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The Megrelian-Georgian Diglossia Switching and Mixing of Codes მეგრულ-ქართული დიგლოსია. კოდების გადართვა და კოდების შერევა

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Abstract. In Georgia, the Kartvelian language family includes Georgian, Svan, Megrelian, and Laz. Among them, Georgian is the official state language, while the others are used primarily within families. Traditionally, diglossic relationships have formed between Georgian and the other Kartvelian languages: Georgian–Svan, Georgian–Megrelian, and Georgian–Laz. This article analyzes the Georgian–Megrelian diglossia in two directions: a) the sociocultural domains in which Megrelian and Georgian are spoken and used; b) the typical switching patterns and mechanisms of code-mixing during natural speech. The study is mainly based on surveys and interviews conducted in the Samegrelo region of western Georgia in March and April of 2023. Additionally, other published materials have been used. The first part of the findings discusses code use and proficiency within the framework of traditional diglossic identity: “I am Megrelian” (contextual identity), and “ultimately, I am Georgian” (absolute identity). Code usage is analyzed across categories such as: at home, in the community, and in formal institutions. Attention is also given to psycho-emotional motivations behind code-switching. The second part of the paper discusses the social and functional basis for code-switching, including narrative role differentiation, citation, domain of activity, and more. While distinguishing between code-switching and code-mixing in Georgian–Megrelian speech is often difficult, the article attempts to make such distinctions at the phrase, sentence, lexical, and morphemic levels.

აბსტრაქტი. საქართველოში გავრცელებულია ქართველური ენები: ქართული, სვანური, მეგრული, ლაზური. მათგან ქართული სახელმწიფო ენაა, ხოლო დანარჩენი – საოჯახო ენებია. ტრადიციულად ჩამოყალიბებულია ქართულ-სვანური, ქართულ-მეგრული და ქართულ-ლაზური დიგლოსია. სტატიაში გაანალიზებულია ქართულ-მეგრული დიგლოსია ორი მიმართულებით: ა. მეგრული და ქართული კოდების ფლობისა და გამოყენების სოციოკულტურული სფეროები, ბ. ამ კოდების ტიპური გადართვისა და კოდების შერევის მექანიზმი ბუნებრივი მეტყველების დროს. კვლევა, ძირითადად, ემყარება ჩვენ მიერ 2023 წლის მარტსა და აპრილში დასავლეთ საქართველოს რეგიონში, სამეგრელოში, ჩატარებული გამოკითხვის/ინტერვიუების შედეგებს. გარდა ამისა, გამოყენებულია სხვა გამოქვეყნებული მასალაც. კვლევის შედეგების პირველ ნაწილში კოდების ფლობისა და გამოყენების შესახებ მსჯელობა ემყარება მეგრულ-ქართული დიგლოსიით ჩამოყალიბებულ ტრადიციულ ხედვას: მე მეგრელი ვარ (კონტექსტური იდენტობა), მაშასადამე, მე ქართველი ვარ (აბსოლუტური იდენტობა). კოდების გამოყენება გაანალიზებულია კატეგორიებით: შინ/სახლში, გარეთ/თემში, ოფიციალურ ორგანიზაციებსა და ინსტიტუტებში. ასევე, ყურადღება ექცევა ფსიქო-ემოციური მოტივაციით კოდების მონაცვლეობას. სტატიის მეორე ნაწილში განხილულია კოდების გადართვის სოციალურ-ფუნქციური საფუძველი, როგორცაა: ნარატივში მონაწილე პირთა დიქტომია, ციტირება, საქმიანობის სფერო და სხვ. მეგრულ-ქართული კოდების გადართვისა და შერევის გამიჯვნა ხშირად რთულია, თუმცა სტატიაში არის ამის მცდელობა ფრაზების/წინადადებების, ლექსიკის, მორფემების დონეზე.

Keywords: Kartvelian languages, Georgian–Megrelian diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing

საკვანძო: ქართველური ენები, მეგრულ-ქართული დიგლოსია, კოდების გადართვა, კოდების შერევა

1. Introduction

According to different scholarly perspectives, particularly those of the Arn. Chikobava Linguistic School, the Kartvelian language family comprises three languages: Georgian, Svan, and Zan (Chikobava, 1936). Zan, in turn, encompasses Megrelian and Laz as closely related dialectal varieties. The Kartvelian languages are predominantly spoken in Georgia. Georgian, the state language, has its own script and serves as the dominant, unifying, and identifying language of Georgians (Gabunia et al., 2010, 89-95).

Megrelian, which lacks a written script, is primarily spoken in western Georgia, particularly in the regions of Samegrelo and Abkhazia. Megrelian does not have an alphabet and in everyday life it is only a means of oral communication, despite the impressive number of Megrelian speakers (Bolkvadze, 2007, 223). Svan, also an unwritten language, is mainly spoken in Svaneti, located in the northwestern part of Georgia. Laz is prevalent in Western Georgia, especially in Adjara, and extends into parts of Turkey. Consequently, unwritten Kartvelian languages can be defined as the home languages. In practice, Megrelian, Laz, and Svan are primarily used within family settings, whereas Georgian serves as the dominant language in other domains of daily life.

In the 20th century, the systematic research of Kartvelian languages revealed their genealogical and typological unity. Since the 1980s, much attention has been paid to research on language contact, lexical borrowing and on sociolects of Georgian. The sociolinguistic research of Megrelian, Laz and Svan became significant at the beginning of the 20th century. In particular, the question was whether Megrelian-Georgian, Svan-Georgian, and Laz-Georgian (socio-) linguistic relations may be evaluated as bilingualism or diglossia. Naturally, the theories of Ferguson (1959, 1971) and Fishman (1972, 1980) were taken as a theoretical framework. These explorations were accompanied by intense debates over the years (Gabunia, 2004; Gvantseladze, 2003; 2005; Putkaradze, 2003; Kartvelian languages and dialects, 2007; Bolkvadze, 2007). Regarding empirical research on Megrelian, the first moves were made by Karina Vamling and Revaz Chanturia when studying the social spheres of the employment of Megrelian based on field research data (Vamling & Chanturia, 2010). Large-scale research conducted in 2005-2007 (with the support of the Volkswagen Foundation) entitled "The Sociolinguistic Situation in Modern Georgia" (Gippert & Tandashvili, 2005), in which 40 researchers participated, covered all the regions of the country. Within the scope of the project, together with other issues, code-switching and their functioning were explored as well as processes of word formation and change, etc.

Considerable time has passed since this research, however; a complete sociolinguistic description of the Megrelian-Georgian code-switching peculiarities has not yet been conducted. The issue is relevant against the background that the continuity of the natural transmission of the unwritten language, Megrelian, from generation to generation will be threatened in the near future. This tendency emerged during field work 17 years ago, and today this language shift is more and more noticeable.

