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INGILO GEORGIAN. PRESERVING, LOSING, RECOVERING: LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF CROSS-BORDER LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATIONSⁱ

İNGİLOY GÜRCÜCESİ. KORUMA, KAYBETME, KURTARMA: SINIR ÖTESİ DİL İLETİŞİM DURUMLARININ DİLBİLİMSEL GÖRÜNÜMÜ

Abstract: Ingilo Georgian is a cross-border dialect of the Georgian language spoken in Western Azerbaijan. It is a crucial part of the Georgian dialectal continuum. Its distinguishing features are motivated by the heavy linguistic contact with the Azerbaijani language. The approximately hundred-year history of linguistic research of Ingilo Georgian provides a solid base to place the study on a broad field of linguistic comparison. With this contribution, we wish to start this process. The most characteristic grammatical features of Ingilo Georgian are highlighted and compared with other dialects of Georgian on the basis of the Georgian dialect corpus data. The historical depth of the empirical evidence of Georgian allows a comparison to both old and modern standard Georgian from the diachronic perspective as well.

Keywords: Georgian Language, Language Island Study, Contact Linguistics, Ecology of Language.

Öz: İngiloy (İngilo) Gürcücesi, Gürcü dilinin Batı Azerbaycan'da konuşulan sınır ötesi bir lehçesi ve Gürcü lehçe sürekliliğinin vazgeçilmez bir parçasıdır. Lehçenin özellikleri, Azerbaycan diliyle olan yoğun dilsel temasından kaynaklanmaktadır. İngiloy Gürcücesi'nin yaklaşık yüz yıllık dilbilimsel araştırma tarihi, çalışmayı geniş bir dil bilimsel karşılaştırma alanına yerleştirmek için sağlam bir temel imkânı sunmaktadır. Aşağıdaki makede böylesi bir sürecin başlangıcı yapılmaktadır. Makede İngiloy Gürcücesi'nin en karakteristik gramer özellikleri vurgulanmakta ve Gürcü Lehçeleri Veri Bankası bilgileri ışığında İngiloy Gürcücesi, Gürcüce'nin diğer lehçeleriyle karşılaştırılmaktadır. Gürcüce'nin karşılaştırmalı dil kanıtlarının tarihsel derinliği eski veya modern standart Gürcüce ile diyakronik bir karşılaştırma yapılmasına izin vermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Gürcüce, Dil Adası Araştırması, Etkileşimsel Dilbilim, Dil Ekolojisi.

1. Introduction

In the multilingual linguistic landscape of Azerbaijan, special language contact situations can be observed in terms of cross-border languages (Clifton et al. 2013). One such case is Ingilo Georgian (Gambashidze 1949; Imnaishvili 1966; Jangidze 1978; Kvashonkin 2017; Kuzibabashvili, 1992). "Ingilo Georgian" is a linguistic term referring to a variety of the Georgian language spoken in three administrative regions of Azerbaijan bordering Georgia: Kakh, Zaqatala and Balakan. The term "Ingilo Georgian" is modelled on existing and quoted terms such

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as Fereydani Georgian (Beridze et al. 2020) or Judeo Georgian (Lomtadze and Enoch 2019). This is a dialect spoken by ethnic Georgians residing in Azerbaijan. It has two subdialects, namely the Aliabat and Kakh varieties.

A cross-border language is a language that arises along the border of two internationally recognised states or state-organised administrative divisions. Crucial to this description is the dynamic nature of the border itself. The cross-border linguistic effects can be traced back to the temporary shifts and changes in the course of the border. These are grammatical effects and, above all, the conditions of linguistic vitality of a language variety under cross-border conditions. Various kingdoms, sultanates, principalities or states have existed in the Caucasus throughout recorded history. Ingilo Georgian was often spread not within the borders of one particular formation, but mostly in two different ones. This historical fact influenced its linguistic practice and structure. The corresponding linguistic strata from different times can be worked out and made visible. We consider the cross-border existence of a language variety as another form of a language island. The difference between typical language islands and Ingilo Georgian is the fact that Ingilo Georgian was not completely separated from its standard language, as was the case, for example, with Fereydani Georgian. Linguistic processes within a language island and in a transborder language are influenced by similar factors, such as isolation, assimilation, abandonment, and retention. (Keel and Mattheier 2003).

The internal differentiation represents another linguistic peculiarity of Ingilo Georgian. The degree of this differentiation can be indicated, for example, by measuring a particular linguistic phenomenon first within Ingilo Georgian varieties and then considering the whole in the context of Standard Georgian. Table 1 shows three paradigms of the verb "to take". The first two paradigms are documented in two villages, namely in Balakan (IngGeo1) and Kakh (IngGeo2), while the third serves as a monitor paradigm for comparison from Standard Georgian.

