallow’ Krest. 287.9; action noun črčinvā– (Saržvelaze 1995: 273). In Georgian it underlies a derivative čričina– ‘dragon-fly’ which contains the suffix –a. Historically the stem may have been formed by reduplication.

|| *ÈSKJa*: 256.

GZ *čur– ‘vessel’: Georg. čur– ‘vessel, thing’; Megr. čkuž–, čkud– ‘vessel, ship’.

A technical term widely represented in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 559) where reduplication čurčer– with the same meaning (cf. čurčeri *okrojsaj* ‘golden vessel’ Job 28.17) also occurs. The Zan form is in regular accord with the Georgian one. Arm. *kčuč–* and *kčič–* ‘vessel’ must go back to an old loanword from Zan (cf. Kapancjan 1975: 369).

|| Marr (1909: 3–4).

GZ *čqantl– ‘unripe’: Georg. čqantl– ‘unripe, flabby’; Megr. čqontor–o– ‘youth, girl’.

A deverbative formation apparently unattested in Old Georgian texts. In the modern language it is a dialectal (Rača) word (cf. ʃlonti 1984: 732, 733). The lexeme forms a parallel to Georgian-Zan *čqintl–, approximately with the same meaning, and like the latter goes back to the verb stem *čql–et– : čql–it– : čql–t– ‘to crumple, press’ with an insertion of *n*. The Megrelian equivalent contains a suffixal element.

CK *čqi– ‘to scream, yelp’: Georg. čqi–(v)– ‘to scream, yelp’; Megr. čqi–; Laz čq(v)i–; Svan čqi–.

Verb stem. Like other forms of the same structure *ki–, *qi–, *čxi–, *ci–, it has a descriptive nature. Cf. its action nouns Georg. čqivil–, Megr. čqiap–, Laz o–čqvi–u and Svan li–čqil–i.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Sardschweladse (1985: 25).

GZ *čqintl– ‘unripe (fruit, produce)’: Georg. čqintl– ‘unripe maize’; Megr. čqint(u)– ‘unripe maize, unripe (young) cheese’; Laz čqint– ‘unripe maize’.

A deverbative formation correlated with the stem *čql–et– : čql–it– : čql–t– which is more evident from its Georgian variant čqlint–. The noun

*čql-

contains an inorganic *n* and shows a metathesis of *l*. The Megr. *čqintolua-* 'to knead cheese' is likely to have a denominative origin (cf. Megr. *žimolua-* 'to salt' based on *ž₁m(u)- 'salt'). The Svan *čqint* 'boy' must be viewed as a loanword from Zan since the extension *-et* : *-t* is unknown here.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 143–144).

GZ *čql- 'to crumple, squeeze': Georg. [čql-] 'to crumple, squeeze'; Megr. [čql-].

The simple verb stem is nowhere preserved in its unbound shape. It may be traced in the derivatives *čql-ep- : čql-ip- : čql-p- and *čql-et- : čql-it- : čql-t-. Cf. also č(q)l-em-a- 'to press' attested in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 559). Arm. čxl-el with the same meaning derives from the Kartvelian stem.

GZ *čql-ep- : čql-ip- : čql-p- 'to press, squeeze': Georg. čqvlep- : čqvlip- 'to press, crush'; Megr. čqip- 'to pack tight'; Laz čqip- 'to press, crush'; Svan čqp- (?).

Verb stem formed from the base *čql- by adding a no longer productive extension *-ep- : -p-. In the Zan cognate the consonant cluster is reduced: cf. the Laz word-form *do-čqip-u* 'he crushed it' (action noun *o-čqip-u*). The same process shows West Georgian dialectal *gačqepa-* 'to swell from drinking' (cf. ʎlonti 1984: 146). The Megrelian equivalent (action noun *čqipua-*) underwent a semantic shift: cf. its additional meaning 'to swell from drinking'. The inherited character of Svan *li-čqp-e* 'to press, crush' remains somewhat problematic.

|| Klimov (1988: 163).

GZ *čql-et- : čql-it- : čql-t- 'to crumple, squeeze': Georg. čqlet- : čqlit- 'to crumple'; Megr. čqilat- : čqilit- : čqirt-.

Verb stem derived from the base *čql- by means of the extension *-et- : -t-. The Georgian and Zan forms can be reduced to a single type of ablaut alternation. Megrelian possesses variants of the stem with secondary *n*: cf. *čqilintua-*, *čqilontua-*. A relatedness of the Laz *o-lat-u* 'to crumple' to this archetype remains in doubt. The inherited status of the Svan form *čqət-ən-* 'to press' is very questionable. Arm. čxlt-el 'to crumple' has obviously a Kartvelian source.

|| ÈSKJa: 256–257.

CK *čqun- 'to press; to knead, crumple': Georg. čqun- 'to press; to knead, crumple'; Svan mčqən-, mčqn- 'to press'.

Verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language it is a dialectal (Gur.) item (Ylonṭi 1984: 734); action noun čqunva-. The Svan action noun li-mčqən-e shows secondary augmentation by m.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 37).

X

GZ *x- 'to touch': Georg. x- 'to touch'; Megr. x-.

Verb stem widely attested in Old Georgian sources: ara šexit twirtsa mas 'touch not the burdens' Lk. 11.46; action noun šexeba-, daxeba- (cf. Abulaḡe 1973: 136, 499). In Megrelian the stem may be represented by the word-form g-o-x-u 'it concerns you'.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38).

GZ *xal- : xl- 'to be among, near (smth.)': Georg. xl- 'to be among, near (smth.)'; Megr. xol-; Laz xol-.

Verb stem known from Old Georgian: cf. action noun xleba- (Abulaḡe 1973: 563). The Zan cognate regularly corresponds to the Georgian one (Megrelian action noun xolapa-). The addition of preverbs to the stem imparts a meaning 'to approach' (cf. Old Georg. mieaxlnes mqevalni 'the handmaidens came near (to him)' Gen. 33.6). The Georg.-Zan *axlos 'near, close to' and Georg. axal- 'new' are related to the stem. Concerning its Georgian derivatives see Schmidt (1962: 94). One of them is Georgian-Zan *(s)a-xl- 'house'.

|| ÈSKJa: 260.

GZ *xar- : xr- 'to bend, bow, to be bowed': Georg. xar- : xr- 'to bend, bow, to be bowed'; Megr. [xir-]; Laz [xir-].

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (Abulaḡe 1973: 563). Both ablaut grades are reflected in Georgian: cf. action noun da-xr-a- alongside the word-form da-i-xar-a 'he bowed'. In Zan languages the stem can be extracted from its suffixal derivatives: cf. *xr-ek- : xr-k-.

|| Klimov (1988: 163).

**xar-* : *xr-*

GZ **xar-* : *xr-* 'to gnaw': Georg. *xar-* : *xr-* 'to gnaw'; Laz *xor-*.

In Georgian the action noun of this verb is *xra-*: cf. the word form *da-v-xar-i* 'I have gnawed'. Contrary to the Georgian form its Laz correspondence reflects only the full grade: cf. *xorums* 'he gnaws'.

|| Kartoziya (1979: 68–69).

