

KARTVELIAN LANGUAGE SPACE¹

1. Language situation in Abkhazia, Megrelia and Svaneti

Ethnonym "Kartveli" has at least 20 century-old usage and designates the nation of a single origin, history and culture. Namely, the term "Kartveli" traditionally is used to denote the population of autochthonic inhabitants of historical Abkhazia, and Egrisi/Megrelia (Odishi, Lower Imereti, Guria, Lazeti), Meskheta (Achara-Machakheli, Borchkha-Murguli, Shavshvet-Imerkhevi, Imer and Amer Tao, Erusheti, Kola, Samtskhe-Javakheti), Saingilo (Kakhi, Zakatala, Belakani,) Pkhovi (Tusheti, Pshav-Khevsureti, Mtiulet-Gudamakari, Khevi), Svaneti, Takveri (Racha-Lechkhumi), Margveti (Upper Imereti), Kakheti and Kartli (central Kartli: regions of Mtskheta, Gori, Khashuri, Borjomi; Inner Kartli: Akhlagori, Tskhinvali and Java regions; Lower Kartli: Rustavi, Gardabani, Dmanisi, Marneuli, Tetri Tskaro, Tsalka.

For the national self-identification issue the records of Leonti Mroveli, Giorgi Merchule and other early authors of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Georgian Chronicles) provide interesting evidences which are so well-known to the scholarly literature that for the briefness I think I need not quote details here. I would rather mention the document of 1790 known as "The treaty of unity of Iverians" signed by Prince Kings of Kartlo-Kakheti, Megrelia, Imereti and Guria. The treaty states it clearly that

"As all the Iverians within the neighbouring kingdoms of Kartlians, Kakhetians, Imeretians, Odish and Gurians have the same faith, and are the children born from one and the same church and are owners of one language and have *mavaskhelobitsa* - the mutually obligatory love (T.P.) as the kinsmen united with one family ties. ...Therefore we kings and princes of above-mentioned kingdoms and principalities of the country of Iveria make the vow in the name of God-Almighty, expressing clearly the thoughts of each of us thereafter...."

The same spirit is common in Georgia not only for those Georgians who live in Georgia (as Svans, Megrels, Laz of Gonio-Sarpi, Meskhs, Javakhs, Acharians, Gurians, Imeretians, Lechkhumians, Rachans, Kartlians, Kakhetians, Tushes, Khevsurs, Pshavians, Mtiulians, Gudamakrians, Mokhevians...) but also to any Georgians living beyond its present borders, the autochthonic population of Azerbaijan and Turkey who still identify themselves as Georgians, and regard Georgian as their mother tongue (Ingiloians/Hers, Machakhlians, Murgulians, Imerkhevians, Taoians, a part of Lazes..).

For many centuries Georgian literary language served as state, church (divine service) and of literature in the entire territory of Georgia (including Abkhazeti). "Kartuli" is the language of the state and culture to each Kartvelian group living within the jurisdiction field of Georgia. However, in the informal situations (mainly in the rural areas) local varieties of the literary language are also in use.

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¹ According to the materials of the census of 1989 the Georgian residents of the regions of Gagra, Gudauti, Sokhumi, Gulripshi and Ochamchire are people from Lechkhumi, Imereti, Svanetia, etc.

In the scientific literature there exist two main thoughts about the classification of the speech units of the Georgians:

The first: Georgians have one mother tongue - the Georgian Language (which is historically written language of the church, state, and of literature of the Georgians) and more than twenty dialects.

The second: Georgians have 3-4 languages: Georgian, Megrel-Laz, Svan (of which Georgian is national, church and state language of Georgians) and about twenty dialects.

The question has been widely discussed in the specialist literature.

We think that only the first opinion presents historical truth. As for the second opinion it had been activated by the Russian Empire officials in the sixties of the 19th century as the purposeful part of the Empire's Scheme to conquer the South Caucasus. They declared the names of different groups of Georgians (Megrelians, Laz, Svans, Acharians, Khevsurians, Tushians, Meskhs...) as different ethnic groups and their dialects as different languages.

The public men and scholars in 19th -20th cc and pre-socialist revolution of Russia's scholars strongly opposed the Russian Empire language policy that had been making all efforts to eliminate national unity of Georgians by way of creating new written languages on the basis of the different dialects of Georgia.

