Languages and Cultures in the Caucasus

Papers from the International Conference “Current Advances in Caucasian Studies”
Macerata, January 21-23, 2010

Edited by
Vittorio Springfield Tomelleri, Manana Topadze,
Anna Lukianowicz
with the collaboration of Oleg Rumjancev
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The present volume contains papers that were, or were to be, delivered at the international conference “Current Advances in Caucasian Studies”, held at the University of Macerata from 21-24 January 2010. Some participants could not, or decided not to publish their contribution, while others, who for different reasons were not able to attend the conference, have kindly submitted their article.

The aim of the conference was to bring together different experiences and approaches to the Caucasus region, which has attracted curiosity and scientific attention since ancient times, with particular attention to contact phenomena at all levels of social and cultural life.

The papers tackle different topics and testify to multifarious approaches to the study of this extremely complex area, as reflected in the history of Caucasian Studies (section iii). Some of them are devoted to sociolinguistic problems, which are becoming more and more topical after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the following redistribution of political and cultural influence (section v). Others examine concrete questions of linguistic contact and discuss some interesting and quite different types of interference between genetically related or totally different languages, including peripheral or dialectal features owing their formation and development to adstratum influence (section iv). The Christian tradition and the importance of Bible translation, with respect to contact phenomena in the past as well as nowadays, are also investigated (section i). Particular attention is dedicated to political, historical and cultural questions, in medieval as well as in modern times (section ii). Lexicology and idioms also seem to be an interesting and promising field for comparative research (section vi). Finally, quite a few contributions approach various aspects of different geographic areas and language groups (sections vii through x).

Such diversity is clearly reflected in the various ways the material is presented, in the systems of transliteration and quotation adopted in each contribution, which we decided not to unify, checking only the internal coherence of each choice.

The decision to create different sections, hosting the articles, should be understood as a possible (not the only) criterion to arrange them according to their content. Some articles have rather the character of extended abstracts, what in the Russian tradition is known as tezisy doklada; this notwithstanding, we decided to put them in the pertinent section in order to maintain a thematic coherence within and between the sections. It should be taken into account, however, that such a classification, as every label, could easily be perceived as a dangerous Bed of Procrustes, for which we apologize in advance. Anyhow, we sincerely hope that the material presented here will encounter both the interest and favour of readers working on Caucasian languages and cultures.
We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all the people and institutions for their help before and during this event: first the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Prof. Gianfranco Paci, the Head of the Department of Linguistic, Philological and Literary Research, Prof. Daniele Maggi, and his deputy Prof. Diego Poli, for their financial support.

Further, the Province of Macerata - particularly Mr. Giorgio Bottacchiari and Mr. Giuseppe Pezzanesi - made possible a guided excursion to the Shrine of Loreto, to Recanati (Casa Leopardi and Museo Beniamino Gigli), Sirolo and Porto Recanati, where the participants had the chance to enjoy the beauty of the fragrant hills around Macerata and take a short sunny walk on the shore of the Adriatic sea.

The greatly appreciated coffee breaks were very kindly offered by M.C.M. Carbonari.

Last but not least we want to thank all the members of the above mentioned Department for their tremendous and sometimes quite complicated work, in strictly alphabetical order: Anna Cimarelli, Floriana Pazzelli, Agostino Regnicoli and Beatrice Vissani; moreover, during the conference the students Serena Maraviglia, Marta Natalini and Michele Salvatori joined us and provided their invaluable help.

It is regrettable that the former Chancellor, Prof. Roberto Sani’s interest in other geographical areas, notably Mongolia, prevented his supporting our cultural event in any form.

We are grateful to Prof. Christian Voss (Berlin) for having accepted and strongly supported the idea to publish this volume in the series “Studies on Language and Culture in Central and East Europe”.

Sadly, while preparing this volume we were informed that one of the participants, Mikheil Kurdiani, had passed away. This outstanding scholar’s contributions to Caucasian Studies are recalled by his colleagues and friends in the obituary. Here suffice it to say that his very human qualities greatly enriched our conference. We would therefore like to dedicate this collective work to his memory.

