

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Geoffrey Haig, Geoffrey Khan (Eds.)

THE LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS OF WESTERN ASIA

AN AREAL PERSPECTIVE

THE WORLD OF LINGUISTICS

The Languages and Linguistics of Western Asia

An Areal Perspective

Edited by

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De Gruyter Mouton

The World of Linguistics

Editor

Hans Henrich Hock

Volume 6

De Gruyter Mouton

ISBN 978-3-11-042608-3

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-042168-2

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-042174-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Haig, Geoffrey, editor. | Khan, Geoffrey, editor.

Title: The languages and linguistics of Western Asia : an areal perspective /
edited by Geoffrey Haig, Geoffrey Khan.

Description: Berlin ; Boston : De Gruyter Mouton, 2018. | Series: The world
of linguistics ; volume 6

Identifiers: LCCN 2018012560 | ISBN 9783110426083 (hardcover)

Subjects: LCSH: Middle East--Languages.

Classification: LCC P381.M53 .L36 2018 | DDC 409.5--dc23 LC record available at
<https://lccn.loc.gov/2018012560>

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed
bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

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Cover image: G. Haig

Typesetting: Dörlemann Satz GmbH & Co. KG, Lemförde

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com



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2.2. The Armenian dialects

Hrach Martirosyan

1. Introduction

The Armenian language is known to us from the fifth century CE onwards thanks to an unbroken literary tradition, which involves three periods: Classical (5th to 11th centuries), Middle (12th to 16th), and Modern (17th to 21st). Modern Armenian was canonized in the 19th century and consists of two branches: Western (based on western dialects such as that of Constantinople/Polis) and Eastern (based on the dialects spoken on the Ararat plain and surroundings). Armenian is genetically related to Indo-European languages such as Hittite, Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Slavic.

One usually distinguishes around fifty or sixty modern Armenian dialects, a number of which are now extinct. The dialects have been classified according to a phonological principle, namely the development of the consonant system, as well as a morphological one, that is the formation of the indicative present (these two features are jointly demonstrated in Table 2). Ĵahukyan (1972; Djahukian *apud* Greppin and Khachaturian 1986: 19–24) offers a multi-feature classification and on this basis identifies eleven dialectal groups. Armenian is written with its own script, shown in Table 1. To enhance accessibility, most of the material in this chapter is provided in a Latin-based transcription.

After a short bibliographical sketch and brief accounts of the problems of the dialectal archaisms, the classification of the Armenian dialects and the earliest dialectal isoglosses, we shall turn to the description of a number of dialects from different dialectal groups.

Table 1: The Armenian Alphabet

Arm. scr.	Translit.	Phonet.	Arm. scr.	Translit.	Phonet.
ա	<i>a</i>	a	մ	<i>m</i>	m
բ	<i>b</i>	b	յ	<i>y</i>	j
գ	<i>g</i>	g	ն	<i>n</i>	n
դ	<i>d</i>	d	շ	<i>š</i>	ʃ
ե	<i>e</i>	(j)e	ո	<i>o</i>	(v)o
զ	<i>z</i>	z	ժ	<i>č</i>	tʰʃ
է	<i>ē</i>	ε	պ	<i>p</i>	p
ը	<i>ə</i>	ə	ջ	<i>ǰ</i>	dʒ
թ	<i>t</i>	th	ր	<i>r</i>	r
ծ	<i>ž</i>	ʒ	ս	<i>s</i>	s
ի	<i>i</i>	i	վ/ւ	<i>v/w</i>	v/w
լ	<i>l</i>	l	տ	<i>t</i>	t
խ	<i>x</i>	χ	ր	<i>r</i>	r
ծ	<i>c</i>	ts	գ	<i>c</i>	tʰs
կ	<i>k</i>	k	ու	<i>u</i>	u
հ	<i>h</i>	h	փ	<i>p</i>	pʰ
ձ	<i>j</i>	dʒ	ք	<i>k</i>	kʰ
ղ	<i>l</i>	ɣ	օ	<i>ō</i>	ɔ
ճ	<i>č</i>	tʃ	ֆ	<i>f</i>	f

2. Bibliographical sketch

The foundations of Armenian dialectology were laid by Hrač'ya Ačaṙyan, whose *Armenian dialectology* (1911, cf. 1909), *Armenian regional dictionary* (1913) and eleven dialect descriptions form the basic corpus of dialectological data, which are systematically included, supplemented and evaluated in his fundamental *History of the Armenian language* (AčaṙHLPatm 1940, 1951), *Complete grammar of the Armenian language* (AčaṙLiak 1955, 1957, 1971), and especially in his crowning work, the *Root dictionary of Armenian* (1971–1979).

Besides Ačaṙyan's works, the following general dialectological research and handbooks should be mentioned: Patkanov (1869), Yovnanean (1897), Msereanc' (1899), Łaribyan (1953), A. V. Grigoryan (1957), Ĵahukyan (1972), Simonyan (1979), Greppin and Khachaturian (1986), G. Mkrtč'yan (2015). Extensive phonological treatments are given in S. A. Avagyan (1973), Muradyan (1982) and Vaux (1998), as well as in a series of papers by Weitenberg. General overviews on some aspects of Armenian dialectology can be found in Weitenberg (2002) and Hovsep'yan and Geworgyan (2013). Besides the aforementioned Ačaṙyan (1913), important dialectological dictionaries are Ačaṙyan (1902), Amatuni (1912) and HayLezBrbBaṙ 1–7 (2001–2012). The most recent description of all the Armenian dialects with references can be found in Martirosyan (2013). Dialect maps

can be found in Ačāryan (1909, 1911), Ĵahukyan (1972), and Hewsen (2001: 227, Nr. 218).

3. Dialectal diversity in the Classical period and earlier

The existence of dialectal diversity in the Classical period is much debated. Scholars consider a number of traces of early diversity (Ałayan 1958; Winter 1966: 205; Kortlandt 1980: 105, 2003: 32; Beekes 2003: 142–143; Clackson 2004–2005: 154). A frequently cited example is dial. **lizu* vs. Classical *lezu* ‘tongue’ (Meillet 1936: 11; Viredaz 2003: 76). The modern dialects preserve important data for the reconstruction of the oldest history of the language.

All the modern dialects have fully participated in the fixation of the proto-Armenian accent on the (prehistoric) penultimate syllable and the subsequent apocope (loss of some sounds of the final unaccented syllable). The formation of the Armenian dialects cannot thus be pushed back beyond the date of apocope. At a later stage, the accent was retracted back to the penultimate syllable in Eastern dialects.¹ It is certain, however, that Armenian dialect diversity existed in the prehistoric period (i. e. before the 5th century CE), and the modern dialects have preserved features which are not present in Classical Armenian.

Issues regarding the origin of the Armenian dialects and their existence in the classical period, as well as numerous archaic dialectal words and features are dealt with in several monographs (Ačāryan-AčarHLPatm1 1940b: 118–122; Ačāryan-AčarHLPatm2 1951: 114–141, 324–439; Ĵahukyan 1972, 1985, 1987: 252–256, 274–279; Simonyan 1979) and a number of papers mostly by Armenian scholars. In these studies, dialectal archaisms are often represented as a preservation of what has been lost in the corresponding classical forms. This view should be verified in each individual case. Many deviant features that have been assigned to great antiquity can, in fact, be easily explained within the framework of recent internal developments.

The deviant dialectal forms and features are systematically treated in the recent etymological dictionary of the inherited lexicon, Martirosyan (2010).

¹ See Ačāryan (1899: 184–186; AčarHLPatm2 1951: 371–372); Weitenberg (2002: 148–152).

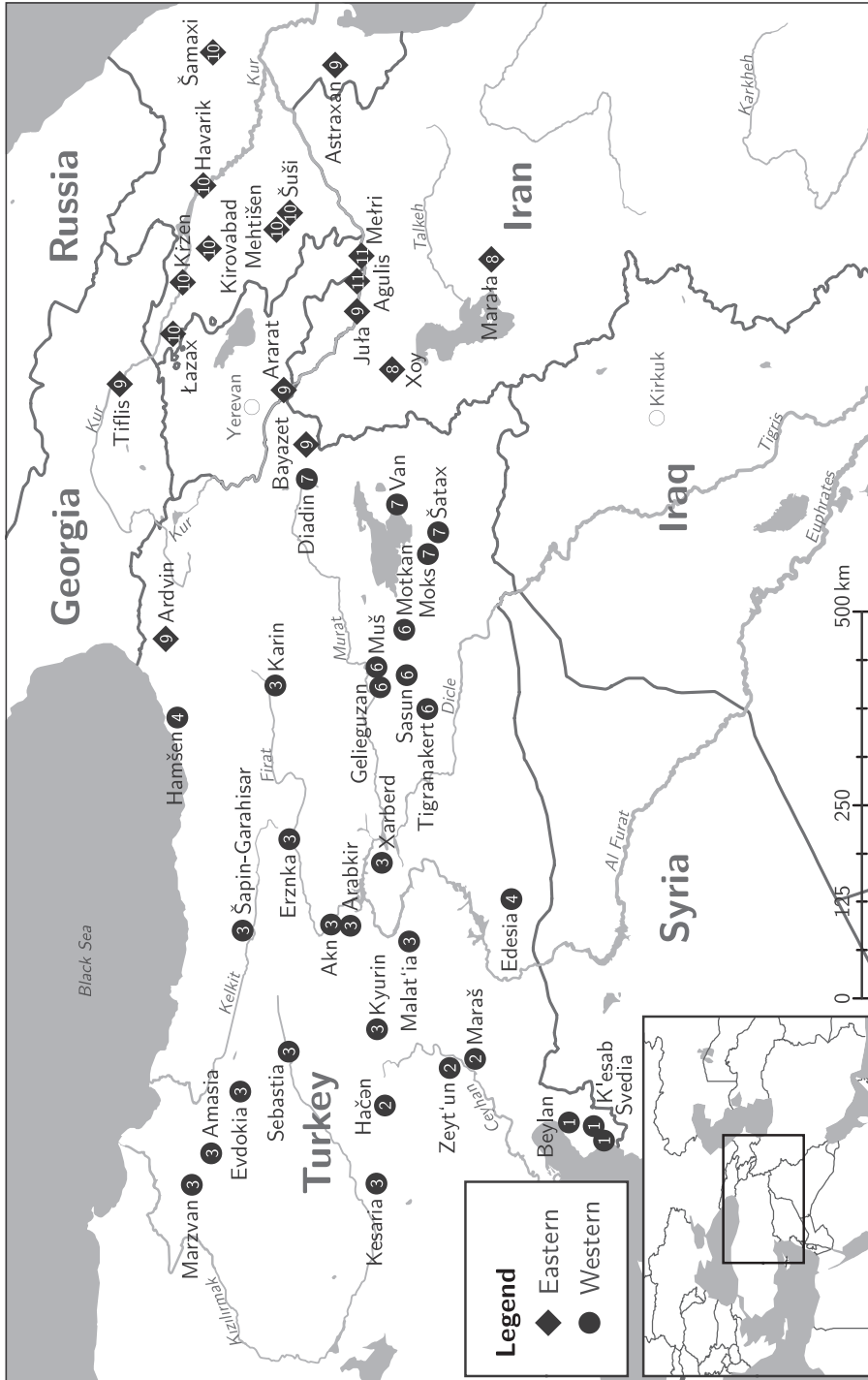


Figure 1: Location of Armenian dialects discussed in this chapter

4. Classification of Armenian dialects

4.1. The consonant system

The Armenian dialects play an important role in the discussion of two major issues in Indo-European phonology: glottals and voiced aspirates.

Classical Armenian possesses a three-fold opposition: voiced – voiceless – voiceless aspirate. Most of the dialects display varying developments of the voiced and voiceless stops, whereas the voiceless aspirate series is stable everywhere. The dialects of the Group 6 (T'iflis, Ardvin, Ararat/Lori, Agulis, K'izen, etc.) have retained the system intact. Particularly interesting are the dialects of Group 4 (Sasun, Cilicia, Svedia, etc.) which display the following steps of the so-called Second/Modern Armenian Sound Shift: voiceless > voiced; voiced > voiceless. This seems to require an interchange of two features, voiced and voiceless (cf. Class. *Tigran* > dial. *Dikran*), which is impossible from a relative chronological point of view. Therefore other features have been adduced in the discussion. On the one hand, the Classical Armenian voiced stops have been interpreted as voiced aspirates that directly continued the Proto-Indo-European series **b^h/*d^h/*g^h*. In these terms, the original opposition would seem to have been preserved in Group 2 (Karin, Muš, parts of Ararat, etc.). On the other hand, the glottalic character of the voiceless stops in some dialects has been interpreted as an inherited, Indo-European, feature. These two issues have been heavily debated, however. Are these phonological features archaic remnants of Proto-Armenian phonology or they are recent innovations in Armenian dialects? This basic question still awaits an answer.²

4.2. The formation of the indicative present

The morphological classification of the Armenian dialects, developed mostly by Ačařyan and Ľaričyan, is based on the formation of the present indicative. In Classical Armenian, the present indicative was of a simple synthetic type, e. g. *sirem* 'I love', *mnam* 'I stay'. Armenian gradually used this form to express the subjunctive and future, while a new present indicative developed in various ways: *kə* present formative particle + finite verb (*kə sirem*, *kə sires*, etc.), participle [originally dative-locative case] + copula (*sirum em*), infinitive + copula (*sirel em*), infinitive in locative case + copula (*sirelis* / *sire[li]s em*), as well as action noun + copula (*lalman em*, cf. CA action nouns in *-umn*, gen. *-man*). The development of these characteristic features dates to around the 11th century. Xotorĵur and Aramo have preserved the classical present intact.

² For a discussion and references, see Khachaturian (1983); Pisowicz (1997); Vaux (1997, 1998: 7–12, 211–241); Weitenberg (2002: 146–151) and Haneyan (2010).

The particles *kə/ku*, *ha* and others are also involved in making the present progressive/continuous forms in western dialects. In the village of Galaduran the particle *ha(y)* forms both the simple and continuous presents, and *kə* is used for the subjunctive. The particle *kə/ku* (> *gə/gu*) is often doubled, e. g. Zeyt'un *gə g-ar'num* 'I am taking'; verbs starting with a consonant do not distinguish between the simple and progressive or continuous present (Ačāryan 2003: 246–252). A combination with *gər* (a by-form of the progressive / continuous particle) is observable in other dialects, such as Polis *g-ert'am gər* 'I am going' (Ačāryan 1941: 150–151), Sebastia *b'erem gər* 'I am bringing', *g-udeyi gər* 'I was eating' (Ačāryan 1911: 227). Some dialects combine *kə* with other particles: Aslanbek *gə sirim hāye* 'I am loving' (Ačāryan 1951: 353), Trapizon *g-ar'nim er* 'I was taking' (Ačāryan 1951: 344), Šapin-Garahisar *g-əsim dar* 'I am saying' (Ačāryan 1911: 174–175). Sivri-Hisar uses *kar*, *kikenan* or *er/erer* (Mkrtč'yan 1995: 212; 2006: 115, 181–184), and Nikomedia uses *yər* (Ačāryan 1951: 353).

Hamšen uses the verb *unim* 'to have' as a progressive marker: *b'erim uni* (or *b'erim g-uni*, with the same particle *gə*) 'I am bringing' (ClArm. 1SG.PRS *berem* 'to bring, carry'), *b'ereyā g-uni* 'I was carrying' (ClArm. 1SG.IMPf *berēi*); or involves the infinitive: *yēs eguṣ ā* 'I am coming' (ClArm. *es* 'I'; *ek-* aor. stem of the suppletive verb *gam* 'to come'; 3SG copula *ē* 'is'), *tun eguṣ ā* 'you are coming' (ClArm. *du* SG 'you'; *ek-* AOR stem of the suppletive verb *gam* 'to come'; 3.SG copula *ē* 'is'), etc.; or with a subject in the genitive: *imə/ims eguṣ ā* 'I am coming', *k'ugə(d) eguṣ ā* 'you are coming', with *im* 'my' and *k'o* 'your' respectively (Ačāryan 1947: 140–141). Note also Arabkir *g-ert'am (ə)nə* 'I am going' (Ačāryan 1911: 216; 1951: 349).

