

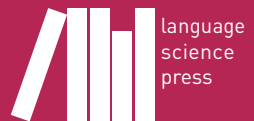
Adjarian's *Armenian dialectology* (1911)

Translation and commentary

Edited by

Hossep Dolatian

Languages of the Caucasus 4



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Acknowledgments

It's hard to remember what exactly motivated me to write this translation. A lot has happened in my life since I first start drafted the translation as an ugly Google Doc in Oakland.

But let's try to go down memory lane. After doing a grammar of Iranian Armenian in 2021, I realized that I'm deficient in my knowledge of dialectal Armenian. Being a perfectionist/completionist, I wanted to cover that gap the best way I know how – by reading something. Nikita and Hrach (I think?) recommended that I try reading Adjarian 1911. Ironically, I also hate reading, and especially reading Armenian texts that aren't OCR-ed or have a clickable table of contents. I decided to read that book, but I wanted to only read it once and never again. And so I decided to kill two birds with one stone by translating the book while reading. I didn't realize that I would then have to read the book multiple times to correct and doublecheck my translation. Ironic, isn't it?

I spent many an evening hour writing out this translation in 2022. It was a largely solo endeavour – me alone at my desk, waiting for bedtime. Along the way, people came around sometime (online) and gave moral support – especially Nikita Bezrukov, Hrach Martirosyan, and Bert Vaux.

During the translation process, I sometimes had a dead-end or two for the optimal Armenian translation. And when I would see a word that was not Armenian... Well, I had no choice but to bother people on the internet. I thank the many people who helped me out in that regard. Their names are distributed in footnotes and lists across the translation. I would try to collect them all into an itemized list here, but then I'd fear missing a name.

Eventually the draft was ready-ish for the public, and got to be presented at UCLA 2023, where further evidence was provided to me that the translation was not a waste of my time. Thank you to Peter Cowe, Hrayr Khanjian, and Anooshik Melikian for that.

Lo and behold when it even got reviewed by Robin Meyer who helped me see how my Classical Armenian was deficient. He and Nikita Bezrukov where then helpful comrades in tracking down further references for Adjarian's bibliography.

Well, I suppose I'm rambling at this point. Thank you friends from 2022 for helping me write this book. May I never have to translate a beast again.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
AGR	agreement	NX	noun stem-extender
AOR	orist	OBL	oblique
AUX	auxiliary	OPT	optative
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CN	connegative	PERF	perfect
DAT	dative	PFV	perfective
DEB	debitive	PERF.CVB	perfective converb
DEF	definite	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PL.POSS	plural possessor
DIST	distal	POSS	possessive
ECHO	echo	POSS.1SG	possessive first person
EPTCP	evidential participle	POSS.2SG	possessive second person
FUT	future	PRO	pronoun
FUT.CVB	future converb	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive	PROH	prohibitive
IMP	imperative	PROX	proximal
IMPF	imperfective	PRS	present
IMPF.CVB	imperfective converb	PST	past
INCH	inchoative	PTCP	participle
IND	indicative	Q	question
INDF	indefinite	RPTCP	resultative participle
INF	infinitive	SBJV	subjunctive
INS	instrumental	SG	singular
CASE	case	SPTCP	subject participle
LOC	locative	TH	theme vowel
LV	linking vowel	VX	verb stem-extender
NARR	narrative		

Part I

Introduction to the translation

Chapter 1

Introduction to the translation

Hossep Dolatian

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1 Introduction

Armenian is an Indo-European language. Its oldest attested form is Classical Armenian (CA). The modern language is conventionally described as having two standardized variants: Standard Western Armenian (SWA or WA) and Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA or EA). Alongside these two varieties, there are countless non-standard dialects, many of which were made extinct because of the Armenian Genocide.

This book is an English translation of a monograph originally written in Armenian by Hratchia Adjarian (Աճառեան 1911): Հայ Բարբառագիտութիւն or *Armenian dialectology*. The original monograph consisted of descriptions of 31 non-standard Armenian varieties. Some descriptions are rather lengthy, while some are short. Of course, more non-standard varieties exist that were not described in this monograph (Greppin & Khachaturian 1986, Martirosyan 2018, 2019, Dolatian et al. 2023).

This translation includes a translation of Adjarian (1899) by George Balabanian (§2), and a retrospective piece by Bert Vaux on the history and development of Armenian dialectology (§3).

The present book is both a translation and commentary on this monograph. In the course of translating the original 300-page book into English, I had to unpack a lot of implicit knowledge that Adjarian was using in order to describe the varieties. For example, Adjarian did not use morpheme boundaries, glosses, or IPA symbols. He would often just provide data points from a dialect, with a brief



description and with cognates from Classical Armenian. That brief description relied on the reader's knowledge of Standard Armenian (and sometimes Classical Armenian) in order to deduce the linguistic structure of the non-standard dialect. In order to unpack this implicit information, the end result was a 700-page translation with glossing, translation, and morpheme segmentation. To maximize the recoverability of information during the translation, I provide the page numbers from Adjarian's original monograph.

This translation is written with three audiences in mind. One audience is a reader who does not know Armenian, and who does not work on Armenian, but seeks access to linguistically annotated data on the language, with ample prose to explain the data. Such readers would benefit from the prose, morpheme segmentations, and IPA. The second audience is a reader who works on Armenian in a traditional dialectological setting. Such readers are trained in Armenia, can read Armenian, but would not be used to seeing how modern linguistic methodology can be applied to dialects, such as the use of IPA or glossing. Such readers would utilize the same information as the first audience, but would also be able to use the original Armenian renderings of examples and texts to work further on the language. The third audience is a reader like myself who is a linguist of Armenian that was trained outside of Armenia in a generative setting. In my experience, it is hard to understand or appreciate most dialectological work because of the lack of annotation and connection to modern terminology. Such readers benefit from all of my annotation as well.

The current introduction is written by myself, the translator. The rest of this book is my translation of Adjarian's writing. At times, I provide commentary and interrupt Adjarian's prose. To prevent ambiguity, I wrote my interruptions in the following format:

[[This is an interruption by the translator, Hossep Dolatian.]]

This translation is a commentary because I often have to disrupt Adjarian's prose to clarify or contradict various implicit or explicit points that he makes. I suspect that if my comments were removed, than the text would be shorter but significantly less accessible and potentially impenetrable to a non-Armenian audience.

The rest of this chapter provides basic information on Armenian (§2), my transcription system (§3), and my translation conventions (§4).

2 **Armenian linguistics and dialectology**

This section provides basic information on the Armenian language. This section is geared towards summarizing basic diachronic and synchronic facets of the Armenian language in terms of how we categorize different Armenian varieties. I first discuss the ambiguity in the use of the terms ‘Armenian’ or ‘dialect’ (§2.1). I then explain the history of the language (§2.2). I focus on the nature of the two standardized modern varieties (§2.2), the non-standardized varieties (§2.4), and the classification or genetic relationship across varieties (§2.5). Adjarian’s dialectological maps are provided (§2.6).

2.1 **Ambiguities in the label of “Armenian”**

This introduction chapter has two goals: to explain the process of my translation, and to make the information present in the translation accessible. For the latter goal, I thought it wise to clarify some inconsistencies that I have come across (in my experience) when Armenian is discussed among Armenian-speaking non-linguists, Armenian-speaking linguists or dialectologists from Armenia, non-Armenian linguists who work on Armenian, and linguists who do not work on Armenian. What follows is my own impressionistic experience of this situation, as an Armenian-speaking linguist who works on Armenian.

As an umbrella term, the phrase “Armenian language” conventionally denotes the set of two standard varieties (Standard Western and Eastern Armenian) and multiple non-standard varieties (like Karabakh, Agulis, etc.). But among Armenian non-linguists, the term “Armenian dialect” is generally used to mean “non-standard varieties”. Thus, SWA and SEA are not treated as “dialects” but as some purified form of the language. Such attitudes are common among speakers of other languages as well. To quote Chambers & Trudgill (1998: 3):

In common usage, of course, a dialect is a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige. Dialect is also a term which is often applied to forms of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form. And dialects are also often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from a norm – as aberrations of a correct or standard form of language.

For example, when I was growing up, I was never told that I spoke a “dialect” of Armenian, but that I spoke simply “Armenian” (= SWA). In contrast, the label

of “dialect” was given to the unintelligible non-standard variety of Armenian spoken by people in Kessab or Anjar, which speak an offshoot of Cilician Armenian (§24).

Alongside this terminological division between standard and non-standard varieties, dialectologists of Armenian generally discuss or analyze non-standard varieties in a vacuum from standard varieties. For example, in the original monograph, Adjarian lists and analyzes 31 varieties of Armenian as “dialects”, but he does not include the standard varieties (SWA and SEA) in his list of dialects. Similarly, Martirosyan (2018, 2019) provides the most up-to-date classification of known Armenian dialects, but his classification does not include SWA and SEA. The end result is that a non-specialist in Armenian has a vague idea of the exact genetic connections between the standard and non-standard varieties.

Another consequence is that it can create the false impression that the Armenian-speaking world displays a type of diglossia (like the Arab World) whereby an Armenian-speaking child would acquire one of Adjarian’s 31 non-standard varieties at home, and then learn a standard variety at school. For example, in my past collaborations with non-Armenian linguists, some have gotten confused when how I say that I am a native speaker of SWA and not a speaker of a non-standard variety. This confusion is compounded by the use of the term “standard” in the name for SWA and SEA, which incorrectly implies that SWA/SEA is restricted in usage to books and formal speech.

Similarly, I have come across linguists of Armenian who felt surprised that there is subdialectal variation in the use of SWA. For example, for stops, SEA uses a three-way laryngeal contrast [D, T, T^h]. For SWA, there is only a two-way contrast of phonologically voiced vs. voiceless. But this contrast is phonetically manifested in different ways based on region and language contact. For example, SWA speakers in Turkey have the distinction [D, T^h] (Toparlak, personal communication), speakers in Lebanon have [D, T], and speakers in the US have [T, T^h] (Kelly & Keshishian 2021). Based on this sociophonetic distinction, SWA is not a fossilized literary language but has its own subdialects that are natively acquired by SWA speakers.

Because of the above problems, this translation is also a commentary on Adjarian’s prose. In various places, I have felt the need to clarify what he means for a non-Armenian reader who would not know of the above biases and preconceptions. In a sense, this translation is a critical reading of Adjarian. If my commentary notes were removed, then I doubt that this work would be accessible to future linguists.

Having discussed these problems, the following subsections clarify the boundaries of what counts as Standard Armenian or as a dialect.

2.2 What is Armenian?

As stated, Classical Armenian is the oldest attested Armenian variety (circa the 5th century CE).¹ In contrast, Modern Armenian is conventionally described as having two standardized variants: Standard Western Armenian (SWA or WA) and Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA or EA). These two variants are often also called simply Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian.

Between the ancient centuries of Classical Armenian and the modern centuries of Standard Western/Eastern Armenian, there are many holes. We know that there was a stage of Middle Armenian during the medieval period, within the Cilicia region. However, Middle Armenian is less described or studied than either the Classical or Modern forms (Karst 1901).

In the 18th century, ethnic Armenians spoke a variety of languages. As Ad-jarian describes in §6, some groups of Armenians spoke only non-Armenian languages like Turkish. Other groups had developed their own individual Armenian varieties. Thus, the Armenians of Smyrna (in modern Turkey) spoke Smyrna Armenian, while the Armenians of Julfa (in modern Iran) spoke Julfa Armenian, and so on. These different language varieties had enough structural differences to treat them as different linguistic objects.

Just as there are two geographically defined modern standard forms (Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian), these region-specific dialects are conventionally divided into two branches. Some dialects like Smyrna belong to the Western branch (and are more similar to Western Armenian than to Eastern Armenian). While some dialects like Karabakh/Artsakh belong to the Eastern branch.

Alongside these region-specific varieties of Armenian, the early modern period (17/18th centuries) saw the rise of an Armenian lingua franca among Armenians (Parnassian 1985, Donabédian 2018). This lingua franca or koine was Common Armenian or Civil Armenian (Ashkharhabar or Աշխարհաբար [ɑʃχɑrɑbɑr, ɑʃχɑrɑpʰɑr]), also called Modern Armenian. It is often seen as some sort of amalgamation of various linguistic features from different regions. This lingua franca developed in two sets of cultural centers: Istanbul in the West, and Yerevan and Tbilisi (Tiflis) in the East.

The outcome of Civil Armenian was establishing two separate standardized Armenian varieties: Standard Western Armenian (SWA) and Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA). The two dialects are often treated as developed from Istanbul

¹To clarify, CA was first attested in the 5th century in written forms such as a Bible translation, inscriptions, and palimpsests. Before this initial attestation, we do not know the exact linguistic situation for Armenians. It is often assumed that there was a stage of Proto-Armenian between Proto-Indo-European and Classical Armenian.

Armenian and Yerevan Armenian via a process of standardizing the lexicon, removing recent Turkic borrowings, and incorporating common dialectal features. For example, Manoukian (2022, 2023) tracks the development of SWA within publishing houses in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. She describes how the translators developed a “purified vernacular” language that removed Turkish words and replaced them with Classical Armenian words or calques.

However, there are non-trivial structural differences between the non-standard sources and the standardized derivatives (Sayeed & Vaux 2017). These differences make it difficult to be sure of the exact genetic relation between Istanbul Armenian and SWA, and between Yerevan Armenian and SEA. For example, there are structural differences between SWA and the Istanbul Armenian of 1911 (§32), and these differences make it unclear whether SWA is a simplified descendant of Istanbul Armenian or if it a sister dialect (Sayeed & Vaux 2017: 1148). I talk about some of these differences in the next section. Adjarian himself suggests that SWA may have developed by combining grammatical aspects of Istanbul Armenian with some phonological aspects of other dialects such as Rodosto Armenian (§33.2.1.1.1). This suggests that SWA developed as a form of dialect leveling across multiple dialects, and not as a simple descendant from only one dialect. However, the bulk of SWA’s features came from Istanbul Armenian, based on what is reported from the 19th century scholars who were involved in developing SWA as a lingua franca (Manoukian 2023).

Moving onto the early 20th century, we know a great deal about the linguistic situation of Armenians in that time thanks to Hratchia Adjarian, who was a pioneering researcher in Armenian linguistics. His Armenian name is Հրաչեայ Աճառեան in traditional orthography, or Հրաչյա Աճառյան in reformed spelling. His surname has been romanized as “Adjarian” or “Acharian”. His first name is variably romanized as “Hrachia” or “Hratchia”. Adjarian himself used the name “Hratchia” in (Adjarian 1899), so we use that romanization here. He was born in Istanbul in 1876, and undertook an education in linguistics in France. In French, his two most groundbreaking works were Adjarian (1899), where he developed an experimental procedure for Armenian consonant acoustics, and discovering an early form of voice onset time (Braun 2013). This manuscript is translated in §2. His second major contribution was Adjarian (1909) *Classification des dialectes arméniens* (English translation is *Classification of Armenian dialects*) where he catalogued, described, and classified a set of Armenian varieties. This French monograph was then the basis for a larger work written in Armenian (Աճառեան 1911): Հայ Բարբառագիտություն or *Armenian dialectology*. These books provide some of the few detailed insights into the linguistic reality of early modern Armenians.

Thus, by the time of Adjarian's monograph in 1911, there were a large number of living forms of Armenian: SEA, SWA, Istanbul Armenian, Yerevan Armenian, and a host of other area-specific Armenian varieties. Unfortunately, since 1911, the linguistic landscape of Armenian populations has significantly changed. The vast majority of non-standard dialects are now extinct or moribund. Some dialects were made extinct because of the Armenian Genocide (Կասովայան 2015); Smyrna is a potential example (Vaux 2012). Some of these dialects survived the Genocide, but their speakers underwent a language shift to one of the standard varieties. For example, the Shamakhi dialect was spoken in Shamakhi in modern-day Azerbaijan. But because of Azerbaijani persecution, the Armenian populace of Shamakhi has been migrating to Armenia, and the community has been undergoing language shift to SEA (Vlasyan 2019). A reviewer notes that some Shamakhi communities have migrated to Southern Russia and seem to have maintained their dialect.

Thus, it is rare to find modern Armenian communities that still speak a non-standardized dialect. But there are still pockets of Armenian communities that speak and transmit a non-standard dialect. Because of the various wars in the 19th and 20th centuries and because of the Armenian Genocide, various dialect communities have settled in the modern Republic of Armenia and Georgia (Hodgson 2019: §2.2.2). These communities are under continuous pressure from SEA, and only some of them are currently viable (Hodgson, personal communication). In Georgia and Abkhazia, there are large communities of Karin/Erzurum and Hamshen speakers, and their language maintenance also seems viable (Bezrukov 2022). A very viable community is the Armenian community in Tehran, Iran, who have developed and maintained their own dialect of Tehrani Iranian Armenian (Dolatian et al. 2023), which is surprisingly absent from Adjarian's work. One could argue that some of the traditional dialects of Cilicia (§24) and Syria (§25) are still spoken in a handful of villages in the Middle East (Kessab, Anjar, Vaqif). But the communities are small and caught in dangerous circumstances (such as the Syrian war); thus, they may be considered endangered.

The present monograph is an attempt to preserve information on many of these lost languages. The above is a basic conventional summary of how Armenian varieties work. But there are some points of nuance that I should clarify. The next sections discuss these points.

2.3 What is Standard Armenian?

The term "standard" in the name "Standard Western Armenian" does not denote a literary variety that is limited to books and formal speech. For the majority of

Western Armenians who speak some Armenian variety, that variety is Standard Western Armenian. Similarly, Standard Eastern Armenian is the native language of the majority of Eastern Armenians. The confusing use of the term “standard” is caused by patterns of language shift and dialect leveling among Armenians.

For example, in 1911, the year that Adjarian’s monograph was published, the Armenians of Istanbul spoke a specific variety of Armenian called Istanbul Armenian. This variety is documented in this book in chapter §32 and also later by Adjarian in a separate book (Աճարյան 1941). The variety of Istanbul Armenian in 1911 (and its 1941 followup) is not identical to SWA. The following are some subtle differences that I have noticed.

(1) Differences between SWA and Istanbul Armenian

- a. The word for ‘father’ is [hɑjɾ] <հայր> in SWA; but Adjarian describes the Istanbul form as [hɑɾ] <հար> (§32.2.2.2).
- b. The reflex of the Classical Armenian sound /d͡z/ <ձ> in Istanbul is /d͡z/ <ձ>, while its reflex in SWA is /ts^h/ <ց> (§32.2.2.3.1). For example, the word ‘snow’ <ձիւն> is /d͡ziun/ in CA, /d͡zun/ in Istanbul, but /ts^hyn/ in SWA (Table 4). Adjarian himself notes this contrast in §32.2.1.1.
- c. The reflex of the Classical Armenian nominalizer <ութիւն> /-ut^hiun/ ‘-ation’ is /-ut^hyn/ in SWA, but /-ut^hin/ in Istanbul Armenian (§32.3.1).
- d. The causative suffix is /-ts^hanel/ <ցնել> in SWA but /-ts^hunel/ in Istanbul Armenian. For example, ‘to make live’ is /abre-ts^hanel/ in SWA (ապրեցնել) but /abre-ts^hunel/ in Istanbul (աբրեցնել) (Աճարյան 1941: 140).

A major phonological difference concerns the laryngeal features of stops and affricates (§32.2.2.3.1). Classical voiceless aspirated stops stay voiceless aspirated in both SWA and Istanbul Armenian. Classical unaspirated stops become voiced in both SWA and Istanbul Armenian. But classical voiced stops remain voiced in Istanbul Armenian, while they become voiceless aspirated in SWA. Table 1 illustrates this with labial stops. Note the difference between SWA and Istanbul for Classical /b/ <բ>.

Based on the above difference between SWA and Istanbul Armenian, Adjarian later argues that SWA was developed by merging the morphosyntax of Istanbul Armenian with the consonant phonology of Rodosto Armenian. See §33.2.1.1.1 for discussion.

Although Adjarian does not discuss the sociolinguistic situation of this community in depth, I suspect that the Old Istanbul variety was acquired by Armenian children at home. At school, they would learn Standard Western Armenian

Table 1: Laryngeal changes from Classical Armenian to Istanbul Armenian and Standard Armenian

	CA	Istanbul	SWA	SEA
բ	b	b	p ^h	b
պ	p	b	b	p
փ	p ^h	p ^h	p ^h	p ^h

as a lingua franca, so that they could read, write, and engage with other Armenian communities. Adjarian himself reports a scenario that is suggestive of such diglossia in Istanbul in §33.2.1.1.1.

Since 1911, however, the Istanbul community has shifted from using the Istanbul dialect to using SWA. As a member of the Istanbul Armenian community, Tabita Toparlak (personal communication) reports that the dialect described by Adjarian has died out. Instead, Armenian-speaking families have shifted to using SWA at home.

A similar situation is described for SEA and Yerevan. In the time of Adjarian 1911, the dialect of Yerevan had a distinctive feature of penultimate stress (§8.2.3). In contrast, SEA has final stress. But in the decades since, the community in Yerevan has shifted towards using SEA instead of the old Yerevan dialect. A native of this city (Vahagn Petrosyan) reports the following:

[The] “Yerevan dialect” is a historical label. Currently, Yerevan speaks a colloquial version of Standard Eastern Armenian.

I have heard the features described for this dialect in the speech of some Yerevan residents. For me the speech is associated with the [lower classes]. I do not know if these people are recent migrants from villages of the Ararat dialect areas or if they are the remnants of the original Yerevan dialect speakers. In any case, an average person certainly does not grow up speaking like that. I am from Yerevan and I speak [like that].

Thus, the majority of the dialects in Adjarian 1911 are likely extinct because of either genocide or language shift. For the standard varieties (SWA and SEA), these are not fossilized variants restricted to books. They are the native language of most Armenian-speaking children and adults. They are not simplified forms or daughters of past Armenian varieties (Istanbul or Yerevan), but they are their

own distinct Armenian varieties that are natively acquired and used.²

Of course, like any spoken language, SWA has both informal and formal registers. The informal register is acquired at home, while the formal register is taught at schools or acquired via formal interactions. The two registers have minor differences. Some traits of the informal register of SWA are found in various non-standard dialects. For example, informal spoken SWA uses a progressive marker [gor], while formal written SWA bans this marker (Donabédian 2001). The use of [gor] is likewise found across various non-standard Western dialects such as Istanbul. Similarly, SEA has both formal and informal registers. The 3sg auxiliary ‘is’ is pronounced [e] in formal SEA, but pronounced [ɑ] in informal SEA. The use of an auxiliary [ɑ] is again found in non-standard Eastern dialects like Yerevan (§8.3.3.3.1). For a sample of other informal vs. formal register differences, see elsewhere (Դարագոյուլյան 1981, Չաքարյան 1981, Աղայան 1981, Kavassian 1983, Dum-Tragut 2009, Karapetian 2014: ch3).

Thus, the presence of the word “standard” in the names “Standard Eastern Armenian” or “Standard Western Armenian” does not indicate prescriptivism, but is due to the history of the emergence of these standardized varieties. Because of this history, names like “Standard Western Armenian” and “Western Armenian” are interchangeable. In my experience, in Armenian linguistics, it is common to add the word “standard” in order to disambiguate terms like “Western Armenian” which could designate either a single variety (Standard Western Armenian) or an entire branch of dialects (Western dialects).

In contrast, the term “Standard Western Armenian” can mean either “the formal register of Western Armenian” or “either the formal or informal register of Western Armenian”. In my case, I grew up in an Armenian-speaking household in Lebanon. I acquired the informal register of (“Standard”) Western Armenian. My idiolect does not correspond to any of the non-standard varieties like Smyrna, Trabzon, or Crimea. I then learned the formal register of “Standard” Western Armenian at school.

2.4 What is a dialect?

The original Armenian monograph from 1911 was called *Armenian dialectology*, based on an expansion of a French monograph from 1909 called *Classification of Armenian dialects*. This section clarifies the term “dialect”.

²This situation is similar to the development of Italian. The language developed from Tuscan, and was standardized. The language then became a state language, and spread throughout Italy. As another helpful analog, the situation with SWA/SEA is not like Arabic diglossia. For Arabic, the standard written form (Modern Standard Arabic) is not the home language of any Arabic-speaking household; the home language is instead one of many Arabic dialects like Levantine or Egyptian.

In linguistics, a common though imperfect criterion for labeling a language variety as a dialect is mutual intelligibility (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 3). Given two language varieties A and B, if a speaker of A can easily understand a speaker of B, then the two varieties are dialects of the same language. Based on this criterion, American English and British English are dialects of English.

For Armenian however, the various varieties are conventionally called “dialects”, but they are not all mutually intelligible. For example, as a speaker of SWA, I have difficulty fully understanding a spoken SEA sentence due to my limited exposure to spoken SEA. Written SEA is however quite intelligible to me (cf. intelligibility asymmetries discussed by Dum-Tragut 2012: 197). Thus, I often hear among lay speakers of Armenian that the two dialects are mutually intelligible after significant exposure.

For the non-standard dialects, mutual intelligibility is much weaker. For example, this monograph has text samples for each of the 31 non-standard dialects. I could not translate most of them because I could not understand them. The best I could understand were the Istanbul texts, but I was not confident enough to provide an actual translation, morphological segmentation, or glossing.

Thus based on the criterion of mutual intelligibility, Standard Armenian (SEA and SWA) and the various non-standard varieties (Julfa, Tigranakert, and so on) are mutually unintelligible and not dialects of the same language. Because of mutual unintelligibility, some linguists go so far as to use the term “Armenoid” to describe the different Armenian varieties, e.g., that Agulis is an Armenoid language (Vaux 2008) and not an Armenian dialect because it is unintelligible to an SEA ear (§14).

In Armenian studies, however, all these language varieties are just called “dialects”. The term is used in a non-theoretical way. I suspect that because all these Armenian varieties are spoken by ethnic Armenians, then the term “dialect” is used to indicate ethnic solidarity. To reduce confusion, I will also use the term “dialect” in this translation, simply because Adjarian himself was using the Armenian word for dialect: [baɾbaɾ, p^haɾp^haɾ] <բարբարոյ>. In my own commentaries, I will often use the terms “dialect” and “variety” interchangeably.

2.5 What are the dialects?

In Armenian dialectology, dialects are commonly divided into two branches: Western and Eastern. I discuss some controversial choices that Adjarian made in his classification.

As said before, Classical Armenian is the oldest attested Armenian variety. Modern Armenian varieties are conventionally divided into two groups: Western

dialects and Eastern dialects. In general, the division between dialects is based on geographic origin. The division (imperfectly) corresponds to the modern Turkey-Armenia border. Armenian varieties that developed west of this border (in the Ottoman Empire) belong to the Western branch, while varieties that developed to the east of this order (in the Russian/Persian empires) belong to the Eastern branch.

For example, SWA developed in Istanbul, while SEA developed in Tbilisi and Yerevan. SWA and SEA are conventionally treated as standardized offshoots of Istanbul and Yerevan. This basic classification is summarized in Figure 1.³

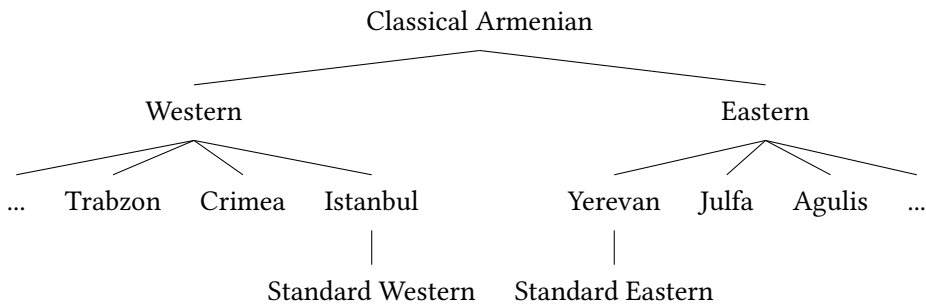


Figure 1: Conventional and simplified family tree of Armenian

The above simplified classification correlates with an important isogloss in Armenian dialectology: the morphemes used to form the indicative present (2) (Vaux 1995). In Classical Armenian, the indicative present was formed by adding agreement suffixes directly onto the verbal stem. The verb stem consists minimally of a root and a theme vowel slot. But in modern SEA and SWA, this simple synthetic construction is instead used for the subjunctive present. To form the indicative present, SWA adds a prefix /gə/ <ղը> before the synthetic form. In contrast, SEA uses a periphrastic or analytic construction. The verb is a non-finite form called the imperfective converb. The verb takes the non-inflecting suffix /-um/, while agreement is on an auxiliary.

³For easier illustration, I do not include Middle Armenian here. And as mentioned before, we do not know with complete certainty whether SWA (SEA) is a descendant of Istanbul (Yerevan) vs. a separate development from multiple dialects or from Civil Armenian. For easier illustration, the figures in this section treat the standard dialects as descendants.

- (2) Morphemes used for the indicative present in CA, SWA, and SEA for the phrase ‘I like’
- a. Classical Armenian
 sir-e-m
 like-TH-1SG
 սիրեմ
 - b. Standard Western Armenian
 gə-sir-e-m
 IND-like-TH-1SG
 կը սիրեմ
 - c. Standard Eastern Armenian
 sir-um e-m
 like-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 սիրում եմ

The above parameters (geographical and morphological) are foundational to Armenian dialectology. Other major and theoretically interesting parameters of variation are also attested, such as voice onset time or voicing differences (Vaux 1998: §1.1.1; Baronian 2017), vowel harmony (Vaux 1998), stress (DeLisi 2018), mobile affixes or ambifixes (Bezrukov & Dolatian 2020, Bezrukov 2022), auxiliary movement (Comrie 1984, Kahnemuyipour & Megerdooomian 2011, 2017), auxiliary-induced phonosyntactic processes (Dolatian et al. 2023: §3.3), relative clause formation (Hodgson 2019), and so on.

However, the main two parameters (morphological and geographical) have some problems.

For the geographical parameter, the terms “Western” vs. “Eastern” refer to the ultimate geographic origin of some Armenian variety. But as Adjarian describes in §7.1, this geographic parameter can be confusing when we take into account migration patterns. For example, the dialect of Karin (§15) is a Western dialect that historically developed in what is now modern Erzurum (in modern eastern Turkey). But during the 19th century and after the Armenian Genocide, the Armenian community of Erzurum had migrated to what is now modern Armenia and Georgia. That is, this Western community moved from west of the Turkey-Armenia border to the east of this border. For Karin, it is thus somewhat confusing to call this dialect a Western dialect, even though it is geographically spoken on the east of the relevant geographic border.

Because of the above geographical problems, Adjarian argued that descriptions like “Western” vs. “Eastern” branches should be replaced with terms based

on isoglosses. The most obvious isogloss for Adjarian was the morphology of the indicative present. He specifically argued that “Western” dialects (like SWA) belong to the /kə/ <կը> branch, while “Eastern” dialects (like SEA) belong to the /um/ <ում> branch.⁴

In addition to replacing geographic descriptions with morphological ones, Adjarian also argued that some dialects belong to a third separate branch. This branch is called the /el/ <ել> branch and includes dialects like Maragha (§36). For such dialects (§36.3.2.1), the indicative present is formed by adding an auxiliary after the infinitive. The construction is periphrastic, and the surface [el] sequence is actually the theme vowel /-e-/ plus the infinitive suffix /-l/ (3).

- (3) Maragha (taken from chapter §36, example 1a-ii)
 yz-e-l-i-m
 want-TH-INF-AUX-1SG
 ‘I want.’
 Իլզէլիմ

To summarize, Adjarian argues for a more detailed classification, as in Figure 2.

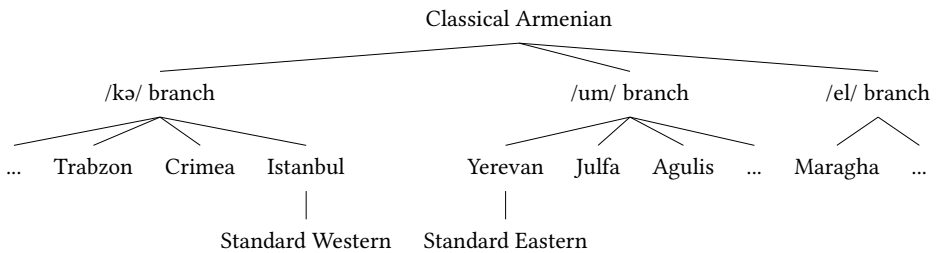


Figure 2: Expanded family tree of Armenian based on Adjarian’s classification

In contrast, in a simpler two-branch classification, the dialects of the /el/ branch would be considered Eastern dialects. First, dialects like Maragha were formed in modern-day Iran and Russia; thus, they are geographically east of Turkey. Second, both /um/ branch and /el/ branch dialects utilize morphological periphrasis in forming the indicative present. Thus, varieties like SEA and Maragha share a more abstract isogloss. Figure 3 shows a possible family tree by combining both geography and Adjarian’s three branches.

⁴Note that Adjarian used the term /kə/ branch instead of /gə/ branch. Although the indicative prefix is /gə/ in SWA, this prefix is spelled <կը>. The ancestor of this prefix is pronounced as /kə/, such as in SEA where this prefix is used to mark the future.

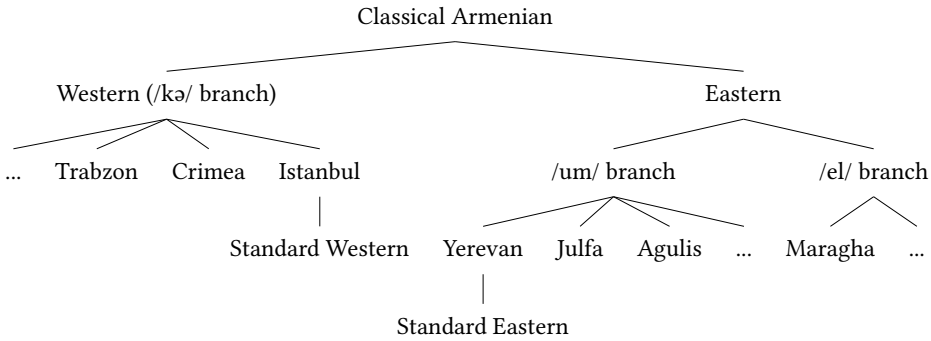


Figure 3: Family tree of Armenian based on geographic terms and Adjarian's /el/ branch

Other family trees have been proposed. Using phylogenetic software, DeLisi (2018) develops a tree for 23 Armenian variants. Balabanian (2024a) provides a tree for over six dozen Western dialects.

This book maintains Adjarian's original three-way classification system. I do this so that the translation is faithful to Adjarian's original intentions. However, since 1911, it seems that most dialectological work in the West has not replaced geographic terms with isogloss-based terms.⁵ As for Soviet Armenia and the modern Republic, it seems that further dialectological work uncovered more and more sub-branches and groups, that are easier to summarize geographically (Martirosyan 2018: §4 based on Չահնկյան 1972). For an overview of Soviet dialectological work, see Djahukian (1986) and Weitenberg (2017).

For the morphological isogloss, Adjarian provided only three categories based on indicative. That is, he describes dialects as using either the morphemes /um/, /kə/, or /el/. Since then, more categories have been discovered (Vaux 1995). Balabanian (2024a) provides the most up-to-date morphological and cladistic study on the interrelationships of at least the Western dialects based on their verbal morphology.

The next subsection provides Adjarian's dialectological maps.

⁵Consider the following counter-argument to Adjarian's position. Although it is true that some Western dialects like Karin are now spoken east of the Turkey-Armenia border, they still historically developed west of this border. What matters is a dialect's genetic relationships with other dialects, and geography is a major correlate of such genetic connections.

2.6 Dialectological maps

In the 1911 monograph, Adjarian provided a map of some of the dialects and locales he documented. This map is part of the public domain and available on Wikimedia.⁶ It is displayed in Figure 5. The names are all in Armenian.

In the original 1909 French monograph, Adjarian provided a similar map. It is displayed in Figure 6. The names are all romanized.

The older maps are hard to read in print, but they are easier to read on a computer screen. It is unclear if there are any differences between the two maps.

A more useful map is found on Wikimedia. There is a modified form of the 1909 map that includes colorcoding.⁷ It is displayed in Figure 4. The colorcoding shows the distribution of the different dialects from Adjarian's monograph. The names are all in a romanized form; they do not match the names that I used in the translation.

As of 2024, the largest known dialect map to my knowledge is Balabanian (2024b). The map is actively maintained by Balabanian and publicly accessible. As of March 2024, the map contains at least 100 dialects in their original (pre-genocide) location.

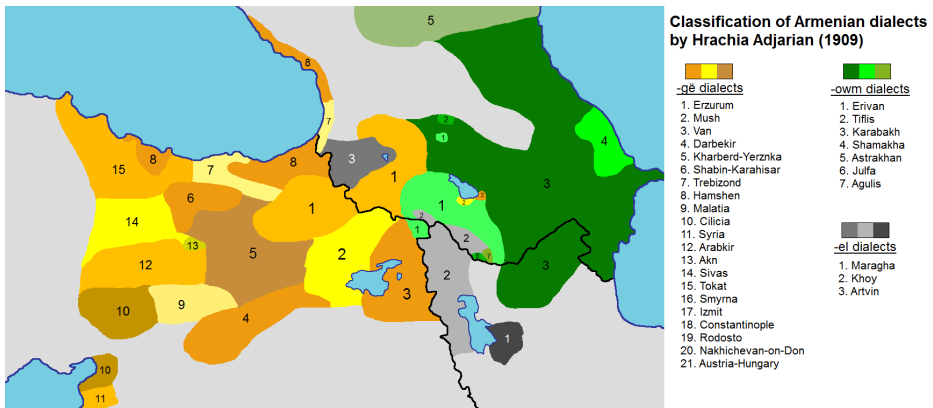


Figure 4: Adapted map from Adjarian 1909 (from Wikimedia)

⁶https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Acharian_dialects_map.png

⁷https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Armenian_dialects,_Adjarian_1909.png

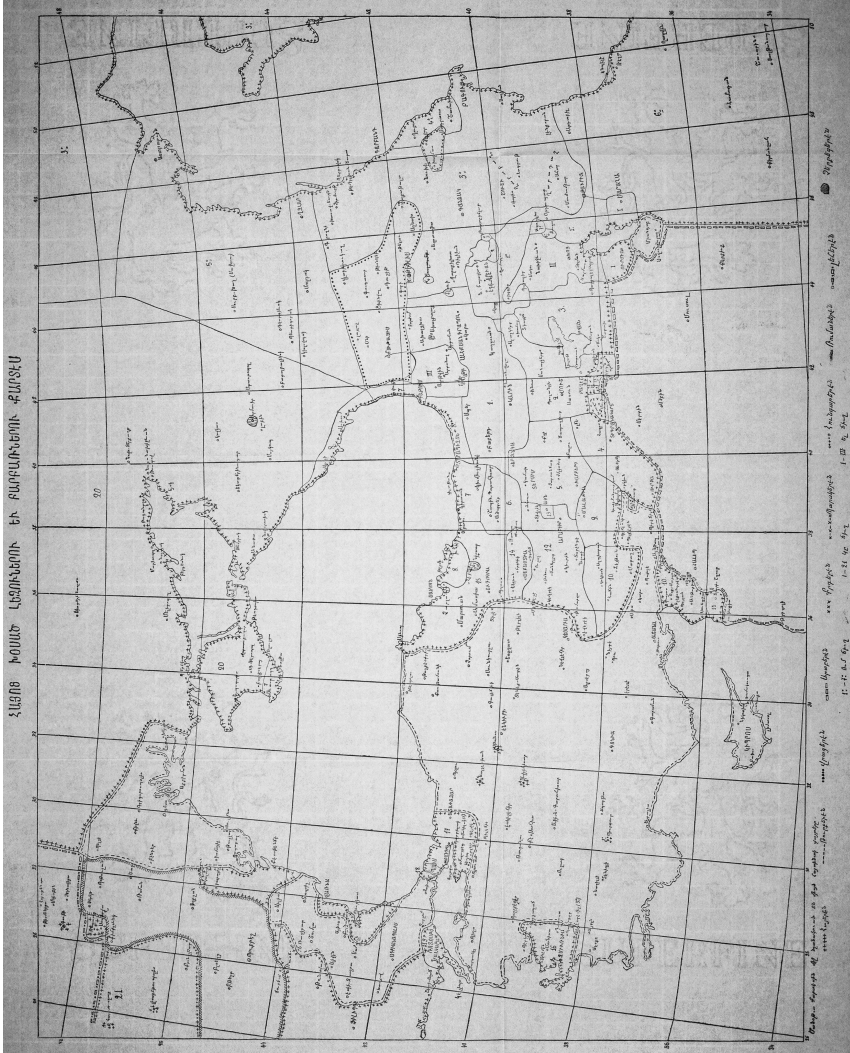


Figure 5: Map from Adjarian 1911

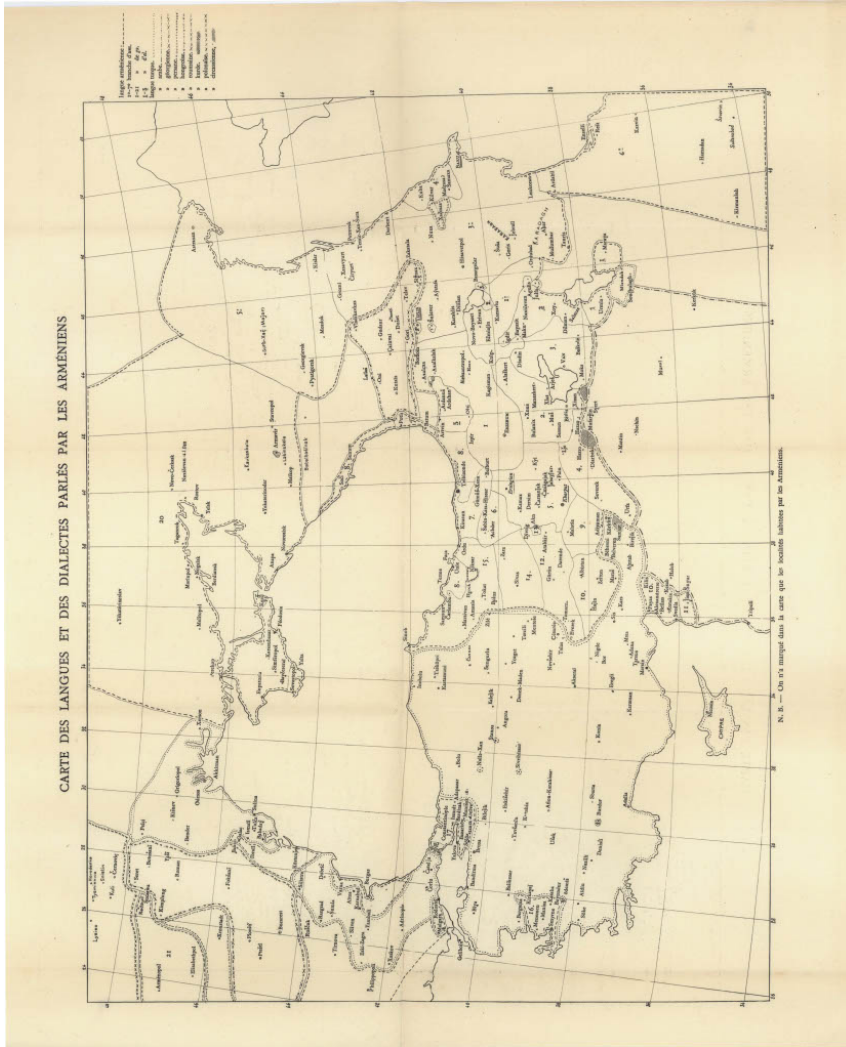


Figure 6: Map from Adjarian 1909

3 Phonology of Armenian and our phonological transcription

This section explains the phonological transcriptions that I used in the translation. I explain my transcription system used for the modern standard varieties (§3.1), Classical Armenian (§3.2), and non-standard dialects (§3.3). In brief, I transcribe words in IPA based on their attested pronunciation (SEA/SWA) or their most likely pronunciation (CA). For the non-standard dialects, Adjarian developed his own dialectological notation, for which I provide IPA approximations.

3.1 Phonology of Modern Standard Armenian

Modern SEA and SWA are relatively well-studied in terms of their basic phonemic inventory and phonological transcriptions. I discuss nuances of transcribing SEA/SWA consonants (§3.1.1), vowels (§3.1.2), and stress (§3.1.3).

3.1.1 Consonant inventory

Table 2 provides the consonant inventories for SEA and SWA. Parentheses mark consonantal phonemes that are present in SEA but not SWA.

Table 2: Consonant inventory of SEA and SWA

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	(p) p ^h b		(t) t ^h d				(k) k ^h g		
Affricate			(ts) ts ^h dz		(tʃ) tʃ ^h dʒ				
Nasal	m			n					
Trill				(r)					
Tap				r					
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ			χ ʁ	h
Approximant						j			

Phonologically, SEA has a three-way laryngeal contrast or voicing contrast among stops and affricates: voiced, voiceless unaspirated, and voiceless aspirated. Classical Armenian (CA) is argued to have had a similar three-way contrast as well. In contrast, SWA has a simpler two-way contrast: phonologically voiced and phonologically voiceless (Table 3). Conventionally, the SWA stops and affricates are treated as being voiced vs. voiceless aspirated.

However, the phonetic manifestation of the SWA voicing contrast is subject to geographical variation due to language contact (Kelly & Keshishian 2021, Tahtadjian 2021). For example, the SWA-speaking community in Turkey has a voiced

Table 3: Three-way laryngeal contrast in SEA but not SWA

	CA	SEA		SWA			
/p/	par	par	‘dance’	պար			
/p ^h /	p ^h ak	p ^h ak	‘closed’	փակ	p ^h ak	‘closed’	փակ
/b/	bad	bad	‘duck’	բադ	bar	‘dance’	պար

vs. voiceless aspirated distinction for stops and affricates: D vs. T^h, and DZ̄ vs. T̄S^h. In contrast, the SWA-speaking community in Lebanon instead has a voiced vs. voiceless unaspirated distinction for stops and affricates : D vs. T, and DZ̄ vs. T̄S. For this monograph, because Adjarian’s socio-geographic subdialect of SWA had a traditional D-T^h distinction, I transcribe the SWA forms with a traditional D-T^h distinction.

The change from a three-way contrast in CA to a two-way contrast in SWA is a major topic in the diachronic phonology of Armenian. Throughout this translation, Adjarian spends time on describing the consonantal changes for the various non-standard dialects.

What follows are minor comments on the phonology or phonetics of the consonant inventory, based largely on recent survey-level phonetic work on SEA and SWA (Seyfarth et al. 2024).

(4) Minor comments on SEA and SWA consonant inventory

- a. The coronal stops usually have a dental articulation.
- b. The dorsal fricatives /χ, ʁ/ are typically described as uvular, but they can have a velar pronunciation.
- c. SEA has a phonemic trill and tap/flap distinction /r, r/, while modern SWA only has a flap /r/. However, more archaic registers have a phonemic trill that has been largely lost for most modern communities (Tahtadjian 2020). Adjarian 1911 however says that SWA still has a trill in his time (Table 2). Out of respect for Adjarian’s ideolect, I thus transcribe SWA forms in this translation with a trill.
- d. Both dialects have an allophonic sound [ŋ]. This velar nasal is used when a nasal /n/ precedes a velar stop, i.e., there is velar place assimilation. For SEA and SWA, I transcribe the velar stop. For example, the word /menk^h/ ‘we’ <մեկը> is pronounced [menk^h] in SEA/SWA.

3.1.2 Vowel inventory

Table 7 provides the vowel inventories of SWA and SEA. Parentheses mark vowels that are present in SWA but not SEA.

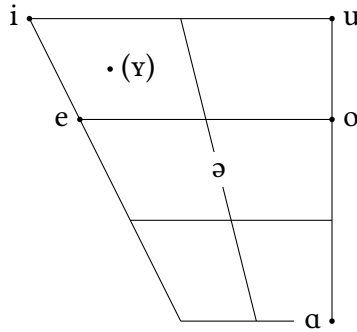


Figure 7: Vowel inventory of SEA and SWA

In general, the SWA sound /ɣ/ corresponds to an SEA /ju/ sequence. Some SWA loanwords have a vowel /œ/, but this vowel is quite marginal and found in only a handful of loanwords.

The midvowels are sometimes transcribed as lax /ɛ, ɔ/ in the phonological literature (Vaux 1998). But more recent phonetic work suggests that these vowels do not have an open-mid articulatory/acoustic target, but are instead close-mid /e, o/ (Toparlak 2019, Seyfarth et al. 2024).⁸

3.1.3 Stress

SWA and SEA generally have final stress. If the last syllable has a non-schwa vowel, that vowel has stress (5a). But if the last syllable has a schwa, while the penultimate syllable has a non-schwa, then the penultimate syllable gets stress (5b).

- (5) SEA
- a. kəpɪk
 monkey
 ‘monkey’
 կապիկ

⁸For my own SWA ears, I cannot perceive the difference between [e, ɛ], suggesting that Armenian has a generic articulatory target for midvowels.

- b. kɑpɪk-ə
monkey-DEF
'the monkey'
կապիկը

There are some morphological exceptions to final stress. In early SWA, the suffix sequence /-e-i/ (TH-PST) in the imperfective past gets regular final stress. But in most modern SWA communities, this suffix sequence gets penultimate stress (Dolatian 2023b). It seems that in Adjarian's time, this change had not taken place yet because Adjarian does not mention this irregularity. So I transcribe this SWA suffix sequence with final stress in this monograph.

3.2 Classical Armenian pronunciations and phonology

Classical Armenian or CA is the oldest attested variety of Armenian. The earliest written records are from the fifth century. It is an ancient language, so we do not know its exact pronunciation, but we do have suggestive evidence (§3.2.1). I set up my IPA transcription for Classical Armenian for its monophthongal vowels (§3.2.2), diphthongal vowels (§3.2.3), consonants (§3.2.4), epenthetic schwas in consonant clusters (§3.2.5), and stress (§3.2.6).

3.2.1 Approximating the phonology of Classical Armenian

Because Classical Armenian is an ancient language, we do not have access to speakers, recordings, or phonetic analyses of CA. Thus, we cannot know exactly what CA sounded like. Instead, we can approximate a probable CA phonology using the following pieces of information:

1. orthography and transliteration conventions
2. traditional pronunciation
3. post-Classical phonological changes

To clarify the above points, Classical Armenian is written using the Armenian script. The script was invented in order to write Classical Armenian. It is thus likely that the orthography is close to the pronunciation of Classical Armenian. The orthography is traditionally transliterated using the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste transliteration system (HMB). Transliteration schemes can be found online, such as on Wiktionary.⁹ The transliteration is neither a phonological nor

⁹https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Wiktionary:Armenian_transliteration

phonetic transcription, but it does help us determine approximate IPA symbols for CA.

As for pronunciation, although CA is a dead language, there is a conventional system for how to read CA texts. This system is called “traditional pronunciation”. It was formulated sometime after the first written record of CA. An approximate date for this formulation is between the 8th and 12th centuries (Godel 1975: 24; Macak 2017: 1039). The formulated conventions indicate a mix of phonological patterns that were attested in CA or that developed later in the post-Classical period.

For this book, I transcribe all CA forms using IPA. I do not use transliteration. The rationale is that transliteration systems by themselves do not unambiguously reflect the most likely phonological form of CA words. In order to understand the various sound changes from CA to the modern dialects, it is more practical to transcribe both CA and modern Armenian in their phonological form, i.e. by using IPA symbols.¹⁰

3.2.2 Monophthong vowel inventory

Classical Armenian has seven basic monophthong vowels. These vowels are listed in Table 4. I provide the native orthographic form, the HMB transliteration, and an approximate IPA symbol.

Table 4: Monophthong vowels of Classical Armenian

Orthography	ա	ե	ի	ո	ի	ո	ու
HMB transliteration	a	e	ē	ə	i	o	u
IPA transcription	ɑ	e	ē	ə	i	o	u

For the IPA transcription of Classical Armenian vowels, I adapt conventional transcriptions from the traditional pronunciation and from the modern standard dialects in the following way.

¹⁰This concern is especially important for cases where the transliteration is utterly confusing from a phonological point of view. For example, the affricate series <ձ, ծ, ց, ջ, ճ, չ> is conventionally transliterated as <j, c, c', j, č, č'> but its most likely pronunciation is /d͡ʒ, t͡s, t͡sʰ, d͡ʒ, t͡ʃ, t͡ʃʰ/. The CA low vowel <ա> was likely a low back /ɑ/, and developed to SEA /ɑ/, and to dialectal /ɑ, æ/. The CA transliteration is <a>, and such a symbol is a front vowel /a/ in the IPA. The rhotic series <ր, ռ> developed to SEA /r, r/, and were likely /r, r/ in CA. But the transliteration as <r, ř> would confuse the non-trill and trilled symbols.

For the grapheme <ւ>, the modern standard dialects use a low back unrounded vowel /ɑ/. We do not know the phonetic features of the low vowel in Classical Armenian. For simplicity and illustration, I assume the Classical low vowel was likewise back. This seems to be an implicit assumption by Adjarian as well, because he later uses a different symbol <ü> to mark the low front vowel /æ/.

For the front midvowel pair <ե, է>, we do not know the exact phonetic difference in Classical Armenian. The two graphemes are often transliterated as <e> vs. <ē>, and they are argued to have a phonological contrast in terms of tenseness (Thomson 1989: 14) or length (Godel 1975: 6). Some possible transcriptions are /ɛ/ vs. /e/, or /e/ vs. /eː/.

Within the IPA, the macron ̄ indicates tone but philology often uses a macron to indicate long vowels and heavy syllables. This philological tradition is likely the reason why the HMB transliteration uses /ē/. For this translation, I transcribe the two vowels as /e/ vs. /ē/. The reason is because we ultimately do not know the actual phonological or phonetic difference between the two vowels. All we need to know is that one vowel (the tense or long է) is considered the “marked” form.

For the midvowels <ե, ն>, the modern standard dialects can range between low-mid /ɛ, ɔ/ and high-mid /e, o/. Such variation is actually free variation in my experience. For simplicity, I transcribe them as high-mid /e, o/ instead of low-mid /ɛ, ɔ/, contra Macak (2017: 1039).

The segments <ը, ի, ու> are transliterated and traditionally pronounced as /ə, i, u/.

3.2.3 Diphthong vowel inventory

In addition to monophthongal vowels, Classical Armenian had nine diphthongs (Table 5).

Table 5: Diphthong vowels of Classical Armenian

Orthography	ւյ	ւլ	եւ	ել	եայ	եաւ	իւ	ոյ	ու
HMB transliteration	ay	aw	ea	ew	eay	eaw	iw	oy	ua
IPA transcription	ɑj̥	ɑw̥	ɛɑ	ɛw̥	ɛɑj̥	ɛɑw̥	iw̥	oɟ̥	uɑ

Orthographically, Classical Armenian diphthongs are made up of a) a vowel plus a glide symbol like <ւյ> <ay>, b) two vowels like <եւ> <ea>, or c) a combination of vowels and glides like <եաւ> <eaw>.

These orthographic sequences like <ւյ> <ay> were pronounced and phonologically treated as diphthongs like [ɑ̣ị] and not as vowel-glide sequences like [ɑj]. The evidence is the following. Philological and dialectological work uses the term “diphthong” (Armenian: [jerkbarbar] <Երկբարբար>, literally ‘two-sounds’ in Classical Armenian). In the modern Standard Armenian, orthographic vowel-glide sequences like <ay> are pronounced as vowel-glides sequences like /ɑj/, and philologists like Adjarian explicitly state that the standard dialects lack diphthongs (§4.7.1.2.3).

As for their IPA values, it is difficult to give a meaningful transcription for Classical diphthongs. I follow Macak (2017) in placing an inverted breve under the less prominent member of the diphthong, which is typically a high vowel. I note the following minor notational differences between my transcription and Macak.

- For <եւ> <ea>, Macak (2017: 1041,1043) suggests /j̣ɑ/ but I opted for /ɛ̣ɑ/ because it is more faithful to the orthography.
- For <իւ> <iw>, Macak (2017: 1041,1043) notes that this cluster can be pronounced as either /ịy/ or /j̣u/ depending on phonological position. I opt for a uniform /ịy/ because Adjarian does not indicate such differences.
- For <ոյ>, the traditional pronunciation is /ụj/ (Macak 2017: 1039). But, the orthography suggests that this digraph was pronounced as /ọj/.

For <եւյ>, I could not find a pre-established convention, so I use /ɛ̣ɑj/.

There is some ambiguity when an orthographic diphthong is pre-vocalic like <ւյւ> or <ւււ>. The HMB transliteration is just <aya, awa>. Phonologically, I suspect the offglide would have acted as a consonantal onset /ɑja, awa/ and not as a sequence of vowels /ɑ̣jɑ, ɑ̣wɑ/. I thus transcribe such pre-vocalic diphthongs as vowel-glide sequences. However, note that Adjarian seems to phonologically treat these pre-vocalic forms as diphthongs instead of vowel-glide sequences (64).

There are other attested orthographic vowel-vowel sequences such as <ոււ> <uē> in <ւղղոււ> ‘fox’ and <ուի> <ui> in <թուիլ> ‘to appear’. For these, the HMB transliteration would be <ɑ̣uēs> and <ṭ̰uil>. Their modern SEA pronunciations would use a /v/ in place of the <ու>: /ɑ̣ṿes, ṭ̰əvil/. It is unclear if historically such orthographic sequences were some type of diphthong too: /ɑ̣uēs, ṭ̰uil/. But it seems that the convention is to treat the digraph <ու> as a non-alternating /u/ (Thomson 1989: 15), and allow it to be part of vowel hiatus (Thomson 1989: 17). To be safe, I treat such sequences then as vowel hiatus as well: /ɑ̣u.es, ṭ̰u.il/.¹¹

¹¹It has been suggested that the initial /u/ in vowel hiatus is rendered as [əw] (Kim 2021: 13). Thus CA /ɑ̣ues/ ‘fox’ could have been pronounced as [ɑ̣əwes].

Note that Classical grapheme sequence <ուլ> /ɑṷ/ became SEA /o/, and this change encouraged the use of a new letter <o> in its place. Adjarian often uses the letter <o> to refer to the ancient diphthong. When he uses the letter <o> in these contexts (such as <Վօր> ‘mother.GEN’), I use the transliteration <ō> and the Classical pronunciation /ɑṷ/: <մօր>, /mɑṷr/. I usually opt to use an alternative CA spelling with <ուլ>: <Վուլր> <mawr> /mɑṷr/. I do this so that it is clearer what were the actual sound changes from Classical Armenian to the modern dialects.

3.2.4 Consonant inventory

Classical Armenian had 30 consonants (Table 6).

Table 6: Consonants of Classical Armenian

Orthography	բ	պ	փ	դ	տ	թ	գ	կ	ք
HMB transliteration	b	p	p ^c	d	t	t ^c	g	k	k ^c
IPA transcription	b	p	p ^h	d	t	t ^h	g	k	k ^h
Orthography	ծ	ժ	ց	ջ	ճ	չ			
HMB transliteration	j	c	c ^c	ǰ	č	č ^c			
IPA transcription	Ɑ	ⱦ	ⱦ ^h	Ᵽ	Ɽ	Ɽ ^h			
Orthography	վ	ս	զ	շ	ժ	խ	հ		
HMB transliteration	v	s	z	š	ž	x	h		
IPA transcription	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	χ	h		
Orthography	մ	ն	ր	լ	ղ	ւ	յ		
HMB transliteration	m	n	r	l	ł	w	y		
IPA transcription	m	n	r	l	ɫ	w	j		

For stops and affricates, Classical Armenian had a three-way laryngeal contrast. This contrast is conventionally treated as between voiced, voiceless unaspirated, and voiceless aspirated /b, p, p^h/.

The fricatives are generally uncontroversial. For the back fricative <խ>, the modern standard dialects show free variation between a velar /x/ vs. uvular /χ/ articulation. The uvular transcription is however more typical. I use the uvular form as the default transcription for Classical Armenian.

For the nasals, the modern standard dialects have an allophonic velar nasal [ŋ] that is used when a coronal nasal /n/ precedes a velar stop. The Armenian

orthography does not mark this in any variety, including Classical Armenian. It is unknown if Classical Armenian likewise had nasal place assimilation before velar stops, but it is likely. To be safe, I do not use a velar nasal [ŋ] for Classical Armenian.

For the rhotics <ր, ռ> or <ր, ռ>, they are pronounced as a flap vs. trill in modern SEA /r, r/. It is unclear if the <ր> was a flap /r/ or an approximant /ɹ/ in the Classical language (Macak 2017: 1040). I opt for a flap /r/. Adjarian himself does not comment on the pronunciation of this rhotic.

For the liquids, the symbol <լ> <լ> is pronounced as a simple lateral /l/ in the traditional pronunciation and the modern standard dialects. The symbol <ղ> <ղ> is pronounced as a voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ in the modern standard dialects, while it is generally treated as a dark or velar lateral /ɫ/ in Classical Armenian (§4.7.1.2.6, Macak 2016: ch2).

For the sonorants <յ, վ>, these are traditionally transliterated as <y, w>. These sounds are the glides /j, w/. However, it is difficult to know when such a letter was pronounced as a glide vs. part of a diphthong (§3.2.3).

3.2.5 Schwa epenthesis

Classical Armenian has a schwa symbol <ը> /ə/. This vowel is written in some words like /əst/ <ըստ> <əst> ‘for’. However, it is likely that the sound /ə/ was pronounced in many words but was unwritten in the orthography.

In the modern standard dialects, the orthography has long clusters of consonants (Table 7). These clusters are broken up by schwas in pronunciation. A conventional analysis is to treat these schwas as epenthetic (Vaux 1998). The patterns for epenthesis are complicated but rule-governed (cf. Dolatian 2023a). It is likely that these epenthetic schwas were present likewise in Classical Armenian.

Table 7: Schwa epenthesis in Classical Armenian and the standard dialects with example word ‘fire’

	CA	SEA	SWA	
<krak>	kərak	kərak	gərag	կրակ

There are various reasons to assume that Classical Armenian had the same unwritten schwa epenthesis rules as the modern standard dialects. In the traditional pronunciation, the convention is to pronounce unwritten schwas in almost exactly the same places as their modern forms (Godel 1975: 16; Thomson 1989: 116;

Macak 2017: 1043). Diachronically, some of these unwritten schwas are reflexes of Proto-Indo-European full vowels, that got reduced in Proto-Armenian (Vaux 1998: 26). There is no synchronic evidence of an unreduced vowel in the underlying form for these unwritten epenthetic schwas.

There have been a few attempts at formalizing the rules for pronouncing these unwritten schwas for Classical Armenian (Hammalian 1984, Schwink 1994, Pierce 2007). Pierce (2007) has noted that as a spelling-pronunciation rule, essentially the same schwa epenthesis rules are active for Classical Armenian and for Modern Armenian.

Because of the above facts, I transcribe Classical Armenian with essentially the same epenthetic schwas that the modern standard dialects use. There are some situations where the traditional pronunciation of Classical Armenian uses an epenthetic schwa while the standard dialects do not. Two such situations are the suffix /-k^h/ and the prefix /z-/.

The suffix /-k^h/ <ք> is a nominalizer in SEA and SWA. In the modern language, it does not use schwa epenthesis after stops or two consonants: [part-k^h] ‘debt’ <պարտք>. But there are ambiguous and contradictory reports that the CA ancestor form (the plural suffix -k^h) does use schwa epenthesis in more contexts than SEA/SWA. For example, the prose in Godel (1975: 18-19) suggests schwa epenthesis applies after a CC cluster [part-ək^h] or after a stop/affricate. In contrast, the prose in Thomson (1989: 120) suggests no schwa epenthesis after a CC cluster [part-k^h]. Thomson suggests that schwa epenthesis applies only if the /-k^h/ follows a velar stop. For these limited cases where schwa epenthesis is unclear, I transcribe the CA forms with a question mark: [part-(ə?)k^h].

The prefix /z-/ was an accusative prefix in Classical Armenian. When this prefix is before a consonant, a schwa is added before the prefix: /z-CV/ → [əz-CV] (Thomson 1989: 116). This prefix is found in some archaic accusative pronouns in SWA [əz-mez] <զմեզ> ‘me.ACC’, but it is not used as an inflectional prefix on nouns in SWA or SEA.

3.2.6 Stress

In terms of stress, we do not have direct evidence from Classical sources. However, it is a convention to treat Classical Armenian as having the same basic stress patterns as the modern standard dialects (SEA and SWA), described in §3.1.3.

Briefly, stress is on the final non-schwa vowel of the word, in SEA and SWA. For Classical Armenian, the same stress rules are assumed to apply (Thomson

1989: 15; Macak 2017: 1043-4). Evidence for the existence of final stress in pre-modern Armenian is discussed in DeLisi (2018).

3.3 Adjarian’s dialectological notation

In the original monograph, Adjarian set up his own notation to capture the pronunciation of words from non-standard dialects. He called his system a “scientific alphabet” (§4.4), and he adapted it from the Armenian script. I converted his notation to IPA, as explained in §3.3.1. When re-transcribing his notation, I had to make decisions on matters that Adjarian kept implicit (§3.3.2). I sometimes had to diverge from Adjarian’s notation because of typographic problems (§3.3.3). I discovered that Adjarian had unfortunate inconsistencies in representing diphthongs (§3.3.4).

3.3.1 IPA approximations

In the original monograph, Adjarian transcribed what he perceived was the pronunciation of the non-standard dialects. He devised his own notation system based on the Armenian alphabet, by adding additional diacritics or modifying the direction of letters. I call this his dialectological notation. Adjarian used this notation to transcribe dialectal speech.

In this translation, I retained Adjarian’s original dialectological transcriptions and supplied an IPA approximation. Table 8 lists all the dialectological symbols that he used, along with my IPA approximation and my description. The PDF (and source LaTeX) of the translation can be searched for the occurrences of these symbols. Adjarian’s description was helpful in determining their phonetic values.

For consonants, I found little difficulty in rendering them into IPA. For vowels, most cases were simple to do. But some were hard to render:

- <ըւ> /ɛ/, see §10.2.1.1.
- <տօօ> /œo/, see §11.2.3.1.6.
- <օօ> /oo/, see §11.2.3.1.6.

Table 8: Adjarian’s dialectological notation and my IPA approximations

Adjarian’s notation	IPA approx.	Description
Consonants		
բ	b	voiced bilabial stop
բ՛	b ^h	voiced aspirated bilabial stop
դ	d	voiced coronal (dental) stop
դ՛	d ^h	voiced aspirated coronal (dental) stop
ծ	\widehat{dz}	voiced coronal (dental) affricate
ծ՛	\widehat{dz}^h	voiced aspirated coronal (dental) affricate
ջ	$\widehat{dʒ}$	voiced postalveolar affricate
ջ՛	$\widehat{dʒ}^h$	voiced aspirated postalveolar affricate
ֆ	f	voiceless labiodental fricative
գ	g	voiced velar stop
գ՛	g ^h	voiced aspirated velar stop
գյ	g ^j	palatalized voiced velar stop
հ՛	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
հ	h	voiceless glottal fricative
հյ	ç	voiceless palatal fricative
՛, ՚, ՚	ɦ	voiced glottal fricative
յ	j	voiced palatal glide
կ	k	voiceless unaspirated velar stop
ք	k ^h	voiceless aspirated velar stop
քյ	k ^{hj}	palatalized voiceless aspirated velar stop
կյ	k ^j	palatalized voiceless unaspirated velar stop
լ	l	voiced lateral approximant
լ՛	l ^j	palatalized voiced lateral approximant
մ	m	voiced bilabial nasal
ն	n	voiced coronal (dental) nasal
պ	p	voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop
պհ	p ^h	voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
դ՛	q	voiceless uvular stop
ռ	r	voiced alveolar trill
ր	r	voiced alveolar flap
ղ	ʁ	voiced uvular fricative
ս	s	voiceless alveolar fricative

Adjarian's		
notation	IPA approx.	Description
ʒ	ʃ	voiceless postalveolar fricative
un	t	voiceless unaspirated coronal (dental) stop
ɸ	t ^h	voiceless aspirated coronal (dental) stop
ð	(ts	voiceless unaspirated coronal (dental) affricate
g	(ts ^h	voiceless aspirated coronal (dental) affricate
ɔ	(tʃ	voiceless unaspirated postalveolar affricate
ʒ	(tʃ ^h	voiceless aspirated postalveolar affricate
ɸ	v	voiced labiodental fricative
ɮ	w	voiced labial-velar glide
q	z	voiced alveolar fricative
ɸ	ʒ	voiced postalveolar fricative
ʁ	ʁ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ħ	χ	voiceless uvular fricative

Vowels

m, ü	æ	low front unrounded vowel
ū	ã	nasalized /a/
u	ɑ	low back unrounded vowel
uɹ	ɑə	diphthong of /ɑ/ and (offglide) /ə/
u ^j , u ^l	ɑ _i	diphthong of /ɑ/ and (offglide) /i/
uɮ	ɑ _u	diphthong of /ɑ/ and (offglide) /u/
È or È [`]	ɛ̇	lowered /e/
ɛ	e	mid front unrounded vowel
ɛ _i	e _i	diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /i/
ɛ ^j , ɛ ^l	ɛ̃ _i	shortened diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /i/
ɛ _j	e _j , e _i	inconsistent between diphthong or vowel-glide
ɛɮ	e _u	diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /u/
ɹɛ	ə̆	fronted schwa
ɹ ^o	ə̇	lowered schwa
ɹ	ə	schwa (mid central vowel)
ɹ ⁱ , ɹ ^h	ə _i	diphthong of /ə/ and (offglide) /i/
ɪ	i	high front unrounded vowel
ɪɛ	i _e	diphthong of (offglide) /i/ and /e/
ɪɮ	i _{e_u}	triphthong of (offglide) /i/, /e/, and (offglide) /u/
ɪ ^j , ɪ ^l	i _i	diphthong of /i/ and (offglide) /i/
î	i	high central unrounded vowel

Adjarian's		
notation	IPA approx.	Description
o	o	mid back rounded vowel
ɛo	œ	front mid rounded vowel
ɛ̀o	œ̘	diphthong of /œ/ and (offglide) /ə/
ɛoo	œo	perhaps a diphthong of /œ/ and /o/
ɛoL	œɯ	diphthong of /œ/ and (offglide) /u/
oɹ	o̘	diphthong of /o/ and (offglide) /ə/
oo	oo	perhaps a long vowel /o/
oL	oɯ	diphthong of /o/ and (offglide) /u/
nL	u	high back rounded vowel
nLɹ, Lɹ	ɯɑ	diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /ɑ/
nLɛ	ɯe	diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /e/
nL ⁱ , nL ^h	ɯi	diphthong of /u/ and (offglide) /i/
n	ɯo	diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /o/
ô	ɯœ	diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /œ/
ɣL	ɣ	high front rounded vowel

3.3.2 Implicit information on assumed phonetic values

During the course of translating Adjarian and re-transcribing his data, I had to make decisions on the exact phonetic value of Adjarian's notation. I noticed that Adjarian would omit some types of information about Armenian phonology and phonetics, whether intentionally (because he implied the information) or because of ignorance (which we can never determine). I discuss my decisions here.

3.3.2.1 Front round vowels

For the front round vowels <ɣL, ɛo>, I transcribe them as /ɣ, œ/. These are common realizations for the SWA form of these vowels. Though it is possible that some of the non-standard dialects use /ɣ/ or /ø/.

3.3.2.2 Glide epenthesis in vowel hiatus repair

In SEA and SWA, the vowel hiatus between the vowels /e/ and /i/ is repaired by either a transitional or full glide /j/ (6). I include this glide in my transcriptions for SWA and SEA.

- (6) SWA
 /jerk^h-e-i-n/ → [jerk^hejin]
 sing-TH-PST-3PL
 ‘(If) they sing.’
 Երգէին

The Armenian orthography does not mark glide insertion in this context. Adjarian likewise generally does not include this glide either in his dialectological notation. Thus, we will come across many dialectal words that are transcribed with vowel hiatus. But I think it is likely that there was a glide in these contexts. For example, we see instances of such apparent vowel hiatus contexts in §9.3.3.1.3. The dialectal form is transcribed with a vowel hiatus sequence [e-i] while the SEA cognate has a glide [ej-i].

3.3.2.3 Level of abstraction: Schwas and voicing assimilation

In general, Adjarian’s dialectological notation seemed reliably close to a possible surface pronunciation for words. However, I suspect that Adjarian was at times transcribing in a more abstract or broad “phonemic form” instead of a narrow phonetic form.

Evidence comes from how Adjarian transcribed obstruent clusters. In SWA, there is a productive constraint against having obstruent clusters that have heterogeneous voicing. For example, for the root /ok^hud/ ‘utility’ <օգուտ>, the derivative ‘helpful’ is pronounced [okt^h-ɑɑr] <օգտակար>. Adding a suffix causes the root vowel to disappear, and the newly created obstruent cluster assimilates to a voiceless cluster.

In contrast, Adjarian often has clusters with heterogeneous voicing. For example in (13c), Adjarian cites a Hamshen word /kof-di/ <կոջդի> that is borrowed from Ottoman Turkish, written in Armeno-Turkish letters. The suffix that he spelled as /di/ <դի> is a Turkish suffix. The modern Turkish form of this word, however, is <koş-tu> where the suffix is devoiced because of voicing assimilation, and this is marked in the orthography. In contrast, Adjarian transcribes this suffix in its phonemic form, without voicing assimilation.

For Adjarian’s data, it is unknown if words that are transcribed with heterogeneous voicing like /kofdi/ were truly pronounced with such clusters [kofdi], or if they were pronounced with assimilation [kofti]. We cannot know for certain how narrow or broad Adjarian’s transcriptions were, but my suspicion is that they were rather broad (phonemic).

Another tendency for Adjarian was that he often omitted epenthetic schwas. On page 9 from the original translation, Adjarian transcribed the word <վրայ> ‘on’ as [vrɑ]. But, the typical transcription is [vrɑɹ] with an epenthetic schwa. Throughout the translation, I often found Adjarian transcribing words with large consonant clusters, that would otherwise require schwa epenthesis in CA and SEA/SWA. I doubt that the relevant dialects lacked schwa epenthesis. It is possible that Adjarian omitted some of these schwas because he either a) perceived them to be too acoustically weak or short to transcribe (= a more narrow transcription), or b) he felt the schwas were too predictable to require insertion (= a more broad transcription).

3.3.2.4 Low vowel <ւ> /ɑ/

For the letter <ւ>, most traditional transliteration systems use a simpler transcription as <a>. But phonetically, this letter represents a low back unrounded vowel /ɑ/ in modern Standard Western Armenian and Standard Eastern Armenian. Although we do not have access to articulatory or acoustic data on the Armenian dialects, I suspect that Adjarian is using <ւ> to denote a back unrounded vowel for the following reasons.

First, dialectological work often distinguishes a typical vowel <ւ> from an atypical fronted form like <ւ̈> /æ/. This suggests that even in 1911, Adjarian perceived <ւ> as contrasting with a front <ւ̈> /æ/ by being back.

Second, in the IPA, the letter <a> represents a front vowel too. Thus, if I use both <a, æ>, then it can create a false impression that there is a phonemic contrast between two front vowels <a, æ>, instead of between a front and back vowel <æ, ɑ>.

Third, Adjarian was often sensitive in his perception of subtle acoustic differences. For example, in some dialects, he gives subtle judgments by saying that the low vowel <ւ> was pronounced with a more closed mouth in the dialect of Van (§17.2.2.1.1). This suggests that he himself felt that <ւ> represented a back *unrounded* vowel.

However, in my own fieldwork, the dialect of Tehrani Iranian Armenian has a rounded back vowel /ɒ/ due to Persian contact (Dolatian et al. 2023: §2.1.4). Perceiving this rounding is quite subtle. So it is possible that some of the dialects from Iran that Adjarian studied did in fact use a back rounded form /ɒ/ instead of a back unrounded form /ɑ/. However, it is impossible to know what was the case 100 years ago.

3.3.2.5 Patalal vs. palatalized consonants

Adjarian uses the digraphs <qj, lj, pj, hj> to write consonants that combine a back consonant (velar stop /g, k, k^h/ or glottal fricative /h/) with a glide /j/. He does not discuss the nature of such sounds. In the original Armenian, he uses the phrase <քմականները> ‘the palatals’ (original page 10). The typography suggests these consonants are palatalized velar/glottal consonants /g^j, k^j, k^{hj}, h^j/. But Adjarian’s wording in Armenian suggests that these consonants are phonetically palatal consonants /ʃ, ç, c^h, ç/.

I discussed the matter with other linguists of Armenian (Nikita Bezrukov, Afsheen Sharifzadeh, Bert Vaux). For the stops, our impression is that these symbols are generally used to mean palatalized consonants, not palatal consonants. Furthermore, in Adjarian’s earlier grammar of Karabakh Armenian (Աճառեան 1901: 18), he describes the digraph <qj> as a palatalized consonant (a yodized /g/). The grammar was written in Armenian, and the following is my translation:

Այս ձեւը կ’արտասանուի ճիշտ գրուածին պէս [...] որ եւրոպական բառով
կը կոչուի g yodisé, այսինքն j կիսածայնն ստացած գ

This form is pronounced just the way it is written [...] it is called a “g yodisé” in the European terms, meaning the /g/ has received the semivowel /j/.

For the fricative <hj>, the typography suggests /h^j/. But in an earlier grammar on Karabakh, Adjarian calls this sound a “soft <ch>” <թեթել ch> (Աճառեան 1901: 24). He reports that this sound is pronounced in the same way that the digraph <ch> is pronounced in the German word <ich>. Wiktionary lists the IPA pronunciation /iç/ for this German word (and further corroborated by Sabine Laszakovits). I thereby conclude that Adjarian means that the sound <hj> is a palatal fricative /ç/.

3.3.2.6 Rhotics

For the rhotic letters <n, r>, the modern Standard Eastern pronunciation is a trill-flap distinction /r-ɾ/. Modern dialects differ in whether the transcribed <r> letter is truly a flap /ɾ/ vs. an approximant /ɹ, ɻ/. For example, Standard Western and Eastern Armenian use a flap /ɾ/, while Tehrani Iranian Armenian uses an approximant /ɻ/. Hamshen is also reported to have an /ɹ/ (Vaux 2007). Dialectologists do not distinguish these types of /ɾ/. But to reduce confusion with the trill, I transcribe the trill as /r/, and the non-trill rhotic as /ɾ/.

3.3.2.7 Stress

In this translation, I generally do not provide stress markings for CA nor for SWA/SEA. I provide stress markings only in the following situation. Sometimes, Adjarian documents dialectal words and he includes a stress symbol <´>. He does this for words or dialects that have unexpected penultimate stress. For such situations, I also provide the stress marking for the CA and SEA/SWA cognates, to emphasize the contrast.

3.3.2.8 Uvular fricatives

For the letters <խ, դ>, modern SWA and SEA use uvular /χ, ʁ/. Though in my experience, velar pronunciations are possible as free variation. Dialectological work does not distinguish velar vs. uvular pronunciations. So, although I transcribe these letters consistently as uvular across the dialects, it is possible that they may be more velar in some dialects than others.

3.3.2.9 Nasal place assimilation

Nasal place assimilation occurs when a nasal phoneme assimilates the place features of another consonant in its environment. SEA and SWA have productive nasal place assimilation before velar stops: /n/ → [ŋ] before /k^h, k, g/ (§3.1.1). I transcribe these allophonic velar nasals for the SEA and SWA forms.

It is unknown if CA had an allophonic velar nasal [ŋ]. Adjarian does not acknowledge the existence of velar nasals in CA, SEA/SWA, nor the non-standard dialects. We cannot know for sure if CA and the non-standard dialects had nasal place assimilation, but it is likely. To maintain a faithful translation, I do not transcribe possible velar nasals in the dialects, simply because we do not know for sure if these dialects had allophonic velar nasals.

3.3.3 Typographical problems

While translating the book, I came across Armenian symbols that Adjarian used which I unfortunately could not faithfully represent in my text rendering. These were symbols that were either absent from Unicode, or which required specialized fonts for me to use. I had to replace these symbols with approximate symbols.

- (7) Armenian symbols that I could not represent easily
- a. For the low front vowel /æ/, Adjarian used the special symbol <m>. I used the Armenian letter <ւ>. This alternative symbol is also more common in post-Adjarian dialectological work.
 - b. Some diphthongs were written with a superscript form of the letter <j>: <Է^j, Ի^j, Ս^j>. I used a superscript <j>: <Է^j, Ի^j, Ս^j>.
 - c. Some diphthongs were written with a superscript form of the letter <h>: <ն^h, ր^h>. I used a superscript <i>: <նⁱ, րⁱ>.
 - d. For a lowered schwa, Adjarian used the upside-down version of the symbol <ը>. I could not reproduce this, so I used <ը°>.

To explain why I replaced these letters, consider the sound /*ɛ̃j*/. The original Armenian rendering is Է^j with a superscript <j>. The PDF can show this substring correctly as Է^j with a superscript. But if the reader tries to copy this string, the result is a non-superscripted form Էj. The superscript form with Է^j is not recoverable because ^j is not a predefined Unicode symbol. But, if the reader tries to copy Էj, then the superscript <j> is rendered.

3.3.4 Diphthong inconsistencies

During the course of the translation, I came across inconsistencies in Adjarian's dialectological notation.

For all dialect chapters before Crimea (§34), Adjarian treated the symbols <ԻԼ, ԻԵԼ, ԻՂ> as /y, ĩɛy, iə/. But then for Crimea (§35.2.1.2), he states these symbols should be read as single diphthongs: /ĩy, ĩɛy, iə/. This creates a contradiction with his previous use of these symbols. For <ԻԵԼ>, the contradiction is that <ԵԼ> already signifies /ĩɛy/.

The symbol sequence <Էj> is likewise ambiguous. For some dialects, Adjarian uses this symbol to denote a diphthong /*ɛj*/, and he explicitly says the sound is a diphthong (Karabakh: §10.2.1.2, Cilicia: §24.3.1.3). But then for some dialects like Agulis (§14.2.1) and Van (§17.2.1), he states the vowels of these dialects, and does not mention a diphthong /*ɛj*/, yet he still provides words with the symbol sequence <Էj>. One can therefore assume that Adjarian intends for this sequence to be read as /*ɛj*/ for these dialects.

I suspect part of this inconsistency for <Էj> is due to typographical errors. For the dialect of Van, Adjarian states the Vozim dialect has a diphthong <Է^j> or <Է^j> /*ɛ̃j*/. This diphthong is written with a superscript glide. He provides Vozim words that have both the superscript glide and the non-superscript glide: /*χɛ̃jɛ̃j*/

<խտլլէ՛> ‘mirror’ (Table 43). For the Vozim past perfective (§17.4.3.3.2), he sometimes transcribes a past suffix as /ěj/ <է՛> but other times as /ej/ <է>. Thus, I suspect that the ambiguities in Adjarian’s use of <է> could all be typos for <է՛>.

4 Translation conventions

While translating the monograph, I had to make decisions on how to convey all the implicit and explicit information in Adjarian’s prose. Such information ranged from organization of the text (§4.1), Adjarian’s diachronic treatment of synchronic phonology (§4.2), morphological segmentation (§4.3), my naming conventions for the morphology (§4.4), his personal writing style and romanizations (§4.5), his use of data from multiple non-Armenian languages (§4.6), and my own limitations (§4.7).

4.1 Structuring and explanation

For most of this translation, I tried to maintain Adjarian’s original order and way of presenting information. However, there were two issues that I had to solve: section divisions and specifying diachronic changes.

First, Adjarian usually did not use section divisions in his chapters. For example, a dialect chapter would be a single long sequence of pages without any breaks. To make his content easier to read, organize, and access, I tried to provide extensive subsection divisions.

Second, oftentimes, Adjarian did not use any special notation to differentiate the Classical pronunciation vs. the modern pronunciations. Within a single sentence, he uses the same letters to denote both Classical and Modern pronunciations without using any special terms. He essentially uses one system of letter-sound correspondences for Classical Armenian, and another system for the modern dialects. For example, he would say “The sound X is Y”, and then expect his Armenian-literate readers to infer that X is Classical while Y is modern. He thus leaves it up to the (Armenian-speaking and literate) reader to deduce whenever some letter is designating the ancestor of a sound vs. the actual current pronounced form. For easier reading, I use the abbreviations like CA or MA, and terms like “Classical” and “reflex, modern” to disambiguate the text.

For example, in section §4.7.1.2.1, Adjarian talks about how the Classical Armenian sound /ē/ became modern /e/. But he uses the same letter <է> for both pronunciations. Similarly in §4.7.1.2.4, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ became a diphthong /uo/ in some dialects, but both sounds are written with <ո>. The

reader is expected to know that the letter <n> stands for /o/ when used to transcribe a Classical Armenian word, while the same letter stands for / uo / when used to transcribe a dialectal word.

4.2 Phonological terms, changes, and alternations

As discussed in §3.3.2.3, Adjarian was at times inconsistent in his phonological level of abstraction. When translating the monograph, I had to make decisions on how to represent his phonological transcriptions. I likewise came across problems in his phonological terminology and treatment.

For phonological transcriptions in this book, I generally use slashes // to encode Adjarian's transcriptions, and also for my own SWA and SEA transcriptions. This is because Adjarian's notation is ambiguously narrow or broad. I often use <> to mark orthographic transcriptions, especially in the Armenian script or in Adjarian's dialectological notation.

In very few cases, I use brackets [] when I want to distinguish between a more abstract phonological form in slashes // vs. a more narrow phonetic form in brackets [], such as in the case of allophonic nasal place assimilation. But in general, my use of slashes // does not encode an abstract lexical representation. For example, I show epenthetic schwas in slashes //.

Besides notation, Adjarian's treatment of Armenian phonology reflected his training in the late 19th century by Antoine Meillet. His training is substantially different from how a 21st century phonologist would do phonology. Adjarian was trained within the framework of comparative linguistics, before the rise of Saussurean or structural linguistics (structuralism).

Because of his training in pre-structuralism, Adjarian does not utilize phonological concepts from structuralism such as phonemes and allophones. For example, in the Karabakh chapter, Adjarian provides a list of sounds present in the dialect (§10.2.1). But he does not specify if all these sounds can appear freely in a word (as a phoneme), or whether certain sounds are restricted to specific contexts (as an allophone).

For sounds that are borrowed from another language, he sometimes specifies that such sounds exist only in borrowed words. For example, in the Tigranakert dialect, the sound /q/ is present only in Arabic words. This sound is thus a marginal phoneme in that dialect. Yet he does not use a theoretical term like "marginal phoneme".

Because Adjarian was trained before the rise of structuralist or generative linguistics, he likewise did not look at phonology as a synchronic system of alternations. For example, in the Cilicia dialect, Adjarian talks about how vowels in a

word tend to assimilate (§24.3.2.3). When translating his prose, I called this process “vowel harmony” because that is how a linguist in the 21st century would understand this process, even though Adjarian did not use such a term.

For synchronic processes like vowel harmony, Adjarian sometimes would say what relevant for the process (§11.2.3.1.5). But for diachronic changes, he often would not give any explanation. For example in the Agulis chapter, Adjarian lists how various vowels changed from Classical Armenian to Agulis Armenian (§14.2.2.1). But such changes seem to be haphazard. For example, the Classical Armenian vowel /a/ has many reflexes in Agulis: /a, æ, o, e, œ, jœ, qj, u, ɣ/. Adjarian does not describe under what phonotactic or morphological conditions these different reflexes arose. And it is beyond the scope of this translation to explain these changes.

4.3 Glossing and morpheme segmentation

Adjarian generally did not morphologically segment his dialectal data, nor would he state the meaning of some word or affix. All glossing and segmentation was my own. Adjarian would usually present his data in one of the following three formats.

The first format is listing a dialectal word and then some related non-dialectal word. The non-dialectal word would be from CA, SEA, or SWA, but he usually does not state which variety. In this situation, I would transcribe the dialectal word, find and transcribe the CA and SWA/SEA cognates, and place them all together. The CA form serves to show a likely ancestor for the dialectal word, while the SEA/SWA form gives a sense of the divergence of the dialect’s development. To illustrate this, see Table 5 in the Yerevan chapter.

In a lot of these situations, the non-dialectal form would have been identically written in either CA or SEA/SWA. In a few cases, the forms would be different, such as for ‘lentil’ in Table 5; Adjarian has provided the SEA form <նուս> for this word, but not the CA word. Unless Adjarian stated otherwise, I assumed that the dialectal form had the same meaning as the CA and SEA/SWA forms.

In some cases, Adjarian would provide a non-dialectal word in its inflected form that would have only been found in SEA/SWA, not CA. For those situations, I could only provide a partial picture of what the dialectal forms were. See for example Table 46 in the Yerevan chapter. Adjarian provided the dialectal form for ‘gathered’, but this word did not have an obvious reflex in CA.

Adjarian sometimes would use the asterisk * to say that a Classical Armenian word or ancestor word is reconstructed. I kept his notation.

In very few situations, Adjarian provided a non-dialectal form that was not present in either CA or modern SEA/SWA. In those situations, I simply used the cognates that were attested. See for example the word for ‘cress’ in the Karabakh chapter in Table 20.

The second format was sentences. Here, Adjarian would provide a dialectal sentence, and a SEA/SWA translation. He would not morphologically segment his sentences. However, the Armenian reader could look at the Armenian translation and figure out the closest morphological connections and segmentations. I glossed and segmented all the sentences to the best of my abilities, by deducing from the SEA/SWA translations and cognates.

The third format was morphological paradigms. Adjarian would usually at most just list a paradigm as a set of cells and some label like “indicative present”. He usually did not describe how such words were morphologically constructed. The Armenian reader would then have to deduce the morphological segmentation, by again contrasting against how either SWA or SEA would construct the indicative present. For such paradigms, I would segment the dialectal forms and provide SEA/SWA forms for easier contrast. I would explain how the SEA/SWA morphology works, and then use that information to deduce how the dialectal morphology works. For example, see §8.3.3.1 for the Yerevan verbal paradigms.

I generally tried to morphologically segment as many words as possible, with the exception is pronouns. I try to minimize my segmentation and glossing of pronouns because pronouns tend to contain a lot of opaque morphology. See §13.3.2.

4.4 Grammatical terminology for morphological paradigms

When translating the book, I had to make decisions on how to call the different morphological items and tenses that Adjarian described. I tried to find a balance between staying faithful to Adjarian’s original terminology while using the modern names for some categories.

For example, Adjarian was often agnostic as to whether a certain morpheme was a prefix, suffix, or clitic. He often used the word <մասնիկ> which can be translated as “particle” or “formative”. I used the word “formative” in the translation as a way to maintain Adjarian’s agnosticism.

In his morphological paradigms, Adjarian used traditional Armenian names for the various tenses and non-finite verb forms. I go through some of the more controversial items below.

In modern Standard Armenian, verbs can surface in a small set of non-finite verbs. The names for these non-finite forms vary across Armenian grammar

books. For example, in Standard Eastern Armenian, the suffix *-um* is used to mark a non-finite form that is called the “present participle” (Dum-Tragut 2009: 212) or the “imperfective converb” (Dolatian et al. 2023: 109). The word “converb” in this context refers to a non-finite form that can only be used in periphrastic constructions. Adjarian seems to not use any special Armenian term for this non-finite form, and tends to just say something along the lines of “with formative /-um/”. Similarly, Standard Eastern Armenian uses the suffix /-el/ to create a non-finite form that has been called the “perfect participle” (Dum-Tragut 2009: 213), the “perfective converb” (Dolatian et al. 2023: 111), or the “past participle” (սւցեալ դերբայ) by Adjarian (§11.3.3.1.2).

When translating the book, I stay faithful to Adjarian’s terminology. For example, in §11.3.3.1.2, Adjarian explicitly uses the term “past participle” (սւցեալ դերբայ) to describe a non-finite form in Yerevan, and I translate his wording as such. But, in the glossing and when discussing the SEA forms (§8.3.3.1.2), I use more modern terminology from Dolatian et al. (2023). The terms used in Dolatian et al. (2023) typically match the terms used in the Eastern Armenian National Corpus, with few deviations.

There are other points of Armenian grammar that are controversial in their terminology. In Eastern dialects, the formative /k-, kə-/ is called a “future prefix” or “future formative” by Adjarian. In contrast, some modern grammars of Eastern Armenian call this a conditional future marker (Dum-Tragut 2009: 253ff). I try to maintain Adjarian’s terms when translating him.

Another area worth mentioning concerns perfectivity and imperfectivity. Here, Adjarian uses traditional terms in Armenian philology which sometimes conflict with more recent terminology in Armenian linguistics. Consider the following four sentences from Standard Eastern Armenian listed in Table 9.

A simple present tense sentence such as ‘they like’ is called “the present” by Adjarian, while it is called “the indicative present” in more recent work. For marking the past tense, SEA utilizes two basic types of past constructions. One renders the incomplete past meaning of the English ‘they were liking’, while the other renders the completed past meaning of ‘they liked’. The former construction is called the “imperfective” by Adjarian, and “indicative past imperfective” by Dolatian et al. (2023: §6.3.1). The latter construction is called the “(past) perfective”. More complex tenses like the present perfect are used for sentences such as ‘they have liked’.

When translating this book, I kept Adjarian’s original term. I then used the modern grammatical term in my personal section division titles and in the labels for paradigm tables.

Table 9: Perfectivity and imperfectivity in Standard Eastern Armenian

Term from Adjarian 1911	Term from Dolatian et al. (2023)	Example
Present <ներկայ>	Indicative present	sir-um e-n like-IMPF.CVB AUX-3PL 'they like, they are liking' սիրում են
Imperfective <անկատար>	Indicative past imperfective	sir-um ej-i-n like-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-3PL 'they were liking' սիրում էին
Perfective <կատարեալ>	Past perfective	sir-e-t ^h -i-n like-TH-AOR-PST-3PL 'they liked' սիրեցին
Present perfect <յարակատար>	Present perfect	sir-el e-n like-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL 'they have liked' սիրել են

When translating paradigms from Western Armenian dialects, I encountered the problem of capturing the progressive tense (Table 10). In formal written SWA, the synthetic forms used in the indicative present and the indicative past imperfective can denote either a progressive or non-progressive reading. But in spoken SWA, the particle /gor/ is mandatory for denoting a progressive meaning.¹²

Outside of an artificial literary context, a SWA speaker cannot naturally perceive a progressive reading for these synthetic forms without /gor/. When translating past imperfective sentences for the Western dialects, I used the non-progressive meaning as the default (following the spoken register of SWA). In some cases, Adjarian explicitly said a sentence had a progressive meaning; so I followed him in those contexts.

¹²In SEA, there is no dedicated progressive morpheme or construction. The indicative present can have a progressive or non-progressive meaning (Table 9). The indicative past imperfective has only a progressive meaning. The meaning of 'I would like' is expressed by using the prefix /k-/ with past tense agreement, as in [kə-sir-ej-i-n] (Dolatian et al. 2023: §6.5.3).

Table 10: Progressive meanings in Standard Western Armenian

Paradigm name	Example		Literary register	Spoken register
Indicative present	ԳՅ-ՃՁՄ-Ե-Ն		‘they drink’	‘they drink’
	IND-drink-TH-3PL		‘they are drinking’	
	ԳՅ-ՃՁՄ-Ե-Ն	ԳՐ	N/A	‘they are drinking’
	IND-drink-TH-3PL	PROG		
Indicative past imperfective	ԳՅ-ՃՁՄ-ԵՅ-Ի-Ն		‘they would drink’	‘they would drink’
	IND-drink-TH-PST-3PL		‘they are drinking’	
	ԳՅ-ՃՁՄ-ԵՅ-Ի-Ն	ԳՐ		‘they are drinking’
	IND-drink-TH-PST-3PL	PROG		

Past tense morphology presents another set of problems in Eastern Armenian. When the future prefix [k(ə)-] is added to the subjunctive present, it creates a simple future reading ‘I will like’. But when it is added to a subjunctive past form, it creates a conditional-like reading ‘I would like’ (Dolatian et al. 2023: §6.5.3). Adjarian calls the latter reading the future past though it is semantically inaccurate. See discussion in §14.3.3.3.4.

4.5 Cultural terminology and names used by Adjarian

There were minor cases where Adjarian would use an Armenian term that was difficult to translate accurately. One such word is the noun <գաղութ>. This word can be translated in various ways such as ‘colony’ or ‘settlement’. The derived word <գաղթական> can then also be translated as ‘colonizer, settler, migrant, emigre’ and so on.

In general, he would use these two words to describe communities of Armenians who were living in areas outside of Historic Armenia, or communities who migrated across different regions and cities. Throughout this book, I tended to translate these terms as either ‘settlements’ or ‘migrant communities’. I did this because the word ‘colony’ can incorrectly imply that these Armenian communities were part of some colonization effort, instead of just normal human migration.¹³

Adjarian likewise was sometimes flowery and ornate in his prose. He would often use the phrase <հիս հայերէն> ‘Old Armenian’ to denote Classical Armenian, instead of the conventional word <գրաբար>. He used the term <սոր հայերէն>

¹³In the French version, Adjarian (1909) used the French words *colonie* (page 13) and *émigration* (page 84). I thank Bert Vaux and Thomas Castaigna for finding this out for me.

‘New Armenian’ to denote the modern descendants (whether standard or non-standard dialects). The standard language was <գրական> ‘literary’. He likewise used the word ‘sea’ for lakes. He would often anthropomorphize dialects or regions, saying things like:

- ‘the other districts use the sound X’
- ‘few villages speak Armenian’
- ‘manuscripts with the X dialect’
- ‘the village migrated from...’

I did not alter Adjarian’s word choices, to maintain faithfulness to his personal style.

He often uses the word ‘ending’ (վերջաւորութիւն) in ambiguous ways. It could mean a word-final segment (§14.2.2.4.6), a suffix (§8.3.3.3.5), or a suffix sequence (§27.3.2.3).

A complicated area of translation involved the root <տաճիկ> pronounced /dadʒig/ in SWA, and /tatʃik/ in SEA. This root can mean a range of related meanings like ‘Turk’ or ‘Muslim’. It is used in phrases like <տաճկերէն> /dadʒgeren/ denoting the language of those people (Turkish), <տաճկաստան> /dadʒgastan/ denoting the country (Turkey), or <տաճկահայ> /dadʒgahaj/ denoting an Armenian person from that area. In Adjarian’s prose, he used this root and its derivatives to refer to the notions of Ottoman Turks, Ottoman Turkish, Ottoman Turkey, and Ottoman Armenians. I thus translated these words with the word ‘Ottoman’.¹⁴ Some related words are <թուրք> /tʰurkʰ/ and <թրքերէն> /tʰærkʰeren/ which mean Turk and Turkish.

In some case, Adjarian would use a linguistic term in somewhat vague ways. The term <պայթուցիկ> is supposed to denote a stop consonant (= a plosive). However, he sometimes would use the word “plosive” to denote either a stop or affricate. Thus throughout the translation, there are likely sentences where I used the word “plosive”, but the phrase “stop or affricate” may have captured his intent better. Unfortunately, using the phrase “stop or affricate” often make the text harder to read. When translating Adjarian (1899), Balabanian faced a similar issue (§2).

A difficult matter to translate was proper names. Adjarian usually wrote people’s name in the Armenian script. I would write the person’s name in the original script that Adjarian used, alongside a romanization. In some cases, the person

¹⁴Because of the genocide, I thought it would be insulting to translate the word <տաճկահայ> to ‘Turkish-Armenian’ instead of ‘Ottoman Armenian’.

had an existing or well-known romanized name. For example, the late Armenian philologist <Շահան Զրպետ> had a romanized name ‘Jacques Chahan de Cirbied’.

In other cases, I could not find a romanized version of the person’s name online. In such cases, I made up my own unofficial romanization based on a simplified HMB transliteration. I would provide the IPA pronunciation in SEA/SWA. To explain why I did this, my Armenian name is <Տովլէթեան> and pronounced in SWA as [dovlet^hjan]. Its HMB form would be <Tēōvlēt^hean>, but the romanized form that I had used within the Armenian community is <Deovletian>. The two romanizations are obviously different, and the HMB transliteration is not publicly used.

In order to show respect to the many deceased (and likely massacred) individuals who worked with Adjarian on his documentation efforts, I wanted to romanize their names in the way that I would expect to see such names in real life and in pronounced forms. For example, I romanized the surname suffix <եան> as <-ian>, because this is how people in real life romanize their names (outside of academic bibliographies), and not as the HMB form <-ean>. For affricates like <g>, I would not romanize them using HMB letters like <c^h> because such symbols are not used by Armenians outside of academic publications. I instead used symbols like <ts>. Of course, these romanized forms are ambiguous. But, I provide the original Armenians form anyway, so there is no loss of information.

4.6 Translating language examples

In this book, Adjarian would provide linguistic examples from various languages and registers. These languages were the following.

- French
- Italian
- German
- English
- Russian
- Georgian
- Persian
- Arabic
- Ottoman Turkish
- Classical Armenian
- Standard Armenian, often ambiguously either SEA or SWA

I only speak SWA, English, and Arabic. So when translating these examples, I used the following procedure.

For Romance and Germanic languages, I largely relied on Wiktionary. Adjarian's examples were mostly just word lists so this was feasible. For French, I have some beginner level reading proficiency. For minor aspects of German phonology, I asked German-speaker Sabine Laszakovits.

For Russian, I cannot read the Cyrillic script. I relied on the help of a Russian speaker (Nikita Bezrukov) to help with the translation.

For Persian and Arabic, I knew the Arabic script so I could use Wiktionary (and my own knowledge of Arabic) to translate. Some Persian cases were difficult, for which I had the help of a speaker (Nazilia Shafiei).

For Georgian, I do not know the script so I relied on two linguists (David Erschler and Thomas Wier) who work on Georgian.

For Ottoman Turkish, Adjarian usually wrote these phrases in Armenian letters. I used a combination of Wiktionary and help from Turkish speakers (Tabita Toparlak, Nazila Shafiei, Jonathan North Washington) to translate the Ottoman forms to English and modern Turkish.

For Classical Armenian, I relied on the Calfa dictionary¹⁵ and English Wiktionary. In some cases, Adjarian used a word that he implied was a Classical Armenian word but I could not track it down. In those situations, he would use the Classical Armenian word as a gloss for a dialectal word. I instead used a cognate that was attested in the Classical Armenian dictionaries.

For SWA and SEA, I relied mainly on my own native speaker knowledge of SWA. For transcribing SEA forms, I relied on English Wiktionary. The Armenian entries on English Wiktionary are moderated by Vahagn Petrosyan. For SEA words, for which I could not find transcriptions, I instead asked Petrosyan for help.

4.7 Limitations of the translation

I have tried my best to ascertain the exact translation of as much of Adjarian's wording as possible for me. At times where I was unsure on how to translate a word or phrase, I reached out to others for help. But there are still small points where I could not decide on a proper translation. A lot of these errors can be found in my footnotes, which include the substring "(?)" which can be searched for.

Below, I go through the types of datapoints that I could not be fully confident in translating. My hope is that because this book is open-access, future readers can contribute to ongoing translation work by correcting my errors.

¹⁵<https://dictionary.calfa.fr/>

In some cases, I could not track down the exact bibliographic entry for an academic work that Adjarian cites. This is because he does not provide a complete bibliography but often just mentions the author's name and year of publication. For example, see the unclear citations for Davit-Bek (footnote 3). I include the symbol “(?)” for such footnotes.

In very rare cases, the original text was confusing and ambiguous. For example, see footnotes 8, 24, among others.

In some cases, Adjarian is too implicit and vague. For example, he sometimes does not state the dialectal or etymological origin of a word (footnote 15).

For the morphology, Adjarian does not segment, gloss, or explain his suffixes. There are some cases where I could not figure out what a suffix meant. For example, the reader can search for the substrings “-?”, “?-”, or “(?)” to find less than a hundred cases of untranslated morphemes. Some example sentences likewise lacked a translation and I could not figure out what they meant.

For placenames in the end matter, only a few places have unconventional romanizations because I could not track down the place. These unclear placenames have a question mark in Chapter 39.

For the sample texts for the 31 non-standard dialects, I did not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe them. Adjarian did not explain his texts, and he only sometimes rendered them into his dialectological notation. It would have been to cumbersome and error-ridden for me (and for any non-speaker of the relevant dialect) to translate such samples. I encourage future researchers who focus on those specific dialects to use the open-access sources in this translation.

This translation focuses on capturing the information that Adjarian presented in his 1911 book. Thus, I do not provide recent descriptions of those 31 dialects. But for each dialect, I provide a citation to a survey by Martirosyan (2019). The survey lists more recent grammars on a specific dialect.

Finally, this book is a translation of the 1911 Armenian edition which is almost 300 pages. The 1909 French version is smaller at almost 100 pages. Because I do not speak French, it is unclear to me if there is any information present in the French edition that is absent in the Armenian edition.

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Chapter 2

The stops and affricates of Classical Armenian, studied in modern dialects

Hratchia Adjarian

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Below is a translation *Les Explosives de l'ancien arménien étudiées dans les dialectes modernes* (Adjarian 1899), done by George Balabanian. That paper is an early acoustic demonstration of voice onset time, using Armenian data (Braun 2013).

1 Introduction, background, and methodology

Here, I investigate what has become of the three groups of Classical Armenian stops and affricates in the modern dialects.

[[*The French term that Adjarian uses is “explosives”, which is no longer used today. It was generally used in the 19th century to describe stops (plosives), and sometimes both stops and affricates (which is the way Adjarian uses it). The term ‘obstruent’ is too wide a term, as it would include all fricatives, stridents, and sibilants. And ‘occlusive’ is also too wide, as it also includes nasals.*]]

Adjarian’s original notation	Armenian orthography	IPA transcription	Hübschmann-Meillet transliteration
b, g, d, dz, dj	բ, գ, դ, ծ, ջ	b, g, d, \widehat{dz} , $\widehat{dʒ}$	b, g, d, j, ʃ
p, k, t, ts, tch	պ, կ, տ, ծ, ճ	p, k, t, \widehat{ts} , $\widehat{tʃ}$	p, k, t, c, č
p ^c , k ^c , t ^c , ts ^c , tch ^c	փ, ք, թ, զ, ջ	p ^h , k ^h , t ^h , \widehat{ts}^h , $\widehat{tʃ}^h$	p ^ç , k ^ç , t ^ç , c ^ç , č ^ç

Hratchia Adjarian & George Balabanian (Translator). 2024. The stops and affricates of Classical Armenian, studied in modern dialects. In Hossep Dotalian (ed.), *Adjarian’s Armenian dialectology (1911): Translation and commentary*, 57–66. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.14224259



I limit my study only to word-initial sounds and to differences in sonority and intensity.

The sonority of a consonant is determined by the relationship between two moments: the moment when the consonant bursts out by the effect of the air being expelled from the mouth, and the moment when the larynx vibrates. The intensity is proportional to the amount of air expended for the explosion. To determine these various data, I used the experimental method. In other words, I had recourse to the phonetic laboratory and machines of the Abbot Rousselot.¹

I collected the movements of the speech air column with a mouthpiece, and the vibrations of the larynx with a capsule attached to the thyroid cartilage with a rubber tie. Both phenomena were recorded on a rotating cylinder by means of two lever drums mounted to capture the vibratory movements and acting simultaneously.

Each of my plots consists of two synchronic lines: the top one marking the air displacement, or speech, the lower one, laryngeal vibrations.

I have indicated synchronicity by means of vertical construction lines. The dotted lines indicate when the larynx begins to vibrate; solid lines indicate the moment of burst.

All plots are comparable in terms of sound sonority. But for the various degrees of intensity, it is only legitimate to compare between plots relating to the same dialect, as my experiments were carried out at rather different times and with different equipment.

[[*Adjarian listed data from the following dialects, along with an abbreviation:*]]

- C = Constantinople; 1 2 3 mark three variants of popular pronunciation: C1 emphatic pronunciation, C2 normal pronunciation, C3 exceptional pronunciation.

[[*See the Istanbul chapter §32.2.1.2 and §32.2.2.3.1.*]]

- A = Aslanbeg

[[*The Aslanbeg variety is a subdialect of the Nicomedia dialect. See §31.2.1.*]]

- N = Nukha

[[*French spelling is Nouxax; also spelled Nukhi, Nukha; Shaki (Şəki) of modern-day Azerbaijan, Նուխի or Շաքի in Armenian, part of the Karabakh/Artsakh dialect group. For general information on the consonant system of Karabakh, see §10.2.1.3 and §10.2.3.3.1.*]]

¹Jean-Pierre Rousselot (1846-1924) was a French priest and is considered the founder of experimental phonetics.

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- M = Mush: M1 first category of voiced consonants; M2 second category of voiced consonants.

[[For more information on Mush, see 16.2.2.1.]]

- Ch = Shushi

[[Originally Ch for Choucha (Shushi, Shusha).]]

[[The Shushi vernacular is part of the Karabakh dialect group. For general information on the consonant system of Karabakh, see §10.2.1.3 and §10.2.3.3.1.]]

- S = Sivas

[[Also commonly known as Sebastia.]]

[[For more information on Sebastia, see §28.3.1.2.1.]]

One would be struck, I am sure, by the amplitude of some of the vibrations, or the apparent weakness of some of the bursts. It is important not to focus on this: it is all due, not to the phenomenon itself, but to the nature of the drum I have used.

To make it easier to compare my plots, I have grouped them in four tables, arranged so that the same articulation is read from top to bottom, and that the forms of the same dialect follow each other horizontally. When an articulation is missing in a dialect, the place it should occupy is left blank.

Two scales are used to measure the duration in hundredths of a second. The first, appended to Figure 1, is used for Figures 1, 2, 3; the second scale is for Figure 4, to which it is attached.

The figures have been reproduced by photogravure. Some have been edited, but only for points that are outside the purpose of this work.

The experiments were carried out on the following people, each using the speech of his native town:

1. First, myself, Hratchia Adjarian, born in 1874, in Constantinople (250,000 Armenians), for the popular and literary pronunciations.
2. Mr. Alexandre Nalbandian, born in 1873 in Aslanbeg, a large Armenian village (4,000 inhabitants) near the town of İzmit (Ismid), on the Sea of Marmara.
3. Mr. Vahan Ter-Poghossian, born in 1872 in Nukha on the southern side of the Caucasus, east of Tbilisi (Tiflis).

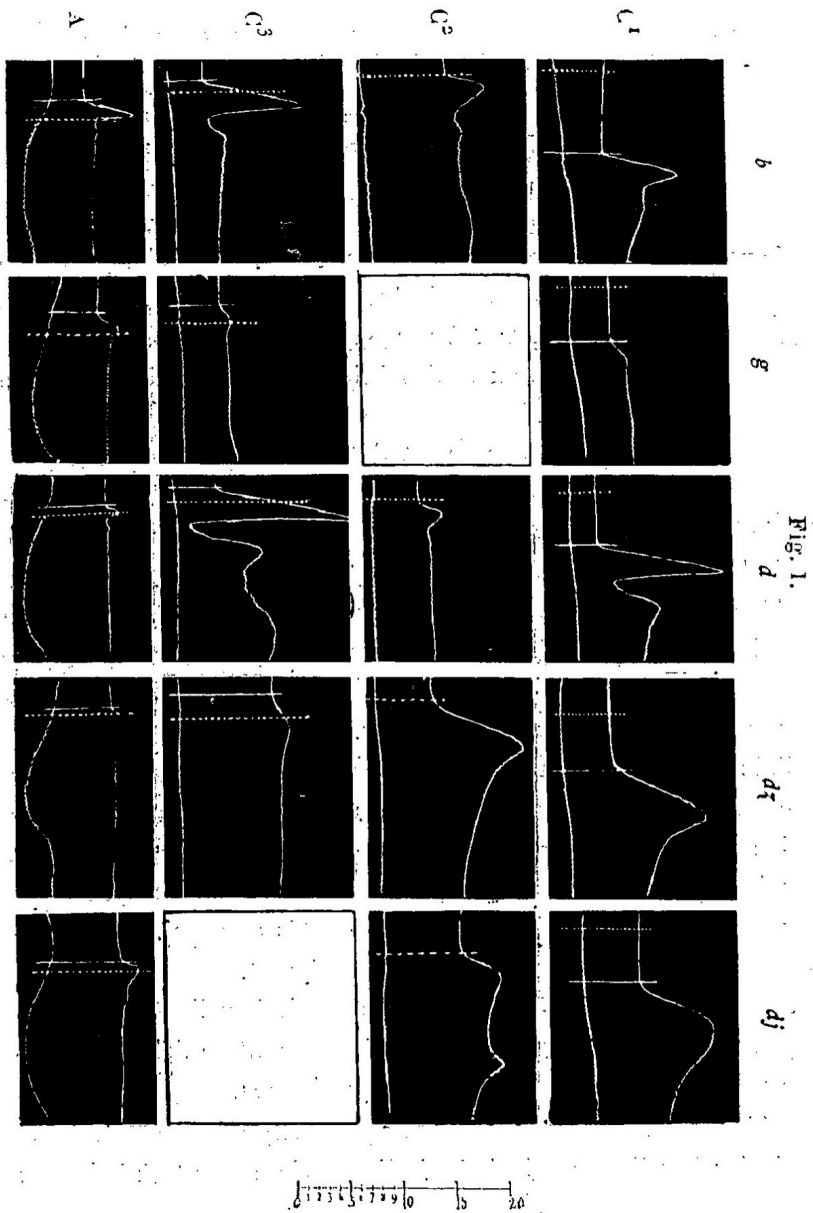


Figure 1: Original figure 1 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiced stops and affricates

2 The stops and affricates of Classical Armenian, studied in modern dialects

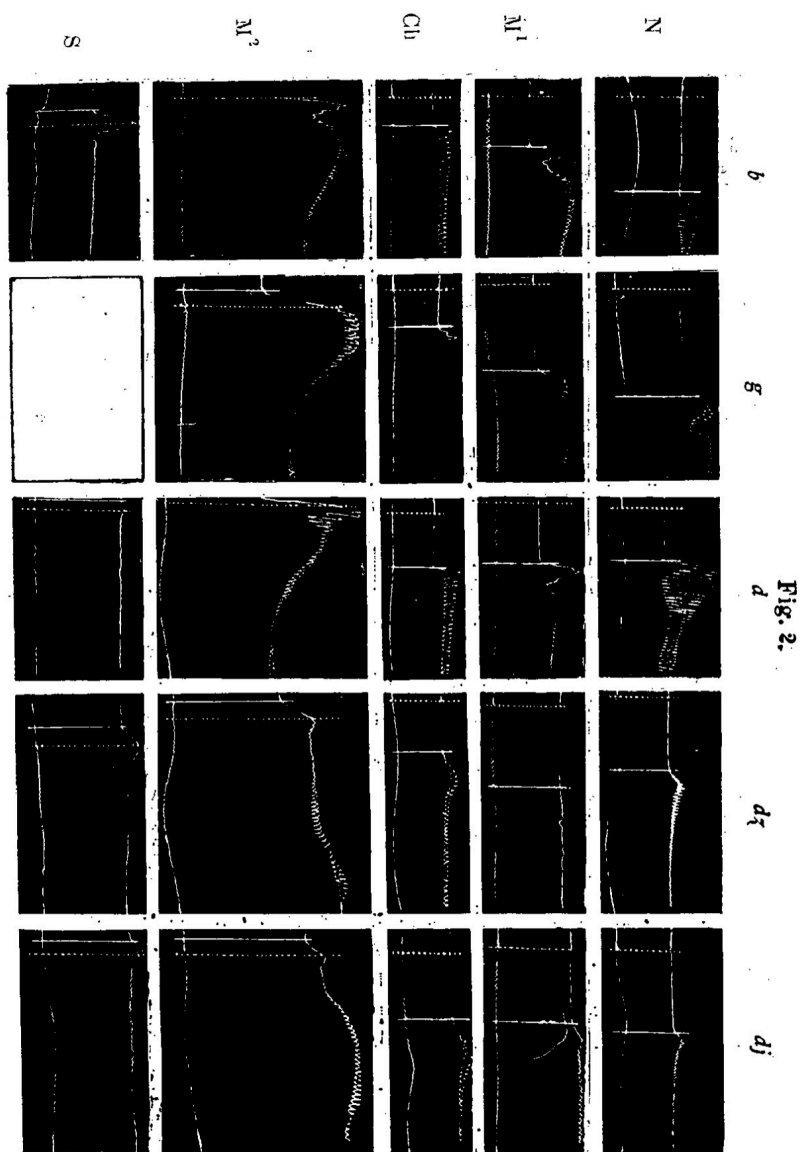


Figure 2: Original figure 2 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiced stops and affricates

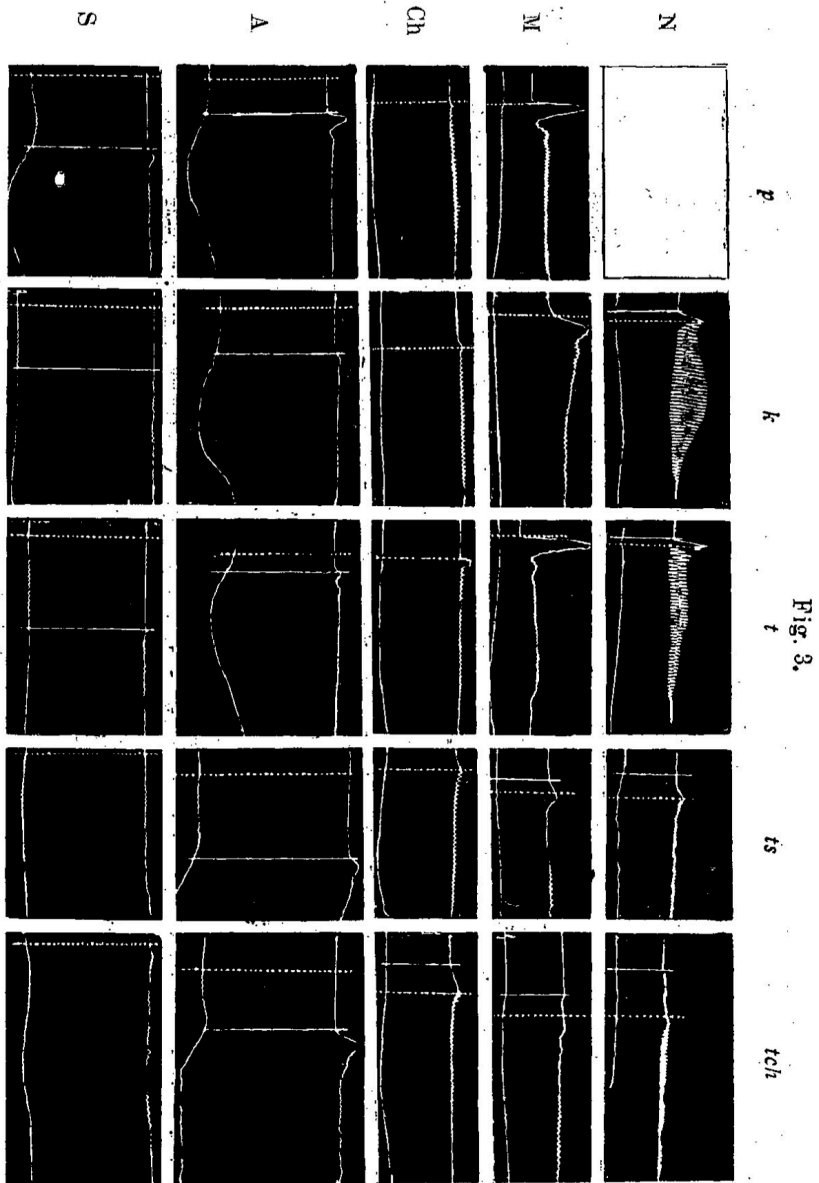
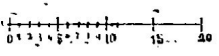
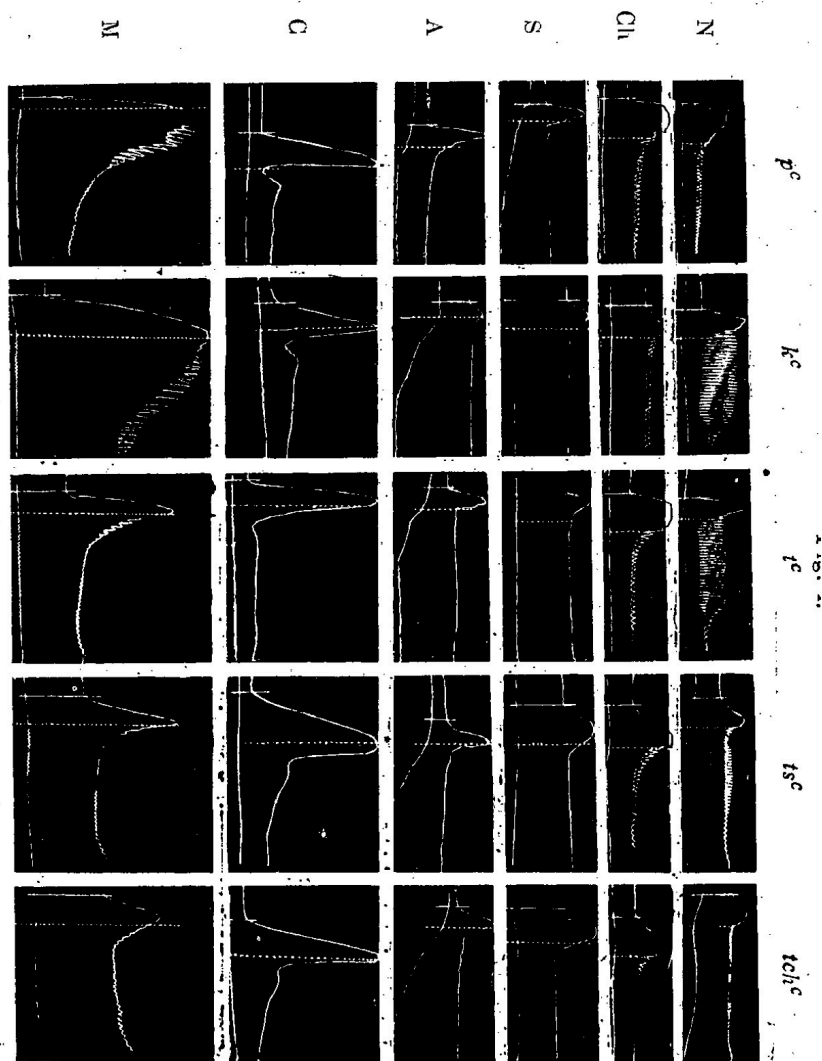


Figure 3: Original figure 3 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates

2 The stops and affricates of Classical Armenian, studied in modern dialects



Echelle pour la fig. 4.

Figure 4: Original figure 4 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiceless aspirated stops and affricates

4. The melik Nikoghos Avcharian, born in Shushi in 1872.
5. Mr. Tigran Dimaksian, born in 1878 in Karmen, an Armenian village near Mush.
6. Mr. Georg Mkrtichian, born in Sivas in 1872.

2 The voiced stops and affricates of Classical Armenian

The sounds $p, q, r, \delta, \varrho - /b, g, d, \widehat{dz}, \widehat{dz}/$ as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

1. In the popular speech of Constantinople (C1, C2, C3), there are three ways of pronouncing these consonants: for the first manner, the laryngeal vibrations precede the air burst (by 0.08 seconds): for the second manner, the laryngeal vibrations occur at the same time as the air burst, and for the third manner, the vibrations occur slightly after the air burst (by only 0.01–0.02 seconds).

So, in reality, we have 3 varieties of voiced stops and affricates (3 *b*, 3 *g*, 3 *d*, etc.), but the third is far less distant from the second than this one is from the first.

The first, which corresponds exactly to French voiced consonants, is used when there is emphasis; it can therefore be called emphatic. The second, which corresponds to German voiced consonants, can be called normal, as the vast majority of examples belong to this type: such is the ordinary pronunciation of Constantinople. As for the third, I have only observed it accidentally. These voiced consonants are close to the corresponding voiceless ones, but they have less force, and the larynx enters into vibration faster than is the case with the voiceless consonants.

2. In the literary language of Constantinople and in the dialect of Aslanbeg (A), voiced consonants are pronounced as voiceless aspirated consonants, which we will discuss later (Figure 4 C and A). However, in Aslanbeg, these consonants have less force than the corresponding aspirated ones (compare Figure 1 A and 4 A). Occasionally, they are pronounced like the voiced ones in the popular Constantinople speech (Figure 1 C1, C2, C3).
3. In the dialects of Nukha (N) and Shushi (Ch), they have remained completely voiced; vibrations of the larynx begin at variable times, up to more than 0.1 of a second before the air burst.

2 *The stops and affricates of Classical Armenian, studied in modern dialects*

4. In the dialects of Mush (M1 M2) and Sivas (S), they have two distinct categories. The first (M1) presents voiced consonants in Nukha and Shushi. In the second (M2 and S), the consonant is pronounced more strongly than in the first, and the volume of air from the burst is more considerable, which gives me the impression of a <bh> or a voiced [b] ([b^h]) followed by a confused noise in the throat, whereas a French speaker hears [p].

The laryngeal vibrations begin 0.02–0.03 seconds after the air burst; but in two instances, for [b], there was simultaneity between the start of laryngeal vibrations and the air burst.

3 **The voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates of Classical Armenian**

The sounds ω , υ , u , δ , δ – /p, k, t, \widehat{ts} , \widehat{tj} / in Figure 3.

1. In the vernacular and literary languages of Constantinople, these consonants are considered voiced and are pronounced exactly like these (Figure 1 C1, C2, C3).
2. Similarly, in Aslanbeg and Sivas (A, S), they have become voiced: vibrations begin between 0.015 and 0.08 seconds before the air burst.
3. In the other dialects (N, M, Ch), they have remained voiceless, and perfectly distinct from both the corresponding voiced and voiceless aspirated consonants.

In Nukha (N) and Shushi (Ch), laryngeal vibrations begin at the moment when air emission is impeded, which corresponds to the fall of the plotline after the first moment of the air burst.

In Mush (M), laryngeal vibrations generally begin at the same time as the air burst. Nevertheless, my examples of \widehat{ts} and \widehat{tj} show exactly the same position as in the pronunciation of Nukha and Shushi. I have also found the same for the consonant [t].

In Mush, unaspirated consonants can also become voiced as in the dialects of Constantinople, Sivas, and Aslanbeg.

4 The voiceless aspirated stops and affricates of Classical Armenian

The sounds φ , ρ , ρ^h , g , z – p^h , k^h , t^h , ts^h , $tʃ^h$ in Figure 4.

In Constantinople, in the popular and literary pronunciations, these are divided into 3 classes. In the first, the vibrations of the larynx occur 0.01 second after the start of the air burst; this corresponds roughly to the strong French consonants (Figure 1 C3). In the second case, vibrations begin at the point where air emission is hindered, in other words, at the highest point of the plotline (Figure 4 C, except for $[p^h]$). In the third case, vibrations occur after the movement of airflow, or very shortly before (Figure 4 C, $[p^h]$). But the first and third classes are very rare; I have merely found them accidentally.

2. In Mush (M), the situation is similar to the second class described for Constantinople.

3. In the other dialects (N, Ch, S, A), these consonants are completely voiceless: vibrations only begin after the air burst is completed.

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Chapter 3

Current state of Armenian dialectology

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1 Introduction

Armenian culture is no different from any other in being intimately intertwined with the linguistic intricacies of its language; if, indeed, we can refer to a single Armenian language. When studying the language, we have to deal (at least) with Standard Western Armenian (SWA), Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA), Classical Armenian, and Middle Armenian. The Armenian language encompasses more than just these literary varieties, however. In addition to a number of arguably distinct languages,¹ such as Zok or /zokeren/ <զոկերէն> (the language of Agulis; §14), /k^hɛʁɑts^həneren/ <Գլեղացընէրէն> (the language of Zeytun; §24), /k^hɛsbən-uok^h/ <Քեսսպընսուոկ> (the language of Kessab §24),² and Lomavren, the language of the Armenian gypsies, there are more than 120 distinct dialects of Armenian documented in the literature. Like the micro-cultures they represent, each of these dialects has its own unique archaisms and innovations.

For a sense of how much these dialects can differ from one another, consider the translations in (1) of “The Liar” by Hovhannes Tumanyan (Յովհաննէս Թումանեան, Հովհաննէս Թումանյան), drawn from three geographic extremes

¹If we employ the working definition that two linguistic varieties are separate languages if they are not mutually intelligible (§2.4).

²Also called in different sources /k^h(r)isdinuok^h/ ‘Christian language’ (the same name used by speakers of Svedia/Musalier dialect), and in Roman-script contexts “Kesbenok, Kes(s)aberen, or Kesspeneuts”.



of the Armenian-speaking world: Köprücü (northeast Turkey), Stepanakert (Karabakh), and Kaladuran (northwest Syria). The appendix has the full translation. I show only the introductory sentence here, with a simplified glossing.

- (1) “The Liar”, /sutasanə/ <Սուտասանը>
- a. English

Once upon a time there lived a king.
 - b. Eastern dialects
 - i. Standard Eastern Armenian

lin-um e tʃ^hi lin-um mi t^hak^havor
 be-IMPF.CVB AUX NEG be-IMPF.CVB INDF king
 ‘There was (and) there wasn’t, a king.’
 Լինում է, չի լինում մի թագավոր
 - ii. Stepanakert (Karabakh),³ /sot ásoɐə/ (§10)

in-úm a tʃ^h-in-úm min t^hak^havor a
 be-IMPF.CVB AUX NEG-be-IMPF.CVB INDF/one king AUX
 in-úm
 be-IMPF.CVB
 ‘There was (and) there wasn’t, there was a king.’
 - c. Western dialects
 - i. Standard Western Armenian

gar u tʃ^hə-gar t^hak^havor mə gar
 existed and NEG-existed king INDF existed
 ‘There was and there wasn’t, there was a king.’
 Կար ու չկար, թագավոր մը կար
 - ii. Köprücü,⁴ a Hamshen subdialect, /χap^hoɐ/ (§22)

gon:a gu tʃ^h-gon:a gu mek^h k^həɾal me gon:a gu
 exists IND NEG-exists IND one king INDF exists IND
 ‘There was and there wasn’t, there was a king.’
 - iii. Kaladuran /qaladuran/ (Kessab),⁵ /sot χusuəɐə/ (§24)

gits^h-ir i tʃ^hi gits^h-ir i t^hæk^həvɪr mə
 exist-EPTCP AUX NEG exist-EPTCP AUX king INDF
 ‘There was and there wasn’t, there was a king.’

³Narrated by Vladimir in Cambridge, MA on September 10, 1995.

⁴Narrated by Temel in Watertown, MA in 1995.

⁵Narrated by Mr Manjikian in Watertown, MA in January 1995.

The study of Armenian dialects ties together the present and the past, as well as many different disciplines – linguistics, history, folklore, anthropology, and music – and geographical areas as diverse as Syria, Abkhazia, Iran, and India (§5). Yet the field faces three challenges: the tools and methods of the field are still situated firmly in the 19th century (§4.3-§4.5);⁶ like many academic pursuits, Armenian dialectology is under threat as a result of economic and geopolitical developments in post-Soviet Armenia and Karabakh; and most of the non-standard dialects of Armenian are in imminent danger of disappearing altogether.

These are the problems I address in this paper. After surveying the present and past of the field, which revolve primarily around the activities of Hratchia Adjarian, I suggest some ways in which Armenian dialectology can make use of advances that have been made in general dialectology since Adjarian's time, and consider what steps can be taken to document and perhaps even stabilize or revitalize the dialects before it is too late.

2 The state of Armenian vs. American dialectology

The central concern of work to date on Armenian dialects by scholars in Armenia, as well as by the majority of more recent Western scholars such as Andrzej Pisowicz and Georges Dumézil, has been the collection of word lists and short texts and the evaluation of their etymological significance relative to Classical Armenian. The manual for collection of Armenian dialect materials published by the Dialectological Institute (Muradyan et al. 1977; ՄԱՐԱԴՅԱՆ et al. 1977) and the Institute's activities since that time indicate that it intends to continue this course of action.

Such work is valuable and provides the groundwork for a wide range of illuminating research. However, the methodology employed by Muradyan et al. 1977 directly reflects the state of European linguistics and dialectology in the late nineteenth century, when the leading Armenian linguist, Hratchia Adjarian, studied in Paris under the Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet. Many important developments in linguistics and dialectology have occurred since that time, particularly due to the theoretical linguistic work of Noam Chomsky beginning in the 1950s and the sociolinguistic work of William Labov beginning in the 1960s. Since the appearance of the new concepts and methodologies developed by these scholars,

⁶Bernard Coulie observed in his presentation at the “Armenian Linguistics in a Modern Perspective” conference, “Language and Text: The Material Basis of Our Research of Classical Armenian” (subsequently published as Coulie 2014) that the situation is similar in Armenian manuscript studies and chronology.

linguistics and dialectology have advanced at great speed; it seems only logical, then, that dialectologists working on Armenian should benefit from these new methods.

The need for more comprehensive and contemporary methods of investigation is particularly imperative given the impending extinction of many (and perhaps most) of the remaining non-standard Armenian dialects. Soon it will no longer be possible to compensate for omissions in the work of earlier researchers by consulting native dialect speakers. In the remainder of this section I sketch the history of traditional work on Armenian dialects, contrast this with developments in Western dialectology in the twentieth century, and suggest some ways in which incorporation of the latter can enhance the former.

3 Armenian dialectology

3.1 The past

3.1.1 Proto-dialectology

In a sense, the first known Armenian dialectologist was Koriun (Koriwn; Կորիւն, Կորյուն). In his fifth-century biography of Mesrop Mashtots (Koriun 1985), Koriun mentions the existence of Armenian dialects in Syunik and the land of the Medes (i.e. Agulis in this context). The fifth-century theologian Eznik of Kolb (Եզնիկ Կողբացի)⁷ observed in turn that in his time there were two dialects of Armenian: one in the north and one in the south. Speaking of the Classical Armenian form /ɑjs/ <այս> (2), he says:

(2) Classical Armenian

<Զանգի յորժամ մեք ասեմք՝ թէ սիք շնչէ, ստորևեայք ասեն՝ այս շնչէ>

‘When we (i.e. Armenians of Koghb and northern Armenia) say /sik^h ʃən-tʃ^hē/ [for ‘a wind is blowing’], the southern [Armenians] say /ɑjs ʃəntʃ^hē/.

The form /ɑjs/ <այս> was in fact used in the north, but in the meaning ‘evil spirit’ or ‘demon’; the southern Armenians preferred /deu/ <դեւ> for this function.

Armenian dialects are next mentioned by the early Armenian grammarians. The sixth century translation of Dionysus Thrax refers to the dialect of /gordɑj^h/ *Gordayk*, for example. And the eighth century commentary of Stephanos of Syunik (*Stephen Syunetsi*; *Step‘anos of Siwnik*; *Step‘anos Siwnec*; Ստեփանոս

⁷cf. Blanchard & Young 1998 for an English translation of Eznik’s text.

Սիւնեցի) mentions eight dialects: Korchayk (or Corduene; Կորճայք), Tayk (Տայք), Khutayk (Խութայք), Fourth Armenia, Sperk (Speri, Sper; Սպեր, Սպերք), Syunik (Սիւնիք, Artsakh (Արցաք), and Central Armenia (Ararat).

A significant amount of subsequent work, notably by Weitenberg and Jahukyan, has been devoted to identifying the nature and extent of dialect variation in the Classical Armenian period; this will be addressed in §3.1.4 and §3.2.

3.1.2 The beginnings of Armenian dialectology: the 18th century

The first published analysis of significant amounts of Armenian dialect material was Rivola's (1633) *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*, which contained numerous lexical items from New Julfa and other dialects. Rivola did not distinguish between the dialects he employed, however, as Adjarian (Աճարյան 1940) points out.

Schröder's (1711) *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae* was published in Amsterdam. It provides extensive samples of Agulis, New Julfa, and other Armenian dialects, and documents contrasts between Civil Armenian (a form of proto-Modern Armenian; cf. Parnassian 1985) and the classical language.

3.1.3 The heyday of Armenian dialectology: the nineteenth century

The nineteenth century saw an explosion of interest in the dialects of Armenian (§4.1). Jacques Chahan de Cirbied (Յակոբ Շահան Ջրպետեան), a Tokat Armenian who early in his career taught a young Gabriel Sundukian (Գաբրիել Սուևդուկեան, Գաբրիել Սուևդուկյան) in Tblisi/Tiflis and later was professor of Armenian in Paris, devoted an entire section of his 1823 *Grammaire de la Langue Arménienne* (de Cirbied 1823) to some thirty non-literary dialects of Armenian. Like Rivola, though, he generally does not specify the dialect from which he takes the individual forms he cites. In 1850, Shirmazaniants (Շիրմազանեանց 1850) published his *Stories in the Language of the people of Yerevan* which discussed general features of the Yerevan dialect (§8). In 1852, Akhverdian's *Sayat-Nova* (Աիսվերդեան 1852) appeared in Moscow; the first portion of this landmark publication was devoted to the grammar of Akhverdian and Sayat-Nova's native dialect of Tblisi. Aydinian's important *Grammar of the Civil or Modern Armenian language* appeared in Vienna in 1866 (Այսընեան 1866). Aydinian postulated the existence of Armenian dialects already in the fifth century, based on Koriun's aforementioned reference to Armenian dialects in Syunik and the land of the Medes. He divided the modern dialects into four groups: Eastern Turkey, Western Turkey, Europe, and Russia/Persia/India. Petermann's study of the Agulis dialect appeared in Berlin in the same year (Petermann 1867a).

Spurred on in part by the nationalism and romanticism sweeping through Europe, Armenian dialectology reached its zenith in the second half of the nineteenth century. Just as the brothers Grimm scoured the 19th-century German countryside in search of ancient Germanic folklore, Armenians such as Garegin Srvandztiants (Գարեգին Սրուանձտեանց, Սրուանձտեան) returned to their village roots in search of an epic narrative that could rival those being produced in neighboring countries. The discovery by Srvandztiants of the Sasun epic (cf. Սրուանձտեան 1876) is one of the many fruits of this halcyon period of intellectual curiosity. Numerous works on the language and ethnography of Armenian villages followed in quick succession, documented in various books (Սեդրակեան 1874, Ալլահվերտեան 1884, Շերենց 1885, 1899, Լալայեան 1913), and in journals (Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], Ազգագրական Հանդես [*Ethnographic Magazine*], Բիւրակ [*Byurakn*], Սուրճ [*Murch*]).

The first Armenian dialectologist in the modern sense was Kerovbe Patkanov or Patkanian (Քերովբե Պատկանեան), whose monograph (Патканов 1869) on Armenian dialects appeared in Saint Petersburg in 1869. His monograph provided phonological and morphological sketches of the dialects of Astrakhan (§12), Yerevan (§8), Tbilisi (§9), Agulis (§14), Karabakh (§10), Khoy (§37), New Julfa (§13), Mush (§16), Poland (§35), and New Nakhichevan (§34).⁸ Soon thereafter, a veritable flood of dialect grammars began to pour out of Europe and Armenia; notable examples include Petermann's grammar of the Tbilisi dialect (Petermann 1867b), Sargsiants's grammar of the Agulis dialect (Սարգսեանց 1883), Hanusz's 1886 dictionary and 1889 grammar of Polish Armenian (Hanusz 1886, 1889), Thomson's grammars of the Akhhaltskha (§15) and Tbilisi dialects (Томсон 1887, 1890), Mseriants's various works dealing with the Mush dialect (Մսերյանц 1897), and Kazandjian's monograph on the Tokat or Evdokia dialect (§29) (Գազանճեան 1899).

The high point of this period (and of all periods of Armenian dialectology) was the work of Adjarian, who studied with the French Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet in the 1890s, and was probably responsible for Meillet's deep interest in Armenian. Adjarian was the first scholar to apply contemporary European linguistic tools to Armenian dialects. Conversely, he made use of Armenian dialect materials to develop a phonetic concept that has occupied a central place in the Western study of phonetics since the 1960s, Voice Onset Time (Braun 2013; cf. Lisker & Abramson 1964). Adjarian was also unusually productive. Not only did he produce dozens of groundbreaking books on Armenian dialects and on the

⁸He also produced longer separate treatments of the dialects of Agulis (Patkanoff 1866) and New Nakhichevan and Mush (Патканов 1875).

Armenian language in general, but he also single-handedly founded the modern schools of Armenian linguistics and dialectology that still survive in Armenia today.

Adjarian established a method for collecting, presenting, and analyzing linguistic materials that drew directly on Western linguistic work of the time (§4.3-§4.5). Though the work of the structuralists, Chomskyans, and variationists replaced it in the West in the twentieth century, Armenologists today continue for the most part to use Adjarian's method, particularly in Armenia. At the time Adjarian was learning linguistics in Paris in the late nineteenth century, European linguists were primarily interested in using linguistic data for historical purposes, especially the reconstruction of earlier stages of the language or language family under consideration. Dialect variation was understood to play a central role in this quest, insofar as it presented material for classification and subgrouping, thereby enabling triangulation to earlier historical stages, and as it contained archaisms that directly revealed aspects of the past, untainted (it was thought) by the vagaries of the modern world and literary languages. Because of this focus on historical questions in his intellectual milieu, Adjarian's model for presenting dialect material revolved around the comparison of dialect forms to their antecedents in Classical Armenian, as shown in this sample (3) from his grammar of the New Julfa dialect (§13).

(3) §9 from *Adjarian 1940* (Աճառյան 1940), translated:

“Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> normally remains /a/ <ա> in all positions in the New Julfa dialect, e.g. ալիւր /aliur/ > /alur/ ‘flour’, աղուէս /ału.és/ > /aʁves/ ‘fox’, առնէլ /arnel/ > /aniel/ ‘do’, աստղս /asəʔn/ > /asux/ ‘needle’, աղանձ /aʔandz/ > /aʁandz/ ‘roast (n)’, բարակ /barak/ > /b^harak/ ‘thin’, բարձր /bardzər/ > /b^hants^hər/ ‘high’, բահ /bah/ > /b^haχ/ ‘spade’, ծիրան /tsiran/ > /tsiran/ ‘apricot.’”

In order to facilitate comparisons of this type, and to make them consistent across dialects, Adjarian constructed a fixed word list that he employed for all of his fieldwork and resultant dialect grammars. He would then extract a basic set of historical phonetic and morphological changes from this word list, append a few dialect texts with a handful of grammatical and lexical notes, and add an introduction briefly discussing the previous literature that he was able to find on and in the dialect. As was the case with his European teachers and colleagues, Adjarian was not overly concerned with identifying which individuals or texts each of his forms came from, nor did he consider the significant range of subdialectal and idiolectal variation that one finds in every dialect. For Adjarian, as for his

contemporaries, dialects were for the most part idealized monoliths consisting of forms produced by older speakers that conformed to his historical expectations.

Linguistic work at the time also tended to neglect synchronic analysis of the grammatical system of the dialect at that point in time, and largely ignored acoustic phonetics, phonology (synchronic rules, rather than historical changes), syntax, and sociolinguistic nuances. The model that Adjarian developed for collecting and analyzing Armenian dialect material was no exception to this. Samvel Antosyan, for example, divides his 1961 treatment (Անթոսյան 1961) of the Kayseri dialect into four sections: [historical] phonology, morphology, lexicon, and text samples. Adjarian's methods, as still practiced in Armenia today, provide an interesting window into the state of linguistic and dialectological research in Europe in the late nineteenth century.

3.1.4 The fall of Armenian dialects and dialectology: The twentieth century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Armenian dialectology was still at its peak. Meillet's students Adjarian, Davit-Bek (Մելիք-Դավիթաբեկ 1896), Maxudianz (Maxudianz 1911), and Benveniste produced an abundance of excellent dialectological studies. The school that Adjarian founded in Armenia would ultimately generate such productive dialectologists as Jahukyan (Ջահուկյան), Gharibyan (Դարիբյան), Grigoryan (Գրիգորյան), the two Muradyans (Մուրադյան), and Adjarian's niece, Amalia Khatchatrian (Ամալյա Խաչատրյան).

Despite the widespread interest in Armenian dialectology and folklore at the turn of the century, there were far more Armenian villages, dialects, songs, stories, and so on than could be collected by the army of amateur and professional armenologists. This was less true after 1915, when the Armenian populations of most of these villages were eradicated. Dialectological work has continued since 1915, with notable publications such as dictionaries (Մալխաստեանց 1944), the dialect grammars and dialect survey produced by the Institute of Dialectology in Yerevan (such as Adjarian (Աճարյան 1952b) on Van and Davtyan's atlas of Karabakh dialects (Դավթյան 1966)), Dumézil's studies of the Hamshen and Musaler/Musa Dagh dialects (Dumézil 1964, 1965, 1967, 1968, 1986), Pisowicz's grammar of the Parpi dialect (Pisowicz 1969), and the memorial volumes produced by the various compatriotic organizations in the United States (Գալուստեան 1934 on Marash). Popular interest in the language and culture of village Armenia has waned, though, a fact reflected in the evanescence of almost all of the compatriotic societies.

3.2 The present

At the present time, little is being published on Armenian dialectology. The Institute of Dialectology in Yerevan is still technically active, and engaged in the collection of materials for its dialect atlas. In practice, however, these plans appear to have been put on hold indefinitely, as Armenia and Karabakh have been attending to more pressing matters.

The bright light of current Armenian dialectology was until 2012 the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, which for some time featured three talented Armenian dialectologists, Jos Weitenberg, Uwe Blaesing, and Hrach Martirosyan. Weitenberg was primarily concerned with reconstructing the chronology of linguistic developments between Proto- and Modern Armenian, using evidence from manuscript ‘errors’ and variation within the classical and medieval languages and the modern dialects. Of particular interest is his 2001 analysis of the chronological development of penultimate and final stress in the Armenian world, using sophisticated arguments from relative chronology (Weitenberg 2001). Blaesing is a turkologist by trade, but his wife is a Hemşinli (Hamshen speaker: §22), and he has consequently done a great deal of useful work on the Armenian lexical material that survives in the Turkish dialect of the Hemşin region of northeastern Turkey (Bläsing 2003).

Weitenberg initiated in the 1990s a collaborative effort with the Dialect Institute in Yerevan, designed to facilitate the generation of isogloss maps from data collected via the 1977 Muradyan manual (Մուրադյան et al. 1977) from approximately 500 village varieties of Armenian. It remains to be seen whether the Institute’s database chronicles actual usage or a historical dialectologist’s conception of what a ‘pure’ form of the dialect should have looked like at some point in the past, but in either case the maps resulting from this project should be quite helpful. We will turn to the challenge of constructing proper dialect maps in §7.

3.3 The future: The state of the Armenian dialects

Many dialects, such as Nicomedia (§31), Kirzen (Բաղրաւայս 1958), and Shama-khi (§11), appear to be already dead; many more are alive but have only a handful of speakers remaining, such as Marash (§24), Urfa (§18), and Van (§17). Zok, the Armenian dialect of Agulis (§14), appears to have no more than two remaining speakers; Jerusalem lost its last fluent speaker less than twenty years ago (Vaux 2002). A fair number of dialects still have communities in which everyone speaks the dialect, but in some of these, such as Zeytun and Kessab, the communities do not have a permanent location and will likely disappear in the

near future. Those which do have permanent locations, such as Hamshen, Anjar, Tigranakert/Diyarbakır, and the various dialects in Armenia proper and Karabakh (and perhaps Javakheti/Javakhk and Abkhazia), stand a better chance of surviving but are already beset by the pressures of the official languages of the countries in which they are spoken.

The key to understanding the future of these dialects is to look not at the number of people who speak them, but rather at the number of children who are learning them. Thus, for example, the number of Zeytun speakers is fairly large. But of the Zeytun speakers who I worked with in Boston from 1990-2003, none had children who speak the dialect. By this measure, in fact, even SWA is in trouble. To the best of my knowledge, the only forms of Modern Armenian that are relatively secure for the immediate future are Eastern Armenian and Iranian Armenian (Dolatian et al. 2023).

Another problem is that many (and perhaps most) of the surviving dialects have yet to receive proper study. This includes many dialects in Iran (Tabriz, Chaharmahal, and many smaller villages), Iraq (Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, and the northern villages such as Zakho and Tell Kibar in Dahuk that were inhabited by Armenians until the American invasion in 2003), Nakhichevan (speakers of several of these dialects currently reside in the south of Armenia), Jerusalem, western Turkey (Bolu, Smyrna, Adapazar, etc., and even Ethiopia and Turkmenistan). It is not clear that the two Armenian communities of Ethiopia and Turkmenistan actually possess distinctive dialects, as they have not been closely studied. The mixed language of the Boshas, Lomavren, whose grammar is taken from the Erzurum/Karin dialect of Armenian, also remains to receive extensive systematic study.

4 Documentation

Although a good deal remains to be done in the documentation of Armenian dialects, much work exists in both published and unpublished form. In this section, I survey some of the more important work carried out to date, and compare the state of publication on Armenian dialects to that of English dialects.

4.1 Documentation of Armenian dialects

4.1.1 Syntheses

A number of synthetic works on Armenian dialects and Armenian dialectology have appeared to date (Патканов 1869, Adjarian 1909, Աճառեան 1911, Ղարիբյան

1953, Ղարիբյան 1958, Գրիգորյան 1957, Զահուկյան 1972, Ասատրյան 1985, Greppin & Khachaturian 1986). Greppin & Khachaturian (1986) merely summarize briefly the phonological rudiments of a few of the better-known dialects, but has the advantage of being the only description available in English (though the text samples for each dialect are not translated). Adjarian's *Complete Grammar of the Armenian Language* (Աճառյան 1952a, 1954, 1955, 1957, 1965, 1971, 1959, 1961) contains a wealth of dialect information, but this material is not systematically presented, being interspersed sporadically throughout all seven volumes, and therefore is not as useful as most of the other synthetic works.

Jahukyan (Զահուկյան 1972) differs from the other works just mentioned in that it does not contain actual descriptions of dialects or even scattered dialect expressions or words, but instead contains a wealth of phonological, morphological, geographical, and bibliographical information on 124 different varieties of modern, medieval, and ancient Armenian. It moreover contains an enormous and unparalleled bibliography of books, articles, and unpublished manuscripts dealing with Armenian dialects, most of which are almost impossible to procure outside of Yerevan. I have found this to be the dialectological treatise that I most often consult. The analytical component of the book, however, is somewhat problematic, as I discuss in §5.1.2.

The above-mentioned studies are most useful and reliable in the sense that they were produced by linguists, but naturally suffer from their age, which prevents them from incorporating the host of more recent documentation, such as on the dialects of Kharberd-Yerznka (§19; Կոստանդյան 1979), Aresh (Լուսեց 1982), Moks (§17; Մուրադյան 1982), Edessa (§18; Հանեյան 1982), Alashkert (Մադաթյան 1985), Kessab (Զոլարթեան 2009), Musa Dagh (Հասպեշեան 1986), Ararat (Մարկոսյան 1989), Shamshadin-Dilijan (Մեծունց 1989), Khtrbek (Հանսայան 1995), and Cilicia (§24; Աճառյան 2003; written much earlier, but unavailable until his manuscript was finally published in Yerevan in 2003). Jahukyan makes use of these more recent works in his 1972 monograph on dialectal elements in Armenian colophons, but the scope of this work is greatly restricted compared to that of the synthetic works discussed above.

Though they are synthetic in a larger but not dialectological sense, one should include here the *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia* (Համբարձումյան et al. 1974/1986) and various dictionaries (Պետրոսյան et al. 1975, Պետրոսյան 1987), which have brief but useful entries for dozens of dialects, including many for which grammars are not readily available outside of Yerevan.

4.1.2 Non-linguistic collections

Armenia has also produced a wealth of non-linguistic materials that happen to be of great use for dialectological purposes, though their transcriptions are often unreliable, omitting phonetic nuances in order to increase readability and/or because the transcriber, not being a linguist, did not notice them. Still, these collections can be useful for morphological, syntactic, lexicographic, and sometimes even phonological purposes. An incredible resource that remains largely untapped by dialectologists is the folklore collections (ՏԵՐ-ԱԳԵՐՍԱՆՆԵՐԻՏԱՆ 1885, ԼԱՎԱՅԵԱՆ 1892, 1899, 1900/, 1913, ԳՐԻԳՈՐՅԱՆ-ՍԱԿԱՆՆԱՐՅԱՆ 1971, ԱՐԵՆՅԱՆ 1944/, ՄԱՒԽԱՍՅԱՆՍԵՂ 1958, ՕՐԲԵՒԻ & ՆԱԳԻՆՅԱՆ 1959/1998, ԱՌԱՔԵՅՅԱՆ 1970/2009) which in most cases have the advantage of providing the name, age, and specific village of origin for each storyteller. The various ethnographic works (ՍՐՈՒԱՆՃՆՏԵԱՆ 1876, ՍՐՈՒԱՆՃՆՏԵԱՆՍԵՂ 1884, 1879/1884) also contain many dialect texts, though their exact provenance is not always as thoroughly detailed as in the other works. The journal ԲԻՐԱԿԱՆ [*Byurakn*], produced in Constantinople at the turn of the twentieth century, features dozens of dialect texts lacking the same sorts of information as those published by Srvandztiants (ՍՐՈՒԱՆՃՆՏԵԱՆ 1876). Since virtually none of these sources⁹ provide translations of their dialect texts into a western language or even into Standard Armenian, it is also appropriate to mention here Charles Dowsett's *Armenian folk-tales and fables*, published in 1972 under the pseudonym of Charles Downing (Downing 1972). The book contains 63 folk tales and fables, as well as ten pages of proverbs, translated from a wide range of Armenian dialects into English. The source for each story is clearly documented, so that one can easily track down the original Armenian (or Russian) versions.

Primary literary sources written in non-standard dialects also contain a wealth of dialect material, such as for the Tbilisi dialect (§9; ԱԽՎԵՐՆԵՐԵԱՆ 1852, ՍՈՆՆՈՒԿՅԱՆ 1951/1961), Shamakhi dialect (§11; ՇԻՐՎԱՆՍՊԱՆԵ 1958/1962), Agulis dialect (§14; ՉԱՐՊԱՐԵԱՆՍԵՂ 1912), Istanbul dialect (§32; ԱՅՎԱԳ 2003), and so on.

Certain collections of riddles, sayings, games, and other ethnographic materials are also rich sources of dialect, notably Abeghyan's collection of games (ԱՐԵՆՅԱՆ 1940), Ghanalanyan's collection of sayings (ՂԱՆԱՎԱՆՅԱՆ 1960), Harutyunyan's collection of riddles (ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՅԱՆ 1965), and Sargsyan's collection of riddles from Karabakh (ՍԱՐԳՍՅԱՆ 2002). Though the dialect materials contained in these books are almost all taken from previously published sources, they remain valuable thanks to their thematic organization and the fact that many of their sources are not available outside of Yerevan. One problem with these collections is that when a given saying, riddle, etc. occurs in several dialects, they

⁹With some exceptions (ՍՎԱԳՅԱՆ 1994).

only provide a single, somewhat standardized rendition of it, leaving out information about the particular form it takes in any of the individual dialects. For instance, Harutyunyan (Հարությունյան 1965) states that riddle #951b (Q. /erku ot^hαβ, min sjunani/ ‘two rooms, one pillar’; A: /k^hit^h/ ‘nose’) is used in Karabakh, Nakhichevan, and Borchaly, but does not say which of these dialects (if any) the particular pronunciation he employs is from. Sargsyan (Սարգսյան 2002) has a more serious version of the same problem; whereas in many cases one can recover the original sources (and hence the informants) from Harutyunyan’s work (Հարությունյան 1965), because he provides references for his riddles, Sargsyan’s riddles are taken directly from uncredited native speakers, and it is therefore impossible to know exactly where they are from. This is an important lacuna in a work on Karabakh, since the region contains numerous distinct dialect groups (Դավթյան 1966). Sargsyan (personal communication) states that his informants are from Martuni and Hadrut, but this is still not sufficient information to place his rich materials in their proper dialectological context.

4.1.3 Dictionaries

We have a number of excellent dialect dictionaries, each of which possesses certain drawbacks. Adjarian 1913 (Աճարյան 1913) features several thousand words and expressions, each of which is identified by its dialect of origin, but he regularizes their phonology, merges many dialects, and lacks data for the numerous dialects studied after the publication of his book. Amatuni 1912 (Ամատունի 1912) has a host of data not to be found elsewhere and covers many dialects, but Amatuni was not a linguist and hence his renditions of the forms are unreliable. Also, like Adjarian 1913, he does not include many dialects and merges forms for disparate dialects.

Adjarian’s *Armenian etymological dictionary* (Աճարյան 1926) was published in handwritten form in 1926, and then in typeset form in 1971-1979. This dictionary is for most purposes the most useful dialectal (and historical) dictionary, because it provides fairly reliable transcriptions and is organized by Classical Armenian headword, so it is relatively easy to compare forms in different dialects. However, an inevitable consequence of its early publication date is that many dialects are not included. In addition, often the Classical Armenian headword for a given dialect form is not obvious, and words not derived from classical forms are missing. Moreover, non-etymologically related words are not included in a given entry; for instance, the entry for Classical Armenian /ēr/ <եր> ‘why’ (originally the genitive singular form of /i/ <ի> ‘thing, what’) provides the following dialectal forms: Tabriz /her/, Maragha /her ~ hejr/, and Astrakhan /ner/ (volume 2, p.

119). But he does not mention other common dialectal forms for ‘why’, such as /intʰu, ur, ənder, χi, χa, χas, hori, him, zme/ (cf. Սուքիասյան 1967: 234). Only in the entry for /intʰu/ ‘what’ (volume 2, p. 245) does one find mention of parallel forms /intʰu/, New Julfa /tʰum(ar)/, Alashkert /həntʰi/, and (in unspecified dialects) /əntʰu/, /intʰi/, and /hintʰi/ embedded in Adjarian’s discussion of derivatives of /intʰu/.

The excellent four-volume explanatory dictionary of Modern Armenian published by Stepan Malkhasyants in 1944 (Մալխասյան 1944) is replete with dialectal and other forms not found in conventional dictionaries, and is what I most often use when parsing both standard and dialect texts. However, Malkhasyants does not cite the dialects or sources from which he takes each entry, and he conveys few nuances of non-standard pronunciation; his work is therefore more consistently useful for translation than it is for dialectological analysis.

Sukiasyan’s 1965 synonym dictionary (Սուքիասյան 1967) is useful for identifying dialect variants, as shown by the entries (4) for /gazar/ ‘carrot’ (p. 133) and /həndkahav/ ‘turkey’ (p. 393), which I translated.

(4) *Synonym entries from Սուքիասյան (1967)*

- ‘carrot’: /gazar/ (noun). 1. /stepʰin/: 2. /stepʰin vajri/, /doks/, /tʰanduk/, /ɑfmunisa/, /kʰefir/:
- ‘turkey’: /həndkahav/ (noun, zoological). /hənduhav/, /həndkakʰɑɑʰ/, (dialectal) /tʰurtʰur/, /tʰurtʰur/, /gorel/, /korel/, /tʰolok/, /kulkul/, /kurkur/, /məsɑhav/, /kʰelkʰel/, /tʰulux/.

Like Malkhasyants, though, Sukiasyan does not provide references for specific forms. One cannot infer from his book, for example, that <չուլուխ> /tʰulux/ is used for ‘turkey’ in Hamshen (Աճառյան 1947: 262; Turkish <çulluk> ‘woodcock’ (*Scolopax rusticola*)), or even that <ստեպին> [əstebʰin] is the form for ‘carrot’ in SWA. Key variants moreover are not included, such as the ‘turkey’ form /hindig/ in Abkhazian Hamshen (Avik Topchyan, personal communication), or the ‘carrot’ forms in Baberd /pʰərtʰulig/, Tomarza /pʰyrtʰykʰly/, Gyumri /pʰurtʰulus/, Kharberd and Kessab /pʰrtʰækʰli/ (for all of these cf. Turkish dialectal <purçuluk>), and Marash /havutʰ/ ~ /havundʒ/ (cf. Turkish <havuç>). Oddly, Sukiasyan’s entry for the regional ‘carrot’ variant /stebʰin/ (related to Greek <staphulinos>) includes forms not mentioned in the entry for /gazar/: /tapʰin/ (which is used in Van, though Sukiasyan does not mention this) and /teʰpind/.

Artem Sargsyan and his team in Yerevan completed their seven-volume *Dialectal dictionary of the Armenian Language* in 2012 (Սարգսյան 2001/2012), but it is missing key requirements for a modern scholarly tool. It has the advantage

of covering many more dialects than the other sources mentioned above, but is surprisingly limited in its coverage given the resources available in Yerevan; most of the dialect forms that I have looked for in it have not been there, and well-known dialects such as the Muslim Hamshen varieties described by Dumézil (1964) are not incorporated. One also finds curious omissions of well-known dialect forms; for example, New Julfa <լապստակ> /lapstak/ is missing from the entry for ‘hare’. This same entry reveals another problem. It is unclear why the authors have separated from one another variant forms within a single dialect, e.g. <լափստրայ> /lap^hstraj/ and <լափստրակ> /lap^hstrak/ for Urmia.

Along similar lines, when there is more than one reference for a specific dialect in an entry, the authors do not make clear which one a given form is taken from, nor where to find it in the source text. The citation of variant forms is inconsistent, as well; for instance, the entry for /esor/ <էսօր> cites the variant form /əsor/, but not the variant /sor/. The entry for <եր> /er/ ‘why’ (volume 2, p. 32) mentions that it is used in Ararat, but does not provide a link to the aforementioned related forms (Tabriz <հեր> /her/, Maragha <հեր ~ հէր> /her ~ hejr/, and Astrakhan <ներ> /ner/) that are cited by Adjarian in his etymological dictionary.

The dictionary also is often not specific about dialect forms and references, as can be seen in the following example (5):

(5) *Sample entry from Sargsyan et al. volume 2, p. 30 (Սարգսյան 2001/2012)*

- Original Armenian

ԷՍՏՈՒՐ, Ար. Ն. ԸՍՏՈՒՐ, Դրբ. Սրա: Էստուր համար եմ ասում, որ լավ տղա է (ՎՏՍ): Փոռ պիտի վոր էստուրը դիմանա (ԳՍ): Ըստուր յաղի մին:

- Translated

/estur/, Ar. N. /əstur/, Ghrb. /sra/. /estur hamar em asum, vor lav tka e/ (VTS). /p^huʁ piti vur esturə dimana/ (GS). /əstur jaxi min/.

This entry provides no sources for the Ar. [Ararat], N. [Nakhichevan?], and Ghrb. [Karabakh] forms, nor does it give precise references that would enable one to locate the exact quotes in VTS [= Vagharshak Ter-Sukiasyan <Վաղարշակ Տեր-Սուքիասյան>] and GS [=Gabriel Sundukyan <Գաբրիել Սուկուկյան>],¹⁰ nor does it furnish a citation for the source from which /əstur jaxi min/ is taken. Moreover, there is no translation of the example sentences into a western language or even into Standard Armenian, and there is no translation of headwords

¹⁰It is odd to provide an example in the Tbilisi dialect here, given that the entry does not mention Tbilisi as one of the dialects that the headword appears in.

into a western language. Without translations, it is often unclear which of several possibilities a word means in a specific context. This is particularly problematic with synonyms; for instance, /alakoʃkotʃ/ means ‘bat’ in some dialects, and ‘butterfly’ in others (cf. Սուրբաբյան 1967: 17). Since Sargsyan et al. (Սարգսյան 2001/2012) do not provide glosses for their entries, it is impossible to tell which of these two is being referred to in a given instance. In order for the field of Armenian linguistics to move forward, the rich dialectal materials contained in this dictionary need to be made accessible to the linguistic world outside of Armenia, which requires providing the basic but essential scholarly tools just mentioned.

It is also worth mentioning Gabikyan’s 1968 dictionary of Armenian plant names (Գաբիկյան 1968), which is a treasure trove of dialect material often unavailable elsewhere, either because the available materials on that dialect do not mention it (e.g. Hamshen /alzi/ or /arzi/ (p. 12), /zimbilak/ (p. 57)), or there are no materials at all available on that dialect (e.g. Yozgat, Mashkert, Pirknik, Zara). Gabikyan does not provide sources for his dialect terms, and it is not possible to find all of the forms from a given dialect in one place, but it remains an important source of primary dialect data.

4.1.4 Treatments of individual dialects

I have already mentioned many grammars of individual dialects, yet too many books and articles of this type still remain to list here. Most of these works¹¹ are designed for Armenian-speaking dialectologists, and hence lack translations, explanations, and glosses of the dialect source material, except for the occasional translation of an easier word. Moreover, the dialect material is not rendered in the IPA or any other transcription intelligible to outsiders or general linguists. As a result, it is likely that the rich store of Armenian dialect material will never reach an audience broader than the dialectologists who specialize in it.¹² Nonetheless, the dialect grammars and article-length treatments produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries remain a rich repository of material that, if it were available, would be a source of great interest to both dialectologists and theoretical linguists worldwide.

¹¹With a few exceptions such as the works on Hamshen subdialects by Dumézil and Blaesing. See the bibliography for works by them.

¹²At a 2001 meeting in Stepanakert with a group of western linguists, representatives from the Dialect Institute claimed that they continue to transcribe Armenian dialects using the Armenian script because this script is better able to represent the nuances of dialect pronunciation. In fact, the IPA is able to render all of these distinctions and more, and do so in a way that is consistent across the world’s languages and intelligible to the entire world’s linguistic community.

Particularly noteworthy are the grammars that attempt to place their respective dialects in the context of the larger sphere of Armenian dialects, such as on Shamakhi (Բաղրամյան 1964), Hadrut (Պողոսյան 1965), Karabakh (Դավթյան 1966), and Hamshen (Bläsing 2003). For example, consider Baghramyán's work on Dersim (Բաղրամյան 1960). Baghramyán provides a map of the forms of the present tense in the Dersim region, which I have recast in Figure 1.

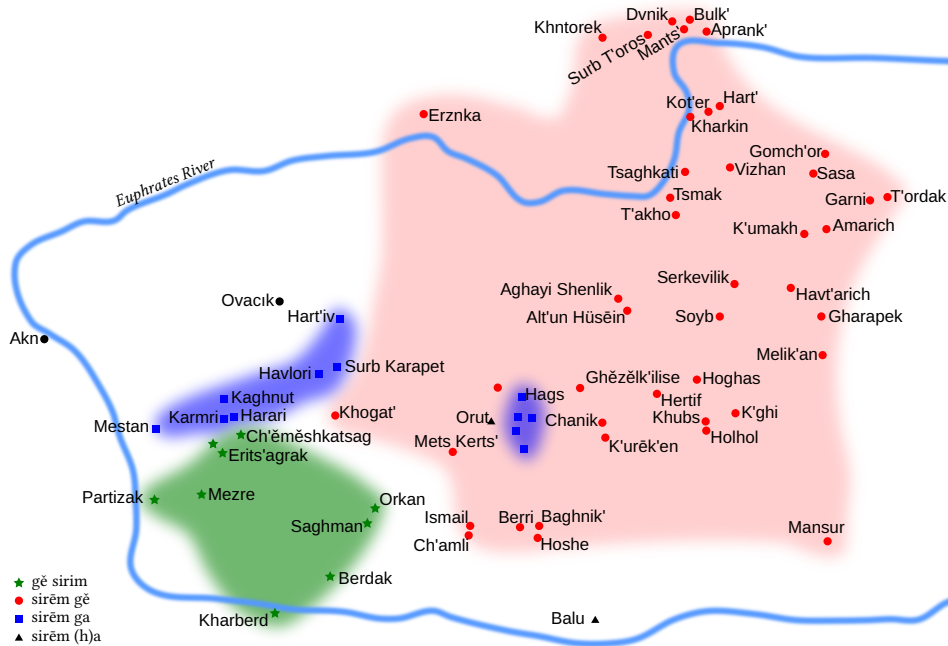


Figure 1: Formation of the present and imperfect indicative in Armenian dialects of the Dersim region, based on Baghramyán (Բաղրամյան 1960: map 2)

Baghramyán does not attempt to relate the forms in Figure 1 to what we find in other Armenian dialects, but his map provides a level of village-by-village detail that is unusual in Armenian dialectology. Baghramyán does not cite his sources for the village forms represented in his maps.

4.1.5 Unpublished and ongoing work

In addition to the published work described in the preceding sections, a great deal of Armenian dialect material has been collected and/or analysed without being published. This includes not only a large percentage of the theses, dialect glossaries, and articles listed in Jahukyan (Ջահուկյան 1972), such as Vartapetyán's

thesis on the Syunik dialect (Վարդապետյան 1961, Вардапетян 1962), but also extensive collections of folk texts held in various archives in Yerevan (mentioned in Աբեղյան 1940, Ղանալանյան 1960, Հարությունյան 1965), videotaped and/or transcribed narratives by genocide survivors held at the Armenian Library and Museum of America (in Watertown, MA) and elsewhere, and older manuscripts written in dialects. The latter class of materials is typically branded as ‘written in corrupt Armenian’ in manuscript catalogs, and (due presumably to its non-historical, non-religious, and non-illustrated content) generally ignored by Armenologists. Typical examples include the sixteenth-century word list that appears to be in the contemporary Armenian dialect of Ankara and the seventeenth-century Armenian hexaglot dictionary held in the Oriental Library in Oxford, both of which are described in Baronian & Conybeare (1918).

Ideally, these materials would be made available to the entire academic community, preferably via the internet, though something like the microfiche format of Weitenberg’s *Armenia: Selected sources* would also be acceptable (Weitenberg 1980). Making these materials available outside of Armenia would benefit the Armenian economy as well as armenologists, provided that external funding sources are employed to contract typists and internet experts within the Republic.

Perhaps the most important unpublished resource of all is the data collected by the Dialect Institute in Yerevan. According to the members of the Institute,¹³ they have elicited and transcribed answers to all of the more than 700 questions in their dialect manual (Մուրադյան et al. 1977) for some 500 villages that have or had Armenian-speaking populations. Their website¹⁴ asserts (as of October 22, 1998) that:

during the last two decades the most outstanding achievement in linguistics has been the creation of [a] dialectological atlas - a collection of maps, each volume of w[h]ich will show the phonetic, lexical, [and] grammatical phenomena (isoglosses), and it will present fully all dialectal areas of the historical Armenia with further displacements and changes. Under the sup[er]vision of [the] International Association of Armenological Researches a collaboration contract is signed with Leiden University (Holland) and joint projects are being conducted concerning the following themes: ‘The Armenian Dialectological Atlas’ [and] ‘Historical Dialectology’.

¹³Or the “Hrachja Atcharian Institute of Language”. Which institute is actually carrying out this work is not clear to me.

¹⁴The original site accessed in 2004 (<http://inf.sci.am/about/research/41-lang.html>) no longer exists).

As of 2024 neither of these projects has surfaced, nor have the data on the 500 villages been made available to scholars; one can only hope that these materials will one day appear. However, they were not collected using methods considered reliable by modern social scientists; in my experience (based partially on study of published materials and partially on observation of members of the Dialect Institute collecting data from informants in Karabakh in the summer of 2001) the fieldworkers note only the most archaic forms that they expect to find in a given dialect, rather than what speakers actually use, and they ignore intracommunity variation along age, gender, class, and idiolectal lines.

The fieldwork that has been carried out in Armenia on a sporadic basis by Anaïd Donabédian (of INALCO, Paris) and her students over the past fifteen years or so gives more cause for hope. Though the materials they are collecting are fairly traditional – texts, words, and so on – she and her students are well trained in modern linguistics and aware of the fundamentals of scientific fieldwork. For example, since writing this paper, Katherine Hodgson has undertaken documentation of the Zok or Agulis dialect (§14).¹⁵ Other noteworthy endeavors are the documentation of Erzurum/Karin Armenian (§15) spoken in Georgia and Armenia (Bezrukov 2022) and Iranian Armenian or Parskahayeren (Dolatian et al. 2023).

4.2 Documentation of English dialects

As might be expected, the varieties of English have been documented more extensively and thoroughly than have their Armenian counterparts. The most recent large-scale surveys of English dialects are the Survey of [British] English Dialects (Orton & Dieth 1962, Orton et al. 1978), the Dictionary of American Regional English, or DARE (Cassidy & Hall 1985), and most recently the Harvard Dialect Survey, conducted online by myself and Scott Golder in 2002-2003.¹⁶ The first two of these focus on older individuals, but pay close attention to phonetic detail, are careful not to put words into the mouths of their informants, allow for variation, carefully document the personal histories of each individual studied, clearly explain each dialect form, and provide numerous excellent maps. They therefore provide positive models for the future conduct of Armenian dialect research.

Consider for example DARE, which is based on interviews carried out in all fifty United States between 1965 and 1970, and on a comprehensive collection of

¹⁵<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0632/>

¹⁶The project was completed in 2003. A website is available for historical purposes (<http://dialect.redlog.net/>). A more recent incarnation is the Cambridge Online Survey of World Englishes at http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cambridge_survey.

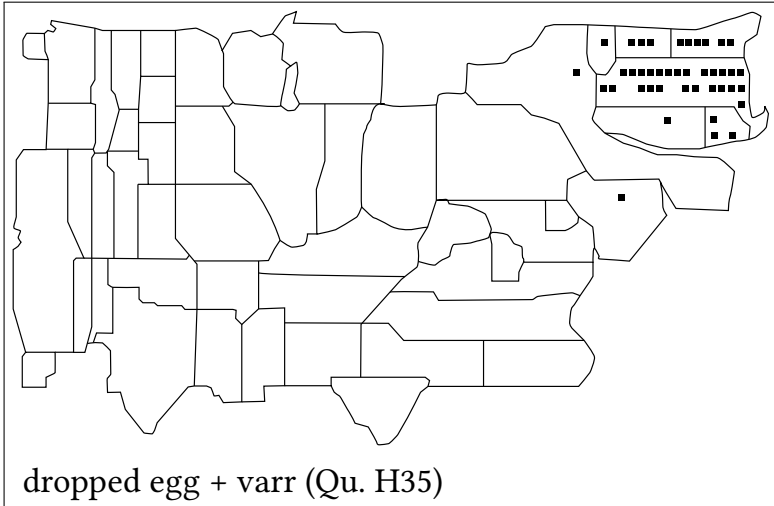
written materials covering the entire range of U.S. history. Each entry has the basic form as follows (6):

(6) *Sample entry from DARE, volume 2*

ⁱ**dropped egg** n Also ⁱⁱdrop egg [ⁱⁱⁱProb from Scots dial; cf *SND drap* v. 5. (2)

(b) 1824→] ^{iv}**chiefly** NEng See Map ^v*somewhat old-fashioned*.

^{vi}A poached egg.



^{vii}1884^{viii}*Harper's New Mth. Mag.* 69.306/1 ^{ix}MA, Martha was . . . eating her toast and a dropped egg. 1896 (c1973) *Farmer Orig. Cook Book* 93, *Dropped Eggs* (Poached). 1933 *Hanley Disks* **neMA**, Dropped egg—take and put a pan of milk on the stove and boil and drop the egg in and let it cook. 1941 *LANE* Map 295 (Poached Eggs), **throughout** NEng, *Dropped eggs*. . .1 inf, **ceVT**, Drop eggs. 1948 *Peattie Berkshires* 323 **wMA**, In Berkshire . . . you could not get a poached egg, but you could get a “dropped” egg, which was the same thing. 1965 *PADS* 43.24 **seMA**, 6 [infs] poached eggs, 4 [infs] dropped eggs, 1 [inf] dropped egg on toast. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. H35, ^x*When eggs are taken out of the shell and cooked in boiling water, you call them _____ eggs*) 40 Infs, ^{xi}**chiefly** NEng, Dropped; ^{xii}NH15, Dropped egg on toast. ^{xiii}[33 of 41 Infs old] 1975 *Gould ME Lingo* 82, *Dropped egg*—Maine for poached egg, usually on toast. 1977 *Yankee* Jan 73 **Isleboro ME**, The people on Isleboro eat dropped eggs instead of poached.

As can be seen, each dialect term is provided as a headword (i), accompanied by its equivalent in standard English (vi) and by variant forms (ii). An etymology is provided if known, as well as the source for this etymology (iii). If any regional

generalizations governing the distribution of the term can be identified, these are stated (iv), as is the degree to which the form is actually used (v). Specific appearances of the form in literary sources (viii) and DARE survey responses (x) are explicitly listed in chronological order, together with the year (vii) and state (ix) in which they appeared, and regional (xi) and other (xiii) tendencies (concerning age, gender, race, and the like) in these survey responses (xi). The specific location of each informant who produced the form in question is given (xii) and can easily be tracked down in the introductory matter at the beginning of the first volume; for example, NH15 (xiii) represents a white female homemaker from Berlin, New Hampshire born in 1922.

The DARE survey on which much of the information in the dictionary is based is impressively large (1847 questions), compared to some 700+ questions in Muradyan et al. 1977 (Մուրադյան et al. 1977). Administering such a lengthy survey is quite difficult, but not impossible, and the set of questions in Muradyan's survey could easily be augmented.

The most obvious problem with carrying out a large survey (or any survey, for that matter) is getting data from a large number of speakers, which is essential if one wants to reflect accurately the speech patterns of a community. Existing Armenian dialect studies typically represent the speech of only one or a handful of older individuals; to date there has been no interest in mapping the preferences of entire communities, a research program started in the West by Labov in the 1960s. The Harvard Dialect Survey addressed this problem by administering its questions online, which makes it possible for English speakers worldwide to answer the questions quickly and easily, and in significant numbers (more than 50,000 individuals completed the survey between September 2002 and May 2003, making it the largest dialect survey conducted up to that time). The price for this advantage is that the survey must be limited to questions that can be understood and reliably answered by individuals with no linguistic background; questions concerning lexical choice and certain pronunciation distinctions work well, but questions involving subtle phonetic, syntactic, or semantic distinctions or requiring knowledge of linguistic concepts usually do not.

Questions on the survey are also more effective if they involve dialect differences that are well-known and salient, such as the variation for 'sweetened carbonated beverage' depicted in Figure 2; obscure items that most speakers no longer know, such as parts of a plow, tend not to generate useful results and often dissuade survey takers from continuing to the rest of the questions.

I have found that the best way to persuade large numbers of individuals to complete a survey is to provide maps of the responses received up to that point. For the Harvard Dialect Survey we generated rough and ready automated maps

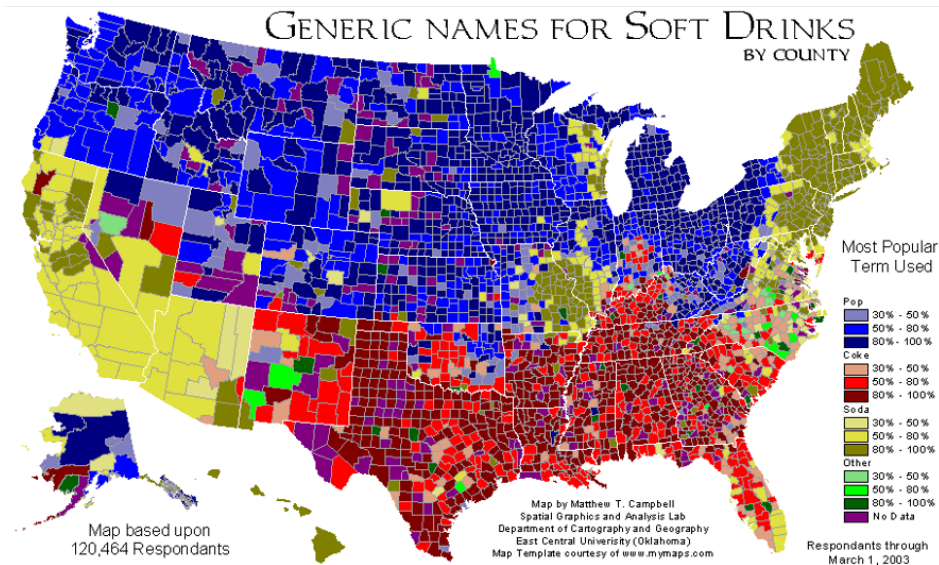


Figure 2: Map of the three principal terms for sweetened carbonated beverages in the Continental United States (<http://www.popvssoda.com/countystats/total-county.html>)

of the sort in Figure 3, which represents the distribution of the three main terms for drinking fountain in the continental United States for the first 10,656 respondents to the survey.

A significant advantage of electronically-administered surveys is that their responses are instantaneously available in digital form, and therefore can easily be mapped and statistically analyzed in a variety of ways. Figure 4 presents a map generated in Arcview + Adobe Photoshop for the Harvard Dialect Survey question involving the second-person plural subject pronoun; yellow dots depict areas where *y'all* predominates, and green dots are areas where *you guys* is the preferred form.

One can object that the responses to the survey will not be reliable, since they are elicited from voluntary respondents of a self-selecting subset of the population, namely those individuals who have the resources, the interest, and the leisure time to complete a lengthy dialect survey on the internet. This stands in contrast to most scientific surveys, which attempt to target a random but representative sampling of the population. In my opinion, though, the sheer scale of the Harvard Dialect Survey (HDS) more than compensates for the weaknesses in its sampling methods: surveying 50,000 Americans makes it quite likely that one will accurately capture regional linguistic tendencies, perhaps more so than

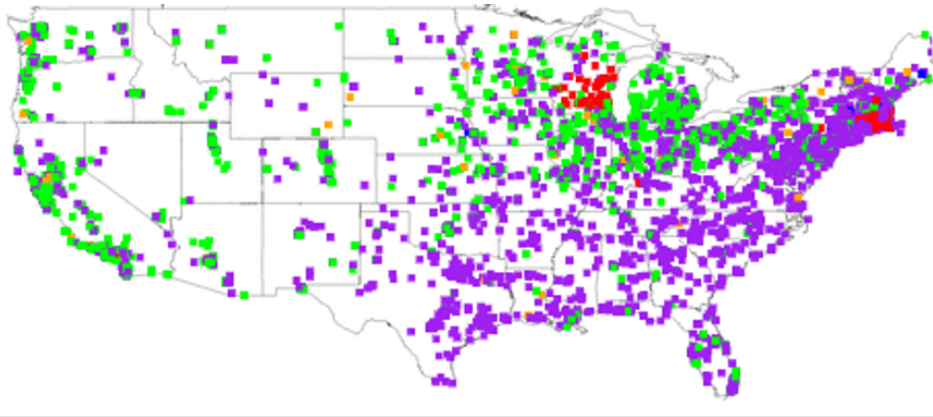


Figure 3: Q103. What do you call the thing from which you might drink water in a school?
 •bubbler (red; 3.84% of responses)
 •drinking fountain (green; 33.16% of responses)
 •water fountain (purple; 60.97 of responses)

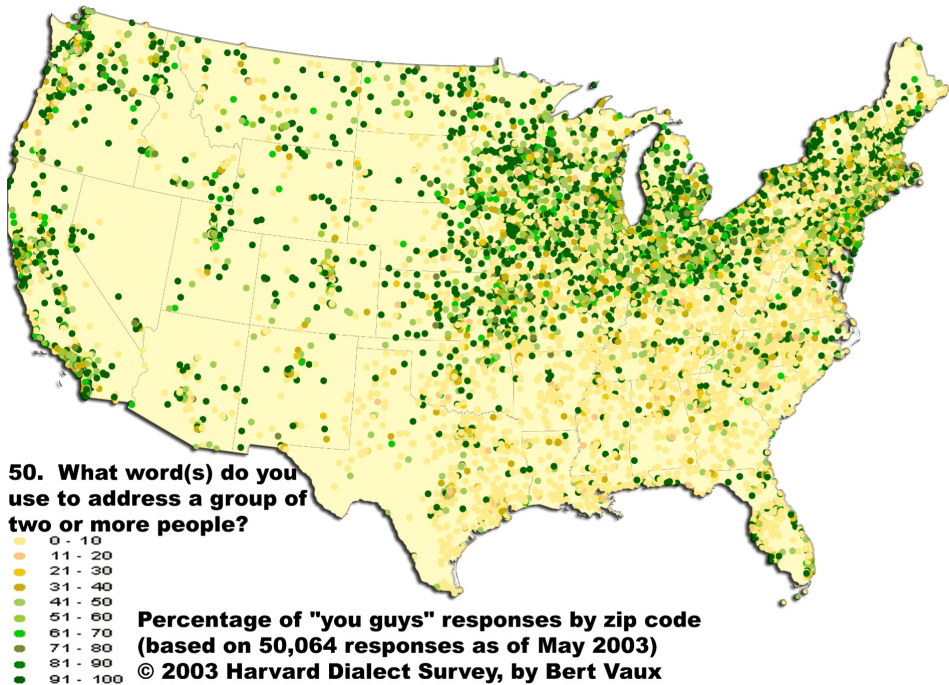


Figure 4: Q50. What word(s) do you use to address a group of two or more people?

a survey that uses representative random sampling but only collects data from 300 Americans. Let us say, for example, that a given regional form only occurs in Michigan, but even there it is only employed by 30% of Michiganders. A survey of 300 Americans will presumably contain no more than 6 Michiganders, whereas the Harvard Dialect Survey elicited data from one thousand eighty-nine of them. It should be clear from this quick comparison that the chances of discovering the usage of this regional form are fairly slim in the survey based on the random sample, whereas they are quite good in the HDS. A survey on the scale of the HDS moreover greatly improves one's chances of delineating the exact geographic boundaries of linguistic isoglosses. The price for this accuracy is that one must constantly remain aware of the limitations of the survey; the HDS, for example, may well not provide an accurate reflection of the speech patterns of African Americans in the United States. This would of course be less of a problem for a survey of Armenian dialect speakers, since they show significantly less ethnic and socio-economic diversity than do speakers of American English.

In fact, much of the online survey work that has been done for English can be done with equal ease for Armenian. The one problem that comes to mind with the Armenian case is that most speakers of nonstandard varieties of Armenian, being older, likely do not use the internet. However, this can be compensated for to some extent by making the notional Armenian dialect survey available online in a form that younger Armenians can administer to their dialect-speaking parents and grandparents. With suggestions for how to record their dialect-speaking relatives on audio and videotape, together with specific recommendations for what to record, these younger Armenians might contribute valuable data to the field. The ideal Armenian dialect survey website would then make it possible for these individuals to upload their recordings to the site for processing and dissemination by the linguists managing the site.

A significant amount of excellent Armenian dialect material has been collected over the past three hundred years, but we must intensify our efforts to make these materials available to the scholarly community, especially to those scholars in the West who could contribute to our understanding of the material and help integrate it into the realm of scholarship on general linguistics, if only the materials were available in a language with which they were familiar. We must also expand our efforts to collect new materials, using the methods developed by sociolinguistics over the past fifty years. These efforts can be significantly facilitated by employing computer and internet resources, particularly in the collection and dissemination of surveys and recordings.

5 Theory and method

In the previous section, I made a number of recommendations for the collection of Armenian dialect data, based on advances over the past few decades in the research methodology employed for English dialects. In this section I turn to parallel advances made in theoretical linguistics and sociolinguistics, again with an eye towards ways in which these can be of use in Armenian dialectology. Armenian dialectology would benefit from expanding beyond its current focus on historical and prescriptive issues to include consideration of synchronic grammatical and sociolinguistic variation.

5.1 Synchronic

I mentioned earlier that Armenian linguistics essentially preserves unchanged the state of European linguistics in the 1890s, when Adjarian studied in Paris with Meillet. Since Adjarian's departure from Europe there have been four pivotal theoretical innovations in Western linguistics that are relevant for our purposes:

- (7) Innovations in Western linguistics
 - a. Saussure's separation of synchrony and diachrony;
 - b. Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*;
 - c. Labov's identification of the importance of linguistic variation, both intra-community and intra-individual;
 - d. Labov's synthesis of synchrony, diachrony, and variation.

Saussure demonstrated that there are important differences between the *diachronic* (or historical) and the *synchronic* axes of language. Whereas most prior linguists had thought of languages much as we think about humans, with their essence being most evident (and perhaps only evident) when looking over their entire life span, Saussure showed that the structure of a language is in fact best viewed synchronically, that is to say, at a single point in time. There are two main reasons for this: (i) each individual forms a linguistic system in his head based on the primary linguistic data to which he is exposed (typically as a child), and it is this system, in which everything coheres, that makes the most logical object of study; (ii) normal humans do not know the history of their language, so the linguistic system they construct in their heads does not contain historical derivations of words, sounds, syntactic constructions, and the like, and it is therefore misleading for the linguist to construct an analysis that conflates different stages in the history of the language. This conflation is precisely what we still

find in most Armenian dialectology, though; there is no effort to elucidate the synchronic structure of grammars inside the heads of individual speakers at a specific point in time.

Saussure also argued convincingly that it is important for linguists to distinguish between *langue* and *parole*, or the internal and external manifestations of language respectively. Chomsky and most contemporary linguists now refer to these as *competence* and *performance*. It is well and good to study linguistic performance such as recorded conversations, text corpora, and the like, but Saussure and Chomsky point out that at best this reveals only a small part of the linguistic knowledge we have stored inside our heads, and at worst it reveals nothing or misleads us, as in the case of speech errors, abortive utterances, or drunken speech. To take a simple example, we do not want to say that a stutterer stores the word <tar> in his head as /t^ht^ht^har/, even if he tends to pronounce it that way. If we are interested in studying the synchronic linguistic systems inside the heads of individual speakers, as Saussure and Chomsky suggest we should be, then we must employ certain methods of data collection and not be content with passive reception of tokens of linguistic performance.

Labov first demonstrated in the 1960s, however, that careful elicitation and study of linguistic performance can reveal important aspects of synchronic grammars as well. On a very simple but essential level, Labov showed (as we will see in greater detail below) that every component of the grammar – phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic – typically displays systematic variation within a speech community, conditioned by social factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, race, and socio-economic status. The speech of individuals varies systematically as well, depending on who one is speaking with, who one wants to establish solidarity with, and so on. The fact that this variation is so *extensive* requires that we recognize and capture it in our study of a language or dialect, and the fact that the variation is so *systematic* suggests that we should capture it in our model of the synchronic grammar. At present neither of these is done in Armenian dialectology, which treats dialects as undifferentiated monoliths unaffected by gender, social status, speech register, and so on.

In his more recent work Labov has gone one step further, linking the synchronic variation just discussed to historical change. More specifically, he suggests that the roots of historical change can be found in synchronic variation, and conversely that historical changes can create synchronic variation. For Labov, diachronic linguistics is a form of synchronic linguistics, because the history of a language is a succession of synchronic grammars mediated by the language acquisition process and by social factors. In order to understand the synchronic grammar, however, we must understand what sorts of linguistic variation the

individuals in a speech community are exposed to, what value judgements they assign to these variants, how much of the time each variant is used, and so on. Again, this sort of information is absent in studies of Armenian dialects.

Sociolinguistics and dialectology as currently practiced in the United States employ the four theoretical advances just discussed, which makes them essentially synchronic in focus. Armenian dialectology, on the other hand, is purely historical, with very few exceptions. American dialectology is a branch of sociology and linguistic theory, whereas Armenian dialectology as practiced up to this point is a branch of philology.

The American tradition has two primary foci: (i) nuanced examination of the present synchronic system of the speech variety under consideration, (ii) emphasis on the speech community rather than idealized/isolated individual, especially in the Labovian (as opposed to Chomskyan) tradition. Labov and his followers maintain that the nature of a language only emerges when one looks at the linguistic behavior of a sufficiently large and representative number of its speakers, and hence is statistically oriented. The Chomskyan camp, on the other hand, maintains that valid generalizations best emerge from inspection of individual grammars (idiolects), and statistical conflation of individual grammars may obscure the actual nature of the language. Consider a simple idealized linguistic community, half of which have idiolects that lead them to use the word /əɫəkoʃkoʃ/ for 'bat' 100% of the time and for 'butterfly' 0% of the time; in other words, /əɫəkoʃkoʃ/ is their only word for 'bat', and means only 'bat'. The other half of the community uses /əɫəkoʃkoʃ/ only for 'butterfly', and never for 'bat'. If the linguist averages over this community, it will appear that the language of the community has two meanings for /əɫəkoʃkoʃ/, 'bat' and 'butterfly', each used with equal frequency, when in fact there is not a single member of the community whose grammar contains this system.

Fortunately, there is a relatively good resolution to this tension between the Labovian and Chomskyan models. It is important to study individual idiolects separately, rather than conflating their outputs, so that one knows what the range of linguistic systems within the speech community is. Once this has been done, though, one can conduct certain statistical computations over the set of idiolects to determine what generalizations emerge. In the case of the idealized community mentioned earlier, for example, the right sort of statistical analysis would reveal two peaks in the distribution, corresponding to the 'butterfly' and 'bat' subdialects.