GZ **xarg-* 'heap, pile (of stones, wood)': Georg. *xerg-* 'heap, pile (of stones, wood)'; Megr. *xorg-* 'heap, pile of stones'; Laz *xorg-* 'pile'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The vocalic shape of the Zan form presupposes the former **a* (the origin of the parallel Megrelian variant *xurg-*, which can also mean 'threshold', remains unexplained: possibly it is based on the well-known functional value of the Kartvelian alternation *a* – *u*: cf. **bard-*). Its Georgian correspondence can be derived from the same protoform taking into account the influence of the ancient umlaut factor. The lexeme underlies the respective verb stems; cf. the action nouns Georg. *xergva-* and Megr. *xorgua-* 'to heap up with stones, wood'. Comparison with Iranian material proposed in Tedeevi (1988: 38–39) is difficult to accept.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38). Cf. Klimov (1988: 163–164).

GZ(?) **xarx-* 'saw': Georg. *xerx-* 'saw'; Megr. *xorx-*; Laz [*xorx-*].

A technical term. Some doubts arise because the implement itself correlates chronologically with the iron age. The word is attested in Old Georgian (Abulaḡe 1973: 562). While the Megrelian form points to a former vocalism *a* its Georgian correspondence may be considered to have been umlauted. The Laz *xe(r)x-* and Svan *xerx-* 'saw' are Georgian loanwords, although the Laz verb stem *xorx-* 'to saw' may go back to the historical designation of the saw.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 407).

GZ **xarxal-* 'guffaw, loud laugh': Georg. *xarxar-* 'guffaw'; Megr. *xorxoš-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The reduplicated structure of the word shows its onomatopoeic nature. The Georgian (Gur.) variant *xarxal-* (Ylonti 1984: 741) matches phonetically the Megrelian form. The correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Zan *š* points to the specific denominal character of the Megrelian action noun *xorxošua-*.

|| Klimov (1988: 21).

GZ(?) **xetk-* : *xtk-* 'to tear, break; crack, burst': Georg. *xetk-* 'to tear', *šk-d-* 'to break, burst'; Laz *stik-*, *stik-*.

A tentative reconstruction. The verb stem is represented in Old Georgian where it has still preserved the ablaut alternation *xetk-* : *stk-* with the change $x > s$ in a consonant cluster: *ara ganstkda badej igi* 'was not the net broken' Jn. 21.11; cf. the action noun *stkdoma-* (Saržvelaže 1995: 188). Already in Old Georgian *stk* yielded *sk*. The Georgian stems showing two ablaut grades are differentiated now for mood. According to Topuria (1991: 135) the historical root element is only *tk*. The Laz cognates (action noun *o-stik-u*) reflect the zero grade. Vogt (1939: 332) consider Arm. *xet'k'el* 'to strike' a borrowing from Georgian.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 260.

CK *xep- : xp- 'to break, to smash': Megr. [*xap-*] 'to break'; Laz [*xap-*]; Svan *xep-* : *xp-*.

The possible Georgian link of this comparison (*mo-sp-oba-* 'to destroy, annihilate') raises doubts since the change $x > s$ in the cluster may be corroborated by the single example adduced in the preceding entry (cf., however, **pu-*). For the Zan languages the stem may be identified in its derivatives: cf. Megr. *na-xap-ul-e-* and Laz *no-xap-ul-e-* 'splinter, chip'. The two historical ablaut grades are reflected only in Svan: action nouns *li-xep* (intransitive), *li-xp-e* (transitive). Arm. *xpel* 'to smash, bang' shows the same onomatopoeic stem.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 157). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 261.

CK *xw- 'to meet': Georg. [*xv-*] 'to meet'; Megr. [*xv-*]; Laz *xv-*; Svan *xw(j)-* 'to meet; to understand'.

Traceable in Georgian and Megrelian in its derivatives: beside **xw-ed-* : *xw-d-* with the same meaning cf. Megr. *še-xv-alama-* 'to meet' and *me-xv-alama-* 'to understand'. In Laz the stem occurs without enlargements: cf. *kodo-mo-xvi!* 'meet me!'. In Svan its continuant is widely used: action noun *li-xwj-e* alongside its causative counterpart *li-xw-in-e*.

|| Megrelian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 75). Laz: *ĖSKJa*: 258.

GZ *xwad- 'male (of dog and other beasts of prey)': Georg. *xvad-* 'male (of dog, etc.)'; Megr. [*xod-*]; Laz [*xod-*].

Attested in Old Georgian in the form of *xuad-* (Abulaže 1973: 564). In the Zan languages its continuant may be extracted from the denominative verb stem: cf. action noun Megr. *xodua-*, Laz *o-xod-u* 'coire' which reflects the change $va > o$.

*xwa(w)–

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 405). Laz: Schmidt (1962: 158).

CK *xwa(w)– ‘great number, multitude’: Georg. xvav– ‘pile, heap’; Megr. xva– ‘flock’(?). Svan xwāj, xwāj ‘many, much, multitude’.

The word is represented in Old Georgian: *xuavi ipklisaj* ‘heap of flour’ (Abulaže 1973: 564). Cf. also the East-Georgian dialectal form *xov–* (Ylonti 1984: 758). The stem-final *v* of the Georgian cognate seems to be secondary. For the Svan reflex cf. *z₁wa(w)–. The Megrelian word is possibly borrowed.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Džanašvili (1902: 13). Svan: *ĖSKJa*: 258.

CK *xw–ed– : xw–d– ‘to meet; to be found’: Georg. xved– : xvd– ‘to meet, to be found’; Megr. xvad–; Laz xvad–; Svan xwīd–.

The verb stem is well known in Old Georgian (*da šexudes magas...* ‘and ...(they) befall him...’ Gen. 44.29; cf. action noun *šexudoma–*; *mxueda* ‘it fell to my lot’) where in the shape of *xved–* the regular correspondence of the Zan full grade (cf. Megr. *v–xvad–i* ‘I met’) has been preserved. The stem is derived from the base *xw– by suffixation. In Svan compensatory lengthening is found: *xwj + *–ed* > *xwīd*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraya (1912: 40). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 424). Svan: Klimov (1960: 24).

GZ *xwe(w)– ‘to embrace; to wind (round)’: Georg. xvev– ‘to embrace; to wind (round)’; Laz xval– ‘to embrace; to kiss’.

A verb stem well represented in Old Georgian texts: cf. ...*da šeuxwia çqluli igi* ‘...and bound up his wound’ Lk. 11.34; its action noun is (*še*)*xueva–* (Abulaže 1973: 291, 564). For the correspondence between Georg. *v* and Zan *l* in stem-final position see also *zakū(w)–, *pe(w)–, *te(w)–, *çaw– : çw–. For the meaning of the Laz stem cf. French *embrasser*.

CK *xwet– : xwt– ‘to scrape’: Georg. xvet– ‘to scrape; to tear off; to sweep’; Megr. xvaṭ– ‘to scratch; to gnaw, bite’; Laz xvaṭ– ‘to gnaw, bite’; Svan xwet– : xwt– ‘to perish (of a multitude)’.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian sources (*rajta ... ixuetodes* ‘(in order) to scrape’ Job 2.8; action noun *xueṭa–*). The Zan forms regularly correspond to the Georgian one: action nouns are Megr. *xvaṭua–* and Laz *o–xvaṭ–u*; the same applies to the formal side of the Svan form (action

nouns are *li-xwet* and *li-xwt-e*). It is more difficult to connect the stems semantically.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 425). Svan: Schmidt (1962: 158).