In the present article, we will try to analyse the aspects of the functioning of Megrelian and Georgian speech codes, the sociolinguistic mechanism of their alternation or mixing, to present the types of code-switching and to provide their qualification. The discussion on Megrelian and Georgian speech codes follows the meaning that is defined in the literature: "Speech codes theory contemplates speaking as a linguistic action in the oral mode, but the term 'speech' here is itself a figure of speech used to refer to all the means of communicative conduct operative in the life of a speech community" (Philipsen & Hart, 2015, p.1).

2. Methodology

2.1 The Data to be Analysed

This article is based, on the one hand, on video materials recorded in 2005-2007 within the framework of the above-mentioned project. These are the spoken speech samples of the informants living in Samegrelo, specifically in the Zugdidi municipality. This municipality is the central area of Samegrelo, with the largest population, where the social relationship between Megrelian and Georgian languages is best seen. We also used quantitative data revealed by sociolinguistic questionnaires in 2005-2007 on a relevant theme. In addition, for comparison, we rely on the Megrelian texts recorded and published in other municipalities of Samegrelo (Tsalenjikha, Chkhorotsqu) in 2007-2011 (Lomia & Gersamia, 2012). Furthermore, the results of the survey based on questionnaires conducted in March and April 2023 are also presented below. We targeted youth and recorded their assessment and interpretation of code-switching and the samples of their speech. Informants were the inhabitants of the towns of Samegrelo: Zugdidi, Chkhorotsqu and Martvili.

2.2 The 2023 Survey Target Group

The maximum age of young people was determined to be 30. Respondents were selected randomly, in total 31. All of them are local residents (Samegrelo), with secondary or higher education. The language of education is Georgian, and home language is Megrelian. An important aspect to be researched is language choice and language proficiency in young families. We introduced marriage as the main criterion: a young family is a micro-model for analyzing future trends. Married young people make a conscious choice by following the code of communication with their children, since unmarried young people just follow the “routines” established at home by their parents. In this respect, the choice of new parents determines the final trend. 7 out of 31 respondents were married, 6 of them had underage children.

Table 1. Data from the 2023 Research (Survey Target Group)

| Age | Gender | Educational Level | Place of Residence | Marital Status |
|-----|--------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 8 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 10 | Female | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 10 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 11 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 11 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 11 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 13 | Female | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 13 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 16 | Male | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 17 | Female | Secondary | Martvili | Single |
| 17 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 18 | Male | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 18 | Male | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 18 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 19 | Female | Secondary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 21 | Female | Tertiary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 22 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 23 | Male | Tertiary | Chkhorotsqu | Single |
| 24 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | married |
| 25 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | married |
| 25 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 27 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | married |
| 27 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | married |
| 27 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | Single |
| 28 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | married |
| 28 | Male | Tertiary | Martvili | married |
| 28 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | Single |
| 28 | Female | Secondary | Zugdidi | Single |
| 29 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | Single |
| 29 | Male | Secondary | Zugdidi | married |
| 30 | Female | Tertiary | Martvili | Single |

2.3 Questionnaires

Structurally, the questionnaires used both in 2005-2007 and 2023 are presented in 3 blocks:

1. Language fluency (in Megrelian, Georgian, English/Russian or other)

The questions of this block are as follows: Which language did you start speaking? Which is your first language? Do you speak the national (Georgian) language? Which is your third language? Which language is a literary language for you? When do you use English? Russian? Do you know a Megrelian who can't speak Megrelian? In addition, for frequency reasons: How often do you use Megrelian? Georgian? other languages? The response categories: Every day, sometimes, seldom, never

2. Use of Megrelian (in Samegrelo in different domains). This category has three subcategories:

a. At Home / in a Family:

Which language do you use to speak / did you use to speak to your father? Which language do you use to speak / did you use to speak to your mother? Which language do you use to speak / did you use to speak to your siblings?; Which language do you use to speak / did you use to speak to your spouse?; Which language do you use to speak / did you use to speak to your children? Which language do / did your parents speak? Which language do your grandmother and grandfather speak?

Which language does your spouse speak? Which language does your spouse use to speak to the children? Which language does your spouse speak / did you use to speak to your parents? Which language(s) do your children speak to each other at home?

b. Outside / in the Community:

Which language do you speak to your neighbours? which language do you have to speak most often in your village (neighbourhood)? Which language do you speak most often with village elders?; which language do you have to speak / did you have to speak most often at the market?

c. In Official Organisations/Institutions:

Which language do you most often have to speak with co-workers? Which language do you have to talk with the district administration most often? Which language do you have to speak most often at the hospital? Which language do you speak most often with teachers at school? Which language do you have to speak most often at the bus station / railway station / ticket office?

3. Basic psycho-emotional foundations of language function were determined based on the following questions: Which language do you express your happiness in? Anger? Fear? Gratitude? Sympathy? Solidarity? Which language do you use while cursing, or blessing? In which language do you confide in someone else?

Through qualitative and quantitative analysis, the issue of switching between Megrelian-Georgian codes is studied in two directions: (1.) The sociocultural aspects of Language fluency and language choice; (2.) Type of code-switching and code-mixing mechanisms during natural speech. Our methodological approach to terminology is informed by both Muysken's (2000) perspective, which categorizes code-mixing into three types – insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization – and Eastman's (1992) view, which posits that code-switching, code-mixing, and language borrowing are components of a unified linguistic process. We contend that within the context of Megrelian-Georgian diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing indeed constitute a singular, natural speech phenomenon, although the sociolinguistic factors distinguishing each category remain discernible. This article will aim to illustrate these distinctions in detail.

3. Results

3.1 Language Fluency

According to the data of the 2014 census of Georgia (<https://www.geostat.ge/ka/modules/categories/738/mosakhleobis-geografiuli-ganatsileba-da-shida-migratsia>), the population of all seven municipalities of Samegrelo exceeds 321,445. Taking into account that the number of IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) from the region of Georgia, in the autonomous Republic of Abkhazia is 159,754 (occupied by the Russian Federation, since the wars of 1991-1992 and 2008) it is reasonable to assume that at least two-thirds of these speak Megrelian. It can be said that more than 400,000 Megrelian-speaking Georgians live in Georgia. We would have accurate statistics if there were a survey of the Georgian population concerning an internal differential linguistic feature - Megrelian speaker, Svan speaker, Laz speaker. "Megrelians often boast that they study literary Georgian and, in this regard, their Georgian is more refined than the representatives of other regions of Georgia" (Gabunia et al., 2010, 100). This language is represented by twenty dialects, which are spread over the territory of Georgia according to certain geographical markers. Megrelian-Georgian diglossia best reflects the unity of *contextual identity* (I am a Megrelian) and *absolute identity* (therefore, I am a Georgian). In the scientific literature, attention is focused on the *hierarchy of identity*, when the choice of speech codes is related to the identity of society; for example,

researchers of the Gaelic language note that the concept of ‘we’ of the older generation is related to the Gaelic language, whereas for the younger generation it is related to the English language (Smith-Christmas *et al.*, 2009). Naturally, we were also interested in the survey of young respondents due to two factors: Language fluency and their attitude to the Megrelian-Georgian code-switching.

