

The Armenian Dialect of Aslanbeg

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April 1993

0. Introduction

The following is loosely based on Hrachea Ačārean’s *nnu iwn Aslanbēgi Barbaṛə* [“Study of the Aslanbeg Dialect”], which appeared in the journal *Bazmavēp* in 1898. As the Aslanbeg dialect shows many features of interest to dialectologists and theoretical linguists alike, but Ačārean’s original article is written in Armenian and no longer available to the general academic community, I have undertaken this reworking for all those who may benefit from it. All passages taken directly from Ačārean’s original article are italicized.

Aslanbeg is located in the northwest corner of Asia Minor, three hours by foot from the cities of Nicomedia and Isnimit (modern Iznik and Izmit, slightly southeast of Istanbul). There are actually three Aslanbegs (each now called ‘Aslanbey’) in northwest Turkey; though none of these appear on any map of Turkey, the Gazetteer lists their locations as 40.44N 30.48E, 41.46N 33.52E, and 40.42N 30.01E; Jahukyan (1972) places it at roughly 41N 29.5E, near modern Gölcük, on the coast facing Izmit. Until 1915 the village consisted of some 4000 Armenians, whose primary occupations were farming and producing silkworms, grapevines, charcoal, and tobacco. The dialect now appears to be extinct.

At the time of Ačārean’s 1898 monograph, Aslanbeg was surrounded by numerous villages of Turkish, Laz, and Circassian refugees, who had been brought there for various reasons. According to Ačārean, the inability of these neighbors to keep steady jobs irritated the industrious and hardworking Armenians of Aslanbeg, and consequently fighting often erupted between Aslanbeg and the neighboring villages. We will see some such squabbling in the text that follows, but first I would like to examine briefly the phonological and morphological features that distinguish the Aslanbeg dialect from standard modern Armenian.

1. Phonology

1.1. Phonetics and phonemic inventory

The Aslanbeg dialect contains the following phonemic inventory:

<i>i</i>			<i>u</i>		
<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>		
<i>ä</i>					
	<i>a</i>				
<i>p^h</i>			<i>č^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>	<i>ʁ</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>		

1.1.1. Vowels

The phoneme *u* is always realized phonetically as [ü]; similarly, *o* is pronounced [ö], except in learnedisms. Unconditioned fronting of *u* is fairly common (cf. French, Greek, Welsh), as is

fronting of *o* to *ö* (Ačarean (1911:174) mentions that the dialects of Shabin-Karahisar, Sebastia, and Eudokia also show this development), but simultaneous fronting of *o* and *u* is rare, and normally only occurs to maximize phonetic distinction from *ɔ* and *ʊ* (e.g. in Mongolian and some southern American English dialects; see Vaux 1993). Since the Aslanbeg dialect does not have *ɔ* and *ʊ* phonemes, the motivation for this change is unclear. According to Ačarean, each is pronounced with an offglide one degree lower in height: [üö], [öa]. Throughout this paper I follow Ačarean’s transcription for ease of reference.

As in the dialects of Yoghun-Oluk, Kabusie, Shamaxi, and Aramo, the phoneme *a* is nasalised when preceded or followed by a nasal consonant (including across word boundaries— e.g. line 56 *əllā nā*)¹; similar processes are found in the dialects of Hamshen and Agn (where *a* becomes *o* before tautosyllabic nasals), Avestan (where *a* is nasalized by following tautosyllabic nasals), and many other languages.

(XX)	Aslanbeg	standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>ǰāmp^hān</i>	<i>čanabarh-ə, ǰamp^ha-n</i>	road-def.
	<i>gü k^hām</i>	<i>ku gam</i>	I come
	<i>vä ə megān` ǰāmp^ha gel l ā²</i>	<i>ve ə miasin ǰamp^ha gellen</i>	the six set out together

The third plural form *gel l ā*, in which *ā* occurs in a non-nasal environment, seems at first blush to suggest that the nasalized *ā* is phonemic in Aslanbeg, rather than being an allophone of /a/. However, examination of the Aslanbeg verbal system reveals that the third plural ending is /-n/; thus, the underlying form of [gel l ā] must end in an /-n/ as well, since it is a third plural form. I assume that the underlying representation of this form is /gu-ell-a-n/; the underlying /n/ nasalizes the preceding /a/, and then disappears. Given this analysis, we can maintain our claim that *ā* is not a phoneme in Aslanbeg.

Aslanbeg is distinctive in having a second low vowel, represented by Ačarean as <əa>, which is also nasalized when adjacent to nasal consonants. This *əa*, which Ačarean describes as a low vowel closer to a closed *a* than to *ä*, articulated somewhere between *a*, *e*, and *ə*, has diverse origins; I have represented all forms occurring in Ačarean’s monograph in (1):

(1)	Aslanbeg	standard Armenian	gloss
a. oral	<i>əannüg</i>	<i>Onnik</i>	personal name
	<i>gük^həa</i>	<i>k^hu ga</i>	(s)he comes
b. nasal	<i>nəā</i>	<i>ne</i> (Istanbul dialect < Tk)	if
	<i>həməā</i>	Tk. <i>ama</i>	but
	<i>k^hnəā</i>	<i>gna</i>	(s)he comes
	<i>(v)inəā</i>	<i>inə(n)</i>	9

¹ Though Ačarean states that all a’s adjacent to nasal consonants are nasalized, but in his text we find numerous counterexamples, which may be typographical oversights or perhaps something more significant: p. 13 *ānaray* (**ānāray*), *lan, jan*; p. 14 *ærmay*; p. 16 *gameß, -anæ*; l. 19 *ißna*; l. 89 *hezna÷*. In several of these cases, we can say that the *a* was not yet an *a* at the time nasalization applied, e.g. *lan* < *layn* ‘wide’, *jan* < *jayn* ‘voice’, *gameß* < *gomeß* ‘bull’, *-anæ* < Tk. *konja* ‘bud’. This is slightly problematic, because nasalization is normally a low-level phonetic phenomenon, which applies after all other rules.

² This phrase occurs in sentence 51 of the text, where it is given as *vä ə megas ǰāmp^ha g ellā* (note *megas* for *megān*).

<i>əānji</i>	<i>inji</i> (also acc. <i>əānjis</i> , abl. <i>əānjimen</i> , instr. <i>əānjimöv</i>)	me-dat.
<i>enünəā</i>	<i>anun-ə</i>	name-def.
<i>k^höbü inəā</i>	<i>gołu iwn-ə</i>	theft-def.
<i>dünəā</i>	<i>tun-ə</i>	house-def.
<i>məā</i>	<i>mə, mi</i>	one, a
<i>Xašdürinəā</i>	<i>Xač^hatur-in-ə</i>	Xachatur's [thing]
<i>p^hü ünəā</i>	Tk. <i>bütün</i> + Arm <i>-ə</i>	all-def.

Clearly the status of oral *əa* is questionable at best; one of its two examples, *əannük*, is probably a typographical error for *əānnük*, as we should expect it to be nasalized by the following *n*. Nasalized *əā*, on the other hand, is relatively frequent. It appears to be simply a nasalized version of the reduced vowel *ə* (e.g. *məā*, *inəā* = Standard Western Armenian (SWA) *mə*, *inə*), which is extremely common in Armenian. If my hypothesis is correct, the rarity of *əa* has a simple explanation: the non-nasal counterpart of *əā* is *ə*, so we should not necessarily expect to find any *əa*'s.

Returning to the question of nasalization, one immediately wonders why only low vowels are affected (as in many languages, *ə* and its nasalized counterpart *əā* appear to act as low vowels); though there is no means of representing this fact within the current model of phonology, it has a relatively straightforward phonetic explanation. The feature [nasal] is acoustically more salient in low vowels; that is to say, a nasalized *ā* is more perceptually distinct from *a* than a nasalized *~i* is from *i*, for example, because the lowering of the velar port which characterizes the feature [nasal] produces a low frequency prominence at around 250 Hz, which is quite close to the average first formant values for high vowels such as *i* and *u*, but far removed from the formants of low vowels such as *a* (Lieberman and Blumstein 1988:222, 226). In addition, *i* and *u* require a tight seal of velopharyngeal port, which normally overrides the lowering of the velum produced by adjacent nasal consonants, whereas the velum commonly remains open in the production of *a* adjacent to nasals (Lieberman and Blumstein 1988:124).

Nasal consonants (*m* and *n*) have the additional affect of turning initial *a* into *e* when the following syllable contains *o* or *u* (i.e. *ö* or *ü*). Ačarean cites the following examples:

(2)	Aslanbeg	standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>enüš</i>	<i>anuš</i>	sweet
	<i>enün</i>	<i>anun</i>	name
	<i>enör</i>	<i>anor</i>	their
	<i>enenk^h</i>	<i>anenk^h</i>	they do
	<i>enen</i>	<i>anon</i>	their (3pl.gen/dat)
	<i>enö i</i>	<i>anö i</i>	hungry
	<i>emür</i>	<i>amur</i>	solid

It is not clear to me what causes this development.

Ačarean also mentions that *a* becomes *ä* in the following cases:

(3)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>väzär</i>	<i>Łazar</i>	Lazarus
	<i>änigüg</i>	??	?? (also <i>enigüg</i> , <i>änägüg</i>)
	<i>ärč^hi</i>	<i>arji</i>	before

<i>ämjün</i>	<i>amj(a)</i> (Turkish)	uncle
<i>yär</i>	<i>yard</i>	straw

The fronting of *a* to *ä* before *r* is common in Armenian dialects, and the general phenomenon of *r* raising vowels is found in many languages; for a discussion of the theoretical motivations underlying these processes, one may consult Prieto 1993.

Original *a* raises further to *e* in cases like the following:

(XX)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>eṙnānk^h</i>	<i>darṙank^h</i>	we (re)turn (subjunctive)
	<i>genin</i>	<i>k-anen</i> (SEA)	they do
	<i>enigüg³</i>	??	??

