

Received 12 October 2022.

Accepted 13 January 2023.

Published July 2025.

DOI: 10.1344/DIALECTOLOGIA.35.5

ANALYSIS OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE VOCABULARY OF DIALECTAL ARMENIAN

Viktor KATVALYAN¹, Alina GHARIBYAN², Nazik HOVHANNISYAN¹ & Gayane MKHITARYAN¹ *

Language Institute of National Academy of Sciences (NAS) (Armenia)¹ /

Gavar State University²

viktorkatvalyan@mail.ru / alinagharibyan@rambler.ru / instlingv@sci.am /

gayane.mkhitarian@lang.sci.am

ORCID: 0009-0002-2597-4808 / 0009-0007-5458-7766 / 0009-0005-9366-4141 / 0009-
0006-1695-5276

Abstract

In this study, we consider the gender differences in the vocabulary of dialectal Armenian in the example of the Bayazet dialect. Our goal is to reveal and present perceptions of men's and women's external and internal characteristics, position and status, marital relations, occupation, and behavior in a traditional Armenian environment. We collected the educational material in the Gegharkunik Region of the RA through direct contact with the Bayazet dialect-speaking community, as well as from published works on the dialect. We classified the collected material according to semantic groups, word groups related to women and men expressions of positive and negative attitudes. The study shows that the gender differences in the vocabulary reflecting the main spheres of life and activity of women and men have a systemic nature, their observation can become one of the interesting problems of dialectal vocabulary research.

Keywords: dialectal Armenian, vocabulary, semantic group, psychological characteristics, vocabulary research

* Postal address: 15, Grigor Lusavorich Street, 0015, Yerevan, Armenia.

© Author(s)



ANÀLISI DE LES DIFERÈNCIES DE GÈNERE AL VOCABULARI DE L'ARMENI DIALECTAL

Resum

En aquest estudi, considerem les diferències de gènere en el vocabulari de l'armeni dialectal prenent com a exemple el dialecte baiazet. El nostre objectiu és presentar les percepcions de les característiques externes i internes, la posició i l'estatus, les relacions maritals, l'ocupació i el comportament dels homes i les dones en un entorn armeni tradicional. Recopilem el material educatiu a la regió de Gegharkunik de la República Armènia a través del contacte directe amb la comunitat de parlants del dialecte bayazet, com també de treballs publicats sobre el dialecte. Classifiquem el material recopilat segons grups semàntics, grups de paraules relacionats amb les expressions de dones i homes amb actituds positives i negatives. L'estudi mostra que les diferències de gènere en el vocabulari que reflecteixen les principals esferes de la vida i l'activitat de dones i homes tenen una naturalesa sistèmica, i la seva observació es pot convertir en un dels problemes interessants de la investigació del vocabulari dialectal.

Paraules clau: armeni dialectal, vocabulari, grup semàntic, característiques psicològiques, investigació de vocabulari

ANÁLISIS DE LAS DIFERENCIAS DE GÉNERO EN EL VOCABULARIO DEL ARMENIO DIALECTAL

Resumen

En este estudio, consideramos las diferencias de género en el vocabulario del armenio dialectal tomando como ejemplo el dialecto bayazet. Nuestro objetivo es presentar las percepciones de las características externas e internas, la posición y el estatus, las relaciones maritales, la ocupación y el comportamiento de hombres y mujeres en un entorno armenio tradicional. Recopilamos el material educativo en la región de Gegharkunik de la República Armenia a través del contacto directo con la comunidad de hablantes del dialecto bayazet, así como de trabajos publicados sobre el dialecto. Clasificamos el material recopilado según grupos semánticos, grupos de palabras relacionados con las expresiones de mujeres y hombres de actitudes positivas y negativas. El estudio muestra que las diferencias de género en el vocabulario que reflejan las principales esferas de la vida y la actividad de mujeres y hombres tienen una naturaleza sistémica, y su observación puede convertirse en uno de los problemas interesantes de la investigación del vocabulario dialectal.

