

From *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa*,
Volume 6 in the series *Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces*,
edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, 2006),
Chapter 9, pp. 191-207.

[Works Relating to Armenian Linguistics](#), at Internet Archive



THE ARMENIAN DIALECTS OF TIGRANAKERT/DIKRANAGERD AND URFA

Bert Vaux

Speakers of the group of Armenian dialects of Edesia/Urfa and Tigranakert/Diarbekir were once numerous, but there are now very few speakers left.¹ These are primarily in California (for both Tigranakert/Dikranagerd and Urfa) and New Jersey (especially Union City) for Dikranagerd, as well as in Istanbul, Beirut, and Erevan. Anahit Haneyan reports that Diarbekir is the last Western Armenian city where there is still an Armenian community; to this should be added Istanbul and the settlements surveyed by Peter Andrews and Rüdiger Benninghaus.² As of 1978 there were some 150 Armenian houses in Diarbekir, some

¹ I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of Harutyun Maranci, Dikran Karageuzian, Souren Kahvejian, Garo Kadian, and Anoush Nakashian in the preparation of this chapter. Since the present publication is intended for a non-linguistic audience, I have omitted all diacritics (such as aspiration) from my transcriptions. Linguists interested in the correct transcriptions should consult the author directly. <ä> represents the vowel sound in English *man*; <ə> is the symbol for Armenian *ը* (equivalent to the pronunciation of the <ə> in English *potato*).

Scholars disagree on whether or not Tigranakert/Dikranagerd and Urfa actually belong to the same subgroup. Ararat Gharibyan groups together Urfa, Tigranakert, Hazra/Hachra, Lije, and Hazo as the “Tigranakert dialect.” See his *Hay barbaragitutyun* [Armenian Dialectology] (Erevan: Pedagogical Institute, 1947). Tigranakert, Urfa, and Hazo are listed as Tigranakert subdialects by Gevorg Jahukyan, *Hay barbaragitutyun neratsutyun* [Introduction to Armenian Dialectology] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1972). According to Anahit Haneyan, *Tigranakerti barbare* [The Dialect of Tigranakert] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1978), p. 10, Urfa does not belong to the Tigranakert subgroup.

² Peter Andrews and Rüdiger Benninghaus, *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989).

of them native *kāghkətsis*, and some post-genocide immigrants from elsewhere. Haneyan adds that there were then some fifteen houses of Dikrangertsis in Erevan, but few of them had preserved their dialect.

In linguistic terms the dialects of Tigranakert and Urfa share many features, such as the enclitic *լէ -le* “also,” equivalent to Standard Western Armenian (henceforth SWA) *ալ al* and Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA) *էլ el*. It is not clear whether this word, which also appears in Khoyt and Ozni,³ derives from Turkish *-(y)le* “(together) with” or metathesis of native Armenian *el*. Tigranakert and Urfa also agree with one another (and differ from all other Armenian dialects) in changing the definite article *-ը -ə* (but no other tokens of *ə*) to a full vowel: *-e* in Tigranakert (for example, *լեռ-է ler-e* “the mountain”), *-a* in Urfa (for example, *ջուր-ա jur-a* “the water”). Both dialects use a participle ending in *-man* (vs. *-ած -ats/-adz* in Standard Armenian) for what Armenian grammarians call “neutral” (*չեզոք chezok*) verbs, including passives and intransitives, as in *սոխա փրթուման մնաց sokha pərtəman mənats* “the onion remained peeled.”⁴ This phenomenon is rare among the modern Armenian dialects, occurring elsewhere only in the dialects of Poland, the Crimea, Akn, Cilicia (with the exception of Sivrihisar and Kesab), Ismayil (a subvariety of the Kharpert-Erznga group), Mush, and Van.⁵ Hrachia Acharian noted on the inside cover of one of his books that it also occurs several times in the writings of Eremia Keomiurjian. Finally, Tigranakert and Urfa share a number of lexical items not used in Standard Armenian, such as *ֆրթանա fərtana* “wind” (from Turkish *firtına* “storm”; compare, *քամի kami* or *հով hov* in other varieties of Armenian), *քշօշտ köshä* “corner” (from Turkish *köshe*; *անկիւն angyun* in other varieties of Armenian; Tigranakert also uses *սյուճախ bujakh*) and *տէնէր dener* “roof” (Tigranakert uses *տամ dam* as well).

