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THE ARMENIAN DIALECT OF SMYRNA

Bert Vaux

1. Introduction

Little has been written about the Armenian dialect of Smyrna, which now appears to be extinct, yet it arguably played a central role in the development of Standard Western Armenian (SWA), thanks to the efforts of the nineteenth-century American missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who had a post in Smyrna and apparently based the language of their proselytizing texts on the local speech patterns of the city.* This essay reviews what is known about the traditional Smyrna dialect from dialectological sources and compares them to materials from what is arguably the first grammar devoted entirely to what is now regarded as Standard Western Armenian[1], the *K'erakanut'iwn Angghiarēn ev Hayerēn* (English and Armenian Grammar) published anonymously in Smyrna/İzmir in 1835.[2] This is one of the earliest attempts to stan-

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[1] Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i (1727) presents a form of the language quite different from what would now be thought of as Standard Western Armenian, and Jacques-Chahan Cirbied (1823) presents fragments of dozens of varieties of Armenian. Citations in the text are rendered by the last name of the author, year of publication, and, where applicable, page or paragraph (§) number, as in Anonymous 1835:90 or Karst 1901:§364. For these sources, see the list of references at the end of this chapter.

[2] The ABCFM annual report for 1836 (pp. 45-46) states that "Sarkis, a pious Armenian, eminent as a scholar in his own language, and accurate in his habits of thought, was sent from Constantinople to Smyrna to assist Mr. Adger in correcting the press, and to be otherwise employed in the book-making department. The first work put to press was an Armenian and English grammar, prepared by Mr. Dwight, and much needed by the Armenian youth to enable them to acquire a knowledge of English, and to enter the world of thought which exists in that language." The Mr.

dardize Modern Armenian, though in a form noticeably closer to the spoken language of the region than what survives in the standard language today. Regional forms such as *իրեք* irɛk[h][3] "3"; *տասնըվինըր* dasnəvinə "19"; *քսանըվերկու* k[h]əsanvɛrgu "22"; and *նիստ* nist "sit!"[4] abound, as well as forms of Turkish origin such as *չաթալ* tʃ[h]at[h]al "fork" excised from the standard language following the Armenian Genocide.

2. The Place of Smyrna among the Traditional Armenian Dialects

S.M. Tsots'ikean (1947:213) opines that "[Smyrna's] mother dialect is . . .very similar to that of Istanbul. But at the same time the Smyrna Armenians have their own unique expressions, and sometimes even different pronunciations, as well as a set of unique words." Hrant Petrosyan (1987:213) is somewhat more specific, identifying Smyrna as a Western Armenian dialect of the *կը* gə branch, related to Constantinople and especially Tokat. Some of the Western phonological features that are found in Smyrna include the shift of original plain voiced stops to voiceless aspirates (Gevork' Jahukyan's (1972) feature 1—for

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Dwight referred to here is Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, one of the main missionaries sent to Constantinople to work with the Armenians by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Sarkis mentioned here is most likely the "Sarkis Vartabed. . .a teacher of grammar in the school of Peshtimaljian" mentioned by Anderson and Vinton 1872 (vol. 1, p. 100). Unfortunately I have been unable to determine where this Sarkis was raised; the fact that he was assigned to teach in Constantinople does not entail that he grew up there. Both Dwight and Sarkis were based in Constantinople, and the forms in their grammar find numerous parallels in the colloquial Constantinopolitan Armenian of the time, but the striking resemblances of the materials in the grammar to what we know about Smyrna Armenian and the fact that the ABCFM had a base in Smyrna and was likely to have drawn on the language of its Armenian consultants there have led me to include the work here.

Elias Riggs' important 1847 grammar of Western Armenian may reveal elements of Smyrna Armenian as well, but reviewing these lies beyond the scope of the present discussion.

[3] For the general reader, Armenologists, and linguists alike, I render all linguistic forms in both Armenian script and the International Phonetic Alphabet (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:IPA_chart_2005_png.svg). References and names, on the other hand, are rendered in the ALA-LC system (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romanization_of_Armenian#ALA-LC_.281997.29) so as to facilitate bibliographic research.