Vittorio Springfield Tomelleri, Manana Topadze, Anna Lukianowicz
In memoriam

ახლოვანთა პროცესების ომიანი; ახალგაზრდა პატივის მიხედვით ვერსიების სქემაური გზით, რომ ვარჯიშო განხორციელებული ადგილი ვჭამუ მათ სრულყოფილი ბრძოლის "ახალგზის-კარგ- ადამიანობრივი ენისგანგრეულობის სახელმწიფო" (მთავარი, 2007 წ., "მთავარის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტის გამოცემა", გ. 1040). ამ მონაცემთა შეჯამა, როდი მხოლოდ, შე- სამშობლის მომსარებლურ ახალგზის-კარგ- ადამიანობრივი ენისგანგრეულობა, ხოლო ქართულ მხარ- ეთულია გამოყენება თავისი ქოლჯომიჯომი და კომპოზიტორების ღირსშესანიშნავ ღო- გომიანებს. მათი მხრივ ქართული ენით გამოგეგმილი სიტყვისთვის შესაძლებლობა აქვს; ამიმართვია ამ წელსაყოფად ქვემოთ ეწოდება მიუხედავად რის სახურავ შემთხვევამ შეუძლია თუთანგ მოქანიშნი საზოგადო მხარეთმცოდნეობა ქართული უსაზოგადო ენის სახით, რომელიც მათ ქართული-ახალგზის ენით ჩამოწვარი უუიდებათ. იმართვა აქვს და მათი შემავალი ბრძოლის ახალგზის-კარგ- ადამიანობრივი ენისგანგრეულობის შექმნი- თან ერთგვარი შეერთების მარაგს ამ უკანონი შემნიშნება და გ. ახალგზის სიხშირის თანამედროვე გამოყენება შეიძლება. მათი შემავალი ბრძოლის ახალგზის-კარგ- ადამიანობრივი ენისგანგრეულობის შექმნი-
Mikheil Kurdiani


(1987 წ.) ზეგნის თემაში ათასობით გამოქვაბულობით. იტალიის ფარული სამეფო პოლიტიკი, თანამედროვე მსოფლიო ფრაგმენტი, თანამედროვე ჰისტორია და დღესდღეობა.


იტალიის ფარული სამეფო პოლიტიკი, თანამედროვე მსოფლიო ფრაგმენტი, თანამედროვე ჰისტორია და დღესდღეობა.

ასევე, ისტორიაში საერთაშორისო კარიერაში ითვლება და მნიშვნელობა 1987 წლამდე.
Mikheil Kurdiani

Georgian society, Georgian scholarship, Kartvelology has lost an eminent representative, the outstanding Georgian scholar, writer and public figure, member of the Gelati Academy of Sciences, Professor of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Head of the Department of General Linguistics at the Arnold Chikobava Institute of Linguistics, member of the Union of Writers and Journalists, President of Rustaveli Society of All Georgia, Mr. Mikheil Kurdiani died on 31 October, 2010, at the age of 56.

Mikheil Kurdiani was born in Tbilisi on 1st January 1954, into the family of the prominent poet and public figure Emelian Kurdiani. Thanks to his talent and the cultural setting of that time he received a classical education. In 1971 Mikheil Kurdiani finished Tbilisi N47 secondary school with honors. The school offered intensive teaching of English. In 1976 he graduated from the Philology Faculty of Tbilisi State University and in 1977 achieved a further degree at the Faculty of the Social Profession of Art at the same University, majoring as a specialist in art criticism. Till the end of his life, his thirst for new knowledge remained inextinguishable. In 2001 he graduated from the Master’s course of Kutaisi N. Muskhelishvili State Technical University, specializing in mathematics, applied mathematics and structural, applied and mathematical linguistics. At the same time he prepared for the Master’s degree in metallurgy, as this knowledge was essential for his qualification for researching the historical data of the Bronze culture in Transcaucasia. This universal education was crowned with, and based on, his understanding of many European, Oriental and Classical languages.

The area and scope of Kurdiani’s scholarly interest and research was very wide: study of literature, theoretical and comparative linguistics, historiography, history of religion, paleography - these are the fields in which he carried out first-rate studies. It is noteworthy that in 1995 he achieved a PhD in Georgian literature. His doctoral dissertation, which dealt with Georgian Modernist literary trends (Symbolism, Futurism) at the beginning of the 20th century, was distinguished for its wide theoretical vision. His habilitation thesis, entitled *Common Kartvelian versification system and general linguistic theory of versification*, was devoted to the historical analysis of the rhythmic organization of Georgian verse. Two of his works dealt with the theory and history of linguistics and literature (1998). Kurdiani was one of the devoted successors of the school of historical-comparative linguistics; his interest in the world’s historical processes was particular. For him, history was not only a statistical pile of data, but he viewed the global processes on a broad scale, and even in the separate events of the distant past he contemplated universal laws of development.
He was the author of more than 200 scholarly works. His basic monograph *Foundation of Iberian-Caucasian Linguistics* (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University Publishing House, 2007, 1040 pp.) holds a special place among them. This monograph summed up, on the one hand, relevant achievements in Iberian-Caucasian linguistics, and on the other, it united the author’s general linguistic and comparative observations on the genetic kinship of Native Caucasian languages. In this work, Kurdiani presented all those arguments on the basis of which one can speak of the scholarly value of the relevant theory. In this genealogical classification of Iberian-Caucasian linguistics, Basque occupied its place, as well. The additional arguments presented in favor of the kinship of the Kartvelian and Iberian-Caucasian languages with Basque are linked to his name. It should be said that a summary monograph of this kind had not been written earlier in Iberian-Caucasian comparative linguistics and marked a new stage in the study of Caucasian aboriginal languages.

