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Chapter 10, "Homshetsma" by Bert Vaux

10 Homshetsma

The language of the Armenians of Hamshen

Bert Vaux

Introduction

Homshetsma[1] has three main varieties, corresponding to the three main groups of Hamshen Armenians:

1. *Western Hemshinli*, who live in the Turkish province of Rize (as well as in larger Turkish cities and Europe), speak Turkish, and are Sunni Muslim.
2. *Eastern Hemshinli/Homshetsik*, who live in the province of Artvin (with smaller numbers dispersed elsewhere in Turkey, Central Asia and Europe), speak a language called Homshetsma, and are also Sunni Muslim.
3. *Northern Homshentsik*, the descendants of non-Islamicized Hamshen Armenians formerly of the provinces of Samsun, Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon, who live in Georgia and Russia, speak Homshetsma, and are Christian.[2]

The western Hemshinli speak only Turkish, though they preserve a fair number of Homshetsma words, toponyms and family names.[3] This chapter focuses on the eastern Hemshinli and northern Homshentsik, who continue to speak Homshetsma in relatively large numbers up to the present day.

Homshetsma is generally treated as a dialect of western Armenian. The two are generally not mutually intelligible, however,[4] since a number of conditions have conspired to make Homshetsma one of the most divergent and interesting varieties of Armenian. The Homshentsik moved from their original Armenian homeland to an area of isolated mountain villages at a time when the Armenian language was still relatively homogenous, and had not yet developed the profound diversity that characterizes the hundreds of modern Armenian dialects.[5] Consequently, Homshetsma preserves a number of important archaisms that were levelled elsewhere, and has also developed a host of peculiar innovations not found in other varieties of Armenian. The fact that the language is not written has insulated Homshetsma from the influence of classical and literary forms of Armenian, which makes it unique among the Armenian dialects. Homshetsma therefore gives us one of our only glimpses of Armenian in its 'pure' form, untainted by loanwords from Classical Armenian and not stripped of the Turkish component of its lexicon.

Orthography

In 1995 a native speaker and I designed an orthographic system for Homshetsma – which up until that time had possessed only a spoken form – in order to encourage native speakers to develop a literary outlet for their culture. Because (1) the inventory of sounds in Homshetsma is quite close to that of Turkish, (2) most speakers of Homshetsma are able to read and write in Turkish, and (3) the Turkish alphabet is relatively easy for Westerners to decipher (compared to the Armenian script), we based the Homshetsma orthography on the Turkish system. In Table 10.1 I set out the inventory of Homshetsma letters, together with their equivalents in Armenian and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

Throughout this chapter I employ the Homshetsma alphabet to transcribe Homshetsma forms, together with IPA equivalents in square brackets when

Table 10.1 Homshetsma orthography

Homshetsma	Western Armenian	Eastern Armenian	IPA	Example
a	ա	ա	a	açvi 'eye'
ä	ա, եա	ա, եա	æ	(N. Hom. äxpär 'brother')
b	պ	բ	b	bacax 'leg'
c	ձ	ջ	dʒ	cicu 'intestines'
ç	չ, ջ	չ	tʃʰ	çoloz '1 to 2-year-old bullock'
d	տ	դ	d	dederuş 'to fart (noisily)'
dz	ծ	ձ	dz	bidzik 'little'
e	ե, է	ե, է	e, ɛ	erzeva 'garden'
f	ֆ	ֆ	f	ferengul 'lock'
g	կ	գ	g	xerguş 'to snore'
ğ	ղ	ղ	ʁ	koroğ 'ashes'
h	ֆ	ֆ	h	hoza 'here'
i	ի	ի	i	iligom 'kidney(s)'
ı	ը	ը	ə	xınç 'steel dog collar'
j	ժ	ժ	ʒ	emmenije 'always'
k	բ, կ	բ	kʰ	tokuş 'to cough'
l	լ	լ	l	paleni 'cherry tree'
m	մ	մ	m	tomnuş 'to finish'
n	ն	ն	n	ponlik 'key'
o	ո, o	ո, o	o	xoiz 'inside of a fruit'
p	փ, պ	փ	pʰ	pook 'beehive'
-	ռ	ռ	ɹ	[merged with r in Homshetsma]
r	ր	ր	ɹ	tertevus 'eyelash'
s	ս	ս	s	aspadz 'god'
ş	շ	շ	ʃ	şagluş 'to carry on one's back'
t	թ, դ	թ	tʰ	taduş 'to study'
ts	ց, ծ	ց	tsʰ	şebetsnuş 'to hit someone'
u	ու	ու	u	untuş 'embrace, surround'
v	վ, ւ	վ, ւ	v	vov 'who'
x	խ	խ	χ	poxvuş 'to swim, shower'
y	յ	յ	j	yiyek 'three'
z	զ	զ	z	zond 'heavy, pregnant'

necessary to convey subtle nuances of pronunciation. (I will not use the Homshetsma orthography for other Armenian dialects, however; for these I use the standard armenological transcription system employed by the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*).[6]

The place of Homshetsma within the realm of Armenian dialects

Like the other varieties of Armenian, Homshetsma descends from Common Armenian, and also shares many linguistic features with certain subgroups of modern Armenian dialects. More specifically, Homshetsma clearly belongs to the western group of Armenian dialects, and within that group it belongs to what I call the northeastern subgroup of western Armenian dialects, to be defined below.

The western dialects

First of all, though, why do we say that Homshetsma belongs to the western Armenian dialect group? The primary reason is that Homshetsma contains most of the linguistic features that distinguish the western group of dialects from the eastern group.[7] For example, it shows the voicing of original Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops that characterizes almost all western dialects (Table 10.2).

Homshetsma also employs the characteristic western form of the second singular pronoun, which, unlike in eastern dialects, has been augmented by a final *-n* (Table 10.3).

Northern (but not eastern) Homshetsma has taken this development one step further, adding the *-n* to the plural form as well: *d^hunk^h, tunk^h, tunk*[8] (compare eastern Homshetsma *tuk* [t^huk^h]).

The morphology of Homshetsma is characteristically western. Like most western dialects it marks the present (a) and imperfect (b) indicative tenses with *g(u)*. (Table 10.4).

Table 10.2 Original Armenian voiceless unaspirated stops

Homshetsma	Common Arm.[9]	Gloss
bad	պատ [pat]	wall
ergus	երկու(ք) [eɾkuk^h]	two
daǧa	տղայ [tʁaj]	boy
dzomuş	ծամել [tsamɛl]	to chew
cincux	ճնճղուկ [tʃəntʃuʁ]	bird (H), sparrow (CA)

Table 10.3 The second singular pronoun

Common Arm.	E. Arm.	W. Arm.	Homshetsma	Gloss
դու [du]	դու [du]	դուն [t^hun]	tun	you (singular)

Table 10.4 Present and imperfect indicative tenses

E. Hom.	N. Hom.	SWA	SEA	Gloss
(a) pia gu [pʰi'jagu]	perä gu [pɛ'ɹæ gu]	կը բերէ [gəpʰɛ'ɹe]	բերում է [bɛ'ɹume]	he/she/it carries
(b) piedi gu [pʰije'digu]	pereydı gu [pɛɹejdəgu]	կը բերէիր [gəpʰɛɹe'jiɹ]	բերում էիր [bɛ'ɹumejiɹ]	you carried/were carrying

Table 10.5 The ablative singular ending

E. Hom.	N. Hom.	SWA	SEA	Gloss
marta	maştä	մարդէ [maɹtʰɛ]	մարդից [maɹditsʰ]	from a man

Table 10.6 Special locative suffix

Homshetsma	tev-o-u̲-n inçik mena çi[10]
	hand-pl-*g/d*-def anything remains not
	'nothing remains in [their] hands'
=SWA	ձեռք-կը-ն-ն ոչինչ չի մնար [tsʰɛɹkʰɛɹmin votʃʰintʃʰ tʃʰi mənaɹ]
	hand-pl-pl.n/a-def nothing not remain
=SEA	ձեռք-կը-ուն-ը ոչինչ չէ մնում [dzɛɹkʰɛɹumə votʃʰintʃʰ tʃʰe mənum]
	hand-pl-*loc*-def nothing not remain

Another typical western feature is the ablative singular ending *-է [-e] (compare eastern -ից [-itsʰ]), which becomes -ä in northern Homshetsma and -a in eastern Homshetsma (Table 10.5).