According to the research, It was revealed that out of 31 respondents of the target group, 24 started speaking (in childhood) in Georgian, and 7 started speaking in Megrelian; nevertheless 16 respondents considered Georgian their first (native) language whereas 15 considered Megrelian their first language. It is likely that mostly young generation (under the 19 years) claim that their first language is Georgian.

For comparison, statistics from the 2005-2007 survey are cited by first and second language designation. A total of 696 Megrelian-speaking respondents (all between the ages of 10 and 80) were interviewed, of which 328 named Georgian as their first language (47.2%), whereas 331 named Megrelian (47.5%). 37 respondents (5.3%) selected both languages, i.e., it was difficult for them to separate the languages. The position of the first language was shared by Georgian and Megrelian languages (Gabunia *et al.*, 2010, p.92-93). The current general trend is similar to the one appearing 17 years ago: Megrelian shared first place with Georgian, the so-called symbolic language for the older generation. However, there is another difference: according to the 2023 survey, the young generation assigns first place to the Georgian language.

Finally, the frequency of language use also indicates the preferential use of Georgian compared to Megrelian. This seems natural considering the difference in spheres of usage of these codes; see. Table 1. Here and below the percentage is rounded, error 0.5 - 0.8.

Table 1. Data from the 2023 Research: The Frequency of Language Use (31 Respondents)

| | Every Day | Sometimes | Seldom | Never |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------|-------|
| How frequently do you employ Megrelian? | 71% | 16% | 13% | 0% |
| How frequently do you employ the State language / Georgian? | 97% | 0% | 3% | 0% |
| How frequently do you employ other languages? | 13% | 42% | 32% | 13% |

3.2 Use of Megrelian

To describe the use of Megrelian (in Samegrelo) in different domains, the questionnaires from 2023 included only activities characteristic of oral communication. As was mentioned above, the interviewed young people were divided into two groups: unmarried (24) and married (7). Only one of the latter had no children. The main question that differentiates their answers is related to the choice of communication language with their children.

It is notable that unmarried young respondents follow the family trends, since the language of communication with parents was not their choice, it was only the parents' will. According to the survey, the use of speech codes (either Megrelian or Georgian) by unmarried informants according to three areas - *at home, outside, in official organisations/institutions* – reveals the following: Megrelian still remains the main language *at home / in a family*. However, *outside / in the community*, it gives up positions in favour of Georgian. *In official organisations/institutions*, the Georgian is unconditionally used. Otherwise, for a few respondents it is hard to define which language is in preference.

Table 2. Data from the 2023 Research: Language Use in Different Domains; the Responses of Young Single People (24 Respondents)

| | Georgian | Megrelian | Georgian-Megrelian |
|--|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| At home / in a family | 34% | 63% | 3% |
| Outside / in the community | 49% | 39% | 12% |
| In official organisations/institutions | 76% | 12% | 12% |

The responses of young married people show a completely different picture: most respondents prefer the Georgian language when communicating with their children *at home / in a family*; however a considerable number of them use both languages. As for the language of communication, *outside / in the community*, both languages are used almost equally. *In official organisations/institutions* Georgian keeps its position steadily. Answers to all questions reveals the following data:

Table 3. Data from the 2023 Tesearch: Language Use in Different Domains; the Responses of Young Married People (7 Respondents)

| | Georgian | Megrelian | Georgia-Megrelian |
|--|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| At home / in a family | 54% | 7% | 39% |
| Outside / in the community | 43% | 36% | 21% |
| In official organisations/institutions | 71% | 9% | 20% |

The fact that the rate of speaking in the Megrelian “community” is a little higher is caused by the communication with older people and their linguistic influence. However, this will decrease over time in direct proportion to a child's growth, that is, generational change brings an unpleasant perspective to Megrelian. For comparison, we will quote the results of the survey conducted in 2005-2007 where representatives of all age groups were included. In particular, which drew the following picture:

Table 4. Data from the 2005-2007 Research (696 Respondents)

| | Georgian | Megrelian | Georgian-Megrelian |
|--|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| At home / in family | 20% | 56% | 24% |
| Outside / in the community | 25% | 46% | 29% |
| In official organisations/institutions | 82% | 8% | 10% |

It is true that informants of all ages participated in the old survey, and at first glance, it provided a useful indicator regarding the use of Megrelian codes of *at home* and *outside*, although the rate of simultaneous use of both codes was also high, which, in the end, can be considered a useful trend in favour of Georgian. 17 years ago, the predominance of Megrelian *at home / in a family* and *outside / in the community* reflected the natural, regular situation of an unwritten language, although the current survey of young people has already shown a regression in the use of Megrelian in the same areas, *at home* and *in the community*. In the future, this will have a negative impact on the continuity of the language transmission from generation to generation.

In reality, the field work and conversations with the respondents showed that the knowledge of Megrelian is not a priority for young people. In fact, the following was revealed:

- *Young parents communicate with their children in Georgian considering that they will learn Megrelian anyway and they should go to school already prepared, that is, with the knowledge of Georgian: Megr.: muzhams baghana ordali reni do sk'olasha maulari reni, ina ishen diguruansia margalurs.... 'When a child is to be raised up and he/she should go to school, he/she will learn Megrelian anyway', says Ira, 64*
- *The grandparents' generation also communicates with children in Megrelian. 'With difficulties, but they still speak with them in Georgian', revealed by a respondent from Zugdidi.*
- *Megrelian is not prestigious: Megr.: ase irk'ochi kortulo ichiebu do mi re, sopelishi t'et'ia, sovre gutosopua. margalepi kortulo ichiebunani, k'ult'urash donesha apuna eonapili 'Now everybody speaks Georgian and who is (the person speaking Megrelian) this villager, from where he/she appeared. Megrelians consider speaking Georgian a mark of high culture'.*
- *The preference of Georgian was determined by the great desire among children to learn English, which modern technologies and globalization made a necessary requirement. 60-year-old Dodo from Martvili specifies: Megr.: kortuli vauchkun peri baghanepi inglisursha gilula ometsadinebusha. ts'erimidgini si! 'Kids not knowing Georgian go to learn English, imagine!' Obviously, the knowledge of Megrelian, a language without an alphabet, is not useful when learning English.*
- *The psycho-emotional bond with Megrelian is broken: Megr.: margaluro jgarjgai vamosiamovnu 'I don't enjoy speaking Megrelian'. This shows the low prestige of Megrelian. This phrase belongs to a respondent from Martvili. It is also worth noting that the word jgarjgai denoting 'speech' has a negative connotation as it refers to unpleasant, slurred speech.*

