

## Lexical Influences of Modern Israeli Hebrew on Judeo-Georgian<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The paper aims to analyze the phonetical, grammatical (syntactic and morphological), and lexical influences of modern Hebrew (a revived colloquial language, with official state language status) on Judeo-Georgian and discuss it within the frameworks of code-switching. For the above-mentioned purposes, we will use the linguistic analysis of the databases, which include both printed materials (newspapers (namely, Aliyah from Georgia) and pieces of prose (Botera, D. 2016), and recorded interviews with Georgian Jews, created within the frameworks of several grant projects (Lomtadze, T. 2016, Janjgava Ts. 2022). The speech variety of Georgian Jews currently exists in Israel only, accordingly, all the materials presented below, are collected and recorded in Israel. Various articles, research, and books have been dedicated to code-switching to Hebrew from Russian, Yiddish, Arabic, English, etc.. However, the only research, published in Israel, referring to Georgian Jews (Altman, 2007), investigates code-switching and crossover memories in maturing adults, applying the sociopragmatic-psycholinguistic distinction to show how different motivations account for code-switching in three groups of mature (ages 60–90) immigrant bilinguals (English-Hebrew, Russian-Hebrew, and Georgian-Hebrews) across the lifespan (Burstein-Feldman, 2009, 227). Geographical and social factors, affecting the distribution and usage of Judeo-Georgian historically in Georgia and currently in Israel have been analyzed by Israeli and Georgian scholars (Lomtadze, Enoch 2019; Lomtadze Guledani, 2023). No work has been done yet to address the additional areas of interest, like the in-depth linguistic layers of the code-switching phenomenon itself of this minority currently endangered language. This paper will try to fill in the gap in the extant literature and research sphere.

**Key Words:** Georgian Jews, Judeo-Georgian, Jewish Languages, Multilingualism, Bilingualism, Code-switching, Code-mixing.

### 1. Introduction

Recently there has been an increasing interest in the problems of contact linguistics. The phenomena of interference of languages and, more concretely, of alternative use of different languages - code-switching - have been described for several languages (Larisa Naiditch, 2000) and of course for Hebrew and other Jewish languages, historically existing in the multilingual societies/diasporas and currently in the state of Israel. Israel's geographical position as a land bridge connecting Europe, Asia, and Africa, its history of repeated conquest, and its centrality to three major religions have assured a long tradition of multilingualism (Burstein-Feldman, 2009, 224). Multilingualism was the norm for the Jewish people during most of the Dispersion. Throughout history, Jews have tended to speak and write distinctly from their non-Jewish neighbors. The differences have ranged from the addition of a few Hebrew words to a completely divergent system of grammar and lexicon (Benor, 2008).

Different languages carried separate functions: Hebrew and Talmudic Aramaic for religious and literacy purposes, Jewish languages like Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Arabic for community and home functions (Rabin 1981), and one or more “co-territorial vernaculars” for communication with non-Jewish neighbors and co-territorial

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inhabitants (Burstein-Feldman, 2009, 225). Learning about Jewish languages leads to a better understanding of the diversity of the Jewish Diaspora and what happens when languages come into contact (Jewish Languages Project, 2024).

The 26-century history of Jews in Georgia is well reflected in Georgian-Jewish language contacts: the main feature distinguishing Judeo-Georgian from standard Georgian and its dialects is the frequent use of old Hebrew and Aramaic lexical units in their Georgian conversation. Old Hebraisms/Aramaisms in the speech of Georgian Jews are well researched by Tsereteli, Enoch, Lomtadze, etc., (Tsereteli 1979, 2007, 2013, 2016; Lomtadze 2014, 2017, 2022, 2023). In addition to the use of Hebraisms/Aramaisms, other specific characteristics of the Judeo-Georgian speech are displaced dialectisms, archaisms, and intonation, distinguishing Georgian Jews from the non-Jews living in the same territory (Enoch, Lomtadze 2016, Dumbadze 1979). During their stay in Georgia, insufficient attention was given to the study of Judeo-Georgian speech variety. The use of a distinctive variety of the Georgian language by the Jews was commonly acknowledged (for instance in Georgian literature and movies) but a very small amount of research was done on language use in the Jewish community. The phenomenon of Judeo-Georgian came to scholarly attention its study acquired special importance and expanded considerably, only in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, after the vast majority of Georgian Jews had already immigrated to Israel (Lomtadze, 2014). The repatriation of Georgian Jews to Israel began in 1967, and since the 70s, it already turned into a large wave of Aliyah (Guledani, Lomtadze, 2019). Exactly from that period started the influences of modern Israeli Hebrew on Judeo-Georgian.

