

The Armenian dialect of Salmast¹

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draft version 1.2, 27 May 2022

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¹ Many thanks to Medik Babloyan for sharing her uncle Khachik Babloyan's manuscript glossary of Salmast words. Prof. Babloyan was born in 1914 in Krasnodar, Russia. He spoke only Russian until the age of 18, at which point he returned with his family to Tabriz. He later moved to Brussels for graduate studies, after which he returned to Iran, becoming a professor of civil engineering at Teheran University. There he collected Salmast words for his glossary as a hobby until he passed away in 1975. Medik and Khachik's Babloyan paternal ancestors were originally from Mahlam and their maternal Avakian ancestors were from Haftevan, giving Khachik access to elderly speakers of two slightly different varieties of the Salmast dialect.

Thanks also to Salmastetsis Artush Allahverdian (Haftevan), Edik Hayrapetian (Mahlam), Armineh Keshishian (Akhteh Khaneh), Ruben Nazarian (Mahlam), Rubik Ohanean (Sarna), Mosik Shakoian (Haftevan), Vartkes Zakarian (Haftevan), and especially Sarkis Barkhoudarian (Haftevan) for sharing so much of their knowledge of the dialect over the past several years. Thanks also to Ani Apelian, Tsolag Apelian, Peter Cowe, Hovsep Dolatian, Alina Gharabegian, Katherine Hodgson, Elizabeth Hopkins, Pavel Iosad, Sveta Jaghatspanyan, Geoffrey Khan, George Terterian, and especially Patrick Taylor. Abbreviations employed in this chapter: A (At'ayan 1906), AG1 (Salmastts'i 1881b), AG2 (Salmastts'i 1881c), AK (Armineh Keshishian), As (Asatryan 1962), B (Babloyan 1975), HAB (Acharean 1926-35), Kh (Khayu Lach 1880), M (Mosik Shakoian 2017), N (Salmastts'i 1881a), O (Ohanean 2012a), S (Sarkis Barkhoudarian 2017), T (Taghawarean 1897-1898), Y (Yat'ō 1912), Z (Zakarian 2019).

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1. Introduction

Despite the historical and cultural importance of the Armenian communities of the county of Salmast, their distinctive variety of Modern Armenian remains largely unstudied, limited at best to passing mention as a form of Khoy or Urmia dialect.² The dialect moreover is now endangered, with the descendants in the diaspora either not learning the dialect or at best mixing it with features of Standard Armenian and other local varieties.

The present chapter addresses these issues by assembling what we know about the linguistic structure of the Salmast dialect, where it was originally spoken and where it is preserved today, how it resembles and differs from other Armenian dialects in the region,

² Notable exceptions, most of which are collections of individual lexical items, include Taghawarean 1897-98, At'ayan 1906, Achařean 1926-35, T'arverdyan 1930-1933, Kadimean 1933-1934, Babloyan 1975, Ōhanean 2012a, and Zakarian 2019, and Ohanean's collection of sayings (2012b) together with Pisowicz's studies of them (2017, 2019).

and the ways in which it is conservative and innovative relative to Classical, Standard Eastern, and Standard Western Armenian. We focus on phonological features (such as the fronting of following vowels by and subsequent devoicing of original voiced stops, e.g. դու du ‘you’ > սիւ [ty]), morphological features (such as the imperfective in -li ~ -s and analytic past tense formation in -էր -[ɛr], e.g. ուզէր էր [uzes ɛr] ‘he/she/it wanted’), and lexis (e.g. Standard Armenian սալ tal ‘husband’s sister’ ~ Salmast սալվ [talv]; հարսանիք harsanik‘ ‘wedding’ > խառնիս [χarnis], զրուցել zruts‘el ‘talk’ > զուցալ [zurtsʰal]), complemented by a parsed text.

1.1. Demographics and geography

The Salmast dialect of Armenian was historically spoken in the villages of the northwest Iranian county of Salmas³ with significant Armenian populations. According to At‘ayan 1906:21 there were twenty-three villages with Armenian populations at his time, of which five were entirely Armenian: Haftevan (Հափթավան [hæftʰəvan]), Malham (Մալհամ [mæhljæm]/[mælhæm]/[mæhnæm]), Pekachuk (Փայաջուկ [pʰæjɑdʒuk] (S), [pʰæjædʒyk] (Z)), Sarna (Սարնա [sarna]), and Qaleh Sar (Ղալասար [kalasar]). In the other eighteen villages the Armenians lived primarily with [Azeri] Turks and to a lesser extent Assyrians, Kurds, and (only in Hin-K‘aghak‘) Jews. According to At‘ayan 1906:42, for example, Akhte Khaneh (written Ախտեհանսար by At‘ayan 1906, but pronounced [æχtəχan] by AK and Z) had 100 Turkish and 60 Armenian households, Khosrowabad (Խոսրովաբադ [χosrova]) had 400 Assyrian, 36 Armenian, and 10 Kurdish households, and so on. Vartkes Zakarian, who lived in Haftevan until the mid-1960s, reports that the Salmast villages which still spoke Armenian in his time were the five mentioned by At‘ayan, plus Akhte Khaneh, Direshk (Դիրշկ [dərišk])⁴, Qezeljah (Ղզըլջա [gəzəldža]), Golozan (Ղօլոզան [gylyzam]), Taze Shar (Հաղոս Քաղաք [kʰənəʃahr]), Saray-e Malek (Սարամերիկ

³ When referring to toponyms in this chapter, for bibliographical ease I employ the transcriptions found in the relevant wikipedia entries and Google Maps, except when referring specifically to pronunciations by Salmast speakers, which I transcribe in square brackets using the International Phonetic Alphabet. Armenian-script forms of toponyms are from At‘ayan 1906.

⁴ For the last seven place names I give the Google Maps form in roman script, At‘ayan’s version in Armenian script, and Z’s pronunciation in the IPA.

[særæmerik]), Soreh (Uuլըս [savra]), and Sheytanabad (Շեյթանաբադ [ʃejthanabad]). My native speaker consultants for this chapter (and/or their families) all come from Haftevan, Malham, Akhte Khaneh, and Sarna.

Already in At‘ayan’s time a significant percentage of the Salmast Armenians were living abroad; he mentions for example that 187 of the 543 Armenians of Sarna were in this position, primarily in Tiflis (1906:40). As a result of these migrations, and perhaps more importantly the relocations of 1828-1831, many villages in Vayots‘ Dzor, Artsakh, and elsewhere in the Eastern Armenian world ended up speaking dialects based in part or entirely on the original Salmast dialect.

In order to investigate the Salmast dialect specifically, as opposed to the Lake Urmia dialects more generally, we would like to identify the diaspora villages that were settled exclusively by Armenians by Salmast and have preserved features of their original dialect that can be distinguished with confidence from other linguistic influences. This appears possible for example with the Kotayk‘ village of Mayakovski discussed below, where later influences from the Ararat dialect are often relatively simple to identify because they differ significantly from their Salmast counterparts (e.g. the present tense formations in -nլւ -um vs. -u -s respectively). In many cases, though, the villages to which Salmastetsis emigrated took on refugees from other Lake Urmia communities as well, e.g. the Ararat village of Aygezard was settled by immigrants from villages in the counties of both Salmast and Khoy (Varyan 2008:17). In this chapter I have generally not considered the Armenian varieties spoken by communities of the latter sort, as it is typically not clear whether their linguistic features come specifically from Salmast or could have come from the other Lake Urmia communities involved in their formation.

Where then do we find diaspora communities settled specifically by Salmastetsis who preserved their dialect? Gegham T‘arverdyan documented between 1895 and 1933 a range of stories told in dialect by refugees from Salmast and their descendants in villages of Ghamarlu; one of these has been published as story #24 in Harut‘yunyan 2016 and a version of the epic of K‘yor-Öghli was collected in 1912 and published in 1941⁵. According

⁵ The narrator was Gevorg T‘aroyan Avagyan, a 52-53 year old man from the village of Azatavan in the Ghamarlu (now Artashat) region. According to both T‘arverdyan and Varyan (2008:8) the settlers of Azatavan came originally from Salmast villages. The text itself can plausibly be described as being in Salmast

to Adjarian (1909:84), Armenians from Salmast founded the villages of Kori (later Karaja or Kornidzor), Alighuli (later Azatashen), Mughanjugh (later Aygedzor), and K‘arashen (also sometimes called Dashkend) in Zangezur, and the villages of Alilu (now Salvard), Angeghakot‘, Ghuschi-Tazakend (now T‘asik), Uz (now Uyts), Mazra (now Kapuyt), Balak, Shaghat, Lcen, Karaklissa, and Nerk‘in-Karaklissa in the Sisian district. Adjarian’s statement is not without problems, though. According to Hakobyan et al. 1986-2001, Alilu/Salvard was (re)settled by immigrants from the Khoy villages of Uzumchi and Mahlazan; K‘arashen from Khoy, and Balak‘ from Khoy and Salmast. According to Varyan 2008, Angeghakot‘ and Uyts were (re)settled by immigrants from Salmast and Khoy; Shaghat from Khoy, Salmast, and Maragha; and Ltsen from Khoy. The wikipedia entry for T‘asik states (without source) that it was settled by immigrants from the village of Kushchi near Tabriz.

Other villages across the Republic of Armenia that were settled by immigrants specifically from Salmast villages according to Varyan 2008, but where the extent to which they have preserved Salmast dialect features is unclear, include Azatavan (earlier Bzovan, Ghərbzovand, Ch‘i(g)damlu) and Getazat (Ararat), Gay (Armavir), Sařnaghbyur (Shirak), and Azatek (Vayots‘ Dzor)⁶. Mesrobyan 2016:128, 247 implies that the Armenian communities of Milakert and Shurishkan in the P‘eria region of Iran and Muzhumbar just north of Tabriz came originally from Salmast and spoke varieties of the Salmast dialect⁷. Mesrobyan 2018 adds that the New Julfa villages of Nors and Kyagh migrated from Salmast. A clearer example of a descendant of the Salmast dialect may be the dialect spoken in Mayakovski (Kotayk‘) studied by Katvalyan 2020.

dialect; this is not contradicted by Gharibyan labelling it “Urmia dialect” (1941:219), because Salmast was a subdialect of Urmia in his classification (q.v. (1)).

⁶ The wikipedia entries for Azatek, Gay, and Getazat (accessed 10 February 2022) state, contrary to Varyan, that they were settled by immigrants from both Salmast and Khoy. Hakobyan 1987:217 on the other hand states that Getazat (until 1940 Aghjaghala) was settled by Armenians from Salmast in 1923. The wikipedia entry for Sařnaghbyur states that it was settled by immigrants from Alashkert, Kars, Basen, and Mush.

⁷ The sample of Muzhumbar dialect in Muzhumbarts‘ 1950.7:5 is clearly not closely related to Salmast; it appears more related to Gharadagh, which correlates with Baghramyan’s list of villages to which Armenians from the Persian province of P‘aytakaran relocated in 1828-29 (1985:185).

We focus in the present chapter on the traditional dialect as preserved by the Salmastetsi communities within Iran, in the lexical items and texts collected by Arshak At‘ayan while teaching in Savra in 1904-1906, in the materials collected by Achaean from Ashot Tēr-Pōghosean and his family in 1920 in Tabriz (HAB 1.24) and encoded in his etymological dictionary (1926-35), the wordlists published by Babloyan (1975) and Ōhanean (2012a), and my 2017-2022 fieldwork with Sarkis Barkhoudarian, Vartkes Zakarian, and the others in the Los Angeles area credited at the beginning of this chapter.⁸ Readers interested in hearing this form of the dialect can find 1995 oral and vocal performances of the troubador Avak‘ Gyozali T‘or of Direshk’s c. 1892 poem Ղարիբնյան [karibətʰuen] by Suren Melik‘ Muradean and Haftevantsi Gourgen Khoudikian respectively at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhLUTgtpp2E>, beginning at 1:00:30, and recitation of a folk tale by Gourgen Khoudikian beginning at 1:06:32.

My main consultants to date have been Vartkes Zakarian and Sarkis Barkhoudarian. Mr. Zakarian (“Z” throughout this chapter) was born in 1942 and lived in Haftevan until the age of 22 with a mother who spoke entirely in Salmast dialect. Mr. Barkhoudarian (“S” throughout this chapter) was my primary source of information on Salmast. I provide a biographical sketch here to help the reader contextualize his form of the dialect. S’s parents were born in Haftevan to families who spoke the Salmast dialect. During the Genocide in 1915 they fled to Armavir in Russia, and subsequently relocated to Teheran in 1930, where S was born in 1938. S’s parents spoke Russian with each other but Salmast Armenian to S and his three older siblings; the latter spoke mostly Teheran-based Armenian with him. S attended an Armenian Iranian school in Teheran from the first through fourth grades, followed by an Armenian school in Mashhad for the fourth through sixth grades; both schools used Standard Eastern Armenian.

Every summer from 1944-1947 S spent three months in Haftevan, where by his report all of the locals spoke in Salmast dialect except for the store owners in Shahpur, who

⁸ Further materials that I have not been able to see include (i) a collection of responses by an Armenian from P‘ayajuk to the questions in Muradyan et al.’s 1977 dialect atlas (notebook #365 of the Dialect Institute in Erevan), (ii) a study of the Salmast dialect which Melik‘ Dawit‘-Bēk states that he had prepared (1919:x) but to the best of my knowledge was never published; (iii) a collection of Nasreddin Hoja stories in Salmast dialect said to exist by Sargsyan (2018:35).

spoke Azeri. S's Salmastetsi grandmother lived with his family until 1958 and spoke only Salmast dialect.

From the seventh through twelfth grades S was taught in Farsi and studied French and Arabic. He also learned enough Azeri to converse with the family's maid. S studied engineering at the University of Teheran from 1956 until 1959, when he relocated to the United States, where he has lived since that time. He speaks Standard Armenian at home with his family; his children speak Standard Armenian and English but not Salmast dialect.

In addition to the materials provided by S and Z, in the next section I will also draw on the Salmast materials in Jahukyan's *Introduction to Armenian Dialectology*, which apparently come from At'ayan 1906, a certain A. Babayan, and Paruyr Sevak (1972:9). Sevak was born in Ch'anakhch'i (now Zangakatun) in the Republic of Armenia, which was founded in 1830 by refugees from Salmast and Khoy (Varyan 2008:76), but his particular ancestors were from Haftevan (Gasparyan 2001:24). Readers interested in further information on descendants of the Salmast dialect spoken in the Republic of Armenia can consult Vardanyan 2005 and Katvalyan 2018, 2020.

For the most part I do not address the diaspora varieties here, as in most or all instances it is not clear what linguistic contributions were made by Salmast vs Khoy and Urmia. A notable exception is Mayakovski, which according to Katvalyan 2020:208ff was settled specifically by refugees from Salmast and preserves many features of the Salmast dialect (albeit mixed with features of the surrounding Ararat dialect).

1.2. Subgrouping

How does Salmast fit into the sphere of Armenian dialects? Being physically located between Khoy to the north and Urmia to the south we might expect it to occupy a dialectal position intermediate between the two, and this appears to be the case, as we shall see below. Armenian dialectologists disagree, however, on the precise nature of this relationship. Patkanov 1869:74 considered Salmast, Khoy, and some varieties spoken in Karabagh to be varieties of what he called Khoy dialect. Adjarian treated Salmast along with Iğdır, Nakhichevan, and Maku as subdialects of the Khoy dialect (1909:84), which together with Artvin and Maragha (itself comprised of the Armenian varieties spoken in the towns of Maragha and Urmia and surrounding villages) formed the -el branch of

Armenian dialects (1909:81). Adjarian's justification for this classification was that each dialect in this branch formed the present indicative tense with a descendant of the original -l- participle (all originally from a locative plural in *-lis) followed by a form of the auxiliary verb 'be': the Khoy varieties have -s (e.g. Salmast [h]lq̪tu l̪s [yzes εm] 'I want'), the Maragha varieties have -li ([h]lq̪t(h) h̪s [yzel(i) im] 'I want'), and the Artvin varieties have -li(s) ([p]ulq̪ut(h) t̪ [əskəselis ε] 'he begins').

Gharibyan 1948 by contrast groups Salmast with Urmia, Igdir, Artashat, and Nakhichevan as "Urmia dialect" (within his s-branch) but not Maragha or Khoy (both in his l-branch)⁹. Asatryan 1962 and Mesropyan 2018 treat Salmast as a subdialect of Khoy-Urmia, with Maragha being a separate dialect. Jahukyan (1972:135) treats Khoy, Salmast (specifically P'ayačuk), Urmia, and Maragha as parallel/equal members of his Southeastern dialect group.

What emerges from these studies is a conflicting picture of the relationship of Salmast to its Armenian neighbors, summarized in (1).

(1) table of competing dialect groupings

	Khoy	Salmast	Urmia	Maragha
Adjarian				
Gharibyan				
Asatryan				
Jahukyan				

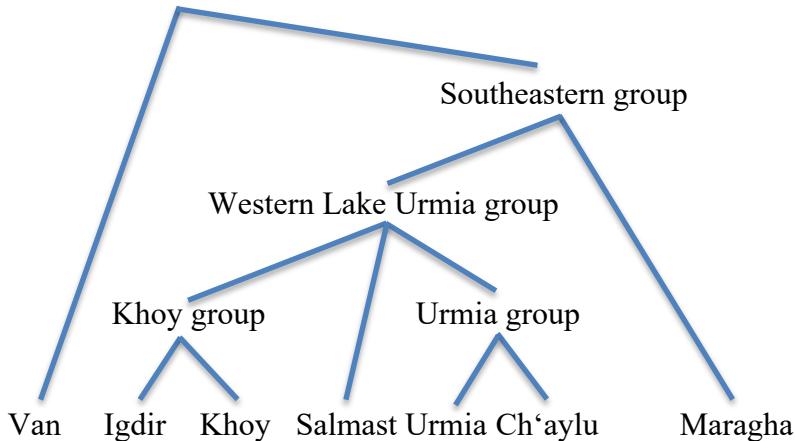
In what follows I attempt to lend empirical substance and clarity to this debate by examining the linguistic features that Salmast does and does not share with other Armenian dialects. As is usual in subgrouping studies I focus on shared innovations rather than preservations, the latter being an unreliable diagnostic of genetic affiliation. What emerges from this investigation is the general pattern in (2), wherein Salmast is most closely related to Khoy and Urmia but as a separate dialect rather than a subdialect of either; all three of

⁹ Ararat Gharibyan was himself from the village of Darghalu (now Aygezard), which according to T'arverdyan was settled by immigrants from Salmast. A text he composed in his dialect can be found in Achařean 1926:449-451.

these in turn form a group with Maragha; and this subfamily in turn groups with Van and Igdir. This subfamily belongs (along with many other varieties in Artsakh, Nakhichevan, and Armenia not depicted in (2) for space reasons) to the Group VII dialects that devoiced original plain voiced stops (q.v. section 2.2.2.4).

(2) a tree model of the relationship of Salmast to neighboring Armenian dialects

Group VII: dialects devoicing initial stops



1.2.1. with Khoy, Urmia, Maragha, and Van

As depicted in (2), Armenian dialectologists tend to assume a tree rather than a wave model of relationship between the modern Armenian dialects, wherein for example it is not possible for a dialect in the Eastern branch of the tree to share a linguistic innovation with dialects in the Western branch of the tree. The Salmast dialect displays both treelike and wavelike patterns, however. An example of the latter which groups Salmast and its linguistically closest neighbors in (2) with the Western branch of Armenian dialects is the innovation of a perfective participle in -r (as in Salmast կընացիր եմ [kənatsʰiɹ em] ‘I went’ (in Z’s translation of T‘umanyan’s story The Liar, sentence 11), Van լսիր եմ ‘I have listened’ (Acharyan 1952:196) vs SEA զնացել եմ [gənatsʰeɹ em]; Jahukyan 1972 feature #85). This innovation appears in almost all of the Western dialects, but according to Jahukyan 1972 has also spread to the eastern dialects of Tabriz, Kamo (originally from Bayazed), Khoy, Mehtishen (a descendant of Khoy, Davt‘yan 1966:250), Payajuk, Urmia, and Maragha.

One also finds Salmast and the other dialects of northwestern Iran patterning with adjacent Western dialects in southeastern Turkey in the development of word-initial *h to խ- [χ]- (Jahukyan 1972 feature 16, Muradyan 1982:264, Katvalyan 2007), as in հարիր hariwr ‘100’ > խար ’jhp [χæjɪɹ] (HAB, O), հայր hayr ‘father’ + պոյր k‘oyr ‘sister’ > Salmast

խերքիւր [χεրքիյր] (B), խերքուր [χεրքիյր] (O) ‘father’s sister’¹⁰. Relatively recent loanwords generally do not undergo this change, e.g. Azeri հօkim > Salmast հսմաստ [hækʰjim] ‘doctor’ (B), nor do learned words such as հրաշք hrašk‘ ‘miracle’ > հրաշկ [hərəʃk] (B; HAB has հրաշք [hərəʃkʰ] ~ խրաշկ [χərəʃk]).

The geographic spread of this wave of innovation is depicted in (3).

(3) $h > \chi$ in Armenian dialects¹¹

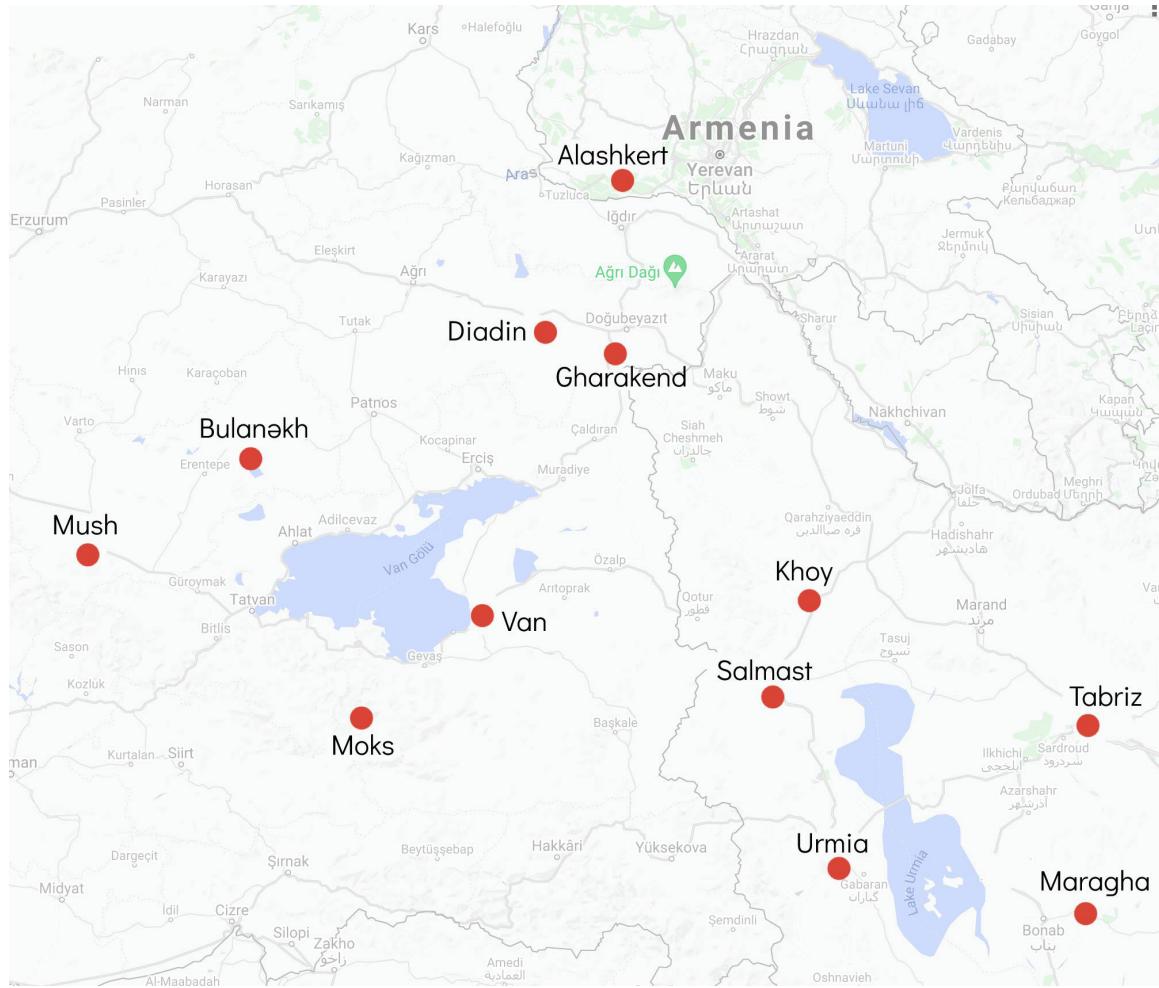


¹⁰ Interestingly one also finds this change in Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken in the Republic of Armenia, but not in the variety (formerly) spoken in Salmast (Geoffrey Khan, p.c.).

¹¹ In order to make the map more compact I have omitted Kamo, New Julfa, and Vardenis because they brought this feature from Bayazet, Julfa, and Diadin respectively. I have also added Igdır, which is not mentioned by Jahukyan or Muradyan but possesses this feature (cf. e.g. huuun hast > խասս [χast] ‘firm’ in Haykuni 1901a:300).

The peculiar correspondent of Classical Armenian սուլ tal ‘husband’s sister’ in Salmast, սուլ talv (HAB, Z 778; metathesized to սուլ tavl in Maragha), occupies a similar space, extending to Mush and its subdialects as shown in (4):

(4) original dialects showing սուլ talv ‘husband’s sister’



This form is also documented in a number of descendants of these dialects in the Republic of Armenia (Katvalyan 2018). Patrick Taylor (p.c.) is of the opinion that սուլ talv (from a hypothetical original *tsalv) probably continues the inherited original nominative (Proto-Indo-European *g(é)lh₂-ōu-s? *gʷlH-ōi?), while the mainstream alternative սուլ tal has innovated or generalized in a different pattern. Martirosyan 2010:596-7 observes on this point that “in either case, *talw represents the original nominative. This is attractive since,

as informed by Ačaryan (1952: 101), talw is confined to the nominative in the dialect of Van.” If Martirosyan and Taylor are correct, սալվ talv should not be used as an example of a common innovation of the group to which Salmast belongs.

