

Adjarian's *Armenian dialectology* (1911)

Translation and commentary

Edited by

Hossep Dolatian

Languages of the Caucasus 4



Languages of the Caucasus

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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 | aorist | 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

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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 [aʃxarabar, aʃxarap^har]), 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 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 Բարբառագիտութիւն 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 (Vasyan 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/ <ծ> in Istanbul is /d͡z/ <ծ>, while its reflex in SWA is /t͡sʰ/ <ց> (§32.2.2.3.1). For example, the word ‘snow’ <ծիւն> is /d͡ziʊn/ in CA, /d͡zun/ in Istanbul, but /t͡sʰʏn/ in SWA (Table 4). Adjarian himself notes this contrast in §32.2.1.1.
- c. The reflex of the Classical Armenian nominalizer <ութիւն> /-utʰiʊn/ ‘-ation’ is /-utʰʏn/ in SWA, but /-utʰin/ in Istanbul Armenian (§32.3.1).
- d. The causative suffix is /-t͡sʰənel/ <ցնել> in SWA but /-t͡sʰunel/ in Istanbul Armenian. For example, ‘to make live’ is /ɑbre-t͡sʰənel/ in SWA (ապրեցնել) but /ɑbre-t͡sʰunel/ 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 [a] in informal SEA. The use of an auxiliary [a] 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 (Ղարազդուկյան 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: [barbar, p^harp^har] <բարբառ>. 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

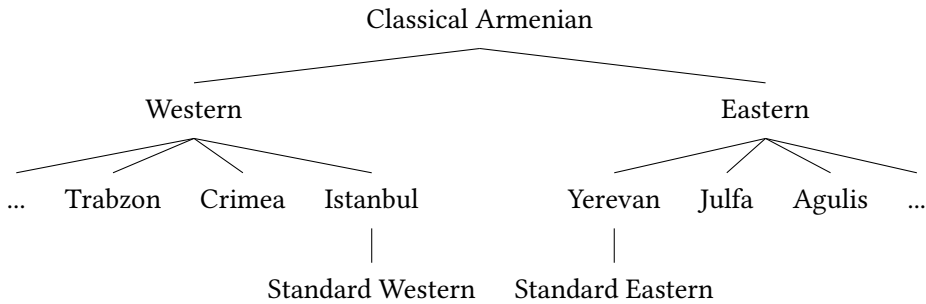


Figure 1: Conventional and simplified family tree of Armenian

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/ <նւմ> 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/ <էլ> 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.’

hɪqɛɫhɪ

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

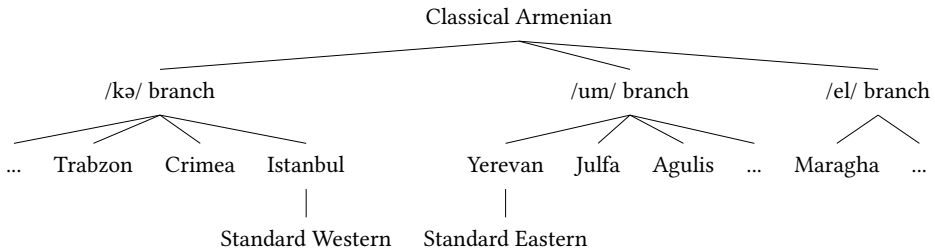


Figure 2: Expanded family tree of Armenian based on Adjarian’s classification

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.

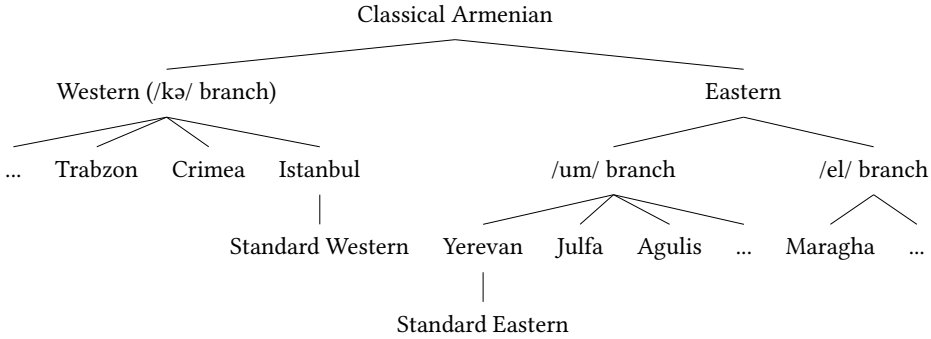


Figure 3: Family tree of Armenian based on geographic terms and Adjarian's /el/ branch

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.

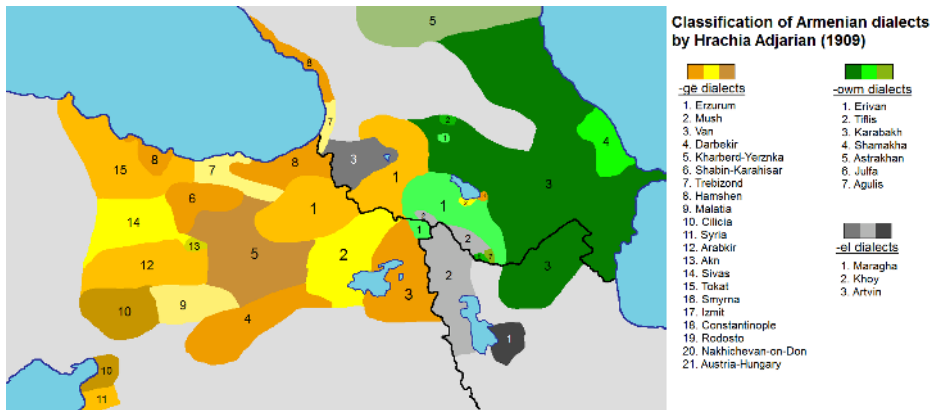


Figure 4: Adapted map from Adjarian 1909 (from Wikimedia)

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

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

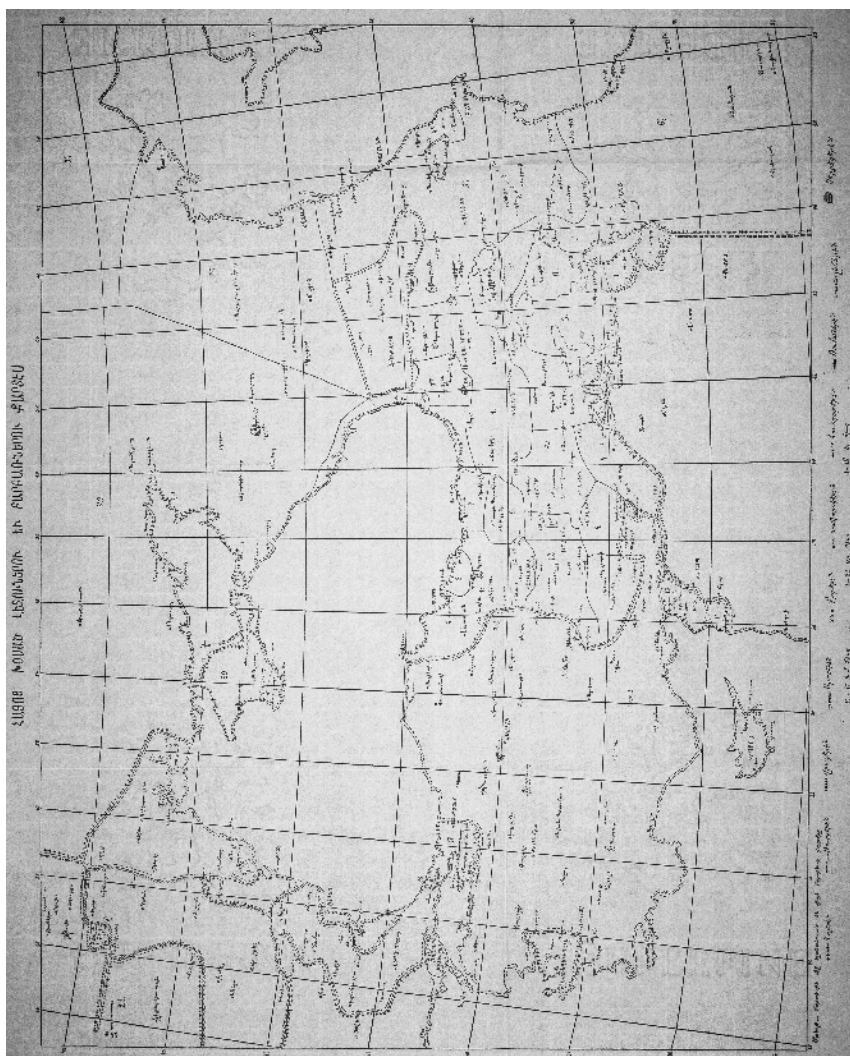


Figure 5: Map from Adjarian 1911

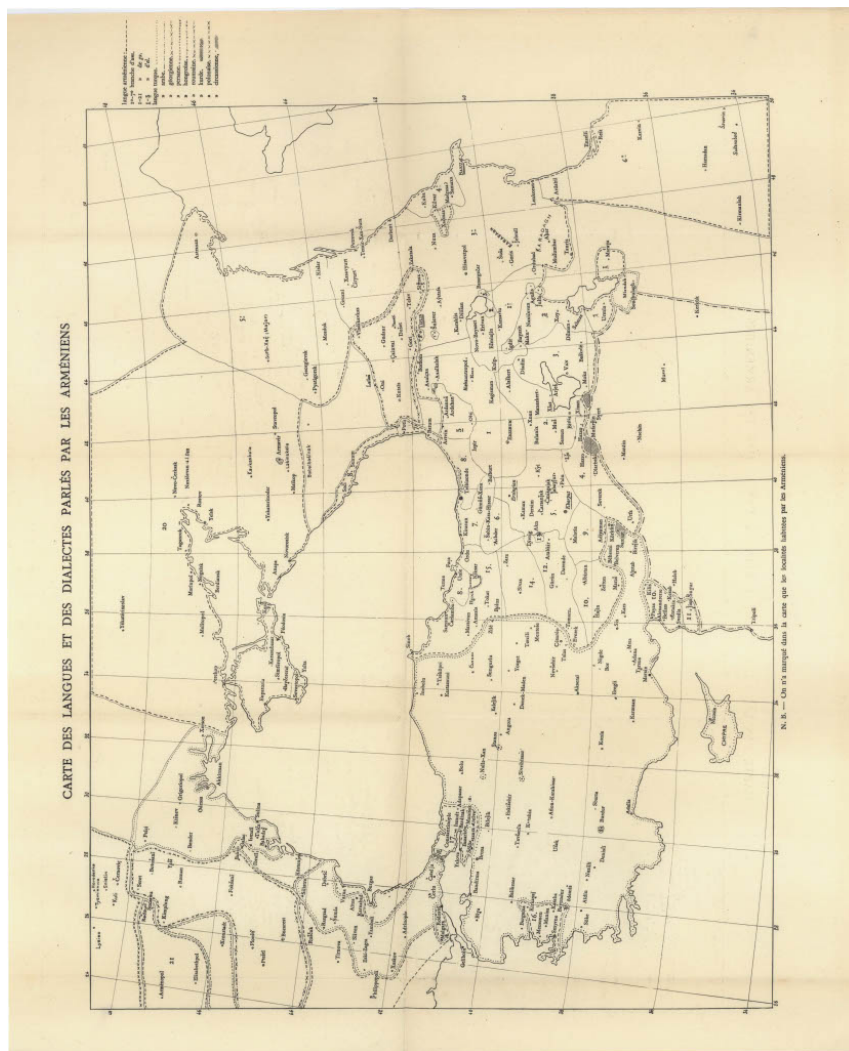


Figure 6: Map from Adjarian 1909

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, Tahtad-jian 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^hak | p^hak | ‘closed’ | փակ | p^hak | ‘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. TS̄^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. TS̄. 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

- The coronal stops usually have a dental articulation.
- The dorsal fricatives /χ, ʁ/ are typically described as uvular, but they can have a velar pronunciation.
- SEA has a phonemic trill and tap/flap distinction /r, ɾ/, while modern SWA only has a flap /ɾ/. 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.
- 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.

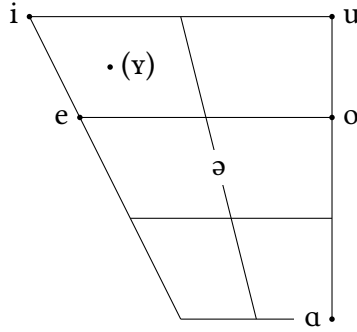


Figure 7: Vowel inventory of SEA and SWA

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. kapík
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. kəpɪk-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 schwa 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 | է | ը | 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 <ծ, 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, ր> developed to SEA /r, r/, and were likely /r, r/ in CA. But the transliteration as <r, ր> 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 <ւü> 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 ˉ 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, ո>, 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 | ոււ |
|---------------------|-----|-----|----|----|------|------|----|-----|-----|
| HMB transliteration | ay | aw | ea | ew | eay | eaw | iw | oy | ua |
| IPA transcription | ɑj̯ | ɑw̯ | ɛɑ | eɯ | ɛɑj̯ | ɛɑw̯ | iɯ | oɟ̯ | 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 [ɑj̯] 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 /j̯ɑ/ but I opted for /ɛɑ/ because it is more faithful to the orthography.
- For <իւ> <iw>, Macak (2017: 1041,1043) notes that this cluster can be pronounced as either /i̯u/ or /j̯u/ depending on phonological position. I opt for a uniform /i̯u/ because Adjarian does not indicate such differences.
- For <ոյ>, the traditional pronunciation is /u̯j̯/ (Macak 2017: 1039). But, the orthography suggests that this digraph was pronounced as /o̯j̯/.

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

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 /ɑja, awa/. 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 <ուէ> in <ւղղուէ> ‘fox’ and <ուի> <ui> in <թուիլ> ‘to appear’. For these, the HMB transliteration would be <ɑuēs> and <t̪u̯il>. Their modern SEA pronunciations would use a /v/ in place of the <ու>: /ɑʋes, t̪ʰəvil/. It is unclear if historically such orthographic sequences were some type of diphthong too: /ɑuēs, t̪ʰu̯il/. 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: /ɑu.es, t̪ʰu.il/.¹¹

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

Note that Classical grapheme sequence <աւ> /ɑṽ/ became SEA /o/, and this change encouraged the use of a new letter <օ> in its place. Adjarian often uses the letter <օ> to refer to the ancient diphthong. When he uses the letter <օ> in these contexts (such as <մօր> ‘mother.GEN’), I use the transliteration <ō> and the Classical pronunciation /ɑṽ/: <մօր>, /mɑṽr/. I usually opt to use an alternative CA spelling with <աւ>: <մաւր> <mawr> /mɑṽr/. 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 | 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 | 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 | ռ | լ | ղ | ւ | յ | |
| HMB transliteration | m | n | r | ṛ | l | ł | w | y | |
| IPA transcription | m | n | r | r | l | ɭ | 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 /ɭ/ 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> | kəɾak | kəɾak | gəɾag | 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:

- <ըէ> /ə/, see §10.2.1.1.
- <too> /œo/, see §11.2.3.1.6.
- <oo> /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 ^Է | b ^h | voiced aspirated bilabial stop |
| դ | d | voiced coronal (dental) stop |
| դ ^Է | d ^h | voiced aspirated coronal (dental) stop |
| ձ | \widehat{dz} | voiced coronal (dental) affricate |
| ձ ^Է | \widehat{dz}^h | voiced aspirated coronal (dental) affricate |
| ջ | $\widehat{dʒ}$ | voiced postalveolar affricate |
| ջ ^Է | $\widehat{dʒ}^h$ | voiced aspirated postalveolar affricate |
| ֆ | f | voiceless labiodental fricative |
| գ | g | voiced velar stop |
| գ ^Է | g ^h | voiced aspirated velar stop |
| գյ | g ^j | palatalized voiced velar stop |
| հ ^Է | ħ | voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| հ | h | voiceless glottal fricative |
| հյ | ç | voiceless palatal fricative |
| ՛, յ, չ | 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 ^Է | l ^j | palatalized voiced lateral approximant |
| մ | m | voiced bilabial nasal |
| ն | n | voiced coronal (dental) nasal |
| պ | p | voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop |
| պ ^Է | p ^h | voiceless aspirated bilabial stop |
| դ ^Է | q | voiceless uvular stop |
| ռ | r | voiced alveolar trill |
| ր | ɾ | 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 | tʰ | voiceless aspirated coronal (dental) stop |
| ð | (ts) | voiceless unaspirated coronal (dental) affricate |
| g | (tsʰ) | voiceless aspirated coronal (dental) affricate |
| ɔ | (tʃ) | voiceless unaspirated postalveolar affricate |
| ʒ | (tʃʰ) | voiceless aspirated postalveolar affricate |
| ɸ | v | voiced labiodental fricative |
| ɮ | w | voiced labial-velar glide |
| q | z | voiced alveolar fricative |
| ɟ | ʒ | voiced postalveolar fricative |
| ʕ | ʕ | 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/ |
| uʲ, uʲ | ɑᵢ | diphthong of /ɑ/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| uɮ | ɑᵤ | diphthong of /ɑ/ and (offglide) /u/ |
| È or È` | ɛ̇ | lowered /e/ |
| ɛ | e | mid front unrounded vowel |
| ɛɹ | eᵢ | diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| ɛʲ, ɛʲ | ɛᵢ | shortened diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| ɛɹ | eɹ, eᵢ | inconsistent between diphthong or vowel-glide |
| ɛɮ | eᵤ | diphthong of /e/ and (offglide) /u/ |
| ɹɛ | ə̆ | fronted schwa |
| ɹ° | ə̇ | lowered schwa |
| ɹ | ə | schwa (mid central vowel) |
| ɹᵢ, ɹᵢʰ | əᵢ | diphthong of /ə/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| ɪ | i | high front unrounded vowel |
| ɛ | ie | diphthong of (offglide) /i/ and /e/ |
| ɛɮ | ieᵤ | triphthong of (offglide) /i/, /e/, and (offglide) /u/ |
| ɪʲ, ɪʲ | iᵢ | diphthong of /i/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| î | ɨ | high central unrounded vowel |

| Adjarian's notation | IPA approx. | Description |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| o | o | mid back rounded vowel |
| ɛo | œ | front mid rounded vowel |
| ɛò | œə | diphthong of /œ/ and (offglide) /ə/ |
| ɛoo | œo | perhaps a diphthong of /œ/ and /o/ |
| ɛoL | œɯ | diphthong of /œ/ and (offglide) /u/ |
| oɹ | oə | diphthong of /o/ and (offglide) /ə/ |
| oo | oo | perhaps a long vowel /o/ |
| oL | ou | diphthong of /o/ and (offglide) /u/ |
| nL | u | high back rounded vowel |
| nLw, Lw | uɑ | diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /ɑ/ |
| nLe | ue | diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /e/ |
| nL ⁱ , nL ^h | ui | diphthong of /u/ and (offglide) /i/ |
| n | uo | diphthong of (offglide) /u/ and /o/ |
| ô | uœ | 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 /y/ 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-agɑr] <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/ <կոշդի> 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 <փրայ> ‘on’ as [vra]. But, the typical transcription is [vəra] 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 /q^j, k^j, k^{hj}, h^j/. But Adjarian’s wording in Armenian suggests that these consonants are phonetically palatal consonants /ʃ, ʧ, ʧ^h, ʧ̥/.

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 yodicized /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 /ɨç/ 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 <ռ, ր>, the modern Standard Eastern pronunciation is a trill-flap distinction /r-ɾ/. Modern dialects differ in whether the transcribed <ռ> 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 /ɹ/. 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
- 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.
 - Some diphthongs were written with a superscript form of the letter <j>: <Է^j, Ի^j, ա^j>. I used a superscript <j>: <Է^j, Ի^j, ա^j>.
 - Some diphthongs were written with a superscript form of the letter <h>: <ն^h, ը^h>. I used a superscript <i>: <նⁱ, ըⁱ>.
 - 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 /ɛ̞j/. 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 /ɤ, ɪ̞eɥ, ɪ̞/. But then for Crimea (§35.2.1.2), he states these symbols should be read as single diphthongs: /i̞ɥ, ɪ̞eɥ, ɪ̞/. This creates a contradiction with his previous use of these symbols. For <ԻԵԼ>, the contradiction is that <ԵԼ> already signifies /ɪ̞eɥ/.

The symbol sequence <Էj> is likewise ambiguous. For some dialects, Adjarian uses this symbol to denote a diphthong /ej/, 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 /ej/, yet he still provides words with the symbol sequence <Էj>. One can therefore assume that Adjarian intends for this sequence to be read as /ej/ 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> /ej̞/. This diphthong is written with a superscript glide. He provides Vozim words that have both the superscript glide and the non-superscript glide: /χej̞l̞j̞/

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

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 /ë/ 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 /ւօ/ 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 /uο/ 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 /ɑ/ has many reflexes in Agulis: /ɑ, 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 <nuuq> 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” (անցալ 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” (անցալ 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 <սերկայ> | Indicative present | sir-um e-n like-IMPF.CVB AUX-3PL 'they like, they are liking' սիրում են |
| Imperfective <սկսատար> | 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-ts ^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 | ցօ-չօմ-ե-ն | | ‘they drink’ | ‘they drink’ |
| | IND-drink-TH-3PL | | ‘they are drinking’ | |
| | ցօ-չօմ-ե-ն | gor | N/A | ‘they are drinking’ |
| | IND-drink-TH-3PL | PROG | | |
| Indicative past imperfective | ցօ-չօմ-եյ-ի-ն | | ‘they would drink’ | ‘they would drink’ |
| | IND-drink-TH-PST-3PL | | ‘they are drinking’ | |
| | ցօ-չօմ-եյ-ի-ն | gor | | ‘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 <Տօվլէթեան> and pronounced in SWA as [dovlet^hjan]. Its HMB form would be <Tēōvlēt‘ean>, 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’> 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 too 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

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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, ղ | b, g, d, \widehat{dz} , $\widehat{d\zeta}$ | b, g, d, j, յ |
| p, k, t, ts, tch | պ, կ, տ, ծ, ճ | p, k, t, \widehat{ts} , $\widehat{t\zeta}$ | p, k, t, c, չ |
| p ^c , k ^c , t ^c , ts ^c , tch ^c | փ, ք, թ, ց, ջ | p ^h , k ^h , t ^h , $\widehat{ts^h}$, $\widehat{t\zeta^h}$ | p ^ʰ , k ^ʰ , t ^ʰ , c ^ʰ , ջ ^ʰ |



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 Noux; also spelled Nukhi, Nukha; Shaki (Şaki) 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.

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

- 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 (Ismidt), 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).

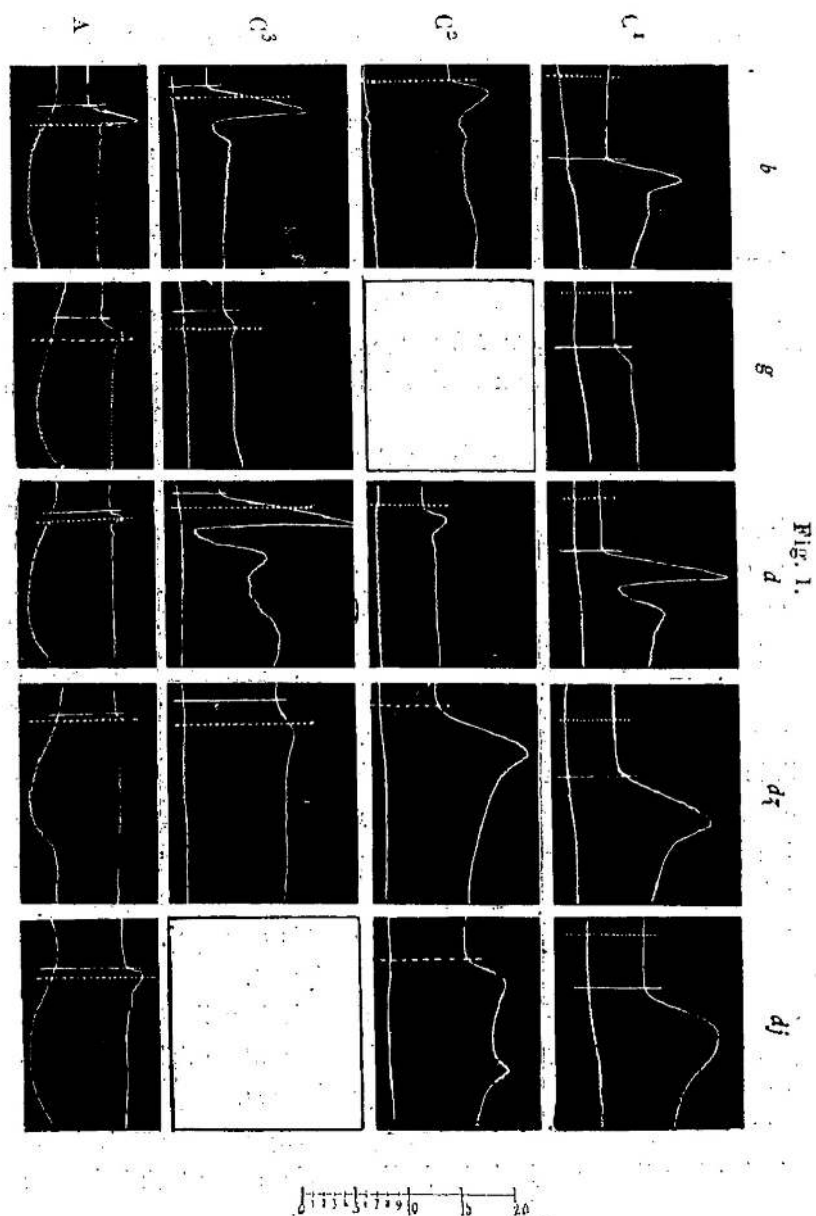


Figure 1: Original figure 1 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiced stops and affricates

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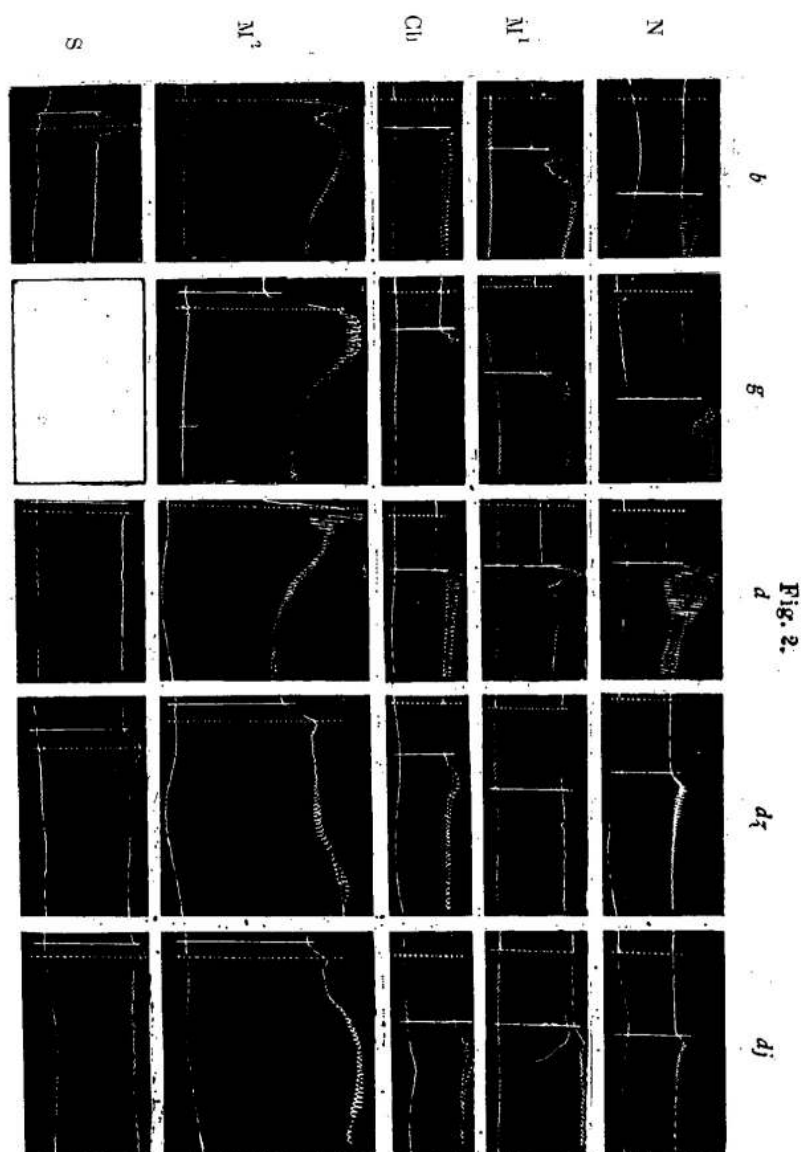


Figure 2: Original figure 2 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiced stops and affricates

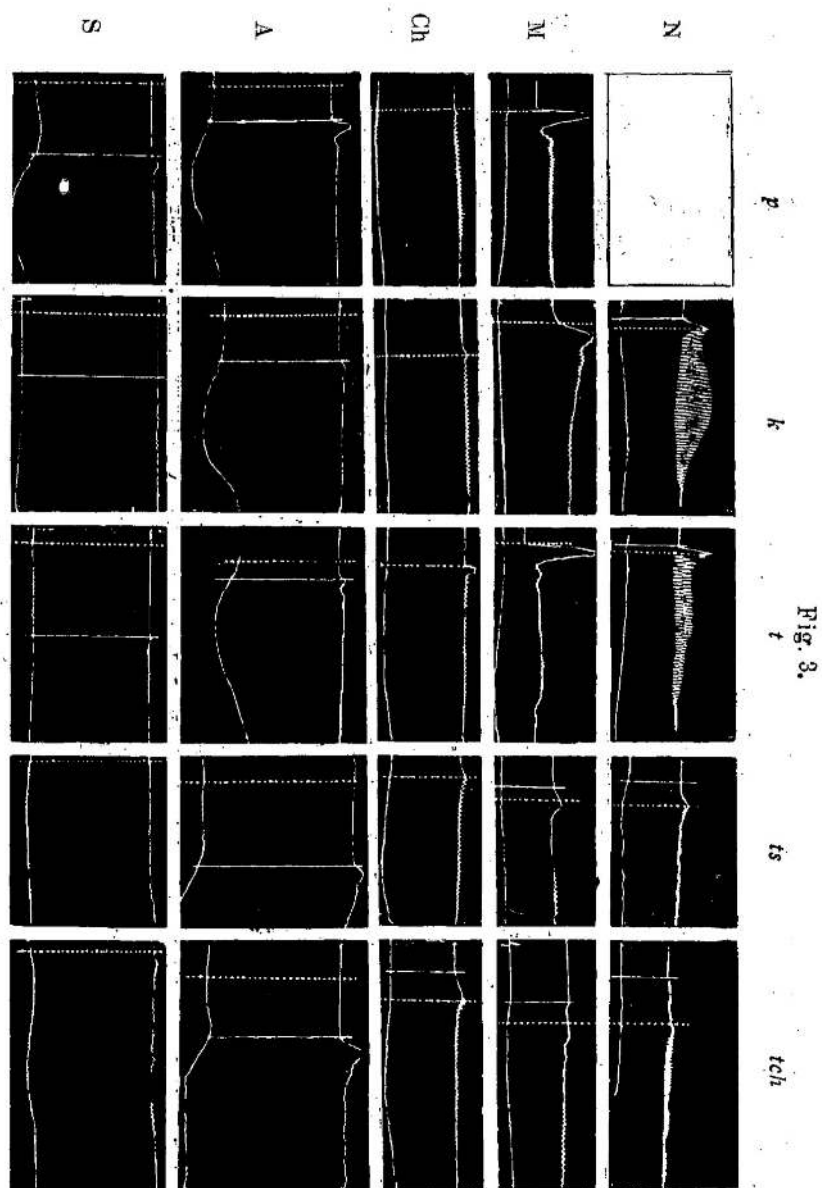
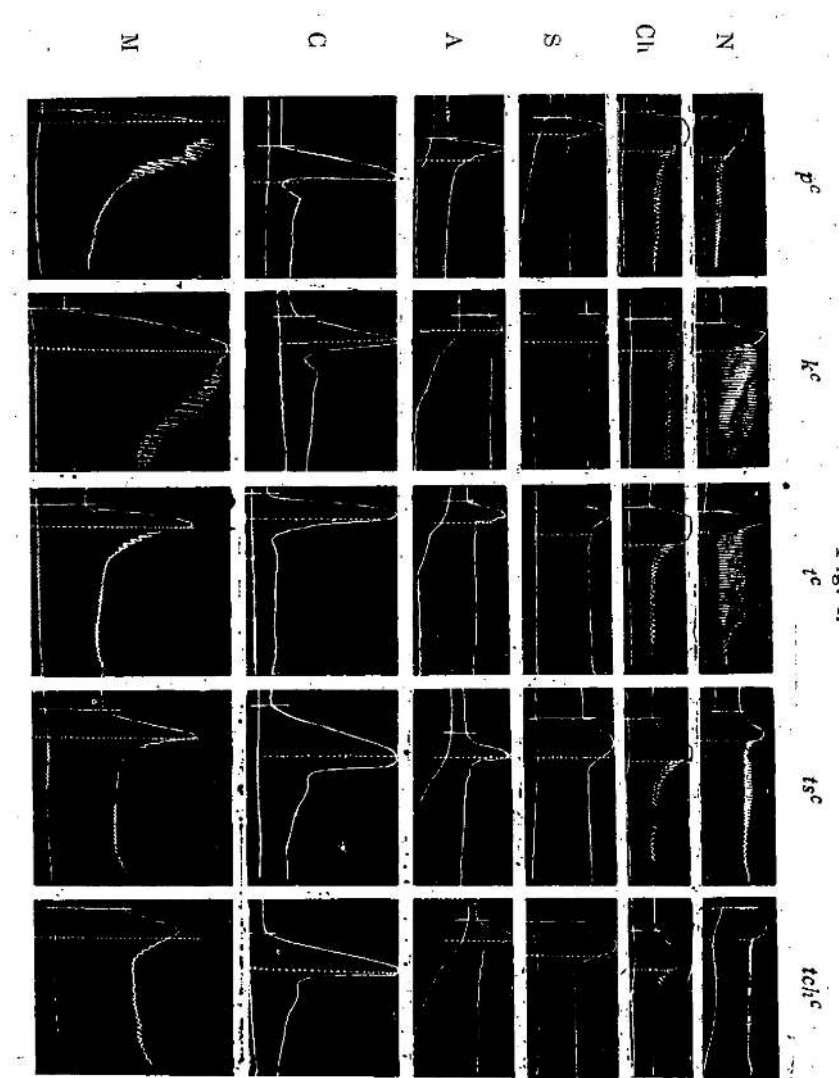


Figure 3: Original figure 3 for reflexes of Classical Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates

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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 $p, q, r, \delta, \underline{p} - /b, g, d, \underline{dz}, \underline{dz}/$ 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.

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 ւ, Է, լ, ժ, ճ – /p, k, t, ts, tʃ/ 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 [ts̠] and [tʃ̠] show exactly the same position as in the pronunciation of Nukha and Shushi. I have also found the same for the consonant [t̠].

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 , p , p^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 $[\text{p}^h]$). In the third case, vibrations occur after the movement of airflow, or very shortly before (Figure 4 C, $[\text{p}^h]$). 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^həts^həneren/ <Գլեղացընէրէն> (the language of Zeytun; §24), /k^hesbən-uok^h/ <Էսսպընուոկ> (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/Musaler 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/ <Ստասանը>
- 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 tʰakʰavor
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 ásoʁə/ (§10)
in-úm a tʃ^h-in-úm min tʰakʰavor 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 tʰakʰavor 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, /χapʰoʁə/ (§22)
gon:a gu tʃ^h-gon:a gu mekʰ kʰəɹal 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 χusuəʁə/ (§24)
gits^h-ir i tʃ^hi gits^h-ir i tʰækʰəvɹɹ 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; ՄՈՒՐԱԴՅԱՆ 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 Dionysius Thrax refers to the dialect of /gordɑik^h/ *Gordayk*’, for example. And the eighth century commentary of Stephanos of Syunik (*Stephen Syunetsi*; *Step’anos of Siwnik*’; *Step’anos Siwnec*’i; 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 (Աճառյան 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 Cirkied (Յակոբ Շահան Զրպետեան), a Tokat Armenian who early in his career taught a young Gabriel Sundukian (Գաբրիէլ Սուկոնկեան, Գաբրիէլ Սուկոնկյան) in Tblisi/Tiflis and later was professor of Armenian in Paris, devoted an entire section of his 1823 *Grammaire de la Langue Arménienne* (de Cirkied 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* (Աիսկերդեան 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 (Այսկերդեան 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, Ալլահիվերտեան 1884, Շերենց 1885, 1899, Լալայեան 1913), and in journals (Եմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], Ազգագրական Հանդես [*Ethnographic Magazine*], Բիւրակն [*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 Akhaltskha (§15) and Tbilisi dialects (Томсон 1887, 1890), Mseriants's various works dealing with the Mush dialect (Мсерианц 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’, առնել /arnel/ > /aniel/ ‘do’, ասեղս /asełan/ > /asux/ ‘needle’, աղանձ /aʔandz/ > /aʁandz/ ‘roast (n)’, բարակ /barak/ > /bʰarak/ ‘thin’, բարձր /bardzər/ > /bʰantsʰər/ ‘high’, բահ /bah/ > /bʰaχ/ ‘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-Դավիթբեկ 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 (Մալխասյան 1944), the dialect grammars and dialect survey produced by the Institute of Dialectology in Yerevan (such as Adjarian (Աճառյան 1952b) on Van and Davtyan's atlas of Karabakh dialects (Դավթյան 1966)), Dumézil's studies of the Hamshen and Musaler/Musa Dagħ 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 (Գալուստյան 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 (Բաղրամյան 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, Ջահուկյան 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 (Ջահուկյան 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; Կոստանյան 1979), Aresh (Լուսենց 1982), Moks (§17; Մուրադյան 1982), Edessa (§18; Հանեյան 1982), Alashkert (Մադաթյան 1985), Kessab (Զոլաքեան 2009), Musa Dagħ (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 (Տէր-Աղեքսանդրեան 1885, Լալայեան 1892, 1899, 1900/, 1913, Գրիգորյան-Սպանդարյան 1971, Աբեղյան 1944/, Մալխասյանց 1958, Օրբելի & Նազիկյան 1959/1998, Առաքելյան 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 (Սրուանձտեան 1876, Սրուանձտեանց 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 Բիւրակն [*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 (Սրուանձտեան 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; Ախվերդեան 1852, Սուևդուկյան 1951/1961), Shamakhi dialect (§11; Շիրվանզադե 1958/1962), Agulis dialect (§14; Չարգաբեանց 1912), Istanbul dialect (§32; Այվազ 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 (Աբեղյան 1940), Ghanalanyan's collection of sayings (Դանալանյան 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 (Սվազյան 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^haɁ, 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 (Աճառեան 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* (Աճառեան 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 /ēṛ/ <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 (Մալխասեանց 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. /stepx̥in/: 2. /stepx̥in vajri/, /doks/, /tʰanduk/, /ɑfmunisa/, /kʰɛfir/:
- ‘turkey’: /həndkahav/ (noun, zoological). /hənduhav/, /həndkakʰɑx̥/, (dialectal) /tʰurtʰur/, /tʰurtʰur/, /gorel/, /korel/, /tʰolok/, /kulkul/, /kurkur/, /məsrəhav/, /kʰelkʰel/, /tʰulux̥/.

Like Malkhasyants, though, Sukiasyan does not provide references for specific forms. One cannot infer from his book, for example, that <չոլոլի> /tʰulux̥/ is used for ‘turkey’ in Hamshen (Աճառյան 1947: 262; Turkish <çulluk> ‘woodcock’ (*Scolopax rusticola*)), or even that <ստեպին> [əstɛb̥in] 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 /pʰurtʰulux̥/, 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 /stɛb̥in/ (related to Greek <staphulinos>) includes forms not mentioned in the entry for /gazar/: /tapx̥in/ (which is used in Van, though Sukiasyan does not mention this) and /tɛxp̥ind/.

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/ <եսոր> 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): Փոքր պիտի վուր Էստուրը դիմանա (ԳՍ): Ըստուր յաղի մին:
- Translated
/estur/, Ar. N. /əstur/, Ghrb. /sra/. /estur hamar em asum, vor lav txa e/ (VTS). /p^hux 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 Սուկունկյան>],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. ՄԱՐԿՍՅԱՆ 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 Blaessing. 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 Baghramyān's work on Dersim (Բաղրամյան 1960). Baghramyān provides a map of the forms of the present tense in the Dersim region, which I have recast in Figure 1.

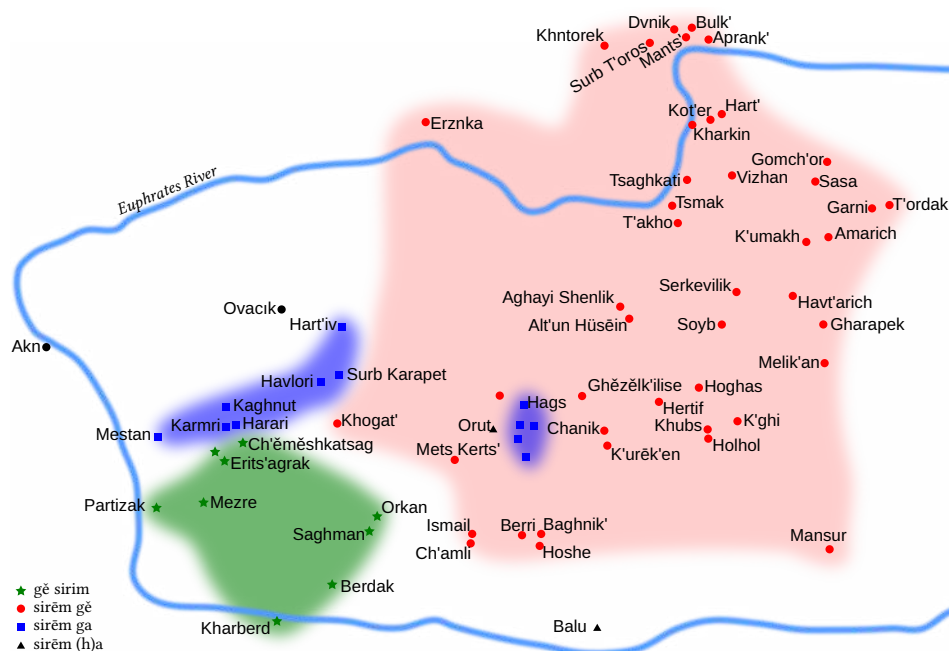


Figure 1: Formation of the present and imperfect indicative in Armenian dialects of the Dersim region, based on Baghramyān (Բաղրամյան 1960: map 2)

Baghramyān 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. Baghramyān 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 Vartapetyan'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, Դանալանյան 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

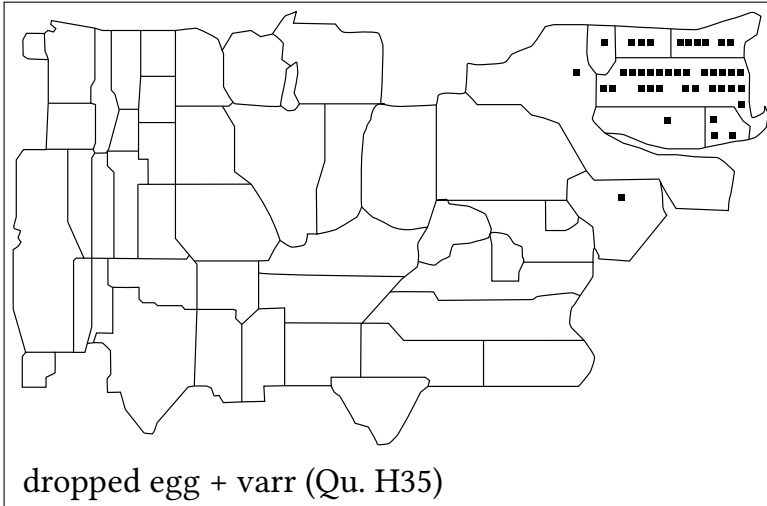
¹⁵<https://www.elararchive.org/dk0632/>

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

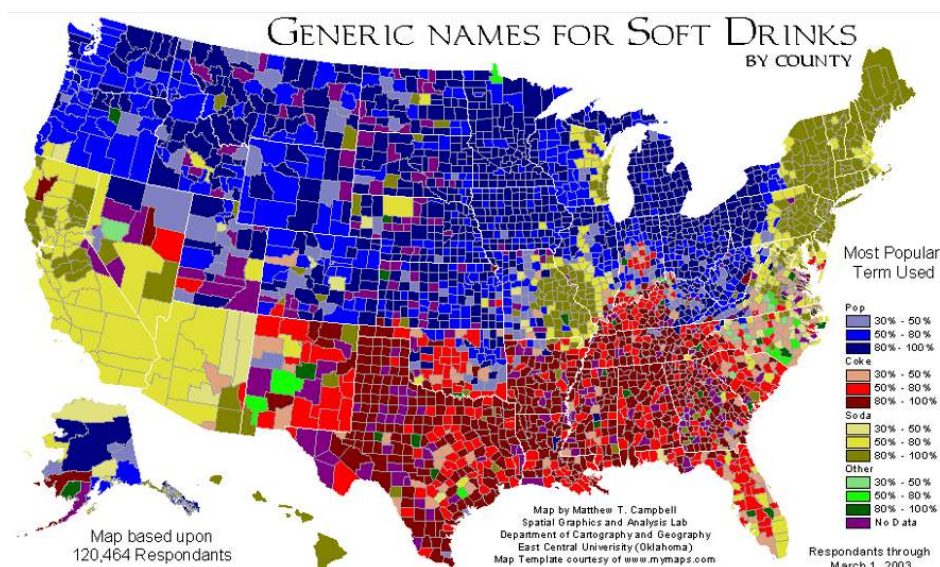


Figure 2: Map of the three principal terms for sweetened carbonated beverages in the Continental United States (<http://www.popvssoda.com/countystats/total-county.html>)

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

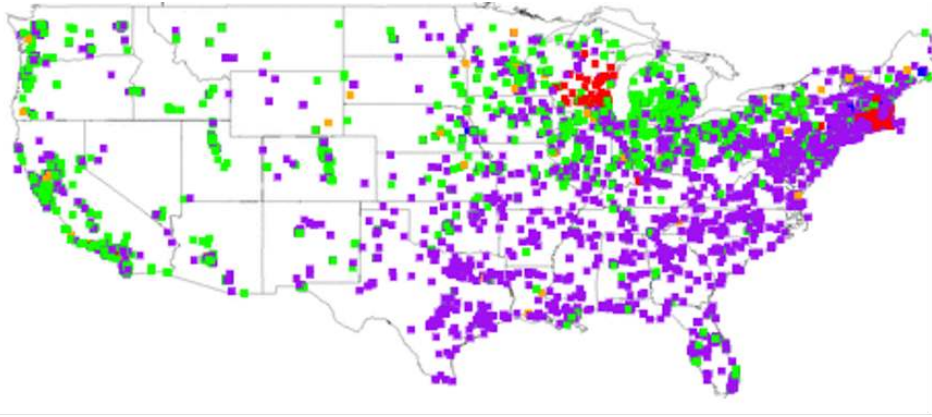


Figure 3: Q103. What do you call the thing from which you might drink water in a school?

- bubbler (red; 3.84% of responses)
- drinking fountain (green; 33.16% of responses)
- water fountain (purple; 60.97 of responses)

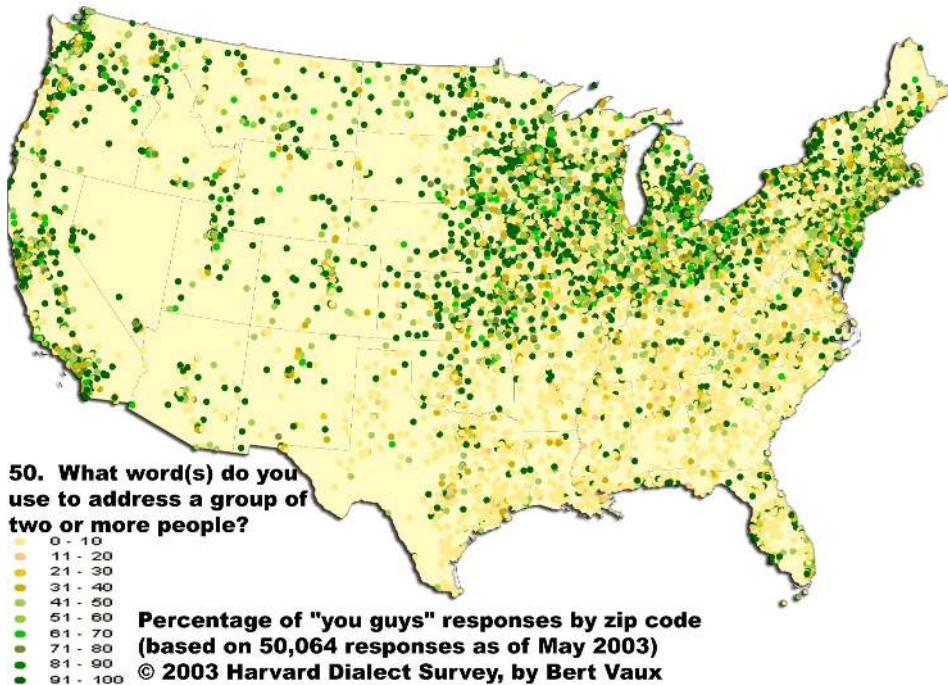


Figure 4: Q50. What word(s) do you use to address a group of two or more people?

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 /ələkoʃkoʃ/ for 'bat' 100% of the time and for 'butterfly' 0% of the time; in other words, /ələkoʃkoʃ/ is their only word for 'bat', and means only 'bat'. The other half of the community uses /ələkoʃkoʃ/ 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 /ələkoʃkoʃ/, '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 (ԽԱՃԱՏՐԻՅԱՆ), 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, ԽԱՃԱՏՐԻՅԱՆ 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).

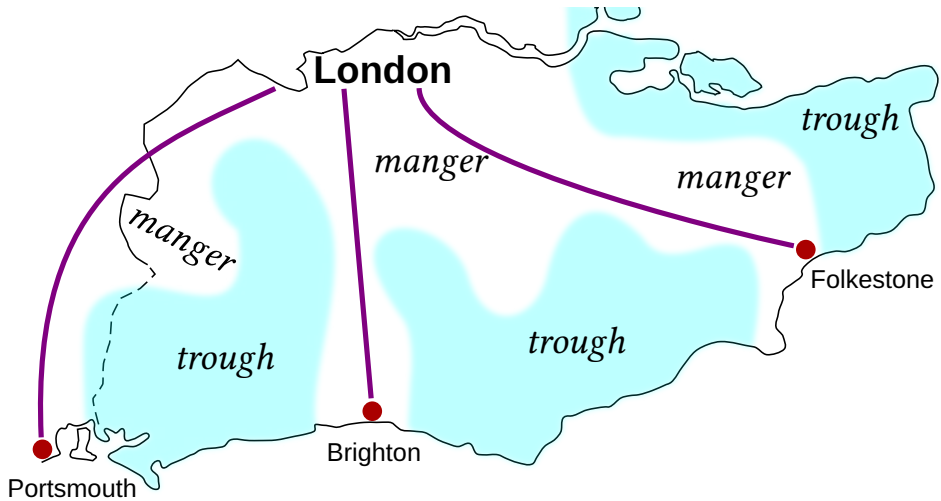


Figure 5: ‘food trough in a cow-house’ (based on a map in Crystal 1995)

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* (Ջահուկյան 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 ^j mt | b ^h eremi | ok ^j 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 { $\widehat{d_3}$ $\widehat{t_j}$ $\widehat{t^h}$ \widehat{z} \widehat{s} } to { \widehat{dz} \widehat{ts} $\widehat{ts^h}$ \widehat{z} \widehat{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 ɪ} (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 Ad-jarian 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).

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

6. /χendats^hnuf/ ‘make someone rejoice’ in Hamshen, preserving the original semantics of Classical Armenian /χəndəl/ <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 /-ɑ-/ in penultimate stress dialects such as Karabakh and Agulis. Middle Armenian and the modern final stress dialects normally deleted all medial /ɑ/; contrast Agulis /hrsænik^h/ with Classical Armenian /harsanik^h/ and SWA /hars(ɑ)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 /ɑj/ > /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 /ɑj/ <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 /ɑj/ <ւյ> to /o/ <ո> and post-nasal voicing occur on a khachkar at Garni (Գառնի) from 879, which reads <ի բարեխոսութի ինծ> /i bareχosut^{hi} int̪s/ for <ի բարեխաւսութի[ւն] ինծ> /i bareχausut^{hi}[un] ind̪z/.¹⁹ Some more examples: the change of preconsonantal /ɑj/ <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 /-iun/ is a scribal convention. The form <իւծ> for <իւն> probably represents a pronunciation [ind̪z] rather than [ints], because Armenian dialects generally do not devoice stops after nasals. This instead suggests that in the dialect of the inscription writer the pronunciation of /ts/ had become voiced and that of /d̪z/ 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 (Աճառյան 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 (Մկրտչյան 1971: 21) lists a number of additional *-um* dialects in western Turkey: Antalya, Bolu, Denizli, Dişner, Dovrek, Duzce, Elmalı, 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, Shatakh, Syria, Van, Vahravar, and Khoy), but also surfaces farther west, in the non-contiguous areas villages of Musa Dagħ 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 Dagħ community was founded in part by immigrants from the Karabakh region (ԱՆՊՐԵՍԱՅԱՆ 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* (ՄՈՒԼՐԱԴՅԱՆ 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, ʃoxk - ʃəvək^h - hov.../

b. **Original:** 496. Տղա - 1. Արու զավակ: 2. Երեխա:...

c. : 496. /təʁɑ/ 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 /təʁɑ/ 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 [kərja] in SEA to [kurja] 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; Զանաքեռ) and Sundukyan (Tbilisi dialect; Սոփոկյան 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 <խօսեցիւն> /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 <խօսեցիւն> 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 (ՍՈՆԴՈՒԿՅԱՆ 1951/1961), Patkanian in Nor Nakhichevan (ՓԱՏԿԱՆՈՎ 1875), or Shirvanzade in Shamakhi (ՇԻՐՎԱՆԶԱԴԵ 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 Զրպետ), 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: /gevork^h axverdjan/ or /axvert^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 (ծելաբանութիւն). He does not consider the phonology (ծայնաբանութիւն).

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^həsjanʔs/]]) 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 (Յոլի. Հանսշ) started a study on the Polish-Armenian dialect. He published two volumes, wherein he studies the lexicon and phonology (ծայնաբանութիւն) 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^havith^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-Դավիթայեկ

[[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 (Մոսկուայի 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: Мсепуану 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 (ծայլաբանութեամբ), some in their morphology (ծեւաբանութեամբ) 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 (կոշոն) 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 (կակոն) /kⁱ/ <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. (?)]]

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... 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/ <մանսակ> or /mænæk^j/ <մանսակ>? 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...

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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 /tʃ^h/ <չ> 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/ <օ> is a single sound too. Writing this sound as <օ>, <au>, or <eau> is against the first condition as well. As another example, consider the Armenian letter <յ>. Word-initially, this letter is pronounced as /h/ <հ>, medially as /j/ <յ>, 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 | ք | g | k | k' | g | k | k ^h |
| դ | տ | թ | d | t | t' | d | t | t ^h |
| ծ | ժ | ց | j | c | c | \widehat{dz} | \widehat{ts} | $\widehat{ts^h}$ |
| ջ | ճ | չ | j | c | c | $\widehat{d_3}$ | \widehat{tj} | $\widehat{tj^h}$ |

Among these, the first column is in the location of the second column for Western Armenian (աբղւմտեան). 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 $/p^h, k^h, t^h, ts^h, tj^h/ <\phi, \rho, g, \xi>$. 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 | զ | | f | v | s | z | ʃ | f | v | s | z | ʃ |
| ժ | խ | ղ | հ | | ʒ | x | ɡ | h | | ʒ | χ | ɣ | h | |
| լ | ւ | ն | ր | | l | m | n | r | ɾ | l | m | n | ɾ | r |

However for the letters <ե, յ, ն, լ>, the situation is more complicated. The letter <ե> 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 <ե.> We do not need to represent /e/ also by <ե>. Meaning that the letter <ե> 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) | երեկ | երեկ | 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’ | hawj | hawj | hawj | /haj/ |
| N/A | | | wluj | /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 | | | ouli | /oski/ |
| ‘gold’ | nuli | nuli | qouli | /voski/ |

The letter <ɫ> 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 <վրայ> /vra/ ‘on’ as <լրա>. The use of the letter <ɫ> is unneeded or excessive for the following reasons. We cannot have one sound correspond to two symbols. We cannot write the letter <ɫ> word-initially. And the letter <ɫ> is also used in the diphthongs ու, իւ /u, y/.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 | թագալոր | թաքալոր not <թագաԼոր> | /tʰakʰavor/ |
| ‘pain stone’ | ցաԼաքար | ցալաքար | ցալաքար not <ցաԼաքար> | /tsʰavakʰar/ |

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/ <բաւ> ‘thing’. This sound is transcribed by Sargsian (Սարգսեան) as an <ա> with two dots above it [[ա̇]], by S. Melik Davit-Bek (Ս. Մելիք-Դավիթ բէկ) as <ա> with a circle on top [[ա̊]]. 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> [[ա̃]] ...

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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

/i̥e/: 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 /m̥i̥eɾ/ <մեր> ‘our’, /d̥zi̥eɾ/ <ձեր> ‘you.GEN.PL’.¹⁵ For this sound, we think it is appropriate to use the letter <ɛ>, because this sound’s real source is represented and we do not need to invent a new sound.

/u̥o/: This sound is used in the same provinces. It is a fast pronunciation of a sequence /uo/ <ուո>, such as in /s̥u̥oχ/ սոխ ‘onion’, /g̥u̥oʋ/ գող ‘thief’.¹⁶ We represent this sound with the letter <n> for the same reasons above.

/b^h, g^h, d^h, d̥z^h, d̥ʒ^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, d̥z, d̥ʒ/ <բ, դ, գ, ձ, շ>. To represent these sounds, the most appropriate way is to add a reverse apostrophe: <բ', դ', գ', ձ', շ'>.

/ɦ/: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 /ɑ̥j, ɛ̥j, i̥j, o̥j/ <այ, էյ, իյ, օյ>, and to form the palatal sounds /g^j, k^j, k^{hj}, ɟ/ <գյ, կյ, լյ, հյ>.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 <ա> with two dots <ա̇>. This is the system that Adjarian argued against. And unfortunately, Adjarian’s upside-down <ա> symbol was only recently given a Unicode symbol <ᴀ>, 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 <ա> as <ա̇>, 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 <b^h, g^h, d^h, j^h, j^h>.]]]

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 /ɑ̯, ɔ̯, ɛ̯/ and the triphthong /j̯ɛ̯u/.²¹ To represent all of these, we must use the letter <ɫ>, such that <ɫu> = /wɑ/ or /ɯɑ/, <uɫ> = /ɑ̯/, <oɫ> = /ɔ̯/, <ɛɫ> = /ɛ̯/, <ɛɫ> = /j̯ɛ̯/, and so on.

The least inappropriate forms are <ɛo, ɪɫ, nɫ> /œ, ʏ, u/.²² For these sounds, we could have proposed united <ɛo, ɪɫ, nɫ> 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 /j̯ɛ̯u/ 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 <ɪɫ> /ʏ/. This violates Adjarian's preference for using a single letter, such as some sort of superscripted form like <ɪ^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 IND' 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> /jorʁan/ '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 <հաստատուն եզր>, 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 Բյւրակն [Byurakn] newspaper (1900, page 609-613), a certain Mushegh Varg (Մուշէղ Վարգ; [[SEA: /*mufesh 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 Բազմավեպ [Bazmavep] ([[SEA: /*bazmavep*/, SWA: /*p^hazmaveb*/]]). I had prepared that study by working with a priest from Suceava named Father Karapet Kaynayian (Տէր Կարապետ Կայնայեան; [[SEA: /*ter karapet 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 (Շնորհ. Եսայի սաւ. Ս. Բաբայեան (այժմ Զաւեն վրդ.); [[SEA: /zaven/ and /babajan/, SWA: /pʰapʰajan/]]), and Mr. Avetis Ter Harutyounian (Պր. Աւետիս Տէր 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).

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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 | եւ | ել | եայ | եաւ | իւ | ոյ | ուա |
| HMB transliteration | ay | aw | ea | ew | eay | eaw | iw | oy | ua |
| IPA transcription | aj | au | ɛa | eu | ɛaj | ɛau | iɯ | 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 | տ | 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 | ṙ | l | l̥ | w | y | |
| IPA transcription | m | n | r | r | l | l̥ | w | j | |

4.7.1.2 Sound changes from Classical to Modern Armenian

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

4.7.1.2.1 Front mid vowels

Old Armenian differentiated between the Classical sounds /e, ē/ <ե, 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/ <ե>. Some of the dialects (such as Karin, Mush, Van, Suceava, etc.), differentiate between the two types of /e/ <ե> sounds in stressed syllables. They changed the Classical Armenian /ē/ <է> to /e/ <ե>, while the Classical /e/ <ե> becomes a diphthong ([/je/]).²⁸ In unstressed syllables, both Classical /e, ē/ <ե, է> became /e/ <ե>. Like some other dialects, the literary languages distinguish the reflexes of word-initial CA /e, ē/ <ե, է>, such that the reflex of initial CA /e/ <ե> is pronounced /je/ <յե>, while the reflex of initial CA /ē/ <է> is pronounced as /e/ <ե>.

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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/ <ւօ, իւ>. The literary language has not accepted these sounds. But the sounds /œ, ʏ/ <ւօ, իւ> are used often in foreign words or in names (Table 10).²⁹ The sound /æ/ <ւօ> 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>) | Ժեօս Թիւրք | Ժեօս 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 | ɑ̃ | ɑ, e | ա, է | ɑj | այ |
| ալ | ɑ̃ | o, œ | o, Է | o | o |
| եա | ɛɑ | e, i | Է, Ի | ja | յա |
| ել | ɛ̃ | ev, iv | Էվ, Իվ | ev | Էվ |
| եայ | ɛɑ̃ | – | – | ja | յա |
| եալ | ɛɑ̃ | ev, iv | Էվ, Իվ | ev | Էվ |
| իլ | ĩ | u, ʏ | ու, Իլ | ʏ, ju, ji | իլ, յու, յի |
| ոյ | õ | u, ʏ | ու, Իլ | uj | ոյ |
| ուա | uɑ | va | վա | va | վա |

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

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

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4.7.1.2.5 Laryngeal features of consonants

Old Armenian distinguishes three degrees of plosive consonants: voiced (թթթ-ռռռ), voiceless unaspirated (խխխ), and voiceless aspirated (թաթա). [[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.]]

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 թրթռուն). These are the sounds /b^h, g^h, d^h, dʒ^h, dʒ^h/ <բ', գ', դ', ջ', ջ'>, which are represented in the European system as <bh, gh, dh> and so on. They originate from the Classical sounds /b, g, d, dʒ, 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 /ɬ/

For the other consonants, the most changes have happened to the CA sounds /j, ɬ/ <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 /ɬ/ 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 (ծայնաշրջութեամբ). 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 aʔk ^h -i | քաղքի |
| | Intrumental | p ^h ern-ov | բերնով | k ^h aʔk ^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 | կոժկել |

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^haʔk-i]. I do not modify Adjarian’s original transcriptions.]]

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 | կարմունջ | unspecified dialect |
| ‘carpet’ | kəpɛrt | կապերտ | kəpɛt | կարպետ | unspecified dialect |
| unclear gloss | p ^h ip ^h ɛrd | փիփերդ | p ^h irp ^h ɛt | 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 | կարմունջ |
| ‘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-α-k ^h | ուտեաք | /g-ud-e-i-nk ^h / [g-ud-ej-i-ŋk ^h] | կ’ուտեիք |
| Past Pfv. 1PL ‘we ate’ | ker-α-k ^h | կերաք | /ger-α-nk ^h / [ger-α-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 (զավառակաւն) 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 /bɑjɣob/ <բայոբ> instead of Classical /parɣu/ <պարու> ‘old woman’. The Hamshen dialect has the word /onluχk^h/ <օսլուխք> instead of Classical /anɑnuχ/ <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 ԱճԱՐԵԱՆ (1902).

After Turkish, we have the languages of Kurdish, Georgian, Russia, 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 (զավառական) 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 (հանգիստութան), 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-Ղազարտան 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 /-its^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 (ներգոյական), prepositional accusative (նախդիրիւ հայցական), narrative (պատմական), and circumlative (պարառական)) 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> | /-its ^h / | <-ից> | /-er-its ^h / | <-երից> |
| | | | /-ner-e/ | <-ներէ> | | | /-ner-its ^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/ <ւ>,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/ <ւ> 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 combining 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^hα-nel/ <-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 կողմ), 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. (?)]]

4.7 Differences between Old Armenian and New Armenian

- ii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
- S O V
 noj jev anor vort^hi-ner-ə dabən mədan
 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
 dəx-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 haŋr k^ho
 listen son advice-DAT father.GEN your
 Լո՛ւր, որդեակ, խրատու ի՛ր քո:
- ii. Modern Standard Western Armenian
- Voc O V
 dəx-a-s hor-ə^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.*]]

(3) ‘my house, this man, to my father’

a. Classical Armenian

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------|--------|
| N | Poss, N | Dem, N | Poss |
| tun | im, aṭr-əs | aṭs, haṙr | imum |
| house | my, man-PROX | this, father.DAT/GEN | my.DAT |
| տուն | իմ, այրս այս, հօր | | |

b. Modern Standard Western Armenian

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Poss N, | Dem N, | Poss N |
| im dun-əs, | aṭs maṛt ^h -ə, | im hor-əs |
| my house-POSS.1SG, | this man-DEF, my | father.DAT/GEN-POSS.1SG |
| իմ տունս, | այս մարդը, | իմ հօրս |

[[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 (նախադրուփիւններ) were unconditionally placed before the noun. In the new language, the word ‘preposition’ has no such meaning, because there are postpositions (յետադրուփիւն).⁴² For example (4).

(4) a. Classical Armenian

| | | | |
|---|------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| P | N | Poss, P | N |
| arad̥zi | haṙr | imoj, ənd | seṭan-ov k ^h ov |
| front | father.GEN | my, under | table-INS |
| ‘in front of my father, under your table’ | | | |
| առաջի | հօր | իմոյ, | ընդ սեղանով քով |

b. Modern Standard Western Armenian

| | | | |
|---|----------|------------------------|-----------|
| N | P, | N | P |
| hor-əs | art̥sev, | seṭan-i-t ^h | daq-ə |
| father.GEN-POSS.1SG | front, | table-GEN-POSS.2SG | under-DEF |
| ‘in front of my father, under your table’ | | | |
| հօրս | 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 (շարադասութիւն) 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 շարադասութեան) like the syntax of old Indo-European languages, its analytical word order (վերլուծական շարադասութեան) 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
 tesi əz-t^hərtʃ^hun-ən or ergēr i verɑj tsar-oj-n
 saw ACC-bird-DIST that was.singing to on tree-GEN-DIST
 Տեսի զթռչունն որ երգէր 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
 ďzar-i-n vəra jerk^hoʁ t^hərtʃ^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 օթէօն քուշու գէօրդիւմ
 Adjarian's transcription: [ɑɣɑdʒən ɣst^hɣnde œt^hœn k^huʃu
 gœrdym]

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.]]

- b. ‘The pages of the books of Leon, my neighbor’s son’
- i. Classical Armenian
 $t^hert^h-(\text{ə}?)k^h$ $g\text{ər}-ots^h$ $lewon-i$ $ordw-oj$ $d\text{ə}rats^hw-oj$ $imoj$
 page-PL book-PL.GEN Leon-GEN son-GEN neighbor-GEN my
 Թերթ զրոց 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
 $t^h\text{ə}ratsi\text{-}ji\text{-}s$ $d\text{ə}k\text{-}u\text{-}n$ $levon\text{-}i\text{-}n$
 neighbor-GEN-POSS.1SG son-GEN-DEF Leon-GEN-DEF
 $k^h\text{ə}rk^h\text{-}er\text{-}u\text{-}n$ $t^hert^h\text{-}er\text{-}\text{ə}$
 book-PL-GEN-DEF page-PL-DEF
 Դրացիիս տղուն Լեւոնին գրքերուն թերթերը
 - iv. (Ottoman) Turkish
 $Kom\text{ş}u\text{-}m\text{-}un$ $oğl\text{-}u$ $Levon'\text{-}un$
 neighbor-POSS.1SG-GEN son-POSS.3SG Leon-GEN
 $kitap\text{-}lar\text{-}ı\text{-}nın$ $yaprak\text{-}lar\text{-}ı$
 book-PL-POSS.3SG-GEN page-PL-POSS.3SG
 Զօւշումուն օղլու Լեւոնըն ջիթաբլարընըն յափրաքլարը
 Adjarian’s transcription: $[k^hon\text{ʃ}umun\text{ }o\text{ʃ}lu\text{ }l\text{æ}von\text{ə}n$
 $k^hit^hablar\text{ə}n\text{ə}n\text{ }jap^hrak^hlar\text{ə}]$

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)

- 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 գաղթական 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 գաղթական 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 գաղթական գիծ

5.3.1 Cilicia

This has been Armenianized since the time of the Rubenid (Ռուբինեան) 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 Adıyaman, 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 (լահիճերեն) and Tat (թաթերեն). 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 (չերքեզերեն) 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/ <նւմ> branch: With this name, we mean all the dialects that are called Eastern or Russian-Armenian.
- /kə/ <կը> branch: With this name, we mean all the dialects that are called Western or Ottoman-Armenian.

For the dialects of the /um/ <նւմ> branch, the locative case (as well as the present and imperfective tenses) are made with the formative /-um/ <նւմ>. This is the main characteristic of these dialects; thus we give them this name. As for the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch, they do not have a locative case, they do not have a formative /-um/ <նւմ>, and the present and imperfective tenses are formed with the formative /kə/ <կը>. 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/ <նւմ> nor /kə/ <կը> particles. They form the present and imperfective tenses using either the infinitive or some invisible means, and in combination with the /em/ <եմ> copula verb. Among our dialects, this branch is not generally distinguished and is it appended to the /um/ <նւմ> branch. We propose using the name /el/ <ել> 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 գաւառական ‘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 գալառակալս ‘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 գալառակալս ‘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/ <нлѹ> branch

The /um/ <нлѹ> 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/ <ɯɫ> |
| /e/ <ɛ> | /ə/ <ɐ> |
| | /o/ <ɔ> |
| | /ɑ/ <ɯ> |

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> | <ɸ> | <ɸ ^h > | <ɲ> | <ɯɲ> | <ɲ ^h > | | <q> | <ɸ> | <ɸ ^h > |
| Affricates | | | | /dʒ/ | /tʃ/ | /tʃ ^h / | | | | |
| | | | | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | | | | |
| | | | | /dʒ/ | /tʃ/ | /tʃ ^h / | | | | |
| | | | | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | | | | |
| Fricatives | /f/ | /v/ | | /s/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /χ/ | /ʁ/ | /h/ |
| | <ɸ> | <ɸ> | | <u> | <q> | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɸ> | <ɲ> | <h> |
| Sonorants | /m/ | /n/ | | /r/ | /r/ | /l/ | /j/ | | | |
| | <ɸ> | <ɸ> | | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | | | |

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 | Աստուած | astvadz | Աստված | astvats | 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/ <Օ-Օ> have merged with each other; in the modern dialect, they are both pronounced as /e/ <Է> and /o/ <Օ>. The sounds /œ/ <ԷՕ> 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/ <Լ>; but it has gained the sound /f/ <Փ>, 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 /jɛ/ <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’ | ekəɬ ē | եկեալ է | ekel a | էկէլ ա | jekel e | եկէլ է |
| ‘to go’ | ertʰal | երթալ | etʰal | էթալ | jertʰal | երթալ |
| ‘to cook’ | epʰel | եփել | epʰel | էփել | jepʰel | 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/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>, unlike the former and like the literary language, has become /vo/ <վո> word-initially in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words; while it comes /o/ <ո> word-medially. Examples are in Table 5.

Table 5: Sound changes from CA /o/ <ո> in the Yerevan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| ‘lentil’ | ospən | ոսպն | vosp | վոսպ | vosp | ոսպ |
| ‘gold’ | oski | ոսկի | voski | վոսկի | voski | ոսկի |
| ‘feet’ (CA); ‘foot’ (SEA) | ot-(əʔ)kʰ | ոտք | votkʰ | վոտք | votkʰ | 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 /ɑj/ <այ>

Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> became Yerevan /e/ <ե> 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 | hajɾ | հայր |
| ‘mother’ | majɾ | մայր | mer | մեր | majɾ | մայր |
| ‘wagon’ | saɟl | սայլ | sel | սել | sajl | սայլ |
| ‘wide’ | laɟn | լայն | len | լեն | lajɾn | լայն |
| ‘edge’ | tsɑjɾ | ծայր | tser | ծեր | tsajɾ | ծայր |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h ɑjɾ | փայտ | p ^h et | փետ | p ^h ajɾ | 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 esaɟ | փեսայ | p ^h esa | փեսա | p ^h esa | փեսա |
| ‘child’ | eraχɑɟ | երախայ | ereχɑ | երեխա | jereχɑ | երեխա |
| ‘(male?) child’ | təɟɑɟ | տղայ | təχɑ | տղա | təχɑ | 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 esaɟ-n | փեսայն | p ^h ese-n | փեսէն | p ^h esa-n | փեսան |
| | ‘child’ | eraχɑɟ-n | երախայն | ereχe-n | երեխէն | jereχɑ-n | երեխան |
| | ‘(male?) child’ | təɟɑɟ-n | տղայն | təχe-n | տղէն | təχɑ-n | տղան |
| + plural | ‘bridegroom’ | p ^h esaɟ-k ^h | փեսայք | p ^h ese-k ^h | փեսէք | NA | |
| | ‘child’ | eraχɑɟ-k ^h | երախայք | ereχe-k ^h | երեխէք | NA | |
| | ‘(male?) child’ | təɟɑɟ-k ^h | տղայք | təχe-k ^h | տղէք | təχɑ-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 /oi̟/ <ոյ>

Classical Armenian /oi̟/ <ոյ> became Yerevan /i/ <ի> (Table 9).²

Table 9: Sound changes from CA /oi̟/ <ոյ> in the Yerevan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------|----------|----------------------|------------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | lis | լիս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘sister’ | k ^h oi̟r | քոյր | k ^h ir | քիր | k ^h ujr | քույր |
| ‘conservation’ | zərojts ^h | զրոյց | zrits ^h | զրից | zərujts ^h | զրույց |
| ‘dark night’ | *akanakoi̟r | *ականակոյր | akanakir | ականակիր | akanakujr | ականակույր |

The same occurs also in suffixation, for the form /u/ <ու> that originates from the Classical Armenian diphthong /oi̟/ <ոյ> (Table 10).

Table 10: Sound changes from CA /u/ <ու> that is synchronically related to CA /oi̟/ <ոյ> from Classical Armenian to the Yerevan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|----------|
| ‘to go blind’ | kuranal | կուրանալ | kiranal | կիրանալ | kuranal | կուրանալ |
| cf. ‘blind’ | koj̟r | կոյր | | | kujr | կույր |
| ‘to amass’ | kutel | կուտել | kitel | կիտել | kutel | կուտել |
| cf. ‘heap’ | koj̟t | կոյտ | | | kujt | կույտ |

8.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iu̟/ <իւ>

Classical Armenian /iu̟/ <իւ> becomes Yerevan /i/ <ի> (Table 11).

Table 11: Sound changes from CA /iu̟/ <իւ> in the Yerevan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|-----------|-------|---------|---------|
| ‘hundred’ | harij̟r | հարիւր | harir | հարիր | harjur | հարյուր |
| ‘snow’ | dziun | ծիւն | dzin | ծին | dzjun | ծյուն |
| ‘column’ | siun | սիւն | sin | սին | sjun | սյուն |
| ‘blood’ | ariun | արիւն | arin | արին | arjun | արյուն |
| ‘flour’ | alij̟r | 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 ք> 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 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 սեղմումով), 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 ք թ ճ ջ> 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/: /θ/ > /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 | hnqḥ | fok ^{hi} | Ɔoḡḥ | hok ^{hi} | hnqḥ |
| ‘earth’ | hoł | hnḡ | foḡ | Ɔoḡ | hoḡ | hnḡ |
| ‘smell’ | hot | hnun | fot | Ɔoun | hot | hnun |
| ‘calf’ | ort ^h | nrḡ | fort ^h | Ɔorḡ | hort | hnḡḡ |
| ‘prey’ | *ors | *nrpu | fors | Ɔorpu | vors | nrpu |

The sound /f/ <Ɔ> 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/ <Ɔ> sound is an internal and native sound that arose from natural sound changes.

Classical Armenian Խ/χ/ Word-initially, before the sound /ḡ/ <ḡ>, this sound becomes /h/ <h> 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’ | χał | խաղ | haḡ | haxḡ | χaḡ | խաղ |
| ‘to play’ | χałal | խաղալ | haḡal | haxḡal | χaḡal | խաղալ |
| ‘grape’ | χałot | խաղող | haḡoḡ | haxḡoḡ | χaḡoḡ | խաղող |

Classical Armenian /ł/ <ḡ> 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-teł/ to /ajt-teł/. 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’) | ɑ̌is-teł | այստեղ | əste | ըստ | ɑ̌js-teɤ | այստեղ |
| ‘there’ (= ‘that-place’) | ɑ̌id-teł | այդտեղ | əste | ըտ | ɑ̌jt-teɤ | այդտեղ |
| ‘yonder’ (= ‘that-place’) | ɑ̌in-teł | այնտեղ | ənde | ընդէ | ɑ̌jn-teɤ | այնտեղ |
| ‘where’ (= ‘which-place’) | or-teł | որտեղ | vórtē | վօ՛րտ | 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 /ponnɒtsʰ/ <պօննօց> from /podnos/ <подносъ> ‘tray’ ([*modern Standard Russian*: /pɐdnos/ <поднос>]). 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 | հետս | henna | հեննա | hetə | հետը |
| ‘after’ | *jetən | *յետս | jenna | յեննա | jet(ə)n | ետս |
| ‘from after’ | *jetnɒtsʰ | *յետնուց | jennɒtsʰ | յեննուց | jetitsʰ | ետից |
| ‘thimble’ (Tabriz) | matnɒtsʰ | մատնոց | mannɒtsʰ | մաննոց | matnɒtsʰ | մատնոց |
| ‘ring’ (Tabriz) | matani | մատանի | mannik | մաննիկ | matani | մատանի |

Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> The sound is deleted before sibilants (շչական) as in Table 16. But this is a general phenomenon across almost all the dialects. Besides these, we also have the word /etʰal/ ‘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 | նէս | ners | ներս |
| ‘to boil’ | χarfel | խարշել | χarfel | խաշել | χarfel (dated), χarfel | խարշել, խաշել |
| ‘cheap’ | arʒan | արժան | eʒan | եժան | arʒan | արժան |
| ‘to go’ | ert ^h al | երթալ | et ^h al | էթալ | 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 girk^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. girk^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 | ɛɣ | ɛu | əstonk ^h | ətonk ^h | əndonk ^h |
| | եստոնք | ետոնք | ենոնք | եստոնք | ետոնք | ենոնք |
| | ըստոնք | ըտոնք | ընոնք | ըստոնք | ըտոնք | ընոնք |
| GEN | estur | etur | endur | estonts ^h | etonts ^h | endonts ^h |
| | əstur | ətur | əndur | əstonts ^h | ətonts ^h | əndonts ^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 | əndonts ^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 | əndonts ^h -ov |
| | Էստով | Էտով | Էնդով | Էստոնցով | Էտոնցով | Էնդոնցով |
| | ըստով | ըտով | ընդով | ըստոնցով | ըտոնցով | ընդոնցով |

For some of the pronominal forms, the sound /i/ <ɨ> or /e/ <ɛ> becomes /ə/ <ɐ> when next to the conjunction /el/ <ɛl> '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 ես էլ | |
| | instead of | jes el յես էլ | | |
| one-also ‘also one’ | | mək el մըկ էլ | mek el մեկ 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 մենք էլ | |
| | instead of | menk ^h el մենք 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/ <նլ> 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/ <նւմ>, 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-ɲk | 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-ɲk | 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-ŋk ^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-ŋk ^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.]]

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 Ø-i-Ø | սիրել ի | sir-el ej-i-Ø | սիրել էի ‘I had liked’ |
| 2SG | sir-el Ø-i-r | սիրել իր | sir-el ej-i-r | սիրել էիր |
| 3SG | sir-el e-Ø-r | սիրել ր | sir-el e-Ø-r | սիրել ր |
| 1PL | sir-el Ø-i-nk ^h | սիրել ինք | sir-el ej-i-ηk ^h | սիրել էինք |
| 2PL | sir-el Ø-i-k ^h | սիրել իք | sir-el ej-i-k ^h | սիրել էիք |
| 3PL | sir-el Ø-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 <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Yerevan dialect

| | Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|--|----------|--|----------|
| 1SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | սիրեցի | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I liked’ | սիրեցի |
| 2SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սիրեց | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | 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 | |

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 ‘(If) I like’ | սիրեմ |
| 2SG | sir-e-s | սիրես | sir-e-s | սիրես |
| 3SG | sir-i-Ø | սիրի | sir-i-Ø | 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-Ø-i-Ø | սիրի | sir-ej-i-Ø ‘(If) I liked’ | սիրեի |
| 2SG | sir-Ø-i-r | սիրիր | sir-ej-i-r | սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø-r | սիրեր | sir-e-Ø-r | սիրեր |
| 1PL | sir-Ø-i-nk ^h | սիրինք | sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h | սիրեինք |
| 2PL | sir-Ø-i-k ^h | սիրիք | sir-ej-i-k ^h | սիրեիք |
| 3PL | sir-Ø-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 ‘I will like’ | kə sir-Ø-i-Ø | կը սիրի ‘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 $\sqrt{-}$ TH-AGR | | FUT $\sqrt{-}$ TH-PST-AGR | |
| | Debitive <պարտաւորական ներկայ> | | Debitive past <պարտաւորական անցեալ> | |
| 1SG | pti sir-e-m | պտի սիրեմ ‘I must like’ | pti sir-Ø-i-Ø | պտի սիրի ‘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 $\sqrt{-}$ TH-AGR | | DEB $\sqrt{-}$ TH-PST-AGR | |

[[For the debitive 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 debitive 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 debitive 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 | սիրիլ պտիմ ‘I must like’ | sir-il pt-i-Ø | սիրիլ պտի ‘I should have liked’ |
| 2SG | sir-il pt-i-s | սիրիլ պտիս | sir-il pt-i-r | սիրիլ պտիր |
| 3SG | sir-il pt-i-Ø | 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 | | | |
| | mi sir-il | մի սիրիլ | | |
| | PROH $\sqrt{-}$? | | | |
| 2PL | 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 | անորոշ | sir-e-l | սիրել | sir-e-l | սիրել |
| | | $\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF | | $\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF | |
| Present | ներկայ | sir-e-l-on | սիրելօն | | |
| | | $\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF-? | | | |
| Past | անցեալ | 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’ | խոսել | √-TH-INF |
| PRS 1SG | χos-um e-m | խօսում եմ | χos-um e-m ‘I speak’ | խոսում եմ | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG |
| PST IMPF 1SG | χos-um Ø-i-Ø | խօսում ի | χos-um ej-i-Ø ‘I was speaking’ | խոսում էի | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG |
| PST PFV 1SG | χos-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | խօսեցի | χos-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I spoke’ | խոսեցի | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG |
| IMP 2SG | χós-i χós-a | խօսի խօսա | χos-ír ‘speak!’ | խոսի՛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’ | հազում եմ | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG |
| PST IMPF 1SG | haz-əm Ø-i-Ø | հազըմ ի | haz-um ej-i ‘I was coughing’ | հազում էի | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG |
| PST PFV 1SG | haz-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | հազացի | haz-a-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I coughed’ | հազեցի | √-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

zrits 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 Ø-i-Ø | սիրում ի | sir-um ej-i-Ø | սիրում էի |
| | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | |
| ‘you were bringing’ | ber-um Ø-i-r | բերում իր | ber-um ej-i-r | բերում էիր |
| | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-2SG | | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-2SG | |

(4) Yerevan

a. du kə sir-Ø-i-r
 you.SG FUT like-TH-PST-2SG
 ‘You would like it.’
 դու կը սիրիր

- b. na kə sir-e-Ø-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 /a/ <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 /-ɑ/ 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!’ | lts ^h r-á | լցրա՛ | lts ^h r-u | լցրու | ləts ^h r-ú | լցրու |
| ‘roast!’ | axandz-á | աղանծա՛ | | | axandz-ír | աղանծիր |
| ‘carry!’ | jalak-á | շալակա՛ | | | jalak-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 /síríl 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/ <-ոս> 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 | սիրելոս | sir-e-l-ov | սիրելով |
| ‘with saying’ | as-e-l-on | ասելոս | as-e-l-ov | ասելով |
| ‘with going’ | et ^h -a-l-on | էթալոս | jert ^h -a-l-ov | երթալով |
| | √-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 /siréal/ <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
սիրտ 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/ <նւմ> (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 | | | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-INF}}$ | |
| ‘to come’ | | | g-a-l | գալ |
| ‘to give’ | | | t-a-l | տալ |
| ‘to cry’ | | | l-a-l | լալ |
| Present 1SG | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG}}$ | | | |
| ‘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 | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG}}$ | | | |
| ‘I was coming’ | g-a-l-is \emptyset -i- \emptyset | գալիս ի | g-a-l-is ej-i- \emptyset | գալիս էի |
| ‘I was giving’ | t-a-l-is \emptyset -i- \emptyset | տալիս ի | t-a-l-is ej-i- \emptyset | տալիս էի |
| ‘I was crying’ | l-a-l-is \emptyset -i- \emptyset | լալիս ի | l-a-l-is ej-i- \emptyset | 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).’
ես եմ գալի
- b. χí e-s l-a-l-i
why AUX-2SG cry-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB
‘Why are you crying?’
խի[°] էս լալի
- c. tʃⁿ-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' | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}\acute{u}$ ուզում NEG-AUX-1SG want-IMP.F.CVB $\acute{u}z\text{-um } \widehat{t}^h\text{-e-m}$ ո'ւզում $\acute{z}\acute{e}\acute{u}$ want-IMP.F.CVB NEG-AUX-1SG | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-um}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}\acute{u}$ ուզում NEG-AUX-1SG want-IMP.F.CVB |
| 'I wouldn't want' | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset \text{ uz-um}$ $\acute{z}h'$ ուզում NEG-AUX-PST-1SG want-IMP.F.CVB $\acute{u}z\text{-u-m } \widehat{t}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-i-}\emptyset$ ո'ւզում $\acute{z}h$ want-IMP.F.CVB NEG-AUX-PST-1SG | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-ej-}\acute{i}\text{-}\emptyset \text{ uz-um}$ $\acute{z}h$ ուզում |
| (?) | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-m uz-il}$ $\acute{z}\acute{e}\acute{u}$ ուզի NEG-AUX-1SG want-? $\acute{u}z\text{-il } \widehat{t}^h\text{-e-m}$ ո'ւզի $\acute{z}\acute{e}\acute{u}$ want-? NEG-AUX-1SG | |
| 'I didn't like' | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-sir-}\acute{e}\text{-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ $\acute{z}u$ իրե'ցի NEG- $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}}$ $\text{sir-}\acute{e}\text{-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset \text{ vot}^h$ սիրե'ցի $\acute{u}o\acute{z}$ $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-1SG}}$ no | $\widehat{t}^h\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ $\acute{z}u$ իրեցի 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: Նոր-Բայազէտ vs. Դայազիտ). 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/ <է> and /o/ <օ>, the Bayazit subdialect distinguishes these with a diphthongal pronunciation (Table 41). (Read these as /mienk^h/ <միէնք>, /ənduonts^h/ <ընդունց>. Besides these, it also includes the vowel /æ/ <ւ̄>.

Table 41: Diphthongs in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| | Bayazit | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------|------|
| ‘we’ | mienk ^h | մէնք | menk ^h | մենք |
| ‘from those’ | ənduonts ^h | ընդունց | | |

8.4.1.2 Voiced aspirated stops and affricates

The Classical Armenian consonants /b g d ɖz ɖʒ/ <բ գ ծ ճ չ> have become /b^h g^h d^h ɖz^h ɖʒ^h/ <բ^h գ^h ծ^h ճ^h չ^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’ | hai | հայ | χaj | խայ | haj | հայ |
| ‘bread’ | hats ^h | հաց | χats ^h | խաց | hats ^h | հաց |
| ‘father’ | haiṛ | հայր | χer | խեր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘to preserve’ | pahel | պահել | paχel | պախել | pahel | պահել |
| ‘fear’ | ah | ահ | aχ | ախ | ah | ահ |

- (7) a. SEA (approximates the original form of the Bayazit sentence)
 im hor harsanik-i-n hiŋg hav hatav
 my father.GEN wedding-DAT-DEF five chicken died
 ‘Five chickens died for my father’s wedding.’
 իմ հօր հարսանիքին հինգ հաւ հատաւ (սատկեցաւ)

b. Bayazid subdialect (Yerevan dialect)

im ɣor ɣɑrsnis-i-n ɣing ɣav ɣatav
 my father.GEN wedding-DAT-DEF five chicken died
 ‘Five chickens died for my father’s wedding.’
 իմ խօր խարսնիսին 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 Bayazid subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| | Bayazit | | instead of | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|----------|---------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| ‘the cat’ | katu-nə | կատունը | katu-n | կատուն | katu-n | կատուն |
| ‘the bee’ | mjeɣu-nə | մեղունը | mjeɣu-n | մեղուն | meɣu-n | մեղուն |
| ‘the horse’ | dʒʰi-nə | ծիկնը | dʒi-n | ծիկ | dʒʰi-n | ծիկ |
| | √-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 imperfective converbs for monosyllabic verbs with /-um/ in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| | Bayazit | cf. SEA |
|-------------|---|--------------------------|
| Infinitive | | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-INF}}$ |
| ‘to come’ | | g-a-l qaw |
| ‘to give’ | | t-a-l taw |
| ‘to cry’ | | l-a-l law |
| Present 3SG | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX}}$ | |
| ‘he comes’ | g ^h -a-l-um a q’awlorum w | g-a-l-is e qawluh t |
| ‘he gives’ | t-a-l-um a tawlorum w | t-a-l-is e tawluh t |
| ‘he cries’ | l-a-l-um a lawlorum w | l-a-l-is e lawluh 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. j̥ies j̥e-m uz-um j̥e-m
I AUX-1SG want-IMP.F.CVB AUX-1SG
'I want (as opposed to someone).'
j̥tu t̥u n̥lq̥n̥l̥ t̥u
- b. t̥ʰn̥-j̥e-s b̥ʰj̥er-um j̥e-s
NEG-AUX-2SG bring-IMP.F.CVB AUX-2SG
'Don't you bring?'
ʒt̥ʰu p̥t̥r̥n̥l̥ t̥u
- c. t̥ʰn̥-i uz-um a
NEG-AUX.3SG want-IMP.F.CVB AUX
'He doesn't want.'
ʒh̥ n̥lq̥n̥l̥ u
- d. t̥ʰn̥-j̥e-nk^h uz-um j̥e-nk^h
NEG-AUX-1PL want-IMP.F.CVB AUX-1PL
'We don't want.'
ʒt̥n̥p̥ n̥lq̥n̥l̥ t̥n̥p̥

- e. \widehat{tj}^n -Ø-í-*r* uz-um Ø-í-*r*
 NEG-AUX-PST-2SG want-IMP.F.CVB AUX-PST-2SG
 ‘You wouldn’t want.’
 չի՞ր ուզում իր
- f. \widehat{tj}^n -e-Ø-*r* ɣos-um e-Ø-*r*
 NEG-AUX-PST-3SG speak-IMP.F.CVB AUX-PST-3SG
 ‘You weren’t speaking.’
 չէր խօսում էր

8.4.1.7 Past participle or perfective converb with /-j̥er, -e/

The past participle ends in /-j̥er/ <եր>, like in the dialects of the /kə/ <կը> branch (9).