For the material and a discussion on the (progressive) present tense, see especially G. Geworgyan (1985, 1994, 2010). For a general overview in English, see Weitenberg (2002: 145–146).

4.3. Dialect classification based on phonology and morphology

The phonological and morphological classifications are jointly demonstrated in Table 2, which cannot, it must be said, pretend to a high degree of accuracy and completeness. The main problem here is, of course, that our data concerning numerous dialects are ambiguous or incomplete.

For the sake of simplicity only the word-initial reflexes are taken into account. There is a certain discrepancy between various descriptions of the consonant systems of some dialects, e. g. Svedia, Xarberd and Erzinka. It is noteworthy that Sivri-Hisar and Yozgat'/Gamirk', according to N. Mkrtč'yan's data, display *k-k-k'* and therefore belong to the Group 7, that is Van-Łarabał, though they are very far from them, both geographically and linguistically.

In the column "Present indicative" we find the aforementioned particles and first person singular forms of the following verbs: *alam* 'to grind', *amač'em* 'to

be ashamed', *anc* 'anem 'to pass', *aṛnum* 'to take', *asem* 'to say, tell', *arjakem* 'to untie, loosen', *banam* 'to open', *gam* 'to come', *grem* 'to write', *ert'am* 'to go', *lam* 'to weep', *lsem* 'to hear, listen', *xalam* 'to move, play', *xawsim* / *xōsim* 'to speak, talk', *xmem* 'to drink', *kardam* 'to shout, call, read', *mnam* 'to remain, stay', *nstim* 'to sit', *sirem* 'to love', *tam* 'to give', *uze(na)m* 'to will, wish', *utem* 'to eat'.

In the last two columns of the table one can find references to linguistic, ethnographical and folklore literature concerning the individual dialect areas. The dictionaries are given in italics.

4.4. Ĵahukyan's multi-feature classification

Ĵahukyan (1972)³ offers a multi-feature classification and on this basis identifies the following dialectal groups:

A. Western grouping

- I. The Antiok' or extreme South-Western group: K'esab/Svedia, Beylan.
- II. (I–III) The Cilicia or South-Western intergroup: Hačən, Maraš/Zeyt'un.
- III. The Asia Minor or Western group: Karin, Šapin-Garahisar, Sebastia, Evdokia, Marzvan/Amasia, Nor-Naxiĵewan/Crimea, Polis (Constantinople), Sivri-Hisar, Kyurin, Syolyoz, Malat'ia, Kesaria, Xarberd/Erznka, Aslanbek, Akn, Arabkir.
- IV. (I–III–VI) The Hamšen or North-Western intergroup: Hamšen, Edesia.
- V. (III–VI) The Aṛtial (Transylvania) or extreme North-Western intergroup: Aṛtial (Transylvania).
- VI. The Muš/Tigranakert or South-Central group: Muš, Talvorik/Motkan, Sasun/Geliguzan, Tigranakert.
- VII. (VI–VIII) The Van or Southern intergroup: Van, Moks, Šatax, Diadin.

B. Eastern grouping

- VIII. The Xoy/Marała or South-Eastern group: Xoy, Marała.
- IX. The Ararat or North-Eastern group
- X. Ararat, Ĵula, Bayazet, Astraxan, Ardvin/T'iflis.
- XI. (IX–XI) The Łarabał/Šamaxi or extreme North-Eastern intergroup: Mehtišen, Łarabał, Łazax/Kirovabad, Krzen, Havarik, Šamaxi, Burdur.
- XII. The Agulis/Metri group: Agulis, Metri.

³ Ĵahukyan (Djahukian) *apud* Greppin and Khachaturian (1986: 19–24).

Table 2: Overview of dialect classification

Indo-Eur.		*g^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʼ)	k	kʼ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Xarberd/ Dersim	Gr. 1	gʼ/k	g	kʼ	<i>gə sirim, g-uzim</i>	Baṛramyan (1960); Gasparyan (1979), Kostandyan (1982)	Andranik (1900); Sargisean (1932); Halaḡyan (1973); Hayk (1959); Srapean (1960)
Šapin-Garah.	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>gə sirem, g-ertʼam</i>	H. S. Xačʼatryan (1985)	Tēōvlētʼean (1954)
Arabkir	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>sirim gu, g-ertʼam ga, gə g-ertʼam</i>	Dawitʼ-Bēk (1919)	Baxtikean (1934); Pʼolatean (1969)
Sebastia	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>sirem gə, g-ertʼam gə</i>	<i>Gabikean</i> (1952)	Gabikean (1952: 591–682)
Akn	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>gü sirim, g-üdim</i>	Maxudianz (1911); Makʼsudeancʼ (1910); Gabriēlean (1912)	Čanikean (1895); Azatean (1943); Kʼēčʼean & Parsamean (1952)
Aṛtial	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>gi sirim</i>	Hanusz (1887–1889); Ačaṛyan (1953)	
Crimea / Nor- Naxijewan	Gr. 1	gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>kʼ(i)-sirim, gə lsim</i>	Ačaṛyan (1925); <i>Ĵalašyan</i> (2012)	Patkanov (1875.1); Pʼorkʼšeyan (1971)
Hamšen	Gr. 1/4	gʼ/k	g	kʼ	<i>sirim gu, g-udim</i>	Ačaṛyan (1947); Bläsing (1992, 1995, 2007); Vaux (2000–2001, 2007)	Muradean (1901); Tʼorlakʼyan (1981, 1986); Gurunyan (1991); Simonian (2007); JaynHamš 1–4; HamšHamš (2007); Vardanyan (2009); Hovannisian (2009)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʰ)	k	kʰ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Xotorjur	Gr. 1/2	gʰ	k/g	kʰ	<i>sirim, mənam; k-asin</i>	Kostandyan (1985); Bałramyan (1976)	Gawařacʰi (1903); Haćean (1907); YuřamXotorj (1964)
Erznka	Gr. 2/7	gʰ/k	k	kʰ	<i>k/gə sirim, k-udam</i>	Kostandyan (1979)	Tēr-Vardanean (1968)
Karin	Gr. 2	gʰ	k	kʰ	<i>sirem k/gə, k-udem k/gə</i>	Tomson (1887); H. M. Mkrtčʰyan (1952); Hakobyan (1974: 409–437)	Lalayan (1892, 1897, 1983); Mxitʰareancʰ (1901); Malxasyancʰ (1958); Hakobyan (1974)
Muř	Gr. 2	gʰ	k	kʰ	<i>kə sirim, k-ałam</i>	Patkanov (1875.2); Msereancʰ (1897–1901); Bałdasaryan (1958); Tarōnean (1961)	Sedrakean (1874); Lalayan (1917a); Melikʰean (1964); Movsisyan (1972); Hovannisian (2001)
Alařkert	Gr. 2	gʰ	k	kʰ	<i>kə sirim, k-ałam</i>	Madatʰyan (1985)	Yovsēpʰeancʰ (1892: 47); Nždehean (1899–1910)
Ararat	Gr. 2	gʰ	k	kʰ	<i>sirə/um em</i>	<i>Nawasardeancʰ</i> (1903); Kapancjan (1975); Markosyan (1989)	
Nor Ĵula	Gr. 2	gʰ	k	kʰ	<i>sirum am, mořanum am; lalman am, talman am</i>	Ačarıyan (1940a)	Eremean (1923, 1930)
Polis	Gr. 3	g	g	kʰ	<i>gə sirem, g-ertʰam</i>	Ačarıyan (1941)	Svazlyan (2000)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʼ)	k	kʼ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Trapizon	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>sirim gu, g-uzim</i>	Ačarʼyan (1911: 178)	Yovakimean (1967); Tʼorlakʼy. (1986); Hovannisian (2009)
Evdokia	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>gə sirim, g-ertʼam</i>	Gazančean (1899)	Alpōyačean (1952)
Marzvan	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>gə sirim, gə banam</i>	Tʼumayean (1930)	
Amasia	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>(nstim ga, g-ertʼam ga)</i> [3SG <i>karda-v!</i>]	Ačarʼyan (1951: 350)	
Kesaria	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>ga sirem, ga g-arʼnum</i>	Antʼosyan (1961)	Grigorean & Garakēōzean (1963)
Stʼanoz	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	<i>g-ertʼam kar</i>	N. A. Mkrtčʼyan (2006: 202–222, 293–294)	Ōtean-Gasbarean (1968)
Ayntʼap	Gr. 3	g	g	kʼ	–	Vaux (1999–2000)	Sarafean (1953)
Sasun	Gr. 4	k	g	kʼ	<i>gə sirəm, g-ertʼam</i>	Petoyan (1954)	Kʼalantʼar (1895); Tomaschek (1896); Karapetyan (1962); Petoyan (1965); R. Xačʼatryan (1999)
Zeytʼun	Gr. 4	k/gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>gə siyim, gə-ʼytʼəm</i>	Makʼsudeancʼ (1911), Ačarʼyan (2003)	Allahvērtean (1884); Galustean (1934); Guyumčean (1990)
Hačən	Gr. 4	k/gʼ	g	kʼ	<i>gə siyiəm, gə g-arʼnum</i>	Ačarʼyan (2003); Gasparyan (1966)	Pōlosean (1942)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʿ)	k	kʿ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Svedia	Gr. 4	k/gʿ	g	kʿ	<i>gə sirim, gʷ-ärnim</i>	Andreasyan (1967); Ačaryan (2003); Hananyan (1995)	Svazlyan (1984, 1994); Gyozyan (2001)
Aramo	Gr. 4	k	g	kʿ	<i>(hay) sireym, (hay) urtʿum</i>	Ayceamn (1907), Łaribyan (1958: 9–77)	
Kʿabusie	Gr. 4	k	g	kʿ	<i>gu sirim, geu urtʿum</i>	Łaribyan (1958: 78)	
Kʿesab	Gr. 4	k	g	kʿ	<i>ha sirim, hay urtʿum</i>	Łaribyan (1955); Čʿolakʿean (1986)	
Beylan	Gr. 4	k	g	kʿ	<i>gä sirim, gä gartəm</i>	Łaribyan (1955)	
Malatʿia	Gr. 5	kʿ	g	kʿ	<i>sirim a, g-ertʿam a</i>	Danielyan (1967)	Alpoyačean (1961)
Nikomedia/ Aslanbek	Gr. 5	kʿ/gʿ	g	kʿ	<i>gə sirim, g-iām (contin. + haye)</i>	Ačaryan (1898a, 1898b); Vaux (2001)	Tēr-Yakobean (1960)
Edesia/ Urha	Gr. 5	kʿ	g	kʿ	<i>sirem a / gə sirem g-ertʿam a</i>	Łaribyan (1958: 146); Haneyan (1982)	
Tigranakert	Gr. 5	kʿ	g	kʿ	<i>gə sirim, g-uzim</i>	Haneyan (1978)	
Tʿiflis	Gr. 6	g	k	kʿ	<i>sirum im, ku sirim</i>	Petermann (1867b); Tomson (1890)	Tēr-Alekʿsandrian (1885); Ałababean (1901)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʼ)	k	kʼ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Ararat/ Lori	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>sirəm əm</i> , <i>mnəm əm</i>	Asatryan (1968)	T. Geworgyan (1999); Lalayean (1903, 2004)
Agulis	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>sáyrām əm</i> , <i>n-ótam əm</i> , <i>xsélis əm</i> , <i>Cʼhna təsnäs əm</i>	Petermann (1867a); Sargseancʼ (1883); Ačarıyan (1935); <i>Zakʼaryan</i> (2008)	Ayvazyan (1984)
Areš/ Havarik	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	1SG <i>sirelis əm</i> , <i>sireli yəm</i> 2SG <i>sireləm əs</i> 3SG <i>sirelim i</i>	Tēr-Pōlosean (1921– 1922); Lusencʼ (1982)	
Kizen	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>atas əm</i> vs. <i>əm atali</i>	Baṛramyan (1961)	
Ardvin	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>sirelis im</i> , <i>mnalis im</i>	Ačarıyan (1911: 291–292; 1926: 267); Łaribyan (1939: 33–49; 1953: 281–292, 329–342), Alaverdyan (1968ab).	
Łaradał	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>sirilis əm</i> , <i>mnalis əm</i>	Łaribyan (1953: 281– 304)	H. Hovsepʼyan (2009, 1–2)
D(i)zmar	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>siriyis əm</i> , <i>mnayis əm</i>	Łaribyan (1953: 281– 292)	H. Hovsepʼyan (2009, 1: 60)
Mełri	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>siris im</i> , <i>mənas im</i>	Łaribyan (1939: 83–106); Ałayan (1954)	

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(ʼ)	k	kʼ	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Karčewan	Gr. 6	g	k	kʼ	<i>siríy im / im sirís</i>	Łaribyan (1939: 59–82); Muradyan (1960)	
Kakʼavaberd	Gr. 6	g/k	k	kʼ	<i>xəmúm əm</i> , <i>ásəm əm</i> ; A. <i>mənáyis im</i> B. <i>mənális im</i>	Muradyan (1967)	
Astraxan	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	<i>asəm em</i> , <i>lsəm em</i>	Ačařyan (1911: 82–86); Ačařyan (1951: 333)	G. G. Geworgyan (1980); Łaziyan & Vardanyan (2004)
Goris/ Syunikʼ	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	<i>sirum em</i> , <i>xənum em</i>	Vartapetjan (1962); Margaryan (1975)	Lisicʼyan (1969)
Łarabał	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	<i>sírəm əm</i> , <i>xósəm əm</i>	Ačařyan (1899); Davitʼyan (1966); <i>Sargsyan</i> (2013)	Barxudareancʼ (1883); Barxutareancʼ (1883); Melikʼ- Šahnazareancʼ (1907 f); Lisicʼyan (1981); Łaziyan (1983); Lalayean (1897a, 1988); Grigoryan- Spandaryan (1971); L. Harutʼyunyan (1991)
Tavuš	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	<i>sirəm em</i> , <i>mnəm em</i>	Mežuncʼ (1989)	Xemčʼyan (2000, 2008)
Burdur	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	<i>sirum əm</i> , <i>mənum əm</i>	Mkrtčʼyan (1971, 2006: 304)	
Šamaxi	Gr. 7	k	k	kʼ	A. <i>sirəm əm</i> , <i>mənəm əm</i> ; B. <i>kʼiris em</i> , <i>mənays em</i>	Bařramyan (1964)	Łaziyan & Vardanyan (2004)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(‘)	k	k‘	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Šaṭax	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>kʰəriys əm, mənaqis əm</i>	Łaribyan (1939: 50–58); Davt‘yan (1966)	
Hadrut‘	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>siris əm, mənas əm</i>	Łaribyan (1939: 107–127); Połosyan (1965); Davt‘yan (1966)	
Urmia	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>kʰires em/s, 3SG kʰirel i; mənas em/s, 3SG mənal i</i>	Łaribyan (1939: 128–146; 1953: 342–358); Asatryan (1962)	
Xoy	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>üzəl em, et‘äl em</i>	Asatryan (1962)	
Marala	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>üzeli im, amč‘ənalá yim</i>	Ačařyan (1926)	
Hin Ĵuṭa	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>talman am</i>	Ačařyan (1940a: 27–32)	
Van	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>kə sirem, k-uzem, ku kʰəm</i>	Ačařyan (1952); T‘uršyan (2018)	Sedrakean (1874); Tēr-Sargsenc‘ (1875); Šērenc‘ (1885–1999); Lalayean (1910, 1914, 1915, 1917b); Sruanjteanc‘ (1978); S. M. Avagyan (1978); Hovannisian (2000)
Moks, Šatax	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>kə sirim, kə xaṭam, k-ənc‘nim</i>	M. H. Muradyan (1962, 1982); Orbeli (2002)	Yovsēp‘eanc‘ (1892); Šahpazean (1913); Lalayean 2 (1914)

Indo-Eur.		*g ^h	*g	*k			
Classical		g(‘)	k	k‘	Pres. indicative	Dial. descr.	Ethn. & Folklore
Ozim	Gr. 7/2	k/g‘	k	k‘	<i>kə kartəäm</i> , <i>k-arc ‘kim</i>	N. E. Hovsep‘yan (1966); Arewikyan (1967)	
Sivri-Hisar	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	(cont.) <i>k-εt‘am</i> <i>εr / kar</i> , <i>xəsim kenam</i>	N. A. Mkrtč‘yan (1995, 2006)	PtmSivHisHay (1965)
Yozgat‘ / Gamirk‘	Gr. 7	k	k	k‘	<i>sirim ka</i>	N. A. Mkrtč‘yan (2006)	T‘emurčyan (1970)

5. Earliest dialectal isoglosses

5.1. Weitenberg's isoglosses

In a series of articles Weitenberg (1986, 1992, 1993, 1996, 2001) discussed a relatively homogenous set of dialectal isoglosses within a chronological framework starting from pre-literary times, all of which are anterior to the sound shift $h > x$ in the Van-Urmia group and the devoicing ($b, d, g > p, t, k$) which are dated to approximately the 7th century or later:

- Retraction of the accent to the penultima.
- Diphthongization of stressed *o* (and perhaps *e*) in initial position; all dialects diphthongize any *o* in absolute anlaut, whereas the dialects having accent retraction (Łarabał, etc.) and the dialects of the Van-Urmia region do so only in monosyllables (these are marked in Table 3 “no”).
- Monophthongization of *aw*; if *aw* (under penultimate accent) is followed by a dental stop or affricate, the *w* yields *x*, e. g. *eawt* ‘n’ ‘seven’ > Meřri *óxta* (these are marked in Table 2 “yes”).
- Ačarıyan's Law (fronting of back vowels after voiced obstruents).
- Devoicing $b, d, g > p, t, k$ (7th century or later).

