THE KINSHIP-LEXICON OF GEORGIAN, MINGRELIAN AND ABKHAZ

In this paper we present for comparison the kinship-lexicon of three languages. Georgian and Mingrelian are closely related South Caucasian (Kartvel) languages spoken in the Trans-Caucasian republic of Soviet Georgia. Abkhaz is also spoken in Soviet Georgia but only in the north-western region (apart from a few villages near Batumi), which is known as the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic. However, it belongs to a different language-family, known as North West Caucasian. Although the majority of the Abkhaz terms given below may be found in Benet (1974: 54ff.), the transcription there employed is too inexact for linguistic purposes. It was, therefore, deemed advantageous to make the Abkhaz material available once again to the English reader. Regarding the transcription used here, it should be noted that hyphens separate the individual morphemes of all Abkhaz words; the initial *a-* in the Abkhaz citations represents the definite-generic article (the bare noun-stem not being possible as an independent word in this language)—where the nominal root itself begins with the vowel *a-*, the definite article coalesces with the root-vowel and has no independent phonetic realisation. Georgian and Mingrelian words, like those of Svan, where found, are cited in the nominative case-form. Abbreviations are: A=Abkhaz, G=Georgian, M=Mingrelian.

1) Mother: G=deda, M=dida, A=an.

Cf. Svan *di*. Svan is the most divergent of the Kartvel languages and is spoken in north west Georgia (to the north of Mingrelia, to the east of Abkhazia). Many of the Svan forms given below may be found in Dondua (1975).

2) Father: G=mama, M=muma, A=ab.

Cf. Svan *mu*.

3) Brother: G=jma[1], M=jima, A=ày-a(-)ša.

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[1] *j* is the voiced alveolar affricate; *ǰ* is the palato-alveolar voiced affricate; *ħ* the voiceless pharyngal fricative and *ħ°* its labialised counterpart; *ʔ* is the glottal stop; *š* and *č* represent the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative and affricate, respectively; ' signals glottalisation; *ṣ* is the voiceless retroflexive fricative; *χ* is the voicemess uvular fricative; ' marks palatalisation; *l̦* is the voiceless lateral fricative.

In Svan, the cognate word for 'brother', namely *ǰəmil* (pl. *la-ǰmil-a*), has the more restricted meaning 'brother *of a sister*'; the corresponding term for 'brother *of a brother*' is *mu-xwb-e* (pl. *la-xvb-a*), cf. Davitiani et al. (1957:34):

ärix	usgva	la-xvb-a
there-were	6	brothers

'There were six brothers'

Čikobava (1938:27) believes this distinction to be a feature of proto-Kartvelian and to have been lost subsequently in Georgian, Mingrelian and Laz (Č'an). Note that the Svan plural circumfix *la- -a* is found *only* with kinship-terms (see the list in Dondua, 1975:73), though there are at least five such terms which do not take this plural-formation (*ibid.* 75).

Abkhaz for 'my brother' is *s-a(-)šà*. The initial element *ay-* appears *only* if no possessive prefix is present. The element in question is one of the two allomorphs of the marker whose function is to indicate a reciprocal relationship, in which function it stands in the pre-radical structure of the verbal complex (cf. Hewitt, 1979), e.g.

ħ- ay-	sà-yt'
we each-other	hit (finite)

'We hit each other'

It also appears, as here (and cf. below for 'sister'), in words indicating a reciprocal kinship-relationship, as described for both Abkhaz and Circassian by Lomtatije (1960). This means that the Abkhaz for 'brother', when used without a possessive prefix, implies the relationship which is explicit in the Svan *mu-xwb-e*.

Abkhaz for 'blood' is *a-šà*, and 'my blood' is *s-ša*. It would seem that the *ša*-element of *ày-a(-)ša* is this very word. What, then, is the medial *-a-*? We tentatively suggest that it is the same (essentially verbal) relational marker seen in the following verbal complex:

yə-s- à-l-	ħ°e-yt'
it me to she	say (finite)

'She said it *to* me'

ày-a(-)ša will, thus, literally mean 'blood *to* each other'. As this hypothesised literal meaning is no longer perceived by the native-speaker, the morpheme-boundary separating *-a-* from *-ša* is bracketed[2].