(9) Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

- a. as-j̥er ɑ
 say-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has said.’
 ասեր ա
- b. tar-j̥er ɑ
 take-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has taken.’
 տարեր ա
- c. ek-j̥er ɑ
 come-PERF.CVB 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 ɑ tar-e
 that AUX take-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has taken that.’
 էն ա տարե
- b. \widehat{tj}^n -j̥e-m ek-e
 NEG-AUX-1SG come-PERF.CVB
 ‘I have not come.’
 չեմ եկե

8.4.1.8 Past participle or perfective converb with /-uk/

The past participle is also formed with the formative /-uk/ <նւկ>, but only in passives (կրաւորական) and middle verbs (չէզոք) (Table 45).

[[*I think Adjarian means for intransitives in general.*]]

Table 45: Past participles with /-uk/ <նւկ> in the Bayazit subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| | Bayazit | | cf. SEA | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| ‘slept’ | park-uk | պառկոկ | park-el | պառկել | √-PERF.CVB |
| ‘written’ | g ^h r-uk | գ ^h րոկ | gər-el | գրել | √-PERF.CVB |
| ‘washed’ | lv-ɑ-ts ^h -uk | լվացոկ | ləv-ɑ-ts ^h -el | լվացել | √-TH-AOR-PERF.CVB |
| ‘he has ploughed’ | χ _i erk-uk | խերկոկ 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).

Table 46: Pre-tonic deletion of vowels in the Astabad subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Astabad | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| ‘evening’ | erekoj | երեկոյ | rikun | րիկուն | jereko | երեկո |
| ‘grave’ | gerezman | գերեզման | grezman | գրեզման | gerezman | գերեզման |
| ‘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 | ւմ | e-m | եմ |
| 2SG ‘you are’ | ɑ-s | ւս | e-s | ես |
| 3SG ‘he is’ | ɑ | ւ | e | է |
| 1PL ‘we are’ | ɑ-nk ^h | ւնք | e-ŋk ^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 | |

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-ɑ-m | տեսւմ | tes-ɑ-∅ | տեսա | √-PST-1SG |
| ‘I went’ | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-m | գնացիւմ | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-∅ | գնացի | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG |
| ‘I came’ | ek-ɑ-m | եկւմ | jek-ɑ-∅ | 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/ <է>, the use of /-m/ <ւ> in the perfective, and the vowel /ɑ/ <ա> vowel in the copular verb are also found in the other vernaculars (Karabakh, Shamakhi, Tabriz).

- (11) Julfa dialect
 gn-ɑ-man ɑ-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 /i̯e, uo/ <ե, ո> of the Bayazit are not found in Tabriz subdialect. In many places, we see the /æ/ <ւ̄> vowel (Table 49).

Table 49: Vowel /æ/ <ü> in the Tabriz subdialect of the Yerevan dialect

| Classical and SEA | | | > Tabriz | | |
|-------------------|------|------|--------------|------|-------|
| ‘luck’ | baxt | բախտ | ‘spouse’ | bæxt | բախտ |
| ‘old’ | dah | դահ | ‘old animal’ | tæχ | տալիս |

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’ | t ^h uan | չուան | t ^h ivan | չիվան | t ^h əvan | չվան |
| ‘confused’ | fuar | շուար | fiar | շիվար | ʃəvar | շվար |

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 ձ 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 /-Ø/ 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-ɑ-m | ասամ | as-ɑ-ṭs ^h -i-Ø | ասացի | √-(TH-AOR)-PST-1SG |
| ‘I opened’ | paṭs ^h -ɑ-m | պացամ | baṭs ^h -i-Ø | բացի | √-PST-1SG |
| ‘I gave’ | təv-ɑ-m | տըվամ | təv-i-Ø | տվի | √-PST-1SG |
| ‘I saw’ | tes-ɑ-m | տեսամ | tes-ɑ-Ø | տեսա | √-PST-1SG |
| ‘I went’ | kn-ɑ-ṭs ^h -i-m | կնացիմ | gən-ɑ-ṭs ^h -i-Ø | 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-Ø, təv-e-ṭs^h-i-Ø/ <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.’
 խասէր ա. էն ա ասէ

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.’
 հասէլ է. նա է ասէլ

An interesting example of the loss of the /r/ <ր> in the Tabriz subdialect is found in the word /ɑχə/ <ախը> that is borrowed from Turkish (elsewhere as <ախըր> /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 -Ø-Ø | կընսաց | gən-a-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | գնաց | √-TH-AOR-PST-3SG |
| ‘to stay’ | | | mən-a-l | մնալ | √-TH-INF |
| ‘he stayed’ | mənn-a-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | մընսաց | mən-a-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | 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. Տիփլիս, 1880
 - * Տ. Նաւասարդեան - Հայ ժող. հեքիաթ. Ե. էջ 79-80
 - Astabad subdialect
 - * Ս. Աբեղեան - Ոգիներ, տես Տ. Նաւասարդեանցի Հեքիաթներու հաւաքածուն, հտ. Է. էջ 24-35
 - * Ս. Աբեղեան - Առածներ. անդ էջ 76-88
 - * Գ. Շիրմազանեան - Իմ նշանածը Արագն ա. Կոռնկ, 1861, էջ 266-282
 - Tabriz subdialect
 - * Գ. Շիրմազանեան - Ազգային հարսանիք. Կոռնկ, 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 (Փатканов 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 էփում ուտում: Մի՛ն, Է՛րկու, հի՛նգ, տա՛սը, օրեն մի օրը կետուրը վարավուրդ 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. արբիալը 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 դնչիկ ունի, նա՛նի, յա՛րաբ էս ի՛նչ ա:

Կետուրն էս վօր լսում 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 ես, բ՛արեվ էլ չես տալում ես. յօ՛ւրտ ծանդըր-ցեր ա:

– Վա՛յ խօռե, դ՛ո՞ւյ ես. չըթայմեցի:

– Է ի՞մալ ես, դ՛ո՞ր ես էթում ես, հո՞ւստ ես գ՛ալում ես:

– Գ՛ացեր ի խեռանցքս տուն. ընդոնց կշտից եմ գ՛ալում եմ:

– Լսա ասին խերըտ խիվանդ ա. մկա ի՞մալ ա:

– Քա՛ Էնի շուտուց խիվանդ ա, խօ թա՛զա՛ չէ. իմ խերը հալա՛ խերվընէ խիվանդ ա. Էնե՛նց պառկուկ ա:

– Է՛, խաս (հաց) կերե՞ր ես. 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.

Նորմաձիկ Մարդումենց Պողոսը կասեր. «Մին ամառ յես կալ իմ անում. կալս լուսահօքի Տեր-Աբրահամենց բախչի տակին էր: Մին քշեր, կալումը քնել ալ. մին քիչ էլ ցուրտ էր. կալս յետ էր ընկել, աշունքանում էր. առավտադեմ վեր կացամ, տենամ լուսնակալաս ա. լուսնակը հենց ա թեքվել ա Մասսա դօրը՝ շողշողում ա. քամին էլ ցուրտ ցուրտ փչում ա: Մին էլ տենամ հրեսիկանկ մին քանի գել, մին սիրուռ չարունք աղաքնին ան արել, ճրվճրվացնելեն, բռնացնելեն Չայի դօլեն քշում բերում ան, վօր տանեն դպա գետը, գետը լցնեն,

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խեխտեն յա ուտեն: Էն չարունքը ընենց մին ճրխճրվում ին, հաբա՛յ տալիս, վօր մարթի ջանը զարգանդում էր: Ըտենց ճրվճրվցնելեն քշում ին, վօր լուսալուս էր, ժամհարը ժամերը տըրվավ, մին էլ տենամ 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 Մելիք-Բաբաջանեան; [[SEA: /sat^henik melik^h babadʒanjan/]]).

Մենք վեց քուր ինք, համա ախպեր չունինք, խերս էլ խօքյասըբ մարթ չէր, օղօմի իրան, քյաթխօղա էր: Մէ խետ (մէկ անգամ) էլավ կըննաց Էջմիածին ուխտ. վօր Աստված իրան մէ տղա տա: Ընդէղըմը իմ խօրս մէ քանի մասունք ին տըրվէ, խէս էլ իրան ուխտը արեր էր, ընդօնք էլ վերցեր էր ճանապար էր ընգէ: Հսլա՛մ Թա՛րվիզ չը խասած մեզի կրեր էր քի մէ օր առաչ Էկեք Մա՛րանդ. մենք էլ մեր մէ քանի էլօվ գիւնօվ էլանք կնացինք, խետներս էլ մէ խատ վօխչար տարանք. հենց վօր խերս Էկավ սախ-սալամաթ խասավ, վօտի տակը մէ մա-տաղ արանք: Էս խետ վերցանք Էկանք Թա՛րխիզ, մէ մատաղ էլ ըստէ արանք, հըմմեն տերտերներին խաց տվանք:

Սօրա (յետոյ) էտ մասունքները տրանք մէ կութու մէչ, տարանք մեր բալա-խանեն, տակը մէ թամիզ շօր քըցանք, կութին արանք թախչեն, իրեցին էլ մէ թօզ (շղարշ) քաշանք, Էս խետ հա՛ր (ամեն մի) քշէ (գիշեր) էթըմ ինք աղօթք ինք անըմ, մում ինք վառըմ, մեր պարեկամներից էլ ուզօղը կալիս էր ուխտ էր անըմ:

Էլ ինչ ասեմ, ա՛յ բալից, Էս խետ հա՛ր շափաթ ըտու տակի շօրը տանըմ ինք լվանըմ ինք, պերըմ ինք քըցըմ ինք տակը:

Ըտունց ընցավ մէ տարի. մերս Է՛լը մէ ախչիկ պերավ, համա խերս էլ ըսկի գադ չարավ, մասունքները էլ յետ չըղորկավ. ասավ «լավ չէ՛լնի վօր մասունք-ները յետ ըղըրկեն: Աստված ինչ վօր տալիս ա՛ թօղ տա, իրան կամքն ա»:

Էլը ըտուց ընցավ մէ խինգ վեգ տարի. Էտ փստիկ քուր, վոր վերէն ուխտ ին արե, այ բալէս, վօջ էր էլէ, մէ կեծակ էր շատ էր չարութուն անըմ. մերս էլ խօ ընդուր ըսկի չէր 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 (արս. վշտամեռ) արավ մերս «Տու հէ՞ր կնացիր ուխտ արար, հէ՞ր Էսէնց փիս ախճիկ էլավ»: Խերս էլ ըսկի չէր խօսըմ: Էս խէէա մուքնը ընգավ. ամառ էր, մէնք էլ հըմէնանքս հայաթըմն ինք քընըմ. մէկ էլ տեսանք բիրդան մէ գըրընգօց Էկավ. Էն սահաթին հըմէնանքս զարինանք, Նըստանք ասանք «բա՛, մօրս վիզանօցն էր, կօղը թալավ, վոր սօրա էթա վերցնի»: Խերս էլավ վոր էթա մեր կոնչիներին զարինացնի, տեսավ հըմէնն էլ զարթուն Էն. Էն պլալալի գաղն էլ տեսէր Էն: Էս խէտ խերս մէ քան տըղերքի խէտ Էկավ, կըննաց բալախանէն, հա՛ր տեղը ման Էկան, ըսկի զար չը քթան: Էս խէտ Էկան Էս թէխը (այս կողմը, ասդին), տեսան մասունքի կուքին պացվէր ա, մէջի մասունքը չը կա: Էս խէտ խերս մեզի կանչավ, ասավ. «Էն պլալալի գաղը հէնց մասունքն էր վոր թռավ». մօրս ասավ. «Էնքան Էսօր Էն ախճկան ուշուն տվար, վոր մասունքը թռավ»:

Ըտուց մէ քանի վախդ սօրա խերս Էտ պանը կրավ (գրեց) Էջմիածինի տեր-տերներին. տերտերներն էլ ընդեղից կրան (գրեցին) քի «Էտ մասունքները ըտե-ղից թռէր Էն Էկէր Էն ըստէ. հալբա՛թ ծեր տունը լավ մաք՛Քր չէն պախէ»: Սօրա խերս իմացավ վոր Էն օրը մերս Էնքան Էն քրօջս ծեծավ ուշուն տվավ վոր, ընձի էլ Էնքան ասավ հէ՞ր կնացիր ուխտ արար, հէնց Էտէնց խօսկերի համար մա-սունքները թռան:

Էտ պաներից սօրա էլ մեր տանը խեր բարաքյաթը կտորվավ. խերս քանի մընմ էր՝ խաբաբ էր էլնըմ. ըտուց սօրա խեղճ խերս չօրս տարի ապրավ, հա՛Մա վա՛յ Էն ապրելուն. քյասըբացավ պանից ընգավ մըննաց տունը կուսամարգ էլավ մեռավ: Հէնց 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 ապէր, ասում ես ամէն ուտելիէնի

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ու խմելիէնի Էժանութին ա էլի. բա՛ս բանը մնաց շորեղէնի վրա. Էր հալբաթ որ թանգ կըլի էլի. քու ապրանքն ա, կը թանգացնես, որ մեր հացն ու եղն Էժան գնով առնուս ու քու փթած ապրանքը մեզ վրա սաղացնես: Դուն ու քու Աստոծը, Համբարձում ջան, դրուստ չէ՞մ ասում:

– Է՛հ, Միքէլ բիճէն ես, էլի սեւ ու սիպտակ չես հարցնում:

– Հը՛ ղնդռիկ Ասլօ՛, ի՞նչ ես վերի ծերին բազմվել. տօ՛ էդ քու տե՞ղն ա, որ բռնել ես:

– So՛, քո շուն, քեղանից էլ պակաս մարդ եմ, որ քու գլխին եմ նստած. էդ 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 տենունք, 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 ինչներուս 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 ջոգենք պատուաւոր մարկերանցն, բիձա Միքէլ:

– Ես ըլիմ իմ Աստոծը, օրենքն էն 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, բիձա ջան. ես սհաթին ասած պետք ա գլուխ բերենք:

– So՛, էդ սարսաղ Միսօին ի՞նչ էք լսում. դրա էդ 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 ղնդռիկ Ասլօին ու ծուռտիկ Շեղօին քաջ տուէք իրանց տաք տեղից ներքեւ, որ մի տեղը իստակուի, 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, ʏ/ <օ, ի> do not exist, as in the Yerevan dialect.

The consonants /b g d d͡z d͡ʒ/ <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 t͡s t͡ʃ/ <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 t͡s^h t͡ʃ^h/ <փ ք թ ճ 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 | რ ^h აჟაჟა |
| ‘fortune-telling’ | Persian | <fâl> | فال | p ^h al | ჟაჟა |
| ‘tablecloth’ | Persian | <sufra> | سفرة | sup ^h ra | სუჟრა |

The sound რ^h /q/ is entirely a Georgian sound and it represents the Georgian letter ლ.² It is pronounced as a strictly glottal /ɣ/ <რ>, similar to the Arabic sound /q/ (Table 2).

Table 2: Glottal /q/ <რ^h> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| ‘from where’ | vurqants ^h | ჟღერაღს |
| ‘from here’ | esqants ^h | ჟღერაღს |

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/ <ჟ ლ უ ო ძ > is Georgian. The sound /q/ <რ^h>, as we know, is a pure borrowing from Georgian. The sound /f/ <ფ> is absent in this dialect because it is also absent in Georgian. The same is true for the sounds /œ, ʏ, æ/ <ო, ი, ე>.

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 ლ 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 | jerexá | 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’ | giʃér | գիշեր | giʃir | գիշիր | giʃér | գիշեր |
| ‘you’ | kʰez | քեզ | kʰiz | քիզ | kʰez | 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 | տեսանել | tésnil | տե՛սնիլ | tesnél | տեսնել |
| ‘to bring’ | berél | բերել | béril | բե՛րիլ | berél | բերել |

9.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /vu/ <վո> at the beginning of both mono-syllabic and polysyllabic words (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from word-initial CA /o/ <ո> to /vu/ <վո> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| ‘orphan’ | orb | որբ | vurp ^h | վուրփ | vorp ^h | որբ |
| ‘son’ | ordí | որդի | vúrt ^{hi} | վո՛ւրթի | vort ^{hi} | որդի |
| ‘that’ | or | որ | vur | վուր | vor | որ |
| ‘foot’ | otən | ոտն | vut | վոտ | votk ^h | ոտք |
| ‘nothing’ | otʃ ^h intʃ ^h | ոչինչ | vúntʃ ^h itʃ ^h | վո՛ւնչիչ | votʃ ^h intʃ ^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’ | gorts | գործ | gurdz | գուրձ | gorts | գործ |
| ‘belly’ | p ^h or | փոր | p ^h ur | փուր | p ^h or | փոր |
| ‘smell’ | hot | հոտ | hut | հուտ | hot | հոտ |
| ‘four’ | tj ^h ors | չորս | tj ^h urs | չուրս | tj ^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 | bobík | 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 /oj/ <nj>

Classical Armenian /oj/ <nj> becomes /u/ <nL> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change of CA /oj/ <nj> to /u/ <nL> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘sister’ | k ^h oir | քոյր | k ^h ur | քուր | k ^h ujr | քույր |
| ‘sweet’ | anóǰf | անոյշ | ánuf | ա՛նուշ | anúǰf (dated) | անույշ |
| | | | | | anúf | անուշ |
| ‘color’ | gojn-k ^h (plural) | գոյնք | gunk ^h | գունք | gujn | գույն |

9.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ>

Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <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՛րուն | arjún | արյուն |
| ‘flour’ | alíʏr | ալիւր | álur | ա՛լուր | aljúr | ալյուր |
| ‘hundred’ | haríʏr | հարիւր | háruʀ | հա՛րուր | harjúr | հարյուր |
| ‘to weave’ | hiʏsél | հիւսել | | | hjúsél | հյուսել |
| ‘weaved’ | | | húsats | հո՛ւսած | hjúsáts | հյուսած |
| ‘guest’ | hiʏr | հիւր | hur | հուր | hjúr | հյուր |
| ‘snow’ | ḏziʏn | ծիւն | ḏzun | ծոն | ḏzjun | ծյուն |
| ‘branch’ | tʃiʏt | ծիւղ | tʃuχk | ծուխկ | tʃjux | 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 | gʰnil | գթնիլ | gəʔnel | գտնել |
| ‘courtyard’ | bak | բակ | bag | բագ | bak | բակ |
| ‘sun’ | aregákəʔn | արեգակն | arégaɡ | արե՛գագ | aregák | արեգակ |
| ‘sky’ | erkin-kʰ (plural) | երկինք | érginkʰ | է՛րգինք | jerkínkʰ | 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’ | meʔsarél | մեծարել | médzril | մե՛ծրիլ | meʔsarél | մեծարել |
| ‘ground’ | getín | գետին | gédín | գե՛դին | getín | գետին |
| ‘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)’ | | | knga | 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 ʊ /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’ | əɤrhnel | աւրիսնել | oχnil | օխնիլ | oɤhnel | օրիսնել |

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/ <Էմ, Էմեն> (Table 16).

Table 16: Ablative suffix as /eme/ <Էմ> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Tbilisi | | cf. Yerevan | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|----------|---------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| ‘from writing’ | gr-emen | գրԷմեն | gr-its ^h | գրից | գըր-its ^h | գրից |
| ‘from house’ | tn-emen | տնԷմեն | tən-its ^h | տնից | tən-its ^h | տնից |
| ‘from death’ | mah-emen | մահԷմեն | 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 /deγ/ <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 | դիվԷմեն | div-er-emen | դիվերԷմեն |
| 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 դու | na նա | mink ^h մինք | duk ^h դուք | nrank ^h նրանք |
| GEN | im իմ | k ^h u քու | nra նրա | mir միր | dzir ծիր | nrank ^h նրանք |
| DAT, ACC | indzi ինձի | k ^h iz քիզ | nran նրան | miz միզ | dziz ծիզ | nrank ^h նրանք |
| ABL | indz-m-en ինձմեն | k ^h iz-m-en քիզմեն | nra-m-en նրամեն | miz-m-en միզմեն | dziz-m-en ծიზმენ | nrank ^h -m-en նრანგმენ |
| INS | indz-m-ov ինձმოვ | k ^h iz-m-ov քიზმოვ | nran-ov ნრანმოვ | miz-m-ov მიზმოვ | dziz-m-ov ციზმოვ | nrank ^h -ov ნრანგოვ |
| LOC | indz-(a)n-um ინდ(ა)ნუმ | k ^h iz-(a)n-um ქიზ(ა)ნუმ | nran-um ნრანუმ | miz-(a)n-um მიზ(ა)ნუმ | dziz-(a)n-um ციზ(ა)ნუმ | nrank ^h -um ნრანგუმ |

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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 Էստոնկ | etunk ^h Էտոնկ | endunk ^h Էնդոնկ |
| GEN, DAT | estu Էստո | etu Էտո | endu Էնդո | estunts ^h Էստոնկ | etunts ^h Էտոնկ | endunts ^h Էնդոնկ |
| ABL | estu-men Էստոմեն | etu-men Էտոմեն | endu-men Էնդոմեն | estunts ^h -men Էստոնկմեն | etunts ^h -men Էտոնկմեն | endunts ^h -men Էնդոնկմեն |
| INS | est-ov Էստով | et-ov Էտով | end-ov Էնդով | estunts ^h -ov Էստոնկով | etunts ^h -ov Էտոնկով | endunts ^h -ov Էնդոնկով |
| LOC | est-um Էստում | et-um Էտում | end-um Էնդում | estunts ^h -um Էստոնկում | etunts ^h -um Էտոնկում | endunts ^h -um Էնդոնկում |

[[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 | ինքը | irank ^h | իրանք |
| 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 | իրմով | irants ^h -m-ov | իրանցմով |
| 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/ <-նւմ իմ, -նւմ 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-Ø | ეჲ | ej-i-Ø | ეჲ |
| 2SG ‘you were’ | e-i-r | ეჲრ | ej-i-r | ეჲრ |
| 3SG ‘he was’ | e-Ø-r | ერ | e-Ø-r | ერ |
| 1PL ‘we were’ | e-i-nk ^h | ეჲნჲ | ej-i-ŋk ^h | ეჲნჲ |
| 2PL ‘you were’ | e-i-k ^h | ეჲჲ | ej-i-k ^h | ეჲჲ |
| 3PL ‘they were’ | e-i-n | ეჲნ | ej-i-n | ეჲნ |
| | 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-Ø | ჰოუნლჲ ეჲ | χos-um ej-i-Ø | ჰონუნლჲ ეჲ |
| ‘I was saying’ | as-um e-i-Ø | ასუნლჲ ეჲ | as-um ej-i-Ø | ასუნლჲ ეჲ |
| | √-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/ <ყნლ>

The future formative is /ku/ <ყნლ> instead of /kə/ <ყრ> (Table 24).³

Table 24: Future formative /ku/ <ყნლ> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|--------------|------------|--------------|---------|
| ‘I will like’ | ku sir-i-m | ყნლ სირიჲმ | kə-sir-e-m | ყსირეტმ |
| ‘I will bring’ | ku ber-i-m | ყნლ ბერიჲმ | kə-ber-e-m | ყბერეტმ |
| | 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/ <q> before the verb ‘to want’ (Table 26).

Table 26: Voicing of the future formative as /g/ <q> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | | |
|-----------------|------------|--------|-------------|--------|------------------|
| ‘I will want’ | g-uz-i-m | զուզիմ | k-uz-e-m | կուզեմ | FUT-√-TH-1SG |
| ‘you will want’ | g-uz-i-s | զուզիս | k-uz-e-s | կուզես | FUT-√-TH-2SG |
| ‘I would want’ | g-uz-e-i-Ø | զուզեի | k-uz-ej-i-Ø | 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 | qnlpaw | kə-g-a-m | lqaw | FUT-√-TH-1SG |
| ‘you will come’ | gu-k ^h -a-s | qnlpawu | kə-g-a-s | lqawu | FUT-√-TH-2SG |

Before the verbs in Table 28, the particle is fused with the /a/ <u>, and it becomes /ko/ <qo>.

Table 28: Coalescence of merger of the future formative /ku/ <qnl> and verb-initial /a/ <u> as /ko/ <qo> in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------------|------------------|--------|------------------|---------|
| Infinitive | | | √-TH-INF | |
| ‘to lay’ | | | ats-e-l | uδetl |
| ‘to do’ | | | an-e-l | ušetl |
| ‘to say’ | | | as-e-l | ušetl |
| Future 1SG | FUT-√-TH-1SG | | FUT-√-TH-1SG | |
| ‘I will lay’ | k-ots-i-m | lqoδh | k-ats-e-m | lqawδet |
| ‘I will do’ | k-on-i-m | lqolh | k-an-e-m | lqawšet |
| ‘I will say’ | k-os-i-m | lqouh | k-as-e-m | lqawšet |
| Past future 1SG | FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG | | FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG | |
| ‘I would lay’ | k-ots-e-i-Ø | lqoδet | k-ats-ej-i-Ø | lqawδet |
| ‘I would do’ | k-on-e-i-Ø | lqolet | k-an-ej-i-Ø | lqawšet |
| ‘I would say’ | k-os-e-i-Ø | lqout | k-as-ej-i-Ø | lqawšet |

9.3.3.1.5 Past participle or perfective converb with /-il-/ <hl, h>

The past participle has the ending /-il/ <hl>. This is used to form the present perfect (japwawaw), past perfect (qetwawaw), and the negative (rawawaw) 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 √-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG | sir-el e-m սիրել եմ √-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG |
| ‘I had liked’ | sir-il e-i-Ø սիրիլ էի √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | sir-el ej-i-Ø սիրել էի √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG |

But when the auxiliary is before the participle, the last letter of the suffix is lost (1).

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- 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 <სტერკაჟ> 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-Ø | սիրում էի | sir-um ej-i-Ø ‘I was liking’ | սիրում էի |
| 2SG | sir-um e-i-r | սիրում էիր | 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 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 ‘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-ŋk ^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-Ø | սիրիլ էի | sir-el ej-i-Ø ‘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-Ø-r | սիրիլ էր | sir-el e-i-Ø-r | սիրել էր |
| 1PL | sir-il e-i-nk ^h | սիրիլ էինք | sir-el ej-i-ŋk ^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 | |

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 <ლათაოტაო> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Tbilisi dialect

| | Tbilisi | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|--|-----------|--|-----------|
| 1SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | უბრეტგჱ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I liked’ | უბრეტგჱ |
| 2SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | უბრეტგჱრ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | უბრეტგჱრ |
| 3SG | sir-i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | უბრეტგ | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | უბრეტგ |
| 1PL | sir-e-ts ^h -i-nk ^h | უბრეტგჱნჴ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h | უბრეტგჱნჴ |
| 2PL | sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h | უბრეტგჱჴ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h | უბრეტგჱჴ |
| 3PL | sir-e-ts ^h -i-n | უბრეტგჱნ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-n | უბრეტგჱნ |
| | √-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-Ø | սիրե | sir-i-Ø | 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-Ø | սիրեի | sir-ej-i-Ø '(if) I liked' | սիրեի |
| 2SG | sir-e-i-r | սիրեիր | sir-ej-i-r | սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø-r | սիրեր | sir-e-Ø-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 <აყაანსი> | | Past future <ასგეალ აყაანსი> | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1SG | ku sir-i-m | კოლ სირიჲ | ku sir-e-i-Ø | კოლ სირეჲ |
| | ‘I will like’ | | ‘I was going to like’ | |
| 2SG | ku sir-i-s | კოლ სირიჲს | ku sir-e-i-r | კოლ სირეჲრ |
| 3SG | ku sir-e-Ø | კოლ სირე | ku sir-e-Ø-r | კოლ სირერ |
| 1PL | ku sir-i-nk ^h | კოლ სირიჲსჲ | ku sir-e-i-nk ^h | კოლ სირეჲსჲ |
| 2PL | ku sir-i-k | კოლ სირიჲჲ | ku sir-e-i-k ^h | კოლ სირეჲჲ |
| 3PL | ku sir-i-n | კოლ სირიჲს | ku sir-e-i-n | კოლ სირეჲს |
| | FUT √-TH-AGR | | FUT √-TH-PST-AGR | |
| | Debitive | | Debitive past | |
| | <აყართალორական სერკაჲ> | | <აყართალორական ასგეალ> | |
| 1SG | piti sir-i-m | პითი სირიჲ | piti sir-e-i-Ø | პითი სირეჲ |
| | ‘I must like’ | | ‘I should have liked’ | |
| 2SG | piti sir-i-s | პითი სირიჲს | piti sir-e-i-r | პითი სირეჲრ |
| 3SG | piti sir-e-Ø | პითი სირე | piti sir-e-Ø-r | პითი სირერ |
| 1PL | piti sir-i-nk ^h | პითი სირიჲსჲ | piti sir-e-i-nk ^h | პითი სირეჲსჲ |
| 2PL | piti sir-i-k | პითი სირიჲჲ | piti sir-e-i-k ^h | პითი სირეჲჲ |
| 3PL | piti sir-i-n | პითი სირიჲს | piti sir-e-i-n | პითი სირეჲს |
| | 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-Ø 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-Ø sir-i | պիտի սիրի | pit-e-Ø-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-Ø | պիտի սիրիլ էի |
| 2SG | piti sir-il e-i-r | պիտի սիրիլ էիր |
| 3SG | piti sir-il e-Ø-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 | սիրե՛ | 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 | անորոշ | sir-i-l | սիրիլ | sir-e-l | սիրել | √-TH-INF |
| Present | ներկայ | sir-oṣ | սիրոզ | sir-oṣ | սիրող | √-SPTCP |
| Past | անցեալ | sir-il | սիրիլ | sir-el | սիրել | √-PERF.CVB |
| | | sir-i | սիրի | | | √-PERF.CVB |
| | | sir-ats | սիրած | sir-ats | սիրած | √-RPTCP |
| Future | ապանի | 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 | | | √-TH-INF abr-i-l ‘to live’ | ააჲრჲლ |
| Past perfective | √-TH-AOR-PST-AGR | | √-TH-AOR-PST-AGR | |
| 1SG | apr-e-ts ^h -a-∅ | ააჲრეტგა | abr-e-ts ^h -a-∅ | ააჲრეტგაჲ |
| 2SG | apr-e-ts ^h -a-r | ააჲრეტგარ | abr-e-ts ^h -a-r | ააჲრეტგარ |
| 3SG | apr-e-ts ^h -a-v | ააჲრეტგაჲ | abr-e-ts ^h -a-v | ააჲრეტგაჲ |
| 1PL | apr-e-ts ^h -a-nk ^h | ააჲრეტგანჲ | abr-e-ts ^h -a-ŋk ^h | ააჲრეტგანჲ |
| 2PL | apr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h | ააჲრეტგაჲ | abr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h | ააჲრეტგაჲ |
| 3PL | apr-e-ts ^h -a-n | ააჲრეტგან | abr-e-ts ^h -a-n ^h | ააჲრეტგან |
| Imperative | √-TH-(AOR)-AGR | | √-TH-(AOR)-AGR | |
| 2SG | apr-i-∅ | ააჲრჲ | abr-i-r | ააჲრჲრ |
| 2PL | apr-e-ts ^h -ek ^h | ააჲრეტგტჲ | abr-e-ts ^h -a-k ^h | ააჲრეტგტჲ |
| Prohibitive | PROH √-TH(?) -AGR | | PROH √-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 infixed 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-∅ | hասսա | has-a-∅ ‘I reached’ | hասսայ |
| 2SG | has-a-r | hասսար | has-a-r | hասսար |
| 3SG | has-a-v | hասսավ | has-a-v | hասսաւ |
| Infinitive | | | √-VX-TH-INF hak ^h -n-i-l ‘to wear’ | hագսիլ |
| Imperative | √-TH-(AOR)-AGR | | √-TH-(AOR)-AGR | |
| 2SG | hak ^h -i-∅ | hաքի՛ | hak ^h -i-r | hագիր |
| 2PL | hak ^h -ék ^h | hաքէ՛ք | hak ^h -ék ^h ‘wear!’ | hագէք |
| Prohibitive | PROH √-VX-TH(?) -AGR | | PROH √-VX-TH-AGR | |
| 2SG | mí hak ^h -n-i-∅ | մի՛ hաքսի | mi hak ^h -n-i-r | մի hագսիր |
| 2PL | mí hak ^h -n-e-k ^h | մի՛ hաքսէք | mi hak ^h -n-i-k ^h ‘do not wear!’ | մի hագսիք |

[[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 | | | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-INF}}$ mən-a-l ‘to stay’ | მნაღ |
| Past perfective | $\sqrt{-\text{AOR-PST-AGR}}$ | | $\sqrt{-\text{AOR-PST-AGR}}$ | |
| 1SG | mən-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | მნაღჲ | mən-a-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I stayed’ | მნაღჲ |
| 2SG | mən-a-ts ^h -i-r | მნაღჲრ | mən-a-ts ^h -i-r | მნაღჲრ |
| 3SG | mən-a-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | მნაღ | mən-a-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | მნაღ |
| 1PL | mən-a-ts ^h -i-nk ^h | მნაღჲნჲ | mən-a-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h | მნაღჲნჲ |
| 2PL | mən-a-ts ^h -i-k ^h | მნაღჲჲ | mən-a-ts ^h -i-k ^h | მნაღჲჲ |
| 3PL | mən-a-ts ^h -i-n ^h | მნაღჲნ | mən-a-ts ^h -i-n ^h | მნაღჲნ |
| Imperative | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$ | | $\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$ | |
| 2SG | mən-á-Ø | მნაʼ | mən-a-Ø | მნა |
| 2PL | mən-a-ts ^h -ék ^h | მნაღტʼჲ | mən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h ‘stay!’ | მნაღტჲ |
| Prohibitive | PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH}(?)\text{-AGR}}$ | | PROH $\sqrt{-\text{TH-(AOR)-AGR}}$ | |
| 2SG | mí mən-a-Ø | მიʼ მნა | mi mən-a-Ø | მი მნა |
| 2PL | mí mən-a-k ^h | მიʼ მნაჲ | mi mən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h ‘do not stay!’ | მი მნაჲ |

[[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-Ø | հիռացա | her-a-ts ^h -a-Ø ‘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-Նովա) (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. Patrubani 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. Тифлис* Բեդրապուրկ 1890.]]

[[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 գրականութեան). 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 զոհ. Թիֆլիս, 1884
 - * Գիշերվա սարբը խեր Է. Թիֆլիս, 1881
 - * Օսկան Պետրովիչը դժուխկումը
 - Երեցփոխեան Գ. - Ա՛յ քեզ օյին. Թիֆլիս, 1886
 - Եսայեան Յարութիւն - Սօնայի նշանդրեքը. Թիֆլիս, 1904
 - Պատկանեան Միքայէլ 6 -- Միջի մարդ կամ Մօցիքով. Թիֆլիս. 1859
 - Տեր-Գրիգորեան Միքայէլ
 - * Նինօյի նշնիլը
 - * Վույ քի իմ վէչեր
 - * Պէպօյի ակճուր
 - * Պառաներուն խրատ
 - * Էս էլ քի մօցիքութիւն
 - Փուզինեան Նիկողայոս - Դալալ Ղազօ
 - Փառնակէս - Գրականական երեկոյ. Թիֆլիս, 1886
 - Սարգիս - Ռուստավէլի. Ընծու մորթի հագաղ մարդ. Կռունկ, 1860
 - Քախկըցի Դաբաղ Ղազօի մասլտաթը. Կռունկ, 1862, page 454-498

- Գեօ Աւետիսով - Քախկըցի Շաքար Մանուշակեանցի բարովագրի ջուղաբը. Կոռնկ, 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-Նովա (page 139)

Պատկիրըդդ դ’ալամօվ քաշած, Թահիրդ օանգե ոանգ իս անում.
Էրեսիդ խալըն ծածկում է մագիրդդ, խափանգ իս անում.
Բացվիլ իս կարմիր վարթի պես, բըլբուլի հիգ հանգ իս անում.
Ակոնքըդ 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 տեսողըն իր ճամփեմեն կու մօլըրվի
Յիփ մըտնում իս մեջլիսումըն, շանգ շուփի շաբանց իս անում:

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Էրեսըդ տեսնելու գուքան քաղաք քախկօվ, գիդ գիդի պես.
Մեռնողըն քիգմեն կու առնե անմահական դիգ, դիգի պես.
Յիփ տիգեմեդ ժաժ իս գալի, շըխշըխկում իս ջիղջիղի պես.
Ինչ կ’օնիս սանթուր, քամանչեն. գուքսըդ չօնգուր, չանգ իս անում:

Ծուցիդ մեչեն վարթ, մանիշակ. սընթուլ ու սուսան իս շինի.
Քու տերըն բագըն ի՛նչ կ’օնե, քու հուտըն ռեհան իս շինի.
Քամին մեչըն անց է կենում մասիրդդ յեքան իս շինի.
Աշխարքըն ծօվ, դուն մեչըն նավ ման իս գալի, լանգ իս անում:

9.5.2 Sample 2

Adjarian's note: Էլի մեկ զոհ, page 1-4

- Եսենգ Էլ իր ասածի՛. «հա ու չէ» բե իմանում Էլի:
- Բթխիխտ խօ չի՞ս կանա անի խեխճին. տեսնում իս չե ուզում, զոռօվ բան կուլի՛:
- Չէ՛նդ, զէ՛նդ, դիփ քու միզն Է, Բարբարե, վուր Էսենց դ՛այիմ Է կանգնած:
- Վունց չէ, մե իմ խիլքօվ Է ապրում, մեկ Էլ քու խիլքօվ:
- 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:
- Թե կի նա իր հօր վրա Էլ ու մօր վրա Էլ խելօք Է, յիս ի՛նչ անիմ Էտումը, քա՛:
- Ա՛յ, ա՛յ, Էտենց իս խօսում դիփ վուր իրան Էլ իս գժվեցնում Է՛:
- Դուն թե գժվեցնում իս, թե չէ յիս իսկի Էլ չիմ գժվեցնում:
- Ի՛նչ, ի՛նչ... յի՞ս իմ գժվեցնո՛ւմ. արի ու հիդը խօսի:
- Բաս ի՛նչ իս անում. ամալ աշքարա ասում Է վուր չե ուզում, դուն կի ուզոմ իս զոռօվ ուզիլ տա. ավար վո՛ւր խելօքը կու լսե. հա գժվեցնիլ Է ու գժվեցնիլ:
- So, Ստեփան Դանելիչը, Ստեփան Դանելիչը, Էն միյօսներու տերը, ախչիկ ըլի տալի ազանչաքօվ պաղանտաքօվ, Էնդ՛ադա փուղ ու բաժնքօվ ու խելօքը չուզէ՛: Տօ՛, հազիր ասիս թե՛ վո՛ւր խելօքը չի ուղի՛:
- Ի՛նչ անիմ. խօ տէ՛սնում իս վուր նրա ուշկ ու միտքը մնաին Է:
- Յիս նրան մնանի կու շանց տամ. հալա մե մուլափ տա:

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Էսենց Էլ օ՛յին. մարթ ձիյեմեն վեր գա իշին նտսի՛. մարթ խալ ու խալիչեն թողնե գեղնի վրա գլօրվի՛... Տեր օղօրմած Աստուծ... Ը՛մ, Յա՛գօր Սիմօնիչ, Է՞ս Էր քու մտկումն Էլի... Էնքան Էկավ ու գնաց, Էնքան տարավ ու Էրի (եբեր), ինչրու աղունակի պես, Էրեխիս խիլքեմեն արավ իստակ: Բաս թե 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, թե յադի (օտար) տանը յադի տղեն տուն ու գուս անե, ճաշ գնա, իրիգուն գնա, ախչկա հիգ սագ ու բագ (խօսակցիլ) անե, կ՛օսիս նրա բիծու (հօրեղբայր) տղեն ըլի, ի՛նչ Է հարեֆնիր ինք, կ՛օսե. հարեվնիր չդառան՝ ցավ դառան. յիրգնուց պատիժ Էկան գլխիս Էլի: Դուն Էլ ամեն սահաթի Էս ճաշ սարքե նրանց համա, Էս մուրաբեք (քաղցրաւենիք) մօղ տար, Էս միրք առնուլ տու... Է՞ս Էիր ուզում Էլի: Աստուծ քիգ կու հարցնե, քի՛գ, Բարբարե, Միխեիլի գժվեցնօղը 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 Միխեիլի լավութիւնը, յիս չիմ յուզո՛ւմ: Տեսնում իս իր ասածն Է: Ախար վրեն չարանում իս, Էն խիլքի տերն Է վուր վախենա՛:
- Բարեմց ասա ձեռներուն Էլ պաչ անիմ Էլի:

– 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 հ՛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> | /ɤ/ <իԼ> | | | /u/ <ու> |
| /e/ <ե> | /æ/ <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, ʁe/ 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 <ը> are interchangeable, and that <ը> 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 /ə/ – 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

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| /eᵢ/ <էյ> | /oᵢ/ <օյ> | /uᵃ/ <ուա> |
|-----------|-----------|------------|

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> | <ɸ> | <ŋ> | <u> | <ɸ> | <q> | <ɭ> | <p> |
| Affricates | | | | /dʒ/ | /tʃ/ | /tʃ ^h / | /gʲ/ | /kʲ/ | /k ^h ʲ/ |
| | | | | <ɖ> | <ɖ> | <g> | <qj> | <ɭj> | <pj> |
| Fricatives | /v/ | | | /s/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /χ/ | /ʁ/ |
| | <ɸ> | | | <u> | <q> | <ʒ> | <ɖ> | <ɸ> | <h> |
| Sonorants | /m/ | /n/ | | /r/ | /r/ | /l/ | /j/ | /ç/ | |
| | <ɸ> | <u> | | <ŋ> | <n> | <ɭ> | <j> | <hj> | |

[[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/ <ɸ> or completely lost (Table 4).¹

¹[[The word ‘swallow’ in Classical Armenian was <ծիծեռն> /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’ | aʔatʃáŋk ^h | աղաչանք | əʔatʃ ^h ank ^h | ըղա՛չանք | aʔatʃáŋk ^h | աղաչանք |
| ‘request’ | nawakatík ^h | նաւակատիք | nəvəkátéig ^l | նըվըկա՛տեյգ | navakatík ^h | նավակատիք |
| ‘fawning’ | erespaʃtuʔt ^h iún | երեսպաշտութիւն | ərəspaʃtót ^h un | ըրըսպըշտո՛թոն | jerespaʃtuʔt ^h iún | երեսպաշտութիւն |
| ‘today’ | ajsáyur | այսաւր | sor | սօր | ajsór | այսօր |
| ‘swallow’ | tsitsernák | ծիծեռնակ | ts ^h əts ^h érnak | ցըցէ՛ռնակ | tsitsernák | ծիծեռնակ |
| ‘razor’ | atseli | ածելի | tsili | ծի՛լի | atseli | ածելի |
| ‘pigeon’ | aʔayni | աղաւնի | jəʔóneig ^l | յըղօ՛նեյգ | aʔavni | աղավնի |
| ‘evening’ | erekóĭ | երեկոյ | rýgv | րի՛ւզիւ | 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> <w>

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.

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /æ/ <ü> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|---------|----------------------|----------|---------|--------|
| ‘tail’ | agí | ազի | háek ^h y | hawǽpɬ | agí | ազի |
| ‘field’ | ánd | անդ | hænd | hawǽnɬ | ánd | անդ |
| ‘good’ | láu | լաւ | læv | lǽv | láv | լաւ |
| ‘lightning’ | kaṭsákəṇ | կայծակն | kætsæk | kyǽṭəv | kaṭsák | կայծակ |
| ‘spring’ | garún | գարուն | kʰærunk ^h | kyǽṭrunk | 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’ | džəraṭáts ^h | ջրաղաց | tšéṭáts ^h | ժե՛ղաց | džəraṭáts ^h | ջրաղաց |
| ‘empty’ | datárk | դատարկ | tértak | տե՛րտակ | datárk | դատարկ |
| ‘to conquer’ | jaṭ ^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 | hawǽner | anér | աներ |
| ‘grave’ | gerezmán | գերեզման | kʰərézman | kyǽrɛṭəv | gerezmán | գերեզման |
| ‘thirty’ | eresún | երեսուն | ərésun | ɛrɛṭəv | jeresún | երեսուն |
| ‘hand’ | dzer-k ^h (plural) | ծեռք | tšerk ^h | ժեռք | džerk ^h | ծեռք |
| ‘mouth’ | berán | բերան | péran | պե՛րան | berán | բերան |

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /ə/ <ը> for the words in Table 9, though some Karabakh villages use /ə/ <ը>.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /ə/ <ը> or /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘you.PL.DAT’ | d̄zez | ծեզ | tsəz | ծըզ | d̄zez | ծեզ |
| | | | tsəz | ծըզ | | |
| ‘our’ | mer | մեր | mər | մըր | mer | մեր |
| | | | mər | մըր | | |
| ‘big’ | mets | մեծ | məts̄ts̄ | մըծծ | mets | մեծ |
| | | | məts̄ | մըծ | | |
| ‘bridegroom’ | p ^h esáĭ | փեսայ | p ^h əsa | փըէսայ | p ^h esá | փեսայ |
| | | | p ^h əsa | փըսայ | | |
| ‘to die’ | meranél | մեռանել | mə̀rnel | մըլնել | mernél | մեռնել |
| | | | mə̀rnel | մըռնել | | |

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’ | ekelets ^h í | եկեղեցի | jéxtse | յէխծէ | jekelets ^h í | եկեղեցի |
| ‘sky’ | erkín-k ^h (plural) | երկինք | jérgink ^h | յէրգինք | jerking ^h | երկինք |
| ‘ox’ | ézən | եզն | jéznə | յէզնը | 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).

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 | ըրիճյակ | aregák | արեգակ |
| ‘more’ | arawél | առավել | ívil | իՎիլ | aravél | առավել |
| b. ‘ladle’ | ſerép ^h | շերեփ | ſírep ^h | շի՛րեփ | ſerép ^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 | տերև |
| ‘three’ | erék ^h | երեք | írek ^h | ի՛րեք | jerék ^h | երեք |
| ‘light (weight)’ | t ^h et ^h éu | թեթև | t ^h ít ^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 | χézna | խե՛ժնը | χez | խեժ |
| ‘female’ | ēg | եգ | ek ^h j | եքյ | eg | եգ |
| ‘fox’ | a <u>u</u> .ēs | աղուես | áxves | ա՛ղվես | axvés | 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 | kə̌s | կըես | kes | կես |
| ‘point’ | kēt | կետ | kə̌t | կըետ | ket | կետ |

Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> became /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 14.

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /ē/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> 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/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> remained /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 15.

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i/ <ի> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|-------|
| ‘nine’ | ínən | ինն | innə | ի՛ննը | ínən | ինն |
| ‘full’ | lí | լի | líjnə | լի՛յնը | lí | լի |
| ‘louse’ | odʒíl | ոջիլ | vítʃ ^h il | վի՛չիլ | votʃ ^h il | ոջիլ |
| ‘wine’ | gíní | գինի | kíni | կի՛նի | gíní | գինի |
| ‘what’ | intʃ ^h | իւչ | hintʃ ^h | հիւչ | intʃ ^h | իւչ |
| ‘chickpea’ | sisérən | սիսէռն | sísernə | սի՛սէռնը | sisér | սիստն |

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /e/ <է> for the words in Table 16.

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /e/ <է> 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’ | tará | տարի | táre | տա՛րէ | tará | տարի |
| ‘church’ | ekelets ^h i | եկեղեցի | jéx ^h tse | յէ՛խծէ | ekelets ^h i | եկեղեցի |
| ‘yellow’ | dehín | դեղին | téʁen | տէ՛ղէն | dehín | դեղին |
| ‘barley’ | garí | գարի | k ^j óere | կյէ՛օրէ | garí | գարի |
| ‘bitter’ | lehí | լեղի | læ | լէ | leʁi | լեղի |
| ‘five’ | hing | հիւզ | heng ^j | հէւզ | hing | հիւզ |

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /ə/ <ը> for the words in Table 17.

Table 17: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ə/ <ը> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|------------|---------|---------|-------|
| ‘one’ | mi | մի | məɾ | մըեր | mi | մի |
| ‘oak’ | kaɫní | կաղնի | káɫnə | կա’ղնըէ | kaɫní | կաղնի |
| ‘month’ | amís | ամիս | áməɫs | ա’մըէս | amís | ամիս |
| ‘meat’ | mis | միս | məɫs | մըէս | mis | միս |
| ‘apricot’ | tsirán | ծիրան | tsəɾan | ծըէ’րան | tsiran | ծիրան |
| ‘heart’ | sirt | սիրտ | səɾt | սըերտ | 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’խեր | moχír | մոխիր |
| ‘kernel’ | koríz | կորիզ | kórəz | կօ’րըէզ | koríz | կորիզ |
| ‘wheat’ | ts ^h oréán | ցորեան | ts ^h óren | ցօ’րէն | ts ^h orén | ցորեն |

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /œ/ <օ> for the words in Table 19, but only next to the sounds /ɾ, ɾ, 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 | tsœr | ծեօր | ḏzor | ծոր |
| ‘four’ | ṭʰors | չորս | | | ṭʰors | չորս |
| | ṭʰork ^h | չորք | ṭʰœrk ^h | չեօրք | | |
| ‘plum’ | salor | սալոր | ʃəllœr | շըլլեօր | salor | սալոր |
| ‘thief’ | goł | գող | kʰœɤ | կյեօղ | goɤ | գող |
| ‘work’ | gorts | գործ | kʰœrts | կյեօրծ | 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՛ւրուն | torón | տորոն |
| ‘cress’ | kotímən | կոտիմն | kútemnə | կո՛ւտեմնը | kotém | կոտեմ |
| ‘to steal’ | gołanál | գողանալ | kʰuɤánal | կյուղանալ | goɤanál | գողանալ |
| ‘dirty’ | əłtót | աղտոտ | jéχtut | յե՛խտոտ | əχtót | աղտոտ |
| ‘grape’ | χəłól | խաղող | háɤuɤ | հա՛ղուղ | χəɤɤ | խաղող |

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /ə/ <ը> 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. (?)]]

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 ávər | թքա՛վըեր | t ^h ak ^h avór | թագաւոր |
| ‘graceful’ | ʃənorhawór | շնորհաւոր | ʃənəhávər | շընըհա՛վըեր | ʃənoravór | շնորհաւոր |
| ‘to get accustomed’ | sovoril | սովորիլ | səvə́ril | սըվըե՛րիլ | sovorél | սովորել |
| ‘smell’ | hot | հոտ | vət | վըտ | hot | հոտ |
| ‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’ | hor | հոր | vər | վըր | hor | հոր |
| ‘earth’ | hoł | հող | vəʒ | վըշ | hoʒ | հող |

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /ə/ <վը> 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 | vərs | վըրս | vors | որս |
| ‘foot’ | ótən | ոտն | və́nnə | վըե՛նսը | vót | ոտ |
| ‘sheep’ | otʃ ^h jár | ոչխար | və́xtʃar | վըե՛խճար | voʃ ^h jár | ոչխար |
| ‘bone’ | óskər | ոսկր | və́skər | վըե՛սկըռ | voskór | ոսկր |
| ‘buttocks’ | or | ոռ | vər | վըռ | vor | ոռ |

10.2.3.1.6 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /v/ <վ> for the words in Table 23, when next to a vowel.

Table 23: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /v/ <վ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|-------|
| ‘fox’ | áʁu.és | աղուէս | ávves | ա՛ղվէս | avés | 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 /ʁa/ <ռա>...

... 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 /ua/.*]]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 |
| | | | տիւան (Shushi) | չվան | | |
| ‘sourish’ | տէտիւզ | թթուաշ | տէտիւզ | թթուաշ | տէտիւզ | թթվաշ |
| | | | տէտիւզ (Shushi) | թթվաշ | | |
| ‘to get sour’ (?) | տէտիւզալ | թթուեալ (?) | տէտիւզալ | թթուալ | | |
| | | | տէտիւզալ (Shushi) | թթվալ | | |

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’ | fun | շոն | fon | շոն | fun | շոն |
| ‘mulberry’ | տիւտ | թոլթ | տիւտ | թոթ | տիւտ | թոլթ |
| ‘smoke’ | տսոյ | ծոլի | տսոյ | ծոլի | տսոյ | ծոլի |
| ‘sour’ | տէտիւ | թթոլ | տէտիւ | թթո | տէտիւ | թթոլ |
| ‘pomegranate’ | նւրան | նոռն | նորոն | նոռն | nur | նոռն |
| ‘I have’ | ունիմ | ոնիմ | ունիմ | ոնիմ | uném | ոնեմ |
| ‘colt’ | կիւրակ | քոռակ | կիւրակ | քոռակ | k ^h urák | քոռակ |

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> remained /u/ <nL> for the words in Table 26.

⁴[[*I could not unambiguously track down what the word <թթուեալ> meant, so I could not determine its SEA reflex.*]]

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՛սուք | artasúk ^h | արտասուք |
| ‘name’ | anún | անուն | ánum | ա՛նում | anún | անուն |
| ‘coal’ | atsúχ | ածուխ | andzux | անծուղ | atsúχ | ածուխ |

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /y/ <ɬL> for the words in Table 27.

Table 27: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /y/ <ɬL> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|--------|
| ‘fish’ | ḏzúkəṇ | ծուկն | tsýknə | ծի՛կնը | ḏzúk | ծուկ |
| ‘egg’ | ḏzu | ծու | tsy | ծիԼ | ḏzu | ծու |
| ‘water’ | ḏzur | ջուր | tʃyr | ճիԼր | ḏzur | ջուր |
| ‘flea’ | lu | լու | ly | լիԼ | lu | լու |
| ‘oath’ | erdúmən | երդումն | ýrt ^h ymnə | ի՛րթիմնը | jert ^h úm | երդում |

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 | ուլ | hœl | հեոլ | ul | ուլ |
| ‘Friday’ | urbát ^h | ուրբաթ | œrp ^h æt ^h | Է՛րփաթ | urp ^h át ^h | ուրբաթ |
| ‘head’ | gəlúχ | գլուխ | k ^ʲ ələχ | կըլեօխ | gəlúχ | գլուխ |

10.2.3.2 Diphthong changes

10.2.3.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> became /e/ <է> for the words in Table 29.

Table 29: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /e/ <է> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|------------|--------|----------|--------|
| ‘goat’ | ajts | այծ | ets | էծ | ajts | այծ |
| ‘wide’ | lajn | լայն | len | լէն | lajn | լայն |
| ‘father’ | hajr | հայր | her | հէր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘brother’ | ełbajr | եղբայր | áχper | ա’խպեր | jexpájır | եղբայր |

Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 30, at the end of the word.

Table 30: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /a/ <ա> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------|------------|----------|---------|--------|
| ‘broad bean’ | bakláj | բակլայ | pékla | պէ’կլա | baklá | բակլա |
| ‘on’ | i veráj | ի վերայ | jərá | յըրա’ | vərá | վրա |
| ‘(male?) child’ | təłáj | տղայ | təxa | տղա | təxá | տղա |
| ‘Satan’ | satanáj | սատանայ | sutána | սուտա’նա | sataná | սատանա |

10.2.3.2.2 Classical Armenian /aj/ <ալ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ալ> became /av/ <ավ> when next to a vowel and word-final, as in Table 31.

Table 31: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ալ> to /av/ <ավ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| ‘bird (CA); chicken (SEA)’ | hav | հալ | hav | հավ | hav | հավ |
| ‘to like’ | hawaníl | հաւանիլ | háván kenal | հա’վան կէսալ | havanél | հավանել |

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ալ> 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’ | ափսնի | աղաւնի | թօնեյցի | լղոսնեյց | ափսնի | աղաւնի |
| ‘naphtha’ | նփտ | նաւթ | նոտ | նօթ | նփտ | 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’ | տօրեան | ցորեան | տօրեն | ցորեն | տօրեն | ցորեն |
| ‘threshold’ | սեւմկ | սեւմք | ֆեմկ | շեւք | ֆեմկ | շեւք |
| ‘tortoise’ | կօրեայ | կրեայ | կօրե, կօրա | կօրե, կօրա | կօրյա | կրիա |

10.2.3.2.4 Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ>

Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ> became /ev/ <էվ> (Table 34).

Table 34: Change from Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ> to /ev/ <էվ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| ‘light (weight)’ | թեւ | թեւ | թիւ | թիւ | թեւ | թեւ |
| ‘sun’ | արեւ | արեւ | արեւ | արեւ | արեւ | արեւ |
| ‘gray-haired’ | ալեւոր | ալեւոր | հլեւոր | հլեւոր | ալեւոր | ալեւոր |

10.2.3.2.5 Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <ի> became /y/ <ի> for the words in Table 35.

Table 35: Change from Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իւ> to /y/ <իլ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|------------|--------|---------|---------|
| ‘snow’ | ḏziɥn | ծիւն | ṭsyn | ծիւն | ḏzjun | ծյուն |
| ‘column’ | siɥn | սիւն | syn | սիւն | ḏzjun | սյուն |
| ‘hundred’ | hariɥr | հարիւր | harɣr | հարիւր | harjur | հարյուր |

Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իւ> became /iv/ <իվ> for the words in Table 36, when word-final and next to a vowel.

Table 36: Change from Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իւ> to /iv/ <իվ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|--------|------------|---------|---------|--------|
| ‘honor’ | patíɥ | պատիւ | patív | պատիվ | patív | պատիվ |
| ‘eagle’ | artsíɥ | արծիւ | ártsov | ա՛րծիվ | artsív | արծիվ |
| ‘sick’ | hiwánd | հիւանդ | hívand | հի՛վանդ | hivánd | հիվանդ |

Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իւ> became /ev/ <էվ> for the words in Table 37, when word-final.

Table 37: Change from Classical Armenian /iɥ/ <իւ> to /ev/ <էվ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|------|------------|------|---------|------|
| ‘fight’ | kəriɥ | կռիւ | kreɣ | կռէվ | kəriv | կռիվ |
| ‘scattered’ | ṭsʰəriɥ | ցրիւ | ṭsʰrev | ցրէվ | ṭsʰəriv | ցրիվ |

10.2.3.2.6 Classical Armenian /oɟ/ <ոյ>

Classical Armenian /oɟ/ <ոյ> became /y/ <իլ> (Table 38).

Table 38: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ> to /v/ <իւ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|----------|---------|--------|
| ‘nest’ | boġin | բոյն | pyñ | պիւն | bujn | բույն |
| ‘evening’ | erekóġ | երեկոյ | rýgv | րի՛լգիւ | jerekó | երեկո |
| ‘blue’ | kapóġt | կապոյտ | k ^l æpyt | կյա՛ւիւտ | kapújt | կապոյտ |

10.2.3.2.7 Classical Armenian /ov/ <ով>

Classical Armenian /ov/ <ով> became /av/ <ավ> (Table 39).⁵

Table 39: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <ով> 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 | աղիւ | áŷav | ա՛ղավ | av-ón | աղով |
| ‘wood-INS’ | p ^h aġt-iŷ | փայտիւ | p ^h éđav | փը՛ւղավ | 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 <ով> 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 | պէրան | berán | բերան |
| ‘thing’ | ban | բան | pen | պէն | ban | բան |
| ‘door’ | dúrən | դուռն | tóernə | տո՛ոնը | dur | դուռ |
| ‘sound’ | ḏəjən | ծայն | ṯsen | ծէն | ḏəjən | ծայն |
| ‘water-mill’ | ḏʒəraṯatsʰ | ջրաղաց | ṯʃéʁatsʰ | ճէրաց | ḏʒəraṯatsʰ | ջրաղաց |
| ‘cotton’ | bambák | բամբակ | pémbak | պէմբակ | bambák | բամբակ |
| ‘orphan’ | orb | որբ | v̱ərpʰ | վըրբի | vorpʰ | որբ |
| ‘cloud’ | amp | ամպ | amb | ամբ | amp | ամպ |
| ‘wool’ | burd | բուրդ | p̱yrtʰ | պիւրթ | burth | բուրդ |
| ‘fever’ | tend | տենդ | tənd | տընդ | tend | տենդ |
| ‘to slander’ | bambasél | բամբաստել | pəmbásel | պըմբա՛սել | 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 kʰ/ <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 /gʲ kʲ kʰʲ/ <qʲ ʎʲ pʲ>.

It is notable that while the Classical Armenian sound /g/ <q> sound becomes /kʲ/ <ʎʲ> word-initially, the Classical Armenian sounds /k, kʰ/ <ʎ, p> do not soften in this context. The Classical Armenian sound /k/ <ʎ> becomes /gʲ/ <qʲ> word-finally after /i/ <ի>, while Classical Armenian /kʰ/ <p> becomes /kʰʲ/ <pʲ> word-finally after /i, in, en/ <ի, ին, էն>. Similarly, the Classical Armenian sequence /nkn/ <նկն> becomes /ngnə, ngʲnə, jnə, gʲnə/ <նգնը, նգյնը, յնը, գյնը>.

Examples are in Table 41.

Table 41: Palatalization from Classical Armenian to the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|----------|
| ‘lamb’ | gárən | qawն | k ⁱ árnə | կյա՛նը | gár | qawռ |
| ‘wolf’ | gaɹl | qawլ | k ⁱ ʷl | կյիւ | gaɹl | qawլ |
| ‘wine’ | giní | qɦnɦ | k ⁱ íni | կյի՛նի | giní | qɦnɦ |
| ‘cane’ | gawazán | qawազան | k ⁱ əvázan | կյըվա՛զան | gavazán | qawվազան |
| ‘five’ | hing | ɦɦnq | heng ⁱ | հէնq | hing | ɦɦnq |
| ‘jug’ | kuʒ | կուժ | koʒ | կօժ | kuʒ | կուժ |
| ‘kernel’ | koríz | կորիզ | kórəʒ | կօ՛րըէզ | koríz | կորիզ |
| ‘flower’ | tsaɦík | ծաղիկ | tsáɤeg ⁱ | ծա՛ղէզ | tsaɦík | ծաղիկ |
| ‘woman’ | | | knəʒ ⁱ | կնըէզ | kənik | կնիկ |
| ‘goatskin’ | tik | տիկ | teig ⁱ | տէզ | tik | տիկ |
| ‘how many’ | k ^h aní | քանի | k ^h ánə | քա՛նըէ | k ^h aní | քանի |
| ‘partridge’ | kak ^h áɹ | 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՛նքը | ínk ^h ən | ինքն |
| ‘mushroom’ | súnk ^h ən | սունկն | sojənə | սօյնը | suɹk | սունկ |
| | | | song ⁱ nə | սօնqնը | | |
| | | | songnə | սօնqնը | | |
| ‘ear’ | únk ^h ən | ունկն | ójənə | օ՛յնը | uɹk | ունկ |
| | | | óngnə | օ՛նqնը | | |
| ‘knee’ | tsúngəkh ^h | ծունգք | tsójinə | ծօ՛յնը | tsuɹk | ծունկ |
| | | | tsóng ⁱ nə | ծօ՛նqնը | | |
| | | | tsóngnə | ծօ՛նqնը | | |

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 | vəɤ | վըէղ | hoɤ | հող |
| ‘smell’ | hot | հոտ | vət | վըէտ | hot | հոտ |
| ‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’ | hor | հոր | vər | վըէր | hor | հոր |
| ‘soul’ | hogí | հոգի | hýk ^{hi} | հի՛ւքի | 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 | հով | ov | ով |
| | ‘who.GEN.SG’ | օյր, օրօյ | ոյր, որոյ | hyr | հիր | vor | որի |
| | ‘where’ | ur | ւր | hor | հօր | ur | ւր |
| | ‘how’ | | | hunts ^h | հոնց | vonts ^h | ոնց |
| | ‘what’ | intj ^h | իւչ | hintj ^h | հիւչ | intj ^h | իւչ |
| b. | ‘friend’ | ənker | ընկեր | hənger | հընգեր | əŋker | ընկեր |
| | ‘shame’ | aməut ^h | ամաւթ | həmut ^h | հա՛մութ | amót ^h | ամութ |
| | ‘tail’ | agí | ագի | hæk ^h y | հա՛քիլ | agí | ագի |
| | ‘gray-haired’ | alewór | ալէւոր | hlévur | հլէ՛վոր | 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, ամութ> be <հա՛մութ>. 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 <ւր> ‘where’ should have been <ււմ> ‘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’ | melk ^h | մեղք | meχk | մեխկ | meχk ^h | մեղք |
| ‘to strangle’ | χełdél | խեղդել | χéχtel | խե՛խսել | χeχtéł | 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 | jéχtse | յե՛խծե | jekeχets ^h i | եկեղեցի |
| ‘girl’ | ałdžik | աղջիկ | áχtʃig ^j | ա՛խծիգ | aχtʃ ^h ik | աղջիկ |
| ‘to flee’ | p ^h aχtʃ ^h il | փախչիլ | p ^h áχtʃil | փա՛խծիլ | p ^h aχtʃ ^h éł | փախչել |
| ‘sheep’ | otʃ ^h χár | ոչխար | vəχtʃar | վը՛խծար | voť ^h χár | ոչխար |

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10.2.3.3.6 Change from word-final Classical Armenian /ən/ 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 epenthized 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 /(ə)n/ <ւ> to /nə/ <ւը> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|----------|------------------|------|
| ‘door’ | dúrən | դուռն | tóernə | տե՛ռնւը | dúr | դուռ |
| ‘fish’ | džúkən | ծուկն | tsýknə | ծի՛ւկնւը | džúk | ծուկ |
| ‘mouse’ | múkən | մուկն | móknə | մո՛կնւը | múk | մուկ |
| ‘pomegranate’ | núrən | նուռն | nórnə | նո՛ռնւը | núr | նուռ |
| ‘milk’ | kát ^h ən | կաթն | kát ^h nə | կա՛թնւը | kát ^h | կաթ |
| ‘finger’ | mát ^h ən | մատն | mánnə | մա՛ննւը | mát | մատ |
| ‘foot’ | ótən | ոտն | və́nnə | վը՛ննւը | vót | ոտ |
| ‘cold’ | sárən | սառն | sárnə | սա՛ռնւը | sárən | սառն |

10.2.3.3.7 Assimilation of /tn/ to /nn/

It is also typical that the sound /t/ <տ> becomes /n/ <ն> when before /n/ <ն>, as an assimilation process (Table 46).

Table 46: Assimilation from Classical Armenian /tn/ <տն> to /nn/ <նն> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| ‘foot’ | ótən | ոտն | vənnə | վըննը | vót | ոտ |
| ‘finger’ | mátʰən | մատն | mánnə | մա՛ննը | mat | մատ |
| ‘thimble’ | matnótsʰ | մատնոց | mnnánutsʰ | մննա՛նոց | matnótsʰ | մատնոց |
| ‘whitlow’ | matnəfúrtʰən | մատնաշուրթն | mnnəfəj | մննա՛շոշ | matnəfúrtʰən | մատնաշուրթն |
| ‘to enter’ | mətanél | մտանել | mnnél | մննել | mətnél | մտնել |

10.2.3.3.8 Absence of /f/ and adaptation of loan /f/ to /pʰ/

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 /pʰ/ <փ> (Table 47).

Table 47: Change of borrowed /f/ to /pʰ/ <փ> in the Karabakh dialect

| | Source language | | > Karabakh | |
|------------|-----------------|------------|------------|---------|
| ‘factory’ | French | <fabrique> | pʰábrik | փա՛բրիկ |
| ‘surname’ | French | <famille> | pʰámil | փամիլ |
| ‘Fez’ | Turkish | <fes> | pʰæs | փափս |
| ‘carriage’ | Turkish | <fayton> | pʰájton | փա՛յտոն |
| ‘lamp’ | Turkish | <fener> | pʰænáer | փափնափ |

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 /-ə/ <ը> (or /-e,-i/ <է, ի>).

- The ablative with the formatives /-ɑ, -ɑn/ <ա, աւ>.
- The instrumental with the formative /-ɑv/ <ավ>.
- The plural with the formatives /-əɾ, -nəɾ, -ne/ <ըն, նըն, 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 | -ըն, -նըն, -նե |
| GEN, DAT | -ə, -e, -i | -ըն, -ե, -ի | -ér-i, | -néɾ-i | -է՛րի, -նէ՛րի |
| ABL | -ɑ, -ɑn | -ա, -աւ | -ér-ɑn, | -néɾ-ɑn | -է՛րաւ, -նէ՛րաւ |
| INS | -ɑv | -ավ | -ér-ɑv, | -néɾ-ɑv | -է՛րավ, -նէ՛րավ |
| LOC | -um | -ու | -ér-um, | -néɾ-um | -է՛րու, -նէ՛րու |

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. tʰýn-ɣ-n bəli-n
Harutyun-GEN-DEF godfather-DEF
'Harutyun's godfather'
Թիւնիւն պընիւ
- ii. krikʰóɾ-e-n hæɾ-ə
Krikor-GEN-DEF father-DEF
'Krikor's father'
Կրիքորէն հաւը

b. cf. SEA

- i. harutʰjun-í kəŋkʰahajɾ-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/ <ի> instead of /-u/ <ու> (2), in accordance with the general rule.

(2) a. Karabakh

- i. hɪntʃ^h ón-i-s əs-é-l-i
 what have-TH-2SG say-TH-INF-DAT
 ‘What do you have to say?’
 հիշի՞ս օնիս ասելի
- ii. χos-é-l-i məhar
 speak-TH-INF-GEN for
 ‘for speaking’
 խօսելի 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 | հաքվէնա՛նա | √-?-ABL |
| INS | hak ^h ve-nán-av | հաքվէնա՛նավ | √-?-INS |
| LOC | hak ^h ve-nán-um | հաքվէնա՛նում | √-?-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 յես | ty տի | munk ^h մոնք | tuk ^h տոնք |
| GEN | im իմ | k ^h u քու | məɾ մըր | tsəɾ ծըր |
| DAT, ACC | indz ինծ | k ^h ez քեզ | məz մըզ | tsəz ծըզ |
| ABL | əndz-án-a ընծա՛նա | k ^{hj} əz-án-a քըզա՛նա | məz-án-a մըզա՛նա | tsəz-án-a ծըզա՛նա |
| INS | əndz-án-av ընծա՛նավ | k ^{hj} əz-án-av քըզա՛նավ | məz-án-av մըզա՛նավ | tsəz-án-av ծըզա՛նավ |
| LOC | əndz-án-um ընծա՛նում | k ^{hj} əz-án-um քըզա՛նում | məz-án-um մըզա՛նում | tsəz-án-um ծըզա՛նում |

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՛նքյըն | ýrank ^h | ի՛լրանք |
| GEN, DAT, ACC | ýran | ի՛լրան | ýrants ^h | ի՛լրանց |
| ABL | ýrán-an | իլրա՛նան | ýránts ^h -an | իլրա՛նցան |
| INS | ýrán-av | իլրա՛նավ | ýránts ^h -av | իլրա՛նցավ |
| LOC | ýrán-um | իլրա՛նում | ýránts ^h -um | իլրա՛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 | ətra ըտրա | əndəra ընդըրա |
| DAT, ACC | estəran ըստըրան | ətran ըտրան | əndəran ընդըրան |
| ABL | estərán-a ըստըրանա | ətrán-a ըտրանա | əndərán-a ընդըրանա |
| INS | estərán-av ըստըրանավ | ətrán-av ըտրանավ | əndərán-av ընդըրանավ |
| LOC | estərán-um ըստըրանում | ətrán-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, hnLq | húv-erk ^h hn’LqErg | |
| GEN, DAT, ACC | hyr híLp | húv-erts ^h hn’LqErg | hýr-ants ^h híLpwnsg |
| ABL | hyr-án-a híLpwns | huv-érts ^h -an hnLqE’rgwn | hýr-ants ^h -an híLpwnsgwn |
| INS | hyr-án-av híLpwnsq | huv-érts ^h -av hnLqE’rgsq | hýr-ants ^h -av híLpwnsgsq |
| LOC | hyr-án-um híLpwnLm | huv-érts ^h -um hnLqE’rgnLm | hýr-ants ^h -um híLpwnsgnLm |

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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/ <nLm, nL, wL, hu, tu, wu>. 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-Ø-Ø | սիրում ի |
| sir-əm i-Ø-Ø | սիրըմ ի |
| sir-es i-Ø-Ø | սիրես ի |
| √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | |

The future is formed with the formative /kə/ <կը>, which becomes /kʰə/ <քը> next to voiceless sounds.

The definite future (որոշեալ ապանի) is formed with the formatives /akan, aʈsʰukʰ/ <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-əm ə-m | սի՛րըմ ըմ | sir-úm e-m ‘I like’ | սիրում եմ |
| 2SG | sír-əm ə-s | սի՛րըմ ըս | sir-úm e-s | սիրում ես |
| 3SG | sír-əm a | սի՛րըմ ա | sir-úm e | սիրում է |
| 1PL | sír-əm ə-nk ^h | սի՛րըմ ընք | sir-úm e-ŋk ^h | սիրում ենք |
| 2PL | sír-əm ə-k ^h | սի՛րըմ ըք | sir-úm e-k ^h | սիրում եք |
| 3PL | sír-əm ə-n | սի՛րըմ ըն | sir-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-əm i-Ø-Ø | սի՛րըմ ի | sir-úm ej-i-Ø 'I was liking' | սիրում էի |
| 2SG | sír-əm i-Ø-r | սի՛րըմ իր | sir-úm ej-i-r | սիրում էիր |
| 3SG | sír-əm a-Ø-r | սի՛րըմ ար | sir-úm e-Ø-r | սիրում էր |
| 1PL | sír-əm i-Ø-nk ^h | սի՛րըմ ինք | sir-úm ej-i-ŋk ^h | սիրում էինք |
| 2PL | sír-əm i-Ø-k ^{hj} | սի՛րըմ իքք | sir-úm ej-i-k ^h | սիրում էիք |
| 3PL | sír-əm i-Ø-n | սի՛րըմ ին | sir-úm 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^{hj}/ 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^{hj}/ (?)]]

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 /-ts^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-Ø | սիրե՛ցե | sir-e-ts ^h -í-Ø ‘I liked’ | սիրեցի |
| 2SG | sir-é-ts ^h -e-r | սիրե՛ցեր | sir-e-ts ^h -í-r | սիրեցիր |
| 3SG | sír-i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սի՛րից | sir-é-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սիրեց |
| 1PL | sir-é-ts ^h -e-nk ^{hj} | սիրե՛ցեմք | sir-e-ts ^h -í-ηk ^h | սիրեցինք |
| 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 | sir-é-m ‘(if) I like’ | սիրեմ |
| 2SG | sír-i-s | սի՛րիս | sir-é-s | սիրես |
| 3SG | sír-i-Ø | սի՛րի | sir-í-Ø | սիրի |
| 1PL | sír-i-nk ^{hj} | սի՛րինք | sir-é-ŋk ^h | սիրենք |
| 2PL | sír-i-k ^{hj} | սի՛րիք | sir-é-k ^h | սիրեք |
| 3PL | sír-i-n | սի՛րին | sir-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-Ø-Ø | սի՛րի | sir-ej-í-Ø ‘(if) I liked’ | սիրեի |
| 2SG | sír-i-Ø-r | սի՛րիր | sir-ej-í-r | սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sír-a-Ø-r | սի՛րար | sir-é-Ø-r | սիրեր |
| 1PL | sír-i-Ø-nk ^{hj} | սի՛րինք | sir-ej-í-ŋk ^h | սիրենք |
| 2PL | sír-i-Ø-k ^{hj} | սի՛րիք | sir-ej-í-k ^h | սիրեիք |
| 3PL | sír-i-Ø-n | սի՛րին | sir-ej-í-n | սիրեին |
| | √-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

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-Ø-Ø ‘I was going to like’ | ըն սի՛րի |
| 2SG | k ^h ə sír-i-s | ըն սի՛րիս | k ^h ə sír-i-Ø-r | ըն սի՛րիր |
| 3SG | k ^h ə sír-i-Ø | ըն սի՛րի | k ^h ə sír-a-Ø-r | ըն սի՛րար |
| 1PL | k ^h ə sír-i-nk ^h | ըն սի՛րիսը | k ^h ə sír-i-Ø-nk ^h | ըն սի՛րիսը |
| 2PL | k ^h ə sír-i-k ^h | ըն սի՛րիք | k ^h ə sír-i-Ø-k ^h | ըն սի՛րիք |
| 3PL | k ^h ə sír-i-n | ըն սի՛րին | k ^h ə sír-i-Ø-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 | սիրե՛ցեք | sír-e-ts ^h -ék ^h | սիրեցեք | √-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL |
| | sír-ek ^h | սի՛րեք | 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 /m̥ɹ/ for the 2SG or /m̥ɹ^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 /vəɬ^h/ (likely a cognate of SEA 'no' /vot^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 m̥ɹ | սի՛րիլ մըր | sír-i-s vət ^h | սի՛րիս վըէ | mí sir-ir | մի՛ սիրիր |
| 2PL | sír-i-l m̥ɹ-k ^h | սի՛րիլ մըրք | sír-i-k ^h vət ^h | սի՛րիք վըէ | mí sir-ek ^h | մի՛ 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 /-áts/ 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 | անորոշ | sír-i-l | սի՛րիլ | sír-é-l | սիրել | √-TH-INF |
| Present | ներկայ | sír-ox | սի՛րօղ | sír-óx | սիրող | √-SPTCP |
| Past | անցեալ | sír-al | սի՛րալ | sír-él | սիրել | √-PERF.CVB |
| | | sír-áts | սի՛րած | sír-áts | սիրած | √-RPTCP |
| Future | ապանսի | sír-ə-l-ákan | սիրըլա՛կան | sír-e-l-u | սիրելլ | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB |
| | | sír-ə-l-áts ^h uk ^h | սիրըլա՛ցուք | | | √-TH-INF-? |
| | | | | | | √-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. | sir-ə-l-ákan ə-m | սիրըլական ըմ | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG |
| | sir-ə-l-áts ^{huk} ə-m | սիրըլացուք ըմ | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG |
| Fut. Past | sir-ə-l-ákan i-∅-∅ | սիրըլական ի | √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG |
| | sir-ə-l-áts ^{huk} 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 /əɫə/ <ըլլալ>, which is likely a cognate with the SWA verb /əɫə/ ‘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 /əɫ-ə-/ ‘√-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 <պատմական եղանակ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Karabakh dialect

a. Present (ներկայ)

sír-ə́m ə́-m ə́ləl
 √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըմ ըմ ըլալ

b. Past imperfective (անկատար)

sír-ə́m i-∅-∅ ə́ləl
 √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սի՛րըմ ի ըլալ

c. Definite future (որոշեալ ապանի)

i. sír-ə́l-ákan ə́-m ə́ləl
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-1SG NARR
 սիրըլա՛կան ըմ ըլալ

ii. sír-ə́l-áts^huk^h ə́-m ə́ləl
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-1SG NARR
 սիրըլա՛ցուք ըմ ըլալ

d. Definite future past (որոշեալ ապանի անցեալ)

i. sír-ə́l-ákan i-∅-∅ ə́ləl
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սիրըլա՛կան ի ըլալ

ii. sír-ə́l-áts^huk^h i-∅-∅ ə́ləl
 √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) AUX-PST-1SG NARR
 սիրըլա՛ցուք ի ըլալ

e. Present perfect (յարակատար)

i. sír-áts ə́-m ə́ləl
 √-RPTCP AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րած ըմ ըլալ

ii. sír-al ə́-m ə́ləl
 √-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG NARR
 սի՛րալ ըմ ըլալ

f. Past perfect (գերակատար)

i. sír-ats̃ i-Ø-Ø ələl
 √-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG NARR

սիրած ի ըլալ

ii. sír-al i-Ø-Ø ələl
 √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG NARR

սիրալ 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 (ներկայ)

pét-ə-m a sír-i-m
 DEB-TH(?)-1SG AUX.PRS.3SG like-TH-1SG

պէտըմ ա սիրիմ

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-Ø-Ø, pét-ə-m
 DEB-TH(?)-1SG AUX.PRS.3SG like-TH-PST-1SG, DEB-TH(?)-1SG

i-Ø-Ø sír-i-Ø-Ø
 AUX-PST-1SG like-TH-PST-1SG

պէտըմ ա սիրի, պէտըմ ի սիրի

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-ats 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 /-ats/), and then adding a present-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

d. Past future (անցեալ ապանի)

sír-ats pit-i-Ø-Ø
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?)-PST-1SG

սի՛րած պիտի

Rule: The debitive past future is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), and then adding a past-inflected debitive marker /piti/.

e. Narrative present (պատմական ներկայ)

sír-ats pit-i-m ələl
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?)-1SG NARR

սի՛րած պիտիմ ըլալ

Rule: The debitive narrative present is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), adding a present-inflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding the narrative marker /ələl/.

f. Narrative past (պատմական անցեալ)

sír-ats pit-i-Ø-Ø ələl
like-RPTCP DEB-TH(?)-PST-1SG NARR

սի՛րած պիտի ըլալ

Rule: The debitive narrative past imperfective is formed by taking the resultative participle (past participle with /-ats/), adding a past-inflected debitive marker /piti/, and then adding the narrative marker /ələl/.

g. Definite future (որոշեալ ապանի)

sír-ə-l-ákan pit-í-m
like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB-TH(?)-1SG

սիրըլա՛կան պի՛տիմ

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 ապանսի անցեալ)

sir-ə-l-ákan pit-i-Ø-Ø
like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB-TH(?)-PST-1SG

սիրըլական 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 (ւերկայ)

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-Ø-Ø
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-ats piti piti ini-Ø-Ø
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 /-ats/), 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 պիտի

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-Ø
like-TH-INF-FUT.CVB(?) DEB DEB ?-1SG

սիրըլական պիտի պիտի ինի

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-Ø-Ø
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-Ø-Ø
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 (անմիջական 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 (ներկայ)

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-Ø-Ø
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 ներկայ)

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-Ø-Ø 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 | վըտզ | viz | վիզ | viz | վիզ |
| 'year' | tári | տարի | táre | տա՛րե | tári | տա՛րի | 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/ <ւ> of Old Armenian became /nə/ <ւը> in Karabakh, but it became /ə/ <ը> in Gandzak (Table 72).

Table 72: Change from final /(ə)n/ <ւ> 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 | ծուկւ | ṭsýknə | ծի՛ւկը | ṭsúkə | ծո՛ւկը | 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/ <ωu>.

The past participle ends in the formative /-el/ <tl> and not with /al/ <ωl> (7).

- (7) a. i. Karabakh
 jes ə-m əl-əl
 I AUX-1SG be-PERF.CVB
 յես ըմ ըլալ
 ii. Gazakh
 jes e-m l-el
 I AUX-1SG be-PERF.CVB
 յես էմ էլ
 iii. SEA
 jes e-m eɣ-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’ | | | kznáhath ^h | կզնահաշ | gazanahát ^h | գազանահաշ |
| ‘children’ | erexáik ^h | երեխայք | réxek ^h | րէ՛խեք | jerexék ^h | երեխեք |
| ‘to get accustomed’ | sovoril | սովորիլ | səvóril | սըվորիլ | sovorél | սովորել |

- (8) a. Karabakh
 əʃχárk^h-e-s ərés-e-n
 world-GEN-POSS.1SG face-DAT-DEF
 ըշխա՛րքես ըրէ՛սէն
- b. Gazakh
 əʃχár-i-s ərís-i-n
 world-GEN-POSS.1SG face-DAT-DEF
 ըշխա՛րիս ըրի՛սին
- 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
 երեսին

The debitive form (1SG /piti-m/ <պիտիմ>, 2SG /piti-s/ <պիտիս>) is shortened to /dem, des, den/ <դեմ, դես, դեն> (9).¹²

- (9) Gazakh
- a. íntj^h dem səvor-il
 what DEB.1SG study-PTCP(?)
 ‘What do I have to study?’
 ինչ դեմ սըվորիլ
- b. mer rexe-k^h-n íntj^h érnak 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 ռեխեքն ինչ էօրնակ դեն վե 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 /əl/ <uɫ>.

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 Pugh" (Մ. Վ. Բարխուդարեանցի Պըլը-Պուղի; [[SEA: /makar barχudarjants^h/]]) and in Karapet Shahnazariants's work (Վ. Ս. Շահնազարեանցի Ղըլըցէ 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.
 - * ՈստաX Գեորգ Բարխուդարեանց
 - – Արաղը տարին կտարի. Շուշի, 1883.
 - – Չոնբանն ու նշանածը. Թիֆլիս, 1896.
 - – Բաբոյական առածներ. Թիֆլիս, 1898.
 - * Շիրմազանեան Գ. – Ասրի-րեզ եւ Գիւքի. Կոռնկ, 1862, page 896-930, 1863, page 113-137
 - * Կ. Մելիք-Շահնազարեան – Ջուռնա-ամբլա, 2 հատոր. Վազարշապատ, 1907-08
 - * Տիգո – Ղալի աղաթներան պատկերներ. Ճպատըղ քուաղ 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 աշխարհ. 3 հտ. Թիֆլիս, 1895-6
-
- original page number 72
- – Աղքատի հալը
 - – Գիւղի այրին
 - Gandzak subdialect

- * 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՛յլմ նօր ըս գի՛ւղում, Է՛րկու տըռնան (տարիէն) ի՛վիլ ա վրեր Նըրքը-Շընա՛ցա մին մա՛րթու-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՛ վ բօ՛յալ բուսա՛թալ, վըեր յէ՛շըմ ըս քէ՛փըտ կյա՛ մ ա:
 - Դէ վըեր ըտի՛-յ-տ (այդպես է), լա՛ 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 գէ՛ցած. գի՛ղալ չըլալ խօստօ՛վանքը հա՛ղօրթը հի՛նչ ա: Գենցալ 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 «հինչ ուր կա՛րըս, կի գինըս ժամ, քահանան քի հինչ վօր կա՛սի ՚դու ալ էն կա՛սըս»: Վանետը գինե՛ցալ ա ժամ, ասալ ա. «Ա՛ր դէր, ինձ ...

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... խօստօվանցրու վօր պտը ա հաղօրթվում»: Քահանան ասալ ա. «վօ՛րթի չօ՛քի». Վանետն ալ ասալ ա «վօ՛րթի չօ՛քի»: Քահանան ասալ ա «իրե՛սեդ խա՜չակընքի. ասի մե՛ղա Աստծու». Էն ալ ասալ ա «իրե՛սեդ խա՜չակընքի, 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՛թէն Վանետը ձե՛ռքը թա՛քուն տա՛րալ ա դէ՛րէն ջուրը, սհա՛թը հանալ ա: Քահանան տէ՛սալ ա վօր հինչ վօր ըսի՛լիս ա՝ Էն ալ ըսի՛լիս, սկսալ ա Վանետէ թա՛կի: Վանետն ալ դէ՛րէն ա թա՛կալ: Վանետը փա՛խալ ա քուչան, մա՛րթըրը տէ՛սալ ըն, հըցրալ. «Ա՛ր մարթ, խե՞-յ-ըս փխչի՛լիս». – «Ախր խօստօվանված ըմ». ի՛նդի ի՛լալ գիղալիս վօր խօստօվանվողը կը փա՛խչի: Յե՛տէն քահանան ձե՛ռքը տա՛րալ ա ջո՛ւբը՝ սհա՛թէն յեշի՛լու, տէ՛սալ ա վօր ջուբո՛ւմը չի: «Է՛յ անիծած, խօստօվանքէն 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, մնի անըմը Կայան, մեկէլինը Աբէլ: 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, Աբէլը չօբան: Նրանք էլ մեզ պէս՝ չօռի ու ցափի ժամանակ Ասծուն միտներն էն քըցըմ ուզըմ էն մտղանա տալ...: Ասծու օխնած Աբէլը վօջխարը բերըմ ա դիւզըմը կըղնըցընըմ, երիսին խաչ քաշըմ ու վօջխարի միջից՝ սրտալի մի թուխը-սախար վօջխար ա ջօկըմ, ձեռաց վէ քըցըմ մօրթէն, փետ ու կրակ անըմ սկսըմ խրօվէլ: Օց Կայանը, Ա՛ստօծ անըծի Նրան, կալը Նօր քամած՝ ցօրէնը կիտած ա ըլըմ. սա վեր ա կալըմ անսիրտ-անսիրտ ցօրէնը խախալըմ, տակ ու գլուխը 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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Պոռթօղ-մոռթօղ, տակ ու գլուխ տվօղ Կայանի վրա Աստվածաբար չրանըմ ա ու նրա ցօրէնի հասկէրն անըծըմ, թէ «Թօղ քու ցօրէնը մի հասկանի մա»:

Կայանը տէնալով վօր Աստօծ Աբէլի դօլը պահէց, մի օր՝ Աբէլոյն՝ վօչխարի 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՛ սպանըմ: 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,
Հոքին 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,
Վէտը տրել ա փուշին,
Եըրանի ընդիւր կի՛լի
Թուշի տրել ա սրածին:

¹⁴[[The original page had <եմ>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this should be <եմ>..]]

Ջուրս կեծ 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 պիծի տեգաւս,
 Յրուած խելքդ տոն պիրեմ:

Սրերի խինձը ի՛նչ անի,
 Կաթնով բրինձը ի՛նչ անի,
 Իւրիւր սիրել ենք կառնենք,
 Ուրըշի խօսք ու գրիցն ինչ անի:

Տիւ կաղնել ես կիւթանիա,
 Շիրմըշըղի պերանիա,
 Տիւ պարակ, մէջքդ պարակ,
 Ղօլ քընամ ջէյրան ջանիդ:

10.6.5 Zangezur subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Ազգ. Հանդ., Դ. Էջ 115.

Դարուագին տակը սառալ ա
 Մատներս դալամ դարալ ա
 Թոխ եախաւոր, բոզ չուխաւոր
 Օշս 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 մըշտըլըդ,
 Սիմօն եարը կալիս է:

Chapter 10 Karabakh

Վրրթիվերիս 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/ <ət>. The sound /f/ <ɸ> 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/ <ու>

Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> became Shamakhi /ʏ/ <իւ> as in Table 1.