Table 1. (IngGeo/Geo) Personal form of "take" (Sg.) verb

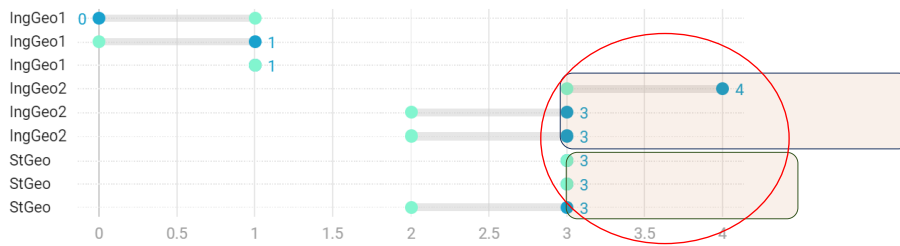
| | | Ingilo Georgian | | | Georgian |
|----|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| | | Kakhistavi | toûpağ | | |
| 1P | <i>მე</i> /me/ | <i>მივაკომ</i> /mivakom/ | <i>მიაკ</i> /müak/ | <i>მიმავს</i> /mimakvs/ | |
| 2P | <i>შენ</i> /šen/ | <i>მიაკომ</i> /miakom/ | <i>მიაკ</i> /miak/ | <i>მიგავს</i> /migakvs/ | |
| 3P | <i>ის</i> /is/ | <i>მიაკომს</i> /miakoms/ | <i>მიაკს</i> /miaks/ | <i>მიაკვს</i> /miakvs/ | |

These data fragments can simulate Levenstein's distance calculation (Table 2). Although these data do not provide a conclusive picture, they do give us an idea about the degree of internal linguistic differentiation of Ingilo Georgian and its linguistic proximity to Standard Georgian.

Table 2. Levenstein Distance based on three variants of the verb "to take"

| | | IngGeo1 (Balakan) | | | IngGeo2 (Kakh) | | | Standard Georgian | | |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| | | <i>mivakom</i> | <i>miakom</i> | <i>miakoms</i> | <i>müak</i> | <i>miak</i> | <i>miaks</i> | <i>mimakvs</i> | <i>migakvs</i> | <i>miakvs</i> |
| IngGeo1 | <i>mivakom</i> | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| | <i>miakom</i> | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| | <i>miakoms</i> | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| IngGeo2 | <i>müak</i> | 4 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| | <i>miak</i> | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| | <i>miaks</i> | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| StGeo | <i>mimakvs</i> | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | <i>migakvs</i> | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | <i>miakvs</i> | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Chat 1. The visualisation of Table 1.



The visualisation of the Levenstein Matrix on Chat 1 shows the proximity of IngGeo2 (Kakh variety) to Standard Georgian, whereas IngeGeo1 (Balakan variety) is linguistically distant from both. This picture can serve as a thesis for a general tendency in Ingilo Georgian, which is still to be verified on larger data.

The previous studies on Ingilo Georgian mainly consider the ethno- and sociolinguistic aspects regarding the general linguistic landscape of Azerbaijan (Clifton et al. 2002). The measurable factors of ethnolinguistic vitality have been the focus of the existing research. The perspective of the present description is purely linguistic. It concerns the grammatical distances between the characteristic features of Ingilo Georgian in comparison with the linguistic or dialectal environment, which in turn is geographically determined. Ingilo Georgian is surrounded by Azeri⁴ and has a direct border with the Eastern dialects of Georgian. The historically evolved language contact situation can therefore be covered by the term cross-border language (or, trans-border language) (Ndhlovu 2014; Chumbow 1999). In the case of Ingilo Georgian, this term, mostly used in sociological and political science, refers to a communication reality along the border between two states: Georgia and Azerbaijan. Hence, the focus of the mentioned term in the context of Ingilo Georgian is linguistic communication, not the perspective of socio-political integration, as is most often the case in the context of African languages.

In this contribution, we take different grammatical levels of Ingilo Georgian and describe them in relation to the linguistic structures of the surrounding languages, with a special focus on features of Standard Georgian, Kakhurian and mountain dialects of Georgian, as well as some grammatical phenomena of Azeri. The main goal of our study is to reveal which linguistic features are preserved, lost and recovered in the language contact situation surrounding Ingilo Georgian, a cross-border language. In describing grammatical structures, we take the empirical examples from the Georgian Dialect Corpus (GDC), which contains over two hundred thousand tokens from the Ingilo Georgian (Beridze et al. 2015). Another source for the interpretation of the empirical data is the Ingilo Georgian dictionary with 12,000 words, which was compiled on the basis of data from corpus. The linguistic documentation of Ingilo Georgian goes back a hundred years and represents a tradition in field research on Caucasian languages. The first texts date from the end of the 19th century. Since then, during the 20th century, Ingilo Georgian has been included in every linguistic expedition, aimed at the description of the dialects of the Georgian language inside and outside Georgia, with the last Ingilo Georgian related research data being less than ten years old.

The linguistic data from different periods of field research on Ingilo Georgian form the GDC and serve as a solid source for empirically reliable analyses of Georgian dialects.

