Primary Sources, Archival Notes

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The Orthographic Rules of the Eighteenth Century Armeno-Persian Gospels of the Matenadaran (Ms. 8492, Ms. 3044)

The Persian Gospel codices of the Matenadaran collection, written in Armenian script in the eighteenth century in Shamakhi and Ganja, are important sources for the study of the interethnic, interfaith, and intercultural circumstances of historical Shirvan (located in Transcaucasia) of that period. These manuscripts are also considered to be essential sources for the study of inter-linguistic issues of Armenian and Persian, the Armenian orthographic rules of that period, and one of the local versions of Persian, spoken in Shirvan. In the eighteenth century, Persian was the interethnic contact language of this area and the manuscripts examined here were written for the Christian Armenians of the region. This article presents how the Armenian alphabet reflects the phonetic system of eighteenth century Persian spoken in Shirvan using the orthographic rules of Armenian.

Keywords: Armeno-Persian; Gospel; Manuscript; Armenian orthography; Phonetic Persian; Shirvani Persian

Introduction

If we leave aside the fragments (mainly religious) and single words, phrases or verses, which appeared in the Armenian manuscripts from the fourteenth century onward, we know of only a relatively small number of manuscripts containing what may be called "Armeno-Persian," i.e. Persian material written in Armenian characters.[1]

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[1]The cataloging of Armeno-Persian fragments found in the Armenian manuscripts of the Matenadaran is in process.

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Two analogous Persian Gospel codices written in Armenian script (Ms. 8492 and Ms. 3044[2]) are held in the depository of Armenian manuscripts of the Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan. Ms. 3044 (compiled in 1780 in Ganja, center of Ganja Khanate[3]) is a copy of Ms. 8492 (written in 1717–21 in Shamakhi, the center of the historical Shirvan region in Transcaucasia[4]) which is confirmed by the colophon of the manuscript written by an Armenian member of the clergy, Father Mikayel:

Ms. 3044, f141v որ ի ՌՄԻԸ (1228) եւ տեր Միքայիս գրեցի օրինակի լուսայհոքի հաքիմ Յակոբին որ գրեալ էր ի քաղաք Շօշ ի վաղուց ժամանակի յարաջ ժամօվ. սա մեք գրեցաք սբ աւետարանս ի քաղաքն Գանճայ ի հայրապետություն հայոց տեառն Սիմիոնի եւ ի տունս աղուընք տեառն Իսրայիլի, որոյ յիշատակը օրհն[ու] եղիցի:

Or i ṘMIƎ (1228) es ter Mikʿayils grecʿi ôrinaki lowsayhokʿi hakʿim Yakobin or greal êr i kʿałakʿ Šôš i vałowcʿ žamanaki yāṙaj žamôv. sa mekʿ grecʿakʿ sb avetarans i kʿałakʿn Gančay i hayrapetowtʿyown hayocʿ teāṙn Simiôni ew i towns ałownkʿ teāṙn Israyili, oroy yišatakə ôrhn[ow] elicʿi.[5]

(Thus I, Father Mikayel, wrote [the Gospel] in 1228 [according to the Old Armenian Calendar, 1779–80], after the original by Hakim Yaghub [the author of Ms. 8492] may God bless his soul, which was written in the city of Shosh [Isfahan; Hakim Yaghub notes in his colophon that he is from Isfahan, but he translated the Gospels in Shamakhi] at an earlier date. We wrote this Holy Gospel in the city of Ganja in the Armenian patriarchate of Father Simion and in the Ałuwnkʿ Catholicate of Father Israel, may God bless his soul.[6])

The other colophon of Father Mikayel confirming the same fact is written in the Introduction of the manuscript (about the Introduction see below):

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[2]The manuscript record numbers in this article refer to their numbering in the collection of Armenian codices of the Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Yerevan—Matenadaran.For descriptions, see Ms. 8492, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran*, vol. 2, Yerevan (1970), col. 756; Ms. 3044, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran*, vol. 1, Yerevan (1965), col. 927. On these manuscripts see: Gulbenkyan, *The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian*, 70, n. 196; Anasian, *Armenian Bibliography*, col. 539–40. The current research was conducted mainly on Ms. 8492, aside from a few comparisons that were supplemented with Ms. 3044.

[3]On the ethnic and political situations of the Ganja Khanate (1747–1804) see Mkhitaryan, *The Administrative Political formations in Trancaucasia*, 29–30, 59.

[4]From the second half of sixteenth century to the eighteenth century the main part of northeastern Transcaucasia was in Shirvan beglarbegi (*beglarbeg* "governor-general") with the centre Shamakhi in the Safavid state. On the frontiers of Shirvan see *Tadhkirat al-muluk*, 167–8.

[5]Quoted passages from Armenian and Armenian script are fully transliterated using a version by Hübschmann-Meillet; the Persian passages are transliterated according to a simplified version of Encyclopedia of Islam EI 3.

[6]The literal translations conveying the sense of the original texts are mine.

Ms. 3044, f10r Վերջին գրող սբ. Աւետարանիս տէր Միքայէլ աստապատցի որ եմ Գանճայ բնակեալ, տեսի ջան լուսայհոքի Օվանիսին եւ Յակոբին, որ նորանք եւս էին գրեալ եւ ես ի նոցուն օրինակլի գրեցի: Հոգի Սուրբ, օգնեայ բազմայմեղ գրչիս, ՌՄԻԸ. յնվրի ԻԷ.

Verǰin groł sb. Avetaranis ter Mik'ayil astapatc'i or em Gančay bnakeal, tesi ǰan lowsayhok'i Ôvanisin ew Yakobin, or norank' ews êin greal ew es i noc'own ôrinaki gresc'i: Ho'gi Sowrb, ôgnea'y bazmaymeł grč'is, ṘMIƏ. ynvri IÊ.

(I [as] the last scribe of the Holy Gospel, Ter Mikayel from Astapat living in Ganja saw the efforts of Ovanes and Yakob, may God bless their souls, that they also wrote [this Gospel] and I wrote [it] based on their sample. May the Holy Spirit help [me], the sinful scribe. 1228 (equal to 1780), the 27th January.)

Two codices—Ms. 8492, Ms. 3044—have the following structure: the introduction, four canonical Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and the content of the passages. The introductions are the transcript versions of the Unified Gospel's introduction from the thirteenth century written in Persian.[7] The colophon of the Unified Gospel is also preserved in these introductions rendered in Armenian script:

Ms. 3044, f10v ... թամամ թայիֆաy խասայիեան ինջիլ մազիմ դարանդ քի բը զրբան ինշան բար ինշան խունդայ միշովատ ամաy սապապ ըշալ մաշիտ ինշան բըզրբան փարսի ջարիտանդ [ջարի անդ] ինշան բրզրբան փարի ջարիտանդ [ջարի անդ] աq գրբան խօտ քի ասլի աստ ղաբըլ ինշան միշնովանդ նաyմիադանդ [նաyմիդրանանդ] բայուն մըղդար սաֆ.

... t'amam t'ayifay isayiean inǰil mazim darand k'i bə zəban inšan bar inšan xownday mišôvat amay sapap əšłal mašit' inšan bəzəban p'arsi ǰaritand [ǰari and] az zəban xôt k'i asli ast łabəl inšan mišnôvant naymiadant [naymidanant] bayown məłdar saf.

(The whole community of Christians has the holy Gospels which are read for them in their languages but because of the daily employment they know Persian better than their own original language [which] they often hear but do not understand currently.)

This data underlines the fact that since the thirteenth century the Christian community of Iran, comprising mainly Nestorians and Armenians,[8] has been Persophone: they knew Persian better than their own languages. The situation was the same after five centuries when Hakim Yaghub decided to translate the Gospels into Persian and use the Armenian script (with consideration to Armenians), which he emphasized in his colophon:

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[7]See *A Unified Gospel in Persian*, 51–81.
[8]See Thomas, *A Restless Search*, 74–80.

Ms. 3044, f10r ամայ չուն ին բանդայ աջիզթՙարին Եալոwp բըն Իսայłowli ինչիլ թՙարյоwmay kՙardayi Ieahêay բըն Êvaz ray ditam bəsiar dar dəl in banday natš bast bar bandayi gownaykՙar lazowm amat kՙi in banday niz tՙarjowmay kՙardam kՙownam inĵil mazim ray az aval Matՙ zayitan Esoy az natՙĵay dawowtՙ vi fasl fasl vê ayieay tՙamaman ĵahar inĵilan niz bədin mazbowr nay bəown xial kՙi Ieaheay nikՙow nay kՙart ast kՙi ĵahar daxəl ham kՙardas xowp nist. nay bədi xial ilay kՙi har kՙowdamin bar ĵayi xôt pašat ĵəhatՙ own an kՙi mi xownant dikar asantՙar pašat bar in sapap čՙnin kՙartam nay bar hasowti.

amay čʿown in banday ăjiztʿarin Eałowp bən Isayłowli inčil tʿařjowmay kʿardayi Ieahêay bən Êvaz ray ditam bəsiar dar dəl in banday natš bast bar bandayi gownaykʿar lazowm amat kʿi in banday niz tʿařjowmay kʿardam kʿownam inĵil mazim ray az aval Matʿ zayitan Esoy az natʿĵay dawowtʿ vi fasl fasl vê ayieay tʿamaman ĵahar inĵilan niz bədin mazbowr nay bəown xial kʿi Ieaheay nikʿow nay kʿart ast kʿi ĵahar daxəl ham kʿardas xowp nist. nay bədi xial ilay kʿi har kʿowdamin bar ĵayi xôt pašat ĵəhatʿ own an kʿi mi xownant dikar asantʿar pašat bar in sapap čʿnin kʿartam nay bar hasowti.