In addition to controlling for idiolectal and subdialectal variation of the sort just discussed, it is also important to control for variation along other axes, such as age, gender, class, and (if working on a published corpus) literary genre. It is

dangerous, for example, to draw conclusions from generalizations such as the following:

In Classical Armenian, all three ‘flat’ constituents preferably and predominantly precede the noun [Adj+N 75.17%, Num+N 86.69%, Qnt+N 91.10%, Dem+N 80.79%], though it is a prepositional language. The preferred and predominant position of the GEN is postnominal [N+Gen 88.66%].
(Dum-Tragut 2002: 292)

The literature of a given century typically contains a wide range of genres, regional origins, and manuscript transmission histories, each of which has significant effects on the linguistic content of the individual texts (see Coulie 2014 for discussion of the linguistic effects of manuscript transmission, for example). Without identifying and controlling for these variables, generalizations such as Dum-Tragut’s are at best spurious and at worst misleading.

Diachronic conflations of the sort just discussed also fail to identify synchronic phonological processes at work in the minds of individual speakers. Isolated scholars such as Pisowicz, Khatchatrian (ԽԱՃԱՍԻՐՅԱՆ), Weitenberg, and Adjarian occasionally identify synchronic processes in their work, but most linguistic generalizations in the Armenian dialectological literature contain only historical generalizations of the sort in (3). For these linguists (as for traditional historical linguists in the West), languages are viewed as sets of words, rather than sets of rules and constraints operating on a lexicon; in this model, historical changes must occur at one specific point in time, and cannot remain active over time, since there are no rules to be passed on from one generation to the next. There is clear evidence that linguistic rules can and do remain active from one generation to the next, though – witness the alternations produced by the vowel shift in Zok (e.g. /tsor/ ‘tree’ ~ /tsárar/ ‘trees’) that were still active in Adjarian’s time (he published his Agulis grammar in 1935), though they had already first taken place by Schröder (1711). A theory that ignores linguistic rules of this sort misses much of what is interesting and important about a dialect.

Armenian dialectologists typically do not distinguish between phonetics and phonology either, which is probably due to the fact that this distinction had not yet been clearly drawn in European linguistics by the time Adjarian finished his training in Paris.

Instrumental phonetic studies are another important lacuna in the field. Useful work has been carried out (Adjarian 1899, Allen 1950, ԽԱՃԱՍԻՐՅԱՆ 1988, Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, Hacopian 2003, Amirian 2017, Toparlak 2017, 2019, Seyfarth & Garellek 2018, Kelly & Keshishian 2019, 2021, Toparlak & Dolatian 2022,

2023, Seyfarth et al. 2024), but much of the basic documentation remains incomplete, especially on non-standard dialects. Even for the literary dialects many basic questions have only recently been addressed, such as whether the SWA voiced stops are short-lag or voice-lead (Kelly & Keshishian 2021), and when the high and mid vowels are tense vs. lax (Seyfarth et al. 2024). The equipment needed to make high-quality recordings and carry out sophisticated phonetic analysis is now readily available and affordable, so it would now be easier to carry out this basic work on the surviving dialects.

A final general synchronic problem is that work within Soviet and Republican Armenia has focused on *prescription* – what a dialect should look like, according to the linguist – rather than on *description* – what a dialect actually does look like. I once witnessed a group of linguists from the Dialect Institute working with an old man from Ashan in Karabakh, which began innocently enough with them asking him to produce his forms for a few lexical items. Up to that point in our afternoon with him he had been speaking Eastern Armenian with a Karabakh accent (as most Karabakh Armenians are able to do), so his responses naturally contained a mixture of Standard and dialect forms. He was framing his answers in Karabakh dialect for the most part, but the particular lexical items he produced were sometimes variants of the Standard form with Karabakh phonology applied, rather than the completely distinct forms the linguists were expecting. The head linguist then chided the old man for not knowing the ‘correct’ forms for his village, and tried asking him a few more questions. By this time he was so flustered at being told by a professor from Yerevan that he was not speaking properly that he switched entirely into SEA. The linguists from the Dialect Institute then abandoned him in frustration, saying as they left that he did not speak the dialect. I went up to him a few minutes later with an anthropological colleague who speaks a Karabakh subdialect similar to his, and the two of them immediately started chattering in dialect.

It should be obvious from anecdotes like this that prescriptive attitudes can make it difficult to collect useful dialect material. Prescriptivism is also anti-scientific – compare the case of the physicist: he studies how objects actually *do* fall, rather than wasting his time telling the objects the rate at which they *should* fall. For dialectology to be scientific, we need to focus on what real people actually say, not what they ‘should’ say.

5.1.1 Parameters of variation

What dialect speakers actually say is conditioned by a range of social and linguistic factors, as we saw earlier. Pre-Labovian dialectology (and Armenian di-

alectology, as already mentioned) recognize the existence of linguistic variation conditioned by region and time, but few other variables. Dialectological work in the West since the mid 1960s, by contrast, has identified significant variation along numerous other axes, including class, age, gender, and register. Consider the isogloss map depicting the distribution of terms for ‘food trough in a cow-house’ in southeastern England (Figure 5).

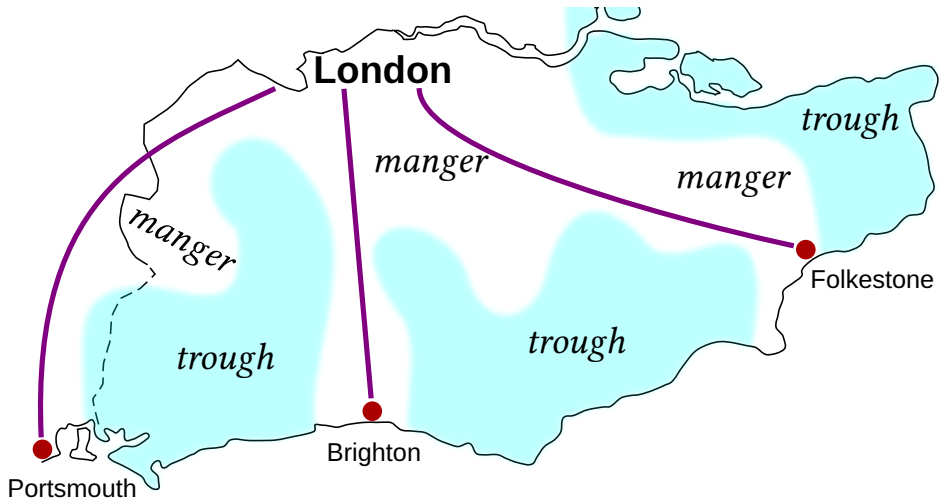


Figure 5: ‘food trough in a cow-house’ (based on a map in Crystal 1995)

One can see in Figure 5 that the distribution of *manger* in this region shows clear geographical conditioning: it extends from its original base around London down along the three principal motorways in the region, which stretch from London to Portsmouth, Brighton, and Folkestone. What one can infer from this map is that *trough* was the original term in the southeast, and is being supplanted by the London term, *manger*, in areas where London commuters are moving outwards along the motorways.

Linguistic variation can be conditioned by register as well. Perhaps the best-known case is the use of r-deletion in non-prevocalic position in New York City English (Labov 1966, 1972). Labov and his assistants elicited the phrase *fourth floor* from more than two hundred sales staff at three New York department stores – Saks, Macy’s, and Klein’s – by locating in advance a product sold on the fourth floor of that store (say, socks) and asking the worker where the socks were located. The linguist then covertly noted whether the worker pronounced the two *r*’s in *fourth* and *floor* respectively. The workers’ responses to this question were held to be representative of a casual speech register. In order to elicit careful

speech forms of the same phrase, Labov and company then indicated that they had not heard the first time, and asked the same representative to repeat what they had just said.

What Labov found was that, contrary to popular belief, it was not the case that New Yorkers dropped all their *r*'s. Instead, all of the speakers surveyed pronounced the coda *r*'s some of the time, with the percentage of use depending on both the department store (presumably reflecting variation in social class) and the speech register. All of the speakers interviewed pronounced the coda *r*'s about twice as often in their emphatic/careful speech register as in their casual speech.

In formal terms, the New York City variety of American English contains a rule that deletes *r* when it is in a syllable coda (i.e. when it is not followed by a vowel), and this rule is suppressed to a greater extent in more careful speech registers.

The same process may be conditioned by class as well. Wolfram (1969) found in his 1969 study of the variety of English spoken by the African-American community in Detroit, for example, that as one moves down the socio-economic ladder from the upper middle class to the lower working class (LWC), the application of *r*-deletion increases significantly, from 20% in the upper middle class to more than 70% in the lower working class.

In general terms, linguistic variables can be (and typically are) conditioned by more than just region. When working on Armenian dialects we therefore should be careful not to focus solely on regional variation while ignoring variation by age, gender, and the like.

5.1.2 The construction of dialect

Western work on dialectology in the last few decades has also begun to develop a more nuanced and realistic picture of what dialects are and how they are constructed by their speech communities and by linguists. Martin (1954) and Trudgill (1972, 1978) first showed that individuals' perceptions of their own speech are not always accurate: females (especially in the middle class) tend to *over-report* their use of features of the standard dialect, whereas men (especially in the working class) tend to *under-report* their usage of these features. In other words, women tend to feel they are speaking more 'properly' than they actually are, and men feel the opposite. This finding has a number of important consequences: (i) we should not rely on native speakers' reports of how they or other parts of the speech community work; (ii) fieldworkers should be careful to control the con-

texts in which they conduct their interviews to minimize the social anxiety their informants may be feeling.

Similarly, fieldworkers should be aware that individuals speak differently depending on the person to whom they are speaking. The dialectologist, who is typically well educated and seen as an authority figure, often (unconsciously) prompts informants to speak in a relatively formal/careful register closer to the standard language than the dialectologist would prefer. I have found that an excellent way to circumvent this problem is to bring with me to the interview one or more friends or colleagues who are native speakers of the dialect, and to have them ask questions of a non-linguistic nature in dialect. This facilitates establishing a rapport with the informant, and makes it clear to them that they can speak in their dialect without any dire consequences. Involving more than one native speaker in the session also creates an environment in which natural unguarded conversation is possible, making it possible to collect connected speech to a degree that is impossible when one is asking a single native speaker disjointed questions about individual vocabulary words in their dialect and so on.

Another component involved in building a linguistic picture of a speech community is the use of statistics. Until the Labovian revolution in the 1960s, dialectologists in all countries generally focused their attention on older rural speakers, as these were felt to preserve the purest or oldest form of the speech variety in their region. As mentioned previously, this remains the focus in Armenian dialectology today. Labov shifted the emphasis in American dialectology to building an accurate picture of the speech community as a whole, not just that of old male farmers. This goal requires identifying and surveying a statistically representative sample of speakers in the community, cutting across genders, races, ethnicities, occupations, ages, and the like.

5.2 Diachronic

Though the diachronic axis of Armenian dialect work is relatively well developed, it too can be augmented by advances made in the West over the past century, particularly in the areas of subgrouping and chronology of sound changes. Our findings in these areas are of particular importance outside of dialectology, because they can help us clarify the complex pattern of Armenian migrations over the past two millennia and address the question of when Armenian first began to split into separate dialects.

5.2.1 Subgrouping

Perhaps the primary concern of Armenian dialectologists to date has been the classification and historical subgrouping of the various dialects. This preoccupation is clear from the title of the first systematic survey of the Armenian dialects, Adjarian's *Classification of the Armenian Dialects* (Adjarian 1909), and of the most recent major synthesis, Jahukyan's *Introduction to Armenian Dialectology* (Չահուկյան 1972). The methodology employed in these works is in certain ways not entirely satisfactory by modern standards, however, and has produced results that are somewhat problematic, as we will see.

5.2.1.1 Traditional classifications

The best known subgrouping of Armenian dialects is into Eastern and Western branches, based on features such as the following ones:

- (8) Traditional Armenian subgrouping criteria
- a. *Nominal morphology*: Eastern dialects have a distinct locative in /-um/ (Jahukyan 1972's feature #64); Western dialects use the accusative or genitive/dative case for locative functions (§4.7.3.1).
 - b. *Verbal morphology*: Eastern dialects use /-um/ to form the present tense; Western dialects use some form of /kə/ (§4.7.3.5).
 - c. *Agreement*: Eastern dialects only allow one agreement marker per noun phrase; Western dialects require agreement marking on the head noun (/im dun-əs/).
 - d. *Consonant system*: Eastern dialects have voiced {b d g dz dʒ} and voiceless {p t k ts tʃ}; Western dialects have the opposite (§4.7.1.2.5).

By “Western” dialects I mean dialects 1-72 in Jahukyan 1972, and by ‘Eastern’ dialects I mean Jahukyan's dialects 73-120. For the agreement criterion, the following examples (9) illustrate how SEA uses either a possessive pronoun or possessive suffix on a possessed noun, but not both. In contrast, SWA requires both.

- (9) ‘my house’
- a. SEA
 - i. tun-əs
house-POSS.1SG
 - ii. im tun-ə
my house-DEF

- iii. *im tun-əs
my house-POSS.1SG
- b. SWA
im dun-əs
my house-POSS.1SG

Adjarian (1909) first showed systematically that the set of present tense formations in the Armenian world was more complicated. Since then, some work has added further nuances to this scheme (Ղարիբյան 1958, Ջահուկյան 1972).

Table 1: Modern present formations

Source	Form	Morpheme gloss	Translation
SWA	gə-p ^h er-e-m	IND-carry-TH-1SG	‘I bring’
SEA	ber-um e-m	carry-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG	‘I bring’
Meghri	mn-a-l-is i-m	stay-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG	‘I stay’
Kessab	hə pæn-e-m	IND work-TH-1SG	‘I work’

The consonant system was also found by linguists to be more complicated than the picture in Table 1 suggests (cf. Агаян 1960, Бенвенист 1961, Фурке 1959, Георгиев 1960, Гарибян 1959, Гарибян 1962, Иванов 1962, Джаукян 1960, Леман 1961, Макаев 1961, Форт 1961, Заброцкий 1961, Жирмунский 1962, Отрембский 1961, Феиди 1961, Pisowicz 1976, 1997, Garrett 1991). Scholars now typically divide the Armenian dialects into seven groups based on the outcomes of the three original Indo-European stop series in word-initial position (Table 2).

Table 2: Correspondence of word-initial stops in Proto-Indo-European vs. Armenian dialects

1	d	d ^h	t	Proto-Indo-European
2	d	d ^h	t ^h	Sebastia (§28.3.1.2.1)
3	t	d ^h	t ^h	Yerevan (§8.2.2.3.1)
4	d	d	t ^h	Istanbul (§32.2.2.3.1)
5	d	t	t ^h	Sasun, Middle Armenian
6	d	t ^h	t ^h	Malatya (§23.2.1.1), SWA
7	t	d	t ^h	Classical Armenian, Agulis (§14.2.2.4.1), SEA
8	t	t	t ^h	Van (§17.2.2.3)

Representative words for each series are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Reflexes of initial stops across dialects

	*D	*D ^h	*T
Proto-Indo-European	dek ^l mt	b ^h eremi	ok ^l tō
Sebastia	dasə	b ^h erem	ut ^h ə
Yerevan	tassə	b ^h erem	ut ^h
Istanbul	dasə	berem	út ^h u
Sasun	das	p ^h erəm	ut ^h
SWA	dasə	p ^h erem	ut ^h ə
Classical	tasən	berem	ut ^h
Van	tas	pirem	ut ^h
	‘ten’	‘I bring’	‘eight’

5.2.1.2 Innovations and the Wave Theory

Each of the linguistic features just discussed is interesting on its own merits, but does not tell us much about the relations between and subgrouping of the Armenian dialects. We need to focus on non-trivial linguistic innovations (such as the development of the indicative /kə/ <կը> morpheme present in many Western dialects (Jahukyan 1972’s feature #78), or the development of a new /-its^h/ <-ից> ablative in many Eastern dialects, Jahukyan 1972’s feature #59), rather than archaisms (such as the preservation of the Classical Armenian stop series in group 6 dialects and of the Classical Armenian /-ē/ <-է> ablative in Western Armenian), because all dialects are equally likely to preserve a given feature of their linguistic ancestor, whereas the probability that two dialects would independently develop the same innovation is significantly lower than the probability that one dialect innovated and passed that innovation on to two descendants.

However, some innovations can develop independently in isolated speech varieties and therefore are not good diagnostics. Examples of this type include the development of word-final devoicing (which occurred independently in languages as disparate as German, Turkish, Sanskrit, and Russian), or (in the case of Armenian dialects) borrowing the Turkish ordinal suffix <-indzi> (Jahukyan 1972’s feature 69, attested in Rodosto, Istanbul, Nicomedia, Evdokia, Trabzon, Kharberd-Yerznka, Syria, most of Karabakh, some of Tigranakert, Mush, and Astrakhan), or developing vowel harmony under Turkish influence (Jahukyan 1972’s feature 38: some Cilician and Syrian dialects, Meghri, Agulis, Karabakh, Havarik, Shamakhi, Khoy, and Maragha).

The idea that every linguistic innovation is independent of every other is central to the Wave Theory (Schmidt 1872), variants of which sociolinguists today generally prefer to the Tree Theory (Stammbaumtheorie; Schleicher 1853) that remains popular among philologists. See Garrett 2006 for a critique of applying the Tree Theory to the Indo-European family. The basic idea of the Wave Theory is that a linguistic innovation starts from an individual and gradually propagates outward, sometimes even crossing language boundaries (creating Sprachbund phenomena). This propagation can move from major urban centers to increasingly less-populated areas, as with the spread of uvular <r> (IPA [ʁ]) in Europe (Trudgill 1974).

When there is close cultural and linguistic contact between dialect groups over an extended period of time, it is often the case that several linguistic innovations propagate over the same geographic expanse, as with the numerous overlapping isoglosses that Kurath (1949) correlated with the three major dialect regions in the United States: the North, South, and Midlands. A typical example in the Armenian world is the dialect subgroup that contains Karabakh, Khoy, and Maragha, which share a number of non-trivial innovations, including their consonant shifts, development of penultimate stress and a present tense formation in /-l-is/, change of /r/ > /h/ in pronominal forms like /sərank^h/ > /səhank^h/, and placement of negative elements after the verb.

Because of their grounding in historical and cultural contact, isogloss clusters of this type inform us about the historical relations between the dialect communities involved. They can help us reconstruct the historical movements and subgroupings of dialect communities and establish times before which certain innovations must have occurred; see §5.2.2 for exemplification and discussion.

The standard interpretation of the Wave Theory (see Petyt (1980)) also provides a means of defining dialects in synchronic terms: dialects are linguistic areas characterized by the overlap of a number of isoglosses. Important dialect groupings are defined in the same manner. Jahukyan 1972 implements a classification of the Armenian dialects based on this principle, as we will now see.

5.2.1.3 Jahukyan (1972)

The best attempt to collate Armenian isoglosses is Jahukyan's *Introduction to Armenian dialectology* (Չահուկյան 1972), which employs what he refers to as a 'multi-featured classification' procedure. This procedure involved the selection of one hundred phonological and morphological features (for example 'devoicing of original plain voiced stops', 'present tense employing the particle *ku*') and one hundred twenty dialects for which these features are known. Jahukyan then

assigned the values +, -, ±, or ∓ to each feature in each dialect, producing a 100 x 120 grid. The basic data Jahukyan presents in this way are extremely useful, particularly in affording us a glimpse of certain dialects whose grammars are as yet unpublished and in giving a general overview of numerous important phonological and morphological isoglosses.

The problems lie in what Jahukyan does with the data. His method of classification consists of adding the pluses and minuses for each feature (the former are assigned a value of 1 and the latter Ø), yielding a tally between 0 and 100 for each dialect. Jahukyan then classifies dialects into groups based on their numerical scores, with varieties within 22 points of each other counting as subdialects, 22.5-44 points counting as dialects, and 44.5 points or more counting as dialect groups (p. 127). In this scheme Classical Armenian differs from Middle Armenian by 24.5 points, from SEA by 25 points, and from SWA by 25.5 points. Western Armenian differs from Middle Armenian by 14.5 points, and from Eastern Armenian by 23.5 points (p. 199).

This method suffers from a number of problems. First of all, blindly grouping features will not produce useful results: for example, two dialects with scores of 30 could be grouped together and yet possess no common features because dialect 1 possessed features 1-30 while dialect 2 possessed features 71-100. Second, Jahukyan's 'features' are often grab bags of unrelated phenomena. For example, feature 25 is assigned a positive value if the dialect in question has any of the following (1972:48):

- *Jahukyan's feature 25:*
 1. Change of original { \widehat{d}_3 \widehat{t} \widehat{t}^h ʒ} to { $\widehat{d}z$ $\widehat{t}s$ \widehat{t}^hs z s}
 2. Loss of preconsonantal initial /s/
 3. Change of original intervocalic /s/ to /h/
 4. Change of original /rs/ sequences to /ʃ/
 5. Change of /r/ to /h/ in demonstrative pronouns
 6. Development of /w/ from original /v/

It is unclear why Jahukyan would combine such disparate features into a single item except to make the final tallies correspond to his preconceived notions of what groups the dialects should fall into.¹⁷ Third, many of his features involve

¹⁷Note that the groupings produced by his method do not differ significantly from prior classifications, though we should expect them to, given the random nature of his procedure.

trivial changes that are unlikely to be optimal criteria for subgrouping (discussed below), for example the development of the front vowels {æ œ ɤ} (feature 34).

Fourth, a number of Jahukyan's features are archaisms rather than innovations, for example the preservation of the Common Armenian simple present tense formation (feature 100.1). It is strange that Jahukyan and other members of the linguistic school established by Adjarian in Armenia so commonly employ archaisms as criteria for subgrouping, given that Adjarian's teacher, Meillet, was well aware that innovations alone can be used in this way. There are other reasons why it is very useful to know which dialects preserve archaic features, but we should not use this information for the purpose of subgrouping.

Another problem with Jahukyan's work is his failure to provide specific references for his data. Many of the dialects he describes have been analyzed by several different authors, who often disagree in their descriptions (cf. the formation of the present tense in Khotorjur, which according to some sources preserves the Classical Armenian form and according to others uses /kə/ with a distribution similar to Hamshen and Erzurum). Jahukyan's chart of pluses and minuses does not tell us whose analysis he has chosen in a particular case, nor why that one is better than others.

Jahukyan also uses glottochronology to assess the relationships between the modern dialects and Classical Armenian (pp. 219-245), using lists of 100, 200, and 215 words. Glottochronology was already discredited by the time Jahukyan's book came out in 1972 (cf. Gudschinsky 1956, Sjoberg & Sjoberg 1956, Taylor 1961, Blust 2000, Matisoff 2000, McMahon & McMahon 2000), which raises the question of why this section of the book was written. The basic fallacy in glottochronology is the a priori assumption that *all* languages change *at the same rate all the time*. This is simply not true, not only regarding *different* languages, but even within a single language. It is well known that individual word types do not change at the same rate; for example, numbers are more resistant to change than other lexical categories. A language's lexical retention rate may also be affected by external factors such as borrowing, taboo, having a strong/conservative literary tradition, ethnic or national pride, and the like. Since these factors obviously act differently on different cultures and languages, we in fact expect languages to change at different rates. This prediction is borne out in comparing English and German, for example, which share 75 cognates in the Swadesh list and therefore by his formula separated 954 years ago, i.e. in the 11th century AD. In reality, we know that English and German separated by the fifth century AD, six hundred years earlier than the glottochronological model dictates.

5.2.1.4 Archaisms

We saw in the previous sections that it is important for purposes of subgrouping to focus on non-trivial linguistic innovations. Linguistic archaisms in dialects can be of great use as well, just not for subgrouping. Non-linguists tend to think of archaism as an overarching property of one language or dialect vs. another; compare the popular debate among (lay) Armenians as to whether Eastern Armenian is more conservative than Western Armenian, or vice versa. In fact each component of a language has its own history (this is the central idea of the Wave Theory discussed earlier), and every variety of Armenian (or any other language) contains both archaisms and innovations. To take a simple example, Western Armenian is conservative with regard to orthography and the ablative singular ending /-e/ <-t>, while Eastern Armenian is conservative with respect to the consonant system and preserving a distinct form for the locative singular. Since all forms of Armenian are likely to contain a host of different archaisms, it is important to look closely at all of the dialects if one is interested in elucidating the earliest stages of Armenian.

Some interesting archaisms that surface in Armenian dialects include:

1. The /χ/ <խ> in Zok /kɑχts^h/ <կախց> ‘milk’ (cf. /kat^h, gat^h/ <կաթ> in all other forms of Armenian, including Classical), which may be the reflex of the original */l/ that can be seen in Greek <galakt-> ‘milk’.
2. The voiced aspirates in group 1 and 2 dialects, which some scholars believe to directly preserve the original Indo-European voiced aspirates (cf. Garrett 1991 for discussion).
3. The Classical Armenian present tense formation (/berem/ <բերեմ>, as opposed to /berum em/ <բերում եմ>, etc.) in Aramo and some dialects in Iraq.¹⁸
4. The Karabakh interrogative /hu/ ‘who’ (§10.3.2.4), which according to Adjarian preserves the original /v/-less form found in Classical Armenian /o/ <n> (all other dialects have added a /-v/).
5. The /u/-conjugation in Hamshen and several other dialects. It was lost in both literary dialects (Jahukyan 1972’s feature #77).

¹⁸According to Gharibyan (Гарибян 1962) and Jahukyan (Ջահուկյան 1972); Gharibyan states elsewhere, however, that Aramo forms the present with the prefix *ha* (Դարիրյան 1958).

6. /χendats^hnuf/ ‘make someone rejoice’ in Hamshen, preserving the original semantics of Classical Armenian /χəndal/ <խնդալ> ‘rejoice’. In all other forms of modern Armenian it now means ‘to laugh’.
7. The preservation of Classical Armenian /haw/ <հաւ> in the meaning ‘bird’ in the dialects of Mush, Tbilisi, and Van. In all other dialects, including SEA and SWA, its meaning has become limited to ‘chicken’.
8. The two series of mid vowels in New Julfa, Mush (§16.2.1), and several other dialects. The literary dialects have merged the two series (§4.7.1.2.1, §4.7.1.2.4).
9. the medial /-a-/ in penultimate stress dialects such as Karabakh and Agulis. Middle Armenian and the modern final stress dialects normally deleted all medial /a/; contrast Agulis /hrsænik^h/ with Classical Armenian /harsanik^h/ and SWA /hars(a)nik^h/ (§4.7.1.2.8).
10. The /z-/ definite/accusative in Mush (§16.3.1.1), Kessab, and several other dialects, preserved more or less intact from its Classical predecessor but lost in the literary and most other dialects (Jahukyan 1972’s feature #72).
11. The Classical Armenian /-k^h/ plural, preserved with vowel-final stems in New Julfa and a few other dialects.

5.2.2 Chronology of historical changes

With an appropriate set of linguistic innovations and archaisms in hand, one can begin constructing a historical dialectology. Jos Weitenberg has carried out pioneering work on this topic (cf. Weitenberg 2001 for instance), so here I will just outline some of the most basic facts.

When developing a chronology of linguistic changes, it is to avoid *argumenta ex silentio* and to use only positive evidence. As philosophers and scientists often put it, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence; the fact that we do not have evidence for a given phenomenon at a given point in time and space does not mean that it did not exist there and then. To take a simple Armenian example, the fact that we do not have any materials written in Armenian before the fifth century AD does not entail that the language did not exist before that time. Similarly, the texts and inscriptions that we *do* have for the subsequent 1500 years are likely only a small fragment of what was produced during that time, the rest having been lost or destroyed, and the totality of written material is in turn an infinitesimal part of the set of Armenian utterances produced during that time, if

one includes the spoken language. For this reason it is important to avoid arguments such as “we have no evidence of Armenian dialects before the fifth century, therefore there were none”, or “my Hamshen informants use /hav/ for ‘chicken’, not ‘bird’, therefore the semantic change of ‘bird’ to ‘chicken’ happened before the development of the Hamshen dialect”. Instead, we must build our arguments strictly on positive evidence, such as “we can infer with a reasonable degree of confidence that the change of original Armenian /w/ to /v/ happened by 953, because an inscription at Talin (Թալին) from that year contains a <v> erroneously written for <w>”.

With this principle in mind, we can begin to build a fairly reliable picture of the historical development of Armenian and its dialects. We know from the rendition of place names in the early eighth-century text *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae* (Garitte 1952) that some of the ‘Western’ consonant shifts had already taken place by that time, for instance; Weitenberg (1983) identifies more such dialect changes in the Autun Glossary of c. 800 AD. Scribal ‘errors’ in dated early manuscripts sometimes reveal dialect innovations; manuscript colophons are equally instructive (Ջահնկյան 1997). A particularly good repository of such errors, both for its age and for its abundance of dialectisms, is the Moscow Gospel (887 AD). In it one finds for example the modern 1st plural verbal suffix /-nk^h/ (compare Classical Armenian /mk^h/), and the common dialectal monophthongization of CA /ɑj̄/ > /ɑ/ in final position in polysyllabic words (which we find in SWA as well).

Inscriptions are also useful for historical dialectology (Առաքելյան et al. 1960/1982). For instance, the change of word-final CA /ɑj̄/ <ւյ> to /ɑ/ <ւ> occurs in an inscription at Gndevank (Գնդեվանք) from 931, not long after the Moscow Gospel was produced. The monophthongization of preconsonantal /ɑj̄/ <ւյ> to /ɑ/ <ւ> and post-nasal voicing occur on a khachkar at Garni (Գարնի) from 879, which reads <ի բարեխոսութի ինծ> /i bareχosut^{hi} i nts̄/ for <ի բարեխոսութի [ւն] ինծ> /i bareχosut^{hi} [un] indz̄/.¹⁹ Some more examples: the change of preconsonantal /ɑj̄/ <յ> to /e/ <ե> found in many modern (primarily eastern) dialects appears in the aforementioned 953 Talin inscription; the modern 1st singular aorist /t(ə)vi/ ‘I gave’ (compare Classical Armenian /etu/) surfaces in an inscription at Bagnayr in 1042; the modern /-er/ plural (compare Classical Armenian /-k^h/) appears at Vanevan in 903.

¹⁹The final /-i/ for /-iyn/ is a scribal convention. The form <ինծ> for <ինս> probably represents a pronunciation [indz̄] rather than [ints̄], because Armenian dialects generally do not devoice stops after nasals. This instead suggests that in the dialect of the inscription writer the pronunciation of /ts̄/ had become voiced and that of /dz̄/ had become voiceless, as in Western Armenian.

Even when one does not have good dates for linguistic changes, it is sometimes possible to infer roughly when they happened from their relationship to other linguistic changes, as we saw earlier with stress shift and medial /a/-deletion. One can employ external evidence as well. For example, Adjarian (Աճարյան 1952a) dated the sound law named after him to between the seventh and eleventh centuries, based on the fact that Arabic loans (seventh century) undergo the rule but Turkish loans (eleventh century and following) do not.

Another helpful type of external evidence is dated population movements: dialects with well-documented migration histories can be used to determine *termini ante quos* for certain linguistic innovations. Thus, for example, we know exactly when the New Julfa community was forcibly moved from Julfa in Nakhichevan to Isfahan in Iran (1605-6), and similarly for Burdur (moved from Karabakh in 1610), Akhaltskha and Gyumri (moved from Erzurum in 1828), and New Nakhichevan (moved from the Crimea in 1779). With this information in hand, if we see an innovation shared by one of these transplanted dialects and its former, but not current, neighbors we can say with some certainty that the innovation occurred sometime before the dialect moved.²⁰ For example, Burdur employs the characteristic Eastern present formation of a locative participle plus forms of the copula, indicating that this construction had arisen by the time the Burdur community left Karabakh.²¹ The same reasoning can be used for the consonant shifts, vowel harmony system, and penultimate stress system that Burdur shares with Karabakh. Note that it is not so safe to draw conclusions from features that Burdur does *not* share with Karabakh. For example, Burdur differs from Karabakh in not having the /-akan/ future, not assigning its nominal plurals to the /-i-/ conjugation, and lacking the characteristic Karabakh vowel /ə/ <ըէ>. Recall from our earlier discussion the maxim that only non-trivial innovations can be used for historical dialectology; these differences between Karabakh and Burdur may be *losses* that Burdur developed as a result of contact with western dialects, rather than *innovations* that Karabakh developed after the Burdur community left.

Given the almost total lack of dialect information predating the mid-nineteenth century, chronologies established in this way can be invaluable. A particularly interesting case involves Adjarian's Law, which shows up primarily in

²⁰Though we must also bear in mind the possibility that the transplanted dialect and its original neighbors may actually preserve an archaic feature that all other dialects have lost, in which case the *terminus ante quem* would be meaningless. This possibility can normally be discounted, however.

²¹Mkrtchyan (Արտչյան 1971: 21) lists a number of additional *-um* dialects in western Turkey: Antalya, Bolu, Denizli, Diyner, Dovrek, Duzce, Elmali, Ereyli, Gasaba, Isparta, Kirk-Aghach, Nazilli, Ödemiş, Punikia, and Zonguldak.

the southeastern extremes of the Armenian world (Agulis, Karabakh, Karchevan, Kirzen, Maragha, Meghri, Salmast, Shamakhi, Shatak, Syria, Van, Vahravar, and Khoy), but also surfaces farther west, in the non-contiguous areas villages of Musa Dagh and Malatya (Vaux 1998). Since Adjarian's Law is such a non-trivial innovation – it involves fronting vowels after original voiced obstruents – one suspects that these two dialects did not develop it independently, but rather inherited it from a linguistic ancestor shared with Karabakh, Van, and the other Adjarian's Law dialects. Though we do not have much information on the origins of the Armenian community in Malatya, there is some evidence that the Musa Dagh community was founded in part by immigrants from the Karabakh region (ԱՆՊԵՏԱՍՅԱՆ 1967), which dovetails nicely with the fact that the peculiar vowel shift they underwent appears to be related to the ones found in Karabakh and Agulis (Vaux 1998).

6 Methodology and data collection

Despite the positive leads just discussed, our understanding of the history of Armenian and its dialects is far from complete. Most historical materials are not yet available in electronic form, and we need more extensive documentation of the surviving dialects. Given the paucity and advanced age of dialect speakers, data collection should in my opinion be the most immediate concern of Armenian dialectologists. For those who accept this call, there are two basic questions to be addressed: what subset of the large store of information to target and how to elicit this information efficiently and accurately.

We already saw in the case of the dialectologists converging on the elderly man from Ashan that there are problems in the ways in which Armenian dialect fieldwork is currently conducted, and I suggested that this reflects the nineteenth-century predilection for finding pure dialect forms and misses out on advances in interviewing technique made since the 1960s. One can alleviate this to a certain degree by designing elicitation materials that limit the ways in which the fieldworker using it can go astray, and that make it maximally simple for informants to provide useful and reliable responses.

The only such item currently available is Muradyan et al.'s excellent *Program for the collection of materials for an Armenian dialectological atlas* (ՄՈՒՐԱԴՅԱՆ et al. 1977). I have found this manual to be extremely useful in conducting fieldwork; for instance, the words are well chosen in the sense that speakers generally know many of them and find them interesting, and they yield a high percentage of dialect forms (whereas words elicited at random typically end up being no dif-

ferent than in the standard language). The forms that the authors provide as typical answers are drawn from a wide range of dialects, so that speakers typically recognize one or more of them. As the authors correctly identified, it is sometimes necessary to present dialect speakers with a list of possibilities when they are drawing a blank on the meaning in question.) The vocabulary section and the Tumanyan text at the end of the manual are especially well chosen; the phonological and morphological parts are harder to collect successfully from speakers, though this is largely not the fault of the authors.

Typical entries in the lexical component of the manual look like this:

- (10) *Questions 14, 496, and 778 from Muradyan et al. (Մուրադյան et al. 1977)*
- a. **Original:** 14. Ստվեր - շուք, շօք, շօխկ - շովաք - հով...
Translated: 14. ‘shadow’ /stver - ʃuk^h, ʃok^h, ʃoχk - ʃəvək^h - hov.../
 - b. **Original:** 496. Տղա - 1. Արու զավակ: 2. Երեխա:...
 - c. : 496. /təʋɑ/ 1. ‘male child’ /aru zavak/ 2. ‘child of unspecified gender’ /jereχɑ/
 - d. **Original:** 778. կրեայ (կրիա, կուրիա, կիրիրա...)
Translated: ‘turtle’ /kəɾja/ (/kria/, /kuria/, /kirira/...)

Item (10a) is drawn from the section of meanings expressed by different words across dialects. It presents the SEA word for an item (e.g. /stver/ ‘shadow’), followed by a set of common dialect equivalents (/ʃuk^h/, /hov/, etc.). There are many ways to elicit the forms in this section, but I generally find it most efficient to simply ask the speaker what the word for ‘shadow’ is in their dialect, and so on. It is normally better to prompt informants in another language (be it Russian, English, or any other language they are comfortable with) rather than Armenian, because the Armenian form may influence their recall of the relevant dialect forms. Each headword in this section of the manual is followed by one or two sentences designed to illustrate how the word is used, which is a good idea in theory but less than perfect in practice, because the sentences constructed by the authors are often too short and general to convey to the informant what the keyword means.

Item (10b) represents the section on semantic variation, wherein the authors provide words that vary in meaning across dialects. In the example here, the word /təʋɑ/ means ‘male child’ in some dialects, and ‘child’ (unspecified for gender) in others; informants are supposed to state which of the meanings (or both, or neither) they use in their dialect.

Item (10d) comes from the section in the manual featuring words whose phonology differs from dialect to dialect. In the entry provided here, the word for

‘turtle’ varies in the details of its pronunciation, from [kərjɑ] in SEA to [kuria] in New Julfa, and so on.

All of these sections work quite well with most informants. However, it would be a simple matter to enhance the manual in ways that would make the elicitation process easier and even more successful. For example, the current manual is presented entirely in SEA written in Armenian script. Many dialect speakers do not know the Armenian script, though, and many more do not understand SEA. One of the largest communities of this type is the Hamshen along the Black Sea in northeastern Turkey; in my fieldwork I have had to convert the questions into Turkish before presenting them to my informants. In order to cover the range of linguistic abilities possessed by Armenian dialect speakers, we should augment the current manual with translations into Russian, English, French, Turkish, and Arabic. It is also extremely helpful to include pictures for every entry, to the extent that this is possible (with some abstract concepts it would be difficult, but the current manual does not contain many such items). A revised manual would ideally also contain sections that elicit syntactic constructions and free/casual connected speech.

As discussed above, Armenian dialectologists have thus far concentrated on the elicitation and collection of word lists and texts, comparing these to Classical Armenian in the hopes of discovering archaic lexical items and constructions. This course of research reflects the preoccupation of nineteenth-century philologists with linguistic history, notably the Neogrammarians’ search for pure dialect forms to confirm their belief in the exceptionlessness of phonological rules. The Neogrammarians believed that a given sound change operated over a specific area, affecting every word whose phonological structure met the structural description of the change. They felt that the regularity of sound change would be clearer in nonstandard dialects than in a standard language, which in their view was more likely to have been subject to a variety of external influences.

Though I agree with the fundamental insight of the Neogrammarian doctrine, I feel that the program of investigation that arose from this philosophy has two serious shortcomings. First of all, it pays little heed to the syntactic component of language, which has become a central concern of linguists in the last sixty years (more on this below). Secondly, it fails to recognize the language of an individual dialect speaker as an autonomous grammar with internal structure. The latter point has two important implications.

First of all, structuralists beginning with Saussure realized that the internal structure of a linguistic system plays a role in its synchronic and diachronic behavior. This idea descends from Plato’s postulation that the value of elements in a group derives from their relationships to other elements in the group: a person,

for example, is good only by virtue of comparison to some other or ideal person. Saussure extended this idea to language, asserting that linguistic units derive their value from their oppositions to other linguistic units in a given linguistic system. In this view, the roundness of a vowel such as /o/ has significance only by virtue of the existence in the same system of non-round vowels such as /e/. Following this line of reasoning, any change in a linguistic system necessarily changes the network of oppositions and thereby affects the fundamental status of each element within that system.

The Platonic theory of oppositions has occupied a central role in linguistic theory since the time of Saussure, continuing with the structuralists of the middle of this century and the generativists of recent decades. Nevertheless, there is little or no attempt to identify such structures in existing studies of Armenian dialects, carried out for the most part by disciples of Adjarian, who as we saw earlier trained with Meillet in Paris two decades before the publication of Saussure's revolutionary *Cours de Linguistique Générale*. Even such rudimentary elements of linguistic structure as phonemic contrasts and allophonic distribution are almost universally ignored, with a few notable exceptions (Pisowicz 1969, Հանեյան 1978, Խաչատրյան 1988). In order to establish these structures properly, we need access to the whole range of a speaker's competence, including the significant proportion of borrowings from neighboring languages, not merely the 1500 or so descendants of Classical Armenian words typically found in the dialect grammars. We also need to survey the possible consonant and vowel sequences, the inventories of stressed and unstressed vowels, the placement of epenthetic vowels, and so on. If a dialect has vowel harmony, for example, the fieldworker should establish how this system actually operates synchronically. Existing studies of vowel harmony dialects such as Agulis and Karchevan content themselves with establishing harmonic vowel sets, not considering questions of neutral vowels and consonants, the domain and direction of application, and other issues of vital interest to contemporary linguists. It is only with great difficulty that this type of information can be inferred from existing grammars.

The second implication is that it is important to ascertain the personal histories of the speakers studied: what dialects they have been in contact with, where their ancestors lived, and so on. Adjarian regularly provided the ages and names of his principal informants but apparently did not inquire beyond this point. It is not clear how much information of this type will be elicited in the Dialectological Institute's new project. Without such personal information, it is significantly more difficult to establish what forms and constructions have been borrowed from or influenced by particular dialects and languages. Fieldworkers should also record the social status and profession of all informants, as well as the social context in

which the interview takes place. A well-known dialectological study in America (Labov 1972) demonstrated that speakers typically control a range of linguistic registers and that they make a choice according to their assessment of the social status of the interlocutor. A particularly unfortunate manifestation of this phenomenon regularly occurs with Armenian informants, who, if they judge the interviewer to be an intellectual or a foreigner, tend to speak in standard Armenian, even when they are native speakers of nonstandard dialects. Noted phonetician Amalia Khatchatrian, a niece of Adjarian, once told me that Adjarian's favorite method of eliciting dialect data from informants was to pretend to be a speaker of the dialect in whatever village he was visiting at the time. Of course this normally is not a feasible plan for most fieldworkers. Therefore, it is important to have some idea of informants' perception of their status relative to the interviewer so that we may have some idea of the linguistic register they have chosen.

One last note on the elicitation of data. My first linguistics professor once stated that linguistics is not concerned with what does *not* occur, only with what does. The strong interpretation of this view, characteristic of pre-structuralist linguists and of Armenian dialectologists as well, not only runs counter to current wisdom but is also detrimental to our knowledge of Armenian dialects. In the domain of syntax, for example, it is vital to know what variations of a sentence are possible, impossible, or somewhere between these extremes. It is not sufficient to know that 'I ate apples yesterday' is an acceptable English sentence; we must know also how the permutations 'yesterday I ate apples', 'I yesterday ate apples', 'I ate yesterday apples', and so on are judged and what makes them (un)acceptable to a given speaker.

One of the reasons this type of information has been absent from work on Armenian dialects (in addition to the amount of work it entails) is that many Armenian linguists believe it 'obvious' in view of the supposedly parallel behavior of standard Armenian. This suffers from two problems: not only does the failure to be explicit often conceal subtle differences, but also the inevitability of linguistic change virtually guarantees that parallels in the standard language which are 'obvious' now will be inscrutable and unrecoverable at some point in the future. For example, we are already unsure what norms Adjarian was referring to when he labeled certain dialectal constructions similar to the standard language; the Standard Armenian of 2024 differs significantly from the Armenian acquired by Adjarian in the late nineteenth century, a period when the language was still taking in large amounts of vocabulary and grammar from non-standard dialects. Consider for example the influence on the standard language of writers

as Abovyan (Kanakaner dialect; Զանաքեր) and Sundukyan (Tbilisi dialect; Սուճուկյան 1951/1961).

Let us turn now to the problem of how to elicit data from dialect speakers efficiently and accurately. Due to the limited number of surviving dialect speakers, Armenian dialectologists do not face the same sociological and statistical tasks that preoccupy most current Western dialectologists. We saw earlier that when one is studying the varieties of English spoken in New York City, for example, sociolinguists aim to survey representative samples of men and women of different ages, ethnic groups, social classes, and so on in order to ensure an unbiased survey. When dealing with Armenian dialects, however, the number of available speakers is normally so small that one cannot pick and choose in this way. For the same reason, the problem of selecting a method of data collection is not of concern to Armenian dialectologists, as it is to many others. Linguists working with dialects with large numbers of speakers with access to telephones and the internet must weigh the relative merits of options such as *postal surveys*, which provide extensive and simultaneous coverage, but sacrifice quality control and limit the amount of data received from each informant; *telephone interviews*, which provide less coverage and convenience but greater quality control and phonetic detail; *internet questionnaires*, which allow quicker and more extensive coverage but tend to attract primarily university-age respondents; and *direct interviews*, which allow for the most detailed and controlled data collection, but sacrifice coverage and convenience, and do not necessarily provide a picture of the dialect in question at a single point in time, since it may take many years to complete all of the interviews. In the case of most Armenian dialect work, however, the only feasible option is the direct interview.

Once an interview has been recorded, linguists should aim to meet certain minimal requirements in transcribing it. Utterances should be transcribed in a scientific manner that represents all details that might be of interest; a good example of Armenian transcription can be found in Allen's 1950 description of an Armenian speaker. Existing transcriptions of Armenian dialects typically render all forms in either standard Armenian orthography, thereby losing most details of phonetic interest, or a modified phonemic system based on standard Armenian orthography, in which features such as the palatalization and (de)voicing of consonants or the umlauting of vowels is represented, but placement of stress and schwas are left for readers to extrapolate based on their knowledge of standard Armenian.

The first alternative is unsatisfactory in many respects, as has been recognized since Adjarian's time. But the second too is flawed, for two reasons. First, it restricts the appeal of Armenian dialectology to those who can extrapolate key in-

formation from standard Armenian, thereby excluding all but a very small number of linguists. In light of this problem, it is perhaps little wonder that Armenian has rarely been studied by theoretical linguists, though neighboring languages such as Turkish and Arabic have played central roles in linguistic theory over the past few decades. For example Kenstowicz (1994), the standard summary of contemporary work in phonological theory, devotes seven pages to Turkish and almost 100 pages to Arabic, but does not mention Armenian.

Second, the problem with not representing schwas and stress is that these are not nearly as predictable as those who omit them seem to think. The rules governing schwa placement are not simple or obvious, and the position of epenthetic vowels can be variable (Vaux 1998, Dolatian 2023). Thus, for example, a word such as <խօսեցեալ> /χosets^hnel/ ‘cause to speak’ may be pronounced [χosets^hnel] by one speaker and [χosets^hənel] by another (or the same speaker may produce both forms on separate occasions); representing such a form in standard orthography as <խօսեցեալ> fails to convey which pronunciation (if either) the informant has chosen. The same argument holds for the representation of stress contours: for example, one speaker may pronounce ‘especially’ as [mánavand] whereas another says [manavánd]. This type of information is important to the linguist, yet is rarely conveyed in studies of Armenian dialects.

Existing works on Armenian dialects also do not normally translate the texts they provide, nor do they give the meanings of words that occur elsewhere in the book or article. This is often justified with the claim that the meanings of the forms and texts are obvious, but inspection of any dialect text quickly reveals that this is not the case. During the course of translating Adjarian’s grammar of the New Julfa dialect, for example, I encountered scores of words and phrases that defied interpretation. In addition, the appeal to ‘obviousness’ commonly conceals an inability on the part of the author in question to understand the form or passage at hand. Even when the significance of a form seems obvious, one should bear in mind that when we try to make explicit that which seems obvious, we often find that interesting subtleties emerge.

7 What can (or should) be done?

With these methodological and theoretical preliminaries out of the way, let us now consider some of the more practical aspects of how to implement the desiderata we have outlined. First, it is desirable to develop an online dialect archive accessible to all interested individuals, containing analyzed audio and video, bibliography, an accessible database of vocabulary, contact information for fieldwork

projects, online versions of rare dialect books and texts, and so on. Making resources available in this way can increase the pool of talented people willing and able to analyze the data, which is too much for the current set of scholars to handle on their own. Dialect forms should be transcribed in the IPA; in addition to conveying all the relevant nuances of dialect pronunciation, as discussed earlier, this makes the Armenian data comparable to those of other languages, and hence of use and interest to the linguistic community as a whole. Last, but not least, we should strive to save as many Armenian dialects as possible.

One may ask whether it is worth saving the endangered dialects of Armenian. I have already argued that language is an essential part of culture; without the Hamshen language, for example, we cannot fully appreciate the culture of the Hamshen Armenians. It is also important to know something about these dialects in order to appreciate Armenian literature. Literary Armenian was not created *ex nihilo*, nor does it exist in a vacuum; it draws its strength from the dialectal sources from which it was derived. Consider for example the influence on the standard language of such writers as Sundukyan, who wrote in Tbilisi dialect (ՍուՆԴՈՒԿՅԱՆ 1951/1961), Patkanian in Nor Nakhichevan (ՓԱՏԿԱՆՈՎ 1875), or Shirvanzade in Shamakhi (ՇԻՐՎԱՆԿԱՉԻ 1958/1962). Finally, by preserving these varieties of Armenian, we also preserve the oral literature, songs, games, and traditions that are the backbone of Armenian culture.

So, what can we do to save the endangered dialects of Armenian? Two possibilities come immediately to mind. The first would be to establish child care centers where the elders, who are the repository of our culture's language and traditions, care for the children, who can acquire languages effortlessly. The second would be to incentivize the study of the Armenian language. At present, students do not perceive Armenology to be a viable course of study, because there are so few jobs available. By the same token, universities are unlikely to create such jobs when there are no students. The Turkish government has seen the way to break this vicious circle, by enticing universities to create professorships in Turkish Studies. The only way that universities will offer Armenian courses is if they are provided with funding for positions by the Armenian community. The only way that students will take these courses in significant numbers is if they feel that they have a good chance of getting a job; we therefore should aim to create a critical mass of positions. Establishing college minors in Armenian Studies should also help greatly.

Supporting Armenian studies can have other benefits as well. Consider, for example, the aforementioned fact that Armenian has rarely been studied by theoretical linguists, though neighboring languages such as Turkish and Arabic have played central roles in linguistic theory over the past few decades. Why is this?

The perceived unviability of Armenian studies that I mentioned earlier is largely responsible. Without a critical mass of students entering the field of Armenology, Armenian will continue to be ignored in the fields to which it can and should contribute. Once that critical mass is reached, however, the field can grow again like it did in the time of Meillet, and it is only a matter of time before the next Adjarian, who had previously been considering law school, decides instead to major in Armenology.

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Part II

Introductory chapters by Adjarian

Chapter 4

Introduction by Adjarian

4.1 History of Armenian dialectology

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The first person who was occupied with Armenian dialectology was the Dutch Armenologist Schröder (Շրօտեր). In his work (Schröder 1711), he provides a separate section where he talks about various Armenian dialects in the Caucasus, and he provides a succinct sample of the Agulis and Julfa dialects. After him comes Jacques Chahan de Cirbied (Շահան Ջրպետ), an Armenologist from Evdokia. In his extensive grammar (de Cirbied 1823), he dedicates a part to Armenian dialects, about which he provides more information than his predecessor; and he provides a general sketch for a few of these dialects. Third place goes to the doctor Gevorg Akhverdian (Գեորգ Ախվերդեան; [[SEA: /gevoɾk^h aχverdjan/ or /aχvert^hjan/]]). He had such a special love for Armenian dialectology that he first published the provincial songs of Sayat Nova in the Tbilisi dialect (Ախվերդեան 1852), providing an exhaustive introduction, where he studies the Tbilisi dialect with a very skilled and specialist pen. Akhverdian intended to study other dialects as well, but he died too soon, squashing his beautiful prospects.

In 1866, the grammar of the Viennese monk Arsen Aydinian (Հ. Ա. Այտընեան; [[SWA: /arsen ajdinjan/]]) was published (Այտընեան 1866), wherein the author gave the first general classification of the Armenian dialects, though in very uncertain terms. Aydinian recognized four dialectal branches.

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1. Russia, Persia, and India
2. Ottoman Armenia (Տաճկահայաստան) and Mesopotamia
3. Asia Minor
4. Austria-Hungary (Transylvania, Ardeal, Artyal, or Artial: Առտեալ)

The author talks about each of the four branches separately, provides a general description of each, focusing especially on the morphology (ծելարանութիւն). He does not consider the phonology (ծայնարանութիւն).

In the same year, Kerovbe Patkanian (Պատկանեան; [[SEA: /k^herovbe patkan-
jan/]]) published a grammar in German on the Agulis dialect (Patkanoff 1866). This was followed by the Armenologist Petermann's study on the Tbilisi dialect (Petermann 1867).

In 1869, Patkanian published his Russian work (Патканов 1869),¹ where he gives a succinct description of eight Armenian dialects, based on a handful of written sources. In 1878, the same author published Патканов (1875)² in two volumes: the first volume on New Nakhichevan, and the second on Mush. Both works are extensive.

After Patkanian, there was no work on Armenian dialectology for a long time, until in 1883 when the Agulis linguist S. Sargsiants (Ս. Սարգսեանց; [[SEA: /sar-
k^həsjan^h/]]) published his detailed study on the Agulis dialect (Սարգսեանց 1883). His work exceeds all previous works, both in its extensiveness and its scientific accuracy. In 1886, the Polish Armenologist Jan Hanusz (Յոսիհ. Հանսուշ) started a study on the Polish-Armenian dialect. He published two volumes, wherein he studies the lexicon and phonology (ծայնարանութիւն) of Polish-Armenian (Hanusz 1886, 1889). Because of his death, the remaining parts of his study of the dialect were unfinished.

After Hanusz, the Russian Armenologist Alexander Thomson (Томсонъ; [[*modern Russian*: Александр Томсон]]) published a study on the Akhaltskha dialect in 1887 (Томсон 1887) and the Tbilisi dialect in 1890 (Томсон 1890).

Starting in 1896, Armenian dialectology gained new momentum, and the number of studies grew day by day. In the same year, the *Azgagrakan Handes* (Ազգագրական Հանդէս [*Ethnographic Magazine*]) was established, under the editorship of Lalayan (Լալայեան; [[SEA: /lalajan/]]). To this day, the journal continues to provide...

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... many samples on the provincial or vernacular language. Then in 1896, the Armenologist Melik S. Davit-Bek (Մելիք Ս. Դավիթ-Բեկ; [[SWA: /melik^h t^havit^h p^hek^h/, SEA /davit^h beg/]]) published a succinct study on the Marash dialect, first in Armenian (see ՀԱ 1986) and then in French.³ In 1897, Levon Mserian (Լ. Մսերեան;

¹[[*In the original source, Adjarian used the pre-revolution writing system and called the book: Изслѣдованіе о діалектахъ армянскаго языка.*]]

²[[*In the original source, Adjarian used the pre-revolution writing system and called the book: Матеріалы для изученія армянскихъ нарѣчій.*]]

³[[*Adjarian spells this person's name in various ways. The Armenian record is Մելիք-Դավիթայե*

4.1 History of Armenian dialectology

[[SWA/SEA: /levon məserjan/, also called Mseriants Սսերեանց /məsarjants^h/]]) published a detailed study on the Mush dialect.⁴ In 1898, 1899, and 1901,⁵ he published his dialectological series on the dialects of Aslanbeg, Suceava, Karabakh, and Van; the latter is in German. Then in 1898, the Բիւրակն [Byurakn] ethnographic periodical is established in Istanbul, which continued to exist for three years (1898-1900), providing very many samples on the Armenian dialects of various provinces, many of which were unheard of by then. If Lalayan's Ethnographic Journal had taken Byurakn's trajectory, Armenian dialectology would have currently been in an envious position. The existence of Byurakn sadly did not last long, showing that we Armenians still do not have the capacity to keep scientific journals alive.

In 1899, H. Kazandjian (Յ. Գազանճեան 1899) published *The provincial language of Evdokia* (Եւդոկիոյ Հայոց գաւառաբարբառը) in the journal *Handes Amorya* (Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review]). Starting in 1900, the same journal starts publishing the extensive study of the Arapgir dialect by Melik S. Davit-Bek (Մելիք Ս. Դաւիթ-Բեկ). But unfortunately after a few years, the study halts.

Special attention should be given to the editorship of the *Eminian Azgagrakan Joghovatsou* (Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [Eminian Ethnographic Journal]), that was established in the Lazarian Institute in Moscow (Մոսկովայի Լազարեան Ճեմարան) by the will and testament of the deceased and skilled Armenologist M. Emin (Մ. Էմին). To this day, the journal has provided the most respectable volumes of all the dialectological works published so far. By now, it has published seven books, of which five are completely dedicated to Armenian dialects.

Among the less known workers in Armenian dialectology is H. Nazariants (Յ. Նազարեանց; [[SEA/SWA: /nazarjants^h/]]). In the journal *Ports* (year 5, number 2, page 150-164, Փորձ հանդես; [[SEA: /p^horts^h handes/]]), he published an article called *About the Armenian dialects* (Հայոց բարբառների մասին).⁶ He proposed five sections, and called on Armenian folklorists to translate them to the dialect of each village and send them to him...

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... The man will of course be waiting for a long time for a hopeless endeavor.

(1896), based on bibliographic data from Martirosyan (2019). I could not find this person's work in French. (?)]]

⁴[[It seems that Adjarian is referring to Msériantz (1899).]]

⁵[[Adjarian is likely referring to this series: Мсерауи 1897, 1901.]]

⁶[[I think this journal is the one listed on Wikipedia. Page 90 of this archived index lists the article by Nazariants.]]

Let us remember lastly the German Armenologist Karst, who in his grammar of Cilician (Karst 1901) talks about the Middle period, specifically of Cilician Armenian. But whenever he explains the various words and forms, he always compares the data against the present Armenian dialects.

4.2 Shortcomings of dialectological studies

As can be seen, Armenian dialectology is still not rich. The number of foundational and complete studies is small. Of the published sources, some are imperfect or incomplete in their phonology (ծայլսաբանութեամ), some in their morphology (ծեւաբանութեամ) And when it comes to the transcription of words, they generally lack scientific accuracy. For example, see what Melik S. Davit-Bek (Մելիք Ս. Դավիթ-Բեկ) says in his Arapgir grammar (ՀԱ 1901, page 39):

By the term ‘usual pronunciation’, we mean the Armenian pronunciation, whether it is from Yerevan, Tbilisi, Karabakh, or Van, Mush, Karin, Diyarbakır, or the Arapgir pronunciation. That is, we do not accept the so-called Western and Eastern pronunciations. Having studied a large number of the dialects of provinces of Van, Mush, Karin, Kharberd, Sebastia, and Diyarbakır, we have seen that there is no reason to accept such a decisive abyss. The main reason is that the actual populace is the only one that is entrusted with the provincial dialects and the pronunciation, whether in the Araratian provinces or in Lesser Armenia; there is one and only one pronunciation.”⁷

And this person is a linguist.

S. Sarsgian (Ս. Սարգսեան) was also a linguist, whose dialect of Agulis is a choice work. But see what he also says (Part B, page 111):

“In the Agulis dialect, the sound /k/ <կ> is pronounced as hard (կոշտ) in nearly all positions, whether before a vowel or after. But if before the /k/ <կ> there is /i/ <ի> or /e/ <է> or such an /a/ <ա> (Յդ. է),⁸ such that the literary form of the word uses /i/ <ի>, then that /k/ <կ> is pronounced as soft (կակող) /k^j/ <կյ>.”

But sometimes it happens that a person is confused on how to read such a form...

⁷[[It is hard to translate the last few sentences because I could not make sense of the original; it was too convoluted. (?)]]

⁸[[I do not understand the abbreviation that he uses. (?)]]

... For example on page 39, line 6, it is written /manak/ <մանակ> ‘alone’. On the contrary, the literary form of this word has two options: /minak/ <մինակ> or /menak/ <մենակ>. So how should we read this word: /mænæk/ <մաննակ> or /mænækⁱ/ <մաննակ>? Let us then be grateful for the French and English orthographies.

It is apparent that in Armenian dialectological studies, even the best of them are considered incomplete and deficient.

4.3 Program for dialectological studies

In order to have a perfect study in Armenian dialectology, it should contain the following components, besides having brief geographical and statistical information on the studied dialect

Component A - Phonetics (Ձայնաբանություն, German: *Phonetik*): This section establishes the sound system of the dialect, meaning what sounds are found in the dialect, the way these sounds are articulated, their uses and number, their origins from either Armenian or from other sounds.

Component B - Phonology (Ձայնաբանություն, German: *Lautlehre*): This section provides all the rules for sounds in the dialect. One by one, it goes through the Armenian vowels, diphthongs, and consonants ([[*He means Classical Armenian sounds*]]); these are compared against the dialect. It establishes what Armenian letters or sounds underwent which sound changes in this dialect. Because phonology is the most important branch of linguistics, it is thus necessary that this chapter is detailed, accurate, and extensive. Each Armenian sound must be examined on its own in its position, meaning word-initially, word-medially, or word-finally, whether alone or next to a vowel or consonant. Furthermore, the provided examples must be complete, so that we can decide well the strength of the rule and the number of exceptions.

Component C - Morphology (Ձեւաբանություն, German: *Morphologie*): This is the grammar in the conventional sense of the word. Or more accurately, this is called the etymology part of the grammar. In this section, it is necessary to give a detailed examination on the dialect’s declensions, conjugations, pronouns, their form alternations, and so on.

Component D - Syntax (Համաձայնություն⁹): This is...

⁹[[*The Armenian term literally means ‘agreement’. But Adjarian is using it in the sense of ‘general syntax’.*]]

... an inseparable part of a grammar, which is necessary for every language. But because our dialects have not deviated from the usual agreement of literary language, it is not important to focus heavily on this part.

At the end of every dialectological study, there must be an extensive text sample of the dialect. The text sample shows the syntactic and agreement rules of the dialect, and the use of the rules for the above components. It would be good if the manuscript used conversational data. With this, we can see how a verb is used in different tenses, numbers, and persons.

Such are the required components for a dialectal study, so that a study is considered complete. It is also necessary to examine the circumstances under which the work can be scientifically established as accurate and complete.

4.4 Scientific alphabet

For scientific accuracy, the first thing that we need is a scientific alphabet. This is an alphabet that we can use to show all the nuances of all the sounds of the studied dialect. For this goal, European linguistics have devised many and diverse letters for different purposes, such as symbols for lengthening or shortening, open or closed pronunciation, monophthong or diphthong, stressed or unstressed, simple or nasalized, voiced or voiceless, aspirated or unaspirated, and so on. It would be good of course if dialectology took these European symbols. But our nationalist zeal, the poverty of our publishers, and primarily the untrained eye does not allow the use of this desired point. Thus, we need a scientific alphabet that uses the Armenian letters.

Our focus is of course on a scientific alphabet, and it has no link at all with literary and current language orthographies.

For a scientific alphabet, the required conditions are as follows:

1. Each sound must be symbolized by only one symbol.
2. Each symbol must have only one sound.

For example, the sound /tʰ/ <ʔ> is a single sound. Therefore, writing it with two or more letters (Eng. <ch>, French <tch>, ...

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... German <tsch>) is against the first condition. The sound /o/ <o> is a single sound too. Writing this sound as <o>, <au>, or <eau> is against the first condition as well. As another example, consider the Armenian letter <j>. Word-initially, this letter is pronounced as /h/ <h>, medially as /j/ <y>, and word-finally it is unpronounced. This violates the second condition. The scientific alphabet requires

that $\widehat{tj^h}/ <\xi>$ is written as one symbol (such as in Armenian or in the European scientific alphabet character $<c>$), the sound /o/ $<o>$ as just /o/ $<o>$, and the $<j>$ letter has only one pronunciation (for us /j/), and so on.

It speaks for itself that an un-read letter should not exist. *[[He means that silent letters should be absent from transcriptions.]]*

Now, the 38 letters of Armenian cannot represent all dialectal sounds. This is especially because these letters have different pronunciations based on their position in the word, in both the Eastern and Western pronunciation systems. Thus, we need to establish once and for all what sounds they symbolize. This decision must be decisive and stable, used in all places and books.

It is scientifically established that among the two literary languages, it is the Eastern form where the Armenian letters preserve the pronunciations of the fifth century, and the pronunciations correspond to the transliteration or transcription of foreign words in Old Armenian. Because of this, our letters for stops and affricates should be based on the Eastern pronunciation (Table 1).¹⁰

Table 1: Adjarian's transcriptions for Armenian sounds that vary between Standard Western and Standard Eastern Armenian

Armenian letter	Adjarian's transcription	IPA letter
բ պ փ	b p p'	b p p ^h
գ կ զ	g k k'	g k k ^h
դ տ թ	d t t'	d t t ^h
ձ ծ ց	j c c	\widehat{dz} \widehat{ts} $\widehat{ts^h}$
ջ ճ չ	j c c	$\widehat{dʒ}$ $\widehat{tʃ}$ $\widehat{tʃ^h}$

Among these, the first column is in the location of the second column for Western Armenian (աբղւմտնւն). The second column's sounds do not exist in Western Armenian.¹¹ It is hard to explain why. We should emphasize that the Western Armenian reader should not be deceived by the equivalently transcribed sounds /p, k, t/ and analogous sounds. These European sounds are pronounced stronger than in Armenian, such that the Western Armenian perceives these sounds as /p^h, k^h, t^h, $\widehat{ts^h}$, $\widehat{tʃ^h}$ / $<փ, զ, չ>$. However, it is not only strength...

¹⁰*[[I suspect that in his transcriptions, Adjarian forgot to distinguish the two affricate series, and to distinguish aspiration. It could also have been a typo.]]*

¹¹*[[To clarify, he means that the letters from the first column are voiceless aspirated in Western Armenian; and that Western Armenian does not have phonemically voiceless unaspirated stops or affricates.]]*

... that is perceived, but it is also the absence of voicing (the voicelessness of the sound), which is the equivalent to both the Armenian and the European.

The following letters in Table 2 are pronounced the same in Eastern and Western Armenian. Thus we do not need to give them special attention.

Table 2: Adjarian’s transcriptions for Armenian sounds that do not vary between Standard Western and Standard Eastern Armenian

Armenian letter	Adjarian’s transcription	HD: IPA letter
ա ե ը ի օ	a e ə i o	ɑ e ə i o
ֆ վ ս շ	f v s z ś	f v s z ʃ
ժ խ ղ հ	ʒ x ğ h	ʒ χ ɣ h
լ մ ն ռ ռ	l m n r ř	l m n r r

However for the letters <Է, Յ, Ն, Լ>, the situation is more complicated. The letter <Է> is pronounced as /je/ <ye> word-initially, as /e/ word-medially, and it is not found word-finally. But because /je/ is a combination of sounds, we cannot use one symbol to symbolize it. Similarly, the sound /e/ is already symbolized by the letter <Է.> We do not need to represent /e/ also by <Է>. Meaning that the letter <Է> is additional. Thus we should transcribe such vowels as in Table 3.

Table 3: Transcribing front mid vowels

	Trad. ortho.	Ref. ortho.	Transcription (SEA)
‘yesterday’ (standard)	Երեկ	Երեկ	յերեկ /jerek/
‘yesterday’ (dialectal)	Էրեկ	Էրեկ	երեկ /erek/

As we said, the letter <յ> is pronounced as /h/ word-initially, as /j/ word-medially, and is not pronounced word-finally. Such diversity is contrary to a scientific alphabet. For the sound /h/, we already have the letter <հ>. We do not need to use the letter <յ> for the same sound. Second, if some letter is unpronounced, then we do not need to write it. Once these two situations are removed, the <յ> letter ends up having only one sound /j/. And thus we read this letter in this way in the beginning, middle, and end of words (Table 4). The use of the letter <յ> for only this sound was also the situation in the fifth century.

Table 4: Transcribing the glide /j/

	Trad. ortho.	Ref. ortho.	Transcription (SEA)	
N/A			jhu	/jis/
‘T’	tu	tu	jtū	/jes/
‘Armenian’	hwj	hwj	hwj	/haj/
N/A			w wj	/alaj/

The letter <n> is pronounced as /vo/ word-initially, /o/ word-medially, and is not found word-finally. Because /vo/ is a doubled sound ([[*meaning a sequence of two sounds*]]), then we should not write it with one letter. For the sound /o/, we already have the letter <o>, ...

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... thus the letter <n> is excessive. The following words are written as in Table 5.

Table 5: Transcribing front mid vowels

	Trad. ortho.	Ref. ortho.	Transcription (SEA)	
N/A			oułh	/oski/
‘gold’	nulh	nulh	uoułh	/voski/

The letter <ł> is read rightly as /v/. But the difference is that this this letter cannot be written at the beginning of a word. We cannot thus transcribe the word <ułrwj> /vra/ ‘on’ as <łrw>. The use of the letter <ł> is unneeded or excessive for the following reasons. We cannot have one sound correspond to two symbols. We cannot write the letter <ł> word-initially. And the letter <ł> is also used in the diphthongs nł, łł /u, v/.¹² Thus, we must write as in Table 6, and not with the traditional orthography.

¹²[[It is more accurate to use the term ‘digraph’ instead of ‘diphthong’ here, but the term ‘diphthong’ is more faithful to Adjarian’s original word երկբարբառ ‘diphthong’.]]

Table 6: Transcribing the letter <Լ>

	Trad. ortho.	Ref. ortho.	Transcription (SEA)	
‘bird (CA); chicken (SEA)’	հաԼ	հալ	հալ not <հաԼ>	/hav/
‘king’	թագաԼոր	թագավոր	թաքավոր not <թագաԼոր>	/tʰakʰavor/
‘pain stone’	ցաԼաքար	ցավաքար	ցավաքար not <ցաԼաքար>	/tʰavakʰar/

In this way, we establish the scientific value of the Armenian alphabet.

However, our dialects have sounds that the Armenian alphabet cannot explain, and for these sounds we need to create new symbols.

When creating new symbols, we must consider two circumstances:

1. Publication appropriateness, meaning we should create simple letters that are not far off from the aesthetics and which are appropriate to the style of Armenian drawing.
2. The created letters should by themselves remind us what the sound is. In other words, we should not create entirely novel forms, but the form should have some symbol or other formal marking that distinguishes it.

Within Armenian dialects, the most commonly found sounds are the following.¹³

/æ/: This sound is between /ɑ/ <ա> and /e/ <ե>, such as in the Karabakh word for /ban/ <բաԼ> ‘thing’. This sound is transcribed by Sargsian (Սարգսյան) as an <ա> with two dots above it [[á]], by S. Melik Davit-Bek (Ս. Մելիք-Դավիթ Բեկ) as <ա> with a circle on top [[á̇]]. Both of these strategies are inappropriate. First, the fewer such markings are used, the better. Second, using this strategy makes it necessary to create a new letter. Third, experience has shown that these symbols are hard to keep on our letters; and because of their thinness, they break quickly. Fourth, when it is necessary to add stress on the sound, we end up using two or three markings next to each other. Because of these reasons, I consider the most appropriate strategy is to use a rotated <ա> [[m]] ...

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¹³[[Adjarian does not use any special diacritics to denote diphthongs. Such markings are my own.]]

... This symbol was first thought of and used by the Protestant missionaries. The appropriateness of this letter is that does not bear markings, we do not need to create a new letter, and we can add stress symbols on it.¹⁴

/i̇e/: This sound is used by the villagers of Mush, Van, and Karin. We can consider this sound as a fast pronunciation of the sequence /ie/ <իե>. This sound is found for example in the words /ṁi̇eɾ/ <մեր> ‘our’, /ḋzi̇eɾ/ <ձեր> ‘you.GEN.PL.’¹⁵ For this sound, we think it is appropriate to use the letter <ե>, because this sound’s real source is represented and we do not need to invent a new sound.

/u̇o/: This sound is used in the same provinces. It is a fast pronunciation of a sequence /uo/ <ուո>, such as in /ṡu̇oχ/ սիւ ‘onion’, /ġu̇oβ/ գող ‘thief’.¹⁶ We represent this sound with the letter <ո> for the same reasons above.

/b^h, g^h, d^h, ḋz^h, ḋʒ^h/:¹⁷ These sounds are found in many Armenian dialects as we shall later see more extensively. These are aspirated forms of the sounds /b, g, d, dz, dʒ/ <բ, դ, գ, ձ, շ>. To represent these sounds, the most appropriate way is to add a reverse apostrophe: <բ’, դ’, գ’, ձ’, շ’>.

/ḟ/:¹⁸ This is a long glottal sound.¹⁹ The Armenians of Karin, Mush, Alashkert, and other places use this sound for the word-initial letter <յ>, such as in the pronunciation of the name /hakop^h/ <Հակոբ> or /harut^hjun/ <Հարություն>. Because this sound is a type of /h/ <յ> sound, it is appropriate to use the symbol <յ> (the letter <յ> with a line through it). Although this is a new symbol, it does not need new molding because it looks like the Latin letter <f> but upside-down.

The only sound that we must inevitably mold is the small <յ> symbol. This has a wide use. It will be used to form the diphthongs /ɑ̇j, ėj, i̇j, ȯj/ <այ, էյ, իյ, օյ>, and to form the palatal sounds /g^j, k^j, k^{hj}, ʧ/ <գյ, կյ, լյ, իյ>.²⁰

In a few dialects, the semivowel /w/ is found. Austrian Armenians have the

¹⁴[[Ironically, it seems that Armenian dialectology prefers to mark the fronted vowel /æ/ using <ա̇> with two dots <ա̇ա̇>. This is the system that Adjarian argued against. And unfortunately, Adjarian’s upside-down <ա̇> symbol was only recently given a Unicode symbol <ᴀ̇>, and a person has to actively download the right font so that they can even display this letter. Because of these issues, I have chosen to write Adjarian’s upside-down <ա̇> as <ա̇ա̇>, while I follow the IPA in using /æ/.]]

¹⁵[[Adjarian does not state the relevant dialect. (?)]]

¹⁶[[Adjarian does not state the relevant dialect. (?)]]

¹⁷[[Adjarian uses the European-based transcriptions <bh, gh, dh, jh, jh>.]]

¹⁸[[Adjarian uses an apostrophe-like symbol <’>.]]

¹⁹[[Adjarian uses the word հազազ which dictionaries translate as ‘uvular’, but the definition of this word is more in line with a glottal articulation.]]

²⁰[[Adjarian implies that he wants this symbol <յ> to be a subscript. But the printed editions do not show a subscript form. It is possible that reprints of his work could not do a subscript <յ>. I do not do any subscript notation because I ultimately do not know what exact sounds he wants. See §3.3.3. For a discussion on the phonetic value of these consonants, see §3.3.2.5.]]

diphthongs /ɑ̣, ɔ̣, ɛ̣/ and the triphthong /j̣ɛ̣ụ/.²¹ To represent all of these, we must use the letter <L>, such that <LW> = /wɑ/ or /ɥɑ/, <WL> = /ɑ̣/, = /ɔ̣/, <EL> = /ɛ̣/, <EL> = /j̣ɛ̣/, and so on.

The least inappropriate forms are <to, hl, nl> /œ, ɣ, u/.²² For these sounds, we could have proposed united <to, hl, nl> forms, ...

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... But because these would be impractical, we are forced to continue the old style for now.²³

Besides the above words, there are a few other rare sounds that we will see later.

4.5 Methods of studying the dialects

There are four manners to study or investigate a dialect:

1. The investigator is a local and thus knows the dialect as their mother tongue and then studies it.
2. The investigator is a foreigner and studies the dialect within the dialect's location.
3. The investigator studies the dialect but in a foreign location (not the dialect's location) by working with a person or persons who speak that dialect as a mother tongue.
4. The investigator does their research from written sources.

The first manner is the most desired manner. The second one is almost as good, the third one is less good, and the fourth one does not need anything, especially if the writer does not know about scientific orthographies.²⁴

²¹[[Adjarian incorrectly calls /j̣ɛ̣ụ/ a diphthong, perhaps because he did not know of an Armenian translation for the word 'triphthong'.]]

²²[[Adjarian uses unlauded symbols <ö, ü>. But I use the conventional IPA symbols instead.]]

²³[[What Adjarian means is that we use a digraph with two letters to represent some rounded vowels, like <hl> /ɣ/. This violates Adjarian's preference for using a single letter, such as some sort of superscripted form like <h'>.]]

²⁴[[The original Armenian is <իսկ չորրորդը բանի մը պէտք չէ, եթէ մասնաւանդ գրողի գիտական ուղղագրութեան տեղեակ չէ>. The first clause can mean either a compliment "the fourth one does not need anything" where the phrase <բանի մը> 'thing-GEN INDF' is the direct object of the sentence. But the clause can also be an insult "the fourth one is not needed by anything" where <պէտք> 'need' is the direct object. The following clause implies negativity, but it is unclear in total. (?)]]

However in every case, it is also necessary that the investigator is familiar with linguistic science and is experienced.

How should we conduct a study of a dialect?

The most primary thing is the dictionary. Every dialect consists of the following three elements:

1. Native words: These are words which descend from Old Armenian, such as <ջուր> /dʒur/ 'water', <հաց> /hats^h/ 'bread', <գինի> /gini/ 'wine'.
2. Provincial words: These are Armenian words that are absent from Classical Armenian, and are often newly formed words. For example, <ականակոյր> /akanakujr/ 'very strong darkness', <քաջքոտ> /k^hadʒk^hot/ 'possessed by a demon', <հրուկ> /həruk/ 'piece of soap', and so on.
3. Foreign words: These are words that were borrowed from many other languages, such as <սամավար> /samavar/ 'samovar', <յօրդան> /jorɔkan/ 'blanket'.

To study a dialect, the first group is the most important. By having their oldest forms in Old Armenian, there is a base line to discover the phonetic laws...²⁵

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... The investigator must design a complete collection of these words. And to do so, the only way is to take an Armenian dictionary; and against each word, find the dialectal form, alongside its declension or conjugation system. In other words, we must design a dialectal Armenian dictionary. From the Armenian words, tens of thousands are lost in the dialect, so this work does not seem intimidating. However, we admit that this is nevertheless hard and burdensome. However, this is the only way. And the investigator will be comforted in knowing that when they are organizing the phonetics, phonology, and morphology, they will produce a complete work. This is because the investigator will be able to show us all the phonetic rules, all their examples and explanations, and also all the grammatical rules, their exceptions, and so on.

Moving on from this general glance and program for dialectology, let us move on to detailing the present work.

²⁵[[It seems Adjarian is using some idiom <հաստատու էզր>, literally 'fixed or stable line/edge/border'. Robin Meyer suggested the translation of 'base line'. (?)]]

4.6 Structure of the present work

The goal of this present work is the general classification of Armenian dialects. We set the number of all the Armenian dialects as 31,²⁶ some of which have sub-dialects. We also considered it important to provide a sample text for every dialect and sub-dialect, to show the linguistic state of the dialect in practice. The samples that I personally collected are in the scientific orthography. As for the samples that I took from other sources, they generally do not have scientific accuracy. About this topic, I provide a note below each sample.

Given the situation, when many of the 31 dialects are still unknown to science, or when they are only available from low-quality or insignificant manuscripts, such a work is still premature. However, for this issue I have benefited from my own original works.

In 1892, I started doing dialectological research for the first time. I organized first a succinct grammar of the Istanbul dialect. In 1898, I published...

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... a small volume on the Aslanbeg dialect, by working with a friend from Aslanbeg, Mr. Aleksan Nalpandian (Ալէքսան Նալպանդեան; [[SEA: /alek^hsan nalpandjan/, SWA /nalbant^hjan/]]). This manuscript, as a first attempt, had its weaknesses when compared against the above points of our program. However, in the Բիւրակն [Byurakn] newspaper (1900, page 609-613), a certain Mushegh Varg (Մուշէղ Վարգ; [[SEA: /mufes^h varg/ or /vark^h/]]) criticized that work, and found errors from page to page. I found it unnecessary to respond to his uncivil behavior, not only because I found his improper style unbecoming, but because he also confuses phonetics with phonology, and does not know what is an open /e/ closed /e/ <է>, and he seemed devoid of linguistic understanding. On this, I received a paper from Aslanbeg that said that a group of men were preparing to publicly condemn my study. However, being scared of its influential position, they are obliged to be satisfied with the same letter.²⁷

After studying Aslanbeg, I started publishing a study on the Suceava dialect in the Venetian newspaper Բազմավէպ [Bazmavep] ([[SEA: /bazmavep/, SWA: /p^hazmaveb/]]). I had prepared that study by working with a priest from Suceava named Father Karapet Kaynayan (Տէր Կարապետ Կայնայեան; [[SEA: /ter kara-pet kajnajan/, SWA: /der garabed gajnajan/]]). However, the numerous typographical errors and the lack of printing caused the cancellation of my publication, and the work was left half-done.

²⁶[[It is not completely clear if this number 31 is about the dialects that are studied in this book (which is 31), or the total number of dialects which Adjarian acknowledges as existing.]]

²⁷[[I am not completely sure what Adjarian means here. (?)]]

My third study was on the Karabakh dialect, which I prepared with archimandrite Rev. Khachik Dadian (Արժ. Խաչիկ Կրդ. Դադեան; [[SEA: /χatʰik dadjan/, SWA: /tʰatʰjan/]]), the honorable deacon of M. Babayian who was a deacon of Yesa, now archimandrite Zaven (Շևորհ. Եսայի սակ. Ս. Բաբայեան (այժմ Չաւեն վրդ.); [[SEA: /zaven/ and /babajan/, SWA: /pʰapʰajan/]]), and Mr. Avetis Ter Harutyounian (Պր. Աւետիս Տեր Յարութիւնեան; [[SEA: /avetis ter harutʰjunjan/, SWA: /avedis der harutʰynjan/]]). My work was organized based on the program that we set up above.

Besides these, I also have many other unpublished studies. These studies are on the dialects of Agulis, Zeytun, Tbilisi, Kharberd, Karin, Hamshen, Maragha, Mush, New Nakhichevan, Vozim, Istanbul, Rodosto, Van, and Tigranakert. I have collected other information on many other dialects whether in person during my travels (Istanbul, Adapazar, Samsun, Trabzon, Baberd, Karin, Paris, Tbilisi, Etchmiadzin, Yerevan, Dilijan, Shushi, Tabriz, Baku, Batumi, New Bayazet, ...

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... New Nakhichevan, Rodosto) or through emigres.

For a while, I have had the idea of creating a complete map of Armenian dialects, where every village would be categorized into a dialectal group. The French have just completed a linguistic atlas of French, which took them years to make. The whole thing forms a volume of 1750 maps, such that each word is marked in terms of what form is taken in every corner of France. We will not see such a grand undertaking even in our dreams. But it is possible to create a simple linguistic map.

With this goal, in July 1907 I started traveling. During the same time, I visited 31 Armenian villages in the New Bayazet province, except for the city where I stayed for a year. I decided the position of every village within the dialectological classification. And from each village I took a sample, as we shall see in my work. For the subsequent years, I set my mind to continue and complete my travels, as much as my life and abilities would permit.

And thus these investigations happened, which allowed me to create the present volume, whose goal, as we said above, is the classification of Armenian dialects, their attested spread, their borders, their general characteristics, a general sketch of their phonetics, phonology, and morphology, and their characteristic borders with which a dialect differs from other dialects. Alongside my writings, there is a linguistic map of Armenian. There, I have marked only those cities and villages where Armenians exist. The language and dialect of those areas are determined or marked with colors and borders. We confess that there are many things missing that we need to fill, there many uncertain points that we might verify, and there are many errors to fix. Our book shows above all else what

are the parts that need further study and where the attention of ethnographers should go. We expect in the future the completion of my work.

4.7 Differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian

Before we go through my main work, I think that it is important...

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... that we explain in this introduction those differences that distinguish New Armenian from Old Armenian. Because these differences are common across almost all our dialects, then by discussing these differences, we save ourselves extra work, and we do not need to repeat the same points for each dialect.

The various differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian can be divided into four types:

1. phonetic differences
2. lexical differences
3. morphological differences
4. syntactic differences

4.7.1 Phonetic differences

[[In this section, Adjarian first lists the various segmental sounds from Classical Armenian. He then describes how these sounds underwent alternations to the modern dialects. However, Adjarian does not actually explain the phonological system of Classical Armenian. I explain the phonology of Classical Armenian in §3.2.]]

[[Note that throughout the monograph, Adjarian almost always refer to Classical Armenian using the more flowery term ‘Old Armenian’ հին հայերէս, instead of the more common term ‘Classical Armenian’ գրաբար. I translate his text faithfully with ‘Old Armenian’ but I use the term ‘Classical Armenian’ for my data renderings.]]

4.7.1.1 Segment inventory of Classical Armenian

Old Armenian had the following 46 sounds. It had 7 vowels (Table 7).

4.7 Differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian

Table 7: Monophthong vowels of Classical Armenian

Orthography	ա	ե	է	ը	ի	ո	ու
HMB transliteration	a	e	ē	ə	i	o	u
IPA transcription	ɑ	e	ē	ə	i	o	u

Old Armenian had 9 diphthongs (Table 8).

Table 8: Diphthong vowels of Classical Armenian

Orthography	այ	աւ	եա	ել	եայ	եաւ	իւ	ոյ	ուա
HMB transliteration	ay	aw	ea	ew	eay	eaw	iw	oy	ua
IPA transcription	aj	au	ɛa	ɛu	ɛaj	ɛau	iu	oi	ua

Old Armenian had 30 consonants (Table 9).

Table 9: Consonants of Classical Armenian

Orthography	բ	պ	փ	դ	տ	թ	գ	կ	ք
HMB transliteration	b	p	p ^c	d	t	t ^c	g	k	k ^c
IPA transcription	b	p	p ^h	d	t	t ^h	g	k	k ^h
Orthography	ծ	ծ	ց	ջ	ճ	չ			
HMB transliteration	j	c	c ^c	ǰ	č	č ^c			
IPA transcription	dz	ts	ts ^h	dʒ	tʃ	tʃ ^h			
Orthography	վ	ս	զ	շ	խ	հ			
HMB transliteration	v	s	z	š	ž	x	h		
IPA transcription	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	χ	h		
Orthography	մ	ն	ր	ռ	լ	ղ	ւ	յ	
HMB transliteration	m	n	r	r ⁱ	l	l ⁱ	w	y	
IPA transcription	m	n	r	r	l	l	w	j	

4.7.1.2 Sound changes from Classical to Modern Armenian

In this phonetic system, New Armenian has introduced the following changes.

Chapter 4 Introduction by Adjarian

4.7.1.2.1 Front mid vowels

Old Armenian differentiated between the Classical sounds /e, ē/ <տ, է> whose difference is however unclear to us. New Armenian has removed one of these two sounds, such that in many dialects (and also in the literary languages), these two sounds are rendered as one sound which we represent as /e/ <տ>. Some of the dialects (such as Karin, Mush, Van, Suceava, etc.), differentiate between the two types of /e/ <տ> sounds in stressed syllables. They changed the Classical Armenian /ē/ <տ> to /e/ <տ>, while the Classical /e/ <տ> becomes a diphthong ([[/je/]]).²⁸ In unstressed syllables, both Classical /e, ē/ <տ, է> became /e/ <տ>. Like some other dialects, the literary languages distinguish the reflexes of word-initial CA /e, ē/ <տ, է>, such that the reflex of initial CA /e/ <տ> is pronounced /je/ <յտ>, while the reflex of initial CA /ē/ <տ> is pronounced as /e/ <տ>.

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4.7.1.2.2 New vowels

In the vowel series, some dialects have added a few new sounds. The main ones are /æ, œ, ʏ/ <ււ, ւօ, ւլ>. The literary language has not accepted these sounds. But the sounds /œ, ʏ/ <տօ, ւլ> are used often in foreign words or in names (Table 10).²⁹ The sound /æ/ <ււ> is not used in the literary languages.

Table 10: Front round vowels in borrowings in literary Armenian (Standard Western Armenian)

		Trad. Ortho.	Transcription (SWA)
‘Young Turk’	(French <i>Jeune Turc</i> or Turkish <i>Jön Türk</i>)	ժտօս Թիւրք	ժտօս Թիւրք /ʒœn tʰʏrkʰ/
‘Eugène Sue’	(French name)	Էօժէս Սիւ	Էօժէս Սիւ /œʒen sʏ/

4.7.1.2.3 Loss of Classical Armenian diphthongs

New Armenian, in contrast, does not have diphthongs. The rich usage of diphthongs in Classical Armenian has wholly dissolved, becoming either vowels or vowel+consonant sequences. There are only a few dialects which have created new diphthongs. The literary language in contrast has preserved the form of

²⁸[[See §4.1 for discussion how Adjarian uses his symbols for Classical vs. Modern Armenian.]]

²⁹[[In my experience, such front round vowels only appear in borrowings for Standard Western Armenian, not Standard Eastern Armenian. That is why Table 10 uses SWA instead of SEA.]]

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the Old Armenian diphthongs, but they have been given a pronunciation which sometimes corresponds to Classical Armenian, sometimes to the present dialects, and sometimes to neither. The following is a summary of their form changes (Table 11).

Table 11: Summary of diachronic changes of Classical Armenian diphthongs

Classical Armenian		Dialects		Literary language	
այ	ափ	а, е	ա, Է	aj	այ
աւ	ափ	o, œ	o, Էo	o	o
եա	եա	e, i	Է, Ի	ja	յա
ել	եփ	ev, iv	Էվ, Իվ	ev	Էվ
եայ	եափ	–	–	ja	յա
եաւ	եափ	ev, iv	Էվ, Իվ	ev	Էվ
իւ	իփ	u, y	ու, Իւ	y, ju, ji	իւ, յու, յի
ոյ	օփ	u, y	ու, Իւ	uj	ոյ
ուա	օա	va	վա	va	վա

4.7.1.2.4 Change from CA /ափ/ to modern /o/

Because the Classical Armenian diphthong /ափ/ <աւ> became modern /o/ <o>, the modern language created two types of vowels /o/ <o>. One is /o/ <o> from Classical /o/ <n>, the other is /o/ <o> from Classical /ափ/ <աւ>. Of the dialects that distinguish the reflexes of CA /e, ē/ <Է, Է>, they have also created a diphthong <n> (read as /փo/ <nփo>); in stressed syllables, they distinguish Classical /o/ that became modern /փo/ (n>n) from Classical /ափ/ that became modern /o/ (աւ>o).³⁰ The literary language does not know of this distinction. For the literary language, the letters <n, o> have the same pronunciation /o/, and the diphthongal pronunciation of <n> as /փo/ does not exist. The literary languages distinguish only the word-initial letters <n, o> (just as for <Է, Է>) with the former pronounced as /vo/ <վo>, and the latter as /o/ <o>.

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4.7.1.2.5 Laryngeal features of consonants

Old Armenian distinguishes three degrees of plosive consonants: voiced (թթթ-ննն), voiceless unaspirated (խխխ), and voiceless aspirated (թթթ). [[*To clarify, he uses the word ‘plosive’ here to mean a stop or affricate.*]]

³⁰[[See §4.1 for discussion of how Adjarian uses his symbols for Classical vs. Modern Armenian.]]

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The voiceless aspirated series is preserved almost everywhere. But the voiced and voiceless unaspirated series have changed or exchanged places in many dialects. We will later see the details throughout my work, when each dialect is discussed in turn. Some of the dialects have introduced an entirely new series of plosives, which we can call voiced aspirated (շնչաւոր թրթռուկ). These are the sounds /b^h, g^h, d^h, dz^h, dʒ^h/ <բ՛, գ՛, դ՛, ծ՛, ջ՛>, which are represented in the European system as <bh, gh, dh> and so on. They originate from the Classical sounds /b, g, d, dz, dʒ/ <բ, գ, դ, ծ, ջ>. The literary Eastern language has in general preserved the old pronunciation of consonants. But the literary Western language has changed the voiced plosives into voiceless aspirated, while the voiceless unaspirated were changed to voiced (cf. my phonetic tables in Adjarian 1899; [[*translated in §2*]]).

4.7.1.2.6 Changes for CA /j/ and CA /ɟ/

For the other consonants, the most changes have happened to the CA sounds /j, ɟ/ <յ, ղ> whose pronunciations have entirely changed. The letter <յ> was pronounced as CA /j/ everywhere in the old language. But word-initially, almost every dialect has deleted this letter; some have turned it into /f/ <յ> ; while the literary languages have turned it to /h/ <հ>.

The letter <ղ> in the old language was some type of thick /l/ <լ>. But in all the dialects and in literary languages, this sound acquired its familiar guttural (կոկորդային) pronunciation without exception.

[[*The letter <ղ> was a velar lateral /ɟ/ in Classical Armenian. It later became a dorsal fricative, such as the SEA and SWA /ʁ/.*]]

4.7.1.2.7 The sound /f/

Old Armenian did not have the sound /f/ <ֆ>. The new dialects have created this sound, whether by borrowing foreign words or by native sound changes (ծայլաշրջութեամբ). The literary language uses this sound only in transcribing foreign words.

4.7.1.2.8 Syncope of word medial CA /a/

In many of our dialects, especially the ones which are known as being in the Western branch, the reflex of the Classical sound /a/ <ա> of polysyllabic words

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is deleted when it is not in the initial or final syllable. This sound change appears quite simply in the declension of words (Table 12).³¹

Table 12: Syncope of word medial CA /a/ in declension

		‘mouth’		‘city’	
Classical	Nominative	beran	բերան	k ^h aʔak ^h	քաղաք
SWA	Nominative	p ^h eran	բերան	k ^h aʔak ^h	քաղաք
	Genitive	p ^h ern-i	բերնի	k ^h aχk ^h -i	քաղքի
	Instrumental	p ^h ern-ov	բերնով	k ^h aχk ^h -ov	քաղքով

Such is the case also for the words in Table 13.

Table 13: Syncope of word medial CA /a/ in other words

		‘to waste’		‘wedding’	
Classical	hatanil	հատանիլ	harsanik ^h	հարսանիք	
SWA	hadnil	հատնիլ	harsanik ^h	հարսանիք	
			harsnik ^h	հարսնիք	

Because of this, it often happens that two...

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... consonants become adjacent and this causes new sound changes to happen (Table 14).

Table 14: Medial syncope of CA /a/ feeds other sound changes

	Classical		> SWA		Other	
‘to pass’	ants ^h anel	անցանել	ants ^h nil	անցնիլ	asnil	ասնիլ
‘to recognize’	tʃanatʃ ^h el	ճանաչել	dʒantʃ ^h nal	ճանչնալ	tʃaʃnal	ճաշնալ
‘to button’	*kotʃakel	*կոճակել	godʒgel	կոճկել	kozkel	կոճկել

³¹[[For this section on syncope, Adjarian does not specify which modern variety of Armenian he is talking about. I assume he meant Standard Western Armenian. Note that in SWA, post-fricative stops deaspirate and there is obstruent voicing assimilation; thus a more correct transcription of /k^haʔk^h-i/ is [k^haχk^h-i]. I do not modify Adjarian’s original transcriptions.]]

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4.7.1.2.9 Rhotic metathesis

Some words show the movement or metathesis of the Classical sound /r/ <ր>, which is constant across all the dialects (Table 15).³² For this rule, Grammont (1908: 241ff).

Table 15: Diachronic rhotic metathesis

	Classical		> Modern		
‘bridge’	kamurd͡ʒ	կամուրջ	karmund͡ʒ	կարմուռջ	unspecified dialect
‘carpet’	kapert	կապերտ	karpet	կարպետ	unspecified dialect
unclear gloss	p ^h ip ^h erd	փիփերդ	p ^h irp ^h et	փիրփետ	Karabakh
‘clean’	*sesurb	*սեսուրբ	sersup ^h	սերսուփ	Van

4.7.1.2.10 Nasal epenthesis

In many places, in a word’s final syllable, the nasal /n/ <ն> is inserted between a vowel and consonant (Table 16).

Table 16: Diachronic nasal epenthesis

	Classical Armenian		> Unspecified modern variety	
‘we’	mek ^h	մեք	menk ^h	մենք
‘green’	kanat͡ʃ ^h	կանաչ	kanant͡ʃ ^h	կանանչ
‘bridge’	kamurd͡ʒ	կամուրջ	karmund͡ʒ	կարմուռջ
‘recognition’	t͡ʃanat͡ʃ ^h	ճանաչ	t͡ʃanant͡ʃ ^h	ճանանչ
‘they’	*anok ^h	*անոք	anonk ^h	անոնք

In these words, the insertion of the nasal /n/ <ն> is due to the influence of the preceding syllable’s nasal /m,n/ <մ,ն>. In verbs, the 1PL imperfective and perfective forms also show this insertion, via analogy to present verbs (Table 17).

³²[[This seems like an overgeneralization. The modern word for ‘bridge’ lacks metathesis in SWA /gamurt͡ʃ/ and SEA /kamurd͡ʒ/ <կամուրջ>.]

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Table 17: Diachronic nasal epenthesis in the past 1PL suffix with the example verb ‘to eat’

	Classical Armenian		> SWA	
Indc. Pres. 1PL ‘we eat’	ut-e-mk ^h	ուտեմք	/g-ud-e-nk ^h / [g-ud-e-ŋk ^h]	կ’ուտենք
Indc. Past Impf. 1PL ‘we were eating’	ut-ē-a-k ^h	ուտեաք	/g-ud-e-i-nk ^h / [g-ud-ej-i-ŋk ^h]	կ’ուտեիք
Past Pfv. 1PL ‘we ate’	ker-a-k ^h	կերաք	/ger-a-nk ^h / [ger-a-ŋk ^h]	կերանք

[[*What Adjarian means is that in Classical Armenian, the 1PL suffix was /mk^h/ for the present, but just /k^h/ without a nasal for the past (Thomson 1989: 31,49). He argues the nasal spread via analogy.*]]

As for the word CA /k^hit^h/ <քիթ> ‘nose’ which became modern /k^hint^h/ <քիւթ>, and similar words, the insertion of the nasal /n/ is due to some unknown phonetic rule.

4.7.1.2.11 Verbs of ‘to say’ and ‘to do’

Against the Classical words /asel/ <ասել> ‘to say’ and /anel/ <անել> ‘to do’, we often find in the new dialects words like /asel/ <ասել> ‘to say’ and /anel/ <անել> ‘to do’ (in the Eastern branch), while the Western branch has /əsel/ <ըսել> ‘to say’ and /ənel/ <ընել> ‘to do’. And in this way, they have entered the literary language.

4.7.2 Lexical differences

The lexicon of the new language has changed a lot. The largest portion of the words from Old Armenian have either been lost in the new dialects or have gained new meanings. The collection and study of this latter group of words is important for advancing the study of the history of their meanings.³³ The new dialects have also created many new words which are known under the name of provincial (զավառակալ) words, and they do not exist in Classical Armenian. In my extensive provincial dictionary (unpublished), the number of these words is 30,000. The two literary languages have also created many new words,

³³[[*I think he means diachronic semantics or semantic change.*]]

which are also absent from Classical Armenian. For example, SWA /ʃok^henav/ շոգենավ ‘steamboat’ and /herɑxos/ հեռախօս ‘telephone’. The complete collection of these words is still lacking.

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Those words that are common in both Classical Armenian and the new dialects often underwent certain sound changes which are not easy to explain with conventional phonetic laws. In many places we find words that have changed so much that it is quite hard to recognize their original form. For example, the Moks province has the word /χɑ/ <խա> instead of CA /het/ <հետ> ‘with, together’. The Zeytun dialect has the word /bɑjɑob/ <բայօբ> instead of Classical /pɑrɑu/ <պարավ> ‘old woman’. The Hamshen dialect has the word /onluχ^h/ <օսլուխք> instead of Classical /ɑnɑnuχ/ <անանուխ> ‘mint’. The number of such words is not large.

Our dialects also have many foreign words which are borrowed from neighboring languages. The quality and quantity of these borrowings distinguishes the dialects based on their position. Among the lender languages ([[*meaning the languages which provide borrowings*]]), first place goes to Turkish which with its various branches (Ottoman, Azerbaijani Turkish, Tatar) has had a tremendous influence on our dialects without exception. The number of words in the Istanbul dialect that were borrowed from Turkish is 4200. For the dialects in Armenia proper, they have around only a half of this number. See Աճառեան (1902).

After Turkish, we have the languages of Kurdish, Georgian, Russian, and Italian.

For words borrowed from Kurdish, the number of these words is still uncertain. These words are found in the dialects of Mush, Van, and Tigranakert. The words borrowed from Georgian are found in the dialects of Tbilisi and Artvin. The number of words borrowed from Russia is 600 in my (unpublished) collection, and they are found in in all the Russian-Armenian (ռուսահայ) dialects. In the New Nakhichevan dialect, these words reach the thousands. Italian borrowings are found only in the Istanbul dialect, and sometimes in the neighboring areas. There are also borrowings from Romanian, Polish, and Hungarian; these are found only in the Austria-Hungary dialect.

The literary language does not have these lexical differences. The orthography of Old Armenian is restored almost everywhere (there are very few exceptions...

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... such as the words for ‘other’: /ɑl, el/ <ալ, էլ> instead of /ɑjl/ <այլ>.) The provincial (զավանական) words are in general left in the popular language (նաւիկ լեզու), and recently there is only a hope that they will enter the literary lan-

guage.³⁴ Foreign words are by principle excluded in our two literary languages. It is only Eastern Armenian where European scientific borrowings have some visibility.³⁵

In this way, we can say that Old Armenian and the new literary languages do not have lexical differences. Our lexicon is entirely Classical, and it is significantly different from the colloquial vernacular of the people. This is why the ordinary populace calls the literary language Classical Armenian.

4.7.3 Morphological differences

In both the dialects and literary languages, there is a large number of morphological differences. The goal of these differences is linguistic simplification. Through the laws of analogy (հսկողականություն), the most usual and regular forms of the language have been generalized, while secondary forms and exceptions have been erased.

4.7.3.1 Declension

The declension of Classical Armenian, whose extreme complexity had by and large turned into a cause of difficulty, has been rendered into perfect simplicity in Modern Civil Armenian (աշխարհաբար). Of the many stems of Old Armenian, only one has been kept. The singular genitive-dative takes the suffix /-i/ <ի> and the ablative takes /-e/ <է> (These were unique to Classical Armenian /i/-stems <ի> and /a/-stems <ա>). The instrumental takes /-ov/ <ով>, which was unique to the Classical /o/-stem <ո>. The plural has an entirely new construction. Classical Armenian formed its plurals with the suffixes /-k^h, -ts^h, -s/ <ք, ց, ս>, which vary based on the stem and declension. In contrast, New Armenian has two new plural suffixes which in all circumstances stay the same. These are /-er/ <եր> for monosyllabic words, /-ner/ <ներ> for polysyllabic words. (For an explanation of these forms, see Karst (1901: 169), ...

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... Pedersen (1906: 456ff.) The singular case markers are simply attached after these plural markers, without changing forms. It is only genitive-dative case suffix that takes the form /-u/ <ու> in the plural, whereas this suffix is restricted to a very small number of words in the singular.

³⁴[[*Adjarian is using flowery prose to imply that the provincial or dialectal words will likely not enter Standard Armenian.*]]

³⁵Ter-Ghazarian (Տեր-Ղազարյան 1908) has collected these scientific borrowings. Their number is 1500 in that work.

And this is the method of declension for the largest number of the new dialects and for the Western literary language. In a few other dialects and in the literary Eastern language, there are a few small differences. In these dialects, the ablative is formed by the new suffix /-i^h/ <-ից>. The plural genitive-dative case is formed the same way as in the singular, with the suffix /-i/ <-ի>. And subsequently, there is more analogy than in the former dialects.

It should be mentioned also that Classical prepositions /i-, j-, z-/ <ի, յ, զ> which were attached to various case declensions in Classical Armenian (accusative, ablative, locative (սերգոյական), prepositional accusative (սաիդրիլ հայցական), narrative (պատմական), and circumlative (պարտական)) have been lost in the new language.³⁶ In a few dialects and in the literary Eastern language, the locative is formed with the suffix /-um/ <-ում>.

Table 18 is a table of the declensions for the literary languages.

Table 18: Declension system (plural + case) for Standard Western and Eastern Armenian

	The Western language, SWA				The Eastern language, SEA			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
NOM	-		/-er/	<-եր>	-		/-er/	<-եր>
			/-ner/	<-ներ>			/-ner/	<-ներ>
GEN/DAT	/-i/	<-ի>	/-er-u/	<-երու>	/-i/	<-ի>	/-er-i/	<-երի>
			/-ner-u/	<-ներու>			/-ner-i/	<-ների>
ACC	(like NOM)		(like NOM)		(like NOM or DAT)		(like NOM or DAT)	
ABL	/-e/	<-է>	/-er-e/	<-երէ>	/-i ^h /	<-ից>	/-er-i ^h /	<-երից>
			/-ner-e/	<-ներէ>			/-ner-i ^h /	<-ներից>
INS	/-ov/	<-ով>	/-er-ov/	<-երով>	/-ov/	<-ով>	/-er-ov/	<-երով>
			/-ner-ov/	<-ներով>			/-ner-ov/	<-ներով>
LOC	(does not have)		(does not have)		/-um/	<-ում>	/-er-um/	<-երում>
							/-ner-um/	<-ներում>

4.7.3.2 Definite article

Old Armenian had a definite article /-n/ <ն>,³⁷ but it did not have a general and regular usage. In the new language, phonetic developments created two forms:

³⁶[[This is a slightly incorrect statement. The majority of dialects (and the standard dialects) no longer such inflectional prefixes. But a handful do, such as Mush (§16.3.1.1,16.3.1.2).]]

³⁷[[To clarify, the modern definite article is a reflex of the Classical distal demonstrative suffix. Classical Armenian did not treat the suffix /-n/ as a definite article (Thomson 1989: 29).]]

/-n/ <ն> which was specialized for vowel-final words, and /-ə/ <ը> for consonant-final words. Besides this, the language developed general and complete uses for the article, in the same way as do the new European languages (French, English, German, and so on).

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4.7.3.3 Pronoun declension

A few of the Old Armenian pronouns have been lost in the new language. Others have kept their old form. However, because the ablative, instrumental, and locative cases have distanced themselves from their previous state, these cases are formed in the way that nouns are, with suffixes: ABL /-e/ <-է>, ABL /-its^h/ <-ից>, INS /-ov/ <-ով>, LOC /-um/ <-ում>. These suffixes are added not to the nominative form, but to the dative form.

4.7.3.4 Adpositions

All the prepositions have become postpositions. There are no prepositions in the new language.³⁸

4.7.3.5 Verb conjugations

The morphological changes in verb conjugation are much larger. First and foremost, the fourth conjugation class (CA /-um/ <-ում>)³⁹ has been erased, and New Armenian recognizes only three conjugations. Of the six verb forms from Old Armenian (present <ներկայ>, imperfective <անկատար>, perfective <կատարեալ>, Future <ապանի>, imperative <հրամայական>, and subjunctive <ստորադասական>), only the perfective and imperative keep their old construction. The present and the imperfect have received three new constructions, which we will talk about later. The future has a composite shape and it is formed also in three new ways, in various dialects: with the formative /kə/ <կը>, with the formative /piti/ <պիտի>, or by combing the future participle (դերբայ) with the copula verb (եական բայ). The indicative present of Old Armenian has become the subjunctive present.

In Classical Armenian, the formation of the passive was very complicated; and sometimes with the creation of simple verbs (հասարակ բայեր), the meanings

³⁸[[This is an incorrect overgeneralization. Modern Standard Armenian does have a handful of prepositions like SEA /arants^h/ <առանց> ‘without’.]]

³⁹[[He means that the theme vowel /u/ has been lost.]]

can get confusing.⁴⁰ In place of these complications, New Armenian developed a very simple form /-vil/ <-ուիլ>, by which all passive verbs form one conjugation class.

In Classical Armenian, the negative (բացասական) had a very simple construction. And it should be thought that at least this construction has been free from general metamorphoses. But because the conjugation of verbs has entirely changed in its form, thus it is natural that the negative would follow these changes.

The causative (սևցողական) formative in Classical Armenian was /-ets^huts^hanel/ <-եցուցանել>; because of its great length, it has shortened and become modern /-ts^hnel/ <ցնել>, /-ts^huts^hel/ <ցուցել>, and so on.

Let us also mention that New Armenian has created many new complex tenses, which did not exist in the old language.

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4.7.4 Syntactic differences

In terms of syntax (համաձայնական կոդեքս), the New Armenian dialects significantly differ from Classical Armenian. In many other cases, the literary language restored many things according to the old language; but in this case, the literary language completely follows the dialects; and the literary language rarely but sometimes diverges from the dialects, and that divergence is for higher literary registers (բարձր սեռերով).

4.7.4.1 Word order of verbs

In Old Armenian, the verb was generally placed at the beginning of the sentence or before its arguments. In contrast, New Armenian works by putting the verb all the way at the end. Consider the following examples (1).

- (1) a. ‘Noah and his sons entered the ark.’
- i. Classical Armenian
- | | | | |
|---------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| V | S | O | |
| emut | noĭ | eṽ | ordi-k ^h nora i tapan-ən |
| entered | Noah and | son-PL | his to ark-DEF |
| Էմուտ | Նոյ եւ որդիք | Նորա ի տապանն: | |

⁴⁰[[I think what he means is that in Classical Armenian, verbs can ambiguously be in the active voice or passive voice. (?)]]

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- ii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
 S O V
 noj jev anor vort^hi-ner-ə dabān mēdan
 Noah and his son-PL-DEF ark entered
 Նոյ եւ անոր որդիները տապան մտան:
- b. ‘What should I do for my boy?’
- i. Classical Armenian
 O V O
 z-int^h ararits^h vasən ord^hw-oj imoj
 ACC-what do for son-GEN my
 Չի՞նչ արարից վասն որդւոյ իմոյ:
- ii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
 O O V
 dəβ-u-s hamar int^h ənem
 boy-GEN-POSS.1SG for what do
 Տղոս համար ի՞նչ ընեմ:
- c. ‘My boy, listen to your father’s advice!’
- i. Classical Armenian
 V Voc O
 lur ordeak xərat-u haγr k^ho
 listen son advice-DAT father.GEN your
 Լո՛ւր, որդեակ, խրատու ի՛ր քո:
- ii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
 Voc O V
 dəβ-a-s hor-ət^h xərad-ə mədig əre
 boy-POSS.1SG father.GEN-POSS.2SG advice-DEF listen do
 Տղաս, ի՛րդ խրատը մտիկ ըրէ:

[[This is an overgeneralization for Classical Armenian. The default word order in Classical Armenian is SVO with free word order, while SEA/SWA is generally SOV (Dum-Tragut 2002: 20,33). Though see Samvelian et al. (2023) on word order problems in SEA.]]

[[Note that here and later in the translation, I gloss the Classical prefix /z-/ as an accusative marker. Though it has wide-ranging roles (Thomson 1989: 22).]]

4.7.4.2 Word order of genitive possessors

In Old Armenian, the modifier word (յատկացուցիչը) was placed after the modified word (յատկացեալը). In New Armenian, the exact opposite occurs: the modifier is placed before the modified (2).

(2) ‘John’s brother’

a. Classical Armenian

N	Poss
z-ełbaṙr-ən	jovhann-u
ACC-brother-DIST	John-GEN
Չեղբայրն Յովհաննու:	

b. Modern Standard Western Armenian

Poss	N
ohannes-i-n	աղբար-ə
John-GEN-DEF	brother-DEF
Օհաննեսին աղբարը	

[[To clarify, Classical Armenian tends to place the genitive possessor after the noun. But it is possible to place the possessor before the noun. See Dum-Tragut (2002: 118).]]

4.7.4.3 Word order of adjectives and nouns

In Old Armenian, adjectives could be placed either before or after the noun. When the adjective is after the noun, the adjective agrees with the noun in number and case. When the adjective is before the noun, the adjective usually does not agree. Because the latter is the simplest structure, thus New Armenian always places its adjectives before the noun.

[[For more information on adjective ordering in Classical Armenian, see Dum-Tragut (2002: 75ff).]]

4.7.4.4 Word order of demonstrative and possessive pronouns

The demonstrative and possessive pronouns⁴¹ (ցուցական եւ ստացական ածականները), unlike the former ([[meaning unlike adjectives]]), are usually placed after the noun and agree with the noun. In New Armenian, the opposite occurs: they are placed before the noun and do not agree (3).

⁴¹[[His Armenian term is more literally translated as ‘adjective’, but the word ‘pronoun’ is technically more correct.]]

4.7 Differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian

(3) ‘my house, this man, to my father’

a. Classical Armenian

N	Poss, N	Dem, N	Poss
tun	im, aġr-əs	aġs, haġr	imum
house	my, man-PROX	this, father.DAT/GEN	my.DAT
տոս	իմ, այրս այս, հոր		

b. Modern Standard Western Armenian

Poss N,	Dem N,	Poss N
im dun-əs,	aġs maɾt ^h -ə,	im hor-əs
my house-POSS.1SG,	this man-DEF, my	father.DAT/GEN-POSS.1SG
իմ տոսս,	այս մարդը,	իմ հորս

[[For more information on the Classical Armenian word order, see Dum-Tragut (2002: 93ff, 103ff).]]

4.7.4.5 Word order of adpositions

In Old Armenian, prepositions (սախադրութիւններ) were unconditionally placed before the noun. In the new language, the word ‘preposition’ has no such meaning, because there are postpositions (յետադրութիւն).⁴² For example (4).

(4) a. Classical Armenian

P	N	Poss, P	N
aradzi	haġr	imoi, ənd	seġan-ov k ^h ov
front	father.GEN	my, under	table-INS
‘in front of my father,	under your table’		
առաջի հոր իմոյ,	ընդ սեղանով քով		

b. Modern Standard Western Armenian

N	P,	N	P
hor-əs	artsev, seġan-i-t ^h	daq-ə	
father.GEN-POSS.1SG	front, table-GEN-POSS.2SG	under-DEF	
‘in front of my father,	under your table’		
հորս առջեւ,	սեղանիդ տակը		

[[For more information on the Classical Armenian word order, see Dum-Tragut (2002: 128ff).]]

⁴²[[As said in footnote 38, this is an incorrect overgeneralization. The modern language has a handful of prepositions.]]

By individually taking these differences, they perhaps do not seem severe to us. But when we consider them entirely, and we compare the word order (շարահասուրթիւն) of the Modern Civil Armenian sentence...

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... to Classical Armenian, we shall be surprised by this great divergence that divides the two languages.

And truly, while Old Armenian has free word order (ազատ շարահասուրթեան) like the syntax of old Indo-European languages, its analytical word order (վերլուծական շարահասուրթեան) completely follows the new European languages, such as French word order. In contrast, New Armenian lacks this syntactic freedom, and its words are placed in a stable order, just like in Turkish syntactic style, and unlike the European one.

[[For an overview of the differences in word order between Classical Armenian and Modern Armenian, see Dum-Tragut (2002: §2.3).]]

In (5) are two sentences from Old and New Armenian, compared against French and Turkish.⁴³

- (5) a. ‘I saw the bird that was singing on the tree.’
- i. Classical Armenian
tesī əz-t^hərt^hun-ən or ergēr i verq̄i tsar-oj-n
saw ACC-bird-DIST that was.singing to on tree-GEN-DIST
Տեսի զթռչունն որ երգեր ի վերայ ծառոյն:
 - ii. French
J’ai vu l’oiseau qui chantait sur l’arbre
I saw the.bird that was.singing on the.tree
 - iii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
d̄zar-i-n vəra jerk^hoɅ t^hərt^hun-ə desa
tree-GEN-DEF on singing bird-DEF saw
Ծառին վրայ երգող թռչունը տեսայ
 - iv. (Ottoman) Turkish
Ağac-ın üst-ün-de öten kuş-u gördüm
tree-GEN top-POSS.3SG-loc singing bird-ACC saw
Աղաջըն իւսթիւնդէ եթթոս քուշու գէորդիւս
Adjarian’s transcription: [ɑɑɑɟəɳ ɣst^hɣnde œt^hœn k^huʃu
gœrdɣm]

⁴³[[For the following set of examples, I only segment the nominal inflection suffixes because those seem more important for explaining the syntax. I do not segment the rich verbal structures. For the Turkish examples, Adjarian wrote them in the Armenian script. I converted his examples into modern Turkish.]]

4.7 Differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian

- b. ‘The pages of the books of Leon, my neighbor’s son’
- i. Classical Armenian
 $t^hert^h-(\text{ə}?)k^h$ $g\text{ər-ots}^h$ $lewon-i$ $ordw-oj$ $d\text{ərats}^hw-oj$ $imoj$
 page-PL book-PL.GEN Leon-GEN son-GEN neighbor-GEN my
 Թերթք գրոց Լեւոնի՝ որդւոյ դրացւոյ իմոյ
 - ii. French
 Les feuilles des livres de Leon fils de mon voisin
 the pages of books of Leon son of my neighbor
 - iii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
 $t^h\text{əratsi-ji-s}$ $d\text{ə}k\text{-u-n}$ $lewon-i-n$
 neighbor-GEN-POSS.1SG son-GEN-DEF Leon-GEN-DEF
 $k^h\text{ərk}^h\text{-er-u-n}$ $t^hert^h\text{-er-ə}$
 book-PL-GEN-DEF page-PL-DEF
 Դրացիիս տղուն Լեւոնին գրքերուն թերթերը
 - iv. (Ottoman) Turkish
 $Kom\text{şu-m-un}$ $oğl-u$ $Levon'-un$
 neighbor-POSS.1SG-GEN son-POSS.3SG Leon-GEN
 $kitap-lar-ı-nın$ $yaprak-lar-ı$
 book-PL-POSS.3SG-GEN page-PL-POSS.3SG
 Զօւնշումուն օղլու Լեւոնինն քիթաբլարընն յափրաքլարը
 Adjarian’s transcription: [k^hoŋʃumun oʃlu lævonən
 k^hit^hablarənən jap^hrak^hlarə]

Everything is done in this way, such that you would think that New Armenian syntax is based on the Turkish template. On this investigatable issue, see Pedersen, KZ 32,472.⁴⁴

⁴⁴[[Robin Meyer informs me that this article does not exist. Adjarian may have made a typo here.]]

Chapter 5

Armenian residences

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[[In this chapter, Adjarian provides population counts of Armenians in different regions from 1911. As Robin Meyer noticed, it is unclear where Adjarian got his numbers from. So I am not sure how accurate or reliable they are.]]

[[I do not provide updated statistics from the 21st century. The Armenian Genocide has made it difficult to know the exact number of surviving speakers of non-standard dialects. Mass migrations have occurred after the genocide as well. For an overview, see Dekmejian (1997) and the Wikipedia article on Armenian populations by country.]]

As we know, the homeland of the Armenians, Armenia, is divided today between three states. The largest portion is in the hand of the Ottomans; 7 out of 15 provinces of Old Armenia:

- Upper Armenia (Բարձր Հայք)
- Fourth Armenia or Sophene (Չորրորդ Հայք)
- Aghdznik or Arzanene (Աղձնիք)
- Turuberan (Տուրուբերան)
- Moxoene or Mokk' (Մոկք)
- Korchayk or Corduene (Կորճայք)
- Vaspurakan (Վասպուրական)

A smaller portion is in the hands of the Russians:

- Artsakh (Արցախ)
- Syunik (Սիւնիք)

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- Utik (Ուտի)
- Gugark (Գուգարք)
- Tayk (Տայք)
- Ayrarat (Այրարատ)

And the smallest part is in the hands of the Persians:

- Paytakaran (Փայտակարան)
- Parskahayk or Persarmenia or Nor Shirakan (Պարսկահայք)

The largest portion of Armenians today are still found in their homeland. But outside of their homeland, Armenians have spread into many other countries in the following manner.

5.1 The northern migration line

Armenian title: Հիւսիսային գաղթնական գիծ

5.1.1 Georgia

The city with the most Armenians is Tbilisi and its surrounding areas. But the Armenians are also scattered in other cities in Georgia, such as in the state of Tbilisi in Gori, Signagi, Telavi, Dusheti, Tianeti. In the Kutaisi province: Kutaisi, Poti, the two villages of Shorapani. In the Lechkhumi province, the village of Lailashi; in the Racha province: Oni village, Batumi, Artvin, Ardanuç, Şavşat, Sokhumi; in the Chernomorskaya province: Novorossiysk, Anapa, and the shores of the entire Black sea. The Armenian populace in this region is around 200,000.

5.1.2 Aghvank or Caucasian Albania

The native population of this country was previously Armenian, while later a portion became Muslim. In that way, today the native element of the country is Armenian or Turkish. The cities where Armenians live are Baku, Shamakhi (with 23 villages), Geokchay with 20 villages, Nukha (42 villages), Zagatala...

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... 12 villages, Agdash (6 villages), Quba (Khachmaz and Kilvar villages), and finally Derbent. The entire Armenian population of Aghvank is around 150,000 people.¹

5.1.3 North Caucasus

Here, the Armenians represent a mixture of migrants that came from different places. They live in the Dagestan area: Makhachkala, Temir-Khan-Shura, Chiri-Yurt, Ishkarty. In the Terek area: Kizlyar, Mozdok, Vladikavkaz. In the state of Stavropol: Stavropol, Machar or Budyonnovsk (Surb Khach). In the Kuban area: Armavir, Yekaterinodar, Batalpashinsky Otdel, Yeysk, Caucasus,² Labinsk, Maykop, Temryuk. In total, 28,835 people.

5.1.4 Tatarstan (from the Volga to the ocean)

In this area, the Armenians are chiefly in the city of Astrakhan. But in recent years, they have spread also to farther places: Tsaritsyn, Saratov, Samara, Syzran, Simbirsky, Penza, Balashov, Uribeno, Durovka, Kamyshin, Krasnovodsk, Jibil, Chakichlar, Qızıl Arvad, Ashgabat, Artyk, Kaakhka, Dulak, Merv (Mary), Chardzhou, Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Samarkand, Bukhara, Ziyovuddin, Chernaevo, Golodnaya Steppe, Kattakurgan, Jizzakh, Khujand, Fergana, Kokand, Andijan, Osh, Namangan, Tashkent, Arys, Turkistan city, Petrovsk, and many Siberian stations. The entire number of Armenians in Tatarstan is 16,000.

5.1.5 Crimea

In its time, this place had a large Armenian population. But because of migrations in 1779, many people were scattered. Today, the Armenian-populated cities in this peninsula are Theodosia, Kerch, Alushta, Yalta, Sevastopol, Yevpatoriya, Perekop, Or or Armiansk, Simferopol, Bakhchisaray, Karasubazar, and Old Crimea. The migrants of Crimea are established in New Nakhichevan and its 5 villages, which they built. From here, they also spread to Rostov, Melitopol, Berdiansk, Azov, Novocherkassk, Nogaisk, Dnipro, Taganrog, Yekaterinoslav, and other places. The number of Armenians in this area is 35,000.

¹[[It is unfortunate that Armenians of modern Azerbaijan are now either displaced, exiled, killed (ethnically cleansed), or oppressed.]]

²[[Adjarian must have meant some town called 'Caucasus' in the Caucasus. He could have meant Kavkazskaya. (?)]]

5.1.6 Russia

Here, the Armenians are very few. The entire number is less than a thousand. A large portion are students...

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... and soldiers. The number of native and established people is small; they are found mainly in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kharkiv, Voronezh, and so on.

5.1.7 Poland

At its time, Poland had a large Armenian populace, both in its Austrian and Russian parts. In the Russian part, there are no longer any Armenians. As for the Austrian part, the main Armenian-populated location is Kutu or Cuturi. Also, a very small number of Armenians is found in Lemberg and elsewhere. The Armenians of Kutu are around 100 houses.

5.1.8 Romania

The Armenian-populated cities are Focșani, Bucharest, Botoșani, Iași, Târgu Ocna, Galați, Brăila, Bacău, Roman, Constanța, Sulina, Tulcea, Babadag, Pitești, Giurgiu, Ploiești, and so on. The Armenian migrants consist of two specific groups. The old migrants or natives, and the new migrants who came from various corners of Ottoman Turkey after the massacres of the Ottoman Armenians. The total number of both groups is 14,000, of which 4000 people are the new migrants.

5.1.9 Bessarabia

Here, very few Armenians are found in Chișinău, Akkerman, Khotyn, Balti, Bender, Ismail, and Hîncești, with whom we should include the Armenians of the Cherson province (Odesa and Grigoriopol).

5.1.10 Austria-Hungary

This is Bukovina, Transylvania, Hungary, and Austria proper. The Armenians of Bukovina primarily reside in the cities of Suceava, Chernivtsi, and Siret. The Armenians of Transylvania primarily live in the cities of Gherla or Armenopolis, Dumbrăveni or Elisabethopolis, Gheorgheni, Sibviz, Brașov or Kronstadt. Small numbers of Armenians are scattered also in the various corners of Hungary, until Pest and Vienna. The total number of Armenians in this region is 15,000.

5.2 The southeastern migration line

Armenian title: Հարավային-արեւելեան գաղթնական գիծ

5.2.1 Assyria

There are Armenians only in Mosul, Kirkuk, Baghdad, Basra, and Suq al-Shuyukh. The total is 1400 people.

5.2.2 Persia or Iran

The Armenians of this country are divided into two separate regions or dioceses (թեմերու). Iranian Azerbaijan (Atropatene) and Persia proper. The Azerbaijan diocese has not only Khoy, Maku, Salmast, Urmia, and Karadagh, which are provinces of Armenia proper, ...

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... but also Tabriz, Mujumbar, Maragha, Kurdistan, and Ardabil. In Persia proper, the Armenian-populated cities are New Julfa (with its 80 villages), Tehran (with its 6 villages), Qazvin, Rasht, Anzali, Hamadan, Sheverin, Shiraz, Bushehr, and so on. The entire number of Persian Armenians is 66,000 of which 25,000 belong to Persian Armenia.

5.2.3 India

It now has 700 Armenian residents who live in the cities of Kolkata, Madras, Bombay, and Dhaka.

5.2.4 Birmania or Myanmar

The total number is 252 Armenians, of which 193 people live in Rangoon.

5.2.5 Island of Java

There are 170 Armenians, who live in Batavia (Jakarta), Surabaya, Singapore, Semarang, and so on.

5.3 The southwestern migration line

Armenian title: Հարավային-արեւմտեան գաղթնական գիծ

5.3.1 Cilicia

This has been Armenianized since the time of the Rubenid (Ռուբինյան) kingdom. Now, the main Armenian-populated cities are Sis, Hadjin, Zeytun, Adana, Tarsus, Mersin, Misis, Marash. They have a total of 190,000 Armenians.

5.3.2 Cyprus

There are now 562 Armenian residents, who are found mostly in the capital Nicosia. The others live in Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos, Sourp Magar, Famagusta, and so on.

5.3.3 Syria and Lebanon

The northern part, as bordering Cilicia, has quite a lot of Armenians. But as we go south, the number of Armenians decreases. The total number of Armenians is 36,000 people, who live in the cities of Ayntap, Antioch, Aleppo, Beirut, Sham (Damascus), and Latakia. Ayntap has 6 villages, Antioch has 18 villages, Aleppo has 12 villages. Among these, the following villages are well-known. In Antioch: Svedia, Kessab, Aramo, and. In Aleppo: Kilis, Belen, and Jisr al-Shughur.

5.3.4 Palestine

There are 730 Armenians who live in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Ramla.

5.3.5 Egypt

There are around 10,000 Armenians who live primarily in Alexandria and Cairo.

5.3.6 Other

There are few Armenians who also live in Tripoli, Ethiopia, Cape Town, and Transvaal.

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5.4 The western migration line

Armenian title: Արեւմտեան գաղթական գիծ

5.4.1 Asia Minor or Anatolia

This extends from the western borders of Armenia until the Archipelago (Արշիպէղագոս) and Marmara. It includes also Lesser Armenia, which is a heavily Armenian-populated area. The main Armenian-populated cities in Asia Minor are, from east to west, Urfa, Malatya, Divriği, Akn, Arapgir, Şebinkarahisar, Gürün, Darende, Hisn-Mansur or Adiyaman, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Giresun, Ordu, Sebastia, Evdokia, Amasia, Merzifon, Samsun, Kayseri, Yozgat, Ankara, Konya, Kastamonu, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar, İzmir (Smyrna), Aydın, Manisa, Bursa, Bilecik, Balıkesir, Bandırma, Nicomedia, and Adapazar. The statistics of the area are still uncertain.

5.4.2 Istanbul

Taking together the villages that are on the two shores of the Bosphorus or Bosphorus, there are 45 districts and 180,000 Armenians. Before the massacres, there were 250,000 Armenians, of which 60,000 were migrants. Because these people were deprived of their lands, the number of Istanbul Armenians significantly dropped. Now, it is rising again.³

5.4.3 Greece

There are 200 Armenians who live primarily in Athens.

5.4.4 Crete

There are about the same number of Armenians in Kandiye (Heraklion).

[[It is unclear what Adjarian means by this sentence. He could mean that in Crete, there are about 200 Armenians (as in Athens). (?)]]

5.4.5 European Turkey

The Armenian-populated cities are Adrianopolis, Rodosto, Malkara, Silivri, Çorlu, Gallipoli, and Thessaloniki.

5.4.6 Bulgaria

There are 15,000 Armenians who live in the following cities: Varna, Ruse-Shumla, Silistra, Sofia, Tarnovo, Razgrad, Vidin, Dobrich, Teleorman, Filibe, Burgas, Tatar Pazardzhik, Sliven, Yambol, Eski Zagra, Haskovo, Aytos, Karnobat, and Straldzha.

³[[It is ironic that the population in Istanbul was rising before the Armenian Genocide.]]

5.4.7 France

There are 1000 Armenians who live in Paris and Marseille, and a portion in Nancy, Montpellier, and so on.

5.4.8 England

Here, there are not as many Armenians as in France. The Armenian-populated cities are London and Manchester.

5.4.9 The United States

There are over 40,000 Armenians, who live primarily in Worcester, New York, Providence, Fresno, Boston, and many other cities.

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5.4.10 Other

A small number of Armenians is also found in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, where there are still no migrant communities. And the resident Armenians there are only temporary immigrants.

5.5 Summary

The migrant community of Armenians is more than 1 million.

Chapter 6

Armenians who speak foreign languages

Although Armenian is the most widely spoken language among Armenians, there are many Armenians who have forgotten Armenian; because of the influence of the dominant languages, they have adopted foreign languages. The foreign-speaking Armenians are primarily found outside the borders of Armenia and Lesser Armenia, in various foreign countries. However, even in the extremities of Armenia, there are places where Armenian has been replaced by foreign languages. But in contrast, not all migrant Armenians have forgotten Armenian. There are many places like New Julfa, Astrakhan, Smyrna, Nicomedia, Istanbul, Suceava, and others where the Armenians speak more pure Armenian dialects than some Armenians do in Armenia proper.

However we should emphasize the fact that anywhere where there is an Armenian (even if in Armenia proper), if the Armenian person does not lose their mother tongue, then they know at least two languages: Armenian with either Turkish, Kurdish, Persian, or Russian. It is the female sex which falls behind in this regard and is generally more loyal to her mother tongue, than the male sex. This bilingualism of Armenians is caused by the foreign populations that coexist with the Armenians and that have an almost equal number of people as the Armenians. This bilingualism has had a significant effect on the Armenian language

The foreign languages that have been adopted by the Armenians are the following.

6.1 Turkish

Turkish, with its two major dialects: Western Turkish or Ottoman, and Eastern Turkish or Azerbaijani. This language is spread across the following.

6.1.1 Western Asia Minor

Almost all of Western Asia Minor, starting from around Kastamonu until Zile, south until Kayseri, and from southeast of Kayseri onto Sis and Ayntap until the Euphrates. From west of these borders until the beaches of Marmara, of the archipelago, and of ...

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... the Mediterranean, all the Armenians speak Turkish. Exceptions are only the Armenians in the regions of Istanbul, Nicomedia, and Smyrna, as well a number of the villages in Ankara and Aydın. These are specifically Stanoz (Yenikent), Nallıhan, Sivrihisar, Ödemiş, and Burdur. I have heard that a few of the villages in Yozgat are also Armenian-speaking, but their names are not clear to me.

6.1.2 Asia Minor

In Niksar, at the northeast side of Evdokia, there is an islet of Turkish-speaking Armenians due to the beastly barbarity of the many resident Turks.

6.1.3 Island of Cyprus

The old Armenian migrant community is Turkish-speaking, but the new migrant community is Armenian-speaking.

6.1.4 European Turkey, Bulgaria, and Eastern Rumelia

Another region of Turkish-speaking Armenians is also European Turkey, Bulgaria, and Eastern Rumelia, starting from the other side of the Marmara. Exceptions are only Rodosto and Malkara. The other Armenian-populated cities are Turkish-speaking, such as Gallipoli, Silivri, Çorlu, Ereğli, Çatalca, Adrianopolis, Dimetoka, Gyumyurdjina, and Dedeğaç. The old migrant communities of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia are entirely Turkish-speaking; but after the last Ottoman-Armenian massacres, the presence of a large number of asylum-seeking Armenians caused the restoration of the forgotten Armenian language, of course only in those cities where a large number of them were relocated, such as in Filibe, Burgas, Varna, Tarnovo, Ruse, and so on. The other cities remain Turkish-speaking, such as Silistra, Razgrad, Shumla, Sliven, Aytos, Karnobat, Yambol, Eski Zagra, and Haskovo.

6.1.5 Romania

There are Romanian Armenian-populated cities that were previously settlements from Bulgaria, such as Babadag, Tulcea, Sulina. Here as well, the Armenians who fled the massacres have restored the Armenian language, such as in Galați, Ibraila, and Constanța.

6.1.6 Bessarabia

Bessarabia is Turkish-speaking because it was previously part of Romania. Such as Ismail, Balti, Bender, Chișinău, Akkerman. Similarly the Armenian migrants of Bessarabia are Turkish-speaking, such as Grigoriopol, Odesa, and Cherson.

6.1.7 Lazistan

On the eastern side of Trabzon, there are Armenians found in Lazistan, who are scattered among the Turks and the Laz.

6.1.8 West of Akhalkalak

On the western side of Akhalkalak, there are four villages which are Bavra, ...

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... Khulgumo, Kartikami, and Turtskh; they are Turkish-speaking.

6.1.9 Olti

In the region of Olti, 45 verst ([[almost 48km]]) away from Olti, there is the Turkish-speaking village of Kalkos (25 houses).

6.1.10 Urmia

On the northern banks of Lake Urmia, especially in Savaj Bolagh and Miandoab, or in fewer words Persian Kurdistan, the small Armenian community is Turkish-speaking.

6.1.11 Summary

As can be seen, the Turkish-speaking Armenians make up a significant number. But thankfully, this number decreases day by day. In all the major cities of Anatolia, such as in Bursa, Kayseri, and Yozgat, the new generation has become Armenian-speaking thanks to schools and because of immigration from Istanbul.

A large portion of the Armenians in Cyprus, Eastern Rumelia, and Bulgaria have become Armenian-speaking thanks to the new migrants. The Ottoman government in its time used violent means or force to erase the Armenian language and to make Turkish the dominant language (such as can be said for how the Pashas in Anatolia killed the language of Armenian-speaking Armenians), but currently it has no intention nor ability to do so.¹ In Bessarabia, instead of Turkish, Russian is now widespread. The entire population already knows Russian, and we only need a short amount of time before Turkish is completely lost.

6.2 Georgian

This language is spoken by almost all the Georgian-Armenians. Exceptions are Tbilisi and the cities on the shores of the Black Sea, such as Batumi, Poti, Sokhumi, and so on. The Armenians are Georgian-speaking in Sighnag, Telavi, Gori, Kutaisi, and the neighboring areas. Two of the villages of Akhalkalak are also Georgian-speaking: Vargavi and Khizabavra. The Armenians of Vladikavkaz are also Georgian-speaking, because a large portion of them have emigrated from Georgia.

6.3 Persian

It is spoken on a very small border, between Mədrəsə (close to Shamakhi) and Kilvar (close to Quba) and in the villages of Khachmaz. Vardapet Makar Barkhudariants (Մակար Վրդ. Բարխուդարեանց; [[SEA: /makar barχudarjants^h/, SWA: /magar p^harχut^harjants^h/]]) and bishop Mesrob Smbatian (Մեսրոպ Եպս. Սմբատեան; [[SEA: /mesrop səmbatjan/, SWA: /mesrob səmp^hat^hjan/]]) have said in their topographies that the language of these villages is called Lahij (լահիճերէն) and Tat (թաթերէն). But we should not be confused by these names, because this language is a very clear and easy-to-understand dialect of Persian.

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6.4 Circassian

Circassian (չերքէզերէն) is spoken only in Armavir, where there is an Armenian-populated village in the Kuban region. The Armenians of Armavir migrated from Circassia and founded this village in 1830.

¹[[It is quite sad that Adjarian's optimism was soon disproven by the Armenian Genocide.]]

6.5 Kurdish

In Northern Armenia, Kurdish is a widely-spread language. But it has become the mother tongue at a small border. That is the villages of Hizan, the provinces of Ġarzan and Shirvan in Paghesh province (ԿՈՒՍՏԿԱՎՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ); in the Tigranakert province (ԿՈՒՍՏԿԱՎՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ), in the provinces of Meyafarikîn or Silvan, Beşiri, Bohtan; Samsat (formerly Samosata) in Cilicia. The total number is over 100 villages.

6.6 Arabic

It has become the mother tongue of the Armenians in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The Armenians in Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Mardin, Mosul, Kirkuk, and also Siirt in Armenia are Arabic-speaking.

6.7 Romanian

This has become the mother tongue of the majority of Romanian-Armenian migrant community, and part of the Armenians in Bukovina. There are Turkish-speaking Armenians only at the eastern seashores of Romania until Galați; some of these people are Armenian-speaking thanks to the recent Armenian migrants.

6.8 Polish

This is spread almost everywhere among the Polish-Armenians, except for Cuturi which is Armenian-speaking. The Armenians of Poland can be considered already lost as a nation.²

6.9 Hungarian

It is spoken as a mother tongue among the entirety of Armenians in Hungary and Transylvania. Except for the cities of Szamosújvár or Armenopolis and Gherla or Elisabethopolis, which are Armenian-speaking.

²[[*Adjarian's original phrasing is ազգովին կորսուած which suggests that the Armenian community in Poland 1911 has assimilated to the local Polish population.*]]

6.10 English

This is spoken in the Indian-Armenian migrant communities, whereas the Armenians of England are still a recent settlement so they are Armenian-speaking.

6.11 Summary

The extent and borders of these languages are all accurately represented in the map that is placed at the end of this book.

Chapter 7

The three branches of Armenian dialects

7.1 Overview

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In general among us, the Armenian dialects are divided into two branches: Eastern or Russian-Armenian dialects, and Western or Ottoman-Armenian dialects. For me, these terms are wrong and inappropriate, even though they are accepted and used everywhere. Calling the dialects Eastern or Western is wrong because many of the dialects that are called such are found at longitudinally equal degrees, yet when we compare them to each other, they do not fall either West or East. For example, the Van dialect and the Bayazit sub-dialect are both found longitudinally at the 44th degree, but the former is called Western while the latter Eastern. There are more surprising cases. For example, Artvin is much more west than Akhalkalak and Alexandropol (Gyumri); but based on the above division, Artvin is called Eastern, while Akhalkalak and Alexandropol are considered Western vernaculars.

The names “Russian-Armenian dialects” and “Ottoman-Armenian dialects” are strange and in reality completely inappropriate. Many of the Armenians in Russia speak the Ottoman-Armenian dialects; just as there are Armenians in Ottoman Turkey that speak Russian-Armenian dialects. For example, in Russia, Ottoman-Armenian dialects are spoken in New Nakhichevan, the Crimean peninsula, Sokhumi, Batumi, Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha, Alexandropol, Kars, and the villages of New Bayazet. Similarly in Ottoman Turkey, Russian-Armenian dialects are spoken in Bayazit, Burdur, Ödemiş. Besides that, the migrant communities of Persian-Armenians, Bulgarian-Armenians, Romanian-Armenians, Egyptian-Armenians, and American-Armenians are ignored; and they are inappropriately called Russian-Armenians or Ottoman-Armenians.

I propose here new terms which not only remove the aforementioned inconveniences, but they also have the benefit of incorporating the primary characteristic of the dialects that they describe. These terms are:

- /um/ <nɫɯ> branch: With this name, we mean all the dialects that are called Eastern or Russian-Armenian.
- /kə/ <ɫɹ> branch: With this name, we mean all the dialects that are called Western or Ottoman-Armenian.

For the dialects of the /um/ <nɫɯ> branch, the locative case (as well as the present and imperfective tenses) are made with the formative /-um/ <nɫɯ>. This is the main characteristic of these dialects; thus we give them this name. As for the dialects of the /kə/ <ɫɹ> branch, they do not have a locative case, they do not have a formative /-um/ <nɫɯ>, and the present and imperfective tenses are formed with the formative /kə/ <ɫɹ>. This is their primary characteristic, and thus they get this name.

But besides these two, there is also a third branch which has dialects that have neither the /um/ <nɫɯ> nor /kə/ <ɫɹ> particles. They form the present and imperfective tenses using either the infinitive or some invisible means, and in combination with the /em/ <ɛɯ> copula verb. Among our dialects, this branch is not generally distinguished and is it appended to the /um/ <nɫɯ> branch. We propose using the name /el/ <ɛɫ> branch.

There is no confusion in our division, and the new terminology applies only to the dialects, and they do not have anything to do with the literary languages. For them, the term Eastern and Western, or Russian-Armenian and Ottoman-Armenian are still appropriate names, because the former language is centered in Tbilisi while the latter in Istanbul.

7.2 Terminology

[[*This was originally a footnote on page 36. But it is quite important and stands out. So I made it its own section.*]]

Against the European word “dialecte”, we use the terms բարբառ ‘dialect’, գաւառաբարբառ ‘provincial dialect’, and գաւառակաւ ‘vernacular, provincial’. Because every word in the scientific language must be certain, we must thus decide on the use of these words. The word գաւառաբարբառ ‘provincial dialect’ is alien and the wrong word. It is alien because of its length; and because it already contains the word բարբառ ‘dialect’, it does not add anything. It is wrong because a dialect has no connection to a province, and the dialect could be spoken not in

the entire province but merely in a single village or city. For example, the Agulis dialect is not spoken in an entire province, but only in a small circle of villages. Similarly, the Istanbul dialect does not encompass an entire province, but only the city of Istanbul. Thus, it is preferable to use the word բարբառ ‘dialect’; it is shorter and more normal.

A dialect can have some secondary branches that are slightly different from it; these are referred to by the European word “sous-dialecte”. In this place, we use the Armenian word ենթաբարբառ ‘subdialect’.

Subdialects also contain many groups, which are called in French “parler”. For this, we use the word գալառալակս ‘vernacular’. We also use this term in those situations where we cannot with certainty assign the spoken language of some place to a rank. We also use the term when we are enumerating dialects, subdialects, and vernaculars. In other words, the word գալառալակս ‘vernacular’ also has the general meaning of a non-literary language.

7.3 Excluded communities

[[This was originally a note on page 293. I moved it here because it is more relevant here.]]

The Armenian settlements of Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, France, England, Egypt, and America are newly formed, and are a mixture of Armenians from diverse places. They do not have a proper dialect, so they are not part of our present work. *[[He likely means that these new communities don’t speak a single established non-standard dialect of Armenian.]]*

Part III

The /um/ <nɫɯ> branch

The /um/ <nɫɯ> branch has 7 dialects:

1. Dialect of Yerevan (§8)
2. Dialect of Tbilisi (§9)
3. Dialect of Karabakh (§10)
4. Dialect of Shamakhi (§11)
5. Dialect of Astrakhan (§12)
6. Dialect of Julfa (§13)
7. Dialect of Agulis (§14)

Chapter 8

Yerevan

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8.1 Background

The Yerevan dialect is spoken in the city of Yerevan and in the surrounding provinces, especially in the provinces of Yerevan, Etchmiadzin, and New Bayazet. It spreads in the south to Tabriz, the capital of Atropatene (Iranian Azerbaijan), in the west to Kaghzvan, in the southwest it enters Ottoman Turkey and it extends until Bayazit, in the north and south it gets mixed with the Karin and Karabakh dialects, which demarcate its two borders. On its north sides, the Yerevan dialect forms two islets; one of them is in the province of Borchaly (Shulaver, Shamshadin, Lori, and the surrounding areas), and the second is in Avlabari district of Tbilisi, which is a migrant settlement of Yerevan.

Besides the main dialect, the Yerevan dialect has three subdialects, which are the following:

- Bayazit subdialect: This is in Ottoman Armenia. Its one settlement is the city of New Bayazet, the shores of Lake Sevan, with 10 surrounding Armenian-populated villages. These are Ordaklu, Noraduz, Gyshlag, Bashkend, Kösemehmet, Kulali, Kyarimkend, Dalikardash, Kyuzadzhik, and Bashkend. This entire region speaks the same dialect, as in Bayazit.
- Astabad subdialect: This is spoken near Old Julfa in the village of Astabad and its surrounding area.
- Tabriz subdialect: In Atropatene (Iranian Azerbaijan), the Armenian settlement in Tabriz has two districts: Ghala and Lilava. The people of Lilava are much larger and they have recently migrated from Karabakh; they speak the Karabakh subdialect. As for the people of Ghala, they form less than

half of the Armenian population of Tabriz, and they are considered natives, and they speak the Tabriz dialect.

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The Yerevan dialect is very pure and it is very close to the literary language. And if we consider only the /um/ <nɫ> dialects, then it is the purest. And thus, it is because of its pureness and its extensive size that it serves as a base for the formation of the Russian-Armenian literary language.

8.2 Phonology

8.2.1 Segment inventory

The phonetic system of the Yerevan dialect has the following sounds presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Vowels of the Yerevan dialect

/i/ <ɪ>	/u/ <nɫ>
/e/ <ɛ>	/ə/ <ɹ>
	/o/ <ɔ>
	/ɑ/ <u>

Table 2: Consonants of the Yerevan dialect

	Labial			Coronal			Dorsal/back		
Stops	/b/	/p/	/p ^h /	/d/	/t/	/t ^h /	/g/	/k/	/k ^h /
	<ɸ>	<ɥ>	<ɸ ^h >	<ŋ>	<ɯ>	<ɸ ^h >	<q>	<ɥ>	<ɸ>
Affricates				/dʒ/	/tʃ/	/tʃ ^h /			
				<ɔ>	<ɔ>	<g>			
				/dʒ/	/tʃ/	/tʃ ^h /			
				<ɹ>	<ɔ>	<ɣ>			
Fricatives	/f/	/v/		/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/χ/	/ʁ/
	<ɸ>	<ɥ>		<u>	<q>	<ɹ>	<ɔ>	<ɥu>	<ŋ>
									<h>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/		/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/		
	<ɥ>	<u>		<ŋ>	<ɹ>	<ɥ>	<ɥ>		

Like other Armenian dialects, the Yerevan dialect does not have diphthongs. The diphthongs of Old Armenian have become either simple vowels (Table 3a) or have turned into a consonant-vowel sequence (Table 3b).

Table 3: Loss of Classical Armenian diphthongs in Yerevan Armenian

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
a. 'father'	hɑjɾ	hɑjɾ	her	hɛɾ	hɑjɾ	hɑjɾ
b. 'God'	astvɑts	Աստուծ	astvadz	Աստված	astvɑts	Աստված

From this list, it appears that the Yerevan dialect has almost completely preserved the rich phonetic system of Old Armenian. Among the vowels, the Classical Armenian vowels /e-ē/ <Է-Է> and /o-ɑ/ <ո-ո> have merged with each other; in the modern dialect, they are both pronounced as /e/ <Է> and /o/ <ո>. The sounds /œ/ <Էո> and /y/ <իլ> that are found in other dialects, do not exist here. Among the consonants, the only sound that was lost is the Classical Armenian /w/ <ւ>; but it has gained the sound /f/ <ֆ>, about which see more below.

8.2.2 Sound changes

Among the sound changes that happened in the Yerevan dialect, the following are noticeable.

8.2.2.1 Monophthong vowels

8.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <Է>

The Classical Armenian /e/ <Է> has become /je/ <յԷ> word-initially in monosyllables. But at the beginning of polysyllabic words, it has become /e/ <Է> in all words. Various other dialects have /j̣e/ <յԷ> and the literary language has word-initial /je/ in polysyllabic words; but these do not happen here. Examples are in Table 4).

Table 4: Sound changes from CA /e/ <ե> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘I’	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես
‘he has come’	ekəal ē	եկեալ է	ekel a	էկէլ ա	jekel e	եկէլ է
‘to go’	ert ^h al	երթալ	et ^h al	էթալ	jert ^h al	երթալ
‘to cook’	ep ^h el	եփել	ep ^h el	էփել	jep ^h el	եփել
‘dream’	eraz	երազ	eraz	էրազ	jeraz	երազ
‘big’	mets	մեծ	mets	մէծ	mets	մեծ
‘grave’	gerezman	գերեզման	gerezman	գէրեզման	gerezman	գերեզման

8.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

The Classical Armenian /o/ <n>, unlike the former and like the literary language, has become /vo/ <վօ> word-initially in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words; while it comes /o/ <օ> word-medially. Examples are in Table 5.

Table 5: Sound changes from CA /o/ <n> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘lentil’	ospən	ոսպն	vosp	վօսպ	vosp	ոսպ
‘gold’	oski	ոսկի	voski	վօսկի	voski	ոսկի
‘feet’ (CA); ‘foot’ (SEA)	ot-(ə?)k ^h	ոտք	votk ^h	վօտք	votk ^h	ոտք
‘to massacre’	kotorel	կոտորել	kotorel	կօտօրել	kotorel	կոտորել
‘to forget’	moranal	մոռանալ	moranal	մօռանալ	moranal	մոռանալ

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8.2.2.2 Diphthongs

8.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> became Yerevan /e/ <է> as in Table 6.

Table 6: Sound changes from medial CA /ɑj/ <ւյ> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hɑjɾ	հայր	her	հեր	hajr	հայր
‘mother’	majɾ	մայր	mer	մեր	majr	մայր
‘wagon’	saɹl	սայլ	sel	սել	sajl	սայլ
‘wide’	laɹn	լայն	len	լեն	lajn	լայն
‘edge’	tsɑjɾ	ծայր	tser	ծեր	tsajr	ծայր
‘wood’	p ^h ɑjt	փայտ	p ^h et	փետ	p ^h ajt	փայտ

Word-finally, Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> has become Yerevan /ɑ/ <ւ> as in Table 7.

Table 7: Sound changes from final CA /ɑj/ <ւյ> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘bridegroom’	p ^h esaɹ	փեսայ	p ^h esa	փեսա	p ^h esa	փեսա
‘child’	eraχɑj	երախայ	ereχɑ	երեխա	jereχɑ	երեխա
‘(male?) child’	təlaɹ	տղայ	təβɑ	տղա	təβɑ	տղա

But, when the word has the article /n/ <ւ> or the plural marker /k^h/ <ք>, then the reflex of CA /ɑj/ <ւյ> becomes word-medial and turns into modern /e/ <է> (Table 8).¹

Table 8: Sound changes from CA /ɑj/ <ւյ> in the Yerevan dialect when there is a suffix

		Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
+ article	‘bridegroom’	p ^h esaɹ-n	փեսայն	p ^h ese-n	փեսէն	p ^h esa-n	փեսան
	‘child’	eraχɑj-n	երախայն	ereχe-n	երեխէն	jereχɑ-n	երեխան
	‘(male?) child’	təlaɹ-n	տղայն	təβe-n	տղէն	təβɑ-n	տղան
+ plural	‘bridegroom’	p ^h esaɹ-k ^h	փեսայք	p ^h ese-k ^h	փեսէք	NA	
	‘child’	eraχɑj-k ^h	երախայք	ereχe-k ^h	երեխէք	NA	
	‘(male?) child’	təlaɹ-k ^h	տղայք	təβe-k ^h	տղէք	təβɑ-k ^h	տղաք

¹[[Note that the article /n/ was a distal marker in Classical Armenian, while it is a definite marker in SEA. It is possible that Adjarian implies that this marker is also a definite marker in Yerevan.]]

Chapter 8 Yerevan

8.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /oj̥/ <nj>

Classical Armenian /oj̥/ <nj> became Yerevan /i/ <ɨ> (Table 9).²

Table 9: Sound changes from CA /oj̥/ <nj> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘light’	lojs	լոյս	lis	լիս	lujs	լոյս
‘sister’	k ^h oj̥r	քոյր	k ^h ir	քիր	k ^h ujr	քոյր
‘conservation’	zəroj̥ts ^h	զրոյց	zrits ^h	զրից	zəruj̥ts ^h	զրոյց
‘dark night’	*akanakoj̥r	*ականակոյր	akanakir	ականակիր	akanakujr	ականակոյր

The same occurs also in suffixation, for the form /u/ <nL> that originates from the Classical Armenian diphthong /oj̥/ <nj> (Table 10).

Table 10: Sound changes from CA /u/ <nL> that is synchronically related to CA /oj̥/ <nj> from Classical Armenian to the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘to go blind’	kuranal	կուրանալ	kiranal	կիրանալ	kuranal	կուրանալ
cf. ‘blind’	kojr	կոյր			kujr	կոյր
‘to amass’	kutel	կուտել	kitel	կիտել	kutel	կուտել
cf. ‘heap’	kojt	կոյտ			kujt	կոյտ

8.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <ɨL>

Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <ɨL> becomes Yerevan /i/ <ɨ> (Table 11).

Table 11: Sound changes from CA /iʷ/ <ɨL> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘hundred’	hariʷr	հարիւր	harir	հարիր	harjur	հարյուր
‘snow’	dziʷn	ծիւն	dzin	ծին	dzjun	ծյուն
‘column’	siʷn	սիւն	sin	սին	sjun	սյուն
‘blood’	ariʷn	արիւն	arin	արին	arjun	արյուն
‘flour’	aliʷr	ալիւր	alir	ալիր	aljur	ալյուր

²[[*Adjarian translates /akanakir/ <ականակիր> as a ‘eye-blinding darkness, very dark night’.*]]

8.2.2.3 Consonants

The sound changes for consonants are the following.

8.2.2.3.1 Stops and affricates

Let us first discuss the Old Armenian three-way series /b p p^h g k k^h/ <բ պ փ գ կ զ> and so on. In the New Armenian dialects, these sounds have undergone many types of changes. If we accept that in Old Armenian the sounds /b g d dz d͡ʒ/ <բ գ դ ձ ջ> were voiced, just as the letters <b, g, d> of modern French (but not German), then we must accept that they have been preserved in very few places. One such place is the Yerevan dialect.

The Classical Armenian sounds /p k t ts t͡ʃ/ <պ կ տ ծ ճ> have undergone many changes. Many of the dialects in the /kə/ <կը> branch have changed these sounds into voiced consonants; while in the Tbilisi dialect, they are accompanied with a glottal closure (կոկորդի սեղմում), similar to Georgian voiceless consonants.³ But in the Yerevan dialect, there is no such closure and they are pronounced as simply and purely as the French sounds <p, k, t> (unlike German), with equal voicelessness, but with less strength.

The Classical Armenian sounds /p^h k^h t^h ts^h t͡ʃ^h/ <փ բ թ ջ չ> have a single pronunciation across all the dialects, and thus they do not need their own description.⁴

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8.2.2.3.2 Other consonants

For the other consonants, the noticeable changes are the following.

Classical Armenian /h/ <հ> Word-initially before CA /o/ <ո>, this sound has become /f/ <ֆ> (Table 12).⁵

³[[I think Adjarian means that they are ejectives.]]

⁴[[Adjarian means that they are pronounced /p^h k^h t^h ts^h t͡ʃ^h/].]

⁵[[For the word 'calf', Adjarian provides a Classical ancestor /hort^h/ <հորթ>. But the most prescriptive Classical Armenian form is /ort^h/ <որթ>. I changed his example for accuracy. The /h/ was diachronically added on the path from Classical Armenian to SEA; this /h/ must likewise been epenthesized on the path from Classical Armenian to Yerevan and then became a /f:/ /ϕ/ > /h/ > /f/. Similarly, Adjarian provides a reconstructed */hors/ <հորս> for 'prey', but this likely developed from attested CA /ors/ <որս> with an epenthetic /h/ that became /f/.]]

Table 12: Sound changes from CA /h/ <h> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘soul’	hogi	հոցի	fok ^{hi}	ֆօցի	hok ^{hi}	հոցի
‘earth’	hoł	հող	foʁ	ֆօղ	hoʁ	հող
‘smell’	hot	հոս	fot	ֆօս	hot	հոս
‘calf’	ort ^h	որթ	fort ^h	ֆօրթ	hort	հորթ
‘prey’	*ors	*որս	fors	ֆօրս	vors	որս

The sound /f/ <ֆ> is generally a foreign sound in the other dialects and it is only found there in foreign words. But in contrast in the Yerevan dialect, it seems that the /f/ <ֆ> sound is an internal and native sound that arose from natural sound changes.

Classical Armenian ր/չ/ Word-initially, before the sound /ʁ/ <ր>, this sound becomes /h/ <հ> by rule of dissimilation (Table 13). This situation does not appear in the other dialects.

Table 13: Sound changes from CA /h/ <h> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘game’	չաł	խաղ	haʁ	հաղ	չաʁ	խաղ
‘to play’	չաłal	խաղալ	haʁal	հաղալ	չաʁal	խաղալ
‘grape’	չաłoł	խաղող	haʁoʁ	հաղօղ	չաʁoʁ	խաղող

Classical Armenian /ł/ <ղ> Word-finally in some words, it is lost (Table 14). However, the word ‘place’ CA /teł/ <տեղ> on its own did not undergo this rule.⁶

⁶[[For ‘yonder’, the SEA form shows regressive devoicing of /ajd-tes/ to /ajt-tes/. We do not know if CA also had regressive devoicing. For the question word ‘where’, stress is variable in SEA.]]

Table 14: Sound changes from CA /t/ <ղ> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘here’ (= ‘this-place’)	ɑ̇s-teł	այստեղ	əste	ըստ	ɑ̇s-teɤ	այստեղ
‘there’ (= ‘that-place’)	ɑ̇d-teł	այդտեղ	əste	ըտ	ɑ̇t-teɤ	այդտեղ
‘yonder’ (= ‘that-place’)	ɑ̇n-teł	այնտեղ	ənde	ընդէ	ɑ̇n-teɤ	այնտեղ
‘where’ (= ‘which-place’)	or-teł	որտեղ	vóрте	վ’որտ	vor-teɤ	որտեղ
cf. ‘place’	teł	տեղ			teɤ	տեղ

Classical Armenian /t/ <տ> Before CA /n/ <ն>, this sound became /n/ <ն> through a rule of assimilation (Table 15). Even the Russian loanword /ponnɔts^h/ <цо́нцог> from /podnos/ <подно́сь> ‘tray’ ([[*modern Standard Russian*: /pɛdnɔs/ <подно́с>]]). The /tn/ > /nn/ sound change rule is more general in the Karabakh and Kharberd dialects.

Table 15: Sound changes from CA /tn/ <տն> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘ground’	getnin	գետնիս	gennin	գեննիս	getnin	գետնիս
‘with-DEF’	hetən	հետն	henna	հեննա	hetə	հետը
‘after’	*jetən	*յետն	jenna	յեննա	jet(ə)n	ետն
‘from after’	*jetnɔts ^h	*յետնուց	jennɔts ^h	յեննուց	jetits ^h	ետից
‘thimble’ (Tabriz)	matnɔts ^h	մատնուց	mannɔts ^h	մաննուց	matnɔts ^h	մատնուց
‘ring’ (Tabriz)	matani	մատանի	mannik	մաննիկ	matani	մատանի

Classical Armenian /t/ <ր> The sound is deleted before sibilants (շչակաս) as in Table 16. But this is a general phenomenon across almost all the dialects. Besides these, we also have the word /et^hal/ ‘to go’.

Table 16: Sound changes from CA /r/ <ր> in the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘earthquake’	ʃarʒ	շարժ	ʒaʒ	ժաժ	ʃarʒ	շարժ
‘outside’	i durs	ի դուրս	dus	դուս	durs	դուրս
‘inside’	i nerk ^h əs	ի ներքս	nes	նես	ners	ներս
‘to boil’	χarfel	խարշել	χafel	խաշել	χarfel (dated), χafel	խարշել, խաշել
‘cheap’	arʒan	արժան	eʒan	եժան	arʒan	արժան
‘to go’	ert ^h al	երթալ	et ^h al	եթալ	jert ^h al	երթալ

8.2.3 Stress

In terms of stress, the Yerevan dialect has a major innovation. In Old Armenian and without exception in all the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch, stress is on the final syllable. But in the Yerevan dialect, stress is on the penultimate syllable. This form of stress also exists to a greater extent in the dialects of Karabakh, Agulis, and Tbilisi, and it appears that...

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... it is widespread across the entire /um/ <ւմ> branch. In other places (Աճառ-եան 1901: 185), we have shown that this method of stress manifested because of the influence of the Caucasian languages; and thus originating from the north, it gradually spread to the south.

8.3 Morphology

8.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

The Yerevan dialect has seven cases. The genitive is formed with the formative /-i/ <ի>, and it has the characteristic that it cannot take any article (1a); it differs in this way from the dative (1b).

- (1) Yerevan
- a. karapet-i ցիրկ^h-ə
Karapet-GEN book-DEF
‘the book of Karapet’
Կարապետի գիրքը

- b. karapet-i-n tvi
 Karapet-DAT-DEF gave
 ‘I gave it to Karapet.’
 Կարապետին տվի

As in all the other dialects of the /um/ <ում> branch, the accusative case distinguishes between animate and inanimate objects (շնչաւոր եւ անշնչաւոր առարկաներ). The accusative case of animate objects has the form of the dative case (2a); while inanimate objects have the form of the nominative (2b).

(2) Yerevan

- a. katv-i-n əspanets^h
 cat-DAT-DEF killed
 ‘He killed the cat.’
 կատվին ըսպանեց
- b. gir^h-ə tur
 book-DEF give
 ‘Give the book!’
 գիրքը տուր

The other cases are special markers: ablative /-its^h/ <ից>, instrumental /-ov/ <ով>, and locative /um/ <ում>.

The plural is formed with either the formative /-er/ <եր> or /-ner/ <ներ>; the former is for monosyllabic words, while the latter is for polysyllabic words.

In the plural, the genitive case remains /-i/ <ի> (Table 17); this is unlike many other dialects where the case marker is /-i/ <ի> in the singular, but /-u/ in the plural <ու>.

Table 17: Genitive marking in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
bread-PL-DAT	hats ^h -er-i	հացերի	hats ^h -er-i	հացերի
house-PL-DAT	tn-er-i	տների	tən-er-i	տների
bread-PL-DAT-DEF	hats ^h -er-i-n	հացերին	hats ^h -er-i-n	հացերին
house-PL-DAT-DEF	tn-er-i-n	տներին	tən-er-i-n	տներին

8.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

For pronouns, note the following declensions in Table 18.

Table 18: Demonstrative pronouns in the Yerevan dialect

	Singular			Plural		
	proximal 'this'	medial 'that'	distal 'yonder'	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	es	ed	en	estonk ^h	etonk ^h	endonk ^h
	tu	te	tu	əstonk ^h	ətunk ^h	ədonk ^h
GEN	estur	etur	endur	estonts ^h	etonts ^h	endonts ^h
	əstur	ətur	əndur	əstonts ^h	ətonts ^h	ədonts ^h
	Էստուր	Էտուր	Էնդուր	Էստոնց	Էտոնց	Էնդոնց
	ըստուր	ըտուր	ընդուր	ըստոնց	ըտոնց	ընդոնց
ABL	est-uts ^h	et-uts ^h	end-uts ^h	estonts ^h -its ^h	etonts ^h -its ^h	endonts ^h -its ^h
	əst-uts ^h	ət-uts ^h	ənd-uts ^h	əstonts ^h -its ^h	ətonts ^h -its ^h	ədonts ^h -its ^h
	Էստուց	Էտուց	Էնդուց	Էստոնցից	Էտոնցից	Էնդոնցից
	ըստուց	ըտուց	ընդուց	ըստոնցից	ըտոնցից	ընդոնցից
INS	est-ov	et-ov	end-ov	estonts ^h -ov	etonts ^h -ov	endonts ^h -ov
	əst-ov	ət-ov	ənd-ov	əstonts ^h -ov	ətonts ^h -ov	ədonts ^h -ov
	Էստով	Էտով	Էնդով	Էստոնցով	Էտոնցով	Էնդոնցով
	ըստով	ըտով	ընդով	ըստոնցով	ըտոնցով	ընդոնցով

For some of the pronominal forms, the sound /i/ <ի> or /e/ <է> becomes /ə/ <ը> when next to the conjunction /el/ <եւ> 'also' (Table 19).

Table 19: Replacement of /i, e/ with /ə/ in cliticized pronouns in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
me-also ‘also me’		əs el ղս էլ	jes el Էս էլ	
	instead of	jes el յէս էլ		
one-also ‘also one’		mək el մըկ էլ	mek el մէկ էլ	
	instead of	mek el մէկ էլ		
one-also ‘also one’		mən el մըն էլ	min el մին էլ	
	instead of	min el մին էլ		
me.DAT-also ‘for me also’		əndz el ղնծ էլ	indz el ինծ էլ	
	instead of	indz el ինծ էլ		
us.DAT-also ‘for us also’		mənk ^h el մընք էլ	menk ^h el մէնք էլ	
	instead of	menk ^h el մէնք էլ		

8.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

8.3.3.1 General paradigms for the reflex of the E-Class

Verbs are subject to the basic changes. First, two of the four conjugation classes are lost. The CA /-il/ <իլ> and CA /-ul/ <ուլ> suffixes have become /-el/ <ել>, and are thus conjugated...

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... as the first conjugation class. The Old Armenian present has turned into the composite form /-um/ <ում>, while the formative /kə/ <կը> is used in the future. As an example, we show the conjugation of the verb /sirem/ <սիրեմ> ‘I like’.

[[*Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.*]]

[[*Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.*]]

8.3.3.1.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[*The indicative present in SEA is formed via periphrasis (Table 20). The verb is in a converb form called the imperfective converb with the suffix /-um/. Tense and*

agreement is marked on an inflected auxiliary. The Yerevan dialect seems to follow the same system, though the suffix /-um/ can optionally reduce to just /-əm/. Note how we do not know if Yerevan also had nasal place assimilation in the 1PL suffix.]]

Table 20: Indicative present <սիրկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan (form I)		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-um e-m	սիրում եմ	sir-um e-m ‘I like’	սիրում եմ
2SG	sir-um e-s	սիրում ես	sir-um e-s	սիրում ես
3SG	sir-um ə	սիրում ա	sir-um e	սիրում է
1PL	sir-um e-nk ^h	սիրում ենք	sir-um e-ŋk	սիրում ենք
2PL	sir-um e-k ^h	սիրում եք	sir-um e-k ^h	սիրում եք
3PL	sir-um e-n	սիրում են	sir-um e-n	սիրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	
	Yerevan (form II)		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-əm e-m	սիրըմ եմ	sir-um e-m ‘I like’	սիրում եմ
2SG	sir-əm e-s	սիրըմ ես	sir-um e-s	սիրում ես
3SG	sir-əm ə	սիրըմ ա	sir-um e	սիրում է
1PL	sir-əm e-nk ^h	սիրըմ ենք	sir-um e-ŋk	սիրում ենք
2PL	sir-əm e-k ^h	սիրըմ եք	sir-um e-k ^h	սիրում եք
3PL	sir-əm e-n	սիրըմ են	sir-um e-n	սիրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[The indicative past imperfective uses the same imperfective converb as in the present (Table 21). The difference is that auxiliary is now in the past tense. In SEA, the auxiliary has a constant shape /e/. Outside of the 3SG, when the past suffix /i/ is added, a glide is epenthesized. But in Yerevan, it seems that this auxiliary morph /e/ is deleted before the past suffix /i/. All zero morphs are my own. Modern Tehrani Iranian Armenian behaves similarly (Dolatian et al. 2023: §6.2).]]

Table 21: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan (form I)		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-um Ø-i-Ø	սիրում ի	sir-um ej-i-Ø ‘I was liking’	սիրում էի
2SG	sir-um Ø-i-r	սիրում իր	sir-um ej-i-r	սիրում էիր
3SG	sir-um e-Ø-r	սիրում էր	sir-um e-Ø-r	սիրում էր
1PL	sir-um Ø-i-nk ^h	սիրում ինք	sir-um ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրում էինք
2PL	sir-um Ø-i-k ^h	սիրում իք	sir-um ej-i-k ^h	սիրում էիք
3PL	sir-um Ø-i-n	սիրում ին	sir-um ej-i-n	սիրում էին
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	
	Yerevan (form II)		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-əm Ø-i-Ø	սիրըմ ի	sir-um ej-i-Ø ‘I was liking’	սիրում էի
2SG	sir-əm Ø-i-r	սիրըմ իր	sir-um ej-i-r	սիրում էիր
3SG	sir-əm e-Ø-r	սիրըմ էր	sir-um e-Ø-r	սիրում էր
1PL	sir-əm Ø-i-nk ^h	սիրըմ ինք	sir-um ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրում էինք
2PL	sir-əm Ø-i-k ^h	սիրըմ իք	sir-um ej-i-k ^h	սիրում էիք
3PL	sir-əm Ø-i-n	սիրըմ ին	sir-um ej-i-n	սիրում էին
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

8.3.3.1.2 Present perfect and past perfect

[[The present perfect (Table 22) and past perfect (Table 23) in SEA are formed by periphrasis. The verb is in the form of the perfective converb with the suffix /-el/. The present tense auxiliary is added for the present perfect, while the past auxiliary for the past perfect. The Yerevan dialect seems to use the same strategy.]]

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Table 22: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-el e-m	սիրել եմ	sir-el e-m	սիրել եմ ‘I have liked’
2SG	sir-el e-s	սիրել ես	sir-el e-s	սիրել ես
3SG	sir-el a	սիրել ա	sir-el e	սիրել է
1PL	sir-el e-nk ^h	սիրել ենք	sir-el e-ηk	սիրել ենք
2PL	sir-el e-k ^h	սիրել եք	sir-el e-k ^h	սիրել եք
3PL	sir-el e-n	սիրել են	sir-el e-n	սիրել են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Table 23: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-el ∅-i-∅	սիրել ի	sir-el ej-i-∅	սիրել էի ‘I had liked’
2SG	sir-el ∅-i-r	սիրել իր	sir-el ej-i-r	սիրել էիր
3SG	sir-el e-∅-r	սիրել ր	sir-el e-∅-r	սիրել ր
1PL	sir-el ∅-i-nk ^h	սիրել ինք	sir-el ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրել էինք
2PL	sir-el ∅-i-k ^h	սիրել իք	sir-el ej-i-k ^h	սիրել էիք
3PL	sir-el ∅-i-n	սիրել ին	sir-el ej-i-n	սիրել էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

8.3.3.1.3 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 24) is also called the aorist. In SEA for /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Yerevan dialect behaves the same.]]

Table 24: Past perfective or aorist <կասարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի ‘I liked’
2SG	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sir-e-tsh ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց	sir-e-tsh ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-nk ^h	սիրեցինք	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-ŋk ^h	սիրեցինք
2PL	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-n	սիրեցին	sir-e-tsh ^h -i-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

8.3.3.1.4 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 25) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /e/. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added to the present auxiliary in the indicative present. For a verb like ‘to like’, the 3SG involves changing the theme vowel /e/ to /i/ in the 3SG. The Yerevan dialect behaves the same.]]

Table 25: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-m	սիրեմ	sir-e-m	սիրեմ ‘(If) I like’
2SG	sir-e-s	սիրես	sir-e-s	սիրես
3SG	sir-i-∅	սիրի	sir-i-∅	սիրի
1PL	sir-e-nk ^h	սիրենք	sir-e-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sir-e-k ^h	սիրեք	sir-e-k ^h	սիրեք
3PL	sir-e-n	սիրեն	sir-e-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 26) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. In Yerevan, the theme vowel /e/ is

deleted before the past suffix /i/. Modern Tehrani Iranian Armenian behaves similarly (Dolatian et al. 2023: §6.4.2.2).]]

Table 26: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-∅-i-∅	սիրի	sir-ej-i-∅ '(If) I liked'	սիրեի
2SG	sir-∅-i-r	սիրիր	sir-ej-i-r	սիրեիր
3SG	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր
1PL	sir-∅-i-nk ^h	սիրինք	sir-ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրեինք
2PL	sir-∅-i-k ^h	սիրիք	sir-ej-i-k ^h	սիրեիք
3PL	sir-∅-i-n	սիրին	sir-ej-i-n	սիրեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

8.3.3.1.5 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Future and debitive

[[In Yerevan, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 27). The future and past future are constructed by adding the prefix /kə/ before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. The debitive and debitive past are formed also by adding the proclitic /pti/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. SEA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 27: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb 'to like' in the Yerevan dialect

	Future <ապառնի>		Past future <անցեալ ապառնի>	
1SG	kə sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ	kə sir-Ø-i-Ø	կը սիրի
	'I will like'		'I was going to like'	
2SG	kə sir-e-s	կը սիրես	kə sir-Ø-i-r	կը սիրիր
3SG	kə sir-i-Ø	կը սիրի	kə sir-e-Ø-r	կը սիրեր
1PL	kə sir-e-nk ^h	կի սիրենք	kə sir-Ø-i-nk ^h	կը սիրինք
2PL	kə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք	kə sir-Ø-i-k ^h	կը սիրիք
3PL	kə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն	kə sir-Ø-i-n	կը սիրին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	
	Debitive <պարտաւորական ներկայ>		Debitive past <պարտաւորական անցեալ>	
1SG	pti sir-e-m	պտի սիրեմ	pti sir-Ø-i-Ø	պտի սիրի
	'I must like'		'I should have liked'	
2SG	pti sir-e-s	պտի սիրես	pti sir-Ø-i-r	պտի սիրիր
3SG	pti sir-i-Ø	պտի սիրի	pti sir-e-Ø-r	պտի սիրեր
1PL	pti sir-e-nk ^h	պտի սիրենք	pti sir-Ø-i-nk ^h	պտի սիրինք
2PL	pti sir-e-k ^h	պտի սիրեք	pti sir-Ø-i-k ^h	պտի սիրիք
3PL	pti sir-e-n	պտի սիրեն	pti sir-Ø-i-n	պտի սիրին
	DEB √-TH-AGR		DEB √-TH-PST-AGR	

[[For the debitve forms, an alternative strategy in Yerevan (Table 28) is to keep the verb in a constant shape (possibly a non-finite form) with the same /-il/. Adjarian does not state if this form is a participle or not. Then, the debitve morph /pti/ is placed after the verb. This morph then takes the tense and agreement suffixes, thus agreement morphology is mobile. Without more data, it is not clear if the vowel on the debitve marker is a theme or tense marker.]]

Table 28: Alternative forms for the debitive of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Debitive <պարտաւորական>		Debitive past <պարտաւորական անցեալ>			
1SG	sir-il pt-i-m ‘I must like’	սիրիլ պտիմ	sir-il pt-i-∅ ‘I should have liked’	սիրիլ պտի		
2SG	sir-il pt-i-s	սիրիլ պտիս	sir-il pt-i-r	սիրիլ պտիր		
3SG	sir-il pt-i-∅	սիրիլ պտի	sir-il pt-e-r	սիրիլ պտեր		
1PL	sir-il pt-i-nk ^h	սիրիլ պտինք	sir-il pt-i-nk ^h	սիրիլ պտինք		
2PL	sir-il pt-i-k ^h	սիրիլ պտիք	sir-il pt-i-k ^h	սիրիլ պտիք		
3PL	sir-il pt-i-n	սիրիլ պտին	sir-il pt-i-n	սիրիլ պտին		
	√-PTCP(?)	DEB-TH/PST(?)	-AGR	√-PTCP(?)	DEB-TH/PST(?)	-AGR

8.3.3.1.6 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SEA adds the morph /-ir/ after the root for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 29). For the 2PL, archaic SEA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that the sequence /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. More modern registers of SEA instead just add the sequence /-ek^h/ directly after the root. Yerevan uses similar strategies: the 2SG marker is either /-i/ or /-a/.]]

Table 29: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA ‘like!’		
2SG	sír-i	սի՛րի	sir-ír	սիրի՛ր	√-IMP.2SG
	sír-a	սի՛րա			√-IMP.2SG
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
	sir-ek ^h	սիրեք	sir-ek ^h	սիրեք	√-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 30), SEA simply adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the imperative form. For the 2SG, Yerevan can do the same, and it also has an alternative strategy of keeping the verb in a non-finite form with /-il/. For the 2PL, the agreement marker /-ek^h/ jumps to the prohibitive marker, thus agreement morphology is mobile.]]

Table 30: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA ‘do not like!’	
2SG	mí sir-i	մի՛ սիրի	mí sir-ir	մի՛ սիրիր
	PROH $\sqrt{-}$ IMP.2SG		PROH $\sqrt{-}$ IMP.2SG	
	mí sir-a	մի՛ սիրա		
	PROH $\sqrt{-}$ IMP.2SG			
2PL	mí sir-il	մի սիրիլ		
	PROH $\sqrt{-}$?			
	m-ék ^h sir-il	մե՛ք սիրիլ	mí sir-ek ^h	մի՛ սիրեք
	PROH-IMP.2PL $\sqrt{-}$?		PROH $\sqrt{-}$ IMP.2PL	
	sír-il m-ek ^h	սի՛րիլ մեք		
	$\sqrt{-}$? PROH-IMP.2PL			

8.3.3.1.7 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 31. I give SEA forms for just some of them because it is unclear to me what these Yerevan participles mean. Note that the past participle is also called the perfective converb.]]

Table 31: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

		Yerevan		cf. SEA	
Infinitive	սևորոշ	sir-e-l	սիրել	sir-e-l	սիրել
		$\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF		$\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF	
Present	սերկայ	sir-e-l-on	սիրելօս		
		$\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF-?			
Past	սևցեալ	sir-el	սիրել	sir-el	սիրել
		sir-e	սիրե		
		$\sqrt{-}$ PERF.CVB		$\sqrt{-}$ PERF.CVB	

8.3.3.2 Other conjugation classes

The conjugation class of CA /-il/ <իլ> is also inflected this way (Table 32).

Table 32: Partial paradigm of the CA /-il/ <իլ> conjugation class for ‘to speak’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA		
INF			χos-e-l ‘to speak’	իսստլ	√-TH-INF
PRS 1SG	χos-um e-m	իսսստլ եմ	χos-um e-m ‘I speak’	իսսստլ եմ	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
PST IMPF 1SG	χos-um ∅-i-∅	իսսստլ ի	χos-um ej-i-∅ ‘I was speaking’	իսսստլ էի	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
PST PFV 1SG	χos-e-ts ^h -i-∅	իսստցի	χos-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I spoke’	իսստցի	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
IMP 2SG	χós-i χós-a	իս’սի իս’սա	χos-ír ‘speak!’	իսսի’ր	√-IMP.2SG

As for the CA /al/ <ալ> conjugation class, it keeps the style of Old Armenian in the perfective and elsewhere (Table 33).

Table 33: Partial paradigm of the CA /-al/ <ալ> conjugation class for ‘to cough’ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA		
INF			haz-a-l ‘to cough’	հազալ	√-TH-INF
PRS 1SG	haz-əm e-m	հազըմ եմ	haz-um e-m ‘I cough’	հազըմ եմ	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
PST IMPF 1SG	haz-əm ∅-i-∅	հազըմ ի	haz-um ej-i ‘I was coughing’	հազըմ էի	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
PST PFV 1SG	haz-a-ts ^h -i-∅	հազացի	haz-a-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I coughed’	հազացի	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
PRS PERF 1SG	haz-a-ts ^h -el e-m	հազացել եմ	haz-a-ts ^h -el e-m ‘I have coughed’	հազացել եմ	√-TH-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG
IMP 2SG	haz-á	հազա	haz-á ‘cough!’	հազա’	√-TH

8.3.3.3 Morphological details and diachronic changes

In verbal conjugation, the following circumstances are notable.

8.3.3.3.1 Present 3SG copula or auxiliary

The present 3SG of the verbal copula is /ɑ/ <ւ>. And according to this, all the verbs conjugate in the third person in this same form (Table 34 and sentence 3).

Table 34: Present 3SG auxiliary as /ɑ/ <ւ> in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘he likes’	sir-um ɑ	սիրում ւ	sir-um e	սիրում է
‘he brings’	ber-um ɑ	բերում ւ	ber-um e	բերում է
‘he says’	as-um ɑ	ասում ւ	as-um e	ասում է
‘he speaks’	χos-um ɑ	խօսում ւ	χos-um e	խոսում է
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX		√-IMPF.CVB AUX	

(3) Yerevan

zriṣ ɑ an-um
 conversation AUX do-IMPF.CVB
 ‘He’s doing a conversation.’
 գրից ւ անում

8.3.3.3.2 Deletion of /e/ before past /i/

In the imperfective, the /e/ <է> sound is deleted next to /i/ <ի> (Table 35 and sentence 4).

Table 35: Deletion of the vowel /e/ before the past suffix /i/ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘I was liking’	sir-um ∅-i-∅	սիրում ի	sir-um ej-i-∅	սիրում էի
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	
‘you were bringing’	ber-um ∅-i-ր	բերում իր	ber-um ej-i-ր	բերում էիր
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-2SG		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-2SG	

(4) Yerevan

a. du kə sir-∅-i-ր
 you.SG FUT like-TH-PST-2SG
 ‘You would like it.’
 դու կը սիրիր

- b. nɑ kə sir-e-∅-r
he FUT like-TH-PST-3SG
'He would like it.'
նա կը սիրէր

[[This was also discussed in Tables 21 and 26.]]

8.3.3.3.3 Debitive morphology and shortening

In the debitive, the form CA /piti/ <պիտի> has shortened to /pti/ <պտի>, as it has in other dialects.

[[See Table 27 for its paradigm.]]

8.3.3.3.4 Debitive morphology and mobile ordering

In the second form of the debitive, the formative /pti/ <պտի> is inflected, and the verb remains uninflected; whereas in the first form, ...

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... it is the verb which is inflected, while the /pti/ <պտի> does not change. The second form is rare in other places. It does not exist at all in the /kə/ <կը> branch.

[[For paradigms, see Table 27 vs. Table 28.]]

8.3.3.3.5 Imperative morphology

In the second form of the imperative, there is the ending /ɑ/ <ա> (Table 36). It is unique to the Etchmiadzin area. While in the dialect of Yerevan proper, the forms are different.⁷

[[See also Table 29.]]

⁷[[For the verb to 'fill', the more accurate segmentation in SEA is /lə-ts^hr-u/ where the /-ts^h-/ is the causative suffix.]]

Table 36: Use of imperative 2SG forms with final /-a/ in the Yerevan dialect (Etchmiadzin area) vs. using /-i/ in Yerevan proper

	Etchmiadzin		Yerevan proper		cf. SEA	
‘want!’	uz-á	ուզա՛	uz-í	ուզի՛	uz-ír	ուզիր
‘turn on!’	var-á	վառա՛	var-í	վառի՛	var-ír	վառիր
‘fill!’	l̥s ^h r-á	լցրա՛	l̥s ^h r-u	լցրու	l̥s ^h r-ú	լցրու
‘roast!’	axandz-á	աղանծա՛			axandz-ír	աղանծիր
‘carry!’	ʃalak-á	շալակա՛			ʃalak-ír	շալակիր
	√-IMP.2SG		√-IMP.2SG		√-IMP.2SG	

8.3.3.3.6 Prohibitive morphology and mobile ordering

The forms /mék^h siril/ <մէ՞ք սիրիլ> ‘do not like’ or the inverse order /síril mek^h/ <սիրիլ մէք> (where the plural marker of the verb has passed onto the particle) are also used in the Karabakh dialect.

[[See Table 30.]]

8.3.3.3.7 Present participle

The form /-on/ <-olu> of the present participle (Table 37). It is not used in any other locations.

Table 37: Present participle in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘with liking’	sir-e-l-on	սիրելօս	sir-e-l-ov	սիրելով
‘with saying’	as-e-l-on	ասելօս	as-e-l-ov	ասելով
‘with going’	et ^h -a-l-on	էթալօս	jert ^h -a-l-ov	էրթալով
	√-TH-?		√-TH-INS	

8.3.3.3.8 Past participle (perfective converb) and auxiliary-induced changes

The form of the past participle is /sir-el/ <սիրել> ‘liked’ from Classical Armenian /sireal/ <սիրեալ> (Table 38).⁸

⁸[[At least for SEA, this non-finite form is more accurately called the perfective converb, as is done on the Eastern Armenian National Corpus.]]

[[See paradigms in Table 31.]]

Table 38: Pre-auxiliary form of the past participle (perfective converb) with /-el/ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘I have liked’	sir-el e-m	սիրել էմ	sir-el e-m	սիրել էմ
‘I have brought’	ber-el e-m	բերել էմ	ber-el e-m	բերել էմ
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG		√-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG	

This form is used when the auxiliary is placed after it. But when the auxiliary is before it, the final /l/ <լ> is shortened to form the participle /sir-e/ <սիրե>, /ber-e/ <բերե>, and so on. See (5).

(5) Yerevan

- a. jes e-m sir-e
I AUX-1SG like-PERF.CVB
‘I (focused) have liked (not someone else).’
յէս էմ սիրե
- b. en a ber-e
that AUX bring-PERF.CVB
‘He has brought that.’
էն ա բերե
- c. sirt a ar-e ek-e
heart AUX do-PERF.CVB come-PERF.CVB
‘He dared to come.’ (literally: ‘He made heart, came’)⁹
սիրս ա արե էկե

[[This shortening process is described in-depth for Tehrani Iranian Armenian as a type of phonosyntactic process in Dolatian et al. (2023: §3.3).]]

8.3.3.3.9 Irregular imperfective converbs for monosyllabic verbs

For monosyllabic verbs, the base of the present and imperfective stem is formed with the formative /-is/ <իս> instead of the form /-um/ <ում> (Table 39).

⁹[[I thank Vahagn Petrosyan for help in translating this sentence and determining the idiomatic meaning.]]

[[Contrast these irregular verbs with /-is/ to regular verbs with /-um/ in Table 20. Such irregular verbs are monosyllabic in the infinitive like SEA /g-a-l/ ‘to give’.]]

Table 39: Irregular imperfective converbs for monosyllabic verbs with /-is/ in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			√-TH-INF	
‘to come’			g-a-l	գալ
‘to give’			t-a-l	տալ
‘to cry’			l-a-l	լալ
Present 1SG	√-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG			
‘I come’	g-a-l-is e-m	գալիս եմ	g-a-l-is e-m	գալիս եմ
‘I give’	t-a-l-is e-m	տալիս եմ	t-a-l-is e-m	տալիս եմ
‘I cry’	l-a-l-is e-m	լալիս եմ	l-a-l-is e-m	լալիս եմ
Past Impf. 1SG	√-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG			
‘I was coming’	g-a-l-is Ø-i-Ø	գալիս ի	g-a-l-is ej-i-Ø	գալիս էի
‘I was giving’	t-a-l-is Ø-i-Ø	տալիս ի	t-a-l-is ej-i-Ø	տալիս էի
‘I was crying’	l-a-l-is Ø-i-Ø	լալիս ի	l-a-l-is ej-i-Ø	լալիս էի

But when the auxiliary verb is before it, then the final /s/ <u> is deleted (6).

[[This process is also described for Iranian Armenian for the perfective converb (Dolatian et al. 2023: §3.3).]]

(6) Yerevan

- a. jes e-m g-a-l-i
 I AUX-1SG come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘I am coming (as opposed to someone else).’
 Էս եմ գալի
- b. χί e-s l-a-l-i
 why AUX-2SG cry-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘Why are you crying?’
 իսի՞ Էս Լալի
- c. tʰ-é-s t-a-l-i
 NEG-AUX-2SG give-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘Won’t you give?’
 չէ՞ս տալի

8.3.3.3.10 Mobile negation

In negative forms, the negative particle can be either before or after the verb (Table 40).

Table 40: Mobile negation in the Yerevan dialect

	Yerevan	cf. SEA
'I do not want'	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}'\text{m n}\acute{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m}$ NEG-AUX-1SG want-IMPF.CVB $\acute{u}\acute{z}\text{-um } \widehat{t}^h\text{-e-m}$ $\text{n}'\text{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m } \acute{z}\acute{e}'\text{m}$ want-IMPF.CVB NEG-AUX-1SG	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}'\text{m n}\acute{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m}$ NEG-AUX-1SG want-IMPF.CVB
'I wouldn't want'	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset\text{ uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{h}'\text{ n}\acute{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m}$ NEG-AUX-PST-1SG want-IMPF.CVB $\acute{u}\acute{z}\text{-u-m } \widehat{t}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-i-}\emptyset$ $\text{n}'\text{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m } \acute{z}\acute{h}$ want-IMPF.CVB NEG-AUX-PST-1SG	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-e}\text{-j-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset\text{ uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}\text{h n}\acute{L}\text{q}\text{n}\text{L}\text{m}$
(?)	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-il}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}'\text{m n}\acute{L}\text{q}\text{h}\text{L}$ NEG-AUX-1SG want-? $\acute{u}\acute{z}\text{-il } \widehat{t}^h\text{-e-m}$ $\text{n}'\text{L}\text{q}\text{h}\text{L } \acute{z}\acute{e}'\text{m}$ want-? NEG-AUX-1SG	
'I didn't like'	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-sir-}\acute{e}\text{-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ $\acute{z}\text{u}\text{h}\text{r}\acute{e}'\text{g}\text{h}$ NEG- $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}}$ $\text{sir-}\acute{e}\text{-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset\text{ vot}^h$ $\text{u}\text{h}\text{r}\acute{e}'\text{g}\text{h } \text{v}\text{o}\acute{z}$ $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}}$ no	$\widehat{t}^h\text{ə-sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ $\acute{z}\text{u}\text{h}\text{r}\text{e}\text{t}\text{e}\text{g}\text{h}$ NEG- $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}}$

8.4 Subdialects

8.4.1 Bayazit

For the Bayazit subdialect, the main characteristics are the following.

[[*Note that throughout his manuscript, Adjarian alternates in calling this language New Bayazet vs. just Bayazit (and the two names are spelled differently in Armenian: Լոր-Բայազէտ vs. Պայազիտ). That makes it unclear if he is always referring to the same dialect when he is mentioning such a name.*]]

[[*Martirosyan (2019: 226) reports that Bayazit is also analyzable as a separate dialect.*]]

8.4.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

Whereas in the Yerevan dialect, the Classical Armenian sounds /e/ <ե> and /o/ <ո> have merged into modern /e/ <ե> and /o/ <օ>, the Bayazit subdialect distinguishes these with a diphthongal pronunciation (Table 41). (Read these as /mienk^h/ <միէկը>, /ənduonts^h/ <ընդօնտը>. Besides these, it also includes the vowel /æ/ <ւի>.

Table 41: Diphthongs in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Bayazit		cf. SEA	
‘we’	mienk ^h	մէկը	menk ^h	մէկը
‘from those’	ənduonts ^h	ընդօնտը		

8.4.1.2 Voiced aspirated stops and affricates

The Classical Armenian consonants /b g d d̂z d̂z̃/ <բ գ ծ ճ/ > have become /b^h g^h d^h d̂z^h d̂z̃^h/ <բ^h գ^h ճ^h ճ̃^h/ >.

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8.4.1.3 Changing Classical Armenian /h/ <հ> to /χ/ <խ>

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <հ> has turned into /χ/ <խ> without exception (Table 42 and sentence 7).

Table 42: Changing CA /h/ <հ> to /χ/ <խ> in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Bayazit		cf. SEA	
‘Armenian’	hɑj	հայ	χɑj	խայ	hɑj	հայ
‘bread’	hɑts ^h	հաց	χɑts ^h	խաց	hɑts ^h	հաց
‘father’	hɑjr	հայր	χɑr	խր	hɑjr	հայր
‘to preserve’	pɑhel	պահել	pɑχel	պախել	pɑhel	պահել
‘fear’	ɑh	ահ	ɑχ	ախ	ɑh	ահ

- (7) a. SEA (approximates the original form of the Bayazit sentence)
 im hor hɑrsanik-i-n hiŋg hav hatav
 my father.GEN wedding-DAT-DEF five chicken died
 ‘Five chickens died for my father’s wedding.’
 իմ հոր հարսանիքին հինգ հավ հատավ (սատկեցաւ)

b. Bayazid subdialect (Yerevan dialect)

im χor χαρsnis-i-n χing χav χatav
 my father.GEN wedding-DAT-DEF five chicken died
 ‘Five chickens died for my father’s wedding.’
 իմ խօր խարսնիսիսին խինգ խավ խատավ

8.4.1.4 Repetition of the definite article

After vowel-final words, the definite article (դիմորոշ յօղը) is repeated or doubled (Table 43).

Table 43: Repetition of the definite article after vowel-final words in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Bayazit		instead of		cf. SEA	
‘the cat’	katu-nə	կատունը	katu-n	կատուն	katu-n	կատուն
‘the bee’	mjɛβu-nə	մեղունը	mjɛβu-n	մեղուն	mɛβu-n	մեղուն
‘the horse’	dʒʰi-nə	ծ՛իսը	dʒi-n	ծիս	dʒʰi-n	ծիս
	√-DEF				√-DEF	

[[In SEA, the definite article is /-n/ after vowels, and /-ə/ after consonants. Although Adjarian describes this process as the definite article repeating, I think it is more accurate to state that Bayazit has replaced the post-vocalic allomorph /-n/ with /-nə/. See Dolatian (2022) for discussion on how the definite article’s morphophonology is complicated.]]