2. Phonetic Overview and Characteristics of Ingilo Georgian Phonetics

The standard Georgian language contains 33 phonemes, of which five are vowels and 28 are consonants. These phonemes are partially or completely preserved in the 18 dialectal varieties

⁴ The term Azeri is used in this article as an alternative of the term Azerbaijani, which is the name of the official language of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

of Georgian. Among special phonetic divergences in the dialects in comparison with standard Georgian are the umlauts: *ö* and *ü*, and rarely *ä*. Likewise, the distinction between short and long vowels is not found in the standard language, which is empirically verifiable in the dialects. We distinguish two main levels of phonetic differences between standard languages and dialects: some of the peculiarities can be explained diachronically and represent historically established phenomena, while other phonetic peculiarities of the dialects are due to specific grammatical processes. The phonetic repertoire of Ingilo Georgian reflects the phonetic pattern of Old Georgian (5th – 11th centuries) and coincides, for the most part, with the phonetic features of the neighbouring East Georgian dialects.

The phonetic characteristics of Ingilo Georgian in comparison to Standard Georgian include umlauts *ჲ* /Y/ and *ჳ* /œ/, *ჴ* /ɪ/ (“iota”), a syllable-less /û/ (i.e., a kind of vowel that cannot form a syllable), a schwa *ღ* /ə/ and *Ⴣ* /q/ (“char”). Ingilo Georgian is also distinguished in the Georgian dialect continuum by the absence of the consonants *ძ* /ʒ/ and *ჭ* /ʃ/, which for a long time was held by researchers to be the unique feature of this dialect variety. In the perspective of the fact that in a few recorded texts of Ingilo Georgian, *ძ* /ʒ/ and *ჭ* /ʃ/ are, nevertheless, attested, the following de-affrication trajectory is to be imagined: the affricates *ძ* /ʒ/ and *ჭ* /ʃ/ have historically existed in Ingilo Georgian and have been lost in the course of history through “dis-affrication.”⁵ In last century’s language documentation data, the re-affrication of *ძ* /ʒ/ and *ჭ* /ʃ/ affricates in Ingilo Georgian can be observed (1).

(1) (IngGeo)

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ამჯურა</i> | <i>კაცე</i> | <i>öყენ</i> |
| <i>amžura</i> | <i>kacev</i> | <i>œqnen.</i> |
| sortPron.Indef.Nom.Att | <i>guys</i> N.Hum.Nom.Pl | <i>were</i> V.Pass.3Pl |

‘There were such men.’

The umlauts (mostly /œ/ and /Y/) can be observed in Ingilo Georgian in words borrowed from Azeri as well as in its own lexicon. The lexemes with umlaut borrowed from Azeri are phonetically adopted and realised unchanged in Ingilo Georgian: (IngGeo) *ბუთუბ* /bYtYm/ "Complete"; (IngGeo) *გუბუბ* /gYmYš/ "Silver "; *ბურუ* /sYrY/ "Flock."

The peculiar Ingilo Georgian umlauts appear to be a result of certain phonetic processes. One of the most documented possibilities of the umlaut formation is the palatalisation of a labial consonant similar to what we see in (2) and (3) (Imnaishvili 1953; Jorbenadze 1898).

(2) (IngGeo)

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| <i>კაციშლი</i> | <i>გორც</i> | <i>არ</i> | <i>წავეს</i> | <i>არ</i> | <i>გოშოთ</i> |
| <i>kacišYl</i> | <i>gœrc</i> | <i>ar</i> | <i>çaves,</i> | <i>ar</i> | <i>goušot.</i> |
| <i>man's child</i> Nom.Sg | <i>near</i> Adv.Loc | NEG | <i>come</i> V.MedPass.3Sg | NEG | <i>release</i> V.Act3Sg3Pl |

‘May not a single soul come near, let him get away.’

(3) (IngGeo)

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------|--|
| <i>მე</i> | <i>შენგნი</i> | <i>გულ</i> | <i>მამწყობი</i> |
| <i>me</i> | <i>šengni</i> | <i>gul</i> | <i>mamçqœti.</i> |
| 1PPr.Sg | 2PossPr.Sg.Postp | <i>heart</i> Nom.Sg | <i>tear up</i> VActImpvPvS:2Sg DO:3 IO:1Sg |

‘From you my heart is torn apart.’

The data show a certain regularity which can be traced back to the phonetic environment of /i/ or /e/ vowels when preceded or followed by either the bilabial glide w or the dentilabial voiced approximant /v/ (Table 3).

⁵ It should have been a mirror-twisted phonetic process of, for example, German affrication: *p > pf* (*Appel > Apfel, Plaum > Pflaume*).

Table 3. The phonological generalisations on umlaut formation in Ingilo Georgian⁶

| Examples | | Formula |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| (1) შვილ<*&shv;il>შვილ | <i>švil>*šûil>šYl</i> | /wi/→[Y] / /w/_//w/→[ø] |
| (2) გვერ<დ>*გუერ<დ>გერ<ც> | <i>gver(d)>*gûer(d)>gœr(c)</i> | /we/→[œ] / /w/_//w/→[ø] |
| (3) ბევრ>ბეურ / ბევრ | <i>bevr>beûr / bævr</i> | /ew/→[œ] / _/w/ |
| (4) იყვნენ>*იყუნენ>ყენენ. | <i>iq̄vnen>*īq̄unen>œq̄nen.</i> | /i#w/→[œ]/ _#/w///w/→[ø] |