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /ʏ/ <իւ> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|-------|------------|--------|---------|-------|
| ‘you (NOM)’ | du | դու | ty | տիւ | du | դու |
| ‘outside’ | durs | դուրս | tyʂ | տիւս | durs | դուրս |
| ‘tongue’ | lezu | լեզու | lyzy | լիւզիւ | lezu | լեզու |

11.2.3.1.2 Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ>

Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ> became Shamakhi /ʏ/ <իւ> as in Table 2.

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ոյ> to /ʏ/ <իւ> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | lys | լիւս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘sister’ | k ^h ojr | քոյր | k ^h ʏr | քիւր | k ^h ujr | քույր |
| ‘blue’ | kapojt | կապոյտ | k ^j æpyt | կյւսիւս | kapujt | կապույտ |

11.2.3.1.3 Classical Armenian /ɑṭ/ <ւյ>

Classical Armenian /ɑṭ/ <ւյ> became Shamakhi /ɑ, æ, e/ <ւ, ü, է> as in Table 3.

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṭ/ <ւյ> to /ɑ, æ, e/ <ւ, ü, է> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|---------|------------|-------|---------|---------|
| ‘this’ | ɑṭs | ւյս | æs | üü | ɑjs | ւյս |
| ‘long’ | erkɑṭn | երկւայն | ergan | երqան | jerkaṭn | երկւայն |
| ‘father’ | haṭr | հայր | her | հէր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘mother’ | maṭr | 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’ | ɑdʒik-ən | աղջիկն | ɑxtʰig-i | ախջիհի | ɑxtʰik-ə | աղջիկը |
| ‘to listen’ | | | mitig anil | միտիգ անիլ | mətik anel | մտիկ անել |
| ‘neck-DIM-POSS.2SG’ | | | viz-ik-is | վիզիհիս | vəz-ik-əs | վզիկս |
| ‘he-DEF’ | ink ^h -ən | ինքն | ink ^h -i | ի՛նքի | in ^h k ^h -ə | 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/ <ո> 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 /ɑʊ/ as in /ɑʊo/), 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/ <too> when next to soft vowels.

[[*I assume Adjarian’s transcription <too> /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/ <oo, too> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|---|------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|
| ‘necessary’ | harkawor | հարկաւոր | harkoor | հարկօօր | harkavor | հարկավոր |
| ‘baptized’ | kənk ^h awor | կնքաւոր | kənk ^h oor | կնքօօր | kəŋk ^h avor | կնքավոր |
| ‘graceful (CA), congratulations (SEA)’ | ʃənorhawor | շնորհաւոր | ʃənoor | շնօօր | ʃənoravor | շնորհավոր |
| ‘morning’ | arawayt | առաւաւտ | aroot | առօօտ | aravot | առավոտ |
| ‘to be housed’ | | | tnoorvil | տնօօրվիլ | tənavorvel | տնավորվել |
| ‘knife-bearing’ | danakawor | դանակաւոր | tənaeg ^h œor | տաննագիթօօր | danakavor | 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’ | d̂zaxd̂zaxel | ջախջախել | t̂fət̂fexel | ճճճեխել | d̂zaxd̂zaxel | 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 | երախայուդիւն | araxat ^h un | արախաթուն | jerexajut ^h jun | երեխայուդյուն |

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 | կլօխ | gəlux | գլուխ |
| ‘to bring’ | berel | բերել | peril | պերիլ | berel | բերել |
| ‘snake’ | od̂z | օձ | ots | օծ | ots ^h | օձ |
| ‘water-mill’ | d̂zəraʔats ^h | ջրաղաց | t̂ʃaʔats ^h | ճաղաց | d̂zəraʔats ^h | ջրաղաց |
| ‘ear’ | akand̂z | ականջ | angod̂z | անգօջ | akand̂z | 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’ | aḏz̥ik | աղջիկ | aχtʃ ^h ig | ախչիգ | aχtʃ ^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 | æ s k ^h ife | ւս քիշէ | ajs gifer | այս գիշեր |
| ‘to go up’ | ver, elanél | վեր, ելանել | véllil | վէ՛լլիլ | 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’ | intʃ ^h | իսչ | hintʃ ^h | հիսչ | intʃ ^h | իսչ |
| ‘who’ | ov | ով | hov | հով | ov | ով |
| ‘when’ | erb | երբ | hep ^h | հէփ | jerp ^h | երբ |
| ‘tail’ | agí | ագի | hæk ^h i | հաւքի | agí | ագի |

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 | táernə | տա՛ռնը | dárən | դառն |
| | ‘fish’ | ḏzúkən | ծուկն | ṭsýgni | ծի՛ղկի | ḏzúk | ծուկ |
| | ‘mouse’ | múkən | մուկն | múknə | մո՛կնը | múk | մուկ |
| | ‘milk’ | kát ^h ən | կաթն | kát ^h nə | կա՛թնը | kat ^h | կաթ |
| | ‘pomegranate’ | núrən | նուռն | nórnə | նո՛ռնը | 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’ | teḡ-an | տեղան | teḡ-its ^h | տեղից |
| ‘childhood-ABL’ | araχat ^h un-an | արախաթունան | jereχajut ^h jun-its ^h | երեխայոյությունից |

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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/ <ou>

The instrumental uses the formative /-ov/ <ou>, while the Karabakh dialect has /-av/ <au> (Table 15).

Table 15: Instrumentals with /-ov/ <ou> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. Karabakh | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| ‘mouth-INS’ | peran-óv | պերանօվ | piráen-av | պիրանաւ | beran-ón | բերանով |
| ‘hand-INS’ | ts ^h ek ^h -óv | ցեքօվ | tsérk ^h -av | ծէրքաւ | dzerk ^h -ón | ծեռքով |

11.3.1.3 Locative marking with /-əm, -im/ <ru, ru>

The locative formative /-um/ <nu> is shortened to /əm/ <ru> and then became /im/ <ru> because of the rule of harmony (սերդաշնակուլթեան օրէնքով) (Table 16).

Table 16: Locatives with /-əm, -im/ <ru, ru> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------------|----------|--------|----------|---------|
| ‘thing-LOC-DEF’ | pæn-ím-i | պանիմի | ban-úm-ə | բանումը |

11.3.1.4 Vowel harmony of the definite article /ə/ <ru>

Based on the rule of vowel harmony, the article is /-ə/ <ru> (or /-i/ <ru>), and /-n/ <ru> (Table 17).

Table 17: Vowel harmony of the definite article /ə/ <ru> to /-i/ <ru> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| ‘heart-DEF’ | sárt-ə | սըրտը | sírt-ə | սիրտը |
| ‘mind-DEF’ | mátk-ə | մըտկը | mít ^h k-ə | միտքը |
| ‘hand-DEF’ | ts ^h ék ^h -ə | ցէքը | džérk ^h -ə | ծեռքը |
| ‘girl-DEF’ | aχtj ^h íg-i | ախչիգի | aχtj ^h ík-ə | աղջիկը |
| ‘voice-DEF’ | tsæ̃n-i | ծանի | džáj ^h n-ə | ծայլը |

The same process occurs next to the possessive suffixes (դիմորոշներուն քով) from CA /-s, -d, -n/ <u, ɲ, u> (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’ | tsæn-it ^h | ծաւնիթ | ḍzājn-ət | ծայնդ |
| ‘heart-POSS.1SG’ | sərt-əs | սըրտըս | sírt-əs | սիրտս |
| ‘mind-POSS.1SG’ | mátk-əs | մըտկըս | mít ^h -əs | միտքս |
| ‘thing-POSS.1SG’ | pæn-it ^h | պաւնիթ | 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’ | pæn-it ^h | պաւնիթ | ban-ət | բանդ |
| ‘thing-GEN-POSS.1SG’ | pæn-í-t ^h | պաւնի’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 jɛu | ty uɪɫ | na ɫu | mek ^h ɟɛɸ | tyk ^h uɪɫɸ | nrank ^h ɫɾuɫɸ |
| GEN | im ɪɟ | k ^h u ɸnɫ | nra ɫɾu | mer ɟɛɾ | tser ɟɛɾ | nrank ^h ɫɾuɫɸ |
| DAT | indz, indz-i ɪɫɟ, ɪɫɟɪ | k ^h ez, k ^h ez-i ɸɛq, ɸɛqɪ | nran ɫɾuɫ | mez, mez-i ɟɛq, ɟɛqɪ | tsez, tsez-i ɟɛq, ɟɛqɪ | nrank ^h ɫɾuɫɸ |
| ABL | indz-an-a ɪɫɟanɫ | k ^h ez-an-a ɸɛqanɫ | nran-a ɫɾuɫɫ | mez-an-a ɟɛqanɫ | tsez-an-a ɟɛqanɫ | nrank ^h -an-a ɫɾuɫɸanɫ |
| INS | indz-an-ov ɪɫɟanɔɟ | k ^h ez-an-ov ɸɛqanɔɟ | nran-ov ɫɾuɫɔɟ | mez-an-ov ɟɛqanɔɟ | tsez-an-ov ɟɛqanɔɟ | nrank ^h -an-ov ɫɾuɫɸanɔɟ |

11.3.2.2 Repeated addition of the formative /-ik/ <ɪɫ>

The pronouns also have another interesting form which is unique to this dialect. Here, this is the addition of formative /-ik/ <ɪɫ>. 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’ | ɑ̇is | ɑjs | ɑjs | այս |
| medial ‘that’ | ɑ̇id | ɑjd | ɑjt ^h | այդ |
| distal ‘that yonder’ | ɑ̇in | ɑjn | ɑjn | այն |
| b. Complex demonstratives | | | | |
| proximal ‘this’ | | | is-ik asiga | ɑ̇is իսիկ ասիկա այսորիկ այսմիկ |
| | ɑ̇isor-ik ɑ̇ism-ik | | | |
| medial ‘that’ | | | it-ik ad-iga | իտիկ ատիկա |

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 | յէս | PRO |
| | jes-ig | յէսիգ | PRO-? |
| | jes-ig-is | յէսիգիս | PRO-?-POSS.1SG |
| | jes-ig-ig-is | յէսիգիգիս | PRO-?-?-POSS.1SG |
| | jes-ig-ig-ig-is | յէսիգիգիգիս | 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 | քեզանիկյան | PRO-NX-?-ABL |
| 2SG ‘you’ (INS) | k ^h ez-an-ig ⁱ -æv | քեզանիկյեով | PRO-NX-?-INS |
| 1SG ‘mine’ | im-ig-is | իմի՛կիս | PRO-?-POSS.1SG |
| 1SG ‘I’ (ACC, DAT) | indz-ig-i-s | ինծիկիս | PRO-?-DAT-POSS.1SG |
| | indz-ig-i-n | ինծիկին | PRO-?-DAT-DEF |
| 1SG ‘I’ (ABL) | indz-an-ig ⁱ -æ-s | ինծանիկյանս | PRO-NX-?-ABL-POSS.1SG |
| | indz-an-ig ⁱ -æn | ինծանիկյան | PRO-NX-?-ABL |
| 1SG ‘I’ (INS) | indz-an-ig ⁱ -æov | ինծանիկյեով | PRO-NX-?-INS |
| | indz-an-ig ⁱ -æov-is | ինծանիկյեովիս | PRO-NX-?-INS-POSS.1SG |
| 3SG ‘he’ | nran-ig-i | նրանի՛կի | PRO-?-DEF |
| 3SG ‘he’ (ABL) | nran-ig-æn | նրանիկյան | PRO-?-ABL |
| 3PL ‘they’ (ABL) | nran-ts ^h -an-ig ⁱ -æn | նրանցանիկյան | PRO-NX-?-ABL |
| 1PL ‘we’ | mek ^h -ner-ig ⁱ -is | մեքների՛կիս | PRO-PL-?-POSS.1SG |
| | mek ^h -ner-ig-ig-ig ⁱ -is | մեքներիկիկի՛կիս | PRO-PL-?-?-POSS.1SG |
| 2PL ‘you’ | tyk ^h -ner-ig-ig-ig ⁱ -it ^h | տիկներիկիկի՛կիթ | 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՛կի
- b. viz-ig-is
 neck-?-POSS.1SG
 ‘my little neck’
 վիկի՛կիս

[[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 տէզտի | Shamakhi |
| b. | k ^h ez-eti քէզէտի | mez-eti մէզէտի | tsez-eti տէզէտի | Shamakhi |
| c. | k ^h ez heti քէզ հէտի | mez heti մէզ հէտի | tsez heti տէզ հէտի | Shamakhi (?) |
| d. | k ^h əz hête քըզ հէտէ | məz hête մըզ հէտէ | təsəz hête 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 /ɑ/ <ւ>

For the copular verb in the present tense, the Classical Armenian sound /e/ <է> sound becomes /ɑ/ <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 | եք |
| 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/ <ɯ> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | | |
|------------|--|---------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| ‘to say’ | as-i-l-i | ասիլի | as-e-l-u | ասելլու | √-TH-INF-DAT |
| ‘to throw’ | k ^h its ^h -i-l-i | քիցիլի | gəts ^h -e-l-u | գցելլու | √-TH-INF-DAT |
| ‘to die’ | mer-n-e-l-i | մեռնելի | mer-n-e-l-u | մեռնելլու | √-VX-TH-INF-DAT |

11.3.3.1.5 Causative suffix /-ts^hu/ <gnɮ>

The causative (անցողական) formative is /-ts^hu/ <gnɮ> (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-a-ts ^h un-a-m | մօտացունամ | Sh. |
| | mot-e-ts ^h n-e-m | մոտեցնեմ | SEA |
| | √-LV-CAUS-TH-1SG | | |
| ‘to lose’ (?) | k ^h or-a-ts ^h un-i-l | քօռացունիլ | Sh. |
| | kor-ts ^h n-e-l | կորցնել | SEA |
| | √-(LV)-CAUS-TH-INF | | |
| ‘he has fed’ (?) | ut-a-ts ^h ur-al a | ուտացուրալ ա | Sh. |
| | ut-e-ts ^h r-el e | ուտեցրել է | SEA |
| | √-LV-CAUS-PERF.CVB AUX | | |
| ‘I have delivered’ (?) | has-a-ts ^h ur-al a-m | հասացուրալ ամ | Sh. |
| | has-ts ^h r-el e-m | հասցրել եմ | SEA |
| | √-LV-CAUS-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG | | |
| (?) | hang-a-ts ^h ur-i-Ø | հանգացուրի | Sh. |
| | √-LV-CAUS-PST-1SG | | |
| ‘we have raised’ (?) | part ^h s ^h r-a-ts ^h ur-al a-nk ^h | պարցրացուրալ անք | Sh. |
| | bart ^h s ^h r-a-ts ^h r-el e-ŋk ^h | բարծրացրել ենք | SEA |
| | √-LV-CAUS-PERF.CVB AUX-1PL | | |

After soft vowels ([*I think Adjarian means after front vowels (?)*]), the sound /a/ <ա> becomes /æ/ <ււ> (Table 29).

Table 29: Vowel fronting for /a/ <ա> in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| ‘I do’ | an-əm æ-m | անըմ ււմ | an-um e-m | անում եմ | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG |
| ‘done’ | il-æł | իււլ | el-el | եղել | √-PERF.CVB |
| ‘he has thrown’ | k ^h its ^h -æł æ | քիցալ ււ | gəts ^h -el e | գցել է | √-PERF.CVB 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 <ներկայ> 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-r | սիրըմ իր | sir-um ej-i-r | 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 էս | sir-el e-s | սիրել էս |
| 3SG | sir-al a | սիրալ ա | sir-el e | սիրել է |
| 1PL | sir-al a-nk ^h | սիրալ անք | sir-el e-ηk | սիրել ենք |
| 2PL | sir-al e-k ^h | սիրալ էք | sir-el e-k ^h | սիրել էք |
| 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 <գերակատար> 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 <ապանի> 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 ապանի> 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-ts ^h -i-Ø սիրեցի √-TH-AOR-PST-AGR | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø սիրեցի √-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-Ø սիրա | sir-i-Ø 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.]]

Table 38: Subjunctive past <ստորադասական անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Shamakhi dialect

| | Shamakhi | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|--------------|-------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1SG | sir-Ø-i-Ø | սիրի | sir-ej-i-Ø | սիրեի ‘(if) I liked’ |
| 2SG | sir-Ø-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 | սիրելլ | √-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 (Թատերագիր 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-վոդյվիլ). Բագու, 1899
 - * – Մկիճի հարսանիքը (պիես 1 գործ). Բագու, 1903
 - Ս. Գարագաշ – Զաղցած փեսանրը եւ Գեօգարջիկի 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.

Խէխճ ապեր: Ղուշըտ դմֆանսան փախալ ա, մնացալ էս յերվիլօվ: Ինձ հար-
ցունես, մեղայ Աստու, ուզում ամ ասամ լափ տեղն ա: Մարթս պետկանամ պանի
լմվ ֆիքիր անի: Ալջան լմվ պտուղ ա, համա դէ նրա չհասածը այնա մին գմիր-
մար: Իրիւշ պան ամ նրա հասածը. վօր տիկիմ էս Էրկու ազուխտ արանքըմը
հուպ տամ, շրախկօցը գյեօզն ամ պանցրանըմ: Տիւ ապերս, ասա, ինքիտ մեծ
հօրս յաշըմը, քինանցալ էս մին կնիգլ էս տռալ քի վօտը հմլւմ հերու չէ մեկալ
տարի փայիգին տասնութումը տիրմվ: Իլիր Մկիճի պէս: Ինքիս քսանօխտ տա-
րական, ...

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... ախչիգ ամ սիրմլ յերեսօխտ տարական: Դէ ուղօրթ ա, յեքուցվան օրը
անանց կնի՛գի ամանց տղին կը թօղնի, քու Շիւշտնիտ պէս հերանց տուն կը
փախչի: Հմր պանիս ամ ամանց ամ: Մտկօվ, խելքօվ, խիտրութունօվ (ռուս.
խօրամանկութեամբ), ջուվալլաղութունօվ (թրք. չարամտութեամբ): Ու՛ֆ, պէ-
րանս հախ ա ուրախ ա խօսըմ, համա սըրտըս մըկըտամ ա: Քու հօր տունի՛գի
բարբաղ իլի. սէր: Տիւի՛գիթ մին ամլմմանթ ցալ էս: Քեգի տեսնամ քի դմրդամահ,
իլէս, սատկէս, տմկէս, չօրանաց, տիգ իլէս կպչէս դուվարան, ամլ պուք չի կյան:
Ա՛չի (թրք. այ մարդ) անջմբ խաթի չընգա՞նք: Տրանա առաչ յես ի սիրաահար-
վօղների վերտ ծըծաղըմ, հիմիգ քի ինձ ամ միտիգ անըմ, լափ ծեր արեվ, ծըծաղ
քի չէ, խէխս ա կյամ ինձ, խէխս: Ախր Մկիճը հօ՛վ, սէրը հօվ: Մկիճը հորդէ՛,
Անթառանը հորդէ՛: Տէս՝ պանի հորդէ ա հասալ, քի Անթառանիս վերտ շարաթ-
րանք ալ ամ կիրմլ: ... Անգօջ տիր, տես հինչ սըրտի կանձ խօսկեր ա:

Մագերթ սեվ հիւլետօր հիւլետօր,

Պռօշներըտ կըլօր կըլօր:

Ժամի տուռնան լէն ուսերիտ,

Մատաղ արա, ա՛ս Մկիճիտ:

Անթառանս հալ կը խաշի,

Հօրի մէջան ճիւր կը քաշի:

Հաստ կռները սըրտ կը մաշի,

Մատաղ կանի աս Մկիճին:

Տափը սիպտանգ նախշ ունքերիտ,
Շէկ մազերով խելունք կլխիտ,
Տեղին խունգի յերդան վիզիտ,
Թող փըթաթվի աս Մկիճիտ:

Ճակատըտ ա վօսկի հէյլի,
Յէս Մեժլում ամ, տիւ մին Լէյլի,
Վօր քեզ հազար սիրօղ իլի,
Ցէքըտ մէկնիր աս Մկիճիտ:

Յէս ծեր բախչին բաղ ամ ասըմ.
Յէկ քաշամք դամաղ ամ ասըմ.
Չարգարի պէս հաղ ամ ասըմ,
Ցէք մի՛ քիցիլ աս 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 patkan-jan/]]); see his Երկասիրութիւնները (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 (Աստորախանցի 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’ | d̥zur | ջուր | t̥fur | ճուր | d̥zur | ջուր |
| ‘to put’ | dənel | դնել | tinel | տինել | dənel | դնել |
| ‘wool’ | burd | բուրդ | purt ^h | պուրթ | burt ^h | բուրդ |
| ‘sound’ | d̥zaj̄n | ծայն | t̥sen | ծեն | d̥zaj̄n | ծայն |
| ‘egg’ | d̥zu | ծու | t̥su | ծու | d̥zu | ծու |

- (1) a. Astrakhan
 ing-n-əm e-m
 fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I fall.’
 ինգնում եմ
- b. cf. SEA
 ənk-n-um e-m
 fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I fall.’
 ընկնում եմ

Among vowels, the sounds /æ, ʏ, œ/ <ü, իւ, եօ> 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 /ɑḵ/ <ω>

Classical Armenian /ɑḵ/ <ω> became /e/ <է> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑḵ/ <ω> to /e/ <է> in the Astrakhan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Astrakhan | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|---------|-------------|------|---------|------|
| ‘sound’ | ḍzɑḵn | ծալն | tsen | ծէն | ḍzɑḵn | ծալն |
| ‘that’ | ɑḵn | ալն | en | էն | ɑḵn | ալն |
| ‘wide’ | lɑḵn | լալն | len | լէն | lɑḵn | լալն |
| ‘on’ | i verɑḵ | ի վերալ | vere | վերէ | vəra | վրա |

12.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iḡ, oḡ, u/ <ի, ոյ, ու>

Classical Armenian /iḡ, oḡ, u/ <ի, ոյ, ու> became /u/ <ու> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /iḡ, oḡ, u/ <ի, ոյ, ու> to /e/ <ու> in the Astrakhan dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Astrakhan | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------|---------|
| ‘hundred’ | hariḡ | հարիւր | harur | հարուր | harjur | հարյուր |
| ‘light’ | loḡs | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujs | լոյս |
| ‘fish’ | ḍzukaḡn | ծուկն | tsuknə | ծուկը | ḍzuk | 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 /metʃ^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’ | atf ^h k ^h -ov | աչքով | atf ^h k ^h -ov | աչքով |
| ‘inside-LOC-(DEF)’ | metf ^h -əm-ə | մէջըմը | metf ^h -um | մէջում |
| ‘place-LOC’ | teχ-əm | տեղում | teχ-um | տեղում |

In the excerpts from Patkanian, the ablative uses the Karabakh system with the forms /-ɑ, -an/ <ա, աւ>. 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/ <-աւնց>.*]]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 | յէս |
| personal 2SG NOM ‘you’ | tu | տոս |
| personal 3SG NOM ‘he’ | en | էն |
| personal 1SG ABL ‘from me’ | indz-an-its ^h | ինձանից |
| personal 1PL DAT ‘to us’ | mez-i | մէզի |
| personal 1PL LOC ‘in us’ | mez-an-əm | մէզանըմ |
| 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’ | sra ^h nts ^h | սրանց |
| demonstrative medial PL ACC ‘those’ | tra ^h nts ^h | տրանց |
| demonstrative medial PL ABL ‘those’ | tra ^h nts ^h -its ^h | տրանցից |
| demonstrative proximal SG GEN ‘this’ | estur | էստուր |
| demonstrative proximal PL NOM ‘these’ | estunk ^h | էստունք |

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 | հօվից ^օ |
| ‘who’ (PL) | hov-er | հօվէ՞ր |
| ‘to who’ (PL-DAT) | hov-er-i | հօվերի ^օ |
| ‘from who’ (PL-ABL) | hov-er-its ^h | հօվերից ^օ |

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 | ɛʊ | e-m | ɛʊ |
| 2SG 'you are' | e-s | ɛu | e-s | ɛu |
| 3SG 'he is' | ɑ | ʊ | e | ɛ |
| 1PL 'we are' | e-nk ^h | ɛnɔ | e-ŋk ^h | ɛnɔ |
| 2PL 'you are' | e-k ^h | ɛɔ | e-k ^h | ɛɔ |
| 3PL 'they are' | e-n | ɛu | e-n | ɛu |
| | AUX-AGR | | AUX-AGR | |

12.3.3.2 Indicative present forms

The formative ([*[of the imperfective converb]]*) is /-əʎ, -is/ <ɛʊ, ɛu> (2).

(2) Astrakhan

- a. ɑs-əʎ e-m
say-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
'I say.'
ʊʊɛʊ ɛʊ
- b. ɫs-əʎ e-m
hear-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
'I hear.'
ɫɛʊ ɛʊ
- c. ɪŋg-n-əʎ ɑ
fall-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX
'He falls.'
ɪŋgɛʊ ʊ
- d. k-ɑ-l-is e-nk^h
come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1PL
'We are coming.'
kɑɫɪɪ ɛnɔ

- e. lats^h e-k^h il-əṃ
 cry AUX-2PL be-IMPF.CVB
 ‘You.PL are crying.’
 Լաց էք իլըմ
- f. tʃ^h-e-n ls-əṃ
 NEG-AUX-2PL hear-IMPF.CVB
 ‘They don’t hear.’
 չեն 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-ɑ-m ɑ
 come-TH-? AUX
 ‘He comes.’
 կամ
- ii. k-ɑ-l-is ɑ
 come-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He comes.’
 կալիս ա
- b. i. t-ɑ-m ɑ
 give-TH-? AUX
 ‘He gives.’
 տամ ա
- ii. t-ɑ-l-is ɑ
 give-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He gives.’
 տալիս ա

The verbs with the vowel /u/ <նւ> get the formative /-um/ <նւմ> (4).

(4) Astrakhan

- a. uz-um e-m
 want-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I want.’
 ուզում եմ

- b. uz-um α
 want-IMPF.CVB AUX
 ‘He wants.’
 nɪqɪɫɪ ʊ

12.3.3.3 Vowel assimilation (/e/ <ɛ> to /i/ <ɪ>) and past /-m/ <ɪ>

In the imperfective, the sound /e/ <ɛ> becomes /i/ <ɪ> when before an /i/ <ɪ>.

Besides this, it receives the first person formative /-m/ <ɪ> 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 | ɪɪɪ | e-i-∅ | ɛɪ | ej-i-∅ | ɛɪ |
| 2SG ‘you were’ | i-i-r | ɪɪɪ | e-i-r | ɛɪɪ | ej-i-r | ɛɪɪ |
| 3SG ‘he was’ | e-∅-r | ɛɪ | e-∅-r | ɛɪ | e-∅-r | ɛɪ |
| 1PL ‘we were’ | i-i-nk ^h | ɪɪɪɫ | e-i-ɲk ^h | ɛɪɪɫ | ej-i-ɲk ^h | ɛɪɪɫ |
| 2PL ‘you were’ | i-i-k ^h | ɪɪɪ | e-i-k ^h | ɛɪɪ | ej-i-k ^h | ɛɪɪ |
| 3PL ‘they were’ | i-i-n | ɪɪɪ | e-i-n | ɛɪɪ | ej-i-n | ɛɪɪ |
| | 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’ | ɪ ^h -i-i-m | ɛɪɪɪ | ɪ ^h -ej-i-∅ | ɛɛɪ |
| 2SG ‘you were not’ | ɪ ^h -i-i-r | ɛɪɪɪ | ɪ ^h -ej-i-r | ɛɛɪɪ |
| 3SG ‘he was not’ | ɪ ^h -e-∅-r | ɛɛɪ | ɪ ^h -e-∅-r | ɛɛɪ |
| 1PL ‘we were not’ | ɪ ^h -i-i-nk ^h | ɛɪɪɪɫ | ɪ ^h -ej-i-ɲk ^h | ɛɛɪɪɫ |
| 2PL ‘you were not’ | ɪ ^h -i-i-k ^h | ɛɪɪɪ | ɪ ^h -ej-i-k ^h | ɛɛɪɪ |
| 3PL ‘they were not’ | ɪ ^h -i-i-n | ɛɪɪɪ | ɪ ^h -ej-i-n | ɛɛɪɪ |
| | NEG-AUX-PST-AGR | | NEG-AUX-PST-AGR | |

[[See (5) for examples of assimilation and 1SG /-m/ in conjugation.]]

- (5) a. Astrakhan
- i. as-əm e-i-m
say-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I was saying.'
ասըմ էիմ
 - ii. as-əm i-i-m
say-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I was saying.'
ասըմ իիմ
- b. i. Astrakhan
- ing-n-i-i-m, ing-n-i-i-nk^h
fall-VX-TH-PST-1SG, fall-VX-TH-PST-1PL
ինգնիիմ, ինգնիինք
 - ii. cf. SEA
əŋk-n-ej-i-Ø, əŋk-n-ej-i-ŋk^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
- kə-χաթ-aj-i-m, k-ert^h-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
kə-χաթ-aj-i-Ø, k-ert^h-aj-i-Ø, kə-ber-ej-i-Ø
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-a-ts ^h -i-m | ասացիմ | as-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | ասացի |
| 'I went' | kn-a-ts ^h -i-m | կնացիմ | gən-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | գնացի |
| 'I liked' | sir-e-ts ^h -i-m | սիրեցիմ | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | սիրեցի |
| | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG | | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG | |
| 'I said' | as-a-m | ասամ | as-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | ասացի |
| 'I gave' | tv-a-m | տվամ | təv-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | տվեցի |
| 'I brought' | per-a-m | պերամ | ber-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | բերեցի |
| 'I called' | kantj ^h -a-m | կանչամ | kantj ^h -e-ts ^h -i-Ø | կանչեցի |
| 'I put (PST)' | tir-a-m | տիրամ | dər-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | դրեցի |
| 'I removed' (?) | han-a-m | հանամ | han-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | հանեցի |
| 'I allowed' | t ^h oɤ-a-m | թողամ | t ^h oɤ-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | թողեցի |
| | √-PST-1SG | | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG | |
| 'I came' | ek-a-m | եկամ | jek-a-Ø | եկա |
| 'I found' | k ^h t ^h -a-m | քթամ | gət-a-Ø | գտա |
| 'I took' | ar-a-m | առամ | ar-a-Ø | առա |
| | √-PST-1SG | | √-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 a
like-PERF.CVB AUX
'I have liked.'
սիրելի ա
- b. ek-el e-i-m
come-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I had come.'
ելելի էիմ

- c. k^ht^h-el e-s
 find-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG
 'You have found.'
 pɒɐtɪ tʊ
- d. ing-el e-n
 fall-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 'They have fallen.'
 ɪnqɐtɪ tʊ
- e. tʃ^h-i-i-m ɪs-el
 NEG-AUX-PST-1SG hear-PERF.CVB
 'I had not listened.'
 zɪɪɪɪ 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.'
 ʊmʊʊʊʊʊʊ ɪɪɪ

The reflex of the verb /linel/ <ɪɪnɐtɪ> 'to be' uses the formative /ɐɪ/ <ɪɪɪ> in order to distinguish between the consonants (7).⁵

(7) Astrakhan

- a. il-ɐɪ e-n
 be-PERF.CVB AUX-3PL
 'They have been.'
 ɪɪɪɪɪ tʊ
- b. il-ɐɪ ʌ
 be-PERF.CVB AUX
 'He has been.'
 ɪɪɪɪɪ ʊ
- c. il-e-ɪ-u ʌ
 be-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX
 'He will be.'
 ɪɪɪɪɪɪ ʊ

⁵[[Adjarian treats the verb in (7c) as made up of a past participle or perfective converb. However, his SEA translation /linelu e/ <ɪɪnɐtɪɪɪ> 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 /el/ <ել> or /er/ <եր> 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 | տնելի | dən-e-l-u | դնելու |
| ‘to speak’ (GEN) | χos-e-l-i | խօսելի | χos-e-l-u | խոսելու |
| ‘to sew’ (GEN) | kar-e-l-i | կարելի | kar-e-l-u | կարելու |
| | √-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 Լեքսէյ Իվանիճի տղան էր Էկել, Միշան. կընըմ էր Պետրով-վըծկա: Զէրը Էկաւ. դէ մեր տուն ցած Էկավ. ա (Ռուս. իսկ) առաւօտը իննը սահաթին պրօխօղը կընըմ ա: Դէ սաղ քէր խօսանք, իօրը հարցրամ. հէ՛յ գիդի տարիներ. ի՛նչ քէներ 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 բագաժը ըղըրգանք, ութին կէս կար, ծի վեր առանք, տուս Էկանք: Սամի առաչինը պէրամ սրան Պետրով-Պօղոսի ժամի խաչելութիւնի պատկերքը շանց տալի: Շատ հաւանաւ. ասըմ ա հովի՞ ծեռքաճուրն ա: Չեմ մանըմ, ասըմ

Էմ, Րաֆայելինն ա, թե 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 պոնել ա՝ Էրեսին լակ ա քսել տվել: Ադա Ես խօսքս ասելը իմացամ, տա վերես պաց չի ինգնի՞լ. քի «այս ի՞նչ վանդալութի՛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: Դե 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 տուռիծ նորոքելի վախտին տըրան Էլ բելիտ Էն արել. ա՛յ, ասըմ էմ, մին հետ Էր բելիտ անեն՝ ստակ կբարաբարվի:

Ադա սա թագադանիծ չի թընդըլի՞լ:

– Սա հնոութիւն ա, ասըմ ա, ի՞նչպէս կարելի-յ-ա ոնչընացնել. 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 խօսեր. Ես՞ կրածի համար Էր:

– Ստեղ ուժ Ես ինքս տաքացում. ներողութիւն, ասըմ էմ, շատ իզուր Ես մեղի Եսպես 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, ոխչով 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: Կանաք, 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, տուռից Էլ բելիտ կանենք. մին փոքր կէսատ մնացած պան կա:

⁶[[The original page had <կս>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that this should be <էս>; I fixed it.]]

– Բէս սա՞ ինչ ա, հարցնում ա ինձանից, հովի՞ տունն ա:

– Մերն ա, ասում էմ. քասիբանոծինը. քանի տարի եա ասել ա, պետք ա քանդի, թագանը քցի, կործը կեսատ ու մնացել հելէ: – Բէս սա ի՞նչ պան ա, ասում ա, կեսը ճուր, կեսը հող:

– Սա, ասում էմ, մեր կանավն ա, փորում են, 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 անում, քեզի խօ ասա՞մ, որ պրծացրած պան էր ունենք:

– Հա, ասում ա, մին դանա չասովնա ունեն պրծացրած. ինչպէս ա անումը՞:

– Կըտերնայի մատուռ:

Ինքըս էլ փոշմանամ: Ադա սաղ կայնած խալիսը եսթայից էր էնթայից էր, եքքէ ծէնով ծրծախ պաց չեն քըցի՞լ. կասես մին վեդրէ հերման ճուր ածան վերես: Ինքըս էր չի հասկացամ, որ ի՞նչպէս ընդեղիծ տուա էկամ, տուն էկամ: Մուն-չուրի էս սահաթը չէմ կարանում 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 Ղի Սարգիս Գիլանենց).¹ It was published first in the periodical *Krunk Handes* (Armenian: Կրոնկ 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 Կրոնկ հայրց աշխարհին [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 (Պատկանեան) 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’ | hai | hայ | χaj | խայ | haj | hայ |
| ‘bread’ | hats ^h | հաց | χats ^h | խաց | hats ^h | հաց |
| ‘father’ | haiṛ | հայր | χer | խեր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘graceful’ | ʃənorhawor | շնորհաւոր | ʃənaχavor | շնախաւոր | ʃənoravor | շնորհաւոր |
| ‘fear’ | ah | ահ | aχ | ախ | ah | ահ |

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’ | aradʒ | առաջ | haredʒ | հառեջ | aratʃ ^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 /iʏ/ <իւ>

The word-initial /iʏ/ <իւ> sound became /u/ <ու> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Julfa dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Julfa | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|-----|---------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘oil’ | iʏt | իւղ | ux | ուղ | jux | յուղ |
| ‘self’ | iʏr | իւր | ur | ուր | jur | յուր |

13.2.4 Nasal insertion for the word ‘no’ /otʃ^h/

The negative formative from Classical Armenian /otʃ^h/ <ոչ> became /motʃ^h/ <մօջ>. This interesting word is formed in the following way. First, the Classical Armenian word /otʃ^h/ <ոչ> became /votʃ^h/ <վօջ>, as in many dialects of New Armenian. The sound /n/ <ն> was then added to this word to get /vontʃ^h/ <վօնջ>, and this form is used in the Yerevan dialect. The labial (շրթնական) sound /v/ in /vontʃ/ 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) /motʃ^h/ <մօջ>. 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’ | otʃ ^h intʃ ^h | ոչիւնջ | motʃ ^h intʃ ^h , montʃ ^h intʃ ^h | մօջիւնջ մօնջիւնջ | votʃ ^h intʃ ^h | ոչիւնջ |
| ‘no one’ | otʃ ^h ok ^h | ոչ ոք | motʃ ^h ov | մօջօվ | votʃ ^h vok ^h | ոչ ոք |
| ‘no one’s’ | | | motʃ ^h um | մօջում | votʃ ^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/ <է> as in Karabakh, or with the formative /-i/ <ի> as in Yerevan.

The ablative is formed with the formative /-e/ <է>. But for words with the rhyme /-u/ <ու>, the ablative uses the formatives /-its^h/, uts^h/, <ից, ուց> (Table 5).³

Table 5: Ablative in the Julfa dialect

| | Julfa | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|--------|
| ‘house’ | | | tun | տուն |
| ‘house-ABL’ | tən-e | տընէ | tən-its ^h | տնից |
| ‘brook’ | | | aru | առու |
| ‘brook-ABL’ | arv-its ^h | առվից | arv-its ^h | առվից |
| ‘soul’ | | | hok ^{hi} | հոգի |
| ‘soul-ABL’ | χok ^h -uts ^h | խօքուց | hok ^h -uts ^h | հոգուց |

The instrumental formative is the usual formative /-ov/ <ով>, and the locative is /-um/ <ում>.

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 <լառուէ>, 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/ | <էր> | /-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’ | ərɯst-ani | ըռուստանի | rus-ner | ռուսներ |
| ‘hunter’ | | | vorsoɤ | որսող |
| ‘hunter-PL’ | vorsoɤ-ani | վօրսօղանի | vorsoɤ-ner | որսողներ |
| ‘other’ | | | urɨf | ուրիշ |
| ‘other-PL’ | urɨf-ani | ուրիշանի | urɨf-ner | ուրիշներ |
| ‘head’ | | | gəlɯx | գլուխ |
| ‘head-PL-(PL)’ | glɯx-ner-ani | գլուխներանի | gəlɯx-ner | գլուխներ |
| ‘voice’ | | | ḍzɑjn | ծայն |
| ‘voice-PL-(PL)’ | ḍzen-er-ani | ծէներանի | ḍzɑjn-e | ծայներ |
| ‘place’ | | | teɤ | տեղ |
| ‘place-PL’ | teɤ-arenk ^h | տեղարենք | teɤ-er | տեղեր |
| ‘village’ | | | gɯɤɤ | գիւղ |
| ‘village-PL’ | geɤ-arenk ^h | գեղարենք | gɯɤɤ-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' | $\widehat{ind}zne$ | իսծնէ |
| personal 2SG 'from you' | k^hezne | քէզնէ |
| personal 1PL 'from us' | $mezne$ | մէզնէ |
| personal 1PL 'from us' | $mezane$ | մէզանէ |
| personal 2PL 'from you' | $\widehat{d}ezne$ | ծէզնէ |
| personal 2PL 'from you' | $\widehat{d}ezane$ | ծէզանէ |
| demonstrative proximal SG 'from this' | $esti$ | եսոյի |
| demonstrative proximal SG 'from this' | $sorane$ | սօրանէ |
| demonstrative proximal PL 'from these' | $estonts^h\widehat{me}$ | եսոնօցմէ |
| demonstrative proximal PL 'from these' | $sots^h\widehat{ane}$ | սօցանէ |

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' | $urts^hents^h$ | ուրցէնց |
| demonstrative proximal PL GEN 'of these' | $sants^h\widehat{an}$ | սանցան |
| demonstrative medial PL GEN 'of those' | $dants^h\widehat{an}$ | 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 | gn-um e-m | գնում եմ |
| | √-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG | | √-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 | p ^h ax-tj ^h -um e-m | փախչում եմ |
| | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG | | √-VX-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG | |
| 'I was going' | gn-a-man Ø-i-Ø | գնաման ի | gn-um ej-i-Ø | գնում էի |
| | √-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG | |
| 'I was seeing' | tes-man Ø-i-Ø | տեսման ի | tes-n-um ej-i-Ø | տեսնում էի |
| 'I was fleeing' | p ^h ax-man Ø-i-Ø | փախման ի | p ^h ax-tj ^h -um ej-i-Ø | փախչում էի |
| | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-1SG | | √-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 <ներկայ> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

| | Julfa | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| 1SG | gn-a-man a-m | գնաման ամ | gən-um e-m ‘I go’ | գնում եմ |
| 2SG | gn-a-man a-s | գնաման աս | 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 ք | gən-um e-k ^h | գնում եք |
| 3PL | gn-a-man a-n | գնաման ան | gən-um e-n | գնում են |
| | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-AGR | | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-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 ‘I was going’ | գնում էի |
| 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 ք | gən-um ej-i-k ^h | գնում էք |
| 3PL | gn-a-man Ø-i-n | գնաման ին | gən-um ej-i-n | գնում էին |
| | √-TH-IMPF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR | | √-IMPF.CVB AUX-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-ɑ-ts ^h -i-∅ | գնացի | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -i-∅ ‘I went’ | գնացի |
| 2SG | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-r | գնացիր | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -i-r | գնացիր |
| 3SG | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -∅-∅ | գնաց | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -∅-∅ | գնաց |
| 1PL | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-nk ^h | գնացինք | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h | գնացինք |
| 2PL | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-k ^h | գնացիք | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -i-k ^h | գնացիք |
| 3PL | gn-ɑ-ts ^h -i-n | գնացին | gən-ɑ-ts ^h -i-n | գնացին |
| | √-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-ɑ-m | գնամ | gən-ɑ-m ‘(if) I go’ | գնամ |
| 2SG | gn-ɑ-s | գնաս | gən-ɑ-s | գնաս |
| 3SG | gn-ɑ-∅ | գնա | gən-ɑ-∅ | գնա |
| 1PL | gn-ɑ-nk ^h | գնանք | gən-ɑ-ŋk ^h | գնանք |
| 2PL | gn-e-k ^h | գնեք | gən-ɑ-k ^h | գնաք |
| 3PL | gn-ɑ-n | գնան | gən-ɑ-n | գնան |
| | √-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-Ø-i-Ø | զնի | gən-aj-i-Ø ‘(If) I went’ | զնայի |
| 2SG | gn-Ø-i-r | զնիր | gən-aj-i-r | զնայիր |
| 3SG | gn-e-Ø-r | զներ | gən-a-Ø-r | զնար |
| 1PL | gn-Ø-i-nk ^h | զնինք | gən-aj-i-ηk ^h | զնայինք |
| 2PL | gn-Ø-i-k ^h | զնիք | gən-aj-i-k ^h | զնայիք |
| 3PL | gn-Ø-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-Ø-i-Ø | կը զնի |
| | ‘I will like’ | | ‘I was going to like’ | |
| 2SG | kə gn-a-s | կը զնաս | kə gən-Ø-i-r | կը զնիր |
| 3SG | kə gn-a-Ø | կը զնա | kə gən-e-Ø-r | կը զներ |
| 1PL | kə gn-a-nk ^h | կի զնանք | kə gən-Ø-i-nk ^h | կը զնինք |
| 2PL | kə gn-e-k ^h | կը զնեք | kə gən-Ø-i-k ^h | կը զնիք |
| 3PL | kə gn-a-n | կը զնան | kə gən-Ø-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 $/-a\text{-ts}^h/$ sequence.]]

Table 19: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to go’ in the Julfa dialect

| | Julfa | | cf. SEA ‘go!’ | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------|--|-------|------------------|
| 2SG | gn-a-Ø | գնա | gən-a-Ø | գնա | √-TH-IMP.2SG |
| 2PL | gn-a-ts ^h -ek ^h | գնացք | gən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h | գնացք | √-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL |
| | gn-ek ^h | գնեք | | | √-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 | գնալ մի’ | √-TH-INF(?) PROH | Julfa |
| | mí gən-a-Ø | մի’ գնա | PROH √-TH-IMP.2SG | SEA |
| 2PL | gn-a-l m-ek ^h | գնալ մեք | √-TH-INF(?) PROH-IMP.2PL | Julfa |
| | mi gən-a-ts ^h -ek ^h | մի գնացք | 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 <դերբայներ> 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 | ներկայ | 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 Կռունկ, 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 արել քաղաքս, ասաց թե Համադանա մին ամիս ա վոր դուս ամ. յես Համադան իքան՝ Բաղդադա մին խայ յեկավ Համադան, ասաց թե Ըստամբօլու շատ ջաբախանա 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 էր քաշում:

2. Վերօ Հօվսեփն 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 տիրութին առի եւ մենք Ըռուստի դուլուղ առենք:

3. Օգօստօսի 2քումն 2 շամախցի թուրք Թարվիզու շահիցն չափարարել Ըռեշտ՝ վոր գնա Թիմիշանա վեզրին կուշտն: Ես 2 չափարն ասել ան թե՝ Վախտանկ խանըն եւ Կախեթու 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

կոիվ կը տան, վոր Օսմանցու ասկարէն շատ ջառթել ան. մնացյալն փախել ա եւ մին փաշէն ուր ասկարովն մին դայիմ տեղ ա՝ վոր կարել չէն գրիշմիշ լինելն:

4. Ջուղայեցի Վօհանէսի վորթի Թօրօսն Օգօստօսի Յուսն յեկավ Ըռէշտ. ասաց թէ յես Արգրում էի՝ վոր խաբար յեկավ թէ 4 փաշա գնացին Թիֆլիզ առին եւ ընկել ան Վախտանկ խանին հետնէն վոր բռնէն. Արգրում 3 օր դօնամա արարին եւ ...

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... թօփվեր 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-ով 200-ով հետ ան գօլման Արգրում. վոր յեկինք Բայազիդն էլ տեսման ինք, վոր հետ ին փախման: Թավրիզու վոր դախիլ յելանք՝ էլ էսպէս լսեցինք. եւ Վրաստանա չափար արել Թարվեզ՝ էլ էսպէս ասաց՝ վոր վերելումն գրած ա:

5. Հուլիսի 28. Թիֆլիզեցի X վոր Հայօց դավակ ա, վոր կաթօլիկ ա դառցել, վոր ֆռանկսըզի կումալանուն դիմաճ յելել, վոր էս Հօսէփն Ըսպահանա փախել էր, Համադանա վերա արել Ըռէշտ, վոր Աղվանին Ըսպահան առուլն խաքիյաթ արար՝ թէ ի՛նչպէս ան առել. թիվն 1722 փետրվարի 18. Աղվան Միրվէսի վորթի Մամուդ խանըն 12,000 ասկարով Զրմանա վրա յեկավ. Ըսպահանա վերա, վոր էլ էս օր Աղվանն յեկել ա Վարզան դախիլ յելել, 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, շուտով էստուր ֆիքրն արա:

7. Շահ Մամուդին գալն վոր կը լսի՝ թէ Թախիխ կալիս ա, հուլքմ կառի ուր բէկլարին՝ թէ վօ՛րջանք օմարա, խան, բէկ, բէկզարա, դուլ, դօռչի կա՝ հազըվէն եւ թօփ եւ ջաբախանա հազրեցեք՝ որ բիտի գնեք Ազվանին դարշուն, վոր թօշեք վօջ Աղվանն Ըսպահան դօ. սօքա 18,000 մարթ եւ 24 թօփ կը հազրեն:

8. Էլ էն օրն մուասիլ կաղարկէն գեղարէնքն՝ 12,000 մարթ թվանկչի կը բօլօրեն կը բերեն 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 Çənnəb, Əndəmic, Danaqirt, Ramis, Dasht, Kələki, 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: Չոկերէն, 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, ʏ, 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/ <ւ>

Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /ɑ/ <ւ> for the words in Table 1.

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <u> to /a/ <u> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|-----------------------|--------|--|----------|--------------------|-------|
| ‘happy’ | urách | ուրախ | órach | ó’րախ | urách | ուրախ |
| ‘game’ | χať | խաղ | haæ | հաղ | χaæ | խաղ |
| ‘tail’ | agí | ագի | ági | ա’գի | agí | ագի |
| ‘crow’ | agráu | ագռաւ | akráv | ա’կռավ | agráv | ագռավ |
| ‘salt’ | ať | աղ | aæ | աղ | aæ | 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 | bæraen | բաւ’րան | berán | բերան |
| ‘sheep’ | otj ^h χár | ոչխար | éχtj ^h æra | Է’խչաւր | votj ^h χár | ոչխար |
| ‘flour’ | alíyr | ալիւր | ælyr | աւ’լիւր | aljúr | ալյուր |
| ‘blood’ | aríyn | արիւն | æryr | աւ’րիւն | arjún | արյուն |
| ‘thin’ | barák | բարակ | bæraek | բաւ’րակ | barák | բարակ |
| ‘spring’ | garún | գարուն | g ⁱ ærunk ^h | գյաւ’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/ <ա> to /o/ <օ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| ‘man’ | mard | մարդ | mord | մօրդ | mart ^h | մարդ |
| ‘man-GEN’ | mard-óĭ | մարդոյ | márd-i | մա՛րդի | mart ^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’ | tĭĕrag | ծրագ | tĭrog ⁱ | ճրօգ | tĭĕrak ^h | ծրագ |
| ‘lamp-GEN’ | tĭĕrag-í | ծրագի | tĭrág ⁱ -i | ճրա՛գի | tĭĕrak ^h -í | ծրագի |

Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> became /e/ <է> for very few words (Table 4).¹

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|-----------------------|--------|--|----------|--------------------|-------|
| ‘dirt’ | aĭt | աղտ | eĭt | էխտ | aĭt | աղտ |
| ‘dirty’ | aĭtót | աղտոտ | jéĭtut | յէ՛խտուտ | aĭtót | 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/ <ա> became /œ/ <օ> 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. (?)]]

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /œ/ <ւո> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|---------|-----------------------|-------|
| ‘pillow’ | bardz | բարձ | bœrdz | բւորձ | barts ^h | բարձ |
| ‘church’ | zam | ժամ | zœm | ժւոմ | zam | ժամ |
| ‘spade’ | bah | բահ | bœh | բւոհ | bah | բահ |
| ‘high’ | bárdzær | բարձր | bœdzær | բւոձըր | bárts ^h ær | բարձր |
| ‘open’ | bats ^h | բաց | bœts ^h | բւոց | bats ^h | բաց |
| ‘to go’ | gənal | գնալ | nœl | նւոլ | gənal | գնալ |
| ‘bitter’ | dărən | դառն | dœrnə | դւ’ոռնը | dărən | դառն |

Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /jœ/ <յւո> for the words in Table 6.

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /jœ/ <յւո> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|--------------------|----|----------|------|------------------|----|
| ‘right (side)’ | adz | աջ | jœdz | յւոջ | atj ^h | աջ |

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Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> became /aj/ <ւյ> for the words in Table 7.

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /aj/ <ւյ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| ‘needle’ | asélən | ասեղն | ájsæx | ա’յսւնը | 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/ <ա> to /u/ <ու> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|-------|
| ‘similar’ | nəman | նման | nmun | նմուլ | nəman | նման |
| ‘sign’ | nəʃan | նշան | nʃun | նշուլ | nəʃan | նշան |
| ‘monastery’ | vank ^h | վանք | vunk ^h | վուկք | vanj ^h | վանք |
| ‘thick’ | t ^h ándzər | թանձր | t ^h úndzr | թո՛ւնձր | t ^h ándzər | թանձր |
| ‘heavy’ | tsánər | ծանր | tsúndər | ծո՛ւնդր | tsánər | ծանր |

Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> became /y/ <իւ> for the words in Table 9.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /y/ <իւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|--|-----------|---------------------|----------|
| ‘to come’ | gal | գալ | g ⁱ yl | գիլ | gal | գալ |
| ‘thing’ | ban | բան | byn | բիւ | ban | բան |
| ‘spoon’ | targal | տարգալ | dəgył | դըգիլ | gət ^h al | գդալ |
| ‘swallow’ | tsitsernák | ծիծեռնակ | ts ^h əts ^h ærnɣk | ցըցա՛ռնիկ | tsitsernák | ծիծեռնակ |
| ‘apricot’ | tsirán | ծիրան | tsæryn | ծա՛րիւ | tsirán | ծիրան |

14.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ե>

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> became /æ/ <ւ̄> for the words in Table 10.

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /æ/ <ւ̄> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|------------------|---------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘two’ | erkú | երկու | ærkɣ | ա՛րկիւ | jerkú | երկու |
| ‘on’ | i veráj | ի վերայ | værx | վա՛րաւ | vərá | վրա |
| ‘bridegroom’ | p ^h esáj | փեսայ | p ^h æsx | փա՛ւսաւ | p ^h esá | փեսա |
| ‘corpse’ | merǵál | մեռեալ | mærxæl | մա՛ւռաւ | merǵál | մեռյալ |
| ‘ground’ | getín | գետին | g ⁱ ætin | գա՛ւտին | getín | գետին |
| ‘mouth’ | berán | բերան | bærxæn | բա՛րան | berán | բերան |
| ‘maternal uncle’ | k ^h erí | քեռի | k ^h æri | քա՛ռի | k ^h erí | քեռի |
| ‘needle’ | aséłən | ասեղն | ájsæx | ա՛յսաւղ | aséx | ասեղ |
| ‘beam’ | gerán | գերան | g ⁱ ærxæn | գա՛ւրան | gerán | գերան |

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)’ | ekáik ^h | եկա՛յք | ákik ^h | ա՛կիք | jekék ^h | եկե՛ք |
| ‘brother’ | eḥbájṛ | եղբայր | áχpar | ա՛խսար | jexpájṛ | եղբայր |
| ‘student’ | ařakért | աշակերտ | ářkart | ա՛շկարտ | ařakért | աշակերտ |
| ‘thirty’ | eresún | երեսուն | arássun | արա՛սուն | 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’ | met̃s | մեծ | mit̃s | միծ | met̃s | 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 | ա՛նիր | anér | աներ |
| ‘broom’ | awél | աւել | ávil | ա՛վիլ | avél | ավել |
| ‘to bring’ | berél | բերել | bíril | բի՛րիլ | berél | բերել |
| ‘when’ | erb | երբ | ib | իբ | jerp ^h | երբ |
| ‘face’ | erés | երես | íris | 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 it ^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 | բենս | bérnə | բէ՛նսը | ber | բեռ |
| ‘yellow’ | deḥin | դեղին | déwin | դէ՛ղին | deḥín | դեղին |
| ‘nail (finger/toe)’ | eḥúng | եղունգ | éxunk ^h | է՛ղունք | jeḥúng | եղունգ |
| ‘winter’ | ḏzámérən | ձմեռն | ḏzámérnə | ձըմէ՛ռնը | ḏzámér | ձմեռ |
| ‘hand’ | ḏzer-k ^h (-PL) | ծեռք | ḏzerk ^h | ծեռք | ḏzerk ^h | ծեռք |

Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> remained /e/ <ե> for the words in Table 14.

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------------------|--------|
| ‘oath’ | erdúmən | երդումս | órdym | եօ՛րդիւմ | 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’ | ēf | էշ | ef | էշ | ef | էշ |
| ‘half’ | kēs | կես | kes | կես | kes | կես |
| ‘olive oil’ | ḏzēt ^h | ծէթ | ḏzet ^h | ծէթ | ḏzet ^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 |

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.էս | աղիւես | áḫvis | ա’իվիս | աḫvés | աղվես |
| ‘curse’ | anét̃sk ^h | անւծք | ánitsk ^h | անիծք | anét̃sk ^h | անւծք |

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 | տէր | tajr | տայր | ter | տեր |
| ‘dormouse (CA); rat (SEA)’ | arnēt | անւետ | ərnajt | ընւայտ | arnet | անւետ |
| ‘need’ | arnēt | pēt̃k ^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 | էգ | ag ^j | ագ | eg | էգ |
| ‘inside’ | mēd̃z̃ | մէջ | | | met̃j ^h | մէջ |
| ‘inside-DEF’ | | | mád̃z̃-ə | մա’ջը | mét̃j ^h -ə | մէջը |

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 ^l éri | գլէ՛րի | garí | գարի |
| ‘wine’ | giní | գինի | g ^l ini | գլի՛նի | giní | գինի |
| ‘ninety’ | innəsún | իննսուն | innásun | իննա՛սուն | innəsún | իննսուն |
| ‘horse’ | dzi | ծի | dzi | ծի | dzi | 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 |

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /aj/ <այ> for the words in Table 24.

Table 24: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /aj/ <այ> 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 ájna | թա՛յնը | t ^h i | թի |
| ‘nine’ | ínən | ինն | ájna | ա՛յնը | ínə | ինը |
| ‘laughter’ | tsítsáɫ | ծիծաղ | tsájtsæɣ | ծա՛յծաղ | tsítsáɣ | 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/ <ի> became /æ/ <ւի> for the words in Table 25.

Table 25: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /æ/ <ւի> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------|----------|----------|---------|--------|
| ‘beautiful’ | sirún | սիրուն | særyn | սա՛յրիւն | sirún | սիրուն |
| ‘I (DAT)’ | indz | ինծ | ændz | ա՛նծ | indz | ինծ |
| ‘I (GEN)’ | im | իմ | æm | ա՛մ | im | իմ |
| ‘apricot’ | tsirán | ծիրաւն | tsæryn | ծա՛յրիւն | tsirán | ծիրաւն |
| ‘one’ | mi | մի | mæn | մա՛ն | mi | մի |

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 26.²

²[[The original page had <մայտք> as part of the change from <ի> to <ա>. But on page 306, Ad-jarian provides an erratum that this should be part of the change from <ի> to <այ>; 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 | հանգ | hing | հինգ |
| ‘kernel’ | koríz | կորիզ | kǝáz | կղազ | 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 | ո՛ւտնը | vót | ոտ |
| ‘belly’ | p ^h or | փոր | p ^h ur | փուր | p ^h or | փոր |
| ‘who’ | ov | ով | uv | ուվ | ov | ով |
| ‘no’ | otʃ ^h | ոչ | utʃ ^h | ուչ | votʃ ^h | ոչ |
| ‘chair’ | at ^h ór | աթոռ | át ^h urk ^h | ա՛թուռք | at ^h ór | աթոռ |
| ‘trembling’ | doł | դող | dux | դուղ | dox | դող |
| ‘bone’ | óskər | ոսկր | úskər | ո՛ւսկըռ | voskór | ոսկոր |
| ‘lentil’ | ospən | ոսպն | usp | ուսպ | vosp | ոսպ |
| ‘wall’ | órmən | որմն | úrman | ո՛ւրման | vorm | որմ |

Classical Armenian /o/ <n> became /ɤ/ <իւ> for the words in Table 29.

Table 29: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /ɤ/ <իւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|--------------------|---------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------|
| ‘thief’ | goł | գող | g ^l ɤɤ | գիւղ | goɤ | գող |
| ‘essential’ | gəłxawór | գլխաւոր | g ^l əłhævɤr | գլըլիւ՛ւիւր | gəłxəvór | գլխաւոր |
| ‘gray-haired’ | əlewór | ալեւոր | həłævɤr | հըլա՛ւիւր | əlevór | ալււոր |
| ‘flame’ | bołs ^h | բոց | bɤłs ^h | բիւց | bołs ^h | բոց |
| ‘lap’ | gog | գոգ | g ^l ɤg ^l | գիւգ | gok ^h | գոգ |
| ‘apple’ | xəndzór | խնձոր | xəndzɤr | խընձիւր | xəndzór | 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 | փործել | p ^h érdzil | փէ՛րծիլ | p ^h orts ^h él | փործել |
| ‘mule’ | dzóri | ջորի | dzéři | ջէ՛րի | dzóri | ջորի |
| ‘soul’ | hogí | հոգի | hégi | հէ՛գի | hok ^h í | հոգի |
| ‘sheep’ | otj ^h xár | ոչխար | éxtj ^h ær | է՛խչար | voj ^h xár | ոչխար |
| ‘louse’ | odzil | ոջիլ | édzil | է՛ջիլ | voj ^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 ^l ærdzil | գլւ̄՛րծիլ | gortsél | գործել |
| ‘to praise’ | govél | գովել | g ^l ávil | գլւ̄՛վիլ | govél | գովել |
| ‘cress’ | kotímən | կոտիմն | k ^l ætim | կլւ̄՛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)’ | | | hæ̌tats | hwaʼutawð | hotáts | hnutawð |
| ‘to change’ | p ^h oxél | փոխել | p ^h áhil | փա՛հիլ | p ^h oxél | փոխել |
| ‘grandchild’ | t ^h óræn | թոռն | t ^h árnə | 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’ | uríj | ուրիշ | úríf | ո՛ւրիշ | uríj | ուրիշ |
| ‘name’ | anún | անուն | ánun | ա՛նուն | anún | անուն |
| ‘autumn’ | afún | աշուն | | | afún | աշուն |
| | afún-k ^h (-PL) | աշունք | áfunk ^h | ա՛շունք | | |
| ‘elbow’ | armúkən | արմուկն | ármung | ա՛րմուկ | armúnk | արմունկ |
| ‘fish’ | dzúkən | ծուկն | dzúknə | ծո՛ւկնը | dzúk | ծուկ |

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /ɣ/ <ɣL> for the words in Table 34.

Table 34: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /ɣ/ <ɣL> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|
| ‘you (NOM)’ | du | դու | dy | դիւ | du | դու |
| ‘wool’ | burd | բուրդ | bɣrd | բիւրդ | burt ^h | բուրդ |
| ‘abyss’ | andúnd | անդունդ | | | andúnd | անդունդ |
| | andúnd-(əʔ)k ^h (-PL) | անդունդք | ændɣndk ^h | ա՛նդիւնդք | | |
| ‘head’ | gəlux | գլուխ | gʲəɣɣ | գլլիւխ | gəlux | գլուխ |
| ‘oath’ | erdúmən | երդումն | œrdɣm | եօ՛րդիւմ | jert ^h úm | երդում |

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 | unԼun | sot | uoun | sut | unԼun |
| ‘cold’ | ts ^h urt | gnԼրun | ts ^h ort | gorun | ts ^h urt | gnԼրun |
| ‘shoulder’ | us | nԼu | jons | jouԼu | us | nԼu |
| ‘camel’ | uԼt | nԼղun | oxt | oղun | uxt | nԼղun |
| ‘happy’ | uráχ | nԼրախ | óraχ | o՛րախ | uráχ | nԼրախ |
| ‘to eat’ | utél | nԼտել | ótil | o՛տիլ | utél | nԼտել |
| ‘to have’ | uníl | nԼիլ | ónil | o՛նիլ | unél | nԼել |
| ‘sour’ | t ^h ət ^h u | թթԼ | t ^h t ^h o | թթo | t ^h ət ^h u | թթԼ |
| ‘fig’ | t ^h uz | թԼԼ | t ^h óznə | թo՛զնը | t ^h uz | թԼԼ |

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /ej/ <Է> for the words in Table 36.

Table 36: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /ej/ <Է> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|----------------------|-------|----------|--------|---------|------|
| ‘knee’ | tsúngək ^h | ծԼԼգք | tséjnə | ծԷ՛յնը | tsunjk | ծԼԼկ |

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /e/ <Է> for the words in Table 37.

Table 37: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /e/ <Է> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|---------|----------------------------------|----------|
| ‘belly (CA); satiated (SEA)’ | kuft | կուշun | keft | կԷշun | kuft | կուշun |
| ‘Friday’ | urbát ^h | nԼրբաթ | érbæt ^h | Է՛րբաթ | urp ^h át ^h | nԼրբաթ |
| ‘to swallow’ | kul tal | կուԼ տալ | kel tol | կԷլ տoլ | kul tal | կուԼ տալ |
| ‘jug’ | kuз | կուԺ | keз | կԷԺ | kuз | կուԺ |
| ‘thorn’ | p ^h uf | փուԼ | p ^h ef | փԷԼ | p ^h uf | փուԼ |

14.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

14.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ>

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> remained /aj/ <ւյ> for the words in Table 38.

Table 38: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> to /aj/ <ւյ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘father’ | hɑj̄r | հայր | hajr | հայր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘mother’ | maj̄r | մայր | majr | մայր | majr | մայր |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h aj̄t | փայտ | p ^h ajt | փայտ | p ^h ajt | փայտ |
| ‘goat’ | aj̄ts | այծ | ajts | այծ | ajts | այծ |
| ‘sound’ | dzaj̄n | ծայն | dzajn | ծայն | dzajn | ծայն |
| ‘lightning’ | kaɹ̄j̄tsákən | կայծակն | kájtsak | կա՛յծալկ | kajtsák | կայծակ |

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> became /a/ <ւ> for the words in Table 39.

Table 39: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> to /a/ <ւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----|----------|----|---------|-----|
| medial ‘that’ | aj̄d | այդ | at | ատ | ajd | այդ |
| distal ‘that yonder’ | aj̄n | այն | an | ան | ajn | այն |
| ‘other’ | aj̄l | այլ | al | ալ | ajl | այլ |

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> became /e/ <է> for only the word in Table 40.

Table 40: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> to /e/ <է> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|---------|------|
| ‘vineyard’ | aj̄gí | այգի | ég ^j i | է՛գի | ajgí | այգի |

Classical Armenian /aj/ <ւյ> became /ɣ/ <իւ> for only the word in Table 41.

Table 41: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> to /ɤ/ <իլ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|---------|------|
| ‘wolf’ | gaḡil | գալլ | g ⁱ ɤl | գիլլ | gajl | գալլ |

Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> became /i/ <ի> for only the word in Table 42.

Table 42: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|------|----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘wide’ | laḡn | լալն | lin | լին | lajn | լայն |

14.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ>

Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> became /av/ <ավ> for the words in Table 43.

Table 43: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> to /av/ <ավ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|-------|
| ‘crow’ | agraḡ | ագռալ | akráv | ա՛կռավ | agrán | ագռավ |
| ‘sand’ | awáz | ալազ | ávaz | ա՛վազ | aváz | ավազ |
| ‘thirsty’ | tsaráḡ | ծարալ | tsáran | ծա՛րավ | tsarán | ծարավ |
| ‘partridge’ | kak ^h áḡ | կաքալ | kák ^h av | կա՛քավ | kak ^h án | կաքավ |

Classical Armenian /ɑḡ/ <ալ> became /ov/ <ով> for the words in Table 44.

Table 44: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> to /ov/ <օվ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------|----------|--------|---------|-------|
| ‘cot’ | չաṽ | խաւ | չօv | խօվ | չav | խավ |
| ‘bird (CA); chicken (SEA)’ | haṽ | հաւ | hov | hoվ | hav | հավ |
| ‘agreeable’ | hawán | հաւան | hóvan | ho’վան | haván | հավան |

Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> became /o/ <օ> for the words in Table 45.

Table 45: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> to /o/ <օ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| ‘speech’ | չաṽsk ^h | խաւսք | չosk ^h | խօ’սք | չósk ^h | խոսք |
| ‘mother (GEN)’ | maṽr | մաւր | mor | մօր | mor | մոր |
| ‘father (GEN)’ | haṽr | հաւր | hor | հօր | hor | հոր |
| ‘pigeon’ | aṽaṽnı́ | աղաւնի | əṽónı | ըղօ’նի | aṽavnı́ | աղավնի |

Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> became /u/ <ու> for the words in Table 46.

Table 46: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|--------|
| ‘prayer’ | aṽaṽt ^h ək ^h | աղաւթք | áṽut ^h k ^h | ա’ղութք | aṽót ^h k ^h | աղութք |
| ‘shame’ | amáṽt ^h | ամաւթ | ámut ^h | ա’մութ | amót ^h | ամութ |
| ‘to speak’ | չaṽsıl | խաւսիլ | չúsıl | խո’սիլ | չosél | խոսել |
| ‘eyebrow’ | jaṽn-k ^h (-PL) | յաւնք | junk ^h | յոնք | hoṽk ^h | հոնք |

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Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <աւ> became /a/ <ա> for the words in Table 47. This change happens in the declined forms of some of the previous words.

Table 47: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա/ to /a/ <ա/ in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| ‘speech’ | χɑsk ^h | խաւսք | χosk ^h | խօսք | χosk ^h | խոսք |
| ‘speech-GEN’ | | | χask ^h -i | խասքի | χosk ^h -i | խոսքի |
| ‘eyebrow’ | jaun-k ^h (-PL) | յաւկ | junk ^h | յոկ | hoŋk ^h | հոկ |
| ‘eyebrow-GEN’ | | | jank ^h -i | յակի | hoŋk ^h -i | հոկի |

14.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ/

Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ/ became /æv/ <ււ/ for the words in Table 48.

Table 48: Change from Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ/ to /æv/ <ււ/ in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|--------------------|--------|----------|---------|---------|-------|
| ‘gray-haired’ | alewór | ալեւոր | hələvyr | հըլւ՛ւր | alevór | ալւոր |

Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ/ became /iv/ <իւ/ for the words in Table 49.

Table 49: Change from Classical Armenian /eu/ <եւ/ to /iv/ <իւ/ in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| ‘rain’ | andžréu | անձրեւ | ándžriv | անձրիւ | andžrév | անձրւ |
| ‘sun’ | aréu | արեւ | áriv | արիւ | arév | արւ |
| ‘light (weight)’ | t ^h et ^h éu | թեթեւ | t ^h it ^h iv | թիթիւ | t ^h et ^h év | թեթւ |
| ‘form’ | dzéu | ծեւ | dziv | ծիւ | dzév | ծւ |

14.2.2.2.4 Classical Armenian /iu/ <իւ/

Classical Armenian /iu/ <իւ/ became /iv/ <իւ/ 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’ | artsiʰ | արծիւ | artsiv | արծիվ | artsiv | արծիվ |
| ‘account’ | hafiʰ | հաշիւ | hafiv | հաշիվ | hafiv | հաշիվ |

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> became /y/ <իւ> for the words in Table 51.³

Table 51: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> to /y/ <իւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|----------|--------|---------|---------|
| ‘durable’ | aliʰ | ալիւր | ælyr | ալիւր | aljúr | ալյուր |
| ‘blood’ | ariʰ | արիւն | éryn | արիւն | arjún | արյուն |
| ‘hundred’ | haciʰ | հարիւր | hæryr | հարիւր | harjúr | հարյուր |
| ‘snow’ | dziʰ | ծիւն | dzyr | ծիւն | dzjun | ծյուն |

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> became /i/ <ի> for the words in Table 52. This happens for the Classical Armenian ending /-tʰiʰ/ <թիւն>.

Table 52: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> to /i/ <ի> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|----------|------------|------------|
| ‘theft’ | goʰutʰiʰ | գողութիւն | kʰəʰóʰtʰin | կղղոթիւն | goʰutʰjún | գողություն |
| ‘remission’ | tʰoʰutʰiʰ | թողութիւն | tʰəʰóʰtʰin | թղոթիւն | tʰoʰutʰjún | թողություն |

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> became /ajv/ <այվ> for the words in Table 53.

Table 53: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> to /ajv/ <այվ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|----------|-------|---------|------|
| ‘fight’ | kəriʰ | կռիւ | krajv | կռայվ | kəriv | կռիվ |

³[[The original page had CA <ամուր> as undergoing this sound change to <ալիւր>. But on page 306, Adjarian provides an erratum that the change is from <ալիւր> to <ալիւր>; I fixed it.]]

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14.2.2.2.5 Classical Armenian /oi/ <nj>

Classical Armenian /oi/ <nj> became /ɤ/ <ɬɫ> for the words in Table 54.

Table 54: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <nj> to /ɤ/ <ɬɫ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|----------|------------------|---------|
| ‘thumb (CA, SEA); finger (Agulis)’ | boiṯ ^h | բոյթ | bɤt ^h | բիւթ | but ^h | բոււթ |
| ‘nest’ | boin | բոյն | byn | բիւն | bujn | բույն |
| ‘walnut’ | ənkóiz | ընկոյզ | əng ¹ ɤz | ա՛նգիւզ | əŋkújz | ընկոյզ |
| ‘light’ | lois | լոյս | lys | լիւս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘lazy’ | ṭsoiḷ | ծոյլ | ṭsɤl | ծիւլ | ṭsuyl | ծուլլ |
| ‘blue’ | kapóit | կապոյտ | k ¹ æpɤt | կյա՛պիւտ | kapújt | կապույտ |

14.2.2.2.6 Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ>

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> remained /ov/ <ouɫ> for the words in Table 55.

[[I find it odd that Adjarian calls this sequence a diphthong because <ɫ> most likely was a /v/ sound. This suggests that Adjarian may have actually thought that <nɫ> was pronounced as /ou/ instead of /ov/.]]

Table 55: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> to /ov/ <ouɫ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------|--------------------|-----|----------|-----|---------|-----|
| ‘sea’ | ṭsov | ծու | ṭsov | ծou | ṭsov | ծու |

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> became /uv/ <nɫɫ> for the words in Table 56.

Table 56: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> to /uv/ <nɫɫ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------|--------------------|-----|----------|------|---------|-----|
| ‘cow’ | kov | կու | kuv | կոււ | kov | կու |

Classical Armenian /ov/ <nɫ> became /av/ <uɫ> for the words in Table 57.

Table 57: Change from Classical Armenian /ov/ <նվ> to /av/ <աւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------|----------|---------|---------|--------|
| ‘sea’ | ts̄ov | ծով | ts̄ov | ծով | ts̄ov | ծով |
| ‘sea-GEN’ | ts̄ov-ú | ծովու | ts̄áv-i | ծա՛վի | ts̄ov-í | ծովի |
| ‘to be disturbed’ | χərovíl | խռովիլ | hrávil | հռա՛վիլ | χərovél | խռովել |
| ‘accustomed’ | sovór | սովոր | sávur | սա՛վուր | 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 /həlǽvyr/ (հըլա՛վիր) 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/ <ր>. 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/ <նվ> to /av/ <աւ> in the Agulis dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| ‘man’ | mard | մարդ | mord | մօրդ | mart ^h | մարդ |
| ‘rose’ | vard | վարդ | værd | վէօրդ | var ^h t | վարդ |
| ‘Transfiguration’ | vardavar | վարդավառ | vərdavvr | վըռդավիր | var ^h tavar | վարդավառ |
| ‘male’ | ordz | ործ | vr̄dz | իւռծ | vorts ^h | ործ |
| ‘bear’ | ardz | արջ | ordz | օրջ | artj ^h | արջ |

However, some of the consonants have undergone various changes.

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/ <q, p> have changed everywhere to /kʲ, kʰʲ/ <qj, pj>.

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’հոռ | աչօր | ախոռ |
| ‘head’ | գօլսփ | գլուխ | gʲəlyh | գլլխ | գօլսփ | գլուխ |
| ‘game’ | չաօ | խաղ | hax | հաղ | չաօ | խաղ |
| ‘grape’ | չաօօ | խաղող | háxux | հա’ղուղ | չաօօ | խաղող |
| ‘to strangle’ | չեժել | խեղդել | héxwil | հե’ղղիլ | չեչեժել | խեղդել |
| ‘deep’ | չոր | խոր | hur | հուր | չոր | խոր |
| ‘bundle’ | չուրձ | խուրձ | hærzna | հեռզնը | չուրձ ^h | խուրձ |
| ‘confused’ | չօրոն | խռով | hrov | հռով | չօրոն | խռով |
| ‘to be disturbed’ | չօրով | խռովիլ | hrávil | հռա’վիլ | չօրով | խռովել |
| ‘advice’ | չօրատ | խրատ | hrrot | հրրոտ | չօրատ | խրատ |
| ‘to spend (CA);’ to sell (SEA)’ | tsaxél | ծախել | tsáhil | ծա’հիլ | tsaxél | ծախել |
| ‘smoke’ | tsux | ծուխ | tsoh | ծոհ | tsux | ծուխ |
| ‘to hang’ | kaxél | կախել | káhil | կա’հիլ | kaxél | կախել |
| ‘to trample’ | koxél | կոխել | káhil | կա’հիլ | koxél | կոխել |
| ‘pulley’ | tʃaxarak | ճախարակ | tʃharak | ճհա’րակ | tʃaxarak | ճախարակ |
| ‘locust’ | maráx | մարախ | márah | մա’րահ | maráx | մարախ |
| ‘herd of cattle’ | naxír | նախիր | náhir | նա’հիր | naxír | նախիր |
| ‘onion’ | sox | սոխ | suh | սուհ | sox | սոխ |
| ‘vinegar’ | kʰatsʰáx | քացախ | kʰatsʰah | քա’ցահ | kʰatsʰáx | քացախ |
| ‘sheepfold’ | pʰaráx | փարախ | pʰarah | փա’րահ | pʰaráx | փարախ |

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⁴[[For the word ‘locust’, Adjarian provides an ancestor <մարեխ> /marex/. Other attested Classical Armenian forms include <մարախ> /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 | ատել | áhil | ա’հիլ | asél | ատել |

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-ts ^h -ǵál e-m | mr-æ-h-ǵél ə-m | mor-ɑ-ts ^h -él e-m |
| | մոռացեալ եմ | մռա’հալ ըմ | մոռացել եմ |
| | √-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-1SG | | |
| ‘forget!’ | Classical Armenian | > Agulis | cf. SEA |
| | mor-ɑ-ts ^h -ír | mr-æ-h-í | mor-ɑ-ts ^h -ír |
| | մոռացիր | մռա’հի | մոռացիր |
| | √-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG | | |

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՛րմաւ | 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/ <աւ> after stress, but /-œv/ <օւ> 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: /-hæn-its^h/ <հւնից>

- Instrumental: /-hæ̃n-æ̃v/ <hw̃ũũũ>
- Locative: /-hæ̃n-æ̃m/ <hw̃ũũũ>

[[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’. Ad-jarian 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/ <w̃r> for monosyllabic words
- /-k^h/ <p> for vowel-final words
- /-ner/ <ũt̃r> for the remaining words

The other cases are formed in this way.

- Genitive-Dative: /-(n)er-i/ <(ũ)t̃r̃i>
- Ablative: /-(n)er-its^h/ <(ũ)t̃r̃i^hg>
- Instrumental: /-(n)er-æ̃v/ <(ũ)t̃r̃iũũ>
- Locative: /-(n)er-æ̃m/ <(ũ)t̃r̃iũũ>

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 hu | dy ηhl | mik ^{hj} ʃhpj | dyk ^h ηhlɸ |
| GEN | æm wɪf | k ^h u pnl | mir ʃhp | dzir ðhp |
| DAT, ACC | ændz wɪlð | k ^h iz pɪq | miz ʃhpq | dziz ðhpq |
| ABL | ændz-æn-its ^h wɪlðwɪnɪg | k ^h iz-æn-its ^h pɪqwɪnɪg | miz-æn-its ^h ʃhpwɪnɪg | dziz-æn-its ^h ðhpwɪnɪg |
| INS | ændz-æn-æv wɪlðwɪnɪwɪl | k ^h iz-æn-æv pɪqwɪnɪwɪl | miz-æn-æv ʃhpwɪnɪwɪl | dziz-æn-æv ðhpwɪnɪwɪl |
| LOC | ændz-æn-æm wɪlðwɪnɪwɪf | k ^h iz-æn-æm pɪqwɪnɪwɪf | miz-æn-æm ʃhpwɪnɪwɪf | dziz-æn-æm ðhpwɪnɪwɪf |

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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, աս | aj̄s, sa | այս, սա |
| medial 'that' | aj̄d, da | այդ, դա | dok, do, at | դօկ, դօ, ատ | aj̄d, da | այդ, դա |
| distal 'that yonder' | aj̄n, na | այն, նա | nok, no, an | նօկ, նօ, աւ | 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 | ǽsty ^h | ա՛ստիլք |
| GEN | atúr | ատո՛ւր | astuts ^h | աստուլք |
| DAT | astúr | աստո՛ւր | | |
| ABL | astur-án-its ^h | աստուրանից | | |
| INS | astur-án-av | աստուրանալ | | |
| LOC | astur-án-am | աստուրանամ | | |

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 | ա՛հիլ | as-é-l | ասել |
| | √-TH-INF | | √-TH-INF | | √-TH-INF | |
| ‘to go away’ | her-a-n-á-l | հեռանալ | hr-ǽ-n-i-l | հռա՛նիլ | 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 | հազոլ | 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-Ø | էի |
| 2SG ‘you were’ | nel ə-s | ւել ըս | ej-i-r | էիր |
| 3SG ‘he was’ | nel ɑ | ւել ւ | e-Ø-r | էր |
| 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/ <եղեալ եմ> or /ləal em/ <լեալ եմ> ‘I have been’.

[[Note that this Classical Armenian phrase consists of the participle /ełɛal/ <եղեալ> 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/ <ում> 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/ <ում> (Table 69), or /-am, -æm/ <աւմ, ււմ> (Table 70). The formative /-um/ <ում> 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 <ներկայ> of the verb ‘to cut’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-um/ <ում>

| | 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 ə | 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 | |

Table 70: Indicative present <տերկայ> of the verb ‘to go away’ in the Agulis dialect, using the converb suffix /-æm/ <ւմ>

| | Agulis | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| 1SG | hr-æ-n-æm ə-m | հռւմնւմ ըմ | her-a-n-úm e-m ‘I go away’ | հեռանում եմ |
| 2SG | hr-æ-n-æm ə-s | հռւմնւմ ըս | her-a-n-úm e-s | հեռանում ես |
| 3SG | hr-æ-n-æm a | հռւմնւմ ա | her-a-n-úm e | հեռանում է |
| 1PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h | հռւմնւմ ըք | her-a-n-úm e-ŋk ^h | հեռանում ենք |
| 2PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h | հռւմնւմ ըք | her-a-n-úm e-k ^h | հեռանում եք |
| 3PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-n | հռւմնւմ 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 <տերկայ> 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՛լիսըմ | t-a-l-ís e-m ‘I give’ | տալիս եմ |
| 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 <լերկայ> 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 ‘I say’ | ասում եմ |
| 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-Ø ‘I was cutting’ | կտրում էի |
| 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-Ø-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 | |

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 | հռա՛նա՛մ ըմ նել | her-a-n-úm ej-i-Ø ‘I was going away’ | հեռանո՞ւմ էի |
| 2SG | hr-æ-n-æm ə-s nel | հռա՛նա՛մ ըս նել | her-a-n-úm ej-i-r | հեռանո՞ւմ էիր |
| 3SG | hr-æ-n-æm a nel | հռա՛նա՛մ ա նել | her-a-n-úm e-Ø-r | հեռանո՞ւմ էր |
| 1PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h nel | հռա՛նա՛մ ըք նել | her-a-n-úm ej-i-ŋk ^h | հեռանո՞ւմ էինք |
| 2PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-k ^h nel | հռա՛նա՛մ ըք նել | her-a-n-úm ej-i-k ^h | հեռանո՞ւմ էիք |
| 3PL | hr-æ-n-æm ə-n nel | հռա՛նա՛մ ըն նել | her-a-n-úm ej-i-n | հեռանո՞ւմ 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 | տա՛լիս ըմ նել | t-a-l-ís ej-i-Ø ‘I was giving’ | տալիս էի |
| 2SG | t-á-l-is ə-s nel | տա՛լիս ըս նել | t-a-l-ís ej-i-r | տալիս էիր |
| 3SG | t-á-l-is a nel | տա՛լիս ա նել | t-a-l-ís e-Ø-r | տալիս էր |
| 1PL | t-á-l-is ə-k ^h nel | տա՛լիս ըք նել | t-a-l-ís ej-i-ŋk ^h | տալիս էինք |
| 2PL | t-á-l-is ə-k ^h nel | տա՛լիս ըք նել | t-a-l-ís ej-i-k ^h | տալիս էիք |
| 3PL | t-á-l-is ə-n nel | տա՛լիս 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 | նահամ ըմ նել | as-úm ej-i-Ø ‘I was saying’ | ասում էի |
| 2SG | n-áh-am ə-s nel | նահամ ըս նել | as-úm ej-i-r | ասում էիր |
| 3SG | n-áh-am a nel | նահամ ա նել | as-úm e-Ø-r | ասում էր |
| 1PL | n-áh-am ə-k ^h nel | նահամ ըք նել | as-úm ej-i-ηk ^h | ասում էիք |
| 2PL | n-áh-am ə-k ^h nel | նահամ ըք նել | as-úm ej-i-k ^h | ասում էիք |
| 3PL | n-áh-am ə-n nel | նահամ 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-Ø ‘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 -Ø-Ø | կտրեց |
| 1PL | kətr-e-l ə-k ^h | կտրել ըք | kətr-e-ts ^h -i-ηk ^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
 kətr-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 /-æl/. Inter-verb variation suggests that morphemes like /-el, -al, -æl/ are actually bimorphemic with a theme vowel: /-e-l, -a-l, -æ-l/.]]

Table 78: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> 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 | հռա’հալ ըմ |
| 2SG | áh-a-l ə-s | ա’հալ ըս | hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-s | հռա’հալ ըս |
| 3SG | áh-a-l a | ա’հալ ա | hr-æ-h-æ-l a | հռա’հալ ա |
| 1PL | áh-a-l ə-k ^h | կտրել ըք | hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-k ^h | հռա’հալ ըք |
| 2PL | áh-a-l ə-k ^h | ա’հալ ըք | hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-k ^h | հռա’հալ ըք |
| 3PL | áh-a-l ə-n | ա’հալ ըն | hr-æ-h-æ-l ə-n | հռա’հալ 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 /-el/ 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, հռա’հալ 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-Ø | կտրի |
| 1PL | ktr-e-k ^h | կտրեք | kətr-e-ŋk ^h | կտրենք |
| 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-Ø | ասի |
| 1PL | áh-a-k ^h | ա’հաք | as-é-ŋk ^h | ասենք |
| 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-Ø | հեռանա |
| 1PL | hr-æ-h-æ-k ^h | հռա’հաք | her-a-n-á-ŋk ^h | հեռանանք |
| 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 Present perfect and past perfect

The present perfect (յարական) is replaced by the second form of the past participle (with the formative /-ats/ <ած>) (Table 80). On this form, the familiar formative /nel/ <նէլ> is added to create the past perfect (զերական).

[[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 <յարական> of the verb 'to cut' in the Agulis dialect

| | Agulis | | cf. SWA | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1SG | ktr-e-ts ə-m | կտրեծ ըմ | gədr-adz e-m | կտրած եմ | kətr-el e-m | կտրել եմ |
| | | | 'I have cut' | | 'I have cut' | |
| 2SG | ktr-e-ts ə-s | կտրեծ ըս | gədr-adz e-s | կտրած ես | kətr-el e-s | կտրել ես |
| 3SG | ktr-e-ts ə | կտրեծ ա | gədr-adz e | կտրած է | kətr-el e | կտրել է |
| 1PL | ktr-e-ts ə-k ^h | կտրեծ ըք | gədr-adz e-ŋk ^h | կտրած ենք | kətr-el e-ŋk ^h | կտրել ենք |
| 2PL | ktr-e-ts ə-k ^h | կտրեծ ըք | gədr-adz e-k ^h | կտրած էք | kətr-el e-k ^h | կտրել էք |
| 3PL | ktr-e-ts ə-n | կտրեծ ըն | gədr-adz 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-ts/ for 'to cut', /-a-ts/ for 'to say', and /-æ-ts/ 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-ts ə-m | ա’հած ըմ | əs-ádʒ e-m ‘I have said’ | ըսած եմ |
| 2SG | áh-á-ts ə-s | ա’հած ըս | əs-ádʒ e-s | ըսած ես |
| 3SG | áh-á-ts a | ա’հած ա | əs-ádʒ e | ըսած է |
| 1PL | áh-á-ts ə-k ^h | ա’հած ըք | əs-ádʒ e-ŋk ^h | ըսած ենք |
| 2PL | áh-á-ts ə-k ^h | ա’հած ըք | əs-ádʒ e-k ^h | ըսած էք |
| 3PL | áh-á-ts ə-n | ա’հած ըն | əs-ádʒ e-n | ըսած են |
| | √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR | | √-RPTCP AUX-AGR | |
| 1SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-m | հռա’հաւծ ըմ | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ e-m ‘I have gone away’ | հեռացած եմ |
| 2SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-s | հռա’հաւծ ըս | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ e-s | հեռացած ես |
| 3SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts a | հռա’հաւծ ա | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ e | հեռացած է |
| 1PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-k ^h | հռա’հաւծ ըք | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ e-ŋk ^h | հեռացած ենք |
| 2PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-k ^h | հռա’հաւծ ըք | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ e-k ^h | հեռացած էք |
| 3PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-n | հռա’հաւծ ըն | her-á-ts ^h -ádʒ 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-ts ə-m √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR ա’հած ըմ | as-él e-m √-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR ասել եմ |
| ‘I have gone away’ | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-m √-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR հռա’հաւծ ըմ | her-á-ts ^h -él e-m √-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB 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-ts ə-m nel կտրեծ ըմ նել | gədr-ədʒ ej-i-Ø ‘I had cut’ | կտրած էի |
| 2SG | ktr-e-ts ə-s nel կտրեծ ըս նել | gədr-ədʒ ej-i-r | կտրած էիր |
| 3SG | ktr-e-ts a nel կտրեծ ա նել | gədr-ədʒ e-Ø-r | կտրած էր |
| 1PL | ktr-e-ts ə-k ^h nel կտրեծ ըք նել | gədr-ədʒ ej-i-ŋk ^h | կտրած էինք |
| 2PL | ktr-e-ts ə-k ^h nel կտրեծ ըք նել | gədr-ədʒ ej-i-k ^h | կտրած էիք |
| 3PL | ktr-e-ts ə-n nel կտրեծ ըն նել | gədr-ədʒ ej-i-n | կտրած էին |
| √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST | | √-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR | |
| ‘to say’ | | | |
| 1SG | áh-a-ts ə-m nel ա’հած ըմ նել | əs-ádʒ ej-i-Ø ‘I had said’ | ըսած էի |
| 2SG | áh-a-ts ə-s nel ա’հած ըս նել | əs-ádʒ ej-i-r | ըսած էիր |
| 3SG | áh-a-ts a nel ա’հած ա նել | əs-ádʒ e-Ø-r | ըսած էր |
| 1PL | áh-a-ts ə-k ^h nel ա’հած ըք նել | əs-ádʒ ej-i-ŋk ^h | ըսած էինք |
| 2PL | áh-a-ts ə-k ^h nel ա’հած ըք նել | əs-ádʒ ej-i-k ^h | ըսած էիք |
| 3PL | áh-a-ts ə-n nel ա’հած ըն նել | əs-ádʒ ej-i-n | ըսած էին |
| √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST | | √-RPTCP AUX-PST-AGR | |
| ‘to go away’ | | | |
| 1SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-m nel հռա’հած ըմ նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ ej-i-Ø ‘I had gone away’ | հեռացած էի |
| 2SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-s nel հռա’հած ըս նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ ej-i-r | հեռացած էիր |
| 3SG | hr-æ-h-æ-ts a nel հռա’հած ա նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ e-Ø-r | հեռացած էր |
| 1PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-k ^h nel հռա’հած ըք նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ ej-i-ŋk ^h | հեռացած էինք |
| 2PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-k ^h nel հռա’հած ըք նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ ej-i-k ^h | հեռացած էիք |
| 3PL | hr-æ-h-æ-ts ə-n nel հռա’հած ըն նել | her-a-ts ^h -ádʒ 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.]]