The Salmast outcome of original յօրանջել yōranjel ‘yawn’ has a similar distribution: [oroʃkətal] in Salmast (B opoշկտալ, O օրօշկրտալ, Taghawarean 1898:97 օրոշկրտալ [oroʃkətal], որոճքտալ [oroʃətal]), Khoy-Urmia (As), Van (HAB), Aparan and Mush (Amatuni 1912). Adjarian 1926 provides no Maragha outcome for this etymon.

In many instances the connections of Salmast and the southeastern group to the Western dialects are restricted specifically to Van. Lexical innovations shared by this set of dialects include the forms in (5):

(5) lexical innovations shared by the southeastern group and Van

- a. նապաստակ napastak ‘hare’ > լապօստրակ [lapəstrak] (Van (HAB), Salmast (HAB, O, Z), or with aspiration լափօստրակ [lapʰəstrak] (B and Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:202)). HAB and Achařean 1926 do not provide an outcome in Maragha. (Similar forms but with an additional innovation of prosthetic schwa are found in Karabagh and Hadrut ըլըրաստրակ [ələbástrak] (Davt'yan 1966:437) and Agulis ըլըպազտրակ [ələpáztrak] (Adjarean 1935:49).)
- b. առաւնոն արաւոտ ‘morning’ > առաւնուն [aratun] (Salmast (A 198, HAB, Z 276; also in Malishka (Hunanyan 2017)), Khoy-Urmia (As; also in Ch'aylu (D)); HAB 1:256 also has Van and Maragha, and Nor Nakhichevan [aradun]).
- c. շխոնուկ [ʃəxtuk] ‘frog’ is found in Salmast (Taghawarean 1897:546, A 137, O, S 148, Z 258), Van and Urmia (Asatryan 1962:230, Sargsyan et al. 2001.4:253). Amatuni 1912 has a variant շղոնուկ [ʃəktuk] for Khoy, and Achařean 1913 has the same for Van. HAB and Achařean 1926 do not provide a ‘frog’ form for Maragha.
- d. կրիա kria ‘turtle’ > Salmast գրեանզոս [gərjangot] (Taghawarean 1898:98), կրյանկոս (HAB), կրյանկոս [kərjankot] (O), կիրյանկուէնս [kirjankuert] (B); Khoy կրեանկոս [kərjankot] (Achařean 1913), Van կրիանկոս [kəriankot] (Sargsyan et al. 2001); HAB and Achařean 1926 do not provide an outcome of this word for Maragha. The only other similar form I am aware of is Erevan կռնակոս [kərnakot] (Amatuni 1912).

- e. արիւն ariwn ‘blood’ with fronted first vowel and high round second vowel: Salmast էրիւն [ɛryn] (HAB, B), էրուն [ɛrun] (O, Z); Khoy-Urmia էրիւն [ɛryn] (As); Maragha էռիւն [œryn] (HAB); Van villages էրուն [ɛrun] (Acharyan 1952), Shatakh էրուն [ɛrun] (Muradyan 1962).

1.2.2. The Lake Urmia dialect group: Salmast, Xoy, Urmia, and Maragha

Perhaps the most common pattern with Salmast innovations is for them to be shared specifically with the other members of the Southeastern dialect group. This includes morphological features such as the formation of a present progressive or presentative construction with կն [ko] (q.v. section 3.2.3) and the use of էր [ɛr] to mark the past tense analytically (q.v. section 3.2.4), and lexical features such as the ones in (7).

(7) lexical innovations in the Southeastern dialect group

- a. ով ov ‘who’ > վա՞լ [væv] Salmast (A, HAB, B, O), Urmia-Khoy (As), Maragha (HAB)
- b. հարսանիր harsanik‘ ‘wedding’ > խառնիս [χarnis] in Salmast (Taghawarean 1897:545, O), Khoy-Urmia (As; also Ch‘aylu խառնիս [χarnis], խա՞ռնիս [χærnis] (Davt‘yan 1966)), and Maragha (Acharean 1911:284 and HAB). Van (HAB) and B have խարնիս [χarnis] with a tapped r [ɾ]. The խառնիս [χarnis] form has been preserved in at least some of the Salmast diaspora communities, e.g. Malishka (Mkrtsch‘yan 2017), Kotayk‘ (Harut‘yunyan 2014), and Gegharkunik‘ (Katvalyan 2018).
- c. ուղղորդ սիլօր ‘correct’ with an աղվ- [aɣv]- sequence: Salmast աղվորթ [aɣvortʰ] (HAB, O) or աղվուերթ [aɣvuetʰ] (B); Khoy-Urmia աղվորթ [aɣvortʰ] (As); Maragha աղվորթ [aɣvərtʰ], արվորթ [arvərtʰ], ավորթ [avərtʰ] (HAB).
- d. մատանի matani ‘ring’ > մանիլյ [manikʰ] in Salmast (HAB, B, O), Khoy-Urmia (As), and Maragha (Acharean 1926).
- e. Rounding of the first vowel and loss of the t in զաղտնի(p) gaghtni ‘secret’ > Salmast լյուէնիկյ [kjuεknikj] (HAB), լյէոնիկյ [kjœknikj] (B), լյօնիկյ [kjɔknikj] (O); Khoy-Urmia լյօնիկյ [kjɔknikj] (As) and Ch‘aylu լյէոնիքյ [kjœknikʰj] (D); Maragha կուէնիքյ [kuεknikʰj] (HAB).

- f. անցանել ‘pass’ > Salmast լունել (HAB, B, O), Khoy-Urmia and Maragha լունել (A, HAB), all pronounced [əsnεl].

1.2.3. with Khoy and Urmia

It is also common for Salmast to share innovations with Khoy and Urmia to the exclusion of Maragha, as we might expect for geographical reasons. Because of the large number of linguistic innovations shared by this set of dialects we give it a distinct name, the “Western Lake Urmia group”. Some lexical innovations shared by this group are given in (8).

(8) lexical innovations shared by the Western Lake Urmia group

- a. արտասունը artasunk‘ ‘teardrop(s)’ > արսունը [ɑrsunkʰ] in Salmast (HAB, B, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As); the Maragha cognate has a trilled r, սոսունը [arsunkʰ] (HAB). We also find արսունը [arsunkʰ] in Sruandzteants’s transcription of the performance of the Sasunts‘i Dawit‘ epic by Krpo, a villager from the village of Aṛnist in the Bitlis province.
- b. բանալի(p) banali(k‘) ‘key’ > պա’լիս [pælis] in Salmast (HAB, B, O, X 116, Z 20) and Khoy-Urmia (As; also Ch‘aylu (D)); according to HAB Maragha has պա’նիս [pænis] ~ պա’նէս [pænes], and Van պա’լիս [pælnis].
- c. թերեւ t‘et‘ew ‘light’ > թեփսող [tʰeftər] is attested only in Salmast (HAB, B, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As), though HAB mentions a Van form թելքը [tʰevtʰər] ‘light-minded’.
- d. իշխո [iʃχo] and իշխա՞ր [iʃtʰær], both meaning ‘how?’, appear to be attested only in Salmast (B, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As) including Iğdır (Haykuni 1901a:302 and <http://eduardisabekyan.com/?p=3772>). They are also common in the descendants of Salmast and Khoy-Urmia in the Republic of Armenia.
- e. հարիր hariwr ‘100’ > խա’յիր [χæjir] in Salmast (HAB, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As) but not Maragha, which preserves the original p r: խա’րիր [χærir] (HAB).
- f. նշանց տալ nšanc‘ tal ‘show’ > Salmast շաշ տալ [ʃaʃ tal] (HAB, B, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As), but Maragha has նիշաս տալ [niʃas tal] (Achařean 1926).
- g. սպիտակ spitak ‘white’ > սըլտա՞կ [səvtækʰ] with -[əvtæ]- in Salmast (HAB, O) and Khoy-Urmia (As) but not Maragha, which has սիպտա՞կ [siptækʰ], or Van, which has սվտակ [səvtak] ~ սիվտակ [sivtak] ~ սիվտայ [sivtaj] (Sargsyan et al. 2001). Salmast

has attested variants սվտակ [səvtak^j] (A 211), սլֆտա՛լյ [səftæk^j] (HAB), սլվտա՛կ [səvtæk] (Z 294), սլֆտակ [səftak] (Y 29), սլպտա՛կ [səptæk] (AK), and the Van-like սրւտակ [səvtak] (Safō 1916, though this spelling may represent [səvtæk] as Safō, like O, generally indicates fronting in {æ œ y} after k and g).

- h. զարդարել zardarel ‘decorate’ > Salmast քա՞նթրել [zæntʰrɛl] (A, HAB), middle քա՞նթրվել [zæntʰərvɛl] (O); Khoy-Urmia քա՞նթրել [zæntʰərlɛl] (As). Compare Maragha քա՞նթի՛րլ [zærtʰɪrlɛl] (HAB).
- i. միւռն miwron ‘chrism’ > Salmast մեռլն (HAB), Khoy-Urmia մեռլն (As), both [merlon]. Maragha has մըլրուն [mœrlun] (HAB).

Within the Western Lake Urmia group I have not found any particularly clear or compelling linguistic innovations that are shared by Khoy and Salmast to the exclusion of Urmia, or by Salmast and Urmia to the exclusion of Khoy.

1.2.4. Salmast as a separate dialect

As mentioned earlier, Salmast tends to be treated as a subdialect of either Khoy, Urmia, or Maragha. There may however be enough instances where it differs from these for it to be considered a separate dialect, depending on one’s views on the utility of lexical (as opposed to grammatical) differences in establishing dialecthood. We have already seen a number of cases where Salmast differs from Maragha; parallels can be found where Salmast differs from both Khoy and Urmia, as exemplified in (9-10).

(9) innovations found in Salmast but not Khoy or Urmia

- a. Stressed o sometimes raises in Salmast but not Khoy or Urmia (Jahukyan 1972 feature 42), e.g. զործ gorc ‘work’ > Salmast լուն^tրծ [kju^ɛrts] (B; but HAB լյէօրծ [kjɔərts]) vs Khoy-Urmia կործ [korts] (As).
- b. All three dialects overwrite the second consonant with the first in original բոկիկ ‘barefoot’, but only Salmast appends ‘foot’: Salmast վոտքալուկիկ [votəpœpik^j] (HAB), վոտքեպուկ [votpœpuk] (Z) vs. Khoy-Urmia պէօսիկ [pœpik^j] (As 193).

- c. Original qnq goz ‘urine’ unexpectedly develops aspiration in Salmast (O p^hnq [k^{hj}oz], HAB p^htoq [k^{hj}œz]), whereas Khoy-Urmia has the expected voiceless unaspirated outcome þnq [k^joz] (As).
- d. Salmast (and Maragha) have the slightly unexpected þññ inn ‘nine’ > þññw [innæ] (HAB), with lowering and fronting of the epenthetic vowel, whereas Khoy-Urmia has the more expected outcome þññþ [innə] (As).
- e. Original ծուկն jukn ‘fish’ develops irregularly in Salmast into ծիւնw’ [tsynæ] (HAB and B, both of which also have a regular biform ծիւկj [tsyk^j]; Z 14 has ծունw’ [tsunæ]). Khoy-Urmia and Maragha have only ծիւկj [tsyk^j] (As and HAB respectively).
- f. Original unu(j)qp taygr ‘husband’s brother’ undergoes dorsal lenition in Salmast unjhp [tejhr] (HAB), but not Khoy-Urmia unþpþp [tek^hər] (As).

One conversely finds some linguistic innovations in Khoy and Urmia but not Salmast, such as the metathesis in ułarkel ‘send’ > oþoþukþl [oroðkel] (As). Salmast, Maragha, and Ch’aylu share the change of the root vowels to o, but maintain the original order of the consonants: Salmast oþorþukþl [oþorkel] (HAB, B, Ch’aylu (D)), Maragha oþorþukþl [oþorkel] (HAB).

Differences between Salmast and Khoy/Urmia also exist where each has technically innovated from the original Armenian form. Some examples are provided in (10).

(10) other differences between Salmast and Khoy/Urmia

- a. According to Jahukyan (1972 feature 64, p. 99), Salmast possesses the normal Eastern locative case ending -nium -[um], but Khoy, Urmia, and Maragha pattern with the Western dialects in lacking an explicit locative suffix. The available Salmast corpus reveals a picture more similar to what we find in Khoy-Urmia-Maragha, though: there are only two instances of -um locatives, and both were produced by recent speakers

who are likely to have introduced the suffix via code mixing with Standard Eastern Armenian¹².

- b. In Salmast original (h)ալեւոր (h)alewor ‘old man’ retains the back vowel [ɑ] in the first syllable but deletes the medial vowel: HAB խալվոր [χalvor], B խալ վուէր [χalvuer], Taghawarean 1897:546 հալվորիկ [halvorik]. Maragha, Khoy, Urmia, and Ch‘aylu also delete the medial vowel, but differ from Salmast in fronting the vowel of the initial syllable: Maragha խալ վիր [χælvir] (HAB), Khoy/Urmia խալ վոր [χælvor] (As); Ch‘aylu խալ վլօր [χævlօr] (D). O խալ վլոր [χælivor] is doubly unexpected in this context, as it differs from the other Salmast varieties in fronting the first vowel and from all of the Southeastern group in maintaining the medial vowel.
- c. Original ականջ akanj ‘ear’ moves the ն [n] to the first syllable in Salmast (and Maragha): HAB ա’նկյազ [ængjədʒ], B ա’նկա’ն [ængæf], O ա’նկյա’զ [ængjædʒ], Z ա’նկա’զ [ængædʒ]; Maragha ա’նկյա’ն [ængjæf]. Khoy, Urmia, and Ch‘aylu by contrast metathesize the k and n: Khoy/Urmia ա’նցիլյ [ændʒikj] (As); Ch‘aylu ա’նցա’լյ [ændʒækj] (but also ա’նկյա’ն [ængjæf], as in Maragha).
- d. Salmast has a form for ‘carrot’ քյա՛շիլը [kʰjɑʃfyl] (B), քյա՛շիլոյ [kʰjɑʃfyl] (A 18), քյա՛շուլը [kʰjɑʃfyl] (O), քյա՛շուլ [kʰjɑʃfyl] (Z 141), քաշուլ [kʰɑʃfyl] (Kadimean 1933-34 = 2020:15.2:7) that according to Asatryan 1962 is not found in Khoy-Urmia, which instead uses զյա՛շուլ [gjæzfyl]. The Salmast form appears to be rare in the Armenian dialect world; I have only found it attested as Adapazar and “T”¹³ պեշիլ [kʰɛʃfyl] (Achaorean 1913 and Sargsyan et al. 2001 respectively), and Musaler պէշուլ [kʰɛʃfyl] (Andreasyan 1967:287). Voskanyan 2016 mentions a form պէշուլ [kʰɛʃfyl] being used in the Kotayk‘ village of Aramus, which according to him was founded by immigrants

¹² One occurs in Z’s 2017 translation of T‘umanyan’s story The Liar: Էդ թաքավորը իրա երկիրում լուռա տալի վեօր Վա՛վ Էնենց մեխաստ սուր ասի, ես իմ թաքավորթոնը տա՛րը կըտամ [ed tʰakʰavorə ira jerkirum lur a tali vœr væv enentsʰ me χat sutʰ asi jes im tʰakʰavortʰonə tærə kətam] ‘the king announces in his land “whoever tells such a lie, I will give them [half of] my kingdom”. The other occurs in only one of the many versions of Ղարիբլյան [Ղարիբեն]: Թողիմ տա՛շտերում իմ պա՛ն ու կործը [tʰoɾim tæʃterum im pæn u kɔrtse] ‘I left my thing[s] and work in the fields’.

¹³ The authors unfortunately do not include a “T” in their list of abbreviations, so I am not sure what dialect this T represents.

from Khoy (Varyan 2008:2007 specifies that some of the ancestors of the present inhabitants came from the villages of Kərş and Shabanlu in the Khoy region). Narek Galstyan in the same thread states that his family in the Vayots‘ Dzor villages of K‘araglukh and Aghnjadzor came originally from Khoy (Khoy and Salmast according to Varyan 2008:15, 206) but use լյազը [kjazar] not պէշիր [kʰeʃir]. Laura Injighulyan, on the other hand, states in the same thread that Khoyetsis live in the Ejmiatsin village of Gay and պէշնլը [kʰeʃur] is known to many of them, especially the elders, though գյազը [gjazar] is now used for ‘carrot’ in their dialect. (The original settlers came from Khoy and Salmast according to Varyan 2008:50.) Injighulyan adds that some of the villages in the Sisian region that were settled by Khoyetsis use պյշնլը [kʰjoʃur]. In modern Turkish dialects we find forms like keşir, keşür, and kişür in numerous locations according to the Derleme Sözlüğü (Türk Dil Kurumu 1963-1982), including keşir in Iğdır and keşür in Bitlis and Varto (Mush). Patrick Taylor (personal communication) adds that “Salmast պյշ’շիր, etc., are of Turkic origin. Axundov et al. 2007 give keşir ‘carrot’ for Tabriz Azeri, and the standard Turkmen is still käşir (Turkish now using havuç (probably from Persian havīj) and Azeri using kök and yerkökü, literally ‘root’ and ‘earth-root.’) These Turkic words for ‘carrot’ resemble terms in Indo-Iranian (Persian gazar; Kati gažgūm; Khowar xažgūm, Prakrit gajjara, etc. (see Turner 1962-85: 4140 gārjara).”

1.2.5. Differences within Salmast

We find a non-trivial number of linguistic differences between the different Salmast sources available, which is perhaps not surprising given factors such as the number and geographic spread of villages with Armenian populations within the Salmast county and its diaspora, the temporal range of attestation of the dialect (1870s-2022), and the differing levels of linguistic training in the individuals documenting the dialect. In some cases the observed differences may be due to the speakers hailing from disparate villages: the main differences observed for example are between Ohanean’s materials and everything else, as amply documented throughout this chapter, and this may result from Ohanean’s family being from Sarna whereas most other sources are from Haftevan, Mahlam, or Akte Khaneh. To take a concrete example, Ohanean’s forms systematically show n [o] and nl

[u] where other Salmast varieties have էօ [œ] and իւ [y] respectively, e.g. երդումն erdumn ‘oath’ > B էօրթիւմ [œrtʰym] vs. O օրթում [ortʰum]. This may result from Sarna having unconditionally backed the front round vowels found in the rest of the Southeastern dialect group, which would have many cross-linguistic parallels, e.g. in the Turkish dialect of Vidin (Nemeth 1965 apud Vago 1973:582). It is also possible that the relevant vowel distinctions are more phonetically subtle in Sarna than in e.g. Turkish or French, which could have led Ohanean to not represent them.

Other differences in the Salmast source material may involve accessing different speech registers or social strata. For example, some foreign words containing [f] appear with [ph] in B but [f] in O, such as Turkish/Azeri fayton ‘phaeton, carriage, coach’ > O Փայտն [fajton] vs B վայունն [pʰajton] (see Acharean 1926:24 for discussion of a parallel phenomenon in the Maragha dialect). In such instances B may for any number of reasons be tapping into a traditional non-literate source that is unaffected by the literary form with f in the source language.

Other differences between our Salmast sources may involve age or degree of exposure. To take one example, B reports a future tense marker սոլյը [tək̡iə] ~ կյըսը [k̡jətə] (q.v. section 3.2.5), which Sarkis Barkhoudarian does not have in his version of the Haftevan variety. This difference may be due to B belonging to an earlier generation and accessing speakers of even earlier generations who still possessed this distinctive Western Lake Urmia form before it disappeared from the dialect altogether, or it may be that growing up in the urban diaspora Mr Barkhoudarian was simply not exposed to the contexts in which this form (as opposed to the other future formations in 3.2.5) were used.

In some cases it is not clear what the source of the observed variation is. To take one example, for ‘thirty’ A has հանուն [jarsun] while HAB has յէնուն [jersun] (the latter is also the form in Khoy-Urmia (As 195) and Maragha (HAB)). Though many Armenian dialects have lowered the first vowel of original eresun ‘thirty’ to [a], none of the dialect forms in HAB are exactly հանուն [jarsun]; the closest relative is Tiflis and Hawarik յարուն [jarsun]. However, we do find the variant եանուն [jarsun] in Sayat'-Nova’s songbook, in Tiflis dialect passages in Raffi’s 1871 novel Zahruمار and Nar Dos’s 1889 Mer T‘aghē, and in Tēr Aghek’sandreas’s 1885 collection of Tiflis dialect folklore. As At‘ayan was based in Tiflis just before moving to Salmast, it is possible that his hearing

of the Salmast form *jɛnunlն* [jersun] was colored by his memory of the Tiflis form *խանուն* [jarsun].

2. Phonology

The synchronic sound system of Salmast is, with certain added complexities discussed below, similar to that of the neighboring language Azeri, whereas its diachronic development is similar to what we find in other Group VII Armenian dialects (Van, Khoy-Urmia, Maragha, etc.).

2.1. vowels

Like Azeri, Salmast possesses the vowel phonemes in (11):

(11) the Salmast vowel system

h i	(hɪ y)	ɛ	u
ɛ	(ɛ o œ)		o
(u' æ)		u a	

Vowels in parentheses are not possessed by all speakers. Examples of each vowel in initial, medial, and final position, with notes on how they are rendered in the written Salmast sources, are provided in (12).

(12) examples of the Salmast vowels

h i hեսել hetew > իսեվ [itɛv] ‘behind’ (HAB, B, O, S); սնիպ! [arikʰj] ‘roof’ (HAB, B, O, Z); (որբել)այրի (orbew)ayri ‘widow’ > վէօրիվէրի [vœrpʰvɛri] (B), վորիվէրի [vorpʰvɛri] (HAB, O).

ɛ

լինել lineլ ‘be’ > լիել [əleł] (HAB, B, O); future/obligatory marker սլկյը [təkjə] ~ կյըտը [kjətə] (B). The future/obligatory proclitic shows that Salmast allows words whose only vowel is schwa. This is also true for stressed full forms, e.g. պլստ-պլստ [pətptət] ‘meticulous’ (O), մլոմլող [məkmək] ‘mosquito’ (Z 62), փլոշ [pʰərtʃʰ] ‘wool, handful of hair’ (O); փլշը! [pʰəʃkʰj] ‘fortune telling’ (O), դլբըն [dəbər] ‘two-year-old goat’ (O) < Az. dibir.

n <small>l</small> u	qqn <small>ŋ</small> z zgoyš ‘careful’ > n <small>l</small> ulkn <small>l</small> [uskuʃ] (B); Azeri çaku ‘knife’ > չակու [tʃʰaqu].
h <small>l</small> y	n <small>l</small> q <small>ł</small> l uzel ‘want’ > h <small>l</small> q <small>ł</small> l [yzəl] (HAB, B); շուն šun ‘dog’ > շիւն [syn] (HAB, B); դու du ‘you.SG’ > տիւ [ty] (HAB, B). Rendered in different sources as <n <small>i</small> > (B), <h <small>l</small> > (HAB), <n.l> (A), and perhaps ինւ (Kh) and n <small>l</small> j (Zaghikian 2000). It is not clear whether Kh’s and Zaghikian’s spellings are intended to represent the pronunciation [y], or they have actually split original [y] into a diphthong, [iu] in the case of Kh (cf. the American English pronunciation of German <i>Führer</i> as [fjuərə̯ɪ]) and [uj] in the case of Zaghikian ¹⁴ . There is some variation by individual and by lexical item as to whether a given word has [y] or [u]; compare for example HAB իլզէլ [yzəl] vs Z n <small>l</small> q <small>ł</small> l [uzel] ‘want’.
o'	See n <small>l</small> ^t [u ^e] below.
o o	օրինել օրհնել ‘bless’ > օխնել [oχnəl] (B, O), վոռթուզալ [pʰortʰugal] ‘orange’, քն k’o ‘your.SG’ > p <small>l</small> n [kʰio] (B).
ɛ o œ	օրօրնց օրօրօց ‘cradle’ > էօրէօրէօց [œrœrœtsʰ] (B); դա՞ղէօ ‘(older) sister’ (B; also Khoy-Urmia (As 214)). This is a separate phoneme from /o/ for at least some speakers, as shown by minimal pairs such as կնոնդ [k <small>j</small> ond] ‘circle’ vs. կէոնդ [k <small>j</small> ənd] ‘crater’ (S). There is some variation by individual and by lexical item as to whether a given word has [œ] or [o]; compare for example ‘rooster’: B ահլոր [ah̚lor] ~ ա’հլէօր [æh̚ləor] vs HAB ա’յլէօր [æjhləor] vs O ս’հլոր

¹⁴ We also find [uj] where many modern varieties of Armenian have [y] in Cilician Middle Armenian (Karst 1901:65), Aleppo (David Boyajian, p.c.) and lower-class spoken Lebanon Armenian more generally (Hovsep Dolatian p.c.), Erevan informal spoken register (María Ohannesian and John Sarkissian, p.c.), and Jerusalem (Vaux 2002). Cf. also Old Norse ý > oi in the Valle (Setesdal) dialect of Norwegian (Küspert 1988:222).

Patrick Taylor (p.c.) points out a potential parallel in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, where original long *ū (IPA [u:]) fronts to ü (IPA [y]) in the mountain dialects to the west of the Urmi plain but becomes uy (IPA [uj]) in the dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi, as in *xabbūša ‘apple’ > Christian Urmi xabúyša, Mawana xabǘša (Khan 2016.1:25). He suggests that the western mountain dialects may preserve the earlier stage of the vowel ü, with no subsequent resolution to -uy-. The fission of [y] to [uj] may then have been an areal innovation in the Lake Urmia region that happened to be shared by the Armenian variety acquired by Zaghikian and the Christian Neo-Aramaic variety spoken in Urmia. Variation similar to that found in the Armenian and NENA varieties of Salmas can also be observed among Kurmanji dialects.