Palabras clave: armenio dialectal, vocabulario, grupo semántico, características psicológicas, investigación de vocabulario

1. Introduction

In gender studies, which are quite widespread in the world, researchers usually try to specify the political, social, religious and psychological bases of gender differences, and the types and ways of their manifestation. It has been observed that the main source of such differences is social norms and stereotypes, which are rooted in the cultural environment and can easily appear in literary works, films, television programs, anecdotes, and in various fields of activities of men and women (Bern 2004: 267). In all these fields, human activity has its linguistic expression, so it is natural that

gender studies are also widespread in linguistics. It's true that gender is studied in modern linguistics in connection with various sciences (Demeshkina & Tolstova 2017, 2021), but it is generally noticed that gender differences in linguistics are considered from two aspects: in one case, the material of study is the language system — vocabulary and grammar, in the other — the differences in the speech of men and women (Demeshkina & Tolstova 2017). In the first case, the focus is on the various manifestations of gender in the grammatical systems of the world's languages, in the vocabulary, and their relationship to natural genders is considered (Audring 2016). In the second case, researchers, describing gender differences in language use, seek to highlight their causes and factors: socialization from early childhood, culture and social environment, gender role definition, physical and psychological characteristics, etc. (Hailiang, Dai & Zhang 2010), works of an experimental nature are performed (Matthew L. Newman, Carla J. Groom, Lori D. Handelman, James W. Pennebaker 2008), changes in language gender differences over time are also addressed, etc. In the latter case, the reflection of the changes taking place in the society in the language is emphasized, it is noted that with the development of civilization, the strict rules of the society regarding women and men change (Xiufang 2013). Gender differences in language use have various manifestations in different social classes (Labov 1990, 2001; Trudgill 2000), also among dialect-speaking communities (Clopper, Conrey & Pisoni 2005). It was noted that a systematic study of the gender characteristics of dialect speech has not yet been carried out (Demeshkina & Tolstova 2017). Considering the importance of observing gender manifestations in dialect, the idea of creating a dialect dictionary of gender-specified vocabulary was put forward (Demeshkina & Tolstova 2021). It was considered expedient to single out a new discipline studying the gender characteristics of dialects: gender dialectology (Demeshkina & Tolstova 2017).

In the Armenian reality, the interest in gender linguistics has increased recently (Brutyan 2008, Knyazyan 2018, Velyan 2015), the phenomenon was also observed in the dialect language (Shahnazaryan 2011), but word groups related to genders were not distinguished or observed, therefore, not classified.

The aim of our work is to observe, classify and systematize the gender vocabulary that reflects perceptions about women and men among the Bayazet dialect-speaking public. We think that in this way it is possible to get an idea about the manifestation of the phenomenon not only in a separate dialect but also in the dialectal Armenian language in general.

2. Material and methods

The research material was collected during the fieldwork conducted in 2021-2022 in the city of Gavar, Gegharkunik Region, RA, and about ten surrounding villages, as well as from published works on the dialect (Katvalyan 2016, 2018, 2021). The ancestors of Bayazet dialect speakers brought their speech to their new homeland during the migration period after the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1830. The speakers of the dialect not only use the dialect widely but also have preserved the ideas passed down to them about social relations, family traditions, and the relationship between the sexes. We grouped and classified the collected gender-marked word units, which are the expressions of these ideas, according to separate areas (people's external, moral, and psychological characteristics, married life and relationships, employment, position, and status, etc.), as well as according to the speakers' ideas and appreciation (positive and negative).

3. The reflection of gender differences in semantic groups of dialect vocabulary

In addition to biological characteristics, gendered words reflect the public's ideas and stereotypes about the role and status of men and women, behavior, appearance and temperament, occupation, etc. The grouping, classification, and examination of these word units is of great importance from the point of view of the comprehensive study of any language and the community that speaks that language. It is interesting to observe that vocabulary in the dialectal language if we consider that the dialect is not

only a natural state of the language but also represents the circumstances of the life of the given community, ideas, the relationship between the traditional and the new, etc.

Let us consider the gender differences in the vocabulary of the Bayazet dialect according to the most typical semantic groups:

1) The expression of gender differences in vocabulary related to human appearance

Dialect vocabulary in a number of cases differentiates between women and men by calling individual parts of their bodies, and external features differently. Here we are not referring to body parts that define biological sex, but to the general realities of appearance, which often differ by gender. Thus, the vocabulary of the dialect presents differently:

a) head hair:

- female: *cām* (long female hair), *hustak* (head hair texture), *č'olka* (a tuft of hair on the girl's forehead), *kos* (a ball of hair on a woman's head), *zəlf* (a tuft of hair falling past the ear on a woman's face), *poč'* (a braid of hair gathered and tied at the back of the head)

- male: *k'äk'ul* (a tuft of hair on the boy's forehead), *bak* (side-of-ear hair on a man's face), *beł* (mustache), *murus* (beard), *t'əraš* (facial hair), etc.

b) body parts:

- female: *cic* (breast), *pətuk* (teat), *k'amak* (back), *konk'* (pelvis), *bud* (thigh)

- male: *gomp'* (fist), *bäläg* (wrist), *muskul* (muscle), *kəit'əlat* (Adam's apple), *čur* (thigh), etc.

