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LEXICAL-SEMANTIC VARIATIONS OF MAYR ('MOTHER') IN ARMENIAN DIALECTS: A COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the linguistic features of the fundamental kinship term 'mother' (mayr) across Armenian dialects. Synthesizing data from the "Dialectological Atlas of the Armenian Language" (DAA) and other sources, the research analyzes the etymology, semantic evolution, phonetic manifestations, and

geographic distribution of dialectal variants. Our analysis reveals a two-layered structure within these terms. Alongside the consistent preservation of the native Indo-European root mayr (méh₂tēr), dialects incorporate universal child/diminutive forms (e.g., mam, nan, etc.) and terms derived from semantic shifts (e.g., hars, azi). This investigation reaffirms the role of dialects as repositories of linguistic archaisms and illuminates the interplay between universal linguistic mechanisms and localized language development.

KEYWORDS: Core kinship terms, Armenian dialects, semantic field, acquired kinship terms, native Armenian lexicon, loanwords.

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of the Armenian language and its dialects constitutes a pivotal area within Armenology and Indo-European historical-comparative linguistics. The historical role of Armenian in the Near East and South Caucasus extends beyond its written tradition alone (Clackson, 2008). Dialectal data and their subsequent analysis are of significant importance not only for reconstructing the history of the language but also for related academic disciplines, including ethnography, historiography, sociology, and cultural anthropology (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998; Foley, 1997). While contemporary scholarship often dates Armenian to the mid-first millennium BCE (Clackson, 2007, pp. 6-7), the preservation of linguistic archaisms within living Armenian dialects necessitates alternative approaches to its chronological placement (Kumunts et al., 2023).

In this context, the kinship terminology of the Armenian language (including its dialects) presents a subject of particular interest, which has often been overlooked or not thoroughly analyzed within the framework of Indo-European linguistics (Szemerényi, 1977). Words denoting human sex, age, and especially familial relationships (e.g., mother, father, sister, brother, grandmother, grandfather) constitute one of the most stable and core strata of any language's fundamental lexicon (Pagel et al., 2013). As a general rule, these terms tend to preserve their semantic and functional properties over centuries, demonstrating resistance to external influences and linguistic changes (Hock, 1986). From this perspective, the archaic lexical layers found within Armenian dialects hold significant importance due to their potential to illuminate earlier linguistic states:

1. when examining questions related to the Indo-European areal linguistics (Mallory & Adams, 2006, pp. 444-452)
2. considering the millennia-long linguistic persistence of Armenian within its native territory (Kumunts et al., 2024)
3. from the perspective of enriching comparative linguistics resources and dictionary databases

The profound linguistic diversity inherent in Armenian dialects presents an unparalleled opportunity for the diachronic investigation of kinship vocabulary. Of particular academic import is the recurrent preservation within these dialectal strata of lexical items and radical forms that remain undocumented in literary corpora or cognate Indo-European languages, or have undergone attrition over time. Such linguistic relics frequently bear direct

indices of the Proto-Indo-European ancestral language, thereby constituting a linguistic heritage that has demonstrably persisted within the Armenian Highlands for millennia. The autochthonous character and archaic provenance of these terms are rigorously substantiated not only by comprehensive linguistic analyses (Kumunts et al., 2023; Watkins, 2000) but are also corroborated by empirical data derived from interdisciplinary historical, archaeological, ethnographic, and toponymic investigations (Kumunts et al., 2024).

The primary empirical data for the current investigation were drawn from extensive field recordings and meticulously transcribed dialectal data, comprising over 500 distinct idiolectal units, archived within the Dialectology Department of the H. Acharyan Institute of Language, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia (DAA). The systematic analysis of this comprehensive dataset facilitates a rigorous examination of the diverse manifestations of kinship terms in Armenian dialects, with a particular focus on the lexeme for 'mother' (mayr), which occupies a central position within the core kinship nomenclature.

The present study aims to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the dialectal variants of the term for 'mother' (mayr). This analysis will investigate the term's etymological strata, phonological characteristics, and morphological features. Particular emphasis will be placed on the term's semantic developments and areal distribution within the Armenian dialectal system.

1.1. Historical Overview of Armenian Dialectology

Armenian dialects constitute the geographical linguistic variations of the Armenian language. Their development is intrinsically linked to historical Armenia, and they preserve a direct genetic connection to the Proto-Indo-European linguistic family. This diverse collection of dialects and their respective spoken forms represents a profound linguistic heritage, meticulously documenting centuries of language evolution and reflecting the distinct local cultural characteristics that have shaped Armenian communities.

1.1.1. Origin and Historical Trajectory of Armenian Dialects

The genesis of Armenian dialects is fundamentally rooted in the dialectal Armenian that emerged from the Proto-Indo-European language family. These dialectal forms underwent substantial development and expansion, giving rise to not only

diverse spoken registers but also various literary iterations. Subsequent to the 5th century CE, *Grabar* (Old Armenian) assumed a pivotal role in the standardization and broader dissemination of Armenian dialects. Over the course of time, geopolitical influences instigated the isolation and subsequent political fragmentation of specific dialectal regions. This, compounded by periods of foreign domination and significant demographic shifts, fostered divergent linguistic evolution, thereby markedly amplifying dialectal differentiation. A salient illustration of this deepening dialectal divergence is demonstrably observed during the Middle Armenian period (12th–16th centuries). The earliest textual attestations of Armenian dialects date to the 5th century CE, as evidenced in the writings of prominent early Armenian scholars such as Eznik, Koryun, and Movses Khorenatsi.

1.1.2. Classification of Armenian Dialects

The most widely recognized and academically accepted classification of Armenian dialects was formulated by the eminent linguist Hrachya Acharyan. His seminal work categorized the dialects into three principal branches, primarily differentiated by the morphophonological realization of the present tense verbal ending (specifically, the equivalent of the particle *-um* in constructions such as (*xos-um em*) 'I speak'). The resulting branches of Armenian dialects are detailed as follows:

1. The *Um* Branch: This branch is diagnostically characteristic of Eastern Armenian dialects, encompassing, for instance, those indigenous to the Ararat region and Syunik-Artsakh. Geographically, its distribution broadly corresponds to historical Eastern Armenia, which includes the modern-day Republic of Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh (prior to the forced displacement of its Armenian population in 2023), and numerous Armenian diasporic communities situated in Georgia and Iran.
2. The *Kě* Branch: Conversely, this branch is characteristic of Western Armenian dialects, exemplified by those from Van, Sasun, Karin (Erzurum), Mush, and Polis (Istanbul). In these dialects, the present tense is consistently formed with the pre-verbal particle *kě* or *gě* (e.g., *Gě xosim* 'I speak', *kě sirem* 'I love'). Geographically, this branch historically predominated in Western Armenia (prior to the Armenian Genocide in 1915) and is

presently prevalent in many settlements within the Shirak Province of the Republic of Armenia, the eastern provinces of the Republic of Turkey, and a substantial proportion of the global Armenian Diaspora.

