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## DESCENDANTS OF THE GEORGIAN MUHAJIRS LIVING IN SİNOP İLİ (TURKEY) AND SOME PECULIARITIES OF THEIR GEORGIAN SPEECH<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

In our article we review a Georgian dialectal speech of the Georgian Muhajirs' descendants in Sinop, Turkey. All the research materials are obtained by us during the expedition July 8-19, 2019 in Turkey, Karadeniz (Black Sea Coast) region. In the article, all the illustrative phrases in Georgian are transcribed with specific Latin based transcription for Ibero-Caucasian Languages.

The most part of Muhajir Georgians' Sinop descendants have preserved the Georgian ethnical self-concept. Due to the code-switching process going on for 140 years the historical mother tongue is only spoken by the older generation; their knowledge of the Turkish language is mostly poor. The people of middle generation are usually bilingual speaking both Georgian and Turkish. The younger generation speaks only Turkish, which they consider more prestigious than the mother tongue of their ancestors.

**Keywords:** Georgian, code-switching, code-mixing, dialectology, Muhajirs

### ELS DESCENDENTS DELS MOHAJIRS DE GEÒRGIA QUE VIUEN A SİNOP İLİ (TURQUÍA) I ALGUNES PECULIARITATS DE LA SEVA PARLA GEORGIANA

#### Resum

L'article revisa una parla dialectal georgiana dels descendents dels mohajirs georgians a Sinop, Turquia. Tots els materials de recerca van ser obtinguts en el viatge d'estudi dut a terme entre el 8 i el 19 de juliol de 2019 a Turquia, regió de Karadeniz (Costa del Mar Negre). Totes les frases il·lustratives en georgià estan transcrits fent servir una transcripció específica en llatí per a llengües iberocaucàsiques. La majoria dels descendents de Sinop dels georgians mohajirs han conservat l'autoconcepte ètnic georgià. A causa del procés de canvi de codi que ha tingut lloc durant 140 anys, la llengua materna

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històrica només la parlen les generacions més grans; el seu coneixement de l'idioma turc és majoritàriament deficient. Les persones de la generació intermèdia solen ser bilingües i parlen georgià i turc. La generació més jove només parla turc, el qual consideren més prestigiós que la llengua materna dels seus avantpassats.

**Paraules clau:** georgià, canvi de codi, *code-mixing*, dialectologia, mohajirs

## LOS DESCENDIENTES DE LOS MOJAYIRES DE GEORGIA QUE VIVEN EN SÍNOP İLİ (TURQUÍA) Y ALGUNAS PECULIARIDADES DE SU HABLA GEORGIANA

### Resumen

El artículo revisa un habla dialectal georgiana de los descendientes de los mojayires georgianos en Sinop, Turquía. Todos los materiales de investigación fueron obtenidos en el viaje de estudio realizado entre el 8 y 19 de julio de 2019 en Turquía, región de Karadeniz (Costa del Mar Negro). Todas las frases ilustrativas en georgiano están transcritas con una transcripción específica en latín para lenguas ibero-caucásicas. La mayor parte de los descendientes de Sinop de los georgianos mojayires han conservado el autoconcepto étnico georgiano. Debido al proceso de cambio de código que ha tenido lugar durante 140 años, la lengua materna histórica sólo la hablan las generaciones mayores; su conocimiento del idioma turco es en su mayoría deficiente. Las personas de la generación intermedia suelen ser bilingües y hablan georgiano y turco. La generación más joven solo habla turco, que consideran más prestigioso que la lengua materna de sus antepasados.

