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HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MEMORY PRESERVED IN IDIOMS BY THE GEORGIANS AND GEORGIAN MUHAJIRS

Abstract: Idioms reflect people's viewpoints, values, and worldviews, illuminating their lifestyles, traditions, beliefs, and shifts within historical and cultural contexts. Preserving historical and cultural memory is essential for activating the implicit meanings found within a language's collection of idiomatic expressions. Beyond their literal meanings, these idioms also convey knowledge through the meanings of their components. The key to understanding this is the lexical part of an idiom, which encapsulates the cultural memory tied to national heritage and significant historical events. This component, rich with implicit knowledge, becomes apparent when a society actively preserves its ethnocultural memory through various expressions, including idioms and proverbs. This paper aims to analyse idioms that preserve cultural memory and serve as quasi-symbols of national culture. It seeks to identify the semantic, lexical, and structural changes these idioms have undergone. The study specifically examines the idiomatic expressions of the Georgian Muhajirs, an ethnic group of Georgians who have lived in Turkey for centuries, focusing on their lexical and semantic similarities and differences. The research findings confirm that some of these expressions have been modified lexically, although not all have changed semantically. Many expressions remain similar to those in modern Georgian. While their structure and components are identical, their semantic and stylistic nuances differ. The study's goals and objectives shape the methodological foundation of this linguacultural research, which is grounded

in a comparative analysis of idioms and a component analysis at both the semantic and lexical levels.

Keywords: *Historical and cultural memory, idioms, comparative analysis, semantics, modification, Muhajirs.*

Introduction

This paper analyses idioms that serve as quasi-symbols of national culture and preserve historical and cultural memory. We explore the semantic, lexical, and structural changes these idioms have undergone over time. Our investigation focuses on the similarities and differences in idiomatic expressions among contemporary Georgians and Muhajirs—ethnic Georgians who have lived in Turkey for centuries. We also examine Georgian idioms that reflect these peoples' historical events and traditions.

Coane (2014) states that knowledge of idioms is stored in semantic memory, which encompasses factual and conceptual understanding and our mental lexicon. We suggest that semantic memory also includes cultural and historical knowledge. Memory is a complex cognitive process that connects human activities across time, encompassing the past, present, and future. As Assmann (2008:p.109) notes, 'Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory.' Memory links cognitive processes among individuals and throughout humanity. This complexity is evident in religion, philosophy, literature, and art. As a cognitive ability, memory allows humans to create and maintain society. It enables us to retain and recall information about our history and traditions helping us remember past events, thoughts, feelings, concepts, and their interconnections.

Assmann (2008:p.109) emphasises that memory plays a crucial role in forming identity, both on personal and collective levels, with identity being intrinsically linked to time. Romanova (2019) builds on this idea by describing various categories of memory, including individual, social, collective, historical, communicative, "hot" and "cold" memory, as well as place memory, all of which are interconnected with cultural memory.

Culture encompasses the history of language and nations, shaping our conceptual framework. Omiadze (2006:p.8) emphasises that language memory is more enduring than other forms of memory, as it embodies cultural memory and the knowledge essential for cultural continuity. Zykova (2013:p.425) defines culture as collective intellect and collective memory, functioning as a supra-individual mechanism for

preserving and transmitting specific messages or information and generating new ones. We concur with Meckien's (2013) view that cultural memory is dynamic:

‘At first glance, memory seems inert, stuck in the past—a recollection of something that has occurred and is frozen in time. However, a closer examination reveals that memory is dynamic; it connects three temporal dimensions: it is evoked in the present, it refers to the past, and it always anticipates the future.’ (Internet)

In this paper, "cultural memory" refers to the collection of various traditions, values, morals, habits, rituals, and social activities expressed through folklore, phraseology, songs, and even dances. On the other hand, "historical memory" encompasses the historical events preserved in language, particularly in idioms.

In the late 20th century, the concept of cultural memory emerged, encompassing various forms of culture, such as material objects, buildings, clothing, and household items. Linguistic markers serve as universal symbols of cultural memory, capturing the events and phenomena that shape a nation's cultural life through various mediums such as texts, folklore, art, and journalism. Phraseologies and proverbs, as distinct linguistic units, recount and conserve human history and cultural evolution. Each language, along with its unique ethnocultural idioms, reflects the culture of its speakers.