Like all other western dialects, Homshetsma employs the nominative/accusative or the genitive/dative case to express location, whereas eastern dialects have a special locative suffix -ում [-um] (Table 10.6).

In the domain of vocabulary, Homshetsma conforms to the western dialects in using a form of Common Armenian *հաւ-կիթ [hav kitʰ] 'bird/chicken egg' as the generic term for 'egg': western and northern Homshetsma *havgit*, eastern Homshetsma *hagvit* (eastern Armenian dialects, in contrast, employ the form ձու [dzu]). Similarly, Homshetsma has a western word for 'neighbour', *tergits*[11] (cf. SWA դրկից [tʰərgitsʰ] (though դրացի [tʰəratsʰi] is more common) but SEA հարեւան [harɛvan]).

The northeastern Turkish group

Within the western group of dialects, Homshetsma has particularly close ties to the other Armenian dialects of northeastern Turkey, particularly Xodorchur (Arm. Xotorjur) and Trabzon, and to a lesser extent Artvin and Erzerum. One curious innovation found in all of these dialects (except perhaps Trabzon and Artvin, for which I do not have sufficient information) involves the imperfective clitic կու, which normally surfaces as [gu] in these dialects but for unknown reasons becomes voiceless and/or aspirated with a few specific verbs (Table 10.7).

Table 10.7 The imperfective clitic

Northern Homshetsma[12]	kukom 'I come', kuzim 'I want', kellim 'I go up', kɪngnim 'I fall'
Eastern Homshetsma[13]	kukom, kuzim, kuzes 'you (sg.) want', kelli '(s)he/it goes up', kiçnum 'I descend', kulom 'I cry'
Xodorchur kʰ-[14]	kʰukʰa 'he comes', kʰuzes 'you want', kʰəlni 'he is'
Erzerum gʰ(u)-[15]	gʰugʰam 'I come', gʰuzim 'I want', gʰəlli '(s)he/it is', gʰəyni '(s)he/it falls'

A particularly telling pair is eastern Homshetsma g-ellim 'I am' vs. k-ellim 'I go up', where the surface form of the verb stem is identical but the pronunciation of the prefix is not.

The innovations shared between Homshetsma and Xodorchur in particular are so numerous that we may assign them to a common subgroup, which I will refer to as the northeastern Turkish group. (The reader should bear in mind that only shared, non-trivial innovations are valid criteria for subgrouping; as any two dialects are equally likely to preserve a given linguistic feature, archaisms cannot be used for historical subgrouping. Trivial common innovations, such as borrowing specific forms from the dominant language of the region (e.g. Homshetsma *haz enuş*, Xodorchur *հազ էնէլ*[16] [haz ɛnɛl] 'to love' from Turkish *haz etmek*), do not count.)

Homshetsma and Xodorchur

Perhaps the most striking linguistic feature shared by Homshetsma and Xodorchur is the use of the verb *unim* 'have' as an auxiliary with transitive verbs in the perfect tense and its derivatives (e.g. Xodorchur *կերած ունիմ* [geɹadz unim][17], eastern Homshetsma *giadzuim* 'I have eaten'). Intransitive verbs employ the verb 'be' as their auxiliary: Xodorchur *տղէն քուն եղած ա* [dəʁen kʰun jeʁadz a],[18] eastern Homshetsma *dağan kun ağadz a* 'the boy slept'.[19] Fathers Harut'iwn Hulunian and Matt'ēos Hachian state that the use of 'have' as an auxiliary verb occurs in many dialects, but I have not found any such dialects other than Xodorchur and Homshetsma (some Armenian speakers report having heard it used in Istanbul and elsewhere, but these data remain uncorroborated).[20] I return to this phenomenon below.

Another interesting innovation shared by Homshetsma and Xodorchur is the use of Common Armenian *թէ* [tʰe] 'that, if, whether' (> E. Homshetsma *ta*, Janik (a N. Homshetsma subdialect) *tä*) as a marker of yes/no questions (Table 10.8).[21]

Why have Homshetsma and Xodorchur developed this curious marker of yes/no questions? In order to understand the development of this usage, we need to appreciate two factors. First of all, the prestige language in the area, Turkish, possesses an overt marker of yes/no questions, *-mi/mɪ/mu/mü*, as in *gitti mi?* 'did he go?' The development of a yes/no question mark in Homshetsma and Xodorchur is presumably due to the influence of this particular formation in Turkish. Under similar pressure, other Armenian dialects actually borrowed the Turkish morpheme *-mi/mɪ/mu/mü* directly; cf. Trabzon *unis mi* 'do you have it?'[22] Hamshen and Xodorchur do not borrow the Turkish form, however; the question

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Table 10.8 The use of Common Armenian

Eastern Homshetsma

(a) yes/no question: marked with -ta

me kyağ-e	gartatsadz	ç-ell-oğ	mart go-ta
our village-def.	read.ppl.	not-be-pres.ppl.	man exists-YNQ

'Is there anyone who has not read *Our Village*?'

(b) wh-question: not marked with -ta

dzidağuşi	inç	go
laugh-g/d	what	exists

'What is there to laugh at?'

Xodorchur

(a) yes/no question

կովերուն	ճաշուն	տուիր	թէ,	դեռ	վախտ	չէ
gov-eɹ-u-n	dʒaʃ-u-n	dəvik^h	t^he,	t^hɛr	vaχt	tʃ^h-e
cow-pl-g/d-def.	meal-g/d-def.	you.gave	YNQ	still	time	not-is

'Did you feed the cows? It's not time yet.'

(b) wh-question

աղջի՛,	անունդ	ի՞նչ	ա
aχtʃi	anun-ət^h	intʃ^h	a
girl	name-your	what	is

'Girl, what is your name?'

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now is how these dialects went about creating a yes/no question mark using the components of their own lexicon, which is the second important factor in our analysis.

It is important to realize that the function of the subordinator 'whether', which is one of the meanings of Armenian *(e)t̕ē*, is to demarcate yes/no propositions in subordinate clauses. For example, the English sentence *I asked her whether she was going* is equivalent to *I asked her, 'are you going?'*, where the embedded question 'are you going?' takes 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. One cannot use 'whether' with embedded questions that do not take a yes/no answer: *I asked her, 'how are you doing?'* → **I asked whether she was doing, *I asked her whether how she was doing*. Homshetsma and Xodorchur, however, have extended the domain of their form for 'whether', *ta,* to main clauses. In other words, *ta* is employed to mark yes/no questions in both main and subordinate clauses.[23]

In the lexical domain, Homshetsma and Xodorchur share a number of innovations. One notable example is the set of deictic adverbs *istus, ittus, intus* 'on this/that side'.[24] As far as I am aware, these particular forms are only found in these two dialects, but this is unfortunately difficult to verify as there is no comparative dictionary of Armenian dialects that includes forms of this sort.