- [æhlor]; ‘forest’: S (Haftevan) մէօշա’ [mœʃæ], Ruben Nazarian (Mahlam) մնշա [moʃɑ].
- Է ε երթալ ert‘al ‘go’ > էթալ [ɛtʰæl] (HAB, B, O), ձմերուկ jmeruk ‘watermelon’ > ծմերիւկ [tsəmeryk] (B; O ծըմերուկ [tsəməruk]). Word-final Է [ɛ] is rare, but appears in B պլէ [kʰjərɛ], which B does not gloss but is likely the same as Azeri kirə ‘rent’ > O պլրա’ [kʰjəræ]; մի mi ‘one’ > մէ [mɛ] ‘a’ (A). This phoneme is pronounced [ɛ] in some contexts, e.g. փէն [pʰɛt] ‘wood’, and [e] in others, e.g. ծլր [tsɛr] ‘peak, tip’, but I have not yet figured out the distribution.
- Ո a արդիշնւմ abrišum ‘silk’ (Persian abrīshum) > B արկիշնւմ [arpʰɛʃum], O արկիշնւմ [arpʰəʃum]; Turkish dialectal¹⁵ baldırcan ‘eggplant’ > բալդրչան [baldərdzən] (B; A 18 բաղրիշան badridzən, M բաղրմշան badəmdzən); դուռնա [durna] ‘piece’ (B, O).
- Ո’ æ արել arew ‘sun’ > ա’րեվ [ærev] (B), Azeri gələcək ‘future’ > q’ա’լա’ջան [gʰælædʒək] (B); P allūcha ‘small plum, currant, cherry’ > ա’լու’չա’ [ælyʃʰæ] (B), ա’լ’չա’ [ælʃʰæ] ‘plum’ (O). There is some variation by individual and by lexical item as to whether a given word has [æ] or [a]; compare for example the imperfective participle of ‘go’: Z էթալ’ի [ɛtʰæli] vs Kh էթալի [ɛtʰali].

At‘ayan 1906 and Babloyan 1975 employ a number of additional vowel symbols, but it is not always straightforward to determine whether these were separate phonemes or rather allophones of the phonemes above.

(13) additional Salmast vowels

- Ը’ ə’ This symbol is used only by At‘ayan, who states that it is pronounced “with the mouth completely open, with a sound between Ը ə, Ո a, and Է e” (1906:3). By this description we might expect it to fall in the range of IPA [ə], [ɛ], or, if we treat Standard Armenian Ը as [i], [ə]. Because we cannot be sure of the pronunciation of this vowel in At‘ayan’s variety, I will transcribe it agnostically as <ə’>. Most instances of this vowel in At‘ayan 1906 are the definite article:

¹⁵ Found e.g. in the dialect of Archesh/Erçis on Lake Van (Türk Dil Kurumu 1965).

մարթ-լ’ [marthə] ‘the man’ (193), կնիկ-լ’ [kənikə] ‘the wife’, սիրու-լ’ [sirtə] ‘the heart’ (193). A small number of examples of other types appear in At‘ayan’s texts, such as վե՛րան’ն’ [və'ræn] ‘on’ (192) and սի՛րը լ’ն’ [t̪i'r̪] ‘time (in the sense of French fois)’ (194). The լ’ also appears in at least one genitive form, in local Armenians’ name for the Salmast region, սալմաստը վին’ն [salmastə pʰuə's], literally ‘Salmast.GEN ditch’ (3). The appearance of this symbol in the genitive may suggest a connection to the genitive schwa discussed for Maragha by Achařean (1926:18-19). He states for the latter dialect that “ի՛ ի՛ is an open i sound between i and ə, which the untrained ear sometimes hears as ə and sometimes as i. It is especially used as the genitive affix.”¹⁶ Achařean’s description suggests an IPA value of perhaps [ɪ] or [ə] for Maragha, but At‘ayan’s description of Salmast <լ’> as completely open and close to [ɑ] likely refers to a vowel at least one degree lower in height, perhaps [ɐ] or [ɜ]. The lowness of this vowel may be reflected in Kh’s use of -<ս> -a for the definite article, as in լակոնսա լակոնսա puppy-DEF ‘the puppy’, զահելպերսա դշահել-կհեր-ա young.person-PL-DEF ‘the young people’, վահճախունա վահճախունա schoolhouse-DEF ‘the schoolhouse’ (1880:3). **CF ALSO THIS USE IN 1. ADJARIAN’S 1926 SALMAST TEXT AND 2. MARAGHA**

It may also be relevant that At‘ayan also uses the <լ’> symbol in Azeri forms where Tabrizi Azeri (TA) has <i> (Karimzad et al. 2015:7), e.g. օլլի՛ [oldə] ‘became’ (170; TA <oldi>), զ’ա՛լ’լ’ն’սա՛ն’ [gjæliə'rsən] ‘you.SG came’ (117, TA gəlirsən), իշլ’ն’նա՛ [iʃl̥ə'nidæ] ‘in, inside’ (192; TA içində), ա՛լ’լ’ն’նա՛ [æl̥iə'nidæ] ‘in your.SG hand’ (194, TA əlində). Karimzad et al. 2015:7 state that in Tabrizi Azeri this vowel has the phonetic value [e] in absolute word-final position, but the F2 values for Farzad Karimzad (“Speaker 3”) in Figure 3 (p. 8) suggest a value closer to [i] or [ɪ] when compared to the formant chart in Mokari and Werner 2014:508. The value [ɪ] is also what we expect for TA <i> in closed syllables, as in gəlirsən, içində, and əlində above (Amir Khalilzadeh, p.c.), which fits with Achařean’s

¹⁶ Kh sometimes uses <լ’ օ> for the genitive, perhaps reflecting this sound, e.g. Սալմաստը Հաֆտևան գեղէն, likely rendering something like salmast-ə hæftəvan kəs-ə-n Salmast-GEN Haftevan village-ABL-DEF ‘from the Salmast village of Haftevan’ (1880:3).

description of the Maragha vowel but not so well with At‘ayan’s description of the Salmast vowel.

- پْ ə** B has three instances of what he transcribes as <پ°>. As he provides no information concerning the pronunciation of this vowel, I transliterate it agnostically as <ə>. B’s forms are ադըմ [adəm] ‘step’ (Turkish adım, Azeri addım), խըզալ [χəzal] ‘wheeze, ring??’, and քայքըվէլ [kʰajkʰəjvəl] ‘disintegrate’?.
- پְּ əi** B has a vowel پְּ <əi> in forms such as պապրիկ [papréik] ‘grandfather’ < պապիկ papik, քամրի [kʰaməi] ‘wind’ (B) < քամի k‘ami, պանրիր [panéir] ‘cheese’ < պանիր panir, փըստրիկ [pʰəstéik] ‘little’ < պղուկ pztik, կընրիկմ [kənóikəm] ‘[a] woman’ < կնիկ մի knik mi. At‘ayan 1906 has numerous instances of what may be the same sound sequence, including արձակել arjakel ‘release’ > կարցըլի [kartsʰəjvi] ‘will be freed’ (211; compare B արցըկել [artsʰəkəl], O առցըկել [artsʰəkəl], HAB առցլել [artsʰkəl], with A’s form showing the common Salmast development of coda լ k > յ y, q.v. section 2.2.2.6), անկանի ankanil ‘fall’ > կը յնի [kəjni] ‘will fall’¹⁷ (214), and many imperfective participial forms, including ուզելըի [uzeləi] ‘want.IMF.PPL’ (193) and տալըի [taləi] ‘give.IMF.PPL’ (193). This vowel, at least in the پְּ [əi] cases, seems to be the same as the <پְּ> [əi] Achaean describes for Maragha (1926:19): “<پְּ> represents the sound [əj], in which the j part is very short and fleeting, [in] e.g. ամրիս [amə's] ‘month’. It is found only after the labial sounds پ [b], պ [p], փ [pʰ], մ [m], վ [v].” Many of B’s examples of پְּ <əi> also immediately follow labials; the three apparent exceptions (պանրիր [panéir], փըստրիկ [pʰəstéik], կընրիկմ [kənóikəm]) all contain labials elsewhere in the word, but these non-local labials seem an unlikely source for the diphthongization of the original i. We also find əi in the subdialect of Aygezard (formerly Darghalu) spoken by Asatryan (1962:182), though he does not offer any comments on its distribution. Another possible parallel is the change of original *ī to /uy/ (IPA uj) in Neo-Aramaic dialects of the region in pharyngealized contexts (Geoffrey Khan, p.c.).

¹⁷ Gloss from S (AK has iynel~iynal; HAB has ինել inel for ‘fall’).

- լէ օε B has two examples of լէ օε, ավլէի [avəɛr] ‘destruction, ruin’ < սլեր awer, and թվիլէլ [tʰəpʰəɛl] < թափիլ t‘ap‘el ‘spill’. These appear to involve allophonic centralization of the phoneme /ɛ/ after a labial consonant (cf. Achaean 1926:19 on Maragha and Karabagh), parallel to what we find with i > Շi.
- օ’ սօ’ see նլէ սε.
- նլէ սε This vowel representation is used by A (as ն’ [uə’]), HAB (as նլէ սε), and B (as նլէ սɛ or occasionally նլէ սε), in e.g. B սղվուլթյթ [aɛvnuɛrtʰ] ‘correct’ < ուղղորդ ułłord. HAB and O have սղվորթ [aɛvortʰ] for this particular etymon, and O in fact invariably has <n> or <o> wherever HAB or B have նլէ սε. Though HAB has <n> in this particular etymon, it often has original o > նլէ [սε], e.g. զող գօլ ‘thief’ > կուլէդ [kjuɛd]. Similarly A often, but not invariably, has ն’ [uə’] in contexts corresponding to original stressed o, e.g. փնու p‘os ‘ditch’ > փն’u [pʰuə’s] (3), քրիստոս ‘Christ’ > քրիստուն’u [kʰristuə’s] (171), but օրհներ օրհner ‘bless.PPL’ > օխնիր [oχnir] (169), հորթ հորտ‘ ‘calf’ > խորթ [χortʰ] (193).

The Salmast pronunciation of original o as [սε] in certain phonological contexts is paralleled in Maragha (Achaean 1926:19-20). Achaean states in his discussion of the Maragha vowel system that “նլէ [սε] is a union of rapidly pronounced նլ [u] and է [ɛ], which we also find in Salmast and Eudokia [...] this diphthong is very rare in [Maragha] dialect; in all [such words] նլէ [սε] occurs before ն, ի, or ն.” This conditioned allophony largely holds for Salmast as well, as we can see in B forms including հնդ հօլ ‘soil’ > խուլէդ [χueɛd], հնոն հօլ ‘smell’ > խուլէն [χueɛt], խաղոն խալօլ ‘grape’ > խաղուլէդ [χanueɛd], խոզ խօզ > խուլզ [χuez], հորթ հորտ‘ ‘calf’ > խուլէրթ [χuerth] (note the contrast with A խորթ [χortʰ]), խոր խօր ‘pit’ > խուլէր [χueṛ], զորսն զօրտն ‘frog’ > կուլէռսն [kuert], փող պ‘օլ > փուլէդ [pʰueɛd] ‘money’. For B this diphthongization occurs before r as well: խնձոր խյօր > խընձուլէր [χəndzueṛ], (h)ալեւոր (h)alewor ‘old man’ > խալվուլէր [χal ՞ueṛ], ձոր յօր ‘valley’ > ծուլէր [tsueṛ].

The diphthongization takes place in other phonological contexts in Salmast as well, e.g. B ափսոս ap‘sos ‘shame’ > ափսուլէս [apʰsues], եղբայրութիւն elbayrut‘iwn ‘brotherhood’ > ախբերութուլէն [aχberutʰueñ], Persian bahīl

‘avaricious’ + -ութիւն -ut‘iwn ‘abstract noun suffix’ > բա՛խրջեռւէն [bæχəl^thuɛn] ‘envy’, զօրութիւն zōrut‘iwn ‘strength’ > զօրլքուլէն [zorət^thuɛn], Persian tamīz/Azeri təmiz ‘clean’ + -ութիւն -ut‘iwn ‘abstract noun suffix’ > թա՛մլքուլէն [tʰæməzt^thuɛn] ‘clean(li)ness’, թոնիր t‘onir ‘tandoor oven’ > թուլէնիր [tʰuəndir], արիւնստ ariwnot ‘bloody’ > էրիւնուլէն [ɛrynuɛt], անկոյզ ankoyz ‘walnut’ > ինգուլէզ [ingjuez] (but HAB ingjœz, Z ingjœz), լոյս loys ‘light’ > լուէս [luɛs], զրոյց zroyc’ ‘narrative’ > զրուէց [zəruɛt^h], ծոնց coc‘ ‘breast’ > ծուէց [tsuɛt^h].

ել <eə> This sequence appears only in A, where we find it in Սավրի-կերդ [savri kjərə], from Sawri-giwł ‘village of Savra’, the Salmast Armenians’ name for the village of Savra (1906:31). A sometimes uses <e> for [j], e.g. ելեսուն eresun ‘30’ > եասոսուն [jarsun] (211), so a likely interpretation here is [kjərə] (not to be confused with [kjərə], which At‘ayan would likely have written <կ’լրդ>). It seems unlikely that կերդ represents [keərə], as one might have expected At‘ayan to write <կերդ> in this case. For ‘village’ O has լյեղ [kjεrə], and HAB and B have լյեղ [kjεrə].

լ̄ i This symbol appears only in HAB, in լ̄ել [iləl] ‘be’. Though Acharéan does not provide a description of the pronunciation of this vowel in HAB, it seems reasonable to assume that it is similar to what he describes for the same symbol in his Maragha grammar: “լ̄ represents the Russian sound ы [i.e. [i]]—BV]. It is pronounced as a back, closed լ ə” (1926:18). On the basis of this description, I interpret լ̄ as [i]. The other Salmast sources either do not have or do not distinctly represent this vowel; e.g. A, B, and O all have լյել [ələl] for ‘be’. I do not include լ̄ [i] as a phoneme in (12), because it only appears in a single word in Salmast (the other ten Maragha words that contain this vowel according Adjarian 1926:18 all have Salmast ə or Ø in his HAB).

էօ yœ This symbol appears only in HAB, e.g. լնկոյզ ‘walnut’ > ինգլէօզ [ingjyœz] (and Z ingjœz, vs B ինգուլէզ [ingjuez], O լնկոյզ [əngjɔz], AK ա՛նկուզ [ænkuz]). Acharyan states in his grammar of the Van dialect (1952:15) that this symbol approximately represents “իւէօ үօ” (i.e. IPA [yœ]), but pronounced more quickly (i.e. as a diphthong rather than a sequence of two full vowels). I interpret this as

a diphthongized allophone of ɿo /œ/ in (a yet-to-be-determined set of) stressed position(s), parallel to what we find with /o/ → [uɛ].

Ohanean's variety appears to lack all of the vowels discussed in this section except for u u' ɿ ɿ' o/n nɿ ɿɿ {ɑ æ ε i o u ə}, so that Turkic öküz 'ox' for example comes out as opɿnɿq [okʰjuz], not *ɿopɿhɿq [œkʰjyz]. The speakers I have worked with do not (at least to my ear) have any of the vowels in (13) except for [uɛ].

(14) summary of vowel phonemes and allophones

phoneme	allophone	example	gloss
h /i/	h [i]	հնեվ [itəv]	behind
	ղ̄h [éi]	քամղ̄h [kʰaméi]	wind (n)
h̄ /y/	h̄l [y]	շին [syn]	dog
h̄, է /ɛ/	h̄, է [ɛ]	էթա՛լ [ɛtʰæl]	go
	ղ̄t [əɛ]	ավղ̄եր [avəer]	ruin (n)
է o /œ/	էo [œ]	դա՞ղէօ [dædœ]	(older) sister
	է̄o [yœ]	ինգէ̄օq [ingiyœz]	walnut
ա' /æ/	ա' [æ]	ա՛րեվ [ærev]	sun
ա /a/	ա [a]	դուռնա [durna]	piece
n,o /o/	n,o [o]	օխնել [oxnəl]	bless
	օ', նլէ [uε]	կնուել [knuεl]	thief
նl /u/	նl [u]	նւսկուշ [uskuʃ]	careful
ղ /ə/	ղ [ə]? [i]?	ղել [əlel]	be
ղ' /ə'/	ղ' [ə]? [ɛ]? [ə]?	ղը՞րա՞ն' [və'ræn]	on (it)
(ղ̄ i)		ղ̄իլ [iłeł]	be
(ղ̄ ə̄)		աղղօմ [adəm]	step

2.1.2. Vocalic developments

In the preceding section we saw several examples of original Armenian vowels diphthongizing in Salmast. Conversely, original diphthongs generally monophthongized in the development of the Salmast dialect (and indeed most modern Armenian dialects)¹⁸:

(15) outcomes of original Armenian diphthongs in Salmast

vowel	outcome	Classical	Salmast	gloss	source
a.	աj ay	է/է [ɛ]	այզի aygi	էփի [ɛkʰi]	vineyard
b.	աl aw	o [o]	ալձ awj	օց [otsʰ]	HAB, B, O

¹⁸ I exclude sequences where one of the members is consonantal, e.g. uē (as in աղուէս aluēs ‘fox’ > աղվեզ [avvez] (HAB)).

	էօ [æ]	աւրաւրոց	էօրէօրէօց	cradle	B
		awrawroc‘	[ærærərəts ^h]		
	ի [i]	մաւրուկ	միրուս ¹⁹	beard, old man	A 134
		mawruk‘	[mirus]		
c.	եա ea	ե/է [ɛ]	կլայեակ	դ’ալայեկ ²⁰	tin
			klayeak	[qalajek ^j]	HAB
		ա [a]	իրեար	իրար	each other
			irear	[irar]	HAB
		(էօ [æ]	գորեան	գլորէօն ²¹	grain
			c‘orean	[ts ^h ərəen]	HAB)
		(յա [ja]	քրիստոնեայ	քիրիստոնյա ²²	Christian
			k‘ristoneay	[k ^h iristonja]	HAB)
d.	իւ iw	ի [i]	հարիւր	իւա՛յիր	100
			hariwr	[χæjir]	HAB, B, O
		նւ [u]	հիւսն	իւնլւ ²³	carpenter
			hiwsn	[χus]	HAB
		իւ [y]	ալիւր	ա՛լիր	flour
			aliwr	[ælyr]	HAB, B
		օ [o]	ճիւղ	ճօղ	branch
			čiwl	[ʃɔk] ²⁴	HAB
		ե [ɛ]	միւռոն	մեւլոն	chrism
			miwron	[merlon]	HAB
e.	նյ oy	[y]	պոյր	պիւր	sister
					HAB

¹⁹ HAB մրիւս [mərys], B միւրիւս [myrys].

²⁰ B դալայիկ [qalajik].

²¹ This is a result of the expected outcome ե/է [ɛ] undergoing rounding harmony, rather than a regular outcome of original եա ea.

²² This outcome only appears in borrowings from the literary language.

²³ S instead uses the Persian loan նաջար [nadžar].

²⁴ О ճող [ʃɔk], B ճող [ʃɔk].

	k‘oyr	[kʰyɾ] ²⁵		
[œ]	հանզոյց	haw’նq’Էog	knot	HAB
	hangoyc‘	[χængjœtsʰ]		
[u]	կապոյտ	կապուտ	blue	HAB, B, O
	kapoyt	[kaput]		
[o]	ճկոյթ	ճկոն, ճիկոն	pinkie	HAB
	čkoyt‘	[tʃəkot], [tʃikot] ²⁶		
[uɛ] ²⁷	պոյն	պուէն	nest	HAB
	boyn	[puən]		
[yœ] ²⁸	լնկոյզ	լնզլո՛զ	walnut	HAB
	ənkoyz	[ingjyœz]		

The original mid vowels ե e and ո o consistently diphthongize at the beginning of monosyllabic forms (16a, b), but are inconsistent in this respect in polysyllables (16c, d).

(16) (non-)diphthongization of original word-initial ե e and ո o in Salmast (forms from HAB)

		Classical	Salmast	gloss
monosyllables	a.	եզն ezn	յէզ [jɛz]	ox
	b.	նոն otn	վուէն [vuɛt]	foot
polysyllables	c.	երազ əraz երեսուն eresun	երազ [ɛraz] յէռսուն [jɛrsun]	dream 30
	d.	որոճալ oročal ոզնի ozni	օրօճալ [oročal] վօզնիկ [voznik] ²⁹	ruminate hedgehog

²⁵ B պ՚իր [kʰjyr].

²⁶ S ճիկոն [tʃikot].

²⁷ Diphthongization of Salmast /o/, rather than preservation of a Classical Armenian diphthong.

²⁸ Diphthongization of Salmast /œ/, rather than preservation of a Classical Armenian diphthong.

²⁹ B վուէզնիկ [vuɛznik].

An interesting near-minimal pair in this context is Երկինք erkink‘ ‘heaven’ > Երկինք [ɛrkinkʰ] vs. Երկիր erkir ‘earth’ > յԵրկիր [jɛrkir] (both from HAB).

The main overarching developments in the Salmast vowel system involve Adjarian’s Law and vowel harmony. The former, which fronts vowels after original voiced obstruents (e.g. պսիս bah ‘spade’ > պս’իս [pæχ]), is discussed in section 2.2.1. This feeds into the latter, vowel harmony, which involves the development of a system in which (as in the neighboring Turkic languages³⁰) the vowels in a word must agree in backness, i.e. they must all be drawn either from the front set {ɨ i, ɨl y, է e, էo œ, u' æ} or from the back set {լ ə, նl u, o o, u a}. Though vowel harmony has long been known to exist in a range of Armenian dialects including Agulis and Karchevan, its existence was not demonstrated in Salmast until Hopkins 2021. We can see vowel harmony in Salmast forms such as ալիր aliwr ‘flour’ > [ælyr] (HAB, B), մաւրուք mawruk‘ ‘beard, old man’ > միւրիւք [myrys] (B), and զգոյշ zgoys ‘careful’ > ուսկոյշ [uskuʃ] (B). In ‘flour’ one assumes that the general change of iw > y applied first, creating an intermediate form [alyr]. Vowel harmony then led to the fronting of the first vowel to agree with the frontness of the second vowel, giving [ælyr]. The form ուսկոյշ [uskuʃ] shows that harmony can hold for lip rounding as well, at least with epenthetic vowels (cf. also պիստոնեայ k‘ristoneay ‘Christian’ > պիրիստոնյա [kʰiristonja] (HAB), պիստոնի k‘ristosi ‘of Christ’ > պիրիստոնի [kʰiristosi] (Safő 1916), ռուս ‘Russian’ > ուռուս [urus] (B, Kh)), though the evidence for this in Salmast is not quite as clear and extensive as with fronting and backness.

****INSERT DEF ART DATA FROM ADJARIAN VERSION OF 1919 POEM, WITH PARALLELS IN 1880s TEXTS**

2.2. Consonants

The Salmast consonant phonemes on which all sources agree are summarized in (17).

(17) Salmast inventory of consonant phonemes

		labial	dental	postalveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop	voiced	p b	դ d		գ' g̊	գ g		
	voiceless	պ p	տ t		կ' k̊	կ k	ռ q	

³⁰ The local Christian Neo-Aramaic varieties also have vowel harmony, though it targets only /a/ and /ə/. In the local Jewish dialects it also affects high rounded vowels (Geoffrey Khan, p.c.).

	voiceless aspirated	ɸ p ^h	θ t ^h		p ^l k ^{hj}	p k ^h		
affricate	voiced		ð dz	g dʒ				
	voiceless		θ ts	h f				
	voiceless aspirated		g ts ^h	χ ɣ ^h				
nasal		m	n					
trill			r					
tap			t					
fricative	voiced	v	z	d ʒ	h v	χ	h	h
	voiceless	f	s	ʃ				
approximant					j			
lateral			l					

The synchronic inventory of consonants in Salmast contains a number of complexities, particularly in At'ayan's (1906) description, which are not normally found in descriptions of other Armenian varieties. For instance we find a range of palatalized consonants including not only the common {q^j [g^j], l^j [k^j], p^j [k^{hj}] } recorded in all of the Salmast sources (18a-c), but also the less common h^j [h^j] in A, HAB, and B (18d), l^j [l^j] in A and B (18e), and a range of other consonants found only in A (18f).

(18) palatalized consonants in Salmast³¹

C	Salmast example	source	gloss	ref.
a. q ^j [g ^j]	Էրմիւնգ՝ [εrmynq ^j] բլա՞զ՝ [bəlæg ^j]	արմուկն armukn Az. bilək 'wrist'	elbow wrist (B), arm (O)	HAB, B B, O
b. l ^j [k ^j]	ա՞խչիկ [aχt ^{hj} ik ^j] ³²	աղջիկ ałjik	girl	HAB
c. p ^j [k ^{hj}]	աղիպ [arik ^{hj}] դա՞նկ՝ [dænk ^{hj}] պն [k ^{hj} o]	աղիպ arik [‘] (= նրանք nrank [‘]) pn k [‘] o	roof them your.SG	B B B
d. h ^j [h ^j]	ա՞յիլօր [æjhilօr] խահինել [χahinəl]	աղլոր ak [‘] lor (h)ազանիլ (h)aganil	rooster get dressed	HAB B
e. l' [l ^j]	Մահիլա՞մ [mæhiliəm]	Az. məlhəm 'ointment' ³³	Mahlam (village)	A
f. ն' [ʃ ^j] դ' [d ^j] ֆ' [f ^j]	ն'թէն [ʃ ^h əren] Դզէլ-Ռա՞ն'ն' [dəzəl k ^{hj} ənəd ^j] Հա՞ֆ'թէվան [hæft ^h əvan]	Չլէն յրէն Az qızıl 'gold' + kənd 'village' P haft '7' + աւան awan 'village'?	water.ABL.DEF village name Haftevan	A 195 A 12 A 21

³¹ These are represented by A with an apostrophe after the palatalized consonant, by HAB and B with a superscript^j following the palatalized consonant, and by O and Z with a j following the palatalized consonant.

³² B ախչիկ [aχt^{hj}ik^j].

³³ Patrick Taylor (p.c.) wonders whether there may have been a source of clay good for poultices in or near the village that gave rise to its name.

մ' [m̥]	սիւսա'մ'րա'ն' [sysæm̥bær̥]	P sūsam̥bar ‘costmary, water-mint’	mentha aquatica	A 18
ն' [n̥]	ինա'ն' [inæn̥]	Azeri dialectal ilən ‘with’	and	A 193
պ' [p̥]	պհր' [kʰyṛ̥]	pñjp k‘oyr	sister	A 194
ս' [s̥]	իկ'ս' էն [ikʰæs̥ en]	եկած են ekac en	they came	A 192
շ' [ʃ̥]	Դիշ'մա'ն' -Դա'րա'	Az düşmən ‘enemy’ + dərə ‘valley’	valley name	A 7
	[dyʃ̥mæn̥ dærə]			
վ' [v̥]	վ'րա'ն' [v̥iɾən̥]	վրան vran	on it	A 193
զ' [z̥]	զ'րա'զ' [g̥iæz̥]	P gaz	tamarisk tree	A 17

With at least some of the palatalized consonants we can establish that they are separate phonemes from their non-palatalized counterparts, rather than predictable allophones of them adjacent to front vowels. Both **p** [k^h] and **p̥** [k^{hj}], for example, can precede back vowels (**p̥nırəw'** [k^{hj}jurə] ‘furnace’ vs. **pñnpul** [k^hurak] ‘colt’ (B)) and **p̥** [k^{hj}] can precede both front and back vowels (‘furnace’ vs. **pħlp̥** [k^hyṛ̥] ‘sister’ (B)).