8.4.1.5 Regularization of monosyllabic verbs

For monosyllabic verbs, the stem of the present and imperfective uses /-um/ <ում> instead of /-is/ <իս>, thus it is fully regular (Table 44).

[[Contrast with Table 39.]]

Table 44: Regularization of imperfect converbs for monosyllabic verbs with /-um/ in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Bayazit		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			$\sqrt{-\text{TH-IMP}}$	
‘to come’			g-a-l	qaw
‘to give’			t-a-l	staw
‘to cry’			l-a-l	law
Present 3SG	$\sqrt{-\text{TH-IMP-IMP}}.\text{CVB AUX}$			
‘he comes’	g ^h -a-l-um a	q ^h wawum w	g-a-l-is e	qawhu t
‘he gives’	t-a-l-um a	stawum w	t-a-l-is e	stawhu t
‘he cries’	l-a-l-um a	lawum w	l-a-l-is e	lawhu t

8.4.1.6 Repetition of the auxiliary when the auxiliary has moved

In those circumstances where, in the Yerevan dialect, the auxiliary verb is placed before the verb, the Bayazit subdialect places the auxiliary before and after, causing the repetition of the auxiliary (8).

(8) Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

- a. jies ie-m uz-um ie-m
I AUX-1SG want-IMP.F.CVB AUX-1SG
‘I want (as opposed to someone).’
jtu tu nlaqlum tu
- b. tʃ^h-ie-s b^hier-um ie-s
NEG-AUX-2SG bring-IMP.F.CVB AUX-2SG
‘Don’t you bring?’
zet^ou p^herum tu
- c. tʃ^h-i uz-um a
NEG-AUX.3SG want-IMP.F.CVB AUX
‘He doesn’t want.’
zh nlaqlum w
- d. tʃ^h-ie-nk^h uz-um ie-nk^h
NEG-AUX-1PL want-IMP.F.CVB AUX-1PL
‘We don’t want.’
zet^o nlaqlum tet^o

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- e. \widehat{t}^h - \emptyset - \acute{i} - r uz-um \emptyset - \acute{i} - r
NEG-AUX-PST-2SG want-IMPV.CV AUX-PST-2SG
'You wouldn't want.'
չի՞ր ուզում իր
- f. \widehat{t}^h -e- \emptyset - r χ os-um e- \emptyset - r
NEG-AUX-PST-3SG speak-IMPV.CV AUX-PST-3SG
'You weren't speaking.'
չէր խօսում էր

8.4.1.7 Past participle or perfective converb with /- \acute{i} er/, -e/

The past participle ends in /- \acute{i} er/ <եր>, like in the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch (9).

(9) Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

- a. as- \acute{i} er α
say-PERF.CV AUX
'He has said.'
ասեր ա
- b. tar- \acute{i} er α
take-PERF.CV AUX
'He has taken.'
տարեր ա
- c. ek- \acute{i} er α
come-PERF.CV AUX
'He has come.'
եկեր ա

But when the auxiliary moves back, the form is /-e/ (10).

(10) Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

- a. en α tar-e
that AUX take-PERF.CV
'He has taken that.'
էն ա տարէ
- b. \widehat{t}^h - \acute{i} e-m ek-e
NEG-AUX-1SG come-PERF.CV
'I have not come.'
չեմ էկէ

8.4.1.8 Past participle or perfective converb with /-uk/

The past participle is also formed with the formative /-uk/ <ուկ>, but only in passives (կրսւղրսւկան) and middle verbs (չէզոք) (Table 45).

[[*I think Adjarian means for intransitives in general.*]]

Table 45: Past participles with /-uk/ <ուկ> in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Bayazit		cf. SEA		
‘slept’	park-uk	պառկուկ	park-el	պառկել	√-PERF.CVB
‘written’	g ^h r-uk	գ՛րուկ	gər-el	գրել	√-PERF.CVB
‘washed’	lv-ɑ-t ^h -uk	լվացուկ	ləv-ɑ-t ^h -el	լվացել	√-TH-AOR-PERF.CVB
‘he has ploughed’	χ _i erk-uk	խերկուկ ա	herk-el	հերկել	√-PERF.CVB AUX

8.4.2 Astabad subdialect

8.4.2.1 Characteristics of the Astabad subdialect

For the Astabad subdialect, the main characteristics are the following.

8.4.2.1.1 Phonetic ‘purity’

The vowels and consonants are pronounced purely.

[[*I suspect that Adjarian means that there are no significant sound changes that make this dialect have different segments from the main Yerevan dialect. Adjarian often uses the term ‘pure’ in his monograph but doesn’t explain it.*]]

8.4.2.1.2 Lack of /h/ > /χ/ change

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <h> has not changed to /χ/ <խ>.

8.4.2.1.3 Pre-tonic vowel deletion

Before stress, vowels sometimes fall (Table 46).

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Table 46: Pre-tonic deletion of vowels in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Astabad		cf. SEA	
‘evening’	erekoĭ	երեկոյ	rikun	րիկուն	jereko	երեկո
‘grave’	gerezman	գերեգման	grezman	գրեգման	gerezman	գերեգման
‘gathered’			vak ^h vats	վաքված	havak ^h vats	հավաքված
cf. ‘to gather’	hawak ^h el	հաւաքել			havak ^h el	հավաքել

8.4.2.1.4 Ablative suffixes

The ablative is formed with both the suffixes /-e/ <Է> and /-its^h/ <ից>.

8.4.2.1.5 Present copula as /ɑ/

The entire present conjugation of the copula verb is pronounced with the vowel /ɑ/ (Table 47).

Table 47: Present copula with the vowel /ɑ/ in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Astabad		cf. SEA	
1SG ‘I am’	ɑ-m	աՄ	e-m	եմ
2SG ‘you are’	ɑ-s	աս	e-s	ես
3SG ‘he is’	ɑ	ա	e	է
1PL ‘we are’	ɑ-nk ^h	անք	e-ŋk ^h	եք
2PL ‘you are’	ɑ-k ^h	աք	e-k ^h	եք
3PL ‘they are’	ɑ-n	ան	e-n	են
	AUX-AGR		AUX-AGR	

8.4.2.1.6 Past perfective 1SG suffix as /-m/

The past perfective gets the ending /m/ <Մ> (Table 48).

[[Adjarian means this subdialect uses the suffix /-m/ as a past perfective 1SG marker, whereas Yerevan and SEA use a zero suffix.]]

Table 48: Use of past perfective 1SG marker /-m/ <ւ> in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Astabad		cf. SEA		
‘I saw’	tes-α-m	տեսամ	tes-α-∅	տեսա	√-PST-1SG
‘I went’	gn-α-ts ^h -i-m	գնացիմ	gən-α-ts ^h -i-∅	գնացի	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
‘I came’	ek-α-m	եկամ	jek-α-∅	եկա	√-PST-1SG

8.4.2.2 Classification

Based on these characteristics, we see that the Astabad dialect lies between the dialects of Yerevan, Karabakh, and Julfa. The first two characteristics belong to Yerevan, the third to Karabakh, and the last three characteristics cause Astabad to resemble...

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... the Julfa dialect. But we did not want to add this dialect to Julfa, because the main characteristic of the Julfa dialect is missing in the Astabad subdialect; the main characteristic of Julfa is the use of the present stem with /-man/ <ման>, such as in (11). While the ablative in /-e/ <ե>, the use of /-m/ <ւ> in the perfective, and the vowel /α/ <ա> vowel in the copular verb are also found in the other vernaculars (Karabakh, Shamakhi, Tabriz).

- (11) Julfa dialect
 gn-α-man α-m
 go-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I go.’
 գնաման ամ

8.4.3 Tabriz subdialect

For the Tabriz dialect, the main characteristics are the following.

8.4.3.1 Miscellaneous segmental differences

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <հ> became /χ/ <խ>, as in the Bayazit subdialect. But the vowels /i̇e, uo/ <ե, ո> of the Bayazit are not found in Tabriz subdialect. In many places, we see the /æ/ <ւ̇> vowel (Table 49).

Table 49: Vowel /æ/ <ü> in the Tabriz subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

Classical and SEA			> Tabriz		
‘luck’	bɑχt	բախտ	‘spouse’	bæχt	բախտ
‘old’	dah	դահ	‘old animal’	tæχ	տախ

8.4.3.2 Change of Classical Armenian /ua/ to /iva/

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ua/ <ուա> has changed to /iva/ <իվա> in Astabad. There are no other examples than in (Table 50).

Table 50: Change from CA /ua/ <ուա> to /iva/ <իվա> in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tabriz		cf. SEA	
‘rope’	տիւան	չուան	տիւան	չիվան	տիւան	չվան
‘confused’	խար	չուար	իւար	չիվար	խար	չվար

8.4.3.3 Devoicing of Classical Armenian voiced stops and affricates

The Classical Armenian voiced sounds /b g d dz dʒ/ <բ գ դ ջ շ> have become voiceless /p k t ts tʃ/ <պ կ տ ծ ժ>. This basic change brings this subdialect closer to the dialects of Urmia-Maragha and Van.

8.4.3.4 Definite suffix allomorphy

When the words for ‘horse’ and ‘egg’ take the definite suffix, the forms are as in Table 51.

[[Adjarian means that the definite suffix is /-jə/ for these forms instead of /-n/. Note that suffix marks definiteness in the modern vernaculars but it is a distal deixis marker in CA.]]

Table 51: Use of definite suffix /-jə/ <-յը> in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tabriz		cf. SEA	
‘horse’	ḍzi	ծի			ḍzi	ծի
‘the horse’	ḍzi-n	ծին	ṭsi-jə	ծիյը	ḍzi-n	ծնի
‘egg’	ḍzu	ծու			ḍzu	ծու
‘the egg’	ḍzu-n	ծին	ṭsu-jə	ծույը	ḍzu-n	ծուս

8.4.3.5 Use of past perfective 1SG marker /-m/

The past perfective tense of verbs is similar to the present because it uses the suffix /-m/ <մ> (Table 52), just as in the dialects of Urmia-Maragha, Khoy, and Julfa.

[[*Adjarian means the following. In SEA, the suffix /-m/ is used to mark the 1SG in the present tense, while /-∅/ is used to mark the 1SG in the past tenses. But in Tabriz, the suffix /-m/ is used to mark the 1SG in all tenses.*]]¹⁰

Table 52: Use of past perfective 1SG marker /-m/ <մ> in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Tabriz		cf. SEA			
‘I said’	as-a-m	ասամ	as-a-ṭs ^h -i-∅	ասացի	√-(TH-AOR)-PST-1SG	
‘I opened’	paṭs ^h -a-m	պացամ	baṭs ^h -i-∅	բացի	√-PST-1SG	
‘I gave’	təv-a-m	տըվամ	təv-i-∅	տվի	√-PST-1SG	
‘I saw’	tes-a-m	տեսամ	tes-a-∅	տեսա	√-PST-1SG	
‘I went’	kn-a-ṭs ^h -i-m	կնացիմ	gən-a-ṭs ^h -i-∅	գնացի	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG	

8.4.3.6 Past participle or perfective converb with /-er/ <եր> and rhotic deletion

The past participle is formed with the formative /-er/ <եր> particle, just as in the Bayazit subdialect.

¹⁰[[*For the SEA forms given for ‘I opened’ and ‘I gave’, these are actually more Colloquial Eastern Armenian forms. The purely standard and prescriptive versions would be /baṭs^h-e-ṭs^h-i-∅, təv-e-ṭs^h-i-∅/ <բացեցի, տվեցի>. I suspect that in Adjarian’s time, the forms he provided were more common.*]]

- (12) a. Tabriz
 χas-er a. en a as-e
 reach-PERF.CVB AUX. that AUX say-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has reached. He has said that.’
 խաստր ւ. էն ա աստ
- b. SEA
 has-el e. na e as-el
 reach-PERF.CVB AUX. that AUX say-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has reached. He has said that.’
 հաստլ է. նա է աստլ

An interesting example of the loss of the /r/ <ր> in the Tabriz subdialect is found in the word /ɑχə/ <ախր> that is borrowed from Turkish (elsewhere as <ախր> /ɑχər/ ‘but’).¹¹

8.4.3.7 Repetition of nasals in the 3SG past perfective

In the 3SG past perfective of some verbs, the sound /n/ <ն> is repeated. But for other persons, there is no change (Table 53).

Table 53: Repetition or gemination of a nasal in the 3SG past perfective 1SG of some verbs in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

	Tabriz		cf. SEA	
‘to go’			gən-a-l	գնալ √-TH-INF
‘he went’	kənn-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	կըննաց	gən-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	գնաց √-TH-AOR-PST-3SG
‘to stay’			mən-a-l	մնալ √-TH-INF
‘he stayed’	mənn-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	մըննաց	mən-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	մնաց √-TH-AOR-PST-3SG

8.5 Literature

Despite the importance of the Yerevan dialect, both it and its three subdialects have still not been studied. However, there are many publications that use this dialect, which...

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... can provide ample material for study. Among these publications, we note a few of the main ones.

¹¹[[It is not clear to me what is the source Turkish word. (?)]]

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Yerevan dialect
 - General Yerevan dialect:
 - * Խաչատուր Աբովյանի երկերը. Մոսկուա, 1897
 - * Տ. Նաւասարդեանցի Հայ ժողով. հեքիաթ. հաւաքածուն
 - * Ա. Աբեղեան - Սասնայ ծռեր. Ազգ. Հանդ., Թ. էջ 117-143
 - * Ե. Լալայեան - Բորչալուի գաւառի բանաւոր գրականութիւնը. Ազգ. Հանդ., ԺԱ. էջ 33-124
 - Bayazit subdialect
 - * Ս. Փիլոյեան - Կորած Մարգարիտ. Տիփսիս, 1880
 - * Տ. Նաւասարդեան - Հայ ժող. հեքիաթ. Ե. էջ 79-80
 - Astabad subdialect
 - * Ս. Աբեղեան - Ոգիներ, տես Տ. Նաւասարդեանցի Հեքիաթներու հաւաքածուն, հտ. Ե. էջ 24-35
 - * Ս. Աբեղեան - Առածներ. անդ էջ 76-88
 - * Գ. Շիրմազանեան - Իմ նշանածը Արազն ա. Կռունկ, 1861, էջ 266-282
 - Tabriz subdialect
 - * Գ. Շիրմազանեան - Ազգային հարսանիք. Կռունկ, 1861, էջ 426-440
 - Lori vernacular
 - * Գ. Քուչարեանց - Լոռու գիւղական կեանքից պատկերներ. Փորձ, Դ. N 4, յաւել. էջ 1-12
 - * Յ. Ղազարեան - Եադ'ասա. Թիֆլիս, 1904
 - * Տ. Նաւասարդեան - Հայ ժող. հեքիաթներ. Ե. էջ 32-78

[[There are few sources that describe the old dialect of Yerevan. Two that I know are (Քատկանոս 1869: 25) and Ղարիբյան (1941: 164-180). For the Bayazit vernacular, see Martirosyan (2019: 226).]]

8.6 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

8.6.1 Yerevan dialect

Adjarian's note: S. ՆԱԼԱՍԱՐԴԵԱՆՑԻ ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂ. հեք., Է էջ 42

Հարս ու կետուր են ըլնում. դրանք բոլ սիսեռ են ունենում: Էդ հարսը շատ սիսեռակեր ա ըլնում: Աստու իրան օրը սիսեռը գողանում էր, տանում թաքուն եփում ուտում: Մի՛ն, Է՛րկու, հի՛նգ, տա՛սը, օրեն մի օրը կետուրը վարավորդ ա անում, տենում իրանց սիսեռի տօպրակը կեսքն ա ընկե: – Կա չըկա, ասում ա ինքն իրան, էս մեր հարսի բաներն ա:

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Թե կետուրը սատանա էր, հարսն էլ պակաս չէր նրանից. այբիալը ֆահմում ա, վօր կետուրը գլխի ա ընկե: – Ի՛նչ անեմ, ի՛նչ չանեմ, ասում ա, վօր ինձ վրա սայիշ չը տանի:

– Օրեն մի օրը տունն ավլելիս մի հատ սիսեռ ա գըտնում, վեր ա ունում, տանում կեսօրը շանց տալի, ասում.

– Ընթիկ ունի, քնթիկ ունի, կատվի նման դեչիկ ունի, նա՛նի, յա՛րաբ էս ի՞նչ ա:

Կետուրն էս վօր լում ա, ինքն իրան ասում ա.

– Ֆօղն իմ գլխին, վօ՛նց ի էս խեղճ հարսի մեղքը վեր ունում նա ըսկի չի էլ իմանում սիսեռն ի՛նչ ա ի՛նչ չի. ո՛ւր մնաս թե գողանա

8.6.2 New Bayazet subdialect

– Էտ ի՛նչ ա, խա՛րսե, խպարտցեր էս, բ՛արեվ էլ չես տալում էս. յօ՛ւրտ ծանդըր-ցեր ա:

– Վա՛յ խօռե, դ՛ո՞ւյ էս. չըթայմեցի:

– Է ի՞մալ էս, դ՛ո՞ր էս էթում էս, հո՞ւստ էս գ՛ալում էս:

– Գ՛ացեր ի խեռանցքս տուն. ընդոնց կշտից եմ գ՛ալում էմ:

– Լաա ասին խերըտ խիվանդ ա. մկա ի՞մալ ա:

– Քա՛ էնի շուտուց խիվանդ ա, խօ թանգա՛ չէ. իմ խերը հայլա՛ խերվընե խիվանդ ա. Էնեց պառկուկ ա:

– Է՛, խաս (հաց) կերե՞ր էս. հետա (ահաւաղիկ) Վոսկին էլ Էկավ, հարի իրե-քով էթանք մեր տունը խաց ուտենք:

– Չէ, չեմ կանա, բ՛ան կա, պտի էթամ Գ՛իրքորին տեսամ:

8.6.3 Astabad subdialect

Adjarian's note: Ibid., page 34.

Ղօրմածիկ Մարդումէնց Պօղօսը կասեր. «Մին ամառ յես կալ իմ անում. կալս լուսահօքի Տեր-Աբրահամէնց բախչի տակին էր: Մին քշեր, կալումը քնել ալ. մին քիչ էլ ցուրտ էր. կալս յետ էր ընկել, աշունքանում էր. առավտադէմ վեր կացամ, տէնամ լուսնակալաս ա. լուսնակը հէնց ա թեքվել ա Մասսա դօրը՝ շօղշօղում ա. քամին էլ ցուրտ ցուրտ փչում ա: Մին էլ տէնամ հրեսիկանկ մին քանի գել, մին սիւրու չարունք աղաքնին ան արել, ճրվճրվացնելէն, բօռացնելէն Չայի դօլէն քշում բերում ան, վօր տանէն դպա գետը, գետը լցնէն,

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խէխտէն յա ուտնէ: Էն չարունքը ընէնց մին ճրխճրվում ին, հաբա՛յ տալիս, վօր մարթի ջանը զարգանդում էր: Ըտէնց ճրվճրվացնելէն քշում ին, վօր լուսալուս էր, ժամհարը ժամերը տըրվավ, մին էլ տէնամ էլ գադ չը կա. լուսնակն էլ ասրի քամակն ա մնում»:

8.6.4 Tabriz subdialect

Adjarian's note: Written by Ms. Satenik Melik-Babajanian (օր. Սաթենիկ ՄԷլիք-Բաբաջանեան; [[SEA: /sat^henik melik^h babad^hzanjan/]]).

Մէնք վեց քուր ինք, համա ախպեր չունինք, խէրս էլ խօքյասըբ մարթ չէր, օղօմի իրան, քյաթխօդա էր: ՄԷ խետ (մԷկ անգամ) էլավ կըննաց Էջմիածին ուխտ. վօր Աստված իրան մԷ տղա տա: Ընդէղըմը իմ խօրս մԷ քանի մասունք ին տըրվէ, խէլս էլ իրան ուխտը արեր էր, ընդօնք էլ վերցեր էր ճանապար էր ընգէ: Հսլւմ Թամրվիզ չը խասած մԷգի կրեր էր քի մԷ օր առաչ Էկեք Մամրանդ. մԷնք էլ մԷր մԷ քանի էլօվ գիւնօվ էլանք կնացինք, խետներս էլ մԷ խատ վօխչար տարանք. հէնց վօր խէրս Էկավ սախ-սալամաթ խասավ, վօտի տակը մԷ մա-տաղ արանք: Էս խետ վերցանք Էկանք Թամրիխիզ, մԷ մատաղ էլ ըստԷ արանք, հըմմէն տերտերներին խաց տվանք:

Սօրա (յետոյ) Էտ մասունքները տրանք մԷ կութու մԷչ, տարանք մԷր բալա-խանէն, տակը մԷ թամիզ շօր քըցանք, կութին արանք թախչէն, իրեցին էլ մԷ թօզ (շղարշ) քաշանք, Էս խետ հսր (ամէն մի) քշԷ (գիշեր) էթըմ ինք աղօթք ինք անըմ, մում ինք վառըմ, մԷր պարեկամներից էլ ուզօղը կալիս էր ուխտ էր անըմ:

Էլ ինչ ասեմ, ա՛յ բալից, Էս խետ հսր շափաթ ըտու տակի շօրը տանըմ ինք լվանըմ ինք, պերըմ ինք քըցըմ ինք տակը:

Ըտունց ընցավ մԷ տարի. մԷրս Է՛լը մԷ ախչիկ պերավ, համա խէրս էլ ըսկի գադ չարավ, մասունքները էլ յետ չըղորկավ. ասավ «լավ չԷ՛լնի վօր մասունք-ները յետ ըղըրկէմ: Աստված ինչ վօր տալիս ա՛ թօղ տա, իրան կամքն ա»:

Էլը ըտուց ընցավ մե խինգ վեգ տարի. Էտ փստիկ քուր, վոր վերեն ուխտ ին արե, այ բալես, վօջ Էր Էլե, մե կեծակ Էր շատ Էր չարութուն անըմ. մերս Էլ խօ ընդուր ըսկի չեր ուզում, աշկի կրօղն Էր: ՄԷ օր Էնքան ծեծավ, Էնքան ուշունց

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տվավ Էտ ախճկան, վոր լափ հալից ընկավ. խեղճ խօրս Էլ լափ կուսամարգ (պրս. վշտամեռ) արավ մերս «Տու հե՞ր կնացիր ուխտ արար, հե՞ր Էսեց փիս ախճիկ Էլավ»: Խերս Էլ ըսկի չեր խօսըմ: Էս խեւա մուքնը ընգավ. ամառ Էր, մեք Էլ հըմենանքս հայաթըմն ինք քընըմ. մեկ Էլ տեսանք բիրդան մե գըրընգօց Էկավ. Էն սահաթին հըմենանքս զարհնանք, Նըստանք ասանք «բա՛, մօրս վիզանօցն Էր, կօղը թալավ, վոր սօրա Էթա վերցնի»: Խերս Էլավ վոր Էթա մեր կոնշիներին զարհնացնի, տեսավ հըմենն Էլ զարթուն Էն. Էն պլպլալի գաղն Էլ տեսեր Էն: Էս խետ խերս մե քան տըղերքի խետ Էկավ, կըննաց բալախանես, հար տեղը ման Էկան, ըսկի զար չը քթան: Էս խետ Էկան Էս թեխը (այս կողմը, ասդին), տեսան մասունքի կուքին պացվեր ա, մեչի մասունքը չը կա: Էս խետ խերս մեզի կանչավ, ասավ. «Էն պլպլալի գաղը հեկց մասունքն Էր վոր թռավ». մօրս ասավ. «Էնքան Էսօր Էն ախճկան ուշուն տվար, վոր մասունքը թռավ»:

Ըտուց մե քանի վախո սօրա խերս Էտ պանը կրավ (գրեց) Էջմիյածինի տեր-տերներին. տերտերներն Էլ ընդեղից կրան (գրեցին) քի «Էտ մասունքները ըտե-ղից թռեր Էն Էկեր Էն ըստե. հալբա՞թ ծեր տունը լավ մաք՛՛ր չեն պախե»: Սօրա խերս իմացավ վոր Էն օրը մերս Էնքան Էն քրօչս ծեծավ ուշուն տվավ վոր, ընձի Էլ Էնքան ասավ հե՞ր կնացիր ուխտ արար, հեկց Էտեկց խօսկերի համար մա-սունքները թռան:

Էտ պաներից սօրա Էլ մեր տանը խեր բարաքյաթը կտորըվավ. խերս քանի մընմ Էր՝ խաբաբ Էր Էլնըմ. ըտուց սօրա խեղճ խերս չօրս տարի ապրավ, հա՛՛՛ա վա՛՛՛ Էն ապրելուն. քյասըբացավ պանից ընգավ մըննաց տունը կուսամարգ Էլավ մեռավ: Հեկց խերս մեռավ, սեր ծօվ տունը խանխարաբ Էլավ:

8.6.5 Lori vernacular

Adjarian's footnote: See Փորձ, 1880 ապրիլ, յաւել. էջ 5-6. The writing does not have scientific accuracy.

– Հը՛, Համբարձում ապեր, ասում ես ամեն ուտելիղէնի

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ու խմելիղէնի Եժանութին ա էլի. բա՛ս բանը մնաց շորեղէնի վրա. Էր հալբաթ որ թանգ կըլի էլի. քու ապրանքն ա, կը թանգացնես, որ մեր հացն ու եղն Եժան գնով առնուս ու քու փթած ապրանքը մեզ վրա սաղացնես: Դուն ու քու Աստոծը, Համբարձում ջան, դրուստ չե՞մ ասում:

– Է՛հ, Միքել բիձեն ես, էլի սեւ ու սիպտակ չես հարցնում:

– Հը՛ ղնդռիկ Ասլօ՛, ի՞նչ ես վերի ծերին բազմվել. սո՛ եդ քու տե՞ղն ա, որ բռնել ես:

– So՛, քո շուն, քեղանից էլ պակաս մարդ եմ, որ քու գլխին եմ նստած. եդ քու դառդակ կարկաժը չի՛ վեր ունում հա՞, իմ բոյին քունիցը երկար, իմ շորերը քու շորերիցն նոր, ու իմ չիփիսի ճիպօտը երկու քու չիփիսի չափ: Մի ասա տէնունք, ի՞նքս ա պակաս նստած տեղիս գորա:

– Ը՞մն ինչդ ա պակաս, շատ քիչ բան ա պակաս. ծալդ ա պակաս, ծալդ. թե բեղամաղ չես ըլի՛ կօկօղդ դառդակ ա, խեղք չի ունիս, խեղք. երկար բոյգ ու չիփիսի ճիպօտը ինչնեղուս ա պատքը: Ամա՛, աղպեր. դրուստն էլ ասած վերի ծերին նստողի ամեն բանը պետք ա թամամ ըլի: Թող ամեն մարդ իրան տեղը բռնե ոնց որ իրան պատիւն կուզէ:

– Ո՞նց ջոզենք պատուաւոր մարկերանցն, բիճա Միքէլ:

– Ես ըլիմ իմ Աստոծը, օրենքն են ա, ո՛ւմ կնիկը սիրուն ա՝ թող նա վերի ծերին նստի. ում կնիկը գէշ ա, նրա տեղը դռան տակն ա:

– Թող ըթենց ըլի, լաւ ասիր, բիճա ջան. ես սհաթին ասած պետք ա գլուխ բերենք:

– So՛, եդ սարսաղ Մխօին ի՞նչ էք լսում. դրա եդ գոնչ գլխիցն խելօվ բան դուրս կը գա՞յ. շաշ շաշ դուս ա տալի էլի:

– Հը ծուռտիկ շեղօ՛, բանդ խարաբ ա հա՛, դռան տակին էջ տեղ չի ունիս: Վեր կաց. շուտ արա՛ կորի՛ր տեղիցդ:

– Հալա մի ես զնդռիկ Ասլօին ու ծուռտիկ Շեղօին քաջ տուէք իրանց տաք տեղից ներքեւ, որ մի տեղը իստակուհի, յետոյ կը տեսնենք թե ի՞նչ են վայ տալի դրանց շաշ գլխին:

Chapter 9

Tbilisi

9.1 Background

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The Tbilisi dialect is currently spoken only in the city of Tbilisi. But it can be thought that this dialect was previously spread out across all of Georgia. Bit by bit, Georgian conquered its borders. Today, the Tbilisi dialect is slowly becoming lost, being conquered on the one hand by the spread of Georgian and Russian, and the other hand by the spread of the literary Armenian language.

9.2 Phonology

9.2.1 Segmental inventory

The sound system of the Tbilisi dialect contains exactly those sounds that are found in the Yerevan dialect, minus the sound /f/ <ֆ>, and plus the sound /q/ <ղ'>.

The vowels /œ, ɤ/ <օ, իւ> do not exist, as in the Yerevan dialect.

The consonants /b g d d̥z d̥ʒ/ <բ գ դ ձ շ> are pronounced with perfect voicing,¹ and with much more voicing than in the Yerevan dialect, like the French <b, g, d> sounds.

The Old Armenian sounds /p k t t̥s t̥ʃ/ <պ կ տ ծ ճ> are preserved here with their perfect voicelessness; but because of the influence of Georgian, these sounds are accompanied with a glottal closure (կոկորդի սեղմումով), which makes it hard to forget the Tbilisi speaker and it gives a very characteristic color to their consonants.

The sounds /p^h k^h t^h ts^h tʃ^h/ <փ ք թ զ ջ> are completely simple and strong.

Because the sound /f/ <ֆ> does not exist in this dialect, then all foreign words change this sound to փ /p^h/ (Table 1).

¹[[I suspect that Adjarian means these sounds have negative VOT.]]

Table 1: Changing borrowed /f/ to /p^h/ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Source language			> Tbilisi	
'coffee'	Arabic	<qahwa>	قهوة	qap ^h a	q'aw ^h aw
'fortune-telling'	Persian	<fâl>	فال	p ^h al	phaw
'tablecloth'	Persian	<sufra>	سفره	sup ^h ra	sun ^h raw

The sound q' /q/ is entirely a Georgian sound and it represents the Georgian letter զ.² It is pronounced as a strictly glottal /ɸ/ <q>, similar to the Arabic sound /q/ (Table 2).

Table 2: Glottal /q/ <q'> in the Tbilisi dialect

'from where'	vurqants ^h	վուրղը'անց
'from here'	esqants ^h	էսղ'անց

As can be seen, the Tbilisi dialect has almost completely preserved the phonetic richness of Old Armenian. But...

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... this is due to the influence of the Georgian language, such that all of the dialect's sounds bear the stamp of Georgian pronunciation. Especially the glottal pronunciation of the sounds /p k t ts tʃ/ <ւ կ տ ծ ճ> is Georgian. The sound /q/ <q'>, as we know, is a pure borrowing from Georgian. The sound /f/ <ֆ> is absent in this dialect because it is also absent in Georgian. The same is true for the sounds /œ, ɣ, æ/ <եօ, իւ, աւ>.

9.2.2 Sound changes

Among the phonetic changes of the Tbilisi dialect, whether limited or very general, the following are characteristic for this dialect.

²[[Adjarian provides a Georgian letter զ to signify the uvular stop. I do not know Georgian so I discussed the matter with David Erschler and Thomas Wier. Based on our discussion, the letter that Adjarian provided is probably a misprint because it does not exactly match an existing Georgian letter. It may have been a misprint of the letter for the sound /q' / (the letter q'ari; Mkhedruli <ყ>, Asomtavruli <ყ>) or for the sound /q^(h) / (the latter qari or khari; Mkhedruli <ჭ>).]]

9.2.2.1 Monophthong vowels

9.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> has become /ji/ <յի> when word-initial in monosyllabic words (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from word-initial monosyllabic CA /e/ <ե> to /ji/ <յի> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘I’	es	ես	jis	յիս	jes	ես
‘when’	erb	երբ	jip ^h	յիփ	jerp ^h	երբ
‘ox’	ezən	եզն	jizr	յիզր	jez	եզ
‘oil’	eł	եղ	jix	յիղ	jux	յուղ

At the beginning of polysyllabic words, this sound remained /e/ <ե> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from word-initial polysyllabic CA /e/ <ե> to /e/ <ե> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘iron’	erkát ^h	երկաթ	érkat ^h	Է՛րկաթ	jerkát ^h	երկաթ
‘face’	erés	երես	éres	Է՛րես	jerés	երես
‘two’	erkú	երկու	érku	Է՛րկու	jerkú	երկու
‘dream’	eráz	երազ	éraz	Է՛րազ	jeráz	երազ
‘child’	eraxáı	երախայ	eréxa	Էրե՛խա	jerechá	երեխա
‘sky’	erkín	երկին	érgink ^h	Է՛րգինք	jerkínk ^h	երկինք

In the final syllable, meaning when it was stressed, the Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> becomes /i/ <ի> (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from final CA /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘place’	teł	տեղ	tiɤ	տիղ	teɤ	տեղ
‘night’	gɨfér	գիշեր	gɨfir	գի՛շիր	gɨfér	գիշեր
‘you’	k ^h ez	քեզ	k ^h iz	քիզ	k ^h ez	քեզ
‘honey’	mełər	մեղր	miɤr	Միղր	meɤər	մեղր
‘seed’	sermən	սերմս	sirm	սիրմ	serm	սերմ

But in preceding syllables, meaning before the stressed syllable, the vowel is /e/ <ե> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from pre-tonic CA /e/ <ե> to /e/ <ե> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘to see’	tesanél	տեսանեւ	tésnil	տե՛սնիւ	tesnél	տեսնել
‘to bring’	berél	բերել	béril	բե՛րիւ	berél	բերել

9.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /vu/ <վու> at the beginning of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from word-initial CA /o/ <ո> to /vu/ <վու> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘orphan’	orb	որբ	vurp ^h	վուրփ	vorp ^h	որբ
‘son’	ordí	որդի	vúrt ^h i	վո՛ւրթի	vort ^h i	որդի
‘that’	or	որ	vur	վուր	vor	որ
‘foot’	otən	ոտն	vut	վուտ	votk ^h	ոտք
‘nothing’	otj ^h intj ^h	ոչինչ	vúntj ^h itj ^h	վո՛ւնչիչ	votj ^h intj ^h	ոչինչ

In the final syllable, meaning under stress, the vowel becomes /u/ <ու> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change of final CA /o/ <n> to /u/ <nL> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘work’	gort̄s	գործ	gurd̄z	գուրծ	gort̄s	գործ
‘belly’	p ^h or	փոր	p ^h ur	փուր	p ^h or	փոր
‘smell’	hot	հոտ	hut	հուտ	hot	հոտ
‘four’	tʃ ^h ors	չորս	tʃ ^h urs	չուրս	tʃ ^h ors	չորս
‘bosom’	tsots ^h	ծոց	tsuts ^h	ծուց	tsots ^h	ծոց
‘new’	nor	նոր	nur	նուր	nor	նոր

In other syllables, it remains /o/ <o> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change of other positions of CA /o/ <n> to /o/ <o> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘barefoot’	bokik	բոկիկ	bóblik	բո՛բիկ	bobik	բոբիկ
‘to grow moldy’	borbosil	բորբոսիլ	borp ^h snil	բորփսսիլ	borbosel	բորբոսել
‘to praise’	govél	գովել	góvil	գո՛վիլ	govél	գովել

9.2.2.2 Diphthongs

9.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /oj̄/ <nj>

Classical Armenian /oj̄/ <nj> becomes /u/ <nL> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change of CA /oj̄/ <nj> to /u/ <nL> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘light’	loj̄s	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լույս
‘sister’	k ^h oj̄r	քոյր	k ^h ur	քուր	k ^h ujr	քուր
‘sweet’	anójf	անոյշ	ánuf	ա՛նուշ	anújf (dated)	անույշ
					anúf	անուշ
‘color’	gojn-k ^h (plural)	գոյնք	gunk ^h	գունք	gujn	գույն

9.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iuj̄/ <իւ>

Classical Armenian /iuj̄/ <իւ> became /u/ <nL> (Table 11).

Table 11: Change of CA /iʏ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
'blood'	aríʏn	արիւն	árun	ա'րոն	arjún	արյոն
'flour'	alíʏr	ալիւր	áʏur	ա'լուր	aljúr	ալյուր
'hundred'	haríʏr	հարիւր	háruʀ	հա'րուր	harjúr	հարյուր
'to weave'	hiʏsél	հիւսել			hjúsél	հյոսել
'weaved'			húsats	հո'ւսած	hjúsáts	հյոսած
'guest'	hiʏr	հիւր	hur	հուր	hjur	հյուր
'snow'	ḍziʏn	ծիւն	ḍzun	ծոն	ḍzjun	ծյոն
'branch'	tʃiʏt	ծիւղ	tʃuχk	ծուխկ	tʃjuχk	ծյուղ

9.2.2.3 Consonant changes

9.2.2.3.1 Stops and affricates

For the three degrees of consonants, although the dialect has in general preserved the old sources, but in some places the sounds have gotten confused with each other. Let us cite some examples of these special cases (Table 12).

Table 12: Sporadic laryngeal changes of stops and affricates in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
'to find'	gəʔanel	գտանել	gt ^h nil	գթնիլ	gəʔnel	գտնել
'courtyard'	bak	բակ	bag	բագ	bak	բակ
'sun'	aregákəʔ	արեգակս	arégag	արե'գագ	aregák	արեգակ
'sky'	erkín-k ^h (plural)	երկինք	érgink ^h	է'րգինք	jerkínk ^h	երկինք
'land'	erkír	երկիր	érgir	է'րգիր	jerkír	երկիր
'I know'	gitém	գիտեմ	gídím	գի'դիմ	gitém	գիտեմ
'with'	het	հետ	hid	հիդ	het	հետ
'to respect'	metsarél	մեծարել	médzril	մե'ծրիլ	metsarél	մեծարել
'ground'	getín	գետիս	gédín	գե'դիս	getín	գետիս
'work'	gorts	գործ	gurdz	գուրծ	gorts	գործ

9.2.2.3.2 Post-nasal voicing

As a general rule, all voiceless consonants become voiced after the nasal /n/ <ւ> (Table 13).

Table 13: Post-nasal voicing in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘to plant’	tənkəl	տնկել	tɛŋgil	տնգիլ	təŋkəl	տնկել
‘ear’	akándʒ	ականջ	áŋgatʃ	ա՛նգաճ	akándʒ	ականջ
‘free, ownerless’	antér	անտեր	ánder	ա՛նդեր	antér	անտեր
‘friend’	əŋker	ընկեր	nəŋgir	նընգիր	əŋker	ընկեր
‘woman (nominative)’			knik	կնիկ	kənik	կնիկ
‘woman (genitive)’			kŋga	կնգա	kəŋkan	կնկան

9.2.2.3.3 Nasal epenthesis

For the sound sequence /əŋg/ <ընգ> in the Tbilisi dialect, there is also an initial ʌ /n/ (Table 14).

Table 14: Nasal epenthesis in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘friend’	əŋker	ընկեր	nəŋgir	նընգիր	əŋker	ընկեր
‘walnut-tree’	əŋkuzeni	ընկուզենի	nəŋgzi	նընգզի	əŋkuzeni	ընկուզենի
‘to fall’	əŋkanil	անկանիլ	nəŋgnil	նընգնիլ	əŋknel	ընկնել

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9.2.2.3.4 Change from /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ>

The CA sound /h/ <h> is unchanged. But it has turned to /χ/ <խ> in only the words in Table 15.

Table 15: Change from CA /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
‘earth’	hoł	հող	χuɤ	խող	hoɤ	հող
‘to bless’	əp̄rhnel	ալրհնել	oχnil	օխնիլ	orhnel	օրհնել

9.2.3 Stress

Stress has moved from the last syllable to the penultimate syllable, as in the Yerevan dialect.

9.3 Morphology

9.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

The Tbilisi dialect has 7 cases, which are in general the same as in the Yerevan dialect, in both form and composition. The following are the main differences for the Tbilisi dialect:

- The ablative uses the formative /eme, emen/ <ԷՄԷ, ԷՄԷՆ> (Table 16).

Table 16: Ablative suffix as /eme/ <ԷՄԷ> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. Yerevan		cf. SEA	
‘from writing’	gr-emen	գրԷՄԷՆ	gr-its ^h	գրից	gər-its ^h	գրից
‘from house’	tn-emen	տնԷՄԷՆ	tən-its ^h	տնից	tən-its ^h	տնից
‘from death’	mah-emen	մահԷՄԷՆ	mah-its ^h	մահից	mah-its ^h	մահից

- The nominative plural is formed with the formatives /ir, nir/ <իր, նիր>. But the other cases keep the sound /e/ <Է>, according to the phonetic rules.
- The plural genitive takes the formative /-u/ <նւ>, similar to the /kə/ <կը> branch dialects.

The following is the declension of the word /div/ <դիվ> from Classical Armenian /deṽ/ <դեւ> ‘demon’.

[[I suspect that the final /n/ in all the words in Table 17 is actually a separate definite suffix /-n/, but I am not sure. But we cannot be sure without more data. (?)]]

Table 17: Paradigm for noun inflection of the word /div/ <դիվ> ‘demon’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Singular		Plural	
NOM (ACC)	div	դիվ	div-ir	դիվիր
GEN	div-i	դիվի	div-er-u	դիվերու
DAT (ACC)	div-i, div-in	դիվի, դիվին	div-er-u-(n)	դիվերու(ն)
ABL	div-emen	դիվԷՄԷՆ	div-er-emen	դիվերԷՄԷՆ
INS	div-ov	դիվօվ	div-er-ov	դիվերօվ
LOC	div-um	դիվում	div-er-um	դիվերում

9.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The pronoun declensions are as follows.

[[Table 18 is for personal pronouns.]]

Table 18: Inflectional paradigm for personal pronouns in the Tbilisi dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	3SG 'he/she'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'	3PL 'they'
NOM	jis jhu	du ḡnl	na lwa	mink ^h ʃhɫp	duk ^h ḡnlp	nrank ^h lɾwɫp
GEN	im hɫ	k ^h u ḡnl	nra lɾw	mir ʃhɾ	ḡzir ḡhɾ	nra ^h ts ^h lɾwɫḡ
DAT, ACC	indzi hɫḡh	k ^h iz ḡhɾ	nran lɾwɫ	miz ʃhɾ	ḡziz ḡhɾ	nra ^h ts ^h lɾwɫḡ
ABL	indz-m-en hɫḡḡḡḡ	k ^h iz-m-en ḡhɾḡḡḡ	nra-m-en lɾwɫḡḡḡ	miz-m-en ʃhɾḡḡḡ	ḡziz-m-en ḡhɾḡḡḡ	nra ^h ts ^h -m-en lɾwɫḡḡḡḡ
INS	indz-m-ov hɫḡḡḡḡ	k ^h iz-m-ov ḡhɾḡḡḡḡ	nran-ov lɾwɫḡḡḡ	miz-m-ov ʃhɾḡḡḡḡ	ḡziz-m-ov ḡhɾḡḡḡḡ	nra ^h ts ^h -ov lɾwɫḡḡḡḡ
LOC	indz-(a)n-um hɫḡ(ɾ)lɾnɫ	k ^h iz-(a)n-um ḡhɾ(ɾ)lɾnɫ	nran-um lɾwɫnɫ	miz-(a)n-um ʃhɾ(ɾ)lɾnɫ	ḡziz-(a)n-um ḡhɾ(ɾ)lɾnɫ	nra ^h ts ^h -um lɾwɫḡḡḡḡ

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[[Table 19 is for demonstrative pronouns.]]

Table 19: Inflectional paradigm for demonstrative pronouns in the Tbilisi dialect

	Singular			Plural		
	proximal 'this'	medial 'that'	distal 'that yonder'	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	es Էս	et Էտ	en Էն	estunk ^h Էստոնկք	etunk ^h Էտոնկք	endunk ^h Էնդոնկք
GEN, DAT	estu Էստոու	etu Էտոու	endu Էնդոու	estunts ^h Էստոնկց	etunts ^h Էտոնկց	endunts ^h Էնդոնկց
ABL	estu-men Էստոումեն	etu-men Էտոումեն	endu-men Էնդոումեն	estunts ^h -men Էստոնկցմեն	etunts ^h -men Էտոնկցմեն	endunts ^h -men Էնդոնկցմեն
INS	est-ov Էստօվ	et-ov Էտօվ	end-ov Էնդօվ	estunts ^h -ov Էստոնկցօվ	etunts ^h -ov Էտոնկցօվ	endunts ^h -ov Էնդոնկցօվ
LOC	est-um Էստոում	et-um Էտոում	end-um Էնդոում	estunts ^h -um Էստոնկցում	etunts ^h -um Էտոնկցում	endunts ^h -um Էնդոնկցում

[[Table 20 is for the intensive third person pronoun. The term 'intensive' is from SEA (Dum-Tragut 2009: 126).]]

Table 20: Inflectional paradigm for demonstrative pronouns in the Tbilisi dialect

	3SG		3PL	
NOM	ink ^h ə	իկք	irank ^h	իրանկք
GEN	ir(a)	իր(ա)	irants ^h	իրանց
DAT, ACC	iran	իրան	irants ^h	իրանց
ABL	ir-men	իրմեն	irants ^h -men	իրանցմեն
INS	ir-m-ov	իրմօվ	irants ^h -m-ov	իրանցմօվ
LOC	iran-um	իրանում	irants ^h -um	իրանցում

9.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

9.3.3.1 Various aspects of verb inflection

9.3.3.1.1 Sound changes for verbal vowels

The verbs are conjugated in the manner of Yerevan, except for the required phonetic changes. For example, for the copula verb in the present, the Classical Armenian sounds /e, ē/ <Է, Է> become /i/ <ի> for all persons (except for the third).

And because of this, the stem of the verb uses the endings /-um im, -um is/ <-ոււմ իմ, -ոււմ իս>.

[[*These points are illustrated later in §9.3.3.2.1.*]]

9.3.3.1.2 Irregular imperfective converb for monosyllabic verbs

Like the Yerevan dialect, the monosyllabic verbs take the formative /-is/ <իս> (Table 21).

Table 21: Irregular imperfective converbs for monosyllabic verbs with /-is/ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			√-TH-INF	
‘to come’			g-α-l	գալ
‘to give’			t-α-l	տալ
‘to cry’			l-α-l	լալ
Present 1SG	√-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG			
‘I come’	g-á-l-is i-m	գա՛լիս իմ	g-α-l-is e-m	գալիս եմ
‘I give’	t-á-l-is i-m	տա՛լիս իմ	t-α-l-is e-m	տալիս եմ
‘I cry’	l-á-l-is i-m	լա՛լիս իմ	l-α-l-is e-m	լալիս եմ

9.3.3.1.3 Lack of /e/ deletion before past /-i/

In the imperfective, the reflex of the Classical Armenian sound /ē/ <ե> does not shorten. The forms are pronounced as in Old Armenian (Table 22, 23).

[[*What Adjarian means is that unlike in the Yerevan dialect, the auxiliary /e/ and theme vowel /e/ do not delete before the past suffix /-i/. The Tbilisi dialect thus patterns with SEA in this regard.*]]

Table 22: Past auxiliary in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I was'	e-i-∅	tʰ	ej-i-∅	tʰ
2SG 'you were'	e-i-r	tʰr	ej-i-r	tʰr
3SG 'he was'	e-∅-r	tʰ	e-∅-r	tʰ
1PL 'we were'	e-i-nk ^h	tʰnɔ	ej-i-ŋk ^h	tʰnɔ
2PL 'you were'	e-i-k ^h	tʰp	ej-i-k ^h	tʰp
3PL 'they were'	e-i-n	tʰn	ej-i-n	tʰn
	AUX-PST-AGR		AUX-PST-AGR	

Table 23: Indicative past imperfective in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
'I was speaking'	χos-um e-i-∅	ʃounɫ tʰ	χos-um ej-i-∅	ʃunɫ tʰ
'I was saying'	as-um e-i-∅	ʊɫ tʰ	as-um ej-i-∅	ʊɫ tʰ
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	

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9.3.3.1.4 Allomorphy of the future formative /ku/ <ɫɫ>

The future formative is /ku/ <ɫɫ> instead of /kə/ <ɫɫ> (Table 24).³

Table 24: Future formative /ku/ <ɫɫ> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
'I will like'	ku sir-i-m	ɫɫ ʊrʰɫ	kə-sir-e-m	ɫʰrʰɫ
'I will bring'	ku ber-i-m	ɫɫ ɾɾɫ	kə-ber-e-m	ɫɾɾɫ
	FUT-√-TH-1SG		FUT-√-TH-1SG	

³[[Some modern grammars of SEA treat the formative /k/ as a conditional future marker (Dum-Tragut 2009: 253ff). But to maintain consistency with Adjarian, I gloss it as a future marker. I likewise faithfully translate his terms for the tenses that use this formative.]]

Before vowel-initial verbs, this particle is sometimes shortened to *կ* /k/, but a lot of times it remains constant (Table 25).

Table 25: Variable shortening of the future formative as /ku/ <կու> before vowel-initial verbs in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
(?)	k-eh-a-m	կեհամ		
'I will go'	k-ert ^h -a-m	կերթամ	k-ert ^h -a-m	կերթամ
'I will have'	k-unen-a-m	կունենամ	k-ert ^h -a-m	կունենամ
'I will free'	ku azat-i-m	կու ազատիմ	k-azat-e-m	կազատեմ
'I will pray'	ku aʁot ^h -i-m	կու աղօթիմ	k-aʁot ^h -e-m	կաղոթեմ
'I will burn'	ku er-i-m	կու երիմ	k-ajr-e-m	կայրեմ
'I will know'	ku iman-a-m	կու իմանամ	k-ajr-a-m	կիմանամ
	FUT-√-TH-1SG		FUT-√-TH-1SG	
'I will take'	ku ar-n-i-m	կու առնիմ	k-ar-n-e-m	կառնեմ
	FUT-√-VX-TH-1SG		FUT-√-VX-TH-1SG	

The particle becomes voiced /g/ <գ> before the verb 'to want' (Table 26).

Table 26: Voicing of the future formative as /g/ <գ> of the verb 'to want' in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA		
'I will want'	g-uz-i-m	գուզիմ	k-uz-e-m	կուզեմ	FUT-√-TH-1SG
'you will want'	g-uz-i-s	գուզիս	k-uz-e-s	կուզես	FUT-√-TH-2SG
'I would want'	g-uz-e-i-∅	գուզեի	k-uz-ej-i-∅	կուզեի	FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG

It is also voiced as in Table 27.

[[*Note that Adjarian does not state what is the root of these verbs. So I segment the prefix as /gu/ based on the contrast to SEA, but Adjarian might have meant that the prefix is /g-/ while the verb was /uk^ham/. (?)*]]

Table 27: Voicing of the future formative as /g(u?)/ <qnl> of the verb ‘to come’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA		
‘I will come’	gu-k ^h -a-m	qnlɔwɔ	kə-g-a-m	lqawɔ	FUT-√-TH-1SG
‘you will come’	gu-k ^h -a-s	qnlɔwas	kə-g-a-s	lqaws	FUT-√-TH-2SG

Before the verbs in Table 28, the particle is fused with the /a/ <u>, and it becomes /ko/ <ɔ>.

Table 28: Coalescence of merger of the future formative /ku/ <ɔnl> and verb-initial /a/ <u> as /ko/ <ɔ> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			√-TH-INF	
‘to lay’			ats-e-l	ածել
‘to do’			an-e-l	անել
‘to say’			as-e-l	ասել
Future 1SG	FUT-√-TH-1SG		FUT-√-TH-1SG	
‘I will lay’	k-ots-i-m	կօծիմ	k-ats-e-m	կածեմ
‘I will do’	k-on-i-m	կօնիմ	k-an-e-m	կանեմ
‘I will say’	k-os-i-m	կօսիմ	k-as-e-m	կասեմ
Past future 1SG	FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG		FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG	
‘I would lay’	k-ots-e-i-∅	կօծեի	k-ats-ej-i-∅	կածեի
‘I would do’	k-on-e-i-∅	կօնեի	k-an-ej-i-∅	կանեի
‘I would say’	k-os-e-i-∅	կօսեի	k-as-ej-i-∅	կասեի

9.3.3.1.5 Past participle or perfective converb with /-il,-i/ <իլ, ի>

The past participle has the ending /-il/ <իլ>. This is used to form the present perfect (յարակատար), past perfect (գերակատար), and the negative (բացասական) forms (Table 29).

Table 29: Past participle or perfective converb with /-il/ <իլ> in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
'I have liked'	sir-il i-m	սիրիլ իմ	sir-el e-m	սիրել եմ
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG		√-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG	
'I had liked'	sir-il e-i-∅	սիրիլ էի	sir-el ej-i-∅	սիրել էի
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	

But when the auxiliary is before the participle, the last letter of the suffix is lost (1).

(1) Tbilisi dialect

- a. tʃⁿ-i-m sir-i
 NEG-AUX-1SG like-PERF.CVB
 'I have not liked.'
 չիմ սիրի
- b. jis i-m ber-i
 I AUX-1SG bring-PERF.CVB
 'I have brought (as opposed to someone else).'
 յիս իմ բերի

9.3.3.2 General paradigm

Here we show the most often used forms of the verb 'to like', as a reflex from Classical Armenian /sir-e-l/ <սիրել>.

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

9.3.3.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[The indicative present in SEA is formed via periphrasis (Table 30). The verb is in a converb form called the imperfective converb with the suffix /-um/. Tense and

agreement is marked on an inflected auxiliary. The Tbilisi dialect shows the same strategy with one major difference. The stem of the auxiliary /e/ is replaced by /i/ for all but the present 3SG.]]

Table 30: Indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-um i-m	սիրում իմ	sir-um e-m ‘I like’	սիրում եմ
2SG	sir-um i-s	սիրում իս	sir-um e-s	սիրում ես
3SG	sir-um e	սիրում է	sir-um e	սիրում է
1PL	sir-um i-nk ^h	սիրում ինք	sir-um e-ŋk ^h	սիրում ենք
2PL	sir-um i-k ^h	սիրում իք	sir-um e-k ^h	սիրում եք
3PL	sir-um i-n	սիրում ին	sir-um e-n	սիրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[The indicative past imperfective uses the same imperfective converb as in the present (Table 31). The difference is that auxiliary is now in the past tense. In both SEA and Tbilisi, the auxiliary has the shape /e/.]]

Table 31: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-um e-i-∅	սիրում էի	sir-um ej-i-∅ ‘I was liking’	սիրում էի
2SG	sir-um e-i-r	սիրում էիր	sir-um ej-i-r	սիրում էիր
3SG	sir-um e-∅-r	սիրում էր	sir-um e-∅-r	սիրում էր
1PL	sir-um e-i-nk ^h	սիրում էինք	sir-um ej-i-ŋk ^h	սիրում էինք
2PL	sir-um e-i-k ^h	սիրում էիք	sir-um ej-i-k ^h	սիրում էիք
3PL	sir-um e-i-n	սիրում էին	sir-um ej-i-n	սիրում էին
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

[[Thus in Tbilisi, the auxiliary shows variation in its morphs: /e/ for some inflection cells, while /i/ for other cells. See §9.3.3.1.3.]]

9.3.3.2.2 Present perfect and past perfect

[[The present perfect (Table 32) and past perfect (Table 33) in SEA are formed by periphrasis. The verb is in the form of the perfective converb with the suffix /-el/. The present tense auxiliary is added for the present perfect, while the past auxiliary for the past perfect. The Tbilisi dialect essentially uses the same strategy but with two differences. First, the converb suffix is /-il/ not /-el/. Second, the auxiliary shows the same changes in its shape as for the indicative present and past.]]

Table 32: Present perfect <լարակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-il i-m	սիրիլ իմ	sir-el e-m	սիրել եմ ‘I have liked’
2SG	sir-il i-s	սիրիլ իս	sir-el e-s	սիրել ես
3SG	sir-il e	սիրիլ է	sir-el e	սիրել է
1PL	sir-il i-nk ^h	սիրիլ ինք	sir-el e-ηk ^h	սիրել ենք
2PL	sir-il i-k ^h	սիրիլ իք	sir-el e-k ^h	սիրել եք
3PL	sir-il i-n	սիրիլ ին	sir-el e-n	սիրել են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Table 33: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-il e-i-∅	սիրիլ էի	sir-el ej-i-∅	սիրել էի ‘I had liked’
2SG	sir-il e-i-r	սիրիլ էիր	sir-el ej-i-r	սիրել էիր
3SG	sir-il e-i-∅-r	սիրիլ էր	sir-el e-∅-r	սիրել էր
1PL	sir-il e-i-nk ^h	սիրիլ էինք	sir-el ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրել էինք
2PL	sir-il e-i-k ^h	սիրիլ էիք	sir-el ej-i-k ^h	սիրել էիք
3PL	sir-il e-i-n	սիրիլ էին	sir-el ej-i-n	սիրել էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

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9.3.3.2.3 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 34) is also called the aorist. In SEA for /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Tbilisi dialect behaves the same, though the 3SG uses a different theme vowel.]]

Table 34: Past perfective or aorist <կասարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅	սիրեց ^h	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I liked’	սիրեց ^h
2SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sir-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրից	sir-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-nk ^h	սիրեցինք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	սիրեցինք
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

9.3.3.2.4 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 35) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added to the present auxiliary in the indicative present. For a verb like ‘to like’, the 3SG involves changing the theme vowel /e/ to /i/ in the 3SG. The Tbilisi dialect follows the same system but with the opposite choice of vowels. The theme vowel is /e/ for the present 3SG, and /i/ elsewhere.]]

Table 35: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-i-m	սիրիմ	sir-e-m '(if) I like'	սիրեմ
2SG	sir-i-s	սիրիս	sir-e-s	սիրես
3SG	sir-e-∅	սիրե	sir-i-∅	սիրի
1PL	sir-i-nk ^h	սիրինք	sir-e-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sir-i-k	սիրիք	sir-e-k	սիրեք
3PL	sir-i-n	սիրին	sir-e-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 36) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. In Tbilisi, the same is used. Note how the theme vowel remains a constant /e/ in the past, unlike the variation in the present.]]

Table 36: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-i-∅	սիրեի	sir-ej-i-∅ '(if) I liked'	սիրեի
2SG	sir-e-i-r	սիրեիր	sir-ej-i-r	սիրեիր
3SG	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր
1PL	sir-e-i-nk ^h	սիրեինք	sir-ej-i-nk ^h	սիրեինք
2PL	sir-e-i-k ^h	սիրեիք	sir-ej-i-k ^h	սիրեիք
3PL	sir-e-i-n	սիրեին	sir-ej-i-n	սիրեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

9.3.3.2.5 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Future and debitive

[[In Tbilisi, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 37). The future and past future are constructed by adding the prefix /ku/ before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. The debitive and debitive past are formed also by adding the proclitic /piti/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. I

do not provide morpheme glosses for these forms for space. SEA behaves essentially the same (with the expected difference in theme vowels) and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 37: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Future <ապանսի>		Past future <անցեալ ապանսի>	
1SG	ku sir-i-m ‘I will like’	կու սիրիմ	ku sir-e-i-Ø ‘I was going to like’	կու սիրեի
2SG	ku sir-i-s	կու սիրիս	ku sir-e-i-r	կու սիրեիր
3SG	ku sir-e-Ø	կու սիրե	ku sir-e-Ø-r	կու սիրեր
1PL	ku sir-i-nk ^h	կու սիրինք	ku sir-e-i-nk ^h	կու սիրեինք
2PL	ku sir-i-k	կու սիրիք	ku sir-e-i-k ^h	կու սիրեիք
3PL	ku sir-i-n	կու սիրին	ku sir-e-i-n	կու սիրեին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	
	Debitive <պարտաւորական ներկայ>		Debitive past <պարտաւորական անցեալ>	
1SG	piti sir-i-m ‘I must like’	պիտի սիրիմ	piti sir-e-i-Ø ‘I should have liked’	պիտի սիրեի
2SG	piti sir-i-s	պիտի սիրիս	piti sir-e-i-r	պիտի սիրեիր
3SG	piti sir-e-Ø	պիտի սիրե	piti sir-e-Ø-r	պիտի սիրեր
1PL	piti sir-i-nk ^h	պիտի սիրինք	piti sir-e-i-nk ^h	պիտի սիրեինք
2PL	piti sir-i-k	պիտի սիրիք	piti sir-e-i-k ^h	պիտի սիրեիք
3PL	piti sir-i-n	պիտի սիրին	piti sir-e-i-n	պիտի սիրեին
	DEB √-TH-AGR		DEB √-TH-PST-AGR	

[[The debitive forms show an alternative strategy. The previously discussed strategy in Table 37 was to place the particle /piti/ before the inflected verb. The verb carries tense and agreement inflection. In contrast, an alternative strategy (Table 38) is to place the tense and agreement morphology onto the particle /piti/. The verb is then in a constant shape that’s likely a non-finite participle: /sir-i/ for ‘to like’. Agreement is thus mobile.]]

Table 38: Alternative forms for the debitive of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect with mobile agreement

	Debitive <պարտաւորական ներկայ>		Debitive past <պարտաւորական անցեալ>	
1SG	pit-i-m sir-i ‘I must like’	պիտիմ սիրի	pit-e-i-∅ sir-i ‘I should have liked’	պիտէի սիրի
2SG	pit-i-s sir-i	պիտիս սիրի	pit-e-i-r sir-i	պիտէիր սիրի
3SG	pit-i-∅ sir-i	պիտի սիրի	pit-e-∅-r sir-i	պիտէր սիրի
1PL	pit-i-nk sir-i	պիտինք սիրի	pit-e-i-nk sir-i	պիտէինք սիրի
2PL	pit-i-k ^h sir-i	պիտիք սիրի	pit-e-i-k ^h sir-i	պիտէիք սիրի
3PL	pit-i-n sir-i	պիտին սիրի	pit-e-i-n sir-i	պիտէին սիրի
	DEB-?-AGR √-?		DEB-?-PST-AGR √-?	

[[Adjarian does not state if the verb in this alternative strategy is a specific participle, or if all verbs show the same type of final vowel. It is also unclear to me what is the proper glossing for the inflected forms of the particle /piti/. The second vowel alternates between /i, e/ in exactly the same way as the theme vowel of the verb ‘to like’ in the above paradigms. It is unclear to me if the second vowel in this particle is thus still the same debitive morpheme, or if it is a theme vowel, or even some other morpheme.]]

9.3.3.2.6 Other tenses derived from participles

[[Adjarian provides a paradigm for something he calls the ‘debitive past perfect’ (Table 39). It consists of the debitive particle /piti/, plus what appears to be the perfective converb with /-il/, and then the past auxiliary. He does not explain what this construction is supposed to mean.]]

Table 39: Debitive past perfect <պարտաւորական գերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

1SG	piti sir-il e-i-∅	պիտի սիրիլ էի
2SG	piti sir-il e-i-r	պիտի սիրիլ էիր
3SG	piti sir-il e-∅-r	պիտի սիրիլ էր
1PL	piti sir-il e-i-nk ^h	պիտի սիրիլ էինք
2PL	piti sir-il e-i-k ^h	պիտի սիրիլ էիք
3PL	piti sir-il e-i-n	պիտի սիրիլ էին
DEB √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		

9.3.3.2.7 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SEA adds the morph /-ir/ after the root for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 40). For the 2PL, archaic SEA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that the sequence /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. More modern registers use only the suffix /-ek^h/ without the aorist stem. The prohibitive is marked by only adding the proclitic /mi/ before the verb]]

[[Tbilisi uses the same strategy for the imperative 2PL. For the 2SG, the post-root vowel is /e/. It is unclear if this /e/ is a special agreement morpheme or if it is the theme vowel. For the prohibitive though, Tbilisi ends up using /i/ for the 2SG, and /ek^h/ for the 2PL. Thus, the imperative and negative imperative (prohibitive) are not obviously connected.]]

Table 40: Imperative and negative imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA ‘like!’ and ‘do not like!’		
IMP 2SG	sir-é	սիրէ՛	sir-ir	սիրիր	√-IMP.2SG
IMP 2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցե՛ք	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
			sir-ek ^h	սիրեք	√-IMP.2PL
PROH 2SG	mí sir-i	մի՛ սիրի	mi sir-ir	մի սիրիր	PROH √-IMP.2SG
PROH 2PL	mí sir-ek ^h	մի սիրեք	mi sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	մի սիրեցեք	PROH √-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
			mi sir-ek ^h	մի սիրեք	PROH √-IMP.2PL

9.3.3.2.8 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 41. Note that present participle is also called the subject partici-

ple. What Adjarian calls the past participle is differentiated in SEA as a resultative participle with /-ats/ and a perfective converb with /-el/.]]

Table 41: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

		Tbilisi		cf. SEA		
Infinitive	սևորոշ	sir-i-l	սիրիլ	sir-e-l	սիրել	√-TH-INF
Present	սերկայ	sir-ox	սիրող	sir-ox	սիրող	√-SPTCP
Past	սևցեալ	sir-il	սիրիլ	sir-el	սիրել	√-PERF.CVB
		sir-i	սիրի			√-PERF.CVB
		sir-ats	սիրած	sir-ats	սիրած	√-RPTCP
Future	սպանի	sir-e-l-u	սիրելու	sir-e-l-u	սիրելու	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB
		sir-e-l-ats ^h u	սիրելացու			√-TH-INF-?

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9.3.3.3 Other conjugation classes

The other conjugations follow this pattern for the most part. The present, imperfective, and the future use the same strategy. It is only the past perfective and the imperative which have their own construction, in accordance with Classical Armenian.

[[Adjarian means that the past perfective and imperative have class-specific construction rules, similar to CA and to SEA. Table 42 shows the paradigm for the I-Class. The I-Class with theme vowel /-i-/ does not exist in SEA, but it does in SWA. For easier contrast, we contrast Tbilisi with SWA.]]

Table 42: Past perfectives (aorists) and imperatives for the I-Class verb /-il/ <ჲლ> ‘to live’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SWA	
Infinitive			$\sqrt{-\text{TH-} \text{INF}}$ abr-i-l ‘to live’	ააჲრჲლ
Past perfective	$\sqrt{-\text{TH-AOR-PST-AGR}}$		$\sqrt{-\text{TH-AOR-PST-AGR}}$	
1SG	apr-e-ts ^h -a-∅	ააჲრტგა	abr-e-ts ^h -a-∅	ააჲრტგაჲ ‘I lived’
2SG	apr-e-ts ^h -a-r	ააჲრტგარ	abr-e-ts ^h -a-r	ააჲრტგარ
3SG	apr-e-ts ^h -a-v	ააჲრტგაჲ	abr-e-ts ^h -a-v	ააჲრტგაჲ
1PL	apr-e-ts ^h -a-nk ^h	ააჲრტგანჲ	abr-e-ts ^h -a-ŋk ^h	ააჲრტგანჲ
2PL	apr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h	ააჲრტგარჲ	abr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h	ააჲრტგარჲ
3PL	apr-e-ts ^h -a-n	ააჲრტგან	abr-e-ts ^h -a-n ^h	ააჲრტგან
Imperative	$\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$		$\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$	
2SG	apr-i-∅	ააჲრჲ	abr-i-r	ააჲრჲრ
2PL	apr-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	ააჲრტგტჲ	abr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h	ააჲრტგტჲ ‘live!’
Prohibitive	PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH}(?)\text{-AGR}}$		PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH-AGR}}$	
2SG	mí apr-i-∅	მჲ ააჲრჲ	mi abr-i-r	მჲ ააჲრჲრ
2PL	mí apr-e-k ^h	მჲ ააჲრტჲ	mi abr-i-k ^h	მჲ ააჲრტჲ ‘do not live!’

[[Another class is the irregular infixed verbs that end in the morph sequence /-n-i-l/. The /n/ is synchronically a meaningless stem-extender that is deleted in the past perfective. In SEA, the theme vowel /i/ is replaced by /e/. We show just the Tbilisi and SWA paradigms for illustration (Table 43).]]

Table 43: Past perfectives (aorists) and imperatives for the infix verb /has-/ ‘to reach’ and /hak^h-/ ‘to wear’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SWA	
Infinitive			√-VX-TH-INF has-n-i-l ‘to reach’	hասսիլ
Past perfective	√-PST-AGR		√-PST-AGR	
1SG	has-a-∅	հասս	has-a-∅ ‘I reached’	հասսայ
2SG	has-a-r	հասսար	has-a-r	հասսար
3SG	has-a-v	հասսավ	has-a-v	հասսավ
Infinitive			√-VX-TH-INF hak ^h -n-i-l ‘to wear’	հագսիլ
Imperative	√-TH-(AOR)-AGR		√-TH-(AOR)-AGR	
2SG	hak ^h -i-∅	հաքի՛	hak ^h -i-r	հագիր
2PL	hak ^h -ék ^h	հաքե՛ք	hak ^h -ék ^h ‘wear!’	հագեք
Prohibitive	PROH √-VX-TH(?) -AGR		PROH √-VX-TH-AGR	
2SG	mí hak ^h -n-i-∅	մի՛ հաքսի	mi hak ^h -n-i-r	մի հագսիր
2PL	mí hak ^h -n-e-k ^h	մի՛ հաքսեք	mi hak ^h -n-i-k ^h ‘do not wear!’	մի հագսիք

[[The A-Class uses the theme vowel /-a/ and it is found in both SEA and Tbilisi. The two dialects utilize the same strategies for the perfective and imperative. Though in the prohibitive, SEA just uses the particle /mi/ plus the imperative, while Tbilisi uses the particle and a different sequence of verbal suffixes (Table 44).]]

Table 44: Past perfectives (aorists) and imperatives for the A-Class ‘to stay’ in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			$\sqrt{-\text{TH-}}\text{-INF}$ mən-a-l ‘to stay’	մնալ
Past perfective	$\sqrt{-\text{AOR-PST-AGR}}$		$\sqrt{-\text{AOR-PST-AGR}}$	
1SG	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-∅	մնացի	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-∅ ‘I stayed’	մնացի
2SG	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-r	մնացիր	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-r	մնացիր
3SG	mən-a-tsh ^h -∅-∅	մնաց	mən-a-tsh ^h -∅-∅	մնաց
1PL	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-nk ^h	մնացինք	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-ŋk ^h	մնացինք
2PL	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-k ^h	մնացիք	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-k ^h	մնացիք
3PL	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-n ^h	մնացին	mən-a-tsh ^h -i-n ^h	մնացին
Imperative	$\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$		$\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$	
2SG	mən-á-∅	մնա՛	mən-a-∅	մնա
2PL	mən-a-tsh ^h -ék ^h	մնացե՛ք	mən-a-tsh ^h -ek ^h ‘stay!’	մնացեք
Prohibitive	PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH}(?)\text{-AGR}}$		PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$	
2SG	mí mən-a-∅	մի՛ մնա	mi mən-a-∅	մի մնա
2PL	mí mən-a-k ^h	մի՛ մնաք	mi mən-a-tsh ^h -ek ^h ‘do not stay!’	մի մնաք

[[Inchoative verbs end in /-nal/ (Table 45). The aorist patterns the same across Tbilisi and SEA. But the prohibitive again uses different suffixes for Tbilisi. Note that I suspect the Tbilisi verb is a reflex of Classical Armenian /heranal/ <հեռանալ> ‘to go away’ but I am not sure.]]

Table 45: Past perfectives (aorists) and imperatives for the inchoative ‘to go away’ (?) in the Tbilisi dialect

	Tbilisi		cf. SEA	
Infinitive			$\sqrt{-LV-INCH-TH-INF}$ her-a-n-a-l ‘to go away’	հեռանալ
Past perfective	$\sqrt{-AOR-PST-AGR}$		$\sqrt{-AOR-PST-AGR}$	
1SG	hir-a-ts ^h -a-∅	հիռացա	her-a-ts ^h -a-∅ ‘I went away’	հեռացա
2SG	hir-a-ts ^h -a-r	հիռացար	her-a-ts ^h -a-r	հեռացար
3SG	hir-a-ts ^h -a-v	հիռացավ	her-a-ts ^h -a-v	հեռացավ
Imperative	$\sqrt{-LV-AOR-AGR}$		$\sqrt{-LV-AOR-AGR}$	
2SG	hir-a-ts ^h -i	հիռացի՛	her-a-ts ^h -ir	հեռացիր
2PL	hir-a-ts ^h -ék ^h	հիռացե՛ք	her-a-ts ^h -ek ^h ‘go away!’	հեռացեք
Prohibitive	$\sqrt{-LV-INCH-TH-AGR}$		$\sqrt{-LV-AOR-AGR}$	
2SG	mí hir-a-n-a-k ^h	Մի՛ հիռանա	mí her-a-ts ^h -ir	Մի հեռացիր
2PL	mí hir-a-n-a-k ^h	Մի՛ հիռանաք	mí her-a-ts ^h -ek ^h ‘do not go away!’	Մի հեռացեք

9.4 Literature

As of now, there have been three studies on the Tbilisi dialect. The first was by Gevorg Akhverdian (Գեորգ Ախվերդեան), in the beginning of his published work on Sayat Nova (Սայեաթ-Նովայ) (Ախվերդեան 1852: 1-41), and almost everywhere after that in a note. The second is by the Armenologist Petermann (1867). The third is the work by Armenologist Thomson (Томсонъ; [[*modern Russian: Александр Томсон*]]) in Russian (Томсон 1890).⁴ This work was summarized in German by L. Patrubáni in the periodical *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, volume 1, page 289-302.

Besides these, there are many works that are written in the Tbilisi dialect, mostly in comedies. From these, we mention the main ones.

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⁴[[*Adjarian's original citation is an abbreviation: Грам. современ. Армянского языка гор. ТифлисѢ Ретрирацюрл 1890.*]]

Chapter 9 Tbilisi

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Tbilisi dialect
 - **Գեորգ Տեր-Աղեքսանդրեան**
 - * **Թիֆլիսեցոց մտաւոր կեանքը (հաւաքածու Բանաւոր գրակա-
նութեան). Թիֆլիս, 1885**
 - * **Ուխտագնացութիւն ի Թելէթ. Կռունկ 1860, page 898-922**
 - **Գեորգ Ախվերդեան - Սայեաթ-Նօվա. Մոսկվա, 1852**
 - **Գաբրիէլ Սունդուկեանց - Պէպօ. Թիֆլիս, 1876**
 - * **Խաթաբալա. Թիֆլիս, 1881**
 - * **Քանդած օջաւ. Թիֆլիս, 1882**
 - * **Էլի մէկ գոհ. Թիֆլիս, 1884**
 - * **Գիշերվա սարբը խեր Է. Թիֆլիս, 1881**
 - * **Օսկան Պետրովիչը դժուխկումը**
 - **Երեցփոխեան Գ. - Ա՛յ քեզ օյին. Թիֆլիս, 1886**
 - **Եսայեան Յարութիւն - Սօնայի նշանդրէքը. Թիֆլիս, 1904**
 - **Պատկանեան Միքայէլ 6 -- Միջի մարդ կամ Մօցիքոյ. Թիֆլիս. 1859**
 - **Տեր-Գրիգորեան Միքայէլ**
 - * **Նինօյի նշնիլը**
 - * **Վոյ քի իմ վէչեր**
 - * **Պէպօյի ակճուր**
 - * **Պառաներուն խրատ**
 - * **Էս էլ քի մօցիքլութիւն**
 - **Փուզինեան Նիկողայոս - Դալալ Դ՛ագօ**
 - **Փառնակէս - Գրականական երեկոյ. Թիֆլիս, 1886**
 - **Սարգիս - Ռուստավելի. Ընծու մորթի հազաղ մարդ. Կռունկ, 1860**
 - **Քախկըցի Դաբաղ Դ՛ագօի մասլտաթը. Կռունկ, 1862, page 454-498**

- Գեօ ԱԼԵՏԻՍՈՎ - Քախկըցի Շաքար Մանուշակեանցի բարովագրի շուղաբը. Կռռնկ, 1862, page 135-152

Besides these, there are many small funny articles that have been published in Tbilisi periodicals, especially in *Խաթաբալայ* [*Khatabala*] and *Hayeli* (Հայելի [*Mirror*]), which we thought would be superfluous to discuss in detail.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 227).*]]

9.5 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.*]]

9.5.1 Sample 1

Adjarian’s note: Սայեաթ-Լօվա (page 139)

Պատկիրըրդ դ’ալամօվ քաշած, Թահրըդ օանգէ ոանգ իս անում.
 Էրեսիդ իսալըն ծածկում է մագիրըդ, իսափանգ իս անում.
 Բացվիլ իս կարմիր վարթի պէս, բըլբուլի հիգ հանգ իս անում.
 Ակռէքըդ օսկումըն շարած, պըռօշըդ մահանգ իս անում:

Էրեսըդ նուր լուսնի նման՝ քանի կեհա՝ կու բօլըրվի.
 Դաստա մաղըդ նամ չի ուգի, առանց հուսիլ կու օլըրվի.
 Էնդու համա քու տէնօղըն իր ճամփեմէն կու մօլըրվի
 Յիփ մըտնում իս մէջլիսումըն, շանգ շուխի շաբանց իս անում:

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Էրեսըդ տէսնելու գուքան քաղաք քախկօվ, գիդ գիդի պէս.
 Մեռնողըն քիգմէն կու առնէ անմահական դիգ, դիգի պէս.
 Յիփ տիգեմէդ ժած իս գալի, շըխշըխկում իս ջիղջիղի պէս.
 Ինչ կ’օնիս սանթուր, քամանչէն. գուքսըդ չօնգուր, չանգ իս անում:

Ծուցիդ մէչէն վարթ, մանիշակ. սընբուլ ու սուսան իս շինի.
 Քու տերըն բագըն ինչ կ’օնէ, քու հուտըն ռեհան իս շինի.
 Քամին մէչըն անց է կէնում մասիրըդ յեքան իս շինի.
 Աշխարքըն ծօվ, դուն մէչըն նավ ման իս գալի, լանգ իս անում:

9.5.2 Sample 2

Adjarian's note: Էլի մեկ զոհ, page 1-4

- Եսէնգ Էլ իր ասածի՛. «հա ու չէ» բէ իմանում Է՛լի:
- Բթխիխտ խօ չի՞ս կանա անի խէխճին. տեսնում իս չէ ուզում, զօռօլ բան կոլի՛:
- Չէ՛նդ, զէ՛նդ, դիփ քու միզն Է, Բարբարէ, վուր Էսէնգ դ՛այիմ Է կանգնած:
- Վունց չէ, մէ իմ խիլքօլ Է ապրում, մէկ Էլ քու խիլքօլ:
- Յիս Էլ Էտ իմ ասում Է՛, վուր ինչ ուզից՝ հիդը գրանցիր. ի՛նչ ասավ հիդը բանի տվիր ու վիրչը բերիր Էն տիդը, վուր վունց հօրն Է լսում, վունց մօրը:
- Թէ կի նա իր հօր վրա Էլ ու մօր վրա Էլ խէլօք Է, յիս ի՞նչ անիմ Էտումը, քա՛:
- Ա՛յ, ա՛յ, Էտէնց իս խօսում դիփ վուր իրան Էլ իս գժվէցնում Է՛:
- Դուն թէ գժվէցնում իս, թէ չէ յիս իսկի Էլ չիմ գժվէցնում:
- Ի՛նչ, ի՛նչ... յի՞ս իմ գժվէցնո՛ւմ. արի ու հիդը խօսի:
- Բաս ի՞նչ իս անում. ամալ աշքարա ասում Է վուր չէ ուզում, դուն կի ուզոմ իս զօռօլ ուզիլ տա. ավար վո՛ւր խէլօքը կու լսէ. հա գժվէցնիլ Է ու գժվէցնիլ:
- So, Ստեփան Դանելիչը, Ստեփան Դանելիչը, Էն միյօններու տերը, ախչիկ ըլի տալի ազանչաքօլ պաղանտաքօլ, Էնդ՛ադա փուղ ու բաժնքօլ ու խէլօքը չուզէ՛: Տօ՛, հազիր ասիս թէ՛ վո՛ւր խէլօքը չի ուղի՛:
- Ի՛նչ անիմ. խօ տէ՛սնում իս վուր նրա ուշկ ու միտքը մնաին Է:
- Յիս նրան մնանի կու շանց տամ. հալա մէ մուլափ տա:

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Էսէնց Էլ օ՛յին. մարթ ծիյեմէն վեր գա իշին նտսի՛. մարթ խալ ու խալիչէն թօղնէ գեղնի վրա գլօրվի՛... Տեր օղօրմած Աստուծ... Ը՛մ, Յա՛գօր Սիմօնիչ, Է՞ս Էր քու մտկումն Է՛լի... Էնքան Էկավ ու գնաց, Էնքան տարավ ու Էրի (Եբեր), ինչրու աղունակի պէս, Էրէխիս խիլքեմէն արավ իստակ: Բաս թէ յիս քու տակը մնացի, Յագօր Սիմօնիչ, Էլ յիս մարթ չիմ ըլի, Էլ Էս գդակը գլխիս գդակ չի ըլի... Էս ի՛նչ ընտիր մօղա Էկավ, ա՛խպեր, թէ յադի (օտար) տանը յադի տղէն տուն ու գուս անէ, ճաշ գնա, իրիգուն գնա, ախչկա հիգ սագ ու բագ (խօսակցիլ) անէ, կ՛օսիս նրա բիծու (հօրեղբայր) տղէն ըլի, ի՞նչ Է հարեֆնիր ինք, կ՛օսէ. հարեվնիր չդառան՝ ցավ դառան. յիրգնուց պատիժ Էկան գլխիս Է՛լի: Դուն Էլ ամէն սահաթի Էս ճաշ սարքէ նրանց համա, Էս մուրաբէք (քաղցրաւենիք) մօղ տար, Էս միրք առնուլ տու... Է՞ս Էրի ուզում Էլի: Աստուծ քիգ կու հարցնէ, քի՛գ, Բարբարէ, Միխէիլի գժվէցնօղը բաշտան ջեր (առաջին անգամ) դուն իս:

- Ի՛նչ հանգն իս խօսում, ա՛ մարթ. դուն վուր հեր իս, իս մեր չի՞մ. դուն վուր ուզում իս Միխէիլի լավութիւնը, յիս չիմ յուզո՛ւմ: Տեսնում իս իր ասածն Է: Ախար վրէն չարանում իս, Էն խիլքի տերն Է վուր վախենա՛:
- Բարեմց ասա ձեռներուն Էլ պաչ անիմ Է՛լի:

– Օ՛վ է ասում վուր ձեռին պաչ անիս, ամա ամազ իս արի, աշխատանք իս քաշի, ուսում իս տվի, բերիլ իս մարթ իս շինի. քա, թօղ ի՞նչ քեփը տա էն անէ է՛, քի՞զ ինչ:

Chapter 10

Karabakh

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10.1 Background

Among the 31 New Armenian dialects, the largest and the most widespread is the Karabakh dialect. Its borders go in the north until the final edges of the Caucasus, in the south until Tabriz, in the east until the shores of the Caspian Sea, in the west until Lake Sevan and the borders of the dialects of Yerevan and Karin.

The Karabakh dialect has likewise gone further beyond these borders to far away places. In Asia Minor, next to Smyrna and Aydın there is an old Armenian settlement. One or two centuries ago, the people of this settlement came from Karabakh and established those lands. Although this community has for the most part become Turkish-speaking, there are two places (Burdur and Ödemiş) which still have not lost their native dialect.

Because the Karabakhians are a very tall, very mercantile, clever, capable, and entrepreneurial people, they have recently crossed to the other side of the Caspian sea and came to the various cities of Turkistan, Tatarstan and Manchuria, such as Krasnovodsk, Samarkand, Tashkent, and so on. But because these are not established migrant communities yet, we have not included them in our borders.

In this way, the main places where the Karabakh dialect is spoken are the following: Shushi, Gandzak, Nukha, Baku, Derbent, Shamakhi villages, Agstafa, Dilijan, Gharakilisa, Gazakh province, Bolnis-Khachini, in Persia the entire province of Karadagh, the northern part of Tabriz in the Armenian-populated village of Mujumbar, the Lilava district of Tabriz which is a settlement of Mujumbar and Karadagh, also in Ottoman Turkey in Ödemiş and Burdur.

For a dialect that is so widespread, it would not be possible for the dialect to maintain its unity, and it would naturally develop many subdialects. But the Karabakh dialect is not like this. Baku, Shamakhi villages, ...

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... Derbent, Nukha and its villages, and Bolnis-Khachini are largely the same as the Shushi dialect. Only Gandzak differs from the main dialect, which has purer forms; and because of this, the Gandzak subdialect is in the middle between the Karabakh and Yerevan dialects. Pure subdialects are Karadagh and Gazakh, which we later talk about individually.

10.2 Phonology

10.2.1 Segment inventory

The phonetic system of Karabakh is rich both in its vowels and consonants. It has in total 46 sounds.

10.2.1.1 Monophthong vowel inventory

[[It has the monophthong vowels in Table 1.]]

Table 1: Monophthongal vowels of the Karabakh dialect

/i/ <ի>	/x/ <իԼ>			/u/ <ու>
/e/ <ե>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ (?) <ըե>	/ə/ <ը>	/o/ <օ>
/æ/ <ւի>				/ɑ/ <ա>

[[Note the vowel <ըե> which is quite difficult to understand. Adjarian and other Armenian sources describe this vowel as a midpoint between /ə/ and /e/, and that it forms minimal pairs with /ə/ (Սարգսյան 2013: 6-7). Auditorily however, it is not clear what acoustic cues are used by dialectologists to create this description. I have found the following contradictory information:

- Adjarian implies this sound is a monophthong. But others have said this is a diphthong (Դավթյան 1966: 16).
- In his earlier work, Adjarian says this sound is the same as the French letter <é>, suggesting that the <ը, ըե> contrast is between /ɛ, e/ (Աճառեան 1901: 7)
- Bert Vaux reports that such a vowel sounds like a backed schwa and easily confusable as a /we, ʷe/ sequence. In the Karabakh varieties that he has listened to, he perceives this vowel as a lax [e] preceded by a velarized consonant.

- Victoria Khurshudyan reports that this vowel is backer than the schwa, and that it is close to Russian <ы> /ɨ/.
- A speaker from Karabakh told me that, for her, the sounds /ə/ and <ռէ> are interchangeable, and that <ռէ> feels like a diphthong but with the schwa part shorter.
- In some of the few acoustic samples that I could find, I sense that this vowel had a wide variation of pronunciations – sometimes it sounds lower, higher, or with an offglide /j/ – it has been hard for me to pinpoint it down to a single type of central vowel.

For this translation, I treat the closest IPA approximation as /ə̞/ – an /ə/ with some fronting. Previous transcriptions that I have come across include <ɛ> (Adjarian 1909: 25). The Karabakh dialect is not moribund, so future work could look into the exact acoustic values of this vowel.]]

10.2.1.2 Diphthong vowel inventory

[[Karabakh has the diphthong vowels in Table 2.]]

Table 2: Diphthongal vowels of the Karabakh dialect

/eḯ/ <էյ>	/oḯ/ <ոյ>	/uḯ/ <ոււ>
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10.2.1.3 Consonant inventory

[[It has the consonants in Table 3.]]

Table 3: Consonants of the Karabakh dialect

	Labial			Coronal			Dorsal/Back			
Stops	/b/	/p/	/p ^h /	/d/	/t/	/t ^h /	/g/	/k/	/k ^h /	
	<p>	<u>	<ϕ>	<ŋ>	<un>	<ϑ>	<q>	<ɫ>	<ɸ>	
							/g ^j /	/k ^j /	/k ^{hi} /	
							<qj>	<ɫj>	<ɸj>	
Affricates				/d͡z/	/t͡s/	/t͡s ^h /				
				<ɖ>	<ɓ>	<g>				
				/d͡ʒ/	/t͡ʃ/	/t͡ʃ ^h /				
				<ʒ>	<ɖ>	<ʒ>				
Fricatives	/v/			/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/χ/	/ʁ/	/h/
	<ɸ>			<u>	<q>	<ʒ>	<ɖ>	<ɫu>	<ŋ>	<h>
										/ç/
										<hj>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/		/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/			
	<ɸ>	<ɫ>		<ɾ>	<n>	<ɫ>	<ʃ>			

[[Acoustic data on the consonants of the Shushi and Nukha subdialects are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.]]

10.2.2 Stress and vowel deletion

As in the Yerevan and Tbilisi dialects, the Karabakh dialect places stress on the penultimate syllable. In these two other dialects, the change in stress did not cause other changes. But in the Karabakh dialect, this change has caused the loss of vowels. Every vowel that is found before stress is either turned into a schwa /ə/ <ŋ> or completely lost (Table 4).¹

¹[[The word ‘swallow’ in Classical Armenian was <ծիծեռնւ> /tsitserən/. The form I provide is hypothetical, but Adjarian treats it as non-hypothetical.]]

Table 4: Penultimate stress and vowel deletion in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
'gospel'	awetarán	աւետարան	əvətáran	ըվըտա'րան	avetarán	ավետարան
'request'	aɫafjánk ^h	աղաչանք	əbáf ^h ánk ^h	ըղա'չանք	əbáfjánk ^h	աղաչանք
			ɫáf ^h ánk ^h	ղա'չանք		
'request'	nawakatík ^h	նաւակատիք	nəvəkátéig ^l	նըվըկա'տեյգ	navakatík ^h	նավակատիք
'fawning'	erespaftut ^h iún	երեսպաշտութիւն	ərəspəftót ^h un	ըրըսպըշտո'թոն	jerespaftut ^h iún	երեսպաշտութիւն
'today'	ajsáyur	այսաւր	sor	սօր	ajsór	այսօր
'swallow'	tsitsernák	ծիծեռնակ	ts ^h əts ^h érnak	ցըցէ'նակ	tsitsernák	ծիծեռնակ
'razor'	atseli	ածելի	tsili	ծի'լի	atseli	ածելի
'pigeon'	aɫauni	աղաւնի	jəbónéig ^l	յըբօ'նեյգ	əbavní	աղավնի
			bónéig ^l	բօ'նեյգ		
'evening'	erekóĭ	երեկոյ	rýgv	րի'զիւ	jerekó	երեկոյ

10.2.3 Sound changes

Of the splendid phonetic changes in the dialect, we mention the following important ones.

10.2.3.1 Monophthong vowel changes

10.2.3.1.1 Classical Armenian /a/ <u>

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> remained /a/ <u> for the words in Table 5.

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /a/ <u> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
'thick'	t ^h ándzər	թանձր	t ^h ándzər	թանձըր	t ^h ándzər	թանձր
'to rise'	bardzranál	բարձրանալ	bəts ^h əránal	պըցըրանալ	barts ^h ranál	բարձրանալ
'account'	hamár	համար	məhar	մըհար	hamár	համար

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /æ/ <ü> for the words in Table 6.

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Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /æ/ <ü> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘tail’	agí	ազի	hæk ^h y	հա՛յքի	agí	ազի
‘field’	ánd	անդ	hænd	հանդ	ánd	անդ
‘good’	láu	լաւ	læv	լա՛ւ	láv	լաւ
‘lightning’	kaĩtsákə̀n	կայծակս	kæ̀tsæk	կա՛յծակ	kaĩtsák	կայծակ
‘spring’	garún	գարուն	kʲæ̀runk ^h	կյա՛րունք	garún	գարուն

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /e/ <t> for the words in Table 7.

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /e/ <t> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘thin’	barák	բարակ	pérak	պե՛րակ	barák	բարակ
‘thing’	ban	բան	pen	պե՛ն	ban	բան
‘cotton’	bambák	բամբակ	pémbak	պե՛մբակ	bambák	բամբակ
‘turtle dove’	tatrák	տատրակ	tétrak	տե՛տրակ	tatrák	տատրակ
‘water-mill’	d̂zəraáts ^h	ջրաղաց	t̂fərats ^h	ժե՛րաց	d̂zəraáts ^h	ջրաղաց
‘empty’	datárk	դատարկ	tértak	տե՛րտակ	datárk	դատարկ
‘to conquer’	jałt ^h él	յաղթել	jéχnel	յե՛խնել	haχt ^h él	հաղթել

10.2.3.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <t>

Classical Armenian /e/ <t> remained /e/ <t> for the words in Table 8.

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <t> to /e/ <t> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘wife’s father’	anér	աներ	háner	հա՛ներ	anér	աներ
‘grave’	gerezmán	գերեզման	kʲə̀rézman	կյըրե՛զման	gerezmán	գերեզման
‘thirty’	eresún	երեսուն	ərésun	ըրե՛սուն	jeresún	երեսուն
‘hand’	d̂zer-k ^h (plural)	ծեռք	t̂serk ^h	ժեռք	d̂zerk ^h	ծեռք
‘mouth’	berán	բերան	péran	պե՛րան	berán	բերան

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /ə/ <ըե> for the words in Table 9, though some Karabakh villages use /ə/ <ը>.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /ə/ <ըե> or /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘you.PL.DAT’	d̄zez	ծեզ	tsəz	ծըեզ	d̄zez	ծեզ
‘our’	mer	մեր	məz	մըեր	mer	մեր
‘big’	mets̄	մեծ	məts̄	մըեծ	mets̄	մեծ
‘bridegroom’	p ^h esáɿ	փեսայ	p ^h əsa	փըե՛սա	p ^h esá	փեսա
‘to die’	meranél	մեռանել	mərnəl	մըե՛ռնել	mernél	մեռնել

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /je/ <յե> for the words in Table 10. This happens at the beginning of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words.

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je/ <յե> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘church’	ekelets̄ ^h i	եկեղեցի	jéxtse	յե՛խծե	jekelets̄ ^h i	եկեղեցի
‘sky’	erkín-k ^h (plural)	երկինք	jérgink ^h	յե՛րգինք	jerkínk ^h	երկինք
‘ox’	ézən	եզն	jéznə	յե՛զնը	jez	եզ
‘I’	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /i/ <ի> for some words (Table 11a). This changes happens especially in those words where the Classical Armenian form had two subsequent /e/ <ե> sounds (Table 11b).

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Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
a. 'thread'	t ^h el	թել	t ^h il	թիլ	t ^h el	թել
'sun'	aregákən	արեգակն	ərík ^h nak	ըրի՛քլսակ	aregák	արեգակ
'more'	arawél	առավել	ívil	ի՛վիլ	aravél	առավել
b. 'ladle'	ʃerép ^h	շերեփ	ʃírep ^h	շի՛րեփ	ʃerép ^h	շերեփ
'daytime'	ts ^h erék	ցերեկ	ts ^h írek	ցի՛րեկ	ts ^h erék	ցերեկ
'face'	erés	երես	íres	ի՛րես	jerés	երես
'leaf'	teréu	տերու	tírev	տի՛րեվ	terév	տերու
'three'	erék ^h	երեք	írek ^h	ի՛րեք	jerék ^h	երեք
'light (weight)'	t ^h et ^h éu	թեթև	t ^h it ^h ev	թի՛թեվ	t ^h et ^h év	թեթև

10.2.3.1.3 Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /e/ <ե> for the words in Table 12.

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /e/ <ե> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
'gum'	χēz	խեժ	χéznə	խե՛ժնը	xez	խեժ
'female'	ēg	եգ	ek ^h j	եք	eg	եգ
'fox'	a <u>u</u> .és	աղուես	áxves	ա՛ղվես	a <u>x</u> vés	աղվես
'donkey'	ēf	եշ	ef	եշ	ef	եշ

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /ə/ <ը> for the words in Table 13.

Table 13: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
'half'	kēs	կես	kəʃ	կըես	kes	կես
'point'	kēt	կետ	kəʔ	կըետ	ket	կետ

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 14.

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <t> to /i/ <h> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘heap’	dēz	դէզ	tiz	տիզ	dez	դէզ
‘silver rod’	ʃərəf	շրէշ	ʃrif	շրիշ	ʃərəf	շրէշ

10.2.3.1.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <h>

Classical Armenian /i/ <h> remained /i/ <h> for the words in Table 15.

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <h> to /i/ <h> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘nine’	ínən	ինն	innə	իննը	ínən	ինն
‘full’	lí	լի	lijnə	լի՛յնը	lí	լի
‘louse’	odʒíl	ոջիլ	vítʃ ^h il	վի՛չիլ	votʃ ^h il	ոջիլ
‘wine’	giní	գինի	kíni	կինի	giní	գինի
‘what’	intʃ ^h	իւչ	hintʃ ^h	հիւչ	intʃ ^h	իւչ
‘chickpea’	sisérən	սիսեռն	sísernə	սի՛սեռնը	sisér	սիսեռն

Classical Armenian /i/ <h> became /e/ <t> for the words in Table 16.

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <h> to /e/ <t> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘nose’	k ^h it ^h	քիթ	k ^h et ^h	քէթ	k ^h it ^h	քիթ
‘year’	tarí	տարի	táre	տա՛րէ	tarí	տարի
‘church’	ekelets ^h í	եկեղեցի	jéχtse	յէ՛խծէ	ekelets ^h í	եկեղեցի
‘yellow’	dehín	դեղին	téʒen	տէ՛ղէն	dehín	դեղին
‘barley’	garí	գարի	k ^j óere	կյէ՛օրէ	garí	գարի
‘bitter’	lehí	լեղի	læ	լըէ	leʒí	լեղի
‘five’	hing	հիւզ	heng ^j	հէւզյ	hing	հիւզ

Classical Armenian /i/ <h> became /ə/ <ըt> for the words in Table 17.

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Table 17: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘one’	mi	մի	məɾ	մըըր	mi	մի
‘oak’	kałní	կաղնի	káɬnə	կա’ղնըտ	kaɬní	կաղնի
‘month’	amís	ամիս	áməɬ	ա’մըտս	amís	ամիս
‘meat’	mis	միս	məɬ	մըտս	mis	միս
‘apricot’	tsirán	ծիրան	tsəɾan	ծըտ’րան	tsirán	ծիրան
‘heart’	sirt	սիրտ	səɾt	սըտըրտ	sirt	սիրտ

10.2.3.1.5 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> remained /o/ <օ> for the words in Table 18.

Table 18: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /o/ <օ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘ash’	moχír	մոխիր	móχer	մօ’խըր	moχír	մոխիր
‘kernel’	koríz	կորիզ	kórəz	կօ’րըտզ	koríz	կորիզ
‘wheat’	ts ^h oréán	ցորեան	ts ^h óren	ցօ’րեւ	ts ^h orén	ցորեւ

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /œ/ <օ> for the words in Table 19, but only next to the sounds /t, r, ɣ/ <ր, ռ, ղ>.²

²[[It is unclear though if the vowel has to be next to those sounds in the Classical Armenian form vs. the modern form. (?)]]

Table 19: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /œ/ <to> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘to twist’	olorél	ոլորել	həllœrel	հըլլեօ՛րել	volorél	ոլորել
‘valley’	ḏzor	ծոր	ṡœr	ծօր	ḏzor	ծոր
‘four’	ṡ ^h ors	չորս			ṡ ^h ors	չորս
	ṡ ^h ork ^h	չորք	ṡ ^h œrk ^h	չօրք		
‘plum’	salor	սալոր	ʃəllœr	շըլլօր	salor	սալոր
‘thief’	goṡ	գող	k ^j œɣ	կյօղ	goɣ	գող
‘work’	gorts	գործ	k ^j œrts	կյօրծ	gorts	գործ

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /u/ <nL> for the words in Table 20.³

Table 20: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /u/ <nL> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘madder’	torón	տորոն	túrūn	տո՛ւրոն	torón	տորոն
‘cress’	kotímən	կոտիմն	kútemnə	կո՛ւտեմնը	kotém	կոտեմ
‘to steal’	goṡanál	գողանալ	k ^j uɣánal	կյուղանալ	goɣanál	գողանալ
‘dirty’	aṡtót	աղտոտ	jéχtut	յե՛խտոտ	aχtót	աղտոտ
‘grape’	χafóṡ	խաղող	háɣuɣ	հա՛ղող	χafóɣ	խաղող

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /ə/ <ըt> for the words in Table 21, always after the sound /v/ <վ>.

³[[For the word ‘cress’, Adjarian provides an ancestor form <կոտեմն>, but I have had difficulty verifying if this word existed in Classical Armenian. Instead, the form I found in dictionaries like *Calfa* was <կոտիմն>. For the word ‘dirty’, Adjarian provides the word <աղտոտ>. I could not determine if this word existed in Classical Armenian; but this word is a compound of Classical Armenian roots, so it is possible. (?)]]

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Table 21: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘king’	t ^h agawór	թագաւոր	t ^h k ^h ávəɾ	թքա՛վըեր	t ^h ak ^h avór	թագաւոր
‘graceful’	ʃənorhawór	շնորհաւոր	ʃənəhávəɾ	շընըհա՛վըեր	ʃənoravór	շնորհաւոր
‘to get accustomed’	sovoril	սովորիլ	səvəɾil	սըվըէ՛րիլ	sovorél	սովորել
‘smell’	hot	հոտ	vəɬ	վըէտ	hot	հոտ
‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’	hor	հոր	vəɾ	վըեր	hor	հոր
‘earth’	hoɬ	հող	vəɬ	վըէղ	hoɬ	հող

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /ə/ <ը> for the words in Table 22, at the beginning of monosyllabic and polysyllabic words.

Table 22: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /və/ <վը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘prey’	ors	որս	vəɾs	վըերս	vors	որս
‘foot’	ótən	ոտն	vəɾnə	վըէ՛նսը	vót	ոտ
‘sheep’	ot ^h χár	ոչխար	vəɾχtʃar	վըէ՛խճար	voɬ ^h χár	ոչխար
‘bone’	óskəɾ	ոսկր	vəɾskəɾ	վըէ՛սկըռ	voskór	ոսկրր
‘buttocks’	or	ոռ	vəɾ	վըեր	vor	ոռ

10.2.3.1.6 Classical Armenian /u/ <n>

Classical Armenian /u/ <n> became /v/ <վ> for the words in Table 23, when next to a vowel.

Table 23: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <n> to /v/ <վ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘fox’	áhu.és	աղուէս	ávves	ա՛ղվէս	avvés	աղվէս
‘to appear’	t ^h u.íl	թուիլ	t ^h val	թվալ	t ^h əvél	թվել

With the subsequent Classical Armenian vowel /a/ <ա>, it forms the diphthong /va/ <նա>...

... in the following three words (Table 24). In Shushi however, these words follow the general rule and are pronounced.

[[*Adjarian means that these words are pronounced as in SEA with a /əv/ sequence instead of /uɑ/.*]]⁴

Table 24: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /v/ <վ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘rope’	տիւան	չուան	տիւան	չուան	տիւան	չվան
‘sourish’	տիւալ	թընալ	տիւալ (Shushi)	չըվալ	տիւալ	թըվալ
‘to get sour’ (?)	տիւալ	թընալ (?)	տիւալ (Shushi)	թըվալ	տիւալ	թըվալ

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /o/ <o> for the words in Table 25, when next to a consonant.

Table 25: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /o/ <o> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘dog’	յոն	չոն	յոն	չոն	յոն	չոն
‘mulberry’	տիւ	թըն	տիւ	թըն	տիւ	թըն
‘smoke’	տսոյ	ծոյ	տսոյ	ծոյ	տսոյ	ծոյ
‘sour’	տիւ	թըն	տիւ	թըն	տիւ	թըն
‘pomegranate’	նւրան	նոն	նորն	նոն	նւր	նոն
‘I have’	ունիմ	ոնիմ	ունիմ	ոնիմ	ունիմ	ոնիմ
‘colt’	կիւրակ	քոնակ	կիւրակ	քոնակ	կիւրակ	քոնակ

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> remained /u/ <nL> for the words in Table 26.

⁴[[*I could not unambiguously track down what the word <թընալ> meant, so I could not determine its SEA reflex.*]]

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Table 26: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u/ <nL> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘cat’	katú	կատու	kátu	կա՛տու	katú	կատու
‘hail’	karkút	կարկուտ	kárkut	կա՛րկուտ	karkút	կարկուտ
‘two’	erkú	երկու	érku	է՛րկու	jerkú	երկու
‘tear’	artasúk ^h	արտասուք	əstásunk ^h	ըստա՛սուկք	artasúk ^h	արտասուք
‘name’	anún	անու	ánum	ա՛նու	anún	անու
‘coal’	atsúχ	ածուխ	andzux	անձուխ	atsúχ	ածուխ

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /y/ <hL> for the words in Table 27.

Table 27: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <hL> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘fish’	ḏzúkəṅ	ծուկ	tsʰykəṅ	ծի՛կ	ḏzúk	ծուկ
‘egg’	ḏzu	ծու	tsʰy	ծի	ḏzu	ծու
‘water’	ḏzur	ջուր	tʰyr	ծիւր	ḏzur	ջուր
‘flea’	lu	լու	ly	լի	lu	լու
‘oath’	erdúməṅ	երդումս	ýrt ^h yṃnə	ի՛րթիւմսը	jert ^h úm	երդումս

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /œ/ <to> for the words in Table 28.

Table 28: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /œ/ <to> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘fawn’	ul	ու	hœl	հու	ul	ու
‘Friday’	urbát ^h	ուրբաթ	œrp ^h æt ^h	է՛րբաթ	urp ^h át ^h	ուրբաթ
‘head’	gəlux	գլուխ	k ^l œx	կըլուխ	gəlux	գլուխ

10.2.3.2 Diphthong changes

10.2.3.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <uj>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <uj> became /e/ <t> for the words in Table 29.

Table 29: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> to /e/ <է> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘goat’	ajts	ւյծ	ets	էծ	ajts	ւյծ
‘wide’	lajn	լայն	len	լէն	lajn	լայն
‘father’	hajr	հայր	her	հէր	hajr	հայր
‘brother’	ełbajr	եղբայր	axper	ա՛խպէր	jexpajr	եղբայր

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> became /a/ <ւ> for the words in Table 30, at the end of the word.

Table 30: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> to /a/ <ւ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘broad bean’	baklaj	բակլայ	pekla	պէ՛կլա	bakla	բակլա
‘on’	i veraj	ի վերայ	jerá	յըրա՛	verá	վրա
‘(male?) child’	təłaj	տղայ	təxa	տղա	təxá	տղա
‘Satan’	satanaj	սատանայ	sutána	սուտա՛նա	sataná	սատանա

10.2.3.2.2 Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւլ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւլ> became /av/ <ւվ> when next to a vowel and word-final, as in Table 31.

Table 31: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւլ> to /av/ <ւվ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘bird (CA); chicken (SEA)’	hav	հաւ	hav	հավ	hav	հավ
‘to like’	hawanil	հաւանիլ	havan kenal	հա՛վան կէսալ	havanél	հավանել

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւլ> became /o/ <օ> when next to a consonant as in Table 32.

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Table 32: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա/ to /o/ <օ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘pigeon’	աձառնի	աղաւսի	jəbónɛiɡʲ	յըղօ՛նէյգյ	աՅաննի	աղաւսի
‘naphtha’	նպտ ^h	նաւթ	not ^h	նօթ	նափ ^h	նաւթ

10.2.3.2.3 Classical Armenian /ɛɑ, ɛɑi/ <եա, եայ>

Classical Armenian /ɛɑ, ɛɑi/ <եա, եայ> became /e/ <է> (Table 33).

Table 33: Change from Classical Armenian /ɛɑ, ɛɑi/ <եա, եայ> to /e/ <է> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘wheat’	տ՛հօրճան	ցորեաւ	տ՛հօրեն	ցօ՛րէս	տ՛հօրեն	ցորէս
‘threshold’	սճամկ ^h	ստամք	femk ^h	շէմք	femk ^h	շէմք
‘tortoise’	կառճի	կրեայ	kóre, kóra	կօ՛րէ, կօ՛րա	kəɾjɑ	կրիա

10.2.3.2.4 Classical Armenian /eʷ/ <ել>

Classical Armenian /eʷ/ <ել> became /ev/ <էվ> (Table 34).

Table 34: Change from Classical Armenian /eʷ/ <ել> to /ev/ <էվ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘light (weight)’	տ՛եթէւ	թեթել	տ՛իթև	թիթել	տ՛եթև	թեթել
‘sun’	արէւ	արել	árev	ա՛րէվ	arév	արել
‘gray-haired’	ալեւօր	ալելոր	hlévur	հլէ՛վոր	alevór	ալլոր

10.2.3.2.5 Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իլ>

Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իլ> became /y/ <իլ> for the words in Table 35.

Table 35: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /y/ <իւ/ in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘snow’	ḍziʰun	ծիւն	ṭsyn	ծիւն	ḍzjun	ծյուն
‘column’	siʰun	սիւն	syn	սիւն	ḍzjun	սյուն
‘hundred’	hariʰr	հարիւր	harʰr	հարիւր	harʰur	հարյուր

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ became /iv/ <իւ/ for the words in Table 36, when word-final and next to a vowel.

Table 36: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /iv/ <իւ/ in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘honor’	patíʰ	պատիւ	patív	պատիւ	patív	պատիւ
‘eagle’	artsíʰ	արծիւ	ártsev	արծիւ	artsív	արծիւ
‘sick’	hiwánd	հիւանդ	hívand	հիւանդ	hivánd	հիւանդ

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ became /ev/ <էւ/ for the words in Table 37, when word-final.

Table 37: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /ev/ <էւ/ in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘fight’	kəriʰ	կռիւ	krev	կռէւ	kəriv	կռիւ
‘scattered’	ṭsʰəriʰ	ցրիւ	ṭsʰrev	ցրէւ	ṭsʰəriv	ցրիւ

10.2.3.2.6 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ/

Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ/ became /y/ <իւ/ (Table 38).

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Table 38: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <nj> to /y/ <hl> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘nest’	bojn	բոյն	pyñ	պիլն	bujn	բույն
‘evening’	erekóĭ	երեկոյ	rýgy	րի՛լգիլ	jerekó	երեկո
‘blue’	kapóĭt	կապոյտ	k ^h æpyt	կյա՛ւիլտ	kapújt	կապոյտ

10.2.3.2.7 Classical Armenian /ov/ <nվ>

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nվ> became /av/ <ավ> (Table 39).⁵

Table 39: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nվ> to /av/ <ավ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘to roast’	χorovél	խորովել	χrável	խրա՛ւել	χorovél	խորովել
‘cow’	kov	կով	kav	կավ	kov	կով
‘salt-INS’	ał-iŷ	աղիլ	áɣav	ա՛ղավ	av-ón	աղով
‘wood-INS’	p ^h aĭt-iŷ	փայտիլ	p ^h áɣdav	փղէ՛ղավ	p ^h ajt-ón	փայտով

10.2.3.3 Consonant changes

10.2.3.3.1 Voicing changes

The consonants in the Karabakh dialect have undergone general circle-like sound changes (ծայնաշրջութիւն).

The voiced consonants of Old Armenian become voiceless. They are unchanged only when next to the nasals /m,n/ <ւ, ն>...

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... The voiceless unaspirated consonants of Old Armenian stay unchanged, but they are voiced after the nasals. The Classical Armenian voiced sounds⁶ are voiceless aspirated after the sound /t/ <ր>. Examples are in Table 40.

⁵[[I find it odd that Adjarian calls this sequence a diphthong because <վ> most likely was a /v/ sound. This suggests that Adjarian may have actually thought that <nվ> was pronounced as /ou/ instead of /ov/.]]

⁶[[On page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum about a missing word; I fixed it.]]

Table 40: Changes in laryngeal voicing from Classical Armenian to the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘mouth’	berán	բերան	péran	պե՛րան	berán	բերան
‘thing’	ban	բան	pen	պէն	ban	բան
‘door’	dúrən	դուռն	tóernə	տո՛ւո՛նը	dur	դուռ
‘sound’	d̂zaj̄n	ծայն	t̂sen	ծէն	d̂zaj̄n	ծայն
‘water-mill’	d̂ʒəraʔáts ^h	ջրաղաց	t̂ʃéʔáts ^h	ճե՛ղաց	d̂ʒəraʔáts ^h	ջրաղաց
‘cotton’	bambák	բամբակ	pémbak	պե՛մբակ	bambák	բամբակ
‘orphan’	orb	որբ	v̂órp ^h	վո՛րբի	vorp ^h	որբ
‘cloud’	amp	ամպ	amb	ամբ	amp	ամպ
‘wool’	burd	բուրդ	pxrt ^h	պիւրթ	bur ^h	բուրդ
‘fever’	tend	տենդ	tənd	տը՛ենդ	tend	տենդ
‘to slander’	bambasél	բամբաստել	pəmbásel	պըմբա՛ստել	bambasél	բամբաստել
‘free, ownerless’	antér	անտեր	ándar	անդար	antér	անտեր
‘lord’	tēr	տեր	tar	տար	ter	տեր

[[Acoustic data on the consonants of the Shushi and Nukha subdialects are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.]]

10.2.3.3.2 Palatalization

The dorsal sounds from Classical Armenian /g k k^h/ <q ʎ p> preserve their simple pronunciation in various places, but they also soften in some places, [[*meaning they palatalize*]]. In accordance with the above rules, they turn into /g^j k^j k^{hj}/ <qj ʎj p>.

It is notable that while the Classical Armenian sound /g/ <q> sound becomes /k^j/ <ʎj> word-initially, the Classical Armenian sounds /k, k^h/ <ʎ, p> do not soften in this context. The Classical Armenian sound /k/ <ʎ> becomes /g^j/ <qj> word-finally after /i/ <ի>, while Classical Armenian /k^h/ <p> becomes /k^{hj}/ <pj> word-finally after /i, in, en/ <ի, իւ, էւ>. Similarly, the Classical Armenian sequence /nkn/ <նկն> becomes /ngnə, ng^jnə, jnə, g^jnə/ <նզնը, նզյնը, յնը, գյնը>.

Examples are in Table 41.

Table 41: Palatalization from Classical Armenian to the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘lamb’	gárən	գառն	k ^l árnə	կյա՛ռնը	gár	գառ
‘wolf’	gajl	գայլ	k ^l ʷl	կյիլ	gajl	գայլ
‘wine’	giní	գինի	k ^l íni	կյի՛նի	giní	գինի
‘cane’	gawazán	գաւազան	k ^l ʷávazən	կըլվա՛զան	gavazán	գավազան
‘five’	hing	հինգ	heng ^j	հէնգ	hing	հինգ
‘jug’	kuʒ	կուժ	koʒ	կօժ	kuʒ	կուժ
‘kernel’	koríz	կորիզ	kórəʒ	կօ՛րըզ	koríz	կորիզ
‘flower’	tsaḥík	ծաղիկ	tsáʰeg ^j	ծա՛ղէգ	tsaḥík	ծաղիկ
‘woman’			knəʒ ^j	կնըզ	kənik	կնիկ
‘goatskin’	tik	տիկ	tejg ^j	տէջ	tik	տիկ
‘how many’	k ^h aní	քանի	k ^h ánə	քանը	k ^h aní	քանի
‘partridge’	kak ^h áʷ	կաքաւ	kák ^h av	կա՛քավ	kak ^h áv	կաքավ
‘manure’	t ^h ərík ^h	թրիք	t ^h rek ^{hi}	թրէք	t ^h ərík ^h	թրիք
‘wedding’	harsaník ^h	հարսանիք	hrsáneink ^{hi}	հրսա՛նէյնք	harsaník ^h	հարսանիք
‘he’	ínk ^h ən	ինքն	ínk ^{hi} ə	ի՛նքն	ínk ^h ən	ինքն
‘mushroom’	súnk ^h ən	սուկկն	sojənə	սօյնը	suŋk	սուկկն
			song ^h nə	սօնգնը		
			songnə	սօնգն		
‘ear’	únk ^h ən	ուկկն	ójnə	օ՛յնը	uŋk	ուկկն
			óngnə	օ՛նգնը		
‘knee’	tsúngək ^h	ծուկք	tsójnə	ծօ՛յնը	tsuŋk	ծուկկն
			tsóng ^h nə	ծօ՛նգնը		
			tsóngnə	ծօ՛նգն		

10.2.3.3.3 Change of word-initial /h/ <h> to /v/ <վ>

Classical Armenian /h/ <h> becomes /v/ <վ> when word-initial before Classical Armenian /o/ <n> and only in closed syllables (Table 42).

Table 42: Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /v/ <վ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘earth’	hoł	հող	vəʒ	վըէղ	hoʒ	հող
‘smell’	hot	հոտ	vəʔ	վըէտ	hot	հոտ
‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’	hor	հոր	vəʔ	վըէր	hor	հոր
‘soul’	hogí	հոգի	hýk ^{hi}	հի՛կքի	hok ^{hi}	հոգի

10.2.3.3.4 Word-initial insertion of /h/ <h>

At the beginning of many words, the sound /h/ <h> is added in Karabakh, whereas it is absent in Old Armenian (Table 43).⁷

Table 43: Insertion of word-initial /h/ <h> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
a. ‘who’	ov	ով	huv	հուվ	ov	ով
‘who.GEN.SG’	օւր, օրօյ	ոյր, որոյ	hxr	հիր	vorı	որի
‘where’	ur	ուր	hor	հօր	ur	ուր
‘how’			hunts ^h	հոււնց	vonts ^h	նւց
‘what’	intj ^h	իւչ	hintj ^h	հիւչ	intj ^h	իւչ
b. ‘friend’	ənker	ընկեր	hənger	հընգեր	ənker	ընկեր
‘shame’	amát ^h	ամաւթ	hámút ^h	հա՛մութ	amót ^h	ամոթ
‘tail’	agı	ագի	hæk ^h y	հա՛քիլ	agı	ագի
‘gray-haired’	alewór	ալեւոր	hlévur	հլե՛ւոր	alevór	ալւոր
‘idle’	paráp	պարապ	həpárap	հըպա՛րապ	paráp	պարապ

These are especially interesting because they show the oldest form of Armenian. In these examples, the words in Table 43a⁸ previously had an initial /k^w/ sound, which was later lost.⁹ The Karabakh sound /h/ <h> is a continuation of this.

10.2.3.3.5 Voicing assimilation between dorsal fricatives and stops/affricates

The Classical Armenian sounds /χ, t/ <խ, դ> merge with the following stop or affricate to form a /χ/ <խ> + voiceless sequence (Table 44).

⁷[[The original page had the reflex of ‘shame’ <ամաւթ, ամոթ> be <հա՛մոթ>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this reflex is mis-transcribed; I fixed it.]]

⁸[[On page 306, Adjarian states the CA word <ուր> ‘where’ should have been <ոււ> ‘who’, but I think his correction is incorrect.]]

⁹[[I think Adjarian means that Proto-Armenian or Proto-Indo-European had this reconstructed sound */k^w/. The Wiktionary page for a Classical Armenian word <հի> /hi/ ‘something’ likewise provides an etymology from PIE */k^w/, based on Աճառեան (1926: 92).]]

Table 44: Voicing assimilation between dorsal fricatives and stops/affricates in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘fountain’	աճիւր	աղբիւր	աչքւր	ա՛խսիւր	աչքյւր	աղբյուր
‘horse-radish’	bołk	բողկ	peχk	պեխկ	boχk	բողկ
‘sin’	mełk ^h	մեղք	meχk	մեխկ	meχk ^h	մեղք
‘to strangle’	χełdél	խեղդել	χéχtel	խե՛խսել	χeχtél	խեղդել
‘filth’	ałt	աղտ	jeχt	յեխտ	aχt	աղտ
‘paper’	t ^h ułt ^h	թուղթ	t ^h oχt	թոխտ	t ^h uχt ^h	թուղթ
‘church’	ekełets ^h i	եկեղեցի	jeχtse	յե՛խծե	jekeχets ^h i	եկեղեցի
‘girl’	ałdžik	աղջիկ	áχtʃig ^j	ա՛խճիգ	aχtʃ ^h ik	աղջիկ
‘to flee’	p ^h aχtʃ ^h il	փախչիլ	p ^h áχtʃil	փա՛խճիլ	p ^h aχtʃ ^h él	փախչել
‘sheep’	ołʃ ^h χár	ոչխար	vəχtʃar	վըե՛խճար	vołʃ ^h χár	ոչխար

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10.2.3.3.6 Change from word-final Classical Armenian /əɫ/ to /nə/

The ending /n/ <ւ> in Old Armenian was found in many words in Old Armenian (Table 45).

[[*Note that orthographically, this was written as final <ւ> /n/, but a schwa is epenthesized after consonants to create /ən/.*]]

This ending is lost in almost all our dialects ([[such as in SEA]]). This form became /nə/ <ւը> in Karabakh, creating a unique characteristic for this dialect.

Table 45: Change from word-final Classical Armenian /əɫ/ <ւ> to /nə/ <ւը> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘door’	dúrən	դուռն	tóernə	տե՛օնը	dúr	դուռ
‘fish’	džúkən	ձուկն	tsýknə	ծի՛ւկնը	džúk	ձուկ
‘mouse’	múkən	մուկն	móknə	մօ՛կնը	múk	մուկ
‘pomegranate’	núrən	նուռն	nórnə	նօ՛ռնը	núr	նուռ
‘milk’	kát ^h ən	կաթն	kát ^h nə	կա՛թնը	kát ^h	կաթ
‘finger’	mát ^h ən	մատն	mánnə	մա՛ննը	mát	մատ
‘foot’	ótən	ոտն	vənnə	վըե՛ննը	vót	ոտ
‘cold’	sárən	սառն	sárnə	սա՛ռնը	sárən	սառն

10.2.3.3.7 Assimilation of /tn/ to /nn/

It is also typical that the sound /t/ <ւո> becomes /n/ <ւ> when before /n/ <ւ>, as an assimilation process (Table 46).

Table 46: Assimilation from Classical Armenian /tn/ <ւո> to /nn/ <ււ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karabakh		cf. SEA	
'foot'	ótə̀n	ոտն	və́nnə	վը՛ննը	vót	ոտ
'finger'	mát ^h ə̀n	մատն	mánnə	մա՛ննը	mat	մատ
'thimble'	matnóts ^h	մատնոց	mnnánuts ^h	մննա՛նուց	matnóts ^h	մատնոց
'whitlow'	matnə́fúrt ^h ə̀n	մատնաշոբոթն	mnnə́fə́j	մննա՛շոշ	matnə́fúrt ^h ə̀n	մատնաշոբոթն
'to enter'	mətə́nəl	մտանել	mnnél	մննել	mətə́nəl	մտնել

10.2.3.3.8 Absence of /f/ and adaptation of loan /f/ to /p^h/

The sound /f/ <ֆ> has entered almost all the dialects of New Armenian. But it is absent in Karabakh, just as in Tbilisi. Here too, like in Old Armenian, the sound /f/ <ֆ> of foreign words has changed to /p^h/ <փ> (Table 47).

Table 47: Change of borrowed /f/ to /p^h/ <փ> in the Karabakh dialect

	Source language		> Karabakh	
'factory'	French	<fabrique>	p ^h ábrík	փա՛բրիկ
'surname'	French	<famille>	p ^h ámil	փամիլ
'Fez'	Turkish	<fes>	p ^h æ̀s	փափս
'carriage'	Turkish	<fayton>	p ^h ájton	փա՛յտոն
'lamp'	Turkish	<fener>	p ^h ǽnæ̀r	փափնափր

10.3 Morphology

10.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

10.3.1.1 General paradigm

The declensions in Karabakh are the same as in the previous two dialects. Here we see the following differences:

- The genitive is formed with the formative /-ə́/ <ըէ> (or /-e,-i/ <է, ի>).

- The ablative with the formatives /-ɑ, -ɑn/ <ω, ωս>.
- The instrumental with the formative /-ɑv/ <ωվ>.
- The plural with the formatives /-əɾ, -nəɾ, -ne/ <ըեր, սըեր, նե>.

See Table 48.

Table 48: Paradigm of plural and case suffixes for nominal declension in the Karabakh dialect

	Singular		Plural (PL-CASE)		
NOM			-əɾ,	-nəɾ, -ne	-ըեր, -սըեր, -նե
GEN, DAT	-ə, -e, -i	-ըէ, -է, -ի	-էր-ի,	-ներ-ի	-է՛րի, -նէ՛րի
ABL	-ɑ, -ɑn	-ω, -ωս	-էր-ɑn,	-ներ-ɑn	-է՛րան, -նէ՛րան
INS	-ɑv	-ωվ	-էր-ɑv,	-ներ-ɑv	-է՛րավ, -նէ՛րավ
LOC	-um	-ում	-էր-um,	-ներ-um	-է՛րում, -նէ՛րում

10.3.1.2 Genitive formation

Unlike the Yerevan and Tbilisi dialects, the genitive here can take the definite article /-n/ <ն> when needed (1). Thus the genitive is not differentiated from the dative, just like in the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch.

- (1) a. Karabakh
- i. t^hýn-ɣ-n bəli-n
 Harutyun-GEN-DEF godfather-DEF
 ‘Harutyun’s godfather’
 Թի՛ւնիւն պըէ՛րիս
- ii. krik^hóɾ-e-n hæɾ-ə
 Krikor-GEN-DEF father-DEF
 ‘Krikor’s father’
 Կրիքօ՛րէն հա՛րը
- b. cf. SEA
- i. harut^hjun-í kəŋk^hɑhɑjɾ-ə
 Harutyun-GEN godfather
 ‘Harutyun’s godfather’
 Հարությունի կնքահայրը

- ii. gərik^hor-í hɑjr-ə
 Grikor-GEN father-DEF
 ‘Grikor’s father’
 Գրիգորի հայրը

The infinitive participle [[*meaning the infinitive form of verbs*]]..

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... takes the genitive /-i/ <ɪ> instead of /-u/ <ɯ> (2), in accordance with the general rule.

(2) a. Karabakh

- i. hɪntʃ^h ɔn-i-s əs-é-l-i
 what have-TH-2SG say-TH-INF-DAT
 ‘What do you have to say?’
 հի՞նչ օ՞նիս աս-է-լ-ի
- ii. χos-é-l-i məhar
 speak-TH-INF-GEN for
 ‘for speaking’
 խօսե՛լի մըհար

b. cf. SEA

- i. ɪntʃ^h un-e-s əs-é-l-u
 what have-TH-2SG say-TH-INF-DAT
 ‘What do you have to say?’
 Ի՞նչ ունես ասելու
- ii. χos-é-l-u hamar
 speak-TH-INF-GEN for
 ‘for speaking’
 խոսելու համար

10.3.1.3 Additional units

Almost all the nominal case markers can be preceded by the additional units /-an, -nan/ <ան, նան> (Table 49).

[[*It seems these morphs act as stem-extenders between stems and case suffixes. But I do not gloss them as NX because we cannot be sure given the limited data. It is also unclear if they are optional.*]]

Table 49: Additional suffixes before case suffixes in the Karabakh dialect

	‘paternal aunt’		
ABL	hak ^h ve-nán-a	հաքվեւանա	√-?-ABL
INS	hak ^h ve-nán-av	հաքվեւանավ	√-?-INS
LOC	hak ^h ve-nán-um	հաքվեւանում	√-?-LOC

10.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The following are the pronoun declensions.

10.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

[[Table 50 lists the personal pronouns.]]

Table 50: Inflectional paradigm for personal pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	1SG ‘I’	2SG ‘you’	1PL ‘we’	2PL ‘you’
NOM	jes յէս	ty տիլ	munk ^h մուկք	tuk ^h տուկք
GEN	im իմ	k ^h u քու	məɾ մըր	tsəɾ ծըր
DAT, ACC	indz ինձ	k ^h ez քեզ	məz մըզ	tsəz ծըզ
ABL	əndz-án-a ընձանա	k ^h əz-án-a քեզանա	məz-án-a մըզանա	tsəz-án-a ծըզանա
INS	əndz-án-av ընձանավ	k ^h əz-án-av քեզանավ	məz-án-av մըզանավ	tsəz-án-av ծըզանավ
LOC	əndz-án-um ընձանում	k ^h əz-án-um քեզանում	məz-án-um մըզանում	tsəz-án-um ծըզանում

10.3.2.2 Intensive or emphatic pronouns

[[For the third person personal pronouns, SEA uses two sets of pronouns: intensive or emphatic pronouns like /iŋk^hə/, and a non-intensive or non-emphatic pronoun that is connected to the distal demonstrative /na/. The intensive pronouns are in Table 51. The term ‘intensive’ is from Dum-Tragut (2009: 126), and ‘emphatic’ from Donabédian (2018).]]

Table 51: Inflectional paradigm for third person intensive pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	3SG ‘he/she’		3PL ‘they’	
NOM	ínk ^h ən	ի՛նքըն	ýrank ^h	ի՛րանք
GEN, DAT, ACC	ýran	ի՛րան	ýrants ^h	ի՛րանց
ABL	yrán-an	իւրա՛նան	yrants ^h -an	իւրա՛նցան
INS	yrán-av	իւրա՛նավ	yrants ^h -av	իւրա՛նցավ
LOC	yrán-um	իւրա՛նում	yrants ^h -um	իւրա՛նցում

10.3.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

[[Demonstrative pronouns come in three sets: proximal, medial, and distal. Within each set, Karabakh seems to use four separate lexemes or patterns with unclear semantic differences: singular in Pattern A (Table 52), plural in Patterns B (Table 53), C (Table 54), and D (Table 55).]]

Table 52: Inflectional paradigm (Pattern A) for 3SG demonstrative pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	proximal 'this'	medial 'that'	distal 'yonder'
NOM	es Էս	et Էտ	en Էն
GEN	estəra ըստըրա	ətəra ըտրա	əndəra ընդըրա
DAT, ACC	estəran ըստըրան	ətəran ըտրան	əndəran ընդըրան
ABL	estərán-a ըստըրանա	ətérán-a ըտրանա	əndərán-a ընդըրանա
INS	estərán-av ըստըրանավ	ətérán-av ըտրանավ	əndərán-av ընդըրանավ
LOC	estərán-um ըստըրանում	ətérán-um ըտրանում	əndərán-um ընդըրանում

Table 53: Inflectional paradigm (Pattern B) for 3PL demonstrative pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	əstəhank ^h ըստըհանք	ətəhank ^h ըտըհանք	əndəhank ^h ընդըհանք
GEN	əstəhants ^h ըստըհանց	ətəhants ^h ըտըհանց	əndəhants ^h ընդըհանց
DAT, ACC	əstəhants ^h ըստըհանց	ətəhants ^h ըտըհանց	əndəhants ^h ընդըհանց
ABL	əstəhants ^h -an ըստըհանցան	ətəhants ^h -an ըտըհանցան	əndəhants ^h -an ընդըհանցան
INS	əstəhants ^h -av ըստըհանցավ	ətəhants ^h -av ըտըհանցավ	əndəhants ^h -av ընդըհանցավ
LOC	əstəhants ^h -um ըստըհանցում	ətəhants ^h -um ըտըհանցում	əndəhants ^h -um ընդըհանցում

Table 54: Inflectional paradigm (Pattern C) for 3PL demonstrative pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	əstərank ^h ըստըրանք	ətərank ^h ըտըրանք	əndərank ^h ընդըրանք
GEN	əstərantś ^h ըստըրանց	ətərantś ^h ըտըրանց	əndərantś ^h ընդըրանց
DAT, ACC	əstərantś ^h ըստըրանց	ətərantś ^h ըտըրանց	əndərantś ^h ընդըրանց
ABL	əstərántś ^h -an ըստըրանցան	ətərántś ^h -an ըտըրանցան	əndərántś ^h -an ընդըրանցան
INS	əstərántś ^h -av ըստըրանցավ	ətərántś ^h -av ըտըրանցավ	əndərántś ^h -av ընդըրանցավ
LOC	əstərántś ^h -um ըստըրանցում	ətərántś ^h -um ըտըրանցում	əndərántś ^h -um ընդըրանցում

Table 55: Inflectional paradigm (Pattern D) for 3PL demonstrative pronouns in the Karabakh dialect

	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	səhank ^h սըհակ	təhank ^h տըհակ	nəhank ^h նըհակ
GEN	səhants ^h սըհանց	təhants ^h տըհանց	nəhants ^h նըհանց
DAT, ACC	səhants ^h սըհանց	təhants ^h տըհանց	nəhants ^h նըհանց
ABL	səhants ^h -an սըհանցան	təhants ^h -an տըհանցան	nəhants ^h -an նըհանցան
INS	səhants ^h -av սըհանցավ	təhants ^h -av տըհանցավ	nəhants ^h -án-av նըհանցանավ
LOC	səhants ^h -um սըհանցում	təhants ^h -um տըհանցում	nəhants ^h -án-um նըհանցանում

10.3.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

[[Adjarian provides the set of interrogative pronouns in Table 56 for 'who'. Note that plural has two sets of declensions.]]

Table 56: Inflectional paradigm for the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Singular	Plural	
NOM	hu, huv hnL, hnLվ	húv-erk ^h	hn'վլէրց
GEN, DAT, ACC	հԿԻ հիԼԻ	húv-erts ^h	հԿԻ-ants ^h հի'ԼԻանց
ABL	հԿԻ-án-a հիԼԻանա	huv-érts ^h -an հոԼվէ'րցան	հԿԻ-ánt ^h -an հիԼԻանցան
INS	հԿԻ-án-av հիԼԻանավ	huv-érts ^h -av հոԼվէ'րցավ	հԿԻ-ánt ^h -av հիԼԻանցավ
LOC	հԿԻ-án-um հիԼԻանում	huv-érts ^h -um հոԼվէ'րցում	հԿԻ-ánt ^h -um հիԼԻանցում

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10.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

10.3.3.1 Overview

Verbal conjugations show some innovations. The stem of the present and imperfective is formed with the formatives /-um, -əm, -am, -is, -es, as/ <ում, ըմ, ամ, իս, էս, աս>. The first three belong to the Khachen province, while the last three belong to the Varanda and Dizak provinces. For example, all of the forms in Table 57 mean the same thing.

Table 57: Forms of the imperfective converb suffix in the Karabakh dialect with the verb ‘I like’ in the indicative present

First group	sir-um ə-m	սիրում ըմ
	sir-əm ə-m	սիրըմ ըմ
	sir-am ə-m	սիրամ ըմ
Second group	sir-is ə-m	սիրիս ըմ
	sir-es ə-m	սիրես ըմ
	sir-as ə-m	սիրաս ըմ
√-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG		

The imperfective is similarly formed (Table 58 and so on).

Table 58: Forms of the imperfective converb suffix in the Karabakh dialect with the verb ‘I was liking’ in the indicative past imperfective

sir-um i-∅-∅	սիրում ի
sir-əm i-∅-∅	սիրըմ ի
sir-es i-∅-∅	սիրես ի
√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	

The future is formed with the formative /kə/ <կը>, which becomes /k^hə/ <քը> next to voiceless sounds.

The definite future (որոշեալ ապանի) is formed with the formatives /akan, a^hts^huk^h/ <ական, ագուք>.

The forms /piti, pitim, petum a/ <պիտի, պիտիմ, պետում ա> are used to form the various tenses of the debitive mood (պարտաւորական եղանակը).

Besides these, there are many so-called immediate (անմիջական) and narrative (պատմական) forms, which we show below along with the previously mentioned form.

10.3.3.2 General paradigm

[[Adjarian shows the paradigm of the verb ‘to like’, as a reflex from Classical Armenian /sir-e-l/ <սիրել[>].]]

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data

against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

10.3.3.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[The indicative present in SEA is formed via periphrasis (Table 59). The verb is in a converb form called the imperfective converb with the suffix /-um/. Tense and agreement is marked on an inflected auxiliary. The Tbilisi dialect shows the same strategy but with two major differences. First, the converb suffix is in general /-əm/. Second, the auxiliary has different morphs. The auxiliary is /e/ in SEA; but in Karabakh, the auxiliary is /a/ in 3SG present, and /ə/ for the other present forms.]]

Table 59: Indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA	
1SG	sír-ə́m ə-m	սի՛րըմ ըմ	sír-úm e-m	սիրում եմ ‘I like’
2SG	sír-ə́m ə-s	սի՛րըմ ըս	sír-úm e-s	սիրում ես
3SG	sír-ə́m a	սի՛րըմ ա	sír-úm e	սիրում է
1PL	sír-ə́m ə-nk ^h	սի՛րըմ ընք	sír-úm e-ŋk ^h	սիրում ենք
2PL	sír-ə́m ə-k ^h	սի՛րըմ ըք	sír-úm e-k ^h	սիրում եք
3PL	sír-ə́m ə-n	սի՛րըմ ըն	sír-úm e-n	սիրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB	AUX-AGR	√-IMPF.CVB	AUX-AGR

[[The indicative past imperfective uses the same imperfective converb as in the present (Table 60). The difference is that auxiliary is now in the past tense. In SEA, the auxiliary has the constant shape /e/ in the past. But in Karabakh, the auxiliary is /a/ in the 3SG. For the other persons, SEA has an underlying sequence /e-i/ that surfaces with glide epenthesis [ej-i], glossed as AUX-PST. But in Karabakh, this sequence is replaced by just [i]. Hypothetically, this Karabakh [i] can be derived from either the auxiliary or the past suffix. Data from the past perfective (10.3.3.2.2) suggests that the past suffix is /-e/ in this dialect, and that this /e/ is deleted after theme vowels and auxiliaries like /i/. Thus, Karabakh and SEA switch glosses for the surface /i/

morph. I admit though that this analysis is tentative and based only on Adjarian's sample paradigms for only the reflex of the Classical Armenian E-Class.]]

Table 60: Indicative past imperfective <սսկաստար> of the verb 'to like' in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA	
1SG	sír-ə́m i-∅-∅	սի՛րըմ ի	sír-ú́m ej-i-∅ 'I was liking'	սիրում էի
2SG	sír-ə́m i-∅-r	սի՛րըմ իր	sír-ú́m ej-i-r	սիրում էիր
3SG	sír-ə́m a-∅-r	սի՛րըմ ար	sír-ú́m e-∅-r	սիրում էր
1PL	sír-ə́m i-∅-nk ^h	սի՛րըմ ինք	sír-ú́m ej-i-ŋk ^h	սիրում էինք
2PL	sír-ə́m i-∅-k ^h	սի՛րըմ իք	sír-ú́m ej-i-k ^h	սիրում էիք
3PL	sír-ə́m i-∅-n	սի՛րըմ ին	sír-ú́m ej-i-n	սիրում էին
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

[[Note that Adjarian transcribed the present 2PL of the auxiliary as /-k^h/ in the present but /-k^h/ in the past. I am not sure if this is a mistake by Adjarian. The past and subjunctive forms from the following sections likewise use /-k^h/. (?)]]

10.3.3.2.2 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 61) is also called the aorist. In SEA for /sir-e-/ 'to like', the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-is^h-, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Karabakh dialect behaves quite differently: the past suffix is /-e/ instead of /-i/, the theme vowel is /i/ in the 3SG but /e/ elsewhere.]]

Table 61: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-é-ts ^h -e-∅	սիրե՛ցտ	sir-e-ts ^h -í-∅	սիրեցի ‘I liked’
2SG	sir-é-ts ^h -e-r	սիրե՛ցեր	sir-e-ts ^h -í-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sír-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրից	sir-é-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-é-ts ^h -e-nk ^{hj}	սիրե՛ցեկք	sir-e-ts ^h -í-ŋk ^h	սիրեցիկք
2PL	sir-é-ts ^h -e-k ^{hj}	սիրե՛ցեք	sir-e-ts ^h -í-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-é-ts ^h -e-n	սիրե՛ցեն	sir-e-ts ^h -í-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

[[Note though that theme vowel is /e/ for all but the 3SG. The past perfective 3SG instead uses the theme vowel /i/.]]

[[Note that Adjarian transcribed the present 1PL of the perfective as /-nk^{hj}/ while auxiliaries in the indicative present/past used /-nk^h/. I am not sure if this is a mistake by Adjarian. The subjunctive forms in the following section likewise use /-nk^{hj}/]]

10.3.3.2.3 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 62) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /e/. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added to the present auxiliary in the indicative present. For a verb like ‘to like’, the 3SG involves changing the theme vowel /e/ to /i/ in the 3SG. The Karabakh dialect is similar with one main difference: the theme vowel is /i/ instead of /e/, much like how the auxiliary is /i/ instead of /e/.]]

Table 62: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA	
1SG	sír-i-m	սի՛րիմ	sír-é-m	սիրեմ ‘(if) I like’
2SG	sír-i-s	սի՛րիս	sír-é-s	սիրես
3SG	sír-i-∅	սի՛րի	sír-í-∅	սիրի
1PL	sír-i-nk ^{hj}	սի՛րինք	sír-é-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sír-i-k ^{hj}	սի՛րիք	sír-é-k ^h	սիրեք
3PL	sír-i-n	սի՛րին	sír-é-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 63) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /e/. The underlying sequence /-e-i/ surfaces as [-ej-i]. In contrast in Karabakh, the sequence /e-i/ is replaced by [i]. Based on comparisons with the indicative past imperfective and the past perfective, it seems that the past suffix is /e/, and that this suffix is deleted after the theme vowel /i/. Thus the transformation is from underlying /-i-e/ to [-i]. Note that in both SEA and Karabakh, the past suffix is zero in the 3SG, while the theme and auxiliary is /a/.]]

Table 63: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA	
1SG	sír-i-∅-∅	սի՛րի	sír-ej-í-∅	սիրեի ‘(if) I liked’
2SG	sír-i-∅-r	սի՛րիր	sír-ej-í-r	սիրեիր
3SG	sír-a-∅-r	սի՛րար	sír-é-∅-r	սիրեր
1PL	sír-i-∅-nk ^{hj}	սի՛րինք	sír-ej-í-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sír-i-∅-k ^{hj}	սի՛րիք	sír-ej-í-k ^h	սիրեք
3PL	sír-i-∅-n	սի՛րին	sír-ej-í-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

10.3.3.2.4 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Future

[[In Karabakh, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 64). The future and past future are constructed by adding the prefix /kə/ before

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the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. (Note that this prefix is /k^hə/ before voiceless sounds, as stated by Adjarian (§10.3.3.1). SEA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.)]

Table 64: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Future <ապառնի>		Past future <անցեալ ապառնի>	
1SG	k ^h ə sír-i-m ‘I will like’	ըն սի՛րիմ	k ^h ə sír-i-∅-∅ ‘I was going to like’	ըն սի՛րի
2SG	k ^h ə sír-i-s	ըն սի՛րիս	k ^h ə sír-i-∅-r	ըն սի՛րիր
3SG	k ^h ə sír-i-∅	ըն սի՛րի	k ^h ə sír-a-∅-r	ըն սի՛րար
1PL	k ^h ə sír-i-nk ^h i	ըն սի՛րիսըյ	k ^h ə sír-i-∅-nk ^h i	ըն սի՛րիսըյ
2PL	k ^h ə sír-i-k ^h i	ըն սի՛րիքյ	k ^h ə sír-i-∅-k ^h i	ըն սի՛րիքյ
3PL	k ^h ə sír-i-n	ըն սի՛րին	k ^h ə sír-i-∅-n	ըն սի՛րին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

10.3.3.2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SEA adds the morph /-ir/ after the root for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 65). For the 2PL, archaic SEA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that the sequence /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. More modern registers of SEA instead just add the sequence /-ek^h/ directly after the root. Karabakh uses similar strategies: the 2SG marker is either /-i/ or /-e/. The 2PL system seems to match SEA.]]

Table 65: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA ‘like!’		
2SG	sír-i	սի՛րի	sír-ír	սիրի՛ր	√-IMP.2SG
	sír-e	սի՛րե			√-IMP.2SG
2PL	sír-é-ts ^h -ek ^h i	սիրե՛ցեքյ	sír-e-ts ^h -ék ^h	սիրեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
	sír-ek ^h i	սի՛րեքյ	sír-ék ^h	սիրեք	√-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 66), SEA simply adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the imperative form. Karabakh however uses a more

complex system. One option is to add the suffix suffix /-il/ (creating a possibly non-finite form like the infinitive), and then add the prohibitive marker /m̄ɑr/ for the 2SG or /m̄ɑk^h/ for the 2PL. Another option is to inflect the verb with /-s/ for 2SG or /-k^h/ for the 2PL, and then add the negation word /v̄ɑtʃ^h/ (likely a cognate of SEA ‘no’ /votʃ^h/). The two strategies differ in the placement of inflection: on either the verb or the post-verbal marker. Thus, agreement morphology is mobile.]]

Table 66: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		Karabakh		cf. SEA ‘do not like!’
2SG	sír-i-l m̄ɑ-r	սի՛րիլ մ̄ռր	sír-i-s v̄ɑtʃ ^h	սի՛րիս վ̄ռռ	mí sir-ir Վի՛ սիրիր
2PL	sír-i-l m̄ɑ-k ^h	սի՛րիլ մ̄ռք	sír-i-k ^h v̄ɑtʃ ^h	սի՛րիք վ̄ռռ	mí sir-ek ^h Վի՛ սիրեք
	√-TH-INF(?)	PROH-AGR	√-TH-AGR(?)	NEG	PROH √-AGR

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10.3.3.2.6 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 67. Note that present participle is also called the subject participle. What Adjarian calls the past participle is differentiated in SEA as a resultative participle with /-ɑts/ and a perfective converb with /-el/.]]

Table 67: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA			
Infinitive	սևորոշ	sír-i-l	սի՛րիլ	sír-é-l	սիրելի	√-TH-INF
Present	սերկայ	sír-ox	սի՛րոյ	sír-óx	սիրող	√-SPTCP
Past	սևցեալ	sír-ɑl	սի՛րալ	sír-él	սիրել	√-PERF.CVB
		sír-ɑts	սի՛րած	sír-áts	սիրած	√-RPTCP
Future	սպառնի	sír-ə-l-ákan	սիրըլա՛կան	sír-e-l-u	սիրելլու	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB
						√-TH-INF-?
		sír-ə-l-áts ^h uk ^h	սիրըլա՛ցուք			√-TH-INF-?

10.3.3.2.7 Other Complex or periphrastic forms

Besides these, there are many composite բաղադրեալ forms, which are formed with the participles and with auxiliaries. The following is a list.

Indicative mood [[*In the indicative mood* (սահմանական եղանակ), *Adjarian* lists the following other periphrastic tenses: the present perfect, the past perfect, the definite future, and the definite past future.]]

[[*In SEA, the present perfect and past perfect are formed by taking the perfective converb of a verb (suffixed with /-el/: Table 68), and then adding present or past auxiliaries. Karabakh shows essentially the same strategy. The verb uses a non-finite form with either the perfective suffix /-al/ or the resultative suffix /-ats/.*]]

Table 68: 1SG present perfect <յարակատար> and past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

	Karabakh		cf. SEA ‘I have/had liked’		
Pres.	sír-al ə-m	սիրալ ըմ	sír-él e-m	սիրել եմ	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR
	sír-ats ə-m	սիրած ըմ			√-RPTCP AUX-AGR
Past	sír-al i-∅-∅	սիրալ ի	sír-él ej-i-∅	սիրել էի	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR
	sír-ats i-∅-∅	սիրած ի			√-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR

[[*Adjarian likewise mentions the definite future and the definite past future* (Table 69). *They are formed by taking the future participle and adding the present or past auxiliaries. He does not explain what a definite future means however.*]]¹⁰

Table 69: 1SG definite future <որոշեալ ապանի> and definite future past <որոշեալ ապանի անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

Fut.	sír-ə-l-ákan ə-m	սիրըլական ըմ	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG
	sír-ə-l-áts ^h uk ^h ə-m	սիրըլացուք ըմ	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG
Fut. Past	sír-ə-l-ákan i-∅-∅	սիրըլական ի	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
	sír-ə-l-áts ^h uk ^h i-∅-∅	սիրըլացուք ի	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG

Narrative mood [[*For the narrative mood* (պատմական եղանակ), *Adjarian* briefly illustrates 6 possible systems (3). *These systems are formed by taking a pre-existing periphrastic tense, and then adding a formative /əlxəl/ <ըլլալ>, which is likely a cognate with the SWA verb /əllal/ ‘to be’.*¹¹ *The 6 new periphrastic systems*

¹⁰[[*Adjarian does not use the phrase ‘definite future’ elsewhere in the book. Hrach Martirosyan informs me that he likewise does not know this phrase. A grammar of Karabakh Armenian just calls this construction a simple future* (Դավթյան 1966: 149).]]

¹¹[[*A possible segmentation for this formative is /əl-æ-l/ ‘√-TH-INF’. Unfortunately, Adjarian does not provide enough data. For safety, I give a simple segmentation and gloss as NARR. (?)*]]

are morphologically derived from the 6 morphological structures that were previously described: the indicative present, the indicative past imperfective, the present perfect, the past perfect, the definite future, the definite past future. He does not explain what the narrative mood is used for however.]]

[[Note the unclear glossing for what could be the future converb suffix. (?)]]

(3) 1SG narrative mood <սպատմական եղանակ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

a. Present (սերկայ)

sír-əm ə-m əlæɫ
 √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըմ ըմ ըլալ

b. Past imperfective (անկատար)

sír-əm i-∅-∅ əlæɫ
 √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըմ ի ըլալ

c. Definite future (որոշեալ ապանսի)

i. sír-ə-l-ákan ə-m əlæɫ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըլա՛կան ըմ ըլալ

ii. sír-ə-l-áts^huk^h ə-m əlæɫ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըլա՛ցոք ըմ ըլալ

d. Definite future past (որոշեալ ապանսի անցեալ)

i. sír-ə-l-ákan i-∅-∅ əlæɫ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըլա՛կան ի ըլալ

ii. sír-ə-l-áts^huk^h i-∅-∅ əlæɫ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըլա՛ցոք ի ըլալ

e. Present perfect (յարակատար)

i. sír-ats ə-m əlæɫ
 √-RPTCP AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րած ըմ ըլալ

ii. sír-al ə-m əlæɫ
 √-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րալ ըմ ըլալ

f. Past perfect (գերակատար)

i. sír-ats̄ i-∅-∅ ələl
 √-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րած ի ըլալ

ii. sír-al i-∅-∅ ələl
 √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րալ ի ըլալ

Debitive mood [[In the *debitive mood* (պարտաւորական եղանակ), *Adjarian* briefly illustrates 8 possible systems. These systems are formed by taking a finite or non-finite form of the verb, and then adding a version of the *debitive formative /piti/*. In some cases, this formative takes agreement, thus suggesting that agreement morphology is mobile. These 8 systems are not straightforwardly constructed from pre-existing tenses. Instead, each system uses its own set of rules (4). The rules below are my own conjectures based on *Adjarian's* list of forms. *Adjarian* does not state at all what the rules should be, nor does he explain the meaning of these constructions.]]

(4) Debitive forms in Karabakh

a. Present (ւերկայ)

pét-ə-m a sír-i-m
 DEB-TH(?) -1SG AUX.PRS.3SG like-TH-1SG

պէ՛տըմ ա սի՛րիմ

Rule: The *debitive present* is formed by inflecting the *debitive*, adding the present 3SG auxiliary, and adding the inflected subjunctive present.

b. Past imperfective (անկատար)

pét-ə-m a sír-i-∅-∅, pét-ə-m
 DEB-TH(?) -1SG AUX.PRS.3SG like-TH-PST-1SG, DEB-TH(?) -1SG

i-∅-∅ sír-i-∅-∅
 AUX-PST-1SG like-TH-PST-1SG

պէ՛տըմ ա սի՛րի, պէ՛տըմ ի սի՛րի

Rule: The *debitive past imperfective* is formed by inflecting the *debitive*, adding either the present 3SG auxiliary /a/ or the past inflected auxiliary, and then adding the inflected past subjunctive.

c. Future (ապանի)

sír-ats̄ pit-i-m
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?) -1SG
սի՛րած պիտիմ

Rule: The debitive future is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats̄/), and then adding a present-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

d. Past future (անցեալ ապանի)

sír-ats̄ pit-i-∅-∅
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?) -PST-1SG
սի՛րած պիտի

Rule: The debitive past future is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats̄/), and then adding a past-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

e. Narrative present (պատմական ներկայ)

sír-ats̄ pit-i-m əlæł
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?) -1SG NARR
սի՛րած պիտիմ ըլսի

Rule: The debitive narrative present is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats̄/), adding a present-inflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding the narrative marker /əlæł/.

f. Narrative past (պատմական անցեալ)

sír-ats̄ pit-i-∅-∅ əlæł
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?) -PST-1SG NARR
սի՛րած պիտի ըլսի

Rule: The debitive narrative past imperfective is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats̄/), adding a past-inflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding the narrative marker /əlæł/.

g. Definite future (որոշեալ ապանի)

sír-ə-l-ákan pit-í-m
like-TH-INF-FUT.CV(?) DEB-TH(?) -1SG
սիրըլս՛կան պիտիմ

Rule: The debitive definite future is formed by taking the future participle, and then adding a present-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

h. Definite past future (որոշեալ ապառնի անցեալ)

sír-ə-l-ákan pít-i-∅-∅
 like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB-TH(?)-PST-1SG

սիրըլա՛կան պիտի

Rule: The debitive definite past future is formed by taking the future participle, and then adding a past-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

Intensive mood [[*In the intensive mood* (սաստկական եղանակ), *Adjarian briefly illustrates 4 possible systems. These systems are formed by taking a finite or non-finite form. Adjarian does not explain the structure or meaning of such systems. I conjecture the following rules in (5).*]]

(5) Intensive forms in Karabakh

a. Present (սերկայ)

i. sír-ats piti pít-i-m
 like-RPTCP DEB DEB-TH(?)-1SG

սի՛րած պիտի պի՛տիմ

Rule: The intensive present is formed by taking the stressed resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), adding an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding a stressed present-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

ii. sir-ats piti piti íni-m
 like-RPTCP DEB DEB ?-1SG

սիրած պիտի պիտի ի՛նիմ

Rule: The intensive present is formed by taking the unstressed resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), adding two instances of an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then a stressed present-inflected formative /ini-/.

b. Past (անցեալ)

i. sír-ats piti pít-i-∅-∅
 like-RPTCP DEB DEB-TH(?)-PST-1SG

սի՛րած պիտի պի՛տի

Rule: The intensive past is formed by taking the stressed resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), adding an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding a stressed past-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

- ii. *sir-ats̄* *piti piti ini-∅-∅*
 like-RPTCP DEB DEB ?-PST-1SG

սիրած պիտի պիտի ինի

Rule: The intensive past is formed by taking the unstressed resultative participle (past participle with /-ats̄/), adding two instances of an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then a stressed past-inflected formative /ini-/.

c. Future (ապանի)

- i. *sir-ə-l-ákan* *piti pít-i-m*
 like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB DEB-TH(?) -1SG

սիրըլական պիտի պիտիմ

Rule: The intensive future is formed by taking the stressed future participle, adding an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding a stressed present-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

- ii. *sir-ə-l-ákan* *piti piti ini-∅*
 like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB DEB ?-1SG

սիրըլական պիտի պիտի ինիմ

Rule: The intensive future is formed by taking the stressed future participle, adding two instances of an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then a stressed present-inflected formative /ini-/.

d. Past future (անցեալ ապանի)

- i. *sir-ə-l-ákan* *piti pit-i-∅-∅*
 like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB DEB-TH(?) -PST-1SG

սիրըլական պիտի պիտի

Rule: The intensive past future is formed by taking the stressed future participle, adding an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding a stressed past-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

- ii. *sir-ə-l-ákan* *piti piti ini-∅-∅*
 like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB DEB ?-PST-1SG

սիրըլական պիտի պիտի ինի

Rule: The intensive past future is formed by taking the stressed future participle adding two instances of an uninflected debitive marker /piti/, and then a stressed past-inflected formative /ini-/.

Immediate mood [[In the immediate mood (անսիջական եղանակ), Adjarian briefly illustrates 4 possible systems. Adjarian does not explain the structure or meaning of such systems. I conjecture that the morphological strategy is to take the

instrumental form of the verb (suffixed with /-av/), and then use combinations of auxiliaries and narrative formatives (6).]]

(6) Immediate forms in Karabakh

a. Present (սերկայ)

sir-é-l-av ə-m
like-TH-INF-INS AUX-1SG

սիրելիքս ըմ

Rule: The immediate present is formed by taking the instrumental form of the verb, and then adding the present auxiliary.

b. Past imperfective (անկատար)

sir-é-l-av i-∅-∅
like-TH-INF-INS AUX-PST-1SG

սիրելիքս ի

Rule: The immediate past imperfective is formed by taking the instrumental form of the verb, and then adding the past auxiliary.

c. Narrative present (պատմական սերկայ)

sir-é-l-av ə-m ələl
like-TH-INF-INS AUX-1SG NARR

սիրելիքս ըմ ըլլի

Rule: The immediate narrative present is formed by taking the instrumental form of the verb, adding the present auxiliary, and then adding the narrative formative /ələl/.

d. Narrative past (պատմական անցեալ)

sir-é-l-av i-∅-∅ ələl
like-TH-INF-INS AUX-PST-1SG NARR

սիրելիքս ի ըլլի

Rule: The immediate narrative past imperfective is formed by taking the instrumental form of the verb, adding the past auxiliary, and then adding the narrative formative /ələl/.

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10.4 Subdialects

The description that we give is for the main dialect of Karabakh. Its subdialects (Gandzak, Gazakh, and Karadagh) show some or many differences. Because they

have not been researched or scientifically verified, it is impossible for me to determine in detail the limits or borders of these differences. I am satisfied with using only my passing familiarity.

10.4.1 Gandzak

The Gandzak subdialect is extremely close to the main Karabakh dialect, only that it has purer forms, meaning forms that are closer to the old language. For example in verbal conjugation, the copular verb does not have forms with schwa /ə/ (like 2PL /ə-k^h/ <ըք>, 3PL /ə-n/ <ըն>) but instead forms with /e/ (Table 70).

Table 70: Use of /e/ instead of /ə/ in the copula for the Gandzak subdialect of the Karabakh dialect

	General Karabakh		cf. Gandzak subdialect		cf. SEA	
1SG ‘I am’	ə-m	ըմ	e-m	եմ	e-m	եմ
2SG ‘you are’	ə-s	ըս	e-s	ես	e-s	ես
1PL ‘we are’	ə-nk ^h	ընք	e-nk ^h	ենք	e-ηk ^h	ենք

The Classical Armenian sound /i/ <ի> does not become /ə/ <ը> and it remains unchanged (Table 71).

Table 71: Lack of the sound change from /i/ <ի> in the Gandzak subdialect of the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> General Karabakh		cf. Gandzak subdialect		cf. SEA	
‘neck’	viz	վիզ	vəz	վըզ	viz	վիզ	viz	վիզ
‘year’	tári	տարի	táre	տարե	tári	տարի	tári	տարի
‘nose’	k ^h it ^h	քիթ	k ^h et ^h	քեթ	k ^h it ^h	քիթ	k ^h it ^h	քիթ

The ending /n/ <ն> of Old Armenian became /nə/ <նը> in Karabakh, but it became /ə/ <ը> in Gandzak (Table 72).

Table 72: Change from final /n/ <ն> in Classical Armenian to /ə/ <ը> in the Gandzak subdialect of the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian		> General Karabakh		cf. Gandzak subdialect		cf. SEA	
‘fish’	ḏzúkən	ծուկն	ṡsúkənə	ծի՛կնը	ṡsúkə	ծո՛կը	ḏzúk	ծուկ

10.4.2 Gazakh

The Gazakh subdialect, as can be seen in my published writings, is much closer to the Yerevan dialect. The ablative formative is /-its^h/ <|hg>, instead of the Karabakh form /-an/ <ան>.

The past participle ends in the formative /-el/ <ել> and not with /al/ <ալ> (7).

- (7) a. i. Karabakh
jes ə-m əl-æł
I AUX-1SG be-PERF.CVB
յէս ըմ ըլալ
- ii. Gazakh
jes e-m l-el
I AUX-1SG be-PERF.CVB
յէս էմ էլ
- iii. SEA
jes e-m eʁ-el
I AUX-1SG be-PERF.CVB
'I have been.'
ես Էմ եղել
- b. i. Karabakh
əng-al ə-m
fall-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG
ընգալ ըմ
- ii. Gazakh
ənk-el e-m
fall-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG
ընկել էմ
- iii. SEA
ənk-el e-m
fall-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG
'I have fallen.'
ընկել Էմ

However, before stress, the basic rule of losing vowels continues to apply (Table 73 and (8)).

Table 73: Pre-tonic vowel deletion in the Gazakh subdialect of the Karabakh dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Gandzak subdialect	cf. SEA
‘barking at a beast’		kznáhátʰ	gazanahátʰ
‘children’	ereχáik ^h	réχek ^h	jereχék ^h
‘to get accustomed’	sovoríl	səvóril	sovorél

- (8) a. Karabakh
 əʃχárk^h-e-s ərés-e-n
 world-GEN-POSS.1SG face-DAT-DEF
 ըշխարքես ըրէ՛սէս
- b. Gazakh
 əʃχár-i-s ərís-i-n
 world-GEN-POSS.1SG face-DAT-DEF
 ըշխարիս ըրի՛սիս
- c. SEA
 əʃχar-í-s jeres-í-n
 world-GEN-POSS.1SG face-DAT-DEF
 ‘on the face of my world’ (likely idiomatic for ‘in my life’) աշխարհիս
 երեսիս

The debitive form (1SG /piti-m/ <պիտիմ>, 2SG /piti-s/ <պիտիս>) is shortened to /dem, des, den/ <դէմ, դէս, դէն> (9).¹²

- (9) Gazakh
- a. íntʰ dem səvor-il
 what DEB.1SG study-PTCP(?)
 ‘What do I have to study?’
 ինչ դէմ սըվօրիլ
- b. mer rexe-k^h-n íntʰ órnak den ve kal-n-il
 our child-PL-DEF what example DEB.3PL up take-VX-PTCP(?)
 ‘What example will our children look up to?’
 մեր ըբիւքն ինչ Էօրնակ դէն վէ կալնիլ

¹²[[Adjarian did not provide a translation for the below sentences, and I found them hard to understand. The first sentence’s translation is my guess. Vahagn Petrosyan suggested the translation for the second sentence. Without an explicit translation by Adjarian or more data from this dialect, I am not completely confident in the glossing and translation.]]

10.4.3 Karadagh

The Karadagh subdialect has a wide distribution. At the north side of Atropatene (Iranian Azerbaijan), there is the large and heavily Armenian-populated province of Karadagh, which was previously Paytakaran. Besides that, the subdialect is also spoken in the Armenian-populated village of Mujumbar (close to Tabriz), and in the Armenian populace of the Lilava district of Tabriz, which was formed from...

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... the Armenian settlements of Karadagh and Mujumbar. This subdialect is very close to the Karabakh dialect. In this subdialect, we find the following:

- The stress change.
- The loss of pre-stress vowels ([[= *pre-tonic vowels*]]).
- The change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /o, œ/ <o, ɛo>.
- The change from Classical and /u/ <nL> to /o, y/ <o, hL>.
- The change from Classical Armenian /n/ <u> to /nə/ <uɾ>.
- The use of the past participle suffix /al/ <ωl>.

The Karadagh dialect however did not change the Old Armenian voiced consonants to voiceless ones; they stayed voiced.

10.5 Literature

The Karabakh dialect was studied first by Patkanian (Патканов 1869: 55-73), then some small pieces of information in Makar Barkhudariants's "Pele Pughî" (Մ. Վ. Բարխուդարեանցի Պըլը-Պուղի; [[SEA: /makar barχudarjants^h/]]) and in Karapet Shahnazariants's work (Վ. Ս. Շահնազարեանցի Ղըլըց Կնանոց պընը փէշակը; [[SEA: /karapet fahnazarjants^h/]]). The last time there was a detailed study was my own work (Աճառեան 1901). Of my work, the Armenologist Meillet wrote a review (Journal Asiatique, 1902, page 561-571),¹³ where he discusses all the interesting and phonologically-interesting points of this Karabakh dialect.

The following works are written in the Karabakh dialect.

¹³[[It was not clear to me how to cite this review, but I tracked down a URL: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015024511522&view=1up&seq=623>.]]

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Karabakh dialect
 - The main Karabakh dialect
 - * Մակար Վրդ. Բարխուդարեանց – Պըլը-Պուղի, Թիֆլիս, 1883.
 - * ՈստաՄ Գեորգ Բարխուդարեանց
 - – Արաղը տարին կտարի. Շուշի, 1883.
 - – Չոնբանս ու նշանածը. Թիֆլիս, 1896.
 - – Բարոյական առածներ. Թիֆլիս, 1898.
 - * Շիրմազանեան Գ. – Ասրի-րեզ եւ Գիւքի. Կոռնկ, 1862, page 896-930, 1863, page 113-137
 - * Կ. Մելիք-Շահնազարեան – Ջոռնա-ամբլա, 2 հատոր. Վազարշապատ, 1907-08
 - * Տիգր – Ղալի աղաթներան պատկերներ. Ճպատորը քուլաղ կարի. Թիֆլիս, 1889
 - * Ե. Լալայեան
 - – Ժողովրդական երգեր (Գորիսի). Ազգ. Հանդ. Գ. page 261-270
 - – Ժողովրդական երգեր (Ջանդեղուրի). Ազգ. Հանդ. Դ. page 113-116
 - Gazakh subdialect
 - * Տեր-Դաւթեան Դ. Փաստաբանի մօտ (վօղըվիլ). Թիֆլիս, 1901
 - * Ճուզուրեան Յ.
 - – Մորացուած աշխարհի. 3 հտ. Թիֆլիս, 1895-6
 - _____ original page number 72 _____
 - – Աղքատի հալը
 - – Գիւղի այրին
 - Gandzak subdialect

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- * Ե. Լալայեան – Բանաւոր գրականութիւն. Ազգ. Հանգ., Զ, page 372-382
- * Ս. Աւետիքեան
 - – Սամիտարնի. Թիֆլիս, 1897
 - – Նահատակ. Թիֆլիս, 1898
- Karadagh subdialect
 - * Ղազարեան Յ. – Մանկական բեմ. Թիֆլիս, 1900
 - * Ս. Անգրեասեան – Առածներ. Բիւրակն, 1898, page 460-461

[[For more recent work on Karabakh, see Martirosyan (2019: 228). For Karadagh, see Martirosyan (2019: 232).]]

10.6 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

10.6.1 Karabakh dialect

- Պարի աճօճում, ա՛պրես, հըշ տըղա՞ն ըս կյամ:
 - Ըստուծէ՛ն պա՛րին. Նէ՛րքէ շէ՛նան ըմ կյամ:
 - Հինչո՞ւ մըհար իր քէ՛ցալ ընդէդ:
 - Պէն օ՛նի. քէ՛ցալ ի ըխճըկանըս ա՛կը տամ:
 - Խէ՞, ա՛խճիկըտ ընդէդ ըս հըղէ ըրա՛լ:
 - Բա հա՛ւլմ սօր ըս գի՛ւղում, Է՛րկու տըռնան (տարիէն) ի՛վիլ ա վրեր Նըրքը-Շընա՛ցա մին մա՛րթոն-յ-ըմ տըվալ:
 - Է՛, փըսետ հա՞վան ը՛ս, լա՞վ տըղա-յ-ա՛. ըխճըկանըտ լա՞վ ա մըղա՛ծիտ կէնը՛մ:
 - Խէ՞ չի. Ըստուծա՛նա շընուրհա՛կալ ըմ. տօնը շէն, ա՛մբարը ցօ՛րնալ լի՛գը, կյիւմը տըվա՛րալ լի՛գը, վըէ՛խճարը սիւրիւ-սի՛ւրիւ կա՛գնած, ճօխտ ճօխտ ճը-ղըցնէն (ջրաղացներ) պէ՛նէ (կը բանի). ի՛նքն էլ լա՛մ վ բօ՛յալ բուսա՛թալ, վըեր յէ՛շըմ ըս քէ՛փըտ կյա՛մ մ ա:
 - Դէ վըեր ըտի՛-յ-տ (այդպես է), լա՛մ վ ա. Ա՛ստուծ Է՛լ ի՛վիլ ա՛նէ:

10.6.2 Karadagh subdialect

Adjarian's note: Communicated by the Karadaghian, Ms. S. Ter-Martirosian (օր. Ս. Տեր-Մարտիրոսեան; [[SEA: /ter martirosjan/]]).

Վանետը ո՛րան կյանքըմը ժամ չըլալ գե՛ցած. գի՛ղալ չըլալ խօստօ՛վանքը հա՛ղորթը հի՛նչ ա: Գեևցալ ա ո՛րան մին ծանօթից հըցրալ ա թա «իս մըտքը՛մըս դրամ ըմ, վօր խօստօվանվըմ ու հաղօրթվըմ հի՛նչուր կա՛րըն»: Էն ալ ասալ ա թա «հի՛նչ ուր կա՛րըս, կի գինըս ժամ, քահանան քի հի՛նչ վօր կա՛սի ՚ դու ալ էն կա՛սըս»: Վանետը գինե՛ցալ ա ժամ, ասալ ա. «Ա՛ր դեր, ինձ ...

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... խօստօվանցրու վօր պտը ա հաղորթվում»: Քահանան ասալ ա. «վօրթի չօ՛քի». Վանետն ալ ասալ ա «վօրթի չօ՛քի»: Քահանան ասալ ա «իրե՛սեդ խա- չակընքի. ասի մե՛ղա Աստծու». Էն ալ ասալ ա «իրե՛սեդ խաչակընքի, ասի մե՛ղա Աստծու»: Քահանան ասալ ա «հի՛նչ գուզե՛թուն վօր արած ըս՝ ասի»: Վանետն ալ ասալ ա «հի՛նչ գուզե՛թուն վօր արած ըս՝ ասի»: Էն սհա՛թեն Վանետը ձե՛ռքը թա՛քուն տա՛րալ ա դե՛րեն ջուրը, սհա՛թը հանալ ա: Քահանան տե՛սալ ա վօր հի՛նչ վօր ըսի՛լիս ա՝ Էն ալ ըսի՛լիս, սկսալ ա Վանետե թա՛կիլ: Վանետն ալ դե՛րեն ա թա՛կալ: Վանետը փա՛խալ ա քուչան, մա՛րթըրը տե՛սալ ըն, հըցրալ. «Ա՛ր մարթ, իսե՞-յ-ըս փիչի՛լիս». – «Ախր խօստովանված ըմ». ի՛նդի ի՛լալ գիղալիս վօր խօստօվանվողը կը փա՛խչի: Յե՛տեն քահանան ձե՛ռքը տա՛րալ ա ջո՛ւբը՝ սհա՛թեն յեշի՛լու, տե՛սալ ա վօր ջուբո՛ւմը չի: «Է՛յ անիծած, խօստօվանքեն թա՛իրը (Թըք. կերպը) գիղալիս չի, սհաթս ալ գուղա՛ցալ ա՝ տա՛րայ»:

10.6.3 Gazakh subdialect

Adjarian's note: Taken from Ճուղուրեանի Մոռացուած աշխարհէն. հտ. Ա, էջ 103-4. Unfortunately, it does not have scientific accuracy.

Երկու ախպեր էն լըմ, մի անըմը Կայան, մեկելինը Աբել: Կայանը շա՛տ օցի կծածն ա ըլըմ, հօրը, մօրն ու ախպօրն ըսկի՛ սիրելիս չի ըլըմ: Մը հետ Երկու ախպերն էլ ուզըմ էն Ասծուն մատաղ անէն: Օց Կայանը ըռանչպար ա ըլըմ, Աբելը չօբան: Նրանք էլ մեզ պէս՝ չօռի ու ցալի ժամանակ Ասծուն միտներն էն քըցըմ ուզըմ էն մտղանա տալ...: Ասծու օխնած Աբելը վօջխարը բերըմ ա դիւզըմը կըղնըցընըմ, երիսին խաչ քաշըմ ու վօջխարի միջից՝ սրտալի մի թուխը-սախար վօջխար ա ջօկըմ, ձեռաց վե քըցըմ մօրթեն, փետ ու կրակ անըմ սկսըմ խրօվել: Օց Կայանը, Ա՛ստօծ անըծի նրան, կալը նօր քամած՝ ցօրէնը կիտած ա ըլըմ. սա վեր ա կալնըմ անսիրտ-անսիրտ ցօրէնը խախալըմ, տակ ու գրուխը բերըմ մատաղանա տալի ու ինքն էլ փետ ու կրակ անըմ իր առածը խրօվըմ: Երկուսի կրակն էլ մի դիւզ տեղ ա ըլըմ բացը յերկնքի տակ:

Աստօծ մտիկ ա տալի տէնըմ, վօր Աբէլը սրտով տըվէց՝ նրա մատաղի կրակի ծուխը ծլլի (ուղիղ) ա բացրանըմ, նրա մատաղն ընթունէլի ա անըմ:

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Պոթթօղ-մոթթօղ, տակ ու գլուխ տվօղ Կայանի վրա Աստվածաբար չրանըմ ա ու նրա ցօրէնի հասկէրն անըծըմ, թէ «Թօղ քու ցօրէնը մի հասկանի մնա»:

Կայանը տէնալով վօր Աստօծ Աբէլի դօլը պահէց, մի օր՝ Աբէլոհն՝ վօջխարի մէջ շվաքըմը խօրը քնած վախտը՝ վեր ա կալնըմ կօվըզիզիկը (սեւ սուր քար), բուզը դուս ա կարըմ ու իրան չօմբախօվը կրկաժի կիսին տալի՝ դուղը շաղ ա տալի հա՛ սպանը՛մ: Կայանն անպատիժ չի մնըմ: – Աստօծ նրան շաշվացնըմ ա սարէրն ու հանդէրը քցըմ...:

10.6.4 Gandzak subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Ազգ. Հանդ. 2, էջ 372 եւս. I have kept the orthography unchanged, even if very inaccurate.

Մածուն եմ¹⁴ մերել սրալի,
Եար ըմ փռնել սրտալի,
Հով որ եարը եարէն հանի,
Հոցին սընտանէն տանի:

Մատումս կայ մըտանի,
Համ թառ ա համ ծիրանի,
Արի քինանք դիւանը
Հով սիրել ա, նա՛ տանի:

Մեր վճխարին եաթաղը,
Գլխիս դնեմ փափախը.
Չանդուրուկդ ետ քցես
Ըրեսիս տայ շատաղը:

Մտիկ ըրէք էն դուշին,
Վետը տրել ա փուշին,
Եըրանի ընդիւր կի՛լի
Թուշի տրել ա սրածին:

¹⁴[[The original page had <եւ>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this should be <եմ>..]]

Ջուրս կե՛ծ ա, ջուր պիրեք,
 Սպըհանայ հիւն պիրեք,
 Տուն հաւասար թամամ են,
 Ղարիբ խուշը տուն պիրեք:

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Սագին կոթին կիր կանեմ,
 Վենը կաց գինի բերեմ,
 Ես ես պի՛ծի տեգաւս,
 Յրուած խելքդ տոն պիրեմ:

Սրերի խինձը ի՛նչ անի,
 Կաթնով բրինձը ի՛նչ անի,
 Իւրիւր սիրել ենք կառնենք,
 Ուրըջի խօսք ու գրիցն ինչ անի:

Տիւ կաղնել ես կիւթանիա,
 Շիրմըջըղի պերանիա,
 Տիւ պարակ, մէջքդ պարակ,
 Ղօլ քընամ ջէյրան ջանիդ:

10.6.5 Zangezur subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Ազգ. Հանդ., Դ. էջ 115.

Դարուազին տակը սառալ ա
 Մատներս դալամ դարալ ա
 Թոխ եախաւոր, բոզ չուխաւոր
 Օջս խելքս տարալ ա:

Եկեք գնանք ծեր անենք,
 Խնձոր կծենք թու անենք,
 Հուր որ մին եար չունի՝
 Գլխին թխենք դէն անենք:
 Գեանջու քամին կալիս է,
 Դռները թըրըխկալիս է,
 Հարիւր թիւման մըջտըլըդ,
 Սիմօն եարը կալիս է:

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Վըրթիվերիս վադան ա,
Միջի մարդին կադան ա,
Միջի մարդը հո՛ւնց անի,
Խնձորկեցի կադան ա:

Chapter 11

Shamakhi

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11.1 Background

This dialect is spoken primarily in the city of Shamakhi and its surrounding villages, until Quba. The remaining villages are mostly [*villages that were formed by settlers who migrated*] from Karabakh, and some are settlements from Khoy and Salmast; they thus speak their native dialect and they are not included in this region. In Baku also, there is a migrant community from Shamakhi, and this community uses its dialect, but this community is dissolving into the larger Karabakh community. Near Baku there is Ermenikend (Armenian village), which is mostly made up of Shamakhi people and they speak this dialect.

The Shamakhi dialect forms a middle zone between the Karabakh and Julfa dialects. Its phonetic system and phonological changes are largely the same as in the Karabakh dialect, as well as many of the grammatical forms. Because of this, it would have been possible to not consider Shamakhi as its own dialect, but to have treated it as a subdialect of Karabakh. However, we are forced to treat it as its own independent dialect because of the diverse forms for pronouns and because of the formation of the present, both of which are entirely different from Karabakh.

11.2 Phonology

11.2.1 Segment inventory

The phonetic system of the Shamakhi dialect is the same as for the Karabakh dialect. The dialect is missing only the diphthongs and the sound /ə/ <ɾt>. The sound /f/ <ϕ> is widely used here in borrowed words. The sound /ç/ <hj> is missing.

11.2.2 Stress

Unlike the Karabakh dialect, stress is on the last syllable.

[[This is an incorrect overgeneralization. As we see in §11.2.3.1.5, when a final unstressed schwa undergoes vowel harmony, its harmonized vowel (like /i/) remains unstressed. The correct generalization is that stress is final in the word before the definite/possessive suffixes. In this way, Shamakhi has morphologized the otherwise phonologically predictable rule of final stress assignment of SEA.]]

11.2.3 Sound changes

11.2.3.1 Vowel changes

The following vowel changes and diphthong changes are notable.

11.2.3.1.1 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became Shamakhi /y/ <ɿL> as in Table 1.

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <ɿL> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘you (NOM)’	du	դու	ty	տիլ	du	դու
‘outside’	durs	դուրս	tyɿs	տիլս	durs	դուրս
‘tongue’	lezu	լեզու	lyzy	լիլզիլ	lezu	լեզու

11.2.3.1.2 Classical Armenian /oĭ/ <ɲ>

Classical Armenian /oĭ/ <ɲ> became Shamakhi /y/ <ɿL> as in Table 2.

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ɲ> to /y/ <ɿL> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘light’	loĭs	լոյս	lys	լիլս	lujs	լույս
‘sister’	k ^h oĭr	քոյր	k ^h yr	քիլր	k ^h ujr	քույր
‘blue’	kapoĭt	կապոյտ	k ^j æpyt	կյւնպիլտ	kapujt	կապույտ

11.2.3.1.3 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ>

Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> became Shamakhi /ɑ, æ, e/ <ւ, ü, է> as in Table 3.

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /ɑ, æ, e/ <ւ, ü, է> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘this’	ɑj̄s	ւյս	æs	üü	ɑjs	ւյս
‘long’	erkɑj̄n	երկւայն	ergɑn	երգւն	jerkɑjn	երկւայն
‘father’	hɑj̄r	հայր	her	հէր	hajr	հայր
‘mother’	mɑj̄r	մայր	mer	մէր	majr	մայր

11.2.3.1.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became Shamakhi /ə/ <ը> as in Table 4.

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ə/ <ը> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘heart’	sirt	սիրտ	sərt	սըրտ	sirt	սիրտ
‘mind’	mit-(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	միտք	mətk	մըտկ	mitk ^h	միտք

11.2.3.1.5 Vowel harmony of the schwa /ə/

The sound /ə/ <ը> usually keeps its presence next to heavy vowels. But next to soft vowels, it turns to /i/ <ի> (Table 5).¹

[[Note that the wording implies that Adjarian is treating the original schwa as present in Classical Armenian. However, many of his examples involve the definite article which was /-n, ən/ in Classical Armenian but /-n, -ə/ in SEA. This article marks definiteness in SEA, but it marked distal deixis in CA in addition to specificity (Robin Meyer, p.c.; Meillet 1977: 36). I suspect that he is actually reconstructing the harmonized schwa from a shared ancestor between Shamakhi and SEA instead of CA.]]

¹[[It is not obvious to me what is the soft vs. hard distinction in vowels. I suspect Adjarian means that soft vowels are front vowels. (?)]]

Table 5: Vowel harmony in the change from /ə/ <ը> to /i/ <ի> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘girl-DEF’ ‘to listen’	ɑdʒik-ən	արջիկս	ɑxtʰig-i	ախչի՛գի	ɑxtʰik-ə	արջիկը
‘neck-DIM-POSS.2SG’ ‘he-DEF’	ink ^h -ən	ինքս	mitig anil viz-ik-is ink ^h -i	միտիգ անիլ վիզի՛գիս ի՛նքի	mətik anel vəz-ik-əs iŋk ^h -ə	մտիկ անել վզիկս ինքը

11.2.3.1.6 Vowel lengthening of /o/

The Shamakhi dialect has a special sound change where Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <աւ> becomes /o/ <օ> before the Classical Armenian vowels /o, ɑ/ <ո, աւ> (Table 6).

[[*To clarify, Adjarian means that if the Classical Armenian form had a substring <աւո> /awo/ (which he treats as including a diphthong /ɑw/ as in /ɑwո/), this string became /oo/ in Shamakhi. In contrast in SEA, such a string became /avo/. I suspect his transcription <oo> /oo/ signifies a long vowel /o:/ but I am not sure. (?)]]*

It becomes /œo/ <օօ> when next to soft vowels.

[[*I assume Adjarian’s transcription <օօ> /eoo/ is actually /œo/. I suspect this is a diphthong but I am unsure.*]]

Table 6: Vowel lengthening and fronting in the change from Classical Armenian /awX/ <աւV> to /oo, œo/ <օօ, օօ> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘necessary’ ‘baptized’ ‘graceful (CA), congratulations (SEA)’ ‘morning’ ‘to be housed’ ‘knife-bearing’	harkawor kənk ^h awor ʃənoɾhawor arawɑt danakawor	հարկաւոր կնքաւոր շնորհաւոր առաւատ դանակաւոր	harkoor kənk ^h oor ʃənoor aroot tnoorvil tənæŋ ^g œoor	հարկօօր կնքօօր շնօօր առօօտ տնօօրվիլ տաննայթօօր	harkavor kəŋk ^h avor ʃənoɾavor aravot tənavorvel danakavor	հարկավոր կնքավոր շնորհավոր առավոտ տնավորվել դանակավոր

11.2.3.1.7 Pre-tonic vowel deletion

The deletion of vowels before stress is not a general rule. But there are a few cases (Table 7).

Table 7: Pre-tonic vowel deletion in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘to crush’	d̄zaxd̄zaxel	ջախջախել	t̄ʃət̄ʃexel	ճըճեխել	d̄zaxd̄zaxel	ջախջախել
‘Satan’	satanai	սատանայ	stana	ստանա	satanai	սատանա
‘to wrap up’	p ^h at ^h at ^h el	փաթաթել	p ^h t ^h at ^h el	փթաթել	p ^h at ^h at ^h el	փաթաթել

In this case, the loss of a vowel has caused the rise of a schwa /ə/ <ը>, and sometimes it assimilates to the form of the stressed vowel (Table 8).

[[I do not see how Adjarian’s examples relate to his proposed process of schwa epenthesis and vowel harmony.]]

Table 8: Pre-tonic vowel deletion feeds vowel epenthesis and harmony in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘child’	eraxai	երախայ	araxa	արախա	jerexa	երեխա
‘childhood, catechumenism’	eraxajut ^h iun	երախայուժիւն	araxat ^h un	արախաթուն	jerexajut ^h jun	երեխայուժյուն

11.2.3.2 Consonant changes

11.2.3.2.1 Voicing changes

The voiced stops and affricates became voiceless, and they kept their voicing only after nasals. In this situation, the voiceless stops became voiced (Table 9).

Table 9: Voicing changes in stops and affricates in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘head’	gəlux	գլուխ	klox	կլոխ	gəlux	գլուխ
‘to bring’	berel	բերել	peril	պերիլ	berel	բերել
‘snake’	odz	օձ	ots	օծ	ots ^h	օձ
‘water-mill’	d̄zərafats ^h	ջրաղաց	t̄ʃafats ^h	ճաղաց	d̄zərafats ^h	ջրաղաց
‘ear’	akandz	ականջ	angodz	անգօջ	akandz	ականջ
‘wine’	gini	գինի	kini	կինի	gini	գինի
‘thing’	ban	բան	pæn	պան	ban	բան

The word-final Classical Armenian sound /k/ <կ> became /g/ <գ> in many cases (Table 10).

Table 10: Voicing changes for word-final /k/ <կ> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘board’	taxtak	տախտակ	taxtag	տախտագ	taxtak	տախտակ
‘girl’	aḏz̄ik	աղջիկ	aχt̄ ^h ig	ախչիգ	aχt̄ ^h ik	աղջիկ
‘woman’			knig	կնիգ	kənik	կնիկ

11.2.3.2.2 Loss of the rhotic /r/ <ր>

The sound /r/ <ր> is lost in the words in Table 11a. In contrast, the /r/ <ր> is stronger in the words in Table 11b.

[[Note that these multi-word phrases likely did not exist in Classical Armenian, so we can assume that Adjarian was treating the shared closest ancestor of Shamakhi and SEA as being an SEA-like variety.]]

Table 11: Loss of rhotic /r/ <ր> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
a. ‘this night’	ajs, gifer	այս, գիշեր	æs k ^h ife	ւս քիշէ	ajs gifer	այս գիշեր
‘to go up’	ver, elanél	վեր, ելանել	véllil	վէլլիլ	ver jelnél	վեր ելնել
‘hand’	ḏzer-k ^h (-PL)	ծեռք	ts ^h ek ^h	ցէք	ḏzerk ^h	ծեռք
b. ‘hundred’	hariur	հարիւր	harur	հարուր	harjur	հարյուր

11.2.3.2.3 Insertion of word-initial /h/ <հ>

Before word-initial vowels, the sound /h/ <հ> is sometimes added, just as in the Karabakh dialect (Table 12).

Table 12: Insertion of word-initial /h/ <հ> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘what’	int̄ ^h	իւչ	hint̄ ^h	հիւչ	int̄ ^h	իւչ
‘who’	ov	ով	hov	հով	ov	ով
‘when’	erb	երբ	hep ^h	հէփ	jerp ^h	երբ
‘tail’	agí	ազի	hæk ^h i	հւօքի	agí	ազի

11.2.3.2.4 Retention of word-final /n/ <ւ>

The Classical Armenian rime /n/ <ւ> is kept here too (Table 13a) but not in Table 13b.

Table 13: Retention or loss of final Classical Armenian /n/ <ւ> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
a. ‘bitter’	dárən	դառն	tærnə	տա՛ռնը	dárən	դառն
‘fish’	ḏzúkən	ծուկն	ṭsýgni	ծի՛ղկն	ḏzúk	ծուկ
‘mouse’	múkən	մուկն	múknə	մո՛ւկնը	múk	մուկ
‘milk’	kát ^h ən	կաթն	kát ^h nə	կա՛թնը	kat ^h	կաթ
‘pomegranate’	núrən	նուռն	nórnə	նո՛ւռնը	nur	նուռ
b. ‘finger’	mat ^h ən	մատն	mat	մատ	mat ^h	մատ
‘foot’	otən	ոտն	vot	վոտ	votk ^h	ոտք
‘bride’	harsən	հարսն	hars	հարս	hars	հարս

11.3 Morphology

11.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

11.3.1.1 Ablative marking with /-an/ <ան>

In declension, it is notable that the ablative formative is /-an/ <ան> (Table 14), the same as in Karabakh.

Table 14: Ablatives with /-an/ <ան> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘under-ABL’	tak-an	տական	tak-its ^h	տակից
‘place-ABL’	teḅ-an	տեղան	teḅ-its ^h	տեղից
‘childhood-ABL’	araxat ^h un-an	արախաթանան	jereχajut ^h jun-its ^h	երեխայությունից

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Similar to the Karabakh dialect, we can also add here the formative /-ana/ <անա>. For example /kngans-ana/ ‘from my wife’.²

²[[Adjarian does not explain this form, but it seems morphologically decomposable to /kng-an-s-ana/ with the gloss ‘wife-OBL-POSS.2SG-ABL’. Note the unexpected presence of a possessive marker before the ablative marker. (?)]]

11.3.1.2 Instrumental marking with /-ov/ <ov>

The instrumental uses the formative /-ov/ <ov>, while the Karabakh dialect has /-av/ <av> (Table 15).

Table 15: Instrumentals with /-ov/ <ov> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. Karabakh		cf. SEA	
‘mouth-INS’	peran-óv	պերանօվ	pirǽn-av	պիրա՛նավ	beran-óv	բերանով
‘hand-INS’	ts ^h ek ^h -óv	ցեքօվ	tsérk ^h -av	ծե՛րքավ	dzerk ^h -óv	ծերքով

11.3.1.3 Locative marking with /-əm, -im/ <ov, iv>

The locative formative /-um/ <um> is shortened to /əm/ <ov> and then became /im/ <iv> because of the rule of harmony (սերդաշնակուրթեսն օրէսով) (Table 16).

Table 16: Locatives with /-əm, -im/ <ov, iv> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘thing-LOC-DEF’	pæn-ím-i	պանի՛մի	ban-úm-ə	բանումը

11.3.1.4 Vowel harmony of the definite article /ə/ <ov>

Based on the rule of vowel harmony, the article is /-ə/ <ov> (or /-i/ <iv>), and /-n/ <iv> (Table 17).

Table 17: Vowel harmony of the definite article /ə/ <ov> to /-i/ <iv> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘heart-DEF’	sárt-ə	սը՛րտը	sírt-ə	սիրտը
‘mind-DEF’	mátk-ə	մը՛տկը	mítk ^h -ə	միտքը
‘hand-DEF’	ts ^h ék ^h -ə	ցե՛քը	dzerk ^h -ə	ծերքը
‘girl-DEF’	axtj ^h íg-i	ախչի՛գի	axtj ^h ík-ə	աղջիկը
‘voice-DEF’	tsǽn-i	ծա՛նի	dzájn-ə	ծայլը

The same process occurs next to the possessive suffixes (դիմորոշկերուն քով) from CA /-s, -d, -n/ <u, ɲ, ʌ> (Table 18).

[[*Adjarian means that we also find harmony for the schwa that is epenthesized between a stem-final consonant and a possessive suffix.*]]

Table 18: Vowel harmony of the possessive schwa in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘mind-POSS.2SG’	tsæ̃n-it ^h	ծւնիթ	ḍzáj̃n-ət	ḍայլդ
‘heart-POSS.1SG’	sə̃rt-əs	սըրտըս	sírt-əs	սիրտս
‘mind-POSS.1SG’	mátk-əs	մըտկըս	mít ^h -əs	միտքս
‘thing-POSS.1SG’	pæ̃n-it ^h	պւնիթ	bán-ət	բանդ

In these words, stress is on the penultimate syllable. The genitive, which has the same form, is distinguished from these words only by stress (Table 19).

Table 19: Stress distinctions between the stressed genitive and the unstressed harmonized schwa in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘thing-POSS.1SG’	pæ̃n-it ^h	պւնիթ	ban-ət	բանդ
‘thing-GEN-POSS.1SG’	pæn-í-t ^h	պւնի՛թ	ban-í-t	բանիդ
‘heart-DIM-POSS.1SG’	srt-íg-is	սրտի՛գիս	sərt-ík-əs	սրտիկս
‘heart-DIM-GEN-POSS.1SG’	srt-ig-í-s	սրտիգի՛ս	sərt-ík-ís	սրտիկիս

11.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

11.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Pronouns are declined in the following way (Table 20).

Table 20: Inflectional paradigm for personal pronouns in the Shamakhi dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	3SG 'he/she'	1PL 'we'	2SG 'you'	3PL 'they'
NOM	jes յէս	ty տիլ	na նա	mek ^h մէք	tyk ^h տիկք	nrank ^h նրանք
GEN	im իմ	k ^h u քու	nra նրա	mer մեր	tser ծեր	nran ^h նրանց
DAT	indz, indz-i ինձ, ինձի	k ^h ez, k ^h ez-i քէզ, քէզի	nran նրան	mez, mez-i մէզ, մէզի	tsez, tsez-i ծէզ, ծէզի	nran ^h նրանց
ABL	indz-an-a ինձանա	k ^h ez-an-a քէզանա	nran-a նրանա	mez-an-a մէզանա	tsez-an-a ծէզանա	nran ^h -an-a նրանցանա
INS	indz-an-ov ինձանօվ	k ^h ez-an-ov քէզանօվ	nran-ov նրանօվ	mez-an-ov մէզանօվ	tsez-an-ov ծէզանօվ	nran ^h -an-ov նրանցանօվ

11.3.2.2 Repeated addition of the formative /-ik/ <իկ>

The pronouns also have another interesting form which is unique to this dialect. Here, this is the addition of formative /-ik/ <իկ>. Although this formative appears in other dialects and in Classical Armenian, there it is only added for the demonstratives (Table 21a) and it is not declined (Table 21b).

[[Note that Adjarian is not clear on which Armenian varieties have the demonstratives in Table 21. I had to personally catalog them and track down their attestations.]]