3. The *El* Branch: This branch represents a smaller, more localized group of dialects where the present tense is characteristically formed with the suffix *-el*. Examples include the dialects of Ardvin (Republic of Turkey), and Maragha and Khoy (Islamic Republic of Iran).

1.1.3. Geographic Classification of Armenian Dialects

Beyond the established morphophonological distinctions, Armenian dialects are systematically categorized based on their geographic distribution, broadly delineating into Eastern and Western branches.

Eastern Dialect Group: These dialects historically predominated in the eastern provinces of Greater Armenia, principally encompassing Ayrarat, Syunik, Artsakh, Gugark, and Utik, along with their contiguous territories.

Western Dialect Group: Conversely, the Western dialect group was historically distributed across the western provinces of Greater Armenia, notably including High Armenia, Turuberan, Sophene, Aghdznik, and the western portions of the historical province of Vaspurakan, in addition to Cilicia.

1.1.4. Divergence from Literary Armenian and Inter-Dialectal Distinctions

1. Phonological Divergence

Armenian dialects exhibit significant phonological variations, differentiating them from the standard literary language and from each other. These variations manifest in several key areas:

Vowel Realizations: Discernible differences in vowel articulation are common, exemplified by the systematic substitution of /i/ for /ē/, or /u/ for /o/ in specific dialectal contexts.

Consonant Shifts: The phonetic inventory demonstrates processes of devoicing among voiced stops and affricates (e.g., /p, q, ŋ, ð, ʒ -> ɸ, p̥, ɸ̥, g̊, ʒ̊) /b, g, d, dz, j/ are realized as /p', k', t', ts', ch'/ respectively). Conversely, voicing of voiceless counterparts (e.g., /t̥, l̥, n̥, ð̥, ʒ̥ -> p, q, ŋ, ð, ʒ) /p, k, t, ts, ch/ are realized as /b, g, d, dz, j/) is also observed. This latter phenomenon is particularly characteristic of Western Armenian dialects.

Phonological Archaisms: Certain dialects retain phonemes inherited directly from Grabar (Old

Armenian) that have undergone subsequent phonological evolution and thus are not present in the contemporary literary language.

2. Lexical Divergence

Armenian dialects exhibit significant lexical variations, both in terms of unique vocabulary and semantic shifts:

Distinct Lexicon: Each dialect possesses a characteristic vocabulary, comprising words absent from or rarely encountered in the literary language.

Semantic Polysemy: Even shared lexical items can acquire divergent meanings across different dialects.

Loanword Integration: The presence of loanwords from neighboring languages (e.g., Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Russian, Kurdish) is evident, reflecting historical linguistic contacts and influences.

3. Grammatical Features

Grammatical distinctions are also prominent across Armenian dialects:

Declension System Variations: Differences are observed in the inflectional morphology for number and case marking.

Conjugation System Variations: Divergences occur in the morphological expression of verbal tenses, persons, numbers, and moods.

Syntactic Structures: Each dialect presents unique syntactic constructions.

1.1.5. Quantitative Aspects and Distribution

The landscape of Armenian dialects is characterized by its historical richness and current vulnerability:

Estimated Number: Approximately 50-60 primary dialects and sub-dialects have been identified.

Historical Distribution: Historically, nearly every historical province within Armenia possessed its own distinct dialect.

Impact of the 1915 Armenian Genocide: The Armenian Genocide of 1915 resulted in the significant displacement and loss of the native linguistic environments for most Western Armenian dialects. However, their speakers dispersed globally, partially preserving these linguistic forms in diaspora communities.

Current Status and Endangerment: Presently, numerous dialects are either endangered or have become extinct. This decline is attributable to the pervasive influence of the literary language, the pressures of globalization, and the disruption of intergenerational transmission chains.

1.1.6. Prominent Dialectal Examples

To illustrate the diversity within Armenian dialects, notable examples from both Eastern and

Western branches are provided:

Eastern Dialects: Notable examples include Ararat (Yerevan), Karabakh (Artsakh, Hadrut), Syunik (Goris), Shamakhi (Nukhi-Shaki), Tbilisi, Agulis, and Jugha.

Western Dialects: Representative dialects include Karin (Erzurum), Mush, Van, Tigranakert, Cilician (Marash, Aintap, Hajin), Polis (Istanbul), and Sasun.

Prior to 1915, over 80 Armenian dialects had been documented. A more recent attempt at a comprehensive classification of Armenian dialects was undertaken by G. Jahukyan in 1972. Jahukyan's classification system identified 11 distinct dialectal groups, including seven that were classified as Western Armenian and four that were classified as Eastern Armenian. The classification system he developed identified a total of 44 distinct dialects, with 28 belonging to the Western Armenian and 16 to the Eastern Armenian groupings. Despite the diminution of extant dialects within the Republic of Armenia, several indigenous dialectal areas persist in the preservation of their distinctive linguistic forms.

1.1.7. The Significance of Armenian Dialects

Armenian dialects possess a multifaceted significance that extends beyond their linguistic characteristics.

Cultural Heritage: These elements constitute an integral component of the Armenian people's linguistic thought, historical narrative, and cultural identity.

Linguistic Resource: These dialects serve as invaluable primary data for studying the historical development of both the Armenian language and Indo-European linguistics, often preserving archaic linguistic strata.

Carrier of Identity: For a multitude of communities, the local dialect serves as a potent symbol of identity and communal belonging.

The standard literary forms of Armenian, specifically Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian, originated directly from distinct dialectal bases. Modern literary Eastern Armenian is predominantly rooted in the Araratian dialect, while literary Western Armenian, prevalent throughout the Armenian diaspora, largely derives from the Constantinople (Istanbul) dialect. Notwithstanding this standardization, dialects persist as invaluable linguistic evidence, underscoring the language's inherent richness and internal diversity. The formal discipline of Armenian dialectology emerged in the 19th century; however, its robust scientific foundation was substantially established through the seminal contributions of preeminent linguists such as

H. Acharyan, A. Gharibyan, and G. Jahukyan, among others. Presently, the Dialectology Department of the Hrachya Acharyan Institute of Language, under the auspices of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, in concert with other academic and research institutions, is actively engaged in concerted endeavors to advance this field. The initiatives in question prioritize the thorough documentation, rigorous study, and coordinated preservation of Armenian dialects.

