

Linguistic Situations in Conflict Regions – The Abkhazia Border within Russia according to 1989 Census Data and Politicized Linguistic Maps

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Before 1993 the majority of the autochthonous population of Abkhazia was Georgians. At the end of the 20th c. official and informal military troops of the Russian Federation expelled 350 000 Georgians and 30 000 Abkhaz from the autonomous republic. Some scholars try to provide the world with such linguistic maps of the site of this linguistic tragedy that suggest there are no and never had been any Georgian-speaking residents in Abkhazia. Below we provide the language situation description in north-west Georgia (We have referred to the official 1989 Soviet Union census data as basis for our argumentation).

Keywords: Abkhazia, Linguistic Map, Linguistic Situation

Abkhazia was historically a part of Georgia. Ten centuries ago it acted as a leading region for the development of the Georgian language spoken in united Georgia (Sakartvelo). Before 1993 the majority of the autochthonous population of Abkhazia was Georgians. Russia has always been interested in obtaining access to the Black Sea. That is why Russia has always tried to exile Georgians and Russian opponents from the historic territory of Georgia. The first ethnic cleansing took place in 1867 (nearly 40 000 Muslim Abkhazians were expelled in Turkey). The second cleansing occurred at the end of the 20th c. when 350 000 Georgians and 30 000 Abkhazians were driven out of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.

The presented problem is described based on the classification of the dialects of Georgians and those within their sphere of linguistic influence: Georgians have one centuries-old literary language – the Georgian/Kartvelian language – and more than ten varieties (dialects).

On the basis of the genealogical scheme of the Kartvelian language units and in relation to the history of the 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:

Meskh dialects: Acharan, Livanan, Machakhelian, Imerkhevian, Taoan Samtskhean, Javahk;

Her dialects: Kakian, Aliabatian;

Pkhovian dialects: Chagma-Tush, Pshavian, Khevsur, Khevian, Mtiul-Gudamaqrian.

Here I can consider Tsova-Tush which incorporates both Vainakh and Georgian strata.

Rachan dialects: Lower Rachan, Upper Rachan;

Svan dialects: Lashkh, Lentekhian, Cholur, Balskvemoan, Balszemoan; conventionally we can give particular place to **Dal Valley Svan Speech**. Dal's Svaneti is situated in the upper valley of the Kodori River, in upper Abkhazeti in the Gulrifshi region. The original name of the people living there is 'misimians' (one of the Svan tribes); in 1867

the Russian empire exiled these people to Turkey. The modern population of the place consists of Georgians who went to live there from Svaneti. Their dialect has preserved the basic characteristics and features of both Balzemoan and Balskvemoan speech; 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:

Fereidianian, 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.

The coexistence of the Georgian literary language and its dialects take the form of a monolingual diglossa in modern Georgia; the mother language is the official language (science, culture, education, church, media, etc.), and dialectal varieties are family speech (frequently together with literary Georgian).

The schematic map of the modern Georgian lingual universe looks as follows (different colours show the functioning fields of the Georgian literary language - the mother-tongue of Georgians; Arabic numbers show the areas covered by the Georgian dialects):



Below we provide a description of the language situation in 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 near 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).

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

Cholurulian: Mutsdi, Saqdari, Shtvili, Buleshi, Mutsti, Tekali, Leuseri, Mami, Ukuleshi, Zagaloti, Chvelieri, Panaga, Tvibi;

Lashkh: Luji, Sasashi, Mebetsi, Lekosandi, Zhakhunderi, Chukuli, Lampalashi, Lemzagori, Kheria, Lashkhrashi, 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, Tsvirmi, Ieli, Adishi), Muzhali (Chvabiani, Zhabeshi, Chaldashi), Mulahki: (Ghobri, Zardlashi, Zhamushi, Mushkieri, Lakhiri, Cholashi), Mestia (Seti, Lekhtani, Lanchvani, Lagami), Lenjeri : (Nesguni, Demsia (Lemsia), Kashveti, Soli, Lashtkveri, Muhkeli), Latali: Ipakhi, Leshuki, Lashkvashi, Shqalari, Matskhovarishi, Kvanchiani, Gibami, Enashi (Ienashi), 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).

Balzqvemoan: Becho (Dali, Naki, Tavrari, Jibe, Vedi, Tsimari, Bagvdanari, Chvabe, Ipari, Idliani, Skormeti, Tsirmindi, Jorkvari, Tsalanari), Tsumari (Gabalti, Svipi, Tviberi, Lezgari, Maganderi, Lapsxaldi), Etseri (Barshi, Qurasi, Pkhotreri), Pari (Supi, Ugvali, Lakhamula, Pari), Chubekhevi, Lakhamula, Chuberi.

Dali's Svaneti villages are: Lata, Ptishi, Adzgara, Chkhalta, Azhara, Gentsvishi, Omarishara, Sakeni, Gvandra, Khutia.

In 1987, because of the natural disaster in Svaneti, a certain amount of the village population moved to different regions of Georgia; namely in the Tskhaltubo region (villages of Gvishtibi, Gumbri, Saqulia); the Khoni region (Akhalsheni, Kuhki (Didi) and Kuhki (Patara), Ivandidi); the Ozurgeti region (Ozurgeti, Bakhvi, Nagomari, Gurianta, Meria, Natanebi); Tetrtskaro region (Chivchavi) also in Kaspi, Gardabani, Tsalka and other regions.