The particular wave of protest came out from the population of Megrelia and Svaneti who had easily realized the meanness of the Russian Empire's policy; the local population saw the danger that the occupants tried to alienate these people from their centuries-old written culture. I quote only a few from the famous authors:

Iakob Gogebashvili: "Megrelian community has always considered Georgian language as their main mother tongue and they regarded their local dialect as native-speech ("On the question of Megrelian elementary school," 1903).

Ambrosi Khelaia "They (Russian politicians) tried to expel Georgian language from the schools and churches in Megrelia; this fact has awoken powerful aspiration for the survival of the nationality. Megrelians have been inspired of the idea of protecting their literacy and church language (1906, p.122-123; 131-132).

Tedo Sakhokia: "It is a common knowledge that the "question of the language of Megrelians" has never existed, before the appearance of Russians in Georgia. The problem emerged only after Russians established in Georgia, and various principalities were abolished and different parts of our motherland have been unified in the new way. The Government of Russia felt the danger in the unification and they decided to launch the plan of artificial crumbling of the country. In 1870 they attacked schools in Megrelia. Georgian language was expelled from these ministry schools as non-mother language"(What do you seek after? 1925). .

Russia's language invasion continued in the Soviet period. In the twenties and thirties of the 20th c. the Central Committee of Socialist Georgia issued the decree of "the rehabilitation of privileges of Megrel language at schools, court-procedures and newspaper printing."

In spite of all these efforts Megrelians found enough courage to oppose to the Soviet Empire. Several famous public men who grew up in Megrelia took a lead in this resistance; e.g. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia postulated the idea in consideration of the ancient Georgian standpoints about the development of the Georgian literary language, which has strong theoretical value to these days.,

He says, "I think that the reparation of the language should be carried on the basis of local dialects. Georgian literary language should be open to the dialect

words of Megrel and Svan as well as Pshavian-Kartvelian speeches (K. Gamsakhurdia 1922; see ten volume edition, 1983, V.VII p. 441) and "the twentieth century belles-lettres should provide the complex synthesis of the language elements of Megrelian and Gurian dialects, Ilia's Kartlian

Akaki's Imeretian, and Vasha's Pshavian and some total of these could be regarded as an ideal literary language.

In the 50-60s of the twentieth century the efforts of creating new literary languages on the basis of the Georgian dialects ceased but in the 90-s of 20th c. when the disintegration of the Soviet empire became reality the question concerning the creating "alphabets" and "mother tongue books" of Megrel and Laz, together with the translation of the Bible, was renewed again

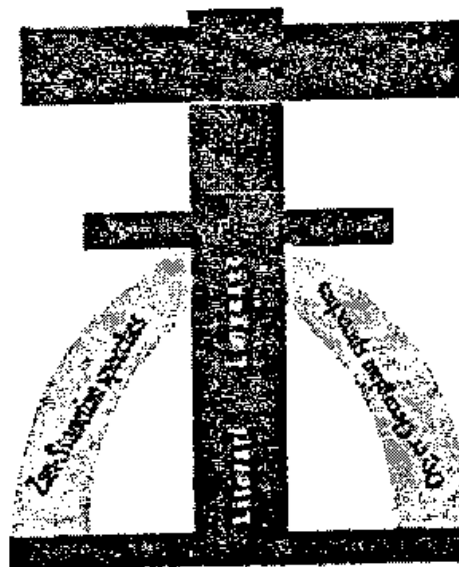
to become the agenda question...

I think that from the linguistic point of view there is no ground to attest the existence of so-called 3-4 Georgian languages (Kartuli, Megrel, Laz and Svan). The theory has been initiated by empire ideology by politicizing the question which, nevertheless, is still alive in the scientific circulation

The question of the Georgian Literary language as the basic language unit is crucial in discussing the issue. The collation of common-Kartvelian, archaic Georgian literary language and the language facts of different Georgian dialects, as well as the borrowings from different languages and "landings" in other languages at the turn of the old and new era supports the idea that historically the literary language of Georgians - the language of the religious literature (the so-called Old Georgian) had been developed by the end of the BCE and is based on the Common Kartvelian language and not on any individual dialect. The history of the ancient written records manifests that the archaic literary language evolved with participation of all the Georgian communities (in Megrelia, Svaneti, Meskheti, Kartlo-Kakheti etc).