[4] This archaic form is also preserved in Nor Nakhichevan; contrast with SWA *նստիր* nəstir, Constantinople *նստէ* nəstɛ.

example, Common Armenian *բերեմ* bɛɾɛm "I bring" > Smyrna pʰɛɾɛm "I bring" (subjunctive)), and the transposition of original plain voiceless stops to voiced unaspirated (Jahukyan's feature 5—for example, Common Armenian *տասն* tasn "ten" > Smyrna dasə). Morphological westernisms include the use of *կը* gə and *կու* gu to mark the present and imperfect, for example, *կանգուն րբանիյի՝ կումաս* gankʰunə kʰaniji gudas "at what will you sell it per yard?" (Anonymous 1835:90),[5] and the ablative in *–է* -ɛ (Jahukyan's feature 58, for example, *իմէ* ismɛ "from me" (Anonymous 1835:61), cf. SWA *ինձմէ* indzmɛ) as opposed to Eastern *–ից* -itsʰ. Western syntactic features include the placement of the indefinite article after its host (Jahukyan's feature 71), as in *արուեստմըն* aɾvɛst mən ɛ "it's an art" (Anonymous 1835). Jahukyan (1972:33) assigns Smyrna a separate node (Dialect 12) within his Western group of Armenian dialects.

2.1. Phonology

The phonology of the Smyrna dialect appears to have been of a fairly typical Western type.

2.1.1. Vowels

In terms of the vowel system, Jahukyan (1972) claims that the dialect possessed the front vowels *էա* æ, *էո* ø, *իւ* y found in Turkish but not SWA (his feature 34); the same is echoed by Petrosyan (1987:213). There is no evidence for this feature in the anonymous 1835 grammar (save the Turkish loan *տօշէկ* døʃɛg "bed") or in Tsotsʻikean (1947), though this absence may be due to the fact that these non-linguistic sources paid little attention to phonetic detail. Another Turkish feature claimed by Jahukyan and Petrosyan to surface in Smyrna is the change of *ը* ə to a full vowel (Jahukyan's feature 39), presumably assimilating to a neighboring vowel via vowel harmony. Neither source provides any examples of this phenomenon, and none appear in the anonymous 1835 grammar unless the verb in (1) below qualifies:

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[5] Throughout this chapter, I reproduce the anonymous author's sometimes awkward English translations.

(1)

(´) Աս ձեւր ն2ան որ հայնաւորի վրայ դրուած ըլլանէ, պէտք է արագ
*   գուրցնել*

as tsʰevə nəʃan voɾ tsʰajnavoɾi vəɾa tʰəɾvadz əl:a nɛ, bɛtkʰ ɛ aɾakʰ zuɾtsʰɛl

"If this symbol [´] is placed over a vowel, it must be pronounced quickly."

Here the anonymous grammar uses *գուրցնել* zuɾtsʰɛl where SWA has *գրուցնել* zəɾutsʰɛl. This may be a simple case of metathesis, but it is also possible that the author was attempting to render a pronunciation *գուրուցնել* zuɾutsʰɛl, wherein the schwa (ə) of the first syllable has assimilated completely to the u of the second, which would be a case of Jahukyan's feature 39.

On the other hand, Anonymous does provide many forms demonstrating that Smyrna was like most (and perhaps all) non-standard Armenian varieties in monophthongizing original diphthongs, as can be seen in the examples in (2) below:

(2) Monophthongization of original diphthongs
in the anonymous 1835 grammar:

Classical	Smyrna	gloss
a. oj > u		
լոյս lojs	*լուս* lus	light (66)
քոյր kʰojɾ	*քուր* kʰuɾ	sister (70)
b. iw > u		
ձիւն dziwn	*ձուն* tsʰun	snow (66)
արիւն aɾiwn	*արուն* aɾun	blood (69)
մրջիւն mɾdʒiwn	*մրջուն* məɾtʃʰun	ant (74)
c. aj > a		
այս ajs	*աս* as	this
այսօր ajsoɾ	*ասօր* asoɾ	today (65)
ձայն dzajn	*ձան* tsʰan	sound (67)
եղբայր ełbajɾ	*ախպար* aχpaɾ	brother (70)
Հայր hajɾ	*Հար* haɾ	father (71)
մայր majɾ	*մար* maɾ	mother (71)
որբեւայրի oɾbewajɾi	*որբեկւարի կնիկ* oɾpʰɛvaɾi gənig	widow (71)
երկայն eɾkajn	*երկան* ɛɾgan	long (82)

| *լայն* lajn | *լան* lan | wide (82) |

Smyrna also shows diphthongization of original *ե-* e- in monosyllables but not elsewhere (Jahukyan's feature 32, also mentioned by Petrosyan 1987:213), as in (3) below:

(3) Preservation of original monophthongs in polysyllables
in the anonymous 1835 grammar:

SWA	Smyrna	gloss
կէսօրէ ետք gɛsorɛ jɛdkʰ	*էտինք* ɛdinkʰ	afternoon (65)
երէկ jɛrɛg	*էրէկ* ɛrɛg	yesterday (65)

2.1.2. Consonants

Turning to consonants, Jahukyan (1972) notes that, in addition to the Western shifts in voicing and aspiration mentioned earlier, Smyrna sometimes shows devoicing and aspiration in non-initial position (feature 7), which can be seen in the anonymous 1835 grammar, for example, in its form for "shirt" on page 79, *շապիք* ʃabikʰ (cf. SWA *շապիկ* ʃabig). Jahukyan adds that Smyrna displays his feature 13, deaffrication of original affricates, which can be seen in the forms from Tsots'ikean (1947) in (4) below:

(4) Deaffrication:

SWA	Smyrna	gloss
քաղցր kʰaʁtsʰər	*քաղսր* kʰaʁsər	sweet
գործեր kʰordzɛr	*քործեր* kʰorsɛr	deeds
անձեր antsʰɛr	*անզեր* anzɛr	people, individuals
ինձմէ indzmɛ	*իսմէ* ismɛ[6]	from me
		(Anonymous 1835:61)

Jahukyan adds that Smyrna shows feature 19, devoicing of *ղ* ʁ in word-initial position, which can be seen in the anonymous 1835

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[6] It is also possible that this form contains the reduced form of *ես* jɛs, *ս* ʰu is, found in archaic SWA accusative *զ-ս* z-is "me," rather than showing deaffrication from original *ինձ* indz.

grammar in *խրկեմ* χərgɛm "I send" < *ղրկեմ* ʁərgɛm < Common Armenian *ուղարկեմ* uʁarkɛm.

It can also be seen from the 1835 grammar that Smyrna was like most modern varieties of Armenian in voicing unaspirated stops after nasal consonants; for example, on page 75 we find *տանձի ծառ* dandzi dzar "pear tree" (cf. Classical *տանձ* tandz "pear" > SWA dants^h, with the ts^h expected in the Smyrna form) and *խնձորի ծառ* χəndzofi dzar "apple tree" (cf. Classical *խնձոր* χəndzof "apple" > SWA χənts^hof). In these particular forms (and in isolated dialect remnants in SWA such as *ինձի* indzi "to me" < Classical *ինձ* indz, where one should otherwise expect the SWA outcome to be *ինծի ints^hi) the original voicing of the affricate is preserved, but in Eastern dialects the process applies to original voiceless stops as well.

So far, it has been demonstrated that the anonymous 1835 grammar used the symbols for original plain voiceless stops and affricates < *պ տ կ ծ ճ* > to represent voiced sounds [b d g dz dʒ], as in SWA orthography. However, the author of the grammar also used this set of symbols to render voiceless unaspirated stops, which exist only as neutralized allophones of both plain voiced and voiceless aspirated phonemes in Smyrna and SWA, normally after aspirated stops and voiceless fricatives. Some examples of this type include *խապտան փաշա* χap^htan p^haʃa "admiral," *արուեստ* afvɛst "art," *պէտք* bɛtk^h "need," *ախպար* aχpaf "brother," *իշտէ* ʃt ɛ "thus," *կիշտացունեմ* giʃtats^hunɛm "I feed" (subjunctive), *սկսեմ* əskəsɛm "I begin" (subjunctive), and *նիստ* nist "sit!."

The transcriptions employed in the anonymous 1835 grammar further reveal an aspect of modern Armenian pronunciation that also holds for the standard Eastern and Western varieties, but is not written in the standard orthography: clitics (unstressed words) are written together with their host, indicating fused pronunciation as part of the same prosodic word, as already seen with *ըլլանէ* əlla nɛ "if it is" in (1) and can be seen in *արուեստմընէ* afvɛst mən ɛ "it's an art," *կըցըցընէ* gə ts^həts^hənɛ "it shows," *կըսվին* gəsvin "are called," and *բախրէին* *լեզուն կը խնդրէքնէ փերեմ* baχfein lɛzun gə χənt^hfɛk^h nɛ p^hɛfɛm "shall I give you a piece of tongue?" (p. 85).