Table 21: Sample of demonstratives in Classical Armenian and other dialects

	CA	SEA	SWA	Istanbul	
a. Simple demonstratives					
proximal ‘this’	ɑ̇s	ɑ̇s	ɑ̇s	ալս	
medial ‘that’	ɑ̇d	ɑ̇d	ɑ̇t ^h	ալդ	
distal ‘that yonder’	ɑ̇n	ɑ̇n	ɑ̇n	ալն	
b. Complex demonstratives					
proximal ‘this’			is-ik	ɑ̇s	իսիկ
			asiga		ասիկա
	ɑ̇sor-ik				ասորիկ
	ɑ̇sm-ik				ասմիկ
medial ‘that’				it-ik	իտիկ
			ɑ̇d-iga		ադիկա

But here in Shamakhi, the reflex of the formative /-ik/ <իկ> ([[as /-ig/ <իգ>]]) is added to the pronouns ‘I’, ‘you.sg’, ‘he’ and other pronouns, in all their case declensions. And it can be repeated up to three times (Table 22).

[[*Adjarian does not segment or explain the meaning of these complex pronouns with /-ig/. Based on sentence (1b), I suspect this /-ig/ may act as a diminutive suffix; the cognate is a diminutive suffix /-ik/ in SEA. But then it is unclear to me how or why these pronouns would have this hypothetical diminutive. Adjarian does not state the function or purpose of these pronouns.*]]

Table 22: Sample A of pronouns in Shamakhi with the repeated /-ig/ <իկ> formative

1SG 'I'	jes	յես	PRO
	jes-ig	յեսիգ	PRO-?
	jes-ig-is	յեսիգիս	PRO-?-POSS.1SG
	jes-ig-ig-is	յեսիգիգիս	PRO-?-?-POSS.1SG
	jes-ig-ig-ig-is	յեսիգիգիգիս	PRO-?-?-?-POSS.1SG
2SG 'you'	ty	տիլ	PRO
	ty-ig	տիլիգ	PRO-?
	ty-ig-it ^h	տիլիգիթ	PRO-?-POSS.2SG
	ty-ig-ig-it ^h	տիլիգիգիթ	PRO-?-?-POSS.2SG
	ty-ig-ig-ig-it ^h	տիլիգիգիգիթ	PRO-?-?-?-POSS.2SG
3SG 'he'	na	նա	PRO
	na-ig-i	նաիգի	PRO-?-DEF
	na-ig-ig-i	նաիգիգի	PRO-?-?-DEF
3PL 'they'	nrank ^h -ig-i	նրանքիգի	PRO-?-DEF
	nrank ^h -ig-ig-ig-i	նրանքիգիգիգի	PRO-?-?-?-DEF

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In the other case declensions, the formative is added between the word and the case ending. As for the plural, the formative /ner/ <ւեր> is also required (Table 23).

Table 23: Sample B of pronouns in Shamakhi with the repeated /-ig/ <իկ> formative

2SG 'you' (ACC, DAT)	k ^h ez-ig-i-n	քեզիկին	PRO-?-DAT-DEF
	k ^h ez-ig-i-t ^h	քեզիկիթ	PRO-?-DAT-POSS.2SG
2SG 'you' (ABL)	k ^h ez-an-ig ⁱ -æn	քեզանիկայն	PRO-NX-?-ABL
2SG 'you' (INS)	k ^h ez-an-ig ⁱ -æv	քեզանիկայեով	PRO-NX-?-INS
1SG 'mine'	im-ig-is	իմի՛գիս	PRO-?-POSS.1SG
1SG 'I' (ACC, DAT)	indz-ig-i-s	ինծիգիս	PRO-?-DAT-POSS.1SG
	indz-ig-i-n	ինծիգին	PRO-?-DAT-DEF
1SG 'I' (ABL)	indz-an-ig ⁱ -æ-s	ինծանիկայնս	PRO-NX-?-ABL-POSS.1SG
	indz-an-ig ⁱ -æn	ինծանիկայն	PRO-NX-?-ABL
1SG 'I' (INS)	indz-an-ig ⁱ -æov	ինծանիկայեով	PRO-NX-?-INS
	indz-an-ig ⁱ -æov-is	ինծանիկայեովիս	PRO-NX-?-INS-POSS.1SG
3SG 'he'	nran-ig-i	նրանի՛գի	PRO-?-DEF
3SG 'he' (ABL)	nran-ig-æn	նրանիկայն	PRO-?-ABL
3PL 'they' (ABL)	nran ^{tsh} -an-ig ⁱ -æn	նրանցանիկայն	PRO-NX-?-ABL
1PL 'we'	mek ^h -ner-ig ⁱ -is	մեքների՛գիս	PRO-PL-?-POSS.1SG
	mek ^h -ner-ig-ig-ig ⁱ -is	մեքներիգիգի՛գիս	PRO-PL-?-?-?-POSS.1SG
2PL 'you'	tyk ^h -ner-ig-ig-ig ⁱ -it ^h	տիկներիգիգի՛գիթ	PRO-PL-?-?-?-POSS.2SG

The formative /ik/ <իկ> is so common in the Shamakhi dialect that it can be added on almost any word (1).

(1) Shamakhi

- a. k^hu hor tun-ig-i
 you.PL.GEN father.GEN house-?-DEF
 'your father's house'
 քու հոր տունի՛գի
- b. viz-ig-is
 neck-?-POSS.1SG
 'my little neck'
 վիգի՛գիս

[[In Adjarian's original text, he translates (1b) to SWA /vəz-ig-əs/ վզիկս which translates to 'my little neck'. So the suffix /-ig/ acts as a diminutive here. Yet for (1a), he translates it to SWA /hor-ət^h dun-ə/ 'your father's house' with no diminutive meaning.]]

11.3.2.3 Other innovations

Some pronoun innovations in Shamakhi are in Table 24a. Some of their more widespread forms are in Table 24b. They originate from Table 24c, cf. Karabakh forms in Table 24d.³

Table 24: Pronoun innovations in the Shamakhi dialect

	‘for you.SG’	‘for us’	‘for you.PL’	Dialect
a.	k ^h ez-ti քէզտի	mez-ti մէզտի	tsez-ti ծէզտի	Shamakhi
b.	k ^h ez-eti քէզէտի	mez-eti մէզէտի	tsez-eti ծէզէտի	Shamakhi
c.	k ^h ez heti քէզ հէտի	mez heti մէզ հէտի	tsez heti ծէզ հէտի	Shamakhi (?)
d.	k ^h əz héte քըզ հէտէ	məz héte մըզ հէտէ	tʰsəz héte ծըզ հէտէ	Karabakh

11.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

11.3.3.1 Overview and general properties

Verbal conjugation in the Shamakhi dialect is sometimes the same as in the Karabakh dialect, and sometimes it distances itself from Karabakh and approaches the Julfa dialect.

11.3.3.1.1 Copula with /a/ <ւ>

For the copular verb in the present tense, the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> sound becomes /a/ <ւ> next to nasals (Table 25).

³[[Adjarian does not state this, but it is possible that this construction is grammaticalized from a construction made up of a genitive pronoun + the postposition /het/ ‘with’. For example, Adjarian provides a phrase /k^hez heti/ which resembles an SEA phrase /k^hez het/ <քէզ հէտ> ‘with you’. (?)]

Table 25: Copula with /ɑ/ <ω> instead of /e/ <է> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG ‘I am’	ɑ-m	ωմ	e-m	եմ
2SG ‘you are’	e-s	էս	e-s	ես
3SG ‘he is’	ɑ	ω	e	է
1PL ‘we are’	ɑ-nk ^h	ωնք	e-ηk ^h	ենք
2PL ‘you are’	e-k ^h	էք	e-k ^h	էք
3PL ‘they are’	ɑ-n	ωն	e-n	են
	AUX-AGR		AUX-AGR	

11.3.3.1.2 Present and past imperfective

In this way ([[*meaning with the above copulas*]]), the present form of other verbs is formed. The imperfective is similar to Karabakh.

11.3.3.1.3 Past participle or perfective converb

The past participle ends in /-ɑl/ <ωլ> (Table 26).

Table 26: Past participle or perfective converb with /-ɑl/ <ωլ> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘to tie’	kɑp-ɑl	կապωլ	kɑp-el	կապել
‘to fall’	əŋg-ɑl	ընգωլ	əŋk-el	ընկել
	√-PERF.CVB		√-PERF.CVB	

11.3.3.1.4 Infinitives take dative /-i/ <ի>

The infinitive is case marked with the formative /-i/ <ի> (Table 27).

Table 27: Infinitives with dative /-i/ <ɨ> instead of /-u/ <nL> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA		
‘to say’	as-i-l-i	ասիլի	as-e-l-u	ասելլ	√-TH-INF-DAT
‘to throw’	k ^h its ^h -i-l-i	քիցիլի	gəts ^h -e-l-u	գցելլ	√-TH-INF-DAT
‘to die’	mer-n-e-l-i	մեռնելի	mer-n-e-l-u	մեռնելլ	√-VX-TH-INF-DAT

11.3.3.1.5 Causative suffix /-ts^hu/ <gnL>

The causative (անցողական) formative is /-ts^hu/ <gnL> (Table 28).

[[Unfortunately, Adjarian does not translate his examples into SEA or SWA, so I can only guess what they are supposed to mean or how they should be segmented based on the SEA forms that resemble them the most.]]

Table 28: Causatives with dative /-i/ <ի> instead of /-u/ <ու> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi and cf. SEA		
‘I approach’ (?)	mot- \widehat{a} -ts ^h un- \widehat{a} -m	մօտացունամ	Sh.
	mot-e-ts ^h n-e-m	մոտեցնեմ	SEA
	$\sqrt{-LV-CAUS-TH-1SG}$		
‘to lose’ (?)	k ^h or- \widehat{a} -ts ^h un-i-l	քօռացունիլ	Sh.
	kor-ts ^h n-e-l	կորցնել	SEA
	$\sqrt{-(LV)-CAUS-TH-INF}$		
‘he has fed’ (?)	ut- \widehat{a} -ts ^h ur- \widehat{a} l \widehat{a}	ուտացուրալ ա	Sh.
	ut-e-ts ^h r-el e	ուտեցրել է	SEA
	$\sqrt{-LV-CAUS-PERF.CV B AUX}$		
‘I have delivered’ (?)	has- \widehat{a} -ts ^h ur- \widehat{a} l \widehat{a} -m	հասացուրալ ամ	Sh.
	has-ts ^h r-el e-m	հասցրել եմ	SEA
	$\sqrt{-LV-CAUS-PERF.CV B AUX-1SG}$		
(?)	hang- \widehat{a} -ts ^h ur-i- \emptyset	հանգացուրի	Sh.
	$\sqrt{-LV-CAUS-PST-1SG}$		
‘we have raised’ (?)	part ^h r- \widehat{a} -ts ^h ur- \widehat{a} l \widehat{a} -nk ^h	պարցրացուրալ անք	Sh.
	bart ^h r- \widehat{a} -ts ^h r-el e- η k ^h	բարծրացրել ենք	SEA
	$\sqrt{-LV-CAUS-PERF.CV B AUX-1PL}$		

After soft vowels ([[I think Adjarian means after front vowels (?)]]), the sound / \widehat{a} / <ա> becomes / $\widehat{æ}$ / <ւ̄> (Table 29).

Table 29: Vowel fronting for / \widehat{a} / <ա> in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA		
‘I do’	an- $\widehat{æ}$ m $\widehat{æ}$ -m	անըմ մմ	an-um e-m	անում եմ	$\sqrt{-IMPF.CV B AUX-1SG}$
‘done’	il- $\widehat{æ}$ l	իլմլ	el-el	ելել	$\sqrt{-PERF.CV B}$
‘he has thrown’	k ^h its ^h - $\widehat{æ}$ l $\widehat{æ}$	քիցւլ մ	g $\widehat{æ}$ ts ^h -el e	գցել է	$\sqrt{-PERF.CV B AUX}$

11.3.3.2 Verb paradigms

[[Adjarian does not give any complete verb paradigms for this dialect. He only provides some datasets.]]

The following are the important tenses of the verb ‘to like’ from Classical Armenian /sir-e-l/ <սիրել>.

11.3.3.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[In SEA, the indicative present is formed by combining the imperfective converb with the present auxiliary (Table 30). This converb uses the suffix /-um/. For Shamakhi, Adjarian provides a complete paradigm for the indicative present. Shamakhi uses the same system as SEA. The only difference is that the converb suffix is /-əm/ and the auxiliary is /a/ for the 3SG and before nasals.]]

Table 30: Indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-əm a-m	սիրում եմ	sir-um e-m ‘I like’	սիրում եմ
2SG	sir-əm e-s	սիրում ես	sir-um e-s	սիրում ես
3SG	sir-əm a	սիրում ա	sir-um e	սիրում է
1PL	sir-əm a-nk ^h	սիրում ենք	sir-um e-ηk	սիրում ենք
2PL	sir-əm e-k ^h	սիրում եք	sir-um e-k ^h	սիրում եք
3PL	sir-əm a-n	սիրում են	sir-um e-n	սիրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[In SEA, the indicative past imperfective is formed by combining the imperfective converb with the past auxiliary (Table 31). Adjarian does not provide a complete paradigm for Shamakhi. He provides only the 1SG and 2SG. He suggested earlier in §11.3.3.1.2 that Shamakhi uses the same set of past auxiliary morphs as the Karabakh dialect.]]

Table 31: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-əm Ø-i-Ø	սիրըմ ի	sir-um ej-i-Ø ‘I was liking’	սիրում էի
2SG	sir-əm Ø-i-ր	սիրըմ իր	sir-um ej-i-ր	սիրում էիր
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

[[Note that unlike the Karabakh dialect, data from the past perfective suggests that the past suffix is /-i/ in this dialect, like SEA.]]

11.3.3.2.2 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SEA, the present perfect (Table 32) and past perfect (Table 33) are formed by combining the perfective converb with the present/past auxiliary. For SEA, this converb uses the suffix /-el/. Shamakhi uses the same system, but with converb suffix as /-al/. Adjarian provides a complete paradigm for the present perfect, but an incomplete one for the past perfect. See §11.3.3.1.2 for brief discussion on what the past auxiliaries could be.]]

Table 32: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-al a-m	սիրալ ամ	sir-el e-m	սիրել Եմ ‘I have liked’
2SG	sir-al e-s	սիրալ Ես	sir-el e-s	սիրել Ես
3SG	sir-al a	սիրալ ա	sir-el e	սիրել Է
1PL	sir-al a-nk ^h	սիրալ անք	sir-el e-դk	սիրել Ենք
2PL	sir-al e-k ^h	սիրալ Եք	sir-el e-k ^h	սիրել Եք
3PL	sir-al a-n	սիրալ ան	sir-el e-n	սիրել Են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Table 33: Past perfect <զերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-al Ø-i-Ø	սիրալ ի	sir-el ej-i-Ø	սիրել Էի ‘I had liked’
2SG	sir-al Ø-i-r	սիրալ իր	sir-el ej-i-r	սիրել Էիր
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

11.3.3.2.3 Future and past future

[[In SEA, one strategy to form the future (Table 34) and past future (Table 35) is to use periphrasis. The future converb is combined with the present/past auxiliary. For

SEA, this converb is formed by adding the suffix /-u/ onto the infinitive. Shamakhi uses the same system, but with converb suffix as /-y/. Adjarian provides incomplete paradigms for these two tenses. They would use the same present and past auxiliaries as the previous periphrastic tenses (indicative present/past, and present/past perfect).]]

Table 34: Future <սպաննի> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-l-y a-m	սիրելիւ ամ	sir-e-l-u e-m	սիրելու եմ ‘I will like’
2SG	sir-e-l-y e-s	սիրելիւ ես	sir-e-l-u e-s	սիրելու ես
3SG	sir-e-l-y a	սիրելիւ ա	sir-e-l-u e	սիրելու է
	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-AGR		√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-AGR	

Table 35: Past future <անցեալ սպաննի> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-e-l-y ∅-i-∅	սիրելիւ ի	sir-e-l-u ej-i-∅	սիրելու էի ‘I was going to like’
2SG	sir-e-l-y ∅-i-r	սիրելիւ իր	sir-e-l-u ej-i-r	սիրելու էիր
	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

11.3.3.2.4 Past perfective or aorist

[[In SEA, the past perfective or aorist (Table 36) is formed in the following way for /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’. After the root and theme vowel, we add the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. Adjarian unfortunately only provides the 1SG form for Shamakhi. I suspect that his omission implies that Shamakhi followed the same past perfective system as SEA. (?)]]

Table 36: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi	cf. SEA ‘I liked’
1SG	sir-e-t ^h -i-∅ սիրեցի	sir-e-t ^h -i-∅ սիրեցի
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR

11.3.3.2.5 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 37) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added to the present auxiliary in the indicative present. For a verb like ‘to like’, the 3SG involves changing the theme vowel /e/ to /i/ in the 3SG. The Shamakhi dialect follows the same system but with the following changes: the theme vowel is /a/ in the 3SG or before nasals.]]

Table 37: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-a-m	սիրամ	sir-e-m	սիրեմ ‘(if) I like’
2SG	sir-e-s	սիրես	sir-e-s	սիրես
3SG	sir-a-∅	սիրա	sir-i-∅	սիրի
1PL	sir-a-nk ^h	սիրանք	sir-e-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sir-e-k	սիրեք	sir-e-k	սիրեք
3PL	sir-a-n	սիրան	sir-e-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 38) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. For Shamakhi, Adjarian does not provide a complete paradigm. But it seems that the past suffix is added and it deletes the preceding /e/ theme vowel. It is unclear what the 3SG would be; I suspect it would resemble the Karabakh system in the choice of surface morphs.]]

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Table 38: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-∅-i-∅	սիրի	sir-ej-i-∅	սիրեի ‘(if) I liked’
2SG	sir-∅-i-r	սիրիր	sir-ej-i-r	սիրեիր
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

11.3.3.2.6 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative, SEA distinguishes the 2SG from the 2PL. Unfortunately, Adjarian only provides 2SG forms for Shamakhi so we only discuss those. In SEA, the imperative 2SG is formed by adding the morph /-ir/ after the root for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 39). Shamakhi seems to use the morph /-i/ instead.]]

Table 39: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA ‘like!’	
2SG	sir-i	սիրի	sir-ir	սիրիր
			√-IMP.2SG	

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 40), SEA simply adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the imperative form. Shamakhi seems to add this marker, and then change the verb into a non-finite form with /-al/.]]

Table 40: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA ‘do not like!’	
2SG	mí sir-al	մի՛ սիրալ	mí sir-ir	մի՛ սիրիր
	PROH √-?		PROH √-AGR	

11.3.3.2.7 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 41. Unfortunately, he does not give names to these forms. So I have to guess what these forms mean.]]

Table 41: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA		
Infinitive	sir-i-l	սիրիլ	sir-é-l	սիրել	√-TH-INF
Present? (subject participle)	sir-i-l-an	սիրիլան			√-TH-INF-?
Past (perfective)	sir-al	սիրալ	sir-el	սիրել	√-PERF.CVB
Future	sir-e-l-y	սիրելիլ	sir-e-l-u	սիրելլլ	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB

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11.4 Literature

As of now, there is no study on the Shamakhi dialect. I am preparing a study of the Shamakhi dialect with the dramatist Mr. A. Abelian (Թաստերազիր պր. Ա. Աբելյան; [[SEA: /abeljan/]]). I have collected the previous information from this work. There are few published works that use this dialect. The following are the primary ones:

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Shamakhi dialect
 - Ալ. Աբելյանց
 - * Մկիճի ապահարզանը (Ֆարս-վոդյովի). Բագու, 1899
 - * – Մկիճի հարսանիքը (պիես 1 գործ). Բագու, 1903
 - Ս. Գարագաշ – Զարդաճ փեսանըրը եւ Գեօգարջիսի բալան. Բագու, 1898
 - Շիրվանզադե – Նամուս. Թիֆլիս, 1883. Because this novel takes place in Shamakhi, oftentimes the author will make the characters use this dialect. At the end of the book, there is also a list of words and forms from the Shamakhi dialect.
 - Մ. արքեպս. Սմբատեան – Նկարագիր Ս. Ստեփաննոսի Վանաց Սահլանի. Թիֆլիս, 1896. In this, pages 283-286 have a text sample of the Shamakhi dialect.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 231). Unfortunately, it seems that Adjarian’s work on Shamakhi was not published.]]

11.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

Adjarian's note: See Ա. Աբելեան, Մկիճի հարսանիքը, pages 5-12 with scientific accuracy.

Խեխճ ապեր: Ղուշըտ դմֆանսան փախալ ա, մսացալ էս յերվիլով: Ինճ հար-
ցունես, մեղայ Աստու, ուզում ամ ասամ լափ տեղն ա: Մարթս պետկանամ պանի
լմվ ֆիքիր անի: Ալջան լմվ պտուղ ա, համա դէ նրա չհասածը այնս մին գմիր-
մար: Իւրիւշ պան ան նրա հասածը. վոր տինիմ էս էրկու ազուխտ արանքըմը
հուպ տամ, շրախկոցը գյեզն ան պանցրանըմ: Տիւ ապերս, ասա, ինքիտ մեծ
հորս յաշըմը, քինանցան էս մին կնիգ էս տռալ քի վտըը հանլմ հերու չէ մեկալ
տարի փայիգին տասնութումը տիրանվ: Իլիր Մկիճի պէս: Ինքիտ քսանօխտ տա-
րական, ...

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... ախչիգ ամ սիրանլ յերեսնօխտ տարական: Դէ ուղորթ ա, յերուցվան օրը
անանց կնի՛գի անթանց տղին կը թողնի, քու Շիւշտնիտ պէս հերանց տուն կը
փախչի: Հանր պաննիս անլ անթանց ան: Մտկով, խելքով, խիտրութունով (ռուս.
խօրամանկութեամբ), ջուկալլաղութունով (թրք. չարամտութեամբ): Ու՛Ֆ, պե-
րանս հախ ա ուրախ ա խօսըմ, համա սըրտըս մըկըտամ ա: Քու հօր տունի՛գի
բարբաղ իլի. սէր: Տիւի՛գիթ մին անլմանթ ցավ էս: Քեգի տեսնամ քի դանրամահ,
իլէս, սատկէս, տմկէս, չօրանաց, տիգ իլէս կպչէս դուվարան, անլ պուք չի կյան:
Ա՛չի (թրք. այ՛ մարդ) անջանթ խաթի չընգա՞նք: Տրանս առաջ յես ի սիրահար-
վօղների վերտ ծըծաղըմ, հիմիգ քի ինճ անլ միտիգ անըմ, լափ ծեր արեվ, ծըծաղ
քի չէ, խեխչս ա կյան ինճ, խեխչս: Ախր Մկիճը հօ՛վ, սէրը հօվ: Մկիճը հորդէ՛,
Անթառանը հորդէ՛: Տէս՛ պաննի հորդէ ա հասալ, քի Անթառանիս վերտ շարաթ-
րանք ալ ամ կիրանլ: ... Անգօջ տիր, տես հինչ սըրտի կանճ խօսկեր ա:

Մագերթ սեվ հիւլետր հիւլետր,

Պոռշներըտ կըլօր կըլօր:

Ժամի տուռնան լէն ուսերիտ,

Մատաղ արա, ա՛ս Մկիճիտ:

Անթառանս հավ կը խաշի,

Հօրի մէջան ճիւր կը քաշի:

Հաստ կռները սըրտ կը մաշի,

Մատաղ կանի աս Մկիճին:

Տափը սիպտանգ նախշ ունքերիտ,
Շեկ մազերով խելունք կլխիտ,
Տեղին խունգի յերդան վիզիտ,
Թող փըթաթվի աս Մկիճիտ:

Ճակատըտ ա վօսկի հեյլի,
Յես Մեժլում ամ, տիւ մին Լեյլի,
Վօր քեզ հազար սիրօղ իլի,
Ցեքըտ մեկնիր աս Մկիճիտ:

Յես ծեր բախչին բաղ ամ ասըմ.
Յեկ քաշամք դամաղ ամ ասըմ.
Չարգարի պես հաղ ամ ասըմ,
Ցեք մի՛ քիցիլ ան Մկիճիտ:

Chapter 12

Astrakhan

12.1 Background

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This dialect is spoken primarily in the city of Astrakhan. This dialect also includes the various corners of the North Caucasus. When the first pioneers of Eastern literature wanted to establish a literary language, they first chose the Astrakhan dialect as the basis for the literary language. But they quickly left it and chose the Yerevan dialect, and it eventually took its present form.

There is no study on the Astrakhan dialect. The only thing we have are short pieces of information on this dialect in the work of Patkanian (Патканов 1869: 24). Patkanian considers this dialect to be extremely close to the literary language, and thus thinks it is excessive to talk more about it.

As for published samples of the Astrakhan dialect, the first are excerpts in the novels of Raphael Patkanian (Ռափայել Պատկանեան; [[SEA: /rap^hajel patkanjan/]]); see his Երկասիրողութիւնները (1893, հատ. Բ. էջ 18-19, 23-24, 75, 76, 178-179, 183-186, 192-193, 210, 218-222, and 231-232). There is abundant material in the periodicals of the Astrakhan: *Lraber* (Լրաբեր [*Messenger*]; [[SEA: /lɛraber/]]) and *Gorc* (Գործ; [[SEA: /gorts/]]).¹ But these unfortunately do not have perfect scientific accuracy.²

Judging by the language of these publications, we shall see that Patkanian's ideas are not accurate. The Astrakhan dialect occupies a middle ground between the Shamakhi and Yerevan dialects, but it is different from both.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 226).*]]

¹[[*Unfortunately, I could not find an online record of a journal called <Գործ> from Astrakhan. There are many periodicals however with the same name from elsewhere in modern Azerbaijan. (?)*]]

²My deep gratitude to the most honorable Father G. Mkrtumian from Astrakhan (Աստրախանցի Արժանապատիւ Տէր Գ. քհ. Սկրտումեանին; [[SEA: /ter məkərtumjan/]]), who was kind enough to offer me issues from *Lraber* (Լրաբեր [*Messenger*]) that have the best samples of the Astrakhan dialect.

12.2 Phonology

12.2.1 Segment inventory

The consonants follow the phonetic rules of Shamakhi or Karabakh, but its vowels...

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... generally follow the Yerevan system.

In this way, the voiced sounds of Old Armenian have become voiceless, and they are unchanged only after nasals (Table 1 and sentence 1).

Table 1: Consonant voicing changes from Classical Armenian to the Astrakhan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
'thin'	barak	բարակ	parak	պարակ	barak	բարակ
'head'	gəlux	գլուխ	klux	կլուխ	gəlux	գլուխ
'water'	d̄zur	ջուր	t̄jur	ճուր	d̄zur	ջուր
'to put'	dənel	դնել	tinel	տինել	dənel	դնել
'wool'	burd	բուրդ	purt ^h	պուրթ	burt ^h	բուրդ
'sound'	d̄zaj̄n	ծայն	t̄sen	ծեն	d̄zaj̄n	ծայն
'egg'	d̄zu	ծու	t̄su	ծու	d̄zu	ծու

- (1) a. Astrakhan
 ing-n-əm e-m
 fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 'I fall.'
 ինգնըմ էմ
- b. cf. SEA
 ənk-n-um e-m
 fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 'I fall.'
 ընկնում էմ

Among vowels, the sounds /æ, ɣ, œ/ <ւ̄, իւ, ւօ> are missing.

12.2.2 Vowel changes

There is no rule of deleting vowels before the stressed syllable. There are some notable vowel changes and diphthong changes.

12.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ωj>

Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ωj> became /e/ <ε> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ωj> to /e/ <ε> in the Astrakhan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
‘sound’	ḍzɑjɛn	δωjɛ	ḥsen	θɛɛ	ḍzɑjɛn	δωjɛ
‘that’	ɑjɛn	ωjɛ	en	ɛɛ	ɑjɛn	ωjɛ
‘wide’	lɑjɛn	λωjɛ	len	ɛɛ	lɑjɛn	λωjɛ
‘on’	i verɑj	ի վերωj	vere	վերε	vərə	վրω

12.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʉ, oʃ, u/ <իւ, ոյ, ու>

Classical Armenian /iʉ, oʃ, u/ <իւ, ոյ, ու> became /u/ <ու> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /iʉ, oʃ, u/ <իւ, ոյ, ու> to /e/ <ու> in the Astrakhan dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
‘hundred’	hɑriʉr	հարիւր	hɑrur	հարուր	hɑrjur	հարյուր
‘light’	loʃs	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լոյս
‘fish’	ḍzʉkən	ծուկն	ḥsʉknə	ծուկն	ḍzʉk	ծուկ

12.3 Morphology

12.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

Case declensions are the same as in Yerevan: genitive /-i/ <ի>, ablative /-its^h/ <ից>, instrumental /-ov/ <ով>, locative /-əm/ <ըմ> (Table 4).³

³[[For Astrakhan /meiʃ^h-əm-ə/, I suspect that the final schwa is a typo because in SEA the definite suffix cannot be used after the locative suffix. (?)]]

Table 4: Sample of noun declension in the Astrakhan dialect with unclear meaning (?)

	Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
‘close-ABL’	mot-its ^h	մօտից	mot-its ^h	մոտից
‘head-ABL’	klχ-its ^h	կլխից	gəlx-its ^h	գլխից
‘outside-ABL’	tus-its ^h	տոսից	dərs-its ^h	դրսից
‘speech-INS’	χosk ^h -ov	խօսքով	χosk ^h -ov	խոսքով
‘eye-INS’	atj ^h k ^h -ov	աչքով	atj ^h k ^h -ov	աչքով
‘inside-LOC-(DEF)’	metj ^h -əm-ə	մէջըմը	metj ^h -um	մէջըմ
‘place-LOC’	teɣ-əm	տեղըմ	teɣ-um	տեղըմ

In the excerpts from Patkanian, the ablative uses the Karabakh system with the forms /-ɑ, -an/ <ω, ωս>. But this is not found in the others. Sometimes, instead of ablative /-its^h/ <ից>, I have seen the formative /-its/ <իծ> (Table 5).

Table 5: Ablative /-its/ in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
‘mouth-ABL’	peran-its	պերանիծ	beran-its ^h	բերանից
‘writing-TH-INF-ABL’	kr-e-l-its	կրելիծ	gər-e-l-uts ^h	գրելուց
‘outside-ABL’	tus-its	տոսիծ	dərs-its ^h	դրսից

This change from the Classical Armenian sound /ts^h/ <g> is also found in the word /k^hasibanots/ <քասիբանօծ> ‘poorhouse’. [[*This word is made up of a borrowed root /k^hasib/ plus an Armenian derivational suffix: SEA /-anots^h/ <-անց>.*]]⁴

12.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The pronouns almost all follow the Yerevan system (Table 6).

[[*Adjarian does not translate these pronouns; so I am guessing what they are.*]]

⁴[[*Adjarian says that this root /k^hasib/ is from Turkish, but Wiktionary treats the Azerbaijani form <kasib> as the source for Armenian. Ottoman Turkish also had a cognate <kasib>.*]]

Table 6: Sample of pronouns in the Astrakhan dialect

personal 1SG NOM ‘I’	jes	յես
personal 2SG NOM ‘you’	tu	տու
personal 3SG NOM ‘he’	en	էն
personal 1SG ABL ‘from me’	indz-an-its ^h	ինձանից
personal 1PL DAT ‘to us’	mez-i	մեզի
personal 1PL LOC ‘in us’	mez-an-əm	մեզանըմ
demonstrative medial SG GEN ‘that’	tra	տրա
demonstrative medial SG DAT ‘that’	tran	տրան
demonstrative proximal PL NOM ‘these’	srank ^h	սրանք
demonstrative medial PL NOM ‘those’	trank ^h	տրանք
demonstrative distal PL NOM ‘those yonder’	nrank ^h	նրանք
demonstrative proximal PL ACC ‘these’	sran ^{ts} ^h	սրանց
demonstrative medial PL ACC ‘those’	tran ^{ts} ^h	տրանց
demonstrative medial PL ABL ‘those’	tran ^{ts} ^h -its ^h	տրանցից
demonstrative proximal SG GEN ‘this’	estur	եստուր
demonstrative proximal PL NOM ‘these’	estunk ^h	եստունք

What is interesting is the form /estur-ner-i/ ‘this-PL-DAT’ and the nominally declined forms of the word ‘who’ (Table 7).

Table 7: Paradigm of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ in the Astrakhan dialect

‘who’ (NOM)	hov	հօ՞վ
‘to who’ (DAT)	hov-i	հօվի ^օ
‘from who’ (ABL)	hov-its ^h	հօվի ^օ ց
‘who’ (PL)	hov-er	հօվէ ^օ ր
‘to who’ (PL-DAT)	hov-er-i	հօվէրի ^օ
‘from who’ (PL-ABL)	hov-er-its ^h	հօվէրի ^օ ց

12.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

In verbal conjugation, the formation of the present tense is similar to the Yerevan dialect.

12.3.3.1 Copula with /e/ and 3SG /ɑ/

The copula is in Table 8.

Table 8: Copula in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I am'	e-m	ɛʃ	e-m	ɛʃ
2SG 'you are'	e-s	ɛʊ	e-s	ɛʊ
3SG 'he is'	ɑ	ʊ	e	ɛ
1PL 'we are'	e-nk ^h	ɛʃp	e-ŋk ^h	ɛʃp
2PL 'you are'	e-k ^h	ɛp	e-k ^h	ɛp
3PL 'they are'	e-n	ɛʊ	e-n	ɛʊ
	AUX-AGR		AUX-AGR	

12.3.3.2 Indicative present forms

The formative ([[of the imperfective converb]]) is /-əʃ, -is/ <ɛʃ, ɛʊ> (2).

(2) Astrakhan

- a. ɑs-əʃ e-m
 say-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 'I say.'
 ʊʊʃɛʃ ɛʃ
- b. ɪs-əʃ e-m
 hear-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 'I hear.'
 ɪʃɛʃ ɛʃ
- c. ɪŋ-ɪ-ɑ ɑ
 fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX
 'He falls.'
 ɪŋɑɪɛʃ ʊ
- d. k-ɑ-ɪ-is e-nk^h
 come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1PL
 'We are coming.'
 kɑɪɪʃ ɛʃp

- e. lats^h e-k^h il-əm
 cry AUX-2PL be-IMPF.CVB
 ‘You.PL are crying.’
 լաց էք իլըմ
- f. tʃ^h-e-n ls-əm
 NEG-AUX-2PL hear-IMPF.CVB
 ‘They don’t hear.’
 չէս լսըմ.

The Karabakh-style forms are used (3).

[[It is not clear to me how this is like Karabakh. I cannot tell what the /-m/ suffix should mean. The only /-m/ suffix that I know of in Armenian is the present 1SG marker. But the following sentences are in the third person. It is possible that the /-m/ here is some non-finite suffix. (?)]]

(3) Astrakhan

- a. i. k-a-m a
 come-TH-? AUX
 ‘He comes.’
 կամ
- ii. k-a-l-is a
 come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He comes.’
 կալիս ա
- b. i. t-a-m a
 give-TH-? AUX
 ‘He gives.’
 տամ ա
- ii. t-a-l-is a
 give-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He gives.’
 տալիս ա

The verbs with the vowel /u/ <nL> get the formative /-um/ <nLU> (4).

(4) Astrakhan

- a. uz-um e-m
 want-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I want.’
 ուզում էմ

- b. uz-um a
 want-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He wants.’
 ուզում ա

12.3.3.3 Vowel assimilation (/e/ <t> to /i/ <h>) and past /-m/ <ւ>

In the imperfective, the sound /e/ <t> becomes /i/ <h> when before an /i/ <h>.

Besides this, it receives the first person formative /-m/ <ւ> in the imperfective and perfective. The /-m/ originates from the present tense. For example, the copula in Table 9.

Table 9: Past copula or past auxiliary in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan with assimilation		Astrakhan without assimilation		cf. SEA	
1SG ‘I was’	i-i-m	իիւ	e-i-∅	էի	ej-i-∅	էի
2SG ‘you were’	i-i-r	իիր	e-i-r	էիր	ej-i-r	էիր
3SG ‘he was’	e-∅-r	էր	e-∅-r	էր	e-∅-r	էր
1PL ‘we were’	i-i-nk ^h	իիւք	e-i-ŋk ^h	էիւք	ej-i-ŋk ^h	էիւք
2PL ‘you were’	i-i-k ^h	իիք	e-i-k ^h	էիք	ej-i-k ^h	էիք
3PL ‘they were’	i-i-n	իիւ	e-i-n	էիւ	ej-i-n	էիւ
	AUX-PST-AGR		AUX-PST-AGR		AUX-PST-AGR	

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[[*The negative also shows assimilation (Table 10).*]]

Table 10: Negative past copula or past auxiliary in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan (with assimilation)		cf. SEA	
1SG ‘I was not’	tʃ ^h -i-i-m	չիիւ	tʃ ^h -ej-i-∅	չէի
2SG ‘you were not’	tʃ ^h -i-i-r	չիիր	tʃ ^h -ej-i-r	չէիր
3SG ‘he was not’	tʃ ^h -e-∅-r	չէր	tʃ ^h -e-∅-r	չէր
1PL ‘we were not’	tʃ ^h -i-i-nk ^h	չիիւք	tʃ ^h -ej-i-ŋk ^h	չէիւք
2PL ‘you were not’	tʃ ^h -i-i-k ^h	չիիք	tʃ ^h -ej-i-k ^h	չէիք
3PL ‘they were not’	tʃ ^h -i-i-n	չիիւ	tʃ ^h -ej-i-n	չէիւ
	NEG-AUX-PST-AGR		NEG-AUX-PST-AGR	

[[See (5) for examples of assimilation and 1SG /-m/ in conjugation.]]

- (5) a. Astrakhan
- i. $\text{as-}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ e-i-m
say-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I was saying.'
ասըմ էիմ
 - ii. $\text{as-}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ i-i-m
say-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I was saying.'
ասըմ իիմ
- b. i. Astrakhan
- ing-n-i-i-m , $\text{ing-n-i-i-nk}^{\text{h}}$
fall-VX-TH-PST-1SG, fall-VX-TH-PST-1PL
ինգնիիմ, ինգնիինք
 - ii. cf. SEA
 $\text{əŋk-n-ej-i-}\emptyset$, $\text{əŋk-n-ej-i-ŋk}^{\text{h}}$
fall-VX-TH-PST-1SG, fall-VX-TH-PST-1PL
'(If) I were to fall; (if) we were to fall'
ընկնեի, ընկնեինք
- c. i. Astrakhan
- $\text{kə-}\chi\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{v}}\text{-aj-i-m}$, $\text{k-ert}^{\text{h}}\text{-aj-i-m}$, kə-per-e-i-m
FUT-play-TH-PST-1SG, FUT-go-TH-PST-1SG, FUT-bring-TH-PST-1SG
կը խաղայիմ, կերթայիմ, կը պերեիմ
 - ii. cf. SEA
 $\text{kə-}\chi\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{v}}\text{-aj-i-}\emptyset$, $\text{k-ert}^{\text{h}}\text{-aj-i-}\emptyset$, $\text{kə-ber-ej-i-}\emptyset$
FUT-play-TH-PST-1SG, FUT-go-TH-PST-1SG, FUT-bring-TH-PST-1SG
'I would play, I would go, I would bring.'
կխաղայի, կերթայի, կբերեի

[[Similarly, the aorist or past perfective uses the 1SG marker /-m/ in Astrakhan but not SEA. Note that Adjarian does not give translations or reflexes for most of these perfectives; I had to guess what they meant based on their SEA cognates. Note that some of these perfectives have a larger morphological structure in their more conservative SEA cognates (Table 11). (?)]]

Table 11: Use of 1SG marker /-m/ <ւ> in the aorist or past perfective in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
'I said'	as-α-ts ^h -i-m	ասացիմ	as-α-ts ^h -i-∅	ասացի
'I went'	kn-α-ts ^h -i-m	կնացիմ	gən-α-ts ^h -i-∅	գնացի
'I liked'	sir-e-ts ^h -i-m	սիրեցիմ	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի
	$\sqrt{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}$		$\sqrt{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}$	
'I said'	as-α-m	ասամ	as-α-ts ^h -i-∅	ասացի
'I gave'	tv-α-m	տվամ	təv-e-ts ^h -i-∅	տվեցի
'I brought'	per-α-m	պերամ	ber-e-ts ^h -i-∅	բերեցի
'I called'	kantj ^h -α-m	կանչամ	kantj ^h -e-ts ^h -i-∅	կանչեցի
'I put (PST)'	tir-α-m	տիրամ	dər-e-ts ^h -i-∅	դրեցի
'I removed' (?)	han-α-m	հանամ	han-e-ts ^h -i-∅	հանեցի
'I allowed'	t ^h oB-α-m	թողամ	t ^h oB-e-ts ^h -i-∅	թողեցի
	$\sqrt{-PST-1SG}$		$\sqrt{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}$	
'I came'	ek-α-m	եկամ	jek-α-∅	եկա
'I found'	k ^h t ^h -α-m	քթամ	gət-α-∅	գտա
'I took'	ar-α-m	առամ	ar-α-∅	առա
	$\sqrt{-PST-1SG}$		$\sqrt{-PST-1SG}$	

12.3.3.4 Past participle or perfective converb with /-el/ <ել>

The past participle ends in /-el/ <ել>, and in this way it forms the present perfect and past perfect (յարակատարն ու գերակատարը) in (6).

[[Adjarian did not provide translations or reflexes for (6), so I had to guess their meanings. (?)]]

(6) Astrakhan

- a. sir-el α
 like-PERF.CVB AUX
 'I have liked.'
 սիրելի ա
- b. ek-el e-i-m
 come-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
 'I had come.'
 եկել էիմ

- c. k^ht^h-el e-s
 find-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG
 ‘You have found.’
 pɒtɪ tu
- d. ing-el e-n
 fall-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 ‘They have fallen.’
 ɪnqɪ tu
- e. tʃ^h-i-i-m ls-el
 NEG-AUX-PST-1SG hear-PERF.CVB
 ‘I had not listened.’
 zɪɪɪ ɪtɪ
- f. amantʃ^h-el i-i-m
 shy?-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
 I am not sure but I think this means ‘I had felt shy.’
 ʊmʊnsɪtɪ ɪɪɪ

The reflex of the verb /linel/ <ɪɪnɪtɪ> ‘to be’ uses the formative /er/ <ɪr> in order to distinguish between the consonants (7).⁵

(7) Astrakhan

- a. il-er e-n
 be-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 ‘They have been.’
 ɪɪɪr tu
- b. il-er ɑ
 be-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has been.’
 ɪɪɪr ʊ
- c. il-e-r-u ɑ
 be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX
 ‘He will be.’
 ɪɪɪrɪnɪ ʊ

⁵[[Adjarian treats the verb in (7c) as made up of a past participle or perfective converb. However, his SEA translation /linelu e/ <ɪɪnɪtɪɪnɪ> uses a future converb. I think he gave an incorrect description for this sentence’s morphology; it does not use a perfective converb. (?)]]

This sound change is also found in the reflex of the Classical Armenian conjunction /ɑj/ <այ> which uses the form /e/ <է> or /er/ <էր> in the Astrakhan dialect.

12.3.3.5 Infinitival genitive with /-i/ <ի>

The genitive of the infinitive is formed with /-i/ <ի>, similarly to the Karabakh dialect (Table 12).

Table 12: Infinitives take genitive /-i/ <ի> instead of /-u/ <ու> in the Astrakhan dialect

	Astrakhan		cf. SEA	
‘to put’ (GEN)	tn-e-l-i	տնէլի	dən-e-l-u	դնէլու
‘to speak’ (GEN)	χos-e-l-i	խօսէլի	χօս-e-l-u	խօսէլու
‘to sew’ (GEN)	kar-e-l-i	կարէլի	kar-e-l-u	կարէլու
	√-TH-INF-GEN		√-TH-INF-GEN	

12.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

Adjarian’s note: Taken from *Lraber* (Լրաբեր [*Messenger*], year 1909, number 19)

– Ադա Մոսկովից Լէքսէյ Իվանիճի տղան էր Էլէյ, Միշան. կընըմ էր Պետրովըծկա: Զքէրը Էկաւ. դէ մեր տուն ցած Էկավ. ա (Ռուս. իսկ) առաւօտը իննը սահաթին պրօխօղը կընըմ ա: Դէ սաղ քէր խօսանք, հօրը հարցրամ. հէ՛յ գիդի տարիներ. ի՛նչ քէթեր էին արել...՝ Դէ, տա քի, Արտեմ Վանիճ, առաւօտը մին ծի վեր առնենք ստեղի հայի պաները շանց տուր:

Լա՛ւ, ասամ:

Ո՛չ իիմ ասել:

Առաւօտը բագածը ըղըրգանք, ութին կես կար, ծի վեր առանք, տուս Էկանք: Սամի առաչինը պէրամ սրան Պետրոս-Պօղոսի ժամի խաչելութիւնի պատկերքը շանց տալի: Շատ հաւանաւ. ասըմ ա հովի՞ ծեռքածուրն ա: Չեմ մանըմ, ասըմ

Էմ, Րաֆայելինն ա, թէ նրա աշկերտինը: Տեսամ, որ շատ խորը խորը մտիկ ա անըմ՝ ուզամ փոքր պարծանալի. – ասըմ էմ, տա խօ...

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... Եսպես չի՛ իլեր առաջ. դուզ կտաւի վերէն ա քաշած իլեր. Էտով մեր Էրեսփոխներից մինը պռնել ա՝ Էրեսին լակ ա քսել տվել: Ադա Ես խօսքս ասելը իմացամ, տա վերես պաց չի ինգնի՞լ. քի «այս ի՞նչ վանդալուքի՛նն ա»: Տեսամ, որ շատ ա տաքանըմ՝ հանդարտ փեշից քաշամ, ասըմ էմ խըբար Ես ինչ խաբար ա՞, փոքր հանդարտիր, ժամըմն Էնք, համ Էր խառը վախտեր ա. բիրդան պերանիծո՞ մի խօսկ պաց կթողնես՝ ստակ կկորչենք:

Ադա տուռնից տուռ կալի վախտին՝ սրա աչքէն Էլի մին գադ չի ինգնի՞լ. կայնաւ:

– Տա ի՞նչ ա, ասըմ ա, Ես տուռնի գըմանի պատը քերվե՞լ ա ի՞նչ ա:

– Չէ՛, ասըմ էմ, ստեղ պան ա կրած. հոր թիվին քըցաղ ա ժամը, եփ օծած ա. հով ա օծել, հովերի հետ: Կրելիծ Էտով Էր, բուկվաների վերէն զարվարաղ Էն քսած իլեր: Դէ տարիներ Էն անցկացել, ադա մարթ ա վեր ինգնըմ մեռնըմ, ի՞նչ պան ա որ սա Էր փչացած իլի, Էնա ինգել ա փչանալի վերչն Էլ մին քանի հետ ժամը տուսիծ նորոքելի վախտին տըրան Էլ բելիտ Էն արել. ա՛յ, ասըմ էմ, մին հետ Էր բելիտ անեն՝ ստակ կբարաբարվի:

Ադա սա թագադանիծ չի թընդըվի՞լ:

– Սա հնուքիւն ա, ասըմ ա, ի՞նչպէս կարելի-յ-ա ոնչըչացնել. սա ի՞նչ խելք ա, ի՞նչ հասկացողուլիւն ա: Լաւ, ասըմ ա, Ես ծեր քաղաքըմ մին դանա հասկացող մարթ չի կա՞յ, որ Ես պատկերքի համար Էր խօսէր. Ես՞ կրածի համար Էր:

– Ստեղ ուժ Ես ինքս տաքացում. ներողութիւն, ասըմ էմ, շատ իզուր Ես մեղի Եսպէս անպատիւ անըմ. հասկացող մարթ մեզանըմ ինչքան ուզես. ա՛յ համեցեք մեր ժողովքները, թամաշա արա: Հէնց մեր տուռը ասըմ էմ, Էնդուր համար ա քանդըվել, որ շատ հասկացողներ ունենք. դաժը Էթէ կուզես՝ անհասկացող մարթ չի կայ, ռիսչով հասկացող Էն: Էն պատկերքի պանը լսելը բաշտ մունչերի սպըխվատիտծը են իլեր՝ նա կեսը ուժ լակ ա քսած իլեր, դէ թողել Էն որ պըրծացնի. իսկ Ես կրածը, այ մին Էրկու տարի կիլի, որ խօսկ իլեր ա, շուտով կվճռվի, թագադանից կրել կտանք: Կաննք, ասըմ էմ, ծին սպասըմ ա: Մին կերպ սրան դրոգ քցամ, տարամ ախչիգերքի շկօլայի մօտ:

– Այ, ասըմ էմ, սա մեր շկօլան ա:

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– Բէս, ասըմ ա, Ռուստի վըվիսկա ինչի՞ ա:

– Զրէյով Էնք տվել. ասըմ էմ, ա՛յ հոքաւոր տէրը կկայ՝ հուսումարանի պանը կպրծացնի՝ մենք Էլի ետ ստեղ կքաշվենք: լավ ռեմօնտ կանենք, տուսից Էլ բելիտ կանենք. մին փոքր կէսատ մնացած պան կա:

⁶[[The original page had <պ>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this should be <էս>; I fixed it.]]

Chapter 12 Astrakhan

– Բէս սա՞ ինչ ա, հարցնում ա ինձանից, հովի՞ տունն ա:

– Մերն ա, ասում էմ. քասիբանոծինը. քանի տարի եա ասել ա, պէտք ա քանդի, թագանը քցի, կործը կեսատ ու մնացել հելէ: – Բէս սա ի՞նչ պան ա, ասում ա, կէսը ճուր, կէսը հող:

– Սա, ասում էմ, մեր կանավն ա, փորում էն, կեսատ ա:

Ա տղայ, տա բիրդան ինձի չի ասի՞լ – քի, ասա պաժալըստա տուք ինքներդ էր կիսա՞տ էք, թէ թամամ խալիս էք: Մատաղ, ասում ա, ծեզի սկի թամամացրած, պրծացրած պան չունէ՞ք, որ տեսնենք:

– Ինչի՞ չէ, ասում էմ, ա՛յ Կըտերինայի մատուռը, ստակ թամամացրած պրծացրած ա:

– Ինձադը՞, ասում ա. նա ի՞նչ պան ա:

– Մատուռ ա, ասում էմ, աղօթք անելի տեղ, չասովնա՛. ուզում էս կնանք: Ադա տա բիրդան ծիտն շուր չի տալ, հարայ չի տալ. «պրեամը նա պարախօդ»: Պրօխօդ էկանք թէ չէ, սվիստոհը տըվան: Սա ինգաւ ոխչին թարիֆ անելի, քի Հաշտարխանի հայերի ոխչը պանը կեսատ ա. ծրծաղ պաց քըցան որ: Ասում էմ ինչի՞ էս հոքիիդ մեղք անըմ, քեզի խօ ասա՞մ, որ պրծացրած պան էր ունենք:

– Հա, ասում ա, մին դանա չասովնա ունեն պրծացրած. ինչպէս ա անըմը՞:

– Կըտերինայի մատուռ:

Ինքըս էլ փոշմանամ: Ադա սաղ կայնած խալիսը եսթայից էր էնթայից էր, եքքէ ծենով ծրծախ պաց չեն քըցի՞լ. կասես մին վեդրէ հերման ճուր ածան վերես: Ինքըս էր չի հասկացամ, որ ի՞նչպէս ընդեղիծ տուա էկամ, տուն էկամ: Մունչուրի էս սահաթը չէմ կարանըմ մոռանալի. որ միտքըս չի ընգնը՞մ, սաղ վերես ալավ ա տամ:

Chapter 13

Julfa

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13.1 Overview

The homeland of this dialect is the village called Julfa (now called Old Julfa), found near the shores of Araks, at the Persia-Russia border. In the old times, Julfa played a large role in national commerce. Julfa Armenians had spread out till Italy and Holland, and accumulated great wealth in these domains [[*as merchants*]]. During the time of Shah Abbas the Great (Armenian: Շահաբաբ), large numbers of the Armenian population of the Araratian plains (including Julfa Armenians) were forced to leave their homeland, and were taken to Isfahan. Here, in the southern part of the city, they established the New Julfa suburb, which over a short period of time became a lot bigger and richer. It had up to 25,000 Armenian residents. The majority of its residents became involved in commerce and established a few settlements in India, Birmania (Burma), Java and Sumatra. These latter settlements are now almost all gone, and the few remaining Armenians have become English-speakers.

The Julfa dialect is still alive in Old Julfa, New Julfa, and in a few cities in Persia, such as Shiraz, Hamadan, Bushehr, Tehran, Anzali, Qazvin, Rasht, and so on, where New Julfa migrants have settled.

There is an extensive manuscript written in the Julfa dialect; it is the chronology of Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz (Armenian: Պետրոս Դի Սարգիս Գիլանենց).¹ It was published first in the periodical *Krunk Handes* (Armenian: Կռոնկ Հանդես, 1863, February, March) and then published on its own.² One can also find articles written in the more recent dialect in the local New Julfa periodical of *Lraber*

¹[[His name is also romanized with Sargis instead of Sarkis, and Gilanents instead of Gilanentz. An English translation can be found online (Gilanentz 1959).]]

²[[I think *Adjarian* means the periodical Կռոնկ հայրց աշխարհիկ [Crane to the Armenian world]. (?)]]

(Լրաբեր [*Messenger*]), which is still published to this day. Because I do not have this newspaper, I could not use it.

The Julfa dialect was studied by Patkanian (Պատկանյան) in his...

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... work (Патканов 1869: 76-103). Thus, by benefiting from this work, we can compose our description of the Julfa dialect.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 225).*]]

13.2 Phonology

The phonetic system of this dialect is like the Yerevan system, or more exactly like the Tabriz subdialect.

13.2.1 Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ>

The primary borderline of its sound changes is how the Classical Armenian /h/ <h> became /χ/ <խ> (Table 1).

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ> in the Julfa dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘Armenian’	hɑj	hɑj	χɑj	խɑj	hɑj	hɑj
‘bread’	hɑts ^h	hɑg	χɑts ^h	խɑg	hɑts ^h	hɑg
‘father’	hɑjr	hɑjr	χer	խեր	hɑjr	hɑjr
‘graceful’	fənorhawor	շնորհավոր	fənaχavor	շնախավոր	fənoravor	շնորհավոր
‘fear’	ah	ah	aχ	ախ	ah	ah

13.2.2 Word-initial insertion of /h/ <h>

Many vowel-initial words received an initial /h/ <h> (Table 2). [[*That is, there are many CA words which start with a vowel, and whose reflex in the dialect starts with an epenthetic /h/.*]]

Table 2: Insertion of word-initial /h/ <h> in the Julfa dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘when’	erb	երբ	hip ^h	հիփ	jerp ^h	երբ
‘cheap’	arzan	արժան	hezan	հեժան	arzan	արժան
‘front’	arad̄z	առաջ	hared̄z	հառեջ	aratj ^h	առաջ
‘long’	erkar	երկար	herkar	հերկար	jerkar	երկար
‘close of the day’			haraknadem	հարակնադեմ	iriknadem	իրիկնադեմ
cf. ‘evening’	erekun	երեկուն			irikun	իրիկուն

13.2.3 Change from Classical Armenian /iɹ/ <իլ>

The word-initial /iɹ/ <իլ> sound became /u/ <ու> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /iɹ/ <իլ> to /u/ <ու> in the Julfa dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘oil’	iɹt	իլդ	ux	ուդ	jux	յուդ
‘self’	iɹr	իլր	ur	ուր	jur	յուր

13.2.4 Nasal insertion for the word ‘no’ /otj^h/

The negative formative from Classical Armenian /otj^h/ <ոչ> became /motj^h/ <մոջ>. This interesting word is formed in the following way. First, the Classical Armenian word /otj^h/ <ոչ> became /votj^h/ <վոջ>, as in many dialects of New Armenian. The sound /n/ <ն> was then added to this word to get /vontj^h/ <վոնջ>, and this form is used in the Yerevan dialect. The labial (չրթնական) sound /v/ in /vontj^h/ was affected by the nasality of this /n/ <ն>, and became a labial nasal /m/ <մ>. From this form, we got the lenited form (սղմամբ) /motj^h/ <մոջ>. In the Julfa dialect, the two forms are also used (Table 4).

Table 4: Insertion of nasal /m/ <մ> in negative words in the Julfa dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘nothing’	otj ^h intj ^h	ոչիսչ	motj ^h intj ^h , montj ^h intj ^h	մոջիսչ մոնչիսչ	votj ^h intj ^h	ոչիսչ
‘no one’	otj ^h ok ^h	ոչ ոք	motj ^h ov	մոջով	votj ^h vok ^h	ոչ ոք
‘no one’s’			motj ^h um	մոջում	votj ^h meki	ոչ մեկի

13.3 Morphology

13.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

13.3.1.1 Case marking for singular nouns

In the noun declension, the genitive-dative case is formed with the formative /-e/ <ɛ> as in Karabakh, or with the formative /-i/ <ɨ> as in Yerevan.

The ablative is formed with the formative /-e/ <ɛ>. But for words with the rhyme /-u/ <nɫ>, the ablative uses the formatives /-its^h, uts^h/, <ɨg, nɫg> (Table 5).³

Table 5: Ablative in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘house’			tun	տոս
‘house-ABL’	tən-e	տըսɛ	tən-its ^h	տնից
‘brook’			aru	արոս
‘brook-ABL’	arv-its ^h	արվից	arv-its ^h	արվից
‘soul’			hok ^{hi}	հոգի
‘soul-ABL’	χok ^h -uts ^h	խօքնɫɛ	hok ^h -uts ^h	հոգնɫɛ

The instrumental formative is the usual formative /-ov/ <ով>, and the locative is /-um/ <սմ>.

13.3.1.2 Case marking for plural nouns

For the plural, the declension endings are in Table 6.

³[[For the word /arv-its^h/, Adjarian provides a translation <յառնɫɛ>, but I could not figure out what this word meant. (?)]]

Table 6: Declensions for plurals in the Julfa dialect

	Plural suffix for monosyllables		Plural suffix for polysyllables	
NOM	/-er/	<եր>	/-ner/	<ներ>
GEN, DAT	/-er-i, -er-ots ^h /	<երի, Էրօց>	/-ner-i/	<ների>
ABL	/-er-e, -er-ots ^h -e/	<երէ, Էրօցէ>		
INS	/-er-ov/	<երօվ>	/-ner-ov/	<ներօվ>
LOC	/-er-um/	<երում>	/-ner-um/	<ներում>

To form the plural in some situations (Table 7), the dialect uses the formatives /-ek^h, -ani, -er-ani, -ner-ani, -arenk^h/ <էք, անի, Էրանի, ներանի, արենք>.

Table 7: Example of plurals in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
‘Russian’			rus	ռուս
‘Russian-PL’	ərust-ani	ըռուստանի	rus-ner	ռուսներ
‘hunter’			vorsoɤ	որսող
‘hunter-PL’	vorsoɤ-ani	վօրսօղանի	vorsoɤ-ner	որսողներ
‘other’			urif	ուրիշ
‘other-PL’	urif-ani	ուրիշանի	urif-ner	ուրիշներ
‘head’			gəlux	գլուխ
‘head-PL-(PL)’	glux-ner-ani	գլուխներանի	gəlux-ner	գլուխներ
‘voice’			dʒajɔ	ծայն
‘voice-PL-(PL)’	dʒen-er-ani	ծեներանի	dʒajɔ-e	ծայներ
‘place’			teɤ	տեղ
‘place-PL’	teɤ-arenk ^h	տեղարենք	teɤ-er	տեղեր
‘village’			gɤuɤ	գիւղ
‘village-PL’	geɤ-arenk ^h	գեղարենք	gɤuɤ-er	գյուղեր

13.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The declension of pronouns is the same as in the Yerevan dialect, ...

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... so we think it is superfluous to show them. The pronouns differ only in the ablative, where they take the formative /-e/ <է> (Table 8).

[[I try to minimize my segmentation of pronouns because pronouns tend to contain a lot of opaque morphology. For these ablative forms, a possible segmentation consists of three morphs: 'from you.PL' / $\widehat{d}ez-(a)n-e/$ with the gloss PRO-NX-ABL.]]

Table 8: Sample of ablative pronouns in the Julfa dialect

personal 1SG 'from me'	indzne	իւնծւտ
personal 2SG 'from you'	k ^h ezne	քէզլւտ
personal 1PL 'from us'	mezne	մէզլւտ
personal 1PL 'from us'	mezane	մէզալւտ
personal 2PL 'from you'	$\widehat{d}ezne$	ծէզլւտ
personal 2PL 'from you'	$\widehat{d}ezane$	ծէզալւտ
demonstrative proximal SG 'from this'	esti	էստի
demonstrative proximal SG 'from this'	sorane	սօրան
demonstrative proximal PL 'from these'	estonts ^h me	էստօնցլւտ
demonstrative proximal PL 'from these'	sots ^h ane	սօցան

Some interesting forms are in Table 9.⁴

Table 9: Sample of other pronouns in the Julfa dialect

reflexive PL 'selves'	urenk ^h	ուրէնք
reflexive SG ABL 'from self'	urnen	ուրնէն
reflexive PL GEN 'of selves'	urents ^h	ուրէնց
reflexive PL GEN 'of selves'	urts ^h ents ^h	ուրցէնց
demonstrative proximal PL GEN 'of these'	sants ^h an	սանցան
demonstrative medial PL GEN 'of those'	dants ^h an	դանցան

13.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

13.3.3.1 Overview and morphological changes

For verb conjugation, the most characteristic forms are the following.

⁴[[Adjarian does not say what is interesting about them. (?)]]

13.3.3.1.1 Present copula with /ɑ/ <ւ>

For the present tense form of the copular verb, the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> of all the persons has changed to /ɑ/ <ւ> (Table 10).

Table 10: Copula with /ɑ/ <ւ> instead of /e/ <ե> in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I am'	ɑ-m	ւմ	e-m	եմ
2SG 'you are'	ɑ-s	ւս	e-s	ես
3SG 'he is'	ɑ	ւ	e	ե
1PL 'we are'	ɑ-nk ^h	ւնք	e-ηk ^h	ենք
2PL 'you are'	ɑ-k ^h	ւք	e-k ^h	եք
3PL 'they are'	ɑ-n	ւն	e-n	են
	AUX-AGR		AUX-AGR	

This of course originated via analogy to the present 3SG, which as we know is /ɑ/ <ւ> in the dialects of Yerevan, Karabakh, Shamakhi, Astrakhan, and Agulis.

13.3.3.1.2 Past copula with /i/ <ի>

Its imperfective ([[*meaning the past form of the copula*]]) is formed like in Yerevan (Table 11). [[*This means that in Julfa, the /e-i/ AUX-PST sequence surfaces as a single [i] via deletion of the /e/.*]]

Table 11: Past copula with /ի/ <ի> instead of /ei/ <եի> in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I was'	∅-i-∅	ի	ej-i-∅	եի
2SG 'you was'	∅-i-r	իր	ej-i-r	եիր
3SG 'he was'	e-∅-r	եր	e-∅-r	եր
1PL 'we were'	∅-i-nk ^h	ինք	ej-i-ηk ^h	եինք
2PL 'you were'	∅-i-k ^h	իք	ej-i-k ^h	եիք
3PL 'they were'	∅-i-n	ին	ej-i-n	եին
	AUX-PST-AGR		AUX-PST-AGR	

13.3.3.1.3 Imperfective converb with /-man/ <ման>

The indicative present and imperfective of every verb is constructed with the formative /-man/ <ման> (/aman/ <աման>) (Table 12).⁵

Table 12: Imperfective converb with /-man/ <ման> (/aman/ <աման>) in the Julfa dialect

	Shamakhi		cf. SEA	
‘I go’	gn-a-man a-m	գնաման ամ √-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG	gn-um e-m	գնում եմ √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
‘I see’	tes-man a-m	տեսման ամ	tes-n-um e-m	տեսնում եմ
‘I flee’	p ^h ax-man a-m	փախման ամ √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG	p ^h ax-tj ^h -um e-m	փախչում եմ √-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
‘I was going’	gn-a-man ∅-i-∅	գնաման ի √-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	gn-um ej-i-∅	գնում էի √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
‘I was seeing’	tes-man ∅-i-∅	տեսման ի	tes-n-um ej-i-∅	տեսնում էի
‘I was fleeing’	p ^h ax-man ∅-i-∅	փախման ի √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG	p ^h ax-tj ^h -um ej-i-∅	փախչում էի √-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG

13.3.3.2 General paradigms for the reflex of the A-Class

The following are the primary tenses of the reflex of the Classical Armenian verb /gən-a-l/ <գնալ> ‘to go’.

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[This verb is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /a/ in Classical Armenian. Philological work calls it the third class; a more mnemonic name is the A-Class.]]

13.3.3.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[In SEA, the indicative present and past imperfective are formed by combining the imperfective converb (a verb with suffix /-um/) with an inflected auxiliary (Table 13, 14). In Julfa, essentially the same strategy is used with the following differences:

⁵*[[I suspect that the formative /-aman/ is actually segmentable as /-a-man/: the theme vowel /a/ plus the converb suffix /-man/.]]*

the converb suffix is /-man/, and the auxiliary has different forms in Julfa. These forms were discussed in §13.3.3.1.3.]]

Table 13: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG	gn-a-man a-m	գնաման ամ	gən-um e-m	գնում եմ ‘I go’
2SG	gn-a-man a-s	գնաման սս	gən-um e-s	գնում ես
3SG	gn-a-man a	գնաման ա	gən-um e	գնում է
1PL	gn-a-man a-nk ^h	գնաման անք	gən-um e-ŋk	գնում ենք
2PL	gn-a-man a-k ^h	գնաման քք	gən-um e-k ^h	գնում եք
3PL	gn-a-man a-n	գնաման ան	gən-um e-n	գնում են
	√-IMPF.CVBAUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVBAUX-AGR	

Table 14: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG	gn-a-man Ø-i-Ø	գնաման ի	gən-um ej-i-Ø	գնում էի ‘I was going’
2SG	gn-a-man Ø-i-r	գնաման իր	gən-um ej-i-r	գնում էիր
3SG	gn-a-man e-Ø-r	գնաման ր	gən-um e-Ø-r	գնում ր
1PL	gn-a-man Ø-i-nk ^h	գնաման ինք	gən-um ej-i-ŋk ^h	գնում էինք
2PL	gn-a-man Ø-i-k ^h	գնաման քք	gən-um ej-i-k ^h	գնում էիք
3PL	gn-a-man Ø-i-n	գնաման ին	gən-um ej-i-n	գնում էին
	√-TH-IMPF.CVBAUX-PST-AGR		√-IMPF.CVBAUX-PST-AGR	

13.3.3.2.2 Past perfective or aorist

[[In SEA, the past perfective or aorist (Table 15) for /gən-a-l/ ‘to go’ is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. Julfa uses the same strategy.]]

Table 15: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG	gn-a-ts ^h -i-∅	զևացի	gən-a-ts ^h -i-∅	զևացի ‘I went’
2SG	gn-a-ts ^h -i-r	զևացիր	gən-a-ts ^h -i-r	զևացիր
3SG	gn-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	զևաց	gən-a-ts ^h -∅-∅	զևաց
1PL	gn-a-ts ^h -i-nk ^h	զևացինք	gən-a-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	զևացինք
2PL	gn-a-ts ^h -i-k ^h	զևացիք	gən-a-ts ^h -i-k ^h	զևացիք
3PL	gn-a-ts ^h -i-n	զևացին	gən-a-ts ^h -i-n	զևացին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

13.3.3.2.3 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 16) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /a/. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added to the present auxiliary in the indicative present. The Julfa dialect behaves the same but with one difference: the theme vowel of the 2PL changes from /a/ to /e/.]]

Table 16: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG	gn-a-m	զևամ	gən-a-m	զևամ ‘(if) I go’
2SG	gn-a-s	զևաս	gən-a-s	զևաս
3SG	gn-a-∅	զևա	gən-a-∅	զևա
1PL	gn-a-nk ^h	զևանք	gən-a-ŋk ^h	զևանք
2PL	gn-e-k ^h	զևեք	gən-a-k ^h	զևաք
3PL	gn-a-n	զևան	gən-a-n	զևան
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 17) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. In Julfa, the theme vowel /a/ is deleted before the past suffix /i/. In the 3SG, the theme vowel is changed to /e/.]]

Table 17: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA	
1SG	gn-∅-i-∅	զնի	gən-aj-i-∅ ‘(If) I went’	զնայի
2SG	gn-∅-i-r	զնիր	gən-aj-i-r	զնայիր
3SG	gn-e-∅-r	զներ	gən-a-∅-r	զնար
1PL	gn-∅-i-nk ^h	զնինք	gən-aj-i-ηk ^h	զնայինք
2PL	gn-∅-i-k ^h	զնիք	gən-aj-i-k ^h	զնայիք
3PL	gn-∅-i-n	զնին	gən-aj-i-n	զնային
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

13.3.3.2.4 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Future

[[In Julfa, the future and past future are constructed from the subjunctive by adding the prefix /kə/ <կը> (Table 18). SEA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 18: Future <ապանի> and past future <անցեալ ապանի> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Future <ապանի>		Past future <անցեալ ապանի>	
1SG	kə gn-a-m	կը զնամ	kə gən-∅-i-∅	կը զնի
	‘I will like’		‘I was going to like’	
2SG	kə gn-a-s	կը զնաս	kə gən-∅-i-r	կը զնիր
3SG	kə gn-a-∅	կը զնա	kə gən-e-∅-r	կը զներ
1PL	kə gn-a-nk ^h	կի զնանք	kə gən-∅-i-nk ^h	կը զնինք
2PL	kə gn-e-k ^h	կը զնեք	kə gən-∅-i-k ^h	կը զնիք
3PL	kə gn-a-n	կը զնան	kə gən-∅-i-n	կը զնին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

13.3.3.2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SEA adds a zero morph after the root for an A-Class verb like ‘to go’ (Table 19). For the 2PL, SEA adds the sequence /-a-ts-ek^h/ after the root such that the sequence /-a-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement

marker. Julfa uses similar strategies with one difference: the 2PL can omit the /-a-ts^h/ sequence.]]

Table 19: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa		cf. SEA ‘go!’		
2SG	gn-a-∅	զևա	gən-a-∅	զևա	√-TH-IMP.2SG
2PL	gn-a-ts ^h -ek ^h	զևացեք	gən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h	զևացեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
	gn-ek ^h	զեք			√-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 20), SEA simply adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the imperative form. For Julfa, the prohibitive is formed by placing the /mi/ after the verb. The verb is a non-finite form with /-a/ (possibly the infinitive). In the 2PL, the prohibitive marker carries plural agreement, thus agreement morphology is mobile.]]

Table 20: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

	Julfa and SEA ‘do not go!’			
2SG	gn-a-l mí	զևալ մի’	√-TH-INF(?) PROH	Julfa
	mí gən-a-∅	մի’ զևա	PROH √-TH-IMP.2SG	SEA
2PL	gn-a-l m-ek ^h	զևալ մեք	√-TH-INF(?) PROH-IMP.2PL	Julfa
	mi gən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h	մի զևացեք	PROH √-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL	SEA

13.3.3.2.6 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 21. Note that the present participle and past participle are also called the imperfective converb and the perfective converb.]]

Table 21: Participles or converbs <ղերբայտեր> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

		Julfa and cf. SEA				
Infinitive	անորոշ	gn-a-l	գնալ	√-TH-INF	Julfa	
		gən-a-l	գնալ	√-TH-INF	SEA	
Present	սերկայ	gn-a-man	գնաման	√-TH-IMP.F.CVB	Julfa	
		gən-um	գնում	√-IMP.F.CVB	SEA	
Past	անցեալ	gn-a-ts ^h -el	գնացել	√-TH-AOR-PERF.CVB	Julfa	
		gən-a-ts ^h -el	գնացել	√-TH-AOR-PERF.CVB	SEA	

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13.4 Text samples

Adjarian’s sample: Taken from Կոռնկ, 1863, էջ 92-94

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

1. Համադանցի Սահիջանի վորթի Հովսեփն արեկ քաղաքս, ասաց թե Համադանա մին ամիս ա վոր դուս ամ. յես Համադան իքան՝ Բաղդադա մին խայ յեկավ Համադան, ասաց թե Ըստամբօլու շատ ջարախանա յեկավ Բաղդադ, ամա ասկար չեկավ, եւ ասկար կալէ ձեն էլ չկեր: Բաղդադա փաշեն վոր Ըռուստի ասկարին Գիլան օլն հիմացավ՝ Բաղդադա բերթըն ինչ քանդած տեղ վոր կեր՝ Թամամին շինել արետ, վոր Ըռուստիցն շատ ախ եր քաշում:

2. Վերօ Հովսեփն ասաց թե յես վոր յեկի Ղազվին, Ղազվինցիք ասում ին թե մեր սարդարն տեղես փախավ՝ մենք մնացինք անտեր. մեր ճարն ի՞նչպես գընի. մեր ճարն էս ա վոր հեփ մեր ախն շատանա վոր Աղվանն մեզ մօտկանա, պիտի վոր գրենք Ըռեշտ՝ Ըռուստի սարդարին վերա, վոր մեզ տիրուքին առի եւ մենք Ըռուստի դուլուղ առենք:

3. Օգօստօսի 2քումն 2 շամախցի թուրք Թարվիզու շահիցն չափարարեկ Ըռեշտ՝ վոր գնա Թիմիշանա վեզրին կուշտն: Էս 2 չափարն ասել ան թե՛ Վախտանկ խանըն եւ Կախտթու վալի Մամատ Ղուլի խանըն խաշտել ան (հաշտուեր են) եւ միատեղ ուրենց ասկարովն գնացել ան Հարեվան (Երեւան): Հարեվանա կշտին 4 օսմանցու փաշա դընի ուրենց ասկարովն. 4 փաշին խետ

կրիվ կը տան, վոր Օսմանցու ասկարէն շատ ջանքէլ ան. մնացյալն փախել և եւ մին փաշէն ուր ասկարովն մին դայիմ տեղ ա՝ վոր կարել չէն գրիշմիշ լինելն:

4. Ջուղայէցի Վօհանէսի վորթի Թօրօսն Օգօստօսի Յոմն յէկավ Ըռէշտ. ասաց թէ յես Արգրում էի՝ վոր խաբար յէկավ թէ 4 փաշա գնացին Թիֆլիզ առին եւ ընկել ան Վախտանկ խանին հետնէն վոր բռնէն. Արգրում 3 օր դօնամա արարին եւ ...

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... թօփվէր գցեցին. հետօ քանի օրէն հետ խաբար արել՝ թէ Վախտանկ խանն շատ ասկարով հետ ա դառցել օսմանցուն վերա. շատ ուժով շքաստա տվել. եւ օսմանլվին ասկարն վոր փախել էր՝ 100-օվ 200-օվ հետ ան գօլման Արգրում. վոր յէկինք Բայագիդն էլ տեսման ինք, վոր հետ ին փախման: Թավրիզու վոր դախիլ յէլանք՝ էլ էսպէս լսեցինք. եւ Վրաստանա չափար արել Թարվէզ՝ էլ էսպէս ասաց՝ վոր վերելումն գրած ա:

5. Հուլիսի 28. Թիֆլիզէցի X վոր Հայօց դավակ ա, վոր կաթօլիկ ա դառցել, վոր ֆռանկարզի կումալանուն դիւմաճ յէլէլ, վոր էս Հօսէփն Ըսպահանա փախել էր, Համադանա վերա արել Ըռէշտ, վոր Աղվանին Ըսպահան առուլն խաքիյաթ արար՝ թէ ինչպէս ան առել. թիվն 1722 փետրվարի 18. Աղվան Միրվէսի վորթի Մամուդ խանըն 12,000 ասկարով քրմանա վրա յէկավ. Ըսպահանա վերա, վոր էլ էս օր Աղվանն յէկել ա Վարզան դախիլ յէլէլ, վոր մինչի Ըսպահան 16 աղաջ ա, վոր է 80 վերստ:

6. Արապի սարդարն էլ էն օրն չափար ա դարկել Ըսպահան շահին՝ թէ Թախիխ Մամուդն ուր ասկարովն Ըսպահանա վերա կալման, շուտօվ էստուր ֆիքրն արա:

7. Շահ Մամուդին գալն վոր կը լսի՝ թէ Թախիխ կալիս ա, հուլքմ կառի ուր բէկլարին՝ թէ վօրչանք օմարա, խան, բէկ, բէկգարա, դուլ, դօռչի կա՝ հազըվէն եւ թօփ եւ ջաբախանա հազրեցէք՝ որ բիտի գնէք Ազվանին դարշուն, վոր թօշէք վօջ Աղվանն Ըսպահան դօ. սօքա 18,000 մարթ եւ 24 թօփ կը հազրէն:

8. Էլ էն օրն մուասիլ կաղարկէն գեղարէնքն՝ 12,000 մարթ թվանկչի կը բօլօրէն կը բերէն Ըսպահան:

Chapter 14

Agulis

14.1 Background

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The Agulis dialect is spread in a small border near Nakhichevan, whose center is the rural town or village-city (գիւղաքաղաք) of Agulis. The surrounding villages are Կոննոբ, Ծոնոմի, Դնաքրտ, Րամիս, Դաստ, Կոլոկի, and so on. All of these constitute the branches of this dialect.

The Agulis dialect is so far away from the common Armenian language, that its surrounding populations have thought that this dialect was a foreign language and called it *Zok* (Armenian: Չոկերեն, SEA /zokeren/), just as the people are called *Zok* (Armenian: Չոկ, SEA /zok/).

14.2 Phonology

14.2.1 Segment inventory

The phonetic system of Agulis is similar to the Yerevan system. It has added only the vowels /æ, ɣ, œ/ <ւի, իւ, էօ> and the consonants /g^j, k^j, k^h/ <գյ, կյ, քյ>.

14.2.2 Sound changes

Its sound changes have rendered this language unrecognizable, and they are the following.

14.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

14.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /a/ <ա>

Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> became /ɑ/ <ա> for the words in Table 1.

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Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /a/ <u> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘happy’	ւրách	ուրախ	órax	óրախ	ւրách	ուրախ
‘game’	չաł	խաղ	hax	հաղ	չաx	խաղ
‘tail’	ագի	ագի	ági	ա՛գի	ագի	ագի
‘crow’	agráu	ագռաւ	akrán	ա՛կռավ	agrán	ագռավ
‘salt’	աł	աղ	ax	աղ	ax	աղ
‘vessel’	amán	աման	áman	ա՛ման	amán	աման
‘summer’	amárən	ամառն	ámar	ա՛մառ	amár	ամառ
‘peak’	gagát ^h ən	գագաթն	g ⁱ ég ⁱ at ^h	գյէ՛գյաթ	gagát ^h	գագաթ

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /æ/ <ü> for the words in Table 2.

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /æ/ <ü> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘mouth’	berán	բերան	bærxən	բւ՛րւն	berán	բերան
‘sheep’	otj ^h jár	ոչխար	éxtj ^h æx	է՛խչւր	votj ^h jár	ոչխար
‘flour’	aljár	ալիւր	ælyr	ա՛լիւր	aljúr	ալյուր
‘blood’	arjún	արիւն	æryn	ա՛րիւն	arjún	արյուն
‘thin’	barák	բարակ	bærxæk	բւ՛րակ	barák	բարակ
‘spring’	garún	գարուն	g ⁱ ærxunk ^h	գյւ՛րունք	garún	գարուն

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /o/ <o> for the words in Table 3, only in the last syllable. [[*But contrast their genitive forms which show an /a/.*]]

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /o/ <o> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘man’	maɾd	մարդ	mord	մօրդ	maɾt ^h	մարդ
‘man-GEN’	maɾd-óĭ	մարդոյ	máɾd-i	մա՛րդի	maɾt ^h -ú	մարդու
‘bride’	harsən	հարսս	hors	հօրս	hars	հարս
‘bride-GEN’	hars-ín	հարսիս	hárs-i	հա՛րսի	hars-í	հարսի
‘death’	mah	մահ	moh	մօհ	mah	մահ
‘death-GEN’	mah-ú	մահու	máh-i	մա՛հի	mah-í	մահի
‘lamp’	tʃərag	ճրագ	tʃrog ⁱ	ճրօգ	tʃərak ^h	ճրագ
‘lamp-GEN’	tʃərag-í	ճրագի	tʃrág ⁱ -i	ճրա՛գի	tʃərak ^h -í	ճրագի

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /e/ <t> for very few words (Table 4).¹

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /e/ <t> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘dirt’	ałt	աղտ	ełt	էխտ	ałt	աղտ
‘dirty’	ałtót	աղտոտ	jéłtut	յէ՛խտուտ	ałtót	աղտոտ
‘peak’	gagát ^h ən	գագաթս	g ⁱ ég ⁱ at ^h	գյէ՛գյաթ	gagát ^h	գագաթ
‘barley’	garí	գարի	g ⁱ éri	գյէ՛րի	garí	գարի

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /œ/ <to> for the words in Table 5.

¹[[For the word ‘dirty’, Adjarian provides the word <աղտոտ>. I could not determine if this word existed in Classical Armenian; but this word is a compound of Classical Armenian roots, so it is possible. (?)]]

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Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /œ/ <ւօ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘pillow’	bɑrdz	բարձ	bœrdz	բօրձ	barts ^h	բարձ
‘church’	zɑm	ժամ	zœm	ժօւմ	zɑm	ժամ
‘spade’	bɑh	բահ	bœh	բօհ	bɑh	բահ
‘high’	bɑrdzær	բարձր	bœdzær	բօծըր	barts ^h ær	բարձր
‘open’	bɑts ^h	բաց	bœts ^h	բօց	bɑts ^h	բաց
‘to go’	gənal	գնալ	nœl	նօլ	gənal	գնալ
‘bitter’	dárən	դարն	dœrnə	դօրնը	dárən	դարն

Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /jœ/ <յօ> for the words in Table 6.

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /jœ/ <յօ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘right (side)’	ɑdʒ	աջ	jœdʒ	յօջ	ɑtʃ ^h	աջ

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Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /ɑj/ <ւյ> for the words in Table 7.

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /ɑj/ <ւյ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘needle’	asélən	ասեղն	ájsæx	ա՛յսւն	aséx	ասեղ
‘happy! (interjection)’	eraní	երանի	hərájnək	հըրա՛յնակ	jeraní	երանի
‘to fold’	tsalél	ծալել	tsájlil	ծա՛յլիլ	tsalél	ծալել
‘to melt’	halél	հալել	hájlil	հա՛յլիլ	halél	հալել

Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /u/ <ււ> for the words in Table 8, only before nasal consonants.

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /u/ <u> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘similar’	nəman	սման	nmun	սմուս	nəman	սման
‘sign’	nəʃan	նշան	nʃun	նշուս	nəʃan	նշան
‘monastery’	vank ^h	վանք	vunk ^h	վուսք	vaŋk ^h	վանք
‘thick’	t ^h ándzər	թանձր	t ^h úndzr	թո՛ւնձր	t ^h ándzər	թանձր
‘heavy’	tsánər	ծանր	tsúndər	ծո՛ւսըրը	tsánər	ծանր

Classical Armenian /a/ <u> became /y/ <ի> for the words in Table 9.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /y/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘to come’	gal	գալ	g ⁱ yl	գիլլ	gal	գալ
‘thing’	ban	բան	byn	բիլ	ban	բան
‘spoon’	targal	տարգալ	dəgył	դըգիլ	gət ^h al	գդալ
‘swallow’	tsitsernák	ծիծեռնակ	ts ^h əts ^h ərnɣk	ցըցա՛նիլկ	tsitsernák	ծիծեռնակ
‘apricot’	tsirán	ծիրան	tsəryn	ծա՛րիլ	tsirán	ծիրան

14.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /æ/ <ւ> for the words in Table 10.

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /æ/ <ւ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘two’	erkú	երկու	ərkɣ	ա՛րկիլ	jerkú	երկու
‘on’	i veráĭ	ի վերայ	vərxæ	վա՛րաւ	vərá	վրա
‘bridegroom’	p ^h esáĭ	փեսայ	p ^h əsxæ	փա՛ւսաւ	p ^h esá	փեսա
‘corpse’	merəál	մեռեալ	mərxæl	մա՛ւաւ	merjál	մեռյալ
‘ground’	getín	գետին	g ⁱ ətin	գա՛ւտիլ	getín	գետին
‘mouth’	berán	բերան	bərxæn	բա՛ւաւ	berán	բերան
‘maternal uncle’	k ^h erí	քեռի	k ^h əri	քա՛ւռի	k ^h erí	քեռի
‘needle’	aséłən	ասեղն	ájsæx	ա՛յսաւղ	aséx	ասեղ
‘beam’	gerán	գերան	g ⁱ ərxæn	գա՛ւրաւ	gerán	գերան

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Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 11.

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /a/ <ա> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘dream’	eráz	երազ	áraz	ա՛րազ	jeráz	երազ
‘come (participle)’	ekəál	եկեալ	ákal	ա՛կալ	jekél	եկել
‘iron’	erkát ^h	երկաթ	árkat ^h	ա՛րկաթ	jerkát ^h	երկաթ
‘come! (IMP.2PL)’	ekájk ^h	եկա՛յք	ákik ^h	ա՛կիք	jekék ^h	եկե՛ք
‘brother’	ełbájr	եղբայր	áxp̄ar	ա՛խսար	jexpájr	եղբայր
‘student’	ařakért	աշակերտ	ářkart	ա՛շկարտ	ařakért	աշակերտ
‘thirty’	eresún	երեսուն	arásson	արա՛սսուն	jeresún	երեսուն

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 12.

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘big’	meṯ	մեծ	miṯ	միծ	meṯ	մեծ
‘I (NOM)’	es	ես	is	իս	jes	ես
‘ox’	ézən	եզն	íznə	ի՛զն	jez	եզ
‘river’	get	գետ	git	գիտ	get	գետ
‘wife’s father’	anér	աներ	ánir	անիր	anér	աներ
‘broom’	awél	աւել	ávil	ավիլ	avél	ավել
‘to bring’	berél	բերել	bíril	բի՛րիլ	berél	բերել
‘when’	erb	երբ	ib	իբ	jerp ^h	երբ
‘face’	erés	երես	írís	ի՛րիս	jerés	երես
‘three’	erék ^h	երեք	írik ^h	ի՛րիք	jerék ^h	երեք
‘to cook’	ep ^h él	եփել	íp ^h il	ի՛փիլ	jep ^h él	եփել
‘light (weight)’	t ^h et ^h éu	թեթել	t ^h ít ^h iv	թի՛թիվ	t ^h et ^h év	թեթել

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> remained /e/ <ե> for the words in Table 13.

Table 13: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘burden’	bérən	բեռն	bérnə	բէ՛ռնը	ber	բեռ
‘yellow’	deřín	դեղին	déřin	դէ՛ղին	deřín	դեղին
‘nail (finger/toe)’	eřúng	եղուկ	éřunk ^h	է՛ղուկը	jeřúng	եղուկ
‘winter’	đzəmérən	ձմեռն	đzəméřnə	ձըմէ՛ռնը	đzəméř	ձմեռ
‘hand’	đzer-k ^h (-PL)	ծեռք	đzerk ^h	ծէռք	đzerk ^h	ծեռք

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> remained /e/ <եո> for the words in Table 14.

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /e/ <եո> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘oath’	erdúmən	երդումն	óřdym	եօ՛րդիմ	jert ^h úm	երդում

14.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /ē/ <է>

Classical Armenian /ē/ <է> became /e/ <է> for the words in Table 15.

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <է> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘donkey’	ēř	էշ	eř	էշ	eř	էշ
‘half’	kēs	կես	kes	կես	kes	կես
‘olive oil’	đzēt ^h	ծէթ	đzet ^h	ծէթ	đzet ^h	ծէթ

Classical Armenian /ē/ <է> became /ej/ <էյ> for the words in Table 16.

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <է> to /ej/ <էյ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘heap’	dēz	դէզ	dejz	դէյզ	dez	դէզ

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Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 17.

Table 17: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘fox’	ափ.է՛ս	ափղէտ	ափvis	ափղիս	ափնէ՛ս	ափղէտ
‘curse’	անէ՛տս ^h	անտծք	անիտս ^h	անիծք	անէտս ^h	անտծք

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /aj/ <այ> for the words in Table 18.

Table 18: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /aj/ <այ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘lord’	tēr	տեր	tajr	տայր	ter	տեր
‘dormouse (CA); rat (SEA)’	arnēt	անտետ	ərnajt	ընայտ	arnet	անտետ
‘need’	arnēt	pēt ^h	pajtk ^h	պայտք	petk ^h	պետք

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 19.

Table 19: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /a/ <ա> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘female’	ēg	եգ	ag ^j	ագ	eg	եգ
‘inside’	mēd՛չ	մեչ			metʃ ^h	մեչ
‘inside-DEF’			mád՛չ-ə	մա՛չը	métʃ ^h -ə	մեչը

14.2.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> remained /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 20.

Table 20: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
'red'	karmír	կարմիր	kármir	կա'րմիր	karmír	կարմիր
'month'	amís	ամիս	ámis	ա'միս	amís	ամիս
'nit'	aníts	անիծ	ánits	ա'նիծ	aníts	անիծ
'nit'	bərindz	բրինձ	brindz	բրինձ	bərindz	բրինձ
'barley'	garí	գարի	g'éri	գլ'րի	garí	գարի
'wine'	giní	գինի	g'ini	գլ'նի	giní	գինի
'ninety'	innəsún	իննսուն	innásun	իննս'ուն	innəsún	իննսուն
'horse'	đzi	ծի	đzi	ծի	đzi	ծի

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /ej/ <էյ> for the words in Table 21.

Table 21: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ej/ <էյ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
'to lick'	lizél	լիզել	léjzil	լէ'յզիլ	lizél	լիզել

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /uj/ <ույ> for the words in Table 22.

Table 22: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /uj/ <ույ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
'one'	mi	մի	mujn	մույն	mi	մի

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /u/ <ու> for the words in Table 23.

Table 23: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /u/ <ու> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
'what'	intj ^h	իւչ	untj ^h	ոււչ	intj ^h	իւչ

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Classical Armenian /i/ <h> became /aj/ <ւ> for the words in Table 24.

Table 24: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <h> to /aj/ <ւ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘meat’	mis	միս	majs	մայս	mis	միս
‘to like’	sirél	սիրել	sájríl	սա՛յրիլ	sirél	սիրել
‘oar’	t ^h i	թի	t ^h ájtnə	թա՛յնը	t ^h i	թի
‘nine’	ínən	ինն	ájtnə	ա՛յնը	ínə	ինը
‘laughter’	tsítsáł	ծիծաղ	tsájtsæɬ	ծա՛յծաղ	tsítsáɬ	ծիծաղ
‘lime’	kir	կիր	kajr	կայր	kir	կիր
‘old’	hin	հին	hajn	հայն	hin	հին
‘nose’	k ^h it ^h	քիթ	k ^h ajnt ^h	քայնթ	k ^h it ^h	քիթ
‘mind’	mit-(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	միտք	majtk ^h	մայտք	mitk ^h	միտք

Classical Armenian /i/ <h> became /æ/ <ւ> for the words in Table 25.

Table 25: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <h> to /æ/ <ւ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘beautiful’	sirún	սիրուն	særyn	սա՛րիւն	sirún	սիրուն
‘I (DAT)’	indz	ինծ	ændz	ա՛նծ	indz	ինծ
‘I (GEN)’	im	իմ	æm	ա՛մ	im	իմ
‘apricot’	tsirán	ծիրան	tsæryn	ծա՛րիւն	tsirán	ծիրան
‘one’	mi	մի	mæn	մա՛ն	mi	մի

Classical Armenian /i/ <h> became /a/ <ւ> for the words in Table 26.²

²[[The original page had <մայտք> as part of the change from <h> to <ւ>. But on page 306, Ad-jarian provides an erratum that this should be part of the change from <h> to <ւ>; I fixed it.]]

Table 26: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /a/ <ա> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘heart’	sirt	սիրտ	sart	սարտ	sirt	սիրտ
‘five’	hing	հինգ	hang ^j	հակայ	hing	հինգ
‘kernel’	koríz	կորիզ	káz	կհազ	koríz	կորիզ

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14.2.2.1.5 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> remained /o/ <օ> for the words in Table 27.

Table 27: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /o/ <օ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘eyelid’	kop	կոպ	kop	կօպ	kop	կոպ

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /u/ <ու> for the words in Table 28.

Table 28: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /u/ <ու> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘smell’	hot	հոտ	hut	հուտ	hot	հոտ
‘loan’	p ^h ox	փոխ	p ^h uh	փուհ	p ^h ox	փոխ
‘foot’	ótən	ոտն	útnə	ն’լտնը	vót	ոտ
‘belly’	p ^h or	փոր	p ^h ur	փուր	p ^h or	փոր
‘who’	ov	ով	uv	ուվ	ov	ով
‘no’	otj ^h	ոչ	utj ^h	ուչ	votj ^h	ոչ
‘chair’	at ^h ór	աթոռ	át ^h urk ^h	ա’թուրք	at ^h ór	աթոռ
‘trembling’	doł	դող	dux	դուղ	dox	դող
‘bone’	óskər	ոսկր	úskər	ն’լսկը	voskór	ոսկր
‘lentil’	ospən	ոսպն	usp	ոլսպ	vosp	ոսպ
‘wall’	órmən	որմն	úrman	ն’լրման	vorm	որմ

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Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /y/ <իւ> for the words in Table 29.

Table 29: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /y/ <իւ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘thief’	goł	գող	g ⁱ yɛ	գյիւղ	goɤ	գող
‘essential’	gəłxawór	գլխաւոր	g ⁱ əlhævyr	գլըլիւիւր	gəłxavór	գլխաւոր
‘gray-haired’	alewór	ալեւոր	həłævyr	հըլիւիւր	alevór	ալեւոր
‘flame’	boṭs ^h	բոց	byts ^h	բիւց	boṭs ^h	բոց
‘lap’	gog	գոգ	g ⁱ ygi	գյիւգ	gok ^h	գոգ
‘apple’	χəndzór	խնձոր	χəndzýr	խընձիւր	χəndzór	խնձոր
‘worm’	órdən	որդն	ýrnə	իւռնը	vórt ^h	որդ

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /e/ <է> for the words in Table 30.

Table 30: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘to try’	p ^h ordzél	փորձել	p ^h érdzil	փէ՛րձիլ	p ^h orts ^h él	փորձել
‘mule’	d̄zorí	ջորի	d̄zéri	ջէ՛րի	d̄zorí	ջորի
‘soul’	hogí	հոգի	hégi	հէ՛գի	hok ^h í	հոգի
‘sheep’	ot ^h χár	ոչխար	éχt ^h æɾ	է՛խչար	voṭ ^h χár	ոչխար
‘louse’	odzil	ոջիլ	édzil	է՛ջիլ	voṭ ^h íl	ոջիլ

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /æ/ <ւ̄> for the words in Table 31.

Table 31: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /æ/ <ւ̄> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘to try’	gortsél	գործել	g ⁱ ærdzil	գյւ՛րձիլ	gortsél	գործել
‘to praise’	govél	գովել	g ⁱ ávnil	գյւ՛վիլ	govél	գովել
‘cress’	kotímən	կոտիմս	k ⁱ ætim	կյւ՛տիմ	kotém	կոտեմ

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /a/ <ւ> for the words in Table 32.

Table 32: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /a/ <u> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘smell’	hot	hnun			hot	hnun
‘smelled (participle)’			hætats̄	haw̄taw̄	hotáts̄	hnunaw̄
‘to change’	p ^h oxél	փոխել	p ^h áhil	փա՛հիլ	p ^h oxél	փոխել
‘grandchild’	t ^h óræn	թոռն	t ^h árnæ	թա՛ռնը	t ^h or	թոռ
‘ash’	moxír	մոխիր	máxir	մա՛խիր	moxír	մոխիր
‘gold’	oskí	ոսկի	áski	ա՛սկի	voskí	ոսկի
‘calf’	ort ^h	որթ	árt ^h uk	ա՛րթուկ	hort	հորթ

14.2.2.1.6 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> remained /u/ <nL> for the words in Table 33.

Table 33: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u/ <nL> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘other’	urif	ուրիֆ	úrif	ո՛ւրիֆ	urif	ուրիֆ
‘name’	anún	անուն	ánun	ա՛նուն	anún	անուն
‘autumn’	afún	աշուն			afún	աշուն
	afún-k ^h (-PL)	աշունք	áfunk ^h	ա՛շունք		
‘elbow’	armúkæn	արմուկն	ármung	ա՛րմուկ	armúrk	արմուկ
‘fish’	dzúkæn	ծուկն	dzúknæ	ծո՛ւկնը	dzúk	ծուկ

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /y/ <իL> for the words in Table 34.

Table 34: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <իL> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘you (NOM)’	du	դու	dy	դիլ	du	դու
‘wool’	burd	բուրդ	byrd	բիլրդ	bur ^h	բուրդ
‘abyss’	andúnd	անդունդ			andúnd	անդունդ
	andúnd-(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	անդունդք	ændvndk ^h	անդիլնդք		
‘head’	gəlux	գլուխ	g’əlyh	գլլիլիլ	gəlux	գլուխ
‘oath’	erdúmæn	երդումն	érdym	ե՛րդիլմ	jert ^h úm	երդում

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Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /o/ <o> for the words in Table 35.

Table 35: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /o/ <o> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘false’	sut	սուտ	sot	սօտ	sut	սուտ
‘cold’	ts ^h urt	ցուրտ	ts ^h ort	ցօրտ	ts ^h urt	ցուրտ
‘shoulder’	us	ուս	jons	յօս	us	ուս
‘camel’	ult	ուլտ	oxt	օլտ	uxt	ուլտ
‘happy’	uráχ	ուրախ	óraχ	օ՛րախ	uráχ	ուրախ
‘to eat’	utél	ուտել	ótil	օ՛տիլ	utél	ուտել
‘to have’	uníl	ունիլ	ónil	օ՛նիլ	unél	ունել
‘sour’	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու	t ^h t ^h o	թթօ	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու
‘fig’	t ^h uz	թուզ	t ^h óznə	թօ՛զնը	t ^h uz	թուզ

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /ej/ <Ej> for the words in Table 36.

Table 36: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /ej/ <Ej> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘knee’	tsúngək ^h	ծուկք	tséjnə	ծե՛յնը	tsunjək	ծուկք

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /e/ <E> for the words in Table 37.

Table 37: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /e/ <E> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘belly (CA); satiated (SEA)’	kuft	կուշտ	keft	կէշտ	kuft	կուշտ
‘Friday’	urbát ^h	ուրբաթ	érbæt ^h	է՛րբայթ	urp ^h át ^h	ուրբաթ
‘to swallow’	kul tal	կուլ տալ	kel tol	կել տօլ	kul tal	կուլ տալ
‘jug’	kuз	կուժ	kez	կէժ	kuз	կուժ
‘thorn’	p ^h uf	փուշ	p ^h ef	փէշ	p ^h uf	փուշ

14.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

14.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ>

Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> remained /aj̄/ <ւյ> for the words in Table 38.

Table 38: Change from Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> to /aj̄/ <ւյ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘father’	haṯr	հայր	hajr	հայր	hajr	հայր
‘mother’	maṯr	մայր	majr	մայր	majr	մայր
‘wood’	p ^h ajt	փայտ	p ^h ajt	փայտ	p ^h ajt	փայտ
‘goat’	ajts	այծ	ajts	այծ	ajts	այծ
‘sound’	d̄zaj̄n	ծայն	d̄zaj̄n	ծայն	d̄zaj̄n	ծայն
‘lightning’	kaṯsákə̄n	կայծակն	kájtsak	կա՛յծալ	kaṯsák	կայծակ

Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> became /a/ <ւ> for the words in Table 39.

Table 39: Change from Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> to /a/ <ւ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
medial ‘that’	aṯd	այդ	at	ատ	ajd	այդ
distal ‘that yonder’	aṯn	այն	an	ան	ajn	այն
‘other’	aṯl	այլ	al	ալ	ajl	այլ

Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> became /e/ <է> for only the word in Table 40.

Table 40: Change from Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘vineyard’	aṯgí	այգի	ég ^ʰ i	Է՛գի	ajgí	այգի

Classical Armenian /aj̄/ <ւյ> became /y/ <իւ> for only the word in Table 41.

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Table 41: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑi̯/ <ωյ> to /ɤ/ <իլ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘wolf’	gɑi̯l	գայլ	g ⁱ ɤl	գիլ	gɑjl	գայլ

Classical Armenian /ɑi̯/ <ωյ> became /i/ <ի> for only the word in Table 42.

Table 42: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑi̯/ <ωյ> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘wide’	la̯in	լայլ	lin	իլ	la̯jn	լայլ

14.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /ɑy̯/ <ուլ>

Classical Armenian /ɑy̯/ <ուլ> became /ɑv/ <ւվ> for the words in Table 43.

Table 43: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑy̯/ <ուլ> to /ɑv/ <ւվ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘crow’	agrɑ̯y̯	ագռւլ	akrɑ̯v	ա՛ղռւվ	agrɑ̯v	ագռւվ
‘sand’	ɑwɑ̯z	աւլազ	ɑvɑz	ա՛վլազ	ɑvɑz	աւլազ
‘thirsty’	tsɑrɑ̯y̯	ծարւլ	tsɑrɑ̯v	ծա՛րւվ	tsɑrɑ̯v	ծարւվ
‘partridge’	kak ^h ɑ̯y̯	կաքրւլ	kak ^h ɑ̯v	կա՛քրւվ	kak ^h ɑ̯v	կաքրւվ

Classical Armenian /ɑy̯/ <ուլ> became /ov/ <ուվ> for the words in Table 44.

Table 44: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> to /ov/ <օվ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘cot’	չալ	խալ	չօվ	խօվ	չան	խալ
‘bird (CA); chicken (SEA)’	հալ	հալ	հօվ	հօվ	հան	հալ
‘agreeable’	հաւան	հալան	հօվան	հօվան	հանան	հալան

Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> became /o/ <օ> for the words in Table 45.

Table 45: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> to /o/ <օ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘speech’	չալսկ ^h	խալսք	չօսկ ^h	խօսք	չօսկ ^h	խոսք
‘mother (GEN)’	մալր	մալր	մօր	մօր	մօր	մոր
‘father (GEN)’	հալր	հալր	հօր	հօր	հօր	հոր
‘pigeon’	ալանի	ալանի	օնի	օնի	անի	ալանի

Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> became /u/ <ու> for the words in Table 46.

Table 46: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> to /u/ <ու> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘prayer’	ալսկ ^h	ալսք	սկ ^h	սք	սկ ^h	սք
‘shame’	ամալ ^h	ամալ	ամ	ամ	ամ	ամ
‘to speak’	չալսիլ	խալսիլ	չսիլ	խսիլ	չսիլ	խսիլ
‘eyebrow’	չալ-կ ^h (-PL)	չալք	չսկ ^h	չսք	չսկ ^h	չսք

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Classical Armenian /ɑy/ <ալ> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 47. This change happens in the declined forms of some of the previous words.

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Table 47: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա/ <ալ> to /a/ <ա> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘speech’	չափս ^h	խաւսք	չոսկ ^h	խոսք	չոսկ ^h	խոսք
‘speech-GEN’			չափս ^h -i	խաւսքի	չոսկ ^h -i	խոսքի
‘eyebrow’	յաւն-կ ^h (-PL)	յաւնք	յոնկ ^h	յոնք	հոյկ ^h	հոնք
‘eyebrow-GEN’			յոնկ ^h -i	յաւնքի	հոյկ ^h -i	հոնքի

14.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե/ <ել>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե/ <ել> became /æ/ <ււ/ <ււլ> for the words in Table 48.

Table 48: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե/ <ել> to /æ/ <ււ/ <ււլ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘gray-haired’	աւեօր	ալելոր	հալաւօր	հըլաւիլոր	աւեօր	ալելոր

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե/ <ել> became /iv/ <իւ/ <իւլ> for the words in Table 49.

Table 49: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե/ <ել> to /iv/ <իւ/ <իւլ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘rain’	անձրեւ	անձրել	անձրիւ	անձրիլ	անձրեւ	անձրել
‘sun’	արեւ	արել	արիւ	արիլ	արեւ	արել
‘light (weight)’	թեթեւ	թեթել	թիթիւ	թիթիլ	թեթեւ	թեթել
‘form’	ձեւ	ձել	ձիւ	ձիլ	ձեւ	ձել

14.2.2.2.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի/ <իլ>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի/ <իլ> became /iv/ <իւ/ <իւլ> for the words in Table 50.

Table 50: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /iv/ <իվ/ in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘eagle’	ɑrʰtsiʰ	արծիւ	ɑrʰtsiv	ա՛րծիվ	ɑrʰtsiv	արծիվ
‘account’	hɑfʰiʰ	հաշիւ	hɑfʰiv	հա՛շիվ	hɑfʰiv	հաշիվ

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ became /y/ <իլ/ for the words in Table 51.³

Table 51: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /y/ <իլ/ in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘durable’	ɑliʰr	ալիւր	ɑliʰr	ա՛լիլր	ɑljúr	ալյուր
‘blood’	ɑriʰn	արիւն	ɑriʰn	ա՛րիլն	ɑrjún	արյուն
‘hundred’	hɑriʰr	հարիւր	hɑriʰr	հա՛րիլր	hɑrjúr	հարյուր
‘snow’	dz̄iʰn	ծիւն	dz̄iʰn	ծիլն	dz̄jun	ծյուն

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ became /i/ <ի/ for the words in Table 52. This happens for the Classical Armenian ending /-tʰiʰn/ <թիւն/.

Table 52: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /i/ <ի/ in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘theft’	gɔtʰiʰn	գողութիւն	kʰəʰtʰin	կղղո՛թիս	gɔtʰjún	գողություն
‘remission’	tʰɔtʰiʰn	թողութիւն	tʰəʰtʰin	թղո՛թիս	tʰɔtʰjún	թողություն

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ became /ɑjv/ <այվ/ for the words in Table 53.

Table 53: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ/ to /ɑjv/ <այվ/ in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘fight’	kəriʰ	կռիւ	krajv	կռայվ	kəriv	կռիվ

³[[The original page had CA <ամսւր> as undergoing this sound change to <ա՛մսիլր>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that the change is from <ալիւր> to <ա՛լիլր>; I fixed it.]

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14.2.2.2.5 Classical Armenian /oj/ <nj>

Classical Armenian /oj/ <nj> became /ɣ/ <ɥL> for the words in Table 54.

Table 54: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <nj> to /ɣ/ <ɥL> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘thumb (CA, SEA); finger (Agulis)’	boiṯ ^h	բոյթ	bɣt ^h	բիւթ	but ^h	բութ
‘nest’	bojn	բոյն	bɣn	բիւն	bujn	բույն
‘walnut’	ənkójz	ընկոյզ	əng ^ɥ yz	ա՛նգիւզ	əŋkújz	ընկուզ
‘light’	lojs	լոյս	lys	լիւս	lujs	լույս
‘lazy’	tsojl	ծոյլ	tɣyl	ծիւլ	tɣujl	ծուլլ
‘blue’	kapójt	կապոյտ	k ^ɥ əpɣt	կլա՛ւիւտ	kapújt	կապույտ

14.2.2.2.6 Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ>

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ> remained /ov/ <ouɥ> for the words in Table 55.

[[I find it odd that Adjarian calls this sequence a diphthong because <ɥ> most likely was a /v/ sound. This suggests that Adjarian may have actually thought that <nɥ> was pronounced as /ouɥ/ instead of /ov/.]]

Table 55: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ> to /ov/ <ouɥ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘sea’	tsov	ծու	tsov	ծou	tsov	ծու

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ> became /uv/ <nɥɥ> for the words in Table 56.

Table 56: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ> to /uv/ <nɥɥ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘cow’	kov	կու	kuv	կոււ	kov	կու

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɥ> became /av/ <uɥɥ> for the words in Table 57.

Table 57: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> to /av/ <auɫ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘sea’	tsov	ծով	tsov	ծօվ	tsov	ծով
‘sea-GEN’	tsov-ú	ծովու	tsáv-i	ծա՛վի	tsov-í	ծովի
‘to be disturbed’	չարօվ	խռովի	hrávil	հռա՛վի	չարօվ	խռովել
‘accustomed’	sovór	սովոր	sávur	սա՛վոր	sovór	սովոր

14.2.2.3 Stress and pre-tonic vowel deletion

Like the Karabakh dialect, stress has moved to the penultimate dialect. Because of this, all pre-tonic vowels have been lost, as the above examples show.

[[For example, the word ‘gray-haired’ is /alewór/ (ալեւոր) in CA, but /həlǎévur/ (հըլա՛վուր) in Agulis (Table 53).]]

14.2.2.4 Consonant changes

14.2.2.4.1 Voicing changes

The consonants in the Agulis dialect have preserved their native and original pronunciation, more than any dialect. As is clear, the new dialects, including the Tbilisi and Yerevan dialects, have changed voiced sounds to voiceless aspirated after the sound /r/ <r>. But the Agulis dialect is an exception to this rule, and these same consonants preserve their original pronunciation (Table 58).

Table 58: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> to /av/ <auɫ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘man’	marđ	մարդ	mord	մօրդ	mart ^h	մարդ
‘rose’	vard	վարդ	værd	վեօրդ	var ^h	վարդ
‘Transfiguration’	vardavar	վարդավար	værdavur	վրռդավուր	var ^h avar	վարդավար
‘male’	ordz	ործ	yrđz	իւռծ	vor ^h ts	ործ
‘bear’	ardz	արջ	ordz	օրջ	ar ^h tj	արջ

However, some of the consonants have undergone various changes.

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14.2.2.4.2 Palatalization of velar stops

Classical Armenian /g/ <q> has changed to /gʲ/ <qj> everywhere. Only after the vowel /o/ <o>, it is pronounced as /g/ <q>. Similar to this, the sounds /k, kʰ/ <կ, ք> have changed everywhere to /kʲ, kʰʲ/ <կj, քj>.

14.2.2.4.3 Change from Classical Armenian /χ/ <խ> to /h/ <հ>

Classical Armenian /χ/ <խ> has changed everywhere to /h/ <հ> (Table 59).⁴

Table 59: Change from Classical Armenian /χ/ <խ> to /h/ <հ> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘stall’	աչօր	ախոռ	áhur	ա՛հուռ	աչօր	ախոռ
‘head’	ցալսի	ալուխ	gʲályh	ալլիլի	ցալսի	ալուխ
‘game’	չաթ	խաղ	hax	հաղ	չաթ	խաղ
‘grape’	չաթօ	խաղող	háxux	հա՛ղուղ	չաթօ	խաղող
‘to strangle’	չեմել	խեղդել	héxwil	հե՛ղդիլ	չեչթել	խեղդել
‘deep’	չոր	խոր	hur	հուր	չոր	խոր
‘bundle’	չուրձ	խուրձ	hœrzno	հեռզնո	չուրձ ^h	խուրձ
‘confused’	չարօն	խռով	hrov	հռով	չարօն	խռով
‘to be disturbed’	չարօնիլ	խռովիլ	hrávil	հռա՛վիլ	չարօնել	խռովել
‘advice’	չարատ	խրատ	hrrot	հրրօտ	չարատ	խրատ
‘to spend (CA); to sell (SEA)’	ժաչել	ծախել	tsáhil	ծա՛հիլ	ժաչել	ծախել
‘smoke’	ժսի	ծուխ	tsoh	ծոհ	ժսի	ծուխ
‘to hang’	կաչել	կախել	káhil	կա՛հիլ	կաչել	կախել
‘to trample’	կոչել	կոխել	káhil	կա՛հիլ	կոչել	կոխել
‘pulley’	մխարակ	ճախարակ	mfháarak	ճհա՛րակ	մխարակ	ճախարակ
‘locust’	մարաչ	մարախ	márah	մա՛րահ	մարաչ	մարախ
‘herd of cattle’	նաչիր	նախիր	náhir	նա՛հիր	նաչիր	նախիր
‘onion’	սոչ	սոխ	suh	սուհ	սոչ	սոխ
‘vinegar’	կ՛ատձաչ	քացախ	kʰátsʰah	քա՛ցահ	կ՛ատձաչ	քացախ
‘sheepfold’	ք՛արաչ	փարախ	pʰárah	փա՛րահ	ք՛արաչ	փարախ

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⁴[[For the word ‘locust’, Adjarian provides an ancestor <մարխիս> /mareχ/. Other attested Classical Armenian forms include <մարախիս> /marax/, which I suspect is a closer ancestor for Agulis based on the difference in vowels.]]

14.2.2.4.4 Change from Classical Armenian /s/ <u> to /h/ <h>

Classical Armenian /s/ <u> has changed to /h/ <h> in one word (Table 60).

Table 60: Change from Classical Armenian /s/ <u> to /h/ <h> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Agulis	cf. SEA
‘to say’	asél ասել	áhil ա՛հիլ	asél ասել

14.2.2.4.5 Change from Classical Armenian /ts^h/ <g> to /h/ <h>

In imperatives and in the past participles, the Classical Armenian sound /ts^h/ <g> has changed to /h/ <h> (Table 61).

Table 61: Change from Classical Armenian /ts^h/ <g> to /h/ <h> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Agulis	cf. SEA
‘I have forgotten’	mor-ɑ-t ^h s-ǰál e-m մոռացեալ եմ √-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG	mr-æ-h-áel ə-m մռա՛հալ ըմ	mor-ɑ-t ^h s-él e-m մոռացել եմ
‘forget!’	mor-ɑ-t ^h s-ír մոռացիր √-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG	mr-æ-h-í մռա՛հի	cf. SEA mor-ɑ-t ^h s-ír մոռացիր

14.2.2.4.6 Change from Classical Armenian ending /n/ <u>

The ending /n/ <u> from Old Armenian has changed to /nə/ <ւը>, keeping its native form, similar to the Karabakh dialect (Table 62).

[[To clarify, Adjarian means the word-final segment /n/.]]

Table 62: Change from Classical Armenian ending /n/ <ւ> to /nə/ <ւը> in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘mouse’	múkən	մուկւ	móknə	մօ՛կւը	muk	մուկ
‘pomegranate’	núrən	նուռն	nórnə	նօ՛ռնը	nur	նուռ
‘wall’	órmən	որմւ	úrman	ո՛րման	vorm	որմ
‘worm’	órdən	որդւ	ýrnə	իւռնը	vort ^h	որդ

14.3 Morphology

14.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

14.3.1.1 Case suffixes

In the case declension, the following formatives are used.

- GEN, DAT: The genitive-dative is formed generally with the formative /-i/ <ի>. Proper nouns or names take the formative /-a/ <ա>; but when stress is on the final syllable this /-a/ <ա> turns to /œ/ <օ>.
- ACC: The accusative is the same as either the nominative or dative, just as in the Yerevan dialect, based on whether the object is inanimate or animate.
- ABL: The ablative uses the formative /-its^h/ <ից>, similar to the Yerevan dialect, whereas the Karabakh dialect has /-a, -an/, <ա, աւ>.
- INS: The instrumental formative is /-av/ <ավ> after stress, but /-œv/ <օվ> when stressed.
- LOC: The locative takes the formative /am/ <ամ> when unstressed, and the formative /um/ <ում> when stressed.

14.3.1.2 Case infix

Before these formatives, we can sometimes place the infix (Միջամասնիկ) /-hæn/ <հւն>, which corresponds to the Karabakh formatives /-an, -ana/ <ան, աւա>. In this way, we have the secondary formatives:

- Ablative: /-hǽn-its^h/ <հւնից>

- Instrumental: /-háen-æv/ <huĩ'uuıd>
- Locative: /-háen-æm/ <huĩ'uuıf>

[[It is not clear to me what this formative is supposed to be. It could be a meaningless stem-extender, as found in SEA pronouns: 'from me' /indz-an-its^h/ glossed as 1SG.DAT-NX-ABL. Or it could be an oblique marker like the ones used in irregular SEA kinship words: 'from a friend' /əŋker-otf^h-its^h/ glossed as 'friend-OBL-ABL'. Adjarian does not cite any words with this infix, so it is unclear what should be the right gloss (?)]

14.3.1.3 Plural declension

The nominative plural uses the following formatives:

- /-ar/ <uɾ> for monosyllabic words
- /-k^h/ <p> for vowel-final words
- /-ner/ <lutɾ> for the remaining words

The other cases are formed in this way.

- Genitive-Dative: /-(n)er-i/ <(u)ɾɪɪ>
- Ablative: /-(n)er-its^h/ <(u)ɾɪɪg>
- Instrumental: /-(n)er-æv/ <(u)ɾɪuuıd>
- Locative: /-(n)er-æm/ <(u)ɾɪuuıf>

14.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

14.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

[[Table 63 lists the personal pronouns.]]

Table 63: Inflectional paradigm for personal pronouns in the Agulis dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'
NOM	is	dy	mik ^{hj}	dyk ^h
	hu	ηhl	ʃhpj	ηhlp
GEN	æm	k ^h u	mir	dzir
	ũf	pnL	ʃhp	ðhp
DAT, ACC	ændz	k ^h iz	miz	dziz
	ũlδ	phq	ʃhq	ðhq
ABL	ændz-æn-its ^h	k ^h iz-æn-its ^h	miz-æn-its ^h	dziz-æn-its ^h
	ũlδũʃh	phqũʃh	ʃhqũʃh	ðhqũʃh
INS	ændz-æn-æv	k ^h iz-æn-æv	miz-æn-æv	dziz-æn-æv
	ũlδũʃhũv	phqũʃhũv	ʃhqũʃhũv	ðhqũʃhũv
LOC	ændz-æn-æm	k ^h iz-æn-æm	miz-æn-æm	dziz-æn-æm
	ũlδũʃhũm	phqũʃhũm	ʃhqũʃhũm	ðhqũʃhũm

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14.3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Agulis, the Armenian forms have changed (Table 64).

Table 64: Changes from Classical Armenian demonstratives in the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
proximal 'this'	aj̄s, sa	այս, սա	hok, so, as	հոկ, սօ, սա	aj̄s, sa	այս, սա
medial 'that'	aj̄d, da	այդ, դա	dok, do, at	դոկ, դօ, ատ	aj̄d, da	այդ, դա
distal 'that yonder'	aj̄n, na	այն, նա	nok, no, an	նոկ, նօ, աՆ	aj̄n, na	այն, նա

Their declined forms are in Table 65.

[[*Adjarian provides only a partial paradigm.*]]

Table 65: Declension of proximal demonstrative ‘this’ in the Agulis dialect

	Singular		Plural	
NOM	as	աս	ástykh ^h	ա՛ստիլք
GEN	atúr	ատո՛ւր	astuŝ ^h	աստոնլք
DAT	astúr	աստո՛ւր		
ABL	astur-án-its ^h	աստոնրանից		
INS	astur-án-av	աստոնրանավ		
LOC	astur-án-am	աստոնրանամ		

The form /so/ <uo> ‘this’ also has the form /zo/ <qo>. This latter form is used only for animates, while /so/ <uo> is used for both animates and inanimates.

14.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

14.3.3.1 Conjugation classes

In the Agulis dialect, verbal conjugation is very interesting, because many form changes have occurred. Of the four conjugation classes from Old Armenian, only two are kept; these are the /il/ <իլ> and /ol/ <օլ> (Table 66).

Table 66: Change in conjugation classes from Classical Armenian to the Agulis dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Agulis		cf. SEA	
‘to say’	as-é-l	ասել	áh-i-l	ահիլ	as-é-l	ասել
	√-TH-INF		√-TH-INF		√-TH-INF	
‘to go away’	her-a-n-á-l	հեռանալ	hr-æ-n-i-l	հռանիլ	her-a-n-á-l	հեռանալ
	√-LV-INCH-TH-INF		√-LV-INCH-TH-INF		√-LV-INCH-TH-INF	
‘to cough’	haz-a-l	հազալ	hazz-o-l	հազօլ	haz-a-l	հազալ
	√-TH-INF		√-TH-INF		√-TH-INF	

14.3.3.2 Copular verb or auxiliary

14.3.3.2.1 Present copula with /ə-/

The copular verb has kept only its present tense (Table 67). The 1PL and 2PL are homophonous.

Table 67: Present copula with the vowel /ə-/ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I am'	ə-m	ըմ	e-m	եմ
2SG 'you are'	ə-s	ըս	e-s	ես
3SG 'he is'	ɑ	ւ	e	է
1PL 'we are'	ə-k ^h	ըք	e-ŋk ^h	եւք
2PL 'you are'	ə-k ^h	ըք	e-k ^h	եք
3PL 'they are'	ə-n	ըն	e-n	են
	AUX-AGR		AUX-AGR	

14.3.3.2.2 Past copula with /ə-/

The imperfective has been lost; in its place, the dialect has invented a new strategy (Table 68).

[[In CA and SEA, the past tense is marked with the suffix /-i/. But Agulis, the past is marked with a particle /nel/.]]

Table 68: Past copula or past auxiliary in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG 'I was'	nel ə-m	ւել ըմ	ej-i-∅	էի
2SG 'you were'	nel ə-s	ւել ըս	ej-i-r	էիր
3SG 'he was'	nel ɑ	ւել ւ	e-∅-r	եր
1PL 'we were'	nel ə-k ^h	ւել ըք	ej-i-ŋk ^h	էիւք
2PL 'you were'	nel ə-k ^h	ւել ըք	ej-i-k ^h	էիք
3PL 'they were'	nel ə-n	ւել ըն	ej-i-n	էին
	PST AUX-AGR		AUX-PST-AGR	

As can be seen, this new strategy for the past auxiliary is a reduced and shortened form of the Classical Armenian phrase /ełɛal em/ <եղլալ եմ> or /ləal em/ <լալ եմ> 'I have been'.

[[Note that this Classical Armenian phrase consists of the participle /ełɛal/ <եղլալ> of the verb 'to be' /linel/ <լինել>, plus the copula as an auxiliary. Though it is unclear how a nasal was inserted from CA /ełɛal/ to Agulis /nel/. It is possible that the nasal reflects a reduction from the stem /lin-/ of the infinitive /lin-e-l/ 'to be'.]]

We shall find a similar usage in the Suceava dialect below. According to this, the imperfective of the Agulis dialect is originally the present perfect (յարակատար).

14.3.3.3 Inflectional paradigm

[[*In contrast to the rest of /um/ <ոււմ> branch dialects, Adjarian discusses the Agulis paradigms in depth. His original descriptions and my explanations are interspersed.*]]

14.3.3.3.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[*The indicative present and past imperfective in SEA are formed via periphrasis (Table 69). The verb is in a converb form called the imperfective converb. For most regular verbs, this converb is made up of the stem plus the suffix /-um/, without the theme vowel. Irregular monosyllabic verbs instead form the converb by adding the suffix /-is/ after the infinitive (Table 71). Tense and agreement is marked on the inflected auxiliary, whether present or past. What follows is how Adjarian describes Agulis. Note the difference in the use of converb suffix and the use of a prefix.*]]

To form present and imperfective indicative stem of verbs, we use the formatives /-um/ <ոււմ> (Table 69), or /-am, -æm/ <աւմ, ււմ> (Table 70). The formative /-um/ <ոււմ> is used when the suffix is stressed (Table 69), while the formative /-am, -æm/ <աւմ, ււմ> is used when the suffix is unstressed (Table 70).

[[*It seems that /-an, -æm/ are allomorphs based on vowel harmony.*]]

Table 69: Indicative present <ստրկայ> of the verb ‘to cut’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-um/ <ոււմ>

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	ktr-úm ə-m	կտրո՛ւմ ըմ	kətr-úm e-m ‘I cut’	կտրում եմ
2SG	ktr-úm ə-s	կտրո՛ւմ ըս	kətr-úm e-s	կտրում ես
3SG	ktr-úm a	կտրո՛ւմ ա	kətr-úm e	կտրում է
1PL	ktr-úm ə-k ^h	կտրո՛ւմ ըք	kətr-úm e-ŋk ^h	կտրում ենք
2PL	ktr-úm ə-k ^h	կտրո՛ւմ ըք	kətr-úm e-k ^h	կտրում եք
3PL	ktr-úm ə-n	կտրո՛ւմ ըն	kətr-úm e-n	կտրում են
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

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Table 70: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-æm/ <ււմ>

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	hr-æ-n-æm ə-m	հռա՛նււմ ըմ	her-a-n-úm e-m	հեռանում եմ ‘I go away’
2SG	hr-æ-n-æm ə-s	հռա՛նււմ ըս	her-a-n-úm e-s	հեռանում ես
3SG	hr-æ-n-æm a	հռա՛նււմ ա	her-a-n-úm e	հեռանում է
1PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h	հռա՛նււմ ըք	her-a-n-úm e-ŋk ^h	հեռանում ենք
2PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h	հռա՛նււմ ըք	her-a-n-úm e-k ^h	հեռանում եք
3PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-n	հռա՛նււմ ըն	her-a-n-úm e-n	հեռանում են
	√-LV-INCH-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-LV-INCH-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Monosyllabic verbs take /-is/ <իս> (Table 71).

Table 71: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to give’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-is/ <իս>

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	t-á-l-is ə-m	տա՛լիս ըմ	t-a-l-ís e-m	տալիս եմ ‘I give’
2SG	t-á-l-is ə-s	տա՛լիս ըս	t-a-l-ís e-s	տալիս ես
3SG	t-á-l-is a	տա՛լիս ա	t-a-l-ís e	տալիս է
1PL	t-á-l-is ə-k ^h	տա՛լիս ըք	t-a-l-ís e-ŋk ^h	տալիս ենք
2PL	t-á-l-is ə-k ^h	տա՛լիս ըք	t-a-l-ís e-k ^h	տալիս եք
3PL	t-á-l-is ə-n	տա՛լիս ըն	t-a-l-ís e-n	տալիս են
	√-TH(?)-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Besides these, vowel-initial verbs take the prefix /n-/ <ն> (Table 72).

Table 72: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to say’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-am/ <ամ>, and prefix /n-/ <ն>

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	n-áh-am ə-m	նահամ ըմ	as-úm e-m	ասում եմ ‘I say’
2SG	n-áh-am ə-s	նահամ ըս	as-úm e-s	ասում ես
3SG	n-áh-am a	նահամ ա	as-úm e	ասում է
1PL	n-áh-am ə-k ^h	նահամ ըք	as-úm e-ηk ^h	ասում ենք
2PL	n-áh-am ə-k ^h	նահամ ըք	as-úm e-k ^h	ասում եք
3PL	n-áh-am ə-n	նահամ ըն	as-úm e-n	ասում են
	?-√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

The imperfective is formed by adding the form /nel/ <նել> to the present.

[[Whereas SEA uses a dedicated past auxiliary, Agulis combines the present auxiliary with a past particle to create the past tense. This past particle /nel/ is then added to the indicative present to create the indicative past imperfective, regardless if the converb uses /-um/ (Table 73), /-æm/ (Table 74), /-is/ (Table 75), or a prefix /n-/ (Table 76).]]

Table 73: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to cut’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	ktr-úm ə-m nel	կտրում ըմ նել	kətr-úm ej-i-∅	կտրում էի ‘I was cutting’
2SG	ktr-úm ə-s nel	կտրում ըս նել	kətr-úm ej-i-r	կտրում էիր
3SG	ktr-úm a nel	կտրում ա նել	kətr-úm e-∅-r	կտրում էր
1PL	ktr-úm ə-k ^h nel	կտրում ըք նել	kətr-úm ej-i-ηk ^h	կտրում էինք
2PL	ktr-úm ə-k ^h nel	կտրում ըք նել	kətr-úm ej-i-k ^h	կտրում էիք
3PL	ktr-úm ə-n nel	կտրում ըն նել	kətr-úm ej-i-n	կտրում էին
	√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR PST		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

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Table 74: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	hr-æ-n-æm ə-m nel	հռւննամ ըմ նել	her-a-n-úm ej-i-∅ ‘I was going away’	հեռանում էի
2SG	hr-æ-n-æm ə-s nel	հռւննամ ըս նել	her-a-n-úm ej-i-r	հեռանում էիր
3SG	hr-æ-n-æm a nel	հռւննամ ա նել	her-a-n-úm e-∅-r	հեռանում էր
1PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h nel	հռւննամ ըք նել	her-a-n-úm ej-i-ŋk ^h	հեռանում էինք
2PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h nel	հռւննամ ըք նել	her-a-n-úm ej-i-k ^h	հեռանում էիք
3PL	hr-æ-n-æm ə-n nel	հռւննամ ըն նել	her-a-n-úm ej-i-n	հեռանում էին
	√-LV-INCH-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR PST		√-LV-INCH-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

Table 75: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to give’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	t-á-l-is ə-m nel	տալիս ըմ նել	t-a-l-ís ej-i-∅ ‘I was giving’	տալիս էի
2SG	t-á-l-is ə-s nel	տալիս ըս նել	t-a-l-ís ej-i-r	տալիս էիր
3SG	t-á-l-is a nel	տալիս ա նել	t-a-l-ís e-∅-r	տալիս էր
1PL	t-á-l-is ə-k ^h nel	տալիս ըք նել	t-a-l-ís ej-i-ŋk ^h	տալիս էինք
2PL	t-á-l-is ə-k ^h nel	տալիս ըք նել	t-a-l-ís ej-i-k ^h	տալիս էիք
3PL	t-á-l-is ə-n nel	տալիս ըն նել	t-a-l-ís ej-i-n	տալիս էին
	√-TH(?)-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR PST		√-TH(?)-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

Table 76: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to say’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	n-áh-am ə-m nel	նա՛համ ըմ նել	as-úm ej-i-∅	ասում էի ‘I was saying’
2SG	n-áh-am ə-s nel	նա՛համ ըս նել	as-úm ej-i-r	ասում էիր
3SG	n-áh-am a nel	նա՛համ ա նել	as-úm e-∅-r	ասում էր
1PL	n-áh-am ə-k ^h nel	նա՛համ ըք նել	as-úm ej-i-ŋk ^h	ասում էինք
2PL	n-áh-am ə-k ^h nel	նա՛համ ըք նել	as-úm ej-i-k ^h	ասում էիք
3PL	n-áh-am ə-n nel	նա՛համ ըն նել	as-úm ej-i-n	ասում էին
	?-√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR PST		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

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14.3.3.3.2 Past perfective or aorist

The past perfective is lost. Agulis has replaced it with either the present perfect (յարակատար) or with a new strategy, which is similar to the Old Armenian present.

[[In SEA, the aorist or past perfective is marked synthetically by using the aorist stem (Table 77). For a verb like ‘to cut’ /kətr-e-l/, the past perfective is marked by adding the aorist suffix /-ts^h/ after the theme vowel, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses a covert tense and agreement suffix. In contrast in Agulis, the past perfective is marked periphrastically. The first strategy that Adjarian describes is by combining the perfective converb (with suffix /-el/, also called the past participle) with an inflected auxiliary. In Agulis, there is evidence that the vowel /e/ in /-el/ is actually a separate theme vowel.]]

Table 77: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to cut’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
1SG	kətr-e-l ə-m	կտրել ըմ	kətr-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I cut (past)’	կտրեցի
2SG	kətr-e-l ə-s	կտրել ըս	kətr-e-ts ^h -i-r	կտրեցիր
3SG	kətr-e-l ə	կտրել ա	kətr-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	կտրեց
1PL	kətr-e-l ə-k ^h	կտրել ըք	kətr-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	կտրեցինք
2PL	kətr-e-l ə-k ^h	կտրել ըք	kətr-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	կտրեցիք
3PL	kətr-e-l ə-n	կտրել ըն	kətr-e-ts ^h -i-n	կտրեցին
	√-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

[[Such a morphological structure (perfective converb + auxiliary) exists in SEA too, but as a marker of the present perfect, not the past perfective. Note the following contrasts in (1) for better illustration.]]

- (1) a. Agulis
 ktr-e-l ə-n
 cut-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 ‘They cut (in the past).’
 կտրել ըն
- b. SEA
 kətr-el e-n
 cut-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 ‘They have cut.’
 կտրել են

[[In Agulis, the use of the perfective converb (past participle) to mark the past perfective is robust. Adjarian provides paradigms for two other verbs that mark the past perfective in this way (Table 78). Note how some verbs like ‘to cut’ use a suffix /-el/, while ‘to say’ uses /-al/ and ‘to go for away’ uses /-æł/. Inter-verb variation suggests that morphemes like /-el, -al, -æł/ are actually bimorphemic with a theme vowel: /-e-l, -a-l, -æ-l/.]]

Table 78: Past perfective or aorist <լստարեալ> of the verbs ‘to say’ and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

	‘to say’		‘to go away’	
1SG	áh-a-l ə-m	ա’հալ ըմ	hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-m	հռւ’հւլ ըմ
2SG	áh-a-l ə-s	ա’հալ ըս	hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-s	հռւ’հւլ ըս
3SG	áh-a-l a	ա’հալ ա	hr-æ-h-æ-l a	հռւ’հւլ ա
1PL	áh-a-l ə-k ^h	կտրել ըք	hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-k ^h	հռւ’հւլ ըք
2PL	áh-a-l ə-k ^h	ա’հալ ըք	hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-k ^h	հռւ’հւլ ըք
3PL	áh-a-l ə-n	ա’հալ ըն	hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-n	հռւ’հւլ ըն
	√-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-LV-AOR-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[To help understand the above paradigms, consider the perfective converbs of these two verbs across the two dialects (2). The converb uses a non-alternating suffix /-e/ in SEA, while this converb’s theme changes in Agulis based on the verb. For inchoative verbs like ‘to go away’, this converb uses the aorist suffix /-ts^h-/ in SEA and /-h-/ in Agulis.]]

(2) a. Agulis

áh-a-l ə-n, hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-n
say-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL, go.away-LV-AOR-TH-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL

‘They said; they went away.’

ա’հալ ըն, հռւ’հւլ ըն

b. SEA

as-él e-n, her-a-ts^h-él e-n
say-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL, go.away-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL

‘They have said; they have gone away.’

ասել են, հեռացել են

[[The second strategy that Adjarian describes is the following. Classical Armenian had a synthetic construction for the indicative present in which the present agreement suffixes are added after the theme vowel. SEA inherited this construction and uses it to mark the subjunctive present, such as ‘(if) I say’. In contrast, Agulis uses it to mark the past perfective, such as ‘I said’. I illustrate by contrasting the SEA subjunctive present against the Agulis past perfective (Table 79). Note that the 3SG cannot be expressed in Agulis with this strategy. The 1PL and 2PL are homophonous. For ‘to go away’, this verb uses its inchoative form /-n-/ in SEA, but Agulis uses the cognate form /-h-/ of the aorist suffix /-ts^h-/.]]

Table 79: Past perfective <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to cut’, ‘to say’, and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect, contrasting against the subjunctive present of SEA

	Agulis past perfective		cf. SEA subjunctive present	
	‘to cut’			
1SG	ktr-e-m	կտրեմ	kətr-e-m	կտրեմ
2SG	ktr-e-s	կտրես	kətr-e-s	կտրես
3SG			kətr-i-∅	կտրի
1PL	ktr-e-k ^h	կտրեք	kətr-e-ŋk ^h	կտրեկք
2PL	ktr-e-k ^h	կտրեք	kətr-e-k ^h	կտրեք
3PL	ktr-e-n	կտրեն	kətr-e-n	կտրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	
	‘to say’			
1SG	áh-a-m	ա՛համ	as-é-m	ասեմ
2SG	áh-a-s	ա՛հաս	as-é-s	ասես
3SG			as-í-∅	ասի
1PL	áh-a-k ^h	ա՛հաք	as-é-ŋk ^h	ասեկք
2PL	áh-a-k ^h	ա՛հաք	as-é-k ^h	ասեք
3PL	áh-a-n	ա՛հան	as-é-n	ասեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	
	‘to go away’			
1SG	hr-æ-h-æ-m	հռա՛համ	her-a-n-á-m	հեռանամ
2SG	hr-æ-h-æ-s	հռա՛հաս	her-a-n-á-s	հեռանաս
3SG			her-a-n-á-∅	հեռանա
1PL	hr-æ-h-æ-k ^h	հռա՛հաք	her-a-n-á-ŋk ^h	հեռանակք
2PL	hr-æ-h-æ-k ^h	հռա՛հաք	her-a-n-á-k ^h	հեռանաք
3PL	hr-æ-h-æ-n	հռա՛հան	her-a-n-á-n	հեռանան
	√-TH-AGR		√-LV-INCH-TH-AGR	

[[Note that in a later monograph grammar for this dialect, Adjarian provides different interpretations for the past perfective (Աճառեան 1935: §305,321). For the verb ‘to beat’, a periphrastic rendering for the past perfective is [t^hák-al ə-n] where agreement is marked on an auxiliary. A synthetic form is [t^hák-a-n]. Adjarian is unsure if this synthetic form uses a past morph [a] (due to contact with other Armenian varieties in Iran), or if this synthetic form is a reduction of the periphrastic clitic [ə-n].]]

14.3.3.3.3 Present perfect and past perfect

The present perfect (յարսկատար) is replaced by the second form of the past participle (with the formative /-ats/ <ած>) (Table 80). On this form, the familiar formative /nel/ <ելի> is added to create the past perfect (գերսկատար).

[[Adjarian's text is quite succinct for a complicated topic. Essentially, for the present perfect, Agulis developed a periphrastic strategy that is more like SWA than SEA. In SEA, there are two relevant participles. One is the perfective converb with suffix /-el/. This converb is used for the present perfect. There is another non-finite form called the resultative participle with suffix /-ats/. This form is not used in any periphrastic tenses in SEA. In contrast in SWA, there is no perfective converb. The cognate of the resultative suffix /-adz/ is used to mark the present perfect. Agulis behaves like SWA because it uses the cognate of the resultative suffix /-e-ts/ to mark the present perfect.]]

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Table 80: Present perfect <յարսկատար> of the verb 'to cut' in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SWA		cf. SEA	
1SG	ktr-e-ts̄ ə-m	կտրեծ ըմ	gədr-adz̄ e-m	կտրած եմ	kətr-el e-m	կտրել եմ
			'I have cut'		'I have cut'	
2SG	ktr-e-ts̄ ə-s	կտրեծ ըս	gədr-adz̄ e-s	կտրած ես	kətr-el e-s	կտրել ես
3SG	ktr-e-ts̄ ə	կտրեծ ա	gədr-adz̄ e	կտրած է	kətr-el e	կտրել է
1PL	ktr-e-ts̄ ə-k ^h	կտրեծ ըք	gədr-adz̄ e-ŋk ^h	կտրած ենք	kətr-el e-ŋk ^h	կտրել ենք
2PL	ktr-e-ts̄ ə-k ^h	կտրեծ ըք	gədr-adz̄ e-k ^h	կտրած էք	kətr-el e-k ^h	կտրել էք
3PL	ktr-e-ts̄ ə-n	կտրեծ ըն	gədr-adz̄ e-n	կտրած են	kətr-el e-n	կտրել են
	√-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR		√-RPTCP AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[In SEA and SWA, the resultative suffix is a non-alternating suffix: SEA /-ats/ and SWA /-adz/. But in Agulis, there is evidence that the vowel is a separate theme vowel because it alternates across verbs: /-e-ts̄/ for 'to cut', /-a-ts̄/ for 'to say', and /-æ-ts̄/ for 'to go away' (Table 81).]]

Table 81: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to say’ and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SWA	
1SG	áh-á-ts̄ ə-m	ա՛հած ըմ	əs-ád̄z̄ e-m	ըսած եմ ‘I have said’
2SG	áh-á-ts̄ ə-s	ա՛հած ըս	əs-ád̄z̄ e-s	ըսած ես
3SG	áh-á-ts̄ ə	ա՛հած ա	əs-ád̄z̄ e	ըսած է
1PL	áh-á-ts̄ ə-k ^h	ա՛հած ըք	əs-ád̄z̄ e-ɲk ^h	ըսած եկք
2PL	áh-á-ts̄ ə-k ^h	ա՛հած ըք	əs-ád̄z̄ e-k ^h	ըսած եք
3PL	áh-á-ts̄ ə-n	ա՛հած ըն	əs-ád̄z̄ e-n	ըսած են
	√-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR		√-RPTCP AUX-AGR	
1SG	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-m	հռա՛հաւծ ըմ	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e-m	հեռացած եմ ‘I have gone away’
2SG	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-s	հռա՛հաւծ ըս	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e-s	հեռացած ես
3SG	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə	հռա՛հաւծ ա	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e	հեռացած է
1PL	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-k ^h	հռա՛հաւծ ըք	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e-ɲk ^h	հեռացած եկք
2PL	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-k ^h	հռա՛հաւծ ըք	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e-k ^h	հեռացած եք
3PL	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-n	հռա՛հաւծ ըն	her-á-ts̄ ^h -ád̄z̄ e-n	հեռացած են
	√-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR		√-LV-AOR-RPTCP AUX-AGR	

[[Table 82 shows the 1SG forms compared to SEA.]]

Table 82: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to say’ and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect, compared to SEA

	Agulis	cf. SEA
‘I have said’	áh-á-ts̄ ə-m √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR ա՛հած ըմ	as-él e-m √-PERF.CV B AUX-AGR ասել եմ
‘I have gone away’	hr-æ-h-æ-ts̄ ə-m √-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR հռա՛հաւծ ըմ	her-á-ts̄ ^h -él e-m √-LV-AOR-PERF.CV B AUX-AGR հեռացել եմ

[[To form the past perfect, SEA and SWA replace the present auxiliary with the past auxiliary: 3PL present /e-n/ ‘they are’ <են> vs. past /ej-i-n/ ‘they were’ <էին>. In

Agulis, there is no dedicated morph for the past auxiliary; instead the ‘past auxiliary’ is made up of the present auxiliary plus the past particle /nel/: 3PL present /ə-n/ ‘they are’ <ըն> vs. past /ə-n nel/ <ըն նել> (Table 83).]]

Table 83: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to cut’, ‘to say’, and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

Agulis		cf. SWA		
‘to cut’				
1SG	ktr-e-t̃s ə-m nel	կտրեծ ըմ նել	gədr-əd̃z ej-i-∅ ‘I had cut’	կտրած էի
2SG	ktr-e-t̃s ə-s nel	կտրեծ ըս նել	gədr-əd̃z ej-i-r	կտրած էիր
3SG	ktr-e-t̃s a nel	կտրեծ ա նել	gədr-əd̃z e-∅-r	կտրած էր
1PL	ktr-e-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	կտրեծ ըք նել	gədr-əd̃z ej-i-ŋk ^h	կտրած էիք
2PL	ktr-e-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	կտրեծ ըք նել	gədr-əd̃z ej-i-k ^h	կտրած էիք
3PL	ktr-e-t̃s ə-n nel	կտրեծ ըն նել	gədr-əd̃z ej-i-n	կտրած էին
√-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST		√-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR		
‘to say’				
1SG	áh-a-t̃s ə-m nel	ա՛հած ըմ նել	əs-ád̃z ej-i-∅ ‘I had said’	ըսած էի
2SG	áh-a-t̃s ə-s nel	ա՛հած ըս նել	əs-ád̃z ej-i-r	ըսած էիր
3SG	áh-a-t̃s a nel	ա՛հած ա նել	əs-ád̃z e-∅-r	ըսած էր
1PL	áh-a-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	ա՛հած ըք նել	əs-ád̃z ej-i-ŋk ^h	ըսած էիք
2PL	áh-a-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	ա՛հած ըք նել	əs-ád̃z ej-i-k ^h	ըսած էիք
3PL	áh-a-t̃s ə-n nel	ա՛հած ըն նել	əs-ád̃z ej-i-n	ըսած էին
√-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST		√-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR		
‘to go away’				
1SG	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s ə-m nel	հռա՛հած ըմ նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z ej-i-∅ ‘I had gone away’	հեռացած էի
2SG	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s ə-s nel	հռա՛հած ըս նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z ej-i-r	հեռացած էիր
3SG	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s a nel	հռա՛հած ա նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z e-∅-r	հեռացած էր
1PL	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	հռա՛հած ըք նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z ej-i-ŋk ^h	հեռացած էիք
2PL	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s ə-k ^h nel	հռա՛հած ըք նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z ej-i-k ^h	հեռացած էիք
3PL	hr-æ-h-æ-t̃s ə-n nel	հռա՛հած ըն նել	her-a-t̃s ^h -ád̃z ej-i-n	հեռացած էին
√-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST		√-LV-AOR-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR		

[[Table 84 shows the 1SG forms compared to SEA.]]

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Table 84: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to cut’, ‘to say’, and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect, compared to SEA

	Agulis	cf. SEA
‘I had cut’	ktr-e-t̂s ə-m nel √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST կտրեծ ըմ նել	kətr-el ej-i-∅ √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR կտրել էի
‘I had said’	áh-a-t̂s ə-m nel √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST ա’հած ըմ նել	as-él ej-i-∅ √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR ասել էի
‘I had gone away’	hr-æ-h-æ-t̂s ə-m nel √-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST հռա’հած ըմ նել	her-a-t̂s ^h -e’el ej-i-∅ √-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR հեռացել էի

[[For further illustration, Table 85 shows the perfective and resultative non-finite forms across Agulis, SWA, and SEA.]]

Table 85: Perfective converbs and resultative participles across Agulis, SWA, and SEA

		‘to cut’		‘to say’		‘to go away’	
Perfective converb							
Agulis	Past perfective	kətr-e-l	կտրել	áh-a-l	ա’հալ	hr-æ-h-æ-l	հռա’հալ
SWA	N/A	N/A		N/A		N/A	
SEA	Pres./past perfect	kətr-el	կտրել	as-el	ասել	her-a-t̂s ^h -el	հեռացել
Resultative participle							
Agulis	Pres./past perfect	kətr-e-t̂s	կտրեծ	áh-a-t̂s	ա’հած	hr-æ-h-æ-t̂s	հռա’հած
SWA	Pres./past perfect	gədr-adz	կտրած	əs-adz	ըսած	her-a-t̂s ^h -adz	հեռացած
SEA	Not for inflection	kətr-at̂s	կտրած	as-at̂s	ասած	her-a-t̂s ^h -at̂s	հեռացած

14.3.3.3.4 Future and past future

The future does not use the formatives /kə/ <կը> or /piti/ <պիտի>. It is formed by combining the infinitive with the inflected copular verb.

[[We elaborate in Table 86. In SEA, the future is formed synthetically. The particle /kə/ is placed before the verb. Tense and agreement is placed on the verb, after the theme vowel. In contrast, Agulis uses a periphrastic construction: the infinitive plus the inflected auxiliary. Note how the theme vowel of a verb like ‘to cut’ alternates between /-e-/ in the resultative participle and perfective converb (Table 85), but uses

/-i-/ in the infinitive. The verb ‘to say’ uses the theme vowel /-a-/ in the previous two non-finite forms, but uses /-i-/ in the infinitive as well. But oddly, the verb ‘to go away’ uses /-æ-/ in all three.]]

Table 86: Future <ապարտի> of the verb ‘to cut’, ‘to say’, and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
	‘to cut’			
1SG	ktr-í-l ə-m	կտրի՛լ ըմ	kə kətr-é-m	կկտրեմ
			‘I will cut’	
2SG	ktr-í-l ə-s	կտրի՛լ ըս	kə kətr-é-s	կկտրես
3SG	ktr-í-l a	կտրի՛լ ա	kə kətr-í-∅	կկտրի
1PL	ktr-í-l ə-k ^h	կտրի՛լ ըք	kə kətr-é-ŋk ^h	կկտրենք
2PL	ktr-í-l ə-k ^h	կտրի՛լ ըք	kə kətr-é-k ^h	կկտրեք
3PL	ktr-í-l ə-n	կտրի՛լ ըն	kə kətr-é-n	կկտրեն
	√-TH-INF AUX-AGR		FUT-√-TH-AGR	
	‘to say’			
1SG	n-áh-i-l ə-m	նա՛հիլ ըմ	k-as-é-m	կասեմ
			‘I will say’	
2SG	n-áh-i-l ə-s	նա՛հիլ ըս	k-as-é-s	կասես
3SG	n-áh-i-l a	նա՛հիլ ա	k-as-í-∅	կասի
1PL	n-áh-i-l ə-k ^h	նա՛հիլ ըք	k-as-é-ŋk ^h	կասենք
2PL	n-áh-i-l ə-k ^h	նա՛հիլ ըք	k-as-é-k ^h	կասեք
3PL	n-áh-i-l ə-n	նա՛հիլ ըն	k-as-é-n	կասեն
	?-√-TH-INF AUX-AGR		FUT-√-TH-AGR	
	‘to go away’			
1SG	hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-m	հռա՛նալ ըմ	kə her-a-n-á-m	կհեռանամ
			‘I will go away’	
2SG	hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-s	հռա՛նալ ըս	kə her-a-n-á-s	կհեռացնաս
3SG	hr-æ-n-æ-l a	հռա՛նալ ա	kə her-a-n-á-∅	կհեռանա
1PL	hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-k ^h	հռա՛նալ ըք	kə her-a-n-á-ŋk ^h	կհեռանանք
2PL	hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-k ^h	հռա՛նալ ըք	kə her-a-n-á-k ^h	կհեռանաք
3PL	hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-n	հռա՛նալ ըն	kə her-a-n-á-n	կհեռանան
	√-LV-INCH-TH-INF AUX-AGR		FUT-√-LV-INCH-TH-AGR	

[[For the past future, SEA adds the tense suffix after the theme vowel, alongside

the proper agreement morphs. In contrast, Agulis simply adds the past particle /nel/ after the future construction. Adjarian states the following.]]

To form the past future, we must add the formative /nel/ <նէլ> to the above forms (Table 87).

[[Adjarian gives only a partial paradigm.]]

Table 87: Past future <անցեալ ապանսի> of the verb ‘to cut’, ‘to say’, and ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis	cf. SEA
1SG ‘to cut’	ktr-i-l ə-m nel կտրի՛լ ըմ նէլ √-TH-INF AUX-1SG PST	kə kətr-ej-i-Ø կկտրեի FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG
2SG ‘to say’	n-áh-i-l ə-s nel նսահի՛լ ըս նէլ ?-√-TH-INF AUX-2SG PST	k-as-ej-i-r կասեիր FUT-√-TH-PST-2SG
3SG ‘to go away’	hr-æ-n-æ-l a nel հռա՛նալ ա նէլ √-LV-INCH-TH-INF AUX PST	kə her-a-n-á-Ø-r կհեռաւար FUT-√-LV-INCH-TH-PST-3SG

[[Adjarian calls this the past future. It is thus implied that the 1SG form for ‘to cut’ would mean ‘was going to cut’ in Agulis. However, Adjarian is implicitly comparing this construction to the SEA form which uses the particle /kə/. Yet the use of the future prefix /kə/ with past tense agreement would create a meaning like ‘I would cut’ in SEA.]]

14.3.3.3.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative, Adjarian gives a list of formatives, but he is vague on their distribution. He states the following.]]

The imperative is formed with the formatives /e/ <է>, /hi/ <հի>, /a/ <ա> (Table 88).

[[Adjarian’s prose is vague but it implies the following: the /-e/ is used for reflexes of the E-Class (verbs with the /-e-/ theme vowel), the /-hi/ is actually the aorist /-h/ plus imperative marker /-i/ that is used for inchoatives (verbs with the ending /-a-n-a-l/ in SEA), and /-a/ is used for the A-Class (verbs with the /-a-/ theme vowel).]]

Table 88: Imperative forms <հրամայական> for verbs in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
2SG 'cut!'	ktr-é-∅	կտրե՛	kətr-ir	կտրի՛ր
	√-TH-IMP.2SG		√-IMP.2SG	
2SG 'forget!'	mr-æ-h-i	մռա՛հի	mor-ɑ-tsh-ir	մռռացի՛ր
	√-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG		√-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG	
2SG unclear verb	tʰɑk-ɑ-∅	թա՛կա		
	√-TH-IMP.2SG			

[[Unfortunately, Adjarian does not state how Agulis forms the imperative 2PL.]]

[[For SEA, the prohibitive is formed by just adding the particle /mi/ before the imperative form. In contrast, for Agulis, Adjarian states the following.]]

Their prohibitive (արգելական) is formed by taking the infinitive and then adding the prohibitive formative /mæ/ <մա>. The final /l/ <լ> of the infinitive can also be deleted (Table 89).

[[Note how the infinitives here all share the same theme vowel /-i-/ .]]

Table 89: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms for verbs in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
2SG 'do not tie!' (?)	káp-i-l mæ	կա՛պիլ մա	mí kap-ir	մի՛ կապիր
	káp-i mæ	կա՛պի մա		
	√-TH-INF PROH		PROH √-IMP.2SG	
2SG 'do not say!'	n-áh-i-l mæ	նա՛հիլ մա	mí as-ɑ-∅	մի՛ ասա
	n-áh-i mæ	նա՛հի մա		
	?-√-TH-INF PROH		PROH √-TH-IMP.2SG	
2SG 'do not go away!'	hr-æ-n-i-l mæ	հռա՛նիլ մա	mí her-ɑ-tsh-ir	մի՛ հեռացիր
	hr-æ-n-i mæ	հռա՛նի մա		
	√-LV-TH-INF PROH		PROH √-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG	

14.3.3.3.6 Subjunctive present and past

The subjunctive (ստորադասական) is formed similarly to the other dialects, but its past form is made with the formative /nel/ <նել>.

[[What Adjarian means is that in SEA, the subjunctive present is formed by adding tense-agreement after the theme vowel. In Agulis, the present uses essentially the same morphological strategy (Table 90). The theme vowel is however a constant vowel /-i-/ across the different classes.]]

Table 90: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of verbs in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
	‘to cut’			
1SG	ktr-i-m	կտրիմ	kətr-e-m ‘(if) I cut’	կտրեմ
2SG	ktr-i-s	կտրիս	kə kətr-e-s	կտրես
3SG	ktr-i-∅	կտրի	kətr-i-∅	կտրի
1PL	ktr-i-k ^h	կտրիք	kətr-e-ŋk ^h	կտրենք
2PL	ktr-i-k ^h	կտրիք	kətr-e-k ^h	կտրեք
3PL	ktr-i-n	կտրին	kətr-e-n	կտրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	
	‘to say’			
1SG	áh-i-m	ա՛հիմ	as-é-m ‘(if) I say’	ասեմ
2SG	áh-i-s	ա՛հիս	as-é-s	ասես
3SG	áh-i-∅	ա՛հի	as-í-∅	ասի
1PL	áh-i-k ^h	ա՛հիք	as-é-ŋk ^h	ասենք
2PL	áh-i-k ^h	ա՛հիք	as-é-k ^h	ասեք
3PL	áh-i-n	ա՛հին	as-é-n	ասեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	
	‘to go away’			
1SG	hr-é-n-i-m	հռա՛նիմ	her-a-n-á-m ‘(if) I go away’	հեռանամ
2SG	hr-é-n-i-s	հռա՛նիս	her-a-n-á-s	հեռացնաս
3SG	hr-é-n-i-∅	հռա՛նի	her-a-n-á-∅	հեռանա
1PL	hr-é-n-i-k ^h	հռա՛նիք	her-a-n-á-ŋk ^h	հեռանանք
2PL	hr-é-n-i-k ^h	հռա՛նիք	her-a-n-á-k ^h	հեռանաք
3PL	hr-é-n-i-n	հռա՛նին	her-a-n-á-n	հեռանան
	√-LV-INCH-TH-AGR		√-LV-INCH-TH-AGR	

[[For the subjunctive past, SEA places a tense suffix onto the verb. In contrast, Agulis adds the past marker /nel/ after the present construction (Table 91).]]

Table 91: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of verbs in the Agulis dialect

	Agulis		cf. SEA	
	‘to cut’			
1SG	ktr-i-m nel	կտրիմ նել	kətr-ej-i-∅ ‘(if) I cut (past)’	կտրեի
2SG	ktr-i-s nel	կտրիս նել	kətr-ej-i-r	կտրեիր
3SG	ktr-i-∅ nel	կտրի նել	kətr-e-∅-r	կտրեր
1PL	ktr-i-k ^h nel	կտրիք նել	kətr-ej-i-ŋk ^h	կտրեիք
2PL	ktr-i-k ^h nel	կտրիք նել	kətr-ej-i-k ^h	կտրեիք
3PL	ktr-i-n nel	կտրին նել	kətr-ej-i-n	կտրեին
	√-TH-AGR PST		√-TH-PST-AGR	
	‘to say’			
1SG	áh-i-m nel	ա՛հիմ նել	as-ej-í-∅ ‘(if) I said’	ասեի
2SG	áh-i-s nel	ա՛հիս նել	as-ej-í-r	ասեիր
3SG	áh-i-∅ nel	ա՛հի նել	as-é-∅-r	ասեր
1PL	áh-i-k ^h nel	ա՛հիք նել	as-ej-í-ŋk ^h	ասեիք
2PL	áh-i-k ^h nel	ա՛հիք նել	as-ej-í-k ^h	ասեիք
3PL	áh-i-n nel	ա՛հին նել	as-ej-í-n	ասեին
	√-TH-AGR PST		√-TH-PST-AGR	
	‘to go away’			
1SG	hr-æ-n-i-m nel	հռա՛նիմ նել	her-a-n-aj-í-∅ ‘(if) I went away’	հեռանայի
2SG	hr-æ-n-i-s nel	հռա՛նիս նել	her-a-n-aj-í-r	հեռացնայիր
3SG	hr-æ-n-i-∅ nel	հռա՛նի նել	her-a-n-á-∅-r	հեռանար
1PL	hr-æ-n-i-k ^h nel	հռա՛նիք նել	her-a-n-aj-í-ŋk ^h	հեռանայիք
2PL	hr-æ-n-i-k ^h nel	հռա՛նիք նել	her-a-n-aj-í-k ^h	հեռանայիք
3PL	hr-æ-n-i-n nel	հռա՛նին նել	her-a-n-aj-í-n	հեռանային
	√-LV-INCH-TH-AGR PST		√-LV-INCH-TH-PST-AGR	

14.4 Subdialects

As a subdialect, we can consider the village of ՇօննօՅ. It holds a middle ground between the dialects of Agulis and Karabakh, and it leans towards both. Its consonant system is entirely the same as the Karabakh dialect. Here as well, the voiced sounds became voiceless unaspirated.

14.5 Literature

For the Agulis dialect, there have been three studies. The first was the work of Kerovbe Patkanian (Պատկանեան) in German (Patkanoff 1866). The second is by the same author (Ստեփանով 1869: 27-55). The third is Սարգսեանց (1883). This is the most extensive and unique work because the author is a native from Agulis.

There are few pieces that are written in the Agulis dialect. I am familiar with only the following.

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Agulis dialect
 - Չարգութեանց Աւետիս - Գիւլը Նեան դուռնան. Արարատ, 1877, էջ 461–462
 - Շահնաբաթեան Մարտ - Երգ ազուլեցոց (լէս գրական լեզուով). Կոռնկ, 1862, էջ 163–166
 - Ս. Սարգիսեանց - Ազուլեցոց բարբառը, Բ մաս. էջ 5-72

From the last extensive collection, we extract the following samples (page 39-42).

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 233).]]

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14.6 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

14.6.1 Sample 1

Մույն օր մույն Ըգյըլւմ'ցի ձիը Էլած՝ դէլիս ա Յա՛ղնա. ձիը քշում ա նէլիս դիւզ կըրմընջո՛ւմը կա՛յնամ. տի՛սնամ ա `աստեղ ըսկի միծ մարդիք չի կօն՝ մանանկ մույն քընա ըրխաք ըն հըվմ'քվամ՝ հաղ նա՛րամ: Ըգյըլւմ'ցին ձիո՛ւն վա՛րան հպարտ հպարտ նըստեծ՝ ձմրքարը դրեծ չընըքտակին՝ հրցանամ ա թա՛

– Ա՛յ տղարք, բան ձիր ախսախկալները ըշտէ՞ղ ըն:

Տղարքը ջղօք ըն տա՛լիս թա՛

– Նա՛համ ըն էքին հա՛չա պերին տօն չընըքտակիտ:

Ըգյըլւմ'ցին մանդրվամ ա. համա հրդեօ ինքն ա նի՛զամ անօղ տօ Յընամ'ցանց, նա՛համ ա.

– Ա՛ղո՛րդ ա օր ա՛ստեղ մաշկ ըն մա՛նդրամ:

– Օշկըտ ալ չին հա՛նո՛ւմ:

Ըգյըլւմ'ցին մայոք ա նա՛րամ թա՛ աստեղ օր ըրխաքը աստի բա՛զզանթ (թըք. խորամանկ) ըն, բան սրուց միծարը ո՛ւնչպէս ըն նիլ. – քշում ա ձիը, յունց կալիս նէլիս:

14.6.2 Sample 2

Ի՛րիք սանրին սկա՛համ մարդիք՝ ձիո՛ւ վա՛րտ նստեծ՝ նէլիս ըն նէլ: Ճընըփի ռաստ ըն գյէլիս մույն գյէղըցո՛ւ. նի՛զամ ըն սրօ անօզ տօն. նրուց մույնը նա՛համ ա:

– Իս հաստադիլ ըմ օր դիւ ջա՛մուշ ըս:

– Աս զարմանալի չի, – նա՛համ ա գյէղւմ'ցին, իս հաստա՛դիլ ըմ օր ձիր թամ-քարը ջէ՛րիք ըն:

– Հի՞մար ըս ունչ ա. դէ հաստա՛դա տիսնիք:

– Իս շօտ անքամ լսեծ ըմ օր՝ ունչ օր կօ ձիո՛ւ ընան էչի մաշտեղը՝ նօ ջէ՛րի ա: Ալ ան մարդիքը վօ՛չինչ չին գըրա՛հալ ա՛հին, հռա՛հան նա՛հալ:

14.6.3 Sample 3

Մույն օր մույն Ռըմա՛ցի նէլիս ա օ՛րտը, տի՛սնամ ա մույն ձի մտեծ ա մաշը ըրըծա՛համ, մա մաշտեղամն ալ վեր ընգեծ ստա՛կած: Նէլիս ա մույն քա՛նի մա՛րդիք հըվմ'քամ բի՛րամ օր արտին մաշիցը քաշին ձիո՛ւն ջա՛մդաքը հանին: Մըտըկանամ ըն, ...

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քանդիկը կապամ ստակած ձիո՛ւ ատներիցը, մայոք նա՛րամ դիբի ուր յան քաշին օր վէօրը ջարդվի ուչ խարաբ էլի:

– Ա՛կիք դի՛բի աս յան քա՛շիք, նա՛համ ա մույնը: Քա՛շամ ըն, քա՛շամ, տի՛սնամ ըն՝ չէ, վէօրը խիլի (թըք. շատ) խարաբ ա Է՛լամ:

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– Չէ, անմաս էլ լավ չի. անկիք դի՛բի աս յան քա՛շիքյ. – Նահամ ա մույն ո՛ւրիշը: Սկսում ըն քաշին թօզա (թրք. թազա՝ նոր) ճընըփօվ. տի՛սնամ ըն՝ չէ. ալ վէօրը խիլի տեղ ջարդան խարօք արալ:

– Ա՛ստի ալ չի էլ լավ – Նահամ ա իրիքիմջի՛ն – անկիք հրէս աս դրա՛ղավ (թրք. եգեթք) քա՛շիքյ: Քա՛շամ ըն, յիտ մտակյ նա՛րամ ալ վէօրը ջա՛րդած ըն խա՛րօք ա՛րած: Ալ սկսում ըն մույն ո՛ւրիշ տե՛ղավ քա՛շամ: Ա՛նքքամ դէս ու դի՛ն ըն քշ-պատամ ջա՛մդանքը արտին մաջին, մի՛նչէվ օր կուհ տա՛լիս, ջա՛րդամ, խա՛րօք նա՛րամ դիփ օ՛րտը:

14.6.4 Sample 4

ա՛րկու ճանապա՛րհօթ մույն հօվ օ՛նին նէլ ըտէ՛լու: Մույնը ա՛հալ ա մյո՛ւսին:

– Հօկ հօվը միգ հրաքյ չի. թուղ ուկս սա՛րիւն ա՛րագ ա տի՛սնիլ, նօ օ՛տի: Աս ա՛հուղը քիւն ա՛ էլ լավ. մյուսը կա՛րալ ա՛ հօվը: Առաջինը ըրթնա՛հալ ա, սկսել պա՛տմի.

– Չարմանա՛լի ա՛րագ ըմ տա՛հանլ. ա՛նձ հրէշտա՛մկնէրը տա՛նամ ըն նէլ յէր-գյինքը: Հա՛վավ կշտա՛հածը ա՛հալ ա:

– Իս ալ տա՛հանմ օր դիւ բըձրա՛նամ ըս, ինքյըս ա՛մ մա՛ջիս ա՛համ թա՛ զօ յիտ չի դա՛ռնիլ, կա՛րամ հօվը:

Part IV

The /kə/ <կը> branch

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The /kə/ <կը> branch has 21 dialects:

1. Dialect of Karin (§15)
2. Dialect of Mush (§16)
3. Dialect of Van (§17)
4. Dialect of Tigranakert (§18)
5. Dialect of Kharberd and Yerznka (§19)
6. Dialect of Şebinkarahisar (§20)
7. Dialect of Trabzon (§21)
8. Dialect of Hamshen (§22)
9. Dialect of Malatya (§23)
10. Dialect of Cilicia (§24)
11. Dialect of Syria (§25)
12. Dialect of Arapgir (§26)
13. Dialect of Akn (§27)
14. Dialect of Sebastia (§28)
15. Dialect of Evdokia (§29)
16. Dialect of Smyrna (§30)
17. Dialect of Nicomedia (§31)
18. Dialect of Istanbul (§32)
19. Dialect of Rodosto (§33)
20. Dialect of Crimea (§34)
21. Dialect of Austria-Hungary (§35)

Chapter 15

Karin

15.1 Background

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The center of this widely-spread dialect is Karin (Turkish: Erzurum). In the south, it spreads until near Hınıs, but without entering this small town (աւաւս). In the west, it reaches until Yerznka and Gümüşhane. During the last two Russo-Turkish wars, large migrant communities spread from the eastern and northern borders of this dialect to very far places, until Yerevan and Tbilisi. Four cities of the Caucasus (Kars, Alexandropol, Akhalkalak, and Akhaltskha) were filled with these same migrants, and now the entire Armenian population of those cities speaks the same dialect as the Armenians of Karin.

15.2 Phonology

15.2.1 Segment inventory

15.2.1.1 Vowels

When we compare the phonetic system of this dialect against Old Armenian, we see that the vowels have been preserved almost unchanged. This dialect knows how to distinguish between the sounds /j̥e/ <Ե> vs. /e/ <Է>, and /u̯o/ <Ո> vs. /o/ <Օ>. The vowel /æ/ <ւ̄> is included. The vowels /œ, ɣ/ <Ե՛, ԻԼ> are found in those words that are taken from Turkish; they do not exist at all in native Armenian words. Meanwhile in other dialects, such as Karabakh, Agulis, and even Istanbul, these vowels are found even in native words because of natural sound changes.

15.2.1.1.1 Vowel /æ/ <ւ̄>

The sound /æ/ <ւ̄> in Karin is also foreign, and it is found primarily in loanwords from Turkish. But there are also some Armenian words where this sound has

entered, whether because of Turkish influence or because of independent sound changes (Table 1).

Table 1: Presence of the vowel /æ/ <ü> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘sugar’	Ֆակ ^h ար	շաքար	ʃæk ^h ær	շաքար	Ֆակ ^h ար	շաքար
‘beam’	mardak	մարդակ	mært ^h æk	մարթակ	mart ^h ak	մարդակ
‘marble’	marmar	մարմար	mærmær	մարմար	marmar	մարմար
‘to bleat’	majel	մայել	mæjel	մայել	majel	մայել
‘Sunday’	kirakē	կիրակէ	kiræki	կիրակի	kiraki	կիրակի

The first three...

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... are also used in Turkish, and the influence of Turkish is probable. But the latter three words are native Armenian words.

15.2.1.1.2 Diphthongs /ɤo, jɛ/ <n, ɥ>

The sounds <n, ɥ> have a diphthongal pronunciation /ɤo, jɛ/ <nɬo, ɣɛ>, and they originate from the Classical Armenian mid vowels /o, e/ <n, ɥ>; they are found only in the language of villagers. Urban speakers do not have these sounds. As for migrants of the Caucasus, those people who have a rural origin likewise pronounce the reflexes of Classical Armenian /o, ɔ/ <n, o> with a certain pronunciation; while those who are urban speakers do not use these sounds.

15.2.1.2 Consonants

15.2.1.2.1 Origin of the fricative /f/ <ֆ>

For the consonants, let us first talk about the sound /f/ <ֆ>.

The sound /f/ <ֆ> has two origins. First, it is found in foreign words that are borrowed from Turkish. Second, it developed in Armenian via natural sound changes. This latter origin also has two routes.

First route of origin for /f/ Word-initially, the Classical Armenian sound /h/ <h> becomes /f/ <ֆ> before Classical Armenian /o/ <n> ([[which became /uօ/]]) (Table 2).¹

Table 2: Origin of /f/ <ֆ> from word-initial /h/ <h> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘earth’	hoł	հող	ֆյօռ	ֆող	hoռ	հող
‘smell’	hot	հոտ	ֆյօտ	ֆոտ	hot	հոտ
‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’	hor	հոր	for	ֆոր	hor	հոր
‘here’	*hos	*հոս	ֆյօս	ֆոս	hos	հոս
‘article’	jaud	յաւղ	ֆյօժ	ֆոյ	hod	հոյ
‘there’	hon	հոս	ֆյօն	ֆոն	hon	հոն

However, next to Classical Armenian /ɑu/ <աւ> ([[which became /ō/ <օ>]]), this change does not happen (Table 3).

Table 3: Words with word-initial /h/ <h> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘father.GEN’	hɑur	հաւր	hor	հօր	hor	հոր

It is notable that this sound change is specific to the rural language. The urban sound /h/ <h> sound remains unchanged, and the reason for this is as follows. As can be seen above, the origin of the sound /f/ <ֆ> is the diphthongal pronunciation /uօ/ <nlo> of the reflex of Classical Armenian /o/ <n>, because no such change occurs next to the reflex of Classical Armenian /ɑu/ <աւ> ([[also written as /ō/ <օ>]]). Now, because urban speakers do not have the sound /uօ/ <n> and pronounce it as just /o/ <օ>, then naturally they do not have this type of /f/ <ֆ>.

Second route of origin for /f/ The second route for the origin of the sound /f/ <ֆ> is the sound /v/ <վ>, which gets devoiced to /f/ <ֆ> (Table 4).

¹[[For the word ‘here’, Adjarian provides an ancestor form <հոս>, but this form is not clearly attested in Classical Armenian. I treat it as a reconstruction. For ‘article’, Adjarian provides an ancestor <հոյ>, but such a form does not exist.]]

Table 4: Origin of /f/ <ֆ> from devoiced /v/ <վ> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘equal’	hawasar	հաւասար	hafsar	հաֆսար	havasara	հավասար
‘to be gathered’	hawak ^h il	հաւաքիլ	hafk ^h il	հաֆքիլ	havak ^h vel	հավաքվել
‘to be able to (CA); to roast (SEA)’	bovel	բովել	b ^h orfel	բ ^h օրֆել	bovel	բովել
‘south’	harav	հարավ	haraf	հարաֆ	harava	հարավ
‘to mew’	nval	նվալ	nfal	նֆալ	nava	նվալ

15.2.1.2.2 Consonant voicing

In the consonant series, the Karin dialect has undergone a huge innovation, just as the Mush dialect has.

We know that Old Armenian distinguished three groups of consonants. The Karin dialect has added a fourth series, entirely different from the others, which we called the voiced aspirated sounds (Armenian: թրթռուկ շնչաւոր, French: *sonore aspiree*). We represent them as /b^h, g^h, d^h, dʒ^h, dʒ^h/ <բ^h, գ^h, դ^h, ջ^h>. Among the European phoneticians, Sievers was the first to notice the existence of voiced aspirated sounds...

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... in the pronunciation of Ashtarak (a Yerevan dialect),² but no person focused in depth on these sounds. And the existence of four degrees of consonants in Armenia is a novelty. For the first time, I had the opportunity to use an experimental method to study these same sounds in Paris, using the phonetic machines (ձայնագիտական մեքենաներ) of Abbé Rousselot (Jean-Pierre Rousselot, Armenian: Աբբա Ռուսլո), with young people from Mush, Sebastia, and others. The results of this study were published in a small work, where they present the four degrees of plosive letters ([*meaning ‘stop or affricate’*]) in Armenian according to the pronunciation of six vernaculars (Istanbul, Aslanbeg, Nukha, Shushi, Sebastia, and Mush), summarized in four phototype images (ընկապիկ պատկերներ). See Adjarian (1899) ([*translated in §2*]).

I ascertained the existence of four degrees of consonants a year later in my study of the Suceava dialect (see Բազմալեզու [Bazmavep], 1899, page 219-220). Because we consider it excessive to further talk about this matter, we refer readers to the study. In passing, we only state that the pronunciation of the voiced aspirated consonants is close to the sounds /bh, gh, dh, dzh, dʒh/ <բհ, գհ, դհ, ջհ>.

²[[*The prose is unclear, but I suspect that Adjarian means Sievers (1901: 436, 442), based on a similar citation by Schirru (2012: 438). I could not verify this however.*]]

gh>, and these sounds are similar in manner to the Sanskrit consonants <bh, gh, dh, jh>.

And thus we see a general picture of the stops and affricates of the Karin dialect (Table 5).

Table 5: Voiced aspirated stops and affricates in the Karin dialect

Armenian name	Voiced		Voiced aspirated		Voiceless		Voiceless aspirated	
French name	թրթռուն sonore		թրթռուն շնչաւոր sonore asp.		խոլ sourde		խոլ շնչաւոր sourde asp.	
	b	բ	b ^h	բ ^ʰ	p	պ	p ^h	փ
	g	գ	g ^h	գ ^ʰ	k	կ	k ^h	ք
	d	դ	d ^h	դ ^ʰ	t	տ	t ^h	թ
	ḏ	ծ	ḏ ^h	ծ ^ʰ	ṭ	ժ	ṭ ^h	ջ
	ḏ̟	ջ	ḏ̟ ^h	ջ ^ʰ	tʃ	ճ	tʃ ^h	չ

15.2.1.2.3 Voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ <յ>

In the Karin dialect, the reflex of the Classical Armenian sound /j/ <յ> has a pronunciation similar to the voiced aspirated sounds; this sound is also found in the Mush dialect, and we represent it as /ɦ/ <յ>. This sound is found as a reflex of the Old Armenian sound /j/ <յ> (Table 6).

Table 6: Voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ <յ> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
given name	յարտ ^h յւն	Յարուբիւն	հարտ ^h	յարուբ	harut ^h jun	չարուբյուն
given name	jakob	Յակոբ	հako	յակօ	hakop ^h	չակոբ

With this, the dialect has two types of glottal (հազազայիւն) sounds: /ɦ, h/ <յ, հ>.

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15.2.2 Sound changes

The Karin dialect is not very rich in sound changes; and after indicating the above cases, few things remain.

15.2.2.1 Monophthongal vowel changes

15.2.2.1.1 Vowel syncope of Classical Armenian /a/ <ա>

As general rule for all dialects in the /kə/ <կը> branch, in polysyllabic words, the reflex of the Classical Armenian vowel /a/ <ա> of a word-medial syllable is deleted or changes to /ə/ <ը> (Table 7). We do not discuss this general rule elsewhere.

Table 7: Medial vowel syncope in various Western dialects (Karin, Istanbul)

	‘to recognize’		‘sickly’		‘mouth-GEN’	
Classical Armenian	tʃanatʃ ^h el	ճանաչել	hiwandot	հիւանդոտ	beran-i	բերանի
> Karin	tʃantʃ ^h el	ճանչել	hivəndɔt	հիվընդոտ	b ^h ern-i	բ ^h երնի
cf. Istanbul	tʃafnal	ճաշնալ	hivandod,	հիվանդօղ,	bern-i	բերնի
			hivəndod	հիվընդօղ		
cf. SWA	dʒantʃ ^h nal	ճանչնալ	hivant ^h od	հիւանդոտ	p ^h ern-i	բերնի
cf. SEA	tʃanatʃ ^h el	ճանաչել	hivandot	հիվանդոտ	beran-i	բերանի

15.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

At the beginning of monosyllabic words (Table 8a), the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> has turned to /je/ <յե> or /jĕ/ <յե> (the latter for villagers). At the beginning of polysyllabic words, the sound is /e/ <ե> (Table 8b). And word-medially, it is /e/ <ե> or /jĕ/ <յե> (Table 8c).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, j̄e, e, j̄e/ <յե, ե, է> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
a. ‘ox’	ezən	եզն	jez	յեզ	jez	եզ
‘boiling (CA); tingling (SEA)’	er-k ^h (-PL)	երք	jerk ^h	յերք	jer-k ^h	երք
‘I’	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես
‘when’	erb	երբ	jep ^h	յեփ	jerp ^h	երբ
‘cooking’	ep ^h	եփ	jep ^h	յեփ	jep ^h	եփ
b. ‘to cook’	ep ^h el	եփել	ep ^h el	եփել	jep ^h el	եփել
‘dream’	eraz	երազ	eraz	երազ	jeraz	երազ
c. ‘to bring’	berel	բերել	b ^h erel	բ ^h երել	berel	բերել
‘big’	mets	մեծ	mets (urban) m̄jets (villager)	մեծ	mets	մեծ

15.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

At the beginning of monosyllabic words, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> (Table 9) has changed to /vo/ <վո>, /o/ <ո>, or /v̄uo/ <վո>; at the beginning of polysyllabic words to /o/ <ո>; and word-medially to /o/ <ո> or /ūo/ <n> (the forms /v̄uo, ūo/ <վո, ո> are rural). The word for ‘who’ has a typical form /vev/ <վեվ>.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /vo, o, v̄uo, ūo, ve/ <վո, ո, վո, ո, վե> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘that’	or	որ	vor	վոր	vort ^h i	որ
‘to take pity on’	ōormil	ողորմիլ	ōormil	ողորմիլ	vōormel	ողորմել
‘to ruminate’	orot̄jal	որոճալ	orot̄jal	որոճալ	vorot̄jal	որոճալ
‘who’	ov	ով	vev	վեվ	ov	ով

15.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

15.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /aj/ <այ> has changed to /a/ <ա> for city people, and /e/ <ե> for villagers. For settlements in the Caucasus, Akhaltskha has the form /a/ <ա>, while Alexandropol has the form /e/ <ե> (Table 10).

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Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /ɑ, e/ <ա, է> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hɑj̄r	հայր	har, her	հար, հեր	hajr	հայր
‘wood’	p ^h ɑj̄t	փայտ	p ^h at, p ^h et	փատ, փետ	p ^h ajt	փայտ
‘mother’	mɑj̄r	մայր	mar, mer	մար, մեր	majr	մայր
‘goat’	ɑj̄ts	այծ	ats, ets	ած, էծ	ajts	այծ

15.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oi/ <ոյ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 11).

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘weak’	t ^h oīl	թոյլ	t ^h ul	թուլ	t ^h ujl	թուլլ
‘blue’	kapoīt	կապոյտ	kaput	կապուտ	kapujt	կապույտ
‘light’	loīs	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujts	լույս

15.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iu/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iu/ <իւ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 12).

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /iu/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘flour’	ɑliūr	ալիւր	alur	ալուր	aljur	ալուր
‘fountain’	ɑb̄iūr	աղբիւր	ɑxb ^h ur	ախբ ^h ուր	ɑxpjur	աղբյուր
‘snow’	dz̄iūn	ծիւն	dz̄ ^h un	ծ ^h ուն	dz̄jun	ծյուն

15.2.2.3 Consonant changes

15.2.2.3.1 Voicing changes

For the consonants, the Old Armenian voiceless unaspirated sounds and the voiceless aspirated sounds remain unchanged. The voiced sounds have become voiced aspirated in general; but after nasals, they remain voiced unaspirated (Table 13).

Table 13: Voicing changes for stops and affricates in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘thing’	ban	բան	b ^h an	բ ^ʰ ան	ban	բան
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	b ^h eran	բ ^ʰ երան	beran	բերան
‘hand’	ḏzer-k ^h (plural)	ծեռք	ḏz ^h erk ^h	ծ ^ʰ եռք	ḏzerk ^h	ծեռք
‘I.DAT’	indz	ինծ	indzi	ինծի	indz	ինծ
‘apple’	χəndzɔr	խնձոր	χəndzɔr	խընձօր	χəndzɔr	խնձոր
‘cat’	katu	կատու	katu	կատու	katu	կատու
‘wool’	burd	բուրդ	b ^h urd ^h	բ ^ʰ ուրդ ^ʰ	bur ^h t ^h	բուրդ
‘sour’	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու	t ^h ət ^h u	թըթու	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու

15.2.2.3.2 Assimilation of /t/ <ւ> to a /r, tʃ/ <ր, ճ>

When the Classical Armenian sound /t/ <ւ> occurs is before the sounds /r, ɾ, tʃ, ʒ/ <ր, ռ, ճ, ժ>, it assimilates to those sounds. Only in this situation does the Classical Armenian sound /r/ <ր> become /r/ <ռ>, and the sound /ʒ/ <ժ> becomes /tʃ/ <ճ> (Table 14).

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /t/ <ւ> to a /r, tʃ/ <ր, ճ> in the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Karin		cf. SEA	
‘to tear’	patarel	պատառել	parrel	պառել	patarel, patrel	պատառել, պատռել
‘to divide’	kərel	կտրել	krrel	կռել	kərel	կտրել
‘to break’	kotorel	կոտորել	korrel	կօռել	kotorel, kotrel	կոտորել, կոտրել
‘ready’	patrast	պատրաստ	parrast	պառռաստ	patrast	պատրաստ
name ‘Peter’	petros	Պետրոս	perros	Պեռոս	petros	Պետրոս
‘to punish’	patzel	պատժել	patʃtʃel	պաճճել	patzel	պատժել
‘reason’	patzar	պատճառ	patʃtʃar	պաճճառ	patzar	պատճառ

15.2.3 The verb ‘to do’

The Classical Armenian verb /arnel/ <առնելի> ‘to do’ becomes /enel/ <էնելի>, whereas that word is /anel/ <անելի> or /ənel/ <ընելի> in other places. [[*To clarify, the reflex of this verb is /anel/ in SEA, and /ənel/ in SWA.*]]

15.2.4 Stress

In the Karin dialect, as in all the other dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch, stress is on the last syllable. However, stress in Karin is an especially peculiar accent (առազոնուրիւն) that it leaves a very pleasant impression. It is difficult for me to give a scientific explanation for this, but the following things are apparent. Stress in Karin is higher than the stress in other dialects; thus the difference in degree between unstressed and stressed syllables is very big. At the same time, because the pronunciation is more relaxed and elongated, during the descent, the sound goes through many musical notes, and it almost forms a song.

15.3 Morphology

15.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

15.3.1.1 Inflection for singular nouns

Like all the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch, the Karin dialect has 6 cases, which are the nominative, genitive-dative, accusative, ablative, and instrumental. The locative is missing.

However, the Karin dialect differs from the other dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch; in the accusative, it distinguishes between animate and inanimate objects, similar to the /um/ <նւմ> branch. The accusative of inanimates is the same as the nominative, while the animates use the dative (1).

(1) Karin

- a. kətu-i-n səpən-e-tsh^h-i-∅
 cat-DAT-DEF kill-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
 ‘I killed the cat.’
 կատուին սըպանէցի

- b. kov-i-n mort^h-e-t^h-i-∅
 COW-DAT-DEF slaughter-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
 ‘I slaughtered the cow.’
 կօվին մօրթեցի.

As is the norm, the ablative uses the formative /-en/ <Էս>, while the instrumental uses the formative /ov/ <օվ>.

15.3.1.2 Inflection of plural nouns

In accordance with the general rule, the plural is formed with the formatives /-er/ <եր> or /-ner/ <ներ>. But in this dialect, we also find the formative /estan/ <Էստան>. This formative is a reflex of the Old Armenian formative /-stan/ <ստան>, which is a location formative. This formative forms collective nouns, and it can also precede the formative /ner/ <ներ> (Table 15).

[[*The suffix /-ner/ is a plural marker in SEA/SWA, so Adjarian likely implies that words can get multiple plural markers.*]]

Table 15: Plural suffixes in the Karin dialect

	Karin		cf. SEA	
‘key-PL’	b ^h anl-estan	բ՛անլեստան	banali-ner	բանալիներ
	b ^h anl-estən-ner	բ՛անլեստըներ		
‘bathroom-PL’	b ^h aʁn-estan	բ՛աղնեստան	baxnik ^h -ner	բաղնիքներ
	b ^h aʁn-estən-ner	բ՛աղնեստըներ		
‘ring-PL’	matn-estan	մատնեստան	matani-ner	մատանիներ
‘dormer.window-PL’	erd ^h -estan	երդ՛եստան	jertik ^h -ner	երդիքներ
‘intestine-PL’	aʁ-estan	աղեստան	aʁik ^h -ner	աղիքներ
‘bride-PL’	harsn-estan	հարսնեստան	hars-ner	հարներ
‘underpants-PL’	vart-estan	վարտեստան	vartik ^h -ner	վարտիքներ
‘year-PL’	tar-estan	տարեստան	tari-ner	տարիներ

As we can see from the examples, this formative is placed only after words that end in /-ik^h/ <իք>.

[[*I do not understand this generalization because it seems falsified by Adjarian’s data. (?)*]]

The other case markers of the plural are like those of the singular, except for the genitive-dative which, in all the /kə/ <կը> branch dialects, uses the form /-u/ <ու> (Table 16).

Table 16: Genitive-dative of the plural in the Karin dialect

	Karin	cf. SEA
'city-PL-GEN/DAT'	kʰaʁakʰ-ner-u ɣaŋaɣɣɛrɒl	kʰaʁakʰ-ner-i ɣaŋaɣɣɛrɒh

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15.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

For pronouns, we note the following (Table 17).

Table 17: Sample of pronouns in the Karin dialect

personal 1SG NOM 'I'	jɛs	ɟɛu
personal 2SG NOM 'you'	dʰu	ŋ'ɒl
personal 1PL NOM 'we'	menkʰ	ʃɛɒɣ
personal 2PL NOM 'you'	dʰukʰ	ŋ'ɒɣɣ
demonstrative proximal SG 'this'	as	ʋu
demonstrative medial SG 'that'	adʰ	ʋŋ'
demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder'	an	ʋɒ
demonstrative proximal PL 'these'	asonkʰ	ʋuɒɣɣ
demonstrative medial PL 'those'	atonkʰ	ʋuɒɣɣ
demonstrative distal PL 'those yonder'	anonkʰ	ʋɒɣɣ
demonstrative proximal SG 'that'	isi	ɣuɣ
demonstrative medial SG 'that'	iti	ɣuɣ
demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder'	ini	ɣɒɣ
demonstrative proximal SG 'that'	isik	ɣuɣɣ
demonstrative medial SG 'that'	itik	ɣuɣɣ
demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder'	inik	ɣɒɣɣ
demonstrative proximal PL 'these'	isonkʰ	ɣuɒɣɣ
demonstrative medial PL 'those'	itonkʰ	ɣuɒɣɣ
demonstrative distal PL 'those yonder'	inonkʰ	ɣɒɣɣ

In accordance with the norm, the first ones are not a unique innovation. The latter words /isik, inik, inin/ <ɣuɣɣ, ɣuɣɣ, ɣɒɣɣ> are un-declinable; the others are declined in the following way (Table 18).

Table 18: Demonstrative pronouns in the Karin dialect

	Singular			Plural		
	proximal 'this'	medial 'that'	distal 'yonder'	proximal 'these'	medial 'those'	distal 'those yonder'
NOM	isi	iti	ini	isonk ^h	itonk ^h	inonk ^h
	իսի	իտի	ինի	իսօնք	իտօնք	ինօնք
GEN, DAT	isor	itor	inor	isons ^h	itons ^h	inons ^h
	իսօր	իտօր	ինօր	իսօնց	իտօնց	ինօնց
ABL	isor-en	itor-en	inor-en	isons ^h -en	itons ^h -en	inons ^h -en
	isor-m-en	itor-m-en	inor-m-en	isons ^h -m-en	itons ^h -m-en	inons ^h -m-en
	իսօրէն	իտօրէն	ինօրէն	իսօնցէն	իտօնցէն	ինօնցէն
	իսօրմէն	իտօրմէն	ինօրմէն	իսօնցմէն	իտօնցմէն	ինօնցմէն
INS	isor-ov	itor-ov	inor-ov	isons ^h -ov	itons ^h -ov	inons ^h -ov
	isor-m-ov	itor-m-ov	inor-m-ov	isons ^h -m-ov	itons ^h -m-ov	inons ^h -m-ov
	իսօրօվ	իտօրօվ	ինօրօվ	իսօնցօվ	իտօնցօվ	ինօնցօվ
	իսօրմօվ	իտօրմօվ	ինօրմօվ	իսօնցմօվ	իտօնցմօվ	ինօնցմօվ

15.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

15.3.3.1 Indicative present and past imperfective: Allomorphy of the indicative morpheme

The formation of verbs is very similar. There are no tenses that are constructed with /-um/ <ում>, as in all the /kə/ <կը> dialects. The indicative present and imperfective are formed similar to Old Armenian, but here we add the formative /kə/ <կը>, which is placed at the end of the verb in the Karin dialect.

Verbs that start with a vowel also receive the formative /k-/ <կ> at the beginning; the verbs /əllil/ <ըլլիլ> 'to be', /əjnil/ <ըյնիլ> 'to fall', /uzel/ <ուզէլ> 'to want', etc. take the form /g^h-/ <գ^h>. Monosyllabic verbs take /ku-/ <կու>; only the verb /g^ham/ <գ^hամ> 'I come' takes /g^hu/ <գ^hու> (in assimilation with the verb's initial sound /g^h/ <գ^h>). Thus are all the forms of these verbs

15.3.3.1.1 Suffix or enclitic /kə/ for consonant-initial verbs

[[In Eastern dialects like SEA, the indicative present and past imperfective are formed periphrastically with a non-finite converb plus a finite auxiliary. But in Western dialects like SWA and Karin, these forms are created synthetically. Tense and inflection are marked on the finite verb, while the indicative mood is marked by adding a morpheme that looks like /kə/. In SWA, this morpheme is /gu-/ before monosyllabic roots, /g-/ before vowels, and /gə-/ elsewhere before consonants. Karin uses

cognates of these affix shapes with essentially the same distribution but different placement.]]

[[First consider a typical consonant-initial verb like /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’. In SWA, the indicative present is formed by adding agreement markers after the theme vowel (Table 19). The indicative past imperfective includes a past marker /-i-/ between the theme vowel and agreement marker. For both the present and the past, the 3SG is missing either a past marker or an agreement marker. For both tenses, this verb takes the indicative prefix /gə-/. Karin uses essentially the same strategy, but the indicative marker is an enclitic or suffix /kə/.]]

Table 19: Indicative present <տերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karin dialect

		Indicative present <տերկայ>		
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-m kə	սիրեմ կը	gə sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ ‘I like’
2SG	sir-e-s kə	սիրես կը	gə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	sir-e-∅ kə	սիրէ կը	gə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
1PL	sir-e-nk ^h kə	սիրենք կը	gə sir-e-ŋk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	sir-e-k ^h kə	սիրեք կը	gə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	sir-e-n kə	սիրեն կը	gə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR	IND	IND	√-TH-AGR
		Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>		
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-i-∅ kə	սիրեի կը	gə sir-ej-i-∅	կը սիրեի ‘I would like’
2SG	sir-e-i-r kə	սիրեիր կը	gə sir-ej-i-r	կը սիրեիր
3SG	sir-e-∅-r kə	սիրեր կը	gə sir-e-∅-r	կը սիրեր
1PL	sir-e-i-nk ^h kə	սիրեիսք կը	gə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h	կը սիրեիսք
2PL	sir-e-i-k ^h kə	սիրեիք կը	gə sir-ej-i-k ^h	կը սիրեիք
3PL	sir-e-i-n kə	սիրեին կը	gə sir-ej-i-n	կը սիրեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR	IND	IND	√-TH-PST-AGR

15.3.3.1.2 Prefix and suffix for vowel-initial verbs: /k-...-kə/ or /g^h-...-kə/

[[For a vowel-initial verb like /ən-e-l/ 'to do' (Table 20), SWA uses an indicative prefix /g-/ instead of /gə-/. In Karin, this verb uses both an indicative prefix /k-/ and an indicative suffix/enclitic /kə/.]]