**Palabras clave:** georgiano, cambio de código, *code-mixing*, dialectología, mojayires

### 1. Settlements of Muhajirs

Based on historical sources, Ottoman Turkey and Iran divided the Georgian kingdom of Sakartwelo (Georgia), dating back to 4<sup>th</sup> century, into spheres of influence by the 1555 Amasya Treaty. As a result of such division two kingdoms – Kartli and K'axeti – were formed in the part controlled by Iran. Those two kingdoms were ruled by the Bagrat'ioni dynasty. The Southern part of Georgia – historical Mesxeti (Samcxé, Šawaxeti, Erušeti, K'ola, Art'aani, T'ao, Šavšeti, Č'aneti, Liwana and Ač'ara with Mač'axela) – was soon made part of the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, the third Georgian kingdom named Imereti, which was ruled by the Bagrat'ioni dynasty, emerged in the central part of the western Georgia. Initially, this kingdom included the principalities of Odiši, Apxazeti, Swaneti and Guria.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Georgian kingdoms oppressed by Iran and Ottoman Turkey let the Russian Empire with common Orthodox faith enter the central Caucasus. However, Russia had its own interests: the Russian Empire began intensive

efforts to oppress Iran and Ottoman Turkey in Caucasus, and, at the same time, to destroy the Georgian kingdoms and principalities.

After the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, Ottoman Turkey was forced to give up a large part of Southern Georgia. It was not in the interests of the Russian Empire to have the borderline area settled by Georgians, so it facilitated the process of Muslim Georgians leaving their country and migrating to the central Turkey (see in detail: Asan 2016: 42-43). Based on Ottoman documents, the present city of *Sinop* (and present day *Sinop İli* territory) in the Republic of Turkey was the main assembly point for the Muhajirs sailing from the Caucasus, from where they were redirected to different places. According to the Turkish historian Hakan Asan, while most of the first Muhajirs migrating from the Caucasus to Sinop (1864-1870) were *Circassians*, *Georgians* prevailed during the second influx of Muhajirs after the 1877-1878 Russian-Ottoman War (Asan 2016: 55).

Based on the materials obtained by our linguistic expedition in July 8-19, 2019,<sup>2</sup> Georgian Muhajirs' descendants have densely settled the following villages:

Sinop İli, Merkez *ilçe*: Lala (Lala köyü), Menekse (Menekse köyü), Alioyli (Alioğlu köyü); Q'oruşuyi (Korucuk köyü), Ordu (Ordu köyü), Čobanlari (Çobanlar köyü), Kabali (Kabalı köyü), Gjollu (Göllü köyü), Erikli (Erikli), Q'arapunyari (Karapınarı köyü), Ahmetyeri (Ahmetyeri köyü), Awliani (Avlıyanı köyü), Tanriali (Tanrıyalı köyü), Dibekli (Dibekli köyü).

Sinop İli, Erfelek *ilçe*: Erpeleyi (Erfelek köyü), Hamidie (Hamidiye), Wejseli (Veysel köyü), Deirmenži (Değermenci köyü), Abdurāmanpaša (Abdürrahmanpaşa köyü), Asandere (Hasandere köyü), Saxarambaši (Sakaranbaşı köyü), Q'iližli (Kılıçlı köyü), Tosumbej (Tosunbey), Bašarani (Başaran), Tekke (Tekke), Jeničami (Yeniçam köyü).

Sinop İli, Gerze *ilçe*: Aq'iraži (Akkıraç köyü), Juwali (Yuvalı), Xizarçai (Hızırçay köyü).

Sinop İli, *Ayancık ilçe*: Bujukduzi (Büyükdüzü köyü), Omerduzi (Ömerdüzü köyü).

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Sinop İli, *Türkel ilçe*: Sazk'işla (Sazkışla köyü), Ažikjoj (Hacı köyü).<sup>3</sup>

Some of these villages are located on the seacoast; others are in mountains, 20-30 km from the coast. In many places, Georgians live side by side with other ethnic groups (Turks, Circassians, Abazas, etc.). Georgian Muhajirs' descendants also live in the city of Sinop.

Our group visited the descendants of Georgian muhajirs living in the city of Sinop as well as the residents of the following villages: Dibekli köyü, Lala köyü, Değermenci köyü, Kılıçlı köyü, Veysel köyü, Erfelek köyü, etc.