(But as the poor servant Yaghub Ibn Isaghuli saw the Gospel which was translated by Yahya Ibn Eyvaz and left traces in the heart of the servant. [It] became necessary to the humble servant to translate the Holy Gospel, to compose the Holy Gospel from the beginning of Matthew Gospel, the birth of Jesus son of David, chapters by chapters and all parts of the four Gospels with this order. I composed this not having in mind that Yahya did not do well mixing it and it is not good [to mix Gospel chapters]. Not having in mind but [I hope] each one will be at its own place and it will be easier everyone who reads it, for which I did it and not for envy.)

The scribe Hakim Yaghub also outlines the other reason for translating the Gospels in Persian:

Ms. 8492, f236r: ... դանəստայ պաշիտ ê բըրայдêրան ազիզ kՙi սապապ ինչիլ մազիմ նvištՙan bəzəpan farsi inpowt kՙi akՙsar maliman msəlmanan an dəlatՙ migərəftant bay ĵamiyieatՙ isayian dar balayi akՙsar čՙizay kՙi ownčՙnan ieay inčՙnan ast.

... danəstay pašit ê bəraydêran aziz kʿi sapap inčil mazim nvištʿan bəzəpan farsi inpowt kʿi akʿsar maliman msəlmanan an dəlatʿ migərəftant bay ĵamiyieatʿ isayian dar balayi akʿsar čʿizay kʿi ownčʿnan ieay inčʿnan ast.

(Be aware, dear brothers, that the reason for writing the Holy Gospel in Persian was that most of the Muslim intellectuals argued on a wide range of issues with the Christian community: which is not so or which is so.)

The data of the mentioned colophon lead us to map out the tradition of religious debate and Islamic propaganda among Armenians in the eighteenth century. The Armenians had to argue the religious issues with Muslim clergy in Persian, strengthen Christian knowledge and for this purpose these codices were visibly effective means.[9]

A tangible social factor impacting on the diffusion of Persophony among Armenians living in eastern Transcaucasia, i.e. the need and requirement to use Persian which was in a hierarchical bilingual partnership with vernacular Armenian and was spoken by the rulers and by the majority of people of that area.[10] Herein lies the question: was the choice to render Persian into Armenian characters motivated by a pragmatic factor or was there anything distinct or symbolic for the Armenian script itself?

Armenian letters and literature, and in particular the alphabet, were imbued with sacral meaning and symbolized to their users the association with Christianity during the domination of religious ideology in mediaeval period.[11] Indeed, for Armenians, the Armenian alphabet has sacrosanct qualities as a marker of cultural identity.

Ordinary Armenians knew Persian only for routine. They understood it very well, spoke it, but could not read and write it because the Arabic script was not included in the syllabus in primary schools for Armenian children,[12] and in the educational process learning Persian with Armenian characters obviously had pragmatic consideration.[13] In this regard, we could mention the manuscript of the Persian–Ottoman Turkish bilingual dictionary *Tuhfe-ye Shahidi* (Ms. 10586), written in Tabriz in Armenian script by Hovhannes Abegha,[14] dated 1721, which is held in the depository of the Matenadaran.[15] Taking into consideration the educational role of this type of dictionary in the mediaeval period, the Armeno-Persian–Armeno-Turkish version of

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[9]For further details about the colophons of Ms. 8492 and Ms. 3044 and historical context of the writing of the codices see Kirakosian, "On the Colophons ."

[10]For instance the European traveler J. Bell evidences (in the eighteenth century): "Shamachi is situated in about forty degrees north latitude ... The greater part of the inhabitants are Persians. There is also a considerable number of Georgians and Armenians. The vulgar language is Turkish, but the people of distinction speak Persian." See Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburgh in Russia*, 65–6. On the social history of the written and spoken Persian language and on Persian's role as a transregional contact language see Spooner and Hanaway, *Literacy in the Persianate World*; Green, *The Persianate World*; Fragner, *Die "Persophonie."*

[11]See Aslanian, "Prepared in the Language of the Hagarites," 68; Papazian, "On the Foreign Literature on Armenian characters," 211.

[12]The same appearance we can assume for Armenians in Ottoman Turkey where the education was circumscribed by the *millet* system boundaries: "The Armenian Patriarch governed over his millet and Armenian children were educated separately and it wasn't necessary to learn Arabic script. Armenians went to Armenian schools and did not attend *Quranic* primary schools and have been educated in reading the Armenian script." Aslanian, "Prepared in the Language of the Hagarites," 70–1.

[13]Many medieval Armenian sources and authors reveal the learning of Persian among Armenians since eleventh–twelfth centuries (see Chugaszyan, *The Armenian and Iranian Literacy Interactions*, 34–5).

[14]Abegha was a monk, also a priest in the Armenian Church, who was involved in teaching.

[15]For the description, see Ms. 10586, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran*, vol. 3, Yerevan (2007), col. 127; *Catalogue of Turkish materials written in Armenian letters of Armenian manuscripts and the Turkish manuscripts in Armenian letters* (comp. by Stepanyan Hasmik) Yerevan (2008): 154 (in Armenian).

abovementioned dictionary could be used for teaching Armenians Persian and Turkish even in primary schools. Through this type of dictionary[16] Armenians could also learn Persian poetry by quoted verses from the Persian literature. Hence, the Armenian Christian elite clergy probably knew the Arabic script: they had mastered the writing and speaking of Persian. One of the arguments is the Armeno-Persian introduction of Ms. 8492 and Ms. 3044, transcribed from the Arabic script introduction of the Unified Gospel in Persian by the scribe Hakim Yaghub.

The usage and knowledge of the Armenian alphabet also distanced and dissociated Armenians from the members of the broader ethnic community of northeastern Transcaucasia, which was composed of Persians and the other Iranian tribes, Turk[ic] people, Lezgins and other Lezgic tribes.

The audience of the Armenian script Gospels was the ordinary Armenian population and the manuscripts were used by the Armenian clerics for reading the Gospel's texts in the ceremonies for the Persophone Armenians who used to pray in Persian. As Krstić states, "in a society with limited literacy reading aloud or reciting was an important aspect to the communication and articulation of social identity."[17]

The abovementioned manuscripts are evidence that for the Armenians of Shirvan in the eighteenth century Persian was the interethnic language of communication which they knew better than the vernacular Armenian. The following analysis of the transcription of Persian into Armenian script illustrates that the manuscripts were written based on the principles of traditional Armenian orthography[18] and phonetic Persian. The rules of Armenian orthography were utilized by Armenian scribes for writing Persian.[19] This allows us to study the Armenian orthography of the eighteenth century as well as the variety of Persian spoken in eastern Transcaucasia.[20]

The Transcription of Persian Vowels

Persian vowels that are not reflected in Arabic script, namely short *a*, *e*, and *u*, are transcribed in the aforementioned manuscripts by Armenian letters ա [*a*], է/ը [*ê/e*],[21] o/ն [*ô/o*], respectively. That is, mainly, the short and long vowels *a* and *ā*

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[16]On the educational role of the medieval bilingual Persian–Ottoman Turkish dictionaries see Kirakosian and Sargsian, "The Educational Role ."

[17]See Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 38.

[18]In the basis of the writing of *Grabar* and literary *Ashkharhabar* (western Armenian, eastern Armenian) in the eighteenth century were the same three principles: phonetic, etymological, and traditional or classical. In that period of the development of Armenian two processes were equally visible: the cultivating of the new literary Armenian and restoration of Grabar by using the mentioned forms of orthographical rules.

[19]On the rules of eighteenth century Armenian orthography, see Gyulbudaghyan, *The History of Armenian Orthography*; Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th Century Armenian Orthography."

[20]Ms. 3044 and Ms. 8492 contain many oddities in their transcription that make it difficult to interpret the correct pronunciation of the word. For example, Pers. *anǰir* "fig," which is transcribed անćիր [*ančir*] in Ms. 8492, f. 106r and Ms. 3044, f. 771v (Mark 11:13), անǰիր [*anǰir*] in Ms. 8492, f. 25v (Matthew 7:16), and ինǰիր [*inǰir*] in Ms. 8492, f. 138r, Ms. 3044, f. 90r (Luke 6:44).

[21]About these vowels see p. 10, footnote 25.

are transcribed the same way, because they were pronounced similarly, which is a characteristic of colloquial speech, and quite possibly how Persian-speaking Armenians may have pronounced them. Besides this, the Armenian alphabet does not distinguish long and short vowels. Particularly, in Middle Armenian texts the Persian short *a* [ˈ] (in the foreign words) was a reduced vowel in contrast to long *ā* [ˈ] and was mainly rendered by the Armenian letter *ə* [ը]. Consequently, this short vowel (sometimes also the vowel *e*) is often dropped in the middle of words or pronounced -*ɩ*- and written with the letter ը [ə], as a continuation of the Middle Armenian orthographic rule.[22] Sometimes the pronunciation of short vowels *a/e* fluctuates. The short vowels are also often dropped in contemporary colloquial Persian.

Short a.[23] It is rendered by the letter ը [ə]. Besides the causes noted above, it appears in spoken Persian as an *ɩ*, prior to a stressed syllable with a long *ā*, when *ɩ* is an allophone of Persian short *a*:

Ms. ənt'axtam [ընթախտամ]—NP (New Persian) andākhtam "I throw";[24]

Ms. minəhant [մինընհանտ]—NP minahānd, CP (Colloquial Persian) minɩhānd "they put";

Ms. nəhat [նըհատ]—NP na(e)hād, CP nɩhād "I put";

Ms. zəb/pan [զըբ/պան]—NP zabān "language," etc.

In the remainder of cases, it is transcribed as *ɯ* [*a*]:

Ms. aval [ավալ]—NP avval "first";

Ms. andišay [անդիշայ]—NP andīshe "mind";

Ms. az [ազ]—NP az "from";

Ms. łazap [ղազապ]—NP ghaḍab "anger," etc.