In Weitenberg (1996: 111) these isoglosses are combined in a table in relative chronological order, from left to right. In addition, the isogloss of present verbs in *-nul* vs. ClArm. *-anem* is represented by the example of *tesanem* ‘to see’.

5.2. Miscellaneous

There are more of such isoglosses, e. g. the additional *-n* mostly represented in the dialects of the old Arc‘ax-Siwnik‘ area, which is a feature originating in the pre-literary period (H. D. Muradyan 1982: 322–326; Weitenberg 1985) and monophthongization of the final stressed *-ay*, which can be traced back to the fifth century (Weitenberg 1999–2000).

5.3. Extending Weitenberg's classification

In Table 3, I present a revised and supplemented version of Weitenberg's aforementioned table in combination with data from my Table 2. The archaic set of isoglosses demonstrates an opposition between the South-Eastern periphery (Łarabał/Agulis area) on the one hand, and the Central and Western regions on the other. As Weitenberg (1996: 112) points out, the Van-Urmia intermediate area may originally have formed part of the South-Eastern area. Note also the sharp contrast between Muř and Łarabał.

Table 3: Extended classification based on Weitenberg

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Phonological classification</i>	<i>Present indicative</i>	<i>Accent retraction</i>	<i>Diphthong o-</i>	<i>ɔxt '7'</i>	<i>Ačar. Law</i>	<i>Devoicing</i>	<i>tesanel</i>
<i>Ārtial</i>	<i>Gr. 1</i>	<i>gi sirim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nul</i>
<i>Arabkir</i>	<i>Gr. 1</i>	<i>sirim gu, g-ert 'am ga, gɔ g-ert 'am</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Erznka</i>	<i>Gr. 1/4</i>	<i>k/gə sirim, k-udam</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Hamšen</i>	<i>Gr. 1/4</i>	<i>sirim gu, g-udim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nul</i>
<i>Karin</i>	<i>Gr. 2</i>	<i>sirem k/gə, k-udem k/gə</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nil</i>
<i>Muš</i>	<i>Gr. 2</i>	<i>kə sirim, k-ałam</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nul</i>
<i>Ararat</i>	<i>Gr. 2</i>	<i>sirə/um ɛm</i>	<i>(yes)</i>	<i>(yes)</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>(-nul)</i>
<i>Nor Juła</i>	<i>Gr. 2</i>	<i>sirum am, mořanum am; lalman am, talman am</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nel</i>
<i>Polis</i>	<i>Gr. 3</i>	<i>gə sirem, g-ert 'am</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ABSENT</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Hačən</i>	<i>Gr. 4</i>	<i>gə siyiɛm, gə g-ařnum</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nul</i>

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Phonological classification</i>	<i>Present indicative</i>	<i>Accent retraction</i>	<i>Diphthong o-</i>	<i>ext '7'</i>	<i>Ačar. Law</i>	<i>Devoicing</i>	<i>tesanel</i>
<i>Svedia</i>	<i>Gr. 4</i>	<i>gə sirim, g^v-ärnim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes?</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nul</i>
<i>Edesia/ Urha</i>	<i>Gr. 5</i>	<i>sirəm a / gə sirəm g-ert 'am a</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Tigranakert</i>	<i>Gr. 5</i>	<i>gə sirim, g-uzim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Ararat/ Loři</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>sirəm em, mnəm əm</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Agulis</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>sáyräm əm, n-ótam əm</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>(yes)</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nil</i>
<i>Areš/ Havarik</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>1sg sirəlis əm, sirəli yəm 2sg sirələm əs</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nel / -nal</i>
<i>Mełri</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>siris im, mənas im</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>(yes)</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nil</i>
<i>Karčewan</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>siriy im / im sirís</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-(n)ul</i>

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Phonological classification</i>	<i>Present indicative</i>	<i>Accent retraction</i>	<i>Diphthong o-</i>	<i>ɔxt '7'</i>	<i>Ačar. Law</i>	<i>Devoicing</i>	<i>tesanel</i>
<i>Kak'avaberd</i>	<i>Gr. 6</i>	<i>xəmúm əm, ásəm əm; mənáyis im, -lis im</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no/yes</i>	<i>-(n)il</i>
<i>Łarabał</i>	<i>Gr. 7</i>	<i>sírəm əm, xósəm əm</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Urmia</i>	<i>Gr. 7</i>	<i>k'ires em/s, 3sg k'irel i; mənas em/s, 3sg mənal i</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nel</i>
<i>Marala</i>	<i>Gr. 7</i>	<i>üzeli im, amč'ənalə yim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nel</i>
<i>Van</i>	<i>Gr. 7</i>	<i>kə sirem, k-uzem, ku k'äm</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nal</i>
<i>Moks, Šatax</i>	<i>Gr. 7</i>	<i>kə sirim, kə xałam, k-ənc'nim</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes</i>	<i>-nel / -nil</i>

6. Dialectal groups

The Armenian dialects are presented in eleven groups in accordance with Ĵahukyan's multi-feature classification. The dialects of the Eastern grouping (groups VIII-XI) have developed and are still spoken in the Republic of Armenia, Arc'ax (Karabagh / Łarabał), as well as Parskahayk'/Persian Armenia and surroundings (North West Iran). By contrast, the western dialects (groups I–VII) which had developed on the territory of the western part of the historical Armenia (that is, the eastern half of present-day Turkey) for many centuries, with a few exceptions, are no longer spoken in their original location. This is because of Turkish constant genocidal policy and especially the Armenian Genocide starting in 1915 which resulted in extermination of more than one million Armenians and constituted an amputation of Armenian life, and therefore also an amputation of Armenian dialects. Some surviving groups of the Armenian population were dispersed around the world. Their descendants have partially preserved their dialects in the Republic of Armenia, Ĵavaxk' (now in Georgia), Russia and other countries.

For these reasons our information on the western dialects is uneven. Many of them are now almost or completely extinct. Some of them have been described before the Genocide, others are known by some secondary materials recorded from the refugees, and for the rest we practically have no information.⁴

In this survey of the dialects I shall concentrate on the most characteristic features of a number of dialects from different groups. When discussing them, I often present comparative data from dialects of other groups. The data concerning the phonological and morphological classifications and the aforementioned earliest isoglosses can be found in Tables 2 and 3 and will be specified here only when necessary.

A. Western grouping

6.1. Svedia (the Antiok' or extreme South-Western group)

Armenians have been living in the northern parts of Syria and Mesopotamia presumably since the time of Tigran the Great (1st century BCE). There is information on migration of some Armenian population to Syria in the 6th century CE. The Armenian presence in these areas became more significant especially since the 10th century. Here the Armenians called themselves *k'ist'inə* / *k'isdinə*, which reflects the word *k'ristoneay* 'Christian', and the dialect, *k'ist'inəg* / *k'isdinig* / *k'ist'inüg* 'language of a Christian, Armenian'.

The Armenian dialects of Syria and Cilicia are very divergent and extremely interesting. Svedia is the best studied one among them. It was spoken in the Armenian villages of the Svedia district, which is located at the foot of the mountain

⁴ For a general outline on these issues and the linguistic situation in the Republic of Armenia, see Weitenberg (2002: 141–143 and 2006).

Musalei/Musa-Dagh. There are three monographs on the dialect of Svedia: Ačaryan (2003), Andreasyan (1967) and Hananyan (1995), based on the Svedian subdialects of Haġi-Habibli, Yoġun-Öluk and Xtrbek, respectively. K'esab is described in Č'olak'ean (1986). The other (sub)dialects have been poorly studied, mainly by Łaribyan.

Phonology

According to Ačaryan (2003: 401), Classical Armenian voiced stops are reflected in Svedia as voiced aspirates *b' g' d'* in initial and intervocalic positions and after *t* and *r*. In the descriptions of other subdialects, Andreasyan (1967) and Hananyan (1995), *b d g* yielded *p t k*. Table 4 provides a simplified table of the development of CA plosives into the dialect of Svedia.

Table 4: Reflex of CA plosives in Svedia

CA	S v e d i a		
	initial	internal	final
<i>b/g/d</i>	<i>b'g'/d'</i>	<i>b'g'/d', (N)b/g/d</i>	<i>b'g'/d', (N)b/g/d</i>
<i>p/k/t</i>	<i>b/g/d</i>	<i>b/g/d</i>	<i>b/g/d</i>
<i>p'/k'/t'</i>	<i>p'/k'/t'</i>	<i>p'/k'/t'</i>	<i>p'/k'/t'</i>

One of the most characteristic phonological features of Svedia is the change *a > u* in a stressed position, where Beylan and the Cilician dialects have *ɔ*. As Ačaryan (1951: 364–378, 2003: 349, cf. 10–11) points out, the development *a > ɔ > u* logically ends in Syria, which marks the last habitat in the extreme SW corner of Armenian-speaking areas.

In Agulis, an eastern dialect that is very far from Svedia both geographically and linguistically, we find a similar change only in monosyllables. In Hamšen and Akn we find *a > ɔ* only before a nasal. Table 5 provides examples from these dialects, with the addition of some dialects that do not display *a > ɔ*, namely Ararat (an eastern dialect) and Moks/Šatax (a western dialect).

Table 5: Reflexes of CA /a/ in selected dialects

CA	gloss	Ararat	Moks/Šat.	Agulis	Hamšen	Zeyt'un	Svedia
<i>ał</i>	salt	<i>ał</i>	<i>ał</i>	<i>ał</i>	<i>ał</i>	<i>ɔł</i>	<i>üł</i>
<i>arĵ</i>	bear	<i>arč'</i>	<i>ar/rč</i>	<i>ɔrĵ</i>	<i>ayč'</i>	<i>ärĵ'</i>	<i>urĵ'</i>
<i>art</i>	cornfield	<i>art/d</i>	<i>art</i>	<i>ɔrt</i>	<i>ayd</i>	<i>ɔyd</i>	[<i>uɔrt</i>] ⁵
<i>bak</i>	courtyard	<i>bag</i>	<i>pāk</i>	<i>bɔk</i>	–	<i>b'ɔg</i>	<i>b'üg</i>
<i>ban</i>	thing	<i>b'an</i>	<i>pān</i>	<i>bün</i>	<i>pɔn</i>	<i>b'ɔn</i>	<i>b'un</i>
<i>bac'</i>	open	<i>b'ac'</i>	<i>pāc'</i>	<i>bōc'</i>	<i>pac'</i>	<i>b'ɔc'</i>	<i>b'uc'</i>
<i>lar</i>	cord	<i>lar</i>	<i>lar</i>	–	<i>lar</i>	<i>lɔy</i>	<i>hur</i>
<i>car̄</i>	tree	<i>car̄</i>	<i>car̄</i>	<i>cɔr̄</i>	<i>jar̄</i>	<i>jɔr̄</i>	<i>jur̄</i>
<i>hac'</i>	bread	<i>hac'</i>	<i>xac'</i>	<i>hɔc'</i>	<i>hac'</i>	<i>hɔc'</i>	<i>huc'</i>
<i>maz</i>	hair	<i>maz</i>	<i>maz</i>	<i>mɔz</i>	<i>maz</i>	<i>mɔz</i>	<i>muz</i>
<i>tanj</i>	pear	<i>tanj</i>	<i>tanj</i>	<i>tunj</i>	<i>dɔnj</i>	<i>dɔnj</i>	<i>dunj</i>
<i>tasn</i>	ten	<i>tassə</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tóssə</i>	<i>dasə</i>	<i>dɔsə</i>	<i>dussə</i>
<i>k'ar</i>	stone	<i>k'ar</i>	<i>k'ar</i>	<i>k'ɔr</i>	<i>k'ar</i>	<i>k'ɔy</i>	<i>k'ur</i>
<i>agr̄aw</i>	crow	<i>akr̄av</i>	[<i>ak'ɔr̄av</i>] ⁶	<i>ákr̄av</i>	–	<i>ag'ɔɔv</i>	<i>äg'ɔuv</i>
<i>amařn</i>	summer	<i>amař</i>	<i>amař</i>	<i>ámař(nə)</i>	<i>ɔmař</i>	<i>amɔř</i>	<i>amuř</i>
<i>ardar</i>	righteous	<i>art'ar</i>	<i>artär</i>	<i>árt'ar</i>	<i>art'/tar</i>	<i>ayd'ɔy</i>	<i>ard'ur</i>
<i>arcat'</i>	silver	<i>arcat'</i>	<i>arcat'</i>	<i>árcat'</i>	<i>ayjat'</i>	<i>ayjɔt'</i>	<i>arjut'</i>
<i>danak</i>	knife	<i>d'anak</i>	<i>tānak</i>	<i>dānäk</i>	<i>tɔnag</i>	<i>d'anɔg</i>	<i>d'änüg</i>
<i>mangal̄</i>	sickle	<i>mangal̄</i>	<i>mang'äl̄</i>	<i>mang'äl̄</i>	<i>mɔngal̄</i>	<i>mangɔł</i>	<i>mängül̄</i>
<i>pařaw</i>	old woman	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pářav</i>	<i>bařav</i>	<i>bařɔb</i>	<i>bařuv</i>
<i>gawazan</i>	stick	<i>g'avazan</i>	<i>k'ävāzan</i>	–	<i>kavazɔn</i>	<i>g'avzɔn</i>	<i>g'ävāzun</i>
<i>hnazand</i>	obedient	<i>hnazand</i>	<i>xnazānd</i>	<i>hnázand</i>	–	<i>hnazɔnd'</i>	<i>hnazund'</i>
<i>patuhas</i>	punishment	–	<i>patuxas</i>	–	–	<i>baduhɔs</i>	<i>bädihus</i>

⁵ This is the K'esab form (Č'olak'ean 1986: 197a). The word is not recorded in Svedia itself.

⁶ Cf. HAB [Hayerēn armatakan bařaran] vol. 1: 80a.

