Ester Petrosyan

MS CAIRO SYRIAC 11: A TRI-LINGUAL GARSHUNI

MANUSCRIPT

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2016

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by

Ester Petrosyan

(Armenia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Ester Petrosyan**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This thesis deals with MS Cairo Syriac 11, a seventeenth century tri-lingual (Syriac-Arabic-Armenian) manuscript dictionary. The manuscript was written by a scribe from the Mesopotamian city of Gargar and contains the Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Eliyah of Nisibis (975-1046), supplemented with a third column, containing the Armenian equivalent of the words. In the dictionary both the Arabic and the Armenian words are written in Syriac characters.

The manuscript has potential to prove a unique source for many interdisciplinary studies, such as Armenian and Arabic Garshuni studies, Syro-Armenian lexicography, Armenian dialectology, Syro-Armenian intercultural historical studies and relations.

I study the manuscript both from linguistic and historical perspectives. From the linguistic angle, my work aims at reconstructing the principles of transcription of the Armenian words used in the manuscript as well as at reconstructing the Armenian dialect whose vocabulary the manuscript records. From the historical angle, I attempt to reconstruct the context, in which Armenian and Arabic were recorded in Syriac script instead of their natural alphabets.

The methodology I intend to use is multi-faceted, including the palaeographic, codicological, and philological analyses of the source, as well as comparative textual criticism.

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Introduction

The term Garshuni, also known as Karshuni, refers to the writing of one language in the script of another. Previously the term was only applied to writing Arabic in the Syriac script as the vast majority of Garshuni texts are in Arabic. Later the term was extended to any language other than Syriac written in the Syriac script. The origin and meaning of the word remains debated.[1]

Garshuni came into use when Arabic became the dominant spoken language in the Middle East. The earliest continuous examples of the phenomenon date back to the fourteenth century, although there are some Garshuni texts from earlier centuries and from the twentieth century as well. From a wider angle it is not an extraordinary phenomenon, but something that was employed in other languages and scripts as well, such as Arabic, Greek, Persian, Spanish written in Hebrew script, Ottoman Turkish in Armenian script or Romance languages in the Arabic script.

The phenomenon of Garshuni has been known to scholars from the very beginning of Syriac and Christian Arabic manuscript history, especially since J. S. Assemani's voluminous publications in the eighteenth century. However, the practice began to attract wider interest. More attention is paid to Arabic Garshuni, while a handful of scholars work, for example, Armenian or Malayalam Garshuni.

Armenian Garshuni studies combine various scholarly disciplines, such as philology and linguistics, history, religious beliefs, politics, national identity and ideologies of different groups. Until recent years lexicographical material of Syro-Armenian studies and Armenian Garshuni studies was virgin territory. Lately scholars such as Jos Weitenberg and Hidemi

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[1] For the explanation of the term see *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, eds. Sebastian P. Brock et al., (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias press, 2011), 172. and Alessandro Mengozzi, *The History of Garshuni as a Writing System: Evidence from the Rabbula codex, History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs 10*, 287-304; and Joseph Moukarzel, "Maronite Garshuni texts: On their evolution, characteristics, and function," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 17, no. 2), 237-62.

Takahashi made a huge contribution exploring the known lexicographical material. They are the ones who started this undertaking, which seemed adventurous from the first sight, but the results are promising. Still much work is left to do in the areas of Syro-Armenian lexicography and Armenian Garshuni studies.

There are three Syriac-Armenian and Syriac-Arabic-Armenian Garshuni manuscript dictionaries known to us, which are kept in library collections in different parts of the world.[2] All of them are from the seventeenth century: MS Harvard Syriac 54, MS Yale Syriac 9, presently in the United States, and the third, which is the focus of my research, MS Syriac 11 kept in the library of the Franciscan Center for Christian Oriental Studies in Cairo.

Cairo Syriac 11 is a seventeenth century Garshuni manuscript dictionary, written in the Serto script by a scribe from the Mesopotamian city of Gargar. The dictionary consists of the topically classified Syriac-Arabic Garshuni glossary of *The Book of the Interpreter* by Eliya of Nisibis (975–1046) to which were added columns of Armenian words in Garshuni. Eliya was an eastern Syriac scholar and monk, early grammarian and an important figure in Syriac and Christian Arabic literature.

The Armenian words of the manuscript are difficult to understand mostly because they comprise a relatively high number of loanwords from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The indigenous Armenian words in the dictionary are close to the dialects spoken in the territories of Malatya, Diyarbakir, and Urfa.

The manuscript is a unique source for future interdisciplinary studies, such as Armenian and Arabic Garshuni studies, Syro-Armenian lexicography, Armenian

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[2] For more about other manuscripts containing Armenian Garshuni texts see Hidemi Takahashi, and Jos J. S. Weitenberg. "The Shorter Syriac-Armenian Glossary in Ms. Yale Syriac 9, part 1," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 14, no. 1, (2011): 87–144; and Hidemi Takahashi, "Armenian Garshuni: An Overview of the Known Material," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 17, no. 1: 81-117; "Armenisch-Garschuni (Armenisch in syrischer Schrift)," in *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, ed. J. den Heijer et. al., L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 62, (Louvain: Peeters, 2014); "Armenian Garshuni (Armenian in Syriac Script) and Its Users," in *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context*, ed. H. Teule et. al. (Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming).

dialectology, Syro-Armenian intercultural historical studies and relations. However, until now it was not used as a source for any of these disciplines, as it is a complicated source material and requires not only codicological, palaeographic, historical and dialectological knowledge, but also proficiency in the three languages of the manuscript: Syriac, Arabic and Armenian. This thesis will make the source accessible for other scholars working in the disciplines mentioned above, to establish facts and reach new conclusions in their researches and analysis. The dictionary is an especially invaluable source for Armenian garshunography. In addition, the investigation of the material is expected to reveal many results that will be important for the study of both Syro-Armenian relations and Armenian dialectology, as well as for Arabic Garshuni studies as it provides a wider material for understanding the Garshuni phenomenon in general.

I will study the manuscript both from linguistic and historical perspectives. From the linguistic angle, my work aims at reconstructing the principles of transcription of the Armenian words used in the manuscript as well as at reconstructing the Armenian dialect whose vocabulary the manuscript records. From the historical angle I will reconstruct the context, in which it was important to record Arabic and Armenian in Syriac script in general, and create this trilingual dictionary in particular. I will also explore and describe the physical structure of the manuscript. The analysis of the margins as well as the transliteration and translation of the colophon and the ownership mark of the manuscript discussed in the second chapter of the thesis will shed some light on the multilingual and multinational environment in which the manuscript was created.

For my research I will use different dictionaries of Armenian, Arabic and Syriac, as well as dialectal root dictionaries of Armenian. Research and articles on Garshuni studies by different scholars, especially volume 17 of *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* and the book *Scripts beyond Borders* discussing garshunography in Syriac tradition, provide a solid

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background information for my study. The papers therein contain precious information about Garshuni in general. Hidemi Takahasi, for instance, writes on Armenian Garshuni, summarizing the known material of the Armenian Garshuni and giving examples from different manuscripts. Other important studies on Armenian Garshuni include Hidemi Takahashi's and Jos Weitenberg's articles "The Shorter Syriac- Armenian Glossary in Ms. Yale Syriac 9," part one and part two.

Jos Weitenberg's "Reconstructing Classical Armenian: The Case of Kotem(n)," and "Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun" focus on slightly different topics, but they are important methodological antecedents for my research, as they also describe languages based on dictionaries.

The methodology I will use is multi-faceted, including the palaeographic, codicological, and philological analyses of the source, as well as comparative textual criticism.

As the manuscript contains vi + 333 pages, the transcription of the entire glossary is beyond the scope of the present thesis. I will concentrate on particularities and exceptions which may be helpful in describing the language and reconstructing both the Armenian dialect in the manuscript and the history behind it. My intention is to give a well-organized system not only to describe the dialect, but also make the source easily accessible for other researchers, especially those interested in Armenian dialectology.

I hope that my research will encourage and support further investigations in this field as there is still much unexplored manuscript material to work on in the field of Armenian Garshuni studies.

Chapter 1 - The socio-historical conditions prompting the creation of Arabic and Armenian Garshuni

The tradition of writing one language in the script of another became a subject of interest for scholars only very recently—before the end of twentieth century only minor articles had been written about the phenomenon. Until now two volumes with a number of articles, and some other separate articles have been devoted to this practice. In this chapter I will discuss the terminology used in the thesis as well as the socio-historical conditions and reasons that necessitated writing Arabic and Armenian in Syiac script.

There is a debate on the issue of terminology.[3] In fact, in the original usage Garshuni means only Arabic written in Syriac script. Later, the term Garshuni was generalized to mean writing texts in any language other than Syriac in Syriac script. In a further attempt at generalization, recently George Kiraz suggested that any language written in an unusual script should be called "Garshuni."[4] Andrea Schmidt, Johannes den Heijer and Tamar Pataridze in their collective volume on the the same phenomenon proposed the term "allography" or "allographic tradition."[5] Kiraz objects that the same term had already been employed for other phenomena in scholarly literature on writing systems.[6] Thus, instead, Kiraz promotes the neologism "garshunography," which Schmidt and Heijer find inappropriate as Garhuni refers specifically to writing in Syriac script and as there are many other traditions that terminologically could compete with Garshuni, such as *Aljamiado*, that is, writing Romance languages in Arabic or Hebrew script. With this they find it

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[3] On the origin of the term Garshuni see Frederick Mario Fales and Giulia Francesca, *Grassi proceedings of the 13th Italian meeting of Afro-Asiatic linguistics* (Padova: Editrice e Libreria, 2010).

[4] Kiraz, George, *Tūrōs Mam[l]lō: A Grammar of the Syriac Language,* vol. 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012), 291.

[5] Johannes Den Heijer, Andrea Schmidt, Tamar Pataridze, *Scripts Beyond Borders: Allographic Traditions and Their Social, Cultural and Philological Aspects: An Analitical Introduction,* in *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World,* ed. Johannes den Heijer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 1-65.

[6] George A. Kiraz, "Garshunography: Terminology and Some Formal Properties of Writing One Language in the Script of Another," in *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean world,* ed. Johannes den Heijer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 65-75.

inappropriate to refer to all the different kinds of the phenomena with the term originally intended for only writing in Syriac script. Kiraz defends his choice of the term stating that the semantic scope of the term Garhuni has become wider over time. He proposes the term garshunography for writing a language in the script of another in general. For particular cases, when it needs to be specified, the term could still be preserved with the specification of the sub-type, for example, Judeo-Arabic garshunography, Greco-Ottoman garshuniography, and so on. Attesting to this debate most of the papers included in *Scripts beyond Borders* use the term "allography", while many among the papers collected in issue no. 17 of *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, dedicated to "garshunography" use this term. Thus, the question of the term still remains unresolved. As in the current thesis I will be dealing only with Armenian and Arabic written in Syriac script, both called universally "Garshuni" in the literature (Armenian Garshuni and Arabic Garshuni), in what follows I will be using this term and also the term "garshunography" without taking sides in this debate.

Another ambiguous question is the use of the terms transliteration and transcription that needs to be clarified. Kiraz suggest using the term transliteration while talking about Arabic in Syriac script, and the term transcription for Armenian in Syriac script.

Terms like grapheme, phoneme and garshunographeme will be used in the thesis. For example, in Arabic Garshuni, the Syriac grapheme [gamal] is modified into the garshunographeme [gamal with a dot beneath] for the Arabic [ghayn]. Or, in Armenian Garshuni, the Syriac grapheme [kāp̄] is modified into the garshunagrapheme [kāp̄ with an upper red dot] for the Armenian [k'].

Further in this chapter I will discuss questions of when, where and especially for what purposes Arabic and Armenian were recorded in Syriac script instead of their usual scripts.

The reasons of Armenian Garshuni and Arabic Garshuni must have varied though in some cases as, will be demonstrated, they have similar features. Both will be discussed further in this chapter.

1.1 The reasons behind Arabic Garshuni

Recent studies present Arabic Garshuni as a West-Syriac tradition as most of the texts in Garshuni are written in Serto script. Serto is the western Syriac script, and appeared around the eighth century CE. Writing Garshuni texts in various topics in Serto script was popular among Maronite scribes. The Maronites are a people, centered in Lebanon, whose mother tongue is normally Arabic but are using Classical Syriac as their liturgical and literary language. A group of Chalcedonian confession, they are remnants of that, sometime much more populous people, who persevered in the Monothelete imperial theology introduced by Emperor Heraclius but declared a heresy at the sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople in 680/81. Yet, as Sebastian Brock has recently shown, most of the Syriac-speaking Chalcedonian Christians of Syria and Palestine remained Monothelete during the seventh-eighth centuries.[7] Their remnants, separated from and in opposition to both the Byzantine and the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) churches, united with Rome during the crusades in the eleventh century.

However, Garshuni was used in East-Syrian tradition as well. Many East-Syrian Garshuni texts are older than Maronite ones. In the East-Syriac tradition, Garshuni was often used for various Eastern languages, other than Arabic, too.

Different scholars mention various reasons and purposes for the use of Arabic Garshuni. In this sub-section I will give a short historiographical summary of this question

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[7] Sebastian Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," in *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 343-344.

and infer the possible reasons of creating and using Arabic Garshuni through comparative analysis.

In the Garshunography volume edited by George Kiraz, Joseph Moukarzel discusses the reasons of the Maronites for using Garshuni.[8] He brings forward the idea that it was a question of practicality and was used by the Syriac Christians in their daily life to record the widely spread Arabic language in the script already familiar to them. He summarizes his idea by quoting the seventeenth-century Maronite patriarch Stephan Douaihy, who said that "the people adopted Syriac for sacred books and Garshuni to transliterate the spoken language of Arabic."[9]

The Maronite Faustus Naironus in the preface of the New Testament published in Rome in 1703 wrote "Carsciun, a Syriac of Mesopotamia, started writing Arabic using the Syriac alphabet to make it easier for Syriac people to learn how to read Arabic, a language brought to Syria by the Saracens."[10]

Sarkis Rizzi, a sixteenth-century Lebanese Maronite bishop writing mostly in Garshuni, wrote a paragraph in Arabic where he shows his ignorance of the Arabic script.[11] There are many other short stories and testimonies cited by Moukarzel in his article which makes it clear that Maronite bishops had been employing Garshuni for a long time and most of them could not read and write in Arabic script. All these examples prove the existence of practical reasons behind the Garshuni. However, there are other possible explanations too.

Garshuni could also play the cultural role and a function of secret script to write texts that Arabic-speaking Christians did not want to share with their Muslim neighbours. Already in 1596 George Amira in his *Syriac Grammar* gave an interesting explanation concerning the use of Garshuni:

[8] Joseph Moukarzel*, "*Maronite Garshuni Texts: on their Evolution, Characteristics, and Function," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac studies* 17, no. 2 (2014), 237-262.
[9] Ibid., 239.
[10] Ibid., 245.
[11] Ibid., 242.