Aslanbeg also shows extensive reduction of *a* > *ə*, as in most Armenian dialects; Ačarean lists the following forms:

(4)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>əbə</i>	<i>hapa</i>	then
	<i>k^həni</i>	<i>k^hani</i>	how many
	<i>əmmen</i>	<i>amen</i>	every
	<i>əjəb</i>	<i>aĵaba</i> (Turkish)	I wonder if
	<i>mənc^hig⁴</i>	<i>manč^hik</i>	men

In addition, *a* is generally reduced to *ə* or lost in the second syllable of trisyllabic words, as in Van and numerous other dialects:

(5)	<i>a</i> > <i>ə</i>		
	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>Garəbed</i>	<i>Karapet</i>	Karapet (personal name)
	<i>hayrəbed</i>	<i>hayrapet</i>	patriarch
	<i>marəbed</i>	<i>mayrapet</i>	abbess
	<i>varžəbed</i>	<i>varžapet</i>	professor
	<i>var əbed</i>	<i>vardapet</i>	archimandrite
	<i>bardəgan</i>	<i>partak^han</i>	debtor
	<i>Haməzasb</i>	<i>Hamazasp</i>	Hamazasp (personal name)
	<i>Bəkdəsar</i>	<i>Bahtasar</i>	Balthasar (personal name)
	<i>sargəvak^h</i>	<i>sargawak^h</i>	deacon

(6)	<i>a</i> > \emptyset		
	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>harsnik^h</i>	<i>harsanik^h</i>	wedding
	<i>Xašdiir</i>	<i>Xač^ha ur</i>	Xachatur (personal name)

³ Ačarean also mentions forms *änigüg* and *änəgüg*.

⁴ But *manč^hig* is also used; this is clearly a borrowing from the literary language, since it fails to show vowel reduction or nasalization of the *a*.

From the data in (5) and (6) we may infer that Aslanbeg had primary final stress and secondary initial stress at the time that vowel reduction applied. The limited set of data provided by Ačarean does not allow us to determine if there were any other secondary stresses.

The diphthong *ay* becomes *a* in stressed syllables, and *e* in unstressed syllables:

(7) stressed

Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
<i>lan</i>	<i>layn</i>	wide
<i>an</i>	<i>jayn</i>	voice
<i>aj</i>	<i>ayc</i>	goat
<i>as</i>	<i>ays</i>	this
<i>jar</i>	<i>cayr</i>	peak

(8) unstressed

Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
<i>neyil</i>	<i>nayil</i>	look
<i>ek^hi</i>	<i>aygi</i>	vineyard
<i>erig</i>	<i>ayrik</i>	masculine
<i>erel</i>	<i>ayrel</i>	burn

Note that this development applies before the application of affixes:

- (9) *ayj* ‘goat’ + *-u* ‘genitive’ > *ajü* ‘goat-gen.’ (**ejü*)
ays ‘this’ + *ōr* ‘day’ > *asör* ‘today’ (**esör*)

Classical Armenian *e* remains unchanged in initial position and in closed syllables:

(10)

Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
<i>erey</i>	<i>erek</i>	evening
<i>edö</i>	<i>Petros</i>	Peter
<i>ĵermay</i>	<i>ĉermak</i>	white

There are some exceptions to this generalization in the verbal system; e.g. *gə siräs* ‘you (sg.) love’, *gə siräk^h* ‘you (pl.) love’, *sirä* ‘(s)he loved’, *vä /väs* ‘6’.

In open syllables, *e* is pronounced as *ä*. Ačarean mentions the following examples:

(11)

Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
<i>vä ə</i>	<i>ve -ə</i>	6-def.
<i>äkin</i>	<i>deġin</i>	yellow
<i>ä</i>	<i>e</i>	is
<i>iärə</i>	<i>ji-er-ə</i>	the horses

The alternation between *e* and *ä* is quite productive, as shown by the following:

- (12) *godrdär-in* ‘they are broken’ : *godrder k^ha är in* ‘xx’

As in other dialects, *o* is unrounded before nasals. Ačarean mentions the following examples:

(13)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>ännüg</i>	<i>Onnik^h</i> (also <i>ənnüg</i>)	personal name
	<i>ämüz</i>	Tk. <i>omuz</i>	shoulder
	<i>k^hameš</i>	<i>gomēš</i>	bull
	<i>kanja</i>	Tk. <i>k^honja</i>	bud

Though similar processes occur in other dialects (e.g. Agn, Maxudianz 1911), its cause is not clear to me.

The classical diphthong *iw* becomes *ü* in Aslanbeg:

(14)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>jüürə</i>	<i>čiwł-er-ə</i>	the branches
	<i>ariün</i>	<i>ariwn</i>	blood
	<i>aliür</i>	<i>aliwr</i>	flour
(15)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>en ü in</i>	<i>endu iwn</i>	madness'
	<i>p^harsü in</i>	<i>barjru iwn</i>	height'

It is not clear whether *iw* directly became *ü*, by merging the [-back] feature of *i* and the [+round] feature of *u*, or first became *u* (as occurred in many other Armenian dialects), and then shared the fate of original *u*'s.

Classical *ē* regularly becomes *i* in the first singular and plural and third plural non-past forms of the first conjugation:

(15)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>gə sirim</i>	<i>ku sirem</i>	I love
	<i>güdin</i>	<i>ku uten</i>	they eat
	<i>gə p^härim</i>	<i>ku beren</i>	they carry
	<i>bidi əsim</i>	<i>piti asem</i>	I will say
	<i>güdink^h</i>	<i>ku utenk^h</i>	we eat

In other words, *e* becomes *i* before nasals, as in pre-Armenian (e.g. *hing* '5' < **penk^we*) and other Armenian dialects such as Agn and Hamshen.

Classical *i* generally remains unchanged, but reduces to *ə* in the following words:

(16)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>ənji</i>	<i>inji</i>	me
	<i>əzərən</i>	<i>z-iren</i>	their
	<i>həva[?]</i>	<i>hiwand</i>	sick
	<i>həvə[?]ja</i>	<i>hiwanda ay</i>	I became sick
	<i>ənč^hök^h</i>	<i>inč^h-ok^h</i>	until

1.1.2. Consonants

According to Ačārean, the pronunciation of the obstruents approaches that of the Istanbul dialect. The classical voiceless aspirates {*p^h, k^h, t^h, č^h*} remain unchanged, as in all Armenian dialects. As in standard Western Armenian, classical {*b, g, d, j, j*} are pronounced as [*p^h, k^h, t^h, č^h*]. According to Ačārean, the outcome of the original series {*p, k, t, č, c*} “falls between that of Eastern {*b, g, d, j, j*} and {*p, k, t, č, c*”}, by which he may mean that they are half-voiced.

Aslanbeg shares with many other Armenian dialects (Karin, Sebastia, Akn, etc.; see Muradyan 1972) the development of *f* from original *h* before *o*. Unlike other dialects, however, this change is restricted in Aslanbeg (and in western dialects in general) to the deictic pronouns *fös* ‘here’ (< *hos*), *fö* ‘there (by you)’ (< *hod*), *fön* ‘over there’ (< *hon*).

As in all current forms of Armenian, classical *ł*, which is generally assumed to have been a dark (i.e. [+back]) *l*, is pronounced as [ʙ] in Aslanbeg. Interestingly, standard Armenian *աՅՕՅ* ‘grape’ becomes *havöʙ* in Aslanbeg. The dissimilation of *ł* to *h* before *ʙ* is also found in the dialects of Alashkert, Agulis, Shamaxi, Sebastia, Erevan, Hamshen, etc., and the change of *ʙ* to *v* is paralleled in Akn, Tigranakert, Erevan, and many other dialects (q.v. Ačārean 1973:322).

Another curious change found in Aslanbeg is that of the cluster *hr* to *n* in the name *Mihran*, which becomes *Minan*. I have no explanation for this development.

We will treat most other consonantal developments in the following section on syllable structure.

1.2. Syllable structure

Aslanbeg has significantly simpler syllable structure than standard Armenian, which has led to a series of interesting phonological developments, primarily in syllable codas (Ačārean unfortunately follows standard Armenian orthography in not indicating epenthetic schwas, so except in a few cases we cannot determine the treatment of onset clusters, which are normally resolved by epenthesis in Armenian dialects). Aslanbeg codas cannot contain more than one element, and do not appear to allow distinctive place or voice features, much like Klingenberg’s Law in Hausa.

Stops occurring as first members of consonant clusters (17a) or in final position before a pause (17b)⁵ or in word-final position before a consonant-initial word (17c), except before *h* (17d), are normally realized as a glottal stop [ʔ]⁶:

(17)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
a.	<i>yeʔk^hə</i>	<i>e k^hə</i>	back
	<i>šaʔ</i>	<i>ša</i>	much
	<i>marʔ</i>	<i>mard</i>	man
	<i>üʔ</i>	<i>duk^h</i>	you pl.
	<i>p^haʔ</i>	<i>p^hay</i>	wood
	<i>daʔrə</i>	<i>taygr-ə</i>	brother-in-law-def.
	<i>dkaʔnä^hrə</i>	<i>ʙak^hnerd</i>	your brothers
	<i>öʔk^h-ə</i>	<i>otk^h-ə</i>	foot-def.
	<i>asʔjü</i>	<i>astucoy</i>	god-gen.

⁵ Ačārean 1898:19 notes that the glottal stop is not pronounced when one “speaks softly”.

⁶ Ačārean states that its pronunciation resembles that of the Hindi *visarga*, which is normally a voiceless copy of the preceding vowel. There are many exceptions to Ačārean’s phonological generalizations in the text he provides, but almost all of these are cases where the standard spelling is used, so we should not necessarily consider them to violate our rules.

	<i>a ge</i>	<i>atke</i>	jump.3sg.aor
b.	<i>mar</i>	<i>mard</i>	man
	<i>ař</i>	??	??
c.	<i>ša mar ga</i>	<i>šat mard kay</i>	there are many men
	<i>ü radi</i>	<i>duk^h rati (?)</i>	XX
	<i>fös p^ha gâ</i>	<i>hos p^hayt kây</i>	is there wood here?
	<i>mar č^hga</i>	<i>mard č^hkay</i>	there's no one
d.	<i>ük^h havö^ß gerâk^h</i>	<i>duk^h a^ßo^ß kerâk^h</i>	did you eat the grapes?

This development is reminiscent of Toba Batak, an Austronesian language of Sumatra (Hayes (1986:340-41)), where {*p t k*} become *y* before consonants, the development of preaspirated consonants from coda-onset clusters in Algonquian languages, and *abhinidhāna* in Sanskrit, which changes oral stops into *ʔ* in syllable codas (Vaux 1992).