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[22]This pronunciation and phonetic transcription could be also connected to developments within the Persian language itself. The development of the pronunciation of the short *a* phoneme and its stages of change in the course of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries occurred due to both internal and external influences. For details on this shift towards *e*, *u*, and, in between, *ă* > *ə* (which is written ը [ə] in these manuscripts) as well as its influence on Turkic adstrat, see Pisowicz, *Origins of New and Middle Persian*, 91.

[23]In analyzing phonemes we don't mention in more detail in which part or sentence of the manuscript the words appear, because we choose the forms which have high usage in the whole text.

[24]In colloquial Persian this verb is also used in the form *endāxtan*.

Persian lax, short e.[25] In initial position *e-* is replaced by *h-* [*i-*] in words of Arabic origin which are caused by regressive assimilations to the high vowel of the second syllable;[26] cf.

Ms. išt'iaɫ [հշիեհաղ]—NP eshtīāq "alacrity";

Ms. inčil/inǰil [ինճիլ/ինջիլ]—NP enjīl "Bible," etc.

Transcribed as *ŋ* [*ə*] in word-initial position in words of Arabic origin, if the next syllable's long *ā* vowel influenced the previous syllable's *-e- > ə-* [*-ŋ-*]:[27]

Ms. ənt'əhan [ընթըհան]—NP emtehān "examen";

Ms. ənt'əhay [ընթըհայ]—NP entehā "finish";

Ms. əlt'əmas [ըլթըմաս]—NP eltemās "adjuration," etc.

In the verbal prefixes and first syllables of the verbal forms, the vowel *-e-* is also written as *-ə-* [*-ŋ-*],[28] e.g.:

Ms. bədahat [բըդահատ]—NP bedahad "may he give";

Ms. nəvištant [նըվիշտանտ]—NP neveshtand "they wrote";

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[25]In Middle Armenian, the difference between *ե* [*e*] and *է* [*ê*] had changed—they had lost their "closed" or "open" quality. Since there was no difference in their usage, they were quite often interchangeable in writing see Aghayan, *On the History of Literary Middle Armenian*, 27. The confusion that had arisen in the medieval period between these letters had been resolved in the eighteenth century, with word-initial *ye-* being transcribed with *ե* [*e*] and *e-* with *է* [*ê*]. On the diachronic analysis of orthography and phonetic values of Armenian vowels ê [*է*] and e [*ե*] see Katvalian, *The Issues on the Armenian Dialectologies*, 121–200. We often see the confusion of these letters in these manuscripts, for example Ms. p´e/êɫambar [փե/էղամբար]—NP *peyghambar* "prophet" and Ms. mowne/ênt [մոնե/էնտ]—NP *mānand* "similar," etc. However, the main Armenian orthographic rules regarding *ե* [*e*]—*է* [*ê*] are preserved in these Armeno-Persian manuscripts.

[26]This phonological feature is typical of Turkic languages and in the manuscript is quite well-integrated mainly for the Arabic origin words.

[27]Cf. vowel harmony, which is typical for the *Shamakhi* dialect of Armenian also spoken by Ms. 8492's scribe; see Baghramyan, *The Shamakhi Dialect*, 30–1. The vowel harmony mentioned in the paragraphs above refers to the Arabic origin words, which we assume, is the result of Turkic influence and these words in these forms were inserted in the Armenian dialect spoken by the manuscript's scribe and the usage in these text was primarily linked by their existence in the Armenian dialects.

[28]Cf. the use of the letter *ŋ* [*ə*] following the verbal prefix * կ-* [*k-*] in eighteenth century Armenian manuscripts: *կը կարդացվի* [*kə kardac'vi*] "it will be read," *կը շինվի* [*kə šinvi*] "it will be built," *կը հասկացնենք* [*kə haskac'nenk'*] "we will make them understand," see Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th Century Armenian Orthography," 88.

Ms. bəngərit [բընգըրիտ]—NP benega/ārīd "let you watch";

Ms. bəxownit [բըխունիտ]—NP bekhʷānīd "let you read," etc.

Transcribed *u* [*a*] at the end of the Persian past participle *-e* reflects its pronunciation in Early New Persian (ENP). In all probability, the ending of the past participle continued to be pronounced *a*. While this disappeared in literary Persian in approximately the sixteenth century, it remains in some contemporary Persian dialects and Iranian languages, as well as in the manuscripts under discussion:

Ms. pʻaray kʻanday [փարայ քանդայ]—NP parākande "(having been) dispelled";

Ms. dar manday [դար մանդայ]—NP dar mānde "(having been) overpowered," etc.

The suffix *-esh*, used to create substantives (< ENP *-ish*, Middle Persian /MP/ *-ish* /-ishn* < Old Persian /OP/ **-shna*), is transcribed *-հշ* [*-iš*] (e- > i- perhaps (?) before fricative *-sh)*, e.g.:

Ms. baxšiš [բախշհշ]—NP bakhshesh "donation, forgiveness";

Ms. asayiš [ասայհշ]—NP āsāyesh "convenience";

Ms. raviš [ռավհշ]—NP ravesh "approach," etc.

The *-esh- > -հշ- [-iš-]* transition is evident in the following words:

Ms. fərištʻay [ֆըրհշթայ]—NP fereshte "angel";

Ms. nəvištʻay [նըվհշթայ]—NP neveshte "written," etc.

In the manuscripts, we find the West Middle Iranian form of this suffix, *-isht* (also in the form *-esht*) which isn't preserved in the contemporary NP:

Ms. xayhi/ešt [խայհի/եշտ]—NP khʷāhesh "request."[29]

The fluctuation of short *-e* and short *-a* in literary and everyday colloquial Persian is common and is also found in the manuscripts, e.g.:

Ms. baradêr [բարադէր]—NP barādar "brother";

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[29]About this suffix see Durkin-Meisterernst, *Westmitteliranischen (Partisch und Mettelpersisch)*, 171.

Ms. madêr [մադէր]—NP mādar "mother", etc.

In the initial position [y-] + short vowel [-e] is rendered by -ե [-e-] for the sound [ye], as in modern and dialectal Armenian which was primarily regulated in the eighteenth century (see footnote 25):

Ms. ekʻ [եք]—NP yek "one";

Ms. eganay [եգանայ]—NP yegāne "only";

Ms. eganegi [եգանեգի]—NP yegānegī "oneness," etc.

In the eighteenth century Armenian the diphthong -ia- [-իա-] was written -եա- [-ea-] and this rule was also suitable for the manuscripts; i.e. in Persian the most common VV combination involves the sequence [ī] + [a] > -īa- (ی), which in these texts is visible via the phonetic group -իեա- [-iea-], and this phenomenon also refers to the rules in Armenian according to which before a word-ending consonant cluster and in stressed syllables before -ա- [-a-] vowel is only written -ե- [-e-]:[30]

Ms. gowieant [գուիեանտ]—NP gūyand "they will say";

Ms. darieayi [դարիեայի]—NP daryāyī "a sea";

Ms. ǰamieatʻ [ջամիեաթ]—NP jamʻīyyat "population";

Ms. xowdayieatʻ [խուդայիեաթ]—NP khudāyat "your God," etc.

As stated above (see footnote 25), the equal use of the letters ե [e] and է [ê] is the result of the elimination of the differences between these letters in Middle Armenian. For the scribe, these letters had the same phonemic values, which is reflected in these examples:

Ms. dê/el [դէլ / դել]—NP del "heart";

Ms. vê/e [վէ/վե]—NP va "and";

Ms. mownê/ent [մունէնտ/մունեննտ]—NP mānand "similar, alike," etc.[31]

See also:

Ms. šêšowm [շէշում]—NP sheshum "sixth";

Ms. vêzayif [վէզայիֆ]—NP vażāyef "duties";

Ms. bêhêšt [բէհէշտ]—NP behesht "paradise";

Ms. êliše [էլիշե]—Personal name Yełiše;,

Ms. ełiay [եղիայ]—Name of Prophet *Elias*, arm. Yełya;

Ms. ieałub [Իեաղուբ]—Personal name Jacob;

Ms. abêd [աբէդ]—NP ābd "eternal";

Ms. ǰavêd [ջավէդ]—NP javīd "eternal," etc.

Short u. According to the rules of eighteenth century Armenian orthography all foreign words containing the phoneme *u* were written with the letter *o* [*ô*] in any position.[32] This rule is preserved in the Armeno-Persian manuscripts in words of Iranian origin. See:

Ms. ôftat [օֆտատ]—NP uftād "he fell";

Ms. gôft [գoֆտ]—NP guft "he said";

Ms. sôxan [սoխան]—NP sukhan "speech, word";

Ms. ṙôx [ṙoխ]—NP rukh "face";

Ms. sbôkʻ [սբoք]—NP sabuk "light";

Ms. pʻôr [փoռ]—NP pur "ful";

Ms. kʻôštant [քoշտանտ]—NP kushtand "they killed."

See also:

Ms. fôtʻ [ֆoթ]—NP fo[w]t "death."

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[32]See Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th Century Armenian Orthography," 86.

It is known that in Persian one of the less common word-end short vowels is -*u* and usually occurs before the word-end consonant except in some words: *tu* "you"; *du* "two"; *pulu* "cooked rice"; *buru* "go." In the examined manuscripts the mentioned words *tu* "you," *du* "two" are written with the final -*ow* (see below), and -*u* only appears in the final position as a result of dropping word-ending -*h* and the glottal stop *eyn*. In these cases, the scribe used the traditional Armenian orthographic rule of the letter *n* [*o*], i.e. in Armenian the letter *n* [*o*] was the word-end letter for the sound *o* and was closed with the glide *ɟ* [*y*]. See:

Ms. šəroy [շըռոյ]—NP shurū' "beginning";

Ms. gəroy [գըռոյ]—NP gurūh "group," etc.