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-ts̃ ə-m nel √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST կտրեծ ըմ նել | kətr-el ej-i-Ø √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR կտրել էի |
| ‘I had said’ | áh-a-ts̃ ə-m nel √-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST ա’հած ըմ նել | as-él ej-i-Ø √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR ասել էի |
| ‘I had gone away’ | hr-æ-h-æ-ts̃ ə-m nel √-LV-AOR-TH-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST հռա’հած ըմ նել | her-a-ts̃ ^h -e’el ej-i-Ø √-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-ts̃ ^h -el | հեռացել |
| Resultative participle | | | | | | | |
| Agulis | Pres./past perfect | kətr-e-ts̃ | կտրեծ | áh-a-ts̃ | ա’հած | hr-æ-h-æ-ts̃ | հռա’հած |
| SWA | Pres./past perfect | gədr-adz̃ | կտրած | əs-adz̃ | ըսած | her-a-ts̃ ^h -adz̃ | հեռացած |
| SEA | Not for inflection | kətr-at̃s̃ | կտրած | as-at̃s̃ | ասած | her-a-ts̃ ^h -at̃s̃ | 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 <ապառնի> 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 ‘I will cut’ | կկտրեմ |
| 2SG | ktr-í-l ə-s | կտրի՛լ ըս | kə kətr-é-s | կկտրես |
| 3SG | ktr-í-l ə | կտրի՛լ ա | kə kətr-í-Ø | 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 ‘I will say’ | կասեմ |
| 2SG | n-áh-i-l ə-s | նա՛հիլ ըս | k-as-é-s | կասես |
| 3SG | n-áh-i-l ə | նա՛հիլ ա | k-as-í-Ø | 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 ‘I will go away’ | կհեռանամ |
| 2SG | hr-æ-n-æ-l ə-s | հռա՛նալ ըս | kə her-a-n-á-s | կհեռացնաս |
| 3SG | hr-æ-n-æ-l ə | հռա՛նալ ա | kə her-a-n-á-Ø | 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/ <նել> 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 նել | kə kətr-ej-i-Ø | կկտրեի |
| | √-TH-INF AUX-1SG PST | | FUT-√-TH-PST-1SG | |
| 2SG ‘to say’ | n-áh-i-l ə-s nel | նա՛հիլ ըս նել | k-as-ej-i-r | կասեիր |
| | ?-√-TH-INF AUX-2SG PST | | FUT-√-TH-PST-2SG | |
| 3SG ‘to go away’ | hr-æ-n-æ-l a nel | հռա՛նալ ա նել | kə her-a-n-á-Ø-r | կհեռանար |
| | √-LV-INCH-TH-INF AUX PST | | 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-∅ | կտրէ՛ | kətr-ir | կտրի՛ր |
| | √-TH-IMP.2SG | | √-IMP.2SG | |
| 2SG ‘forget!’ | mr-æ-h-i | մռա՛հի | mor-a-ts ^h -ir | մոռացի՛ր |
| | √-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG | | √-LV-AOR-IMP.2SG | |
| 2SG unclear verb | t ^h ák-a-∅ | 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-a-∅ | 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-a-ts ^h -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-Ø | կտրի | kətr-i-Ø | 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-Ø | ա'հի | as-í-Ø | 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 | հռւ'նիմ | her-a-n-á-m '(if) I go away' | հեռանամ |
| 2SG | hr-é-n-i-s | հռւ'նիս | her-a-n-á-s | հեռացնաս |
| 3SG | hr-é-n-i-Ø | հռւ'նի | her-a-n-á-Ø | հեռանա |
| 1PL | hr-é-n-i-k ^h | հռւ'նիք | her-a-n-á-ŋk ^h | հեռանանք |
| 2PL | hr-é-n-i-k ^h | հռւ'նիք | her-a-n-á-k ^h | հեռանաք |
| 3PL | hr-é-n-i-n | հռւ'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-Ø '(if) I cut (past)' | կտրեի |
| 2SG | ktr-i-s nel | կտրիս նել | kətr-ej-i-r | կտրեիր |
| 3SG | ktr-i-Ø nel | կտրի նել | kətr-e-Ø-r | կտրեր |
| 1PL | ktr-i-k ^h nel | կտրիք նել | kətr-ej-i-ŋk ^h | կտրեինք |
| 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-Ø '(if) I said' | ասեի |
| 2SG | áh-i-s nel | ա'հիս նել | as-ej-í-r | ասեիր |
| 3SG | áh-i-Ø nel | ա'հի նել | as-é-Ø-r | ասեր |
| 1PL | áh-i-k ^h nel | ա'հիք նել | as-ej-í-ŋk ^h | ասեինք |
| 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-Ø '(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-Ø nel | հռա'նի նել | her-a-n-á-Ø-r | հեռանար |
| 1PL | hr-æ-n-i-k ^h nel | հռա'նիք նել | her-a-n-aj-í-ŋk ^h | հեռանայինք |
| 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 Զօննօ. 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 (Патканов 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
 - Զարգութեանց Աւետիս – Գիւլը Նեան դռունան. Արարատ, 1877, էջ 461–462
 - Շահնաբաթեան Մարտ – Երգ ագուլեցոց (կես գրական լեզուով). Կոռնկ, 1862, էջ 163–166
 - Ս. Սարգիսեանց – Ագուլեցոց 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 ծիը Է'լած՝ դէ'լիս ա Յա'ղնա. ծիը քշում ա նէ'լիս դիւզ կըրմընջո'ւմը կա'յնամ. տի'սնամ ա՝ աստեղ ըսկի միծ մարդիք չի կօն՝ մանամկյ մույն քընա ըրխաք ըն հըվմ'քվամ հաղ նա'րամ: Ըգյըլւմ'ցին ծիո'ւն վամ'րան հպարտ հպարտ նըստեծ՝ ծամքամը դրեծ չընըքտա'կին՝ հրցանամ ա թա՝

– Ա'յ տղարք, բանս ծիր ախսախկալները ըշտէ'ղ ըն:

Տղարքը շղօք ըն տա'լիս թա՝

– Նամ'հան ըն էքին հա'չամ պերին տօն չընըքտակիտ:

Ըգյըլւմ'ցին մանդրվամ ա. համա հրդեօ ինքն ա նի'զամ անօղ տօ Յղնամ'ցաց, նա'համ ա.

– Ա'դո'ւրդ ա օր աստեղ մաշկ ըն մանդրամ:

– Օշկըտ ալ չին հա'նո'ւմ:

Ըգյըլւմ'ցին մայտք ա նա'րամ թա՝ աստեղ օր ըրխաքը աստի բա'զգամթ (թրք. խորամանկ) ըն, բանս սրուց միծարը ո'ւնչպէս ըն նիլ. – քշում ա ծիը, յունց կալիս նէ'լիս:

14.6.2 Sample 2

Ի'րիք սամրին սկամ'հան մարդիք՝ ծիո'ւ վա'րտ նստեծ՝ նէ'լիս ըն նէլ: Ճընըփի ռաստ ըն գյէ'լիս 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 ծիր թամ-քարը ջէ'րիք ըն:

– Հի'մամ ըս ունչ ա. դէ հաստա'դա տիսնիք:

– Իս շօտ անքամ լսեծ ըմ օր՝ ունչ օր կօ ծիո'ւ ընան էշ 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 Ռըմամ'ցի նէ'լիս ա օ'րտը, տի'սնամ ա մույն ծի մտեծ ամ մաշը ըրըծամ'հան, մա մաշտեղամն ալ վեր ընգեծ ստա'կած: Նէ'լիս ա մույն քա'նի մա'րդիք հըվմ'քամ բի'րամ օր արտին մաջիցը քաշին ծիո'ւն ջա'մդաքը հանին: Մըտըկանամ ըն, ...

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քանդիւրը կապամ ստակած ծիո'ւ ատներիցը, մայտք նա'րամ դիբի ուր յան քաշին օր վէօրը ջարդվի ուչ խարաք էլի:

– Ա'կիք դի'բի աս յան քա'շիք, նա'համ ա մույնը: Քա'շամ ըն, քա'շամ, տի'սնամ ըն՝ չէ, վէօրը խիլի (թրք. շատ) խարաք ա Է'լալ:

– Չէ, ասմաս էլ լավ չի. ակիքդ դի՛բի աս յան քա՛շիքը. – նահամ ա մոյն 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 – ակիքդ հրէս աս դրա՛դալ (թրք. եգեթը) քա՛շիքը: Քա՛շամ ըն, յիտ մտակյ նա՛րամ ալ վէօրը ջա՛րդած ըն խա՛րօք ա՛րած: Ալ սկսում ըն մոյն ո՛ւրիշ տե՛ղալ 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՛րհօրթ մոյն հօվ օ՛նին նէլ ըտէ՛լու: Մոյնը ա՛հալ ա մյո՛ւսին:

– Հօկ հօվը միգ հրաքյ չի. թուղ ուխ սա՛րիւն ա՛րազ ա տի՛սնիլ, նօ օ՛տի: Աս ա՛հուղը քիւն ամ էլ լավ. մյուսը կա՛րամ ամ հօվը: Առաջինը ըրթնա՛հալ ա, սկսել պա՛տմի.

– Չարմանա՛լի ա՛րազ ըմ տա՛համ. ամնձ հրէշտանկնէրը տա՛նամ ըն նէլ յէր-գյինքը: Հա՛վալ կշտա՛հածը ա՛հալ ա:

– Իս ալ տա՛համ օր դիւ բըծրա՛նամ ըս, ինքըս ամ մա՛ջիս ա՛համ թա՛մ 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) | 11. Dialect of Syria (§25) |
| 2. Dialect of Mush (§16) | 12. Dialect of Arapgir (§26) |
| 3. Dialect of Van (§17) | 13. Dialect of Akn (§27) |
| 4. Dialect of Tigranakert (§18) | 14. Dialect of Sebastia (§28) |
| 5. Dialect of Kharberd and Yerznka (§19) | 15. Dialect of Evdokia (§29) |
| 6. Dialect of Şebinkarahisar (§20) | 16. Dialect of Smyrna (§30) |
| 7. Dialect of Trabzon (§21) | 17. Dialect of Nicomedia (§31) |
| 8. Dialect of Hamshen (§22) | 18. Dialect of Istanbul (§32) |
| 9. Dialect of Malatya (§23) | 19. Dialect of Rodosto (§33) |
| 10. Dialect of Cilicia (§24) | 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, Է> 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’ | ʃak ^h ar | շաքար | ʃæk ^h ær | շաքար | ʃak ^h ar | 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, ɤe/ <n, ɛ>

The sounds <n, ɛ> have a diphthongal pronunciation /ɤo, ɤe/ <nɬo, ɬɛ>, and they originate from the Classical Armenian mid vowels /o, e/ <n, ɛ>; 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/ <ɸ>

For the consonants, let us first talk about the sound /f/ <ɸ>.

The sound /f/ <ɸ> 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 /uɔ/*]]) (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 | hnɫ | fɯoɤ | ֆող | hoɤ | hnɫ |
| ‘smell’ | hot | hnun | fɯot | ֆոս | hot | hnun |
| ‘hole (CA); pit (SEA)’ | hor | hnɐ | for | ֆոբ | hor | hnɐ |
| ‘here’ | *hos | *hnu | fɯos | ֆոս | hos | hnu |
| ‘article’ | jaɥd | ɟaɫɫ | fɯod | ֆոդ | hod | hnɫ |
| ‘there’ | hon | hnɫ | fɯon | ֆոն | hon | hnɫ |

However, next to Classical Armenian /aɥ/ <ալ> ([[*which became /ō/ <o>*]]), 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’ | haɥr | hwaɫɐ | hor | hɐɐ | hor | hnɐ |

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 /ɯo/ <nɫo> of the reflex of Classical Armenian /o/ <n>, because no such change occurs next to the reflex of Classical Armenian /aɥ/ <ալ> ([[*also written as /ō/ <o>*]]). Now, because urban speakers do not have the sound /ɯo/ <n> and pronounce it as just /o/ <o>, 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 <hnu>, but this form is not clearly attested in Classical Armenian. I treat it as a reconstruction. For ‘article’, Adjarian provides an ancestor <hnɫ>, 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 | հարաւ | haraf | հարաֆ | harav | հարավ |
| ‘to mew’ | nval | նուալ | nfal | նֆալ | nəval | 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 aspirée*). We represent them as /b^h, g^h, d^h, ḏz^h, ḏʒ^h/ <բ^h, գ^h, դ^h, ծ^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 Ռուսլօ), 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 (ֆոտոտիպ 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 Բազմաւէլ [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, ḏzh, ḏʒh/ <բ^h, գ^h, դ^h, ծ^h, ջ^h>.

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 French name | Voiced թըթռուն sonore | Voiced aspirated թըթռուն շնչաւոր sonore asp. | Voiceless խոկ sourde | Voiceless aspirated խոկ շնչաւոր sourde asp. |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------|---|
| | b p | b ^h p ^ʰ | p պ | p ^h փ |
| | g q | g ^h q ^ʰ | k կ | k ^h զ |
| | d ɲ | d ^h ɲ ^ʰ | t տ | t ^h թ |
| | ḏ ɖ | ḏ ^h ɖ ^ʰ | ṭ Ծ | ṭ ^h ց |
| | ḏʒ ʒ | ḏʒ ^h ʒ ^ʰ | ṭʃ Ծ | ṭʃ ^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 | jarut ^h iun | հարտ ^h | harut ^h iun |
| given name | jakob | հակո | hakop ^h |

With this, the dialect has two types of glottal (հազազային) sounds: /ɦ, h/ <յ, հ>.

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 /ɑ/ <ա>

As general rule for all dialects in the /kə/ <կը> branch, in polysyllabic words, the reflex of the Classical Armenian vowel /ɑ/ <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 | hivəndɯot | հիվընդոտ | b ^h ern-i | բ ^h երնի |
| cf. Istanbul | tʃafnal | ճաշնալ | hivəndod, | 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 | hiwandot | 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/ <յĕ> (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/ <յĕ> (Table 8c).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, jĕ, e, ĭe/ <յե, յե, է, ե> 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 | էփել | jep ^h el | եփել |
| | ‘dream’ | eraz | երազ | eraz | էրազ | jeraz | երազ |
| c. | ‘to bring’ | berel | բերել | b ^h erel | բ ^h երել | berel | բերել |
| | ‘big’ | mets | մեծ | mets (urban) mĭets (villager) | մէծ 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/ <օ>, or /vxo/ <վո>; at the beginning of polysyllabic words to /o/ <օ>; and word-medially to /o/ <օ> or /xo/ <n> (the forms /vxo, xo/ <վո, ո> are rural). The word for ‘who’ has a typical form /vev/ <վէվ>.

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /vo, o, vxo, xo, ve/ <վօ, օ, վո, ո, վէ> in the Karin dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karin | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| ‘that’ | or | որ | vor | վօր | vort ^{hi} | որ |
| ‘to take pity on’ | ořormil | ողորմիլ | oxormil | օղօրմիլ | voxormel | ողորմել |
| ‘to ruminate’ | orotřal | որոճալ | orotřal | օրօճալ | vorotřal | որոճալ |
| ‘who’ | ov | ով | vev | վէվ | 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/ <է> for villagers. For settlements in the Caucasus, Akhaltskha has the form /a/ <ա>, while Alexandropol has the form /e/ <է> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /ɑ, e/ <ա, է> in the Karin dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karin | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|------|--------------------------------------|----------|--------------------|------|
| ‘father’ | haiṛ | հայր | har, her | հար, հեր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h aiṭ | փայտ | p ^h at, p ^h et | փատ, փետ | p ^h ajt | փայտ |
| ‘mother’ | maiṛ | մայր | mar, mer | մար, մեր | majr | մայր |
| ‘goat’ | aiṭs | 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 oiḷ | թոյլ | t ^h ul | թուլ | t ^h ujl | թուլլ |
| ‘blue’ | kapoiṭ | կապոյտ | kaput | կապուտ | kapujt | կապույտ |
| ‘light’ | loiṣ | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujs | լույս |

15.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iʏ/ <իւ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 12).

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Karin dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Karin | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|----------------------|---------|---------|
| ‘flour’ | aliʏr | ալիւր | alur | ալուր | aljur | ալյուր |
| ‘fountain’ | aḫbiʏr | աղբիւր | aḫb ^h ur | ախբ ^h ուր | aḫpjur | աղբյուր |
| ‘snow’ | ḏziʏn | ծիւն | ḏz ^h un | ծ ^h ուն | ḏzjun | 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 | խընձոր | χəndzɔr | խնձոր |
| ‘cat’ | katu | կատու | katu | կատու | katu | կատու |
| ‘wool’ | burd | բուրդ | b ^h urd ^h | բ ^ʰ ուրդ ^ʰ | burt ^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 | պառռել | patarel, patrel | պատառել, պառռել |
| ‘to divide’ | kərel | կտրել | krrel | կռռել | kərel | կտրել |
| ‘to break’ | kotorel | կոտորել | korrel | կոռռել | kotorel, kotrel | կոտորել, կոտրել |
| ‘ready’ | patrast | պատրաստ | parrast | պառռաստ | patrast | պատրաստ |
| name ‘Peter’ | petros | Պետրոս | perros | Պեռռոս | 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/ <առնել> ‘to do’ becomes /enel/ <էնել>, whereas that word is /anel/ <անել> or /ənel/ <ընել> 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 (առազոնութիւն) 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. katu-i-n səpən-e-ts^h-i-Ø
 cat-DAT-DEF kill-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
 ‘I killed the cat.’
 կատուին սըպանեցի

- b. kov-i-n mort^h-e-ts^h-i-Ø
 cow-DAT-DEF slaughter-TH-AOR-PST-1SG
 ‘I slaughtered the cow.’
 կովին ծորթեցի.

As is the norm, the ablative uses the formative /-en/ <Էն>, 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/ <Էր> 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 քաղաքներու | kʰaʁakʰ-ner-i քաղաքների |

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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' | jes | յէս |
| personal 2SG NOM 'you' | dʰu | դ'ու |
| personal 1PL NOM 'we' | menkʰ | մէնք |
| personal 2PL NOM 'you' | dʰukʰ | դ'ուք |
| demonstrative proximal SG 'this' | as | աս |
| demonstrative medial SG 'that' | adʰ | ադ' |
| demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder' | an | ան |
| demonstrative proximal PL 'these' | asonkʰ | ասօնք |
| demonstrative medial PL 'those' | atonkʰ | ատօնք |
| demonstrative distal PL 'those yonder' | anonkʰ | անօնք |
| demonstrative proximal SG 'that' | isi | իսի |
| demonstrative medial SG 'that' | iti | իտի |
| demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder' | ini | ինի |
| demonstrative proximal SG 'that' | isik | իսիկ |
| demonstrative medial SG 'that' | itik | իտիկ |
| demonstrative distal SG 'that yonder' | inik | ինիկ |
| demonstrative proximal PL 'these' | isonkʰ | իսօնք |
| demonstrative medial PL 'those' | itonkʰ | իտօնք |
| demonstrative distal PL 'those yonder' | inonkʰ | ինօնք |

In accordance with the norm, the first ones are not a unique innovation. The latter words /isik, inik, inin/ <իսիկ, իտիկ, ինիկ> 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/ <ւմ>, 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/ <ւզէլ> 'to want', etc. take the form /g^h-/ <գ'>. Monosyllabic verbs take /ku-/ <կու>; only the verb /g^ham/ <գ'ամ> 'I come' takes /g^hu/ <գ'ու> (in assimilation with the verb's initial sound /g^h/ <գ'>). 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 <սերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb 'to like' in the Karin dialect

| Indicative present <սերկայ> | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| | Karin | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | sir-e-m kə | սիրեմ կը | gə sir-e-m 'I like' | կը սիրեմ |
| 2SG | sir-e-s kə | սիրես կը | gə sir-e-s | կը սիրես |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø kə | սիրէ կը | gə sir-e-Ø | 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-Ø kə | սիրեի կը | gə sir-ej-i-Ø 'I would like' | կը սիրեի |
| 2SG | sir-e-i-r kə | սիրեիր կը | gə sir-ej-i-r | կը սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø-r kə | սիրեր կը | gə sir-e-Ø-r | կը սիրեր |
| 1PL | sir-e-i-nk ^h kə | սիրեինք կը | gə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h | կը սիրեինք |
| 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 <ներկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb 'to do' in the Karin dialect

| Indicative present <ներկայ> | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| | Karin | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | k-ən-e-m kə | կընեմ կը | g-ən-e-m 'I do' | կ'ընեմ |
| 2SG | k-ən-e-s kə | կընես կը | g-ən-e-s | կ'ընես |
| 3SG | k-ən-e-Ø kə | կընէ կը | g-ən-e-Ø | 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-Ø kə | կընեի կը | g-ən-ej-i-Ø 'I would do' | կ'ընեի |
| 2SG | k-ən-e-i-r kə | կընեիր կը | g-ən-ej-i-r | կ'ընեիր |
| 3SG | k-ən-e-Ø-r kə | կըներ կը | g-ən-e-Ø-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-Ø kə | գ՛ըյնի կը | g-ijn-a-Ø | 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-Ø kə | գ՛ըյնէի կը | g-ijn-aj-i-Ø | կ’իյնայի |
| | | | ‘I would fall’ | |
| 2SG | g ^h -əjn-e-i-r kə | գ՛ըյնէիր կը | g-ijn-aj-i-r | կ’իյնայիր |
| 3SG | g ^h -əjn-e-Ø-r kə | գ՛ըյնէր կը | g-ijn-a-Ø-r | կ’իյնար |
| 1PL | g ^h -əjn-e-i-nk ^h kə | գ՛ըյնէինք կը | g-ijn-aj-i-ŋk ^h | կ’իյնայինք |
| 2PL | g ^h -əjn-e-i-k ^h kə | գ՛ըյնէիք կը | g-ijn-aj-i-k ^h | կ’իյնայիք |
| 3PL | g ^h -əjn-e-i-n kə | գ՛ըյնէին 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 <տերկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to cry’ in the Karin dialect

| Indicative present <տերկայ> | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|------------|
| | Karin | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | ku-l-a-m kə | կուլամ կը | gu-l-a-m 'I cry' | կուլ ամ |
| 2SG | ku-l-a-s kə | կուլաս կը | gu-l-a-s | կուլ աս |
| 3SG | ku-l-a-∅ kə | կուլա կը | gu-l-a-∅ | կուլ ա |
| 1PL | ku-l-a-nk ^h kə | կուլանք կը | gu-l-a-ŋk ^h | կուլ անք |
| 2PL | ku-l-a-k ^h kə | կուլաք կը | gu-l-a-k ^h | կուլ աք |
| 3PL | ku-l-a-n kə | կուլան կը | gu-l-a-n | կուլ ան |
| | 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' | կուլ ալի |
| 2SG | ku-l-aj-i-r kə | կուլայիր կը | gu-l-aj-i-r | կուլ ալիր |
| 3SG | ku-l-a-∅-r kə | կուլար կը | gu-l-a-∅-r | կուլ ար |
| 1PL | ku-l-aj-i-nk ^h kə | կուլայինք կը | gu-l-aj-i-ŋk ^h | կուլ ալինք |
| 2PL | ku-l-aj-i-k ^h kə | կուլայիք կը | gu-l-aj-i-k ^h | կուլ ալիք |
| 3PL | ku-l-aj-i-n kə | կուլային կը | gu-l-aj-i-n | կուլ ալին |
| | 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-Ø kə | կուտա կը | gu-d-a-Ø | 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-Ø kə | կուտայի կը | gu-d-aj-i-Ø '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-Ø-r kə | կուտար կը | gu-d-a-Ø-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 <ներկայ> and indicative past imperfective <անկատար> of the verb ‘to come’ in the Karin dialect

| Indicative present <ներկայ> | | | | |
|--|--|----------------|---|------------|
| | Karin | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | g ^h u-g ^h -a-m kə | գ՛նւգ՛ամ կը | gu-k ^h -a-m 'I come' | կու գամ |
| 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-ŋk ^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-∅ 'I would come' | կու գայի |
| 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-ŋk ^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 գըլնի 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.]]

- 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/ <կօր, կը>.⁵

(4) Karin

- a. k-af-e-n k-or
 IND-see-TH-3PL IND-that
 ‘they see that...’
 կաշէն կօր
- 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^hերէ կու տանի 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’օր, կ’նL)>. But I do not understand it. I suspect he means that these fused forms are written as <կ’օր, կ’նL>. (?)]]

Table 25: Theme vowel change in the 3SG past imperfective in the Karin dialect

| | Karin | | cf. SWA | |
|---------------|------------------------|--------|--------------------|---------|
| 3SG 'to have' | un-i-Ø-r | նւսիր | un-e-Ø-r | նււէր |
| 3SG 'to fall' | g-əjn-i-Ø-r | գըյնիր | g-ijn-α-Ø-r | կ'իյնար |
| | (IND)-√-TH-PST-3SG IND | | (IND)-√-TH-PST-3SG | |

15.3.3.2 Future and past future

The future and past future (ապառնիին ներկան 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-Ø
 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-Ø
 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-Ø 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/ <էր, է>

The past participle takes the formative /-er/ <էր>. 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 ես բ՛երէ
- d. inik e-s b^her-e
that AUX-2SG bring-PERF.CVB
'You have brought THAT.' (with focus on 'that')
ինիկ ես 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 /j̥e, e, ʊo, o/ <ե է ո օ>, and the change from the Classical Armenian diphthong /aj̥/ <այ> to /a/ <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-əʁn-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. Բեդրսպուրկ 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, յե/ <n, Է> are confused with the sounds /o, e/ <o, Է>.
- The sound change of Classical Armenian /h/ <h> 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, ընդէ>.

These latter characteristics, especially the use of the formative /er/ <էր>, 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... Խոտրջուր, Տփսիս, 1904, and Հին աւանդական հեքիաթներ Խոտրջրոյ, 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)’ | p ^h or-əs փորս | p ^h oj-əs | փոյըս | p ^h or-əs | փորս |
| ‘person from Khodorchur’ | | χotujdʒ ^h ujts ^h i | խոտոյջ ^h ույցի | χotərdʒurts ^h i | խոտրջուրցի |

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: Իրեն մարթուն յախան ա կըպչի կը թը հաֆքերու օսկըռներէն ինծի մէ դօնախանա մ' պիտի շինես, թեպուկներէն ա յօրդան դ'օշակ մ' սարքես:

Սօղոմօս իմաստունը կանչէ կը հաֆքերուն, մօրթէ կ'ւո օսկըռտանքն ու թեպուկները թօփ կենէ, օր կնգանը ուզածը հազըրէ: Աշխարք ինչքան հաֆք կա գ'ուգ'ա կը, սալթ քօռ բ'ուֆը չի գ'ա: Սօղոմօսը անդայ գմրութին դրկէ կ'օր գ'ըտնի բ'երէ: Անդայ գմրութը անգ մ' ման գ'ուգ'ա, անջաղ անջաղ գ'ըտնի կը բ'ընի մ' մէջ, ինչքան կանչէ ճըվա կը՝ չի դ'ուս գ'ա. ահ կուտա՝ չի ըլլի, խօստում կ'ենէ չի ըլլի: Խիկասա բ'ընին առաջը կայնի սիրուն քարօղ մ' խօսի կը, ասիկ գ'ելլէ դ'ուս: Ախըր անդէր քարօզը քար կը ծակէ: Բ'ուֆն օր գ'ուս կ'ելլէ՝ 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 մէջ 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 էնօղին ա կնիկմարթ ցքի. կնիկմարթ չէ՞ անիկ օր կնգանը ծ'էռքը խաղալիք է գ'անէ. կնիկը մինդրին տակը յուխա (չոր խմորեղէն մը) լգեր սուտ հիվանդ է ծ'էվացէ ու հեքիմին սիրէ ...

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... կը, մարթուն ա չարչըրէլու հըմար հաֆքերուն օսկըռտանքէն դօնախանա գ'ուգ'է: Ի՛նչքան հաֆք պիտի գ'ընտես ջ'արդ'ես օր անօնց օսկըռտանքէն դօնախանա կոյնեցընես:

- Խելացի ըսաց, կըսէ Սօղոմօս իմաստունը ինքնիրէն, յես ա կնիկմարթ էմ օր կընգանս խօսքօվը աշխըրքի հաֆքերուն արունքը մտա: Արթը բ'իտտուն հաֆքերուն բ'աց թօղնէ կը, օրը իրեք դուշ ա բ'ուբ'բ'ունին կապէ կը: Տեյ մ'օր հիմի ա օրը իրեք դուշ իրենք իրենք 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'է.
Դ'անակըմ դ'ու ինձի տու,
յետեվ ըսէ մի' մօրթէ:

Սարեր, ձ'օրեր ու ջ'ըրեր,
Մարմանդ վազօղ ախբ'ուրներ,
Մեկ վեր կեցեք ու յիմացեք
Տեսեք թէ վե՞ր է եկեր:

Գ'ելը օջիւրին եկավ,
Չարկեց գ'եր դ'առին 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'ոաս,
Ո՞ր է յընգերըդ', կռունգ:

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Բաղի մեչը վարթ գ'ըլի,
Բաղի շունը սարթ գ'ըլի,
Շան ախճիկ, ուսուլ խօսէ,
Տալտա տեղ է, մարթ գ'ըլի:
Մերըս ինձի բ'երեր է,
Նխշուն բ'ալուկ էրեր է,
Նխշուն բ'ալուկ մեռնէի,
Մօրըս մտքէն յելլէի:

Ախճի, դ'ու յես մեղավոր,
Քեզի գ'ուգ'ան ուզավոր,
Չեղնի էրթաս հեռու տեղ,
Պագ'վիս կեղնիս յըռագի:

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, Khlat, 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 Yeranós, 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/ <ու> and diphthongs /ɑj, oj, iu/ <ւյ, ոյ, իւ> are rendered as simple vowels:

- /u/ > /u/ (ու > ու)
- /ɑj/ > /e/ (ւյ > է)
- /oj/ > /u/ (ոյ > ու)
- /iu/ > /u/ (իւ > ու).

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 ^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 |
| dz | ձ | dz ^h | ձ ^ʰ | ts | ծ | ts ^h | ց |
| dʒ | ջ | dʒ ^h | ջ ^ʰ | tʃ | ճ | tʃ ^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/ <u>, 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’ | atʃ ^h -(əʔ)k ^h (-PL) | աչք | atʃk | աճկ | atʃ ^h k ^h | աչք |
| ‘Armenianness’ | hɑjut ^h iʊn | հայրութիւն | hɑjuten | հայրւտեն | hɑjut ^h jʊn | հայրութիւն |

16.2.2.2 Glottal fricatives /h, ɦ/ <h, ɣ>

Like the Karin dialect, the Mush dialect also has two types of glottal sounds (հազազ), which are /f/ <ɣ> 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 /f/ <ɣ> to many vowel-initial words (Table 3).

Table 3: Insertion of word-initial voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ <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’ | աճիւր | աղբիւր | հաչբւր | յախբուր | աչքյւր | աղբյուր |
| ‘all’ | ամենայն | ամենայն | համեն | յըմեն | 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 /ɦ/ <յ>, we are provided with a second significant method to distinguish these two dialects.

The Classical Armenian sound /h/ <հ> has two types of forms in the Mush dialect. We find the sound /h/ <հ> 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 /ɑ/ <ա> (1a, 1b), and there exists the sound /gʲ/ <գյ> (1c), with which it gets closer to the Van dialect.

(1) Mush (implied to be the Paghesh subdialect)⁴

- a. tʰ^h-e gats^h-ier ɑ
 NEG-AUX go-PERF.CVB AUX
 ‘He has not gone.’
 չէ գացեր ա
- b. tʰ^h-e bier-ier ɑ
 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-Ø
 IND-come-TH-3SG
 ‘He comes.’
 կուգիւ

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

- b. cf. Classical Armenian
 əz-hats^h, əz-mer tun
 ACC-bread, ACC-our house
 ‘bread (ACC), our house (ACC)’
 qhաց, 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. tʰur 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
 ջօթօւրտ^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 <քու> /k^hu/ instead of <քո> /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. $\widehat{dz}^h\text{ern-e mzi}$
hand-ABL our
'from our hand'
 $\delta'\text{t}^n\text{nl}^t \text{uq}^h$
- b. $b^h\text{ern-e k}^h\text{zi}$
mouth-ABL your.SG
'from your.SG mouth'
 $p'\text{t}^n\text{nl}^t \text{p}^h\text{q}^h$
- c. $\text{sirt } \widehat{dz}^h\text{əzi urar } \widehat{tj}^h\text{-uz-a-}\emptyset$
heart your.PL each.other NEG-want-TH-3SG
'your hearts do not love/want each other'
 $\text{u}^h\text{r}^n\text{r}^n \delta' \text{r}^h\text{q}^h \text{ n}^h\text{r}^n\text{w}^h\text{r } \text{z}^n\text{uq}^h\text{u}$
- d. $\widehat{dz}^h\text{ern-e əndzi}$
hand-ABL my
'from my hand'
 $\delta'\text{t}^n\text{nl}^t \text{r}^n\text{u}^h\text{d}^h$
- e. $\widehat{dz}^h\text{ern-e } \widehat{dz}^h\text{zi}$
hand-ABL your.PL
'from your.PL hand'
 $\delta'\text{t}^n\text{nl}^t \delta'q^h$
- f. $\text{lez } \text{urants}^h, \text{buk } \text{urants}^h$
language their, throat their
'their language, their throat'
 $\text{t}^h\text{q } \text{n}^h\text{r}^n\text{w}^h\text{uq}^h, \text{p}^n\text{uq}^h \text{ n}^h\text{r}^n\text{w}^h\text{uq}^h$

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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
 $\text{v}^h\text{r}^n \text{ m}^h\text{r}^n \text{ t}^n\text{u}$

- ii. Classical Armenian
 - i verɑj meroj tan
to on our house.GEN
ի վերայ մերոյ տան
 - iii. SEA
 - mer tan vɑɑ
our house.GEN on
մեր տան վրա
- b. ‘in our house’
- i. Mush
 - mætʃ^h mər tan
in our house.GEN
մըչ 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
 - mæt ɛndʒi
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 <մաւտ ինծ> /mɑʊt 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 | քոլրօ | 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’ | dz ^h ər | ծ՛ըր |
| personal 2PL DAT ‘to you’ | dz ^h əzi | ծ՛ըզի |
| personal 2PL ABL ‘from you’ | dz ^h əzne | ծ՛ըզնէ |
| demonstrative proximal SG NOM ‘this’ | isa | իսա |
| demonstrative proximal SG INS ‘with this’ | estuov | էստով |
| demonstrative medial SG NOM ‘that’ | ida | իդա |
| demonstrative distal SG NOM ‘that yonder’ | ina | ինա |
| demonstrative distal SG INS ‘with that yonder’ | enduvov | էնդով |

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

dz^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.’

ծ՛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-Ø | կը սիրի | gə sir-e-Ø | 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-ādz e-m | տեսած եմ |
| present perfect 1PL ‘we have seen’ | tes-ier i-nk ^h | տեսեր ինք | des-ādz e-ŋk ^h | տեսած ենք |
| present perfect 2PL ‘you have seen’ | tes-ier i-k ^h | տեսեր իք | des-ādz 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-Ø | կուզի | g-uz-ej-i-Ø | կ’ուզէի |
| 1PL ‘we would come’ | kə g ^h -i-nk ^h | կը գ ^h ինք | gu k ^h -aj-i-ŋk ^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 գէինք>.]

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 jtu kɪlɪqtɪp I IND-want-TH.PST-1SG | jes g-uz-ej-i-Ø tu k’ɪlɪqtɪ I IND-want-TH-PST-1SG |
| ‘we would want’ | mən ^h k-uz-e-nk ^h ɟɪp kɪlɪqtɪp we IND-want-TH.PST-1PL | mən ^h g-uz-ej-i-ɲk ^h ɟɪp k’ɪlɪqtɪp we IND-want-TH-PST-1PL |

In the others, there is a simple distinction between how the vowel of the present is /i/ <ɪ>, while the vowel of the imperfective is /e/ <ɛ> (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 ɪp AUX-1PL | e-ɲk ^h ɛp AUX-1PL |
| ‘(we) were’ | e-nk ^h ɛp AUX.PST-1PL | ej-i-ɲk ^h ɛɪp AUX-PST-1PL |
| ‘they strike’ | kə tsets-i-n ɪp ɔtɔɪɪ IND strike-TH-3PL | gə dzedz-e-n ɪp ɔtɔɪɪ IND strike-TH-3PL |
| ‘they would strike’ | kə tsets-e-n ɪp ɔtɔɪɪ IND strike-TH.PST-3PL | gə dzedz-ej-i-n ɪp ɔtɔɪɪ IND strike-TH-PST-3PL |
| ‘they massacre’ | kə dʒ ^h ard ^h -i-n ɪp ɟʷarɪɪ IND massacre-TH-3PL | gə ɪ ^h art ^h -e-n ɪp ɟʷarɪɪ IND massacre-TH-3PL |
| ‘they would strike’ | kə dʒ ^h ard ^h -e-n ɪp ɟʷarɪɪ IND massacre-TH.PST-3PL | gə ɪ ^h art ^h -ej-i-n ɪp ɟʷarɪɪ 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. *hori i-s dr-ĭer i-s*
why AUX-2SG put-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG
'Why did you put (it)?'¹⁰
յօրի՞ս Խս դրեր Խս
- b. *jérp^h i-s ek-ĭer i-s*
why AUX-2SG come-PERF.CVB AUX-2SG
'When have you come?'
յէ՞րս Խս եկեր Խս

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^hol/ <թող> 'leave/let' ([*SEA: /t^hob/*]) has shortened to /t^həχ/ <թըխ>, 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^hχ mn-α-Ø
let stay-TH-3SG
'Let him stay!'
թիս մնա
- b. t^hχ as-á-Ø
let say-TH-3SG
'Let him say!'
թիս ասա՛
- c. t^hχ ar-n-é-Ø
let take-VX-TH-3SG
'Let him take!'
թիս առնէ
- d. t^h-ar-n-é-Ø
let-take-VX-TH-3SG
'Let him take!'
թառնէ՛
- e. t^h-ert^h-á-Ø
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 | həq’wɪ | k ^h -a-l | qɪwɪ |
| ‘to give’ | it-a-l | hɪtɪwɪ | d-a-l | tɪwɪ |
| ‘to cry’ | il-a-l | hɪlɪwɪ | l-a-l | lɪwɪ |
| | √-TH-INF | | √-TH-INF | |
| ‘I come’ | k-ig ^h -a-m | qəhəq’wɪm | gu-k ^h -a-m | qəhəq’wɪm |
| ‘I give’ | k-ig ^h -a-m | qəhɪtɪwɪm | gu-d-a-m | qəhɪtɪwɪm |
| ‘I cry’ | k-ig ^h -a-m | qəhɪlɪwɪm | gu-l-a-m | qəhɪlɪwɪm |
| | IND-√-TH-1SG | | IND-√-TH-1SG | |

16.3.3.5 Causative suffix

The Classical Armenian causative (անցողական) formative /-ets^huts^hanel/ <-եցնւցանել> has been shortened to /-ts^hu/ <ցնւ> or /-u/ <նւ> (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-ts ^h -u-m | կը հարցում | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-m | կը հարցնեմ |
| ‘you.SG ask’ | kə har-ts ^h -u-s | կը հարցուս | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-s | կը հարցնես |
| ‘he asks’ | kə har-ts ^h -u-Ø | կը հարցու | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-Ø | կը հարցնէ |
| ‘we ask’ | kə har-ts ^h -u-nk ^h | կը հարցունք | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-ŋk ^h | կը հարցնենք |
| ‘you.PL ask’ | kə har-ts ^h -u-k ^h | կը հարցուք | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-k ^h | կը հարցնեք |
| ‘we ask’ | kə har-ts ^h -u-n | կը հարցուն | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-n | կը հարցնեն |
| | IND ask-CAUS-TH-AGR | | IND ask-CAUS-TH-AGR | |
| ‘I make swear’ | kə hert ^h əv-ts ^h -u-m | կը հերթըմսում | g-ert ^h v-e-ts ^h ən-e-m | կը երդուցնեմ |
| | IND swear-CAUS-TH-AGR | | IND-swear-TH-CAUS-TH-AGR | |
| ‘I remove’ | kə ver-u-m | կը վերում | gə ver-ts ^h ən-e-m | կը վերցնեմ |
| ‘you.SG remove’ | kə ver-u-s | կը վերուս | gə ver-ts ^h ən-e-s | կը վերցնես |
| ‘he removes’ | kə ver-u-Ø | կը վերու | gə ver-ts ^h ən-e-Ø | կը վերցնէ |
| | IND remove-CAUS-TH-AGR | | IND-remove-CAUS-TH-AGR | |

(12) Mush

- a. $\widehat{tj^h}$ -ə-n hás-u
 NEG-AUX(?)-3PL bring-CAUS.TH
 ‘They won’t deliver’
 չըն հա՛սու
- b. pti mjer mal p^hit-ts^h-u-n, ert^h-a-n p^hit-ts^h-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).’
 պտի 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’ | mer-uk | մեռուկ | mer- \widehat{adz} | մեռած |
| ‘died’ | p ^h its ^h -uk | փիցուկ | satk- \widehat{adz} | սատկած |
| | $\sqrt{-}$ PERF.CVB | | $\sqrt{-}$ RPTCP | |
| ‘broken’ | kotr-uk | կոտրուկ | kodər-v- \widehat{adz} | կոտրուած |
| ‘written’ | g ^h r-uk | գ՛րուկ | k ^h ər-v- \widehat{adz} | գրուած |
| | $\sqrt{-}$ PERF.CVB | | $\sqrt{-}$ 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{adz} / in SWA), and not perfective converbs (/–el/ 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 (Msérianitz 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
 - * Патканов (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. Պոլիս 1874
 - – Մանանայ. Պոլիս 1876
 - _____ original page number 121 _____
 - – Համով հոտով. Պոլիս
 - – Հանդես թռչնոց. Արեւ. Մամուլ 1884, page 389-392
 - * Արիստ. Վ. Սեդրակեան – Զնար Մշեցոց եւ Վանեցոց. Վորշպտ. 1874
 - * Յ. Ամրիկեանց – Մշու թռչուն օտար երկրում. Կոռնկ 1862, page 386-390
 - * Մ. Դանիելեան
 - – Պարերգ, խաղ, պառաւներու աղօթք. Բիւրակն, 1898, page 313-4
 - – Յակօի վախենակ կարելը. անդ, 1899, page 329-330
 - * Վ. Արտակ – Պարերգ. անդ, 1900, page 122-3

- * Գ. Տ. Չ. – Կաղ եզը, անդ, page 618
- Bulanik vernacular
 - * Բենսե – Բուլանլի կամ Հարը գաւառ. Ազգ. հանդ. Ե. page 9-184, 2 page 7-108
 - * Ս. Հայկունի
 - – Ժողովրդական գրականութ. բեկորն. Արրտ. 1896, 556-7
 - – Սոյլամազ խանըմ, Արրա. 1896, 557-560
- Alashkert vernacular
 - * Ս. Հայկունի – Ալաշկերտի հայոց առաձները. 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 Մշեցոց նշանդրեքն ու հարսանիքը. Կռունկ 1863, page 385-400
- Sason vernacular
 - * Մ. Մուրատեան
 - – Սասնոց 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).

Սանասուր Նստոկ էր Սասուն, ուր պապու կըռքեր չըն թողի օր ըդի սըթեր ու յէլավ խըստ էրեց ուր պապուն ու մամուն ու գ'նաց Բաղդադ: Ուր պապ Նըստոկ էր փանջարէն, տեսավ օր 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, յերկըրպաքութեն արա մեծ կըռքին, օր զքըզի մատ-դեմ: Ասեց տղէն.

– Աբ'օ՛, քո ճոչ կուռք շատ զօրավոր կուռք Է. գ'իշեր լէ չըր թողնե, օր մենք ընտել սըթըրվենք. յար յէբ' Է մանցե՝ չուր մէկել մատաղ լէ կը քաշե ու կը բ'երե:

Առավ զտղէն ու մտան կըքատուն:

Տղէն պապուն ասեց.

– Աբ'օ՛, չէ՞ դ'ու գ'ինաս օր մենք գ'ացինք՝ մենք պստիկ էինք. մենք զքո կռքի զօրութեն չընք գ'ինե. դէ՛, դ'ու կզի քո կըռքին յերկրպաքութեն տուր, իշեմ իմալ կիտաս, ուսնեմ:

Պապն ասեց. – Հմլա, լա՛օ, ու կգալ յերկրպաքուքն տըվեց: Տղեն ասեց.

– Աբ՛օ, քո կուռք ի՛նչ զօրավոր կուռք էր. օր դ՛ու յեբ՛որ կգար, իմ աչքեր մթնեց, թտեսա ի՛մալ էրեցիր: (Չընքի չհասաւ օր առչի դրքին զարկեր. մալմթի կօճկըներ չարձ՛ըկվալ): Ասեց. Աբ՛օ, աբ՛օ, իդա հաղ լէ յերկրպաքուքն էրէ, տեսնենք ի՞մալ կենես, օր յես լէ էնեմ:

Ու հեղմ՛ լէ յեբ՛որ կճաւ պապ, տղեն ասեց. «Յա՛ հացն ու գ՛ինի. տերն կեն-թանի». ու գուրզ մի իջ՛ալ, ու գուր պապ խալիֆէն յօթն գ՛ապ գ՛ետին վէ իջ՛ուց: Առեց զգուրզն ու ինգալ մեջ...

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... կըռքերուն, զեմեն լէ ջ՛արդեց, ու առաւ զարծըթներ լցեց ուր մալմթի փեշ ու բերեց տըվեց ուր մամուն ոււ ասեց.

– Մա՛մօ, իդոնք էրէ քըզի զենաթ:

Մամ լէ կգաւ վըր քիթ ու բ՛երնին, յերկրպաքուքն էրեց, ու ասեց.

– Գ՛օհանամ քենէ յերկնի ու յերկրի ստեղծօծ. գ՛ա օր զմը զի ազգատ էրեցիր էն գալըմի ձ՛ենեն:

Բ՛երեց զՍանասար փսակեց, ու պապու տեղ դ՛րեց վըր թախթին: Ընի ընդեղ մնաց. դ՛առնանք Աբ՛ամելիքի վրեն:

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 լո՛ւս քի, ախպեր Թօ՛րօ:

– Վոյ Աստու խերն ու բ՛արին, Ըռքօ ջան:

– Ի՞մալ իս, ի՛նչ խեր հարցում (հարցուցանեմ) վրետ, վըր ճժերուտ:

– Սախ (ողջ) մնաս. Ասվաճ բ՛աշխէ ըզքու զավկըներ. ըմմեն լէ սախ ին. ըզքու ձ՛եռք կը պագ՛ին. Նստի, ա՛խպեր, Նստի. քիչ մը ժըղլիք (խօսի), բ՛ան մ՛ըսէ մժուկինք (մտիկ ընել), Ասվաճըտ սիրիս. ըզքու էն մեզ գ՛ըլխու գ՛ալիք Նախլ էրէ:

– Հա տօ աղէկ միտկըս բ՛երիր. Նստի ըսիմ:

– Արաբ ասկրի տարին էր. իշով քարվընօվ զախիրա (պարեն) տարեր էնք ասկրին. Էն դ’ին օր Էգանք, իմ յընկերներ Բուվանըխցի էն. ուրանց տուն գ’ացին. Ես մինադ յօլ ու ռեվան (ճանապարհուել) Էգա ի Մուշ. յիրգուն էր հասա Սրե-Սիփանա տագ. Էփեյի քելեցի. լուսնյակ թամամ Էլած էր. աստղըներ լե գը փելգըղեն. հագ մ’ լե տեսամ օր քուրթ մը յառջ’եվս յելավ ու ջղարե (սիկառ) մ’ յուզեց. Ես լե, դ’ու գինաս օր ջղարա չըմ...

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... քա՛շի. ըսի օր չըկա. քուրթ քաշլեց գօր ընել ու ծ’եռք թալլեց ջերս օր ջղարա իշէ. Ես լե ակցի մը սրդին գրգի, Էրսի վրա գ’եղին յընգավ, ու հըմալ ճըվոցըմ հանեց օր սար ու ծ’որ ծ’են ավեց: Հեղմ’ լե ի՞նչ’ տեսամ օր հինգ հօկի սիլա-լըխօվ քրու տըզեն (քարի տակեն) դ’ուրս յելան ու վրես վզեցին: Էլ գիցա օր մեռնելու յա աբրելու սըհաթն է: Աստըծու գօրուտենօվ ժանգոռո խանջալըմ կեր վրես, գթեվս քշթեցի ու միջ’վընին յընգա, մեզ Էրգու գ’եղին շըռճեցի, հըմա դօղորան ըսիմ, Ես լե քնիմ տեղօվ յարալու Էղա. հմա ախըր ի՛նչ Էնիմ. մեզ մարտ հինգ մարտու ինչ կըռնա Էնէ. վօր հասըլ (վերջապես) գիս բ’ռնեցին, ծ’եռներս յետեվս կապեցին, ու սար տարան: Էլ ինչ օր իմ վրեն Էգավ, քու վրեն յիկա Ասուլ խերն ու բ’արին: Հըրի լուց չարչըրգեցին ու յըմնուց սօրա յուզեցին օր գիս սպանին: Հմա Սատըծուց Էր, դըհա մեռնելուս վախտ չըր Է’գի: Չիս կանգըցին ուրընցնէ իրեք շեք (քայլ) հեռուն ու գխանջըներ հանեցին ու ուրանց սստած տեղեն սը-րըթմանի (շեշտակի) իմ ճըռներուն բաշլեցին գըրկել. ու Ես ուրանց գօրօվ մսիս միճեն խանջալ հանելօվ ուրանց կիդենք (<կուտային, իմա՛ կուտայի): Էն սօնը մեզ լե գթուր քաշեց ու վրես Էկավ օր ըզգ’լուխս կըղրէ. հըմա Աստըծուց Էր, դ’իմացեն քընի մ’ հօկի քըրթերեն 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 մեզն գ’ըլուխս լուսնյակին դ’առցուց ու քըրթերեն հարցուց. «Կո՛ւռօ տու ֆլա՞ ի կուրմանջի (Տղա՛յ, դու հա՞յ Ես թէ քուրդ)»:

– Էզ ֆլա մէ (Ես հայ եմ):

– Տօ ախպեր դ’ու հա՞յ իս:

– Հա՛յ իմ խուրբան:

– Տօ գիդի բ’ռնէք ըտոնք ըզհայ (կամ արագ խօսած ժամանակ՝ սայ) գը չարչըրին:

Հրաման տըվեց յընկերներուն ու ըզքըրթեր մեզիգ մեզիգ կարեցիպ, գըռվընք-ներ առան, ու ծեծելօվ չարչըրկելօվ ուրանց գ’եղ տարան, մուղուռին թասլիմ Էրին: յետկեն ընծի պատմեցին օր ուրանց կօվեր կօրեր Էն, փընդըռնելու յելած 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.

Զ'ախցական Աղէկ աղլապ (միշտ) խսա կէներ (պատմել), կըսեր յէս ջ'աղացն էնք, Էն մէկ օր իսկի մարթ չը մնաց մօտսի. հարքէս (ամէն ոք) զաղուն թողեց իմ ումուդով (յոսով), գ'նաց ուր տուն: յանգ'ան գահ էր (ուշ ատեն էր). մէնակ նըստով էնք, յէս տեսա դ'օլ ու զուռնի 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 տօ յա, իգա կնկա վրէն իմ քավօրքուր Ա-ի դալմէն Է (զգեստ). յուշիկ մէ գչախուն հանեցի ջեբէս ու գդալմի մէկ փէշ կտրեցի. հըրտ իմ կտրելուն՝ կնկտիք աներեւութ Էղան:

Էն յոսուն գ'ացի քավօրօչ տուն. ըսի ըշտէ իդա գ'իշեր հըմլա հըմլա բ'ան մէ պատահրավ. մարթ չավտըցավ. ըսի «Զանըմ, յօրի'ն չըք ավտընա. բ'երեք գըավօր քօչ 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 մէջ իրեք հատ քօսա կէղնին. Էտոնց սօվօրուտեն լէ Էն էր օր յըմսօր գ'իկէն, ճամպներու վրէն կը կայնէն օր գ'էղածի – մէղածի ըռաստ յիկէր, խապէն. Էտոնք մախսուս յիրարուց հեռու կը կայնէն՝ օր գ'էղածիք գ'իկէն 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 տաւ. յընծի օր (ինչու ուր) մեր կօվ համ խօրօտ ա ու համ կաթնօվ:

Էտ տղէն էր, յոսուն շուտ առավ կօվն ու գ'նաց. Էտոնց իդարէն լէ զատի մած (մնացած) էր Էտ կօվ. խէլ մի գ'նաց, ըռուստ Էկավ յառճի քօսին, օր քախքից դ'ուս կայներ էր:

– Օղուր Էղնի, դ'ո'ր կերտաս. հարծուց քօւէն:

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– Սաղ Էղնիս. կերտամ քաղաք, ըսեց. իմ պապ ընծի ճամպեր ա օր իտա կօվ տանիմ ծախիմ:

Քօւէն կըսա. – Տօ', ի'մալ կօվ. Էտի հօրտիկ ա. հա'յ, մըսի' (մի' ըսեր) կօվ, խըլղ կը ծիծղան քու վրէն. թէ քզի միտք կա ծախելուն՝ յէռսուն խուռուշ կիտամ:

– Ախպէր, դը' գէն գ'նա. չը գ'իկամ 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, չավտընաս թէ էտի հօրտիկ ա:

16.5.1.5 Aparan

Adjarian's note: See Գարեգին Սարկաւազի Սասմայ ծոեր, էջ 14-15.

Ժամանակով 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 պառվուռ 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՛ ունենք (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՛առնանք. 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 ջ՛արթեցին, ու սպանեցի ու կօտօրեցին:

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16.5.1.6 Manazkert

Adjarian's note: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 7 (2.), page 139.

Հառավել, հառավել, յէշ,

Հառավել, Մուսլօ գոշէշ.

Ձեռսի թալեմ Աստծու փէշ

Մզի ցորեն տա փէշքէշ,

Ծախենք տանք մեր ռեսի բէշ,

Չեղնի ծախին բօզ գոմէշ:

Հէլէլ – մէլէլ շէկ կռտան,

Հօտղներ, քէք գէդ գութան.

Օրթա հասնինք բրէտան,

Հա՛ մռնիմ քզի, Շէկօ, Կռտան:
 Տղա՛ Մա՛նուկ քշա դէդ եզ,
 Գուքան բանի քանդի սեզ.
 Յորեն եղնի դէզ դէզ,
 Հա մռնիմ Մանուկին ես:
 Քշա՛ Լաւանդն ու Խնձորօն,
 Հանդա փոխդ բերեց Կարօն,
 Մկա լծինք Շապազն ու Խէրօն:
 Օր դմանհնա մզի ռես Միրօն:
 Տղէք, ձէն հանէք գուքսէն,
 Տաս տուն ա մեր բնատէն.
 Գուքնի ակեր ճըռվըռան,
 Ճըռվըռա, ձէնիդ խուրբան.
 Հան, Խաղօն, Չմօն Էկան,
 Բերին մաճնախառ թան,
 Իդ հաղսի կարծկինք գուքան.
 Հա բավէ մըն, հաժավէ:
 Մատաղ ձգի գմըշտան,
 Կըսեմ հօտղներ Էրթան
 Պաղպաղ ջրով տղէկ հօվցան,
 Լվան, ղըվըռցուն, արծան:
 Տավար Էկավ, քնուց յէլան,
 Գուքան 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. Էդ 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՛, զմզի 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:

Պապ կըսէ. – Տղա լա՛օ, խեղճտի թռուցե՞ր իս:

– Չէ, կեանքէ, կըսէ, պտի էրթաս յուզիս:

Չեղնիր տղի վրէն, կէրթա 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 գետիկ,

Դու զաղջիկ իտաս ինծիկ:

Բարձր 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 գնդամ եւ գեւան,

Հանեց դրախտէն անարժան:

Ելաւ, ուրը Հըլպու սաբուն,

Կուլէր զաշուն ու զգարուն:

Բարձր 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 խորոնակ ու զարկին,

Սարեց ելաւ սեւ արուն:

Եարն էր գնաց ջուր մերուն,

Լցես մէջ իւր կժերուն,

Թալեց ուրը իւր թելերուն,
 Թափաւ ուրը իւր փոթերուն,
 Լցուաւ մէջ իւր սօլերուն,
 Շարի շամամ ծծերուն:
 Երցու աղջիկ մեր դռկից.
 Բուռ մը չամիչ կրկմից,
 Պագ մը խաբեց չտուեց:
 Ես գացի Մշու դիմաց,
 Տեսայ դռներ կիսաբաց.
 Մտայ կ'առնէք թաժէ հաց.
 Անտէր շունէն մնացած
 Բերան բացեց զիս խածներ.
 Ընծի ի՞նչ խածիլ պիտէր:
 Ընծի գիրկ ծոցքը պիտէր:
 Դիման Մշու գացեր իմ,
 Լաշփէտ Մշէն բերեր իմ,
 Չարկամ վրամ թալեր իմ,
 Եարի դռնէն ընցեր իմ,
 Փէշտիմալ գօտէն փրցեր իմ,
 Սեւ աչուլներ 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.
Հարիւր ուզես՝ հազար կիտամ.
Ամպն էր երկինք եւ այլն:
Կես գիշերուն դուրս ելայ.
Մատղաշ ամպիկ մ'եր ելեր,
Դանդաղ ձնիկ մ'եր թալեր,
Բոկիկ հետիկ մ'է գացէ.
Առա գիտիկն ու գացի,
Գացի կայնա գըլխընուն:
Վարդեր փըռուկ էր երընուն,
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 *Paghesh subdialect*

16.5.2.1 *Paghesh*

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 խաւշիկ. իշկեց օր ախբեր գատենց Էկավ, ախջիկ յիմցուց խաւշկա: Դողուն առաւ աղվըզու ջան, Էլավ, գնաց, Էլման մտավ ջաղչի քարի տակ: Աղջիկէ ախբերն Էկավ, գատ Էփեցին, կերան, քնան չուր ի լուս: Ախբեր կու կելլի, Էլի գնաց նեջիր. աղվեզ Էլման Էկաւ աղջիկէ մօտ. ուտեն, խմեն, քեյֆ էրեցին ուրանց: Մէ ամիս, Էրկու իրեք ընցավ մեջտեղ, աղբեր իշկեց օր քորջ փոր օր զօր՝ օր զօր կուռի, օր պը զօր միգար կու բանձրնա:

– Զո՛ւրօ, ասաց տղեն. ես տեղ մարդ չկա. եղյ՞մալ բան ա. կիշկիմ քո մեզար օր պը զօր կու բանծրնա. թե մարդ ունիս, գաղտուտ կու պեհիս, բե՛ր ես տեղ, աշկարա պսակիմ քու վերեն. հալալ իրիկ կնիկ եղեք, իսան օր կա՝ մեղաց վորդի ա:

– Հավա՛ր, աղբեր, դու եղա խօսք յի՞նչ խօսք ա ձի ասեցիր. ես իմ խօր անվան մօտեն չե՞մ ամչնար օր դու ձի եղ խօսք կասիս. ես եղ բան երո՞ղն իմ:

– Հըպա, քո՛ւրօ, եղ քո միզար յօրի՞ն կը բանծրնա:

– Տախտ կավիլի, նռան խատ մի գտա, թալեցի բերանսի. ես տեղացեն փորս ուռաւ:

16.5.2.2 Arjesh

Adjarian's note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ.), page 323.

Ժամանակաց մեկին Հարճեշու մեջ Չիլանաձոր մե մարդ մ'կեղի:

Ետ մարդ յելավ առավ ուր բեռ, գնաց սարի միջու ջաղաջ աղալու. հալա ջաղջի մօտ չը խասեր էր, ջաղջըպան դուս յելավ, չուան եզնից պրծուց, բեռն խուրճու պես թալեց ուր շալակ, տարավ ներս:

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Եղ մարդ օր եղ բան տեսավ, շատ վախեցավ, ասեց.

– Վալա, Եսիկ ինձ էլ կսպանա, բեռն էլ կուտա, եզն էլ խետ. ապա ի՞նչ Էնիմ, Աստված, օր Էնպես ա, ես պտի փախիմ:

Ջաղջպան բեռան բերանը քակեց, ցօրեն լցեց օղունի մեջ, իրիշկեց տեսավ օր բեռնան տեր չեկավ, յելավ դուս, տեսավ օր Էն մարդ կը փախի, բռնաց.

– Տօ՛ աղբեր, մի՛ փախի, արի՛ արի՛:

Էն մարդն էլ ասաց. – Տօ վալլա, ես քո դուվաթ տեսա, քեզնե 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 երկու, յան իրեք օրեն կուգյամ:

– Շուտ արի, օր անգյան գյաս, կը նեխի:

Դախրիշ տուեց ձուկ մըտ պառավ պախ, գնաց:

Պառավ ասաց. – Վերցեք ծուկ, պախեք, չեղի զայ էնեք:

Էդա աղջիկներն ա, վերցին Էդ ծուկ պախեցին:

Աղջիկներ իշկեցին օր մ' Էրկու օր դավրիշ չէկավ:

Քշեց չանք ամիս մ' Էդ դավրիշ չէկավ:

Պառվու շոջ աղջիկն ա, վերցրուց ուր քուրվըտոց.

– Ա՛ղջի, յէլի 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 Khlat

Adjarian's note: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ.), page 376.

Թաքյավոր մ' կեղի, խետ մէկ լալէ մ'. գելին կերթան կը պտօտեն. Էդա թաքյավոր լէ ըսկի ավադ ու թավադ (որդիք) չունէր: Կերթան մէկ դավրէշի մ' ըռաստ կիւգյան: Դավրէշ կասա.

– Թաքյավոր ապրած. ես գիտեմ դու ինչի շուռ կիւգյաս. տղէ մ' ապօվ շուռ կիւգյաս. 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 դագըգա մնաց, թաքյավորի կնիկ պարկյավ, Էբեր ջուխթ մ' տղա: Տղէք ջօջցան, Էղան տաս տարեկան: Աւուր մէկ դավրէշն Էկավ, տեսավ օր Էրկու տղէն հոլ կը խաին. ասաց.

– Կա ու չկա, Էսոնք իմ խնծորի տղէկներն են:

Կանչեց գէն Էրկու տղին. պստիկն չէկավ. ջոջն Էբեր, ասաց.

– Արի, Էրթանք, քյօ խօր տուն տո՛ւր ձի շանց:

Տղէն ընգյավ առջէվ, տարավ, ասաց. – Էսա իմ խօր տուն ա:

Դավրէշ մտավ ինե, տղի խօր տուն սալամըդ կապեցին առէչ, ասաց. – Թաքյավոր ապրած կէնա. դու քյօ խօսաց տե՛րն ես:

Ասաց. – Խա, ես իմ խօսաց տերն եմ: Բերեց գերկու տղէն կայնեցուց դարվէշի 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 իս գ'ացեր իս 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'ընից, հաց լէ չեղավ, շախտեն տարավ

* *

Նիկօլա թաքավոր, Ճավճավաց յերանալ առավ Էլլըկ Էկավ Գյօքջէն, հազար ութը հաւրիր քսանը ութ թվին. մզի բ'երեց Էստեղ. Ալաշկերտու Խաստուրու բ'երեց. իցա գ'եղ լէ տրվից մզի. օխտ տարի թարխնութեն տըվից. ծ'զի ասիմ օխտ տարով յետ կապեց մզի խարջ ու խարաջ: Տալիզա մօվրօվ կար. Էկավ Էլլըք պահից. Էտ խարջ կապեց մզիկ, յավալ կապեց մէ մանէթ, Էրկու Էրեց, իրեք, Էտեվ չորս, Էտեվ հինգ, Էլավ չանքի հիմի տան գ'լօխ տարեկան տըսնըչորս մանէթ վացցուն կապէկ. Էս սահաթես մընք արքունական խարջ կիտանք: Դ'առնանք մէշէք. մէշէքն Էրից պօշլի (ռուս. մաքս), առավ միննէ (կամ նաեւ մզնէ՝ ի մէնջ) առաբին հիցցուն. հիմի դ'արծ'ավ փետին, Էրից մի մանէթ. ծովէրեն 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 դիմին. օր ախալեր լավ ըլնէր՝ մէկ լէ ուրին կըստեղծեր. մկա դ'ու քու ախպօր քանդող իս:

– Դ'ու փիս մարթ իս. քօ հօրօխբ'ըրտիք զըկեր իս, կօղորդեր իս. կայներ իս կօրշնըվիս՝ գ'եղօվ Էլ խաբուլ չինք:

– Օր դ'ու լավ Էղներ քու ավպօրտոց հետ՝ քու բ'երան կերյարա չէր ընգէ:

- Իմ չընգեր ա, քոս կ'ընգնի:
- Իսա գեղ, ինա գեղ, հմեն լե ընծմե հա՛գ կենին. քի պես դ'եվ մարթ հա՛գ չենա:

16.5.2.5.3 Dzoragegh

Յերկրեն օր եկանք առաջ քառսունուչորս տուն ենք. հիմի դաֆթրին հարուր քսանը ուր տուն ինք. էտ հողով չինք գյառնա կառավորվինք. եղեր ինք մկա երկու հարուր իծծուն...

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... տուն. ապրուստ մի չեղնի. խարջ շատըցե, խարաջ լե շատըցե. թաքավոր լե ծով խլեր ա ծ'երնե մգի. մգի փայ չկա. հարուր սել խոտ լե կը կերցու ծ'ուկ առնող մուշտարի. բիրադի (բուր) Յերեվանու, Քյավառա կիգ'ան, յօթն ավուր ճամբախ կիգ'ան, խոտ կը կերցուն, են հողի խարջ լե մենք կիտանք. մացեր ինք հեսիր: Մեկ մեկ մարթ լե թուրքեր կը գ'օղնան տանին սպանին: Մկլօրսի սպանին մե մարթ, էլ մի' հարցու: Թաքավոր գմմեն լե քրթերուն, հայերուն փարա տըվեր է, մգի չի' իտա: Հերու անուն մեր գեղ հաց չե էկե. տեղ սար է. մրսեր, ցուրտ տարեր է. ժանգ լե զարկեր է. սկի պտուղ չինք ստացե'ր ի:

16.5.2.5.4 Tsakkar

Մգի ճավճավ յերանալը բերեց էս գեղը. օխտը տարի խարջը չառաւ. յետօ դ'ար-ծ'ավ առաւ տարին մե մանեթ երկու մանեթ, իրեք, չորս, խինքգ մանեթ. մկա լե կառնի 14 մանեթ տնական: Ծովերեն մգի գրկիր ի. ջ'ախջ'ըներեն լե կառնի փող, երկու անգ'ամ, համ գըլղին, համ դախօդ: Էլման մեշեներեն մգի գրկիր ի. մեկ փետ մգի վրա երիր ի խինգ մանեթ. խաց լե չեկավ. քամին քաշեց. հիմի չինք կառնա մըր աղեկներ պահինք. անծրեվ չի գ'ա. չօրուրեն տվիր ի մր վրեն: Արագա ափներու թուրքեր եկած ին մր չայիրներ, մըր արտեր կերցուցած ին. մգի նեղուրեն կիտան. կիգ'ան մգի վրա, մըր չայիր կը կերցուն, մգի գիւլլօվ կը զանին:

16.5.2.5.5 Gölköy

Ահմետ 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 վախենանք. թվանք չունինք օր երթանք կռիվ էնին, զընդոնց սպանինք, հո'ւ հո'ւ: Թուրքն օխտ ավուր ճամբախ կիգ'ա մեր մալի արօտ կը կերցու. մեր պապական մուլք' օր Ալաշկերտու եկեր ինք, մեր ծ'երնեն ղլած ա. մկա մեր մալ կը փիտնա. մեր մալի խաթեր գ'ացեր ինք, առեր ինք. յօրեն հինգ կռիվ կենինք. չընք իշխընա մօտենանք: Թվանք օր եղնի' մենք ընդոնց սկի չընք հաշվի մարթ. հմա օր չկա... կը վախենանք կը փախնինք: Տարեկան մգնե տասը մալ ղլին տանին. քսան հատ լե 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 հասուցանէն): 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 էլնի 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 կարքըվեր 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 տըմնըինգ տարի կէղնի 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 էկե 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. բէլքի լուսուն լէ մեռա: թըխ իմ անուն լէ մնա ախշըրքի էրես, թէ լավ թէ վատ իմ անուն լէ թըխ մնա մըչ ախշըրքին:

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- 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'ւստ 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 կելնինք տանիս կը բօռինք «տղա՛, արի դ'աս», մէկի տեղ սաաղ գ'եղ

ժողնըվին 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 Küpkiran that is near Mangasar.

Մենք Զօփղռանա եկեր ենք էստեղ. նեղութենի խամար ենք եկը. զօ էստեղ շենըք ենք շիքե: Մընք եկանք՝ 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, էղմալ էլ զօ մեր լեզուն ա: Մենք ու Մանկասարցիք ինուրդ'ըրկից ենք: Գօ ինոնք էմալ օր էնդեղ ին նստած, մենք էլ էնդոնց կշտի խետ էստեղն ենք նստած:

16.5.2.5.9 Alikrykh

Մեր գ'եղացիք գ'նացինք նաչալնիկի մօտ. ասաց. դիվան կուզեմ: Էլավ եկավ թալեց ճպօտի տակ, էտոր լավ ջ'արդ'եց. խօնջան կըտրավ. օր կտրավ՝ խեյքը գ'նաց. քթն խեղդի 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'իյանքներու վրեն, առանք եկանք 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 քեզնե ու ձ'եզնե կը խարցում. սուչ վի'ր կ'եղի:

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- Է՛, դ'աս արի, դ'ո'ր կ'եթաս. կայնե յես էլ գ'ամ:
- Վռագցեր իմ. յես զօ բ'ան ունիմ, կը վազիմ կ'եթամ. էն տղեներ գ'նացին. անգաջ չեն էնե. 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'աներուց զոուցա, վարժապետ թօղ գ'րա:
- So չմ գ'ինա ինչ պատմեմ. մեր պապեր եկած ին էստեղ. թուրք էր նստուկ. թուրքերուն խանեցին տարան Մազրի մահալ, մենք մացինք էստեղ:
- յո'ւստ գ'աս:
- Տնեն:

- Էդ օծլուշադի խետ ի՞նչ կը զրուցիր:
- Սկի. կասի քի մէ փարչ Քուլադանա Բ'երած Մարգ'արի տուն. մկա կուզեմ չի իտան. կասեմ յօրի՞ չս իտա. կասեն ծ'եզի պետք ա, մեզի էլ պետք ա: Դէ, էստոք գ'րա. էսքան բօ՛լ ա: Կուզես ուրիշ բ'ան էլ ասեմ: Մեր կանամի խամող (անջուր) ա. ջ'ուր կուզեմ, չն ի տա. Խաջօի 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'ա՛մ:
- 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'արօվ էկաք. նստեք. խեր ա Էս վախտ ծ'եր գ'ալ:
- Խեր ա, փառք Աստուծու. դ'ու ընծնից խարցու. Էկեր Էնք բ'արեկամութեն կը խնդ'րենք. ախջ'իկդ տու մեր տղին: Քեզնէ լավ մարդ՝ չենք կառնա դ'ըտնի:
- Դէ վօր Էդմալ ա, ծ'եռդ բ'ե պաչեմ:
- Տղա՛, բուտուկէք դ'րեք, քէֆ 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.

ժողվեր 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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Սկա 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: Սկա կըսեն. բ'արծ'ենք մեր տներ՝ Էրթանք մեր զօզանատեղ. Էն վախտ մզիկ ըռահաթ կեղնի. մէ ամիս Էրկու կը մնանք Էնդէխ, Էրկու ամսով յետօ կիջ'նենք կիգ'անք մեր գ'եղ:

16.5.2.5.13 Zaghalu

Adjarian's note: Migrated from the village of Yoncalı in Mush.

Յես ըսեցի. տերտեր, արի Էրթանք սար, քօիկըմ 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 պախեն. մեզի լավ աչքօվ կիշկեն: Խոտ լէ ասնօվ 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 Khlát.

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 | կու գամ |
| 'you.SG come' | k-ig ^h -a-s | կիգ'աս | gu-d-a-s | կու գաս |
| 'he comes' | k-ig ^h -a-n | կիգ'ան | gu-l-a-n | կու գան |
| 'I give' | k-it-a-m | կիտամ | gu-d-a-m | կու 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/ <էւ>, 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, Erentepe, 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.CVB 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. art^h-a-nk^h
 go-TH-1PL
 ‘We go (subjunctive).’
 արթանք

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 (աււսն), 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> | /ʏ/ <ɨɫ> | /u/ <ɯɫ> |
| /je/ <ɛ> | /œɹ/ <ɛ̀ɔ> | /ɯo/ <n> |
| /e/ <ɛ> | /œ/ <ɛo> | /ə/ <ɹ> |
| /æ/ <ɯ̃> | | /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> | <ɲ> | <ɯɲ> | <ɸʰ> | <ɣ> | <ɫ> | <ɸ> |
| Affricates | | | | /dʒ/ | /tʃ/ | /tʃʰ/ | /gʲ/ | /kʲ/ | /kʰʲ/ |
| | | | | <ɖ> | <ɖʰ> | <ɣ> | <ɣʲ> | <ɫʲ> | <ɸʲ> |
| | | | | /dʒ/ | /tʃ/ | /tʃʰ/ | | | |
| | | | | <ɖ> | <ɖʰ> | <ɣ> | | | |
| Fricatives | /f/ | /v/ | | /s/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /χ/ | /ʁ/ |
| | <ɸ> | <ɫ> | | <ɯ> | <ɣ> | <ɖ> | <ɖʰ> | <ɫ> | <ɫ> |
| Sonorants | /m/ | /n/ | | /r/ | /r/ | /l/ | /j/ | | |
| | <ɯ> | <ɫ> | | <ɲ> | <ɲ> | <ɫ> | <ɫ> | | |

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.

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/ <ւ̈>, but there is no general rule for this. What is clear is only that after the sound /v/ <վ>, it always changes to /æ/ <ւ̈>, and even in the name of the city ‘Van’ (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ւ> to /æ/ <ւ̈> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| ‘fear’ | vaχ | վախ | væχ | վա̈խ | vaχ | վախ |
| ‘to wash’ | hvanal | իւանալ | lvæl, vlæl | լվա̈լ, վլա̈լ | ləvanal, ləval | լվանալ, լվալ |
| ‘wheat-meal’ | ḏzawar | ծաւար | tsævæɾ | ծա̈վա̈ր | ḏzavar | ծավար |
| ‘to run’ | vazel | վազել | væzjel | վա̈զել | vazel | վազել |
| ‘tomorrow’ | vał | վաղ | væɣ | վա̈ղ | vax-ə (-DEF) | վաղը |
| ‘curtain’ | varagojɾ | վարագոյր | væɾækʰur | վա̈րա̈ւյր | varakʰujɾ | վարագոյր |
| ‘vardapet’ | vardapet | վարդապետ | væɾtæpiet | վա̈րտա̈պետ | varʰapet | վարդապետ |
| ‘fee’ | vardz-(ə?)kʰ (-PL) | վարծք | væɾtsʰkʰ | վա̈րոցք | varʰtsʰkʰ | վարծք |
| ‘Van’ | van | Վան | væn | Վա̈ն | van | Վան |

In very few cases, the Classical Armenian vowel /a/ <ւ> also changes to /e, ie, je, i, œ, ɤ, o, ə/ <է, յէ, ի, եօ, իւ, օ, ը>. 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 | յեռսուն | 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. (?)]]

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 ^{hj} | իրեքյ | 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 /je/ <յե> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from final Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je/ <յե> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| ‘friend’ | ənker | ընկեր | ing ^j ier | իսգյեր | əŋker | ընկեր |

Word-medial /e/ <ե> changes to /e/ <ե> or /je/ <յե> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from word-medial Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /e, je/ <ե, յե> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| ‘mouth’ | beran | բերան | peran | պերան | beran | բերան |
| ‘ground’ | getin | գետին | k ^j ietin | կյետին | getin | գետին |

The latter sound change in particular is the opposite from the Mush dialect, where the sounds /je/ <յե> or /yo/ <յո> can exist only in the final syllable according to Mserian (Մսերեան).

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 | խեծ | χiʒ | խիծ | χeʒ | խեծ |
| ‘Sunday’ | kirakē, kiṽrakē | կիրակե, կիւրակե | kiraki | կիրակի | kiraki | կիրակի |

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 /je/ <յե> or /y/ <իւ> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, e, je, 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’ | ankolin | անկողին | g ⁱ oʁvenk ^{hj} | գյօղվենք | aŋkoxin | անկողին |
| ‘poop’ | tsirt | ծիրտ | tsjert | ծեռտ | tsirt, tsert | ծիրտ, ծեռտ |
| ‘balance’ | kəfir-k ^h (-PL) | կշիռք | kəfjerk ^{hj} | կըշեռք | kəfirk ^h | կշիռք |
| ‘other’ | urif | ուրիշ | yrɤf | իւրիւշ | urif | ուրիշ |

17.2.2.1.5 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> changes to /vuo/ <վո> at the beginning of monosyllabic words, to /vuo/ <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 /vuo, o/ <վո, օ> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| ‘resentment’ | օչ | ոխ | վօչ | վոխ | voչ | ոխ |
| ‘who’ | օվ | ով | վօվ | վով | ov | ով |
| ‘male’ | ordz | ործ | վօrts | վոոց | vorts ^h | ործ |
| ‘gold’ | oski | ոսկի | վօski | վոսկի | voski | ոսկի |
| ‘widow’ | *orbewajri | *որբեւայրի | վօorpæveri | վոռպեովերի | vorp ^h evajri | որբեւայրի |
| ‘to inundate’ | ołotel | օղողել | օքօղiel | օղողել | voքօղel | ողողել |
| ‘to take pity on’ | ołormil | ողորմիլ | օքormiel | օղորմել | voքormel | 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’ | oskər | ոսկր | uskւօr | ուսկոռ | voskor | ոսկոր |
| ‘to twist’ | olorel | ոլորել | œlœrjæl | ԷօլԷօրել | volorel | ոլորել |

Word-medially, most of the time, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> becomes /uo/ <n>, in both the final and pre-final syllables. But there are many examples where it has also changed to /o, œ, u/ <օ, Էօ, Էօ, ու> (Table 12). The sound /œ/ <Էօ> occurs only in the final syllable.

Table 12: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /o, œ, œɤ, u/ <o, tò, to, nL> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------------|
| ‘gray-haired’ | alewor | ալեւոր | χalivɤor | խալիվոր | alevor | ալւոր |
| ‘leaven (CA); dough (SEA)’ | χəmor | խմոր | χəmuor | խըմոր | χəmor | խմոր |
| ‘earth’ | hoɫ | հող | χuoɤ | խող | hoɤ | հող |
| ‘wheat’ | ts ^h oreɤan | ցորեան | ts ^h uoren | ցորեն | ts ^h oren | ցորեն |
| ‘flour of parched corn’ | p ^h oxind | փոխինդ | p ^h uoxind | փոխինդ | p ^h oxind | փոխինդ |
| ‘prostitute’ | boz | բոզ | pœɤz | պեծզ | boz | բոզ |
| ‘work’ | gorts | գործ | k ¹ œɤrts | կյեծոծ | gorts | գործ |
| ‘frog’ | gort | գորտ | k ¹ œɤrt | կյեծոտ | gort | գորտ |
| ‘to assemble’ | zoɫovel | ժողովել | zoɤvɤel | ժողվել | zoɤovel, zoɤvel | ժողովել, ժողվել |
| ‘to bathe’ | loganal | լոգանալ | loχknal | լօխկնալ | loganal | լոգանալ |
| ‘shepherd’ | hoviɤ | հովիւ | χoviv | խօվիվ | hoviv | հովիվ |
| ‘rooster’ | ak ^h aɫaɫ | աքաղաղ | ahləɤr | ահլետօր | ak ^h lor | աքլոր |
| ‘buffalo’ | gomēf | գոմէշ | g ¹ œmef | գյեօմէշ | gomef | գոմէշ |
| ‘madder’ | torón | տորոն | turun | տուրուն | 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 /ɤ/ <ɫ> 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, ɤ, v/ <nL, ɫ, վ> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| ‘camel’ | uɫ | ուղտ | uχt | ուղտ | uχt | ուղտ |
| ‘cold’ | ts ^h urt | ցուրտ | ts ^h urt | ցուռտ | ts ^h urt | ցուրտ |
| ‘snow-storm’ | buk ^h | բուք | pyk ^{hɨ} | պիլք | buk ^h | բուք |
| ‘spring’ | garun | գարուն | k ¹ æryn | կյարին | garun | գարուն |
| ‘you.SG.NOM’ | du | դու | tɤ | տիւ | du | դու |
| ‘mulberry’ | t ^h ut ^h | թուփ | t ^h ɤt ^h | թիւփ | t ^h ut ^h | թուփ |
| ‘tongue’ | lezu | լեզու | lezɤ | լեզիւ | lezu | լեզու |
| ‘flea’ | lu | լու | lɤ | լիւ | lu | լու |
| ‘to wash’ | lɤanal | լուանալ | ləvæɫ, vəɫæɫ | լըվալ, վըլալ | ləvanal, ləval | լվանալ, լվալ |

17.2.2.2 Diphthong changes

In diphthongs, we note the following sound changes.

17.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <ω>

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑṽ/ <ω> changes to /e/ <է> next to a consonant; but when the next syllable has the vowel /i/ <ի>, the diphthong ^{*}/ɑṽ/ <ω> also becomes /i/ <ի>. Before vowels, /ɑṽ/ <ω> remains /ɑj/ <այ>. At the end of words, it becomes /ɑ/ <ա>; it is deleted when declined (Table 14).

Table 14: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṽ/ <ω> to /e, i, aj, a/ <է, ի, ա, ւ> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|----------------------|----------|---------------------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------|
| ‘father’ | hɑṽr | հայր | χer | խեր | hɑjr | հայր |
| ‘shine’ | p ^h ɑṽl | փայլ | p ^h elk ^h | փելք | p ^h ɑjl | փայլ |
| ‘to walk’ | k ^h ɑṽlel | քայլել | k ^h eljel | քելել | k ^h ɑjlel | քայլել |
| ‘wide’ | lɑṽn | լայն | len | լեն | lɑjn | լայն |
| ‘vineyard’ | ɑṽgi | այգի | ik ⁱ i | իկյի | ɑjgi | այգի |
| ‘man’ | ɑṽr | այր | irik | իրիկ | ɑjr, erik | այր, էրիկ |
| ‘to burn’ | ɑṽrel | այրել | irits ^h iel | իրիցել | ɑjrel | այրել |
| ‘mirror’ | hɑṽjeli | հայելի | χɑjlik | խայլիկ | hɑjeli | հայելի |
| ‘tin’ | kəṽləjek | կլայեկ | kəṽləjjek | կըլայեկ | kəṽləjek | կլայեկ |
| ‘trivet’ | kaskarɑṽ | կասկարաւ | kaskara | կասկարա | kaskara | կասկարա |

17.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iṽ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iṽ/ <իւ> became /iv/ <իվ> before vowels or at the end of words (Table 15a). Before consonants, we find the sounds /x, u/ <իւ, ու>, and in some places /i, je, o/ <ի, է, օ> (Table 15b).

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /iv, ʏ, u, i, ʒe, o/ <իվ, իւ, ու, ի, է, օ> in the Van dialect

| | | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|----|-------------|--------------------|--------|--------|----------|---------|---------|
| a. | ‘sick’ | hiwand | հիւանդ | χivand | իւիվանդ | hivand | հիվանդ |
| | ‘shepherd’ | hoviʏ | հովիւ | χoviv | իսովիվ | hoviv | հովիվ |
| b | ‘flour’ | aliʏr | ալիւր | ælyr | անիւր | aljur | այյուր |
| | ‘fountain’ | ałbiʏr | աղբիւր | æχpʏr | անիսպիւր | aχpjur | աղբյուր |
| | ‘self’ | iʏr | իւր | ur | ուր | jur | յուր |
| | ‘bodkin’ | heriʏn | հերիւն | χirun | իւիրուն | herjun | հերյուն |
| | ‘carpenter’ | hiʏsən | հիւսն | χus | իւոս | hjusən | հյուսն |
| | ‘branch’ | tʃiʏt | ճիւղ | tʃoɤ | ճօղ | tʃjʏɤ | ճյուղ |
| | ‘village’ | giʏt | գիւղ | kʃieɤ | կյէղ | gjuɤ | գյուղ |
| | ‘brick’ | ałiʏs | աղիւս | oɤis | օղիս | aɤjus | աղյուս |

17.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oi/ <ոյ> changed to /ʏo, œɤ, u/ <ո, էօ, ու>, and sometimes to /o, vi, vʏo/ <օ, վի, վո>. There are only individual examples of the latter group (Table 16).³

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> to /ʏo, œɤ, u, o, vi, vʏo/ <ո, էօ, ու, օ, վի, վո> in the Van dialect

| | | Classical Armenian | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|------------|--------------------|------------|----------|------------|-----------|
| ‘blue’ | kapoiɥ | կապոյտ | kapʏot | կապոտ | kapujɥ | կապույտ |
| ‘pinky’ | tʃəkoɥtʰ | ճկոյթ | tʃkʏotʰ | ճկոթ | tʃəkujɥtʰ | ճկույթ |
| ‘nest’ | boɥn | բոյն | pœɤn | պէծն | bujɥn | բույն |
| ‘alfalfa’ | aru.oiɥ | առուոյտ | arvœɤt | առվէծտ | arvujɥt | առվույտ |
| ‘color’ | goɥn | գոյն | kʃœɤn | կյէծն | gujɥn | գույն |
| ‘light’ | loɥs | լոյս | lœɤs | լէծս | lujɥs | լույս |
| ‘wick’ | patroig | պատրոյգ | patrukʰɥ | պատրոկ | patrujkʰ | պատրույգ |
| ‘curtain’ | varagoɥr | վարագոյր | værækʰur | վարակուր | varakʰujr | վարագույր |
| ‘knot’ | hangoiɥtsʰ | հանգոյց | χangʰortsʰ | իսանգոյց | hangujɥtsʰ | հանգույց |
| ‘who.GEN.SG’ | oiɥr | ոյր | vir | վիր | vori | որի |
| ‘strength’ | oiɥ | ոյժ | vʏoɥ | վոժ | uɥ | 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, dʒ, tʃ^h, t, t^h, v/ <ծ, ծ, ց, ճ, չ, տ, թ, վ>. The Classical Armenian sound /k^h/ <ք> becomes /ç/ <հյ> 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 /-njer/ <ներ>, while vowel-final or /n/-final <ւ> polysyllabic words take the formative /-çtjer/ <հյտեր>; based on phonetic laws, this formative originates from the previous form /k^htjer/ <քտեր> (Table 17).⁴

⁴[[I am not sure why Adjarian's examples use a form <հտեր> /jhtjer/ with a glide in a different location from what Adjarian states in the text: <հյտեր> /çtjer/.]]