This last factor is essential because language is not only a means of communication and thinking, but it also determines the psycho-emotional and cultural context of a person and society. From this standpoint, we interviewed respondents of all ages. The following questions were asked:

- *Which language do you express your happiness in? Anger? Fear? Gratitude? Sympathy? Solidarity?*
- *Which language do you use while cursing, or blessing?*
- *In which language do you confide in someone else?*

Almost all of the elderly respondents named Megrelian as a code expressing their psycho-emotional state. Georgian was mentioned as referring to prayer/blessings, which is natural because Georgian is the language of the Orthodox Church of Georgia. The picture is different concerning young people: both speech codes were named as the language for expressing almost all kinds of emotions, which is a logical consequence of the trend described above.

The diagram contains the following psycho-emotional characteristics: anger, happiness, fear, prayer, gratitude, swearing, solidarity, sympathy, secrets. The representatives of the first age group (50-65) (blue column) use Georgian only during praying; moreover, both Megrelian and Georgian are mixed to express gratitude, happiness and solidarity, but also when praying. Nevertheless, the dominance of Megrelian is clear. As for the second age group (18-30), the language of prayer is only Georgian, as for the other emotions –fear, solidarity, sympathy and secrets – they are expressed both by Georgian and Megrelian. Consequently, according to the diagram below, for the young generation, Georgian is the way of express their emotion.

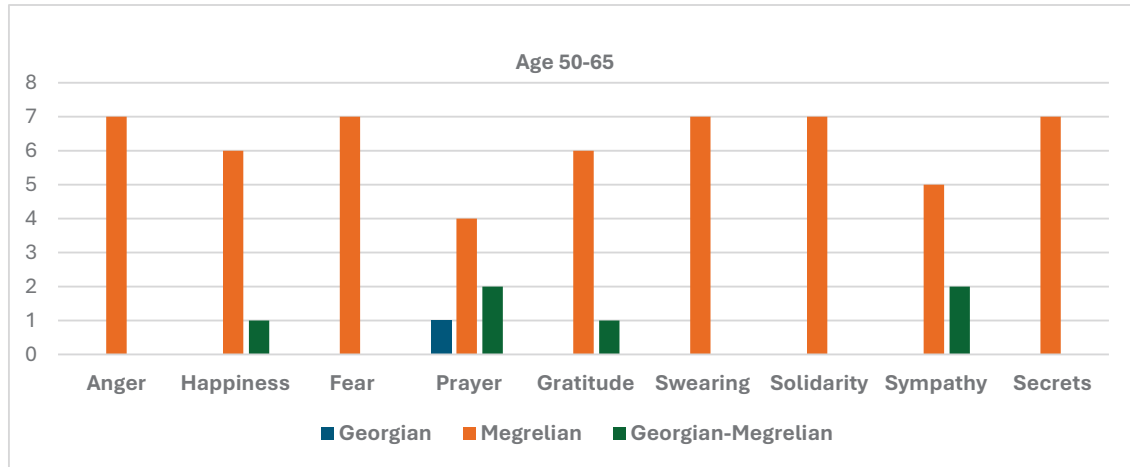


Figure 1. Results of Psycho-Emotional Questionnaire of Age Group 50-65

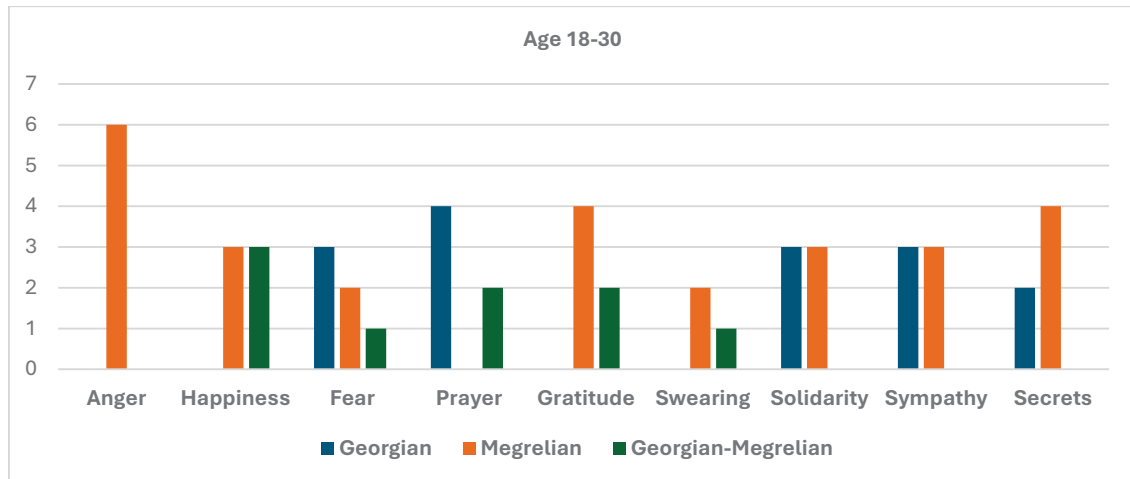


Figure 2. Results of Psycho-Emotional Questionnaire of Age Group 18-30

As a result of the survey, based on the findings of all three blocks (Language fluency; Use of Megrelian (in Samegrelo) in different domains; Basic psycho-emotional foundations of language), it can be stated that Megrelian-Georgian speech codes coexist in all areas of oral communication. The picture was different 20 to 30 years ago, and even more so, in the previous century. For communication at home, and in the community, only Megrelian was used whereas Georgian was employed in public spaces. The surveys regarding the younger generation made it clear that the Georgian language has almost replaced Megrelian at home and in the community. This is already a noteworthy tendency which will hinder the process of the production of Megrelian in future generations. This situation has an objective reason. Generally, under globalization, universal education, and technological development, home languages without an alphabet are increasingly losing prestige. These languages

do not determine the well-being of their speakers, therefore, the emotional-cultural bond towards these languages also decreases.