The materials of our expedition have shown that the Georgian Muhajirs who settled Sinop in early 1880s were from Batumi (Achara, Georgia), Borčxa (present day Borçka in Artvin İli Borçka İlçe, Turkey), Xeba (an old village in Kirnati Community, at present it is on Turkish territory; in Artvin İli Borçka İlçe, and its official *Turkish name is Karşıköyü*), Mač'axela (a valley and one of the oldest Georgian community on the both sides of present day Georgian-Turkish border) and also Čuruksu (Present day Kobuleti Municipality and the city of Kobuleti, Achara, Georgia). Particularly, those who come from Borčxa live both in the city and in the villages of Sinop İli. According to a respondent from the city of Sinop, his ancestors came from Borčxa and at first settled in the village Lala. Later some of them moved to the city of Sinop. The narrator *Nevzat Küçük Patinoğlu*, aged 68, gave us the name of his ancestors' village – Nažwia.<sup>4</sup>

Another respondent's ancestors were also from the village of Xeba: Şahin Gül, aged 77, said he is a fifth generation Georgian settler in city of Sinop:

1) *hajdan mowet čwen? čwen Xebajdan, Šubanis mällejdam monasuli wart ak. ak win mowda tu? čemi babojs dedejs dedej monasulia. me dawtwalo: Amedaj dedej - erti, aka mok'da. imis uk'an - Hasanaj dedej mok'da, imis uk'an - Memedaj dedej mok'da, imis uk'an - čemi baboj mok'da. axla, siraj čemze mowda: me mowk'de-na - xuti, čemi šwili - eksj, imis šwili - šwidi. ase, Amedajs toruni wart q'welaj.*

'[You ask] where we came from? We came here from Xeba, from the quarter of Šubani. Who did come here? It was my father's grandfather's grandfather. I will count [now]: one ancestor Ahmed, he died here [in this country]. Then followed

<sup>3</sup> The names of all the above listed villages are transcribed (in bold) in the same way they are pronounced in Georgian by the present descendants of Georgian Muhajirs.

<sup>4</sup> Nažwia // Nač'wia is a Georgian village of Borčxa community - present day in *Murgul İlçe, Artvin İli of the Republic of Turkey*. At present its official (*Turkish*) name is Fıstıklı köyü.

Hasan, he was the second to die here, then followed Mehmed - he also died here and then followed my father, who also died here. It is my turn now: when I die here, it will be five generations and my child is the sixth generation. My child's child is the seventh. Thus, we all are Ahmed's descendants here'.

Apart from the city of Sinop, we found descendants of the Georgian muhajirs from Borĉxa Community in villages as well, particularly the villages of Dibekli köyü and Lala köyü. The farmer Hikmet Gayrettin from Dibekli köyü, aged 70, told us:

2) *čweni dedēbi Borĉxajdan mosulan, ama ik, Borĉxas, hidam mowden, ise ar wici. Batumidan mowden tu, Ač'aridam mowden tu, ise ar wici.*

'Our grandfathers came [here] from Borĉxa, but I don't know well, where they had arrived from to Borĉxa [community] before that. I don't know, if they came from Batumi or from other parts of Ač'ara'.

As for the Georgians whose ancestors arrived from Batumi (or Batumi District), they live in the villages of Erfelek *İlçe*: Erfelek köyü, Değermenci köyü and Kılıçlı köyü. For example, the farmer from Değermenci köyü; Hikmet Yiyem, aged 82, knows that their ancestors came to present day Sinop İli from Batumi District, but do not remember which village exactly:

3) *gemit mojden čwenebi akit. im ikidan, batumidan ki mosulan, Sinap' garet gamosulan. čemi babānejc ište, sami c'lisa q'opila, rome-ki Batumidan ak mosulan.*

'Our people sailed here in a ship. They set off from there, from Batumi and arrived in Sinop. My grandmother [father's mother] was three when they came here from Batumi'.

In Kılıçlı köyü we met Yusup Özdemir, aged 83, whose words we also cite here:

4) *Batum izaxian, ište čwen imisi soplidam mosuli wart. ama, romeli sopeli? Č'oroxis gayma-gamoyma q'anebi mkondenwo, izaxiden imašin dedaber kalemma. ber kalemma ise izaxiden da romeli sopeli, ar wici.*

'They say [that we came from] Batumi. So, we came from a village of its [district]. Which village [was it]? The old women then said they had cornfields on both sides

of the river Č'oroxi - this is what the old woman said, but I don't know which village'.