Nominal morphology

An important morphological peculiarity is the instrumental marker *-um* in Svedia, which is not found in other Armenian (sub)dialects of Syria. K'esab has *-uən* (Č'olak'ean 1986: 68); K'abusie has *-u* for inanimate objects and /genitive + *hid* 'with' / for people (Łaribyan 1958: 96).

For K'abusie, Łaribyan (1958: 78–79, 83, 96–99) records a remarkable contrast: nominative-accusative indefinite *murt'* vs. definite *ma^urt'*, cf. *ās ma^urt'* 'this man'; the preposition *z-* in the accusative, as in CA, is found in a definite context. Note also the preposition *i / y-* in an allative usage: *is i dūn g-ürt'um* 'I am going home'; *y-ambə^r g-ürt'um* 'I am going to the barn'.

Table 6 provides the paradigms of *hac'*, *i*-stem 'bread', and *mard*, *o*-stem 'man, human', in Svedia, Zeyt'un, (Ač'aryan 2003: 165, 184, 460–461) and K'abusie (Łaribyan 1958: 98). In the following table N = nominative, ACC = accusative, GD = genitive/dative, ABL = ablative, I = instrumental:

Table 6: Nominal paradigms in selected dialects

		CA	Zeyt'un	Svedia (indef. and def.)	
SG	N	<i>hac'</i>	<i>hɔc'</i>	<i>huc'</i>	<i>huc'ə</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)hac'</i>	<i>hɔc'</i>	<i>huc'</i>	<i>huc'ə</i>
	GD	<i>hac'-i</i>	<i>hac'-ə</i>	<i>hăc'c'-ə</i>	<i>hăc'c'ən</i>
	ABL	<i>i hac'-ē</i>	<i>hac'-e</i>	<i>hăc'c'-ε</i>	<i>hăc'c'in</i>
	I	<i>hac'-i-w</i>	<i>hac'-öv</i>	<i>hăc'c'-um</i>	<i>hăc'c'umə</i>
PL	N	<i>hac'-k'</i>	<i>hac'-iy</i>	<i>hăc'c'-ir</i>	<i>hăc'c'irə</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)hac'-s</i>	<i>hac'-iy</i>	<i>hăc'c'-ir</i>	<i>hăc'c'irə</i>
	GD	<i>hac'-i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-iy-u</i>	<i>hăc'c'-irə</i>	<i>hăc'c'iren</i>
	ABL	<i>i hac'-i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-iy-e</i>	<i>hăc'c'-irε</i>	<i>hăc'c'irin</i>
	I	<i>hac'-i-w-k'</i>	<i>hac'-iy-öv</i>	<i>hăc'c'irum</i>	<i>hăc'c'irum</i>
		CA	Zeyt'un	K'abusie	Svedia
SG	N	<i>mard</i>	<i>mɔyd'</i>	<i>murt'</i>	<i>muṛd'</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)mard</i>	<i>mɔyd'</i>	<i>z-ma^urt'</i>	<i>muṛd'</i>
	GD	<i>mard-oy</i>	<i>mayd'-o</i>	<i>mart'-ən</i>	<i>maṛd'-ə</i>
	ABL	<i>i mard-oy</i>	<i>mayd'-e</i>	G + <i>irmeyn</i>	<i>maṛd'-ε</i>
	I	<i>mard-o-v</i>	<i>mayd'-öv</i>	G + <i>heyd</i>	<i>maṛd'-um</i>

Verbal morphology

Table 7 shows the present and imperfect paradigms of *sirem* ‘to love’ in the Haġi-Habibli subdialect (Ačařyan 2003: 482–490) and *grem* ‘to write’ in the Xtrbek subdialect (Hananyan 1995: 125–126).

Table 7: Present and imperfect paradigms, *sirem* ‘to love’ & *grem* ‘to write’ in Svedia (Haġi-Habibli subdialect)

	Present indicative			Imperfect		
	CA	Svedia 1	Svedia 2	CA	Svedia 1	Svedia 2
SG	<i>sirem, grem</i> <i>sires, gres</i> <i>sirē, grē</i>	<i>gə sirim</i> <i>gə siris</i> <i>gə sirē</i>	<i>geu kərim</i> <i>geu kəris</i> <i>geu kəri</i>	<i>sirēi, grēi</i> <i>sirēir, grēir</i> <i>sirēr, grēr</i>	<i>gə sirer ε</i> <i>gə sirer</i> <i>gə sirir</i>	<i>geu kərōr</i> <i>geu kərer</i> <i>geu kərir</i>
PL	<i>siremġ, gremġ</i> <i>sirēġ, grēġ</i> <i>siren, gren</i>	<i>gə sirinkʹ</i> <i>gə sirikʹ</i> <i>gə sirin</i>	<i>geu kərənk</i> <i>geu kərək</i> <i>geu kərin</i>	<i>sirēakʹ, grēakʹ</i> <i>sirēikʹ, grēikʹ</i> <i>sirēin, grēin</i>	<i>gə sirer inkʹ</i> <i>gə sirer ikʹ</i> <i>gə sirer in</i>	<i>geu kəräyrənk</i> <i>geu kəräyrək</i> <i>geu kəräyrən</i>

According to Łaribyan (1953: 444–445; 1955: 196, 201–202) and Č‘olak‘ean (1986: 122), in K‘esab the present indicative is formed with the particle *ha* or *hay*. In the village of Galaduran this particle forms both the simple and continuous presents. The particle *kə* is used for the subjunctive. The imperfect is composed of a participle in *-er* and the copula. The latter is dropped in the third person singular form. Table 8 gives the paradigms of *kardam* ‘to shout, read’ and *grem* ‘to write’.

Table 8: Present and imperfect verbs in the Galaduran dialect

Present				
	CA	K‘esab	CA	K‘esab
SG	<i>kardam</i> <i>kardas</i> <i>karday</i>	<i>ha gartum</i> <i>ha gartuʹs</i> <i>ha gartu</i>	<i>grem</i> <i>gres</i> <i>grē</i>	<i>ha krim</i> <i>ha kris</i> <i>ha kri</i>
PL	<i>kardamġ</i> <i>kardayġ</i> <i>kardan</i>	<i>ha gartunkʹ</i> <i>ha gartäkʹ</i> <i>ha gartun</i>	<i>gremġ</i> <i>grēġ</i> <i>gren</i>	<i>ha krinkʹ</i> <i>ha krikʹ</i> <i>ha krin</i>
Imperfect				
SG	<i>kardayi</i> <i>kardayir</i> <i>kardayr</i>	<i>ha garter εm</i> <i>ha garter εs</i> <i>ha garter</i>	<i>grēi</i> <i>grēir</i> <i>grēr</i>	<i>ha krer εm</i> <i>ha krer εs</i> <i>ha krer</i>
PL	<i>kardayakʹ</i> <i>kardayikʹ</i> <i>kardayin</i>	<i>ha garter enkʹ</i> <i>ha garter ekʹʷ</i> <i>ha garter en</i>	<i>grēakʹ</i> <i>grēikʹ</i> <i>grēin</i>	<i>ha krer enkʹ</i> <i>ha krer ekʹʷ</i> <i>ha krer en</i>

Unlike the neighbouring K'esab, the Beylan dialect forms the indicative present and imperfect with the particle *gä* and therefore belongs to the *kə*-group. The imperfect is also marked by a postposed particle *di* throughout the paradigm excluding the third- singular form.⁷ Table 9 provides the paradigms of *kardam* 'to shout, read' and *grem* 'to write'.

Table 9: Present and imperfect forms in the Beylan dialect

Present						
	CA	Beylan	CA	Beylan	CA	Beylan
SG	<i>kardam</i> <i>kardas</i> <i>karday</i>	<i>gä gartəm</i> <i>gä gartəs</i> <i>gä gartə</i>	<i>grem</i> <i>gres</i> <i>grē</i>	<i>gä kərim</i> <i>gä kəris</i> <i>gä kərə</i>	<i>tesanem</i> <i>tesanes</i> <i>tesanē</i>	<i>gä disnum</i> <i>gä disnus</i> <i>gä disnu</i>
PL	<i>kardamk'</i> <i>kardayk'</i> <i>kardan</i>	<i>gä gartənk'</i> <i>gä gartek'^y</i> <i>gä gartən</i>	<i>gremk'</i> <i>grēk'</i> <i>gren</i>	<i>gä kərink'^y</i> <i>gä kərik'^y</i> <i>gä kərin</i>	<i>tesanemk'</i> <i>tesanēk'</i> <i>tesanen</i>	<i>gä disnunk'</i> <i>gä disnuk'</i> <i>gä disnun</i>
Imperfect						
SG	<i>kardayi</i> <i>kardayir</i> <i>kardayr</i>	<i>gä garti di</i> <i>gä garter di</i> <i>gä garter</i>	<i>grēi</i> <i>grēir</i> <i>grēr</i>	<i>gä kəri di</i> <i>gä kərir di</i> <i>gä kərer</i>	<i>tesanēi</i> <i>tesanēir</i> <i>tesanēr</i>	<i>gä disni di</i> <i>gä disnir di</i> <i>gä disner</i>
PL	<i>kardayak'</i> <i>kardayik'</i> <i>kardayin</i>	<i>gä gartink' di</i> <i>gä gartik' di</i> <i>gä gartin di</i>	<i>grēak'</i> <i>grēik'</i> <i>grēin</i>	<i>gä kərink' di</i> <i>gä kərik' di</i> <i>gä kərin di</i>	<i>tesanēak'</i> <i>tesanēik'</i> <i>tesanēin</i>	<i>gä disnink' di</i> <i>gä disnik' di</i> <i>gä disnin di</i>

It is easy to notice that *gartəm* etc. reflect CA present forms, *kardam* etc. The stressed *a* turns to *ə*, e. g. *amərn* 'summer' > *amər*, *ardar* 'righteous' > *artər*, *beran* 'mouth' > *pərn*, *car* 'tree' > *jər*. Without the particle *gä*, the forms are used for the subjunctive, thus: Beylan *gartəm* 'I may read' from CA *kardam* 'I read, I am reading'. The conditional and debitive are formed with *gə*⁸ and *bə* / *bədə* respectively: *gə gartəm* 'I will read' and *bə* / *bədə gartəm* 'I have to read'. Table 10 combines the aorist paradigm of the verb *tam* 'to give' in Middle Armenian (1901: 333, 2002: 315–316; Ant'osyan 1975: 213; L. S. Hovsep'yan 1997: 68–69), Modern West and East Armenian (Ant'osyan 1975: 214), Svedia (Ač'aryan 2003: 494, 498), Aramo (Łaribyan 1958: 47) and Zeyt'un (Ač'aryan 2003: 243).⁹

⁷ Compare Hamšen 2nd-person singular imperfect ending *-di*, e. g. *kie-di gu* 'you were writing' (on this see Vaux 2007: 268).

⁸ Łaribyan (1955: 229) explicitly distinguishes between *gä* and *gə*.

⁹ In the table (and henceforth) CA = Classical Armenian, SWA = Standard Western Armenian.

Table 10: Aorist paradigms in selected dialects

	CA	MiddleSWA Arm.	Aramo	Proto.- Aramo	Svedia	Proto- Sved.	Zeyt'un	Proto- Zeyt'un
SG	<i>etu</i> <i>etur</i> <i>et</i>	<i>tu-i</i> <i>tu-ir</i> <i>etu-r</i> , <i>eret</i> , <i>tu-aw</i>	<i>ədva</i> <i>ədvey</i> <i>ida</i>	<i>*etu-i</i> <i>*etu-e(r)</i> <i>*etu</i>	<i>dva</i> <i>dvir</i> <i>i-dör</i>	<i>*tu-i</i> <i>*tu-er</i> <i>*e-tu-r</i>	<i>dəvə</i> <i>dəvey</i> <i>dəvəv</i>	<i>*tu-i</i> <i>*tu-ir</i> <i>*tu-aw</i>
PL	<i>tuak'</i> <i>etuk'</i> <i>etun</i>	<i>tuak'</i> <i>tuik'</i> <i>tuin</i>	<i>tu-ink'</i> <i>tu-ik'</i> <i>tu-in</i>	<i>ədvunk'</i> <i>ədväk'</i> <i>ədväyn</i> ¹⁰	<i>*etua(n)k'</i> <i>*etu-ik'</i> <i>*etu-in</i>	<i>dvunk'</i> <i>dväk'</i> <i>dvən</i>	<i>*tu-ank'</i> <i>*tu-ik'</i> <i>*tu-in</i>	<i>dəvənk'</i> <i>dəvək'</i> <i>dəvən</i>

Syntax of basic clauses

- (1) *murd-ə* *k-asi*
 man-DEF.ART IND-say.PRS.3SG
 'The man says'
 (Ačarjan 2003: 546, line 8 from bottom)
- (2) *murd-ə* *k-ar̄ni* *z-at*
 man-DEF.ART.NOM.SG IND-take.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.ACC.-that
p'ara-n
 money-DEF.ART
 'The man is taking that money'
 (Ačarjan 2003: 546, line 4 from bottom)
- (3) *həlivür-ə* *k-ar̄ni* *z-at*
 old_man-DEF.ART.NOM.SG IND-take.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.ACC-that
murd-ə
 man-DEF.ART.ACC.SG
 'The old man is taking that man'
 (Ačarjan 2003: 548, line 11)
- (4) *Astuc* *kə-təsna* *z-leyr*
 god IND-see.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.ACC-mountain
 'The God sees the mountain'
 (Ačarjan 2003: 533)

¹⁰ Printed as *ənväyn* in Łaribyan (1958: 47), probably a misprint.

6.2. Hamšen / Homšec‘ma (the Hamšen or North-Western intergroup)

There are three basic subgroups of the Hamšen population (Vaux 2000–2001: 48; 2007: 257; Bläsing 2003: 7):

- Western Hemşinli, who live in the Turkish province of Rize, speak Turkish, and are Sunni Muslim. They preserve a huge amount of words and proper names from the Armenian dialect of Hamšen (Bläsing 1992, 1995). They are the descendants of Islamized Armenians from Hamšen.
- Eastern Hamšen/Hemşin(li)/Homšec(n)c‘ik‘, who live in the vicinity of Hopa in the province of Ardvin (also elsewhere in Turkey, Central Asia and Europe), speak Homšec‘ma (often being unaware that it is Armenian), and are Sunni Muslim.
- Northern Homšenc‘ik‘, who live in Abkhazia and southern Russia (Krasnodar), speak Homšec‘ma, and are Christian. They are the descendants of non-Islamized Hamšen Armenians who lived in the provinces of Samsun, Ordu, Giresun and Trabzon.

The most complete description of the dialect is Ačařyan (1947). Texts: Haykuni (1892) and Dumézil (1964, 1965, 1967, 1986–1987). Hamšen/Homšec‘ma is one of the most divergent Armenian dialects. Due to its isolated position the dialect preserves a considerable number of archaisms, both morphological and lexical, and also developed numerous peculiar innovations.

Phonology

The most characteristic phonological feature of Hamšen Armenian is the change *a* > *o* when followed by a nasal consonant: *amis* > *omis* ‘month’, *ban* > *pɔn* ‘thing’, etc.; also in Turkish loans, e. g. *tavan* > *t‘avɔn* ‘ceiling’ (Ačařyan 1947: 11, 22–24; Ačařyan 1971: 404–406; Bläsing 2003: 9–12). See also §6.1 (Svedia).

Nominal morphology

Table 11 gives the paradigms of *hac*‘, *i*-stem ‘bread’ and *mard*, *o*-stem ‘man, human’ in Hamšen (Ačařyan 1947: 90–91).