GZ *xweç- : xwç- 'to peel': Georg. *xveç-* 'to plane, to cut, to square'; Megr. *xoç-*; Laz *xoç-* 'to peel'.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian where, combined with different preverbs, it had a wide semantic range 'to peel, scrape, hew', etc. (cf. Abulaze 1973: 18, 49, 291). In the Zan cognate the historical sequence *we* is reflected as *o*: action nouns Megr. *xoçua-* and Laz *o-xoç-u* (cf. also Laz *xveç-* < *xvaç-* 'cutlass; chopper').

|| ÈSKJa: 259.

GZ *xwl-ep- : xwl-ip- 'to gulp (down); to choke': Georg. *xvrep-* : *xvrip-* 'to gulp (down); to choke'; Megr. *xvip-*; Laz *xlap-* : *xlip-*; Svan *xwlip-* (?).

Verb stem with an expressive *p* unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language also a dialectal (Gur.) variant *xvlep-* : *xvlip-* is known. The Megrelian cognate is somewhat reduced (action noun *xvipua-*). The Georgian and Laz forms have preserved the ablaut alternation. The similar Svan stem may go back to a Zan source.

|| Svan, Zan: Žyenti (1940: 232). Georgian: ÈSKJa: 259.

GZ *xwr-en- : xwr-in- 'to snore': Georg. *xvren-* : *xvrin-* 'to snore'; Megr. *xurxin-*, *xirxin-*.

Verb stem attested in Old Georgian (*ežina da xurina* 'he slept and snored' Sin. mr. 105.19). Although its simple base is unknown, *-en* : *-in* in all probability is a word-forming affix occurring in other stems. The second *x* of the Megrelian form seems to be due to an association of the stem with *xurx-* 'throat'.

|| Gudava (1954: 702).

CK *xiar- 'to be glad, rejoice': Georg. [*xiar-*] 'to be glad, rejoice'; Megr. *xiol-* 'gladness, joy'; Laz *xel-* 'to be glad, rejoice'; Svan *xiad-* : *xīd-*.

For Old Georgian the verb stem may be identified in derivative *mxiarul-* 'glad, joyful, gay' (cf. Abulaze 1973: 313). In the Laz cognate (cf. action noun *o-xel-u*) the sequence *io* results in *e*. Dialectal Georgian (Imer.) *xiod-* (from a Zan source ?) 'cheerful mood of the patients suffering from a not so serious epidemic disease' seems to support a re-

*xinc₁k-

construction of final *d*. The Svan cognate with *ī* shows compensatory lengthening. Cf. the action nouns *li-xiad-e*, *li-xīd-e* alongside *xiadul-* 'gladness, joy'.

|| Marr (1911–1914 VIII. 1240). Cf. also *ĖSKJa*: 260.

GZ *xinc₁k- 'pebble': Georg. *xinck-* 'seed or stone of grapes'; Megr. *xinčkv-* 'sharp pebble'.

Unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language the word is found in the Imerian dialect. Despite the semantic difference of the forms their comparison seems quite admissible.

|| Fähnrich (1984: 45).

GZ *xok- 'to scrape': Georg. *xok-* 'to scrape, to scratch'; Megr. *xok-* 'to shave, to scrape'.

Unattested in Old Georgian it occurs in the language of Rustaveli (1006,2). In modern Georgian also its later dialectal variant *xoč-* is found. The Megrelian action noun is *xokua-* (cf. its derivative *o-xok-al-* 'razor'). The semantic difference between the cognates is insignificant. According to Deeters (cf. Schmidt 1962: 137) the Megrelian form may be related to the verb stem **pxek-*.

|| Klimov (1973: 36).

GZ *xolo 'only': Georg. *xolo* 'only, and (conjunction)'; Megr. *xvale* 'only, alone'; Laz *xvala* 'only'.

Widely in use in Old Georgian (*xolo getqwi tkuen...* 'and I say unto you...') Mt. 8.11; cf. also its derivative *mxolo-* 'the only'), where *xole* 'alone, only' is also known (Saržvelaže 1995: 274). In the Zan forms a change *o > va* has occurred (for a similar development see **qana-*, **yolo-*, etc.). Laz *a* in stem-final position must be secondary: cf. Megr. *xvala-xe-* 'one-handed, one-armed' where a change *e > a* inside the word follows the regular development. Marr saw in this word the root *xl-*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Janashili (cf. Erckert 1895: 294). All Kartvelian material is identified in Šavaxišvili (1937: 386).

GZ *xotr- 'to clip, shear': Georg. *xotr-* 'to cut (close to the skin), clip, shear'; Megr. *xotor-*, *xutor-*, *xučor-*; Laz *xotor-*, *xutor-*, *xočor-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. Judging from the varying reflexes, the stem may require two parallel protoforms **xotr-* // *xoc₁r-*. The similar Svan *xinčör-* 'to cut' is most likely a loanword from Zan languages.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 433–434).

GZ ***xr-ak-** 'to char, to become charred; to bend, warp (in flames)': Georg. *xrak-* 'to become charred; to overroast'; Megr. *xirok-*.

Attested in medieval Georgian literature. The verb stem is derived from the base **xar-* : *xr-* with the help of the extension **-ek* : *-k*. The Zan form (Megrelian action noun *xirokua-*) corresponds precisely to the Georgian one. Cf. below a parallel stem **xr-ek-* : *xr-ik-* with the same meaning. Connection with Arm. *xarakel* 'to glaze' (cf. Ačaryan 1973: 339) is difficult to accept.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čikobava (1938: 432).

GZ ***xr-ek-** : **xr-ik-** 'to char, to become charred; to warp (in flames)': Georg. *xrek-* : *xrik-* 'to char; to fry, roast'; Megr. *xiraḱ-* : *xiriḱ-* 'to warp (in flames)'; Laz *xrak-* 'to roast, fry'.

A parallel to the preceding verb stem. The Zan forms (cf. action nouns Megr. *xiraḱua-*, Laz *o-xrak-u*) regularly correspond to the Georgian one (action noun *xreḱa-*). As to be expected the Megrelian form *xiriḱua-* is transitive vs. intransitive *xiraḱua-*. One assumes that Georg. *xrik-* 'trick, dodge' is an apophonic nominal derivative of the stem.

|| ÈSKJa: 261-262.

GZ ***xrek-il-** 'warped': Georg. *xrekil-* 'warped'; Megr. *xiraḱil-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The form must be viewed as a past participle in **-il* based on the verb stem **xr-ek-* : *xr-k-*. The meaning of the word depends to a certain degree on its interaction with the lexeme **y(w)rek-il-*.

GZ ***xrup-** 'to drink (with avidity)': Georg. *xrup-* 'to drink (with avidity)'; Megr. *xup-*.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language found in dialects. Megrelian shows a simplified form. The stem can possibly be brought together with Georgian *xvrep-* 'to gulp (down), swallow; to choke' (see also **xwlep-* : *xwlip-*) as a lexicalized form of its zero grade.

GZ ***xrut-un-** 'snore': Georg. *xrutun-* 'to snore'; Laz *x(r)uṭin-*, *xurtin-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. The stem contains an affixal element and seems to be connected by the rules of Kartvelian sound-symbolism with **yru(n)t-*. In Laz also a variant *xrut-on-* is found. The similar Svan *xərtən-* with the same meaning is a borrowing from Georgian.

|| Cf. ÈSKJa: 262.