Homshetsma and Trabzon

Homshetsma also shares a number of features with Trabzon, which is not surprising given that many of the northern Homshetsma communities originally lived in villages around Trabzon. One such example is the formation of the present and

imperfect tenses: both Homshetsma and Trabzon prefix *g-* to vowel-initial verbs, and suffix *-gu* to consonant-initial (polysyllabic) verbs (Table 10.9).[25]

Xodorchur does not share this feature; judging from the texts in Hachian, it has the same distribution of g- and gu- as does standard western Armenian.[26]

Another morphological innovation shared by Homshetsma (Mala and rural Trabzon subdialects) and Trabzon is the use of 'have' as a progressive marker (Table 10.10).[27]

According to Hrant Petrosyan, *uni* is only used in the imperfect progressive in Trabzon. Hrach'eay Acharian asserts that Trabzon in fact does not use *uni* for progressives at all;[28] we must therefore conclude either that Petrosyan based his Trabzon description on sources that actually described varieties of Homshetsma spoken in Trabzon and its environs, or that Acharian and Petrosyan simply had access to different subdialects of Trabzon. Gevorg Jahukyan adds that the use of *uni* as a progressive marker is also found in Sivrihisar;[29] it is not clear whether this is an independent innovation or a common inheritance.

A lexical feature that is unique to Homshetsma and Trabzon in the Armenian world is the form moǰ- 'brood hen' (corresponding to Std. *βnι/ʰu* [tʰuχs]). This root is shown (Table 10.11).

Uwe Bläsing relates these to forms found in the neighbouring south Caucasian languages: Georgian dialectal *moč'va*, Laz *monč'(v)a*.[33] It is not clear, though, whether the Homshetsma and Trabzon forms are borrowed from south Caucasian

Table 10.9 Formation of present and imperfect tenses

	Trabzon	*Eastern Homshetsma*
(a) 'I do'	ḱ'Łŭŀʃ gɛnɛm	g-enim
(b) 'they stay'	ʃŭuŭ ḱn mənan-gu	menon-gu

Table 10.10 The use of 'have' as a progressive marker

Northern Homshetsma	bʰerim guni	I am carrying
	bʰereyı guni	I was carrying
Trabzon	ḱŁıŀḱŀ nŭŀ [gɛpʰɛji uni]	I was cooking
	ŭuyŁŀ nŭŀ	he/she/it was
	[naǰei uni]	looking

Table 10.11 The root form 'brood hen'

Western Homshetsma	moc'a 'brood hen'
	moc'a düşmek 'to brood'[30]
	(Tk. düşmek 'to fall')
Eastern Homshetsma	moca nesduş 'incubate eggs'
Northern Homshetsma	mocu 'brood hen'[31]
Trabzon	ʃnǵ [modʒ] 'brood hen'[32]

or vice versa; *moc-* may also be an areal word with no particular historical ties to any of these languages.

Despite the Homshetsma-Trabzon similarities catalogued above, Homshetsma generally does *not* group with Trabzon, as Ačaṙian is at pains to point out.[34] The reason for this, according to Ačaṙian, is that the original settlement of the two areas by Armenians was different: Trabzon was settled in the Middle Ages by refugees from Ani, whereas the Hamshen Armenian villages around Trabzon were created by refugees from Hamshen (modern Çamlıhemşin) in the seventeenth century following an Ottoman programme of forced conversion.[35] As linguistic support for this position, Ačaṙian cites three facts which distinguish Homshetsma from Trabzon:

1   Homshetsma raises *a* to *o* before nasal consonants (e.g. ֆամար *hamar* 'for' > *(h)oma*, ֆանկ *čank* 'claw' > *cong* 'handful'), whereas Trabzon does not;
2   All Homshetsma infinitives take the suffix *-uş*, whereas in Trabzon they have the regular Armenian endings *-el/-il/-al*;
3   Homshetsma forms progressives with *(g)uni*; Trabzon does not (this generalization is problematic, as we have already seen).

The two positions outlined above – that Homshetsma is related to Trabzon, and that it is not – are not incompatible. What seems to be the case is that in genetic terms, Homshetsma is not directly related to Trabzon in the way that it is to Xodorchur, but the two do share a number of areal features and later innovations.

Artvin, Baberd and Erzerum

The linguistic relations between Homshetsma and the neighbouring dialects of Artvin, Baberd and Erzerum appear to be much more limited. I will restrict my comments here to Artvin and Erzerum, since no published materials are available that treat the Baberd dialect; my fieldwork with speakers of this dialect has not revealed any notable similarities to Homshetsma.

Other than features that are also shared by many other dialects (e.g. both Homshetsma and Artvin have իրեք *irek* 'three' and օխտը / oxtı (NH) / oxte (EH) 'seven'[36]), the affinities between Homshetsma and Artvin appear to be restricted to influences of Homshetsma upon Artvin. For example, Alaverdyan notes that though Artvin is typologically an eastern Armenian dialect, its use of the typical eastern locative case *-um* is very restricted; most words use the genitive/dative case with մէջ [metʃʰ] 'in'.[37] He attributes this to the influence of nearby western dialects, particularly Erzerum and Hamshen. In a similar vein, he states that verbs in Artvin generally form their present tense by means of the suffix *-lis* (խոսելիս իմ [χosɛlis im] 'I speak'), but some thirty verbs do not.[38] These verbs instead form the present tense with կու (e.g. կու-մորթեմ [gu-mortʰɛm] 'I slay'). Alaverdyan claims that the unexpected appearance of կու in these verbs is again due to influence from Homshetsma or Erzerum.

It is quite possible that close investigation will reveal genetic linguistic affinities between Homshetsma and these dialects, but such investigation is beyond the scope of this chapter given the dearth of materials available concerning them.

Homshetsma

Let us now consider some linguistic features that do not enable us to group Homshetsma with other Armenian dialects, but rather reveal striking archaisms which serve to disinguish it from the neighbouring dialects considered above, or unique innovations that set this language apart from the rest of the Armenian-speaking world. As I stated at the outset of this chapter, Homshetsma is simultaneously one of the most archaic and innovative varieties of modern Armenian, thanks to its extended isolation from the rest of the Armenian world and its avoidance of influence from the literary dialects.

Archaisms

Among the archaisms we find in Homshetsma, the most interesting to Indo-Europeanists is the *e*-augment, which is employed to mark the third singular aorist. Indo-European, the ancestor of Armenian, formed the imperfect tense by prefixing an *e*- to the verb root; thus, for example, the word for 'he/she/it carried' was *ebʰeret* (Table 10.12(a)), derived from the root *bʰer-* 'carry'. The expected outcome of this form in Armenian is *eber*, which is in fact what we find in the Classical and Middle Armenian aorist (Table 10.12(b) to (c)).[39] Standard modern Armenian has entirely lost this e-augment, though, so we now have forms such as standard western բերեց [pʰɛɹetsʰ] (Table 10.12(d)). Homshetsma, on the other hand, preserves the augment, as we can see in (Table 10.12(e)) (the augment is also preserved in the dialects of Xodorchur, Haji Habibli, Yoghun Oluk, Aramo, Mush, Baghesh, Xlat, Archesh, Artske, Tiflis, Ghalacha, and Gyargyar). As in Middle Armenian, the augment is also extended to a number of new verbs (Table 10.13).