‘Proceeding from the notion of "cultural memory" we set out to show that the phraseological meaning is a complex semantic-conceptual formation that is capable of reflecting different historical modes of world-cognition and, therefore, of retaining the corresponding types of cultural information (such as archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical, scientific). The storage of cultural information in phraseologies relies on the conceptual structures that inform their meanings.’ (Zykova, 2013:p.390)

Historical memory is often viewed as a component of individual and collective memory, representing our recollection of the past and its symbolic meanings. In contrast, cultural memory is inherently social and collective, acting as a mechanism for preserving and transmitting important experiences without relying on genetic inheritance. It helps to maintain a connection to the past in the present, ensuring the continuity of historical processes.

Ragozina views cultural memory as an objective mechanism for reproducing the socio-cultural whole. On the other hand, historical memory is a mediated and politically engaged reflection of social reality, influenced by ideology (Ragozina, 2017:p.12). Historical memory is vital for conveying experiences and information

about the past, serving as a key component of an individual's self-identity within society. In the modern era, the revival of shared images of historical events has a particular impact on forming social groups. These images are embedded in collective memory through cultural stereotypes, phrases, symbols, and myths and serve as interpretive frameworks that help individuals and social groups understand specific situations and make sense of the world.

Historical memory is a complex sociocultural phenomenon involving our understanding of historical events and experiences, whether real or imagined. It can be influenced by manipulations of public consciousness for political purposes. In addition to being socially specific, this memory is also prone to change over time. The evolving nature of historical memory creates an idealised reality that can hold as much meaning and authenticity as actual experiences. Phraseology, a part of the vocabulary system of a particular national language, plays a key role in this interpretation. It acts as an accumulator, keeper, transmitter, and manifestation of historical memory. Within phraseological units, historical memory consists of three interrelated levels: the etymological memory of the components of these units, the memory of the situational prototypes, and the memory of the contexts in which these phraseological units are used (Skorobogatova, 2013).

Research Methodology

Two criteria were used to choose the corpus of idioms: 1) whether or not they conveyed historical facts, and 2) whether or not they reflected national traditions and customs. The Muhajirs' speech contained idioms that were lifted from the writings of scientists Tsetskhladze (2018), Chokharadze (2016), and Paghava (2020). Furthermore, one of the authors, Maia Kikvadze, visited Turkey three times to study the speech of the Muhajirs. The above authors published specific Georgian words, poetry, proverbs, and customs preserved by the Georgian Muhajirs. We examined these publications and chose from them the phraseological units representative of their national customs. They amounted to no more than sixty. Out of these, we selected 30 expressions that effectively conveyed cultural values. In addition, we analysed 7,000 Georgian idioms listed in, utilising Sakhokia's seminal work, "Georgian Figurative Expressions" (1979), Oniani's "Georgian Idioms" (1966), Tsetskhladze's "Aspects of the Study of Phraseology" (2018), and an online idiom resource from Tbilisi State University. The idioms were categorised based on their semantics as well as reflecting the cultural and historical memory reflected in them. From the analysed corpus, we identified 45 idioms imbued with cultural information

and 35 that conveyed factual historical data. We selected thirty idioms out of seventy that effectively conveyed cultural and historical memory. These idioms illustrate cultural aspects and highlight pivotal moments in Georgian history.

The methodological foundation of this linguacultural research is shaped by its goals and objectives, which focus on a comparative analysis of idioms and a component analysis at both the semantic and lexical levels. This approach aims to uncover cultural and historical memories. The methods employed include the semantic and component analysis of the idioms for revealing cultural connotations and a linguacultural perspective on idiom study. Linguacultural research is a complex, interdisciplinary field that explores the relationship and interaction between language and culture. This process involves understanding and reflecting on cultural material and spiritual aspects within a national language. Zykova (2013:p.390) states that the linguacultural approach to phraseology examines the various ways in which language and culture interact to create idioms that serve as a means of representing and passing down cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. Finding the national-cultural component and cultural connotations of the meaning that best apply to two or more component signs—for instance, phraseological units—is another application of the component analysis method. Connotation is a category that connects the idiom to the realm of national culture. In cultural categories, it is an interpretation of a denotative or figuratively motivated aspect of meaning. This refers to interpreting the denotative or figuratively motivated aspects of meaning within cultural contexts.

Another important method is a historical-comparative analysis of idioms. This approach seeks to reconstruct the genetic relationships between the Georgian language of the Muhajirs and modern Georgian, highlighting both similarities and differences in a synchronous context. Additionally, sociolinguistic research investigates the social data and interplay between language and identity that influence semantic and lexical changes observed in Georgian idioms.