1.2. A Taxonomic Framework for Kinship Terminology in Armenian Dialects

A systematic classification of kinship terms present in Armenian dialects can be achieved by examining their semantic domains and the nature of the relationships they denote (Goodenough, 1956; Lounsbury, 1964). The following classification serves as a foundational framework for the subsequent analysis, highlighting the core kinship terms that are the focus of this study.

1.2.1. Consanguineous Relationships

1. Direct Kinship Terminology

First degree (Parents): 'mother', 'father'

Second degree (Children): 'child' ('son', 'daughter')

Third degree (Siblings): 'sibling' ('sister', 'brother')

2. b) Mediated Consanguineous Relationships

First degree (Grandparents): 'grandmother', 'grandfather'

Second degree (Parent's siblings): 'paternal uncle', 'paternal aunt', 'maternal uncle', 'maternal aunt'

Third degree (Grandchildren): 'grandchild'

Fourth degree (Great-grandchildren): 'great-grandchild'

1.2.2. Affinal (Acquired) Relationships

1. Primary Affinal Relationships

First degree (Spouses): 'husband', 'wife'

Second degree (Status): 'widow'/'widower' (in the absence of a partner)

2. Mediated Affinal Relationships (In-laws)

First degree (Husband's parents): father-in-law (*skesrayr*), mother-in-law (*skesur*)

Second degree (Husband's siblings): brother-in-law (*tegr*), sister-in-law (*tal*)

Third degree (Wife's parents): father-in-law (*aner*), mother-in-law (*zokhanch*)

Fourth degree (Wife's siblings): brother-in-law (*anerdzag*), sister-in-law (*keni*)

Fifth degree (Children's spouses): son-in-law (*p'esa*), daughter-in-law (*hars*)

This study focuses on the analysis of the first-degree direct consanguineal kinship term: 'mother'.

2. INTRODUCTION

This study employed a mixed-methods approach, integrating principles from comparative-historical linguistics and descriptive dialectology. The research methodology encompassed the following key phases:

2.1. The Present Study Will Address the Methods and Sources Utilized in the Aggregation of Relevant Data

The collection of dialectal word forms pertaining to the core concept of 'mother' was systematically performed using several primary sources. The field materials compiled for the "Dialectological Atlas of the Armenian Language" (DAA), curated by the H. Acharyan Institute of Language within the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, constituted a fundamental resource (as previously noted in the Introduction). Additionally, a comprehensive review of seminal works in the field of Armenian dialectology was conducted, with particular emphasis on Hrachya Acharyan's "Armenian Provincial Dictionary" (Acharyan, 1913), widely acknowledged for its comprehensive compilation of dialectal data. Subsequent dialectological studies, including monographs and peer-reviewed articles (Margaryan, 1975; Haneyan, 1978; Kostandyan, 1979; Andreasyan, 1967; Muradyan, 1967; Mkrtchyan, 1952; Muradyan, 1962; Petoyan, 1954; Baghdasaryan-Tapaltsyan, 1958; Acharyan, 1958; Asatryan, 1962; Acharyan, 1947) were also incorporated into the data collection. Moreover, the Armenian dictionary corpus (Nayiri) functioned as an ancillary resource for linguistic data.

2.2. Analytical Approaches

2.2.1. Etymological Analysis

To ascertain the etymological origins of the collected lexical items, we systematically consulted authoritative etymological dictionaries, specifically those compiled by Hrachya Acharyan (Acharyan, 1971-1979) and Gevorg Jahukyan (Jahukyan, 2010). Furthermore, a comprehensive array of foundational scholarly works on Indo-European kinship terminology was referenced extensively (e.g., Benveniste, 1973; Pokorny, 1959; Buck, 1949). The words within the thematic group were then meticulously categorized according to the following primary etymological classifications, which will be further elaborated in the Results section:

Indigenous Indo-European Roots: These forms are attested within documented written historical records.

Indo-European roots: This category encompasses forms not found in the standard literary Armenian lexicon or those demonstrably linked to patterns of child language acquisition.

Lexical Items Derived via Semantic Shift: This classification encompasses words whose contemporary meanings represent a demonstrable evolution from their etymological root senses.

Presumed Loanwords: This category comprises terms hypothesized to have been derived from external linguistic sources.

Etymologically Uncertain (Under Investigation): This grouping consists of words for which a definitive etymology has not yet been conclusively established, though various etymological hypotheses or attempts exist.

2.2.2. Phonological and Morphological Analysis

The dialectal phonological variations of the collected lexical items were rigorously documented employing the standardized Latin-script transliteration system widely adopted in Armenian dialectology (cf. Appendix 1: Armenian Distribution Table). Concurrently, a comprehensive examination of morphological characteristics was undertaken, specifically focusing on phenomena such as the application of the diminutive suffix *-ik*.

2.2.3. Semantic Analysis

A comprehensive semantic analysis was conducted to investigate the semantic fields, precise meanings, functional attributes (e.g., vocative versus nominal usage), and diachronic semantic shifts pertinent to the collected lexical items.

2.2.4. Areal Analysis

The geographical distribution of the identified dialectal word forms was subjected to rigorous areal analysis. This involved a systematic correlation of each distinct form with its specific dialect, dialect group, or historical region of attestation. The present analytical framework was predicated upon the established linguistic classifications developed by H. Acharyan and G. Jahukyan (cf. Table 2).

2.2.5. Comparative Typological Analysis

The present study entailed a comparative typological analysis of linguistic data drawn from Armenian. The Armenian data were systematically compared against corresponding data from other Indo-European languages. Furthermore, where relevant and necessary for comprehensive typological insights, data from neighboring

languages were incorporated into the analysis. The primary objective of this comparative approach was to discern and delineate significant typological parallels and/or divergences across these language systems.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: THE DIALECTAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE LEXEME MAYR ('MOTHER')

A thorough analysis revealed a considerable degree of lexical diversity in the expression of the concept of 'mother' across Armenian dialects. While the inherited term *mayr* ('mother') remains central in all dialects, alternative forms coexist alongside it, originating from various etymological strata.

3.1. Dialectal Manifestations of the Lexeme Mayr ('mother')

3.1.1. The Proto-Indo-European Root, as evidenced in extant written monuments

The lexeme under investigation derives from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root (IE **méh₂tēr*), which is consistently preserved in Armenian written monuments and remains in active use today. This root serves as the primary and neutral term for 'mother' across all Armenian dialects. As an indigenous Armenian word, it shares cognates with sister languages within the Indo-European family, as evidenced by Russian *мать*, English *mother*, German *Mutter*, Latin *māter*, Greek *μήτηρ*, and Sanskrit *mātṛ*, among others (Yoshida, 2014; Pokorny, 1959). At the phonological level, dialectal variations of this lexeme are observed as follows: According to Katvalyan (2021, p. 304) and Mkrtchyan (1952, p. 163), the diphthongal shift /ay/ > /ē/ is responsible for the form *mēr*. The diphthongal shift /ay/ > /a/ is a common occurrence in both Western and Eastern dialects, resulting in the form *mar*. This form is attested in Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki (Hananyan, 1995, p. 192; Mkrtchyan, 1952, p. 163). The form *May* is due to the elision of /r/ (Acharyan, 2003, p. 327). The form *mē̃r* reflects the diphthongal shift from /ay/ to /ē̃/.