Table 11: Nominal paradigms in CA and Hamšen

		CA	Hamšen ¹¹		CA	Hamšen
sg	N	<i>hac'</i>	<i>hac'</i>	Pl	<i>hac'-k'</i>	<i>hac'-er</i>
	Acc	<i>(z)hac'</i>	<i>hac'</i>		<i>(z)hac'-s</i>	<i>hac'-er</i>
	GD	<i>hac'-i</i>	<i>hac'-i, -εc'</i>		<i>hac'-i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-er-u</i>
	Abl	<i>i hac'-ē</i>	<i>hac'-ä, -ən</i>		<i>i hac'-i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-er-ä</i>
	I	<i>hac'-i-w</i>	<i>hac'-ɔv</i>		<i>hac'-i-w-k'</i>	<i>hac'-er-ɔv</i>
sg	N	<i>mard</i>	<i>mašt</i>		<i>mard-k'</i>	<i>mašt-er</i>
	Acc	<i>(z)mard</i>	<i>mašt</i>		<i>(z)mard-s</i>	<i>mašt-er</i>
	GD	<i>mard-oy</i>	<i>mašt-u</i>		<i>mard-oc'</i>	<i>mašt-er-u</i>
	Abl	<i>i mard-oy</i>	<i>mašt-ä(mä)</i>		<i>i mard-oc'</i>	<i>mašt-er-ä(mä)</i>
	I	<i>mard-o-v</i>	<i>mašt-ɔv</i>		<i>mard-o-v-k'</i>	<i>mašt-er-ɔv</i>

A number of Classical Armenian words that were mainly used in the plural appear in the majority of dialects with petrification of the nominative plural form. Table 12 provides a few remarkable relics of the old genitive plural in Hamšen, Zeyt'un¹² and Evdokia¹³ (see also §6.3. Aftial).

Table 12: Relics of old genitive plural in selected dialects

gloss	Case	CA	Hamšen	Evdokia	Zeyt'un
eye	NOM.PL	<i>ač'-k'</i>	<i>ač'k</i>	<i>ač'k'</i>	<i>εč've</i>
	GEN.PL	<i>ač'-ac' & -ic'</i>	<i>ač'ič'(< -ic')</i>	<i>ač'ic'</i>	<i>εč'ɔc'(< -ac')</i>
wedding	NOM.PL	<i>harsan-i-k'</i>	<i>haysnik'</i>	<i>harsnik'</i>	<i>haysnək'</i>
	GEN.PL	<i>harsan-e-a-c'</i>	<i>haysnec'</i>	<i>harsnec'</i>	<i>haysnic'</i>
beard	NOM.PL	<i>mō/u/iru-k'</i>	<i>miruk'</i>	<i>məruk'</i>	<i>muyuk'</i>
	GEN.PL	<i>mō/u/iru-a-c'</i>	<i>mirvac'</i>	<i>mərvac'</i>	<i>muyvic'</i>

Another remarkable morphological relic is observable in the paradigm of the word for 'star', CA *astl*. The Hamšen dialect has nom.SG *astexk/k'* 'a star', which is a frozen form of NOM.PL *astetk'*, and GEN.PL *astłec'* 'of stars', cf. CA GEN.PL *astetl-a-c'*. The GEN.SG *-εc'* is derived from the genitive plural ending *-eac'*, e. g. GEN.SG *gałnec'* from CA *kałneac'*, the GEN.PL form of *kałni* 'oak' (Ačařyan 1947: 91–94).

¹¹ Abl. *hac'-ä* is indefinite, and *hac'-ən* is definite. Other forms: *hac'-εc'-ən*, *hac'-en*.

¹² See Ačařyan (1947: 98 and 2003: 188–189) and glossaries, also Martirosyan (2010: 17–18, 98–99, 454–455).

¹³ Gazančean (1899: 81) (the forms here do not seem phonetically very accurate).

Verbal morphology

Hamšen has the following important peculiarities in verbal morphology:

The CA infinitive ending *-(V)l* has been replaced by *-uš* (probably of Turkish origin) in all four conjugations, e. g. *berel* ‘to bring’ > *peruš*, *ert’al* ‘to go’ > *εštuš*, etc. (Ačāryan 1947: 11, 156–158; Ačāryan 1965: 46–47).

In Mala and the villages of Trapizon the verb ‘to have’ is used as a progressive marker: *b’erim uni* or *g-uni* ‘I am bringing’, *b’ereyā g-uni* ‘I was carrying’. Čanik uses a different pattern involving the infinitive and 3SG copula: *yes eguš ā* ‘I am coming’, *tun eguš ā* ‘you are coming’, etc.; or with a subject in genitive: *imā/ims eguš ā* ‘I am coming’, *k’ugā(d) eguš ā* ‘you are coming’, etc. (Ačāryan 1947: 11, 140–141).¹⁴

The second-person singular imperfect ending *-yd(ə)* / *-di* of Hamšen is comparable with *-idi* (of Turkish origin) seen throughout the whole imperfect paradigm in Hačən.¹⁵

First person plural imperfect: The Classical Armenian first person plural imperfect ending is characterized by the presence of a vowel *-a-*; thus, for example, in the *e*-conjugation we have the following set of endings: *-ēi* (1SG), *-ēir* (2SG), *-ēr* (3SG), *-ēak* (1PL), *-ēik* (2PL), *-ēin* (3PL). In most dialects of Modern Armenian this *-a-* has been analogically eliminated, but some dialects have preserved it intact. In table 13 I present the Classical imperfect paradigm of the verb *utem* ‘to eat’ and its corresponding tense forms (imperfect or past subjunctive) in the dialects of Akn (Ačāryan 1911: 223, cf. 227 on Sebastia), Hamšen (Ačāryan 1947: 136, 139), and South Eastern Armenian. I also include two paradigms from the region of Dersim, *grem* ‘to write’ in Xarberd/Erznka, and *k’ašem* ‘to pull, drag’ in Č’mškacag (Baḡramyan 1960: 22, 30); the latter preserves the *-a-* intact whereas the former is innovative.

Table 13: Imperfect paradigms in CA and in selected contemporary dialects

	CA	Hamšen	Akn	Č’mškacag	Xarb./Erz.	SEA
SG	<i>utēi</i>	<i>g-udeyā</i>	<i>g-üdei</i>	<i>gə k’ašei</i>	<i>gə g’ərēi</i>	<i>k-utei</i>
	<i>utēir</i>	<i>g-udey(d)ə</i>	<i>g-üdeir</i>	<i>gə k’ašeir</i>	<i>gə g’ərēir</i>	<i>k-uteir</i>
	<i>utēr</i>	<i>g-uder</i>	<i>g-üder</i>	<i>gə k’ašer</i>	<i>gə g’ərēr</i>	<i>k-uter</i>
PL	<i>utēak’</i>	<i>g-udayk’ə</i>	<i>g-üdeank’</i>	<i>gə k’ašēank’</i>	<i>gə g’ərēink’^y</i>	<i>k-uteink’</i>
	<i>utēik’</i>	<i>g-udēyā</i>	<i>g-üdeik’</i>	<i>gə k’ašēik’</i>	<i>gə g’ərēik’^y</i>	<i>k-uteik’</i>
	<i>utēin</i>	<i>g-udēyā</i>	<i>g-üdein</i>	<i>gə k’ašēin</i>	<i>gə g’ərēin</i>	<i>k-utein</i>

The same 1PL *-a-* is seen in the aorist of Classical Armenian. Here again, some dialects preserve it intact, cf. e. g. the paradigms of *xatam* ‘to play’ and *sirem* ‘to love’

¹⁴ For a discussion, see Vaux (2007: 263).

¹⁵ See Ačāryan (1959: 568–569); cf. Vaux (2007: 268).

in Hamšen: *xatác‘i* (1SG), *xatác‘ir* (2SG), *xatác‘* (3SG), *xatác‘ak‘* (1PL), *xatác‘ik‘* (2PL), *xatác‘in* (3PL), *sirec‘i* (1SG), *sirec‘ir* (2SG), *sirec‘* (3SG), *sirec‘ak‘* (1PL), *sirec‘ik‘* (2PL), *sirec‘in* (3PL) (Ačaryan 1947: 128, 131). In old monosyllabic aorist forms of this dialect we find yet another archaism, the augment *e-*.¹⁶ Table 14 gives the example of *banam*, AOR stem *bac‘* - ‘to open’ (Ačaryan 1947: 135).

Table 14: Aorist paradigm of ‘open’ in CA and Hamšen

	CA act.	CA med.	Hamšen
SG	<i>bac‘i</i> <i>bac‘er</i> <i>e-bac‘</i>	<i>bac‘ay</i> <i>bac‘ar</i> <i>bac‘aw</i>	<i>pac‘i</i> <i>pac‘ir</i> <i>pac‘aw, e-pac‘</i>
PL	<i>bac‘ak‘</i> <i>bac‘ēk‘, -ik‘</i> <i>bac‘in</i>	<i>bac‘ak‘</i> <i>bac‘ayk‘</i> <i>bac‘an</i>	<i>pac‘ak‘</i> <i>pac‘ik‘</i> <i>pac‘in</i>

A note on Hamšen *asuš*, AOR stem *ast-* ‘to say’

Classical Armenian *asem* ‘to say, tell, speak’ displays aorist forms based on *ast-* in Hamšen. According to Ačaryan (1947: 134–135), the *-t-* is an epenthesis of a phonetic nature, cf. *almas* > *almast* ‘diamond’, etc. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory because: (1) it is not clear why the *-t-* is only found in the aorist; and (2) we expect to see the reflexes of the aoristic *c-*. I, therefore, propose the following solution.

In Classical Armenian the aorist stem of this verb is *asac‘*. This subtype displays both non-syncopated and syncopated aorist forms in Hamšen, namely *xatác‘i* and *xatc‘i* ‘I played’ (see Ačaryan 1947: 130–131). It seems, therefore, likely that Hamšen *asti* etc. derive from the syncopated forms **asc‘i* etc.; the development **asc‘i* > *asti* is probably due to dissimilation, which may have been triggered or reinforced by the *-(s)t-* epenthesis. For the inclusion of the 3SG.AOR.MED into the main paradigm, compare the aforementioned *pac‘aw* alongside *e-pac‘*.

Table 15 combines the Classical and Hamšen paradigms with that of Šamaxi / K‘yärk‘yänj, an easternmost dialect (on which see Bałramyan 1964: 166).

¹⁶ For a discussion of this Hamšen archaism, see Vaux (2007: 265–266). It is also present in a neighboring dialect of Xotorjūr (Kostandyan 1985: 60).

Table 15: The verb ‘to say’ in CA, Hamšen, and Šamaxi

	CA	Syncope	Hamšen	Šamaxi
SG	<i>asac‘i</i> <i>asac‘er</i> <i>asac‘</i>	<i>*asc‘i</i> <i>*asc‘er</i> <i>*as(a)c‘-aw (med.)</i>	<i>as-t-i</i> <i>as-t-ir</i> <i>as-t-av</i>	<i>asc‘i, assi</i> <i>asc‘ir, assir</i> <i>asec‘, aseç</i>
PL	<i>asac‘ak‘</i> <i>asac‘ēk‘, -ik‘</i> <i>asac‘in</i>	<i>*asc‘ak‘</i> <i>*asc‘ēk‘, -ik‘</i> <i>*asc‘in</i>	<i>as-t-ak‘</i> <i>as-t-ik‘</i> <i>as-t-in</i>	<i>asc‘ink‘, assink‘</i> <i>asc‘ik‘, assik‘</i> <i>asc‘in, assin</i>

Table 16 combines the aorist paradigms of the irregular verb *tam* ‘to give’ in Hamšen (Ačarıyan 1947: 137) and literary forms of Armenian.

Table 16: The irregular verb *tam* ‘to give’ in Hamšen and literary forms of Armenian

	CA	Mid. Arm.	SWA	Hamšen
SG	<i>etu</i> <i>etur</i> <i>et</i>	<i>tu-i</i> <i>tu-ir</i> <i>etu-r, eret, tu-aw</i>	<i>tu-i</i> <i>tu-ir</i> <i>tu-aw</i>	<i>dvi</i> <i>dvir</i> <i>dvav, ered</i>
PL	<i>tuak‘</i> <i>etuk‘</i> <i>etun</i>	<i>tuak‘</i> <i>tuik‘</i> <i>tuin</i>	<i>tu-ink‘</i> <i>tu-ik‘</i> <i>tu-in</i>	<i>dvak‘</i> <i>dvik‘</i> <i>dvin</i>

Syntax of basic clauses

- (5) *hoxbey-s mezigı šad sirer gu*
uncle-my we.ACC much love.IMP.3MS PARTICLE
‘My uncle loved us very much’
(Ačarıyan 1947: 194, line 1)
- (6) *mek‘ unik‘ meğ varjadun*
we.NOM have.1PL.PRS one school
‘We have got one school’
(Ačarıyan 1947: 196, line 5)
- (7) *mir g‘etac‘i-k‘ gəv šad behin gu*
we.GEN villager-NOM.PL cow.ACC.SG many keep.PRS.3PL PARTICLE
‘Our villagers keep many cows’
(Ačarıyan 1947: 196 line 17–18)
- (8) *im ənun-s Ašot ä*
I.GENname-my PN(MASC) COP.3SG
‘My name is Ašot’
(Ačarıyan 1947: 199, line 3)

6.3. The Aġtial (Transylvania) or extreme North-Western intergroup

Aġtial (Transylvania)

This dialect had four branches: Poland, Hungary, Suč'ava and Romania. The dialect descriptions: Hanusz (1887–1889); Ač'aryan (1953). In Pisowicz (2003), one finds a collection of Turkish, Arabic and Persian borrowings in Aġtial.

Phonology

Voiced aspirates: for a discussion, see Pisowicz (1997: 216–217) and Vaux (1997: 233–234).

Nominal morphology

Important archaisms:

CA accusative definite marker *z-* (Ač'aryan 1953: 10, 135–136, 156–157);

CA *harsaneac* ' (GEN.PL of *harsani-k* 'wedding') > GEN *harsnic* ' , LOC *harsnec* 'n (see also §6.2. Hamšen);

CA *dustr*, GEN *dster* 'daughter' > *d'usdrə*, GEN *d'sder* (Ač'aryan 1953: 141–142).

Table 17 gives the paradigms of *hac* ' , *i*-stem 'bread' and *mard*, *o*-stem 'man, human' in Aġtial (Ač'aryan 1953: 136–137).

Table 17: Nominal morphology in Aġtial

		CA	Aġtial		CA	Aġtial
SG	N	<i>hac</i> '	<i>hac</i> '	PL	<i>hac</i> '- <i>k</i> '	<i>hac</i> '- <i>er</i>
	ACC	(<i>z</i>) <i>hac</i> '	(<i>əz</i>) <i>hac</i> '		(<i>z</i>) <i>hac</i> '- <i>s</i>	(<i>əz</i>) <i>hac</i> '- <i>er</i>
	GD	<i>hac</i> '- <i>i</i>	<i>hac</i> '- <i>i</i>		<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-c</i> '	<i>hac</i> '- <i>er-u</i>
	ABL	<i>i hac</i> '- <i>ē</i>	<i>hac</i> '- <i>ē</i>		<i>i hac</i> '- <i>i-c</i> '	<i>hac</i> '- <i>er-ē</i>
	I	<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-w</i>	<i>hac</i> '- <i>əw</i>		<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-w-k</i> '	<i>hac</i> '- <i>er-əw</i>

		CA	Aġtial
SG	N	<i>mard</i>	<i>mard</i> '
	ACC	(<i>z</i>) <i>mard</i>	(<i>əz</i>) <i>mard</i> '
	GD	<i>mard-oy</i>	<i>mard</i> '- <i>u</i>
	ABL	<i>i mard-oy</i>	<i>mard</i> '- <i>unmē</i> , <i>mard</i> '- <i>əven</i>
	I	<i>mard-o-v</i>	<i>mard</i> '- <i>əw</i> , <i>mard</i> '- <i>əvəw</i>

Verbal morphology

In the table below, I present the paradigms of *sirem* ‘to love’ in Aġtial (Aġarġan 1953: 160–164) and Polis (Aġarġan 1941: 149–151). The 2SG.IMP ending *-r* is replaced by *-s* by analogy with the present. This did not take place in the Polish subdialect:

Table 18: Verbal morphology in Aġtial (‘love’)

	Present			Imperfect		
	CA	Aġtial	Polis	CA	Aġtial	Polis
SG	<i>sirem</i>	<i>gi sirim</i>	<i>gə sirem</i>	<i>sirēi</i>	<i>gi sirēi</i>	<i>gə sireyi</i>
	<i>sires</i>	<i>gi siris</i>	<i>gə sires</i>	<i>sirēir</i>	<i>gi sireis</i>	<i>gə sireyir</i>
	<i>sirē</i>	<i>gi sire</i>	<i>gə sire</i>	<i>sirēr</i>	<i>gi sirer</i>	<i>gə sirer</i>
PL	<i>siremĳ</i>	<i>gi sirink</i>	<i>gə sirenk</i>	<i>sirēak</i>	<i>gi sireink</i>	<i>gə sireyink</i>
	<i>sirēĳ</i>	<i>gi sirik</i>	<i>gə sirek</i>	<i>sirēik</i>	<i>gi sireik</i>	<i>gə sireyik</i>
	<i>siren</i>	<i>gi sirin</i>	<i>gə siren</i>	<i>sirēin</i>	<i>gi sirein</i>	<i>gə sireyin</i>

The aorist (*sirec* ‘I loved’) has been replaced by the pattern [past participle + copula], *siril im*.