The concluding empirical evidence for the dialect-intrinsic nature of umlauts in the Ingilo Georgian is the development of the umlaut into a full phoneme for the purpose of meaning distinction in minimal pairs (Table 4):

Table 4.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| (1) ზოლ /zœl/ "old" | vs. | ზოლ /zɔl/ "bone" |
| (2) გუნდა /gũnda/ "wish" | vs. | გუნდა /gunda/ "snowball" |

The schwa *ɔ* /ə/ in Ingilo Georgian is considered a result of the reduction of the back /a/, front /i/, and mid /o/ vowels in unstressed syllables. It appears in the preverbal consonant clusters as a kind of insertion: *ჩმო* /čmoy/ → *ჩგმო* /čəmoy/ "come" (from above to below), *შმო* /šmoy/ → *შგმო* /šəmoy/ "come" (from outside to inside). The schwa *ɔ* /ə/ represents the weakened /a/ phoneme in these examples.

The phonetic repertoire and phonological structure of Ingilo Georgian are the furthest from Standard Georgian compared to other varieties. It should be noted, however, that the features responsible for this, such as, first of all, the presence of umlauts, although no longer present in



Kakh, Alatemur village

⁶ Jorbenadze (1989) already brings together two phonological contexts which he holds responsible for the formation of umlaut in Ingilo Georgian: *ɔ* /we/ → *ö* and *ɔ* /wi/ → *ü*. His examples of this are: *q̄öl* ← "q̄veli" cheese, *zöl* ← "zveli" old, *pkön* ← "pkven, pkvaven" grinding"; *šündi* ← "švindi" almonds.

Standard Georgian, are historically documented in several dialects and are currently also documented in Mokhevian (the highland dialect of Khevi) in East Georgia. It can therefore be argued with a higher probability that Ingilo Georgian has retained a historical development regarding umlauts or has acquired this feature through language contact with a language that has umlauts (Azeri). An additional argument in favour of the endemic origin of the umlauts in Ingilo Georgian is that in the Kartvelian language area (for example, in the dialects of Svan (see Jorbenadze 1989)) this phonetic feature is continuously attested. Therefore, the Ingilo Georgian phonetic system appears as a genuine part of the Kartvelian phonetic system, and reflects a marginally preserved phonetic phenomenon in current language use.

3. Characteristics of Ingilo Georgian Morphology

Morphologically, a remarkable distinction can be observed in Ingilo Georgian varieties with regard to the nominative case. In the Kakh variety, vowel-stemmed nouns are marked with nominative markers, while consonant-stemmed nouns remain unmarked. In the Aliabat variety, the picture is exactly reversed: consonant-stemmed nouns are given the marker *-i*, as in Standard Georgian, while vowel-stemmed nouns are left unmarked (Table 5).

Table 5. Nominative case in Ingilo Georgian

| | Vowel-stemmed nouns | | Consonant-stemmed nouns | |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Kakh | BROTHER | ზმა-ო /zma-y/ | HOUSE | სახლ /saxl-∅/ |
| | PUMPKIN | გუგრა-ო /gugra-y/ | BUFFEL | კამმეჩ /kameč-∅/ |
| | ELLEN | ელენე-ო /elene-y/ | DOOR | კარ /kar-∅/ |
| Aliabat | BROTHER | ძმა /zma-∅/ | HOUSE | სახლი /saxl-i/ |
| | PUMPKIN | გუგრა /gugra-∅/ | BUFFEL | კამმეჩი /kameč-i/ |
| | ELLEN | ელენე /elene-∅/ | DOOR | კარი /kar-i/ |

It should be noted that the Aliabat variety reflects the case morphology of Old Georgian, where vowel- and consonant-stemmed nouns are also marked likewise differently. The dependence of the realisation of the nominative case on the stem's phonetic constitution is one of the basic characteristic features of the dialects of the Georgian language. It should be noted that the loss of nominative marking in Ingilo Georgian is a consistent phenomenon. This is supported by the fact that in the Kakh variety, nominative marking is realized once again in a particular prosodic environment of the sentence or immediately before certain particles. For example, in (4) below, /dev-∅/ "giant" would be expected. However, the nominative marker is realised morphologically because it occurs in the first position in the sequence in the scope of a conjugation phrase:

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|----------|------------------------|
| (4) IngGeo | /-∅/ → /-i/ /#_Conj | | |
| ქ დევი | და | გადად | იკიდნევიან |
| e devi | da | gaday | ikidnevian |
| DemPr giantNomSg | Conj | boyNomSg | fightingVMedActPres3Pl |

'The giant and the boy are fighting.'

The syntactic relations involving the subject and objects are implemented in Ingilo Georgian, as in Standard Georgian, by three main case forms: nominative, ergative and dative. The other declension forms are the so-called local cases, which represent genitive, adverbial, instrumental, locative and vocative meanings. Ingilo Georgian has two differently marked genitive variants (genitive-ablative and genitive-relative) as well as local-ablative (Imnaishvili 1953). Georgian linguistics is familiar with the tradition of setting up local cases (Shanidze 1972: 32), created by suffixing enclitic postpositions (/saxli/ "house" (Old Geo)/saxlsa šina/ "Inside the house"; (Standard Geo)/saxl-ši/ "In the house"). This way of justifying case paradigms is not uncontroversial (Chikobava 1961: 204); Abashvili 2005: 76-82).