The diminutive form *mayrik* (glossed as 'mother-diminutive') and its corresponding dialectal variants—specifically *mērig*, *marik*, *mari*, and *mayrig*—are extensively documented in both literary Armenian and across diverse dialectal continua. These forms are predominantly employed in vocative constructions. Exemplary cases include *mērig* and *mayrig* (Baghdasaryan-Tapaltsyan, 1958), *mari* as observed in the Javakhk dialect, and *marig* from the Ordu dialect (DAA). Jahukyan's linguistic

analysis posits an etymological link between the pervasive diminutive suffix *-ik*, evident in these forms, and the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) suffix **-kon-* (Jahukyan 2010, p. 806). This suffix is also attested in other Armenian lexemes, including *aghj-ik* ('girl'), *ayr-ik* ('husband'), *ach-ik* ('1. girl, 2. eye'), *masn-ik* ('particle, element'), and *p'okr-ik* ('tiny'), as well as in anthroponyms such as *Astgh-ik*, *Dzu-ik*, and *Yus-ik*. The proposed connection is substantiated by the morphology of the oblique stem forms, which feature endings in *-an* (e.g., *aghjk-an*) or *-un* (e.g., *achk-unk*). According to Jahukyan, these oblique stems are derived from a compound form, specifically **-kon-i-*. A notable phonological regularity associated with the **kn-* stem, which originated from **-kon-*, is the non-aspiration of the consonant /k/ when it occurs before the sonorant /n/. This phonological behavior is consistent with patterns observed in Old Armenian lexemes, such as *ak-n* ('eye'), *dzuk-n* ('fish'), and *muk-n* ('mouse'). With respect to the nominative singular form in *-ik*, it is plausible to hypothesize both an initial loss of the original *-n-* and a subsequent contamination with an Iranian-derived *-ik* suffix (Jahukyan, 2010, pp. 806-807).

3.1.2. Indo-European Etymology of Unattested Forms in Literary Armenian Child Language

The Forms Mam(a) and Ma The linguistic forms *mam(a)* and *ma* are frequently observed as widespread addressive terms within the context of child language acquisition and familial discourse. H. Acharyan (1977, p. 242) advanced the hypothesis that these variants represent loanwords, citing their structural and semantic commonalities with terms such as the Greek *πάμμα* ('grandmother, mother'), the Latin *mamma*, and the Russian *mama*, among others. He classified these forms as diminutive variations of the lexeme for 'mother'. Acharyan's argument for the borrowed nature of *mam(a)/ma* was premised on the analogous assumption that *pap* ('father'), a parallel diminutive dialectal form, was also a loanword. This observation led to the hypothesis that if *pap* was determined to be a borrowing, then *mam* should be classified in a similar manner. This previous interpretation is now considered outdated. G. Jahukyan (1987, p. 179), building upon the widespread attestation of the term in various Armenian dialects (e.g., *mamik* 'grandmother', *mam*, *mama*, *mamo* 'mother') and the existence of the child's word *mama* 'to eat', reclassified it as an Indo-European term of a child-language or diminutive nature. This reclassification applies to words not attested in Literary Armenian, but preserved in dialects. He drew comparisons to forms such as *api*,

dado, *atta*, *ma*, *mam* and *nan*, while not excluding potential contamination with Greek or Persian forms. The distribution of the word *mam* is primarily insular, concentrated within the south-central dialect subgroup of the western dialect confederation (e.g., Mush, Talvorik-Motkan, Bun Sasun, and Tigranakert dialects). The vocative usage and high frequency of the variants *ma* and *mama* may be partially attributed to Russian influence, though the word's indigenous roots are not disputed. The form *mamik* has also been documented in the Karin, Bitlis, and Sasun dialects, conveying meanings such as 'mother' or 'godmother' (Acharyan, 1913).

The Forms Nan(a) and Nane The lexemes *nan(a)* and *nane* represent another set of Indo-European root forms that are not attested in the extant written monuments of Old Armenian. The presence of the term within modern Armenian dialects is plausibly linked to the Armenian mythological figure *Naneh*, who was venerated as the deity of wisdom, prudence, motherhood, and the protector of the household hearth (Botvinik et al., 1985, p. 168). The remnants of these semantic associations manifest in the form of dialectal idioms. For instance, the phrase "You speak like a *nanne-nane*" signifies speaking maturely. The term "She is the *Nane* of our home" is used to denote the eldest or the guardian of the household. G. Jahukyan (1987, p. 182) classified the form *nan* as a dialectal archaism, further considering the possibility of an Iranian origin (cf. Persian *nana*, 'mother') or a linguistic convergence (blending) of an indigenous Armenian form with an Iranian loanword. The term *nan* has been documented in various Armenian dialects, appearing as *nan*, *nanē*, and *nani*. These phonetic variations have been documented in the dialectal groups of Khoy-Maragha and Araratian, as well as in the sub-dialects of Mush, Sasun, Alashkert, and Manazkert (DAA). H. Acharyan's detailed analysis in his Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names further complicates the etymological understanding of this word. Acharyan explores the potential connection between the name *Nana* and the Latin honorifics *nonnus* ('father') and *nonna* ('mother'), which gained prominence within Christian contexts (e.g., *Nana/Nonnos* the deacon). However, he explicitly notes that this personal name subsequently conflated with the indigenous Armenian *nan* ('grandmother') and the Turkish *nene* ('mother'), which may account for the divergent semantic interpretations observed across various dialects. Acharyan further differentiates between the name of the pagan goddess *Nane* and the later period name *Nanē*, suggesting that the latter may be a vocative form of the word *Nana* ('mother') (Acharyan,

1948, 485-489). This multifaceted linguistic history underscores the inherent challenges in researching the dialectal forms *nan*, *nana*, and *nane*.

This table will present a comprehensive list of

personal names derived from the root *Nan* (Table 1), categorized chronologically by their earliest attestation and frequency of usage (Acharyan, 1948, pp. 18-21).

Table 1: Armenian Personal Names with the Root "Nan," According to H. Acharyan.