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[2] My informant (both for the Abkhaz and the Mingrelian material given here), Miss Zaira Khiba, believes that an etymology has been proposed for *ày-a(-)ša* by Prof. K. Lomtatije. But, if

4) Sister: G=da, M=da, A=ày-a(-)ħ°(-)ša

Once again Svan shews a distinction between *u-d-il*//*vi-d-il* (pl. *la-v-d-il-a*) 'sister *of a sister*' (cf. *mahrene vi-d-il* 'younger sister' (Davitiani et al., 1957:48) and *semi la-v-d-il-a* '3 sisters' (Topuria, 1967: 165) and *da-čvir* (pl. *da-d-čur-a* 'sister *of a brother*')

> da-čvir   i   miča   čxara   jimil
> sister   and   her   q   brother(s)
> 'the sister and her nine brothers' (Davitiani et al., 1957:66)

If the analysis of Abkhaz *ày-a(-)ša* offered above is correct, then it is natural to see in *ày-aħša* one additional infix, *-ħ-*, whose semantic function is to add the feature [Female] to the semantic content of *ày-a(-)ša*. The corresponding infix in the closely related Abaza is *-x-*, as in *a-x-ša* < **a-a-x-ša* < **ay-a-x-ša*. Some support in justification of this interpretation of *-ħ-* comes from the word for 'breast'; the general term is *a-k'ɔk'a*, but there is one word which may be used only to refer to a woman's breast, and this is *a-g°ɔ-ħpɔ̀*. The possible justification for analysing *-ħ-* as an independent morpheme comes from the fact that an alternative form exists, namely *a-g°ɔ-pħrɔ̀* (Janašia, 1954:88-9); *a-g°ɔ̀* is the word for 'heart'. If *-ħ(ɔ)-* is isolated as meaning [Female + Human], then we have to account for the remaining element *-p(ɔ)*. One expression for 'before, in front' is *a-p-nɔ̀*, where *-nɔ* is an adverbial suffix—cp. Adyghe *pä* 'nose'=Abkhaz *a-pɔnc'a*. This would result in the expression for 'woman's breast' being made up of the semantic primes [Heart + Human + Female + In-front]. The distinction between 'brother' and 'sister' in Abkhaz should be compared with that between 'son' and 'daughter' below.

5) Son:

G=važišvili//je//(važi)//(bič'i)//(švili);
M=komoliskua//(boši);
A=a-pà.

Georgian *važi* really means 'lad', and *bič'i* 'boy'; hence they are placed in brackets. Perhaps the most common form for 'son' is *važišvili*, the second element of which (*švili*) means 'child, son'. *je* is one of the two best known elements of Georgian surnames (e.g. Abulaje, Čaxruxaje, Šanije)—the other being *švili* (e.g. Paliašvili, Juɣašvili). However, its most common use today is to render into Georgian Russian patronymics: the Academy dictionary quotes

such an etymology does exist, its whereabouts are not known. The words for 'blood' and 'brother' respectively in Abkhaz's sister-languages are:
Ubykh=ła: jɔ-łà (Vogt, 1963),
Adyghe=łɔ: ʂɔ (Vodožɗokov, 1960).

> ant'on p'avles je čexovi
> of-Paul
> 'Anton Pavlovič Čexov' (i.e. Anton, son of Paul, Čexov)

This dictionary also quotes its use in such phrases as: *adamianis je* 'Son of mankind', *je k'acisa* 'Son of man', *je ɣvtisa* 'Son of God'. The original meaning of *je* was 'heir'—see the discussion in Šanije (1966:180-183).

Svan has *gezal* for Georgian *švili*, *č'q'int'-gezal* for *važišvili*, and *č'q'int'*//*naɣvžur* for *važi*.