Table 20: Indicative present <ւերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb 'to do' in the Karin dialect

		Indicative present <ւերկայ>			
		Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	k-ən-e-m kə	կընեմ կը	g-ən-e-m	կ'ընեմ	'I do'
2SG	k-ən-e-s kə	կընես կը	g-ən-e-s	կ'ընես	
3SG	k-ən-e-∅ kə	կընէ կը	g-ən-e-∅	կ'ընէ	
1PL	k-ən-e-nk ^h kə	կընենք կը	g-ən-e-ŋk ^h	կ'ընենք	
2PL	k-ən-e-k ^h kə	կընեք կը	g-ən-e-k ^h	կ'ընեք	
3PL	k-ən-e-n kə	կընեն կը	g-ən-e-n	կ'ընեն	
		IND-√-TH-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-AGR	
		Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>			
		Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	k-ən-e-i-∅ kə	կընեի կը	g-ən-ej-i-∅	կ'ընեի	'I would do'
2SG	k-ən-e-i-r kə	կընեիր կը	g-ən-ej-i-r	կ'ընեիր	
3SG	k-ən-e-∅-r kə	կըներ կը	g-ən-e-∅-r	կ'ըներ	
1PL	k-ən-e-i-nk ^h kə	կընեինք կը	g-ən-ej-i-ŋk ^h	կ'ընեինք	
2PL	k-ən-e-i-k ^h kə	կընեիք կը	g-ən-ej-i-k ^h	կ'ընեիք	
3PL	k-ən-e-i-n kə	կընեին կը	g-ən-ej-i-n	կ'ընեին	
		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

[[In Karin, for some exceptional vowel-initial verbs like 'to fall', the indicative prefix is a voiced aspirated /g^h/ (Table 21). The indicative suffix/enclitic is still just /kə/. No such exceptionality is found in SWA.]]

Table 21: Indicative present <ւերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to fall’ in the Karin dialect

Indicative present <ւերկայ>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g ^h -əjn-i-m kə	գ՛ըյնիմ կը	g-ijn-a-m	կ’իյնամ
			‘I fall’	
2SG	g ^h -əjn-i-s kə	գ՛ըյնիս կը	g-ijn-a-s	կ’իյնաս
3SG	g ^h -əjn-i-∅ kə	գ՛ըյնի կը	g-ijn-a-∅	կ’իյնայ
1PL	g ^h -əjn-i-nk ^h kə	գ՛ըյնինք կը	g-ijn-a-ŋk ^h	կ’իյնանք
2PL	g ^h -əjn-i-k ^h kə	գ՛ըյնիք կը	g-ijn-a-k ^h	կ’իյնաք
3PL	g ^h -əjn-i-n kə	գ՛ըյնին կը	g-ijn-a-n	կ’իյնան
	IND-√-TH-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-AGR	
Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g ^h -əjn-e-i-∅ kə	գ՛ըյնեի կը	g-ijn-aj-i-∅	կ’իյնայի
			‘I would fall’	
2SG	g ^h -əjn-e-i-r kə	գ՛ըյնեիր կը	g-ijn-aj-i-r	կ’իյնայիր
3SG	g ^h -əjn-e-∅-r kə	գ՛ըյներ կը	g-ijn-a-∅-r	կ’իյնար
1PL	g ^h -əjn-e-i-nk ^h kə	գ՛ըյնեինք կը	g-ijn-aj-i-ŋk ^h	կ’իյնայինք
2PL	g ^h -əjn-e-i-k ^h kə	գ՛ըյնեիք կը	g-ijn-aj-i-k ^h	կ’իյնայիք
3PL	g ^h -əjn-e-i-n kə	գ՛ըյնեին կը	g-ijn-aj-i-n	կ’իյնային
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

15.3.3.1.3 Prefix and suffix/enclitic /ku-...-kə/ or /g^hu-...-kə/ for monosyllabic verbs

[[For monosyllabic verbs, SWA uses the indicative prefix /gu-/. In Karin, this prefix is /ku-/ or /g^hu-/. Note that in SWA and apparently in Karin, there are only three monosyllabic verbs that can take indicative morphology: ‘to cry’ (Table 22), ‘to give’ (Table 23), and ‘to come’ (Table 24). The verb ‘to come’ takes the voiced prefix /g^hu-/.]]

Table 22: Indicative present <ւերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to cry’ in the Karin dialect

Indicative present <ւերկայ>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	ku-l-a-m kə	կուլամ կը	gu-l-a-m ‘I cry’	կու լամ
2SG	ku-l-a-s kə	կուլաս կը	gu-l-a-s	կու լաս
3SG	ku-l-a-∅ kə	կուլա կը	gu-l-a-∅	կու լայ
1PL	ku-l-a-nk ^h kə	կուլանք կը	gu-l-a-ŋk ^h	կու լանք
2PL	ku-l-a-k ^h kə	կուլաք կը	gu-l-a-k ^h	կու լաք
3PL	ku-l-a-n kə	կուլան կը	gu-l-a-n	կու լան
	IND-√-TH-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-AGR	
Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	ku-l-aj-i-∅ kə	կուլայի կը	gu-l-aj-i-∅ ‘I would cry’	կու լայի
2SG	ku-l-aj-i-r kə	կուլայիր կը	gu-l-aj-i-r	կու լայիր
3SG	ku-l-a-∅-r kə	կուլար կը	gu-l-a-∅-r	կու լար
1PL	ku-l-aj-i-nk ^h kə	կուլայինք կը	gu-l-aj-i-ŋk ^h	կու լայինք
2PL	ku-l-aj-i-k ^h kə	կուլայիք կը	gu-l-aj-i-k ^h	կու լայիք
3PL	ku-l-aj-i-n kə	կուլային կը	gu-l-aj-i-n	կու լային
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

Table 23: Indicative present <Ներկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to give’ in the Karin dialect

Indicative present <Ներկայ>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	ku-t-a-m kə	կուտամ կը	gu-d-a-m 'I give'	կու տամ
2SG	ku-t-a-s kə	կուտաս կը	gu-d-a-s	կու տաս
3SG	ku-t-a-∅ kə	կուտա կը	gu-d-a-∅	կու տայ
1PL	ku-t-a-nk ^h kə	կուտանք կը	gu-d-a-ŋk ^h	կու տանք
2PL	ku-t-a-k ^h kə	կուտաք կը	gu-d-a-k ^h	կու տաք
3PL	ku-t-a-n kə	կուտան կը	gu-d-a-n	կու տան
	IND-√-TH-AGR	IND	IND-√-TH-AGR	
Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>				
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	ku-t-aj-i-∅ kə	կուտայի կը	gu-d-aj-i-∅ 'I would give'	կու տայի
2SG	ku-t-aj-i-r kə	կուտայիր կը	gu-d-aj-i-r	կու տայիր
3SG	ku-t-a-∅-r kə	կուտար կը	gu-d-a-∅-r	կու տար
1PL	ku-t-aj-i-nk ^h kə	կուտայինք կը	gu-d-aj-i-ŋk ^h	կու տայինք
2PL	ku-t-aj-i-k ^h kə	կուտայիք կը	gu-d-aj-i-k ^h	կու տայիք
3PL	ku-t-aj-i-n kə	կուտային կը	gu-d-aj-i-n	կու տային
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	IND	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

Table 24: Indicative present <ւերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to come’ in the Karin dialect

		Indicative present <ւերկայ>		
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g ^h u-g ^h -a-m kə	գ՛նւգ՛ամ կը	gu-k ^h -a-m	կու գամ ‘I come’
2SG	g ^h u-g ^h -a-s kə	գ՛նւգ՛աս կը	gu-k ^h -a-s	կու գաս
3SG	g ^h u-g ^h -a-∅ kə	գ՛նւգ՛ա կը	gu-k ^h -a-∅	կու գայ
1PL	g ^h u-g ^h -a-nk ^h kə	գ՛նւգ՛անք կը	gu-k ^h -a-ηk ^h	կու գանք
2PL	g ^h u-g ^h -a-k ^h kə	գ՛նւգ՛աք կը	gu-k ^h -a-k ^h	կու գաք
3PL	g ^h u-g ^h -a-n kə	գ՛նւգ՛ան կը	gu-k ^h -a-n	կու գան
	IND-√-TH-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-AGR	
		Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>		
	Karin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g ^h u-g ^h -aj-i-∅ kə	գ՛նւգ՛այի կը	gu-k ^h -aj-i-∅	կու գայի ‘I would come’
2SG	g ^h u-g ^h -aj-i-r kə	գ՛նւգ՛այիր կը	gu-k ^h -aj-i-r	կու գայիր
3SG	g ^h u-g ^h -a-∅-r kə	գ՛նւգ՛ար կը	gu-k ^h -a-∅-r	կու գար
1PL	g ^h u-g ^h -aj-i-nk ^h kə	գ՛նւգ՛այինք կը	gu-k ^h -aj-i-ηk ^h	կու գայինք
2PL	g ^h u-g ^h -aj-i-k ^h kə	գ՛նւգ՛այիք կը	gu-k ^h -aj-i-k ^h	կու գայիք
3PL	g ^h u-g ^h -aj-i-n kə	գ՛նւգ՛ային կը	gu-k ^h -aj-i-n	կու գային
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

15.3.3.1.4 Omission or reduction of the indicative morpheme

When a few present forms succeed each other, the formative /kə/ <կը> is placed only after the last one (2).

(2) Karin

- a. tʃamp^ha-n k^hun-ə tan-i-∅ g-əjn-i-∅ kə
road-DEF sleep-DEF take-TH-3SG IND-fall-TH-3SG IND
‘While on the road, he gets sleepy and lies down.’ (Literally, ‘.. and falls’)³
ճամփան քունը տանի գընի կը

³[[Adjarian did not provide a translation into Standard Armenian. The above translation is my guess, and then corroborated by Vahagn Petrosyan who determined the idiomatic meaning.]]

Chapter 15 Karin

- b. zarm-a-n-a-n mn-a-n kə
surprise-LV-INCH-TH-3PL stay-TH-3PL IND
'They get surprised, they stay.'
զարմանան մնան կը

This is strengthened until the verb is separated from various other words (3).
[[I do not understand what this example shows. (?)]]

(3) Karin

- a. arun k^hrtink^h mt-n-i-n kə
blood sweat enter-VX-TH-3PL IND
'They shed blood and sweat.' (Literally 'they enter...')⁴
արուն քրտինք մտնին կը

When this formative is immediately before the forms /or/ <or> 'that' ...

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... or /u/ <nL> 'and', the formative /kə/ <կը> is reduced and merges with those words to form /kor, ku/ <կոր, կու>.⁵

(4) Karin

- a. k-af-e-n k-or
IND-see-TH-3PL IND-that
'they see that...'
կաշէն կոր
- b. b^her-e-Ø k-u tan-i-Ø kə
bring-TH-3SG IND-and take-TH-3SG IND
'He brings and he takes.'
բ'երէ կու տակի կը

15.3.3.1.5 Theme vowel change in the past imperfective 3SG

Many times in the 3SG of the imperfective, the sound /e/ <է> becomes /i/ <ի>, such as in Table 25.

⁴[[Adjarian did not provide a translation into Standard Armenian. The above translation is my guess, and then corroborated by Vahagn Petrosyan who determined the idiomatic meaning.]]

⁵[[Adjarian includes a parenthetical <(հմա կ'որ, կ'ու)>. But I do not understand it. I suspect he means that these fused forms are written as <կ'որ, կ'ու>. (?)]]

Table 25: Theme vowel change in the 3SG past imperfective in the Karin dialect

	Karin		cf. SWA	
3SG 'to have'	un-i-∅-r	նւսիր	un-e-∅-r	նււեր
3SG 'to fall'	g-əjn-i-∅-r (IND)-√-TH-PST-3SG IND	գըյնիր	g-ijn-α-∅-r (IND)-√-TH-PST-3SG	Կ'իյնար

15.3.3.2 Future and past future

The future and past future (սպասնսիրն սերկան եւ անցեալը) are formed with the formative /piti/ <պիտի>, which can be placed before or after the verb.

[[To clarify, in SWA, the future is formed by replacing the indicative morpheme of the indicative present with the future proclitic /bidi/ (5). The same tense and agreement markers are used. The past future is similarly formed by taking the finite verb form of the indicative past imperfective and then adding this future proclitic. Karin seems to use the same strategies, though the future morpheme has variable positions.]]

- (5) a. SWA
 bidi sir-e-m, bidi sir-ej-i-∅
 FUT like-TH-1SG, FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
 'I will like, I was going to like.'
 պիտի սիրեմ, պիտի սիրէի
- b. Karin
- i. piti sir-e-m, piti sir-e-i-∅
 FUT like-TH-1SG, FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
 'I will like, I was going to like.'
 պիտի սիրեմ, պիտի սիրէի
- ii. sir-e-m piti, sir-e-i-∅ piti
 like-TH-1SG FUT, like-TH-PST-1SG FUT
 'I will like, I was going to like.'
 սիրեմ պիտի, սիրէի պիտի

15.3.3.3 Perfective converb or past participle with /-er, -e/ <եր, է>

The past participle takes the formative /-er/ <եր>. But when the verb is after the auxiliary, the final /r/ <ր> is deleted (6).

(6) Karin

- a. sir-er e
like-PERF.CVB AUX
'He has liked.'
սիրեր է
- b. tʃⁿ-e-m sir-e
NEG-AUX-1SG like-PERF.CVB
'I have not liked.'
չէմ սիրէ
- c. d^hu e-s b^her-e
you AUX-2SG bring-PERF.CVB
'YOU have brought.' (with focus on 'you')
դ՛նւ Էս բ՛երէ
- d. inik e-s b^her-e
that AUX-2SG bring-PERF.CVB
'You have brought THAT.' (with focus on 'that')
ինիկ Էս բ՛երէ

15.4 Subdialects

Despite its widespread distribution, the Karin dialect does not have many subdialects. The same dialect is spoken in Karin, Akhaltskha, Kars, Akhalkalak, Alexandropol, and in their villages.

Exceptions are made only for the sounds /jɛ, e, ɤo, o/ <ե է ո օ>, and the change from the Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑj/ <այ> to /ɑ/ <ա> or /e/ <է>.

The people of Akhaltskha and Karin use the form /g^h-əll-i/ <գ՛լլի> 'it is', while the people of Alexandropol use /k-əɤn-i/ <կերնի> 'it is'.⁶ But these forms are even found in the villages that are next to Karin, and they do not form their own decisive gaps (առանձին որոշողական անջրպետ).

[[For some reason, Adjarian talks about subdialects here, but then switches the topic to talk about pre-existing literature, and then he returns to talking about dialects.]]

⁶[[These are glossed as 'IND-be-TH' with a covert 3SG suffix.]]

15.5 Literature

For the Karin dialect, there is only a small study in Russian (Томсон 1887).⁷

The following are works that are written in this dialect.

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Karin dialect
 - Ե. Լալայեանց - Ջալախքի բուրմուն. Թիֆլիս 1892
 - Ջալախեցի - Ջալախքի աղետը. Թիֆլիս 1900
 - Արամ Չարուզ - Բասենի ժողովրդ. երգերը. Ազգ. Հանդ. 2. էջ 383-390
 - Ե. Լալայեան - Ջալախք. նոյն Ա. էջ 327, 364, and so on.
 - Դպիր - Նարմանցիին երգերը. Բիւրակն, 1899, էջ 524-5
 - Խօջայեանց Յովի. – Ասածներ Ալեքսանդրապօլից. Արրտ. 1870-1, էջ 249-250, 283-4, 309-312
 - ԵԼ. – Վաչեան. Նոր-Դար 1887, էջ 174-5
 - Գեղամեանց Յ. Իմ մանկական յիշողութիւններից. Փորձ, Բ. թիւ 2, էջ 269-296 (Ախալքալաքի).

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 189) and Bezrukov (2022). For Khodorchur, see Martirosyan (2019: 190).]]

15.6 Subdialects (continued)

The subdivisions of the Karin dialect are the subdialects of Baberd and Khodorchur.

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⁷[[Adjarian's original citation uses the pre-revolution Russian spelling: Томсонъ, Лингвистическія изслѣдованія: Краткій очеркъ фонетики и морфологіи ахалцыхскаго говора. Բեդրսպոլրկ 1887.]]

15.6.1 Baberd

There is no separate study on the Baberd dialect, and there is no published manuscript in this dialect. In the periodical Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (1899, page 567), there is a small collection of proverbs from Baberd; but because this collection relates to the literary culture, then it unfortunately cannot fulfill our needs. H. Darbinian (Յ. Դարբինեան; [[*SEA*: /*darp^hinjan*/, *SWA*: /*t^harp^hinjan*/]]) in the periodical *Arev-*elk** (Արեւելք, number 6693, 6695, 6697, and 6699) has an article about Baberd with the title *Provincial dialect treasures*, Գաւառաբարբառիս գանձերը; but this is an ordinary list of provincial words.⁸ As a consequence, I am forced to be satisfied with my little familiarity with the dialect, which I gathered in 1894 by visiting Baberd for a day, and also with information that H. Darbinian (Յ. Դարբինեան) gave me in the summer of 1910 during my travel to Istanbul.

- The Baberd subdialect knows how to distinguish between the three degrees of consonants: voiced aspirated, voiced, and voiceless aspirated.
- To form the indicative present and imperfective, it uses the postposed formative /kə/ <կը>.
- The sounds /ւօ, իե/ <n, ւ> are confused with the sounds /օ, ե/ <o, ւ>.
- The sound change of Classical Armenian /h/ <հ> to /f/ <ֆ> does not exist.
- The accusative is always the same as the nominative, and there is no dative case for animate objects.
- A separate innovation in Baberd is the progressive (շարունակական) form of the present and imperfective, which is formed with the formatives /ge, er, ənge/ <գէ, էր, ընգէ>.

These latter characteristics, especially the use of the formative /er/ <եր>, show to us that the Baberd subdialect forms a middle ring between the Karin and Trabzon dialects. The villages of Baberd are more faithful to the mother dialect, and they are almost the same as the city of Karin.

⁸[[*Unfortunately, because of limited resources, I could not track down the publication venue because there were multiple journals with the name Arev-*elk* (Արեւելք), and I could not track down this manuscript or author. (?)*]]

15.6.2 Khodorchur

Khodorchur also forms its own separate subdialect.

[[*Note that although Adjarian 1911 treats this variety as a subdialect of Karin, it seems that subsequent work is unsure of the exact status of Khodorchur. See Martirosyan (2019: 190-191) for discussion on how some work has treated Khodorchur as a separate dialect.*]]

As for its position between the Hamshen and Karin dialects, this is still not sufficiently clear to me. Recently, two significantly great volumes were published in the Khodorchur dialect, under the editorship of H. M Hadjian (Հ. Մ. Հաճեան; [[SEA: /hatʃjan/, SWA: /hadʒjan/]]). These are Երգեր, առակներ, հանելուկներ... Խոսրջուր, Տփխիս, 1904, and Հին անանիական հեքիաթներ Խոսրջուր, Վիեննա 1907.⁹ Because the first is written in essentially the literary language, ...

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... it cannot offer any benefits for studying the dialect; and I still do not have a copy of the second one. Only one well-known characteristic of Khodorchur is clear, and that is how the sound /r/ <ր> changes to /j/ <յ> (Table 26).

Table 26: Change from Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> to /j/ <յ> in the Khodorchur subdialect of the Karin dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Karin	cf. SEA
'this belly (CA); my belly (SEA)'	բ ^h օր-թս փոքս	բ ^h ոյ-թս փոյքս	բ ^h օր-թս փոքս
'person from Khodorchur'		ժօտյճ ^h յճ ^h ի	ժօթճ ^h յճ ^h ի Խոսրջուրցի

15.7 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X':*]]

⁹[[*Unfortunately, I have not been able to track down these manuscripts, so that I could verify their bibliographic metadata. Though the 1907 manuscript is cited by Martirosyan (2019). (?)*]]

15.7.1 From Akhalkalak

Adjarian's sample: Taken from Ե. Լալայեանի Ձաւախքի բուրմունքէն, page 44-45

Սօղոմօս իմաստունին կնիկը սուտ հիվանդ գ'ըլլի հեքիմին սիրէ կը: Իրէն մարթուն յախան ա կըպչի կը թը հաֆքերու օսկըռնէրէն ինծի մէ դօնախանա մ' պիտի շինես, թեպունէրէն ա յօրդան դ'օշակ մ' սարքես:

Սօղոմօս իմաստունը կանչէ կը հաֆքերուն, մօրթէ կ'տ օսկըռտանքն ու թեպունէրը թօփ կէնէ, օր կնգանը ուզածը հազըրէ: Աշխարք ինչքան հաֆք կա գ'ուգ'ա կը, սալթ քօռ բ'ուֆը չի գ'ա: Սօղոմօնը անդայ գմրուքին դրկէ կ'օր գ'ըտնի բ'էրէ: Անդայ գմրուքը անգ մ' ման գ'ուգ'ա, անջաղ անջաղ գ'ըտնի կը բ'ընի մ' մէչ, ինչքան կանչէ ճըվա կը՝ չի դ'ուս գ'ա. ահ կուտա՝ չի ըլլի, խօստում կ'էնէ՝ չի ըլլի: Խիւլասա բ'ընին առաջը կայնի սիրուն քարօղ մ' խօսի կը, ասիկ գ'էլլէ դ'ուս: Ախըր անդէր քարօզը քար կը ծակէ: Բ'ուֆն օր գ'ուս կ'էլլէ՝ ասիկ քարօղը ծալէ՝ գ'ըրկէ կ'ու տանի կը Սօղոմօս իմաստունին:

Սօղոմօս իմաստունը հերսօտի կը թը կանչէի կը ինչի՞ չէիր գ'ա: Բ'ուբ'բ'ուն կ'եսէ կը. «Չորթ ցքէի կը թը աշխըրքիս մէչ տղամարթն է շատ, թէ կնիկ մարթը: անդի ուշացա»:

- Է՛, կըսէ Սօղոմօս իմաստունը, իմացա՞ր, վէ՞րն է շատ: Թը «կնիկ մարթը շատ է»:
- Ի՛նչըդ, կըսէ Սօղոմօս իմաստունը, տղամարթը շատ պիտի ըլլի:
- Ղօրթ է, կըսէ բ'ուբ'բ'ուն, հըմը, յես, կընգանը խօսքը անգաջ էնօդին ա կնիկմարթ ցքի. կնիկմարթ չէ՞ անիկ օր կնգանը ծ'եռքը խաղալիք է գ'առէ. կնիկը մինդրին տակը յուխա (չոր խմորեղէն մը) լգեր սուտ հիվանդ է ծ'եվացէ ու հեքիմին սիրէ ...

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... կը, մարթուն ա չարչըրելու հըմար հաֆքերուն օսկըռտանքէն դօնախանա գ'ուգ'է: Ի՛նչքան հաֆք պիտի գ'ընտես ջ'արդ'ես օր անօնց օսկըռտանքէն դօնախանա կտյնեցընես:

- Խելացի ըսաց, կըսէ Սօղոմօս իմաստունը ինքնիրէն, յես ա կնիկմարթ էմ օր կընգանս խօսքօվը աշխըրքի հաֆքերուն արունքը մտա: Արթը բ'խտուն հաֆքերուն բ'աց թօղնէ կը, օրը իրէք դուշ ա բ'ուբ'բ'ունին կապէ կը: Տէյ մ'օր հիմի ա օրը իրէք դուշ իրէնք իրէնք գ'ուգ'ան բ'ուբ'բ'ունին առաջը կայնին կը: Բ'ուբ'բ'ուն երկուսը կուտէ, մէկը Աստըծու սիրուն ազատէ կը:

15.7.2 From Basean

Adjarian's note: See Ազգագրական Հանդես [*Ethnographic Magazine*], volume 6 (2.), page 383, and so on

Կաղաչեմ ինձի լսե,
Արի յարտըսունքըս սրբ'ե.
Դ'անակըմ դ'ու ինձի տու,
յետեվ ըսե մի' մօրթե:

Սարեր, ձ'օրեր ու ջ'ըրեր,
Մարմանդ վագօղ ախբ'ուրներ,
Մեկ վեր կեցեք ու յիմացեք
Տեսեք թե վե՞վ է եկեր:

Գ'ելը օջիւրըին եկավ,
Չարկեց գ'եր դ'առնին տարավ.
Հայի տղեն ինչդ չը լա:
Յարը դիւշմանը տարավ:
Կօկոմս թօռմած մնաց,
Սիրտըս կրակած մնաց,
Ի՛նչ էնիմ յես ապրելը՝
յաչքերըս լուս չմնաց:

Սեվ է յաչքերըդ', կռունգ,
Ճերմակ է սիրտըդ', կռունգ,
Ջ'ուխտ գ'ացիր մենակ գ'ուգ'ոսս,
Ո՞ւր է յընգերըդ', կռունգ:

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Բաղի մեչը վարթ գ'ըլի,
Բաղի շունը սարթ գ'ըլի,
Շան ախճիկ, ուսուլ խօսե,
Տալտա տեղ է, մարթ գ'ըլի:
Մերըս ինձի բ'երեր է,
Նխշուն բ'ալուկ էրեր է,
Նխշուն բ'ալուկ մեռնեի,
Մօրըս մտքեն յելլեի:

Ախճի, դ'ու յես մեղավոր,
Քեզի գ'ուգ'ան ուզավոր,
Չեղնի էրթաս հեռու տեղ,
Պագ'վիս կեղնիս յըռագիլ:

Chapter 16

Mush

16.1 Background

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The Mush dialect is spread over the west side of the Van sea.¹ Its center is the city of Mush. In the north, it spreads until Hınıs and Alashkert, in the south to Paghesh, in the east it reaches Moks from one side and Diyadin from the other side, in the west are Lice, Chapaghjur, and so on. Thus the Mush dialect is spoken in Mush, Sason, Paghesh, Hizan, Khlát, Arjesh, Bulanık, Manazkert, Hınıs, and Alashkert. During the last two Russo-Turkish wars, two large migrations happened from Mush and Alashkert, establishing settlements in the Yerevan province, at Aparan (near Alexandropol (Gyumri)) and the south sides of New Bayazet, on the shores of Lake Sevan. In the latter region, there are today 21 Armenian villages which speak the Mush or Alashkert dialect. These villages in order² are Yeranos, Adamxan, Dzoragegh, Tsakkar, Gölköy, Tazakend, Lower and Upper Adyaman, Upper and Lower Karanlug, Avdalaghalu, Alikrykh, Zolakhach, Upper and Lower Gyuzeldara, Upper and Lower Kyolaghran, Lower Aluchalu, Gedakbulag, Zaghalu and Tüskülü. A group of migrants from Hınıs also went to Akhalkalak, and they established the villages of Toria, Ujmana and Eshtia in the area. They also speak the dialect to this day.

[[*Note that more data is provided in §16.5.3.*]]

[[*Martirosyan (2019: 212) reports that Sason is also analyzable as a separate dialect.*]]

¹[[*Adjarian tends to use the word 'sea' <ծով> when describing Lake Van and Lake Sevan instead of the word 'lake' <լիճ>.*]]

²[[*Adjarian does not say what this order signifies. (?)*]]

16.2 Phonology

16.2.1 Vowel inventory and sound changes

The Mush dialect does not have a rich phonetic system with respect to vowels. The vowels /æ, œ, ʏ/ <ւ, եօ, իւ> are absent; and in this way we can form a characteristic border to distinguish the Mush dialect from the Van dialect, which has these vowels.

The sounds <ւ, ն> in Mush have a certain rich diphthongal pronunciation,³ and they originate from the Classical Armenian stressed sounds /e, o/ <ւ, ն>. Without stress, these sounds became /e, o/ <ւ, ո>. ...

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... Word-initially in monosyllabic words, they turn to /je, vo/ <յե, վօ>. At the beginning of polysyllabic words, they turn to /e, o/ <ւ, ո>. The Classical Armenian sounds /u/ <նւ> and diphthongs /ɑj̄, oj̄, iuj̄/ <ւյ, ոյ, իւ> are rendered as simple vowels:

- /u/ > /u/ (նւ > նւ)
- /ɑj̄/ > /e/ (ւյ > է)
- /oj̄/ > /u/ (ոյ > նւ)
- /iuj̄/ > /u/ (իւ > նւ).

16.2.2 Consonant inventory and sound changes

16.2.2.1 Voicing changes and voiced aspirated sounds

In contrast, the Mush dialect is rich in consonants. Like the Karin dialect, here we find a group of voiced aspirated consonants, of which the dialect has four series of stops and affricates (Table 1).

³[[*The prose is vague, but I think Adjarian means that this dialect has the diphthongs /je, vo/ <ւ, ն>, such as in Karin (§15.2.1.1.2). (?)]]*

Table 1: Voicing contrasts in the Mush dialect

Voiced		Voiced aspirated		Voiceless unaspirated		Voiceless aspirated	
b	բ	b ^h	բ՛	p	պ	p ^h	փ
g	գ	g ^h	գ՛	k	կ	k ^h	ք
d	դ	d ^h	դ՛	t	տ	t ^h	թ
dz̄	ձ	dz̄ ^h	ձ՛	ts̄	ծ	ts̄ ^h	ց
dʒ̄	ջ	dʒ̄ ^h	ջ՛	tʃ̄	ճ	tʃ̄ ^h	չ

[[Acoustic data on the consonants of Mush are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.]]

Word-initially, the voiced sounds of Old Armenian become voiced aspirated. Word-medially, they become voiceless or stay voiced. After the nasal /n/ <ւ>, we find only voiced sounds. The voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated groups are generally unchanged. But there are exceptions where the voiceless aspirated sounds became voiceless unaspirated (Table 2). Discussing such forms requires a detailed study.

Table 2: Deaspiration from Classical Armenian voiced aspirated sounds in the Mush dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Mush		cf. SEA	
‘eye’	atʃ̄ ^h -(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	աչք	atʃ̄k	աճկ	atʃ̄ ^h k ^h	աչք
‘Armenianness’	hajut ^h iւն	հայութիւն	hajuten	հայուտեն	hajut ^h jun	հայություն

16.2.2.2 Glottal fricatives /h, ɦ/ <h, ʃ>

Like the Karin dialect, the Mush dialect also has two types of glottal sounds (հազազ), which are /ɦ/ <ʃ> and /h/ <h>. The use of these sounds is the same as in Karin. But the Mush dialect has the habit of adding the sound /ɦ/ <ʃ> to many vowel-initial words (Table 3).

Table 3: Insertion of word-initial voiced glottal fricative /h/ <յ> in the Mush dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Mush		cf. SEA	
‘cheap’	աջան	աժան	հեջան	յեժան	աջան	աժան
‘stall’	աչոր	ախոր	հաչոր	յախոր	աչոր	ախոր
‘fountain’	ա՛խբւր	աղբիւր	հաչբւր	յախբուր	աչքբւր	աղբուր
‘all’	ամենայն	ամենայն	համեն	յըմէն	ամենայն	ամենայն
‘durable’	ամուր	ամուր	համբւր	յամբուր	ամուր	ամուր
‘late’	անագան	անագան	հանգան	յանգան	անագան	անագան

16.2.2.3 Subdialects and distinguishing Mush from Van

Because the Van dialect does not have voiced aspirated sounds or the glottal sound /h/ <յ>, we are provided with a second significant method to distinguish these two dialects.

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <h> has two types of forms in the Mush dialect. We find the sound /h/ <h> in Mush, Sason, Bulanık, Alashkert, Aparan and six villages on the shores of Lake Sevan; while in the other areas (Paghesh, Khlat, Arjesh and Artske), the sound has changed to /χ/ <խ>, as in the Van dialect. The last group ...

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... is distinguished from the Mush dialect in a few points. For example, the copular form has the form /a/ <ա> (1a, 1b), and there exists the sound /g^j/ <գյ> (1c), with which it gets closer to the Van dialect.

(1) Mush (implied to be the Paghesh subdialect)⁴

- a. tʰⁿ-e gats^h-jer a
 NEG-AUX go-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has not gone.’
 չէ գացեր ա
- b. tʰⁿ-e bjer-er a
 NEG-AUX bring-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has not brought.’
 չէ բերեր ա

⁴[[It is unclear if Adjarian wrote these sentences according to Standard Armenian orthography vs. his dialectological notation. If it is standard orthography, then the verbs should be [gats^h-er] and [ber-er].]]

- c. ku-gⁱ-a-∅
 IND-come-TH-3SG
 ‘He comes.’
 կուգաւ

It follows from here that the Mush dialect contains the subdialect of Paghesh, which contains also Khlat, Arjesh, and Artske. Unfortunately, for the materials or excerpts that we have at our disposal, these materials do not have the required scientific accuracy that we need in order to establish the characteristics of this subdialect. From the neighboring villages of the New Bayazet region, the most that we got was only the difference in the sound /χ/ <խ>; while for all the remaining points, the two branches are in agreement with each other. In the region of New Bayazet, the villages that belong to the Mush branch and that have the /h/ <հ> sound are Yeranos, Adamxan, Dzoragegh, Gölköy, Lower and Upper Adyaman; while the villages that have /χ/ <խ> are Tsakkar, Upper Karanlug, Avdalaghalu, Alikrykh, Zolakhach, Lower Gyuzeldara, Upper Gyuzeldara, Upper and Lower Kyolaghran, Lower Aluchalu, Gedakbulag and Zaghalu. We talk about the others much later.

16.3 Morphology

16.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

The grammar of the Mush dialect has some interesting archaisms.

[[See §4.7.3.1 for general information about these archaisms from Classical Armenian.]]

16.3.1.1 Classical accusative prefix /z/ <q>

The accusative is formed similarly to Old Armenian, by using the prefix /z/ <q> (2).

- (2) a. Mush
 əz hats^h, əz mər tun
 ACC bread, ACC our house
 ‘bread (ACC), our house (ACC)’
 ըզ հաց, ըզ մեր տուն

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- b. cf. Classical Armenian
əz-hats^h, əz-mer tun
ACC-bread, ACC-our house
'bread (ACC), our house (ACC)'
զհաց, զմեր տուն

16.3.1.2 Classical accusative prefix /i, j/ <ի, յ>

The Classical accusative prefixal formatives /i, j/ <ի, յ> are still in use (3).

(3) *Mush*

- a. փ^hur orik-n i mah-u-n
water? day?-DEF ACC death-DAT-DEF
(?) [[*I do not understand this sentence, and I had to guess most of the words without surety.*]]
չուր օրիկն ի մահուն
b. k-ert^h-a-m fi-art
IND-go-TH-1SG ACC-there
'I go there/then.'⁵
կերթամ յարտ

16.3.1.3 Genitive possession without definite marking

After possessive adjectives, the noun does not have an article. This is like in Classical Armenian and in all the European languages, except for Italian. Modern Civil Armenian uses the definite article (4a),⁶ cf. Italian (4b),⁷ but French (4c). The *Mush* dialect also says (4d), like Classical Armenian (4e).

- (4) a. SEA
mer hats^h-ə, dzer tun-ə, im barekam-ə, k^ho
our bread-DEF, your.PL house-DEF, my friend-DEF, your.SG
շօթօւրտ^h-ə
people-DEF
'our bread, your house, my friend, your people'
մեր հացը, ձեր տունը, իմ բարեկամը, քու ժողովուրդը

⁵[[*I thank Robin Meyer for guessing the second word as the reflex of CA /ard/ <արդ>.*]]

⁶[[*Adjarian originally used <ընլ> /k^hu/ instead of <ըն> /k^ho/ for the SEA 2PL possessor, but the form /k^hu/ is for SWA, not SEA.*]]

⁷[[*Adjarian used the word <pano> for Italian 'bread', but this seems to be a typo for <pane>.*]]

b. Italian

il nostro pane, la vostra casa, il mio amico, il tuo popolo
 the our bread, the your house, the my friend, the your people
 ‘our bread, your house, my friend, your people’

c. French

notre pain, votre maison, mon ami, ton peuple
 our bread, your house, my friend, your people
 ‘our bread, your house, my friend, your people’

d. Mush

mər hats^h, mər tun
 our bread, our house
 ‘our bread, our house’
 մըր հաց, մըր տուն

e. Classical Armenian

hats^h mer, tun mer
 bread our, house our
 ‘our bread, our house’
 հաց մեր, տուն մեր

[[To clarify, Adjarian argues that Classical Armenian and most Western European languages do not use a definite article for possessed nouns. However, Italian and SEA do use a definite article for possessed nouns. Mush violates this Modern Armenian tendency; possessed nouns do not take the article.]]

[[Robin Meyer informs me that this is an incorrect overgeneralization for Classical Armenian. Classical Armenian does allow at least some cases where a possessed noun takes the marker /-n/ (5).]]

- (5) əz-mer mel-s-n
 ACC-our sin-ACC.PL-DIST
 ‘... our sin...’ (1 Peters 2:24)
 ... զմեր մեղս...

16.3.1.4 Post-nominal possessors

Possessive adjectives can be placed after the noun. This is not found in any dialect. But like in Classical Armenian, the people of Mush say the sentences in (6).

(6) *Mush*

- a. $\widehat{d}z^h$ ern-e mzi
hand-ABL our
'from our hand'
ձ'էռնէ սզի
- b. b^hern-e k^hzi
mouth-ABL your.SG
'from your.SG mouth'
բ'էրնէ քզի
- c. sirt $\widehat{d}z^h$ əzi urar $\widehat{t}j^h$ -uz-a-∅
heart your.PL each.other NEG-want-TH-3SG
'your hearts do not love/want each other'
սիրտ ձ'ըզի ուրար չուզա
- d. $\widehat{d}z^h$ ern-e անձի
hand-ABL my
'from my hand'
ձ'էռնէ ըսձի
- e. $\widehat{d}z^h$ ern-e $\widehat{d}z^h$ zi
hand-ABL your.PL
'from your.PL hand'
ձ'էրնէ ձ'զի
- f. lez urants^h, buk urants^h
language their, throat their
'their language, their throat'
լէզ ուրանց, բուկ ուրանց

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16.3.1.5 Retention of prepositions

For many prepositions that have become postpositions in other dialects, here they have kept their original position, sometimes as a formative (7).

- (7) a. 'on our house'
i. *Mush*
vər mər tan
on our house.GEN
վըր մըր տան

- ii. Classical Armenian
 i verɑj meroj tan
 to on our house.GEN
 ի վերայ մերոյ տան
- iii. SEA
 mer tan vəra
 our house.GEN on
 մեր տան վրա
- b. ‘in our house’
- i. Mush
 mətʃ^h mər tan
 in our house.GEN
 մըջ մըր տան
- ii. Classical Armenian
 i midʒi mer tan
 to in our house.GEN
 ի միջի մեր տան
- iii. SEA
 mer tan metʃ^h
 our house.GEN on
 մեր տան մեջ
- c. ‘near me’⁸
- i. Mush
 mət əndzi
 near me.DAT
 մըտ ընծի
- ii. SEA
 indz mot
 me.DAT near
 ինծ մոտ
- d. ‘how many years before you?’
- i. Mush
 k^haní tari arɑtʃ^h k^hzne
 how.many year before you.SG.ABL
 քանի՞ տարի առաջ քզնե

⁸[[In Adjarian’s original prose, it is not clear if he also proposes that Classical Armenian had the Mush-like order <մալտ ինծ> /mɑt indz/. (?)]]

ii. SWA

k^hezme k^haní dari aratʃ^h
 you.SG.ABL how.many year before
 քեզմէ քանի՞ տարի առաջ

16.3.1.6 **Vocative case**

What is especially interesting is the vocative case; the vocative case has the ending /o/ <o>, and the people of Mush use it especially for proper names.

Table 4: Vocative forms in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SEA	
‘Oh Harutyun!’	fiáro	յա՛րօ	ov harut ^h jun	ո՛վ Հարություն
‘Oh Hakop!’	fiako	յալօ	ov hakop ^h	ո՛վ Հակոբ
‘Oh Mariam!’	maro	Մարօ	ov marjam	ո՛վ Մարիամ
‘Oh boy!’	láo	լա՛օ	ov latʃ ^h	ո՛վ լաճ
‘Oh mom!’	mámo	մա՛մօ	ov mam	ո՛վ մամ
‘Oh sister!’	k ^h uro	քուրօ	ov k ^h ujr	ո՛վ քույր

16.3.2 **Pronoun inflection or declension**

Among pronouns, the following forms are worth noting (Table 5).

Table 5: Sample of pronouns in the Mush dialect

personal 2SG DAT ‘to you’	k ^h əzi	քըզի
personal 1PL ACC ‘us’	əzməzi, əzmi	ըզմըզի, ըզմի
personal 1PL GEN ‘our’	mər	մըր
personal 1PL DAT ‘to us’	məzi	մըզի
personal 1PL ABL ‘from us’	məzne	մըզնէ
personal 2PL ACC ‘you’	əzk ^h əzi, əzk ^h i	ըզքըզի, ըզքի
personal 2PL GEN ‘your’	ḏz ^h ər	ճ՛ըր
personal 2PL DAT ‘to you’	ḏz ^h əzi	ճ՛ըզի
personal 2PL ABL ‘from you’	ḏz ^h əzne	ճ՛ըզնէ
demonstrative proximal SG NOM ‘this’	isa	իսա
demonstrative proximal SG INS ‘with this’	estʏov	էստո՛վ
demonstrative medial SG NOM ‘that’	ida	իդա
demonstrative distal SG NOM ‘that yonder’	ina	ինա
demonstrative distal SG INS ‘with that yonder’	endʏov	էնդո՛վ

Finally, there are some very common forms (Table 6).

Table 6: Sample of other pronouns in the Mush dialect

‘why’	fiori	յօրի՞
‘other’	le	լէ
‘now’	mka	մկա

After the possessive suffixes, the formative /i/ <ի> is added very often (8).

(8) Mush

ḏz^hi-ér-d-i lav i-n, vré-s-i k-ig^h-a-s

horse-PL-POSS.2SG-? good AUX-3PL, on?-POSS.1SG-? IND-come-TH-2SG

Adjarian did not provide a SEA translation, so the segmentation and glosses are entirely my (unsure) guesses: ‘Your horses are good, you come onto me.’

ճ՛իԷ՛րդի լավ ին, վրէ՛սի կիգ՛աս

16.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

16.3.3.1 Changes in theme vowels and tense-agreement marking

In the conjugation of verbs, the Classical Armenian sounds /e, ē/ <ե, է> have changed to /i/ <ի>, in the present, subjunctive present, future, and present perfect (Table 7).

Table 7: Theme vowel change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
indc. present 1SG 'I like'	kə sir-i-m	կը սիրիմ	gə sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ
indc. present 3SG 'he likes'	kə sir-i-∅	կը սիրի	gə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
indc. present 3PL 'they like'	kə sir-i-n	կը սիրին	gə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	
indc. present 1SG 'I see'	kə tes-n-i-m	կը տեսիմ	gə des-n-e-m	կը տեսեմ
	IND √-VX-TH-AGR		IND √-VX-TH-AGR	
subj. present 1SG '(if) I say'	as-i-m	ասիմ	əs-e-m	ըսեմ
subj. present 1SG '(if) I eat'	ut-i-m	ուտիմ	ud-e-m	ուտեմ
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	
future 1SG 'I will like'	piti sir-i-m	պիտի սիրիմ	bidi sir-e-m	պիտի սիրեմ
future 1SG 'I will bring'	piti b ^h er-i-m	պիտի բ ^h երիմ	bidi p ^h er-e-m	պիտի բերեմ
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-AGR	
present perfect 1SG 'I have seen'	tes-ier i-m	տեսեր իմ	des-ād ^h e-m	տեսած եմ
present perfect 1PL 'we have seen'	tes-ier i-nk ^h	տեսեր ինք	des-ād ^h e-ηk ^h	տեսած ենք
present perfect 2PL 'you have seen'	tes-ier i-k ^h	տեսեր իք	des-ād ^h e-k ^h	տեսած եք
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-RPTCP AUX-AGR	

In the imperfective, the Classical Armenian sound /ē/ <է>, and in some places the sound /i/ <ի>, has been lost (Table 8).⁹

Table 8: Merger of theme vowel /e/ and past marker /i/ the indicative past imperfective in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
1SG 'I would want'	k-uz-i-∅	կուզի	g-uz-ej-i-∅	կ'ուզէի
1PL 'we would come'	kə g ^h -i-nk ^h	կը գ ^h ինք	gu k ^h -aj-i-ηk ^h	կու գայինք
	IND-√-TH.PST-AGR		IND-√-TH.PST-AGR	

⁹[[For the Mush form /kə g^h-i-nk^h/ <կը գ^hինք> 'we were coming', Adjarian reconstructs this from a hypothetical form */kə g-e-i-nk^h/ *<կը գեինք>.]

But because of this change, the present 3SG and imperfective 1SG would have been identical; so to not confuse these words, the plural is used instead of the singular (Table 9).

[[*In other words, while the suffix /-nk^h/ is used to mark only the 1PL in SEA/SWA, this marker is used for the both the 1PL and 1SG in Mush.*]]

Table 9: Use of 1PL markers for the past imperfective 1SG in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
‘I would want’	jjes k-uz-e-nk ^h	յես կուզէս	jes g-uz-ej-i-∅	ես կ’ուզի
	I IND-want-TH.PST-1SG		I IND-want-TH.PST-1SG	
‘we would want’	mənk ^h k-uz-e-nk ^h	մընք կուզէս	menk ^h g-uz-ej-i-ηk ^h	մենք կ’ուզէիս
	we IND-want-TH.PST-1PL		we IND-want-TH.PST-1PL	

In the others, there is a simple distinction between how the vowel of the present is /i/ <ի>, while the vowel of the imperfective is /e/ <է> (Table 10).

[[*I would interpret these facts as stating that the theme vowel is /i/ in the present, while the theme vowel and the past marker are fused as /e/ in the past imperfective. Similarly, the auxiliary is /i/ in the present, but /e/ in the past.*]]

Table 10: Contrast between the present theme vowel /i/ and the past theme vowel /e/ in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
‘(we) are’	i-nk ^h	իսք	e-ηk ^h	էսք
	AUX-1PL		AUX-1PL	
‘(we) were’	e-nk ^h	էսք	ej-i-ηk ^h	էիսք
	AUX.PST-1PL		AUX-PST-1PL	
‘they strike’	kə tsets-i-n	կը ծեծիս	gə dzedz-e-n	կը ծեծեն
	IND strike-TH-3PL		IND strike-TH-3PL	
‘they would strike’	kə tsets-e-n	կը ծեծէս	gə dzedz-ej-i-n	կը ծեծէիս
	IND strike-TH.PST-3PL		IND strike-TH.PST-3PL	
‘they massacre’	kə dʒ ^h ard ^h -i-n	կը ջարդիս	gə f ^h art ^h -e-n	կը ջարդեն
	IND massacre-TH-3PL		IND massacre-TH-3PL	
‘they would strike’	kə dʒ ^h ard ^h -e-n	կը ջարդէս	gə f ^h art ^h -ej-i-n	կը ջարդէիս
	IND massacre-TH.PST-3PL		IND massacre-TH.PST-3PL	

16.3.3.2 Repetition of the auxiliary in the present perfect

Oftentimes in the present perfect, the copular verb is repeated (9).

(9) *Mush*

- a. *fori* i-s *dr-ier* i-s
why AUX-2SG put-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG

‘Why did you put (it)?’¹⁰

յօրի՞ս Իս դրեր Իս

- b. *jérp^h* i-s *ek-ier* i-s
why AUX-2SG come-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG

‘When have you come?’

յէ՞րս Իս էկեր Իս

This is the same as the following forms in the Bayazit subdialect (10).

[[*Note that Adjarian does not transcribe these Bayazit sentences. I instead transcribe them with an SEA accent, meaning I transcribe them according to SEA phonology*]].

(10) Bayazit dialect with SEA pronunciation

- a. *tʃ^h-é-s* *g-a-l-um* e-s
NEG-AUX-2SG come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-2SG

‘You are not coming?’

չէ՞ս գալում էս

- b. *úr* e-s *gən-um* e-s
where AUX-2SG go-IMPF.CVB AUX-2SG

‘Where are you going?’

ու՞ր էս գնում էս

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16.3.3.3 Hortative or imperative marker

The imperative form of Classical Armenian /t^hoɫ/ <թող> ‘leave/let’ ([[SEA: /t^hoʃ/]]) has shortened to /t^həχ/ <թղխ>, and sometimes simply as /t^h/ <թ> (11).

¹⁰[[*Adjarian did not provide a translation. The above translation is my guess, and then corroborated by Vahagn Petrosyan.*]]

(11) Mush

- a. $t^h\chi$ mn- α - \emptyset
 let stay-TH-3SG
 ‘Let him stay!’
 Թիս մնա
- b. $t^h\chi$ as- $\acute{\alpha}$ - \emptyset
 let say-TH-3SG
 ‘Let him say!’
 Թիս ասա՛
- c. $t^h\chi$ ar-n- \acute{e} - \emptyset
 let take-VX-TH-3SG
 ‘Let him take!’
 Թիս առնէ
- d. t^h -ar-n- \acute{e} - \emptyset
 let-take-VX-TH-3SG
 ‘Let him take!’
 Թառնէ՛
- e. t^h -ert^h- $\acute{\alpha}$ - \emptyset
 let-go-TH-3SG
 ‘Let him go!’
 Թէրթա՛

16.3.3.4 Monosyllabic verbs with prothesis

The Classical Armenian monosyllabic verbs /gal, tal, lal/ <գալ, տալ, լալ> have changed (Table 11).

[[*They have taken a prothetic /i./*]]

Table 11: Monosyllabic verbs in the *Mush* dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
‘to come’	ig ^h -a-l	hɑ‘wɪ	k ^h -a-l	ɑwɪ
‘to give’	it-a-l	hɪwɪ	d-a-l	ɪwɪ
‘to cry’	il-a-l	hɪwɪ	l-a-l	ɪwɪ
	√-TH-INF		√-TH-INF	
‘I come’	k-ig ^h -a-m	hɑq‘wɪm	gu-k ^h -a-m	hɪwɪ qwɪm
‘I give’	k-ig ^h -a-m	hɪwɪm	gu-d-a-m	hɪwɪ tɪwɪm
‘I cry’	k-ig ^h -a-m	hɪwɪm	gu-l-a-m	hɪwɪ lɪwɪm
	IND-√-TH-1SG		IND-√-TH-1SG	

16.3.3.5 Causative suffix

The Classical Armenian causative (անցողական) formative /-ets^huts^hanel/ <-եցուցանել> has been shortened to /-ts^hu/ <ցու> or /-u/ <ու> (Table 12, sentences 12). It is conjugated as the fourth conjugation class.

[[To clarify, this causative suffix is /-ts^hən/ in SEA/SWA, and it takes the theme vowel /e/. But in *Mush*, this suffix is /-(ts^h)u/ and is conjugated with a theme vowel /u./]]

Table 12: Causative suffix in the *Mush* dialect in the indicative present

	Mush		cf. SWA	
‘I ask’	kə har-t ^h u-m	կը հարցում	gə har-t ^h ən-e-m	կը հարցնեմ
‘you.SG ask’	kə har-t ^h u-s	կը հարցու	gə har-t ^h ən-e-s	կը հարցնես
‘he asks’	kə har-t ^h u-∅	կը հարցու	gə har-t ^h ən-e-∅	կը հարցնէ
‘we ask’	kə har-t ^h u-nk ^h	կը հարցունք	gə har-t ^h ən-e-ŋk ^h	կը հարցնենք
‘you.PL ask’	kə har-t ^h u-k ^h	կը հարցուք	gə har-t ^h ən-e-k ^h	կը հարցնեք
‘we ask’	kə har-t ^h u-n	կը հարցուն	gə har-t ^h ən-e-n	կը հարցնեն
	IND ask-CAUS-TH-AGR		IND ask-CAUS-TH-AGR	
‘I make swear’	kə hert ^h əv-t ^h u-m	կը հերթըմսում	g-ert ^h v-e-t ^h ən-e-m	կը երդուցնեմ
	IND swear-CAUS-TH-AGR		IND-swear-TH-CAUS-TH-AGR	
‘I remove’	kə ver-u-m	կը վերու	gə ver-t ^h ən-e-m	կը վերցնեմ
‘you.SG remove’	kə ver-u-s	կը վերու	gə ver-t ^h ən-e-s	կը վերցնես
‘he removes’	kə ver-u-∅	կը վերու	gə ver-t ^h ən-e-∅	կը վերցնէ
	IND remove-CAUS-TH-AGR		IND-remove-CAUS-TH-AGR	

(12) Mush

- a. $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\widehat{\text{ə}}\text{-n}$ $\widehat{h}\text{ás-u}$
 NEG-AUX(?)-3PL bring-CAUS.TH
 ‘They won’t deliver’
 չըն հա՛սու
- b. $\widehat{p}t\text{i}$ $\widehat{m}\text{i}\text{e}\text{r}$ $\widehat{m}\text{al}$ $\widehat{p}^h\text{it-t}^h\text{-u-n}$, $\widehat{e}\text{r}^h\text{-}\widehat{\text{a}}\text{-n}$ $\widehat{p}^h\text{it-t}^h\text{-u-n}$
 FUT our ox die-CAUS-TH-3PL, go-TH-3PL die-CAUS-TH-3PL
 ‘They will kill our ox, let them kill (it).’
 պոտի մեր մալ փիսցուն, երթան փիսցուն

16.3.3.6 Past participle

The past participle is formed with the formative /-er/ <եր>. But for passive (կրա-տրակերպ) verbs, the formative /-uk/ <ուկ> is also used.

[[I think Adjarian means that intransitives in general use /-uk/, not just verbs in the passive voice.]]¹¹

Table 13: Past participle suffix /-er, -uk/ in the Mush dialect

	Mush		cf. SWA	
‘died’	$\widehat{m}\text{e}\text{r-uk}$	մերուկ	$\widehat{m}\text{e}\text{r-}\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{z}}$	մերած
‘died’	$\widehat{p}^h\widehat{\text{i}}\widehat{\text{t}}^h\text{-uk}$	փիցուկ	$\widehat{\text{s}}\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{t}}\widehat{\text{k-}}\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{z}}$	սասկած
	$\sqrt{\text{-PERF.CVB}}$		$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP}}$	
‘broken’	$\widehat{k}\text{o}\widehat{\text{t}}\widehat{\text{r-}}\widehat{\text{u}}\widehat{\text{k}}$	կոտրուկ	$\widehat{k}\text{o}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{e}}\widehat{\text{r-v-}}\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{z}}$	կոտրուած
‘written’	$\widehat{g}^h\widehat{\text{r-}}\widehat{\text{u}}\widehat{\text{k}}$	գրուկ	$\widehat{k}^h\widehat{\text{e}}\widehat{\text{r-v-}}\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{z}}$	գրուած
	$\sqrt{\text{-PERF.CVB}}$		$\sqrt{\text{-PASS-RPTCP}}$	

16.4 Literature

For the Mush dialect, there is an extensive study by Mseriants (Мсеріанцъ; [[*modern Russian: Мсеріанцъ*]]) (Мсеріанц 1897, 1901).¹² A summary of the same work

¹¹[[Note that based on Adjarian’s translations to SWA, these past participles seem to function like resultative participles (/– $\widehat{\text{a}}\widehat{\text{d}}\widehat{\text{z}}$ / in SWA), and not perfective converbs (/– $\widehat{\text{e}}\widehat{\text{l}}$ / in SEA). But we cannot be sure because he does not provide complete paradigms or sentences. (?)]]

¹²[[The original title that Adjarian gives is in the pre-revolution Russian orthography: Этюдъ по армянской діалектологіи.]]

is published in French by the same author (Msériantz 1899), and a second in German by L. Patrubàny in his periodical *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, volume 1, page 271-288.

It is surprising that in these works, the two types of groups for voiced consonants is not considered, [[*meaning the literature confuses the four series of consonant voicing*]]. This is something that even a very common ear [[*meaning an untrained ear*]] would have been able to distinguish with little intention [[*or effort*]].

There are various works that are published in the Mush dialect:

[[*I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).*]]

- Literature involving the Mush dialect

- General Mush dialect

- * Паткахов (1875), volume 2, Mush dialect. The same was published in European transcriptions by L. Patrubàny in his periodical *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, 1.241-271
 - * Գ. Վ. Սրուանձտեանց
 - – Գրոց ու բրոց. Պօլիս 1874
 - – Մանանայ. Պօլիս 1876
 - _____ original page number 121 _____
 - – Համով հոտով. Պօլիս
 - – Հանդես թռչնոց. Արեւ. Մամով 1884, page 389-392
 - * Արիստ. վ. Սեդրակեան – Զնար Մշեցոց եւ Վանեցոց. Վղրշապո. 1874
 - * Յ. Ամրիկեանց – Մշու թռչուն օտար երկրում. Կռունկ 1862, page 386-390
 - * Մ. Դանիելեան
 - – Պարերգ, իսաղ, պառաւներու աղօթք. Բիւրակն, 1898, page 313-4
 - – Յակօի վախճանակ կարելը. անդ, 1899, page 329-330
 - * Վ. Արտակ – Պարերգ. անդ, 1900, page 122-3

- * Գ. Տ. Չ. – Կաղ եզը, անդ, page 618
- Bulanik vernacular
 - * ԲենսԷ – Բուլանըխ կամ Հարք գաւառ. Ազգ. հանդ. Ե. page 9-184, 2 page 7-108
 - * Ս. Հայկունի
 - – Ժողովրդական գրականութ. բեկորն. Արրտ. 1896, 556-7
 - – Սոյլամագ խանըմ, Արրա. 1896, 557-560
- Alashkert vernacular
 - * Ս. Հայկունի – Ալաշկերտի հայոց առածները. Արրտ. 1894, page 200, 263-4
 - * Գ. քի. Նժդեհեանց – Ալաշկերտի բանաւոր գրականութիւնից. Ազգ. Հանդ. Ե. 185-199, Է 437-505
- Aparan vernacular
 - * Գարեգին Սարկաւազ – Սասմայ ծռեր. Թիֆլիս 1892
 - * Բ. Խալաթեանց – Իրանի հերոսները հայ ժողովրդի մէջ. Բարիզ 1901, page 24-44, 74-76
- Vernacular of New Bayazet villages
 - * Մենքերիմ Արծրունի – Նոր Պայազիտու գաղթական Սշեցուց կշանդրեքն ու հարսանիքը. Կռունկ 1863, page 385-400
- Sason vernacular
 - * Մ. Մուրատեան
 - – Սասնցոց պարերգ. Բիւրակն 1900, page 121-2
 - – Հանելուկներ եւ պարերգ. անդ, page 470-1
- Paghesh subdialect
 - * Թուխ-Կռպօ
 - – Պարերգ եւն. Բիւրակն, 1898, page 300-301
 - – Սիրաբանութիւն. անդ, page 651-2
- Khouyt vernacular
 - * Չ. Կենճեան – Հարսանեկան պարերգ. Բիւրակն 1898, page 739-741

Besides these, Sarkis Haykuni (Ս. Հայկունի) has published 34 fables in the vernaculars of Arjesh, Artske, Bulanik, Aparan, Bitlis, Alashkert, Khlat, Hınıs, in the էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volumes 2, 4, 5 (Բ. Դ. Ե.; 1901-4), a folk song from Hınıs (*ibid.*, volume 6, 2., page 101), Manazkert (volume 6, 2., page 139). Unfortunately, these do not use scientific orthography.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 210).*]]

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16.5 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.*]]

16.5.1 *Mush* dialect

16.5.1.1 City of *Mush*

Adjarian's note: See Патканов (1875: 6-7).

Սանասուրը նստող էր Սասուն, ուր պապուկ կըռքեր չըն թողի որ ըղի սըթեր ու յէլավ խըստ էրեց ուր պապուն ու մամուն ու գ'նաց Բաղդադ: Ուր պապը նըստող էր փանջարէն, տեսավ որ ուր տղէն Սանասար կիգ'եր. ու ճանչցավ ու ասեց:

– Է՛յ, մեռնիմ քզի մեծ կուռք. ի՛մալ զքո մատաղ քաշիր բ'երիր. յար յէբ' Է մանցը՝ զմըկել լէ կը քաշես բ'երես:

Մամ, չընքի խաչապաշտ էր, նստավ ուր տղէկներն ապով արսունք թափեց:

Պապ առեց թուր ու սուր ու գ'նաց, կանչեց ու ասեց.

– Արի յերթանք, վորթի, յերկըրպաքուրթեն արա մեծ կըռքին, որ զքըզի մատուղն: Ասեց տղէն.

– Աբ'օ՛, քո ճոչ կուռք շատ զօրավոր կուռք Է. գ'իշեր լէ չըր թողնե, որ մենք ընտեղ սըթըրվենք. յար յէբ' Է մանցե՝ չուր մէկել մատաղ լէ կը քաշէ ու կը բ'երէ:

Առավ գտղէն ու մտան կըռքատուն:

Տղէն պապուն ասեց.

– Աբ'օ՛, չէ՞ որ գ'ինաս որ մենք գ'ացինք՝ մենք պստիկ էինք. մենք զքո կռքի զօրուրթեն չընք գ'ինե. դէ՛, դ'ու կզի քո կըռքին յերկրպաքուրթեն տուր, իշեմ իմալ կիտաս, ուսնեմ:

Պապն ասեց. – Հմլա, լա՛օ, ու կգամ յերկրպաքուքեն տըվեց: Տղեն ասեց.

– Աբ՛օ, քո կուռք ի՛նչ գորավոր կուռք էր. օր դ՛ուլ յեբ՛որ կգար, իմ աչքեր մթնեց, թտեսա ի՛մալ էրեցիր: (Չընքի չհասամ օր առչի դրբին գարկեր. մալւնթի կօճկըներ չարձ՛ըկվամ): Ասեց. Ա՛բ՛օ, աբ՛օ, իդա հաղ լէ յերկրպաքուկեն էրէ, տեսնենք ի՞մալ կէնես, օր յես լէ էնեմ:

Ու հեղմ՛ լէ յեբ՛որ կճաւ պապ, տղէն ասեց. «Յա՛ հացն ու գ՛ինի. տերն կէն-թանի». ու գուրզ մի իջ՛ամ, ու գուր պապ խալիֆէն յօթն գ՛ապ գ՛ետին վէ իջ՛ուց: Առեց զգուրզն ու ինգամ մէջ...

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... կըռքերուն, զեմէն լէ ջ՛արդեց, ու առամ զարծըթներ լցեց ուր մալւնթի փէշ ու բերեց տըվեց ուր մամուն ոււ ասեց.

– Մամօ, իդոնք էրէ քըզի զէնաթ:

Մամ լէ կգաւ վըր քիթ ու բ՛երնին, յերկրպաքուքեն էրեց, ու ասեց.

– Գ՛օհանամ քէնէ յերկնի ու յերկրի ստեղծօծ. գ՛ա օր զմը զի ազգատ էրեցիր էն գալըմի ծ՛եռնէն:

Բ՛երեց զՍանասար փսակեց, ու պապու տեղ դ՛րեց վըր թախաթին: Ընի ընդեղ մնաց. դ՛աննանք Աբ՛ամէլիքի վրէն:

16.5.1.2 Village of Karnen in Mush

Adjarian's note: This story was told by my friend Tigran Dimaksian (Տիգրան Դիմաքսեան; [[SEA: /tigran dimak^hsjan/, SWA: /dik^hran t^himak^hsjan/]]) when I was in Paris, and I wrote it down. He ([[meaning Tigran]]) is from the village of Karnen, which is half an hour away from Mush. He was a former student at the Istanbul Getronagan Armenian High School (Կեդրոնական վարժարան). He escaped to Paris from the massacres. The dialect is very close ([[perhaps the SWA?]]), and the narrator is aware of the scientific method; thus he presents the story with a very exact scientific orthography. However, when I was in Etchmiadzin, I learned from many people from Mush that the people of Karnen differ from the city in the pronunciation of the sounds /b g d/ <բ գ դ> and so on. Because of this, perhaps we have the sounds /b g d/ <բ գ դ> against some cases of /p k t/ <պ կ տ>.

– Բ՛արի լր՛ւս քի, ախպեր Թ՛օրօ:

– Վոյ Ասուր խերն ու բ՛արին, Ըռքօ ջան:

– Ի՞մալ իս, ի՞նչ խեր հարցում (հարցուցանեմ) վրետ, վըր ճժերուն:

– Սախ (ողջ) մնաս. Ասված բ՛աշխէ ըզքու գավկըներ. ըմմէն լէ սախ ին. ըզքու ծ՛եռք կը պագ՛ին. Նստի, ա՛խպեր, Նստի. քիչ մը ժըղլիք (խօսի), բ՛ան մ՛ըստ մժուկինք (մտիկ ընել), Ասվածըտ սիրիս. ըզքու էն մեզ գ՛ըլխու գ՛ալիք Նախլ էրէ:

– Հա տօ աղէկ միտկըս բ՛երիր. Նստի ըսիմ:

– Արաբ ասկրի տարին էր. իշով քարվընօվ գախիրա (պարեն) տարեր էնք ասկրին. Էն դ՛իեն օր Էգանք, իմ յընկերներն Բուկանըխցի էն. ուրանց տուն գ՛ա-
ցին. Ես միևնադ յօլ ու ռեվան (ճանապարհուել) Էգա ի Մուշ. յիրգուն էր հասա
Սրէ-Սիփանա տագ. Էփէյի քէլէցի. լուսնյակ թամամ Էլած էր. աստղըներ լէ գը
փէլգըղէն. հագ մ՛ լէ տեսամ օր քուրթ մը յառջ՛եվս յէլավ ու ջղարէ (սիկառ) մ՛
յուզէց. Ես լէ, դ՛ու գինաս օր ջղարա չըմ...

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... քա՛շի. ըսի օր չըկա. քուրթ քաշլէց գօր ընէլ ու ծ՛եռք թալլէց ջերս օր ջղարա
իշէ. Ես լէ ակցի մը սրդին գրգի, Էրսի վրա գ՛եղին յընգավ, ու հըմալ ճըվոցըմ
հանէց օր սար ու ծ՛որ ծ՛են ավէց: Հեղմ՛ լէ ի՞նչ՝ տեսամ օր հինգ հօկի սիլա-
լըխօվ քոու տըզէն (քարի տակէն) դ՛ուրս յէլան ու վրէս վզէցին: Էլ գիցա օր
մէռնէլու յա աբրէլու սըհաթն Է: Աստըծու գօրուտէնօվ ժանգռոդ խանջալըմ կեր
վրէս, գթեվս քշթեցի ու միջ՛վընին յընգա, մէգ Էրգու գ՛եղին շըռճեցի, հըմա դօղո-
րան ըսիմ, Ես լէ քնիմ տեղօվ յարալու Էղա. հմա ախըր ի՛նչ Էնիմ. մէգ մարտ հինգ
մարտու ինչ կըռնա Էնէ. վօր հասըլ (վերջապէս) գիս բ՛ռնեցին, ծ՛եռներս յետեվս
կապէցին, ու սար տարան: Էլ ինչ օր իմ վրէն Էգավ, քու վրէն յիկա Ասու խէրն
ու բ՛արին: Հըրի լուց չարչըրգեցին ու յըմնուց սօրա յուզէցին օր գիս սպանին:
Հմա Սատըծուց Էր, դըհա մէռնէլուս վախտ չըր Է՛գի: Չիս կանգըցին ուրընցնէ
իրեք շէք (քայլ) հեռուն ու գխանջըլներ հանեցին ու ուրանց նստած տեղէն սը-
րըթմանի (շեշտակի) իմ ճըռնէրուն բաշլէցին գըրկել. ու Ես ուրանց գօրօվ մսիս
միճէն խանջալ հանէլօվ ուրանց կիդէնք (<կուտային, իմա՛ կուտայի): Էն սօնը
մէգ լէ գթուր քաշեց ու վրէս Էկավ օր ըգգ՛լուխս կըղրէ. հըմա Աստըծուց Էր,
դ՛իմացէն քընի մ՛ հօկի քըրթէրէն բօռացին. «Տօ՛, դ՛ուք վօ՞րն իք յօդ. ի՞նչ կէ-
նիք»: Քըրթեր չէ «Տօ՛, Էդէք նեճիր Է ընգի ծ՛եռվըներս». ու մըր դ՛ին Էգան: յի-
րարու հետ խօսած վախտ մէզն գ՛ըլուխս լուսնյակին դ՛առցուց ու քըրթէրէն
հարցուց. «Կո՛ւռօ տու Ֆլա՞ ի կուրմանջի (Տղա՛յ, դու հա՞յ Ես թէ քուրդ)»:

– Էգ Ֆլա մէ (Ես հայ եմ):

– So ախպեր դ՛ու հա՞յ իս:

– Հա՛յ իմ խուրբան:

– So գիդի բ՛ըռնէք ըտոնք ըգհայ (կամ արագ խօսած ժամանակ՝ սայ) գը
չարչըրին:

Հրաման տըվէց յընկերներուն ու ըգքըրթեր մէզիգ մէզիգ կարեցիպ, գըթվընք-
ներ առան, ու ծէճէլօվ չարչըրկէլօվ ուրանց գ՛եղ տարան, մուղուռին թասլիմ
Էրին: յետկէն ընճի պատմեցին օր ուրանց կօվեր կօրեր Էն, փընդըռնէլու յէլած
Էն, ու ուրանց ռաստ Էգած:

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16.5.1.3 Bulanik

Adjarian's note: See Ազգագրական Հանդես [*Ethnographic Magazine*], volume 6 (2.), page 12.

Ջ'ախցպան Աղէկ աղլապ (միշտ) խսա կէներ (պատմել), կըսեր յէ ջ'աղացն Էնք, Էն մէկ օր իսկի մարթ չը մնաց մօտսի. հարքէս (ամէն ոք) գաղուն թողեց իմ ումուդով (յուսով), գ'նաց ուր տուն: յանգ'ան գահ էր (ուշ ատեն էր). մէակ նըստուկ Էնք, յէ տեսա դ'օլ ու գուննի ծ'էն Էկավ, դ'առնամ աչքիմ օր 10-20 կնիկ, հաքուկ-խփուկ պար բ'ռնած Էն ու կը խաղան: Յէս տեսա կնիկ մ'Էկավ մըտ ընծի, ըսեց. «Աղէկ, յօրի'ն իս նստի, յէլի խախցի»: Չարեց կտրավ, յէլա բ'ռնի պար ու խախցա. աչքիմ աչքիմ սօ յա, իգա կնկա վրէն իմ քավօրքուր Ա-ի դալմէն Է (գգեստ). յուշիկ մէ գչախուն հանեցի ջեբէս ու գդալմի մէկ փէշ կտրեցի. հըրտ իմ կտրելուն՝ կնկտիք աներեւուք Էղան:

Էն լուսուն գ'ացի քավօրօջ տուն. ըսի ըշտէ իդա գ'իշեր հըմլա հըմլա բ'ան մէ պատահրավ. մարթ չավտըցավ. ըսի «Ձանըմ, յօրի'ն չըք ավտընա. բ'երեք գըավօր քրօջ դալմէն սանք (տեսնանք)». դալմէն օր բ'երին՝ օղորդ օր մէկ փէշ կտրուկ էր. իմ մօտու կտոր լէ այնի (ծիշտ) Էդ դալմի կտօրէն էր:

16.5.1.4 Alashkert

Adjarian's note: See Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ.), page 337.

Քախկի մի մէչ իրեք հատ քօսա կէղնին. Էտոնց սօվօրուտեն լէ Էն էր օր յըմսօր գ'իկէն, ճամպաերու վրէն կը կայնէն օր գ'էղածի – մէղածի ըռաստ յիկեր, խապէն. Էտոնք մախսուս յիրարուց հեռու կը կայնէն՝ օր գ'էղածիք գ'իսէն թէ ջօկ ջօկ մարթիկ ին:

Ավուր մէկ գ'էղածի մի կօվ մի կիտա ուր տղին ու կըսա. – Լա'օ, տար իտա կօվ քաղաք՝ ծախա. հըմա իրեք օսկուց պակաս չէղնի տաս. յընծի օր (ինչու ոք) մեր կօվ համ խօթօտ ա ու համ կաթնօվ:

Էտ տղէն էր, լուսուն շուտ առավ կօվն ու գ'նաց. Էտոնց իդարէն լէ գատի մած (մնացած) էր Էտ կօվ. իսէլ մի գ'նաց, ըռուստ Էկավ յառճի քօսին, օր քախքից դ'ուս կայներ էր:

– Օղուր Էղնի, դ'ո'ր կերտաս. հարծուց քօսէն:

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– Սաղ Էղնիս. կերտամ քաղաք, ըսեց. իմ պապ ընծի ճամպեր ա օր իտա կօվ տանիմ ծախիմ:

Քօսէն կըսա. – Տօ', ի'մալ կօվ. Էտի հօրտիկ ա. հա'յ, մըսի' (մի' ըսեր) կօվ, իըլղ կը ծիծղան քու վրէն. թէ քգի միտք կա ծախելուն յէռսուն խուռուշ կիտամ:

– Ախպեր, դը' գէն գ'նա. չը գ'իսամ դ'ո'լ իս ծուռ, չէ յէս իմ ծուռ՝ իմ վրէն կը ծիծղաս, ըսեց ու քէլեց:

– Հա՛, հա՛, ըսեց քօւեն. չուրի դ՛ու չը տանիս քաղաք, չափտընաս թէ էտի հօրտիկ ա:

16.5.1.5 *Aparan*

Adjarian's note: See Գարեգին Սարկաւազի Սասմայ ծոեր, էջ 14-15.

Ժամանակօվ մէկ թաքավոր կեղնի, անուն ՍԵՆԵՔԵՐԻՄ: ՍԵՆԵՔԵՐԻՄԻՆ Երկու տղա կեղնի, մէկի անուն Սանասար, մէկին Ասլիմէլիք: ՍԵՆԵՔԵՐԻՄ ինք կռապաշտ էր, տղէկներ ասվածապաշտ:

Խօշուն Էրեց ու գ՛նաց Էրուսաղէմա վրէն կռիվ:

Յօթ տարի քախքի բ՛օլոր խօշուն չափընեց նստավ:

Թանգուտեն ընկավ քախքի մէջ. Թաքավորն ուր վագիր: դավրէշ խըլըղի Էղան ու ընգան քաղքի մէջ. Երկու պառվու ռաստ Էկան, տեսան օր իրարու հետ կռիվ կէնին. հարցուցին թէ – յօրի՞ կը կռվիք:

Մէկ պառավ վերցուց թէ՛ Դավրէշ բաբա, թանգուտեն ընգեր ա Երկիր, հացներսի խըլըսեր ա. ընծի տղէ մ՛ ունէնք (ունէի), բ՛երեցի մօրթինք կերանք. մկա Էնի ուր տղէն չբ՛երա մօրթինք ուտինք:

Վերցուց թաքավոր ուր վագիրին ըսեց. – Մեր թաքավօրուտեն իսկի մէկ թաքավօրուտենի չէ:

– Ըբա. ըսեց, ի՞նչ Էնինք, վա՛գիր:

– Յետ դ՛անանք. նստինք մեր թախտի վրէն:

Ու սկսեցին խեր ու խերյաթ Էնել ու պատարաք Էնել. պատարաքն օր Էրեցին պրծան, հրէշտակներ սրօվ, թրօվ իջ՛ան ՍԵՆԵՔԵՐԻՄԻ ասքարի մէջ, ու շ՛արթեցին, ու սպանեցի ու կօտօրեցին:

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16.5.1.6 *Manazkert*

Adjarian's note: See Էմիլեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 7 (2.), page 139.

Հառավել, հառավել, յէշ,

Հառավել, Մուսլօ գոշէշ.

Ձեռսի թալեմ Աստծու փէշ

Սգի ցորեն տա փէշքէշ,

Ծախենք տանք մեր ռեսի բէշ,

Չեղնի ծախին բօզ գոմէշ:

Հէլէլ – մէլէլ շէկ կռտան,

Հօտղներ, քշէք գեդ գութան.

Օրթա հասնինք բրէտան,

Հա՛ մռնիմ քզի, Շէկօ, Կռտան:
 Տղա՛ Մա՛նուկ քշա դէդ եգ,
 Գուժան բանի քանդի սեգ.
 Յորէն եղնի դէգ դէգ,
 Հա մէռնիմ Մանուկին ես:
 Քշա՛ Լաւանդն ու Խնձորօն,
 Հանդա փոխդ բերեց Կարօն,
 Մկա լծինք Շապազն ու Խէրօն:
 Օր դմանհնա մզի ռես Միրօն:
 Տղէք, ձէն հանէք գուժնէն,
 Տաս տուն ա մեր բնատէն.
 Գուժնի ակեր ճըռվըռան,
 Ճըռվըռա, ձէնիդ խուրբան.
 Հան, Խաղօն, Չմօն Էկան,
 Բերին մածնախառ թան,
 Իդ հաղսի կարձկինք գուժան.
 Հա բավէ մըն, հաժավէլ:
 Մատաղ ձգի գմըշտան,
 Կըսեմ հօտղներ Էրթան
 Պաղպաղ ջրով տղէկ հօվցան,
 Լվան, ղըվըռոցուն, արծան:
 Տավար Էկավ, քնուց յէլան,
 Գուժան լծին, խառզան առան:

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16.5.1.7 Himis

Adjarian's note: See Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 4 (Դ.), page 93.

Կեղնի չեղնի իրիկմ ու կնիկ մի, ըգրանց լէ կեղնի տղէ մի. եդ տղէն լէ իսկի բան չգինա. նա կարդալ, նա սանաթ:

Էդ տղէն կը ծռի թաքավորի աղջկա վրէն, կըսէ ուր մամուն.

– Նա՛նէ, գնա ընձի թաքավորի աղջիկ յուզէ:

– Տօ տղա, լա՛օ, քու պապ աղքատ, ավուր հացի կարօտ, մենք յի՞մալ Էրթանք թաքավորի աղջիկ յուզինք. չէ՛, գմզի կը մօրթէն, դու լէ սանաթ մի չգինաս օր ըսիմ, հան տղէս սանաթ մի գինա:

– Չէ՛ նա՛նէ, իլաի օր պտի Էրթաս յուզիս:

յըրկուն օր տղի պապ տուն Էկավ, տղի մամ ըսեց. – Հմլա բան կա. քու տղէն կըսէ գացեք թաքավորի աղջիկ յուզէք:

Chapter 16 *Mush*

Պապ կըսէ. – Տղա լա՛օ, խե՛ղքտի թռուցե՞ր իս:

– Չէ, կեաքէ, կըսէ, պտի էրթաս յուզիս:

Չեղնիր տղի վրէն, կերթա տղի պապ թաքավորի մօտ, թաքավոր կըսէ. –
Ընչի՞ համար իս էկի:

– Թաքավոր ապրած, քու աղջիկ պտի տաս իմ տղին:

– Իմ աղջիկ ի՞մալ տամ քու տղին. քու տղէն սանաթ գինա՞:

– Չէ՛, վոլա (արաբ. Վալլահ), չգինա:

– Գնա, զքու տղէն բի տսնամ:

16.5.1.8 *Sason*

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1900, page 121-122.

Խորոտիկ, օսկի գնտիկ,

Դու գաղջիկ իտաս ինծիկ:

Բարծր Մարաթկի սարեր,

Ամուր կուլէն իւր քարեր,

Խըսմէթ էներ իւր եարեր:

Հընչի ե՞րբ ըսինք գետ բան,

Ինչնենք պաղչան ու սայրան,

Քաղինք գետ մանտրիկ ռեհան,

Տարինք դրինք խորըսթան,

Եղաւ սեւ օծի կըման,

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Խաբերց գվդամ եւ գեւան,

Հանեց դրախտէն անարժան:

Ելաւ, ուրը Հըլպու սաբուն,

Կուլեր գաշուն ու գգարուն:

Բարծր Մարաթկի խաչեր,

Շուրջ ու բոլոր կանաչ էր.

Աշխարհք երկիր կ'աղաչէր,

Խըսմէթ ըներ սեւ աչեր:

Շունշանորդի քօլոսով,

Քու բան ի՞նչ էր մեր դնով.

Կ'ելեմ ըսեմ մեծօրաց,

Ինչնին զարկուն խանջարով:

Չարկին խորոնկ ու զարկին,

Սարեց ելաւ սեւ արուն:

Եարն էր գնաց ջուր մերուն,

Լցես մէջ իւր կժերուն,

Թալեց ուրր իւր թելերուն,
 Թափաւ ուրր իւր փոթերուն,
 Լցուաւ մէջ իւր սօլերուն,
 Շարի շամամ ծծերուն:
 Երցու աղջիկ մեր դուկից.
 Բուռ մը չամիչ կրկմից,
 Պագ մը խաբեց չտուեց:
 Ես գացի Մշու դիմաց,
 Տեսայ դռներ կիսաբաց.
 Մտայ կ'առնէք թաժէ հաց.
 Անտեր շունէն մնացած
 Բերան բացեց զիս խածներ.
 Ընծի ի՞նչ խածիլ պիտեր:
 Ընծի գիրկ ծոցքը պիտեր:
 Դիման Մշու գացեր իմ,
 Լաշփետ Մշէն բերեր իմ,
 Չարկամ վրամ թալեր իմ,
 Եարի դռնէն ընցեր իմ,
 Փէշտիմալ գօտէն փրցեր իմ,
 Սեւ աչուրներ սրբեր իմ:

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16.5.1.9 Khouyt

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1898, page 739.

Ամպն էր երկինք հովն անուշ,
 Սիրականիս քունն անուշ.
 Տարին տասներկու ամիս՝
 Թօռմաւ խնծորն ի գօտիս.
 Խնծորի կէս խածուկ էր,
 Չորս քեօշէն արծթուկ էր.
 Տանիմ իտամ ոսկերիչ,
 Շինէ մատնիք ապրճան,
 Տամ եարոջ՝
 Իր քրոջ:
 Ամպն էր երկինք հովն անուշ՝
 Եար խորոտիկ, պաքն անուշ:
 Տօ՛, տղա՛յ, տղա՛յ, քօլոսով՝
 Մինչ ե՞րբ ընցնիս մեր դրնով.

Չարկինք քեզ խանջար խորուն,
Ելնի քու կարմիր արուն.
Ամպն էր երկինք եւ այլն.
Աղջիկ քու անուն ի՞նչ ա.
Աղջիկ քու անուն Շուշան.
Ելիր երթանք Սուրբ Նշան՝
Օսկի մատնի քեզ նշան.
Հարիր ուզես՝ հազար կիտամ.
Ամպն էր երկինք եւ այլն:
Կես գիշերուն դուրս ելայ.
Մատողաշ ամպիկ մ'եր ելեր,
Դանդաղ ձնիկ մ'եր թալեր,
Բօկիկ հետիկ մ'է գացե.
Առա գհետիկն ու գացի,
Գացի կայնա գըլխընուն:
Վարդեր փըռուկ էր երըսուն,
Երկու ծծի մէջ նշան կեր,
Չոգայ թէ զնչան պաքեք,

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Գլորա զընտան ինկայ,
Կանչի Սուրբ ու Սրբօրեք,
Մէկիկ չեկաւ երեւան,
Սուրբ Սարգիսն էր խորուսան:

16.5.2 *Paghes* subdialect

16.5.2.1 *Paghes*

Adjarian's note: See Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 4 (Դ.), page 93.

– Այ տղա, ես քե, դու ծի:

Աղջիկն ու տղեն սիրեցին իրոր: Աղջկա աչք ճամբախն է օր ուր ախբեր իգա, չտեսնա խավշիկ. իշկեց օր ախբեր գատենց Էկավ, ախջիկ յիմցուց խավշկա: Դողուն առաւ աղվըզու ջան, Էլավ, գնաց, Էլման մտավ ջաղչի քարի տակ: Աղջիկէ ախբերն Էկավ, գատ Էփեցին, կերան, քնան չուր ի լուս: Ախբեր կու կէլի, Էլի գնաց նեջիր. աղվէզ Էլման Էկաւ աղջիկէ մօտ. ուտեն, խմեն, քէյֆ երեցին ուրանց: Մէ ամիս, Էրկու իրեք ընցավ մեշտեղ, աղբեր իշկեց օր քրոջ փոր օր զօր՝ օր զօր կուռի, օր պը զօր միգար կու բանձրնա:

– Զո՛ւրօ, ասաց տղէն. ես տեղ մարդ չկա. եղ յը՛մալ բան ա. կիշկիմ քո մեզար օր պը գօր կու բանծրնա. թէ մարդ ունիս, գաղտուտ կու պէհիս, բե՛ր ես տեղ, աշկարա պսակիմ քու վերէն. հալալ իրիկ կնիկ եղէք, իսան օր կա՛ մեղաց վորդի ա:

– Հավա՛ր, աղբեր, դու եղա խօսք յի՞նչ խօսք ա ձի ասեցիր. ես իմ խօր անվան մօտէն չե՛մ ամջնար օր դու ձի եղ խօսք կասիս. ես եղ բան երո՞ղն իմ:

– Հըպա, քո՛ւրօ, եղ քո միգար յօրի՞ն կը բանծրնա:

– Տախտ կավիլի, նռան խատ մի գտա, թալեցի բերանսի. Էն տեղացէն փորս ուռաւ:

16.5.2.2 Arjesh

Adjarian’s note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ.), page 323.

Ժամանակաց մէկին Հարճէշու մէջ Չիլանսաձոր մէ մարդ մ’կեղի:

Էտ մարդ յէլավ առավ ուր բեռ, գնաց սարի միջու ջաղաջ աղալու. հալա ջաղջի մօտ չը խասեր էր, ջաղջըպան դուս յէլավ, չուան եզնից պրծուց, բեռն խուրճու պէս թալեց ուր շալակ, տարավ ներս:

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Էղ մարդ օր եղ բան տեսավ, շատ վախեցավ, ասեց.

– Վալա, Էսիկ ինձ Էլ կսպանա, բեռն Էլ կուտա, եզն Էլ խետ. ապա ի՞նչ Էնիմ, Աստված, օր Էնպէս ա, ես պտի փախիմ:

Ձաղջպան բեռան բերանը քակեց, ցօրեն լցեց օղունի մէջ, իրիշկեց տեսավ օր բեռն տեր չէկավ, յէլավ դուս, տեսավ օր Էն մարդ կը փախի, բռնաց.

– Տօ՛ աղբեր, մի՛ փախի, արի՛ արի՛:

Էն մարդն Էլ ասաց. – Տօ վալլա, ես քո դուվաթ տեսա, քեզնէ վախեցա, դու քու Աստված. բեռն Էլ քեզի, եզն Էլ քեզի, ինձի բան մ՛ ասեր, ես թօղեմ Էրթամ:

16.5.2.3 Village of Arinjkus in Artske

Adjarian’s note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 4 (Դ.), page 201.

Դավրիշ ձուկ մ՛ կը բերա՛ կուտա պառվուն պախ:

Պառավին Էլ իրեք խատ աղջիկ կեզի:

– Պա՛ռավ, կասա, առ զիմ ձուկ, ամանաթ պախա:

Պառավ կասա. – Խա, կը պախիմ, ամանաթ օր կա՛ դրյամաթ ա:

– Պա՛ռավ, ասաց. յան Էրկու, յան իրեք օրէն կուգյամ:

– Շուտ արի, օր անգյան գյաս, կը նեխի:

Դախրիշ տուեց ձուկ մըտ պառավ պախ, գնաց:

Պառավ ասաց. – Վերցեք ծուկ, պախեք, չեղի զայ էւեք:

Եդա աղջիկներն ա, վերցին եդ ծուկ պախեցին:

Աղջիկներ իշկեցին օր մ' երկու օր դավրիշ չէկավ:

Քշեց չանք ամիս մ' եդ դավրիշ չէկավ:

Պառվու շոջ աղջիկն ա, վերցրուց ուր քուրվըտոց.

– Ա՛ղջի, յէի ծուկ բեր, ուտենք, պաս-ցամաք մեռանք:

– Ա՛ղջի, Եսի ամանաթ ա, ամանաթ օր կա՝ ղըյամաթ ա:

– Էլի՛, բե՛ր, ուտենք, Էսի մօռցեր ա:

Էլան ծուկ բերին, իրեքով Էլ կերան:

Պառավ խաբար չէ աղջիկներ ծուկ կերած Էն:

– Մա՛րե, քու աղջիկ դարվիշի ծուկ կերավ, ասաց պզտի աղջիկ:

– Աղջի, ասաց, դու յօրի՞ն կերար, մենք ի՛նչ ջուղաբ պտի տանք:

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16.5.2.4 Village of Dapavank in Khlata

Adjarian's note: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ.), page 376.

Թաքյավոր մ' կեդի, խետ մէկ լալէ մ'. գելին կերթան կը պտօտեն. Էդա թաքյավոր լէ ըսկի ավլադ ու թավլադ (որդիք) չուներ: Կերթան մէկ դավրեշի մ' ըռաստ կիւզան: Դավրեշ կասա.

– Թաքյավոր ապրած. ես գիտեմ դու ինչի շուռ կիւզաս. տղէ մ' ապօվ շուռ կիւզաս. արի քը մի խնծոր կուտամ, կես դու կեր, կես սուլթան թ՛ուտա. Աստված քը Էրկու տղա կուտա. մէկ տղէն լէ խավլ Էրա օր տաս ձի:

Թաքյավոր խավլ Էրաց, Էլավ գնաց ուր տուն. ինչ որ կես ինք կերավ, կեսն Էտուր Սուլթանին: Ին ամիս, ին դան, ին դազըզա մնաց, թաքյավորի կնիկ պարկյավ, Էբեր շուխթ մ' տղա: Տղէք քօջցան, Էղան տաս տարեկան: Աուր մէկ դավրեշն Էկավ, տեսավ օր Էրկու տղէն հոլ կը խաին. ասաց.

– Կա ու չկա, Էսոնք իմ խնծորի տղէկներն են:

Կանչեց գէն Էրկու տղին. պստիկն չէկավ. շոջն Էբեր, ասաց.

– Արի, Էրթանք, քո խօր տուն տո՛ւր ձի շանց:

Տղէն ընզյավ առջէվ, տարավ, ասաց. – Էսա իմ խօր տուն ա:

Դավրեշ մտավ ինե, տղի խօր տուն սալամըղ կապեցին առէչ, ասաց. – Թաքյավոր ապրած կէնա. դու քո խօսաց տե՞րն ես:

Ասաց. – Խա, ես իմ խօսաց տերն եմ: Բերեց գերկու տղէն կայնեցուց դարվեշի առէչ, ասաց. – Վօ՛ր մէկ կը վերուս, վերցու:

16.5.2.5 Villages of New Bayazet

Adjarian's note: I personally wrote down the samples from the New Bayazet villages during my summer travels in 1907.

16.5.2.5.1 Yeranos village

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Khastur in Alashkert.

Արի էթանք մեր արա ջ'րինք. Խա՛ջօ, գ'նա ջ'ուր բ'ի, արտ ջ'ըրինք, արտն ըռթընա՛: Էթանք չայիր, տեսանք քաղելու չէ՞: Գ'ացինք տեսանք քաղելու չէր: Անծրեվ գ'ա, թըխ երկընցու չայիր, Էն վախտ կը քաղինք: Լա՛օ, դ'ո՞ւ Խս գ'ացեր Խս կերցուցէ չայիր: Հա, յես իմ գ'ացեր իմ կերցուցէ: Օջխար քում, չայիր...

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... քում. տո՛ւրի, տանիմ մէկ լէ կերցում: Օր դու չկերցու, օ՞վ կերցու: Հերու շատ անծրեվ Էկավ, արտերն շատ երկընցան, դա՛ն լէ չբ'ըննից, հաց լէ չէղավ, շախտէն տարավ

* *

Նիկօլա թաքավոր, Ճավճավաց յերանալ առավ Էլլըկ Էկավ Գյօքջէն, հազար ութը հարիր քսանը ութ թվնին. մզի բ'երեց Էստեղ. Ալաշկերտու Խաստուրու բ'երեց. իցա գ'եղ լէ տրվից մզի. օխտ տարի թարխնուրէն տըվից. ծ'զի ասիմ օխտ տարով յետ կապեց մզի խարջ ու խարաջ: Տալիգա մօվոսվ կար. Էկավ Էլլըք պահից. Էտ խարջ կապեց մզիկ, յավալ կապեց մէ մանէթ, երկու երեց, իրեք, Էտեվ չորս, Էտեվ հինգ, Էլավ չանքի հիմի տան գ'լօխ տարեկան տըսնըչորս մանէթ վացցուն կապէկ. Էս սահաթես մընք արքունական խարջ կիտանք: Դ'առնանք մէշեք. մէշեքն երից պօշլի (ռուս. մաքս), առավ միննէ (կամ նաեւ մզնէ՝ ի մէնջ) առաբին հիցցուն. հիմի դ'արծ'ավ փետին, երից մի մանէթ. ծովերէն լէ պօշլի կառնէ հիմի մզնէ:

16.5.2.5.2 Adamxan

– Զզի օր հօքի կեր՝ մկա դ'ոպ շուտ էր մեռէ:

– Օր քօ հօքի Էղնի՞ ընչի՞ մզի կը չարչըրես Էդ դդար. մզի ջ'ուր չս ի՛տա, մեր արտեր ջ'րինք:

– Մեռնիմ Ասծու դիվնին. օր ախաբեր լավ ըլներ՝ մէկ լէ ուրին կըստեղծեր. մկա դ'ու քու ախպօր քանդող Խս:

– Դ'ու փիս մարթ իս. քօ հօրօխբ'ըրտիք զըկեր իս, կօղորդեր իս. կայներ Խս կօրչնըվիս՝ գ'եղօվ Էլ խաբուկ չինք:

– Օր դ'ու լավ Էղներ քու ավպօրտոց հետ՝ քու բ'երան կերյարա չէր ընգէ:

Chapter 16 Mush

- Իմ չընգեր ա, քօս կ'ընգնի:
- Իսա գեղ, ինսա գեղ, հմէն լէ ընձմէ հա՛ճ կէնին. քի պէս դ'ե՛վ մարթ հա՛ճ չէնս:

16.5.2.5.3 Dzoragegh

Յերկրէն օր եկանք առաջ քառասունչորս տուն էնք. հիմի դաֆթրին հարուր քասնը ուր տուն ինք. էտ հողով չինք գյառնա կառավօրվինք. էղէր ինք մկա էրկու հարուր իծծուն...

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... տուն. ապրուստ մի չէղնի. խարջ շատըցե, խարաջ լէ շատըցե. թաքավոր լէ ծով խլէր ա ճ'երնէ մգի. մգի փայ չկա. հարուր սէլ խոտ լէ կը կերցու ճ'ուկ առնող մուշտարի. բիրադի (բուլոր) Յերեվանու, Քյավառա կիգ'ան, յօթն ավուր ճամբախ կիգ'ան, խոտ կը կերցուն, էն հողի խարջ լէ մենք կիտանք. մացեր ինք հէսիր: Մէկ մէկ մարթ լէ թուրքեր կը գ'օղնան տանին սպանին: Մկլօրսի սպանին մէ մարթ, էլ մի' հարցու: Թաքավոր գմմէն լէ քրթերուն, հայերուն փարա տըվեր է, մգի չի' իտա: Հերու անուն մեր գեղ հաց չէ էկե. տեղ սար է. մրսեր, ցուրտ տարեր է. ժանգ լէ գարկեր է. սկի պտուղ չինք ստացե'ր ի:

16.5.2.5.4 Tsakkar

Մգի ճավճավ յերանալը բերեց էս գեղը. օխտը տարի խարջը չառա՛վ. յետօ դ'ար- ճ'ավ առա՛վ տարին մէ մանէթ էրկու մանէթ, իրեք, չորս, խինքգ մանէթ. մկա լէ կառնի 14 մանէթ տնական: Ծօվերէն մգի գրկիր ի. ջ'ախջ'ընէրէն լէ կառնի փող, էրկու անգ'ամ, համ գըլղին, համ դախօդ: Էլման մէշէնէրէն մգի գրկիր ի. մէկ փետ մգի վրա էրիր ի խինգ մանէթ. խաց լէ չէկավ. քամին քաշեց. հիմի չինք կառնա մըր աղէկներ պահինք. անձրե՛վ չի գ'ա. չորուբէն տվիր ի մր վրէն: Արագա ափներու թուրքեր էկած ին մր չայիրներ, մըր արտեր կերցուցած ին. մգի սեղուբէն կիտան. կիգ'ան մգի վրա, մըր չայիր կը կերցուն, մգի գիւլլօվ կը զանին:

16.5.2.5.5 Gölköy

Ահմէտ ադի գ'եղ մեր քյաֆշնի կից, Աթաշ` Էլման քուրթի գ'եղ ա. մեր սար կը կերցուն, մեր մալ կը գ'օղնան տանին: Հո՛ւ կը վախէնանք. թվանք չունինք օր էրթանք կռիվ էնին, զընդոնց սպանինք, հո՛ւ հո՛ւ: Թուրքն օխտ ավուր ճամբախ կիգ'ա մեր մալի արօտ կը կերցու. մեր պապական մուլք` օր Ալաշկերտու էկեր ինք, մեր ճ'երնէն դլած ա. մկա մեր մալ կը փիտնա. մեր մալի խաթեր գ'ացեր ինք, առեր ինք. յօրէն հինգ կռիվ կէնինք. չընք իշխընա մօտէնանք: Թվանք օր էղնի` մենք ընդոնց սկի չընք հաշվի մարթ. հմա օր չկա... կը վախէնանք կը փախնինք: Տարեկան մգնէ տասը մալ դլին տանին. քսան հատ լէ օչխար...

... կը տանին: Հաց օր չունինք. ճժեր լէ անօթնէ է օր մէկ կը մեռնին. լայլաց ինք: Մեր ծով լէ մեր ծ'եռնէն առած ա. մզի լէ փարա չկա օր գ'անգատ էնինք: Գ'անգատ լէ էրեր ինք, չըն հա'սու (ոչ հասուցանեն): յերեվընցին կիզ'ա մեր արտեր կը կերցու. օր էրթանք ընդոնց տավրին լէ մօտէնանք՝ մզի կը զարկին կսպանին. ծովը մերն ա կըսին. էրկու վերստ տեղ ծօվու բ'երնէն չուր էլի վեր՝ մզի կը հասնի:

16.5.2.5.6 Upper Adyaman

Յէս իդա տեղաց ախջ'իկն իմ. իդա տեղաց լէ հարսն իմ. իդա տեղ լէ կարքովեր իմ. իմ անուն լէ Սանամ. օր էղեր իմ Չաչանա տարվա ճիժն իմ. ս'կտ լէ ծերացեր իմ. էլ մկա չմ կառնա բ'անի գ'օրծի էղնի. մարթ պտի օր ընծի պահա. էլ ի'մալ ապրիմ օր ինծ ապրուստ չէղնի՝ չուր օրիկն ի մահուն: Մեր լէզուն էղմալ ա: Իմ մարթ վըր ընծի տըմնըհինգ տարի կեղնի օր մեծ ա: Դէ, յես ի'նչ գ'ինամ օր գ'ալու ժամանակն չուրի Չաչանա կռիվ՝ ինչ խդար կը քաշա. չմ գ'ինա: Իմալ օր ռուսն էկէ Ալաշկերտ, հօնգուց օր բ'արծ'ած էկած իդա տեղ, յես ի'նչ գ'ինամ ի'նչ խդար ժամանակ կը քաշա օր Չաչանա կռիվ էղնի. մըտ (մօտ) ընծի յատնի չէ: Խօ իմ գ'լօխ լէ չմ կա'պի էդա սուն. բէքի լուսուն լէ մեռա: թըխ իմ անուն լէ մնա ախշըրքի էրես, թէ լալ թէ վատ իմ անուն լէ թըխ մնա մըչ ախշըրքին:

* *

- Դ'ո'ր կերթաս:
- Կերթամ յարտ:
- Էն մարթ Էն տղին կը խանչա. յօրի' կը խանչա. ի'նչ կըսա՝ ընծի թըխ ասա. Էստեղէն յես կը լսիմ:

16.5.2.5.7 Lower Karanlug

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Mangasar of Nahen.

- Օ'նօ, յո'լստ գ'ուզ'աս, դ'ո'ր կերթաս:
- Տնէն կիզ'ամ:
- Օ'նօ, դ'ու կյաննա'ս մեր խին խօսքերով ասես. թօխ Էս պարօն գ'րի:

- Գօ յես խալիվօրսեր իմ. էլ չեմ կյաննա բ'ան ասեմ:
- Ընչի' չես կյաննա. հալա դ'ու շատ կապրիս:
- Խօսքըս չընցնի. խարսի կուշտ խօսքըս չընցի. աղի կուշտ չընցի. ժամա- նակս անց կեցեր ա. գօ խօսքս օր տուն չըՋցավ՝ գ'եղի մէջ էլ սկի չընցի: Մէ վախտ օր կելինք տանիս կը բօռինք «տղա՛, արի դ'աս», մէկի տեղ սաաղ գ'եղ

Chapter 16 Mush

ժողընվին կը գ'ին: Մկա իմ տղին էլ կանչեմ, կ'ասեմ մէ թաս ջ'ուր տու, էլ չի ուզա գ'ալ մըտ ընծի:

16.5.2.5.8 Avdalaghalu

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Kūpkıran that is near Mangasar.

Մենք Զօփղոռանա Էկեր Էնք Էստեղ. նեղութեի խամար Էնք Էկը. զօ Էստեղ շԷսլոք Էնք շիքե: Մընք Էկանք՝ Ավդալ աղան Էր Էս գ'եղացի. քուրթ Էր ինք. Էնի քօչեց գ'նաց. մենք իկանք նստանք Էստեղ, առու խանեցինք: Իմալ օր Մանկա-սարցու լեզուն ա, Էդմալ էլ զօ մեր լեզուն ա: Մենք ու Մանկասարցիք ինտութի դ'ըրկից Էնք: Գօ ինոնք Էմալ օր Էնդեղ ին նստած, մենք էլ Էնդոնց կշտի խետ Էստեղն Էնք նստած:

16.5.2.5.9 Alikrykh

Մեր գ'եղացիք գ'նացինք նաչալնիկի մօտ. ասաց. դիվան կուզեմ: Էլավ Էկավ թալեց ճպօտի տակ, Էտոր լավ ջ'արդ'եց. խօնջան կըտրավ. օր կտրավ՝ խեյքը գ'նաց. քթեն խեղեղի պես արուն պրծավ, լեզես. տեսանք օր խեյքը գ'ացեր ա, խօղաթըթախ ուր առանք գ'ացինք յախբ'ուր. Էդ յախբ'րի դ'եմ ջ'ուր թալինք վրեն. ջ'ուր գ'նաց գ'նաց, աչքեր բ'ացեց, սեվ սիվտակը դ'եղնավ: Նոր վերցինք դ'րեցինք ձ'իյանքնէրու վրեն, առանք Էկանք զօ մեր տուն: Տեր Մարգ'արն օրենքեց, մնաց յօթն օր՝ ութն օր, գ'երընդ'ին դ'ըրեց վըր թեվին, գ'նաց բիար (քաղե-լու). խզլարմամասի քաղեց, Էրկու օր քաշեց, մըչ բիարին մեռավ: Մկա քեզնէ ու ձ'եզնէ կը խարցում. սուչ վի'ր կ'եղի:

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- Է՛, դ'աս արի, դ'ո'ր կ'եթաս. կայնէ յես էլ գ'ամ:
- Վռագցեր իմ. յես զօ բ'ան ունիմ, կը վազիմ կ'եթամ. Էն տղէյներ գ'նացին. անգաջ չեն Էնէ. Էտոնց պիտի խասնիմ, գ'ինա'ս:

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16.5.2.5.10 Zolakhach

Adjarian's note: Migrated largely from the village of Ziro and from Hamur.

- Մէլքոն, խին բ'անէրուց գրուցա, վարժապետ թօղ գ'րա:
- Տօ չմ գ'ինա ինչ պատմեմ. մեր պապեր Էկած ին Էստեղ. թուրք Էր նստուկ. թուրքէրուն խանեցին տարան Մագրի մահալ, մենք մացինք Էստեղ:
- յո'ւստ գ'աս:
- Տնէն:

- Էդ օծլուշաղի խետ ի՛նչ կը գրուցիր:
- Սկի. կասի քի մէ փարչ Քոլաղոռանա բ'երած Մարգ'արի տուն. մկա կուզեմ չի իտան. կասեմ յօրի՞ չս իտա. կասեն ձ'եզի պէտք ա, մեզի էլ պէտք ա: Դէ, էստող գ'րա. էսքան բօ՛լ ա: Կուզես ուրիշ բ'ան էլ ասեմ: Մեր կանամի խամող (անջուր) ա. ջ'ուր կուզեմ, չն ի տա. Խաչօի մօտէն գ'նացի ուզեցի՝ չտվեց, քֆրեց, ասաց չմ ի տա. յօրի՞ Էս էկե վըր իմ ջ'րին:

16.5.2.5.11 Lower Gyuzeldara

Adjarian's note: Migrated from Nahen, Gulasor, Ulikend, Kumlubucak, and Leter.

- Տղա՛, դ'ո՞ր կերթաս. դ'նա դանչա խսամի Ավօյին գ'ան:
- Բ'արիրիկուն, խեր ա. ընչի՞ Էս դանչէ, խսամի:
- Էրթանք մեր տղին ախջ'իկ ուզենք:
- Ասված աջ'օղա:
- Էլան գ'նացին հարեվանի տուն:
- Բ'արի յիրիկուն. բ'արօժ էկաք. Նստեք. խեր ա Էս վախտ ձ'եր գ'ալ:
- Խեր ա, փառք Աստուծու. դ'ու ընծնից խարցու. Էկեր Էնք բ'արեկամութեն կը ինդ'րենք. ախջ'իկդ տու մեր տղին: Քեզնէ լավ մարդ՝ չենք կառնա դ'ըտնի:
- Դէ վօր Էդմալ ա, ձ'եռդ բ'ե պաչեմ:
- Տղա՛, բուտուկեք դ'րեք, քեֆ անենք:

16.5.2.5.12 Upper Gyuzeldara

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Iritsu, from the village of Vanki, from Korun, from Musun, and from Ardzap.

ժօղվեր ինք, ըսեցինք. արեք Էրթանք զօզան. կէս մ'ըսին չենք իգ'ա, կէս մ'ըսին կիգ'անք. յես լէ ինադ Էրեցի, ըսի կերթամ: ...

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Մկա կըսեմ թէ չերթամ. մեր կընկըտիք լէ խայիլ չեն. կըսին մենք չկրնանք Էրթանք, չընք Է՛րթա սար բեր. չընք կառնա, հեռուն ա ճամբախ. օխչար կթինք ու բ'երինք հա Էդա տե՞ղ: Մկա կըսեն. բ'արձ'ենք մեր տներ՝ Էրթանք մեր զօզանատեղ. Էն վախտ մզիկ ըռահաթ կեղնի. մէ ամիս Էրկու կը մնանք Էնդէս, Էրկու ամսով յէսօ կիջ'նենք կիգ'անք մեր գ'եղ:

16.5.2.5.13 Zaghala

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Yoncali in Mush.

Յէս ըսեցի. տերտեր, արի Էրթանք սար, քօյիկըմ ծածկա, մանինք մէչ: Վո՞ր տեղ Էրթանք. խերու գ'ացինք Ներքի-Խարակուղի սար. Էս տարի՞ դ'ո՞ր Էրթանք: Տերտերն ասաց. արի, ըս տարի լէ Էրթանք Վերի-Գօզալդարա. մեզի

կըսեն Էստեղ խօսվ ա. Էս տեղաց մարթ լավ ա, աղէկ ա. մեր յերկրի մարթ ա. Էնդոք լէ մեր յերկրեն էլ Էկե. ինչքան չէրի մեր պատիվ կը պախտեն. մեզի լավ աչքօվ կիշկեն: Խոտ լէ ասուօվ ա. կըսեն յեղ լէ շատ կեղնի: Մկա տերտեր ընծի բ՛երեր ա Էստեղ, ինք լէ թօրկէ գ՛ացե:

16.5.3 Note on migration

Note: Of the remaining villages of New Bayazet, the Mush dialect is also found in Upper and Lower Kyolaghran, Lower Aluchalu and Gedakbulag. Kyolaghran migrated from Nahen, Yoncalı and Krakom; Aluchalu migrated from the Bayazit village of Çakırbey, from Van and Maku; while the people of Gedakbulag came from Leter, Mush and Khlat.

The three have the sound /χ/ <խ> instead of /h/ <հ>, and the conjunction /le/ <լէ> instead of /al/ <ալ> ‘also’. They use the present forms listed in Table 14.

Table 14: Monosyllabic verbs in villages of the Mush dialect

	Mush villages		cf. SWA	
‘I come’	k-ig ^h -a-m	կիգ՛ամ	gu-k ^h -a-m	կոԼ գամ
‘you.SG come’	k-ig ^h -a-s	կիգ՛աս	gu-d-a-s	կոԼ գաս
‘he comes’	k-ig ^h -a-n	կիգ՛ան	gu-l-a-n	կոԼ գան
‘I give’	k-it-a-m	կիտամ	gu-d-a-m	կոԼ տամ
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	

The copular verb in the present 3SG is /a/ <ա> ‘is’.

The first conjugation class ends in /il/ <իլ> (Table 15).

Table 15: Verbs with /-il/ in villages of the Mush dialect

	Mush villages		cf. SWA	
‘they drink’	kə χm-i-n	կը խմին	gə χəm-e-n	կը խմեն
	IND √-TH-3PL		IND √-TH-3PL	

The ablative case uses the formative /-en/ <էս>, but the formative /-its^h/ <ից> is also used.

The village of Tüskülü migrated from the Arjesh villages of Gandzak, Zirekli, and the Mush villages of Hadgon, Eretepe, Mollakent; it sufficiently differs from the others because, like Julfa, it uses the copular verb with the vowel /a/ <ա>.

(13) Mush villages

- a. b^her-ier a
bring-PERF.CV B AUX
'He has brought.'
բ'երեր ա
- b. g^hats^h-ats a-n
go-RPTCP AUX-3PL
'They have gone.'
գ'ացած աւ
- c. ar^h-a-nk^h
go-TH-1PL
'We go (subjunctive).'
արթաւք

Besides these, it has the sound /h/ <h> instead of /χ/ <խ>; while its ablative is /-en/ <էւ> and /-its^h/ <ից>. For the remaining points, they are the same as the last branch of Mush.

Chapter 17

Van

17.1 Background

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The dialect of Van is spoken on the entire eastern shore of the Van sea. Its center is the great city of Van and its multiple surrounding Armenian villages. It spreads in the north until Diyadin, the western side of Bayazit, in the south to Moks, Vozim, Shatakh and Aghbak or Başkale, in the east until the border of Persia, and in the west it scratches the borders of the Mush dialect. As of now, the dialect of Van (especially the Moks subdialect) is the southern border-line of the Armenian language, beyond which the Armenians are Kurdish-speaking or Arabic-speaking. During the time of the last Russo-Turkish war, a large number of Armenians from Diyadin migrated to the Caucasus, where they built the village of Basargechar on the south-eastern banks of the Sevan sea. Now, in that same region, it is a great and rich town (աււսւ), and has essentially taken the image of a city.

17.2 Phonology

17.2.1 Segment inventory

The sound system of the Van dialect contains 46 sounds, which are divided as follows.

There are 12 vowels (Table 1).

Table 1: Vowels of the Van dialect

/i/ <ɨ>	/y/ <ɨɮ>	/u/ <nɮ>
/je/ <ɛ>	/œɹ/ <ɛ̀ɔ>	/ɯo/ <n>
/e/ <ɛ>	/œ/ <ɛo>	/ə/ <ɹ>
/æ/ <ɯi>		/ɑ/ <ɯ>

It has 34 consonants (Table 2).

Table 2: Consonants of the Van dialect

	Labial			Coronal			Dorsal/Back		
Stops	/b/	/p/	/pʰ/	/d/	/t/	/tʰ/	/g/	/k/	/kʰ/
	<ɸ>	<ɯ>	<ɸʰ>	<ɹ>	<ɯn>	<ɸə>	<q>	<ɮ>	<ɹɹ>
							/gʲ/	/kʲ/	/kʰʲ/
							<qɰ>	<ɮɰ>	<ɹɰ>
Affricates				/dʒ/	/ts/	/tsʰ/			
				<ɔ>	<ɔ>	<g>			
				/dʒ/	/tʃ/	/tʃʰ/			
				<ɹ>	<ɔ>	<ɹ>			
Fricatives	/f/	/v/		/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/z/	/χ/	/ʁ/
	<ɸ>	<ɮ>		<u>	<q>	<ɹ>	<ɔ>	<ɮu>	<ɹ>
									/h/
									<h>
									/ç/
									<ɸɰ>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/		/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/		
	<ɮ>	<ɮ>		<ɹ>	<n>	<ɮ>	<ɰ>		

Among the vowels, the sounds /je, ɯo, œɹ/ <ɛ, n, ɛ̀ɔ> are notable. The first two are the same as the sounds /je, ɯo/ <ɛ, n> for the people of Mush or rural Karin; but they are not as heavy and slow as them, but are pronounced faster. The sound <ɛ̀ɔ> is pronounced also like the sequence <ɛoɹ> (Adjarian: <öə>, IPA: /œɹ/), but faster and it can be considered a diphthong.

17.2.2 Sound changes

For sound changes, the following are the most significant facts.

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17.2.2.1 Monophthong vowels

17.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ>

Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> remains /a/ <ւ>. In the Van dialect, especially under stress, this vowel is pronounced closed, almost like the <a> vowel of the English word <all>.¹

In many places it is changed to /æ/ <ւ̄>, but there is no general rule for this. What is clear is only that after the sound /v/ <վ>, it always changes to /æ/ <ւ̄>, and even in the name of the city ‘Van’ (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /æ/ <ւ̄> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘fear’	vax	վախ	væx	վա̄խ	vax	վախ
‘to wash’	lvanal	լուանալ	lvæl, vlæl	լվա̄լ, վա̄լ	ləvanal, ləval	լվանալ, ւվալ
‘wheat-meal’	ḏzawar	ծաւար	tsævæɾ	ծա̄վա̄ր	ḏzavar	ծավար
‘to run’	vazel	վազել	væzjel	վա̄զել	vazel	վազել
‘tomorrow’	vał	վաղ	væɬ	վա̄ղ	vax-ə (-DEF)	վաղը
‘curtain’	varagojr	վարագոյր	væɾækʰur	վա̄րա̄ւյրու	varakʰujr	վարագոյր
‘vardapet’	vardapet	վարդապետ	væɾtæpjɛt	վա̄րտա̄պետ	vartʰapet	վարդապետ
‘fee’	vardz-(ə?)kʰ (-PL)	վարծք	væɾtsʰkʰ	վա̄րցք	vartsʰkʰ	վարծք
‘Van’	van	Վան	væn	Վա̄ն	van	Վան

In very few cases, the Classical Armenian vowel /a/ <ւ> also changes to /e, ie, je, i, œ, ɣ, o, ə/ <է, յէ, յե, ի, եօ, իւ, օ, ղ>. Such words are few; they are the result of exceptional phonetic rules.

17.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <է>

In Van, Classical Armenian /e/ <է> has changed to /jje/ <յէ> in the beginning of monosyllabic words. At the beginning of polysyllabic words, it can turn to /jje/ <յէ> or /e/ <է> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <է> to /jje, e/ <յէ, է> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘thirty’	eresun	երեսուն	jjersun	յեսուն	jeresun	երեսուն
‘iron’	erkatʰ	երկաթ	erkatʰ	երկաթ	jerkatʰ	երկաթ

¹[[The prose is unclear, but I think Adjarian means that that this vowel is rounded. (?)]]

Chapter 17 Van

For words with a repeated Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>, some now have /i/ <ի> (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from repeated Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք	iriek ^h ⁱ	իրեք	jerek ^h	երեք
‘to cook’	ep ^h el	եփել	ip ^h iel	իփել	jep ^h el	եփել
‘face’	eres	երես	iries	իրես	jeres	երես
‘evening’	erekoj	երեկոյ	irikun	իրիկուն	jereko	երեկո

In the final syllable, the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> becomes /j̥e/ <ե> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from final Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /j̥e/ <ե> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘friend’	ənker	ընկեր	ing ^{j̥} ier	իւոյեր	ənker	ընկեր

Word-medial /e/ <ե> changes to /e/ <ե> or /j̥e/ <ե> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from word-medial Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /e, j̥e/ <ե, ե> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	peran	պերան	beran	բերան
‘ground’	getin	գետին	k ^{j̥} ietin	կյետին	getin	գետին

The latter sound change in particular is the opposite from the Mush dialect, where the sounds /j̥e/ <ե> or /j̥o/ <ո> can exist only in the final syllable according to Mserian (Ստերեան).

17.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /ē/ <ե> always changes to /e/ <ե>. It changes to /i/ <ի> only in the words in Table 8.

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /e/ <է> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘gum’	χēz	իւեժ	չիz	իւիժ	չեz	իւեժ
‘Sunday’	kirakē,	կիրակէ,	kiraki	կիրակի	kiraki	կիրակի
	kiurakē	կիւրակէ				

17.2.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

The Classical Armenian sound /i/ <ի> is usually preserved, but it has become /e/ <է> in a few words, as well as /j̄e/ <յէ> or /y/ <իւ> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, e, j̄e, y/ <ի, է, ե, իւ> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘nine’	inən	ինն	in	ին	inən	ինն
‘fifty’	jisun	յիսուն	isun	իսուն	hisun	հիսուն
‘bed’	ankōlin	անկողին	g ⁱ oʁvenk ^{hi}	գյօղվէնք	ɑŋkōʁin	անկողին
‘poop’	tsirt	ծիրտ	tsj̄ert	ծեռտ	tsirt, tsert	ծիրտ, ծեռտ
‘balance’	kəfir-k ^h (-PL)	կշիռք	kəfj̄erk ^{hi}	կըշեռք	kəfir ^h	կշիռք
‘other’	urif	ուրիշ	yrʃ	իւրիւշ	urif	ուրիշ

17.2.2.1.5 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> changes to /v̄uo/ <վո> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, to /v̄uo/ <վո> in the beginning of a large number of polysyllabic words, and in some places to /o/ <ո> (Table 10).²

²[[The reconstructed ancestor for ‘widow’ is my own.]]

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /v̄uo, o/ <վո, օ> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘resentment’	օչ	ոխ	v̄uoչ	վոխ	voչ	ոխ
‘who’	օվ	ով	v̄uօվ	վով	ov	ով
‘male’	ordz	որձ	v̄uօrts	վոոց	vorts ^h	որձ
‘gold’	oski	ոսկի	v̄uoski	վոսկի	voski	ոսկի
‘widow’	*orbewɑ̄iri	*որբեւայրի	v̄uօrբօeveri	վոռւեօվերի	vor ^h evɑ̄iri	որբեւայրի
‘to inundate’	ołotel	օղօղել	օvօx̄iel	օղօղել	vօvօx̄el	ողողել
‘to take pity on’	ołormil	ողորմիլ	օvօrm̄iel	օղորմել	vօvօrmel	ողորմել

We have individual examples of changes to /u, œ/ <nԼ, Էօ> (Table 11).

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /u, œ/ <nԼ, Էօ> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘bone’	oskær	ոսկր	usk̄uօr	ուսկոռ	vօskor	ոսկոր
‘to twist’	olorel	օլորել	œlœrījel	ԷլԷօրել	volorel	օլորել

Word-medially, most of the time, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> becomes /v̄uo/ <n>, in both the final and pre-final syllables. But there are many examples where it has also changed to /o, œ̄, œ, u/ <օ, Էօ, Էօ, nԼ> (Table 12). The sound /œ̄/ <Էօ> occurs only in the final syllable.

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /o, œ, œɜ, u/ <o, tò, to, nL> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘gray-haired’	alewor	ալեւոր	χalivɔor	խալիվոր	alevor	ալևոր
‘leaven (CA); dough (SEA)’	χəmor	խմոր	χəmuor	խըմոր	χəmor	խմոր
‘earth’	hoʃ	հող	χuɔɔ	խող	hoɔ	հող
‘wheat’	ts ^h oɾɛan	ցորեան	ts ^h uoren	ցորեն	ts ^h oren	ցորեն
‘flour of parched corn’	p ^h oxind	փոխիսն	p ^h uoxind	փոխիսն	p ^h oxind	փոխիսն
‘prostitute’	boz	բոզ	pœɜz	պեծզ	boz	բոզ
‘work’	gorts	գործ	k ^l œɜrts	կյեծոծ	gorts	գործ
‘frog’	gort	գորտ	k ^l œɜrt	կյեծոտ	gort	գորտ
‘to assemble’	zoʃovel	ժողովել	zoɔvɛl	ժողվել	zoɔovel, zoɔvel	ժողովել, ժողվել
‘to bathe’	loganal	լոգանալ	loɣknal	լոխկնալ	loganal	լոգանալ
‘shepherd’	hoviɥ	հովիւ	χoviv	խովիվ	hoviv	հովիվ
‘rooster’	ak ^h aʃaʃ	աքաղաղ	ahlœr	ահլեօր	ak ^h lor	աքլոր
‘buffalo’	gomēf	գոմէշ	g ^l œmef	գյեօմէշ	gomef	գոմէշ
‘madder’	torón	տորոն	turun	տուրոն	torón	տորոն

17.2.2.1.6 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Before a consonant, the Classical Armenian sound /u/ <nL> remained /u/ <nL> at the beginning of words, to /u/ <nL> or /ɣ/ <ɦL> in the middle or end of words. While before a vowel, it is always /v/ <վ> (Table 13).

Table 13: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u, ɣ, v/ <nL, ɦL, վ> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘camel’	uʃt	ուղտ	uɣt	ուղտ	uɣt	ուղտ
‘cold’	ts ^h urt	ցուրտ	ts ^h urt	ցուռտ	ts ^h urt	ցուրտ
‘snow-storm’	buk ^h	բուք	pɣk ^h	պիլք	buk ^h	բուք
‘spring’	garun	գարուն	k ^l ærvn	կյանրին	garun	գարուն
‘you.SG.NOM’	du	դու	tɣ	տիւ	du	դու
‘mulberry’	t ^h ut ^h	թուփ	t ^h ɣt ^h	թիւփ	t ^h ut ^h	թուփ
‘tongue’	lezu	լեզու	lezɣ	լեզիւ	lezu	լեզու
‘flea’	lu	լու	lɣ	լիւ	lu	լու
‘to wash’	lɥanal	լուանալ	ləvæʃ, vəlæʃ	լըվանի, վըլանի	ləvanal, ləval	լվանալ, վլալ

17.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

In diphthongs, we note the following sound changes.

17.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ωj>

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <ωj> changes to /e/ <է> next to a consonant; but when the next syllable has the vowel /i/ <ի>, the diphthong ^{*}/ɑj/ <ωj> also becomes /i/ <ի>. Before vowels, /ɑj/ <ωj> remains /ɑj/ <ωj>. At the end of words, it becomes /ɑ/ <ω>; it is deleted when declined (Table 14).

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ωj> to /e, i, aj, ɑ/ <է, ի, ωj, ω> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hɑjr	հայր	χer	խեր	hajr	հայր
‘shine’	p ^h ɑjɫ	փայլ	p ^h elk ^h	փեղք	p ^h ajɫ	փայլ
‘to walk’	k ^h ɑjɫel	քայլել	k ^h eljel	քյելել	k ^h ajɫel	քայլել
‘wide’	lɑjn	լայն	len	լեն	lajn	լայն
‘vineyard’	ɑjgi	այգի	ik ⁱ	իկյի	ajgi	այգի
‘man’	ɑjr	այր	irik	իրիկ	ajr, erik	այր, էրիկ
‘to burn’	ɑjrel	այրել	irits ^h iel	իրիցել	ajrel	այրել
‘mirror’	hajeli	հայելի	χajlik	խայլիկ	hajeli	հայելի
‘tin’	kəɫajek	կլայել	kəɫajjek	կըլայել	kəɫajek	կլայել
‘trivet’	kaskarɑj	կասկարայ	kaskara	կասկարա	kaskara	կասկարա

17.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʉ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iʉ/ <իւ> became /iv/ <իվ> before vowels or at the end of words (Table 15a). Before consonants, we find the sounds /ɣ, u/ <իւ, ու>, and in some places /i, jɛ, o/ <ի, ե, ո> (Table 15b).

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /iv, ʏ, u, i, ɛ, o/ <իվ, իւ, ու, ի, Է, օ> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
a. ‘sick’	hiwand	հիւանդ	χivand	իիվանդ	hivand	հիվանդ
‘shepherd’	hoviʷ	հովիւ	χoviv	իօվիվ	hoviv	հովիվ
b. ‘flour’	aliʷ	ալիւր	ælyr	անիւր	aljʷr	այլուր
‘fountain’	ɑʷbiʷr	աղբիւր	æχpʷr	անիսպիւր	ɑχpʷjʷr	աղբյուր
‘self’	iʷr	իւր	ur	ուր	jʷr	յուր
‘bodkin’	heriʷn	հերիւն	χirun	իիրուն	herjʷn	հերյուն
‘carpenter’	hiʷsən	հիւսն	χus	իուսն	hʷjʷsən	հյուսն
‘branch’	tʃiʷt	ծիւղ	tʃoʷ	ճօղ	tʃjʷoʷ	ճյուղ
‘village’	giʷt	գիւղ	kʷiʷeʷ	կյեղ	gʷjʷeʷ	գյուղ
‘brick’	ɑʷiʷs	աղիւս	oʷis	օղիս	ɑʷjʷs	աղյուս

17.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oi/ <ոյ> changed to /ʷo, œʷ, u, o, vi, vʷo/ <օ, օք, ու, օ, վի, վո>. There are only individual examples of the latter group (Table 16).³

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> to /ʷo, œʷ, u, o, vi, vʷo/ <օ, օք, ու, օ, վի, վո> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘blue’	kapoiʷt	կապոյտ	kapʷot	կապոտ	kapujʷt	կապոյտ
‘pinky’	tʃəkoiʷt ^h	ճկոյթ	tʃkʷot ^h	ճկոթ	tʃəkujʷt ^h	ճկոյթ
‘nest’	bojn	բոյն	pœʷn	պեծն	bujʷn	բոյն
‘alfalfa’	aru.oiʷt	առուոյտ	arvœʷt	առվեծոտ	arvujʷt	առվոյտ
‘color’	gojn	գոյն	kʷœʷn	կյեծն	gʷujʷn	գոյն
‘light’	lojs	լոյս	lœʷs	լեծս	lujs	լոյս
‘wick’	patroig	պատրոյգ	patruk ^h i	պատրոք	patrujk ^h	պատրոյգ
‘curtain’	varagoiʷr	վարագոյր	væræk ^h ur	վարանկուր	varak ^h ujʷr	վարագոյր
‘knot’	hangoiʷts ^h	հանգոյց	χang ^h orts ^h	իսանգօնց	hangujʷts ^h	հանգոյց
‘who.GEN.SG’	oiʷr	ոյր	vir	վիր	vori	որի
‘strength’	oiʷz	ոյժ	vʷoʷz	վոժ	uz	ուժ

³[[For ‘alfalfa’, Adjarian provides an ancestor form <առուոյտ>, but I could not find it elsewhere.]]

17.2.2.3 Consonant changes

Consonant sound changes in the Van dialect are the same as in the Karabakh dialect. Here as well, the voiced sounds of Old Armenian have changed to voiceless unaspirated. The voiceless unaspirated sounds stay the same; the voiceless aspirated sounds stay the same. After nasals, voiced sounds and voiceless unaspirated sounds become voiced. After the Classical Armenian sound /r/ <ր>, voiced consonants become voiceless aspirated.

Besides these, the Van dialect changes the sound /h/ <հ> to /χ/ <խ>. The Classical Armenian sound /r/ <ր> becomes /r/ <ռ> next to the Classical Armenian consonants /ts, dz, ts^h, tʃ, dz, tʃ^h, t, t^h, v/ <ծ, ծ, ց, ջ, չ, տ, թ, վ>. The Classical Armenian sound /k^h/ <ք> becomes /ç/ <չ> before other consonants. We saw examples of these changes in the above data.

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As we know, voiced aspirated consonants do not exist in the Van dialect.

17.3 Morphology

17.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

17.3.1.1 Case markers

The declension system of the Van dialect is similar to that of the /um/ <ում> branch. The ablative is constructed with the formative /-its^h/ <ից>. The accusative is the same as the dative if the object is animate; while it is the same as the nominative if the object is inanimate. There is no locative.

17.3.1.2 Plural markers and plural declension

The plural has three different forms. Monosyllabic words take the formative /-jer/ <եր>. Consonant-final polysyllabic words take the formative /-nijer/ <ւեր>, while vowel-final or /n/-final <ւ> polysyllabic words take the formative /-çtjer/ <իւեր>; based on phonetic laws, this formative originates from the previous form /k^htjer/ <քւեր> (Table 17).⁴

⁴[[I am not sure why Adjarian's examples use a form <իւեր> /jhtjer/ with a glide in a different location from what Adjarian states in the text: <իւեր> /çtjer/.]]

Table 17: Plural suffixes /-ɹier, -nɹier, ɟɹier/ <եր, ներ, հյտեր> in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘bread’	hats ^h	հաց	χats ^h	խաց	hats ^h	հաց
‘bread-PL’			χats ^h -ɹier	խացեր	hats ^h -er	հացեր
‘bow’	atɛlən	աղեղն	anɹɛɤ	անեղ	aɤɤ	աղեղ
‘bow-PL’			anəɤ-nɹier	անըղներ	aɤɤ-ner	աղեղներ
‘wine’	gini	գինի	kʲini	կյինի	gini	գինի
‘wine-PL’			kʲini-jhtɹier	կյինիյիտեր	gini-ner	գինիներ
‘pantry’	maran	մառան	maran	մառան	maran	մառան
‘pantry-PL’			maran-jhtɹier	մառանյիտեր	maran-ner	մառաններ

The cases of the plural are formed in the following way (Table 18).

Table 18: Declension of plural nouns in the Van dialect

	‘breads’	‘pantries’	‘wines’
NOM	χats ^h -ɹier խացեր	anəɤ-nɹier անըղներ	kʲini-jhtɹier կյինիյիտեր
GEN, DAT, ABL	χats ^h -ɹier-at ^h խացեր-աց	anəɤ-nɹier-at ^h անըղներ-աց	kʲini-jhtɹier-at ^h կյինիյիտեր-աց
INS	χats ^h -ɹier-ov խացեր-ով	anəɤ-nɹier-ov անըղներ-ով	kʲini-jhtɹier-ov կյինիյիտեր-ով

17.3.1.3 Absence of the definite suffix /-ə/ and word-initial/final schwas

The Van dialect is famous for the absence of the definite article /-ə/ <ը>. Many times we see that even the most educated Van speakers cannot get used to using the Armenian article /-ə/ <ը >. For example, the speaker would say (1) or in the native dialect (2).

- (1) a. Van speaker producing an SWA sentence without the definite suffix /-ə/
- i. ajs mart^h u ajn gin gər-v-e-ts^h-a-n irar
 this man and that woman fight-PASS-TH-AOR-PST-3PL each.other
 hed
 with
 ‘This man and this woman fought with each other.’
 այս մարդ ու այն կին կռուեցան իրար հետ

ii. mer dun medz e
 our house big is
 ‘Our house is big.’
 մեր տունն մեծ է

iii. vana k^havak^h k^hevets^hig e
 Van city beautiful is
 ‘The city of Van is beautiful.’
 Վանայ քաղաք գեղեցիկ է

b. cf. SWA sentence with the expected definite suffix /-ə/

i. ajs mart^h-ə u ajn gin-ə gər-v-e-ts^h-a-n
 this man-DEF and that woman-DEF fight-PASS-TH-AOR-PST-3PL
 irar hed
 each.other with
 ‘This man and this woman fought with each other.’
 այս մարդը ու այնը կին կռուեցան իրար հետ

ii. mer dun-ə medz e
 our house-DEF big is
 ‘Our house is big.’
 մեր տունը մեծ է

iii. vana k^havak^h-ə k^hevets^hig e
 Van city-DEF beautiful is
 ‘The city of Van is beautiful.’
 Վանայ քաղաքը գեղեցիկ է

(2) a. Van sentence without the definite suffix /-ə/

tʃyr chamjɛk i
 water delicious is
 ‘(The) water is delicious.’
 ճիւր խամեղ ի

b. cf. SWA sentence with the definite suffix /-ə/

tʃur-ə hamjɛk e
 water delicious is
 ‘The water is delicious.’
 ջուրը համեղ է

Because of this, the word /tʃyr/ <ճիւր> can mean either ‘water’ or ‘the water’. This characteristic of Van speakers is explained only by their incapability of pronouncing the word-final /-ə/ <ը>, which was also the case in Classical Armenian

which did not have word-final /ə/ <ը>. Otherwise, Van speakers are aware of the use of the article, because when they need to be exact, they can add the article /-n/ <ւ>.

It appears that the Van dialect also cannot pronounce a word-initial sound /ə/ <ը> (Table 19).⁵

Table 19: Absence of word-initial schwa in the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Van		cf. SEA	
‘walnut’	ənkoiʒ	ընկոյզ	gœəʒ	գեօզ	əŋkuiʒ	ընկոյզ
‘bed’	ankoħin, ənkoħin	անկողին, ընկողին	gʰoœvenk ^{hj}	գյօղվէնք	əŋkœvin	անկողին
‘by’	ənd or	ընդ որ	dœəɾ	դեօր	ənd vor	ընդ որ
‘baptized’	kənk ^h avor	կնքաւոր	k ^h avor	քավոր	kəŋk ^h avɔɾ	կնքավոր
‘friend’	ənker	ընկեր	ing ^h ier, g ^h ier	ինգեր, գեր	əŋker	ընկեր

17.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

17.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

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[[Table 20 lists the personal pronouns.]]

Table 20: Inflection paradigm for personal pronouns in the Van dialect

	1SG ‘I’	2SG ‘you’	3SG ‘he’	1PL ‘we’	2PL ‘you’	3SG ‘they’
NOM	jïes յես	tv տիւ	zink ^{hj} զինք	mïenk ^{hj} մենք	tvk ^{hj} տիւք	urank ^{hj} ուրանք
GEN	im իմ	k ^{hj} uo քո	ur ուր	mïer մեր	tsïer ծեր	urants ^h ուրանց
DAT, ACC	đzi, đzik ծի, ծիկ	k ^{hj} ie քե	ur ուր	mïe մե	tsïe ծե	urants ^h ուրանց
ABL	đziz-n-its ^h ծիզնից	k ^{hj} iez-n-its ^h քեզնից	ur-m-its ^h ուրմից	mïez-n-its ^h մեզնից	tsïez-n-its ^h ծեզնից	urants ^h -its ^h ուրանցից
INS	đziz-n-ov ծիզնով	k ^{hj} iez-n-ov քեզնով	ur-m-ov ուրմով	mïez-n-ov մեզնով	tsïez-n-ov ծեզնով	urants ^h -ov ուրանցով

⁵[[For ‘baptized’, Adjarian postulates a reconstructed intermediate form /ənk^havor/ <ընքավոր> between the Classical and Van forms.]]

17.3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

[[Table 21 lists interrogative pronouns.]]

Table 21: Inflection paradigm for interrogative pronouns in the Van dialect

	‘who’	‘what/that’ (singular)	‘who/what/that’ (plural)
NOM	vɣov վով	vɣor վոր	vurɣonk ^h վուրոնք
GEN	vir վիր	vuru վուրու	vurɣonts ^h վուրոնց
DAT, ACC	vir վիր	vɣor վոր	vurɣonk ^h վուրոնք
ABL	vir-n-its ^h , vir-m-its ^h վիրնից, վիրմից	vur-uts ^h վուրուց	vurɣonts ^h -its ^h վուրոնցից
INS	vir-n-ov, vir-m-ov վիրնօվ, վիրմօվ	vur-n-ov վուրնօվ	vurɣonts ^h -m-ov վուրոնցմօվ

17.3.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

[[Table 22 lists demonstrative pronouns. Demonstratives can be proximal, medial, or distal.]]

Table 22: Inflection paradigm for demonstrative pronouns in the Van dialect

	Singular			Plural		
	proximal ‘this’	medial ‘that’	distal ‘yonder’	proximal ‘these’	medial ‘those’	distal ‘those yonder’
NOM, ACC	es, esa, esik Էս, Էսա, Էսիկ	et, eta, etik Էտ, Էտա, Էտիկ	en, ena, enik Էն, Էնա, Էնիկ	isɣonk ^h իսոնք	itɣonk ^h իտոնք	inɣonk ^h ինոնք
GEN, DAT	isɣor իսոր	itɣor իտոր	inɣor ինոր	isɣonts ^h իսոնց	itɣonts ^h իտոնց	inɣonts ^h ինոնց
ABL	isɣor-m-its ^h իսորմից	itɣor-m-its ^h իտորմից	inɣor-m-its ^h ինորմից	isɣonts ^h -its ^h իսոնցից	itɣonts ^h -its ^h իտոնցից	inɣonts ^h -its ^h ինոնցից
INS	isɣor-m-ov իսորմօվ	itɣor-m-ov իտորմօվ	inɣor-m-ov ինորմօվ	isɣonts ^h -m-ov իսոնցմօվ	itɣonts ^h -m-ov իտոնցմօվ	inɣonts ^h -m-ov ինոնցմօվ

17.3.3 Verbal inflection or conjugation

17.3.3.1 Theme vowel changes

Verbal conjugation does not present major form changes. The only ones are phonetic changes. In the present tenses, the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> remains; it changes to /i/ <ի> only in the 3SG in the first conjugation class. In the past tenses, whenever the Classical Armenian sounds /ē, ai/ <ե, այ> become vowels, they are deleted (Table 23).

Table 23: Changes to theme vowels in the Van dialect in the indicative past imperfective

	Van		cf. SWA	
'I would want'	k-uz-∅-i-∅	կուզի	g-uz-ej-i-∅	կ'ուզեի
'I would sneeze'	kəχaz-∅-i-∅	կը խազի	gə haz-aj-i-∅	կը հազայի
	IND-want-TH-PST-1SG		IND-want-TH-PST-1SG	

[[To clarify, Adjarian is discussing how the theme vowel manifests in different morphological contexts. Before the past tense suffix /-i-/, SWA and SEA keep the theme vowels /e, a/ and they add a glide. In contrast in Van, the theme vowel is deleted before this past suffix /-i-/.]]

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17.3.3.2 General paradigms for the reflex of the E-Class

As an example, we show the conjugation of the Classical Armenian verb /uz-e-m/ <ուզեմ> 'I want'.

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

17.3.3.2.1 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SWA, the subjunctive present is formed by adding agreement markers after the theme vowel. For a verb like /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, the theme vowel is an invariant /e/. In Van, essentially the same strategy is used with slightly different agreement markers. However in Van, the theme vowel can alternate between /i/ in the 3SG and between /e, ɨe/ in the other paradigm cells.]]

Table 24: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA	
1SG	uz-ɨe-m	նլզեմ	uz-e-m (if) I want	նլզեմ
2SG	uz-ɨe-s	նլզես	uz-e-s	նլզես
3SG	uz-i-∅	նլզի	uz-e-∅	նլզե
1PL	uz-ɨe-nk ^{hj}	նլզենք	uz-e-ŋk ^h	նլզենք
2PL	uz-e-k ^{hj}	նլզեք	uz-e-k ^h	նլզեք
3PL	uz-ɨe-n	նլզեն	uz-e-n	նլզեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SWA, the subjunctive past (Table 25) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. In Van, the theme vowel /e/ is deleted before the past suffix /i/.]]

Table 25: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA	
1SG	uz-∅-i-∅	նլզի	uz-ej-i-∅ (if) I wanted	նլզեի
2SG	uz-∅-i-r	նլզիր	uz-ej-i-r	նլզեիր
3SG	uz-e-∅-r	նլզեր	uz-e-∅-r	նլզեր
1PL	uz-∅-i-nk ^{hj}	նլզինք	uz-ej-i-ŋk ^h	նլզեինք
2PL	uz-∅-i-k ^{hj}	նլզիք	uz-ej-i-k ^h	նլզեիք
3PL	uz-∅-i-n	նլզին	uz-ej-i-n	նլզեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

17.3.3.2.2 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Indicative and future

[[In Van, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 26). The indicative present and past imperfective are constructed by adding the prefix /k- / before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. The future and past future are formed also by adding the proclitic /piti/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. SWA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 26: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb 'to want' in the Van dialect

	Indicative present <ւերկայ>		Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>	
1SG	k-uz- \ddot{y} e-m 'I want'	կուզեմ	k-uz- \emptyset -i- \emptyset 'I would want'	կուզի
2SG	k-uz- \ddot{y} e-s	կուզես	k-uz- \emptyset -i-r	կուզիր
3SG	k-uz-i- \emptyset	կուզի	k-uz-e- \emptyset -r	կուզեր
1PL	k-uz- \ddot{y} e-nk ^{hj}	կուզենք	k-uz- \emptyset -i-nk ^{hj}	կուզինք
2PL	k-uz-e-k ^{hj}	կուզեք	k-uz- \emptyset -i-k ^{hj}	կուզիք
3PL	k-uz- \ddot{y} e-n	կուզեն	k-uz- \emptyset -i-n	կուզին
	IND- \sqrt -TH-AGR		IND- \sqrt -TH-PST-AGR	
	Future <ապանի>		Past future <անցեալ ապանի>	
1SG	piti uz- \ddot{y} e-m 'I will want'	պիտի ուզեմ	piti uz- \emptyset -i- \emptyset 'I was going to want'	պիտի ուզի
2SG	piti uz- \ddot{y} e-s	պիտի ուզես	piti uz- \emptyset -i-r	պիտի ուզիր
3SG	piti uz-i- \emptyset	պիտի ուզի	piti uz-e- \emptyset -r	պիտի ուզեր
1PL	piti uz- \ddot{y} e-nk ^{hj}	պիտի ուզենք	piti uz- \emptyset -i-nk ^{hj}	պիտի ուզինք
2PL	piti uz-e-k ^{hj}	պիտի ուզեք	piti uz- \emptyset -i-k ^{hj}	պիտի ուզիք
3PL	piti uz- \ddot{y} e-n	պիտի ուզեն	piti uz- \emptyset -i-n	պիտի ուզին
	FUT \sqrt -TH-AGR		FUT \sqrt -TH-PST-AGR	

17.3.3.2.3 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SWA, the present perfect (Table 27) and past perfect (Table 28) are formed by combining a special non-finite form with the present/past auxiliary. For SWA, this non-finite verb can be either the resultative participle (verb with suffix /-adz/) or

the evidential participle (verb with suffix /-er/). Van uses a similar system. The non-finite form is labeled as just a ‘past participle’ by Adjarian (which I suspect is a perfective converb), and this form uses /-ier/ <եր> for the present perfect 3SG, and /-ir/ elsewhere.]]

Table 27: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA	
1SG	uz-ir i̇e-m	ուզիր եմ	uz-er e-m ‘I have wanted’	ուզեր եմ
2SG	uz-ir i̇e-s	ուզիր ես	uz-er e-s	ուզեր ես
3SG	uz-ier i	ուզեր ի	uz-er e	ուզեր է
1PL	uz-ir i̇e-nk ^{hj}	ուզիր ինք	uz-er e-ηk ^h	ուզեր ենք
2PL	uz-ir i̇e-k ^{hj}	ուզիր էք	uz-er e-k ^h	ուզեր էք
3PL	uz-ir i̇e-n	ուզիր են	uz-er e-n	ուզեր են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-AGR	

Table 28: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA	
1SG	uz-ir Ø-i-Ø	ուզիր ի	uz-er ej-i-Ø ‘I had wanted’	ուզեր էի
2SG	uz-ir Ø-i-r	ուզիր իր	uz-er ej-i-r	ուզեր էիր
3SG	uz-ir e-Ø-r	ուզիր ր	uz-er e-Ø-r	ուզեր ր
1PL	uz-ir Ø-i-nk ^{hj}	ուզիր ինք	uz-er ej-i-ηk ^h	ուզեր էինք
2PL	uz-ir Ø-i-k ^{hj}	ուզիր իք	uz-er ej-i-k ^h	ուզեր էիք
3PL	uz-ir i̇e-Ø-n	ուզիր են	uz-er ej-i-n	ուզեր էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-PST-AGR	

[[For the 3PL past auxiliary, Adjarian lists /ien/ <են> but I would have expected /in/ <ին> based on the rest of the paradigms. This may have been an error. Otherwise, if this is not an error, then the present and past 3PL auxiliaries are homophonous /ien/ <են>.]

17.3.3.2.4 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 29) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Van dialect behaves the same, though the theme vowel is /i/ in all but the 3SG.]]

Table 29: Past perfective or aorist <կասարեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA	
1SG	uz-i-ts ^h -i-∅	nԼqհց	uz-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I wanted’	nԼqեցի
2SG	uz-i-ts ^h -i-r	nԼqհցիր	uz-e-ts ^h -i-r	nԼqեցիր
3SG	uz- ₂ e-ts ^h -∅-∅	nԼqեց	uz-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	nԼqեց
1PL	uz-i-ts ^h -i-րկ ^h	nԼqհցիւք	uz-e-ts ^h -i-րկ ^h	nԼqեցիւք
2PL	uz-i-ts ^h -i-k ^h	nԼqհցիք	uz-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	nԼqեցիք
3PL	uz-i-ts ^h -i-n	nԼqհցին	uz-e-ts ^h -i-n	nԼqեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

17.3.3.2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph /-∅/ after the theme vowel /e/ for a verb like ‘to want’ (Table 30). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. Van instead adds a vowel /i/ for the 2SG; it is unclear if this /i/ is the theme vowel or an added suffix. For the 2PL, a suffix /ek^h/ is added.]]

Table 30: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA ‘want!’	
2SG	uz-i	nԼqի	uz-e-∅	nԼqե
	√-?		√-TH-IMP.2SG	
2PL	uz-ek ^h	nԼqեք	uz-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	nԼqեցեք
	√-IMP.2PL		√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL	

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 31), SWA adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the verb. The verb takes a suffix /-r/ in the 2SG, and /-k^h/ in the 2PL. In Van, the verb is a non-finite form with a suffix /-je/. For the 2SG, the prefix /m-/ is added. For the 2PL, the agreement marker /-ek^h/ is added between the prohibitive marker and the verb, thus agreement morphology is mobile.]]

Table 31: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

	Van		cf. SWA ‘do not want!’	
2SG	m-uz-je PROH-√-?	մուզե	mi uz-e-r PROH √-TH-2SG	մի ուզեր
2PL	m-ek ^h uz-je PROH-IMP.2PL √-?	մէք ուզե	mi uz-ek ^h PROH √-TH-2PL	մի ուզէք

17.3.3.2.6 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 32. I give SWA forms for just some of them because it is unclear to me what these Van participles mean. Note that Adjarian uses the term ‘past participle’ to refer to multiple different types of non-finite forms: resultative participle with /-adz/ in SWA, evidential participle /-er/ in SWA. I suspect the Van /-ir/ is a perfective converb.]]

Table 32: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

		Van		cf. SWA	
Infinitive	անորոշ	uz- $\dot{\text{x}}$ e-l $\sqrt{-\text{TH-}}\text{INF}$	նլզել	uz-e-l $\sqrt{-\text{TH-}}\text{INF}$	նլզել
Past	անցեալ	uz- $\widehat{\text{ats}}$ $\sqrt{-\text{RPTCP}}$ uz- $\dot{\text{i}}$ r $\sqrt{-\text{PERF.CVB}}$ uz- $\dot{\text{x}}$ e $\dot{\text{r}}$ uz- $\dot{\text{x}}$ e $\sqrt{-\text{PERF.CVB}}$	նլզած նլզիր նլզեր նլզե	uz- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ $\sqrt{-\text{RPTCP}}$ uz-e $\dot{\text{r}}$ $\sqrt{-\text{EPTCP}}$	նլզած նլզեր
Future	ապանի	uz- $\dot{\text{x}}$ e-l-y $\sqrt{-\text{TH-}}\text{INF-FUT.CVB}$	նլզելիլ	uz-e-l-u $\sqrt{-\text{TH-}}\text{INF-FUT.CVB}$	նլզելիլ

17.4 Subdialects

The Van dialect has three subdialects. These are Diyadin, Moks, and Vozim.

17.4.1 Diyadin

The subdialect of Diyadin is familiar to me from the village of Basargechar in the province of New Bayazet, and this village is a migrant community from Diyadin, and its...

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... language remains unchanged until now.

[[*Martirosyan (2019: 220) reports that most work treats Diyadin as a separate dialect.*]]

17.4.1.1 Similarities to the Van dialect

This subdialect is the same as the Van dialect in the following points.

17.4.1.1.1 Palatalization of velar stops

The Classical Armenian sounds /g k k^h/ <q ւ ք> changed to /g^j k^j k^h^j/ <զ ւ ղ ք> (Table 33).

Table 33: Palatalization of velar stops in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘your.SG’	k ^h o	քո	k ^h o	քո	k ^h o	քո
‘he went’	gənat ^h	գնաց	k ^h ənats ^h	քընաց	gənat ^h	գնաց
‘we (NOM)’	mek ^h	մեք	mjenk ^h	մենք	menk ^h	մենք
‘they fell’	ankan	անկան	ənk ^h an	ընկան	əŋkan	ընկան
‘we take’	arnumk ^h	առնուք	arnjenk ^h	առնենք	arneŋk ^h	առնենք
‘you.SG.DAT’	k ^h ez	քեզ	k ^h jezi	քեզի	k ^h ez	քեզ
‘cattle-shed’	gom	գոմ	g ^h uom	գոմ	gom	գոմ
‘sweet’	k ^h afts ^h ər	քաղցր	k ^h aχts ^h r	քախցր	k ^h aχts ^h ər	քաղցր
‘we discuss’	zərut ^h emk ^h	զրուցենք	zrut ^h ink ^h	զրուցինք	zərut ^h enjk ^h	զրուցենք
‘back of body’	k ^h amak	քամակ	k ^h amak	քամակ	k ^h amak	քամակ
‘female’	ēg	եգ	ek ^h	եք	eg	եգ
‘I come (Van); I will come (SEA)’			kug ^h as	կուգաս	kəgas	կգաս
‘complaint’	gangat	գանգատ	g ^h ang ^h at	գանգատ	ganɡat	գանգատ
‘we took’			arank ^h	առանք	aranjk ^h	առանք
‘we go’	er ^h amk ^h	երթանք	er ^h ank ^h	երթանք	jer ^h anj ^h	երթանք
‘we put (PST)’			drink ^h	դրինք	dəret ^h inj ^h	դրեցինք
‘we gave (PST, IMPF)’			tink ^h	տինք	tajinj ^h	տայինք
‘wind’	k ^h ami	քամի	k ^h ami	քամի	k ^h ami	քամի

17.4.1.1.2 Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ>

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <h> has changed to /χ/ <խ> (Table 34).

Table 34: Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘to preserve’	pahel	պահել			pahel	պահել
‘they preserve (SWA); they will preserve (SEA)’			kə paxjen	կը պախեն	kəpahen	կպահեն
‘road’	ifanaparh	ճանապարհ	ifambax	ճամբախ	ifanapar, ifamp ^h a	ճանապարհ, ճամփա
‘he reached’	hasav	հասավ	χasav	խասավ	hasav	հասավ
‘with’	het	հետ	χiet	խետ	het	հետ
‘cool’	hov	հով	χuov	խով	hov	հով

17.4.1.1.3 Diphthongization of Classical Armenian /e, o/ <ե, ո>

The Classical Armenian sounds /je, uo/ <ե, ո> have a diphthongal pronunciation (Table 35).

Table 35: Change from Classical Armenian /e, o/ <ե, ո> to /je, uo/ <ե, ո> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘our’	mer	մեր	m̄ier	մեր	mer	մեր
‘cow’	kov	կով	k̄ov	կով	kov	կով

17.4.1.1.4 Change in theme vowels

The Classical Armenian sound /aj/ <այ> becomes /e/ <ե>. The past forms of the second conjugation use the formative /e/ <ե> (Table 36).

[[*For the Diyadin forms, it is unclear what the /e/ vowel should be. It could be a theme vowel or a past suffix, or both.*]]

Table 36: Changes in theme vowels in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SWA	
‘he would come’	gajr	գայր	ku-g-e-r	կուգեր	gu-k ^h -a-∅-r	կու գար
‘he would go’	ert ^h ajr	երթայր	k-et ^h -e-r	կերթեր	g-ert ^h -a-∅-r	կ’երթար
			IND-√-TH.PST(?) -3SG		IND-√-TH-PST-3SG	
‘he was going to come’			pti g ^l -e-r	պտի գեր	bidi k ^h -a-∅-r	պիտի գար
			FUT √-TH.PST(?) -3SG		FUT √-TH-PST-3SG	

17.4.1.1.5 Theme vowel deletion before the past suffix

In the past, the Classical Armenian vowel /ē/ <ե> is deleted next to /i/ <ի> (Table 37).

[[*The examples also show that the theme vowel /a/ is deleted before the past /i/. The Classical Armenian forms are not easy to contrast against the modern forms; instead I contrast against SWA, as did Adjarian.*]]

Table 37: Deletion of theme vowels before the past suffix in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Diyadin (Van)		cf. SWA	
‘(If) we gave’	t-∅-i-nk ^h	տիկս	d-aj-i-ηk ^h	տայիկս give-TH-PST-1PL
‘I would come’	ku-g-∅-i-∅	կուգի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-∅	կու գայի IND-COME-TH-PST-1SG
‘they were’	∅-i-n	իս	ej-i-n	էիս AUX-PST-3PL
‘they would go’	k-et ^h -∅-i-n	կերթիս	g-ert ^h -aj-i-n	կ’երթայիս IND-GO-TH-PST-3PL

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17.4.1.1.6 Ablative suffix /-e, -its^h/ <Է, րց>

The ablative uses the form /-its^h/ <րց>, but the form /-e/ <Է> is also used (Table 38, sentence 3).

Table 38: Ablative suffixes in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA		cf. SWA	
‘on-ABL(-DEF)’	vriev-e-n	վրեվԷն	vəraj-its ^h	վրայրց	vəraj-e-n	վրայԷն
‘three-ABL(-DEF)’	irjek ^h -its ^h	իրեքրց	jerek ^h -its ^h	երեքրց	jerek ^h -e-n	երեքԷն
‘thing-ABL(-DEF)’	bæn-its ^h	բանրց	ban-its ^h	բանրց	p ^h an-e-n	բանԷն
‘city-ABL(-DEF)’	k ^h αχk ^h -e-n	քախքԷն	k ^h ααk ^h -its ^h	քաղաքրց	k ^h ααk ^h -e-n	քաղաքԷն

(3) ‘It has gone from my mind.’ (= idiomatic for ‘I forgot about it’)

a. Diyadin (Van) dialect

mt-e-s k^hats^h-jer α
 mind-ABL-POSS.1SG GO-PERF.CVB AUX
 մտԷս քյացր ւ

b. cf. SWA

mətk-e-s k^hats^h-er e
 mind-ABL-POSS.1SG GO-EPTCP AUX
 մտքԷս զացր Է

17.4.1.2 Differences from the Van dialect

This subdialect has the following differences from the Van dialect.

17.4.1.2.1 Retention of Classical Armenian /u/ <ու>

The Classical Armenian vowel /u/ <ու> is preserved, while it changes to /y/ <իւ> in Van (Table 39).

Table 39: Lack of the change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <ɫ> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘flea’	lu	լու	lu	լու	lu	լու
‘you.SG.NOM’	du	դու	du	դու	du	դու
‘pomegranate’	nurəṅ	սուրն	nur	սուրն	nur	սուրն
‘egg’	dzu	ծու	dzu	ծու	dzu	ծու

17.4.1.2.2 Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ɲ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oj/ <ɲ> becomes /u/ <nL>, and not /y/ <ɫ> as in Van (Table 40).⁶

Table 40: Lack of the change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ɲ> to /y/ <ɫ> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Diyadin (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘weak’	t ^h oɲ	թոյլ	t ^h ul	թուլ	t ^h ujl	թույլ
‘light’	loɲs	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լույս
‘until’			t ^h ur	չուր		

17.4.1.2.3 Voicing changes

The voiced consonants are preserved, while they are changed to voiceless unaspirated in Van.

17.4.1.2.4 3SG copula as /ɑ/ <ω> changes

The present 3SG of the copular verb is /ɑ/ <ω>, while it is /i/ <ɪ> in the Van dialect. With this form, the present perfect (յարսկատար) and complex tenses are formed (4).

(4) Diyadin (Van) dialect

⁶[[Adjarian does not explain the origin of the word [t^hur].]]

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- a. $\widehat{\text{intj}}^{\text{h}}$ α
 what AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘What is it?’
 Ի՞նչ ω
- b. en α
 that AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is that.’
 Էն ω
- c. eda $\text{tj}\epsilon\text{K-n}$ α
 that place-DEF AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is that place.’
 Էդա տեղն ω
- d. $\text{tj}\epsilon\text{K}$ α jin-je
 place AUX.PRS.3SG build-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has built a place.’
 տեղ ω շինե
- e. $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{is}$ α ank-je
 ? AUX.PRS.3SG fall-PERF.CVB
 I do not know what the first word is, but the sentence could mean ‘He has fallen into a X.’ The unknown word might be a cognate of SEA / $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{os}$ / < phnu > ‘hole’. Or, the word could mean ‘bad’. (?)
 փիս ω ընկե
- f. tun α $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{and-je}$
 house AUX.PRS.3SG demolish-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has demolished a house.’
 տուն ω քանդե
- g. $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ertn-je}$ α
 sweat?-PERF.CVB AUX.PRS.3SG
 I suspect this is: ‘He has sweated (= he is sweaty).’ (?)
 քրորտներ ω
- h. $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ats}^{\text{h}}\text{-je}$ α
 go-PERF.CVB AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘He has gone.’
 քայցեր ω

17.4.2 Moks

The subdialect of Moks is familiar from the literature with various text samples, which are unfortunately not written with scientific exactness.

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17.4.2.1 Existence of the schwa /ə/

The primary characteristic of this subdialect is the sound /ə/ <ը>, which is in contrast quite rare in the Van dialect. Classical Armenian word-final /i/ <ի> and word-medial /e/ <ե> are indiscriminately changed to /ə/ <ը>. Because of this, the schwa /ə/ <ը> is used in the genitive-dative case suffix and in the present tense of verbs (Table 41, sentence 5).

Table 41: Change from Classical Armenian /i, e/ <ի, ե> to /ə/ <ը> in the Moks subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Moks (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘rose-GEN’	vard- <i>i</i>	վարդի	vard- <i>ə</i>	վարդը՛	vart ^h - <i>i</i>	վարդի
‘year’	tari	տարի	tarə	տարը՛	tari	տարի
‘(male?) child’	təaj- <i>i</i>	տղայի	təə	տղը՛	təaj- <i>i</i>	տղայի
‘I want (Van); I will want (SEA)’			kuzəm	կուզըմ	kuzem	կուզեմ
‘I said’	asats ^h - <i>i</i>	ասացի	əsəts ^h - <i>ə</i>	ըսըցը՛	asats ^h - <i>i</i>	ասացի
‘they caught’	bərnets ^h - <i>in</i>	բռնեցին	brnəts ^h - <i>ən</i>	բռնըցըն	bərnets ^h - <i>in</i>	բռնեցին

- (5) a. Moks (Van) dialect
 χəng χarər tarə
 five hundred year
 ‘five hundred years’
 իընգ իարըր տարը
- b. cf. SEA
 hiŋg harjur tari
 five hundred year
 ‘five hundred years’
 հինգ հարյուր տարի

Analogous to this, in the future tense, the formative /piti/ <պիտի> is shortened and changed to /tə, t/ <տը, տ>, the latter next to a vowel (6).

[[Note that in all these examples, the SWA cognates would use /bidi/.]]

- (6) Moks (Van) dialect
- a. tə brn-ə-m
FUT catch-TH-1SG
'I will catch.'
տը բռնըմ
 - b. t-as-ə-m
FUT-say-TH-1SG
'I will say.'
տասըմ
 - c. tə t-e-k^h d̂zə
FUT give-TH-2PL me.DAT
'You.PL will give to me.'
տը տըք ձը

It is self-explanatory that all these /ə/ <ը> sounds can be stressed.

17.4.2.2 Lack of diphthong /ʊo/ <ո>

Similarly, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> (or /ɑʊ/ <օ>) is /u/ <ու> here, similar to the Tbilisi dialect, while it is generally /ʊo/ <ո> (or /o, œʌ/ <օ, օճ>) in the Van dialect (Table 42).

Table 42: Change from Classical Armenian /o, ɑʊ/ <ո, օ, օճ> to /u/ <ու> in the Moks subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Moks (Van)		cf. SEA	
'apple'	χəndzɔr	խնձոր	χəndzɔr	խնձոր	χəndzɔr	խնձոր
'speech'	χɑʊsk ^h	խաւսք	χusk ^h	խուսք	χosk ^h	խոսք
'small'	p ^h ok ^h ər	փոքր	p ^h uk ^h r	փուքր	p ^h ok ^h ər	փոքր

17.4.3 Vozim

The subdialect of Vozim is spoken in the villages of Vozim or Ozum, Ovs, Havin-dank, Pas, Past, and Makni, which have around 10,000 Armenian residents. Vozim is the largest town (աւան) among this group of villages.

17.4.3.1 Phonology

The subdialect of Vozim is distinguished from the Van dialect by four new sounds which are the diphthongs /*ëj*, *ou*, *œu*/ <Է, օԼ, ԷօԼ>⁷ and the uvular sound (կոկոր-դայիս) /q/ <ղ'>.

17.4.3.1.1 Segment inventory

Diphthong /*ëj*/ <Է> The first is found also in the Karabakh dialect, but it is pronounced much shorter here and it originates from the Classical Armenian sound /i/ <ի> (Table 43).

Table 43: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /*ëj*/ <Է> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
'span of hand'	t ^h iz	թիզ	t ^h ëjz	թԷզ	t ^h iz	թիզ
'saw'	χizar	խիզար	χëjzar	խԷզար	χizar	խիզար
'in-law'	χənami	խնամի	χnamëj	խնամԷ	χənami	խնամի
'fight'	kəriu	կռիւ	krëjv	կռԷվ	kəriv	կռիվ
'account'	hafju	հաշիւ	hafëjv	հաշԷվ	hafjiv	հաշիվ
'mirror'	hajeli	հայելի	χejlëj	խԷլԷի	hajeli	հայելի

Diphthong /*ou*/ <օԼ> The sound /*ou*/ <օԼ> is pronounced as /*óu*/ <օ'ու> and it originates from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> (Table 44).

Table 44: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /*ou*/ <օԼ> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
'egg'	ḏzu	ծու	ḏz ^h ou	ծ'օԼ	ḏzu	ծու
'dark'	mut ^h	մութ	mo ^u t ^h	մօԼթ	mut ^h	մութ
'mouse'	mukən	մուկն	mo ^u k	մօԼկ	muk	մուկ
'raw'	hum	հում	χou ^u m	խօԼմ	hum	հում

⁷[[Adjarian used a subscripted <j>, to create <Է>. Unfortunately, I do not have a font that allows creating such a subscript in a way that it can be read in simple text files. So I use a superscripted <j> instead.]]

Uvular stop /q/ <ղ'> The sound /q/ <ղ'> is a Georgian sound⁸ and it is found in the words in Table 45. I have not found this sound in other places.

Table 45: Uvular stop /q/ <ղ'> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
'to bathe'	loganal	լոգանալ	loqanal	լող'անալ	loganal, loʒanal	լոգանալ, լողանալ
'horse-radish'	bołk	բողկ	b ^h ʏq	բ'իլղ	boχk	բողկ

Diphthong /œ̥/ <ԷՕԼ> The diphthong /œ̥/ <ԷՕԼ> is pronounced as a fast /œ̥u/ <ԷՕՆԼ>. I have found this sound only in the word in Table 46.

Table 46: Words with the sound /œ̥/ <ԷՕԼ> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
'fish'	ḏzūkəṅ	ծուկն	ḏz ^h œ̥ʏk	ծ'ԷՕԼկ	ḏzūk	ծուկ

Voiced aspirated sounds Besides these, the subdialect of Vozim has the voiced aspirated sounds /b^h ɡ^h d^h ḏz^h ḏʒ^h/ <բ' ց' դ' ծ' ջ'>, which come from the Armenian voiced consonants.

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17.4.3.1.2 Sound changes

There are many differences in sound changes.

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> changes to /u/ <nԼ>, similar to the Moks subdialect (Table 47).

⁸[[Adjarian provides a Georgian letter յ'. See footnote 2.]]

Table 47: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /u/ <nL> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘ploughshare’	χop ^h	խօփ	χup ^h	խուփ	χop ^h	խօփ
‘leaven (CA); dough (SEA)’	χəmor	խմոր	χmur	խմուր	χəmor	խմոր
‘bosom’	tsots ^h	ծոց	tsuts ^h	ծուց	tsots ^h	ծոց
‘hell’	dəzoχk ^h	դժոխք	d ^h zuχk ^h	դ՛ժուխք	dəzoχk ^h	դժոխք
‘frog’	gort	գորտ	g ^l ort	գյուրտ	gort	գորտ
‘work’	gorts	գործ	g ^l urts	գյուրծ	gorts	գործ

But this sound can also take the forms /ou̯, œ, ʏ, o/ <ol, ɛl, o> (Table 48).

Table 48: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /ou̯, œ, ʏ, o/ <ol, ɛl, o> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘mold’	borbos	բորբոս	b ^h œrbœs	բ՛տորբետ	borbos	բորբոս
‘barefoot’	bokik	բոկիկ	b ^h ʏpek	բ՛իւպէկ	bopik	բոպիկ
‘all’	bolor	բոլոր	b ^h œlov	բ՛տօլօլ	bolor	բոլոր
‘garlic’	səχtor	սխտոր	səχtoʏr	սըղտօլը	səχtor	սխտոր

Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <ɪL> The Classical Armenian sound /iʏ/ <ɪL> changes to /o, ou̯, e/ <o, ol, ɛ> (Table 49).

Table 49: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <ɪL> to /o, ou̯, e/ <o, ol, ɛ> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘carpenter’	hiʏsən	հիւսն	χou̯s	խօս	hjusən	հյուսն
‘avalanche’	hiʏs	հիւս	ou̯sɛ̃j	օսւ՛՛	hjus	հյուս
‘bodkin’	heriʏn	հերիւն	χɛ̃iron	խէ՛րօս	herjun	հերյուս
‘hundred’	hariʏr	հարիւր	χarɛr	խարէր	harjur	հարյուր
‘brick’	aʏiʏs	աղիւս	oʏɛs	օղէս	aʏjus	աղյուս
‘flour’	aliʏr	ալիւր	jɛlor	յէլօր	aljur	ալյուր

Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <ւյ> changes not only to /e/ <է>, but also to /j̥e/ <ե> (Table 50).

Table 50: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /e, j̥e/ <է, ե> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘vineyard’	ɑj̥gi	ւյգի	hege	հեգէ	ɑj̥gi	ւյգի
‘goat’	ɑj̥ts	ւյծ	j̥ets	յէծ	ɑj̥ts	ւյծ
‘cave’	ɑj̥r	ւյր	her	հեր	ɑj̥r	ւյր
‘wide’	lɑj̥n	լւյն	lij̥en	լյեն	lɑj̥n	լւյն
‘father’	hɑj̥r	հւյր	χij̥er	խյեր	hɑj̥r	հւյր
‘mother’	mɑj̥r	մւյր	mij̥er	մյեր	mɑj̥r	մւյր

Word-initial insertion of /h/ <հ> Words that start with a vowel often get an /h/ <հ> (Table 51).

Table 51: Insertion of word-initial /h/ <հ> before Classical Armenian vowels in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘durable’	amur	ամուր	hamur	համուր	amur	ամուր
‘life (CA); goods (SEA)’	abrank ^h	ապրանք	habrank ^h	հաբրանք	abranj ^h	ապրանք
‘more’	ɑveli	ավելի	havil	հավիլ	aveli	ավելի
‘shore’	ɑp ^h	ափ	hɑp ^h	հափ	ɑp ^h	ափ
‘cheap’	ɑrzan	արժան	hezan	հեժան	ɑrzan	արժան
‘oath’	erdumæn	երդումն	hertoum	հերտում	jert ^h um	երդում
‘evening’	erekoj̥	երեկոյ	herkon	հերկօս	jereko	երեկո

17.4.3.2 Morphology

17.4.3.2.1 Noun inflection or declension

In the declension of Vozim, it is noticeable that the genitive-dative uses the formatives /-ə, -ěj̥/ <ը, էյ>. The instrumental uses /-ov, -œv/ <ով, օվ>. The plural uses /-d^hir/ <դ^hիր> (Table 52).

Table 52: Plural suffix /-d^hir/ <դ^hիր> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SEA	
‘(male?) child’	təɫɑj	տղայ			təʁɑ	տղա
‘(male?) children’	təɫɑj-k ^h	տղայք	tʁejk ^h -d ^h ir	տղեյքդ ^h իր	təʁɑ-k ^h	տղաք

The following is a small depiction of the case system (Table 53).

Table 53: Sample declension paradigm for a noun ‘bread’

	Singular		Plural	
NOM	χats ^h	խաց	χats ^h -ir	խացիր
GEN-DAT	χats ^h -ə, χats ^h -əjɛn	խացը, խացէն	χats ^h -ir-u	խացիրու
ABL	χats ^h -en	խացէն	χats ^h -ir-en	խացիրէն
INS	χats ^h -ւօ՞ւ	խացով	χats ^h -ir-ւօ՞ւ	խացիրով

17.4.3.2.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The pronouns are the following (Tables 54, 55).

Table 54: Inflection paradigm for some (non-third person) personal pronouns in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'
NOM	is ɦu	mink ^h վիևք	d ^h u, d ^h œ, d ^h γ դ'ու, դ'ո, դ'իւ	d ^h œk ^h դ'ոք
GEN	im իմ	mi մի	k ^h γ քիւ	d ^h z ^h , d ^h z ^h ə ծ'ի, ծ'ը
DAT	d ^h zej, əndzej, d ^h zi ծէյ, ընծէյ, ծի	mi մի	k ^h ji քիյ	d ^h zi ծ'ի
ACC	d ^h zə, əzd ^h zə ծը, ըզծը	mi, zmi մի, զմի	k ^h ji, əzk ^h ji քիյ, ըզքիյ	d ^h zi, əzd ^h zi ծ'ի, ըզծ'ի
ABL	əndz ^h ne ընծնէ	mizne, mine միզնէ, մինէ	k ^h ji ^h ne, k ^h ji ^h z ^h ne քիյնէ, քիյզնէ	d ^h zi ^h ne, d ^h zi ^h z ^h ne ծ'ինէ, ծ'իզնէ
INS	– – χadzej խածէյ	miγov, mizγov միզով, միզով	k ^h jiγov, k ^h ji ^h z ^h γov քիյով, քիյզով	d ^h zi ^h γov, d ^h zi ^h z ^h γov ծ'իով, ծ'իզով

Table 55: Inflection paradigm for some (third person) personal pronouns in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	3SG 'he'		3PL 'they'	
NOM	an	ան	anoγnk ^h , naronk ^h	անուք, նարուք
GEN-DAT	anoγr, nanoγr	անուր, նանուր	anoγnts ^h , nanoγnts ^h	անուց, նանուց
ACC	zanek	զանէկ	zanoγnk	զանուք
ABL	anomne	անումնէ	anoγnts ^h mne	անուցմնէ
INS	anoγof, anoγxejt	անօֆ, անիւէյտ	anoγnts ^h xejt	անուց իւէյտ

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At the end of instrumentals, the form /χa/ <խա> is derived from the Classical Armenian word /het/ <հէտ>, as can be guessed. Analogous to this is the Classical Armenian word /maγt/ <մօտ> 'near', from which the words in Table 56 are formed.

Table 56: Sample of instrumental pronouns ('near X') in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

personal 1SG 'near me'	madzëj̄	մածէ՛յ
personal 1PL 'near us'	mami	մամի
personal 2SG 'near you'	mak ^h i	մաքի
personal 2PL 'near you'	madz ^h i	մածի

17.4.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

17.4.3.3.1 Overview and morphological changes

Theme vowel changes In conjugation, various changes occur, which are in accordance with phonetic rules. The present of the first conjugation takes the vowel /i/ <ի>; while it takes /ëj̄/ <էյ> in the second conjugation.

[[*Adjarian means that the Classical Armenian theme vowel /e/ became /i/, while the Classical Armenian theme vowel /i/ became /ëj̄/. The original theme vowels are maintained in SWA (Table 57).*]]

Vowel hiatus between the theme vowel and the past suffix In the imperfective, the Classical Armenian sound sequences /ëi, aji/ <էի, այի> changed to /e/ <է> (Table 57).

[[*To elaborate, when the theme vowel precedes the past suffix, the two are replaced by a vowel /e/. It seems that this vowel /e/ marks the past tense. In contrast in SWA, the two vowel morphemes are separated by a glide /j̄/.*]]

Table 57: Change from Classical Armenian theme vowels and past suffix in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
'I bring'	ber-e-m	բերեմ	kə b ^h ir-i-m	կը բ ^h իրիմ	gə p ^h er-e-m	կը բերեմ
'I speak'	χaṣ-i-m	խօսիմ	kə χos-ëj̄-i-m	կը խօսէյմ	gə χos-i-m	կը խօսիմ
'I take'	tan-i-m	տակիմ	kə tan-ëj̄-i-m	կը տակէյմ	gə tan-i-m	կը տակիմ
	√-TH-1SG		IND √-TH-1SG		IND √-TH-1SG	
'I would cry'	l-aj-i-∅	լայի	k-il-∅-e-∅	կիլէ	gu l-aj-i-∅	կը Լայի
'I would bring'	ber-ë-i-∅	բերեի	kə b ^h ir-∅-e-∅	կը բ ^h իրէ	gə p ^h er-ëj̄-i-∅	կը բերեի
	√-TH-PST-1SG		IND √-TH-PST-1SG		IND √-TH-PST-1SG	
'I was'	jes ë-i-∅	ես էի	is ∅-e-∅	իս է	jes ej̄-i-∅	կը Ե բերեի
	I AUX-PST-1SG		I AUX-PST-1SG		I AUX-PST-1SG	

Past suffix The perfective takes the vowel /ëj/ <եյ> (Table 58).

Table 58: Change from Classical Armenian past perfective in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
‘I called’	kantʃ ^h -ə-tʃ ^h -ëj-∅	կանչըցեյ	gantʃ ^h -e-tʃ ^h -i-∅	կանչեցի
‘I coughed’	χaz-a-tʃ ^h -ëj-∅	խազացեյ	haz-a-tʃ ^h -i-∅	հազացի
‘I discussed’	zruts ^h -e-tʃ ^h -ëj-∅	զրուցեցեյ	zəruts ^h -e-tʃ ^h -i-∅	զրուցեցի
	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG		√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG	

Future marker The future marker is /tə/ <տը> (Table 59).

Table 59: Future marker in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
‘I will bring’	tə b ^h ir-i-m	տը բ ^h իրիմ	bidi p ^h er-e-m	պիտի բերեմ
	FUT √-TH-1SG		FUT √-TH-1SG	
‘I was going to bring’	tə b ^h ir-∅-e-m	տը բ ^h իրե	bidi p ^h er-ej-i-∅	պիտի բերի
	FUT √-TH-PST-1SG		FUT √-TH-PST-1SG	

17.4.3.3.2 General paradigms for the reflex of the E-Class

The following is the conjugation of the Classical Armenian verb /uz-e-m/ <ուզեմ> ‘I want’.

[[*Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.*]]

[[*Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.*]]

Subjunctive present and past [[*In SWA, the subjunctive present is formed by adding agreement markers after the theme vowel (Table 60). For a verb like /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, the theme vowel is an invariant /e/. In the Vozim subdialect of the*

Van dialect, essentially the same strategy is used with slightly different agreement markers. The theme vowel for this verb in this context is /i/.]

Table 60: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
1SG	օւզ-ի-մ	օւզիմ	uz-e-m	նւզեմ (if) I want’
2SG	օւզ-ի-ս	օւզիս	uz-e-s	նւզես
3SG	օւզ-ի-∅	նւզի	uz-e-∅	նւզէ
1PL	օւզ-ի-նկ ^h	օւզինք	uz-e-նկ ^h	նւզենք
2PL	օւզ-ի-կ ^h	օւզիք	uz-e-կ ^h	նւզէք
3PL	օւզ-ի-ն	օւզին	uz-e-n	նւզեն
	√ ⁻ TH-AGR		√ ⁻ TH-AGR	

[[In SWA, the subjunctive past (Table 61) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. The past suffix is absent in the 3SG. In Vozim, the theme vowel is deleted before the past suffix /e/. Note that the 2SG and 3SG are homophonous with a final [er], but the vowel belongs to possibly different morphemes.]]

Table 61: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
1SG	օւզ-∅-e-∅	օւզէ	uz-ej-i-∅	նւզեի (if) I wanted’
2SG	օւզ-∅-e-ր	օւզեր	uz-ej-i-ր	նւզեիր
3SG	օւզ-∅-e-ր	օւզեր	uz-e-∅-ր	նւզեր
1PL	օւզ-∅-e-նկ ^h	օւզենք	uz-ej-i-նկ ^h	նւզեինք
2PL	օւզ-∅-e-կ ^h	օւզէք	uz-ej-i-կ ^h	նւզէիք
3PL	օւզ-∅-e-ն	օւզեն	uz-ej-i-ն	նւզեին
	√ ⁻ TH-PST-AGR		√ ⁻ TH-PST-AGR	

Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Indicative and future *[[In Vozim, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 62). The in-*

dicative present and past imperfective are constructed by adding the prefix /k-/ before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. The future and past future are formed also by adding the proclitic /piti/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. SWA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 62: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb 'to want' in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Indicative present <ւերկայ>		Indicative past imperfective <ւսկատար>	
1SG	k-օւզ-i-m 'I want'	կօւզիմ	k-օւզ-Յ-e-Յ 'I would want'	կօւզէ
2SG	k-օւզ-i-s	կօւզիս	k-օւզ-Յ-e-ր	կօւզէր
3SG	k-օւզ-i-Յ	կօւզի	k-օւզ-e-Յ-ր	կօւզէր
1PL	k-օւզ-i-nk ^h	կօւզինք	k-օւզ-Յ-e-nk ^h	կօւզէնք
2PL	k-օւզ-i-k ^h	կօւզիք	k-օւզ-Յ-e-k ^h	կօւզէք
3PL	k-օւզ-i-n	կօւզին	k-օւզ-Յ-e-n	կօւզէն
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	
	Future <ապանի>		Past future <ւսցեալ ապանի>	
1SG	t-օւզ-i-m 'I will want'	տօւզիմ	t-օւզ-Յ-e-Յ 'I was going to want'	տօւզէ
2SG	t-օւզ-i-s	տօւզիս	t-օւզ-Յ-e-ր	տօւզէր
3SG	t-օւզ-i-Յ	տօւզի	t-օւզ-e-Յ-ր	տօւզէր
1PL	t-օւզ-i-nk ^h	տօւզինք	t-օւզ-Յ-e-nk ^h	տօւզէնք
2PL	t-օւզ-ik ^h	տօւզիք	t-օւզ-Յ-e-k ^h	տօւզէք
3PL	t-օւզ-i-n	տօւզին	t-օւզ-Յ-e-n	տօւզէն
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

Present perfect and past perfect [[In SWA, the present perfect (Table 63) and past perfect (Table 64) are formed by combining a special non-finite form with the present/past auxiliary. For SWA, this non-finite verb can be either the resultative participle (verb with suffix /-ađz/) or the evidential participle (verb with suffix /-er/). Vozim uses a similar system. The non-finite form is labeled as just a 'past participle' by Adjarian (which I suspect is a perfective converb), and this form uses /-ir/ <իր>.]]

Table 63: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
1SG	օւզ-իր i-m	օԼզիր իմ	uz-er e-m	ուզեր եմ ‘I have wanted’
2SG	օւզ-իր i-s	օԼզիր իս	uz-er e-s	ուզեր ես
3SG	օւզ-իր i	օԼզիր ի	uz-er e	ուզեր է
1PL	օւզ-իր i-nk ^h	օԼզիր ինք	uz-er e-դ ^h	ուզեր ենք
2PL	օւզ-իր i-k ^h	օԼզիր իք	uz-er e-k ^h	ուզեր էք
3PL	օւզ-իր i-n	օԼզիր ին	uz-er e-n	ուզեր են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-AGR	

Table 64: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
1SG	օւզ-իր զ-e-ժ	ուզիր է	uz-er ej-i-ժ	ուզեր էի ‘I had wanted’
2SG	օւզ-իր զ-e-ր	ուզիր եր	uz-er ej-i-ր	ուզեր էիր
3SG	օւզ-իր e-ժ-ր	ուզիր եր	uz-er e-ժ-ր	ուզեր եր
1PL	օւզ-իր զ-e-nk ^h	ուզիր ենք	uz-er ej-i-դ ^h	ուզեր էինք
2PL	օւզ-իր զ-e-k ^h	ուզիր էք	uz-er ej-i-k ^h	ուզեր էիք
3PL	օւզ-իր զ-e-n	ուզիր են	uz-er ej-i-n	ուզեր էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-PST-AGR	

Past perfective or aorist [[The past perfective (Table 65) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-tʰ-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Vozim subdialect behaves the same, though the past suffix is /-ej/ and the theme vowel is /e/ in all but the 3SG.]]

[[Note that in Adjarian’s earlier transcriptions, he wrote that the past suffix is /ëj/ <E> but in his paradigms he writes /ej/ <E>. (?)]]

Table 65: Past perfective or aorist <կասարեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
1SG	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -եյ-∅	օԼԳԵԵԵ	uz-e-տժ ^h -i-∅	նԼԳԵԳԻ ‘I wanted’
2SG	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -եյ-ր	օԼԳԵԵԵՐ	uz-e-տժ ^h -i-ր	նԼԳԵԳԻՐ
3SG	օւզ-ի-տժ ^h -∅-∅	օԼԳԻԳ	uz-e-տժ ^h -∅-∅	նԼԳԵԳ
1PL	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -եյ-դժ ^h	օԼԳԵԵԵԼԵՍ	uz-e-տժ ^h -i-դժ ^h	նԼԳԵԳԻԼԵՍ
2PL	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -եյ-կ ^h	օԼԳԵԵԵԿ	uz-e-տժ ^h -i-կ ^h	նԼԳԵԳԻԿ
3PL	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -եյ-ն	օԼԳԵԵԵՆ	uz-e-տժ ^h -i-ն	նԼԳԵԳԻՆ
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

Imperative and prohibitive [[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph /-∅/ after the theme vowel /e/ for a verb like ‘to want’ (Table 66). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence /-e-տժ^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-տժ^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. Vozim instead adds a vowel /i/ for the 2SG; it is unclear if this /i/ is the theme vowel or an added suffix. For the 2PL, the suffix /ek^h/ is added after the aorist stem.]]

Table 66: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA ‘want!’	
2SG	օւզ-ի	օԼԳԻ	uz-e-∅	նԼԳԵ
	√-?		√-TH-IMP.2SG	
2PL	օւզ-ե-տժ ^h -ek ^h	օԼԳԵԵԿ	uz-e-տժ ^h -ek ^h	նԼԳԵԵԿ
	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL		√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL	

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 67), SWA adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the verb. The verb takes a suffix /-r/ in the 2SG, and /-k^h/ in the 2PL. In Vozim, the prohibitive is made up of the prefix /m-/ plus the imperative verb.]]

Table 67: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA ‘do not want!’	
2SG	m-óuz-î PROH-√-?	մօ՛ւզի	mí uz-e-r PROH √-TH-2SG	մի ուզե՛ր
2PL	m-óuz-e- \widehat{ts}^h -ek ^h PROH-√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL	մօ՛ւզեցե՛ք	mí uz-ek ^h PROH √-TH-2PL	մի ուզե՛ք

[[On page 157, Adjarian left a footnote with examples of imperatives and prohibitives from Vozim (Table 68), sentence]].

Table 68: Imperatives and prohibitives in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

	Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
‘bring! (SG)’	b ^h i	բ՛ի	p ^h er	բեր
‘put! (SG)’	d ^h i	դ՛ի	t ^h ir	դիր
‘eat! (SG)’	ki	կի	ger	կեր
‘don’t eat! (SG)’	m-ou̇ti	մ՛օւտի	mi uter	մի՛ ուտեր

(7) Vozim (Van) dialect

b^hi d^hi ma d̂zi, ki χa d̂zi
bring.IMP.2SG put.IMP.2SG near me.DAT, eat.IMP.2SG with me.DAT
‘Come bring it near me, eat with me.’
բ՛ի դ՛ի մա ձի, կի խա ձի

Non-finite forms [[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 69. I give SWA forms for just some of them because it is unclear to me what these Vozim participles mean. Note that Adjarian uses the term ‘past participle’ to refer to multiple different types of non-finite forms: resultative participle with /-ad̂z/ in SWA, evidential participle /-er/ in SWA. I suspect the Vozim /-ir/ is a perfective converb.]]

Table 69: Participles or converbs <ղերբայտեր> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

		Vozim (Van)		cf. SWA	
Infinitive	սևորոշ	օւզ-ի-լ √-TH-INF	օւզիլ	uz-e-l √-TH-INF	ուզել
Past	սւցեալ	օւզ-ա՛տս √-RPTCP	օւզած	uz-ađz √-RPTCP	ուզած
		օւզ-ի՛ր √-PERF.CVB	օւզիր	uz-er √-EPTCP	ուզեր
		Future	ապանի	օւզ-ի-լ-Կ √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB	օւզիլիւ √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB

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17.5 Literature

The first study on the Van dialect was done by someone named Գրիչ (see Փորձ. Ա. number 2, page 339-358)⁹ during a study of ‘Manna’ (Սրուանձտեան 1876) by Garegin Srvandztiants (Գ. Վ. Սրուանձտեան; [[SEA: /sərvandʒtjan/, SWA: /sərvan-tʃʰtjan/]]). The second and last work was my work in German (Adjarian 1901). This contains a detailed phonology of the Van dialect, done with European scientific transliteration.

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

- Literature involving the Van dialect

- General Van dialect:

- * Արիստ. Վ. Տեր-Սարգսեան - Պանդուխտ Վանցիւ. Պօլիս, 1875
- * Արիստ. Վ. Սեդրակեան - Զևար Մշեցոց եւ Վանեցոց. Վերջապտ. 1874
- * Գեորգ Շերենց - Վանայ Սազ. Թիֆլիս, Ա. 1886, Բ. 1899

⁹[[I could not track down this reference. The word Գրիչ (SEA: /gəriʃʰ/) is the Armenian word for ‘pen’, which makes me think this was an anonymous entry. (?)]]

- * Գ. Վ. Սրուանձտեանց
 - – Գրոց ու բրոց. Պօլիս. 1874
 - – Մանասայ. Պօլիս. 1876
 - – Համով հոսով. Պօլիս.
- * Տիգրան Տերոյեան – Երգարան. Պոսթոն. 1901, page 549-592
- * Գրիչ – Պանդուխտ Վանցին. (Մատենախ). Փորձ. Ա. թ. 3, էջ 113-135
- Moks subdialect
 - * Գարեգին Սարկաւազ – Սասմայ ծոեր. Թիֆլիս. 1892, page 61-151
 - * Գ. Վ. Յովսէփեան – Ռոստամ Չալ. Ազգ. Հանդ. Ե. էջ 205-254
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 - * Բ. Խալաթեանց – Իրանի հերոսները. Պարիզ, 1901, էջ 45-56
 - * Ա. Աբեղեան – Թլուատ Դաւիթ. Թիֆլիս 1902
 - * Մ. Աբեղեան – Դաւիթ եւ Սիեր. Շուշի 1889
 - * Հայ-Արմէն – Սոկաց երգեր. Արեւել. մամուլ. 1890, էջ 177-179
- Besides these, Sarkis Haykuni (Ս. Հայկունի) has published 34 fables from Van, Moks, Norduz, Shatakh, and Vozim. See էմիլեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], Վորշապ. volume 2 and 4-6 (Բ, Դ-Զ).
- There are a number of small manuscripts in the Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] periodical.
 - * From Van – 1898, էջ 183, 459, 558, 583, 1899, էջ 15, 151
 - * Shatakh – 1898, էջ 558, 569
 - * from Vozim – 1899, էջ 20, 119, 298

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 215). On Diyadin, see Martirosyan (2019: 220).*]]

17.6 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.*]]

17.6.1 Van dialect

Adjarian's note: I have taken this from Տեր-Սարգստեանցի Պանդուխտ Վանցի, page 52-55, changing it to my orthography.

Էս քանի տարի ի կուկյամ ու կընցնի. Էս քանի տարի ի մեր աչք քո ճամխի վերէն կը խալի. Էս քանի տարի ի մեր սիռտ քե խամար կը մաշվի. Էս քանի տարի ի քո սիրուց կը մյանք կարօտ. Է՛հ, վո՞վ իմ յարալու սիռտ պիրեր չիւմ քո մօտ, վոր պանկիր տիսնիր ինոր ցավեր ու վերքեր: Ա՛հ, չանձ հըմէն կսկծավոր յես եմ վիրավոր, չանձ հըմէն խռօված յես եմ տրօրված, իրիցած ու մրկած:

Թօղ կյանքիւն կյամ. Էրկիր, սարերն ու տանդներ կանաչ, կարմիր ու նարնջի գանրորի. ա՛խ, յես ի՞նչ անեմ ինոնք. յես մնացի ատներ ու կյերի. յես մնացի վոռպետվերի:

Թօղ ամբռվան պտուղներ խասնեն, միլաղներաց պէս շարվին ու կաթիւկ անեն վեր կանաչ խոտին, լոմոր լոմոր լողպորվին, յես ի՞նչ անեմ ինոնք, կարօտ մնացինք. տիւ պէտք ես խամ տաս ինոնց ու խոտ տաս, համ ինոնց, համ ձիկ:

Թօղ խօջան ժողվէ առծաթն ու վոսկին, ակն պավական, միւշաֆարներ անգ-յին, չանձ Վանամ ծով լիցուցի, չանձ աշխրքիս սարեր բանդի, թեղի ու սեխչի, ինոնք հըմէն առանց սիրու, առանց սոտի ինչի՞ս խամար ի. ա՛հ, առանց քե աստըվորիս մալն յես ի՞նչ անեմ: Ա՛խ, թէ յես քե խամար մեռած եմ, Էլմ՛ կասեմ, աշխերքիս մալն յես ի՞նչ անեմ:

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Մենք ծեռք տվինք ծեռաց, ուխտ արինք խտրաց, վոր խտրաց ապրին, խտրաց մեռնինք. քո սեր տվիր, իմ սիռտն առիր ու մեր սիրու խօսք լսեց Էրկինք, լսեց Էրկիր. մենք ուխտ արինք, ու մեմէկու վերէն խոկյի կու տինք. ա՛հ, ճղակտոր Էլմվ մեր յեղունիկ սեր. ու քեօքսխան Էլմվ մեր սիռտ. տիւ կարիք կնանցիր ու ինգամ օտար Էրկիր ու գատ մնացիր. տիւ քըռտինք կը թանփես, յես առտսուկք. տիւ մեօլրած ես, յես բեզըրած, օրս աստըվորս կնանց, Էլ գաղ չմնաց: Էնչանք կանչեմ, սարեր լացուցեմ, յես առանց քե սերն ի՞նչ անեմ, սիռտն ի՞նչ անեմ, ուխտն ի՞նչ անեմ, կյանքն ի՞նչ անեմ:

Քո ջուխտակ այվընիկ ծանքեր կուց կուց առտսուկք կը թանփեն, կուլան ու կասեն. «Մեր խերն ինչի՞ չիրե, դեղէ մարէ, ապա յեփ պիտի կյամ»: Ձի կը խառ-ցուցեն, սիռտս կը դաղեն. Էլ ինոնց խապելու մամֆամ չմնաց. ասքն ու պարիկամ տիւր տրացին, ձի խառցմուկք կ'անեն ծեր մարթուց ի՞նչ խամբար կա. յե՞փ պիտի կյամ. Էլ խերիք չԷլմվ կարիբուֆան մեջ մնա. Էլ խոկյիս Էլմվ շատերաց սուտ խապելուց. յես ծեռքից կնանցի: Տիւր տրացին, ասքն ու խնամին յես ի՞նչ անեմ առանց իմ ծետկիկ ծանքերու աղին. յես ի՞նչ անեմ վորտին, առանց իմ նաղէլի կարիբին. աշխար ձի մութ ի, վո՞վ կիրիշկի վեր լաճերաց, կարիբիս մեռնեմ ուր ճամխըներաց:

Մեր տունն տեղ մեր ծեռքից էլանվ. օտար խաֆքյուս պես մնացինք վեր չոր խըլի. վրձվ պիտի մեր նեղուբեն տիսնա, մեզ օղորմի. խեխճ ու անտեր մնացինք. քյեղնից տվել մարթ չունինք. ի՞նչ կասես, սաղ սաղ մեռնե՞նք:

Խերտ ու մերտ խալիվորցիք են. յես ինոնց դարդն չեմ կանա քյաչե. յես քյե քիչ կյըրիցի, տիւ շատ իմացի. շոտ թօղ արե, էլ խերիք ի. խերիք ի տանն տանեք, տանտակ նստեք. իսկի չէ տարին քյանի մ՛ կուռուչ փարա ճամխեք. մենք էրթանք մուրանք, պիրենք քյո տղէյնե՞ր պախենք. էլ չենք կանա անել, ինչ վոր արինք՝ էն էլ խերիք ի:

17.6.2 Diyadin subdialect

Adjarian's note: From the village of Basargechar of New Bayazet.

Իմ խեր իմ ախաօր խետ մէ օր առանց սել քյնացին (կամ քյացին) վոր քիււնչ բերեն. քյամին կայնավ. շատ էլ քյամի էր...