It should be noted here that the reconstructed model of the common Kartvelian language, on one hand, and archaic written language reveal striking similarity and on the other, all the Kartvelian speeches come out as a secondary, or late variant of the above-mentioned model. Language facts preserved in the archaic written documents serve as a point of departure for the Megrel-Laz, Svan and other Georgian speeches.

According to the above stated discussion my standpoint can be schematically expressed as follows:



In the classification of the language units we should consider the relationship between the dialect and the national language.

Dialect is defined as the branch of people's common language; a definite speech unit related to the structure of the literary (standard) language as one of its varieties can be regarded its dialect, if the community of the given dialect has through its history been participating in the formation of the literary language.

Cf.: On the other hand we should consider unwritten language as the language used by the community of the common language and ethnic identity, who do not possess written culture and in the process of creation and official writings they use the written language of other people, and their unwritten language continues to function (in the form of dialect speeches, jargons...).

Megrel-Chan and Svan dialects cannot be considered unwritten languages for the simple reason that the owners of these varieties of the literary Georgian have at least twenty-century old written tradition in their mother tongue - Georgian language.

On the basis of the genealogical scheme of the Kartvelian language units and in relation to the history of many-centuries-old Georgian literary language all Georgian dialects known to us can conventionally be grouped as follows:

Central dialects: Kahketian, Kartlian, Imeretian, Lechkhumian, Gurian.

Marginal dialects:

Meskhian dialects: Acharian, Livanan, Machakhelian, Imerkhevian, Taoian Samtskheian, Javahk;

Her dialects: Kakian, Aliabatian.;

Pkhovian dialects: Chagma-Tush, pshvian, Khevsur, Khevian, Mtiul-Gudamaqrian. Here I can consider Tsova-Tush which incorporates both Vainakh and Georgian strata.

Rachian dialects: Lower Rachian, Upper Rachian;

Svan dialects: Lashkh, Lentekhan, Cholur, Balskvemoan, Balszemoan; conventionally we can give particular place to Dali Valley Svan Speech. Dali's Svaneti is situated in the upper valley of the Kodori river, in upper Abkhazeti. The original name of the people living here is "misimielebi" (who were one of the Svan tribes.) in 1867 Russian empire government exiled these people to Turkey. Modern population of the place is Georgians that came to live here from Svaneti. Their dialect has preserved basic characteristic features of both Balzemoan and Balskvemoan speeches; naturally we witness the mixture of speech codes.

Zan dialects: Megrel (Eastern or Senak-Martvilian and western or Zugdid-Samurzaqanoan speeches); Laz (Khopan, Vitsur-Arkabean, Atinan).

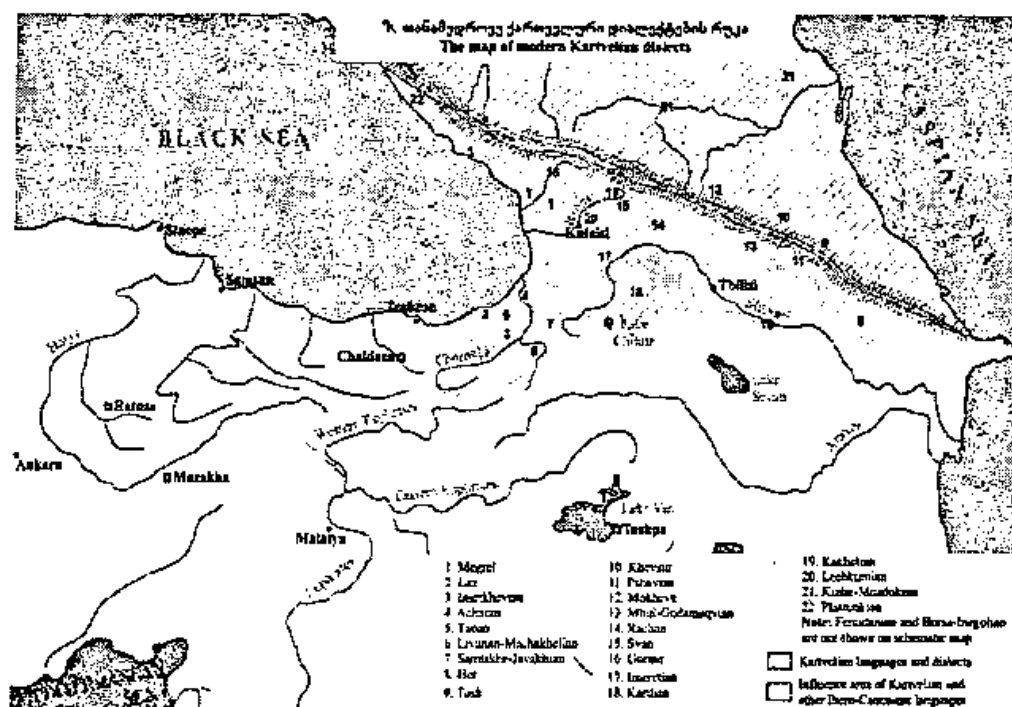
Dialects of the Georgians outside Georgia's historical territories:

Fereidanian, The Georgian language of Chveneburebi in Turkey (spoken in Bursa-Inegol, Adafazar-Izmit, Gonen and Kaizer areas, dialects of immigrated Georgian Mohajirs) and Qizlar-Mozdokian-Plastunka Georgian.

In modern Georgia the coexistence of the Georgian literary language and its dialects presents as monolingual diglossa form; Mother language is official (science, culture, education, church, media, etc) language, and dialectal varieties are family speech (not infrequently together with the literary Georgian).

Schematic map featuring of the modern Georgian lingual universe looks as

follows (different colors show the fields of functioning of the Georgian literary language - the Mother-tongue of Georgians; Arabic numbers show the areas covered by the Georgian dialects):



Below we provide the language situation description in the north-west Georgia: in Svaneti, Megrelia and Abkhazia; namely, the linguistic map of Georgia gives the boundaries of Svan speeches and Megrel- one of the Zan dialects (in the nearest future we plan to publish the maps of other Georgian dialects) and the percentage data of spoken languages in Abkhazia according to the inhabited areas (We have taken for the basis the official census data of the Soviet Union of 1989).

van dialects: (the boundaries between speeches are represented according to the village names): Lentekhian: Khopuri, Rtskhmeluri, qvedreshi, Gvimrala, Nanari, Leksura, Paqi, Laskadura Gulida, Babili, Lesema, Kheldi, Khacheshi, Bavari, Tskhumaldi;

Cholurian: Mutsdi, Saqdari, Shtvili, Buleshi, Mutsta, Tekali, Leusheri, Mami, Ukuleshi Zagaloti, Chvelieri, Panaga, Tvibi;

Lashkh: Luji, Sasashi, Mebetsi, Lekosandi, Zhakhunderi, Chukuli, Lampalashi, Lemzagori, Kheria, Lashkrashi, Chikhareshi, Akhalsheni, Mele, Shkedi, Margvishi, Natsuli, Ghobi, Benieri, Makhashi;

Balzemoan: Ushguli (Zhibiani, Chvibiani, Chazhashi, Murqmeri), Kala (Vichnashi, Khe, Laikhori, Davberi, Iprari, Khalde), Ipari (Nakipari, Zegani, Atsi, Bogreshi, Ipari, Tsvimri, Ieli, Adishi), Muzhali (Chvabiani, Zhabeshi, Chaldashi), Mulakhi: (Ghobri, Zardlashi, Zhamushi, Mushkieri, Lakhiri, Cholashi), Mestia (Seti, Lekhtani, Lanchvani, Lagami), Lenjeri: (Nesguni, Demsia (Lemsia), Kashveti, Soli, Lashtkhver, Muhkeli), Latali: Ipakhi, Leshuki, Lashkvashi, Shqaleri, Matskhovarishi, Kvanchiani, Gibami, Enashi (lenashi), Lakhushti, Lahili), Tsana, Zeskho (Tsana and Zeskho, as administrative units, belong to Lower Svaneti - Lentekhi region, but the place is inhabited by Svans who had come here to live from the village of Ushguli, correspondingly they have Balszemoan speech).