2.2. Morphology

Smyrna's morphological system is fairly typical for a Western dialect, as can be seen in the above-mentioned ablative suffix –* է* -ε, present/imperfect prefix *կը* gə / *կու* gu, and –i pronominal augment (Jahukyan's feature 65, for example, Common Armenian *ինձ* indz "to me" > Smyrna *ինծի* indzi). In other respects Smyrna is more conservative than SWA, preserving according to Jahukyan the original -*ու*- – u- conjugation (as in *թողում* "I quit" in the anonymous 1835 grammar, p. 46), the Middle Armenian -*վի* –vi (Karst 1901:190) and -*վնի* –vəni plurals (Jahukyan's feature 51), as in *իքվի* ik^hvi "eyebrows" (Anonymous 1835:68; cf. SWA *յօնքեր* honk^hεr) and *ձեռվները* ts^hεrvənεrə "the hands" (Anonymous 1835:98; cf. SWA *ձեռքերը* ts^hεrk^hεrə). Smyrna also differs from SWA in preserving the original – u- of the causative suffix, as can be seen in the forms from the anonymous 1835 grammar in (5) below:

(5) Causatives in Anonymous:

SWA	Smyrna	gloss
տաքցնեմ dak^hts^hənεm	*տակցունեմ* dagts^hunεm (p. 45)	I heat
վերցնեմ vεrts^hənεm	*վերցունեմ* vεrts^hunεm (p. 46)	I lift
կերցնեմ gεrts^hənεm	*կիշտացունեմ* giʃtats^hunεm (p. 47)	I feed
արագացնել aɾak^hats^hənεl	*արտորցունեմ* aɾdorts^hunεm (p. 47)	I speed [up something]
կորանցնեմ gorsənts^hənεm	*կորանցունեմ* gorsənts^hunεm (p. 48)	I lose
հնչեցնեմ hənt∫^hεts^hnεm	*հնչցունեմ* hənt∫^hεts^hunεm (p. 51)	I ring

Smyrna has also innovated in a number of morphological respects, for example, by regularizing the declensions of *շուն* ∫un "dog" and *տուն* dun "house" (Jahukyan's feature 57), and changing the conjugation of verbs such as *սկսեմ* əskəsεm "I begin" (subjunctive— Anonymous 1835:50); SWA *սկսիմ* əskəsim < Common Armenian *սկսիմ* skəsim; *վեր ելամ* vεr εl:am "I rise" (subjunctive—Anonymous 1835:49); SWA *վեր ելեմ* vεr εl:εm < Common Armenian *վեր ելանեմ* vεr εlanεm

vεɾ ɛlanɛm, and *խոսիլ* χosɛl "speak" (Anonymous 1835:3); SWA *խոսիլ* χosil < Common Armenian *խաւսիլ* χawsil.

One of the most interesting morphological innovations found in Smyrna involves the progressive aspect. In late Classical Armenian, the simple present tense was formed by conjugating the bare verb (for example, *բերեմ* bɛɾɛm "I carry"), whereas the progressive was formed by combining this with the verb *կայ* kaj "there exists" (for example, *կայ ու բերեմ* kaj u bɛɾɛm "I am carrying" (Vaux 1995, Karst 1901:§364)). By the Middle Armenian period, this progressive construction had grammaticalized (at least in Cilicia) to the *կու* gu construction we recognize from SWA, leaving a gap in the progressive slot. This was filled in by different dialects in a wide variety of ways, two of which are reported for Smyrna.

Several Western dialects add a progressive enclitic *կա* ga to the new present tense (Jahukyan feature 79),[7] which may be simply from *կայ* kaj; Smyrna, for example, has forms such as *կը վազի կայ* gə vazi ga "it's raining" (cf. SWA *անծրեւ կու գայ* antsʰɾɛv gu kʰa), *կ'երթա կա* gɛɾtʰa ga "s/he goes," and *կուգայ կա* gu kʰa ga "s/he comes" (Tsotsʻikean 1947).