*x-u-dar-e

CK *x-u-dar-e 'worse (than it)': Georg. *udare-s-* 'the worst'; Svan *xodra* 'bad'.

The form is represented in Old Georgian sources (cf. Abulaže 1973: 419). Similar to *x-u-c₁-e 'more, larger, older' it must be considered a lexicalized form of a former predicative structure where x- is a formal prefix of the indirect object of the third person, u- a prefix of the object version and dar- // dr- a verb stem (see *dar- : dr-).

|| Cf. Klimov (1973: 367).

CK *xut- 'five': Georg. *xut-* 'five'; Megr. *xut-*; Laz *xu(t)-*; Svan *woxušd*, *woxwišd*, *woxwišt*.

The numeral is well attested in Old Georgian (*uyleuli xarta viqide xuti* 'I have bought five yoke of oxen' Lk. 14.19), where it had many derivatives (Abulaže 1973: 564). The word furnishes an example of the correspondence between Georgian-Zan *t* and Svan *šd*. The initial sequence *wo* in Svan is explained by assimilation to *wošdxw-* 'four' (cf. Topuria 1979: 202). Here also a development *u* > *wi* has taken place.

|| Rosen (1845: 11).

GZ *xun- 'to fade; to lose color; to wither': Georg. *xun-* 'to fade'; Megr. (*r*)*xin-* 'to lose color, fade; to wither'; Laz *xin-* 'to fade'.

A verb stem unattested in Old Georgian. Its Zan reflexes (cf. action nouns Megr. *go(r)xin-apa-*, Laz *o-xin-u*) are characterized by *i* vocalism. The Megrelian cognate may contain a secondary *r*. Dialectal Arm. *xunanal* // *xonanal* 'to fade' seems to be a Kartvelian loanword (cf., however, Kapancjan 1975: 355).

|| Georgian, Laz: Fähnrich (1975: 343).

GZ *xut- 'to press oneself (to, against)': Georg. *xut-* 'to press (to, against)'; Megr. *xut-ol-*.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian. S. Orbeliani adduces its action noun *xut-il-*. The Megrelian cognate (action noun *xuťolapa-*) contains an additional stem-forming element (cf. *bež₁y-, *rek-, *yrž₁-, etc.). In Laz no certain equivalent is found. The connection of the stem with Arm. *xttel* with the same meaning (cf. Ačariyan (1973: 428) needs more study.

|| Kipšidze (1914: 409).

GZ *x-u-c₁-es₁- 'older, larger'; Georg. *xuces-* 'elder, old man'; Megr. *u(n)čaš-* 'elder'; Laz *unčaš-*.

The lexeme is amply attested in Old Georgian sources (*movides ... xucesni* 'there come ... the chief priests' Mk. 11.27). It is derived by substantivization of the word-form of the comparative degree where *x-* is prefix of the third person, *u-* a prefix of the objective version, and *c* a historical root element. In Laz the word is used rather rarely. In the Zan languages its antonyms are known: cf. Megr. *ukulaš-* and Laz *umkilaš-*, *unkilaš-* 'youngest, junior'.

Q

CK *qal- : ql- 'to drive in; to push': Georg. *xal-* : *xl-* 'to beat; to push'; Svan *qal-* : *ql-* 'to drive in; to fill with'.

A verb stem attested in Old Georgian: *šeaqala tavi twisi...* '(he) drive in his head...' (cf. Penrxi-Saržvelaže 1990: 492), where the original *q* was still preserved.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 28).

CK *qaml- 'skin (of legs) of sheep, goat': Georg. *xaml-* 'sort of soft shoes (foot wear)'; Megr. *xvemur-* 'through hole' (?); Svan *qamr*, *qemər* 'skin (of legs) of sheep, goat, calf'.

The word is widely represented in Old Georgian (*šeasxa mat qamlebi* '(he) put them shoes' Lev. 8.7; *uqamur-* 'barefooted'). The inclusion here of the Megrelian form remains questionable in view of its deviation in meaning. The correspondence Georg. *l* ~ Svan *r* in word-final position needs also more study. As for the meaning of the Georgian cognate it is worth mentioning that in Svanetia sheep skin was till recently used for making sandals.

|| Georgian, Svan: Kaldani (*IKE* VII, 1955: 183). Cf. *ĖSKJa*: 263.

CK *qan- : qn- 'to plough, till': Georg. *xun-* : *xn-* 'to plough, till'; Megr. *xon-*; Laz *xon-*; Svan *qan-* : *qn-*.

The verb stem is widely known in Old Georgian (*monaj, qnvides anu mçqsides...* 'servant, plowing or feeding...' Lk. 17.7; action noun *qnva-*, cf. also *mqnvel-* 'ploughman'). According to some authors (cf. Čikobava 1938: 430) the form is a denominative one (cf. Svan *qān* 'bull, ox'). The Georgian and Svan (action noun *li-qn-i*) cognates preserve the ablaut alternation. The Zan vocalism reflects only the full grade (cf. action noun Megr. *xonua-*). In Laz the use of the stem is restricted.

*qar-

|| Georgian, Svan: Džanašvili (SMOMPK 31; IV: 22). Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: 465). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 430).

GZ *qar- 'bull, ox': Georg. *xar-* 'bull, ox'; Megr. *xoš-*; Laz *xoš-*.

The word is well attested in Old Georgian texts (*dakla qari ... mamaman šenman* 'thy father hath killed the fatted calf' Lk. 15.27). The Zan form is in regular agreement with the Georgian one. In relation of the verb *qan- : qn- the substantive is of a derivative nature which cannot be said about Svan *qän-*, *qän-* 'bull, ox'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 72). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.1: 292).

CK *qarqa- 'pharynx, mouth': Georg. *xaxa-* 'pharynx, throat'; Megr. [*xorxa-*]; Svan *qarq*, *qerq*.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian texts, but preserved in S. Orbeliani's dictionary in its Old Georgian form *qaqa-*. In the Zan languages it may be extracted from its derivative represented in the Megr. *xorxota-* 'throat'. The priority of *r* in the word is corroborated also by dialectal Georgian *xarxa-* (Ylonti 1984: 741). The Svan cognates illustrate the old non-functional alternation of *a* and *e*.

|| ÈSKJa: 264.

GZ *qas- : qs- 'to close (up), to connect': Georg. *xs-*, *sx-* 'to close, to lock'; Megr. (*r*)*sx-*, (*r*)*cx-* 'to close, lock, to form'; Laz (*m*)*cx-* 'to connect, to link, to join'.

In Georgian the verb is characteristic of the ancient texts where the later parallel stem *qaš-* : *qš-* also occurs (*daeqšnes cani...* 'the heaven was shut up...' Lk. 4.25; action noun *qsva-*). The Zan forms underwent consonantal metathesis and a change *s* > *c* in position before *x*. For the stem-initial position the augmentation of a sonorant is characteristic here (cf. Laz action noun *o-mcx-u*). The stem underlies a derivative *(*s*)*a-qs-ar-*.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 59). Cf. Kartožia (1979: 71-73).

CK *qe- 'hand, arm'; Georg. *xel-* 'arm'; Megr. *xe-* (pl. *xel-*); Laz *xe-*; Svan *qä-l* 'length of two outstretched arms'.