It would be logical to assume that the Georgians who settled in Kılıçlı köyü had come from K'irnati or from Maradidi (both of them are the villages on the sides of Chorokhi River, in present day Kirnati Community, Khelvachauri Municipality, Achara, Georgia).

We found it difficult to determine the exact number of Georgian Muhajirs' descendants currently living in Sinop İli, as the ethnic origin of citizens is not registered in the Republic of Turkey. Based on the information obtained by the local population, the number of ethnic Georgians living in Sinop İli is approximately 25,000.

## **2. Muhajirs' Lingual and Ethnic Identity and Speech Codes**

Considering the materials obtained by us, based on their speech codes and code switching, descendants of Muhajir Georgians can be conventionally divided into three groups:

- People over 50: the third generation – older generation.
- People between 25 and 50: the second generation – middle generation.
- People under 25: the first generation – younger generation.

Georgian Muhajirs living in Sinop mostly fall into the category of the third generation, who have preserved their mother tongue (Georgian language). Representatives of the second generation have poorer knowledge of Georgian, they usually understand, but cannot speak it. As for the generation under 25, they can neither speak nor understand Georgian. Hence, there is a serious danger that the Georgian language will disappear in this area settled by Georgians. However, it is remarkable that most of the Muhajirs living in Sinop, even those who do not speak

Georgian, regard themselves as ethnic Georgians. They call themselves “kartwel-i” (pl.: *kartwel-eb-i*) or “gurž-i” (pl.: *gurž-eb-i*).<sup>5</sup>

Among the Georgian Muhajirs’ descendants living in Sinop, ethnic Georgians of the third generation have kept their native language. In their conversations with members of our expedition, they chose to speak Georgian. People of this category also speak the Turkish language, but they have a Georgian accent and often use Georgian words when speaking Turkish. During our expedition, we did not meet anyone who would not speak Turkish; on the other hand, the number of those who do not speak Georgian is growing every day.

There is one significant factor: due to the Georgian-Turkish code-switching process, the Georgian speech is at risk of going extinct in Sinop as well as in other regions of Turkey; it is possible that Sinop Georgians will lose their historical mother tongue. Like in other areas, the following five subtypes of code switching can be identified here:

- Tag-switching – adding a lexical unit (so-called “tag”) of B language/dialect at the beginning or at the end of the A language/dialect phrase.

- Intra-sentential switching – inserting a lexical unit of B language/dialect into the A language/dialect phrase.

- Extra-sentential switching – switching from A language/dialect phrase to B language/dialect phrase.

- Intra-word switching – borrowing B language/dialect phonemes and morphemes by A language/dialect; when speaking B language/dialect substituting the phonemes not characteristic of A language/dialect with different phonemes.

- Calque switching – due to the influence of B language/dialect creating lexical and grammatical calques in A language/dialect spontaneously.

As a result of Georgian-Turkish code-switching, all five subtypes can be encountered in the speech of Georgian Muhajirs’ descendants in Sinop ili, for example:

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<sup>5</sup> This term is derived from Turkish Gürcü.

### 2.1 Subtype I (Tag-switching)

5) *önžeden türkča ar codnebian* (Erfelek)

'They have never known Turkish before'.

*önžeden* < Turk.: Önceden.

6) *axla sač'meli čāwq'arot-da, ozamān, kwapši!* (Korucuk)

'Now, we have to put some food in the pot, then!'.

*Ozamān* < Turk.: O zaman.

7) *dedemma rajžeboden, č'adi č'amden, meselā, tu ara?* (Sinop)

'What did our ancestors do? For example, they would eat [Georgian] maize-bread, or not?'.

*meselā* < Turk.: Mesela

### 2.2 Subtype II (Intra-sentential switching)

8) *gušin or isanman sač'meli gigik'etet, k'aj iq'o tu?* (Dibekli)

'Yesterday two men (= the two of us) cooked for you, was it good?'.

*Isan-* < // *insan-* < Turk. İnsan; *-man* is an ergative case marker.

### 2.3 Subtype III (Extra-sentential switching)

9) *kinzi ese ar ali da bašxa nānem, bašxa bax, mec ar wici, kinzi bašxa q'opila* (Erfelek)

'This is not coriander and [what can I say] more, sonny, I don't know myself, coriander seems to be something different'.

