9. COMMENTS

[1] m. *lïri;* for *-e-* see 4.3.2.2.1.11.

[2] n.r., see 5.1; m. *litne.*

[3] m. *lizgre.*

[4] As not conforming to Svan reality, the expression is entirely adopted from Georgian: even the Svan inflexion INST *-šw* would make the word unintelligible to the Svans.

[5] m. *litwri.*

[6] Geor. *sagan-i.*

[7] m. *lišdāb.*

[8] Without Lith. NOM *-s* according to the rules of transcription of Lithuanian proper names into Georgian.

[9] Geor. *m-a-interes-eb-s,* *-eb-* being a thematical suffix, and *-s* being a Georgian inflexion.

[10] NOM.SG *nin.*

[11] Geor. *sakartvelo* 'Georgia' of the Georgian derivational model *sa—o.*

[12] Georgian words with Geor. SF *-ur-/-ul-.*

[13] Geor. *mimarteba+-ze*=Svan *-ži* 'on'.

[14] m. *limurʒi.*

[15] m. *liȼwdāni.*

[16] m. *lirde.* The verb of existing, living is based on two suppletive stems: the stem of the root *r* in 1–4, and the stem of the root *rd* (with the generalized IF *-d*) in the other screeves.

[17] m. *ligwbe.*

[18] m. *lifūli.*

[19] n. d., m. *ligərgāli.*

[20] The river *(Y)engur* (Geor. *Ingur-i*) flows from the East down to the West and falls into the Black Sea in Megrelia. *Djvar-i* (Geor. 'cross') is the last Megrelian (Mingrelian) settlement on the road from the East in the Megrelia lowland to the West, towards Svania high in the rocks.

[21] m. *lïbne.*

[22] m. *ligərgāli.*

[23] *uṣurmān* 'Moslem' – the Svan name for the North Caucasus with its Cherkhez and Kabardian population. Savage carnages were the historical characteristic of the relations between the Orthodox Svans and Georgians on the one hand and of their martial Moslem neighbours, the Cherkhezs, Kabardians, Ossetians, Chechens, Ingushs, Avars, Lezgins a. o., on the other. *uṣurmān* ≮ Arabic PL *muslīmūn* 'Moslems'.

[24] m. *liȼke.*

[25] n. d. *lǟz*, m. *līzi* 'going'.

[26] m. *līžǟx* from *žaxe* 'name'.

[27] GEN *Šwānjā(š)* enables the reconstruction NOM *Šwān* < **Šwanja* 'Svania', GEN **Šwanjaiš*. The well-known name Svanetia is a Russian hybrid from Geor. *svan-et-i*, *-i* being a nominative inflexion, and *-et-* – a suffix for the names of countries (cf. also Kakheti+a, Os(s)eti+a). Since the root used in the name of population *(mu-)šwan-* has no *-j-* (SG *mušwān* but PL *šwanär*), it seems to be interesting to compare the Svan derivative **Šwanja* with the IE. *-yă̄-* derivatives.

·[28] *soplär*, SG *sopel is* a Georgian literary word *sopel-i* 'village'.

[29] *sgäw* 'inside' is the Svan name for Transcaucasian (inner) Georgia.

[30] Svan *zän* < *zan-*(*NOM *-i*) is the ancient name of Megrels (French ⟶ Russ. Mingrels) and Lazs (Chans).

[31] The so-called 'unsnowy period', i. e. spring, summer, autumn.

[32] Svan *kartwil* is Geor. *kartul-i* 'The Georgian language'.

[33] *ləmǟr* < **l-ma-īr* with the root generalized from the IVS **īr(a)*, cf. 6.3.3.2-3; m. also *līre* 'being enough', 'having', cf. fn. 16.

[34] m. *linçamw* with the secondary nasalization before *ç* is obviously the same Geor. *çam-/çm-* 'believing' which we should like to connect with Geor. *çm-en/-in-* "(ritually) pure" ⟶ 'clean' and 'holy', 'saint'.

[35] m. *līxəlçip* 'reign(ing)' from *xelçip* 'king' is a Georgian compound *xelmçip-* 'ruler'.

[36] The suffix PRT.MD *-än* may be denasalized in this verbs, forms like *xeqǟdx* are very often; m. *liqēne*.