In the middle position of words, -*u*- is rendered by -*ու*- [*ow*] in the following words, reflecting ENP pronunciation, which, apparently, was preserved in the spoken Persian of eighteenth century Shirvan. See:

Ms. xowda [խուդա]—NP khudā, ENP khudā "God";

Ms. xowdayvant [խուդայվանտ]—NP khudāvand, ENP khudāvand "God";

Ms. k'ownand [քունանդ/ տ]—NP kunand, ENP kunand "they will do";

Ms. k'owǰa [քուջա]—NP kujā, ENP kūjā "where";

Ms. dow [դու]—NP du, ENP dū "two";

Ms. tow [թու]—NP tū "you," etc.

In words of Arabic origin, *u* reflects its unique Classical Arabic pronunciation and is transcribed *ու* [*ow*], which shows that a "Persianization" of its pronunciation had not occurred in spoken Persian. See:

Ms. mowqadamay [մուդադամայ]—NP muqaddame "preface";

Ms. mowxtaysar / muxtasar [մուխստայսար/մուխստասար]—NP mukhtaṣar "brief";

Ms. sowriani [սուրիանի]—NP surīānī "Assyrian";

Ms. mowxaləfat' [մուխալըֆաթ]—NP mukhālefat "opposition";

Ms. mowdatʿ [մուդայը]—NP muddat "time, while."

See also:

Ms. lôqaz [լողազ]—NP lughat "word, speech."

The shifting of the short u, e, a to ɲ [ə] before liquid r and l. These short vowel phonemes are transcribed ɲ [ə] before the liquid *r*, which is explained by Persian's phonetic rules. In general, ENP does not allow for word-initial consonant clusters, which is why a vowel is added at the beginning or is placed in between the consonants (anaptyxis). Contemporary Persian has also inherited this practice. However, colloquial Persian had not established distinct pronunciations for these added vowels and they were pronounced [ɪ]. See:

Ms. sərowde [սըրուդե]—NP surūde "song";

Ms. čʿəra [չըրա]—NP çerā "why";

Ms. bəray [բըրայ]—NP barāy "for";

Ms. fərow [ֆըրու]—NP furū "down";

Ms. gərt [գըրտ]—NP gerd "round, circular";

Ms. afərit [աֆըրիտ]—NP āfarīd "he created," etc.[33]

    Also transcribed ɲ [ə] prior to the liquid *l* in words of Arabic origin, e.g.:

Ms. hasəl [հասըլ]—NP hāṣel "outcome";

Ms. ǰaləl [ջալըլ]—NP jalīl "magnicifent";

Ms. vəlayieatʿ [վըլայիեայը]—NP velāyyat "province," etc.

Long labialized ā. This phoneme is sometimes rendered by *o-* [*ô-*] at the beginning of a word, sometimes as *m-* [*ow-*] at the beginning and in the middle of a word, but mainly, in all positions, as *-u-* [*-a-*]. The *-ā- > -ū-* shift before a sonant is a characteristic of colloquial Persian (*farsi-ye ʿāmmiyāne*) based on the Tehrani dialect. On the rendering of *ā* in the manuscripts see:

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[33]In these Armeno-Persian manuscripts we find the elision of short vowels (*փմմբր*–*փեյղամբար*, *խղայ*–*խողա*). In such cases the scribes would insert abbreviation marks.

Mss. ôvarday [оʋարդայ][34]—NP āvarde "brought";

Ms. ômat [оմատ]—NP āmad "came";

Mss ônan [оնան]—NP ānān "they";

Ms. mownê/ent [մունէ/ենտ]—NP mānand "similar";

Ms. kʻədowm [քըդում]—NP kudām "which";

Ms. own [ուն]—NP ān "that";

Ms. atʻaš [ապաշ]—NP ātash "fire";

Ms. ap [ապ]—NP āb "water," etc.

Long ū and ī. These phonemes are written as they would be pronounced in contemporary Persian, e.g.:

Ms. iman [իման]—NP īmān "sure, sacred";

Ms. nifrin [նիֆրին]—NP nefrīn "curse";

Ms. zəmin [զըմին]—NP zamīn "ground, land";

Mss tʻiztʻar [թիզթար]—NP tīztar "sharper";

Ms. rowz [րուզ]—NP rūz "day", but Mss rôze—NP rūze "fast";

Ms. pʻiš [փիշ]—NP pīsh "nearby";

Ms. mi [մի-]—the verbal prefix NP mī-;

Ms. gownaygown [գունայգուն]—NP gūnāgūn "assorted, varied," etc.

The Semivowel Y

In the manuscripts discussed above, the voiced dorso-palatal glide յ [y] is written according to the rules of traditional Armenian orthography, inserted at the final pos-

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[34]For final յ [-y] see next section.

ition of words after the vowels *u* [*a*] and *-n* [*-o*], and in the remaining cases according to Persian phonetic rules.

Words ending in *u* [*a*] and *-n* [*o*] (see below) are "closed" with a syllable-ending *ɟ* [*y*], e.g.:

Ms. Esoy [Եսոյ]—NP 'Isa "Jesus";[35]

Ms. downiay [դունիայ]—NP dunyā "world";

Ms. ašk'aray [աշքառայ]—NP āshkārā "clearly";

Ms. p'arday [փարդայ]—NP parde "curtain";

Ms. hamay [համայ]—NP hame "all"[36] etc.

Persian's past participle ending *-e* was pronounced *-a*. In the text of the manuscripts it is rendered by *-u-* [*-a-*] and closed with a *-ɟ-* [*-y-*]. See:

Ms. nəgay daštay [նրգայ դաշտայ]—NP negāh dāshte "kept";

Ms. šnitay [շնիտայ]—NP shenīde "heard";

Ms. larzanday [լարզանդայ]—NP larzande "rocking," etc.

The Persian negative prefix *na-* is also closed with a *-ɟ* [*-y*] before the verb roots beginning with consonants and vowels. In contemporary Persian, the *y* semivowel is only added prior to verb roots beginning with vowels to avoid hiatus. In the manuscripts, the negative prefix is written separately, which forces it to follow the rules of Armenian orthography, explaining why it ends in *ɟ* [*y*]. See:

Ms. nay gowzašt' [նայ գուզաշթ]—NP nagudhāsht "did not allow";

Ms. nay t'vanat [նայ թվանատ]—NP natavanad "cannot";

Ms. nay šôvant [նայ շօվանտ]—NP nashavand "they do not," etc.

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[35]It is interesting that according to the traditional Armenian orthography p proper nouns ending with *n* [*o*] did not get the syllable-ending *-ɟ* [*-y*] and this feature distinguished the proper and common nouns in general, see Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th Century Armenian Orthography," 88.

[36]This word's ending *-e* is only typical for contemporary Persian. In ENP, colloquial Persian, Tajiki, the dialects of Khorasan, and others, the ending *-a* is expected; see Taj. *hama* which originates from **a*.

The յ [y] semivowel is added prior to the Persian plural suffix -*ān*, as well as following the vowels –*ā*,[37] -*ī*, and -*ū*. In a word ending in -*e* (written -*uu* [a] in the manuscripts), we have the plural ending -*gān*. This can be explained by diachronic analysis. The -*g* phoneme at the end of the historical root reappears, restoring the Middle Persian noun forming -*ag* suffix > Modern Persian -*e*. This practice is preserved throughout the text of the manuscripts. In almost every case, the Armenian syllable closing յ [y] semivowel is also written. See:

Ms. fərəšt'aygan [ֆրըրշթայգան]—NP fereshtegān "angels";

Ms. sət'araygan [սրթարայգան]—NP setāregān "stars";

Ms. bêč'aygan [բէչայգան]—NP baççegān "children."

But:

Ms. biganəgan [բիգանրգան]—NP bigānegān "strangers";

Ms. yeganegan [էգանէգան]—NP yegānegān "individuals," etc.

The same can be observed in plural nouns containing the present participle suffix Ms. -*անդայ* (MP -*andag* > NP -*andeh*), prior to the ending -*gan*. See:

Ms. daṙandaygan [դառանդայգան]—NP dārandegān "those having";,

Ms. dahandaygan [դահանդայգան]—NP dahandegān "those giving";

Ms. k'ownandaygan [քունանդայգան]—NP kunandegān "those doing," etc.

The Diphthong ow

The diphthong *ow* is written in the ENP texts with the short "*a*" sign (*fatha*) and was probably pronounced as in the words, *naw* "new," *jaw* "barley," and *rawzi* "day"[38] (see

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[37]The addition of non-etymological -*y*- after -*ā*- is also attested in ENP texts, specifically in those words that have their own suffixes. For example, *juδāygāna* "separately" < *juδā(y)* "separate" < MP *yutāk* + -*gāna* suffix or *khδāyvand* "Lord," which has been incorrectly interpreted as deriving from *khδā(y)*- + -*vand* with the addition of the *y* semivowel. It is apparent that this word's etymology is ENP *khδāvand* < *khatāvan*- or *khatāvani*-. See Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments*, 73. Let us note that in the manuscripts under discussion, this -*y*- is written with the -*յ*- semivowel. This can be observed in the transcription of խուդայվանդն for the term "lord" (the translator has used the term *khdāy* [խուդայ] to mean "God").

[38]See Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments*, 192.

NP no[w], jo[w], rūzī, correspondingly). Thus, Pisowicz considers the *oụ* diphthong as being made up of *o + ụ*, in which *ụ* is an allophone of v.[39] The *ow* diphthong is phonemic.[40] In the manuscripts being discussed, the *ow* diphthong found in the middle of words is rendered by *oų* [ôv]:

Ms. sôvgant [unվqwūn]—ժ.պ. so[w]gand "oath, swearing";

Ms. łôvłay [ղովղայ]—NP gho[w]ghā "tumult";

Ms. môvč [մովճ]—NP mo[w]j "wave";

Ms. nôv [նով]—NP no[w] "new," etc.