N	Name (variants)	Gender	Period/Date	Brief Description
1	<i>Nana</i> or <i>Nonnos</i> (<i>Nanan</i>)	male	812, 813-816, 862 AD	Syrian deacon from Mesopotamia, defeated Epicurus, wrote a commentary on John's Gospel, participated in the Shirakavan Council.
2	<i>Nana</i>	female	~1192 AD and later	Bagratid princess, daughter of Sargis the Great, sister of Zakare and Ivane, wife of King Abas II. Built a bridge over Dzoraget, erected a khachkar, an altar in Haghpat, and a cross and altar in Hovanavank.
3	<i>Nanai</i>	female	1249 AD	An altar was built in Haghpat Monastery in her memory.
4	<i>Nana</i>	female	1300 AD	Daughter of Tutik, wife of Davit, made donations to Hovanavank.
5	<i>Nana</i>	unspecified	undated	Wife of Vakhtang (son of Prince Smbat), donated estates to Dadivank.
6	<i>Nana</i>	unspecified	1648 AD	Mentioned.
7	<i>Nana</i>	unspecified	1668 AD	Mentioned.
8	<i>Nana</i> (<i>Nanin</i>)	unspecified	1693 AD	Mentioned (genitive form: <i>Nanin</i>).
9	<i>Nanagul</i> (<i>Nana</i>)	female	1694 AD, still in use	'Mother's rose,' alive in Karabakh (shortened: <i>Nana</i>).
10	<i>Nanakhatur</i>	female	15th century, 1479 AD	'Lady Mother,' daughter of Khanum, commissioned a Gospel.
11	<i>Nanaghuzi</i>	female	1706 AD	'Mother's lamb.'
12	<i>Nanajan</i>	female	1606, 1651, 1689, 1697 AD, still in use	'Mother's soul,' alive among Indian Armenians.
	<i>Nanas</i> (<i>Nanasin</i>)	female	1641, 1702 AD	<i>Nana</i> + Armenian possessive article <i>s</i> .
14	<i>Nanapasha</i>	female	16th century, undated	<i>Nana</i> + <i>Pasha</i> , mentioned in a manuscript and on a khachkar.
15	<i>Naner</i>	female	1665 AD	Plural of the Armenian word 'grandmother.'
16	<i>Nane</i>	female	undated (later period)	Probably from the vocative of <i>Nana</i> ('mother').
17	<i>Nanik</i>	female	14th century, 1386 AD	Diminutive of Armenian <i>nan</i> ('grandmother'), mother of Smbat (lord of Vorotan fortress).
18	<i>Nanum</i>	female	unspecified (in use)	From Turkish <i>nenem</i> 'my mother, mommy,' in use in Karabakh.
19	<i>Nanush</i>	female	1676 AD	Affectionate form from Armenian <i>nan</i> ('mother or grandmother').

The extant linguistic data demonstrate the term's extensive dissemination within the Armenian linguistic landscape, precluding its etymological attribution to a singular ethnic origin.

1. *Adē* / *at'(t')a*. The lexeme *adē* (also transcribed as *at'(t')a*) has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate within the field of Armenian linguistics. H. Asmangulyan posits that the term represents a Kurdish loanword, deriving from the Kurdish term *dê*, signifying 'mother' (Asmangulyan, 1983). In contrast, G. Jahukyan classifies *adē* among a group of Indo-European onomatopoeic and nursery words that exhibit phonological deviations from the regular patterns observed in native Armenian vocabulary (Jahukyan, 1972, pp. 283-300). The geographical distribution of *adē* is primarily

concentrated in Armenian dialectal regions that have historically coexisted with Kurdish populations, including Sasun, Mush, and Bulanukh. This geographical correlation suggests a potential influence from the Kurdish language. Furthermore, partial occurrences of the term are documented in dialects of the eastern Armenian linguistic sphere, including areas like Ararat (Zovuni), Bayazet (Musun), and Surmalu (e.g., Evjilar, Mollaghamar, Kulab villages, etc.) (DAA). H. Acharyan also documented the variants *atē* (Zeytun) and *atta* (Akn), both of which conveyed the meaning of 'mother' or 'mama' (Acharyan, 1913, p. 46). The apparent typological connection of these forms to the Proto-Indo-European root **atta*, signifying

'father' (cf. Gothic *atta*, Latin *atta*), represents an intriguing linguistic phenomenon. This phenomenon has parallels in other Indo-European languages, as evidenced by the Sanskrit term *attā*, which denotes 'mother' or 'elder sister'.

2. *Dado / dadē*. The Armenian lexical item *dado / dadē* has been a subject of scholarly inquiry, primarily regarding its etymology and semantic evolution. G. Jahukyan posited that this term constitutes a dialectal archaism, deriving from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) reduplicated root **d^heh₁d-*. This root is associated with infantile language and typically refers to an elder family member (1987, p. 275). Intriguingly, Armenian dialects demonstrate a broader semantic range for *dado/dadē* than might be initially anticipated from its PIE root. While it is attested with the meanings of 'father' and 'sister', it also significantly appears with the meaning of 'mother'. This latter semantic extension is evidenced by phonological variants such as *dudu*, *tudu*, *tadē*, and *dadē* in various Armenian dialectal regions, including in Akn, Nicomedia, Mush, Sasun, and Van (DAA). The usage of the term *dudu* in Turkish, particularly when referring to elderly Armenian women (Nişanyan Sözlük), suggests a potential linguistic borrowing from Armenian. This interlingual transfer underscores the historical and linguistic interactions between Armenian and Turkish speech communities. The observed semantic shifts within *dado / dadē* (e.g., 'father' > 'mother', 'mother' > 'sister') provide compelling evidence for the inherent semantic flexibility of terms originating from child language.
3. The Armenian term *apa* is primarily recognized for its semantic association with 'father', appearing in various forms such as *apa*, *api*, and *ap'u*. According to G. Jahukyan, it represents an Indo-European child-appellative archaism (Jahukyan, 1987, p. 275). While not systematically documented in dictionaries with the meaning 'mother', analysis of materials from the "Dialectological Atlas of the Armenian Language" (DAA) occasionally records its usage with this meaning within specific sub-dialects of the Karin dialect. In addition, within specific linguistic varieties, notably the Basen sub-dialect of Karin, this term serves as an address form for 'paternal aunt's husband' or as a respectful honorific for

elderly women (DAA).

3.1.3. *Lexical Innovations Arising from Semantic Shift*

Semantic shift, a pervasive linguistic phenomenon, frequently alters word meanings through mechanisms such as metaphor and metonymy (see, e.g., Geeraerts, 2010). This phenomenon is also observable in the dialectal appellations for the concept of 'mother'.