Seeing as Christians lived amongst infidels and that Arabic was a language both people shared, the former came up with the idea of writing their sacred words and rituals in Syriac alphabet, something the infidels could not read. Many books were written in that manner for protection against the infidels' horrid morals and fake religion. If these books had been written in Arabic alphabet, the Christian faith would have been in great danger. However that may be, it is true that Arabic is to Syriac today what Italian is to Latin. Italian is written in Latin letters and Arabic is written by the Christians, in general, in Syriac letters, even though it has its own alphabet, as previously mentioned. As a result, both Testaments and other holy books, along with grammar books, dictionaries, poems and a number of books and other works of art were written in that language, but using the Syriac alphabet. This is the reason why any book amongst those pertaining to an honorable and illustrious science can be read and understood by us.[12]

In the Maronite library of Aleppo there are books in Garshuni against Islam or philosophical and theological treatises about the greatness of Christianity in comparison with other religions. This shows that Garshuni also was a means for writing so-called dangerous texts that were not welcomed by Muslims.

The practice of writing Arabic in Syriac script dates back to the Middle Ages. This period is described by Schmidt and Heijer as time of bilingualism, when for the Syriac Christian communities Syriac remained a language of theology, church and science, but at the same time Arabic was "the mother tongue." According to Schmidt and Heijer, the command of Syriac was becoming limited during the time, which contributed to the emergence of the garhunographic tradition of writing Arabic in Syriac script. They state that it is not clear when the practice began, but the reason for it was preserving national identity.[13]

Francisco Del Río Sánchez in his article also investigates the reasons why Christian communities of the Near East, and particularly the Maronites, rejected the adoption of the Arabic alphabet. He bases his study on a careful examination of materials preserved in one of the major production centers of Garshuni texts, the Maronite Mutraniyya of Aleppo. There are 250 volumes in Arabic Garshuni. The oldest codex dates back to the fifteenth century. The collection has Garshuni texts dating up to the twentieth century. Sánchez discusses the

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[12] Ibid., 240.
[13] Heijer and Schmit, ed. *Scripts beyond Borders*, 13.

use of Garshuni through the lens of sociological, religious and cultural patterns.[14] He suggests that writing in Syriac letters was a way to preserve "national" scripts. He highlights some facts that come to prove the religious and cultural reasons of using Garshuni. Firstly Garshuni texts are written in Syriac script but preserving grammatical and orthographic standards of Arabic. The language of the text is close to Literary Arabic with some dialectical influence. Accordingly they were created by people who mastered Arabic perfectly. Secondly, Sánchez talks about the Garshuni book production and distinguishes two stages of it. He states that earlier examples of Garshuni are different from later books. In earlier cases (before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) the scribes were most probably Aramaic speakers, while the later examples of Garshuni texts (fifteenth to twentieth centuries) seem to be written by Arabized scribes, and it is hard to believe that they had difficulty to write in Arabic script. The production of the Garshuni books became massive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And at that time it is clear that the use of Garshuni was not a question of practicality at all. After showing that at least later examples of Garshuni were not produced because of practical reasons, Sánchez concludes that it was clearly a contrived way of writing.[15]

The article also discusses the reasons why Syriac Christian communities preferred to use their own script while writing a different language. Sánchez concludes that the Maronite religious hierarchy played an essential role in the establishment and spread of Garshuni. It is interesting that the major Maronite Synod of 1736 strictly forbade to write any theological, liturgical, philosophical, or grammatical book in Arabic calligraphy. This is a clear fact that proves that the use of Garshuni was intentional, and had religious and cultural reasons. But even before the Synod the archbishop of Aleppo, Germanus Farhat, and his friend, copyist Butrus al-Maruni, had been using Syriac Script for Arabized local liturgy. Thus Garshuni in

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[14] Federico del Rio Sanchez, "Arabic-Karshuni: An Attempt to Preserve Maronite Identity; The case of Aleppo,"*The Levantine Review* 2, no. 1 (2013): 3-11.

[15] Ibid., 6.

the eighteenth century clearly becomes "the Maronite Nation's writing," as Sánchez describes.

Alessandro Mengozzi argues that the choice of the alphabet was never a purely technical matter. Sometimes Garshuni and Arabic are used in the same manuscript simultaneously, something that indicates the intentional tendency of the phenomenon.[16] Both for Sánchez and Mengozzi it was motivated by ideological or identity-related considerations and was a way to preserve the culture that was endangered by a dominant language. Sometimes in Garshuni texts Arabic diacritics are used together with Syriac letters, such as two dots on the final *hē* letter of Syriac alphabet to denote the Arabic *tāʾ marbūṭa* (which has two dots in Arabic alphabet), or when an Arabic *shaddah* (used in the Arabic alphabet for marking geminate consonants) is used over the Syriac letters. This proves that the scribes were familiar with the peculiarities of the Arabic alphabet and contradicts the practical explanation. It is still justifiable to argue that the use of *shaddah* or other diacretics of Arabic alphabet in Garshuni is a necessary adaptation, just like graphemes are adopted for garshunographemes. However, even in this case, the permanence of the used diacritics excludes the version of practicality that would imply irregular use of diacritics and of other elements of the Arabic writing system in general.

Khalid Dinno in his article gives another explanation, which, however, leads back to the idea that Garshuni was used as a means for preserving group identity. According to him, Syriac was considered a holy language and Syriac script carried an aura of sanctity.[17] Preserving their own script was a unique and intelligent way for the Syriac communities to preserve their identity. Being Arabized and having adopted Arabic not only as a daily language but also as a language for liturgy, the Syriac communities with the use of the

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[16] Mustafa Dehqan and Alessandro Mengozzi, "A Kurdish Garshuni Poem by David of Barazne (19th Century)," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac studies* 17, no. 1 (2014): 53-79.

[17] Khalid Dinno, "The Deir Al-Zaʿfaran and Mardin Garshuni Archives," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 17, no. 2 (2014): 209.

Garshuni script kept alive at least a particle of their tradition. Thus, Garshuni became a symbol of their cultural and religious identity.

Taking into account all the examples and research discussed above I will make my conclusions how the practice started and developed and what historical contexts necessitated it. For me there was an obvious evolution of reasons behind writing in Garshuni. From before the fourteenth century only short texts in Garshuni survived.[18] Also, it seems that during the first centuries under Arab rule the use of Garshuni was an issue of practicality. The common spoken language was Arabic in the caliphate and Syriac Christians adopted this new spoken language, even though they did not master the script of the new language at first, and used their own script for recording their daily language. However, later stages of using Garshuni suggest that it was no longer a question of practicality. Of course, still much unexplored material is left in the area of garshunography and caution is necessary before overarching conclusions until all the materials are explored. Only a detailed exploration of earlier pieces can provide enough insight to state whether Garshuni originated because of practical reasons. One major thing that may contradict the so called "practical" explanation is that Garshuni has a well-organized structure and most of the manuscripts written in Garshuni are using more or less the same system of transliteration. Naturally, Arabic and Syriac manifest a series of phonetic differences. Some sounds in Arabic do not exist in Syriac. Consequently, one Syriac letter represents several Arabic phonetic values. This causes a number of problems in transliteration, and some distinctive dots and other signs were used to differentiate the phonetic values of Arabic letters recorded in Syriac script. The system is more or less similar in different manuscripts. Each scribe was keeping the general rules of Garshuni, but was writing in his own way.[19] If it were to turn out that the earliest examples of Garshuni were written using the same system, this would be an indication that these were

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[18] Dehqan and Mengozzi, "A Kurdish Garshuni Poem."
[19] Adam Carter McCollum, "Garshuni as It Is: Some Observations from Reading East and West Syriac Manuscripts", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 17, no. 2 (2014): 223.

not randomly created documents with the use of Syriac script as an alternative to Arabic but, rather, something more organized and intentional from the very beginning.

1.2 Note on the Armenian Garshuni

From the 15th century onwards in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia, areas inhabited by Armenians and Syrian Christians living side by side, a number of Armenian texts were recorded in Syriac script. All the examples found until now are written in Serto, the Western Syriac script (used by the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Maronites). At the same time the opposite phenomenon, Syriac in Armenian script, was quite a rare thing.[20] The use of Armenian Garshuni is closely connected with the emergence of the Armenian speaking Syrian Orthodox communities.[21] In this chapter I will discuss the context, in which Syrian Christian communities living in the multinational and multilingual environment and using Classical Syriac as their liturgical and literary language felt important to create the tri-lingual dictionary.

Armenian Garshuni manuscripts were created in the territory of Kharberd and Malatya. The region had a significant number of Armenian speakers, many of them belonging to the Syrian Orthodox church. The monastery of Mor Abhay was one of the most important centers to produce Armenian Garshuni texts.[22] Starting from the 15th century the monastery was a spiritual center for the Syrian Orthodox of Malatya. The monastery existed until the beginning of the 18th century. It was in this center that Armenian Garshuni

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[20] Heijer and Schmidt, "*Scripts Beyond Borders*", 20.

[21] [Arman Hakobyan] Արման Հակոբյան, *Արամէագիտության և ասորագիտության ներածություն* [Introduction to Aramaic and Syriac Studies], (Yerevan, VMV-print, 2015), 540.

[22] [Arman Hakobyan] Արման Հակոբյան, *«Հայկական Գարշունի»-ի ասորատառ հայերենի մասին* [On Armenian Garshuni (Armenian Written in Syriac Characters)], in *Arabic Studies Journal 7*, ed. Sona Tonikyan *et al.* (Yerevan, YSU press, 2014), 27.

manuscripts were produced for Armenian-speaking members of the Syrian Orthodox Church. There are unique cases of Armenian Garshuni texts even from the 20th century.

The Ottoman population register suggests that in the 16th century the area of Malatya and Gerger, from where comes the scribe of Cairo Syriac 11, had altogether 19450 family households, out of which 17810 were Muslim and 1640 were non-Muslim. It does not specify the group of non-Muslims, but this would be mostly Armenians and presumably also Syrian Christians. Furthermore, there were another 2715 unmarried Muslims and 44 unmarried non-Muslims. On top of it, there were 208 Kurdish and Yuruk (Turkmen) nomad households.[23]

Cairo Syriac 11 was copied in Diyarbakır. Travellers' accounts from the sixteenth century give the modern scholars the demographic picture of Diyarbakır in the 1660, the same time when Cairo Syriac 11 was copied.

Situated on the west bank of the Tigris River Diyarbakır (Amid) is one of the oldest, continually inhabited cities in the world. Because of its strategic position, both commercially and militarily, Amid had a mixed population, representing nearly every ethnic and religious group in the area. More about 17th century Diyarbakır is known from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* ("Book of Travel").[24] In the past Diyarbakır had been part of the greater Armenia and in the 17th century most of the peasants and craftsmen in the province were Armenians. Although they were not forming the majority, there was a substantial Armenian population throughout the region.[25] It was a multinational and heterogeneous province, with Armenians, Kurds, Syrian Christians, Arabs, Turks, Persians, Jewish minorities, both nomads and sedentary, living side by side. Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Kurdish and Armenian languages

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[23] Türkmen, İlhan. "Tahrir Kayıtlarına Göre 16. Yüzyılda Malatya'da Ermeni Nüfusu" [Armenian Population in Malatia in the 16th Century According To Cadastral Registers]. *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 8, no. 16 (2015): 83.

[24] Evliya Çelebi was an Ottoman Turk who travelled through the territory of the Ottoman Empire and neighboring lands over a period of forty years and recorded about the places he visited in a travelogue called the *Seyahatname*.

[25] *İlhan Türkmen, Tahrir Kayıtlarına Göre 16. Yüzyılda Malatya'da Ermeni Nüfusu,* [Armenian Population in Malatia in the 16th Century According To Cadastral Registers] in *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, ed. Hale Şıvgın (Turkey, 2015).

were spoken here, and even the Iranian archaic language Zaza, that Evliya elsewhere in *Seyahatname* describes as one of the Kurdish dialects, was spoken. In the city Diyarbakır and other surrounding towns there was a significant number of native Turkish speakers.[26]

In the 1520s the population of the Diyarbakır province was 415.420. 85% of them were Muslims, 14.5% Christians and 0.2% Jews. In around 1560 the population of the city of Diyarbakır was around 50.000.[27]

The creeds were as diverse as the population itself. Most of the Muslims were Kurdish. Hanafi Muslims, Shafi'is, Alevies, Shi'ites were popular denominations in the province. Çelebi did not write much about the Christians and the distinction of the various Christian groups. He talks about the Armenians whom he describes as peasants and blacksmiths, West Syrians and smaller Nestorian communities. Diyarbakır was even the seat of the West Syrian patriarch. There could have been other groups as well, such as Greek Orthodox and Jewish minorities.

According to another 17th century traveler's, Simeon of Poland's travel account all the bakers, butchers, soap and kebab-sellers in Diyarbakır were Armenian,[28] while the silver and goldsmiths were West Syrians. He also mentions two Armenian churches, Surb Kirakos and Surb Sargis, both big and glorious, with gates, episcopate and school. Armenians had their separate cemetery. He also talks about one thousand Armenian households which were rich and gorgeous. There was also a big Syrian Christian church called Maryam that was the seat of the patriarch.[29]

To the above mentioned list of languages Bruinessen and Boeschoten in their article add different Aramaic dialects spoken by the West Syrians and Nestorian Christians, who

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[26] Martin van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, "Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir", (Brill,1988).
[27] Ibid., 33.
[28] He visited Diyarbakır 42 years earlier than Evliya.
[29] [Simeon Lehac'i] Սիմէոն Լեհացի, *Ուղեգրութիւն, Տարեգրութիւն եւ Յիշատակարանք* [Traveling notes, chronicle and memoirs], (Vienna: Akinean 1936), 204-209.

were considered Arabic speakers or Armenians by Ottoman authors.[30] Çelebi mentions that most of the Arabic speakers were Syrian merchants; in fact, West Syrian Christians may have spoken Arabic rather than Aramaic. There is no doubt that Syrian Christians lived in the province, but it is questionable to what extent the Aramaic dialects were spoken by them.

The analysis of the marginal notes of Cairo Syriac 11 confirms many of the above discussed realities concerning different peoples living in the region and diverse languages spoken by them. At the same time it raises the question of to what extent Syriac was spoken in the Syrian Christian communities. Analyzing the margins would help the attempt at reconstructing the distribution and situation of languages in the region.

From the first sight one might suppose that the dictionary was created adding Armenian equivalents to the well-known Syriac-Arabic lexicon in order to teach Syrian Christians the Armenian language. However, a detailed exploration of the margins of the manuscript shows that the main intention of the scribe adding the Armenian words was to teach Classical Syriac not only to Arabic-speaking but also to Armenian-speaking Christians. In fact, there was a great number of Armenians and Syrian Christians living in the region belonging to the same ecclesiastic jurisdiction, that of the Syrian Orthodox Church. This situation resulted in the emergence of Armenian-speaking Syrian Christian communities, for whom the tri-lingual manuscript was created for practicing Classical Syriac that was only the language of liturgy at the time. This last statement can be proven by analyzing the marginal notes of Cairo Syriac 11, which will be in the subject of the second chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 2 - Codicological description of the manuscript and tools for reading Armenian Garshuni

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[30] Ibid., 290

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Ms. Syriac 11, kept in the library of the Franciscan Center for Christian Oriental Studies in Cairo, is a seventeenth-century Garshuni manuscript dictionary written in Syriac Serto script. The dictionary is trilingual, containing columns of Syriac, Arabic and Armenian words. In this manuscript there are two types of Garshuni: Arabic Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) and Armenian Garshuni (Armenian written in Syriac script). Only the short ownership mark coming after the colophon in the manuscript is not written in Garshuni. Obviously it was added by a later owner of the manuscript and is written in Arabic in Arabic script. The dictionary consists of the Arabic-Syriac lexicon of Eliya of Nisibis' work known as *Kitāb al-turjumān fī ta'līm luġat al-suryān* to which were added columns of Armenian words in Garshuni.[31] Eliya of Nisibis (975-1046) was a patriarch of the Church of the East. His works in grammar, lexicography, historiography, and theology were popular. *Kitāb al-turjumā*, a thematically arranged Syriac-Arabic Garshuni glossary, is one of his most well-known works.