The dialects of Tigranakert and Urfa also differ from one

³ See *Biurakn* 1898:739ff. (Khoyt) and 1899:20, 119, 298 (Ozni).

⁴ Ararat Gharibyan, *Hayereni norahayt barbarneri mi nor khumb* [A New Group of Recently-Discovered Armenian Dialects] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1958), pp. 156, 178.

⁵ Jahukyan, *Hay barbaragitutyan neratsutyun*.

another in many respects. Tigranakert, for instance, agrees with Alashkert and Zeitun but differs from Urfa in prefixing *h-* *i-* to monosyllabic verbs: *hլալ ilal* "to cry" < *լալ lal*, *hգալ ikal* "to come" (compare, Zeitun *hկոլ igol*), *hտալ idal* "to give" < *տալ tal*; compare, for example, Tigranakert *կ'հգամ g-ikam* "I am coming" vs. Urfa *կու գամ ա gu kam ա* "I am coming." The latter pair of forms also shows that Urfa has a progressive marker *-(j)ա -(y)ա* that is not used in Tigranakert and may derive from the same source *հա ha* that we find in the Malatia and Arabkir progressive marker *ha*, the Nikomedia and Aslanbeg progressive marker *հայէ haye* (from *(ա)հա (a)ha* "here (is)" + *է e* "is"?), and the present tense suffix in Kesab and Kabusie *ha* and Aramo *hay ~ häy*. Gharibyan connects the set of dialects showing reflexes of *aha* as a present or progressive marker with the extent of the Osrohoene kingdom.⁶

The two dialects differ in their future formations as well: Tigranakert employs *մըն mən* while Urfa uses *պըտ(ըր) bəd(ər)*⁷ (for example, Tigranakert: *մըն էթամ mən etam* vs. Urfa: *պըտըր էրթամ bədər ertam* "I will go"). The origins of the *mən-* future marker, which does not appear in other Armenian dialects, are unknown;⁸ the Urfa form *bədər* is reduced from *bidi or* "it is necessary that," which also surfaces in Artial *bi(dor)*, Marsovan *bdi ~ bidir*, Musaler *bər*, and Kesab *mər ~ bər*.

In the lexical domain, Tigranakert and Urfa differ in a number of forms, as seen in the following examples:

	Tigranakert	Urfa	
a.	<i>քենաֆ, ախվանա</i> <i>kenaf, akhvana</i>	<i>խառապ</i> <i>kharab</i>	bathroom
b.	<i>չիզ</i> <i>chiz</i>	<i>ճըզըխ</i> <i>jəzəkh</i>	line
c.	<i>բաջա</i>	<i>լուսըն պատվոն</i>	smoke-hole

⁶ Ibid., p. 146.

⁷ Ibid., p. 156. Gharibyan lists *bədər*, whereas *bəd* is given by Hrand -Petrosyan, *Hayerenagitakan bararan* [Armenological Dictionary] (Erevan: Hayastan, 1987), p. 193.

⁸ Aharon Grigoryan, *Hay barbaragitutyān dasentats* [Course in Armenian Dialectology] (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1957), pp. 168-69.

	<i>baja</i>	<i>lusən badvon</i>	
d.	շիպաք <i>shibak</i>	պատվոն <i>badvon</i>	window
e.	շեմիկ <i>shemig</i>	պխոռ <i>akhor</i>	threshold

Sources

Before discussing the linguistic features of Tigranakert and Urfa in more detail, it would be useful to survey the materials available in and concerning these dialects. Tigranakert is often mentioned as one of the most divergent varieties of Armenian, yet it is rarely discussed by linguists, beyond the work of Anahit Haneyan.⁹ The Urfa dialect is largely unknown in the scholarly and Armenian communities; the most notable exceptions are Gharibyan and Haneyan.¹⁰

The oldest known source of material in Tigranakert is Garegin Srvandztians' 1884 work *Hamov hotov* (Delicious and Fragrant),¹¹ which includes a number of stories that he collected on his travels through the province of Diarbekir, including *Tsovu aghchik* (Girl of the Sea), *Tigranakertsi eritasardi mə eraz* (Dream of a Young Tigranakertsi), and probably also the following, whose sources are not given but appear to be in Tigranakert dialect: *Chvanov bakhti hasats* (Reached by a Rope of Fate); *Bakhtavor vorsord* (Fortunate Hunter); *Aghchik* (Girl); *Mayr ir zavakə zəvarchatsnelu hamar* ([Told by] a Mother to Amuse Her Child); *Aghotk* (Prayer); *Mets pahots mej, karotov*