Balzqvemooan: Becho (Dali, Naki, Tavrari, Jibe, Vedi, Tsimari, Bagvdanari, Chvabe, Ipari, Idliani, Skormeti, Tsirmindi, Jorkvari, Tsalanari), Tsxumari (Gabalti,

Alakhadze's village council:

Alakhadzi: Georgian - 34%, Armenian - 37%;

Baghnari village council:

Baghnari: Armenian - 75%;

Veli: Armenian - 79%;

Mendeleevo: Armenian - 60%, Belorussian - 20%.

Bzipi village council:

Bzipi: Georgian - 46%;

Bzipta: Georgian - 100%;

Aqvara: Abkhaz - 34%, ghussian - 20%;

Atinta: Georgian - 38%, Armenian - 29%;

Ipnari: Georgian - 28%, ghussian - 24% Armenian - 22%.

Kolkhida village council:

Alpiiskoe: Abkhaz - 61%, Georgian - 22 %;

Gruzinskoe ushelie: Abkhaz - 51%, Georgian - 41 %;

Zemo khevi: Abkhaz - 79%;

Otradnoe: Georgian - 30 %, Abkhaz - 56%.

Leselidze village council:

Leselidze: Abkhaz - 33%, Georgian - 32 %;

Salme: Abkhaz - 39%, Georgian - 34 %;

Sulevo: Georgian 61%.

Lidzava village council:

Lidzava: Georgian - 38 %; Abkhaz - 29%;

Atsijkva: Abkhaz - 63%;

Rapitsa: Abkhaz - 39 %, Georgian - 30%, Abkhaz - 23%.

Mikelripshi village council:

Demerchentsi: Abkhaz - 49 %, Georgian - 45%;

Mikelripshi, Salkhino, Tsaibliani, Tsodniskari: Abkhaz - 100%.

Kheivani village council:

Kultubani: Abkhaz - 59 %;

Kheivani: Abkhaz - 47 %, Georgian - 39%;

Tsalkoti: Abkhaz - 54 %, Georgian - 32%;

Sapranovo: Abkhaz - 65 %, Georgian - 29%;

Kholodnaia rechka village council:

Grebeshoki: Abkhaz - 63 %;

Kholodnaia rechka: Georgian - 43%, Abkhaz - 38 %;

Chigripshi: Abkhaz - 54 %, Georgian - 23%;

Orekhovo: Abkhaz - 100%.

Mekhadiris village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Khashupsis village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Gudauta region: Georgian - 13,4%, Abkhaz - 53,1%, Armenian - 15,4%, Greek - 1,0%, Russian - 13,5%.

Gudauta: Georgian - 13,1%, Abkhaz - 48,0%, Russian - 21,2%;

Akhali atoni: Georgian - 7,6%, Abkhaz - 23,1%, Armenian - 16,7%, Russian - 44,0%;

Daba miusera: Georgian - 6,3%, Abkhaz - 47,4%, Russian - 34,0%.

Aatsis village council:

Aatsi, Kutidzra, Bintkha, Aghdzisi, Alra: Abkhaz - 100%.

Abgharkhuki village council:

Tsoukhva, Bazikita, Abakhvamtsa, Abgharkhuki, Tasrakva: Abkhaz - 100%;

Baghikita: Georgian - 27 %, Abkhaz - 71%;

Agaraki village council: Armenian - 100%.

Anukhvi village council:

Anukhva: Armenian - 38%, Abkhaz - 56%;

Abaakhuda: Armenian - 47%, Abkhaz - 44%;

Ajmatvara: Armenian - 22%, Abkhaz - 77%;

Akvacha: Abkhaz - 100%;

Akui: Abkhaz - 50%, Russian - 50 %;

Armianskoe ushelie: Armenian - 24%, Abkhaz - 62%;

Akalmara, Vesiolovka, Anukhva armianskaia: Armenian - 100%.

Achandara village council:

Khabiu: Abkhaz - 78%

Achandara, Aualitsa, Jgidirkhva, Dzibziri, Kvabruta, Tsvindirta, Aosirkhva:
Abkhaz - 100 %.