The Diphthong ey

In the middle of a word, the Persian diphthong -*ey*- is rendered by *է* [*ê*], which is typical for eighteenth century Persian.[41] See:

Ms. p'êday [փէդայ] –NP peydā "apparent";

Ms. p'êk'ar [փէքար]—NP peykar "digit, figure";

Ms. p'êvasta [փէվասստա]—NP peyvaste "connected, always";

Ms. fêz [ֆէզ]—NP feyz "benignity";

Ms. łêr [ղէր]—NP gheyr "other."[42]

The Pharyngeal Phoneme ayn

This phoneme, which is a glottal stop in words of Arabic origin, is written in certain ways in these manuscripts.

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[39]See Pisowicz, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian* , 24–7.
[40]See Mahootian, *Persian*, 230.
[41]Pisowicz, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian*, 59. Pisowicz also discusses the -*ai*- → *ai*/-*ei*-/-*e* → /*ey*/ historical development from the thirteenth to twentieth centuries. The transcription of *է*- [*ê*] in the manuscripts reflects the stage of development of this diphthong in the eighteenth century (ibid., 89). Let us also note that similar transcription of words of Arabic origin in these manuscripts is a result of the adopted style of Persian orthography.
[42]We also found the form *ղէյր* [*łeyr*] in Ms. 3044, f. 73r.

At the beginning of the following words, it is transcribed as *ay-* [*ay-*]:

Ms. aynasowr [այնասուրը]—NP ʿanāṣor "elements";

Ms. ayhət [այհըտ]—NP ʿahd "promise, covenant."

Mainly, this glottal stop is deleted in consonant clusters, whether word-final or word-medial positions. See:

Ms. alam [ալամ]—NP ʿālam "world";

Ms. atl [ատլ]—NP ʿadl "justice";

Ms. asay [ասայ]—NP ʿaṣā "cane, stick";

Ms. šəroy [շըրոյ]—NP shurūʿ "beginning";

Ms. mazam [մազամ]—NP muʿaẓẓam "honorable";

Ms. marowf [մարուֆ]—NP maʿrūf "famed, famous";

Ms. bad [բադ]—NP baʿd "after, then," etc.

The Transcription of the ezafe

In Persian syntax, the connector between the determinant-determinate and substantiator-substantive is the *ezafe*, which is not always reflected in the manuscripts.

Following a consonant, the perceptible *ezafe* like -*e* is not transcribed according to the Arabic and Persian writing rules:

Ms. avaz ow [ավազ ու]—NP āvāz(-e) ū "his voice, his song";

Ms. tʿir inšan [թիր ինշան]—NP tir(-e) inshān "their sword," etc.

In a very rare cases, following a vowel, it is transcribed as -*yh* /-*yi*/:

Ms. kʿənarhayi zəmin [քընարհայի զըմին]—NP kenārhā-ye zamin "the edges of earth";

Ms. xanayi ibrayim [խանայի իբրայիմ]—NP khāne-ye Ebrāhīm "Ibrahim's house";

Ms. ǰhar gwšayi alam [ջհաṛ ɡուշայի ալամ]—NP çehār gūshe-ye ʿālam "the four corners of the world," etc.

In general, the connective clitic of *ezafe* was not written after vowels, either.

Persian Consonant Transcription

In the manuscripts under discussion, the rules of Middle Armenian orthography of consonants are utilized. There are original sources from that period (for example, the verses of *Constantine of Erzincan*, etc.) where a system of four levels of consonants is used.[43] In these manuscripts, voiced plosives in word-initial position are rendered by Armenian's voiced plosives (that is, *b-*, *g-*, *d-*, j- are written *p-* [*b-*], *q-* [*g-*], *ŋ-* [*d-*], *ǰ-* [*ǰ-*]), whereas in the middle and at the end of words they are rendered respectively by their unvoiced non-aspirated counterparts, *-ṗ-* [*-p-*], *-ḷ-* [*-k-*], *-ṅ-* [*-t-*], and *-6-* [*-č-*].[44] We think that in this case, this difference comes from the voiced plosives' position, based on the contrast between aspirated and non-aspirated phonemes. Non-aspirated voiced stops in the middle and at the final positions of words preserve their voiced quality and differ from their counterparts at the beginning of words that are aspirated. That is, voiced plosives at the beginning of words are aspirated, expressed by voiced letters, while in the middle and at the end of words they are non-aspirated and are rendered by non-aspirated unvoiced plosives.[45] This observation from these manuscripts allows us to conclude that the scribes of Armeno-Persian manuscripts used orthographical rules which were typical for the Armenian Araratyan dialect,[46] where the voiced consonants in the initial position are aspirated ones and the unvoiced, non-aspirated consonants are voiced in the middle position.[47] This peculiarity was special to the Armenian Nor-Jugha (Jolfā) dialect,[48] which was the mother dialect of Hakim Yaghub, the scribe of Ms. 8492.[49] Thus, the examined Armenian-script Persian texts brought us

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[43]Aghayan, *On the History of Literary Middle Armenian*, 123.

[44]Eighteenth century Armenian scribes often transcribed foreign voiced phonemes with Armenian unvoiced letters see Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th Century Armenian Orthography," 91.

[45]The shift of unvoiced consonants is also attested in the Armeno-Persian dictionary of the sixteenth–seventeenth century by the Armenian philosopher-theologian Hovhannes Mrkuz of Jugha in a few forms. See Mirzoyan, "An Unstudied Monument of Armenian Dictionary Writing."

[46]The basic structural dialect of the contemporary eastern Armenian.

[47]Jahukyan notes a special trait of the Armenian of the eighteenth century which was a four-level stop consonant system, where the partially aspirated stops $\dot{p}\ b^h$, $\dot{q}\ g^h$, $\dot{ŋ}\ d^h$, $\dot{ȧ}\ ǰ^h$, $\dot{ṣ}\ ǰ^h$ were not distinct phonemes, but were dependent on that voiced consonant's position see Jahukyan, *The Development and Structure of the Armenian Language*, 53.

[48]See the aspiration of initial voiced plosives in the dialect of Nor-Jugha and the consonants' rank $\dot{p}\ b^h$, $\dot{q}\ g^h$, $\dot{ŋ}\ d^h$, $\dot{ȧ}\ ǰ^h$, $\dot{ṣ}\ ǰ^h$: "the voiced consonants of old Armenian carry many changes [in Nor-Jugha dialect]: the trilled consonants in the word-initial position and after *r-* aspirated, after *h-* and in foreign dialects stay trilled, after *x-* unvoiced or aspirated trilled, and in word-end position these consonants aspirated, unvoiced." See Acharian, *The Analysis of the Nor-Jugha Dialect* ; Sukiasean, *The Dictionary of the dialect of Nor-Jugha*.

[49]For more on the origin of the scribe Hakim Yaghub see Kirakosian, "On the Colophons,"53.

to understand the usage of Armenian orthographic rules only and not the change of Persian phonetic units' value.[50]

In intervocalic and final positions NP *-g-* → Ms. *-կ-* [*-k-*]. See:

Ms. dikar [դիկար]—NP dīgar "other";

Ms. akar [ակար]—NP agar "if";

Ms. ankapin [անկապին]—NP angabīn "honey";

Ms. bəzôrktar [բրզօրկթար]—NP buzurgtar "bigger";

Ms. t'ank [թանկ]—NP tang "narrow";

Ms. sank [սանկ]—NP sang "stone," etc.

New Persian *g-* > Ms. q- [q-] in initial position:

Ms. gəroy [գրրոյ]—NP gurūh "group";

Ms. -gan [-գան]—plural marker –gān;

Ms. gardanat [գարդանատ]—NP gardānad "will become," etc.

In the middle and at the end of words NP *-b-* → Ms. *պ* [*-p-*]:

Ms. k'ət'ap [քրթապ]—NP ketāb "book";

Ms. sapap / sabab [սապապ / սաբաբ]—NP sabab "reason, cause";

Ms. powt [պուտ]—NP būd "was";

Ms. nay pašat [նայ պաշատ]—NP nabāshad "not be";

Ms. powtant [պունտանտ]—NP būdand "they were";

Ms. iplis/iblis [իպլիս / իբլիս]—NP eblīs "Devil";

Ms. xap [խապ]—NP kh^wāb "sleep";

Ms. pašat [պաշատ]—NP bāshad "will be";

Ms. aftap [աֆտապ]—NP aftāb "sun";

Ms. palkʻi [պալքի]—NP balke "rather than," etc.

   Word-initial NP *b-* → Ms. *p-* [*b-*]:

Ms. bay [բայ]—NP bā "with";

Ms. mibinam [միբինամ]—NP mībīnam "I see";

Ms. biayieat / piayieat [բիայիեատ / պիայիեատ]—NP biāyad "he will come";

Ms. bəsiar [բըսիար]—NP besiyār "most";

Ms. banday [բանդայ]—NP bande "slave, servant";

Ms. zəban/zəpan [qըբան/զըպան]—NP zabān "language";

Ms. bwniad [բունիադ]—NP bunyād "base, basis";

Ms. barakʻatʻ [բարաքաթ]—NP barakat "blessing," etc.

   New Persian *-d-* > Ms. *-un-* [*-t-*] in intervocalic and final positions:

Ms. šôtan [շօտան]—NP shudan "to become";

Ms. mownênt [մունէնտ]—NP mānand "resembling, like";

Ms. əntaxtay [ընտախտայ]—NP andākhte "thrown";

Ms. ômatan [օմատան]—NP āmadan "to come";

Ms. dahat [դահատ]—NP dahad "will give";

Ms. šôvat [շօվատ]—NP shavad "will be";

Ms. afrit [աֆրիտ]—NP āfarīd "created";

Ms. kʻart [քարտ]—NP kard "he did";

Ms. bəngirant [ppնգիրանտ]—NP benegarand "they will watch," etc.

Word-initial and in the intervocalic positions NP -*d*- → -*ŋ*- [-*d*-]:

Ms. andišay [անդիշայ]—NP andishe "idea, mind";

Ms. dar [ŋար]—NP dar "in";

Ms. adam [անամ]—NP ādam "men";

Ms. dit [ŋիտ]—NP dīd "he saw";

Ms. dêl [ŋէլ]—NP del "heart," etc.