Before the Aliyah, the Jewish population in Georgia was 55,382 (around 1.2% of Georgia's whole population). If we compare the statistical data from the population censuses, dated back in 1970 and later in 1979 (when the Jewish population decreased to 28,298) (Lomtadze, 2023), we may suppose, that the approximate number of first wave Aliyah equaled 27,000. According to the magazine "Diplomat" (April 2021, pages 62-70) till the beginning of the 90's, only several thousand Jews succeeded in leaving Soviet Georgia and repatriating to Israel. The real turning point became the start of "perestroika", which created the possibility for another large-scale Aliyah in the '90s. The deteriorated living conditions after the restoration of the independence of Georgia in 1991 led to the wide-scale immigration of the population of Georgia, including ethnic Jews. In total from 1989 to 2005, 22,589 Jews from Georgia were repatriated to Israel (Diplomat, 2021). Only a few Georgian Jews chose Neshira - leaving Soviet Georgia but instead of Israel emigrating to the USA, Canada, European Countries, etc.

Nowadays Georgian Jews reside in almost every part of Israel. JG as a language variety has been spoken in Israel only since the 1970s when the first wave of Georgian Jews made Aliyah. Since then, their speech has changed considerably in the new environment. In Israel, Judeo-Georgian is mainly spoken by the Jews from Georgia who are mostly concentrated in Ashdod, Be'er-Sheva, Haifa, Nahariya, and Netanya, where they have created compact settlements (Lomtadze, Guledani, 2023). The revitalization of Modern Israeli Hebrew was central to the Israeli nation-building process. In general, over three generations, this language succeeded in replacing the native languages of most Jews as the language of wider communication (Burstein-Feldman, 2009, 224). Thus, in the multilingual society of Israel, where 40-50 languages are spoken in private, code-switching became quite a normal form of bilingual interaction (Orit Berlinsky-Shay, 2016, p.14-15).

The same can be concluded regarding Georgian Jews. Influences of modern Israeli Hebrew on their speech became visible even when Georgian Jews couldn't speak Hebrew and became stronger over time and generations. Since no work has been done yet to address the influences of modern Hebrew on this minority currently endangered language, this paper will try to fill in the gap in the extant literature and research sphere. The most complete method to present those influences is by analyzing them within the framework of code-switching.

## 2. Code-switching – general definitions and its phenomena in Judeo-Georgian

There exist many definitions of code-switching (CS), it is most commonly defined as the alternation of codes in a single speech exchange (Gumperz 1982: 59; Heller 1988: 1). This is *a natural occurrence when speakers alternate between a variety of languages* (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 4-7). Grosjean (1982: 145) defines *code-switching* as "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation." Code-switching can take place on the level of word, phrase, or sentence (Grosjean 1982: 147). It refers to a bilingual mode of speaking in which the speakers switch back and forth between the first language (L1) and the second language (L2) (Grosjean, 2010). According to Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) between the concepts of code-mixing and code-switching, there is one definite distinction - code-mixing can occur to the morpheme as the lowest level, whereas code-switching's lowest level is the word. Although code-mixing and code-switching have the same process, code-switching has more complex varieties than code-mixing. Code-

switching is defined as “the use of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event”, and Code-mixing - mixing the elements of different languages, using each other grammatical markers.

Most inquiries in CS are based on interactive speech data and as Richard Nordquist and many other scholars point out, CS practice occurs far more often in conversation than in writing, but it seems that some Jewish languages prove the opposite. Anne Szulmajster-Celnikier’s study examined more formalized materials written in Yiddish: oral (sometimes written) folksongs, humorous utterances, a piece of literature, and a historical narration. Her analysis based on the mentioned materials shines light on a more collective, institutional dimension of the CS phenomenon, while analyzing interactive speech usually focuses on the individual character of CS. (Anne Szulmajster-Celnikier, 2005/2, 87).