Table 17: Plural suffixes /-ġer, -nġer, ġtġer/ <եր, ներ, հյտեր> in the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Van | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|----------|
| ‘bread’ | hats ^h | h汪 | χats ^h | խ汪 | hats ^h | h汪 |
| ‘bread-PL’ | | | χats ^h -ġer | խ汪եր | hats ^h -er | h汪եր |
| ‘bow’ | atēlən | աղեղն | anġeʁ | անեղ | aʁeʁ | աղեղ |
| ‘bow-PL’ | | | anəʁ-nġer | անըղներ | aʁeʁ-ner | աղեղներ |
| ‘wine’ | gini | գինի | kʲini | կյինի | gini | գինի |
| ‘wine-PL’ | | | kʲini-jhtġer | կյինիյհտեր | gini-ner | գինիներ |
| ‘pantry’ | maran | մառան | maran | մառան | maran | մառան |
| ‘pantry-PL’ | | | maran-jhtġer | մառանյհտեր | 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 -ġer խ汪եր | anəʁ-nġer անըղներ | kʲini-jhtġer կյինիյհտեր |
| GEN, DAT, ABL | χats ^h -ġer-at ^h խ汪եր-汪 | anəʁ-nġer-at ^h անըղներ-汪 | kʲini-jhtġer-at ^h կյինիյհտեր-汪 |
| INS | χats ^h -ġer-ov խ汪եր-ով | anəʁ-nġer-ov անըղներ-ով | kʲini-jhtġer-ov կյինիյհտեր-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 aġn 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 տուն մեծ է
 - iii. vana k^haxak^h k^hexets^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 այն 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^haxak^h-ə k^hexets^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 ɣamjɛx i
water delicious is
'(The) water is delicious.'
ճիւր խամեղ ի
- b. cf. SWA sentence with the definite suffix /-ə/
tʃur-ə hamɛx 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 | gœʒ | գեծզ | əŋkuiʒ | ընկույզ |
| ‘bed’ | ankot̪in, ənkot̪in | անկողին, ընկողին | gʰoxvenk ^{hj} | գյօղվենք | əŋkot̪in | անկողին |
| ‘by’ | ənd or | ընդ որ | dœʒr | դեծր | ənd vor | ընդ որ |
| ‘baptized’ | kənk ^h avor | կնքաւոր | k ^h avor | քավոր | kəŋk ^h av̪or | կնքավոր |
| ‘friend’ | ənker | ընկեր | ing ^h ier, g ^h ier | ինգյեր, 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 | j̥ies յես | ty տիւ | zink ^{hj} զինք | m̥ienk ^{hj} մենք | tyk ^{hj} տիւք | urank ^{hj} ուրանք |
| GEN | im իմ | k ^{hj} yo քյո | ur ուր | m̥ier մեր | ts̥ier ծեր | urants ^h ուրանց |
| DAT, ACC | ḍzi, ḍzik ծի, ծիկ | k ^{hj} je քյե | ur ուր | m̥je մե | ts̥je ծե | urants ^h ուրանց |
| ABL | ḍziz-n-its ^h ծիզնից | k ^{hj} iez-n-its ^h քյեզնից | ur-m-its ^h ուրմից | m̥iez-n-its ^h մեզնից | ts̥iez-n-its ^h ծեզնից | urants ^h -its ^h ուրանցից |
| INS | ḍziz-n-ov ծիզնօվ | k ^{hj} iez-n-ov քյեզնօվ | ur-m-ov ուրմօվ | m̥iez-n-ov մեզնօվ | ts̥iez-n-ov ծեզնօվ | urants ^h -ov ուրանցնօվ |

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 ^{hj} վուրոնք |
| GEN | vir վիր | vuru վուրու | vurɣonts ^h վուրոնց |
| DAT, ACC | vir վիր | vɣor վոր | vurɣonk ^{hj} 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-Ø-i-Ø | կուկի | g-uz-ej-i-Ø | կ’ուկէի |
| ‘I would sneeze’ | kə ɣaz-Ø-i-Ø | կը խազի | gə haz-aj-i-Ø | 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, ɛ/ 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-ɛe-m | նլզեմ | uz-e-m ‘(if) I want’ | նլզեմ |
| 2SG | uz-ɛe-s | նլզես | uz-e-s | նլզես |
| 3SG | uz-i-Ø | նլզի | uz-e-Ø | նլզե |
| 1PL | uz-ɛe-nk ^{hj} | նլզենք | uz-e-ŋk ^h | նլզենք |
| 2PL | uz-e-k ^{hj} | նլզեք | uz-e-k ^h | նլզեք |
| 3PL | uz-ɛe-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-Ø-i-Ø | նլզի | uz-ej-i-Ø ‘(if) I wanted’ | նլզեի |
| 2SG | uz-Ø-i-r | նլզիր | uz-ej-i-r | նլզեիր |
| 3SG | uz-e-Ø-r | նլզեր | uz-e-Ø-r | նլզեր |
| 1PL | uz-Ø-i-nk ^{hj} | նլզինք | uz-ej-i-ŋk ^h | նլզեինք |
| 2PL | uz-Ø-i-k ^{hj} | նլզիք | uz-ej-i-k ^h | նլզեիք |
| 3PL | uz-Ø-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 <ներկայ> | | Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> | |
|-----|---|-------------|---|-------------|
| 1SG | k-uz- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ e-m | կուզեմ | k-uz- \emptyset -i- \emptyset | կուզի |
| | 'I want' | | 'I would want' | |
| 2SG | k-uz- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ e-s | կուզես | k-uz- \emptyset -i-r | կուզիր |
| 3SG | k-uz-i- \emptyset | կուզի | k-uz-e- \emptyset -r | կուզեր |
| 1PL | k-uz- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ 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- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ e-n | կուզեն | k-uz- \emptyset -i-n | կուզին |
| | IND- $\sqrt{\text{--}}$ TH-AGR | | IND- $\sqrt{\text{--}}$ TH-PST-AGR | |
| | Future <ապանի> | | Past future <անցեալ ապանի> | |
| 1SG | piti uz- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ e-m | պիտի ուզեմ | piti uz- \emptyset -i- \emptyset | պիտի ուզի |
| | 'I will want' | | 'I was going to want' | |
| 2SG | piti uz- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ 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- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ 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- $\ddot{\text{y}}$ e-n | պիտի ուզեն | piti uz- \emptyset -i-n | պիտի ուզին |
| | FUT $\sqrt{\text{--}}$ TH-AGR | | FUT $\sqrt{\text{--}}$ 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 /-ad $\ddot{\text{z}}$ /) 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 /-jer/ <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 ĵe-m | ուզիր եմ | uz-er e-m ‘I have wanted’ | ուզեր եմ |
| 2SG | uz-ir ĵe-s | ուզիր ես | uz-er e-s | ուզեր ես |
| 3SG | uz-jer i | ուզեր ի | uz-er e | ուզեր է |
| 1PL | uz-ir ĵe-nk ^{hj} | ուզիր ինք | uz-er e-ŋk ^h | ուզեր ենք |
| 2PL | uz-ir ĵe-k ^{hj} | ուզիր եք | uz-er e-k ^h | ուզեր եք |
| 3PL | uz-ir ĵe-n | ուզիր են | uz-er e-n | ուզեր են |
| | √-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR | | √-EPTCP AUX-AGR | |

Table 28: Past perfect <զերակատար> 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-ŋk ^h | ուզեր էինք |
| 2PL | uz-ir Ø-i-k ^{hj} | ուզիր իք | uz-er ej-i-k ^h | ուզեր էիք |
| 3PL | uz-ir ĵe-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 /jen/ <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 /jen/ <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 <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

| | Van | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--|------------|---|-----------|
| 1SG | uz-i-ts ^h -i-Ø | nɪqɪgɪ | uz-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I wanted’ | nɪqɪgɪ |
| 2SG | uz-i-ts ^h -i-r | nɪqɪgɪr | uz-e-ts ^h -i-r | nɪqɪgɪr |
| 3SG | uz-je-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | nɪqɪg | uz-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | nɪqɪg |
| 1PL | uz-i-ts ^h -i-ɪk ^{hɪ} | nɪqɪgɪnɪpɪ | uz-e-ts ^h -i-ɪk ^h | nɪqɪgɪnɪp |
| 2PL | uz-i-ts ^h -i-k ^{hɪ} | nɪqɪgɪpɪ | uz-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h | nɪqɪgɪp |
| 3PL | uz-i-ts ^h -i-n | nɪqɪgɪn | uz-e-ts ^h -i-n | nɪqɪgɪn |
| | √-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 /-Ø/ 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^{hɪ}/ is added.]]

Table 30: Imperative forms <հրամայական> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Van dialect

| | Van | | cf. SWA ‘want!’ | |
|-----|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 2SG | uz-i | nɪqɪ | uz-e-Ø | nɪqɪ |
| | √-? | | √-TH-IMP.2SG | |
| 2PL | uz-ek ^{hɪ} | nɪqɪpɪ | uz-e-ts ^h -ek ^h | nɪqɪgɪp |
| | √-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 /-ɾ/ 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^{hj}/ 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 | մուզէ | mi uz-e-ɾ | մի ուզէր |
| | PROH-√-? | | PROH √-TH-2SG | |
| 2PL | m-ek ^{hj} uz-je | մէք ուզէ | mi uz-ek ^h | մի ուզէք |
| | PROH-IMP.2PL √-? | | PROH √-TH-2PL | |

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- <u>ĭ</u> e-l | ուզեփ | uz-e-l | ուզեփ |
| | | √-TH-INF | | √-TH-INF | |
| Past | անցեալ | uz- <u>ɑ</u> ts | ուզած | uz- <u>ɑ</u> dz | ուզած |
| | | √-RPTCP | | √-RPTCP | |
| | | uz- <u>ir</u> | ուզիր | uz-er | ուզեր |
| | | √-PERF.CVB | | √-EPTCP | |
| | | uz- <u>ĭ</u> er | ուզեր | | |
| | | uz- <u>ĭ</u> e | ուզե | | |
| Future | ապանի | uz- <u>ĭ</u> e-l-y | ուզեփիլ | uz-e-l-u | ուզեփուլ |
| | | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB | | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB | |

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/ <գ կ ք> changed to /g^j k^j k^{hj}/ <գյ կյ քյ> (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 | առնոււք | arnjenk ^h | առնենք | arnenjk ^h | առնենք |
| ‘you.SG.DAT’ | k ^h ez | քեզ | k ^h jezi | քեզի | k ^h ez | քեզ |
| ‘cattle-shed’ | gom | գոմ | g ^h uom | գյոմ | gom | գոմ |
| ‘sweet’ | k ^h aŋts ^h ər | քաղցր | k ^h aχts ^h r | քախցր | k ^h aχts ^h ər | քաղցր |
| ‘we discuss’ | zərts ^h emk ^h | զրուցենք | zrts ^h ink ^h | զրուցինք | zərts ^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 | գյանգատ | ganġat | գանգատ |
| ‘we took’ | | | arank ^h | առանք | aranjk ^h | առանք |
| ‘we go’ | ert ^h amk ^h | երթանք | et ^h ank ^h | էթանք | jert ^h anj ^h | երթանք |
| ‘we put (PST)’ | | | drink ^h | դրինք | darets ^h inj ^h | դրեցինք |
| ‘we gave (PST, IMPF)’ | | | tink ^h | տինք | tajinj ^h | տայինք |
| ‘wind’ | k ^h ami | քամի | k ^h ami | քյամի | 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’ | ŋanaparh | ճանապարհ | ŋambax | ճամբախ | ŋanapar, ŋamp ^h a | ճանապարհ, ճամփա |
| ‘he reached’ | hasay | հասաւ | χasav | խասավ | hasav | հասավ |
| ‘with’ | het | հետ | χiet | խետ | het | հետ |
| ‘cool’ | hov | հով | χgov | խով | hov | հով |

17.4.1.1.3 Diphthongization of Classical Armenian /e, o/ <ե, ո>

The Classical Armenian sounds /je, ʊo/ <ե, ո> have a diphthongal pronunciation (Table 35).

Table 35: Change from Classical Armenian /e, o/ <ե, ո> to /je, ʊo/ <ե, ո> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Diyadin (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|-------|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|---------|-----|
| ‘our’ | mer | մեր | m ^{je} er | մեր | mer | մեր |
| ‘cow’ | kov | կով | k ^{ʊo} ov | 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’ | ga ⁱ r | գայր | ku-g-e-r | կուգեր | gu-k ^h -a-Ø-r | կու գար |
| ‘he would go’ | ert ^h a ⁱ r | երթայր | k-et ^h -e-r | կերթեր | g-ert ^h -a-Ø-r | կ’երթար |
| | | | IND-√-TH.PST(?) -3SG | | IND-√-TH-PST-3SG | |
| ‘he was going to come’ | | | pti g ⁱ -e-r | պտի գյեր | bidi k ^h -a-Ø-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-Ø-i-nk ^h | տիկնք | d-aj-i-ŋk ^h | տայիկնք |
| ‘I would come’ | ku-g-Ø-i-Ø | կուգի | gu-k ^h -aj-i-Ø | կու գայի |
| ‘they were’ | Ø-i-n | ին | ej-i-n | էին |
| ‘they would go’ | k-et ^h -Ø-i-n | կերթին | g-ert ^h -aj-i-n | կ’երթային |
| | | | | give-TH-PST-1PL IND-come-TH-PST-1SG AUX-PST-3PL IND-go-TH-PST-3PL |

17.4.1.1.6 Ablative suffix /-e, -its^h/ <է, ից>

The ablative uses the form /-its^h/ <ից>, 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)’ | vri ^h ev-e-n | վրեվէն | vəraj-its ^h | վրայից | vəraj-e-n | վրայէն |
| ‘three-ABL(-DEF)’ | iri ^h ek ^h -its ^h | իրեքից | jerek ^h -its ^h | երեքից | jerek ^h -e-n | երեքէն |
| ‘thing-ABL(-DEF)’ | bæn-its ^h | բանից | ban-its ^h | բանից | p ^h an-e-n | բանէն |
| ‘city-ABL(-DEF)’ | k ^h aχk ^h -e-n | քախքէն | k ^h aχak ^h -its ^h | քաղաքից | k ^h aχak ^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^hiats^h-i^her a
 mind-ABL-POSS.1SG go-PERF.CVB AUX
 մտէս քյացեր ա

b. cf. SWA

mətk-e-s k^hats^h-er e
 mind-ABL-POSS.1SG go-EPTCP AUX
 մտքէս քացեր 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’ | nurən | նուրն | nur | նուր | nur | նուր |
| ‘egg’ | dzu | ծու | dzu | ծու | dzu | ծու |

17.4.1.2.2 Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ɲ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oi/ <ɲ> becomes /u/ <nL>, and not /y/ <ɫ> as in Van (Table 40).⁶

Table 40: Lack of the change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ɲ> to /y/ <ɫ> in the Diyadin subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Diyadin (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|--------------------|-------|
| ‘weak’ | t ^h oił | թոյլ | t ^h ul | թուլ | t ^h ujł | թույլ |
| ‘light’ | lois | 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 (յարակատար) and complex tenses are formed (4).

(4) Diyadin (Van) dialect

⁶[[Adjarian does not explain the origin of the word [t^hur].]]

- a. intj^h a
 what AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘What is it?’
 Ի՞նչ ա
- b. en a
 that AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is that.’
 Էն ա
- c. eda tjex-n a
 that place-DEF AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is that place.’
 Էդա տեղն ա
- d. tjex a jin-je
 place AUX.PRS.3SG build-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has built a place.’
 տեղ ա շինե
- e. p^his a ənk-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 / p^hos / <փոս> ‘hole’. Or, the word could mean ‘bad’. (?)
 փիս ա ընկե
- f. tun a $\text{k}^h\text{and-je}$
 house AUX.PRS.3SG demolish-PERF.CVB
 ‘He has demolished a house.’
 տուն ա քանդե
- g. $\text{k}^h\text{ərt-n-je}$ a
 sweat?-PERF.CVB AUX.PRS.3SG
 I suspect this is: ‘He has sweated (= he is sweaty).’ (?)
 քըրտնե ա
- h. $\text{k}^h\text{ats}^h\text{-je}$ a
 go-PERF.CVB AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘He has gone.’
 քացե ա

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 | վարդի | vard-ə | վարդը | varth ^h -i | վարդի |
| ‘year’ | tari | տարի | tarə | տարը | tari | տարի |
| ‘(male?) child’ | təaj-i | տղայի | təə | տղը | təəaj-i | տղայի |
| ‘I want (Van); I will want (SEA)’ | | | kuzəm | կուզըմ | kuzem | կուզեմ |
| ‘I said’ | asats ^h i | ասացի | əsəts ^h ə | ըսըցը | asats ^h i | ասացի |
| ‘they caught’ | bərnets ^h in | բռնեցին | brnəts ^h ən | բռնըցըն | bərnets ^h in | բռնեցին |

- (5) a. Moks (Van) dialect
 քəng քarər tarə
 five hundred year
 ‘five hundred years’
 խընգ խարըր տարը
- b. cf. SEA
 hing 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 ďzə
FUT give-TH-2PL me.DAT
'You.PL will give to me.'
տը տէք ձը

It is self-explanatory that all these /ə/ <ը> sounds can be stressed.

17.4.2.2 Lack of diphthong /ʊo/ <n>

Similarly, the Classical Armenian sound /o/ <n> (or /au/ <o>) is /u/ <nL> here, similar to the Tbilisi dialect, while it is generally /ʊo/ <n> (or /o, œʌ/ <o, tó>) in the Van dialect (Table 42).

Table 42: Change from Classical Armenian /o, au/ <n, ւո> to /u/ <nL> in the Moks subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Moks (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| 'apple' | χənďzor | խնձոր | χənďzur | խնձուր | χənďzor | խնձոր |
| 'speech' | χau ^h sk ^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 (ւաւս) 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, ɔɥ, æɥ/ <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’ | χənamɪ | խնամի | χnamëj | խնամէ | χənamɪ | խնամի |
| ‘fight’ | kəriɥ | կռիԼ | krëjv | կռէվ | kəriv | կռիվ |
| ‘account’ | hafɪɥ | հաշիԼ | hafëjv | հաշէվ | hafiv | հաշիվ |
| ‘mirror’ | hajeli | հայելի | χejlëj | խէլլէ | hajeli | հայելի |

Diphthong /ɔɥ/ <օԼ> The sound /ɔɥ/ <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 /ɔɥ/ <օԼ> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Vozim (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|------|------------------|-------|
| ‘egg’ | ḏzu | ծու | ḏz ^h ɔu | ծ’օԼ | ḏzu | ծու |
| ‘dark’ | mut ^h | մուԹ | moɥt ^h | մօԼԹ | mut ^h | մուԼԹ |
| ‘mouse’ | mukən | մուկն | moɥk | մօԼկ | muk | մուկ |
| ‘raw’ | hum | հուԼ | χoɥm | խօԼԼ | hum | հուԼ |

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'իւղ | boɣk | բողկ |

Diphthong /œʏ/ <Էօլ> The diphthong /œʏ/ <Էօլ> is pronounced as a fast /œʏ/ <ԷօնԼ>. I have found this sound only in the word in Table 46.

Table 46: Words with the sound /œʏ/ <Էօլ> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Vozim (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|--------|---------|------|
| 'fish' | ḏzūkəṇ | ծուկն | ḏz ^h œʏk | 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 dʒ^h/ <բ' ց' դ' ճ' 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/ <ո> The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո> changes to /u/ <ոԼ>, similar to the Moks subdialect (Table 47).

⁸[[Adjarian provides a Georgian letter *ღ*. 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’ | dəʒoxk ^h | դժոխք | d ^h ʒuxk ^h | դժուխք | dəʒoxk ^h | դժոխք |
| ‘frog’ | gort | գորտ | g ^j ort | գյուրտ | gort | գորտ |
| ‘work’ | gorts | գործ | g ^j urts | գյուրծ | gorts | գործ |

But this sound can also take the forms /ou̯, œ, ʏ, o/ <ou̯, ɛo, ɦL, o> (Table 48).

Table 48: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /ou̯, œ, ʏ, o/ <ou̯, ɛo, ɦL, o> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Vozim (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|----------|---------|--------|
| ‘mold’ | borbos | բորբոս | b ^h œrbœs | բ՛էորբէս | borbos | բորբոս |
| ‘barefoot’ | bokik | բոկիկ | b ^h ʏpek | բ՛իւպէկ | bopik | բոպիկ |
| ‘all’ | bolor | բոլոր | b ^h œlov | բ՛էօլօվ | bolor | բոլոր |
| ‘garlic’ | səxtor | սխտոր | səxtou̯r | սըղտօւր | səxtor | սխտոր |

Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <ɦL> The Classical Armenian sound /iʏ/ <ɦL> changes to /o, ou̯, e/ <o, ou̯, ɛ> (Table 49).

Table 49: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <ɦL> to /o, ou̯, e/ <o, ou̯, 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 | հերյուսն |
| ‘hundred’ | hariʏr | հարիւր | χarər | խարէր | harjur | հարյուր |
| ‘brick’ | aʏiʏs | աղիւս | oxes | օղէս | axjus | աղյուս |
| ‘flour’ | aliʏr | ալիւր | jelər | յէլօր | aljur | ալյուր |

Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <այ> changes not only to /e/ <է>, but also to /j̥e/ <ե> (Table 50).

Table 50: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /e, j̥e/ <է, ե> in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Vozim (Van) | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|------|---------------|------|---------|------|
| ‘vineyard’ | ɑjgi | այգի | hege | հեգէ | ajgi | այգի |
| ‘goat’ | ɑjts | այծ | j̥ets | յէծ | ajts | այծ |
| ‘cave’ | ɑjr | այր | her | հէր | ajr | այր |
| ‘wide’ | laɲ | լայն | ljen | լեն | lajn | լայն |
| ‘father’ | haɲr | հայր | χ̣ier | խ̣էր | hajr | հայր |
| ‘mother’ | maɲr | մայր | ṃier | մէր | majr | մայր |

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 | abran̄k ^h | ապրանք |
| ‘more’ | ɑveli | ավելի | havił | հավիլ | aveli | ավելի |
| ‘shore’ | ɑp ^h | ափ | hap ^h | հափ | ɑp ^h | ափ |
| ‘cheap’ | arzan | արժան | hezan | հէժան | arzan | արժան |
| ‘oath’ | erdumən | երդումն | hertoym | հէրտում | jert ^h um | երդում |
| ‘evening’ | erekoɲ | երեկոյ | herkon | հերկօն | 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, -ěj/ <ը, էյ>. The instrumental uses /-ov, -əv/ <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’ | təɬɑj | տղայ | | | təɬɑ | տղա |
| ‘(male?) children’ | təɬɑj-k ^h | տղայք | tɛjk ^h -d ^h ir | տղեյքդ ^h իր | təɬɑ-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 -uov | խացով | χats ^h -ir-uov | 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 hu | mink ^h u ^h lu | d ^h u, d ^h œ, d ^h y ŋ ^h nl, ŋ ^h to, ŋ ^h hl | d ^h œk ^h ŋ ^h toɔ |
| GEN | im hu | mi u ^h | k ^h y ɔ ^h hl | d ^h z ^h , d ^h z ^h ə ɔ ^h h, ɔ ^h l |
| DAT | dzej, əndzej, dzi ɔtj, ɛlɔtj, ɔh | mi u ^h | k ^h i ɔ ^h | d ^h i ɔ ^h |
| ACC | dzə, əzdzə ɔl, ɛqɔl | mi, zmi u ^h , qu ^h | k ^h i, əzk ^h i ɔ ^h , ɛqɔ ^h | d ^h i, əzd ^h i ɔ ^h , ɛqɔ ^h |
| ABL | əndzne ɛlɔl | mizne, mine u ^h ql, u ^h l | k ^h ine, k ^h izne ɔ ^h hl, ɔ ^h ql | d ^h ine, d ^h izne ɔ ^h hl, ɔ ^h ql |
| INS | – – xadzej huɔtj | minɔv, miznɔv u ^h lnɔl, u ^h qlnɔl xami huɔu ^h | k ^h inɔv, k ^h iznɔv ɔ ^h lnɔl, ɔ ^h qlnɔl xak ^h i huɔɔ ^h | d ^h inɔv, d ^h iznɔv ɔ ^h lnɔl, ɔ ^h qlnɔl xad ^h i huɔɔ ^h |

Table 55: Inflection paradigm for some (third person) personal pronouns in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | 3SG 'he' | | 3PL 'they' | |
|---------|---|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| NOM | an | an | ano ^h nk ^h , naronk ^h | anɔlɛɔ, nɔpɔlɛɔ |
| GEN-DAT | ano ^h r, nano ^h r | anɔlɛr, nɔlɔlɛr | ano ^h nts ^h , nano ^h nts ^h | anɔlɛɔ, nɔlɔlɛɔ |
| ACC | zanek | qanɛtj | zano ^h nk | qanɔlɛɔ |
| ABL | anomne | anɔlɛt | ano ^h nts ^h mne | anɔlɛɔmɛt |
| INS | anɔof, anɔɔxɛjt | anɔɔ, anɔhɛtɛt | ano ^h nts ^h xɛjt | anɔlɛɔ hɛtɛt |

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At the end of instrumentals, the form /χa/ <hu> is derived from the Classical Armenian word /het/ <hɛtun>, as can be guessed. Analogous to this is the Classical Armenian word /maɥt/ <ɔun> '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' | madzēḡ | մաձէ |
| personal 1PL 'near us' | mami | մամի |
| personal 2SG 'near you' | mak ^h i | մաքի |
| personal 2PL 'near you' | madz ^h i | մաձի |

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 /ēḡ/ <է> in the second conjugation.

[[Adjarian means that the Classical Armenian theme vowel /e/ became /i/, while the Classical Armenian theme vowel /i/ became /ēḡ/. 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 /ēi, 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 /j/.]]

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' | χəus-i-m | խօսիմ | kə χos-ēi-m | կը խօսեմ | gə χos-i-m | կը խօսիմ |
| 'I take' | tan-i-m | տաւիմ | kə tan-ēi-m | կը տաւեմ | gə tan-i-m | կը տաւիմ |
| | √-TH-1SG | | IND √-TH-1SG | | IND √-TH-1SG | |
| 'I would cry' | l-aj-i-Ø | լայի | k-il-Ø-e-Ø | կիլէ | gu l-aj-i-Ø | կոլ լայի |
| 'I would bring' | ber-ē-i-Ø | բերեի | kə b ^h ir-Ø-e-Ø | կը բ ^h իրէ | gə p ^h er-ej-i-Ø | կը բերեի |
| | √-TH-PST-1SG | | IND √-TH-PST-1SG | | IND √-TH-PST-1SG | |
| 'I was' | jes ē-i-Ø | ես էի | is Ø-e-Ø | իս է | jes ej-i-Ø | կոլ բերեի |
| | I AUX-PST-1SG | | I AUX-PST-1SG | | I AUX-PST-1SG | |

Past suffix The perfective takes the vowel /*ëj*/ <Է> (Table 58).

Table 58: Change from Classical Armenian past perfective in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Vozim (Van) | | cf. SWA | |
|---------------|---|----------|---|----------|
| ‘I called’ | $\text{kantj}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{ə}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{ëj}\text{-}\emptyset$ | կանչըցԷ | $\text{gantj}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{e}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-i}\text{-}\emptyset$ | կանչեցի |
| ‘I coughed’ | $\text{xaz}\text{-}\text{a}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{ëj}\text{-}\emptyset$ | խազացԷ | $\text{haz}\text{-}\text{a}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-i}\text{-}\emptyset$ | հազացի |
| ‘I discussed’ | $\text{zruts}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{e}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{ëj}\text{-}\emptyset$ | զրուցեցԷ | $\text{zəruits}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{e}\text{-}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{-i}\text{-}\emptyset$ | 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’ | $\text{tə b}^{\text{h}}\text{ir}\text{-i}\text{-m}$ | տը բ ^հ րիմ | $\text{bidi p}^{\text{h}}\text{er}\text{-e}\text{-m}$ | պիտի բերեմ |
| | FUT √-TH-1SG | | FUT √-TH-1SG | |
| ‘I was going to bring’ | $\text{tə b}^{\text{h}}\text{ir}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-e}\text{-m}$ | տը բ ^հ րե | $\text{bidi p}^{\text{h}}\text{er}\text{-ej}\text{-i}\text{-}\emptyset$ | 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 | օւշ-i-m | օւզիմ | uz-e-m | նւզեմ ‘(if) I want’ |
| 2SG | օւշ-i-s | օւզիս | uz-e-s | նւզես |
| 3SG | օւշ-i-Ø | նւզի | uz-e-Ø | նւզէ |
| 1PL | օւշ-i-nk ^h | օւզինք | uz-e-ŋk ^h | նւզենք |
| 2PL | օւշ-i-k ^h | օւզիք | uz-e-k ^h | նւզէք |
| 3PL | օւշ-i-n | 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 | օւշ-Ø-e-Ø | օւզէ | uz-ej-i-Ø | նւզեի ‘(if) I wanted’ |
| 2SG | օւշ-Ø-e-r | օւզեր | uz-ej-i-r | նւզեիր |
| 3SG | օւշ-e-Ø-r | օւզեր | uz-e-Ø-r | նւզէր |
| 1PL | օւշ-Ø-e-nk ^h | օւզենք | uz-ej-i-ŋk ^h | նւզեինք |
| 2PL | օւշ-Ø-e-k ^h | օւզէք | uz-ej-i-k ^h | նւզեիք |
| 3PL | օւշ-Ø-e-n | օւզեն | uz-ej-i-n | 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 <ներկայ> | | Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| 1SG | k-ouz-i-m ‘I want’ | կօւզիմ | k-ouz-Ø-e-Ø ‘I would want’ | կօւզէ |
| 2SG | k-ouz-i-s | կօւզիս | k-ouz-Ø-e-r | կօւզեր |
| 3SG | k-ouz-i-Ø | կօւզի | k-ouz-e-Ø-r | կօւզեր |
| 1PL | k-ouz-i-nk ^h | կօւզինք | k-ouz-Ø-e-nk ^h | կօւզէնք |
| 2PL | k-ouz-i-k ^h | կօւզիք | k-ouz-Ø-e-k ^h | կօւզէք |
| 3PL | k-ouz-i-n | կօւզին | k-ouz-Ø-e-n | կօւզէն |
| | IND-√-TH-AGR | | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | |
| | Future <ապանի> | | Past future <անցեալ ապանի> | |
| 1SG | t-ouz-i-m ‘I will want’ | տօւզիմ | t-ouz-Ø-e-Ø ‘I was going to want’ | տօւզէ |
| 2SG | t-ouz-i-s | տօւզիս | t-ouz-Ø-e-r | տօւզեր |
| 3SG | t-ouz-i-Ø | տօւզի | t-ouz-e-Ø-r | տօւզէր |
| 1PL | t-ouz-i-nk ^h | տօւզինք | t-ouz-Ø-e-nk ^h | տօւզէնք |
| 2PL | t-ouz-ik ^h | տօւզիք | t-ouz-Ø-e-k ^h | տօւզէք |
| 3PL | t-ouz-i-n | տօւզին | t-ouz-Ø-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 /-aḏz/) 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 | օւշ-իր i-m | ուզիր իմ | uz-er e-m | ուզեր եմ ‘I have wanted’ |
| 2SG | օւշ-իր i-s | ուզիր իս | uz-er e-s | ուզեր ես |
| 3SG | օւշ-իր i | ուզիր ի | uz-er e | ուզեր է |
| 1PL | օւշ-իր i-nk ^h | ուզիր ինք | uz-er e-ηk ^h | ուզեր ենք |
| 2PL | օւշ-իր i-k ^h | ուզիր իք | uz-er e-k ^h | ուզեր էք |
| 3PL | օւշ-իր i-n | ուզիր 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 | օւշ-իր Ø-e-Ø | ուզիր է | uz-er ej-i-Ø | ուզեր էի ‘I had wanted’ |
| 2SG | օւշ-իր Ø-e-r | ուզիր էր | uz-er ej-i-r | ուզեր էիր |
| 3SG | օւշ-իր e-Ø-r | ուզիր էր | uz-er e-Ø-r | ուզեր էր |
| 1PL | օւշ-իր Ø-e-nk ^h | ուզիր ենք | uz-er ej-i-ηk ^h | ուզեր էինք |
| 2PL | օւշ-իր Ø-e-k ^h | ուզիր էք | uz-er ej-i-k ^h | ուզեր էիք |
| 3PL | օւշ-իր Ø-e-n | ուզիր էն | 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 /-ts^h/, 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/ <է> but in his paradigms he writes /ej/ <է>. (?)]]

Table 65: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | Vozim (Van) | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---|-----------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1SG | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -եյ-Ø | օլզեցէյ | uz-e-t ^h -i-Ø | նլզեցի ‘I wanted’ |
| 2SG | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -եյ-ր | օլզեցէյր | uz-e-t ^h -i-ր | նլզեցիր |
| 3SG | օւշ-ի-տ ^h -Ø-Ø | օլզից | uz-e-t ^h -Ø-Ø | նլզեց |
| 1PL | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -եյ-դ ^h | օլզեցէյնք | uz-e-t ^h -i-դ ^h | նլզեցինք |
| 2PL | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -եյ-կ ^h | օլզեցէյք | uz-e-t ^h -i-կ ^h | նլզեցիք |
| 3PL | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -եյ-ն | օլզեցէյն | uz-e-t ^h -i-ն | նլզեցին |
| | √-TH-AOR-PST-AGR | | √-TH-AOR-PST-AGR | |

Imperative and prohibitive [[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph /-Ø/ after the theme vowel /e/ for a verb like ‘to want’ (Table 66). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence /-e-t^h-ek^h/ after the root such that /-e-t^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 | օւշ-ի | օլզի’ | uz-e-Ø | նլզէ’ |
| | √-? | | √-TH-IMP.2SG | |
| 2PL | օւշ-ե-տ ^h -ek ^h | օլզեցէք | uz-e-t ^h -ek ^h | նլզեցէք |
| | √-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 /-ɾ/ 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 ուզէր |
| 2PL | m-óuz-e-ts ^h -ek ^h PROH-√-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL | մօ՛ւզէցէք | mí uz-ek ^h PROH √-TH-2PL | մի ուզէք |

[[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-ou ^h ti | մ’օւտի | mi uter | մի՛ ուտեր |

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b^hi d^hi ma d^hzi, ki χa d^hzi
 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 /-ad^hz/ in SWA, evidential participle /-er/ in SWA. I suspect the Vozim /-ir/ is a perfective converb.]]

Table 69: Participles or converbs <դերբայներ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Vozim subdialect of the Van dialect

| | | Vozim (Van) | | cf. SWA | |
|------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|
| Infinitive | սկորոշ | օւշ-i-l | օւզիլ | uz-e-l | ուզել |
| | | √-TH-INF | | √-TH-INF | |
| Past | սկցեալ | օւշ-ats | օւզած | uz-adz | ուզած |
| | | √-RPTCP | | √-RPTCP | |
| | | օւշ-ir | օւզիր | uz-er | ուզեր |
| | | √-PERF.CVB | | √-EPTCP | |
| Future | սպանի | օւշ-i-l-y | օւզիլի | uz-e-l-u | ուզելի |
| | | √-TH-INF-FUT.CVB | | √-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’ (Սրուանծտեան 1876) by Garegin Srvandztiants (Գ. Վ. Սրուանծտեան; [[SEA: /sərvandʒtjan/, SWA: /sərvan-tsʰtjan/]]). 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 Վանցիւն. Պոլիս, 1875
- * Արիստ. Վ. Սեդրակեան – Զնար Մշեցոց եւ Վանեցոց. Վորշպոտ. 1874
- * Գեորգ Շերենց – Վանայ Սազ. Թիֆլիս, Ա. 1886, Բ. 1899

⁹[[I could not track down this reference. The word Գրիչ (SEA: /gərɪtʃ/) 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 հոտով. 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. Է. 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 Մհեր. Շուշի 1889
 - * Հայ-Արմեն – Մոկաց 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 էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], Վորշապտ. 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-Սարգսեանցի Պանդուխտ Վանցի, page 52-55, changing it to my orthography.

Ես քանի տարի ի կուկյա՛մ ու կընցնի. Ես քանի տարի ի մեր աչք քո ճամխի վերէն կը խալի. Ես քանի տարի ի մեր սիռտ քե խամար կը մաշվի. Ես քանի տարի ի քո սիրուց կը մյանք կարօտ. Է՛հ, վո՞վ իմ յարալու սիռտ պիրէր չիւմ քո մօտ, վոր պանիւր տիսնիր ինոր ցավեր ու վերքեր: Ա՛հ, չանձ հըմէն կսկծավոր յես եմ վիրավոր, չանձ հըմէն խռոված յես եմ տրօրված, իրիցած ու մրկած:

Թօղ կյանքիւն կյա՛մ. Էրկիր, սարերն ու տանիւտեր կանաչ, կարմիր ու նարնջի գանդըրի. ա՛խ, յես ի՞նչ անեմ ինոնք. յես մնացի ատներ ու կյերի. յես մնացի վռպեօվերի:

Թօղ ամբողջան 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 առձաթն ու վոսկին, ակն պավական, միւջաֆարներ անգ-յին, չանձ Վանա՛մ ծով լիցուցի, չանձ աշխըրքիս սարեր բարդի, 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 քեօքյախան Էլմվ մեր սիռտ. տիւ կարիք կնանցիր ու ինգյան օտար Էրկիր ու գատ մնացիր. տիւ քըռտինք կը թափես, յես առտսունք. 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 առտսունք կը թափեն, կուլան ու կասեն. «Մեր խերն ինչի՞ չիրե, դեղէ մարե, ապա յեփ պիտի կյա՛մ»: Ձի կը խառ-ցուցեն, սիռտս կը դաղեն. Էլ ինոնց խապելու մանֆան չմնաց. ասքն ու պարի-կամ տիւր տրացին, ձի խառցմունք կ'անեն ծեր մարթուց ի՞նչ խանբա՛ր կա. յե՛փ պիտի կյա՛մ. Էլ խերիք չԷլմվ կարիբութան 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 մուլ ի, վո՞վ կիրիշկի վեր լաճերաց, կարիբիս մեռնեմ ուր ճամխըներաց:

Մեր տուն տեղ մեր ծեռքից էլավ. օտար խաֆքյու պես մնացինք վեր չոր խըլի. վրձվ պիտի մեր նեղութեն 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 քյաշե. յես քյե քիչ կյըրիցի, տիւ շատ իմացի. շոտ թօղ արե, էլ խերիք ի. խերիք ի տաճն տաճեք, տաճտակ նստեք. իսկի չէ տարին քյանի մ' կուռուշ 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 ախպօր խետ մէ օր առանց սէլ քյնացին (կամ քյացին) վոր քիւլա՞շ բերեն. քյամին կայնավ. շատ էլ քյամի էր...

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... ինչքյան սէլ բանցին, քյամին խըրցներ վեր տըվեց, քըցեց քյետին. չուր էնի կաննի կը դնի, քյամին վեր կուտա: Խերս յերսօտ էր. քյամու վրէն յերսօտավ, խըրցներ վեր տըվեց ասեց. էս էլ քյեզ, էս էլ քյեզ: Փափախն էլ կը խանա կը դլօղկա կը քըցա գյետին. շորերն էլ վրէվէն խանեց քցեց. էս էլ քյեզ. իսօ չէս ի քյա էս էլ պրծուս տանես:

* *

Չատկի խլուսուն էր. էկան իմ ախչկէն ուզելու. խերն էլ ասաց իմ ախչիկ կուտամ քյօ տղին: Ուրանք լավ ին. ուրանց բնուէն լավ էր, ամա քյասիբ ին. է՛հ, ուր կընկյան կը պախա ասինք տըվեցինք. ամա ախչկա սրտօվ չէր: Մնաց վոր իմ տղէք 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 բան օղորթ ա, ուզեցան քրոչ թէ առի (արի) յետ դանի, մի՛ առնի: Ախչիկ լէ վերցրեց թէ յես հարուստ մարթու ախչիկ ըլնեմ, իմ բիւլոր ախբ՛րներու անուն ափեմ գյետի՞ն: Յետօ յեխբ՛արներ կայնան թէ արի քյեզի յետ դարցուցենք, էլ չենք իտա էն տղին, լավ տղի կուտանք: Իւր քիւր վերցրեց թէ յեխբ՛ար ջանէ, չէ՛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 խիվընդավ մեռավ: Յէս կանիծի կասի. բօխչէդ կապոկ մնա. խինէդ քյամին տանա. սկի արժան չըլնես վոր դու ընենց խօնար չես եղէ. կ'ասեր. մա՛յրիկ ջանէ, ա՛ղէ ջանէ, յես մկա մեռնիմ վոր քի՞չ լան, էն վախտ կը մեռնիմ վոր օխտը ծեռքի շոր էլնի, վոր դնես հառչէդ իմ խամար լան:

Մկա իմ տան երեխեք վրեն խաղ ա կապած.

Յես Սօփին եմ ծամավոր,

Դու Մանուկն իր խամավոր.

* *

Ղօրթմա (ճիշտ որ) խամավոր տղա էր. ամա քյասիբ էր. քյասիբին գինասս ի՞նչ դղար պատվելի էլնի, 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, գէլ գյա, առչ գյա, ախչկըտիր կըտեք (կուտաք), Էսաց. իս ինչ կը միռնիմ, իմ խտիվեն չգեք՝ Էսաց. ինչ կը պսակվեք՝ 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 տըսնանք ինչ խնծուր ի (ան-մահական խնծուր ի). ան ցածրի խնծուր մինծ տողն, ան միչի խնծուր միչնիկ տողն, ան վերի խնծուրն էլ պգտը տողն: 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 առնը. գիւրովեն գնացըն խիտ:

Մինչիվ գխեր պախըցըն, Էկան, խրօխբեր նստավ թախտ, թաքյավորութեն առըց:

Փուքը ախբեր Էսաց. – ՉԷ՞ իս ծի ասըցըն «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՛ս էլ չենըմ, տը տամ տանը՝ (պիտի տամ տանի):

Մինչ քիւր առչ առըց 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 վօրթիկ մէկ դիտր ցօրեն տամքիւ հախ:

Էլավ, գնաց յեռչէվ վօրթկներաց: Էն վօրթիկ իշ կը դռնչըկեր, պառաի կեհեր, Էն կըրիւր. տղէն կըրիւր կը տփեր, բիրեր մըչ վօրթկներաց. իշ կը մներ դումահիք (ետեւէն), կը տփեր, չում կը խասցներ վօրթկներաց:

Էդա լավնով մէկ շարթվան մէջ խինք, 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 Shatakh

Adjarian's note: See էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], 4, page 369-370.

Միւր Սասուն կը Նստեր թաքյավոր,

Մըսրա Մէլիք Մըսըր կը Նստեր թաքյավոր.

Մըսրա մէլիքի կնիկ ճիժ չունէր:

Մըսրա մէլիքի կնիկ իրան մէջ կը մտածի.

Մէլիքից իրավունք կամնի, կըսի.

– Ձի ճիժ չունեմ, վոր Մըսըր թաքյավոր ըլնը:

Սերմս փոխեմ, տղեմ ըլնը, ըլնը Մըսրա Մէլիք.

Մըսըրա թաքյավորութուն կանգնի:

Ուր գյօղիկ, լաչիկ կօղօրկի Միւր թաքյաւորի խամար.

Միւր կը տիսնա գյօղիկ, լաչիկ օղօրկի ի ուր խամար,

Ըսիւր ի. – «Վոր յես գյօղիկ, լաչիկ օղօրկիւր եմ.

Էն չգյա, քըն զիս շատ կնիկ ի»:

Էն տեղ Միւր ի՛լ կըսի.

- Վոր նա խաբար են 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 եմ.
- Ճարն ի՞նչ ի. տհամ. չըհամ չըլնը: Իլավ գնաց,
- Երկու գիշեր, յան իրեք գիշեր մօտը քնախ:
- Դարձավ Երի 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՛յըլօլ կը տեսնին վոր գ՛յիւղ կը գ՛յա. խէյնգյ խատ չարջար կը գ՛յան. մու ջիւջ ընկիր ուր շլաքը գ՛ետին կը դ՛ընի, մու կըսի. «Յերի յեկեք ժողվեք իսի բ՛ամ տ՛ըսիմ (բան մը պիտի ըսեմ). ըշկի (նայե՛) ծ՛իւրեն (կարդալ ծ՛իւրեն) խէյնգյ չարջաք քետթ գ՛յիւղեր կը գ՛յան. մու մինք ելինք ասուցմնե թալնըվինք, ալ մի շաշխանեք վորե՞ ինք դ՛րիր վեր մի թիվէյն: Մու քյանի վոր իմ սիրտ կը տրախկա՝ շաշխանեն իս անուց ծ՛եռ չմէ՛յտա (չեն ի տար). մու զաւրկըցեք, վոր փախնե՛ ուր կընկյան քյաֆեք վար ուր գ՛ըլխուն յեղնե՛»:

* *

- Օ՛րըմ դօլմիւղիւր կկանչի. – Պօ՛գօ, յարի, քյի բ՛ամ տըսիմ:
- Պօգօն կէլնի կիա (կերթայ), կըսի.
- Բ՛առնօն (բարի երեկոյ), Կարապիտ աղա. ի՞նչ կը խրամայիս:
- Կըսի. – Հասօր քյիւ 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 չմէ՛յտա:
- Վորե՞ չմէ՛յտա (չեն ի տար), մահռուզ (անիծած) պապ, ի՞նչ անուն կը դ՛նիս օր չմէ՛յտա. տղէքդ՛իր, գ՛յացեք անուր ջ՛ուրէյն բ՛իրեք:

Տղեք կիան, ջ'ուրեյն մըսը 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'ուրեյն բ'իրիցէյնք:

Պօզօն կըսի. – Կարապի'տ աղա, ջ'ուրեյն տարա'ր:

– Կը տանէյմ ու քիւ աչքն էլ կխանհիմ:

– Է'հ, աղէկ, Կարապիտ աղա, թխ քիւ խաբար յեղնի:

Պօզօն կելնի կիա ցա'ծր, կընկնի դ'էօս (դուրս), կիա կը կանչի.

– Պո'ւղուս, յար' ըսիմ. գ'ըտի'ս, Կարապիտ տղէն գէօրէօվ մի (մեր) ջ'ուրեյն տարալ յարի մի ճակիր (զենքեր) կապինք:

(Շարունակութիւնը Պօզօն կը պատմէ):

Ճակիրը կապըցէյնք, գ'յացէյնք վա՛ր քէօշքը՝ դ'ռան կանգնանք. կանչըցէի. «Կարապի'տ աղա, քիւ գ'ըլօխ հետըսէն բ'ի¹⁰ դ'էօս: Կարապի'տ աղա, ջ'ուրեյն տը տանէյս. մօւ ասացէ, թը դ'իւ չտանէյս, քիւ 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 մսրէյն: Կարապիտ աղա, մկա կտրէյճ իս, յէ'րի տար. ջ'ուրեյնս տարա: Քիւ բինբաշէյն վո'րն ի, ասի անօւր, թխ գ'յա՝ ան տանէ: Քիւ բինբաշէյն վո'րն ի, ասի անօւր, թխ գ'յա՝ ան տանէ: Դ'էօ՝ չէ, քիւ բինբաշէյն չէ, ձ'ի յօթ խէր գ'յա՝ չկա՛նէ տանէ: Վալլահ իս մկա փոսուն (փորոտիք) քիւ փուրէն տխանհիմ: Դ'իւ գ'ըտի'ս իս վո'րն իմ. մօւ իս Հզմա Պօզօ տղէն իմ, գ'ըտի'ս»:

Սօւ իս տարտ իմ ջ'ուրեյն, ալ մարթ հիմ յերեվան չէկալ. չկյախշցան (չհամարձակեցան): Սօւ Կարապիտ աղէն էլալ գ'նաց հիքմէթ, ասից. «Անա մարթ չմօ՛ւզի մանչ (մէջ) իմ գ'յեղէյն. նա մարթէյք մարթասպան ին. յա նա մարթէյկ տը միս դ'էօս, յա մինք տխանք»:

Սօւ իս էլա, ի՛նչ կեր ձէյ, էլա կեր ձէյ թագէյս մ ու լօփ մ՝ (կապերտ). բ'ամրցը վր իմ ջ'իւրիւն, ու խեծա իմ ջ'ուրեյն, ու շաշխանէն դ'րի վր իմ թիվէյն, ըսի. «Կարապիտ աղա, իս կիամ. թը դ'իւ խարեր խոկոյվ չգ'աս իմ հեռչիկ սա (թրք. իսէ՝ եթէ), իս քիւ մեռել անըծիմ. թը դ'իւ վորցը մարթ իս՝ մըչ...

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... գ'յեղէյն բաբագէթուկին չվէ'լի (չի՛ վայելեր). արի իմ հեռչիկ ու քի նշանց տամ»:

Սօւ էլա գ'ընացէյ մանչ իմ նայարներին. մօւ իմ նայարնիր ըսէյն ձէյ. վորե՛ր էկար: Սօւ իս էլա գ'ացէյ խլաթուլ յերկէյր: խլաթցէյք ուրանց կնէյկ հալէօվ կօւզէն վր ձէյ զօրբըթէն էնէն: Սօւ իս Հըզմըցէյ յեղնէյմ ու տառան խլաթցօց էվալլահ էնի՛մ. մօւ իմ խերէյն դաբուլ չէ ըրած. ասը՝ իամ ասլանիր թը գանըն, ըզձը սպանըն աղէկ ի՝ քանց խլացէյք վոր վր ձը զօրբըթէն 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 Բիւրակն [*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:

- 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...

... 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/ <to, hl> 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 | թանանգ | 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 ay | կանգնեցաւ | 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 եիս | teɣ | տեղ |
| ‘he would want’ | | | g ^h uzer | գ ^h ուզեր | kuzer | կուզեր |

18.2.1.2.2 Arabic consonants /ʕ, ħ, q/ <‘, h’, ɣ’/ and /lʰ/ <ɭ’>

Among the consonants, the following are added: /ʕ, ħ, q, lʰ/ <‘, h’, ɣ’, ɭ’>. The first three are borrowed from Arabic, and they are found only in Arabic words. The <‘> signifies the Arabic sound /ʕajɲ/ <‘այիս> (<ع> /ʕ/), the <ɣ’> signifies the Arabic sound /k^haf/ քաֆ (<ق> /q/), and the <h’> signifies Arabic <ħw> /ħa/ (<ح> /ħ/). For example, Table 3.

Table 3: New consonants /ʕ, ħ, q/ <‘, h‘, ḡ> from Arabic in the Tigranakert dialect

| | Arabic | | > Tigranakert | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------|---------------|-------------|
| ‘scorpion’ | <‘aqrab> | عقرب | ʕaqrab | ‘աղ՛րաբ |
| ‘life’ | <‘umr> | عمر | ʕœmr | ‘Էօմր |
| ‘zaatar’ | <za‘tar> | زعتر | zɑʕtʰɑr | զա՛թար |
| ‘heart (Arabic), false (Tigranakert)’ | <qalb> | قلب | qælb | ղ՛ալբ |
| ‘false (Tigranakert)’ | | | | |
| ‘halva’ | <ḥalwā> | حلوى | ħælvæ | հ՛ալվա |
| ‘jujube’ | <‘unnāb> | عناناب | ʕunnɑb | ‘ուննաբ |
| | Classical Armenian | | > Tigranakert | |
| ‘cuckoo’ | kəku | կկուկ | quqqu | ղ՛ուղ՛ղ՛ուկ |

The sound <ɭ> is /l/ <ɭ> with a soft pronunciation ([/[lʲ/]]), 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 | լոգանալ | lʲognæɭ | լ՛ոգնալ | loganal | լոգանալ |

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 | hwaqայ | hæk ^h jæ | hăpjăw | haga | hwaqա |
| ‘to come’ | gal | qալ | ik ^h jælj | həpjăwʻ | haga | gal |
| ‘godfather’ | kənk ^h ahajr | կնքահայր | ink ^h jævur | həpjăwʻlɔr | kəŋk ^h ahajr | կնքահայր |
| ‘pot’ | putuk | պոտոուկ | bud ^h ug | ɛrɔŋjɔlɔ | putuk | պոտոուկ |

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 | լըրէն | 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/ <ă>, 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).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to usually /æ/ <ւ> but sometimes /a/ <ա> in the Tigranakert dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Tigranakert | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------|
| 'pompous' | ambartawan | ամբարտաւան | æmp ^h ærdævæn | ամփաւրդաւման | ambartavan | ամբարտաւան |
| 'cane' | gawazan | գաւազան | k ^h ævæzæn | քաւկան | gavazan | գաւազան |
| 'deacon' | sarkawag | սարկաւագ | særgævæk ^h | սարգաւկնք | sarkavag | սարկաւագ |
| 'water-mill' | džaratats ^a | ջրադաց | tʃ ^h æxærts ^a | չնդանց | džəraʁats ^a | ջրադաց |
| 'stall' | aχor | ախոռ | aχor | ախոռ | aχor | ախոռ |
| 'granary' | ambar (?) | ամբար (?) | ambar | ամբառ | ambar | ամբար |
| 'male cat' | | | artʃ ^h | առչ | | |
| 'censer' | burvar | բուրվառ | p ^h ulvar | փուկվառ | burvar | բուրվառ |
| '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 | χuɤ | խուղ | hoɤ | հող |
| 'onion' | soχ | սոխ | suχ | սուխ | soχ | սոխ |
| 'dry' | tʃ ^h or | չոր | tʃ ^h ur | չուր | tʃ ^h or | չոր |
| 'four' | tʃ ^h ors | չորս | tʃ ^h urs | չուրս | tʃ ^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 | χoɤ-u | խողու | hoɤ-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 /ort^h/ <որթ>. 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 | ոսսւն | vəsp | վըսսվ | vosp | ոսսվ |
| ‘orphan’ | orb | որբ | vərp ^h | վըրփ | vorp ^h | որբ |
| ‘smell’ | ort ^h | որթ | vərt ^h | վըրթ | hort | հորթ |
| ‘hedgehog’ | ozni | ոզնի | oznig | օզնիգ | vozni | ոզնի |
| ‘to twist’ | olorel | ոլորել | olril | օլրիլ | volorel | ոլորել |
| ‘gold’ | oski | ոսկի | ozgi | օզգի | voski | ոսկի |
| ‘alive’ | ołdʒ | ողջ | voxtj ^h | վօխչ | voxtj ^h | ողջ |
| ‘to be cured’ | ołdʒanal | ողջանալ | oxtj ^h ənnæł | օխչըննալ | voxtj ^h anal | ողջանալ |
| ‘bone’ | oskər | ոսկր | osk ^h ur | օսքուր | voskor | ոսկոր |

18.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /u/ <n>

The Classical Armenian sound /u/ <n> usually remains /u/ <n> (Table 10a).³ But it becomes /o/ <o> in the word in Table 10b.

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <n> to /u/ <n> 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’ (?) | | | uxd | ուխդ | | |
| ‘fawn’ | ul | ուլ | ul ⁱ | ուլ ⁱ | ul | ուլ |
| ‘incense’ | χunk | խունկ | χung | խունկ | 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 /uxd/ <ուխդ>, it is unclear if this word is a reflex of the Classical Armenian word for ‘vow’ /uxt/ <ուխտ> or for ‘camel’ /ult/ <ուլտ> (SEA: /uxt/). (?)]]

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 | diɤ | դիղ | teɤ | տեղ |
| ‘medicine’ | deł | դեղ | t ^h iɤ | թիղ | deɤ | դեղ |
| ‘sun’ | areɣ | արեւ | æriv | աւրիվ | arev | արեւ |
| ‘needle’ | asełən | ասեղն | æsiɤ | աւսիղ | aseɤ | ասեղ |
| b. ‘face-GEN’ | eres-i | երեսի | eres-i | երեսի | jeres-i | երեսի |
| ‘medicine-GEN’ | deł-i | դեղի | t ^h eɤ-i | թեղի | deɤ-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’ | ezən | եզն | jez | յեզ | jez | եզ |
| ‘I’ | es | ես | jes | յես | jes | ես |
| ‘when’ | erb | երբ | jep ^h | յեփ | jeɾp ^h | երբ |
| ‘yesterday’ | erēk | երեկ | ereg | երեզ | jerek | երեկ |
| ‘iron’ | erkat ^h | երկաթ | ergæt ^h | երգաւթ | 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 /ɑj/ <այ> to /e/ <է> in the Tigranakert dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Tigranakert | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|--------|
| distal ‘that yonder’ | ɑjn | այն | en | էն | ɑjn | այն |
| proximal ‘this’ | ɑjs | այս | es | ես | ɑjs | այս |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h ɑjt | փայտ | p ^h ed | փէդ | p ^h ɑjt | փայտ |
| ‘vineyard’ | ɑgi | այգի | ek ^h i | էքի | ɑgi | այգի |
| ‘to burn’ | ɑrel | այրել | ervil | էրվիլ | ɑjrel | այրել |
| ‘lightning’ | kɑjtsakən | կայծակն | gedzæk ^h | գէծաք | 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 | ælir | 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 /oi/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /oi/ <ոյ> becomes /u/ <ու> (Table 15).

Table 15: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Tigranakert dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Tigranakert | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|-------|---|---------------------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujś | լույս |
| ‘Pleiades’ | bojlk ^h | բոյլք | p ^h ul ^h k ^h | փուլ ^h ք | 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 | χւօ | խող | hoɤ | հող |
| ‘far’ | heroj | հեռոյ | χoru | խօռու | heru | հեռու |
| ‘time’ | heł | հեղ | χiɤ | խիղ | heɤ | 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 | զըդդէլ | 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 | լըսսէլ | ləsel | լսել |
| ‘to smoke’ | tsəxel | ծխել | dzəxxəl | ծըխխալ | tsəxel | ծխել |
| ‘to suck’ | tsətsel | ծծել | dzədzdziel | ծըծձէլ | tsətsel | ծծել |
| ‘early’ | kanux | կանուխ | gənnux | գըննուխ | kanux | կանուխ |
| ‘pungent’ | kətsu | կծու | gədzdzu | գըծձու | kətsu | կծու |
| ‘soul’ | hogi | հոգի | hok ^h k ^h i | հօքքի | hok ^h i | հոգի |
| ‘farmer’ | məfak | մշակ | mjjæg | 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 | hwg | hats ^h | hwg | hats ^h | hwg |
| ‘bread-PL’ | | | hats ^h ts ^h -ir | hwggghr | hats ^h -er | hwgēr |
| ‘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/ <ւ>

In the grammar, it is notable that the article /-ə/ <ը> of Civil Armenian has the form /e/ <ւ> 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 erǽn-e | փերաւնէ | berán-ə | բերաւնը |
| ‘dog’ | ʃún-e | շո՛ւնէ | ʃún-ə | շունը |
| ‘column’ | sún-e | սո՛ւնէ | sʃún-ə | սյունը |

18.3.1.2 Accusative prefix /z-/ <զ>

The accusative case...

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... is formed with the prefix /z/ <զ>, 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, նիր, նի>

The plural marker is /ir, -nir, -ni/ <իր, նիր, նի> (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 | հրեշդանկնի | 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 | æs, əsi, əsigi ան, ըսի, ըսիզի | æn, əni, ənigi ան, ընի, ընիզի | əsunk ^h ըսուկը | ənunk ^h ընուկը |
| GEN | əsur ըսուր | ənur ընուր | əsunts ^h ըսուկը | ənunts ^h ընուկը |
| DAT | əsur ըսուր | ənur ընուր | əsunts ^h ըսուկը | ənunts ^h ընուկը |
| ACC | əsur, əsi, əsigi ըսուր, ըսի, ըսիզի | ənur, əni, ənigi ընուր, ընի, ընիզի | əsunts ^h ըսուկը | ənunts ^h ընուկը |
| ABL | əsurme, əsurmene ըսուրմէ, ըսուրմէնէ | ənurme, ənurmene ընուրմէ, ընուրմէնէ | əsunts ^h me ըսուկցմէ | ənunts ^h me ընուկցմէ |
| INS | əsurmov ըսուրմով | ənurmov ընուրմով | əsunts ^h mov ըսուկցմով | ənunts ^h mov ընուկցմով |

[[Table 24 lists the interrogative pronoun 'who'.]]

Table 24: Paradigm of the interrogative pronoun 'who' in the Tigranakert dialect

| | Singular | Plural |
|---------|----------------------------------|--|
| | | |
| NOM | vov վով | vovir վովիր |
| GEN-DAT | voru վորու | vorerun վորերուն |
| ABL | forme, vormene վորմէ, վորմէնէ | voronts ^h mene վորոցմէնէ |

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 | սրտերնուս (SWA) |
| ‘soul-GEN-POSS.2SG’ | hok ^h k ^h -ú-t ^h i | հոքո՛ւթի | hok ^h -u-t | հոգուդ |
| ‘sin.GEN-POSS.2SG’ | meʁáts ^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’
հոքո՛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 <ներկայ> 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-Ø | գուզէ | g-uz-e-Ø | 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’ուզեք |
| 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-Ø-nk ^h | գուզէնք | g-uz-ej-i-դk ^h | կ’ուզեիք |
| | 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 | իլւլ | l-a-l | լալ | √-TH-INF |
| ‘to come’ | ik ^{hi} -æ-l | իքլւլ | g-a-l | գալ | |
| ‘to give’ | id-æ-l | իդւլ | t-a-l | տալ | |
| ‘to exist’ | ig-æ-l | իգւլ | k-a-l | կալ | |
| | Tigranakert | | cf. SWA | | |
| ‘to cry (INS)’ | il-æ-l-ov | իլւլօվ | l-a-l-ov | լալով | √-TH-INF-INS |
| ‘I cried’ | il-æ-ts ^h -i-Ø | իլւցի | l-a-ts ^h -i-Ø | լացի | √-TH-AOR-PST-1SG |
| ‘there exists’ | ig-æ-Ø | իգւ | k-a-Ø | 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-Ø
FUT want-TH-PST-1SG
‘I was going to want.’
մըն ուզէի
- d. tʃ^hə-mən uz-i-m
NEG-FUT want-TH-1SG
‘I will not want.’
չմըն ուզիմ
- e. tʃ^hə-mən uz-e-i-Ø
NEG-FUT want-TH-PST-1SG
‘I was not going to want.’
չմըն ուզէի

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, ւը> 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 Աստըծուն.
Բարի՛ հըրըշտակ, դուն պըհէ,
Չար սատանան չխարէ:
2. Եվան կթթեց, Մարիամ մակրդեց,
Քրիստոս Եկավ խաչակնքեց,
Կաթն Էղավ մակարդ, մակարդ լէ կաթ:
3. Ըմմէն մարթ կի տսնա, Աստված չտսնա (երագ):
4. Սպըտակ չադըր, դօռ չունի (հաւկիթ):
5. Բուրմա մը խուտ ՝ ցած տենե՛րե դրուկ Է (յօնք):
6. Յորեն չըմ կերի, արտի քովէն անցիր ըմ:
7. Քարիր փետիր չհիյան (չտեսնեն):
8. Չքու ցա՛նկն իմ կոտրի, քու Էգի՞ն իմ մտի:
9. Անկուշտն Է պատի գքի:
10. Դուն Չմնաս ՝ տնուկդի 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 տո՛ւնէ փլի, սրտի՛դի սո՛ւնէ կոտրի:
16. Դուն չիգաս՝ խաբա՛րդի գա:
17. Լաշփե՛տիդ դո՛ռէ իգա (դագաղդ դուռը գայ):
18. Հուղ չըգնաս 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 կռվան, աշվար գիցալ բաժնվան:
6. Հավկթէն է էլի, զհավկիթ չհավնի:
7. Գնա Էնոր քով որ քեզ կի լացընէ, մի՛ Երթա Էնոր որ կի խնդացընէ:
8. Կրակ որ ընկնի տա՛աշ (անտառ)՝ չուր ու դալար մէկտեղ կերի:
9. Ինչ գար (չափ) իջխեր կա, Էնգար ալ իլվեր կեղնի:
10. Սար ու ձուր՝ տերտըրու փուր:
11. Նա (ոչ) սուխ է կերի, նա հուտ իգա:
12. Աստված տեսեր է գսար, դրեր է զծուն:
13. Թէ տերտերը 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/ <q'> , and /p-b/ <պ-բ> and so on.

Իախթըմ ըգեր մարթըմ՝ Լոր գեց (քան q) ուր հոգին կը սիրեր զուր գնիկ. Լոչ-պարեգէն (դժբախտաբար) թերզով մէ կը գորցու զինք: Տարտով բուրկած դուշր-միշ կեղներ զուր գտնելու ջան. ու բաշին (յետոյ) թողեց զուր երկիր, ընկավ քաղդէ 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 լուսմուր արկեցու (եկեղեցույ) դուռ գաննավ Լոր ըրան փարսէ (մուրալ): Բարի մարդըմ հեցավ (հայեցաւ) ուր խեղճութիւն, մեղքունք Էկավ Լը-րէն ու զի՛նքի դարավ ուր տուն: Փարսըք մարդ (մուրացկանը) յեփ մօտ խրակին (խարոյկին) կը ռըհաթներ, Նժըմվա (յանկարծ) հիցավ դռա մէջ դնիկըմ Լոր շի-տակ ուրէն կը մեգեր (նայիլ). ա՛ծփփա՛ց (իսկոյն ցատկեց) ուր դէխէն (տեղէն) ու փաթվավ 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 արկեցու 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 էտին առուն հանած,
 Ձիր տան էտին 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.
 Աչքիս տեսավ սի՛րտիս կուզէ:

18.4.5 Edessa

Adjarian's note: For this and the following see Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 331.

Մութ խարաբա. գրողը տանիս. գիտիւնը մտնաս. երկու աչքս կուրնա. պատին տակը մնաս. սի՛ւ Յուդա, լէշիդ ձգեմ. ադ օրը չտիսնաս. կարմիր արին 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 Sivereck

Քեօռ ըլլիս. տունդ ավրի. յօխ բեմուրագ ըլլի՛ս. խողը դըրվիս. փոշին գլխուդ. մուրը գլխուդ. օր արեւ չտեսնես. բօ՛յիդ բեղէ՛նիդ գետին անցնի. խակ դրուիս. դուման իգա գլխուդ. գետնին յատակը էջնաս. պթխիս հըլլսիս 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 Անդրանիկ (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
 - Հոլթուրիկ եւ Սամել Հովիկ. Էջմիածին, 1895
 - Սոքոս. Էջմիածին, 1896
 - 11 ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ՝ հրատարակուած Էմինեան Ազգ. Ժող. Բ. 1901

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There is nothing published in the vernaculars of Palu, Çemişgezek, and Chapghjur. 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 (թ. 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, ʏ, ɤ, ʊo/ <Էօ, իւ, է, ո>.

²[[*For 'unpublished', the original word is անտիպ which means 'atypical'. I suspect this was a typo for անտպուած 'unpublished'. (?)*]]

Table 1: Vowels of the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

| | |
|---------|----------|
| /i/ <ի> | /u/ <ու> |
| /e/ <է> | /ə/ <ը> |
| /æ/ <ա> | /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 /oj/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oj/ <ոյ> changed to /o/ <օ> (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /oj/ <ոյ> to /o/ <օ> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Kharberd-Yerznka | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|---------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | los | լօս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘sister’ | k ^h oiṛ | քոյր | k ^h or | քօր | k ^h ujr | քույր |
| ‘walnut’ | ənkoiṛ | ընկոյզ | əngoz | ընգօզ | əṅkujz | ընկույզ |

19.2.1.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iʷ/ <իւ> changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /i/ <ի> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Kharberd-Yerznka | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|---------------------|----------|---------|
| ‘blood’ | ariʷn | արիւն | arin | արին | arjun | արյուն |
| ‘fountain’ | aḃiʷr | աղբիւր | aḃ ^h ir | ախբ ^h իր | aḃpjur | աղբյուր |
| ‘flour’ | aliʷr | ալիւր | alir | ալիր | aljʷr | ալյուր |
| ‘fountain’ | eḃdʒiʷr | եղձիւր | aḃdʒ ^h ir | ախձ ^h իր | jeḃdʒjur | եղջյուր |

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 | jerp ^h | երբ |
| ‘to sway’ | ereral | երերալ | ereral | երերալ | jereral | երերալ |
| ‘to appear’ | erewel | երեւել | erval | երվալ | jerevel | 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 | oxɫj ^h | ոխշ | voxɫj ^h | ողջ |
| ‘lentil’ | ospən | ոսպն | osb | ոսբ | vosp | ոսպ |
| ‘foot’ | ot-(ə?)k ^h (-PL) | ոտք | od ^h k ^h | ոդք | 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 | oxormil | ոխորմիլ | voxormil | 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/ <այ> to /æ/ <ււ> in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Kharberd-Yerznka | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘mother’ | maq̄r | մայր | mæɾ | մւր | maq̄r | մայր |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h ɑjt | փայտ | p ^h æd | փւնդ | p ^h ɑjt | փայտ |
| ‘mirror’ | hɑjeli | հայելի | hælli | հւլլի | 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^hj/ <qj, pj> emerged. Whenever the sounds /g, k^h/ <q, p> follow /e, i/ <ե, ի>, they became /g^j, k^hj/ <qj, pj>.

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/ <ն> assimilates to /n/ <ն> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from /tn/ <տն> to /nn/ <նն> 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 |

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/ <պ, տ> (Table 8).

Table 8: Deletion of initial /s/ <u> in /sp, st/ <սպ, 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 | stetʃtsel | ստեղծել |
| ‘carrot’ | əstepʃin | ստեպղին | dabʁin | դաբղին | stepʁin | ստեպղին |
| ‘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’ | naʁsər | նաււր | nosr | նօւր | nosər | նօւր |
| ‘high’ | baɹdʒər | բարձր | t ^h aɹz | թարզ | baɹts ^h ər | բարձր |
| ‘thick’ | t ^h andʒər | թանձր | b ^h aɹs | բ ^h արս | t ^h andʒər | թանձր |
| ‘sweet’ | k ^h aʃts ^h ər | քաղցր | k ^h aɹs | 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’ | $\widehat{tsanər}$ | ծանր | \widehat{tsajr} | ծայր | $\widehat{tsanər}$ | ծանր |
| ‘small’ | $\widehat{manər}$ | մանր | \widehat{majr} | մայր | $\widehat{manər}$ | մանր |
| ‘comb’ | $\widehat{santər}$ | սանտր | \widehat{sajr} | սայր | $\widehat{santər}$ | սանր |

19.2.2.2.5 Fronting of post-alveolar obstruents

The Dersim province also has a surprising innovation. The Classical Armenian sounds $/tʃ, dʒ, tʃ^h/ <\mathfrak{d}, \mathfrak{z}, \mathfrak{z}^h>$ become $/dʒ, dʒ^h, ts^h/ <\mathfrak{d}, \mathfrak{d}^h, \mathfrak{g}>$ (after passing through the forms $/ts, dz, ts^h/ <\mathfrak{d}, \mathfrak{d}^h, \mathfrak{g}>$. While the sound $/ʃ/ <\mathfrak{z}>$ becomes $/s/ <\mathfrak{u}>$ (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 | $\widehat{dʒ^hur}$ | ձ՛ուր | $\widehat{dʒur}$ | ջուր |
| ‘raisin’ | $\widehat{tʃ^hamitʃ^h}$ | չամիչ | $\widehat{ts^hamits^h}$ | ցամից | $\widehat{tʃ^hamitʃ^h}$ | չամիչ |
| ‘I pulled’ | $\widehat{k^haʃets^hi}$ | քաշեցի | $\widehat{k^hasets^hi}$ | քասեցի | $\widehat{k^haʃets^hi}$ | քաշեցի |

- (1) Kharberd-Yerznka dialect ⁴
 $\widehat{mets^h}$ - \mathfrak{a} $\widehat{dʒ^hur}$ $\widehat{ts^h}$ -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 $[\widehat{ts^higa}]$ 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/ <եր, ներ>.

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’ | ind̂zis, ənd̂zis | իւնծիս, ընծիս |
| personal 1SG ABL ‘from me’ | imməne | իմմընէ |
| personal 1PL ACC-DAT ‘to us’ | mizi, mzi | միզի, մզի |
| personal 2PL ACC-DAT ‘to you’ | d̂z ^h izi, d̂z ^h zi | ծ’իզի, ծ’զի |
| personal 2SG ACC-DAT ‘to you’ | k ^h izi, k ^h zi | քիզի, քզի |
| personal 1PL ABL ‘from us’ | merməne | մերմընէ |
| personal 2SG ABL ‘from you’ | k ^h uməne | քումընէ |
| personal 2PL ABL ‘from you’ | d̂z ^h erməne | ծ’երմընէ |

19.3.3 Verb inflection or conjugation

The verb is very simple. The rule of changing the Classical Armenian vowel /e/ <ե> to /i/ <ի> takes places only the in 1SG and 1PL persons. In the third person, it changes to /æ/ <ւ̄> (in the first conjugation class).

[[For the indicative present, SWA combines the indicative prefix /g(ə)/ <ղը> 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 <սերկայ> 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-Ø | զը սիրաւ | գə sir-e-Ø | 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/ <զը> (/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. $\widehat{tj}^n\text{-vdi}$ sir-i-m
NEG-FUT like-TH-1SG
‘I will not like.’
չըվդի սիրիմ
- b. $\widehat{tj}^n\text{-vdi}$ sir-e-i-Ø
NEG-FUT like-PST-TH-1SG
‘I was not going to like.’
չըվդի սիրէի

(3) Absent in the Kharberd-Yerznka dialect

- a. $\widehat{tj}^n\text{-piti}$ sir-i-m
NEG-FUT like-TH-1SG
Hypothetical but unattested: ‘I will not like.’
չպիտի սիրիմ
- b. $\widehat{piti}\text{-tj}^n\text{-sir-i-m}$
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.

Գըլլի չըլլի խօռօզ մը գըլլի: ան խօռօզին օդքը փուշ մը գը մըննա. ինչ գէնէ չէնէր՝ չի գըրնըր ան փուշը հանէր: Գէլլա 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 վառա՞վ ան ո՛ւսգաց դամ: խօռօզը հըմըն հաց մի գառնա ու գը փախի: Գերթա օր չօբան մի նսդէր է գաթին մէջ բոլուր (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 չունի օր դա, ըս հեղուն ըլ խօռօզը ըղգից մաքի մի գառնա ու գը փախի: խօռօզը գերթա օր դէլ մի շուն մի մօրթեր էն ու քէշգէգ 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: Շադ գերթա՝ քիչ գերթա, գը տեսնա՝ օր մեգ մարթ մի նսդէր շըգդըրիգ (ջութակ) կը գէնա. ըղօր գըստ քի շըգդըրիգ դուր օր ըս հարսը դամ: Հարսը գուդա՝ շըգդըրիգը գառնա: խօռօզը գը նսդի ճառի մը դագ՝ ու կը բըլըշվի (թըք. բաշլամաք՝ «սկսիլ») շըգդըրիգը շըգդըրցընէլ ու խաղ գանչէլ. «Ջըգդըր, շըգդըր, շըգդըրիգ, փուշ մի դվի՝ հաց մի առի, հացը դըվի՝ մաքի մի առի, մաքին դըվի՝ հարս մի առի, հարսը դվի՝ շըգդըրիգ մի առի, շըգդըր, շըգդըր շըգդըրիգ»:

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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 թէնպէլ, կնիկը Էտէպսիգ: անմէն օր առտու լուծածին պէս կնիկը Երկանը առջեւը 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: Էրիկը կիթա ծովուն քենարը կը նստի, մէկ հաց ինք կուտէ, մէկալն ա ծովուն ձկներուն կը նետէ, կեսը առտուն, կեսն 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. մեծաւորին ընանկ հիւընտոյթին մը կունենա օ բոլոր հեքիմները չին կանա բռնուցըներ. 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 քենարը 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:

Էրեցն օր թքան, կըսէ «ամա գ'ուգ'ա»:

Խեւը գնաց հարսնետունը, ըսաց հոս լաւ է քընծ մեր տունը:

Կուշտն անօթուն մայր (մանր) կը փշէ (կը փշրէ):

Հարիր մագէ ալիր է կերեր:

Հան 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 չես կրնար շինիր:

Վով չուաթ, փորը կուշտ:

Տունը չգա տան տիկին՝ հորթուն կըսեն լոս տիկին:

19.4.4 Çarsancak

Adjarian's note: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 2 (Բ), page 152.

Կըլլի թաքավոր մի. իրեք 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 մեթ կինիս (կը գովես): – ան սայմանի չայիրին հավան է օր եօմիւրս Երկընցաւ. ան տաս-նըհինգ տարի օր չիմ գըցեր, եօմիւրս փճացաւ. գնա օ տեսնըս. չայիրին գլխը աղբիր մը կա. չայիրին տկուն տէ՛ (մինչեւ) աղբիրը սահաթ մի կը քաշէ. աղբիրն ան լեռան տակ է աղբրէն տէ՛ լեռան գլխը 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, Երկինքը գօռաց, արգեն ու կարկուտը առըց:

Թագաւորին տղան ըսըց. – Քշեցեք, ըյնինք աղբիրը:

Չայիրը կէս ըրին-չըրին՝ ջրին ու մին մէջ մնացին. չկըցին օ հասնէին:

Արաբը թուրը քաշեց, ընկաւ ան հարիր հատի մէջ. հարիր հատին ալ գլխը կըրոցեց, 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 գլխը. յա (կամ) բռնվան, 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 բէս բարած է. – Օվանէս, ըսըց- ի՛նց գինէս, ինձի բարուք գիլլէ հասուր:

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Օվանէսը գ՛նըց օ մեր աղան ձ՛ինը հեծէր, փախէր է. դեսա օր Գիրօն թուրը ցըլբըղցօց, թուրը փառլամիս եղավ, յես ան ըս դ՛իուն քասեցի, թուրը փառլաթ-միս Երի – օ, Գիրօ, մի՛ վախիր: Ընխդըր (այնչափ) հայա (տեսայ) օ, ցօրս սվարօվ դալիս հեծած, ամբուն թուր մի նեղեցի, ցօրս ձ՛ին ան բառգեցուցի. մեզ մարթուն ան գ՛լթըր գըրոցեցի, դեսա օր փասան գըցէ. – Հա՛ բաբամ օլասըզ հա: Յի գ՛իդեր օ յես իմ, ընի գ՛իդէ թէ թուրքեր Ղամբերն է բ՛ռնած. ցըսեր թէ հինգ հոքի թրես ընցուցեր իմ. անքան դեսա օ Օվանէսը գիլլէն հասօց, ըսըց. – Մի վախէիս, ախ-բ՛րդանք. դ՛ու մըսեր, թաբուր մի ասգրին գեսն է մնացեր. մեր աղան ան էլեր թամասա գինէր. իրգուն գ՛ցիք քառցուն օսգի տվեց, ի՛նց ինիմ:

Chapter 20

Şebinkarahisar

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20.1 Background

At the north side of Kharberd-Yerznka, the city of Şebinkarahisar and the province of Adzbdar 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 յ>.

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/ <ւ> is added (Table 1).

Table 1: Emergence of /æ/ <ւ> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

| | Classical Armenian | > Şebinkarahisar | cf. SEA |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|
| ‘before’ | արձգալ առաջեւ | ærtʰev ünzել | artʰev առջեւ |

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’ | gort̃s | գործ | g ^h œrd̃z | գ ^h թօրծ | gort̃s | գործ |
| ‘Peter’ | petros | Պետրոս | bœrœs | Բետօւօս | petros | Պետրոս |

20.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /e/ <ɛ>

There is an innovation that is absent in the Kharberd-Yerznka and Evdokia dialect: the sound /e/ <ɛ> changes to /i/ <ɪ> when stressed (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ɛ> to /i/ <ɪ> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Şebinkarahisar | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| ‘place’ | teɫ | տեղ | diɪ | դիղ | teɪ | տեղ |
| ‘with’ | het | հետ | hiɪ | 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/ <ɛ> to /i/ <ɪ> in the Şebinkarahisar dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Şebinkarahisar | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|-----|------------------|-----|---------|-----|
| ‘big’ | met̃s | մեծ | miɪz | միծ | met̃s | մեծ |
| ‘with’ | het | հետ | hiɪ | 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 Şe-binkarahisar dialect

| | Şebinkarahisar | | cf. SWA | | |
|------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
| ‘I want’ | g ^h -uz-i-m | q ^h nıqıı | g-uz-e-m | ı ^h nıqetı | IND-want-TH-1SG |
| ‘I will say’ | bidi əs-i-m | pıııı ıuııı | bidi əs-e-m | ııııı ıuıetı | FUT say-TH-1SG |
| ‘I would write letter’ | g ^h ir g ^h r-i-m | q ^h ır q ^h ırıı | k ^h ir k ^h ər-e-m | qıır qırıtı | 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 (շարունակաւ 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 /al-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 խաւտս), <mi-xâham> ‘I am wanting’ می خواهم (մի խաւտս).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. /verijorəðəm/ ‘I was giving’ (վերիյօրըսըմ) ([*Modern Turkish*: <ver-di-m> and <ver-iyor-du-m>]]).

(1) SWA

- a. g-ud-ej-i-Ø
IND-eat-TH-1SG
‘I would eat.’
կ’ուտէի
- b. g-ud-ej-i-Ø 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-Ø 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 (սր. 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 յուշացավ. իմմա՝ շիրագը օր բիդի ըսիմ նը շադ մըն ալ ղաբիյաթս (թըք. qabahat յանցանք) ծառը (ծանր) չէ. բ՛անի գ՛ետրծի մարթ եմ. յիրինգուն-յառավօդ դիդ մը դիդիգ արած չունիմ օր մէյ մը ղալամ-դիվիթ անչէվս առնիմ հոռ երգու սրա գ՛իր գ՛րիմ. չէ նը ինքիրենս ամըն օր կըսէի քի՝ արածըս աֆէգ է, խաթեր գօռելը (կոտորելը) աղէգ բ՛ան չէ. խօշ դ՛ուն ան չէշիդը մարթիգներեն չէս. միխգս երեսս չէս դար: Իշդէ ասօր հըմար ալ է քի յես ալ քիս հոգ՛ուն բէս գ՛ուգիմ. քիգ դիսած օրես սիրդըս բ՛ացին՝ մէշը դ՛րին: Գ՛իդի՞ս ինչոռ: Ե՛յ գիդի դղայուրին... Յես մէգ...

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... ընգեր մը ունէի մեր քաղաքը ըղած վախդըս. Փուռչուլին Բետոնու (Պետրոս) գըսէին. իմ շադ շադ յարմանս եր. գ՛իշեր ցօրէգ իրար հիդ էինք, չալիգ-չօրթու բարաբար գը խաղայինք. շադ հիդ ալ երգուսս վարբիդէն գը փախչէին գիրթայինք եքեսդանը թուք ու իսնծոր ուղէլու: Ասանգ առխադաշէ (ընկեր) մը գադվեր էի քսան դարի է: Զիգ օր դիսա՝ ան սահաթը միդքըս ինգավ Բետոնու, սիրդըս դիդէն թռավ. ինքիրենս ըսի քի Ասված Բետոնուսըս գ՛իսա՝ ինծի դըվավ: Յես քու վրա անդըդար սեր դըվի իլլա՛մ, ըջըբ (արդեօք) դ՛ուն ալ իմ Բետոնուսի դիդը բիդի բ՛ռնէ՞ս. քանի քի գադվեր եմ աշգիս արցունքը չի գըռըեցավ. միդքըս օր գ՛ուգ՛ա

զաղված օրերնիս՝ ծուխ ու մուխ գը գռիմ: Հէջ միդքես չիլլեր. օր մը, շափաթ էր դէք գիրանգի, յառօդուն գանուխ էլեր դ'ուռը Նսդեր էր. գ'նացի քօվը, Նայեցա օր դ'իդանարը վրա արեր՝ հիդըս խօրաթել բիլմ չուզեր դար. ըսի քի «Բեօ՛նես, քալ՝ էրթանք քիշ մը խաղանք»:

– Չիմ իգ'ար – ըսաց:

– Ինչո՞ւ, ի՞նչ գա քի:

– Հէջ բ'ան մ'ալ չիգա:

– Հըբը ինչո՞ւ աղանգ դ'իդանրդ՝ գախեր էս ու հիդս ալ չես խօրաթեր:

– Ի՞նչ բիդի խօրաթիմ. գաթը քանի մը օր յեդքը ամիս գիս բիդի դրգէ Սդամբօլ. ալ յա գը դեսնիք գիրար՝ յա չինք դեսներ:

– Օդօրթմ'ն գըսես դար:

– Հըբը սուդմէ՞ն:

– Չիմ ավդար:

– Օր աշգօվըդ՝ դեսնես՝ անվախդը գաւդաս:

– Ի՞նչ ըղավ օր աղանգ արավ քիզի ամիդ՝. մինչեւ հիմի հէջ աղանգ ծ'ան մը չիգար:

– Ի՞նչ բիդի ըլլա. յերեգ յիրինգուն վաժաբեդը մինդանարս դօթլուխս դվավ, գ'նա վաժաղան փարա բ'եր, չէ նը ալ մի՛ գ'ար ըսաց. ամիս ալ փարա չունէր 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 էրթա ախբօրը քօվը փարա վասդըդի:

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– Է դ'ո՞ւն ինչ ըսիր. գ'ուղէ՞ս քի էրթաս:

– Ի՞նչ անիմ չէրթամ. դաթըքին վաղը գ'ուզ'ա. ամիս աս գ'իշեր թամբանլիթս (պայուսակ) բիդի գաբէ. վաղը քին-գաբախդան ջ'ամփա բիդի էլլինք:

Սուդ չեր Բեօնէօսը. յես ալ գանուխ էլա. սիրդես չեգավ օր էրթայի դեսնէի. հեռուն գայնեցա հու Նայեցա. օրն ալ ըսես նը շադ գ'էշ օր էր. թաթավը վերէն գ'ուզ'ա սիջիմի բես. ջըխանք-ջըխջըխանք... բադ բադ փօրյազը գը փչեր: Զ'օրիին վրա բ'առցան թամբանլիթը. գինքն ալ վրան Նսդեցուցին ու դարին. մարը յեդեվէն լացավ. «Յա՛վրում, ֆեդ բ'ռնես օսգի գըռի» ըսաց, հու Նօրշըբա մը ջ'ուր Նեդեց յեդեվէն: Հարն ալ ջ'օրին հեդը գ'նաց ջ'ամփելու. յես ալ գ'նացի Ներս, մուք դիդ մը մդա՝ լացի: Ան է աս Է՝ ալ չի դեսա: Ալ չի գիդիմ դէք սա՞ղ է դէ մեռած է. Ասված անօր ալ բ'անին գեօրծին աջ'օղուքին դա, իր սիլային հասցընէ. ծ'իզի ալ էրգան օրեր դա:

Chapter 21

Trabzon

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, ı, n>. Sometimes we find the sounds /œ, ʏ/ <eo, ıı> (Table 1).

Table 1: Emergence of /hL/ <v> in the Trabzon dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Trabzon | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘before’ | maqruk ^h | մալրուք | miryk ^h | միրիւք | moruk ^h | մորուք |

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/ <q>, 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/ (ւյ>ւ)
- /oṭ/ to /u/ (ոյ>ու)
- /iṭ/ to /u/ (իւ>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 <ւերկայ> 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-Ø | գուզե | g-uz-e-Ø | կ’ուզե |
| 1PL | g-uz-i-nk ^h | գուզինք | g-uz-e-դk ^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.*]]

/-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 <աւկաւորաբ> of the verb ‘to want’ in the Trabzon dialect

| | Trabzon | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|------------------|---------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1SG | g-uz-e-i-Ø | գուզէի | g-uz-ej-i-Ø | կ’ուզէի ‘I would want’ |
| 2SG | g-uz-e-i-r | գուզէիր | g-uz-ej-i-r | կ’ուզէիր |
| 3SG | g-uz-i-Ø-r | գուզիր | g-uz-e-Ø-r | կ’ուզեր |
| | 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-Ø | էփէցի | jep ^h -e-ts ^h -i-Ø | 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 -Ø-Ø | էփից | jep ^h -e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | 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 <լարակատար> 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 <գերակատար> 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 | qnlqhu | g-uz-e-m | q'nlqtu |
| | IND-√-TH-AGR | | IND-√-TH-AGR | |
| 'I like' | sir-i-m gu | uħrħu qnl | gə-sir-e-m | qnl uħrtu |
| | sir-i-s gu | uħrħu qnl | gə-sir-e-s | qnl uħrtu |
| 'he likes' | sir-e-Ø gu | uħrt qnl | gə-sir-e-Ø | qnl uħrt |
| | √-TH-AGR IND | | IND-√-TH-AGR | |
| 'we would look' | naj-e-i-nk ^h gu | lajtħu qnl | gə-naj-e-i-ŋk ^h | qnl lajtħu |
| | √-TH-PST-AGR IND | | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | |

21.4.2.5 Progressive tenses

The progressive is formed with the postposed formatives /er/ <ɛr> or /uni/ <nlɯ>. The present takes /er/ <ɛr>, the imperfective takes /uni/ <nlɯ>. Vowel-initial verbs also take the prefix /g/ <q>.

[[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-Ø | գառնէ էր | g-ar-n-e-Ø gor | կ’առնէ կոր |
| 1PL | g-ar-n-i-nk ^h | գառնինք էր | g-ar-n-e-ŋk ^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-Ø | սիրէ էր | gə sir-e-Ø gor | կը սիրէ կոր |
| 1PL | sir-i-nk ^h | սիրինք էր | gə sir-e-ŋk ^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-Ø uni | գէփէի ունի | g-ep ^h -ej-i-Ø gor ‘I was cooking’ | կ’եփէի կոր |
| 2SG | g-ep ^h -e-i-r uni | գէփէիր ունի | g-ep ^h -ej-i-r gor | կ’եփէիր կոր |
| 3SG | g-ep ^h -e-i-Ø-r uni | գէփիր ունի | g-ep ^h -e-Ø-r gor | կ’եփեր կոր |
| 1PL | g-ep ^h -e-i-nk ^h uni | գէփէինք ունի | g-ep ^h -ej-i-ηk ^h gor | կ’եփէինք կոր |
| 2PL | g-ep ^h -e-i-k ^h uni | գէփէիք ունի | g-ep ^h -ej-i-k ^h gor | կ’եփէիք կոր |
| 3PL | g-ep ^h -e-i-n uni | գէփէին ունի | g-ep ^h -ej-i-n gor | կ’եփէին 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-Ø uni | նայէի ունի | gə naj-ej-i-Ø gor ‘I was looking’ | կը նայէի կոր |
| 2SG | naj-e-i-r uni | նայէիր ունի | gə naj-ej-i-r gor | կը նայէիր կոր |
| 3SG | naj-i-Ø-r uni | նայիր ունի | gə naj-e-Ø-r gor | կը նայեր կոր |
| 1PL | naj-e-i-nk ^h uni | նայէինք ունի | gə naj-ej-i-ηk ^h gor | կը նայէինք կոր |
| 2PL | naj-e-i-k ^h uni | նայէիք ունի | gə naj-ej-i-k ^h gor | կը նայէիք կոր |
| 3PL | naj-e-i-n uni | նայէին ունի | gə naj-ej-i-n gor | կը նայէին 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
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -i-m k^h-a-m
 NEG-AUX-1SG come-TH-1SG
 չիմ քամ
 - ii. cf. SWA
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -e-m k^h-a-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG come-TH-CN
 չեմ գար
- b. 'I don't want.'
- i. Trabzon dialect
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -i-m uz-i-m
 NEG-AUX-1SG want-TH-1SG
 չիմ ուզիմ
 - ii. cf. SWA
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -e-m uz-e-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG want-TH-CN
 չեմ ուզեր
- c. 'We don't employ.'
- i. Trabzon dialect
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -i-nk^h p^hane-ts^hun-i-nk^h
 NEG-AUX-1PL work-CAUS-TH-1PL
 չիմք բանեցունիմք
 - ii. cf. SWA
 $\widehat{tj^h}$ -e-nk^h p^hane-ts^hən-e-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG work-CAUS-TH-CN
 չենք բանեցներ

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

tʃ^h-i-nk^h im-ɑ-ts^h-ir i-nk^h
 NEG-AUX-1PL know-LV-AOR-PERF.CVB AUX-1PL
 չիմք իմացիր ինք

b. cf. SEA

tʃ^h-e-ŋk^h im-ɑ-ts^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/ <զը> (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 զը

b. cf. SWA

gə-mɑk^hr-e-∅
 IND-clean-TH-3SG
 զը 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 Khetshian (պր. Նշան Խտշեան; [[SEA/SWA: /nəʃan χətʃjan/]]). I have rendered the orthography into the scientific one.