Mingrelian *boši* seems to be the more commonly found term for 'son', although it strictly means 'boy'. Its Georgian cognate *bavšvi* means 'child, baby'. The somewhat more elevated term *komoliskua* is formed from *komoli* 'man, male' and *skua* 'child'; cf. two other forms with the meaning 'child'—*sk'-ir-i*, as in the surname *p'ap'a-sk'-ir-i* (Čikobava, 1938:21), and *-sk-ir-i* in (26) below, which latter is the exact cognate of Georgian *šv-il-i* (Gamq'relije/Mač'avariani, 1965:13). In the work just quoted, *skua* is derived from **m-sku-a* < **m-sku-e* 'child' (cf. Georgian *p'ir-m-šo* 'first-born' < **-m-šw-e*; cf. Georgian *šoba* 'to give birth to; Christmas'). The plural of *skua* is *skua-l-ep-i*, where the *-l-* is a secondary development to avoid the hiatus that would otherwise occur between adjacent vowels (Gamq'relije/Mač'avariani, 1965:149).

Abkhaz *a-pà* also appears as a formant in surnames (e.g. Inal-i(-)pa=literally 'Inal-his(-)son'). However, the bilabial plosive is usually voiced, as in X'iba < **x'ɔy-y-pa* 'goldsmith-his-son' (cf. *a-x'ɔ* 'gold'). The Abkhaz equivalent of Georgian *švili* is *a-x-ʂà-ra* (which is *not* connected, despite a superficial resemblance, with *a-xʂ* 'milk'); cf. the verb *a-x-ʂa-rà* 'to give birth to', where *-x-* is a preverb 'from on top, from by the side' (Dumézil, 1967:20), and *a-ʂa-rà* 'to create, manifest'.

6) Daughter:

G=kališvili//(gogo(na))//asuli;
M=osuriskua//ciraskua//jɣabiskua (Kipšidze, 1914:323);
A=a-phà.

Georgian *kali-švili* literally means 'woman-child' > 'young woman'//'daughter'. *gogo(na)* strictly means 'girl'. *asuli* is used like *je* to represent Russian patronymics (e.g. Petrovna=*p'et'res asuli*).

In Svan, Georgian *asuli*=*haswiš*, whilst *kališvili*=*dīna(-gezal)*.

Mingrelian *osuri*, though cognate with Georgian *asuli*, is used in the sense of Georgian *kali* 'woman'. Mingrelian *jɣabi*=Georgian *gogo(na)*. *cira* is common to both Georgian and Mingrelian, meaning 'marriageable girl'. Of the three, *jɣabi-skua* is the least used.

In Abkhaz, 'daughter' is distinguished from 'son' by the presence of -ħ- in the former. As it is not clear whether this is to be regarded as a separate element, no morpheme-boundary is used to demarcate it. In the sister-languages 'daughter' is: Adyghe ɐpχʷ (cf. ʂɐ-pχʷ 'sister', which is literally 'brother-daughter'); Ubykh px'a (cf. ja-px'a 'sister'—cf. Footnote 2 for 'brother'); Abaza pħa.

  7) Aunt:
  a) Father's sister: G=mamida; M=mamida; A=àb-y-a(-)ħʷ(-)šà.
  b) Mother's sister: G=deida; M=deida; A=àn-l-a(-)ħʷ(-)šà.

  The formations are transparent—mamida < *mamis-da 'father's sister'; deida < *dedis-da 'mother's sister'; similarly in Abkhaz, where -y-='his', -l-='her'.

  Svan has giga (pl. gigālär) for 7b.

  8) Uncle:
  G=bija//bijia//jia;   M=bijia;   A=a) Father's brother: àb-y-a(-)šà, b) Mother's brother: àn-ša.

  Whilst the Kartvel terms are here indivisible—Svan has buba (pl. bubālär)—, the Abkhaz formation parallels that just seen in the case of 'aunt'. Note that the expected form of 'mother's brother', namely àn-l-a(-)šà, is rarely used.

  9) Grandchild:
  G=švilišvili//badiši; M=mota; A=a) Grandson: i) a-pe-y-pà, ii) a-pħa-l-pà, b) Grand-daughter: i) a-pe-y-pħà, ii) a-pħa-l-pħà (or a-mòta = 'grandchild').

  Georgian švili-švili < *švilis-švili 'son's son; child's child'. badiši is stated by the Academy dictionary to be restricted to the dialects of Guria and Imeretia, whilst Глонt'i (1974:54) states it to be characteristic of Gurian, Ač'arian and Mesxian. The late T'ogo Gudava (personal communication of W.Boeder) apparently analysed badiši as the genitive of Laz badi (Mingrelian ba-did-i), now used in the sense of 'old man' but analysed by Čikobava (1938:41) as deriving from baba didi 'big father' > 'grand-father'. The genitive will then be used as a sort of vocative, viz. 'grand-father's (sc. little one)', i.e. 'grand-child'.