In this chapter I will provide the physical description of the manuscript, transliterate and translate the colophon, the ownership mark of the manuscript, from Arabic into English. This will be followed by an introduction, description and analysis of the transcription system of Armenian Garshuni recorded in the glossary.

The transcriptions and examples from the manuscript will be organized in a specific way in the sections and chapters of the present thesis. Each word in the manuscript is identified by a three-part numbering system whereby the numbers are separated from each other by full stops. The first number indicates the page where the word is found, the second number stands for the line, and the third number indicates the column. Logically, if the third digit is one it stands for Syriac, two for Arabic, and three for Armenian words. For example, 291.1.3 refers to a word which is on page 291, in the first line of the Armenian column.

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[31] See Adam McCollum, "Prolegomena to a New Edition of Eliya of Nisibis's *Kitāb al-turjumān fī ta'līm luġat al-suryān*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58, no. 2 (2013): 297-322.

2.1 Physical description of the manuscript

The manuscript contains vi + 333 pages, each with an average of eighteen lines. For the pagination at the top of each page the author uses Arabic numerals (٠, ١, ٢, ٣, ٤, ٥, ٦, ٧, ٨, ٩). The Armenian part of the dictionary is not in alphabetical order.[32] Each page of the dictionary has three vertical columns. The first contains the Syriac words, the second column the Arabic Garshuni words, while the third the Armenian equivalents of the two previous in Garshuni. The columns are separated from one another by a gutter and alternating red and black dots positioned vertically. There are similar dots marking the end of the Armenian column as well. The manuscript is mostly written in black ink, but the distinctive signs and titles of the different sections are in red. Besides these three regular columns there are also other words and expressions in the margins of the manuscript, which were added later by another scribe. In some places a Syriac word from the dictionary is used in sentences to demonstrate the usage of the word. As in the example, on page 30 the usage of the word ܣܥܪܐ= hair is explained with two sentences that are:

ܣܥܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܢܝܢܘܐ ܐܬܘܪܝܬܐ.The hair of Mary of Niniveh (*Ōthur*).

(ܣܥܪܐ, ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܘܪܗܝܐ.) The hair of Abraham of Edessa.

On page 29 in the original dictionary one finds the expression ܚܒܝܒ ܢܚܝܪܐ = curved-nosed. As an addition, the author of the marginal notes added other adjectives, formed by the same rule, from the word "nose", such as ܐܪܝܟ ܢܚܝܪܐ = long-nosed, ܩܛܝܢ ܢܚܝܪܐ = thin-nosed, ܥܒܐ ܢܚܝܪܐ = thick-nosed. On page 31 one finds adjectives formed from the word head, such as ܪܝܫܐ ܪܥܝܥ = [one] with a bruised head, ܪܝܫܐ ܪܛܝܒ = [one] with a moistened head,

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[32] For the order and description of the Arabic and Syriac parts of the dictionary see McCollum, "*Prolegomena to a New Edition*".

apparently to teach the difference between similarly sounding words using the letters *semkhat* or *ṣode* respectively. There one also finds the expression ܚܒܝ ܪܫܐ = [one] with a dry head.

These and other examples where the Syriac word is used in different combinations show that the dictionary was used to teach and practice the use of Classical Syriac.

On the bottom of page 30 in the chapter "on hair and things related to it" the second word is ܡܢܬܐ, which is there to mean "separate hair". Concerning this word there is a marginal note. The note records the word *mnōṯō* ܡܢܿܬܐ with its Arabic equivalent حصة, meaning "part". Right under this is written the plural of *menṯō*: *mēnē* ܡܢܐ with the Armenian equivalent *tiler* [թիլր transcribed in Garshuni as ܬܝܠܠ, revealing that in the dialect of Gerger the word was pronounce with a doubled l as *tiller*] both meaning "threads, separate hairs". Possibly another dialectal variant of the Armenian word, *qeller* (ܩܠܠ), is also indicated.[33] He did not indicate, though, that the plural of *mnōṯō* would be *menwōṯō* because, apparently, he supposed this to be known. All this indicates that, by these examples, the author of the marginal gloss wanted to warn his Armenian-speaking reader that the latter should not confuse the word *menṯō* (separate hair) with its homograph *mnōṯō*.

Cairo Syriac 11 is a good source for proving the multilingualism of the time. The last Syriac expression on the margin of page 31, ܚܒܝ ܪܫܐ is given with a Turkish equivalent, *kuri bash* ܟܘܪܝ ܒܫ, meaning "dry head" in Turkish. The fact that Turkish was used for explanation talks about the convenience of the author to understand Turkish.

On page 49, where expressions denoting public magistrates are treated, a Syriac expression, which the author of the note deemed missing from the dictionary, is given: "the Gate of the Ruler", meaning his first substitute. In Syriac this is *tar'ō da-shlīṭō* ܬܪܥܐ ܕܫܠܝܛܐ, which is explained as *bab al-Amir* ܒܒ ܐܠܐܡܝܪ = gate of the ruler, being the Arabic translation of the Syriac or, rather, the Syriac being the translation of the original Arabic.

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[33] From Turkish word *kıl* menaing "animal or body hair".

Though it is written in Arabic Garshuni, the vowel signs are those of the Arabic alphabet: *fathah* (pronounced as short *a*) on the first *bēṯ* letter and *kasra* (pronounced as short *i*) on the letter *mīm*. The usage of these specifically Arabic vowel signs or Arabic words instead of the Syriac vowel signs here as well as in other parts of the manuscript shows that the author of the marginal notes knew Arabic, and not only how to speak but apparently also how to write.

The manuscript contains numerous catchwords.[34]

The lexicon is divided into lessons (*ta'lim*) separated by headings. Each lesson includes sub-chapters highlighted with their own headings. In Syriac 11 the headings of the lessons and sub-chapters are written in Arabic Garshuni using red ink. Each lesson presents words related to one topic, such as animals, birds, sounds, clothing, imperative verbs and so on. A detailed list of the lessons identified by the page numbers in the manuscript is given in Appendix 1 of this thesis.[35] This arrangement of Eliya's original dictionary shows that it was intended as a handbook of teaching Classical Syriac to Arabic speakers; most probably it was a supplement to Eliya's Grammar of the Syriac language.

In some parts of the dictionary the Armenian equivalents of Syriac and Arabic words are missing. Sometimes random words are missing from the list while there are also entire sections of words without Armenian equivalents. For example, the section on pages 73–88 lists names of medications, including well known, widespread and traditionally used medications, lesser known ones, and those that are used in food, such as beans, weed, grain seeds and other things. In this section the Armenian column is left empty: words like opium, thorn tree, Iris spuria, anise, service tree, mother-of-pearl, wormwood, agaricus, terminalia catappa, lavender, juniperus sabina, chrysanthemum and so on are missing.

In the chapter listing jewels and precious stones, on pages 70–71, the Armenian names of five stones, agate, sardonyx (or amethyst), jasper, tarshish (or chrysolith) and

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[34] The first word of a page repeated at the bottom of the page preceding.
[35] For the list of the lessons see also McCollum, "Prolegomena to a New Edition", 313-315.

peridot, are missing. In the section "On the Varieties of Trees" on pages 171–172, the Armenian equivalents for the words fruit, reed, drupe and some others are missing.

As shown above, it is mostly the names of specific types of things that are missing from these chapters. This can be either because the scribe did not know these particular words in Armenian, or because they were not applicable in the dialect, being foreign words of exotic plants, jewels or other specific things. Another possible reason could be that the purpose of the dictionary did not require these specific words in Armenian and there was no need to fill them in.

From the chapter titled "Part Three on Seven Regions and the Names of Some Cities" on pages 177–181, the majority of the names of geographic locations like Caesarea, Scythopolis (Beit She'an), Tyre, Sidon, Mecca, Ashkelon, Tiberias, Alexandria and many others are not given in Armenian. Yet, the same chapter gives the Armenian equivalents of territories, such as *Arabun ērkir* [արաբուն երկիր = Arab Countries],[36] *Hbašstʻan* [Հբաշթան = Ethiopia], *kʻałakʻ* [քաղաք = Palestine],[37] *Hind* [Հինդ = India], and of cities, such as *Ōrōsałim* [Օրուսադիմ = Jerusalem], *Šam* [Շամ = Damascus], *Tʻokat* [Թոկատ = Baalbek], *Kʻafayu kʻałakʻ* [Քաֆայու քաղաք = Kufa], *Basra* [Բասրա = Basra], *Amid* [Ամիդ = Amid], *Mfrkin* [Մֆրկին = Silvan], *Urfa* [Ուրֆա = Urfa], *Mltʻiǰa* [Մլթիջա = Malatya],[38] 9.3 *Ōskun ašxar* [Օսկուն աշխար],[39] - *Rʻōm* [Ռոմ = Rome].

In the beginning of the section seven regions are mentioned with their Armenian equivalents: *Hndstan* [Հնդստան = India], *Mkʻkʻeyn* [Մքքէն = Hijaz], *Msrʻ* [Մսռ = Egypt], *Bałdad* [Բաղդադ = Babylon], *Hurʻumsdan* [Հուռումսդան = Greece], *Haǰuǰ Maǰuǰ*

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[36] Meaning "the country of Arabs."
[37] Meaning "city."
[38] Similar to the Arabic word for the city.
[39] Meaning "The world of gold".

[Հաջոյց Մաջոյց = Gog and Magog],[40] China (the Armenian word is missing). This is indeed a very interesting chapter, where geographical territories are listed in the three languages. Understanding the differences between denominations of places and regions in different languages is invaluable for the history of nations and countries, yet, it is beyond the scope of the current thesis.

From the chapter titled "The Names and Related Things of Constellations, Stars, and Effects of the Air, such as Wind and Rain," on pages 188-193, random Armenian words like horizon, Saturn, Venus, Mercury and many others are missing.

There are more random words missing on pages 201-203 (e.g. narrator, mile, blond and others) and similar words on the pages 248 (e.g. shame, another, wonder and so on), 250-251 (e.g. covenant, should and so on) 263-264 (e.g. stranger, from the food, lamentation).

It is difficult to tell for sure why the names of some territories are missing from the list. It is unlikely that cities like Alexandria or Mecca were not familiar to Armenian speakers of the region, or the scribe did not know about words used in daily life like "wonder" or "mile" or "horizon". The reasons for skipping these words remain obscure at this point and need a more detailed exploration in the future.

2.2. The colophon and ownership mark of the manuscript

This sub-section is devoted to the colophon of the manuscript, the ownership mark and the six pages of introduction of Eliya of Nisibis. These pieces can be used to reconstruct the story of creation of the manuscript. The colophon and the introduction are written in Arabic Garshuni.

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[40] Similar to the Arabic equivalent.

The colophon reads: "This book was completed in the year 1977 of the Greek calendar (1665/6), in the protected city of Amid, by deacon Malkeh, son of the priest Nīqūdīmūs,[41] from town Gargar the rural village of Vank, namely Dayr (Monastery) of Abū Ghālib,[42] and the deacon who wrote this book is a student of the lowly among the high-priests patriarch Shuqr Allah from the city of Mardin from the village of Dayr Heliya[43], son of Rabbān Niʿma nicknamed Ibn al-Dabbāgh, who is resting in the abundance of light, glory and honor to the Lord forever, Amen."[44]

The Arabic owner's mark is as follows: "Deacon Malkeh wrote this dictionary in the year 1977 of the Greek calendar (1665/6), and I bought this dictionary in Aleppo from Father Danhash,[45] the khoury of the Syrian Orthodox people, for the sum of fifty Syrian liras. Ibrahim Mistrih."[46]

The colophon of the manuscript was not written by the copyist Malkeh, but by Patriarch Shukr Allāh. The second part of the colophon was added to the manuscript much later by the manuscript's owner who bought it in Aleppo from Father Danhash. Unfortunately there is no information given about the provenance of the manuscript before him.[47]

Besides the two texts mentioned above, there are further notations written elsewhere on the same page.

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[41] Amid is is one of the largest cities in southeastern Turkey, today called Diyarbakır. And deacon Malkeh who copied the manuscript in Diyarbakır was a native of Vank and most probably an Armenian speaker.
[42] More about Gerger, Vank and monastery of Abu Ghalib see Hubert Kaufhold, "Notizen zur späten Geschichte des Bar- saumö-Klosters," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3, no. 2 (2000 [2010]): 223–46, and H. Takahashi, "Armenian Garshuni (Armenian in Syriac Script) and Its Users", in *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context: First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20-22 April 2012, Mardin*, ed. H. Teule, E. Keser-Kayaalp, K. Akalin, N. Doru & M.S. Toprak, Eastern Christian Studies 23 9Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming).
[43] Patriarch Shuqr Allah, for whom the manuscript was copied was from rural city of Dayr Heliya that was situated at the bottom of the hill just below Mardin. It is called Çiftlik today.
[44] For the transliteration of the text from Syriac script into Arabic script see Appendix 2.
[45] This may be khūrī Ibrāhīm Danhash al-Ṣadadī, who wrote a book about his native town of Ṣadad , called كتاب اللؤلؤ المنتضد في تاريخ صدد (published in 1964), See more at Takahashi Hidemi, *Armenisch-Garschuni (Armenisch in Syrischer schrift)* in *Script beyond borders*, ed. Johannes Den Heijer, Andrea Schmidt and Tamar Pataridze. (Louvain: Peeters, 2014), 187-215.
[46] "Khoury" or "chorepiscopus" is a kind of priest, between an ordinary priest and a bishop. For the transliteration from Syriac script into Arabic script see Appendix 3.
[47] I thank Hidemi Takahashi for some clarifying remarks on the colophon and ownership mark.

"Proviene dalle Syria - 8 Ag. 1968, and 6/9/1967 (في حلب)".

The phrase *proviene dalla* (it comes from) is followed by the date and place. Another indication of later provenance is marked by the Arabic notation "from Aleppo 1976/9/6".