In Judeo-Georgian as well, examples of code-switching and mixing can be found in printed products and mostly in periodicals, namely, the newspaper "Aliya", which was founded in Israel in 1973, lasted for decades (3655 issues have been published) and thus shows the whole process of linguistic transformation of Georgian Jews. The main topics of this newspaper were the news/achievements in the Georgian Jewish community, cultural events, news from Israel/abroad, informative guidelines for immigrants (for this column, Statements and brochures of the Ministry of Absorption of Israel were translated from Hebrew into Georgian), congratulatory texts and obituaries, advertisements, etc. The linguistic analysis of the obtained periodicals reveals that Georgian Jews completely cut ties with Georgia due to the Soviet system existing at that time. They didn’t have the opportunity to have a connection with their relatives, neighbors, and friends who stayed in Georgia. They had no access to Georgian-language information sources. Therefore, it isn’t surprising that their Georgian speech was "preserved", it wasn’t affected by the processes taking place in literary Georgian or its dialects, instead it was enriched with Hebraisms. Therefore, for Georgian Jews, CS eventually became part of daily communication processes.

Kheimets and Epstein have analyzed the reasons for the creation of triglossia in the Russian language population in Israel (Kheimets and Epstein 2001). Russian is used within the family and community framework, Hebrew is employed for social and civil integration, while English is required for academic and professional advancement (Burstein-Feldman, 2009, 230). This kind of triglossia can be discovered in some Georgian Jews as well, especially those who have been successfully integrated into Israeli society, learned Hebrew, currently identify themselves more as Israelis, and do not emphasize their Georgian roots. In addition to Hebraisms, they often use Anglicisms in their speech.

Below we will analyze all the levels of CS from Georgian/Judeo-Georgian to Hebrew and bring illustrative materials from both oral and written discourse of Georgian Jews.

### 3. Intra-word level code-mixing

Intra-word switching occurs within a word, such as at the morpheme level. When a Hebrew lexical unit /a root morpheme, is code-switched, Georgian grammatical markers are attached, as a result of which the Hebrew morpheme loses its Hebrew morphological form and takes on a Georgian one.

<i>dabechavebulni</i>	<i>daiarebian</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>q’olam-oba-ze</i>
wretched	Are walking	on	Earth

“They are walking wretched on this **world/earth**”

Here we encounter **phonetic transformation** as well, which was very common for Judeo-Georgian speakers before the Israeli Hebrew influence. The consonant *ʁ*, which is almost silent in Hebrew, was pronounced as „*g*“ (q) in Judeo-Georgian, and even today, Georgian Jews pronounce some exemption words and mostly proper names this way, despite the fact they already are aware, that in Hebrew consonant “*g*“ (q) doesn’t exist.

<i>Mishtar-oba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>t’erorist’oba</i>
<b>Policemanship</b>	and	terrorism

“**Policemanship** and Terrorism”

This is used as the title of a children's poem and aims to instill respect for the defenders of safety in the eyes of children; In both above given examples, the suffix "oba" is used, which produces abstract names in the Georgian language and the first example, this suffix is followed by the postposition "ze".

In some cases, prefixes and suffixes are attached to the Hebrew morpheme at the same time.

<i>sbemdeg</i>	<b>sa-khupa-o</b>	<i>bech'edi</i>	<i>itsvleboda</i>
Later	for "chuppah"/wedding canopy	ring	were interchanged

"Later the **rings** purposed for "**chuppah**" were interchanged".

<b>Da-lekh-da</b>	<i>chveni</i>	<i>shelemik'o</i>
<b>Went away</b>	our	Shelemiko
"Our Shelemiko <b>passed</b> away".		

#### 4. Word-level code-switching

For this type of code-switching, so-called tag switching, we most commonly encounter, switched nouns in Judeo-Georgian. The source of the post-repatriation Hebraisms in the speech of Georgian Jews is Israeli Hebrew. Although at first, many Jews couldn't learn Hebrew, their speech was gradually enriched with Hebrew words (from different semantic groups, which will be discussed below), especially in cases where corresponding terms didn't exist in the language of Soviet Georgian (Kvirikashvili, Janjghava, 2023).

Tareq Mitaib Murad's research investigated the code-switching behavior of Arabic native speakers who lived and worked in Israel. He analyzed the most frequent reasons for switching from Arabic to Hebrew are the lack of "Technical or scientific terms" that are usually used in Hebrew and "intensive exposure to Hebrew native speakers communities" (Tareq Mitaib Murad, 2013, 1160). Murad (2006) found that Arab speakers living in rural communities in Israel code-switch to Hebrew as a matter of exposure to Hebrew native speakers' communities during work and in official offices where Hebrew is frequently used (Tareq Mitaib Murad, 2013, 1162). Those reasons can be considered true for other migrants and Georgian Jews as well.