3.3 Switching and Mixing of Codes

Georgian and Megrelian are agglutinative languages characterized by the same type of declension system of nominal elements, verb conjugation system and the syntactic structure of the sentence. It is believed that when languages share similar grammatical structures, there is less code-switching. Therefore, it is more logical to analyze code-mixing at the level of grammar, although sometimes it can be challenging to differentiate between code-switching and code-mixing.

In the given paper Georgian and Megrelian language codes are discussed in terms of both switching and mixing. In discussing the use of languages above, it became clear that the Megrelian and Georgian speech codes are relevant to the daily lives of their users, whether at home or in their community. That's why our informants moved from one code to another naturally without any special self-control. However, the basis of this switch was still singled out: on the one hand, there is a socio-functional reassignment of codes; on the other hand, code-switching is caused by linguistic markers (tag, word, phrase, morpheme).

3.4 Socio-functional Labeling of Code-switching

According to our observation, the alternation of speech codes is conditioned by structuring the narrative, when the informant includes himself in the narrative. Specifically, if the narration in the third person begins in Megrelian ('Megr' below) and the narrator includes himself/herself (the first person), it continues in Georgian ('Geo' below), see (a). In the same way, if the narrator starts in the first person in Megrelian when the third person is included, he switches to Georgian (b).

(Abbreviations: Geo.=Georgian, Megr.=Megrelian, Megr. Txts.=Megrelian Texts)

- a. *Megr.: sabat'oni do zhashkhas deda do mama kho kimishes, odo / Geo.: egreve, rogorts k'i davinakhavdit, chantebts... movpkhik'et qvelaperi... Megr.: 'When Mum and Dad used to come at weekends, / Geo.: As soon as we saw them, we would gran the bags and all...'*
- b. *Megr.: mitink ts'qari kugmobuk'oni, tisheni kholo ch'k'uashe giniblendi, atesheni, shalva chilachava, shalva kugaigonebunada, / Geo.: gmiri iqo is, mere germaniashi ts'aiqvanes. Megr.: 'if someone had thrown some water over me, I would go mad. So, Shalva Chilachava, have you heard of him? / Geo.: he was a hero, then he was taken to Germany'.*

The grammatical peculiarity of the Georgian and Megrelian languages is the expression of the dichotomy of the first and third persons at the marking level (the first person is marked by the prefix whereas the third person is marked by a suffix, e.g.: *v-ts'er - ts'er-s* (Georgian) / *b-ch'arunk - ch'arun-s* (Megrelian), 'I am writing' – 'he writes'. This dichotomy is also manifested at the social/functional level by the switching of speech codes - from the third person to the first person and the reverse transition is expressed by the alternation of Megrelian and Georgian.

We consider quoting someone else's words as a similar phenomenon. In this case, too, the codes are functionally separated. For example, in sentence (c), the narration of the story begins in Megrelian. Then, while narrating, the speaker (to clarify or evaluate what was said before) provides us with new information in the form of a quote from a well-known folk poem, after which, as unexpected as it may be, he continues to tell the story in Georgian:

- c. *Megr.: supta margal qazaqia, khom koichku, ... aznaurishi ina noghve, ts'odeba ... 'dzghabi meurs ch'ich'eturi, bosh getkhoz gejeturiani', teshe do tesh osursheni re tina ch'arili, / Geo.: im kaltan midis, miseirnobts da k'iziria daets'ia, tavadi. tskhenni daat'ak'a ase uk'analit...Megr.: 'He is a real Megrelian man, you know. He had a rank of Aznauri.. 'Zyabi meurs chicheturi, bosh getkhoz gejeturiani' this is written about him and his wife / Geo.: he goes to that woman, walks around and Kiziria caught him up, the prince. He hit him with the horse'.*

The introduction of a new character (*dzghabi ch'ich'eturi* 'girl from Checheti') also initiates code-switching. In the same way, the code-switches from the Georgian code to the Megrelian after the same citation:

- d. *Geo.: hoda, gelam ar miaktsia vapshe quradgheba, aravin ar miaktsia quradgheba, / Megr.: 'chkim dikha, chkim dikhava', - tkuandes kodzirundes timts'k'uma. Geo.: 'And, Gela did not pay attention at all, nobody did, / Megr.: "my land, my land", - they said when they see'.*

To maintain the authenticity of what others said, the speakers include phrases between the sentences in Megrelian, as in the example below:

- e. *Geo.: me k'varebi gavak'ete da / Megr.: 'okh, ena art jars dunordzghapuenia titsali k'vareps ak'etensia', gogik./ Geo.: damits'una, anu bevr qvels ar ak'etebo.. Geo.: 'I made the torches and / Megr.: 'One army can be fed on the scones you make', Gogi said. / Geo.: He did not like it, so, you do not make much cheese, said he'.*
- f. *Geo.: mara mikhvda akhla rat'omats davudzakhe, / Megr.: 'gachendi, gachendi, gggatsilenkia', mits'u. / Geo.: mashin dzalian k'ult'urulad, khma ar amoughia, ise mimatsila sakhlamde.. Geo.: 'but he realized why I had called him, / Megr.: 'stop, stop. I will see you off', - being polite. / Geo.: he did not say anything then, he saw me home without saying a word'.*

Sometimes the opposite thing happens: A Georgian quotation is inserted in a Megrelian utterance to confirm another's words:

- g. *Megr.: babuk dikhor atakini, tinepsha apu dikha gits'naidira atak. k'onts'o ts'ulaia tkuand, jveshi mezobeli rdu tina, / Geo.: amodena gogrebi gadmokondao makedan. Megr.: 'when grandpa settled there, he bought some land here from them. Kontso Tsulaia said, this, he was an old neighbor, / Geo.: he brought such huge pumpkins from there'.*

The reason for switching codes can be the description of the speaker's occupation, in particular, the switch from Megrelian to Georgian, as if describing the activity in Georgian adds more credibility to the speaker. We think that the habit of functional distribution of languages is being activated subconsciously in official structures, in particular, Georgian is the sole "owner" of this function (see Table 2 and Table 3):

- h. *Megr.: ma mangar dikhas mupshendi... / Geo.: me p'irvelad vmushaobdi ingirshi, / Megr.: mudas laborat'orias, chais t'eknologias, paprik'as. Megr.: 'I was working at a good place, / Geo.: First I was working in Ingiri / Megr.: there, in the laboratory, tea technology, at the factory'.*

It is worth noting that the words specifying the place of work are Georgian terms. However, they are conveyed following the Megrelian model, in the form of a dative case and not with a noun with the preposition *shi*. This issue will be further discussed below.