*Bašxa nānem, bašxa bax* < Turk.: Başka Ne, annem, başka bak.

### 2.4 Subtype IV (Intra-word switching)

10) *ozaman, me ise ra-na wkna, akši-mi čāwq'aro?* (Sinop)

'Then what can I do, should I put it in this [pot]'?

*-Mi* < Turk.: mi.



11) *jox, mag-əna garecxo-na* (Sinop)  
“No, you should wash it”

*Jox* < Turk.: yok.

### 2.5 Subtype V (*Calque switching*)

12) *ište, türkča werganagneb zamānze, bayw guržiža et'q'oda* (Veysel Köyü)  
‘Because he/she did not understand Turkish, he/she spoke Georgian with the child’.

*ište, türkča werganagneb zamānze* < Turk.: Türkçe anlamadığı zamanda

## 3. Georgian speech of Muhajir Georgians’ descendants

Based on the large part of our materials, the current speech of Georgian Muhajirs’ descendants in Sinop İli is mostly confined to the Acharan (or Ajarian) dialect (ač’aruli dialekt’i) of Georgian Language. Acharan dialect has been generalized by the all ethnic Georgians.

Experts have different approaches towards division of Acharan into subdialects. For example, in 1930s Jemal Noghaideli made a distinction between Acharan and Kobulan dialects: “The dialect spoken by Acharans can be divided into two branches: a) Acharan spread in two regions: Khulo and Keda, including the Southwest part of Batumi region, which was influenced by Akhaltsike and, generally, Southern Georgian (Shavsheti, Klarjeti and others) speech; and b) Kobuletian, covering Kobuleti and a big part of Batumi region, which seems to be greatly influenced by the Gurian dialect” (Noghaideli 1936: 3). Later J. Noghaideli, having somewhat changed his opinion, drew a line between highland and lowland Acharan dialects (included Kobuletian into lowland Acharan dialects; see Noghaideli 1972: 209).

According to Nizharadze, Zemoacharan subdialect covers Khulo, Shuakhevi and Kedi regions; Kvemoacharan is spoken in Khelvachauri; and Kobuletian should be regarded as a separate subdialect of the Acharan dialect (Nizharadze 1961: 10; Nizharadze 1975: 15-22).

*The Georgian Dialectology* by Gigineishvili, Topuria & Kavtaradze (1961) considers two approaches: according to the first approach Zemoacharan includes Khulo and Shuakhevi speeches, while Kvemoacharan is comprised of Keda, Khelvachauri and Kobuletian speeches. By the second approach Khulo, Shuakhevi, Keda and partially Khelvachauri speeches should be regarded as Zemoacharan, while Kvemoacharan consists of part of Khelvachauri and the entire Kobuletian speech (Gigineishvili, Topuria & Kavtaradze 1961: 43-44).

Kobuletian was deemed to be an Acharan subdialect by Dzidziguri as well. In the work *Georgian Dialectology Materials* published in 1974, Kobuletian texts are placed under the category of the Acharan dialect. In the introduction Dzidziguri wrote: “In 1929 we recorded the texts in *Acharan* (particularly in Kobuletian subdialect)” (The emphasis was made by the author; see Dzidziguri 1974: 5).

According to Jorbenadze, Acharan can be divided in Zemoacharan and Kvemoacharan subdialects, and also local speeches: Khulo, Shuakhevi and Kobuletian (Jorbenadze 1989: 540).

Paghava distinguished “the following subdialects of Acharan: a) Zemoacharan (Keda, Shuakhevi and Khulo speech); b) Batumian (the speech used in villages around Batumi, which can be called Kvemoacharan); c) Kobuletian (the speech used in Kobuleti and Chakvi)” (Paghava 2013: 138). Later, in the work he published together with Tsetskhladze, Paghava remarked that “the issue of determining the subdialects making up the Acharan dialect will be discussed again, but that will happen in future” (Paghava & Tsetskhladze 2017: 39).