As Berk-Seligson defines, the ability to code-switch at this intra-sentential switching level cannot universally be considered a measure of bilingualism nor a mark of the balanced bilingual (Berk-Seligson S. 1986), and the proofs for this statement/opinion can be found among our group of interest - especially for newly repatriated ones, members of middle and older generations, who couldn't be considered bilinguals and weren't fluent in Hebrew but used to code-switch from Judeo-Georgian to Hebrew, mainly when it came to technical and work terminology. For instance:

#### Work/technical terminology in Hebrew

<i>ke'i</i>	<b>t'ekhnionshi</b>	<i>viq'avi</i>	<i>jarshi</i>	<i>rom</i>	<i>ts'amiq'vanes</i>
Yes	<b>technical college</b>	I was	to the army	when	I was taken

"Yes, I was in the **technical college** when I was taken to the army."

<i>damsakburebuli</i>	<i>ektanis</i>	<i>ts'odeba</i>	<i>unda</i>	<i>hkonoda</i>	<i>umaghlesi</i>	<i>ganatleba</i>	<b>toari</b>
honored	nurse	title	should	have	higher	education	<b>degree</b>

„She should have the title of honored nurse, a higher education **degree**“.

<i>masbin</i>	<i>kelmdzghvanelitsa</i>	<i>kebar</i>	<i>ak'eteb</i>	<i>sbeni</i>	<b>mishmereti</b>
then	also a leader	you are	doing	your	<b>shift</b>

"Then you are also a leader, having/doing your own **shift**."

## 5. Particles

For those non-bilingual speakers, other commonly used lexical units are **particles and greeting forms**. The usage of these forms didn't require language proficiency and was just used for daily simple conversations with non-Georgian neighbors and co-workers.

<i>ken</i>	<i>diakb</i>	<i>diakb</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>rats</i>	<i>k'etdeba,</i>	<i>memgoni</i>	<i>akats</i>	<i>k'etdeba</i>
yes	yes	yes	here	there	what	is done	I suppose	here too	is done

“Yes, yes, yes, what is done there, is being done here too.”

<i>lo</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>liana</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>iq'o</i>	<i>k'anoni</i>
no	no	Liana	this	not	was	law

“No, no, Liana, this wasn't about the law.”

<i>beseder</i>	<i>k'idev</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>gaint'eresebt</i>
all right	more	what	are you interested in

All right, what else are you interested in?

## 6. Adverting-commercial, including finance/bank terminology

Under this category, we consider such lexical units, that didn't have a corresponding translation in Georgian language, during the Soviet period. It's an interesting research phenomenon, that almost 50 years after repatriation, when the relevant terminology already exists in the Georgian language, the respondents still use those Hebraisms while speaking Georgian, even though nowadays, unlike the Aliyah period, they have access to Georgian-language information sources, social media, etc.

<i>chven</i>	<i>chveulebrivi</i>	<i>ojakbi</i>	<i>gvakvs</i>	<i>dzveli</i>	<i>mankana</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>grdzebvadiani</i>	<i>seskbi</i>	<i>mashkanta</i>
We	ordinary	family	have	old	car	and	long-term	loan	mortgage

“We have an ordinary family, an old car and a long-term **mortgage loan**.”

<i>samajuris</i>	<i>shedzena</i>	<i>shgidzliat</i>	<i>aportsimis</i>	<i>kuchazę</i>	<i>makoletshi</i>
bracelet	to buy	you can	Aforcim	street	in a grocery shop

“You can buy a bracelet in the **grocery shop** located on Aforcim Street.”

## 7. Untranslatable equivalents - Israeli/Zionist vocabulary

This category primarily includes terminology typical to Israeli society only and can be considered as so-called **untranslatable equivalents**. As Sarah Bunin Benor defines, one of the most important linguistic variables for comparative Jewish linguistics – is the Israeli Hebrew influence. In the era of political Zionism and the State of Israel, to what extent does the linguistic repertoire include features from Modern Hebrew (Benor, 1072)? This variable isn't relevant to all the Jewish communities but applies to the Georgian Jewish community.