Megrel dialect of the Megrel - Laz group (Because of the multitude of villages dialect boundaries are given according to the names of regions): West Megrel speech: Gali (formally part of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic), Zugdidi, Tsalenjikha. East Megrel speech: Chkhorotsku, Khobi, Senaki, Martvili, Abasha.

Other Regions of the **Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia:** In Ochamchire, Gulripshi, Sokhumi, Gudauta and Gagra the adjacent villages have compact settlements of Abkhazians, Georgians and Armenian, Russian, and Greek migrants of the 19th c brought by the Russian Empire from Turkey; more recent waves of migrants in Abkhazia are Belorussian and Ukrainian. The map features five regions of Abkhazia according to the percentage data of the lingual-ethnic composition of the population. (The ratio is calculated according to the official 1989 census organized by the Soviet government. See also: “Ethnic composition of the Republic of Georgia according to all union censuses of 1989.” Statistical Collections, Tbilisi 1991; and “Social and economic conditions of Abkhazia according to the economic and social conditions 1985- 1990 years,” Statistical Collections, Tbilisi 1996).¹



Compare: The unlikely linguistic Map of Caucasus produced by prof. J. Gippert (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/karten/kauk/kaukasm.htm>); according to this map, Abkhazian is the native language for the majority of the population of Abkhazia.



In fact, Georgians still live in the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, namely in upper Abkhazia (Kodori Valley) and the Gali district; the majority of the residents of Abkhazia are internally displaced. We are obliged to say the truth which is based on facts: Georgians (Megrels, Svans and others) have been lived in Abkhazia – the historic territory of Kolkheti (Kartli into Georgian) Old Abkhazians were creating Georgian state and culture. They considered themselves as Georgians before Russians came in the Caucasus.

Below in the annex you will read statistic data based on the 1989 Census provided by the Soviet Union (according to the towns, regions, countries and villages).

Annex

1989 Official Census Data:

Ethnic Composition of Abkhazia Autonomous Republic (Statistic Collection, Tblisi, 1996)

Gagra region: Georgian¹ - 28,0%; Abkhaz - 9,1%; Armenian - 2,7%; Greek - 1,2%; Russian - 24,2%

Gagra (town): Georgian - 28,1%; Abkhaz - 11,2%; Armenian - 19,4%; Greek - 1,7%; Russian - 30,5%

Gantiadi (village): Georgian - 20,0%; Abkhaz - 2,7%; Armenian - 43,1%; Russian - 25,1%

Bichvinta (village): Georgian - 23,3%; Abkhaz - 16,0%; Armenian - 5,3%; Russian - 42,4%

Alakhadze's village council:

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

Baghnari village council:

Baghnari: Armenian - 75%;

Veli: Armenian - 79%;

Mendeleevo (**village**): Armenian - 60%, Belorussian - 20%.

Bzipi village council:

Bzipi: Georgian - 46%;

Bzipta: Georgian - 100%;

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

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

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

Kolkhida village council:

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

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

Zemo khevi: Armenian - 79%;

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

Leselidze village council:

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

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

Sulevo: Georgian 61%.

Lidzava village council:

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

Atsijkva: Armenian - 63%;

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

Mikelripshi village council:

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

Mikelripshi, Salkhino, Tsabliani, Tsodniskari: Armenian - 100%.

Kheivani village council:

Kultubani: Armenian - 59 %;

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

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

Shapranovo: Armenian - 65 %, Georgian - 29%;

Kholodnaia rechka village council

Grebeshoki: Armenian - 63 %;
Kholodnaia rechka: Russian - 43%, Armenian - 38 %;
Chigripshi: Armenian - 54 %, Russian - 23%;
Orekhovo: Armenian - 100%.

Mekhadiris village council: Armenian - 100%.

Khashupsis village council: Armenian - 100%.

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

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

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

Miusera (village): 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, Osiarkhu,

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%;
Aleksievka: 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%;
Adzibdzara: 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%;
Uazabaa: 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%;

Serebrianoe: 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 - 39%, 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:

lower Adzara, Upper Adzara, Budzguri, Gvandra, Zima, Kvabchara, Right Gentsvishi, Right Ptishi, Left Gentsvishi, Left 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%.

Vladimirovski 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%;

Chernigovka: Georgian - 22%, Russian - 32,5%, Armenian - 43%.

Dranda village council:

Dranda: Georgian - 66%;

Upper Pshapi: Georgian - 65%, Armenian - 29%;

Lower 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%;

Arghuri, 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, Upper Machara: Georgian - 100%;

Chernigovka: Georgian - 41%, Armenian - 40%.

Pshapi village council:

Pshapi: Georgian - 56%, Armenian - 39%;

Second Baghdadziashta: Georgian - 57%, Armenian - 36%;

First Baghdadziashta, Parnauti: Armenian - 100%.

Tsebelda village council:

Tsebelda: Georgian - 56%, Armenian - 27%;

Marambda, Arasara, Azanta: Georgian - 100%;

Mziseuli, Tsiplovani, Lower Tsqaro, Upper 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%.

Jgerda village council:

Jgerda: 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%;

Ilogani, First Okhurei, Second 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%.

Notes

¹ 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 the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic 1985-1990, Statistics, Tbilisi, 1996).

² According to the materials of the description in 1989 the Georgian residents of the regions of Gagra, Gudauti, Sokhumi, Gulripshi and Ochamchire are considered as Lechkhumians, , Megreles, Svans, Imeretians etc.

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