The Homshetsma verbal system is also archaic in preserving the Old Armenian *u*-conjugation, which originally contained verbs such as *tʰoʁul* and *aṙnul*. The only original *u*-verbs that Homshetsma maintains in this conjugation are թողուլ 'allow' (> toğuş), հարուլ 'hit' (> haruş), զերծնուլ 'escape' (> zey(d)znuş), առնուլ 'take' (> arnuş) and լնուլ 'fill' (> lluş).[40] Homshetsma also preserves a

Table 10.12 The descent of Homshetsma epi 'he/she/it carried' from Indo-European *ebʰeret

(a) Indo-European	*ebʰeret*
(b) Classical Armenian	եբեր [ebeɹ]
(c) Middle Armenian	եբեր [epeɹ]
(d) Standard Western	բերեց [pʰeɹetsʰ]
(e) Homshetsma	epi [epʰi]

Table 10.13 New verbs

Hom. infinitive	Hom. aorist	Middle Armenian	Gloss
toğuş	etoğ [ɛtʰoʁ]	*էթող* [ɛtʰoʁ]	he/she/it left
ponuş	epats [ɛpʰatsʰ]	*եպաց* [ɛpatsʰ]	he/she/it opened
devuş	eed [ejɛd]	*երետ* [ɛɹɛd]	he/she/it gave
eguş	eev [ejɛv]	*երեւ* [ɛɹɛv]	he/she/it came

Table 10.14 The *u*-conjugation in the Middle Armenian period

Classical	Middle Armenian	Homshetsma	Gloss
մտանել	*մտնուլ* [mədnul]	mednuş	enter
տեսանել	*տեսնուլ* [dɛsnul]	desnuş	see
գտանել	*գտնուլ* [kədnul]	kdnuş (N), kednuş (E)	find
իջանիլ	*իջնուլ* [itʃnul]	işnuş (N), içnuş (E)	descend
ելծանիլ	*ելծնուլ* [hɛdznul]	heznuş (N), hednuş (E)	mount

number of verbs that were shifted from the *e*-conjugation[41] to the *u*-conjugation in the Middle Armenian period (Table 10.14).[42] This unusual Middle Armenian innovation is also preserved in Xodorchur,[43] Suczawa, Zeytun and the eastern dialect of Karchevan.[44]

In the nominal domain, Homshetsma is (to the best of my knowledge) unique in preserving the original sense of the Common Armenian deictic clitics *-s, *-d, and *-n. The original meaning of these clitics, which referred respectively to entities near the speaker, near the addressee, and removed from the purview of both speaker and the addressee, is preserved in Classical Armenian. Matthew 14:15 *տեղիս անապատ է teʁis anapat ē*, for example, means 'this place is a desert', where the -*s* suffixed to *տեղի teʁi* 'place' indicates that the place being referred to is within the purview of the speaker. In the modern dialects of Armenian these three clitics have become possessives: 'my', 'your' and 'his/hers/its' respectively; for example, the standard western Armenian outcome of Classical *teʁis*, namely *տեղս deʁəs*, means 'my place' and not 'this place'. Locational deixis must now be expressed by other means in the modern dialects; SWA expresses Matthew 14:15 as *հոս անապատ տեղ մըն է hos anabad deʁ mən e*, literally 'here deserted place a is'.

Homshetsma resembles Classical Armenian but differs from the other modern dialects in preserving the original Common Armenian system: *as oives*, for example, means 'this shepherd', rather than 'my shepherd' or 'this shepherd of mine'. Note that SWA, in contrast, uses the *third*-person clitic with deictics like *աս as: ա(յ)ս հովիւր a(y)s hovivə* 'this shepherd' and so on. One should bear in mind that the Homshetsma deictics can, in the absence of deictic modifiers, also express possession, as in *keralluğes* 'my kingdom'.

Moving on to the lexical domain, Homshetsma preserves an interesting Iranian loan into Old Armenian that has generally been lost in the modern Armenian dialects. This word survives in eastern Homshetsma as the female personal name

Table 10.15 Rule change

Classical	Homshetsma	gloss
Ӡուկն (dzukn)	tsug	fish
մուկն (mukn)	mug	mouse

Pompuş. This name has no synchronic meaning for the Homshetsik, and in its present form means nothing in standard Armenian or in the Caucasian languages of the area. However, when we consider the phonological history of Homshetsma, the name begins to make sense. Pompuş can be derived from a Common Armenian form *bambiš* via rules of Nasal Raising and i-Rounding (cf. below). We also know that Homshetsma, like all modern Armenian dialects, at some point in its history underwent a rule change deleting word-final *n* when preceded by a consonant. This rule produced outcomes of the type give in (Table 10.15). It is therefore possible to derive our protoform *bambiš* from the earlier form *bambišn.

The form *bambišn* is in fact a Classical Armenian word for 'queen', used in particular in reference to Iranian queens. The form is a loan from Middle Iranian *bānbišn*, which in turn derives from Avestan *dəmānō.paθnī-* 'lady of the house'.[45] In the Classical Armenian period, *bambišn* was used as a personal name as well;[46] for example, the fifth-century historian Pʻawstos Biwzandacʻi (Faustus of Byzantium) speaks of *Bambišn*, wife of Athanagenes and sister of King Tiran of Armenia.

The word *bambišn* is no longer used as a title, a word for 'queen', or a personal name in modern Armenian. There is one notable exception: the wife of the minister in protestant Armenian churches is referred to as բամբիշ [pʰampʰiʃ]. The Armenians whom I have asked have been unaware of the original meaning of this term. The Homshetsma personal name Pompuş appears to be an archaic remnant of precisely the original usage, however. A woman named Pompuş was therefore originally a 'queen', a completely plausible label for a woman. As is often the case with personal names, however, the original meaning of the name was subsequently lost.

In more general terms, Homshetsma is archaic in preserving the extensive foreign grammatical and lexical components that all of the Armenian dialects imported in the period following the Arab invasion (seventh century) and especially the Turkish invasion (eleventh century), but were stripped from the standard dialects and artificially replaced with Classical Armenian equivalents beginning in the nineteenth century. We will see more evidence of this in subsequent sections.

Innovations

In addition to the archaisms catalogued above, Homshetsma dislays a host of linguistic innovations that distinguish it from the other varieties of Armenian. The main phonological shibboleth is nasal raising, which as we have already seen

changes *a* to *o* when followed by a nasal consonant. In the morphological system, the most striking innovation may be the future tense formation employing the present participle in *-oğ*, exemplified below for eastern Homshetsma.[47] The relevant form in this example is *gebçoğum* 'I will begin', which is composed of the present participle of *gebçuş* 'begin' plus the first person singular verbal affix *-um*:

hekuts	inç	ella	nor	kitab-i-s	gebç-oğ-um
tomorrow	what	be.sj.	new	book-g/d-my	begin-ppl.-1sg.

'Tomorrow, God willing, I'll begin my new book.'

Another morphological innovation of Homshetsma is the second-person singular imperfect ending reflected in eastern Homshetsma *-di*, e.g. *kiedi gu* 'you were writing',[48] and northern Homshetsma *-yd(ı)*, as in *xoseydı* 'you were speaking'.[49] These two forms descend from a common source *-di*, which in turn derives via metathesis from Common Armenian *-ir* (cf. SWA *գրէիր* [kʰəɹeiɹ] 'you were writing'). The same metathesis may be observed in the plural forms of the imperfect (Table 10.16).[50] The other innovation in this suffix is the change of *r* to *d*, which remains unexplained.