<i>tuk'i</i>	<i>mots'avlis</i>	<i>kmari</i>	<i>imq'opeba</i>	<i>samkhedro</i>	<i>samsakbursbi</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>miluimshi</i>
in case	student's	husband	is	military	service	not	in a reserve duty

“In case the student's husband is in military service, not **in a reserve duty**.”

<i>chemnairi</i>	<i>morts'mune</i>	<i>iq'o</i>	<i>q'vela</i>	<i>sts'amda</i>	<i>magram</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>k'itsoni</i>
like me	believer	he was	all	he believed	but	not	radical

“He was a believer like me, he believed in everything, but not **radical/extremist**.”

<i>alia</i>	<i>tandatanobit</i>	<i>mtsirdeba</i>	<i>samagierod</i>	<i>ierida</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>neshira</i>	<i>izrdeba</i>
Repatriation	gradually	decreases	instead	descent	and	shedding	increases

“Aliyah is gradually decreasing, while **Neshira and Yerida** are increasing”

**Yerida**, Hebr. ירידה, which means emigration from Israel, has the opposite meaning to Alyiah.

**Neshira**, Hebr. נִשְׂרִיה, means molting, shedding. This term was used to refer to Jews who left the USSR, but instead of coming to Israel, went to America or European countries.

## 8. Syntagm-level code-switching

In Georgian/Judeo-Georgian-Hebrew bilingual conversations, the switching of syntagms, i.e. syntactic pairs, is a frequent phenomenon, mainly referring to the Adjective-Noun pairs and Construct State (so-called Smikhtu).

<i>gantskhadeba</i>	<i>shgidzliat</i>	<i>gamogzavnot</i>	<i>post'it</i>	<i>pulis</i>
advertisement	you can	send	by post	money
<i>chek'is</i>	<i>An</i>	<b>hamkhaat</b>	<b>adoaris</b>	<i>tandartvit</i>
cheque	Or	<b>receipt</b>	<b>postal</b>	in the attachment

“You can send the advertisement by post with money, cheque, or postal receipt attached.”

<i>avt'obusebi</i>	N83	<i>da</i>	N85	<i>tel-avivis</i>	<b>takhana</b>	<b>merkazitidan</b>
Buses	N83	and	N85	Tel Aviv	<b>Station</b>	<b>Central</b>

“Buses N83 and N85 from Tel Aviv **Central Station**.”

<i>ashdodi</i>	<b>merkaz</b>	<b>taasia</b>	<i>amalis</i>	<i>kecha</i>
Ashdod	<b>Center</b>	<b>Insudtry</b>	Amal	street

“Address: Ashdod, **Insudtrial Center**, Amal Str.”

<b>shlomo</b>	<i>hamelekhis</i>	<i>kecha</i>	<b>kikar</b>	<b>atsmauttan</b>
<b>Solomon</b>	<b>the king</b>	street	<b>square</b>	<b>independence</b>

“King Solomon Street, near the **Independence Square**”.

<i>sokhumi</i>	<i>Chven</i>	<i>gvakhsos</i>	<i>rogorts</i>	<i>silamaze</i>	<i>rogorts</i>	<b>gan</b>	<b>q'edeni</b>
Sukhumi	We	remember	as	beauty	as	<b>heaven</b>	

“We remember Sukhumi as a beauty, as a **heaven/paradise**.”

## 9. Intra-sentential code-switching

Intrasentential code-switching occurs within the sentence or clause. A part of the sentence is in one language/language variety and is then followed by one from another language/language variety. In general, a phrase is defined as a larger unit than a word and smaller than a sentence. In our analysis material, we mainly use the following principle, under the switch of the phrase, we consider a sentence fragment, which consists of more than two members or represents separate words, phrases and expressions, interjections, and discourse markers.

p'at'ara	k'okht'a	<b>masheu</b>	<b>masheu</b>
small	cute	<b>something</b>	<b>something</b>

“Small, cute, **special/of a high class**.”

<i>chemi</i>	<i>st'azhi</i>	<i>mkonda</i>	<i>chemi</i>	<i>q'velaperi</i>	<i>mkonda</i>
my	experience	I had	my	everything	I had
<i>da</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>tsarikh</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>gamovedi</i>	<i>p'ensiasbi</i>
and	<b>no</b>	<b>is needed</b>	<b>more</b>	I went	in retirement

„I had my experience, I had everything and **nothing more is needed**, I retired.“

<i>itsis</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>iekhola</i>	<i>ledaber</i>	<i>bebiam</i>	<i>asts'avla</i>
He/she knows	but	<b>no</b>	<b>can</b>	<b>speak</b>	grandma	taught

“She knows, but **she can't talk**, grandma taught her.”