⁹ Anahit Haneyan, "Tigranakerti barbari dzaynavor hinchuytneri hamakarge" [The System of Vocalic Phonemes in the Dialect of Tigranakert], *Lraber* 2 (1972): 19-26; "Tigranakerti barbar" [The Dialect of Tigranakert], *Haykakan Sovetakan hanragitaran* [Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia], vol. 11 (1985), p. 700; *Tigranakerti barbare* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1978); "Edesiayi barbar" [The Dialect of Edesia], *Haykakan Sovetakan hanragitaran*, vol. 3 (1977), p. 484; "Edesiayi barbare," *Hayereni barbaragitakan atlas*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 184-240.

¹⁰ Gharibyan, *Hayereni norahayt barbarneri mi nor khumb*; Haneyan, "Edesiayi barbare."

¹¹ *Hamov hotov* was originally published in Constantinople (publisher unknown) and reprinted in volume 1 of Srvandztians' collected works, *Erker* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1978).

Zatkin (During Lent, Longing for Easter); *Gavərtsi mə irents ukhti ertalə kə patme* (A Villager Talks about Their Going on a Pilgrimage); and untitled selections 23 and 24.¹² Also in 1884 according to Acharian, a sample text in the dialect appeared in the journal *Arevelian Mamul*.¹³

Haykak Ekinian's 1892 songbook also contains a number of pieces that appear to be in Tigranakert dialect.¹⁴ The song *Te kəna gikam*¹⁵ appears to be in the Tigranakert dialect as well, as does version 1 of *Katsek teseke* (Go See).¹⁶ The songs on pages 77, 87, and 325 of Eran's songbook also appear to be in Tigranakert dialect, though they are not labeled as such. These songbooks contain only lyrics, the one recording of songs in Tigranakert dialect being that of Onnik Dinkjian in his 1992 compact disc, *The Many Sides of Onnik*.

Following Ekinian's 1892 songs, the next collection of Tigranakert dialect materials appeared in an extensive series of short articles by M. Danielian in the ethnographic journal *Biurakn* in 1898-1900;¹⁷ the riddles that he collected are reprinted in the work of Sargis Harutyunyan.¹⁸ The eminent linguist Hrachia Acharian worked briefly in 1910 with two Dikrangerdtsis living in Istanbul; the results are presented in his

¹² Ibid., pp. 444-49, 495-96, 544-46, 605-08.

¹³ *Arevelian Mamul* (1884), pp. 470-72, mentioned in Hrachia Acharian, *Hay barbaragitutyun: Urvagits ev dasavorutyun hay barbarneri* [Armenian Dialectology: Outline and Classification of Armenian Dialects] (Moscow: Lazarian Institute, 1911), p. 159.

¹⁴ Haykak Ekinian [Eguinian], *Nor ergaran azgayin* [New Folk Songbook] (New York: H. Ekinian, 1892), pp. 59-64, 68, 70-71, 73-75, 92, 95, 97, 100, 131, 144-46, 200, 202, 207, 210, 214, 218.

¹⁵ Mkrtich Parsamian, *Ararat: Nor ergaran* [Ararat: New Songbook] (Paris: M. Parsamian, [1940s]). See also I.A. Eran, *Zhoghovrdakan ergaran* [Folk Songbook] (Boston: Eran, [1910]), p. 87.

¹⁶ Eran, *Zhoghovrdakan ergaran*, pp. 135-36.

¹⁷ M. Danielian, "Aratsner (aghotkner, ororner, hanelukner) Tiarpekiri gavara-barbarov" [Sayings (Blessings, Lullabies, Riddles) in the Regional Dialect of Diarbekir], *Biurakn* (1898): 332, 334, 362, 377, 413, 445, 470, 569, 654, 700; (1899): 545, 731; (1900): 330, 450, 677; "Nmoysh mə Tiarpekirts kineru anetski dzeven" [A Sample of Curse Forms of Diarbekir Women], *Biurakn* (1899): 545-46.

¹⁸ Sargis Harutyunyan, *Hay zhoghovrdakan hanelukner* [Armenian Folk Riddles] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965).

dialect manual¹⁹ and scattered throughout his history of the Armenian language, grammar, and etymological dictionary.²⁰

The remaining materials on the dialect are less linguistically oriented: S.M. Tsotsikian's work on the Western Armenian diasporan communities has a brief selection of Tigranakert words and phrases;²¹ Tigran Mkund's treatise on Amida contains a wealth of useful dialect material;²² and Verzhin Svazlyan's folklore collection²³ and two of Mkrtich Markosian's novels²⁴ contain numerous passages in the Tigranakert dialect.