[37] Geor. *xeb-* 'to touch', 'to concern'.

[38] *-a* seems to be a versionizer NVS. Cf. fn. 33, 16.

[39] A compound: *ʒwer* 'flesh', *i* 'also', 'and', *leyw* 'meat'; for *leyw* it is interesting to compare the Semitic *laḥm-* 'meat' ⟶ **food in general ⟶ Hebrew *leḥem* 'bread' with the initially broad sense (cf. 'our everyday bread' going back to this sense) on the one hand and the Georgian *leyw-i* 'fig' (← **food?) from the Kartvelian root 'meat' on the other hand (G. K l i m o v, 1964, reconstructs Kartv. **layw* – is it identical to Semitic?).

[40] m. *līšdne*.

[41] A verbal noun without the auxiliary verb 'be'; m. *liqwel*.

[42] m. *limqeri*

[43] Static, m. *lised*.

[44] A Georgian word *mecnier-i* 'scientist'.

[45] A Georgian compound word *kveɣana*.

[46] m. *līcxre*.

[47] n. r., m. *līcǟdī*.

[48] Hadish is known as Georgian Adishi, after which one of the first (897) Georgian Gospel Codices is named. The story concerns this Gospel.

[49] m. *līsnäw*.

[50] *tǟringzel*, Mulakh *tǟringlazeli*, Lendjer *tǟringlezeri*, LB *targlezer* is Geor. *mtavar(i)angeloz-i* 'main angel' = 'archangel'. Adishi's Gospel was kept in Hadish's Church of St. Michael regarded as the guardian of Hadish. Up to now every church in Svania is under the protection of the local kin. For centuries these churches have developed into centres of an essentially new customary heathen practice, neither needing orthodox liturgy, nor priests. Since World War II there has

not been a single priest in Upper and Lower Svania; however, none of the Svans, who consider themselves orthodox and are far from scientific materialism at least in the pre-war generation, worries about it, because as in the past, all churches are taken care of with all their icons and other magical sanctities protecting Svania from enemies and disasters.

[51]*ad-me-qed-ēl-li, m. liqed.

[52]Cf. 4.6.5.

[53]m. liǯwãd.

[54]m. liçãd.

[55]m. lijecx; the ā-vocalism points out the aorist.

[56]m. lišgwem.

[57]m. liṭex.

[58]NOM nãmbizi, an abstract noun derived via the noun of actor from the word biz 'surfeit'; cf. the Svan jeer expression bizan mãma xaqluni 'he is not afraid of surfeit'.

[59]m. liçmurjēl, iter.

[60]m. lihwnãri.

[61]m. ličed. Svan churches are of stone, mostly small, with their old age grown into the earth and rocks. Usually they show on hills or woody slopes over the villages and are constantly watched over. One day in June 1977, L. Palmaitis, who had already been living in Latli for about five days, went from eastern part of this village to its remote northern part by the beautiful road circling from the East to the North. On the hill to the left he noticed a youth moving quickly among the trees in the same direction. While coming back, he noticed the same youth hastening in the opposite direction. Then another youth appeared on the road with the strict questions to L. Palmaitis, 'What do you want here? Where are you from?' — there was a church on the hill.

[62]m. liǩre.

[63]m. liṭpūre.

[64]m. liɣweṭ.

[65]NOM.SG kašãg.

[66]m. liɣwēne.

[67]m. lirmãli, iter. The fate of those two Kabardians is obvious without comment. The Svans, who until quite recently have ruined themselves in vendetta in cold blood, do not seem to think much before exterminating the real enemies. Icon stealers are usually stoned to death. The last incident, during which a Georgian student was killed in this way, took place about 15 years ago.

[68]ime ãntxãrx, m. liṭxi.

[69]m. liǩed.

[70]m. liǩlije.

[71]m. ligne.

[72]ameču reduced.

[73]Geor. aɣ-špot-eba 'being indignant'.

[74]m. liɣlãti.

[75]m. lïmbwi.

[76]n. d. lãṭw, m. lïṭw.

[77]m. likrãwi.

[78]gwi axwēmx, m. lihwdi.

[79] *-a* being a demonstrative particle.

[80] m. *liʒi, liʒēsgi*

[81] non-NOM *am*, which is either an archaism or, on the contrary, repeats the Georgian pattern *am ɣame-s*, i. e. instead of modern Svan *al*"NOM" *lēr*NOM.AV.