Syntax of basic clauses

- (9) *B’axd’-ə* *dun* *gu-g’a* *jew*
 husband-DEF.ART. home PARTICLE–come.PRS.3SG- and
gnganə *hed* *adəs* *gə zuruc’ε*
 wife.GEN.DAT.DEF.ART. with like.that PARTICLE talk.PRS.3SG
 ‘The husband is coming home and talks to (his) wife like this’ (*gu-g’a* < *gə/*
u-particle + *ig’al* ‘to come’; *gnganə* < *gnig* ‘wife’; *gə zuruc’ε* < *gə*-particle
 + *zuruc’el* ‘to talk’)
 (Aġarġan 1953: 223, line 9–10 from bottom)
- (10) *derder-ə* *inji* *asil* *ε*
 priest-DEF.ART I.DAT tell.PRF.PTCP COP.3.SG
 ‘The priest has told me ...’
 (Aġarġan 1953: 222, line 15 from bottom)
- (11) *xalp* *atves* *mə* *gə desnu* *mi* *ak’rav* *mə*
 fraudulent fox a PARTICLE see.PRS.3SG one crow a
 (< *gə*-particle + *desnul* ‘to see’)
 ‘A fraudulent fox is seeing a crow’
 (Aġarġan 1953: 227, line 13)

6.4. Muš (the Muš / Tigranakert or South-Central group)

The Muš dialect was spoken in the territory of the Armenian historical province of Turuberan and in south of Ayarat. During the Russo-Turkish wars, two large groups of the Muš and Alaškert populations migrated to Aparan and south of the Lake Sevan, now in the Republic of Armenia. Near Axalk'alak', there are three villages of immigrants from Xnus. The 1915 Genocide survivors dispersed around the world.

Dialect descriptions: Patkanov (1875, 2), Mserianc (1897–1901), Ačaryan (1911: 116–139), Bałdasaryan-T'ap'alc'yan (1958), Bałeš, village of Xult'ik in Tarōnean (1961); Alaškert: Aparan/Aragac in Madat'yan (1985).

Phonology

Fourfold system of plosives: *b*' (in anlaut only) *b p p'*. CA *h*- becomes *x* in some subdialects, such as Bałeš and Xlat', and remains intact elsewhere.

In word internal and final positions, CA voiced aspirates become voiceless aspirates in Muš and voiceless unaspirated in Alaškert. In the same positions, CA voiceless aspirates become voiceless unaspirated in Alaškert but remain intact in Muš.

The dialect also has an initial voiced *h*'-, either as prothetic or deriving from *y*- (cf. Martirosyan 2010: 764–765).

Nominal morphology

Archaisms: def. accusative *z*- and locative/allative *i* /*y*-; preposed prepositions: *məč' mər tan* 'in our house'. The subdialect of Alaškert does not have the *z*-. Table 19 shows the paradigms of *p'ayt*, *i*-stem 'wood' and *ji*, *o*-stem 'horse' in Alaškert (Madat'yan 1985: 76–78).

Table 19: Nominal paradigms in the dialect of Alaškert

	CA	Alaškert		CA	Alaškert
SG	N	<i>p'ayt</i>	PL	<i>p'ayt-k'</i>	<i>p'ed-er</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)p'ayt</i>		<i>(z)p'ayt-s</i>	<i>p'ed-er</i>
	GD	<i>p'ayt-i</i>		<i>p'ayt-i-c'</i>	<i>p'ed-er-u</i>
	ABL	<i>i p'ayt-ē</i>		<i>i p'ayt-i-c'</i>	<i>p'ed-er-en,</i> <i>p'ed-er-uc</i>
	I	<i>p'ayt-i-w-</i>		<i>p'ayt-i-w-k'</i>	<i>p'ed-er-ov</i>
	CA	Alaškert		CA	Alaškert
SG	N	<i>ji</i>	PL	<i>ji-k'</i>	<i>j'i-an</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)ji</i>		<i>(z)ji-s</i>	<i>j'i-an</i>
	GD	<i>ji-oy</i>		<i>ji-o-c'</i>	<i>j'i-an-er-u</i>
	ABL	<i>i ji-oy</i>		<i>i ji-o-c'</i>	<i>j'i-an-er-u-c,</i> <i>j'i-an-er-en</i>
	I	<i>ji-o-v</i>		<i>ji-o-v-k'</i>	<i>j'i-an-er-ov</i>

Verbal morphology

Indicative present: *kə sirim* ‘I love’, *k-ałam* ‘I grind’. Table 20 combines the aorist paradigm of the verb *tam* ‘to give’ in Muš (Bałdasaryan-T‘ap‘alc‘yan 1958: 169), Sasun (Petoyan 1954: 59), Polis (Ačarıyan 1941: 149) and elsewhere.

Table 20: Aorist paradigms for *tam* ‘to give’ in CA and South-Central dialects

	CA	SWA	SEA	Muš	Sasun	Polis
SG	<i>etu</i> <i>etur</i> <i>et</i>	<i>tu-i</i> <i>tu-ir</i> <i>tu-aw</i>	<i>tv(ec‘)i</i> <i>tv(ec‘)ir</i> <i>tvec‘</i>	<i>təv(ec‘)i</i> <i>təv(ec‘)ir</i> <i>təvec‘</i>	<i>dväc‘ə</i> <i>dväc‘ər</i> <i>dväc‘</i>	<i>duvi</i> <i>duvir</i> <i>duvav</i>
PL	<i>tuak‘</i> <i>etuk‘</i> <i>etun</i>	<i>tu-ink‘</i> <i>tu-ik‘</i> <i>tu-in</i>	<i>tv(ec‘)ink‘</i> <i>tv(ec‘)ik‘</i> <i>tv(ec‘)in</i>	<i>təv(ec‘)ink‘</i> <i>təv(ec‘)ik‘</i> <i>təv(ec‘)in</i>	<i>dväc‘ək‘ (!)</i> <i>dväc‘ək‘</i> <i>dväc‘ən</i>	<i>duvink‘</i> <i>duvik‘</i> <i>duvin</i>

Syntax of basic clauses

- (12) *Sarkis* *k-erta* *kə-hasni*
 Sargis (m. pers. name) PARTICLE-go.PRS.3SG PARTICLE-reach.PRS.3SG
Melikk‘yand
 place name
 ‘Sargis is going and reaching *Melikk‘yand*’ (*k-erta* < *kə*-particle +, *ertal* ‘to go’; *kə-hasni* < *kə*-particle + *hasnel* ‘to reach’)
 (Madat‘yan 1985: 155, line 15 from bottom)
- (13) *Sara-i* *kisur* *kə-tesna* *Sarkəs-in*
 Sarah-GEN husband’s mother IND-see.PRS.3SG Sargis-ACC
 ‘The mother-in-law (husband’s mother) of Sara sees Sargis’ (*kə-tesna* < *kə*-particle + *tesnal* ‘to see’)
 (Madat‘yan 1985: 155 line 13 from bottom)
- (14) *Məla Nasradin* *šad* *b‘ampařag* *mařt* *er*
 Molla Nasreddin much lewd man be.IMPF.3SG
 ‘Molla Nasreddin was a very lewd man’
 (Madat‘yan 1985: 158 line 10)

6.5. Van (the Van or Southern intergroup)

Before the 1915 Genocide, the Van dialect and the Moks and Šatax subdialects, as well as the (sub)dialects of Ozim and Diadin were spoken in territories that historically belonged to Vaspurakan and Moks, provinces of Greater Armenia. The 1915 Genocide survivors dispersed around the world. Some populations settled in the Republic of Armenia.

Dialect description: Phonology of Van (Ačarıyan 1903); Van – in the glossary Moks and Ozim are also included (Ačarıyan 1911: 140–158; 1952); Šatax

(M. H. Muradyan 1962); Moks (M. H. Muradyan 1982); Sevan region (Baġramyan 1972, *passim*); Diadin/Vardenis (V. Xaç'atryan 2004). A very rich glossary of Moks: Orbeli (2002), ca. 4500 words. Ozim is described in Ačařyan (1911: 147–150), Łaribyan (1953: 93–97), N. E. Hovsep'yan (1966), Arewikyan (1967), and especially in the unpublished thesis by Hovsep'yan (1970, *non vidi*). Texts from Ozim: Kaycorik (1899); Ačařyan (1911: 156–158).

M. H. Muradyan (1982) discusses 72 phonological and morphological isoglosses between Urban Moks, Rural Moks, Ozim, Šatax and Van and concludes that Rural Moks is closest in relationship to Urban Moks and furthest from Van, and Šatax takes an intermediate position between Rural Moks and Van. According to some scholars (Łaribyan 1953: 93–95; N. E. Hovsep'yan 1966), Ozim should be treated as a distinct dialect. Ĵahukyan (1972: 135) takes it together with Van.

Phonology

One of the earliest Armenian dialectal isoglosses (see §4.1) is Ačařyan's Law, that is, the fronting of back vowels after voiced obstruents.¹⁷ This feature unites the Van-Urmia and Goris/Łarabať/Křzen/Agulis areas. Table 21 provides examples for both voiced and unvoiced obstruents in the initial and internal positions respectively.

Table 21: Fronting of back vowels after voiced obstruents (Ačařyan's Law)

CA	gloss	Van	Moks/Šat.	Urmia	Łarabať	Křzen
<i>bak</i>	<i>courtyard</i>	<i>pāk</i>	<i>pāk</i>	<i>pāk'</i>	<i>pāk, pēk</i>	–
<i>bah</i>	<i>spade</i>	<i>pāx</i>	<i>pāx</i>	<i>pāx</i>	<i>pāh</i>	<i>bāh</i>
<i>barak</i>	<i>subtle</i>	<i>pārāk</i>	<i>pārak</i>	<i>pārāk'</i>	<i>pā/erak</i>	<i>bārak</i>
<i>barj</i>	<i>pillow</i>	<i>pārc'</i>	<i>pārc'</i>	<i>pārc'</i>	<i>pā/erc'</i>	<i>bārj/c'</i>
<i>beřn</i>	<i>burden</i>	<i>peř</i>	<i>pe/er</i>	<i>peř</i>	<i>peřnə</i>	<i>beř</i>
<i>beran</i>	<i>mouth</i>	<i>peran</i>	<i>peran</i>	<i>peran</i>	<i>péran</i>	<i>bəran</i>
<i>berd</i>	<i>fortress</i>	<i>peřt'</i>	<i>pirt'/pert'</i>	<i>peřt'</i>	–	–
<i>boťk</i>	<i>radish</i>	<i>pōxk</i>	<i>pōťk</i>	<i>poxk'</i>	<i>pō/exk</i>	<i>bōxk</i>
<i>boc'</i>	<i>flame</i>	<i>pōc'</i>	<i>pūc'</i>	<i>poc'</i>	–	–
<i>burd</i>	<i>wool</i>	<i>pūrt'</i>	<i>pūrt'</i>	<i>pūrt'</i>	<i>pūrt'</i>	<i>būrd/t'</i>
<i>pakas</i>	<i>less</i>	<i>pakas</i>	<i>pakas</i>	<i>pakas</i>	<i>pákas</i>	<i>pakas</i>
<i>pať</i>	<i>cold</i>	<i>pať</i>	<i>pať</i>	<i>pať</i>	–	–
<i>pařaw</i>	<i>old woman</i>	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pařav</i>	<i>pařav</i>
<i>port</i>	<i>navel</i>	<i>pořt</i>	<i>puřt</i>	<i>pořt</i>	<i>pōr/řt</i>	<i>pōrt</i>
<i>gal</i>	<i>to come</i>	<i>k'āl</i>	<i>k'āl</i>	<i>ik'āl</i>	<i>k'āl</i>	<i>g'ōl</i>
<i>gařn</i>	<i>lamb</i>	<i>k'ār</i>	<i>k'ār</i>	<i>k'ār</i>	<i>k'ārənə</i>	<i>g'ār</i>
<i>garun</i>	<i>spring</i>	<i>k'ārūn</i>	<i>k'ārūn</i>	<i>k'ārūn</i>	<i>k'ārunk'</i>	<i>g'ārunk'</i>
<i>get</i>	<i>river</i>	<i>k'et</i>	<i>k'it/k'et</i>	<i>k'et</i>	<i>k'et</i>	<i>g'et</i>

¹⁷ For a discussion and literature on Ačařyan's Law, see Vaux (1992) and Martirosyan (2010: 747).

CA	gloss	Van	Moks/Šat.	Urmia	Łarabał	Krzen
<i>gort</i>	<i>frog</i>	<i>k'ört</i>	<i>k'ört</i>	<i>kořt</i>	<i>k'e/ört 'nuk</i>	<i>g'ört</i>
<i>kap</i>	<i>tie</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kap</i>
<i>karōt</i>	<i>need(y)</i>	<i>karōt</i>	<i>karōt</i>	<i>karōt</i>	<i>kārōt</i>	<i>karōt</i>
<i>ker</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>kir/ker</i>	—	<i>ker-</i>	<i>ker</i>
<i>kot'</i>	<i>handle</i>	<i>kot'</i>	<i>kut'/kot'</i>	<i>kot'</i>	<i>kōt'</i>	<i>kōt'</i>
<i>kut</i>	<i>grain</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>kōt</i>	<i>kut</i>
<i>dałjn</i>	<i>wild mint</i>	<i>tāxc'</i>	<i>tāxc'</i>	<i>tāxc</i>	<i>té(ł)snə</i>	<i>dāłj</i>
<i>das</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>tās</i>	<i>tās</i>	<i>tās</i>	<i>tās, tes</i>	<i>dās</i>
<i>deł</i>	<i>remedy</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>teł/teł</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>deł</i>
<i>doł</i>	<i>tremor</i>	<i>tōł</i>	<i>tōł</i>	<i>tōł</i>	<i>tōł</i>	<i>dōł</i>
<i>tasn</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tassə</i>	<i>tāsə</i>	<i>tasə</i>
<i>teł(i)</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>teł/teł</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>t(ə)el</i>	<i>teł</i>
<i>tun</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>tōn</i>	<i>tu</i>