A further set of dialects goes one step further and adds the relative pronoun *որ* oɾ to this ga, yielding the notorious *կոր* goɾ progressive enclitic that is found in the spoken language of many Western Armenians (as well as *կար* gaɾ in the Sivrihisar dialect). Lay Armenians disagree as to who exactly uses this enclitic, but the dialectological literature mentions it being used in Constantinople, Marash, Rodosto, Sebastia, and Zeitun. Both ga and goɾ appear to have been in circulation in Smyrna. In addition to the ga forms mentioned earlier, the following examples occur in the anonymous 1835 grammar: *ինչ կընեսկոր* intʃʰ gənɛs goɾ "what are you doing?" (p. 19); *ան կրկրթէկոր զմեզ* an gə gəɾtʰɛ goɾ əzmɛz "she is instructing us" (p. 59); *մէկ բան մը չես կրնար ուտէր կոր* mɛg pʰan mə tʃʰɛs gəɾnaɾ udɛɾ goɾ "you are not able to eat anything." (p. 85).

Smyrna also adds *–ր* –ɾ to the original impersonal obligatory verb *պիտի* piti "it is necessary," presumably as a result of piti being co-opted as a future tense marker. The newly vacant obligatory slot is

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[7] Jahukyan (1972) mentions "ga" for Smyrna, Bardizag, Marzvan (Marzovan), Amasia, Everek, Tomarza, Darende, Beylan, Haji Habibli, and Kabusie, "go" for Rodosto, Zeitun, Marash, Gurin, Vardenis, Khoy, Payajuk, Urmia, and Maragha; I have also seen "ga" mentioned for Tokat.

then filled by the form *պիտէր* bidɛɾ (Anonymous 1835:52). At first blush this appears to be simply the 3rd person singular imperfect of the verb, that is, "it was necessary" or "should" (the latter being the gloss provided in the anonymous 1835 grammar), but the picture is complicated by the fact that many dialects have liquid-final obligatory forms as in (6) below (Vaux 1995):

(6) Liquid-final obligatory clitics in Armenian dialects:

form	dialect
պի (տոր) bi(doɾ)	Artial
պ(ի)տի(ր) p(i)ti(ɾ)	Marzvan
պիտիլ pitil	New Julfa
պիտէալ bidæl	Hadrut
պըր bəɾ	Svedia
մըր / պըր məɾ/bəɾ	Kessab
մատիլ matil	Karchevan
մետիլ metil	Meghri

These appear to involve addition of the relative pronoun *որ* or to *պիտի* piti rather than being 3rd person singular imperfects. The fact that so many dialects have opted for this strategy leads one to wonder whether the Smyrna form actually derives from *պիտի* + *որ* rather than being a 3rd singular imperfect.

Smyrna also differs from SWA in forming the perfect tense with an –*էr* -ɛɾ participle; Tsots'ikean provides the forms *տեսէր եմ* desɛɾ ɛm "I have seen" (SWA *տեսած եմ* desadz ɛm), *չկերէր է* ʧʰə gɛɾɛɾ ɛ "s/he hasn't eaten" (SWA *չէ կերած* ʧʰɛ gɛɾadz). The perfect in –*էr* -ɛɾ is used in spoken SWA, but with modal semantics equivalent to those of Turkish -miş, employed, for example, for actions that one has not directly witnessed or otherwise wishes to cast doubt on. In Smyrna, on the other hand, it appears to be the unmarked perfect construction. In *չկերէր է* ʧʰə gɛɾɛɾ ɛ, the negative proclitic attaches to the main verb rather than the auxiliary, as it does in SWA. The opposite holds for negated futures and conditionals, where the negative proclitic attaches to the future marker, as in *չպիտի նկատէր* ʧʰibidi nəgadɛɾ "s/he wouldn't (take) notice" (Anonymous 1835:60). The official SWA strategy in such cases is to attach the negative clitic to the main verb,

as in *պիտի չնկատեր* bidi ʧʰənəgadɛr, but it should be noted that in colloquial SWA many speakers employ the Smyrna strategy.

Smyrna also resembles spoken Western varieties but not official SWA in employing the subjunctive enclitic *նէ* nɛ, as seen in (1) and in *բախրէին լեզուն կը խնդրեքնէ բերեմ* baχrɛin lɛzun gə χəntʰrɛkʰ nɛ pʰɛrɛm "shall I give you a piece of tongue?" Lay Armenians are fond of stating that this *նէ* nɛ comes from Turkish, but in fact it doesn't; it is a good Middle Armenian form that is preserved in many Western Armenian dialects and does not appear in Turkish at all.