Results. Muhajir-Georgians

Historical and cultural memory is well-preserved in the idioms of the Georgian expatriate, Muhajirs. In 1859, Tsarist Russia began forcibly expelling disobedient Caucasian mountaineers from their homeland. Inhabitants of the Caucasus—including Chechens, Dagestanis, Ossetians, Ubikhs, Abkhaz, and Karachais—along with other residents of Georgia, such as the Laz, Muslim Georgians (Adjarians), and Abkhazians, were sent to Turkey. This process is known as the Muhajir exodus.

According to Chokharadze (2016:p.12), this migration persisted into the 20th century, from 1878 to 1921, including the First World War. For the Georgian Muhajirs, this was a profound national tragedy, as they faced the risk of physical destruction. Despite being cut off from their homeland, Georgian Muslims preserved their native culture and language across generations, passing down their beliefs and traditions.

In Turkey's large cities and villages along the Black Sea and Marmara regions, descendants of the Georgian Muhajirs are often referred to as *Chveneburebi* (meaning "people of our origin") (Chokharadze, 2016:p.31). Studying their language, culture, traditions, and lifestyle requires substantial research. Many questions arise in this context: How do Muhajir Georgians live? What did they carry from their homeland, and what did they preserve? What is their cultural memory? Why do their descendants continue to preserve fragments of history and culture?

The Georgian Muhajirs retained the ethnonym "Georgians" as a marker of their ethnic identity. One of the regions they settled in, Tao, was ethnically diverse, and Georgian communities traditionally referred to themselves as "Gurjis." Many stories about their settlement experiences have been preserved in narratives. However, some Georgians lost their linguistic and cultural identity, assimilating into Turkish society linguistically and in terms of consciousness (Paghava et al., 2020:p.240). Much of their historical memory is reflected in traditions, folk texts, key phrases, sayings, and idioms.

The Muhajirs carried distinctive aspects of their culture and customs from their Georgian villages. They have preserved cultural memories, sayings, and idioms that are important relics of their history. Georgian Muhajirs put forth a lot of effort to preserve their native language, culture, and customs despite challenging circumstances. It is also important to recognise the language, culture, traditions, and beliefs of the local Turkish people with whom they integrated. Analysing language synchronically and diachronically is essential, as is comprehending the connection between culture and language. Since idioms are pieces of historical and cultural memory, this method is crucial for studying them. The research has confirmed that the idioms used by Georgian Muhajirs are derived from the Georgian language, although they have been modified over the centuries. These idioms reflect the people's identities, preserve their memories, and help continue interrupted narratives. It is fascinating to observe how the descendants of Muhajirs have managed to maintain and adapt this complex cultural dialogue over time. Studying their cultural heritage is crucial today, as this unique treasure is slowly disappearing.

Many universal elements can be found in preserved Turkish and Georgian idioms. Although their structures and components are similar, the semantic and stylistic nuances differ. It is not surprising that Muhajir Georgians incorporated local vocabulary. For instance, the Georgian idiom "გულის ცხიმის დადნობა" (*gulis tskhimis dadnoba*)-means "to gloat" or "to be smug," akin to the English expression "to blow one's own trumpet," and carries a positive connotation. In contrast, the Turkish equivalent "içinin yağı erir" has a negative connotation, meaning "to grieve." Additionally, in the Georgian idiom "გულზე იაღები დაადინა," the word "ცხიმი (tskhimi)" was replaced by the Turkish word "yağ," while still maintaining its positive connotation.

Many idioms in the language of Georgian Muhajirs retain cultural significance, reflecting Georgian traditions, customs, and beliefs that were assimilated into Turkish culture. Tsetskhladze (2018:p.218) emphasises that these idioms offer valuable insights for studying the language of Georgian Muhajirs and their historical dialects from a linguacultural perspective. The language that transmits the meaning of speech is a crucial component of Georgian phraseology. The primary marker of Georgian Muhajir's identity is proficiency in the Georgian language. Locals assess Gurjoba (Georgianness) based on their understanding of Georgian; however, the language is gradually declining in certain regions of Turkey. While younger generations tend to use Turkish expressions, older generations still retain traditional Georgian idioms. For example, the phrase "მომლილად ყოფნა (*moshlilad kofna*)" means "being cranky" or "forgetting/not knowing Georgian." They might say, "შენ მომლილხარ, კად გურჯი არ ხარ!" ("You are cranky, you are not a good Georgian!") (Paghava, 2021:p.232). Similar idioms include "გარეცხილი გურჯი (*garetskhili gurji*)" and "დაწურული ქართველი (*datsuruli kartveli*)" (Chelebi, 2018:p.128).