The dative in Ingilo Georgian shows all the allomorphs of the case marker as described in East Georgian dialects: /-s/ → /-h/ |/-y/ |/-∅/. (see (5), (6), and (7) below). Ingilo Georgian shows

the greatest overlap in terms of dative marking and its allomorphs with the Kakhetian dialect of Georgian, which directly borders Ingilo Georgian.

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|-------------|
| (5) IngGeo | /-s/ → /ø/ | |
| ჩალოთუქ | ჰნავდნენ | ჰაჩეჩადთი |
| čaltuk-ø | qnavdnen | hačečayti. |
| riseDat.Sg | to plowVActImpfS:3Pl DO:3 | plowInst.Sg |
| '(They) sowed the rice with the plow.' | | |

| | | | |
|--|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (6) IngGeo | /-s/ → /-h/ | | |
| იმამ | თქო: | მოლლა ტა, რაჰ | ჩედი! |
| imam | tko: | molla tay, | rah čedi! |
| heErgSg | sayVMedActAor3Sg | uncle-mullahVok | whatDAT doVMedActPres2Sg |
| 'He said, Uncle Mullah, what are you doing?' | | | |

| | | |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|
| (7) IngGeo | /-s/ → /-y/ | |
| დედა-ე | უთხარ, | მოვდეს |
| deda-y | utxar | movdes |
| motherDatSg | tellVActImpv2Sg | comVMedPassOptPv3Sg |
| 'Tell mother (she) would like to come, (please).' | | |

The example of local cases from Ingilo Georgian establishes the assumption about the advanced stage of grammaticalization of lexemes occurring in local cases as suffixal markers:

Table 6. Local case forms in Ingilo Georgian

| | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--|
| (1) | ქუასთანნი /kua-s-tan-i/, | near the stone , at the stone |
| (2) | ქედრიზთანნი /keyr-iz-tan-i/ | near the grave , at the grave |
| (3) | კარშიდო /kar-ši-yt/ | from around the outside in relation to the door |
| (4) | იქითყენი /ik-it-ğen-i/ | from there |

All examples from Table 6 represent detailed locative references. The semantic generalisation is so advanced that, in some cases, it causes a part-of-speech change, as in the example of "door" (Table 7).

Table 7. The part-of-speech change from a noun to an adverb.

| Standard Georgian | Ingilo Georgian | |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------|
| კარი /kari/ „door/gate“ | → კარ-ში(დო) /kar-ši(yt)/ „in the gate“ | → outside / outdoor |
| None | → | Adverb |

Regarding declension, a morphological pattern appears in Ingilo Georgian, which consists in the fact that various postpositions are incorporated in the body of the word and then additionally marked in the instrumental case [N+PostP-Instr] (Table 8) (Jorbenadze 1989: 94).

Table 8. Allative Cases in Ingilo Georgian

| Ingilo Georgian | | სახლ- /saxl/ „house“ |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) სახლ-ში-ით /saxl-ši-it/ | house-in the...-Instr | Inessive / Illative |
| (2) სახლ-ზე-ით /saxl-ze-it/ | house-on the...-Instr | Adessive |
| (3) სახლ-ს-თან-ით /saxl-s-tan-it/ | house-Dat-at the...-Inst | Adessive |
| (4) სახლ-ის-გნ-ით /saxl-is-ğn-it/ | house-Gen-along the...-Inst | Illative |

With respect to the genitive case, various degrees of bleaching of the marker can be observed. In full realisation, the marker /-is/ would be expected, though it is often either reduced to /-i/ or completely erased /-ø/.

| | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----|---------------------|
| (8) IngGeo | Dativ /-is/ → /-ø / | | |
| პურ | უჭმელა | არ | წასულან |
| pur | uçmela | ar | çasulan. |
| breadGenSg | without eating | Neg | goVMedPassPerfPv3Pl |
| '(They) did not go without eating bread.' | | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| (9) IngGeo | Dativ /-is/ → /-i/ | | |
| მე | ჭედრანი | ზედ | მინ. |
| me | žeyrani | zey | min. |
| 1PprDatSg | gazelleGenSg | milkNomSg | wantVMedPassInvPres1Sg |
| 'I want the milk of the gazelle.' | | | |

A feature of Ingilo Georgian, which is attested in Georgian but is morphologically uncharacteristic, is represented by special forms of reduplication (echo compounds) such as *გაკეთევად-მაკეთევად* /gaketevay-maketevay/ "do, this and that"; *დახეულ-მახეულ* /daxeul-maxeul/ "torn". The examples follow a pattern well-known in Turkic languages: *çalış-malış*, "working, doing this and that", or "*sigara-migara*", i.e., "cigarettes and similar things" / "cigarettes and the like".