Interestingly, however, *g* and *k* (but not *k^h*) become *y* in codas:

(18)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>řermay</i>	<i>čermak</i>	white
	<i>gray</i>	<i>krak</i>	fire
	<i>Mani^y</i>	<i>Manuk</i>	(personal name)

According to Ačarean, this process does not apply in monosyllables, or before *h*:

(19a)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>müg</i>	<i>mukn</i>	mouse
	<i>jag</i>	<i>cak</i>	gap
	<i>üg</i>	<i>jukn</i>	fish
(b)	<i>gray hane</i>	'he lit a fire' (* <i>gray hane</i>)	

The change of {*g k*} to *y* must have occurred after the simplification of original diphthongs (*kay* 'exists' > *ga*, etc.), or else forms such as *řermay* would have subsequently been simplified to *řerma*, etc. Note also that the behavior of monosyllables in (19a) indicates that *gəray* 'fire' is polysyllabic, or else we would expect **grag*. This state of affairs is paralleled in standard western Armenian, where onsets of the type in *grag* trigger epenthesis ([*gərag*]), which in turn selects the polysyllabic plural (*gərag-ner* 'fires', not **gərag-er*). The special behavior before *h* is related to the failure of stop debuccalization before *h*: *ük^h havö^ß gerâk^h* 'did you eat grapes?', not **ü[?] havö^ß gerak^h*. Ačarean states that *h* is "not feelable" in Aslanbeg, by which we must understand that it was not actually pronounced; he conveys this fact in words such as *əbə*, from *haba* 'then'. Consequently, consonants preceding *h*+vowel sequences will be syllabified as onsets for those vowels, thereby avoiding the coda-based constraints.

The pronunciation of *k* and *g* as *y* is also found in several other Armenian dialects, as well as English (cf. *day* = German *Tag*), Japanese, and numerous other languages. It is interesting that *k^h* does not participate in this process, but at the moment I have no explanation for this fact. Ačarean also notes that original *k^h* optionally becomes *ʔ* rather than *y* before *h*: *krak* *brk^hē* > *graʔ rkä* 'he sends fire'.

As in other languages with similar coda constraints such as Hausa and Pali, *r*, *l*, and *y* are allowed to occur in syllable codas:

(20)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>p^harsə</i>	<i>barjr</i>	high
	<i>ha er</i>	<i>ha -er</i>	bread-pl.
	<i>ĵermay</i>	<i>čermak</i>	white
	<i>göšnal</i>	<i>čanč^hnal</i>	know
	etc.		

Given that *r* and *y* can also occur before other coda consonants (*arš* < *arĵ* ‘bear’, *mar?* < *mard* ‘man’, etc.)⁷, I assume that they are actually syllabified in the nucleus, as in Sanskrit and Lithuanian (q.v. Vaux 1992), so that we can maintain the generalization that Aslanbeg allows only non-branching codas.

As we have already seen, fricatives can also occur in syllable codas:

(21)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>s gasnim</i>	<i>k-an nim</i>	I cross
	<i>z mäs</i>	<i>mez</i>	us-acc
	<i>š göš a</i>	<i>čanč^h ay</i>	I knew
	<i>ž gožgel</i>	<i>kočkel</i>	button (v)
	<i>v ha öv</i>	<i>ha -ov</i>	bread-instr
	<i>ö dā</i>	<i>ew n</i>	7

Original affricates, which are allowed in standard Armenian codas, lose their stop component in Aslanbeg, thereby becoming fricatives:

(22)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>arš</i>	<i>arĵ</i>	bear
	<i>gožgel</i>	<i>kočkel</i>	button (v)
	<i>jez</i>	<i>cec</i>	beating
	<i>väs</i>	<i>ve</i>	6

This development results from the fact that affricates contain two consonantal components, a stop element and a fricative element, and the coda complexity constraint allows only one of these components to be syllabified. Since the stop element is also prevented from being syllabified by the coda constraint, only the fricative element surfaces. The simplification of affricates in consonant clusters is also of interest for theoretical reasons discussed in detail by Kenstowicz (1994); I will not deal with these issues here, as they are not directly relevant to Armenologists.

Both original fricatives and those derived from affricates assimilate in voicing to following onset consonants, e.g. *karč k^hi* ‘short nose’ > *garĵ k^hi* → [*garš k^hi*].

Unlike *r*, *y*, and *s*, nasals are deleted before coda consonants:

(23)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>ĵaž</i>	<i>čanč</i>	fly
	<i>hva?</i>	<i>hiwand</i>	sick
	<i>hiy dasə</i>	<i>hing tasn, tasnəhing</i>	15

⁷ In other dialects such as Akn, *r* and *y* disappear in this environment. It is not possible to find cases of *l* + consonant codas, because these were never allowed in the history of Armenian.

Since *n* is an allowed coda (e.g. *fön* ‘there’, *əñji* ‘me-gen/dat’), we must ask why the second member of these clusters is not deleted instead, parallel to the behavior of fricatives discussed above. I propose that nasals, like the other sonorants, were syllabified in the nucleus at some point in the history of the Aslanbeg dialect, and that at a later stage a constraint developed disallowing nasals in syllable nuclei, at which point all offending nasals were deleted.

To summarize the constraints on syllable structure discussed above, only the segments {*ʔ y r l m n f v s z š ž ʁ*} are allowed to occur in Aslanbeg codas; illicit segments are either changed into licensed segments (as with *k*, *g*, and fricatives) or deleted. I proposed at the beginning of this section that these facts result from a licensing restriction on place and voice features in codas, so that coda segments can only obtain place and voice specifications from following onset segments. The behavior of *m*, *ʁ*, and *ʔ* presents problems for this analysis, however, because their place features are not predictable (all of the other licensed coda segments are coronal, which cross-linguistically tend to be immune to place restrictions). It appears that continuants in general are immune to the coda restrictions in Aslanbeg, which is also the case in Sanskrit. The reasons for this behavior are unclear to me.

Ačārean mentions that final *-anr* sequences become *-ö:ryə*, *-o:yrə*, or *-o:ryə*, each with a stressed and lengthened *o/ö*⁸; I can only assume that these are dialect variants within Aslanbeg. Though Ačārean makes no mention of subdialects, his frequent mention of alternate forms indicates their existence. It is not clear to me why the original *n* apparently becomes *y* in these situations. Ačārean explicitly states that the round vowel in these cases is long and stressed, which is strange since Aslanbeg does not otherwise have long vowels, and the stress here is predictable (see section 1.3). Apparent metathesis is also found in *vlan* ‘they wash’ < *lvan*, but metathesis in this verb is common in the modern dialects, and should not be considered a special property of Aslanbeg.

One final interesting aspect of Aslanbeg segmental phonology I would like to mention is the behavior of geminate *ll*, which according to Ačārean has special pronunciation, indicated by the spelling <*l l*>, as in *bl l el* ‘wrap’, *gl l el* ‘XX’, *gel l a* ‘he sets out’, *gəl l a* ‘it is’. Unfortunately, Ačārean does not state what this notation represents in phonetic terms, and at the moment I am unable to provide any additional insight.

1.3. Stress and Intonation

Stress normally falls on the last full (i.e. non-schwa) vowel in Aslanbeg, as in standard Armenian. The ordinal numbers for ‘5th’, ‘6th’, ‘7th’, ‘8th’, ‘9th’, and ‘10th’, which bear exceptional initial stress in standard Armenian, are (like all ordinals) replaced in Aslanbeg by Turkish forms (*bešinji* ‘5th’, etc.). Other exceptional stress marks, which normally represent sentential or focus stress, have been indicated in the text below. Similarly, syllables bearing question intonation have been indicated.

1.4. The secret language

Ačārean took a special interest in ciphers, codes, and secret languages based on Armenian early in his career (see Ačārean 1927), thanks to which we have four distinct forms of secret language preserved in the dialect text. Interestingly, the secret languages when decoded are much closer to standard Armenian than to the Aslanbeg dialect (e.g. *gebjer abjan* : standard Armenian *g-er an*

⁸ Similar developments are found in the Akn dialect.

‘they go’, not Aslanbeg form *gian*⁹), indicating perhaps that the phonological changes we have considered above are still active, and not relics of the history of the dialect. Each form of secret language found in our text employs fixed segmental material: type 1 (69-70) attaches *-ilə* to the end of each word; type 2 (146) inserts *-gV-* after each vowel; type 3 (147) inserts *-gʲV-* or *-kʲV-* after each vowel; finally, type 4 (148) inserts *-bʲV-* after each vowel. Often such language games provide interesting insights into the phonology of the language, but the nature of these particular games unfortunately reveals few workings of Aslanbeg phonology. In light of Halle’s (1995) theory of feature spreading and vowel copy phenomena, which states that consonants specified for a given feature block spreading of that feature from preceding to following vowels, it is interesting to note that the dummy syllables here freely copy the vowel of the syllable they follow, regardless of the intervening consonants. Furthermore, note the use of ə in the following forms:

(24)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>məkʰjɛnkʰ</i>	<i>menkʰ</i>	we (N.B. not <i>*mekʰjɛnkʰ</i>)
	<i>dəgʲür</i>	<i>dur</i>	give-impv. (not <i>*dügʲür</i>)

I have no explanation for the appearance of schwa in these cases.

2. Morphology

2.1. Nominal

The Aslanbeg dialect has eight declensions, which correspond directly to the declensions of the Istanbul [i.e. standard Western] dialect; unmarked forms are the same as those of the first declension.

		sing	pl
1st decl.	N/A	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha -er</i>
‘bread’	D/G	<i>ha -i</i>	<i>ha -är-ü</i>
	Abl	<i>ha -ä</i>	<i>ha -är-ä</i>
	Instr	<i>ha -öv</i>	<i>ha -är-öv</i>
2d decl. ¹⁰	N/A	<i>mar</i>	
‘man’	D/G	<i>mar -ü</i>	
	Abl	<i>mar -ä</i>	
	Instr	<i>mar -öv</i>	
3d decl.	N/A	<i>hayü in</i>	
‘Armenianness’	D/G	<i>hayü ä</i>	
	Abl	<i>hayü en-nä</i>	
	Instr	<i>hayü in-öv</i>	
4th decl.	N/A	<i>har</i>	
‘father’	D/G	<i>hör</i>	

⁹ Though *gian* is used in *igjagjan* (147).