Many idioms are connected to speech, language, and words. A well-known idiom, "მომლილი წისქვილი (*moshlili tsiskvili*)- means "to talk incessantly"; it appears in phrases like "ლაპარაკობს/არახუნებს მომლილ წისქვილსავით" ("He speaks like a broken mill"). The metaphorical nature of Georgian phraseology has been preserved by Georgian Muhajirs, as seen in terms like "რახუნი, რახარუხი (*rakhuni, rakha-rukhi*)," means- "meaningless talk." Here, endless chatter is compared to a broken mill that, once started, cannot stop (Sakhokia, 1979:p.5).

In the Muhajirs' dialect, other expressions convey a similar meaning of pointless talk: "ლაპარიკში კატა დაამტრია (*laparikshi kata daamtria*)", "ჯიხრიკი დაამტრია (*jikhriki daamtria*," "რძემ გადმეიარა (*rzem gadmeiara*)," and "წინუკან ლაპარიკობს (*tsin-ukan laparikobs*)."

Georgian Muhajirs deeply love their language, proudly identifying as Georgian by blood. This love is expressed in the phrase "გემო მუუხტე (*gemo muukhte*)-lit. means "to understand the language." They might say, "ასწავლოს ბადიშს ქართული, რომ ქართველობას გემო მუუხტეს" ("To teach the son Georgian means to feel Georgian"). When a person suddenly forgets a Georgian word or phrase, they might say, "ენაზე/ენის წვერზე მადგას," it means "something is on the tip of the tongue," which is common in many Georgian dialects.

The idiom "ვირზე შეჯდა" (*virze shejda*) - means "to be stubborn." A Georgian fable illustrates this concept through the stubbornness of a donkey (ვირი [*vir*]), which is ironically associated with its "wisdom." In the fable, the donkey remembers a road that was muddy in the past and refuses to move forward, even though the road is now clear. Among Georgian Muhajirs, the understanding of stubbornness has slight variations: the donkey is substituted with a mule, and the Georgian term "ჯიუტი" (*jiuti*) is replaced with the Turkish word "*inatiani*," derived from "*inat*," which also means "stubborn."

Some idioms used by Turkish Georgians can also be found in modern Georgian. As Chelebi (2018) notes, a significant number of expressions in the speech of Duzje Georgians are common in literary Georgian and other dialects. Examples include: "შოა თავში (*moa tavshi* - it will occur to me)," "სულის შეწუხება (*sulis shetsukheba* - to disturb)," "სულს ვიგდებ (*suls vigdeb* - to relax)," "სული გამეკცა (*suli gameqca* - I couldn't tolerate)," "ბავვი ილახს იქნება (*bagvi ilakhs ikneba* - sometimes the child will get ill)," "სიტყვას ქარ წაიღებს (*sitkvas kar tsaighebs* - wind will blow away the words)," "გულ გამიტეხა (*gul gamitekha* - he broke my heart)," "სული დამიწვა (*suli damitsva* - I feel sorry)," "გონება დავპანტე (*goneba davpante* - I am absent-minded)," "ენა წამართვა (*ena tsamertva* - I grew dumb)," and "თავი ბრუნავს (*tavi brunavs* - feeling dizzy)" (Chelebi, 2018:pp.127-128).

Discussion. Cultural and Historical Memory Preserved in Modern Georgian Language

In addition to many Georgian phrases, the idioms of the Georgian Muhajir are a storehouse of historical events, customs, values, and beliefs. They highlight how language captures cultural and historical memory. The idioms retained in the modern Georgian language that represent the people's historical memory are listed below.