  Čikobava (1938:30) remarks that whilst Mingrelian mota means only 'grand-child', in Laz it also means 'offspring of animals' or 'fledgling'.

  Svan has nibāšin.

  The formation of the native Abkhaz terms should be clear—by a regular phonetic change a>e/___y, hence a-pe-y-pà and not *a-pa-y-pà. a-mòta 'grand-child' is borrowed from Mingrelian.

  10) Nephew:
  a) Brother's son: G=jmisšvili//jmisc'uli; M=jimaskua; A=ày-a(-)še-y-pà;
  b) Sister's son: G=disšvili//disc'uli; M=daskua; A=ày-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-(l-)pa.

Once again the forms require no great comment. jmis is the genitive of jma, just as dis is the genitive of da. c'uli is an equivalent for švili in the sense of 'child' and is virtually restricted to use in such compounds as we have here. The Georgian and Mingrelian terms presented for 'nephew' also serve for 'niece'; of course, should the distinction be essential, it may be rendered analytically, e.g.

jmis ⎫   ⎧ važišvili
dis ⎭   ⎩ kališvili

with corresponding forms in Mingrelian.

  Mingrelian jimaskua derives from *jimaš-skua 'brother's son', and likewise daskua < *daš-skua.

  Svan again uses the form nibāšin (cf. 9 above).

  11) Niece: (for G and M, cf. above under 10)
  A=a) Brother's daughter: ày-a(-)še-y-pha; b) Sister's daughter: ày-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-(l-)pħa.

  12) Grand-father:
  G=babua//p'ap'a; M=babu; A=ab-dòw.

  The Abkhaz term literally means 'father-big'.

  Svan has baba (pl. babālär).

  13) Grand-mother:
  G=bebia//dideda; M=bebi; A=an-dòw.

  In dideda (< *didi-deda 'big-mother') Georgian provides an exact parallel to Abkhaz an-dòw.

  Svan has both bebe (pl. bebēlär) and dada (pl. dadālär).

  14) Cousin:
  a) Uncle's child: G=bijašvili, M=bijaskua;
  A=i) Uncle's son: ia) ab-y-a(-)še-y-pà, ib) an-še-y-pà; ii) Uncle's daughter: iia) ab-y-a(-)še-y-pħà, iib) an-še-y-pħà;
  b) Aunt's child: bi) G=mamidašvili, M=mamidaskua, A=bia) ab-y-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-pà, bib) ab-y-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-pħà; bii) G=deidašvili, M=deidaskua, A=biia) an-l-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-pà, biib) an-l-a(-)ħʷ(-)ša-pħà.

  As in 9-10 above, Svan employs nibāšin.

  15) Husband:
  G=kmari, M=komonji, A=a-xàc'a.
  Cf. č'äš.

  16) Wife:
  G=coli, M=osuri//(čili), A=a-pħʷòs//a-yʷnò yò-q'o-w.

  Georgian has a word for 'spouse', namely me-uyl-e, the original meaning of which may be gleaned from the subsidiary explanation quoted in the Academy dictionary: 'one of the animals bound to the yoke (uyeli) in relation to the

second'; *me- -e* is an agentive circumfix, cf. *me-baγi-e* 'gardener' < *baγi* 'garden'. Svan has *xexw*.

Abkhaz *a-xàc`a* is the ordinary word for 'man', just as Abkhaz *a-pħr`əs* and Mingrelian *osuri* are the usual words for 'woman' in those languages.

Mingrelian *čili* is bracketed as it is not found (at least in the dialect of Očamčira) outside the compounds *čil-do-komonǰi* 'wife-&-husband, couple' and *čil-do-skua* 'wife-&-child', for which the Georgian equivalents are *col-kmari* and *col-švili*, respectively.