We think that the Acharan dialect could be divided into four subdialects: Zemoacharan, Machakhelian, Kirnati-Maradidian and Kvemoacharan (Chakvi-Kobulatian). Zemoacharan itself can be further subdivided into three local speeches:

- Keda local speech;

- Shuakhevi-Khikhani local speech;
- Khulo local speech.

It is remarkable that the difference between phonetics and vocabulary of the mentioned local speeches (idioms) is insignificant. It should be also noted that as a result of isolation from the Georgian language area for 140 years, internal subdialectal interference and the influence of the Turkish language, the speech of Muhajir Georgians settled in the interior areas of Turkey developed a lot of peculiarities. However, in Sinop there are some varieties, namely: among the phonetic processes characteristic of Sinop Muhajirs' Acharan dialect, we should note the systematic use of bilabial *w* (so called 'non-syllabic *u*' in present day standard Georgian), which is encountered in all the positions where the dentolabial *v* is expected. According to other authors, all ethnic Georgians living in Turkey usually pronounce *w* in the same roots known in the old standard Georgian: *kwapši* 'in a pot', *zwelebi* 'old ones', *k'wamli* 'smoke', etc. (Sh. Putkaradze 2016: 326).

The same tendency is observed in the materials obtained by us:

13) *kwešidam sālča dawaq'rit* (Erfelek)

'We will pour tomato paste below'; cf. standard Georgian: *kwešidan* 'below', but *davaq'rit* 'We will pour it'.

14) *čweni waziroba ajria* (Sinop)

'Our speech is different [from Standard Georgian]'; cf. standard Georgian: *čweni* 'our', but *veziroba* (archaic) 'give an advice [to each other]'.

15) *bewri arxat'ašeb gūgdia* (Korucuk)

'He/she got rid of many friends', etc.; cf. standard Georgian: *bewri* 'many, much'.

Another significant phonetical peculiarity is the appearance of secondary palatalized vowels due to the influence of the Turkish language. For instance, Sinop Muhajirs' young descendants pronounce: *čön* (cf. standard Georgian *čwen*) 'we', *tkön* (cf. standard Georgian *tkwen*) 'you (pl.)', *küoda* (cf. Acharan dialect *kwioda*) 'he/she/it was called', *zyüs kenerze* (cf. Acharan dialect *zywis kenerze*) 'on the seashore', etc.

While the older descendants still pronounce: *čwen, tkwen, kwioda, zywis kenerze...* as in standard Georgian or in other dialects of Georgian.

As for phonetic processes, it is very common the loss of initial consonants, for instance:

16) *ar icis türkča tlat* (Sinop)  
 'He/she knows no Turkish at all'.

Here, in the form *tlat* an initial *m-* is lost: cf. standard Georgian *mtlad*.

Also, it is very common the enclitics of some particles or auxiliary verbs:

17) *mag-əna garcxo-na* (Dibekli)  
 'You should wash it'.

Here the auxiliary verb *una* (standard Georgian: *unda*) 'will, shall' is encliticised to the indicative pronoun *mag* 'yonder' as *-əna*, as well as to the basic verb *garcxo* 'let you wash it' as *-na*.

18) *imas dūzaxa-ki: Remzi bizaj had ari-wo?!...* (Erfelek)  
 'He/she called to him/her [and asked]: where is [my] uncle Remzi?!...'

Here the particle *ki* (= 'that', borrowed from Turkish) is encliticised to the verb *dūzaxa* 'He called to him'.

As for morphological differences: in the speech of younger generation, third person plural past tense of all verbs end in *-en*, for instance: *c'ewden* 'they went', *mowden* 'they came', *gāk'eten* 'they did it', *naxen* 'they saw it'... while in the speech of older generation is on the contrary; third person plural past tense of all verbs end in *-es*: *c'ewdes* 'they went', *mowdes* 'they came', *gāk'etes* 'they did it', *naxes* 'they saw it'... It is noteworthy, that in standard Georgian, as a rule, the ending *-nen* is common only for the verbs which make nominative construction: *c'avidnen* 'they went', *movidnen* 'they came', but the verbs which make ergative construction end in *-es*: *gāk'etes* 'they did it', *naxes* 'they saw it', etc.