Many of the palatalized consonants in (18e-f) seem to appear only in loanwords. With **l̥** [l̥], for example, we find numerous examples in borrowings from Turkish/Azeri and Persian (19a), but native forms are invariably written by A, B, and O with **l** [l], even when surrounded by front vowels (19b).

(19) լ̥ [l̥] vs. լ [l]

Salmast form	gloss	source	reference
a. płol'չw [bœlʃʰa], pñլչw' [bolʃʰæ]	small spade	P bēlča ‘hoe, small mattock’ ³⁴	B O
qł'թw' [g̥elʃʰæ]	wedge, peg	glt'a	B
qղլթw' [gəltʰæ]		‘wood on top of pillar’ ³⁵	O

³⁴ Compare belča ‘small spade’ in Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic (Khan 2016.3:25). The rounding of the first vowel may be due to the preceding labial consonant. Patrick Taylor (p.c.) adds that “the contemporary Iranian Persian form is [bilʃe] ‘spade, trowel’, with the usual outcome of original majhūl long ē as contemporary Iranian [i]. The -ča is the usual Persian diminutive suffix. According to the Azeri dialect dictionaries, the Persian word appears for example in Masis (Zəngibasar) Azeri dialect as belçə; regional Turkish has belçe ‘shovel’. I am surprised that this word has mid vowel in Azeri, NENA and Salmast Armenian—it must have been widely borrowed from Persian before the raising of the majhūl vowels.”

³⁵ Malkhaseants‘ 1944.1:443.

	ԱՌԱՎՈՒԼ [ærævyl]	mountain in Salmast	Az Թրէվիլ ³⁶	A 7
	ԳՈՆԼ-ԴՐԱՎՈՒԼ	rose valley	Az գնու ‘rose’ + դըրէ ‘valley’	A 13
	[gɔnli dæræ]			
b.	ԿԵՐԱՎՈՒԼ [kətʰæli]	she throws	թաւալել t'awalel	A 195

Many of the palatalized consonants can surface in native Armenian words; in addition to the forms with {g^j, k^j, k^{hj}, h^j} in (18a-d), we find native forms with {ʃ^j, n^j, ŋ^j, s^j, v^j} in (18f).

In addition to marking palatalization, A and B sometimes represent what appears to be backing of the tongue. In addition to the l° mentioned in (13), B employs a superscript circle for this purpose with l° and n°, as exemplified in (20a-b).

(20) backed sounds in B

symbol	value	example	source
a. l°	dark [ɫ]	փիլ° [pʰil°] խալ° վուլեր [χalvuer] ³⁷	P pîl ‘elephant’ (h)alewor ‘old man’
		բիլիլ° [bylbyl°]	Az bülbü'l ‘nightingale’
		իլ° [ył]	ul ‘baby goat’? (HAB ül)
		բըլ քյիլ [bəlkʰyj]	Kurdish belku ‘perhaps’? ³⁸
		պյուլ° [kʰjuł]	Az kül ‘ash(es)?’
		մա՛թա՛լ° [mætʰæł]	Az müøttel ‘empty, idle’ ³⁹

³⁶ With rounding of the i to [y] after labial consonant, as we saw with boelijhā earlier.

³⁷ HAB խալվոր [χalvor].

³⁸ Patrick Taylor (p.c.) observes “Persian balki, Azeri bəlkə ‘perhaps’? Kurmanji varieties have belkī, belku, and belkū, and Sorani بەلکوو belkū, with ڏ (dark l; light and dark l are contrastive in Sorani). NENA has balkā, balkī, and crucially balkū. The all-purpose subordinator in Kurdish is ku, so I wonder if that is responsible for the vocalism.”

³⁹ Patrick Taylor (p.c.) observes that “It looks like it’s from مُعْطَل, Persian mu‘attal, Azeri müøttel ‘empty, useless, vain, idle’, from Arabic mu‘attal, ‘idle, closed, stopped’ (passive participle of form II, factitive/denominative, from root ‘tl having to do with notions of idleness, being unoccupied, empty), perhaps colliding with Persian battāl بَطَّال ‘idle, unemployed’, from Arabic batṭāl بَطَّال ‘empty, void’ (root btl, with similar semantics); cf. contemporary Turkish battal ‘large and clumsy, oversized’ and ‘void, null’, Azeri bəttal ‘empty; invalid’.

		շըլ կյել [ʃəlkjεl] ⁴⁰	շալակել šalakel ‘carry on one’s back’
		վուէճիլ °[vveʃʃil]	ոջիլ ojil ‘louse’
		փել °փ [pʰεlpʰ]	փայլք p‘aylk‘ ‘lustre’ (cf. As 237)
b. ն°	[q] or [g]	ա’յա’ն°[æræq]	raki
		բայա’նուշ [bajæquʃ] ⁴¹	Az bayqus ‘owl’
		իշղղա’ [iʃqədæ] ‘how many’	ինչ inč‘ ‘what’ + Az qədər ‘how many’
		շաղնւ [ʃʰaŋu] ⁴²	Az çaku ‘knife’
c. կ°	[q]	ակնավըներ [aqrvkʰjer]	ակռաւներ akrawner ‘crows’
		շա’կլա’ [ʃʰæqlæ]	‘unripe apricot or plum’ (O; Z 38 շա’կլա’ [ʃʰæklæ]) ⁴³ < P chakla ‘whatever falls from its place’
		շա’կա’լ [ʃʰæqæl]	Az çaqqal, Turkish çakal ‘jackal’

⁴⁰ O շըլկյել [ʃəlkjεl].

⁴¹ O, Z 56 բայակուշ [bajakuʃ].

⁴² O շակնւ [ʃʰaŋu].

⁴³ S and Z both state that the term refers specifically to raw green almonds.

At‘ayan employs the symbol <ɳ> for [q], as in լշղում [əʃqum] ‘rhubarb’⁴⁴ (19), դա՛վա՛մա [qælʃæma] ‘poplar’ (Az qələmə) (*ibid.*), դուղու [ququ] ‘rooster’ (A 164), եարդուն [jarqun] ‘type of vegetable?’ (A 19)⁴⁵.

Unlike Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:§130), Salmast does not appear to have introduced many [q] into native Armenian forms; all tokens of [q] in A and B appear in

⁴⁴ At‘ayan glosses this form as շխունի շխուն, which I have not found in any Armenian dictionary but may be a variant of իշխուն [iʃχun] ‘rhubarb’. Kadimean 1933-34 provides a form լշղում [əʃkum], which she glosses as ‘plant with small yellow flowers whose stalks are chewed after cleaning the outer husk/skin’, which appears to describe a member of the genus *Rheum*. Z (p.c. March 2022) states that he has heard լշղուն, and thinks that it is from Turkish and equivalent to Persian *rivas* ‘rhubarb’. Patrick Taylor (p.c.) suggests that At‘ayan’s լշղում may be “the local equivalent of Turkish *ışgın*, which has the common variant *ışkin* and regional variants like *içgin*, *uçkun*, *uşgun*, *eşkin*, etc., and Azeri *ışqın* (Azeri as usual changing all initial i to i). It is the echt Turkish word for ‘rhubarb’ and now designates the wild rhubarb species *Rheum ribes*, very common in the market in season and much appreciated by the population of the region. (Culinary or garden rhubarb, on the other hand, is an old hybrid of *Rheum rhabarbarum* of mysterious origin. It is now called in Turkish *ravent*, Arabic *rāwand*, from Persian ریوند *rēvand*, of Middle Persian origin.)” Some Armenian varieties have իշխուն [iʃχun] for ‘rhubarb’ (Ghazaryan 1981.1:40).

⁴⁵ Vartkes Zakarian (p.c. 2022) did not recognize this word. Patrick Taylor (p.c.) suggests that this is likely a loan from Neo-Aramaic *yarqunā* ‘vegetable(s)’ (the -un- element in this word perhaps being diminutive or directly comparable to the element seen in Syriac *yārqōnē*, plural of *yārqā* ‘herb’, and in Mandaic *yarqunia* and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *yārqōnin*, both ‘herbs’). He finds it striking that the stem *yrqwn-* is employed to make a plural of *yrq-* ‘herb’ in all three (Syriac, Mandaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic), which is not paralleled for any other noun to his knowledge. Geoffrey Khan (p.c.) states that “the word for green vegetable in [North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic] is usually *yārqā* (pl. *yārqē*). In C[hristian] Urmi the uvular /q/ is fronted to a post-velar position. C[hristian] Salmas maintains the uvular /q/.” On this basis one might be inclined to favor the interpretation of Salmast Armenian <ɳ> as the voiceless uvular stop [q].

As for the -un of Salmast [jarqun], Khan states that “the -un ending looks like the Aramaic diminutive. The form *yārquna* in Aramaic would normally be a ‘small herb’ rather than a general word for vegetable. I’m curious why the final -a is omitted in the Armenian. Perhaps because this is a nominal inflectional vowel, which designates the singular and is replaced by -e in the plural. It seems to have been stripped off when loaned into Armenian.”

loanwords, with the possible exception of Classical ազնու արավ ‘crow’ > Salmast ակնավլեր [aqravkhjer] ‘crows’ (B). See Jahukyan 1972, feature #20 for Armenian dialects that have introduced uvular consonants.

Foreign [f] is often, but not always, borrowed as փ [p^h], e.g. Az/R/Fr furgon ‘covered wagon, van’ (?) > փղողնւն [p^herqun] (B), P. fanār ‘lighthouse’ > Az. fənər ‘torch, flashlight’ > փա՞նա՞ր [p^hənær] (B). Loans with unaltered [f] include Az. fişq- ‘whistle’ > Փղշկա [fəʃka] ‘whistle’ (O; cf. Az. fişqırıq), Az. firtına ‘storm’ > Փղոթանա [fərthana] (O). The Salmast sources occasionally disagree, e.g. Gk. phaitōn > Fr. phaeton ‘sporty open carriage’ > R. fajton > O Φαյτον [fajton] vs B փայտոն [p^hajton].

2.2.1.1. geminates

Salmast allows geminate consonants in native words, e.g. the numerals ութեղ [ut^h:ə] ‘8’, իննա’ [in:æ] ‘9’, տասսար [tas:ə] ‘10’, իցնուն [its^h:un] ‘50’, վացցուն [vats^h:un] ‘60’, ութեանասուն [ut^h:anasun] ‘80’, իննանասուն [in:anasun] ‘90’ (all from HAB); also անմեղ anmeł ‘without sin’ > ամմեղ [am:ɛg] (O). Geminates also appear in loans, e.g. A/P qaşşāb ‘butcher’ > կասսար [kas:ab] (O); Arabic ‘alā ‘to, onto’ + һida ‘being alone’ > Persian ‘alā-һida > Az. əlahiddə ‘separate, other’ > Salmast ա’լհա’դղա’ [ælhæd:ə] (B), Az. amma ‘but’ > ամմա [am:a] (O). However, borrowed geminates are sometimes reduced to singletons, e.g. Az. pilləkən ‘staircase’ > փղլա’պ’ան [p^həlæk^hjan] (O).

2.2.2. Processes

In this section we review some of the most widespread processes affecting the Salmast consonant system, outside of which it largely preserved the original Armenian system intact. I have ordered the changes in terms of how widespread they are across the Armenian dialect world, and by implication how early they applied in the history of the language.

2.2.2.1. Post-nasal voicing

Like most modern Armenian dialects Salmast shows the effects of post-nasal voicing, according to which unaspirated stops and affricates must be voiced when following a nasal consonant. This holds for original voiced stops (21a) and plain voiceless stops (21b), but not voiceless aspirates (21c).

(21) outcomes of stops and affricates after nasals

Classical	Salmast	gloss	reference
a. խնձոր xnjor	խընձուլք [χəndzueɾ]	apple	B
բամբակ bambak	պա’մբա’կ [pæmbækʰ]	cotton	HAB, B
բանջար banjär	պա’նջա’ր [pændʒær]	beet	HAB
զանգաս gangat	կա’նգա’տ [kjængjæt]	complaint	HAB
զինդ gind	կինդ [kjind]	earring	HAB
b. արմուկն armukn	էրմիւնգ [εrmynɡ]	elbow	HAB, B
ընկեր ənker	ինգ’էր [ing’er]	friend	B
ծնծղայ cnclay	ծընծղակ [tsəndzvak]	cymbal	HAB
ճնճղուկ չոշլուկ	ճընճղուկ [ʃəndzvuk]	sparrow	HAB
սանտր santr	սանդըր [sandər]	comb	HAB
ամպ amp	ամբ [amb]	cloud	HAB
c. երկինք erkink‘	էրկինք [εrkinkʰj]	heaven	HAB
զորանչ zok‘anč‘	զոնքանչ [zonkʰantʃʰ]	wife’s mother	HAB
թռթող	թ’ա’նթանլթող		
t‘ot‘oš ‘toad’	[kʰjærtʰanthroʃ]	lizard	HAB
առանց aranc‘	առանց [arantsʰ]	without	HAB
??	բամփաշա [bampʰafʃa]	open-handed blowO	

An apparent exception is բարձր barjr ‘high’ > պա’նցը [pæntsʰəɾ] (HAB, B, O), where the change of p r to ն [n] may postdate and hence counterfeed the devoicing and aspiration (q.v. 2.2.2.3). A similar argument can be made for զարդարել zardarel ‘adorn’ > զա’նթրել [zærtʰrel] ~ զա’նթրել [zæntʰrel]. Both r > n and post-r devoicing/aspiration appear to be quite early in the history of Armenian dialects, and not specific to Salmast.

The forms angam ‘time’ > անքամ [ankʰam] (Z 466, Zaghikian 2000) and հանդերձ handerj ‘garment’ > հանթերց [hantʰertsʰ] (HAB) are likely loans from the literary language.

Note the role of post-nasal voicing in producing the new phonemic voicing contrast (q.v. 2.2.2.4) in forms such as սյստել *aystel* ‘here’ > սա՞ղ [tæk], այնտել *ayndeł* ‘there’ > դա՞ղ [dæk] (S; cf. As 191).

2.2.2.2. Aspirate dissimilation

As in many modern Armenian dialects, at least some Salmast speakers deaspire stops and affricates after aspirated consonants, including voiceless fricatives {u չ խ}. We see this process extensively in B and O, but less so in HAB, as shown in (22).

(22) aspirate dissimilation in Salmast sources (shaded cells show dissimilation, white cells do not)

source	A	HAB	B	O
խոզ xōsk‘ ‘speech’	խուզ [χosk] (219)	խուզ [χosk]	--	խնչ [χosk] (2012b:10)
մեղ(p) meł(k‘) ‘sin’	մեխչ [mɛχk ^j] (212)	մեխչ [mɛχk]	մեխչ [mɛχk ^j]	մեխչ [mɛχk ^j]
փուրս p‘uk‘s ‘bellows.ACC’	?	փիւս [p ^h ysk]	--	պուրչ [p ^h uskJ]
յաղթել yałt‘el ‘conquer’	?	ախտել [aχtel]	--	ախտել [aχtel]
հրաշք hrašk‘ ‘miracle’	?	իրաշկ [χraʃk] ⁴⁶	հրաշկ [hraʃk]	--
քնղ(p) k‘oł(k‘)	?	քօխ [k ^h oχk]	--	--

⁴⁶ But also հրաշք, which is presumably a literary loan.

‘veil’				
աշք ač‘k‘ ‘eye’	աշկ [aʃk] (84)	աշք [aʃkʰ]	աշկ [aʃk]	աշկ [aʃk] ⁴⁷
դեղնուց(p) dehnuc‘(k‘) ‘yolk’	?	--	տեղնիւսկ [tehnyusk]	տեղնիւշկ [tehnyʃk]
աղքաս ałk‘at ‘poor’	?	ախքաս [aχkʰat]	ախկատ [aχkat]	աղքատոն [aχkʰəttʰon] ‘poverty’
շարժ šarž ‘earthquake’	?	ժա՛շպ [ʒæʃkʰj]	ժա՛ժկ [ʒæʒk]	ժա՛շպ [ʒæʃkʰj]
պատիժ patiž ‘punishment’	?	պատիշպ [patiʃkʰj]	--	պատիշկ [patiʃk]
վարձ(p) varj(k‘) ‘wage(s)’	?	վա՛ռուր [værskʰj]	--	վա՛րուկ [værsk]
անէծ(p) anēc(k‘) ‘curse’	?	անէսպ [anɛskʰj]	--	անեսկ [anesk]

Newer borrowings from Persian appear not to undergo deaspiration: նա՛ֆթ [næftʰ] ‘oil’ (B), բա՛յսա՛ [bæχʃʰæ] ‘garden’ (O), ա՛շպա՛րա [æʃkʰæʃræ] ‘obvious’ (O).

2.2.2.3. Devoicing and aspiration after r

As in many Armenian dialects (q.v. Jahukyan 1972, feature #4), stops and affricates normally devoice and aspirate after original p r (23).

⁴⁷ Also Z 127 աշկի [aʃki] ‘glasses’.

(23) devoicing and aspiration after r (all examples from HAB)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
p b	սուրբ surb	սուրփ [surp ^h]	holy
	որբ orb	վուերփ [vuerp ^h]	orphan
	(h)արքել (h)arbel	խարփիել [χարփ ^h εլ]	drink
	լիրբ lirb	լիրփ [lirp ^h]	impudent
	խարբուխ xarbusx	խարփիուխ [χարփ ^h սխ]	catarrh
դ d	ուղղորդ ułord	աղվորթ [աւորթ] ⁴⁸	correct
	նաւասարդ nawasard	նավասարթ [նավասարթ], նավլսարթ [նավլսարթ]	New Year, August
	բուրդ burd	պիւրթ [pyrt ^h]	wool
	վարդ vard	վա՛րթ [vært ^h]	rose
	արդար ardar	ա՛րթա՛ր [ært ^h æր]	just
	երդիք erdik‘	էրթիս [εրթիս] ⁴⁹	smokehole
	երդումն erdumn	էրթիւմ [εրթիմ], էօրթիւմ [օεրթիմ]	oath
	խորհուրդ xorhurd	խորխուրթ [χօրհուրթ]	thought
	կախարդ kaxard	կախարթ [kաշարթ]	wizard
	կարդալ kardal	կառթալ [kարթալ]	read
	հորդել hordel	խորթել [χօրթել]	pave
	մարդ mard	մառթ [marth]	man
	որդի ordi	վորթի [vorthi]	son
	որդն ordn	վորթ [vort ^h]	worm
	ուրդ urd	յիւրթ [յուրթ]	drain
զ g	մարզարէ margarē	մա՛րթիրա՛ [mærk ^h յերæ]	prophet
ձ j	բարձ barj	պա՛նց [pærts ^h] ⁵⁰	pillow

⁴⁸ B աղվօրթ [աւորթ].

⁴⁹ B, Z էրթիզ [εրթիզ].

⁵⁰ B պա՛նց [pærts^h].

	խուրդն շոյն	խուրց [χurtsʰ]	bundle
	որդ օրյ	վորց [vortsʰ]	male
զ յ	արջ արյ	առչ [arʃʰ]	bear
	առաջել առայեւ	ա՛ռչեվ [ærʃʰev]	before

There are some exceptions, e.g. մրջիւն մրյիւն ‘insect’ > մընեմ [mərʃem] (HAB, Z 778).

2.2.2.4. Obstruent devoicing and Adjarian’s Law

Salmast belongs to Garibyan’s (1959) Group VII of Armenian dialects, which devoiced original voiced stops and affricates in word-initial position (cf. Jahukyan 1972, feature #3), as exemplified in (24).

(24) devoicing of word-initial stops and affricates (all forms from HAB)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
պ բ	բերդ berd	պէռժ [pertʰ]	fortress
դ ձ	դիմանալ dimanal	տիմնալ [timnal]	resist
գ ց	գին gin	կին [kjin]	price
ձ յ	ձմերուկ jmeruk	ծմէրիւկ' [tsəməryk']	watermelon
զ յ	զնջել յնյել	ճընջել [ʃəndʒel] (O)	clean (v)

Original plain voiceless and voiceless aspirated stops remain unchanged in this position (25-26):

(25) word-initial plain voiceless stops and affricates remain unchanged (forms from HAB)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
պ բ	պոչ'	պուլչ [puεʃʰ]	tail
տ տ	տասն tasn	տասսը [tas:ə]	ten
կ կ	կամուրջ kamurj	կարմունջ [karmundʒ]	bridge
ծ ծ	ծանր canr	ծանդրո [tsandər]	heavy
ճ յ	ճանաչել չանաչ'el	ճաշնալ [ʃaʃnal]	know

(26) word-initial voiceless aspirates remain unchanged (forms from HAB)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
փ p ^h	փայծաղն p‘aycałn	փիւծեղ [p ^h ytsɛg]	spleen
թ t ^h	թրիթ t‘rik‘	թրիթ [t ^h ərik ^{hj}]	cow dung
ք k ^h	քառասուն k‘ařasun	քառուն [k ^h ařasun]	forty
ց ts ^h	ցորեան c‘orean	ցէօրէօն [ts ^h cərən]	grain
չ չ ^h	չոր չ‘or	չուլը [č ^h ułe]	dry

The devoicing process represented in (24) neutralized the original Armenian voicing contrast in word-initial position, as can be seen in Salmast դեղ del ‘drug’ and տեղ teł ‘place’ both becoming սեղ [teg]. The dialect subsequently developed a new voicing contrast following the importation of loanwords containing initial voiced stops, e.g. Persian *dara* or Azeri *dərə* ‘valley’ > դար ‘daru’ [dæræ] (B, O), Azeri *bayquş* ‘owl’ > բայշ ‘bajnič’ [bajæquʃ] (B), բայակուշ [bajakuʃ] (O, Z), Persian *jeb* ‘pocket’ > ջէօբ [dʒœb] (B), ջոր [dʒɔ̃b]⁵¹ (B). A voicing contrast now exists in some native forms as well, e.g. այսեղ այսեղ ‘here’ > սա՞ղ [tæg], այնուղ այնդեղ ‘there’ > դա՞ղ [dæg] (S; cf. As 191 and see Abeghyan 1974:257 for detailed discussion of the historical development of these forms).

Before the original voiced series devoiced, it triggered fronting of an immediately following vowel, a process called Adjarian’s Law. Adjarian states that he first realized the form of this law on January 14, 1948 in the Van dialect, but by the time he published his discovery he had identified it in Salmast, Khoy, Maragha, Karabagh, and Shamakhi as well (Acharyan 1952:21). We can see representative examples of Adjarian’s Law in (27).

(27) Adjarian’s Law in Salmast (forms from HAB)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
պ b	բահ bah բովել bovel բուրդ burd	պա՛խ [pæχ] պէօվել [pœvəl] պիւրդ [pyr ^h]	spade roast wool
դ d	դահ dah	սա՞ղ [tæg]	old

⁵¹ Pisowicz 2019:202 is of the opinion that Ohanean’s <jn> represents [œ] rather than [jo].

	դու	տիւ [ty]	you.sg
q g	զարուն garun	պա՛րիւն [kʰæryn] (B)	spring
	զող goz	կլօգ [kʰœz]	urine
	զունդ gund	կիւնդ [kʰynd]	ball
ð j	ձազ jag	ծա՛կ [tsækj]	young animal
	ձու ju	ծիւ [tsy]	egg
Չ Ձ	ջաղացը jałac'k'	ճա՛ղա՛չ [tʃækæʃʰ]	mill
	ջորի jori	ճեռի [ʃœri]	mule
	ջուր jur	ճիւր [ʃyɾ]	water

It is not entirely clear whether Adjarian's Law applies with original o, because we find near-minimal pairs like դողալ dołal 'tremble' > տողալ [toğal] (HAB, B) but զող goł 'thief' > կլօգ [kʰœz] (B), կուլէդ [kʰuɛd] (HAB). See Hopkins 2021 for discussion.

Adjarian's Law did not apply after original voiceless stops, as can be seen in (25).

2.2.2.5. Voicing assimilation

In clusters consisting of a voiced fricative followed by a voiceless stop or affricate, the fricative normally becomes voiceless (28).

(28) voicing assimilation in Salmast consonant clusters

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
q z	ազզական azgakan	ասկական [askakan] (B)	relative
	զզոյշ zgoys	ուսկուշ [uskuʃ] (B)	careful
	անզզամ anzgam	ա՛նըսկամ [ænəskjæm] (O)	wicked
ð ž	պատիð patiž(-k')	պատիշ [patiʃ] (HAB)	punishment
	շարժ šarž(-k')	ժա՛շ [ʒæʃ] (HAB, O)	earthquake
η ւ	թուղթ t'ułt'	թուկթ [tʰuχtʰ] (B)	paper
	կեխտ kełt	կեխտ [kʰεχt] (B)	dirt
	դաղձ dałj	տա՛խծ [taχtš] (B)	oregano

	աղջիկ aljik	ա'խչիկ [æχtʃik] (HAB), ախճիկ [aχʃik] (A)	girl
	մեղ(p) meł(-k')	մեխլ [məχkl] (A, B, O)	sin
	քող(p) k'oł(-k')	քօխլ [kʰoχl] (HAB)	veil
	աղքաս ałk'at	ախկատ [aχkat] (B)	poor
	յաղթել yałt'el	ախտել [aχtel] (HAB)	conquer
վ v	թերել t'et'ew	թէֆսուրլ [tʰεftər] (B)	light

There is evidence from morphological alternations that at least some of the system reflected in (28) may still be synchronically active, e.g. /tsaxik/ ‘flower’ → ծաղիկ [tsaxik] vs /tsaxik-ats/ ‘flower-PST.PPL’ → ծախկած [tsaxkats] in the saying Ծաղիկը, ծախկած ծառեն կը թա’փի [tsaxikə tsaxkats tsaren kə tʰæpʰi] ‘the flower is falling from the flowering tree’ (Ohanean 2012b:10).