In terms of audio recordings, there are those of a 59-year-old male Tigranakert dialect speaker in New York in 1995 (made by James Russell); Lusie Bajo, who lived in Tigranakert her whole life until she died in 1996 (by Mkrtich Markosian); Souren Kahvejian (by Dikran Karageuzian); and Mayram Maghchelzi (Bert Vaux).

Maghchelzi is now in her late 60s and is apparently one of only two speakers in Boston. She was born in Diarbakir and lived there until her family moved to Istanbul in 1958. She had no schooling in Armenian and therefore knows little or no Standard Western Armenian, speaking only Turkish and the Tigranakert dialect of Armenian, which is simultaneously more influenced by Turkish and less influenced by Standard Armenian than is that of *Dikranagerdtsi* speakers in California. Her dialect also differs substantially from the varieties described by Mkund

¹⁹ Acharian, *Hay barbaragitutyun*, pp. 159-66.

²⁰ Hrachia Acharian, *Hayeren armatakan bararan* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary] (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1926-1935, 7 vols.; reprinted, 1971-1979, 4 vols.); idem, *Hayots lezvi patmutyun* [History of the Armenian Language] (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1940-1951); idem, *Liakatar kerakanutyun hayots lezvi* [Complete Grammar of the Armenian Language] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1952-1971), 7 vols.

²¹ S. Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh* [The Western Armenian World] (New York: S. Tsotsikian Jubilee Committee, 1947).

²² Tigran Mkund, *Amitayi ardzagangner* [Echoes of Amida] (New York: Hai-Gule Press, 1950).

²³ Verzhine Svazlyan, *Kilikia: Arevmtahayots banavor avandutyune* [Cilicia: The Oral Tradition of the Western Armenians] (Erevan: Gitutyun Press, 1994), selections 300-01, 381, 389.

²⁴ Mkrtich Markosian [Mıgırdıç Margosyan], *Mer ayd koghmere: Patmvatsk* [Those Areas of Ours: Stories] (Istanbul: Aras, 1994); idem, *Tigrisi aperen* [From the Banks of the Tigris] (Istanbul: Aras, 1999).

and Tsotsikian.

Turning to the Urfa dialect, the sources beyond the linguistic descriptions by Gharibyan and Haneyan include a brief article in *Biurakn*,²⁵ articles on the dialect by Arshavir Gappenjian²⁶ and Petros Ter Petrosian,²⁷ some words and expressions in Tsotsikian,²⁸ a summary of Urfa dialect features in Jahukyan,²⁹ a brief outline of the dialect in Hrand Petrosyan's Armenological dictionary,³⁰ and several texts collected by Svazlyan.³¹ Oral history materials include Garo Kadian's recollections of the speech of an *Urfatsi* neighbor in Beirut, and Dikran Karageuzian's work with Urfatsi Souren Kahvejian. In terms of recordings of the Urfa dialect, there are those by Karageuzian and Anaïd Donabédian's recordings of Emeline Ghazal, an Assyrian woman from Aleppo born in the 1930s.³²

Grammar

In terms of grammar, both Tigranakert and Urfa belong to the *ku ku* group—that is, the Armenian dialects that construct their present tense with some form of *ku* (compare, Tigranakert: *կը մնամ* *gə mənäm* “I remain”; Urfa: *կը կարդամ* *gə gartam* “I read”).³³ Gharibyan states that Urfa instead forms the present tense with *-a*, for example, *բանիմ ա* *panim a* “I work,”³⁴ but

²⁵ *Biurakn* (1900): 331.

²⁶ Arshavir Gappenjian, “Urfayi gavarabarbare” [The Regional Dialect of Urfa] (photocopy provided by Dikran Karageuzian; publication details unknown, but probably from an Urfa memorial volume).

²⁷ Petros Ter Petrosian, “Nkatoghutyunner Urfayi barbari masin” [Notes on the Urfa Dialect], pp. 6-55, from an unknown source.

²⁸ Tsotsikian, *Arevmtahay ashkharh*, p. 135.

²⁹ Jahukyan, *Hay barbaragitutyan neratsutyun*.

³⁰ Petrosyan, *Hayerenagitakan bararan*, p. 193, based on Haneyan “Edesiayi barbare.”