¹⁰ Ačarean 1898:23 notes that some words that did not originally belong to this declension now do, e.g. *dānj* ‘pear’, G/D *dānjü; jānʲ* ‘fly’, G/D *jānjü*.

	Abl	<i>hör-əmä</i>	
	Instr	<i>hör-ə hed</i> ¹¹	
5th decl. 'husband's sister'	N/A	<i>dal</i>	
	D/G	<i>dal-öč^h</i>	
	Abl	<i>dal-öč^h-ə-m-en</i> (<i>dalö əsmen, dalö ə men</i> 'from my, your husband's sister')	
	Instr	<i>dal-öč^h-əm-öv</i>	
6th decl. 'day'	N/A	<i>or</i>	
	D/G	<i>or-vān</i>	
	Abl	<i>or-vən-ä</i>	
7th decl. 'evening'	N/A	<i>eriy</i>	<i>ergəner</i>
	D/G	<i>erg-ān</i>	<i>ergənernüis</i>
	Abl	<i>erg-ən-ä</i>	
	Instr	<i>erg-ən-öv</i>	
8th decl. 'god'	N/A	<i>as vaj</i>	[the plurals are generally the same as in the 1 st decl.]
	D/G	<i>asdāj-ü, as jü</i>	
	Abl	<i>asdüj-men</i>	
	Instr	<i>asdüj-möv</i>	

The following forms are exceptional:

N	<i>ergədik^h</i>	<i>gnvədik^h</i> 'women'
G/D	<i>ergədö</i>	<i>gəyvədö</i> , <i>gə vədö</i>
Abl		<i>gə vədösmen,</i> <i>gə dösmen</i>

Also:	<i>a brdānk^h, a brdik^h</i>	brothers
	<i>k^hərvədānk^h</i>	sisters
	<i>gə dak^h</i>	women ??
	<i>dirvədik^h</i>	lords
	<i>šənvədik^h</i>	dogs

2.1.2. Pronouns

		singular	plural
1	N	<i>äs</i>	<i>mānk^h</i>
	G	<i>im</i>	<i>mār</i>
	D	<i>əānji</i>	<i>māzi</i>
	A	<i>əānjis</i>	<i>māz</i>
	Abl	<i>əānjimen</i>	<i>māzimen, mermen</i>
	I	<i>əānjimöv</i>	<i>māzimöv</i>

¹¹ Note the analytic instrumental, formed from the D/G *hör-ə* + the postposition *hed* 'with'. This type of instrumental formation is also found in the dialects of XX.

2	N	<i>ün</i>	<i>ük^h</i>
	G	<i>k^hü</i>	<i>är</i>
	D	<i>k^häzi</i>	<i>äzi</i>
	A	<i>k^hüz</i>	<i>üz</i>
	Abl	<i>k^hümen, k^hüzimen</i>	<i>ermen, üzimen</i>
	I	<i>k^hüzimöv</i>	<i>üzimöv</i>
3	N/A	<i>än, äni(g(a))</i>	<i>änänk^h</i>
	G/D	<i>änör</i>	<i>änən</i>
	Abl	<i>änörmen, änəgiy</i>	<i>änəsmen</i>
	I	<i>änörmöv</i>	<i>änəsmöv</i>
	N/A	<i>as</i>	<i>asänk^h</i>
	G/D	<i>asör</i>	<i>asən</i>
	Abl		<i>asəsmen</i>
	I		<i>asəsmöv</i>
	N/A	<i>sa, səvi(ga(g))</i>	<i>sävänk^h</i>
	G/D	<i>sävör</i>	<i>sävən</i>
	Abl	<i>sävörmen</i>	<i>sävəsmen</i>
	I	<i>sävörmöv</i>	<i>sävəsmöv</i>
	N/A	<i>əzink^h ‘anaphoric he’</i>	<i>əzəränk^h</i>
	G/D	<i>(əz)irän</i>	<i>əzərən</i>
	Abl	<i>irənnen</i>	<i>irəsmen, əzərəsmen</i>
	I		<i>irən öv, əzərəsmöv</i>

The possessive pronouns are declined in the following manner:

1 ‘mine’	N/A	<i>ims</i>	<i>imärs</i>
	G/D	<i>imis, imüs</i>	<i>imäris, imäriüs</i>
	Abl	<i>imes</i>	<i>imäres</i>
	I	<i>imövs</i>	<i>imärövs</i>
2 ‘yours’	N/A	<i>k^hüg</i>	<i>k^hügär</i>
	G/D	<i>k^hügi</i>	<i>k^hügäri</i>
	Abl	<i>k^hüge</i>	
	I	<i>k^hügöv</i>	<i>k^hügäröv</i>
3	N/A	<i>irə</i>	<i>irəsnärə</i>
	G/D	<i>irənə, iränin</i>	<i>irän (inün)</i>
	Abl	<i>iränen</i>	
	I	<i>iränöv</i>	<i>irän (in)öv</i>
4	N/A	<i>märə</i>	<i>merärə</i>

‘ours’	G/D	<i>märün</i>	<i>merärün</i>
	Abl	<i>mären</i>	<i>merären</i>
	etc.		

And also in compound form: *merärünmen*, *merinnerünmen*, *meränk^h*, *meräsmen*, *erenk^h*, *eräsmen*, etc.

XX there are many pronominal forms missing; see Adjarian pp. 26-7

2.2. Verbal morphology

Aslanbeg shares a distinctive progressive form employing the particle *haye* with several other Armenian dialects. The subjunctive marker *nəã* (< Turkish *ne*) appears to be unique among the Armenian dialects, though in the form [ne] it is quite common in spoken Armenian, and may also be related to the Dersim conditional marker *-əne*. Otherwise, the system of verbal conjugation is the same as in the Istanbul dialect, except for the raising of *e* to *i* before nasals found in the first conjugation, as mentioned earlier, and the 1st plural imperfect and perfect ending *-ank^h*. Ačāfēan lists the following forms of the verbs *sirel* ‘love’, *ösil* ‘speak’, *ial* ‘go’:

PRESENT

gə sirim, *siräs*, *sirä*, *sirink^h*, *siräk^h*, *sirin*
gə ösim, *ösis*, *ösi*, *ösink^h*, *ösik^h*, *ösin*
g-iām, *ias*, *ia*, *iāk^h*, *iak^h*, *iān*

PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

gə sirím haye, *gə sirés haye*, etc.
gə ösím haye, etc.
g-iām haye, etc.

IMPERFECT

gə sirei, *sireir*, *sirer*, *sireānk^h*, *sireik^h*, *sirein*
gə ösei, *öseir*, *öser*, *öseānk^h*, *öseik^h*, *ösein*
g-iyai, *iyair*, *ian*, *iyānk^h*, *iyik^h*, *iyin*

IMPERFECT PROGRESSIVE

gə sireí haye, *gə öseí haye*, etc.

AORIST

sire i, *sire ir*, *sirä*, *sire ānk^h*, *sire ik^h*, *sire in*
öse a, *öse ar*, *öse av*, *öse ānk^h*, *öse ak^h*, *öse ān*
haza i, *haza ir*, *haza*, *haza ānk^h*, *haza ik^h*, *haza in*

FUTURE

bidi sirim
bidi ösim
bidi iām, etc.

FUTURE PERFECT

bidi sirei

bidi ösei, etc.

IMPERATIVE

<i>sirä</i>	<i>mí sirär</i>	<i>sire äk^h</i>	<i>mí siräk^h</i>	<i>öᵝ sirä</i>	<i>öᵝ sirär</i>
<i>ösä</i>	<i>mí ösir</i>	<i>öse äk^h</i>	<i>mí ösik^h</i>	<i>öᵝ ösi</i>	<i>öᵝ ösär</i>
<i>haza</i>	<i>mí hazar</i>	<i>haza äk^h</i>	<i>mí hazäk^h</i>	<i>öᵝ ia</i>	<i>öᵝ iar</i>

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

- 1) *sirim nã, sires nã*, etc.
osim nã
- 2) *ör sirim nã*, etc.
ör ösim nã, etc.
- 3) *sirim*, etc.
ösim, etc.
iãm, etc.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

sirei nã
ör sirei nã
sirei
etc.

PARTICIPLES

sirel siraj sirär sirälü
[odd forms *ösin* and *ial* also here]

Verbs in *-nel*, *-nil*, and *-nal* are also conjugated in this fashion.

dari, bak^hi, ari, asi, etc. can also have the forms *dare* , *bak^he* , *are* , *ase* .

PRESENT NEGATIVE

č^him, č^hes, č^hi, č^hi?, č^he?, č^hin + sirär, ösir, iar

IMPERFECT NEGATIVE

č^hei, č^heir, č^her, č^hä?, č^hei?, č^hein + sirär, ösir, iar

AORIST NEGATIVE

č^hi + sire i, sire ir, etc.

FUTURE NEGATIVE

č^hi sirim bidi, č^hi sires bidi, č^hi sire bidi, č^hi siri? bidi, č^hi sire? bidi, č^hi sirin bidi
č^hi ösim bidi, č^hi ösis bidi, etc.

FUTURE PERFECT NEGATIVE

č^hi sirei bidi, č^hi sireir bidi, č^hi sirer bidi, č^hi sirä? bidi, č^hi sirei? bidi, č^hi sirein bidi
č^hi ösei bidi, etc.

IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE

čʰi sires nã, čʰi ösin nã, čʰi-ias nã
 öʋ čʰi sirä, öʋ čʰi sirär, etc.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE NEGATIVE

čʰi sirim nã, čʰi sires nã, čʰi siri? nã
 čʰi ösim nã, etc.

PAST SUBJUNCTIVE NEGATIVE

čʰi sirei nã, čʰi sirä? nã, etc.
 ör čʰi sirei nã, ör čʰi sirä? nã, etc.
 čʰi sirei, etc.

NEGATIVE PARTICIPLES

čʰi sired, čʰi siraj, etc.
 čʰi ösil, čʰi sirälü, etc.
 čʰi-ial, etc.

Note that in the future negative, the particle *bidi* can only occur immediately after the verb, whereas in other dialects it may appear immediately before or after the negative marker.