The introduction of the text contains information about the author and his reason to create the manuscript, as well as notes on its structure. In fact it is the introduction of Eliya of Nisibis for his lexicon.[48]

2.3 Transcription (system) of the Armenian Garshuni

In this sub-section I will give a comprehensive account of the diacritical marks used by the scribe of Syriac 11 to overcome phonetic differences of Armenian and Syriac in this particular manuscript. [49] Naturally, there are a series of phonetic differences between Armenian and Syriac. Some sounds in Armenian do not exist in Syriac. Consequently, one Syriac letter may represent several Armenian phonetic values. For example, in Armenian Garshuni the Syriac grapheme *Kāp* may have been pronounced both as *x* [ħ] or *k*'[p̄] in Armenian. The author uses dots and other distinctive signs usually written in red ink to differentiate between the phonetic values of Syriac letters, some of which stand for four, or even more, Armenian sounds.

Deciphering the manuscript is difficult without fully understanding the author's system of transliteration first. The system is not only a key tool in the study of the manuscript, but also will open wider horizons for future comparative analyses for Armenian garshuniography.

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[48] For the translation of the "Introduction" see McCollum, "Prolegomena to a New Edition," 311-321. The introduction contained in Syriac 11 is more or less similar to the one presented by McCollum. For my transliteration of the "Introduction" of Syriac 11 see Appendix 4.

[49] Analyses of transcription of Armenian Garshuni can be found in the articles of Hidemi Takahashi and Jos Weitenberg.

Before going into details of transcription of Armenian from Serto into its original alphabet, I will illustrate the usage of Garshuni with an example. On page 3, line 8 of the Armenian column is the word *kʻaǰ* [քաջ][50]. The last letter of the word in Garshuni is recorded with the Syriac garshunaphoneme [*gāmal* with a red dot in the middle]. A number of other examples where the same garshunaphoneme stands for Armenian *ǰ* [ջ] firmly suggest that this particular garshunaphoneme is adopted for recording the corresponding Armenian sound. The transcription system provided below is created on the basis of these principles and methodology.

The West Syriac Serto script is vowel-pointed below or above the letter which they follow. They are the following: *ă* (ܦܬܘܚܐ, *pṯōḥō*), *ē* (ܪܒܘܨܐ, *rḇōṣō*), *ī* (ܚܒܘܨܐ, *hḇōṣō*), *ō* (ܙܩܘܦܐ, *zqōp̄ō), *ū* or *u* (ܥܨܨܐ, *ʿṣōṣō)*. The table below summarizes how Syriac vowels are used in the manuscript for representation of Armenian vowels.

Armenian sound	Syriac garshunaphoneme	Examples
ա [a̤]	ܐ̇	1.1.3-*asdvaj* [Ասդված], [51] 4.2.3-*astvaj astvanun* [Աստված աստվածնուն], 3.4.3-*pʻancʻr* [փանցր], 42.3.3-*hag ərag* [հագրռագ].
	̇	1.4.3-*gēntʻäni* [գէնթ ա̈ նի], 1.13.3-*gntʻäʻn ō ł* [գնթ ա̈ գնող], 2.6.3-*kʻ ō vac* [քոված], 6.11.3-*kʻaǰutʻin* [քաջութին], 8.2.3-*sadana* [սադանա], 43.11.3 -*mär* [մա̈ր].

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[50] Meaning brave.
[51] Transliterated using Hübschmann-Meillet Transliteration System.

	՟	5.1.3-*aranc'' marmni* [առանց մարմնի], 6.6.3-*p'ark'* [փարք], 8.2.3-*sadana* [սադանա], 1.1.3-*miämid* [մի ü միդ], 15.2.3-*maz* [մազ], 43.9.3-*hayr* [հայր].
	՟	1.1.3-*asdvaj* [Աստված], 2.15.3-*andr* [անդր], 1.6.3-*äšk'* [ü շք], 18.12.3-*p'ēran* [փերան], 33.11.3-*ämč'gud* [ämչգուդ], 34.9.3-*art'ar* [արթար].
Է [ɛ]	՟	2.10.3-*mēg* [մէգ], 11.13.3-*k'ēdin* [քէդին], 15.10.3-*mēč'k'* [մէչք], 16.10.3- *ērēsni* [Էրէսնի], 1.7.3-*dēsnal* [դէսնալ], 18.11.3-*lsēl* [լսէl].
	՟	1.11.3-*vōłrmut'in ēnōł* [վոդրմութին Էսոդ], 3.1.3-*t'ōłut'in ēnōł* [թողութին Էսոդ], 9.16.3- *ērgink'* [Էրգինք], 16.10.3- *ērēsni* [Էրէսնի], 197.5.3 -*ērguk'* [Էրգուք].
ը [ə]	՟	42.3.3-*hagərag* [հազրռազ]. 21.17.3-*čk ō yt'in k' ō vi madə* [ճկոյթին քովի մադը]. 227.12.3- *əsbanē* [ըսբանէ], 23.5.3-*m'adin p'ēranə* [մ՝ադին փերանը], 23.3.3-*bōłzin jakə* [բողզին ձագը].
ի [i]	'	14.13.3-*mis* [միս].
	'՟	1.4.3-*gēnt'äni* [գէնթ ü նի], 1.11.3-*vōłrmut'in ēnōł* [վոդրմութին Էսոդ], 3.1.3-*t' ō łut'in ēn ō ł* [թողութին Էսոդ], 9.16.3 *ērgink'* [Էրգինք], 1.1.3-*miämid* [մի ü միդ], 16.10.3- *ērēsni* [Էրէսնի], 17.14.3- *t'aet'ič'ni* [թարթիչնի].

o [o]	⃘	1.3.3-*xōsk‘* [խոսք], 1.11.3-*ōłrmut‘in ēnōł* [օղրմութին էնoղ], 1.13.3-*gnt‘äc‘nōł* [գնթäգնoղ], 1.14.3-*mrc‘nōł* [մրգնoղ], 3.1.3- *t‘ōłut‘in ēnōł* [թողութին էնoղ], 11.14.3-*zruc‘ōł* [զրուգoղ], 197.7.3-*č‘ōrs* [չoրս].
	ᴏ⃘	14.1.3-*hōver* [հoվեր].
nı [u]	ᴏ	3.1.3-*t‘ōłut‘in ēnōł* [թողութին էնoղ], 6.11.3-*k‘ažut‘in* [քաջութին], 11.14.3-*zruc‘ ō ł* [զրուգoղ], 11.12.3-*č‘ur* [չուր], 15.11.3-*gurc“k‘* [գուրցք], 197.5.3- *ērguk‘* [էրգուք].
	ᴏ⃘	4.2.3-*astvaj astvaznun* [Աստված աստվածնուն], 15.11.3-*gurc“k* [գուրցք], 30.2.3-*jur meč‘k* (ձուր մեՉք).

There are some peculiarities and rules used for the vowels. If *ʾōlap* is in the beginning of the word and stands for *a* [ա] it carries *p̄tōḥō* above , if it is in the middle of the word *p̄tōḥō* goes on the consonant before *ʾōlap*. Both Haneyan and Danielyan mention the absence of the vowel *e* [ե] in the dialects of Malatya and Diyarbakir. The vowel is missing from the dictionary as well, instead the vowel *ē* [է] is used both for *e* [ե] and *ē* [է].[52]

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[52] There is an account of the East Syriac vowel signs abundantly used by the lexicon to transcribe Armenian vowels, such as: ⃘ :a; ⃘: ā in East Syriac, but o in West Syriac; ⃘: ē in East Syriac; ⃘: i and ī in East Syriac; ᴏ: u and ū in East Syriac; ᴏ: o and ō in East Syriac. Besides this, the scribe also uses Arabic signs, including vowel signs for denoting Armenian sounds.

When a word begins with *e* [Ե] there is usually *ʾālap̄* with *rḇāṣā* above, when *e* [Ե] is in the middle of a word, *rḇāṣā* is placed above the consonant and is pronounced similar to Syriac, firstly the consonant and then the vowel above it. Just like the case with *e* [Ե], Haneyan does not mention the existence of *o* [ո] and instead discusses the usage of *ō* [o]. In addition, Danielyan talks about the vowels *ö* and *ӥ* pronounced like French *ö* and *ü* that have very limited use in the Malatya dialect (like in conjugation of possessive pronouns). However, they are not specified in the dialect of the dictionary.

The table below lists the main particularities used in the dictionary for recording Armenian consonants with Serto script:

Garshunograp011heme	Armenian phoneme	Examples
ܒ	*b* [բ]	3.9.3-*bind* [բինդ], 7.18.3-*bädäräk'* [բ ӓ դ ӓ ր ӓ ք], 31.3.3-*bōč'* [բоչ],[53] 32.3.3-*bägäs khilk'* [բӓգӓu խիլք], 238.18.3-*yēp'* [յԵփ], 208.3.3-*p'ēr* [փԵր].
ܒ	*b* [բ]	7.14.3-*bäk'* [բӓք],[54] 12.2.3-*bäł* [բӓղ], 35.6.3-*bäräb* [բӓրӓբ] 240.9.3-*häbä* [հӓբӓ].
ܓ	*g* [գ]	5.8.3-*p'rgoł* [փրգող], 9.16.3-*ērgink'* [Երգինք], 15.3.3-*gäši* [գ ӓ շի],

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[53] պոչ
[54] պահք

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		18.9.3-*ängäǰ* [ǖնգǖջ], 19.6.3-*gurcʻg* [գուրցգ], 22.12.3-*jung* [ձունգ], 25.13.3-*cʻängutʻin* [gǖնգութին], 26.9.3-*giłd* [գիղդ],[55] 30.4.3-*gał* [գաղ], 32.3.3-*bägäs khilkʻ* [բǖգǖս խիլք], 33.11.3- *ämačʻgud* [ǖմչգուդ], 36.1.3-*gušt* [գուշտ], 36.3.3-*gäši* [գǖշի], 42.3.3-*hagĕrag* [հագրռագ],197.4.3 -*mēg* [մēգ], 197.5.3-*ērgukʻ* [ēրգուք], 205.2.3-*gartʻa* [գարթա], 1.4.3-*gēntʻäni* [գēնթǖնի], 1.13.3-*gntʻäcʻnōł* [գնթǖցնоղ].
⅄	ǰ (ջ)	3.8.3-*kʻaǰ* [քաջ], 6.11.3-*kʻaǰutin* [քաջուтին], 9.11.3-*ǰins* [ջինս], 11.7.3-*mizaǰ* [միզաջ], 18.9.3-*ängäǰ* [ǖնգǖջ].
	čʻ [չ]	11.16.3-*čʻōrs* [չорս], 11.12.3- *čʻur* [չուր], 31.3.3-*bōčʻ* [բоչ], 236.15.3- *čʻa* [չǖ], 293.14.3-*inčʻ* [ինչ], 240.11.3-*kʻičʻ mnacʻ* [քիչմնаg], 220.7.3-*gančʻa* [գանչа], 223.1.3- *čʻōrcʻu* [չорgու].
	č [ճ]	21.17.3-*čkōytʻin kʻōvi madĕ* [ճկ오yթին քоvի մадը].
⅄	ł [ղ]	1.13.3-*gntʻäcʻnōł* [գնթǖցնоղ].1.14.3-*mrcʻōł* [մрցноղ], 1.11.3-*vōłrmutʻin enōł* [vоղрմութին ēноղ], 3.1.3-*tʻōłutʻin enōł* [թоղутին ēноղ], 3.13.3-*lsōł* [լсоղ], 3.14.3-*kʻidnōł* [քիдноղ], 5.8.3-*pʻrgōł* [փрqоղ], 11.14.3-*zrucʻōł* [զрुgоղ], 12.2.3-*bäł* [բ ǖ ղ], 26.9.3-*giłd* [գիղդ], 30.4.3-*gał* [գаղ], 38.10.3-*kʻuł* [քuղ].
ꞁ	d [դ]	2.15.3-*andr* [անդр], 3.14.3-*kʻidnōł* [քիдноղ], 10.5.1-*Kʻrsdōs* [Քрսdоս],

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		1.1.3-*miämid* [մ իա մին], 12.1.3-*dak'* [դաք], 1.7.3-*desnal* [դէսնալ], 21.11.3-*sandr* [սանդր], 21.13.3-*madner* [մադներ], 26.9.3-*giłd* [գիղդ], 33.11.3-*ämch'gud* [ämչգուդ], 197.13.3-*dassa* [դասսա].
᠊	h [h]	5.16.3-*hōk'i surp'* [հոքի սուրփ], 14.1.3-*hōver [հովէր),* 42.3.3-*hagĕrag* [հագրռագ], 43.9.3 hayr- [հայր], 197.8.3-*hing* [հինգ].
᠊	v (վ)	1.1.3-*asdvaj* [Աստված], 1.3.3-*t't'iv* [թթիվ].
᠊	z [զ]	11.14.3-*zruc'ōł* [զրուցoղ], 15.2.3-*maz* [մազ], 18.14.3-*lezu* [լէզու], 21.6.3-*p'äzug* [փäզուգ], 206.2.3-*zärt'ärvir* [զärթärվիր].
	j [ձ]	11.4.3-*jandr* [ձանդր], 11.18.3-*arujni* [առուձնի] [56], 30.2.3-*jur mēč'k'* [ձուռ մէչք], 224.16.3-*ajile* [աձիլէ], 225.17.3-*jejłä* [ձէձղä],
᠊	j [ձ]	19.9.3-*jij* [ձիձ], 19.9.4-*jijēr* [ձիձէր], 22.12.3-*jung* [ձունգ], 29.16.3-*jandēr lēzu* [ձանդէր լէզու], 231.17.3-*anijē* [անիձէ].
᠊	t [տ]	197.9.3-*vēc'* [վէտս], 197.10.3-*yōta* [յoտա].
᠊	y [յ]	43.9.3-*hayr* [հայր], 197.10.3-*yōta* [յoտա], 238.18.3-*yēp'* [յէփ].
᠊	kh [խ]	9.7.3-*khilk'* [խիլք], 10.4.3-*khōrut'in* [խoրութին], 10.9.3-*asdkhir* [ասդխիր], 15.9.3-*k'lukh* [քլուխ], 25.16.3-*khlink'* [խլինք], 31.7.3-*khelac'i* [խէլացի], 206.7.3-*khme* [խմէ].