Abkhaz, like Georgian, has a term for 'spouse'—it is *à-pš°ma*, the basic meaning of which is 'host, patron'. An Abkhaz, traditionally, may not refer to his wife as *sə-pħr`əs* 'my wife'; to avoid this taboo-expression he may have recourse to either of the following periphrases:

i) a- y°nə̀   yə̀   q`o-w
   the house the-one-who be   (non-finite, Present)
   'the one who is (in) the house'

ii) a- x°əč̀-k°à r-   an
   the child (pl.) their mother
   'the children's mother'

Alternatively, he may use either of the demonstrative pronouns *anə̀y*//*arə̀y*. The former, strictly, refers to an object near the addressee (2nd person deixis), the latter to an object close to the speaker (1st person deixis).

17) Mother-in-law:
a) from the wife's standpoint: G=dedamtili, M=dianteli, A=àn-x°a.
Čikobava (1938:36-37) gives the Mingrelian form as *diantili* and analyses the second element, common to all four Kartvel languages, as *-mt-il-i*. The morpheme *-il-* (+ the nominative singular marker *-i*) is a grammatical formant found in some past participles (e.g. Georgian *da-c`er-il-i* 'written' < *da-c`er-a* 'to write') and some verbal nouns (e.g. *si-k`vd-il-i* 'death'; *čiv-il-i* 'complaint'), but the meaning of *-mt-* is obscure. The Svan form is *dimtil*.

Although the native speaker of Abkhaz is not now conscious of the meaning of the element *-x°a*, one may perhaps point to the existence of *à-x°a* in the meaning 'not straight, bent, oblique' (Janašia, 1954:419) as a possible source. In Ubykh we find *-sχ°ə* (e.g. *t°ə-sχ°ə*, cf. *t°ə* 'father'; *na-sχ°ə*, cf. *na* 'mother'— see Vogt, 1963:152-196).

b) from the husband's standpoint: G=sidedri, M=dianteli, A=àn-x°a.

Of the four Kartvel languages only Georgian (except for the dialects of Guria, Lower Imeretia and Rač`a) has a special term for 'mother-in-law (from husband's viewpoint)'.

18) Father-in-law:

a) from the wife's standpoint: G=mamamtili, M=muanteli, A=àb-x°a. Cf. Svan *mimtil*.

b) from the husband's standpoint: G=simamri, M=muanteli, A=àb-x°a.

The circumfixes *si- -e* and *si- -o* are well attested formants of abstract nouns from adjectives in Georgian, but *si- -ri* seems to occur only in these two words (i.e. *si-ded-ri* and *si-mam-ri*). It may be of interest to observe that by means of another circumfix, namely *sa- -o*, Georgian can form synthetically terms conveying the notion 'future + kinship-term', e.g. *sa-simamr-o* (Svan: *lä-mtili*) 'future father-in-law', *sa-col-o* 'future wife', *sa-kmr-o* 'future husband' etc... Parallel forms are also found in the other Kartvel languages.

19) Step-mother:
G=dedinacvali, M=dida?oneri, A=àn-psa.

20) Step-father:
G=maminacvali, M=muma?oneri, A=àbə-psa.

The second formant of the Georgian terms, *-nacval-*, is the same root that appears in the verb *še-nacvl-eb-a* 'to substitute'; also note the noun *nacvali* 'substitute'.

Mingrelian *-?oneri* is a by-form of the past participle passive *?onili* of *?onua* 'to implant, foster' (Russian: *privivat'*), cf. Kipšidze (1914:420).

Abkhaz seems to use as its second element here *a-psà* 'worth'. Abkhaz *-psa* and Mingrelian *-?oneri* are found in all terms designating a 'step'-relationship (cf. immediately below).

21) Step-child:
G=geri; M=skua?oneri; A=i) Stepson: a-pa-psà, ii) Stepdaughter: a-pħa-psà.

Abkhaz has no way of expressing the neutral concept 'step-*child*'. Georgian makes specific the sex of the step-child analytically—viz. *geri važi*//*geri kali*; similarly in Mingrelian.

22) Step-brother:
G=dedinacvlis//maminacvlis važi, M=ǰima?oneri, A=ày-a(-)ša-psa.

23) Step-sister:
G=dedinacvlis//maminacvlis kali, M=da?oneri, A=ày-a(-)ħ°(-)ša-psa.