A morphosyntactically interesting case is the null *verba-habendi* (similar to null copula) in Ingilo Georgian. In (10), the suffixal connected possessive pronoun "their" implies the meaning of the verb "to have", which is not realized lexically, but occurs as null *verba habendi*.

| | | |
|--|-----|---------------------|
| (10) (IngGeo) | | |
| ქ | ღორ | იორდანადმათი |
| E | gor | yordanay-mati |
| DemPr | pig | AnthropN-PossPr.3Pl |
| 'This pig [belongs] to Jordan (and his family).' | | |

The possibilities of morphological marking in Ingilo Georgian are generally very varied. Many of these affixes can be found in Standard Georgian or some Georgian dialects (Imnaishvili 1953; Shanidze 1976). Ingilo Georgian, however, paints its own picture of morphology in that it is "more advanced in the bleaching of morphological markers and in the neutralization of distinctions within the categories of verbal and nominal morphology than is heartland Georgian.



Ingilo community members in Kakh

4. Some Characteristics of Ingilo Georgian Syntax

With regard to the declension system, Ingilo Georgian shows all seven case forms of core areal Georgian. The case forms are marked suffixally and vary according to the vowel or consonant ending of the stem. As for the phonetic realisation of case marking, the process of reduction observed in East Georgian dialects is particularly advanced in Ingilo Georgian. (Table 9).

Table 9. Case Paradigme /saxl-is paṭron-i/ "owner of the house"

| | Standard Georgian | Ingilo Georgian |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Nominative | saxl-is paṭron-i | saxli paṭron |
| Ergativ | saxl-is paṭron-ma | saxli paṭronma |
| Dativ | saxl-is paṭron-s | saxli paṭron |
| Genitiv | saxl-is paṭron-is | saxli paṭroni(s) |
| Instrumental | saxl-is paṭron-it | saxli paṭroni(t) |
| Adverbial | saxl-is paṭron-ad | saxli paṭrona |
| Vocative | saxl-is paṭron-o | saxli paṭron |

The reason for the increase in the bleaching process of case marking, especially in the noun phrase structure, may be that phrase structures are perceived as prosodic units. Their pronunciation shows a compound-like prosodic curve.

The marking of syntactic functions in Ingilo Georgian differs significantly from Standard Georgian. Depending on whether it is realised directly or indirectly, the subjects of one-place verbs are marked in the nominative or dative, but never in the ergative. In Ingilo Georgian, the subjects of indirect verbs can occur in the ergative (11).

(11) (IngGeo)

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>მოუდა მამამ.</i> | <i>გადამ ადგა.</i> | <i>დედა და ქალმა დაჯდენ გადასთან.</i> |
| mouda mama- m | gada- m adga | deday da kal- ma daʒden gadastan. |
| came father ErgSg | (Azer)boy ErgSg got up | mother Conj woman ErgSg sat down (Azer)Boyby |
| 'The father came.' | 'The boy got up.' | 'The mother and the woman sat down by the boy.' |

The ergative is reserved for the subject (agent) of the transitive verb in Standard Georgian, although marking patterns similar to those occurring in Ingilo Georgian have been documented, for example, in the West Georgian dialects Ajaran and Gurian, and in Fereydani Georgian, which is an East Georgian variety.

The above-mentioned weakening or bleaching of the morphological case marking makes the correct interpretation of clauses more difficult without the inclusion of contextual information. To compensate, the word order takes on an additional function. The different word order of a phrase in Ingilo Georgian can influence the meanings or distribution of semantic roles.

(12) (IngGeo)

| | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-----|----------------|----------------|
| <i>მანაკალ</i> | <i>დათ</i> | vs. | <i>დათ</i> | <i>მანაკალ</i> |
| manakal | dat | | dat | manakal |
| killMasd | bearNomSg | | bearGenSg | killerNomSg |
| 'Killed bear.' | | | 'Bear killer.' | |

The reason why the word order takes on the described function apparently lies in word formation with the prefix /-na-/. The prefix /-na-/ is used in Standard Georgian as well as in the East Georgian dialects for the derivation of perfective masdar forms (e.g. (Geo) *brʒaneba* "command" *na-brʒan-(eb)-i* "commanded"). In Ingilo Georgian, on the other hand, this narrow grammatical function has been extended, and the tense-, aspect- and mode-related differences are not differentiated from one another, i.e., the semantic roles or syntactic functions are not clearly distinguished and can only be recognized by context. For example, it is not clear whether the form *da-na-xat*, derived from *xat-va* "to paint", implies "painter" (agent), "painting"

(patient), or "to paint" (recipient). With such an undifferentiated morphology, the syntactic level is switched, and the word order in the constructions with /-na-/-prefixal formation takes over the function of syntactic role differentiation.

For standard Georgian, it is not uncommon to realise relative constructions as hypotaxis with the dependent clause or as parataxis with the help of an infinitive. The dialects tend toward one of these two possibilities. In Ingilo Georgian, the parataxis constructions dominate (13).