³¹ Svazlyan, *Kilikia*, pp. 230-34.

³² The recording is available online at <http://a.donabedian.free.fr/>. Rosine Tachdjian is writing a master's thesis under Donabédian's direction on the Assyro-Chaldean community of Syria to which Ghazal belongs, whose native language is the Urfa dialect of Armenian.

³³ Haneyan *Tigranakerti barbare*, p. 10; Petrosyan, *Hayerenagitakan bararan*, p. 193.

³⁴ Gharibyan, *Hayereni norahayt barbarneri mi nor khumb*, p. 154.

other sources consider this to be a progressive formation ("I am working"). The verbal forms in Tigranakert and Urfa are otherwise quite similar to the ones in Standard Western Armenian, except for the future tense forms mentioned earlier. Tigranakert also differs from SWA in (i) employing a double inflection in the negative present (for example, չիմ ուզիմ *chim üzim* "I don't want", where both the auxiliary and the main verb agree in person and number with the subject); (ii) using an indefinite participle in *-ուց -uts*;³⁵ and (iii) forming the negative future with double agreement marking (for example, չմնիգամ *chəm(ə?)nikām* "I won't come"; compare, SWA *պիտի չի գամ* *bidi chi kam*). Urfa also differs from SWA in being able to form the negative present and imperfect by attaching the negative marker to the main verb rather than the auxiliary, as in չը գրեր էմ *u chə kərer em a* "I'm not writing."³⁶

Vocabulary

Both Tigranakert and Urfa possess many lexical differences from Standard Armenian. Some unusual Tigranakert forms are as follows:

Tigranakert	Vocabulary	
ճաճըխ	jajəkh	non-Dikranagerdtsi; someone who says senseless things
ճիվ	jiv	leg; foot
էղնալ	eghnal	be
էղնա շընոֆուր	eghna shənofur	congratulations
խըլխըլ	khəlkhəl	very old
փիճ	pij	fatherless child
էր	er	why? ³⁷

³⁵ Acharian, *Liakatar kerakanutyun*, vol. 3, p. 390.

³⁶ Gharibyan, *Hayereni norahayt barbarneri mi nor khumb*, p. 159. He adds that Urfa can also use the SWA-type formation *չիմ գրեր ա chem kərer a*.

³⁷ Actually a preservation from Classical Armenian but not widely used in modern varieties of Armenian; cf. Kayseri *eri*, Tabriz and Maragha *her*, Astrakhan *ner*.

աքլավ, ախլավ	aqlav, akhlav	she/he/it woke up
վլաց	vəlatš	he/she/it washed
		(common in non-SWA)

Urfa has many lexical idiosyncrasies as well:

Urfa fingers

SWA	Urfa	
a. ճկոյթ <i>jəguyt</i>	մննէ <i>mənnə</i>	pinkie
b. մատնէմատ <i>madnemad</i>	մննէին քորը <i>mənnəyin korə</i>	ring finger
c. միջնէմատ <i>michnemad</i>	տաւար խողդող <i>davar khokhtogh</i>	middle finger
d. ցուցամատ <i>tsutsamad</i>	տապակը լզող <i>dabagə ləzogh</i>	index finger
e. բութամատ <i>putamad</i>	օշիլ կտրող <i>ochil gədrogh</i>	thumb

Other Urfa Vocabulary

եռ	yu	and
babit yu tun məzi egek		your father and you come [to visit]
		us
արա	arə	take (SWA <i>un ar</i>)
բալինք	palink	key ³⁸
(բանլիք)	(panlik)	
հեյլի	heyli	mirror (SWA <i>hayeli</i>)
եօր	yor	that, if
ասսու գօտի	assu kodi	rainbow (god's belt; also called <i>gänäch kodi</i> , literally, green belt)
այօ	ayo	mother
բաբար	papar	father (also used in Charsanjak)
բոնկալ	pongal	egg put in a nest to give hen incentive to lay more eggs
գըռնօ	kərnə	cat in heat
շվոտ	shəvod	devil, February

³⁸ Cf. Zeitun *balənk*, Akhaltskha and Erzerum *banlik*, Hamshen *ponlik*.