New Persian -*j*- > Ms. -*ĉ*- [-*č*-] in intervocalic and the final positions:

Ms. inčil [ինճիլ]—NP enjīl "Gospel";

Ms. xarəč [խարըճ]—NP khārej "outside";

Ms. môvč [մովճ]—NP mowe "wave";

Ms. t'owčar [թոււճար]—NP tujjār "merchant," etc.

Also NP -*j*- > Ms. -*ǧ*- [-*ǰ* -]:

Ms. ǰay [ջայ]—NP jāy "place";

Ms. ǰayhat' [ջայհատ]—NP jehat "course, reason";

Ms. ǰəhan [ջըհան]—NP jehān "world";

Ms. bôrǰi [բորջի]—NP burjī "a tower";

Ms. ownǰay [ունջայ]—NP ānjā "there";

Ms. môvǰowp [մովջուպ]—NP muvajeb "occasioned, consequence," etc.

There are few words in which the NP voiceless affricate *č* is rendered by the voiced affricate -*ǧ*- [-*ǰ*-], in all other cases this phoneme is written *č*:

Ms. ǰar [ջար]—NP çahār "four";

Ms. ǰarsat [ջարսատ]—NP çahārṣad "four hundred";

Ms. nayǰar [նայջար]—NP nāçār "helpless, compelled," etc.

As we see here, this sound shift occurs only in the case of the word *çahār* "four", which is in its Arabicized form when written with a *-j-*. This is also present in the contemporary colloquial Armenian.

In Persian consonant clusters *ft*, *kht*, *st*, *sht* the second phoneme *t* (apicodental, voiceless) is rendered by the Armenian unvoiced non-aspirated letter *տ* [*t*], based on Armenian orthographic rules. According to these rules, the only position where unvoiced non-aspirated plosives retain the former quality is next to voiceless fricatives. Based on this rule, foreign voiceless plosives in these positions were rendered by their respective unvoiced non-aspirated letters. This rule also applies to the manuscripts under discussion. See:

Ms. gôft [գoֆտ]—NP guft "he said";

Ms. rast [ռաստ]—NP rāst "true, right";

Ms. ast [աստ]—NP ast "is";

Ms. šǝk'ast [շքաստ]—NP shekast "he broke";,

Ms. k'ôšt [poշտ]—NP kusht "he killed";

Ms. daštam [դաշտամ]—NP dāshtam "I had";

Ms. amowxtam [ամnւխտամ]—NP āmūkhtam "I learned";

Ms. šnaxt [շնախտ]—NP shenākht "he knew," etc.

Persian's voiceless plosive *t* phoneme[51] is written in Armenian with its respective aspirant counterpart, *թ* [*t'*], in all other positions. See:

Ms. t'amam [թամամ]—NP tamām "finish, whole";

Ms. łimat' [ղիմաթ] –NP qeymat "cost, valuation";

Ms. Bēt'almowłatas [pէթալմnւղատաս]—NP Beyt l-Muqaddaṣ "Jerusalem";

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[51]No differences in the *t* and *ṭ* phonemes' rendering.

Ms. t'avanat [թավանատ]—NP tavānad "will be able";

Ms. bat'əl [պաթըլ]—NP bāṭel "null, void";

Ms. git'i [գիթըի]—NP gītī "world."

The voiced plosive becomes devoiced before the comparative suffix -tar, while the voiced fricatives are preserved. This morpheme is mainly written separately and is treated as a separate word, preserving the word-initial aspirant, թə- [t'-]:

Ms. zowtt'ar [զուտ թար]—NP zūdtar "before";

Ms. bəzôrkt'ar [բըզօրկ թար]—NP buzurgtar "bigger";

Ms. bôlantt'ar [բոլանտ թար]—NP bulandtar "higher," etc.

Persian's voiceless plosives *p*, *k*, and *ç* have been transcribed with their appropriate voiceless aspirated counterparts in Armenian փ [p'], ք [k'], չ [č']. See:

Ms. k'nar [քնար]—NP kenār "side, edge";

Ms. č'ap' [չափ]—NP çap "left";

Ms. ek' [էք]—NP yek "one";

Ms. ašk'aray [աշքարայ]—NP āshkārā "open, frank";

Ms. p'adišayan [փադիշայան]—NP pādeshāhān "kings";

Ms. k'i/e [քի/է]—NP ke "that, which";

Ms. t'arik' [թարիք]—NP tārīk "dark";

Ms. č'ašm [չաշմ]—NP çashm "eye," etc.

The Persian dorso-uvular voiced phoneme *q* is comprised of two distinct allophones, the uvular, plosive, voiceless *ḳ*, and the postdorsal voiced fricative *γ*. Their pronunciation does not have an effect on the word's definition, but is still apparent depending on the style and genre of the text. In the Armeno-Persian Gospels, the writing of these allophones does not indicate any distinctive peculiarities. Both of the allophones are rendered by the Armenian character *ł* [*η*], which denotes a voiced, postdorsal, spirant sound. See:

Ms. xalł [խալդ]—NP khalq "people";

Ms. łôm [ղոմ]—NP qum "tribe";

Ms. bałi [բաղի]—NP bāqī "rest, left";

Ms. ałaz [աղազ]—NP āghāz "beginning";

Ms. pʻełambar [փեղամբար]—NP peyghambar "Prophet";

Ms. łəsas [ղրսաս]—NP qeṣāṣ "punishment" etc.[52]

The Persian nasals *m*, *n* and the lateral liquid *l* are written with their Armenian
counterparts մ [*m*], ն [*n*] and լ [*l*], respectively.

The transcription of Persian *r* is quite mixed, sometimes written with ր [*r*] or ռ [*ṙ*].
See:

Ms. ṙwz [ռուզ]—NP rūz "day";

Ms. ray [րայ]—NP rā postposition;

Ms. raftan [րափտան]—NP raftan "to go";

Ms. bar [բար]—NP bar "on, upon";

Ms. atʻraf [ատրաֆ]—NP aṭrāf "sides";

Ms. harakʻatʻ [հարաքաթ]—NP ḥarakat "movement";

Ms. xar/ṙ [խար/ռ]—NP khar "donkey";

Ms. pʻaṙ kʻayi [փառ քայի]—NP parr-e kāhī "chaff";

Ms. baṙaygan [բառայգան]—NP barrehā "lambs," etc.[53]

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[52]The transcription of *taraqi* "growth" as "*թառախիկի*" (Ms. 8492, f. 159v, also Ms. 3044, f. 100r
[Luke 13:19]) is worthy of note.

[53]The phonemes *kh*, *z* (*dh*, *ẓ*, *ḍ*), s (*th*, *ṣ*), *sh*, *f*, *v* were not discussed separately in the article because
they do not change phonetically and are written with their Armenian counterpart sound markers: *x, z, s, š,
f, v*.

Morphophonology

Spirantization. In colloquial Persian, the dorso-uvular stop *q* phoneme loses its voiced quality and spirantization takes place next to unvoiced aspirants and sibilants and is pronounced *x*. In the manuscripts under discussion, this phoneme is rendered by Armenian *-խ-* [*-x-*]. See:

Ms. vaxt'/t [վախթ/տ]—NP vaqt "time";

Ms. nôx/łt'ay [նoխ/ղթայ]—NP nuqte "point, dot";

Ms. maxsowt [մախսունտ]—NP maqsūd "aim, purpose";

Ms. t'axex [թախեխ]—NP tahqīq "research, disquisition," etc.

Dissimilation.   In colloquial Persian, the affricate *j* sometimes spirantizes and becomes a fricative before another occlusive. The manuscripts preserve this in the following example:

Ms. sowžde [սուժդե]—NP sajde "prostration."[54]

Labialization. The nasal *n* labializes before *-b* and is pronounced *-mb-*. In the manuscripts it is written *–մբ-* [*-mb-*]. See:

Ms. hambônčay [համբoնչայ]—NP anbān [ambān] "sack";

Ms. t'ambē [թամբē]—NP tanbīh [tambih] "punishment";,

Ms. šambē [շամբē]—NP shanbe [shambe] "Saturday."

Deletion. The glottal *-h* deleted in medial consonant clusters and word-end no-cluster position. In the manuscripts in the word-end position *-h* deleted giving way to *-յ* [*-y*] (see above), which is also unique to colloquial Persian,[55] and *-h-* is deleted whether it is the first or second consonant of a cluster, e.g.:

Ms. šar [շար]—NP sharḥ "explanation";

Ms. šar [շար]—NP shahr "city";

Ms. gay [գայ]—NP gāh "date, time";

Ms. day [դայ]—NP dah "ten";

Ms. gəroy [գըրոյ]—NP gurūh "group";

Ms. nəgay [նըգայ]—NP negāh "look, view," etc.

Insertion ṇ [ə] before the -uun- [-st-] cluster. In Middle Armenian, an *ṇ* [ə] was pro-
nounced and written in word-initial position prior to such a cluster. This tradition
was also followed in the eighteenth century Armenian orthography,[56] and we have
noted this phenomenon in Armeno-Persian manuscripts used for combining words:

Ms. danəstay [դանըստայ]—NP dāneste "known";

Ms. sankəstan [սանկըստան]—NP sangestān "rocky";

Ms. nəšəstan [նըշըստան]—NP neshastan "to seat";

Ms. mi tʻvanəst [մի թվանըստ]—NP mītavanest "he could."

And development of unstressed vowels to shwa [ə] in word-initial position:

Ms. əstat [ըստատ]—NP istād "he stood up";

Ms. əstatant [ըստատանտ]—NP istādand "they stood up."