Lately the scholar worked on creating a linguistic picture of the original home of the Georgians. The already achieved results, in the form of several publications, clearly and unequivocally show the area of habitation of “Proto-Georgians” and the natural historical environment created by this first habitation. On the basis of this linguistic data it is feasible to determine socio-structural and ethno-cultural features of the Georgians.

Kurdiani was an outstanding lecturer and orator. A versatile education, clear mind, broad scholarly range and special oratorical talent enabled him to win the audience with lightning speed and to lead a listener confused through times and circumstances to a clear idea. He was a formidable opponent in a debate, winning many hot contests in favor of the truth in this country as well as abroad. He was respected and his views were taken into consideration by scholarly circles connected with Kartvelology in European countries, Russia and post-Soviet republics, especially in the North Caucasian republics, where he was considered to be close to them, their own flesh and blood. It can be said that he worthily continued that valuable tradition of the brotherly relations of the Caucasians that he had genetically inherited from Svaneti, and was then equipped with by the national education provided by his Alma Mater, Tbilisi University. He unstintingly passed on his knowledge and spirit to students and post-graduates of Tbilisi State University, St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University, Kutaisi, Telavi and other seats of learning. At different times he was member of the editorial boards of many scholarly journals, editor of the Proceedings of the Gelati Academy of Sciences, editor-in-chief of the Journal of the same Academy and the Bulletin of Kutaisi University.

Kurdiani’s literary talent was also distinguished. His studies and essays in literary criticism, his poetry and dramaturgy showed him to be an artist of
original vision and expert craftsmanship and an excellent master of Georgian literature.

Kurdiani was an initiator of many national undertakings and organizations. He was one of the organizers of the revival of the historic Gelati Academy within the Georgian Apostolic Church and Head of this Academy in 2007-2010. He was one of the founders of the Ilia Chavchavadze Society (1987) and its Honorary Member since 1991. He was a founder of the Georgian Demographic Society (1989), its President in 1990-1994 and Honorary President since 1999. He was one of the active participants in national activities of the Rustaveli Society of All Georgia (1987) and President of this Society since 2003. From 1982, he was member of the Union of Journalists of Georgia and from 1992, member of the Union of Writers of Georgia.

The most prolific period of Kurdiani’s research was still ahead. Many of his scholarly conceptions awaited completion and publication. It is a tragic destiny that he was not given the chance to fulfill his ideas and projects. Just now, at a mature age, he was to bring to fruition the plans and ideas of stormy youth and reflexive middle age.

Linguistics Institute “Arnold Chikobava”
I. Language and Religion
The discovery of Albanian palimpsest manuscripts in St. Catherine’s monastery on Mt. Sinai has laid a completely new foundation for the study of the Medieval Caucasus, its languages and its religions. The edition of the palimpsests, which has only recently appeared in print,\(^1\) has clearly proven that the language of the Caucasian Albanians was closely related to modern Udi, but also that the Christian texts contained in the palimpsests (Gospels and other NT fragments, distributed among an Evangeliary and a Lectionary manuscript)\(^2\) pertained to a textual tradition that is otherwise best preserved in the Armenian Bible. In the present paper, I intend to illustrate the complex problems that are involved in determining the background of the Caucasian Albanian literacy on the basis of the Sinai manuscripts.