A final feature Smyrna shares with colloquial but not literary SWA is the possessive plural suffix cluster, formed by adding the possessive enclitics {*–ս* –s, *-դ* –tʰ, *-ն* –n} to the Middle Armenian plural *-նի* –ni (Karst 1901:179). This particular construction is used when the possessor is plural, as in colloquial SWA *կատու-նի-ս* gadu-ni-s "our cat." If the possessed object is itself plural, this plural appears inside the possessive plural, as in a form used in the anonymous 1835 grammar, *մխրերնուս* midkʰɛrnus "in our minds" (from /midkʰ "mind" + plural -ɛr + possessive plural –ni + genitive –u + 1st person possessive –s). Interestingly, the possessive plural has a prosodic restriction that it can only attach to bases containing two or more syllables (Vaux 2003). Monosyllabic bases satisfy this requirement by adding their own plural affix, even if they are not semantically plural, for example, in colloquial SWA "our dog" is expressed not as *ʃun-ni-s as one might expect, but as *շուն-եր-նի-ս* ʃun-ɛr-ni-s. This phenomenon shows up in Smyrna as well, as in the expression for "how are you?" provided by the anonymous 1835 grammar, *քէֆերնիդ աղեկ է* kʰɛfɛrnitʰ aʁɛg ɛ (p. 83). This idiom literally means "is your (plural/polite) well-being good?" One can tell the addressee is plural/polite (that is, *դուք* tʰukʰ not *դուն* tʰun) because the possessive plural *–նիդ* -nitʰ is used. (If the addressee were singular, the form would be *քէֆդ* kʰɛfətʰ.) Since *քէֆ* kʰɛf "well-being; pleasure" is monosyllabic, though, the prosodic constraint mentioned above forces it to add the plural suffix *–եր* –ɛr, giving the final form *քէֆերնիդ*, even though "well-being" is singular, as shown by the fact that it takes the singular verb *է* ɛ, not the plural *են* ɛn.

Moving from nouns to numbers, the numeral system in Smyrna (as reflected in the anonymous 1835 grammar) displays an interesting array of archaisms and innovations vis-à-vis SWA. The ordinal "eleventh," *մետասաներորդ* mɛdasanɛrortʰ, is archaic compared with the

remodeled SWA *տասնըմէկերորդ* dasnəmɛgɛroɾtʰ; *իրեք* iɾɛkʰ, three, on the other hand, is an innovation found in many non-standard dialects (vs. Common Armenian *երեք* ɛɾɛkʰ > SWA jɛɾɛkʰ). The Smyrna forms for "nineteen," *տասնըւինը* dasnəvinə, and "twenty-two," *քսանևերկու* kʰəsanvɛɾgu, differ from their SWA counterparts in inserting *ու* u "and" between the decade and the unit, which then reduces to (ə)v.

2.3. Lexis

The lexical stock of the Smyrna dialect is replete with dialect forms not found in SWA. Some such forms occurring in the anonymous 1835 grammar are provided in (7) below (page numbers indicated in parentheses):

(7) Dialectal forms in the 1835 grammar:

Stepʰannos	SWA	gloss
վլալ vəlal	*լուալ* ləval	to wash (98)
էվէլ ɛvɛl	*աւելի* aveli	more (than) (5)
ինտոր indoɾ (5), *ընդոր* ənt ʰoɾ (21)	*ինչպէս* intʃʰbɛs	how
ինչու որ intʃʰu voɾ	*որովհետեւ* voɾovhɛdɛv	because (6)
մէյմէկ mɛjmɛg	*մէկ առ մէկ* mɛg aɾ mɛg	individually (7)
պզդի bəzdi	*պզդիկ* bəzdig	little (8)
բալիք pʰal:ikʰ	*բանալի* pʰanali	key (10)
անկածներ angadʒnɛɾ	*ականջներ* agantʃʰnɛɾ	ears (68)
պրկունք bəɾgunkʰ	*շրթունքներ* ʃəɾtʰunkʰnɛɾ	lips (68)
ըղունք əʁunkʰ	*եղունգներ* jɛʁungʰnɛɾ	nails (68)
ձկնմիս tsʰəgənmis	*մկան* məgan	muscle (69)
մեղոյշ mɛʁujʃ	*մանուշակագոյն* manuʃagakʰujn	purple (76)
կողդինչ goʁ:intʃʰ	*խխունջ* χəχuntʃʰ	snail (74)
մենծ mɛndz	*մեծ* mɛdz	big (62)
օրվիմ oɾvim	*օրօր(ու)իմ* oɾoɾvim	I swing (intr.) (46)
չիջդեմ tʃʰijdɛm	*չեմ գիտեր* tʃʰem kʰidɛɾ	I don't know (89)
հանդրպիմ hantʰəbim	*հանդիպիմ* hantʰibim	I meet (47)
ամմէն am:ɛn	*ամէն* amɛn	all (53)
քուր kʰur	*սխալ* səχal	wrong (82)