Homshetsma furthermore differs from all other dialects of Armenian in its formation of the infinitive. Whereas all other varieties of Armenian form the infinitive by adding to the verb stem the suffixes *-el, -il, -al* and so on, Homshetsma adds only the suffix *-uş*. In the eastern Homshetsma forms given in Table 10.17 we see that Homshetsma, like many western dialects, actually has *four* classes of verbs according to the vowel they take in conjugation, but all of these select the *-uş* infinitive.

Ačaṙian relates the *-uş* suffix to the Turkish participial suffix *-iş/ış/uş/üş*, as in *alış-veriş* 'trade' (from *almak* 'take' and *vermek* 'give').[51] Georges Dumézil objects that the Homshetsma vowel should not be *-u-* if the suffix is borrowed from Turkish; he prefers to link *-uş* to the genitive form of the Laz infinitival

Table 10.16 Plural forms of the imperfect

SWA	Eastern Homshetsma	Gloss
կր գրէինք [gəkʰəreinkʰ]	kia<u>ki</u> gu	we were writing
կր գրէիք [gəkʰəreikʰ]	kie<u>ki</u> gu	you (pl) were writing
կր գրէին [gəkʰərein]	kie<u>ni</u> gu	they were writing

Table 10.17 Eastern Homshetsma forms

Verb class	2sg present	Infinitive	Gloss
-e-	genes	enuş	do
-i-	gellis	elluş	be
-a-	garta gus	gartuş	read
-u-	mednu gus	mednuş	enter

suffix, -*uş*.[52] Further research may confirm Dumézil's proposal, but it should be noted that the vocalism is not really a problem for Ačaŕian's hypothesis; the change of *i* to *u* before *ş* finds parallels in eastern Homshetsma *şuşe* 'bottle' < Turkish *şişe* and the form *pompuş* < *bambišn* mentioned above.

Moving on to lexical innovations, one of the oddest in Homshetsma involves a verb meaning 'to hit', *tevuş*. The first peculiarity of this form is that it appears to derive from Common Armenian *tal 'give', even though this also surfaces in Homshetsma as the regular form for 'give', *devuş*.[53] The second peculiarity is that this verb has somehow acquired a geminate (double) consonant, as may be seen in Table 10.18.[54]

Note that the consonant that is geminated can be either the initial *t*- of the root, or the -*v*- which shows up in some forms of the paradigm. The basic generalization is that the *t* is geminated if word-initial or preceded by a proclitic (Table 10.18(a)), otherwise the *v* geminates (Table 10.18(b)); if neither of these options is possible, there is no gemination (Table 10.18(c)).

The Homshetsma word for 'owl', *xoxol*,[55] also appears to be unique; other dialects typically use some form of *pṁ bu*. The neighbouring dialects of Trabzon and Xodorchur contain similar forms with possibly related meanings—Trabzon *խոխոլ* χoχol 'bogeyman' (but *bu* 'owl'), Xodorchur *խոխոլ* χuoχol 'slow-moving'[56]–but it is not entirely clear that these are related to the Homshetsma form, which may be onomatopoetic.

The eastern Homshetsma form *dziap* 'market' also appears to be an innovation; it does not occur in Ačaŕian's northern materials. Dumézil mentions that since the Homshentsik and their villages are in the mountains, whereas Hopa (where eastern Homshetsik go to the market) is on the sea coast, one says 'down to the market' but 'up to the village' (*kyağn ive*).[57] The origins of the form *dziap* are unclear; if it is of native Armenian origin, Homshetsma phonology dictates that it can come from a protoform of one of the following shapes: *tserab, *tserap, *tsiab, *tsiap. To the best of my knowledge, none of these forms is attested in any variety of Armenian. Given that all the major markets and villages in the area are on or near the sea coast, we may also entertain the possibility that *dziap* derives from *ծով-ափ [dzov apʰ] 'sea-shore'. The development of -*ov*- to -*i*- in this case

Table 10.18 Northern Homshetsma paradigm for 'hit'

Form	Gloss
(a) guttom	I hit (present)
mit tar	don't hit! [actually prohibitive *mi* + *ttar*–BV]
(b) tıvvuş	beat (infinitive)
tıvvi	I hit (aorist)
tıvvek	hit! (plural)
(c) tom	I hit (present subjunctive)
tu(r)	hit! (singular)

does not conform happily to the standard rules of Homsetsma historical phonology, but the semantics seem appropriate.

An interesting case in which Homshetsma has fundamentally altered the semantics of a Common Armenian word involves the form *պէտք [pɛtkʰ], which in standard Armenian means 'necessary', but in Homshetsma (northern and eastern *bedk*) means 'good (in reference to individuals' well-being)'.[58] It is not clear to me how this semantic change might have plausibly occurred.

Another intriguing semantic change involves the Common Armenian form *tsanr*, which originally meant 'heavy'. This has become in Homshetsma both *dzonde*, meaning 'heavy', and *dzond*, which means only 'pregnant' (the form *ergudak* is also used for 'pregnant'; its SWA cognate երկուասակ *yergudag* means 'bent with old age' or 'doubled'). Speaking of pregnancy, the Common Armenian verb *tsnil* 'to give birth' comes out in eastern Homshetsma as *dzenuş*, which still means 'to give birth', but can only be used in reference to animals. The verb of choice for humans is *unnuş* 'to have'; note that English uses 'have' in a similar sense in 'to have a baby'.

A particularly odd semantic change involves the original Armenian root *χel-*, which survives in the standard Armenian forms խելք [χɛlkʰ] 'brains' and խելոք [χelokʰ] 'clever(ly)'. This form is preserved in Homshetsma only in the form *xelok*, which means 'quickly, already'.

I have summarized several more lexical idiosyncrasies of Homshetsma in Table 10.19; the interested reader should consult Achařian (1947) for further examples in northern Homshetsma.

Subdialects of Homshetsma: northern versus eastern

The individual Homshetsi villages reveal a remarkable degree of difference in their subdialects of Homshetsma. Even within a given subtype of Homshetsma one finds significant variation; the eastern Homshetsma of Köprücü, for example, is quite different from the variety described by Dumézil in his 1964 study, which in turn differs from the Ardala variety he described in two of his later articles.[59] Similarly, the northern dialects described by Achařian in his 1947 study differ

Table 10.19 Lexical idiosyncrasies

E. Homshetsma	SWA	Gloss
galaş	hov, kami	wind
terçuş	třčil 'fly'	run
takidum	havanoren	probably
soy	lav	good
poxvuş	loʁal	swim, bathe
polóe	polor 'entire'	around
pobuş	hasnil	arrive
moni moni	arak	quick
guliguş	kumarel	add

significantly from one another: the dialects of Mala and Trabzon, for example, form the progressive tenses with *guni*, but the dialect of Janik does not. The modern northern dialects as spoken in Abkhazia and Russia differ further from the northern dialects of Turkey described by Achaŕian in having a large number of Russian loans (e.g. *smetan* 'sour cream', *magazin* 'store'). One also finds significant idiolectal variation, even within individual villages; for example, for one young couple from Köprücü the husband's word for 'seed' is *humt*, but the wife's is *hunt*.

We have seen that the different varieties of Homshetsma share so many common innovations and archaisms that they clearly form a subgroup within the Armenian family; however, they also differ so significantly from one another in phonology, morphology and vocabulary that one is tempted to consider them as separate dialects. Some of the lexical differences are listed in Table 10.20.

Many more lexical differences have resulted from the conversion of the western and eastern Homshetsi to Islam and their resulting loss of Armenian identity. For example, the Homshentsik have completely lost the word *hay* 'Armenian' and its derivatives, such as *hayerēn* 'Armenian language', using instead the terms *homşetsi* 'person from Hamshen' and *homşetsma* 'Hamshen language'.