The Caucasian Albanian (hereafter: CA) lexicon as preserved in the palimpsest texts is characterised by a noteworthy number of words which have counterparts in non-related languages such as Armenian, Georgian, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, or (Middle) Iranian and which are likely to have been borrowed from one of these languages, either in the course of Christianisation and text translation or in every day usage. The exact source and the route of borrowing is not always easy to determine though, especially when the same etymon is present in more than one of the languages concerned. The following list groups a set of relevant terms with their presumed equivalents.\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Syriac</th>
<th>Iranian(^4)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>aba</td>
<td>Abba, Father</td>
<td><em>abba</em></td>
<td><em>abba</em></td>
<td><em>Aββα</em></td>
<td><em>abbā</em></td>
<td>MÎr. <em>ā-wāzak</em></td>
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<td>abazăk</td>
<td>robber</td>
<td><em>awazak</em></td>
<td><em>avaza-k-i</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MÎr. <em>ā-frī-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afe(-pesown)</td>
<td>to praise</td>
<td><em>awhrnem</em></td>
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\(^1\) Gippert et alii 2009 (hereafter “the edition”). The edition project, which was jointly undertaken by Zaza Aleksidze, Jost Gippert, Jean-Pierre Mahé, Wolfgang Schulze, and Manana Tandaschwili, was kindly supported by the Volkswagen Foundation from 2003 to 2007.


\(^3\) Cf. the edition, vol. I, pp. II-79–84 as to a thorough account of foreign elements in the Albanian palimpsest texts.

\(^4\) Abbreviations used in this column: MÎr. = Middle Iranian, MP. = Middle Persian, MPT. = Middle Persian of Turfan texts, Pth. = Parthian, NP. = New Persian, OP. = Old Persian, Sŏgd. = Sogdian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CA</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Syriac</th>
<th>Iranian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angelos</td>
<td>angel</td>
<td>anjeloz-i</td>
<td>ἀγγέλος</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avazan</td>
<td>basin</td>
<td>awazan</td>
<td>avazan-i</td>
<td>āwzānu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avel</td>
<td>much, many</td>
<td>aṙ-awel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamgen</td>
<td>blessed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bazmacown</td>
<td>dinner guests</td>
<td>bazmakan</td>
<td></td>
<td>MP.Pth. bazm</td>
<td>'meal'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belzebowl</td>
<td>Beelzebub</td>
<td></td>
<td>berzebul-i</td>
<td>Beελζεβοῦλ. b’ēl-zobūb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodvar</td>
<td>censer</td>
<td>bowrvar-i</td>
<td>bervar-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borz-</td>
<td>work, labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MP.Pth. warz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čatar</td>
<td>temple, shrine</td>
<td>tačar</td>
<td>taşar-i</td>
<td>OP. tačara-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dag(i)n</td>
<td>dinar, penny</td>
<td>dang</td>
<td>dang-i</td>
<td>dānqā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daxtaḵ</td>
<td>tablet</td>
<td>taxtag</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dev / dew</td>
<td>devil, demon</td>
<td>dev-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’ip</td>
<td>scripture, (dpir’writer’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP. dipi-, MI.</td>
<td>* dip-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dowrowd</td>
<td>beam, wood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Pth. dārūfūdag ‘crucified’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eklesi</td>
<td>church</td>
<td>ekeleci’i</td>
<td>ekleia-</td>
<td>ἐκκλησία- (alqiliš)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garazman</td>
<td>grave, sepulchre</td>
<td>gerezman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haçeš</td>
<td>right (hand)</td>
<td>aj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Cf. Meillet (1936: 32); the reservations uttered by Hübschmann (1897: 511) are not justified.
10 Cf. Gippert (2007a: 106-107). – In Georgian, ṭaxt- ‘throne’ is attested too late (in late Middle Georgian texts) to be considered here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hambaw</td>
<td>fame, rumour</td>
<td>MIr. <em>ham-báw (?)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harik</td>
<td>tribute, tax</td>
<td>MP. harg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanos</td>
<td>heathen, Gentile</td>
<td>MPT harág</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskařos</td>
<td>bishop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahana</td>
<td>priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>lame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalak</td>
<td>town, city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katoličeow(n)</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilt</td>
<td>key</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor-</td>
<td>back(wards)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kroba</td>
<td>cherubim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxēn</td>
<td>basin, bowl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madil’ / midil’</td>
<td>grace, gift, favour</td>
<td>ṁađl-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mananaya</td>
<td>manna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>margāven</td>
<td>prophet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marmin/n’</td>
<td>body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog</td>
<td>mage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mušak</td>
<td>worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ā-</td>
<td>boat, ship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pačar</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasek</td>
<td>Passover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilih-ny</td>
<td>bronze, copper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powsak</td>
<td>crown</td>
<td>Sogd. pusak,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MP. Pth. pusāg*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Cf. Andronišišvili (1966: 222: *hambav*).
12 A variant harik is attested two times in the Vienna palimpsest, fol. 90va, 5 and fol. 98va, 11 (Gippert 2007b: 6-20 and 6-28).
14 Very uncertain example.
At first glance, these terms provide a highly diversified picture. However, some observations can be made off-hand.