CA	gloss	Van	Moks	Šatax	Łarabał	Krzen
<i>ambar</i>	<i>storehouse</i>	<i>āmbār</i>	<i>ambār</i>	<i>ambār</i>	<i>ámbar</i>	<i>ambar</i>
<i>andundk'</i>	<i>abyss</i>	<i>andundk'</i>	<i>hāndūt k'</i>	<i>hāndūt k' y</i>	<i>əndōxtə</i>	—
<i>aprank'</i>	<i>products</i>	<i>aprank' y</i>	<i>aprank' y</i>	<i>aprank' y</i>	<i>áprank'</i>	<i>aprank'</i>
<i>ardar</i>	<i>righteous</i>	<i>ärtär</i>	<i>artär</i>	<i>artär</i>	<i>ärt'är</i>	—
<i>aregakn</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>arek'āk</i>	<i>Ėrek'āk</i>	<i>arek'āk</i>	<i>ərik'nak</i>	<i>äräg'āk</i>
<i>arcat'</i>	<i>silver</i>	<i>ārcat'</i>	<i>ar/řcat'</i>	<i>ārcat'</i>	<i>árcat'</i>	<i>arcat'</i>
<i>arjař</i>	<i>cattle</i>	<i>āčār</i>	<i>ačār</i>	<i>ačār</i>	<i>áč'a/ėrnə</i>	<i>ačār</i>
<i>arjasp</i>	<i>vitriol</i>	—	<i>arčāp's</i>	<i>arčāps</i>	—	—
<i>bambak</i>	<i>cotton</i>	<i>pāmbāk</i>	<i>pāmbāk</i>	<i>pāmbāk</i>	<i>pémba/āk</i>	<i>bān/mbāk</i>
<i>borbos</i>	<i>mold/Schimmel</i>	<i>peōrpeōs</i>	<i>pürpürs</i>	<i>pürpös</i>	<i>p'ərp'ėšn-</i>	<i>bāmbeřn-</i>
<i>gagat'n</i>	<i>summit</i>	<i>k'āk'āt'</i>	<i>k'āk'āt'</i>	<i>k'āk'āt'</i>	—	<i>Šm. k'āk'āt'</i>
<i>gangat</i>	<i>complaint</i>	<i>k'ānk'āt'</i>	<i>k'ānk'āt'</i>	<i>k'ānk'āt'</i>	<i>k'ėng'āt'</i>	<i>k/g'āng'āt'</i>
<i>dadarel</i>	<i>to cease</i>	<i>tātrel</i>	<i>tātäril</i>	<i>tātrel</i>	<i>t'ət'äre/il</i>	<i>t'āt'ärel</i>
<i>ddum</i>	<i>pumpkin</i>	<i>təł'üm</i>	<i>təł'üm</i>	<i>təł'üm</i>	—	—
<i>erkank'</i>	<i>hand-mill</i>	<i>erkank' y</i>	<i>erkank' y</i>	<i>erkank' y</i>	<i>árkank'</i>	<i>arkank'</i>
<i>kanač'</i>	<i>green</i>	<i>kanač'</i>	<i>kanač'</i>	<i>kanač'</i>	<i>kána(n)č'</i>	<i>kananč'</i>
<i>kardal</i>	<i>to shout, read</i>	<i>kärtäl</i>	<i>kartäl</i>	<i>kartäl</i>	<i>kárt'ė/il</i>	<i>kardal</i>
<i>karkut</i>	<i>hail</i>	<i>karkut</i>	<i>karkut</i>	<i>karkut</i>	<i>kárku/ōt</i>	<i>karkut</i>
<i>margarit</i>	<i>pearl</i>	<i>mark'ərit</i>	<i>märk'ərit</i>	<i>märk'ərit</i>	—	<i>märk'ərit</i>
<i>mardak</i>	<i>beam (of wood)</i>	<i>märtäk</i>	<i>martäk</i>	—	—	—
<i>šałgam</i>	<i>turnip</i>	<i>šāxk'ām</i>	<i>šāxk'ām</i>	<i>šāxk'ām</i>	<i>šaxkam</i>	—
<i>urbat'</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>urpāt'</i>	<i>urpāt'</i>	<i>urpāt'</i>	<i>örp'āt'</i>	<i>urbāt'</i>
<i>paganel</i>	<i>to kiss</i>	<i>pak' yel</i>	<i>pak'nil</i>	<i>pak'nel</i>	—	—

The vocalism in Moks and Šatax is worthy of note. In e. g. Van *ärtär* and Łarabat *ärt'är* 'righteous' we can reconstruct the following sequence of developments: CA *ardar* > **artär* > *ärtär*. Moks and Šatax¹⁸ did not share the assimilation in vowel quality with Van, but preserved the intermediate form *artär*.

Nominal morphology

There are a number of plural markers, such as (Ačāryan 1952: 108–115):

- *-er*, with monosyllables, e. g. *xac* ' , pl. *xac'er*;
- *-ner* (1) with words that became monosyllabic after the loss of final *-n*, e. g. *cük* (from CA *jukn* 'fish'), pl. *ckner*; (2) with polysyllables, e. g. *xper* (cf. CA *etbayr* 'brother'), pl. *xper-ner*;
- *-hyter* < **-k'-ter*, with polysyllables ending in a vowel or *-n*, e. g. *k'ini* (< CA *gini* 'wine'), pl. *k'ini-hyter*; *mařan* 'pantry, cellar', pl. *mařan-hyter*;
- *-estar*, e. g. *ik'i*, pl. *ek'estar* from CA *aygi* 'vineyard', cf. coll. *aygestan(i)*.

An archaism that is preserved in Moks, Šatax and Ozim but lost in Van is the def. accusative marker *z-*: *əz-car kətric* ' (he/she) cut the tree'; *əz-lač höröxkic* ' (he/she) sent the boy'.

As Ačāryan (1952: 13) points out, the ablative in *-ic* ' and the accusative/dative by-forms with animate nouns give Van an intermediate position between western and eastern dialects.

The ablative of place names is formed with *-a*, e. g. *Vänä* 'from Van', cf. CA abl. *i Vanay*.

Relics of Classical Armenian plural genitive, e. g. Van *ceř*, gen. *ceřac* ' reflecting CA *jeřn* (cf. pl. *jeř-k* ') and gen.pl *jeř-a-c* ' 'hand', respectively. Table 22 provides the paradigms of *hac* ' , *i*-stem 'bread' and *gini*, *wo*-stem, *ea*-stem 'wine' (Ačāryan 1952: 117, 121).

Table 22: Nominal paradigms in the Van or Southern intergroup

		CA	Van		CA	Van
SG	N	<i>hac</i> '	<i>xac</i> '	PL	<i>hac</i> '- <i>k</i> '	<i>xac</i> '- <i>er</i>
	ACC	(<i>z-</i>) <i>hac</i> '	<i>xac</i> '		(<i>z</i>) <i>hac</i> '- <i>s</i>	<i>xac</i> '- <i>er</i>
	GD	<i>hac</i> '- <i>i</i>	<i>xac</i> '- <i>i</i>		<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-c</i> '	<i>xac</i> '- <i>er-ac</i> '
	ABL	<i>i hac</i> '- <i>ē</i>	<i>xac</i> '- <i>ic</i> '		<i>i hac</i> '- <i>i-c</i> '	<i>xac</i> '- <i>er-ac</i> '
	I	<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-w</i>	<i>xac</i> '- <i>ɔv</i>		<i>hac</i> '- <i>i-w-k</i> '	<i>xac</i> '- <i>er-ɔv</i>

¹⁸ See Ačāryan (1952: 248) and M. H. Muradyan (1962: 192). The form is corroborated by the genuine record of Orbeli (2002: 208) in the Moks area in 1911–1912.

		CA	Van		CA	Van
SG	N	<i>gini</i>	<i>k'ini</i>	PL		<i>k'ini-hy-ter</i>
	ACC	<i>(z-)gini</i>	<i>k'ini</i>			<i>k'ini-hy-ter</i>
	GD	<i>ginw-oy</i>	<i>k'inu</i>		<i>gine-a-c'</i>	<i>k'ini-hy-ter-ac'</i>
	ABL	<i>i ginw-o-y</i>	<i>k'inu-c'</i>			<i>k'ini-hy-ter-ac'</i>
	I	<i>ginw-o-v,</i> <i>gine-a-w</i>	<i>k'in-ov</i>		<i>gine-a-w-k'</i>	<i>k'ini-hy-ter-ov</i>

Verbal morphology

Table 23 combines the paradigms of the verb *tam* ‘to give’ in Van (Ačaryan 1952: 173), Moks (M. H. Muradyan 1982: 173), Šatax (M. H. Muradyan 1962: 148), in CA and SWA.

Table 23: Verbal paradigms in the Van or Southern intergroup

	CA	SWA	Van	Moks	Šatax
SG	<i>etu</i>	<i>tu-i</i>	<i>tv(ic')i</i>	<i>təvə</i>	<i>təvi</i>
	<i>etur</i>	<i>tu-ir</i>	<i>tv(ic')ir</i>	<i>təvir</i>	<i>təvir</i>
	<i>et</i>	<i>tu-aw</i>	<i>tvec', i-tu(r)</i>	<i>i-tu</i>	<i>i-tu</i>
PL	<i>tuak'</i>	<i>tu-ink'</i>	<i>tv(ic')ink^y</i>	<i>təvink^y</i>	<i>təvink^y</i>
	<i>etuk'</i>	<i>tu-ik'</i>	<i>tv(ic')ik^y</i>	<i>təvik^y</i>	<i>təvik^y</i>
	<i>etun</i>	<i>tu-in</i>	<i>tv(ic')in</i>	<i>təvin</i>	<i>təvin</i>

Syntax of basic clauses

- (15) *im xər anun Märk'är i*
 my father.GEN.SG name Margar COP.3SG.PRS
 ‘My father’s name is Margar’
 (Ačaryan 1952: 224, line 4)
- (16) *Xurik xat'ün nstir er xov caři tak*
 Mrs. Xurik sit.PST.PTCP be.IMPF.3SG cool tree.GEN.DAT.SG under
 ‘Mrs. Xurik was sitting under a cool tree’
 (Ačaryan 1952: 214, line 14 from bottom)
- (17) *astł.er.n amuš p'elk' k-utan*
 star-NOM.PL.DEF sweet shine IND-give.PRS.3PL
 ‘The stars are shining sweetly’ (*k-utan* < *kə*-particle + *tal* ‘to give’)
 (Ačaryan 1952: 235, line 5)

B. Eastern grouping

6.6. Xoy-Urmia (the Xoy / Marāḷa or South-Eastern group)

Ĵahukyan (1972: 135) here takes one dialect, Xoy/Marāḷa, and identifies four representatives of it: Marāḷa, Urmia, P'ayaĵuk and Xoy. This dialectal area comprises the territory of the Armenian historical province of *Parskahayk* ' (Persian Armenia), as well as some adjacent regions, in particular Marāḷa (east of Lake Urmia), where Armenians have lived since the 13th century. In 1828, a considerable part of the Armenian populations of these regions migrated to the Caucasus, the village of Aza (Naxiĵewan, on the River Arax), Łarabaḷ and elsewhere. Before the First World War there lived 368 Armenian families in the Marāḷa region, and in 1920 the number was 200. Nowadays the dialect is also spoken in a few regions of the Republic of Armenia, namely Artašat, Vayoc'-jor, Kotayk', Hoktemberyan, etc. (Ačarıyan 1911: 288; 1926: 9–13; 1951: 359; Łaribyan 1953: 342–343; Asatryan 1962: 9–11).

Dialect description of Urmia/Xoy in Ačarıyan (1911: 288–290), Łaribyan (1939: 128–146; 1953: 342–358) and Asatryan (1962). Marāḷa is described in Ačarıyan (1926).

Phonology

Before a syllable-initial consonant, the velars *k/kʰ* and *g/gʷ* become *y*, while *kʰ/kʷ* becomes *hy*, cf. *taxtak* 'board, plank', pl. *taxtəyner*; *axč'ikʰ* 'girl', pl. *axč'iyner*, *p'et'äğʷ* 'beehive', pl. *p'et'äyner*; *irekʷ* 'three', *irehy xet* 'three times', etc. This also holds for words with, e. g., *k'n* from *gn*, such as *aganim* 'to put on clothes' > *xahynel* (cf. *hak'ne/il* in the majority of dialects). See also §6.5, Van. On Ačarıyan's Law and the shift *h* > *x*, see §§5.1, 6.5 (Van), 6.8 (Łarabaḷ).

Nominal morphology

There are three plural markers:

- *-er* in monosyllables, e. g. *ec* (from CA *ayc* 'goat'), pl. *ec-er*;
- *-ner* (1) in words that became monosyllabic after the loss of final *-n*, e. g. *kʷär* (< CA *gařn* 'lamb'), pl. *kʷärner*; (2) in polysyllables, e. g. *kʷäzän* (< CA *gazan* 'beast'), pl. *kʷäzänner*;
- *-kʷer* (a combination of the Old Armenian plural markers *kʰ* and *-e(a)r*) in polysyllables, e. g. *pälis* (< CA acc.PL *banali-s* 'key'), pl. *pälis-kʷer*.

In some subdialects one finds the following distribution: *-ner* in words ending in a vowel, and *-kʷer* in words ending in a consonant, cf. *ařu-ner* (*ařu* 'brook') vs. *karas-kʷer* (*karas* 'jar').

In some subdialects the marker *-kʷer* is used in possessive constructions for expressing the plurality of the possessor, cf. *tun-əs* 'my house', *tən-er-əs* 'my houses' and *tənə-kʷer-əs* 'our houses'. The paradigms of *car*, *o*-stem 'tree' and *hogi* 'spirit' in CA and the Xoy dialect (Asatryan 1962: 77–78) are provided in Table 24.

Table 24: Nominal paradigms CA and Xoy dialect

		CA	Xoy			CA	Xoy
SG	N	<i>cař</i>	<i>cař</i>	PL	<i>cař-kʻ</i>	<i>cař-nēr</i>	
	ACC	<i>(z-)cař</i>	<i>cař</i>		<i>(z-)cař-s</i>	<i>cař-nēr</i>	
	GD	<i>cař-o-y</i>	<i>cař-i(/ə)</i>		<i>cař-o-cʻ</i>	<i>cař-nēr-i(/ə)</i>	
	ABL	<i>i cař-o-y</i>	<i>cař-ē</i>		<i>i cař-o-cʻ</i>	<i>cař-nēr-ē</i>	
	I	<i>cař-o-v</i>	<i>cař-ɔv</i>		<i>cař-o-v-kʻ</i>	<i>cař-nēr-ɔv</i>	
		CA	Xoy			CA	Xoy
SG	N	<i>hogi</i>	<i>xɔkʻi</i>	PL	<i>hogi-kʻ</i>	<i>xɔkʻi-nēr</i>	
	ACC	<i>(z-)hogi</i>	<i>xɔkʻi</i>		<i>(z-)hogi-s</i>	<i>xɔkʻi-nēr</i>	
	GD	<i>hogw-o-y</i>	<i>xɔkʻ-u</i>		<i>hogw-o-cʻ</i>	<i>xɔkʻi-nēr-i(/ə)</i>	
	ABL	<i>i hogw-o-y</i>	<i>xɔkʻiy-ε</i>		<i>i hogw-o-cʻ</i>	<i>xɔkʻi-nēr-ε</i>	
	I	<i>hogw-o-v</i>	<i>xɔkʻ(iy)-ɔv</i>		<i>hogw-o-v-kʻ</i>	<i>xɔkʻi-nēr-ɔv</i>	

Verbal morphology

The dialect belongs to the *l*-group; the indicative present is formed as with the construction participle + copula: *üzəl em* 'I want', *et'äl em* 'I go' (Xoy); *üzeli im* 'I want', *amč'ənalā yim* 'I am ashamed' (Marāḷa).

Remarkable is Urmia, in which the 3rd singular form has *-l* vs. *-s* in the rest of paradigm, thus: *k'ires em/s* 'I/you write', 3SG *k'irel i* 'he or she writes'; *mənas em/s* 'I/you stay', 3SG *mənal i* 'he or she stays'. It is interesting to compare this pattern to that of Areš/Havarik (an eastern dialect displaying no consonant shift), in which the 1st person has *-li(s)*, whereas in the others the *-l-* is combined with the participial ending *-um*: 1SG *sirelis əm / sireli yəm*, 2SG *sireləm əs*, 3SG *sirelim i* (CA *sirem* 'to love').¹⁹ The paradigms of the present indicative of the verb *grem* 'to write' in Urmia and Areš/Havarik are provided in Table 25.