[82] m. *likǟl*, the absence of the umlaut points to the aorist.

[83] m. *liqed*, the *i*-vocalism of the stem points to the aorist.

[84] m. *lihe*.

[85] *xobrǟjǟn* is i st. 2v (intransitive statical bivalent).

[86] m. *liqēne* 'having of smb., smth. an.'; cf. fn. 36.

[87] There is a modern Institute for Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR in Tbilisi.

[88] m. *linbe*.

[89] Geor., *mtavroba*.

[90] m. *lič̌id*, the aorist is seen from the root vocalism з̌.

[91] m. *likwec*, the root ablaut points to the aorist.

[92] m. *likxwni*.

[93] It keeps on decaying there, as well as other exhibits, under the harmful conditions of the old unfit building, alternating temperature, dampness and the danger of invading rats.

[94] *ʒwinel* 'old'.

[95] See 3.13 and 4.6.3; since the dative form without -*s* usually coincides with the nominative form (cf. DAT *kor-* vs. NOM *kor*), and since that coincidence is confirmed by the preservation of the umlaut also in the non-nominative cases, except the instrumental (though cf. 4.2.1.6), we have no formal grounds to define the form preceding a postposition as DAT in such instances; cf. NOM *kor* 'house', *tanǟy* 'mountain pass' vs. *kor čukwǟn* 'below the house', *tanǟy čukwǟn* 'below the pass'.

[96] m. *liter*.

[97] a resultative *na*-derivative from *kor* 'house' .

[98] m. *licxəp*.

[99] *lə-maqǟd-win < *l-maqed-un-i*; m. *liqed*.

[100] *əd-meč̌ed-ēl-li*; m. *lič̌ed*.

[101] a loan-word, cf. Arabic *sūk* '(market-)street'.

[102] m. *licəx*.

[103] m. *lised*; cf. fn. 43.

[104] m. *libǟl*.

[105] m. *licīwǟri*.

[106] m. *lišjǟl*.

[107] an example of suppletivity: m. *liqed*.

[108] m. *likč̌e* "standing vertically".

[109] m. *liçed*.

[110] m. *lidgǟri*.

[111] m. *likwk̇wewi*.

[112] m. *likwem*.

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[113] m. *liǯkwāri.*

[114] m. *ličwme.*

[115] m. *likme.*

[116] m. *lipšwde.*

[117] m. *lirçwe.*

[118] m. *liǯwme.*

[119] m. *liçwěne.*

[120] m. *liçwme.*

[121] m. *liger;* also *ligrīne* though not in this sense.

[122] m. *lisip.*

[123] m. *limbže.*

[124] m. *litgwep.*

[125] m. *ličwěni.*

[126] m. *lisqěne.*

[127] m. *litwep.*

[128] m. *likre;* -*w*- after *ķ* is a rare irregularity in the 11. *anķār.*

[129] a masdar-form from the word *pusd* 'lord'.

[130] Geor. *neba.*

[131] m. *lihwdi.*

[132] m. *lixwāšine.*

[133] -*ār* derivative expressing the possession of some feature — here of that expressed by the noun of destination *lakdune* from the verb m. *likdune* 'misleading'.

[134] m. *liķwhure.*

[135] m. *litxe.*

[136] m. *lišdywi.*

[137] m. *lixi,* a suppletive verb; the form *yəri,* 1 pers. *yuri* is derived according to the group III. Cf. *anyri,* fn. 107.

[138] m. *linqrīne.*

[139] In A. S h a n i d z e's edition the borrowing *čirisupāl* ← Geor. compound *čirisupal-i* is used. The nearest relative of the deceased plays the central role in the Kartvelian burial rites.

[140] Literally 1 : 'wants'; it is used synonymously to 12. *xeķwes* 'would want'.

[141] Geor. *locva.*

[142] A lyre-type oriental stringed instrument.

[143] Geor. *mamal-i* is used in Lower Bal instead of Svan *qwič;* Lendjer and especially Latli are strongly influenced by neighbouring Lower Bal. Svans have a dread of night creatures such as cats and cocks. Here a cock is used as an "indicator" of the soul (see fn. 147).