Transitive and irregular verbs are the same as in the Istanbul dialect, except that they undergo the required sound changes:

(25)	Aslanbeg	Standard Armenian	gloss
	<i>göš a</i>	<i>čančʰ ay</i>	I knew
	<i>egö</i>	<i>ekur</i>	come!
	<i>gasnim</i>	<i>k-an nim</i>	I cross
	<i>sir əneal</i>	<i>XX</i>	<i>XX</i>

(26)	<i>kʰa i, kʰa ir, kʰa av, kʰa ānkʰ, kʰa ikʰ, kʰa in</i>	‘I went’, ‘you went’, etc.
	<i>kʰnã</i>	go!
	<i>iānkʰ</i>	let’s go
	<i>m iar</i>	don’t go!
	<i>kʰa ekʰ</i>	go (pl)!

2.3. Numerals

The cardinal numerals 1-1000 are as follows:

1	<i>meg, mey</i>	20	<i>kʰsã</i>
2	<i>ergü(kʰ), ergü</i>	30	<i>ārsün</i>
3	<i>iräkʰ, irä</i>	40	<i>kʰarsün</i>
4	<i>čʰörs</i>	50	<i>isün</i>
5	<i>hinkʰ, hiy, hi</i>	60	<i>va jün</i>
6	<i>vä , väs</i>	70	<i>ye miš</i> (Turkish <i>yetmiş</i>)
7	<i>ö də</i>	80	<i>se sän</i> (Turkish <i>seksen</i>)
8	<i>ü ə</i>	90	<i>do sã</i> (Turkish <i>doksan</i>)
9	<i>(v)inã</i>	100	<i>härür</i>
10	<i>dasə</i>	1000	<i>hözär</i>

- 11 *dasnəmey*
 12 *dasvergük^h, dasvergü*

Note that the decads 70, 80, 90 are borrowed from Turkish, as in Van and many other Armenian dialects. The ordinals are also borrowed from Turkish, e.g. 43 *bešinji* '[wife of the] fifth [brother]'. The distributives are formed normally, e.g. *č^hörsagā* 'fourth' (< *č^hors-ak^han*), *ergergü* 'two by two' (< *erku-erku*), etc.

Among the set of indeclinable words, the following are noteworthy:

ənc^hök^h 'until'

fes, fös, fesen, fösen, füsa 'here (by me)' < *hos*

fe ,fö ,fe en, fö en, füda 'here (by you)' < *hod*

fen, fön, fenen, fönen, füna 'there' < *hon*

i ā 'toward(s)', e.g. *dünn i ā* 'towards the house'

k^hani 'how many' (< *k^hani*)

k^hü hed 'with you', *im hed* 'with me', etc.

mari 'look!'

meydeḵ 'in'

nerk^hin 'under', e.g. *ja^hin nerk^hin nsde a* 'I sat under the tree' (cf. Standard Armenian *nerk^hin* 'interior')

ör 'if'

as 'here', e.g. *as egö* 'come here!'

3. Syntax

Neither Ačarean nor I being syntacticians, this section will unfortunately be quite short, and interested readers will have to look to the text for further syntactic information. Here I make only a few brief comments on basic properties of Aslanbeg syntax.

3.1. Conjunction

Aslanbeg employs its cognate of the standard Armenian conjunction *u* 'and', as well as two additional forms borrowed from Turkish, *de* and *ilen*. The normal standard Armenian sentence connective, *ew*, is not used in the text provided by Ačarean, being replaced by *de* or its reduced form *də*. Some examples:

(27)

- (a) 5 *k^hin k^hök egär ä də jükärə änəgüy gödrdär in*
 'a thief came to the vineyard and that's why the branches are broken'
- (b) 7 *iärə k^haše ek^h də izə iānk^h*
 'get the horses and we'll go after [them]'
- (c) 16 *ök č^hüfdän arnä də k^ha*
 'have him get his rifle and come'
- (d) 18 *eli č^hüfdän ar də var k^hnəā*
 'up and get [your] rifle and go downstairs'
- (e) 38 *hazərvörä de egö*
 'get ready and come'
- (f) 54 *jarärə p^hisgülin gü k^həa də ämüzə gə jejä*

- (g) 138 *G rəbed, iin a iin megin vra heji də manč^hö ə edəven hasi*
 ‘the ends of the tassels come down and touch the shoulder’
 ‘Garabed, you also mount one of the horses and follow the boys’
- (h) 151 *Mey mə zargik^h, ergü zargā de*
 ‘you strike once, and we strike twice’

Certainly *də* is more common than *de*, but I am unable to explain their distribution. Note that *de* occurs at the end of the clauses it conjoins in (h).

The reduced form of standard *ew, ü*, is used to conjoin heads, normally nouns. Examples occurring in the text are:

- (28)
- (a) 29 *Garəbe n ü Manügə giān kayfān*
 ‘Garabed and Manug go to the cafe’
- (b) 41 *Garəbe n ü Manügə kayfen giān*
- (c) 48 *Bay mə ye gə Garəbe n ü Manügə gük^hā*
 ‘a while later Garabed and Manug come’
- (d) 52 *κambürnärn ü k^höröklünärə mešgernin ga aj*
 ‘scimitars and clubs hanging from [their] waists’
- (e) 90 *dön ü enek^herimə iärə garⁿnin κarakažnärün dagə giān*
 ‘Bedros and Senek^herim take the horses and go under the charcoal trees’
- (f) 98 *Manüyn ü Garəbedə hiy-dasə adiüm ialen ye gə izə kayi gəl l a*
 ‘After Manug and Garabed have gone five or ten steps, they lose the trail’

The conjunction *ilen* (< Turkic *ilän* ‘with’) is used in basically the same way as in Turkish. Only one example occurs in the text:

- (29) 9 *iin k^hnəā Garəbedin ilen Minānin ganč^hä*
 ‘you go call Garabed and Mihran’

It is not clear to me why *ü* is not used in this case.

3.2. Subordination

Aslanbeg departs significantly from standard Armenian in its means of subordination. Relative clauses are normally formed as in standard Armenian (e.g. ‘the book I read’ → ‘my read book’). When the relative pronoun *ör* is employed, however, it is not declined, unlike in standard Armenian; oblique arguments are represented by resumptive pronouns, for example ‘from whom’ is expressed by *ör ānge*, literally ‘who from him’. This state of affairs is also found in Middle Armenian, the ancestor of many of the modern western dialects.

Aslanbeg also employs an interesting construction to express temporal and conditional clauses, in addition to cases with *yāp^h*, the cognate of Standard *erb* ‘when’. These special constructions are introduced by *ör* or *iür*, and take a subjunctive verb:

- (30) *ör nəā*
- (a) 63 *ör gidör məā aždöd əl l ā nəā, ān mar ə ač^ha lamış gənin*
 ‘if part of it gets dirty, they punish the man [who is responsible]’
- (b) 69 *ör gü mödenān nəā, Minānə Manüg a p^hörə gəsä*

- (c) 80 *As giragi ör üjarnärə k^hān nāñ, ergü k^hila oza bidi ja im*
 ‘when they draw near, Mihran says to brother Manug, ...’
 ‘this Sunday, when the merchants come, I will sell them two kilos of beehives’
- (d) 88 *ör üfägə ergü häk p^ha ä nāñ, iärə garne gük^hak^h*
 ‘if you hear two rifle shots, take the horses and come’
- (e) 89 *ör mey mə p^ha ä nāñ, iärə gə hezna giak^h*
 ‘if you hear one shot, mount the horses and go’
- (f) 125 *ör ān a č^hünim gəsä nāñ, k^hüfeyin ap^ha ə gə p^hāñā*
 ‘when he says ‘I don’t have any’, he opens the lid of the basket’
- (31) *ür nāñ*
- (a) 73 *ür adəs k^halə gə desnān nāñ meč^hernün mägə gəsä*
 ‘when they see them going by, one of them says...’
- (b) 116 *azern ür gə desnān nāñ, Garəbedə e igə gə k^hašä*
 ‘when they see the Laz, Garabed cocks the trigger’
- (c) 141 *s hima viür in nāñ gə p^herim*
 ‘Now I will bring them if they are xx’?????’

As far as I can tell, *ür* may simply be a typo for *ör* in (31a-b); I do not see any difference in function between the sentences in (30) and (31). Alternatively, *ür* could be the equivalent of standard Armenian *ur* ‘where’, in which case we would have to account for the existence of *viür*, which also seems to derive from *ur*, in (31c), and explain why ‘where’ would be used in subordinate clauses. Interestingly, modern Greek also uses *pou* ‘where’ as a complementizer in subordinate clauses, as in (32):

- (32) *to biblio pou diabasa sēmera*
 the book where read-1sg today
 ‘the book that I read today’

In addition, Ben Fortson (personal communication) informs me that some German dialects use *wo* ‘where’ as a general complementizer. I am not sure how such a construction would come into being, but the correlation may be significant. The status of *viür* remains unclear to me.

Note that the verbs in (30b, f) and (31) also employ the non-past indicative marker *gü*; since the combination *gü* + verb + *nāñ* is not listed in Ačəəan’s verb morphology, we must assume either that Ačəəan inadvertently omitted a morphological tense, or that these cases are actually presents coupled with an independent aspectual marker *nāñ*.

The descendant of Standard *erb* ‘when’, namely *yäp^h*, appears to be used in interrogative situations. Only one example occurs in the text:

- (32) 49 *ü y p^h egar*
 ‘when did you come?’

The use of distinct temporal expressions in interrogative situations versus subordinate clauses is also found in Turkish, which employs *ne zaman* to mean ‘when?’ and a form of relative clause with *zaman* ‘time’ for subordinate temporal clauses, as in (33):

- (33a) *Ahmet ne zaman geldi?*

Ahmed what time came
'When did Ahmed come?'

- (b) *Ahmed-in gel-diğ-i zaman*
Ahmed-gen come-ppl-poss time
'when Ahmet came'

Standard Armenian employs a construction similar to that in (33b), using *aten* 'time', e.g. *im ga ac atens* 'when I came' (literally 'my come time'), but I do not know whether this is the standard method of expressing temporal subordination or not.