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... ինչքյան սել բանրցին, քյամին խըրցներ վեր տըվեց, քըցեց քյետին. չուր էնի կաննի կը դնի, քյամին վեր կուտա: Խերս յերսօտ էր. քյամու վրեն յերսօտավ, խըրցներ վեր տըվեց ասեց. էս էլ քյեգ, էս էլ քյեգ: Փափախն էլ կը խանա կը դլօդկա կը քըցա գյետին. շորերն էլ վրեվեն խանեց քցեց. էս էլ քյեգ. իօ չէս ի քյա էս էլ պրծուս տանես:

* *

Չատկի խլուսուն էր. էկան իմ ախչկեն ուզելու. խերն էլ ասաց իմ ախչիկ կուտամ քյօ տղին: ուրանք լավ ին. ուրանց բնուեն լավ էր, ամա քյասիբ ին. է՛հ, ուր կընկյան կը պախա ասինք տըվեցինք. ամա ախչկա սրտով չէր: Մնաց վոր իմ տղեք գիտին (գիտցած ին) թէ իմ մարթ թռանա (հանաք, կատակ) էրեր ա ուրանց խետ, թէ իմ ախչիկ կուտամ քյօ տղին. չին գիտցե վոր սրտանց էր ասեր էր. վոր յետօ իմացան թէ էս բանն օղորթ ա, ուզեցան քրոչ թէ առի (արի) յետ դանի, մի՛ առնի: Ախչիկ լէ վերցրեց թէ յես հարուստ մարթու ախչիկ ըլնեմ, իմ բիւրոր ախբ՛րներու անուն ափեմ գյետի՞ն: Յետօ յեխբ՛արներ կայնան թէ արի քյեգի յետ դարցուցենք, էլ չենք իտա էն տղին, լավ տղի կուտանք: Իւր քիւր վերցրեց թէ յեխբ՛ար ջանե, չե՛ղի դառնալ. իմ խօր անվանի ամօթ ա: Ուր անուն լէ Սօֆյան ա:

Մէ ամըսվա խարս էլավ. լավ խարսնիս էրեցինք. խարսնըսեն մէ ամիս յետօ մախացավ. խինգ օր խիվընոցավ մեռավ: Յես կանիծի կասի. բօխչեդ կապոկ մա. խինեդ քյամին տանա. սկի արժան չըլնես վոր դու ընեսց խօնար չես եղե. կ՛ասեր. մա՛յրիկ ջանե, ա՛ղե ջանե, յես մկա մեռնիմ վոր քի՞չ լան, էն վախտ կը մեռնիմ վոր օխտը ծեռքի շոր էլնի, վոր դնես հառչեդ իմ խամար լան:

Մկա իմ տան երեխեք վրէն խաղ ա կապած.

Յէս Սօփին եմ ծամավոր,

Դու Մանուկն իր խամավոր.

* *

Ղօրթմա (ճիշտ որ) խամավոր տղա էր. ամա քյասիբ էր. քյասիբին գիւսա ի՛նչ դղար պատվելի էլի, ինչքյան լավ գրուցա, պատիվ չկա. քյասբի բան մերժուկ ա:

Մկա կիւլամ. օր իրեք խետ կիւլամ. բա չե՞մ իլամ. Էն շորեր վոր կարի, վոչ խաքյավ. ինչ վոր կարի՝ կապուկ մնաց. մկա...

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... կանիծե՞մ. Էն վախտ կանիծի. իմ լիզուն չորնէր. մկա չեմ անիծե, յախու չեմ անիծե:

Քյօ դախին Է՞տ էր. կըսա արթանք արթանք. մկա պրծա՞ր:

Adjarian's note: This is narrated by the unfortunate mother of Sopia (Սօփիա), Aslik (Ասլիկ). I transcribed it during my summer travels of 1907 in Basargechar.

17.6.3 Moks subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], 4, page 57.

Թաքյավոր մ' կեր, իրիք տղա ուներ, իրիք ախչըկ. Էսաց. – Իս կը միռնիմ, խաֆք գյա, գէ գյա, առչ գյա, ախչկըտիր կըտեք (կուտաք), Էսաց. իս ինչ կը միռնիմ, իմ խտիվէն չգեք՝ Էսաց. ինչ կը պասկվեք՝ մա ծի կընկտիք չը քընեք՝ Էսաց. ծառ մը կա մի (մենք ծառ մը ունինք), իրիք խնծուր կը բռնը. Հուլիսի տասնըխնգին կը գյան, կը տանըն. չըն թուղնը տըմսանք ինչ խնծուր ի (ան-մահական խնծուր ի). ան ցածրի խնծուր մինծ տղըն, ան միչի խնծուր միչնիկ տղըն, ան վերի խնծուրն էլ պգտը տղըն: Էսաց. յօթ օր իմ գիրիզման կը պախեք. գըշիր ճրաքն էլ չըք թուղնը ընցնը:

խեր միռավ. տը տանին վիրուցին. Երկու միծ տղեք ասըցըն. – Խիտ Երթանք:

Փուքը Էսաց. – Չընք Երթա:

– Ի՞նչըխ, մի խեր մեռնը, ասըցըն, մինք չերթա՞նք խիտ՝

Պգտիկ ախբերն էլ առըն. գիւրովէն գնացըն խիտ:

Մինչիվ գխեր պախըցըն, Էկան, խրօխբեր նստավ թախտ, թաքյավորութեն առըց:

Փուքը ախբեր Էսաց. – ՉԷ՞ իս ծի ասըցը «չինք Երթա խտիվ»:

Առչ իրի. նստավ խնամաթոռ. – Ձի մինծ քիւր տը տեք ճը, Էսաց:

Երկու մինծ ախբեր ասըցըն. – Մինք մի քիւր ի՞նչըխ տը տանք առչին. չընք իտա. տանը տ'ուտե:

Պզտիկ ախբերն եսաց. – Իմ խօր խուսք չերի, կուշտ կիրա. ա՛ն էլ չենըմ, տը
տամ տանը՛ (պիտի տամ տանի):

Մինք քիւր առչ առքց տարախ:

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17.6.4 Norduz

Adjarian's note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], 4, page 97.

Մէկ լավ տղէ-մ կեր. զինքն էր, ուր մեր. էլավ գնաց մէկ գեղ. ասաց. – Տ'եհամ
մօ ռես, ըլնեմ վօրթկարած:

Գնաց, խնդրվավ, ասաց. – Ձի անես վօրթկարած, շախվեմ:

Ասաց. – Ա՛յ տղա, դիւ կանա՞ս վօրթիկներ շախես: Ասաց. – Կանամ:

Ասաց. Դէ՛, գնա՛ յեռչէվ վօրթկներաց. կիրակնեց կիրակի քիւ խաց-մաց ժողվի
յըմէն վօրթկի մէկ դիտր ցօրեն տամքիւ հախ:

Էլավ, գնաց յեռչէվ վօրթկներաց: Էն վօրթիկ իշ կը դռռչըկեր, պառաի կեհեր,
էն կըրհեր. տղէն կըրհեր կը տփեր, բիրեր մըչ վօրթկներաց. իշ կը մտեր դումահիք
(ետեւէն), կը տփեր, չում կը խասցներ վօրթկներաց:

Էդա լավնով մէկ շարթվան մէջ խիկք, վեց վօրթիկ սպանեց:

Գեղական էլան, գնացին ռեսին ասին.

– Մենք էն վօրթկարած կապով չընք անի. մե վօրթկներ յըմէն սպանեց:

յէլան մլուցին դիւս, գեղից խանին:

17.6.5 Shatak

Adjarian's note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], 4, page 369-370.

Միեր Սասուն կը Նստեր թաքյավոր,

Մըսրա Մէլիք Մըսըր կը Նստեր թաքյավոր.

Մըսրա մէլիքի կնիկ ճիժ չուներ:

Մըսրա մէլիքի կնիկ իրան մէջ կը մտածի.

Մէլիքից իրավունք կառնի, կըսի.

– Ձի ճիժ չունեմ, վոր Մըսըր թաքյավոր ըլնը:

Սերմս փոխեմ, տղէմ ըլնը, ըլնը Մըսրա Մէլիք.

Մըսըրա թաքյավորութուն կանգնի:

Ուր գյօղիկ, լաչիկ կօղօրկի Միեր թաքյաւորի խամար.

Միեր կը տիսնա գյօղիկ, լաչիկ օղօրկի ի ուր խամար,

Ըսիր ի. – «Կոր յես գյողիկ, լաչիկ օղօրկի եմ.

Էն չգյա, քըն զիս շատ կնիկ ի»:

Էն տեղ Միեր ի՛լ կըսի.

- Վոր նա խաբար էն տվիր ի, յես տըհամ:
- Կնիկ կըսի. – Մա՛րթ, մե՛հա. տղիկ բան չի քի խամար:
- Կըսի. – Կնիկ, յես տըհամ. յես չըհամ յես էլ ինու ցեղ կնիկ էմ.
- Ճարն ի՛նչ ի. տհամ. չըհամ չըլնը: Իլավ գնաց,
- Երկու գիշեր, յան իրեք գիշեր մօտը քնախ:
- Դարձավ Էրի տուն:
- Մըսրա-Մելիք զինք մեռավ:
- Ինը ամիս, ինը օր վոր թըմմավ, Աստված ինու տղեմ իտու:

17.6.6 Vozim subdialect

Adjarian's note: I personally transcribed this in Paris 1897, with a recent migrant from Vozim.

Կըլնին չուրս մարթ, կիան լալուտութեն. կիան (կամ կիհան) սարըմ գ՛յըլօխ կը տեսնին վոր գ՛յիւղ կը գ՛յա. խէյնգյ խատ չարջար գ՛յըլօվ կը տեսնին վոր գ՛յիւղ կը գ՛յա. խէյնգյ խատ չարջար կը գ՛յան. մու ջիւջ ընկիր ուր շլաքը գ՛էտին կը դ՛ընի, մու կըսի. «ՅԷրի յէկէք ժողվէք իսի բ՛ամ տ՛ըսիմ (բան մը պիտի ըսեմ). ըշկի (նայե՛) ձ՛իւրէն (կարդալ ձ՛իւրէն) խէյնգյ չարջաք քեօրթ գ՛յիւղեր կը գ՛յան. մու մինք էլնինք ասօնցմնէ թալնըվինք, ալ մի շաշխանէք վորե՞ ինք դ՛րիւր վեր մի թիվէյն: Մօւ քյանի վոր իմ սիրտ կը տրախկա՝ շաշխանէն իս անօնց ձ՛եռ չմէ՛յտա (չեմ ի տար). մու զա՛րկըցէք, վոր փախնէ՝ ուր կընկյան քյաֆէք վար ուր գ՛ըլխուն յեղնէ»:

* *

- Օ՛րըմ դօլմիւղիւր կկանչի. – Պօ՛գօ, յարի, քի բ՛ամ տըսիմ:
- Պօգօն կէլնի կիա (կերթայ), կըսի.
- Բ՛առնօն (բարի երեկոյ), Կարապիտ աղա. ի՛նչ կը խրամայիս:
- Կըսի. – Հասօր քիւ ջ՛ուրէյն տըտաս, վորը բինբաշէյն խեծնի իա Կծվակ (գիւղ մ՛է):
- Կըսի. – Չի, Կարապիտ աղա, իմ ջ՛ուրէյն մարթիւ չմէ՛յտա:
- Չի, տտաս:
- Չմէ՛յտա. վալլահ, Կարապիտ աղա, մկա իմ վէյզ կտրիս ու իմ ջ՛ուրէյն չմէյտա:
- Վորե՞ չսէ՛յտա (չեմ ի տար), մահռուզ (անիծած) պապ, ի՛նչ անօն կը դ՛նիս օր չսէ՛յտա. տղէքդ՛իւր, գ՛յացէք անօր ջ՛ուրէյն բ՛իւրեք:

Տղեք կիան, ջ՛ուրէյն մըսըը վըրվէն կը հարցըկին, կօւրդ՛էյն (կորդին «թամբ») կը դ՛նին վրէն, կառնին կը բ՛իրին, կկապին վա՛ր դ՛ռան. կիան կըսին. – Կարապի՛տ աղա, ջ՛ուրէյն բ՛իրիցէյնք:

Պօզօն կըսի. – Կարապի՛տ աղա, ջ՛ուրէյն տարա՛ր:

– Կը տանէյմ ու քյիւ աչքն էլ կխանհիմ:

– Է՛հ, աղէկ, Կարապիտ աղա, թխ քյիւ խաբար յեղնի:

Պօզօն կելնի կիա ցա՛ծր, կընկնի դ՛էօս (դուրս), կիա կը կանչի.

– Պո՛ւղուս, յար՛ ըսիմ. գ՛յըտի՞ս, Կարապիտ տղէն զէօրէօվ մի (մեր) ջ՛ուրէյն տարավ յարի մի ճակիր (զէնքեր) կապինք:

(Շարունակութիւնը Պօզօն կը պատմէ):

Ճակիրը կապըցէյնք, գ՛յացէյնք վա՛ր քէօշքը՛ դ՛ռան կանգնանք. կանչըցէի. «Կարապի՛տ աղա, քյիւ գ՛յըլօխ հետըսէն բ՛ի¹⁰ դ՛էօս: Կարապի՛տ աղա, ջ՛ուրէյն տը տանէյս. մօւ ասացէլ, թը դ՛իւ չտանէյս, քյիւ մեր անըծիմ, քիւ յօթ պորտ անըծիմ՝ թը դ՛իւ չտանէյս. դի յէ՛րի տար: Իս իմ ջ՛իւրիւն հաֆսար (սանձ) բ՛ըռնըցէ ու տարա կապըցէ վը մարէյն: Կարապիտ աղա, մկա կտրէյձ իս, յէ՛րի տար. ջ՛ուրէյնս տարա: Քյիւ բինբաշէյն վո՛րն ի, ասի անօւր, թխ գ՛յա՝ ան տանէ: Քյիւ բինբաշէյն վո՛րն ի, ասի անօւր, թխ գ՛յա՝ ան տանէ: Դ՛էօ՛ չէ, քյիւ բինբաշէյն չէ, ձ՛ի յօթ խեր գ՛յա՝ չկա՛նէ տանէ: Վալլաի իս մկա փոսուն (փորոտիք) քյիւ փոլրէն տխանհիմ: Դ՛իւ գ՛յըտի՞ս իս վո՛րն իմ. մօւ իս չզմա Պօզօ տղէն իմ, գ՛յըտի՞ս»:

Մօւ իս տարտ իմ ջ՛ուրէյն, ալ մարթ հիմ յերեվան չէկավ. չկյախշցան (չհամարձակեցան): Մօւ Կարապիտ աղէն էլավ գ՛նաց հիքմէթ, ասից. «Անա մարթ չմօ՛ւզի մանչ (մէջ) իմ գ՛յեղէյն. նա մարթէյք մարթասպան ին. յա նա մարթէյկ տը մլիս դ՛էօս, յա միկք տխանք»:

Մօւ իս էլա, ի՛նչ կեր ձէյ, էլա կեր ձէյ թագէյս մ ու լօփ մ՛ (կապերտ). բ՛ա՛րցը վր իմ ջ՛իւրիւն, ու խեծա իմ ջ՛ուրէյն, ու շաշխանէն դ՛րի վր իմ թիվէյն, ըսի. «Կարապիտ աղա, իս կիամ. թը դ՛իւ խարեր խոկյով չգ՛աս իմ հեռչիկ սա (թրք. իսէ՛ եթէ), իս քյիւ մեռել անըծիմ. թը դ՛իւ վորցը մարթ իս՝ մըչ...

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... գ՛յեղէյն բաբագեթուկին չվէ՛լի (չի՛ վայելեր). արի իմ հեռչիկ ու քի նշանց տամ»:

Մօւ էլա գ՛ընացէյ մանչ իմ նայարներին. մօւ իմ նայարնիր ըսէյն ձէյ. վորէ՛ր էկար: Մօւ իս էլա գ՛ացէյ խլաթուլ յերկէյր: խլաթցէյք ուրանց կնէյկ հալէօվ կօւզէն վր ձէյ զօրբըթեն էնէն: Մօւ իս չըզմըցէյ յեղնէյմ ու տառան խլաթցօց էվալլաի էնի՛մ. մօւ իմ խերէյն դաբուլ չէ ըրած. ասը՛ իամ ասլանիթ թը զանըն, ըզձը սպանըն աղէկ ի՝ քանց խլացէյք վոր վր ձը զօրբըթեն տէնին:

¹⁰[[Adjarian left a lengthy footnote here that is I moved to §17.4.3.3.2.]]

Chapter 18

Tigranakert

18.1 Background and literature

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The central city of this dialect is Tigranakert (Turkish: Diyarbakır). Similar to the Moks subdialect, this is the southern border of Armenian, south of which Kurdish or Arabic are spoken. It spreads in the southwest until Urfa or Edessa; and starting close to that, the Euphrates river takes the dialect's western borders until Arghni, and then with a straight line until Lice. The northern and eastern border forms the Mush dialect. Based on this, the locations where Tigranakert is spoken are the city of Tigranakert, Hazro, Hazzo, Khian, Siverek, Edessa, and Lice. The latter is originally Kurdish-speaking, but there are many migrants from Tigranakert who have revived the Armenian dialect.

[[*Martirosyan (2019: 207) seems to treat Edessa/Urfa as a separate dialect.*]]

The dialect of Tigranakert is still not studied at all. Published manuscripts that use this dialect or its other branches are very insignificant pieces. These are small collections of proverbs, riddles, and popular blessings, in the Istanbul ԲԻՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn] periodical. For example:

- from Tigranakert:
 - year 1898, page 332, 337, 413, 445, 470, 569, 654, and 700
 - year 1899, page 545, and 731
 - year 1900, page 330, 450, and 677
- from Khian:
 - year 1898, page 301, 493, and 701
 - year 1899, page 650
- from Hazzo:

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- year 1898, page 538
- year 1899, page 37, 75, and 641
- from Hazro:
 - year 1899, page 805
 - year 1900, page 263
- from Urfa:
 - year 1900, page 331
- from Siverek:
 - year 1900, page 331

There is a sample of the Tigranakert dialect in Արեւելեան Մամուլ [*Eastern Press*] 1884, page 470-472, but it is not authentic (հարազատ).¹

During my summer travels in 1910, I got acquainted in Istanbul with two newcomers from Tigranakert; one was a teacher, and the other a medical student. With their help, I started...

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... to organize a study of the Tigranakert dialect, from which I take the following concise outlines.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 213).*]]

18.2 Phonology

18.2.1 Segment inventory

18.2.1.1 Vowel inventory

The Tigranakert dialect occupies a middle ground between the Mush and Malatya dialects. Among the vowels, the vowel /æ/ <ü> is extremely common, while the vowels /oe, ʏ/ <օ, իւ> are rarely sometimes found in foreign words.

¹[[*I translated the word հարազատ here as ‘authentic’. But I am not sure if the word հարազատ here is meant to say that the text is a secondary source, a translated source, or just not familiar to Adjarian. (?)*]]

18.2.1.2 Consonant inventory

18.2.1.2.1 Laryngeal changes

In its consonants, the Tigranakert dialect presents a system that is entirely different from all the other dialects that we have seen up till now. From the three degrees of consonants in Old Armenian, only two remain: voiced and voiceless aspirated. The Armenian voiced stops and affricates become voiceless aspirated, the voiceless unaspirated become voiced, while the voiceless aspirated stay the same (Table 1).

Table 1: Laryngeal changes from Classical Armenian to the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	p ^h eræn	փերան	beran	բերան
‘barefoot’	bokik	բոկիկ	p ^h obig	փոբիգ	bopik	բոպիկ
‘knife’	danak	դանակ	t ^h ænæg	թանսագ	danak	դանակ

(In the Hazzo subdialect, we find the voiced aspirated group, similar to the Mush dialect. But here the phonetic rules have taken a step further; the voiceless unaspirated sounds also turned to voiced aspirated (Table 2)).

Table 2: Voiced aspirated sounds in the Hazzo subdialect of the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hazzo (Tigranakert)		cf. SEA	
‘he got up’	kangnets ^h ալ	կանգնեցալ	g ^h annav	գ ^h աննավ	kangnets ^h	կանգնեց
‘woman’			g ^h nik	գ ^h նիկ	kənik	կնիկ
‘place’	teł	տեղ	d ^h ieχ	դ ^h եխ	teχ	տեղ
‘he would want’			g ^h uzer	գ ^h ուզեր	kuzer	կուզեր

18.2.1.2.2 Arabic consonants /ʕ, ħ, q/ / <‘, h‘, ɳ‘/ and /lʰ/ <l‘>

Among the consonants, the following are added: /ʕ, ħ, q, lʰ/ <‘, h‘, ɳ‘, l‘>. The first three are borrowed from Arabic, and they are found only in Arabic words. The <‘> signifies the Arabic sound /ʕɑjn/ <‘ալս> (<ع> /ʕ/), the <ɳ‘> signifies the Arabic sound /k^haf/ քաֆ (<ق> /q/), and the <h‘> signifies Arabic <ħw> /ħ/ (<ح> /ħ/). For example, Table 3.

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Table 3: New consonants /ʕ, ħ, q/ <‘, h‘, ḡ‘> from Arabic in the Tigranakert dialect

	Arabic		> Tigranakert	
‘scorpion’	<‘aqrab>	عقرب	ʕaqrab	‘սղ՛րաբ
‘life’	<‘umr>	عمر	ʕœmr	‘Էօմր
‘zaatar’	<za‘tar>	زعتر	zɑʕtʰɑr	զա՛թար
‘heart (Arabic), false (Tigranakert)’ false (Tigranakert)’	<qalb>	قلب	qælb	ղ՛ալբ
‘halva’	<ħalwā>	حلوى	ħælvæ	հ՛ալվա
‘jujube’	<‘unnāb>	عناب	ʕunnɑb	‘ոսնաբ
	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert	
‘cuckoo’	kəku	կկուկ	quququ	ղ՛ուղ՛ղ՛ուկ

The sound <ɭ‘> is /l/ <ɭ> with a soft pronunciation ([[lʰ/]]), similar to Russian /lʲ/ <ль> and it is found in native Armenian words (Table 4).

Table 4: Sound /lʲ/ <ɭ‘> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘fawn’	ul	ուլ	ulʲ	ուլ՛	ul	ուլ
‘head’	gəluχ	գլուխ	kʰlʲuχ	քլ՛ուխ	gəluχ	գլուխ
‘Pleiades’	bojlkʰ	բոյլք	pʰulʲkʰ	փուլ՛ք	bujlkʰ	բույլք
‘to wash’	lʰɑnal	լուանալ	lʲvænæɭ	լ՛վանալ	ləvɑnal	լվանալ
‘to bathe’	loganal	լոզանալ	lʲognæɭ	լ՛օզանալ	logɑnal	լոզանալ

18.2.1.2.3 Patalalized stops /kʲ, kʰʲ, /dʲ/ <կյ, քյ, ḡյ>

Similar to the Van dialect, here we also find the sounds /kʲ, kʰʲ/ <կյ, քյ> and also the sound /dʲ/ <ḡյ> (Table 5).

Table 5: Palatalized sounds /k^j, k^hj, d^j/ <կյ, քյ, դյ> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
'I wore'	hagaĭ	հագայ	hæk ^h jæ	հաճյա՛	haga	հագա
'to come'	gal	գալ	ik ^h jælj	իքյալ՛	haga	գալ
'godfather'	kənk ^h ahajr	կնքահայր	ink ^h jæsvur	ինքյա՛վուր	kəŋk ^h ahajr	կնքահայր
'pot'	putuk	պոտուկ	bud ^h ug	բուդյուկ	putuk	պոտուկ

18.2.1.2.4 Glide /w/ <Լ>

The subdialect of Hazzo has created a new half-sound, which except for Maragha, is not found in other dialects. This is the English sound /w/, whose exact correspondent in Old Armenian is the form <Լ> /w/, just as how we transliterate it. It is likewise found in words borrowed from foreign languages (Table 6).

Table 6: Glide /w/ <Լ> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
'on'	i verɑĭ	ի վերայ	wəren	ԼըրԷս	vəra	վրա
'that'	or	որ	wər	Լըր	vor	որ
	Arabic		> Tigranakert			
'time'	<waqt>	وقت	wɑxt	Լախտ		

18.2.2 Sound changes

Among sound changes, it is worth mentioning the following.

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18.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

18.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա>

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑ/ <ա> has for the most part changed to /æ/ <ա՛>, such that the dialect is filled with this sound. For a person from Tigranakert, it is difficult to pronounce the sound /ɑ/ <ա>; that sound is preserved only next to the sound /r/ <ռ> and in few other circumstances (Table 7).

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Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա> to usually /æ/ <ւ> but sometimes /ɑ/ <ա> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
'pompous'	ambartawan	ամբարտաւան	æmp ^h ærdævæn	ամփամրդամվան	ambartavan	ամբարտավան
'cane'	gawazan	գաւազան	k ^h ævæzæŋ	քամվնզան	gavazan	գավազան
'deacon'	sarkawag	սարկաւագ	særgævækh	սարգամվնք	sarkavag	սարկավագ
'water-mill'	džaratats ⁿ	ջրաղաց	tj ^h æxærts ⁿ	չնրղնրց	džaratats ⁿ	ջրաղաց
'stall'	axor	ախոռ	axor	ախոռ	axor	ախոռ
'granary'	ambar (?)	ամբար (?)	ambar	ամբար	ambar	ամբար
'male cat'			artj ^h	արչ		
'censer'	burvar	բուրվար	p ^h ulvar	փուվար	burvar	բուրվար
'to lift'	barnal	բառնալ	p ^h arnal	փառնալ	barnal	բառնալ

18.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> has changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 8a). But in the case declension, we find as in Table 8b.

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /u/ <ու> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
a. 'new'	nor	նոր	nur	նուր	nor	նոր
'belly'	p ^h or	փոր	p ^h ur	փուր	p ^h or	փոր
'pit'	p ^h os	փոս	p ^h us	փոս	p ^h os	փոս
'earth'	hoł	հող	χoϝ	խոլ	hoϝ	հող
'onion'	soχ	սոխ	suχ	սուխ	soχ	սոխ
'dry'	tj ^h or	չոր	tj ^h ur	չուր	tj ^h or	չոր
'four'	tj ^h ors	չորս	tj ^h urs	չուրս	tj ^h ors	չորս
b. 'belly-GEN'	p ^h or-i	փորոյ	p ^h or-i	փորի	p ^h or-i	փորի
'pit-GEN'	p ^h os-i	փոսի	p ^h os-i	փոսի	p ^h os	փոսի
'earth-GEN'	hoł-oj	հողոյ	χoϝ-u	խողու	hoϝ-i	հողի

The same sound at the beginning of monosyllabic words becomes /vo, və/ <վօ, վը>; it becomes /o/ <օ> at the beginning of polysyllabic words (Table 9).²

²[[For the word 'calf', Adjarian provides a Classical ancestor /hort^h/ <հորթ>. But the most prescriptive Classical Armenian form is /ort^h/ <որթ>. I changed his example for accuracy.]]

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /vo, və, o/ <վօ, վը, օ> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘who’	ov	ով	vov	վօվ	ov	ով
‘buttocks’	or	ոռ	vər	վըռ	vor	ոռ
‘lentil’	ospən	ոսսվն	vəsp	վըսսվ	vosp	ոսսվ
‘orphan’	orb	որբ	vərp ^h	վըրբ ^h	vorp ^h	որբ
‘smell’	ort ^h	որթ	vərt ^h	վըրթ	hort	հորթ
‘hedgehog’	ozni	ոզնի	oznig	օզնիգ	vozni	ոզնի
‘to twist’	olorel	օլորել	olril	օլրիլ	volorel	օլորել
‘gold’	oski	ոսկի	ozgi	օզգի	voski	ոսկի
‘alive’	ołdʒ	ողջ	voχtj ^h	վօխչ	voχtj ^h	ողջ
‘to be cured’	ołdʒanal	ողջանալ	oχtj ^h ənnæł	օխչըննալ	voχtj ^h anal	ողջանալ
‘bone’	oskər	ոսկր	osk ^h ur	օսքուր	voskor	ոսկր

18.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

The Classical Armenian sound /u/ <nL> usually remains /u/ <nL> (Table 10a).³ But it becomes /o/ <o> in the word in Table 10b.

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u/ <nL> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
a. ‘dog’	fun	շուն	fun	շուն	fun	շուն
‘deaf’	χul	խուլ	χul	խուլ	χul	խուլ
‘pomegranate’	nurən	նուրն	nur	նուր	nur	նուր
‘camel’ (?), ‘vow’ (?)			uχd	ուխդ		
‘fawn’	ul	ուլ	ul ⁱ	ուլ ⁱ	ul	ուլ
‘incense’	χunk	խունկ	χung	խունգ	χungk	խունկ
b. ‘door’	durən	դուրն	t ^h or	թօր	dur	դուր

18.2.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /e/ <ɛ>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ɛ> becomes /i/ <ɪ> in the final syllable (Table 11a). But it becomes /e/ <ɛ> in case declension (Table 11b).

³[[For the Tigranakert word /uχd/ <ուխդ>, it is unclear if this word is a reflex of the Classical Armenian word for ‘vow’ /uχt/ <ուխտ> or for ‘camel’ /ult/ <ուլտ> (SEA: /uχt/). (?)]]

Chapter 18 *Tigranakert*

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
a. ‘face’	eres	երես	eris	երիս	jeres	երես
‘place’	teł	տեղ	diɣ	դիղ	teɣ	տեղ
‘medicine’	deł	դեղ	t ^h iɣ	թիղ	deɣ	դեղ
‘sun’	areɣ	արեւ	æriv	արիվ	arev	արև
‘needle’	asełæn	ասեղն	æsiɣ	ասիղ	aseɣ	ասեղ
b. ‘face-GEN’	eres-i	երեսի	eres-i	երեսի	jeres-i	երեսի
‘medicine-GEN’	deł-i	դեղի	t ^h eɣ-i	թեղի	deɣ-i	դեղի

At the beginning of words, this sound becomes /je/ <յե> for monosyllables, while /e/ <ե> for polysyllables (Table 12).

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, e/ <յե, ե> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘ox’	eɣæn	եղս	jeɣ	յեղ	jeɣ	եղ
‘I’	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես
‘when’	erb	երբ	jep ^h	յեբ ^h	jerp ^h	երբ
‘yesterday’	erēk	երեկ	ereg	երեղ	jerek	երեկ
‘iron’	erkat ^h	երկաթ	ergæt ^h	երգաթ	jerkat ^h	երկաթ

18.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

18.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /aj/ <այ> becomes /e/ <ե> (Table 13).

Table 13: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /e/ <ե> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
distal ‘that yonder’	ajn	այն	en	էն	ajn	այն
proximal ‘this’	ajs	այս	es	ես	ajs	այս
‘wood’	p ^h ajt	փայտ	p ^h ed	փեդ	p ^h ajt	փայտ
‘vineyard’	ajgi	այգի	ek ^h i	եքի	ajgi	այգի
‘to burn’	ajrel	այրել	ervil	երվիլ	ajrel	այրել
‘lightning’	kajtsakən	կայծակն	gedzæk ^h	գեծաք	kajtsak	կայծակ

18.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʉ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iʉ/ <իւ> becomes /i, u/ <ի, ու> (Table 14).

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /iʉ/ <իւ> to /i, u/ <ի, ու> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘blood’	ariʉn	արիւն	ærin	արին	arjun	արյուն
‘hundred’	hariʉr	հարիւր	hærir	հարիր	harjur	հարյուր
‘flour’	aliʉr	ալիւր	ælır	ալիր	aljur	ալյուր
‘column’	siʉn	սիւն	sun	սուն	sjun	սյուն
‘snow’	dziʉn	ծիւն	ts ^h un	ցուն	dzjun	ծյուն

18.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oj/ <ոյ> becomes /u/ <ու> (Table 15).

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘light’	lojs	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujş	լույս
‘Pleiades’	boilk ^h	բոյլք	p ^h ul ^h k ^h	փուլք	bujlk ^h	բույլք
‘nest’	bojn	բոյն	p ^h un	փուն	bujn	բույն

18.2.2.3 Consonant changes

18.2.2.3.1 Classical Armenian /h/ <h>

The Classical Armenian consonant /h/ <h> generally remains /h/ <h>, just as in the Mush dialect; but it changes to /χ/ <խ> in the words in Table 16.

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /χ/ <խ> in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘earth’	hoł	հող	χուք	խող	hoʋ	հող
‘far’	heroj	հեռոյ	χору	խօռու	heru	հեռու
‘time’	heł	հեղ	χիք	խիղ	heʋ	հեղ

18.2.2.3.2 Word-medial gemination

In many places, it is notable that word-medial consonants are repeated (Table 17).

Table 17: Gemination from Classical Armenian to the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘cheap’	arzan	արժան	ezzæn	էժժան	arzan	արժան
‘tail of sheep’	dəmak	դմակ	t ^h əmmæg	թըմմագ	dəmak	դմակ
‘seven’	ɛáut ^h ən	եաւթն	jót ^h t ^h e	յո՛թթէ	jót ^h ə	յոթը
‘to cleanse’	zətel	զտել	zəddel	զըդդել	zətel	զտել
‘sour’	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու	t ^h ot ^h t ^h u	թօթթու	t ^h ət ^h u	թթու
‘manure’	t ^h ərik ^h	թրիք	t ^h ərrik ^h	թըրրիք	t ^h ərik ^h	թրիք
‘nine’	ínən	ինն	ínənə	ի՛ննէ	ínə	ինը
‘to hear’	ləsel	լսել	ləssel	լըսսել	ləsel	լսել
‘to smoke’	tsəxel	ծխել	dzəxxæl	ծըխխալ	tsəxel	ծխել
‘to suck’	tsətsel	ծծել	dzədzdzjel	ծըծծել	tsətsel	ծծել
‘early’	kanux	կանուխ	gənnux	զըննուխ	kanux	կանուխ
‘pungent’	kətsu	կծու	gədzdzzu	զըծծու	kətsu	կծու
‘soul’	hogi	հոգի	hok ^h k ^h i	հօքքի	hok ^h i	հոգի
‘farmer’	məfak	մշակ	mʃfæg	մշշագ	məfak	մշակ

Sometimes, the simple form of the word uses one consonant, but the consonant is repeated in case declension (Table 18).⁴

Table 18: Gemination in derived forms in the Tigranakert dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘bread’	hats ^h	huḡ	hats ^h	huḡ	hats ^h	huḡ
‘bread-PL’			hats ^h ts ^h -ir	huḡḡḡḡ	hats ^h -er	huḡḡḡ
‘six’ (?)	vets ^h	վեց	vits ^h	վից	vets ^h	վեց
‘six-GEN’ (?)	vets ^h -i	վեցի	vits ^h ts ^h -i	վիցցի	vets ^h -i	վեցի

18.3 Morphology

18.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

18.3.1.1 Definite article /-e/ <t>

In the grammar, it is notable that the article /-ə/ <ը> of Civil Armenian has the form /e/ <t> here, and it is of course unstressed (Table 19).

Table 19: Gemination from Classical Armenian to the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘mouth-DEF’	p ^h eráén-e	փերւանէ	berán-ə	բերակը
‘dog’	ʃún-e	շո՛ւնէ	ʃún-ə	շունը
‘column’	sún-e	սո՛ւնէ	sʃún-ə	սյունը

18.3.1.2 Accusative prefix /z-/ <q>

The accusative case...

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... is formed with the prefix /z/ <q>, as in the Mush dialect, or without the prefix.

⁴[[Adjarian does not provide a translation or ancestor for the word /vits^h/ <վից>; I speculate that this word is derived from the Classical Armenian word for ‘six’. (?)]

18.3.1.3 Ablative suffix /-e, -uts^h/ <Է, ուց>

The ablative is the formative /-e/ <Է> , but infinitives take the formative /-uts^h/ <ուց> (Table 20).

Table 20: Ablatives in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘from loving’	sir-e-l-uts ^h	սիրելուց	sir-e-l-uts ^h	սիրելուց
‘from speaking’	χos-e-l-uts ^h	խօսելուց	χos-e-l-uts ^h	խօսելուց
	√-TH-INF-ABL		√-TH-INF-ABL	

18.3.1.4 Plural markers /-ir, -nir, -ni/ <իր, սիր, սի>

The plural marker is /ir, -nir, -ni/ <իր, սիր, սի> (Table 21).

Table 21: Plurals in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
‘bread-PL’	hæts ^h ts ^h -ir	հացցիր	hats ^h -er	հացեր
‘angel-PL’	hrəfdæg-ni	հրեշնազնի	həreftak-ner	հրեշտակներ

18.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

For pronouns, there are some noteworthy points. The first among them is /jesi/ <յեսի>, the accusative form of the 1SG pronoun <ես> ([[CA: /es/, SEA: /jes/]]). The second is the absence of the medial demonstrative <այդ> ([[CA: /ajd/, SEA: /ajd/]]). The Tigranakert dialect distinguishes only two demonstratives: proximal ‘this’ <այս> and distal ‘that’ <այն> ([[CA: /ajs, ajn/, SEA: /ajs, ajn/]]). While the <այդ> is explained with the forms <այս> or <այն>.

These are declined as follows.

[[Table 22 lists personal pronouns.]]

Table 22: Inflection paradigm for personal pronouns in the Tigranakert dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'
NOM	jes յէս	t ^h un թընս	mink ^h մինք	t ^h uk ^h թընք
GEN	im իմ	k ^h u քըս	mir միր	ts ^h er ցէր
DAT	əndzi ընծի	k ^h ez(i) քէզ(ի)	mez(i) մէզ(ի)	ts ^h ez(i) ցէզ(ի)
ACC	jesi յէսի	k ^h ezi, zk ^h i քէզի, զքի	mezi, zmi մէզի, զմի	ts ^h ez(i) ցէզ(ի)
ABL	əndzme ընծմէ	k ^h ezme քէզմէ	mezme մէզմէ	ts ^h ezme ցէզմէ
INS	əndzmov ընծմօվ	k ^h ezmov քէզմօվ	mezmov մէզմօվ	ts ^h ezmov ցէզմօվ

[[Table 23 lists demonstrative pronouns.]]

Table 23: Inflection paradigm for demonstrative pronouns in the Tigranakert dialect

	Singular		Plural	
	proximal 'this'	distal 'that'	proximal 'these'	distal 'those'
NOM	əʂ, əʂi, əʂigi ան, ըսի, ըսիզի	əʂn, əʂni, əʂnigi ան, ընի, ընիզի	əʂunk ^h ըսուկք	əʂunk ^h ընուկք
GEN	əʂur ըսուր	əʂur ընուր	əʂunts ^h ըսուկց	əʂunts ^h ընուկց
DAT	əʂur ըսուր	əʂur ընուր	əʂunts ^h ըսուկց	əʂunts ^h ընուկց
ACC	əʂur, əʂi, əʂigi ըսուր, ըսի, ըսիզի	əʂur, əʂni, əʂnigi ընուր, ընի, ընիզի	əʂunts ^h ըսուկց	əʂunts ^h ընուկց
ABL	əʂurme, əʂurmene ըսուրմէ, ըսուրմէնէ	əʂurme, əʂurmene ընուրմէ, ընուրմէնէ	əʂunts ^h me ըսուկցմէ	əʂunts ^h me ընուկցմէ
INS	əʂurmov ըսուրմօզ	əʂurmov ընուրմօզ	əʂunts ^h mov ըսուկցմօզ	əʂunts ^h mov ընուկցմօզ

[[Table 24 lists the interrogative pronoun 'who'.]]

Table 24: Paradigm of the interrogative pronoun 'who' in the Tigranakert dialect

	Singular	Plural
NOM	vov վօզ	vovir վօզիր
GEN-DAT	voru վօրու	vorerun վօրերուն
ABL	vorme, vormene վօրմէ, վօրմէնէ	voronts ^h mene վօրօնցմէնէ

18.3.3 Noun inflection or declension (continued)

18.3.3.1 Possessive articles and the extra suffix /-i/ <ի>

The possessive articles are directly attached to nouns in the Armenian language; here, just as sometimes in the Mush dialect, they receive the unstressed ending /-i/ <ի> (Table 25).

Table 25: Possessives in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SEA	
'mouth-POSS.1SG'	p ^h eræ̃n-si	փերա՛նսի	berán-əs	բերանս
'head-POSS.1SG'	k ^h lúχ-si	քլո՛ւխսի	gəlúχ-əs	գլուխս
'face-POSS.2SG'	erís-t ^h i	երի՛սթի	jerés-ət	երեսդ
'heart-POSS.1SG'	sírd-is	սի՛րդիս	sírt-əs	սիրտս
'neck-POSS.2SG'	víz-it ^h	վի՛զիթ	víz-ət	վիզդ
'heart-GEN-POSS.1SG'	srd-í-si	սրդի՛սի	sərt-í-s	սրտիս
'heart-PL-PL.POSS-GEN-POSS.1SG'	srd-er-n-ú-si	սրդերնո՛ւսի	sərd-er-n-ú-s	սրտերնու (SWA)
'soul-GEN-POSS.2SG'	hok ^h k ^h -ú-t ^h i	հոքքո՛ւթի	hok ^h -u-t	հոգուդ
'sin.GEN-POSS.2SG'	meṁáts ^h -is	մեղա՛ցիս		
'heart-INS-POSS.1SG'	srd-óv-si	սրդո՛վսի	sərt-óv-əs	սրտովս
'face-INS-POSS.2SG'	eres-óv-t ^h i	երեսո՛վթի	jerés-óv-ət	երեսովդ

The addition of unstressed /i/ <ի> has combined with the article /e/ <է>, giving the dialect a soft Italian harmony,...

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... especially when they are sequentially placed one after another in a row (1).

(1) Tigranakert dialect

- a. srd-í-si sún-e
heart-GEN-POSS.1SG column-DEF
'the column of my heart'
սրդի՛սի սո՛նէ
- b. hok^hk^h-ú-si dún-e
soul-GEN-POSS.1SG house-DEF
'the house of my soul'
հոքքո՛ւսի դո՛նէ

18.3.4 Verb inflection or conjugation

18.3.4.1 Theme vowel changes

In verbs, the Classical Armenian present vowel /e/ <ե> becomes /i/ <ի> when next to nasals and /s/ <ս> (Table 26).

Table 26: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-uz-i-m	գուզիմ	g-uz-e-m ‘I want’	կ’ուզեմ
2SG	g-uz-i-s	գուզիս	g-uz-e-s	կ’ուզես
3SG	g-uz-e-∅	գուզէ	g-uz-e-∅	կ’ուզէ
1PL	g-uz-i-nk ^h	գուզինք	g-uz-e-դk ^h	կ’ուզենք
2PL	g-uz-e-k ^h	գուզէք	g-uz-e-m	կ’ուզէք
3PL	g-uz-i-n	գուզին	g-uz-e-n	կ’ուզեն
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	

The imperfective loses its vowel /i/ <ի>, but it can also keep it (Table 27).

[[The data is too limited to know if the surface vowel /e/ is synchronically the theme vowel or the past suffix or both. (?)]]

Table 27: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. SWA ‘we would want’	
1PL	g-uz-e-∅-nk ^h	գուզէնք	g-uz-ej-i-դk ^h	կ’ուզէինք
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

18.3.4.2 Monosyllabic verbs

In monosyllabic verbs, the formative /i/ <ի> is added (Table 28). This added sound likewise remains when the verb is conjugated or declined.

Table 28: Paradigm of monosyllabic verbs in the Tigranakert dialect

	Tigranakert		cf. Classical Armenian		
‘to cry’	il-æ-l	իլւիլ	l-a-l	լալ	√-TH-INF
‘to come’	ik ^{hi} -æ-l	իքյւիլ	g-a-l	գալ	
‘to give’	id-æ-l	իդւիլ	t-a-l	տալ	
‘to exist’	ig-æ-l	իգւիլ	k-a-l	կալ	
	Tigranakert		cf. SWA		
‘to cry (INS)’	il-æ-l-ov	իլւիլօվ	l-a-l-ov	լալով	√-TH-INF-INS
‘I cried’	il-æ-t ^h -i-∅	իլւիցի	l-a-t ^h -i-∅	լացի	√-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
‘there exists’	ig-æ-∅	իգւ	k-a-∅	կայ	√-TH-3SG

18.3.4.3 Future formative /mən/ <մըն>

The formation of the future is surprising, because it uses the unfamiliar formative /mən/ <մըն> (2).

(2) Tigranakert dialect

- a. mən uz-i-m
FUT want-TH-1SG
‘I will want.’
մըն ուզիմ
- b. mən p^her-i-m
FUT bring-TH-1SG
‘I will bring.’
մըն փերիմ
- c. mən uz-e-i-∅
FUT want-TH-PST-1SG
‘I was going to want.’
մըն ուզեի
- d. t^hé-mən uz-i-m
NEG-FUT want-TH-1SG
‘I will not want.’
չըմըն ուզիմ
- e. t^hé-mən uz-e-i-∅
NEG-FUT want-TH-PST-1SG
‘I was not going to want.’
չըմըն ուզեի

18.3.4.4 Conjunction ‘also’

The Classical Armenian conjunction /ɑil/ <այլ> ‘also’ has the form /le/ <լէ>, like the Mush dialect. But the forms /æɫ, lə/ <ւլ, լը> are also used.

18.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

18.4.1 Tigranakert

Adjarian’s note: Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1898, page 470, 654, 700, and 1899, page 545.

1. Գլոխսի դնեմ բարձին,
Հոգիս իտամ Աստղծուն.
Բարի՛ հըրըշտակ, դուն պըհէ,
Չար սատանան չխարէ:
2. Եվան կթթեց, Մարիամ մակրդեց,
Քրիստոս Եկավ խաչակնքեց,
Կաթն Էղավ մակարդ, մակարդ լէ կաթ:
3. Ըմմեն մարթ կի տունա, Աստված չտունա (երագ):
4. Սպըտակ չաղըր, դօռ չունի (հաւկիր):
5. Բուրմա մը խուտ ՝ ցած տենե՛րէ դրուկ Է (յօնք):
6. Յորեն չըմ կերի, արտի քովէն անցիր ըմ:
7. Քարիր փետիր չհիյան (չտեսնեն):
8. Չքու ցա՞նկն իմ կոտրի, քու Էզի՞ն իմ մոխ:
9. Անկուշտն Է պատի գքի:
10. Դուն Չմնաս ՝ տնուկի մնայ:
11. Սիվ իգա քգի:

12. Ա՛ջքիդ ելլա, լո՛ւսիդ փճի:
13. Քոռ եղնաս՝ դեմիս ընկնիս:
14. Խոունկ (եղունգ) չեղնա՝ լաշիդ քերիս:
15. Հոգո՛ւդի սո՛ւնէ փլի, սրտի՛դի սո՛ւնէ կոտրի:
16. Դուն չիգաս՝ խաբա՛րդի գա:
17. Լաշփե՛տիդ դո՛ռէ իգա (դագաղդ դուռը գայ):
18. Հուղ չըզնաս մե՛ջէ պառկիս:

18.4.2 Khian

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1898, page 301, 701, and 1899, page 560.

1. Լապստակ, փետի վաստակ, վազէ վազէ փուրը դարտակ (կկոց):
2. Գում մը՝ մէջն ըլի (լի) սպիտակ մաքի (բերան):
3. Տակը հուղ, մէջը շաղ, վրէն օսկի (ցորեն):
4. Կը կապըն կը քելա, կարցըկըն կը կենա (տրեխ):
5. Երիկ կնիկ կովան, աշվար գիցավ բաժնվան:
6. Հավկթէն Է Էլի, զհավկիթ չհավնի:
7. Գնա Էնոր քով որ քեզ կի լացընէ, մի՛ Էրթա Էնոր որ կի խնդացընէ:
8. Կրակ որ ընկնի տա՛աշ (անտառ)՝ չուր ու դալար մէկտեղ կերի:
9. Ինչ գար (չափ) իջխեր կա, Էնգար ալ իվեր կեղնի:
10. Սար ու ձուր՝ տերտըրու փուր:
11. Նա (ոչ) սուխ Է կերի, նա հուտ իգա:
12. Աստված տեսեր Է գար, դրեր Է զձուն:
13. Թէ տերտըրը մէկը կը գինա, երիցկին գերկուք կը քինա:
14. Ո՞ր աչք ո՞ր համար կիլա:

18.4.3 Hazzo

Adjarian's note: Ibid., 1898, էջ 538. The orthography is from Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], such that the letter <q> should be read as /g^h/ <գ^հ>, and /p-b/ <պ-բ> and so on.

Իախթըմ ըգեր մարթըմ՝ Լոր գեց (քան գ) ուր հոգին կը սիրեր զուր գնիկ. Լոչ-պարեգէն (դժբախտաբար) թերզով մէ կը գորցու զինք: Տարտով բուրկած դուշր-միշ կեղներ զուր գտնելու ջանր. ու բաշին (յետոյ) թողց զուր երկիր, ընկավ քաղոքէ քաղաք, օլըրտավ ուր գնկա յետեվ: Շատ ջամբա քալեցուց թաշկած...

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... ու քրտնքով թրջուկ քաղաքըմ գոնըխեց (իջեւանիլ). Էն գիշեր դեղըմ (տեղ մը) քնավ ու լուսմութ աղկեցու (եկեղեցույ) դուռ գաննավ Լոր ըրան փարսէ (մուրալ): Բարի մարդըմ հեցավ (հայեցաւ) ուր խեղճութիւն, մեղքունք եկավ Լորէն ու զի՛նքի դարավ ուր տուն: Փարսըք մարդ (մուրացկանը) յեփ մօտ խրակին (խարոյկին) կը ռըհաթներ, Նժճըվա (յանկարծ) հիցավ դռա մէջ դնիկըմ Լոր շիտակ ուրէն կը մեգեր (նայիլ). ա՛ճփփա՛ց (իսկոյն ցատկեց) ուր դեխէն (տեղէն) ու փաթավ գնկա վզին ու շատ գուրգուրացին իլացին: Բարի մարթն յեփ հիցավ գէտ անշըգ (զարմանալի) բան, շիվրավ գաննավ, պելի (սակայն) գուգեր Էտ պըմրատնու (անբախտ) սերին բաշին հիներ: Բաշին հարցուց. «Դօ լա՛վօ, Էն ի՞նչ դավա է»: Փարսըք մարթ իլալօվ պատմեց. «Էտ գնիկ իմուն Է. թերզովըմ գորուկ էր, Էլիր ըմ ուր վրէն օլրտըմ ու հա օտան (հող) գտա զինք»: Էտ բարի մարթ զգնիկ լը աղկեցու դուռ դեսեր ուր դուն բերեր էր բղելու (պահելու): Յեփ իմցավ, զուր հոգին շատ ուրըխցավ ու գերիկ գնի հատիայով ջամբեց ուրաց երկիր:

18.4.4 Hazro

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 263.

Միր տան Էտին ծառ սալոր էր,
Ձիր տան Էտին ծառ սալոր էր,
Ուր (իւր) հատիկը հինց կլոր էր,
Ով վըր (որ) ուտեր չը հալվորեր:

Միր տան Էտին քառսուն կարաս,
Ձիր տան Էտին քառսուն կարաս,
Կարսու միչու գինին էր խաս,
Օսգիէ դդում արծթէ թաս,
Ըմըն թասին ընծի պագ մ՛ իտաս:

Միր տան ետին առուն հանած,
 Ձիր տան ետին առուն հանած,
 Բոլոր բոլոր բիհան ցանած,
 Էկավ անցավ նուր նշանած:

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Միր հավշի հավուղը բուզ է,
 Ձիր հավշի հովուղը բուզ է,
 Վզի շարան յալտուզ է.
 Աջքիս տեսավ սի՛րտիս կուզէ:

18.4.5 Edessa

Adjarian's note: For this and the following see Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 331.

Մուժ խարաբա. գրողը տանիս. գիտիւնը մտնաս. երկու աջքտ կուրնա. պատին տակը մնաս. սի՛ւ Յուդա, լէշիդ ձգեմ. ադ օրը չտիսնաս. կարմիր արիւն շրջիս. այլեշիլ դարձնես. օր արեւ չտիսնաս. մուրնը գլխուդ. ժառանգիդ կարճ ըլլա. ժամուն դուռը մուրաս. ջիվան Էրթաս. գօլող գանատող մնաս. Աստուծօ սրին գաս լաշդ լվան. Էրթաս չի գաս. գարա գարա (սեւ սեւ) երրին (երկրին) տակը գնա, յօխ ըննաս:

18.4.6 Siverek

Քեօռ ըլլիս. տունդ ավրի. յօխ բեմուրագ ըլլի՛ս. խողը դըրվիս. փոշին գլխուդ. մուրը գլխուդ. օր արեւ չտեսնես. բօ՛յիդ բեդէ՛նիդ գետին անցնի. խակ դրուիս. դուման իգա գլխուդ. գետնին յատակը էջնաս. պթխիս հըլլըսիս թափիս. ֆրանկ գահմաթի հանիս. գանջ ջիվան Էրթաս. Աստծէն գտնաս. իշու հրեշտակ.

Chapter 19

Kharberd-Yerznka

19.1 Background and literature

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The two main centers of the dialect are Kharberd and Yerznka (Turkish: Erzincan). The first is the southern edge of the region, while the second is the northern edge. The other primary places where this dialect is spoken are the following: Palu, Chapaghjur, Çemişgezek, Çarsancak, Kiğı, Dersim, and Kamakh. The western borderline of this dialect forms the current of the Euphrates river, in its entire length. In the north, one line of the Pontic mountains, while the other borders are determined by the borderlines of the Karin, Mush, and Tigranakert dialects.

The language of the southern part of the region is quite well-studied. But for the northern part, there is very little known. For example, there is no information at all about the Kamakh province, and I presumably placed it in the aforementioned region. There is some information on the Yerznka dialect, in the periodical Բիւրակն [Byurakn] (1898, page 563), and there is a quite extensive manuscript (see *ibid.* place, 1899, page 386-388). For the Dersim dialect, we can provide Ասորանիկ (1900), which is a volume of travel memoirs, but in some places the volume has dialogues from this dialect. More extensive is article by Sarkis Haykuni (Ս. Հայկունի) called Դերսիմ (see Արարատ, 1896, page 183-5).¹

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

There are manuscripts written in the Kiğı dialect in Բիւրակն [Byurakn] (1898, page 201, 314, 315, 345, 472, 809, and 1899, page 554). There are many more manuscripts written in the Çarsancak dialect, such as:

¹[[The name of this supposed periodical is <Արարատ> 'Ararat'. But such a name is quite common so I have not been able to track down the exact source. (?)]]

- Ս. Հայկունի
 - – Հոլթոնթիկ եւ Սամել Հովիկ. Էջմիածին, 1895
 - – Սոքոս. Էջմիածին, 1896
 - – 11 ժողովրդական հեքիաթները՝ հրատարակուած Էմիսեան Ազգ. ժող. Բ. 1901

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There is nothing published in the vernaculars of Palu, Çemişgezek, and Çapaghjur. But there are many manuscripts in the mother dialect of Kharberd. In the Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] periodical:

- year 1898, page 331, 473, 583-4, 623, 671, 776
- year 1899, page 18
- year 1900, page 233, 316, 331, 491, 519, 730

There is also a small study on formation of this dialect (see Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1899, page 777).

I also have a separate study that I have formed with Dr. Andranik Hakobian (բժ. Անդրանիկ Յակոբեան; [[*SEA*: /*andranik hakopjan*/, *SWA*: /*ant^hranig hagop^hjan*/]]), which is still unpublished.²

It appears that a migrant Armenian community from Kharberd has settled in the upper district of Manisa, near Smyrna, who until now have kept their native dialect, with little changes and which is different from the dialect of the lower district of Manisa. To establish this idea of mine, I have worked on an article in Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (see 1899, page 402-405); on the occasion of this article, a response from Shahinian (Շահինեան; [[*SEA/SWA*: /*fahinjan*/]]) was published and also a small study on this district's dialect (see 1899, page 291, 402, 503, 528, 575)

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 198).*]]

19.2 Phonology

19.2.1 Vowels

19.2.1.1 Segment inventory

The sound system of the dialect of Kharberd and Yerznka is much simpler than the dialects of Karin and Mush. The dialect of Kharberd-Yerznka recognizes the vowels in Table 1. But it lacks the vowels /œ, ɣ, j̥e, ɯo/ <Էօ, իԼ, Ե, ո>.

²[[*For 'unpublished', the original word is անստիպ which means 'atypical'. I suspect this was a typo for անստպուած 'unpublished'. (?)*]]

Table 1: Vowels of the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

/i/ <ի>	/u/ <ու>	
/e/ <է>	/ə/ <ը>	/o/ <օ>
/æ/ <ա̆>	/ɑ/ <ա>	

19.2.1.2 Sound changes

The following are notable sound changes among vowels and diphthongs.

19.2.1.2.1 Classical Armenian /oĭ/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oĭ/ <ոյ> changed to /o/ <օ> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /oĭ/ <ոյ> to /o/ <օ> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘light’	lŏis	լոյս	los	լօս	lujs	լույս
‘sister’	k ^h oĭr	քոյր	k ^h or	քօր	k ^h ujr	քույր
‘walnut’	ənkoĭz	ընկոյզ	əngoz	ընգօզ	əŋkujz	ընկույզ

19.2.1.2.2 Classical Armenian /ĭ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /ĭ/ <իւ> changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /ĭ/ <իւ> to /i/ <ի> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘blood’	arĭun	արիւն	arin	արին	arjun	արյուն
‘fountain’	ăbĭur	աղբիւր	ăxb ^h ir	ախբ ^h իր	ăxpjur	աղբյուր
‘flour’	alĭur	ալիւր	alir	ալիր	aljur	ալյուր
‘fountain’	ĕd̆zĭur	եղջիւր	ăxd̆z ^h ir	ախջ ^h իր	jĕd̆zjur	եղջյուր

Chapter 19 *Kharberd-Yerznka*

19.2.1.2.3 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> becomes /je/ <յե> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, and it becomes /e/ <ե> in all other circumstances (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, e/ <յե, ե> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘ox’	ezən	եզն	jez	յեզ	jez	եզ
‘when’	erb	երբ	jeb	յեբ	jeɾp ^h	երբ
‘to sway’	ereral	երերալ	ereral	երերալ	jeɾeral	երերալ
‘to appear’	erewel	երեւել	erwal	երվալ	jeɾewel	երեւալ

19.2.1.2.4 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> remained /o/ <ո> everywhere (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /o/ <ո> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘alive’	oɫdʒ	ողջ	oχtʃ ^h	oխչ	voχtʃ ^h	ողջ
‘lentil’	ospən	ոսպն	osb	ոսբ	vosp	ոսպ
‘foot’	ot-(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	ոտք	od ^h k ^h	ոտք	votk ^h	ոտք
‘orphan’	orb	որբ	orb ^h	որբ	vorp ^h	որբ
‘ryegrass’	oromən	որոմն	orom	որոմ	vorom	որոմ
‘to thunder’	orotal	որոտալ	orotal	որոտալ	vorotal	որոտալ
‘to take pity on’	oɫormil	ողորմիլ	oɫormil	ողորմիլ	voɫormel	ողորմել

19.2.1.2.5 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /aj/ <այ> becomes /æ/ <աւ> (Table 6). With this sound, the dialect presents a type of middle point for the sound changes of /e/ <ե> and /a/ <ա>.

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /æ/ <ւի> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘mother’	mɑjɾ	մայր	mæɾ	միր	mɑjɾ	մայր
‘wood’	p ^h ɑjɾ	փայտ	p ^h æd	փւիդ	p ^h ɑjt	փայտ
‘mirror’	hɑjeli	հայելի	hælli	հւլի	hɑjeli	հայելի

19.2.2 Consonants

19.2.2.1 Segment inventory

The consonants have three degrees in the dialect: voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated. The voiceless unaspirated series...

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... does not exist. The voiced sounds of Old Armenian changed to voiced aspirated, the voiceless unaspirated sounds changed to voiced, while the voiceless aspirated sounds stay voiceless aspirated. Besides these, the palatal consonants /g^j, k^h/ <ɑj, ɲj> emerged. Whenever the sounds /g, k^h/ <ɑ, ɲ> follow /e, i/ <ե, ի>, they became /g^j, k^h/ <ɑj, ɲj>.

19.2.2.2 Sound changes

Among consonant changes, the most prominent ones are the following.

19.2.2.2.1 Stop-nasal assimilation

The Classical Armenian sound /t/ <տ> before /n/ <ւ> assimilates to /n/ <ւ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from /tn/ <տւ> to /nn/ <ււ> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘to enter’	mətanel	մտանել	mənnel	մըննել	mətnel	մտնել
‘to find’	gətanel	գտանել	g ^h ənnel	գ ^h ըննել	gətnel	գտնել

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19.2.2.2.2 Fricative deletion in word-initial /s/-stop clusters

The sound /s/ <u> at the beginning of words is deleted before the sounds /p, t/ <ւ, տ> (Table 8).

Table 8: Deletion of initial /s/ <u> in /sp, st/ <սւ, ստ> clusters in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘to kill’	əspananel	սպանանել	bannel	բաննել	spanel	սպանել
‘white’	əspitak	սպիտակ	bidag	բիդագ	spitak	սպիտակ
‘to create’	əstetʃsanel	ստեղծանել	deɹdʒel	դեղծել	stetʃsel	ստեղծել
‘carrot’	əstepʃin	ստեպղիս	dabʃin	դաբղիս	stepʃin	ստեպղիս
‘sterile’	əsterdʒ	ստերջ	dertʃ ^h	դերջ	sterdʒ	ստերջ

19.2.2.2.3 Consonant cluster reduction for obstruent-rhotics

In both Yerznka and Kharberd, the words in Table 9 changed.³

Table 9: Reduction of consonant clusters with obstruent-rhotics in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘sparse’	naʊsər	նաւսր	nosr	նօսր	nosər	նոսր
‘high’	bardʒər	բարձր	t ^h arʒ	թարջ	barts ^h ər	բարձր
‘thick’	t ^h andʒər	թանձր	b ^h ars	բ՛արս	t ^h andʒər	թանձր
‘sweet’	k ^h aʃts ^h ər	քաղցր	k ^h ars	քառս	k ^h aʃts ^h ər	քաղցր

19.2.2.2.4 Consonant cluster reduction for nasal-rhotics

The words in Table 10 changed.

³[[For the words ‘high’ and ‘thick’, I suspect that Adjarian incorrectly switched the Kharberd forms. But unfortunately, I cannot be sure. (?)]]

Table 10: Reduction of consonant clusters with obstruent-rhotics in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘heavy’	$\widehat{tsan}\acute{e}r$	ծանր	$\widehat{tsaj}r$	ծայր	$\widehat{tsan}\acute{e}r$	ծանր
‘small’	$\widehat{man}\acute{e}r$	մանր	$\widehat{maj}r$	մայր	$\widehat{man}\acute{e}r$	մանր
‘comb’	$\widehat{sant}\acute{e}r$	սսևտր	$\widehat{sqaj}r$	սայր	$\widehat{sant}\acute{e}r$	սսևր

19.2.2.2.5 Fronting of post-alveolar obstruents

The Dersim province also has a surprising innovation. The Classical Armenian sounds /tʃ, dʒ, tʃʰ/ <ճ, ջ, ջ> become /dʒ, dʒʰ, tsʰ/ <ձ, ձ՛, ց> (after passing through the forms /ts, dz, tsʰ/ <ծ, ծ, ց>. While the sound /ʃ/ <շ> becomes /s/ <ս> (Table 11, sentence 1).

Table 11: Fronting of post-alveolar obstruents in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SEA	
‘white’	$\widehat{tʃermak}$	ճերմակ	$\widehat{dʒermag}$	ձերմագ	$\widehat{tʃermak}$	ճերմակ
‘water’	$\widehat{dʒur}$	ջուր	$\widehat{dʒʰur}$	ձ՛ուր	$\widehat{dʒur}$	ջուր
‘raisin’	$\widehat{tʃʰamitʃʰ}$	չամիչ	$\widehat{tsʰamitsʰ}$	ցամից	$\widehat{tʃʰamitʃʰ}$	չամիչ
‘I pulled’	$k^h\acute{a}f\acute{e}tsʰi$	քաշեցի	$k^h\acute{a}setsʰi$	քստեցի	$k^h\acute{a}f\acute{e}tsʰi$	քաշեցի

- (1) Kharberd-Yerznka dialect ⁴
 $\widehat{metsʰ}\acute{e} \widehat{dʒʰur} \widehat{tsʰ}\text{-ig-a-}\emptyset$
 in-DEF water NEG-exist-TH-3SG
 ‘There is no water in it.’
 մեցը ձ՛ուր ցիգա

19.3 Morphology

19.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

In the grammar, there are no individual innovations. As in all other typical dialects of its type, the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect has 6 cases: nominative, genitive,

⁴[[The vowel /i/ in [tsʰiga] could belong to the negation prefix. (?)]]

dative, accusative, ablative, and instrumental. The dative is always the same as the genitive, while the accusative is the same as the nominative, without a difference between animate and inanimate objects. The ablative formative is /-e/ <Է>. The plural markers are /-er, -ner/ <Էր, ևԷր>.

19.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

For the pronouns, we cite the following (Table 12).⁵

Table 12: Sample of pronouns in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

personal 1SG ACC ‘me’	indzis, andzis	իսծիս, ըսծիս
personal 1SG ABL ‘from me’	imməne	իսմընէ
personal 1PL ACC-DAT ‘to us’	mizi, mzi	սիզի, սզի
personal 2PL ACC-DAT ‘to you’	dzhizi, dzhi	ծիզի, ծի
personal 2SG ACC-DAT ‘to you’	khizi, khzi	քիզի, քզի
personal 1PL ABL ‘from us’	merməne	սէրմընէ
personal 2SG ABL ‘from you’	khuməne	քընմընէ
personal 2PL ABL ‘from you’	dzherməne	ծիւրմընէ

19.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

The verb is very simple. The rule of changing the Classical Armenian vowel /e/ <Է> to /i/ <ի> takes places only the in 1SG and 1PL persons. In the third person, it changes to /æ/ <ւի> (in the first conjugation class).

[[For the indicative present, SWA combines the indicative prefix /g(ə)/ <կը> with a finite verb. This finite verb is the subjunctive form. For an E-Class verb like ‘to like’ /sir-e-l/, the theme vowel is a non-alternating /e/, and the 3SG marker is covert. In Kharberd-Yerznka, the theme vowel varies between /æ, i, e/ (Table 13).]]

⁵[[For the plural nouns, I mark them as synthetic for accusative and dative, but it is possible that Adjarian meant that they are strictly accusative. The prose is not clear. (?)]]

Table 13: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

	Kharberd-Yerznka		cf. SWA	
1SG	գə sir-i-m	զը սիրիմ	գə sir-e-m ‘I like’	կը սիրեմ
2SG	գə sir-e-s	զը սիրես	գə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	գə sir-æ-∅	զը սիրա	գə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
1PL	գə sir-i-nk ^{hj}	զը սիրինք	գə sir-e-ŋk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	գə sir-e-k ^{hj}	զը սիրեք	գə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	գə sir-e-n	զը սիրեն	գə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

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The imperfective and the perfective are the same as in the old forms.

The future is formed with the formative /də/ <ըդ> (/tə/ <տը>), which is a shortened form of /piti/ <պիտի>. In the negative future, this sound /p/ <պ> changes to /v/ <վ> (2). Forms like in (3) do not exist.

(2) Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

- a. tʃ^hə-vdi sir-i-m
NEG-FUT like-TH-1SG
‘I will not like.’
չըվդի սիրիմ
- b. tʃ^hə-vdi sir-e-i-∅
NEG-FUT like-PST-TH-1SG
‘I was not going to like.’
չըվդի սիրեի

(3) Absent in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

- a. *tʃ^h-piti sir-i-m
NEG-FUT like-TH-1SG
Hypothetical but unattested: ‘I will not like.’
չպիտի սիրիմ
- b. *piti tʃ^h-sir-i-m
FUT NEG-like-TH-1SG
Hypothetical but unattested: ‘I will not like.’
պիտի չսիրիմ

19.4 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.*]]

19.4.1 City of Kharberd

Adjarian's note: Taken from Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1900, page 730. The orthography was verified by me.

Գրլլի չրլլի խօռօզ մը գրլլի: ան խօռօզին օղքը փուշ մը գը մըննա. ինչ գէնէ չէնէր՝ չի գըրնըր ան փուշը հանէր: Գլլա գերթա մամիգի մը գըստ քի ան փուշը հանա: Մամիգն ըլ գը հանա ու թօնիրը գը ցըքա: Մեգ-երգու օր ասնելուն բէս՝ ըս խօռօզը գերթա մամիգին գըստ քի փուշս դուր: Մամիգն ըլ գըստ քի փուշը վառաձ ան ո՛ւսգաց դամ: խօռօզը հըմըն հաց մի գառնա ու գը փախի: Գերթա օր չօբան մի նսդեր է գաթին մէջ բդուր (սպտուր) գը բ՛րդ՛ան գուդան: Գըստ քի ըս հացը առ գեր, ըն ըլ գառնա: Քանի մը օր գասնի, գերթա չօբանին գըստ քի հացս դուր, ըն ըլ չուկի օր դա, ըս հեղուն ըլ խօռօզը ըղգից մաքի մի գառնա ու գը փախի: խօռօզը գերթա օր դել մի շուն մի մօրթեր էն ու քէշգեգ բիդի (դը) էթէն. ըղօնց գըստ քի ըս մաքին առէք: Քանի մի օր սօղը գ՛ուգ՛ա քի մաքիս դըվէք: Ընօնք ըլ մղիգ չէն էնէր, ինք ըլ ըղօնց հարս գառնա ու գը փախի: Շաղ գերթա՝ քիչ գերթա, գը տեսնա՝ օր մեգ մարթ մի նսդեր շըզղըրիգ (ջութակ) կը գէնա. ըղօր գըստ քի շըզղըրիգ դուր օր ըս հարսը դամ: Հարսը գուդա՝ շըզղըրիգը գառնա: խօռօզը գը նսդի ճառի մը դագ⁶ ու կը բըրըշվի (թըք. բաշլամաք՝ «սկսիլ») շըզղըրիգը շըզղըրցընէլ ու խաղ գանչել. «Ջըզղըր, շըզղըր, շըզղըրիգ, փուշ մի դվի՝ հաց մի առի, հացը դըվի՝ մաքի մի առի, մաքին դըվի՝ հարս մի առի, հարսը դվի՝ շըզղըրիգ մի առի, շըզղըր, շըզղըր շըզղըրիգ»:

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19.4.2 From one village from Yerznka

Adjarian's note: Taken from Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1899, page 386. The orthography of the manuscript was preserved, even if inaccurate.

Վախտովը Երիկ մ՛ու կնիկ մը կան անդեր: Երիկը թէնպել, կնիկը Էտէպսիգ: անմէն օր առտու լուծածին պէս կնիկը Երկանը առջեը Երկու հաց կը նետէ,

⁶[[*The original page had <դակ>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that the form is <դագ>; I fixed it.*]]

«դուս էլ, աշքիս մ'երեւար» կըսէ անդեր: Երիկը կիթա ծովուն քէնարը կը նստի, մէկ հաց ինք կուտէ, մէկալն ա ծովուն ձկներուն կը նետէ, կէսը առտուն, կէսն ա ճաշուն: Պզտի ձկները հացը տանելու չապալամիշ կ'ըլլան ըմա, անմէն օր մեծ ձուկ մը կուգա ընոնց ձեռքէն կառնէ կը տանի անդեր. ըսանկ կանէ տարի մը անմէն օր: Անիսէ ձուկը ըս հացերը իրենց մեծաւորին կը տանի անդեր. մեծաւորնին ընանկ հիւրնտութիւն մը կունենա օ բոլոր հեքիմները չին կանա բռնտ-ցըներ. Էն ետքը կըսեն քի, Էկեր տարի մը հաց ուտէ նը կըռընասա ըս ձուկն ա ըս հացերը մեծաւորին կը տանի անդեր: Տարիէն ետքը մեծաւորը կըռընտա. իրեն հաց բերող ձուկը անջեւը կը կանչէ, կը հարցնէ քի ըս հացերը տարի մըն է ո՞ւսկէ կը բերէ. ան ա կըսէ քի «ծովուն քէնարը մարդ մը նստեր ան՝ անմէն օր ըս հացերը ծովը կը նետէ, ես ա կառնեմ քեզի կը բերիմ»: Ըն սրային մեծաւորը հրաման կանէ օ իթա ըն մարդը բերէ օ մուրատ տա իրին արած լավութեան տեղը:

19.4.3 Kiğı

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1898, taken from various places.

Ածան հաւը կարգճան կ'ըլլի:

Ասդին ծակով Հինտիստան կը հայնա:

Երեցն օր թքան, կըսէ «ամպ գ'ուգ'ա»:

Խեւը գնաց հարսնետունը, ըսաց հոս լաւ է քընծ մեր տունը:

Կուշտն անօթուն մայր (մանր) կը փշէ (կը փշրէ):

Հարիր մազէ ալիր է կերեր:

Հանն օր հաւ է, ջուր խմած ատենը Աստված ի վեր կը հայնա:

Շունը կը գինին՝ տիրունմինէ կամըչնան:

Ընի իմ արծած խոզն է:

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Օրը հարիր սիրտ կրնաս կօյրեր, ըմը հարիր օր Էկեր դատիս ՝ սիրտ մը չէս կրնար շինիր:

Վով չուաթ, փորը կուշտ:

Տունը չգա տան տիկին՝ հորթուն կըսեն լոս տիկին:

19.4.4 Çarsacak

Adjarian's note: See Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ), page 152.

Կըլլի թաքավօր մի. իրէք հատ աղա կունենա. կըսը մենծ աղին. – Տղա՛ս, ես ան ծեր եմ, տասնըհինգ տարի սայմանիս գլօխը չայիրը չիմ գցեր:

– Արքայ՝ հայրիկ, կըսը աղան, միշտ սայմանիդ գլխու չայիրը շատ մէթ կինիս (կը գովես): – ան սայմանի չայիրին հավան է օր Եօմիւրս Էրկընցաւ. ան տաս-նըհինգ տարի օր չիմ գըցեր, Եօմիւրս փճացաւ. գնա օ տեսնըս. չայիրին գօխը աղբիր մը կա. չայիրին տկուն տէ՛ (մինչեւ) աղբիրը սահաթ մի կը քաշէ. աղբիրն ան լեռան տակ է աղբըն տէ՛ լեռան գօխը տասվերկու սահաթ կը քաշէ:

Էլավ մենծ տղան հարիր հատ ձիով առըց. գըցին հասան չայիրը. տեսան օ մէ արաբ մի նստեր է աղբրին վրա: Մի սեւ անպ էլավ, Էրկինքը գօռաց, արգեն ու կարկուտը առըց:

Թագաւորին տղան ըսըց. – Քշեցեք, ըյնինք աղբիրը:

Չայիրը կես ըրին-չըրին՝ ջրին ու մին մէջ մնացին. չկըրցին օ հասնէին:

Արաբը թուրը քաշեց, ընկաւ ան հարիր հատի մէջ. հարիր հատին ալ գօխը կըրրեց, ձիանն ան մորթեց, յեղմիշ ըրըց (դիգեց) չայիրին օրթըլըխը, էջաւ սըրթն ի վան գնըց:

Մի ամիս թաքաւորին խապար չգնըց:

Թաքաւորը կանչեց օրթանճա տղին:

– Այ անգա՛, աղբարդ ճանփեցի սայմանի գօխը. յա (կամ) բնվան, յա ծեծ (պատերազմ) կինին. յա քէֆի տեղ է՝ իրանց քէֆը կը հային. գնա խապար մի ա՛ն Էկօ՛:

19.4.5 Dersim

Adjarian's note: See <Արրտ>. 1896, page 183.

[[*It is not clear to me what this <Արրտ> source is; it is likely a periodical called 'Ararat' <Արարատ>, but there are many such periodicals. (?)*]]

Անքան դեսա օր Գիրօն ասգրին մեց Է. ցօրս դ՛ին բադի բես բարած Է. – Օվանես, ըսըց- ի՛նց գինես, ինձի բարուք գիլլէ հասուր:

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Օվանեսը գ՛նըց օ մեր աղան ձ՛ինը հեծեր, փախեր Է. դեսա օր Գիրօն թուրը ցըլբըղցօց, թուրը փառլամիս Էղավ, յես ան ըս դ՛իուն քասեցի, թուրը փառլաթ-միս Էրի – օ, Գիրօ, մի՛ վախիր: Ընխդըր (այնչափ) հայա (տեսայ) օ, ցօրս սվարօվ դալիս հեծած, ամեքուն թուր մի նեղեցի, ցօրս ձ՛ին ան բառգեցուցի. մեզ մարթուն ան գ՛լօխը գըրրեցի, դեսա օր փասան գըցէ. – Հա՛ բաբամ օլասըզ հա: Տի գ՛իդեր օ յես իմ, ընի գ՛իդէ թէ թուրքեր Ղամբերն է բ՛ռնած. ցըսեր թէ հինգ հոքի թրես ընցուցեր իմ. անքան դեսա օ Օվանեսը գիլլէն հասօց, ըսըց. – Մի վախէիս, ախ-բ՛րդանք. դ՛ու մըսեր, թաբուր մի ասգրին գեսն է մնացեր. մեր աղան ան Էլեր թամասա գիներ. իրգուն գ՛ցիք քառցուն օսգի տվեց, ի՛նց ինիմ:

Chapter 20

Տեփնկարահիսար

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20.1 Background

At the north side of Kharberd-Yerznka, the city of Տեփնկարահիսար and the province of Ածաբերդ together form a separate dialect; the dialect occupies a middle ground between the dialects of Kharberd-Yerznka, Sebastia, and Evdokia.

20.2 Phonology

20.2.1 Consonants

Like the first two dialects ([[*Kharberd-Yerznka and Sebastia*]]), the dialect has three groups of consonants that are missing from Evdokia: voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated. Here, there is also the glottal /h/ <հազազ Կ>.

20.2.2 Vowels

20.2.2.1 Segment inventory

The vowel system is like that of the Evdokia dialect, which we will later see below. The sound /æ/ <օ> is added (Table 1).

Table 1: Emergence of /æ/ <օ> in the Տեփնկարահիսար dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Տեփնկարահիսար	cf. SEA
‘before’	արածձբալ առաջեալ	ærtʃ ^h ev ünzɛɫ	artʃ ^h ev առջեալ

20.2.2.2 Sound changes

20.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

Like the Sebastia and Evdokia dialects, the sound /o/ <n> has changed to /œ/ <to> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /œ/ <to> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Şebinkarahisar		cf. SEA	
‘work’	gorts	գործ	g ^h œrdz	գ՛տօծ	gorts	գործ
‘Peter’	petros	Պետրոս	bœrœs	Բետօւօս	petros	Պետրոս

20.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <t>

There is an innovation that is absent in the Kharberd-Yerznka and Evdokia dialect: the sound /e/ <t> changes to /i/ <h> when stressed (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <t> to /i/ <h> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Şebinkarahisar		cf. SEA	
‘place’	teł	տեղ	diɣ	դիղ	teɣ	տեղ
‘with’	het	հետ	hid	հիղ	het	հետ
‘you.SG.DAT’	k ^h ez	քեզ	k ^h iz	քիզ	k ^h ez	քեզ

With this sound change, the dialect of Şebinkarahisar approaches the dialect of Hamshen, where this same sound change exists (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <t> to /i/ <h> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Şebinkarahisar		cf. SEA	
‘big’	mets	մեծ	midz	միծ	mets	մեծ
‘with’	het	հետ	hid	հիղ	het	հետ

20.3 Morphology

20.3.1 Verb inflection or conjugation

20.3.1.1 Theme vowel changes

In verbs, the 1SG and 1PL of present tense and of the tenses that are formed from the present have changed the vowel /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> (Table 5).¹

Table 5: Change from theme vowel /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Տե-
binkarahisar dialect

	Տեbinkarahisar		cf. SWA		
‘I want’	g ^h -uz-i-m	գ՛ուզիմ	g-uz-e-m	կ՛ուզեմ	IND-want-TH-1SG
‘I will say’	bidi əs-i-m	բիդի ըսիմ	bidi əs-e-m	պիսի ըսեմ	FUT say-TH-1SG
‘I would write letter’	g ^h ir g ^h r-i-m	գ՛իր գ՛րիմ	k ^h ir k ^h ər-e-m	գիր գրեմ	letter write-TH-1SG

20.3.1.2 Present/past tenses and the progressive

The indicative present tense has two forms, as is found westward in all the Asia Minor dialects until Rodosto. This is the basic present (բուն սերկայ) and the progressive present (շարունակալ սերկայ). The first is the usual form of the present, which can also be used for the future: ‘I say’, ‘I bring’.

The second is used when the action is being done at this exact time and it cannot at all have a future meaning: ‘I am liking’. The progressive present is found only in very few languages. For example, it is found in Ottoman Turkish /ɑl-əjor-əm/ ‘I am taking’ (ալըյորըմ) and /ver-ijor-um/ ‘I am giving’ (վերիյորըմ) ([[Modern Turkish: <alıyorum>, <veriyorum>; the progressive marker is the suffix <iyor> which Adjarian transcribed as /ijor/]]),

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... and also in English ‘I am living’.² Persian also has a progressive present: <bé-xâham> ‘I want’ بخوام (բը խահեմ), <mi-xâham> ‘I am wanting’ می خواهم (մի խահեմ).³

¹[[The Classical Armenian forms are quite different from the modern forms because of different inflectional suffixes. For illustration, I approximate the change by referencing SWA, which retains the Classical Armenian theme vowels.]]

²[[Adjarian incorrectly translated the English into Armenian կը սիրեմ կոր ‘I am liking’.]]

³[[The Persian terms are respectively subjunctive and indicative. It seems Adjarian interpreted the distinction in terms of progressiveness.]]

The indicative past imperfective also has simple and progressive forms (1). Compare this to Ottoman Turkish /veriridim/ ‘I gave’ (վերիրիսիմ) vs. /verijorədəm/ ‘I was giving’ (վերիյորըսըմ) ([[Modern Turkish: <ver-di-m> and <veriyor-du-m>]]).

(1) SWA

- a. g-ud-ej-i-∅
IND-eat-TH-1SG
‘I would eat.’
կ’ուտէի
- b. g-ud-ej-i-∅ gor
IND-eat-TH-1SG PROG
‘I was eating.’
կ’ուտէի կոր

However, the progressive present and imperfective are not formed in the same way across all the dialects; instead, each dialect uses a different formative. For example, the Istanbul dialect uses /gor/ <կոր>, the Aslanbeg subdialect uses /háje/ <հա’յէ>, the Trabzon dialect uses /er/ <էր>. The Şebinkarahisar dialect constructs its progressive forms with the formative /dar/ <դար> (i.e., /tar/ <տար> which has an unclear origin) (2).

(2) Şebinkarahisar dialect

- a. g-əs-i-m dar
IND-say-TH-1SG PROG
‘I am saying.’
գըսիմ դար
- b. g-əs-i-s dar
IND-say-TH-2SG PROG
‘You are saying.’
գըսիս դար
- c. g-əs-e-i-∅ dar
IND-say-TH-PST-2SG PROG
‘I was saying.’
գըսէի դար

20.4 Literature

There is no other information on the Şebinkarahisar dialect, and there is no published manuscript. In Ani in the summer of 1907 (July 7-8), I got acquainted with an architect who was a native of Şebinkarahisar, Mr. T. Toromanian (պր. Թ. Թորոմանյան; [[SEA/SWA: /thoramanjan/]]). I requested from him that he accurately write a sample of this dialect. He gladly undertook my request and he wrote to me the following heartbreaking letter, which was rendered in my orthography, and which I present here completely.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 191).]]

20.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

20.5.1 Şebinkarahisar

Սեր իմ աղա ախբարս,

Միխգիս դերն եմ. խօսգիս հասդադ չի դ՛ըղվա. գ՛իրըս շադ յուշացաւ. իմմա՛ շիդագը օր բիդի ըսիմ նը ՝ շադ մըն ալ ղաբիյաթս (թըք. qabahat յանցանք) ծառը (ծանր) չէ. բ՛անի գ՛էօրծի մարթ եմ. յիրինգուն-յառաւօր դիղ մը դիդիգ արած չունիմ օր մէյ մը ղալամ-դիվիթ անչէվս առնիմ հու երգու սրա գ՛իր գ՛րիմ. չէ նը ինքիրէսս ամըն օր կըսէի քի՛ արածըս աֆէգ է, խաթեր գօռելը (կոտրելը) աղէգ բ՛ան չէ. խօշ դ՛ուն ան չէշիղը մարթիգներէն չէս. միխգս երեսս չէս դար: Իշդէ ասօր հըմար ալ է քի յես ալ քիս հոգ՛ուն բէս գ՛ուգիմ. քիգ դիսած օրէս սիրդըս բ՛ացին՝ մէշը դ՛րին: Գ՛իդի՞ս ինչու: Է՛յ գիդի դոայուբին... Յես մէգ...

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... ընգեր մը ունէի մեր քաղաքը ըղած վախդըս. Փուռչուլին Բէօռէօս (Պետրոս) գըսէին. իմ շադ շադ յարմա՛ս եր. գ՛իշեր ցօրէգ իրար հիդ էինք, չալիգ-չօրթու բարաբար գը խաղայինք. շադ հիղ ալ երգուսս վարբիղէն գը փախչէին գիրթայինք եքեսդանը թուք ու ինծոր ուղէլու: Ասանգ առիսադաշէ (ընկեր) մը գաղվեր էի քսան դարի է: Զիգ օր դիսա՛ ան սահաթը միդքըս ինգալ Բէօռէօսը, սիրդըս դիղէն թռավ. ինքիրէսս ըսի քի Ասված Բէօռէօսըս գ՛իւն ինծի դըվավ: Յես քու վրա անդըդար սեր դըվի իլլա՛մ, ըջըբ (արդէօք) դ՛ուն ալ իմ Բէօռէօսիս դիղը բիդի բ՛ռնէ՞ս. քանի քի գաղվեր եմ աշգիս արցունքը չի գըռրեցաւ. միդքըս օր գ՛ուգ՛ա

զարված օրերնիս՝ ճուխ ու մուխ գը գռիմ: Հէչ միղքես չիլլեր. օր մը, շափաթ էր դէք գիրանգի, յառօդուն գանուխ էլեր դ՛ուռը նսդեր էր. գ՛նացի քովը, նայեցա օր դ՛իդանարը վրա արեր՝ հիդըս խօրաթել բիլմ չուզեր դար. ըսի քի «Բեօ՛ռես, քալ՛ երթանք քիշ մը խաղանք»:

- Չիմ իգ՛ար - ըսաց:
- Ինչո՞ւ, ի՞շ գա քի:
- Հէչ բ՛ան մ՛ալ չիգա:
- Հըբը ինչո՞ւ աղանգ դ՛իդանրդո՛ գախեր էս ու հիդս ալ չէս խօրաթեր:
- Ի՞շ բիդի խօրաթիմ. գաթը քանի մը օր յեդքը ամիս գիս բիդի դրգէ Սդամբօլ. ալ յա գը դեսնինք գիրար՝ յա չինք դեսներ:

- Օդօրթմ՛ն գըսես դար:
- Հըբը սուդմէ՛ն:
- Չիմ ավդար:
- Օր աշգօվրդո՛ դեսնես ՝ անվախդը գաւդաս:
- Ի՞նչ ըղավ օր աղանգ արավ քիզի ամիդո՛. մինչէվ հիմի հէչ աղանգ ծ՛ան մը չիգար:

- Ի՞նչ բիդի ըլլա. յերեգ յիրինգուն վաժաբեդը մինդանարս դօթլուխս դվավ, գ՛նա վաժաղան փարա բ՛եր, չէ նը ա՛լ մի՛ գ՛ար ըսաց. ամիս ալ փարա չուներ օր դար, գաթը քանի մը հիդ ալ մարս գուլագէն օսգը գռից դվավ՝ դարի վաժաղան փարա դվի. հիմի մարս ալ չունի. հարս ալ ըսաց քի շադ գ՛արթա դերա վարթաբեդ չի՛բդի ըլլա. դրգիմ Սդամբօլ թօղ երթա ախբօրը քովը փարա վասդըդի:

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- Է դ՛ո՞ւն ինչ ըսիր. գ՛ուղէ՛ս քի երթաս:
- Ի՞նչ անիմ չերթամ. դաթըջին վաղը գ՛ուզ՛ա. ամիս աս գ՛իշեր թամբանլիթս (պայուսակ) բիդի գաբէ. վաղը ջին-գաբախդան ջ՛ամփա բիդի էլինք:

Սուդ չեր Բեօռէօսը. յես ալ գանուխ էլա. սիրդես չէգավ օր երթայի դեսնէի. հեռուն գայնեցա հու նայեցա. օրն ալ ըսես նը շադ գ՛էշ օր էր. թաթավը վերէն գ՛ուզ՛ա սիջիմի բես. ջըխանք-ջըխջըխանք... բաղ բաղ փօրյազը գը փչեր: Ջ՛օ-րիին վրա բ՛առցան թամբանլիթը. գինքն ալ վրան նսդեցուցին ու դարին. մարը յեդէվէն լացավ. «Յա՛վրում, Ֆէդ բ՛ռնես օսգի գըռի» ըսաց, հու նօրշըբա մը ջ՛ուր նեդեց յեդէվէն: Հարն ալ ջ՛օրին հեդը գ՛նաց ջ՛ամփելու. յես ալ գ՛նացի ներս, մուք դիդ մը մդա՛ լացի: Ան Է աս Է՝ ա՛լ չի դեսա: Ալ չի գիդիմ դէք սա՞րդ Է դէ մեռած Է. Ասված անօր ալ բ՛անին գէօրծին աջ՛օղուքին դա, իր սիլային հասցընէ. ծ՛իզի ալ երգան օրեր դա:

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21.1 Background

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The dialect of Trabzon is spread across a small region, which contains only the cities of Trabzon, Gümüşhane, and Giresun. The last one is a migrant settlement from Trabzon. The surrounding villages of Trabzon do not speak this dialect, but instead speak the Hamshem dialect. In recent times, a sizable number of Armenians from Trabzon have migrated to the Caucasus and to the shores of the Black Sea. They primarily live in the cities of Batumi, Poti, Kerch, Sevastopol, Yalta. Because these aforementioned cities do not have a native Armenian population, and because the migrants from Trabzon form a sizable number, we have thus included them in the map as part of the region of the Trabzon dialect.

21.2 Literature

There is no written study on the Trabzon dialect. There are also no manuscripts. In the summer of 1910, I stayed two weeks in Trabzon, and I determined that the Trabzon dialect is quite close to the Istanbul dialect, especially the Crimea dialect.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 200).*]]

21.3 Phonology

21.3.1 Vowels

The vowel system lacks the sounds /æ, ĭe, ʊo/ <ü, ɛ, n>. Sometimes we find the sounds /œ, ʏ/ <eo, ɣɫ> (Table 1).

Table 1: Emergence of /hL/ <y> in the Trabzon dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Trabzon	cf. SEA
‘before’	maɣruk ^h ՄԱԼՐՈՒԼՔ	mirɣk ^h ՄԻՐԻԻԼՔ	moruk ^h մորուԼՔ

21.3.2 Consonants

The consonant system has greatly changed. The three degrees of Old Armenian have become two; the voiced and voiceless unaspirated have been confused together and have equally changed to voiced sounds. The voiceless aspirated sounds stayed unchanged. This is the state of all other dialects of Asia Minor, starting from Evdokia until Crimea. In the Trabzon dialect, as well as in the Hamshen dialect, there is however a voiceless unaspirated sound /k/ <ɫ>, which is used instead of the <qaf> sound (ق /q/) for loanwords from Turkish.

21.3.3 Other sound changes

We can say that there are no other sound changes in Trabzon, without of course taking into consideration the following sound changes:

- /aṭ/ to /a/ (աԵ>ա)
- /oṭ/ to /u/ (ոԵ>ու)
- /iṭ/ to /u/ (իԼ>ու)

In this way, the Trabzon dialect is one of the purest Armenian dialects.

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21.4 Morphology

In the grammar, there are the following notable points.

21.4.1 Noun or pronoun inflection or declension

The case declensions and pronouns are the same as in the Istanbul dialect. For the latter, it is worth mentioning the words in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample of pronouns in the Trabzon dialect

proximal NOM SG ‘this’	asivig, asig	ասիվիգ, ասիգ
medial NOM SG ‘that’	adivig, adig	ադիվիգ, ադիգ
distal NOM SG ‘that yonder’	anivig, anig	անիվիգ, անիգ

21.4.2 Verb inflection or conjugation

21.4.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

For verb conjugation, the Classical Armenian theme vowels /e, ē/ <ե, է> become /i/ <ի> under stress (Table 3).¹

[[*Adjarian illustrates this change with the indicative present paradigm (Table 3). Morphologically for an E-Class verb like /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, SWA forms this paradigm by adding the indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ to the finite verb. The finite verb consists of the stem plus agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /e/. In Trabzon, the theme vowel is /e/ for the 3SG, but /i/ elsewhere.*]]

Table 3: Indicative present <ւտրկայ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-uz-i-m	գուզիմ	g-uz-e-m ‘I want’	կ’ուզեմ
2SG	g-uz-i-s	գուզիս	g-uz-e-s	կ’ուզես
3SG	g-uz-e-∅	գուզե	g-uz-e-∅	կ’ուզե
1PL	g-uz-i-nk ^h	գուզինք	g-uz-e-դ ^h	կ’ուզենք
2PL	g-uz-i-k ^h	գուզիք	g-uz-e-k ^h	կ’ուզեք
3PL	g-uz-i-n	գուզին	g-uz-e-n	կ’ուզեն
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	

[[*In the past imperfective (Table 4), SWA adds the past suffix between the theme vowel and the agreement suffix. The past suffix is covert for the 3SG, but /-i-/ elsewhere. The theme vowel is /e/. In Trabzon, the theme vowel is /-i-/ in the 3SG, and*

¹[[*The Classical Armenian forms are quite different from the modern forms because of different inflectional suffixes. For illustration, I approximate the change by referencing SWA, which retains the Classical Armenian theme vowels.*]]

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/-e-/ elsewhere. The past suffix is covert in the 3SG, and /-i-/ elsewhere. However, the data is rather limited, so it is possible that the 3SG /-i-/ is actually the past suffix, and that the theme vowel is exceptionally covert.]]

Table 4: Indicative past imperfective <անկանար> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-uz-e-i-∅	գուզէի	g-uz-ej-i-∅	կ’ուզէի ‘I would want’
2SG	g-uz-e-i-r	գուզէիր	g-uz-ej-i-r	կ’ուզէիր
3SG	g-uz-i-∅-r	գուզիր	g-uz-e-∅-r	կ’ուզէր
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

21.4.2.2 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 5) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /jep^h-e-l/ ‘to cook’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Trabzon subdialect behaves the same. However, while the theme vowel is a non-alternating /-e-/ in SWA, the theme vowel in Trabzon is /-i-/ for the 3SG, and /-e-/ elsewhere.]]

Table 5: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to cook’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	ep ^h -e-ts ^h -i-∅	էփէցի	jep ^h -e-ts ^h -i-∅	էփէցի ‘I cooked’
2SG	ep ^h -e-ts ^h -i-r	էփէցիր	jep ^h -e-ts ^h -i-r	էփէցիր
3SG	ep ^h -i-ts ^h -∅-∅	էփից	jep ^h -e-ts ^h -∅-∅	էփեց
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

21.4.2.3 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SWA, the present perfect (Table 6) and past perfect (Table 7) are formed by combining a special non-finite form with the present/past auxiliary. For SWA, this

non-finite verb can be either the resultative participle (verb with suffix /-adz/) or the evidential participle (verb with suffix /-er/). Trabzon uses a similar system. The non-finite form is labeled as just a ‘past participle’ by Adjarian (which I suspect is a perfective converb), and this form uses /-ir/ <իր>. (?)]

Table 6: Present perfect <լարալատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon	cf. SWA ‘I have liked’
1SG	sir-ir i-m սիրիր իմ	sir-er e-m սիրեր եմ
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	√-EPTCP AUX-AGR

Table 7: Past perfect <գերալատար> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon	cf. SWA ‘I had brought’
1SG	ber-ir e-i-∅ բերիր էի	p ^h er-er ej-i-∅ բերեր էի
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	√-EPTCP AUX-PST-AGR

[[Based on this small paradigm, it seems that the auxiliary is /i/ in the present, but /e/ in the past.]]

21.4.2.4 Indicative morpheme as a mobile morpheme

The present formative is /g/ <q> for vowel-initial verbs, while it is a postposed formative /gu/ <qnl> for consonant-initial verbs.

[[To clarify, Adjarian means that while the indicative morpheme is a prefix /g(ə)-/ in SWA, this morpheme is a mobile morpheme in Trabzon (Table 8).]]

Table 8: Mobile indicative morpheme in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
‘I want’	g-uz-i-m IND-√-TH-AGR	գուզիմ	g-uz-e-m IND-√-TH-AGR	կ’ուզեմ
‘I like’	sir-i-m gu	սիրիմ գու	gə-sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ
‘you.2SG like’	sir-i-s gu	սիրիս գու	gə-sir-e-s	կը սիրես
‘he likes’	sir-e-∅ gu √-TH-AGR IND	սիրե գու	gə-sir-e-∅ IND-√-TH-AGR	կը սիրե
‘we would look’	naj-e-i-nk ^h gu √-TH-PST-AGR IND	նայեինք գու	gə-naj-e-i-ŋk ^h IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	կը նայեինք

21.4.2.5 Progressive tenses

The progressive is formed with the postposed formatives /er/ <եր> or /uni/ <ունի>. The present takes /er/ <եր>, the imperfective takes /uni/ <ունի>. Vowel-initial verbs also take the prefix /g/ <գ>.

[[To clarify, whereas spoken SWA uses a progressive marker /gor/, Trabzon uses either /er/ or /uni/ based on tense. The indicative morpheme is a fixed prefix in SWA, but this prefix is only used for vowel-initial verbs in Trabzon.]]

[[For the present progressive, SWA uses both an indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ and a progressive marker /gor/. Compared across the paradigms, the present progressive is just the indicative present plus this progressive marker. But for Trabzon, the present progressive is the indicative present plus the progressive marker /er/. The indicative prefix /g/ is retained before vowel-initial verbs (Table 9), but the indicative suffix /gu/ (for consonant-initial verbs) is absent (Table 10).]]

Table 9: Present progressive <ներկայ շարունական> of the verb ‘to take’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ar-n-i-m	գառնիմ էր	g-ar-n-e-m gor ‘I am taking’	կ’առնեմ կոր
2SG	g-ar-n-i-s	գառնիս էր	g-ar-n-e-s gor	կ’առնես կոր
3SG	g-ar-n-e-∅	գառնէ էր	g-ar-n-e-∅ gor	կ’առնէ կոր
1PL	g-ar-n-i-nk ^h	գառնինք էր	g-ar-n-e-ηk ^h gor	կ’առնենք կոր
2PL	g-ar-n-i-k ^h	գառնիք էր	g-ar-n-e-k ^h gor	կ’առնեք կոր
3PL	g-ar-n-i-n	գառնին էր	g-ar-n-e-n gor	կ’առնեն կոր
	IND-√-VX-TH-AGR PROG		IND-√-VX-TH-AGR PROG	

Table 10: Present progressive <ներկայ շարունական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-i-m	սիրիմ էր	gə sir-e-m gor ‘I am liking’	կը սիրեմ կոր
2SG	sir-i-s	սիրիս էր	gə sir-e-s gor	կը սիրես կոր
3SG	sir-e-∅	սիրէ էր	gə sir-e-∅ gor	կը սիրէ կոր
1PL	sir-i-nk ^h	սիրինք էր	gə sir-e-ηk ^h gor	կը սիրենք կոր
2PL	sir-i-k ^h	սիրիք էր	gə sir-e-k ^h gor	կը սիրեք կոր
3PL	sir-i-n	սիրին էր	gə sir-e-n gor	կը սիրեն կոր
	√-TH-AGR PROG		IND-√-TH-AGR PROG	

[[For the past imperfective progressive, SWA adds the progressive marker /gor/ to the indicative present. The indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ remains. For Trabzon, the progressive marker is instead /uni/. The indicative morpheme is retained as a prefix for vowel-initial verbs (Table 11), but absent for consonant-initial verbs (Table 12).]]

Table 11: Past imperfective progressive <անկատար շարունական> of the verb ‘to cook’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ep ^h -e-i-∅ uni	գեփեի ունի	g-ep ^h -ej-i-∅ gor ‘I was cooking’	Կ’եփեի կոր
2SG	g-ep ^h -e-i-r uni	գեփեիր ունի	g-ep ^h -ej-i-r gor	Կ’եփեիր կոր
3SG	g-ep ^h -i-∅-r uni	գեփիր ունի	g-ep ^h -e-∅-r gor	Կ’եփեր կոր
1PL	g-ep ^h -e-i-nk ^h uni	գեփեիսք ունի	g-ep ^h -ej-i-ηk ^h gor	Կ’եփեիսք կոր
2PL	g-ep ^h -e-i-k ^h uni	գեփեիք ունի	g-ep ^h -ej-i-k ^h gor	Կ’եփեիք կոր
3PL	g-ep ^h -e-i-n uni	գեփեին ունի	g-ep ^h -ej-i-n gor	Կ’եփեին կոր
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR PROG		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR PROG	

Table 12: Past imperfective progressive <անկատար շարունական> of the verb ‘to look’ in the Trabzon dialect

	Trabzon		cf. SWA	
1SG	naj-e-i-∅ uni	սայեի ունի	gə naj-ej-i-∅ gor ‘I was looking’	կը սայեի կոր
2SG	naj-e-i-r uni	սայեիր ունի	gə naj-ej-i-r gor	կը սայեիր կոր
3SG	naj-i-∅-r uni	սայիր ունի	gə naj-e-∅-r gor	կը սայեր կոր
1PL	naj-e-i-nk ^h uni	սայեիսք ունի	gə naj-ej-i-ηk ^h gor	կը սայեիսք կոր
2PL	naj-e-i-k ^h uni	սայեիք ունի	gə naj-ej-i-k ^h gor	կը սայեիք կոր
3PL	naj-e-i-n uni	սայեին ունի	gə naj-ej-i-n gor	կը սայեին կոր
	√-TH-PST-AGR PROG		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR PROG	

21.4.2.6 Other mobile morphemes

As can be seen, the verbal formatives (IND /gu/ <qnL>, PROG /er, uni/ <եր, ունի>) are generally postposed. This postponement can also be done in the future and the negative.

[[For the future, SWA simply combines the future morpheme /bidi/ with the finite verb. This future morpheme is a proclitic. In Trabzon, the future morpheme can go on either side of the verb (1a).]]

- (1) a. Trabzon dialect

- i. *bidi uz-i-m*
 FUT want-TH-1SG
 ‘I will want.’
 բիդի ուզիմ
- ii. *uz-i-m bidi*
 want-TH-1SG FUT
 ‘I will want.’
 ուզիմ բիդի
- b. cf. SWA
bidi uz-e-m
 FUT want-TH-1SG
 ‘I will want.’
 պիտի ուզեմ

[[For negated verbs, a negated present verb uses a periphrastic construction of the negative auxiliary plus a non-finite verb. The auxiliary carries tense-agreement. The auxiliary is before the verb. The non-finite verb has a suffix /-r/ (the connegative) after the theme vowel. For Trabzon, the auxiliary can go before or after the verb (2a).]]

- (2) a. Trabzon dialect
- i. *tʃⁿ-i-s gr-i-r*
 NEG-AUX-2SG write-TH-CN
 ‘You don’t write.’
 չիս գրիր
- ii. *gr-i-r tʃⁿ-i-s*
 write-TH-CN NEG-AUX-2SG
 ‘You don’t write.’
 գրիր չիս
- b. cf. SWA
tʃⁿ-e-s k^hər-e-r
 NEG-AUX-2SG write-TH-CN
 ‘You don’t write.’
 չես գրեր

21.4.2.7 Repetition of agreement in negation

When forming the negative, the conjugation of the participle is also interesting.

[[In SWA, negated present verbs are made up of a finite negative auxiliary plus a non-finite verb. Agreement is strictly on the auxiliary. But in Trabzon, it seems that agreement can be on both the negative auxiliary and the verb (3).]]

- (3) a. 'I don't come.'
- i. Trabzon dialect
 \widehat{t}^h -i-m k^h-ɑ-m
 NEG-AUX-1SG come-TH-1SG
 ʒɦɯ ɣɑɯ
 - ii. cf. SWA
 \widehat{t}^h -e-m k^h-ɑ-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG come-TH-CN
 ʒɛɯ ɣɑɯ
- b. 'I don't want.'
- i. Trabzon dialect
 \widehat{t}^h -i-m uz-i-m
 NEG-AUX-1SG want-TH-1SG
 ʒɦɯ ɲɫɦɯ
 - ii. cf. SWA
 \widehat{t}^h -e-m uz-e-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG want-TH-CN
 ʒɛɯ ɲɫɛɲ
- c. 'We don't employ.'
- i. Trabzon dialect
 \widehat{t}^h -i-nk^h p^hane- \widehat{t}^h un-i-nk^h
 NEG-AUX-1PL work-CAUS-TH-1PL
 ʒɦɲɯ ɣɑɯɛɲɲɦɲɯ
 - ii. cf. SWA
 \widehat{t}^h -e-nk^h p^hane- \widehat{t}^h ən-e-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG work-CAUS-TH-CN
 ʒɛɲɯ ɣɑɯɛɲɛɲ

Or the repetition of the copula as in the Bayazit subdialect.

[[Adjarian means that another option is that the verb remains non-finite. The verb is preceded by a finite negative auxiliary, and followed by a finite positive auxiliary (4).]]

(4) ‘We don’t know.’

a. Trabzon dialect

tʰ^h-i-nk^h im-ɑ-tʰ^h-ir i-nk^h
 NEG-AUX-1PL know-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-1PL
 չհնք իմացիր ինք

b. cf. SEA

tʰ^h-e-ŋk^h im-ɑ-tʰ^h-el
 NEG-AUX-1PL know-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB
 չենք իմացել

21.5 Subdialects

Gümüşhane and Giresun also have the formative /er/ <եր> for forming the progressive. Gümüşhane forms the simple present by using a postposed /gə/ <գը> (5), with which it forms a middle zone between Karin and Trabzon.

(5) ‘He cleans.’

a. Gümüşhane subdialect of the Trabzon dialect

mɑk^hr-e-∅ gə
 clean-TH-3SG IND
 մաքրե գը

b. cf. SWA

gə-mɑk^hr-e-∅
 IND-clean-TH-3SG
 Կը մաքրե

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21.6 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

Adjarian’s note: Written by my philologist friend, a teacher from Trabzon, Mr. Nshan Khetschian (սյր. Նշան Խտշեան; [[SEA/SWA: /nəʃan χətʃjan/]]). I have rendered the orthography into the scientific one.

Chapter 21 Trabzon

- Բար իրիգուն:
- Ասծու բարին, Լուսիա հանում, բարով եգաք. հրամմեցեք:
- Քա՛ Համաս, Օննիգիդ մենձ օրը շնավօր ըլլա, արբի մնա, խերե դեսնիս, Ասված օջախիդ բաշխե:
- Շինօրագալ իմ, օխջ ըլլաս. Ասված քուգիններդդ ալ քեզի բաշխե. հրամմեցեք վեր: Ագ թաքու, եգէ Լուսիա հանումին չարսաֆը վա՛ռ առ գուլխեն:
- Քա՛ Համաս, շիդագը գուգիս սա, յես ասօր դեղես ժածվելու վախըթ չունեի. գիդի՞ս յա, Երդուշաբդի օրը էլա վըլացք Երի, իրեքշաբդի բուղաթայեն հանեցի, չօրեքշաբդի գարեցի գարգըդեցի, ասօր ալ էլա բաղնիգ քնացի քի՛ սօքօններըս քիչ մե դաքնան. լաքին քու անուշիգ խաթերդդ համար չի գրցա համփերիդ Եի. ըսի լի ի՛նչ գըլլա սա՛ թօ՛ղ ըլլա. մեռնելըս ալ գիղնամ յես ասօր Համաս հանումին օրթուն դօսնիս բիդի Երթամ. չունքի դուն աղեգ գիդիս օր յես Օննիգը իմ գավգիս բես սիրիմ գու:
- Օխջ ըլլաս, անիվիգ ալ քեզի մօր բես սիրե գու. դունը ձերն Ե. հելբեդ բիդի քայիր. գաթի աչգըս չօրս բացած ջանփադ նայեի ունի. ամմա եղեր չի քայիր յա՛ խա՛չ օր իմ ձեռքես ինդօ՞ր բիդի խալըսեիր:
- Օ՛ֆ, նեֆեսս դդրեցավ. ձունգվըներուս քօվ հիչ հօքի մնացած չէ. դիյ օր հօս եգա սա՛ հօքիս բերանըս եգավ. քրդինքներու մէջ մնացի: Է՛հ, դահա ի՞նչօր իք նայիմ. ադի՞գ իք:
- Ինչօր բիդի ըլլանք. մեխգօվնիս դանչըվինք Եր:
- Սերքիս աղայեն ի՞նչ խաբար. նամակ՝ բան մը գառնի՞ք Եր մի:
- Սեբէ քի ամմեն շարդու գառնինք Եր. հարցունօղներուն ամմենքին ալ բարեվ գրած է:
- Բարին դրգօր բերօգին արեվըն ըլլա. դուն ալ նամագ...

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- ... գրելու ըլլաս սա՛ ինձմեն շադ շադ բարեվ գրե. օրթուն խերը դեսնե. Ասված օջախին բաշխե:
- Գուլխուս վրա. մեղեր ըսելօվըդ գրեի բիդի:
 - Գլօխըդ բարցին վրա. – Է՛հ, դահա ի՞նչ գա, ի՞նչ չիգա. դուսեն նեսեն խաբար՝ բան մը գառնի՞ք Եր: Զեզի սօր խաբար մը դամ բիդի ամմա՛ չուքդիմ քի իմացա՞՞ծ իք մի:
 - Ի՞նչ է, քա՛. ըսե նայիմ. մենք բանե մը խաբար չունինք. դունեն դուս էլած չունիմ քի բան մալ իմանամ:
 - Անցածն օրդանքը Հաջի Ղասիմեն դերվեր գերթայի ունի, կիրօչս մենձ հարսը դեմըս էլավ. անգից իմացա քի՛ դազանջի Արուֆենին մանչուն Նիշանը յեդ Երիդ ին:
 - Քա՛, հիմագ խելքիս քուքամ. յե՞փ Եղավ ադիգ. գահեր մենք սա քաղքեն չեինք. հիչ բան մալ չինք իմացիր ինք. սեբեբը ի՞նչ է աջաբա. Նիշանը ախջիգան Թարաֆէ՛ն յեդ Երիդ ին մի՛ չէ նա մանչուն:

– Ախջիգան թարաֆէն յեդ էրիր ին. սէբէբը գեոյա մանչը խում շադ խմէ գու էղիր. ամմէն իրինդուն քեռ-գինսով դուն գերթա էղիր. վասդըգաձը, դադաձը բիւթին խումի գուդա էղիր. ամմէն իրինգուն դանը մէջ ձեձ-փեդ գըլլա էղիր. դահա թախում մը դեղիմ-դեղի խօսգեր. վօ՞ր մեզը ըսիմ: Ամա խօսգը մէչերնիս, քեզի բան մը գուրցի՞մ, քա Հա՛մաս. Նիշանը յեդ էնէլին շադ խաս էղավ. անանգ գինսովի մը դալու իսա՞ ջիդը չուվան մը թօղ ցքին դէն՝ դանին ձօվը նեղին:

– Խօսգըդ մերդով գորեցի. առաջ խէլքերնին վո՞ւր դեղն էր. անօր ինչ ձաղիգ ըլլալը չուրդէի՞ն մի. քառսուն դուռ գարգավ. քառսուն գեղէ ախջիգ ուզից, լա-քին հիչ մեզն ալ վրան չի թուքավ: Հեր նէ իսա, յես խօշլանմիշ էղա աս բանէն. ախջիգը խաս դղա է. գօղեսբանա (յն. տանտիկին), գարօղ գարգըդօղ. դանը մէջ դիյօր ինինգուն ֆըռըլ-ֆըռըլ դառնա գու: Ասված հէլքեթէ բաշխա խսմէթ մը հանէ գու դեմը: Տէլիք բօնջուփս յերդէ կալմագ:

– Հա՛յ, հա՛յ, դուն ջէնջ ունեցիր, ջանչը Բադդադէն քուքա:

– Հրամմէ՛, անուշ, կօնյաք առ, Լուսիա հանում:

– Էհ, Օննիգիդ մէնձ օրը շնավօր ըլլա. աբրի մա. խերը դեսնիս. ամմէն դարի աս օրերուն հասնի. թաքն ու բագը դեսնիմ. մագը-միրիւքը ջերմըգի:

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– Անո՛ւշ հրամմեցիր:

– Անուշով մասա: Զա՛, աս ի՞նչ համօվ բան էր. դունէ՞ն մի էրիր իք աս անուշը, չէնա մի գուսէն ձախու առիր իք:

– Զա՛ մեղա, դուսէն ալ ի՞նչէն բիդի առնէի. Թաքուհիձա Էփից:

– Ո՛ւյ, մադվըները սիրիմ յես անօր. Էրնէգ քեզի օր ասանգ անգին գավագ ունիս: Զա, քանի՞ դարու էղավ:

– Սուրբ Սերքիսին բահօց շարդուն դասըօխըը բիդի թամնէ՛ դասըվուքը բիդի մոնի: Անօր աշդարք Էգաձ օրը մեր դրացի հաջի Ուսգուն իր օրթին գարքիր ունի. ասօրվան բես դահա միդգս է. մեզի ալ հարսնիգ գանչիր էր, լաքին ան իրիգունը իմ ցավըս բռնելուն սէբէբօվը չիգրցի Էրթալ: Ա՛խ, Լուսիա հանում, ինչէ՛ր քաշեցի ան վախթը. թեմամ Էռսունխիրէք օր լօխուսա բառգեցա. շադերը ըսին քի Համասին հալը հալ չէ. հա՛ մեռնի էր, հա՛ մեռնի բիդի. Է՛հ, մեռնի՛մ Ասձու աչիչը. դահա խմէլիք ջուրերնիս չէ հադիր:

– Ի՛նչ դօլայ է մեռնելը, հէլէ գեցիր նայիմ. մէյ մը Թաքուհիձադ ամսէ, Օննիգըդ ալ օդը գօթս էրէ դէն, անգից յեդըը ի՛նչ գուգիս նա էղիր: Օղօրմաձ հօքի գետու-րըս գըսեր քի՛ «Մարթուն ըսաձը չըլլար, Ասձու ըսաձը գըլլա»:

– Անանգ է. ջագադնիս ի՛նչ գրված է նա՛ ան գըլլա. հրամմէ, դայֆէդ ա՛ռ:

– Շիսօրագալ իմ. բարէ իդգեց թիւթիւնին ղավանօզը ինձի դուր՝ ձիգար մը փաթթիմ. յես քիչ մը թիրաքի ին. դայֆէյին հեղը մութլախա ձիգառ մը բիդի խմիմ: Զա՛, աս ի՛նչ սերթ թիւթին է. փաքէ՞թ է մի՛ չէ նա դաչախ:

– Մէնք դաչախ չինք բանեցունինք. իձձուսօց փաքէթ է. մեր Սերքիս աղան փաքէթէն գադ բաշխա թիւթին չի բանեցունիր:

– Է՛հ, մնագ բարով. օր մը դուք ալ ամմենքով մեզի հրամմեցեք. բեդ գենիս (կ՛սպասեմ):

– Երթաք բարով. նօրէն հրամմեցեք. ասիզ չիմ սեբիմ. փխջիզներուն բարեւ երբէ:

* *

Իմ սիրագան երգու աչգիս լուս գավագըս.

Հէն առաջ անուշիզ խաթրըդ հարցընիմ գու. իշալլահ օխշ...

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... առօխջ բանիդ-դօրծիդ եղելէն իս: Մեզի ալ հարցունելու ըլլաս նա՛ փառք Ասծու, ամմենքով աղիզ ինք: Մինազ, անցած օրդանքը մարող քիչ մը քելֆը ավըրից, սթմայի բես երավ. երգու իրեք օր ալ բառզեցավ. համա հեքիմէն առած դեղերուս վրա՛ հիմիզ աղիզ է. ասօր հինգ օր է օր օդքի էլիր է: Ախբարներդ ու քուրվըդիքըդ ամմենքով աղիզ ին. իլլէ բըզդըլիզ փխբարըդ Արուքջանը. գուղէ եր, խմէ երր, դռդիզ գուղա եր. Ասված չար աչգէ բահէ. ասանզ մնալու ըլլա նա՛ շաղ աղիզ է:

Քալօվ հիմիջագ, քիչ մ՛ալ քու վրայօքըդ խօրաթինք:

Չավագըս, երգու դարիէն բերի դարիբ-դուրբէթ Ուռուսսիային չօլերը քնացիր ընգիր իս. դիյօր հիմա, իրարու վրա հաշիֆ Էնիմ նա՛ էռուներօխը մանեթէն Էվելի չէ դրգածըդ: Ի՞նչ գենիս եր. վօրի՞ն քօվը գէնաս եր. ի՞նչ է դադածըդ, ի՞նչ է վասդըգածըդ. ի՞նչ է խարջածըդ. շիդգէ շիդագ բան մը գրիր չիս ինծի: Օ՛ղու, դուն մեր ասդեզի հալը խօշ աղիզ գիդիս. յես առաջվան բես վաճճումը անցավ: Ասդեղի գօրծերը հարցունելու ըլլաս նա՛ հիչ բան չիգա. բերաննիս քամիին բացիր գեսիր ինք: Հիչ չէ նա, յա՛վրիս, ամիսէ ամիս քսանագան մանեթ խաշլուլիս դրգիս մեզի. յես քեզի ադ բօյերը բերի քի՛ ինծի յարդում Էնիս, թեվընգեր ըլլաս. քեզմէն գադ ուրիշ գիւվէնէչէիս մը չունիմ. վերը Ասված, վարը քեզի գիւվէնմիշ Էղիր իմ. Էհմալուքան չի դաս. գիրըս առնիս չառնիս՝ ինծի փարա ժըմընցընիս. դուն խընդացուր մեզի քի Ասված ալ քեզի խնդացունէ: Ամէնանփրգիչը բանիդ գօրծիդ աչօղուքէն դա ու օխջ առօխջ նօրէն իրար դէսնելու արժանի Էնէ:

Մարող իր միդգը փօխիր է. գըսէ եր քի՛ Քիրքօրըս աս անքամ քալու ըլլա նա՛ օղզ գլօխ բիդի Էնիմ: Դեսնի՛մ քեզի, գավագըս, մդահան չէնիս մեզի. նամագիս դարցին բեդ գենիմ:

Յես ու մարող երգու աչվըները բաքնիք գու քուրերըդ ու փխբարներըդ ալ սիրով ու գարօջով բարեվներ գենին քեզի:

Chapter 22

Hamshen

22.1 Background and literature

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This dialect is scattered and spread across many diverse regions. Its principle area and place of origin is east of Trabzon, in the province of Hamshen, in the same-named village-city. A few centuries ago, this province was entirely filled with Armenian residents, but the barbaric and fanatical Muslims have almost entirely erased the Armenians there. Tens of thousands of Armenians were martyred during the invasions of the bandit-preacher Ղուռուճ օղլի Մեհմետ ([[SEA: /buruf ɔvli mehmet/]]),¹ tens of thousands were forced to convert to Islam, and until now are considered as Turkish (տաճիկ), even though they have preserved their old Armenian customs and native Armenian dialect. The remaining Armenians who were freed from the sword and apostasy were able to escape and save themselves, and they took refuge in the villages near Trabzon: Ünye, Fatsa, Terme, Çarşamba, and even much farther around Samsun, Sinop, and Nicomedia. Near İzmit, above Başiskele, they built a village called Manishag. In recent times, before the latest massacres and after, new large migrant communities of Hamshen Armenians passed through the Caucasus, where they established many small Armenian settlements on the shores of the Black Sea. For example, Sokhumi, Sochi, Mtsara, Tsebelda, Adler, Shapsugskaya, and so on.

¹[[I could not track down this person, or easily determine a romanization. The name sounds Turkish. I asked a Turkish linguist who works on Hamshen (Neşe Kaya) on a possible romanization. Adjarian's phonetic transcription suggests <Ġuruf Ođlı Mehmet>. But the name <Ġuruf> does not clearly mean anything in Turkish. This name might have been mis-heard from <Yusuf Ođlu Mehmet>, meaning 'Yusuf, son of Mehmet'. Despite these possible romanizations, I still could not track down this person. Neither Kaya nor other dialectologists (Hrach Martirosyan) recognized this name. George Balabanian however speculates the word /buruf/ Ղուռուճ might have been a typo for /buruf/ Ղուռուճ 'money' which in Turkish is /kuruř/ <kuruř>. If this person were a bandit, then such a nickname would make sense. (?)]]

The Hamshen dialect is still not studied, but many extensive manuscripts have been published. Among these, the principle one is the publication in Ararat (Արարատ) 1892, էջ 428-447, which although it is not signed, is by the known folklorist Sarkis Haykuni (Ս. Հայկունի). When I was in Etchmiadzin, I had the opportunity of converting this same manuscript into the scientific orthography through this person; I provide this manuscript later below. Other smaller manuscripts and...

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... collections of words have been published in various periodicals, for example:

- Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*]
 - 1899: page 508, 558, 603, 654, 699, 752, 779
 - 1900: page 14, 29, 42, 59, 82, 120
- Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [*Monthly Review*]
 - 1891: page 116, 300
 - 1892: page 24, 183-4, 382-3
 - 1895: page 13, 183-6
- Ararat (Արարատ)
 - 1895: page 54, 83-84, 239-243, 293-297, 396-400

In the summer of 1910, with the goal of studying this dialect, I crossed Trabzon, where I stayed for two weeks. I was surrounded by many villagers and teachers who were from Malya, Abgion, Küçük Şana, and Çoşara; they wholeheartedly offered their help to me. I was able to make a dictionary and grammar of the dialect, to collect manuscripts, and so on.

Across various villages, the dialect has small differences. The effect of the city is obvious. The villages that are far from Trabzon and hidden in the mountains present the most original form, while the villages that are close to the city have changed. The first group includes the village of Malya, which preserves the purest form of the Hamshen dialect. The second group includes Zefanos which is a village that is almost half an hour away from the city, and it has a very simplified dialect.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 203).*]]

22.2 Phonology

22.2.1 Vowels

22.2.1.1 Segment inventory

The original Hamshen dialect has the vowels in Table 1. The villages close to Trabzon do not have the vowels /æ, i̇e, u̇o/ <ü, ɛ, ɒ>.

Table 1: Vowels of the Hamshen dialect

/i/ <ի>	/ɣ/ <իւ>	/u/ <ու>
/i̇e/ <ե>		/u̇o/ <ո>
/e/ <է>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ <ը>
/æ/ <յ>		/ɑ/ <ա>

22.2.1.2 Sound changes

22.2.1.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա>

By a general rule, the Classical Armenian sound /ɑ/ <ա> has changed to /o/ <օ> next to nasals (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա> to /o/ <օ> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
‘skull’	gank, gang	գանկ, գանգ	g ^h ang	գ ^h օնգ	gank, gang	գանկ, գանգ
‘to complain’	gangatil	գանգատիլ	g ^h ongdil	գ ^h օնգիլ	ganggatel	գանգատել
‘soup (CA); tan drink (SEA)’	t ^h an	թան	t ^h on	թօն	t ^h an	թան
‘month’	amis	ամիս	omis	օմիս	amis	ամիս
‘durable’	amur	ամուր	omur	օմուր	amur	ամուր
‘mint’	ananux	անանուխ	onluxk ^h	օնուխք	ananux	անանուխ

22.2.1.2.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> becomes /ji/ <յի> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, while it becomes /e/ <է> at the beginning of polysyllabic words (Table 3).²

²[[For the inflected words for ‘ox’, the final /n/ in Hamshen may be a definite suffix /-n/. (?)]]

Table 3: Change from word-initial Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /ji, e/ <յի, է> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
‘ox’	ezən	եզն	jiz	յիզ	jez	եզ
‘ox (GEN)’	ezin	եզին	ez-onə	եզօնը	jez-an	եզան
‘ox (PL)’	ezink ^h	եզինք	ez-nin	եզնին	jez-ner	եզներ
‘I’	es	ես	jis	յիս	jes	ես
‘when’	erb	երբ	jip ^h	յիփ	jeɾp ^h	երբ
‘oath’	erduməɳ	երդումս	eft ^h vunk ^h	էֆտվոնք	jeɾt ^h um	երդում
‘thirty’	eresun	երեսուն	ersun	էրսուն	jeɾesun	երեսուն
‘nail (finger/toe)’	eʎung	եղունգ	eʎunk ^h	էղունք	jeʎuɲg	եղունգ

Inside the word, it becomes /j̥e, i, e/ <ե, ի, է> (Table 4). (The /j̥e/ <ե> is found especially in Malya.)

Table 4: Change from word-medial Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /j̥e, i, e/ <ե, ի, է> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
‘night’	gifer	գիշեր	g ^h iʃj̥eɾ	գ ^h իշեր	gifer	գիշեր
‘we (NOM)’	mek ^h	մեք	mj̥ek ^h	մեք	meɲk ^h	մենք
‘our (GEN)’	mer	մեր	mir	միր	mer	մեր
‘big’	mets	մեծ	midz	միծ	mets	մեծ
‘place’	teʎ	տեղ	deʎ	դեղ	teʎ	տեղ

22.2.1.2.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

The sound /o/ <n> changes everywhere to /uo, o, œ, y/ <n, օ, եօ, իւ> (Table 5a) except for the words in Table 5b.

Table 5: Change from word-medial Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /uo, o, œ, y/ <n, o, ɔ, ɛ> with exceptions in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
a. 'villager'					gjuakats ^h i	ɑjuɫɑwɟh
'villager (DAT, PL)'			g ^h ekats ^h -uots ^h	ɑ'tɛɫɑwɟɟ	gjuakats ^h -ots ^h	ɑjuɫɑwɟɟ
'louse'	odʒil	nɟɫ	otf ^h il	oɟɫ	voɫf ^h il	nɟɫ
'apple'	χændzor	ɫɫndɟn	χændzvr, χændzœj	ɫɫɫndɫɫɫ, ɫɫɫndɫɫɫ	χændzor	ɫɫndɟn
'valley'	dzor	ɫnɫ	dz ^h œr, dzvr	ɫ'tœɫ, ɫɫɫɫ	dzor	ɫnɫ
'four'	f ^h ors	ɟnɫ	f ^h œjs	ɟɫɫ	f ^h ors	ɟnɫ
b. 'who'	ov	nɫ	vov, vœv	ɫœɫ, ɫtœɫ	ov	nɫ
'which'	or	nɫ	vœr	ɫt ^h œɫ	vor	nɫ

22.2.1.2.4 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ɑj>

Among the diphthongs, Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ɑj> changes usually to /e/ <ɛ>,

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... to /æ/ <ä> in Malya (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ɑj> to /e, æ/ <ɛ, ä> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
'goat'	ɑjts	ɑjɫ	ædz, edz	äɫ, ɛɫ	ɑjts	ɑjɫ
'this'	ɑjs	ɑju	æs, es	äɫ, ɛɫ	ɑjs	ɑju
'other'	ɑjɫ	ɑjɫ	æɫ, ɛɫ	äɫ, ɛɫ	ɑjɫ	ɑjɫ

22.2.1.2.5 Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɫɫ>

For the others, Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɫɫ> become /u/ <nɫ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɫɫ> to /u/ <nɫ> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
'light'	lojs	ɫɫju	lus	ɫɫɫ	lujs	ɫɫju
'snow'	dzjun	ɫɫɫɫ	dzun	ɫɫɫɫ	dzjun	ɫɫɫɫ

22.2.2 Consonants

22.2.2.1 Voice quality or laryngeal changes

The consonant group has three degrees: voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless unaspirated. It must be noted however that the voiced sounds are also not fully voiced here, but are very close to the voiceless unaspirated. The villages that are close to the city have only two degrees, missing the voiced aspirated sounds. The Old Armenian voiced consonants are usually changed to voiced aspirated, and the voiceless unaspirated sounds are changed to voiced, while the voiceless aspirated sounds stay the same.³

22.2.2.2 Reflexes of Classical Armenian /t/ <ր>

What is interesting is the changes for the Classical Armenian sound /t/ <ր>. Next to dentals, it becomes /f/ <շ>, it becomes /j/ <յ> next to other consonants, while it remains the same next to vowels (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /t/ <ր> to /f, j, t/ <շ, յ, ր> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Hamshen		cf. SEA	
‘man’	mard	մարդ	mafɖ	մաշդ	mart ^h	մարդ
‘empty’	datark	դատարկ	dajdag	դայդագ	datark	դատարկ
‘four’	tʰors	չորս	tʰɔrs	չիլս	tʰors	չորս
‘dream’	eraz	երազ	neraz	ներազ	jeraz	երազ
‘face’	eres	երես	eris	երիս	jeres	երես
‘face-GEN’	eres-i	երեսի	ejs-i	էյսի	jeres-i	երեսի

³[[This contradicts the first sentence; Adjarian might just mean that the dialect only has voiceless consonants, without being sure of aspiration. (?)]]

22.3 Morphology

22.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

22.3.1.1 Plural suffixes

For declensions, what is noteworthy are the plural formatives /-ir, -nir, -nin/ <իր
սիր սիս> 9.⁴

Table 9: Plural suffixes in the Hamshen dialect

	‘bread’		‘apple’	
NOM	hats ^h -ir	հացիր	χndz ^h oj-nir	խնձ՝ոյնիր
			χndz ^h oj-nin	խնձ՝ոյնին
GEN-DAT	hats ^h -er-u	հացերու	χndz ^h oj-nun	խնձ՝ոյնուն
ABL	hats ^h -er-un	հացերուն	χndz ^h oj-ner-en	խնձ՝ոյներէն
	hats ^h -er-un-menen	հացերունմէնէն	χndz ^h oj-nun	խնձ՝ոյնուն
			χndz ^h oj-nun-mene	խնձ՝ոյնունմէնէ
INS	hats ^h -er-ov	հացերով	χndz ^h oj-ner-ov	խնձ՝ոյներով

22.3.1.2 Case marking

The accusative is sometimes the same as the nominative, and sometimes the same as the dative. The singular ablative takes /-en/ <էն> or /-ձն/ <ը՛ն>.

22.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

22.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

[[Table 10 lists personal pronouns.]]

⁴[[Adjarian’s paradigms have quite ambiguous segmentations. Table 9 is just my speculation on one possible morpheme segmentation.]]

Table 10: Inflection paradigm for personal pronouns in the Hamshen dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	3SG 'he/she'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'	3PL 'they'
NOM	jes յէս	d ^h un դ'ուն	en, ina էն, ինա	mek ^h մէք	d ^h unk ^h դ'ոնք	enir, inir էսիր, իսիր
GEN	im իմ	k ^h u քու	enu, inu էնու, ինու	mir, mij միր, միյ	d ^h ur, d ^h ij ծ'իր, ծ'իյ	enuts ^h , inuts ^h էնուց, ինուց
DAT	indz-i ինծի indz-igi ինծիգի ինծիգի	k ^h ez-i քէզի k ^h ez-igi քէզիգի	enu էնու	mez-i մէզի mez-igi մէզիգի	d ^h ez-i ծ'էզի d ^h ez-igi ծ'էզիգի	enuts ^h էնուց inuts ^h ինուց
ACC	indz-i ինծի indz-igi ինծիգի	k ^h ez-i քէզի k ^h ez-igi քէզիգի	en, enu էն, էնու zən զըն	mez-i մէզի mez-igi մէզիգի	d ^h ez-i ծ'էզի d ^h ez-igi ծ'էզիգի	enuts ^h , inuts ^h էնուց, ինուց zenir զէսիր
ABL	indz-men ինծմէս	k ^h ez-men քէզմէս	endi, indi էնդի, ինդի	mez-men մէզմէս	d ^h ez-men ծ'էզմէս	enuts ^h -men էնուցմէս inuts ^h -men ինուցմէս
INS	indz-mov ինծմօզ	k ^h ez-mov քէզմօզ	enu hid էնու հիդ	mez-mov մէզմօզ	d ^h ez-mov ծ'էզմօզ	enuts ^h -mov էնուցմօզ

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The plural instrumental is very diverse (Table 11). But the word /inuts^h-mov/ <ինուցմօզ> is not said.

Table 11: Sample of plural instrumental pronouns in the Hamshen dialect

3PL ‘with those’		Other pronouns, maybe ‘with these/those’ (?)	
enuts ^h -mov	էնուցմօլ	esir	Էսիր
ənuts ^h -mov	ընուցմօլ	isir	իսիր
enuts ^h -mer-ov	էնուցմէրօլ	esuts ^h -mer-ov	Էսուցմէրօլ
ənuts ^h -mer-ov	ընուցմէրօլ	esduts ^h -mov	Էսդուցմօլ
enits ^h -mer-ov	էնիցմէրօլ	esits ^h -mer-ov	Էսիցմէրօլ
ənits ^h -mer-ov	ընիցմէրօլ	edits ^h -mer-ov	Էդիցմէրօլ
		eduts ^h -mer-ov	Էդուցմէրօլ

[[*Adjarian likewise lists a paradigm (Table 12) which seems to demonstrate the reflex of the intensive third person pronoun.*]]

Table 12: Inflection paradigm for the intensive 3SG/3PL pronoun in the Hamshen dialect

	Singular	Plural
NOM	ink ^h -ə	urink ^h
	իկըը	ուրիկը
GEN	ւր, սյ, ւրին	urints ^h
	ուր, ույ, ուրիկ	ուրիկը
DAT-ACC	ւրին-ə	urints ^h
	ուրիկը	ուրիկը
ABL	ւր-մեն, ւր-մօն, ւրին-մեն	urints ^h -մեն
	ուրմէն, ուրմըն, ուրիկմէն	ուրիկըմէն
INS	ւր hid, ւրին-ə hid	urints ^h hid
	ուր հիդ, ուրիկը հիդ	ուրիկը հիդ

22.3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

[[*Table 13 lists the interrogative pronoun ‘who’.*]] .

Table 13: Inflection paradigm for interrogative pronouns ‘who’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Singular	Plural
NOM	vœv վեօվ	vorok ^h վօրօք
GEN-DAT-ACC	vum վում	umints ^h , vumints ^h , vorints ^h , vorœts ^h ումինց, վումինց, վօրինց, վօրեօց
ABL	vum-men վումմէն um-men ումմէն	umints ^h -men, vorots ^h -men ումինցմէն, վօրօցմէն vorvnts ^h -men, vumets ^h -men, umots ^h -men վօրիւնցմէն, վումէցմէն, ումօցմէն
INS	vum hid վում հիդ	umints ^h -mov, vumints ^h -mov, vorots ^h -mov ումինցմօվ, վումինցմօվ, վօրօցմօվ

[[Table 14 lists the forms for the interrogative pronoun ‘what/which’].]

Table 14: Inflection paradigm for interrogative pronouns ‘what/which’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Singular	Plural
NOM	vœr վեօր	vurok ^h -ə, vuronk ^h -ə վուրօքը, վուրօնքը
GEN-DAT-ACC	vor-in վօրին	vurots ^h -ə, vuronts ^h -ə վուրօցը, վուրօնցը
ABL	vor-men վօրմէն	vurots ^h -men, vuronts ^h -men վուրօցմէն, վուրօնցմէն
INS	vor-ov վօրօվ	vurots ^h -mov, vuronts ^h -mov վուրօցմօվ, վուրօնցմօվ

22.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

22.3.3.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[In SWA, the indicative present tense is made up of the indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ and the finite verb. The finite verb is made up of the stem, the theme vowel, and agree-

ment suffixes. For verbs like ‘to eat’ and ‘to bring’, the theme vowel is an invariant /e/. For Hamshen, we find the following differences (Table 15).]

In verbs, there are many interesting innovations. In the first conjugation class, the Classical Armenian vowel /e/ <ե> has become /i/ <ի> in the 1SG, 2SG, 1PL, and 3PL persons. In the second conjugation class, the vowel /a/ <ա> has become /o/ <օ> in the 1SG, 1PL, and 3PL. The indicative present and imperfective are formed with the formatives /g/ <գ> or /gu/ <գու>. The first is placed at the beginning of vowel-initial verbs, the second is placed after consonant-initial verbs. The progressive is formed with the formative /uni/ <ունի> (and sometimes also /guni/ <գունի>).

Table 15: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to eat’ and ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen ‘to eat’		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ud-i-m	գուդիմ	g-ud-e-m	Կ’ոսւեմ ‘I eat’
2SG	g-ud-i-s	գուդիս	g-ud-e-s	Կ’ոսւես
3SG	g-ud-e-∅	գուդէ	g-ud-e-∅	Կ’ոսւէ
1PL	g-ud-i-k ^h	գուդիք	g-ud-e-դk ^h	Կ’ոսւենք
2PL	g-ud-e-k ^h	գուդէք	g-ud-e-k ^h	Կ’ոսւեք
3PL	g-ud-i-n	գուդին	g-ud-e-n	Կ’ոսւեն
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	
	Hamshen ‘to bring’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b ^h er-i-m gu	բ’երիմ գու	gə-p ^h er-e-m	Կը բերեմ ‘I bring’
2SG	b ^h er-i-s gu	բ’երիս գու	gə-p ^h er-e-s	Կը բերես
3SG	b ^h er-e-∅ gu	բ’երէ գու	gə-p ^h er-e-∅	Կը բերէ
1PL	b ^h er-i-k ^h gu	բ’երիք գու	gə-p ^h er-e-դk ^h	Կը բերենք
2PL	b ^h er-e-k ^h gu	բ’երէք գու	gə-p ^h er-e-k ^h	Կը բերեք
3PL	b ^h er-i-n gu	բ’երին գու	gə-p ^h er-e-n	Կը բերեն
	√-TH-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-AGR	

[[Note how the 1PL and 2PL are homophonous suffixes /-k^h/ that take different theme vowels.]]

[[In SWA, the past imperfective is similar to the present (Table 16). The main difference is that SWA adds the past suffix /-i-/ between the theme vowel and agreement. The past suffix is zero for the 3SG. For Hamshen, we see many differences against the SWA forms. The past suffix is /-i-/ for 1SG and 2SG but seems covert in all other person-numbers. The past agreement suffixes in Hamshen are different than those of SWA. The theme vowel can vary between /e/, /á/, and /é/ with non-final stress.]]

Table 16: Indicative past imperfective <սսկատար> of the verb ‘to eat’ and ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen ‘to eat’		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ud-ej-i-∅	գուդէյի	g-ud-ej-i-∅ ‘I would eat’	կ’նուտէի
2SG	g-ud-ej-i-r	գուդէյիր	g-ud-ej-i-r	կ’նուտէիր
	g-ud-é-∅-jdə	գուդէ’յդə		
3SG	g-ud-e-∅-r	գուդեր	g-ud-e-∅-r	կ’նուտեր
1PL	g-ud-á-∅-k ^h ə	գուդա’քը	g-ud-ej-i-դk ^h	կ’նուտէիք
2PL	g-ud-é-∅-k ^h ə	գուդէ’քը	g-ud-ej-i-k ^h	կ’նուտէիք
3PL	g-ud-é-∅-jnə	գուդէ’յնը	g-ud-ej-i-n	կ’նուտէին
	IND-√-TH-PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	
	Hamshen ‘to bring’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b ^h er-ej-i-∅ gu	բ’երէյի գու	gə-p ^h er-ej-i-∅ ‘I would bring’	կը բերէի
2SG	b ^h er-ej-i-r gu	բ’երէյիր գու	gə-p ^h er-ej-i-r	կը բերէիր
	b ^h er-é-∅-jdə gu	բ’երէ’յդ գու		
3SG	b ^h er-e-∅-r gu	բ’երեր գու	gə-p ^h er-e-∅-r	կը բերեր
1PL	b ^h er-á-∅-k ^h ə gu	բ’երա’քը գու	gə-p ^h er-ej-i-դk ^h	կը բերէիք
2PL	b ^h er-é-∅-k ^h ə gu	բ’երէ’քը գու	gə-p ^h er-ej-i-k ^h	կը բերէիք
3PL	b ^h er-é-∅-jnə gu	բ’երէ’յնը գու	gə-p ^h er-ej-i-n	կը բերէին
	√-TH-PST-AGR IND		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

22.3.3.2 Past perfective or aorist

The perfective is formed in the old way. But in the first conjugation, the vowel of the 3SG becomes /i/ <ի>.

[[Adjarian does not provide complete paradigms for the past perfective or aorist (Table 17). But his implicitness suggests that Hamshen follows SWA in forming the

past perfective. For a verb like ‘to broom’, the SWA past perfective is made up of the root + theme vowel /e/ + aorist suffix /ts^h/ + past/agreement marking. In the 3SG, past and agreement marking are covert. For Hamshen, it seems that the main difference is that the theme vowel is /i/ in the 3SG instead of /e/. Note that Adjarian also lists the verb ‘to bring’ which is irregular in SWA.]]

Table 17: Past perfective or aorist <կաստարեալ> in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen		cf. SEA	
3PL ‘they broomed’			avl-e-ts ^h -i-n	աւլեցիս
3SG ‘he broomed’	avl-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	ավլից	avl-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	աւլես
3SG ‘he looked’	ɑf-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	աշից		
3SG ‘he threw away’	t ^h ɑp ^h -i-ts ^h -∅-∅	թափից	t ^h ɑp ^h -e-ts ^h -∅-∅	թափեց
3SG ‘he brought’	b ^h er-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	բ’երից	p ^h er-∅-∅-ɑ-v	բերաւ
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

[[Adjarian provides a more complete paradigm for the negated past perfective in §22.3.3.7.2.]]

22.3.3.3 Future and past future

The future formative is /bidi/ <բիդի>, which is always placed after the verb. In the 1SG of the present future, the formative loses its sound /b/ <բ> when after the sound /m/ <մ>, and of course by first turning it into /m/ <մ> and then shortening it. In the other persons, the sound /b/ <բ> remains the same.

[[To clarify, the future (Table 18) and past future (Table 19) are formed by taking the finite verb from respectively the indicative present and past imperfective. In both SWA and Hamshen, the indicative morpheme is replaced by a future morpheme /bidi/. In SWA, this future morpheme is a proclitic, while it is an enclitic in Hamshen. In Hamshen, the sound /b/ of the future morpheme /bidi/ is deleted after the /m/ of the 1SG suffix.]]

Table 18: Future <ապանսի> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	b ^h er-i-m idi	բ՛երիմ իղի	bidi p ^h er-e-m	պիսի բերեմ ‘I will bring’
2SG	b ^h er-i-s bidi	բ՛երիս բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-s	պիսի բերես
3SG	b ^h er-e-∅ bidi	բ՛երէ բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-∅	պիսի բերէ
1PL	b ^h er-i-k ^h bidi	բ՛երիք բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-ηk ^h	պիսի բերենք
2PL	b ^h er-e-k ^h bidi	բ՛երեք բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-k ^h	պիսի բերեք
3PL	b ^h er-i-n bidi	բ՛երին բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-n	պիսի բերեն
	√-TH-AGR FUT		FUT √-TH-AGR	

Table 19: Past future <անցեալ ապանսի> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	b ^h er-ej-i-∅ bidi	բ՛երեյի բիղի	bidi p ^h er-ej-i-∅	պիսի բերեի ‘I was going to bring’
2SG	b ^h er-é-∅-jdə bidi	բ՛երեյդ բիղի	bidi p ^h er-ej-í-r	պիսի բերեիր
3SG	b ^h er-e-∅-r bidi	բ՛երեր բիղի	bidi p ^h er-e-∅-r	պիսի բերեր
1PL	b ^h er-á-∅-k ^h ə bidi	բ՛երա՞ք բիղի	bidi p ^h er-ej-í-ηk ^h	պիսի բերեիք
2PL	b ^h er-é-∅-k ^h ə bidi	բ՛երե՞ք բիղի	bidi p ^h er-ej-í-k ^h	պիսի բերեիք
3PL	b ^h er-é-∅-jnə bidi	բ՛երեյն բիղի	bidi p ^h er-ej-í-n	պիսի բերեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR FUT		FUT-√-TH-PST-AGR	

22.3.3.4 Subjunctive present and past with marker /na/ <նա>

[[In SWA, the subjunctive present/past is the finite verb form that is found in the indicative present/past (1a). In fact, the indicative is constructed from the subjunctive by adding the indicative morpheme /g(ə)-/ (1b). The subjunctive can be found in conditional clauses. In colloquial speech, such conditional clauses can be optionally accompanied by a clitic /-ne/ (1c).]]

(1) SWA

- a. jet^he ləs-e-n, jet^he ləs-ej-i-n
if listen-TH-3PL, if listen-TH-PST-3PL
'If they listen; if they listened.'
Եթէ լսեն, եթէ լսեին:
- b. gə-ləs-e-n. gə-ləs-ej-i-n
IND-listen-TH-3PL. IND-listen-TH-PST-3PL
'They listen. They would listen.'
Կը լսեմ, կը լսեին:
- c. jet^he ləs-e-n ne. jet^he ləs-ej-i-n ne
if listen-TH-1SG SBJV. if listen-TH-PST-1SG SBJV
'If they listen; If they listened.'
Եթէ լսեմ նէ, եթէ լսեին նէ:

[[Given this background, we can understand Adjarian's description of Hamshen.]]

The subjunctive (ստորադասական) is formed with the formative /na/ <նա>
(2).⁵

(2) Hamshen

- a. egerem b^her-i-m na
if? bring-TH-1SG SBJV
'If I bring.'
Էգերեմ բ^hերիմ նա
- b. egerem b^her-é-Ø-jdə na
if? bring-TH-PST-2SG SBJV
'If you brought.'
Էգերեմ բ^hերէ՛յդ նա

This formative is also used to form a type of hortative or soft imperative (3).

(3) Hamshen

- b^her-i-s na
bring-TH-2SG SBJV
'If it's possible, bring it!'
բ^hերիս նա

⁵[[It is unclear what the word /egerem/ էգերեմ means. (?)]]

22.3.3.5 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SWA, the present perfect and past perfect are formed periphrastically. In the default case, the verb is in the resultative participle form with the suffix /-ad̂z/. This participle is combined with either the present auxiliary (to mark the present perfect) or the past auxiliary (to mark the past perfect). To mark evidentiality, the verb can instead use the evidential participle with suffix /-er/. Given this information, we can now better understand how Hamshen works.]]

The present perfect and past perfect (յարակատար ու գերակատար) are formed with either the verb /em/ <եմ> ‘AUX; to be’ or /unim/ <ունիմ> ‘to have’, and with the participle suffixes /-ad̂z, -er/ <-ած, -եր> (4).

[[Note that the morphemes that Adjarian lists are with SWA pronunciation, not Hamshen. The sentences are Hamshen. Sentence (4a-iii) is incompletely suggested by Adjarian. (?)]]

(4) a. Hamshen

- i. g^hn-a-ts^h-ir i-m
go-TH-AOR-EPTCP AUX-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գ^hնացիր իմ
- ii. g^hn-a-ts^h-ad̂z i-m
go-TH-AOR-RPTCP AUX-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գ^hնացած իմ
- iii. g^hn-a-ts^h-ad̂z un-i-m
go-TH-AOR-RPTCP have-TH-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գ^hնացած ունիմ
- iv. asd-ad̂z un-ej-i-∅
say-RPTCP have-TH-PST-1SG
‘I had said.’
ասդած ունէի

b. cf. SWA

- i. k^hats^h-er e-m
go-TH-AOR-EPTCP AUX-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գացեր իմ

- ii. $kats^h-adj\ e-m$
 go-RPTCP AUX-1SG
 ‘I have gone.’
 Գացած եմ
- iii. $as-adj\ ej-i-\emptyset$
 say-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘I had said.’
 ըսած էի

22.3.3.6 Infinitives with /-uf/ <nɫ>

For the infinitive, the Classical Armenian endings /-e-l, -i-l, -a-l, -u-l/ <ել, իլ, ալ, ուլ> have been lost; in their place, there is a new formative /-uf/ <nɫ> that is general for all verbs (Table 20).

[[To clarify, in CA and SWA/SEA, the infinitive of a verb is formed by adding the infinitive suffix /-l/ after the theme vowel. In Hamshen however, the infinitive uses the suffix /-uf/ without a theme vowel.]]

Table 20: Replacement of the infinitive suffix with /-uf/ <nɫ> in the Hamshen dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Hamshen	cf. SEA	cf. SWA
‘to speak’	$\chi ays-i-l$	խօս-uf	$\chi os-e-l$	խօս-ի-լ
‘to go’	ert^h-a-l	$ejd-uf$	jer^h-a-l	$երթ-ա-լ$
‘to bring’	$ber-e-l$	b^her-uf	$ber-e-l$	$p^her-e-l$
	$\sqrt{-TH-INF}$	$\sqrt{-INF}$	$\sqrt{-TH-INF}$	$\sqrt{-TH-INF}$

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In declension, this same formative is used (Table 21).

Table 21: Declension of infinitives like ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Singular		Plural	
NOM-ACC	b^her-uf	$p^t\text{երուլ}$	$b^her-uf-nin$	$p^t\text{երուլնիս}$
GEN-DAT	$b^her-uf-i$	$p^t\text{երուլի}$	$b^her-uf-nun$	$p^t\text{երուլնուն}$
ABL	$b^her-uf-\text{ən}$	$p^t\text{երուլնն}$	$b^her-uf-nun$	$p^t\text{երուլնուն}$
INS	$b^her-uf-ov$	$p^t\text{երուլով}$	$b^her-uf-ner-ov$	$p^t\text{երուլներով}$

It appears to me that this formative is borrowed from Turkish formatives /-if, -əf, -uf/ <իշ, ըշ, ուշ> ([[deverbal nominal suffix <-iş> in modern Turkish orthography]]) and from the Persian formatives /-if/ <իշ> ([[deverbal nominal suffix <-eš>, or in modern Persian orthography]]: <مش>); these likewise form participles. For example Turkish /aləf-verif/ <ալըշ-վերիշ> ([[<alışveriş>]]) meaning ‘trade’ (that is ‘to take and to give’), Persian /asajif/ <ասայիշ> ([[<âsâyeš>]] <اسایش>) meaning ‘rest’.

22.3.3.7 Negation or negative forms

22.3.3.7.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

Negative forms are constructed by placing the formatives /tʃ^h-, tʃ^hi/ <չ, չի> before the verb, or by placing the formative /utʃ^h/ <ուչ> after the verb.

[[To clarify, the first method resembles how SWA constructs negative forms, while the second method uses the reflex of CA ‘no’ /otʃ^h/ <ոչ> as a post-verbal marker.]]

[[Consider a verb like ‘to bring’ to illustrate the formation of the negative indicative present (Table 22). For the first method, SWA combines the negative present auxiliary with a non-finite form called the connegative. The connegative is formed by adding the suffix /-r/ after the theme vowel. Hamshen also uses a negative present auxiliary, while the verb has a non-finite form with the suffix /-il/. This /-il/ seems to be decomposable to a theme vowel /-i/ plus a suffix /-l/; such that this Hamshen /-l/ suffix is a reflex of the CA infinitive suffix /-l/ <լ>.]]

Table 22: Negative <բացասական> of the indicative present <ներկայ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	tʃ ^h -i-m b ^h er-i-l	չիմ բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -e-m p ^h er-e-r	չեմ բերեր 'I do not bring'
2SG	tʃ ^h -i-s b ^h er-i-l	չիս բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -e-s p ^h er-e-r	չես բերեր
3SG	tʃ ^h -i-∅ b ^h er-i-l	չի բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -i-∅ p ^h er-e-r	չի բերեր
1PL	tʃ ^h -i-k ^h b ^h er-i-l	չիք բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -e-ŋk ^h p ^h er-e-r	չենք բերեր
2PL	tʃ ^h -e-k ^h b ^h er-e-l	չեք բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -e-k ^h p ^h er-e-r	չեք բերեր
3PL	tʃ ^h -i-n b ^h er-i-l	չին բ [՛] երիլ	tʃ ^h -e-n p ^h er-e-r	չեն բերեր
	NEG-AUX-AGR √-TH-CN		NEG-AUX-AGR √-TH-CN	

[[Similarly for the negation of the indicative past imperfective (Table 23), SWA

combines the negative past auxiliary with the above non-finite form. Hamshen behaves the same.]]

Table 23: Negative <բացասական> of the indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}j\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r\text{-}b^h\text{er-i-l}$	չէ՛յո բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}ej\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չէի բերեր 'I would not bring'
2SG	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}j\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}r\text{-}b^h\text{er-i-l}$	չէ՛յո՞ր բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}ej\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}r\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չէիր բերեր
3SG	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r\text{-}b^h\text{er-i-l}$	չիր բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}e\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}r\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չեր բերեր
1PL	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}k^h\acute{a}\text{-}b^h\text{er-i-l}$	չա՛քո բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}ej\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\eta k^h\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չէիք բերեր
2PL	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}k^h\acute{a}\text{-}b^h\text{er-e-l}$	չէ՛քո բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}ej\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}k^h\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չէիք բերեր
3PL	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}jn\acute{a}\text{-}b^h\text{er-i-l}$	չէ՛յն բ՛երիլ	$\widehat{t}^h\text{-}ej\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}n\text{-}p^h\text{er-e-r}$	չէին բերեր
	NEG-AUX-PST-AGR $\sqrt{\text{-TH-CN}}$		NEG-AUX-PST-AGR $\sqrt{\text{-TH-CN}}$	

[[Note how the two dialects use different formatives to form the negated auxiliary. The segmentation is difficult to verify; see similar problems for the indicative past imperfective (§22.3.3.1).]]

22.3.3.7.2 Past perfective and auxiliary

The perfective has two forms.

[[To negate the past perfective, SWA places the negation prefix $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}/$ before the verb. Hamshen in contrast has two methods. The first method (Table 24) is like in SWA, but the negation prefix is $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}i\text{-}/$.]]⁶

⁶[[Note that in colloquial SWA, the negation prefix $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}/$ can be pronounced as $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}i\text{-}/$ as well.]]

Table 24: Negative <բացասական> of the past perfective <կատար-
տալ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect (Method 1)

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-i-∅	չի բ ^h երի	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-∅	չբերի ‘I did not bring’
2SG	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-i-r	չի բ ^h երիր	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-r	չբերիր
3SG	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-a-v	չի բ ^h երավ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-a-v	չբերաւ
1PL	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-a-k ^h	չի բ ^h երաք	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-i-ŋk ^h	չբերինք
2PL	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-i-k ^h	չի բ ^h երիք	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-k ^h	չբերիք
3PL	tʃ ^h i b ^h er-i-n	չի բ ^h երին	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-n	չբերին
	NEG √-PST-AGR		NEG-√-PST-AGR	

[[The second method is to place the reflex of the CA word ‘no’ /otʃ^h/ <ոչ> after the verb (Table 25).]]

Table 25: Negative <բացասական> of the past perfective <կատար-
տալ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect (Method 2)

	Hamshen		cf. SWA	
1SG	b ^h er-i-∅ utʃ ^h	բ ^h երի ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-∅	չբերի ‘I did not bring’
2SG	b ^h er-i-r utʃ ^h	բ ^h երիր ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-r	չբերիր
3SG	b ^h er-a-v utʃ ^h	բ ^h երավ ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-a-v	չբերաւ
1PL	b ^h er-a-k ^h utʃ ^h	բ ^h երաք ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-i-ŋk ^h	չբերինք
2PL	b ^h er-i-k ^h utʃ ^h	բ ^h երիք ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-k ^h	չբերիք
3PL	b ^h er-i-n utʃ ^h	բ ^h երին ուչ	tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-n	չբերին
	NEG √-PST-AGR		NEG-√-PST-AGR	

22.3.3.7.3 Future

The future has three forms.

[[In SWA, the future is negated by placing the negation prefix /tʃ^hə-/ between the future morpheme /bidi/ and the finite verb (5b). Colloquial SWA also allows placing the negation prefix before the future morpheme (5c).]]

(5) SWA

- a. *bidi p^her-e-m*
 FUT bring-TH-1SG
 ‘I will bring.’
 պիտի բերեմ
- b. *bidi tʃ^hə-p^her-e-m*
 FUT NEG-bring-TH-1SG
 ‘I will not bring.’
 պիտի չբերեմ
- c. *tʃ^hə-bidi p^her-e-m*
 NEG-FUT bring-TH-1SG
 ‘I will not bring.’
 չպիտի բերեմ

[[In contrast, Hamshen seems to have three possible strategies. The first is to place the negation morpheme /tʃ^hi/ before the future morpheme, and then add the verb (6).]]

(6) Hamshen

- a. *tʃ^hi bidi b^her-i-m*
 NEG FUT bring-TH-1SG
 ‘I will not bring.’
 չի՛ բիդի բ՛երիմ
- b. *tʃ^hi bidi b^her-i-s*
 NEG FUT bring-TH-2SG
 ‘You will not bring.’
 չի՛ բիդի բ՛երիս

[[The second is to place the reflex of ‘no’ between the verb and the future morpheme (7).]]

(7) Hamshen

- a. *b^her-i-m útʃ^h bidi*
 bring-TH-1SG NEG FUT
 ‘I will not bring.’
 բ՛երիմ ո՛ւչ բիդի

- b. b^her-i-s úť^h bidi
bring-TH-2SG NEG FUT
'You will not bring.'
բ'երիս ո'չ բիդի

[[The third is to place the reflex of 'no' after the verb and future morpheme (8).]]

(8) Hamshen

- a. b^her-i-m idi úť^h
bring-TH-1SG FUT NEG
'I will not bring.'
բ'երիմ իդի ո'չ
- b. b^her-i-s bidi úť^h
bring-TH-2SG FUT NEG
'You will not bring.'
բ'երիս բիդի ո'չ

22.4 Miscellaneous

22.4.1 Question formation

The interrogative is constructed with the formative /t^he/ <թԷ>, which can take various positions. For example, all the sentences in (9) all equally mean 'Aren't they coming?'.

(9) Hamshen

- a. ť^h-í-n t^he g^h-a-l
NEG-AUX-3PL Q come-TH-CN
'Aren't they coming?'
չի'ն թԷ գ'ալ
- b. g^h-a-l ť^h-í-n t^he
come-TH-CN NEG-AUX-3PL Q
'Aren't they coming?'
գ'ալ չի'ն թԷ
- c. ť^h-í-n g^h-a-l t^he
NEG-AUX-3PL come-TH-CN Q
'Aren't they coming?'
չի'ն գ'ալ թԷ

But, if before the verb there is an interrogative pronoun (միջակ ական) or adverb, then the formative /t^he/ <թէ>...

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... is not used (10).

(10) Hamshen

- a. k^honí hok^hi ji-k^h
 how.many person AUX-2PL
 ‘How many people are you?’
 քօսի^օ հօքի յիք
- b. íntj^ho er-i-k^h
 how do-PST-2PL
 ‘How did you do?’
 ի^օնջօ էրիք
- c. vóer maʃd-ə eg-a-v
 which man-DEF come-PST-3SG
 ‘Which man came?’
 վեօ^օր մաշդը եգավ
- d. hób^hor or g^h-a-l tj^h-é-∅-jdə, orí χosk^h
 when that come-TH-CN NEG-AUX-PST-2SG, why speech
 gu-d-é-∅-jdə
 IND-give-TH-PST-2SG
 ‘When you weren’t coming, why did you promise it?’
 հօբ^օրօր օր գ^օւլ չէյդը, օրի^օ խօսք գուղէյդը

In contrast, what is said is (11).

(11) Hamshen

- a. esá d-o-m t^he
 this give-TH-1SG Q
 Do I give this? (as opposed to something else)’
 էսա^օ դօմ թէ
- b. mék^h t^he
 we Q
 ‘Us?’
 մէք^օ թէ
- c. dún g^hats^h-i-r t^hə
 house go-PST-2SG Q
 ‘Did you go home? (as opposed to someone else)’

22.4.2 Borrowing Turkish morphology

The Hamshen dialect also has a strange characteristic which does not exist in any other Armenian dialect, nor do I think in any other language.⁷

As we know, every language has foreign borrowed words. But these borrowings are taken with such a form, that the borrowing language considers them as roots and can subject them to grammatical rules. If the borrowings are nouns or adjectives, then they are taken in the simplest nominative case-form; if they are verbs, they are taken in the form of participles; if it is any other unchanging form, then they are likewise taken in their simplest root form. All of these can be declined or conjugated. For example, the following sentence is made up of purely Turkish borrowings (12a).

- (12) a. Hamshen
 sa jenit^heri-i-n χalp^hαχ-i-n t^hek^hme mə jerləfdir-mif
 this janissary-GEN-DEF calpack-DAT-DEF kick INDF place-?
 ən-e-m k^hi t^hek^her-mek^her g-α-Ø
 do-TH-1SG so wheel-ECHO come-TH-3SG
 ‘I kick this janissary’s calpack so that it comes all rolling.’
 Սա յենիչէրիին խալփախին թէքմէ մը յերլէշդիրմիշ ընէմ քի
 թէքեր-մէքեր գա
- b. cf. Turkish (Tabita Toparlak, p.c.)
 Şu yeniçeri-nin kalpağ-in-a bir tekme yerleştir-eyim, ki
 this janissary-GEN calpack-POSS-DAT a kick place-OPT.1SG, so
 teker-meker gel-sin
 wheel-ECHO come-IMP.3SG
 ‘I kick this janissary’s calpack so that it comes all rolling.’

Here, the words are Turkish, but they are declined or conjugated as Armenian words. In Hamshen, it often happens that the borrowed words are conjugated according to Turkish grammar, and they are imported in this way into Armenian sentences (13).

[[I placed the borrowed words in bold.]]⁸

⁷[[My debt to Tabita Toparlak for providing the modern Turkish translation (and diachronic sources) for the Hamshen data here.]]

⁸[[My debt to Nazila Shafiei for help in deducing the Turkish source words.]]

(13) Hamshen

- a. enir χatʰo-gi-n kʰitʰ mə jarala-di-ler
 they Khacho-DAT-DEF little INDF injure-PST-3PL
 ‘They injured Khacho a bit.’
 [[The verb is borrowed from Ottoman Turkish. Its Modern Turkish form is <yarala-dı-lar> ‘they injured’.]]
 Էնիր Խաչօզին քիչ մը յարալադիլեր
- b. iratsʰ hed uj-alum
 each.other with agree-OPT.1PL
 ‘Let’s get along with each other.’
 [[The verb is borrowed from Ottoman Turkish. Its Modern Turkish form is <uy-alım> ‘(optative) they get along’.]]
 իրաց հեդ ույալում
- c. evar mezi hed kof-di
 take? we.DAT with combine-PST
 ‘He combined us.’ (?)
 [[I did not understand Adjarian’s translation well <անալ մեզ հետ միացուց>. One possible translation is ‘He went and combined us’.]]
 [[The verb is from Ottoman Turkish. Its Modern Turkish form is <koş-tu> ‘he attached/combined’.]]
 եղան մեզի հեդ կօզդի
- d. gʰieɾ tʰe gʰ-a-s, iratsʰ hed doɾuʃ-úr-ukʰ
 village Q come-TH-2SG, each.other with fight-AOR-1PL
 ‘If you come to the village, we will fight each other.’
 [[The verb is from Ottoman Turkish. Its Modern Turkish form is <dövüş-ür-uz> ‘we fight’ (aorist).]
 գ’եղ թե գ’աս, իրաց հեդ դօղուշն’լրուք
- e. dʰunkʰ ʃád pʰara kazon-úr-sunuz
 you.PL much money earn-AOR-2PL
 ‘Do you earn much money?’
 [[The verb is from Ottoman Turkish. Its Modern Turkish form is <kazan-ır-sınız> ‘you earn’ (aorist). The noun ‘money’ is also from Turkish <para> ‘money’.]]
 դ’ոնք շա’դ փարա կազօն’լրսունուք

In these sayings, the following words are conjugated with purely Turkish rules:

- /jaraladiler/ <յարալադիլեր> past perfective 3PL
- /ujalum/ <ույալում> imperative 1PL
- /kofdi/ <կօզդի> past perfective 3SG
- /doʁufúruk^h/ <դօղուզն՝լրուք> present 1PL
- /kazonúrsunuz/ <կազօսն՝լրսունուք> present 2PL

These would become everywhere else as in (14).

[[*Adjarian means that in other Armenian varieties like SWA, Turkish verbs are borrowed in some participle form ending in /-mif/. The suffix corresponds to the Modern Turkish suffix /-miş/. This suffix is used to mark evidentiality in Turkish. But when used as borrowings in SWA, the suffix has no evidential meaning; the suffix is used to create a generic non-finite form (= essentially an infinitive or meaningless participle -PTCP) that can be used in Armenian sentences, usually alongside a light verb like 'to be' or 'to do'.*]]

(14) SWA with Turkish borrowings or codeswitching

a. **jarala-mif** əɾ-i-n

injure-PTCP do-PST-3PL

'They injured.'

[[*The borrowed word is from Ottoman Turkish. The Modern Turkish form is <yarala-mış>.*]]

յարալամիշ ըրին

b. **uj-mif** əll-ɑ-ŋk^h

agree-PTCP be-TH-1PL

'Let us agree.'

[[*The borrowed word is from Ottoman Turkish. The Modern Turkish form is <uy-muş>.*]]

ույմիշ ըլլանք

c. **doʁuf-mif** g-əll-ɑ-ŋk^h

fight-PTCP IND-be-TH-1PL

'We will fight.'

[[*The borrowed word is from Ottoman Turkish. The Modern Turkish form is <dövüş-müş>.*]]

դօղուշմիշ կըլլանք

- d. **kof-mif** əɾ-ɑ-v
 combine-PTCP do-PST-3SG
 ‘He combined/attached.’
 [[*The borrowed word is from Ottoman Turkish. The Modern Turkish form is <koş-müş>.*]]
 Կօշմի՞ք ըրաւ
- e. **kazan-mif** ɡ-əll-ɑ-k^h
 earn-PTCP IND-be-TH-2PL
 ‘We earn.’
 [[*The borrowed word is from Ottoman Turkish. The Modern Turkish form is <kazan-mış>.*]]
 Կազանմի՞ք Կըլլաք:

22.4.3 Stress

In the dialect, another famous phenomenon is stress. Just as in Trabzon, likewise in Hamshen, stress...

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... falls on the final syllable by rule. But in fast speech, it happens many times that in the two dialects, stress has moved to the first syllable of the word. This is due to the influence of the language of the Laz people who are a native Pontic populace. The Laz language places stress on the first syllable. Although in many places the Laz have lost their mother tongue and speak Turkish, but they stress their Turkish with their previous stress rule. In this way, the stress of the Laz language has passed on to Turkish and from this into Armenian.

22.5 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.*]]

22.5.1 Zefanos village

Adjarian’s note: See Ararat (Արարատ), 1892, page 428.

Էքուց կալանդար (կաղանդ) Է. Ես օր ԷմԷն մաշդիգ վիր-վեր, ԼԵս-ԼԵՆ գեշոսն գուքօս. ԷմԷն մաշդ իսթուս ինթուս թռչի գու: Էմօս դաղին գու օր՝ քըյդինքի մէջ գոյսըվին գու:

ԷմԷն մաշդ ժածվի գու ասդի (ասացի) ՝ օր օնցած դարվօսԷ ինչիգ մը բագաս թօղուն ուչ. յիս Էլ բարաբ դօղնիլ չիմ. Լեդվիմ գու ԼԵս ԼԵՆ, ինծիգի ինչ բօս օր ասդած ին՝ գԷն ընիմ իդի, օր Էշօմ միր դընվօյնուն (տնւօրնետրուն) հիդ կալանդար ընիմ:

Կալանդարը բեդքը բօս Է. ինցօ՞ սիյդըս ֆըմֆըմա գու թէ յի՞փի հասնիմ իդի իրիգվօս. ինցօ՞ բեդ գընիմ (կ'սպասեմ) թէ մեգ մը իրիգվօս հասնեի:

Գիդի՞ս ինչ բօսի հօմար գուգիմ կալանդարը. իրիգվօս չերեգ շադ ուղինք բիդի. կալանդարի ծառ գայթարինք բիդի. խընծիւրի մէջ փարա դընինք բիդի. միր բեդքը (լաւ) յիգը գումԷՆ դուն բերինք աշինք բիդի սա՞ր թէ սօլ օդքը Լիյս դընԷ բիդի. գօդօշվընուն ձերը լուցած մեղրԷ մում գըբքընինք բիդի. Էրգու գօդօշնուն վրԷՆ Էլ սիմիթ օնցընինք բիդի:

Էքվօս կալանդար Է ասդած ունիմ. հիմիջաք միր բօսն Է կալանդար Էնուշի հօմար ԷմԷն ինչիգ հագր ընուշ. միր բօսը շադ...

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... չեթին Էր, Էնուր հօմար օր միր դընվօյնին քիչվօր Էին, ու մեգիգի բօս շադ գեր (կար):

Միր դօսը շադ մաշդ բի գեր. յիս ունԷի ախբեր մը ու մԷյըս. հԷյըս իմ չիյս դարեգօս Էդած վախդըս մեռած Էր. մԷյս՝ հօյս մեռնուշԷՆ Էրգու դարի յիդ՝ գընաց Վերանա գարքըվԷցավ. մեգիգի Ագօփի հօխբԷյըս բԷհից, աշից ինչաք միծըցօսք:

Շադ բիջիլիգ Էի. միդքըս գուքա օր հօխբԷյըս գարքըվԷցավ. հօղօփգինց Գուխլա գեղԷՆ հայս բերած ունԷին. յիփ ձիԷՆ վեր առին՝ քօխքը գլխուն Լսդավ, ինծիգի գօքը նըսդեցուցին. հօղօփգինս ինծիգի օնթից ու բաքնից:

ՀօխբԷյս մեգիգի շադ սիրեր գու. գասեր թէ իմ ախբօր դեղն ին. ամմա հօղօփգինս ԷմԷն դարբա մեգիգի քեօթեր գու. ԷմԷն դարբա միր բօսը լացուշ Էր:

22.5.2 Küçük Şana village

Adjarian's note: This and the following ones were gathered by me from local teachers and villagers.

Այս Եւ յաջորդները իմ հաւաքածներս Են տեղացի ուսուցիչներԷՆ Եւ գիւղացիներԷՆ:

- Բ'արիվս քե, Աթօմ, ո՞ւսդի (վո՞ւյ դեղԷՆ) գ'ուգ'ասս:
- Քախքըն՝:
- Ի՞նցօ իս, բԷ՞դք իս թԷ:
- Բեդք իմ, ի՞նչ ընիմ իդի:
- Բ'օնի՞յդ ինցօ ին:

– Գեշ չին. դ՛ո՞նք ինցօ էք. աս դարի ի՞նցօ օնցուցիք:

– Ֆուխարե մաշոր ի՞նչ գայնա ընիլ. գիդիս օր խեօղ չունիմ. մեզ գդեօր մը խեօզ ունէյի, Էն էլ բօրջիս դէղ ձ՛եռնէս առին. գ՛նացի միր աղայէն մարաբալուղի հուճար խաձ (քիչ, կտոր) մը խեօղ առի. Էնու վրա էլ ընդողար Էմէղ Էրի օր, հիչ հսաբի չի գ՛ալ. փօրէցի, քօքը փեղէցի, խոգեցի, թէմիզ մը գիրէցի, մէկ փարչըն լազուղ ցօտեցի, վէօյն էլ լորգյէ ցօտեցի, Մըյնէգն էլ դնթում-մնթում սադրեցի. դնթ-մընին ու լօբգէնին Էփէյի Էղօն ամա, լազղ հիչ չէղավ. Էղաձ իրադն էլ դարի քաղաքը- ձախեցի, անջաք ընիցմէրօվ բօրջիս գէսը դըվի. մեգէլ գէսն էլ բ՛աց մնաց:

– Դունդ՝ քօ՞նի հօքի յիք:

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– Վից հօքի յինք, յես, դղօցը մերը, չիյս էլ դղաքը:

– Դղաքդ՝ մօ՞նչ ին թէ ախչիզ:

– Էրգու մօնչ, Էրգու ախչիզ ին. ախչգընիս իրէք Էինը ամա, մեգը մեռավ:

– Դղաքդ, գաղղօ՞ն գու թէ:

– Հա, հէլբթ. մօնչիյն էլ գաշղօն գու, բուլգընին էլ (պուլիկ «աղջիկ»). միձ մօնչըն դասվիրէք դարեգօն Է, բգդիգը դասնըմեզ. առաչմէն բուլգընիս գաշղում դվուշի չուգեցի (ուգեցի Էօչ գաշղում գալ). «բուլգօն գաշղուշը ի՞նչ բէղք Է» գասէյը՛. ամա քաղաքէն Էգաձ վարջաբէղը (վարբէղը) շաղ ասաց, շաղ թէքիֆ Էրավ, աքըր աքբէթ յես էլ կանմիշ Էղա, դահա ինչիզ չա՛սդի:

22.5.3 Malya village

– Գ՛իրքեօր, արի, քիչ մը նսդիք, ինչի մը հալլաշալում:

– Ի՞նչ հալլաշաշա՛ղուք, մեք ինչիզ չիյդիք օր. մեգի հեղ ի՞նչ հալլաշաշա՛քսուն:

– Բադմէ աշիք, ի՞նչօ Էղավ Դալդաբօնի բ՛օնը:

– Մայիսին գիսուն Էր՝ գ՛նացաք Էլաք Դալդաբօնը. մեր անձէ՛ն ու օխչըյնին օնցընաքը բիդի. Թուրքըրը չի՛ք թօղուլ ասդին. ընդէղէն դ՛արձ՛ուցին յեղ. խել մը յեղ Էգաք. Քիւրդալօղլի գ՛եղը Էգաք. ընդէղը գարգին մեգիգի. մեք ան գբուցաք, Էնիր էլ գբուցին:

– Վո՞ւմ շաղ քյեթօգեցին:

– Կօքիս ան քյեթօգեցին. կալդի քի Էնիր Խաչօգին քիչ մը յարալաղիլեր. մեք ան Էնից քյեթօգեցաք:

– Ընդէղէն նի՞ւր օնցանք:

– Գ՛իշերը փախաք օնցաք սարը Էլաք խալսեցաք:

– Թուրքերը ինչիզ գայցի՞ն թէ իմօնալ

– Իսգի ինչիզ ան չիմացին

– Էդեվ ի՞նչօ Էրիք:

– Հիւքիւմէթին գ'օսագրաքը բիդի. Թուրքերը մեզի դէսօս, ասդին հըն թէ մե՛ք էշդալ. դ'ունք մեզի քյետթագեցիք, մէք ալ ձ'եզի քյետթագեցաք, երաք խալափօթ (ռուս. խառնակութիւն)...

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... մը. իրաց հեդ ույալում հըն ու հիւքիւմէթը չըղնիք (չիյնանք). միյ գ'օղցած մալիյն ալյէդ առէք: Էնից խօսածը օսգօջ դ'րաք եօջ. ինչաք Գիւմիւշխանա. հուն Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդի մը գյա՛ր, գ'նացաք գ'ղաք գան. հալիյս Էնու հասգընցուցաք. օնցալ այչի դ'իյս էղառ մեզիգի, ու իրաց հեդ գ'նացաք հիւքիւմէթը. ընդեղ մաշ-նազ (< մարդնակ «լաւ») արգուհալ մը դվաք. արգուհալն ալ Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդին գ'րեց. բեդքը (լաւ) մաշթ էր. քեօլէ'իմ Էնու միովացը: Փօլիս մը, Էրգու զաֆթիյա Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդին Էղառ մեզի հեդ կօշդի, ինք էլ հեղվընիս, ինչաք Քիւրդալու-ղուն գ'եղը. դասը հադիգ մալ Էնից գ'օղցած մալերուն յեդ էղառ, մեզի Էրեդ, Էբ'եր քախքի գ'լխէն, ջօմփա Էդ'իր օնցաք գ'նացաք Էյլըն (թրք. արօտատեղի). շադ օյ դէսնու բօլա քի: Ընդեղ դեդ բ'ունեցաք, դուն շինեցաք. Էդք (կամ ընչաք) հիմի հուն իք:

22.5.4 Abgion village

Յես Արգյօսցի իմ. մէք ունիք մեզ վարջադուն. խաչ (եկեղեցի) մէլ ունիք. բիթուն գ'եղը չիյս մահալա Է. վարջադունը բ'աց Է. ունիք իրէք վարժաբեդ. միյ դեղի իրադն Է լա՛զուդ, գա՛Մին խօդիրը շադ իրադսուզ ին. Էղու հումար Էղած լա՛զոն էլ չի՛ հերքիր: Այդերուն մէջ դահա գը՛լլի լո՛բգէ, բ'օնջ'ար (կաղամբ), ոգրիշ յէ՛շիլուդ: Հէն միձ իրադը գադինն Է: Ձ'մոն բարաբ մնացած վաքըթը գ'եղացուց բագին ցախուդիրը գ'օյծէլի գընէն, խօդիյն էլ քեսադ (քիչ) ըլլուշին սեբաբի: օմրօն գօվիրը Էյլէն դօնին գու: Էյլըն մինըն Էրգու օր հեռու Է. գօվիրը չաբուխ չին գարի էշդալ. Էղու հումար Էրգու գ'իշիր դ'ուսը մընօն գու, ուչինջի իրիգունը դեղ հասնին գու. իրէք օմիս գինուշըն (կենալէն) Էղիվ՝ Էլի վեր գուգ'օն: Միր գ'եղացիք գօվ շադ բեհին գու. չունքի գիբիլը (աղբ) շադ բիդու Է. սադէ գաթէն բաշքա էլ մաշդը ուզէ չուզէ գիբիլին հումար բիդի դիրէ հօշդիր (հորթեր) ու գաթ ջընօղ գօվիր: Միր գ'եղացիք շադ ֆուկսարէ ին. Էղու հումար շադիրը կուրբեթ գէշոն, թարա կագօնմիշ ըլլուշի հումար. շադիյն էլ կուրբեթին մէջ գէրուր (թշուառ) ըլլուշէն մէ՛ռնին գու՝ թօղելով չօլուխ-չօջուխ Էրիսի վրա: Է՛յ գիդէ հէ՛յ, Էդմօն քօնի՞ օջախ մերած (մարած) Է:

ՄԷ մէլ օր (մէկ մ'ալ որ) միր գ'եղացիք շադ ուղուզ (տըր-...

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...գէտ) ին, ինչիգէ (բանէ մը) խաբար չունին. Էրգուս մը (մէկ-երկու, մի քան) դարի անջաք գա օր քիչ նեիրած ին առաչ էշդալ: Միր Էխդիայնին ուղուզ ըլլու-շին սեբաբի շադ ժամասիր ին. քօռ հավու բես գրօնավօյնուն ասդածին (ըսա-ծին) հավդօն գու. Նօրվէ գ'ալիք (Նորելուկ) խելաց մօդիգ բ'օն մը ասիս նա, չին հավդալ. օնդան սօրա էլ դահա բ'արիվդ էլ չին առնուլ դէ (թէ) Էս դըղըն մաշթ չըլլի բիդի, յախօղ օնասդված Է: Էդ սեբեթին ըմըն սըրա հինի ու Նօրի գմիվ գըլլի:

Chapter 23

Malatya

23.1 Background

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This dialect is spoken in the city of Malatya and in its surrounding villages until Adiyaman or Hisn-Mansur. Its region occupies a middle ground between the dialects of Tigranakert, Kharberd, Arapgir, and Cilicia. This is one of the southern borders (սահմանապահ) of Armenian, because Armenian is no longer spoken south of Hisn-Mansur. Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic have taken its area or sphere.

For the Malatya dialect, we have a small sketch of its phonetic system in the periodical Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (1900, page 118) and in two small insufficient excerpts (Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1898, page 620; 1899, page 772). There is a smaller manuscript from Hisn-Mansur (*ibid.*, 1900, page 331).

Based on all of this, we can follow up by saying that the Malatya dialect occupies a middle position between the dialects of Kharberd, Tigranakert, and Cilicia. If we compare with the first two, we see that the Malatya dialect has changed a lot; while if we compare it with the Cilicia dialect, especially with the Marash subdialect, then the Malatya dialect has a sufficiently clear picture.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 197).*]]

23.2 Phonology

23.2.1 Segment inventory

23.2.1.1 Laryngeal quality

The consonant system is the same as the Tigranakert dialect. From the three degrees of sounds from Old Armenian, only two remain (voiced and voiceless aspirated). The voiced and voiceless aspirated sounds became voiceless aspirated, while the voiceless unaspirated become voiced (Table 1).

Table 1: Laryngeal quality of stops and affricates in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘good’	bari	բարի	p ^h ari	փարի	bari	բարի
‘pillow’	bardz	բարձ	p ^h arts ^h	փարց	barts ^h	բարձ
‘to bring’	berel	բերել	p ^h erel	փերել	berel	բերել
‘high’	bardzær	բարձր	p ^h ants ^h ær	փանցըր	barts ^h ær	բարձր
‘book’	gir-k ^h (-PL)	գիրք	k ^h irk ^h	քիրք`	girk ^h	գիրք
‘door’	duræn	դուռն	t ^h or	թօռ	dur	դուռ
‘knife’	danak	դանակ	t ^h anag	թանագ	danak	դանակ

23.2.2 Sound changes

For vowels and consonants, the Malatya dialect provides the following sound changes.

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23.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /a/ <ա> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘big’	mets	մեծ	mandz	մանձ	mets	մեծ
‘burden’	beræn	բեռն	p ^h ar	փառ	ber	բեռ
‘chickpea’	siseræn	սիսեռն	sæsar	սըսառ	siser	սիսեռ
‘mountain’	læræn	լեռն	lar	լառ	ler	լեռ
‘when’	erb	երբ	jap ^h	յափ	jerp ^h	երբ

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘wheat’	ts ^h orean	ցորեան	ts ^h orin	ցորին	ts ^h oren	ցորեն
‘mind’	χelk ^h	խելք	χilk ^h	խիլք	χelk ^h	խելք
‘gospel’	awetaran	ավետարան	avidiran	ավիդիրան	avetaran	ավետարան
‘black’	səay	սեալ	siv	սիվ	sev	սև

23.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /u/ <ու>

The Classical Armenian sound /u/ <ու> changed to /o/ <օ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /o/ <օ> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘door’	durən	դուրն	t ^h or	թօռ	dur	դուր
‘water’	d̄zur	ջուր	t̄j ^h or	չօռ	d̄zur	ջուր
‘to who’ (DAT)	um	ո՞ւմ	hom	հօմ	um	ո՞ւմ

23.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian sound /aj/ <այ> changed to /e/ <ե> (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /e/ <ե> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘mother’	majr	մայր	mer	մեր	majr	մայր
‘this’	ajs	այս	es	ես	ajs	այս
‘wood’	p ^h ajt	փայտ	p ^h ed	փեդ	p ^h ajt	փայտ
‘vineyard’	ajgi	այգի	ek ^h i	եքի	ajgi	այգի
‘to burn’	ajrel	այրել	eril	երիլ	ajrel	այրել

The Classical Armenian sound /aj/ <այ> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 6).

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Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /ɑ/ <ա> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘sound’	ḏzɑjɛn	ծայլս	tsʰɑn	ցալս	ḏzɑjɛn	ծայլս
‘wide’	lɑjɛn	լայլս	lan	լալս	lɑjɛn	լայլս

23.2.2.4 Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oj/ <ոյ> changed to /o/ <ո> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ> to /o/ <ո> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘sister’	k ^h oɟr	քոյր	k ^h or	քոր	k ^h ujr	քույր
‘light’	loɟs	լոյս	los	լոս	lujs	լույս
‘nest’	boɟn	բոյլ	p ^h on	փոս	bujn	բույլ

23.2.2.5 Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իլ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iɥ/ <իլ> changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իլ> to /i/ <ի> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Malatya		cf. SEA	
‘fountain’	ɑbiɥr	աղբիլր	ɑxp ^h ir	ախփիր	ɑxpjur	աղբյուր
‘hundred’	hariɥr	հարիլր	herir	հերիր	harjur	հարյուր
‘blood’	ariɥn	արիլն	erin	երին	arjun	արյուն

(These two sound changes are characteristic of also the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect, but they do not exist in the Tigranakert dialect.)

[[*It seems Adjarian is referring to the following two sound changes, but I am not sure. (?)*]]

The Classical Armenian sound /iɥ/ <իլ> changed to /o/ <ո> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /o/ <օ> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Malatya	cf. SEA
‘column’	siʷn uիւն	son uօն	sjun uյոն

The Classical Armenian sound /iʷ/ <իւ> changed to /œ/ <եօ> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /œ/ <եօ> in the Malatya dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Malatya	cf. SEA
‘snow’	dziʷn ձիւն	tsʰœn գեօն	dʒjun ձյոն

23.3 Morphology

In the grammar, we could not find separate characteristic forms; and if the published excerpts are accurate, we can say that the grammar of the Malatya dialect does not have separate innovations.¹

23.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’]]

23.4.1 Malatya

Adjarian’s note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1899, page 772.

Դեվէն ինգեր՝ հօփ հօփը ցառքէ թօղ չիդար:

Օչիլօղը կը քերվի՝ անօթին գիւման գընսի:

Հարսնեղունը չը քըդէ, շերեփն առիր գը վազէ:

Յարա չիւնիս նէ ինչո՞ւ գուշունսիշ գըլիս:

¹[[The word ‘separate’ here <առանձին> may also be possibly translated as ‘unique’. (?)]]

Գաղուները քացին, մուգերուն ջանսիա փացվեցավ:

Մեղավորը ժամ չէ գեցիր, գայնիր է նե մաղը աչքն է մղիր:

Չօռը (ջուրը) սանդը թիր՝ ձեձեձեձե՝ գինե չօռ:

Դանձը քեկց ձառը ձանդր է:

Չեմ ուղիր՝ ջեբս թրեք, չիմ գարքըվիր՝ ձոցս դվեք:

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Չօռը բարդաղը դեսնես, դերդերը խուցը:

Իշուն չի հասնիր, փալանը գը ձեձե:

Շանը գը զենես դե դիրունմես գամչևան:

Իս գուգիմ շալգօղ՝ Ասված գուդա շալգելիք:

23.4.2 Adiyaman

Turkish: Hisn-Mansur

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 331. The orthography is preserved unchanged.

Մուղ դղում. Երին սրջես. քեօռ ըննաս. խանադ խարապ ըննա. պատին տակը մնաս. Երեսիդ հայող չննա. պեմուրատ Երթաս. պապուղ գանկը կողը չիանգչի. Աստուծոր խշմին Երթաս օղուլ ուշաղի տեր չննաս. կետնին եօթը յատակը անց-նիս. տունիդ պայխուշ խօսա աչվըներդ փաթր փաթր փաթլամիշ ըննա:

Chapter 24

Cilicia

24.1 Background

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Under this general name we want to include the Armenian spoken in Zeytun, Hadjin, Marash, and further south Kilis, Payas, Alexandretta, Antioch, and Svedia. Although they show sufficient differences among themselves, but because their general characteristics are much larger and more common, then we can consider them as subdialects.

24.2 Literature

From the aforementioned areas, only the vernaculars of Zeytun and Marash are satisfactorily studied. For the first one, we have the work by Allahverdian (Ալլահվերտեան 1884) for Zeytun. This book contains many manuscripts in the Zeytun dialect, and it ends with a succinct dictionary. Some small manuscripts in this dialect have been published in Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (1898, page 744¹ ; 1899, page 18, 137, 443, 545; 1900, page 74, 228). In Բազմավէպ [*Bazmavep*] (1897, page 467-73), my one published fable is taken from Allahverdian's book (Ալլահվերտեան 1884).

Beside these, I have a detailed study of the Zeytun dialect which I prepared during my summer travels of 1910 in Istanbul, with help from Zeytun native and student at Istanbul Getronagan Armenian High School (Կեդրոնական): Mr. Onnik Mahtesian (պր. Օսնիկ Մահտեսեան; [[SEA: /*onnik mahtesjan*/, SWA: /*on-nig mahdesjan*/]]) and a prince's son H. Yaghoupian (Յ. Եաղուպեան; [[SEA: /*javupjan*/, SWA: /*javubjan*/]]).

¹[[*The original page listed 144. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that the page number is 744; I fixed it.*]]

The Marash subdialect was previously succinctly studied by Melik S. Davit-Bek (Մելիք Ս. Դավիթ Բեկ) in Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review] 1896, page 43-45, 113-114, 229-232, and 354-357. This study was prepared over text samples that were published in Araks (Արաքս) 1889, volume 2 (Բ.) page 21-27.² This study was later published in a shorter form in a French translation in the periodical *Mélanges de Harlez*.³ Another more complete study...

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... and a few manuscripts have been published by a native from Marash, H. Varzhapetian (Յ. Վարժապետեան; [[SEA: /varzapetjan/, SWA: /varzabedjan/]]), in the periodical Բիւրակն [Byurakn] (1898, page 179, 360, 387, 425, 452, 465, 481, 535, 570, 585, 597, 693, 860, 888; 1899, page 101, 314, 349, 405, 425; 1900, page 185 and 363).

For the Hadjin subdialect, we have first a sufficiently extensive article by Hayganoush Boyajian (Հայկանուշ Դոյաճեան; [[SEA: /hajkanuf pojatʃjan/, SWA: /hajganuf bojadʒjan/]]) in Araks (Արաքս; 1889, volume 1 (Ա.), page 47-51), and a few small writings in Բիւրակն [Byurakn] (1898, page 779; 1899, page 41; 1900, page 331). For the language of Kessab and other villages that surround Antioch, see Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1899, page 443, and 1900, page 731). There is no information on the language of other places.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 186).]]

24.3 Phonology

24.3.1 Segment inventory

24.3.1.1 Vowels

The Cilicia dialect, whose most chief representative is Zeytun, has the vowels in Table 1.

²[[There are many periodicals with the name ‘Araks’ so I have not been able to track down the right citation. (?)]]

³[[On page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that I think means that this publication is from 1896, pages 204-211. (?)]]

Table 1: Vowels of the Cilicia dialect

/i/ <ի>	/ɣ/ <հԼ>	/u/ <ու>
/i̇e/ <ե>		/u̇o/ <ո>
/e/ <է>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ <ը>
/æ/ <ւ̇ի>		/ə̇/ <ը̇>
		/o/ <օ>
		/ɑ/ <ա>

Among these, the sound /ə̇/ <ը̇> is a new sound which represented a middle degree between between the vowels /ə, ɑ/ <ը, ա>.⁴

24.3.1.2 Consonants

The consonants have three degrees in the Zeytun dialect and in the Hadjin sub-dialect (voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated). In the southern regions, meaning in the Marash subdialect, the voiced aspirated sounds are lost. In the Shorvayian (Շորվայեցի; [[SEA/SWA: /forvajan/]]) district of Zeytun, I also found the voiceless sounds /ts, tʃ, p, k, t/ <ծ, ճ, պ, կ, տ>.

24.3.1.3 Subdialectal diphthongs

In the villages of Antioch, there are also the diphthongs /oə, eɨ, iɨ, aɨ/ <օը, էյ, իյ, այ>,⁵ which do not exist in other places.

24.3.2 Sound changes

24.3.2.1 Vowel changes

24.3.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա>

Among the sound changes, the most characteristic one that is spread across the entirety of Cilicia is that the Classical Armenian sound /ɑ/ <ա> changes to /o/ <օ> under stress (Table 2).

⁴[[Note that for the sound that I transcribe as /ə̇/, Adjarian uses the upside-down version of the letter <ը>. However, my text-processor could not type this letter. So for Adjarian's transcriptions, I use the symbol <ը̇>.]

⁵[[For the sounds that I transcribe as /iɨ, aɨ/, Adjarian used the superscript of the Armenian letter <յ> as in <իյ, այ>. But my text-processor cannot render such superscripts easily for <յ>, so I instead used a superscript [!].]