The word is well known from Old Georgian (*qeli qelisa çil...* 'hand for hand...' Ex. 21.24; a number of derivatives are formed from it). The identity in vocalism of the Georgian and Zan forms points to the historical

word-final position of the vowel and the secondary nature of *l*. On the basis of this identity Marr considered the Zan form a borrowing from Georgian; cf. Čaraya (1912: 34). Their Svan equivalent (pl. *qal-är*) shows a later suffixal element.

|| Rosen (1845: 30). Cf. *ÈSKJa*: 264.

CK *qed- : qid- : qd- 'to move, make movement; to bring; to go': Georg. *xad-* : *xd-* 'to take, take out; to happen, occur'; Megr. *rt-* 'to go'; Laz *xt-*, *xt-*; Svan *qad-* (*qed-*, *qid-*) : *qd-* 'to come; to bring; to take out, draw out'.

A verb stem of wide semantic range conveying the broad idea of motion. It is well known from Old Georgian (*iqada maxwili* '(he) drew ... sword' Mt. 26.51; *štaqda çqarosa* '(she) went down unto the well' Gen. 24.45), where it still retained the old *q* (action noun *qdoma-*). In Georgian a semantic separation of different ablaut grades took place. The Zan forms have preserved only the zero grade (cf. the Laz action noun *o-xt-im-u* and Megr. *mida-rt-u* 'he went'). The Svan action nouns are *li-qed* 'to come' and *li-qd-e* 'to bring'. Different from the other languages, Svan retains the pharyngeal.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 426–427). Svan: Topuria (1979: 75).

GZ(?) *qew- 'ravine': Georg. *xev-* 'ravine'; Megr. *xabo-*.

A problematic comparison. The forms *qev-* and *mqev-* are documented in Old Georgian sources: *qoveli qevnebi aymoivsos...* 'every valley shall be filled...' Lk. 3.5. (cf. Abulaze 1973: 566; Saržvelaze 1995: 160). For the correlation between Georg. *v* and Zan *b* cf. **kraw-* and **tqaw-*. However, the nature of *o* at the end of the Megrelian lexeme remains obscure, as does the originality of the Svan *qew* 'ravine'. Georgian (Imer.) *xabo-* 'river bank' is considered to be a Zan loanword.

|| Fähnrich (1982: 38 and 1987: 38).

GZ *qem- : qm- 'to dry, wither': Georg. *xm-* 'to dry, wither'; Megr. *xum-*, *xom-*; Laz *xom(b)-*.

Well attested in Old Georgian (*ganqma leywi...* 'the fig tree withered away...' Mt. 21.19; action noun *qmoba-*), where the old ablaut alternation is still preserved. The Zan vocalism *o* (> *u*) reflects a parallel stem with vowel **a*. Cf. action nouns Megr. *xomapa-*, *xumapa-*, Laz *o-xom(b)-in-u*. A secondary development of *b* is possible in the Laz equivalent.

*qeč-

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Kipšidze (1914: 406). Laz: Schuchardt (1902.2: 402).

GZ *qeč- 'to fell, hew': Georg. *xec-* 'to fell, hew'; Megr. *xačk-* 'to hoe, weed'; Laz *xačk-* 'to fell, weed'.

Apparently unattested in Old Georgian. In the modern language the stem is known in the shape of *xec-* (action noun *daxeča-*) and metathesized *čex-*. The East Georgian dialects, where an action noun *daqečva-* is found (Ylonti 1984: 770), show its earlier form. The Zan form (action nouns Megr. *xačkua-* and Laz *o-xačk-u*) regularly corresponds to the Georgian stem. The Zan cognate frequently means also 'to weed'.

|| Megrelian, Laz: Čikobava (1938: 420). Georgian: *ĖSKJa*: 264.

CK *qec₁- : qc₁- 'to tear to pieces; to torture': Georg. [*xec-*] 'to tear to pieces, to pull about, to torture'; Megr. *xič-* 'to fight; to wear out'; Svan *qeč-* : *qč-* 'to wear out'.

In Georgian the stem may be extracted from the deverbative noun *m-xec-* 'wild animal' < Old Georg. *mqec-* (Abulaže 1973: 315). The Megrelian form continues the zero grade (action noun *xičua-*). Both ablaut grades are preserved only in Svan: cf. action noun *li-qeč* (intransitive), *li-qč-e-* (transitive). Other connections for the Georgian stem suggested by Schmidt (1962: 160) and Penixi-Saržvelaže (1990: 496).

|| Megrelian, Svan: cf. Topuria (1979: 45).

GZ *qweza- 'flat cake, lozenge': Georg. *xveza-* 'flat cake; lozenge'; Megr. *xozo-*.

The lexeme is widely known in Old Georgian in the form *qweza-*: *ara gaqsos xuti igi qwezaj...* 'neither remember the five loaves...' Mt. 16.9. The change *a > o* at the end of the Megrelian word is caused by its frequent use as an attribute (cf. a similar development in **katxa-* and **kope-*). Cf. also the Megrelian compound *xozo-kvar-* 'a kind of the ritual flat cake' (see **kwer-*).

|| Marr (cf. Čaraya 1912: 15).

CK *qwel- 'cough, cold (in the head), running nose': Georg. *xvel-* 'cough'; Megr. *xval-*; Laz *xval-* 'cold (in the head), phlegm'; Svan *qweš*, *qwäš* 'cough'.

Cf. the parallel verb stem *qwel-. It illustrates the correspondence between Georg.-Zan *l//r* and Svan *š* in stem-final position of a noun (cf. *asul-, *til-, *c₁ol-, *c₁ul-). The correlation of the vowels is regular. According to Čikobava (1938: 424) *qw* constitutes the old root. An onomatopoeic nature of the lexeme is not ruled out.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Brosset (1849: 75). Svan: Wardrop (1911: 600).

GZ *qwel- 'to cough': Georg. *xvel-* 'to cough'; Megr. *xval-*; Laz *xval-*.

Verb stem registered in Old Georgian texts in the form *quel-* (Abulaze 1973: 571). It seems to be of a denominative nature (see *qwel-), which is apparently corroborated by the free Svan form *li-qš-un-e* 'to cough' showing a denominative word-formation pattern (cf. the preceding entry). The cognates are in regular agreement with each other. Cf. action nouns Georg. *xvela-*, Megr. *xvalua-*, Laz *o-xval-u*.

|| Čikobava (1938: 424).

GZ *qwemil- : qwmil- 'to guard; to watch for; to meet': Georg. *qumil-* 'to guard; to watch for'; Megr. *xvamil-* 'to meet'.

Known in Georgian only from ancient texts (*dgebodes da qumilvides...* '(they) stood keeping watch over...' Lk. 2.8), where it had a number of derivatives (cf. *mqumil-* 'guard, custodian', *saqumilav-* 'guard, watch; lodge'). The cited material properly reflect the old ablaut alternation. Semantically they differ insignificantly.

|| ÈSKJa: 268.

CK *qwer- : qwr- 'to make holes, pierce; to gnaw through': Georg. [*xvr-*] 'to make holes, pierce; to gnaw through'; Megr. *rx(v)-*; Laz *x(v)-*; Svan *qwir-* : *qwr-*.