- Բար իրիգուն:
 - Ասծու բարին, Լուսիա հանում, բարով եգաք. հրամմեցեք:
 - Քա՛ Համաս, Օննիգիդ մենձ օրը շնավօր ըլլա, արբի մնա, խերե դեսնիս, Ասվաձ օջախիդ բաշխե:
 - Շինօրագալ իմ, օխջ ըլլաս. Ասվաձ քուգիններդդ ալ քեզի բաշխե. հրամմեցեք վեր: Ագ թաքու, եգե Լուսիա հանումին չարսաֆը վա՛ռ առ գուլխեն:
 - Քա՛ Համաս, շիդագը գուգիս նա, յես ասօր դեղես ժածվելու վախը՞ չունեի. գիդի՞ս յա, Երդուշաբդի օրը Էլա վըլացք Երի, իրեքշաբդի բուղաթայեն հանեցի, չօրեքշաբդի գարեցի գարգըդեցի, ասօր ալ Էլա բաղնիգ քնացի քի՛ օսքօններդս քիչ մե դաքնան. լաքին քու անուշիգ խաթերդդ համար չի գրցա համփերիդ Էի. ըսի լի ի՛նչ գըլլա նա՛ թօ՛ղ ըլլա. մեռնելըս ալ գիդնամ յես ասօր Համաս հանումին օրթուն դօնին 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 Է. հելքեդ բիդի քայիր. գաթի աչգըս չօրս բացաձ քանկադ նայեի ունի. ամմա եղեր չի քայիր յա՛ խա՛չ օր իմ ձեռքես ինդօ՞ր բիդի խալըսեիր:
 - Օ՛ֆ, նեֆեսս դդրեցավ. ծունգվըներուս քով հիչ հօքի մնացաձ չէ. դիյ օր հօս եգա նա՛ հօքիս բերանըս եգավ. քրդինքներու մեչ 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:
 - Սեբե քի ամմեն շարդու գառնինք Եր. հարցունօղներուն ամմենքին ալ բարեվ գրաձ Է:
 - Բարին դրգօղ բերօգին արեվըն ըլլա. դուն ալ նամագ...
-
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- ... գրելու ըլլաս նա՛ ինձմեն շաղ շաղ բարեվ գրե. օրթուն խերը դեսնե. Ասվաձ 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: Քեզի նօր խաբար մը դամ բիդի ամմա՛ չուքդիմ քի իմացա՞՞ծ իք մի:
 - Ի՞նչ Է, քա՛. ըսե նայիմ. մենք բանե մը խաբար չունինք. դունեն դուս Էլաձ չունիմ քի բան մալ իմանամ:
 - Անցաձն օրդանքը Հաջի Ղասիմեն դերվեր գերթայի ունի, նիրօչս մենձ հարսը դեմըս Էլավ. անգից իմացա քի՛ դազանջի Արուբենին մանչուն Նիշանը յեդ Երիդ ին:
 - Քա՛, հիմագ խելքիս քուքամ. յե՞փ Էղավ ադիգ. գահեր մենք աս 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 յեղ երիր ին. սէբէբը գեօյա մանչը խում շաղ խմէ գու եղիր. ամմէն իրինդուն քեօռ-գինօվ դուն գերթա եղիր. վասդըգաճը, դադաճը բիւթին խումի գուդա եղիր. ամմէն իրինգուն դանը մէջ ձեծ-փեղ գըլլա եղիր. դահա թախում մը դեղիմ-դեղի խօսգեր. վօ՞ր մեզը ըսիմ: Ամա խօսգը մէչերնիս, քեզի բան մը գուրցի՞մ, քա Հա՛մաս. Նիշանը յեղ էնէլին շաղ խաս եղավ. անանգ գինօվի մը դալու խա՛ ջիդը չուվան մը թօղ ցքին դէն՝ դանին ձօվը նեղին:

– Խօսգըդ մերդօվ գորեցի. առաջ խելքերնին վո՞ր դեղն էր. անօր ինչ ծաղիգ ըլլալը չուրդէի՞ն մի. քառսուն դուռ գարգավ. քառսուն գեղէ ախջիգ ուզից, լաքին հիչ մեզն ալ վրան չի թուքավ: Հեր նէ խա, յես խօշլանմիշ եղա աս բանէն. ախջիգը խաս դղա է. գօղեսբանա (յն. տանտիկին), գարօղ գարգըդօղ. դանը մէջ դիյօր ինինգուն ֆըռըլ-ֆըռըլ դառնա գու: Ասված հելքեթօղ բաշխա խսմէթ մը հանէ գու դէմը: Տելիք բօնջուփ յերդէ կալմագ:

– Հա՛յ, հա՛յ, դուն ջենջ ունեցիր, ջանչը Բաղդադէն քուքա:

– Հրամմէ՛, անուշ, կօնյաք առ, Լուսիա հանում:

– Էհ, Օննիգիդ մենձ օրը շնավօր ըլլա. աբրի մա. խերը դեսնիս. ամմէն դարի աս օրերուն հասնի. թաքն ու բսագը դեսնիմ. մագը-միրիւքը ջերմըգի:

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– Անո՛ւշ հրամմեցիր:

– Անուշօվ մասա: Զա՛, աս ի՛նչ համօվ բան էր. դունէ՞ն մի երիր իք աս անուշը, չէնա մի գուսէն ծախու առիր իք:

– Զա՛ մեղա, դուսէն ալ ի՛նչէն բիդի առնէի. Թաքուհիճաս Էփից:

– Ո՛ւյ, մադվըները սիրիմ յես անօր. Էրնէգ քեզի օր ասանգ անգին գավագ ունիս: Զա, քանի՞ դարու եղավ:

– Սուրբ Սերքիսին բահօց շարդուն դասըօխդը բիդի թամնէ՛ դասըվուքը բիդի մոնի: Անօր աշդարք Էգաճ 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 սեբէբօվը 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 Ասծու աչիչը. դահա խմելիք ջուրերնիս չէ հադիր:

– Ի՛նչ դօլայ է մեռնելը, հելէ գեցիր նայիմ. մէյ մը Թաքուհիճադ ամսէ, Օննիգըդ ալ օդը գօխ երէ դէն, անգից յեղը ի՛նչ գուգիս նա եղիր: Օղօրմաճ հօքի գետուրըս գըսեր քի՛ «Մարթուն ըսաճը չըլլար, Ասծու ըսաճը գըլլա»:

– Անանգ է. ջագադնիս ի՛նչ գրված է նա՛ ան գըլլա. հրամմէ, դայֆէդ ա՛ռ:

– Շինօրագալ իմ. բարէ իդգեց թիւթինին 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. իճծունօց փաքէթ է. մեր Սերքիս աղան փաքէթէն գաղ բաշխա թիւթին չի բանեցունիր:

– Է՛հ, մնագ բարով. օր մը դուք ալ ամմենքով մեզի հրամմեցեք. բեդ գենիմ (կ'սպասեմ):

– Երթաք բարով. նօրեն հրամմեցեք. ասիգ չիմ սեբիմ. ախջիգներուն բարեվ երէ:

* *

Իմ սիրագան Երգու աչգիս լուս զավագըս.

Հեն առաջ անուշիգ խաթրըդ հարցընիմ գու. իշալլահ օխշ...

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... առօխջ բանիդ-դօրծիդ եղեվէն իս: Մեզի ալ հարցունելու ըլլաս նա՝ փառք Ասծու, ամմենքով աղիգ ինք: Մինազ, անցած օրդանքը մարդդ քիչ մը քէյֆը ավըրից, սթմայի բես Երավ. Երգու իրեք օր ալ բառգեցավ. համա հեքիմէն առած դեղերուս վրա՝ հիմիգ աղիգ է. ասօր հիկ օր է օր օդքի Էլիր Է: Ախբարներդ ու քուրվըդիքըդ ամմենքով աղիգ ին. իլլէ բըզդըլիգ ախբարըդ Արուքջանը. գուդէ Եր, խմէ Երր, դռիգ գուդա Եր. Ասված չար աչգէ բահէ. ասանգ մնալու ըլլա նա՝ շադ աղիգ 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՝ Էռսունըօխը մանեթէն Էվէի չէ դրգածըդ: Ի՞նչ գենիս Եր. վօրի՞ն քօվը գենաս 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 աղիգ գիդիս. յես առաչվան 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 խաշլուխ դրգիս մեզի. յես քեզի ադ բօյերը բերի քի՝ ինծի յարդում Էնիս, թեվընգեր ըլլաս. քեզմէն զադ ուրիշ գիւվէնէլիս մը չունիմ. վերը Ասված, վարը քեզի գիւվէնմիշ Էղիր իմ. Էհմալութան չի դաս. գիրըս առնիս չառնիս՝ ինծի փարա ժըմընցընիս. դուն խընդացուր մեզի քի Ասված ալ քեզի խնդացունէ: Ամենանփրգիչը բանիդ գօրծիդ աչօղութեն դա ու օխջ առօխջ նօրեն իրար դեսնելու արժանի Էնէ:

Մարդդ իր միդգը փօխիր Է. գըսէ Եր քի՝ Զիրքօրըս աս անքամ քալու ըլլա նա՝ օդը գլօխ բիդի Էնիմ: Դեսնի՛մ քեզի, զավագըս, մդահան չէնիս մեզի. նամագիս դարցին բեդ գենիմ:

Յես ու մարդդ Երգու աչվըներըդ բաքնինք գու քուրերըդ ու ախբարներըդ ալ սիրով ու գարօղով 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 Ղուռուֆ 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 Oĝlı Mehmet>. But the name <Ġuruf> does not clearly mean anything in Turkish. This name might have been mis-heard from <Yusuf Oĝlu 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/ Ղուռուֆ might have been a typo for /buruf/ Ղուռուշ 'money' which in Turkish is /kuruş/ <kuruş>. 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, ɿe, ʊo/ <ü, ɿ, n>.

Table 1: Vowels of the Hamshen dialect

| | | |
|----------|----------|----------|
| /i/ <ի> | /ɿ/ <իլ> | /u/ <ու> |
| /ɿe/ <ե> | | /ʊo/ <ո> |
| /e/ <է> | /œ/ <եո> | /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/ <ո> next to nasals (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ա> to /o/ <ո> in the Hamshen dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Hamshen | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------|
| ‘skull’ | gank, gang | գանկ, գանգ | g ^h ang | գ ^h ոնգ | gank, gang | գանկ, գանգ |
| ‘to complain’ | gangatil | գանգատիլ | g ^h ongdil | գ ^h ոնգիլ | ganggatel | գանգատել |
| ‘soup (CA); tan drink (SEA)’ | t ^h an | թան | t ^h on | թոն | t ^h an | թան |
| ‘month’ | amis | ամիս | omis | ոմիս | amis | ամիս |
| ‘durable’ | amur | ամուր | omur | ոմուր | amur | ամուր |
| ‘mint’ | ananux | անանուխ | onluxk ^h | ոնլուխք | 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’ | erdumən | երդումն | eft ^h vunk ^h | էֆօվունք | jeɾt ^h um | երդում |
| ‘thirty’ | eresun | երեսուն | ersun | էրսուն | jeresun | երեսուն |
| ‘nail (finger/toe)’ | ełung | եղունգ | ekunk ^h | էղունք | jeɾuŋg | եղունգ |

Inside the word, it becomes /je, i, e/ <ե, ի, է> (Table 4). (The /je/ <ե> is found especially in Malya.)

Table 4: Change from word-medial Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, i, e/ <ե, ի, է> in the Hamshen dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Hamshen | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| ‘night’ | giŋer | գիշեր | g ^h iŋjeɾ | գ ^h իշեր | giŋer | գիշեր |
| ‘we (NOM)’ | mek ^h | մեք | mje ^h k ^h | մյեք | menj ^h k ^h | մենք |
| ‘our (GEN)’ | mer | մեր | mir | միր | mer | մեր |
| ‘big’ | mets | մեծ | midz | միծ | mets | մեծ |
| ‘place’ | teł | տեղ | deɾ | դեղ | teɾ | տեղ |

22.2.1.2.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The sound /o/ <ո> changes everywhere to /uo, o, œ, y/ <ո, 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, ɔo, ɪɫ> with exceptions in the Hamshen dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Hamshen | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------|--|-------------------------|--|----------|
| a. ‘villager’ | | | | | gjuʁats ^h i | qjuɫaɣh |
| ‘villager (DAT, PL)’ | | | g ^h ekats ^h -uots ^h | q ^h ɛɫaɣnɔ | gjuʁats ^h -ots ^h | qjuɫaɣnɔ |
| ‘louse’ | odʒil | nɔɪɪ | otʃ ^h il | oɪɪɪ | voʃ ^h il | nɔɪɪ |
| ‘apple’ | χændzor | ɪʁnɔɪɪ | χændzɪr, χændzœj | ɪʁnɔɪɪ, ɪʁnɔɪɪ | χændzor | ɪʁnɔɪɪ |
| ‘valley’ | dʒor | ɔɪɪ | dʒ ^h œr, dʒɪr | ɔ ^h ɛɪɪ, ɔɪɪ | dʒor | ɔɪɪ |
| ‘four’ | tʃ ^h ors | ɪɪɪ | tʃ ^h œjs | ɪɪɪ | tʃ ^h ors | ɪɪɪ |
| b. ‘who’ | ov | nɪ | ov, vœv | ɪɪɪ, ɪɪɪ | ov | nɪ |
| ‘which’ | or | ɪɪ | vœr | ɪɪ ^o ɪɪ | vor | ɪɪ |

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 | ɑjɔ | ædz, edz | äɔ, ɛɔ | ɑjts | ɑjɔ |
| ‘this’ | ɑjs | ɑju | æs, es | äɪ, ɛɪ | ɑjs | ɑju |
| ‘other’ | ɑɪɪ | ɑɪɪ | æɪ, ɛɪ | äɪ, ɛɪ | ɑɪɪ | ɑɪɪ |

22.2.1.2.5 Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɪɫ>

For the others, Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɪɫ> become /u/ <nɪ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /oi, iu/ <nj, ɪɫ> to /u/ <nɪ> in the Hamshen dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Hamshen | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | ɪɪju | lus | ɪɪɪ | lujs | ɪɪju |
| ‘snow’ | dʒiun | ɔɪɪɪ | dʒun | ɔɪɪɪ | dʒjun | ɔɪɪɪ |

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
նիր նին> 9.⁴

Table 9: Plural suffixes in the Hamshen dialect

| | ‘bread’ | | ‘apple’ | |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| NOM | hats ^h -ir | hawghir | χndz ^h oj-nir | խնձ՝ոյնիր |
| | | | χndz ^h oj-nin | խնձ՝ոյնին |
| GEN-DAT | hats ^h -er-u | hawgetrou | χndz ^h oj-nun | խնձ՝ոյնուն |
| ABL | hats ^h -er-un | hawgetroun | χndz ^h oj-ner-en | խնձ՝ոյներեն |
| | hats ^h -er-un-menen | hawgetrounmenen | χndz ^h oj-nun | խնձ՝ոյնուն |
| | | | χndz ^h oj-nun-mene | խնձ՝ոյնումենե |
| INS | hats ^h -er-ov | hawgetroul | 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 /-én/ <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 յես | d ^h un դ'ուն | en, ina էն, ինա | mek ^h մէք | d ^h unk ^h դ'ոնք | enir, inir էնիր, ինիր |
| 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 քէգի k ^h ez-igi քէգիգի քէգիգի | enu էնու | mez-i մէգի mez-igi մէգիգի մէգիգի | d ^h ez-i ծ'էգի d ^h ez-igi ծ'էգիգի ծ'էգիգի | enuts ^h էնուց inuts ^h ինուց ինուց |
| ACC | indz-i ինծի indz-igi ինծիգի ինծիգի | k ^h ez-i քէգի k ^h ez-igi քէգիգի քէգիգի | en, enu էն, էնու zən զըն | mez-i մէգի mez-igi մէգիգի մէգիգի | d ^h ez-i ծ'էգի d ^h ez-igi ծ'էգիգի ծ'էգիգի | enuts ^h , inuts ^h էնուց, ինուց zenir զէնիր զէնիր |
| ABL | indz-men ինծմէն | k ^h ez-men քէգմէն | endi, indi էնդի, ինդի | mez-men մէգմէն | d ^h ez-men ծ'էգմէն | enuts ^h -men էնուցմէն inuts ^h -men ինուցմէն ինուցմէն |
| INS | indz-mov ինծմօզ | k ^h ez-mov քէգմօզ | enu hid էնու հիդ | mez-mov մէգմօզ | d ^h ez-mov ծ'էգմօզ | enuts ^h -mov էնուցմօզ 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 |
| | իկքը | ուրիկք |
| GEN | ւր, սյ, ւրին | urints ^h |
| | ուր, ույ, ուրիկ | ուրիկց |
| DAT-ACC | ւրին-ə | urints ^h |
| | ուրիկը | ուրիկց |
| ABL | ւր-men, ւր-mən, ւրին-men | urints ^h -men |
| | ուրմէն, ուրմըն, ուրիկմէն | ուրիկցմէն |
| INS | ւր hid, ւրին-ə hid | urints ^h hid |
| | ուր հիդ, ուրիկը հիդ | ուրիկց 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 վումմեն um-men ումմեն | umints ^h -men, vorots ^h -men ումինցմեն, վօրօցմեն vorvnts ^h -men, vumets ^h -men, umots ^h -men վօրինցմեն, վումեցմեն, ումօցմեն |
| 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 վօրմեն | vurots ^h -men, vuronts ^h -men վուրօցմեն, վուրօնցմեն |
| 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 <ներկայ> 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’ուտեմ ‘I eat’ |
| 2SG | g-ud-i-s | գուդիս | g-ud-e-s | Կ’ուտես |
| 3SG | g-ud-e-Ø | գուդե | g-ud-e-Ø | Կ’ուտե |
| 1PL | g-ud-i-k ^h | գուդիք | g-ud-e-ηk ^h | Կ’ուտենք |
| 2PL | g-ud-e-k ^h | գուդեք | g-ud-e-k ^h | Կ’ուտեք |
| 3PL | g-ud-i-n | գուդին | g-ud-e-n | Կ’ուտեն |
| | 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-Ø gu | բ’երե գու | gə-p ^h er-e-Ø | Կը բերե |
| 1PL | b ^h er-i-k ^h gu | բ’երիք գու | gə-p ^h er-e-ηk ^h | Կը բերենք |
| 2PL | b ^h er-e-k ^h gu | բ’երեք 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 <սնկատար> of the verb ‘to eat’ and ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

| | Hamshen ‘to eat’ | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---|---------------|--|----------|
| 1SG | g-ud-ej-i-Ø | գուդէյի | g-ud-ej-i-Ø ‘I would eat’ | կ’ոսւտի |
| 2SG | g-ud-ej-i-r | գուդէյիր | g-ud-ej-i-r | կ’ոսւտիր |
| | g-ud-é-Ø-jdə | գուդէ’յդə | | |
| 3SG | g-ud-e-Ø-r | գուդեր | g-ud-e-Ø-r | կ’ոսւտը |
| 1PL | g-ud-á-Ø-k ^h ə | գուդա’քը | g-ud-ej-i-դk ^h | կ’ոսւտիք |
| 2PL | g-ud-é-Ø-k ^h ə | գուդէ’քը | g-ud-ej-i-k ^h | կ’ոսւտիք |
| 3PL | g-ud-é-Ø-jnə | գուդէ’յնը | g-ud-ej-i-n | կ’ոսւտին |
| | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | |
| | Hamshen ‘to bring’ | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | b ^h er-ej-i-Ø gu | բ’երէյի գու | gə-p ^h er-ej-i-Ø ‘I would bring’ | կը բերի |
| 2SG | b ^h er-ej-i-r gu | բ’երէյիր գու | gə-p ^h er-ej-i-r | կը բերիր |
| | b ^h er-é-Ø-jdə gu | բ’երէ’յդ գու | | |
| 3SG | b ^h er-e-Ø-r gu | բ’երեր գու | gə-p ^h er-e-Ø-r | կը բերը |
| 1PL | b ^h er-á-Ø-k ^h ə gu | բ’երա’քը գու | gə-p ^h er-ej-i-դk ^h | կը բերիք |
| 2PL | b ^h er-é-Ø-k ^h ə gu | բ’երէ’քը գու | gə-p ^h er-ej-i-k ^h | կը բերիք |
| 3PL | b ^h er-é-Ø-jnə gu | բ’երէ’յնը գու | gə-p ^h er-ej-i-n | կը բերին |
| | √-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 <կատարեալ> in the Hamshen dialect

| | Hamshen | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------------|--|---------------------|--|---------|
| 3PL ‘they broomed’ | | | av1-e-ts ^h -i-n | աւլեցիւ |
| 3SG ‘he broomed’ | av1-i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | աւլից | av1-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | աւլես |
| 3SG ‘he looked’ | qf-i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | աշից | | |
| 3SG ‘he threw away’ | t ^h ap ^h -i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | թափից | t ^h ap ^h -e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | թափեց |
| 3SG ‘he brought’ | b ^h er-i-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | բ ^h երից | p ^h er-Ø-Ø-a-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 <ապանի> 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 ‘I will bring’ | պիտի բերեմ |
| 2SG | b ^h er-i-s bidi | բ՛երիս բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-s | պիտի բերես |
| 3SG | b ^h er-e-Ø bidi | բ՛երե բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-Ø | պիտի բերե |
| 1PL | b ^h er-i-k ^h bidi | բ՛երիք բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-ηk ^h | պիտի բերենք |
| 2PL | b ^h er-e-k ^h bidi | բ՛երեք բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-k ^h | պիտի բերեք |
| 3PL | b ^h er-i-n bidi | բ՛երին բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-n | պիտի բերեն |
| | √-TH-AGR FUT | | FUT √-TH-AGR | |

Table 19: Past future <անցեալ ապանի> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

| | Hamshen | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| 1SG | b ^h er-ej-i-Ø bidi | բ՛երեյի բիղի | bidi p ^h er-ej-i-Ø ‘I was going to bring’ | պիտի բերեի |
| 2SG | b ^h er-é-Ø-jdə bidi | բ՛երեյդ բիղի | bidi p ^h er-ej-í-r | պիտի բերեիր |
| 3SG | b ^h er-e-Ø-r bidi | բ՛երեր բիղի | bidi p ^h er-e-Ø-r | պիտի բերեր |
| 1PL | b ^h er-á-Ø-k ^h ə bidi | բ՛երա՛ք բիղի | bidi p ^h er-ej-í-ηk ^h | պիտի բերեինք |
| 2PL | b ^h er-é-Ø-k ^h ə bidi | բ՛երե՛ք բիղի | bidi p ^h er-ej-í-k ^h | պիտի բերեիք |
| 3PL | b ^h er-é-Ø-jnə bidi | բ՛երեյն բիղի | bidi p ^h er-ej-í-n | պիտի բերեին |
| | √-TH-PST-AGR FUT | | FUT-√-TH-PST-AGR | |

22.3.3.4 Subjunctive present and past with marker /nə/ <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՛յդը 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 /-adz/. 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 /-adz, -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-adz i-m
go-TH-AOR-RPTCP AUX-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գ^hնացած իմ
- iii. g^hn-a-ts^h-adz un-i-m
go-TH-AOR-RPTCP have-TH-1SG
‘I have gone.’
գ^hնացած ունիմ
- iv. asd-adz un-ej-i-Ø
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. $\widehat{\text{kats}^{\text{h}}\text{-ad}\widehat{\text{z}}}$ e-m
 go-RPTCP AUX-1SG
 ‘I have gone.’
 Գացած եմ
- iii. $\widehat{\text{əs-ad}\widehat{\text{z}}}$ ej-i-Ø
 say-RPTCP AUX-PST-1SG
 ‘I had said.’
 Ըսած էի

22.3.3.6 Infinitives with /-uʃ/ <նւշ>

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 /-uʃ/ <նւշ> 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 /-uʃ/ without a theme vowel.]]

Table 20: Replacement of the infinitive suffix with /-uʃ/ <նւշ> in the Hamshen dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Hamshen | | cf. SEA | | cf. SWA | |
|------------|----------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| ‘to speak’ | խօս-ի-լ | խաւսիլ | չօս-ւփ | խօսնւշ | չօս-ե-լ | խոսել | չօս-ի-լ | խօսիլ |
| ‘to go’ | եր ^h -ա-լ | երթալ | եջd-ւփ | եշղոնւշ | jer ^h -a-l | երթալ | jer ^h -a-l | երթալ |
| ‘to bring’ | ber-e-l | բերել | b ^h er-ւփ | բ ^h երոնւշ | ber-e-l | բերել | p ^h er-e-l | բերել |
| | √-TH-INF | | √-INF | | √-TH-INF | | √-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 ^h er-ւփ | բ ^h երոնւշ | b ^h er-ւփ-nin | բ ^h երոնւշնին |
| GEN-DAT | b ^h er-ւփ-i | բ ^h երոնւշի | b ^h er-ւփ-nun | բ ^h երոնւշնուն |
| ABL | b ^h er-ւփ-ən | բ ^h երոնւշըն | b ^h er-ւփ-nun | բ ^h երոնւշնուն |
| INS | b ^h er-ւփ-ov | բ ^h երոնւշով | b ^h er-ւփ-ner-ov | բ ^h երոնւշներով |

It appears to me that this formative is borrowed from Turkish formatives /-if, -əf, -uʃ/ <h₂, n₂, n₂> ([[deverbal nominal suffix <-iʃ> in modern Turkish orthography]]) and from the Persian formatives /-if/ <h₂> ([[deverbal nominal suffix <-eʃ>, or in modern Persian orthography]]: <اش>); these likewise form participles. For example Turkish /aləʃ-veriʃ/ <al₂₂-ʋerh₂> ([[<alışveriʃ>]]) meaning ‘trade’ (that is ‘to take and to give’), Persian /asajif/ <asajih₂> ([[<âsâyeʃ>]] <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 /tʰi-, tʰi/ <ɣ, ɣh> before the verb, or by placing the formative /utʰi/ <nɣ> after the verb.

[[To clarify, the first method resembles how SWA constructs negative forms, while the second method uses the reflex of CA ‘no’ /otʰi/ <nɣ> 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/ <l>.]]

Table 22: Negative <բացասական> of the indicative present <ներկայ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect

| | Hamshen | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1SG | tʰi-i-m bʰer-i-l | չիմ բ’երիլ | tʰi-e-m pʰer-e-r | չեմ բերեր ‘I do not bring’ |
| 2SG | tʰi-i-s bʰer-i-l | չիս բ’երիլ | tʰi-e-s pʰer-e-r | չես բերեր |
| 3SG | tʰi-i-∅ bʰer-i-l | չի բ’երիլ | tʰi-i-∅ pʰer-e-r | չի բերեր |
| 1PL | tʰi-i-kʰ bʰer-i-l | չիք բ’երիլ | tʰi-e-ŋkʰ pʰer-e-r | չենք բերեր |
| 2PL | tʰi-e-kʰ bʰer-e-l | չեք բ’երիլ | tʰi-e-kʰ pʰer-e-r | չեք բերեր |
| 3PL | tʰi-i-n bʰer-i-l | չին բ’երիլ | tʰi-e-n pʰer-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 | տ ^h -էյ-ծ-Ø b ^h er-i-l | չէ՛յն բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -էյ-ի-Ø p ^h er-e-r ‘I would not bring’ | չէի բերեր |
| 2SG | տ ^h -էյ-ծ-ր b ^h er-i-l | չէ՛յն բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -էյ-ի-ր p ^h er-e-r | չէիր բերեր |
| 3SG | տ ^h -ի-Ø-ր b ^h er-i-l | չիր բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -e-Ø-ր p ^h er-e-r | չեր բերեր |
| 1PL | տ ^h -ձ-Ø-k ^h ə b ^h er-i-l | չա՛քն բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -էյ-ի-դk ^h p ^h er-e-r | չէիք բերեր |
| 2PL | տ ^h -է-Ø-k ^h ə b ^h er-e-l | չէ՛քն բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -էյ-ի-k ^h p ^h er-e-r | չէիք բերեր |
| 3PL | տ ^h -է-Ø-jnə b ^h er-i-l | չէ՛յն բ ^h երիլ | տ ^h -էյ-ի-n p ^h er-e-r | չէին բերեր |
| | NEG-AUX-PST-AGR √-TH-CN | | NEG-AUX-PST-AGR √-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 /t^hə-/ before the verb. Hamshen in contrast has two methods. The first method (Table 24) is like in SWA, but the negation prefix is /t^hi-/].]⁶

⁶[[Note that in colloquial SWA, the negation prefix /t^hə-/ can be pronounced as /t^hi-/ as well.]]

Table 24: Negative <բացասական> of the past perfective <կատար-
եալ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect (Method 1)

| | Hamshen | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--|------------------------|--|---------|
| 1SG | tʃ ^h i b ^h er-i-Ø | չի բ ^h երի | tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-Ø ‘I did not bring’ | չբերի |
| 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-
եալ> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Hamshen dialect (Method 2)

| | Hamshen | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|--|---------|
| 1SG | b ^h er-i-Ø utʃ ^h | բ ^h երի ուչ | tʃ ^h ə-p ^h er-i-Ø ‘I did not bring’ | չբերի |
| 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 útʃ^h bidi
 bring-TH-2SG NEG FUT
 ‘You will not bring.’
 բ՛երիս ո՛ւչ 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 útʃ^h
 bring-TH-1SG FUT NEG
 ‘I will not bring.’
 բ՛երիմ իդի ո՛ւչ
- b. b^her-i-s bidi útʃ^h
 bring-TH-2SG FUT NEG
 ‘You will not bring.’
 բ՛երիս բիդի ո՛ւչ

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. tʃ^h-í-n t^he g^h-a-l
 NEG-AUX-3PL Q come-TH-CN
 ‘Aren’t they coming?’
 չի՞նք թէ գալ
- b. g^h-a-l tʃ^h-í-n t^he
 come-TH-CN NEG-AUX-3PL Q
 ‘Aren’t they coming?’
 գալ չի՞նք թէ
- c. tʃ^h-í-n g^h-a-l t^he
 NEG-AUX-3PL come-TH-CN Q
 ‘Aren’t they coming?’
 չի՞նք գալ թէ

But, if before the verb there is an interrogative pronoun (միջակ անուն) 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՞ր հօքի յիք
- b. íntj^ho er-i-k^h
how do-PST-2PL
‘How did you do?’
ի՞նչօ էրիք
- c. vóer mǎfǎd-ə eg-a-v
which man-DEF come-PST-3SG
‘Which man came?’
վեօ՞ր մաշդը եգավ
- d. hób^hor or g^h-a-l tǰ^h-é-Ø-jdǎ, orí χosk^h
when that come-TH-CN NEG-AUX-PST-2SG, why speech
gu-d-é-Ø-jdǎ
IND-give-TH-PST-2SG
‘When you weren’t coming, why did you promise it?’
հօբ՞որ որ գ՛ալ է՛լիք, օրի՞ խօսք գուղէ՛լիք

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)’
եսա՞ դօմ թէ
- b. mék^h t^he
we Q
‘Us?’
մէ՞ք թէ
- c. dún g^hats^h-i-r t^hǎ
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 jenitʃeri-i-n χalpʰαχ-i-n tʰekʰme mə jerləʃdir-miʃ
 this janissary-GEN-DEF calpack-DAT-DEF kick INDF place-?
 ən-e-m kʰi tʰekʰer-mekʰer g-a-Ø
 do-TH-1SG so wheel-ECHO come-TH-3SG
 ‘I kick this janissary’s calpack so that it comes all rolling.’
 Սա յենիջերիին խալփախին թեքմե մը յերլեշդիրմիշ ընեմ քի
 թեքեր-մեքեր գա
 b. cf. Turkish (Tabita Toparlak, p.c.)
 Şu yeniçeri-nin kalpağ-ın-a bir tekme yerleştireyim, 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. eʁar mezi hed **kof-di**
 take? we.DAT with combine-PST
 ‘He combined us.’ (?)
 [[*I did not understand Adjarian’s translation well <առաւ 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’.*]]
 եղար մեզի հեդ կօշդի
- d. gʰieʁ tʰe gʰ-a-s, iratsʰ hed **doʁuʃ-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 թէ գ’աս, իրաց հեդ դօղուշո’ւրուք
- 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’ունք շա’դ փարա կազօնո’ւրսունուք

In these sayings, the following words are conjugated with purely Turkish rules:

- /jaraladiler/ <յարալադիլէր> past perfective 3PL
- /ujalum/ <ույալում> imperative 1PL
- /kofdi/ <կօշդի> past perfective 3SG
- /doʁufúruk^h/ <դօղուշո՛ւրուք> present 1PL
- /kazonúrsunuz/ <կազօնո՛ւրսունուք> 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 /-mıŝ/. 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

- 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-mıŝ>.*]]
յարալամիշ ըրին
- 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-muŝ>.*]]
ույմիշ ըլլանք
- doʁuf-mif** ɡ-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-müŝ>.*]]
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>.*]]
 Կօշմիշ ըրաւ
- e. **kazan-mif** g-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>.*]]
 Կազանմիշ 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, Նէս-Նէն գէշոսն գուքօս. Էմէն մաշդ իսթուս ինթուս թռչի գու: Էմօս դադին գու օր՝ քըյդինքի մէջ գոյսըվին գու:

Էմէն մաշդ ժաժվի գու ասդի (ասացի) ՝ օր օնցած դարվօսէ ինչիգ մը բագաս թողուն ուչ. յիս Էլ բարաբ դօղնիլ չիմ. Նէդվիմ գու Նէս Նէն, ինծիգի ինչ բօս օր ասդած ին՝ գէն ընիմ իդի, օր Էշոսմ միր դընվօյնուն (տնւօրնէրուն) հիդ կալանդար ընիմ:

Կալանդարը բէդքը բօս Է. ինցօ՞ սիյդըս ֆըռֆըռա գու թէ յի՞սի հասնիմ իդի իրիգվօս. ինցօ՞ բէդ գընիմ (կ'սպասեմ) թէ մէգ մը իրիգվօս հասնէի:

Գիդի՞ս ինչ բօսի հօմար գուգիմ կալանդարը. իրիգվօս չէրէգ շադ ուղինք բիդի. կալանդարի ծառ գայթարինք բիդի. խընծիւրի մէջ փարա դընինք բիդի. միր բէդքը (լաւ) յիգը գումէն դուն բերինք աշինք բիդի սա՞ր թէ սօլ օդքը Նիյս դընէ բիդի. գօդօշվընուն ծէրը լուցած մէղրէ մուս գըբցընինք բիդի. Էրգու գօդօշնուն վրէն Էլ սիմիթ օնցընինք բիդի:

Էքվօս կալանդար Է ասդած ունիմ. հիմիջաք միր բօսն Է կալանդար Էնուշի հօմար Էմէն ինչիգ հագը ընուշ. միր բօսը շադ...

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... չէթին Էր, Էնուր հօմար օր միր դընվօյնին քիչվօր Էին, ու մէգիգի բօս շադ գէր (կար):

Միր դօսը շադ մաշդ բի գէր. յիս ունէի ախբէր մը ու մէյըս. հէյըս իմ չիւյս դարեգօս Էղած վախդըս մէռած Էր. մէյս՝ հօյս մէռնուշէն Էրգու դարի յիդ՝ գընաց Վերասա գարքըվէցաՎ. մէգիգի Ագօփի հօխբէյըս բէհից, աշից ինչաք միծըցօնք:

Շադ բիջիլիգ Էի. միդքըս գուքա օր հօխբէյըս գարքըվէցաՎ. հօդօփիցից Գուխլա գէղէն հայս բերած ունէին. յիփ ծիէն վեր առին ՝ քօխքը գլխուն ՆսդաՎ, ինծիգի գօքը նըսդէցուցին. հօդօփիցիս ինծիգի օնթից ու բաքնից:

Հօխբէյս մէգիգի շադ սիրէր գու. գասէր թէ իմ ախբօր դէղն ին. ամմա հօդօփիցիս Էմէն դարբա մէգիգի քէօթգէր 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 քէ, Աթօմ, ո՞ւսդի (վո՞ւյ դէղէն) գ'ուգ'աս:
- Զախքըն:
- Ի՞նցօ իս, բէ՞դք իս թէ:
- Բէդք իմ, ի՞նչ ընիմ իդի:
- Բ'օնի՞յդ ինցօ ին:

– Գէշ չին. դ՛ո՞նք ինցօ էք. աս դարի ի՞նցօ օնցուցիք:

– Ֆուխարէ մաշողը ի՞նչ գայնա ընիլ. գիդիս օր խեղ չունիմ. մեզ գդետը մը խեղ ունէյի, էն էլ բօրջիս դէղ ձեռնէս առին. գ՛նացի միր աղայէն մարաբալուդի հումար խած (քիչ, կտոր) մը խեղ առի. էնու վրա էլ ընդողար էմէղ էրի օր, հիչ հսաբի չի գ՛ալ. փօրէցի, քօքը փեղէցի, խոգեցի, թէմիզ մը գիբլէցի, մէկ փարչըն լազուդ ցօնէցի, վէոյն էլ լոբգլէ ցօնէցի, Մըյնէգն էլ դնթում-մնթում սադրէցի. դնթ-մընին ու լօբգէնին էփէյի էղօն ամա, լազդ հիչ չէղաւ. էղած իրադն էլ դարի քաղաքը- ձախէցի, անջաք ընիցմէրօվ բօրջիս գեսը դըվի. մեզէլ գեսն էլ բ՛աց մնաց:

– Դունդ՝ քօ՞նի հօքի յիք:

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– Վից հօքի յիք, յես, դոցը մերը, չիյս էլ դղաքը:

– Դղաքդ՝ մօ՞նչ ին թէ ախչիզ:

– Էրգու մօնչ, Էրգու ախչիզ ին. ախչգընիս իրէք էինը ամա, մեզը մեռաւ:

– Դղաքդ, գաղդօ՞ն գու թէ:

– Հա, հէլբթ. մօնչիյն էլ գաշդօն գու, բուզընին էլ (պուլիկ «աղջիկ»). մի՞ն մօնչըն դասվիրէք դարեգօն է, բզդիզը դասընմէք. առաջմէն բուզընիս գաշդում դվուշի չուզէցի (ուզէցի եօշ գաշդում գալ). «բուզօն գաշդուշը ի՞նչ բէղք է» գասէյը՝. ամա քաղաքէն էգած վարջաբէղը (վարբէղը) շադ ասաց, շադ թէքիֆ էրաւ, աքըր աքբէթ յես էլ կանմիշ էղա, դահա ինչիզ չա՛սդի:

22.5.3 Malya village

– Գ՛իրքետը, արի, քիչ մը սսդիք, ինչի մը հալլաշալում:

– Ի՞նչ հալլաշաշա՛ղուք, մէք ինչիզ չիյդիք օր. մեզի հեդ ի՞նչ հալլաշաշա՛քսուն:

– Բադմէ աշիք, ի՞նչօ էղաւ Դալդաբօնի բ՛օնը:

– Մայիսին գիսուն էր՝ գ՛նացաք էլաք Դալդաբօնը. մեր ամէ՛ն ու օխչընին օնցընաքը բիդի. Թուրքըրը չի՛ք թօղուլ ասդին. ընդէղէն դ՛արձ՛ուցին յեդ. խէլ մը յեդ էգաք. Քիւրդալօղլի գ՛եղը էգաք. ընդէղը գարգին մեզիգի. մէք ան գբուցաք, էնիր էլ գբուցին:

– Վո՞ւմ շադ քլեթգեցին:

– Կօքիս ան քլեթգեցին. կալդի քի էնիր Խաչօգին քիչ մը յարալադիլէր. մէք ան էնից քլեթգեցաք:

– 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'օսնգոյաքը բիդի. Թուրքերը մեզի դէսօն, ասդին հըն թէ մե՛ք էշդալ. դ'ունք մեզի քյետթգեցիք, մէք ալ ձ'եզի քյետթգեցաք, երաք խալափօթ (ռուս. խառնակութիւն)...

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... մը. իրաց հեղ ույալում հըն ու հիւքիւմէթը չըղնիք (չիյնասնք). միյ գ'օղցած մալիյն ալ յէդ առէք: Էնից խօսածը օնգօշ դ'րաք եօշ. ինչաք Գիւմիւշխանա. հուն Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդի մը գյա՛ր, գ'նացաք գ'դաք զան. հալիյս Էնու հասգընցուցաք. օնցալ ալչի դ'իյս եղառ մեզիգի, ու իրաց հեղ գ'նացաք հիւքիւմէթը. ընդեղ մաշ-նազ (< մարդնակ «լաւ») արգուհալ մը դվաք. արգուհալն ալ Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդին գ'րեց. բեդքը (լաւ) մաշթ էր. քեօլէ'լիմ Էնու միրվացը: Փօլիս մը, Էրգու զաֆթիյա Մըզըրդիչ Էֆընդին եղառ մեզի հեղ կօշդի, ինք էլ հեղվընիս, ինչաք Քիւրդալու-դուն գ'եղը. դասը հադիգ մալ Էնից գ'օղցած մալերուն յէդ եղառ, մեզի երեղ, եբ'եր քախքի գ'լիւն, ջօմփա եդ'իր օնցաք գ'նացաք էյլըն (թրք. արօտատեղի). շադ օյ դէսնու բօլա քի: Ընդեղ դեղ բ'ռնեցաք, դուն շինեցաք. եդէք (կամ ընչաք) հիմի հուն իք:

22.5.4 Abgion village

Յես Արգյօնցի իմ. մէք ունիք մեզ վարջադուն. խաչ (եկեղեցի) մէլ ունիք. բիթուն գ'եղը չիյս մահալա է. վարջադունը բ'աց է. ունիք իրէք վարժա'բեդ. միյ դէղի իրադն է լա'զուդ, գա'Մին խօդիրը շադ իրադսուզ ին. եդու հումար եղած լա'զոն էլ չի' հերքիր: Այդերուն մէջ դահա գը'լի լո'բգէ, բ'օնջ'ար (կաղամբ), ոգրիշ յէ'շիլլուդ: Հէն միծ իրադը գաղինն է: Ձ'մռն 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. եդու հումար Էրգու գ'իշիր դ'ուսը մընօն գու, ուչինջի իրիգունը դեղ հասնին գու. իրէք օմիս գինուշըն (կենալէն) եդիվ' էլի վեր գուգ'օն: Միր գ'եղացիք գօվ շադ բեհին գու. չունքի գիբիլը (աղբ) շադ բիդու է. սադէ գաթեն բաշքա էլ մաշդը ուզէ չուզէ գիբիլին հումար բիդի դիրէ հօշդիր (հորթեր) ու գաթ չընօղ գօվիր: Միր գ'եղացիք շադ ֆուխարէ ին. եդու հումար շադիրը կուրբեթ գէշօն, թարա կագօնմիշ ըլլուշի հումար. շադիյն էլ կուրբեթին մէջ գէրուր (թշուառ) ըլլուշէն մէ'ռնին գու՝ թօղէլով չօլուխ-չօջուխ Էրիսի վրա: Է'յ գիդէ հէ'յ, Էդմօն քօսի' 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 նէիրած 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 սեբեբին 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 Adıyaman 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 | բարծ | p ^h arts ^h | փարց | barts ^h | բարծ |
| ‘to bring’ | berel | բերել | p ^h erel | փերել | berel | բերել |
| ‘high’ | bardzər | բարձր | p ^h ants ^h ər | փանցըր | barts ^h ər | բարձր |
| ‘book’ | gir-k ^h (-PL) | գիրք | k ^h irk ^h | քիրք` | girk ^h | գիրք |
| ‘door’ | durən | 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 | մանծ | mets | մեծ |
| ‘burden’ | berən | բեռն | p ^h ar | փառ | ber | բեռ |
| ‘chickpea’ | siserən | սիսեռն | səsar | սըսառ | siser | սիսեռ |
| ‘mountain’ | lēarən | լեառն | 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 | աւետարան | avidiran | ավիդիրան | avetaran | ավետարան |
| ‘black’ | səau | սեաւ | siv | սիվ | sev | սև |

23.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /u/ <ու>

The Classical Armenian sound /u/ <ու> changed to /o/ <ո> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /o/ <ո> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘door’ | durən | դուռն | t ^h or | թօռ | dur | դուռ |
| ‘water’ | d̥zur | ջուր | t̥ ^h or | չօռ | d̥zur | ջուր |
| ‘to who’ (DAT) | um | ո՞ւմ | hom | հօմ | um | ո՞ւմ |

23.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <այ> changed to /e/ <ե> (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /e/ <ե> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|------|--------------------|-------|
| ‘mother’ | majr | մայր | mer | մեր | majr | մայր |
| ‘this’ | ɑjs | այս | es | ես | ajs | այս |
| ‘wood’ | p ^h ajt | փայտ | p ^h ed | փեդ | p ^h ajt | փայտ |
| ‘vineyard’ | ɑjgi | այգի | ek ^h i | եքի | ajgi | այգի |
| ‘to burn’ | ɑjrel | այրել | eril | երիլ | ajrel | այրել |

The Classical Armenian sound /ɑj/ <այ> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /ɑ/ <ա> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘sound’ | ḏzɑjn | ḏայն | tsʰɑn | ցաւ | ḏzɑjn | ḏայն |
| ‘wide’ | lɑjn | լայն | lan | լաւ | lɑjn | լայն |

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’ | kʰoɹ | քոյր | kʰor | քոր | kʰujr | քույր |
| ‘light’ | loɹs | լոյս | los | լոս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘nest’ | boɹn | բոյն | pʰon | փոն | bujn | բույն |

23.2.2.5 Classical Armenian /iɹ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iɹ/ <իւ> changed to /i/ <ի> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iɹ/ <իւ> to /i/ <ի> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|-----------|-------|---------|---------|
| ‘fountain’ | ɑɸbiɹ | աղբիւր | ɑxpʰir | ախփիր | ɑxpjur | աղբյուր |
| ‘hundred’ | hariɹ | հարիւր | herir | հերիր | harjur | հարյուր |
| ‘blood’ | ariɹn | արիւն | 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 /iɹ/ <իւ> changed to /o/ <ո> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /o/ <օ> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘column’ | siʏn | uիւն | son | uօն | sjun | ujոն |

The Classical Armenian sound /iʏ/ <իւ> changed to /œ/ <եօ> (Table 10).

Table 10: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /œ/ <եօ> in the Malatya dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Malatya | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|
| ‘snow’ | dʒiʏn | ծիւն | tsʰœn | ցեօն | dʒjun | ծյոն |

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:
 Օչիւօղը կը քերվի՝ անօթին գիւման գընի:
 Հարսնեղունը չը քըդէ, շերեփն առիւր գը վազէ:
 Յարա չիւնիս նէ ինչո՞ւ գուշունսիշ գըլիս:

¹[[The word ‘separate’ here <առանձին> may also be possibly translated as ‘unique’. (?)]]

Գաղունները քացին, մուգերուն ջանսիա փացվեցավ:

Մեղավորը ժամ չէ գեցիր, գայնիր է նե մաղը աչքն է մղիր:

Չօռը (ջուրը) սանդը թիր՝ ձեձե ձեձե՝ գինե չօռ:

Դանձը քեց 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 գենեն դե դիրունմնե գամչնան:

Իս գուզիմ շալգօղ՝ Ասվաձ գուդա շալգելիք:

23.4.2 Adiyaman

Turkish: Hisn-Mansur

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1900, page 331. The orthography is preserved unchanged.

Մուղ դդում. Էրին սրջես. քեօռ ըննաս. խանադ խարապ ըննա. պատին տակը մնաս. Էրեսիդ հայող չննա. պեմուրատ Էրթաս. պապուդ գանկը կողը չիանգչի. Աստուծոր խշմին Էրթաս 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 (Ալլահվերդյան 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 Բազմավեպ [*Bazmavep*] (1897, page 467-73), my one published fable is taken from Allahverdian's book (Ալլահվերդյան 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 (սր. Օսնիկ Մահեստեան; [[SEA: /*onnik mahtesjan*/, SWA: /*on-nig mahdesjan*/]]) and a prince's son H. Yaghoupian (Յ. Եաղուպեան; [[SEA: /*jaɣupjan*/, SWA: /*jaɣubjan*/]]).

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/ <իԼ> | /u/ <ու> |
| /i̞e/ <ե> | | /u̞o/ <ո> |
| /e/ <է> | /œ/ <եօ> | /ə/ <ը> |
| /æ/ <ւ̆> | | /o/ <օ> |
| | | /ɑ/ <ւ> |

Among these, the sound /ə/ <ը°> is a new sound which represented a middle degree between between the vowels /ə, ɑ/ <ը, ւ>.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 (Շորվայեան; [[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/ <ւ>

Among the sound changes, the most characteristic one that is spread across the entirety of Cilicia is that the Classical Armenian sound /ɑ/ <ւ> changes to /o/ <օ> under stress (Table 2).

⁴[[Note that for the sound that I transcribe as /ə/, 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 <ը°>.]

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 | osə | օսղ | astəx | աստղ | SEA |
| ‘ceiling’ | arastał | առաստաղ | ajəsdox | այըսդօխ | arastəx | առաստաղ | SEA |
| ‘to open’ | banal | բանալ | b ^h anol | բ ^h անօլ | p ^h anal | բանալ | SWA |
| ‘God’ | astɣats | Աստուած | asb ^h odz | Ասբ ^h օծ | astvats | Աստված | SEA |
| ‘late’ | anagan | անագան | ang ^h on | անգ ^h օն | anagan | անագան | SEA |
| ‘to descend’ | idɣanel | իջանել | itj ^h noł | իչնօլ | itj ^h nal | իջնալ | SWA |
| | | | Marash subdialect | | | | |
| ‘idle’ | parap | պարապ | barob | բարօբ | parap | պարապ | SEA |
| ‘city’ | k ^h atak ^h | քաղաք | k ^h axok ^h | քաղօք | k ^h axak ^h | քաղաք | SEA |
| ‘it is’ | | | gənnō | գըննօ | gəlla | ըլլայ | SԿA |
| ‘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 | gaɣdom | 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’ | aɣxarh | աշխարհ | exfor | էխշօր | aɣxar | աշխարհ | SEA |
| ‘I stand’ | kajanam | կայանամ | go ginom | գօ գինօմ | gə genam | կը կենամ | SWA |
| ‘it be’ | lini | լինի | ənnō | 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: /jaʁubjan/, jaʁupjan/, SWA: /jaʁup^hjan/]]) district of Zeytun always replaces this /o/ <օ> with /yo/ <ո>.

When the Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> vowel is not under stress, it remains /a/ <ա> or becomes /æ/ <աւ̩>, 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 | թաքաւիւր | t ^h ak ^h avor | թագաւոր |
| ‘plough’ | araqr | արար | hæjœj | հայեյ | aror | արօր |
| ‘thin’ | barak | բարակ | b ^h ajjœg | բ‘այոգ | barak | բարակ |
| ‘melody’ | awatj ^h | աւաչ | evæŋj ^h k ^h | էվաչք | avatj ^h | աւաչ |
| ‘student’ | afakert | աշակերտ | efgijɔ | էզգիյո | 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 | իյգօւ | jereko | երեկո |
| ‘I’ | es | ես | is | իս | jes | ես |
| ‘thirty’ | eresun | երեսուն | ersun | էոսուն | jeresun | երեսուն |
| ‘face’ | eres | երես | ijis | իյիս | jeres | երես |
| ‘kidneys’ | erikamunk ^h | երիկամունք | ijgom | իյգօմ | jerikamunk ^h | երիկամունք |
| ‘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’ | ezər | եզր | izijk ^h | իզիյք | jezər | եզր |
| | | | Hadjin subdialect | | | |
| ‘three’ | erek ^h | երեք | d̂zik ^h | ծիք | jerek ^h | երեք |
| ‘light (weight)’ | t ^h et ^h ey | թեթել | t ^h it ^h iv | թիթիվ | t ^h et ^h ev | թեթել |
| | | | 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 /ɛ/ <է> in the Cilicia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Cilicia | | cf. SEA | |
|------------|--------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| | | | Zeytun subdialect | | | |
| ‘chickpea’ | siserən | սիսեռն | sisɛr | սիսէռ | siser | սիսեռ |
| ‘beauty’ | geł | գեղ | gɛɛ | գէղ | geɛ | գեղ |

24.3.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը>

The Classical Armenian sound /ə/ <ը> often becomes /ɐ/ <ը°> 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, ɐ, a/ <է, ը, ը°, ա>. In Marash, it became /a/ <ա> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, e, ə, ɐ, a/ <ի, է, ը, ը°, ա> in the Cilicia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Cilicia | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|--------|---------|------|
| | | | Zeytun subdialect | | | |
| ‘meat’ | mis | միս | mɛs | մը°ս | mis | միս |
| ‘woman’ | | | gɛnag | գը°նագ | kənik | կնիկ |
| | | | Marash subdialect | | | |
| ‘meat’ | mis | միս | mas | մաս | mis | միս |
| ‘woman’ | | | gənaɐ | գընագ | kənik | կնիկ |

24.3.2.1.5 Other vowels

The other vowels have the following changes:

- CA /o/ > /o, ʏ, œ/ (n > o, իւ, եօ)
- CA /u/ > /o, ʏ/ (nւ > o, իւ)
- CA /iʊ/ > /i, ɐ, e/ (իւ > ի, ը°, է)

- CA /oi/ > /ɤ, i/ (nj > ɲ, ɲ)
- CA /ai/ > /æ/ (uj > ü)

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 (աւաւ) 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 /j/ <յ> 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 | qɬawg | g ^h onofs ^h | q ^h olug | gənat ^h | qɬawg | SEA |
| ‘twenty’ | k ^h əsan | puwɬ | k ^h oson | puosɬ | k ^h əsan | puwɬ | SEA |
| ‘woman (genitive)’ | | | gongon | qolqol | kəŋkan | qɬɬawɬ | SEA |
| ‘gold’ | oski | nuɬi | isgi | huq ^h | voski | nuɬi | SEA |
| ‘bone’ | oskər | nuɬi | ysgɟ | huq ^h ɟ | voskor | nuɬi | SEA |
| ‘bone-GEN’ | osker | nuɬi | isgij-i | huq ^h ɟi | voskor-i | nuɬi | SEA |
| ‘I go’ | ert ^h am | terəwɬ | gort ^h om | qorəwɬ | gert ^h am | q ^h terəwɬ | SWA |
| | | | Marash subdialect | | | | |
| ‘this.GEN’ | | | ysɟ | huɬi | asor | wunɟ | SWA |
| ‘Jesus Christ’ | jisus k ^h əristos | | ysɟ k ^h ɟɟɟɟɟ | | hisus k ^h əristos | | SEA |
| | Յիսուս Զրիստոս | | Իսիս Զիլիլսիս | | Հիսուս Զրիստոս | | |

Here, we see that the Classical Armenian vowels /ə, o, e, a, i/ <ը, ո, է, 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, իւ>, and the second to /mə, mi, mu, mɟ/ <մը, մի, մու, միւ>, 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’ | aχʃín-i | ախշի՛նի | aχʃíḡ-ə | աղջիկը |
| ‘girl INDF’ | aχʃin mi | ախշին մի | aχʃíḡ mə | աղջիկ մը |
| ‘knife-DEF’ | danóg-u | դանո՛գու | t ^h anág-ə | դանակը |
| ‘knife INDF’ | danog mu | դանոգ մու | t ^h anag mə | դանակ մը |
| ‘mouse-DEF’ | múg-u | մո՛ղգու | múg-ə | մուկը |
| ‘mouse INDF’ | mug mu | մուգ մու | mug mə | մուկ մը |
| ‘grass-DEF’ | χýd-y | խի՛դի | χód-ə | խոտը |
| ‘grass INDF’ | χyd my | խիդ մի | χod mə | խոտ մը |
| ‘day INDF’ | œr my | եօր մի | 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, -dækh/ <իր, նիր, (իյ, նիյ), նա, նը, դաք> (Table 9).

Table 9: Plural suffixes in the Cilicia dialect

| | Cilicia | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|
| ‘wheat-PL’ | ts ^h ijin-nir | ցիյիննիր | ts ^h oren-ner | ցորեններ |
| ‘chickpea-PL’ | səʂər-nə | սը՞սը՞ռնը | siser-ner | սիսեռներ |
| ‘garlic-PL’ | sœχdij-nə | սեօխդիյնա | səχtor-ner | սխտորներ |
| ‘flower-PL’ | d̥zaæg-na | ծաղըզնա, | tsaæik-ner | ծաղիկներ |
| | d̥zaæg-nij | ծաղըզնիյ, | | |
| | d̥zaægə-nij | ծաղզընիյ | | |

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 /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 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'ou | æn u̯u | mink ^h ʃɦuɔ | d ^h ok ^h ɾ'op | ænij u̯uɦj |
| GEN | im ɦuʃ | k ^h u ɔnɫ | œnyj ɛɫɦjɫj | mej, mij ʃɛj, ʃɦj | dz ^h ij, dz ^h ej ð'ɦj, ð'ɛj | œnynts ^h ɛɫɦɫɫɫɫ |
| DAT | indz ^h ie ɦuðɛ | k ^h iz ɔɦq | œnyj ɛɫɦjɫj | miz ʃɦq | dz ^h iz ð'ɦq | œnynts ^h ɛɫɦɫɫɫɫ |
| ACC | əsəɔ ɫ ^o uɫ ^o q | əzk ^h iz ɫ ^o qɔɦq | zæn qau̯u | əzmiz ɫ ^o qɫɦq | əzdz ^h iz ɫ ^o qð'ɦq | zenij qɛɦj |
| ABL | imnjets̃ ɦuɦɫɛg | k ^h innjets̃ ^h ɔɦɦuɦɫɛg | enigets̃ ^h ɛɦqɛg | mijnjets̃ ^h ʃɦɦuɦɫɛg | dz ^h ijnjets̃ ^h ð'ɦɦuɦɫɛg | œnyts̃ ^h nje ɛɫɦɦuɦɫɛg |
| INS | imnœv ɦuɦuɛɫɫ | k ^h izmœv ɔɦqɫɫɫɫ | œnyvœk ^h ɛɫɦɦuɦɫɫɫɫ | mijnœv ʃɦɦuɦɫɫɫ | dz ^h izmœv ð'ɦqɫɫɫ | œnynts̃ ^h mœv ɛɫɦɦuɦɫɫɫɫ |

[[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 |
| | hɪɫ | zɪɲɔ, hɪɫz |
| GEN-DAT | om | tʃ ^h ɣk ^h -u, yntʃ ^h -i, intʃ ^h -i |
| | oɟ | zɪɲɔnɫ, hɪɫzɪ, hɪzɪ |
| ACC | zyv | tʃ ^h ijk ^h , yntʃ ^h |
| | qɪɫ | zɪɲɔ, hɪɫz |
| ABL | omn-ɪets ^h | tʃ ^h ijk ^h -ɪen, intʃ ^h -ɪen |
| | oɟɪtɔg | zɪɲɔtɪn, hɪzɪtɪn |
| INS | om hid | tʃ ^h ɣjk ^h -œv |
| | oɟ hɪɲ | zɪɫɔtɔɫ |

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 | olo |
| demonstrative distal GEN SG ‘of that yonder’ | ənir | ɲɪɪɪ |
| intensive 3PL NOM ‘they’ | irink ^h | ɪɪɪɲɔ |
| interrogative NOM SG ‘which’ | jor | ɪɪɪ |
| interrogative NOM SG ‘wherever’ | jórər | ɪɪɪɲɪ |
| interrogative SG ‘why’ | tʃ ^h urú | zɪɪɪɲ ^o ɫ |

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, ըսո |
| demonstrative proximal GEN SG ‘of this’ | əsyɾ | ըսիւր |
| demonstrative proximal ABL SG ‘from this’ | əsigem | ըսիգէմ |
| demonstrative proximal INS SG ‘with this’ | əsigɣ | ըսիգիւ |
| demonstrative proximal NOM PL ‘these’ | əsink ^h , ʏsyɛnk ^h | ըսինք, իսսինք |
| demonstrative proximal GEN PL ‘of these’ | əsyɛnts ^h , ʏsyɛnts ^h | ըսիւնց, իսսիւնց |
| demonstrative proximal ABL PL ‘from these’ | əsyɛnts ^h -me, ʏsyɛnts ^h -me | ըսիւնցմէ, իսսիւնցմէ |
| demonstrative proximal INS PL ‘with these’ | əsyɛnts ^h -my, ʏsyɛnts ^h -my | ըսիւնցմիւ, իսսիւնցմիւ |
| 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 իս | don դօս | ɣɾɣ իւրիւ | mink ^h մինք | dek ^h դէք | ɣɾɾɪ իւրիւրի |
| GEN | im իմ | k ^h in քին | uruman ուրուման | mir միր | ḏzir ծիր | ɣururun իւրուրուն |
| DAT | ies իէս | k ^h ez քէզ | uruman ուրուման | miz միզ | ḏziz ծիզ | ɣururun իւրուրուն |
| ACC | jas յաս | əsgi ըսգի | ɣɾɣ իւրիւ | mizni միզնի | ḏzizni ծիզնի | ɣɾɾɪ իւրիւրի |
| ABL | imne իմնէ | k ^h inne քիննէ | urumen ուրումէն | mirne միրնէ | ḏzizne ծիրնէ | ɣururune իւրուրունէ |
| INS | imɣ իմիւ | k ^h innɣ քիննիւ | urumɣ ուրումիւ | mirɣ միրնիւ | ḏzirɣ ծիրնիւ | ɣururumi 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/ <կը, կի, կու>. The first is used when the verb's first vowel is /a, e, o/ <ա, է, ո>. The second is used when that vowel is /i/ <ի>. The third is used when that vowel is /u/ <ու>. 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’ | go d̂zaχ-i-n | qo δaχuχ | gə-d̂zaχ-e-n | կը δախեն |
| | IND √-TH-AGR | | IND √-TH-AGR | |
| ‘I cook’ | go g-ip ^h -i-m | qo qhıχıχ | g-ep ^h -e-m | կ’եփեն |
| ‘I cook’ | go g-uz-i-m | qo qnıqıχ | g-uz-e-m | կ’ոլզեն |
| ‘you give’ | go gu-d-o-s | qo qnıqou | gu-d-a-s | կոլ տաս |
| | IND IND-√-TH-AGR | | IND √-TH-AGR | |
| | Marash subdialect | | | |
| ‘I read’ | gə gart ^h -o-m | qը գարթou | gə-gart ^h -a-m | կը կարդամ |
| ‘I hit’ | gə zen-i-m | qը զենիմ | gə-zarn-e-m | կը զարնեն |
| ‘I like’ | gə sir-i-m | qը սիրիմ | gə-sir-e-m | կը սիրեն |
| ‘I drink’ | gu χum-i-m | qոլ խումիմ | gə-χəm-e-m | կը խմեն |
| ‘he rises’ | g-ill-e-Ø | qիլլե | g-ell-e-m | կ’ելլե |
| | IND √-TH-AGR | | IND-√-TH-AGR | |
| ‘he takes’ | g-ar-n-u-Ø | qառնու | g-ar-n-e-m | կ’առնե |
| | IND-√-VX-TH-AGR | | IND-√-VX-TH-AGR | |
| | Hadjin subdialect | | | |
| ‘I go’ | g-aʃd-o-m | qաշդou | g-ert ^h -a-m | կ’երթամ |
| ‘I come’ | g-a-g ^h g-o-m | qազ՝qou | gu-k ^h -a-m | կոլ 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 <էյ> 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-af̥d-Ø-i-Ø | qaw̥n̥h̥ | g-ert ^h -aj-i-Ø ‘I would go’ | l’ter̥əw̥j̥h̥ |
| 2SG | g-af̥d-i-j | qaw̥n̥h̥j̥ | g-ert ^h -aj-i-r | l’ter̥əw̥j̥h̥r̥ |
| 3SG | g-af̥d-e-j | qaw̥n̥h̥t̥j̥ | g-ert ^h -a-Ø-r | l’ter̥əw̥ar̥ |
| 1PL | g-af̥d-i-nk ^h | qaw̥n̥h̥h̥n̥p̥ | g-ert ^h -aj-i-ŋk ^h | l’ter̥əw̥j̥h̥h̥n̥p̥ |
| 2PL | g-af̥d-i-k ^h | qaw̥n̥h̥h̥p̥ | g-ert ^h -aj-i-k ^h | l’ter̥əw̥j̥h̥h̥p̥ |
| 3PL | g-af̥d-i-n | qaw̥n̥h̥h̥n̥ | g-ert ^h -aj-i-n | l’ter̥əw̥j̥h̥h̥n̥ |
| | IND-√-TH.PST-AGR | | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | |
| 1SG | ga-g ^h g-i-Ø | qaw̥q’q̥h̥ | gu-k ^h -aj-i-Ø ‘I would come’ | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥j̥h̥ |
| 2SG | ga-g ^h g-i-j | qaw̥q’q̥h̥j̥ | gu-k ^h -aj-i-r | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥j̥h̥r̥ |
| 3SG | ga-g ^h g-e-j | qaw̥q’q̥t̥j̥ | gu-k ^h -a-Ø-r | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥r̥ |
| 1PL | ga-g ^h g-i-nk ^h | qaw̥q’q̥h̥h̥n̥p̥ | gu-k ^h -aj-i-ŋk ^h | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥j̥h̥h̥n̥p̥ |
| 2PL | ga-g ^h g-i-k ^h | qaw̥q’q̥h̥h̥p̥ | gu-k ^h -aj-i-k ^h | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥j̥h̥h̥p̥ |
| 3PL | ga-g ^h g-i-n | qaw̥q’q̥h̥h̥n̥ | gu-k ^h -aj-i-n | l̥n̥l̥ qaw̥j̥h̥h̥n̥ |
| | IND-√-TH.PST-AGR | | IND-√-TH-PST-AGR | |

Table 17: Indicative past imperfective <անկատար> (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-af ^d -i-∅ idi | գաշդի իդի | g-ert ^h -aj-i-∅ ‘I would go’ | կ’երթայի |
| 2SG | g-af ^d -i-j idi | գաշդիյ իդի | g-ert ^h -aj-i-r | կ’երթէիր |
| 3SG | g-af ^d -e-j idi | գաշդէյ իդի | g-ert ^h -a-∅-r | կ’երթար |
| 1PL | g-af ^d -i-nk ^h idi | գաշդինք իդի | g-ert ^h -aj-i-ηk ^h | կ’երթայինք |
| 2PL | g-af ^d -i-k ^h idi | գաշդիք իդի | g-ert ^h -aj-i-k ^h | կ’երթայիք |
| 3PL | g-af ^d -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’ | կու գայի |
| 2SG | ga-g ^h g-i-j idi | գագ՝գիյ իդի | gu-k ^h -aj-i-r | կու գայիր |
| 3SG | ga-g ^h g-e-j idi | գագ՝գէյ իդի | gu-k ^h -a-∅-r | կու գար |
| 1PL | ga-g ^h g-i-nk ^h idi | գագ՝գինք իդի | gu-k ^h -aj-i-ηk ^h | կու գայինք |
| 2PL | ga-g ^h g-i-k ^h idi | գագ՝գիք իդի | gu-k ^h -aj-i-k ^h | կու գայիք |
| 3PL | ga-g ^h g-i-n idi | գագ՝գին իդի | gu-k ^h -aj-i-n | կու 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 Marash subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

| | Marash (Cilicia) | | cf. SWA | |
|----------------|------------------|----------|-----------------------|--------------|
| ‘I am liking’ | go sir-i-m | qo սիրիմ | gə-sir-e-m gor | կը սիրեմ կոր |
| ‘he is rising’ | go ill-e-Ø | qo իլլէ | g-ell-e-Ø gor | կ’ելլէ կոր |
| | IND √-TH-AGR | | IND-√-TH-AGR PROG | |
| ‘he is taking’ | go ar-n-u-Ø | qo առնու | g-ar-n-e-Ø gor | կ’առնէ կոր |
| | IND √-VX-TH-AGR | | IND-√-VX-TH-AGR PROG | |
| ‘I was liking’ | go sir-a-Ø | qo սիրա | gə-sir-ej-i-Ø 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 Marash subdialect, the future has two forms. The ‘ordinary future’ (հասարակ ապանի) is formed with the typical formative /bide/ <բիդէ> (related to SWA /bidi/ <պիտի>), and the ‘immediate future’ (անմիջական ապանի) which is formed with the verb /izil/ ‘to want’ (related to SWA /uzel/ <ուզել> ‘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.’
պիտի բերեմ

In Hadjin, the future formative is shortened to /b/ (from CA /p/ <պ>), while the past future (անցեալ ապանի) 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 <ապանի> of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in the Hadjin subdialect of the Cilicia dialect

| | Hadjin ‘to go’ | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|-------------|
| 1SG | b-ıfđ-o-m | բիշոսմ | bidi jert ^h -a-m ‘I will go’ | պիտի երթամ |
| 2SG | b-ıfđ-o-s | բիշոս | bidi jert ^h -a-s | պիտի երթաս |
| 3SG | b-ıfđ-o-∅ | բիշո | bidi jert ^h -a-∅ | պիտի երթայ |
| 1PL | b-ıfđ-o-nk ^h | բիշոսնք | bidi jert ^h -a-ηk ^h | պիտի երթանք |
| 2PL | b-ıfđ-e-k ^h | բիշդեք | bidi jert ^h -a-k ^h | պիտի երթաք |
| 3PL | b-ıfđ-o-n | բիշոսն | bidi jert ^h -a-n | պիտի երթան |
| | FUT-√-TH-AGR | | FUT √-TH-AGR | |
| | Hadjin ‘to come’ | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | b-ıg ^h g-o-m | բիգ՝գոսմ | bidi k ^h -a-m ‘I will come’ | պիտի գամ |
| 2SG | b-ıg ^h g-o-s | բիգ՝գոս | bidi k ^h -a-s | պիտի գաս |
| 3SG | b-ıg ^h g-o-∅ | բիգ՝գո | bidi k ^h -a-∅ | պիտի գայ |
| 1PL | b-ıg ^h g-o-nk ^h | բիգ՝գոսնք | bidi k ^h -a-ηk ^h | պիտի գանք |
| 2PL | b-ıg ^h g-e-k ^h | բիգ՝գեք | bidi k ^h -a-k ^h | պիտի գաք |
| 3PL | b-ıg ^h g-o-n | բիգ՝գոսն | bidi k ^h -a-n | պիտի գան |
| | FUT-√-TH-AGR | | FUT √-TH-AGR | |

Table 20: Past future <անցեալ ապանկի> 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-Ø idi | բիշդի իդի | bidi jert ^h -aj-i-Ø ‘I was going to go’ | պիտի երթայի |
| 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-Ø-r | պիտի երթար |
| 1PL | b-ıfd-o-nk ^h idi | բիշդօնք իդի | bidi jert ^h -aj-i-ŋk ^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-Ø idi | բիգ՝գի իդի | bidi k ^h -aj-i-Ø ‘I was going to come’ | պիտի գայի |
| 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-Ø-r | պիտի գար |
| 1PL | b-ıg ^h -i-nk ^h idi | բիգ՝գինք իդի | bidi k ^h -aj-i-ŋk ^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 /-ađz/, 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 /-ođz/ <օծ> (from CA /-ats/ <ած>) is more commonly used. But there is also the formative /-mon/ <մօն> (Greek <ménos>), 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-odz e
eat-RPTCP AUX
‘He has eaten.’
գիրօձ է
- d. ip^h-mon e
eat-PASS.RPTCP AUX
‘It is cooked.’
իփմօն է
- e. p^hor-mon
spread-PASS.RPTCP
‘spread’
փօռմօն

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 Ալահվերտեան (1884: 159). In its new form, it was narrated to me by Mr. Onnik Mahmtesian (պր. Օննիկ Մահմտեսյան) 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 (պր. Եաղուպեան; [[SEA: /jɑʊpjan/, SWA: /jɑʊbjɑn/]]) would always do that. The latter would not change the sound /r/ <ր> to /j/ <յ>.

Թափափափ մը ու վեգի մը թեփոյիլ բ'իլիլ գ'ացըն ու գ'եղան (կամ տճկ. քեօյան) չիւթը ախգ'ոդ միգի մը դունը իճօն. ան գ'իշիյը դօնդիւյիւչը գը'նը'գը բօլուգ մը ունցօվ. իյիւք ան հեօն իչնալնըն փուշմօն եղօն. ան սահօթըն նիքսէն (մառան) դէլըղանը մը, մօդով, դ'օյս իլիլն իքէն թափափիւյը քը'շալիլ գիմի ասօց. «Ձա'նըմ, տօն չօ'ց մօյդ' իս. միւք հեօս դըսդիլո բիլո գօ գամըչնօնք ու դ'օն իգիյ նիքսէն մօդօյ»: Դէլըղանըն ասօց «Ձա'նըմ, ինձօն ինձօն թափափիյէ մը գը'նը'գը աշգիւն բիդի մ'ունցօվ ու եօսիւ ջագօդը կըլիցի թը ան բօլուգը ան աշգիւնը բիդի առնու»: ան սահօթըն թափափիւյը շաշմըչ եղօվ թը «հեչ միւքի'ն է յոյ (որ) մէյ աշգիւնը եօսիւ դօնք»: Սօնդոռ թափափիւյը ու վեգիյը դանուշուփս էյան թը «չօ'ց թեվույ (կերպ) անդ' բօլուգը գանընք ըսպանի օլա (արդեօք)»: Վեգէյը ասօց. «Եյգօնը (երկանը) ասիւք թը մե'գիս թափափիւյ ինք, մեգս ան վեգէյ. ան դեղվանքը թեփոյիլ գօ բ'իլիւք թը իշտի (արդեօք) բօլուգ մը գանը'նք գ'ը'նի (գնեյ). չիւքիւ մե'գս ան բօլուգ չունանք. ը'ռանդ եղօվ. տօն չիւյ հիւնգ բօլուգ ունաս. կուհանօմ Ասպօժ. հումմօյ ան (հիմայ ալ) տօն բօլուգ մը ունցօյ. ու գըյցընիլո բ'օն չունաս. քէլէ օդո նիւյ եղօժ բօլուգը միգ ծախե. գօշօռեօքը իսկի գուղօնք»:

Իփիյ բօլուգը առըն ու քեօյէն տօյս կացըն, թափափիւյը ասոց վեգիյն թը «հուդո գէնիւք քայիւք (ձգենք)»: Վեգիյն ան ասոց թը «գէնիլօն՝ օսո ույմուկան (թրք. օրման «անտառ») մէչը քայիւք, ինքիյէն գու մեռնա»: ան դեղվը'նը'ն չուբօն մը դավօյ գօգայծէյ. Էճուն մեգը կօնօց, ան բօլուգը ճը'ը'ցուց: Թէլէ' յոյ (արի տես որ) անձը բառբուգօն մ'էյ. իփիւյ իյգօն եղօվ, չուբօնը դունը գ'օնօց. բառբուգը չէնչից չուբուկան վիյան թը «Ասըճե չի'ս վախի».

չօց իս մեզ էծուգ ունամ նը՝ ան գօ գըթիս»։ Չուբօնը ասաց. «Մինձ անա, իս խաբօյ չունամ»։ Ու իփոյ դանգնամազը եղով՝ անվան չուբօնը այծիլ գ'օնօց. ըր՞ը գվընէ իգիք չուբօնը նը՝ անվան բառբուզը ջենչից. «Ջանըմ, անվան գըթիցի. չօց Ասրձէ չը վախոճ մեզ մ'իս եղի դ'օն»։ ան միգանլ էօյը բառբուզը դառնսմըջ (նեղանալ) նանլեով՝ իլօվ էձգօնը իղիվը գ'օնօց. անն ան այծիլէն այծիլէն իլօվ իւղիյթ բըր՞ը գան խէչը գ'օնօց ու գօ ձը՞ձցընէ։ Բառբուզը ուսախնիլեով առօվ բօլուզը՝ դունը գ'օնօց. ջօվօց դ'ըյացնիյը, ասաց թը «Աման, չուբօնը չօ գըթէ եղի է էծուգիս. իլլան (այլ) իմ էծուզը բըր՞ղիգ մը ունցի է»։ ան բօլուզը ծառիցին (խնամել), չիւ մինձձ'օվ։ Բօսուն քըսանը հինգ դայվօն սօնդոռ, ան թանքանվիյը ու վեգիյը պիլիլէն իգին աս բըր՞ը գան քէօյը. գու դիսնուն յոյ բօլուզ մը գո, ու էօնիւ էծու դօղո գօջօվօն։ Թանքանվիյը ասաց թը «Ջանըմ, չույր՞ էօղիւ էծու դօղո գօջըր՞վանք»։ Էնի ան էօնիւ ասըն թը «Բառօք մը էծուգ մ'ունէ. ան անը դայիմ բայօք գուգ'է. ձը՞ձը գոթ չէյ գինէ. էօյ մը բառօքը գ'օնօց դիսօվ յոյ անը բըր՞ղիգօն մը եղեղը (վոսայ) չուքի է՝ գօ ձը՞ձցընէ. առօվ դունը բ'իյօվ ու ծառից, մօնձձ'ուց դէհի, գօ ջօվօն էծու դօղո»։ ան աղինը թանքանվիյը ու վեգիյը դանուշուխ էյան թը ան մէ չալուն մէջ քայօճ բօլուզն է. դ'եռ սող գիցի է։ Մեգ-միգի ասըն թը էօղիւ ծառը (ձ'անը) թուխթ մը դօնք, խափիք ու գ'օլօխը դօնք գըր՞դի։ Ծը՞ (ձ'ը՞) մը դըր՞վըն, թուխթ ման թը օսո դէ ֆօլօն թանքանվիլէն սէյան դօյ. ան ան իլօվ ձըն հէձօվ, թուխթն ա առօվ դայօվ։ Բօլուզը իւղիւյթ սէյան գ'օնօց. գօյթէյ նը՝ սային քէօվը բաշչո մը գէ. էծուն դեղան մըր՞քէօվը ասաց թը օսո բէշչան բառգիմ՝ Գու դանըմ գահայ (հարկաւ)։ Հէօն բառգիլն իքէն, թանքանվիլէն բըր՞ղիգ աշգինը դիսօվ յոյ բաշչին մէջը գըր՞դիւր՞ջ մը բառգի է. աշգինը գ'օնօց, գըր՞դիւր՞ջն քէօվը գանիցօվ. ու գան հավնիցօվ. դիսօվ յոյ ձիւցը թուխթ մը գո գան բ'ացօվ, գայր՞օց, դիսօվ յոյ մէջը կօյմօն է թը ան բօլուզը չիւ իգ'ո նը (հագիւ եկած)՝ չուխուսուցունիլեով քէլլան գըր՞դիցէք։ Աշգինը ան գ'օյվօճը անցուց ու ինք ան գ'ըր՞ից թը սայիս (պալատիս) դ'եմը սայո մը շինիցէք ու քառսուն էօյ հայսնըք էյէք, բըր՞ղիգ աշգինս ան էօսիւ դըր՞վէք. խըր՞փնից (գոցէց), անվան ձիւցը դ'օյօվ։ Չիւ ան աղինը իլօվ, բօլուզը թուխթը սէյան դայօվ։ Թուխթը բ'ացըն, գայր՞ացըն, դիսօն յոյ թանքանվիլէն ու վեգիլէն մէօհիլը...

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... մէջը գո. գ'օյվօճը գիմի էյըն։ Շինիցին սէյան, քառսուն էօյ ու քառսուն գ'իշի հայսնըք էյան, ան աշգնան հիղը փսագիցին։ Մէք-քանը՝ դայը՝ սօնդոռ՝ թանքանվիլը ու վեգիլը իփոյ էգին, թիւմ (ամբողջ) քախքըցըր՞ք դ'եմ գ'ացըն. իյ էնիշդան ան քէօմէօլու (շատ) սանսալաթէօվ տեմ իլօվ։ Թանքանվիլը իփոյ ան դեղան ջենչօց, շաշմըջ եղով մօնօց։ Իղըք ջօվօց իյ վեքիլիսօյը ու ասօց. «ան պոնաճնըր՝ չի՞ք է. ան բօլուզը չույր՞ է ինդան էյըր՞ք»։ Չիւ ան աղինը վեքիլիսօյը թուխթը ձուցէն հանից, թանքանվիլէն ու վեգիլէն ցօցուց. Էնի ան իփոյ թուխթը դիսօն, գայմացօն։ Չիւ ան աղինը թանքանվիլը թուխթը բաքօվ, դ'օլիսօն դ'օյօվ ու դըր՞դան ասօց թը «Դ'օն ան իմ դեղան իս. գ'օյվօճը չանցնը եղի է»։

24.6.2 Hadjin subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1899, page 41 and 1900, page 331.

- Բ'արեվ բաբա:
- Ասծօ բ'արին:
- Ընչօ'ց իս:
- Ըռինդ իմ:
- Ուսդէ' գագ'օս:
- Սեհելէն:
- Ի'նչ գօ, ի'նչ չօգ'օ:
- Ըռնդոլթին:
- Բ'անվընիդ ընչօ'ց եր:
- Է', գարօր չունէր:
- Բօբի'դ ընչօց եր:
- Ա դարի քիչ մը քէֆլու է:
- Ասել է Եփեյի բօրդք դըվիք:

– Փօռք Ասդըձու. Երեչեբին դղին հազօր դրուշ բօրդք բարդօնք իղի, վեց հերիորը դըվօնք՝ չօրս հերիորը մնօց. ֆայիզն ա վրան գ'րօվ 'ավա ինը հերիոր դրուշի սենեդ մը դըվօնք: Թըռսարգ'իսին գըզին ա ձիք (երեք. հմմտ. Ննիսջ. ժեք) հերիոր դրուշ բօրդք բարդօնք, Էշվընիս Երգու հօդ եր՝ մեզը դըվօնք, մնացածին ա ֆայիզեվի Երգու հերիոր իսուն դրուշի սենեդ մը դըվօնք. վերգունիս ա քիչ մը թիթիֆցընէնք նէ՝ մսեղ բուլաշըղեվէն ա դընվընիս Էշունքը գու լեցնինք, բըլըզդեք բահօթ գէնէ:

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Փեօյիդ խանձի. հեգ'գիդ խանձի. Ասդվօձ հեգ'գիդ առնօ. չդիսօս գէնջուրթօնիդ խայիյը (թըք. խայիյ). խօզ մեռնիս. խօզ սադգիս. մույը բէլեվիս (մուրը պլուրիս). չհասնիս գէնջուրթօն. սիյդիդ դ'ուռը թեզիս (թող կենայ). օջախդ անցնի. Էքքիդ գույնօ (աչքդ կուրանայ). թիվիդ խանձի:

24.6.3 Marash subdialect

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1899, page 405 and 101.

Գեղցա մը քաղօք իգիլ է, բեգօրու բիլլիլ-իքէն՝ դօլանդորըքը (խաբեբայ) մը գօ հասգընօ քի իւսիւր քեօվիւ. փարօ գօ, ույունմուշ գօննօ իւսիւր:

Յօր քի դէսնա «քեռա', բարիվ իգիր, չօ'ց իս, ըռընդ իս...» գօսէ:

Գեղցան է գըսէ քի «լա' դօ, իս քին քեռադ չիմ»:

– Չէ', իլէ դօն իմ քեռաս իս. իս քիննէ չիմ անցնա: Ինդէս գօսէ դօլանդորըքըն:

Եօր մ'է գօսէ քի – Թէ'ռա, իգօ իսգի (գքեզ) քեբաշուվա խանութ մու դանամ դէ՝ քիդ քեբօք մու դըրցնիմ:

Գեղցան ես լսածու գիմի քեֆ զո էնէ. առչիվի զօ ընգնա՝ բարաբօր գօրթօն:

Խանուպօն զօ մըղնան, իվիրի զօ իլլին, քեթօբօն ուտուլէն սօնրօ՝ դօլանդըրը-
ջըն գօւէ քի. «Քեռա, իվեր ըրթօմ դէ այրօն մու բիրըցնիմ (բերել տամ), խու-
միւնք»:

Իվեր զօ իչնա՝ քեթաբջըվան գօւէ քի «ախա իս գօրթօմ, իվիրի գիւտօ մօրթէն
փարէն օռ (առ) դէ փոցու»:

Ինդէս գօւէ՝ հերիֆի դօրս զօ իլլէ գօրթօ: Գեղցան մեզ բեքլէմիշ զօ էնէ, իրգու
բեքլէմիշ զօ էնէ՝ սօսսօնու իվեր զօ իչնա, զօ Միսնա՝ քի հերիֆի գացիլ ա. քեթաբ-
ջուն է ինքիրնէ փարօ զօ ուզէ:

Գեղցան մեզ իրիսի լացօծ, մեզ իրիսի ձըծաղօծ՝ «հագօր դաբու իս քին քեռադ
չիմ ըսա դէ, չէ իլլէ դօն իմ քեռաս իս ըսօծ» ըսիլէն փարին ձրօրու զօ ածգէ:

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* *

Եօր միւ գեղցա մը ի ժամու դերբաբուն խուսդուկանիլիքէն գօւէ քի. «Դերբօբ,
մօրթ մու սբանըցի, էն մեխքի չիմ համրի. մօրթ մու գեղվըցի, էն է չիմ համրի.
դուն մու բադըրցի, էն է չիմ համրի. ամմա բօք (պահք) Եօր միւ իջաղը միմէն
չըբուխիս վառըցի, էս մեխքաս հագօ՞ր մեղօ. թուղոպօնու դուր, դերբօբ»:

Դերբօբն է գօւէ քի. «Ի՛լ ի՛լ, եդ մեխքն է իս չիմ համրի»:

24.6.4 Kessab village of Antioch

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [*Byurakn*] 1900, page 731.

Իս ծ'ի գիւղիւրթ գիւղիւրթ գէսիմ թը ցերինը հեօդ չիննէյրը գ'իյդէյն ու միռնայր,
էնք բէս գօ. ըմմը թը գը միռնա, շիւդ մահսօլ զօ դու: Ան ըր գէյր վիւջիւղը գը
սիրիյ՝ գան գը սիբի. օ ան ըր գէյր վիւջըդդը գը գ'օդդի (կ'ատէ), յաս էխշօր էբէդի
Եօմըրէն գօ բըհի գան. ան ըր գէյս գը բաշդի՝ յեմ իդդը դէ գօ գ'ու. օ իս յեօր գօ
գ'ինսօմ, էյմ խըզմէթջին է հօն գը գինսօ. 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.

Մօյրամ, Մօյրամ, մօյր Ասդուծօ,

Քո՞նն էս մը դարթունն էս մը.

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Օչ օր քուն եմ, օչ օրը զարթուն եմ.
Գ՛ըշերին գեսը մեզ էլած (երազ) դեսօ,
Գըրագը ընգօ չօրեցօ.
Դենիզ ընգօ չը խըդդըվեցօ,
Անդի դիւնյօն գնացի՝ չը գօրսնըվեցօ:

Օհօն Օհօն Էսգիբիրօն,
Գաբէս ամեն չարուս բիրօն,
Գ՛ավազանը դուռիս վիրօն,
Խաչը գուսգիս վիրօն,
Փիլօնը օրթիգիս վիրօն,
Թեօօթ հայրաբեդին աղօթքը
Ամենին վիրօն ամեն:

Chapter 25

Syria

25.1 Background

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In the Հսկիւն Կճսօրեայ [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 Հանդես 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/ <ւ̄, եօ, 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

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| /ěi̇/ <էի̇> | /i̇e/ <եի̇> | /u̇ɑ/ <ու̇ա> |
| /ɑi̇/ <աի̇> | /ɑə/ <աը> | /ɑu̇/ <աւ̇> |

¹[[For the diphthongs that I re-transcribe as /ɑi̇/ and /ěi̇/, Adjarian uses the Armenian symbols <աի̇, էի̇> with a superscript <̇>. But my text-processor cannot easily create such superscripts, so I instead use <աի̇, էի̇> 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/ <ռ> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω> to /u/ <ռ> in the Syria dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Syria | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|-------------------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘bread’ | hats ^h | hաց | huts ^h | հուց | hats ^h | հաց |
| ‘debt’ | part-(ə?)k ^h (-PL) | պարսոք | burk ^h | բուրք | partk ^h | պարսոք |
| ‘open’ | bats ^h | բաց | buts ^h | բուց | bats ^h | բաց |
| ‘mouth’ | beran | բերան | berun | բերուն | 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.]]

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /ə/ <ը> to /a/ <ա> in the Syria dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Syria | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------|--|-----------|--------------------------|------------|
| ‘bread-DIST/DEF’ | háts ^h -ən | hwɛɫ | húts ^h -a | hnʹɫɟw | háts ^h -ə | hwɛɫ |
| ‘mouth-DIST/DEF’ | berán-ən | ɛtɛɾwɫɫ | berún-a | ɛtɛɾnʹɫw | berán-ə | ɛtɛɾwɫɫ |
| ‘debt-PL-DIST/DEF’ | part-(ə?)k ^h -ən | ɟwɛɾwɫɫ | buck ^h k ^h -er-a | ɛɾwɛɾɟɛɾw | partk ^h -er-ə | ɟwɛɾwɫɫɛɾɫ |

25.2.1.2.4 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> has changed to /ěṯ/ <է> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /ěṯ/ <է> in the Syria dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Syria | | cf. SEA or SWA | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|-----|
| ‘sky’ | erkin | ɛɾkɪɫɪn | jergěṯink ^h | ɟɛɾɟɛṯɪɫɟ | jerkin ^h | ɛɾkɪɫɪɫɟ | SEA |
| ‘soul-DIST (CA); soul-DEF (SEA)’ | hogi-n | hnqɪɫɪn | hok ^h ěṯ-n | hɔɟɛṯɪn | hok ^h i-n | hnqɪɫɪn | SEA |
| ‘me (I.ACC)’ | zis | qɪɬu | jěṯis | ɟɛṯu | zis | qɪɬu | SWA |

25.2.1.2.5 Classical Armenian /u/ <ու>

Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> has changed to /ɑṽ/ <աւ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <ու> to /ɑṽ/ <աւ> in the Syria dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Syria | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| ‘holy’ | surb | uɾɪɾɛ | sɑṽɾɛ ^h | uɾwɪɾɪ | surɛ ^h | uɾɪɾɛ |
| ‘name’ | anun | wɫnɪɫɪn | ɑṽɑṽn | wɫwɫɫɪn | ɑṽun | wɫnɪɫɪn |

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 գեդէնքա | 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 əf ^h nam ^h i-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.

Յա միր Դուդա իլ գուս յերգէյնքա. սաւրփ ըննու քու անաւնա: Ու ուքու քու ըրքայութէյնա ու ըննու քու թաղադ չուսմա գու յերգէյնքա հանց ըննու ի գ'է-դէնքա: Չմիր հուցա ի ամէն ջ'ուք դաւղա մի' ըսցօր: Ու դոշէ գմիր բուրքա չուսմա միք դոշինք միգ միգա բուրքքերա: Ու չը սալմէս ըգմի ի փուրցունքա. լաքին նաջջի ըգմի ի չուրքէյն: Լաըն քու է ըրքայութէյնա ու քու ւաթա ու ըծգահամակա լքի յեդդայնքա ամեն:

Յա Ասդուճ գիմ բռունգունգա բ'ուց ու գիմ բ'երունա նաղնի քու գօրշինութէյնա: Օրշինալ համաքում ու բըթթը հադաչ...