Several other reasons for code-switching were identified. One of the informants talks about the psychomotorical skills of speech: 'I formulate some thoughts in Georgian faster whereas some – more slowly, and I replace them accordingly':

- i. *Megr.: margaluri var, kortuli amiol / Geo.: maints vlap'arak'ob-metki. maints chak'rulad vak'eteb raghats-raghatsas. / Megr.: mushen da, margaluro kholo vamaragade tish machkaras kortulo ptkuankuni tina do, kortulo vamaragade tish machkaras margaluro ptkuankun tina. Megr.: 'Not Megrelian, sometimes Georgian comes first to my mind / Geo.: I still speak, I say. Still I do something / Megr.: Because I can't speak Megrelian as fast, as Georgian and I can't speak Georgian fast when I say something in Megrelian'.*

3.5 Linguistic Foundation of Code-switching

The alternation of Megrelian and Georgian speech codes is more intense and profound when individual Georgian words or phrases enter connected speech in Megrelian. It can be said that code-mixing is more pronounced than switching. Simultaneous Megrelian-Georgian speech is conditioned, on the one hand, by the lack of command of the Megrelian vocabulary, especially due to the lack of knowledge of the terminological vocabulary, or forgetting words. On the other hand, it is dictated by the desire to speak more clearly for the interlocutor or to convey the essence of the issue accurately. In general, according to the scientific literature, the classification of the forms of code-switching is done according to the place and form of the switching word/phrase/morpheme, as well as syntactic subordination, therefore, the equivalence of code-switching is determined by the regularity of mixing morphosyntactic and lexical elements (Muysken, 1995). Thus, a distinction is made between intrasentential

switching (the inclusion of another code item within one code phrase), extrasentential switching (switching from one code phrase to another code phrase), phoneme-morpheme switching (the use of a phoneme/morpheme of one code by another code, i.e. switching within a word), syntactic switching (using the syntactic mechanism of one code in another code) (Poplack, 1981). We have already touched on some of these forms above, but we will try to more specifically describe the switching mechanisms according to lexical-grammatical features. Terms, speech parts, phrases, Grammatical or phonemic-morphemic mixing are the characteristics which are discussed below.

Terms

In the non-written language, the traditional sphere vocabulary is formed historically, but in the modern era, it cannot keep up with the development of new branches of knowledge and technologies. Therefore, words and phrases denoting new concepts flow abundantly from the literary language. The situation is similar in the case of Megrelian-Georgian diglossia. If the speaker does not know or does not have a word denoting a new meaning or concept while speaking in Megrelian, he finds a corresponding item in Georgian and includes it in his speech in Megrelian. Sometimes such inclusion becomes the reason for complete switching of codes, or remains only as Georgian inserts in connected speech. There can be similar inserted lexical units at the end of the phrase as well as inside it. In the case of employment of the terminological vocabulary, it is poured in the grammatical structure of Megrelian. Due to this, the simple constructions are created, although a large part of the words used are taken from the Georgian terminological lexicon. Examples of such intra-sentential switching are as follows:

- j. *Megr.: muzhans nik'o nik'oladzek kidich'qu potish / Geo.: dap'roekt'eba. / Megr.: tek / Geo.: sark'inigzo magist'raleb / Megr.: gomiones do ... ti adgils akhal / Geo.: dasakhlebak / Megr.: ginirtu do kigioldves / Geo.: kalaki / abasha. Megr.: 'When Niko Nikoladze started / Geo.: designing / Poti, there / Geo.: railways / Megr.: were built and...a new / Geo.: settlement / Megr.: appeared and was developed and was named a / Geo.: city / of Abasha.'* (Megr. txts., 42, 13-16)

Despite the fact that some words have a Georgian counterpart: *sark'inigzo magist'ralebi* 'railways' – *rk'inasharepi*, *dasakhleba* 'settlement' – *okhoru..* depending on the topic of the conversation, the speaker gives the advantage to the Georgian vocabulary:

- k. *Megr.: ti / Geo.: p'eriodeshi / Megr.: baghanepi rdu ardash umos / Geo.: akt'iur taoba: / Megr.: magurapali, / Geo.: moazrovne / Megr.: irpelnero. Megr.: 'Kids of that / Geo.: period / Megr.: were the most / Geo.: active generation: / Megr.: motivated to learn, / Geo.: thinking / Megr.: in all aspect.'* (Megr. txts., 68, 13-14)
- l. *Megr.: ate umoso / Geo.: tavisupal temepish / Megr.: ch'arua miord, / Geo.: ai, sak'ont'roloeps / Megr.: moch'arapuandes... Megr.: 'so I liked writing / Geo.: essays, / Megr.: we were made to write / Geo.: written tests.'* (Megr. txts., 158, 8-9)

Terms may also lead to extrasentential code-switching; for instance, when using at least one term, a Megrelian sentence is followed by at least one Georgian sentence as in the following example:

- m. *Megr.: do mangar / Geo.: khelpas / Megr.: kholo mighud / Geo.: dzaan k'argi mkonda. / Megr.: ase tits'k'umaiani khelpasi / Geo.: as ormotsdaati maneti tsot'a ar iqo. Megr.: 'And I had a good / Geo.: salary / and... / Geo.: very good indeed / Megr.: now the money salary / Geo.: one hundred and fifty roubles was not little'.*

Despite the fact that the speaker tried to continue the conversation in Megrelian *ase tits'k'umaiani* 'Now then', when he mentioned this code word *khelpasi* 'salary' again, he continued the sentence in Georgian.

Parts of speech, phrases

Code-switching does not happen only because of terms. Historically, and even today, the intermingling of parts of speech from language to language is a natural process. We will single out some features switching or mixing Megrelian-Georgian codes.

Code-switching is often facilitated by numerals. In many cases, the respondents convey the numbers in Georgian, which is why switching from Megrelian to Georgian and back can happen in every sentence:

- n. *Megr.: ingirs davamtavri / Geo.: rva k'lasi. sashualo sk'ola / Megr.: guate ingurkaghaldk'ombinat'is / Geo.: atas tskhraas ormotsdatvramet'shi, / Megr.: mushoba kidip'ch'qi ingirish p'irvel / Geo.: sashualo*

sk'olas laborant'o, atas tskhraas samotsdatskhrashi / Megr.: mupshendi / Geo.: atas tskhraas otkhmotsdatsamet' ts'lamde. Megr.: 'I finished / Geo.: eight classes in Ingiri. / Megr.: I finished / Geo.: high school / Megr.: in Ingirkaghaldkombinati in / Geo.: nineteen and fifty- eight / Megr.: I started work / Geo.: as a lab technician in the Ingiri first school in nineteen and sixty-nine / Megr.: and worked until / Geo.: nineteen and ninety three.'