1. *The Term Hars ('Bride')* ☒ It is imperative to consider the term *hars*, which historically denotes: 1. a girl who is betrothed or in a state of engagement; 2. a girl at her wedding, analogous to a queen, both in terms of her status and the manner in which she is honored (this notion is exemplified during both the religious ceremony and the reception of the wedding); 3. a newlywed woman; 4. a son's wife as related to the man's parents and relatives. In Armenian dialects, the application of the word *hars* to refer to the concept of 'mother' is a direct outcome of semantic transference. The present study hypothesizes that children, emulating older family members, began addressing their mothers using the vocative form *hars*. This lexical innovation, in its *harsi* and *hars* variants, has been documented in Persian-Armenian regions (e.g., Peria, Kervand district). In addition, the vocative form *harsá* was utilized in Malatya, as documented by Danielyan (1967, p. 221).
2. *The Vocative Ach'i*. The vocative term *ach'i* is present in certain Armenian dialects. It is hypothesized to be a specialized derivative of the common noun *aghj-ik*, meaning 'girl', and thus indicating a feminine referent, 'mother'. This assertion is corroborated by the Goris dialect, where the word for 'girl' is expressed as *achik*. In child speech, *ach'i* may have evolved as a vocative form from *aghji* through a phonological reduction process: *aghjik* > *aghji* (vocative) > *ach'i*. This term has been documented in the Lori sub-dialect of the Araratian dialect (specifically in Haghpat and Koti), as well as in Karabakh (DAA).
3. *The Term Azi*. The term *azi* is a lexeme that is prevalent in certain Armenian dialects, notably those indigenous to the historical Armenian linguistic territory. In these dialects, it has persisted for millennia as a designation for the concept of 'mother'. H. Asmangulyan posits that the term *azi* is an archaic kinship term

derived from the Proto-Indo-European root *has- ('to give birth'). In contrast, the Karabakh dialectal form *hasi* ('paternal aunt') is a more recent variation. Asmangulyan's reconstruction of the original semantic value of the word is 'parent, mother' (Asmangulyan, 1983, pp. 42-47). Furthermore, cognate kinship terms formed from the Hittite root *has(s)-* ('to give birth'), such as *hassa-* ('grandchild' (both male and female)), are also highlighted. Connections to the ethnonym *Hayasa-Azi* have also been proposed as a possible etymological link (Petrosyan, 1987; Petrosyan, 2007, p. 43). Dialectal evidence unequivocally substantiates the existence of *azi* in the meaning of 'mother' across various phonological manifestations, including *azi*, *häzi*, *äzi*, and *äzä*, none of which are documented in standard literary Armenian. A subsequent semantic shift is observed, leading to the development of the meanings 'paternal aunt' in the Syunik-Artsakh dialects and 'paternal uncle's wife' in the Yeghnadzor dialect. E. Aghayan also makes reference to *azi*, designating it as a term for 'mother' within the context of his entry for *hasi* (Aghayan, 1976, p. 829). The form *azi*, which signifies 'mother', has been documented in the Ararat and Khoy-Maragha dialectal subgroups, which are classified as part of the eastern dialectal cluster. Additionally, this form has been observed in the Vayots Dzor inter-dialect. The form *häzi* with the same meaning is found in the dialects and sub-dialects of Julfa in Nakhchivan (Vardanyan, 2004, p. 133; Vardanyan, 2021, p. 58; Asatryan, 1962, p. 211; Sargsyan, 2013, p. 30; DAA).

4. The term *nan(a)*, in both Old Armenian and the majority of Armenian dialects, signifies 'grandmother'. In specific geographical regions, the scope of its semantic range expanded to include the notion of 'mother'. The New Armenian Dictionary (Nor Haykazyan Bararan) classifies it as a Turkish loanword; however, prominent linguists such as H. Acharyan, G. Jahukyan, and H. Asmangulyan contend that it is of Indo-European origin (*h₂en-). The term became archaic in the literary language but was preserved in various dialects (Acharyan 1977, p. 33; Jahukyan, 1987, pp. 275-276; Asmangulyan, 1983). It is noteworthy that the Turkish equivalent *anne* ('mother'), a relatively recent introduction into the written language (early 20th century), is similarly linked to a

child-language modification of the word *ana*, involving the gemination of the /n/ phoneme (Nişanyan sözlük). This linguistic phenomenon underscores the universal nature of such child-language characteristics across different languages. The term *Han(a)* in the sense of 'mother' is attested with phonetic variations such as *anna*, *ane* (vocative), and *ana*, primarily in Western Armenian dialects. These regions include Antioch (Beylan), Cilicia (Marash, Zeytun), and Asia Minor (Arabkir, Edessa, Karin). Its usage is also documented in Alashkert, Kogovit, and Nakhichevan (DAA). Additionally, H. Acharyan documents the variant *khanik* in Jugha, denoting 'great mother' (Acharyan, 1940, p. 20).

3.1.4. Refinements of Assumed Loanword(s)

The kinship terminology in Armenian largely preserves its Indo-European lexical stratum; however, loanwords are also present. These loanwords frequently coexist with indigenous Armenian terms, a phenomenon that has been observed in regions characterized by diverse populations (Liljegren, 2022).

D(ē)ya / daya. This term is attested in various dialects and is employed to denote 'mother' or 'nurse'. Etymologically, it is linked to the literary Armenian word *dayeak* ('wet nurse, foster mother') (Acharyan, 1971, p. 618). H. Acharyan and G. Jahukyan posit that *dayeak* is an Iranian loanword (cf. Middle Persian *dayak*, Persian *daye*), as evidenced by the presence of the Iranian suffix *-eak* (1971, pp. 618-619; 2010, p. 182). However, materials from the Dialectal Atlas of Armenian (DAA) also document unsuffixed variants such as *dēya*, *dayē*, *dayō*, and *daya*. These forms are unmistakably more aligned with their Persian counterparts in terms of both meaning and form. If the literary form *dayeak* is indeed of Iranian origin, then the unsuffixed dialectal variants of the same word necessitate further elucidation. It is noteworthy that H. Hübschmann also regarded this term as an indigenous Armenian word, alongside forms like *diel* and *dal (dayl)* (Hyubshman, 2004, pp. 24, 93, 223). Two primary hypotheses have been postulated to explain these variants: 1. these elements could be indicative of dialectal forms of Middle Persian that were subsequently adopted into Armenian dialects; 2. the etymology of the term is derived from the Armenian verb *diem*, which translates to 'I suckle'. This verb's etymology can be traced back to the Proto-Indo-European root *d^heh₁(y)-, denoting 'to suckle', a concept that has exerted a profound influence on the development of

a vast semantic domain across various Indo-European languages. This field encompasses not only the concept of 'suckling' but also related concepts such as 'female gender', 'mother's breast/*teat*', 'lactating animal', 'offspring', and 'nurse' (Rix, 2001, pp. 138–139). Consequently, *dayeak* and its dialectal variants (*dēya*, *dayē*, *dayō*, *daya*) could have developed in Armenian through vocalic alternations of the di- stem, functioning as a vocative or address form. The dialectal variant *dēya* is particularly prevalent in the regions of Khoy-Maragha and Sasun (DAA).