In Old Georgian the verb stem may be extracted from its derivatives: see **qwr-el-* and **qwr-et-* : *qwr-it-*. The ancient *q* is regularly preserved in its Svan equivalent. In Zan forms a consonant metathesis has taken place alongside the loss of *r* in Laz (cf. action noun Megr. *rxuala-*, Laz *o-x-u*). *v* is absent here in the position before *u*. Megr. *muxv-* 'mole' may be tentatively assigned to this root. The Svan action noun *li-qwīr-i* makes it possible to reconstruct the full grade of the ablaut alternation. Cf. also Svan *la-qwr-a* 'window (without glass)'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Marr (cf. Čaraya 1912: 44). Laz, Svan: Klimov (1960: 25). See also ÈSKJa: 265.

*qwi-

GZ *qwi- 'to neigh (of a horse)': Georg. *qwi(v)-* 'to neigh (of a horse)'; Megr. [*xvi-*]; Laz [*xi*].

Simple onomatopoeic base fixed in the form *qwi-v-il-* in Old Georgian (cf. Saržvelaže 1995: 277). For modern Georgian cf. a dialectal (Tuš) *qvivil-* (Ylonti: 770). Its derivative **qwiqwin-* with the same meaning has a reduplicative structure. See the following entry.

GZ *qwiqwin- 'to neigh (of a horse)': Georg. *xvixvin-* 'to neigh'; Megr. *xvixvin-*; Laz *xi(r)xin-* 'to neigh; to guffaw'.

Verb stem of an onomatopoeic character (cf. its transparent reduplicative structure). Its underlying simple base is **qwi-*. Contrary to Megrelian form the Laz cognate (action noun *o-xi(r)xin-u*) does not give strict phonological correspondences. The shift in meaning 'to neigh' > 'to guffaw' needs no commentary. Svan *li-xwixwin-i* is a later borrowing. Remote onomatopoeic parallels to the stem can be found in some other languages of the Caucasus (cf. Arm. *xrxnžal*, Avar *hihidize*, Darg. *hihibikes*, etc.).

|| Georgian, Laz: Čikobava (1939: 428). Megrelian: *ÈSKJa*: 259.

GZ *qwr-el- 'slit, hole': Georg. *xvrel-* 'slit, hole'; Megr. [*xuru-*].

A derivative with the affix *-*el* from the stem **qwer-*: *qwr-*. It is well attested in Old Georgian texts (*melta qureli učs* 'the foxes have holes' Mt. 8.20). In Megrelian the word is traceable in the toponym *Tuntiš xuru* – etymologically 'Bear ravine' (see Fähnrich 1984: 45). Cf. also the evident Svan loanword from Old Megrelian **quru-* 'grotto, slit'.

|| Georgian, Megrelian (allegedly Svan): Wardrop (1911: 25).

GZ *qwr-et- : qwr-it- 'to make holes, pierce': Georg. *xvret-* : *xvrit-* 'to pierce, make holes'; Megr. *xvirat-* : *xvirit-*.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian (*ganiquritos ... quri* '(he) shall bore his ear through' Ex. 21.6). It is a derivative from the simple base **qwer-* : *qwr-* with an extension *-*et* : *-it*. The Megrelian forms (cf. action nouns *xviratua-* and *xviritua-* opposed mutually by intransitivity ~ transitivity) are in regular agreement with the Georgian one. Cf. also deverbative Megr. *xvirate-* 'hole'.

|| Topuria (*IKE* I, 1946: 78).

GZ *qid- 'passage, path': Georg. *xid-* 'bridge'; Megr. *xinž-*; Laz *xinž-*.

The form *qid-* with the meaning 'bridge' is registered in Old Georgian (Abulaže 1973: 569). The word can be viewed as a apophonic nominal

derivative from the verb stem *qed- : qd-. For the change *d > ž in the Zan languages cf. *tred-, *yaryad-, *qund-. The original meaning of the word seems to have been narrowed in all languages. Evidence for its Kartvelian origin see in G. Schmidt (1928: 27–31) and Mačavariani (1965: 21, 114). In Abaev (1989: 199) and Andronikašvili (1966: 129) a less probable Iranian etymology is adduced (cf. Osset. *xid* // *xed* ‘bridge’ from Old Iran. *haitu- ‘bridge’).

|| Georgian, Laz: Rosen (1845: 33). Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 54).

GZ *qleč- : qlič- : qlč- ‘to tear off, be torn off’: Georg. *xleč-* : *xlič-* ‘to tear off, be torn off’; Megr. *xarck-* // *xorck-* : *xirck-* ‘to tear off, burst’; Laz *x(r)ock-*, *xročk-*, *xrosk-*, *xreck-* ‘to burst; to die (of animals)’.

The verb stem attested in the modern shape in the language of Rustaveli (282.2). Cf. at the same time modern Georg. (Moxev.) *na-qleč-* ‘scrape, fragment’ (Kavtaraze 1985: 294) and (Xevs.) *na-qeč-* ‘fragment of tree’ (Ylonti 1984: 419). It shows here the old ablaut alternation, which is also reflected in the Zan languages (action noun Megr. *goxorckua-*, Laz *o-xrock-u*). For the correspondence Georg. *č* ~ Zan *ck* in the position after *r* cf. *arčw-, *purčin-.

|| Georgian, Zan: Mačavariani. Cf. Gamqrelize (1959: 76).

GZ *qma- ‘voice, sound’: Georg. *xma-* ‘voice, sound’; Megr. *xuma-*, *xəma-*, *xoma-*.

Well known from Old Georgian (*qma-vqav qmita didita* ‘I cried with a loud voice’ Gen. 39.14), where it had a number of derivatives. The phonetic correspondences between the Georgian and Megrelian cognates are regular. Their Laz equivalent seems to be replaced by a Turkish borrowing.

|| Čaraia (1895 XII: 106).

GZ *qm-el- ‘dry, dry land’: Georg. *xmel-* ‘dry’; Megr. *xumla-*, *xomula-*, *xomila-*; Laz *xom(b)ula-*.

The lexeme is represented in Old Georgian in the shape of *qmel-*, where it had also the meaning ‘land, ground, earth’ (*qmelsa zeda* ‘upon the earth’ Lev. 11.29). It is a derivative from the verb stem *qem- : qm-. The history of the ending of the word in Zan languages needs more clarity. A secondary *b* occurs in the Laz form.

|| Brosset (1844: 16 and 1849: 76).

GZ *qorc- ‘flesh, meat’: Georg. *xorc-* ‘flesh, meat’; Megr. *xorc-*; Laz *xorc-*, *xo(r)č-*.

*qorq-

Widely used in Old Georgian texts (*šobili qorctagan qorc ars* 'which is born of the flesh is flesh' Jn. 3.6; hence follows its derivative *qorciel-* 'bodily, corporal'). With the exception of one of the Laz variants the phonetic shape of the word is regular in all languages. If its meaning 'meat' is considered a Georgian-Zan innovation (cf. **layw-*), then originally it must have meant only 'flesh'.

|| Rosen (1845: 29).

GZ ***qorq-** 'throat, pharynx; jaws': Georg. *xorx-* 'throat, pharynx; jaws'; Megr. *xurx-*; Laz *xu(r)x-* 'throat'.

In Old Georgian the word was used in the form *qorq-* (Abulaze 1973: 570). Cf. also Xevs. and Tuš. *qorq-* 'small gorge, canyon, manhole' (Ylonti 1984: 771). A shift *o > u* has taken place in Zan forms. Cf. also Laz *xoxonžə-* 'throat'. In Laz *r* often disappears. The lexeme may be of a descriptive character. Cf. in this connection **qarqa-*.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 261.