24) Aunt (by marriage):
G=bicola//jalua//nusadia (quoted by Sulxan Saba[3]); M=bico; A=i) mother's brother's wife: àn-še-y-pħ°əs, ii) father's brother's wife: àb-y-a(-)še-y-pħ°əs.

Georgian *bicola* (*bico* in Mingrelian) derives from *bijis coli* 'uncle's wife'. For

[3] Saba's dates are 1658-1725.

the component *nusa-* in the obsolete *nusadia* see the Mingrelian *nosa* (= Laz *nusa*) in 29 below (cf. Gamq`relije/Mač`avariani, 1965:149).

25) Uncle (by marriage):

G = i) mamidis kmari, ii) deidis kmari; M = i) mamdaš komonji, ii) deidaš komonji; A = i) àb-y-a(-)ħ°(-)šà l-xàc`a, ii) àn-l-a(-)ħ°(-)šà l-xàc`a.

Each pair of forms represents the semantic segmentation 'father's sister's husband' or 'mother's sister's husband' respectively. The Georgian genitive ends in *-is*, the Mingrelian in *-aš*.

26) Sister-in-law (spouse's sister):

M = oxolaskiri, A = àn-x°ə-pħa.

For 'husband's sister' Georgian uses *muli*, whilst 'wife's sister' is literally expressed as *colis da*.

The Mingrelian term is segmentable as 'child of the house'—viz. *oxola(?-š)* (cf. *oxori*), a rare word (Kipšidze, 1914:295) for 'house, home', + *skiri* (cf. 5 above) 'child'.

The Abkhaz term is literally 'mother-in-law's daughter'.

27) Sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife):

G = šili, M = nosa, A = ày-cala.

Mingrelian seems not to have a special term for this relationship (cf. 28-29 below). The Svan term is *miq`ērwa*.

Though Georgian *šili* appears in Sulxan Saba's dictionary, the Academy Dictionary gives only one reference for it and this is from a folk-text. It appears that the word is dialectal, belonging chiefly to Imeretian, Lečxumurian and Upper Ač`arian (i.e. West Georgian) (see Гlont`i, 1975:248). Joc`enije (1974:440) notes that in Upper Imeretian the word is also used to describe a 'husband's uncle's son's wife'. The Tuš dialect of Georgian has the word *mondavi* for this relationship, this word being also used to describe unyoked cows!—see Гlont`i, 1974:375 and Xubut`ia, 1969:121. Literary Georgian would use *rjali*.

28) Sister-in-law (brother's wife) = 29 Daughter-in-law:

G = rjali, M = nosa, A = a-tàca.

Cf. Svan *telɣra*.

None of the above is analysable. It should be noted that, apart from among the Abkhazians, at the wedding and during the period thereafter the husband's relations and neighbours may use different terms for the new bride—Georgian *dedopali* 'queen' or *p`at`arjali* 'little daughter//sister-in-law'; Mingrelian *dedəpali*, *xateci* or *moč`q`udu* (cf. *č`q`udua* 'to present a dowry' + the participial circumfix *mo- -u*—Kipšidze, 1914:395), this last being less commonly attested. In the Samurzaq`an dialect of Mingrelian *nisa* is rather used for *nosa*

(Kipšidze), which in turn is a borrowing from Indo-European, cf. Latin *nora* < **nosa*.

30) Brother-in-law (sister's husband) = 31 Son-in-law:

G = sije, M = sinja//sinda, A = à-maħ°.

Svan has *čīže*, with a dimunitive *čīžōl* (cf. Georgian *sijuna*).

At the wedding and just thereafter a Georgian bridegroom may be referred to as *mepe* (or *nepe*) 'king'.

32) Brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband):

G = kvisli, M = kvišili//sinda ?ala, A = ày-maħ°ə-la.

Kipšidze (1914:318) quotes the plural *sinda-?alepi*, which he analyses as 'brother-in-law + branches' (< *?a* 'branch').

As regards the Abkhaz word, we have just met *à-maħ°* in 30-31. This leaves the element *-la*; some idea of its value may be gained by comparing *à-k°ə-ra* 'age' with *à-k°ə-la* 'of equal age' and *ày-k°ə-la-c°a* 'men of equal age' (where *ay-* is the reciprocal exponent and *-c°a* the human plural-marker). In other words, *-la* seems to be used to represent certain types of reciprocal relationships.