Another interesting form is the eastern verb *xaçuş*, which means 'to shut off an entrance with two boards'; in certain situations it can also have the more generic meaning 'to close'. One informant from Köprücü describes this verb as being based on the image of the two boards nailed on top of one another in perpendicular fashion. This suggests that the verb is derived from the Armenian noun *խաչ* χatʃʰ 'cross', which has been lost in eastern Homshetsma as part of the general de-Christianization of the lexicon.

In the domain of phonology, the most noticeable difference between eastern and northern Homshetsma is perhaps the change of schwa (*ը* ə) to *e* in eastern Homshetsma (Table 10.21(a)), and to *a* before the sounds *x* and *ğ* (Table 10.21(b)).

Table 10.20 Lexical differences

Northern	Eastern	Gloss
sar	tsaxud	mountain, forest
hosuş, xosuş	xarbuş	speak
alaveli	alaveni	more
yeç	oç	no, not
merelnets	mazarlux	cemetery

Table 10.21 Phonological differences

SWA	Eastern Homshetsma	Gloss
(a) *դնել* tʰənel	tenuş	put
շունս ʃunəs	şunes	my dog
փռնգտալ pʰərənkʰdal	perenguş	sneeze (v)
(b) *աստղ* asdəʁ	asdağ	star
պեխ bɛχ	bax	moustache

Northern Homshetsma in turn innovates in changing *r* to *ş* before *t*, as in *geştas* 'you go', *gaştuş* 'read', *maşt* 'man' (compare eastern *gertas*, *gartuş*, *mart*).

We also know that the original form of Homshetsma, before it split into the three modern groups, contained a set of voiced aspirates: {bʰ dʰ gʰ dzʰ dʒʰ}. These sounds are preserved in the northern dialect of Mala, but have merged with the original voiceless aspirates in eastern Homshetsma, represented here by the Köprücü subdialect (Table 10.22). Eastern Homshetsma also shows a predilection for metathesizing stop + sonorant clusters, particularly at the end of a word (Table 10.23(a)). This metathesis also applies to some loanwords (Table 10.23(b)).

Moving on to morphology, northern Homshetsma (Janik subdialect) has developed a peculiar progressive tense formation that employs a possessive pronoun or a regular subject pronoun as subject, in combination with the infinitive followed by the third-person singular form of the auxiliary verb 'be', as in *imıs eguş ä* 'I'm going' (younger speakers), *yes eguş ä* (older speakers).[60] As far as I have been able to ascertain, no other variety of Homshetsma shows this innovation.

Another morphological innovation that appears to be found nowhere else in the Armenian world is the ability of the imperfective affix *-gu-* to appear inside the personal affixes in eastern Homshetsma, as in *xarbim gu* ~ *xarbi gum* 'I speak'; in all other varieties of Armenian *-gu-* attaches outside of the rest of of the verbal complex.

To the best of my knowledge, eastern Homshetsma is the only Armenian dialect that uses the Middle Armenian plural suffix *-vi-* as a singulative marker

Table 10.22 Köprücü subdialect

Classical Armenian	Mala	Köprücü	Gloss
բան ban	bʰon	pon	thing
գիւղ giwl	gʰeğ	kyağ	village
դուրս durs	dʰus	tus	outside

Table 10.23 Eastern Homshetsma dialect

Source	Eastern Homshetsma	gloss
(a) *տայգր taygr*	dark	husband's brother
ցամաք tsamak	tsokmetsnuş	dry → dry out
դիտակ şitak	şigduş	straight → heal
հաւկիթ havkit	hagvit	egg
նաւսր nawsr	nors	sparse
ակռայ akray	arga	tooth
շալակել şalakel	şagluş	carry on one's back
տարգալ targal	kedal	spoon
կոտորել kotorel	gorduş	break
(dialectal) *թոխր toxr*	torx	groundbreaking
(b) Tk. haber	xarbuş	news → speak
Tk. küfür	kerfuş	curse

Table 10.24 The regular definite plural suffix *-niye*

Homshetsma singular	Homshetsma plural	Gloss
açvi	açveniye	eye
unkvi	unkveniye	eyebrow

for paired body parts. Other dialects use forms such as *աչֆ* atʃʰvi and *ունքֆ* unkʰvi, but these forms are always plural in meaning—'eyes', 'eyebrows' (including northern Homshetsma[61])—whereas in Homshetsma they are singular, the plural being formed by adding the regular plural suffix *-niye* (Table 10.24). Although the use of this particular suffix in the singular is unprecedented, the semantic development it reflects is paralleled in standard Armenian, where the Classical Armenian plural suffix *-ք* [-kʰ] is employed to mark the same paired body parts as well as certain other singular nouns (cf. standard western Armenian *աչք* [atʃʰkʰ] 'eye', *(յ)ոնք* [(h)onkʰ] 'eyebrow', *ոտք* [vodkʰ] 'foot').

Samples of the dialect

Rather than delving into details of the Homshetsma grammatical system at this point, I would like to conclude this chapter with a few brief illustrations of the language as it is actually used (readers hungry for phonological and morphological information should consult the detailed grammatical sketches in Ačaṙian (1947) and Dumézil (1964)).

Expressions

Let us begin with some useful expressions in the eastern Homshetsma subdialect of Köprücü:

- *companiyet pats elli* -or- *soy me ertak* 'bon voyage!; goodbye!' (these expressions are used as the equivalents of Turkish *iyi yolculuklar*).
- *medkis ça* 'I don't remember'
- *soy hom uni* 'it's delicious'
- *kena isti* 'go away!'
- *garkevadz es ta* 'are you married?'
- *homşetsma xarbi gum* 'I speak Homshetsma'
- *kuzim kezi hed telefoni xarbuş ama zamanes tomnetsav* 'I'd like to speak with you on the phone, but I haven't had time'
- *inç xadik xarbes oç ana, an xadik lizun moloyis gu* 'as much as you don't speak, that is how much you forget a language'

Texts

To conclude, I would like to present two brief texts originally composed in eastern Homshetsma, which Avik Topchyan then translated into northern Homshetsma

(he has included a few variants and notes in parentheses). The first text is a letter written by a young woman from Köprücü, currently residing in the US, to her best friend back in Turkey. The second text is a variant of Hovannes Tumanian's story *Սուտասանը* Sutasanə (the eastern Homshetsma version is translated from a Turkish version that I gave to my informant; the story is not known in his area).

A letter home

(A) EASTERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Hokis engeres Sebaat, **2** Dayi mena kezigi desadz çunim ama şad gaadina gum. **3** Kidana mi ta kezigi moliyetsa; yes emmen or gişim, ama inç enik—yuutsma şad heru menatsak. **4** Albat meg or me ku ka u kavuşmiş gellik. **5** Asbadz medz a asik. **6** Yes şad bedk im. **7** Poniyes şad soy gerton. **8** İm merağes tax tun es. **9** Asbadz uzaana, uuş mektupnoun ali xarbi guk.

(B) NORTHERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Hokis, ıngerıs Sebaat, **2** Darımı ginä kezi desadz çunim ama şad garodnom gu (garodadz im?). **3** Karar gınis ta kezi mortsa? yes ımın or gişim, ama inç ınink—iratsmä şad heru mınatsak (mintsadzink). **4** Aba meg ormı kuka u desnevink ku (maybe kavuşmiş is used also, but I didn't hear it that much in our area). **5** Astvadz medz a, asink. **6** Yes şad lav (lav-betk, betk) im. **7** Poneys allai şad lav geşton. (ımın inç lav a, allai lav ä) **8** Meg täx kezi (kezi dei, kezi omar) mıdoradz im. **9** Astvadz uzä nä, uriş namagin nesı ali xosink ku.