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[56] աղյուծ

ᴋ	k' [p]	3.8.3-*k'aǰ* [բաջ], 3.14.3-*k'idn ō ł* [քիդնoզ], 10.5.1-*K'rsdōs* [Քրսդoս], 5.16.3-*hōk'i surp'* [հoքի սուրփի], 6.6.3-*p'arq'* [փառք], 6.11.3-*k'aǰutin* [բաջութին], 7.18.3-*bädäräk'* [բäդäրäք], 9.7.3-*khilk'* [խիլք],[57] 9.16.3-*ērgink'* [Էrգինք], 11.13.3-*k'ēdin* [քէդին], 12.1.3-*dak'* [դաք], 13.16.3-*k'ōrc'k̔ēr* [քoրցքէր], 15.9.3-*k'lukh* [քլուխ], 25.16.3-*khlink'* [խլինք], 26.8.3-*k'rdink'* [քրդինք].
ᴸ	L [լ]	10.13.3-*lus* [լուս], 1.7.3-*dēsnal* [դէսնալ], 18.11.3-*lsēl* [լսէլ], 18.14.3-*lēzu* [լէզու], 206.14.3-*lic''* [լիզg].
ᴘ	m [մ]	1.10.3-*mēk* [մէկ], 15.2.3-*maz* [մազ], 15.10.3-*mēč'k'* [մէչք].
ᴎ	n [ն]	3.4.3-*p'ant'sr* [փանցր], 16.10.3- *ērēsni* [Էrէսնի], 293.18.3-*aranc''* [առանg].
ᴕ	s [u]	1.3.3-*khōsk'* [խoսք], 10.5.1-*K'rsdōs* [Քրսդoս], 5.16.3-*hōk'i surp'* [հoքի սուրփի], 10.13.3-*lus* [լուս], 11.16.3-*č'ōrs* [չoրս], 14.13.3-*mis* [միս], 16.10.3-*ērēsni* [Էrէսնի], 1.7.3-*dēsnal* [դէսնալ], 18.11.3-*lsēl* [լսէլ], 32.3.3-*bägäs khilk'* [բäգäs խիլք], 206.17.3-*sirē* [սիրէ].
	c' (g)	15.11.3-*gurc'k'* [գուրցք], 25.13.3-*c'ängut'in* [g ä նգութին] , 31.7.3-*khēlac''i* [խէլացի], 218.6.3-*bägsc''ur* [բäգցուր].
ᴕ	c' (g)	1.14.3-*mrc''n ō ł* [մrցնoզ], 3.4.3-*p'anc''r* [փանցr], 4.4.3-*t'k'avōr*

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		t'k'avōrc''a [թքավոր թքավօրցա], 11.14.3-*zruc''ōł* [զրուցօղ], 236.8.3-*c''izi* [ցիզի], 236.11.3-*irēnc''* [իրենց], 236.13.3-*asōnc''* [ասoնց], 293.18.3-*aranc''* [առանց]. 206.14.3-*lic''* (լից).
ٻ	p [փ]	3.4.3-*p'anc''r* [փանցր], 18.12.3-*p'eran* [փերան], 23.2.3-*p'ōr* [փոր], 41.7.3-*pōz* [փoզ], 207.5.3-*p'ōrc'ē* [փoրցե].
ڤ	p [փ]	6.6.3-*p'ark'* [փառք], 21.6.3-*p'äzug* [փ ա զուգ], 34.3.3-*p'äri* [փ ա րի], 206.11.*3 p'äkhir* [փախիր).
	f [ֆ]	216.7.3-*safar ēra* [սաֆար երա], 8.18.3- *řafail* [Ռաֆայլ], *K'afayu k'ałak'* [Քաֆայու քաղաք].
ڛ	s [ս]	1.1.3-*asdvaj* [Աղվաձ], 4.2.3-*astvaj astvaznun* [Աստվաձ աստվաձնուն], 21.11.3-*sandr* [սանդր], 197.13.3-*dassa* [դասսա], 227.12.3- *ěsbanē* [ըսբանե].
ֆ	r [ր]	5.16.3-*hōgi surp'* [հoգի սուրփի], 1.4.3-*jandr* [ձանդր], 11.7.3-*mart'* [մարթ], 11.10.3-*krak* [կրակ], 11.12.3-*č'ur* [չուր], 21.13.3-*madnēr* [մաղներ], 34.9.3-*art'ar* [արթար], 43.9.3-*hayr* [հայր], 3.4.3-*p'anc''r* [փանցր].
	r' [ռ]	5.1.3-*ar'anc'' marmni* [առանց մարմնի], 6.6.3-*p'ar'k'* [փառք], 42.3.3-*hagěrag* [հագռռագ].

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ܚ	č' [ʃ]	15.10.3-*meč'k* [մէչք], 17.14.3-*tartič'ni* [թարթիչնի], 30.2.3-*jur'm ēč'k'* [ձուռ մէչք], 33.11.3-*ämč'gud* [ämчgnuд], 34.4.3-*č'är* [չär].
	š [ʒ]	36.1.3-*gušt* [gnuշт].
ܙ	ž [ʤ]	220.13.3- *žhōłva* [ʤoղվա].
ܗ	t' [p]	6.11.3-*k'ažut'in* [քաժութին], 11.7.3-*mart'* [марթ], 17.14.3-*t'art'ič'ni* [թարթիչնի], 18.4.3-*k'int'* [քինթ], 25.13.3-*c''ängut'in* [g ü նгnuթin], 26.10.3-*t'uk'* [թnuք], 34.9.3-*art'ar* [арթар], 197.11.3-*ut'a* [nuթа], 226.12.3-*t'ōł* [թoղ].

The different aspects of Syriac 11 discussed above contain essential information for many interdisciplinary studies, such as Armenian and Arabic Garshuni studies, Syro-Armenian lexicography, Armenian dialectology and Syro-Armenian intercultural historical studies and relations. With this chapter I made the source accessible for other scholars working in these disciplines. Besides that, an investigation of the material is expected to reveal many results for the study of Syro-Armenian relations and Armenian dialectology. The transliteration system discussed above plays a key role in describing the Armenian dialect of the manuscript coming in the third chapter of the present thesis. Information gleaned from the colophon and the ownership mark help to understand the reasons behind the use of Armenian Garshuni discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. The source also provides a wider material for comparative studies on Arabic Garshuni.

Chapter 3 – Description of the Armenian lexicon of the manuscript dictionary

The chapter aims at reconstructing the Armenian dialect whose lexicon the manuscript Cairo Syriac 11 records, based on the Armenian words in the manuscript. I will transcribe the words from Syriac script to Armenian script using the transcription system described in the second chapter of the current thesis and record the words the way I read them in the manuscript, to preserve the phonetic peculiarities of the dialect. I will also put similar words under the subtitles trying to describe various parts of speech or other aspects of the dialect. Beside each Armenian word an English transcription of the word will be provided.

According to my preliminary results as well as taking into consideration the findings of Hidemi Takahashi and Jos Weitenberg, the Armenian dialect reflected in the manuscript is close to that of Malatya, Diyarbakır and Urfa, belonging to Dialect Group 5, a branch of Western Armenian. As shown in the previous chapter, the colophon of the manuscript states that the manuscript was written in Diyarbakır by a scribe from Gerger. It is thus possible that the lexicon recorded in it represents the dialect of Diyarbakır or peculiarities of the spoken language of Gerger (if any).

While reconstructing the dialect, I will both describe the lexicon of the manuscript and draw parallels with already existing research on the dialect of Diyarbakır (Tigranakert) as the lexicon is closer to Diyarbakır dialect than any other from the same region.

Before describing the lexicon a brief summary of the material written on the dialect is in order. Being one of the most divergent varieties of Armenian, Tigranakert dialect was not discussed much in scholarlyship. Anahit Haneyan's work is the most fundamental description of the dialect.[58] Until the text discussed in the current thesis, the oldest known material in the

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[58] [Haneyan, A. H] Ա.Ն. Հանեյան, *Տիգրանակերտի բարբառը* [The Dialect of Tigranakert], (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH GA Hratarakchutyun 1978).

dialect was Garegin Srvandztiants's work that included a number of stories.[59] According to

Acharian another text in Tigranakert dialect was published in the journal *Arevelyan Mamul* in

1884. [60] Bert Vaux in his relatively recently published article mentions other materials

containing pieces of Tigranakert dialect, such as Haykaj Ekinian`s songbook,[61] short articles

by M. Danielyan[62] (the riddles included in his articles were later collected and printed by

Sargis Harutyunyan), [63] Hrachya Acharian's dialect manual, and other books on Armenian

language and dialects.[64] There are many works that mention words or phrases in Tigranakert

dialect, such as Tigran Mkund`s research about Amid,[65] S. M. Tsotsikian's work,[66] Verzhine

Svazlyan's folklore collection,[67] as well as two novels by Mkrtich Markosian.[68] Short but

comprehensive description of the Armenian dialects including dialects of Diyarbakır,

Malatya and Urfa are given by Hrach Martirosyan in *Languages of the World: Relict Indo-*

European languages of Western and Central Asia.[69]

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[59] [Garegin Srvandztiants] Գ. Սրվանձտյան, *Համով հոտով* [With taste and smell], (Constantinople: Publisher unknown, 1884).

[60] [Armvelian Mamul] *Արևելյան մամուլ* (1884), 470-72. Mentioned in Bert Vaux, "Armenian Dialects of Tigranakert and Urfa," in *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbakir and Edessa/Urfa*, ed. by Richard Hovhannisyan (Costa Mesa,,CA: Mazda Publishers, 2006), 195.

[61] Vaux "Armenian dialects". and [Haykak Ekinian] Հայկակ Եկինիան, *Նոր երգարան ազգային* [New folk songbook], (New York: H. Ekinian, 1892).

[62] [M. Danielian] Մ. Դանիելյան, *Առածներ (աղոթքներ, օրօրներ, հանելուկներ) Տիարպեքիրի գավառաբարբառով*, [Sayings (blessings, lullabies, riddles) in the regional dialect of Diyarbakır], (Biurakn, 1899).

[63] [Sargis Harutyunyan] Սարգիս Հարությունյան, *Հայ ժողովրդական հանելուկներ* [Armenian Folk Riddles], (Yerevan, Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965).

[64] [Hrachia Acharyan] Հրաչյա Աճառյան, *Հայերեն արմատական բառարան* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], (Yerevan: Yerevan State University, 1926-1935, 7 vols; reprinted, 1971-1979), 4 vols.); idem, *Հայ բարբառագիտություն* [Armenian dialectology] (Moscow: Nor Nakhichevan, 1911).

[65] [Tigran Mkund] Մկունդ, Տիգրան, *Ամիտայի արձագանգներ* [Echoes of Amida] (New York: Hai-Gule Press, 1950).

[66] [S. Tsotsikian] Ս. Ծոսիկյան, *Արեմտահայ աշխարհի* [The Western Armenian world] (New York: S. Tsotsikian Jubikee Committee, 1947).

[67] [Verzhine Svazlyan] Վերժինե Սվազլյան, *Կիլիկիա: Արևմտահայոց բանավոր ավանդույթնը* [Cilicia: The oral tradition of the Western Armenians] (Erevan: Gitutyun Press, 1994).

[68] [Mkrtich Markosyan] Մկրտիչ Մարկոսյան, *Մեր այդ կողմերը: Պատմվածք* [Those Areas of Ours: Stories] (Istanbul: Aras, 1994); idem, *Տիգրիսի ափերեն* [From the banks of Tigris] (Istanbul: Aras, 1999).

[69] Yuri B.Koryakov and Andrej A. Kibrik, eds., *Languages of the World: Relict Indo-European languages of Western and Central Asia* (Moscow: Academia, 2013), 334-85.

Recently a new dictionary of words and expressions of the Tigranakert dialect with English translation has been completed. The dictionary authored by Charles Kasbarian [C. K. Garabed] is titled *'Inch g'usis': A Dikranagerdtsi Vernacular Handbook* and is easily accessible online.[70]

The articles of Jos Weitenberg and Hidemi Takahashi about *The Syriac-Armenian Glossary* in MS Yale Syriac 9, part one and two, provide a description, transcription and translation of the lexicon of the glossary that is close to the lexicon of Malatya, Diyarbakır and Urfa.

This chapter will show the extent of similarity between the lexicon found in this manuscript and other researches and descriptions of the Diyarbakır dialect mentioned above.

There are ten parts of speech in the Armenian language: noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction, modal words and interjection. Most of them are included in the manuscript dictionary and will be discussed more or less separately in this chapter in order to describe the dialect. Some parts of speech will be described in more detail than the others. The reason for this is the unequal distribution of parts of speech in the lexicon of the dictionary. Nouns prevail, verbs appear mostly in imperative, and while there are lists of numerals and different forms of pronouns, there are very few examples of interjections, prepositions and modal words.

Pronouns

Twentieth-century Armenian linguist Ararat Gharibyan writes that "very often the pronouns are the indication of clarifying the circumstance of dialects being neighbors to each other."[71] Syriac 11 has an entire chapter devoted to connecting words.

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[70] Charles Kasbarian, *'Inch g'usis': A Dikranagerdtsi Vernacular Handbook*, 2015. http://www.armeniapedia.org/wiki/Dikranagerdtsi_Vernacular_Handbook_In_English_Transliteration
[71] [Ararat Gharibyan] Արարատ Ղարիբյան, Հայ բարբառագիտություն, [Armenian dialectology] (Yerevan: Armenian State External [*heŕaka*] Pedagogical Institute Press, 1953), 144.

There are eight types of pronouns in Modern Armenian grammar: personal, demonstrative, reciprocal, interrogative, relative, definite, indefinite and negative. In the dictionary one can find personal pronouns in nominative, declension of dative case of personal pronouns, genitive case of the personal pronouns with the preposition *hid* [հիդ = with], examples of ablative case of personal pronouns, nominative and genitive cases of demonstrative pronouns and some examples of definite pronouns. The dictionary does not have examples for all the above mentioned types of pronouns, but this does not mean that the dialect itself did not have them. They were just not included in the lexicon of the dictionary. Haneyan in her research mentions the existence of all eight types of prepositions in Diyarbakır dialect.

Declension of personal pronouns in nominative found in the dictionary:

Person	Singular	Plural		
I	235.5.3. *yēs* [յէս]	235.11.3. *mēnk'* [մէնք]		
II	235.6.3. *t'un* [թունն]	Fem.	235.7.3. *t'uk'* [թունք] gndēk' [գնդէք][72]	
		Masc.	235.8.3. *t'uk'* [թունք] mart'ik' [մարթիք]	
III	235.9.3. *ink'* [ինք]	Fem.	236.4.3 *irēnk'* [իրէնք] igakan [իզական]	
		Masc.	235.12.3. *irēnk'* [իրէնք] arakan [արական]	
			235.13.3. *anōnk'* [անօնք]	

First and second person singular and plural are corresponding to Hrachia Acharyan's description.[73] For third person Acharyan mentions a number of possibilities, but all of them

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[72] These separate words (like gndek' [գնդէք] or mart'ik' [մարթիք]) are added to the second and third person plurals to differentiate gender that does not exist in Armenian, but exists in Arabic and Syriac parts of the lexicon.

are different from the ones in the dictionary. Haneyan's description both for singular and plural coincides with the dictionary. Only third person plural is *iränkʻ* [ḭṛüüp̣], having *ä* [*ü*] instead of *ē* [Ē].

Declension of the dative case of personal pronouns:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	236.5.3. *izi* [ḭqḭ]	236.8.3. *mizi* [ṃḭqḭ]
Second	236.6.3. *kʻizi* [p̣ḭqḭ]	236.9.3. *cʻizi* [gḭqḭ]
Third	236.10.3. *iri* [ḭṛḭ]	236.11.3. *irēncʻ* [ḭṛĒüg]

First and second person singular and plural pronouns are similar to Acharyan's research with slight phonetic differences. First person plural in both sources is formed based on the nominative case, thus is different. Third person plural is not mentioned by Acharyan. In Haneyan all the forms are similar, but with phonetic differences, third person singular and plural are mentioned differently.

Declension of the genitive case of the personal pronouns with preposition *hid* [hḭṇ = with]:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	238.5.3. *imhēda* [ḭṃhĒṇш]	——————
Second	238.2.3. *kʻuhēda* [p̣nɩhĒṇш]	238.6.3. *cʻirhēda* [gḭṛhĒṇш]

[73] Acharyan, "*Armenian dialectology*", 162.