փլրլլքլի	<i>pərchəkli</i>	carrot
փերփեր	<i>perper</i>	purslane (a bitter herb used in salads and to “sharpen” teeth after the dentist has dulled them with acid)
շիլնալ	<i>shilnal</i>	to become dull
ձագերէն	<i>tsakeren</i>	Armenian language
շնոֆոր	<i>shnofor</i>	grateful (compare, Bulanəkh <i>shnofor</i> , Tigranakert <i>shnofur</i>)
գունտուզ	<i>kunduz</i>	short fat man
աղցանող	<i>aghtsanogh</i>	wet nurse (compare, Classical Armenian <i>dayiak</i>)
Եօթնօտար	<i>yotnodar</i>	unrelated person, foreigner (literally, seven foreigner)
արանդ	<i>arant</i>	soft spot babies have on their head until they’re a year old
ցկնիլ	<i>tsəgnil</i>	give birth (only for cats and dogs)

Եօթը ջրթոնը մէկ անձրեւ էգաւ
yotə chərtənə meg antsrev egav
 it rained cats and dogs (literally, one rain came out of seven spouts)

տփշաքը թապլացինք փողոց
dəpshäkə täblätsink pöghots
 we dumped the tablescraps on the street

Texts

The following texts give a sense of the flavor of the two dialects.

Tigranakert

First, some Tigranakert riddles from Harutyunyan and Danielian:³⁹

³⁹ Harutyunyan, *Hay zhoghovrdakan hanelukner*; Danielian, “Aratsner”; “Nmoysh mə.”

- a. *Ընծի իկա, քրզի իկա, ըմմեն մարդու իկա, պզտուտիկ պէտին պիլէ իկա:*

əndzi iga, kəzi iga, əmmen martu iga, bəzdudig bedin bile iga.

I have one, you have one, everyone has one; even a tiny wall has one

Answer: a shadow

iga = *կայ* there is

bzdudig = *փոքր* small

bile = *նոյնիսկ* even

- b. *Մուղարա մի իկա, մէջը ըլլինք անիծ է:*

mughara mi iga, mechə əllink anidz e.

there's a cave; its interior is full of nits

Answer: a fig

- c. *Բան մ'իկա ես կը տըսնամ, դուն կը տըսնաս, Աստուած չի տըսնա:*

pan m'iga yes gə dəsnam, tun gə dəsnas, Asdvadz chi dəsna.

there's a thing I see and you see, but God doesn't see

Answer: a dream

- d. *Ելանք լեռէ, քարձանք բեռէ, կտրավ չվանէ, թափավ սիսեռէ:*

elank lere, partsank pere, gədrav chvane, tapav sisere.

we went up the mountain, we lifted our load, the rope was cut, the chickpeas spilled out

Answer: rain

The following is an excerpt from a session in which Mayram Maghchelzi described her house in Tigranakert:

Q. What was Your House in Tigranakert Like?

Մեր տունէ երկու դաթ էր: Վար պզտիկ օտաներ, նուր վրան լէ մինձ քանթարայով օտաներ իկար: [այվանի պէտի] քարիլէ մէկ քարէ սպրտակ էր, մէկ քարէ սեւ էր: Մենձ հավշ ունաք, հավշի մէջ լէ հավուզ իկար:

Mer dune yergu ghat er. Var bəzdig odaner, nur vəran le mints kantarayov odaner igar. [ayvani bedi] karire meg kare sbədag

er, meg kare sev er. Ments havsh unak, havshi mech le havuz igar.

Our house had two stories. There were small rooms below, and rooms with a big arched ceiling above. [As for] the stones [that made up the wall of the arched space]: one stone was white, and one stone was black. We had a big courtyard, and in the courtyard there was a pool.

Q. What Is a Havush?

Հավուշ տուներու մէջէ մինձ պաղչայի պէս է: գետինէ մինձ սեւ քարերէ, մենձ քարիւր շարած է: Տիգրանակերտ ամառէ շատ տաք կեղնա: էմուն համար կէսօրըն վերջէ թուլումպայէն ջուր կը քաշէք, թանաքաներով էն հավշէ կը վլանէք: ջուրէ թափած ատենէ հավայի տաքութեանէ էն ջուրէ պուխար կեղներ վիր կելլեր: էն գըտորր քի ամառէ տաք կեղներ, իշթէ միր տունէ հավուղ իկար: Հավուղին մէջէ գշեր ցորիկ ջուր կու գար: Պապաս իրկուն տուն իգած ատենէ ամառ օրէ ձմերուկ կը բերէր էն հավուղի մէջէ կը թապլէր: էն ատեն սանարան չիկար: ձմերուկէ էն հավուղի մէջէ կը դնաք, կը պաղէր, իրկուն ընի կը կտրաք...