- The expression "ჩაილურის წყალი დალია" (*čailuris tskali dalia* – verbatim: *To drink Chailuri water*) means "he died" or "he disappeared forever." This phrase reflects the tragic history of Georgians who were kidnapped and taken across the Chailuri River, a natural border between Georgia and Dagestan. If the abductors managed to cross to the other bank, it was believed that there was no hope of rescue, giving rise to this mournful saying.
- "კაკას ხიდის გავლა" (*kakas khidis gavla* – verbatim *Cross the Kaka Bridge*) means "inevitable loss or death". It originates from the ancient caravan route in South Georgia, where captives taken across the Kaka Bridge, near a fortress on the Khanistskali River, were considered beyond hope of rescue. The bridge symbolised a point of no return, as captives were transported through western Georgia to the Ottomans via the Black Sea.
- "ბეწვის ხიდზე გავლა" (*betsvis khidze gavla* – "Cross a fur bridge"): This phrase symbolises "being in a dangerous situation." According to a folk belief, before entering heaven or hell, souls must cross a bridge made of fur over a boiling sea. If a person has sinned, the bridge will break, causing them to fall into the boiling pit below. However, if they are virtuous, they will safely cross the bridge. As a result, the expression "ბეწვის ხიდზე გავლა" has come to represent overcoming a difficult or perilous challenge.
- "მარილზე გავიდა" (*marilze gavida* – "He left for salt") means "to die." Due to the historical scarcity of salt in Georgia, people risked their lives to travel to Turkey, specifically to the Agzevan/Kalizman region, to obtain it. Many did not return, making this journey synonymous with the dangers and sacrifices involved.
- The idiom "ჯანდაბაში წასულხარ" (*jandabashi tsasulkhar* – "Go to Jandaba"), which means "Go to hell," has historical significance. According to Mikaberidze and Sharashenidze (1996), Georgia was known as Gurjistan, or the "Country of Warriors," in Arabic-speaking countries. For fifty years, Georgian Mameluks ruled areas in Afghanistan and India. During this time, they renamed a remote and dangerous town, Jehanabad, to "Jandaba," which means "hell" in Arabic. As a result, "Go to Jandaba" became a metaphor for undertaking a dangerous or hopeless adventure.
- The Georgian idiom "ყურებზე ხახვი არ დამაჭრა" (*kurebze khakhvi ar damačra* – "you cannot cut onions on my ears") preserves both cultural and historical memory. Its meaning, "you can't harm me," originates from

a historical practice in which captors would cut captives' ears to signify enslavement, placing onions on the wound to stop the bleeding. Similarly, the idiom "ყურმოჭრილი მონა" (*qurmoçrili mona* – "the slave with a cut ear") evokes the same tradition, describing a person who is subservient to another.

- Some idioms preserve significant cultural traditions. One example is "თავზე ნაცრის დაყრა" (*Tavze natsris dayra* – "to throw ashes on the head") means "to feel or express grief or sorrow;" "to mourn the death of someone." This tradition dates back to ancient Egyptian funerary customs. When a deceased pharaoh was transported along the Nile to the City of the Dead, Egyptians would gather along the riverbanks in mourning, throwing ashes on their heads, rubbing their cheeks, and washing their hands to express sorrow. This tradition of throwing ashes to signify grief was also observed in western Georgia, where it evolved into a custom in Samegrelo: upon a husband's death, his wife would lie at the edge of the fireplace and cover her head in ashes as a sign of mourning. To "cast ashes on one's head" became associated with "deep self-humiliation" and was considered highly shameful. Furthermore, this idiom reflects early medicinal practices involving ash as a natural remedy for headaches due to its perceived beneficial properties. Similar semantics are found in the idiom "თავზე ბალბის დადება" (*tavze balbis dadeba* – "put mallow on somebody's forehead") that means "to calm someone down." In folk medicine, boiled mallow was commonly used to treat headaches and wounds.
- Another idiom, "ხახვივით შერჩა" (*khakhvivit sherça*-"onion was not returned"), which means "to escape responsibility," is based on an old belief that returning a borrowed onion would bring bad luck because onions were considered to be connected to sadness and bitterness. Due to this belief, those who borrowed onions were exempt from the obligation to return them, thus escaping the debt.
- Some Georgian idioms reflect traditions from Georgia's pagan past. An example is "ცეცხლი მოასვენე" (*tsetskhli moasvene* – "let the fire rest" or "to put out the fire"). This expression retains a vestige of the ancient fire-worship rituals. Rather than telling someone to "blow out the fire," people would say "Let the fire rest" when extinguishing it before bed, as touching the fire was forbidden (Sakhokia, 1979). Similarly, the idiom "ჩემმა მზემ" (*çemma*

mzem – “my sun”) is a distinct oath that originated during the period when the sun was worshipped as a primary deity.