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... ընբ'ըժնվազ սաւրփ Էրօրթօթէյնա գ'ուդա ու գՁըթթա ու գՀօքէյն սաւրփա համագալքի յեդդայն յեդդայնքա ամեն:

Յա Ասդուճ շադէրա Էդէյն Նեդէյն Էյէս, ու շադէրա Էլայն Էր վաս: Շադէրա ասեցայն գիմ գունձայն, թի չքազէր խալաս Էր Ասդունձայն: Լաքին դ'ուն, յա Դիր, նացրն իս ու գիմ օձն իս ու գիմ գ'ըլուխա բ'անցրացնուղա դ'ուն իս:

Դրմությամփ քուվ, Դիր, սադդէցօ գիմ չարգումա ու դամն Լեդի գիմ գունձա 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 (Մելիք Ս. Դավիթ Բեկ) (See Հանդես Ամսօրեայ [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
 - * Բանաստի 1902, էջ 174-5
- Divriği subdialect: See Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու [*Eminian Ethnographic Journal*], volume 6 (2.), 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> |
| /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/ <ով>). 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’ | $\widehat{dz}^h\text{erk}^h\text{-ok}^h$, $\delta^h\text{էոքօք}$, $\widehat{dz}\text{erk}^h\text{-ok}^h$ $\delta\text{էոքօք}$ | $\widehat{dz}\text{erk}^h\text{-ov}$ $\delta\text{էոքով}$ $\sqrt{\text{-INS}}$ |
| ‘with speaking’ | $\chi\text{os-e-l-ok}^h$ խօսէլօք | $\chi\text{os-e-l-ov}$ խօսէլով $\sqrt{\text{-TH-INF-INS}}$ |

26.4.2 Mobile indicative marking

The formatives for the indicative present and imperfective are /ga, go, gu/ <գա, գօ, գու>. 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 /-aɣk^h/ <ալք>. (?)*]]

Table 3: Indicative marking in the Arapgir dialect

| | Arapgir | cf. SWA |
|--------------------|--|---|
| ‘he sends’ | բրց-æ-Ø gu դրգւմ գու send-TH-3SG IND | ցə քəրց-e-Ø կը դրկէ IND send-TH-3SG |
| ‘he says’ | ց-əs-æ-Ø gu գըսւմ գու IND-say-TH-3SG IND | ց-əs-e-Ø կ’ըսէ IND-say-TH-3SG |
| ‘he goes’ | ց-ert ^h -a-Ø gu գերթա գու IND-go-TH-3SG IND | ց-ert ^h -a-Ø կ’երթայ IND-go-TH-3SG |
| Gürün subdialect | | |
| ‘you strangle’ | ցո քəχd-e-s գո խըխդէս IND send-TH-2SG | ցə քeχt ^h -e-s կը խեղդէս IND send-TH-2SG |
| ‘I go’ | ցո ց-ert ^h -a-m գո գերթամ IND IND-go-TH-1SG | ց-ert ^h -a-m կ’երթամ IND-go-TH-1SG |
| ‘he eats’ | ց-ud-e-Ø ցո գուդէ գո IND-eat-TH-3SG IND | ց-ud-e-Ø 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 գուդէն IND IND-eat-TH-3PL | ց-ud-e-n կ’ուտեն 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-α-l-uj-i | մընսալոյի | mən-α-l-u | մնալոլ |
| ‘of speaking’ | χos-e-l-uj-i | խօսելոյի | χos-e-l-u | խոսելոլ |
| ‘of giving’ | d-α-l-uj-i | դալոյի | t-α-l-u | տալոլ |
| ‘of going’ | ert ^h -α-l-uj-i | երթալոյի | jert ^h -α-l-u | երթալոլ |
| | √-TH-INF-GEN-GEN | | √-TH-INF-GEN | |

As can be seen, these forms have a repeated genitive marker (/ -u/ <նլ> 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 -α-m nə | գերթամ նը | g-ert ^h -α-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 | |

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.

Նասրէդդին 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՛մ՝ չօթթեր. համ դու չեմ առնար»:

խօջան յահուդի դ՛րացին մը գունենա Յու վօր ան դախքային դէները նստեր ան էղեր. խօջային ծ՛անը լսածին գիբի գեթա յընգաջ դ՛նա գու յու յէքքէն յինք յիրենը գըստ գու.

– յաջնափա դօխսանը ինը օսդի դեսնա նա՛մ 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 բանքլամիշ գէնամ գու քի դեսնա դէ խօջան ի՞նչ դէնա դի:

խօջան հըմըն օջախը վանգամ գու յու դեսնա գու քի գ՛ունդ բօխջա մը յընգեր ան ֆօս. թեզ մը դառնա գու, դէշմգի մը վրան նսդի գու, քեսան բ՛անամ գու վօր՝ ի՞նչ դեսնա... օսգի՛: յէքքէն բաշլայտ գու մեգիգ մեգիգ հարմել. դէռնա գու քի դօխսանը ինի հադ էն օսգիները. մէյ մալ գու հարմէ, էրգուք գու հարմէ՝ բանքի յաղըլմիշ էդա ըսելօք. յամմէն հեղ հըսաբ էնելուն նօրէն դօխսանը ինը հադ գ՛ըդնա գու. յէքքէն գըսամ 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 բըյհածը գելը չուդեր:

Ուդօդը չի գիդէ՝ փշօղը գիդէ:

Էրգըրի աշք է հաներ՝ դիրուն հօքին:

Աշքը դեսածը դիրուն խեր չէներ:

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Փըջած օջախը ջուր չուզեր:

Խրադ խրադ լեռն ի վեր, յես զօ գերթամ ձօրն ի վեր:

Էրթ դաս, գարի չուզեր:

Մեզը մեգուն եքի մը դվեր է, էնի էնօր գիգ (ողկոյգ) մը հաղօղ չէ դըվեր:

Մայր փշելօվ (մանր փշրելով) փօր չի գըշդանար:
 Ուզօղուն մեզ էրեսը սեվ, չի դըվօղուն էրգու էրեսը:
 Գեղեն անցար դե գաւառը զօ խըղդիս:
 Գօվիս մեռեր է, խաբիս գըյեր է:
 Դուռիդ գօց բռնէ՝ դրացիդ դօրթ բռնէ:
 Բագը ծուռ է, գօվը գաթ դօ չի դար:
 Սուդ խենթ էղեր է, վանքին հավերը գուղէ գօ:
 Ջաղարջը ջուրն է դարի՝ չախչար զօ բռես:
 Գադու չեղած մուգ զօ բռես:
 Թեմբելունեն իշուն «քեռի» զօ գըսէ:
 Սօխ գերած չիմ ուր սիրդիս էրի:
 Դանձ էիր նը հասար, խնձօր էիր նը գեյմըրեցար:
 Ջայը (ծանր) նադիր օր լիր գաս:
 Թեք ինգիզին (ընկոյզին) քար չի նեղեր:
 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) դսմին 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 փօրդքօռօգը նեղէ գա:
 Ասված լեռը գը հայի՝ ծունն անօր գեօրէ գուդա:
 Վար թուքես մօրուք, վեր թուքես բըյըգ:
 Հէյ սիրդդ սիրեմ Ասված, գօմէշը գօդօշն ի՞նչ ընէ:
 Բանին մէջ բան գա, մածունին մէջ թան գա:
 Հարսնիք գերթամ, գաթա գուտեմ թէ դան նէ:
 Չերթային ադ ջաղարչը՝ չուդէիր ադ բաղարչը:
 Գօյած (կոտրած) ընգուզը հազարն անցավ:
 Ջուրը տեսնա ծուգ 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, մինչեւ իրիգուն գը խաղա:

Աղվընի, խզի՞ց գուքաս. – Արիւնօղ ձօվէն. – Վըրադ օրի՞ արիւն չէ եղեր. – Ասդունօւ հրամանօվ:

Արաբը փօսն ընգավ, գըլօխը դուրսն ընգավ:

Քէօքը Ֆէօղին մէջ, միջուզն էշին մէջ, գըլօխը փօրուդ մէջ.:

Աննէրկ գէրմուր՝ անդանագ 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 հաղիդ 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 արա-լըխը՝ ասլանի մը ձաքէրը՝ առչէվմին իրեք դարվան բըլուզ դղա մը առէլ գա գուղէն: Էս մարթը հեմէն գը վագէ, շադ մը Էգիյէթնէրօք գը խըլասէ: Ինքը մէզ աչգինէն բաշխա գավագ չուննալոյի համար. – «Իմ սօն օրիս Ասդվաձ ինձի դղա մը դվավ» դէյի շադ գը խըլնդա: Էնգիւց դօմդօրթ Էդ խըլասաձ դղան գու-ջախը առաձ, աչգանը գունը գերթա:

Աչգինը խըլնդալէն, «հէ՛ր, էս ավը ո՞ւրդէղէն ավլամիշ Էրիր» գըսէ:

26.5.4.2 Balages village

Adjarian's note: See Բիւրակն [Byurakn] 1898, page 580.

Աղէնօք Ուղուզէլի անուն գեղի մը հարուսդին մէզը հէջ չօջուխ չուննար եղեր, մէզ օր դիւշինմիւշ գէնէ 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 ղըյաֆէթ, բելլելու գելլէն: Բելլէն իքէն դավրիշի մը ռասդ դուքան: Հարուսդը բադիվ գուղա դարվիշին. դարվիշն Է – Ասձունօւ 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 ղըյաֆէթ Էղեր Էք. ամմա քու դունիդ մէջը գղնվօղ փիթին ջօմաաթըդ քէզմէն խօշնուդ Է. Էգեր քի-չուզ մը առաջ Էրթաք նա, ջուրը մը ռասդ բըղը գուքաք, ջուրը խնձօր մը բըղը պերէ, Էդ խնձօրը առ՝ Էրեսը ձիուդ գերցուր, մէջն Է գնըգիդ:

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 դըրինք բերաննիս
Բադառ մը միս, բուլղուր,
Համփիրթին մեզի դուր:

Ձիծ ձըծօղ մեսիմնին
Ուղելու գաթ չունին,

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Գա գուլան ինչու՛ր ղոուն...
Էրեսին հայիս դուն:

Էրզըթէ սիրդ բեդգ է՛,
Ձեռքիդ է (ալ) չի ադգէ...
Ձօցվօրը դուռնէ դուռ՝
Գա մուրա հաց աբուր:

Էդ ադէն գօռէլէն
Դեվ գիբի գօռալէն
Ալլադգներ գա թափնէն...
«Քըշդեցեք գյավուրին»:

Գեղէն դուրս, քիշերը,
Անքրիստօս թուրքերը
Հերիւր մարթ քշդեր են...:
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 Աշակերտութեանի (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 «Երանոս Աղբար կամ Թապալաքեար վարժապետը» and «Թապալաքեար Փիլիկ աղպօր աղջիկտեղ».

[[*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 /ɑ/ <ω>

The Old Armenian sound /ɑ/ <ω> becomes /o/ <o> when immediately before a nasal, such as also in the Hamshen dialect (Table 2).

Table 2: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑ/ <ω> 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’ | andʒrev | անձրեւ | orzev | օրզեվ | andʒrev | անձրեւ |

27.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /u/ <նւ>

The Old Armenian sound /u/ <նւ> becomes /ɣ/ <իւ> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <նւ> to /ɣ/ <իւ> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|---------------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| ‘you.sg have’ | unis | նւնիս | ɣnis | իւնիս | unes | նւնես |
| ‘eight’ | ut ^h | նւթ | ɣt ^h | իւթ | ut ^h | նւթ |

27.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> and /ɑu/ <օ, աւ>

The Old Armenian sounds /o, ɑu/ <ո, օ> become /œ/ <եօ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o, օ/ <ո, օ> to /œ/ <եօ> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| ‘four’ | տ֊որս | չորս | տ֊œրս | չեօրս | տ֊որս | չորս |
| ‘door’ | դւրան | դոռն | ծ֊œր | դ֊եօր | դւր | դոռն |
| ‘today’ | այսօր | այսաւր | ա֊œր | աւեօր | այ֊սօր | այսօր |

27.2.2.2 Glide insertion before post-vocalic /h/ <հ>

The only unique property of the Akn dialect is that if a vowel is immediately before the CA sound /h/ <հ>, then the semivowel /j/ <յ> is added next to the vowel (Table 5).

Table 5: Glide insertion before post-vocalic /h/ <հ> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-------|---------|-----|
| ‘death’ | mah | մահ | majh | մայհ | mah | մահ |
| ‘satisfied’ | goh | գոհ | g ^h ojh | գ֊օյհ | goh | գոհ |
| ‘gain’ | jah | շահ | ʃajh | շայհ | jah | շահ |
| ‘fear’ | ah | ւհ | ajh | այհ | ah | ւհ |

This characteristic is also unavoidable among educated Akn speakers.

27.2.2.3 Diphthongal vowel changes

For CA diphthong changes, notables ones are the following.

27.2.2.3.1 Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian sound /aj/ <այ> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /aj/ <այ> to /a/ <ա> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘mother’ | majr | մայր | mar | մար | majr | մայր |
| ‘father’ | hajr | հայր | har | հար | hajr | հայր |

27.2.2.3.2 Classical Armenian /oi̯/ <ոյ>

The Classical Armenian sound /oi̯/ <ոյ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /oi̯/ <ոյ> to /u/ <ու> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-------|------|---------|-------|
| ‘light’ | lo̯is | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujs | լույս |

27.2.2.3.3 Classical Armenian /iu̯/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian sound /iu̯/ <իւ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iu̯/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Akn dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Akn | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|--------|
| ‘blood’ | ariun | արիւն | arun | արուն | arjun | արյուն |
| ‘snow’ | ḏziun | ծիւն | ḏz ^h un | ծ ^h ուն | ḏzjun | 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/ <իւ> (Table 9).

Table 9: Genitive marking in the Akn dialect

| | Akn | | cf. SWA | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| ‘God-GEN’ | asdydz-y | Ասդիձիլ | astudz-o | Աստուձոն |
| ‘soul-GEN-DEF’ | hok ^h -y-n | հօքիւն | hok ^h ij-i-n | հոգուկն |
| ‘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-a-m | գիլ դամ | gu d-a-m | կոլ տամ |
| ‘I cry’ | gɣ l-a-m | գիլ լամ | gu l-a-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/ <է> 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(a)-/ 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 <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to send’ in the Akn dialect

| | Akn | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------|
| 1SG | gɣ χərg-i-m | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɦɫ | gə χərg-e-m ‘I send’ | կը ɦɛրկեմ |
| 2SG | gɣ χərg-e-s | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɛs | gə χərg-e-s | կը ɦɛրկես |
| 3SG | gɣ χərg-e-Ø | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɛ | gə χərg-e-Ø | կը ɦɛրկէ |
| 1PL | gɣ χərg-i-nk ^h | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɦɫɛ | gə χərg-e-ɲk ^h | կը ɦɛրկենք |
| 2PL | gɣ χərg-e-k ^h | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɛք | gə χərg-e-k ^h | կը ɦɛրկեք |
| 3PL | gɣ χərg-i-n | qɦɫ ɦɛrɔqɦɫ | gə χərg-e-n | կը ɦɛրկեն |
| | IND √-TH-AGR | | IND √-TH-AGR | |

27.3.2.3 Archaism in past 1PL suffix /-a-nk^h/ <աւք>

[[In SWA and SEA, the 1PL suffix is [-ɲk^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-ɲk^h] or [-a-ɲk^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/ <աւք> (here, the sound change of CA /an/ <աւս> to /on/ <օւս> does not happen), or which is more similar to the Classical Armenian ending /-ak^h/ <աք>, than to the /-i-nk^h/ <իւք> 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-ɣd-e-a-nk ^h | qɦɫɛɫաւք IND-eat-TH-PST-1PL | g-ud-ej-i-ɲk ^h | կ’ոտեիւք IND-eat-TH-PST-1PL |
| ‘we brought’ (past pfv.) | ber-a-k ^h բերաք bring-PST-1PL | b ^h er-a-nk ^h | բ’երաւք bring-PST-1PL | p ^h er-i-ɲk ^h | բերիւք 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 <ապառնի> of the verb ‘to bring’ in the Akn dialect

| | Akn | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--|-------------------------|--|-------------|
| 1SG | di b ^h er-i-m | դի բ ^հ երիմ | bidi p ^h er-e-m ‘I will bring’ | պիտի բերեմ |
| 2SG | di b ^h er-e-s | դի բ ^հ երես | bidi p ^h er-e-s | պիտի բերես |
| 3SG | di b ^h er-e-Ø | դի բ ^հ երե | bidi p ^h er-e-Ø | պիտի բերե |
| 1PL | di b ^h er-i-nk ^h | դի բ ^հ երինք | bidi p ^h er-e-ηk ^h | պիտի բերենք |
| 2PL | di b ^h er-e-k ^h | դի բ ^հ երեք | bidi p ^h er-e-k ^h | պիտի բերեք |
| 3PL | di b ^h er-i-n | դի բ ^հ երին | bidi p ^h er-e-n | պիտի բերեն |
| | FUT √-TH-AGR | | FUT √-TH-AGR | |

Table 14: Past future <անցեալ ապառնի> of the verb ‘to eat’ in the Akn dialect

| | Akn | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------|--|-------------|
| 1SG | d-yd-e-i-Ø | դիլդի | bidi ud-ej-i-Ø ‘I was going to eat’ | պիտի ուտի |
| 2SG | d-yd-e-i-r | դիլդիր | bidi ud-ej-i-r | պիտի ուտիր |
| 3SG | d-yd-e-Ø-r | դիլդեր | bidi ud-e-Ø-r | պիտի ուտեր |
| 1PL | d-yd-e-a-nk ^h | դիլդեանք | bidi ud-ej-i-ηk ^h | պիտի ուտինք |
| 2PL | d-yd-e-i-k ^h | դիլդեիք | bidi ud-ej-i-k ^h | պիտի ուտեիք |
| 3PL | d-yd-e-i-n | դիլդեին | bidi ud-ej-i-n | պիտի ուտեն |
| | 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 Ճանիկեան, page 292.

- Երևոյէ Նայիմ, յեզեն Թօրօս, ինդէօր Էս:
- Ձառա իմ ա՛ղա, Ասված գէնք գա:
- Ի՞նչ գա իշ չի գա, յէ՛գէն:
- Բաղվազան գէնթանությանդ դուվաջի ինք: Հրամանքդ իրիջայէ մի իմ եզեր. ըմմա չի գ՛իդիմ քի խաբուվ գանէ՞ս:
- Ըսէ՛ Նայիմ, խաբիլիւ գ՛օրծ Է իսէ, փէ՛ք աղեգ:
- Վեր Ասդված, վար հրամանքդ. գ՛լեօխս Նեղի գ՛ա նը ո՞րդ դերթամ. հելբէթ հեօս դի գ՛ամ: Թաջիգութիւն չի դանք, ա՛ղա. խընթիրքս աս Է թը՝ առիւղիւր մի գա՛ դի անիմ. հազար դրուշ բագաս Է. քերէմ արե դի՛ւր, ֆայիգօվը գիւղամ:
- Թահվիլ մի գ՛րէ, Գա՛րաբէդ, առ աս բ՛ալլին, գ՛նա Ներսի դօլաբէս հազար դրուշ բ՛եր, յեզենին դիւր, թահվիլը առ:
- Շինսոյիրագալ իմ աղա, Ասդված իշախանության բահէ:
- Չարսի՛ւն իշ գա իշ չի գա. առիւղիւրները ինդէօր Է:
- Ասդված բերեքէթ դա, ըմմա առիւղիւրները քեսադ Է. ցօրէն, բանիր շա՛դ գիւգ՛ա, լաքին թիւքէնչիները եռէքը գերթան, դիւ բ՛երին: Յասախ գանին քի եռէքը մարթ չի դերթա. մդիգ չին աներ գինէ գերթան, Էսնէֆը Նեղը գիւ մսա, անիւնց քեր մի գիւղա գառնէ: Բ՛երօղը գուզէ իւր (որ) դընվօրին դա, ըմմա մդիգ անօ՞ղն օվ Է. ջ՛օրին բ՛եռնօվ ծ՛եռքէն գիւ քաշին գառնին. քիչ մալ դ՛իմանա նը՝ գիւ ծէծին: Հեղդա չէ ըմա, չի՞լլիր իւր ժամը ձանիւցիւմ անին քի անիւնցմէ բ՛ան մ՛ա՛ռէք. Հայն իւր անիւնցմէ չառնէ նը առածնին չին գրնար ծախեր, ալ չին առներ:
- Ադ ըսածդ եռէչ էր. ան վախթը խասթին մեզը գամ իւրիշի գ՛իշիւթիւն մի աներ նը՝ ժամը գանիծէին թը ան մարթէն միս գամ իւրիշ բ՛ան մ՛ա՛ռնէք, չէյին առներ. մինչիւզ իւր գ՛ար մեղա ըսեր, Նեօրէն ձանիւցիւմ անէյին քի, առէ՛ք: Հըմա եռչի միյափանութիւնը չիգա. աղէնգ բ՛աներ ձանիւցիւմ չանվիր. անին ալ նը՝ վօրը մդիգ գանէ, վօրը չաներ: Դ՛իւն քիւ գ՛օրծդ դէսար նը ա՛դ 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 արքա). 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> | /ʏ/ <իԼ> | /u/ <ու> |
| /i̞/ <ե> | | /u̞/ <օ> |
| /e/ <է> | /œ/ <եօ> | /ə/ <ը> |
| /æ/ <ւ> | | /ɑ/ <ա> |

28.3.1.1.2 Vowel /u̞/ <օ>

This is a sound that is uniquely characteristic to Sebastia; its pronunciation is approximately like a fast pronunciation of the sequence /uœ/ <ուեօ>. 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 /u̞/ <օ> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------|
| ‘frog’ | gort | գորտ | g ^h u̞ærd | գ’օրդ | gort | գորտ |
| ‘frog-GEN’ | gort-i | գորտի | g ^h ord-an | գ’օրդան | gort-i | գորտի |
| ‘horse-radish’ | bołk | բողկ | b ^h u̞æɣ | բ’օղգ | boɣk | բողկ |
| ‘horse.radish-GEN/DAT’ | bołk-i | բողկի | b ^h oɣg-i | բ’օղգի | boɣk-i | բողկի |
| ‘horse.radish-ABL’ | bołk-e | բողկէ | b ^h oɣg-e | բ’օղգէ | boɣk-its ^h | բողկից |
| ‘horse.radish-INS’ | bołk-iy | բողկիւ | b ^h oɣg-ov | բ’օղգօվ | boɣk-its ^h | բողկով |

28.3.1.1.3 Vowel /i̞/ <ե>

The sound /i̞/ <ե> (pronounced as a heavy /ie/ <իե>) is more common in the villages of the Alis valley (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of / $\text{je}/$ <ե> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| ‘mother’ | maġr | մայր | mġer | մեր | majr | մայր |
| ‘Karapet (a given name)’ | karapet | Կարապետ | garabġed | Գարաբեդ | karapet | Կարապետ |
| ‘you went’ | gənat ^h er | զնացեր | g ^h nat ^h ġer | զ ^h նացեր | gənat ^h ir | զնացիր |
| ‘mouth’ | beran | բերան | b ^h ġeran | բ ^h երան | beran | բերան |

28.3.1.1.4 Vowel / $\text{æ}/$ <ւ>

Sometimes we find the sound / $\text{æ}/$ <ւ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Emergence of / $\text{æ}/$ <ւ> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--|--------|---|---------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| ‘hand’ | $\widehat{\text{dzer-k}}^{\text{h}}$ (-PL) | ծեռք | $\widehat{\text{dz}}^{\text{h}}\text{ærk}^{\text{h}}$ | ծ ^h ւոռք | $\widehat{\text{dzerk}}^{\text{h}}$ | ծեռք |
| ‘corpse’ | merǵal | մեռեալ | mærel | մւոռել | 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 / $\text{j}/$ <յ>

Here we have the sound / $\text{h}/$ <յ> which is often added before vowel-initial words (Table 5).

Table 5: Emergence of word-initial / $\text{h}/$ <յ> before vowels in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|--------------|--------------------|------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------|
| ‘tail’ | agi | ագի | hag ^h i | յագ ^h ի | agi | ագի |
| ‘tinder’ | abet ^h | աբեթ | hab ^h et ^h | յաբ ^h եթ | abet ^h | աբեթ |
| ‘Alis river’ | | | halis | յալիս | 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/ <ե>

The Classical Armenian sound /e/ <ե>, in the beginning of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, is sometimes /je/ <յե> and sometimes /e/ <ե> (Table 6a). Word-internally, it becomes /e, æ, ʲe/ <ե, ւի, ե> (Table 6b).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je, e, æ, ʲe/ <յե, ե, ե, ե> in the Sebastia dialect

| | | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------|
| a. | ‘when’ | erb | երբ | jep ^h | յեփ | jerp ^h | երբ |
| | ‘ox’ | ezən | եզն | jez | յեզ | jez | եզ |
| | ‘to delimit’ | ezerel | եզերել | jezerel | յեզերել | 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’աւնք | 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 | nɫ | uœv | ôɫ | ov | nɫ |
| | ‘no’ | otʃ ^h | nɜ | uœtʃ ^h | ôɜ | votʃ ^h | nɜ |
| | ‘male’ | ordz | npð | uœrts ^h | ôpɔ | vorts ^h | npð |
| | ‘worm’ | ordən | npɫ | uœrt ^h | ôpɐ | vort ^h | npɫ |
| | ‘orphan’ | orb | npɐ | uœrp ^h | ôpɸ | vorp ^h | npɐ |
| | ‘frog’ | gort | qnpun | g ^h uœrd | q ^h ôpɫ | gort | qnpun |
| | ‘frog-GEN’ | gort-i | qnpunɪ | g ^h ord-an | q ^h ôpɫan | gort-i | qnpunɪ |
| | ‘belly’ | p ^h or | ɸnpɫ | p ^h uœr | ɸôpɫ | p ^h or | ɸnpɫ |
| | ‘charcoal’ | gortseli | qnpðɛɫɪ | g ^h ordzeli | q ^h ôpðɛɫɪ | gortseli | qnpðɛɫɪ |
| | ‘bone’ | oskər | nɫpɫ | osgor | ouqop | voskor | nɫpɫ |
| | ‘sheep’ | otʃ ^h χar | nɜɫɸar | oɫχar | oɜɫɸar | votʃ ^h χar | nɜɫɸar |
| b. | ‘buttocks’ | or | nɜ | v ^h uœr, f ^h uœr | ɫôɜ, ɟôɜ | vor | nɜ |

28.3.2.2 Diphthongal vowel changes

28.3.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑj/ <այ> changed to /a/ <ա> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑj/ <այ> to /a/ <ա> in the Sebastia dialect

| | | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|--|----------|--------------------|------|-------------------|-------------------|---------|------|
| | ‘mother’ | mɑjɾ | ɟայɾ | mar | ɟար | mɑjɾ | ɟայɾ |
| | ‘wolf’ | gɑjɫ | qայɫ | g ^h al | q ^h աɫ | gajɫ | qայɫ |

28.3.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iɤ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iɤ/ <իւ> changed to /u/ <ու> (Table 9).

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /iʏ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ու> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|-------|------------|-------|---------|--------|
| ‘flour’ | 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’ | loʏs | լոյս | lus | լուս | lujʃ | լոյս |
| ‘walnut’ | ənkoiʒ | ընկոյզ | ənguz | ընգուզ | əŋkujʒ | ընկոյզ |

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 /j^h/ <յ^h>, which happens in the villages of Alis (Table 11).

Table 11: Change from Classical Armenian /k^h/ <ք> to /j^h/ <յ^h> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Sebastia | | cf. SEA | |
|-------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|--------|---|-----------------|
| ‘monastery’ | vank ^h | վանք | vajh | վայհ | vaŋk ^h | վանք |
| ‘three’ | erek ^h | երեք | irejh | իրէյհ | 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’ | tʃank | ճանկ | dʒaj mə | ջայ մը | dʒang mə | ճանկ մը | SWA |
| ‘boy-girl’ | ałdʒik-təłaj | աղջիկ-տղայ | aχdʒ ^h ij dʒa | ախջ ^h իյ դժա | aχtʃ ^h ik-təʒa | աղջիկ-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 ajhvæcər | թայիվծր | t ^h ak ^h avor | թագավոր |
| ‘to bathe (trans.)’ | logafst ^h utst ^h anel | լոգացուցանել | lojts ^h anel | լոյցընել | logafst ^h nel | լոգացնել |
| ‘lap’ | gog | գոգ | gjøæjh | գծյի | 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 | kangnel | կանգնել |
| ‘five points or denomination’ | | | hijnots ^h | հիյնոց | hingnots ^h | հինգնոց |

Analogous to this, the Classical Armenian form /ʃapik/ <շապիկ> ‘shirt’ became /ʃabijh/ <շաբիյ> (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)’ | hor | հոր | փօւր | ֆօր | hor | հոր |
| ‘smell’ | ort ^h | որթ | փօւրտ ^h | ֆօրթ | hort | հորթ |
| ‘earth’ | hoł | հող | փօւք | ֆօղ | hoʁ | հող |
| ‘care’ | hog | հոգ | փօւք ^h | ֆօք | hok ^h | հոգ |
| b. ‘to care’ | hokal | հոգալ | hok ^h al | hoքալ | hok ^h al | հոգալ |
| ‘edge of pit’ | | | horezer | hoրէզէր | hori jezerk ^h | հորի էզէրք |

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 | գըյլել | kətreł | կտրել |
| ‘sharp’ | *kətruk | *կտրուկ | gəjjug | գըյուգ | kətruk | կտրուկ |
| ‘brave’ | *kətritʃ | *կտրիճ | gəjjidʒ | գըյիջ | kətritʃ | կտրիճ |
| ‘to choose’ | əntrel | ընտրել | hənjel | հընյել | əntrel | ընտրել |
| ‘small’ | manər, mantər | մանր, մանտր | majjə | մայյը | manər, mandər | մանր, մանդր |
| ‘heavy’ | tsanər, *tsantər | ծանր, *ժսանտր | dzanjə | ծանյը | tsanər | ծանր |
| ‘to break’ | kotoreł | կոտորել | gojjel | գօյլել | kotoreł, kotrel | կոտորել, կոտրել |
| name ‘Peter’ | petros | Պետրոս | bejjæʂ | Բէյյէտու | 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 /ʏæ, o/ <ծ, օ> which do not exist in the Sebastia dialect (Table 16).

Table 16: Change from Classical Armenian /a/ <ա> to /ɤœ, o/ <օ, օ> in the Pirknik subdialect of the Sebastia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Pirknik (Sebastia) | | cf. SEA or SWA | | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|-----------|-----|
| ‘cheese’ | panir | պանիր | bɤœnir | բօնիր | panir | պանիր | SEA |
| ‘Mary’ | mariam | Մարիամ | mojjam | Մոյյամ | marjam | Մարիամ | SEA |
| ‘like that’ | | | adong | ադօնգ | adɑŋg | ատանկ | SWA |
| ‘cross’ | χɑtʃ ^h | խաչ | χɤœtʃ ^h | խօչ | χɑtʃ ^h | խաչ | SEA |
| ‘time-INS’ | | | zomang-u | ժօմանգու | 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 | ադի |
| 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’ | zángəs | զա՛նգըս |
| ‘like this’ | zəvizang | զըվիգանգ |

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/ <qɛ> (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/ <qɛ> is also added (c). Monosyllabic verbs take /gu/ <qɛɫ> (d), while the form ‘to come’ takes /g^hu/ <q^hɛɫ> (e).

Table 20: Mobile indicative marking in the indicative present <սերկայ> in the Sebastia dialect

| | Sebastia | cf. SWA |
|----------------|---|--|
| a. 'he asks' | har-ts ^h n-e-Ø gə hարցլտ գը ask-CAUS-TH-3SG IND | gə har-ts ^h ən-e-Ø կը հարցլտ IND ask-CAUS-TH-3SG |
| b. 'he leaves' | ts ^h k ^h -e-Ø gə ցքտ գը, leave-TH-3SG IND gə ts ^h k ^h -e-Ø գը ցքտ IND leave-TH-3SG | gə ts ^h ək ^h -e-Ø կը ձքտ IND leave-TH-3SG |
| c. 'he rises' | g-ell-e-Ø (gə) գելլե (գը) IND-rise-TH-3SG (IND) | g-ell-e-Ø կ'ելլե IND-rise-TH-3SG |
| 'he goes' | g-ert ^h -a-Ø (gə) գերթա (գը) IND-go-TH-3SG (IND) | g-ert ^h -a-Ø կ'երթայ IND-go-TH-3SG |
| 'they say' | g-əs-e-n gə գըսէն գը IND-say-TH-3PL | g-əs-e-Ø կ'ըսէն IND-say-TH-3PL |
| d. 'he gives' | gu-d-a-Ø գուդա IND-give-TH-3SG | gu-d-a-Ø կուտայ IND-give-TH-3SG |
| e. 'he comes' | g ^h u-g ^h -a-Ø գ'ուգ'ա IND-come-TH-3SG | gu-k ^h -a-Ø կուգայ 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 /gə/ <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'երեմ գոր bring-TH-1SG PROG | gə p ^h er-e-m gor կը բերեմ կոր IND bring-TH-1SG PROG |
| 'you.PL are doing' | g-ən-e-k ^h gor գընէք գոր IND-do-TH-2PL PROG | g-ən-e-k ^h gor կ'ընէք կոր IND-do-TH-2PL PROG |
| 'I was eating' | g-ud-ej-i-Ø gor գուդէյի գոր IND-eat-TH-PST-1SG PROG | g-ud-ej-i-Ø gor կ'ուտէի կոր 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 FUT give-TH-1SG | bidi d-a-m պիտի տամ FUT give-TH-1SG |
| ‘I will give’ | d-a-m bidi դամ բիդի FUT give-TH-1SG | bidi d-a-m պիտի տամ FUT give-TH-1SG |
| ‘we will do’ | bi ən-je-nk ^h բի ընենք FUT do-TH-1PL PROG | bidi ən-e-ŋk ^h պիտի ընենք 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-ts ^h -a-k ^h write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL գրեցաք | g ^h r-e-ts ^h -a-nk ^h write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL գ՛րեցանք | gər-e-ts ^h -i-ŋk ^h write-TH-AOR-PST-1PL 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 gə
 bring-TH-1SG IND
 'I bring.'
 բ'երիմ գը
- b. cf. SWA
 gə 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
 tʃ^h-u-m dʒoʃ-n-a-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG recognize-INCH-TH-CN
 'I don't recognize.'
 չում ջօշնար
- b. cf. SWA
 tʃ^h-e-m dʒantʃ^h-n-a-r
 NEG-AUX-1SG recognize-INCH-TH-CN
 'I don't recognize.'
 չեմ ճանչնար

[[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 | qłııı | | | √-TH-1SG |
| 2SG (?) | gn-i-s | qłııı | | | √-TH-2SG |
| 3SG (?) | gn-i-∅ | qłıı | | | √-TH-3SG |
| 1SG 'I am not' | tʃ ^h -i-m | zııı | tʃ ^h -e-m | zııı | AUX-TH-1SG |
| 2SG 'you are not' | tʃ ^h -i-s | zııı | tʃ ^h -e-s | zııı | AUX-TH-2SG |
| 3SG 'he is not' | tʃ ^h -i-∅ | zıı | tʃ ^h -e-∅ | zıı | 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 չափորոշիչ

Ժամանակին թաքավորին մեզը թեբդիլ գելլէ: Գ'նալն իքէն էլման գ'եդ մը գելլէ յեռջ'ելը: Գ'եդը բ'ռնէ դ'արվեր միկնել ազը գերթա օր երգու մարթ թուղթ մը գ'րէն ՝ ջ'ուրը ցքէն գոր:

– Ի՞նչ գընէք գոր – դէյի հարցնէ գը նէ՝

– Ի՞նչ բի ընէնք, սա ինչին ախչիգը աս ինչին դղին գ'րինք գոր. 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, անետր դղին գ'րեցանք – գըսէն:

– Վա՛յ, ի՞նչ ըսէլ ըլլա. յես թաքավետ մ'ըլլամ դէ, ախչիգս չօբնի մը դղին գ'րէք. ախշարք յախշոքի գ'ա նէ ըլլալիք բ'ան չէ ադի. – գըսէ, հերսօդի, շիդագ գերթա չօբանը գ'դնէ, դունը միսաֆիր գըլլա գը: Նայի գը օր մանչը օրեօքը մըշը՛ր մըշը՛ր քնասա գոր: Գընէ չինէր ՝ չօբնին մեղէն շինէ, դ'իմօքը (ծարուքեամբը) օսգի գիշառէ, մանչը գ'նէ գը: Գառնէ ծ'ծր մը դանի, «դէ՛, ախչիգս չօբնին դղին

թող գ'րեն նեյիմ» գրսէ, մէշքէն խամնչարը հանէ, մանչուն սիրողը գը խօթէ, հծն գքէ, գասնի գերթա գը: Մանչը մամաձ գ'իղնա գը:

Աղդեղվանք չօքնի մը սիւրիւյէն ազ մը յամմէն օր գաղվի, գ'ուգ'ա մանչը ծըծ-ցընէ գաշթա եղեր: Ածը բառավի մըն է եղեր բառավը յամմէն յիրինգուն նայի գը օր ածուն ծծերը բարբաձ է. բուղ մը գաթ օր ըսէս չիգա: Անբաջջառ չօքանը աս ածը գթէ գօր գըսէ, գերթա հեղը ձեզգըվի գը:

Չօքանը յերթում-բաղառ գըլլա, «Շան արուն-թարախ ըլլա, թան օր ածո գթէմ գօր նէ» գըսէ. բառավը չավդընար:

Ձեզգըվելօվ թող ըլլան, հեղ մը նային գը օր, ածը սիւրիւյէն գաղվեր, գ'լօխն առեր գերթա գօր: Ածուն յեղվէ հեղքիշուք...

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... գերթան. նեյին գը օր աղվէօր, բ'շգ'առ դղա մը՝ ածը վրան ծռեր ծծցնէ գօր: Խենչերն ալ մանչուն սիրոյն է. հանէն գը օր, բարաբին եգեր, մանչուն հեշ բ'ան մըն ա չէ եղեր: Չարմանք կը մնան:

Չօքանը ՝ «բ'արի աշքօվո դեսսա՞ր հիմա օր ածո յես չեմ գթեր գօր եղեր, յերթում-բաղառ գըլլայի գօր, չէիր ավդընար գօր» գըսէ:

Բառավը՝ «Յես քեզ մեղա. մեղքդ մղնէի գօր, գըսէ, նայէ դէ'ս Աստու բ'անը օր՝ ածս գ'ուգ'ա դէ մէխսումը ծըծցնէ գը եղեր. ի՞շ գ'իղնամ. գ'իղեմ թէ գթես գօր. օրո՞ւ միք (միտք) գ'ուգ'ա. Ասվազ բահեր դէ, գ'ալագեր չէ եղեր» գըսէ:

Աս հեղու չօքանը ինէն բառավը բաշլիյէն գը յիրարու հեղ հաջագըռվիլ (հա-կաճառուիլ). ան թէ մանչը ընծի, ան թէ՝ ընծի. Էնզ յեղքը բառավը խօսքը գընէ. «Ա'սղդդեր աղէն է ածս ծըծցնէ գօր եղեր, ընծի գըլնի» գըսէ, մանչը գառնէ, դուն գը բ'երէ, դղա գընէ գը: Անունն ալ Բուլդուխ (թըք. գտանք) դ'նէ գը: Մանչը մեզնա, ուռուօլէօր (կայտառ) գըլիջ մը գըլլա:

Ասանգ ո'խբ' մը (ատեն մը) գասնի: Թաքավէօրը օր մը գինէ թեբդիլ գելլէ. յո'ր էրթամ, յուր չերթամ, գ'ուգ'տ բառավին դունը գիշնէ գը: Նայի գը օր մար վու դղա մըն էն. բառավը ի՞շ գ'իղէ թէ թաքավէօրն է, լեղի-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 դեսինք» գըսէ: Հեղ մըն ա դ'եմը նայի գը օր՝ չօքնին դղուն սիրողը խօթած ան իր խենչերը բաղը գ'ամէն գախված է: Խեղքը դուն գընէ, ա'լ գը հասգընա օր ասի ան չօքնին դղան է: «Վա՛, սաղ մնացեր է, գըսէ, գեցի աս հեղուն անանգ բ'ան մը ընեմ օր, ա'լ խալըսում չունենա» գըսէ մըքքօվը

Բառավը դեղանը (անկողինը) գը ցքէ, թաքավէօրը բառգի գը. առդըվանց գըլլա, թաքավէօրը գարթնա, մանչուն թուխթ մը գուղա, «շիղագ թաքավօրին դոնախը դար, գըսէ, քեզ յանդեղ էիյա գընէն»:

Մանչը թուխթը գառնէ, իրեք օր, իրեք քիշեր գերթա, ...

... դոնախին յեռչել հասնի գր: «Հէլէ քիշ մը հօնքութիւնս առնեմ» գրսէ, բադ-
դագը ստդի գր: ՀէX մալ սայիս ՝ քունը դանի, քնանա գր:

Թաքավորին ախչիգը յօդան ստդեր ՝ քերգէֆ նաշխէ գօր եղեր. նսեագ դեղը
խելքը բարս գընէ (յանկարծ այնպէս մտածել), փէնջիրէն գելլէ, դ'արվար նէյէ գը
օր, ի՛շ գը նէյիս, աղվէօր աղվէօր դղա մը քնանա գօր. քեզի մեզ սարէն գըյած
գըյիջ. մանչուն զարնըվի գը. «Անբաջջառ յես աս դղան գառնեմ» գրսէ. դառնէ
սայի գը օր թուխթը մանչուն ծօցուն դ'ուս է ընգեր. դառնէ սայի գը օր հօրը
գ'իրն է. բ'անա գարթա գը օր ՝ հարը գ'րեր է թէ ՝ «Աս դղան եգածին բես ջէլլադ
ընէք»:

Մանչը գարթնա, սայի գը օր գ'խլուն վերել ախչի մը գայներ է ըմմա՛, քեզի
մեզ հրըշդաք մը, օխդը բ'երդ՝ արեգ'ազ աղվէօր: Մանչուն խելքը գ'խլէն թռի գը.
ախչիգը գըսէ գը քի «Մի՛ գէնար, ծօցունդ թուխթը հօրս վեզիրին դար»:

Մանչը թուխթը գառնէ՝ վեզիրին դանի գը. վեզիրը նէյի գը օր թաքավորին
գ'իրն է, բաքնէ ջայդին դ'նէ, բ'անա գը գարթա օր՝ «Աս դղան եգածին բես ախ-
չիգանս հեդ նիքյահ ընէք» գ'րեր է:

Վեզիրը թեզ մը հաշնիքը գը բ'ռնէ. թելլալ գանչել գուդա. քառսուն օր հաշնիք,
քառսուն օր բ'աղնիք գընէն, մանչն ու ախչիգը բսագէն: Անեօնք գը հասնին
իրէնց մուրադին, դ'ուք ալ հասնիք ծ'եր մուրադին:

Օր յեղք, թաքավէօրը խաբար գը դրգէ քի գ'ուգ'ամ գօր. դուն-դունօրթով դ'եմ
գերթամ. թաքավէօրը համունէն սայի գը օր եգօղներուն մէջ մեզը գա, ջանշցածը
չէ. գը հասնին, վեզիրին հարցընէ գը քի, «Ադ չէ ըմմա, ա՞ս ծվ է» գրսէ մանչուն
համար: Վեզիրը թուխթը հանէ՝ թաքավորին ծ'անքը գուդա. «Թաքավէօ՛ր, աբ-
րազ գէնաս, փեսադ է, գըսէ. ասանգ ասանգ գ'րեր էիր թէ եգածին բես ախչի-
գանս հեդ գարքէք. մէնք ալ հրամանդ դեղը դարանք»:

Թաքավէօրը հասգնա գը օր ան դղան է. ճեղ մը մյօրուքը...

... ծ'անքը գառնէ, գ'լօխը գը փարդէ, ծ'ան չի հաներ. – ի՞նչ ընէ, եղածը եղեր
է. «Իրավօր, գըսէ, գ'րվածը չավորվիր եղեր»:

յերգընուցը երգու խնծօր յընգավ, մեզը ըսօղին, մէյն ալ լսօղին:

28.5.2 Փեսա Ղազար

Գնգանը մեզը Ղազար անունով դղա մու թեսա մը ունի եղեր:Աս գնիգը յամմէն
օր ժամ գերթա, «Ա՛սվազ, դ'ուն Ղազարիս օդօրմիս» ըսելէն ՝ սրդին ձէձէ գուլա
գաղօթէ եղեր: Դղան մերախը մնա գը քի ըջաբ աս մարս ծր Ղազարին համար
գաղօթէ գօր. առդըվանց մը գանուխ քըզ մարն յամաչ գելլէ ժամ գերթա, սեղա-
նին յեղել բաբբըդի գը (կը պահվտի): Նէյիս մարը գ'ուգ'ա, «Ա՛սվաձ, դ'ուն Ղա-
զարիս օդօրմիս» ըսելէն՝ գուլա գաղօթէ նէ, դղան սեղանին յեղելէն գամացէն

մը՝ «ծր Ղազարիզ օղորմիմ» գըսէ: Գնիզը գ'դէ քի Ասվազ ծ'անը լսեց: «Փեսսա՛ Ղազարիս, փեսսա՛ Ղազարիս» գըսէ: Դղան հասգնա գը օր փեսա Ղազարին համար գաղօթէ գօր էղեր, սէղանին յէդէվէն գէլլէ, աղվէօր մը մարը ձէծէ 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: /kʰazandʒjan/*]]) in a sufficiently extensive work (Գազանճեան 1899). Besides this, he has an article on the study of this dialect, in Բիւրակն [*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 (Բիւրակն [*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> | /ʏe/ <նւէ> | |
| /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> | <փ> | <դ> | <թ> | | | <գ> | <ք> | |
| Affricates | | | /d͡z/ | /t͡s ^h / | /d͡ʒ/ | /t͡ʃ ^h / | | | |
| | | | <ձ> | <ց> | <ջ> | <չ> | | | |
| 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 | ել | jel | յէլ | jel | ել |

29.2.2.1.2 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The Classical Armenian sound /o/ <ո>, in both word-initial and word-medial positions, often...

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... gets pronounced as a diphthong /ue/ <ուէ> (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /ue/ <ուէ> in the Evdokia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Evdokia | | cf. SEA | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------|
| ‘onion’ | soχ | սոխ | sueχ | սուէխ | soχ | սոխ |
| ‘horse-radish’ | bołk | բողկ | p ^h ueɤg | փոււէղգ | boxk | բողկ |
| ‘smell’ | hot | հոտ | hued | հոււէդ | hot | հոտ |
| ‘orphan’ | orb | որբ | vuerp ^h | վոււէրփ | vorp ^h | որբ |
| ‘male’ | ordz | ործ | uerts ^h | ոււէրց | vorts ^h | ործ |
| ‘lentil’ | ospən | ոսպն | vuesb | ոււէսբ | vosp | ոսպ |
| ‘to try’ | gortsel | գործել | guerdzel | գոււէրծել | 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’ | ɑj̣s | ւյս | ɑs | ւս | ɑjs | ւյս |
| ‘other’ | ɑj̣l | ւյլ | ɑl | ւլ | ɑjl | ւյլ |

29.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <ւյ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑi/ <ւյ> becomes /u/ <ւ> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <ւյ> to /u/ <ւ> in the Evdokia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Evdokia | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘light’ | loj̣s | լոյս | lus | լւս | lujs | լոյս |

29.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /iʷ/ <իւ> becomes /u/ <ւ> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /iʷ/ <իւ> to /u/ <ւ> in the Evdokia dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Evdokia | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘snow’ | ḏziʷn | ծիւն | ḏzun | ծւն | ḏzjun | ծյւն |

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’ | kətrɛl | կտրել | gərel | գըռել | kətrɛl | կտրել |
| ‘to break’ | kotorel | կոտորել | gorel | գօռել | 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 | սանտր | sar | սառ | sanər | սանր |

In accordance with the latter, the Armenian word-final sequence /nr/ <նր>, which became /ndr/ <նր> 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 մուռ |

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 | 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-Ø | զը սիրէ | ցə sir-e-Ø | կը սիրէ |
| 1PL | ցə sir-i-nk ^h | զը սիրինք | ցə sir-e-ηk ^h | կը սիրենք |
| 2PL | ցə sir-e-k ^h | զը սիրեք | ցə sir-e-k ^h | կը սիրեք |
| 3PL | ցə sir-e-n | զը սիրեն | ցə 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 գոր

- 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 գոր
- 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 /ga/ <գա> is used (2).

(2) Amasia and Merzifon (Evdokia)

- a. gr-e-m ga
 write-TH-1SG PROG
 ‘I am writing.’
 գրեմ գա
- b. g-ert^h-a-m ga
 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-Ø ↘
 he letter-PL have-TH-3SG
 ‘He has letters.’
 Ան նամակներ ունի:
- b. an namag-ner un-í-Ø ↗
 he letter-PL have-TH-3SG
 ‘Does he have letters?’
 Ան նամակներ ունի՞:
- c. an namag-ner un-í-Ø 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/ <մը>, 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/ <վերի՞ր մի սին>]]*

ii. al-ır mı
 take-AOR Q
 ‘Will/does he take?’
 [[*Adjarian provides an Ottoman version: /alır mı/ <ալը՞ր մը>]]*

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 Էրիգ-գնիգ մը գան էղեր, ութ-դասը դարվան ախչիգ մը, Էրգու-իրեք դարվան ալ մանչ մը ունին էղեր: Ասուէնք շաղ ախքաղ, օրէ բանօղ, օրէ ուրօղ մարթիգ էն էղեր: Էրիգը դուրսը ըողըդութին գանէ, գնիգն ալ դունը դեգգէի գը գուէրծէ էղեր. ասանգօլ Էրիգ-գնիգ վասդըդաձօվսին անջահ նէդ-նըվագ, ցամաք-հաց, գըծու-սուէխ աբրուսդ մը գը ջարէն էղեր:

Իրինգվանը մէգը Էրիգը բանէն էլլէյօլ դուն քալու աղէնը գը նէլի քի չարսուն աղվուրիգ նախշունիգ հալ մը գը ծախէն գօր:

Մարթը հալուն աղվուրգութանը գը հալասի, մըդքէն գըսէ քի՝ յէս աս իրին-գուն դուն հաց չէմ դանիր. թեք աս իրինգուն անօթի գը գէնանք, իլլէ սի հալը գառնիմ: Ասանգ ըսէյօլ ան օրվան առած օրչեքը գուդա, հալը գառնէ, դուն գը դանի, օդային ըռաֆիգը գը դընէ, գեր գը թափէ Էռչէվը: Նաշխունիգ հալը գըդ-գըդ գըդ-դըդ անէյօլ գերը գուդէ, ըռաֆին վրա գը բըդըդի: Գնիգը գըսէ քի «Քա՛, աս հալը ինչո՞ւ առիր». – «Իշթէ բան մըն էր արի. աղուրգութանը հալասեցա դէ առի», գըսէ Էրիգը: Ի՛նչ է նէ՛ ան իրինգունը Էռչի օրվան հացի Էվէցուք գը-դըրդուքներօլ Եօյին գանցունէն, անգի վերչը դղաքը հալը գը սիրէն, անգի ալ գը...

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... բառգին գը քնանան: Մէ մըն ալ քիշէրը գարթնսան քի օդան լուսավօրվեր է. աս ի՞նչ էջէյիբ լուս է՛ ըսէյօլ՝ գէլլէն գը նէյին քի հալը հալգիթ մըն է ածեր, անդար ջերմագ, անդար փառլախ հալգիթ մը քի ՛լլմասի բէս փառ-փառ գը վառի, օդան լուսավօրէ գոր: Էրիգ-գնիգ շաղ գը գարմանան քի աս ի՛նչ թէվիւր հալգիթ է: Անգի վերչ ամմէն օր հալը ադանգ մէ մէգ հալգիթ գաձէ: Ավուրը մէգը մարթը գըսէ քի «Գնիգ, Էգու սի հալգիթներէն քանի մը հաղ չարշուն դանիմ դէ ծախիմ. բեքի քանի մը փարա բըռնէ»: Գնիգն ալ «դար դէ ծախէ» գըսէ: Էրիգը գառնէ քանի մը հալգիթ, չարշուն դանելու աղէնը դոյումջի մը

գը դեսնէ, հեռույն գը գանչէ զինքը: Մարթը գերթա դույումջուն քօվ. դույումջին գըսէ քի՝ «ադ հավգիթները ծախէ՞ս մը գոր»: – «Հա, ծախիմ գոր. քանի՞ փարա գուդա», գըսէ մարթը: Ղույումջին հավգիթը ձեռքը գառնէ, գը նեյի քի խալիս էլմաս է. մարթուն գըսէ քի՝ «հազար դուրուշի գուդա՞ս մը»: Մարթը ի՞նչ քիդէ հավգիթէն էլմաս ըննալը, գըսէ քի «Ա՛խբար, ընծի գեքլէսմի՞շ մը գանես գոր». – «Չէ՛, ի՞նչ գեքլէսմէ է. քիչ է նէ երգու հազար դամ»: – «Ախբար, ի՞նչ գըսես գոր, ընծի գեքլէսմի՞շ մը գանես գոր»: «Է՛, իրեք հազար դամ անանգ է նէ»:

Մարթը գը մդաձէ քի էջեր դույումջին իրա՞վ մը գըսէ գոր՝ շախա՞մ մը. հեմէն գըսէ քի «դո՛ւր փարան»: Ղույումջին իրեք հազարը գը հանէ գուդա, հավգիթը գառնէ: «Աս հավգիթէն դահա գա՞մ մը» գըսէ: – Հաբա՛, գա: – «Անանգ է նէ՛ ի՞նչդար ունիս նէ ընծի բեր. յես հաղը իրեք հազարագանի գառնիմ»:

Մարթը խնդումէն ծաղիգը բառելով (իմա ծաղիկը պատռիլ «չափազանց ուրախանալ») դուն գերթա. «Գնիգ, մենք էիյալըխը գդանք»՝ ըսելով գնգանն ալ բանը գիմացնէ. գնիգն ալ շադ գուրախանա: Ալ գը հասգընան քի հավերնին էլմաս ածօղ հավ է եղեր. ալ անգի վերչը երիգը ըռղըդուրինը, գնիգն ալ դեգգեհ գուերծիլը վար գը ցքէ. հավուն հավգիթները ծախելով գուդէն գը խմէն, գյանք-գէնթանուրին ժամանագ գանցունէն: Վախիթ վերչը դօսախի բես սիւսլիլ դուն մըն ալ շինէլ գուդան, մէչը գը նսդին:

Չադգըվան օր մը քախքին վարթաբեղը փօքրավօրին հետ մեզդեղ դուն-օրինէնքի գուքա մարթուն դունը: Օրինելու ադէննին փօքրավօրը ըռաֆին վրայի հավը գը դեսնէ, գը նեյի քի հավուն դանադին վրա գիր գա. գը գարթա քի սըվիսանգ գրված...

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... է. «Աս հավուն ուեղքն ուղօղը վագան (լաւ վագօղ) գըննա, սիրդն ուղօղըը իմասդուն գըննա, գլօվն ուղօղը թաքավուեր գըննա»: Փօքրավօրը գը մդաձէ քի սի հավը ինչքէ՞ս անիմ դէ ձեռք ցքիմ: Մեր (թրք. մեգեր) մարթուն գնիգն ալ անթիէն փօքրավօրին գէնջութանը գերնըվեր է (սիրահարուիլ). աչքով ունքով նիշաններ գանէ եղեր. փօքրավօրը բանը հասգնալով գամաց մը գնգանը քօվը գերթա. գնիգը գամացուգ մը գըսէ քի «Վաղը մեգի եգու». փօքրավօրն ալ գըսէ քի «Եղեր (եթէ) դի (այդ) հավը գը մօրթես գեթես նէ գուքամ». «Փեք աղեգ, գը մօրթիմ, գեփիմ» գըսէ գնիգը: Երթեսի վանգուցը (առաւօտ) երգանը երթալէն վերչը գնիգը գը բռնէ հավը գը մօրթէ, թենգիրէն գը դընէ գեփէ: Մեմն ալ փօքրավօրը գուքա. գնիգը դղաքը գլխէն ջամփելու համար՝ ախջիգանը գըսէ քի «սի ախբարըդ ա՛ռ դէ բըղըդցուր»: Ախջիգն ալ ախբարը գըրգաձ օդայէն դուրս գելլէ, դանը մէչ վեր վար դառնալու ադէնը օջախին գլօխը գերթա. դղան օջախին վրայի թենգիրէն դեսնելով գը նեղէ քուրը քի անգից բան դա դէ ուղէ. ախջիգն ալ թենգիրէն գը բանա, հավուն գլօխը ախբօրը գը գերցնէ, սիրդը ինէն ուեղքերն ալ ինքը գուդէ. մէ մն ալ վրան իմասդութին քալով գը մդաձէ քի «յես ինչո՞ւ սա հավէն գերա. հիմա մարդս գը հերսօդի, գիս գը ձեձէ». ըսելով մօրը վախուն՝

դղան գիրդը՝ դունեն դուրս գրնգնի, վազելով զր փախչի: Ախջիզը հավուն սիրդը ինեն ուեդքը ուղելով հեմ իմասդուն եղեր էր, հեմ վազան: Գը վազե զր վազե, շադ շադ դեղ վազելեն էրթալեն վերչը՝ լեթը զր բառի (լեարդը պատռիլ «չափազանց յօգնիլ») զր մնա. զր 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 գրդդի ախորօրը գլխուն զր նսդի: Մարթիզը ասի չեղավ, ասի չեղավ ըսելով ձաքը զր բըռնեն, նօրեն զր թռցնեն, նօրեն գուքա դղուն գլխուն զր նսդի. «նօրեն չեղավ, նօրեն չեղավ» ըսելով նօրեն ձաքը զր թռցնեն, գինէ գուքա դղուն գլխուն դօնմիշ գանէ: Մարթիզը զր նեյին քի ըննալիք չունի, «Եյ, թաքավուերնիս գահիր ասի է եղեր» ըսելով՝ դղան ախջիզանը հեղ գառնեն իրենց քաղաքը սերայը զր դանին, թաքավուեր զր նսդեցնեն: Մեր ադ քախքին թաքավուերը մեռած է եղեր, ադ ձաքն ալ դեօվլէթ դուշի է եղեր քի վօրու գլօխ նսդի նէ՝ անի...

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... թաքավուեր ըննա- ադ քախքին եղերը ադանգ է եղեր: Ադ բըդիդիգ դղան թաքավուերութիւն գայնա՞մը աներ. ըմմա քուրը իմասդութիւնօվը ախբօրը դեղը թաքավուերութիւնը գանէ, անդար աղեգ գանէ գի վախիթ անցնելով աս ախջ-գան իմասդութիւնը ամմեն թարաֆ շան գուդա, մենձ անուն զր հանէ:

Քանք հիմա հօրը մօրը:

Հարը ան իրիսգունը դունը գուքա քի հավը չի գա. «Գնիգ, հավը վո՞ւր է», զըսէ նէ, «Ի՞նչ գիղնամ» զըսէ գնիզը». մէ մն ալ մարթը զր նայի քի դղաքն ալ չի գան. «Քա դղաքը վո՞ւր էն», զըսէ նէ՝ գնիզը անօր ալ «չիմ գիդեր» զըսէ: Մարթը խելի բէս սօխգընէրը գրնգնի դղա փնդմելու, հավ փնդմելու, ըմմա նէ՝ դղա զր զըղնէ, նէ՝ հավ: Մարթը շադ մերաք գանէ, քիշեր ցօրեգ օ՛ֆ փի՛ւֆ անելով մդաձել գէնալն իքեն՝ մէ մն ալ գիմանա քի հեռու քաղաք մը իմասդուն ախջիզ մը գա եղեր, թաքավուերի քուր, ամմեն բան գիդէ եղեր, ի՞նչ հարցընես նէ ջուղաքը գուդա եղեր: Մարթը քանի մը հավգիթ ձօցը դնելով՝ գելլէ ադ ախջիզը փնդմելու գերթա. զըսէ քի «Երթամ ադ ախջիզանը սի հավգիթները հեղիյէ դամ, ցավըս բաղմիմ, բեքի ընձի ջար մը զր ցըցընէ»: Ասանգ մդաձելով շադ ջամփա էրթալեն վերչը ադ քաղաքը զր հասնի, սերայը գերթա: Ախջիզը ախբօրը հեղ նսդած դեղը զր հասգընա քի հարը գուքա գօր, ախբօրը խաբար գուդա. Էմիր գանեն, ներս գուքա. հարերնիս խօրաթձընելէն վերչը՝ «մենք քու փնդռած գավգընէրդ էնք» ըսելով գերթան վիղը զր բըլլըվին. հարն ալ ինդունեն լալ զր բաշլոյէ: Էն վերչը իրարու հերսէթ առնելէն յեղքը՝ հօրերնուն զըսեն քի «Գնա դուն, դնօվ դեղօվ աս քաղաքը մեր քովն Էգու, ֆէս (հոս) գէնանք»: Մարթն ալ գերթա, դուն դեղ զր ձախէ զր ձախվօրի, գընգանը հեղ գելլէ դոցը քով գուքա: Ան վախթը ախջիզը մօրը զըսէ քի «Մա՛րիգ, հավը ի՞նչ եղավ, մեգի բիդ՝ ըսես». անի ալ զըսէ քի «Ի՞նչ գիղնամ, գօրավ»: Ան աղենը ախջիզը հօրը եռչելը մեգիգ մեգիգ զր բաղմէ մօրը

արուրքը («արարք»), հավը մօրթելը, փօքրավօրին քալը, հավուն գլօխը, սիրդը, ոււէդքերը ուղէլնին, վախէրնուն դնեն փախչէլնին, մինչի թաքավուէր ըննալնին:

Մարը ասուէնք լսածին բէս գաս-գաբուդ գըննա գընգնի գը մէռնի. դդաքը հարերնին մէնծ 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):

Եվէլ բարին աչք չի հանիր:

Էշը չգէրած խօղը ուղէ նէ՝ փօրը գը ցավի:

Յօրէգին ծուր գը ծամէ՝ քիշէրը ձէթ գը վառէ:

Էրեսին գէօրէ սիլլէ գը զարնէն:

Ձանրը նսդիր օր լռռ 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 (Թութաւն 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’.*]]

- Զա եավրում Կիլիցա, ինտո՞ր իս:
- Կիրեդ բարի, Համաս դատըն. հայես նե հազկեկ կը խօսամ. մեկամ օրվան անծրեւը չերչիֆնեներուն արաւիւիւն 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 գէհիրի պէս թախ օսկրներս անցեր է, երկու օրէ վեր հալ չունիմ, երէկ երկու հեղ պայլմիշ եղայ. եսվրում, այս ի՞նչ ծանտոր բան է. չօճօղները օրթան մնացեր, հայող չունին:

– Քա ատ ի՞նչ լախըրտը, վա՛յ գլխուս, աղջիկդ Հռիփսիմէն ո՞ւր է. անոր խելքը հիմա պիւթիւն է, թօղ չօճօղները ան հայի. դուն հիչ տիւշիւնշիշ մըլլար, քեզի պաշխա իլաճ չկայ. րահաթ 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 աղկէ՛կ 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 (պր. Ալեքսան Նալբանդեան). My study was published in Բազմապէս [*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 ծայնախօսական մեքենավով) 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> | /ɣ/ <իԼ> | | | | |
| /e̞/ <է̞> | /e/ <է> | /œ/ <էօ> | /ə/ <ը> | /o/ <օ> | |
| /æ/ <ւ̃> | | | /ã/ <ւ̃> | /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> | <չ> | | | |
| Fricatives | /f/ | /v/ | /s/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /χ/ | /ʁ/ | /h/ |
| | <ֆ> | <վ> | <ս> | <զ> | <շ> | <ժ> | <խ> | <ղ> | <հ> |
| Sonorants | /m/ | /n/ | /r/ | /r/ | /l/ | /j/ | | | |
| | <մ> | <ւ> | <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, ʏ/ <եօ, իւ> have their usual closedness when before stress, but they are pronounced as very open when stressed, like /œɑ, ʏə/ <եօա, իւը>.

[[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 | էնիւշ | anuɟʃ (dated) anuɟʃ | աւոյշ աւուշ |
| ‘name’ | anun | աւուն | enɣn | էնիւն | anun | աւուն |
| ‘hungry’ | naɣtʰi, anaɣtʰi | նաւթի, աւաւթի | enoetʰi | էնէօթի | anotʰi | աւոթի |
| ‘durable’ | amur | ամուր | emɣr | էմիւր | amur | ամուր |

When there is a sound /ɾ/ <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 ⁿ el | ճանաչել | gæfnal | գեօշնալ | tʃanatʃ ⁿ el | ճանաչել |
| ‘rain’ | andzreɥ | անձրել | ærzæv | եօրզաւ | andzrev | անձրև |
| ‘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/ <է̇> in other places.

31.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

The sound /o/ is usually /æ/ <եօ>, but it becomes /a/ <ա> next to nasals (Table 6).

[[*Note that Adjarian actually writes <օ> which is CA /aɥ/; 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 | գաւմշ | gomef | գոմեշ |

31.2.2.1.4 Other vowel changes

In others, we see the following changes:

- CA /u/ <nL> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /oi/ <nj> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /iu/ <hL> → /y/ <hL>
- CA /ɑi/ <ωj> → /ɑ/ <ω> (under stress)
- CA /ɑi/ <ωj> → /e/ <ɛ> (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’ | hɑiɾ | hɑjɾ | har | hɑɾ | hɑjɾ | hɑjɾ |
| ‘to burn’ | ɑiɾel | ɑjɾɛɫ | erel | ɛɾɛɫ | ɑjɾel | ɑjɾɛɫ |

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, ծեռք, մարդ, կոճկել, մեծնալ, կանգնիլ, ծնկվըներ. 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 <hg, քq, քք, կվ> appear.]]

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, հինգ-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-Ø* (Nicomedia)
 p^hajd g-á-Ø (SWA)
 wood exist-TH-3SG
 ‘Is there wood?’
 փա* գա՞, փայտ կա՞
- c. *æ*k^h-ə* (Nicomedia)
 votk-ə (SWA)
 foot-DEF

‘the foot’

to*ը, ոտը

31.2.2.2.3 Deaffrication of affricates

The Classical affricates (շխկան) /tʃ, dʒ, tʃʰ, ts, dz, tsʰ/ <ճ, ջ, չ, ծ, ծ, ց> lose their dental plosive part and become the simpler sounds /ʒ, ʃ, z, s/ <ժ, ջ, զ, ս>.

- (3) a. məz martʰ (Nicomedia)
 medʒ martʰ (SWA)
 big person
 ‘big man/person’
 մըզ մարթ, մեծ մարդ
- b. vɛs dʒɑ (Nicomedia)
 vɛtsʰ dʒɑ (SWA)
 six boy
 ‘six boys’
 վէ ս դիւ, վեց տղայ
- c. dɑʒg-ə-n-a-l (Nicomedia)
 dɑdʒg-ə-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 | թէորզը | tʰandʒər | թանձր | SEA |
| ‘high’ | bardʒər | բարձր | barsə | բարսը | bartsʰər | բարձր | SEA |
| ‘fly (bug)’ | tʃantʃ | ճանճ | | | dʒandʒ | ճանճ | SWA |
| ‘a fly’ | | | dʒɑʒ mə | ջաժ մը | dʒandʒ mə | ճանճ մը | SWA |
| ‘to pass’ | antsʰanel | անցանել | asnıl | 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. garʃ k^{hit} (Nicomedia)
 garɟ^h k^{hit} (SWA)
 short nose
 ‘a short nose’
 գարշ քիթ, կարճ քիթ
- b. əs-as-s e (Nicomedia)
 əs-aɟz-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/ <իւք>) to /-ã-nk^h/ <աւք>. The progressive is always made with formative /háje/ <հա՛յէ>. 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 /ɛ/ <է> (Table 9).]]

Table 9: Indicative present <սերկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

| | Nicomedia | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1SG | gə sir-i-m | գը սիրիմ | gə sir-e-m ‘I like’ | կը սիրեմ |
| 2SG | gə sir-ɛ-s | գը սիրէ՛ս | gə sir-e-s | կը սիրես |
| 3SG | gə sir-ɛ-Ø | գը սիրէ՛ | gə sir-e-Ø | կը սիրէ |
| 1PL | gə sir-i-nk ^h | գը սիրինք | gə sir-e-ŋk ^h | կը սիրենք |
| 2PL | gə sir-ɛ-k ^h | գը սիրէ՛ք | gə sir-e-k ^h | կը սիրեք |
| 3PL | gə sir-i-n | գը 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 <անկատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

| | Nicomedia | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| 1SG | գə sir-e-i-Ø | զը սիրեի | գə sir-ej-i-Ø ‘I would like’ | կը սիրեի |
| 2SG | գə sir-e-i-r | զը սիրեիր | գə sir-ej-i-r | կը սիրեիր |
| 3SG | գə sir-ɛ-Ø-r | զը սիրե՛ր | գə sir-e-Ø-r | կը սիրեր |
| 1PL | գə sir-e-ă-nk ^h | զը սիրեալսք | գə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h | կը սիրեիսք |
| 2PL | գə sir-e-i-k ^h | զը սիրեիք | գə sir-ej-i-k ^h | կը սիրեիք |
| 3PL | գə sir-e-i-n | զը սիրեին | գə sir-ej-i-n | կը սիրեին |
| | 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 | gə sir-i-m háje | զը սիրիմ հա՛յե | gə sir-é-m gor 'I am liking' | կը սիրեմ կոր |
| 2SG | gə sir-ɛ-s háje | զը սիրե՛ս հա՛յե | gə sir-é-s gor | կը սիրես կոր |
| 3SG | gə sir-ɛ-Ø háje | զը սիրե՛ հա՛յե | gə sir-é-Ø gor | կը սիրե կոր |
| 1PL | gə sir-i-nk ^h háje | զը սիրինք հա՛յե | gə sir-é-ŋk ^h gor | կը սիրենք կոր |
| 2PL | gə sir-ɛ-k ^h háje | զը սիրե՛ք հա՛յե | gə sir-é-k ^h gor | կը սիրեք կոր |
| 3PL | gə sir-i-n háje | զը սիրին հա՛յե | gə sir-é-n gor | կը սիրեն կոր |
| | IND √-TH-AGR PROG | | IND √-TH-AGR PROG | |
| Progressive past imperfective <շարունակական անկատար> | | | | |
| | Nicomedia | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | gə sir-e-i-Ø háje | զը սիրեի հա՛յե | gə sir-ej-í-Ø gor 'I was liking' | կը սիրեի կոր |
| 2SG | gə sir-e-i-r háje | զը սիրեիր հա՛յե | gə sir-ej-í-r gor | կը սիրեիր կոր |
| 3SG | gə sir-ɛ-Ø-r háje | զը սիրե՛ր հա՛յե | gə sir-é-Ø-r gor | կը սիրեր կոր |
| 1PL | gə sir-e-ä-nk ^h háje | զը սիրեա՛նք հա՛յե | gə sir-ej-í-ŋk ^h gor | կը սիրեինք կոր |
| 2PL | gə sir-e-i-k ^h háje | զը սիրեիք հա՛յե | gə sir-ej-í-k ^h gor | կը սիրեիք կոր |
| 3PL | gə sir-e-i-n háje | զը սիրեին հա՛յե | gə sir-ej-í-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 /ä/ <w̃> for the 1PL.]]

Table 12: Past perfective or aorist <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Nicomedia dialect

| | Nicomedia | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--|-----------|--|----------|
| 1SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | սիրեցի | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I liked’ | սիրեցի |
| 2SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սիրե՛ց | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սիրեց |
| 1PL | sir-e-ts ^h -ā-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 սիրես
- b. Past future
 bidi sir-e-i-Ø (Nicomedia)
 bidi sir-ej-i-Ø (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-Ø (Nicomedia)
 sir-e-Ø (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-Ø nə (Nicomedia)
 sir-ej-i-Ø (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 երթա՛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, խաշդիւր ախբար:
- Խէր ըլ'ւա:
- Օվաղէմ բաբային քիսիւն եգաձը իմացա՞ր, էքիին մալահաթը:
- Իրավ էօր Էրեգ իրգիւն աղայ լաֆ մը գար հըմը, ըռի* մը չիյդիմ:
- Էքին քեօղ եգէ՛ր Է՛ դը ջիւղէ՛րը անընգիւյ գեօղըրդէ՛ր ին:
- Ձիւ ըբը ի՞շ գայնէ՛ր Է՛ ք, ցիյէ՛րը քաշեցէք դը իզը իանք. աս փանի ընէ՛ օղը Լազէ՛րը ըլ'ւալիւ ին. առչի էօրն ա Վարթան ամջիւն Էքին ըրէ՛ր ին: Թիւն քընը Գարըբեդին իլէն Մինանիսն գանչէ՛, Էս ա Էրգիւ հա* բեգիրջի ջարիմ:

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Մանիւզը գիա Գարըբեդին դիւնը.

- Փարի լիւսս, Բա՛յձառ, Գարըբեդը վէ՞րն Է՛:
- Խէր ըլ'ւա, խաշդիւր ախբար, վէրն Է՛:

- Թեօղ չիւֆդան առնէ՝ դը քա:
- Բայձառը վեր գիա:
- Մար*, գըսէ՝, էլի չիւֆդան առ դը վար քնը:
- Գարըբեղը գը ցա*գէ՝, չիւֆդան ամիւզը գը գարնէ՝, գենէ ի՞շ դա ըջըբ, գըսէ՝, վար գիշնա:
- Փարի լիյս, Մանիւզ ախբար:
- Աս*ծիւ փարին, քընի՞ սահաթէն վար գիշնաս. մնչիգը դայֆան ին. Լազէ՝ ըրին բիդի իանք:
- Շա*զիյանիւթին ըրէ՞ր ին:
- Ախբար, հավեօզնէ՞րը իւղէլին 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 կրիյճին (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 չունէր, մարիկ ունէր,
Չըխտըկուք (գոյգ) քըրվըտանք ունէր:
Նէ հարիկ ունիմ, Նէ մարիկ,
Ունիմ միայն մէ աղբարիկ:
Մարիկ չունիմ, աղբար չունիմ,
Մէկ հատիկ քուրիկ մ'ունիմ:
Մօրկանս սիրելին էի,
Հօրկանս գանձապահն էի:
Մօրկանս մէկ 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 բռնէր,
Աղբօրը մոմ մը չէ դրկէր.
Դրկէր է տեղը հասէր:
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:
Խարիպուրան 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 սէրս 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 երազդ կուգամ:
 Օ՛ղուկ, երազով կարօտ չառնուիր,
 Երկիրմով ալ մուրազ չառնուիր:
 Մի, լար, մայրիկ, մի՛ լար դու ինծի 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 անմենքս ալ միասին:
 Ծովին մէջի կարմիր ատան,
 Աստված փրկէ չարն ու խատան:
 Երգինկավու Սավուղ տատան
 Օրնէ ըս մեր հէօրսն ու փեսան:
 Օրնէ թոգովէօր, օրնէ սաղտուհ,
 Օրնէ ամենքս ալ միարան:
 Ան վեօէ էր օր ընկավ հէօրը,

Chapter 31 Nicomedia

Վրասն լցին քարն ու փետուր:
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/ <է> | /œ/ <էօ> | /ə/ <ը> |
| | | /o/ <օ> |
| | | /ɑ/ <ա> |

The sound /œ/ <ւ̄>, which is found in many other dialects, does not exist here. Similarly, the differences between the sounds /īe, e/ <ե, է> and /ūo, 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 /īy/ <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 (նաԺիկ) dialect uses /dz̄un/ ‘snow’ <ծուԼ>.

Table 2: Emergence of /y/ <իԼ> in the literary Istanbul dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > literary Istanbul | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------|-------|
| ‘snow’ | dz̄īȳun | ծիԼ | ts̄ ^h ȳn | ցիԼ | dz̄jun | ծյուԼ |
| ‘column’ | sīȳn | սիԼ | syn | սիԼ | sjun | սյուԼ |

In contrast, the sound /œ/ <էօ> 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/ <է> before or after them (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of /œ/ <էօ> in the Istanbul dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Istanbul | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|---|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|---------|
| ‘wheat’ | ts̄ ^h ōrēan | ցորեաԼ | ts̄ ^h œren | ցեօրեԼ | ts̄ ^h oren | ցորեն |
| ‘daytime’ | ts̄ ^h erek, ts̄ ^h orek | ցերեկ, ցորեկ | ts̄ ^h œreg | ցեօրեկ | ts̄ ^h erek | ցերեկ |
| ‘cherub’ | k̄ ^h erovbē | քերովբե | k̄ ^h œrœp̄ ^h e | քեօրեովբե | k̄ ^h erovbe | քերովբե |
| ‘seraph’ | serovbē | սերովբե | sœrœp̄ ^h e | սեօրեովբե | serovbe | սերովբե |

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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 (ու)> → /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 <ուղուի ծայնին սաստկութիւն տալ>; the translation is my best guess on how to interpret the original. (?)*]]

- CA /iʏ/ <իւ> → /u/ <ու>
- CA /oɨ/ <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’ | hɑjɾ | hɑjɾ | hɑɾ | hɑɾ | hɑjɾ | hɑjɾ |
| ‘black’ | sɛɑɥ | utɛɑɥ | sev | utɛɫ | sev | utɛɫ |
| ‘snow’ | dʒiʏn | δɦɫɫ | dʒun | δɦɫɫ | dʒjun | δɦɫɫ |
| ‘light’ | loɨs | ɦɾɥ | lus | ɦɾɫ | lujs | ɦɾɥ |
| ‘sister’ | k ^h oɨɾ | ɾɾɾ | k ^h ur | ɾɦɾ | k ^h ujɾ | ɾɦɾ |

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’ | hɑj-oɨ | hɑjɾ | hɑj-u | hɑjɾ | hɑj-i | hɑjɾ |
| ‘to look at’ | nɑjɨɫ | ɦɾɾɦɫ | nɑjɨɫ | ɦɾɾɦɫ | nɑjel | ɦɾɾɦɫ |
| ‘sick’ | hiwand | ɦɦɫɫɫ | hivand | ɦɦɫɫɫ | hivand | ɦɦɫɫɫ |

[[*Note that Adjarian seems to treat an intervocalic glide in Classical Armenian as part of a diphthong: /hɑj-oɨ/ instead of /hɑj-oɨ/ <hɑjɾ>. 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’ | uʔarkel | ուղարկել | χʔkel | խրկել | uɣargel, | ուղարկել | SWA |
| | | | | | ɣargel | ղրկել | |
| ‘to guide’ | uʔewerel | ուղեւորել | χavrel | խավրել | uɣevorel | ուղեւորել | SEA |
| ‘Luke’ | ʔakas | Ղուկաս | χugas | խուգաս | ɣukas | Ղուկաս | SEA |
| ‘Lazaros’ | ʔazaros | Ղազարոս | χazaros | խազարոս | ɣazaros | Ղազարոս | SEA |
| ‘name of letter <ղ>’ | ʔat | ղատ | χad | խադ | ɣat | 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 */ɣaurel/ *<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/ <-ուփիս>, from CA /-ut^hiun/ <ուփիւն>), 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’ | | | fun | շուն |
| ‘dog (GEN)’ | fun-i | շունի | fan | շան |
| ‘house’ | | | tun | տուն |
| ‘house (GEN)’ | dun-i | դունի | tan | տան |
| ‘house (ABL)’ | tun-e | տունէ | tən-its ^h | տնից |
| ‘mouse’ | | | muk | մուկ |
| ‘mouse (GEN)’ | mug-i | մուգի | mək-an | մկան |
| ‘fish’ | | | dzuk | ծուկ |
| ‘fish (GEN)’ | dzug-i | ծուգի | dzək-an | ծկան |
| ‘fish (ABL)’ | dzug-e | ծուգէ | dzəkn-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 | dun | an | menk ^h | duk ^h | anonk ^h |
| | tu | ḡnlu | ulu | uṭluḡ | ḡnluḡ | uluoluḡ |
| GEN | im | k ^h u | anor | mer | ḡzer | anonts ^h |
| | ḡu | ḡnlu | uluor | uṭn | ḡṭn | uluoluḡ |
| DAT | əndz-i | k ^h ez-i | anor | mez-i | ḡzez-i | anonts ^h |
| | ḡnḡḡ | ḡṭḡḡ | uluor | uṭḡḡ | ḡṭḡḡ | uluoluḡ |
| ACC | is, əndz-i | k ^h ez-i | an | mez-i | ḡzez-i | anonk ^h |
| | ḡu, ḡnḡḡ | ḡṭḡḡ | ulu | uṭḡḡ | ḡṭḡḡ | uluoluḡ |
| ABL | iz-me | k ^h ez-me | an-ge | mez-me | ḡzez-me | anonts ^h -me |
| | ḡḡuṭ | ḡṭḡuṭ | uluḡṭ | uṭḡuṭ | ḡṭḡuṭ | uluoluḡuṭ |
| INS | iz-mov | k ^h ez-mov | an-ov | mez-mov | ḡzez-mov | anonts ^h -mov |
| | ḡḡuḡuḡ | ḡṭḡuḡuḡ | uluḡuḡ | uṭḡuḡuḡ | ḡṭḡuḡuḡ | uluoluḡuḡuḡ |

[[*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 | sa | uu | s(a)vonk ^h | u(w)uḡluḡ |
| GEN | səvor | uḡuḡor | s(a)vonts ^h | u(w)uḡluḡ |
| DAT | səvor | uḡuḡor | s(a)vonts ^h | u(w)uḡluḡ |
| ACC | səvigə | uḡuḡḡḡ | s(a)vontk ^h | u(w)uḡluḡ |
| ABL | sə(v)-gə | uḡ(u)ḡṭ | s(a)vonts ^h -me | u(w)uḡluḡuṭ |
| INS | səv-ov | uḡuḡuḡ | s(a)vonts ^h -mov | u(w)uḡluḡuḡuḡ |

There are also the forms in Table (11). These are all declined simply based on the pronoun 'this' /sa, as/ <uu, uu>.

Table 11: Sample of demonstrative nominative singular pronouns in the Istanbul dialect

| Proximal ‘this’ | | Medial ‘that’ | | Distal ‘that yonder’ | |
|-----------------|---------|---------------|---------|----------------------|---------|
| as | աս | ad | ադ | na | նա |
| asiga | ասիգա | adiga | ադիգա | aniga | անիգա |
| asigag | ասիգագ | adigag | ադիգագ | anigag | անիգագ |
| saviga | սավիգա | daviga | դավիգա | naviga | նավիգա |
| savigag | սավիգագ | davigag | դավիգագ | navigag | նավիգագ |
| sviga | սվիգա | dviga | դվիգա | nviga | նվիգա |
| svigag | սվիգագ | dvigag | դվիգագ | nvigag | նվիգագ |

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, լիլ, 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-Ø | սիրե | sir-e-Ø | սիրե |
| 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 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 անցեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

| | Istanbul | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------|------------------------------|---------|
| 1SG | sir-e-i-Ø | սիրեի | sir-ej-i-Ø ‘(if) I liked’ | սիրեի |
| 2SG | sir-e-i-r | սիրեիր | sir-ej-i-r | սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø-r | սիրեր | sir-e-Ø-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 | |

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-Ø 'I would like' | զը սիրեի |
| 2SG | gə sir-e-s | զը սիրես | gə sir-e-i-r | զը սիրեիր |
| 3SG | gə sir-e-Ø | զը սիրէ | gə sir-e-Ø-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-Ø 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-Ø gor | զը սիրէ գոր | gə sir-e-Ø-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 <ապառնի> | | Past future <անցեալ ապառնի> | |
| 1SG | bidi sir-e-m 'I will like' | բիդի սիրեմ | bidi sir-e-i-Ø '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-Ø | բիդի սիրէ | bidi sir-e-Ø-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-Ø | սիրեր է | sir-er e-Ø | սիրեր է |
| 1PL | sir-er e-nk ^h | սիրեր ենք | sir-er e-ŋk ^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-Ø | սիրեր էի | sir-er ej-i-Ø 'I had liked' | սիրեր էի |
| 2SG | sir-er e-i-r | սիրեր էիր | sir-er ej-i-r | սիրեր էիր |
| 3SG | sir-er e-Ø-r | սիրեր ր | sir-er e-Ø-r | սիրեր ր |
| 1PL | sir-er e-i-nk ^h | սիրեր էինք | sir-er ej-i-ŋk ^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 <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Istanbul dialect

| | Istanbul | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|--|----------|--|----------|
| 1SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø | սիրեցի | sir-e-ts ^h -i-Ø ‘I liked’ | սիրեցի |
| 2SG | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր | sir-e-ts ^h -i-r | սիրեցիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | սիրեց | sir-e-ts ^h -Ø-Ø | 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 /-Ø/ 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-Ø | սիրե | sir-e-Ø | 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 /-ad̥z/ 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-ad̥z | սիրած | sir-ad̥z | սիրած | $\sqrt{-RPTCP}$ |
| | | sir-er | սիրեր | sir-er | սիրեր | $\sqrt{-EPTCP}$ |
| Future | ապանի | 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-ad̥z/ <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 Boyacıoglu (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-ɑd͡z e-m

√-RPTCP AUX-1SG

‘I have liked.’

սիրած էմ

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the present auxiliary.

- b. sir-ɑd͡z 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-ɑd͡z g-əll-a-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-ɑd͡z g-əll-a-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-ɑd͡z g-əll-a-m gor

√-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 /gor/.

- f. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- all-a-m gor e K-er
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-1SG PROG be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘I have been liking, apparently.’
 սիրած գրլամ գօր էդեր
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative present form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/, add the word /e K-er / ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- g. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ all-a-m (ne)
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP be-TH-1SG SBJV}}$
 ‘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- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ all-a-m (ne) e K-er
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP be-TH-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘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 K-er / ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- i. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ e $\text{K-a-}\emptyset$
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP be-PST-1SG}}$
 ‘I was liked.’
 սիրած էղա
 Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past perfective form of ‘to be’.
- j. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ bidi all-a-m
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP FUT be-TH-1SG}}$
 ‘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- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ bidi all-a-m e K-er
 $\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP FUT be-TH-1SG be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘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-ɑdž 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-ɑdž ɔll-ɑ-l-u e-m ɛk-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-ɑdž 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 (նէ)

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-ɑdž ɔll-ɑ-l-u ɔll-ɑ-m (ne) ɛk-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 (նէ) 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 \textasciix -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 \textasciix -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- c. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- \textasciix 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- \textasciix ll-aj-i- \emptyset e \textasciix -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 \textasciix -er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- e. sir- $\widehat{\text{adz}}$ g- \textasciix ll-aj-i- \emptyset gor

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG}}$

‘I had been liking.’

սիրած գըլլայի գոր

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- \textasciix ll-aj-i- \emptyset gor e \textasciix -er

$\sqrt{\text{-RPTCP IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG be-EPTCP}}$

‘I had been liking, apparently.’

սիրած գրլայի գոր էղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the indicative past imperfective form of ‘to be’, add the progressive marker /gor/, add the word /eḡ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- g. sir-aḏz əll-aj-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-aḏz əll-aj-i-∅ (ne) eḡ-er

√-RPTCP be-TH-PST-1SG SBJV be-EPTCP

‘If I had liked, apparently.’

սիրած ըլլայի (լե) էղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the subjunctive past form of ‘to be’, add the subjunctive marker /ne/, add the word /eḡ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- i. sir-aḏz bidi əll-aj-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-aḏz bidi əll-aj-i-∅ eḡ-er

√-RPTCP FUT be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP

‘I would have liked, apparently.’

սիրած բիդի ըլլայի էղեր

Rule: Take the resultative participle, add the past future form of ‘to be’ (made up of /bidi/ plus the verb form), add the word /eḡ-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.

- k. sir-aḏz əll-a-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 \mathfrak{E} -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 \mathfrak{E} -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 (նէ)

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 \mathfrak{E} -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 (նէ) 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 \mathfrak{E} -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 եմ

Rule: Take the future converb, add the present auxiliary.

- b. sir-e-l-u e-m e \mathfrak{E} -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 ԵԷ-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 ԳՕՐ
√-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 ԳՕՐ

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of 'to be', add the progressive marker /ԳՕՐ/.

- f. sir-e-l-u g-əll-a-m ԳՕՐ ԵԷ-ԵՐ
√-TH-INF-FUT.CVB IND-be-TH-1SG PROG be-EPTCP

'I am going to like, apparently.' (?)

սիրելու գըլլամ ԳՕՐ եղեր

Rule: Take the future converb, add the indicative present form of 'to be', add the progressive marker /ԳՕՐ/, 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 (նէ) 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-Ø eք-er
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB \text{ AUX-PST-1SG be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘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-Ø
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB \text{ IND-be-TH-PST-1SG}}$
 ‘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-Ø eք-er
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB \text{ IND-be-TH-PST-1SG be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘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-Ø gor
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB \text{ IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG}}$
 ‘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-Ø gor eք-er
 $\sqrt{-TH-INF-FUT.CVB \text{ IND-be-TH-PST-1SG PROG be-EPTCP}}$
 ‘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-qj-i-Ø (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-qj-i-Ø ne eք-er
 √-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 /eք-er/ ‘it apparently became’ which provides an evidential meaning of uncertainty.
- i. sir-e-l-u bidi əll-qj-i-Ø
 √-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-qj-i-Ø eք-er
 √-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 /eք-er/ ‘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, ձովին քենարը վեր վար փիյացա (պտոյտ) գընէի գոր: Բանէ մը խաբար չունինք: Մէյ մըն ա դեսնաս բաֆօրը եգավ, մէչէն խընջախընջ մարքթիքը դուրս թափեցան. ամմենուն ըռէնզը նեդեր, բէնզըբէթը...

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... դէղներ, իրարու հեղ խօսէլ-խօրաթէլ բիլէ չիքա (չկայ): Հրանդը դէմս էլավ. մօրէցա, ծառքս օմուզի դրի, – Ի՞նչ գա, ա՛խբար, ըսի:

– Սո՛ւս եղիր, ըսավ գամաց ծանօժ մը, բան չիքա, գամաց խօրաթէ, բաղին վրա ջանջ գա (ծածկաբանութիւն որ կը նշանակէ «լսող օտար մարդ կայ»):

Երգուքնիս քօժ քօժի՝ բերանիս բաբընծաձ՝ խզէլէէն անցանք փիյացան: Օր-թալըխը մարթ մարթասանք չմնաց. ամմէն մարթ դուն վազեց: Նայեցա քի մէզի լսող չիքա, խօրէն դարցա Հրանդին:

– Է՛, Հրանդ, ըսէ նայի՛նք, լեզույիթ դագը բան մը գա ամա, գը բահէս գոր:

– Ցույց եղավ, ցո՛ւյց... ըսավ գամաց ծանօժ մը:

– Ձօ ի՛նչ գըսես, ցո՛ւյց մի...