4. UNETYMOLOGIZED WORDS IN ARMENIAN

1. *Aya*. The etymology of the term *aya*, found in Armenian dialects with the meaning of 'mother' (e.g., Karabakh-Shamakhi, and less frequently in Kharberd, Artsap' (DAA)), remains indeterminate. Intriguingly, similar phonological forms such as *āya* / *aia* carrying semantically related meanings like 'nanny', 'mother', 'grandmother', or 'venerable woman' are attested in various linguistic branches, including Indo-Aryan languages (e.g., Sanskrit, *marathi*) and Romance languages (e.g., Portuguese) (cf. *Āyā*. (n.d.); Conway, 2016). The widespread distribution of this lexeme across distinct language families potentially suggests the existence of a common proto-form, likely of Indo-European origin. However, this hypothesized proto-form lacks established attestation in classical etymological dictionaries concerning the Armenian language. Furthermore, the hypothesis proposing that the term might be a result of apocope from the vocative expression *ay+ma*, involving the elision of the phoneme /m/ (i.e., *ay[m]a*), is considered less plausible.

2. *Ava*. The term *ava* (DAA) has been documented

in the village of Najaran, Balu, as a lexical representation of the concept 'mother'. It is recorded in S. Malkhasyants's dictionary and in the Dialectal Dictionary of the Armenian Language (Kharberd, Nicomedia) as meaning 'mother' or 'grandmother' (1944, p. 289; Sargsyan, 2001, p. 112). One hypothesis suggests a link between the dialectal term *ava* and the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root *h₂éwh₂os. This perspective aligns with H. Acharyan's assertion that the initial h- in the Old Armenian term *haw* ('grandfather', < IE *h₂éwh₂os) is supernumerary (1977, pp. 66–67). Given that cognate languages also have words related to 'grandmother' (e.g., Latin *avus*, *avia*), it is plausible that the meaning of *ava* evolved from a broader sense of 'progenitor' to a more specific meaning of 'mother'. However, this proposed etymology remains unsubstantiated. Pokorny notes that terms derived from the PIE root *a₁uos- (e.g., Latin *avus* 'grandfather', *avia* 'grandmother'; Old Prussian *awis* 'uncle'; Old Irish *aue* 'grandchild'; Gothic *awō* 'grandmother'; Old Armenian *haw* 'grandfather') primarily denote kinship relations spanning the second and third generations, both ascendant and descendant (e.g., grandparent, grandchild) (Pokorny, 1959, p. 89).

5. CONCLUSION

Consequently, the expression of the concept of 'mother' in Armenian dialects presents a complex linguistic landscape. Alongside the native Indo-European root *mā-tēr ('mother'), various layers – including archaic forms often associated with child language that are not preserved in the literary language – are evident. Furthermore, semantic shifts and probable loanwords contribute to this complexity, each possessing distinct etymological and areal characteristics.

Table 2: Areal Distribution of "Mother" Kinship Terms.

Word Group	Area	Dialectal Sub-area	Dialect Groups, Dialects, Sub-dialects
mayr+ik	Eastern & Western large area	<i>mar</i>	Evdokia, Khotrjur's Mijin Tagh village, Shamakhi, Gharadagh's Sardu village, Hadrut's Hin Taghlar village, Sebastia, Akhalkalak, Rodosto, Erzinka, Arabkir, Shapin-Karahisar, Akn, Svedia
		<i>mār</i>	Severek, Chmshkatsag, Kesab, Beylan, Malatia, Kharberd's Bazmashen village, Ordu's Chiblukhu village, Trabzon, Edessa, Hamshen
		<i>may</i>	Hajn, Zeytun
		<i>mēr</i>	Goris, Mush, Sasun, Alashkert, Van, Ashtarak, Yerevan, Jugha, Bayazet, Khoy-Maragha
		<i>mēṣr</i>	Khanlar city, Karabakh's Harutyunagomer, Talish, Kochogut villages
		<i>mari!</i>	Javakhs's Abul, Olaverd, Gandza, Ghzlkilisa villages
		<i>mōrō!</i>	Khotrjur's Mijin Tagh village
		<i>marē!</i>	Van, Bitlis, Shatak, Moks, Mush, Bulanukh, Archesh, Artske, Karkar's Tsoku village
		<i>mēra!</i>	Tavush's Chinchin village, Marneuli's Khojorni village
		<i>mērō!</i>	Bayazet's Karmir village
<i>mayri!</i>	Tsebelda (Janik)		