Sometimes the same word presents a particular semantic dichotomy, it names one part of the female body, and another part of the male body, for example, the word *doš* (chest) means *breast* for women, *thorax* for men.

2) The expression of gender differences in the vocabulary that evaluates the appearance of men and women

There are more word groups expressing attitudes towards the appearance of women and men. Words describing women's appearance in a positive way can be divided into two groups:

a) general characteristics: *xur u xyreſen* (beautiful), *xorot* (lovely), *xorot-naxšun* (pretty), *māral* (beauty), *naxšat'at'at* (beautiful), *nərian xat* (glamorous), etc.

b) private characteristics, alluding to the beauty of individual parts of the body, especially the face: *lusat'at'at* (bathed in light), *lusnaki tasnəxing* (literal-crescent moon, means *round-faced*), *b'arakpərkəner* (with thin lips), *joč'häšker* (with big eyes), *kāmar hunk'er* (with arched eyebrows), *hērkēnt'art'ap'ner* (with long eyelashes), *pəstib'ēran* (with a small mouth), *māndərotik* (with fine facial lines), *ləlik-ləxtik* (with a soft body), *t'är siftäk* (with white skin), *cāmavor* (with long hair), *b'arakmēšk* (with a thin waist), etc.

Especially the words of the second group outline the ideas of dialect speakers about female beauty. According to this, the characteristics of female beauty are a round face, fair skin, large eyes and long eyelashes, small mouth, thin lips, long hair, slender body, and thin waist.

Negative descriptions of female appearance are also divided into two groups:

a) characteristics of a general nature, all of which refer to a rough, extremely ugly appearance: *hädgä* (ugly and repulsive), *d'arc'avor* (monster), *älk'* (scary ugly), *c'usk* (with an ugly face), *äzbātes* (strange looking), *ägläker* (ugly), etc.

b) private negative characterizations that point to specific shortcomings. They represent:

- unattractive state of hair on the head: *b'ap'rēč* (with tousled hair), *kisaxuz* (with unevenly cut hair), *kokol varek* (literal *a chicken with a cut-off tail*, means *with very short hair*),

- defects of the face and other parts of the body: *sev tərčē* (dark skinned), *dišlan* (with protruding dentition), *xastpərkəner* (with thick lips), *surulikpərkəner* (with thin lips) *čičərnekhäšker* (with narrow eyes), *j'ošb'ēran* (with a big mouth), *hērkēnhires* (long faced), *ālkot* (freckled), *xastak'amak* (with a big back), *keivodner* (with crooked legs).

Thus, dialect speakers consider obesity, crooked legs, short and tousled hair, dark skin, thick or very thin lips, protruding teeth, big mouths, long faces, and narrow eyes as undesirable for a woman's appearance.

A man's external virtues are generally represented by words indicating the presence of strength and ability; *dərbōv* (strong), *bəlägōv* (with strong arms), *bōyōv* (tall), *muskulnērōv* (muscular), *lěnt'ikunk'* (broad-backed), etc. Words expressing a private manifestation of male beauty are relatively few and refer to the face, hair: *t'ux həškov-hunk'ōv* (with black eyes and eyebrows), *k'äk'ulōv* (with a tuft of forehead hair), *beřērōv* (with a mustache), *kərunjmāzer* (with curly hair). All the examples describe a man with the characteristic of having something.

The dialect language is quite restrained in presenting a man's external beauty but quite eloquent in pointing out bodily defects. In that case, the following are highlighted:

- thinness and obesity: *čəfäng* (lean and bony), *lägzi* (skinny), *čučin* (thin and tall), *c'əmp'or* (with a big belly), *t'əp'i bōška* (literal *a barrel for sauerkraut*, means *very fat*),

- various mutilations of the body: *bənjəvuk* (small-bodied, short in stature), *kolot kāmāndir* (literal *short commander*, means - *short and self-assured*), *kərtuk* (with skin burns), *xastaviz* (with a thick neck), *cərviz* (crooked neck), *pərikvodner* (with crooked legs),

- defects of the head, face: *dərg'alōx* (with a big head), *lōlōzg'alōx* (pointed head), *bōrpanč'ner* (with wide nostrils), *lōštakhangažner* (with big ears), *p'əřč'ot* (with abundant hair), *k'ōsā* (without facial hair), *k'äč'al* (bald).