GZ ***qoc-** 'to sweep; to wipe': Georg. *xoc-* 'to wipe up, rub; to sweep'; Laz *xos-* 'to peel (fruit)'.

Verb stem well known from Old Georgian texts (*tmita ... qarhqocda* '(she) wiped ... with (her) hair' Jn. 12.3) with a series of meanings depending on the preverb: *carqoca-* 'to clean', *moqoca-* 'to wipe up, to root out', *daqoca-* 'to destroy'. The Laz action noun is *o-xos-u*. According to Penrxi-Saržvelaze (1990: 499) a change *c > s* at the end of the Laz form is due to its contamination with the verb *o-kos-u* 'to clean, sweep'. Despite Ačaryan (1973: 413) the stem has nothing to do with Arm. *xoc* 'wound'.

|| Fähnrich (1987: 38). A different comparison of the Georgian form see in Čikobava (1938: 340).

GZ ***qoq-** 'to crawl, creep': Georg. *xox-* 'to crawl, creep'; Megr. *xox-*; Laz *xox-*.

Verb stem represented in Old Georgian by the form *qoq-* surviving now only in the Tuš. dialect. It is reflected in the Kartvelian languages in an identical form (cf. Megrelian action noun *xoxua-*; *xoxi-xoxit* 'crawling, on all fours'; Laz action noun *o-xox-u*; *xoxe(r)i-xoxe(r)i* 'crawling'). A rare Svan *xox-* is not native since Svan preserves old *q*. A descriptive nature of the stem is likely.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 261. Cf. Fähnrich (1975: 343).

CK ***qoqob-** 'pheasant': Georg. *xoxob-* 'pheasant'; Megr. *xoxob-*; Svan *qoqweb-*.

In the form of *qoqob-* the word is found in Old Georgian (Abulaze 1973: 570). Cf. also the dialectal (Ing.) and Bats (< East Georgian) loanword form *qoqob*. In Svan a change *o* > *ö* > *we* takes place. According to Topuria (cf. 1979: 266) the Svan lexeme derives from Georgian. The word is possibly of a sound-symbolic character (cf. Old Ind. *kukkubha-* 'pheasant'). The ancient Greek sources mention the abundance of pheasants in Colchis.

|| Georgian, Svan: Žyenti (1949: 136).

GZ ***qrç₁-wn-** 'to corrode, be corroded; to crack, be cracked': Georg. *xrçn-* 'to decompose, decay; to rot'; Megr. *xiçon-* 'to corrode, be corroded; to crack, be cracked'.

Verb stem attested in the Old Georgian action noun *qrçna-*, *xrçna-* (Abulaze 1973: 563, 571). It is characterized by a word-forming element ***-wn**. The parallel Megrelian form *xiçor-* (< **xirçon-*) possibly reflects a trace of the former stem sonant *r*.

GZ ***qsen-** 'beestings': Georg. *xsen-* 'beestings'; Laz (n)*cxon-*, (m)*xcon-*.

Alongside usual for standard Georgian *xsen-* and metathesized Rača and Lečx. *sxen-* (cf. Ylonti 1984: 503) Moxev. and Mtiul. dialects preserve more archaic form *qsen-*. The Laz cognate reflects an old vocalism *a*, which makes it possible to reconstruct a protoform as **qsan-* and to assign the umlaut effect to the pre-Georgian stage. In Tedeevi (1988: 39) an Ossetic etymology is proposed.

|| Kartoziya (1979: 75).

GZ ***qs₁-** a simple verb stem with the general meaning 'to remind, to remember'. See its derivative formations ***qs₁-en-** and ***qs₁-ow-**.

GZ ***qs₁-en-** 'to remind; to inform, communicate': Georg. *xsen-* 'to remind, recollect; to inform'; Megr. *šin-*; Laz *šin-*.

Verbal formation represented in Old Georgian sources where word-initial *q* is still preserved; *moiqsena ymertman* 'God remembered' Gen. 30.22; action noun *qseneba-* (Abulaze 1973: 571). The Georgian and Zan forms continue the old affix ***-en**. The Zan forms (action noun Megr. *šinapa-*; cf. Laz *šiner-* 'mentioned') lost the reflex of initial *q* in the cluster.

*qs₁-o(w)-

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Cagareli (1880: 61). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 364).

GZ *qs₁-o(w)- 'to remember': Georg. *xsov-* 'to remember'; Megr. *šū-*, *šə-*; Laz *šu-*.

Verbal formation well known from Old Georgian (*arca gaqsos...* '(ye) neither remember...' Mt. 16.9; action noun *qsovna-*). Zan forms (cf. Megr. *šu(n)* 'he remembers') have lost the stem-initial consonant. The Svan Zanism *ršon-*, *ršwn-* 'to remember' points to the old shape of Megrelian stem.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 175).

GZ *qund- 'stocks; trap': Georg. *xund-* 'stocks, fetters (wooden); trap'; Megr. *xunž-*.

In the form *qund-* the word is attested in Old Georgian texts, where a derivative action noun *daqundeba-* 'to chain, to fetter' is also known (Abulaže 1973: 137, 572). The Megrelian equivalent coincides in the meaning. The correspondence Georg. *d* ~ Zan *ž* at the end of the nominal stem recurs in **trad-*, **yeryed-*, **qid-*.

|| Rogava (1986: 32). Also Šmidt (1989: 84).

ž

GZ *ž- 'to exceed, overcome': Georg. [ž-] 'to exceed, overcome'; Megr. [(r)žg-]; Laz [(r)žg-].

In its unbound form the stem is nowhere attested. Already in Old Georgian it is extended by the enlargement *-ob* (*umžobes ars šenda...* 'it is better for thee...' Mt. 5.10; action noun *žobna-*). In the Zan languages it contains a causative(?) marker *-in*. Cf. the action nouns Megr. *ržgina-*, Laz *o-ržgin-u*. Megr. *žgir-* 'good', *užgun* // Laz *užgin* 'better' are derived directly from the simple base. The Zan form often has an optional stem-initial *r*.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Čaraia (1918: IX: 751). Laz: Čikobava (1938: 436).

GZ *žežg- 'to strike softly; to trample': Georg. *žežg-* 'to strike softly'; Megr. *žgažg-* 'to strike softly; to masticate'; Laz *žažg(v)-*.

To be connected with the stems *čēčk-, *ceck-, *cečk-, *zežg-, *čēčk-. Action nouns Georg. *žēžgva-*, Megr. *žgažgua-*, Laz *o-žgažg-u*. Phonetic correspondences are sustained regularly (cf. the vocalic shape of the cognates and the development of *g* in the Megrelian equivalent). In Laz an extra *v* occurs: cf. *žgažgve(r)-* 'beaten'. Georg.-Zan **žižg-wn-* 'to tear; nip, pinch (roughly)' is derived from the stem.

|| Georgian, Megrelian: Fähnrich (1982: 38). Laz: Sardschweladse (1987: 24).

CK *žw- 'to defecate': Georg. *žv-* 'to defecate'; Megr. (*n*)*žgv-*, *žg(v)-*; Laz *žg(v)-*, *zg(v)-*, *nžg(v)-*; Svan *sg-*.