		<i>marig!</i>	Ordu's Chiblukhu village, Samsun
		<i>mayrig!</i>	Chaharmahal, Surmalu, Ashtarak, Nikomedia's Aslanbek village, Kharberd's Svjog village
		<i>marik!</i>	Yerevan (center), Igdir's Hakhveris village, Erzinka, Evdokia, Bogdanovka's Poga village
		<i>mërig(k)</i>	Bulanukh, Alashkert's Yekhontapa, Tashir's Shahnazar village (Mush sub-dialect)
mam	South-Central Karabakh-Shamakhi area, Persian Armenia	<i>mam</i>	Mush, Alashkert, Baghesh, Bulanukh, Talvorik-Motkan, Sasun Proper, Tavush, Peria's Boloran village, Banants
		<i>mām</i>	Sasun's Hazzo, Tigranakert
		<i>mamō!</i>	Sasun's Motkan's Mrtsank village, Hosner, Psank, Gyarmav, Mshkeg, Bulanukh, Otch'or
		<i>mama</i>	Sebastia, Sanahin, Shamkhor region, Martuni, Karmir's Orjonikidze village, Ijevan, Achajur village, Peria
		<i>māmā</i>	Shamakhi's Madrasa village, Severeq
		<i>ma!</i>	Mush's Shervanshekh village, Stepanavan's Vardablur village, Kars' Kaghzvan city, Mamzara, Ordu
		<i>amay</i>	Tavush's Chinchin, Norashen, Ijevan's Getahovit village, Tsaghkavan, Karmir's Orjonikidze village, Verin Chambarak
		<i>mamay</i>	Tavush's Norashen village, Ijevan's Achajur village
		<i>yēmōu (vocative)</i>	Kesab
		<i>mumēi(ēy) (vocative)</i>	Kesab
		<i>mam(i)!</i>	Kars' Paldrvan village
nan	Khoy-Maragha, Northeastern, South-Central area	<i>nan</i>	Chaharmahal's Sinagan, Aghbulagh village, Kyazaz's Gulizard village
		<i>nani</i>	Lori, Verin Burvar's Khorzend village, Goris' Khnatsakh village
		<i>nānā</i>	Salmast's Payajuk village, Shushi, Sisian's Uys village, Artashat's Azatan (migrated from Khoy), Urmia's Iki Aghaj village, Sisian's Tolors village
		<i>nana</i>	Kyazaz's Azna, Kallava village, Mush's Verin Bulanukh
		<i>nanē!</i>	Basen's Alijagrak village, Mush's Hatsik, Mkragom village, Bulanukh's Mirbar village, Sasun's Iritsank village, Goris' Khot village
azi	Khoy-Maragha, Northeastern, Karabakh-Shamakhi area	<i>azi</i>	Tavush's Verin Karmiraghbyur village, Ashtarak's Kosh, Tegher, Ohanavan villages, Gharadagh's Norashen village, Ani region. Sarnaghbyur, Shamkhor's Barsum village, Yeghvard, Arinj village
		<i>āzi</i>	Gharadagh's Khanagah village, Yeghegnadzor's Khachik village, Nakhichevan's Aznaberd, Astapat villages, Goris' Karahunji, Kornidzor villages, Garni (migrated from Maku), Martakert
		<i>hāzi</i>	Nakhichevan's Bist, Mesropavan, P'araka villages, Meghri's Karchevan village
		<i>āzā</i>	Gharadagh's Urgutyun village
		<i>zizi</i>	Goris' Shinuhayr village, Yeghegnadzor's Hors, Nakhichevan's Shahbuz village
		<i>zīza</i>	Goris' Khot village
		<i>ōyzi</i>	Ordubad's Tsgzna village
		<i>ozi</i>	Nakhichevan's Tanakert
adē	South-Central area. Isolated: Eastern area	<i>ada!</i>	Sasun's Hazzo village
		<i>adō!</i>	Van's Archak village
		<i>adē</i>	Alashkert, Surmalu, Artsap, Kars, Mush's Tsghak, Manazkert, Diadin villages
		<i>ata</i>	Chmshkatsag (when children address)
		<i>ata</i>	Karabakh's Haterk (rarely)
dadē	Western area	<i>tuđu</i>	Akn
		<i>đuđu</i>	Nicomedia region Aslanbek village, Shapin-Karahisar
		<i>tadē</i>	Motkan's Korr village
		<i>dadē</i>	Van's Khoshab's Zenis, Berkri city, Berkri's Gyuzak village, Aghbak's Haspstan, Mush's Vardkhagh village, Sasun's Tnghet, Arpi
		<i>dādē</i>	Van's Timari. Goms village, Shatak's Armshat village
aba	Asia Minor area	<i>aba</i>	Javakhk's Kartsakh, Bezhan, Korkh villages, Sebastia, Kars' Paldrvan village
		<i>ap(b)a</i>	Tsalka region Ghabur, Vachian, Akhalkalaki's Alastan village
		<i>abē!</i>	Kars' Nakhichevan village
ana	Antioch, Cilicia, Asia Minor, isolated: Nakhichevan	<i>ana</i>	Zeytun, Marash, Kharberd, Artsap's Kogovit village, Alashkert's Kazi village, Nakhichevan's Nors village, Basen's Tadveran, Veli Baba, Gomatsor villages
		<i>ānmā</i>	Arabkir
		<i>anē!</i>	Edessa, Edessa's Garmunj village
aya	Karabakh-Shamakhi, isolated: Kharberd, Artsap	<i>aya</i>	Kharberd, Goris' Karahunji village, Tavush's Verin Karmiraghbyur village, Ashtarak's Koghb village, Artsap's Kogovit village, Artsakh's Talish village
		<i>ayi</i>	Artsakh's Khanabad village
		<i>yaya</i>	Vardashen region Yaghaplu village

hars	Persian Armenia, Malatia (isolated)	<i>hars</i>	Nakhichevan's Gyagh, Hazarjirub villages, Peria's Aznavul village
		<i>harsa!</i>	Malatia
		<i>harsi</i>	Isfahan's Shurishkan village, Kyarvand's Verin K'rder village, Peria region Hadan, Gharghun, Chigyan, Sangibaran villages
ach'i	Karabakh, Lori	<i>achi</i>	Lori's Teghut village
		<i>achi</i>	Martakert's Verin Horatagh village, Lori's Haghpat village, Noyemberyan's Koti village, Karabakh's Nor Shen, Yemishjan villages
dēya	Khoy-Maragha, isolated: Sasun	<i>dēya</i>	Maragha city
		<i>dayē</i>	Sasun's Rabat village
		<i>dayō</i>	Sasun's Geliguzan, Ishkhanadzor villages
		<i>daya</i>	Masis' Ayntap village (Khoy people), Echmiadzin's Verin Khatunarkh village, Karabakh's Maragha village
ava	Asia Minor area	<i>ava</i>	Balu's Najaran village, Nicomedia, Kharberd

Appendix 1. Armenian distribution table

Uppercase	Lowercase	Uppercase	Lowercase	Uppercase	Lowercase	Uppercase	Lowercase
Ա-А	ա-а	Լ-Լ	լ-լ	Շ-Շ	շ-շ	Ի-Ի	ի-ի
Բ-Բ	բ-բ	Խ-Խ	խ-խ	Ո-Ո	ո-ո	Ու-Ու	ու-ու
Գ-Գ	գ-գ	Ծ-Ծ	ծ-ծ	Չ-Չ	չ-չ	Փ-Փ	փ-փ
Դ-Դ	դ-դ	Կ-Կ	կ-կ	Պ-Պ	պ-պ	Գ-Գ	գ-գ
Ե-Ե	ե-ե	Հ-Հ	հ-հ	Ջ-Ջ	ջ-ջ	Եւ-Եւ	և-և
Զ-Զ	զ-զ	Ձ-Ձ	ձ-ձ	Ռ-Ռ	ր-ր	Եվ-Եվ	և-և
Է-Է	է-է	Ղ-Ղ	ղ-ղ	Ս-Ս	ս-ս	Օ-Օ	օ-օ
Ը-Ը	ը-ը	Ճ-Ճ	ճ-ճ	Վ-Վ	վ-վ	Ֆ-Ֆ	ֆ-ֆ
Թ-Թ	թ-թ	Մ-Մ	մ-մ	Տ-Տ	տ-տ	Ու-Ու	ու-ու
Ժ-Ժ	ժ-ժ	Ի-Ի	ի-ի	Ր-Ր	ր-ր	Ա-Ա	ա-ա
Ի-Ի	ի-ի	Ն-Ն	ն-ն	Տ-Տ	տ-տ	Օ-Օ	օ-օ

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