Table 25: Verbal paradigms CA and Urmia and Areš/Havarik dialects

	CA	Urmia	Areš/Hav.
SG	<i>grem</i>	<i>k'ires em</i>	<i>g'irelis əm / g'ireli yəm</i>
	<i>gres</i>	<i>k'ires es</i>	<i>g'ireləm əs</i>
	<i>grē</i>	<i>k'irel i</i>	<i>g'irelim i</i>
PL	<i>gremk'</i>	<i>k'ires enk'</i>	<i>g'ireləm ank'</i>
	<i>grēk'</i>	<i>k'ires ek''</i>	<i>g'ireləm ak'</i>
	<i>gren</i>	<i>k'ires en</i>	<i>g'ireləm an</i>

¹⁹ For the forms and a discussion, see the relevant dialect descriptions, particularly Asatryan (1962: 7–17), as well as G. Geworgyan (1985, 2010).

The imperfect is formed by addition of the particle *er* to the present form, but the 3SG form is not distinct here. Thus:

- *k'ires em* 'I write' vs. *k'ires em er* 'I was writing';
- *k'ires es* 'you write' vs. *k'ires es er* 'you were writing';
- *k'irel i* 'he/she writes' vs. *k'ires er* 'he/she was writing'.

The imperfect in Areš is composed of *-lam* + copula: *g'irelam ey* 'I was writing', *g'irelam eyr* 'you were writing', *g'irelam er* 'he/she was writing', etc.

The debitive is formed with the particle *ti* (< *piti*), e. g. *ti k'irem* 'I have to write'. Remarkable is the by-form *tikyi* / *tikyā*. A very interesting feature of this dialect is the use of a possessive suffix with verbs, e. g. *me ci p'nenk'-t* (one horse let's.catch-2SG) 'let's catch a horse for you'. This is due to Persian influence, cf. *dādam-at* 'I saw you'.

Syntax of basic clauses

- (18) *et vāxkuy Nāzār-ə me k'əšer kəngə xetə*
 that coward Nazar-DEF.ART one night wife with
šemk'y-n ə tüs ik'älə
 threshold-DEF.ART COP.3SG out come.PRS.3SG
 'One night, this coward Nazar steps out onto the threshold' (*kəngə* < *kənik'*
 'wife'; *ik'älə* < *ik'äl* 'to come')
 (Asatryan 1962: 170, line 8–9 from bottom)
- (19) *mən^y ləsir en^y er k'yə zərzändeli anun-ə*
 we hear 1PL.PST.PRF your (SG) fearsome name-DEF.ART
 'We had heard your fearsome name (fame)' (*ləsel* 'to hear, listen to')
 (Asatryan 1962: 175, line 5)
- (20) *axč'ik'-ə an-kərel cəmerük' i*
 girl-DEF.ART un-cut watermelon COP.3SG
 'The girl is an uncut watermelon'
 (Asatryan 1962: 183, line 9)

6.7. Ararat (the Ararat or North-Eastern group)

This is one of the largest Armenian dialects. It is mainly spoken in the northern and central parts of the Republic of Armenia, historically the eastern part of the province of Ayrarat, as well as the territory of Taširk', a district in the province of Gugark'.

Dialect description: Lori (Asatryan 1968), Hoktemberyan region (Bałdasar-yan-T'ap'alč'yan 1973), Aštarak (Kapancjan 1975), general (Markosyan 1989). Dictionary of the Ararat dialect: Nawasardean (1903).

Phonology

Ararat is a typically eastern dialect with indicative present in *um* (*sirə/um* *em* ‘I love’) and penultimate accentuation. The series *g/k/k’* practically remains intact; some subdialects have voiced aspirates *b’/g’/d’* in initial position.

The diphthongs *oy* and *iw* both become *u* or (in e. g. Lori) *i*, e. g. *loys* ‘light’ > *lus* or *lis*, *k’oyr* ‘sister’ > *k’ur* or *k’ir*; *ariwn* ‘blood’ > *arun* or *arin*, *jiwn* ‘snow’ > *jun* or *jin*.

Nominal morphology

The paradigms of *hac’*, *i*-stem ‘bread’, and *mard*, *o*-stem ‘man, human’ in the Ararat dialect (Ačaryan 1957: 549–551; Markosyan 1989: 109) are provided in Table 26.

Table 26: Nominal paradigms in the Ararat dialect

		CA	Ararat		CA	Ararat
SG	N	<i>hac’</i>	<i>hac’</i>	PL	<i>hac’-k’</i>	<i>hac’-er</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)hac’</i>	<i>hac’</i>		<i>(z)hac’-s</i>	<i>hac’-er</i>
	GD	<i>hac’-i</i>	<i>hac’-i</i>		<i>hac’-i-c’</i>	<i>hac’-er-i</i>
	ABL	<i>i hac’-ē</i>	<i>hac’-ic’</i>		<i>i hac’-i-c’</i>	<i>hac’-er-ic’</i>
	I	<i>hac’-i-w</i>	<i>hac’-ɔv</i>		<i>hac’-i-w-k’</i>	<i>hac’-er-ɔv</i>

		CA	Ararat
SG	N	<i>mard</i>	<i>mart’</i>
	ACC	<i>(z)mard</i>	<i>mart’(-u)</i>
	GD	<i>mard-oy</i>	<i>mart’-u</i>
	ABL	<i>i mard-oy</i>	<i>mart’-uc’</i>
	I	<i>mard-o-v</i>	<i>mart’-ɔv</i>

Verbal morphology

The debitive *pəti* (< *piti*) can be both preposed and postposed, in the latter case being conjugated, e. g. *pəti alam* vs. *atal (pə)tem* ‘I have to grind’.

One of the most interesting features of the Lori subdialect is the doublet forms of imperfect, one of which is identical with the CA paradigm and can be derived from it, though a secondary creation is also considered possible (Asatryan 1968: 24–25, 121–122; Ĵahukyan 1972: 105). Table 27 gives the relevant forms in CA and the Lori subdialect.

Table 27: Verbal paradigms for the imperfect in CA and Lori subdialect

	Present		Imperfect		
	CA	Lori	CA	Lori 1	Lori 2
SG	<i>berem</i>	<i>berəm em</i>	<i>berēi</i>	<i>berēi</i>	<i>berəm i</i>
	<i>beres</i>	<i>berəm es</i>	<i>berēir</i>	<i>berēir</i>	<i>berəm ir</i>
	<i>berē</i>	<i>berəm a</i>	<i>berēr</i>	<i>berēr</i>	<i>berəm er</i>
PL	<i>beremkʻ</i>	<i>berəm enkʻ</i>	<i>berēakʻ</i>	<i>berēinkʻ</i>	<i>berəm inkʻ</i>
	<i>berēkʻ</i>	<i>berəm ekʻ</i>	<i>berēikʻ</i>	<i>berēikʻ</i>	<i>berəm ikʻ</i>
	<i>beren</i>	<i>berəm en</i>	<i>berēin</i>	<i>berēin</i>	<i>berəm in</i>

Similarly, there are doublet forms for the 3SG.AOR. ending in Lori, e. g. *ber-ucʻ* vs. *ε-ber* ‘he/she brought’. The latter is an archaic relic of CA *e-ber*. For the complete aorist paradigm, see §6.8, Łarabał.

Syntax of basic clauses

Łormacik Pōłosə (subdialect of Astapat)

- (21) *łormacik Pōłos-ə k-aser*
 deceased Pōłos-DEF.ART IND-say.IMPF.3SG
 ‘The deceased Pōłos was saying’
 (Ačarıyan 1911: 48, line 9 from bottom)
- (22) *mēnkʻ vēcʻ kʻur inkʻ hama axper čʻ-uninkʻ*
 we six sister were but brother NEG-have.IMPF.1PL
 ‘We were six sisters but did not have brothers’
 (Ačarıyan 1911: 49, line 7)
- (23) *tʻakʻavor-ə gənəm a bał-ə*
 king-DEF.ART go-3SG.PRS garden-DEF.ART
 ‘The king is going to the garden’
 (HayŽotHekʻ 8, 1977: 443, line 4 from bottom)

6.8. Łarabał (the Łarabał / Šamaxi or extreme North-Eastern intergroup)

This is one of the largest Armenian dialects. It mainly occupies the territory of the Armenian historical provinces of Arcʻax and Utikʻ. It is mainly spoken in Republic of Artsakh/*Arcʻax* (Nagorno-Karabakh Republic). The population here is now ca. 140,000. Some of the subdialects of Łarabał are spoken in surroundings, such as Goris/Syunikʻ, south of the Republic of Armenia.

Dialect description: Łarabał proper (Ačarıyan 1899; Davtʻyan 1966); Goris/Syunikʻ (Vartapetjan 1962, Margaryan 1975); Tavuš (Mežuncʻ 1989); Šałax (Łaribyan 1939: 50–58; Davtʻyan 1966); Hadrutʻ (Łaribyan 1939: 107–127; Połosyan 1965; Davtʻyan 1966). Historical phonology of the dialects of the Syunikʻ and Arcʻax areas: (Ałabekyan 2010). Copious dictionary: (Sargsyan 2013).

Phonology

An archaic set of isoglosses such as accent retraction onto penultimate syllable and Ačařyan’s Law (fronting of back vowels after voiced obstruents)²⁰ demonstrates an opposition between the South-Eastern periphery (Łarabał/Agulis area) and Van, on the one hand, and the Central and Western regions, on the other. The Van-Urmia intermediate area may originally have formed part of the South-Eastern area. Note also the sharp contrast between Muř and Łarabał (see section 6). Łarabał and Van also share the devoicing consonant shift, in this case in contrast with Agulis, Meři and Křzen.

The evidence for Ačařyan’s Law (see the table in 6.5, Van, as well as Martirosyan 2010: 747) corroborates the assumption of A. E. Xač’atryan (1984: 321–322) that Łarabał *pérp’el* is the regular outcome of Classical Armenian *borb-* ‘to inflame’ rather than an archaic reflex of an otherwise unattested *e*-grade form **berb-*. Similarly untenable is the derivation of Łarabał *kétel* and Meři *gétel* ‘to hide, conceal oneself’ from an archaic **get-*. A. E. Xač’atryan (1984: 321) convincingly argues that these forms rather continue *gatel* ‘to hide’ through Ačařyan’s Law.

Nominal morphology

Morphological archaisms: Łarabał gen. *térnə* from CA *te-arn*, gen. of *tēr* < **ti-ayr* ‘master, lord’ (Martirosyan 2010: 61); Łarabał *ceřok’* from CA INSTR.PL *jeř-a-w-k’* ‘by/with hands’ (Davt’yan 1966: 107). Table 28 shows the paradigm of *hac’* ‘bread’ (Davt’yan 1966: 105, 114–118):

Table 28: Nominal paradigms in Łarabał

		CA	Łrb. indef.	Łrb. def.
SG	N	<i>hac’</i>	<i>hac’</i>	<i>hac’-ə</i>
	ACC	<i>(z-)hac’</i>	<i>hac’</i>	<i>hac’-ə</i>
	GD	<i>hac’-i</i>	<i>hac’-u</i>	<i>hac’-(ə-)en</i>
	ABL	<i>i hac’-ē</i>	<i>hac’-a</i>	<i>hac’-a-n</i>
	I	<i>hac’-i-w</i>	<i>hac’-a-v</i>	<i>hac’-a-v-ə</i>
	LOC	<i>i hac’-i</i>	<i>hac’-um,</i> <i>hac’u meč’in</i>	<i>hac’-um-ə,</i> <i>hac’en meč’in</i>

²⁰ For Ačařyan’s Law in Łarabał see Alabekyan (2010: 154).

	CA	Łrb. indef.	Łrb. def.
PL N	<i>hac'-'k'</i>	<i>hac'-'er</i>	<i>hac'-'er-ə</i>
ACC	<i>(z-)hac'-'s</i>	<i>hac'-'er</i>	<i>hac'-'er-ə</i>
GD	<i>hac'-'i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-'er-ε/u</i>	<i>hac'-'er-ε-n</i>
ABL	<i>i hac'-'i-c'</i>	<i>hac'-'er-a</i>	<i>hac'-'er-a-n</i>
I	<i>hac'-'i-w-k'</i>	<i>hac'-'er-a-v</i>	<i>hac'-'er-a-v-ə</i>
LOC	<i>i hac'-'s</i>	<i>hac'-'er-əm,</i> <i>hac'-'erε mēč'in</i>	<i>hac'-'er-əm-ə,</i> <i>hac'-'erεn mēč'in</i>

Verbal morphology

Łarabał basically belongs to the *um*-branch: indicative present *sírəm əm* (also in Tavuš), Goris *sirum əm* 'I love'. Šařax and Hadrut', however, belong to (*l*) *is*-branch, cf. *mənayis əm* and *mənas əm* 'I stay', respectively.

CA paradigm of *ek-*, suppl. aor. of *gam* 'to come' (1SG *eki*, 2SG *ekir*, 3SG *ekn*, 3PL *ekin*, etc., imper. *ek*) is preserved in Łarabał aor. *yéke, yéker, yékə*, imper. *yek*, etc. (Martirosyan 2010: 249). The CA and Mid.Arm. aorist paradigms of the verb *tam* 'to give' are shown together with those in the dialects of Šamaxi (Bařramyan 1964: 129, 162, 167), Křzen (Bařramyan 1961: 151), Hadrut' (Połosyan 1965: 212) and Ararat/Lori (Asatryan 1968: 141) in Table 29.

Table 29: Verbal paradigms in CA and Mid. Arm., and selected dialects

	CA	Mid. Arm.	Šamaxi	Křzen	Hadrut'	Lori
SG	<i>etu</i> <i>etur</i> <i>et</i>	<i>tu-i</i> <i>tu-ir</i> <i>etu-r, eret, tu-aw</i>	<i>tur/vi</i> <i>tur/vir</i> <i>u-tur, tur/vav</i>	<i>tə/uvi</i> <i>tə/uvir</i> <i>ə-rət, təvuc'</i>	<i>tuve</i> <i>tuver</i> <i>tu/əvav</i>	<i>təvi</i> <i>təvir</i> <i>təvuc'</i>
PL	<i>tuak'</i>	<i>tuak'</i>	<i>turink'</i>	<i>tə/uvink'</i>	<i>tuvek'</i> ^y	<i>təvink'</i>
	<i>etuk'</i> <i>etun</i>	<i>tuik'</i> <i>tuin</i>	<i>turik'</i> <i>turin</i>	<i>tə/uvik'</i> <i>tə/uvin</i>	<i>tuvek'</i> ^y <i>tuven</i>	<i>təvik'</i> <i>təvin</i>

Syntax of basic clauses

- (24) *t'ak'aver-ə* *həvak'um a* *ir* *yerg'ir-i* *imastun*
king-DEF.ART gather.PTCP-COP.3SG.PRS his country-GEN.SG wise
mart'-'unc'-'ə
man-ACC.PL-DEF.ART
'The king is gathering the wise men of his country'
(Davt'yan 1966: 263, lines 11–12 from bottom)
- (25) *min* *t'ak'aver* *məhet* *min* *araz* *a tēhnum*
one king once one dream COP.3SG-see.PTCP
'Once upon a time a king sees a dream'
(Davt'yan 1966: 265, line 16 from bottom)

- (26) *šināc'i Sirk'isin Maral ənəməv min kəv*
 villager Sargis-GEN.DAT Maral name-INS.SG one cow
uner
 have.3SG.IMPF
 'The villager Sargis had a cow named Maral'
 (Davt'yan 1966: 280, line 12)

Abbreviations

1,2,3	first, second, third person	MASC	Masculine
ACC	Accusative	NEG	Negation
COP	Copula	NOM	Nominative
DAT	Dative	PL	Plural
DEF	Definite	PRF.PTCP	Perfect participle
DEF.ART	Definite article	PRS	Present
GEN	Genitive	PST.PTCP	Past participle
IMPF	Imperfective	SG	Singular
IND	Indicative		

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ISBN 978-3-11-042608-3