(13) (IngGeo)

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| ზმევ | დანაწილ | ოთალი | კარეც | უჩუმრად | აღევს. |
| zmev-ø | danaçol | otaġi | ķarevs | uçumrad | agevs. |
| <i>brotherGenPl</i> | <i>lyingMasd</i> | <i>roomGenSg</i> | <i>doorDatSg</i> | <i>quitAdv</i> | <i>openVActPres3Sg</i> |

‘(She/he) quietly opens the door of the room vacated by the brothers.’
 ‘(She/he) quietly opens the door of the room where the brothers are lying.’

The word order pattern also differs from standard Georgian in terms of syntactic functions. The information related to the verb is placed after the verb and acts like so-called anchoring focus structures (14). Ingilo Georgian shows a spoken-language pattern of information structuring.

(14) (IngGeo)

| | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| ტყავში | ქელლას | ხევს | ემ | ქაჩლის |
| tqavši | kellas | xevs | em | kaçlis |
| <i>leatherIn</i> | <i>headDat</i> | <i>cover</i> | <i>DemPron</i> | <i>baldyGen</i> |
| <i>Adv</i> | <i>DirObject</i> | <i>V</i> | GenObject | |

(StGeo)

vs.

| | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| ტყავში | ემ | ქაჩლის | ქელლას | ხევს |
| tqavši | em | keçlis | kellas | xevs. |
| <i>leatherIn</i> | <i>DemPron</i> | <i>baldyGen</i> | <i>headDat</i> | <i>cover</i> |
| <i>Adv</i> | GenObject | | <i>DirObject</i> | <i>V</i> |

‘(She/he) covers the bald head in leather.’

Complex verbs, which are unfamiliar to Standard Georgian, are used productively in Ingilo Georgian. A special feature of the Ingilo Georgian syntax is the use of the verb "to do" კეჰტებ /kehṭeb/; კეჰტევ /kehṭev/ instead of "to be." It appears in all three forms of the grammatical person as is seen in (15), (16), and (17).

(15) (IngGeo) The "do" verb as a 1P copula.

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| ბითავა | წყალშ | კეჰტეოდით. |
| bitava | çqalš | ķohṭeodit. |
| <i>completely</i> | <i>waterIn</i> | <i>beVPassAor1Pl</i> |

‘We were completely in the water.’

(16) (IngGeo) The "do" verb as a 2P copula.

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|
| შენ | ზაფხული | სა | კეჰდეოდიყა? |
| šen | zapxuli | sa | ķehdeodiqa? |
| <i>2PPr</i> | <i>summer</i> | <i>where</i> | <i>beVPassAor2Sg</i> |

‘Where were you in summer?’

(17) (IngGeo) The "do" verb as a 3P copula.

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|-----|------|
| მინდორშ | კეჰტებოდა | ჩონ | კაც. |
| mindorš | kehṭeboda | çon | ķac. |

fieldIn *beVPassAor3Sg* *PossPr* *manNomSg*
 'In the field, our man was there.'

Since in the Standard Georgian and Ingilo Georgian speech area interrogative sentences without wh-words are expressed by the corresponding intonation, a special interrogative particle for marking the question modes of sentences (without wh-words) is a characteristic feature of Ingilo Georgian. The suffix /-a/ added in the final vowel of the finite word in the sentence transforms a declarative sentence into an interrogative sentence (18). A similar phenomenon is suspected to have occurred in Old Georgian (Chikobava 1927: 218) and is empirically attested in the Fereydani Georgian (Beridze, Bakuradze 2020: 630).

(18) (IngGeo)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>ქ</i> | <i>ხე</i> | <i>რომ</i> | <i>დაფრუტავდება,</i> | <i>ფქილი</i> | <i>არ</i> | <i>კეჭტებაა?</i> |
| E | xe | rom | daprutavdeba | pküli | ar | kehtëbaa? |
| DemPr | treeNomSg | Conj | dryoutVPassPress3Sg | flourNomSg | Neg | beVPassFutPv3Sg |

'If this tree dries out, won't it become flour?'

Another distinctive feature of the Ingilo Georgian syntax is the use of the suffix /-q̄e/ in verbal morphology. With regard to this feature, Ingilo Georgian behaves the same way as the West Georgian dialects, e.g., Lechkhumian, Lower Imeretian, and East Georgian dialects like Kakhetian, Mokhevian, and Fereydani Georgian (Imnaishvili 1953: 137-138, Gambashidze 1949: 173-175). Basically, it is a fixed grammatical function in four syntactic sets. The suffix /-q̄e/ marks the plural of (I) the dative subject (19); (II) of indirect (20) and (III) direct objects (21), as well as rarely, but nevertheless used, (IV) of the nominative object (22).

(19) (IngGeo)

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>ზმებს</i> | <i>და</i> | <i>დას</i> | <i>უტირნიანყე</i> |
| zmebs | da | das | uṭirniaq̄e |
| brotherDatPl | Conj | sisterDatSg | cryVMedActPerf3PI |

'Brothers and the sister cried.'

(20) (IngGeo)

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>ამათ</i> | <i>გომოუდგნენყე</i> |
| amat | gomoudgnenq̄e |
| PprDatPl | followVPassAor3PI |

'(They) followed those.'

(21) (IngGeo)

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>მე</i> | <i>გიცავყე</i> | <i>თქნ</i> |
| me | gicavq̄e | tkæn |
| Ppr1Sg | protectVActPres2PI | PPr2Pl |

'I protect you.'