- The idiom “შენს პირს შაქარი” (*shens pirs shikari* – “sugar to your mouth”) is used to wish that another’s words “come true.” This expression stems from an old custom where a piece of sugar was given to a messenger who delivered good news, “sweetening” their mouth—a practice that began when sugar was rare and highly valued.
- The idiom “ყურით მოთრეული ამბავი” (*kurit motreuli ambavi* – “to spin something out of thin air”) has roots in ancient Roman practices. In Roman courts, if a witness failed to appear, he would be forcibly brought before the judge by the ear, often compelled to testify in favour of the interested party. This historical context underpins the idiom’s meaning today.
- The idiom “განტევების ვაცი” (*gantevabis vatsi* – “a scapegoat; a whipping boy”) has multiple suggested origins. According to one account, it stems from an old Jewish tradition where a ram was sacrificed or sent into the wilderness to represent the community’s sins..
- The idiom “დაუკრეფავში გადასვლა” (*daukrefavshi gadasvla* – “to be unceremonious”) originates from a story involving a vineyard. According to the legend, a traveler sought permission from a farmer to harvest grapes from his vineyard. Despite the farmer’s consent, the traveler began picking grapes carelessly after a few clusters. “Don’t cross the boundary; don’t go into the unharvested vines!” the farmer yelled.
- In Georgian culture, facial hair, particularly the mustache, symbolised masculinity, honour, and integrity. In earlier times, no Georgian man would voluntarily shave his mustache, as doing so was reserved as a punishment for serious misconduct. The mustache became a sign of personal honour, and in the absence of witnesses, men would swear by their mustache, saying, “ეს ულვაში მომპარსეთ, თუ...” (“shave my mustache, if...”) to affirm their honesty. Although rare today, this idiom once served as a powerful oath.
- Another Georgian idiom, “ვირზე უკულმა შესმა” (*virze ukughma shesma* – “to humiliate or abase someone”), refers to a custom of public humiliation. When someone committed a disgraceful act, they were made to ride backward on a donkey through the village while villagers threw mud at them. This practice led to the idiom “თავზე ლაფის დასხმა” (*tavze lapis daskhma* – “to throw mud at someone’s head”) to signify bringing shame.

Tengiz Abuladze, an outstanding Georgian filmmaker, famously depicted this tradition in his film "The Wishing Tree."

- In ancient Georgia, another form of public punishment involved smearing an offender's face with soot or pitch. Criminals—often thieves or individuals accused of dishonour—would have their faces blackened and be paraded through the village. This practice gave rise to the idiom "პირშავი" (*pirshavi* – "guilty"), meaning to bear shame or guilt.
- The Georgian idiom "უკანასკნელ დღეში ყოფნა" (*ukanasknel dgheshi kofna* – "to breathe one's last") conveys the idea of being on the brink of death or severely ill. The term "*ukanaskneli*" (*last*) derives from the ancient Georgian concept of "*skneli*," which denoted one of four parts of the universe: "*zeskneli*" (*upper sphere*), "*tsinaskneli*" (*front sphere*), "*ukanaskneli*" (*back sphere*), and "*kveskneli*" (*under sphere*). This cultural framework—where gods inhabited the upper sphere, humans, animals, and plants inhabited the middle sphere, and the deceased inhabited the lower sphere—is preserved by the terms *zeca*(heaven), *ukanaskneli*(last), and *qveskneli*(the underworld). These spheres were also represented by three colours: white, red, and black (Akhmeteli et al., 2001:p.9).
- *Georgians historically believed that each person's fate was predetermined in heaven. The idiom "ბედნიერ ვარსკვლავზე დაბადებული" (bednier varskvlavze dabadebuli – "born under a lucky star") reflects this belief, suggesting that a fortunate life is guided by a favourable star that appears at birth. Conversely, if someone is unhappy, it is said that they were born under an "unfortunate star."*
- Many Georgian words, including those in idioms, were borrowed from other languages. For example, the word "*ainun*" in the idiom "აინუნში მოხვლა" (*ainunshi mosvla* – "to take notice, to like") was borrowed from Arabic, where "*ainun*" means "*eye*." This borrowing is attributed to the frequent Arab invasions of Georgia, which influenced the language.
- The idiom "ფეხქვეშ ფიანდაზად გაგება" (*fekhkvesh fiandazad gageba* – "to curry favour") comes from the old Georgian custom of laying down a valuable rug, or "*fiandaz*," for noblemen and kings to walk on. This rug, also used at wedding ceremonies, was a Persian influence on Georgian culture (Guchua, 2017:p.44).
- The Turkish word *alay*, meaning "group," is the basis of the idiom "ალაიაში გატარება" (*alayashi gatareba* – "public defamation"). This idiom recalls

the practice of passing an offender through two lines of people who struck him with sticks or whips.