<i>ho</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>keilu</i>	<i>meore</i>	<i>dabadeba</i>	<i>khdeba</i>
yes	<b>this</b>	<b>as if</b>	second	birth	takes place

“Yes, **this is as if** a second birth takes place.”

<b>barukh</b>	<b>hashem</b>	didi	madlobeli	var	sakartvelosi	da	israelisats
<b>Glory</b>	<b>his name</b>	big	grateful	am	of Georgia	and	of Israel too

“Glory to his name, I am very grateful to Georgia and Israel too.”

<i>ve</i>	<i>zeu</i>	<i>midiodnen</i>	<i>kalebi</i>
<b>and</b>	<b>that's it</b>	were going	women

“**And that's it**, the women were going.”

<i>apilu</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>chemi</i>	<i>morts'mune</i>	<i>ojakbia</i>
<b>Even</b>	<b>that</b>	my	believer	family

“**Even though** my family is a believer.”

## 10. Extrasentential code-switching

Extrasentential code-switching occurs outside the sentence or clause. In other words, a complete sentence/clause in one language is followed by one in another language. This is the case when the parts of the switched phrases do not have morphosyntactic connections with the rest of the sentence, and do not establish syntactic agreements with them, but meaningfully there is certainly a connection between them. Accordingly, each part brings a grammatical part of its language into the sentence.

<i>ain'eresebt</i>	<i>chemi</i>	<i>azri</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dzalian</i>	<i>dzalian</i>
They are interested	my	opinion	and	very	very
<i>meod</i>	<i>k'ashe</i>	<i>bishvili</i>	<i>meod</i>	<i>k'ashe</i>	
<b>very much</b>	<b>hard</b>	<b>for me</b>	<b>very much</b>	<b>hard</b>	

“They are interested in my opinion, and I am very, very... **it's very hard for me, very hard.**”

<i>amashi</i>	<i>amdeni</i>	<i>milioni</i>	<i>davkharjet</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>mere</i>	<i>movidnen</i>	<i>tviton</i>	<i>kartvelebi</i>
in this	so many	million	we spent	and	then	they came	their own	Georgians
<i>movidnen</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>daangries</i>	<i>rats</i>	<i>chven</i>	<i>gavak'etet</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>navi</i>	<i>beiro</i>
they came	and	demolished	what	we	did	<b>there is not</b>	<b>Prophet</b>	<b>in his city</b>

“We spent so many millions on this and then they came, the Georgians themselves came and demolished what we did. **There is no Prophet without honor except in his own city.**”

<i>chemi</i>	<i>shvilebi</i>	<i>k'argat</i>	<i>arian</i>
my	children	well	are
<i>madloba</i>	<i>ghmerts</i>	<i>mesudarim</i>	<i>kulam</i>
thank	God	settled	everyone

“My children are fine, thank God, **and everyone is settled.**”

<i>chemi</i>	<i>meughle</i>	<i>musbaobda</i>	<i>sabcb'oshi</i>
my	spouse	worked	in the council
<i>iq'o</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>khaver</i>	<i>moatsa</i>
he was	he	member	council

“My husband was working in the council, **he is a council member.**”

<i>enaze</i>	<i>madga</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>damavits'q'da</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>khashuv</i>
on tongue	was	and	I have forgotten	not	important

“It is on the tip of my tongue, but I have forgotten. **It is not important**”

<i>mamash</i>	<i>guli</i>	<i>mts'q'deba</i>	<i>hitakhzavti</i>	<i>meagruzinimo</i>
really	heart	breaks	I was disappointed	from Georgians

“I am really heartbroken. **He said he is disappointed with Georgians.**”