Tsots'ikean adds a number of interesting expressions in (8) below:

(8) Smyrna expressions from Tsots'ikean (1947:213):

Tsots'ikean	SWA	gloss
nɣp ɰɲnɩ℔ votʃʰə pʰudʒ	*անարժէք մէկը, որուն նչս*	worthless person,
	ալ ɰɲnɩ℔ ɫ anaɾʒɛkʰ mɛgə,	even their "no"
	voɾun votʃʰn al pʰudʒ ɛ	is useless
ɡnɩɰɲ gubi	*ɡnᴕ℔ɰ℔* godʒag	button
անɛɾmama anɛɾmama	*զɾɔɰնɣ* zokʰantʃʰ	wife's mother
ɰɰɰɰ℔ɲɡ badgits ʰ	*ɰᴕɔn ɲɲɰɡɲ* mod tʰəɾatsʰi	close neighbor

To these can be added the more mundane expressions from the anony-
mous 1835 grammar in (9) below, which differ significantly from their
SWA equivalents:

(9) Expressions from the anonymous grammar:

a. *ɕɫɕɫɲնɲɲ ɰɲɫɰ℔ ɫ* kʰɛfɛɾnitʰ aʁɛg ɛ (83)
    "How are you?"
b. *ɫɰ ɲնɣɰɰն ɰɰ ɣɰɰɲ ɰɫɔɣɫɰɲ ɫɩ* ja intʃʰvan as ʒamə døʃɛgə ɛs
    "How is it that you are in bed at this hour?"
c. *նɰᵴɰ ɰɰᵴɰ ɕɰɡ ɲɩնɔɰ* naha daha pʰatsʰ kʰunov (90)
    "Here is one of a brighter color."
d. *ɡɰնɲɔɩɲɲ ɕɰնɲɣɲˊ ɡɩɰɰɰ:* gankʰunə kʰaniji gudas (90)
    "At what will you sell it per yard?"
e. *Sɫ ɰɲɡɫɡ ɫɲɡɔ ɡɰնɲɔɩն ɡɔɲɫ':* dɛ səgɛtsʰ jɛɾgu gankʰun gədɾɛ (91)
    "Here, cut off two yards from this."

3. Turkish influence

In (9), a number of Turkish loans can be seen, such as *ɕɫɕ* "well-
being" (T. kef, ultimately of Arabic origin), *ɫɰ* ja "gee" (T. ya),
ɫɔɣɫɰ døʃɛg "bed" (T. döshek "mattress"), *ɰɰᵴɰ* daha "more" (T.
daha), and *ɰɫ* dɛ (T. de "so, also"). The abundance of Turkish gram-
matical and lexical influence in the anonymous 1835 grammar is par-
ticularly striking from the perspective of post-Genocide SWA, which
has excised almost all of its original turkicisms. In addition to the

forms just mentioned, for example, "yes-no" questions are formed with the Turkic enclitic *-մի* -mi, as in (10) below:

(10) *-մի* -mi as marker of yes-no questions:

a. *ան կրախրէ՞ մի* an gə sirε mi (21)
   "does he love [it]?"

b. *զատն մխս ունի՞ս մի* kʰarn mis unis mi (84)
   "have you any [veal]?"

c. *նայինք ջուրր աղէ՞կ է մի* najinkʰ tʃʰurə aʁεg ε mi (85)
   "let us see if the water is good"

d. *խաղող ալ ունէ՞ս մի* χaʁoʁ al unεs mi (86)
   "have you still some grapes?"

e. *րսածնէրս չե՞ս մի հասկընար* əsadznεrəs tʃʰεs mi hasgənar (87)
   "do you not understand what I say?"