2.2.2.6. Coda deaffrication

When in a syllable Coda (i.e. not before a vowel), Salmast affricates often deaffricate (29).

(29) deaffrication of Coda affricates (cf. Jahukyan 1972, feature #13)

	Classical	Salmast	gloss
ð j	վարð(-p) varj(-k')	վա'ռով [værskʰj] (HAB)	wage
ð c	կծկել kckel	կրսկել [kəskel] (HAB, B)	wind up
	ծածկել cackel	տասկել [taskel] (HAB)	conceal
	անէð(-p) anēc(-k')	անէսվ [aneskʰj] (HAB)	curse
g c'	դեղնուց(-p) dełnuc'(-k')	տեղնուսվ [teğnysk] (B)	yolk
	բաց բերան bac' beran, lit. ‘open mouth’	պա'սպերան [pæsperan] (O)	babbler
զ ġ	զոշ մասն յօյ matn lit. ‘big finger’	ճուշ մատ [ʃus mat] (B), ճոշ մատ [ʃos mat] (O) ⁵²	thumb
	մէշ(-p) měj(-k')	մէշլ [məʃl] (HAB, B),	middle, waist

⁵² But HAB զոշ յօյ ‘big’ > ճէօշ [ʃœʃʰ].

		մեշք [mɛʃkʰj] (O)	
ճ č	--		
չ č‘	կանաչ-կարմիր kanač‘- karmir, lit. ‘green-red’	կանաշ-կարմիր [kanaʃ-karmir] (B, O, X 77)	rainbow
	ճանաչել čanač‘el	ճաշնալ [ʃaʃnal] (HAB, B, O)	know
	աչք ač‘k‘	աշկ [aʃk] (B, O), աշք [aʃkʰ] (HAB)	eye

Coda deaffrication survives in the diaspora dialect of Mayakovski, e.g. վօչ մէկը /vočʰ mɛkʰn/ ‘no one’ → վօշ մէկը [voʃ mɛkə], մէշք /mɛʃkʰ-kʰ/ ‘waist’ → մէշկ [mɛʃk] (Katvalyan 2020:209).

The deaffrication process may still be synchronically active in the Salmast dialect, as suggested by alternations such as ճոչ [ʃočʰ] ‘big’ ~ ճոշ մատ [ʃoʃ mat] ‘thumb’ ~ ճոշ-ճոչ [ʃoʃ ʃočʰ] ‘very big’ (O).

2.2.2.7. Dorsal lenition

Salmast shares with Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:36, 46) and Maragha (Acharéan 1926:87)⁵³ a process of dorsal lenition, whereby original post-vocalic pre-consonantal կ [k] weakens to յ [j] (30b) and գ [g] and պ [kʰ] weaken to յհ [jh] or հ [h] (30a, c) depending on the speaker and context.⁵⁴

(30) preconsonantal dorsal lenition

	original	Salmast	gloss
a.	պազուել pagvel	պահվել [pahivvel] (O) ⁵⁵	kiss (v)
	տայզը taygr	տէյհը [tejhr] (HAB)	husband’s brother
	օզնել օղոնդ	էօյհնել [œjhnel] (HAB)	help (v)

⁵³ Geoffrey Khan (p.c.) mentions that “there are traces of this in NENA dialects of the region, e.g. C. Urmi dukta > duytə ‘place’. It seems to be associated with palatalization of dorsals.”

⁵⁴ Aslanbeg has a similar development with dorsals in syllable Codas (Adjarian 1899, Vaux 2001).

⁵⁵ Cf. պայհնել [pajhnel] (HAB).

	(h)ազանիլ (h)agamil	իսյինել [χajhnel] (HAB), իսհ'նել [χah'nel] (B)	get dressed, wear
	ճգնել čgnel	ճըյինել [tʃeýhnel] (HAB)	torment (v)
	սզաւոր sgawor	սըհյվոր [səhivor] (O)	mournful
b.	պակասել pakasel	պայսէլ [paýsel] (B)	lack (v)
	բնակուել bnakvel	պընա՛յվել [pənæjvel] (O)	dwell
	պարտակուել partakvel	պառտիյվել [partijvel] (O) ⁵⁶	hide (intrans)
	կ'արձակուի կ'արյացի	կարցըլի [kartsʰəjvi] (A)	will be freed
	պղտիկուանէ pztikuanē	փըստիյվանէ [pʰəstijvanɛ] (O)	from childhood
	սպիտակութիւն spitakut'iwn	սըվտըլթոն [səvtəjthon] (O) ⁵⁷	whiteness
c.	արլոր ak'lor	ա՛յիլօր [æjhlœr] (HAB)	rooster
	թքնել t'k'anel	թըյինել (HAB)	spit (v)
	սարանալ tak'anal	տայինալ [tajhnal] (O) ⁵⁸	heat up (intrans)
	սարդել tak'deł	տահ'դել [tah'deł] (O)	pepper

As in Maragha, one finds sporadic examples of dorsal lenition in final position in Salmast as well, e.g. նամակ namak ‘letter’ > նամայ [namaj] (B) (but HAB նա՛մակ [næmæk]), ցամար c‘amak‘ ‘dry’ > ցամայ [tsʰamaj] (B) (but HAB ցամար [tsʰamakʰ]), տվլը tvēk‘ ‘give.2PL.IMV’ > տվեյ [təvəj] (A 193), տախտակ taxtak ‘board’ > տախտակ [taχtak] ~ տախտայ [taχtaj] (B). The process may have been synchronically active for some speakers, as shown by alternations such as տախտակ [taχtak] ‘board, table’ ~ տախտկի [taχtəki] ‘board.GEN’ : տախտյների վրա [taχtəjneri vəra] ‘on the table’ (N).

Asatryan 1962:36 states for Khoy-Urmia that the lenition happens specifically before nasal consonants, and there are indeed several examples of this type (e.g. ‘help’ and ‘torment’ in (30a)), but the abundance of cases where lenition applies before non-nasals

⁵⁶ Contrast with O պարտակել partakel ‘hide’ > պառտիկել [partikel], where the k does not lenite because it does not precede a consonant.

⁵⁷ Contrast with O սըվտըլկուն [səvtəkun] ‘type of white vegetable’, where the k does not lenite because it does not precede a consonant.

⁵⁸ Also սարացուց(ան)ել tak'ac'uc'(an)el ‘heat (something) up’ > տայցուցել [tajtshutsʰel] (Z 542).

(e.g. ‘kiss’, ‘husband’s brother’, and ‘mournful’ in (30a)) suggest that Acharean’s (1926) generalization for Maragha that the triggering environment is preconsonantal position more generally is closer to the mark.

Acharean likely is also correct in hypothesizing that all of the cases of original q g > jh [jh] / h^j [h^j] passed through an intermediate p [k^h] stage (1926:87). This analysis has the dual advantage of (i) explaining why original q g and p k‘ pattern together in leniting to [jh]/[h^j] (as opposed to l k becoming [j]), and (ii) aligning with the general development of q g > p [k^h] in word-final position (e.g. նլազ սրագ ‘hatchet’ > նլազը [urak^h] (HAB), ազգ ազգ ‘nation’ > ազպ [ask^h] (HAB)).

Dorsal lenition survives (and appears to be synchronically active) in the diaspora dialect of Mayakovski, e.g. նստանք կերանք խմանք /nstank^h kerank^h xəmank^h/ → նըստայ կերայ խըմանք [nəstaj keraj xəmank^h] ‘we sat and ate and drank’ (Katvalyan 2020:208-209).

2.2.2.8. Metathesis

Salmast displays many examples of consonant metathesis, though these vary from one source to the next (31):

(31) consonant metathesis in Salmast sources

	original	Salmast	gloss
a.	աշխարհ ašxarh	ա՛խա՛րհ [æχʃærkʰj] (HAB, O), ախարք [ɑχʃærkʰ] (A), ա՛շխա՛րհ [æʃχærkʰj] (B)	land
	նշխար oč‘xar	վուեխչար [vuεχʃʰar] (HAB, B; Օ վոխչար [voχʃʰar])	sheep
	փուլք p‘uk’s	փուլկ [pʰuskl̥] (O)	bellows
	լվալ lval	լլվա՛լ [ləvæl] ~ վլվա՛լ [vəlæl] (Artashes, p.c.)	wash
	եղղ ezr	A 199 եղղ, HAB յեղղ, B, O յեղղ, all [jεrz]	coast, shore, bank
	փսխել p‘sxel	փխսել [pʰəχsεl] (A 118)	vomit (v)
b.	P sufra > Az süfrə (cf. Urfa Turkish sıfıra)	սըրֆա [sərfɑ] (AK), սըրֆա՛ [sərfæ] (Artashes)	picnic (Artashes); tablecloth (AK)
	A/P lihāf > Arm. լեհեալ lehep	իլեկ [χəlepʰ] ~ լիւկ [ləχepʰ] (T 1898:97) ⁵⁹	blanket
	P abrīshum or Classical ապրիշում aprishum	արփրշում [aրpʰəʃum] (HAB, B, O)	silk

Metatheses occur both in etyma attested in literary Armenian (31a) and in more recent loans (31b).

There may be at least one case of long-distance vowel metathesis as well, Classical զրուցել zruc‘el ‘narrate, speak’ > զուրցալ [zurtsʰal] ‘speak’ (B, O) ~ զուրցալ [zurtsʰal] (HAB). We also find զուրցալ [zurtsʰal] in Maragha (Adjarian 1926), and զուրուցել zuruc‘el ‘(for a bird to) sing’ in Nor Nakhichevan (HAB). The sequence of changes might have been zroyc‘ → zruc‘el (by destressed high vowel reduction) → zruc‘al (by change of conjugation) → zurec‘al (by metathesis) → zurc‘al (by pre-coronal rhotic strengthening,

⁵⁹ The Christian Urmia dialect of Neo-Aramaic shows the same metathetic variation: lxepa ~ xlēpa ‘quilt’ (Khan 2016 vol. 3 p. 36).

Vaux 1998:19). It also possible that no vowel metathesis was involved, if we instead had the developmental stages zroyc‘ → zruc‘el (by destressed high vowel reduction) → zruc‘al (by change of conjugation) → zəruc‘al (by epenthesis) → zuruc‘al (by vowel harmony) → zurc‘al (by medial vowel reduction).

3. Morphology

The morphological system of the Southeastern dialect group (Salmast, Khoy, Urmia, Maragha) differs in a number of significant ways from that of Standard Eastern Armenian. Some of these differences Salmast shares with Western dialects, e.g. the preservation of the Classical ablative in -t(ū) -[e(n)], whereas others are found in neither Standard Eastern nor Standard Western, such as the imperfective participle -u -[s] ~ -lh [-li]. In this section we survey some of the main innovations and archaisms that differentiate Salmast from SEA and SWA.

3.1. Nominal

According to Achařean (1926:150-151), the regular system for pluralizing nominals in Maragha involves adding the suffix -hp -[ir] for monosyllables, -ñhp -[nir] for vowel-final polysyllables, and -php -[k^hir] for consonant-final polysyllables. Gharibyan (1941:265) makes the same generalization for -t_p -[er], -ñt_p -[ner], and -pt_p -[k^her] in Urmia. This holds for most of the attested Salmast forms as well, as exemplified in (32):

(32) Salmast plurals conforming to Achařean’s generalization (pluralized stem underlined)

suffix	plural	gloss	source
a. -t _p -[er]	վարդ-ա- <u>տն</u> -t _p -է-ն [var̥atənerən]	school-PL-ABL-DEF	N
	<u>բան</u> -t _p [pæner]	thing-PL	Kh
	<u>ինդ</u> -t _p [p ^h ošer]	money-PL	A 198
	<u>մաս</u> -t _p -դ [materəd]	finger-PL-2SG	Y 28
b. -ñt _p -[ner]	<u>թամա</u> -ñt _p -ը [tʰazanerə]	new-PL-DEF	N
	<u>լեզու</u> -ñt _p -ն-ի [lezunerni]	language-PL-DEF-is	N
	<u>գեալաջի</u> -ñt _p [galadʒiner]	story-PL	N

	<u>խին</u> -եր-է-ն [χineren]	old-PL-ABL-DEF	N
	<u>տղ</u> -ներ-ը [tərnərə]	boy-PL-DEF	Kh
	<u>եարա</u> -ներ-ու-ն [jaranerun]	wound-PL-G/D-DEF	A 200
	<u>աղա</u> -ներ [aşaner]	noble-PL	AG1
	<u>խորի</u> -ներ-ը [χokʰinerə]	soul-PL-DEF	AG2
	<u>Նախչևնացի</u> -ներ-է-ս [naxʃʰəvantsʰineres]	Nakhichevantsi-PL-ABL- 1SG	AG2
	<u>հաւա</u> -ներ-ը [havanerə]	air-PL-DEF	AG2
c. -պլ- -[kʰjer]	<u>ասրմ</u> -պլ-ը [atəmkʰjerə]	tooth-PL-DEF	B
	<u>ակրավ</u> լիր [aqravkʰjer]	crow-PL	B
	<u>ասած</u> -պլ-ս [asatskʰherəs]	said-PL-1SG.POSS	N
	<u>վարժակտու</u> -պլ-ի [varʒpetkʰeri]	teacher-PL-GEN/DAT	N
	<u>իշխան</u> -պլ-է-ն [iʃxankʰeren]	prince-PL-ABL-DEF	N
	<u>ձեռ</u> -ը-պլ-է-ն [tserəkʰeren]	hand-PL-ABL-DEF	N
	<u>Զահիկ</u> -պլ-ն-ի [džahilkʰernel]	young.person-PL-DEF-also	N
	<u>զողիս</u> -պլ-ս [kəloχkʰera]	head-PL-DEF	N
	<u>զահելկ</u> լիր [džahəlkʰera]	young.person-PL-DEF	Kh
	<u>ախշիյթերը</u> [aχʃʰijkʰerə]	girl-PL-DEF	Kh
	<u>տր'կեցպերը</u> [təriketsʰkʰerra']	neighbor-PL-DEF	A 196
	<u>ովճրեր</u> [oχʃʰerkʰer]	sheep-PL	A 200
	<u>խաւոռոքերէն</u> [χavoxkʰeren]	grape-PL-ABL-DEF	A 200
	<u>սարայթեր</u> [sarajkʰer]	farmer-PL	A 201
	<u>խարաբթեր</u> [xabarkʰer]	news-PL	AG2
	<u>կարդացոքեր</u> [kartʰətsʰoxkʰer]	reader-PL	AG2
	<u>պտուռոքերի</u> [pətukkʰeri]	fruit-PL-GEN	AG2
	<u>զահիլթերը</u> [džahilkʰerə]	young.person-PL-DEF	AG2
	<u>տեղոքերը</u> [tezəkʰerə]	place-PL-DEF	AG2
	<u>բարեկամոքեր</u> [baɾəkamkʰer]	friend-PL	AG2

Asatryan (1962:64ff) contests the empirical validity of this generalization for Khoy-Urmia, and similar objections can be raised for Salmast; some counterexamples are provided in (33).

(33) Salmast plurals not conforming to Acharean's generalization

suffix	plural	gloss	source
a. - <i>t̪p</i> -[ɛr]	վարդ-ա- <u>սն</u> - <i>t̪p</i> -է-ն [var̪d-ə-sn-t̪p-ɛ-n]	school-PL-ABL-DEF	N
b. - <u>նt̪p</u> -[nɛr]	կնյթ-ներ-ը [kəntʰnerə]	nose-PL-DEF ⁶⁰	Y 28
	<u>տախտ</u> [n]է-ներ-ի [taχtəjnəri]	table-PL-GEN	N
	աշկերթ-ներ-ը [aʃkertʰnerə]	student-PL-DEF	N
	<u>աստ</u> [n]է-ներ-ի-ն [astərnəri]	star-PL-GEN-DEF	Liar 5
	եմիշ-ներ-ն [jəmishnərə]	melon-PL-DEF	A 199
	մար-ներ-ը' [marnerə'] ⁶¹	man-PL-DEF	A 203
c. - <i>pʰt̪p</i> -[kʰjɛr]	<u>ասորմ</u> - <i>pʰt̪p</i> -ը [atəmkʰjɛrə]	tooth-PL-DEF	B
	<u>աշկ</u> -[n]- <i>pʰt̪p</i> -նվ-ըս [aʃkəkʰjerovəs]	eye-PL-INSTR-1SG with my eyes	O
	սիրոն- <i>pʰt̪p</i> -ն [sirokʰern]	lover-PL-DEF	A 206

Acharean's generalization appears to hold for the majority of cases, however.

⁶⁰ A note in the text states that this is used in reference to individuals using snuff.

⁶¹ We find the same irregular plural of 'man' in Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:63).

There are also irregular plurals that do not fall under the scope of the regular plural system in (32), such as կտոր [kətor] ‘piece’ → կտոր-տանք-ը [kətortankʰə] ‘piece-PL-DEF’ (Y 29), տեղ [teg] ‘place’ → pl. տեղ-դրանք [tegərankʰ] (O; Sarkis Barkhoudarian (personal communication) adds that this has the sense of ‘neighborhood’ or ‘territory’), ծի [tsi] ‘horse’ → ծիյանք [tsijankʰ] ‘herd of horses’ (S), թարաւոր [tʰakʰavor] ‘king’ (HAB) → pl. թարաւոր-քնէր [tʰakʰavorkʰner] (Kh), զյամէլշ [gjæmɛʃ] ‘buffalo’ (HAB) → pl. զյամէլշանք [gjæmɛʃankʰ] (S), կես [ket] ‘river’ (HAB) → pl. կետըրտանք [kətərtankʰ] (S), ախատ [aχxat] ‘brother’ (HAB) → pl. ախալրանք [aχpərtankʰ] (S), կղղ [kjəg] (A), կեղ [kjəg] (HAB) ‘village’ → pl. կեղրանք [kjərankʰ] (S), յէզ [jɛz] ‘bull’ (HAB) → pl. յէզնանք [jɛznankʰ] (S). Some of the above forms are also found in Khoy-Urmia; see Asatryan 1962:74 for these and further examples. Many are preserved in the diaspora as well; see Katvalyan 2016 for examples in Mayakovski and other villages in Kotayk‘ settled by Salmastetsis.

In the system of nominal declension the primary differences from SEA (and agreements with SWA, Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:75), and Maragha (Acharéan 1926:160)) involve the absence of a distinct exponent for the locative case and the preservation of the Classical Armenian ablative in -կ(ն) -[ɛ(n)]. Most Eastern dialects have developed a new ablative in -ից -[itsʰ] from the Classical Armenian ablative plural of the i-declension (compare Jahukyan 1972, feature #58), but the Southeastern dialect group preserves the original Classical ablative. In Salmast we find for example սեսէն [teten] ‘from here’ (cf. SEA էսէնից [ɛstək̚it̚sʰ]) in Z’s translation of T‘umanyan’s Liar story (but cf. O սեսան [tetan]), and ջ’րէն [ʃrəfen] ‘from the water’ (cf. SEA ջրից [dʒərit̚sʰ], SWA ջուրէն [ʃʰurən]) in sentence 41 of The Stepmother (section 6).

Salmast has developed quite a few innovations in the pronominal system, including a distinctive declension paradigm for էն [ɛt] ‘this (by you)’ built on a singular oblique stem սնա’ն [tær] → GEN սնա’ն [tær], DAT սնա’նը [tærə], ABL սնա’ն(վ)էն [tær(m)en], INSTR սնա’ն(վ)նվ [tær(m)ov] and a plural stem սնա’ն [tæn] → NOM/ACC սնա’նը [tænkʰj], GEN սնա’նց [tæntsʰ], DAT սնա’նցը [tæntsʰə], ABL սնա’նց(վ)էն [tæntsʰ(m)en], INSTR սնա’նց(վ)նվ [tæntsʰ(m)ov]. The same paradigm is found in Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:89) and (modulo vowel harmony) in Maragha (Acharéan 1926:197). We find this demonstrative pronominal for example in our text, excerpted here as (34):

- (34) Տա՞ր կնիկ’ը դաստէն կիսիւանդանա
 [tærj kənik’ə’ դաստէն կիսիւանդանա]
 ‘his wife intentionally⁶² gets ill’

The stages in the development of this oblique stem may have been [dora] (cf. Classical դորա) > dra [dra] (cf. SEA դրա) > *dar [dar] (by metathesis) > dær [dær] (by Adjarian’s Law) > [tær] (by Group VII devoicing of initial stops).

The Salmast pronominal system is also interesting for shifting the original definite accusative logophoric pronoun qhūp’l [zinkʰjə] to replace the old nominative ինք ink‘ ‘he/she/it’ (cf. Khoy-Urmia qhūp’l [zinkʰjə] (Asatryan 1962:88) and Maragha qhūp’w [zinkʰjæ] (Acharean 1926:194)). The Classical accusative/specific prefix q- z- does not appear in the oblique cases: GEN իլր [yr] ‘his/her/its’ not *qիլր *[zyr], etc.

3.2. Verbal

Salmast (together with the rest of the Southeastern group) is perhaps most distinctive in its verbal system, where a number of striking innovations have occurred. We review a few of the most interesting here.

3.2.1. The present in -s / -li

Classical Armenian formed the present active indicative of verbs by adding personal endings directly to the stem, e.g. լս- լս- ‘listen’ → լս-եմ լս-e-m listen-THEME.V-1SG ‘I listen’. In the main group of Eastern dialects this formation has become a subjunctive, and has been replaced in the indicative by a locative construction, e.g. SEA լսում եմ լս-um e-m listen-LOC be-1SG, literally something originally like ‘I am in listening’ but now simply ‘I listen’. The group of dialects to which Salmast belongs, which Acharean calls the -lis group (1961:178), also forms a new present indicative from the locative of a nominalized form of the verb root⁶³, but instead of -um uses the old locative plural of the imperfect

⁶² Cf. Az. qəsdən ‘intentionally’.

⁶³ The local varieties of Azeri and Neo-Aramaic form progressive constructions (and in some dialects habituals) with a locative morpheme (Khan 2016:39-40), but this is so common in Armenian varieties and

participle -li, which when added to the verbal theme vowel gives -bi-h-u -e-li-s, -uu-h-u -u-li-s, etc. In the Artvin dialect this construction remains as such in contexts where a vowel-initial clitic (typically the auxiliary verb) follows the verb root, e.g. սկսելի է [(ə)skəsəlis ε] ‘he begins’ (Gharibyan 1941:342)⁶⁴, but lacks the -s elsewhere, e.g. չեմ երթի [tʰem ertʰli] ‘I am not going’. Maragha employs the latter suffix in all constructions, e.g. իւզելի իմ [yzəli im] ‘I want’ (Achaean 1926:266). Salmast has a similar distribution to Artvin, but like Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:99), reduces the original -lis to -s in contexts where a vowel-initial clitic follows the main verb (35) and -li when it does not⁶⁵ (36).

(35) imperfective indicative -s

մսես էմ մօս-է-ս է-մ be.cold-THEME.V-IMF.PPL be-1SG ‘I am cold’ (A 196)

լյիրէս էր կիր-է-ս էր write-THEME.V-IMF.PPL PST ‘he/she/it was writing’ (S; cf. As 104 for Khoy-Urmia)

(36) present indicative -l(ə)i

- a. with preposed negative+auxiliary (underlined)

մեյմէկ’հի չեն տսնալի

[məjmek’i չeñ təsnaləi]

‘they don’t see one another’ (A 210)

- b. with preposed positive focused element + auxiliary (underlined)

խորթ մերը՝ ուրենցը՝ պրնձէ սիրաւ ի տալի

[χortʰ mərə’ urent͡sʰə’ pərəndzə pʰəlav i taləi]

‘the stepmother gives them rice pilav’ (A 193)

- c. with preposed question word + auxiliary (underlined)

indeed cross-linguistically that the presence of such constructions in at least three different language families in the Lake Urmia region may be coincidental.

⁶⁴ It also is used in this function with the three so-called monosyllabic verbs in SEA: galis em ‘I come’, lalis em ‘I cry’, talis em ‘I give’.

⁶⁵ Davt’yan 1966:144 states the set of environments as “in the 3rd person singular present, in negative and interrogative forms, and generally when the imperfect participle follows the auxiliary verb”.

ի՞ւր ես տանելոյի էծը’

[yɾj̥ es taneləi etsə’]

‘where did you take the goat?’ (A 205)

- d. positive third singular with zero auxiliary (cf. Asatryan 1962:104 on Khoy-Urmia)

մէյն ասէլոյի

[mɛjn asełəi]

‘one [of them] says’ (A 196)

It is interesting, and likely relevant to the investigation of the geographic and linguistic origins of the Armenian dialects, that the precise set of allomorphs and prosodic conditions in (35-36) is shared by dialects over such a large swath of the Eastern Armenian dialect world, from Artvin in northeast Turkey to Mayakovski and Dzoraghbyur in Armenia (Katvalyan 2020), to Hadrut‘, Janyat‘agh, Shushik‘end, Dashalt‘in, and Verin and Nerk‘in Ch‘aylu in Artsakh (Davt‘yan 1966:143-146), to Salmast, Khoy, and Urmia in Iran. (The studies of other -s dialects (Aghayan 1954 on Meghri, Muradyan 1961 on Kak‘avaberd, Acharyan 1961:184 on Varanda and Dizak) do not indicate an allomorphy of this type existing in their respective varieties.)