## 11. Adstratal Influences

Studying Judeo-Georgian/Georgian in Israel has crucial importance, in order to analyze Georgian-Hebrew linguistic contacts in dynamics which is very convenient for analyzing substrate, superstrate, and adstrate, diversification/divergence, convergence, unification, bilingualism, code-switching, and other important linguistic, social or psychological processes (Lomtadze, 2017). Preliminary content analyses of the materials collected in Israel, have already proved adstratal influences, namely, they highlighted some Georgian expressions and terminology, changed under the influence of Hebrew. For those who learned the Hebrew language, processes went even further and some Georgian expressions changed under the influence of Hebrew (Kvriikashvili, Janjghava, 2023). Here we may suppose, that the informants/the authors of these phrases have already started thinking in Hebrew and then translating their thoughts into Georgian. For example:

<i>k'ibeebis</i>	<i>jikhurits</i>	<i>tkvens</i>	<i>binas</i>	<i>ek'utvnis</i>
staircase	box	your	flat	belongs

**The room of the staircase (the building entrance)** belongs to your flat too.

Here we may suppose that the confusion is caused by the Hebrew expression, *hadar madrehot* (Hebr. מְדֻרְגוֹת הַדָּר), literary meaning “a room of the staircase”. Bu the Georgian equivalent is *sadarbazxo* (entrance) and no such expression as *k'ibeebis jikhuri* exists in Georgian.

<i>shen</i>	<i>chemi</i>	<i>sizmrebtvis</i>	<i>k'i</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>unda</i>
you	my	for nightmares	yes	not	should
<i>izruno</i>	<i>sheni</i>	<i>sizmrebi</i>	<i>unda</i>	<i>gaachino</i>	
take care	my	nightmares	should	give birth	



“You should not take care of my nightmares, you should give birth to your own nightmares”

The informant implied that all people should have and follow their “daydreams” and wishes and instead, he used “nightdream”. This confusion is caused by the fact, that in the Hebrew language, daydream and nightdream are expressed by the same word "Halom".

<i>gak'vetilis</i>	<i>mere</i>	<i>sp'ort'i</i>	<i>unda</i>	<i>gavak'eto</i>
lesson	after	<b>sport</b>	should	<b>I do</b>

“I should **do sports** after the lesson”.

Native Georgian speakers would never use this expression and would say the verb “vivarjisho” (meaning to exercise) instead.

## 12. Conclusion

Since the 1970's the mass waves of Aliyah of Jews from Georgia to Israel, created a new environment for Georgian-Hebrew linguistic contacts. Under the conditions of co-existence of two languages (Hebrew and Judeo-Georgian) and bilingualism, the lexical influences of modern Hebrew on Judeo-Georgian and Georgian in general are very strong and visible. Judeo-Georgian, previously having only community and home functions in Georgia, and then isolated from the Georgian language and incorporated within the Israeli society, has gradually changed and enriched with Hebraisms. These influences are eventually growing every year and this growth is evidenced by the printed products, by simply comparing Georgian language sources (published in Israel) from different periods after repatriation. 21st-century materials (interviews) show the increasing influence of Hebrew on the speech of Georgian Jews of all generations and social classes. Phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical influences are confirmed. Of these, lexical influences are the most extensive and within this level, we most commonly encounter switched nouns, sometimes with Georgian grammatical markers.

The source of the post-repatriation Hebraisms is Israeli Hebrew. Although at first, many Georgian Jews couldn't learn Hebrew, and thus couldn't be considered as bilinguals, their speech was gradually enriched with Hebraisms. Due to intensive exposure to Hebrew native speakers in the work environment or the neighborhood, they started to incorporate in their Georgian/Judeo-Georgian speech, Hebrew technical and work terminology and such lexical units as particles, congratulatory, greeting, and blessing forms, the usage of which didn't require language proficiency. Besides, their speech includes terminology typical to Israeli society only (Israeli/Zionist vocabulary) and can be considered as so-called untranslatable equivalents. (Sometimes, a whole new sentence in Georgian is needed for the explanation of this kind of concept or words).

As it has already been mentioned, this happens mainly with those Georgian Jews of older generations, who aren't fluent in Hebrew. As for the young or middle generation born and raised in Israel, for whom Hebrew is the native language, we encounter higher level (syntagm-level intra and extra sentential) code-switches, grammatical and adstratal influences (for instance “doing sport” instead of “exercise”, “nightdreams” instead of “dream”/”wish”, etc.). The higher the level of proficiency in Hebrew, the stronger modern Israeli Hebrew influences on Georgian/Judeo-Georgian.

All the mentioned levels of code-switching and influences of the Hebrew language along with the illustrative materials (citations from the interviews and newspapers), have been presented in the paper.

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