(C) TRANSLATION

1 My soul, my friend Sebaat, **2** I haven't seen you in a year, but I miss you very much. **3** Don't think that I have forgotten you; every day I remember, but what can we do–we remain far away from each other. **4** Perhaps the day will come when we can see each other. **5** God is great, let's say. **6** I'm very well. **7** My work is going very well. **8** You're my only worry. **9** If God wills it, we'll talk again in other letters.

The liar

(A) EASTERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Xapoğe

2 Gonna gu çgonna gu mek kıral me gonna gu. **3** As kırales uune millätin anons gena: 'vov u oyle bir xape garna a na yes asim xapelu ça im kıralluğis gese garnu.'

4 Ku ka hoyiv me gasa, 'kırale sağ elli, im babas hast meg pir me uner, an pire isti ergentsenelov havayin astağniye xarne gur.' **5** 'Elli gaa,' kırale cevab gu da. **6** 'İm babs a mek pipo me uner meg dzare piane tene gur meg al dzare aakagan kole gur.' **7** Xapoğe keloe kiyelov heruna gu.

8 Terzi me ku ka gasa, 'af aa, kıral, tez me ka ama uşatsa. **9** Eyek şat çağ eyev; şimşaxniye gadzgedetsin havan baderetsav gargauş kenatsadz e.' **10** 'Ha, bedke ağadzues,' kırale gasa, 'ama soy gargede çartsadz es. **11** As akvan a kiç me çağ eyev.' **12** Terzin a tus kella.

13 Tevin dage kova me axkad mart me meçnuuz mednu gu. **14** Kırale hartsena gu, 'tun inç kuzes da?' **15** 'İndzi meg kova me altun dalik unes; donuş egadz im.' **16** Şaşirmiş gena kırale, 'meg kova me? **17** Xapes gu, yes kezi altun dalik çunim.' **18** 'Madem ki xapi gum ana, kıralluğit gese du.' **19** 'Ça ça, şidag xarbe gus,' kırale astadze tartsena gu. **20** 'Astadzes şidag a ta a na, du kova me altune.' **21** Çaresiz kırale kova me altune gu da.

(B) NORTHERN HOMSHETSMA

1 Xapoğı

2 Gılli, çılli, mek tak^havurmı[62] gılli. **3** äs tak^havorä ur millätin gasä tä: 'vev or meg sudmı ınä na, u yes asim "äd sud ä", im tak^havorutünis gesı garnu.'

4 Kuka çobomı[63] gasä tä: 'tak^havor sağ ällis,[64] im häys meg hast pirmı unir, ın pirı işti ergıntsenelov havain astğerı xarnergu.' **5** 'Gainagu ıllil,' tak^havorı badasxan guda. **6** 'İm häys meg trubkımı[65] unir meg dzärı peronı tınergu meg dzäyn äl arevatsın kolergu.' **7** Xapoğı klexı k^herelov herınagu.

8 Garoğmı[66] kuka gasä 'neroğutin, tak^havor, tezmı egoğei ama uşıtsa. **9** Ereg şad vreig gıner; gädzägı tıbvav, havın badretsav, yes vira gargıdeigu.' **10** 'Ha, bedk^h ärir,' tak^havorı gasä, 'ama şidag gargıdil çaaytsir. **11** äsor äk^hvınä äli k^hiçmı vreig[67]gıner.' **12** Garoğı tus kellä.

13 Meg fuxara maştmı tevin dagı saxo(n)mı[68] pärnadz mıdnugu. **14** Tak^havorä haytsınägu: 'tun inç kuzis?'[69] **15** 'Indzi meg saxomä altun dalik unis; donuş egadzim.'[70] **16** Şaşulmiş gınä tak^havorı, 'meg saxo(n)mı? **17** Xapisku, yes k^hezi altun dalik çunim.' **18** 'Xapimgu orä nä, tak^havorutyunid gesı du(r).' **19** 'Çä, çä, şidag gasis,' tak^havorı astadzı tartsınägu. **20** 'Astadzıs şidagä na, du saxomı altun.' **21** Zavalig tak^havorı ınu saxomı altun guda.

(C) TRANSLATION

1 The liar

2 Once upon a time there was [lit. 'there was and there wasn't'] a king. **3** This king announced to his people: 'Whoever is able to tell such a lie that I say "that's a lie" will receive half my kingdom.'

4 A shepherd comes and says, 'Long live the king! My father had a cane so long that he could stretch it from here and stir the stars.' **5** 'It's possible,' responds the king. **6** 'My father had a pipe that he put one end of in his mouth, and the other end he lit in the sun.' **7** The liar goes away scratching his head.

8 A tailor comes and says, 'Excuse me, O king, I would have come quicker, but I was delayed. **9** Yesterday there was much rain; lightning bolts flashed and the sky was torn apart; I was mending it.' **10** 'Yes, you've done well,' the king says, 'but you didn't mend it properly. **11** This morning there was still a bit of rain.' **12** The tailor, too, departs.

13 A poor man with a pot under his arm comes inside. **14** The king asks, 'What do you want?' **15** 'You owe me a pot of gold; I've come to take it.' **16** Confused, the king says, 'a pot? **17** You're lying – I don't have to give you any gold.' **18** 'If I'm lying, then give me half your kingdom.' **19** 'No, no, you speak rightly,' the king changes his speech. **20** 'If what I say is right, then give me a pot of gold.' **21** Helpless, the king gives him a pot of gold.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   This is the name by which the eastern Hemshinli refer to their language. It is not used by the northern Homshentsik, nor to the best of my knowledge is it used by the western Hemshinli. Since it is the only known endonym for the language of the Hamshen Armenians, though, I will use the term 'Homshetsma' to refer to all three varieties. Unless stated otherwise, all Homshetsma forms are drawn from the Köprücü subdialect.

2   These Homshentsik lived until 1915 in Apion, Janik, Mala, Zefanos, Martil and many other towns along the northeastern coast of Turkey. When Hrach'eay Achaŕian collected the data for his treatment of the dialect in the summer of 1910, all of his informants from these villages were still residing in Trabzon; hence it is not completely accurate to refer to these individuals as northern Homshentsik. A more appropriate term might be 'Christian Homshentsik', to distinguish them from their Muslim relatives who were allowed to remain in Turkey, but I will stick with 'northern Homshentsik' here.

3   Homshetsma loanwords in the Turkish spoken by western Hemshinli have been documented in detail by Uwe Bläsing in *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkeitürkischen: Am Beispiel von Hemşin* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), and in *Armenisch – Türkisch: Etymologische Betrachtungen ausgehend von Materialen aus dem Hemşingebiet nebst einigen Anmerkungen zum Armenischen, insbesondere dem Hemşindialekt* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995). See also Chapter 11 by Bläsing (this volume).

4   One eastern Hemshinli noted that when he lived in Istanbul, his Armenian friends from Kayseri referred to his speech variety as 'bird language'. It is interesting to note in this context that some Armenian groups use the term 'bird language' to refer to secret languages, where, for example, one inserts the sequence -Vč- before every vowel in a word. S. M. Tsots'ikian, *Arewmtahay Ashkharh* [*The Western Armenian World*] (New York: Hratarakut'iwn S. M. Tsots'ikian Hobelianakan Handznakhumbi [Publication of the S. M. Tsots'ikian Jubilee Committee], 1947), p. 83.