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /o/ <օ> in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Cilicia		cf. SEA or SWA		
			Zeytun subdialect				
'star'	astəł	աստղ	osɤ	օսղ	astəɤ	աստղ	SEA
'ceiling'	arastał	արաստաղ	ɑjəsdoɤ	այըսդօխ	arastəɤ	արաստաղ	SEA
'to open'	banal	բանալ	b ^h anol	բ ^h անօլ	p ^h anal	բանալ	SWA
'God'	astɥats	Աստուած	asb ^h odz	Ասբ ^h օծ	astvats	Աստված	SEA
'late'	anagan	անագան	ang ^h on	անգ ^h օն	anagan	անագան	SEA
'to descend'	idzanel	իջանել	it ^h noł	իջնօլ	it ^h nal	իջնալ	SWA
			Marash subdialect				
'idle'	parap	պարապ	barob	բարօբ	parap	պարապ	SEA
'city'	k ^h atak ^h	քաղաք	k ^h əɤok ^h	քաղօք	k ^h əɤak ^h	քաղաք	SEA
'it is'			gənoo	գընօ	gəlla	ըլլայ	SԿԱ
'man'	mard	մարդ	mort ^h	մօրթ	mart ^h	մարդ	SEA
'rock'	k ^h ar	քար	k ^h or	քօր	k ^h ar	քար	SEA
			Hadjin subdialect				
'I go'	ert ^h am	երթամ	gafdom	գաշդօմ	gert ^h am	կ'երթամ	SWA
'I will come'			big ^h gom	բիգ ^h գօմ	bidi gam	պիտի գամ	SWA
'thousand'	hazar	հազար	hazor	հազօր	hazar	հազար	SEA
'piece'	hat	հատ	hod	հօդ	hat	հատ	SEA
'debts (PL)' (CA)	part-(ə?)k ^h	պարտք	bordk ^h	բօրդք	partk ^h	պարտք	SEA
'debt' (sg) (SEA)							
			Antioch subdialect				
'dad (Ant.); grandma (SEA)'			dod	դօդ	tat	տատ	SEA
'world'	ɑfɤarh	աշխարհ	ɤɤfor	էիշօր	ɑfɤar	աշխարհ	SEA
'I stand'	kajanam	կայանամ	go ginom	գօ գինօմ	gə genam	կը կենամ	SWA
'it be'	lini	լինի	ənoo	ըննօ	əlla	ըլլայ	SWA
interjection			əro	ըրօ	ara	արա	SEA
'debts (PL)' (CA)	part-(ə?)k ^h	պարտք	bordk ^h	բօրդք	partk ^h	պարտք	SEA
'debt' (sg) (SEA)							

The Yaghoubian (Եաղուբեան; [[SEA: /jəɤubjan, jəɤupjan/, SWA: /jəɤup^hjan/]]) district of Zeytun always replaces this /o/ <օ> with /ɥo/ <ո>.

When the Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> vowel is not under stress, it remains /a/ <ա> or becomes /æ/ <ա̆>, and also /u, œ/ <ու, օ>, according to...

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various phonological conditions (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /a, æ, u, œ/ <ա, ü, ու, տ> in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		Cilicia		cf. SEA	
			Zeytun subdialect			
‘king’	t ^h agawor	թագաւոր	t ^h æk ^h ævyr	թայքաւիւր	t ^h ak ^h avor	թագաւոր
‘plough’	arar	արար	hæjœj	հայեյ	aror	արոր
‘thin’	barak	բարակ	b ^h ajjog	բայոյոյ	barak	բարակ
‘melody’	awatj ^h	աւաչ	evætf ^h k ^h	էվաչք	avatj ^h	աւաչ
‘student’	afakert	աշակերտ	efgijd	էզիյոյ	afakert	աշակերտ

24.3.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e, ē/ <ե, է>

The Classical Armenian sounds /e, ē/ <ե, է> change to /e/ <է> or /i/ <ի> in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /e, ē/ <ե, է> to /e, i/ <է, ի> in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Cilicia		cf. SEA	
			Zeytun subdialect			
‘evening’	erekoj	երեկոյ	ijgon	իյգօս	jereko	երեկո
‘I’	es	ես	is	իս	jes	ես
‘thirty’	eresun	երեսուն	ersun	էրսուն	jeresun	երեսուն
‘face’	eres	երես	ijis	իյիս	jeres	երես
‘kidneys’	erikamunk ^h	երիկամուկ	ijgom	իյգօմ	jerikamujk ^h	երիկամուկ
‘millstone’	erkanak ^h ar	երկանաքար	ijgonk ^h -k ^h oj	իյգօնք-քօյ	jerkanak ^h ar	երկանաքար
‘happy! (interj.)’	erani	երանի	ijani	իյանի	jerani	երանի
‘border’	ezar	եզր	izijk ^h	իզիյք	jezar	եզր
			Hadjin subdialect			
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք	dzik ^h	ծիք	jerek ^h	երեք
‘light (weight)’	t ^h et ^h eu	թեթեւ	t ^h it ^h iv	թիթիվ	t ^h et ^h ev	թեթեւ
			Marash subdialect			
‘night’	gifer	գիշեր	gifir	գիշիր	gifer	գիշեր
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք	irik ^h	իրիք	jerek ^h	երեք

In Zeytun, it can also stay /ie/ <է> (Table 5).

Chapter 24 Cilicia

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /e, ē/ <ե, է> to /ɛ̃/ <ե̃> in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Cilicia		cf. SEA	
			Zeytun subdialect			
‘chickpea’	siserən	սիստեն	sis̃er	սիստեն	siser	սիստեն
‘beauty’	geł	գեղ	g̃eɣ	գեղ	geɣ	գեղ

24.3.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը>

The Classical Armenian sound /ə/ <ը> often becomes /ə̃/ <ը̃> in Zeytun.

24.3.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

The Classical Armenian sound /i/ <ի> usually remains /i/ <ի>, but it has a tendency to get opened. In the Zeytun dialect, it has changed in various places to /e, ə, ɛ̃, ɑ/ <ե, ը, ը̃, ա>. In Marash, it became /ɑ/ <ա> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, e, ə, ɛ̃, ɑ/ <ի, է, ը, ը̃, ա> in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Cilicia		cf. SEA	
			Zeytun subdialect			
‘meat’	mis	միս	mə̃s	մը̃ս	mis	միս
‘woman’			gə̃nɑg	գը̃նազ	kə̃nik	կնիկ
			Marash subdialect			
‘meat’	mis	միս	mas	մաս	mis	միս
‘woman’			gə̃nɑg	գը̃նազ	kə̃nik	կնիկ

24.3.2.1.5 Other vowels

The other vowels have the following changes:

- CA /o/ > /o, ɣ, œ/ (ո > օ, իւ, օ)
- CA /u/ > /o, ɣ/ (ու > օ, իւ)
- CA /ĩ/ > /i, ə, e/ (իւ > ի, ը̃, է)

- CA /oi̯/ > /y, i/ (ոյ > իԼ, ի)
- CA /ai̯/ > /æ/ (այ > ä)

24.3.2.2 Consonant changes

24.3.2.2.1 Laryngeal changes

In the Zeytun dialect and Hadjin subdialect, the Armenian voiced consonants became voiced aspirated, the voiceless unaspirated became voiced, while the voiceless aspirated sounds stayed the same. In the Marash subdialect, where as we said there are no voiced aspirated sounds, both the voiced and voiceless unaspirated consonants became voiced.

24.3.2.2.2 Classical Armenian rhotic /r/ <ր>

The Classical Armenian consonant /r/ <ր> became /j/ <յ> in many cases for the area surrounding Zeytun. In the main town (աւաւս) of Zeytun, this sound change is found in the Shorvoyian (Շորվոյեան) district, which is considered a migrant settlement. The other districts use the sound /r/ <ր>. In Hadjin, this same consonant becomes /ʃ/ <շ> when next to /t/ <տ>, and in some places it becomes /j/ <յ>.

24.3.2.3 Vowel harmony

Another general characteristic of the Cilicia dialect is the tendency for all vowels to assimilate in a word (Table 7).

Table 7: Vowel harmony in the Cilicia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Cilicia		cf. SEA or SWA		
			Zeytun subdialect				
‘he went’	gənat ^h	qɫuɟ	g ^h onofs ^h	q ^h oɫog	gənat ^h	qɫuɟ	SEA
‘twenty’	k ^h əsan	puɫɫ	k ^h oson	puoɫɫ	k ^h əsan	puɫɫ	SEA
‘woman (genitive)’			gongon	qoɫqoɫ	kəŋkan	ɫɫɫɫɫ	SEA
‘gold’	oski	nuɫɫ	isgi	ɫuqɫ	voski	nuɫɫ	SEA
‘bone’	oskər	nuɫɫ	ysɟj	ɫɫuqɫɫ	voskor	nuɫɫ	SEA
‘bone-GEN’	osker	nuɫɫɛr	isɟj-i	ɫuqɫɫɫ	voskor-i	nuɫɫɫɫ	SEA
‘I go’	ert ^h am	ɛrɾəɫɫ	gort ^h om	qorɾəɫɫ	gert ^h am	ɫ ^h ɛrɾəɫɫ	SWA
			Marash subdialect				
‘this.GEN’			ysɟr	ɫɫɫɫɫ	asor	ɫɫɫɫ	SWA
‘Jesus Christ’	jisus k ^h əristos		ysɟs k ^h ɟrɟsdɟs		hisus k ^h əristos		SEA
	Յիսուս Թրիստոս		Իսիս Թրիստոս		Հիսուս Թրիստոս		

Here, we see that the Classical Armenian vowels /ə, o, e, a, i/ <ը, ո, Ե, ա, ի> left their original forms and became like the vowel of the subsequent syllable.

24.4 Morphology

24.4.1 Noun inflectional or declension

In the grammar, there are a few innovations; while the phonological rules have brought off many unusual forms.

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24.4.1.1 Vowel harmony in definite and indefinite articles

For example, in the Marash subdialect, the definite suffix /ə/ <ը> and the indefinite article /mə/ <մը> have changed: the first to /ə, i, u, ɟ/ <ը, ի, ու, ի>, and the second to /mə, mi, mu, mɟ/ <մը, մի, մու, մի>, in accordance with the vowel of the word-final syllable (Table 8).

[[*Note that the definite and indefinite articles are found in modern SWA as /-ə,-n/ and /-mə/ respectively. The modern definite article descends from the Classical Armenian distal suffix /-(ə)n/ <ն>, while the indefinite article descends from the Classical Armenian numeral /mi/ <մի> ‘one’.*]]

Table 8: Vowel harmony in the definite article in the Marash subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	Marash (Cilicia)		cf. SWA	
‘shirt-DEF’	ʃabág-ə	շաբա՛գը	ʃabíg-ə	շապիկը
‘shirt INDF’	ʃabag mə	շաբագ մը	ʃabig mə	շապիկ մը
‘wood-DEF’	p ^h éd-i	փե՛դի	p ^h ájd-ə	փայտը
‘wood INDF’	p ^h ed mi	փեդ մի	p ^h ajd mə	փայտ մը
‘girl-DEF’	aχʃin-i	ախշի՛նի	aχʃi ^h ig-ə	աղջիկը
‘girl INDF’	aχʃin mi	ախշին մի	aχʃi ^h ig mə	աղջիկ մը
‘knife-DEF’	danóg-u	դանո՛գու	t ^h anáğ-ə	դանակը
‘knife INDF’	danog mu	դանոգ մու	t ^h anag mə	դանակ մը
‘mouse-DEF’	múg-u	մո՛ղու	múg-ə	մուկը
‘mouse INDF’	mug mu	մուգ մու	mug mə	մուկ մը
‘grass-DEF’	χýd-y	խի՛ղիլ	χód-ə	խոտը
‘grass INDF’	χyd my	խիղ միլ	χod mə	խոտ մը
‘day INDF’	œr my	եօր միլ	or mə	օր մը

24.4.1.2 Plural formation

The number of declensions is the same as that of Kharberd and of more Western dialects. The plural is formed with the formatives /-ir, -nir, (-ij, -nij), -na, -nə, -dæx^h/ <իր, սիր, (իյ, սիյ), սա, սը, դաւք> (Table 9).

Table 9: Plural suffixes in the Cilicia dialect

	Cilicia		cf. SEA	
‘wheat-PL’	ts ^h ijin-nir	ցիյինսիր	ts ^h oren-ner	ցորեններ
‘chickpea-PL’	səʂəɾ-nə	սը՞սը՞ռնը	siser-ner	սիսեռներ
‘garlic-PL’	sœχdij-nə	սեօխդիյսա	səχtor-ner	սխտորներ
‘flower-PL’	ḍzæʂəg-na	ձաղըզնա,	ṭsæʂik-ner	ձաղիկներ
	ḍzæʂəg-nij	ձաղըզնիյ,		
	ḍzæʂəg-nij	ձաղըզնիյ		

24.4.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The pronouns are declined in the following way.

24.4.2.1 Pronouns in the Zeytun subdialects

[[Table 10 lists the personal pronouns.]]

[[It is unclear if the instances of <ɛj> here should be transcribed as a diphthong /ej̥/ or a vowel-glide sequence /ej/. Adjarian earlier said that the Antioch subdialect uses a diphthong (24.3.1.3), but then it is unclear if the following data also use a diphthong. (?)]

Table 10: Inflection paradigm for personal pronouns in the Zeytun subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	3SG 'he'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'	3PL 'they'
NOM	is ɦu	d ^h on ɾ ^h ou	æn u̯n	mink ^h ɟɦnɔ	d ^h ok ^h ɾ ^h oɔ	ænij u̯nɦj
GEN	im ɦɟ	k ^h u ɔnɫ	œnyj toɦɦj	mej, mij ɟɛj, ɟɦj	ɟz ^h ij, ɟz ^h ej ɟ ^h ɦj, ɟ ^h ɛj	œnynts ^h toɦɦɫɔ
DAT	indz̥ie ɦuɟɛ	k ^h iz ɔɦq	œnyj toɦɦj	miz ɟɦq	ɟz ^h iz ɟ ^h ɦq	œnynts ^h toɦɦɫɔ
ACC	ɟsɟɔ ɾ ^o uɾ ^o q	ɟzk ^h iz ɾ ^o qɔɦq	zæn qau̯n	ɟzmiz ɾ ^o qɟɦq	ɟzd ^h iz ɾ ^o qɟ ^h q	zenij qɛɦɦj
ABL	imnjets̃ ɦuɦɫɛɔ	k ^h innjets̃ ^h ɔɦnɦɫɛɔ	enigets̃ ^h ɛɦqɛɔ	mijnjets̃ ^h ɟɦɦɫɛɔ	ɟz ^h ijnjets̃ ^h ɟ ^h ɦɦɫɛɔ	œnyts̃ ^h nje toɦɦɫɔɛ
INS	imnœv ɦuɦtoɟ	k ^h izmœv ɔɦqɟtoɟ	œnyvœk ^h toɦɦɫɟtoɔ	mijnœv ɟɦɦɫtoɟ	ɟz ^h izmœv ɟ ^h qɟtoɟ	œnynts̃ ^h mœv toɦɦɫɔɟtoɟ

[[Table 11 lists interrogative pronouns.]]

Table 11: Inflection paradigm for interrogative pronouns ‘who’ and ‘what’ in the Zeytun subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	‘who’	‘what’
NOM	yv	tʃ ^h ijk ^h , yntʃ ^h
	hɫɫ	zɨɨɨ, hɫɫz
GEN-DAT	om	tʃ ^h ɣk ^h -u, yntʃ ^h -i, intʃ ^h -i
	oʃ	zɨɨɨɨɨ, hɫɫzɨ, hɫɫzɨ
ACC	zyv	tʃ ^h ijk ^h , yntʃ ^h
	qɨɫɫ	zɨɨɨ, hɫɫz
ABL	omn-ɨets ^h	tʃ ^h ijk ^h -ɨen, intʃ ^h -ɨen
	oʃɫɨg	zɨɨɨɨɨ, hɫɫzɨɨ
INS	om hid	tʃ ^h ɣjk ^h -œv
	oʃ hɨɨ	zɨɫɨɨɨɨ

We also find /z-əz-k^hiz/ ‘you.SG.ACC’ with two prepositions.

[[*Adjarian means we see two accusative prepositions /z-/.*]]

[[*Adjarian likewise lists the following other pronouns (Table 12).*]]

Table 12: Sample of other pronouns in the Zeytun subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

demonstrative proximal NOM SG ‘this’	oso	ouo
demonstrative medial NOM SG ‘that’	odo	ouo
demonstrative distal NOM SG ‘that yonder’	ono	oluo
demonstrative distal GEN SG ‘of that yonder’	əɨɨ	ɨɨɨɨ
intensive 3PL NOM ‘they’	irink ^h	ɨɨɨɨɨ
interrogative NOM SG ‘which’	jor	ɨɨɨ
interrogative NOM SG ‘wherever’	jórər	ɨɨɨɨɨ
interrogative SG ‘why’	tʃ ^h urú	zɨɨɨɨɨ

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24.4.2.2 Pronouns in the Marash subdialects

[[*In the Marash subdialect, there are pronouns such as in Table 13.*]]

Table 13: Sample of pronouns in the Marash subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

demonstrative proximal NOM SG ‘this’	es, əso	ես, ըսօ
demonstrative proximal GEN SG ‘of this’	əsyɾ	ըսիւր
demonstrative proximal ABL SG ‘from this’	əsigem	ըսիզէմ
demonstrative proximal INS SG ‘with this’	əsigɣ	ըսիզիւ
demonstrative proximal NOM PL ‘these’	əsink ^h , ɣsynk ^h	ըսիւք, իւսիւք
demonstrative proximal GEN PL ‘of these’	əsyn ^h ts ^h , ɣsyn ^h ts ^h	ըսիւնց, իւսիւնց
demonstrative proximal ABL PL ‘from these’	əsyn ^h ts ^h -me, ɣsyn ^h ts ^h -me	ըսիւնցմէ, իւսիւնցմէ
demonstrative proximal INS PL ‘with these’	əsyn ^h ts ^h -mɣ, ɣsyn ^h ts ^h -mɣ	ըսիւնցմիւ, իւսիւնցմիւ
demonstrative medial NOM SG ‘that’	ed, ədo	էդ, ըդօ
demonstrative distal NOM SG ‘that yonder’	en, əno	էն, ընօ

The following is the complete declension of the pronouns ‘I (1SG)’, ‘you.SG’ and ‘which’ in the Marash dialect (Table 14).

Table 14: Inflection paradigm for various pronouns in the Marash subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	1SG	2SG	‘which’ (SG)	1PL	2PL	‘which’ (PL)
NOM	is	don	ɣɾɣ	mink ^h	dek ^h	ɣɾiɾi
	իս	դօս	իւրիւ	միւնք	դէք	իւրիւրի
GEN	im	k ^h in	uruman	mir	dz̄ir	ɣrurun
	իմ	քին	ուրուման	միր	ծիր	իւրուրուն
DAT	ies	k ^h ez	uruman	miz	dz̄iz	ɣrurun
	իէս	քէզ	ուրուման	միզ	ծիզ	իւրուրուն
ACC	jas	əsgi	ɣɾɣ	mizni	dz̄izni	ɣɾiɾi
	յաս	ըսզի	իւրիւ	միզնի	ծիզնի	իւրիւրի
ABL	imne	k ^h inne	urumen	mirne	dz̄izne	ɣrurune
	իմնէ	քիննէ	ուրումէն	միրնէ	ծիրնէ	իւրուրունէ
INS	imɣ	k ^h inɣ	urumɣ	mirɣ	dz̄irɣ	ɣrurumi
	իմիւ	քիննիւ	ուրումիւ	միրնիւ	ծիրնիւ	իւրուրումի

24.4.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

24.4.3.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[In SWA, the indicative present and past imperfective are formed by adding indicative prefix before the finite verb: /gu-/ for monosyllabic verb stems, /g-/ before vowel-initial verbs, and /gə-/ elsewhere. And based on Adjarian's following descriptions, Cilicia uses essentially the same strategy but with a) different prefix forms, b) vowel harmony, and c) repeating the indicative prefix in some phonological contexts.]]

In verbal conjugation (Table 15), the indicative present and imperfective forms in the Zeytun dialect are formed by using the formative /go/ <qo>; before vowel-initial verbs and monosyllabic verbs, it is repeated and becomes a progressive marker.⁶ The Marash subdialect uses the formatives /kə, ki, ku/ <qḡ, qḥ, qḡ>. The first is used when the verb's first vowel is /a, e, o/ <u, ɛ, o>. The second is used when that vowel is /i/ <ḥ>. The third is used when that vowel is /u/ <ḡ>. In both the Marash and Hadjin subdialects, the indicative formative is not repeated.

⁶[[The syntax of the original sentence is quite complicated and I am not completely sure what it means. (?)]]

Table 15: Indicative present verbs in the Cilicia dialect

	Cilicia		cf. SWA	
	Zeytun subdialect			
‘they sell’	gə d̂zaχ-i-n	գօ ծախիս	gə-d̂zaχ-e-n	կը ծախես
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	
‘I cook’	gə g-ip ^h -i-m	գօ գիփիմ	g-ep ^h -e-m	կ’եփեմ
‘I cook’	gə g-uz-i-m	գօ գուզիմ	g-uz-e-m	կ’ուզեմ
‘you give’	gə gu-d-o-s	գօ գուդօս	gu-d-a-s	կու տաս
	IND IND-√-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	
	Marash subdialect			
‘I read’	gə gart ^h -o-m	գը գարթօմ	gə-gart ^h -a-m	կը կարդամ
‘I hit’	gə zen-i-m	գը զենիմ	gə-zarn-e-m	կը զարնեմ
‘I like’	gə sir-i-m	գը սիրիմ	gə-sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ
‘I drink’	gu χum-i-m	գու խումիմ	gə-χəm-e-m	կը խմեմ
‘he rises’	g-ill-e-∅	գիլլե	g-ell-e-m	կ’ելլե
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	
‘he takes’	g-ar-n-u-∅	գառնու	g-ar-n-e-m	կ’առնե
	IND-√-VX-TH-AGR		IND-√-VX-TH-AGR	
	Hadjin subdialect			
‘I go’	g-af ^d -o-m	գաշոմ	g-ert ^h -a-m	կ’երթամ
‘I come’	gə-g ^h g-o-m	գագ՛գօմ	gu-k ^h -a-m	կու գամ
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR	

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[[As said for SWA, both the indicative present and past imperfective use a finite verb. In SWA, the finite verb lacks the past suffix in the present, while it has the past suffix /-i-/ in the past imperfective. This past suffix is added after the theme vowel. But for Cilicia, the theme vowel and past suffix seem to not co-occur based on Adjarian’s paradigms.]]

[[I am not sure how to gloss Adjarian’s vowels, but the simplest situation seems to be that the theme vowel and past suffix are fused into one morph, and then there is a separate past proclitic /idi/. (?)]

In the Hadjin subdialect, the imperfective has two forms. The first (Table 16) is a simple form that originates from the Armenian imperfective; while the second (Table 17) is a complex form that is formed by adding the formative /idi/

<իդի> (the Turkish imperfective-forming formative <idi>). As an example, the following are the imperfectives of ‘to go’ and ‘to come’.

[[*It is unclear if the instances of <ւյ> here should be transcribed as a diphthong /ej/ or a vowel-glide sequence /ej/. Adjarian earlier said that the Antioch subdialect uses a diphthong (24.3.1.3), but then it is unclear if the following data also use a diphthong. (?)*]]

Table 16: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> (form I without /idi/) of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in the Hadjin subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	Hadjin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ɑfd-∅-i-∅	գաշդի	g-ert ^h -ɑj-i-∅	Կ’երթայի ‘I would go’
2SG	g-ɑfd-i-j	գաշդիյ	g-ert ^h -ɑj-i-r	Կ’երթէիր
3SG	g-ɑfd-e-j	գաշդէյ	g-ert ^h -ɑ-∅-r	Կ’երթար
1PL	g-ɑfd-i-nk ^h	գաշդիկս	g-ert ^h -ɑj-i-ŋk ^h	Կ’երթայիկս
2PL	g-ɑfd-i-k ^h	գաշդիք	g-ert ^h -ɑj-i-k ^h	Կ’երթայիք
3PL	g-ɑfd-i-n	գաշդիս	g-ert ^h -ɑj-i-n	Կ’երթայիս
	IND-√-TH.PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	
1SG	gɑ-g ^h g-i-∅	գազ՛գի	gu-k ^h -ɑj-i-∅	ԿոԼ գայի ‘I would come’
2SG	gɑ-g ^h g-i-j	գազ՛գիյ	gu-k ^h -ɑj-i-r	ԿոԼ գայիր
3SG	gɑ-g ^h g-e-j	գազ՛գէյ	gu-k ^h -ɑ-∅-r	ԿոԼ գար
1PL	gɑ-g ^h g-i-nk ^h	գազ՛գիկս	gu-k ^h -ɑj-i-ŋk ^h	ԿոԼ գայիկս
2PL	gɑ-g ^h g-i-k ^h	գազ՛գիք	gu-k ^h -ɑj-i-k ^h	ԿոԼ գայիք
3PL	gɑ-g ^h g-i-n	գազ՛գիս	gu-k ^h -ɑj-i-n	ԿոԼ գայիս
	IND-√-TH.PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	

Table 17: Indicative past imperfective <սևկաստար> (form II with /idi/) of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in the Hadjin subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	Hadjin		cf. SWA	
1SG	g-ɑfd-i-∅ idi	գաշդի իդի	g-ert ^h -aj-i-∅ ‘I would go’	կ’երթայի
2SG	g-ɑfd-i-j idi	գաշդիյ իդի	g-ert ^h -aj-i-r	կ’երթեիր
3SG	g-ɑfd-e-j idi	գաշդէյ իդի	g-ert ^h -ɑ-∅-r	կ’երթար
1PL	g-ɑfd-i-nk ^h idi	գաշդինք իդի	g-ert ^h -aj-i-դk ^h	կ’երթայինք
2PL	g-ɑfd-i-k ^h idi	գաշդիք իդի	g-ert ^h -aj-i-k ^h	կ’երթայիք
3PL	g-ɑfd-i-n idi	գաշդին իդի	g-ert ^h -aj-i-n	կ’երթային
	IND-√-TH.PST-AGR PST		IND-√-TH.PST-AGR	
1SG	ga-g ^h g-i-∅ idi	գագ՛գի իդի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-∅ ‘I would come’	կոԼ գայի
2SG	ga-g ^h g-i-j idi	գագ՛գիյ իդի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-r	կոԼ գայիր
3SG	ga-g ^h g-e-j idi	գագ՛գէյ իդի	gu-k ^h -ɑ-∅-r	կոԼ գար
1PL	ga-g ^h g-i-nk ^h idi	գագ՛գինք իդի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-դk ^h	կոԼ գայինք
2PL	ga-g ^h g-i-k ^h idi	գագ՛գիք իդի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-k ^h	կոԼ գայիք
3PL	ga-g ^h g-i-n idi	գագ՛գին իդի	gu-k ^h -aj-i-n	կոԼ գային
	IND-√-TH.PST-AGR PST		IND-√-TH.PST-AGR	

24.4.3.2 Progressive forms

[[In SWA, the indicative present and past imperfective are made progressive by adding the progressive enclitic /gor/. Though this marker is banned in formal writing.]]

The progressive forms are absent in Hadjin. But the Marash subdialect has them, and they are formed with the formative /go/ <qo>. This formative is not shortened next to vowels (Table 18).

Table 18: Progressive forms in the Marsh subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	Marash (Cilicia)		cf. SWA	
‘I am liking’	go sir-i-m	գօ սիրիմ	gə-sir-e-m gor	կը սիրեմ կոր
‘he is rising’	go ill-e-∅	գօ իլլէ	g-ell-e-∅ gor	կ’ելլէ կոր
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-AGR PROG	
‘he is taking’	go ar-n-u-∅	գօ առնու	g-ar-n-e-∅ gor	կ’առնէ կոր
	IND √-VX-TH-AGR		IND-√-VX-TH-AGR PROG	
‘I was liking’	go sir-a-∅	գօ սիրա	gə-sir-ej-i-∅ gor	կը սիրէի կոր
	IND √-TH-PST-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR PROG	

24.4.3.3 Future and past future

[[In SWA, the future is formed by taking the finite verb form of the indicative present (= minus the indicative prefix), and then adding the future proclitic /bidi/. The past future is similarly formed by taking the finite verb form of the indicative past imperfective and then adding this future proclitic. Adjarian describes the Cilicia dialect as doing a similar strategy.]]

In the Marsh subdialect, the future has two forms. The ‘ordinary future’ (հասարակ ապանի) is formed with the typical formative /bide/ <բիդէ> (related to SWA /bidi/ <ալիտի>), and the ‘immediate future’ (անսիջակաս ապանի) which is formed with the verb /izil/ ‘to want’ (related to SWA /uzel/ <ուզէլ> ‘to want’).

- (1) a. Marash (Cilicia)
- i. bide bir-i-m
FUT bring-TH-1SG
‘I will bring.’
բիդէ բիրիմ
 - ii. g-iz-i-m bir-i
IND-want-TH-1SG bring-TH(?)
‘I will immediately bring.’
գիզիմ բիրի
- b. cf. SWA
- bidi p^her-e-m
FUT bring-TH-1SG
‘I will bring.’
ալիտի բերեմ

In Hadjin, the future formative is shortened to /b/ (from CA /p/ <պ>), while the past future (սնցեալ ապաննի) is formed with the aforementioned Turkish formative /idi/ <իդի>. The following are the repeated futures of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ (Table 19, 20).

Table 19: Future <ապաննի> of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in the Hadjin subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

	Hadjin ‘to go’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b-ıfd-o-m	բիշոս	bidi jert ^h -a-m	պիսի երթամ ‘I will go’
2SG	b-ıfd-o-s	բիշոս	bidi jert ^h -a-s	պիսի երթաս
3SG	b-ıfd-o-∅	բիշո	bidi jert ^h -a-∅	պիսի երթայ
1PL	b-ıfd-o-nk ^h	բիշոսնք	bidi jert ^h -a-ηk ^h	պիսի երթանք
2PL	b-ıfd-e-k ^h	բիշեք	bidi jert ^h -a-k ^h	պիսի երթաք
3PL	b-ıfd-o-n	բիշոս	bidi jert ^h -a-n	պիսի երթան
	FUT-√-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-AGR	
	Hadjin ‘to come’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b-ıg ^h -o-m	բիգ՛գոս	bidi k ^h -a-m	պիսի գամ ‘I will come’
2SG	b-ıg ^h -o-s	բիգ՛գոս	bidi k ^h -a-s	պիսի գաս
3SG	b-ıg ^h -o-∅	բիգ՛գո	bidi k ^h -a-∅	պիսի գայ
1PL	b-ıg ^h -o-nk ^h	բիգ՛գոսնք	bidi k ^h -a-ηk ^h	պիսի գանք
2PL	b-ıg ^h -e-k ^h	բիգ՛գեք	bidi k ^h -a-k ^h	պիսի գաք
3PL	b-ıg ^h -o-n	բիգ՛գոս	bidi k ^h -a-n	պիսի գան
	FUT-√-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-AGR	

Table 20: Past future <անցեալ սպաննի> of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in the Hadjin subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

Hadjin ‘to go’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b-ıfd-i-∅ idi բիշդի իդի	bidi jert ^h -aj-i-∅	պիտի երթայի ‘I was going to go’
2SG	b-ıfd-i-j idi բիշդիյ իդի	bidi jert ^h -aj-i-r	պիտի երթայիր
3SG	b-ıfd-e-j idi բիշդէյ իդի	bidi jert ^h -a-∅-r	պիտի երթար
1PL	b-ıfd-o-nk ^h idi բիշդօնք իդի	bidi jert ^h -aj-i-դk ^h	պիտի երթայինք
2PL	b-ıfd-e-k ^h idi բիշդէք իդի	bidi jert ^h -aj-i-k ^h	պիտի երթայիք
3PL	b-ıfd-i-n idi բիշդին իդի	bidi jert ^h -aj-i-n	պիտի երթային
	FUT-√-TH.PST-AGR PST	FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	
Hadjin ‘to come’		cf. SWA	
1SG	b-ıg ^h -i-∅ idi բիգ՛գի իդի	bidi k ^h -aj-i-∅	պիտի գայի ‘I was going to come’
2SG	b-ıg ^h -i-j idi բիգ՛գիյ իդի	bidi k ^h -aj-i-r	պիտի գայիր
3SG	b-ıg ^h -e-j idi բիգ՛գէյ իդի	bidi k ^h -a-∅-r	պիտի գար
1PL	b-ıg ^h -i-nk ^h idi բիգ՛գինք իդի	bidi k ^h -aj-i-դk ^h	պիտի գայինք
2PL	b-ıg ^h -e-k ^h idi բիգ՛գէք իդի	bidi k ^h -aj-i-k ^h	պիտի գայիք
3PL	b-ıg ^h -i-n idi բիգ՛գին իդի	bidi k ^h -aj-i-n	պիտի գային
	FUT-√-TH.PST-AGR PST	FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

24.4.3.4 Non-finite forms

[[What is often called the ‘past participle’ has different meanings and functions per dialect. In SWA, the ‘past participle’ is either the resultative participle with suffix /-adz/, or the evidential participle with suffix /-er/. These participles are both used to form the present perfect or past perfect; the resultative has non-evidential connotation while the evidential has an evidential connotation. For SEA, there is a resultative participle with /-ats/ and a perfective converb with the suffix /-el/. The perfective converb is used for the present perfect and past perfect.]]

The past participle (2) has the form /-ir/ <իր> in Marash, and /-ij/ <իյ> in Hadjin and Zeytun, based on the regional pronunciation. The form /-odz/ <օծ> (from CA /-ats/ <ած>) is more commonly used. But there is also the formative /-mon/ <մօն> (Greek <μένος>), for passive (կրաւորակերպ) verbs.

(2) Cilicia

- a. gir-ir e
eat-EPTCP(?) AUX
'He has eaten.'
գիրիր է
- b. gir-ij e
eat-EPTCP(?) AUX
'He has eaten.'
գիրիյ է
- c. gir-odz̄ e
eat-RPTCP AUX
'He has eaten.'
գիրօձ է
- d. ip^h-mon e
eat-PASS.RPTCP AUX
'It is cooked.'
իփմօս է
- e. p^hor-mon
spread-PASS.RPTCP
'spread'
փօռմօս

24.5 Background (continued) and literature

It is clear that starting from the west regions of Cilicia until the borders of Smyrna and Nicomedia, there is no Armenian language. The local language, Turkish, has turned into the native language. But Armenian is still preserved in some villages. These are Stanoz (Yenikent) (western side of Ankara), Sivrihisar (south-west of it), Nallıhan (the north-west side of Stanoz), and a few villages next to Yozgat. Information is lacking on these places.⁷ For the language of Stanoz (Yenikent), there is some information and a small manuscript in Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (1899, page 670; 1900, page 233). Although these pieces are not entirely sufficient for studying the language of these areas, they appear to show that they as well form subdialects of Cilicia.

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⁷[[*Though Sivrihisar and Stanoz may form a separate dialect (Martirosyan 2019: 196).*]]

24.6 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

24.6.1 Zeytun dialect

Adjarian's note: Taken from Ալլահվերտեան (1884: 159). In its new form, it was narrated to me by Mr. Onnik Mahmtesian (այր. Օսնիկ Մահմտեսան) and I wrote it in scientific orthography. Instead of the voiceless sounds /p, k, t, ts, tʃ/ <պ, կ, տ, ծ, ճ>, he would sometimes use voiced aspirated sounds; and Mr. Yaghoupian (այր. Եաղուպեան; [[SEA: /jɑvʊpjan/, SWA: /jɑvʊbjɑn/]]) would always do that. The latter would not change the sound /r/ <ր> to /j/ <յ>.

Թամբամվիյ մը ու վեզիյ մը թեփոյիլ բ'իլիլ գ'ացըն ու գ'եղան (կամ տճկ. քեօյան) ջիւթը ախգ'ոդ միգի մը դունը իճօն. ան գ'իշիյը դօնդիյիւչը գը'նը'գը բօլուզ մը ունցօվ. իյիւք ան հեօն իչնալնըն փուշմօն եղօն. ան սահօթըն Նիքսէն (Մառան) դէլըղանը մը, մօդով, դ'օյս իլիլն իքէն թամբամվիյը քը'շպիլ գիմի ասօց. «Ձանըմ, տօն չօ'ց մօյդ' իս. միւք հեօս դըսդիլ բիլո գօ գամըչնօք ու դ'օն իգիյ Նիքսէն մօդօյ»: Դէլըղանըն ասօց «Ձանըմ, ինձօն ինձօն թամբամվիյէ մը գը'նը'գը աշգին բիդի մ'ունցօվ ու եօսիյ ջագօդը կըյիցի թը ան բօլուզը ան աշգինը բիդի առնու»: ան սահօթըն թամբամվիյը շաշմըջ եղօվ թը «հեչ միւքի'ն է յոյ (որ) մէյ աշգինը եօսիյ դօնք»: Սօնդոռ թամբամվիյը ու վեզիյը դանուշուխ էյան թը «չօ'ց թեվոյ (կերպ) անդ' բօլուզը գանընք ըսպանի օլա (արդեօք)»: Վեզէյը ասօց. «Եյգօնը (երկանը) ասիւք թը մե'գիս թամբամվիյ ինք, մեգս ան վեզէյ. ան դերվանքը թեփոյիլ գօ բ'իլիւք թը իշտի (արդեօք) բօլուզ մը գանը'նք գ'ը'նի (գնել). չիւքիւ մե'գս ան բօլուզ չունանք. ը'ռանդ եղօվ. տօն չիյ հիւգ բօլուզ ունաս. կուհանօմ Ասպօձ. հունմօյ ան (հիմայ այ) տօն բօլուզ մը ունցօյ. ու գըյընիլո բ'օն չունաս. քէլէ օդո Նիյ եղօձ բօլուզը միգ ձախե. գօշօռեօքը իսկի գուդօնք»:

Իփիյ բօլուզը առըն ու քեօյէն տօյս կացըն, թամբամվիյը ասոց վեզիյն թը «հուդո գէնիւք քայիւք (ձգէնք)»: Վեզիյն ան ասոց թը «գէնիլօն` օսո ոյմուկան (թըք. օրման «անտառ») մէչը քայիւք, ինքիյէն գու մեռնա»: ան դէվըը'նը'ն չուբօն մը դավօյ գօգայծէյ. էճուն մեզը կօսօց, ան բօլուզը ճը'ը'ցուց: Քէլէ' յոյ (արի տես որ) անձը բառբուզօն մ'էյ. իփոյ իյգօն եղօվ, չուբօնը դունը գ'օնօց. բառբուզը ջէնչից չուբուկան վիյան թը «Ասըձէ չի'ն վախի.

չօց իս մեզ էծուգ ունամ նը՝ անձ գօ գըօթիս»: Չուբօնը ասաց. «Մինձ անա, իս խաբօյ չունամ»: Ու իփոյ դանգևամագը եղօվ՝ անվան չուբօնը այծիլ գ՛օնօց. ը՞յը՞գվը՞նտ իգիք չուբօնը նը՝ անվան բառբուգը ջէնչից. «Ջանըմ, անվան՞ գըօթիցի. չօց Ասըձէ չը վախոձ մեզ մ՛իս եղի դ՛օն»: ան միգանլ էօյը բառբուգը դառնմըջ (նեղանալ) նանլեօվ՝ իլօվ էձգօնը իդիվը գ՛օնօց. անձ ան այծիլէն այծիլէն իլօվ իւրիյթ բը՞լը՞գան խէչը գ՛օնօց ու գօ ձը՞ձցը՞նէ: Բառբուգը ոյախնիլեօվ առօվ բօլուգը՝ դունը գ՛օնօց. ջօվօց դ՛ըյացնիյը, ասաց թը «Աման, չուբօնը չօ գը՞թէ եղի է էծուգիս. իլլան (այլ) իմ էծուգը բը՞դիգ մը ունցի է»: ան բօլուգը ձառիցին (խնամել), չիյ մինձձ՛օվ: Բօսոն քըսանը հինգ դայվօս սօնդոռ, ան թանքանվիյը ու վեգիյը պիլիլէն իգին աս բը՞լը՞գան քէյը. գու դիսնուն յոյ բօլուգ մը գո, ու էօնիյ էծու դօդո գօջօվօն: Թանքանվիյը ասաց թը «Ջանըմ, չոյոն՞ էօդիյ էծու դօդո գօջը՞վանք»: Էնիյ ան էօնիյ ասըն թը «Բառօբ մը էծուգ մ՛ունէ. ան անձը դայիմ բայօբ գուգ՛էյ. ձը՞ձը՞ գոթ չէյ գինէյ. էօյ մը բառօբը գ՛օնօց դիսօվ յոյ անձը բըդիգօս մը եղեղը (վոյ) չուբիյ է՛ գօ ձը՞ձցը՞նտ. առօվ դունը բ՛իյօվ ու ձառից, մօնձձ՛ուց դէհի, գօ ջօվօն էծու դօդո:» ան ադինը թանքանվիյը ու վեգիյը դանուշուխ էյան թը անձ մէյ չալուն մէյ քայօձ բօլուգն է. դ՛եռ սող գիցի է: Մեգմիգի ասըն թը էօդիյ ծառը (ձ՛անը) թուխթ մը դօնք, խափիք ու գ՛օլօխը դօնք գը՞դրի: Ծը՞ (ձ՛ը՞) մը դը՞վը՞ն, թուխթ ման թը օսո դէ ֆօլօն թանքանվիյէն սէյան դօյ. ան ան իլօվ ձը՞ն հէձօվ, թուխթն ան առօվ դայօվ: Բօլուգը իւրիյթ սէյան գ՛օնօց. գօյթէյ նը՝ սային քէօվը բաշչո մը գէյ. էծուն դեղան մը՞դքէօվը ասաց թը օսո բէշչան բառգիմ՝Մգու դանըմ գահայ (հարկաւ): Հէօն բառգիլն իքէն, թանքանվիյէն բը՞դիգ աշգինը դիսօվ յոյ բաշչին մէչը գը՞դրը՞ջ մը բառգի է. աշգինը գ՛օնօց, գը՞դրը՞ջը՞ն քէօվը գանիցօվ. ու գան հավնիցօվ. դիսօվ յոյ ձիւցը թուխթ մը գո գան բ՛ացօվ, գայդ՛օց, դիսօվ յոյ մէչը կօյմօն է թը ան բօլուգը չիյ իգ՛ո նը (հագիւ եկած)՝ չուխուսուցունիլեօվ քէլլան գը՞դրիցէք: Աշգինը ան գ՛օլօծը անցուց ու ինք ան գ՛ը՞յից թը սայիս (պալատիս) դ՛եմը սայո մը շինիցէք ու քառսուն էօյ հայսնըք էյէք, բը՞դիգ աշգինս ան էօսիյ դը՞վէք. խը՞փնից (գոցէց), անվան ձիւցը դ՛օյօվ: Չիյ ան ադինը իլօվ, բօլուգը թուխթը սէյան դայով: Թուխթը բ՛ացըն, գայդ՛ացըն, դիսօն յոյ թանքանվիյէն ու վեգիյէն մէօհիյը...

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... մէչը գո. գ՛օլօծը գիմի էյը՞ն: Շինիցին սէյան, քառսուն էօյ ու քառսուն գ՛իշիյ հայսնըք էյան, ան աշգընան հիդը փսագիցին: Մէք-քանը՞ դայը՞ սօնդոռ՝ թանքանվիյը ու վեգիյը իփոյ էգին, թիւմ (ամբողջ) քախքըցը՞ք դ՛եմ գ՛ացըն. իյ էնիշդան ան քէօմէօլու (շատ) սանսալաթէօվ տեմ իլօվ: Թանքանվիյը իփոյ ան դեղան ջէնչօց, շաշմըջ եղօվ մօնօց: Իդըք ջօվօց իյ վեքիլիսօյը ու ասօց. «ան պռնաձնըդ՛ չի՞ք է. ան բօլուգը չոյոն՞ ինդան էյը՞ք»: Չիյ ան ադինը վեքիլիսօյը թուխթը ձուցէն հանից, թանքանվիյէն ու վեգիյէն գօցուց. Էնիյ ան իփոյ թուխթը դիսօն, գայմացօն: Չիյ ան ադինը թանքանվիյը թուխթը բաքօվ, դ՛օլիսօն դ՛օյօվ ու դը՞դան ասօց թը «Դ՛օն ան իմ դեղան իս. գ՛օլօծը չանցնը եղի է»:

24.6.2 Hadjin subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1899, page 41 and 1900, page 331.

- Բ'արեվ բարա:
- Ասձօ բ'արին:
- Ընչօ՞ց իս:
- Ըռինդ իմ:
- Ուսդէ՞ր գագ'օս:
- Սեհելէն:
- Ի՞նչ գօ, ի՞նչ չօգ'օ:
- Ըռնդոնթին:
- Բ'անվընիդ ընչօ՞ց եր:
- Է՛, գարօր չուներ:
- Բօբի՞ր ընչօց եր:
- Ա դարի քիչ մը քէֆլու է:
- Ասել է եփեյի բօրոք դըվիք:

- Փօռք Ասդըձու. Երեչեբին դղին հազօր դրուշ բօրոք բարոցսք իղի, վեց հերիորը դըվօսք՝ չօրս հերիորը մսօց. ֆայիզն ա վրան գ'րօվ ՝ալա ինը հերիոր դրուշի սենեդ մը դըվօսք: Թըռսարգ'իսին զըզին ա ձիք (երեք. հմմտ. Լնխջ. ժեք) հերիոր դրուշ բօրոք բարոցսք, Էշվընիս Երգու հօդ եր՝ մեզը դըվօսք, մսացածին ա ֆայիզեվի Երգու հերիոր իսուն դրուշի սենեդ մը դըվօսք. վերգունիս ա քիչ մը թիթիֆցընէնք նէ՝ մսեղ բուլաշըղեվէն ա դընվընիս Էշունքը գու լեցնինք, բըլըզդեք բահօթ գէնէ:

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Փեօյիդ իսանձի. հեգ'գիդ իսանձի. Ասդվօձ հեգ'գիդ առնօ. չղիսօս գէնջուրթօսիդ իսայիյը (թրք. իսայիր). իսօգ մեռնիս. իսօգ սաղգիս. մոյը բէլեվիս (մուրը պլուրիս). չհասնիս գէնջուրթօն. սիյդիդ դ'ուռը թեգիսօ (թող կենայ). օջախդ անցնի. Էջքիդ գույնօ (աչքդ կուրանայ). թիվիդ իսանձի:

24.6.3 Marash subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1899, page 405 and 101.

Գեղցա մը քարօք իգիլ է, բեգօրու բիլիլ-իքէն՝ դօլանդըրըջը (խաբեբայ) մը գօ հասգընօ քի իսիւր քեօվիլ. փարօ գօ, ոյունմուշ գօննօ իսիւր:

Յօր քի դէսնա «քեռա՛, բարիվ իգիր, չօ՞ց իս, ըռընդ իս...» գօսէ:

Գեղցան է գըսէ քի «լա՛ դղօ, իս քին քեռադ չիմ»:

- Չէ՛, իլլէ դօն իմ քեռաս իս. իս քիննէ չիմ անցնա: Ինդէս գօսէ դօլանդըրըջըն:

Եօր մ'է գօսէ քի - Թէ՛ռա, իգօ իսգի (զքեգ) քեբաշուվա իսանուք մու դանամ դէ՛ քիդ քեբօք մու դըրցնիմ:

Գեղցան էս լսօճու գիմի քեֆ զօ էնէ. առչիվի զօ ընգնա՝ բարաբօր զօրթօս:
Խանուկօն զօ մըղնան, իվիրի զօ իլլին, քեբօբու ուտուլէն սօնրօ՝ ղօլանդըրը-
քըն զօտ քի. «Քեռա, իվեր ըրթօմ դէ այրօն մու բիրըցնիմ (բերել տամ), խու-
միկք»:

Իվեր զօ իչնա՝ քեբաբքըվան զօտ քի «ահա իս զօրթօմ, իվիրի գիսղ մօրթէն
փարէն օռ (առ) դէ փոցու»:

Ինդէս զօտ՝ հերիֆի դօրս զօ իլլէ զօրթօ: Գեղցան մեզ բեքլէմիշ զօ էնէ, իրգու
բեքլէմիշ զօ էնէ՝ սօսսօնու իվեր զօ իչնա, զօ Միսնա՝ քի հերիֆի գացիլ ա. քեբաբ-
քուն է ինքիրնէ փարօ զօ ուզէ:

Գեղցան մեզ իրիսի լացօճ, մեզ իրիսի ճըճաղօճ՝ «հազօր դաբու իս քին քեռաղ
չիմ ըսա դէ, չէ իլլէ դօն իմ քեռաս իս ըսօճ» ըսիլէն փարին ձրօրու զօ աճգէ:

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* *

Եօր միւ գեղցա մը ի ժամու դերբաբուն խուսդուկանիլիքէն զօտ քի. «Դերբօբ,
մօրթ մու սբանըցի, էն մեխքի չիմ համրի. մօրթ մու գեղվըցի, էն է չիմ համրի.
դուն մու բադըցի, էն է չիմ համրի. ամմա բօք (պահք) եօր միւ իչյաղը միմէն
չըբուկիսի վառըցի, էս մեխքաս հազօ՛ր մեղօ. թուղուկուն դուր, դէ՛րբօբ»:

Դերբօբն է զօտ քի. «Ի՛լ ի՛լ, եղ մեխքն է իս չիմ համրի»:

24.6.4 Kessab village of Antioch

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 731.

Իս ճ՛ի գիւղիւրթ գիւղիւրթ գեսիմ թը ցերինը հեօղ չիննէյրը գ՛իյդէյն ու միռնայր,
էնք բէս զօ. ըմմը թը գը միռնա, շիւղ մահսօլ զօ դու: Ան ըր գէյր վիւջիւղը գը
սիրիյ՝ զան գը սիբի. օ ան ըր գէյր վիւջըղղը գը գ՛օդի (կ՛աստէ), յաս էխշօր էբէդի
եօմըրէն զօ բրիի զան. ան ըր գէյս գը բաշդի՝ յէմ իղղը դէ զօ գ՛ու. օ իս յէօր զօ
գ՛իւսօմ, էյմ խըզմէթջին է հօն գը գիւսօ. թէ գէյս գը բաշդի, էյմ դօղն է էնիւր իքրամ
գինի:

24.6.5 Stanoz (Yenikent) subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1899, page 443. For this, see this and the
next subsection.

Սօյրամ, Սօյրամ, մօյր Ասդուճօ,

Քո՛ւն էս մը դարթուն էս մը.

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Օչ օր քուն էմ, օչ օրր զարթուն էմ.
Գ՛ըշերին գեսը մեզ էլած (երագ) դեսօ,
Գըրագը ընգօ չօրեցօ.
Դենիզ ընգօ չը խըդդըվեցօ,
Անդի դիւնյօն գնացի՝ չը գօրսնըվեցօ:

Օհօն Օհօն Եագիբիրօն,
Գաբէս ամէն չարուս բիրօն,
Գ՛ավագանը դուռիս վիրօն,
Խաչը գուգիս վիրօն,
Փիլօնը օրթիգիս վիրօն,
Թէօօթ հայրաբէդին աղօթքը
Ամէնին վիրօն ամէն:

Chapter 25

Syria

25.1 Background

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In the Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review] (1907, page 27), there was a small section in the dialect of the village of Aramo. Based on the article, this small Armenian-populated village is found near the village-city of Jisr al-Shughu in Syria. The language of the section was so far from Old Armenian, that a linguist would have had a difficult time understanding it. Because this manuscript did not give much more extensive information, we thus cannot say if this dialect is special to only the village of Aramo, or if it is spoken also in other surrounding areas. The latter situation appears quite probable. The vernacular of Svedia, which is absolutely unfamiliar or unknown in the literature, could also belong to the same branch. There is even an excerpt of the language of a few Armenian villages of Antioch (see page 210), which has a lot of similarities with this language; and if we had a larger manuscript section, then we could perhaps say if the aforementioned villages of Antioch belong to the dialect of Aramo. Because of this, and because we did not consider the name “Aramo” to be sufficient enough; we wanted a more general name and called it the Syrian dialect.

[[As a disclaimer, what Adjarian describes as Syrian Armenian is not the variety of Armenian that most modern Armenians from Syria speak. The majority of Armenian-speaking Armenians in Syria, i.e., those in Aleppo or Damascus (and refugees abroad), speak (Standard) Western Armenian as their native language. The dialect that Adjarian describes here is a non-standardized variety of Armenian that developed in various villages in Syria (close towards the modern Turkish border) that is quite divergent from the (Standard) Western Armenian that is spoken by Armenians in urban areas. It is unfortunate that Adjarian gives this dialect a generic ambiguous name like ‘Syrian Armenian’.]]

*[[As my own speculation, what I think Adjarian intended to say was that the dialect he describes here is a non-standard variety that developed **indigenously***

in various villages near the Turkish border. During 1911, the majority of Syrian Armenians outside of these villages spoke Arabic (§6.6). But after the Armenian Genocide of 1915, many Armenian refugees migrated to major Syrian cities (like Aleppo and Damascus), and those emerging communities spoke (or learned to speak) Standard Western Armenian, not this indigenous variety.]]

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 177).]]

25.2 Phonology

25.2.1 Vowels

25.2.1.1 Inventory

By judging the aforementioned section from Հսւնդէս Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review], which we will see later below, we can deduce that the Syrian dialect recognizes the vowels in Table 1.

Table 1: Vowels of the Syria dialect

/i/ <ի>	/u/ <ու>
/e/ <է>	/ə/ <ը>
	/o/ <օ>
	/ɑ/ <ա>

But the vowels /æ, œ, ʏ/ <ւի, էօ, իւ> are missing. The latter point is quite natural, because the Arabic language, which is the native language of this area, does not have those sounds.

In contrast to this, the Syrian dialect has a few diphthongs, which in other places are either rare or do not exist (Table 2).¹

Table 2: Diphthongs in the Syria dialect

/ɛ̃i/ <էի>	/ĩe/ <էի>	/ũɑ/ <ուա>
/ɑĩ/ <աի̃>	/ɑə/ <աը>	/ɑũ/ <աւ>

¹[[For the diphthongs that I re-transcribe as /ɑĩ/ and /ɛ̃i/, Adjarian uses the Armenian symbols <աի̃, էի̃> with a superscript <̃>. But my text-processor cannot easily create such superscripts, so I instead use <աի̃, էի̃> with a superscript <̃>.]

25.2.1.2 Sound changes

The following phonetic changes caught our eyes:

25.2.1.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω>

Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω> has changed to /u/ <nL> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω> to /u/ <nL> in the Syria dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Syria		cf. SEA	
‘bread’	hats ^h	hωg	huts ^h	hnLg	hats ^h	hωg
‘debt’	part-(ə?)k ^h (-PL)	պարսոք	burk ^h	բուրք	partk ^h	պարսոք
‘open’	bats ^h	բωg	buts ^h	բուLg	bats ^h	բωg
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	berun	բերոնL	beran	բերան
‘bad’	tj ^h ar	չար	tj ^h ur	չուր	tj ^h ar	չար

25.2.1.2.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> has changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> in the Syria dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Syria		cf. SEA	
‘our (we.GEN)’	mer	մեր	mir	միր	mer	մեր
‘we (we.NOM)’	mek ^h	մեք	mik ^h	միք	menk ^h	մենք
‘us (we.ACC)’	əzmez	զմեզ	əzmi	ըզմի	mez	մեզ

25.2.1.2.3 Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը>

Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը> has changed to /ɑ/ <ω> (Table 5).

[[Note that the forms that Adjarian provides all involve the definite suffix. This suffix is /-ə/ in SEA. But in Classical Armenian, there was no actual definite suffix. The ancestor of the modern SEA definite suffix /-ə/ is the CA distal suffix /-ən/. Thus, the glossing is -DEF for SEA but -DIST for CA.]]

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Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը> to /a/ <ա> in the Syria dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Syria		cf. SEA	
‘bread-DIST/DEF’	hátsh-ən	hwɛɫ	húts ^h -a	hn’lɛw	hátsh-ə	hwɛɫ
‘mouth-DIST/DEF’	berán-ən	ɛtɛrwn	berún-a	ɛtɛrónlsw	berán-ə	ɛtɛrwn
‘debt-PL-DIST/DEF’	part-(ə?)k ^h -ən	ɥwɛrɛɫ	bark ^h -er-a	ɛrɛrɛɛtɛrsw	partk ^h -er-ə	ɥwɛrɛɛtɛr

25.2.1.2.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> has changed to /ěj/ <է> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ěj/ <է> in the Syria dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Syria		cf. SEA or SWA		
‘sky’	erkin	ɛrɫɫɫ	jergějnk ^h	ɛtɛrɛtɛɫ	jerkinj ^h	ɛrɫɫɫ	SEA
‘soul-DIST (CA); soul-DEF (SEA)’	hogi-n	hnqɫɫ	hok ^h ěj-n	hɛɫtɛɫ	hok ^h i-n	hnqɫɫ	SEA
‘me (I.ACC)’	zis	qɫɫ	jějs	ɛtɛɫ	zis	qɫɫ	SWA

25.2.1.2.5 Classical Armenian /u/ <ու>

Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> has changed to /au/ <աւ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /au/ <աւ> in the Syria dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Syria		cf. SEA	
‘holy’	surb	snɫɫɛ	saurp ^h	sawɫɫɫ	surp ^h	snɫɫɛ
‘name’	anun	wnwn	anawn	wnsw	anun	wnwn

25.3 Morphology

25.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

In the text, we see that the accusative always uses the prefix /z/ <զ>, while the ablative and locative use the prefix /i/ <ի>. The latter is a deep archaism and it is found in no other dialect (Table 8).

[[As examples, Adjarian provides dialectal forms alongside a Classical Armenian gloss. Both varieties involve case-marking prefixes. Modern SWA/SEA lacks such prefixes. I found the dialectal forms sufficiently hard to segment and gloss. (?)]]

Table 8: Case-marking prefixes in Syrian Armenian and Classical Armenian, but not Modern Standard Armenian

	Classical Armenian	> Syria	cf. SWA
‘at ground (LOC)’	i getin LOC ground ի գետին	i gedēink ^h -a LOC ground-DEF ի գեդէփնքա	k ^h edin-ə ground-DEF գետինը
‘our bread (ACC)’	əz-hats ^h mer ACC-bread our զհաց մեր	əz-mir huts ^h -a ACC-our bread-DEF ըզմիր հուցա	mer hats ^h -ə our bread-DEF մեր հացը
‘at proof (PL(?), LOC)’	i p ^h ordzan-(ə?)s LOC proof-PL.ACC ի փորձանս	i p ^h urts ^h unk ^h -a LOC proof-DEF ի փուրցունքա	
‘from evil (ABL)’	i t ^h ar-e-n LOC evil-ABL-DIST ի չարէն	i t ^h urk ^h -ēi-n LOC evil-ABL-DEF ի չուրքէն	t ^h ar-e-n evil-ABL-DEF չարէն
‘my mouth (ACC)’	əz-beran im ACC-mouth my զբերան իմ	z-im berún-a ACC-my mouth-DEF զիմ բերո՛ւնա	im p ^h eran-əs my mouth-POSS.2SG իմ բերանս
‘my enemy (ACC)’	əz-t ^h əfnami-n im ACC-enemy-DIST my զթշնամին իմ	z-im t ^h argúm-a ACC-my enemy-DEF զիմ չարգո՛ւմա	

25.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

25.4.1 Aramo village

Adjarian’s note: See Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review], 1907, page 27.

Chapter 25 Syria

Յա միր Դուդա իլ գուս յերգէյնքա. սաւրփ ըննու քու անաւնա: Ու ուքու քու ըրքայութէյնա ու ըննու քու թաղադ չուամա գու յերգէյնքա հանց ըննու ի գ'է-դէնքա: Չմիր հուցա ի ամէն ջ'ուք դաւղա մի' ըսցօր: Ու դոշէ գմիր բուրքա չուամա միք դոշինք միգ միգա բուրքքերա: Ու չը սալմէս ըգմի ի փուրցունքա. լաքին սաջջի ըգմի ի չուրքէյն: Լաըն քու է ըրքայութէյնա ու քու ւաթա ու ըծգահամակա լքի յեդոյնքա ամէն:

Յա Ասդուճ գիմ բունգունգա բ'ուց ու գիմ բ'երունա սաղնի քու գօրշինութէյնա: Օրշինալ համաքում ու բըթթը հադաչ...

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... ընբ'ըժնվագ սաւրփ Էրօրթօթէյնա գԴուդա ու գՁըթթա ու գՀօքէյն սաւրփա համագալքի յեդոյն յեդոյնքա ամէն:

Յա Ասդուճ շադերա Էդէյն Նեդէյն Էյէս, ու շադերա Էլայն Էր վաս: Շադերա ասեցայն գիմ գունճայն, թի չքագյեր խալաս Էր Ասդունճայն: Լաքին դ'ուն, յա Դիր, սացրն իս ու գիմ օճն իս ու գիմ գ'ըլուխա բ'անցրացնուղա դ'ուն իս:

Դրմությամփ քուվ, Դիր, սադդէցօ գիմ չարգումա ու դամու Նեդի գիմ գունճա լաըն իս քում աբդն իմ:

Մաջդ Դուդա ու Ձըթթա ու Հէքէն սաւրփա:

Chapter 26

Arapgir

26.1 Background

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In some of the villages of Arapgir, Divriği, Gürün, and Darende, and Kayseri, the Armenian language has quite common borders, so I combined them under one name; I call it the Arapgir dialect, because Arapgir is the largest center of this area. Divriği, Gürün, Darende, and Kayseri can form its subdialects.

[[*Martirosyan (2019: 192, 202) reports dispute on the classification status of Gürün, Kayseri, and Darende.*]]

26.2 Literature

The dialect of exactly the city of Arapgir has been studied in detail by a local linguist, Melik S. Davit-Bek (ՄԵԼԻԿ Ս. ԴԱՎԻԹ ԲԵԿ) (See ՀԱՆՆԵՒ ԱՄՍՈՐԵՄԱՅ [Monthly Review], years 1900-1906). There, we find a few manuscripts, which were written with sufficient precision. There is a collection of riddles from Arapgir in ԲԻՒՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn], 1900, page 135. For the other subdialects, there are the following text samples:

[[*I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).*]]

- Literature involving the Arapgir dialect
 - Gürün subdialect: ԲԻՒՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn],
 - * 1898, page 839
 - * 1899, page 410, 425, 478

- * 1900, page 331, 634
- Darende subdialect: Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1899, page 295, 498, 572.
- Subdialect of Kayseri villages:¹
 - * Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*],
 - 1898, page 331, 406, 454, 580, 647
 - 1899, page 74, 200
 - 1900, page 469, 636
 - * Բանաստր 1902, էջ 174-5
- Divriği subdialect: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 6 (Չ.), page 206, 312, 327, 364, 378

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 202).*]]

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26.3 Phonology

The dialect of Arapgir has 7 vowels (Table 1).

Table 1: Vowels of the Arapgir dialect

/i/ <ի>		/u/ <ու>
/e/ <է>	/ə/ <ը>	/o/ <օ>
/æ/ <ւի>		/ɑ/ <ա>

The consonants have three degrees (voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated). But from this angle, the area of the dialect of Arapgir can be divided into two major branches. The first branch has the dialect of Arapgir and the subdialect of Divriği; while the second branch has the subdialects of Gürün, Darende, and Kayseri. The primary difference of the latter branch is that there are no voiced aspirated sounds among the consonants. Similarly whereas the Arapgir dialect has turned the CA diphthong /aj/ <այ> to /ɑ/ <ա>, Gürün and the other subdialects have turned it into /e/ <է>.

¹The Armenians of the city of Kayseri and of all westward areas are Turkish-speaking. But there are a few villages which speak Armenian. These villages are Efkere, Everek, Tomarza, Munjusun, Nize, Balages, Fenese. Similarly, the city of Yozgat is Turkish-speaking, but it has a few Armenian-speaking villages.

26.4 Morphology

The general characteristics of the two branches and their subdialects are the following.

26.4.1 Instrumental marking with /-ok^h/ <op>

The instrumental formative is /-ok^h/ <op> (instead of /-ov/ <nɫ>). This formative is the Classical Armenian plural instrumental formative for the α-stems, which has taken here a singular meaning (Table 2).²

Table 2: Instrumental marking in the Arapgir dialect

	Arapgir	cf. SEA
‘with hand’	$\widehat{dz}^h\text{erk}^h\text{-ok}^h$, $\widehat{dz}\text{erk}^h\text{-ok}^h$	$\widehat{dz}\text{erk}^h\text{-ov}$
	ծ՛էոքօք, ծէոքօք	ծէոքոլ
		√-INS
‘with speaking’	$\chi\text{os-e-l-ok}^h$	$\chi\text{os-e-l-ov}$
	խօւտլօք	խօւտլոլ
		√-TH-INF-INS

26.4.2 Mobile indicative marking

The formatives for the indicative present and imperfective are /gɑ, go, gu/ <ɑu, qo, qnɫ>. These are placed before the verb or after it, and they are repeated for vowel-initial verbs (Table 3).

²[[I suspect that Adjarian means the CA plural instrumental suffix /-ɑk^h/ <ալք>. (?)]

Table 3: Indicative marking in the Arapgir dialect

	Arapgir	cf. SWA
‘he sends’	բրց-æ-∅ gu դրգւմ գոԼ send-TH-3SG IND	ցə քəրց-e-∅ կը դրկէ IND send-TH-3SG
‘he says’	ց-əs-æ-∅ gu գըսւմ գոԼ IND-say-TH-3SG IND	ց-əs-e-∅ կ’ըսէ IND-say-TH-3SG
‘he goes’	ց-ert ^h -a-∅ gu գերթա գոԼ IND-go-TH-3SG IND	ց-ert ^h -a-∅ կ’երթայ IND-go-TH-3SG
Gürün subdialect		
‘you strangle’	ցօ չəχd-e-s գօ խըխդէս IND send-TH-2SG	ցə չəχt ^h -e-s կը խտդդէս IND send-TH-2SG
‘I go’	ցօ ց-ert ^h -a-m գօ գերթամ IND IND-go-TH-1SG	ց-ert ^h -a-m կ’երթամ IND-go-TH-1SG
‘he eats’	ց-ud-e-∅ ցօ գուդէ գօ IND-eat-TH-3SG IND	ց-ud-e-∅ կ’ուտէ IND-eat-TH-3SG
Kayseri subdialect		
‘I go’	ցա ց-ert ^h -a-m գա գերթամ IND IND-go-TH-1SG	ց-ert ^h -a-m կ’երթամ IND-go-TH-1SG
‘they eat’	ցա ց-ud-e-n գա գուդէս IND IND-eat-TH-3PL	ց-ud-e-n կ’ուտէս IND-go-TH-3PL
Darende subdialect		
‘I bring’	բեր-e-m ցա բերեմ գա bring-TH-1SG IND	ցə p ^h er-e-m կը բերեմ IND bring-TH-1SG

26.4.3 Faithfulness to Classical Armenian

In the Arapgir dialect, the phonetic changes and the grammatical formations are not new phenomena; instead we can say that the dialect is in general faithful to the Old Armenian, especially when we compare with the Cilicia dialect.

26.4.4 Genitive marking

The only form that we can consider as more or less interesting is the genitive of the infinitive in the Kayseri subdialect (Table 4).

Table 4: Repeated genitive marking in the Kayseri subdialect of the Arapgir dialect

	Kayseri (Arapgir)		cf. SEA	
‘of staying’	mən-a-l-uj-i	մընսալոյի	mən-a-l-u	մնսալո
‘of speaking’	χos-e-l-uj-i	խօսելոյի	χos-e-l-u	խոսելո
‘of giving’	d-a-l-uj-i	դալոյի	t-a-l-u	տալո
‘of going’	ert ^h -a-l-uj-i	երթալոյի	jert ^h -a-l-u	երթալո
	√-TH-INF-GEN-GEN		√-TH-INF-GEN	

As can be seen, these forms have a repeated genitive marker (/–u/ <n> and /–i/ <ի>); this is something that is not found in any other dialect.

[[To clarify, in SEA/SWA, the suffix /–i/ is the regular genitive marker, while the suffix /–u/ is an irregular genitive marker used for some declension classes such as for verbal infinitives.]]

26.4.5 Progressive marking with /nə/ <նը>

In Arapgir, the progressive is formed with the formative /nə/ <նը> (Table 5).

Table 5: Subjunctive marking in the Arapgir dialect

	Arapgir		cf. SWA	
‘I am going’	g-ert ^h -a-m nə	գերթամ նը	g-ert ^h -a-m gor	կ’երթամ կոր
	IND-go-TH-1SG PROG		IND-go-TH-1SG PROG	
‘I am drinking’	χm-i-m nə	խմիմ նը	gə χəm-e-m gor	կը խմեմ կոր
	drink-TH-1SG PROG		IND-drink-TH-1SG PROG	

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26.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

26.5.1 Arapgir dialect

Adjarian's note: See Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [Monthly Review] 1900, page 251. In accordance with the author's exposition or arguments, I have rendered to the scientific orthography.

Լատրեդդին խօջան յիր դան մէջը աղօթած վախդը ըսաց Ասծու. «Ըման Աս-ված բաբա, ի՞նչ գըլի գու, յընծի հարիր լիրա դըրգա. շագ բէքք ունիմ փարայի: Ըմմա թամամ հարիր լիրա յըլլելու ան, անգուր մեզ հադ մը բագաս՝ դօխսանը ինը հադ յըլլին նա՛՝ չօթթէր. համ դու չէմ առնար»:

Խօջան յահուդի դ՛րացին մը գունեսա Մու վօր ան դախքային դէները նստեր ան էղեր. խօջային ծ՛անը լսածին գիբի գեթա յընգաջ դ՛նա գու յու յէքքէն յինք յիրենը գըստ գու.

– յանչանիա դօխսանը ինը օսդի դեսնա նա՛ իրանվցընէ՞ չառնա դի (< պիտի) խօջան. ես լիրաները իսա բաջայէն վար ծ՛ըքիմ դան դեսնամ ի՞նչ դէնա գի իդա խօջան:

Յէքքէն դօխսանը ինը լիրա քեսայի մը մէջը դ՛նա գու յու գուգ՛ա գու բաջայէն փը՛րթ... վար նեդա գու. յինգ ալ հօնիգ բանքլամիչ գէնա՛ գու քի դէսնա դէ խօջան ի՞նչ դէնա դի:

Խօջան հըմըն օջախը վանգան գու յու դէսնա գու քի գ՛ունդ բօխջա մը յընգեր ան ֆօս. թեզ մը դառնա գու, դէշանգի մը վրան նսդի գու, քեսան բ՛անա՛ գու վօր՝ ի՛նչ դէսնա... օսգի՛: յէքքէն բաշլայտ գու մեգիգ մեգիգ հարմել. դէռնա գու քի դօխսանը ինի հադ էն օսգիները. մէյ մալ գու հարմէ, էրգուք գու հարմէ՝ բանքի յաղըլմիչ էդա ըսելօք. յամմէն հեղ հըսաբ էնելուն նօրէն դօխսանը ինը հադ գ՛ըղնա գու. յէքքէն գըսան գու Ասծու «Դ՛ուն օր դօխսանը ինը լիրաները դրգեցիր յընծի՝ հանքանթ մեգալ մեդ հադ-նալ դրգես գու»:

26.5.2 Gürün subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn], 1899, page, 410, 425, 478.

Օրը շադ է քանց գորեզը:

Ասծուծու բըյիաձը գելը չուդեր:

Ուդօդը չի գիդէ՝ փշօղը գիդէ:

Էրգըրի աշք է հաներ՝ դիրուն հօքին:

Աշքը դեսածը դիրուն խեր չէներ:

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Փըջած օջախը շուր չուգեր:

Խրադ խրադ լեռն ի վեր, յես զօ գերթամ ձօրն ի վեր:

Էրթ դաս, գարի չուգեր:

Մեզը մեզուն էքի մը դվեր է, էսի էսօր գիգ (ողկոյգ) մը հաղօղ չէ դըվեր:

Մայր փշելթվ (մանր փշրելով) փոր չի գըշդանար:
 Ուզողուն մեզ երեսը սեվ, չի դըվողուն երգու երեսը:
 Գեղեն անցար դե գաւառը զօ խըղդիս:
 Գօվիս մեռեր է, խաբիս գըյեր է:
 Դուռիդ գօց բռնէ՝ դրացիդ դօրթ բռնէ:
 Բագը ձուռ է, գօվը գաթ դօ չի դար:
 Սուդ խենթ եղեր է, վանքին հավերը գուդէ գօ:
 Ջաղարջը ջուրն է դարի՝ չախչար գօ բռես:
 Գադու չեղած մուգ գօ բռես:
 Թմբելուենեն իշուն «քեռի» գօ գըսէ:
 Սօխ գերած չիմ ոք սիրդիս երի:
 Դանձ էիր նը հասար, խնձօր էիր նը գեյմըրեցար:
 Ջայը (ծանր) նադիր օր լիր գաս:
 Թէք ինգիզին (ընկոյզին) քար չի սեղեր:
 Մեյմեգի միս գուղեն գօ:
 Թըքալին բերնօվը գը գերցնէ, գօթօվը էշքը գը հանէ:
 Սադգած էշ կը բո՛ օր նալը քէշէ:
 Սօխին քարսը (քաղցրը) չիլլար:
 Մեյմեգի իչին (համար) դուշան (գնդակ) դամին գօ (կը սեղմեն):

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26.5.3 Darende subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1899, page 498.

Չի հավնած մարդդ շօրեր գուրցէ գա օր փօրդքօռօզը սեղէ գա:
 Ասված լեռը գը հայի՝ ձունն անօր գեօրէ գուդա:
 Վար թուքես մօրուք, վեր թուքես բըյըգ:
 Հէյ սիրդդ սիրեմ Ասված, գօմէշը գօդօշն ի՞նչ ընէ:
 Բանին մէջ բան գա, մաձունին մէջ թան գա:
 Հարսնիք գերթամ, գաթա գուտեմ թէ դան նէ:
 Չերթային ադ ջաղարչը՝ չուդէիր ադ բաղարչը:
 Գօյած (կոտրած) ընգուզը հագարն անցավ:
 Ջուրը տեսնա ձուգ գըլլա, գադուն դեսնա մուգ գըլլա:

* *

Գնդուկ գնդուկ մաղարա, մենք հարս մ'ունինք գը խաղա, ջուրը ցըքէքնք կը լօղա, ջուրեն հանենք գը դօղա, ձեռքը չամիչ մը դանք նէ, մինչեվ իրիգուն գը խաղա:

Աղվընի, իսգի՞ց գուքաս. – Արիւնտո՞ ձօվէն. – Վըրադ օրի՞ արիւն չէ եղեր. – Ասդուձու հրամանօվ:

Արաբը փօսն ընգավ, գըլօխը դուրսն ընգավ:

Քէօքը Ֆէօղին մէչ, միչուզն էշին մէչ, գըլօխը փօրուդ մէչ,:

ԱՆՆԵՐԿ գէրմուր՝ անդանազ քերթուք (աքլորի կատար):

26.5.4 Kayseri subdialect

26.5.4.1 Munjusun village

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1898, page 407.

Մարթ մը մէզ հադիդ աչգին մը ունէ դըլէմ, օր բաշխա գեղի գիգիր դղայի հեդ գը գարքէ: Օր մը էս մարթը գելլէ իր աչգանը դունը Էրթալու, փեսին հեդ, աչգինին հեդ դէսնըվելոյի: Էրթալ իքէն ջամփան, ի՞նչ գըսէս, դայայի մը արալըխը՝ ասլանի մը ձաքէրը՝ առչէվմնին իրէք դարվան բըլուզ դղա մը առէլ գա գուդէն: Էս մարթը հեմէն գը վագէ, շադ մը Էգիյէթնէրօք գը խըլասսէ: Ինքը մէզ աչգինէն բաշխա գավագ չուննալոյին համար. – «Իմ սօն օրիս Ասդվաձ ինձի դղա մը դվավ» դէյի շադ գը խըլնդա: Էնգիւց դօմդօրթ Էդ խըլասսաձ դղան գու-ջախը առաձ, աչգանը գունը գերթա:

Աչգինը խըլնդալէն, «հէ՛ր, էս ավը ո՞րդդէլէն ավլամիշ Էրիդ» գըսէ:

26.5.4.2 Balages village

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1898, page 580.

Աղէնօք Ուղուզէլի անուն գեղի մը հարուսդին մէզը հէչ չօջուխ չուննար Էղեր, մէզ օր դիւշինմիւշ գէսէ օր, աջաբա իմ...

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... դունին ջօմաաթը ըզմէն Էգիյէթ քէշէլմընըյին համա՞ր մը Ասձվաձ ընձը չօջուխ գա չի դա:

Էս դիւշինգէյօք ինգեր աղային հեղը՝ թաբդիլի դըյաֆէթ, բելլելու գելլէն: Բելլէն իքէն դավրիշի մը ռասդ դուքան: Հարուսդը բադիվ գուդա դարվիշին. դարվիշն Է – Ասձուձու բարին ինէն, ա՛ղա գըսէ:

Հարուսդը դարվիշին՝

– Դուն իմ իշխան ըլլալիս՝ Էնօր Է տղա ըլլալը ինչէ՞ն գա գիդէնաս, ըսաձը գիբի, դարվիշն Է՝

– Սէ գի գիդէմ օր, գըսէ, ինչ օր էս դարը չօջուխ չուննալուդ համար, աջաբա դունիս ջօմաաթը ըզմէն Էգիյէ՞թ մը գա քէշէ դէ՛ի թաբդիլի դըյաֆէթ Էղեր Էք. ամմա քու դունիդ մէչը գղնվօղ փիթին ջօմաաթըդ քէզմէն խօշնուդ Է. Էգեր քի-չուզ մը առաչ Էրթաք նա, ջուրը մը ռասդ բըղը գուքաք, ջուրը խնձօր մը բըղը պերէ, Էդ խնձօրը առ՝ Էրեսը ձիուդ գերցուր, մէչն Է գընգիդ:

26.5.4.3 Everek

Adjarian's note: See Բանասեր, 1902, page 174.

[[Note that there are multiple publications called Բանասեր /banaser/ 'Philologist'. As of writing, I have not tracked it down. (?)]]

Ժամերնիս փըլցըված,
Սըրդերնիս խըռօված,
Ամբարը չըքա հաց...
Օրդնյալ էս, Դէ՛ր Ասված:

Դուրավիքը ձիւն ձըմեր,
Փագվեր է ջամփա լեր,
Նէ էգօղ, նէ էրթօղ,
Չօրս դընիս վախ ու դօղ:

Ահանց դէ՛ չօրս ամիս
Չը դըրիւք բերաննիս
Բադառ մը միս, բուլղուր,
Համփիրթին մեզի դուր:

Ձի՞ծ ձըձօղ մեսիւմնիս
Ուղէլու գաթ չունին,

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Գա գուլան ինչու՛ ղօուն...
Էրեսին հայիս դուն:

Էրզըթէ սիրդ բեդգ է՛,
Ձեռքիդ է (ալ) չի ադգէ...
Ձօցվօրը դուռնէ դուռ՝
Գա մուրա հաց աբուր:

Էդ ադէն գօռէլէն
Դէվ գիբի գօռալէն
Ալլադգներ գա թափնէն...
«Քըշդեցեք գյավուրին»:

Գեղէն դուրս, քիշերը,
Անքրիստօս թուրքերը
Հերիւր մարթ քշդեր էն...:
Վա՛յ անխիղջ անօրէ՛ն:

Chapter 27

Akn

27.1 Background and literature

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The dialect of Akn is spoken only in the city of Akn and in a few of its surrounding Armenian villages.

Texts that are written in this dialect are found in the rich ethnographic collection of Ճանիկեան (1895) and Գապրիելիան's extensive study that was not written with a scientific method (Գապրիելիան 1912; Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [*Monthly Review*], 1908-1911, and continuous). Other succinct manuscripts are found in Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] (1898, page 101, 330, 360, 393, 429, 557, 565, 601, 827, 895; 1900, page 388, 695). There are also succinct dialogues in the Akn dialect in Տարեցոյց Լշանդերպերեանի (1897, page 67-62; 1898, page 23-24, 147; 1899, page 54-71; 1900, page 254-266; 1903, page 145-168), and the comedic writings of «Երանսու Աղբար կամ Թապալաքեար վարժապետը» and «Թապալաքեար Փիլիկ աղպօր աղջիկտեը».

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 200).*]]

27.2 Phonology

27.2.1 Segment inventory

The Akn dialect has 8 vowels (Table 1), and three series of consonants, like the Arapgir dialect.

Table 1: Vowels of the Akn dialect

/i/ <ի>	/y/ <իԼ>	/u/ <ուԼ>
/e/ <է>	/œ/ <էօ>	/ə/ <ը>
		/o/ <օ>
		/ɑ/ <ա>

27.2.2 Sound changes

For its sound changes, the characteristic situations are the following.

27.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

27.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /a/ <u>

The Old Armenian sound /a/ <u> becomes /o/ <o> when immediately before a nasal, such as also in the Hamshen dialect (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /o/ <o> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘fly (bug)’	tʃantʃ	ճանճ	dʒondʒ	ջոնջ	tʃantʃ	ճանճ
‘unsalted’	anali	անալի	olli	օլլի	anali	անալի
‘rain’	andzrev	անձրեւ	orzev	օրզեվ	andzrev	անձրեւ

27.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

The Old Armenian sound /u/ <nL> becomes /y/ <ɲL> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <ɲL> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘you.sg have’	unis	նւնիս	ynis	ɲննիս	unes	նւնես
‘eight’	ut ^h	նւթ	yt ^h	ɲւթ	ut ^h	նւթ

27.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <n> and /au/ <o, uL>

The Old Armenian sounds /o, au/ <nL, o> become /œ/ <ɛo> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o, ɑ/ <nL, o> to /œ/ <to> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘four’	tʰors	չորս	tʰœrs	չորս	tʰors	չորս
‘door’	durən	դուռն	dʰœr	դ՛ւռն	dur	դուռ
‘today’	ɑjsɑr	այսօր	ɑsœr	սուտօր	ɑjsor	այսօր

27.2.2.2 Glide insertion before post-vocalic /h/ <h>

The only unique property of the Akn dialect is that if a vowel is immediately before the CA sound /h/ <h>, then the semivowel /j/ <j> is added next to the vowel (Table 5).

Table 5: Glide insertion before post-vocalic /h/ <h> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘death’	mah	մահ	majh	մայհ	mah	մահ
‘satisfied’	goh	գոհ	gʰojh	գ՛ոյհ	goh	գոհ
‘gain’	ʃah	շահ	ʃajh	շայհ	ʃah	շահ
‘fear’	ah	ահ	ajh	այհ	ah	ահ

This characteristic is also unavoidable among educated Akn speakers.

27.2.2.3 Diphthongal vowel changes

For CA diphthong changes, notable ones are the following.

27.2.2.3.1 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <ւյ> changed to /ɑ/ <ւ> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /ɑ/ <ւ> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘mother’	mɑjr	մայր	mar	մար	mɑjr	մայր
‘father’	hɑjr	հայր	har	հար	hɑjr	հայր

Chapter 27 Akn

27.2.2.3.2 Classical Armenian /oj̄/ <nj>

The Classical Armenian sound /oj̄/ <nj> changed to /u/ <nL> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /oj̄/ <nj> to /u/ <nL> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘light’	loj̄	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լույս

27.2.2.3.3 Classical Armenian /iū/ <hl>

The Classical Armenian sound /iū/ <hl> changed to /u/ <nL> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iū/ <hl> to /u/ <nL> in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Akn		cf. SEA	
‘blood’	ariūn	արիւն	arun	արոն	arjun	արյուն
‘snow’	ḍziūn	ծիւն	ḍz ^h un	ծ ^h ոն	ḍzjun	ծյուն

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27.2.2.4 Consonant changes

The consonant changes are exactly the same as in Kharberd, Arapgir, and Sebastia.

27.3 Morphology

The grammar of the Akn dialect does not present individual characteristic properties. For whatever differences that are present, these originated from the effect of general phonological rules.

27.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

27.3.1.1 Genitive marking

For example, the genitive formative is /-y/ <hl> (Table 9).

Table 9: Genitive marking in the Akn dialect

	Akn		cf. SWA	
‘God-GEN’	asdyd ^h z-y	Ասդիւծիլ	astud ^h z-o	Աստուծո
‘soul-GEN-DEF’	hok ^h -y-n	հօքիւն	hok ^h ij-i-n	հոգուն
‘dead-PL-GEN-DEF’ (= of the dead)	merel-ner-y-n	մեռելներիւն	merel-ner-u-n	մեռելներուն

27.3.2 Verb inflection or conjugation

27.3.2.1 Indicative marking with /gɣ/ <գիլ>

Similarly, the indicative present and imperfective use the formative /gɣ/ (գիլ) (cf. SWA /gu/ <կոլ>) (Table 10).

Table 10: Indicative marking in the Akn dialect

	Akn		cf. SWA	
‘I give’	gɣ d-ɑ-m	գիլ դամ	gu d-ɑ-m	կոլ տամ
‘I cry’	gɣ l-ɑ-m	գիլ լամ	gu l-ɑ-m	կոլ լամ
	IND	√-TH-1SG	IND	√-TH-1SG

27.3.2.2 Theme vowel changes and the indicative present

In the verbal endings, the vowel /e/ <ե> becomes /i/ <ի> when next to nasals, while it remains unchanged in other places.

[[To clarify, Adjarian is talking about theme vowels in verbs, before agreement suffixes. He provides examples from the indicative present. In SWA, the indicative present is formed by adding the indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ before the finite verb. The theme vowel remains constant in the indicative present. Akn behaves differently with respect to theme vowel uses.]]

Table 11: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to send’ in the Akn dialect

	Akn		cf. SWA	
1SG	գյ չօրց-ի-մ	գիւ խըրգիմ	ցօ չօրց-ե-մ	կը խրկեմ ‘I send’
2SG	գյ չօրց-ե-ս	գիւ խըրգէս	ցօ չօրց-ե-ս	կը խրկես
3SG	գյ չօրց-ե-Յ	գիւ խըրգէ	ցօ չօրց-ե-Յ	կը խրկէ
1PL	գյ չօրց-ի-նկ ^h	գիւ խըրգիկնք	ցօ չօրց-ե-դկ ^h	կը խրկենք
2PL	գյ չօրց-ե-կ ^h	գիւ խըրգէք	ցօ չօրց-ե-կ ^h	կը խրկէք
3PL	գյ չօրց-ի-ն	գիւ խըրգին	ցօ չօրց-ե-ն	կը խրկեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

27.3.2.3 Archaism in past 1PL suffix /-a-nk^h/ <ւսը>

[[In SWA and SEA, the 1PL suffix is [-դկ^h]. This same formative is used for the present, past imperfective, and past perfective. In the past, this plural suffix follows the past suffix /-i/ or /-a/, thus creating the sequence [-i-դկ^h] or [-a-դկ^h]. In contrast, Classical Armenian used the suffix /-mk^h/ for the present 1PL, and /-ak^h/ for the past 1PL; the /-a/ in this form could be separately segmented as a past suffix. Adjarian reports that Akn aligns with Classical Armenian.]]

Like the Sebastia dialect, the ending of the imperfective and perfective 1PL is /-a-nk^h/ <ւսը> (here, the sound change of CA /an/ <ւս> to /on/ <օս> does not happen), or which is more similar to the Classical Armenian ending /-ak^h/ <ւք>, than to the /-i-nk^h/ <իկնք> form that is found in other dialects (Table 12).

Table 12: Archaisms in the 1PL suffix in the Akn dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Akn	cf. SWA
‘we would eat’ (past impf.)	ud-ē-a-k ^h ուտեաք eat-TH-PST-1PL	g-yd-e-a-nk ^h գիւղէաւսք IND-eat-TH-PST-1PL	g-ud-ej-i-դկ ^h կ’ոտեիկնք IND-eat-TH-PST-1PL
‘we brought’ (past pfv.)	ber-a-k ^h բերաք bring-PST-1PL	b ^h er-a-nk ^h բ’երաւսք bring-PST-1PL	p ^h er-i-դկ ^h բերիկնք bring-PST-1PL

27.3.2.4 Future marking with /di, d/ <դի, դ>

[[In SWA, the future is formed by combining the future proclitic /bidi/ with the finite verb. If this proclitic is added to the present form of the verb, then the meaning is

the simple future (Table 13). If the proclitic is added to the past form (which includes a past suffix /-i, -Ø/), then the meaning is the past future (Table 14). Akn behaves similarly with different formatives.]]

The future formative is /di/ <դի>, which is shortened to /d/ <դ> when next to a vowel; this is a shortened form of the CA formative /piti/ <պիտի> ‘must’).

Table 13: Future <ապանսի> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Akn dialect

	Akn		cf. SWA	
1SG	di b ^h er-i-m	դի բ՛երիմ	bidi p ^h er-e-m	պիտի բերեմ ‘I will bring’
2SG	di b ^h er-e-s	դի բ՛երես	bidi p ^h er-e-s	պիտի բերես
3SG	di b ^h er-e-Ø	դի բ՛երէ	bidi p ^h er-e-Ø	պիտի բերէ
1PL	di b ^h er-i-nk ^h	դի բ՛երինք	bidi p ^h er-e-դk ^h	պիտի բերենք
2PL	di b ^h er-e-k ^h	դի բ՛երեք	bidi p ^h er-e-k ^h	պիտի բերեք
3PL	di b ^h er-i-n	դի բ՛երին	bidi p ^h er-e-n	պիտի բերեն
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-AGR	

Table 14: Past future <անցեալ ապանսի> of the verb ‘to eat’ in the Akn dialect

	Akn		cf. SWA	
1SG	d-yd-e-i-Ø	դիլդէի	bidi ud-ej-i-Ø	պիտի ուտէի ‘I was going to eat’
2SG	d-yd-e-i-r	դիլդէիր	bidi ud-ej-i-r	պիտի ուտէիր
3SG	d-yd-e-Ø-r	դիլդէր	bidi ud-e-Ø-r	պիտի ուտէր
1PL	d-yd-e-a-nk ^h	դիլդէանք	bidi ud-ej-i-դk ^h	պիտի ուտէինք
2PL	d-yd-e-i-k ^h	դիլդէիք	bidi ud-ej-i-k ^h	պիտի ուտէիք
3PL	d-yd-e-i-n	դիլդէին	bidi ud-ej-i-n	պիտի ուտէին
	FUT-√-TH-PST-AGR		FUT-√-TH-PST-AGR	

27.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

Adjarian's note: See Ճանհկեան, page 292.

- Երևոյէ նայիմ, յեգէն Թօրօս, ինդէօր Էս:
- Ձառա իմ ա՛ղա, Ասված գէնք գա:
- Ի՞ջ գա իշ չի գա, յե՛գէն:
- Բաղվազան գէնթանությանդ դուվաջի ինք: Հրամանքդ իրիջայէ մի իմ եգեր. ըմմա չի գ՛իդիմ քի խաբուվ գանէօս:
- Ըսէ՛ նայիմ, խաբիլիւ գ՛օրծ է իսէ, փէ՛ք աղէգ:
- Վեր Ասդված, վար հրամանքդ. գ՛լեօխս նեղի գ՛ա նը ո՛րդ դերթամ. հելբէթ հեօս դի գ՛ամ: Թաջիգութիւն չի դանք, ա՛ղա. իընթիրքս աս է թը՛ առիւղիւր մի գա՛ դի անիմ. հազար դրուշ բագաս Է. քերեմ արե դի՛ւր, ֆայիգօվը գիւդամ:
- Թահվիլ մի գ՛րե, Գա՛րաբեդ, առ աս բ՛ալլին, գ՛նա ներսի ոյլաբէս հազար դրուշ բ՛եր, յեգէնին դիւր, թահվիլը առ:
- Շինօյիրագալ իմ աղա, Ասդված իշախանության բահէ:
- Չարսի՛ն իշ գա իշ չի գա. առիւղիւրները ինդէօր Է:
- Ասդված բերեքէթ դա, ըմմա առիւղիւրները քեսադ Է. ցօրէն, բանիր շա՛դ գիւգ՛ա, լաքին թիւքէնչիները եռէջը գերթան, դիւ բ՛երին: Յասախ գանին քի եռէջը մարթ չի դերթա. մդիգ չին աներ գինէ գերթան, Էսնէֆը նեղը գիւ մա, անիւնց քեր մի գիւղա գառնէ: Բ՛երօղը գուգէ իւր (որ) դընվօրին դա, ըմմա մդիգ անօ՞ղն օվ Է. ջ՛օրին բ՛եռնօվ ձ՛եռքէն գիւ քաշին գառնին. քիչ մալ դ՛իմանա նը՝ գիւ ձե՛ծին: Հեղդա չէ ըմմա, չի՞լլիր իւր ժամը ձանիւցիւմ անին քի անիւնցմէ բ՛ան մ՛ա՛ռնէք. Հայն իւր անիւնցմէ չառնէ նը առածնին չին գրնար ձախեր, ալ չին առներ:
- Ադ ըսածդ եռէչ էր. ան վախթը խասթին մեգը գամ իւրիշի գ՛իշիւթիւն մի աներ նը՝ ժամը գանիձէին թը ան մարթէն միս գամ իւրիշ բ՛ան մ՛ա՛ռնէք, չէյին առներ. միւնչիւգ իւր գ՛ար մեղա ըսեր, նեօրէն ձանիւցիւմ անէյին քի, առէ՛ք: Հըմմա եռչի միյափանութիւնը չիգա. աղէնգ բ՛աներ ձանիւցիւմ չանվիր. անին ալ նը՝ վօրը մդիգ գանէ, վօրը չաներ: Դ՛ինն քիւ գ՛օրծդ դէսար նը ա՛ղ նայէ:

Chapter 28

Sebastia

28.1 Background

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This dialect is specific to the heavily Armenian-populated city of Sebastia and its many surrounding Armenian villages, which occupy the valley of Alis, starting from Sebastia and east until Zara. The southern border is Ulaş. Starting from this village until Mandjilik, and north-west from that, the Tonus province, until Gemerek, we find the subdialect of Gürün. The villages of the Alis valley differ a little from the dialect of the city. The Pirknik village forms its own subdialect; the village is found one hour away from the city towards the northeast.

28.2 Literature

The dialect of Sebastia has still not been studied. It is also surprising that there are no published manuscripts. For the first time in Paris, I had the opportunity to study the pronunciation of the stops and affricates of Sebasia using recording devices of Abbé Rousselot (Jean-Pierre Rousselot, Ռուսլօ արբա). The result was published in my work (Adjarian 1899; [[*translated in §2*]]). For this dialect, Mr. Karapet Gabikian (պր. Կ. Գաբիկեան; [[*SEA: /karapet gabikjan/, SWA: /garabed k^hap^higjan/*]]) has an extensive study that was funded by an Izmirian (Իզմիրեան) award, but it is unfortunately still unpublished. Based on this work, Mr. Gabikian (պր. Գաբիկեան) was kind enough to send me a succinct note on this study of the dialect, and a manuscript with a few pages, which I will provide a bit later.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 192).*]]

28.3 Phonology

28.3.1 Segment inventory

28.3.1.1 Vowels

28.3.1.1.1 Vowel inventory

The sound system of the Sebastia dialect is similar to the dialects of Karin and Kharberd-Yerznka. It has the vowels in Table 1.

Table 1: Vowels of the Sebastia dialect

/i/ <ի>	/y/ <իԼ>	/u/ <ուԼ>
/i̞e/ <ե>		/u̞œ/ <օ̞>
/e/ <է>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ <ը>
/æ/ <ւ̞>		/ɑ/ <ա>

28.3.1.1.2 Vowel /u̞œ/ <օ̞>

This is a sound that is uniquely characteristic to Sebastia; its pronunciation is approximately like a fast pronunciation of the sequence /uœ/ <ուօ>. It is found word-initially and word-medially, but always under stress. When it is unstressed, it becomes a simple /o/ <օ> (Table 2).

Table 2: Emergence of /u̞œ/ <օ̞> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘frog’	gort	գորտ	g ^h u̞œrd	գ’օրդ	gort	գորտ
‘frog-GEN’	gort-i	գորտի	g ^h ord-an	գ’օրդան	gort-i	գորտի
‘horse-radish’	bołk	բողկ	b ^h u̞œɣ	բ’օղգ	bołk	բողկ
‘horse.radish-GEN/DAT’	bołk-i	բողկի	b ^h oɣ-i	բ’օղգի	bołk-i	բողկի
‘horse.radish-ABL’	bołk-e	բողկէ	b ^h oɣ-e	բ’օղգէ	bołk-its ^h	բողկից
‘horse.radish-INS’	bołk-i̞	բողկիԼ	b ^h oɣ-ov	բ’օղգօվ	bołk-its ^h	բողկով

28.3.1.1.3 Vowel /i̞e/ <ե>

The sound /i̞e/ <ե> (pronounced as a heavy /ie/ <իե>) is more common in the villages of the Alis valley (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of /j̥e/ <ɛ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘mother’	mɑj̥r	մայր	mj̥er	մեր	mɑj̥r	մայր
‘Karapet (a given name)’	karapet	Կարապետ	garabj̥ed	Գարաբեդ	karapet	Կարապետ
‘you went’	gənat̪s ^h er	գնացեր	g ^h nat̪s ^h j̥er	գ ^h նացեր	gənat̪s ^h ir	գնացիր
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	b ^h j̥eran	բ ^h երան	beran	բերան

28.3.1.1.4 Vowel /æ/ <ü>

Sometimes we find the sound /æ/ <ü> (Table 4).

Table 4: Emergence of /æ/ <ü> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘hand’	d̪zer-k ^h (-PL)	ծեռք	d̪z ^h ærk ^h	ծ ^h ւնք	d̪zerk ^h	ծեռք
‘corpse’	merǰal	մեռեալ	mærel	մւնել	merjal	մեռյալ

28.3.1.2 Consonants

28.3.1.2.1 Laryngeal values

The consonants have three degrees: voiced, voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated. Their changes are exactly as in the Karin and Kharberd dialects.

[[Acoustic data on the consonants of Sebastia (also called Sivas) are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.]]

28.3.1.2.2 Emergence of word-initial /j/ <ɟ>

Here we have the sound /f̪/ <ɟ> which is often added before vowel-initial words (Table 5).

Table 5: Emergence of word-initial /f̪/ <ɟ> before vowels in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘tail’	ɑgi	ազի	f̪ɑg ^h i	ɟազ ^h ի	ɑgi	ազի
‘tinder’	abet ^h	աբեթ	f̪ab ^h et ^h	ɟաբ ^h եթ	abet ^h	աբեթ
‘Alis river’			f̪alis	ɟալիս	alis	Ալիս

28.3.2 Sound changes

For the sound changes, the important ones are the following.

28.3.2.1 Monophthonal vowel changes

28.3.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <Է>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <Է>, in the beginning of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, is sometimes /je/ <յԷ> and sometimes /e/ <Է> (Table 6a). Word-internally, it becomes /e, æ, ʝe/ <Է, ւի, Է> (Table 6b).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <Է> to /je, e, æ, ʝe/ <յԷ, Է, ւի, Է> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
a. ‘when’	erb	Երբ	jep ^h	յԷփ	jerp ^h	Երբ
‘ox’	ezən	Եզն	jez	յԷզ	jez	Եզ
‘to delimit’	ezerel	Եզերել	jezerel	յԷզերել	jezerel	Եզերել
‘face’	eres	Երես	eres	երես	jeses	Երես
‘iron’	erkat ^h	Երկաթ	ergat ^h	երգաթ	jerkat ^h	Երկաթ
b. ‘last year’	heru	հերու	hjeru	հյերու	heru	հերու
‘hand’	ḏzer-k ^h (-PL)	ծերք	ḏz ^h ærk ^h	ծ’ւնք	ḏzerk ^h	ծերք
‘mouth’	beran	բերան	b ^h ieran	բ’երան	beran	բերան

28.3.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> becomes /ʊœ/ <օ> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, and it becomes /o/ <օ> at the beginning of polysyllabic words (Table 7a). Under stress, it becomes /ʊœ/ <օ>; when unstressed, it becomes /o/ <օ>. An exception is in Table 7b.

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /uœ, / <ô, o> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
a. ‘who’	ov	nվ	uœv	ôվ	ov	nվ
‘no’	otj ^h	նչ	uœtj ^h	ôչ	votj ^h	նչ
‘male’	ordz	ործ	uœrts ^h	ôրց	vorts ^h	ործ
‘worm’	ordən	որդև	uœrt ^h	ôրթ	vort ^h	որդ
‘orphan’	orb	որբ	uœrp ^h	ôրփ	vorp ^h	որբ
‘frog’	gort	գորտ	g ^h uœrd	գ ^h ôրդ	gort	գորտ
‘frog-GEN’	gort-i	գորտի	g ^h ord-an	գ ^h որդան	gort-i	գորտի
‘belly’	p ^h or	փոր	p ^h uœr	փôր	p ^h or	փոր
‘charcoal’	gortseli	գործելի	g ^h ordzeli	գ ^h ործելի	gortseli	գործելի
‘bone’	oskər	ոսկր	osgor	ouգոր	voskor	ոսկր
‘sheep’	otj ^h χar	ոչխար	otj ^h χar	oչխար	votj ^h χar	ոչխար
b. ‘buttocks’	or	ոռ	v ^h uœr, fi ^h uœr	վôռ, յôռ	vor	ոռ

28.3.2.2 Diphthonal vowel changes

28.3.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /aj/ <այ> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /a/ <ա> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘mother’	majr	մայր	mar	մար	majr	մայր
‘wolf’	gajl	գայլ	g ^h al	գ ^h ալ	gajl	գայլ

28.3.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iu/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iu/ <իւ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 9).

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Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘fleur’	aliʏr	ալիւր	alur	ալուր	aljur	ալյուր
‘blood’	ariʏn	արիւն	arun	արուն	arjun	արյուն

28.3.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oi/ <ոյ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘light’	lois	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լոյս
‘walnut’	ənkoiʒ	ընկոյճ	ənguz	ընգուճ	əjkujz	ընկոյճ

28.3.2.3 Consonant changes

For consonants, the following changes are notable.

28.3.2.3.1 Weakening of stops to glides

The Classical Armenian sound /k^h/ <ք> became /jh/ <յհ>, which happens in the villages of Alis (Table 11).

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /k^h/ <ք> to /jh/ <յհ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘monastery’	vank ^h	վանք	vajh	վայհ	vaŋk ^h	վանք
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք	irejh	իրեյհ	jerek ^h	երեք
‘desire’	p ^h ap ^h ak ^h , p ^h ap ^h ag	փափաք, փափագ	p ^h ap ^h ajh	փափայհ	p ^h ap ^h ak ^h , p ^h ap ^h ag	փափաք, փափագ

The Classical Armenian sound /k/ <կ> became /j/ <յ> before a consonant (Table 12).

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /k/ <կ> to /j/ <յ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA or SWA		
'trap' (?), 'eyeless' (?)	aknat	ակնատ	ajnad	այնադ	aknat	ակնատ	SEA
'angel-pl'	həreftak-(ə?)k ^h	հրեշտակք	hrəfdaj-nin	հրըշդայնին	həreftak-ner	հրեշտակներ	SEA
'claw INDF'	fjank	ճանկ	džaj mə	ջայ մը	džang mə	ճանկ մը	SWA
'boy-girl'	ałdžik-təłaj	արդշիկ-տղայ	aχdž ^h ij dʒa	ախջ ^h իյ դժա	aχfj ^h ik-təʒa	արդշիկ-տղա	SEA
'broad bean'	baklaj	բակլայ	b ^h ajla	բ ^h այլա	bakla	բակլա	SEA

The Classical Armenian sound /g/ <գ>, which wherever it took the form /k^h/ <ք>, became /jh/ <յհ>. And whenever it took the form /g/ <գ>, it became /j/ <յ> (Table 13).

Table 13: Change from Classical Armenian /g/ <գ> to /j/ <յ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA		
'king'	t ^h agawor	թագաւոր	t ^h ajhv ^h u ^h cer	թայիվծր	t ^h ak ^h avor	թագավոր	
'to bathe (trans.)'	logafs ^h uts ^h anel	լոգացուցանել	lojts ^h ənel	լոյցընել	logafs ^h nel	լոգացնել	
'lap'	gog	գոգ	gy ^h u ^h ejh	գծի	gok ^h	գոգ	
'five'	hing	հինգ	hij	հիյ	hing	հինգ	
'apron'	gognots ^h	գոգնոց	g ^h ojhnots ^h	գ ^h ոյհնոց	gok ^h nots ^h	գոգնոց	
'to bathe'	loganal	լոգանալ	lojnal	լոյնալ	loganal	լոգանալ	
'to get up'	kangnel	կանգնել	gajnil	գայնիլ	kaɲgnel	կանգնել	
'five points or denomination'			hijnots ^h	հիյնոց	hingnots ^h	հինգնոց	

Analogous to this, the Classical Armenian form /ʃapik/ <շապիկ> 'shirt' became /ʃabijh/ <շաբիյհ> (which passed through the form /ʃapik^h/ <շապիք>), cf. SEA /ʃapik/.

28.3.2.3.2 Classical Armenian /h/ <հ> to /f/ <ֆ>

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <հ> in monosyllabic words, next to a stressed sound /o/ <ո> ...

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became /f/ <ֆ> (Table 14a, but Table 14b).

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /h/ <h> to /f/ <ֆ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
a. 'hole (CA); pit (SEA)' 'smell' 'earth' 'care'	hor	հոր	ֆուօր	ֆօր	hor	հոր
	ort ^h	որթ	ֆուօր ^h	ֆօրթ	hort	հորթ
	hoł	հող	ֆուօբ	ֆօղ	hoբ	հող
	hog	հոգ	ֆուօկ ^h	ֆօք	hok ^h	հոգ
b. 'to care' 'edge of pit'	hogal	հոգալ	hok ^h al	hoքալ	hok ^h al	հոգալ
			horezer	hoրեզեր	hori jezerk ^h	հորի եզերք

28.3.2.3.3 Consonant cluster lenition

The Classical Armenian sound sequence /tr/ <տր> becomes /jj/ <յյ>, and it can delete if there is a nasal before it (Table 15).

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /tr/ <տր> to /jj/ in the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Sebastia		cf. SEA	
'to divide'	kətreł	կտրել	gəjjel	գյյել	kətreł	կտրել
'sharp'	*kətruk	*կտրուկ	gəjjug	գյյուգ	kətruk	կտրուկ
'brave'	*kətritj	*կտրիճ	gəjjidz	գյյիջ	kətritj	կտրիճ
'to choose'	əntrel	ընտրել	hənjel	հընյել	əntrel	ընտրել
'small'	manəɾ, mantəɾ	մանր, մանտր	majjə	մայյը	manəɾ, mandəɾ	մանր, մանտր
'heavy'	tsanəɾ, *tsantəɾ	ծանր, *ճանտր	dzanjə	ծանյը	tsanəɾ	ծանր
'to break'	kotoreł	կոտորել	gojjel	գոյյել	kotoreł, kotrel	կոտորել, կոտրել
name 'Peter'	petros	Պետրոս	bejjəɾ	Բեյյեոս	petros	Պետրոս

28.3.2.4 Subdialectal changes in Pirknik

28.3.2.4.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

In the Pirknik subdialect, we can find the sound change /a/ <ա> to /uœ, o/ <օ, օ> which do not exist in the Sebastia dialect (Table 16).

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /ւœ, o/ <օ, օ> in the Pirknik subdialect of the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Pirknik (Sebastia)		cf. SEA or SWA		
‘cheese’	panir	պանիր	b̄œnir	բօնիր	panir	պանիր	SEA
‘Mary’	mariam	Մարիամ	mojjam	Մոյյամ	marjam	Մարիամ	SEA
‘like that’			adong	աղօղ	adong	ատանկ	SWA
‘cross’	χաթ ^h	խաչ	χւœթ ^h	խօչ	χաթ ^h	խաչ	SEA
‘time-INS’			zomang-u	ժամանգու	zamanak-ov	ժամանակով	SEA

28.3.2.4.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> becomes /a/ <ա> next to the sounds /v, m, n/ <վ, մ, ն> (Table 17), and even in /anbir/ <անբիր> ‘eleven’ 11, borrowed from Turkish <on bir> ‘eleven’.

Table 17: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /a/ <ա> in the Pirknik subdialect of the Sebastia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Pirknik (Sebastia)		cf. SEA	
name of a village			gavdun	Գավդուն	koftun	Կովտուն
‘buffalo’	gomēf	գոմեֆ	g ^h amef, g ^h avmef	գ ^h ամեֆ, գ ^h ավմեֆ	gomef	գոմեֆ

28.4 Morphology

28.4.1 Noun inflection or declension

The grammar is very similar to the Istanbul dialect. The case declensions are the same.

[[On page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum where he adds the following information about this dialect’s nominal morphology:]]

In the villages of Sebastia, there are many cases of the plural suffix /-ni/ <նի> (Table 18).

Table 18: Plural marking with /-ni/ <նի> in the Sebastia dialect

	Sebastia		cf. SEA	
‘ox’			jez	եզ
‘ox-PL’	jez-ni	յեզնի	jez-ner	եզներ

28.4.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

For the pronouns, the following forms are notable (Table 19).

Table 19: Sample of pronouns in the Sebastia dialect

demonstrative proximal SG NOM ‘this’	asi	ասի
demonstrative medial SG NOM ‘that’	adi	արի
demonstrative distal SG NOM ‘that yonder’	ani	անի
demonstrative proximal SG NOM ‘this’	zəvigag	զըվիգագ
demonstrative proximal SG ABL ‘from this’	zəge	զըգէ
‘like this’	zángəš	զանգըս
‘like this’	zəvizang	զըվիզանգ

28.4.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

28.4.3.1 Mobile indicative marking

[[*In SWA, the indicative mood is formed by combining the indicative prefix with the finite verb. For example, the indicative present is formed by combining this prefix with the present form of verbs. This prefix is /gu-/ for monosyllabic verb stems, /g-/ for vowel-initial stems, and /gə-/ elsewhere for polysyllabic consonant-initial stems. In Sebastia however, Adjarian reports that the shape and position of this affix can vary.*]]

The simple present of verbs is formed similarly to the Karin dialect, with a postposed formative /gə/ <qŋ> (Table 20a), which sometimes can also be placed first (b). Before vowel-initial verbs, the formative /g/ <q> is preposed, but in many cases the postposed formative /gə/ <qŋ> is also added (c). Monosyllabic verbs take /gu/ <qŋ> (d), while the form ‘to come’ takes /g^hu/ <q^hn> (e).

Table 20: Mobile indicative marking in the indicative present <տերկայ> in the Sebastia dialect

	Sebastia		cf. SWA	
a. 'he asks'	hɑr-tʰn-e-∅ ցə	հարցլտ գը	ցə hɑr-tʰən-e-∅	կը հարցլտ
	ask-CAUS-TH-3SG IND		IND ask-CAUS-TH-3SG	
b. 'he leaves'	tʰk ^h -e-∅ ցə	ցըտ գը,	ցə tʰək ^h -e-∅	կը ձըտ
	leave-TH-3SG IND		IND leave-TH-3SG	
	ցə tʰk ^h -e-∅	գը ցըտ		
	IND leave-TH-3SG			
c. 'he rises'	g-ell-e-∅ (ցə)	գելլէ (գը)	g-ell-e-∅	կ'ելլէ
	IND-rise-TH-3SG (IND)		IND-rise-TH-3SG	
'he goes'	g-ert ^h -ɑ-∅ (ցə)	գերթա (գը)	g-ert ^h -ɑ-∅	կ'երթայ
	IND-go-TH-3SG (IND)		IND-go-TH-3SG	
'they say'	g-əs-e-n ցə	գըսէս գը	g-əs-e-∅	կ'ըսէս
	IND-say-TH-3PL		IND-say-TH-3PL	
d. 'he gives'	gu-d-ɑ-∅	գուդա	gu-d-ɑ-∅	կու տայ
	IND-give-TH-3SG		IND-give-TH-3SG	
e. 'he comes'	g ^h u-g ^h -ɑ-∅	գ'ուգ'ա	gu-k ^h -ɑ-∅	կու գայ
	IND-come-TH-3SG		IND-come-TH-3SG	

28.4.3.2 Progressive marking

[[In SWA, the progressive is formed by adding the enclitic /gor/ after the indicative mood forms. This enclitic is used in spoken speech, not in writing.]]

The progressive, which does not exist in Karin, is formed with the formative /gor/ <գոր>, similar to the Istanbul dialect; but here, the formative /ցə/ <գը> is added only for vowel-initial verbs (Table 21).

Table 21: Progressive marking in the Sebastia dialect

	Sebastia		cf. SWA	
'I am bringing'	b ^h er-e-m gor	բ'երէմ գոր	ցə p ^h er-e-m gor	կը բերեմ կոր
	bring-TH-1SG PROG		IND bring-TH-1SG PROG	
'you.PL are doing'	g-ən-e-k ^h gor	գընէք գոր	g-ən-e-k ^h gor	կ'ընէք կոր
	IND-do-TH-2PL PROG		IND-do-TH-2PL PROG	
'I was eating'	g-ud-ej-i-∅ gor	գուդէյի գոր	g-ud-ej-i-∅ gor	կ'ուլտէի կոր
	IND-eat-TH-PST-1SG PROG		IND-do-TH-PST-1SG PROG	

28.4.3.3 Mobile future marking

[[In SWA, the future is formed by combining the future proclitic /bidi/ with the finite verb. As Adjarian explains however, this future formative can vary its position in Sebastia.]]

The future takes the formative /bidi/ <բիդի>, which can be placed also after the verb; and next to a vowel it becomes /bi/ <բի> (Table 22).

Table 22: Mobile future marking in the Sebastia dialect

	Sebastia		cf. SWA	
‘I will give’	bidi d-a-m բիդի դամ		bidi d-a-m	պիտի տամ
	FUT give-TH-1SG		FUT give-TH-1SG	
‘I will give’	d-a-m bidi դամ բիդի		bidi d-a-m	պիտի տամ
	FUT give-TH-1SG		FUT give-TH-1SG	
‘we will do’	bi ən-je-nk ^h բի ընենք		bidi ən-e-ŋk ^h	պիտի ընենք
	FUT do-TH-1PL PROG		FUT do-TH-1PL	

28.4.3.4 Archaism in the past plural suffix

[[In SWA and SEA, the 1PL suffix is [-ŋk^h]. This same formative is used for the present, past imperfective, and past perfective. In the past, this plural suffix follows the past suffix /-i/ or /-a/, thus creating the sequence [-i-ŋk^h] or [-a-ŋk^h]. In contrast, Classical Armenian used the suffix /-mk^h/ for the present 1PL, and /-ak^h/ for the past 1PL; the /-a/ in this form could be separately segmented as a past suffix. Adjarian reports that Sebastia aligns with Classical Armenian.]]

In verb conjugation, there are no vowel changes. Only that the perfective uses the 1PL suffix /a-nk^h/ <անք>, which is in accordance with the old language (Table 23).

Table 23: Archaisms in the 1PL suffix in the Sebastia dialect for the phrase ‘we wrote’

Classical Armenian	> Sebastia	cf. SEA
gər-e-tsh ^h -a-k ^h	g ^h r-e-tsh ^h -a-nk ^h	gər-e-tsh ^h -i-ŋk ^h
write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL	write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL	write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL
գրեցաք	գ ^h րեցանք	գրեցինք

[[The above description says that there are no vowel changes. But this is contradicted by Adjarian's subsequent discussion of vowel changes. (?)]

28.4.3.5 Theme vowel and auxiliary changes

The villages of the Alis valley, and the subdialect of Pirknik use the ending /-i-m/ <իմ> instead of the ending /-e-m/ <եմ> (1).

[[Adjarian means the theme vowel changes its shape in the present 1SG.]]

- (1) a. Sebastia
 b^her-i-m ցə
 bring-TH-1SG IND
 'I bring.'
 բ'երիմ գը
- b. cf. SWA
 ցə p^her-e-m
 IND bring-TH-1SG
 'I bring.'
 Կը բերեմ

In the negative, the /e/ <ե> becomes /u/ <ու> (2).

[[Adjarian means that the vowel of the negative auxiliary is /u/ instead of /e/.]]

- (2) a. Sebastia
 t^h-u-m dʒoʃ-n-a-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG recognize-INCH-TH-CN
 'I don't recognize.'
 չում ջօշար
- b. cf. SWA
 t^h-e-m dʒant^h-n-a-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG recognize-INCH-TH-CN
 'I don't recognize.'
 չեմ ճանշար

[[In addition to the above data, Adjarian provides an erratum on page 306. He states the following about the reflexes of the Classical Armenian theme vowel /e/ and of the auxiliary /e/. Note that I could not easily determine the meaning, ancestor, or cognate of his example verb. (?)]

In verbs, the Classical Armenian theme vowel /e/ <ե> changes to /i/ <ի> (Table 24).

Table 24: Vowel changes in verbs in the Sebastia dialect

	Sebastia		cf. SWA		
1SG (?)	gn-i-m	գնիմ			√-TH-1SG
2SG (?)	gn-i-s	գնիս			√-TH-2SG
3SG (?)	gn-i-∅	գնի			√-TH-3SG
1SG ‘I am not’	tʃ ⁿ -i-m	չիմ	tʃ ⁿ -e-m	չեմ	AUX-TH-1SG
2SG ‘you are not’	tʃ ⁿ -i-s	չիս	tʃ ⁿ -e-s	չես	AUX-TH-2SG
3SG ‘he is not’	tʃ ⁿ -i-∅	չի	tʃ ⁿ -e-∅	չե	AUX-TH-3SG

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28.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

Adjarian’s note: Written by Mr. Karapet Gabikian (պր. Կ. Գաբրիկեան). I have rendered it into the scientific orthography.

28.5.1 Գրվածը չավորվիր

Ժամանագին թաքավորին մեզը թեբոյի գելլէ: Գ’նալն իքէն էման գ’եդ մը գելլէ յեռջ’ելը: Գ’եղը բ’ոնէ դ’արվեր մինչեվ ազը գերթա օր երգու մարթ թուղթ մը գ’րէն ՝ ջ’ուրը ցքէն գօր:

– Ի՞նչ գընէք գօր – դէյի հարցնէ գը նէ՝

– Ի՞նչ բի ընէնք, սա ինչին ախչիգը աս ինչին դղին գ’րինք գօր. անինչին ախչիգը նաինչին դղին – գըսէն գը:

– Իմ ախչի՞գս օրու գ’րէք բիդի – հարցնէ գը թաքավետը նէ՝

– Թու ախչիդ ալ անիշ դեղը չօբան մը գա, անտօր դղին գ’րեցանք – գըսէն:

– Վա՛յ, ի՞նչ ըսել ըլլա. յես թաքավետ մ’ըլլամ դէ, ախչիգս չօբնի մը դղին գ’րէք. ախշարք յախշորքի գ’ա նէ ըլլալիք բ’ան չէ ադի. – գըսէ, հերսօդի, շիդագ գերթա չօբանը գ’ոնէ, դունը միսաֆիր գըլլա գը: Նանյի գը օր մանչը օրտօսքը մըըն՝ր մըըն՝ր քնասա գօր: Գընէ չինէր ՝ չօբնին մեղէն շինէ, դ’իմօքը (ծարութեամբը) օսգի գիշառէ, մանչը գ’նէ գը: Գառնէ ծ’ծր մը դանի, «դէ՛, ախչիգս չօբնին դղին

թող գ'րեն նեյիմ» գրսէ, մէշքէն խամնչաւորը հանէ, մանչուն սիրողը գը խօթէ, հծն գքէ, գասնի գերթա գը: Մանչը մամազ գ'իղնա գը:

Աղղեղվանք չօբնի մը սիւրիւյէն ազ մը յամմէն օր գաղվի, գ'ուգ'ա մանչը ճըծ-ցընէ գամշթա էղեր: Աձը բառավի մըն է էղեր բառավը յամմէն յիրինգուն նայի գը օր աձուն ճձերը բարբաձ է. բուղ մը գաթ օր ըսէս չիգա: Անբաջջառ չօբանը աս աձը գթէ գօր գըսէ, գերթա հեղը ձեզգըվի գը:

Չօբանը յերթում-բաղառ գըլլա, «Շան արուն-թարախ ըլլա, թան օր աձո գթէմ գօր նէ» գըսէ. բառավը չավղընար:

Ձեզգըվելօվ թօղ ըլլան, հեղ մը նային գը օր, աձը սիւրիւյէն գաղվեր, գ'լօխն առեր գերթա գօր: Աձուն յեղելէ հեղքիշուք...

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... գերթան. նեյին գը օր աղվէօր, բ'շգ'առ դղա մը՝ աձը վրան ձեր ձձցնէ գօր: Խէնչէրն ալ մանչուն սիրոն է. հանէն գը օր, բարաբին էգեր, մանչուն հէշ բ'ան մըն ա չէ էղեր: Չարմանք կը մնան:

Չօբանը ՝ «բ'արի աշքօվո դէսսա'րի հիմա օր աձո յէս չէմ գթեր գօր էղեր, յերթում-բաղառ գըլլայի գօր, չէիր ավղընար գօր» գըսէ:

Բառավը՝ «Յէս քեզ մեղա. մեղքո մղնէի գօր, գըսէ, նայէ դէ'ս Ասսու բ'անը օր՝ աձս գ'ուգ'ա դէ մէխսումը ճըձցնէ գը էղեր. ի'շ գ'իղնամ. գ'իղէմ թէ գթես գօր. օրո'ւ միք (միտք) գ'ուգ'ա. Ասվազ բահեր դէ, գ'ալագեր չէ էղեր» գըսէ:

Աս հեղու չօբանը ինէն բառավը բաշլիյէն գը յիրարու հեղ հաջագըռվիլ (հա-կաճառուիլ). ան թէ մանչը ընձի, ան թէ՝ ընձի. Էնգ յեղքը բառավը խօսքը գընէ. «Ա'սղըղեր աղէն է աձս ճըձցնէ գօր էղեր, ընձի գըլնի» գըսէ, մանչը գառնէ, դուն գը բ'երէ, դղա գընէ գը: Անունն ալ Բուլղուխ (թըք. գտանք) դ'նէ գը: Մանչը մեզնա, ուռուօլէօր (կայտառ) գըլիջ մը գըլլա:

Ասանգ ո'խբ' մը (ատեն մը) գասնի: Թաքավէօրը օր մը գինէ թէրդիլ գելլէ. յո'ւր էրթամ, յուր չէրթամ, գ'ուգ'տ բառավին դունը գիշնէ գը: Նայի գը օր մար վու դղա մըն էն. բառավը ի'շ գ'իղէ թէ թաքավէօրն է, լէիլի-բ'արցը գը ցքէ, թա-քավէօրը նսդի գը:

Բառավը քանի' դղին «Բո'ւղուխ, գըվի բ'եր, Բո'ւղուխ, դըվի դար» դէյի անունը գուղա գը նէ, թաքավօրին միքքը կը քոչէ (կասկած արթննալ). հեղ մը մանչուն վրա նայի գը, հեղ մը բառավին, «աս աստօր դղան չըլմանիր գօր ըմմա, հըլէ դէսնիք» գըսէ: Հեղ մըն ա դ'եմը նայի գը օր՝ չօբնին դղուն սիրողը խօթաձ ան իր խէնչէրը բաղը գ'ամմէն գախվաձ է: Խէլքը դուն գընէ, ա'լ գը հասգընա օր ասի ան չօբնին դղան է: «Վա'յ, սաղ մնացեր է, գըսէ, գեցի աս հեղուն անանգ բ'ան մը ընէմ օր, ա'լ խալըսում չունէնա» գըսէ մըքքօվը

Բառավը դեղանը (անկողինը) գը ցքէ, թաքավէօրը բառգի գը. առղըվանց գըլլա, թաքավէօրը գարթննա, մանչուն թուխթ մը գուղա, «շիղագ թաքավօրին դոնախը դար, գըսէ, քեզ յանդէղ էիյա գընէն»:

Մանչը թուխթը գառնէ, իրէք օր, իրէք քիշեր գերթա, ...

... դոնախին յեռչել հասնի գր: «Հէլէ քիշ մը հօնքութիւնս առնեմ» գրսէ, բարդ-
նագր ստի գր: ՀէX մալ սայիս ՝ քունը դանի, քնանա գր:

Թաքավորին ախչիգը յօղան ստիեր ՝ քերգէֆ նաշխէ գօր եղեր. նսեագ դերը
խելքը բարս գրնէ (յանկարծ այնպէս մտածել), փէնջիրէն գելլէ, դ'արվար նէյէ գր
օր, ի՛շ գր նէյիս, աղվէօր աղվէօր դղա մը քնանա գօր. քեզի մէզ սարէն գըյած
գըյիջ. մանչուն գարնըվի գր. «Անբաջջամ յէս աս դղան գառնեմ» գրսէ. դառնէ
սայի գր օր թուխթը մանչուն ձօցուն դ'ուս է ընգեր. դառնէ սայի գր օր հօրը
գ'իրն է. բ'անա գարթա գր օր ՝ հարը գ'րեր է թէ ՝ «Աս դղան եգածին բէս ջէլլադ
ընէք»:

Մանչը գարթնա, սայի գր օր գ'խուն վերել ախչի մը գայներ է ըմմա՛, քեզի
մէզ հրըշդաք մը, օխդը բ'երդ՝ արեգ'ազ աղվէօր: Մանչուն խելքը գ'խլէն թռի գր.
ախչիգը գրսէ գը քի «Մի՛ գէնար, ձօցունդ թուխթը հօրս վեգիրին դար»:

Մանչը թուխթը գառնէ՛ վեգիրին դանի գր. վեգիրը նէյի գր օր թաքավորին
գ'իրն է, բաքնէ ջայդին դ'նէ, բ'անա գր գարթա օր՝ «Աս դղան եգածին բէս ախ-
չիգանս հեդ նիքյահ ընէք» գ'րեր է:

Վեգիրը թեզ մը հաշնիքը գը բ'ռնէ. թէլլալ գանչել գուդա. քառսուն օր հաշնիք,
քառսուն օր բ'աղնիք գընէն, մանչն ու ախչիգը բսագէն: Անտօնք գը հասնին
իրէնց մուրադին, դ'ուք ալ հասնիք ձ'եր մուրադին:

Օր յեղք, թաքավէօրը խաբար գը դրգէ քի գ'ուգ'ամ գօր. դուն-դունօրթով դ'էմ
գերթամ. թաքավէօրը համունէն սայի գր օր եգօղներուն մէջ մէգը գա, ջանշցածը
չէ. գը հասնին, վեգիրին հարցընէ գը քի, «Ադ չէ ըմմա, ա՛ս օ՛վ է» գրսէ մանչուն
համար: Վեգիրը թուխթը հանէ՛ թաքավորին ձ'անքը գուդա. «Թաքավէօ՛ր, աբ-
րազ գէնաս, փեսադ է, գրսէ. ասանգ ասանգ գ'րեր էիր թէ եգածին բէս ախչի-
գանս հեդ գարքէք. մէնք ալ հրամանդ դերը դարանք»:

Թաքավէօրը հասգնա գը օր ան դղան է. ճեղ մը մյօրուքը...

... ձ'անքը գառնէ, գ'լօխը գը փարդէ, ձ'ան չի հաներ. – ի՞նչ ընէ, եղածը եղեր
է. «Իրավօր, գրսէ, գ'րվածը չավորվիր եղեր»:

յերգընուցը երգու խնծօր յընգավ, մէգը ըսօղին, մէյն ալ լսօղին:

28.5.2 Փէսա Ղազար

Գնգանը մէգը Ղազար անունով դղա մու թէսա մը ունի եղեր:Աս գնիգը յամմէն
օր ժամ գերթա, «Ա՛սվագ, դ'ուն Ղազարիս օղօրմիս» ըսելէն ՝ սրդին ձէձէ գուլա
գաղօթէ եղեր: Դղան մերախը մնա գը քի ըջաբ աս մարս ծր Ղազարին համար
գաղօթէ գօր. առդըվանց մը գանուխ քըզ մարն յանաչ գելլէ ժամ գերթա, սեղա-
նին յեղել բաբբըդի գը (կը պահվտի): Նէյիս մարը գ'ուգ'ա, «Ա՛սված, դ'ուն Ղա-
զարիս օղօրմիս» ըսելէն՝ գուլա գաղօթէ նէ, դղան սեղանին յեղելվէն գամացէն

մը՝ «ծր Ղազարիզ օղորմիմ» գըսէ: Գնիզը գ՛դէ քի Ասվազ ծ՛անը լսեց: «Փեսսա՛ Ղազարիս, փեսսա՛ Ղազարիս» գըսէ: Դղան հասգևա գը օր փեսա Ղազարին համար գաղօթէ գօր էղեր, սէղանին յէղէվէն գէլլէ, աղվէօր մը մարը ձէձէ գը:

Chapter 29

Evdokia

29.1 Background, literature, and subdialects

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The dialect of Evdokia is spoken primarily in the city of Evdokia or Tokat. It is spread until Amasia, Merzifon, Ordu, Samsun, and Sinop, and their surrounding villages. For the last three cities, their Armenian populations are still recent migrant settlements, so they cannot naturally have their own proper dialect. But because the majority of the migrant settlements came from Evdokia, thus we consider them as part of this dialect.

The Evdokia dialect is studied by Hovhannes Kazandjian ([[SEA: /hovhannes gazantʃjan/, SWA: /k^hazanāʒjan/]]) in a sufficiently extensive work (ԳԱՊԱՆՃԵԱՆ 1899). Besides this, he has an article on the study of this dialect, in ԲԻՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn] 1898, page 317. There are manuscripts in the Evdokia dialect in Kazandjian's work, page 5-8, 95, and so on. For the subdialects, there is only a text that is written in the Merzifon subdialect (ԲԻՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn] 1900, page 427) and some information on the Ordu subdialect (ibid., page 73).

Near Evdokia, there is the village of Kirkoros, which speaks its own separate subdialect.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 192). Martirosyan (2019: 192,196) reports dispute on whether Merzifon/Amasia and Ordu are separate dialects.]]

29.2 Phonology

29.2.1 Segment inventory

The sound system of the Evdokia dialect has in total 31 sounds: vowels in Table 1 and consonants in Table 2.¹

¹[[It seems Adjarian accidentally omitted the vowel /u/ <ու>. (?)]]

Table 1: Vowels of the Evdokia dialect

/i/ <ի>	/ɤe/ <նԷ>	
/e/ <է>	/ə/ <ը>	/o/ <օ>
		/ɑ/ <ա>

Table 2: Consonants of the Evdokia dialect

	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal/Back		
Stops	/b/	/p ^h /	/d/	/t ^h /			/g/	/k ^h /	
	<բ>	<պ>	<դ>	<թ>			<գ>	<ք>	
Affricates			/d͡z/	/t͡s ^h /	/d͡ʒ/	/t͡ʃ ^h /			
			<ձ>	<ց>	<ջ>	<ժ>			
Fricatives	/f/	/v/	/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/χ/	/ʁ/	/h/
	<ֆ>	<վ>	<ս>	<զ>	<շ>	<ժ>	<խ>	<ր>	<հ>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/	/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/			
	<մ>	<ն>	<ր>	<ռ>	<լ>	<յ>			

29.2.2 Sound changes

For the sound changes, the following are notable.

29.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

29.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <է>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <է> becomes /je/ <յէ> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, while it becomes /e/ <է> everywhere else (Table 3a). But see the words in Table 3b because they are monosyllabic.

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, e/ <յե, է> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Evdokia		cf. SEA	
a. 'I'	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես
'two'	erku	երկու	ergu	երգու	jerku	երկու
'to cook'	ep ^h el	եփել	ep ^h el	եփել	jep ^h el	եփել
'to rise'	elanel	ելանել	ellel	ելլել	jellel	ելլել
b. 'when'	erb	երբ	jep ^h	յեփ	jerp ^h	երբ
'rise! (IMP.2SG)'	el	էլ	jel	յէլ	jel	էլ

29.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n>, in both word-initial and word-medial positions, often...

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... gets pronounced as a diphthong /ue/ <nւէ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /ue/ <nւէ> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Evdokia		cf. SEA	
'onion'	soχ	սոխ	sueχ	սուէխ	soχ	սոխ
'horse-radish'	bołk	բողկ	p ^h ueɤg	փուէղգ	boχk	բողկ
'smell'	hot	հոտ	hued	հուէղ	hot	հոտ
'orphan'	orb	որբ	vuerp ^h	վուէրփ	vorp ^h	որբ
'male'	ordz	ործ	uerts ^h	ուէրց	vorts ^h	ործ
'lentil'	ospæn	ոսպն	vuesb	ուէսբ	vosp	ոսպ
'to try'	gortsel	գործել	guerdzel	գուէրծել	gortsel	գործել

29.2.2.2 Diphthongal vowel changes

29.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /aj/ <այ> becomes /a/ <ա> (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /ɑ/ <ւ> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Evdokia	cf. SEA
proximal ‘this’	ɑj̄s ւյս	ɑs ւս	ɑjs ւյս
‘other’	ɑj̄l̄ ւյլ	ɑl ւլ	ɑjl̄ ւյլ

29.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑi/ <ոյ> becomes /u/ <ու> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Evdokia	cf. SEA
‘light’	loj̄s լոյս	lus լուս	lujs լոյս

29.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iʷ/ <իւ> becomes /u/ <ու> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Evdokia	cf. SEA
‘snow’	ḏziʷn ծիւն	ḏzun ծուն	ḏzjun ծյուն

29.2.2.3 Consonant changes

29.2.2.3.1 Laryngeal changes

The consonant changes are very significant. Like the dialects of Trabzon, Istanbul, Smyrna, and Crimea, the dialect of Evdokia has changed the three degrees of consonants from Old Armenian into two; the voiceless unaspirated sounds are lost, only the voiced and the voiceless aspirated sounds are preserved. There are no voiced aspirated sounds. Based on this, the Armenian voiced and voiceless unaspirated sounds have equally changed into voiced, while the voiceless aspirated sounds remain the same.

29.2.2.3.2 Consonant deletion around sonorants

Dentals that are before the Classical Armenian sound /r/ <ր> are lost, while the following /r/ <ր> becomes /r/ <ռ> (Table 8).

Table 8: Loss of dentals before Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> and subsequent trilling in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Evdokia		cf. SEA	
‘to divide’	kərel	կտրել	gərel	գրռել	kərel	կտրել
‘to break’	kotorel	կոտորել	gorel	գորռել	kotorel, kotrel	կոտորել, կոտրել

If there is a /n/ <ն> before the dentals, then it is also lost (Table 9).

Table 9: Loss of nasal /n/ before Classical Armenian dental plus /r/ <ր> in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Evdokia		cf. SEA	
‘comb’	santər	սանսր	sar	սառ	sanər	սանր

In accordance with the latter, the Armenian word-final sequence /nr/ <ւր>, which became /ndr/ <ւրր> via the addition of a dental, is simply /r/ <ռ> in the Evdokia dialect (Table 10).

Table 10: Cluster reduction of nasal-dental-rhotic to a trill in the Evdokia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Evdokia		cf. SEA	
‘heavy’	tsanər	ծանր	dzar	ծառ	tsanər	ծանր
‘small’	manər	մանր			manər	մանր
‘small (reduplicated)’			mar mur	մառ մուռ	manər munər	մանր մուրր

29.3 Morphology

The grammar of the Evdokia dialect does not have innovations, and it is entirely in agreement with the Istanbul dialect and with the literary Western language. There are only a few minor differences.

29.3.1 Verb inflection or conjugation

29.3.1.1 Theme vowel changes

In the 1SG and 1PL of verbs, the rime /e/ <ե> becomes /i/ <ի>, while the other persons do not change it.

[[To clarify, Adjarian is talking about theme vowels in verbs, before agreement suffixes. He provides examples in the indicative present. In SWA, the indicative present is formed by adding the indicative prefix /g(ə)-/ before the finite verb. For E-Class verbs like ‘to like’, the theme vowel /e/ remains constant in the indicative present. In Evdokia, the theme vowel /e/ is replaced by /i/ in the 1SG and 1PL, before nasal suffixes.]]

Table 11: Theme vowel changes in the indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Evdokia dialect

	Evdokia		cf. SWA	
1SG	գə sir-i-m	զը սիրիմ	գə sir-e-m ‘I like’	կը սիրեմ
2SG	գə sir-e-s	զը սիրես	գə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	գə sir-e-∅	զը սիրէ	գə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
1PL	գə sir-i-nk ^h	զը սիրինք	գə sir-e-դk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	գə sir-e-k ^h	զը սիրեք	գə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	գə sir-e-n	զը սիրեն	գə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

29.3.1.2 Progressive marker /gor/ <կոր>

The Evdokia dialect has a progressive present and imperfective, which are formed with ([[the cognate of]]) the formative <կոր> ([[SWA: /gor/]]), as in the Sebastia and Istanbul dialects (1).

[[To clarify, in SWA, the progressive marker /gor/ <կոր> is added after the indicative present or indicative past imperfective to give them a progressive meaning.]]

(1) a. Evdokia

- i. g-ud-i-m, g-ud-i-m gor
 IND-eat-TH-1SG, IND-eat-TH-1SG PROG
 ‘I eat; I am eating.’
 գուդիմ, գուդիմ գօր

- ii. gə ber-ej-i-Ø, gə ber-ej-i-Ø gor
 IND bring-TH-PST-1SG, IND bring-TH-PST-1SG PROG
 ‘I would bring; I was bringing.’
 գը բերէի, գը բերէի գօր
- b. cf. SWA
- i. g-ud-e-m, g-ud-e-m gor
 IND-eat-TH-1SG, IND-eat-TH-1SG PROG
 ‘I eat; I am eating.’
 կ’ուտեմ, կ’ուտեմ կոր
- ii. gə p^her-ej-i-Ø, gə p^her-ej-i-Ø gor
 IND bring-TH-PST-1SG, IND bring-TH-PST-1SG PROG
 ‘I would bring; I was bringing.’
 կը բերէի, կը բերէի կոր

It is thought that the aforementioned formative <կոր> ([[SWA: /gor/]]) originates from the synonymous Turkish form <yor>...

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Compare <getiri-yor-əm> ‘I am bringing’ ([[Modern Turkish spelling <getiri-yor-um>]]), <getiri-yor-ədəm> ‘I was bringing’ ([[Modern Turkish spelling <getiri-yor-dum>]])).

[[Note that although Adjarian treats this progressive marker as borrowed from Turkish, it might also have a language-internal or native source (Donabédian 2001).]]

In Amasia and Merzifon, instead of /gor/, the formative /gɑ/ <գա> is used (2).

(2) Amasia and Merzifon (Evdokia)

- a. gr-e-m gɑ
 write-TH-1SG PROG
 ‘I am writing.’
 գրեմ գա
- b. g-ert^h-ɑ-m gɑ
 IND-go-TH-1SG PROG
 ‘I am going.’
 գերթամ գա

29.3.1.3 Future marking with /bidi/ <բիդի>

The future is formed with the form /bidi/ <բիդի>, which becomes /bid/ <բիդ> when next to a vowel. In the latter condition, the Ordu subdialect uses the simple form /b/ <բ> (3).

[[To clarify, in SWA, the future is formed by adding the proclitic /bidi/ <պիտի> before the finite present-form of the verb.]]

- (3) a. Ordu (*Evdokia*)
 b-ert^h-a-m
 FUT-go-TH-1SG
 ‘I will go.’
 բերթամ
- b. cf. SWA
 bidi jert^h-a-m
 FUT go-TH-1SG
 ‘I will go.’
 պիտի երթամ

29.3.1.4 Interrogative marking with /mə/ <մը>

[[In written or formal SWA, there is no special morphology used for interrogatives or questions. The only difference between a declarative statement (4a) vs. an interrogative yes-no question (4b) is the use of a final-rise in the question. But colloquial or spoken SWA borrowed the Turkish interrogative particle <mi> as /mə/ and can optionally add it to a yes-no question (4c).]]

- (4) SWA (formal and informal)
- a. an namag-ner un-i-∅ ↘
 he letter-PL have-TH-3SG
 ‘He has letters.’
 Ան նամակներ ունի:
- b. an namag-ner un-í-∅ ↗
 he letter-PL have-TH-3SG
 ‘Does he have letters?’
 Ան նամակներ ունի՞:
- c. an namag-ner un-í-∅ mə↗
 he letter-PL have-TH-3SG Q
 ‘Does he have letters?’
 Ան նամակներ ունի՞ մը:

[[As *Adjarian* explains, *Evdokia* follows colloquial SWA in having a question particle.]]

Interrogative verbs take the formative /mə/ <ւը>, which is borrowed from the Turkish form /mi, mə/ <մի, մը> (5).

(5) a. Evdokia

i. gu-d-á-s mə
IND-give-TH-2SG Q
'Will/do you give it?'
գուդա՞ս մը

ii. g-ar-n-é-Ø mə
IND-take-VX-TH-3SG Q
'Will/does he take?'
գառնէ՞ մը

b. cf. Turkish

i. ver-ir mi-sin
give-AOR Q-2SG
'Will/do you give it?'
[[*Adjarian provides an Ottoman version: /verir mi sin/ <վերիհօն մի սիս>]]*

ii. al-ır mı
take-AOR Q
'Will/does he take?'
[[*Adjarian provides an Ottoman version: /alır mı/ <ալըն մի>]]*

In this same condition, the Istanbul dialect uses /mi/ <մի>.

(6) Istanbul

a. gu-d-á-s mi
IND-give-TH-2SG Q
'Will/do you give it?'
գուդա՞ս մի

b. g-ar-n-é-Ø mi
IND-take-VX-TH-3SG Q
'Will/does he take?'
գառնէ՞ մի

29.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

29.4.1 Evdokia

Adjarian's note: This story was communicated to me by a resident of Evdokia, Mr. Hovhannes Kazandjian (պր. Յովհ. Գազանճեանի), an ardent follower of Armenian dialectology, in his one extensive letter (October 8, 1897, Evdokia). The orthography is with scientific accuracy.

Վախթին-ժամանագին Երիզ-գնիզ մը գան եղեր, ութ-դասը դարվան ախչիզ մը, Երզու-իրեք դարվան ալ մանչ մը ունին եղեր: Ասուենք շադ ախքադ, օրե բանօդ, օրե ուրօղ մարթիզ էն եղեր: Երիզը դուրսը ըռղըդութին գանէ, գնիզն ալ դուսը դեզգեհ գը գուերծէ եղեր. ասանգօլ Երիզ-գնիզ վասդըդաձօվսին անջահ նեղ-նըվագ, ցամաք-հաց, գըծու-սուէխ արբուսդ մը գը ջարէն եղեր:

Իրինգվանը մեզը Երիզը բանէն էլլելօլ դուն քալու ադէնը գը նելի քի չարսուն աղվորիզ նախշունիզ հավ մը գը ծախէն գօր:

Մարթը հավուն աղվորգութանը գը հավասի, մըղքէն գըսէ քի՝ յէս աս իրինգուն դուն հաց չէմ դանիր. թեք աս իրինգուն անօթի գը գէնանք, իլլէ սի հավը գառնիմ: Ասանգ ըսելօլ ան օրվան առած օրչեքը գուդա, հավը գառնէ, դուն գը դանի, օդային ըռաֆիզը գը դընէ, գեր գը թափէ եռչէվը: Նաշխունիզ հավը գըդ-գըդ գըդ-դըդ անելօլ գերը գուդէ, ըռաֆին վոա գը բըղըդի: Գնիզը գըսէ քի «Քա՛, աս հավը ինչո՞ւ առիր»։ – «Իշթէ բան մըն էր արի. աղւորգութանը հավասեցա դէ առի», գըսէ Երիզը: Ի՛նչ է նէ՛ ան իրինգունը եռչի օրվան հացի Էվէցուք գը-դըրդուքներօլ էօյին գանցունէն, անգի վերչը դղաքը հավը գը սիրէն, անգի ալ գը...

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... բառգին գը քնանան: Մէ մըն ալ քիշերը գարթնսան քի օդան լուսավօրվեր է. աս ի՞նչ էջեյիբ լուս է՛ ըսելօլ՝ գելլէն գը նեյին քի հավը հավգիթ մըն է ածեր, անդար ջերմագ, անդար փառլախ հավգիթ մը քի էլմասի բէս փառ-փառ գը վառի, օդան լուսավօրէ գօր: Երիզ-գնիզ շադ գը գարմանան քի աս ի՛նչ թելիւր հավգիթ է: Անգի վերչ ամմէն օր հավը ադանգ մէ մեզ հավգիթ գաձէ: Ավուրը մեզը մարթը գըսէ քի «Գնիզ, Էգու սի հավգիթներէն քանի մը հադ չարշուն դանիմ դէ ծախիմ. բեքի քանի մը փարա բըռնէ»: Գնիզն ալ «դար դէ ծախէ» գըսէ: Երիզը գառնէ քանի մը հավգիթ, չարշուն դանելու ադէնը դոյումջի մը

զը դեսնէ, հեռույն զը գանչէ զինքը: Մարթը գերթա դույումջուն քով. դույումջին զըսէ քի՝ «ադ հավգիթները ծախէ՞ս մը գոր»: – «Հա, ծախիմ գոր. քանի՞ փարա գուդաս», զըսէ մարթը: Ղույումջին հավգիթը ձեռքը գառնէ, զը նէյի քի խալիս էլմաս է. մարթուն զըսէ քի՝ «հազար դուրուշի գուդա՞ս մը»: Մարթը ի՞նչ քիդէ հավգիթէն էլմաս ըննալը, զըսէ քի «Ա՛խբար, ընծի գեքլէնմի՞ջ մը գանես գոր». – «Չէ՛, ի՞նչ գեքլէնմէ է. քիչ է նէ երգու հազար դամ»: – «Ախբար, ի՞նչ զըսես գոր, ընծի գեքլէնմի՞ջ մը գանես գոր»: «Է՛, իրեք հազար դամ անանգ է նէ»:

Մարթը զը մդածէ քի էջբէ դույումջին իրա՞վ մը զըսէ գոր՝ շախա՞ մը. հեմէն զըսէ քի «դո՛ր փարան»: Ղույումջին իրեք հազարը զը հանէ գուդա, հավգիթը գառնէ: «Աս հավգիթէն դահա գա՞ մը» զըսէ: – Հաբա՛, գա: – «Անանգ է նէ՛ ի՞նչդար ունիս նէ ընծի բեր. յես հադը իրեք հազարագանի գառնիմ»:

Մարթը խնդումէն ծաղիզը բառելով (իմա ծաղիկը պատռիլ «չափազանց ուրախանալ») դուն գերթա. «Գնիգ, մէնք էյալըխը գդանք» ՝ ըսելով գնգանն ալ բանը գիմացնէ. գնիգն ալ շադ գուրախանա: Ալ զը հասգընան քի հավերնին էլմաս ածող հավ է էղեր. ալ անգի վերչը երիզը ըռդըդուրփնը, գնիգն ալ դէգգեհ գուերծիլը վար զը ցքէ. հավուն հավգիթները ծախելով գուդէն զը խմէն, գյանք-գէնթանուրփն ժամանագ գանցունէն: Վախիթ վերչը դոսախի բես սիւսլի դուն մըն ալ շինել գուդան, մէչը զը նսդին:

Չադգըվան օր մը քախքին վարթաբեղը փօքրավօրին հետ մեզդէլ դուն-օրինէնքի գուքա մարթուն դունը: Օրինելու ադէննին փօքրավօրը ըռաֆին վրայի հավը զը դեսնէ, զը նէյի քի հավուն դանադին վրա գիր գա. զը գարթա քի սըվիսանգ գրված...

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... է. «Աս հավուն ուեդքն ուղօղը վագան (լաւ վագօղ) զըննա, սիրդն ուղօղըը իմասդուն զըննա, գլօվն ուղօղը թաքավուեր զըննա»: Փօքրավօրը զը մդածէ քի սի հավը ինչբէ՞ս անիմ դէ ձեռք ցքիմ: Մեր (թրք. մեգեր) մարթուն գնիգն ալ անթիէն փօքրավօրին գէնջուրթանը գերնըվեր է (սիրահարուիլ). աչքով ունքով նիշաններ գանէ էղեր. փօքրավօրը բանը հասգնալով գամաց մը գնգանը քովը գերթա. գնիզը գամացուգ մը զըսէ քի «Վադը մեգի էգու». փօքրավօրն ալ զըսէ քի «Էղեր (եթէ) դի (այդ) հավը զը մօրթես գեթես նէ գուքամ». «Փէք աղեգ, զը մօրթիմ, գեփիմ» զըսէ գնիզը: Երթեսի վանգուցը (առաւօտ) երգանը երթալէն վերչը գնիզը զը բռնէ հավը զը մօրթէ, թէնգիրէն զը դընէ գեփէ: Մէմն ալ փօքրավօրը գուքա. գնիզը դդաքը գլխէն ջամփելու համար՝ ախջիգանը զըսէ քի «սի ախբարըդ ա՛ռ դէ բըդըդցուր»: Ախջիգն ալ ախբարը գըրգած օդայէն դուրս գելլէ, դանը մէչ վեր վար դառնալու ադէնը օջախին գլօխը գերթա. դղան օջախին վրայի թէնգիրէն դեսնելով զը նեղէ քուրը քի անգից բան դա դէ ուղէ. ախջիգն ալ թէնգիրէն զը բանա, հավուն գլօխը ախբօրը զը գերցնէ, սիրդը ինէն ուեդքերն ալ ինքը գուդէ. մէ մն ալ վրան իմասդուրփն քալով զը մդածէ քի «յես ինչո՛ւ սա հավէն գերա. հիմա մարըս զը հերսօդի, զիս զը ձեճէ». ըսելով մօրը վախում՝

դղան գիրդը՝ դունեն դուրս գրնգնի, վագելով գր փախչի: Ախջիգը հավուն սիրդը ինեն ոււեդքը ուղելով հեմ իմաստուն եղեր էր, հեմ վագան: Գը վագե գը վագե, շադ շադ դեղ վագելեն էրթալեն վերչը՝ լեթը գը բառի (լեարդը պատռիլ «չափագանց յօգնի») գը մնա. գը նեյի քի մեյդան դեղ մը դալաբալըխ մը գա, մեգ ձաք (ձագ ` Եւդոկիոյ բարբառով կը նշանակէ «թռչուն») մը թռցնեն գօր. ի՞նչ է դեյի քովեր-նին գերթա. մէ մըն ալ ձաքը գուքա գըրդի ախորը գլխուն գը նսդի: Մարթիգը ասի չեղավ, ասի չեղավ ըսելով ձաքը գը բըռնեն, նօրեն գը թռցնեն, նօրեն գուքա դղուն գլխուն գը նսդի. «նօրեն չեղավ, նօրեն չեղավ» ըսելով նօրեն ձաքը գը թռցնեն, գինէ գուքա դղուն գլխուն դօսմիշ գանէ: Մարթիգը գը նեյին քի ըննալիք չունի, «Եյ, թաքավուերնիս գահիր ասի է եղեր» ըսելով՝ դղան ախջիգանը հեղ գառնեն իրենց քաղաքը սերայը գը դանին, թաքավուեր գը նսդեցնեն: Մեր աղ քախքին թաքավուերը մեռած է եղեր, աղ ձաքն ալ դեօվլէթ դուշի է եղեր քի վօրու գլօխ նսդի նե՛ անի...

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... թաքավուեր ըննա- աղ քախքին եղեթը աղանգ է եղեր: Աղ բըդիդիգ դղան թաքավուերութիւն գայնա՞ մը աներ. ըմմա քուրը իմաստութիւնսօվը ախբօրը դեղը թաքավուերութիւնը գանէ, անդար աղեգ գանէ գի վախիթ անցնելով աս ախջ-գան իմաստութիւնը ամմեն թարաֆ շան գուդա, մենձ անուն գը հանէ:

Քանք հիմա հօրը մօրը:

Հարը ան իրիսգունը դունը գուքա քի հավը չի գա. «Գնիգ, հավը վո՞ւր է», գըսէ նէ, «Ի՞նչ գիղնամ» գըսէ գնիգը». մէ մն ալ մարթը գը նայի քի դղաքն ալ չի գան. «Քա դղաքը վո՞ւր էն», գըսէ նե՛ գնիգը անօր ալ «չիմ գիղեր» գըսէ: Մարթը խելի բէս սօխգընէրը գրնգնի դղա փնդմելու, հավ փնդմելու, ըմմա նե՛ դղա գը գըղնէ, նե՛ հավ: Մարթը շադ մերաք գանէ, քիշեր ցօրեգ օ՛ֆ փի՛ւֆ անելով մդածել գէնալն իքեն՝ մէ մն ալ գիմանա քի հեռու քաղաք մը իմաստուն ախջիգ մը գա եղեր, թաքավուերի քուր, ամմեն բան գիղէ եղեր, ի՞նչ հարցընես նէ ջուղաբը գուդա եղեր: Մարթը քանի մը հավգիթ ձօցը դնելով՝ գելլէ աղ ախջիգը փնդմելու գերթա. գըսէ քի «Երթամ աղ ախջիգանը սի հավգիթները հեղիյէ դամ, ցավըս բաղմիմ, բեքի ընձի ջար մը գը ցըցընէ»: Ասանգ մդածելով շադ ջամփա էրթալեն վերչը աղ քաղաքը գը հասնի, սերայը գերթա: Ախջիգը ախբօրը հեղ նսդած դեղը գը հասգընա քի հարը գուքա գօր, ախբօրը խաբար գուդա. Եմիր գանեն, ներս գուքա. հարերնին խօրաթձընելէն վերչը՝ «մենք քու փնդռած գավգընէրդ էնք» ըսելով գերթան վիղը գը բըլլըվին. հարն ալ ինդումեն լալ գը բաշլըյէ: Էն վերչը իրարու հերսէթ առնելէն յեղքը՝ հօրերնուն գըսեն քի «Գնա դուն, դնօվ դեղօվ աս քաղաքը մեր քօվն էգու, ֆէս (հոս) գէնանք»: Մարթն ալ գերթա, դուն դեղ գը ձախէ գը ձախվօրի, գընգանը հեղ գելլէ դոցը քօվ գուքա: Ան վախթը ախջիգը մօրը գըսէ քի «Մա՛րիգ, հավը ի՞նչ եղավ, մեգի բիդ՝ ըսես». անի ալ գըսէ քի «Ի՞նչ գիղնամ, գօրավ»: Ան աղէնը ախջիգը հօրը եռչէլը մեգիգ մեգիգ գը բաղմէ մօրը

արուրքը («արարք»), հավը մորթելը, փօքրավօրին քալը, հավուն գլօխը, սիրդը, ոււէդքերը ուղէլնին, վախերնուն դնեն փախչէլնին, մինչի թաքավուէր ըննալնին:

Մարը ասուէնք լսածին բէս գաս-գաբուդ գըննա գընգնի գը մեռնի. դդաքը հարերնին մէնձ բադիվնէրօվ գը բահէն, օրերնին էրչանիգ գանցընէն:

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29.4.2 Merzifon subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 427.

Իրիգունը դրի մաղ մը հավգիթ՝ վանգուց չգար հիչ մէդ հադիգ (աստղեր):

Ինքը սեվ, էրեսը ջերմագ (սուրճ):

Էվէլ բարին աչք չի հանիր:

Էշը չգերած խօղը ուղէ նէ՝ փօրը գը ցավի:

Յօրեգին ծութ գը ձամէ՝ քիշերը ձեթ գը վառէ:

Էրեսին գէօրէ սիլլէ գը գարնէն:

Ձանրը նսդիր օր լըռ գաս:

Chapter 30

Smyrna

30.1 Background

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Beyond the region of Evdokia, Sebastia, and Cilicia, towards the west, the Armenian population is Turkish-speaking, as we know. But two large settlements form an exception in the general area of Asia Minor, and they speak separate Armenian dialects. These are Smyrna and Nicomedia.

The dialect of Smyrna is spoken not only in Smyrna, which is the largest and most famous center of the area, but also in a few of its surrounding cities, which are Manisa, Kasaba, Menemen, Bayındır, Kırkağaç, and also a few other villages.

The dialect of Smyrna is still not at all studied. There is only a short manuscript in this dialect (Թութսլ 1899: 300). We use this text as a sample.

From this text, it seems that the Smyrna dialect is extremely similar to the Istanbul dialect, and especially the Evdokia dialect; we find differences in some points.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 199) and Vaux (2012).*]]

30.2 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.*]]

- Թա եավրում Կիլիցա, ինտո՞ր իս:
- Վիրեդ բարի, Համաս դատըն. հայես սե հազկեկ կը խօսամ. մեկամ օրվան անձրեւը չէրչիֆնեներուն արալըխըն ներս վազեր օտին քանափեն պիւս պիւ-

թիւն թրջեր էր. չարշին ըլած էի մախսուս զատկին հեմար ալաճա գնելու, տուն դառնալքէն խապերսիզ քանափէին վիրէն են եկայ քիչ մը հանգչելու. ի՛նչ...

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... հայիս, Նեմախը գեհիրի պէս թախ օսկրներս անցեր է, երկու օրէ վեր հալ չունիմ, երէկ երկու հեղ պայլմիշ եղայ. եսվրում, այս ի՛նչ ծանտօր բան է. չօճօղները օրթան մնացեր, հայող չունին:

– Քա ատ ի՛նչ լախըրտը, վա՛յ գլխուս, աղջիկդ Հռիփսիմէն ո՞ւր է. անոր խեղքը հիմա պիւթին է, թօղ չօճօղները ան հայի. դուն հիչ տիւշիւնշիշ մըլլար, քեզի պաշխա իլաճ չկայ. ռահաթ տեղդ նստէ, զէնճէֆիլի քէօքը դայնաթմըշ ընել տուր աղկէկ մը խմէ, ատոր գուվէթը պինդ պաշվա բան է տիւշիւնմիշ մըլլար, քէֆսըզլըղդ կանցնի. հիմա Իզմիր աղկէկ է. կըսեն. կելլենք տէ մենք ալ մէկ աղկէկ փարլաղ զատիկ մը կընենք:

Chapter 31

Nicomedia

31.1 Background, subdialects, and literature

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This heavily Armenian-populated region, which still unbreakably keeps the Armenian language at the northwest of Asia Minor, has two primary cities: Nicomedia (Turkish İzmit) and Adapazar. Around them, there are many large Armenian villages, of which we mention Yalova, Aslanbeg, Bardızağ (Ottoman: Bahçecik), Pazarköy, Geyve, Ortaköy, Sölöz, Benli, Iznik (old Nicaea), and so on. With these diverse vernaculars, there are some manuscripts that are published in Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*]; these are:

- Geyve: 1900, page 563, 579, 598, 618
- Bardızağ: 1898, page 396, 471
- Ovacık: 1898, page 473, 540
- Adapazar: 1898, page 597, 887; 1900, page 676
- Benli: 1898, page 120

It is accurate to say these dialects display many differences among themselves, but it appears that we should unite them into one group, and then divide into some subdialects. Based on the manuscripts that we have at hand, their unsatisfactory condition and their scientific inexactness do not allow us to do this division, nor to decide on the borders of these subdialects.

For the subdialects in this region, the Aslanbeg subdialect has the most genuine and characteristic phenomena. And it is because of this that in Paris, I conducted a study on this subdialect, by working with a young person from Aslanbeg, Mr. Aleksan Nalbandian (սր. Ալեքսան Նալբանդեան). My study was published in Բազմավէպ [*Bazmavep*], and then published in a separate...

... volume in Venice (Աճառեալս 1898). Besides this, I also studied the sounds of the aforementioned young person, by using the recording machines ծայլախօսական մեքենալով) of Abbé Rousselot (Jean-Pierre Rousselot, Armenian: Աբբա Ռուսլօ), and the results were published in Adjarian (1899) ([[*translated in §2*]]).

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 199). He reports dispute on whether Aslanbeg is a separate dialect.*]]

31.2 Phonology

31.2.1 Segment inventory

The sound system of the Aslanbeg subdialect has the following sounds: vowels (Table 1) and consonants (Table 2).

Table 1: Vowels of the Aslanbeg subdialect of the Nicomedia dialect

/i/ <ի>	/y/ <իլ>				
/e̞/ <է̞>	/e/ <ե>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ <ը>	/o/ <օ>	
/æ/ <ւ̄>			/ã/ <ւ̄>	/ɑ/ <ւ>	

Table 2: Consonants of the Aslanbeg subdialect of the Nicomedia dialect

	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal/Back		
Stops	/b/	/p ^h /	/d/	/t ^h /			/g/	/k ^h /	
	<բ>	<փ>	<դ>	<թ>			<գ>	<ք>	
Affricates			/d͡z/	/t͡s ^h /	/d͡ʒ/	/t͡ʃ ^h /			
			<ձ>	<ց>	<ջ>	<ճ>			
Fricatives	/f/	/v/	/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/x/	/ʁ/	/h/
	<ֆ>	<վ>	<ս>	<զ>	<շ>	<ժ>	<խ>	<ր>	<հ>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/	/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/			
	<մ>	<ն>	<ր>	<ռ>	<լ>	<յ>			
					/l̥/				
				<լ̥>					

Among these, the sound /ã/ <ũ> represents a nasalized /a/ <ա> sound. The /ɛ/ <է> represents a very open /e/ <ե> sound. The sounds /œ, ɤ/ <եօ, իւ> have their usual closedness when before stress, but they are pronounced as very open when stressed, like /œɑ, ɤə/ <եօա, իւր>.

[[Acoustic data on the consonants of Nicomedia (in the Aslanbeg subdialect) are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.]]

31.2.2 Sound changes

For the sound changes, the following are notable.

31.2.2.1 Vowel changes

31.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /a/ <ա>

The Classical Armenian sound /a/ <ա> became /ã/ <ũ> without a definitive rule. It becomes /ã/ <ũ> next to nasal. When there is a sound /u, o/ <ու, օ> after the nasal, the /a/ <ա> becomes /e/ <ե> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /e/ <ե> in the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Nicomedia		cf. SEA	
‘sweet’	anoɟʃ	աւոյշ	enɟʃ	էւիւշ	anujʃ (dated) anujʃ	աւոյշ աւուշ
‘name’	anun	աւուն	enyn	էւիւն	anun	աւուն
‘hungry’	naɣtʰi, anaɣtʰi	նաւթի, աւաւթի	enœtʰi	էւեթի	anotʰi	աւոթի
‘durable’	amur	ամուր	emɣr	էմիւր	amur	ամուր

When there is a sound /r/ <ր> after the nasal, the /a/ <ա> becomes /o/ <օ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /o/ <օ> in the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Nicomedia		cf. SEA	
‘small’	manər	մանր	morjə	մօրյը	manər	մանր
‘heavy’	tsanər	ծանր	dzorjə	ծօրյը	tsanər	ծանր
‘comb’	santər, *sanər	սանտր, *սանր	sorjə	սօրյը	sanər	սանր

When there are two consonants after the nasal, the /a/ <ա> becomes /æ/ <եօ>, while the nasal is lost (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /æ/ <եօ> in the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Nicomedia		cf. SEA	
‘to recognize’	tʃanatʃ ^h el	ճանաչել	gœfnal	գեօշնալ	tʃanatʃ ^h el	ճանաչել
‘rain’	andzreṽ	անձրել	ærzæv	եօրզաւ	andzrev	անձրել
‘thick’	t ^h andzər	թանձր	t ^h ærzə	թեօրզը	t ^h andzər	թանձր

31.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե> becomes /e/ <է> at the beginning of words, while it is /e/ <է`> in other places.

31.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The sound /o/ is usually /œ/ <եօ>, but it becomes /a/ <ա> next to nasals (Table 6).

[[*Note that Adjarian actually writes <օ> which is CA /ɑ/; but his example is about CA /o/ <ո>; it seems he made a typo. (?)*]]

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /a/ <ա> in the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Nicomedia		cf. SEA	
‘buffalo’	gomēf	գոմէշ	gamef	գամէշ	gomef	գոմէշ

31.2.2.1.4 Other vowel changes

In others, we see the following changes:

- CA /u/ <nL> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /oĭ/ <nj> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /iū/ <hL> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /aĭ/ <ωj> → /a/ <ω> (under stress)
- CA /aĭ/ <ωj> → /e/ <t> (without stress)

For example, see Table 7.

Table 7: Miscellaneous vowel changes from Classical Armenian to the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Nicomedia		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hɑĭr	hɑjɾ	har	hɑɾ	hɑjr	hɑjɾ
‘to burn’	aĭrel	ɑjɾɛl	erel	ɛɾɛl	ɑjrel	ɑjɾɛl

31.2.2.2 Consonant changes: Cluster reduction

The consonant sound changes are very interesting. Speaking in general, the sequence plosive+consonant is unacceptable in the Aslanbeg subdialect. Consider when such a sequence occurs in a word, whether originally, or in connected speech when a plosive-final word precedes a consonant-initial word.¹ In this...

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... situation, the first member of the sequence (the plosive) undergoes the following changes.

¹[[*Adjarian includes a set of words and phrases from SEA/SWA as examples for words with clusters. I don't include them in the translation because I don't think they are useful for a non-Armenian reader, and including them into the prose seems confusing. For those Armenian readers who are interested, Adjarian lists the following words as having word-internal clusters: ոտք, ձեռք, մարդ, կոճկեյլ, մեծնալ, կանգնիլ, ծնկընկեր. He lists the following simple phrases that have a cluster across a word-boundary: հաց տուր, դուք գացեք, մենք քեզի ըսինք, կրակ վառե, where the sequences <հց, քգ, քք, կվ> appear.*]]

Chapter 31 Nicomedia

31.2.2.2.1 Lenition of /g/ <q> to a glide /j/ <j>

The sound /g/ <q> becomes the semivowel /j/ <j> (1).

- (1) a. mxj mə (Nicomedia)
mug mə (SWA)
mouse INDF
'a mouse'
միւյ մը, մուկ մը
- b. hij dasə (Nicomedia)
hiŋk^h dasə (SWA)
five ten
(?) [[*I am unsure of the translation, perhaps 'fifteen'.*]]
հիյ դասը, հիկ-տասը

31.2.2.2.2 Deletion of other stops

The sounds /k^h, b, p^h, d, t^h/ <ք, բ, փ, դ, թ> are deleted; but in their place we find a sudden cessation of breathing and constriction of the throat, which we present with the symbol *. This form change is very interesting, and from a general phonetic perspective, it shows the path that consonants take before they are completely lost (Table 2).

[[*Without recordings, it is difficult to know exactly what Adjarian interpreted as this cessation. It could be a glottal stop, or the impression of an unreleased stop. I thus cannot give it an IPA transcription. (?)*]]

- (2) a. ʃa* mart^h (Nicomedia)
ʃad mart^h (SWA)
many person
'many people'
շա* մարթ, շատ մարդ
- b. p^ha* g-á-∅ (Nicomedia)
p^hajd g-á-∅ (SWA)
wood exist-TH-3SG
'Is there wood?'
փա* գա[◌], փայտ կա[◌]
- c. œ*k^h-ə (Nicomedia)
votk-ə (SWA)
foot-DEF

‘the foot’
 Էօճքը, ոսքը

31.2.2.2.3 Deaffrication of affricates

The Classical affricates (շխկան) /tʃ, dʒ, tʃʰ, ts, dz, tsʰ/ <ճ, ջ, չ, ծ, ժ, ծ, ց> lose their dental plosive part and become the simpler sounds /ʒ, ʃ, z, s/ <ժ, ջ, գ, ս>.

- (3) a. mæz martʰ (Nicomedia)
 medʒ martʰ (SWA)
 big person
 ‘big man/person’
 մըզ մարթ, մեժ մարդ
- b. vɛs dʒɑ (Nicomedia)
 vɛʃʰ dʒɑ (SWA)
 six boy
 ‘six boys’
 վԷ ս դիա, վեց տղայ
- c. dɑʒg-ə-n-a-l (Nicomedia)
 dɑdʒg-a-n-a-l (SWA)
 Turk-LV-INCH-TH-INF
 ‘to become a Turk’
 դաժգընալ, տաճկանալ

31.2.2.2.4 Deletion of nasals

And also for these three conditions, if there is a nasal sound before the stop or affricate sound, then it is lost (Table 8).

Table 8: Deletion of nasals in cluster reduction in the Nicomedia dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Nicomedia	cf. SEA or SWA
‘to fall’	ankanil անկանիլ	ijnal իյնալ	ənknel ընկնել SEA
‘thick’	tʰandʒər թանձր	tʰærzə թեօրզը	tʰandʒər թանձր SEA
‘high’	bardʒər բարձր	barsə բարսը	bartʰər բարձր SEA
‘fly (bug)’	tʃantʃ ճանճ		dʒandʒ ճանճ SWA
‘a fly’		dʒɑʒ mə ջաժ մը	dʒandʒ mə ճանճ մը SWA
‘to pass’	antsʰanel անցանել	asnil ասնիլ	antsʰnil անցնիլ SWA

31.2.2.2.5 Voicing assimilation in deaffrication

In itself, it is understandable that for the third condition, if the affricates are lost next to plosives of a disagreeing degree, then the affricate takes the degree of the plosive: the voiceless becomes voiced, and the voiced become voiceless.

[[*Note that in Adjarian's examples, the affricate is voiced in SWA, but it would not have been voiced in the original CA form.*]]

- (4) a. Կար՛ ք^hիտ^h (Nicomedia)
 Կարձ³ ք^hիտ^h (SWA)
 short nose
 ‘a short nose’
 Կարռ ըիթ, Կարճ ըիթ
- b. աս-աս-s e (Nicomedia)
 աս-աճz-əs e (SWA)
 say-RPTCP-POSS.1SG AUX
 ‘It is what I said.’
 ըսասս Է, ըսածս Է

31.3 Morphology

31.3.1 Verb inflection or conjugation

The grammatical forms are like Istanbul. But in verbal conjugation, the Classical Armenian ending /e/ <Է> becomes /i/ <ի> next to nasals. Like the Evdokia dialect, the imperfective and perfective changed the Old Armenian ending /-a-k^h/ <աք> (New Armenian /-i-nk^h/ <իևք>) to /-ã-nk^h/ <աւևք>. The progressive is always made with formative /háje/ <հայ՛իտ>. The following are the mentioned forms of the verb ‘to like’.

[[*Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.*]]

[[*Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.*]]

31.3.1.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[For the indicative present, SWA combines the indicative prefix /g(ə)/ <կը> with a finite verb. This finite verb is the subjunctive form. For an E-Class verb like ‘to like’ /sir-e-l/, the theme vowel is a non-alternating /e/, and the 3SG marker is covert. In Nicomedia, the theme vowel varies between /i/ <ի> and /e/ <է> (Table 9).]]

Table 9: Indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

	Nicomedia		cf. SWA	
1SG	gə sir-i-m	զը սիրիմ	gə sir-e-m ‘I like’	կը սիրեմ
2SG	gə sir-ɛ-s	զը սիրէ՛ս	gə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	gə sir-ɛ-∅	զը սիրէ՛	gə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
1PL	gə sir-i-nk ^h	զը սիրինք	gə sir-e-ŋk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	gə sir-ɛ-k ^h	զը սիրէ՛ք	gə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	gə sir-i-n	զը սիրին	gə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

[[For the indicative past imperfective, SWA combines the indicative prefix with a finite verb (the past imperfective). This finite form includes the past suffix /-i/ after the theme vowel, such as the past 1PL sequence /-i-nk^h/ (Table 10). This past suffix is however covert in the 3SG, along with a covert agreement suffix. This is in contrast to CA where the past 1PL was the sequence of morphs /-a-k^h/ where /a/ was likely a past marker. Nicomedia is more conservative and uses the past suffix /-a/ for the past 1PL. Note how the theme vowel varies in form.]]

Table 10: Indicative past imperfective <անկաանար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

	Nicomedia		cf. SWA	
1SG	գա sir-e-i-∅	զը սիրեի	գա sir-ej-i-∅ ‘I would like’	կը սիրեի
2SG	գա sir-e-i-r	զը սիրեիր	գա sir-ej-i-r	կը սիրեիր
3SG	գա sir-ε-∅-r	զը սիրէ՛ր	գա sir-e-∅-r	կը սիրեր
1PL	գա sir-e-ã-nk ^h	զը սիրեա՛նք	գա sir-ej-i-րk ^h	կը սիրեի՛նք
2PL	գա sir-e-i-k ^h	զը սիրեի՛ք	գա sir-ej-i-k ^h	կը սիրեի՛ք
3PL	գա sir-e-i-n	զը սիրեի՛ն	գա sir-ej-i-n	կը սիրեի՛ն
	IND √-TH-PST-AGR		IND √-TH-PST-AGR	

31.3.1.2 Progressive marking

[[In SWA, the indicative present and the indicative past imperfective are rendered progressive by simply adding the progressive enclitic /gor/. In Nicomedia, the progressive marker is instead /háje/ <հա՛յէ> (Table 11).]]

Table 11: Progressive <շարունակական> of the present and past imperfective of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

Progressive present <շարունակական ներկայ>				
	Nicomedia		cf. SWA	
1SG	գə sir-i-m háje	զը սիրիմ հա՛յե	գə sir-é-m gor 'I am liking'	կը սիրեմ կոր
2SG	գə sir-ɛ-s háje	զը սիրե՛ ս հա՛յե	գə sir-é-s gor	կը սիրես կոր
3SG	գə sir-ɛ-∅ háje	զը սիրե՛ հա՛յե	գə sir-é-∅ gor	կը սիրե կոր
1PL	գə sir-i-nk ^h háje	զը սիրինք հա՛յե	գə sir-é-ŋk ^h gor	կը սիրենք կոր
2PL	գə sir-ɛ-k ^h háje	զը սիրե՛ք հա՛յե	գə sir-é-k ^h gor	կը սիրեք կոր
3PL	գə sir-i-n háje	զը սիրին հա՛յե	գə sir-é-n gor	կը սիրեն կոր
	IND √-TH-AGR PROG		IND √-TH-AGR PROG	
Progressive past imperfective <շարունակական անկատար>				
	Nicomedia		cf. SWA	
1SG	գə sir-e-i-∅ háje	զը սիրեի հա՛յե	գə sir-ej-i-∅ gor 'I was liking'	կը սիրեի կոր
2SG	գə sir-e-i-r háje	զը սիրեիր հա՛յե	գə sir-ej-i-r gor	կը սիրեիր կոր
3SG	գə sir-ɛ-∅-r háje	զը սիրե՛ր հա՛յե	գə sir-é-∅-r gor	կը սիրեր կոր
1PL	գə sir-e-ā-nk ^h háje	զը սիրեա՛նք հա՛յե	գə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h gor	կը սիրեինք կոր
2PL	գə sir-e-i-k ^h háje	զը սիրեիք հա՛յե	գə sir-ej-i-k ^h gor	կը սիրեիք կոր
3PL	գə sir-e-i-n háje	զը սիրեին հա՛յե	գə sir-ej-i-n gor	կը սիրեին կոր
	IND √-TH-PST-AGR PROG		IND √-TH-PST-AGR PROG	

31.3.1.3 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 12) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Nicomedia dialect behaves essentially the same with two major differences: the theme vowel can vary, and the past suffix is /ã/ <w̄> for the 1PL.]]

Table 12: Past perfective or aorist <լատարտալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

	Nicomedia		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I liked’	սիրեցի
2SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sir-ε-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրե՛ց	sir-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-e-ts ^h -ã-nk ^h	սիրեցա՛նք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-ηk ^h	սիրեցինք
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

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31.3.1.4 Other tenses

The other tenses are formed in accordance to these. [[*That is, they are formed according to the morphological rules discussed above.*]]

[[*Adjarian does not discuss the following forms at all, but his brief examples suggest the following differences between Nicomedia and SWA.*]]

[[*The future and past future are formed the same across Nicomedia and SWA (5). In SWA, these forms are created by adding the future proclitic /bidi/ before the finite verb forms that are used for the indicative present and indicative past imperfective.*]]

- (5) a. Future
 bidi sir-i-m (Nicomedia)
 bidi sir-e-m (SWA)
 FUT like-TH-1SG
 ‘I will like.’
 բիդի սիրիմ, պիտի սիրեմ
- b. Past future
 bidi sir-e-i-∅ (Nicomedia)
 bidi sir-ej-i-∅ (SWA)
 FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
 ‘I was going to like.’
 բիդի սիրեի, պիտի սիրեի

[[The imperative 2SG does not have an overt 2SG suffix in either dialect (6).]]

- (6) Imperative 2SG
 sir-e-∅ (Nicomedia)
 sir-e-∅ (SWA)
 like-TH-IMP.2SG
 ‘Like!’
 սիրէ, սիրէ

[[The subjunctive present and past in formal SWA are just the finite verb, while spoken informal SWA allows adding a subjunctive enclitic /ne/ after this form. Nicomedia has a subjunctive enclitic /nə/ (7).]]

- (7) a. Subjunctive present 1SG
 sir-i-m nə (Nicomedia)
 sir-e-m (ne) (SWA)
 like-TH-1SG SBJV
 ‘(If) I like’
 սիրիմ նը, սիրեմ (նէ)
- b. Subjunctive past 1SG
 sir-e-i-∅ nə (Nicomedia)
 sir-ej-i-∅ (ne) (SWA)
 like-TH-PST-1SG SBJV
 ‘(If) I liked’
 սիրեի նը, սիրէի (նէ)

31.4 Miscellaneous

31.4.1 Subdialectal variation of the progressive

In the city of Nicomedia, the progressive is formed with the formative /jor/ <յօր>, which is an exact borrowing from Turkish <yor>.

31.4.2 Prosody

In the area of Nicomedia, conversations generally have a very long stress. The end of every word or speech is lengthened with the singing melody, like for the people of Shamakhi (8).

(8) Nicomedia (?)

- a. *bidi ert^h-a:-s*
 FUT go-TH-2SG
 ‘You will go.’
 բիդի էրթա՛ս
- b. *anun-d int^h e:*
 name-POSS.2SG what AUX
 ‘What is your name?’
 անունդ ի՞նչ է՛

[[I suspect that Adjarian’s transcriptions are however not in his orthographic system, but are instead written as SWA words. For example, for the word ‘your name’, the spelling is <անունդ> which would be interpreted as [anund] in Adjarian’s notation, but the SWA pronunciation is [anunə^h].]]

31.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

31.5.1 Aslanbag subdialect

Adjarian’s note: Աճառեան (1898: 35)

- Փար իրգիւն, խաշղիւր ախբանր:
- Խէր ըլ՛ւա:
- Օվաղէմ բաբային քլխիւն եգաձը իմացա՞ր, էքիին մալահաթը:
- Իրավ էօր էրեգ իրգիւն ադայ լաֆ մը գար հըմը, ըռի* մը չիյդիմ:
- Էքին քեօղ եգէ՛ր է՛ դը ջիւղէ՛րը անընգիւյ գեօղըրդէ՛ր ին:
- Ձիւ ըբը ի՞ջ գայնէ՛ր է՛ք, ցիյէ՛րը քաշեցէք դը իզը իանք. աւ փանի ընէ՛ օղը Լազէ՛րը ըլ՛ւալիւ ին. առչի էօրն ա Վարթանն ամջիւն էքին ըրէ՛ր ին: Թիւն քընը Գարըբեդին իլէն Սինանին գանչէ՛, Էս ա էրգիւ հա* բեգիրջի ջարիմ:

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Մանիւզը գիւս Գարըբեդին դիւնը.

- Փարի լիւսս, Բայձառ, Գարըբեդը վէ՞րն է՛:
- Խէր ըլ՛ւա, խաշղիւր ախբար, վէրն է՛:

- Թեօղ չիւֆդանն առնէ՝ դը քա:
- Բայձառը վեր գիա:
- Մար*, գըսէ՝, Էլի չիւֆդանն առ դը վար քնը:
- Գարըբեղը գը ցա*գէ՝, չիւֆդանն անիւզը գը գարնէ՝, գէնէ ի՞շ դա ըջըբ, գըսէ՝, վար գիշնա:
- Փարի լիյս, Մանիւզ ախբար:
- Աս*ծիւ փարին, քընի՞ սահաթէն վար գիշնաս. մնչիգը դայֆանն ին. Լազէ ՚րիւն բիդի իանք:
- Շա* գիյանիւթին ըրէ՞ր ին:
- Ախբար, հավեօզնէ՞րը իւղէլինն հա՛դէ գարար չիւնի ըսինք, գեօջէ՞րն անըն-գիւ* դեօդդէ՞ր ին:
- Անանգ Է՛ նը քընի մը հադ ա ցի առնէլիւ Է՛ :

31.5.2 Bardızağ

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1898, page 396.

Էլանք գացանք Գալիլիա,
 Գալիլիան ծով մը կար,
 Ծովուն մէջ ծառ մը կար,
 Ծառին վրա բուն մը կար,
 Բընին մէջ հավկիթ մը կար,
 Հաւկիթին մէջ ծագ մը կար,
 Ան ծագը անդանակ մօրթեցին,
 Անկրակ եփեցին,
 Ով կերաւ զարմացաւ,
 Ով չկերաւ ճաթեցավ:
 Աչք ընողուն աչքը ճաթի:
 Աղէկ չօճուխին օրնէն (օրրանէն) կառնին,
 Աղէկ կրիճին (կտրիճին) փերչըմէն կառնին,
 Աղէկ եզան լիծէն կառնին,
 Աղէկ գոմշուն կոտոշէն կառնին.
 Աչք ընողուն աչքը ճաթի:

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Երսուն երկու ձի ու ջորի,
 Էկան անցան յիսուս պաղչան,
 Կարմիր կովը մորթեցին,
 Վեվ կերաւ զարմացաւ,
 Վեվ չկերաւ ճաթեցավ:

31.5.3 *Ovacık*

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1898, page 475.

Հարիկ չուներ, մարիկ ուներ,
Չըխտըկուք (գոյգ) քըրվըտանք ուներ:
Նէ հարիկ ունիմ, Նէ մարիկ,
Ունիմ միայն մէ աղբարիկ:
Մարիկ չունիմ, աղբար չունիմ,
ՄԵԿ հատիկ քուրիկ մ'ունիմ:
Մօրկանս սիրելին էի,
Հօրկանս գանձապահն էի:
Մօրկանս մԵկ հատն էի,
Եղբօրս սրտաշն էի.
Որ շարած մարգրիտ էինք,
Շարքուկ շարքուկ քակրվեցանք:
Մենք ջուխթ մի կեօվերճին էինք,
Որըս սար ելանք, որըս ձոր:
Որ ծալած դումաշիկ էինք,
Ծալուկ ծալուկ քակրվեցանք,
Չեն արժան տեղվանքներ ինկանք:
Մեր քուրը հարսնիք է բռներ,
Աղբօրը մոմ մը չէ դրկեր.
Դրկեր է տեղը հասեր:
Այս աշխարհըս առին տարին,
Աղջիկ տղին հացն էր հարամ:

31.5.4 *Adapazar*

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 676.

Աղղբար աղբարուկ էանք,
Խմելու պաղ ջուր էանք.

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Ըստամայօլէն հեքիմ բերեք, հալիկս ցըցուցեք,
Իմ հալիկս հալիկ չէ, բարձիկս դարձուցեք:
Ես որ մեռնիմ, մայրի՛կ, փոսս խորունկ փորեցեք:
Իմ քաշած չարչուրանքներս վրաս գրեցեք:
Խարիպուրթան բանը եաման դիժար է,
Աշխարհս լուս արեւ՝ մեզի տուման է:
Մի՛ լար, մայրիկ, մի՛ լար, աչվիդ կաւրի,

Մերտիվէնէն վար իջնամ նէ սդտիկդ կը մարի:
 Իմ սերս քու սերդ դատասան մնաց,
 Շատ մուրազներ ունեանք` կիսկատար մնաց:
 Մե՛րթար օղուկ, մե՛րթար, մինակ կը մնանք,
 Կերթաս ալ չես ի գար` կարօտ կը մնան:
 Փէշերդ սօթտեցին, գօտիդ խօթեցիր,
 Քու դարիպուկ հայրիկդ ու մայրիկդ որի՞ ձգեցիր:
 Մի՛ լար, մայրիկ, մի՛ լար, էս կէնէ կուգամ,
 Ասկէ տասնը հինգ օրէն երագդ կուգամ:
 Օ՛ղուկ, երագով կարօտ չառնուիր,
 Էրկիրմով ալ մուրազ չառնուիր:
 Մի, լար, մայրիկ, մի՛ լար դու ինձի համար,
 Ինչո՞ւ մեզ աշխարհք բերիր, մեռնելու համար:
 Մերտիվէնէն վար իջնամ նէ՝ ետեւէս նայէ.
 Դուռնէն դուրս ելլեմ նէ ըմուտդ կըրբէ:

31.5.5 Benli

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*], 1898, page 120.

Արտերը փուսեր է փուսը,
 Վերուսադում էլավ լուսը.
 Հռուփսիմա Մարյամ կուսը
 Օրնէ ըս մեր թոգովէօրը:
 Քահանանին անցան տասը
 Բաժնեցին խօվէրդն (հաղորդ) ու մասը.
 Երկինքէն կախվեր է փուլքը,
 Ի՞նչ ընեմ աշխըրքիս միլքը.
 Ըռըսդագէս վարեց ծովը,
 Տասվերկու աշակերտ քովը,

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Օրնէ թոգովէօրն ու թագուհին,
 Օրնէ անմէնքս ալ միասին:
 Ծովին մէջի կարմիր ատան,
 Աստված փրկէ չարն ու խատան:
 Էրզինկավու Սավուղ տատան
 Օրնէ ըս մեր հէօրսն ու փեսան:
 Օրնէ թոգովէօր, օրնէ սաղտուճ,
 Օրնէ ամնէքս ալ միարան:
 Ան վեօէ էր օր ընկավ հէօրը,

Chapter 31 Nicomedia

Վրան լցին քարն ու փետոը:
Լուսաւորիչ Գիրգէոր հէօրը
Օրնէ ըս մեր թոգովէօրը:

Chapter 32

Istanbul

32.1 Background

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The Istanbul dialect is spoken in the city of Constantinople, and in the villages that lie between the two shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. Just as Tbilisi is the center of Eastern literature, so is Istanbul the center of Western literature; the Istanbul dialect has served as a basis for the formation of the Western literary language. Keeping in mind this large role, it is surprising that the Istanbul dialect has still not been studied in detail. However, there are innumerable writings where the Istanbul dialect has been written down, with small or large relevance or authenticity.¹ When the Civil language of Armenian (Civil Armenian, աշխարհաբար) was first established, the newspapers and books that were published, whether in Istanbul, Venice, or Smyrna, were written in the colloquial language of the plebeian class (ռամիկ դաս) of Istanbul. Armenian writers bit by bit cleaned it up with Classical Armenian, and they created the new literary language.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 195).*]]

32.2 Phonology

32.2.1 Segment inventory

32.2.1.1 Vowels

The sound system of the Istanbul dialect has the following 8 vowels (Table 1).

¹[[*The original phrase is <քիշ կամ շատ հարազատութեամբ>; I am not completely sure what this phrase means though because it seems to have some idiomatic use. (?)*]]

Table 1: Vowels of the Istanbul dialect

/i/ <ի>	/y/ <իԼ>	/u/ <ուԼ>
/e/ <ե>	/œ/ <եօ>	/ə/ <ը>
		/o/ <օ>
		/ɑ/ <ա>

The sound /œ/ <ւօ>, which is found in many other dialects, does not exist here. Similarly, the differences between the sounds /je, e/ <ե, ե> and /yo, o/ <ո, օ> are missing here.

The sound /y/ <իԼ> is found in Turkish loanwords. The literary language of Istanbul uses it in place of the Old Armenian /iu/ <իԼ> diphthong, next to a consonant. For example, the words in Table 2 are pronounced with /y/ in the Istanbul literary dialect, while the plebeian (նաւիկ) dialect uses /dzun/ ‘snow’ <ծուԼ>.

Table 2: Emergence of /y/ <իԼ> in the literary Istanbul dialect

	Classical Armenian	> literary Istanbul	cf. SEA
‘snow’	dz̄iun ծիւն	ts ^h yn ցիլն	dz̄jun ճյուն
‘column’	siun սիւն	syn սիլն	sjun սյուն

In contrast, the sound /œ/ <եօ> is absent from the literary language, while in the popular language it exists and it is used instead of the sounds /e, o/ <ե, օ>, if there is a sound /o/ <օ> and /e/ <ե> before or after them (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of /œ/ <եօ> in the Istanbul dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Istanbul	cf. SEA
‘wheat’	ts ^h orean ցորեան	ts ^h œren ցեօրէն	ts ^h oren ցորեն
‘daytime’	ts ^h erek, ցերեկ, ts ^h orek ցորեկ	ts ^h œreg ցեօրէգ	ts ^h erek ցերեկ
‘cherub’	k ^h erovbē քերովբէ	k ^h œrœp ^h e քեօրէպիէ	k ^h erovbe քերովբէ
‘seraph’	serovbē սերովբէ	sœrœp ^h e սեօրէպիէ	serovbe սերովբէ

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There are no diphthongs in the Istanbul dialect.

32.2.1.2 Consonants

The consonants have two degrees: voiced and voiceless aspirated. However it must be noted that the voiced consonants of Istanbul are like voiced sounds of German, and for example a French listener would perceive them as voiceless unaspirated. When the sound is given emphasis², then the voicing can increase and approach the degree of French voiced sounds. This is such that, many times, the same person pronounces the same word in different ways, sometimes as voiceless unaspirated, and sometimes as very voiced. For details and a study of the pronunciation of these sounds in the glottis, see my work (Adjarian 1899) ([[*translated in §2*]]).

32.2.2 Sound changes

The sound changes in the Istanbul dialect are not big. Although the Istanbul dialect is very far from the borders of the Armenian country, it is much more faithful to Old Armenian, than many of the dialects in the Armenian country.

32.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

The vowels have generally preserved the old pronunciations:

- CA /a/ <ա> → /a/ <ա>
- CA /e, ē/ <ե, է> → /e/ <է> (in every situation)
- CA /ə/ <ը> → /ə/ <ը>
- CA /i/ <ի> → /i/ <ի>
- CA /o, օ/ <ո, օ (օւ)> → /o/ <օ> (in every situation)
- CA /u/ <ու> → /u/ <ու>

32.2.2.2 Diphthongal vowel changes

The diphthongs became simple vowels:

- CA /aj/ <այ> → /a/ <ա>
- CA /ea/ <եա> → /e/ <է>

²[[*The original phrase is <ուղղի ծայնին սաստկութիւն տալ>; the translation is my best guess on how to interpret the original. (?)*]]

- CA /iʏ/ <իւ> → /u/ <ու>
- CA /oʏ/ <ոյ> → /u/ <ու>

For example in Table 4.

Table 4: Reduction of Classical Armenian diphthongs in the Istanbul dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Istanbul		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hɑjɪr	հայր	har	հար	hajr	հայր
‘black’	sɛɑɥ	սեաւ	sev	սեվ	sev	սև
‘snow’	ɖziʏn	ծիւն	ɖzun	ծուն	ɖzjun	ծյուն
‘light’	loʏs	լոյս	lus	լուս	lujs	լոյս
‘sister’	k ^h oʏr	քոյր	k ^h ur	քուր	k ^h ujr	քույր

Next to vowels or alone, these become a vowel + consonant (Table 5).

Table 5: Splitting of Classical Armenian diphthongs to vowel + glide sequences in the Istanbul dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Istanbul		cf. SEA	
‘Armenian-GEN’	haj-oʏ	հայոյ	haj-u	հայու	haj-i	հայի
‘to look at’	nɑjil	նայիլ	nɑjil	նայիլ	nɑjel	նայել
‘sick’	hiwand	հիւանդ	hivand	հիվանդ	hivand	հիվանդ

[[*Note that Adjarian seems to treat an intervocalic glide in Classical Armenian as part of a diphthong: /haj-oʏ/ instead of /haj-oʏ/ <հայոյ>. But, I am very skeptical of such a treatment for Classical Armenian, simply because such an analysis creates unclear syllable boundaries. See discussion in §3.2.3.*]]

32.2.2.3 Consonant changes

32.2.2.3.1 Laryngeal changes

For the consonants, the voiced stay voiced, but they became voiceless aspirated after the sound /ɾ/ <ր>. The voiceless unaspirated sounds became voiced everywhere. The voiceless aspirated sounds stay the same.

[[*Acoustic data on the consonants of Istanbul are available in Adjarian (1899), translated in §2.*]]

32.2.2.3.2 Word-initial uvular fricatives

The word-initial sound /ɣ/ <ղ> is not known in the Istanbul dialect; and whenever this sound occurs at the beginning of the word, it becomes /χ/ <խ>. Even the name of the letter /ɣ/ <ղ> has changed (Table 6).³

Table 6: Absence of word-initial Classical Armenian /ɣ/ <ղ> in the Istanbul dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Istanbul		cf. SEA or SWA		
‘to send’	ս֊արկել	ուղարկել	չրկել	խրկել	սարգել,	ուղարկել,	SWA
					քարգել	ղրկել	
‘to guide’	ս֊լեւերել	ուղեւորել	չավրել	խավրել	սեւեւրել	ուղեւորել	SEA
‘Luke’	լակաս	Ղուկաս	չուգաս	խուգաս	սուկաս	Ղուկաս	SEA
‘Lazaros’	լազարոս	Ղազարոս	չազարոս	խազարոս	սազարոս	Ղազարոս	SEA
‘name of letter <ղ>’	լատ	ղատ	չադ	խադ	սատ	ղատ	SEA

32.3 Morphology

32.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

In the case declension, a strong simplification has been introduced. There are only four cases: nominative-accusative, genitive-dative, ablative, and instrumental. The plural is formed with the formatives /-er/ <եր> or /-ner/ <ներ>. The following is the general picture of declension (Table 7).