Blaburkhva village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Jirkhva village council:

Apshankhvara, Bgardvani, Jirkhva, kvasapa, Akhutsa: Abkhaz - 100%;

Sinirkhva: Abkhaz - 22%, Georgian - 70 %;

Akvacharkhu: Armenian - 79%.

Duripshi village council:

Duripshi: Georgian - 100%;

Abgara, aratu, atarhabla, tvanaschu: Abkhaz - 100%.

Zvandripshi village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Kaldakkhvi village council:

Akhvaja: Abkhaz - 73%;

Kaldakhvara, Amparaarkhu, Ajakhu: Abkhaz - 100%.

Qulanurkhva village council:

Tasraqva: Georgian - 27%, Armenian - 37%, Abkhaz -28%;

Qulanurkhva, Abgavera, Adeigvara, Aruta, Achkatsa, Tamkvach-igvavera,
Osiaarkhu, Tsvisharkhu: Abkhaz - 100%.

Likhni village council:

Ajimchighra: Georgian - 25%, Abkhaz - 73%;

Khetskvara: Abkhaz - 79%;

Mzakhva: Russian - 20%, Abkhaz - 52%;

Adzlagarkhuki: Abkhaz - 75%;

Bambora: Russian - 46%, Abkhaz - 21%;

Adzlagara, Papshira, likhni, Algiti: Abkhaz - 100%.

Mgudzirkhva village council:

Arashachu: Abkhaz - 76%;

Aptskhva, Ambara, Mgudzirkhva, Ondanirkhva, Gugunirkhva, Paptsva: Abkhaz-
100%.

Sokhumi region: Georgian - 44,4%, Abkhaz - 5,1%, Armenian - 28,9%, Greek - 10,25%, Russian - 7,2%;

Sokhumi: Georgian - 41,5%, Abkhaz - 12,5%, Armenian - 10,3%, Greek - 6,2%, Russian - 21,6%.

Akhalsopeli village council:

Akhalsopeli: Georgian - 24%, Armenian - 59%;

Dzighuta: Georgian - 32%, Armenian - 31%, Greek - 30%;

Volodarskoe: Georgian - 73%;

Kelasuri: Georgian - 62%, Armenian - 29%;

Alekseevka: Russian - 23%, Greek - 64%.

Akhalsheni village council:

Akhalsheni: Georgian - 67%, Greek - 28%;

Guma: Armenian - 100%;

Shubara: : turk - 22%, Greek - 55%;

Mtiskalta: Armenian - 100%;

Ochubure: Armenian - 100%;

Satave: : Georgian - 66%;

Adzizbdzara: Russian - 33%, Georgian - 33%, Greek - 25%.

Besleti village council:

Besleti: Georgian - 61%;

Abadzaqva: Georgian - 70%;

Zemo birtskha: Georgian - 65%;

Kvemo birtskha: Georgian - 61%.

Verkhnaia eshera village council:

Ambarikhutsa: Armenian - 63%;

Verkhnaia eshera: Armenian - 67%;

Aghdara: Armenian - 100%;

Uzabaa: Greek - 100%;

Adzigidzi: Armenian - 55%, Abkhaz - 24%.

Gumista village council:

Gumista: Georgian - 25%, Armenian - 49%;

Achadara: Georgian - 54%, Armenian - 33%;

Lechkope: Georgian - 46%, Armenian - 32%.

Kelasuri village council:

Gvarda: Georgian - 36%, Armenian - 25%, Greek - 29%;

Linda: Georgian - 100%;

Akapa: Georgian - 100%;

Kelasuri: Georgian - 100%;

Lekukhona: Georgian - 100%;

Birja: Greek - 100%.

Odishi village council:

Odishi: Georgian - 28%, Greek - 63%;

Kvemo linda: Georgian - 100%;

Pavlovskoe: Georgian - 37%, Greek - 60%;

Petrovskoe: Greek - 100%.