Shifting. The shift *-ḥ- > -x-* in the manuscripts is only seen in words of
Arabic origin, depending on their pronunciation in Armenian dialects where the
shift *-ḥ- > -x-* had already occurred.[57] We believe that this is a result of the scribe
(hailed from Nor-Jugha) and spoke a subdialect related to the Armenian dialect of
Tabriz, which distinguished itself mainly through its *-ḥ- > -x-* shift.[58]

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element in word-end *-st* in a few cases. See Ms. *դուս դաշտ* [dows dašt]—NP *dūst dāsht* "he/she/it loved,"
and once Ms. *as*—NP *ast* "is."

[56]See Gyulbudaghyan, "On the 18th century Armenian Orthography," 87.

[57]See Katvalian, "The Correspondence of the *H-X* Phonemes in Armenian Dialects."

[58]See Acharian, "Armenian Dialectology," 88.

Ms. zaxmatʻ [զախմաթը]—NP zaḥmat "bother, discomfort";

Ms. ṙaxmatʻ [ռախմաթը]—NP raḥmat "charity";

Ms. əxtiač [ըխտիաճ]—NP eḥti(y)āǰ "need";

Ms. ṙaxm kʻown [ռախմ քուն]—NP raḥm kun "have mercy";

Ms. xošxāl [խոշխալ]—NP khushḥāl "happiness" (which is in fact not entirely a word of Arabic origin, and is made up of Persian khush "good" and Arabic ḥāl "state");

Ms. ṙaxlatʻ [ռախլաթը]—NP reḥlat "death," etc.

Word-initial շկ- [shk-] is written սկ- [skʻ-], and was probably pronounced as such:

Ms. skʻanǰay—NP shekanje "torture."

A š → s shift is seen in the Ms. 3044 f. 38r, in the word, չասմ [čʻasm] "eye," see NP *çashm*.

The shift -r- > -l- occurs only in the word, *barg* "leaf" > NP *balk* [բալկ] (Ms. 8492, f. 57v).

The shift -b- > -v- met in the Ms. 8492 f. 63v, in the word *maḷvar* [մաղվար]—*maqbar* "tomb."

There are particular writing conventions that reflect the pronunciation of the word that was already present in Armenian due to an earlier borrowing:

Ms. *hownarmand tʻar* [հունարմանդ թար]—NP hunarmandtar "more talented." The Persian term *hunar* had made its way into Armenian dialects via Turkish as *hunar*.

Ms. *dêv* [դէվ]—NP *div* "demon, evil spirit" appears as Arm. < MP *dēv* with the meaning "evil spirit" in the Biblical tradition.[59]

Ms. *hečʻ* [հէչ]—NP *hiç* "nothing"; cf. ENP *hēç* > Arm. dialects heč‘ [հէչ] via Turkish.

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[59]See Acharian, *Dictionary of Armenian Roots*, 658.

Ms. *mêǰlis* [ʋɫɔɹɦu]—"assembly, collective"; cf. ENP *majles* > Arm. dialects *mêǰlis* [ʋɫɔɹɦu] via Turkish. See also Ms. *mêǰlisian* [ʋɫɔɹɦuɦuɑɱ] "guests."

Ms. *mêlik'* [ʋɫɭɦp]—"prince, landlord"; cf. NP, ENP *mālek* > Arm. dialects *mêlik'* [ʋɫɭɦp] via Turkish.

Conclusion

Thus, the scribes of the Armeno-Persian manuscripts Ms. 8492 and Ms. 3044 successfully utilized the Armenian characters and their phonetic values to express the Persian spoken in eastern Transcaucasia in the eighteenth century. The study of the writing features of the texts sheds light on the typical peculiarities of the Armenian orthographical rules and on the Persian pronunciation of the time.

The writing of Persian phonemes and their phonetic values expressed in Armenian letters in Ms. 8492, Ms. 3044 are presented in the following tables:

Vowels:

New Persian	Armenian writing	Armeno-Persian Mss
a	ɲ [ə], ɯ [a]	ə, a
ā	ɯ [a], o [ô], nʟ [ow]	a, o, u
e	ţ[ê], ҍ [e], ɦ [i], ɲ [ə], ɯ [a]	e, i, ə, a
ū	nʟ [ow]	ū
ī	ɦ [i]	ī
u	o [ô], nʟ [ow], ɲ [ə]	u, ū, ə

Consonants:

New Persian	Armenian writing		Armeno-Persian Mss	
	Initial position	Intervocalic and final positions	Initial position	Intervocalic and final positions
g	ɋ [g]	ɥ [k]	g'	g
b	ɒ [b]	ɰ [p]	b'	b
d	ŋ[d]	ɯn [t]	d'	d
j	ɔ [ǰ]	ɓ [č]	ǰ̈	č
r	ɲ (not always)	ɲ	r (not always)	r
eyn	ɯɹ (not always)	∞	∞	∞

Continued

New Persian	Armenian writing		Armeno-Persian Mss	
	Initial position	Intervocalic and final positions	Initial position	Intervocalic and final positions
ḳ	ŋ [ɫ]			q
g̣h	ŋ [ɫ]			q
ḥ	h [h], in some Arabic words ʜ [x]			h, x
h	h [h], յ [y], ☒			h, y, ☒
m, n, l	ʋ̂ [m], ʉ [n], ʟ [l]			m, n, l

Diphthongs

New Persian	Armenain writing	Armeno-Persian Mss
ow	ou̯ [ôv]	ov
ey	Ɬ [ê], ʉ [e]	ē

Clusters

New Persian	Armenian writing	Armeno-Persian Mss
ye	ʉ [e]	ye
ft	ֆʈn [ft]	ft
kht	ʜun [xt]	kht
st	uun [st]	st
sht	ʒun [št]	sht

Figure 1. Ms. 3044, f. 10a: a part of the Unified Gospel colophon written in Persian (thirteenth century) rendered in Armenian script (eighteenth century).
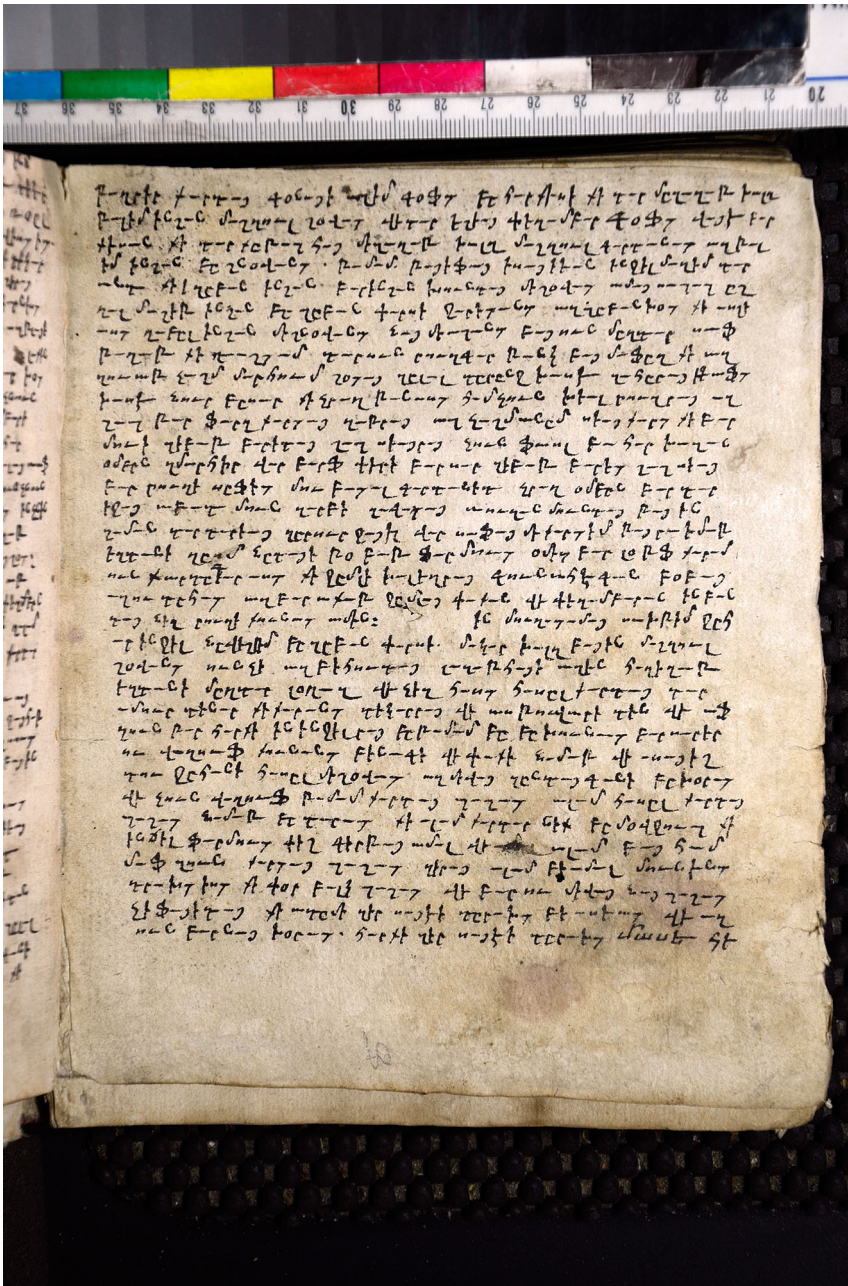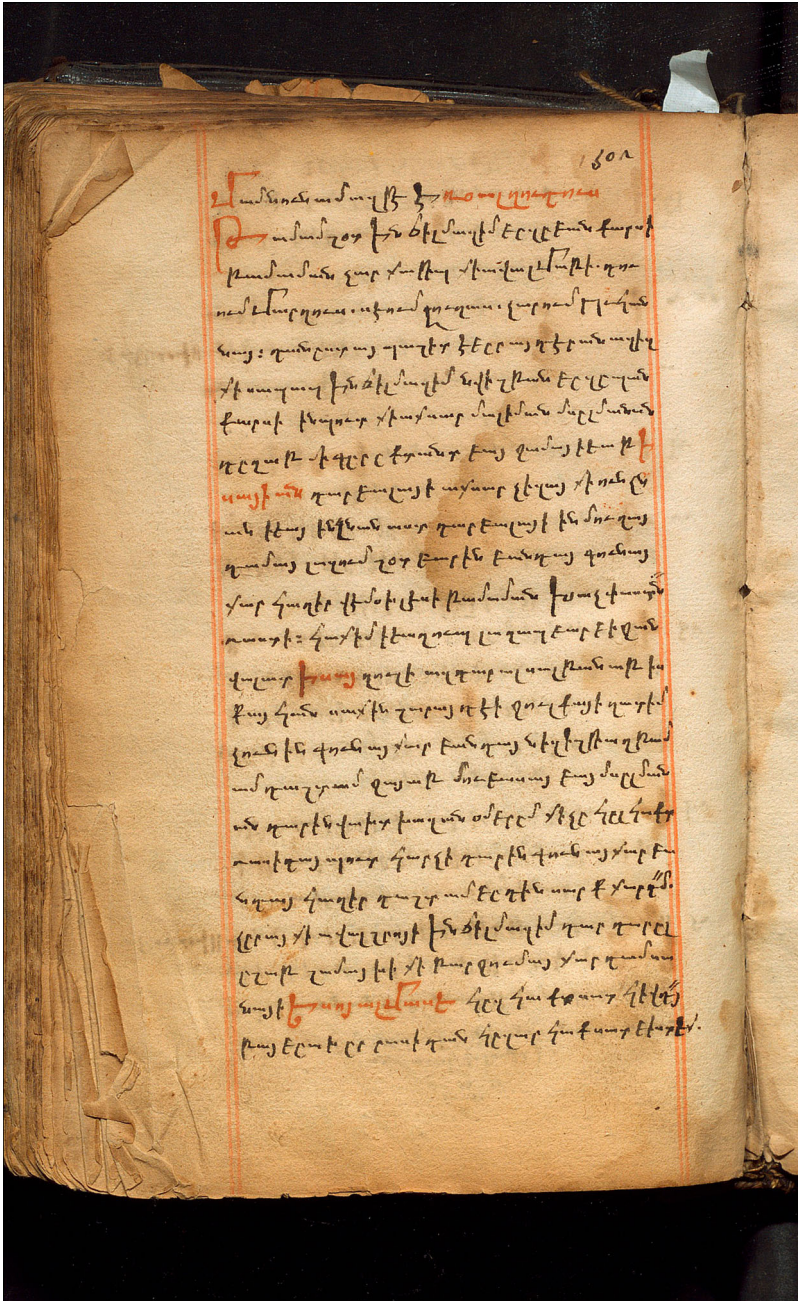