It is also interesting that a relatively clear path can be traced through the modern dialects from the original locative plural form -lis preserved in Varhavar and Gudemnis (37i) to the final stages -s, -l, and -y in Salmast, Mrgavan, and Karchevan respectively (37v), via intermediate stages preserved in Artvin, Shaghakh, and Karchevan (37ii-iv).⁶⁶

(37) summary of developments in the present indicative from original -lis (Gharibyan 1941:236, Aghayan 1954:193, Muradyan 1961:86)

stage	form(s)	dialect	participle for ‘stay’
i.	-lis	Varhavar, Gudemnis	մնալիս [mənəlɪs]
ii.	-lis, -li	Artvin	մնալիս [mənəlɪs], մնալի [mənali]

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Khan (p.c.) mentions a typological parallel in the Neo-Aramaic dialects of the region: the locative preposition b- in corresponding progressive constructions undergoes attrition in the progressive construction, but not elsewhere. He attributes this idiosyncratic development to the fact that compositionality was lost and the b- began to be analysed as part of the progressive stem.

iii.	-jis	Shaghakh, Kuris, Agarak	մնայիս [mənajis]
iv.	-js	Karchevan	մնայս [mənajs]
va.	-s, -li	Salmast	մնաս [mənas], մնալի [mənali]
vb.	-s, -l	Khoy-Urmia ⁶⁷	մնաս [mənas], մնալ [mənal]
vc.	-j	Karchevan	մնայ [mənaj]

3.2.2. The m-aorist

Salmast extends to the aorist the -m of the first-person singular present, so for example original հսաս [hasa] ‘I reached’ > Salmast խսասմ [χasam] (compare SEA հսաս [hasa]). We see it furthermore in the riddle in (38):

(38) a riddle from At‘ayan (1906:209)

Սարեն էկամ վսպէվազ, [saren ekam vazevaz]
Զիդա՞ն թա՞լիմ օխտէ՛ գյազ! [dʒidən tʰælim oxte' gjæz]

‘I came running from the mountain; I threw the spear⁶⁸ 7 gaz⁶⁹,

Answer: կայծակ kaycak ‘lightning’

Here էկամ [ekam] is the 1st person singular aorist ‘I came’, equivalent to SEA եկա [(j)eka]. Additional tokens in the Salmast corpus include սսամ [asam] ‘I said’ (N; SWA լսի əsi, SEA ասացի), լսամ [ləsam] ‘I heard’ (N); չկշտացամ [tʃʰekəʃtatsʰam] ‘I wasn’t satisfied’, էլամ [elam] ‘I went up’ (A 197); տսամ [təsam] ‘I saw’ (Zaghikian 2001),

⁶⁷ Only in the subdialects of Mrgavan, Vardashen, Getazat, Marmaran, Aramus, T‘azagyugh, Hayt‘agh, and Khat‘unarkh (Asatryan 1962:99). Katherine Hodgson (p.c.) adds that this system is also found in Karaglukh and Aghanjadzor in the Vayots Dzor region of the Republic of Armenia.

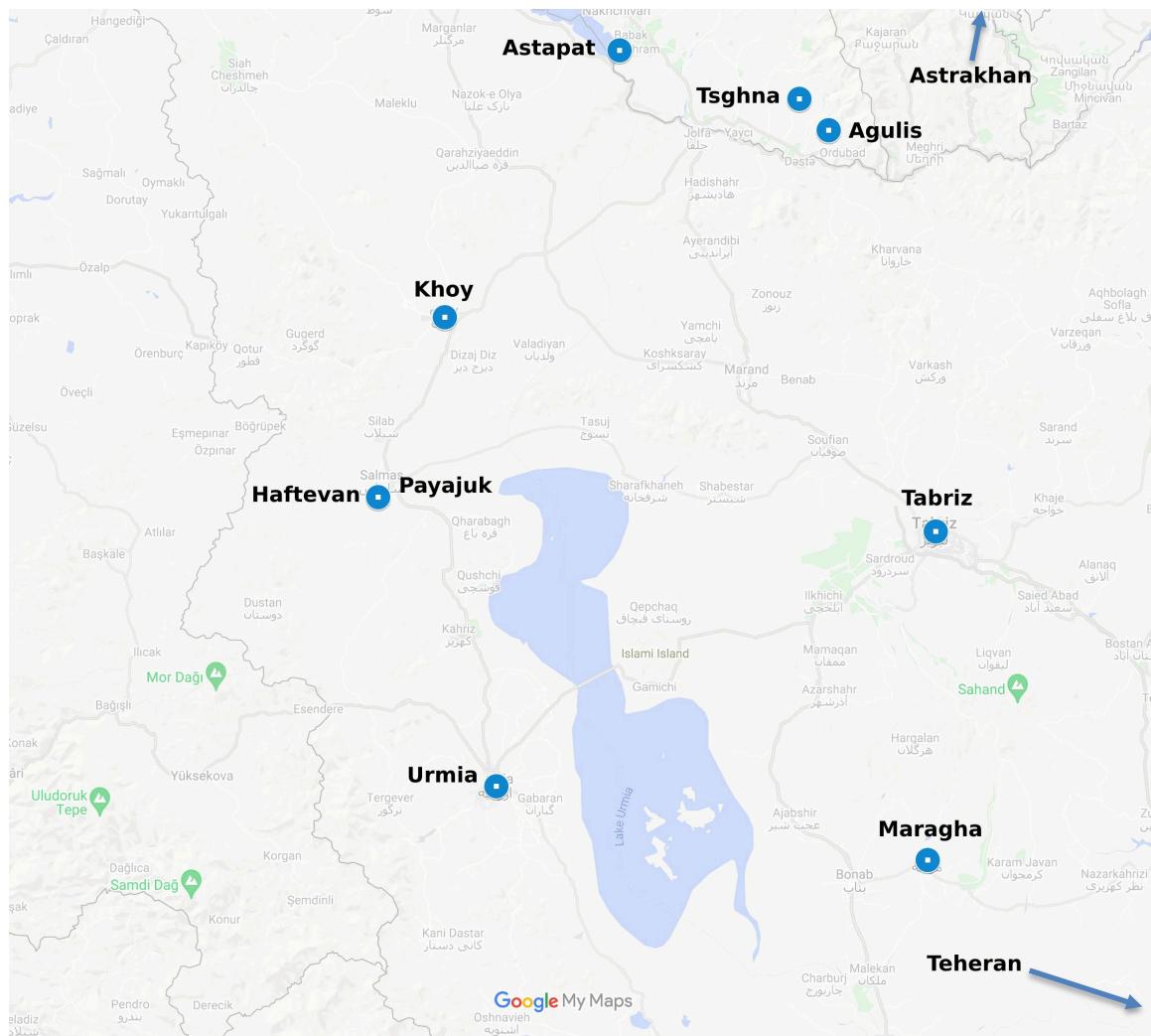
⁶⁸ զիդա՞ն [dʒidən]< regional Turkic cida ‘spear’, found for example in the Turkish dialects of Koyundere (Kars), Gaziantep, Reyhanli (Hatay), Bünyan (Kayseri), and Haruniye (Adana) (Türk Dil Kurumu 1963-1982); also Azeri cida ‘spear’ according to Khan 2016:171, ultimately from Mongolian (Schönig 2000:117).

⁶⁹ The gaz is a Persian unit equal to approximately 112 centimeters, so 7 gaz is roughly 26 feet.

իշկամ [iʃkam] ‘I looked’ (Zaghikian 2000), չլիսասկցամ [ʃ̥eħaskət̥šam] ‘I didn’t understand’ (Zaghikian 2000).

According to Jahukyan 1972 (feature #100.6) this innovation is found in the Armenian dialects of Astrakhan, Tabriz, Astapat, Agulis, Tsghna, Khoy, Payajuk, Urmia, and Maragha; to this we can add Haftevan, Teheran and what one might call “Standard Persian Armenian”, giving the regional pattern in (39) (cf. Acharyan 1961:201).

(39) Armenian dialects with the 1sg aorist -m



The analogical extension of -m to the aorist had already taken place by 1724, when we find it in Eghia Karnets‘i’s letter #167 in forms such as ընկամ ənkam ‘I fell’, Էկամ ekam ‘I came’, and կնամ knam ‘I went’ (Abrahamyan 1968). In Astrakhan (Acharyan

1961:196) and Zovuni (Katvalyan 2016:52) the 1sg -m extends from the present and the aorist to the imperfect, e.g. Astrakhan իիմ iim = Standard էի էի ‘I was’, Zovuni կառդիմ [kart^him] = Standard կարդայի kardayi ‘I was reading’.

3.2.3. Loss of aorist -g- -ts^h-

A superset of the dialects showing the spread of the first person singular -m from the present to the past system also show Jahukyan’s (1972) feature 95, the loss of the Classical aorist marker -g- -ts^h- in all persons of the e-conjugation except for the 3rd singular, producing paradigms as in (40) (compare the Khoy-Urmia aorist paradigm of ‘write’ in Asatryan 1962:107).

(40) aorist paradigm of ‘say’ in Salmast (forms from S) compared to SEA

	Salmast	SEA	gloss
1SG	լսիմ [ləsim]	լսիցի [ləsəts ^h i]	I listened
2SG	լսիր [ləsir]	լսիցիր [ləsəts ^h ir]	you.SG listened
3SG	լսեց [ləsəts ^h]	լսեց [ləsəts ^h]	he/she/it listened
1PL	լսինք [ləsink ^{hj}]	լսիցինք [ləsəts ^h ink ^h]	we listened
2PL	լսիք [ləsik ^{hj}]	լսիցիք [ləsəts ^h ik ^h]	you.PL listened
3PL	լսին [ləsin]	լսիցին [ləsəts ^h in]	they listened

By this innovation we find aorist forms in Salmast such as those in (41).

(41) tokens of e-conjugation aorist forms in Salmast

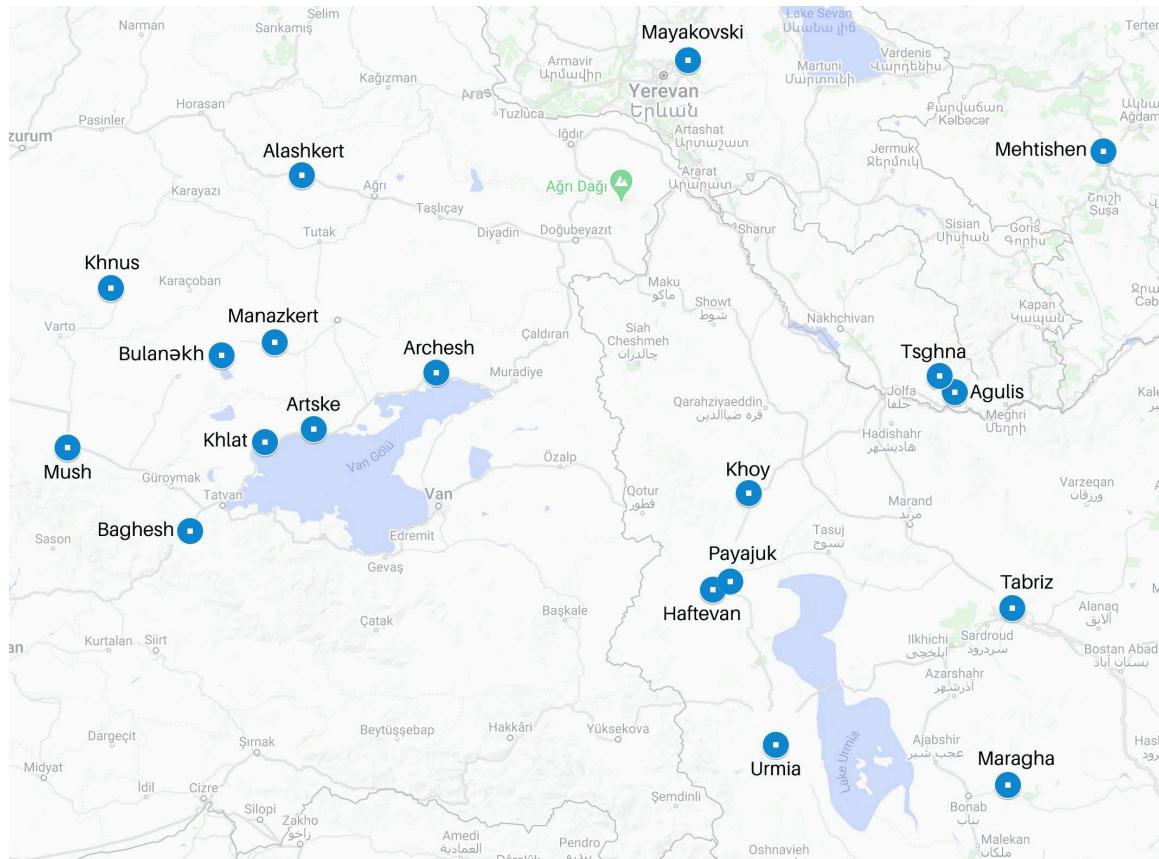
Salmast	SEA	gloss	source
թողինք [tʰoʁink ^h]	թողեցինք [tʰoʁəts ^h ink ^h]	we left	Kh 1880
բերիմէր [berim er] ⁷⁰	բերեցի [berəts ^h i]	I (had) brought	AG2
ասին [asin]	ասացին [asats ^h in],	they said	AG2

⁷⁰ This form appears to consist of the aorist բերիմ [berim] + the past tense marker էր [er], effectively a plusquam-aorist, which is not a tense form mentioned in Asatryan’s 1962 grammar of Khoy-Urmia. Compare իկա՞մ էր [ik̥a՞m er] in section 3.2.5.

	ասեցին [asətsʰin]		
օրօխկյինք [օրօχkjinkʰ]	ուղարկեցինք [uʁarketsʰinkʰ]	we sent	Zaghikian 2000
ծախինք [tsaxinkʰ]	ծախեցինք [tsaxətsʰinkʰ]	we sold	Zaghikian 2000
ա'րինք [ærinkʰ]	արինք [arinkʰ]	we did	Zaghikian 2000

According to Jahukyan 1972 this innovation takes place in most of the dialects that have extended the 1sg present -m to the aorist (q.v. section 3.2.2 above), as well as the dialects to the north of Lake Van (Mush, Bulanəgh, Khnus, Alashkert, Manazkert, Baghesh, Khlat, Archesh, and Artske), as shown in (42).

(42) map of dialects showing Jahukyan's (1972) feature 95



As can be seen in map (42) this feature is also preserved in the Salmast descendant Mayakovski, where we find aorist forms such as պաշիմ [kʰaqsim] 'I pulled' (SEA պաշեցի [kʰaqseči]), կըռիմ [kərim] 'I cut' (SEA կըրեցի [kərətseči]), տուս խանիմ [tus xanim] 'I

took out' (SEA տուլս հանեցի [turs hanetsʰi]), քլորիմ [kʰərtʰim] (probably cognate with Salmast and Khoy-Urmia պլորթէլ [kʰjərtʰεl] 'peel' (B, As 208); SEA պլորեցի [kʰərtʰεtsʰi]), and մարդիմ [makʰrim] (SEA մարդեցի [makʰrətsʰi]) (Katvalyan 2020:210).

3.2.4. The verbal aspect marker [ko]

Salmast differs from SEA and SWA in possessing a particle կո/կօ/կոյ (all pronounced [ko]), which according to Gharibyan 1939, Abeghyan (1974:263), and Jahukyan 1972 can be used as a verbal morpheme, as in (43).

(43) examples of [ko] used as a verbal morpheme

- a. կոսնաս կո [kətəsnas ko] 'you will see' (N)
- b. չունիք կո էրկու տարիյի հենցա ասեսէն յընթերցարան [...] էսենց անենք (N)
[ʃʰunkʰi ko erku tariji hentsʰa asesen jənθertsʰaran etentsʰ anenkʰ]
'because for two years now they've constantly been saying in the study hall "let's do it!"'
- c. կնացիմ կանչիմ, կօ իկեալի (Y 28)
[kənatshim kantʃim, ko ikʰæli]
'I went and called [him, and] here he comes'
- d. կո եսնա՞մ [ko jesnæm] 'what do I know?' (Zaghikean 2000)

The semantics and grammatical status of this particle when used with a verb are not entirely clear. When not part of a verb it appears to be a deictic presentative meaning something like 'lo, behold, here is', comparable to Standard Armenian սիս [aha], French voici, Turkish işte, and Russian vot (see Taghawarean (1898:97) for the Armenian meaning and Grenoble and Riley 1996, Bergen and Plauché 2001, and Zanuttini 2017 for the linguistic terminology). This original sense can be seen in (44), from At'ayan's story Թմբկահարը [tʰəmbkaharə] "The Drummer" (1906:197).

(44) example of original deictic presentative use of [ko]

Ե՛լ, պելի, կո՞ խառնիսի զուռնա կա, դհօլ' չկա. Ե՛լ, սու էլ քո դհօլ'ս տա՛ն, թըսի, փո՞ղ աս:

[jéli, k^héli, ko γarnisi zurna ka, dəholi tʃ^həka. jéli, tu el k^ho dəholiət tá, t^həp^hi, p^hók ar.]

‘Get up, go, behold, at the wedding there’s a zurna but no drum. Get up, you too take your drum, play it, and make some money.’

Adjarian 1913:627 attests a form լօ [ko] with the meaning սհաւասիլ [ahávasik] ‘here!, voici’ in the dialects of Khoy, Khizan, Khlat‘, Moks, Salmast, and Van. We also find this form in Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:224), Maku descendant Zovaberd (Katvalyan 2018, who labels it a հաստակուկան մասնիկ hastatakan masnik ‘affirmative particle’), Diadin descendant Vardenis (Petrosyan 2016), and as զօ [go], զյօ [gio] in the Urmia descendant Ch‘aylu (Davt‘yan 1966:303).

The interesting point for present purposes is that Salmast (as well as Khoy, Urmia, and Maragha according to Jahukyan (1972, feature #79.2)) is claimed to have grammaticalized this deictic presentative as a verbal marker. But how so exactly? Abeghyan (1974/1931) states that the grammaticalized function marks the սահմանական sahmanakan ‘present indicative’ or անկատար անցյալ ankatar anc‘yal ‘(past) imperfect’. Vartkes Zakarian is also of the opinion that it indicates the present tense in Salmast dialect, and gives the example լն տու’դ ի [ko tæv i] ‘here it is’ or ‘it is right here’ (though this example is also consistent with a presentative reading). Other verbal constructions derived from presentatives can certainly become presents, such as the Kesab present indicative in հւ- հա- < սհսի ահա ‘voici’, e.g. հւ զու [ha k^hu] ‘he/she/it comes’ (cf. also Makaev 1977 on the development of Armenian լու ku). Perhaps the present indicative use developed via a bleaching of the deictic presentative semantics to a “here and now” verbal semantics, as some believe happened with the Indo-European hic et nunc -i. (See Khan 2012:111ff. for a possible parallel in the development of a copula from a presentative construction in nearby Northeast Neo-Aramaic varieties. Khan (p.c.) adds that “NENA dialects have a preverbal particle k-, which expresses the progressive or habitual. It appears to be derived from a deictic ‘here it is.’.” Abeghyan 1974:256-264, especially section 259 “Present indicative and past imperfect with the words aha, nay, koy”, provides detailed discussion of the origins and semantics of ko as well as other repurposed deictics in Armenian dialects. Asatryan 1982 argues that Gharibyan, Abeghyan, and Jahukyan are wrong, and that լն ko

is simply a particle equivalent to Standard Armenian *uhu* *aha* and has not grammaticalized.

3.2.5. The analytic past with -*Է* -[ɛr]

Most varieties of Armenian, both modern and otherwise, have separate suffixes to express the present tense vs. the past tense. In the SWA negative present vs. imperfect indicative, for instance, we have /ʃ^h-e-m/ ‘NEG-be-1SG’ → չեմ [ʃ^hem] ‘I am not’ and /ʃ^h-e-i-Ø/ ‘NEG-be-IMF-1SG’ → չի [ʃ^hej] ‘I am not’ respectively. In this case one adds distinct suffixes to the verb root to form the present vs the imperfect. Salmast differs in forming the past tense by adding a clitic particle to the present form. This clitic is diachronically descended from and synchronically homophonous with the 3rd person singular imperfect form of the auxiliary verb ‘be’, namely էր [ɛr], but differs in remaining invariant regardless of the number and person of the subject (so for example ծախէս էմ էր [tsax̃es em ɛr] ‘I sold’, not *ծախէս էմ էի [tsax̃es em ej]), as shown in (45).

(45) present and imperfect paradigms of ‘sell’

	present		imperfect	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	ծախէս էմ [tsax̃es em] ‘I sell’	ծախէս էնք ^h [tsax̃es enk ^h] ‘we sell’	ծախէս էմ էր [tsax̃es em ɛr] ‘I sold’	ծախէս էնք էր [tsax̃es enk ^h ɛr] ‘we sold’
2	ծախէս էս [tsax̃es es] ‘you.SG sell’	ծախէս էք ^h [tsax̃es ek ^h] ‘you.PL sell’	ծախէս էս էր [tsax̃es es ɛr] ‘you.SG sold’	ծախէս էք էր [tsax̃es ek ^h ɛr] ‘you.PL sold’
3	ծախէլի [tsax̃eli] ‘s/he, it sells’	ծախէս էն [tsax̃es en] ‘they sell’	ծախէս էր [tsax̃es er] ‘s/he, it sold’	ծախէս էն էր [tsax̃es en ɛr] ‘they sold’

The innovated past tense clitic is not limited to use with the -s participle, so one finds in Zaghikian 2000 for example simple present ունեմ [unem] ‘I have’ → ունեմ էր [unem ɛr] ‘I had’, inverted present չեմ ույզելի [ʃ^hem ujzeli] ‘I don’t want’ and aorist իկա՞մ [ikäm]

‘I came’ → չեմ եր ույզելի որ իկա՞մ էր [*ʃʰem εr ujzeli vor ikʰam εr*] ‘I didn’t want to come’; perfect կինացիր էն [*kjinatsʰir εn*] ‘they have gone’ → past perfect⁷¹ հըմէնը կինացիր էն եր Թա՛րեկ [*hemenə kjinatsʰir εn εr tʰævrez*] ‘everyone had gone to Tabriz’. With serial verb constructions each verb takes the clitic, e.g. իկա՞ս էն եր խասնէն էն եր [*ikʰas εn εr xasnes εn εr*] ‘they came and arrived’ (Zaghikian 2000); the same is true with infinitival constructions, as we saw above with ‘I didn’t want to come’.

The innovation of the analytic past tense clitic էր [*εr*] is also found in Maragha (Adjarian 1926:270-273), Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:103), Igdır (e.g. իրարու լզեսէն էր [*irarū ləzes εn εr*] ‘they licked each other’ (Haykuni 1901a:300)), and Darghalu (Adjarian 1961:194; this was the home village of both Gharibyan and Asatryan, and according to T’arverdyan the original settlers came from Salmast villages (cf. footnote 5)). There are numerous other Armenian dialects with analytic past tense forms (Jahukyan 1972 lists Meghri, Karchevan, Varhavar, Gudemnis, Agulis, Tsghna, Janyatagh, Shushikend, Tumi, Hadrut, Shaghakh, Khanagah, and Burdur), but all use markers other than էր [*εr*]. Agulis for example uses -նել -[nɛl] < լինել linel, the infinitive of the verb ‘be’.

Scala 2019, 2021 suggests that the reanalysis of the 3sg auxiliary verb as a past tense marker has a plausible endogenous motivation which may have been reinforced by the local variety of Azeri having a zero marker for the 3rd singular past tense. He compares this to the development of a morpheme -jer marking remoteness in Kesab Armenian and a direct borrowing of Turkish -di to express remoteness in the Armenian dialects of Beylan and Hajin (2021:160, Scala (in press)). See Scala (2021 and this volume) for more detailed discussion.

While the endogenous and exogenous sources identified by Scala for the reanalysis of էր [*εr*] as a past tense marker are reasonable, it is also worth bearing in mind that the other main languages in the region, Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic, may both possess a past tense morpheme derived from the verb ‘be’ (Krotkoff feature 7 (1982:64), cited by Pennacchietti and Orengo 1995:223). Caution may be in order if these sources are referring to the formation of present and past perfects in Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic, which in my

⁷¹ The tense called անցյալի վաղակատար *antsʰjali vaskakatar* in the Armenian grammatical tradition (cf. Asatryan 1962:105).

opinion may not be exactly parallel to the Armenian construction. See for example Khan 2012:118 on the use of a fossilized 3sg copula to mark the present perfect in some Neo-Aramaic varieties of the area, including Urmia. He adds (p.c.) that in these Neo-Aramaic dialects “analytic ‘perfects’ consisting of a participle and copula are used as an indirective perfective (using Lars Johanson’s term ‘indirective’ to refer to events from which the speaker is cognitively distanced, e.g. in remote past or in fictional stories). He adds that “in NENA dialects an imperfective past is formed from the present by adding a fossilized invariant form of the 3sg masculine past copula *wa* to the present, e.g. *patx-ən* ‘I open’, *patx-ən-wa* ‘I used to open.’” The Kurmanji Kurdish parallel involves adding what looks like a frozen 3sg present copula, *-e*, to the simple past to form the present perfect, e.g. *ez hatim* ‘I came’ → *ez hatime* ‘I have come’.

The Kurdish and/or Neo-Aramaic constructions may have provided a proximal source for the repurposing of the 3rd singular auxiliary as a past tense marker in the Armenian dialects of the area (subject to the above caution concerning simple past vs present perfect). Moreover, the fact that grammaticalization of an invariant 3sg copula as a past tense marker is attested in languages farther from Salmast geographically, such as Talyshi (Pirejko 1966; spoken in Iran but apparently not in contact with the Lake Urmia Armenian communities) and Hindi (Payne 1979:442), raises the possibility that the past tense *łp* [ɛr] manifests a universal linguistic tendency rather than resulting from borrowing or endogenous structure-driven reanalysis.

As for when the past tense *łp* [ɛr] developed, Scala 2021:155 states that “it must not be very old, as the dialect of Hadrut‘, transplanted from northern Iran to Karabagh approximately 200 years ago, does not appear to show any trace of it”. There are two problems with this reasoning. First, a linguistic feature can disappear from a language or dialect at any time; the fact that Hadrut‘ does not currently possess the *łp* [ɛr] particle does not entail that the dialect did not have it 200 years ago. Consider the pronunciation of <bath> as [ba:θ] in the English varieties of East Anglia (as opposed to [bæθ] in most American Englishes, or [baθ] in Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England). Was the local [ba:θ] pronunciation brought to eastern New England by the first anglophone settlers, who came largely from East Anglia in the seventeenth century? If we were to go by the current speech of New Englanders, the answer would be no—a recent study by Stanford, Leddy-

Cecere, and Baclawski, for example, found that no younger speakers (aged 18-22) produced [ɑ:] in words like <bath> (2012:145). The fact that one cannot safely draw inferences about the past from the absence of this pronunciation in the present, though, is shown by the fact that 63% of the older speakers in the same study (aged 61-92) used [ɑ:] in at least one such word (*ibid.*). The apparent-time facts suggest that the original anglophone settlers did in fact bring the [ba:θ] pronunciation with them to New England, but it stopped being acquired by younger speakers within the past 50-100 years.