Pskhu village council:
Pskhu: Russian - 100%;
Aghurapsta: Russian - 80%, Kurd - 20%;
Rikza: Russian - 100%;
Bitaga: Russian - 78%;
Serebriano: Russian - 100%;
Reshevie: Russian - 100%.
Tavisupleba village council:
Tavisupleba: Georgian - 49%, Armenian - 32%;
Gorana: Armenian - 72%;
Verkhnaia iashtkhva: Armenian - 100%;
Nidznaia iashtkhva: Georgian - 37%, Armenian - 45%.
Shroma village council:
Shroma: Georgian - 100%;
Kamani: Georgian - 72%;
Amzara: Georgian - 100%;
Zegani: Georgian - 36%, Greek - 54%;
Apianda: Greek - 100%;
Mtisubani: Armenian - 62%;
Nakhshira: Russian - 37%, Georgian - 22%;
Starushkina: Armenian - 100%.
Eshera village council:
Gvandra: Armenian - 54%;
Shittsvara: Abkhaz - 34%;
Kutishkha: Armenian - 22%, Russian - 27%;
Eshera: Armenian - 54%, Georgian - 27%;

Gulripshi region: Georgian - 52,8%, Abkhaz - 2,4%, Armenian - 25,3%, Russian - 13,9%;

gulripshi: Georgian - 38,4%, Abkhaz - 4,1%, Armenian - 9,6%, Russian - 36,4%.

Adzara village council:

Kvemo adzara, Zemo adzara, Budzguri, Gvandra, Zima, Kvabchara, Marjvena gentsvishi, Marjvena ptishi, Martskhena gentsvishi, Martskhena ptishi, Mramba, Nakhari, Omarishara, Sakeni, Khetskara, Khutia, Chkhalta: Georgian - 100%

Shabatkvara: Armenian - 100%

Amtqeli village council:

Amtqeli: Georgian - 45%, Armenian - 49%;

Amzara, buduki: Georgian - 100%;

Jampali: Georgian - 79%;

Qada: Georgian - 75%, abkhaz - 25%;

Panta, Shuamta: Armenian - 100%;

Georgievskoe: Greek - 100%.

Baghmarani village council:

Baghmarani: Georgian - 69%;

Aleksandrovka, Poltava-aleksandrovskoe: Georgian - 100%.
Babushara village council:
Babushara: Russian - 5%, Georgian - 56%;
Varcha, Qorasi: Georgian - 100%;
Ojibina: Georgian - 54%, Russian - 28%.
Vladimirovki village council:
Vladimirovka: Georgian - 49%, Armenian - 27%;
Estonka: Georgian - 41%, Armenian - 30% ;
Khumushkuri: Armenian - 100%.
Ganakhleba village council:
Ganakhleba, Chala: Georgian - 100%;
Naa: Armenian - 100%;
Khumushkuri: Georgian - 59%;
Tshernigovka: Georgian - 22%, Russian - 32,5%, Armenian - 43%.
Dranda village council:
Dranda: Georgian - 66%;
Zemo pshapi: Georgian - 65%, Armenian - 29%;
Kvemo pshapi: Georgian - 100%;
Shaumianovka: Armenian - 100%.
Lata village council:
Lata: Georgian - 70%;
Kvenobani: Georgian - 60%, Armenian - 23%;
Mardakhuchi: Georgian - 70%, Abkhaz - 30%;
Khizarukha: Georgian - 20%, Abkhaz - 60%, turk - 20%;
Arghuni, Zemo lata, Kadari: Georgian - 100%.
Machara village council:
Machara: Georgian - 57%, Armenian - 32%;
Tkhubuni: Georgian - 48%, Russian - 25%, Armenian - 20%;
Zemo gulripshi, Kvemo merkheuli: Armenian - 100%.
Kelasuri: Georgian - 63%
Merkheuli village council:
Merkheuli: Georgian - 64%, Armenian - 30%;
Ghurzuli, Zemo machara: Georgian - 100%;
Chernigovka: Georgian - 41%, Armenian - 40%.
Pshapi village council:
Pshapi: Georgian - 56%, Armenian - 39%;
Meore baghadziashta: Georgian - 57%, Armenian - 36%;
Pirveli baghadziashta, Parnauti: Armenian - 100%.
Tsebelda village council:
Tsebelda: Georgian - 56%, Armenian - 27%;
Mrambda, Arasara, Azanta: Georgian - 100%;
Mziseuli, Tsiplovani, Kvemo tsqaro, Zemo tsqaro, Kirnati, Ablukhvara: Armenian - 100%;
Agishi: Russian - 25%, Armenian - 33% Greek - 25%;
Marani: Georgian - 60%, Armenian - 33% ;

Gergemishi: Georgian - 74%, Armenian - 24% ;
Oktomberi: Georgian - 63%;
Kelasuri: Russian - 25%, Greek - 75%.