*Havush duneru meche mints baghchayi bes e. Kedine mints sev karere, ments karir sharadz e. Dikranagerd amare shad dak geghna. Emun hamar gesorən verche tulumbayen chur gə kashek, tənäkānerov en havshe gə vəlanek. Chure tapadz adene havayi dakutyane en chure bukhār geghner vir geller. En kədər ki amare dak geghner, ishte mir dune havuz igar. Havuzin meche kəsher tsorig chur gu kar. Babas irgun dun ikadz adene amar ore tsəmerug gə perer en havuzi meche gə tabler. en aden sanaran chigar. tsəmeruge en havuze meche gə tənək, gə bagher, irgun əni gə gədrak. . .*⁴⁰

A courtyard is like a big garden inside houses. The floor is made of big black stones. Tigranakert is very hot in the summer,

⁴⁰ In Turkish: *kat* “floor (of house)”; *oda* “room”; *kantara* “arched ceiling”; *hav(u)sh* “courtyard”; *havuz* “pool”; *baghchal/bahche* “garden” (from Persian); *tulumba* “pump”; *tənäkäl/teneke* “tin”; *bukhar/buhar* “steam” (from Arabic?); *tablel* “throw, drop” from Classical Armenian *tavalil* “plunge in”; *sanaran* “refrigerator,” from Armenian *sarnaran*.

so after noon you draw water from the pump and wash the courtyard with tin containers. When the water was poured out, steam was created by the heat of the air and would rise up [from the flagstones]. The summer was so hot that our house had a pool; there was water in the pool night and day. When my father would come home in the evening he would bring a watermelon and toss it in the pool. In those days there were no refrigerators. You put the watermelon in the pool, it got cold, and in the evening you cut it. . . .

Next, here is an excerpt from a song recited by Vahan Shapshapyan, a resident of Nor Arabkir originally from Tigranakert, born in 1889:⁴¹

Եռորցեն կիզաս վերի էգուն,
Կող մը խաղող կար քո գոգուն,
Պագ մը իտաս պապուդ հոգուն,
Ես կը մեռնիմ քուկին սիրուն:

*Yurtsen gikas veri ekun,
Goz mə khaghogh gar ko kokun,
Bak mə idas babut hokun,
Yes gəmərnim kugin sirun:*

Where are you coming from, the upper vineyard?
There was a cluster of grapes on your breast
You give a kiss to the soul of your father
I am dying for your love.

Finally, a sample of Tigranakert in literature, from Mkrtich Markosian's second Tigranakert novel:⁴²

Մայրս ալ իր հերսոտ ձայնով կու գար ու կը միանար մեր
երգչախումբին.
-Ույ, հըրսիս վրոդ լըցվիս, շենգեվեկ. Ըս խիդ եռորցէն
ընկիր իս. . .

⁴¹ Svazlyan, *Kilikia*, p. 134, no. 301.

⁴² Markosian, *Tigrisi aperen*, p. 24.

Նախ՝ մօրս սա ամենօրեայ գրաբար աղօթքը. . .
 Թարգմանեմ. “նեխիս եւ որդերով լեցուիս, շան զաւակ.
 Այս հեղ՝ այս անգամ ուրկէ՞ ինկեր ես. . .”:

mayrs al ir hersod tsaynov gu kar u gə mianar mer
 yerkchakhumpin.

—Uy, hələsis vərt lətsvis, shänzäväg. əs khigh yurtsen
 əngir is? . . .

Nakh` morəs sa amenorya kərapar aghotkə . . .
 tarkmanem? “nekhis yev vortero v lətsvis, shan zavag. Ays
 hegh` ays ankam urge inger es? . . .

My mother also came with her angry voice and joined our
 singing group.

“Oy, may you rot and be filled with worms, son of a
 bitch! This time, where did you fall from?” First, this was
 my Mother’s daily blessing in Classical Armenian. Shall
 I translate? May you rot. . . .