Although many other words in this episode are borrowed from Georgian *sk'ola* 'school', *sashualo* 'high', *laborant'o* 'a lab technician', all are presented in the Megrelian grammatical model, although the numerals are in Georgian, with the corresponding syntax, cf. *Megr.: sk'ola guate ... atas chkhorosh zharnechdovitobruos; Geo.: sk'ola davamtavre ... atas tskhraas ormotsdatvramet'shi. 'I finished school in...nineteen fifty-eight.'*

Surprisingly, similar to the numerals, the names of weekdays may also be substituted. Obviously, these lexical systems are the oldest in all languages, and the phonetic correspondences of the Kartvelian languages have already been established. It seems that this substitution has some social basis (we assume that this basis maybe the occupation and religious motivation), however, this issue requires more in-depth research. Here are some examples:

- o. *Geo.: k'viras / Megr.: kikhvamand tus do / Geo.: orshabatis / Megr.: qvarils. Geo.: 'On Sunday, / Megr.: he blessed by the pig and / Geo.: on Monday / Megr.: by a castrated cockerel.'* (*Megr. txts.*, 154, 5)
- p. *Megr.: tena isheishen ikhvamuk'o k'ochki tutashkha dghas. / Geo.: ts'eli ro gadavidoda, ese igi / Megr.: akhal ts'ana munilendḡni tinash / Geo.: orshabats ar unda gatsdenoda es. Megr.: 'by all means, a man should sacrifice, pray / Geo.: on Monday. When a year passed, / Megr.: when a New Year set in / Geo.: he should not miss on Monday.'* (*Megr. txts.*, 136, 20-23)

The role of unchanging parts of speech in code-switching is also noteworthy. Georgian adverbs are frequently used even though their Megrelian equivalents are available: similar to sentence (q) – the Georgian word *shemdeg* 'then' is matched equivalent to *uk'ul* in Megrelian. Similarly, in (r) the Megrelian equivalent of the word *dzaan* 'very' is *gvalo*. Therefore, it is natural to replace the Megrelian phrase with the Georgian one:

- q. *Geo.: akhali / Megr.: odiares, mdelos, kududgundit mush k'raot'ish tudo, / Geo.: shemdeg qovel ghames / Megr.: ir sers, geurzandit santels. Geo.: 'on fresh grass, / Megr.: on a green field, we sould put [it] under his bed, / Geo.: then every night / Megr.: every night we would light a candle.'*
- r. *Megr.: atena re k'omunist'obashi p'eriodis, / Geo.: adre, dzaan adre, ikneboda, albat, / Megr.: sumonechdovit sumonechdovitokhutiani ts'anepi. Megr.: 'It is the Communist time, / Geo.: It must have been early, very early, / Megr.: in about the seventies-sevety-five.'* (*Field materials, Martvili 2023*)

Interjections can also be the reason for code-switching. These interjections act as a tag as if the speaker inserts an interjection from another code either at the beginning of the sentence (s) or in the middle (t) to strengthen the emotion:

- s. *Geo.: mt'risas, / Megr.: sk'olasha, bebia, mipshini, tiri korduda, sk'olasha ula vamk'odu... Geo.: 'mt'risas, / Megr.: when I went to School, if it snowed, I did not want to go to school...'*
- t. *Geo.: rat'o davanebe tavi, / Megr.: iakha da, / etek kimighes sabech'di mankana. Geo.: 'Why did I quit? / Megr.: iakha da, so, the typewriter was brought there.'*

In one case, the Georgian interjection *mt'risas* (may this happen to our enemy) is followed by a Megrelian phrase whereas in another case, the Georgian phrase is followed by the Megrelian interjection *iakha da* and the sentence continues in Megrelian. A similar switch marker is the conjunction:

- u. *Megr.: ek'lesia mudgaren sasts'aul michkudu do tesh munoprti, / Geo.: rogorts muzeumshi, rts'menit k'i ar shevedi, rogorts muzeumshi / Megr.: do inak saertot vemnort. Megr.: 'I considered Church a miracle and entered there as in the museum, / Geo.: but I did enter it with faith, like a museum / Megr.: and he did not enter at all.'* (*Megr. txts.*, 156, 32-34)

The use of the Georgian conjunction *rogorc* 'as' was followed by a Georgian sentence, and by switching to the Megrelian conjunction *do* 'and', the speaker switches back to Megrelian.

Individual phrases that are used in the Georgian language as clichés for expressing an opinion, or as a kind of stable expressions, which are a linguistic tool for reasoning, are also abundantly confirmed in Megrelian. These phrases also often lead to code-switching, as in the following examples:

- v. *Geo.: mere igzavneboda / Megr.: magalto, shkhvadoshkhva kianepisha... Geo.: 'then it was sent, / Megr.: for instance, to various countries'.*
- w. *Megr.: te ghorontish mimart tetsai / Geo.: p'at'ivis migeba, vedreba... Megr.: 'Respectful attitude to the God / Geo.: To be honored, to beg.' (Megr. Txts., 156, 22)*
- x. *Megr.: brel metsnierep aghiarena ates, mudgaren ren tes. magalto, daushvat do p'lat'onshe kholo mounapili, / Geo.: ts'armogidgenia? p'lat'onidan moqolebuli /, Megr.: mangar, te did metsnierepi. Megr.: 'Many Scientists recognized this, something this one. For example, let's assume and, starting from Plato, / Geo.: can you figure it out? From Plato / Megr.: cool, these great scientists.' (Megr. txts., 146, 22-24)*
- y. *Megr.: mshoblepshe kholo ughudes titsali, mujokho tes, / Geo.: midgoma sts'avlis mimart / Megr.: much'o gurapili irpels mioch'irinuans.. Megr.: 'They had from their parents, what is it called? / Geo.: Attitude to learning / Megr.: that an educated person will achieve anything.' (Megr. txts., 68, 10-11)*

As can be seen from the examples, almost all forms of code-mixing are confirmed in Megrelian-Georgian diglossia. However, we analyse grammatical or phonemic-morpheme mixing separately.

Grammatical or phonemic-morphemic mixing

It is widely known that the borrowing of lexical units does not significantly change the language, the stability of which is determined by the indestructibility and stability of the phonemic-morphemic and syntactic mechanism. Observations on the Georgian language showed that their syntagmatic and paradigmatic patterns create a systemic difference, although this does not mean that these systems did not affect each other. A number of studies in the scientific literature confirm, for example, the existence of "Zanizms", linguistic features of Megrelian-Laz in Georgian, specifically, in the western dialects of the Georgian language (Akhvlediani, 2001; 2004; Bendeliani, 2000; Beridze, N. & Beridze, M. 2005; Kakhidze, 1987; Jghenti, 1965; Jorbenadze, 1995). Logically, the influence of Georgian is also felt in certain grammatical models, for example, the presence of the suffix *-d* in the category of verbs in Megrelian is explained by the influence of Georgian. Naturally, such model influences cannot be the reason for code-switching today. However, it is possible that such cases can be considered certain sociolinguistic facts in a historical perspective, that is, all similar cases are the result of speech code-switching. Systematic research in this respect is now on its way, although individual current facts can still be described.