Ochamchire region: Georgian - 40,2%, Abkhaz - 36,7%, Armenian - 8,3%,
Russian - 5,4%;

Ochamchire: Georgian - 58,2%, Abkhaz - 18,2%, Armenian - 3,3%, Russian -
14,7%;

Tqvarcheli: Georgian - 23,4%, Abkhaz - 42,3%, Armenian - 1,5%, Greek -
0,6%, Russian - 24,5%;

Agubedia village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Adzibdza village council:

Balani: Georgian - 52%, Abkhaz - 22%;

Akhivaa, Kudrakhuki, Dopoukiti, Adziubdza, Jobria, Baghlani, Akhaldaba,

Tsqurgili: Abkhaz - 100%.

Aradu village council: Georgian - 100%

Arakichi village council:

Arakichi: Armenian - 100%;

Dacha: Armenian - 74%.

Arasadzikhi village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Atara village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Atara-armianskaia village council:

Atara-armianskaia, Pskali, Depegindze: Armenian - 100%;

Naa: Georgian - 100%;

Alapankvara: Armenian - 78%.

Akhali kindghi village council: Georgian - 100%.

Beslakhuba village council:

Dodlani: Georgian - 76%. Abkhaz - 20%;

Abjaaptra: Abkhaz - 100%;

Beslakhuba: Georgian - 46%, Abkhaz - 49%;

Akhali akvaskia: Georgian - 100%.

Ghvada village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Gupi village council:

Zagani, Gupi, Padgu, Agvavera, Chatsvkiti, Ajampazra: Abkhaz - 100%;

Akvaskia: Georgian - 100%.

Igerda village council:

Igerda: Georgian - 54%, Abkhaz - 36%;

Gurchkhi: Georgian - 61%, Abkhaz - 25%;

Dghamshi, Jirghuli: Abkhaz - 100%.

Ilori village council:

Okhurei, Suki, Zeni, Ilori: Georgian - 100%;

Nagvalou: Georgian - 71%.

Kindghi village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

Kochara village council:

Kochara, labra, Skhenistskali: Georgian - 100%;

Chlou: Georgian - 68%, Abkhaz - 26%.
 Kutoli village council:
 Abaakiti: Georgian - 42%, Abkhaz - 56%;
 Bzana, Toumishi, Kutoli, Kerkeni: Georgian - 100%;
 Akhivaa: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Labra village council: Armenian - 100%.
 Merkuli village council:
 Merkula: Georgian - 56%, Abkhaz - 31%.
 Juqmuri Georgian - 57%, Abkhaz - 22%.
 Mokvi village council:
 Mokvi: Georgian - 27%, Abkhaz - 52%;
 Ajadzvi: Abkhaz - 79%;
 Jali: Georgian - 79%;
 Adzibdzara, Jal-apsua: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Otapi village council: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Okhurei village council:
 Aqvarashi: Georgian - 78%, Abkhaz - 21%;
 Ilorgani, Pirveli okhurei, Meore okhurei: Georgian - 100%.
 Pokveshi village council: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Reka village council: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Tamishi village council:
 Anuaarkhu: Abkhaz - 100%;
 Naghbou: Abkhaz - 45%;
 Tamishi: Abkhaz - 76%;
 Naochi: Georgian - 60%, Abkhaz - 29%;
 Tskrishi: Georgian - 45%, Abkhaz - 24%.
 Tkhina village council: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Chlou village council:
 Chlou: Abkhaz - 75%;
 Akidra, Aimara, Aradzpara, Androu: Abkhaz - 100%.
 Tqvarcheli village council: Abkhaz - 100%.

(The mark showing the percentage index of population on the map is adopted according to the percentage indexes of the villages in village councils (See social economic situation of Abkhazian Autonomic Republic 1985-1990, Statistics, Tbilisi, 1996).