This *-մի* –mi is common in non-Standard Western Armenian dialects such as that of Constantinople, and shows up in several of the pre-Genocide grammars of SWA, but is no longer part of the standard literary language. It is interesting that in Smyrna this clitic is not restricted to the last word of the sentence (cf. (10e)).

Smyrna also borrows the Turkish quotative particle diye as *տէի* dεi. It is used for reporting speech, events, and the like, as in the anonymous grammar's example sentence *Ախպարդ հիւանդ է տէի լսեցի* aχparət hivantʰ ε dεi ləsεtsʰi "I have heard that your brother was ill."

According to Jahukyan (1972, feature 69), Smyrna forms ordinal numbers with the Turkish suffix *-ինճի* –indʒi (the same suffix used in Turkish ikinji "2nd," üchünjü "3rd," etc.). There is no evidence of this in the anonymous 1835 grammar, where the native Armenian ordinal suffix *-երորդ* -εrortʰ is used, but it would not be surprising for Smyrna Armenian to have borrowed this feature from Turkish as it is found in many other Armenian dialects (compare, for example, Common Armenian *վեց* vetsʰ "six" > Karchevan *վից* vitsʰ → *վիցմինճի* vitsʰmindʒi "sixth" (Hovhannes Muradyan 1960). Turning from morphology to vocabulary, Turkish words are legion in the lexicon prescribed by the anonymous 1835 grammar, as in the sampling in (11) below:

(11) Turkish words in the anonymous grammar

Smyrna	Turkish	gloss
* չաթալ* ʧʰatʰal	chatal	fork
ասխատար asχədaɾ (87)	kadar "as much as"	so many
այըխ ajəχ (82)	ayık	sober
բէկ pʰɛkʰ (85)	pek	very
ճերմակ ջիկէր	ak jigher	lung(s)
dʒɛɾmag dʒijɛɾ		("white liver")
սեվ ջիկէր sɛv dʒijɛɾ	kara jigher	liver ("black liver")
հէմ hɛm (55)	hem	also
հէմէն hɛmɛn (54)	hemen	suddenly
հիչ hitʃʰ (54)	hich	not at all
իշտէ iʃtɛ (89)	ishte	thus
մալ mal	mal	goods
պէլքի bɛlkʰi (86)	belki	perhaps
յոխսա joχsa (94)	yoksa	or
բիլլոր bil:oɾ (10)	billur "crystal"	glass
քէորիւկ kʰøɾyg (10)	körük	bellows
կէօրէ gøɾɛ (54)	göre	according to
սուս sus (55)	sus	silence!
չէյրէկ ʧʰɛjɾɛg (65)	cheyrek	quarter (of an hour)
թաքիքէ tʰakʰikʰɛ (65)	dakika	minute
հավա hava (66)	hava	weather
հազ ընէլը haz ənɛlə (69)	haz	pleasure
խապտան փաշա	kaptan pasha	admiral
χapʰtan pʰaʃa (72)		
սըխ սըխ səχ səχ (87)	sık sık	frequently
զոռ zoɾ (87)	zor	difficult
խունտուրա χunduɾa (91)	kundura "shoe"	slipper
խըտար χədaɾ (93)	kadar "up to"	about

To these can be added the following from Tsots'ikean: *քէօֆթար*
kʰøftʰaɾ "pancake or roll made from grape juice" (T. köfter), *զուպուն*
zubun "nightgown." The latter does not appear to be used in Modern
Turkish, but is attested in Ottoman Turkish.

   It is interesting to note in passing that the wealth of Turkish loans
is not matched by an equal number of Modern Greek loans, despite
the well-known Greek presence in Smyrna before 1922.

4. Conclusions

The materials discussed in this chapter conjure an image of a vibrant modern Western dialect, preserving some ancient Armenian features lost in the standard language while innovating in many ways that set it apart from Standard Western Armenian and other neighboring varieties. The numerous Turkish loans speak of a happier time when Armenians and Turks interacted linguistically and culturally; it is sad in a sense that the purifiers of the standard language felt the need to remove these pieces of evidence of Armenian presence in Anatolia, and with them some of the multicultural richness that characterized Armenian dialects such as that of Smyrna.

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