Third	238.3.3. *irhēda* [իրհէդա]	238.8.3.*irēncʻhēda* [իրենցհէդա]

In genitive case the picture is a little different. First and second person singular and second person plural are similar with Acharyan, while third person singular and plural are different. Haneyan's description is quite similar. In the dictionary the word for first person plural is missing, while for third person singular the gender is distinguished, *irhēda* [իրհէդա] for masculine but *ēkʻi* [էքի] for feminine literally meaning "of feminine". This should not cause confusion. The dialect does not distinguish gender when talking about pronouns. But in contrast the Arabic and Syriac parts mention both feminine and masculine varieties and the existence of the word *ēkʻi* [էքի] is there only to fill in the space for the feminine word given in the Arabic and Syriac parts.

There are examples of personal pronouns in the ablative case: 237.10.3. *irnē* [իրնէ] and 237.11.3. *kʻiznē* [քիզնէ]. Instead of a *-nē* [-նէ] ending added to the prepositions in the dictionary Adjarian forms ablative case with the help of a *-mē* [-մէ] ending.

Demonstrative pronouns in nominative case :

236.3.3. *as* [աս],   236.1.3. *asonkʻ* [ասոնք],

And also: 237.6.3. *aski* [ասկի], 237.4.3. *andēna* [անդէնա], 241.5.3. *aspēs* [ասպէս], 237.7.3. *uski* [ուսկի], 238.10.3. *əski* [ըսկի].

Genitive case of the demonstrative pronouns:

236.12.3. *asur* [ասուր],   236.13.3. *asōncʻ* [ասoնց].

The author also mentions two definite pronouns: 238.9.3. *amēn* [ամէն] and 240.13.3. *amēna* [ամէնա].

Prepositions listed: 238.1.3. *hid* [հիդ], 239.12.3. *vəra* [վրրա], 239.18.3. *aranc'* [առանց], 240.6.3. *k'ōv* [քով], 241.15.3. *lmanak* [լմանակ].

239.8.3. *hay* [հայ] is the only example of interjection in the dictionary. While 236.14.3 *ha* [հա] and 236.15.3 *č'ē* [չü][74] are modal words.

Numerals[75]

In the dictionary there is a separate chapter for numerals. The author only mentions cardinal numbers. Here are the numbers from one to ten:

Numeral	Location	The word in the dictionary	The word in Modern Armenian
1	197.4.3	*mēg* [մէգ]	*mek* [մեկ]
2	197.5.3	*ērgug* [էրգուգ]	*erku* [երկու]
3	197.6.3	*irēg* [իրէգ]	*erek'* [երեք]
4	197.7.3	*č'ōrs* [չօրս]	*č'ors* [չորս]
5	197.8.3	*hing* [հինգ]	*hing* [հինգ]
6	197.9.3	*vēc'* [վեւս]	*vec'* [վեց]
7	197.10.3	*yōta* [յoւտա]	*yot'* [յոթ]

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[74] This is an interesting way of indicating the vowel *ē* [է] in the dictionary, the combination of "a" and "*ē*", with the two vowel signs written above and below the same consonant. For more examples see Takahashi "Armenisch-Garschuni". But in the dialect of Urfa the word is used with *ä*[ü], so in this case the two vowels may be there to denote the vowel *ä*.

[75] Another version of transliteration of the numerals can be seen in Takahashi, "Armenisch-Garschuni*",* 204.

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8	197.11.3	*ut'a* [ութա]	*ut'* [ութ]
9	197.12.3	*ina* [ինա]	*inə* [ինը]
10	197.13.3	*dasa* [դասա]	*tasə* [տասը]

Haneyan in her description of the Tigranakert dialect gives a slightly different picture of the numerals. Though in her book the numerals one, three and five are recorded in the same way as above, the others have slight differences, mostly phonetic variations. In the last four numbers the last consonant is doubled and the ending is *ē* [է], while in the dictionary they have *a* [ա] ending. As an example, for number seven instead of *yōta* [յոտա] as mentioned above, Haneyan recorded *yōt't'ē*. These phonetic differences are very important for dialect identification. It is one of the peculiar features of the Tigranakert dialect that thedefinite article *ə* [ը] becomes *ē* [է].

Numbers from eleven to nineteen mostly correspond with Haneyan's records, maintaining differences of the numerals one to nine discussed above. This is how they are recorded in the manuscript:

Numeral	Location	The word in the dictionary	The word in modern Armenian
11	197.14.3	*dasnvmēg* [դասնվմէգ]	*tasnmek* [տասնմեկ]
12	197.15.3	*dasvērguk'* [դասվէրգուք]	*tasnerku* [տասներկու]
13	198.1.3	*dasirēk'* [դասվիրէք]	*tasnerek'* [տասներէք]
14	198.2.3	*dasnv č'ōrs* [դասնվչօրս]	*tasnč'ors* [տասչորս]

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15	198.3.3	*dasnvhing* [դասնվհինգ]	*tasnhing* [տասնհինգ]
16	198.4.3	*dasnuvēcʻ* [դասնվետս]	*tasnvecʻ* [տասնվեց]
18	198.5.3	*dasnvutʻa* [դասնվութա]	*tasnutʻ* [տասնութ]
19	198.6.3	*dasnvina* [դասնվինա]	*tasninə* [տասնինը]

The numeral *dasa* [դասա] connects to the units subjecting linguistic alternation becoming *dasn* [դասն] or *dasv* [դասվ] or sometimes *dasnv* [դասնվ].

Round numbers are given later in the dictionary: the enumeration of hundreds from one hundred to nine hundred is followed by thousand and ten thousand:

Number	Location	The word in the dictionary	The word in Modern Armenian
20	198.7.3	*kʻsan* [քսան]	*kʻsan* [քսան]
30	198.8.3	*ärsun* [Ըռսուն]	*eresun* [երեսուն]
40	198.9.3	*kʻarsun* [քառսուն]	*kʻarʻasun* [քառասուն]
50	198.10.3	*isun* [իսուն]	*hisun* [հիսուն]
60	198.11.3	*vacʻun* [վատսուն]	*vatʻsun* [վաթսուն]
70	198.12.3	*tanasun* [տանասուն]	*yotʻanasun* [յոթանասուն]
80	198.13.3	*utʻsun* [ութսուն]	*utʻsun* [ութսուն]

		Haneyan	Manuscript
90	198.14.3	*init'sun* [ինիթսուն]	*insun* [իննսուն]
100	198.15.3	*härir* [հՖրիր]	*haryur* [հարյուր]
200	198.16.3	*ērgu härir* [Ֆրգու հՖրիր]	*erku haryur* [երկու հարյուր]
300	198.17.3	*irēg härir* [իրեգ հՖրիր]	*erek' haryur* [երեք հարյուր]
400	198.18.3	*č'ōrs härir* [չօրս հՖրիր]	*č'ors haryur* [չորս հարյուր]
500	199.1.3	*hing härir* [հինգ հՖրիր]	*hing haryur* [հինգ հարյուր]
600	199.2.3	*vēc' härir* [վետս հՖրիր]	*vec' haryur* [վեց հարյուր]
700	199.3.3	*yōt härir* [յոտ հՖրիր]	*yot' haryur* [յոթ հարյուր]
800	199.4.3	*ut'a härir* [ութա հՖրիր]	*ut' haryur* [ութ հարյուր]
900	199.5.3	*ina härir* [ինա հՖրիր]	*inə haryur* [ինը հարյուր]
1000	199.6.3	*häzär* [հՖզՖր]	*hazar* [հազար]
10.000	199.7.3	*dasa häzär* [դասա հՖզՖր]	*tasə hazar* [տասը հազար]
1000.000	199.8.3	*häzär häzär* [հ Ֆ զ Ֆ ր հՖզՖր]	*hazar hazar* [հազար հազար]

Numbers seventy, eighty and ninety are completely different between Haneyan`s book and the manuscript:

Haneyan   Manuscript

yēt'miš [յէթմիշ]   *tansun* [տանսուն]

säk'sän [սՃքսՃն]   *ut'sun* [ութսուն]

dōxsän [դօխսՃն]   *init'sun* [ինիթսուն]

Besides these, the other numerals mentioned are similar to Haneyan's description with slight, mostly phonetic differences (like *vac'un* instead of *vac'c'un* or *isun* instead of *issun*). In his recently published dictionary Charles Kasbarian gives numerals in Diyarbakir dialect separately, which are more or less similar to the ones provided above, with some phonetic variations and differences. It is notable, however, that his research is based on much later speech of the dialect.

Verbs

The manuscript has a thirty-two page long lesson on verbs, most of which are in imperative. The instruction ends with a small chapter of the verb to do (فعل) used in different forms.

This lesson is also discussed by Takahashi and Weitenberg in their study of the Syriac-Armenian glossary in MS Yale Syriac 9 and in Takahashi's later articles about Armenian Garshuni. In Yale Syriac 9 the words occupy nine pages of the manuscript, starting near the bottom of page 231 and ending near the middle of page 241. It consists of a list of verbs in imperative forms and starting from page 239 various forms of the verb "to do" are listed.[76] The glossary includes the Syriac-Armenian lexicon of the twenty-eight lessons of Elias of Nisibis`s lexicon, which is included in Syriac 11 as well. In Yale Syriac 9 the Arabic part of the lexicon is excluded, while in Elias's lexicon on imperative verbs it is the Arabic

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[76] Takahashi and Weitenberg, "The shorter Syriac-Armenian Glossary," 70.

part that follows the alphabetical order. This is why at first sight it seems that the verbs in Yale Syriac 9 are in a random order. In reality the order is followed in the Arabic part which is missing from Yale Syriac 9. A detailed analysis of the imperative verbs recorded in Yale Syriac 9 is given in the Takahashi Weintenberg article, as well as in later articles of Takahashi. In their studies, provide the transcription of the verbs from Syriac script the way they are found in the manuscript, providing the Modern Armenian equivalents for each word. Later in the present chapter I will introduce the verbs in separate sub-sections according to their characteristics. I will give the description of the verbs with the specific endings to form the imperative and discuss the conjugation of the verb "to do," following the phonetic peculiarities of the dialect.

In the dialect the imperative verbs have a number of different endings, such as *–a* [–ա], *-ir* [-իր], *- ē* [-է], *-ur* [-ուր], *-u* [-ու]. Imperatives can also be formed without specific ending.

Imperatives with *–a* [–ա] ending are formed on the basis of the infinitive of simple verbs. The ending is added to the root of the verbs that have *–al* [–ալ] and *–ēl* [–էլ] endings in the infinitive.

Location	The word in the dictionary	The meaning
205.2.3	*gartʿa* [գարթա]	Read
210.8.3	*xinda* [խինդա]	Laugh
225.3.3	*bōra* [բօրա]	Shout
225.17.3	*jējlä* [ճէճղա̈]	Laugh

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226.13.3	*asa* [ասա]	Tell
era [էրա],	*ēra* [էրա]	Do
231.13.3	*a ła* [աղա]	Grind
227.18.3	*vla* [վլա]	Wash
213.7.3	*sra* [սրա]	Sharpen

Haneyan does not mention the imperative with *-ir* [-իր] ending, however, the dictionary names a number of verbs with *-ir* [-իր] ending. As can be seen from the examples beneath, it is added to the affixal verbs that have *an* [ան], *en* [են], *n* [ն] or *č'* [չ] in them. Exceptions are the first example provided, where the verb has prefix for passive case *v* [վ] and still in the imperative the verb has *-ir* [-իր] ending, and *zangir* [զարգիր], where the ending is added to the basis of the infinitive of simple verbs.

206.2.3	*zärdarvir* [զարթարվիր]	Adorn
206.11.3	*p'äxir* [փախխիր]	Flee
207.6.3	*mōdēc'ir* [մոդէցիր]	Approach
207.16.3	*anušc'ir* [անուշցիր]	Become sweet
209.13.3	*hang č'ir* [հանգչիր]	Repose

210.1.3	*lōłcʻir* [ɭoŋḥɹ]	Take a bath
211.6.3	*zangir* [qɯɲqḥɹ]	Bump, cnock
213.11.3	*anušcʻir* [ɯŭnɩꜧgḥɹ]	Become sweet
214.4.3	*ancʻir* [ɯŭgḥɹ]	Pass
216.3.3	*ušacʻir* [nɩꜧɯgḥɹ]	Be late
217.2.3	*srpʻacʻir* [uɲɸɯgḥɹ]	Become holy
217.3.3	*hakʻir* [hɯ p̄ḥɹ]	Dress
221.5.3	*tʻarcʻir* [p̄ɯngḥɹ]	Become
224.1.3	*xōstəvänir* [ɥouɯɲʋ ŭŭḥɹ]	Confess
224.8.3	*kʻō łcʻir* [poŋgḥɹ]	Still
229.11.3	*gidcʻir* [qḥŋgḥɹ]	Learn

From the examples provided it is clear that *-ē* [-ł] ending is added to the root of the simple verbs in active voice that have mostly *ēl* [łɭ] ending. Haneyan`s description of the verbs with this ending is exactly the same.

206.7.3	*xəmē* [ɥɲ ɯ̌ł]	Drink
206.13.3	*uzē* [nɩqł]	Want

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206.17.3	*sirē* [սիրէ]	Love
207.5.3	*p'ōrc'ē* [փորցէ]	Try
207.8.3	*avirē* [աւիրէ]	Destroy
207.11.3	*xradē* [խրադէ]	Admonish
207.18.3	*č'ar č'arē* [չարչրէ]	Torture
209.11.3	*mōrt'ē* [մորթէ]	Butcher
210.11.3	*šrhē* [շրհէ]	Explain
210.13.3	*ēp'ē* [էփէ]	Cook
210.16.3	*k'sē* [քսէ]	Slush
211.11.3	*k'a łē* [քաղէ]	Reap
212.1.3	*hambərē* [համբրրէ]	Forbear
212.2.3	*vgayē* [վգայէ]	Witness
213.16.3	*p'ōrē* [փորէ]	Dig
214.2.3	*p'ōxē* [փոխէ]	Change
215.4.3	*šrhē* [շրհէ]	Explain

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215.8.3	*t'a łē* [թալէ]	Bury
221.10.3	*ärk'ilē* [ărpɦիլէ]	Forbid
222.8.3	*nērgē* [նէրգէ]	Paint
223.3.3	*vaxē* [վախէ]	Fear
223.6.3	*šarē* [շարէ]	Clamp
224.16.3	*ajilē* [աձիլէ]	Shave
225.12.3	*sirē* [սիրէ]	Love
226.8.3	*ōršnē* [օրշնէ]	Bless
226.10.3	*p'ərnē* [փըռնէ]	Caught
227.12.3	*əsbanē* [ըսբանէ]	Kill
228.2.3	*p'ōxē* [փոխէ]	Change
228.3.3	*dəngē* [դընգէ]	Plant
231.17.3	*anijē* [անիձէ]	Curse
232.17.3	*xōrvē* [խորվէ]	Roast
206.13.3	*uzē* [ուզէ]	Want

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-ur [-ուր] ending is added to the root of the verbs of causative prefixes (*acʻn* [ացն], *ēcʻn* [էցն], *cʻn* [ցն]). Haneyan does not mention this ending but it exists in the examples of the dictionary.