33) Brother-in-law (spouse's brother):

M = oxolaskiri, A = àb-x°ə(-)nda.

Cf. Svan *sämun*.

In Georgian, 'husband's brother' will be *mazli*, whilst 'wife's brother' will be literally expressed as *colis jma*, cf. 26 above.

Comparing these terms with those given in 26 above, we notice that only Mingrelian draws no distinction, both being 'child of the house'.

The force of the Abkhaz suffix *-nda* added to *àb-x°a*, if such is the correct segmentation, is not clear. Note that **àn-x°ə(-)nda* is not attested, nor is **àb-x°ə-pħa* in the case of 26, although there is no logical reason why these compounds should be excluded.

34) In-laws:

G = m²/jaxali, M = jaxali, (A = à-xla).

Two senses are ascribed to the Georgian term in the Academy Dictionary: i) 'the husband's parents for the wife's parents or vice-versa', which definition coincides with that offered by the manuscripts ZA of Sulxan Saba Orbeliani's dictionary (see p.540 of the 1966 edition); ii) 'generally, a wife's relative for the husband's relatives, and vice-versa', which correlates with the manuscript Cb reading of Sulxan Saba. Definition II implies the more specific definition I.

Abkhaz *à-xla* is bracketed because of its very restricted sense, which is given by the late B.Ĭanašia (1954:416) as 'spouses' mothers for each other'. This term is archaic and unknown to my informant from the spoken language. For this reason it is unclear whether the addition of the Georgian word *mzaxali* to

Janašia's first definition, just translated, should be taken to imply that *à-xla* could have been used in any of the more general senses of this Georgian term.

35) In-laws (from husband's viewpoint only):

G=coleuri, A=àb-x°a-raa.

In Abkhaz, *-raa* is a collective plural-formant.

Although our survey of kinship-terms is now strictly complete, we may add four more terms which are not totally out of place in the present study.

36) Orphan:

G=oboli, M=omboli, A=àyba.

Cf. Svan *voqrīl*.

The northern dialect of Abkhaz, Bzyp, uses *à-etəm*, cf. Turkish *yetim*.

37) Widow(er):

G=kvrivi; M=omboli; A=i) male: a-xàc'-eyba, ii) female: a-ph°ə̀s-eyba.

In Abkhaz *-eyba* derives from *-ayba* by the regular phonetic process described under 9 above. 'Orphan' in Abkhaz is *àyba* and not **eyba* because of the influence of the definite-generic article *a-*.

38) Spinster:

G=šinabera, M=inorčineli, A=a-tà-ž°.

The Georgian term is derived from *šin* 'inside, at home' + *beri* (cf. *beberi*) 'old'.

Mingrelian is exactly parallel, viz. *ino* (cf. *dino*) 'inside, at home' + *rčini* 'old'.

Abkhaz similarly is segmentable as *-ta-* 'in' + *-(a) ž°* 'old'.

39) Bachelor:

G=berbič'a, M=inorčineli boši.

The Georgian term is clearly segmentable as 'old-boy', the Mingrelians as 'spinster boy'.

Abkhazians convey the meaning periphrastically, viz.

a-	ph°ə̀s	də-	z-	mà	m
(article)	woman	her	he-who	have	not

'he who has not a wife'

It is interesting that all the non-periphrastic Caucasian terms examined here for 38-39 clearly have the same connotation as English 'spinster', namely that the individual so described is elderly; 'bachelor' in English does not, of course, carry this connotation.

For Svan, Wardrop (1911:593) gives *u-čiž(la)*.

Regarding the terms *šinabera* and *berbič'a*, it is clear that these were originally used as adjectives, e.g.

šinabera kali   : berbič'a k'aci
        woman   man

This is shewn by the final vowel *-a*, which is used in place of the final vowel *-i* when a noun-base is functioning adjectivally, e.g. *calpexa* 'one-legged' < *cali* 'one (of a pair)' + *pexi* 'leg'; *xitxita* 'giggling' (Adjective) < *xitxiti* 'giggle'.

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