(22) (IngGeo)

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>ბებერმა</i> | <i>დაგოცაყე</i> | <i>ქათმები.</i> |
| beberma | dagocaq̄e | katmebi. |
| oldErgSg | killVActAor3PI | chickenNomPl |

'The old man killed the chickens.'

All four utilization cases are similar to the uses of the /-q̄e/ suffix in the Kakhetian dialect, which, as already mentioned, is in immediate contact with Ingilo Georgian.

At the syntactic level, the distinctive features of Ingilo Georgian place this language variety among the dialects of Georgian. The marking of congruence within the noun phrase is

phonologically attenuated, with the word order following Georgian. The influence of Azeri varieties is visible in terms of the syntactic implementation of paratactic relative clause constructions using masdar and clause constructions with complex verbs employing the light verb "to make" as a copula. Both processes are extremely atypical in the Kartvelian linguistic area, apart from Fereydani Georgian, which itself, like Ingilo Georgian, is a language island.

5. Conclusions

Ingilo Georgian is a typical example of a cross-border language. Its grammatical and lexical features extend the dialect continuum of Georgian and complete it in terms of synchronic and diachronic levels, which are empirically verified. On the other hand, Ingilo Georgian shows Azerbaijani influences in the sense that grammatical features that existed before this influence, such as umlauts, are favoured or consolidated.

The phonetic and morphosyntactic repertoire of Ingilo Georgian shows a considerable overlap with Georgian at two different levels. The first level concerns the linguistic-historical dimension, and the second one concerns the synchronic dialectal continuum.

The common linguistic features of Old Georgian are:

1. The preservation of the ξ /q/ char in the phonetic system.
2. The passive formation following the derivation pattern of Old Georgian (IngGeo: იტანჴევის /iṭanḫevis/ "he swells"; ადგევის /adgevis/ "he lifts").
3. The interrogative clause without the wh-word with the special interrogative suffix.
4. The distinct superordinate clause in the case system is both Old Georgian (adverbial case) and Standard Georgian.
5. The archaic form of the pronoun in the first person (მენ /men/ PPr1Sg).
6. The use of subjunctive II verb forms for the future tense as in Old Georgian.

The linguistic features which are common with the dialects of Georgian are:

1. The presence of umlauts as in Mokhevan.
2. The presence of schwa /ə/ (epenthesis) "Ioti" and α /y/ as in a large number of Georgian dialects.
3. Imperative formation, as in Meshech.
4. The use of the suffix /-ḡe/ for plural marking.
5. The declension of the noun phrase matching the declension pattern of the East Georgian dialects.
6. The consistent use of the marker /-a/ in the subjunctive II as in the East Georgian dialects (for example, გააღ-ო /gaag-o/ vs გააღ-ა gaag-a/ "he/she shall open it").

When describing the linguistic features of Ingilo Georgian, it should be noted that we are dealing with a particular situation of language contact. The prolonged existence along the border of two cultures and ethnic groups sets in motion the mechanisms that ensure the preservation of grammatical features that would be abandoned in another sociolinguistic situation.

An empirical examination of language data from Ingilo Georgian and its comparison with Standard Georgian as well as dialects of Georgian creates a picture in which Ingilo Georgian takes a particular position. Although the dialects of Georgian are clearly different from Standard Georgian, their linguistic development is always related to the formation and shaping of the Standard Language. Conversely, the Standard Language influences the dialects in that the speakers also use Standard Georgian simultaneously, thus enabling a kind of language contact and language change on both sides. Ingilo Georgian falls completely outside of this tension between dialects and Standard Language. Its contact with Standard Georgian has been

permanent and interrupted for long periods of time throughout history. The language contact level on the Georgian side for Ingilo Georgian is formed by the Kakhetian dialect, which is spoken on the border with Azerbaijan. The area, intensity and duration of the contact are so low, weak and short that it does not lead to any significant linguistic interference.

Under these circumstances, typical for cross-border languages, linguistic structures acquire additional functions, supplementing their primary grammatical functions. What is meant by this? Ingilo Georgian speakers recognise the grammatical features of their own dialect that are given up in order to enable interaction or integration with the foreign language environment. In the case of these features, we note greater external influence in the sense of adaptation or even substitution. It concerns mostly the lexical elements and the syntactic strategies, such as constructions with light verbs in Ingilo Georgian. On the other hand, specific grammatical features have been identified that are maintained and serve as tools of linguistic demarcation or isolation. In order to strengthen both adversarial forces of language use, even certain grammatical structures are re-established, or features that are fading are strengthened. An example of this is the consistent use of umlauts in Ingilo Georgian, which have intrinsic language reasons but are strengthened by a favourable environment and supported by the linguistic proximity to Azeri.

The reason for this behaviour of Ingilo Georgian is to be found in the nature of the existence of this variety, which is also described as a language island. The typology of language islands, among which we include Ingilo Georgian, serves as a reliable theoretical framework to explain the retention, abandonment, and recovery of grammatical features.



Zaqatala, Aliabat village

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