207.7.3	*mōdēcʻur* [մօդէցուր]	Bring closer
208.1.3	*vaxēcʻur* [վախէցուր]	Scare
217.4.3	*hakʻcʻur* [հակցուր]	Dress
218.6.3	*bägscʻur* [բäqացուր]	Reduce
231.1.3	*mēnjēcʻur* [մէնձցուր]	Enlarge
231.5.3	*dakʻcʻur* [դակցուր]	Warm

-u [-ու] ending is also added to the root of the verbs of causative prefixes (Պատճառական ածանց). This ending is mentioned by Haneyan exactly with the same principles as in the examples provided beneath:

205.5.3	*pagsu* [պաqսու]	Reduce
211.7.3	*ēvēlcʻu* [էվելցու]	Add
211.15.3	*paxcʻu* [փախցու]	Kidnap, abduct
215.18.3	*pʻancʻ ərcʻu* [փանցըրցու]	Raise
222.2.3	*šadcʻu* [շադցու]	Increase

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223.1.3	*č'ōrc'u* [չորցնւ]	Dry
223.4.3	*vaxc'u* [վախցնւ]	Scare
223.7.3	*t'ēt'vc'u* [թեթվցնւ]	Soothe
223.14.3	*bälc'u* [բüղցնւ]	Freeze
223.16.3	*ēvilc'u* [Եվիլցնւ]	Add
226.2.3	*lac'u* [լացնւ]	Make cry
228.14.3	*jandrc'u* [ձանդրրցնւ]	Aggravate
229.2.3	*ērgarc'u* [Էրգարցնւ]	Prolong
229.15.3	*gērc'u* [գԷրցնւ]	Feed
233.11.3	*gēndc'u* [գԷնդցնւ]	Liven

The imperative of irregular verbs does not have a specific ending. It is formed on the basis of the perfect form of the verbs. Haneyan names eight examples of irregular verbs that have an imperative similar to the ones in the manuscript, with slight phonetic differences.

207.10.3	*dar* [դար]	Take
208.3.3	*p'ēr* [փԷր]	Bring
209.9.3	*p'ac'* [փաg]	Open

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211.5.3	*nist* [նիստ]	Sit
213.6.3	*ar* [առ]	Take
213.14.3	*dēs* [դէս]	See
213.15.3	*t'ōł* [թող]	Leave
219.12.3	*dur* [դուր]	Give
220.12.3	*t'ir* [թիր]	Put
222.7.3	*dar* [դառ]	Take
226.1.3	*lac'* [լաց]	Cry
226.12.3	*t'ōł* [թող]	Leave
226.14.3	*gēr* [գէր]	Eat
227.3.3	*bak'* [բաք]	Kiss

In addition to the endings discussed above, Haneyan also mentions imperative verbs with *-i* [–ի], *-r* [-ր], *-o* [-ո], *-ēk'* [-(է)ք], *-ak'* [-(ա)ք] endings.

An irregular verb together with another part of speech forms composite verbs. In the dictionary the imperative forms of the irregular verbs are added to nominatives of different words to form imperative of composite verbs.

Location	Examples of composite verbs

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212.16.3	*ǰamp'ak' p'er* [ջամփաք փեր]
213.5.3	*gäb zarg* [գäբ զարգ]
214.15.3	*art'un kēc'ir* [արթուն կեցիր]
216.12.3	*hac' ēp'ē* [հաց էփէ]
219.6.3	*a č'k'ir xēp'a* [աչքիր խեփա]
221.12.3	*bnc'u sird* [բնցու սիրդ]
221.14.3	*ǰēǰē t'ura* [ձէձէ թուռա]
222.11.3	*mdik t'ir* [մդիկ թիր]
222.12.3	*bad p'anc'ənc'u* [բադ փանցընցու]
225.15.3	*ǰap' ǰēja* [ձափ ձէձա]
227.13.3	*žam ēra* [ժäմ էրա]
228.1.3	*šuk' ēra* [շուք էրա]
229.17.3	*zark ērēsid* [զարկ էրեսիդ]
231.2.3	*anun t'ir* [անուն թիր]
231.11.3	*a łēk ēra* [աղէկ էրա]

232.10.3	*p'arut'in ēra* [փարութին էրա]

There are also examples of composite verbs that have two components, one of which is a loanword and the other is a verb in imperative. This list of verbs clearly show that the dialect has many loanwords from Arabic, but there are also words borrowed from Turkish and Persian.[77]

Location	Examples
208.4.3	*sk'ut' ēlir* [սքութ էլիր][78]
208.7.3	*sabut' ēra* [սաբութ էրա][79]
208.13.3	*xabrē* [խաբրէ][80]
209.5.3	*umud ēlir* [ումուդ էլիր][81]
210.7.3	*čahd ēra* [ճահդ էրա][82]
210.11.3	*š ərhē* [շըրհէ][83]
211.9.3	*mut' ēra* [մութի էրա][84]

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[77] For the complete list of imperative verbs see Hidemi Takahashi, "The Shorter Syriac-Armenian Glossary in Ms. Yale Syriac 9, Part 2: Glossary in Transcription/Translation," in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 87-144.

[78] From the Arabic verb (سكت) to be quiet, shut up.

[79] From Turkish word *sabit* meaning firm, stationary.

[80] From the Arabic verb (خبر) report, tell.

[81] From Turkish word *umut* or Persian word *ūmīd* meaning hope.

[82] From Arabic word (جهد) meaning endeavor.

[83] From the Arabic verb (شرح) to explain.

[84] From Arabic word (مطيع) meaning obedient.

212.15.3	*bskurmiš ēra* [բսկուրմիշ էրա][85]
214.17.3	*hədar kēc'ir* [հրդար կեցիր][86]
214.18.3	*hədar ēra* [հրդար էրա][87]
215.10.3	*sabrir* [սաբրիր][88]
215.17.3	*bašr ēra* [բաշր էրա][89]
216.4.3	*ǰavab dur* [ջավաբ դուր][90]
216.7.3	*safar ēra* [սաֆար էրա][91]
216.10.3	*mšvarat' ēra* [մշվարաթ էրա][92]
216.15.3	*xazna ērē* [խազնա էրէ][93]
216.16.3	*išrat ērē* [իշրաթ էրէ][94]
224.15.3	*t'ab ēxir* [թաբ էղիր][95]
228.10.3	*kbwul ēra* [կբուլ էրա][96]

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[85] From Turkish word *püskürmek* meaning to foam at the mouth.
[86] From the Arabic verb (حضر) to be ready, to be prepared.
[87] Ibid.
[88] From the Arabic verb (صبر) ???????????.
[89] From the Arabic word (مبشر) meaning evangelist.
[90] From the Arabic word (جواب) answer.
[91] From the Arabic word (سافر) to travel.
[92] From the Arabic verb (شاور) to consult.
[93] From the Arabic word (خزينة) treasury.
[94] From the Arabic word (اشارة) sign.
[95] From the Arabic vord (تابع) to follow.
[96] From the Arabic word (قبول) acceptance.

230.11.3	*t'mam ēra* [թմամ էրա][97]
230.11.3	*huk'm ēra* [հուքմ էրա][98]
232.12.3	*guman ēra* [գուման էրա][99]

Now let us see the conjugation of the verb "to do" in different forms. The verb tenses in the dialect are expressed through specific endings. Haneyan establishes three groups of endings. The endings in the dictionary are close to the first subgroup of group three, which are: *i* [ի], *ir* [իր], Ø, *ink'* [ինք], *ik'* [իք], *in* [ին] for the past tense. The present tense according to Haneyan has *im* [իմ], *is* [իս], *ē(i)* [է(ի)], *ink'* [ինք], *ik'* [իք], *in* [ին] ending and it is formulated with the help of prefix *g(gə)* [գ(գը)]. In the dictionary formulation of the present tense is given with the same prefix with slight differences in the endings of third person singular and first person plural. In the dictionary instead of *i* [ի] they form the ending with *ē* [է].

Negative conjugation is formed with the help of prefixes *č'* [չ] and in the case of imperative, with prefix *mi* [մի] that loses its vowel when connecting with short verbs starting with a vowel and simply the consonant *m* [մ] connects with the verb. Haneyan gives exactly the same description of negative conjugation.

In present tense affirmative statement of the verb "to do".

Person	Singular	Plural

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[97] From the Arabic word (تمام) completely, fully.
[98] From the Arabic word (حكم) judgement.
[99] From the Persian word *gumān* meaning hesitation, assumption.

I	234.9.3. *yēs gēnim* [յես գենիմ]	234.15.3. *mēnkʻ gēnēnkʻ* [մենք գենենք]
II	234.11.3. *tʻun gēnēs* [թուն գենես]	234.13.3. *tʻukʻ gēnēkʻ* [թուք գենեք]

Present tense negative statement:

Person	Singular	Plural
I	234.10.3 *yēs čʻim ēnēr* [յես չիմ էներ]	———
II	234.12.3. *tʻun čʻēs ēnēr* [թուն չես էներ]	234.14.3. *tʻukʻ čʻēkʻ ēnēr* [թուք չեք էներ]
III	234.4.3. *čʻēnēr* [չէներ]	———

Past tense affirmative statement:

Person	Singular	Plural
I	234.7.3. *ēri* [էրի]	234.16.3. *ērinkʻ* [էրինք]
II	234.5.3. *ērir* [էրիր]	234.18.3. *ērikʻ* [էրիք]
III	233.14.3. *ēracʻ* [էրաց]	———

Past tense negative statement:

Person	Singular	Plural
I	234.8.3. *č'ēri* [չէրի]	234.17.3 *č'ērinkʻ* [չէրինք]
II	234.6.3. *č'ērir* [չէրիր]	———
III	234.3.3. *č'ēracʻ* [չէրաց]	———

Future tense affirmative statement for second person, singular and first person, plural:

First person plural	235.1.3. *dēnēnq* [դէնէնք]
Third person singular	223.1.3. *kēna* [կէնա]

The affirmative and negative statements of imperative for second person singular are:

233.13.3. *ēra* [էրա], 234.2.3. *mēnēr* [մէնէր].

It is difficult to see the entire picture of verb conjugations, as the dictionary provides only one example. But it gives me enough confidence to state that it is not very different from the conjugation of words in Diyarbakır dialect.

Noun

In the dialect, nouns have grammatical categories of number and case. They have singular and plural forms. The plural is formed with specific endings: -իր, -նի, -էր,

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Ending	Location	Examples
-ir [-իր]	10.9.3	*astłni* [աստրղիր]
-ni [-նի]]	11.18.3	*aṙujni* [առուձնի]
	16.10.3	*ērēsni* [էրէսնի]
	19.1.3	*ägṙani* [äգռänի]
	8.9.3	*askʻarni* [ասքարնի]
	20.14.3	*aǰukni* [աջուկնի]
-ēr [-էր]	13.16.3	*kʻōrjkʻēr* [քորձքէր]
	14.1.3	*hōvēr* [հովէր]
	21.13.3	*madnēr* [մադնէր]
	31.1.3	*tʻēlēr* [թէլէր]

Sometimes plural endings are added to a loanword making it plural: 8.13.3 *tabaghai* [տաբականի], 11.8.3 *tabiʻani* [տաբիʻաթնի].[100]

Haneyan also mentiones *nir* [նիր], *vʻnir* [վրնիր], *dikʻ* [դիք], *vʻdikʻ* [վրդիք], *vʻdänkʻ* [վրդänք], *ig* [իգ], *inkʻ* [ինք], *änkʻ* [änք], *vʻni* [վրնի], *ērni* [էրնի]. However, she does not mention the *-ni* [-նի] ending.

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In the dictionary there is a list of proper nouns that are names of Angels: 8.15.3 *Mikhail* [Միխաիլ], 8.16.3 *Ezzail* [Էզզաիլ], 8.17.3 *jbrail* [Ջբրաիլ], 8.18.3 *r̀afail* [Ռաֆաիլ].

According to Haneyan the Tigranakert dialect has four cases: nominative (nominative-accusative), dative (genitive-dative), ablative and instrumental cases. In the dictionary I have found examples of the formation of nominative and dative cases. Nominative case has no declensional ending. There are many examples for this in the transliteration system described in the second chapter of this thesis. Dative case distinguishes by structural diversity and declensions. In the dictionary there are examples with –*in* [-ին], -*un* [-ուն], -*i* [-ի] endings of the dative case. Haneyan mentions the -*i* [-ի] ending and five other endings not found in the dictionary.

Location	Example
23.5.3	*m'adin p'ranə* [մ՚ադին փէրանը]
23.3.3	*bōłzin jakə* [բօղզին ձագը]
16.4.3	xilk*'un juj* [խիլքուն ձուձ]
16.5.3	t*'ōrun juj* [թօրուն ձուձ]
18.5.3	k*'nt'in krank* [քնթին կրանկ]
23.1.3	p*'ōrun p'artana* [փօրուն փարտանա]
21.15.3	*bōt'un k'ōvin madə* [բօթուն քօվին մադը]

21.16.3	*mǰi madə* [մջի մադը]
21.17.3	*č‘kōyt‘in k‘ōvi madə* [ճկոյթին քովի մադը]
23.5.3	*m‘adin p‘ēranə* [մ ՚ադին փէրանը]
24.11.3	*ōṙun jakə* [օռուն ձագը]
25.8.3	*p‘ōrun jajkōc‘* [փոռուն ձաձկog]

The description of consonants and vowels of the dialect based on the lexicon is given in detail by Takahashi and Weitenberg. They build their research on the lexicon of Yale Syriac 9, which includes a part of the lexicon of Syriac 11. For this reason the description of consonants and vowels of Yale Syriac 9 can be applied to Cairo Syriac 11 as well. A word, where the consonants change their order is peculiar. In this case, the first consonant and the second consonant are wapped: *vla* [վլա] instead of *lva* [լվա] (227.18.3).

It is indisputable that the source has a huge importance for Armenian dialectology specifically. Based on the comparative analyses provided above in this chapter I conclude that the lexicon of the manuscript is very close to the dialect of Diyarbakır. Although it does not fully match other scholarship describing the dialect, it is not questionable that the main characteristics correspond. The differences and discrepancies between descriptions by Haneyan and other scholars and the dialect recorded by the lexicon can be explained by a number of reasons. Firstly, as opposed to Haneyan's research, which is based on the twentieth-century dialect, MS Cairo Syriac 11 represents the dialect spoken in the seventeenth-century and it is certain that the language has changed throughout the centuries. Secondly, the lexicon of the manuscript was recorded at the same place where it was spoken

and it preserved its originality. In contrast to this, most of the previous studies on the dialect are based on the spoken language of immigrants, who left their homes and settled all over the world after the Genocide. Some of these people were second generation immigrants and their language might have changed. Thirdly, precision and definite conclusions about dialects is a difficult, if not impossible, task as usually they do not have strict rules. This is why descriptions of Haneyan, Acharyan, the dictionary of Charles Kasbarian and others on the Diyarbakır dialect do not match each other perfectly and sometimes have various representations for the same thing. Similarly, scribal errors may also compromise the reliability of the records. However, their impact is normally rather low: even if there are some in this case, they would not change the overall picture.