The particles used in Sinop İli Georgian speech for reporting a speaker's utterance unchanged, are mostly borrowed from Turkish, but in rare cases, the Georgian particle has been preserved in its original form. For instance:

19) *rat'om c'asulan da, ik sakme ikmoden-dedim, istambols-dedim* (Lala)  
'They had to work there in Istanbul, I said, and that's why they had gone [there], I said'.

20) *ak rajžeboden imat-dedi, gamk'itxa im čobanma* (Korucuk)  
'What were they doing here? - asked me that shepherd'.

Here, *dedim* and *dedi* are the past perfect first and third persons forms of the Turkish verb *demek* 'to say'. Both of them, clearly, are borrowed from Turkish language, and often are used instead of standard Georgian reporting particles *-metki* (1st person), *-tko* (2nd person) and *-o* (3rd person).

On the other hand, Georgian reporting particles (in dialectal variations: *-metkin*, *-tkwa* and *-wo*) are still used by the older generation, for instance:

21) *Batumidam-ki 'ak gamejkcen-metkin* (Sinop)  
'They escaped from Batumi [and came] here, I said'.

22) *modi aka-tkwa dā, šeni babašen utxar!* (Lala)  
'Yo, say to your daddy, let him come here!'.

23) *Remzi bižaj had ari-wo?* (Erfelek)  
'Where is [my] oncle Remzi? He/she asked'.

From syntactic point of view, it is remarkable that sometimes ergative construction is used in place of dative, as in Livanian dialect of Georgian:

24) *čemma zmaman ecodneba* (Veysel)  
'My brother will know it.'

In the same sentence, as a rule, any speaker of the standard Georgian language must use dative construction: *čem-s zma-s ecodineba*, while in the present tense, on the contrary, the same verb makes the ergative construction: *čem-ma zma-m icis* ‘My brother knows it’.

The ergative construction often is used in place of nominative in any tenses:

25) *čweni agze, baywemma weyar wazioben guržižaj* (Sinop)  
‘In our families the children can’t speak Georgian’.

In the same sentence, any speaker of the standard Georgian must use only nominative construction: *čwenši bawšweb-i weyar saubroben kartulad*. It’s because, here the verb is in present tense. As a rule, the same verb makes the ergative construction only in past perfect tense: *čwenši bawšweb-ma weyar isaubres kartulad* ‘In our families the children couldn’t speak Georgian’.

26) *Sinap’ damždaran zmanemman* (Dibekli)  
‘The brothers seems to be settled down in Sinop’.

In the same sentence, any speaker of the standard Georgian must use only nominative construction: *Sinop’ši dasaxlebulan zmeb-i*. Also, it is noteworthy, that in standard Georgian, the verbal form *damždara* means ‘he/she seems to be seated down’ and it has no 3rd person plural form (instead of *\*damždaran* it must be said *damsxdaran*, where the stem is other: *sx[e]d-*). This verb in any tenses and forms, can make only nominative construction: *is k’ac-i damždara* ‘That man seems to be seated down’, *is k’ac-eb-i damsxdaran* ‘Those men seem to be seated down’, *is k’ac-i ždeba* ‘That man sits down’, *is k’ac-eb-i sxdebian* ‘Those men sit down’, etc.

As for lexical peculiarities, the speech of Sinop Georgian Muhajirs’ descendants contains elements that have survived from the old Georgian vocabulary. Some of them changed, while others remained unchanged. Also, There are some innovations. These elements are as follows:

27) *cxwari mowk'nač'e* (Erfelek)

'I sheared sheep'.

Here, *mo-w-k'nač'-e* is 1st person singular form of past perfect tense. The verbal noun is *mok'nač'wa* 'to shear'. This is an archaic form - in present day standard Georgian is used mostly *gak'reč'wa*.

28) *mat'q'li wcxawt* (Lala)

'We wash the wool'

*W-cx-aw-t* is 1st person plural form of present tense. The verbal noun is *gacxwa* 'to wash'. This is a dialectal (acharan) form; in standard Georgian is used *garecxwa*.

29) *marili tu čawaq'aret - c'utxeja, twar čawaq'aret da - uc'utxoja* (Sinop)

'If we put salt – it's salty, and if we put no salt – it's unsalty'.