Urfa

Souren Kahvejian recited the following quatrain:

Էլեր է բանձր տէները
 Կը բերէ պասմա դեղերը
 Հէշ չըսեր ասված տուեր է
 ամէնը էս աղքէկ աղջկան

eler e pantsər denerə
 gə pere basma tegherə
 hech chəser asvadz dəver e
 amenə es aghkeg aghchəgan

He has gone up on the lofty roofs
 He brings pressed medicines
 He never says: God has given
 all to this good-looking girl

A variant of this appears in Svazlyan:⁴³

էլեր է բանձր տները,
 փոեր է բասմա տեղերը,
 հեշ չըսեր՝ աստված կա վերեւը
 աման, ադ աղվոր աղջիկը
 Ըլեր եմ ծոցին մեջինը:

*eler e pantsər dənerə,
 pərer e basma degherə,
 hech chəser` astvadz ga verevə
 aman, at aghvor aghchigə
 əler em dzotsin mechinə:*

He has gone up on lofty roofs
 He has spread out pressed medicines
 He never says: There is God above
 Oh, that nice girl
 I am up in her lap.

The following riddle from Harutyunyan illustrates some features of Urfa dialect:⁴⁴

փուշ փուշ գունտ մի կենդանի, ջուրա ձգես չի թաղվիր
push push kund mi gentani, chura tsəkes chi taghvīr
 a thorny round animal; if you throw it in the water it
 doesn't sink
Answer: hedgehog

Kahvejian provided the following amusing ditty about the people in one's life:

ազգական	ուտելու կու գան	relatives—they come to eat
azkagan	udelu gu kan	
աղջին	տան պէքին	daughter—the house watchman
aghchin	dan bekchin	

⁴³ Svazlyan, *Kilikia*, no. 232.

⁴⁴ Harutyunyan, *Hay zhoghovrdakan hanelukner*.

<i>բաբար</i> <i>papar</i>	<i>հացցի հանպար</i> <i>hattsi hanbar</i>	father—bread storehouse
<i>կնիկ</i> <i>gəniḡ</i>	<i>անկուշտ տիկ</i> <i>angushd dig</i>	wife—bottomless leather bottle
<i>պառաւ</i> <i>barav</i>	<i>գարգաճան հաւ</i> <i>karkajan hav</i>	old woman—clucking hen
<i>պիպի</i> <i>bibi</i>	<i>տըսթին կպպի</i> <i>dəstin gəbbi</i>	aunt—glued to the cooking pot
<i>սկեսուր</i> <i>sgesur</i>	<i>դանակ սուր</i> <i>tanag sur</i>	mother-in-law—sharp knife
<i>տղա</i> <i>dəgha</i>	<i>գլխուս պէլա</i> <i>kəlkhus bela</i>	son—pain in the neck

And finally, Kahvejian recited the following unusual text:

Գող աւազակի մը թողումը Ուրֆացի քահանայի մը կողմէ
Kogh avazagi mə toghumə Urfatsi kahanayi mə goghme
Burial Rite for a Thief by an Urfa Priest

<i>Խորհուրդ մեծ սքանչելի</i> <i>khorhurt medz əskancheli</i>	Mystery most wondrous
<i>մեռել, լաթեր, ի՛նչ է նէ</i> <i>merel, later, inch e ne</i>	Any clothes of the deceased
<i>Թորէք, թոփէք տուէք տէրտրուն</i> <i>torek, topek dəvek derdərun</i>	Collect, bundle together, and give to the priest
<i>ձըզի հոգոց թող էնէ</i> <i>tsəzi hokots togh ene</i>	Let him perform the Requiem for you
<i>Անոսին, Փանոսին</i> <i>Anosin, Panosin</i>	For Anos, for Panos

սոխ, սխտոր, մաղտանոսին
sokh, səkhdor, maghdanosin

For [to] the onion, garlic,
 parsley

գացէք ըսէք քէօր ժամգոցին
katsek əsek kör žamgotsin

Go tell the blind sexton

թող հետը բերէ փոս տէքսին
togh hedə pere pos dāpsin

To bring the collection plate
 with him

Ճէննէթ էրթաս, խելացի ըննաս
jennet ertas, khelatsi ənnas

May you go to Paradise, may
 you be clever

Ժամու դապղէն բան չի գողնաս
žamu tabghen pan chi koghnas

Don't steal anything from
 the church plate

խող էիր, խող պըտ դառնաս
khogh eir, khogh bəd tarnas

You were earth, and to earth
 you will return

մէրիցդ սիրեմ էկէր ետ դառնաս
meritsəṭ sirem eger yed tarnas

I'll "love" your mother if
 you return

վրան դրէք քէքէնէկ մի
vəran terek kăpänäg mi

Put a cloak on him

տակին դրէք տէկէնէկ մի
dagin terek dăgänäg mi

Put a stretcher underneath
 him

ալելույա, օրթի
alehuya, orti

Alleluia, stand up!