Figure 1 MS Cairo Syriac11, The colophone

Figure 2 MS Cairo Syriac11, pages 135-136.

Figure 3 MS Cairo Syriac11, pages 291-292.

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Conclusion

Much of the cultural, spiritual, and intellectual life of people is experienced through language. In a process when a language is lost, the group loses its traditions and habits, replacing them with the habits of a more dominant group. The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger names 2465 endangered languages. While, many initiatives have been launched for preserving these languages, at the same time dialect preservation is neglected. Dialects are, most importantly, a communicative resource, but they are also valued as a link to the past, both on the symbolic and practical level, and are no less important than languages.

"A language is a dialect with an army and navy". This statement is commonly attributed to Max Weinreich, one of the leading figures in modern Yiddish linguistics. Weinreich points out the social and political conditions that influence the perception of a language and a dialect by communities. The loss of the dialect also means the loss of a great deal of its cultural identity.

All the representations of cultural diversity and human creativity are important as such. In case of the Diyarbakır Armenians very few things remained that distinguish their identity and one of these few things is the dialect. The Armenian dialect of Diyarbakır was transmitted from generation to generation providing people who speak it with a sense of identity and continuity. Forgetting the dialect will put under threat the cultural heritage of the Armenian population of Diyarbakır. Naturally, only the community of the dialect can make it come to life and preserving it is a task for its speakers. But in the case of Diyarbakır, the speakers of the dialect are no longer residents of the territory where the dialect was spoken originally. Today very few people are left who still speak the Diyarbakır dialect. And it is

endangered to be completely forgotten alongside with the wonderful and diverse culture it represents.

For these and many other reasons it is essential to study sources written in Diyarbakır dialect and the changes it has undergone. This thesis not only opens a window on the past and helps to preserve the dialect, but also plays an important role in the maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage as a tool to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity.

There is a description of the Diyarbakır dialect in Haneyan's book and also in some other later articles, but these are descriptions based on the speech of generations of Genocide survivors at a modern stage and branch of the dialect's evolution brought about by interaction with other dialects and languages as well as historical circumstances. The dictionary explored in this thesis is a unique testimony of the dialect. It presents the lexicon in its original state, without mixing it with modern representations.

The well-organized system of transcription from Syriac script into Armenian script provided in the thesis makes the source easily accessible for other researchers and scholars especially for those interested in Armenian dialectology and related disciplines, opening wider horizons for comparative study.

The source, with its colophon, ownership mark, lexicon and margin notes creates a wide field of interpretation for reconstruction seventeenth century multilingual and multinational picture of Diyarbakır and surrounding regions.

My thesis is limited to literary sources to fit within the scope of this research. This is only a first step in analysing the many different aspects of the manuscript. Further study is necessary for the detailed exploration of the marginal notes and the main lexicon, to link the information contained in the manuscript with historical realities and other sources, and use comparative study to reconstruct history and the reasons behind different phenomena. A more

comprehensive examination of this manuscript, in which this present thesis is a first step, will enrich our understanding of interaction of different peoples and cultures, opening new possibilities for much- needed cooperation and tolerance.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Translation	Transliteration	Page
Lesson 1 on the names of God and his praises, worship of Jesus Christ, and the Angels, and it has five chapters.	**التعليم الأوّل** في أسماء الله وتحميداته وتعبدات السيّد المسيح والملائكة وهو خمسة فصول	1
Lesson 2 on the creation of human and its principles and whatever is combined with it and it has 13 chapters.	**التعليم الثاني** في خلق الإنسان وذكر مبادئه وما يقترن بذلك وهو ثلاثة عشر فصلاً	12
Lesson 3 on the characteristics of human beings, their size and shape, and it contains 6 chapters.	**التعليم الثالث** في نعوت الإنسان والقد والتقطيع وهو ستة فصول	26
Lesson 4 on family ties, marriage relationships, kinship and other things of human classes, and it has 5 chapters.	**التعليم الرابع** في ذكر القرابات والمظاهرات والمناسبات وغير ذلك من طبقات الناس وهو خمسة فصول	43
Lesson 5 on religions, sects and doctrines, and it has 4 chapters.	**التعليم الخامس** في الأديان والملل والمذاهب وهو أربعة فصول	53
Lesson 6 on men specially.	**التعليم السادس** في ذكر الإنسان خاصة	57

Lesson 7 on groups and divisions, and it has 2 chapters.	**التعليم السابع** في ذكر الجماعات والقطع وهو فصلان	61
Lesson 8 on artisans, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, the first is letter alif , which is the letter "hamza"	**التعليم الثامن** في ذكر الصناع وهو مرتب على حروف الهجاء الأول حرف الألف وهو حرف الهمزة	63
Lesson 9 on tools of artisans, and it has 1 chapter.	**تعليم التاسع** في أدوات الصناع وهو أحد مقرين فصلا	71
Lesson 10 collection of names of sick people and diseases, arranged according to the parts of body, and it has 5 chapters.	**التعليم العاشر** جمع من أسماء الأمراض والمرضى على ترتيب الأعضاء وهو خمسة فصول	102
Lesson 11 on food and things related to it, and it contains 7 chapters.	**التعليم الحادي عشر** في الأطعمة وما يتصل بذلك، وهو سبعة فصول	109
Lesson 12 on drinks, water and liquids, and it has 3 chapters.	**التعليم الثاني عشر** في الأشربة و الماء والمائعات وهو في ثلاثة فصول	115
Lesson 13 to mention clothing, and it has 4 chapters.	**التعليم الثالث عشر** في ذكر الثياب، وهو أربعة فصول	118
Lesson 14 to mention junk and goods and thing related to it, and it has 1 chapter.	**التعليم الرابع عشر** في ذكر الإسقاط والأمتعة وما يتصل بذلك، وهو فصل واحد	123
Lesson 15 to mention horses, horsemen and weapons, and it has	**التعليم الخامس عشر** في الخيل و ذكر	129

5 chapters.	الفرسان والسلاح، وهو خمسة فصول	
Lesson 16 on riding animals, domestic and wild quadruped, and it has 6 chapters.	**التعليم السادس عشر** في أسماء الدواب لدوات الأربعة الأهلية والوحشية، وهو ستة فصول	135
Lesson 17 mentioning insects and vermin, and it has 1 chapter.	التعليم السابع عشرفي ذكر الحشرات والهوام، وهو فصل واحد	143
Lesson 18 on birds and it has 2 chapters.	**التعليم الثامن عشر** في الطير، وهو فصلان	147
Lesson 19 on the sounds and it has 2 chapters.	**التعليم التاسع عشر** في الأصوات، وهو فصلان	151
Lesson 20 to mention lands and things related to it, and it has 5 chapters.	**التعليم العشرون** في ذكر الأرضيين و ما يتعلق بها و هو خمسة فصول	153
Lesson 21 on mentioning metals, waters and things connected to it, and it has 6 chapters.	التعليم الحادي والعشرون في ذكرالمعادن والمياه و ما يتصل بها، وهو ستة فصول	157
Lesson 22 on things planted on the ground, boundaries, trees, and it has 13 chapters.	**التعليم الثاني والعشرون** فيما تنبت الأرض والتخم والشجر، وهو ثلاثة عشر فصلاً	162
Lesson 23 to mention buildings and places, and it has 11 chapters.	**التعليم الثالث والعشرون** في ذكر الأبنية والأماكن، وهو أحد عشر فصلاً	174
Lesson 24 on mentioning the sky and things related to constellations,	**التعليم الرابع و عشرون** في ذكر السماء وما	188

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stars, effects of air, such as wind and rain and things connected to it, and it has 5 chapters.	يتعلق بذلك من البروج والنجوم وآثار الجو مثل؛ الرياح والمطر وما يتصل بذلك، وهو خمسة فصول	
Lesson 25 on times and seasons, and it has 5 chapters.	**التعليم الخامس والعشرون** في الأوقات والأزمنة، وهو خمسة فصول	193
Lesson 26 on calculation, number, weights and accountancy, and it has 3 chapters.	**التعليم السادس والعشرون** في الحساب والعدد والموازين والمساحات، وهو ثلاثة فصول	196
Lesson 27 on colours, and it has 1 chapter.	**التعليم السابع والعشرون** في الألوان، وهو فصل واحد	202
Lesson 28 on one type of verbs and it is imperative verb.	**التعليم الثامن والعشرون** في نوع واحد من الأفعال وهو فعل الأمر	203
Lesson 29 on collection of connecting letters and other words like them from the names connected to the speech.	**التعليم التاسع والعشرون** في جمع من الحروف الموصلات والأسماء المشابه لها من العبارة عن الأسماء التي تتصل بها الكلام و ترتبط وهو فصل واحد	235
Lesson 30 on words taken from their places, and some of them can be mentioned in trade books and other books in different arrangement and on different arts.	**التعليم الثلاثون** في كلمات شدت عن أماكنها وقد ورد بعضها في كتب البيع وغيرها مختلفة الترتيب والفنون	241

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Appendix 2

نَجِزَ هَذَا الكِتَابُ فِي سَنَةِ ا ص ع ز (1977) اليُونَانِيّ فِي مَدِينَةِ امد المَحْرَوسَةِ كَتَبَهُ شماس ملكة ابن قس نيقوديموس مِن أَعْمَالَ جَرْجَر مِنْ ضَيْعَةِ ونك اِبِدِير أَبُو غَالِب وهَذَا الشَمَاسُ كَاتِبُ هَذَا الكِتَابِ هُوَ تِلْمِيذُ الحَقِيرُ فِي رُؤَسَاءِ الكَهَنَةِ بَاطْرِيَرْك شُكْرِ الله مِنْ أَعْمَالِ مازْدِين من ضَيْعَةِ دير حَالياً. ابن ريان نعمة المتكني ابن الدباغ المتنيحفي بحابح النُّورِ وَلِلرَبّ المجدِ والسبح إلى الأَبَدِ آمِينْ.

Appendix 3

''قد كَتَبَ هَذَا القامُوسَ شَمَاس ملكة فِي 1977 يونَانية ولَقَد اشْتَرَيْتُ هَذَا القامُوس مِنَ الأَبِ دَنْهِش خُورِي السُّرْيانِ الأُرْثُوذُكْسِ فِي حَلَبَ بِمَبْلَغِ خَمْسِينَ ليرةٍ سُوريةٍ إبراهيم شديح "

Appendix 4

بسمِ الله الحَيّ الأَزَلِيّ رَبّ أعني على إتمامِهِ، الحَمدُ لله المُقَدَّس اِسْمُهُ بِجَميعِ الأَلْسنِ واللُّغاتِ المُتَعَالِي شَأَنِهِ عن التَحْديدِ والنَعَواتِ والصِفاتِ. الَّذي حارَتْ فِي تَصَوُّرِ ذاتِهِ العُقُولُ والأَفْهامُ، وعجزَتْ عَنْ إِدْراكِ آيَتِهِ وَكِنّهِ الخَوَاطِرُ والأَوْهَامُ، وهو الذي أَرْسَلَ كلمتَهُ الأزليةَ المُسْتَوْجَبَةَ السُجُودِ والتَسْبِيحِ. و أَحَلَّها بِرَحْمَتِهِ فِي أَحْشَاءِ مَرْيَم العَذْرِي لِخَلاصِ البشرِ. وَصَارَ مِنْها السيّدُ نَحمَدُهُ حَمْداً سرمدياً على نَعائِمِهِ الّتي لا انْتِهاءَ لمددها. ونَشْكرُهُ شكراً أبدياً على الأيَةِ التي لا انقِضَاءَ لها ولا يُحْصَىعددها وأمّا بَعْدَ فإنّكَ التمَسْتَ أيُّها الوَلَدَ العَزِيزَ أَنْ أُجَمّعَ لَكَ كِتاباً متضمّناً لمَعْرفةِ اللُّغَةِ السُّرْيَانِيّةِ بالقَوْلِ الوَجِيزِ. فأَسْلَفْتُكَ وألَّفْتُ هَذَا الكِتابَ وأوْرَدْتُ فِيهِ ألْفاظاً يُسْتَعانُ بِها عَلَى المَكاتِبَةِ، والخِطَابِ وتَعَرّفِ خَلْقَ الإِنْسَانِ بِلَوْنِهِ وَصِفاتِهِ، وأسماءَ مَا يَتَعَلَّقُ بِهِ مِنْ أَغْذِيَةٍ وَغَيْرِهَا مِنْ آلَاتِهِ، كَسوَاتِهِ، مِنْ غَيْرِ تَكْبِيرٍ وتَوَسُّلِهِ والْتِزامِ التَصْرِيفِ .

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وفصل بسط تجسم التخليف، لَكِنْ ما لا يُسْتَغْنَى عَنْهُ فِي المُراسَلَةِ والمُنَافَتَةِ أو ما هُوَ كالضَروريّ مِنْ أَقْسَامِ الكَلامِ الثِلاثَةِ إِلّا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ تَعَلُّقٌ ما بِكُتُبِ الأَطِبّاءِ وَبِأَسْمَاءِ الأَعْضَاءِ وَبَعْضِ الأَدْوِيِةِ وَالأَدْوَاءِ. وَابْتَدَأْتُ أَوّلاً بِذِكْرِ الأَسْمَاءِ والمُضطَرّ إليها على أَكْثَرِ الأَمْرِ، تمبلذ الفَرَاغُ مِنها ذَكَرْتُ جُمَلاً قَلِيلَةً مِنْ أَفْعَالِ الأَمْرِ يُسْتَعْمَلُ كَثِيراً فِي الأَحْوَالِ وإِنّي أَرْجُوا مَعَ هَذَا [...] الدَهْنُ عَيَّدَها إِلَى مَصاردها، ويُسْتَخْرَجُ [...] فِي الأَنْوَاعِ المُقْتَرِنةِ. ومستقبلها وحاضدة ثم أور(د)ت بعد ذلك عمل الحروف وَمَا يُشَابِهُها مِنْ رَوابِ الكَلامِ وما شَبَهَهُ المُتَعَلِّمُ مِنْ مَقولاتِهِ فِي هَذِهِ الأَقْسَامِ، ثُمَّ أني خَتَمْتُ الكِتَابَ بِكَلِمَاتٍ شَذَّتْ عَنْ مَوَاضِلِها، وَهِي المَذْكُورَةُ فِي الكُتُبِ المُتَفَنِّنَةِ المُخْتَلِفَةِ فِي أَنْوَاعِها، وسَمَّيْتُهُ "كِتَابُ التَّرْجمانِ"، فِي تَعْلِيمِ لُغَةِ السريان ومِن الله نَستمدُ المَعونةَ على ذِكرِ ما يُوافِقُ الصَوابَ. اللغو مِنَ اللُغَةِ والمرذول و الذي يغاب و نكتب مَنْ يَسألُ ويَدْعوهُ، ولا يَغِيبُ أَمَلُ مَنْ يَتوكَّلُ عليْهِ وَيَرْجُوه. وَ[...] الآنَ أُقَسِّمُهُ إلى ثلاثِينَ تعليمياً منقسمة إلى فُصولٍ مُرَتَّبَةٍ بِحَسَبِ هَذِهِ الأُصُولِ.