The adjective *c'utxe-j*<sup>6</sup> 'salty' is a dialectal (acharan) form - in standard Georgian is used *mc'utxe* or *marilian-i*, while *u-c'utx-o-j* 'unsalty' is the Sinop Georgian innovation, formed by confix *u-* *-o* (cf. in standard Georgian: *kud-i* 'hat' and *u-kud-o* 'without hat'). In standard Georgian 'unsalty' is *u-maril-o* from *maril-i* 'salt'.

30) *čemi bič'i didia, cicaj daha p'at'inaja* (Erfelek)

'My son is older and my daughter is younger'.

Here, the noun *cica-j* 'young girl' is a dialectal (Acharan/Kobuletian) form. In standard Georgian *cica* means 'female kitten', while the 'young girl' is *gogona*. The adjective *p'at'ina-j* 'small' is an archaic form; in present standard Georgian is used *p'at'ara*.

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<sup>6</sup> *-j < // -i* is a nominative case marker.

It is also interesting that, although Acharan dialect has been generalized by the all ethnic Georgians in Sinop İli, sometimes there is a difference between the vocabularies of Borčxa and Mač'axela Muhajirs' descendants:

- The Borčxa muhajir descendants say, that the equivalent of 'conversation' is *waziroba*, while Mač'axela muhajir descendants say *lap'arik'i*. Here, *waziroba* is an archaic form (it means 'give an advice [to each other]') and *lap'arik'i* is a dialectal (common western Georgian) form (cf. standard Georgian *lap'arak'i*).

- Borčxa muhajir descendants use the verb *gawguliandi* to mean 'I got hurt', 'I started crying', 'I got upset'. Meantime, for Mač'axela muhajir descendants the same word means "I got angry". Here the stem is *gul-i* 'heart'. It is noteworthy that in standard Georgian the verbal form *gawgulisdi* means 'I got angry', while an idiomatic expression *guli amomižda* (literally: 'my heart sat up') means 'I got hurt'.

#### 4. Conclusions

Thus, in Sinop İli of the Republic of Turkey, Georgian Muhajirs' Georgian speech has survived to the present day. It is mostly like the Acharan dialect, but it has some peculiarities like code switching in Georgian speech and the influence of the Turkish and Georgian literary languages. Particularly, since 1950s (when it became mandatory for all citizens of Turkey to receive secondary education in Turkish), the literary Turkish has had an overwhelming influence on Georgian Muhajirs' speech. Lately, the dialectal speech of Georgians living in Turkey has also been influenced by the literary Georgian. Consequently, Sinopian Georgians' speech can be regarded as a variety of the Acharan dialect – a new kind of the Georgian dialectal speech. We think that only Georgian Muhajirs' speech should be considered as 'the Georgian spoken by the Chveneburi<sup>7</sup>,

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<sup>7</sup> The term *čwenebur-i* (literally 'our man', pl.: *čwenebur-eb-i*) in Turkey is a name for ethnic Georgian, who was born and lives in this country.



because the Tao dialect, as well as Imerkhebian and Livanian dialects, is different from Muhajirs' speech.<sup>8</sup>

Due to the code-switching process, which has been going for 140 years, only the older generation of Georgian Muhajirs' descendants has preserved their mother tongue. Most people of this generation cannot speak Turkish well. The middle generation is practically bilingual, while the younger generation speaks Turkish, which they consider more prestigious than their ancestors' native language. Therefore, the Acharan dialect of the Georgian language spoken in Sinop is at risk of going extinct in the near future. The danger is made worse by the fact that the younger generation, being interested in learning their ancestors' language and maintaining relations with Georgia, are learning the literary Georgian: after learning the literary Georgian, they try to speak "correctly" and avoid using dialects.

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<sup>8</sup> Compare: Putkaradze uses the term 'the Georgian of Chveneburi' for several Georgian dialects spoken in Turkey: Taoan dialect (Taoan Georgian) and Klarjeti dialects: Livanian (Nigalian), Machakhelian and Imerkhebian (Putkaradze 2016: 9-13).

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