Some final syntactic and lexical notes: as in standard Armenian, the Aslanbeg dialect normally adds the definite article to personal names: *Garəbed-ə*, *Maniyy-n*, etc. The use of *had* 'piece, unit' in *ergü ha begirji* 'two stableboys' (10) is interesting, as *had* is normally not used to count animate objects in standard Armenian (compare the use of *tane* in Turkish). Finally, it is noteworthy that Aslanbeg generally employs *mial* rather than the standard form *miws* in the sense of 'other (of a given set)', as in the following examples:

- (34)
- (a) 83 *Manügə a barə mialnärün gəsü*
'Brother Manug says to the others...'
- (b) 92 *Mialnärə jämp^ha gel l ān*
'The others set out'
- (c) 95 *ük^h ergük^hə mial jämp^hān p^hrne äk^h*
'you 2 take the other path'

Ačarean's text does not include any instances of *miws*, so I cannot tell if it is ever employed in this dialect.

4. Turkish influence

Like most Armenian dialects, Aslanbeg borrows extensively from Turkish, as is amply displayed in the following text. Borrowing is mainly confined to lexical elements; grammatical morphemes for the most part remain stable. In this section I will only consider a few particularly interesting forms; further information on Turkish and other borrowings will be found in the notes and glossary at the end of the text.

1. *bašlal* < Turkish *bašla-mak* 'begin'. It is relatively rare for Armenian to employ Turkish verb roots with Armenian endings; the normal pattern is to employ a Turkish participle in *-miš* together with an Armenian light verb: 'be' with unaccusative verbs, and 'do' with all other verbs (cf. 63 *ač^ha lamiš gənin* 'they punish', literally 'they do punishment'; 46 *Minanə kərslanmiš gəl l a* 'Mihran gets angry', literally 'Mihran is angered is'). Note also in this regard *irarü gə be leyink^h* 'we (will) wait for each other' from Turkish *beklemek* 'wait for, expect' in line 97.
2. *həmmā* < Ottoman Turkish *amma* (modern Turkish *ama*). Redhouse cites *amma* as a native Turkish word, but it may be Arabic. Note the peculiar geminate simplification in the modern Turkish form.

3. Note that the borrowings from Turkish generally reflect the pronunciation of Anatolian dialects, particularly in consonant clusters: *va t* ‘time’ (standard Turkish *vakit*), *do san* ‘90’ (standard Turkish *doksan*), *ar adaş* ‘friend’ (standard Turkish *arkadaş*). Note also that the form *ye miş* (standard Turkish *yetmiş*) indicates that the coda constraint discussed earlier remained active in Aslanbeg after the time of borrowing from Turkish (in fact, it appears to be a part of the synchronic grammar of Aslanbeg).

5. A Sample Text

5.1. Text

The following is taken from Ačařean 1898:35-46.

azärün ökü inä
(ənöka k^hə nöka)

1 Manüy: *Par irgün Xaşdür a bar: 2* Xaşdür: *Xer əl l a: 3* M: *Ovagem babayin k^hl ün egajə ima ār, ek^hiin maslaha ə? 4* X: *rav ör ereg irgün aday laf mə gar həməä, əri mə ç^hiydim 5* M: *k^hin k^höt egär ä də jükärə änəgüy gödrdär in 6* X: *ü əbə ş gaynär äk^h 7* *iärə k^haşe ek^h də izä iänk^h 8* As *p^hänə ənöka azärə allalü in, ač^hi örn ä Var ä ämjün ek^hin ərär in: 9* *ün k^hnä Garəbedin ilen Minänin ganč^hä 10* *s a ergü ha begirji jarim:*

11 *Manügə g ia Garəbedin dünä 12* M: *Pari lüys, Báyjar 13* *Garəbedə v rn ä: 14* B: *Xer əl l a, Xaşdür a bar 15* Vern ä: **16** M: *ök ç^hüfdän arnä də k^ha: 17* *Bayjarə ver g ia 18* *Mar , g əsä, eli ç^hüfdän ač də var k^hnä: 19* *Garəbedə gə a gəä, ç^hüfdän ämüzə gə zarnä, gene ş ga əjab, g əsä, var g išna: 20* *Garəbed Pari lüys Manüg a bar: 21* M: *As jü p^harin, k^həni? saha en var g išnas 22* *mnč^higə kayfän in: 23* *azärün bidi iänk^h: 24* G: *a ziyänü in ə r r in: 25* M: *A bar, havöbnärə üdelnin, hade zarar č^hüni əsink^h 26* *göjern a änəgü gödrdär in: 27* G: *Anang ä nəä k^həni mə had a i arnelü ä: 28* M: *iärə hazər ä, á bar, k^halä: 29* *Garəbe n ü Manügə g iän kayfän 30* *ämp^hä Minänə əmernin g el l a 31* *gə neyin ör jrar mə ač^hə g ia 32* *Garəbedə gə har ənä: Hazər r es 33* *fış g e ač^hinnärə : 34* Mi: *işegi k^hörz gá ya: 35* G: *aha abar č^hünis 36* *azärün bidi iänk^h 37* *mnč^higə kayfän in 38* *hazərvörä de egö: 39* Mi: *Hima gü k^häm: 40* *Minänə dün g ia 41* *Garəbe n ü Manügə kayfen g iän:*

42 *Minänə dün gü k^həa 43* Mi: *Beşinjı, da ümə var p^her: 44* *wife: Mar gene v r bidi ias: 45* *Minänin marə da ümnärə p^her əsälə g imanä: mo her: anəm ökül č^hüşanas, g əsä: 46* *Minanə vərslanmiş g əl l a: 47* Mi: *a mi dirdra , g əsä, ürs g el l a, kayfän g ia: 48* *Bay mə ye gə Garəbe n ü Manügə gük^hä, gə neyin ör Minänə fön ä 49* *G and M: ü y p^hegar: 50* *Minänə jükä č^hidar k^hlö gə nedä:*

51 *Vä ə megas jämp^ha g ellä 52* *efianärə k^həl ənin bl l aj, sərmalə jamadännärə hak^haj, jermay zp^hkanärə k^haşaj, č^hamərlü nārə jivernin, č^herk^heşi yemeninärə hak^haj, č^hüfdänärə ämüzün zargaj, vambürnärn ü k^hörözlünärə meşgernin ga aj: 53* *efia əsajəs ip^he lü des əmäl mən ä, č^hürk^hə öyalə, gānāš, garmir, mör, ävin əräynäröv 54* *äsin p^hisgülə k^hövernin ga vaj k^hefiän ānāy mə gə gabin ör, jarärə p^hisgülün gü k^həa də ämüzə gə jejä: 55* *amadänə mör č^hü ayöv ä ənc^hök^h ör ges mäşgə sə ü göžgaj, evern a sə ü, kölärə ergü ihän ga vaj, gö sārə səmma p^hānvaj, ānāng a armüynärnin 56* *ämüzen mäşgə fişeyli nārə gə gabin 57* *Meşgernin a rābölüs gödi: 58* *p^hka əsajs düne k^hörjaz jermay gdav mən ä 59* *ənc^hök^h ör jəyvənin, azärün hak^hajin bes həməä edevnin gdör məä bölä 60* *azärünə havü ak^hi bes ä, həməä mārə örözi*

bes dængəvaj ä: **61** As zp^hənanərə kəye jermay bidi əl l ā **62** əmmen šap^h ü gə vlān **63** ör gidör məā əkdöd əl l ā nəā, ān mar ə ač^ha lamiš g ənin:

64 amərlü əsəss a harsnən ü a č^hənərə gə šinin: **65** erk^heši yemenin ajü gašiöv šinvaj ä, dagə heš gar č^hüni **66** rgü iān ö g enin ö gin erəsə gə garin ergü jarern a k^hi öv **67** rgü had a sərəm ga, jivernin gə bl l in:

68 amp^hān öra älän ialn ik^hān, Müs afa əvan gə desnān **69** ör gü mödenān nəā, Minānə Manüg a p^hörə g əsā joilə Manügülə a b rilə **70** a dilə mar ilə məvilə jagülə eilə, osk^hilə p^ho irilə: **71** Müs afa əvayin p^harevə güdān g əsnin: **72** Veri-galärän an az va də bzdiy mānc^higə fön öyin gə əvayin **73** ür adəs k^halə gə desnān nəā meč^hernün mägə g əsā -- r əs meznām nəā Xašdür a bərə bes bidi əl l am: **74** — s a Garəbedin: **75** —əbə Minānə, č^h s əsär **76** -- š Minān, **77** Minānə k^hən yara üni: **78** — də: **79** —Xašdürinəā dasvirek^h had ä: **80** —As giragi ör üjarnərə k^hān nəā, ergü k^hila oza bidi ja im **81** k^hör Ammedin k^höv ves nedöə mə ga, ö də jermagi güda əvār **82** fišeyli n a he n ä:

83 Veri-galärän asnelen ye k^hə Manügə a barə mialnärün g əsā —jü a bar əv mə č^hgānc^häk^h:

84 Asör vra əmmenk^hə meydeə gə bašlayin

Aslanbeg üšak^hlarə

ək^hə bəvlar k^hüšalə

ak^ha mak^ha diynamaz,

ek^her vürür büč^həvə, (etc.)