Taking an example closer to our *լպ* [ɛr] particle, insofar as it involves a grammatical morpheme in an Armenian dialect, we might ask whether the present tense construction using the -ման -man participle (e.g. տալման ամ [talman am] ‘I give’), which is attested in (Old) Julfa in Nakhichevan (cf. Jahukyan 1972 feature 84.1, p. 117), had developed by the time that most of its Armenian population was transplanted one thousand kilometers southward to New Julfa in Iran at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Were we to sample the New Julfa dialect today, our answer would again be “no”—the construction is completely absent from the speech of even the oldest community members. We happen to have a robust corpus of New Julfa dialect from the 1650s to the present day, however, and this corpus reveals that the man-present was used in the dialect from the very beginning until as late as Gharibyan’s texts were collected sometime before 1941 (cf. text #1, Gharibyan 1941:231). Just as it would be a mistake to infer from modern New Julfa usage that it did not bring the man-present with it from Old Julfa, so one should be careful not to infer from the absence of the *լպ* [ɛr] particle in the mid-20th century that it was not brought to Hadrut[‘] from Iran when the original migration took place.

More importantly, several of the diaspora varieties that relocated from the Lake Urmia region to Artsakh and Armenia in the 1820s *do* possess the *լպ* [ɛr] particle, strongly suggesting that it had already developed in the Iranian homeland by the time of the migration. According to Davt’yan 1966:225, for example, the *լպ* [ɛr] particle appears in Artsakh in both of the Ch’aylus (originally from Թրիհավա and Badrbyov in the Urmia county, migrated 1829) and Maragha (originally from the county of Maragha, also migrated 1829). Katvalyan 2020:210 adds that the Armenian dialect of Mayakovski in the Kotayk[‘] province of Armenia, which is a descendant of Salmast dialect with influences from the surrounding Ararat dialect, also uses the *լպ* [ɛr] particle, as do the originally Lake

Urmia dialects of Dzoraghbyur and Aramus in the Kotayk‘ province (2020:52). Together these considerations suggest that the migration from Iran to Armenia and Artsakh in 1828-29 is a terminus *ante quem* rather than *post quem* for the development of լի [ɛr] as a past tense particle.

3.2.6. The obligatory/future

A final feature of interest in the Salmast morphological system is the obligatory/future formation⁷² employing a proclitic whose original form appears to have been something like սիկի [tiki], as in իշ սիկի ա’նեմ [iʃ tiki ænem] ‘what shall I do?’ (Zaghikian 2000). It takes many forms in the Salmast corpus: սիկ’ [tik’] (A 137), սոլկը [tək’ə] (B, O), լյտը [k’ətə] (B), կըսի [kəti] (Safօ 1916), սիկի [tiki] (Zaghikian 2000), սիկյի [tik’i] (O), and սիզի [tigi] (Z). It also appears in Urmia as սիկյի [tik’i] (Adjarian 1911:284) or սիկյը [tik’ə] (Asatryan 1962:108), and in Khoy as սոլկի [təki] (Tēr-Awetik‘ean 1903), but does not appear in Adjarian’s Maragha grammar (1926).

Asatryan distinguishes between this obligatory/future and forms made with սի [ti] and -ելիւ եմ -[ely jem] (1962:104), but it is not clear that the remaining Salmast speakers employ these forms. It is interesting from the general perspective of Armenian obligatory and future markers that the Salmast սիկի [tiki] can be separated from the verb by an adverb, as in (46):

(46) separable obligatory/future

Ես սիզի շնու իլյա՞մեր

[jɛs tigi sot ik’əm εr]

jes tigi sot ik’əm εr

I FUT quick come.PPL PST

‘I would have come quicker’

(Z’s translation of T’umanyan’s story The Liar, sentence 10)

⁷² Referred to variously in the linguistic literature as *apařni* ‘future’ (Adjarian 1911:284), *harkadrakani apařni* ‘future of the obligatory [mood]’ (Gharibyan 1941:274, Asatryan 1962:108), and “debitive” (Martirosyan 2019).

3.2.7. Loss of verbal -չ- -[tʃʰ]-

Dum-Tragut 2009:172 observes that “in colloquial M[odern] E[astern] A[rmenian], in suffixed verbs in -չ- -č‘- the suffix -չ- -č‘- is often replaced with -ն- -n-, as in փախնել p‘axnel instead of written փախչել p‘ax-č‘-el ‘to flee’, թռնել t‘rnel instead of written թռչել t‘rr-č‘-el ‘to fly’ etc.” In Salmast (and its descendant Mayakovski (Katvalyan 2020:210), and indeed in all of the Southeastern group of dialects, as well as (judging from the relevant cognate forms in HAB) perhaps Van, Alashkert, Mush, Agulis, New Julfa and other dialects that often pattern with Salmast, the absence of the -չ- -[tʃʰ]-morpheme is more systematic: either it was lost completely or it never developed in the first place. A list of representative examples is given in (47).

(47) Salmast correspondences of Standard Armenian verbs with the -չ- -[tʃʰ]- morpheme

SEA	Salmast	gloss	source
հանգչել [hangtʃʰεl]	հսայնել [χæjnεl]	rest	HAB, O
թռչել [tʰərtʃʰεl]	թռնել [tʰərnεl]	fly	HAB, S, Z
փախչել [pʰaxtʃʰεl]	փախնել [pʰaxnεl]	flee	HAB, S
ուռչել [urʃʰεl]	ուռել [urel]	swell, be proud	O
կպչել [kəptʃʰεl]	կլպցնել [kəptʃʰənεl]	stick, attach	Z 553
դիպչել [dipʃʰεl], կպչել [kəptʃʰεl]	կլպնել [kəpnεl]	touch	Z 351

Note that it is specifically the morpheme -չ- -[tʃʰ]- rather than the phoneme /չ tʃʰ/ that does not appear in Salmast verbs. When a չ tʃʰ is part of the verb root it does appear, as in (48).

(48) Salmast correspondences of Standard Armenian verb roots with the /չ tʃʰ/ phoneme (verb root underlined)

SEA	Salmast	gloss	source
ամա(ն)չել [ama(n)tʃʰεl]	<u>ամշռնալ</u> [am <u>tʃʰən</u> al]	be ashamed	HAB, O
ճանաչել [ʃanatʃʰεl]	<u>ճաշնալ</u> [ʃa <u>tʃʰən</u> al]	know (connaître)	HAB, B, O
կանչել [kanʃʰεl]	<u>կանչել</u> [ka <u>n</u> tʃʰεl]	call	HAB, B

կանանչել [kanančʰel]	կանանչել [kanančʰel]	be green, live	B, O
աղաչել [ačačʰel]	ա'ղա՛չել [æčačʰel]	beg, entreat	HAB
փշել [pʰəʃʰel]	փշել [pʰəʃʰel]	blow	HAB
փշացնել [pʰəʃʰatsʰnel]	փշօցել [pʰəʃʰədʒel]	waste, spoil	O

4. Syntax

The syntactic system of the Salmast dialect appears for the most part to resemble that of what we might call Standard Persian or Iranian Armenian (q.v. Tamrazian 1994, Megerdoomian 2002). In this section we examine where Salmast falls with respect to some of the most noticeable syntactic differences between Standard Persian Armenian and SEA.

4.1. Object clitics

Adjarian 1911:284 was the first scholar to notice in print that at least one of the Armenian dialects in Iran possesses object clitics, as in the examples from Urmia in (49). He considered the construction to be calqued from Persian (e.g. *didem-et* ‘I saw you’), though in the case of the Lake Urmia varieties of Armenian it may be worth noting that the local North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic varieties also have object clitics/affixes (Geoffrey Khan, p.c.).

(49) object clitics in Urmia (cf. Muradyan et al. 1977, question #675 and the extended discussion by Asatryan (1962:136-137))

- a. մէ ձի պոնինըս
 me tsi pərn-inkʰ-ət
 a horse catch-1PL-2PERS.CLITIC
 ‘let’s catch a horse for you’
 (SEA մի ձի րոնենը թեզ համար [mi dži bərnənkʰ kʰεz hamar])

Adjarian 1911:284

- b. փնտու էրդ
 pʰətot-əs εr-ət
 seek-PPL was-2PERS.CLITIC
 ‘he/she/it was looking for you’
 (SEA թեզ կը փնտու [kʰεz kə pʰəndrer])

Adjarian 1911:284

- c. ըմնօր թվիլիս
əmn-or tʰəpʰ-eli-s
every-day hit-PPL-1PERS.CLITIC
'every day he/she/it beats me'
(SEA ամեն օր ծեծում է ինձ [amen or tsetsum e indz])

Asatryan 1962:136

- d. օրօխկեցը իրեն տունը
oroxk-etsʰ-əs yres tun-ə
send-AOR-1PERS.CLITIC their house-DEF
'he/she/it sent me to their house'
(SEA ուղարկեց ինձ իրենց տուն [usarketsʰ indz irəntsʰ tun])

Asatryan 1962:136

One finds a similar construction in the varieties of Standard Iranian Armenian spoken in Teheran, Tabriz, Peria, Mazandaran, etc., e.g. կիսփեմտ կ-չըրʰ-քմ-տ FUT-hit-1SG-1PERS.CLITIC 'I will hit you' (cf. SEA պեզ կիսփեմ [kʰεz kəχəpʰem]). Karine Megerdoomian (personal communication) notes, though, that this construction works in her Standard Iranian Armenian only for direct objects, not indirect objects. So for example կ-տանեմ-տ կ-տանեմ-տ 'I will take you' is possible in her variety, but *կ-ասեմ-տ կ-ասեմ-տ 'I will say to you' is not. There appears to be some variation in this regard, as Alla Petrosyan (personal communication) states that her husband (an Iranian Armenian from Peria) can say կ-իսփեմ-տ կ-չըրʰ-քմ-տ and համար-դ կ-երգեմ համա-տ կ-յելքʰեմ 'I will sing for you' but not կ-տանեմ-տ կ-տանեմ-տ or կ-փնտրեմ-դ կ-պʰենտեմ-տ 'I will look for you'.

I have not found any evidence of object clitics being used in the Salmast corpus. Sarkis Barkhoudarian (personal communication) adds that "I don't recall them when I try to repeat these sentences [in (49)] by myself. However, when I read them, they sound familiar to me, maybe from Persian language influence."

4.2. Focus and movement

Salmast resembles SEA and Standard Persian Armenian (and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects, Khan (p.c.)) in attaching the auxiliary verb to a focused element (cf. Comrie 1984). This is often the participial form of the main verb (50a), but when a different element is focused, as in questions (50b), negative constructions (50c), or indeed any other type element including nouns (50d) and adjectives/adverbs (50e), the auxiliary attaches to this and the participial form follows.

(50) attachment of the auxiliary verb to different focused elements

- a. focused verb

սեւուն պարզեսը

tet-ε-n parz-εs εr

ground-ABL-DEF raise-PPL PST

‘he raised it from the ground’ (Z’s translation of The Liar, sentence 5)

- b. սո՞ւ ինչ ես ուզելի

tu inf^h ε-s uz-eli

you what be-2SG want-PPL

‘what do you want?’ (Z’s translation of The Liar, sentence 16)

- c. Ախպէրն ես ո՞ր՞ո՞ր զատ չի թա՞լի սեմը’

axper-n es t̥o’r̥-ə’ zat t̥h-i t̥hæl-i tem-ə’

brother-DEF this time-DEF thing NEG-be.3SG throw-PPL facing-DEF

‘This time the brother doesn’t throw anything in front of it’ (Stepmother (section 6), sentence 16)

- d. մէ ծերը պերանին եր սնելի

me tsər-ə peran-i-n er tən-eli

one end-DEF mouth-GEN/DAT-DEF PST put-PPL

‘he put one end in his mouth’ (Z’s translation of The Liar, sentence 7)

- e. Ճիշտ եմ ասելի

ʃiʃt ε-m as-eli

true be-1SG say-PPL

‘[if] I speak truly’ (Z’s translation of The Liar, sentence 22)

The interesting thing in Salmast (and most of the rest of the s-group, as discussed in section 3.2.1) is that the difference in surface syntactic position of the lexical verb entails a morphological difference in the participial suffix, whereas in SEA and Standard Persian Armenian the participial form is normally the same in both contexts. Dolatian et al. 2022a discuss an interesting exception in Teheran Armenian that parallels the Salmast construction. It involves the -er participle, which according to Dolatian et al. surfaces as -լիք -[er] when the auxiliary encliticizes to it and elsewhere as -լի -[e]. At least some Salmast speakers have this system as well, e.g. զյօնզացիրի ձյօնցատհիր=i ‘he/she/it is crippled’ (S), լնցիրի əնտհիր=i ‘it passed’ (Safő 1916), կնացիրի կռատհիր=i ‘it went’ (ibid.), մնացիր եմ մռատհիր=em ‘I have remained’ (ibid.) vs եպիսկոպոս եմ տանցի ‘I became a bishop’, մէ խինգ-վեց խւն Էշմիածին եմ կնացի ‘I went to Ejmiatsin five or six times’⁷³, (Safő 1916; S confirms that he has the same distribution of -[i] and -[ir]). It is likely that this allomorphic distribution actually hinges on whether the participial suffix is followed by a vowel-initial clitic, as we saw earlier for -li ~ -s, rather than on whether the participial suffix is followed by a clitic auxiliary, as suggested by Dolatian et al.

4.3. Resumptive pronouns in relative clauses

Standard Eastern Armenian, and to some extent Standard Iranian Armenian, allows the relative pronoun to bear case marking, such as the ablative in (51).

(51) case marking of the relative pronoun in SEA and SIA (Karine Megerdootian, p.c.)

- a. SEA այն կինը վորից այս զիրը վերցրեցի
 ajn kin-ə vor-its^h ajs girk^h-ə ver^hər-ets^h-i
 that woman-DEF REL.PRON-ABL this book-DEF buy-AOR-1SG
 ‘that woman from whom I bought this book’

⁷³ Sarkis Barkhoudarian (p.c.) suggests that this means ‘I went to Ejmiatsin with 5-6 [people]’, but the semantics and the grammatical construction work better if one assumes that Safő had a meaning ‘time’ for խւն, as we find in the dialects of Khoy-Urmia (Asatryan 1962:218), Tabriz (Acharean 1911:49), Nor Bayazet and Bulanik (Sargsyan et al. 2001). If խւն meant ‘with’ here, we would expect an overt noun (e.g. ‘people’) and for the numbers to be in the genitive/dative case governed by the postposition.

b. SIA Էն կինը վորուց էս զիրքը վերցրամ
en kin-ə voi-uts^h es giirk^h-ə verts^hər-a-m
that woman-DEF REL.PRON-ABL this book-DEF buy-AOR-1SG

Iranian Armenian generally prefers in such situations to employ a bare form of the relative pronoun plus a resumptive pronoun, as in (52):

(52) oblique relative clause with resumptive pronoun in SIA

Էն կինը վոր ես իրանից էս զիրքը վերցրամ
en kin-ə voi jes iran-its^h es giirk^h-ə verts^hər-a-m
that woman-DEF REL.PRON 3SG.PRON-ABL this book-DEF buy-AOR-1SG

As with the use of object clitics, the preference for resumptive pronouns in relativization contexts in Iranian Armenian may be a result of influence from Persian, which shows the same preference.⁷⁴

The Salmast dialect does not appear to show this influence: I have not found any resumptive pronoun constructions in the text corpus. Sarkis Barkhoudarian, moreover, states that he would express the proposition in (51)-(52) as in (53), with the relative pronoun inflected for ablative case as in SEA, but subject-verb-object word order unlike SEA and SIA.

(53) Salmast relative constructions with inflected relative pronoun, not resumptive pronoun

Էն կինը ուրմեն առիմ ես լյիրքը
en kin-ə ur-men ar-i-m es l'irk^h-ə
that woman-DEF REL.PRON-ABL buy-AOR-1SG this book-DEF

⁷⁴ Katherine Hodgson (p.c.) notes that constructions of this sort are also found in colloquial Eastern Armenian in the Republic of Armenia.

4.4. Place of agreement in nominalized relative clauses

Armenian dialects also vary in the manner in which agreement is marked in nominalized relative clauses. SEA employs the same system as Standard Turkish in such cases, marking agreement on the nominalized form of the verb (54a)⁷⁵, whereas SWA places the agreement marking on the head noun, as in regular determiner phrases (54b).

(54) agreement in nominalized relative clauses: ‘the book that I read’

- a. SEA իմ կարդացած գիրքը
 - im kartʰ-atsʰ-ats-əs girkʰ-ə
 - my read-AOR-PPL-1SG.POSS book-DEF
- b. SWA իմ կարդաց գիրքு
 - im gartʰ-atsʰ-adz kʰirkʰ-əs
 - my read-AOR-PPL book-1SG.POSS
- c. SIA 1 իմ կարդաց գիրքը
 - im kaitʰ-atsʰ-ats gi.ukʰ-ə
- d. SIA 2 կարդաց գիրքը
 - gaitʰ-atsʰ-ats gi.ukʰ-əs
- e. SIA 3 իմ կարդաց գիրքը
 - im gaitʰ-atsʰ-ats gi.ukʰ-əs

Standard Iranian Armenian combines features of both standard dialects (Karine Megerdoomian, personal communication): like SEA it can use 3rd person agreement if there is an overt subject (54c) but 1st person agreement if there is not (54d); like SWA it places the agreement clitic on the head noun, not the participle. It also optionally allows 1st person agreement with an overt subject (54e). Of particular note is the fact that SIA, despite being an “eastern” dialect, does not allow the SEA pattern of placing the agreement clitic on the participle as in (54a).

⁷⁵ Katherine Hodgson (p.c.) notes that constructions like (54c, d, e) are also possible in colloquial Eastern Armenian in the Republic of Armenia; she has the impression that (54c) is the most common option.

Salmast, on the other hand, does pattern with SEA, at least in the speech of Sarkis Barkhoudarian, who for (54) prefers կյա՞լթա՞ծու զիրքը [kjærtʰ-a-ts-əs kirkʰ-ə] (personal communication; note that Salmast normally does not use the aorist morpheme -wɪg- -[ats^h]-). We also find this pattern in Safő 1916: when there is an overt agreement marker (in this case -η -[t]), it surfaces on the nominalized verb rather than the head noun (55).

(55) overt agreement marking on the nominalized verb

կեարթասեմէր	կիրածη	պաները
kjartʰ-a-s=ε-m=εr	kir-ats=ət	pan-er-ə
read-θ-PPL=be-1.SG=PST write-PST.PPL-2.SG thing-PL-DEF		
'I read the things you wrote'		

Safő 1916 also has an example of the same expression with an overt possessor (պեօ [kʰjɔ] 'your') and no overt marker of agreement: պեօ կիրած պաները kʰjɔ kir-ats pan-er-ə 'the things you wrote'.

While Salmast appears to pattern with SEA in the placement of overt agreement markers in nominalized relative clauses, it appears to pattern with SWA in employing agreement with an overt possessor, as in իմ սիրու [im sirtəs] 'my heart' (The Stepmother sentence 4—see section 6) vs SEA իմ սիրով [im sirtə], իմ օղորմածիկ ճոշ նանաս [im oğormatsik ʃotʰ nanas] 'my blessed great grandmother' (Safő 1916), not * իմ նանան [im nanan], իմ կեարթացածու [im kjartʰatsʰatsəs] 'what I read' (Safő 1916), not * իմ կեարթացածը [im kjartʰatsʰatsə].

4.5. (Non-)finite complementation

Another difference between SIA and the two literary dialects (SEA and SWA) is that the latter usually use an infinitive verb in the dependent clause when expressing propositions such as 'they want to make me work' (56a). SIA, again like Persian (and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (Khan p.c.), Kurdish (Taylor p.c.), and colloquial Eastern Armenian as spoken in the Republic of Armenia (Hodgson p.c.)), uses a finite subjunctive verb in the lower clause (56b) (Karine Megerdoomian, personal communication).

(56) finite vs non-finite complements: ‘they want to make me work’

- a. SEA ուզում են ինձի զործի քաշել
 uz-um ε-n indzi goorts-i kʰaqʃ-εl
 want-PPL be-3PL 1SG.DAT work-DAT drive-INF
- b. SIA ուզում են ինձի զործի քաշեն
 uz-um ε-n indzi goorts-i kʰaqʃ-εn
 want-PPL be-3PL 1SG.DAT work-DAT drive-3PL
- c. Salmast ուզես էն ինձի կօրտս-ի քաշեն
 uz-es ε-n indzi kɔorts-i kʰaqʃ-εn
 want-PPL be-3PL 1SG.DAT work-DAT drive-3PL
(Sarkis Barkhoudarian, personal communication)

Salmast patterns with SIA in using a finite complement, as can be seen in (56c) and the corpus examples in (57).

(57) finite complements in Salmast

- a. Էկիրեմ էն տանեմ
 ek-ir ε-m εn tan-εm
 come-PPL be-1SG that take-1SG
 ‘I’ve come to take it’
(Z’s translation of The Liar, sentence 17)
- b. չէմ էր ույզելի որ իլյա՞մ էր
 ʃʰ-ε-m εr ujz-eli vor ikjæm εr
 NEG-be-1SG PST want-PPL that come.AOR.1SG PST
 ‘I didn’t want to come’
(Zaghikian 2000)

5. Lexis: Loanwords

One can read some of the social history of the Salmast Armenians from the imprints left on their lexicon by the languages with which they have come in contact. As with all varieties of modern Armenian, the Salmast lexicon contains large numbers of words that

can be traced back to Persian, Oghuz Turkic varieties, and Arabic (though in the case of Salmast the latter type may always come via Persian or Turkish/Azeri). As alluded to in the introduction, the Armenians in Salmast have been in close contact with Azeris, Kurds, and Neo-Aramaic speakers in recent centuries; we might therefore expect to find a predominance of borrowings in the Salmast dialect from the local varieties of Azeri, Kurdish, and Neo-Aramaic. It is perhaps surprising, then, that there is little clear evidence of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic influence on Salmast Armenian, beyond a few isolated examples such as the ones in (58) and (59) respectively:

(58) Kurdish loans in Salmast Armenian

Salmast	Kurdish	gloss	source
կարոն [kartol]	kartol	potato	A 74
դա'դօ' [dædœ]	Urmia Kurdish dade ‘mother’	little sister ⁷⁶	A 200, B
դա'դն [dædo]			O
դա'դօ [dædo]			Z 177

(59) North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic loans in Salmast Armenian

Salmast	NENA	gloss	source
եարդուն [yarqun]	yarqunā ‘small vegetable’	[no gloss provided]	A 19
խլեփ [χəlepʰ] ~ լխեփ [ləχepʰ] ⁷⁷	Christian Urmi xlepa ~ lxepa (Khan 2016.3:36)	blanket, quilt	T

Geoffrey Khan (p.c.) adds that “it is also curious that there are virtually no Armenian loanwords in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects of the region. I think this may be due to some kind of conscious lexical exclusion.”

As for Azeri, Turkish, and Persian, it is not always clear given the extensive borrowing between the languages in the area which of these three is the proximate source for a given Salmast form. For example, թամզառուէն [tʰæməzthuɛn] ‘cleanliness’ (B)

⁷⁶ Compare Khoy-Urmia դա'դօ' ‘sister, big sister’ (As 214).

⁷⁷ լխեփ [ləχepʰ] is also attested in Van (Sargsyan et al. 2001).

could come directly from Persian *tamīz* ‘clean’, or via Azeri *təmiz*; both are pronounced [tʰæmiz]. Similarly բալդիրչան [baldərdžan] ‘eggplant? tomato?’ (B) is clearly the same as Turkish dialectal *baldırcan* (found in the dialect of Erçiş on Lake Van (Türk Dil Kurumu 1965), but also appears in Balakən Azeri as *baldırcan* ‘tomato’ (Axundov et al. 2007:38).

In some cases it *may* be possible to determine the proximate source, however, e.g. the voicing of the initial consonant in պայման [pɑymɑn] ‘envy’ suggests that it was borrowed directly from Persian *bahīl* ‘avaricious’ rather than via Azeri *paxıl*. (The picture is complicated by the back quality of the second vowel and the l, which are closer to the Azeri form, and the fact that some online dictionaries record a form *bəxıl* for Azeri.) As for Turkic varieties, the Salmast loans appear (unsurprisingly) to come for the most part from local Azeri rather than Turkish dialects, e.g. Salmast *hu'p'hus* [hækʰim] ‘doctor’ (B) likely comes from Azeri *həkim* [hækʰim] rather than T *hekim*, and չողնի [tʃʰoqu] ‘knife’ (B) seems more likely to come from Azeri *çaku* than Turkish *çakı*. (It is also quite possible, though, that the Salmast form comes directly from Persian چاقو /tʃp:gu:/.)

Persian and Azeri loans are extremely common in Salmast Armenian, and many cases are identified throughout this chapter. More surprising perhaps is the large number of Russian loans, such as the ones in (60).

(60) some Russian loans in Salmast

Salmast	IPA	Russian	gloss	source
ըստեկան	[əstəkʰan]	stakan ⁷⁸	cup, glass	B
ակուշկա	[akuʃka]	okoško	window	B, S
մաշալկա	[maʃʰalka]	močalka ‘washcloth’	loofa sponge	Z 146, 257
պամիդօր	[pamidor]	pomidor	tomato	A 18
իւբկա	[ybka]	jubka	skirt	A 78
շլափկա	[ʃəlapka]	šlapka	hat	Kh

⁷⁸ Azeri has also borrowed this word from Russian, but as [istitsan] (Salimi 1976:116) or (i)stəkan (<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/stəkan>), which seem unlikely to be the proximal source for the Salmast form. Patrick Taylor (p.c.) adds that this word also exists in Kurmanji (istekan), Sorani (îstîkan), and Iranian Persian (استکان estekân).

վիլկի	[vilki]	vilki	fork(s)	S
այլպլան ա՛յլպլան ա՛յրըպլան	[ajlplan] [æjlplan] [æjrəplən]	aeroplan	airplane	X 94 Z 9 O
բոթիլ	[botʰil]	butyl'	bottle	B, S 129, X 130, Z 131, Zaghikian 2000
բլագ	[bəlag]	blag(odaren)	thank you, lit. 'grateful'	S (p. c.)
չայնիկ	[tʃajnik]	čajnik ⁷⁹	teapot	O
պապոսա	[paprosa]	papiroza	cigarette	Kh
սինինկի	[sininki]	sínen'kij ⁸⁰	eggplant	S
հրնդուշկա	[hənduška]	indjuška ⁸¹	turkey	O
չուլքի	[tʃulkʰi]	čulki	socks, hose	Shushik ⁸²

One might expect a certain amount of Russian influence during the time that many Salmastetsis spent in Russia after fleeing Iran during the 1915 Genocide and before returning to Iran during the Stalinist period. Sarkis Barkhoudarian's three elder siblings were born in Russia, for example, before the family emigrated to Teheran, and Khachig Babloyan lived in Russia until the age of 18. But the influx of Russian words in Salmast

⁷⁹ Perhaps via Azeri çaynik.