- The idiom "ზოგი ალთას, ზოგი ბალთას" (*zogi altas, zogi baltas* – "all at sixes and sevens") holds cultural significance, reflecting on the ancient Albanians, who lived in the Southern Caucasus and assimilated into surrounding cultures. According to Georgian linguist Akaki Shanidze, "alt" was the first letter of the Albanian alphabet, while "balt" was the second, symbolising two contrasting ideas.
- *An old Georgian coin, the marchili, was worth three abaz of silver. When expressing great value, Georgians would say, "I can't give you that for a thousand kisa," leading to the idiom "ათასი კისა მარჩილი" (atasi kisa marchili – "great wealth").*
- The Georgian language includes many borrowed words that do not exist independently but are preserved in idioms, a phenomenon known as "necrotic lexemes" (Tsetskhladze, 2018, p. 154). Examples include the Turkish word yanlış ("mistake") in the idiom "იაღლიშად მოსვლა" (*iaghlishad mosvla* – "to make a mistake"), the Arabic word *tadar* ("prepare") in "თადარიგის დაჭერა" (*tadarigis dachera* – "to prepare beforehand"), and the Arabic *akhtar* ("experienced") in "იხტიბარს არ იტებს" (*ikhtribars ar itekhs* – "he does not lose hope").
- Idioms used in everyday communication often preserve habits that may now be outdated, yet these expressions remain widely used. For instance, the Georgian idiom "უკანასკნელი ლურსმანი ჩააჭედდა" (*ukanaskneli lursmani caacheda* – "the final nail in the coffin") means "to finish doing something." This phrase, borrowed from the English idiom "the final nail in the coffin," originates from the practice of nailing down wooden coffins before burial, with the last nail symbolising the finality of the process. Since the 18th century, this English idiom has conveyed an action or event that leads to the inevitable end or failure of something or someone.

Idioms differ so widely that it can be difficult to comprehend and assess them completely. Given the many unresolved or controversial issues in phraseology, this field continues to generate significant interest within linguacultural studies.

Conclusion

The idioms and phraseological expressions of Georgian Muhajirs encapsulate their historical and cultural memory, serving as vivid testimonies to their resilience, identity, and linguistic creativity. Despite the challenges of displacement during the 19th and early 20th centuries, Georgian Muhajirs preserved their native traditions and language while being integrated into a new cultural environment. Their idiomatic expressions, often infused with Georgian and Turkish linguistic elements, highlight a dynamic interplay of cultural adaptation and heritage preservation.

The research underscores the enduring significance of idioms as carriers of collective memory and identity. Despite assimilation pressures, Georgian Muhajirs retained their ethnonym, linguistic markers, and cultural practices as symbols of their origin. The study shows how these idioms represent the community's values, beliefs, experiences, and linguistic continuity. For instance, the metaphorical richness in expressions like "მომლოი წისქვილი" (moshlili tsiskvili - endless chatter) and adaptations such as "გემო მუუხტე" (gemo muukhte - understanding one's Georgian identity) illustrate the community's efforts to preserve and reinterpret their heritage.

Furthermore, integrating Turkish vocabulary into Georgian idiomatic expressions reveals a complex cultural dialogue, demonstrating how language evolves under sociocultural influences while retaining its fundamental identity. This phenomenon is evident in expressions like "გულის ცხიმის დადნობა" (gulis tskhimis dadnoba) and its Turkish counterpart გულზე იალის დადნობა, which differ in connotations but reflect shared human experiences.

The findings affirm the importance of idioms as a lens for examining historical memory and cultural adaptation. Studying these expressions provides valuable insights into the linguistic and cultural identity of Georgian Muhajirs and their ability to bridge two worlds while maintaining a sense of belonging to their roots. As the linguistic legacy of Muhajirs faces a gradual decline, documenting and analysing their idioms becomes a crucial endeavour to preserve this unique cultural heritage for future generations.

The analysis of contemporary Georgian idioms reveals a rich and intricate tapestry of cultural and historical memory preserved within the language. This study explored how idioms encapsulate ethnocultural concepts, reflect historical consciousness, and serve as linguistic markers of a nation's identity and values. By examining Georgian idioms across various themes, including historical events, cultural traditions, and interactions with other languages, we uncovered profound insights into the Georgian worldview and its evolution over time.