85 Asangəf büšlə əs örə gük^hān, ardagin k^höv ö g əl l ān **86** Xašdür a barə g əsā — ü radi be gə č^hünük^h həməā, dö a börn ilän enek^herimin ergü laf ənim: **87** ü karəvəč^hin jačärün dagə bidi gaynik^h **88** ör üfəgə ergü hək p^ha ä nəā, iärə g arne gük^hak^h **89** ör mey mə p^ha ä nəā, iärə gə hezna g iak^h:

90 dön ü enek^herimə iärə g arnin karəvəznärün dagə g iān **91** iärə č^hayirə öv güdān, iränk^h a yān gük^hā, g ergnān: **92** Mialnərə jāmp^ha g el l ān **93** p^heyi deə ialen ye gə, Xašdürə g əsā —gə k^hnānāk^h, š g ənāk^h **94** zə ergük^hi p^hö ve av **95** əs Minānə arnim asge iām də`ük^h ergük^hə mial jāmp^hān p^hrne äk^h: **96** Manüy — rgünə irar ü?r bidi k^hə nānk^h: **97** Xašdür — esdəneyin a p^hürə irarü gə be leyink^h:

98 Manüyün ü Garəbedə hiy-dasə adüm ialen ye gə izə vayi g əl l a: **99** Manüy —Mar ö ə ašgə p^həsvär ä, r adaš varbedü in ərär in: **100** Garəbed — š g əsās **101** ye ernānk^h: **102** Manüy — ä egö füsā nsdink^h: **103** üfdenərə ö gernün meš ö e in, iränk^h a āndəv yān egān **104** Manügə Garəbedin əsav —Meymə angəj hövün ir **105** vörəin meč^hen jivü ān mə gük^həa: **106** Garəbedə mdiy g ənə **107** —Ha, ān mə gük^həa āngəjis **108** vər iān əl l alə beylü č^hä **109** ānərə gü öšərnān azin dəv n in **110** örin iān ä: **111** —Ge i neyim bar: **112** āngəjə hövün gə nā **113** p^har k^hövernīs egär in, daha š gaynär ink^h **114** č^hüfdä ärk^h ar: **115** üfdänərə g arnin, örn i var g išnān **116** azern ür gə desnān nəā, Garəbedə e igə gə k^həšä: **117** — eslimin olā: **118** — ümö k^himö: **119** — slenbegli dir: **120** — esana dös sünüz: **121** — ši bilir:

122 As lafärän ye gə, azärə əvey mə ör ān g el l ān, k^hüfenərə šalğanin: **123** Manügə mödə g ia, **124** —Vay in-olān, s n sin, g əsā: **125** iš mə ja g üzä, ör ān a č^hünim g əsā nəā, k^hüfeyin ap^ha ə gə p^hānā, gə neyi ör havöə ä: **126** — ü Garəbed **127** s k^hezi č^həs **128** ərind ör č^hi k^ha ānk^h **129** mar igə ašgernin p^ha är in əsi **130** k^hid s **131** asənk^h üvagem ämjün havöəknärn ä, güzeren gə göšnam **132** k^hidin ür izə g iānk^h, örmānin meš bahär in

133 Himay a eger gə dānin: **134** Garəbedə č^hüfdän irarü edəve ergü n a gə nedä **135** azärə övəl gə bašlayin **136** gədör mə ye gə iärə gük^hān: **137** Manügə g əsā — a havöəknərə iün vra p^här ek^h **138** G rəbed, ün a iün megin vra heji də manč^hö ə edəven hasi: **139** A p^har,

*ín iš bidi ənim 140 as le'närün meš gə k^halä 141 s hima vür in nã gə p^herim: 142 — s
in heznas diyi č^him əsär 143 g ə l l a ör be gə g ə l l a:*
144 —*Be gə ə l l a nã, fön iün və lə ə č^hik^ha: 145 Garəbedə g ia, mnč^higə gə k^hə na gə neyi ör
ergü äzi i misir p^här az gük^hãn, p^hü ünã megen Manügin k^höv gük^hãn: 146 Manügə g əsə —
o go ma ganč^hi gig, č^ho gor je gej mə gə k^ha k^haši g nk^h: 147 —Mək^hjenk^h megjer
p^hak^hjayək^hjə agjaragjank^h ögjöv dəgjür ögjöv igjagjan: 148 —Abjas mabjar ibjigəbjə
gebjer abjan mabjar ubju gəbjəsibjin: 149 azərə gə k^hin, iränk^h a k^həkə gə ärnãn 150
Xašdür a barə g əsə —Xaxə bašlaye äk^h: 151 Mnč^higə gə bašlayin:*
*Mey mə zargik^h, ergü zargã de
ardön, p^hardön,
ardön, p^hardön*

5.2. Translation

The Laz' Theft (The Perpetrator and the Discoverer??)

1 Manug: Good evening, brother Xachatur. **2** X: Greetings. **3** M: Do you know what happened to John's father, [regarding] the vineyard business? **4** X: It's true that last night there was such talk, but I don't know the reason. **5** M: It seems a thief came to the vineyard, and that's why the branches are broken. **6** X: Then what are you waiting for? **7** Get the horses, and we will go after them. **8** The perpetrators of this must have been Laz; they must have done it the other day in uncle Vartan's vineyard. **9** You go call Garabed and Mihran, **10** [and] I will find two stableboys. **11** Manug goes to Garabed's house. **12** M: Good morning, Bayjar. **13** Is Garabed upstairs? **14** B: Greetings, brother Xachatur. **15** He's upstairs. **16** M: Tell him to get his rifle and come. **17** Bayjar goes upstairs. **18** "Man," she says, "get up, get [your] rifle, and go downstairs." **19** Garabed jumps up, throws the rifle over his shoulder, says 'what could be the matter now?', and goes downstairs. **20** G: Good morning, brother Manug. **21** M: Good God, how many hours does it take you to climb down the stairs? **22** The guys are at the cafe. **23** We're going to the Laz' [place]. **24** G: Did they do much damage? **25** M: Brother, [when] they eat [our] grapes, we say no problem. **26** But they also broke the jugs in the corner. **27** G: If that's the case, we should also take a few horses. **28** M: The horses are ready, brother, come on. **29** Garabed and Manug go to the cafe; **30** on the way they run into Mihran. **31** They see that he has a package in his hand. **32** Garabed asks: Are you ready? **33** Are those bullets in your hands? **34** Mi: [You mean] we might need bullets? **35** G: You still haven't heard? **36** We're going to the Laz' place. **37** The guys are at the cafe; **38** get ready and come on. **39** Mi: I'll come soon. **40** Mihran goes home; **41** Garabed and Manug go to the cafe. **42** Mihran arrives at home. **43** "Fifth wife, bring down the stuff." **44** F: "Man, where are you going this time?" **45** Mihran's mother understands his order to bring the stuff; 'Don't be late, dear,' she says. **46** Mihran gets angry. **47** Don't complain so much, he says, goes outside, and proceeds to the cafe. **48** A moment later Garabed and Manug come, and see that Mihran is there. **49** G and M: When did you arrive? **50** Mihran doesn't answer; he shakes his head. **51** The six set out together, **52** wearing turbans wrapped around their heads, gold-trimmed jackets, white knee bands, mud boots on their feet, and Circassian peasant shoes, with rifles slung over their shoulders and scimitars and clubs hanging from their waists. **53** When I say turban, [I mean] a handkerchief of silk with lacy trim, colored green, red, dark blue, and yellow. **54** The tassels on the hat hang down the side, tied to the turban so that the ends of the tassels come down and touch the shoulder. **55** The jacket is of dark blue felt, buttoned tightly halfway at the waist; the sleeves are also tight, and the arms hang from both sides. The breast is specially embroidered, as are the elbows. **56** The bullets are tied to the back of the shoulder. **57** They also have woven belts about their waists. **58** When I say knee band, I mean a piece of homespun white cloth **59** up to the knees, like the Laz wear, but the rear piece is broader. **60** It is like the tail of the Lazes' chickens, but ours sticks out like a rooster. **61** These knee bands have to be very white. **62** Every week they wash it, **63** and if part of it gets dirty, they punish the man [who is responsible]. **64** The mud boots I mentioned are also made by the young women. **65** The sole of the Circassian shoe is made of goat leather, and has no seam underneath. **66** They bring together the two sides, cut the top of the foot, and the two ends make a point. **67** There are also two leather threads, which they wrap on their feet.

68 While they are talking on their way, they see Mustafa the Mighty. **69** When they draw near, Mihran says to brother Manug, “O brother Manug, **70** that man is a spy; we must change our speech.” **71** They say hello to Mustafa the Mighty and pass by. **72** When they pass Veri-Galeren, [some] young boys are there playing games. **73** When they see them going by, one of them says, “When I grow up, I want to be like brother Xachatur.” **74** “I want to be like Garabed.” **75** And what about Mihran, don’t you [have anything] to say [about him]? **76** Who, Mihran? **77** How many wounds does Mihran have? **78** Seven. **79** Xachatur has thirteen. **80** This Sunday, when the merchants come, I will sell them two kilos of beehives. **81** Ahmed the Blind has a six-shot rifle; I think he’ll take seven pennies. **82** It also includes the cartridge. **83** After passing Veri-Galeren, brother Manug says to the others, “You aren’t singing a song, brothers!” **84** At this they all join in:

The brave Aslanbegi
tightens his belt
He has no sense of humor
He [just] draws his knife and strikes

85 With this they come to the Ghushlaxas valley, and assemble near Kardag. **86** Brother Xachatur says, “Although you don’t need advice, I have two words for brother Peter and Senekerim. **87** Stay under the charcoal trees. **88** If you hear two rifle shots, take the horses and come. **89** If you hear one shot, mount the horses and go.”

90 Peter and Senekerim take the horses and go under the charcoal trees. **91** They let loose the horses in the field, and they go to lie down and stretch out. **92** The others set out. **93** After going some distance, Xachatur says, “Why are you sleeping? **94** The trail splits into two; **95** I will take Mihran and go this way, and you two take the other road. **96** M: Where will we meet each other tonight? **97** X: We will wait for each other at the base of the chestnut tree.

98 After Manug and Garabed have gone five or ten steps, they lose the trail. **99** M: The[se] men are clever, friend. They did it skillfully. **100** G: What are you talking about? **101** Let’s go back. **102** M: No. Come, let’s sit down here. **103** They stick the rifles between their feet, and lie down. **104** Manug says to Garabed: Put your ear to the ground for a second. **105** Footsteps are coming from the forest. **106** Garabed listens carefully. **107** Yes, a voice is coming, my friend. **108** It’s not clear where it’s coming from. **109** The voices are growing louder; they are Laz boys—**110** it’s coming from the valley. **111** G: Wait, brother. **112** He puts his ear to the ground. **113** Brother, they’re approaching us—why are we still here? **114** Take the rifle in your hand. **115** They take the rifles, and go down to the valley. **116** When they see them, Garabed cocks the trigger. **117** G: Surrender! **118** Laz 1: To who? To who? **119** Laz 2: He’s an Aslanbegi! **120** Laz 1: Don’t say you’re a friend. **121** Laz 2: He knows his job.