[144] m. *liqdāni.*

[145] m. *liqle* and *likwisg,* a suppletive verb.

[146] An adverbialized LOC/DAT *°läylijäl-s* with the assimilated -*s.*

[147] m. *ličxine,* the verb usually means 'to drive in, through'; a cock seems to be sensitive to bio-

fields and, while set free, squats as a hen near a place where someone has recently died — this moment is left out of the narration; only afterwards the cock is taken in the hands again.

[148] m. *lipeš*.

[149] m. *lišwme*.

[150] m. *lišwmīne*.

[151] m. *liqālwe*.

[152] m. *lihi*.

[153] Compound word: *došdul* 'moon', *maxe* 'new'.

[154] m. *limšije*.

[155] Cf. fn. 38, 33, 16.

[156] m. *lizweb* 'to eat' and 'food'.

[157] m. *lidēsgi*.

[158] m. *lisqēne*, here is a -*na*-derivative of the resultative sense.

[159] m. *libqwe*.

[160] m. *licwre*.

[161] m. *likwce*.

[162] -*na*-derivative of the abstract meaning from *mašri* 'wide'.

[163] m. *liršgīne* 'bees' swarming'.

[164] m. *liptxəne*.

[165] m. *libpxənǟli*.

[166] m. *ligem*.

[167] m. *likwtunǟl*.

[168] m. *lixwje*.

[169] A masdar-form 'marianizing'; St. Maria's name has not been in use since a long time ago. Our Lady is usually named Lamarya, Lamara (here is the source of the corresponding Georgian name) according to the n. d. *lamārja* 'Marian', the personified name of the church consecrated to St. Maria.

[170] *sadgwem* is Geor. *sadgom-i* with *sa-* = Svan *la-*.

[171] *xarāb* is Geor. *xareba*.

[172] A Georgian word *paṭiv-i*; the verb in the expression *xāčom pāṭiws* 'he does for them (him, etc.) honour', i. e. 'he honours them', is suppletive, using in the 2nd series of screeves the forms of the verb 'to hit' (as in Georgian 'to hit honour'), m. *liqrīne*, cf. fn. 121.

[173] Geor. *sa-magier-o* 'corresponding'.

[174] m. *liqle* 'speaking' and Geor. *čxub-i* 'scuffle'.

[175] The oeconym Koruldāš is degenitive (*-āš!*) as it is typical of Kartvelian (especially in East Georgia).

[176] Word of Iranian origin, cf. Persian *pählivān* 'hero'; Svan seems to demonstrate the missing link of the semantical development of this Iranism from 'hero' to Slavic 'idol', Russian 'dolt', i. e. 'hero' → 'honourable, rich person' → 'idol' → 'block-head'.

[177] *mezge*, formally 'dweller', usually means a collective, here — 'family', 'farm'; m. *lizge*.

[178] Derivative from the word *čǟš* 'horse'.

[179] *abāz* equals to 20 Russian copecks, *šawur* — to 5 copecks; historical Geor. *abaz-i*, *šaur-i* of the Iranian origin.

[180] Svan derivative from Geor. *kveit-i* 'dismounted'.

[181] Svan derivative with the suffix of abstracts *-ob* of the Georgian *(-oba)* origin from Svan *lič* 'water', the non-NOM stem being *lac*.

[182] Defensive towers are typical of the mountain settlements in the Caucasus. Moslem towers are rounded, the Svan ones are square. Built of stone at every dwelling-house, they were indispensable private fortresses and observation posts in war and vendetta.

[183] An inclusive form, the teller addressing to his countrymen.

[184] From *nagzi* 'week'.

[185] An example of linguistic interference: the Georgian plu-perfect pattern *qopil-iqo* is literally repeated in Svan *ləmār-lāsw*.

[186] The deve and Amiran are personages of the Kartvelian hunting epos about Amiran, paralleled in Abkhazian "Narts" as well as in the Greek version of shackled Prometheus, and in the Akkadian epos of Gilgamesh.

[187] Non-nominative bare-stem form instead of *ašxwe* or *ešxwi* – see 4.2.4 with the foot-note.

[188] *sgwebne(š)*, *ywešgme(š)* are fossilized genitive adjuncts.

[189] See 3.14.

[190] UB *mičw*, PL *mučwār*.