First, idioms rooted in historical events, such as ჩაილურის წყალი დალია (*To drink Chailuri water*) and კაკას ხიდის გავლა (*To cross Kaka's bridge*), demonstrate the deep connection between language and collective memory. These expressions encapsulate tragic moments from Georgia's past, offering linguistic evidence of the nation's struggles and resilience. By preserving these idioms, Georgians maintain an active link to their historical narrative, underscoring the importance of remembrance in national identity.

Second, idioms reflecting cultural traditions, such as თავზე ნაცრის დაყრა (*To throw ashes on one's head*) and ბეწვის ხიდზე გავლა (*Crossing a fur bridge*), highlight the role of language in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. These idioms not only provide a window into the beliefs and practices of the past but also act as carriers of moral lessons and social norms, linking contemporary usage to ancient customs.

Third, the study sheds light on the influence of foreign languages on Georgian idioms. Borrowed lexemes like აინუნში მოსვლა (*To catch the fancy*) from Arabic and ფეხქვეშ ფიანდაზად გაგება (*To ingratiate with somebody*) from Persian reflect periods of cultural exchange, trade, and foreign domination. These idioms serve as linguistic artifacts, narrating stories of external influences that have been integrated and adapted into the Georgian lexicon.

Fourth, the findings emphasize the dual role of idioms as both linguistic and cultural phenomena. They serve as a repository of historical events, collective experiences, and cultural practices while simultaneously reflecting the linguistic creativity and adaptability of the Georgian people. This duality reinforces the idea that idioms are more than mere figures of speech—they are a medium through which a nation articulates its collective identity and transmits its heritage across generations.

Finally, the study highlights the importance of preserving idiomatic expressions in linguistic research. By documenting and analysing idioms, we gain a better understanding of a language and contribute to the preservation of cultural and historical memory. This is particularly significant in an increasingly globalised world, where local languages and their unique expressions risk being overshadowed by dominant linguistic trends.

In conclusion, Georgian idioms exemplify the intricate interplay between language, culture, and history. They encapsulate the unique ethnocultural identity of the Georgian people, reflect the socio-historical context in which they evolved, and serve as a testament to the enduring power of language as a vessel for cultural and historical preservation. Further research into idioms from other linguistic communities could offer valuable comparative insights and enrich our understanding of the universal and particular aspects of language as a cultural artifact.

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ИСТОРИЈСКО И КУЛТУРНО ПАМЋЕЊЕ САЧУВАНО У ИДИОМИМА ГРУЗИЈАЦА И ГРУЗИЈСКИХ МУХАЦИРА

Резиме

Идиоми одражавају ставове, вредности и погледе на свет људи, осветљавајући њихове стилове живота, традиције, веровања и промене унутар историјског и културног контекста. Очување историјског и културног памћења од суштинског је значаја за активирање имплицитних значења која се налазе у оквиру језичке збирке идиоматских израза. Осим дословног значења, ови идиоми такође преносе знање кроз значења својих компоненти. Кључ за разумевање јесте лексички део идиома који обухвата културно памћење везано за национално наслеђе и значајне историјске догађаје. Ова компонента, богата имплицитним знањем, постаје очигледна када друштво активно чува своје етнокултурно памћење кроз различите изразе, укључујући идиоме и пословице. Овај рад има за циљ анализу идиома који чувају културну меморију и

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by the Georgians and Georgian Mubajirs*

служе као квазисимболи националне културе. Настоји да идентификује семантичке, лексичке и структурне промене којима су ови идиоми прошли. Студија посебно испитује идиоматске изразе грузијских мухацира, етничке групе Грузијаца који су вековима живели у Турској, фокусирајући се на њихове лексичке и семантичке сличности и разлике. Резултати истраживања потврђују да су неки од ових израза лексички модификовани, иако нису сви семантички измењени. Многи изрази остају слични онима у савременом грузијском. Иако су им структура и компоненте идентичне, њихове семантичке и стилске нијансе се разликују. Циљеви и задаци студије обликују методолошку основу овог лингвокултуролошког истраживања. Заснован је на компаративној анализи идиома и анализи компоненти како на семантичком тако и на лексичком нивоу.

► *Кључне речи:* историјско и културно памћење, идиоми, компаративна анализа, семантика, модификација, мухацири.

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