⁸⁰ Literally 'little blue thing'; used by some Russian speakers for 'eggplant' in the North Caucasus, southern Russia, and southern Ukraine instead of the standard baklažan (https://urban_dialects.academic.ru/263/синенькие and <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/сіненський#Russian>, accessed 4 March 2022).

⁸¹ The -ka suggests that the ultimate source of this form is the Russian, though it may have come into Salmast via Azeri hinduşka. Khan 2016:519 states that Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic hənduška 'turkey' is a loan from Azeri hinduşka, but the Armenian seems a more likely proximal source, given that there is an Armenian-internal explanation for the change of unstressed i to ə that is not available in Azeri or Neo-Aramaic.

⁸² Shushik was born in Haftevan but was living in Los Angeles when I spent a lovely and linguistically productive afternoon with her and several other Salmastetsis in 2017. I unfortunately did not manage to get her surname.

Armenian predates the Genocide, as we already find numerous Russian borrowings in Kh 1880 and At‘ayan 1906. Given the large percentage of Salmastetsis that was already living and working abroad in At‘ayan’s time, as discussed in his demographics chapter, as well as the period of Russian control over and settlement in the province of West Azerbaijan in 1827-1917, it is perhaps not surprising that Russian influence made its way into Salmast in that period.

6. Text: The mother-in-law (1906)

Due to the dearth of surviving speakers of the Salmast dialect, we are largely reliant on published texts to provide information about it. I have thus far managed to find eighteen texts dating between the 1870s⁸³ and 2017 that are explicitly identified as having been composed in dialect by Armenians who either came themselves from Salmast county, or their parents or grandparents did. Other than these, the primary sources of continuous text in Salmast dialect are the songs, riddles, sayings, curses, blessings, oaths, maternal flattery, threats, and maternal advice in At‘ayan 1906, and Ohanean’s extensive collection of sayings (2012b).

Here I present a folk tale entitled “The mother-in-law”, which comes from At‘ayan 1906:193-195. Arshak At‘ayan (1877-1938) was born in Mets T‘agher (currently Böyük Tağlar) in southern Artsakh and educated in Shushi, Ējmiatsin, and Tiflis. After completing his studies and military service he initially worked as an editor for the Tiflis journal Murch, but in 1904 he relocated to the Salmast village of Savra (in Salmast dialect Սաւրի-զերդ [savrik’ərəd] (At‘ayan 1906:31), now S(o)ureh), where he taught until 1907. During this period he composed his detailed ethnographic study of the Armenian communities of Salmast county, which appeared in 1906. At‘ayan does not provide the identities or villages of origin of the Salmastetsis from which he drew his linguistic information, but it seems

⁸³ The earliest text that I have so far identified is a paragraph in Raffi’s novella Ov ēr meghavor [‘Who was guilty’] that he identifies as being uttered by an old man from Salmast. It occurs on p. 56 of volume 4 of his collected works, begins “Ձն խորուն դուրբան ըլեմ”, and ends “Զաներուս դարդեն էկիր ենք դարի-դուրբաթ վղյայաթ, որ մենք քանի շահի փող դադենք, տանենք մեր քլիֆաթը պախենք”. The editor states that the novella was undated and unpublished in Raffi’s lifetime, but must have been written in the early 1870s (1962:524).

likely that they were from Savra and/or (by virtue of being the largest Armenian community) Haftevan.

I have selected one of the six stories in At'ayan's study because he presents a level of detail in his transcriptions that we do not find in other sources, most notably the palatalization of non-dorsal consonants (e.g. իշթա՞ր' զ'զ' [iʃtʰæɾiɹz̥] 'how' in sentence 8 of our text) and less-familiar vowel qualities (e.g. ը' [ə'] in սիրտը' [sirtə'] 'the heart' (sentence 6), ըի [əi] in ուզելըի 'want' (sentence 4)). It is possible that At'ayan's upbringing in milieux where Artsakh dialect(s) and Russian were spoken made him more attentive to these sorts of subtle phonetic details, which are found in Artsakh dialects and in Russian but not in standard forms of Armenian.

6.1. Original text

Խորթ Մայրը

1 Կվի չի ըլի մէ մարթ ինա՞ն՝ մէ կնիկ', կունեն մէ ախճիզ', մէ լաճ: 2 Էս մարթու կընիկ'ը՝ կմեռնի, կեթա մէ թա'զա' կնիկ' կպերի: 3 Տա'ր' կնիկ'ը՝ դաստէն կիսիւանդանա, ուր էրկան կասի.

4 --Իմ սիրտս սիրտ ի ուզելըի:

5 Մարթը՝ ինչի սիրտ կպերի, կնիկ'ը՝ չի ուզի, կասի.

6 --Քո լաճու սիրտը՝ կուզեմ:

7 Էս իսեղճ մարթը՝ էնքան կասի.

8 --ԻՇԹԱՌ' զ'զ' մորթեմ, ախ իմ հալալ տղա՛ս ի:

9 Կնիկ'ը՝ կասի.

10 --Աղեկ' ի:

11 Էս կնիկ'ը՝ կպերի տա'ն'ց (քրոչ ինա՞ն՝ ախապօրը) տէմը պլնձէ փլաւ կլցի, տա'ն'ք կզարմանան, որ խորթ մէրը՝ ուրենցը՝ պլնձէ փրլաւ ի տալրի. տա'ն'ք կուտեն փլաւը: 12 Մէ ճընջուղ կ'կ'ա, ծառի վ'րա'ն' կնստի, հա՛ կասի.

13 --Ճի՛ւ, ճի՛ւ, մէ փշուր խաց տուշ, ես ծեզի մէ պա՛րի խաբար ասեմ:

14 Ախապէրը՝ մէ ք'թէլ պրինձ կլցի ճնշղան տէմ, ճնշուղ կվերցի, կեթա, մէ տ'ը'ր' էլ կ'կ'ա, էլ էնէնց կասի: 15 Ախապէրը՝ մէ ք'թէլ էլ պրինձ կլցի տէմը', ճնշուղը՝ կվերցի, կեթա, մէ տ'ը'ր' էլ կ'կ'ա, էլ էնէնց կասի: 16 Ախապէրն էս տ'ը'ր' զ'զ' զատ չի թա'լի տէմը'. 17 տա'ր' քուր' խասկցող կլի, մէ տը'ր' էլ պրինձ կթա'լի տէմը'. 18 ճնշուղը՝ կասի.

- 19 --Ծեր խէր մէր տունը տա՞նա'կ կարեն, որ ծերը՝ սպանեն. 20 ելէք', փախէք:
- 21 Տա՞ն'ք կ'լեն, հա՛ կեթան: 22 Ախալերը՝ շատ ծարաւ կլի. 23 քուրը՝ կասի.
- 24 --Կ'առու ոտի տեղ մի խմի, կլես կ'առ. կերուն մի խմի, կլես կել:
- 25 Ախալերը՝ կ'առու ոտի տեղի ճուրը՝ կխմի, կլի կ'առ, կ'նի իր քրոչ խտեւէն, հա՛ կեթա:
- 26 Մէ թաքաւո՞րի լաճ կտսնի էտ ախճկան, կանի ուրը՝ կնիկ':
- 27 Էտ խորթ մէրն է կ'նի ախշարք, շուր կ'կ'ա, որ տա՞ն'ցը՝ գ'նի. 28 կ'կ'ա թաքաւո՞րի պալատը', թաքաւո՞րի լաճուն կասի.
- 29 --Ես իմ ախճիզ' տանես էմ, տվէյ, թո՛ տանեմ, է պերեմ:
- 30 Էտ ախճիզ' կասի.
- 31 --Մի տու տանի. 32 իմ կ'լոխ կլթոչեցուցի:
- 33 Թաքաւո՞րի լաճ ախճիզ' կտա, կտանի խորթ մէրը', կտանի, կթա՛լի ճուրը', ուր սեւ ախճիզ' կպերի տեղը:
- 34 Թաքաւո՞րի լաճ կասի ախճկան.
- 35 --Ընչի՛ էտէնց սեւցիր էս:
- 36 Կասի.
- 37 --Է՛նքան արեւի տէմ էմ մնացե՛:
- 38 Էտ ախճիզ' մհում կպօնի, որ էտ կ'առ մորթի:
- 39 Կ'առու քուրը՝ ճ'րէն կասի ժամխարին, ժամխար կեթա ժամ, կծէնի.
- 40 -Վա՛վ որ ուր ասւած կսիրի,
Թաքաւո՞րի լաճուն կասի,
Իմ կ'առնիկ ախալոր չզինի:
- 41 Էտ ծէնը՝ կ'նի թաքաւո՞րի լաճու անգ'ա'ճը', կեթա, ուր կնիկ' կխանի ճ'րէն, կպերի, խորթ մօրն ինա՞ն՝ ուր ախճկան կկապի ծիան պոչին, տա՞ն'ցը՝ կանեն կտո՞ր-կտո՞ր:
- 42 Երգ'ն'քէն իրեք' խնձո՞ր էշաւ. մէկ'ը՝ հար'աթ ասող Կրպուշին, էրկուսն է կ'րոդ վարժապետին. մէյն էլ չկա, որ տանք անգ'ա'ճ տրողին:

6.2. IPA version

(SEA:) *χօրթ^h մայք*
(Salmast dialect:)

1 keli f^{hi} əli me mart^h inæn^j me kənik^j, kunen me aχʃig^j, me laſ. 2 et mart^hu kənik^je' kəmerni, kət^ha me t^hæzæ kənik^j kəperi. 3 tær^j kənik^je' əasten kəxivandana, ur ərkan kasi.

4 --im sirtəs sirt i uzeləi.

5 mart^he' int f^{hi} sirt kəperi, kənik^je' f^{hi} uzi, kasi.

6 --k^ho laſu sirtə' kuzəm.

7 et χεր^j mart^he' enk^han kasi.

8 --iſt^hær^j mort^hem, aχ im halal təka's i.

9 kənik^je' kasi.

10 --aχek^j i.

11 et kənik^je' kəperi tæn^jts^h (k^hərof f^{h} inæn^j aχporə') temə pərəndze p^həlav kələts^hi, tæn^jk^h kəzərmanan, vor χor^h mərə' urents^he' pərəndze p^həlav i taləi. tæn^jk^h kuten p^həlavə.

12 me ſəndžur k^jek^ja, tsari v^jərəen^j kənəsti, ha' kasi.

13 --f^jív, f^jív, me p^həſur χats^h təvej, jes tsezi me pəri χabar asem.

14 aχperə' me k^hıət^hel pərindz kələts^hi ſəndžəkan tem, ſəndžur kəverts^hi, kət^ha, me tə'r^j el k^jek^ja, el enents^h kasi. 15 aχperə' me k^hıət^hel el pərindz kələts^hi temə', ſəndžurə' kəverts^hi, kət^ha, me tə'r^j el k^jek^ja, el enents^h kasi. 16 aχperə' es tə'r^je' zat f^{hi} t^həli temə'. 17 tær^j k^hyrf^j χaskəts^hor kəli, me tə'r^j el pərindz kət^həli temə'. 18 ſəndžurə' kasi.

19 --tser χer mər tunə tænæk kəsəren, vor tserə' spanən. 20 élek^hj, p^haχék^hj.

21 tæn^jk^h k^jelen, ha' kət^han. 22 aχperə' ſat tsarav kəli. 23 k^hyrf^j kasi.

24 --k^jaru voti tər mí χəmi, kəles k^jar. kəlyn mí χəmi, kəles kəli.

25 aχperə' k^jaru voti tər ſyrə' kəχəmi, kəli k^jar, k^jəni ir k^hərof f^{h} iteven, ha' kət^hə.

26 --me t^hak^havueri laſ kətəsnı et aχʃəkan, kani urə' kənik^j.

27 et χor^h mərə' el k^jəni aχʃark^h, ſur k^jek^ja, vor tæn^jts^he' g^jəni. 28 k^jek^ja t^hak^havueri palatə', t^hak^havueri laſun kasi.

29 --jes im aχʃig^j tanəs em, təvēj, t^hó tanəm, el pərem.

30 et aχʃig^j kasi.

31 --mí tu tani. 32 im k^jəloχ kət^hərʃ^hets^huts^hi.

33 t^hak^havueri laſ aχʃig^j kəta, kətəni χor^h mərə', kətəni, kət^həli ſyrə', ur səv aχʃig^j kəperi tərə'.

34 t^hak^havueri laſ kasi aχʃəkan.

35 --ənʃ^hi' etents^h sevts^hir es.

36 kasi.

37 --έnkʰan ařevi tem em mənatsʰέ.

38 et aχſigj məhum kəpərni, vor et kiar morthi.

39 kiaru khyre' ſəren kasi ʒamχarin, ʒamχar kətʰa ʒam, kətseni.

40 --v̥av vor ur asvats kəsiri,

tʰakʰavueri laſun kasi,

im kiarik aχpor ſhəzini.

41 et tsenə' kəni tʰakʰavueri laſu angjæʃə', kətʰa, ur kənikj kəχani ſəren, kəperi, χortʰ morn inæn̥i ur aχſekan kəkapi tsian poʃhin, tən̥iſhə' kanen kətuer-kətuer.

42 ergən̥ikʰen irekʰj xəndzuer eʃʰav. meki' hakʰatʰ asor kərpuſin, erkusn el kəroq varzapetin. mejn el ſhəka, vor tankʰ angjæʃ tərošin̥i.

6.3. English translation

The Stepmother

1 Once upon a time [literally ‘there is, there isn’t’] there is a husband and a wife; they have one girl and one boy. 2 This man’s wife dies; he goes and brings [back] a new wife. 3 His wife intentionally becomes ill, [and] says to her husband:

4 --My heart wants a heart.

5 [But] whatever heart the husband brings the wife doesn’t want, and says:

6 --I want your son’s heart.

7 The poor man says over and over again 8 “How can I slay him? He’s my natural son!”

9 The wife says 10 “it’s ok”.

11 The wife brings rice pilav in front of them (the sister and the brother) [and] puts [it down, and] they are surprised that the stepmother is giving them rice pilav. They eat the pilav. 12 A sparrow comes, sits on [a] tree, and says:

13 --Tweet, tweet, give [me] a crumb of bread [and] I will tell you a [piece of] good news.

14 The brother puts a spoonful of rice in front of the sparrow. The sparrow takes it, goes away, comes [back] another time, and says the same thing. 15 The brother puts another spoonful of rice in front of it; the sparrow takes it, goes away, comes [back] another time, and says the same thing. 16 This time the brother doesn’t throw anything in front of it. 17

His sister understands, [and] drops a spoonful of rice in front of it once more. 18 The sparrow says 19 “Your father and mother are sharpening a knife at home in order to kill you. 20 Get up and flee!

21 They get up and go. 22 The brother gets very thirsty. 23 The sister says 24 “Don’t drink from a lamb’s footprint or you’ll become a lamb. Don’t drink from a wolf’s [footstep] or you’ll become a wolf.”

25 The brother drinks water from a lamb’s footprint, becomes a lamb, comes behind his sister, and goes.

26 A king’s son sees the girl [and] makes her his wife.

27 The stepmother also comes out in the world, wanders around, [wondering where] they might be. 28 She comes to the king’s palace and says to the king’s son 29 “I am taking my daughter—give [her to me], that I may take [her] and bring [her home].”

30 The girl says 31 “Don’t give [me to her so that she can] take [me]. 32 She will make my head fly off.”

33 The king’s son gives up the girl and takes [her] to the stepmother. [The stepmother] takes her, throws her in the water, [and] brings her black daughter to the place.

34 The king’s son says to the girl 35 “Why have you become so black?”

36 She says 37 “[Because] I have stayed in the sun so long.”

38 The girl [i.e. the stepmother’s daughter, who has replaced the original daughter] grabs a [mhum] in order to slaughter the lamb.

39 The lamb’s sister says from the water to the bell ringer [that the] bell ringer should go to the church and shout:

40 Whoever loves their god
should tell the king’s son
not to harm my little lamb brother.

41 This noise comes to the ear of the king’s son. He goes and pulls his wife from the water, brings her [back to the palace], binds the stepmother and her daughter to the tail of a horse, and tears them to pieces.

42 Three apples fell from heaven: one for the story teller Krpush, two for the teacher who wrote this. There’s none left for us to give to the listener.

6.4. Linguistic notes

This is a version of the folk tale that is often called variants of the name Գառնիկ Ախպեր Garnik Axper ‘Brother Lamb’; see e.g. Sruandzteants‘ 1876 (Vaspurakan), Nawasardeants‘ 1882 (Ararat), Atil 1899 (Kharberd-Mezre), Haykuni 1901b:432-442 (Van), Hachean 1907 (Khotorjur), Taronts‘in and Harut‘yunyan 1967 (Leninakan), Mkrtch‘yan and Geworgyan 1980 (Kop‘, Bulanık), Ghaziyan and Geworgyan 1985 (Bostankent, Mush). It is combined with pieces of other Armenian folktales in ways that do not always make sense.

1 Կլի – note the -i in the 3sg “optative future”, as Asatryan calls it, in both Salmast and Khoy-Urmia (As 107). Achaean 1926:273 calls this formation with k- the “simple future”. կունեն – note (i) the use of k- with unen (vs. SEA ունեն unen or կունենան k'unenan), and (ii) the use of կ- k- throughout the story for the narrative present. This is not a normal usage in SEA of the k- form, which Dum-Tragut 2009:251 labels the “conditional mood” and states to be particularly used to denote future actions or states and to mark the conditional mood. She does mention that the k-form can be used in written Armenian as a narrative tense, though her informants regard this as antiquated and restricted to literary SEA (2009:254).

3 Երկան [εrkan] - dative singular of Երիկ [εrik] ‘husband’ < այրիկ ayrik.

4 Note the “western” agreement pattern in իմ սիրուն [im sirtəs] (contrast with SEA իմ սիրով [im sirtə]).

7 Էնքան կասի [enkʰan kasi] literally ‘says that much’, perhaps in the sense of ‘says over and over again’.

8 Ի՞շե՞ա՞լ 'p'q' [iʃtʰær̩z] ‘how’, from ինչ ‘what’ + Az tərz [tʰærz] ‘way, manner’ (cf. Turkish idiomatic ne tarz ‘what kind’). This form also shows up on A 201, but B, O, and Khoy-Urmia have իշե՞լ [iʃtʰær] with no z. The latter form recalls Az təhər and contracted nətər ‘how’. Achaean 1926 does not record either form ([iʃtʰær̩z] or [iʃtʰær]) for Maragha. The Turkic loan հալալ [halal] (ultimately from Arabic ḥalāl ‘lawful’) seems here to have the sense of ‘natural’ or ‘legitimate’; compare Persian ḥalāl-zāda ‘legitimate son’.

11 ինա՞ն’ [inæn̪j] ‘and’. Acharean 1926:306 has ինա՞ն [inæn̪] for Maragha and states that it means ‘and’, from Turkish *inän*, corresponding to Ottoman *əlan*, *ilen*; Patrick Taylor (p.c.) adds that is is well-known from Azeri/Turkmen literature. We also find ինան inan for ‘and’ in Artsakh, Urmia, Mush, and Shatakh according to Sargsyan et al. 2001-2.

12 and **25** *hu'* [ha] appears to be used in the sense of ‘and’. The more familiar Armenian usage in the sense of ‘lo!’ (cf. Malkhasiants‘ 1944 on ha, sense 10) works in **12** (something like ‘[and] lo! it says...’), but less well in **25**. Ani Apelian (p.c.) and Patrick Taylor (p.c.) add for Kesab Armenian and Turkish respectively that ha can be used to express doing something repeatedly or for emphasis: Kesab լունց *hu' luնց* [ɛsotsʰ ha ɛsotsʰ] ‘s/he said over and over again’, Turkish *konuştu ha konuştu*, *susturabilirsen sustur* ‘he’s talked and talked... shut him up if you can’ (cf. Malkhasiants‘ 1944 on *hu' ha*, sense 9). This sense may however be limited to contexts where multiple instances of the same verb form are conjoined.

13 սուլջ [təvəj] ‘give!’ – 2.PL/formal imperative of ‘give’ (Standard սովէպ [təvɛkʰ]) with dorsal lenition in syllable Coda (q.v. section 2.2.2.7).

14 *p'ph̥t̥l* [kʰjətʰɛl] ‘spoon’; cf. B, O *p'p̥ph̥t̥l* [kʰjətʰɛl], HAB *p̥ph̥t̥l* [kʰhitʰɛl], X-U *p̥ph̥t̥l* [kʰətʰɛl], Maragha *p̥ph̥t̥l* [kʰjitʰɛl], Classical սարզալ *targal*, SEA զդալ [gədal]. It is not clear why the k has palatalized for some varieties. ճնշղան [tʃəndʒəkan] ‘sparrow.GEN’ – note the fourth declension treatment of ‘sparrow’, as in Khoy-Urmia (As 1962:82). *un'p'p'* [tʃə'r̥l] ‘time; French fois’. This may ultimately be a borrowing Azeri *dövr* ‘turn, period, era, age’ < Arabic *dawr*; cf. French *tour* or English *turn* (Patrick Taylor, p.c.).

16 *թա՞լի* [tʰæli] ‘he/she/it throws’ from *թա՞լել* [tʰælɛl] (cf. O 41) < Classical *թաւակել* t‘awalel, though HAB lists only *թավակել* [tʰavalel] as the Salmast outcome of this verb. The derivation presumably passed through a stage *թապեկել* [tʰablel] such as we find in Erzerum and Tigranakert (q.v. Gasparyan et al. 2002:80 sub *թապեկել*).

17 *սու'ր'* [tærl̥] ‘his/her/its’ – see discussion of this form in section 3.1.

19 *սու'նա'կ* [tænæk] ‘knife’ – note the application of vowel harmony following Adjarian’s Law: Classical *danak* > *dänak* (by Adjarian’s Law) > *tänak* (by Group VII devoicing) > *tänäk* (by vowel harmony). Note also the finite complement in *սու'նա'կ կըրեն*, *որ ծերը՝ սպանեն* [tænæk kəsəren, vor tsərə' spanen] – cf section 4.5.

24 Աի խմի [míχəmi] ‘don’t drink!’ – note the absence of the -r found in the 2sg prohibitive of the first conjugation in SEA. In this respect Salmast patterns with Khoy-Urmia (As 1962:121) and colloquial EA (Dum-Tragut 2009:273).

29 Յոն սանեմ [tʰó tanem] – Note the loss of the original η [v]; cf. SEA յօն [tʰoŋ] ‘let, allow’. It is possible that this is a typo, as none of the other Salmast or Khoy-Urmia sources mention a յօն [tʰó] form, and O in fact has յօն in յօն փախի [tʰoŋ pʰaxi] ‘(let) keep’. HAB does mention a single dialect in which original յօն becomes յօ՛ [tʰó] when functioning as a particle as here: Nor Nakhichevan.

31 Մի սու սանի [mí tu tani] – this type of verb sequence is allowed in some varieties of Armenian but not others (e.g. Beirut Armenian (Hovsep Dolatian, p.c.)).

32 Note the absence of agreement in իմ կ’լոյն [im k’loχ] ‘my head’, vs. expected իմ կ’լոյնս [im k’loχəs] (cf. section 4.4).

37 Ենքան արելի տէմ էմ մնացէ՛ [ɛ́nkʰan ařevi tem em mənatsʰe՛] ‘[Because] I have stayed in the sun so long’ – Note that the -er participle alternates with -e under phonological conditions similar to -s vs. -li, q.v. section 3.2.1 and Dolatian et al. 2022.

38 Մհում [məhum] – from the context (and parallel versions of the story, cited earlier) it seems that this word may refer to some sort of weapon suitable for slaying the lamb, but my consultants do not know the word and I have not been able to find anything like it in any variety of Armenian or neighboring languages. Էս ախճիկ’ մհում կպռնի, որ էս կ’սոն մորթի [et aχčik’ məhum kəpərni, vor et k’jar mortʰi] ‘The girl grabs a [mhum] in order to slaughter the lamb’ – note the finite complement (q.v. section 4.5).

40 Թաքաւո՞րի լաճուն կասի / Իմ կ’առնիկ ախազօք չզինի [tʰakʰavueri laʃun kasi, im k’arnik aχazօք tʰəzini] ‘should tell the king’s son not to harm my little lamb brother’ – note again the finite complement (q.v. section 4.5).

42 Կրպուշին [kərpuʃin] – definite dative singular of Կրպուշ [kərpuʃ], which is a diminutive form of Karapet. Էրկուսն էլ [erkusn el] – Note the old accusative plural -s, which does not show up in the bare form of the cardinal number Էրկու [erku]. Note also the non-diphthongized initial է- [e]-, as discussed in (16).

7. Conclusions

Though the traditional dialect of Salmast is quite similar to those of Khoy and Urmia (and in a larger sense to the dialects of northwest Iran and southeast Turkey), it is noticeably distinct from them as well. These differences are often surprisingly distinct from what one finds in the rest of the Armenian dialect world, and call for a full linguistic study of the Salmast dialect *per se* (and its descendants in Armenia and Artsakh) before it is too late. The most important task in the first instance is to work with the surviving first, second, and third generation speakers from the county of Salmast itself. It would also be instructive to study in detail the diaspora varieties that one can be fairly confident are based specifically on Salmast varieties, rather than a combination of Salmast/Khoy/Urmia/Maragha. Katvalyan (2020:208), for example, states that the village of Mayakovski (until 1940 Shahap) in the Abovyan region was settled in 1829-30 by Armenians from the Salmast villages of Hijvaz, Payajuk, and Haftevan. The limited materials he provides concerning their dialect suggest that they have preserved many elements of the Salmast dialect virtually unchanged, as I have exemplified at various points through this chapter. It would be helpful to work with speakers of this dialect in more detail, in order to determine for example what features can be traced back specifically to Salmast as opposed to the western Lake Urmia or larger groups in (2) more generally.

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