122 After this speech, the Laz go in the middle, carrying the baskets. **123** Manug draws near. **124** Oh no, wise guy, is it you? he says. **125** He wants a little bread. When he says ‘I don’t have any’, he opens the lid of the basket, and sees that it contains grapes. **126** Hey, Garabed. **127** Didn’t I tell you? **128** The reason we didn’t go. **129** The[se] men are clever, I said. **130** You know? **131** These are uncle John’s grapes—I recognize the bunches. **132** They knew that we would follow their trail, [so] they hid in the forest. **133** Now they’ve come to take them away. **133** Garabed throws a rifle to both of them, one after the other. **134** The Laz begin to tremble. **135** A little bit later the horses come. **136** Manug says, “Lift the grapes onto the horse. **137** Garabed, get on one of the horses and find the guys.” **138** G: Brother, what will I do with the horse? **139** Can a horse walk in these mountains? **140** XX **141** M: I didn’t say ‘mount the horse’. **142** Whatever must be will be. **143** If it’s necessary, the riderless horse won’t come.

144 Garabed goes and finds the guys, and sees that the two Laz horses are approaching laden with grain, at Manug's side. **145** Manug says, "Guys, shall we give them a real beating? **146** We took our share; give it and let them go. **147** These men go and speak to the man. **148** The Laz leave, and they also return to [their] village. **149** Brother Xachatur says, "begin the song!" **150** The guys begin:

You strike once, and we strike twice
Sorry! Sorry! Sorry! Sorry!

5.3. Notes

- 2 *er əlla* ‘greetings’--see section 4.
- 3 *Ovagem* ‘John’--it is unclear how to derive this form from standard *ovhannēs*. *ek^hi-in* ‘vineyard-GEN’--cl. *aygi*. *maslahat-ə* --Turkish *maslahat* ‘business, affair’.
- 4 *aday* ‘such’--MWA *adang*. *laf*--Turkish ‘talk’. *həmā*--Turkish *ama* ‘but’. *əri* --dialectal *arit* ‘cause, reason’ (q.v. Malxaseanc). *č^hiydim*--MEA *č^h-gitem* ‘I don’t know’; note that a form of MWA *č^h-em kider* is not used.
- 5 *ä*--MWA *ē* ‘is’, as in many dialects. *də*--Turkish *de* ‘and’. *änəgüy*--MWA *angē* ‘therefore’ (literally ‘from that’). *gödrdär*--MWA *godrder* ‘broken’.
- 6 *jü*--common dialectal *jo* ‘you (vocative)’. *əbə*--Turkish *aba* ‘then’. *iš*--MWA *inč^h* ‘what’. *gaynär*--MWA *gener* ‘waiting’ <— *genal* ‘stop, stay’.
- 7 *izə*--Turkish *iz* ‘footprint’; + *ial* (= *er al*) with the idiomatic meaning ‘follow’. *iānk^h*--MWA *ertank^h* ‘let’s go’.
- 8 *ämj-ün*—‘paternal uncle-GEN’, < Turkish *amj(a)*; it is unclear why the vowels have been fronted; note that it is placed in the second declension.
- 9 *ilen*--Turkish *ile(n)* ‘with’.
- 10 *ergü ha begirji* ‘two stableboys’--*ha* = MWA *had* ‘piece, unit’, q.v. 2.3; *begirji* = Turkish ?? ‘stableboy’. *jarim*--??dialectal ‘find’.
- 11 *g ia*--MWA *g erta(y)* ‘he goes’.
- 16 *č^hüfdän* ‘rifle’--Turkish ??
- 18 *mar* --MWA *mar* ‘man’.
- 19 *a gä* --MWA *adgē* ‘jumps’; it is not clear why the *ä* is nasalized here. *ämüz-ə*--Turkish *omuz* ‘shoulder’; note the borrowing of Turkish *o* as *ä* before nasal. *gene*--Turkish ‘again, moreover’. *əjab*--Turkish *acaba* ‘I wonder if’. *išna*--MWA *ič^hnē* ‘descends’; note the change to the *-a-* conjugation and lack of expected nasalization on the *a*.
- 20 *a bar*--MWA *yep^hayr* ‘brother’; note the *b* for expected *p^h*.
- 21 *as jü*--MWA *asdujo(y)* ‘god-GEN’. *k^həni*--MWA *k^hani* ‘how many’. *saha en*--Turkish *saat-ten* ‘hour-ABL’
- 22 *əayfän*--T *ahve* + ?? ‘cafe’; note the borrowing of *ə* as *ʌ*, which is quite common in Turkish loanwords. Pisowicz (1993) has argued convincingly that all such words are borrowed from eastern Anatolian Turkic dialects, which regularly show the development *ə* > *ʌ*.
- 24 *ša* --MWA *šad* ‘much’. *ziyanü in*--Turkish *ziyan* ‘damage’ + Armenian abstract noun suffix *-u iwn*.
- 25 *havöknärə*--MWA *avovnerə* ‘the grapes’. *üdelnin*--MWA *udel* ‘eat’ + ??an unknown suffix. *hade*--?? ‘good’. *zarar*--Turkish ‘damage’; + *č^hüni* = MWA *vnas č^h uni* ‘no problem’ (literally, ‘it has no problem’), cf. Uzbek *zarar yo* .
- 26 xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 28 *hazər*--Turkish *haz r* ‘ready’
xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 39 *gü kām* ‘I am coming’--note the separation of *gü*, which is not normal in this text; cf. 42, 48, 54, 136, 145, 71, 81, 85, 88, 91, 105, 107
- 41 *əayfen* ‘cafe’--note variation from *əayfän* (22).
- 43 *gödi*--note voicing of expected (=MWA) *k^hodi* ‘belt’
- 45 note no nasalization in *g imanā*; *janəm ökiil* ‘my dear boy’--Turkish *jan* (< Persian), *oğul* ‘son’.
- 50 *jüəä* ‘answer’--Turkish *cevap*.

- 51 bešinÄi ‘[wife of the] fifth [brother]’, from Turkish bešinÄi ‘fifth’. Notice the different treatment of geminate *-ll-* in *g ellã* (cf. *əl l a, b l laj*).
- 52 č^hüfdä-när-ə ‘the rifles’--unexpected plural?? NB not from Turkish
- 54 strange use of singular verbs with plural subject ‘tassels’
- 62 metathesis *lvan --> vlan*
- 63 ə l lã--apparently a mistake for *əl l ã* (cf. 61), but note *b l laj*.
- 64 əsäss—Though the standard Armenian form has a schwa ([əsacəs]), the assimilation here (əsass < əsaz-s < əsaj-s) would appear to indicate that no schwa intervenes between the two consonants. Unfortunately, Ačārean is inconsistent in his (non)representation of schwa, so we cannot tell one way or the other.
- 65 aj-ü—‘goat-GEN’; MWA *ayj*
- 68 amp^hān öra älän ialn ik^hān ‘while travelling and chatting’--a hybrid construction using the Turkish gerundive *iken*, eg. *hasta-yken* ‘while I was sick’, *gel-ir-ken* ‘while I was coming’.
- 69 a b rilə--note the different stress; cf. also 70 p^ho írılə.
- 72 va d-ə--Turkish *vakit* ‘time’ (< Arabic *wakt*) + definite article; note for *k*, as discussed in section 4; presumably this was pronounced [va t], not [va d], as Ačārean’s transcription implies.
- 80 tüjār-när-ə ‘the merchants’ < T *tüccar* ‘merchant’ < Arabic; *k^hila* ‘bushel’ < T *kile* < A *keyl*; *oza* ‘cocoon’ < T *koza* ‘silk cocoon’, note non-umlauted *o*.
- 81 k^hör ‘blind’ < T *kör* < P *kur* (NB also > CA *koyr*); Ammedin k^höv ‘chez Ahmed’; *ves nedövk* ‘six-shooter’; *ö də jermagi güda ävär*--SWA *yeber* ‘it seems’, formally an imperfect 3d singular of ‘be’, but functions like Turkish dubitative *-ym ŧ*.
- 86 ilän ‘with, and’--Turkish *ile*, Uzbek *bilän* < *bu ilän* (cf. T *olmak* = U *bolma*).
- 89 ör meymə p^hatä nã, iärə gə hezna ‘mount’--note lack of nasalization in the *a*.
- 90 dö-n ‘(the) Peter’--cf. standard Armenian hypocoristic *Peto* < *Petros*, but note loss of *p*-here; *ü enek^herimə iärə g arnün varakažnärün dagə* --note lack of coordinating conjunction, as in Turkic languages.
- 93 er al > ial.
- 97 esdəneyin a p^hürə ‘source, fountain’--classical *atbiwr*; note the aspirated *p^h* and the assimilated . *irarü gə be leyink^h* ‘we (will) wait for each other’--T *beklemek* ‘wait for, expect’; again note the use of a Turkish verb root with Armenian inflection, as in 84, 135, 150 *başlayin*, 149 *başlayecäk^h*.
- 98 ge i neyim--note the use of *neyim* ‘look’ (MWA *nayim*) as an intensifier after imperatives; cf. Turkish *bakal m*, Japanese *xx*.
- 99 mar ö ə ašgə p^hasvär ä, ar adaš ‘the men’s eyes are open, friend’--idiom, presumably referring to the cleverness of the perpetrators in taking the short path. *ar adaš* < T. *arkadaš* ‘friend’; note for *k* before consonant (also in *do san* ‘90’ < Turkish *doksan*, *va d* < Arabic *wakt*), common in Eastern Turkish dialects and other Turkic languages.
- 104 Meymə angaj ‘your ear’--Ačārean appears to have forgotten the ə in what must be pronounced [angajət]; note that we do not get the expected *angäč^h hökin tir.
- 105 vörän meč^hen jivü cān mə gük^həa ‘is coming’--note the aspirated *k^h* and əa diphthong (cf. 39, 42, 48, 54, 85, 88, 91, 107, 136, 145 *gük^ha*)
- 108 beylü ‘clear’--Persian *xx*. (< *pēd g?*)
- 118 k^himö k^himö < T. *kime kime*, dative of *kim* ‘who’; the *ö* is odd, as it does not clearly correspond to the Turkish dative *-e* or the Armenian dative *-u*. (It presumably results from assimilation to the preceding labial consonant.)

- 121** *ŝi bilir* ‘he knows his job’ --T *iŝ-i* ‘work-acc’ + *bil-ir* ‘know-3sg aorist’
134 *ĉ^hif d än*--the *d* has been omitted in the original text.
144 *nä*--note variant from normal *nəã*.
145 *misir*--we should expect *məsər* from Turkish *m s r*.

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