Source: The Collection of Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran.

Figure 2. Ms. 3044, f10b: the colophon of the introduction to the Persian Gospels manuscript. The first part written in Persian and rendered in Armenian script and the second part is written in Armenian.
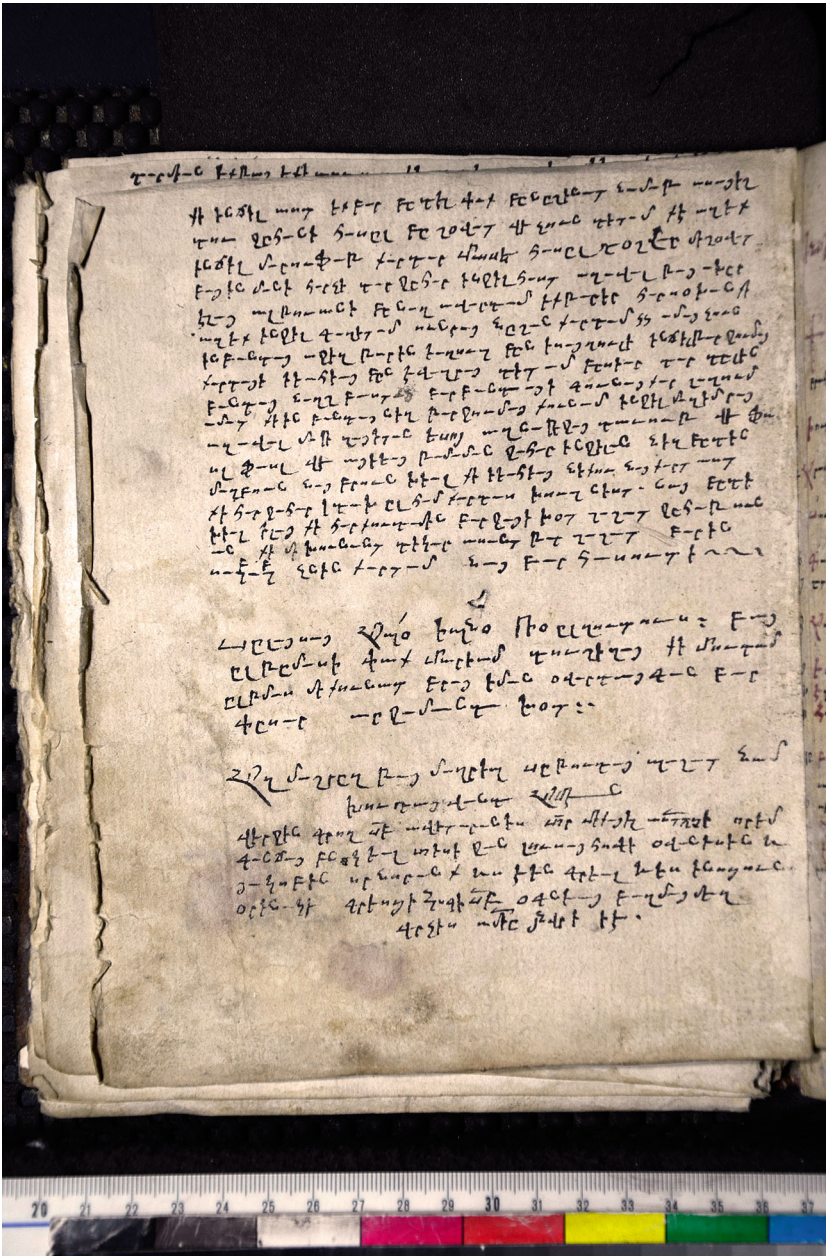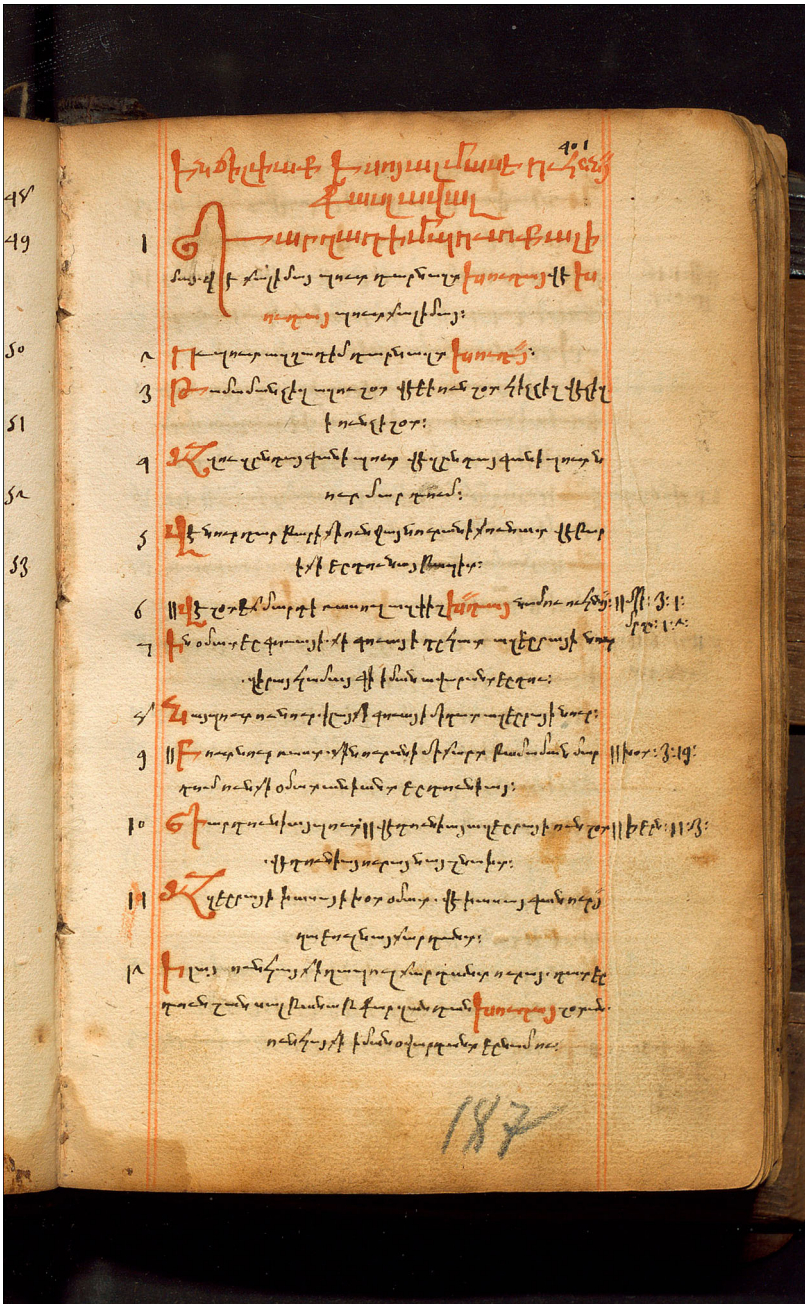

Source: The Collection of Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran.

Figure 3. Ms.8492, f236b: The colophon of the manuscript.

Figure 4. Ms. 8492, f187a: the first page of the Gospel according to John.

Source: The Collection of Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran.

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