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Table 7: Case declension for the word ‘bread’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Singular		Plural	
NOM-ACC	hats ^h	hwg	hats ^h -er	hwg-եր
GEN-DAT	hats ^h -i	hwg-ի	hats ^h -er-u	hwg-երու
ABL	hats ^h -e	hwg-է	hats ^h -er-e	hwg-եր-է
INS	hats ^h -ov	hwg-ով	hats ^h -er-ov	hwg-եր-ով

³[[For the word ‘to guide’, Adjarian includes a reconstructed intermediate form */sɑɣrɛl/ <ղաւրել>.]

Except for a few exceptions, which form their own declension classes (among these, a very notable class are the words with suffix /-ut^hin/ <-ուծիւ>, from CA /-ut^hiun/ <ուծիւն>), all the remaining words follow this declension even the words in (Table 8) ([[that are irregular in SEA/SWA]]), and words with a rime /i/ <ի>.

Table 8: Regular declension for various words in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SEA	
'dog'			ʃun	շոււ
'dog (GEN)'	ʃun-i	շոււի	ʃan	շան
'house'			tun	տոււ
'house (GEN)'	dun-i	դոււի	tan	տան
'house (ABL)'	tun-e	տոււէ	tən-its ^h	տնից
'mouse'			muk	մուկ
'mouse (GEN)'	mug-i	մուկի	mək-an	մկան
'fish'			dzuk	ծուկ
'fish (GEN)'	dzug-i	ծուկի	dzək-an	ծկան
'fish (ABL)'	dzug-e	ծուկէ	dzəkən-its ^h	ծկնից
'wine'			gini	գինի
'wine (GEN)'	gini-i	գինիի	gin-u	գինու
'barley'			gari	գարի
'barley (GEN)'	gari-i	գարիի	gar-u	գարու

32.3.2 Pronoun inflection or declension

The following is the general picture of the pronoun declension (Table 9).

Table 9: Declension paradigm for personal pronouns in the Istanbul dialect

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	3SG 'he'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'	3PL 'they'
NOM	es	ɖun	an	menk ^h	ɖuk ^h	anonk ^h
	tu	ŋnɫ	ʷn	ʷtɫɫ	ŋnɫ	ʷnɫɫ
GEN	im	k ^h u	anor	mer	ɖzer	anon ^h
	ɫɫ	ɫnɫ	ʷnɫɫ	ʷtɫ	ɖtɫ	ʷnɫɫ
DAT	əndz-i	k ^h ez-i	anor	mez-i	ɖzez-i	anon ^h
	ɫnɫɫɫ	ɫtɫɫ	ʷnɫɫ	ʷtɫɫ	ɖtɫɫ	ʷnɫɫ
ACC	is, əndz-i	k ^h ez-i	an	mez-i	ɖzez-i	anonk ^h
	ɫu, ɫnɫɫɫ	ɫtɫɫ	ʷn	ʷtɫɫ	ɖtɫɫ	ʷnɫɫ
ABL	iz-me	k ^h ez-me	an-ge	mez-me	ɖzez-me	anon ^h -me
	ɫɫɫ	ɫtɫɫ	ʷnɫɫ	ʷtɫɫ	ɖtɫɫ	ʷnɫɫɫ
INS	iz-mov	k ^h ez-mov	an-ov	mez-mov	ɖzez-mov	anon ^h -mov
	ɫɫɫɫ	ɫtɫɫɫ	ʷnɫɫ	ʷtɫɫɫ	ɖtɫɫɫ	ʷnɫɫɫɫ

[[*Adjarian provides the following paradigm for demonstrative proximal pronoun 'this' (Table 10).*]]

Table 10: Declension paradigm for the demonstrative proximal pronoun 'this' in the Istanbul dialect

	Singular 'this'		Plural 'these'	
NOM	sɑ	ʷʷ	s(a)vonk ^h	u(ʷ)ɫɫɫ
GEN	səvor	ʷɫɫɫ	s(a)vont ^h	u(ʷ)ɫɫ
DAT	səvor	ʷɫɫɫ	s(a)vont ^h	u(ʷ)ɫɫ
ACC	səvigɑ	ʷɫɫɫɫ	s(a)vontk ^h	u(ʷ)ɫɫɫ
ABL	sə(v)-gə	ʷɫ(ɫ)ɫ	s(a)vont ^h -me	u(ʷ)ɫɫɫɫ
INS	səv-ov	ʷɫɫɫ	s(a)vont ^h -mov	u(ʷ)ɫɫɫɫ

There are also the forms in Table (11). These are all declined simply based on the pronoun 'this' /sɑ, as/ <ʷʷ, ʷʷ>.

Table 11: Sample of demonstrative nominative singular pronouns in the Istanbul dialect

Proximal ‘this’		Medial ‘that’		Distal ‘that yonder’	
as	սս	ad	ադ	na	նա
asiga	սսիգա	adiga	ադիգա	aniga	անիգա
asigag	սսիգազ	adigag	ադիգազ	anigag	անիգազ
saviga	սավիգա	daviga	դավիգա	naviga	նավիգա
savigag	սավիգազ	davigag	դավիգազ	navigag	նավիգազ
sviga	սվիգա	dviga	դվիգա	nviga	նվիգա
svigag	սվիգազ	dvigag	դվիգազ	nvigag	նվիգազ

32.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

For verb conjugation classes, what remains is only /-el, -il, -al/ <ել, իլ, ալ>, and /-nel, -nil, -nal/ <ւել, սիլ, նալ>. We place here the conjugation of the verb ‘to like’, as an example of the first conjugation class.

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

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32.3.3.1 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SWA (Table 12), the subjunctive present is a finite verb form made up of the verb stem, plus a theme vowel, plus agreement suffixes. For a verb like ‘to like’, the theme vowel is a non-alternating /-e-/. The Istanbul dialect uses an identical morphological strategy.]]

Table 12: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-m	սիրեմ	sir-e-m (if) I like	սիրեմ
2SG	sir-e-s	սիրես	sir-e-s	սիրես
3SG	sir-e-∅	սիրե	sir-e-∅	սիրե
1PL	sir-e-nk ^h	սիրենք	sir-e-ηk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sir-e-k ^h	սիրեք	sir-e-k ^h	սիրեք
3PL	sir-e-n	սիրեն	sir-e-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SWA, the subjunctive past (Table 13) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. The past suffix is absent in the 3SG. Istanbul again uses the same strategy.]]

Table 13: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-i-∅	սիրեի	sir-ej-i-∅ (if) I liked	սիրեի
2SG	sir-e-i-r	սիրեիր	sir-ej-i-r	սիրեիր
3SG	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր
1PL	sir-e-i-nk ^h	սիրեինք	sir-ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրեինք
2PL	sir-e-i-k ^h	սիրեիք	sir-ej-i-k ^h	սիրեիք
3PL	sir-e-i-n	սիրեին	sir-ej-i-n	սիրեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

32.3.3.2 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Indicative, progressive, and future

[[In Istanbul, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 14). The indicative present and past imperfective are constructed by adding the prefix /gə-/ before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past. The progressive is

formed by adding the enclitic /gor/ after the indicative forms. The future and past future are formed also by adding the proclitic /bidi/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. SWA behaves exactly the same and I don't provide its paradigm.]]

Table 14: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb 'to like' in the Istanbul dialect

	Indicative present <սերկայ>		Indicative past imperfective <անկատար>	
1SG	gə sir-e-m 'I like'	զը սիրեմ	gə sir-e-i-∅ 'I would like'	զը սիրեի
2SG	gə sir-e-s	զը սիրես	gə sir-e-i-r	զը սիրեիր
3SG	gə sir-e-∅	զը սիրէ	gə sir-e-∅-r	զը սիրեր
1PL	gə sir-e-nk ^h	զը սիրենք	gə sir-e-i-nk ^h	զը սիրեինք
2PL	gə sir-e-k ^h	զը սիրեք	gə sir-e-i-k ^h	զը սիրեիք
3PL	gə sir-e-n	զը սիրեն	gə sir-e-i-n	զը սիրեին
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	
	Present progressive <շարունական սերկայ>		Past imperfective progressive <շարունական անկատար>	
1SG	gə sir-e-m gor 'I am liking'	զը սիրեմ գոր	gə sir-e-i-∅ gor 'I was liking'	զը սիրեի գոր
2SG	gə sir-e-s gor	զը սիրես գոր	gə sir-e-i-r gor	զը սիրեիր գոր
3SG	gə sir-e-∅ gor	զը սիրէ գոր	gə sir-e-∅-r gor	զը սիրեր գոր
1PL	gə sir-e-nk ^h gor	զը սիրենք գոր	gə sir-e-i-nk ^h gor	զը սիրեինք գոր
2PL	gə sir-e-k ^h gor	զը սիրեք գոր	gə sir-e-i-k ^h gor	զը սիրեիք գոր
3PL	gə sir-e-n gor	զը սիրեն գոր	gə sir-e-i-n gor	զը սիրեին գոր
	IND-√-TH-AGR PROG		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR PROG	
	Future <ապանի>		Past future <անցեալ ապանի>	
1SG	bidi sir-e-m 'I will like'	բիդի սիրեմ	bidi sir-e-i-∅ 'I was going to like'	բիդի սիրեի
2SG	bidi sir-e-s	բիդի սիրես	bidi sir-e-i-r	բիդի սիրեիր
3SG	bidi sir-e-∅	բիդի սիրէ	bidi sir-e-∅-r	բիդի սիրեր
1PL	bidi sir-e-nk ^h	բիդի սիրենք	bidi sir-e-i-nk ^h	բիդի սիրեինք
2PL	bidi sir-e-k ^h	բիդի սիրեք	bidi sir-e-i-k ^h	բիդի սիրեիք
3PL	bidi sir-e-n	բիդի սիրեն	bidi sir-e-i-n	բիդի սիրեին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

32.3.3.3 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SWA, the present perfect (Table 15) and past perfect (Table 16) are formed by combining a special non-finite form with the present/past auxiliary. For SWA, this

non-finite verb can be either the resultative participle (verb with suffix /-adz/) or the evidential participle (verb with suffix /-er/). Istanbul uses a similar system. Adjarian only provides a participle with the suffix /-er/ <եր>. Adjarian doesn't state if this suffix has evidential meaning or not, but I suspect it does. (?)]]

Table 15: Present perfect <լարակատար> of the verb 'to like' in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-er e-m	սիրեր եմ	sir-er e-m 'I have liked'	սիրեր եմ
2SG	sir-er e-s	սիրեր ես	sir-er e-s	սիրեր ես
3SG	sir-er e-∅	սիրեր է	sir-er e-∅	սիրեր է
1PL	sir-er e-nk ^h	սիրեր ենք	sir-er e-ηk ^h	սիրեր ենք
2PL	sir-er e-k ^h	սիրեր եք	sir-er e-k ^h	սիրեր եք
3PL	sir-er e-n	սիրեր են	sir-er e-n	սիրեր են
	√-EPTCP AUX-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-AGR	

Table 16: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb 'to like' in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-er e-i-∅	սիրեր էի	sir-er ej-i-∅ 'I had liked'	սիրեր էի
2SG	sir-er e-i-r	սիրեր էիր	sir-er ej-i-r	սիրեր էիր
3SG	sir-er e-∅-r	սիրեր ր	sir-er e-∅-r	սիրեր ր
1PL	sir-er e-i-nk ^h	սիրեր էինք	sir-er ej-i-ηk ^h	սիրեր էինք
2PL	sir-er e-i-k ^h	սիրեր էիք	sir-er ej-i-k ^h	սիրեր էիք
3PL	sir-er e-i-n	սիրեր էին	sir-er ej-i-n	սիրեր էին
	√-EPTCP AUX-PST-AGR		√-EPTCP AUX-PST-AGR	

32.3.3.4 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 17) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /sir-e-l/ 'to like', the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate

agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Istanbul dialect again behaves identically.]]

Table 17: Past perfective or aorist <կառնարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I liked’	սիրեցի
2SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sir-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց	sir-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-nk ^h	սիրեցինք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	սիրեցինք
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

32.3.3.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph /-∅/ after the theme vowel /e/ for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 18). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. Istanbul again does the exact same strategy.]]

Table 18: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA ‘like!’		
2SG	sir-e-∅	սիրե	sir-e-∅	սիրե	√-TH-IMP.2SG
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 19), SWA adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the verb. The prohibitive marker carries stress. The verb takes a suffix /-r/ in the 2SG, and /-k^h/ in the 2PL. In Istanbul, the prohibitive marker is either /mi/ or /mæ/.]]

Table 19: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

	Istanbul		cf. SWA ‘do not like!’		
2SG	mí sir-e-r	Մի՛ սիրեր	mí sir-e-r	Մի՛ սիրեր	PROH $\sqrt{-TH-2SG}$
	má sir-e-r	Մը՛ սիրեր			
2PL	mí sir-e-k ^h	Մի՛ սիրեք	mí sir-e-k ^h	Մի՛ սիրեք	PROH $\sqrt{-TH-2PL}$
	má sir-e-k ^h	Մը՛ սիրեք			

32.3.3.6 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 20. SWA and Istanbul have the same forms. Note that Adjarian uses the term ‘past participle’ to refer to multiple different types of non-finite forms: resultative participle with /-ad̂z/ in SWA, and evidential participle /-er/ in SWA. The future participle is also called the future converb.]]

Table 20: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

		Istanbul		cf. SWA		
Infinitive	անորոշ	sir-e-l	սիրել	sir-e-l	սիրել	$\sqrt{-TH-INF}$
Past	անցեալ	sir-ad̂z	սիրած	sir-ad̂z	սիրած	$\sqrt{-RPTCP}$
		sir-er	սիրեր	sir-er	սիրեր	$\sqrt{-EPTCP}$
Future	ապանկի	sir-i-l-u	սիրելու	sir-e-l-u	սիրելու	$\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB}$
		sir-i-l-ik ^h	սիրելիք	sir-e-l-ik ^h	սիրելիք	$\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB}$

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32.3.3.7 Other complex tenses

For the participles, the forms /sir-ad̂z/ <սիրած> and /sir-e-l-u/ <սիրելու> are used to make many complex forms.

[[Throughout this section, Adjarian lists various complex tenses. He doesn’t translate or explain the meaning of any these complex tenses. For the morphology, I provide a simple rule to describe it. For the semantics, I can somewhat guess the meaning based on similarities into SWA. The (?) indicates my uncertainty in my translation, even after consulting with other SWA speakers.⁴ It is generally difficult

⁴[[I thank George Balabanian for help in this.]]

to find concrete semantic differences between some of these complex forms; see Boyacıoğlu (2010) for some pedagogically-oriented paradigms and their explanation.]]

[[In (1), Adjarian lists complex tenses that use the resultative participle with present tense marking.]]

(1) Istanbul

a. sir-ɑdʒ e-m

√-RPTCP AUX-1SG

'I have liked.'

սիրած էմ

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the present auxiliary.

b. sir-ɑdʒ e-m eʁ-er

√-RPTCP AUX-1SG be-EPTCP

'I have liked, apparently.'

սիրած էմ եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the present auxiliary, add the word /eʁ-er/ 'it apparently became' which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

c. sir-ɑdʒ ɡ-əll-ɑ-m

√-RPTCP IND-be-TH-1SG

'I (will) have liked.'

սիրած գըլլամ

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative present form of 'to be'.

d. sir-ɑdʒ ɡ-əll-ɑ-m eʁ-er

√-RPTCP IND-be-TH-1SG be-EPTCP

'I (will) have liked, apparently.'

սիրած գըլլամ եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative present form of 'to be', add the word /eʁ-er/ 'it apparently became' which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

e. sir-ɑdʒ ɡ-əll-ɑ-m ɡor

√-RPTCP IND-be-TH-1SG PROG

'I have been liking.'

սիրած գըլլամ գօր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative present form of 'to be', add the progressive marker /ɡor/.

- f. sir- \widehat{adz} g- \widehat{all} - α -m gor e \mathcal{K} -er
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ IND-be-TH-1SG PROG be-EPTCP
 ‘I have been liking, apparently.’
 սիրած գըլլամ գօր էդեր
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/, add the word /e \mathcal{K} -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- g. sir- \widehat{adz} \widehat{all} - α -m (ne)
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-TH-1SG SBJV
 ‘If I have liked.’
 սիրած ըլլամ (նէ)
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.
- h. sir- \widehat{adz} \widehat{all} - α -m (ne) e \mathcal{K} -er
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-TH-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP
 ‘If I have liked, apparently.’
 սիրած ըլլամ (նէ) էդեր
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /e \mathcal{K} -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- i. sir- \widehat{adz} e \mathcal{K} - α - \emptyset
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-PST-1SG
 ‘I was liked.’
 սիրած էդա
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past perfective form of ‘to be’.
- j. sir- \widehat{adz} bidi \widehat{all} - α -m
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ FUT be-TH-1SG
 ‘I will have liked.’
 սիրած բիդի ըլլամ
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form).
- k. sir- \widehat{adz} bidi \widehat{all} - α -m e \mathcal{K} -er
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ FUT be-TH-1SG be-EPTCP
 ‘I will have liked, apparently.’

սիրած բիդի ըլլամ եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form), add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- l. sir-ɑdʒ ɔll-ɑ-l-u e-m
 √-RPTCP be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG

‘I am to like.’ (there is a sense of an obligatory and necessitative future)

սիրած ըլլալու էմ

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the present auxiliary.

- m. sir-ɑdʒ ɔll-ɑ-l-u e-m ɛx-er
 √-RPTCP be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I am be like, apparently.’

սիրած ըլլալու էմ եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the present auxiliary, add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- n. sir-ɑdʒ ɔll-ɑ-l-u ɔll-ɑ-m (ne)
 √-RPTCP be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG SBJV

‘If I will be liking.’ (or perhaps ‘If I am to be liking.’)

սիրած ըլլալու ըլլամ (սէ)

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.

- o. sir-ɑdʒ ɔll-ɑ-l-u ɔll-ɑ-m (ne) ɛx-er
 √-RPTCP be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP

‘If I will be liking, apparently.’ (or perhaps ‘If I am to be liking, apparently.’)

սիրած ըլլալու ըլլամ (սէ) եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

[[In (2), Adjarian lists complex tenses that use the the resultative participle with past tense marking.]]

(2) Istanbul

a. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ e-i- \emptyset

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG}}$

'I had liked.'

սիրած էի

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past auxiliary.

b. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ e-i- \emptyset e Ե -er

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG be-EPTCP}}$

'I had liked, apparently.'

սիրած էի եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past auxiliary, add the word /e Ե -er/ 'it apparently became' which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

c. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ll-aj-i- \emptyset

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG}}$

'I would have liked.'

սիրած գըլլայի

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative past imperfective form of 'to be'.

d. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ll-aj-i- \emptyset e Ե -er

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP}}$

'I would have liked, apparently.'

սիրած գըլլայի եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative past imperfective form of 'to be', add the word /e Ե -er/ 'it apparently became' which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

e. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ll-aj-i- \emptyset gor

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG}}$

'I had been liking.'

սիրած գըլլայի գօր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative past imperfective form of 'to be', add the progressive marker /gor/.

f. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ll-aj-i- \emptyset gor e Ե -er

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG be-EPTCP}}$

'I had been liking, apparently.'

սիրած գրլլայի գօր եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/, add the word /eɣ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

g. sir-ɑdʒ̣ əll-ɑj-i-∅ (ne)

√-RPTCP be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV

‘If I had liked.’

սիրած ըլլայի (լե)

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.

h. sir-ɑdʒ̣ əll-ɑj-i-∅ (ne) eɣ-er

√-RPTCP be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP

‘If I had liked, apparently.’

սիրած ըլլայի (լե) եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /eɣ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

i. sir-ɑdʒ̣ bidi əll-ɑj-i-∅

√-RPTCP FUT be-TH-PST-1SG

‘I would have liked.’

սիրած բիդի ըլլայի

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form).

j. sir-ɑdʒ̣ bidi əll-ɑj-i-∅ eɣ-er

√-RPTCP FUT be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I would have liked, apparently.’

սիրած բիդի ըլլայի եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form), add the word /eɣ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

k. sir-ɑdʒ̣ əll-ɑ-l-u e-i-∅

√-RPTCP be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-1SG

‘I was (going) to like.’

սիրած ըլլալու էի

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the past auxiliary.

- l. sir- $\widehat{ad\check{z}}$ əll- α -l-u e-i- \emptyset e β -er
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-1SG be-EPTCP
 ‘I was (going) to like, apparently.’

սիրած ըլլալու էի եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the past auxiliary, add the word /e β -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- m. sir- $\widehat{ad\check{z}}$ əll- α -l-u əll- α j-i- \emptyset (ne)
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV

‘If I was going to like.’

սիրած ըլլալու ըլլայի (սէ)

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.

- n. sir- $\widehat{ad\check{z}}$ əll- α -l-u əll- α j-i- \emptyset (ne) e β -er
 $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP

‘If I was going to like, apparently.’

սիրած ըլլալու ըլլայի (սէ) եղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the future converb form of ‘to be’ (with suffix /-u/), add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /e β -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

[[In (3), *Adjarian* lists complex tenses that use the the future converb with present tense marking.]]

(3) Istanbul

- a. sir-e-l-u e-m
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB}$ AUX-1SG

‘I will like.’

սիրելու էմ

Rule: Take the future converb, add the present auxiliary.

- b. sir-e-l-u e-m e β -er
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB}$ AUX-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I will like, apparently.’

սիրելու էմ եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the present auxiliary, add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- c. sir-e-l-u g-əll-a-m
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-1SG

‘I would like.’

սիրելու գըլլամ

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’.

- d. sir-e-l-u g-əll-a-m ԵԿ-ԵՐ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I would like, apparently.’

սիրելու գըլլամ եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’, add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- e. sir-e-l-u g-əll-a-m ԳՐ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-1SG PROG

‘I am going to like.’ (with a meaning that I will (in the future) intend to like) (?)

սիրելու գըլլամ գոր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /գոր/.

- f. sir-e-l-u g-əll-a-m ԳՐ ԵԿ-ԵՐ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-1SG PROG be-EPTCP

‘I am going to like, apparently.’ (?)

սիրելու գըլլամ գոր եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /գոր/, add the word /եք-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- g. sir-e-l-u əll-a-m (ne)
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG SBJV

‘If I were to like.’ (?)

սիրելու ըլլամ (նէ)

Rule: Take the future converb, add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.

- h. sir-e-l-u օձլ-ա-մ (ne) ԵՅ-եր
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP
 ‘If I were to like, apparently.’ (?)

սիրելու ըլլամ (ևէ) եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the subjunctive present form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /ԵՅ-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- i. sir-e-l-u ԵՅ-ա-Չ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-PST-1SG
 ‘I am to have been liked.’ (?) (some sort of passive meaning)

սիրելու եղա

Rule: Take the future converb, add the past perfective form of ‘to be’.

- j. sir-e-l-u bidi օձլ-ա-մ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG
 ‘I will like.’

սիրելու բիդի ըլլամ

Rule: Take the future converb, add the future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form).

- k. sir-e-l-u bidi օձլ-ա-մ ԵՅ-եր
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB FUT.CVB be-TH-1SG be-EPTCP
 ‘I will like, apparently.’

սիրելու բիդի ըլլամ եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form), add the word /ԵՅ-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

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[[In (4), Adjarian lists complex tenses that use the the future converb with past tense marking.]]

(4) Istanbul

- a. sir-e-l-u e-i-Չ
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘I was going to like.’

սիրելու էի

Rule: Take the future converb, add the past auxiliary.

- b. sir-e-l-u e-i-∅ eք-er
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-PST-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I was going to like, apparently.’

սիրելու էի եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the past auxiliary, add the word /eք-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- c. sir-e-l-u g-əll-qj-i-∅
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-PST-1SG

‘I would had liked.’

սիրելու գըլլայի

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’.

- d. sir-e-l-u g-əll-qj-i-∅ eք-er
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I would had liked, apparently.’

սիրելու գըլլայի եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’, add the word /eք-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- e. sir-e-l-u g-əll-qj-i-∅ gor
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG

‘I was going to be liking.’ (with a meaning that I was (in the future) intending to like) (?)

սիրելու գըլլայի գոր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/.

- f. sir-e-l-u g-əll-qj-i-∅ gor eք-er
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG be-EPTCP

‘I was going to be liking, apparently.’ (?)

սիրելու գըլլայի գոր եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/, add the word /eք-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- g. sir-e-l-u əll-aj-i-∅ (ne)
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV
 ‘If I were going to like.’
 սիրելու ըլլայի (սէ)
 Rule: Take the future converb, add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/.
- h. sir-e-l-u əll-aj-i-∅ ne ԵՅ-եր
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP
 ‘If I were going to like, apparently.’
 սիրելու ըլլայի սէ եղեր
 Rule: Take the future converb, add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /ԵՅ-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- i. sir-e-l-u bidi əll-aj-i-∅
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG
 ‘I was going to like.’
 սիրելու բիդի ըլլայի
 Rule: Take the future converb, add the past future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form).
- j. sir-e-l-u bidi əll-aj-i-∅ ԵՅ-եր
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB FUT.CVB be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP
 ‘I was going to like, apparently.’
 սիրելու բիդի ըլլայի եղեր
 Rule: Take the future converb, add the past future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form), add the word /ԵՅ-եր/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

32.4 Literature

As we said above, the Istanbul dialect is still not studied. The innumerable manuscripts that are written in this dialect (newspapers, novels, fables, proverbs, folk songs, especially comedic writings and comedies) generally don’t have the needed scientific accuracy. The latter condition can be satisfied by my collection of Istanbul-Armenian oral literature, from which only a part was published in the Ազգագրական Հանդես [*Ethnographic Magazine*], volume 9 (թ.), page 160-196. As a text sample, I place here the following real case, which is a letter of mine written with the scientific orthography.

32.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

Ան իրինգունը Բեօյիւք-Դերե գացեր էի, ձօվին քէնարը վեր վար փիյացա (պտոյտ) գընէի գոր: Բանէ մը խաբար չունինք: Մէյ մըն ա դէսնաս բաֆօրը եգավ, մէչէն խընջախընջ մարքթիքը դուրս թափեցան. ամմէնուն ըռէնզը նեղեր, բէնզըբեթը...

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... դէղներ, իրարու հեղ խօսել-խօրաթել բիլէ չիքա (չկայ): Հրանդը դէմս էլավ. մօղեցա, ձառքս օմուզի դրի, – Ի՞նչ գա, ա՛խբար, ըսի:

– Սո՛ւս եղիր, ըսավ գամաց ձանօվ մը, բան չիքա, գամաց խօրաթէ, բաղին վրա ջանջ գա (ծածկաբանութիւն որ կը նշանակէ «սող օտար մարդ կայ»):

Երգուքնիս քօվ քօվի՝ բերաննիս բաբընձաձ՝ խազէլէէն անցանք փիյացան: Օրթալըխը մարթ մարթասանք չմնաց. ամմէն մարթ դուն վազեց: Նայեցա քի մեզի լսօղ չիքա, կօրէն դարցա Հրանդին:

– Է՛, Հրանդ, ըսէ նայինք, լեզույիթ դագը բան մը գա ամա, գը բահես գոր:

– Տոյց եղավ, ցո՛ւյց... ըսավ գամաց ձանօվ մը:

– Ձօ ի՛նչ գըսես, ցո՛ւյց մի...

– Հա, Հնչագյանները Բաբա-Ալին գօխեր էն, քանի մը ասգեր մեռցուցեր էն. Դաշիգները դուրս թափեցան, գարգին, ջարթեցին, հագարէն էլէլ հայ մեռցուցեր էն. անջախ խանութնիս գօցեցինք, քեօթիւ փախանք, ինքըզիքնիս բաֆօր (շոգենաւ) նեղեցինք:

– Ձօ ի՛նչ գըսես բէ՛: Ադ ի՛նչ գէշ խաբար դուվիր ինձի:

– Ասիգա գաթը շադօնց ըլլար բիդի. ինգիլիզին գըռխըլները եգաձ շարվաձ էն Չանախ-Խալէին քէնարը. չըթի մը գը բեքլէէին գօր. աս ցույցը մա՛խսուսդան ըրին քի, Դաշիգները էլլան հայերը ջարթէն, ինգիլիզներն ա «Վա՛յ, դուն հայերը գը ջարթէ՞ս գօր մի» ըսելօվ՝ էլլան, յալլահ, Չանախ-Խալէն գօխէն, դի՛ւզ Սդամբօլին վրան...:

Սիրոս թըփըր թըփըր նեղէլ բաշլայեց. խնդա՞մ մի՛ լա՞մ մի. ան թաքքէյին գուզէի քի Հրանդին փաթըրվիմ՝ երեսը, բերանը բաքնէմ:

– Աս քիշեր ջամփա բիդի էլլան, ըսավ էյեր քի գէս քիշերին թօփի-թիւֆէնգի ձաներ առնես նէ, հիչ չվախնաս, ինգիլիզներն էն. մեզի ազադելու բիդի գան:

Ասանգ խաբար մը գը բահվի՞. դուն վազեցի. նայեցա քի սուֆրան դրեր էն, հարըս, մարըս, Հերսիյան, Արմէնույին, Հայզը կստեր եր, ընձի գը բեքլէէն գօր: Բանէ խաբար չունին:

– Ա՛սօր վարը գռիվ եղեր է. հայերը Բաբա-Ալին առեր էն...

հազարեն եվել հայ ջարթըվեր է. ամա վախնալու բան չիքա. աս քիշեր ինգիլի-
զին զոռխընները Չանախ-հալեն բիդի գոխեն, Բոլխսին վրա բիդի գան, քաղաքը
բիդի առնեն, մեզի թաքավորուրթին բիդի դան:

Ամմենը դեղերնուն վեր ցաթագեցին. ուրախութաննուն ի՛նչ ընելին չիդեն.
Հայգը բաշլայեց ծառքվըները իրարու գարնել. հարըս «Ա՛Քերիմ հայեր, ըսավ.
տեսա՞ր մի, գևիգ, էս քեզի չէի՞ ըսեր գոր քի աս դարի մո՛ւրախա ագադուրթին
մը բիդի ըլլա»: – «Է՛, ըսավ մարս ա, էս ա չէի՞ ըսեր գոր քի սա աշգըս քանի մը
օր է գը խաղա գոր. բան մը բիդի ըլլա ամմա, ի՛նչ ըլլալիքը չիդեի»:

– Թող ըլլա՛, թող ըլլա՛. աս ձերութանս՝ բաց աշգօվ մեյ մը սա թաքավորնիս
դեսնամ դե, բաշխա բան չեմ ուզեր Ասծուծմե... հիչ բան մը չգըրնամ ըներ նե՞
հիչ չե նե բիդի երթամ ասգերներուն համար փրինձ ըսդըգելու:

Հացրենիս գերանք, էս իմ օդաս քաշվեցա, հարս, մարս, քուրերս, ախբարս
ալ իրենց դեղերը քաշվեցան բառագեցան: Ամա վօրի՞ն քունը գը դանի: Աշգըս
բաց գը բեքլեեմ գոր քի հա հիմա գուքան ինգիլիզները, հա հիմա:

Գէս քիշերը անցեր էր. մեյ մըն ալ բո՛ւմբ... ձան մը էլավ. մգիգ ըրի. ձանը
կըդրեցավ. աշաբա անդաջի՞ս էգավ գըսեմ. քիչ մը բեքլեեցի, դեսա քի չե,
բո՛ւմբ... ձան մը դահա էլավ. բո՛ւմ... գենե եղեվեն, գենե եղեվեն...: Ալթըիս շիւփե
չմնաց:

Հարս անթիի օդայեն ձան դուվավ.

– Ձօ՛, Հրա՛չյա, արթօ՛ւն էս...:

– Արթուն էմ, հա՛յրիգ...:

– Գը լսե՞ս գոր, ի՛նչ է աս...:

– Գը լսեմ գոր, անօ՛ւք էն...:

Ձաները եղեվե եղեվ շադձան. դեռեզներնուս ցաթագեցինք, փենջիրեին առչեվը
վագեցինք, ձօվին հեռուները գը նայինք գոր... խօրունգեն էգած ձան մըն էր,
թամամ գրագին թօփին ձանը գըլմաներ... ձանեն յեթն ալ բարագ լուս մը գելլար,
ձօվին վրայեն խըզըլըմի բես գը գարներ գասներ գոր:

– Ինգիլիզին թօփերն էն, ըսինք. Չանախ-հալեն առին...:

– Է՛ Չանախ-հալեն մինչեվ հոս թօփի ձանա գուքա՞. քանի՞ սահաթվան
ջամփա-յ-է:

– Օր մը գը քաշե ամա, ասօր ինգիլիգ գըսեն... ինգիլիզին ինչ ըլլալը գիդե՞ս...:

– Ադօր խօ՞ւք գա. բեքի-ա քի (թերեսս եւ) Չանախ-հալեն առեր էն դե. Սիլիվ-
րիին յա Չաթալջային բացերն էն:

– Ադանգ ըլլալու է:

Ինդումնիս փօրերնիս բահած, հեմ վախօվ, հեմ ուրախութիւնօվ սիրդերնիս
լեցունգ, ինչ ընենք չիդենք. աշվըներնիս ձօվին դնգեր գը բեքլենք գոր: Ձաները

Chapter 32 Istanbul

Երթալով շահձան... Մեյ մըն ալ մեզ օրօդում մը, մեզ գիւրիւթիւ-փաթըրդը մը, խըզըլըմ, սաղանախի բես արգէվ մը, արգէվ մը քի դուներնիս հեմէն դեղէն քշէ՝ դանի ձօվը լեցունէ բիդի: Արգէվին խըզէն օլուխները թեվերու բես նեղէլ բաշլայեցին, թավանին հին ու մին դեղերէն ջուրը շառըլ-շուռուլ գը վագէ, ասդին գօցէնք՝ անթին գը վագէ, անթին գօցէնք՝ ասդին գը վագէ:

– Առի՞ր մի հիմա ինգիլիզը, ըսավ հարըս:

Հեռույէն եգաձ ձաները օրօդումի ձան է եղեր, լուսն ա խըզըլըմին իլէն չըմջը-րախին փառըլթըն... մենք ա ինգիլիզը եգավ ըսելէն՝ գը բեքլէէնք գօր:

Ինչ օր քեզի քրեցի նէ՝ միսագ մեզի չեղավ. ամմէնուն դունն ա ասանգ եղավ, հեմ հայ, հեմ դաջիգ: Վարը (Վոսփորի հայերը այսպէս կը կոչեն բուն Պօլիսը) դահա խըյախ եղեր է. փիւթին դաջիգները հայերուն դուները լեցվեր էն, «Հիմա ինգիլիզը բիդի դա՝ փիւթին դաջիգները ջարթ բիդի, Ասձուձու սիրուն, աղբար դարվան դրացնութան սիրուն՝ մեզի ձագ մը խօթեցէք բահեցէք» ըսելէն:

Chapter 33

Rodosto

33.1 Background and literature

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In European Turkey, there is only one Armenian settlement that still preserves the Armenian language: the settlement of Rodosto and Malkara. The two are neighbors and are heavily Armenian-populated cities. Other places, such as Silivri, Çatalca, Çorlu, Gyumyurdjina, Edirne, and so on are all entirely Turkish-speaking.

The Armenian dialect of this region is still not studied. There is not even a line written in the Rodosto language. There is only a folk prayer from Malkara, published in ԲԻՐԱԿՆ [Byurakn] 1898, page 756.

In the summer of 1910, with the goal of studying Armenian dialects, I passed through Rodosto, where I prepared a study of the dialect by working with Armenologist and philologist Tigran Efendi Paghtikian (ՄԵԾ. ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ԷՓ. ՊԱՂՍԻԿԷԱՆ; [[SEA: /tigran paχtikjan/, SWA: /dik^hran bawdigjan/]]). I extract the following succinct sketch from this unpublished work of mine.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 214).]]

33.2 Phonology

33.2.1 Sound changes

33.2.1.1 Consonant changes

33.2.1.1.1 Laryngeal changes

The dialect of Rodosto does not differ much from the dialect of Istanbul. The sound system is already the same. The consonants here have only two degrees: voiced and voiceless aspirated.

But in the dialects of Rodosto and Istanbul, there are many large differences. The Old Armenian voiceless unaspirated sounds have become voiced here, and the voiceless aspirated sounds have stayed voiceless aspirated as in other dialects. But in contrast, the voiced consonants have become voiceless aspirated.

This sound change, which is characteristic of also the Tigranakert and Malatya dialects, is very interesting from the point of view of the pronunciation of the literary Western language. As we know, the Classical Armenian voiced consonants are pronounced as voiceless aspirated in the Western literary language (/p^h, k^h, t^h/ from CA /b, g, d/ <բ, գ, դ>, and so on); this is in contrast to even the vernacular language of Istanbul, where these same consonants...

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... become voiced sounds. This is such that the duality of pronunciation is the most common phenomenon for Western Armenians. When an Istanbul Armenian speaks at home, he pronounces as in (1a), while if he is talking to a literary person, he will say with the literary pronunciation as in (1b).

- (1) a. Istanbul
- i. dur-ə bɑts^h
 door-DEF open.IMP.2SG
 ‘Open the door.’
 դուռը բաց
 - ii. dur-ə gots^h-e-∅
 door-DEF close-TH-IMP.2SG
 ‘Close the door.’
 դուռը օգտ
- b. cf. SWA as spoken by an Istanbul speaker
- i. t^hur-ə p^hɑts^h
 door-DEF open.IMP.2SG
 ‘Open the door.’
 թուռը փաց (standard: դուռը բաց)
 - ii. t^hur-ə k^hots^h-e-∅
 door-DEF close-TH-IMP.2SG
 ‘Close the door.’
 թուռը քոցտ (standard: դուռը օցտ)

[[To clarify, the Istanbul form is more conservative with respect to the voicing values in Classical Armenian. The stops and affricates in the above Istanbul forms

would be pronounced essentially the same as in Classical Armenian: /durən/ <դուրն> ‘door’, /bats^h/ ‘open’ <բաց>.]

The duality of this pronunciation has always been surprising for researchers. Every person has had the idea that literate Istanbul Armenians have created the aforementioned pronunciations using an artistic style. But the way of pronunciation for Rodosto, combined with Tigranakert and Malatya, comes to finally remove this useless concept, and it proves that the literary pronunciation of Istanbul, is the work of Armenian migrants who came from these areas. The first literate people of Istanbul of course belong to this same migrant group, and they have also introduced their way of pronunciation, just as how now the Istanbul Armenians spread it across the provinces.

It remains to be asked how this pronunciation of voiceless aspirated sounds originated in the dialects of Rodosto, Malatya, and Tigranakert.

In my opinion, the path for this sound change is the voiced aspirated consonants. Rodosto, Malatya,¹ and Tigranakert previously had voiced aspirated consonants, instead of the Old Armenian voiced consonants. The voiced aspirated sounds, because of their contained breath /b^h, g^h, d^h, dʒ^h, dʒ^h/ (<b^h, g^h, d^h, j^h>), still present a certain level of voiceless aspiration till today, such that an untrained ear would hear them as voiceless aspirated. In this, the French here have the same sounds as <p, k, t>. It is this breath which, by getting a bit stronger, caused the preceding element to become voiceless, and this created the group of voiceless aspirated consonants.

33.2.1.2 Monophthong vowel changes

33.2.1.2.1 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

For the changes in vowels and diphthongs, we note that Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /e/ <ե> (in all situations, except for the words in Table 1).

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je/ <յե> in the Rodosto dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Rodosto		cf. SEA	
‘I’	es	ես	jes	յես	jes	ես
‘when’	erb	երբ	jep ^h	յեբ ^h	jerp ^h	երբ
‘song’	erg	երգ	jerk ^h	յերգ ^h	jerk ^h	երգ

¹[[The original page had <Մալկարացիք>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this should be <Մալաթիացիք>; I fixed it.]]

33.2.1.2.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <n>

The Classical Armenian /o/ <n> becomes /vo/ <վօ> at the beginning of monosyllabic words; it becomes /o/ <o> everywhere else.

33.2.1.3 Diphthongal vowel changes

The diphthongs changed as follows:

- CA /ɑj̄/ <այ> → /ɑ/ <ա>
- CA /oj̄/ <ոյ> → /u/ <ու>
- CA /iuj̄/ <իւյ> → /u/ <ու>

33.3 Morphology

33.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

In the grammar, the declensions have no differences at all from Istanbul. For words with the CA ending /-ut^hiւն/ <-ուփիւս>, the ablative is only a repeated /n/ <ւ> (Table 2).

Table 2: Ablative marking of nominalizer suffix from Classical Armenian /-ut^hiւն/ in the Rodosto dialect

	‘greatness’		‘greatness (ABL)’	
Classical Armenian	metsut ^h iւն	մեծուփիւս	metsut ^h en-ē	մեծութենէ
> Rodosto			mendzut ^h en-ne	մենծութենէ
cf. SWA	medzut ^h yn	մեծուփիւս	medzut ^h en-e	մեծութենէ
cf. SEA	metsut ^h jun	մեծություն	metsut ^h jun-its ^h	մեծությունից

33.3.2 Numeral formation

For the numeral adjectives, what is...

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interesting are the words in Table 3a, which are however present in Istanbul and other areas, where they require Armenian units during enumeration. In contrast, in Rodosto, the units are also Turkish, as in Table 3b; whereas the other decades (10-60) take Armenian units.

[[To clarify, *Adjarian* means that *Rodosto* has borrowed Turkish numerals to replace some Armenian numerals.]]

Table 3: Borrowed numerals in the Rodosto dialect

	Rodosto		Turkish	cf. SEA	
a.	'70'	jet ^h mif յէթմիֆ	<yetmiş>	jot ^h anasun յոթանասուն	
	'80'	sek ^h sen սէքսէն	<seksen>	ut ^h sun ութսուն	
	'90'	doḡsan դօղսան	<doksan>	innəsun իննսուն	
b.	'75'	jet ^h mif bej յէթմիֆ բէջ	<yetmiş beş>	jot ^h anasun hiḡj յոթանասուն հիկ	
	'81'	sek ^h sen bir սէքսէն բիր	<seksen bir>	ut ^h sun mek ութսուն մէկ	
	'93'	doḡsan vtj ^h դօղսան իւլջ	<doksan üç>	innəsun jerek ^h իննսուն երեք	

33.3.3 Pronoun inflection or declension

The pronouns are also the same as in Istanbul. Here we find that the 1SG accusative is /jes/. For the others, notable forms are in Table 4, which are either dative or accusative in Istanbul, but they are only dative in Rodosto.

Table 4: Sample of dative pronouns in the Rodosto dialect

dative 1SG 'to me'	indzi	իւձի
dative 1PL 'to us'	mezi	մէզի
dative 2SG 'to you'	k ^h ezi	քէզի
dative 2PL 'to you'	ts ^h ezi	ցէզի

The accusative forms are in Table 5.

Table 5: Sample of accusative pronouns in the Rodosto dialect

accusative 1PL 'to us'	mez	մէզ
accusative 2SG 'to you'	k ^h ez	քէզ
accusative 2PL 'to you'	ts ^h ez	ցէզ

For the third person pronouns, we cite the words in Table 6 and so on.

[[Note that *Adjarian* calls them just third person pronouns, but based on their SWA cognates, these pronouns act as third person demonstrative pronouns.]]

Table 6: Sample of third person demonstrative pronouns in the Rodosto dialect

Singular ‘this’		Singular ‘these’	
as	աս	asonk ^h	ասօնք
asiga	ասիգա	svonk ^h	սվօնք
asigag	ասիգագ		
asigagə	ասիգագը		
səviga	սըվիգա		
səvigagə	սըվիգագը		

33.3.4 Verb inflection or conjugation

33.3.4.1 Theme vowel changes

In conjugation, the Classical Armenian vowel /e/ <ե> becomes /i/ <ի> next to nasals.

[[To clarify, Adjarian provides the paradigm of the indicative present (Table 7. In SWA, the theme vowel for a verb like ‘to like’ remains a non-alternating /e/. But in Rodosto, the theme vowel changes to /i/ before nasal suffixes.]]

Table 7: Theme vowel changes in the indicative present <ւերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Rodosto dialect

	Rodosto		cf. SWA	
1SG	ցə sir-i-m	զը սիրիմ	ցə sir-e-m ‘I like’	կը սիրեմ
2SG	ցə sir-e-s	զը սիրես	ցə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	ցə sir-e-∅	զը սիրտ	ցə sir-e-∅	կը սիրտ
1PL	ցə sir-i-nk ^h	զը սիրինք	ցə sir-e-դk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	ցə sir-e-k ^h	զը սիրեք	ցə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	ցə sir-i-n	զը սիրին	ցə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

33.3.4.2 Progressive marking with /gor, go, or/ <զօր, զօ, օր>

The progressive is formed with the formative /gor/ <զօր>, against which we sometimes find /go/ <զօ> or /or/ <օր> (Table 8).

Table 8: Variation in progressive marking in the Rodosto dialect

	Rodosto		cf. SWA	
'I am eating'	g-ud-i-m gor	գուդիմ գօր	g-ud-e-m gor	կ'ուլտեմ կրօր
	g-ud-i-m go	գուդիմ գօ		
	g-ud-i-m or	գուդիմ օր		
	IND-eat-TH-1SG PROG		IND-eat-TH-1SG PROG	

[[To clarify, in SWA, the present progressive is formed by adding the progressive enclitic /gor/ after the indicative present. In Rodosto, the shape of this progressive marker can vary.]]

33.3.4.3 Archaism in the past plural suffix

The 1PL of the imperfective and perfective has the vowel /a/ <ւ> (Table 9), similarly to the dialects of Sebastia ([[§28.4.3.4]]) and Akn ([[§27.3.2.3]]).

[[For the 1PL, the past marker is /-i-/ for SWA. But in Rodosto, it is /-a-/ like in CA. The past suffix is used in the indicative past imperfective and the past perfective.]]

Table 9: Past 1PL marking in the Rodosto dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Sebastia	cf. SWA
indicative past	sir-ē-a-k ^h	gə sir-e-a-nk ^h	gə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h
imperfective	like-TH-PST-1PL	IND like-TH-PST-1PL	IND like-TH-PST-1PL
'we would like'	սիրեալք	զը սիրեալք	կը սիրեիլք
past perfective	sir-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h	sir-e-ts ^h -a-nk ^h	sir-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h
'we liked'	like-TH-AOR-PST-1PL	like-TH-AOR-PST-1PL	like-TH-AOR-PST-1PL
	սիրեցալք	սիրեցալք	կը սիրեիլք

33.3.4.4 Future marking

[[In SWA, the future is marked by adding the proclitic /bidi/ before the finite verb. If the finite verb is the present form, then the construction marks the simple future; else if the finite verb is the past imperfective form, then the construction marks the past future. Rodosto presents some variation, as Adjarian describes.]]

The future is constructed with the formative /bədə/ <բըդը>, which can be placed also after the verb (2).

Chapter 33 Rodosto

- (2) ‘I will like’
- a. Rodosto
bədə sir-i-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
բըղը սիրիմ
 - b. Rodosto
sir-i-m bədə
like-TH-1SG FUT
սիրիմ բըղը
 - c. cf. SWA
bidi sir-e-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
պիտի սիրեմ

It shortens to /bəd/ <բըղ> next to vowels (3).

- (3) ‘I will do’
- a. Rodosto
bəd an-i-m
FUT do-TH-1SG
բըղ անիմ
 - b. cf. SWA
bidi ən-e-m
FUT do-TH-1SG
պիտի ընեմ

The old ones² also have /bədər/ <բըղըր>, which originates from the CA form /piti ot/ <պիտի որ> ‘it is necessary that’ (4).

- (4) a. ‘I will like’
- i. Rodosto
bədər sir-i-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
բըղըր սիրիմ

²[[*Adjarian uses the phrase հիսերը which means ‘the old ones’. He doesn’t explain what these ‘ones’ are – people, registers, terms, etc. He likely is referring to an older register because the word he uses (հիսերը) would sound odd if it referred to human speakers.*]]

- ii. cf. SWA
bidi sir-e-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
սիտի սիրեմ
- b. ‘I was going to like’
 - i. Rodosto
bədər sir-ej-i-Ø
FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
բըդըր սիրեի
 - ii. cf. SWA
bidi sir-ej-i-Ø
FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
սիտի սիրեի

33.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

Adjarian’s note: These two articles were narrated in particular to me by a large group of happy young people from Rodosto, and their chief was the grocer Mr. Hakop Malakian (սր. Յակոբ Մալաքեան; [[SEA: /hakop malak^hjan/, SWA:/ha-gop^h/]). I wrote this with the scientific orthography.

33.4.1 Sample 1

Դարի մը մէնք չէթէյով (խումբ) էլանք Իշէն քացանք. ջանփան ջուռջինանսիս (մեր խեղկատակութիւն) շադ դըյախ էր. արաբային եռչին ըռէյիզը սսդած էր. սսհաթը քիշէրվան ալ օխդն ու գէսը գար. ըռէյիզը թէնջիտ մը դսփուսխան ցառքը փռնսած...

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... էր. ան քանի՛ արաբան գերեա գօ նէ՝ իշդար մէնք յեղ գա նէ վրան քլօխը մէյ մը արավ: Ինչ է նէ. վէլասըլ (վերջապէս) Աղային ախփուրը հասանք: Օնդօղօցը մեր արաբաջին իշգիւզարութիւն մ’անէլ ուզէց, մանդաներուն չըլքըրէն (սանձ) փռնէց, ի՛շդար դուվէթ ունէր նէ՝ քաշէց էշօլլուն: Գուզէ՞ս արաբան բաթմիշ ըլլա չամուռին մէնք Մանդաները բաթմիշ էղան, բօյունդուրըխը (լուծ) գօյրէցավ,

մենք ըսես նե՝ ամեննիս ա մեզիգ մեզիգ՝ փաչերնիս սօթդած՝ չափուռ չուփուռ չուրերեն թուս էլանք: Հիմա բաշլեյեցանք Չիրիշին փօթուրին դալայը գօխել (հայ-հոյել): Չիրիշ ըսածս ա՝ դաթըր մը գա նե վերը՝ ան հայվանս է: Ի՛նչ է նե. չերգընցը-նինք, բերեքեթ աս արաբաջիին աոխադաշը՝ Չըմբըն ալ մեզդեդ էր: Շը՛փդիյի (իսկոյն) անօր է եօքիզներուն բոյունդուրուխները աս մերինին թախմիշ արանք. աս էշօղլու ալ գէնէ գօյրեցավ: Յեթքը քացանք քօփի հարմանէն բօյունդուրուխ մը քերվեցանք (ծծկ. գողնալ): Բերեքեթ անօր վօր մեզ գեօլէն սելամեթը հանեց: Այթըխ ջանփանիս ըռահաթ ըռահաթ քացանք: Լաքին քիշ մ՛անթին գուզէ՛օ բայիրեն վար թախըր թուխըր արաբան թօնգօլեցավ, թեքիրլախին մեզը գօյրեցավ...:

33.4.2 Sample 2

– Ձե Արթին, վո՞ւրգ գուքաս գոր: Շադօնց է քեզ դեսած չէյի:

- Հօ՞ս էյի վօր դեսալիր:
- Հաբա վո՞ւր էիր:
- Չիրդէ՛ս... Բօլիս չէյի՞ յա՛:
- Յէ՞փ քացիր:

– Ջա՛նըմ. Ըսթանբօլէն բօսթանջի մը եգեր էր մալ առնելու համար, յես խան-դըրմիշ արավ՝ ըսավ քի «աս դարի խարփուզը վերը աղեգ գը փռնըվի գօր»։ շիրդագը հէ՛մէն հավդըցա: Երգու խայրիս փռնեցի, խարփուզները լեցուցի, յալ-լաի Ըսթանբօլ: Իրիզվան թեմ, սահաթը սանգ գեսի վրա էր, ջանփա էլանք: Ինչվանք Երեյիլի փացերը ըռահաթ քացանք: Է՛հ, իշդէ մութը աղեգ մը գօխած էր՝ մէյ մըն ա խըյախ լօդօս մը բաշլայեց փչել... Հիմա ի՞նչ անինք... Բերեքեթ խափդաննիս իւշիզար մարթ էր. Շաշըրմիշ չարավ. դիմենին քլօխը անցած՝ խայրիսը աղեգ քշեց. անագ վօր գիւքբելեգիւք ինքըզինքնիս Սիրիվլի նեդեցինք: Ան քիշերը հօն լուսցուցանք. Երթեսի օրը ուզած հավանիս քդանք, ...

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... քանի մը սահթըվան մէջ Ըսթանբօլ՝ Սանդըք-Բուրուն Երգաթ նեդեցինք: Ինչ է նե, էլանք, խարփուզները բարբեցանք: Եգու դես քի, ի՛նչ փիյացա... չըսէ՛ս քի հարցունօղ Էդա՞վ մի... մէր իսէ աս դարի հիվընդութին գա ըսելով՝ ժողովուրթը վախցուցեր ին, անմէն մարթ խարթուզ ուղելը գը վախսա գօ. անագ վօր իրեք հարու հիսսուն խուռուշ գէնօվ ցեռվընուս դէՖ արինք քացավ:

– Ե, հիմա ի՛նչ բըդ անես:

– Ի՛նչ բըդ տնիմ... գէնէ յես իմ թեռլիքջութանս նայիմ. ա՛խփար, գէնաաթէն աղեգ փան գա՞. «գէնաաթը Էմաս բիլեգիգ է» ըսեր ին նե՝ բօշ դեղը չէ՛ յա՛: Չաթէն Էռչի վարբեդս ա յես դեսածին բես՝ գէնէ քօվը գանչեց, յեթմիշ բէշ խուռուշ հաՖթալըխօվ: Ի՛նչ մէխքըս բահիմ. նօրէն գէնաաթիս բըդը նսդիմ վէ՛սսելամ:

33.4.3 Malkara

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1898, page 756.

Հանսա երթանք Գալիլիա,
Գալիլիա լեռ մը կայ,
Լեռան մէջը ծով մը կայ,
Ծովուն մէջը ծառ մը կայ,
Ծառին վրայ բուն մը կայ,
Բունին մէջը օձ մը կայ
Օձն օխտը պտուկ ունի.
Կթեցինք մակրդեցինք,
Տիկ մը պակիր կոխեցինք.
Ով կերաւ՝ արմնցաւ,
Ով չկերաւ՝ զարմացաւ.
Աչք տուողին աչքը ճաթի,
Չար աչքը, չար պտողը ճաթի:

Chapter 34

Crimea

34.1 Background

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This dialect was first spoken only in Crimea. In 1779, a large Armenian migration group left Crimea and migrated to Southern Russia, where they established the city of New Nakhichevan and its 5 surrounding Armenian villages. From here, the Armenians spread likewise to near and far Russian cities, such as Rostov, Stavropol, Maykop, Yekaterinodar, Yekaterinoslav, Taganrog, Dnipro, Nogaisk, Novocherkassk. The small Armenian settlements of these places speak the New Nakhichevan dialect. The Armenian-populated cities of Crimea are now Theodosia, Simferopol, Karasubazar, Bakhchisaray, and Yevpatoriya, which speak the same Armenian dialect. But Kerch, Yalta, and Sevastopol, as we say, represent more of a settlement from Trabzon.

34.2 Phonology

34.2.1 Segment inventory

The dialect of Crimea is very close to the Istanbul dialect. Like the latter, it has the vowels in Table 1.

Table 1: Vowels of the Crimea dialect

/i/ <ɨ>	/y/ <ɨL>	/u/ <nL>
/e/ <t>	/ə/ <ɳ>	/o/ <o>
		/ɑ/ <ω>

The sound /y/ <ɨL> is used only in loanwords from Turkish and Tatar. But the

sound /œ/ <to> is absent. This sound has changed in Turkish words to /e/ <t>. For example, Crimea /berek/ <բերեք> from Turkish <börek> ‘burek’.

There are no diphthongs.

The consonants have only two degrees: voiced and voiceless aspirated. The Armenian voiced and voiceless unaspirated consonants became voiced, while the voiceless aspirated stayed the same.

34.2.2 Sound changes

34.2.2.1 Lenition of Classical Armenian /r/ <ր>

The use of the sound /r/ <ր> in New Nakhichevan is very interesting. The old ones pronounce it as /r/ <ր> in every condition. But in the new generation, the pronunciation is halted.¹ For them, the sound /r/ <ր> is often very soft, almost close to the pronunciation of /ʒ/ <ժ>, which should of course have its own representation (ր̂).

[[It is unclear to me what Adjarian perceived as this weak rhotic symbol <ր̂>; I suspect he means the rhotic is lenited somehow. Note that he doesn't later use this symbol in his transcriptions anyway. (?)]]

This sound ր̂ changes based on the previous and following sounds. Between the Classical Armenian sounds /i/ <ի> and /e/ <ե>, it becomes a simple...

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... /ʒ/ <ժ> (Table 2).

*[[Note that for the following data, it seems that Adjarian assumes that the Classical Armenian forms with an initial /e/ or /i/ changed to */i/ in an intermediate hypothetical stage, and this */i/ then triggered the lenition of the rhotic to a fricative.]]*

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> to /ʒ/ <ժ> in the Crimea dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Crimea		cf. SEA	
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք	ʒek ^h	ժեք	jerek ^h , irek ^h	երեք, իրեք
‘they (NOM)’	iւրբանկ ^h	իւրեանք	ʒenk ^h	ժեւք	ireŋk ^h	իրեւք
‘their (GEN)’	iւրբանկս ^h	իւրեանց	ʒents ^h	ժեւց	irents ^h	իրեւց

¹*[[For the word ‘halted’, Adjarian uses the verb -կախայ> which means ‘to limp’ or ‘to halt’. I think Adjarian was trying to use a metaphorical meaning of this verb, but his exact intention is unclear to me. (?)]]*

Next to a dental voiceless aspirated /t^h/ <թ>, it becomes /f/ <ֆ> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> to /f/ <ֆ> in the Crimea dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Crimea		cf. SEA	
‘to go’	ert ^h al	երթալ	eft ^h al	էֆթալ	jert ^h al	երթալ
‘man’	mar ^d	մարդ	maf ^t	մաֆթ	mart ^h	մարդ
‘skin’	mort ^h	մորթ	moft ^h i	մոֆթի	mort ^h	մորթ

We are in the presence of the formation of a new phonetic rule, which is still not completely dominant.

34.3 Morphology

34.3.1 Pronoun inflection or declension

Declension and conjugation are again very similar to the Istanbul dialect. Only that the accusative is the same as the dative, as in the /um/ <ում> branch. We place here the pronouns which show some differences from the Istanbul dialect (Table 4).

Table 4: Declension paradigm for personal pronouns in the Crimea dialect

	1SG ‘I’	2SG ‘you’	3SG ‘he’	1PL ‘we’	2PL ‘you’	3PL ‘they’
NOM	jes յէս	dun դուն	na նա	mink ^h , menk ^h մինք, մէնք	duk ^h դուք	nak ^h a նաքա
GEN	im իմ	k ^h u քու	nara նարա	mer մեր	ḍzer ծէր	nats ^h a նացա
DAT-ACC	əndzi ընծի	k ^h ezi քէզի	naran նարան	mezi մէզի	ḍzezi ծէզի	nats ^h a նացա
ABL	əndzi-men ընծիմէն	k ^h ezi-men քէզիմէն	nara-men նարամէն	mezi-men մէզիմէն	ḍzezi-men ծէզիմէն	nats ^h a-men նացամէն
INS	əndzi-mov ընծիմօվ	k ^h ezi-mov քէզիմօվ	nara-mov նարամօվ	mezi-mov մէզիմօվ	ḍzezi-mov ծէզիմօվ	nats ^h a-mov նացամօվ

[[Adjarian lists various demonstrative pronouns that act as different forms for the proximal pronoun ‘this’ (Table 5).]]

Table 5: Declension paradigm for the proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ and its various forms in the Crimea dialect

NOM	isa	as	asvigə	sa
	իսա	աս	ասվիգը	սա
GEN-DAT	isəvor	asor	asəvor	səvor
	իսըվոր	ասոր	ասըվոր	սըվոր
ABL	isəvor-me	asor-me	asəvor-me	səvor-me
	իսըվորմէ	ասորմէ	ասըվորմէ	սըվորմէ
INS	isəvor-mov	asor-mov	asəvor-ov	səvor-mov
	իսըվորմով	ասով	ասըվով	սըվորմով

What is also said are the forms in Table 6 which are declined in the same way.

Table 6: Sample of other demonstrative pronouns in the Crimea dialect

Medial NOM SG ‘that’		Distal NOM SG ‘that yonder’	
ida	իդա	ina	ինա
ad	ադ	an	ան
adəvor	ադըվոր	anəvor	անըվոր

34.3.2 Numerals

To form the ordinal numerals, the formative /-um/ <ում> is used (Table 7).

[[This is in contrast to CA and SEA/SWA which use the ordinal suffix /-(e)roɾt^h/]].

Table 7: Ordinal numerals in the Crimea dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Crimea		cf. SEA	
‘two’	erku	երկու			jerku	երկու
‘second’	erk-rord	երկրորդ	ergus-um	երգուսում	jerk-rort ^h	երկրորդ
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք			jerek ^h	երեք
‘third’	er-rord	երրորդ	zek ^h -um	ժեքում	jer-rort ^h	երրորդ
‘four’	tj ^h ors	չորս			tj ^h ors	չորս
‘fourth’	tj ^h or-rord	չորրորդ	tj ^h ors-um	չօրսում	tj ^h or-rort ^h	չորրորդ

This formative /-um/ <ում> is [[*borrowed*]] from the Persian formative <-um>, with the same usage.

[[*Note that in his subsequent work, Adjarian later argued that this suffix was not borrowed from Persian but that it is a re-analysis of the Classical Armenian locative suffix /-m/ <մ> (Աճառյան 1952: 287ff).*]]

34.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

34.3.3.1 Morphological properties

34.3.3.1.1 Indicative marking

In conjugation, we must note first the formatives /g-, gə-, k^hə-/ <գ, գը, քը> of the present and imperfective. From these, the first is for vowel-initial verbs, the second for voiced consonant-initial verbs, and the third for voiceless aspirated-initial verbs (Table 8).

[[*To clarify, Adjarian means that the indicative morpheme is a prefix that displays allomorphy based on the type of verb-initial segment, including voicing assimilation. In contrast for the SWA cognates, we see a simpler type of allomorphy based on schwa epenthesis, without voicing assimilation.*]]

Table 8: Allomorphy of the indicative prefix in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA	
‘I go’	g-ɛft ^h -a-m	գեշթամ	g-ert ^h -a-m	կ’երթամ
‘I bring’	gə ber-i-m	գը բերիմ	gə p ^h er-e-m	կը բերեմ
‘I like’	k ^h ə sir-i-m	քը սիրիմ	gə sir-e-m	կը սիրեմ
	IND √-TH-1SG		IND √-TH-1SG	

34.3.3.1.2 Theme vowel changes

The verbal ending /e/ <Ե> becomes /i/ <Ի> everywhere, except for the 3SG present.

[[To clarify, Adjarian means that for the E-Class, the theme vowel is /e/ in Classical Armenian and in SWA/SEA. But in Crimea, the reflex of this theme vowel is /i/, except in the present 3SG. We see examples of this change in §34.3.3.2.1.]]

[[This change is likewise found in the present auxiliary (§34.3.3.2.3). It does not occur for the theme vowel of the past imperfective (§34.3.3.2.1) or past perfective (§34.3.3.2.4).]]

34.3.3.1.3 Class of the causative

The causative verbs take the ending /ts^hnul/ <ցնւլ>, and they form the fourth conjugation class (Table 9).

[[To clarify, Adjarian means that causative verbs take the theme vowel /u/ in Crimea; in contrast, they take the theme vowel /e/ in SEA/SWA.]]

Table 9: Causative verbs in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA	
‘to pass (trans.)’	an-ts ^h ə-n-u-l	անցընւլ	an-ts ^h ə-n-e-l	անցընել
‘to ask’	har-ts ^h ə-n-u-l	հարցընւլ	har-ts ^h ə-n-e-l	հարցնել
‘to melt (trans.)’	hal-e-ts ^h -n-u-l	հալեցնւլ	hal-e-ts ^h -n-e-l	հալեցնել
	√-(TH)-CAUS-TH-INF		√-(TH)-CAUS-TH-INF	

34.3.3.2 General paradigm

The following are important tenses of the verb ‘to like’.

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

34.3.3.2.1 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SWA (Table 10), the subjunctive present is a finite verb form made up of the verb stem, plus a theme vowel, plus agreement suffixes. For a verb like ‘to like’, the theme vowel is a non-alternating /-e-/. The Crimea dialect uses a similar strategy with one difference: the theme vowel is /e/ in the 3SG, but /i/ elsewhere.]]

Table 10: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-i-m	սիրիմ	sir-e-m (if) I like	սիրեմ
2SG	sir-i-s	սիրիս	sir-e-s	սիրես
3SG	sir-e-∅	սիրե	sir-e-∅	սիրե
1PL	sir-i-nk ^h	սիրինք	sir-e-ŋk ^h	սիրենք
2PL	sir-i-k ^h	սիրիք	sir-e-k ^h	սիրեք
3PL	sir-i-n	սիրին	sir-e-n	սիրեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SWA, the subjunctive past (Table 11) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. The past suffix is absent in the 3SG. Crimea uses an identical strategy. Note how the theme vowel is /e/ in the past, but almost always /i/ in the present (Table 10).]]

Table 11: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-i-∅	սիրեի	sir-ej-i-∅ (if) I liked	սիրեի
2SG	sir-e-i-r	սիրեիր	sir-ej-i-r	սիրեիր
3SG	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր	sir-e-∅-r	սիրեր
1PL	sir-e-i-nk ^h	սիրեինք	sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h	սիրեինք
2PL	sir-e-i-k ^h	սիրեիք	sir-ej-i-k ^h	սիրեիք
3PL	sir-e-i-n	սիրեին	sir-ej-i-n	սիրեին
	√-TH-PST-AGR		√-TH-PST-AGR	

34.3.3.2.2 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Indicative and future

[[In Crimea, many other tenses seem to be constructed from the subjunctive (Table 12). The indicative present and past imperfective are constructed by adding the indicative prefix before the subjunctive present and subjunctive past; this prefix is /k^hə-/ of the verb ‘to like’. The future and past future are formed also by adding the proclitic /bidi/ before the appropriate subjunctive form. SWA behaves in essentially the same way, and I don’t provide its paradigm.]]

Table 12: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Indicative present <սերկայ>		Indicative past imperfective <սսկաստար>	
1SG	k ^h ə sir-i-m ‘I like’	քը սիրիմ	k ^h ə sir-e-i-∅ ‘I would like’	քը սիրեի
2SG	k ^h ə sir-i-s	քը սիրիս	k ^h ə sir-e-i-ɾ	քը սիրեիր
3SG	k ^h ə sir-e-∅	քը սիրե	k ^h ə sir-e-∅-ɾ	քը սիրեր
1PL	k ^h ə sir-i-nk ^h	քը սիրինք	k ^h ə sir-e-i-nk ^h	քը սիրեինք
2PL	k ^h ə sir-i-k ^h	քը սիրիք	k ^h ə sir-e-i-k ^h	քը սիրեիք
3PL	k ^h ə sir-i-n	քը սիրին	k ^h ə sir-e-i-n	քը սիրեին
	IND-√-TH-AGR		IND-√-TH-PST-AGR	
	Future <ապառնի>		Past future <անցեալ ապառնի>	
1SG	bidi sir-i-m ‘I will like’	բիդի սիրիմ	bidi sir-e-i-∅ ‘I was going to like’	բիդի սիրեի
2SG	bidi sir-i-s	բիդի սիրիս	bidi sir-e-i-ɾ	բիդի սիրեիր
3SG	bidi sir-e-∅	բիդի սիրե	bidi sir-e-∅-ɾ	բիդի սիրեր
1PL	bidi sir-i-nk ^h	բիդի սիրինք	bidi sir-e-i-nk ^h	բիդի սիրեինք
2PL	bidi sir-i-k ^h	բիդի սիրիք	bidi sir-e-i-k ^h	բիդի սիրեիք
3PL	bidi sir-i-n	բիդի սիրին	bidi sir-e-i-n	բիդի սիրեին
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-PST-AGR	

34.3.3.2.3 Present perfect and past perfect

[[In SWA, the present perfect (Table 13) and past perfect (Table 14) are formed by combining a special non-finite form with the present/past auxiliary. For SWA, this non-finite verb can be either the resultative participle (verb with suffix /-adz/) or the evidential participle (verb with suffix /-er/). In SEA, this non-finite form is the

perfective converb with the suffix /-el/. Crimea uses a similar system. Adjarian only provides a participle with the suffix /-il/ <իլ>. This suffix appears to be a cognate with the SEA perfective converb suffix /-el/, and I gloss it as such.]]

[[Note that in SWA, the present auxiliary has the form /e/, but Crimea has the form /i/ for the non-3SG.]]

Table 13: Present perfect <յարակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-il i-m	սիրիլ իմ	sir-el e-m ‘I have liked’	սիրել եմ
2SG	sir-il i-s	սիրիլ իս	sir-el e-s	սիրել ես
3SG	sir-il e-∅	սիրիլ է	sir-el e-∅	սիրել է
1PL	sir-il i-nk ^h	սիրիլ ինք	sir-el e-ɲk ^h	սիրել ենք
2PL	sir-il i-k ^h	սիրիլ իք	sir-el e-k ^h	սիրել եք
3PL	sir-il i-n	սիրիլ ին	sir-el e-n	սիրել են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

Table 14: Past perfect <գերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SEA	
1SG	sir-il e-i-∅	սիրիլ էի	sir-el ej-i-∅ ‘I had liked’	սիրել էի
2SG	sir-il e-i-r	սիրիլ էիր	sir-el ej-i-r	սիրել էիր
3SG	sir-il e-i-∅-r	սիրիլ էր	sir-el e-∅-r	սիրել էր
1PL	sir-il e-i-nk ^h	սիրիլ էինք	sir-el ej-i-ɲk ^h	սիրել էինք
2PL	sir-il e-i-k ^h	սիրիլ էիք	sir-el ej-i-k ^h	սիրել էիք
3PL	sir-il e-i-n	սիրիլ էին	sir-el ej-i-n	սիրել էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

34.3.3.2.4 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 15) is also called the aorist. In SWA for /sir-e-l/ ‘to like’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist

or perfective suffix /-ts^h/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Crimea dialect behaves almost the same; the theme vowel is /i/ for the 3SG, but /e/ elsewhere.]]

Table 15: Past perfective or aorist <կասարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA	
1SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅	սիրեցի	sir-e-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I liked’	սիրեցի
2SG	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր	sir-e-ts ^h -i-r	սիրեցիր
3SG	sir-i-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրից	sir-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	սիրեց
1PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-nk ^h	սիրեցինք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	սիրեցինք
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք	sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	սիրեցիք
3PL	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին	sir-e-ts ^h -i-n	սիրեցին
	√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

34.3.3.2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph /-∅/ after the theme vowel /e/ for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 16). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. Crimea does the exact same strategy.]]

Table 16: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA ‘like!’		
2SG	sir-e-∅	սիրե	sir-e-∅	սիրե	√-TH-IMP.2SG
2PL	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	sir-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	սիրեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 17), SWA adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the verb. The prohibitive marker carries stress. The verb takes a suffix /-r/ in the 2SG, and /-k^h/ in the 2PL. In Crimea, the 2SG marker is /-l/, while the 2PL marker is /-k^h/. Note that it is possible that this 2SG marker /-l/ is actually a non-finite form; I don’t know how to gloss it.]]

Table 17: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea		cf. SWA ‘do not like!’	
2SG	mí sir-i-l	սի՛ սիրիլ	mí sir-e-r	սի՛ սիրեր
	PROH √-TH-?		PROH √-TH-2SG	
2PL	mí sir-i-k ^h	սի՛ սիրիք	mí sir-e-k ^h	սի՛ սիրեք
	PROH √-TH-2PL		PROH √-TH-2PL	

34.3.3.2.6 Non-finite forms

[[Finally, Adjarian lists the following non-finite forms of this verb (participles or converbs) in Table 18. Crimea and SWA/SEA have slightly different forms. Note that Adjarian uses the term ‘past participle’ to refer to multiple different types of non-finite forms: resultative participle with /-ats/ in SEA, and the perfective converb /-il/ in SEA.]]²

Table 18: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

	Crimea			cf. SEA		
Infinitive	սևորոշ	sir-e-l	սիրել	sir-e-l	սիրել	√-TH-INF
Past	սևցեալ	sir-il	սիրիլ	sir-el	սիրել	√-PERF.CVB
		sir-adz	սիրած	sir-ats	սիրած	√-RPTCP
Future	սպաննի	sir-e-l-u	սիրելու	sir-e-l-u	սիրելու	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB

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34.4 Literature

There is no study on the Crimea dialect. But there are a few select manuscripts.

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

²[[The original page had <սիրել> as the infinitive. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that it should be <սիրիլ>; I fixed it.]]

- Literature involving the Crimea dialect
 - Патканов (1875), volume 1. Nakhichevan dialect. (К. Паткановъ. Матеріалы для изученія арм. нарѣчій, I. Говоръ Нахичеванскій)
 - Ռ. Պատկանեանի Ընտիր երկասիրութիւնները, Ա Եւ Բ. Պետտերք. 1893. մանաւանդ Գ. հտ. Ռոստով, 1904
 - Տիգրանեան Գ. – Առածք, ասացուածք եւ գրոյցք Նոր-Նախիջեանի. Ռոստով, 1892

There are also some fables in series of Armenian folk fables by Tigran Navasardian (Տիգրան Նաւասարդեան; [[SEA: /tigran navasardjan/, /navasart^hjan/, SWA: /dik^hran navasart^hjan/]]), and a small number of writings in the periodicals of New Nakhichevan: *Նոր կեանք* [*New life*], *Մեր ձայնը* [*Our voice*], and *Լոյս* [*Light*] (published 1906-1911).

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 194).]]

34.5 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

34.5.1 New Nakhichevan

Adjarian's note: See Патканов (1875: 71-73). This presents the old language, with a pure /t/ <ր> sound. After checking in New Nakhichevan, I have rendered it into scientific orthography.

Ազիաթի հայերուն դունը մեզ խուջուռ բան է. մեզի բես ազբար (բակ) չունին. նացա դուներեն թեփեն դեղինի բես դիւս է. սիրդերը նեզանս նը՝ գերթան, թռնդայներու բեսնազ՝ դուներուն թեփեն գը նըսդին. .

Նացա հացի փուռն ալ – անունը գիդեի ամա՝ մօռցիլ իմ – խուջուռ բան է. ազբարին օրթան, շադերուն ալ դուներուն մէջը, մեքամ գուլօր փօս քը փօրին, մէջը սըվա գանին, շդե դացա փուռը: Հաց էփելու լան նը՝ իդա փօսին մէջը նօմայ չօր փադ, խօռայ (չոր խոիւ) գուլուն, դագեն գը բըռընդեցնուն, յեթգեն գառնուն խուլօրը աղի փուռին բադերուն գը ձեթին. շդե իմացիր դացա հացին ֆասօնը. – ադեթօվ լաթ, մեղայասծու մեղա: Ադ դահա հեչ: Փուռին հացը գը ժօղօդին նը՝ քը հանին վրայի աղդօդ շարիգները վարդիգները, իդա փուռին մէջը քը թօթվին,

օջիւները քը թափթփին մէջը, ուռելի (ոլոռն) բեսնագ չըթըռ չըթըռ գը բօհըրվին. աս ալ դացա լըվացքն է. թի՛ւֆ... շադ մունդառ հալիս ին իդա ազիաթի հայերը...

Քաթըայի հայը ա՛սլը ջիւնաբէթ է. մերերէն շադ վար է. մերեր բարեմ մարթու սըրա մարթ ին. Նաքա՛ ինա մաջառ-...

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... արաբայով հըրըմէն Նօղայներ քուքաննը՝ ադէթօվ Նաքա ին. Երեսերը խաչ չի հանին նը՝ հայ Էղածները բելլի յալ չէ՛... Փամի՛լը, հեղները թեմիզ հայնագ գալաջի գանիմ՝ չին հասքընալ. վսեռավսօ իսա բադը. գօռելի բես Երեսը գը Նայէ «խաբար չիմ» իմիշ. գօյա գուզէ ասելու քի՛ ասածըդ չիմ հասքընար... գընա գըդիր Նարա լիւզիյօվ ի՞նչ ասել է «Էծը ձօրը ընգել ա, գելը Էգել ա գերել ա». գօյա գուզէ ասելու քի ածը հէնդէքը ինգիլ է, գալը իգիլ է Նարան գերիլ է... Երեսդ խավարի. հայնագ ասա - դա. ածին ինչո՞ւ Էծ գասիս - օր, թըլվադ բերն. փօյա՛մը ած ասա - դա. ձօրըս վօ՞րն է, հէնդէք ասիս նը չի՞լալ. «Էգել ա գէրել ա». Ֆռանցուզնագ գալաջի գանիս՝ ի՞նչ է. Էգիլ է գերիլ է ասիս նը՝ անգից աղէզ չէ՞ ինչ. բարեմ թեմիզ հայնագ է խօմ... Շդէ սիրես խէնթ ին... Նաքա ֆօդ չին ասիլ՝ խօղ գասին. հավօղ չին ասիլ՝ խաղօղ գասին. խույի չին ասիլ՝ ջըրիօր գասին. չիչագ չին ասիլ՝ ձաղիզ գասին. շա՛շխըն, հէչ չիչագը ձաղէզ գըլա՞. ձաղէզը ան է, վօր Երած փաղէն յա թէգաքէն գը մընա. ան՝ բաշջային մէչի Էլլաձը չիչագ է. վօրի՞ն գուզիս հարցուր. թեմիզ հայնագ է...

Էնչամը, շդէ արես փօռթիթ արիլ ին իրէնց լիւզիւն. ամրես օր՝ ամիսներօվ հեդերը բիդի գէնաս, լիւզիւդ ալալ-մալալ բիդի ձըռմըռդըիս, վօր գուղօր-մուղօր բան գըրնաս հասքըցնելու...

Երգու շափաթ Երեվան գեցա, ասվածային իր օրը հեդերը ջէնզ գանէի, թեմիզ հայնագ քը սօրվէցնէի իդա մունդառ ազիաթներուն...

Ի՛նչբես ախըռ փաթլամիշ չիլաս. մեմը իդա ալեվալէներուն Նայէ. մարթ չին հավնիլ. մարթու վրա քը խընդան. իլլէքի մեր Նաշչուվանցիներունս վրան՝ դա՛յմա քը խընդան. իմիշ՝ մէնք լիւզիւներըս փօռթիթ արիլ ինք, մօռցիլ ինք թեմիզ հայնագը...

34.5.2 Crimea

Adjarian's note: See Tigran Navasardian's volume 7 on Armenian folk tales (Տ. Նաւասարդեանի Հայ ժողովրդ. հեքիաթներ, Է.), page 70-73.³

Ատենակով ժամանակով մէկ մ՛ կար, մէկ մ՛ չի կար՝ մէկ հատ թագաւոր կար: Ադ թագաւորը ուներ մէկ հատ տեսօք աղջիկ: Ադ աղջկանը անխատար մարդ կուգենայ Էգիլ է, ամա մէկին տուած չէ:

³[[I couldn't track down a more exact bibliographic description of this series, but a partial citation is found in Martirosyan (2019). (?)]]

Մէկ օր մը թագաւորը էլած ատենը չեօլին մէջ մէկ հատ ծեր մարդ կը տեսնէ Նստիլ է՝ փատ կը ճղտէ եղիլ է: Թագաւորը կը մօտիկկայ քովը ու կը հարցունէ.

- Հոս ի՞նչ կանխս:
- Ի՞նչ անխմ, ասից ծերը, խամբէր կը պաժնիմ: Թագաւորը կը հարցունէ.
- Խամբէր ի՞նչես կը պաժնիս:
- Տեսօքը չիրքինին կուտամ, ֆխարէն զէնկինին: Թագաւորը կը հարցունէ.
- Իմիս աջկանս խամբէրը վո՞րկ է:
- Զուկդդ աղջկան խամբէրը քու տունիդ խզմէթքեր Արաբն է:

Թագաւորին սիրտը կելլէ. կուգայ տուն, միտք կանէ թէ՛ ի՞նչես Արաբին հեռացունէ տեյին: Վերջը մէկ գիր կը գրէ ու կուտայ Արաբին ու կասէ. «Տա՛ր իսա Ասծուն տուր»: Նա եալ կանէ կելլէ կերթայ: Արաբը երթցած ժամանակը մէկ հատ տուն կը տեսնէ. կը մտնէ նես կը տեսնէ, ու մէկ հատ կին մարդ Նստիլ է ու ադ տունին թէփէէն ալ շո՛ռ շո՛ռ օսկիներ կը թափի: Կին մարդը Արաբին կը հարցունէ.

- Վո՞ր տեղ կերթաս, կասէ:
- Ասծու կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ճանըս, կասէ կին մարդը Արաբին. ասա՛ Ասծուն, կլայ ինձի ասխատար տուած օսկին, ամեն օր արապա-արապա մարդոց կը պաժնիմ կէնէ շատ է:
- Աղէկ, կասէ Արաբը ու կելլէ կերթայ: Գնացած ատենը կը տեսնէ ճամբին մէջ մէկ կուր մարդ Նստած կեցիլ է: Կուրը կասէ Արաբին.

- Վո՞ր տեղ կերթաս:
- Ասծու կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ճանըս, կասէ կուրը, ասա՛ Ասծուն, միւնչուանքի ե՞րբ պիտի. Նստիմ թոստըղանը (պղնձէ թաս) դիմացս: - Արաբը կելնէ կերթայ ու գնացած ատենը կը տեսնէ մէկ մարդ թէք չամուռը պայթած կեցիլ է ու կը հարցունէ Արաբին.

- Վո՞ր տեղ կերթաս:
- Ասծու կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ճանըս, ա՛խպարս, կասէ ադ մարդը. ասա՛ Ասծուն՝ ...

... միւնչուանքի ե՞րբ աս տեղը պիտ կենամ. արդըիս քառսուն տարի է հոս մնացիլ իմ, ի՞նչ էլնել կը կրնամ ի՞նչ մէջը մտնիլ:

- Աղէկ, կասէ Արաբը ու կելլէ կերթայ: Մէյ մ՛ ալ տեսնիս տաղին (անտառ) մէջը մէկ հատ ծեր մարդ ռաստ կուգայ:
- Վո՞ր տեղ կերթաս, կասէ ծերը:
- Ասծուն կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ի՞նչ պիտի անիս Ասծուն, կասէ ծերը:
- Թագաւորս ինձի գիր տուից, պիտ Նարա տանիմ, կ՛ասէ Արաբը:

– Թուղթը ինձի տուր, կասե՛ծ երը ու ծեռքէն կառնէ:

Արաբը նարա կը պատմէ ճամբան ռաստ եկած կին մարդու, կուրի ու չամուռի մէջ պաթած մարդուն ասածները: Ծերը կասէ Արաբին. «Դարձած ատենդ կ'ասիս կին մարդուն.» – Երբ որ փառք Ասծու չ'ասես նե՛ ան ատենը օսկին թեփէն թափելէն կը դադրէ: Կուրին ալ կ'ասիս, որ նա եալ քովի կետին թող փորէ՛, մէջէն ջուր կելնէ. ջուրը ամնէ աչքերը թո՛ղ լուանայ՝ ան սիաթը աչքերը կը պացուին. հապա ան մարդուն ալ կասիս, որ քառսուն տարի տա՛հա թող կենայ չամուռին մէջը:

Արաբը ետ կը դառնայ, կերթայ ան կին մարդու քովը ու կասէ. – Ասուած ասից, որ երբ փառք Ասծու չասէ նէ, ան ատենը օսկին պիտ դադրի թափելէն: Արաբը կ'ելնէ կերթայ կուրին քովը ու կասէ. – Ասուած ասից, որ քովի գետինը թո՛ղ փորէ, ջուր կելնէ, աչքերը թո՛ղ լուանայ՝ կ'աղէկնայ: Կուրը դարձաւ ու Արաբին ասից. – դուն ինքդ փորէ՛: Արաբը քիչ տեղ փորեց՝ էլած ջուրէն ծեռքերը ճերմակ եղան. քիչ մ' ալ փորից՝ ալա՛յ-մալա՛յ ճեպ-ճերմակ եղաւ, թէք մէկ հատ կօտիին տեղը սեւ մնաց: Անկից Արաբը շիտակ թագաւորին կերթայ:

Թագաւորը Արաբին հիչ չի ճանչնայ, ամա նարա խիստ կը հաւնի, իրեն աղջկանը հետ կը պսակէ, քառսուն օր, քառսուն գիշեր հարսինք կ'անէ: – Ես ալ հոն էի. գինի խմեցի, պուկիւս վագեցաւ, պերանս չը գնաց:

Chapter 35

Austria-Hungary

35.1 Background

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Big and small Armenian settlements are scattered across the many corners of Poland, Bukovina, Transylvania, and Hungary; if they haven't forgotten the Armenian language, they speak a dialect which we thought it would be appropriate to call the Austria-Hungary dialect as a general name. The Armenologist Hanusz (Հանուշ) has studied the Polish-Armenian vernacular in his two works: *Sur la langue des Arméniens polonais, I. Mots recuillis à Kuti, Cracowi 1886* (Hanusz 1886), and *Beitrag zur Armenischen Dialectologie* (Hanusz 1889). I myself studied the dialect of Suceava in the Բազմապէս [*Bazmavep*] periodical (1899, page 112, 218, 325, 516, and 557), which is unfortunately half done.

Because Suceava represents the most Armenian-speaking settlement of Austrian Armenians, we must thus give a description of this dialect.

[[*This dialect also goes by the names Artyal, Artial, or Ardeal (Արտիալ, Արդեալ). As Martirosyan (2019: 208) reports:*

Ardeal is the Romanian form of Hungarian Erdély, which means 'beyond the forest'. The latter form was rendered into Latin as Transsilvania, the more widely-known name of the country (Pisowicz 2003: 29).

The dialect is also treated as a dialect of Poland.]]

35.2 Phonology

35.2.1 Segment inventory

35.2.1.1 Monophthong vowels

The Suceava dialect has the following vowels (Table 1).

Table 1: Vowels of the Suceava dialect (Austria-Hungary) dialect

/i/ <ի>	/u/ <ու>
/e/ <ե>	/ə/ <ը>
	/o/ <օ>
	/ɑ/ <ա>

35.2.1.2 Diphthongal vowels

There are many diphthongs. While all the Armenian dialects have generally lost the diphthongs of Classical Armenian, in contrast the Suceava dialect has renewed them (Table 2).

Table 2: Diphthongs in the Suceava dialect (Austria-Hungary)

Adjarian's transcription	Adjarian's explanation	IPA approximation
<աւ>	read as <ա'ւ> /áu/	/aɯ/
<իւ>	read as <ի'ւ> /íu/	/iɯ/
<օւ>	read as <օ'ւ> /óu/	/oɯ/
<եւ>	read as <ի'է> /ié/	/jɛ/
<իւէ>	read as <իյ'է> /ijéu/	/jɛɯ/
<իը>	read as <ի'յը> /ijə/	/jə/

[[Note that for the digraph <իւ>, Adjarian treated this as /iɯ/ for Classical Armenian, and as /y/ for the previous dialects. But for the Austria-Hungary dialect, he treats <իւ> as /iɯ/.]]

Among these, the <աւ> and <իւ> represent the Old Armenian <աւ, իւ> diphthongs: /aɯ, iɯ/ (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of /aɯ/ <աւ> and /iɯ/ <իւ> in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Austria-Hungary		cf. SEA	
'pain'	ts ^h aɯ	gaw	tsaɯ	gaw	ts ^h av	gaw
'honor'	patiɯ	ɣawsih	badiɯ	ɣawsih	pativ	ɣawsih

The symbol <Ե> represents the vowel <Ե> /*ie*/, such as in the dialects of Mush and Van. But here the system is incomplete because the diphthong <n> (read <նւօ՛ /*uó*/) ([[*meaning* /*յօ*/]]) is missing.

The Suceava sound <ԻՁ> /*iə*/ (Table 4), which originates from Classical Armenian /*i*/ <Ի>, is close to the German sound <ie> ([[*/i:/*]]), compare German <Bier>.

Table 4: Emergence of /*iə*/ <ԻՁ> in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Classical Armenian	> Austria-Hungary	cf. SEA
'heart'	sirt սիրտ	síɹd սի՛րդ	sirt սիրտ

35.2.1.3 Consonants

The consonants have three degrees: voiced, ...

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voiced aspirated, and voiceless aspirated. The Old Armenian voiced consonants have become voiced aspirated, the voiceless unaspirated sounds became voiced, while the voiceless aspirated sounds stay voiceless aspirated.

35.3 Morphology

35.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

The plural marker is /-*ier*, -*ñier*/ <Եր, ԼԵր>, but there is also the formative /-*sdan*/ <սդս՛/>, such as in the Karin dialect. The accusative always takes the preposition /*z*/ <*q*>.¹ The instrumental formative is /-*oɹ*/ <*ol*> instead of the form /-*ov*/ <*nɹ*>.

35.3.2 Numerals

The ordinal numerals are formed like in New Nakhichevan (Table 5).

¹[[Based on data from this dialect's pronouns, it seems that this preposition can vary between /*z*/ and /*s*/. (?)]

Table 5: Ordinal numerals in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Austria-Hungary		cf. SEA	
‘two’	erku	երկու			jerku	երկու
‘second’	erk-rord	երկրորդ	ergus-um	երգուսում	jerk-rort ^h	երկրորդ
‘three’	erek ^h	երեք			jerek ^h	երեք
‘third’	er-rord	երրորդ	irek ^h -um	իրեքում	jer-rort ^h	երրորդ

35.3.3 Pronoun inflection or declension

For the pronouns, we note the following.

[[Table 6 lists personal pronouns that are not the third person.]]

Table 6: Declension paradigm of personal pronouns (not third person) in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	1SG ‘I’	2SG ‘you’	1PL ‘we’	2Pl ‘you’
NOM	jes յես	d ^h un դ՞ն	mink ^h մինք	d ^h uk ^h դ՞նք
GEN	zim զիմ	zk ^h u զքու	m̄ier մեր	ḏz ^h īer ճ՞եր
DAT	ind̄zi ինձի	k ^h ezi քեզի	mezi մեզի	ḏz ^h ezi ճ՞եզի
ACC	zis զիս	sk ^h īes սքեզ	sm̄iez սմեզ	sdz ^h īez սճ՞եզ
ABL	zim-me զիմմե	zk ^h u-me զքումմե	mer-me մերմե	ḏz ^h ez-me ճ՞եզմե
INS	ind̄zi hed ինձի հեդ	k ^h ezi hed քեզի հեդ	m̄ier hed մեր հեդ	ḏz ^h īez hed ճ՞եզ հեդ

[[Table 7 has personal pronouns that are for the intensive third person.]]

Table 7: Declension paradigm of personal pronouns (third person intensive) in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	3SG ‘he’		3PL ‘they’	
NOM	ink ^h ə	իևքը	ironk ^h	իրօսք
GEN-DAT	ir̄ien	իրեն	ir̄ients ^h	իրենց
ACC	zink ^h ə	զիևքը	zironk ^h	զիրօսք
ABL	irenme	իրենսմէ	irents ^h me	իրենցսմէ
INS	ir̄ien hed	իրեն հէդ	irents ^h moյ	իրենցսմօլ

[[Table 8 shows the paradigm for the demonstrative medial pronoun ‘that’].]

Table 8: Declension paradigm of demonstrative medial pronouns ‘that’ in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Singular ‘that’		Plural ‘those’	
NOM	d ^h a, ad	դ՛ա, ադ	adonk ^h , d ^h ak ^h a	ադօսք, դ՛աքա
GEN-DAT	d ^h ara	դ՛արա	d ^h ats ^h a	դ՛ացա
ACC	d ^h ara	դ՛արա	d ^h ats ^h a	դ՛ացա
ABL	d ^h ara-me	դ՛արամէ	d ^h ats ^h a-me	դ՛ացամէ
INS	d ^h ara hed	դ՛արա հէդ	d ^h ats ^h a hed	դ՛ացա հէդ

35.3.4 Verb inflection or conjugation

[[Adjarian placed the entire paradigm of this verb into a single table. We break it down with a morpheme segmentation and gloss. We contrast the dialectal data against SEA and/or SWA. The morpheme segmentation is my own, based on examining the entire paradigm and contrasting against SEA and/or SWA.]]

[[Note that this verb is treated as the default type of verb. It is the reflex of the conjugation class that had a theme vowel /e/ in Classical Armenian. This conjugation class is also the default class in SEA and SWA. Philological work calls it the first class; a more mnemonic name is the E-Class.]]

35.3.4.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[For the indicative present, SWA combines the indicative prefix /g(ə)/ <լը> with a finite verb. This finite verb is the subjunctive form. For an E-Class verb like ‘to like’

/sir-e-l/, the theme vowel is a non-alternating /e/, and the 3SG marker is covert. In Austro-Hungary, Adjarian states that the indicative prefix is /gi/; the theme vowel is /e/ for the 3SG, and /i/ elsewhere (Table 9).]]

In conjugation, the present and the imperfective formative is /gi/ <qh>. The vowel /e/ <ɛ> of verbal endings becomes /i/ <ɪ>.

Table 9: Indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Austria-Hungary		cf. SWA	
1SG	gi sir-i-m	գի սիրիմ	gə sir-e-m ‘I like’	կը սիրեմ
2SG	gi sir-i-s	գի սիրիս	gə sir-e-s	կը սիրես
3SG	gi sir-e-∅	գի սիրէ	gə sir-e-∅	կը սիրէ
1PL	gi sir-i-nk ^h	գի սիրինք	gə sir-e-ŋk ^h	կը սիրենք
2PL	gi sir-i-k ^h	գի սիրիք	gə sir-e-k ^h	կը սիրեք
3PL	gi sir-i-n	գի սիրին	gə sir-e-n	կը սիրեն
	IND √-TH-AGR		IND √-TH-AGR	

[[For the indicative past imperfective, SWA combines the indicative prefix with a finite verb (the past imperfective). This finite form adds the past suffix /-i/ after the theme vowel, such as the past 2PL sequence /-i-k^h/ (Table 10). This past suffix is however covert in the 3SG, along with a covert agreement suffix. In Austria-Hungary, we use essentially the same strategy. However, the 2SG suffix is /-s/ instead of /-r/. Note that the theme vowel here is /e/ in the past, instead of /i/ as in the present (Table 9).]]

The imperfective 2SG uses /-s/ <u> in analogy to the present. This thing does not exist in any dialect.

Table 10: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Austria-Hungary		cf. SWA	
1SG	gi sir-e-i-∅	գի սիրեի	gə sir-ej-i-∅ ‘I would like’	կը սիրեի
2SG	gi sir-e-i-s	գի սիրեիս	gə sir-ej-i-r	կը սիրեիք
3SG	gi sir-e-∅-r	գի սիրեր	gə sir-e-∅-r	կը սիրեր
1PL	gi sir-e-i-nk ^h	գի սիրեինք	gə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h	կը սիրեինք
2PL	gi sir-e-i-k ^h	գի սիրեիք	gə sir-ej-i-k ^h	կը սիրեիք
3PL	gi sir-e-i-n	գի սիրեին	gə sir-ej-i-n	կը սիրեին
	IND √-TH-PST-AGR		IND √-TH-PST-AGR	

There are no progressive forms.

35.3.4.2 Future marking

[[In SWA (Table 11), the future is formed by adding the proclitic /bidi/ <պիտի> before the finite present-form of the verb. For Austria-Hungary, the form of the proclitic varies, as Adjarian describes.]]

The future is formed with the formative /bidor/ <բիոր>. But Hungarian Armenians use the form /bi/ <բի>, which is the shortening of the CA /piti/ <պիտի> ‘it is necessary’, and it becomes /b/ <բ> next to vowels.

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Table 11: Future <ապանսի> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Austria-Hungary dialect

Austria-Hungary (Suceava)		cf. SWA	
1SG	bidor sir-i-m բիդոր սիրիմ	bidi sir-e-m ‘I will like’	պիսի սիրեմ
2SG	bidor sir-i-s բիդոր սիրիս	bidi sir-e-s	պիսի սիրես
3SG	bidor sir-e-∅ բիդոր սիրե	bidi sir-e-∅	պիսի սիրե
1PL	bidor sir-i-nk ^h բիդոր սիրինք	bidi sir-e-դk ^h	պիսի սիրենք
2PL	bidor sir-i-k ^h բիդոր սիրիք	bidi sir-e-k ^h	պիսի սիրեք
3PL	bidor sir-i-n բիդոր սիրին	bidi sir-e-n	պիսի սիրեն
	FUT √-TH-AGR	FUT √-TH-AGR	
Austria-Hungary (Hungary)		cf. SWA	
1SG	bi sir-i-m բի սիրիմ	bidi sir-e-m ‘I will like’	պիսի սիրեմ
2SG	bi sir-i-s բի սիրիս	bidi sir-e-s	պիսի սիրես
3SG	bi sir-e-∅ բի սիրե	bidi sir-e-∅	պիսի սիրե
1PL	bi sir-i-nk ^h բի սիրինք	bidi sir-e-դk ^h	պիսի սիրենք
2PL	bi sir-i-k ^h բի սիրիք	bidi sir-e-k ^h	պիսի սիրեք
3PL	bi sir-i-n բի սիրին	bidi sir-e-n	պիսի սիրեն
	FUT √-TH-AGR	FUT √-TH-AGR	

35.3.4.3 Replacing the past perfective with the present perfect

[[In SWA, the past perfective is marked in a synthetic manner by using the aorist stem. For example, for the verb ‘to like’ /sir-e-l/, to express the past form ‘they liked’, we use a synthetic form (1a). Morphologically, we add the aorist suffix /ts^h/ after the theme vowel, and then add the past and agreement suffixes. In contrast, a complex tense like the present perfect or past perfect is formed periphrastically by combining a non-finite form (such as the resultative participle) with a tensed auxiliary (1b, 1c). Such non-finite forms are often called past participles in the more traditional literature.]]

(1) SWA

a. Past perfective

sir-e-ts^h-i-∅, sir-e-ts^h-i-n

like-TH-AOR-PST-1SG, like-TH-AOR-PST-3PL

‘I liked; they liked.’

սիրեցի, սիրեցին

b. Present perfect

sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ e-m, sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ e-n
 like-RPTCP AUX-1SG, like-RPTCP AUX-3PL

‘I have liked; they have liked.’

սիրած եմ, սիրած են

c. Past perfect

sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ ej-i- \emptyset , sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ ej-i-n
 like-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG, like-RPTCP AUX-PST-3PL

‘I had liked; they had liked.’

սիրած էի, սիրած էին

[[As Adjarian explains below, the Austria-Hungary dialect is innovative because it has lost the synthetic strategy to mark the past perfective. Instead, to capture the meaning of the past perfective, he reports that the Austria-Hungary dialect uses the cognate of the periphrastic present perfect from SWA. He is vague though as to how the meaning of the present perfect is marked, or the semantic role of the cognate of the SWA past perfect.]]

The past participle is formed with the formative /-il/ <իլ>, with which are also formed the present perfect (յարակատար) and past perfect (գերակատար) forms.

[[Note that the formative /il/ seems to be a cognate of the SEA perfective converb /-el/, and I gloss it as such. (?)]]

But here, the Suceava dialect has a very interesting innovation. As is clear, many of the new European languages are losing the perfective in verbal tenses. For example, French forms <j’aimai, tu aimas, il aima, nous aimâmes, vous aimâtes, ils aimèrent> exist only in the literary language, while the populace do not recognize such forms and instead use the present perfect (j’ai aimé, tu as aimé). In this way, thus the original meaning of the present perfect is lost, and it has moved to the place of the perfective. The same has happened in the Suceava dialect. This dialect has abandoned the use of the perfective tense (SWA /sir-e- $\widehat{\text{ts}}^{\text{h}}$ -i- \emptyset / ‘I liked’ <սիրեցի>), and it uses the present perfect in its place, with the same meaning. Here are the conjugation of the two forms (Table 12).

Table 12: Using periphrastic forms to mark the meaning of the past perfective meaning of the verb ‘to like’ in the Austria-Hungary dialect

	Participle plus present auxiliary (cognate to SWA present perfect)		Participle plus past auxiliary (cognate to SWA past perfect)	
1SG	sir-il i-m	սիրիլ իմ	sir-il e-i-∅	սիրիլ էի
2SG	sir-il i-s	սիրիլ իս	sir-il e-i-s	սիրիլ էիս
3SG	sir-il e-∅	սիրիլ է	sir-il e-∅-r	սիրիլ էր
1PL	sir-il i-nk ^h	սիրիլ ինք	sir-il e-i-nk ^h	սիրիլ էինք
2PL	sir-il i-k ^h	սիրիլ իք	sir-il e-i-k ^h	սիրիլ էիք
3PL	sir-il i-n	սիրիլ ին	sir-il e-i-n	սիրիլ էին
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

[[For the participle with the present auxiliary, the 1SG likely means ‘I liked’. But it is unclear what is the meaning of the participle with the past auxiliary.]]

35.4 Literature

[[I do not translate or give bibliography entries for these sources because they are rather difficult to systematically track down. Adjarian does not usually state whether these manuscripts analyze the dialect (such as a grammar or dictionary) or simply use the dialect (such as a play script).]]

In the following works, we can find manuscripts that are written in the diverse branches of the Austria-Hungary dialect.

- Literature involving the Austria-Hungary dialect
 - Հ. Գր. Գովրիկեան
 - * – Դրաստիլուանկոյ հայոց մետրապոլիսը, Վեննա, 1896
 - * – Հայք յերիսաբերուպոլիս, Վեննա, 1893
 - L Patrubány – Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlugnen, I and II

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 208).]]

[[On page 279, Adjarian had a brief paragraph about the Romani language of Lomavren. I moved it here because it is more relevant here:]]

Here it should be mentioned also the Romani language of Lomavren (հայ ըռշայերէն), whose lexicon is only Romani (ըռշայերէն), while its grammar

and phonology are Armenian and it belongs to the /kə/ <կը> branch. On the Romani language, there are diverse statements, and the most complete summary is the one by the Armenologist Ֆինկ: Finck 1907.²

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35.5 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.*]]

35.5.1 Suceava dialect

Adjarian's note: I prepared this with a priest from Suceava, Ter Karapet Kaynayan (Տեր Կարապետ Կայնայան; [[*SEA: /ter karapet kajnajan/, SWA: /der garabed gajnajan/*]]), with the scientific orthography.

35.5.1.1 Sample

– Բ'արի լուս. Ի՞նչբէս էք:
 – Շընորհագալ իմ. աղէգ:
 – Ի՞նչբէս, հանգ'չի՞լ իս աս գ'ըշեր:
 – Չօր աղէգ բառգիլ իմ. նուժայ բ'ուրիջները ինձի բ'օգ'օյ չին դուլի. հիմբի (հիմայ) ո՞րախ (ուր) բիդօր էրթաս. Ի՞նչ բիդօր անիս աղէս (այդպէս) գանուխ:
 – Բէդգ' է էրթամ բ'օշդ'ան, վօր դ'էլէգրաֆ անիմ:
 – Ի՞նչ դ'էլէգրաֆ:
 – Նէբ'օդ'ըս գ'ըրիլ է ինձի `թէ աս օրերուն գուգէ մեր մօդ իգ'այլու. ու գուգէ համ ըգհարսը բ'երէ վօր ասդեղ փսագվէն: Դերդերը ինձի ասիլ է գ'օ չի գարունս գիրէնք փսագվելու, իլալու վօր ասքեր (ագգական) ին. հիմբի գուգիմ դ'էլէգրաֆադ' անիլու, վօր չիքս, գուրի (իգուր) խարջ անէ մըսքիւնը (խեղճ). գափսըսնա՛մ շադ վօր աթ խըդա՛րը խարջ արիլ է: Բ'օլօր բ'անը հադի՛ըր էր. քըրչերը հադի՛ըր էին. մուգիգ'անթները վարցած էին. ռամեցեքի բիլէդ'ները խըրգած էին. գարջ ասիմ ամմէն բ'անը հադի՛ըր էր:

²[[*Adjarian includes other bibliographic data, such as պտմ-փիլ ճիւշ. VIII, N 5. I don't know how accurate this information is however, because I couldn't find a clear copy of this item online. (?)*]]

– Յես գի մըղքիմ վոր բաղրիարքարանը դ'էլեգրաֆադ' անինը. յէ խընդ'րինը վոր բ'օզվօլիդ' անին. յէ ամմէն բ'անը բաղմինը դ'էլեգրաֆի մէչ. թէ բ'օլորը հաղի'ըր ին. բ'օզվօլիդ' անէ քահանայուն վոր աս անգ'ամը փսագէ:

– Աղէգ է. անինը. ի'նչ խըղար ժամանագի մէչ գըլա բաղասխանը իգ'ալու օրընձեդ':

– Ասոր հինըջափթի յէ. ինչֆա'նի շաբ'աթ օր գըլա բաղասխանը իլա ի հօս:

Ուրբ'աթ իրգուն գը հանդըբին իրենը ավըը:

– Բ'արիգուն. է', ի'նչ է խաբարը. բաղասխան գ'ըղընվի'լ իք:

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– Հա'բա (այո'). աղէգ է. բաղրիարքը բօզվօլիդ' արիլ է քահանայուն վոր փսագէ. հիմբի գերթամ դ'էլեգրաֆադ' անիմ վոր իգ'ան:

– Ասա մէ ինձի. ձանուցումները յէ'փ բիդօր անէ:

– Ադօր համար եղիլ իմ գ'ըբ'իդ'ընի'ան, յէ խընդ'րիլ իմ խօր բ'օզվօլիդ' անէ մէգ դարբա (անգամ) իրէքի համար. յօ խօսդացիլ է թէ բ'օզվօլիդ' գանէ, յօ քա-հանայուն գ'ըրօւ գիմացնու. հիամ մէգալ վաղը (միւս օրը) գիրագի է. առվադուն քահանան ձանուցումները գանէ, յէ գեսավօր յէդէլ փսագ:

– Չօր աղէգ է. հիմբի նայէ նումայ վոր օզգա բ'աները հաղի'ըր իլան. խաղալու սայօնը արանժա'դ' է. բ'օդիալները վըգ'սուկի'դ' ին:

– Հա'բա, բ'օլոր բ'անը հաղի'ըր ին. նումայ չիյդիմ ըզվօ' խըրգիմ իրենց դ'ի-մաց վաման վոր նըգ'ըժիդ' չանին գիրօնը:

– Խըրգէ ըզվերի Գ'օզ'օրը (Գրիգոր). իլլալու վոր ինքը ջանջ'ֆօրներ ունէ:

– Աղէգ գասիս. գինքը գը խընդ'րիմ վոր էրթա:

Երդուսում օրը շաբ'աթ օր ավըը գը հանդըբին:

– Բ'արի լուս:

– Բ'արի լուս. աչֆըները լուս. եգի'լ ին հարսնավօրաքը:

– Եգիլ ին աս առվադու. հիմբի գըցիլ (սկսել) է բ'անը. գ'նա հօն` հօս- աս բեդգ' է, ան բեդգ' է. յօլ բ'օլոր բ'անը գիմ գ'ըլխուս վրա է. չունիմ վօչ մէգ աժուդ'օր մը:

– Նումայ համբ'երություն, բ'ա'րեգամ, բ'օլոր բ'անը գի դ'առնա. թօխ գամաց. քանո'լմ սահաթն է փսագը:

– Վեցին:

Բ'ախդ'ը (ամուսին) դուն գուգ'ա յեգ գնգանը հեդ ադես գը գուրուցէ.

– Է' Ռուժիգ', հաղըղվի'ըր... հարսնիքը մո'լգիգ'ը ուժէ գի փչէ. բեդգ' է էրթանը:

– Յես հաղի'ըր իմ. դ'ուն ալ չուսդ' (չուս) սեւ քըրչերըդ' հաքի'ըր. յէ մընու-չաները հանէ շուֆլադէն. յէ դ'իըր գ'օնջուգը վոր չի մօռնաս:

– Ռո'լժիգ', դ'ուն վօ'ր բօդ'իները գի հաքնիս... հաքի'ըր ջերմագ գագու (մե-տաքս). իլալու վոր ջերմագ գագու օրօգ'լան հաքիլ իս. չի մօռնաս բըրօշը ու բրանգօլէդ'ան առնուս... օրօգ'լիդ'...

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շլեբ՝ը շաղ յերգան է. բեղգ՝ էր զինքը գ՛նտոյո՛րին դաս՝ վոր զըդրէ:

– Դ՛ո՛նն ինչ գ՛իդիս. ասբես է մօղան. խրգէ չուսո՛ք ֆիագ՛րին դեվանց վոր իգ՛ա:

– Զալէ՛... ֆիագ՛րը գի բ՛օհէ (սպասել):

Երգուսն ա՛ գի նըսդին ֆիագ՛րի մէչ, յէ գերթան հարսնիքին դունը:

– Բ՛արօւ եգիլ իք:

– Գը շընաֆօրինք. Ասված դա խըսմըթօւ ու դօլվըթօւ իլա:

– Շընօրհագալ ինք. դառօսը հեմ ձ՛եր գավագացը գ՛օլօջ՛ին... ռամեցեք. խընդ՛րիմ, ռամեցեք ա՛լ վեր, խաշլումօրը քօւ:

– Դ՛եռ չի՞ն էրթա փըսագ:

– Ա՛ս բաս (այս պահուս). նումայ քահանան իգ՛ա... հա՛, քահանան եգիլ է. Է՛, ռամեցեք, դ՛ըրըսուրաները գօ բ՛օհին. առաչի դ՛ըրըսուրային մէչ գերթա քահանան, յէ բիքա իրիցգ՛ինը. Երգուսումին մէչ հարսը խաշլու մօրը հեդ. իրեքումին մէչ փեսան խաշլուին հեդ. յեղգ՛ը մեգալօնք. գի խընդ՛րինք վոր բ՛րեջ՛է դ՛ըրըրսուրաներօւ Երթան, զէ (գի) գան դիսո՛ղու:

Գամաց գամաց սերէ դասը գամ դասնըհինգ դ՛ըրըսուրառընդօւ ժամ գերթան, յէ փսագը գի զըցէ. փսագէն ալվըշ հարսինը դունը գերթան յէ հարգըվէլուն Էդեվանց գի զըցին սո՛լօները փռելու. յէ գի դ՛ըրվին մուսաֆիրները սո՛լօ. գի հասգըցվի վոր հարսը յէ փեսան սո՛լօն շագաղը յէ իրեց դեվանց խաշլուն ու խաշլումարը. անօր դեվանց բ՛րեջ՛ը ռընդօւ. հիմբի գի զըցին բ՛արեգենացները:

– Չօր բիդօր անգ՛ընվի (ուշանաւ) սո՛լօլը. քանի՞ յէ սահադ՛ը:

– Ուժէ ինը անցիլ է:

– Բ՛եղգ՝ է խընդ՛րինք գքահանան վոր ա՛լ չուսո՛ք անէ. սըլիդ՛ անէ բ՛արեգենացներօլը, իլալու վոր դըղաները ուժէ չունին համբ՛երոլթյուն:

– Ունին ժամանագ համ խաղալու դիսո՛ղու, ինչֆանի առվադու:

– Ա՛հ, աս է յեղգ՛ի բ՛արեգենացը. գի լըմընցվի սո՛լօլը:

– Շնօրհագալ ինք:

– Խնըդ՛րիմ թօղոլթյուն:

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– Հիմբի ի՛նչ գանինք. գերթանք սալօնը. մո՛լգիգ՛ը զըցիլ է փչելու... դիսո՛ղու մեծ է սալօնը. ու ռինդ լումինադ՛ է, դառը գօր դաք է. դըղաները չին իմանա. գուլթֆի (կը թուի) թէ չին դիսնու ու չին լսի օգգա բ՛ան իքմընա (իմն ինչ): Ասբես ին դղաները, գի բ՛ըննի՞ս միդը՛ յեփ դ՛ուն ա դղա էիս. յէ գի խաղան յեփ վալց, յեփ գ՛ադրիլ, յեփ հօ՛րա: Հիմբի գուլգին մագուր խաղալու. վօ՞ արանժադ՛ գանէ:

– Ինձի գուլթֆի թէ աղաչա Օվանեսը գօր ռինդ մագուր արանժադ՛ արիլ է. դարը ալվըշ վալց գուլգին խաղալու. բեղգ՝ է անգ՛ան իլա:

– Սահադ՛ը չօրս է. յէ դ՛րուսդըս (դուստր) չուգէ Երթալու. ամմէնը գի խնդ՛րէ ա՛լա (Է՛լի) քիչ մը, ա՛լա քիչ մը. ու գօր դ՛րուդիդ՛ իմ:

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– Աղէս գանէ համ օրդ'իս. յէփ գասիմ իրեն քալէ դուն, դիսդ'ուլ է, գի խընդ'րէ Նումայ գաս գ'ադրիլը ա'լա. գ'օ անգաժարդ' իմ. գ'ադրիլին դէվանց օզգա վալց ու օզգա'լը յէ սըվըրշիդ' չուին. հա'նա գի լուսանա... ուժէ ջիրախները գի փօ-խին. դարը հիմբի գերթանք... Նայեցէ՛ք դղաք, հաքընըվեցէք աղէգ. փաթըվէ՛ Հը-նէփսիա... Գա'րաբեդ, հաքի'ըր ըՄիբըրցի'ըրըր, վօր չի բաղիս. քըրդընսաճ էս... հիմբի առնունք բ'արօւ մա դան մադ'իգ'օցը մօղէ... հա'նա, հօս ին... բ'արի գ'ըղէր բիքա Վարդ'էնիք, բ'արի գ'ըշէր աղաչա Գյօրգէշ, աղաչա Լուսիգ:

- Բ'արի գ'ըշէր ծ'եր հրամանօցը:
- Ասվաճ դա դօլվըթօւ ու խըսմըթօւ իլա:
- Շնօրհագալ ինք աշխադանքին:

35.5.1.2 Words

1. Չօր. թրք. գօր՝ շաստ
 2. Նումայ. ռում. numai՝ միայն թէ
 3. Բ'ուրիջ'. ռմ purici՝ լու
 4. Բ'օգ'օյ. լեհ. pokoi՝ հանգստութիւն
 5. Բ'օշդ'ա. ռմ. posta՝ Նամակատուն
 6. Դ'էլէգրաֆ. ռմ. telegraf՝ հեռագիր
 7. Նեբ'օդ'. ռմ. nepot՝ հօրեղբօրորդի
 8. Գ'օ. ռմ. câ՝ թէ, որ
 9. Հադի'ըր. թրք. hazar՝ պատրաստ
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10. Քուրջ՝ զգեստ
 11. Մուզիգ'անթ. ռմ. musicant՝ նուագածու
 12. Բիլէդ'. ռմ. билет՝ տոմսակ
 13. Բ'օզվօլիդ'. լեհ. թոյլատրել
 14. Օրընձեդ'՝ յետս
 15. Ալվըշ. ռմ. earasi՝ դարձեալ

16. Գ՛ըբ՛իդ՛ընիա. նմ. *câpitanía`* թաղապետութիւն
17. Արանժադ՛. նմ. *aranjat`* կարգաւորեալ
18. Բ՛օդիալ. նմ. *podeal`* տախտակ
19. Վըզ՛սուփդ՛. նմ. *vacsuit`* մոմած
20. Վամա. նմ. *vama`* մաքսատուն
21. Նըզ՛ըժիդ՛. նմ. *necajit`* նեղել
22. Վերի. նմ. *ver* հօրեղբօրորդի
23. Աժուդ՛օր. նմ. *ajut0r`* օգնական
24. Ռուժիզ՛. լեհ. *Ruza`* Վարդուհի
25. Սուզիզ՛. գերմ. *Musik`* նուագ
26. Ուժէ. լեհ. *uze`* արդէն
27. Մնուշա. նմ. *manusa`* ձեռնոց
28. Շուֆլադ. նմ. *sufładã`* դարան
29. Գ՛օնջուզ՛ գրպան
30. Բօդ՛իւ. նմ. *botin`* կօշիկ
31. Շուֆլադ. նմ. *rochie`* շրջագգեստ
32. Բրօշ. նմ. *brosu`* մանեակ
33. Բրանզօլէդ՛ա. նմ. *branzoleta`* ապարանջան
34. Շլէբ՛. գերմ. *Schleppe`* քղանցք
35. Գ՛ռէօդ՛օր. նմ. *croitoriu`* դերձակ
36. Ֆիագ՛ր. գերմ. *facker`* կառք
37. Գ՛օլօշ՛ գլուխ
38. Դ՛րըսուրա. նմ. *trasura`* կառք
39. Բիքա՛ տիկին (լեհ. կամ հունգ.)

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40. Խաշլու՝ կնքահայր
41. Խաշլումար՝ կնքամայր
42. Բ՛րեջ՛Է՝ բոլոր
43. Դիսո՛ուլ. ոմ. distu՛մ՝ բաւական
44. Ո՞ընդ. ոմ. rōndu՛՝ կարգ
45. Սո՛ուլ. լեհ. stol՛՝ սեղան

46. Սլիդ՛. ոմ. salit՛՝ շտապել
47. Լումինադ՛. ոմ. luminat՛՝ լուսաւոր
48. Դարը. ոմ. dara՛՝ բայց
49. Դ՛րուդիդ՛. ոմ. truditu՛՝ յոզնած
50. Սվըրշիդ՛. ոմ. sfarsitu՛՝ վերջացած
51. Իրըրցի՛ըր. գերմ. überzieher՛՝ վերարկու

35.5.2 Gherla or Armenopolis from Hungary

Adjarian's note: See Գովրիկեան, Դրանսիլուանիոյ Հայոց Մետրապոլիսը, էջ 312.

Footnote from Adjarian: This parable is also printed in the periodical *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhand.*, 1, page 117-8, with European transliteration. Although the last one is more accurate, it is still not completely accurate, so I kept the Armenian example unchanged.

Չարկիլ է ուժեմ կենացս վերջին սըհաթը – կասէ հոգեւարք հայրը երկու որդուն: Իմ էտեվանց միան դուք կի մնաք: Ինչ որ բոլոր կենացս մէջ, հարկիւորութեամբ քաղիլ իմնա՛՝ ձեզի կի թողում: Ապրեցէք միամիտ, հանդարտ ու մէկտեղ: Չի բաժնըվիք մէկը մէկալէն, գերամ բաժնըված կարող չի պիլաք մեծ արուտուր անելու: Ըզձերը մի թողուք. ըզզկայինը մի կամենաք: Կանուխ ելեցէք, արաջը ժամ գընացէք, պատարագ լսելու. անոր էտեվանց բացեցէք պօղ: Թէ որ մէկ օրը տասը կրօշ վաստըկիլ իք նա, միայն ութը խարճեցէք: Երբ շոգոտոլ (տօնավաճառ) երթաք, տարեցէք ձեր հետ ըզբադըրը (տեր ողորմեա) ու ամարը համ պունտա (մուշտակ): Ճամբօվը օտար մարդիկաց հըտ մի՛ բարեկըմվիք.

ցանցառ մարդ ըլլա ում դիմաց ըզսըրտերդ բանաք: Սիրեցէք զԱստուած, բըրնեցէք ըզիրեն պատվիրանքները, եղեցէք ողորմասիրտ: Պահեցէք ըզիմ անունը ու յիշատակը. ու տերն մերը, ում դիմաց հիմպիկ կերթամ, պի օրհնէ զձեզ:

Ճորով թաղիլ ին ըզմեռածը, մեծ աղբարը մորցըվիլ է վողորմած հոգի հոյրը խօսքերուն վրայէն ու վարիլ է տանէն ըզպիգտիկը: Չի տուվի իրեն իքմըն ալ, միայն մէկ կով մը: Զիչ ժամանակի վրա զան ալ ետ ուզիլ է: Չի տուվի նա, դատըստընով արիլ է: Հիմպիկ աղքատ աղբարը կառնու ըզաշխարհը ափը. ու ճամվա կելէ: Կի երթա շատ ու քիչ: Կի կաննի ու մէկ ծարի մը տակ կի հանգչի:

Կուգա երկու ագրաւ ու ան ծարիւնը կի նըստին կի կըցին զուրուցելու:

– Ի՞նչ նոր կա ձեր երկիրը:

– Կի մերնին մարդիքը ծարվուն:

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– Եշտ (հեշտ) պիլար ատորը աջողելու, թէ որ պագարը մէկ փըս մը փըրէին. ու մէկ ձիաւոր մարդ մը զան բոլորէր նա, ջուր պի էլէր:

– Ու ձեր մօտ չիգա՛ իքմըն ալ նոր բան:

– Թագաւորը զօր հիւանդ է ու չիտէ մարդ ա զինքը լաւցընելու:

– Կա հարնին (ափոռ) սեմին տակը մէկ գորտ մը, թէ որ անոր եղովը քըսէին զինքը նա, պի լաւնար:

Աղքատը, վով ծարին տակէն ամէն խօսք աղէկ կի լւեր, ալ ինտան կերթա: Կի հասնի ան քաղաքը ուրուի ջրի պաքսութիւն ունացիլ ին: Կանէ մէկ ջիղվըր (ջրհոր) մը, որին մէջ անխա ջուր քաղվիլ է որ դուս ալ վոթիլ է: Ընդունած շատ պաշխըջովը, կերթա մայրաքաղաքը ուր թագաւորը բնակիլ է: Կի լաւցընու զինքը: Անխա գանձ կուտան իրեն, որ ճորով կըլայ տուն տանելու:

[[*Adjarian had a brief paragraph here about the Romani language of Lomavren. I moved it to the literature section (§35.4).*]]

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Part V

The /el/ <ɛɫ> branch

The /el/ <ɛɫ> branch has 3 dialects:

1. Dialect of Maragha (§36)
2. Dialect of Khoy (§37)
3. Dialect of Artvin (§38)

Chapter 36

Maragha

36.1 Background

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The dialect of Maragha is spoken on the two sides of Lake Urmia. The eastern side is found in the city of Maragha, while the western side is the city of Urmia, with its group of Armenian villages, a portion of which are Turkish-speaking. For this very interesting dialect, there is no published study or even a line from a published manuscript. During my time in Persia, I studied it, with two adult students from Maragha: Petros Hayrapetian (ՊՊ. Պետրոս Հայրապետեան; [[SEA: /petros harapetjan/]]) and Grigor Mnatsakanian (Գրիգոր Մնացականեան; [[SEA: /g(ə)rik^hor mənats^hakanjan/]]). I present here a summary of my unpublished research.

[[For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 221).]]

36.2 Phonology

36.2.1 Segment inventory

The sound system of the Maragha dialect is very rich in vowels and diphthongs (in total 14)¹ in Table 1.

Table 1: Vowel inventory of the Maragha dialect

/i/ <ի>	/y/ <իլ>	/u̟/ <ուլ>	/u/ <ու>
/œ/ <էօ>	/e/ <է>	/o/ <օ>	/ye/ <ուէ>
/əj/ <ըի>	/ə/ <ը>	/ə/ <ը>	/i/ <ըի>
/æ/ <ւի>			/ɑ/ <ւ>

¹[[The original page had 13. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that it should be 14. He likewise says that we should include the vowel <է>. I fixed it.]]

[[For the sounds <nⁱ> and <ŋⁱ>, Adjarian used a superscript <h> /i/: <nL^h, ŋ^h>. But because that could cause problems with my type-setter, I replaced them with a superscript <i>..]]

The consonants are likewise rich with some new sounds as in Table 2.

Table 2: Consonants of the Maragha dialect

	Labial			Coronal			Dorsal/Back		
Stops	/b/	/p/	/p ^h /	/d/	/t/	/t ^h /	/g/	/k/	/k ^h /
	<ɸ>	<ɰ>	<ɸ ^h >	<ŋ>	<ɯ>	<ɸ ^h >	<ɰ>	<ɰ>	<ɰ ^h >
							/g ^j /	/k ^j /	/k ^{hj} /
							<ɰ ^j >	<ɰ ^j >	<ɰ ^{hj} >
Affricates				/d͡z/	/t͡s/	/t͡s ^h /			
				<ɖ>	<ɖ>	<g>			
				/d͡ʒ/	/t͡ʃ/	/t͡ʃ ^h /			
				<ʒ>	<ɖ>	<ʒ>			
Fricatives	/f/	/v/		/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/χ/	/ʁ/
	<ɸ>	<ɰ>		<u>	<ɰ>	<ʒ>	<ɖ>	<ɰu>	<ŋ>
									/h/
									<h>
									/ç/
									<hj>
Sonorants	/m/	/n/		/r/	/r/	/l/	/j/	/w/	
	<ɸ>	<ɰ>		<ɰ>	<n>	<ɰ>	<ɰ>	<ɰ>	

For these sounds, it is worth giving a separate explanation for the following. The sound <ŋⁱ> represents the Russian sound <ы>, meaning a sound /ə/ <ɰ> that is pronounced voiceless and closed.

The sounds <ŋⁱ, nⁱ, ŋɛ, nɛ> represent approximately the sounds /əi, ui, əi, ue/ in fast pronunciation.

[[Based on this description, and to maintain consistency with previous uses of <ŋɛ, nɛ>, I use a diphthong notation with <ɰ> for all but <ŋɛ>: /əi, ui, ə, ue/.]]

The consonants, as can be seen, have three degrees: voiced, voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated. The dialect recognizes also the palatal sounds /g^j, k^j, k^{hj}, ç/ <ɰ^j, ɰ^j, ɰ^{hj}, hj>, and the semi-sound /w/ <ɰ> which is pronounced like the English letter <w>.

36.2.2 Sound changes

36.2.2.1 Monophthong vowel changes

For the vowel changes, the following are notable.

36.2.2.1.1 Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω>

Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω> remains /ɑ/ <ω> or /æ/ <ü>.

36.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /je/ <յե> (at the beginning of monosyllabic words), /e/ <ե> (at the beginning of polysyllabic words), while word-medially it is /e, ɛ, i/ <ե, ղե, ի>.

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36.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /i, əj, ə/ <ի, ղի, ղ> (Table 3).²

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, əj, ə/ <ի, ղի, ղ> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘barley’	gari	գարի	k ^h æɾə	կյարը	gari	գարի
‘scholar’	dəpɪr	դպիր	təpəjɾ	տըպըր	dəpɪr	դպիր

36.2.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /vəj/ <վը> word-initially (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /vəj/ <վը> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘lentil’	ospən	ոսպն	vəjɪsp	վըսպ	vosp	ոսպ
‘son’	ordí	որդի	vəjɪrt ^h ə	վըրթը	vort ^h í	որդի

²[[The original page had <ե^h>. But on page 306, Adjarian provided an erratum that this should be <ըի>, which I think was itself a typo for <ը^h> or /ը^h/. I fixed it.]]

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In the body of the word, it becomes /o, œ, əj, ʁe, uṯ/ <o, to, րի, ուէ, ուի>, according to particular circumstances (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /o, œ, əj, ʁe, uṯ/ <o, to, րի, ուէ, ուի> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘work’	gorts	գործ	kurts	կուրծ	gorts	գործ
‘grass’	χot	խոտ	χuit	խուտ	χot	խոտ
‘earth’	hoł	հող	χueœ	խուէղ	hoœ	հող
‘soul’	hogí	հոգի	χok ^h ó	խօքը	hok ^h i	հոգի
‘to roll’	gəlorel	գլորել	k ^h vllœrel	կիվլէօրել	gəlorel	գլորել
‘bishop’	episkopos	եպիսկոպոս	jəpəskapəjs	յըպըսկապըս	jepiskopos	եպիսկոպոս

36.2.2.1.5 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /u, uṯ, v/ <nL, ուի, իւ> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u, uṯ, v/ <nL, ուի, իւ> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘water’	dzur	ջուր	tjyr	ծիր	dzur	ջուր
‘house’	tun	տոն	tyñ	տիւ	tun	տոն
‘bundle’	χurdz	խուրծ	χurts ^h	խուրց	χurts ^h	խուրծ

36.2.2.2 Diphthongal vowel changes

36.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> became /e/ <է> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /e/ <է> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘father’	hajr	հայր	χer	իւր	hajr	հայր
‘sound’	dzaṯjn	ծայն	tseñ	ծէն	dzaṯjn	ծայն

36.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iṽ/ <իւ>

Classical Armenian /iṽ/ <իւ> became /y, i/ <իւ, ի> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iṽ/ <իւ> to /y, i/ <իւ, ի> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘hundred’	hariṽr	հարիւր	χærir	խարիր	harjur	հարյուր
‘snow’	ḍziṽn	ծիւն	ṭsyn	ծիւն	ḍzjun	ծյուն

36.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oiṽ/ <ոյ>

Classical Armenian /oiṽ/ <ոյ> became /y, uiṽ/ <իւ, ուի> (Table 9).

[[Adjarian provides the CA word ‘sleep’ /k^hun/ <քուն>, but I think this is a mistake because it does not have a diphthong /oiṽ/. (?)]]

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /oiṽ/ <ոյ> became /y, uiṽ/ <իւ, ուի> in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘light’	loiṽs	լոյս	luiṽs	լուս	lujs	լոյս
‘sleep’	k ^h un	քուն	k ^h yn	քիւն	k ^h un	քուն

36.2.2.3 Consonant changes

The consonant changes are exactly the same as in the dialects of Van or Karabakh. The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <հ> is always /χ/ <խ>.

36.3 Morphology

36.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

36.3.1.1 Vowel harmony

In the grammar, everything is established based on the rule of analogy. Nominal and verbal formatives and endings change their vowels according to the vowel that is contained in the root of the word. For example, the definite article becomes

/-ɑ/ <ω> if the vowel of the word-final syllable is /ɑ/ <ω> or /u/ <ու>. But it becomes /-æ/ <ւ> if that vowel is /æ, e, ɣ/ <ւ, է, հւ>. The genitive formative is /-ə/ <ը> if the vowel of the word-final syllable is /ɑ/ <ω> or /ə/ <ը>. But that formative becomes /-ɣ/ <իւ> if the vowel is /ɣ/ <իւ> or /œ/ <եօ>. It also becomes /-u/ <ու> when in front of the vowels /u, o/ <ու, օ>, and it becomes /-i/ <ի> in front of the vowel /i/ <ի>. Even the copular verb is subject to these assimilatory changes.

36.3.1.2 Plural and case marking

The plural formative is /-ir/ <իր> for monosyllabic words, /-nir/ <ւիր> for vowel-final polysyllabic words, /-k^hir/ <քիր> for consonant-final polysyllabic words.

In declension, there is no loss or deletion of vowels (Table 10).

Table 10: No vowel reduction in the Maragha dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Maragha		cf. SEA	
‘nose’	k ^h it ^h	քիթ			k ^h it ^h	քիթ
‘nose-GEN’	k ^h ət ^h -i	քթի	k ^h it ^h -i	քիթի	k ^h ət ^h -i	քթի
‘meat’	mis	միս			mis	միս
‘meat-GEN’	məs-i	մսի	mis-i	միսի	məs-i	մսի
‘heart’	sirt	սիրտ			sirt	սիրտ
‘heart-GEN’	sərt-i	սրտի	sirt-i	սիրտի	sərt-i	սրտի

This dialect has the following cases: nominative, genitive-dative, accusative, ablative, and instrumental. There is no locative; the accusative is like the /um/ <ում> branch. The ablative is formed with the formative /-en/ <էւ>.

36.3.2 Verb inflection or conjugation

36.3.2.1 Overview of changes

As we said above, in the /e/ Է branch, the present stem is formed based on the verb’s infinitive, by combining it or conjugating it with the auxiliary verb (1).

36.3.2.2.1 Indicative present and past imperfective

[[In SEA (Table 11), the indicative present is formed by combining a non-finite form of the verb (called the imperfective converb with the suffix /-um/) with the present auxiliary. In Maragha, we see a similar periphrastic approach. However, the non-finite 's based on the verb's infinitive. The auxiliary seems to then be cliticized onto the verb. Note how the two dialects diverge in the form of the auxiliary: /e/ for SEA, but /e, i/ for Maragha.]]

Table 11: Indicative present <ւերկալ> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha 'to like'		cf. SEA 'to want'	
1SG	yz-e-l-i-m 'I like'	իւզէլիմ	uz-um e-m 'I want'	ուզում եմ
2SG	yz-e-l-i-s	իւզէլիս	uz-um e-s	ուզում ես
3SG	yz-e-l-i-∅	իւզէլի	uz-um e-∅	ուզում է
1PL	yz-e-l-i-nk ^{hj}	իւզէլինք	uz-um e-ŋk ^h	ուզում ենք
2PL	yz-e-l-e-k ^{hj}	իւզէլէք	uz-um e-k ^h	ուզում եք
3PL	yz-e-l-i-n	իւզէլին	uz-um e-n	ուզում են
	√-TH-INF-AUX-AGR		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[For SEA, the indicative past imperfective uses the same imperfective converb as in the present (Table 12). The difference is that auxiliary is now in the past tense. But in Maragha, we use a simpler strategy: the past-marking particle /e/ is added after the present form. Note that this particle seems cliticized in the 3SG.]]

Table 12: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha 'to like'		cf. SEA 'to want'	
1SG	yz-e-l-i-m er 'I was liking'	իւզէլիմ եր	uz-um ej-i-∅ 'I was wanting'	ուզում էի
2SG	yz-e-l-i-s er	իւզէլիս եր	uz-um ej-i-r	ուզում էիր
3SG	yz-e-l-∅-∅-er	իւզէլեր	uz-um e-∅-r	ուզում էր
1PL	yz-e-l-i-nk ^{hj} er	իւզէլինք եր	uz-um ej-i-ŋk ^h	ուզում էինք
2PL	yz-e-l-e-k ^{hj} er	իւզէլէք եր	uz-um ej-i-k ^h	ուզում էիք
3PL	yz-e-l-i-n er	իւզէլին եր	uz-um ej-i-n	ուզում էին
	√-TH-INF-AUX-AGR PST		√-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR	

36.3.2.2.2 Present perfect and past perfect

[[The present perfect (Table 13) and past perfect (Table 14) in SEA are formed with periphrasis. The verb is in the form of the perfective converb with the suffix /-el/. The present tense auxiliary is added for the present perfect, while the past auxiliary for the past perfect.]]

[[Maragha likewise uses periphrasis but with two differences. First in Table 13, the non-finite form can use either the suffix /-ir/ (cognate with the SEA perfective converb suffix /-el/), or the suffix /-ats̄/ (cognate with the SEA resultative participle suffix /-ats̄/). When the suffix /-ats̄/ is used, the 3SG auxiliary is /ə/ instead of /i/.]]

Table 13: Present perfect <յարսկանտար> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha 'to like' (Form I)		cf. SEA 'to want'	
1SG	yz-ir i-m	իւզիր իմ	uz-el e-m	ուզել եմ
		'I have liked'		'I have wanted'
2SG	yz-ir i-s	իւզիր իս	uz-el e-s	ուզել ես
3SG	yz-ir i-∅	իւզիր ի	uz-el e-∅	ուզել է
1PL	yz-ir i-nk ^{hj}	իւզիր ինք	uz-el e-ŋk ^h	ուզել ենք
2PL	yz-ir e-k ^{hj}	իւզիր էք	uz-el e-k ^h	ուզել էք
3PL	yz-ir i-n	իւզիր ին	uz-el e-n	ուզել են
	√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	
	Maragha 'to like' (Form II)		cf. SEA 'to want'	
1SG	yz-ats̄ i-m	իւզած իմ	uz-el e-m	ուզել եմ
		'I have liked'		'I have wanted'
2SG	yz-ats̄ i-s	իւզած իս	uz-el e-s	ուզել ես
3SG	yz-ats̄ ə-∅	իւզած ը	uz-el e-∅	ուզել է
1PL	yz-ats̄ i-nk ^{hj}	իւզած ինք	uz-el e-ŋk ^h	ուզել ենք
2PL	yz-ats̄ e-k ^{hj}	իւզած էք	uz-el e-k ^h	ուզել էք
3PL	yz-ats̄ i-n	իւզած ին	uz-el e-n	ուզել են
	√-RPTCP AUX-AGR		√-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR	

[[In the past perfect, instead of using a special past auxiliary, we simply add the past particle /er/ after the present auxiliary (Table 14). Note that for the 3SG, the auxiliary is missing before the past particle /er/.]]

Table 15: Complex future forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Maragha dialect

	Complex future <բարդ ապանկի>		Past version <անցեալ>	
1SG	yz-o-l-u i-m	իւզօլու իմ	yz-ol-u i-m er	իւզօլու իմ եր
2SG	yz-ol-u i-s	իւզօլու իս	yz-ol-u i-s er	իւզօլու իս եր
3SG	yz-ol-u ∅-∅	իւզօլու	yz-ol-u ∅-∅ er	իւզօլու եր
1PL	yz-ol-u i-nk ^{hj}	իւզօլու ինք	yz-ol-u i-nk ^{hj} er	իւզօլու ինք եր
2PL	yz-ol-u e-k ^{hj}	իւզօլու էք	yz-ol-u e-k ^{hj} er	իւզօլու էք եր
3PL	yz-ol-u i-n	իւզօլու ին	yz-ol-u i-n er	իւզօլու ին եր
	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-AGR		√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-AGR	PST

[[Unfortunately, Adjarian does not describe the semantic difference between his “complex future” and the simple “future”. The 1SG complex future could mean ‘I will like’, while the past future could mean ‘I was going to like’.]]

36.3.2.2.4 Past perfective or aorist

[[The past perfective (Table 16) is also called the aorist. In SEA for /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’, the past perfective is formed by taking the root and theme vowel, adding the aorist or perfective suffix /-ts^h-/, and then adding the past suffix /-i/ and the appropriate agreement suffixes. The 3SG uses covert tense and agreement suffixes. The Maragha dialect does a quite different strategy. Between the root and the agreement suffix, we see a single vowel /i/ or /u/. It seems this vowel acts as a past marker. But the data is too limited to be sure. The two dialects seem to have incomparable morphology]]

Table 16: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘to like’		cf. SEA ‘to want’	
1SG	yz-u-m	իւզում	uz-e-ts ^h -i-∅	ուզեցի
		‘I liked’		‘I wanted’
2SG	yz-i-r	իւզիր	uz-e-ts ^h -i-r	ուզեցիր
3SG	yz-i-ts ^h	իւզից	uz-e-ts ^h -∅-∅	ուզեց
1PL	yz-u-nk ^h	իւզունք	uz-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h	ուզեցինք
2PL	yz-u-k ^h	իւզուք	uz-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h	ուզեցիք
3PL	yz-u-n	իւզուն	uz-e-ts ^h -i-n	ուզեցին
	√-PST(?) -AGR		√-TH-AOR-PST-AGR	

36.3.2.2.5 Subjunctive present and past

[[In SEA, the subjunctive present (Table 17) is formed by adding agreement suffixes after the theme vowel /e/. These are the same agreement suffixes that are added onto the present auxiliary in the indicative present. For a verb like ‘to want’, the 3SG involves changing the theme vowel /e/ to /i/ in the 3SG. The Maragha dialect is similar, but the theme vowel can vary between /y, i, e/.]]

Table 17: Subjunctive present <ստորադասական ներկայ> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘to like’		cf. SEA ‘to want’	
1SG	yz-y-m	իւզիւմ	uz-e-m	ուզեմ
	‘(if) I like’		‘(if) I want’	
2SG	yz-i-s	իւզիս	uz-e-s	ուզես
3SG	yz-y-∅	իւզիւ	uz-i-∅	ուզի
1PL	yz-i-nk ^{hj}	իւզինք	uz-e-ŋk ^h	ուզենք
2PL	yz-e-k ^{hj}	իւզեք	uz-e-k ^h	ուզեք
3PL	yz-i-n	իւզին	uz-e-n	ուզեն
	√-TH-AGR		√-TH-AGR	

[[In SEA, the subjunctive past (Table 18) is formed by adding the past suffix /i/ and agreement suffixes after the theme vowel. In Maragha, we instead add the past particle /er/ after the verb. For the 3SG, this particle seems to cliticize to the verb and delete the verb’s theme vowel.]]

Table 18: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘to like’		cf. SEA ‘to want’	
1SG	yz-y-m er	իւզիւմ Եր	uz-ej-i-∅	ուզեի
	‘(if) I liked’		‘(if) I wanted’	
2SG	yz-i-s er	իւզիս Եր	uz-ej-i-r	ուզեիր
3SG	yz-∅-∅-er	իւզԵր	uz-e-∅-r	ուզեր
1PL	yz-i-nk ^{hj} er	իւզինք Եր	uz-ej-i-ŋk ^h	ուզեինք
2PL	yz-e-k ^{hj} er	իւզեք Եր	uz-ej-i-k ^h	ուզեիք
3PL	yz-i-n er	իւզին Եր	uz-ej-i-n	ուզեին
	√-TH-AGR PST		√-TH-PST-AGR	

36.3.2.2.6 Tenses constructed from the subjunctive: Future

[[In Maragha, the future and past future are constructed from the subjunctive (Table 19). For the verb ‘to like’, we simply add the future prefix /k-/. SEA behaves essentially the same and I do not provide its paradigm.]]

Table 19: Forms that are constructed from the subjunctive forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Maragha dialect

	Future <ապանի>		Past future <անցեալ ապանի>	
1SG	k-YZ-Y-m	կիւզիւմ	k-YZ-Y-m er	կիւզիւմ եր
	‘I will like’		‘I was going to like’	
2SG	k-YZ-i-s	կիւզիս	k-YZ-i-s er	կիւզիս եր
3SG	k-YZ-Y-∅	կիւզիւ	k-YZ-∅-∅-er	կիւզեր
1PL	k-YZ-i-nk ^{hj}	կիւզինք	k-YZ-i-nk ^{hj} er	կիւզինք եր
2PL	k-YZ-e-k ^{hj}	կիւզեք	k-YZ-e-k ^{hj} er	կիւզեք եր
3PL	k-YZ-i-n	կիւզին	k-YZ-i-n er	կիւզին եր
	FUT √-TH-AGR		FUT √-TH-AGR PST	

36.3.2.2.7 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SEA adds the morph /-ir/ after the root for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 20). For the 2PL, archaic SEA adds the sequence /-e-ts^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-ts^h/ forms the aorist stem, while /-ek^h/ is the agreement marker. More modern registers of SEA instead just add the sequence /-ek^h/ directly after the root. Maragha is somewhat different. In the 2SG, we only see the suffix /-y/ after the root. For the 2PL, we only see the suffix /-ek^{hj}/. Based on the other paradigms, I suspect this suffix /-y/ is a theme vowel.]]

Table 20: Imperative forms <հրամայական> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘like!’		cf. SEA ‘want!’		
2SG	yz-ý-∅	իւզիւ	uz-∅-ír	նւզի՛ր	√-TH-IMP.2SG
2PL			uz-e-ts ^h -ek ^h	նւզեցեք	√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL
	yz-ek ^{hj}	իւզեք	uz-ek ^h	նւզեք	√-IMP.2PL

[[For the prohibitive or negative imperative (Table 21), SEA simply adds the prohibitive formative /mi/ before the imperative form. Maragha behaves the same.]]

Table 21: Negative imperative or prohibitive forms in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘do not like!’		cf. SEA ‘do not want!’		
2SG	mi yz-y-∅	Մի իւզիւ	mí uz-∅-ir	Մի՛ ուզիր	PROH √-IMP.2SG
2PL	mi yz-ek ^{hj}	Մի իւզէք	mi uz-ek ^h	Մի՛ ուզէք	PROH √-IMP.2PL

36.3.2.2.8 Non-finite forms

[[On the original page, Adjarian did not list any participles or non-finite forms. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum with the following non-finite forms (Table 22).]]

Table 22: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> in the Maragha dialect

	Maragha ‘to like’		cf. SEA ‘to want’			
Infinitive	սևորոշ	yz-i-l	իւզիլ	uz-e-l	ուզել	√-TH-INF
Past	անցեալ	yz-ats	իւզած	uz-ats	ուզած	√-RPTCP
		yz-ir	իւզիր	uz-el	ուզել	√-PERF.CVB
Future	ապանսի	yz-o-l-u	իւզօլու	uz-e-l-u	ուզելու	√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB

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36.4 Subdialects

36.4.1 Urmia

The subdialect of Urmia is the same as Maragha. But from the subsequent text samples, it seems that there are some differences.

36.4.1.1 Morphological differences

For example, the plural formatives are /-er/, -ner/ <եր, ներ>, while in Maragha they are /-ir/, -nir/ <իր, նիր>.

The future is formed with the formative /tikⁱ/ <տիկի>, which is of course a form change from CA /piti/ <պիտի> ‘it is necessary’.

36.4.1.2 Object clitics

The use of the possessive article in verbs is very interesting (3).

(3) Urmia (Maragha)

- a. me tsi prn-e-nk^h-t
 one horse catch-TH-1PL-POSS.2SG
 ‘(Let us) catch a horse for you.’
 մէ ծի պռնէնքս
- b. p^htrt-e-s er-d
 search-TH-IMPF.CVB(?) PST-POSS.2SG
 ‘He was looking for you.’
 փտռտես էրդ
- c. arak-n as-e-l-i, ná jat k^haxts^hr jel,
 proverb-DEF say-TH-INF-?, no? very sweet be?,
 ut-e-n-d, na jat t^har jel, t^hal-e-n-d
 eat-TH-3PL-POSS.2SG, no? very bitter be?, throw-TH-3PL-POSS.2SG
 ‘The proverb says: Don’t be too sweet, they’ll eat you; don’t be too
 bitter, they’ll throw you away.’
 առակն ասէլի – նա՛ շատ քախցր յէլ՝ ուտէնդ, նա շատ թան յէլ՝
 թալէնդ

This usage of the possessive article is borrowed from Persian, where one says for example <didem-et> ‘I saw you’, <binem-et> ‘I see you’.

[[*Adjarian means that the Armenian possessive article here is acting as an object clitic. See Dolatian et al. (2023: §7.1) for similar data from other Iranian Armenian dialects.*]]

36.5 Text samples

[[*I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.*]]

36.5.1 Maragha: Խառնիս Ինան Լիշան

ՄԷ օր Սօնան Ինան Անդո՛ւնու կիւզին Իւրիւս (Իւրիւնց) տղային փսակին: Սօնան կասը՛ Անդոնիս:

– Յար, Էլի օղորկիյ Հանրթիւնիւ ախչկան Իւզօլու:

– ՉԷ՛, Սօ՛նա, մԷ եօզգաննա՛ խիյալ անրան. հանրանթ Լանրան չուտուրուն. Էն հարուն, յիս ախկատ:

– ՉԷ՛, Ա՛նդուն, Իշքան խիյալ անելիմ՛ ԼանրմԷն աղԷ՛կյա չիմնալի գլինել. Էսս (հԷնց) յիս առելիմ «Էթաիյ Լանրան Իւզիիյ. յա կըտան, յա չին տան»:

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– ԴԷ մըկա քլի ԷտԷնց Ի, լաճիքլիիս (մԷր տղան) Էլ ԻւզԷլի, շապպաթ օ՛րա Էլի օղորկու, թօղ Էթան Իւզին:

Շանպանթ օ՛րա Սօնան շուտօվ կի զարթնի, սիմավա՛րա քի քիցի, չայի՛րա քը խըմին, ա՛ննա՛ն (յԷտոյ) Սօնան կըլը՛ կԷթան Իւր բաջու տո՛ւնա, Միւրվարիյին կասը՛ քլի՛

– Այ Միւրվարը՛, ա՛խչի. յԷրԷլյ Իրիկաս (ամուսնոյս) ԻսԷտան մԷ զա՛դ Իիյ խիյալ արի. ԻւզԷլիիյ Հանրթիւնիւ ախչկան առնիիյ միւր Միսակին. կիւզիս յանր կօսօրԷն սօրա քլԷլ Էլի, տըսնիքլ Իշ կասին. կտան այանր, կյանլ շ անպպանթ Էթանքլ Լիշանա տինիիյ:

– Սօ՛նա, մըկա քլի ԷտԷնց Ի, յիս Էլ շատ կուրախանամ քլի Միսակըին փսակԷլիի: Աշկիս վիրան, Սօ՛նա, կօսօրԷն սօրա կԷթամ քըչարչըրօվիմ, բանթրան առնիմ:

ԿօսօրԷն սօրա Միւրվարին կըլը՛ կԷթան Հանրթիւնիւս տո՛ւնա, Լանր ախչկան Իւզօլու:

ԿԷթա տո՛ւնա քըթըվօը՛, կիկյան տո՛ւնա կըպանացին, Միւրվարին կըմընը՛ նիս, Հանրթիւնիւ կնգան պանօվ կըտա՛ Հանրթիւնիւ կնիկյ Լանրկիզն Էլան Լանր պանօվա կառնը՛

– Փանի, պանօվ Իս Էլյի, Միւրվարը՛ բաջի, Էթ վա՛ր քամին Ի քլԷզի պԷրի տան. աղԷլյ Ի, հանրտան մԷ կյանլիս միւր տո՛ւնա:

– ՉԷ՛, Լանրգլիզ բաջը՛, մկա Էլ չի՛մ Էր կյան, ամմա մԷ ԻսԷյր պանը՛ Իսամա յիմ Էլյի:

– Ասա տսնիիյ, Ի՞շ ԻսԷյր պանի Իսամա՛ Իս Էլյի:

– Լանրգլիզ բաջի, աղԷյ, թօղ ասիմ. տի՛ս, դիւզ ան Էլյիի Իմ ծիւր Նուբառին Էլի, կտաս՝ տու, չիս տա՛ մի՛ տու:

– Միւրվարը՛ բաջը՛, յիս չիմ ասԷլի չիմ տա, ամմա, Իրիկյիս տո՛ւնա չի. թօ քիշի՛րա Իրի՛կյա կյան, ԼանրմԷն Իսանրան առնիմ, տսնիմ Ի՞շ կասը՛:

Միւրվարին կասը՛ Լանրգլիզին.

– Ամմա Իսայիշտ Իմ անԷլի քլի ասիս. բանթրան կյանլ շանպպանթ Լշանա տինիիյ, բիյօլ (մի կԷրպ) սօրա-յԷլ Իսառնի՛սան անիիյ:

- Արխեին յիլ, Միրվարը բաջը, յիս կասիմ:
- Միրվարին յելավ եկավ տուն:
- Քիշիովան Նարգյիզի մարթա եկավ տուն. Նարգյիզամ ասաց իւր մարթուն.
- Միրվարին եկիր էր միր ախճկան ելչի. ի՞նչօխ իս անելի. կըտաս անյանր, վամզամ կյանլուց ջուղաբ տամ:

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- Մարթա ասաց.
- Ասված շինամխավիր անի, Միսակա իւելքոյ տղա՛յը. կտամ. վա՛ղա Միւվարին կյանլուց ասա կտահյ:
 - Նամրվաղա Միւվարին եկավ Նարգյիզի կը՛տա, ասաց – Տալե՞հյ:
 - Նարգյիզն էլ ասաց.
 - Կտահյ, հե՞ր չիհյ տա: Մարթըս տիւն էթանլեն սորա եկավ, ասը՛մ. Էն էլ ասաց կտամ:
- Կյիրանկյի օ՛րա Սօնան, Միւվարի ինամն Անդո՛նա կինանցըն շիրինիյ խմօլու. շիրինի՛յա խմելեն իրիք շամպամթ սորա հազըրվան խառնիսի թանդարիիյ տըս-նօլու: Խառնիսի թանդարի՛քյա տունելեն սորա, բաշլամըշըն խառնի՛ստ. ըմմըին մարթևիրին կանչըն, խառնիսի խամբանր տուվըն: ամանչին քիշի՛րան խիւսամ տիրըն, սորավան քիշի՛րն էլամ փսակա կըռըն: Փսակա կոթլուց խանլամթ ին էր քիցելի խառնու կուլօ՛խա. բուլօլում (յետոյ) ասելին էր «Ասվաս շինամխավիր անի»:
- Խառնուն ժամտունեն խանելեն սրա Անդուն ինամն Սօնան խաղալօյ խառ-սուն պերըն տուն:

36.5.2 Urmia subdialect

Adjarian's note: Communicated by Mr. Kaloust Iskenderian (պր. Գալուստ Իսքենդերեան; [[*SEA: /galust isk^henderjan/*]]), a provincial inspector of Urmia schools.

36.5.2.1 Iki Aghaj village

Մէ օր գևացիմ խասամ գետի յէ՛րգա. մէ պծառ կակուղ իմ էր քելի (մի քիչ հանդարտ կերթայի). գէ՛տա ԷնԷնց ջօշմիշիր էր՝ յերգերեն թալէս էր ճի՛ւրա. իշկացիմ տըսամ մէ տերտեր՝ ուր տերօխնին, մէ կաշա (ասորի քահանա)՝ ուր տերօխնին, մէ մալլա էլ՝ ուր կնի՛կա. մէյն էլ մէ ծի կար կշտէ՛րա: Նա՛ տերտէ՛րա էյթիբար էր անելի տանս մօ՛տա մնալ ուր կնի՛կա, նա կաշան, նա մալլան: Մէ ծի կա տանց մօ՛տա, վեր տիկյի (պիտի) տարմօժ ճուխտ ճուխտ ըսնին մէկյէլ իրէ՛սա: Սըկը (հիմակ) ի՞շխօ անինք վեր կնթնէ՛րա չը մնան օտար մարթու մօ՛տա:

36.5.2.2 Isalu village

Մալլա Նասրադի՛նա մե օր իշէ՛րա խառիբեր տէ՛մա ` Էթաս Էր: Կյըննաց ըլայ կյատիւկի (ծոր) վօ՛տա. մէ մարթ տար տէ...

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... առէց, ասաց. տիւն գլիւսա յես յեփ կմեռնեմ, ասա տըսնիմ: Տեփ (յետոյ) Էն իշկաց Էտ մա՛րթա մի թահար մարթ ի, յետնար – տեփ ասաց. Է՛շա կյատիւկէն ըլելիւն տիկյի օխտ տիր անի. խետ օխտ տիր տռէց ` տեփ Էն վատին տիւն կմեռնես: Խա՛, տեփ Էշէ՛րա կշէց կյատի՛ւկա. գլօ՛խա ըլելիւն օխտ տիր Է՛շա տռէց: Մալլան ինկյավ պարզվավ, ասաց. յես մեռամ: Տեփ մնաց տա՛ղա. Էշէ՛րա հանր մէ՛կյա մէ թէխ կյընացին. մէ կլէլ ըկավ տաղ՝ Էշէրէն մէ՛կյա կլերավ. ասաց. Մալլա Նասրադի՛նա չմեռնէր՝ մըկը կլէ՛լա Է՛շա չեր ուղը՛: Տեփ մալլան ըլավ Էկավ թէխ տո՛ւնա. իւր կնկյան ասաց. յէլ քէլ տուր տրկյեցին ասա վեր մալլան մեռիր ի, տանինք խօրենք իւրա: Ըլավ կյըննաց տուր ու տըրկյեցին կանչէց. տարան տարա (գդա) խօրին: Ասաց. մէ Էրթիս թօղ, դան բան դան ընծի խաց պէ թալ. մնաց Էտ մա՛րթա տաղ: Տարմէն յետի մէ կաթըրխանա Էկանվ, տար կլերեգմանը կուշտէն ընսնեսէն Էր. Էն օրն Էլ տար կյընի՛կա. մա՛սալա, իւշ Էր խաց պերի. կլեօ՛խա Էն ծակէն պանցրացուց (յանի իշկաս Էր հա՛) իշկամ խաց պերիգ: Կաթըրքլէ՛րա խռնան, պեռն Էլ չիկի աման Էր. տանիը ա՛մմէն տվին կօտռտին. տեփ Էն կաթըրչինէ՛րա փառտին Էն տէ՛ղա, ասին մէ իշկանք՝ տանք ինչէ՛ն խռնան. իշկացին մէ կլերեգմանը վրան մէ Էրթըսը պես ծայ կան: Տեփ բանան արին (ուզեցին) մէ դէն մէ փետ պարզէն. տեփ փէ՛տա պարզին, ը՛, տեփ Էն դէն ծէն տըվից մալլան կլերեգմանը՝ մէչէն. շատ մի՛ պարզեք, կը կը կըպնը աշկյիս. տեփ տանք ասին. հօ՛ հօ՛, կա չկա դետ (այդ տեղէն) Էն խռնէ (խրտներ). դետ կլօխա խանիր ի... քակին տարա, խանին կաթըրչինէ՛րա. տեփ տարա բանան արին թըփէլ. շատ թըփը՛ն, Էնդըղը թըփը՛ն ի՛ւր...

Chapter 37

Khoy

37.1 Background

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The dialect of Khoy has an extensive distribution. It is found not only in the provinces of Khoy, Salmast, and Maku in Iran, but also in Russia in Igdır and Nakhichevan. During the large migration of Persian-Armenians in 1828, many Armenians from Salmast came and settled in Karabakh, where they founded the villages of Kori, Alighuli, Maghanjugh, Karashen in the province of Zangezur, and in villages of Alilu, Angeghakot, Kushchi-Tazakend, Uz, Mazra, Balak, Shaghat, Ltsen, Qara Klisa and Lower Qara Klisa in the province of Sisian.

The dialect of Khoy has still not been studied. There are writings in this dialect in էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*] volume 2 (Բ.), page 300-304 and volume 4 (Դ), page 343-350. What is more important are N. Ter Avetikian's «Ոսանաւոր աշխատութիւններ եւ Նշանագրութիւն Պարսկաստանից գաղթած խոյեցւոց բարբառով» (Վաղարշապատ 1900) and «Բանաստեղծութիւններ եւ Կիրակոսի հարսանիքը» (Վաղարշապատ 1903).¹

By examining these excerpts, it seems that the dialect of Khoy occupies a middle position between the dialects of Maragha and Van. Its grammatical structure is the same as in the Maragha dialect, but its phonological rules are like those of the Van dialect. In other words, the Khoy dialect is closer to Classical Armenian than Maragha is.

Because we think it is unneeded to further discuss these simplified phenomena, we direct the reader to the subsequent text samples.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 221).*]]

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¹[[*Unfortunately, I could not track down these two bibliographic items, and thus could not add them to the bibliography. Furthermore, the page quality makes it unclear if the fourth word is Նշանագրութիւն or Նշանագրութիւն. (?)*]]

37.2 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as 'X'.]]

Adjarian's note: See Ն. ՏԵՐ-ԱԼԵՏԻՊԵԱՆԻ, Ոտանաւոր աշխատութիւններ եւ նշանագրութիւն ([[նշանագրութիւն(?)]]), էջ 46-49.

– Այ մառթ, տիւ գիւսաս որ խնտ ախչի՛գյա ճոչացավ, մառթի էթալու խասավ. տո՛ւնա չի՛ սրփի, չի՛ ավըլի, աման-չամանա չի լվա, տուռվերքյա կեխտոտ կը թողնի. շատ էլ որ խնտը իյնես, դաստէ կգարկի կը կոտոտի, յանի ինչի՞. – իմանան որ տանելու խասիր ի: Էնէնց էլ տգան. հալա մէ յէլ, քէլ մտի փայան (գոմ) տե՛ս, ի՞նչ կասնաս. Էն հեյվան քյալե՛րա, գյամեմքե՛րա, կոլե՛րա ընչիւկ վգե՛րա թաղվիր են կվի մե՛չա. տիւ հէնց գիւսաս որ Կիրակո՛սա մեզի իմա պա՞ն ի անելի մեր տո՛ւնա ավըրիր ի. վա՛յ վայի որ ասես «այ՛ բալամ, Էտէնց չեն անի», յետ ի դառնալի խիւզ խայիր քյաշում (յիշոց) ի տալի. ասելի «Ալլահ վարա (Աստուած տայ) զըմէն էլ խատնեն». յանի ինչ ի, իմացեք որ յետ էլ փռայվելու խասիր Էմ. կօ Էտէնց, այ՛ մառթ. մկա տիւ գիւսաս:

– Աշկըս լո՛ւս. մենք փսայվանք՝ մեր կլօ՛խա յեզոտով, թող Էն էլ փսայվի, բայքի մեդրոտի. Էն հալա յերեյվան քյօրփան ի. մկավուստ սաբաբ ըլենք, մէ անծոտ պուճուճակ ախչիկ էլ դար իմա ուզենք, խա՛լխա մեզի ի՞նչ կասեն. չե՞ն ասի «յանի Է՛տ ինչ դայդա Էր՝ մկավուստ մեխկի տոպրա՛կա կախին Էն խեղճ տղայի վզէն». յետ դալաթ կանեմ դարա սաբաբ չեմ ըլի. դար պերնէն կալա կաթի խոտ ի իկյալի:

(Կիրակոսը կ'աղաչէ մօրը):

– Նանա ջան. Էնը խօքութ ղուրբա՛ն նանա. տիւ իմ աղե՛կյա ասա բաբայիս կո՛ւշտա. տավարն էլ կպախեմ, տան զըմէն պանի վրան էլ սիրտ կը ցավցուցեմ. հէնց Էն ղըդայի որ՝ մէ դայիմ կպնես բաբայիս յախան, որ մէ խա՛ ասի, բօլ ի. ամա Էտ էլ քեզի ասեմ որ Ղուլիենց Շահբազի ախչիկ Նիգյարէն սավայի՛ որ վիզ կռեք՝ ճոկ մառթու ախչիկ չեմ առնի հա՛:

(Մայրը կը համոզէ ամուսինը, որ կը պատասխանէ).

– Այ՛ կնիկ, չունքի որ ասես Ես, թո՛ղ քյօ խաթըն էլ խօշ ըլի. բայքի սաղ չմնացինք մեռանք. սաղ իքյան Կիրակոսին փսակենք, յետ ինան տիւ էլ դիօլ գուռնա-յով մէ աղէկ քէֆ անենք,

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գիւլաշ կպնենք. ջահնա՛մա. դարմէն յետ ի՛նչ կըլի՛ թող ըլի. ամա տիւ Է՛տ ասա, վի՞ր ախչի՛կյա ուզենք, որ համ աբուռով ըլի, համ դայրաթով. խօրորթի ըլի, որ մեր մատէն փուշ խանի: (Ներս կը մտնէ Կիրակոսը): Կիրակոս, այ՛

բալամ, նանատ ասելի որ քեզի փսակենք. մկա տիւ ի՞նչ ես ասելի. ուզե՞ս ես թէ չէ. յա վի՞ր ախչիյն ես ուզելի. մէ աղվո՞րթա ասա ըշկամ. էլ ամչընալու վախտը չի:

– Յես չեմ ուզելի փսայվել. նանաս ի՞ որ կպիր ի յախաս, քշեր-ցերէկ ասելի՝ «տկի (պիտի) քեզի փսակենք». մկա տիւ գինաս, նանաս. յես էթաս եմ փայան՝ տավարին յեմ տամ. համա, նանա, էն ասածս ի հա՛, Նիգյա՛րա:

– Չե՞սնալի, Ղուլիենց Շահբազի ախչկա խետն ի, ընծի ասիր ի. «կուզէք էն ի, չէք ուզի՞ կլեմ կլոխ կվերցեմ տնէն կէթամ. իմ ուզա՛ծա Նիգյարն ի՛, Նիգյա՛րա:

– Ի՞շխօ մայար Շահբազին էնէնց խասած ախչի՞կ ունի: Մենք ռաշպար մառթ ենք, մեր տան ջահէ՛լա տկի մէ պծառ (քիչ մը) էլ ծեռով-ոտով ըլի, պանի մէչ էփած ըլի, կանոխ մեր տան պանա, տաշտի բժա՛րա (քազհան) տիւս կիկյա. էնէնց ըլի որ՝ ինկերէ, տրկեցէ յետ չմնանք: Շատ խարսներ տսիր եմ, որ իրկը-վըկէն կլոխքերա տնես են պա՛ռցա, ընչանք լոս խռալով մոփես են. չէ՛ն տսելի, ախար սափորքերա տարտակ ի, ճուր տկի պերենք, ավել տկի անենք, տո՛ւնա, քիւչան գբիլի ձեռն ըլիր ի իշխօ փողո՛ցա. տսնա՞ս ես էն Յարթենէնց խա՛րսա, մառթու դար պէ՛սա մէ խարս ըլի, թող մէ աշկն էլ կոր ըլի:

Chapter 38

Artvin

38.1 Background

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The city and province of Artvin are found south of Batumi. This province has two smaller provinces (գաւառակ): Ardanuç and Şavşat-Imerkhevi. The city of Artvin has 1200 homes with Armenian residents, of which 230 are Apostolic and the remaining are Catholic. Artvin does not have an Armenian village in its surroundings. The town (աւակ) of Ardanuç has only 200 homes of Catholic Armenians. The following villages are in the Ardanuç province (գաւառակ):

- Tandzut, 110 Armenian houses and 5 Catholic houses
- Norashen, 22 Armenian houses

The Armenian villages of the Şavşat-Imerkhevi province (գաւառակ) are:

- Satlel (65 Catholic houses, 17 Armenian houses)
- Mamanelis (12 Catholic houses)
- Okrobakert (160 Armenian houses)
- Pkhikur (25 Catholic houses)

East of Ardanuç, there is Ardahan; while Olti is to the south.

The aforementioned area has its own dialect which belongs to the /el/ <ել> branch, and it occupies a midpoint between the dialects of Karin, Khoy, and Tbilisi.

There is no published study on this dialect, nor a manuscript line, thus the following lines are the result of my own research, gathered from migrants from Artvin in Batumi.

[[*For more recent work on this dialect, see Martirosyan (2019: 227). Martirosyan (2019: 227) reports that some work treats Artvin as unified with the Tbilisi dialect.*]]

38.2 Phonology

38.2.1 Overview

The sound system of the Artvin dialect is like the dialect of Tbilisi. It has three degrees of consonants.

38.2.2 Sound changes

38.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑj/ <ւյ> becomes /e/ <է> (Table 1).

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /e/ <է> in the Artvin dialect

	Classical Armenian		> Artvin		cf. SEA	
proximal ‘this’	ɑj̣s	ւյս	es	էս	ɑjs	ւյս
medial ‘that’	ɑj̣d	ւյդ	ed	էդ	ɑjd	ւյդ
distal ‘that’	ɑj̣n	ւյն	en	էն	ɑjn	ւյն
‘other’	ɑj̣l	ւյլ	el	էլ	ɑjl	ւյլ
‘goat’	ɑj̣ts	ւյծ	ets	էծ	ɑjts	ւյծ
‘vineyard’	ɑj̣gi	ւյգի	egi	էգի	ɑjgi	ւյգի

38.2.2.2 Loss of rhotic in some words

The Classical Armenian word /hamar/ <համար> ‘for’ has become /hama/ <համա>, like in Tbilisi.

38.2.2.3 Loss of initial /v/ in ‘on’

An interesting phenomenon is the loss of the sound /v/ <վ> from the Classical Armenian word /verɑj/ <վերայ> ([[cf. SWA: /vəra/ <վրայ>]]), which has become /ra/ <րա> (1).

- (1) a. k^hɑr-i rɑ (Artvin)
 k^hɑr-i vəra (SWA)
 rock-GEN on
 ‘on the/a rock’
 քարի ռա, քարի վրայ

- b. $\widehat{d}zi$ -u ra nst-a- \emptyset (Artvin)
 \widehat{ts}^{hj} -u vərə nəst-a- \emptyset (SWA)
 horse-GEN on sit-PST-1SG
 ‘I sat on the/a horse.’
 ձիու րա նստա, ձիու վրայ նստայ
- c. \widehat{tsar} -i ra ver ant^h-a-v (Artvin)
 \widehat{dzar} -i vərə ver ant^h-a-v (SWA)
 tree-GEN on up pass-PST-3SG
 ‘he climbed up on the/a tree.’
 ծառի րա վեր անցավ, ծառի վրայ վեր անցաւ

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38.2.2.4 Retention of the sound /h/ <h>

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <h> does not become /χ/ <խ>, unlike the dialects of Maragha and Khoy.

38.3 Morphology

38.3.1 Noun inflection or declension

In declension, the ablative formative is /-men/ <մէս> (Table 2).

Table 2: Ablative marking in the Artvin dialect

	Artvin		cf. SWA	
‘from Artvin’	art ^h vinu-men	Արթվինումէս	art ^h vin-e	Արթվիւտ
?-ABL	savet ^h u-men	Սավէթումէս		
?-ABL	hetne-men	հէտնէմէս		

As we know, this is one of the characteristics of the Tbilisi dialect. Similarly, the plural genitive is the form /-er-u/ <էրու> (3).

Table 3: Plural genitive marking in the Artvin dialect

	Artvin		cf. SWA		cf. SEA	
‘tree-PL-GEN’	tsar-er-u	ծարերու	dzar-er-u	ծարերու	tsar-er-its ^h	ծարերից
‘horse-PL-GEN’	dzi-er-u	ծիերու	ts ^h ij-er-u	ծիերու	dzij-er-its ^h	ծիերից

The locative is the usual form /-um/ <nԼմ> (4).

Table 4: Locative marking in the Artvin dialect

	Artvin		cf. SEA	
?-LOC	mef-um	մէշնմ		
‘day-LOC’	or-um	օրնմ	or-um	օրնմ

38.3.2 Verb inflection or conjugation

38.3.2.1 Periphrasis in the indicative

Verbal conjugation differs from Tbilisi. The present formative /-um/ <nԼմ> absolutely does not exist. As in the Khoy dialect, this tense is formed with the form /-elis, -eli/ <ելիս, ելի>.

[[I assume the segmentation is /-e-l-i(s)/ such that the /-i(s)/ is an imperfective converb added onto an infinitive. The rationale is that SEA also has this formative /-is/ as an irregular form of the regular imperfective converb suffix /-um/. Compare SEA against Artvin in (2).]]

- (2) a. Artvin
 χos-e-l-is e-m
 speak-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I speak.’
 խօսելիս էմ
- b. cf. SEA
 χos-um e-m
 speak-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I speak.’
 խօսում էմ

- c. cf. SEA
 t-a-l-is e-m
 give-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I give.’
 տալիս եմ

[[*Adjarian provides further examples in (3).*]]

(3) Artvin

- a. pnr-e-l-is e-∅
 search-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-3SG
 ‘He searches.’
 փնտռելիս է
- b. el-n-e-l-i e-∅
 be-VX-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-3SG
 ‘It is/becomes.’
 ըլնելի է
- c. tʃ^h-e-m ka/kaji ert^h-l-i
 NEG-AUX-1SG can go-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘I cannot go.’
 չեմ կա, or չեմ կայի երթի
- d. vortí e-s ert^h-l-i
 where AUX-2SG go-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘Where are you going?’
 վօ՞րտի ես երթի
- e. tʃ^h-e-m ka/kaji χos-e-l-i
 NEG-AUX-1SG can speak-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB
 ‘I cannot speak.’
 չեմ կայի խօսելի

38.3.2.2 Future marking

The future is formed with the formative /ku/ <կու> (4).

[[*In SEA, one way to form the future is to add the prefix /k(ə)-/ to the finite verb. It seems that Artvin uses a different prefix form /ku/. In SEA, the formative /k(ə)/ is immediately before the verb. But in Artvin, other words can intervene between the /ku/ and the verb (4b).*]]

[[Adjarian did not explain what the following sentences meant Nikita Bezrukov suggested the following translations based on his knowledge of relevant dialects. I thank him for his help. Though without an Artvin speaker to double check, we cannot be fully sure. (?)]]

- (4) a. i. Artvin
 ku aʃ-i-n
 FUT look-TH-3PL
 ‘They will look.’
 կու աշիւ
- ii. SEA¹
 k-abr-e-n
 FUT-live-TH-3PL
 ‘They will live.’
 կապրեն
- b. ‘He will go outside.’
- i. Artvin
 ku dus g-a-∅
 FUT outside come-TH-3SG
 կու դոս գա
- ii. SEA
 durs kə-g-a-∅
 outside FUT-come-TH-3SG
 դոլրս կգա
- c. ‘They will search.’
- i. Artvin
 ku pnr-i-n
 FUT search-TH-3PL
 կու փնտռիւ
- ii. SEA
 kə-p^hənr-e-n
 FUT-search-TH-3PL
 կփնտրեն

¹[[The verb ‘to look’ in SEA does not start with a vowel. The Artvin datapoint shows how Artvin uses a single morph /ku/ before both consonants and vowels, while SEA uses [k-, kə-] based on the type of the following segment.]]

38.3.2.3 Theme vowel changes

In both the perfective and the future, the Classical Armenian theme vowel /e/ <ե> changes to /i/ <ի> (5).

(5) Artvin

- a. ɑf-i-t^h
look-TH-AOR
'He looked.'²
աշից
- b. pntɾ-i-t^h
search-TH-AOR
'He searched.'
փնտրից
- c. ku ɑf-i-n
FUT look-TH-3PL
'They were going to look.'
կու աշիս.

[[Unfortunately, Adjarian's data is too limited to make a more meaningful description or comparison with SEA/SWA. But essentially, what Adjarian describes is that the theme vowel /e/ is replaced by /i/ in some morphological contexts. Compare 'he searched' from (5b) with SEA (6).]]

- (6) cf. SEA
pəntɾ-e-t^h
search-TH-AOR
'He searched.'
փնտրեց

38.3.2.4 Imperative

An especially interesting form is the second type of imperative (7).

[[Note the unclear potential use of the auxiliary. (?)]]

²[[I thank Nikita Bezrukov for translating this verb.]]

(7) Artvin

a. gr-í-s a
write-TH-2SG ?

‘Write!’
գրի՛ս ա

b. χos-í-s a
speak-TH-2SG ?

‘Speak!’
խօսի՛ս ա

These correspond to the Istanbul interrogative-like imperatives (8).

(8) Istanbul, when read as SWA words

a. tʃə-k^hər-é-s
NEG-write-TH-2SG

‘Don’t write!’
չգրե՞ս

b. tʃə-χos-í-s
NEG-speak-TH-2SG

‘Don’t speak!’
չխօսի՞ս

[[I think what Adjarian means is that these Artvin imperatives seem to be derived from subjunctive verbs; the Istanbul verbs seem subjunctive based on how they would be interpreted in SWA.]]

38.4 Text samples

[[I do not translate, gloss, or re-transcribe the text samples. Some of them are given in orthography, and not the Armenian dialectological transcription. Because I do not speak this dialect, then I cannot understand the text samples well enough to translate or annotate. In some cases, the printed letter was unclear so I rendered it as ‘X’.]]

Առաջ Արթվին շէնլիկը տասնըհինգ տուն է եղէ. բօլօրը մէշա. Էն մէշունը Սապէ-թուամէն կու աշին օ՛րը (որ) Արթվինումէն մուխ կու դուս գա. գուգան կու փնտռին խիտը (վրաց. կամուրջ). չէն կա (չէն կրնար) գտնի օ՛րա ճօրօխը անցնին. Էտեվ մէկ ավջին գէյգի հետնէմէն գալիս է օ՛րը գարնէ. առաջէվան կայք է ըլնելի. կայք եղած վախտին փնտռրէ՛լիս է վօ՞րանց գնաց: Աշից օրը խիտը գտավ. խիտն էլ

փուրցելը (վրց. մացառ թէ՞ բաղեղ) փաթըթած է. է՛նդադուր արավ օ՛րա խիտը
անցավ ենթին: Վեր անցավ օրմընումը, փնտռից ու շէլիկի տեղը գտաւ: Իշտե
էնդօր էտէվ, էֆէնդիմ, օրմանը կօտրեցին, էնդէղը քաղաք շինեցին, իշտե էնդէղը
եղավ Արթւլին:

Էն գտնօղ մարթու անունն էլ Արուբէն է էղէ, էնդօր վրա դրէլ է Արթւլին:

_____ original page number 293 _____

[[*Note that Adjarian had a note here about the Armenian diaspora. I moved it to §7.3.*]]

Part VI

Adjarian's end matter

Chapter 39

Placenames

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The content of this chapter is based on the final pages of Adjarian’s book, where he provides a list of placenames and a map. I moved the map to the introduction chapter (§2.6).

1 List of placenames from Adjarian’s endmatter

In the original document, Adjarian has a chapter where he lists all the placenames that had Armenian populations. For each location, he likewise gave the page number that mentioned this location. This chapter was on page 294 and it can be translated as “Alphabetical list of Armenian residences and described provinces”. He states that “in total, there is a sample of 102 provincial vernaculars”.

In my translation, I list the Armenian names that Adjarian used and their original page numbers. The parenthesis mark text samples. I keep the original alphabetical order, based on the Armenian word.

I likewise provide other common Armenian names for these locations (usually this other word is just the Armenian name with reformed spelling). I provide the corresponding Romanized or English name. In general, the Romanized name is based on the most common name that is used in Latin-script sources, such as English Wikipedia. Oftentimes, this Romanized name is not a simple transliteration. For example, for the modern city of Istanbul, Adjarian used the Armenian term <Պոլիս> whose Hübschmann-Meillet transliteration is <pōlis>. But of course, the English name is Istanbul, so I used that name throughout the translation.

When multiple Romanizations are attested, we list all of them. We use the Romanization that is the most common in English (and thus findable on Wikipedia



or Google Maps), most commonly used by Armenians, or most closely resembles Adjarian's original Armenian name. For example, the region of Karabakh-Artsakh has both a Turkic-based name (Karabakh) and an Armenian-based name (Artsakh). Adjarian almost always used the Turkic-derived form Ղարաբաղ /*karabax*/, so I translated that word to 'Karabakh'.

In some cases, I could not find the modern name or location of a placename. I give a hypothetical Romanization with a question mark. My constructed Romanization is not the HBM transliteration, but is more geared towards being a readable pronunciation of the word. I thank various anonymous people online who helped me track down the original non-Armenian names. My gratitude to non-anonymous aid from Thomas Castaigna.

In some cases, Adjarian provides a page number as an example of some place name, but that page does not actually mention that place name. I did not catalog such errors.

I sometimes use archaic names such as Birmania instead of Myanmar, so that the translation does not seem anachronistic. But I sometimes use more modern names such as Tbilisi instead of Tiflis, even though Adjarian used the name /*tʰi-flis*/ <Թիֆլիս>.

Adjarian's list of Armenian residences and described provinces

Armenian term used by Adjarian	Other Armenian terms	Romanization that we use	Other romanizations	Pages
Ագուլիս		Agulis	Əylis	1, 2, 4, 13, 36, 40, 89, 92-100, (101-2), 104
Ադամխան	Վարդաձոր	Adamxan	Vardadzor	116, 118, (134)
Ադլեր	Ադլեր	Adler		184
Ադրիանոպոլիս	Ադրիանոպոլիս, Էդիրն	Adrianopolis	Adrianople, Hadrianopolis, Edirne	29, 31, 258
Ազով		Azov		26
Աթենք	Աթենք	Athens		29
Ալաշկերտ		Alashkert	Eleşkirt	10, 116-7, 121, (125), 133

Ալեքսանդրապոլ	Ալեքսանդրապոլ, Ալեքսանդրապոլ, Գյումրի	Alexandropol	Gyumri	34, 104, 107, 111, 116
Ալեքսանդրետ	Ալեքսանդրետ, Ալեքսանդրետտա	Alexandretta	İskenderun	199
Ալիլու		Alilu		288
Ալիկրըխ	Աստղաձոր	Alikrykh	Astghadzor	116, 118, (137)
Ալիղուլի	Հարթաշեն	Alighuli	Hartashen	288
Ալուշտա		Alushta		26
Ալուչալու	Արծվանիստ	Aluchalu	Artsvanist	116, 118, 139
Ախալցխա		Akhaltskha	Akhaltsikhe	2, 34, 104, 107, 111
Ախալքալաք	Ախալքալաքի	Akhalkalak	Akhalkalaki	31, 32, 34, 104, 111, (113), 116
Ածպտեր	Ագբեր, Էզիդեր	Adzbder	Akıncılar, Ezbider	174
Ակն		Akn	Kemaliye	29, 103, 222-3, (224), 260
Աղբակ		Aghbak		140
Աղդաշ		Agdash		26
Աղեքսանդրիա	Աղեքսանտրիա	Alexandria		28
Աղուանք	Աղվանք	Aghvank	Caucasian Albania	25
Աղստաֆա	Աղստև	Agstafa		61
Ամասիա		Amasia		29, 232, 234
Ամերիկա տես Մ. Նահանգ		America see the United States		
Այթօս	Այթոս	Aytos	Aitos	29, 31
Այնթապ		Ayntap		28, 30
Այտըն	Այդըն	Aydm		29, 31, 61
Անափա		Anapa		25
Անգեղակոթ		Angehakot		288
Անգլիա		England		29, 33, 293
Անդիժան		Andijan		26

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Անտիոք օր Անթաքիա		Antioch	Antakya	28, 199, 200, (210), 212
Աշտարակ		Asharak		105
Ապարան		Aparan		116-7, 121, (126)
Ապկիօն		Abgion?		(194), 185
Առքս		Arys		26
Առնջկոյս	Առնջկոս	Arinjkus	Kavuştuk	(132)
Ասլանբեկ	Ասլանբեկ, Ասլանբեգ	Aslanbeg	Arslanbey, Aslanbey	3, 12-13, 106, 175, 241-4, (244-5)
Ասխաբադ		Ashgabat		26
Ասորեստան		Assyria	modern Iraq	27, 33
Ասորիք տես Սիւրիա		historical Syria Syria		
Աստապատ		Astabad		37, 45-47, (48)
Աստրախան	Աժտերխան	Astrakhan		26, 30, 36, 82-84, (84-86), 89
Ատանա	Ադանա		Adana	28
Ատափազար		Adapazar	Adapazarı	13, 29, 241, (246)
Ատիեաման	Ադըյաման	Adiyaman		29, 196, (198)
Ատրպատական		Atropatene	Iranian Azerbaijan	27, 37, 70
Արաբկիր		Arapgir	Arabkir	3, 4, 29, 103, 196, 215-6, (217), 222-3
Արամօ	Արամո, Արամոյ	Aramo		28, 212-3, (213-4)
Արդուին	Արդվին, Արթվին	Artvin		19, 25, 34, 280, 291-2, (292)
Արեւելեան Ռումելի Արթղ	Ռումելիա	Eastern Rumelia		31-32 26

Արծափ		Ardzap	Sağlıksuyu	138
Արծկե	Արծկե	Artske	Adilcevaz	117, 118, 121, (132)
Արղնի	Արկնի	Arghni	Ergani	159
Արճեշ	Արճեշ, Ականց	Arjesh	Erciş	116-8, 121, (131), 139
Արմավիր	Արմավիր	Armavir		26, 33
Արմենասկ	Արմյանսկ	Armiansk		26
Արտահան	Արդահան	Ardahan		291
Արտանուշ	Արտանուշ	Ardanuç	Artanuj	25, 291
Արտապիլ	Արդաբիլ	Ardabil		28
Աղալաղալու	Աւտալաղալու, Ավղալաղալու, Վաղաշեն	Avdalaghalu	Vaghashen	116, 118, (137)
Աւստրո- Հունգարիա	Ավստրո- Հունգարիա	Austria-Hungary	Austro-Hungary	10, 19, 27, 103, 270-2, (273-9)
Աքքերման	Աքքիրման, Բելգորոդ- Դնեստրովսկի	Akkerman	Bilhorod- Dnistrovskiy	27, 31
Աֆիոն- Գարահիսար Բաբերդ	Աֆիոն- Կարահիսար Բայբերդ	Afyonkarahisar		29
Բազու		Baberd	Bayburt	13, 111-2
Բազարքեոյ		Baku		13, 25, 61, 76
Բաթում	Բաթումի	Pazarköy		241
Բալակ		Batumi		13, 25, 32, 34, 178, 291
Բալաշով		Balak		288
Բալու		Balashov		26
Բաղեշ	Բաղեշ, Պիթլիս, Բիթլիս	Palu	Balu	167, 168
Բաղշեսարայ	Բաղշեսարայ, Բաղշեսէրայ	Paghesh	Baghesh, Bitlis	33, 116-8, 121, (131)
Բաշքենդ	Բաշքենդ, Բաշգենդ	Bakhchisaray	Baghchesaray, Eski Yurt	26, 263
Բասարգեչար	Վարդենիս	Bashkent		37
		Basargechar	Vardenis	140, 145-6, (152-4)

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Բասեն		Basean	Phasiane, Pasinler	111, (114)
Բատալբաշու		Batalpashinsky Otdel		26
Բավրա	Բավրա	Bavra		31
Բաֆոս	Պաֆոս	Paphos	Bafos	28
Բեթղեհեմ	Բեթղեհեմ	Bethlehem		28
Բելցի	Բելցի	Balti	Beltsi	27, 31
Բենդեր	Բենդեր	Bender		27, 31
Բեշթա	Բեթա, Պեշտ	Pest		27
Բեսարաբիա		Bessarabia		27, 31, 32
Բերդեանսկ	Բերոյանսկ	Berdiansk	Berdyansk	26
Բթեշտ	Պիտեշտ	Pitești		27
Բլոշտի	Պլոշտի	Ploiești		27
Բոլնիս-խաչեն	Բոլնիս-խաչեն	Bolnis-Khachini	Bolnisi	61, 62
Բորչալու		Borchaly		37, 47
Բուխարա		Bukhara		26
Բուշիր		Bushehr	Bushire	87
Բրգնիկ		Pirknik	Dörteylül	225, 227
Կահիրե	Կահիրե	Cairo		28
Գանձակ	Ելիզավետպոլ	Gandzak	Ganja, Elisabethpol	61, 62, 70, 72, (74)
Գանձակ գիւղ		Gandzak village		139
Գանտիա	Հերակլիոն	Kandiye	Heraklion	29
Գասապա		Kasaba	Turgutlu	239
Գասթամունի	Քասթամունու, Քասթամունի	Kastamonu	Kastamoni	29, 30
Գետակբուլաղ	Կարճաղբյուր	Gedakbulag	Karchaghbyur	116, 118, (139)
Գերմանիա		Germany		30
Գեօլ	Գյոլ	Gölköy		116, 118, (135)
Գեօքչայ	Գյոքչայ	Geokchay	Goychay	25
Գըրգաղան		Kırkağaç		239
Գիրգորես		Kirkoros	Hasanbaba	232

Գոլոդնայա-Ստեպ	Սոլյալ տափաստան	Golodnaya Steppe	Mirzacho'l	26
Գոնիա	Զոնիա	Konya		29
Գորի		Gori		25, 32
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Ներքին Գիւզալդարա	Վարդենիկ	Lower Gyuzeldara	Nerkin Gyuzeldara, Vardenik	116, 118, (138)
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Տերսիմ	Տերսիմ	Dersim	Tunceli	167, 169, (172)
Տիասիև	Դիադին, Տաստեն	Diyadin	Diadin	116, 140, 145-6, (152-4)
Տիգրանակերտ	Տիյարպեքիր, Դիարբեքիր, Տիարպեքիր	Tigranakert	Dikranagerd, Diyarbakır, Diarbekir	4, 13, 19, 33, 103, 159-67, (163), 196-7, 258-9
Տիմիթոքա	Դիդիմոսիխոս	Dimetoka	Demotika, Didymoteicho	31
Տիվրիկ	Տևրիկ	Divriği	Divrig	29, 215-6
Տոպրիչ	Դոբրիչ	Dobrich		29
Տուրս	Տուրքիս	Turtskh		32
Տրապիզոն		Trabzon	Trapizon, Trebizond	13, 29, 31, 103, 112, 175, 178-9, (180-3), 184-85, 190, 233, 263
Յարիցին	Վոլգոգրադ	Tsaritsyn	Volgograd	26
Յղևա		Çənnəb	Tsghna	4, 92, 100
Փայաս		Payas		199
Փաշաքենդի	Բաշքենդ, Գեղարքունիք	Bashkend	Gegharkunik	37
Փաստ		Past?		147
Փարիզ		Paris		13, 29
Փխիկուր		Pkhikur	Çihori, Çukurköy, Çikor	291
Փոքր Ասիա	Անատոլու, Անատոլիա	Asia Minor	Anatolia	29, 30, 32, 61, 174, 178, 239, 241
Փոքր-Հայք		Lesser Armenia		29, 31
Փրովիտենս	Փրովիտենս, Փրովիդենս	Providence		29
Փոթի	Փոթի	Poti		25, 32, 178

Քաղաքի		Kələki	Kaghaki	92
Քառնապատ	Քարնապատ	Karnobat		29, 31
Քարաշեն	Քարաշեն	Karashen		288
Քարաքլիսա		Qara Klisa		288
Քափլանտիա	Քեյփթաուն	Cape Town		28
Քեսարիմքենդ	Քյարիմքենդ Ճաղկաշեն	Kyarimkend	Tsaghkashen	37
Քերսոն		Cherson		27, 31
Քերքիւք	Քերքիւք, Քերքյուք	Kirkuk		27, 33
Քեսոս-Մահմադ	Քյոսսա Մահմեդ	Kösemehmet		37
Քեսապ	Քեսաբ	Kessab	Kesab	28, 200, (210)
Քէօթահիա	Քյոթահիա	Kütahya		29
Քիլիս		Kilis		28, 199
Քիլվար		Kilvar		26, 32
Քիշնե	Քիշնև	Chişinău		27, 31
Քիւզաջըղ	Քյուզաջըղ, Լանջաղբյուր	Kyuzadzhik	Lanjaghbyur	37
Քիւրտիստան	Քուրդիստան	Kurdistan		28, 32
Քղի		Kiğı	Kghi	167, (171)
Քոռուն	Քորուն	Korun?		138
Քոստանցա (Քէօսթէնճէ)		Constanța	Köstence	27, 31
Քուբայիս		Kutaisi		25, 32
Քուփղոնան	Գուբլոնան	Küpkıran	Yukarıküpkıran, Yukarı Küpkıran	137
Քրոնշթատ		Kronstadt	Braşov	27
Օդեսա		Odesa	Odessa	27, 31
Օզում, տես Ոզմի		Ozum see Vozim		
Օլթի		Olti	Oltu	32, 291
Օնի	Օն	Oni		25
Օնճալու	Յոնջալի, Առվտոց	Yoncalı	Aravüdots	139
Օշ		Osh		26
Օվ		Ovs	Döküktaş	147

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Օվաճըը		Ovacık		241, (246)
Օր		Or	Isthmus of Perekop	26
Օրդակլու		Ordaklu		37
Օրթաքեյ		Ortaköy		241
Օրսու		Ordu		29, 232, 234
Օքրոբակերտ		Okrobakert	Köprülü	291
Ֆամակուստա	Ֆամագուստա	Famagusta		28
Ֆացա	Ֆաթսա	Fatsa		184
Ֆենեսե		Fenese		215
Ֆիլիպպե	Պլովդիվ	Filibe	Plovdiv	29, 31
Ֆրանսա		France		29, 293
Ֆրեզնո	Ֆրեզնո	Fresno		29
Ֆոքշան	Ֆոքշան	Focşani		27

2 List of placenames that Adjarian did not list

The table above is for the place names that Adjarian listed. While translating the text, I came across a small number of additional place names (and names for bodies of water) that Adjarian did not include in his list.

Table 1: Names of places that Adjarian did not list

Armenian	English
Ալիս	Alis, Kızılırmak
Առտեալ	Artial, Artyal, Ardeal, Erdély, Transylvania
Արաքս	Araks, Aras
Եփրատ	Euphrates
Էրմենի քեանդ, Արմենիքենդ	Ermenikend
Կասպից ծով	Caspian Sea
Մարմարա	Marmara
Միջերկրական	Mediterranean Sea
Նիկիա	Nicaea
Ոսկեղջիւր	Golden Horn
Պարսկահայաստան	Persian Armenia, Persarmenia
Սեւ ծով	Black Sea
Սեւանայ լիճ	Lake Sevan
Սըղնախ	Signagi, Sighnaghi
Վոսփոր	Bosporus, Bosphorus
Վոլգա, Վոլգա	Volga
Տաճկահայաստան, Տաճկաստան	Ottoman Turkey, Ottoman Armenia
Փայտակարան	Paytakaran

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Adjarian's *Armenian dialectology* (1911)

Armenian is an Indo-European language that boasts a rich linguistic landscape comprising Classical Armenian (CA), Standard Western Armenian (SWA or WA), Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA or EA), and numerous non-standard dialects, many of which were tragically lost due to the Armenian Genocide. This book is an English translation and commentary of Hrachia Adjarian's seminal work Հայ բարբառագիտութիւն *Armenian dialectology*, originally written in Armenian in 1911. Adjarian describes 31 non-standard Armenian varieties, offering insights into their linguistic structures and historical roots. To enhance accessibility and understanding, this translation unpacks implicit knowledge embedded in Adjarian's text, providing morpheme segmentation, glossing, and translations. This translation is tailored for three distinct audiences: linguists of non-Armenian, traditional Armenian dialectologists, and linguists of Armenian who were trained outside Armenia. This translation aims to bridge linguistic methodologies and facilitate deeper comprehension of Armenian dialectology. The translator supplements Adjarian's prose with commentary, ensuring clarity and accessibility across diverse readerships. This translation provides access to a linguistic landscape of Armenian before the genocide, with the hope of fostering broader scholarly engagement on Armenian dialects.