– Հա, Հնչագյանները Բաբա-Ալին գօխեր էն, քանի մը ասգեր մեռցուցեր էն. Դաշիգները դուրս թափեցան, գարգին, ջարթեցին, հազարէն էլէլ հայ մեռցուցեր էն. անջախ խանութնիս գօցեցինք, քեթրիւ փախանք, ինքըզիքնիս բաֆօր (շոգենաւ) նեդեցինք:

– Ձօ ի՛նչ գըսես բէ՛: Ադ ի՛նչ գէշ խաբար դուվիր ինծի:

– Ասիգա գաթը շադօնց ըլլար բիդի. ինզիլիզին գըռխընները եգաձ շարվաձ էն Չանախ-խալէին քենարը. չըթի մը գը բէքլէէին գօր. աս ցույցը մա՛խսուսդան ըրին քի, Դաշիգները էլլան հայերը ջարթէն, ինզիլիզներն ա «Վա՛յ, դուն հայերը գը ջարթէ՞ս գօր մի» ըսելօժ՝ էլլան, յալլահ, Չանախ-խալէն գօխէն, դի՛ւզ Սդամ-բօլին վրան...:

Սիրդս թըփըր թըփըր նեդէլ բաշլայեց. ինդա՞մ մի՛ լա՞մ մի. ան թաքքէյին գուզէի քի Հրանդին փաթըղվիմ՝ երեսը, բերանը բաքնէմ:

– Աս քիշեր ջամփա բիդի էլլան, ըսավ էյեր քի գէս քիշերին թօփի-թիւֆէնզի ծաներ առնես նէ, հիչ չվախնաս, ինզիլիզներն էն. մէզի ազադէլու բիդի գան:

Ասանգ խաբար մը գը բահվի՞. դուն վազեցի. Նայեցա քի սուֆրան դրեր էն, հարըս, մարըս, Հերսիյան, Արմէնույին, Հայզը Նստեր եր, ընծի գը բէքլէէն 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 զոռխլըները Չանախ-հալեն բիդի գոխեն, Բոլխսին վրա բիդի գան, քաղաքը
բիդի առնեն, մեզի թաքավորութիւն բիդի դան:

Ամմենը դեղերնուն վեր ցաթգեցին. ուրախութաննուն ի՞նչ ընելին չիդէն.
Հայգը բաշլայեց ծառքվըները իրարու զարնել. հարըս «Ա՛Քերիմ հայեր, ըսավ.
տեսա՞ր մի, գնիգ, էս քեզի չէի՞ ըսեր գոր քի աս դարի մո՛ւթլախա ազադութիւն
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 չիդէի»:

– Թող ըլլա՛, թող ըլլա՛. աս ձերութանս՝ բաց աշգօվ մէյ մը սա թաքավորնիս
դեսնամ դէ, բաշխա բան չեմ ուզեր Ասծուծմէ... հիչ բան մը չգըրնամ ըներ նէ՞
հիչ չէ նէ բիդի երթամ ասգերներուն համար փրինծ ըսդըգելու:

Հացրենիս գերանք, էս իմ օդաս քաշվեցա, հարս, մարս, քուրերս, ախբարս
ալ իրենց դեղերը քաշվեցան բառգեցան: Ամա վօրի՞ն քունը գը դանի: Աշգըս
բաց գը բեքլեմ գոր քի հա հիմա գուքան ինգիլիզները, հա հիմա:

Գէս քիշերը անցեր էր. մէյ մըն ալ բո՛ւմբ... ծան մը էլավ. մգիգ ըրի. ծանը
կըդրեցավ. աշաբա անդաջի՞ս եգավ գըսեմ. քիչ մը բեքլեցի, դեսա քի չէ,
բո՛ւմբ... ծան մը դահա էլավ. բո՛ւմ... գենէ եդեվեն, գենէ եդեվեն...: Ալթըխ շիւփէ
չմնաց:

Հարս անթիի օդայեն ծան դուվավ.

– Ձօ՛, Հրա՛յա, արթո՞ւն էս...:

– Արթուն էմ, հա՛յրիգ...:

– Գը լսէ՞ս գոր, ի՞նչ է աս...,

– Գը լսեմ գոր, անօ՛նք էն...:

Ձաները եդեվէ եդեվ շադձան. դեօշեգներնուն ցաթգեցինք, փենջիրէին առչեվը
վագեցինք, ծօվին հեռուները գը նայինք գոր... խօրունգէն եգած ծան մըն էր,
թամամ գրագին թօփին ծանը գըլմաներ... ծանէն յեթն ալ բարագ լուս մը գելար,
ծօվին վրայէն խըզըլըմի բէս գը զարներ գասներ գոր:

– Ինգիլիզին թօփերն էն, ըսինք. Չանախ-հալեն առին...:

– Է՛ Չանախ-հալէն մինչեվ հօս թօփի ծանա գուքա՞. քանի՞ սահաթվան
ջամփա-յ-է:

– Օր մը գը քաշէ ամա, ասօր ինգիլիգ գըսեն... ինգիլիզին ինչ ըլլալը գիդէ՞ս...

– Ադօր խօ՞սք գա. բեքի-ա քի (թերես եւ) Չանախ-հալեն առեր էն դէ. Սիլվ-
րիին յա Չաթալային բացերն էն:

– Ադանգ ըլլալու է:

Խնդումնիս փօրերնիս բահած, հեմ վախօվ, հեմ ուրախութիւնօվ սիրդերնիս
լեցունգ, ինչ ընենք չիդենք. աշվըներնիս ծօվին դնգեր գը բեքլենք գոր: Ձաները

Երթալօվ շաղձան... Մեյ մըն ալ մեզ օրօդում մը, մեզ գիւրիւլթիւ-փաթըրդը մը, խըզըլջըմ, սաղանախի բէս արգէվ մը, արգէվ մը քի դունէրնիս հեմէն դեղէն քշէ՝ դանի ձօվը լեցունէ բիդի: Արգէվին խըզէն օլուխները թէվէրու բէս նեղէլ բաշլայեցին, թավանին հին ու մին դեղերէն ջուրը շառըլ-շուռուլ գը վագէ, ասդին գօցէնք՝ անթին գը վագէ, անթին գօցէնք՝ ասդին գը վագէ:

– Առիօր մի հիմա ինգիլիզը, ըսավ հարըս:

Հեռույէն եգաձ ձաները օրօդումի ձան է եղեր, լուսն ա խըզըլջըմին իլէն չըմջը-րախին փառըլթըն... մենք ա ինգիլիզը եգավ ըսելէն՝ գը բեքլէէնք գօր:

Ինչ օր քեզի քրեցի նէ՝ մինազ 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 դունները լեցվէր 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 Բիւրակն [*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 Էֆ. Պաղտիկեան; [[*SEA*: /*tigran paɣtikjan*/, *SWA*: /*dik^hran bædigjan*/]]). 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 ɡots^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 օոցտ (standard: դուռը օոցտ)

[[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/ <է> (in all situations, except for the words in Table 1).

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /e/ <ե> to /je/ <յէ> in the Rodosto dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Rodosto | | cf. SEA | |
|--------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|------|-------------------|-----|
| ‘I’ | es | ես | jes | յէս | jes | ես |
| ‘when’ | erb | երբ | jep ^h | յէփ | jerp ^h | երբ |
| ‘song’ | erg | երգ | jerk ^h | յէրք | 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/ <ւօ> 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 /ɑj/ <ւյ> → /ɑ/ <ւ>
- CA /oj/ <ոյ> → /u/ <ու>
- CA /iu/ <իւ> → /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^hiyn/ <-ուփիւն>, the ablative is only a repeated /n/ <ւ> (Table 2).

Table 2: Ablative marking of nominalizer suffix from Classical Armenian /-ut^hiyn/ in the Rodosto dialect

| | ‘greatness’ | | ‘greatness (ABL)’ | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------------|--|--------------|
| Classical Armenian | metsut ^h iyn | մեծութիւն | metsut ^h en-ē | մեծութենէ |
| > Rodosto | | | mendzut ^h en-ne | մենծութենէ |
| cf. SWA | medzut ^h yn | մեծութիւն | 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 | յէթմիշ | <yetmiş> | jot ^h anasun | յոթանասուն |
| | ‘80’ | sek ^h sen | սէքսէն | <seksen> | ut ^h sun | ութսուն |
| | ‘90’ | doḡsan | դօխսան | <doksan> | innəsun | իննսուն |
| b. | ‘75’ | jet ^h mif bej | յէթմիշ բէշ | <yetmiş beş> | jot ^h anasun hiṅg | յոթանասուն հինգ |
| | ‘81’ | sek ^h sen bir | սէքսէն բիր | <seksen bir> | ut ^h sun mek | ութսուն մեկ |
| | ‘93’ | doḡsan vtj ^h | դօխսան իւշ | <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 | ինձի |
| dative 1PL 'to us' | mezi | մէզի |
| dative 2SG 'to you' | k ^h ezi | քեզի |
| dative 2PL 'to you' | ts ^h ezi | ցեզի |

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 <ներկայ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Rodosto dialect

| | Rodosto | | 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-Ø | զը սիրե | գə sir-e-Ø | կը սիրե |
| 1PL | գə sir-i-nk ^h | զը սիրինք | գə sir-e-ŋk ^h | կը սիրենք |
| 2PL | գə sir-e-k ^h | զը սիրեք | գə sir-e-k ^h | կը սիրեք |
| 3PL | գə sir-i-n | զը սիրին | գə 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'ուտեմ կօր |
| | 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 /ɑ/ <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 /-ɑ-/ 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-ɑ-k ^h | gə sir-e-ɑ-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 | գը սիրեալք | կը սիրեիլք |
| past perfective | sir-e-ts ^h -ɑ-k ^h | sir-e-ts ^h -ɑ-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).

(2) 'I will like'

- a. Rodosto
bədə sir-i-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
բըդը սիրիմ
- b. Rodosto
sir-i-m bədə
like-TH-1SG FUT
սիրիմ բըդը
- c. cf. SWA
bidi sir-e-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
պիտի սիրենմ

It shortens to /bəd/ <բըդ> next to vowels (3).

(3) 'I will do'

- a. Rodosto
bəd an-i-m
FUT do-TH-1SG
բըդ անիմ
- b. cf. SWA
bidi ən-e-m
FUT do-TH-1SG
պիտի ընենմ

The old ones² also have /bədər/ <բըդըր>, which originates from the CA form /piti ɔr/ <պիտի որ> 'it is necessary that' (4).

(4) a. 'I will like'

- i. Rodosto
bədər sir-i-m
FUT like-TH-1SG
բըդըր 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
պիտի սիրեմ
- b. 'I was going to like'
 - i. Rodosto
bədər sir-ej-i-Ø
FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
բըդըր սիրէի
 - ii. cf. SWA
bidi sir-ej-i-Ø
FUT like-TH-PST-1SG
պիտի սիրէի

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 (պր. 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 չէթելով (խումբ) Էլանք Իշէն քացանք. ջանփան ջուռջինանիս (մեր խեղկատակութիւն) շաղ դըյախ էր. արաբային եռչին ըռէյիզը նսդած էր. սահաթը քիշերվան ալ օխղն ու գեսը գար. ըռէյիզը թենջիտ մը դափուխան ցառքը փռնած...

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... էր. ան քանի՛ արաբան գերեա գօ նէ՝ իշդար մէջը յէլ գա նէ վրան քլօխը մէյ մը արավ: Ինչ է նէ. վէլասըլ (վերջապես) Աղային ախփուրը հասանք: Օնդօցը մեր արաբաջին իշգիւզարութիւն մ'անել ուզէց, մանդաներուն չըլքըրէն (սանձ) փռնէց, ի՛շդար դուվէթ ունէր նէ՝ քաշէց էշօլլուն: Գուզէ՞ս արաբան բաթմիշ ըլլա չամուրին մէջը Մանդաները բաթմիշ էղան, բօյուրդուրիշը (լուծ) գօյրէցավ,

մենք ըսես նե՝ ամեննիս ա մեզիգ մեզիգ՝ փաչերնիս սօթղած՝ չափուռ չուփուռ չուրերեն թուս էլանք: Հիմա բաշլեյեցանք Չիրիշին փօթուռին դալայը գօխել (հայհոյել): Չիրիշ ըսածս ա՝ դաթըր մը գա նե վերը՝ ան հայվանս է: Ի՞նչ է նե. չերգընցընինք, բերեքեթ աս արաբաջիին առխադաշը՝ Չըմբըռն ալ մեզդեղ եր: Շը՛փդիյի (իսկոյն) անօր է եօքիզներուն բոյունդուրուխները աս մերինին թախմիշ արանք. աս էշօղլու ալ գենե գօյրեցալ: Յեթքը քացանք քօվի հարմանեն բօյունդուրուխ մը քերվեցանք (ծծկ. գողնալ): Բերեքեթ անօր վօր մեզ գեօլեն սելամեթը հանեց: Աթըխ ջանփանիս ըռահաթ ըռահաթ քացանք: Լաքին քիշ մ՛անթին գուզէ՞ս բայիրեն վար թախըր թուխըր արաբան թօնգօլեցալ, թեքիրլախին մեզը գօյրեցալ...:

33.4.2 Sample 2

– Ձե Արթին, վո՞րդե գուքաս գոր: Շադօնց է քեզ դեսած չէյի:

- Հօ՞ս էյի վօր դեսնայիր:
- Հաբա վո՞րդ էիր:
- Չիյդէ՞ս... Բօլիս չէյի՞ յա՛:
- Յէ՞փ քացիր:

– Ջա՛նըմ. Ըսթանբօլեն բօսթանջի մը եգեր եր մալ առնելու համար, յես խանդըրմիշ արալ՝ ըսալ քի «աս դարի խարփուզը վերը աղեգ գը փռնըվի գօր»։ շիյդագը հէ՛մեն հավդըցա: Երգու խայրիս փռնեցի, խարփուզները լեցուցի, յալլաի Ըսթանբօլ: Իրիզվան թեմ, սահաթը սանգ գեսի վրա եր, ջանփա էլանք: Ինչվանք Երեյիլի փացերը ըռահաթ քացանք: Է՛հ, իշդե մուբը աղեգ մը գօխած եր՝ մեյ մըն ա խըյախ լօդօս մը բաշլայեց փչել... Հիմա ի՞նչ անինք... Բերեքեթ խափդաննիս իւշիւզար մարթ եր. Շաշըրմիշ չարալ. դիւմենին քլօխը անցած՝ խայրիսը աղեգ քշեց. անագ վօր գիւքբելեգիւջ ինքըզինքնիս Սիրիվլի նեղեցինք: Ան քիշերը հօն լուսցուցանք. Երթեսի օրը ուզած հավանիս քղանք, ...

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... քանի մը սահթըվան մէջ Ըսթանբօլ՝ Սանդըք-Բուրուն Երգաթ նեղեցինք: Ինչ է նե, էլանք, խարփուզները բարբեցանք: Եգու դես քի, ի՞նչ փիյացա... չըսէ՞ս քի հարցունօղ Էղա՞վ մի... մէեր իսէ աս դարի հիվընդութին գա ըսելօվ՝ ժողօվուրթը վախցուցեր ին, անմեն մարթ խարթուզ ուղելը գը վախսա գօ. անագ վօր իրեք հարու հիսսուն խուռուշ գէնօվ ցեռվընուս դէՖ արինք քացալ:

– Է, հիմա ի՞նչ բըդ անես:

– Ի՞նչ բըդ տնիմ... գենէ յես իմ թեռլիքջութանս նայիմ. ա՛խփար, գէնաաթեն աղեգ փան գա՞. «գէնաաթը Էմաս բիլեգիգ է» ըսեր ին նե՝ բօշ դեղը չէ՛ յա՛: Չաթեն Էռչի վարբեդս ա յես դեսածին բես՝ գենէ քօվը գանչեց, յեթմիշ բէշ խուռուշ հաֆթալըխօվ: Ի՞նչ մէխքըս բահիմ. նօրեն 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 պանիր կոխեցինք.
Ով կերաւ՝ արմեցաւ,
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/ <ɥ> | /u/ <ɯ> |
| /e/ <ɛ> | /ə/ <ɐ> | /o/ <ɔ> |
| | | /ɑ/ <ɰ> |

The sound /y/ <ɥ> 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/ <ե>. 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 (ր՛).

[[It is unclear to me what Adjarian perceived as this weak rhotic symbol <ր՛>; I suspect he means the rhotic is lenited somehow. Note that he doesn't later use this symbol in his transcriptions anyway. (?)]]

This sound ր՛ 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 | zek ^h | ժեք | jerek ^h , irek ^h | երեք, իրեք |
| ‘they (NOM)’ | iyrɛank ^h | իւրեանք | zenk ^h | ժէնք | irenj ^h | իրենք |
| ‘their (GEN)’ | iyrɛants ^h | իւրեանց | zents ^h | ժէնց | irents ^h | իրենց |

¹*[[For the word ‘halted’, Adjarian uses the verb <կաղայ> 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/ <շ> (Table 3).

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /r/ <ր> to /f/ <շ> in the Crimea dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Crimea | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| ‘to go’ | ert ^h al | երթալ | eft ^h al | էշթալ | jert ^h al | երթալ |
| ‘man’ | mar ^d | մարդ | maq ^t h | մաշթ | mar ^t h | մարդ |
| ‘skin’ | mort ^h | մորթ | moft ^h i | մոշթի | 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 մինկ, մէնկ | duk ^h դուկ | nak ^h a նաքա |
| GEN | im իմ | k ^h u քու | nara նարա | mer մէր | dzer ծէր | nats ^h a նաքա |
| DAT-ACC | əndzi ընծի | k ^h ezi քէզի | naran նարան | mezi մէզի | dzezi ծէզի | nats ^h a նաքա |
| ABL | əndzi-men ընծիմէն | k ^h ezi-men քէզիմէն | nara-men նարամէն | mezi-men մէզիմէն | dzezi-men ծէզիմէն | nats ^h a-men նաքամէն |
| INS | əndzi-mov ընծիմօվ | k ^h ezi-mov քէզիմօվ | nara-mov նարամօվ | mezi-mov մէզիմօվ | dzezi-mov ծէզիմօվ | nats ^h a-mov նաքամօվ |

[[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)rort^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-əft ^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 /tsʰnʉl/ <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-tsʰə-n-u-l | անցընւլ | an-tsʰə-n-e-l | անցընել |
| ‘to ask’ | har-tsʰə-n-u-l | հարցընւլ | har-tsʰə-n-e-l | հարցնել |
| ‘to melt (trans.)’ | hal-e-tsʰ-n-u-l | հալեցնւլ | hal-e-tsʰ-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-Ø | սիրե | sir-e-Ø | 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-Ø | սիրեի | sir-ej-i-Ø ‘(if) I liked’ | սիրեի |
| 2SG | sir-e-i-r | սիրեիր | sir-ej-i-r | սիրեիր |
| 3SG | sir-e-Ø-r | սիրեր | sir-e-Ø-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 <անկատար> | |
|-----|--|-------------|--|--------------|
| 1SG | k ^h ə sir-i-m ‘I like’ | քը սիրիմ | k ^h ə sir-e-i-Ø ‘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-Ø | քը սիրե | k ^h ə sir-e-Ø-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-Ø ‘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-Ø | բիդի սիրե | bidi sir-e-Ø-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-Ø | սիրիլ է | sir-el e-Ø | սիրել է |
| 1PL | sir-il i-nk ^h | սիրիլ ինք | sir-el e-ŋk ^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 <զերակատար> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

| | Crimea | | cf. SEA | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1SG | sir-il e-i-Ø | սիրիլ էի | sir-el ej-i-Ø ‘I had liked’ | սիրել էի |
| 2SG | sir-il e-i-r | սիրիլ էիր | sir-el ej-i-r | սիրել էիր |
| 3SG | sir-il e-Ø-r | սիրիլ էր | sir-el e-Ø-r | սիրել էր |
| 1PL | sir-il e-i-nk ^h | սիրիլ էինք | sir-el ej-i-ŋk ^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 $/\widehat{ts^h}/$, 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 <կատարեալ> of the verb ‘to like’ in the Crimea dialect

| | Crimea | | cf. SWA | |
|-----|---|----------|---|----------|
| 1SG | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ | սիրեցի | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-}\emptyset$ ‘I liked’ | սիրեցի |
| 2SG | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-r}$ | սիրեցիր | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-r}$ | սիրեցիր |
| 3SG | $\text{sir-i-ts}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset$ | սիրից | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset$ | սիրեց |
| 1PL | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-nk}^h$ | սիրեցինք | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-}\eta k^h$ | սիրեցինք |
| 2PL | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-k}^h$ | սիրեցիք | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-k}^h$ | սիրեցիք |
| 3PL | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-n}$ | սիրեցին | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-i-n}$ | սիրեցին |
| | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-AGR}}$ | | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-PST-AGR}}$ | |

34.3.3.2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

[[For the imperative 2SG, SWA adds a zero morph $/-\emptyset/$ after the theme vowel $/e/$ for a verb like ‘to like’ (Table 16). For the 2PL, SWA adds the sequence $/-e\widehat{ts^h}\text{-ek}^h/$ after the root such that $/-e\widehat{ts^h}/$ 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 | $\text{sir-e-}\emptyset$ | սիրե | $\text{sir-e-}\emptyset$ | սիրե | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-IMP.2SG}}$ |
| 2PL | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-ek}^h$ | սիրեցեք | $\text{sir-e-ts}^h\text{-ek}^h$ | սիրեցեք | $\sqrt{\text{-TH-AOR-IMP.2PL}}$ |

[[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 | մի՛ սիրիլ | mí sir-e-r | մի՛ սիրեր |
| | PROH $\sqrt{-}$ TH-? | | PROH $\sqrt{-}$ TH-2SG | |
| 2PL | mí sir-i-k ^h | մի՛ սիրիք | mí sir-e-k ^h | մի՛ սիրեք |
| | PROH $\sqrt{-}$ TH-2PL | | PROH $\sqrt{-}$ 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 | $\sqrt{-}$ TH-INF |
| Past | սևցեալ | sir-il | սիրիլ | sir-el | սիրել | $\sqrt{-}$ PERF.CVB |
| | | sir-adz | սիրած | sir-ats | սիրած | $\sqrt{-}$ RPTCP |
| Future | ապանի | sir-e-l-u | սիրելլ | sir-e-l-u | սիրելլ | $\sqrt{-}$ 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. Պետերբ. 1893. Մանաւանդ Գ. հտ. Ռոստով, 1904
 - Տիգրանեան Գ. – Առածք, ասացուածք եւ գրոյցք Նոր-Նախիջեւանի. 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 /ɾ/ <ր> sound. After checking in New Nakhichevan, I have rendered it into scientific orthography.

Ագիաթի հայերուն դունը մեզ խուջուռ բան է. մեզի բես ագբար (բակ) չունին. նացա դուներեն թեփեն դեղինի բես դիւս է. սիրդերը նեզանա նը՝ գերթան, թռռայներու բեսնազ՝ դուներուն թեփեն գը նըսդին. .

Նացա հացի փուռն ալ – անունը գիդէի ամա՝ մօռցիլ իմ – խուջուռ բան է. ագբարին օրթան, շադերուն ալ դուներուն մէշը, մեքամ գուլօր փօս քը փօրին, մէշը սըվա գանին, շդէ դացա փուռը: Հաց էփելու լան նը՝ իդա փօսին մէշը նօմայ չօր փադ, խօռայ (չոր խոիւ) գուլուն, դագեն գը բըռընդեցնուն, յեթգեն գառնուն խոււօրը աղի փուռին բադերուն գը ձեթին. շդէ իմացիր դացա հացին ֆասօնը. – ադեթօվ լաթ, մեղայասծու մեղա: Ադ դահա հէչ: Փուռին հացը գը ժողօդին նը՝ քը հանին վրայի աղդօդ շարիգները վարդիգները, իդա փուռին մէշը քը թօթվին,

օչիլները քը թափթփին մէջը, ուռնի (ոլոռն) բեսնագ չըթըռ չըթըռ գը բօհըրվին. աս ալ դացա լըվացքն է. թի՛ւֆ... շաղ մունդառ հալիս ին իդա ազիաթի հայերը...

Քաթըայի հայը ա՛սլը ջիւնաբէթ է. մերերէն շաղ վար է. մերը բարեմ մարթու սըրա մարթ ին. նաքա՝ ինա մաջառ-...

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... արաբայով խըրըմէն նօղայներ քուքաննը՝ աղէթով նաքա ին. երեսները խաչ չի հանին նը՝ հայ եղածները բէլի յալ չէ՛... Փամի՛լը, հեղները թեմիզ հայնագ գալաջի գանիս՝ չին հասքընալ. վսեռավսօ իսա բաղը. գօռնի բես երեսը գը նայէ «խաբար չիմ» իմիշ. գօյա գուզէ ասելու քի՛ ասածըդ չիմ հասքընար... գընա գըդիր նարա լիւզիւյօվ ի՞նչ ասել է «էճը ձօրը ընգել ա, գելը եգել ա գերել ա». գօյա գուզէ ասելու քի աճը հէնդէքը ինգիլ է, գալը իգիլ է նարան գերիլ է... երեսդ խավարի. հայնագ ասա – դա. աճին ինչո՞ւ էձ գասիս – օր, թըլվադ բերն. փօյա՛մը աճ ասա – դա. ձօրըս վօ՞րն է, հէնդէք ասիս նը չի՞լալ. «եգել ա գէրել ա». ֆռանցուզնա՞գ գալաջի գանիս՝ ի՞նչ է. եգիլ է գերիլ է ասիս նը՝ անգից աղէզ չէ՞ ինչ. բարեմ թեմիզ հայնագ է խօմ... Շդէ սիրես խենթ ին... Նաքա ֆօղ չին ասիլ՝ խօղ գասին. հավօղ չին ասիլ՝ խաղօղ գասին. խույի չին ասիլ՝ ջըրիօր գասին. չիչագ չին ասիլ՝ ծաղիգ գասին. շա՛շխըն, հէչ չիչագը ծաղէգ գըլա՞. ծաղէգը ան է, վօր երաձ փաղէն յա թէգաքէն գը մընա. ան՝ բաշչային մէջի էլլաճը չիչագ է. վօրի՞ն գուզիս հարցուր. թեմիզ հայնագ է...

Էնչամը, շդէ ասրես փօռթիթ արիլ ին իրենց լիւզիւն. ամրես օր՝ ամիսներօվ հեղերը բիդի գէնաս, լիւզիւդ ալայ-մալայ բիդի ձըռմըռդըիս, վօր գուդօր-մուրդօր բան գըրնաս հասքըցնելու...

Երգու շափաթ երեվան գեցա, ասվածային իր օրը հեղերը ջենգ գանէի, թեմիզ հայնագ քը սօրվեցնէի իդա մունդառ ազիաթներուն...

Ի՛նչբէս ախըռ փաթլամիշ չիլաս. մեմը իդա ալեվալէներուն նայէ. մարթ չին հավնիլ. մարթու վրա քը խընդան. իլլէքի մեր Նաշնուվանցիներուն վրան՝ դա՛յմա քը խընդան. իմիշ՝ մենք 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 (S. 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 կուզենայ 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). (?)]]

Մեկ օր մը թագաւորը էլած ատենը չեօլին մէջ մէկ հատ ծեր մարդ կը տեսնէ Նստիլ է՝ փատ կը ճղտէ եղիլ է: Թագաւորը կը մօտիկնայ քովը ու կը հարցունէ.

- Հոս ի՞նչ կանխ:
- Ի՞նչ անիմ, ասից ծերը, խամբէր կը պաժնիմ: Թագաւորը կը հարցունէ.
- Խամբէր ի՞նչես կը պաժնիս:
- Տեսօքը չիրքինին կուտամ, ֆխարէն զենկինին: Թագաւորը կը հարցունէ.
- Իմիս աջկանս խամբէրը վո՞վ է:
- Զուկդդ աղջկան խամբէրը քու տունիդ խզմէքքեր Արաբն է:

Թագաւորին սիրտը կելլէ. կուգայ տուն, միտը կանէ թէ՛ ի՞նչես Արաբին հեռացունէ տեյին: Վերջը մէկ գիր կը գրէ ու կուտայ Արաբին ու կասէ. «Տա՛ր իսա Ասծուն տուր»: Նա եալ կառնէ կելլէ կերթայ: Արաբը էրթցած 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՞ւր 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՞ւր տեղ կերթաս:
- Ասծու կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ճանըս, կասէ կուրը, ասա՛ Ասծուն, մինչուանքի ե՞րբ պիտի. Նստիմ թոստըղանը (պղնձէ թաս) դիմացս: - Արաբը կելնէ կերթայ ու գնացած ատենը կը տեսնէ մէկ մարդ թէք չամուռը պաթած կեցիլ է ու կը հարցունէ Արաբին.

- Վո՞ւր տեղ կերթաս:
- Ասծու կերթամ, կասէ Արաբը:
- Ճանըս, ա՛խպարս, կասէ ադ մարդը. ասա՛ Ասծուն՝ ...

... մինչուանքի ե՞րբ աս տեղը պիտ կենամ. արդիւն 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՞ւր 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 սիւսթը 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 նե, 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'աղեկնայ: 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, պուլիւս 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 *Beitrage zur Armenischen Dialectologie* (Hanusz 1889). I myself studied the dialect of Suceava in the Բազմալեզու [*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/ <է> | /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/ | /aʊ/ |
| <իւ> | read as <ի'ւ> /íu/ | /iʊ/ |
| <օւ> | read as <օ'ւ> /óu/ | /oʊ/ |
| <է> | read as <իէ'> /ié/ | /iɛ/ |
| <իէւ> | read as <իյէ'ւ> /ijéu/ | /iɛʊ/ |
| <իը> | read as <ի'յը> /ijə/ | /iə/ |

[[Note that for the digraph <իւ>, Adjarian treated this as /iʊ/ for Classical Armenian, and as /y/ for the previous dialects. But for the Austria-Hungary dialect, he treats <իւ> as /iɛ/.]]

Among these, the <աւ> and <իւ> represent the Old Armenian <աւ, իւ> diphthongs: /aʊ, iʊ/ (Table 3).

Table 3: Emergence of /aʊ/ <աւ> and /iʊ/ <իւ> in the Austria-Hungary dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Austria-Hungary | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|--------------------|----------|
| 'pain' | ts ^h aʊ | gaw | tsaʊ | gaw | ts ^h av | gaw |
| 'honor' | patiʊ | qawathil | badiʊ | ɸawthil | pativ | qawathil |

The symbol <Է> represents the vowel <Է> /ĕ/, such as in the dialects of Mush and Van. But here the system is incomplete because the diphthong <n> (read <նւօ՛> /uó/) ([[*meaning* /ւօ/]]) is missing.

The Suceava sound <իը> /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/ <իը> in the Austria-Hungary dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Austria-Hungary | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-------------------|--------|---------|------|
| ‘heart’ | sirt | սիրտ | síərd | սի՛ըրդ | 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 /-ĭer, -nĭer/ <եր, ներ>, but there is also the formative /-sdan/ <սղսն>, such as in the Karin dialect. The accusative always takes the preposition /z/ <q>.¹ The instrumental formative is /-oŋ/ <օլ> instead of the form /-ov/ <նվ>.

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՛ուն | mink ^h մինք | d ^h uk ^h դ՛ուք |
| GEN | zim զիմ | zk ^h u զքու | mĭer մեր | dz ^h ĭer ճ՛եր |
| DAT | indzi ինձի | k ^h ezi քեզի | mezi մեզի | dz ^h ezi ճ՛եզի |
| ACC | zis զիս | sk ^h ies սքեզ | smĭez սմեզ | sdz ^h ĭez սճ՛եզ |
| ABL | zim-me զիմմե | zk ^h u-me զքումմե | mer-me մերմե | dz ^h ez-me ճ՛եզմե |
| INS | indzi hed ինձի հեդ | k ^h ezi hed քեզի հեդ | mĭer hed մեր հեդ | dz ^h ĭez 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 | իկքը | ironk ^h | իրօկք |
| GEN-DAT | irĭen | իրեն | irĭents ^h | իրենց |
| ACC | zink ^h ə | զիկքը | zironk ^h | զիրօկք |
| ABL | irenme | իրենմէ | irents ^h me | իրենցմէ |
| INS | irĭen hed | իրեն հէդ | irents ^h moյ | իրենցմօլ |

[[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 | ադօկք, 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)/ <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 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 | qh սիրիմ | gə sir-e-m ‘I like’ | կը սիրեմ |
| 2SG | gi sir-i-s | qh սիրիս | gə sir-e-s | կը սիրես |
| 3SG | gi sir-e-∅ | qh սիրէ | gə sir-e-∅ | կը սիրէ |
| 1PL | gi sir-i-nk ^h | qh սիրինք | gə sir-e-ŋk ^h | կը սիրենք |
| 2PL | gi sir-i-k ^h | qh սիրիք | gə sir-e-k ^h | կը սիրեք |
| 3PL | gi sir-i-n | qh 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-Ø | գի սիրէի | gə sir-ej-i-Ø ‘I would like’ | կը սիրէի |
| 2SG | gi sir-e-i-s | գի սիրէիս | gə sir-ej-i-r | կը սիրէիր |
| 3SG | gi sir-e-Ø-r | գի սիրէր | gə sir-e-Ø-r | կը սիրէր |
| 1PL | gi sir-e-i-nk ^h | գի սիրէինք | gə sir-ej-i-ŋk ^h | կը սիրէինք |
| 2PL | gi sir-e-i-k ^h | գի սիրէիք | gə sir-ej-i-k ^h | կը սիրէիք |
| 3PL | gi sir-e-i-n | գի սիրէին | gə sir-ej-i-n | կը սիրէին |
| | 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/ <բիդոր>. 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 <ապանի> 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’ | պիտի սիրեմ |
| 2SG | bidor sir-i-s | բիդոր սիրիս | bidi sir-e-s | պիտի սիրես |
| 3SG | bidor sir-e-Ø | բիդոր սիրե | bidi sir-e-Ø | պիտի սիրե |
| 1PL | bidor sir-i-nk ^h | բիդոր սիրինք | bidi sir-e-դk ^h | պիտի սիրենք |
| 2PL | bidor sir-i-k ^h | բիդոր սիրիք | bidi sir-e-k ^h | պիտի սիրեք |
| 3PL | bidor sir-i-n | բիդոր սիրին | bidi sir-e-n | պիտի սիրեն |
| FUT $\sqrt{-}$ TH-AGR | | | FUT $\sqrt{-}$ TH-AGR | |
| Austria-Hungary (Hungary) | | | cf. SWA | |
| 1SG | bi sir-i-m | բի սիրիմ | bidi sir-e-m ‘I will like’ | պիտի սիրեմ |
| 2SG | bi sir-i-s | բի սիրիս | bidi sir-e-s | պիտի սիրես |
| 3SG | bi sir-e-Ø | բի սիրե | bidi sir-e-Ø | պիտի սիրե |
| 1PL | bi sir-i-nk ^h | բի սիրինք | bidi sir-e-դk ^h | պիտի սիրենք |
| 2PL | bi sir-i-k ^h | բի սիրիք | bidi sir-e-k ^h | պիտի սիրեք |
| 3PL | bi sir-i-n | բի սիրին | bidi sir-e-n | պիտի սիրեն |
| FUT $\sqrt{-}$ TH-AGR | | | FUT $\sqrt{-}$ 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-Ø, 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-Ø | սիրիլ էի |
| 2SG | sir-il i-s | սիրիլ իս | sir-il e-i-s | սիրիլ էիս |
| 3SG | sir-il e-Ø | սիրիլ է | sir-il e-Ø-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
 - * – Դրաստիլուանիոյ հայոց մետրապոլիսը, Վեննա. 1896
 - * – Հայք յեղիսաբերուպոլիս, 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 բռնայերէն), whose lexicon is only Romani (բռնայերէն), 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 Kay-nayian (Տէր Կարապետ Կայնայեան; [[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. Նումայ բ'ուրիջները ինծի բ'օգ'օյ չին դուլի. հիմբի (հիմայ) ո՞րախ (ուր) բիդօր էրթաս. Ի՞նչ բիդօր անիս աղէս (այդպէս) գանուխ:
 – Բեդգ' է էրթամ բ'օշդ'ան, վօր դ'էլեգրաֆ անիմ:
 – Ի՞նչ դ'էլեգրաֆ:
 – Նեբ'օդ'ըս գ'ըրիլ է ինծի `թէ աս օրերուն գուգէ մեր մօդ իգ'ալու. ու գուգէ համ ըգհարսը բ'երէ վօր ասդեղ փսագվէն: Դերդերը ինծի ասիլ է գ'օ չի գարոնա գիրենք փսագվելու, իլալլօս վօր ասքեր (ազգական) ին. հիմբի գուգիմ դ'էլեգրաֆադ' անիլու, վօր չիքա, գուրի (իգուր) խարջ անէ մըսքինը (խեղճ). գափսըսնա՛մ շադ վօր աթ խըդա՛րը խարջ արիլ է: Բ'օյօր բ'անը հադի՛ըր էր. քըրչերը հադի՛ըր էին. մուգիգ'անթները վարցած էին. ռամեցեքի բիլեդ'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' անիւնք. յէ խընդ'րիւնք վոր բ'օզվօլիդ' անիւն. յէ ամմէն բ'անը բաղմիւնք դ'էլեգրաֆի մէշ. թէ բ'օլորը հաղի'ըր ին. բ'օզվօլիդ' անէ քահանայուն վոր աս անգ'ամը փսագէ:

– Աղէգ է. անիւնք. ի'նչ խըղար ժամանագի մէշ գըլա բաղասիսանը իգ'ալու օրընծեդ':

– Ասոր հինքշափթի յէ. ինչֆա'նի շաբ'աթ օր գըլա բաղասիսանը իլա ի հօս:

Ուրբ'աթ իրգուն գը հանդըբին իրենք ա'վըշ:

– Բ'արիգուն. է', ի'նչ է խաբարը. բաղասիսան 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 ինծի. ծանուցումները 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 ծանուցումները գանէ, յէ գեսավօր յէդէլ փսագ:

– Չօր աղէգ է. հիմբի նայէ նումայ վոր օզգա բ'աները հաղի'ըր իլան. խաղալու սալօնը արանժա'դ' է. բ'օղիալները վըգ'սուլի'դ' ին:

– Հա'բա, բ'օլոր բ'անը հաղի'ըր ին. նումայ չիյդիմ ըզվօ' խըրգիմ իրենք դ'ի-մաց վաման վոր նըգ'ըժիդ' չանին գիրօնք:

– Խըրգէ ըզվերի Գ'օգ'օրը (Գրիգոր). իլլալու վոր ինքը ջանջ'ֆօրներ ունէ:

– Աղէգ գասիս. գինքը գը խընդ'րիմ վոր էրթա:

Երդուսում օրը՝ շաբ'աթ օր ա'վըշ 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 վօջ մէգ աժուդ'օր մը:

– Նումայ համբ'երութիւն, բ'ա'րեգամ, բ'օլոր բ'անը գի դ'առնա. թօխ գամաց. քանո'ւմ սահաթն է փսագը:

– Վեցին:

Բ'ախդ'ը (ամուսին) դուն գուգ'ա յէգ գնգանը հեդ աղէս գը գուրուցէ.

– Է՛ Ռուժիգ', հաղդընվի'ըր... հարսնիքը մո'լգիգ'ը ուժէ գի փչէ. բեդգ' է էրթանք:

– Յես հաղի'ըր իմ. դ'ուն ալ չուսդ' (շուտ) սեւ քըրչերըդ' հաքի'ըր. յէ մընու-շաները հանէ շուֆլադէն. յէ դ'իքը գ'օնջուգը վոր չի մօռնաս:

– Ռո'ւժիգ', դ'ուն վօ'ր բօդ'իւնները 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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շէբ՛ը շաղ յերգան Է. բեղգ՛ էր զինքը գ՛ռեօյդ՛օրին դաս՝ վօր զըդրէ:

– Դ՛ո՛ն ինչ գ՛իդիս. ասբէս Է մօդան. խրգէ չուսդ՛ ֆիագ՛րին դէվանց վօր իգ՛ա:

– Զալէ՛... ֆիագ՛րը գի բ՛օհէ (սպասել):

Էրգուսն ա՛ գի նըսդին ֆիագ՛րի մէջ, յէ գերթան հարսնիքին դունը:

– Բ՛արօւ Էգիլ իք:

– Գը շընաֆօրինք. Ասված դա խըսմըթօւ ու դօլվըթօւ իլա:

– Շընօրհագալ ինք. դառօսը հեմ ձ՛եր զավագացը գ՛օլօջ՛ին... ռամէցէք. խընդ՛րիմ, ռամէցէք ա՛լ վեր, խաշլումօրը քօւ:

– Դ՛եռ չի՞ն Էրթա փըսագ:

– Ա՛ս բաս (այս պահուս). նումայ քահանան իգ՛ա... հա՛, քահանան Էգիլ Է. Է՛, ռամէցէք, դ՛ըրըսուրաները զօ բ՛օհին. առաչի դ՛ըրըսուրային մէջ գերթա քահանան, յէ բիքա իրիցգ՛ինը. Էրգուսումին մէջ հարսը խաշլու մօրը հեդ. իրէքումին մէջ փեսան խաշլովին հեդ. յեղգ՛ը մեգալօնք. գի խընդ՛րինք վօր բ՛րեջ՛է դ՛ըրըր-սուրաներօւ Էրթան, զէ (գի) գան դիսդ՛ու:

Գամաց գամաց սերէ դասը գամ դասնըհինգ դ՛ըրըսուրառընդօւ ժամ գերթան, յէ փսագը գի զըցէ. փսագէն ալվըշ հարսինը դունը գերթան յէ հարգըվէլուն Էդէվանց գի զըցին սդ՛օլները փռելու. յէ գի դ՛ըրվին մուսաֆիրները սդ՛օլ. գի հասգըցվի վօր հարսը յէ փեսան սդ՛օլէն ջագադը յէ իրենց դէվանց խաշլուն ու խաշլումարը. անօր դէվանց բ՛րեջ՛ը ռընդօւ. հիմբի գի զըցին բ՛արեգենացները:

– Չօր բիդօր անգ՛ընվի (ուշանաւ) սդ՛օլը. քանի՞ յէ սահադ՛ը:

– Ուժէ ինը անցիլ Է:

– Բ՛եղգ՛ Է խընդ՛րինք գքահանան վօր ա՛լ չուսդ՛ անէ. սըլիդ՛ անէ բ՛արեգենացներօվը, իլալու վօր դըղաները ուժէ չունին համբ՛երոթյուն:

– Ունին ժամանագ համ խաղալու դիսդ՛ու, ինչֆանի առվադու:

– Ա՛հ, աս Է յեղգ՛ի բ՛արեգենացը. գի լըմընցվի սդ՛օլը:

– Շնօրհագալ ինք:

– Խնըդ՛րիմ թօղություն:

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– Հիմբի ի՛նչ գանինք. գերթանք սալօնը. մո՛ւզիգ՛ը զըցիլ Է փչելու... դիսդ՛ու մեծ Է սալօնը. ու ռինդ լումինադ՛ Է, դառը զօր դաք Է. դըղաները չին իմանա. գուքֆի (կը թուի) թէ չին դիսնու ու չին լսի օգգա բ՛ան իքմընա (իմն ինչ): Ասբէս ին դղաները, գի բ՛ըռնի՞ս միդը՛ յեփ դ՛ուն ա դղա էիս. յէ գի խաղան յեփ վալց, յեփ գ՛ադրիլ, յեփ հօ՛րա: Հիմբի գուզին մագուր խաղալու. վօ՞ արանժադ՛ գանէ:

– Ինձի գուքֆի թէ աղաչա Օվանեսը զօր ռինդ մագուր արանժադ՛ արիլ Է. դարը ալվըշ վալց գուզին խաղալու. բեղգ՛ Է անգ՛ան իլա:

– Սահադ՛ը չօրս Է. յէ դ՛րուսդըս (դուստր) չուզէ Էրթալու. ամմէնը գի խնդ՛րէ ա՛լա (Է՛լի) քիչ մը, ա՛լա քիչ մը. ու զօր դ՛րուդիդ՛ իմ:

– Աղես 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 փո-
խին. դարը հիմբի գերթանք... Նայեցէ՛ք դղաք, հաքընըվեցէք աղեգ. փաթըվէ' Հը-
ռէփսիա... Գա'րաբեդ, հաքի'ըր ըՄիբըրցի'ըրըր, վօր չի բաղիս. քըրդընաճ էս...
հիմբի առնունք բ'արօւ մնա դան մադ'իգ'օցը մօդէ... 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` շատ
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'էլեգրաֆ. ռմ. telegraf` հեռագիր
7. Նեբ'օդ'. ռմ. nepot` հօրեղբորորդի
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. câpitania՝ թաղապետութիւն
17. Արանժադ՛. նմ. aranjat՝ կարգաւորեալ
18. Բ՛օդիալ. նմ. podeal՝ տախտակ
19. Վըգ՛սուփդ՛. նմ. vacsuit՝ մոմած
20. Վամա. նմ. vama՝ մաքսատուն
21. Նըգ՛ըժիդ՛. նմ. necajit՝ նեղել
22. Վերի. նմ. ver հօրեղբօրորդի
23. Աժուդ՛օր. նմ. ajut0r՝ օգնական
24. Ռուժիգ՛. լեհ. Ruza՝ Վարդուհի
25. Սուզիգ՛. գերմ. Musik՝ նուագ
26. Ուժէ. լեհ. uze՝ արդէն
27. Մնուշա. նմ. manusa՝ ձեռնոց
28. Շուֆլադ. նմ. sufladâ՝ դարան
29. Գ՛օնջուզ՛՝ գրպան
30. Բօդ՛ին. 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՛ռէօյդ՛օր. նմ. croitoriu՝ դերձակ
36. Ֆիագ՛ր. գերմ. fiacker՝ կառք
37. Գ՛օլօջ՛՝ գլուխ
38. Դ՛րըսուրա. նմ. trasura՝ կառք
39. Բիքա՝ տիկին (լեհ. կամ հունգ.)

40. Խաշլու՝ կնքահայր
41. Խաշլումար՝ կնքամայր
42. Բ՛րեջ՛Է՝ բոլոր
43. Դիսդ՛ուկ. ռմ. distul՝ բաւական
44. Ռընդ. ռմ. rōndu՝ կարգ
45. Սդ՛օլ. լեհ. stol՝ սեղան
- _____ original page number 278 _____
46. Սլիդ՛. ռմ. salit՝ շտապել
47. Լումինադ՛. ռմ. luminat՝ լուսաւոր
48. Դարը. ռմ. dara՝ բայց
49. Դ՛րուդիդ՛. ռմ. truditu՝ յոգնած
50. Սվըրշիդ՛. ռմ. 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 իմ նա՝ ձեզի կի թողում: Ապրեցէք միամիտ, հանդարտ ու մէկտեղ: Չի բաժնըվիք մէկը մէկալէն, գերամ բաժնըված կարող չի պիլաք մեծ արուտուր անելու: Ըզձերը մի թողուք. ըզօզկայինը մի կամենաք: Կանուխ ելեցէք, արաջը ժամ գընացէք, պատարագ լսելու. անոր էտեվանց բացեցէք պօլ: Թէ որ մէկ օրը տասը կրօշ վաստընկիլ իք նա, միայն ուրը խարճեցէք: Երբ շոգոտող (տօնաւաճառ) 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: Սիրեցեք զԱստված, բըրնեցեք ըզիրեն պատվիրանքները, եղեցեք ողորմասիրտ: Պահեցեք ըզիմ անունը ու յիշատակը. ու տերն մերը, ում դիմաց հիմպիկ կերթամ, պի օրհնե զձեզ:

Ճորով թաղիլ ին ըզմեռածը, մեծ աղբարը մորցըվիլ է վողորմած հոգի հոյրը խօսքերուն վրայեն ու վարիլ է տանեն ըզպիզտիկը: Չի տուվի իրեն իքմըն ալ, միայն մեկ կով մը: Զիչ ժամանակի վրա զան ալ ետ ուզիլ է: Չի տուվի նա, դատըստընով արիլ է: Հիմպիկ աղքատ աղբարը կառնու ըզաշխարհը ափը. ու ճամփա կելէ: Կի երթա շատ ու քիչ: Կի կաննի ու մեկ ծարի մը տակ կի հանգչի:

Կուգա երկու ագրաւ ու ան ծարինը կի նըստին կի կըցին զուրուցելու:

- Ի՞նչ նոր կա ձեր երկիրը:
- Կի մերինն մարդիքը ծարվուն:

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– Եշտ (հեշտ) պիլար ատորը աջողելու, թէ որ պազարը մեկ փըս մը փըրէին. ու մեկ ծիաւոր 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 մեկ գորտ մը, թէ որ անոր եղովը քըսէին զինքը նա, պի լաւնար:

Աղքատը, վով ծարին տակէն ամեն խօսք աղէկ կի լսեր, ալ ինտան կերթա: Կի հասնի ան քաղաքը ուրուի ջրի պաքսութիւն ունացիլ ին: Կանէ մեկ ջիղվըր (ջրհոր) մը, որին մեջ անխա ջուր քաղվիլ է որ դուս ալ վոթիլ է: Ընդունած շատ պաշխըշովը, 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> | /ʏ/ <իԼ> | /uᵢ/ <ուԼ> | /u/ <ուԼ> |
| /œ/ <եո> | /e/ <ե> | /o/ <ո> | /ye/ <ուԼե> |
| /əᵢ/ <ըի> | /ə/ <ը> | /ə/ <ը> | /i/ <ը> |
| /æ/ <ա> | | | /ɑ/ <ա> |

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 <ե>. I fixed it.]]

[[For the sounds <ṇⁱ> and <ṇ^h>, Adjarian used a superscript <ḥ> /i/: <ṇ^h>, ṇ^h>. But because that could cause problems with my type-setter, I replaced them with a superscript <ḥ>].]

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 / |
| | <ḇ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ ^h > | <ḏ> | <ṭ> | <ṭ ^h > | <ḡ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ ^h > |
| | | | | | | | /g ^j / | /k ^j / | /k ^{hj} / |
| Affricates | | | | /d͡z/ | /t͡s/ | /t͡s ^h / | <qj> | <lj> | <ḡj> |
| | | | | <ḏ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ ^h > | | | |
| | | | | /d͡ʒ/ | /t͡ʃ/ | /t͡ʃ ^h / | | | |
| Fricatives | /f/ | /v/ | | /s/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /χ/ | /ʁ/ |
| | <ḡ> | <ḡ> | | <ṣ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ> | <ḡ> |
| | | | | | | | | | /ḡ/ |
| Sonorants | /m/ | /n/ | | /r/ | /r/ | /l/ | /j/ | /w/ | |
| | <ṡ> | <ṡ> | | <ṡ> | <ṡ> | <ṡ> | <ṡ> | <ṡ> | |
| | | | | | | | | | <ḡ> |

For these sounds, it is worth giving a separate explanation for the following. The sound <ḡ> represents the Russian sound <ы>, meaning a sound /ə/ <ṡ> that is pronounced voiceless and closed.

The sounds <ṡⁱ>, ṡⁱ>, ṡ^h>, ṡ^h> represent approximately the sounds /əi, ui, əi, ue/ in fast pronunciation.

[[Based on this description, and to maintain consistency with previous uses of <ṡ^h>, ṡ^h>, I use a diphthong notation with <ḡ> for all but <ṡ^h>: /əi, ui, əi, 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}, ḡ/ <qj, lj, ḡj, ḡj>, and the semi-sound /w/ <ṡ> 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/ <է>

Classical Armenian /e/ <է> became /je/ <յէ> (at the beginning of monosyllabic words), /e/ <է> (at the beginning of polysyllabic words), while word-medially it is /e, ɛ, i/ <է, ըէ, ի>.

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36.2.2.1.3 Classical Armenian /i/ <ի>

Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> became /i, ɨ, ə/ <ի, ըⁱ, ը> (Table 3).²

Table 3: Change from Classical Armenian /i/ <ի> to /i, ɨ, ə/ <ի, ըⁱ, ը> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------|------|
| ‘barley’ | gari | գարի | k ^l æɾə | կյւրը | gari | գարի |
| ‘scholar’ | dəpir | դպիր | təpɨɾ | տըպըր | dəpir | դպիր |

36.2.2.1.4 Classical Armenian /o/ <ո>

Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> became /vəɨ/ <վըⁱ> word-initially (Table 4).

Table 4: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <ո> to /vəɨ/ <վըⁱ> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|------|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|------|
| ‘lentil’ | ospən | ոսպն | vəɨsp | վը ⁱ սպ | vosp | ոսպ |
| ‘son’ | ordí | որդի | vəɨɾt ^h ə | վը ⁱ րթը ^h | vort ^h í | որդի |

²[[The original page had <է^h>. But on page 306, Adjarian provided an erratum that this should be <ը^h>, which I think was itself a typo for <ը^h> or /ը^h/. I fixed it.]]

In the body of the word, it becomes /o, œ, əɪ, ʁe, uɪ/ <o, to, րի, ուէ, ուի>, according to particular circumstances (Table 5).

Table 5: Change from Classical Armenian /o/ <n> to /o, œ, əɪ, ʁe, uɪ/ <o, to, րի, ուէ, ուի> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|
| ‘work’ | gorts | գործ | kuiṛts | կուլ’րծ | gorts | գործ |
| ‘grass’ | χot | խոտ | χuiṭ | խուլ’տ | χot | խոտ |
| ‘earth’ | hoł | հող | χueṣ | խուէղ | hoṣ | հող |
| ‘soul’ | hogi | հոգի | χok ^h ś | խօքը’ | hok ^h i | հոգի |
| ‘to roll’ | gəloreł | գլորել | k’vllœrel | կլիվլէօրել | gəloreł | գլորել |
| ‘bishop’ | episkopos | եպիսկոպոս | jəpəskapəjs | յըպըսկապը’ս | jepiskopos | եպիսկոպոս |

36.2.2.1.5 Classical Armenian /u/ <nL>

Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> became /u, uɪ, ʏ/ <nL, ուի, իւ> (Table 6).

Table 6: Change from Classical Armenian /u/ <nL> to /u, uɪ, ʏ/ <nL, ուի, իւ> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|-------|
| ‘water’ | d̂zur | ջուր | t̂fyr | ծիւր | d̂zur | ջուր |
| ‘house’ | tun | տոն | tyṇ | տիւն | tun | տոն |
| ‘bundle’ | χurdz | խուրծ | χuiṛts ^h | խուլ’րց | χurts ^h | խուրծ |

36.2.2.2 Diphthongal vowel changes

36.2.2.2.1 Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <այ>

Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <այ> became /e/ <է> (Table 7).

Table 7: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑi/ <այ> to /e/ <է> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|----------|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|
| ‘father’ | hɑiṛ | հայր | χer | իւր | hɑjr | հայր |
| ‘sound’ | d̂zɑiṇ | ծայն | t̂sen | ծէն | d̂zɑjn | ծայն |

36.2.2.2.2 Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ>

Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> became /y, i/ <իւ, ի> (Table 8).

Table 8: Change from Classical Armenian /iʰ/ <իւ> to /y, i/ <իւ, ի> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|-----------|-------|---------|---------|
| ‘hundred’ | hariur | հարիւր | χærir | խարիր | harjur | հարյուր |
| ‘snow’ | dziun | ծիւն | tsyn | ծիւն | dzjun | ծյուն |

36.2.2.2.3 Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ>

Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> became /y, ui/ <իւ, ու> (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 /oi/. (?)]]

Table 9: Change from Classical Armenian /oi/ <ոյ> became /y, ui/ <իւ, ու> in the Maragha dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Maragha | | cf. SEA | |
|---------|--------------------|------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| ‘light’ | lojs | լոյս | lujs | լուս | lujs | լույս |
| ‘sleep’ | k ^h un | քուն | k ^h yn | քյիւն | 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, ɪ/ <ւ, է, ի>. The genitive formative is /-ə/ <ը> if the vowel of the word-final syllable is /ɑ/ <ω> or /ə/ <ը>. But that formative becomes /-ɪ/ <ի> if the vowel is /ɪ/ <ի> or /œ/ <ե>. 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/ <նիր> for vowel-final polysyllabic words, /-kʰir/ <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’ | kʰitʰ | քիթ | | | kʰitʰ | քիթ |
| ‘nose-GEN’ | kʰətʰ-i | քթի | kʰitʰ-i | քիթի | kʰətʰ-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 /el/ էլ branch, the present stem is formed based on the verb’s infinitive, by combining it or conjugating it with the auxiliary verb (1).

- (1) ‘I want.’
- a. Maragha
- i. yz-e-l-i i-m
want-TH-INF-IMPV.CV(1) AUX-1SG
hɪlqetɪh ɪʃ
- ii. yz-e-l-i-m
want-TH-INF-AUX-1SG
hɪlqetɪhʃ
- b. cf. SWA
- g-uz-e-m
IND-want-TH-1SG
ɫʰnɪqetɪʃ
- c. cf. SEA
- uz-um e-m
want-IMPV.CV(1) AUX-1SG
nɪlqonɪʃ tɪʃ

[[Note that in 1a-i, it seems that the verb ends in some vowel /i/ and then the auxiliary is added. It is unclear what is the morphological function of this final vowel. It could be glossed as a cognate of the irregular SEA imperfective converb suffix /-is/. But in (1a-ii), it seems that this vowel is deleted and the auxiliary is cliticized or merged with the verb.(?)]]

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The formative /kə/ <ɫɛ> is used only in the future. Every past tense is formed from the present by adding the formative /er/ <ɛɾ>, without differentiating for person or number. For the perfective, a new form has been created.

36.3.2.2 General paradigm

The following is the complete conjugation of the verb ‘to like’ (derived from CA /uz-e-l/ ‘to want’ <nɪqɛɪ>).

[[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.]]

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 <ներկայ> in the Maragha dialect

| | Maragha 'to like' | | cf. SEA 'to want' | |
|-----|---------------------------|---------|-------------------------|------------|
| 1SG | yz-e-l-i-m 'I like' | իւզէիմ | uz-um e-m 'I want' | ուզում եմ |
| 2SG | yz-e-l-i-s | իւզէիս | uz-um e-s | ուզում ես |
| 3SG | yz-e-l-i-Ø | իւզէի | uz-um e-Ø | ուզում է |
| 1PL | yz-e-l-i-nk ^{hj} | իւզէինք | uz-um e-ŋk ^h | ուզում ենք |
| 2PL | yz-e-l-e-k ^{hj} | իւզէէք | uz-um e-k ^h | ուզում եք |
| 3PL | yz-e-l-i-n | իւզէին | 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' | իւզէիմ եր | uz-um ej-i-Ø 'I was wanting' | ուզում էր |
| 2SG | yz-e-l-i-s er | իւզէիս եր | uz-um ej-i-r | ուզում էիր |
| 3SG | yz-e-l-Ø-Ø-er | իւզէի եր | uz-um e-Ø-r | ուզում էր |
| 1PL | yz-e-l-i-nk ^{hj} er | իւզէինք եր | uz-um ej-i-ŋk ^h | ուզում էինք |
| 2PL | yz-e-l-e-k ^{hj} er | իւզէէք եր | uz-um ej-i-k ^h | ուզում էիք |
| 3PL | yz-e-l-i-n er | իւզէին 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 /-ats/ (cognate with the SEA resultative participle suffix /-ats/). When the suffix /-ats/ is used, the 3SG auxiliary is /ə/ instead of /i/.]]

Table 13: Present perfect <յարակատար> 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 եք |
| 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-ats i-m | իւզած իմ | uz-el e-m | ուզել եմ |
| | ‘I have liked’ | | ‘I have wanted’ | |
| 2SG | yz-ats i-s | իւզած իս | uz-el e-s | ուզել ես |
| 3SG | yz-ats ə-∅ | իւզած ը | uz-el e-∅ | ուզել է |
| 1PL | yz-ats i-nk ^{hj} | իւզած ինք | uz-el e-ŋk ^h | ուզել ենք |
| 2PL | yz-ats e-k ^{hj} | իւզած էք | uz-el e-k ^h | ուզել եք |
| 3PL | yz-ats 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 14: Past perfect <գերակատար> in the Maragha dialect

| | Maragha ‘to like’ (Form I) | | cf. SEA ‘to want’ | |
|-----|---|--------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1SG | yz-ir i-m er ‘I had liked’ | իւզիր իմ էր | uz-el ej-i-Ø ‘I had wanted’ | ուզել էի |
| 2SG | yz-ir i-s er | իւզիր իս էր | uz-el ej-i-r | ուզել էիր |
| 3SG | yz-ir Ø-Ø er | իւզիր էր | uz-el e-Ø-r | ուզել էր |
| 1PL | yz-ir i-nk ^{hj} er | իւզիր ինք էր | uz-el ej-i-ŋk ^h | ուզել էինք |
| 2PL | yz-ir e-k ^{hj} er | իւզիր էք էր | uz-el ej-i-k ^h | ուզել էիք |
| 3PL | yz-ir i-n er | իւզիր ին էր | uz-el ej-i-n | ուզել էին |
| | √-PERF.CVB AUX-AGR PST | | √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR | |
| | Maragha ‘to like’ (Form II) | | cf. SEA ‘to want’ | |
| 1SG | yz-ats i-m er ‘I had liked’ | իւզած իմ էր | uz-el ej-i-Ø ‘I had wanted’ | ուզել էի |
| 2SG | yz-ats i-s er | իւզած իս էր | uz-el ej-i-r | ուզել էիր |
| 3SG | yz-ats Ø-Ø er | իւզած էր | uz-el e-Ø-r | ուզել էր |
| 1PL | yz-ats i-nk ^{hj} er | իւզած ինք էր | uz-el ej-i-ŋk ^h | ուզել էինք |
| 2PL | yz-ats e-k ^h er ^j | իւզած էք էր | uz-el ej-i-k ^h | ուզել էիք |
| 3PL | yz-ats i-n er | իւզած ին էր | uz-el ej-i-n | ուզել էին |
| | √-RPTCP AUX-AGR PST | | √-PERF.CVB AUX-PST-AGR | |

36.3.2.2.3 Complex future tense

[[Adjarian lists in Table 15 a paradigm that he calls the complex future and its past form. The complex future is formed periphrastically by combining a non-finite form with the present auxiliary. Its past version (past future (?)) is formed by then adding the past particle /er/.]]

[[Morphologically, the non-finite form seems to be constructed by adding the suffix /-u/ to the infinitive; the theme vowel becomes /o/. This non-finite form seems to be a cognate of the SEA future converb as in (2), and thus I gloss /-u/ as FUT.CVB. The 3SG has a covert auxiliary.]]

- (2) SEA
 uz-e-l-u e-m
 want-TH-INF-FUT.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I will want.’
 ուզելու եմ

Table 15: Complex future forms of the verb ‘to like’ in the Maragha dialect

| | Complex future <բարդ ապանի> | | Past version <անցեալ> | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 1SG | yz-o-l-u i-m | իւզօլու իմ | yz-ol-u i-m er | իւզօլու իմ էր |
| 2SG | yz-ol-u i-s | իւզօլու իս | yz-ol-u i-s er | իւզօլու իս էր |
| 3SG | yz-ol-u Ø-Ø | իւզօլու | yz-ol-u Ø-Ø er | իւզօլու էր |
| 1PL | yz-ol-u i-nk ^{hj} | իւզօլու ինք | yz-ol-u i-nk ^{hj} er | իւզօլու ինք էր |
| 2PL | yz-ol-u e-k ^{hj} | իւզօլու էք | yz-ol-u e-k ^{hj} er | իւզօլու էք էր |
| 3PL | yz-ol-u i-n | իւզօլու ին | yz-ol-u i-n er | իւզօլու ին էր |
| | √-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-Ø | 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 -Ø-Ø | ուզեց |
| 1PL | yz-u-nk ^h | իւզուք | uz-e-ts ^h -i-ηk ^h | ուզեցիք |
| 2PL | yz-u-k ^h | իւզուք | uz-e-ts ^h -i-k ^h | ուզեցիք |
| 3PL | yz-u-n | իւզու | 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-Ø | իւզիւ | uz-i-Ø | 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 էր | uz-ej-i-Ø | ուզեի |
| | ‘(if) I liked’ | | ‘(if) I wanted’ | |
| 2SG | yz-i-s er | իւզիս էր | uz-ej-i-r | ուզեիր |
| 3SG | yz-Ø-Ø-er | իւզէր | uz-e-Ø-r | ուզեր |
| 1PL | yz-i-nk ^{hj} er | իւզինք էր | uz-ej-i-ŋk ^h | ուզեինք |
| 2PL | yz-e-k ^{hj} er | իւզեք էր | uz-ej-i-k ^h | ուզեիք |
| 3PL | yz-i-n er | իւզին էր | 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 ‘I will like’ | k-yz-y-m er | կիւզիւմ եր ‘I was going to like’ |
| 2SG | k-yz-i-s | կիւզիս | k-yz-i-s er | կիւզիս եր |
| 3SG | k-yz-y-Ø | կիւզիւ | k-yz-Ø-Ø-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-Ø | իւզիւ | uz-Ø-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-Ø | մի իլզիլ | mí uz-Ø-ir | մի՛ ռլզիր | PROH √-IMP.2SG |
| 2PL | mi yz-ek ^{hj} | մի իլզէք | mi uz-ek ^h | մի՛ ռլզէք | 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 | իլզիլ | uz-e-l | ռլզել | √-TH-INF |
| Past | անցեալ | yz-aŋs | իլզած | uz-aŋs | ռլզած | √-RPTCP |
| | | yz-ir | իլզիր | uz-el | ռլզել | √-PERF.CVB |
| Future | ապանսի | yz-o-l-u | իլզօլու | uz-e-l-u | ռլզելու | √-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 /tik'i/ <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 պոնէնքս
- b. p^htrt-e-s er-d
 search-TH-IMPF.CVB(?) PST-POSS.2SG
 ‘He was looking for you.’
 փտոնտէս 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 ասէի – նա՛ շատ քախցր յէ՛ ուտէնդ, նա շատ թառ յէ՛
 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 Նիշան

ՄԷ օր Սօնան Ինան Անդո՛ւնու կիւզին իւրիւս (իւրիւնց) տղային փսակին: Սօնան կասը՝ Անդունին:

– Յար, Էլի օղորկիի Հանթիւնիւ ախչկան իւզօլու:

– Չէ՛, Սօ՛նա, մէ Եօզգաննա՛ խիյալ արնա՛. հանթանթ Նաննա՛ չուտուրուն. Էն հառուս, յիս ախկատ:

– Չէ՛, Ա՛նդուն, իշքան խիյալ անելիմ՝ Նանթեն աղէ՛կյա՛ չիմնալի գլիննել. Էսս (հէնց) յիս առելիմ «Էթահի Նաննա՛ իւզիի». յա կըտանս, յա չին տա՛ն»:

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– Դէ մըկա քյի Էտենց ի, լաճիքյիրիս (մեր տղան) Էլ իւզելի, շապպաթ օ՛րա Էլի օղորկու, թօղ Էթան իւզին:

Շանպանթ օ՛րա Սօնան շուտօվ կի զարթնի, սիմալա՛րա քի քիցի, չայի՛րա քը խըմին, ա՛ննա՛ն (յետոյ) Սօնան կըլը՝ կէթա՛ իւր բաջու տո՛ւնա, Միրվարիյին կասը՝ քյի՝

– Այ Միրվարը՛, ա՛խչի. յերէկ իրիկաս (ամուսնոյս) խէտա՛ մէ զա՛դ իիյ խիյալ արի. իւզելիի Հանթիւնիւ ախչկան առնիի միր Միսակին. կիւզիս յար կօսօրէն սօրա քյել Էլի, տըսնինք իշ կասին. կտան այյար, կյալ շ անպպանթ Էթանք Նիշանա տինիի:

– Սօ՛նա, մըկա քյի Էտենց ի, յիս Էլ շատ կուրախանամ քյի Միսակըին փսակելիի: Աշկիս վիրան, Սօ՛նա, կօսօրէն սօրա կէթամ քըչարչըրօվիմ, բանթան առնիմ:

Կօսօրէն սօրա Միրվարին կըլը՝ կէթա՛ Հանթիւնիւս տո՛ւնա, Նաննա՛ ախչկան իւզօլու:

Կէթա տո՛ւնա քըթըփը՛, կիկյան տո՛ւնա կըպանացին, Միրվարին կըմընը՛ Նիս, Հանթիւնիւ կնգան պարօվ կըտա՛ Հանթիւնիւ կնիկ Նարկիզն Էլն Նաննա՛ պարօվա կառնը՛

– Փան, պարօվ իս Էկի, Միրվարը՛ բաջի, Էթ վա՛ր քամին ի քյեզի պերի տա՛ն. աղէկ ի, հարտան մէ կյալիս միր տո՛ւնա:

– Չէ՛, Նանրգիզ բաջը՛, մկա Էլ չի՛մ Էր կյա՛ն, ամմա մէ խէյր պանը՝ խամա յիմ Էկի:

– Ասա տսնիի, ի՞շ խէյր պանի խամա՛ իս Էկի:

– Նանրգիզ բաջի, աղէ, թօղ ասիմ. տի՛ս, դիւզ ա՛ն Էկիր իմ ծիր Նուբառին Էլի, կտաս՝ տու, չիս տա՛ն մի՛ տու:

– Միրվարը՛ բաջը՛, յիս չիմ ասելի չիմ տա, ամմա, իրիկյիս տո՛ւնա չի. թօ քիշի՛րա իրի՛կյա կյա՛ն, Նանթեն խանթար առնիմ, տսնիմ ի՞շ կասը՛:

Միրվարին կասը՝ Նանրգիզին.

– Ամմա խայիշտ իմ անելի քյի ասիս. բանթան կյալ շանպպանթ Նշանա տինիի, բիյօլ (մի կերպ) սօրա-յել խառնի՛սան անիի:

- Արխէին յիւ, Միրվարը բաջը, յիս կասիմ:
- Միրվարին յելավ եկավ տուն:
- Քիշիրվան Նարգիզի մա՛րթա եկավ տուն. Նարգիզա՛մ ասաց իւր մարթուն.
- Միրվարին եկիր էր միր ախճկան ելի. ի՞նչօխ իս անելի. կըտաս անյար, վա՛զա՛մ կյալուց ջուղաբ տամ:

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- Մա՛րթա ասաց.
- Ասված շինամխավիր անի, Միսա՛կա խելքօվ տղա՛յը. կտամ. վա՛ղա Միւ-վարին կյալուց ասա կտահյ:
- Նամրվաղա Միւվարին եկավ Նարգիզի կը՛տա, ասաց – Տալե՞հյ:
- Նարգիզն էլ ասաց.
- Կտահյ, հէ՞ր չիհյ տա: Մա՛րթըս տիւն էթանլէն սօրա եկավ, ասը՛մ. Էն էլ ասաց կտամ:
- Կյիրանկի օ՛րա Սօնան, Միւվարի ինամն Անդո՛նա կինացըն շիրինիյ խմօլու. շիրինիյա խմելէն իրիք շամպամթ սօրա հազըրվան խառնիսի թանգարիի տըս-նօլու: Խառնիսի թանգարի՛քս տսնելէն սօրա, բաշլամըշըն խառնի՛ստ. ըմմըին մարթնիրին կանչըն, խառնիսի խամբար տուվըն: անանչին քիշիրո՛ւ խինամ տիրըն, սօրավան քիշիրոն էլս փսա՛կա կըռըն: Փսա՛կա կոթուց խանլթ ին էր քիցելի խառսու կուլօ՛խա. բուլօլում (յետոյ) ասելին էր «Ասվա՛ս շինամխավիր անի»:
- Խառսուն ժամտունէն խանելէն սրա Անդուն ինամն Սօնան խաղալօվ խառ-սուն պերըն տուն:

36.5.2 Urmia subdialect

Adjarian's note: Communicated by Mr. Kaloust Iskenderian (պր. Գալուստ Իս-քենդերեան; [[SEA: /galust isk^henderjan/]]), a provincial inspector of Urmia schools.

36.5.2.1 Iki Aghaj village

Մէ օր գնացիմ խասամ գետի յէ՛րգա. մէ պծառ կակուղ իմ էր քելի (մի քիչ հանդարտ կերթայի). գէ՛տա Էնէնց ջօշմիշիր էր՝ յերգերէն թալէս էր ճի՛ւրա. իշ-կացիմ 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 մալ ուր կնի՛կա, նա կաշան, նա մալլան: Մէ ծի կա տանց մօ՛տա, վեր տիկյի (պիտի) տարմօվ 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 մէ օր իշէ՛րա խառիբէր տէ՛մա ` Էթաս Էր: Կըննաց ըլայ կյատիւկի (ծոր) վօ՛տա. մէ մարթ տար տէ...

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... առէց, ասաց. տիւն գլխասս յէս յէփ կմեռնեմ, ասա տըսնիմ: Տէփ (յետոյ) Էն իշկաց Էտ մա՛րթա մի թահար մարթ ի, յետնար – տէփ ասաց. Է՛շա կյատիւկէն ըլելիւն տիկյի օխտ տիր անի. խետ օխտ տիր տռէց ` տէփ Էն վատին տիւն կմեռնես: Խա՛, տէփ Էշէ՛րա կշէց կյատիւկա. գլօ՛խա ըլելիւն օխտ տիր Է՛շա տռէց: Մալլան ինկյա՛վ պարզվա՛վ, ասաց. յէս մեռամ: Տէփ մնաց տա՛ղա. Էշէ՛րա հանր մէկյա մէ թէխ կընացին. մէ կլէլ ըկա՛վ տաղ՝ Էշէրէն մէկյա կլէրա՛վ. ասաց. Մալլա Նասրադի՛նա չմեռնէր՝ մըկը կլէլա Է՛շա չէր ուղը՝ Տէփ մալլան ըլա՛վ Էկա՛վ թէխ տո՛ւնա. իւր կնկյան ասաց. յէլ քէլ տուր տրկլէցին ասա վէր մալլան մեռիր ի, տանինք խօրենք իւրա: Ըլա՛վ կըննաց տուր ու տըրկլէցին 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 Էկան՛վ, տար կլէրեզմանը կուշտէն ընսնեսէն Էր. Էն օրն Էլ տար կընի՛կա. մա՛սալա, իւշ Էր խաց պէրի. կլէօ՛խա Էն ծակէն պանցրացուց (յանի իշկաս Էր հա՛) իշկամ խաց պէրիգ: Կաթըրքլէ՛րա խռնան, պէռն Էլ չիկի աման Էր. տանիը ա՛մմէն տվին կօտռտին. տէփ Էն կաթըրչինէ՛րա փառտին Էն տէ՛ղա, ասին մէ իշկանք՝ տանք ինչէ՛ն խռնան. իշկացին մէ կլէրեզմանը վրան մէ Էրթըսը պէս ծայ կան: Տէփ բանան արին (ուզեցին) մէ դէն մէ փետ պարզէն. տէփ փէ՛տա պարզին, ը՛, տէփ Էն դէն ծէն տըվից մալլան կլէրեզմանը՝ մէչէն. շատ մի՛ պարզեք, կը կը կըպնը աշկյիս. տէփ տանք ասին. հօ՛ հօ՛, կա չկա դէտ (այդ տեղէն) Էն խռնէ (խրտներ). դէտ կլօխա խանիր ի... քակին տարա, խանին կաթըրչինէ՛րա. տէփ տարա բանան արին թըփէլ. շատ թըփը՛ն, Էնղըղը 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 Igdir 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 «Ոտանաւոր աշխատութիւններ եւ Լշանագրութիւն 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 Լշանագրութիւն or Լշանագրութիւն. (?)*]]

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, Ուտանաւոր աշխատութիւններ եւ նշանագրութիւն ([[[նշանադրութիւն(?)]]]), էջ 46-49.

– Այ մառթ, տիւ գիւսաս որ խետ ախչի՛գյա ճոչացավ, մառթի էթալու խասավ. տո՛ւնա չի՛ սրփի, չի՛ ավըլի, աման-չամանա չի լվա, տուռվերքյա կեխտոտ կը թողնի. շատ էլ որ խետը իյնես, դաստե 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 հէյվան քյալե՛րա, գյամեմքե՛րա, կովե՛րա ընչիւկ վգե՛րա թաղվիր են կվի մէ՛չա. տիւ հէնց գիւսաս որ Կիրակո՛սա մեզի խմա պա՞ն ի անէլի մեր տո՛ւնա ավըրիր ի. վա՛յ վայի որ ասես «ա՛յ բալամ, Էտէնց չեն անի», յետ ի դառնալի խինգ խայիր քյաշոււմ (յիշոց) ի տալի. ասելի «Ալլահ վարա (Աստուած տայ) զըմէն Էլ խատնեն». յանի ինչ ի, իմացեք որ յես Էլ փռայվելու խասիր եմ. կօ Էտէնց, ա՛յ մառթ. մկա տիւ գիւսաս:

– Աշկըս լո՛ւս. մենք փսայվանք՝ մեր կլօ՛խա յեզոտով, թող Էն Էլ փսայվի, բալքի մեղրոտի. Էն հալա յերէյվան քյօրփան ի. մկավուստ սաբաբ ըլենք, մէ անծոտ պուճուճակ ախչիկ Էլ դար խմա ուզենք, խա՛լխա մեզի ի՞նչ կասեն. չե՞ն ասի «յանի Է՛տ ինչ դայդա եր՝ մկավուստ մեխկի տոպրա՛կա կախին Էն խեղճ ողայի վգեն». յես դալաթ կանեմ՝ դարա սաբաբ չեմ ըլի. դար պերնեն կալա կաթի խոտ ի իկյալի:

(Կիրակոսը կ'աղաչէ մօրը):

– Նանա ջան. Էնը խօքութ ղուրբա՛ն Նանա. տիւ իմ աղէ՛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 ետ Էլ քեզի ասեմ որ Ղուլիենց Շահբազի ախչիկ Նիգյարեն սավայի՝ որ վիզս կռեք՝ ճոկ մառթու ախչիկ չեմ առնի հա՛:

(Մայրը կը համոզէ ամուսինը, որ կը պատասխանէ).

– Այ՛ կնիկ, չունքի որ ասես ես, թո՛ղ քօ խաթրն Էլ խօշ ըլի. բալքի սաղ չմնացինք մեռանք. սաղ իքյան Կիրակոսին փսակենք, յես ինան տիւ Էլ դիօլ զուռնա-յով մէ աղէկ քէֆ անենք,

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գիւլաշ կպնենք. ջահնա՛մա. դարմեն 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 մատեն փուշ խանի: (Ներս կը մտնէ Կիրակոսը): Կի՛րակոս, ա՛յ

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-ցերեկ 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. «կուզեք էն ի, չեք 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 պա՛նա, տաշտի բժա՛րա (քազհան) տիւս կիկյա. էնէնց ըլի որ՝ ինկերէ, տրկեցէ յետ չմնանք: Շատ խարսներ տսիր եմ, որ իրկը-վըկէն կլոխքե՛րա տնես են պա՛ռցա, ընչանք լոս խռալով մոփես են. չէ՛ն տսելի, ախար սափորքե՛րա տարտակ ի, ճուր տկի պերենք, ավել տկի անենք, տո՛ւնա, քիւչան գբիլի ձեռէն 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 /ɑṭ/ <ւ>

The Classical Armenian diphthong /ɑṭ/ <ւ> becomes /e/ <է> (Table 1).

Table 1: Change from Classical Armenian /ɑṭ/ <ւ> to /e/ <է> in the Artvin dialect

| | Classical Armenian | | > Artvin | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------------|--------------------|------|----------|-----|---------|------|
| proximal ‘this’ | ɑṭs | ւյս | es | էս | ɑjs | ւյս |
| medial ‘that’ | ɑṭd | ւյդ | ed | էդ | ɑjd | ւյդ |
| distal ‘that’ | ɑṭn | ւյն | en | էն | ɑjn | ւյն |
| ‘other’ | ɑṭl | ւյլ | el | էլ | ɑjl | ւյլ |
| ‘goat’ | ɑṭts | ւյծ | ets | էծ | ɑjts | ւյծ |
| ‘vineyard’ | ɑṭgi | 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 /verɑṭ/ <վերայ> ([cf. SWA: /vəra/ <վրայ>]), which has become /ra/ <րա> (1).

- (1) a. k^har-i ra (Artvin)
 k^har-i vəra (SWA)
 rock-GEN on
 ‘on the/a rock’
 քարի րա, քարի վրայ

- b. \widehat{dzi} -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 ռա նստա, ձիու վրայ նստայ
- c. \widehat{tsar} -i ra ver ant \widehat{s}^h -a-v (Artvin)
 \widehat{dzar} -i vərə ver ant \widehat{s}^h -a-v (SWA)
 tree-GEN on up pass-PST-3SG
 ‘he climbed up on the/a tree.’
 ծառի ռա 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 /x/ <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/ <մէն> (Table 2).

Table 2: Ablative marking in the Artvin dialect

| | Artvin | | cf. SWA | |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|
| ‘from Artvin’ | art ^h vinu-men | Արթվինումէն | art ^h vin-e | Արթվիւնէ |
| ?-ABL | savet ^h u-men | Սաւէթումէն | | |
| ?-ABL | hetne-men | հէտնէմէն | | |

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 | ծառերու | dzar-er-u | ծառերու | tsar-er-its ^h | ծառերից |
| ‘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/ <նւմ> (4).

Table 4: Locative marking in the Artvin dialect

| | Artvin | | cf. SEA | |
|-----------|--------|--------|---------|-------|
| ?-LOC | mef-um | մէշնւմ | | |
| ‘day-LOC’ | or-um | օրնւմ | or-um | օրնւմ |

38.3.2 Verb inflection or conjugation

38.3.2.1 Periphrasis in the indicative

Verbal conjugation differs from Tbilisi. The present formative /-um/ <նւմ> 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
 xos-e-l-is e-m
 speak-TH-INF-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I speak.’
 ʃoutʃu tʃ
- b. cf. SEA
 xos-um e-m
 speak-IMPF.CVB AUX-1SG
 ‘I speak.’
 ʃununʃu tʃ

[[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 qf-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-Ø
 FUT outside come-TH-3SG
 կու դուս գա
 ii. SEA
 durs kə-g-a-Ø
 outside FUT-come-TH-3SG
 դուրս կգա
 c. ‘They will search.’
 i. Artvin
 ku pntr-i-n
 FUT search-TH-3PL
 կու փնտրիւ
 ii. SEA
 kə-p^həntɾ-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. qf-i-ts^h
look-TH-AOR
'He looked.'²
աշից
- b. pntr-i-ts^h
search-TH-AOR
'He searched.'
փնտրից
- c. ku qf-i-n
FUT look-TH-3PL
'They were going to look.'
կու աշիւ.

[[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-ts^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 α
 write-TH-2SG ?
 ‘Write!’
 գրի՛ս ա
- b. χos-í-s α
 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 Սաւլէ-թումէն 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 հետնեմէն գալիս է օ՛րը գարնէ. առաջէվան կայք է ըլնելի. կայք եղած վախտին փնտռո՛ւիս է վօ՛րանց գնաց: Աշից օրը խիտը գտավ. խիտն էլ

փուրցելը (վրց. մացառ թէ՞ բաղեղ) փաթըթած է. էնդադուր արավ օ՛րա խիտը անցավ ենթին: Վեր անցավ օրմընումը, փնտռից ու շենլիկի տեղը գտաւ: Իշտէ Էնդօր Էտէվ, Էֆէնդիմ, օրմանը կօտրեցին, Էնդէղը քաղաք շինեցին, իշտէ Էնդէղը Էղավ Արթվին:

Էն գտնօղ մարթու անունն էլ Արուբէն է Էղէ, Էնդօր վրա դրէլ է Արթվին:

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 place-names 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 /*ḡarabax̌*/, 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 |
| Ադրիանուպոլիս | Ադրիանուպոլիս, 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) |
| Ալիդուլի | 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 | Ազբեր, 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 | | |
| Այթոս | Այթոս | Aytos | Aitos | 29, 31 |
| Այնթապ | | Ayntap | | 28, 30 |
| Այտըն | Այդըն | Aydn | | 29, 31, 61 |
| Անափա | | Anapa | | 25 |
| Անգեղակոթ | | Angehakot | | 288 |
| Անգլիա | | England | | 29, 33, 293 |
| Անդիժան | | Andijan | | 26 |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|---|
| Անտիոք or Անթաքիա | | Antioch | Antakya | 28, 199, 200, (210), 212 |
| Աշտարակ | | Ashtarak | | 105 |
| Ապարան | | Aparan | | 116-7, 121, (126) |
| Ապկիոն | | Abgion? | | (194), 185 |
| Առքս | | Arys | | 26 |
| Առնջկոյս | Առնջկուս | 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 | | historical Syria | | |
| Սիւրիա | | 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 | Adıyaman | | 29, 196, (198) |
| Ատրպատական | | Atropatene | Iranian Azerbaijan | 27, 37, 70 |
| Արաբկիր | | Arapgir | Arabkir | 3, 4, 29, 103, 196, 215-6, (217), 222-3 |
| Արամո | Արամո, Արամոյ | Aramo | | 28, 212-3, (213-4) |
| Արդուին | Արդվին, Արթվին | Artvin | | 19, 25, 34, 280, 291-2, (292) |
| Արեւելեան Ռումելի | Ռումելիա | Eastern Rumelia | | 31-32 |
| Արթը | | Artyk | | 26 |

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|----------------------|---|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 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 |
| Արմեանսկ | 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 | Աֆիոն- Կարահիսար | Afyonkarahisar | | 29 |
| Բաբերդ | Բայբերդ | Baberd | Bayburt | 13, 111-2 |
| Բազու | | Baku | | 13, 25, 61, 76 |
| Բազարքեյ | | Pazarköy | | 241 |
| Բաթում | Բաթումի | Batumi | | 13, 25, 32, 34, 178, 291 |
| Բալակ | | Balak | | 288 |
| Բալաշով | | Balashov | | 26 |
| Բալու | | Palu | Balu | 167, 168 |
| Բաղեշ | Բաղեշ, Պիթլիս, Բիթլիս | Paghesh | Baghesh, Bitlis | 33, 116-8, 121, (131) |
| Բաղշեսարայ | Բաղշեսարայ, Բաղշետրայ | Bakhchisaray | Baghchesaray, Eski Yurt | 26, 263 |
| Բաշքենդ | Բաշքենդ, Բաշգենդ | Bashkent | | 37 |
| Բասարգեչար | Վարդենիս | 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 | Բերդյանսկ | Berdiansk | Berdyansk | 26 |
| Բթեշտ | Պիտեշտ | Pitești | | 27 |
| Բլոեշտի | Պլոեշտի | 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 |
| Գահիրե | 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 |
| Գըրգաղաճ | | Kırkağaç | | 239 |
| Գիրգորես | | Kirkoros | Hasanbaba | 232 |

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| Սուղուշուք | | Suq al-Shuyukh | | 27 |
| Սումաթռա | Սումաթրա, Սումատրա | Sumatra | | 87 |
| Սուչավա | | Suceava | | 3, 13, 15, 27, 30, 97, 270-2, (273-8) |
| Սուրապայա | Սուրաբայա | Surabaya | | 28 |
| Սուրբ-Խաչ | Բուդյոննովսկ | Budyonnovsk | Svyatoy Krest, Surb Khach | 26 |
| Սուրբ Մակար | | Sourp Magar | Magaravank | 28 |
| Սոֆիա | | Sofia | | 29 |
| Սպահան | | Isfahan | | 87 |
| Ստաւրոպոլ | Ստաւրապոլ, Ստավրոպոլ | Stavropol | | 26, 263 |
| Սոչի | Սոչի | Sochi | | 184 |

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|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Վալիադալու | | | | 116, 118, (134) |
| Վան | | Van | | 3, 4, 10, 13, 15, 18-9, 34, 46, 103, 116-8, 139-58, (151-2), 160, 270, 282, 288 |
| Վանքի | | Vanki | Albayrak | 138 |
| Վառնա | | Varna | | 29, 31 |
| Վարանդա | | Varanda | Fuzuli, Martuni | 68 |
| Վարգաւ | Վարգավ | Vargavi | | 32 |
| Վարոնեժ | Վարոնեժ | Voronezh | | 27 |
| Վենետիկ | | Venice | | 249 |
| Վերին Ադեաման | Վերին Գետաշեն | Lower Adyaman | Verin Getashen | 116, 118 |
| Վերին Գիւղալդարա | | Upper Gyuzeldara | | 116, 118, (138) |
| Վերին Կարանլըղ | Կարանլուղ, Լուսագյուղ | Upper Karanlug | Lusagyugh | 116 |
| Վերին Քեօլաղռան | Վերին Քյոլաղռան, Փառկունք | Upper Kyolaghran | | 116, 118, 139 |
| Վիեննա | Վիեննա | Vienna | | 27 |
| Վիտին | Վիդին | Vidin | | 29 |
| Վլադիկավկազ | Վլադիկավկազ | Vladikavkaz | | 26, 32 |
| Վրաստան | | Georgia | | 25, 32, 52 |
| Տանակերտ | Անագյուտ | Danaqirt | Anagut, Tanakert | 92 |
| Տաճկաստան | | Ottoman Turkey | | 34, 37, 61 |
| Տանծուտ | | Tanzot | Danzot, Aydıncöy, Tanzoti | 291 |
| Տարենտ | Դարանդա | Darende | Daranda | 29, 215-6, (218-9) |
| Տափավանք | | Dapavank | Güzelsu | (133) |
| Տաքքա | Դաքքա | Dhaka | | 28 |
| Տելի-Օրման | | Teleorman | | 29 |
| Տետե-Աղաճ | Ալեքսանդրուպոլիս | Dedeagaç | Alexandroupoli | 31 |

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|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Տերսիմ | Տերսիմ | Dersim | Tunceli | 167, 169, (172) |
| Տիատին | Դիադին, Տատեն | 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 |
| Ցարիցին | Վոլգոգրադ | Tsaritsyn | Volgograd | 26 |
| Ցղնա | | Çənnəb | Tsghna | 4, 92, 100 |
| Փայաս | | Payas | | 199 |
| Փաշաքենդի | Բաշքենդ, Գեղարքունիք | Bashkend | Gegharkunik | 37 |
| Փասսո | | Past? | | 147 |
| Փարիզ | | Paris | | 13, 29 |
| Փխիկուր | | Pkhikur | Çihori, Çukurköy, Çıkor | 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 |

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|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 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 |
| Քուփղոան | Գուբկոան | 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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|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Օվաճըք | | Ovacık | | 241, (246) |
| Օր | | Or | Isthmus of Perekop | 26 |
| Օրդակլու | | Ordaklu | | 37 |
| Օրթաքէօյ | | Ortaköy | | 241 |
| Օրսոու | | Ordu | | 29, 232, 234 |
| Օքրոբակերտ | | Okrobakert | Köprülü | 291 |
| Ֆամակուստա | Ֆամագուստա | Famagusta | | 28 |
| Ֆացա | Ֆաթսա | Fatsa | | 184 |
| Ֆենետ | | Fenese | | 215 |
| Ֆիլիպպէ | Պլովդիվ | Filibe | Plovdiv | 29, 31 |
| Ֆրանսա | | France | | 29, 293 |
| Ֆրէզնօ | Ֆրէզնո | Fresno | | 29 |
| Ֆօքշան | 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 Hratchia 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.