The verb stem varies according to Gamkrelidze's law. The Zan forms may lose stem-final *v* in the position before *u*, sometimes they show a secondary initial *n*. In the presentic tenses the stem is replaced by the word-forms of its derivative *žw-am- : žw-m-. The Svan cognate may be extracted from *la-sg-ar* 'lavatory, toilet'. Cf. *xa-sg-en-i* 'he wants to defecate'.

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 338). Svan: Gamqrelize (1959: 27).

GZ *žw-am- : žw-m- 'to defecate': Georg. *žvam-* : *žm-* 'to defecate'; Megr. (*n*)*žgum-*; Laz *žgum-*.

Derived by the extension *-am : -m from the simple verb stem *žw-. Action nouns are Georg. *žma-*, Megr. (*n*)*žguma-*, Laz *o-žgum-u*. The stem is used in word-forms of the presentic tense series.

|| *ĖSKJa*: 268–269.

GZ *žwar- 'stake, picket': Georg. *žvar-* 'cross'; Megr. *žgun(žg)-* 'stake; prickle, spike'; Laz *mžguž-*, *mžguž-* 'stake, post'.

Widely attested in Old Georgian sources (*žuarsa zeda...* 'on the cross...' Sin. mr. 92.21). The expected Zan form **žguž-* is closely similar to the Laz lexeme (in the Atina dialect a development *ž > z* is known), from which it is easy to derive its Megrelian equivalent. The differences in material are not great enough to doubt the equation. For the semantic shift cf. Arm. *xač* 'cross' < PIE **khet-* 'stake, picket' (Ačaryan 1973: 334).

|| *ĖSKJa*: 269.

GZ *žil- 'to patch up, sew (roughly)': Georg. *žil-* 'to sew (roughly)'; Megr. *žgvil-* 'to patch up; to poke a big needle'.

In Old Georgian the verb stem seems to be unattested. Action nouns are Georg. *žilva-*, Megr. *žgvilua-*. The probably late development of *v*

**žinčar-*

may explain the Megrelian sequence *žg* instead of expected *zg* if it were old. Lomtatiže (*IKĒ* XXV, 1986: 125) adduces another Megrelian counterpart with the same meaning, *nzgilua-*.

|| Rogava (1951: 636).

GZ **žinčar-* 'nettle': Georg. *činčar-* 'nettle'; Laz *di(n)čkiž-*.

The word is attested in Old Georgian, where it still preserved word-initial *ž* (*aymomicendebis žinčari...* 'nettle shall spring up...' Job 31.40). In present-day Georgian the latter has been assimilated to the second affricate, while in Laz it underwent change to *d* (cf. **žinčwel-* and some archetypes with word-initial *ž*). The alleged prefixal origin of *ži* > *di* (cf. Čikobava 1942: 174) can hardly be proved. One has also claimed a reduplication of the stem **čr-* (*čar-*) 'to cut, hew' in the word (cf. Vogt 1954: 544).

|| Marr (1911–1914 IV: 833).

GZ **žinčwel-* 'ant': Georg. *čiančvela-* 'ant'; Megr. *čkičkitia-*, *žgižgitia-*; Laz *dimčku-*, *dumčku-*; Svan *mə(r)šk-* (?).

In Old Georgian the term is represented by a form very close to the protoform (*hbaževd žinčvelsa...* '(he) imitates an ant...' Krest. 177.20). In modern Georgian the lexeme is blended with *čia-* 'worm'. Cf., however, the dialectal variants *žinčvel-*, *bunčvel-*, etc. (Vlonti 1984: 92, 780). Its end shows the well known correspondence Georg. *-el* ~ Zan *-u*. Some irregular changes occurred also in the Megrelian cognate extended by an evaluative affix. It is much more difficult to derive from the protoform the Svan word which may have an Ossetic source (cf. Abaev 1949: 297).

|| Georgian, Zan: Čikobava (1938: 114).

GZ **žižg-wn-* 'to tear; nip, pinch (roughly)': Georg. *žižgn-* 'to tear, pinch (roughly)'; Megr. *žgižgon-*, *žgəžgon-*.

Unattested in Old Georgian. A verbal formation to be viewed as a derivative with the affix **-wn* from the simple verb stem **žežg-* 'to strike softly' (action noun Georg. *žižgna-*, Megr. *žgižgonua-*). It has an evident sound-symbolic character: cf. its parallel **čičk-wn-*, **cick-wn-*, **čičk-wn-*, **zižg-wn-*.

|| T. Gudava (cf. *ĖSKJa*: 269).

GZ **žižy-* 'black thrush': Georg. *žižy-* 'black thrush'; Megr. *žyiržy-*, *žyoržy-*.

In Old Georgian the word does not occur. According to a well-known rule, in Megrelian forms a secondary velar element is also represented in the first syllable. The parallel vocalism *o* requires an explanation.

|| Fähnrich (1985: 29).

GZ *žy(w)l-em- : žy(w)l-im- 'to crumple': Georg. *žyblem-* : *žyvlim-* 'to crumple'; Megr. *ržyim-* 'to stir'; Laz (*n*)*žyim-* 'to crumple'.

The verb stem occurs in Old Georgian: action noun *dažylema-* (Abulaze 1973: 120). Georgian stem-initial *ž* is due to a simplification of the consonant cluster. The Megrelian form (action noun *ržyimua-*) underwent a consonant metathesis and a noticeable semantic shift. For Laz cf. action noun *o-(n)žyim-u* and past participle *žyimer-* 'crumpled'. The stem presupposes a simple verb base **žyl-* (cf. **čql-* and Georg. *čqlema-* 'to press').

|| *ĖSKJa*: 270.

Abbreviations

Abx. – Abxaz	Lezg. – Lezghian
Adyg. – Adyghian	Lith. – Lithuanian
Ajar. – Ajarian	Megr. – Megrelian
Arab. – Arabic	Mesx. – Mesxetian
Akkad. – Akkadian	Moxev. – Moxevian
Aram. – Aramaic	Mtiul. – Mtiulian
Arm. – Armenian	M. Pers. – Middle Persian
Arx. – Arxav	Norw. – Norwegian
Assyr. – Assyrian	OHG – Old High German
Bezh. – Bezhta	Okrib. – Okribian
Class. Pers. – Classical Persian	Old Georg. – Old Georgian
Darg. – Dargva	Old Ind. – Old Indian
Esk. – Eskimo	Osset. – Ossetic
Finn. – Finnish	Per. – Pereidan
Georg. – Georgian	Pers. – Persian
Germ. – German(ic)	PIE – Proto-Indo-European
Godob. – Godoberi	Pol. – Polish
Gud. – Gudamaqar	Pšav. – Pšavian
Gur. – Gurian	Russ. – Russian
Hitt. – Hittite	Rut. – Rutul
Hung. – Hungarian	Sam. – Samurzaqano
Imer. – Imeretian	Sem. – Semitic
Ing. – Ingilo	Sen. – Senaki
Jav. – Javax	Slav. – Slavic
Kab. – Kabardian	Tab. – Tabasaran
Kartl. – Kartlian	Tian. – Tianetian
Kartv. – Kartvelian	Tsax. – Tsaxur
Kax. – Qaxetian	Turk. – Turkic
Kiz. – Kiziq	Tuš – Tušian
Lat. – Latin	Upp. Bal – Upper Bal
Lašx. – Lašxian	Upp. Imer. – Upper Imeretian
L. Bal – Low Bal	Xevs. – Xevsur
Lečx. – Lecxumi	
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