[191] The sense is specified by the prefixes: *oxšqād < *anxošqeda* with *an-*, and *otšqād < < adxošqeda* with *ad-*.

[192] *lekwa, leža* mean correspondingly downward, or western, and upward, or eastern, direction. As it is seen in *lekwaš*, these adverbs may be perceived as genitive adjuncts.

[193] *ardx, xordx, esyərdx* are LB forms for the UB *ardax, xordax, esyurdax* with *-da* of the imperfect.

[194] *šāčom, xāčom* (3v ExVS *x-e-*, cf. 2.1.2.2) are parallel forms to *jāčo, xāčo*, etc., the masdar being *ličwme* (cf. fn. 114). Nevertheless the final *-m(e)* does not seem to be a theme since it remains in the ergative (aorist) series of screeves. AOR 11, AOR. CNJ 12 with the final *-n* entirely reveal the identity of Svan *li-čwme*, with its "satemic" *č*, to the Georgian verb *kmna* 'doing'.

[195] Geor. *mçvad-i*.

[196] Geor. *korčili*.

[197] Geor. *sačukari*.

[198] Kartvelians had no tables. This word is of Romanic origin.

[199] *j-* for *ǰ-* before a consonant (*aǰxwǰa, lāǰxuna, aǰsəma*, etc.) is regular in the LB subdialects of Lakhmul and Etser (as well as in Lashkh, cf. 4.3.1.6) due to phonetical reasons.

[200] Here and further mostly modus relativus, i. e. the perfect of the rendered speech (not everywhere preserved in the translation).

[201] Literally 'make (the door)' – the use of the verb 'to make' in the sense of 'to shut' is typical also of Lithuanian, cf. the by German *auf-: zu-machen*, though contrasting to *öffnen : : schliessen* which are not paralleled in Lithuanian.

[202] Breach of this typically Svan syllabic metre requires reconstruction of a vowel here.

[203] The other version of this story, "Natela and Segzild" is placed under No 95 in the same A. Shanidze's edition as a mythological plot because of Natela's godfather Christ descending to help Segzild to overcome lots of serpents and to save Natela. Nevertheless this version seems to be much younger than that under No 67 without Christ and with Natela and the single serpent both perishing. In the No 95 version the etymological connection of the name Natela with the Georgian root for baptizing is obviously emphasized. However, the root *natl-* is connected with

the primary meaning of shining, from which the Georgian name Natela itself comes. We do not know the common Kartvelian name of the heroine of the plot, although the Georgian etymology makes us associate it with the cult of the sun. Since the serpent's aim seems to be sexual, the relations between the celestial and the khthonical personages as weel as the fight between them are to be conjectured. The Lithuanian version of this plot consists of two metamorphic elements: the conversion of the serpent into a handsome youth and the conversion of his beloved woman (wife) and their children into trees. Both heroes perish — the same is in the Svan version, though in the latter the purpose of Natela's death is not clear. In the Lithuanian version the purpose of the death of Eglè (fir-tree) is newly remotivated. The t w e l v e evil brothers of Eglè undoubtedly correspond to the s i x men throwing the killed serpent into the Engur. Two unclear but typically metamorphic elements are represented in the Svan version, too, i. e. throwing of things on the road (a cap, a shoe). The Georgian etymology of the woman's name as well as the fight between the celestial and the khthonical personages make us connect the Lithuanian Eglè with the female morning-star deity of *Aušrinė*, Latv. *Àustṛa*, and to reconstruct the name of Baltic Natela as *Uśṛā. Finally it must be underlined that, while the beloved of Eglè lives in the sea, the serpent of the Svan version is for some reason thrown into the Engur. The river Engur (here named after the river Rion, the biggest river in West Georgia) falls into the Black Sea, however, another explanation is possible. The word Rion-Engur appeared only when the Svans settled to the sea-shore after they had migrated from the Megrelian Lowland. Thus they must have lived on the sea-shore, on both sides of the outfall of the Rion. The metre is broken at the very end of the story again, therefore something like LB *zuywatejaga 'into the sea' can be reconstructed there. If so, the Sea of Eglè's husband appears to be Black, not Baltic, and maybe it is even the Mediterranean Sea (the archaic symbol of the Sea as that of Chaos is not denied by this conclusion, of course).

[204]Arabic versification term adopted from Persian via Georgian.