5   J. J. S. Weitenberg, 'Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun', in *Medieval Armenian Culture: Proceedings of the Third Dr. H. Markarian Conference on Armenian Culture (University of Pennsylvania, 1982)*, ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984).

6 A table showing the *Revue des Études Arméniennes* transliteration system used in this chapter is available in Chapter 11 on language, by Uwe Bläsing. All other chapters follow the Library of Congress system.

7 There is an interesting counter-example: Achaŕian observes that declined forms of 'two' employ the base *erkus-* in eastern dialects and *erguk*ʰ- in western dialects; Homshetsma *ergus* conforms to the eastern dialects in this respect. See Hrach'eay Achaŕian, *Hayeren Armatakan Baŕaran* [*Armenian Etymological Dictionary*], vol. 2 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1973), p. 67.

8 Hrach'eay Achaŕian, *K'nnut'yun Hamsheni Barbaŕi* [*Study of the Hamshen dialect*] (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1947), pp. 113.

9 Common Armenian is the ancestor of all of the modern Armenian dialects. Its pronunciation was similar to that of Classical and standard eastern Armenian.

10 Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman de Hemşin', *Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Brussels, 1964), 57, no. 4, p. 24.

11 Ibid., p. 11.

12 Achaŕian (1947), p. 139.

13 Dumézil (1964), p. 17.

14 Harut'iwn V. Hulunian and Matt'ēos V. Hachian (eds), *Hushamatean Khotorjuri* [*Memorial Book of Khotorjur*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), pp. 389–90.

15 Hrach'eay Achaŕian, 'Hay Barbaŕagitut'iwn' [Armenian Dialectology], *Ēminean Azgagrakan Zhoghovatsu* [*Emin Ethnographic Collection*] (1911), 8, p. 109.

16 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 388.

17 Ibid., p. 408.

18 Ibid., p. 409.

19 This characterization of the 'have': 'be' dichotomy in terms of transitivity is due to Dumézil, and Hulunian and Hachian; my work with speakers of eastern Homshetsma suggests that the division is more likely between unaccusative verbs, which select 'be', and all other verbs, which select 'have', as we find in French and other Romance languages. Dumézil (1964), p. 15; Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 409.

20 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 409.

21 Achaŕian (1947), p. 154; Dumézil (1964), p. 21, Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 419.

22 Achaŕian (1947), p. 155.

23 One should also bear in mind that the dialect of Turkish spoken in the Trabzon area employs *-da* rather than *-mi/mı/mu/mü* to mark yes/no questions (Hagop Hachikian, personal communication), and it is theoretically possible (though in my opinion unlikely) that the Homshetsma form derives from this rather than from the Armenian form *ɣ̣*.

24 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 404.

25 Cf. Hrant Petrosyan, *Hayerenagitakan Baŕaran* [*Armenological Dictionary*] (Erevan: Hayastan, 1987), p. 587.

26 Matt'ēos Hachian, *Hin Awandakan Hēk'eat'ner Khotorjroy* [*Old Traditional Tales of Khotorjur*] (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1907).

27 Achaŕian (1947), pp. 140–41; Gevorg Jahukyan, *Hay Barbaŕagitut'yan Neratsut'yun (Vichakagrakan Barbaŕagitut'yun)* [*Introduction to Armenian Dialectology (Statistical Dialectology)*] (Erevan: Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1972), p. 109; Petrosyan (1987), p. 587.

28 Achaŕian (1947), p. 11.

29 Jahukyan (1972), p. 111.

30 Bläsing (1995), p. 92.

31 Hrach'eay Achaŕian, 'Hayerēn Gawaŕakan Baŕaran' [Armenian Regional Dictionary], *Ēminean Azgagrakan Zhoghovatsu* [*Emin Ethnographic Collection*] (1913), 9, p. 792; Achaŕian (1947), p. 263. Avik Topchyan reports that Janiktsis say *moçu* rather than *mocu*.

32 Achaŕian (1913), p. 792; Step'an Malkhasiants' [*Hayerēn Bats'atrakan Baŕaran* [*Armenian Explanatory Dictionary*], vol. 3 (Erevan: State Publication of the Armenian SSR; reprint, Tehran: Nayiri Gratun-Tparan, 1944), p. 356.

33 Bläsing (1995), p. 92.
34 Achařian (1947), p. 11.
35 Ibid., p. 5.
36 Cf. Achařian (1947), p. 108; S. Alaverdyan, 'Ardvini Barbaři Dzevabanut'yan mi K'ani Ařandznahatkut'yunnerě' [A Few Distinguishing Morphological Characteristics of the Artvin Dialect], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [*Historico-Philological Review*] (Erevan, 1968), no. 3 (42), p. 233.
37 Alaverdyan (1968), p. 231.
38 Ibid., p. 237.
39 The augment is only preserved with verb roots of less than two syllables.
40 Achařian (1947), p. 127.
41 More specifically conjugation 1b, i.e. verbs in -*nel*, according to Achařian (1947), p. 127.
42 Achařian (1947), p. 133; Ruben Ghazaryan and Henrik Avetisyan, *Mijin Hayereni Bařaran* [*Dictionary of Middle Armenian*], 2 vols (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1987–92).
43 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 408.
44 Hrach'eay Achařian, *Hayeren Armatakan Bařaran* [*Armenian Etymological Dictionary*], vol. 4 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1979), p. 397.
45 Émile Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966), p. 27.
46 Hrach'eay Achařian, *Hayeren Armatakan Bařaran* [*Armenian Etymological Dictionary*], vol. 1 (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1971), p. 378.
47 Cf. also Achařian (1947), p. 142; Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
48 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
49 Achařian (1979), p. 446.
50 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
51 Achařian (1911), p. 189; Achařian (1947), p. 157.
52 Dumézil (1964), p. 20.
53 It is not impossible for a language to have two words that derive from the same historical source; compare English *bust* and *burst*, both of which descend from *burst*.
54 Achařian (1947), p. 137; cf. Dumézil (1964), p. 17 for similar facts in eastern Homshetsma.
55 According to my northern and eastern informants; Achařian (1947), p. 262, has *hohol* for northern Homshetsma.
56 Hulunian and Hachian (1964), p. 463.
57 Dumézil (1964), p. 15.
58 Cf. Achařian (1947), p. 251.
59 Georges Dumézil, 'Notes sur le parler d'un Arménien musulman d'Ardala (Vilayet de Rize)', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1965), n.s. 2, pp. 135–42; idem, 'Un roman policier en arménien d'Ardala', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1986), n.s. 20, pp. 7–27.
60 Achařian (1947), pp. 140–41.
61 Achařian (1947), pp. 221 and 246.
62 Avik mentions two possible variants, *tak^havörmɪ* and *tak^havermɪ*.
63 Avik mentions that *çobanmɪ* is also possible.
64 Avik mentions that one may also use *abris* instead of *sağ ällis*.
65 Russian *trubka* 'pipe' + the northern Homshetsma indefinite article -*mɪ*.
66 Avik adds that there may be a variant *tärzimɪ* for 'a tailor', but he is not sure.
67 Or *vraig*.
68 Avik states, '*saxon* is a deep plate from which one eats soup. I don't remember a word for "pot" in hamsheneren [his word for Homshetsma]; we used a Russian word, *kastryula*.'
69 Also possible is *k^hezi inç biduyä*, literally 'what is necessary to you?'
70 *donuş ega* may be used in place of *donuş egadzim*.