Our attention was attracted by the words of one of the respondent, the fragment of which are cited below:

- z. *Geo.: zust'ad is magaliti, ti elenes magaliti mshobelta k'rebas moviqvane, rom / Megr.: baghaneps margaluri vauchkudes do sit'qvas vagebulendes do tena / Geo.: ra sach'iroeba iqo megruli enis... zust'ad avukhseni mshobleps, mshobelta k'rebaze mshoblebs. Geo.: 'I brought her Elena's example to the parents' meeting / Megr.: Kids could not speak Megrelian and could not understand the meaning of a word / Geo.: what was the necessity of the Megrelian language, I explained to the parents in detail, at the parents' meeting, to parents.'*

In this example, the facts of syntactic and phonemic-morphemic mixing are noteworthy: on the one hand, in the example *elenes magaliti mshobelta k'rebas moviqvane* 'I brought Elena's example to the parents' meeting', the part of the sentence indicating the adverbial modified *k'rebas* 'to the meeting' is represented by the dative case which is characteristic of Megrelian; in Georgian, this part requires the form with the preposition *-ze*: *mshobelta k'rebas moviqvane* 'I brought it to the meeting of parents', cf. Megr.: *mshobelepish k'rebas mip'oni*. 'I took it to the meeting'. On the other hand, we also have the switching of the plural marker: *avukhseni mshobl-ep-s* 'I explained [it] to my parents', where *-ep* in Megrelian denotes the plural number of nouns, although it is a regular equivalent of the Georgian *-eb* marker. The speaker also says the correct Georgian version: *mshobelta k'rebaze mshobl-eb-s* 'to the parents at the parents' meeting', where both previous grammatical "errors" have been corrected.

In Megrelian, the replacement of the plural marker *-ep* by *-eb* was mentioned earlier in the literature (Ezugbaia 2010, 13). Then it was also suggested that these, perhaps, individual cases are more of a sociolinguistic phenomenon and are the result of the alternation of speech codes. Such facts were rare in the texts recorded in the first part of the 20th century, although this trend became evident in the material obtained at the end of the century.

Our attention was attracted by the following sentence by a respondent:

- aa. *Geo.: ghoris khortsishi / Megr.: khashua veshilebed. Megr.: 'It was not possible / Geo.: to boil pork'.*

In this sentence, the word combination *ghoris khortsishi* 'pork' is a contamination of the morphemic pattern characteristic of both codes. The correct model of agreement in the case form of signifier and signified is as follows: in Megrelian – *ghejishi khortsishi*, in Georgian – *ghoris khortsis*. The replacement of the Megrelian word *gheji* 'pig' with the Georgian equivalent *ghori* resulted in transferring a morpheme, a marker of the genitive case -*is*: *ghor-is* 'pig' in a genitive case. The form *ghor-ish* where -*ish* is also a marker of the possessive case, is unnatural for Megrelian.

4. Conclusion

This research explores the view that Megrelian-Georgian diglossia is a historical legacy, with speakers of these languages comprising a significant segment of Georgia's population. Traditionally, the domains of these linguistic codes were distinctly delineated. The vast majority of Megrelian speakers have historically used Megrelian exclusively for daily oral communication within familial and community settings. Georgian is universally spoken and utilized in public spheres and official institutions.

The role of these languages in self-identification can be interpreted as follows: the Megrelian-Georgian diglossia best reflects the unity of "contextual identity" (I am a Megrelian) and "absolute identity" (therefore, I am a Georgian).

In 2023, during fieldwork conducted in Samegrelo (Western Georgia), sociolinguistic research and text collection were carried out, alongside a study of previously published examples of Megrelian speech. This investigation focused on two primary issues: (a) the level of proficiency in both Georgian and Megrelian codes and the respective contexts of their use; (b) the mechanisms of code-mixing and code-switching in spontaneous speech.

As a result of the surveys and fieldwork conducted during the last twenty years, three trends are visible:

1. unlike the representatives of the older age, young people prefer the Georgian language both at home and in the community. Moreover, Georgian is considered the language of conversation with children in young families.
2. The main reason for this can be divided into two categories: the decline of Megrelian's prestige and, consequently, the disappearance of the psycho-emotional bond; the challenge regarding modern technologies and globalization: the desire to master the language leading to pragmatic prosperity, English, at an early age.
3. Cognitive and psychomotor factors were also identified, which we consider to be the subject of a separate study.

Megrelian and Georgian speech codes are typologically the languages of the same structure, which is why the switching of codes takes place naturally, without the special pressure concerning grammatical models. The research indicates that code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing are integral components of a unified speech process. Nevertheless, it is still feasible to delineate each of these phenomena to some extent. Namely:

1. We propose a real switch between Megrelian and Georgian codes appears when the speaker differentiates the codes based on socio-functional motives. Such a motive can be the separation of the persons participating in the narrative and those who convey the narrative, that is, the alternative use of codes to emphasise the dichotomy 'I' and 'he, she /other'. The code-switching due to quoting what others have said is also of this type.
2. The topic of the speaker's activity/profession is related to socio-functional code-switching as if switching to the Georgian code adds more prestige to the persona and their profession.
3. We believe that grammatical or lexical alternation is not always pure code-switching, it is more code-mixing in the conditions of Megrelian-Georgian diglossia. Vocabulary, mainly terminological vocabulary, takes the leading place in this process. Through the natural process, the terminological pressure of the literary Georgian language or the influx of terms occurs in the unwritten Megrelian language. According to our observation, the extra-sentential and intra-sentential switches presented above do not appear to be a complete switch because the speaker soon "corrects" the code, that is, tries to continue in the Megrelian code. As revealed by the analysis, the words or phrases indicating the "switch" can also be any part of speech.
4. In this paper, instances of "cross-over" or mixing of grammatical markers between the two languages were examined (h), (y), (z), (aa), where the mixing of forms with or without prepositions, case and number markers was revealed. This issue requires the observation of more materials and more targeted

research. The respectful and gentle attitude towards the literary Georgian language forces a Megrelian speaker to control his/her speech when switching to the Georgian code. However, this does not exclude the mixing of grammar structures. However, such facts are found in the speech of the speakers of the older generation whereas the young respondents reveal a tendency for more traditional calque constructions.

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