First, it is obvious that the amount of lexemes Caucasian Albanian shared with Armenian is the largest. Of the terms in question, it is but very few, however, that do not have an Iranian basis (avel ‘many, much’, haçeš ‘right (hand)’, kala ‘lame’, kor ‘bent, crooked’, garazman ‘grave’, marmin ‘body’, and *žolovowrd ‘crowd, people’). The picture we see thus strongly reminds us of the situation of Old Georgian where we do find a large number of Iranianisms

17 Cf. Hübschmann (1897: 211-212).
18 Cf. Benveniste (1929: 10).
shared with Armenian but hardly any Armenian loans proper (Gippert 2005b).
Since for Old Georgian, the wide-spread hypothesis that all Iranianisms entered the language via armeniaca can no longer be maintained (Gippert 1993: 345-350), we may assume for Albanian, too, that many (if not all) of its Iranianisms may have entered the language directly. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Albanian possesses Iranianisms not shared by Armenian (and/or Georgian) such as bamgen ‘blessed’, which presupposes a Middle Iran. *bângên, lit. ‘ray-like, shining’; margaven ‘prophet’, which opposes itself to Arm. margarê ‘id.’ as containing the present stem, not the past stem of the Middle Iran. verb ‘to see’ as its second compound member (*marya-wên- vs. *marγa-de- ‘augur, lit. ‘bird-seer’); or dowrowd (= Udi durut) ‘beam, wood (used for the cross)’, which clearly corresponds to Parth. dârûbdag ‘crucified’ (Boyce 1977: 34), a derivate of Old Iran. dâru- ‘wood’. The term d’îp ‘scripture, book’ may also be mentioned here since its presumable etymon, Old Pers. dipi- ‘inscription’, is not continued as such in Armenian but only in the derivate dpir ‘writer’ (< *dipî-bar-?). The assumption that Iranianisms are direct loans in CA is also corroborated by phonetic differences where CA does not share an internal Armenian development; cp., e.g., powsak ‘crown’, which opposes itself to Arm. psak ‘id.’ by the preservation of the first syllable vowel (< Early NW-Middle Iran. *pusak-, cf. Middle Pers. Parth. pusag, Sogd. pusak; Gippert 2007a: 106-108); afre-pesown vs. Arm. awhrnem / awrhnem ‘to praise’, where CA has preserved the Iranian consonant cluster fr (< *ā-trī-) which developed into whr > wrh in Armenian, or bod’var ‘censer’ (< Middle Iran. *bôdîbär-), where CA does not share the substitution of Middle Iran. -ð- > -r-visible in both Arm. bowrvař and Georg. bervar-i (Gippert 2007a: 103-106). Conversely, Albanian may exhibit peculiar developments as in the three terms vaţamaḵ ‘cerecloth, napkin’ (vs. Arm. varšamak, Georg. varšama(n)g-i, Sogd. wšmy, New Pers. bâšâma), xoţaḵ ‘heat’ (vs. Arm. xoršaḵ, Georg. xoršak-i, Middle Pers. Turfan hôšâg ‘hot wind’), and mowţaḵ ‘worker’ (vs. Arm. mšak, Georg. mušâk-i, with no clear Iranian equivalent). Here we have the crucial representation of a š sound (or r̥ cluster) by the CA pharyngeal. The question of the route of borrowing notwithstanding, the elements of Iranian stock represent the largest layer of loanwords by far in Albanian, even if a few cases remain doubtful (borz ‘labour, work’ ~ New Pers. barz, vs. Middle Pers. Parth. warz ‘id.’, or laqên ‘basin, bowl’ vs. New Pers. lagan ‘id.’).

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20 The word is written <d’rawbdg> in the texts (also in the derivation dârûbdagîftypeg <d’rawbdgyftyg> ‘concerning the crucifixation’, ib.).
21 Cp. also Old Georgian *dabîr- (only attested in the hapax legomenon šahr-dabîr- ‘town-writer’), which must have been borrowed from Middle Persian (Gippert 1993: 225-228).
22 Cf. n. 6 above for the Armenian development.
23 Cf. Gippert 2009 for a full discussion of the terms vaţamaḵ, xoţaḵ, and mowţaḵ.