Irregular manifestations of qualities considered positive should also be included among these: *zəřbadana* (with a clumsy large body), *yezəsul* (with a large body like an ox), *bōyluť* (very tall), etc. In the ideas of the dialect-speaking public, the blondness of a man is also considered undesirable, which is expressed by the sarcastic phrase *kāž kəriši/marak'i kātu* (literal *blonde cat on the roof/in the basement*) with the meaning *blonde*.

In general, the dialect-speaking public's perceptions of male appearance can be derived from negative characterizations. Accordingly, it is not desirable for a man to be short or excessively tall, very thin or fat, without sufficient facial and head hair, he should not have a large head, wide nostrils, large ears, etc. In other words, a man's external beauty is determined by the absence of flaws.

Thus, the observation of the vocabulary related to people's appearance allows us to conclude that the dialect-speaking community values women's bodily beauty, especially facial beauty, and in the case of men, mainly strength and power. In the case of both women and men, the deviations from the accepted norms do not go unnoticed, which becomes the basis for negative characterizations.

3) The reflection of gender differences in the vocabulary expressing people's moral and psychological characteristics, abilities.

The moral-psychological characteristics and abilities of men and women are expressed in evaluative vocabulary, with appropriate word groups of positive and negative tones.

Positive characteristics for women indicate:

- high morale: *nāmusōv* (honorable), *nāmusi g'ēri* (literal *the prisoner of honor*, means *having high morals*), *nāmusə jeṛə pāxel* (*having high morals*)
- modesty, intelligence, and restraint: *hazaran xelk'i tēr* (literal *the owner of a thousand minds*, means *very smart*), *p'agb'ēran* (literal *closed mouth*, means *taciturn*), *mārt'i xōskə g'ētin č'ətap'ōt* (literal *not breaking her husband's word*, means *not opposing to her husband*), *xamavor xaṛs* (humble daughter-in-law), *xunär* (meek), *g'alōxə kâx* (literal *head down*, means *modest*), *cāndər mākul* (serious).

Negative characterizations record:

- moral decline: *dushənguk* (leads an immoral life), *hāškəd'us* (unfaithful to married life), *haṛu t'əṛnel* (literal *fly over the stream*, means *have extramarital sex*), *mārt'i vārən fəṛac'ōt* (unfaithful to her husband)
- immodesty and intemperate behavior: *lizvani* (obscene), *kāräč'i* (quarrelsome), *läč'är* (shameless), *liṛp'* (rabid), *kəzōflan* (having male characteristics),

- negligence: *t'ark'an* (negligent), *c'anē* (smelly), *kəvot p'ēšer* (literal *the skirts with dung on them*, means *drossy*),

- tendencies to gossip and darn: *b'amp'askot* (gossipy), *kēybət'č'i* (gossipy), *āneskab'ēran* (often cursing)

- arrogance: *d'asēt'ap'uk* (putting herself above others), *b'anc'aramarut'* (haughty), *k'it'a tangel* (literal *raise the nose*, means *-to take a proud stance*), etc.

The vocabulary describing the positive and negative sides of men is also quite rich. Masculine qualities, in general, are highly valued, and the words and phrases representing them usually also express male dominance, as *təlamārt'anak* (literal *as a man*, means *straightforward, without ulterior motives*), *təlamārt'kut'un* (literal *manliness*, means *courage*), *təlamārt' təla* (literal *man-boy*, means *real man (both biologically and spiritually)*), *tāntəlamārt'* (literal *man of the house*, means *head of house*), *təlamārt'i xōsk* (literal *man's word*, means *honest word*), etc. Many characteristics of men are appreciated, which represent:

- character and temperament: *hir xōski tēr* (true to his word), *xānāk'č'i* (joker), *āsōt-xōsōt* (talkative), *kəraḱi kətor* (literal *a piece of fire*, means *lively*), *duzə xōsōt* (truth teller), *sātsiṛt* (harmless), *lēnsiṛt* (big-hearted), *riškōv* (brave), *kēyrət'ōv* (energetic), *xasnōt* (helper), *pādvōv* (honorably), *xac' təvōt* (literal *bread giver*, means *hospitable*), *b'asj'er* (generous), *utōt-xəmōt* (literal *eater-drinker*, means *lover of feasts*),

- patriotism: *t'āsibōv* (upholding the honor of relatives), *jiḡrōv* (loving his relatives), *jiḡrēcūṛ* (very fond of his relatives), etc.

Negative characteristics include:

- moral and behavioral deviations: *šōrhāšk* (literal *salt-eyed*, means *lascivious*), *b'ozarac* (adulterer), *xužan* (hooligan),

- feminine features: *kəzik* (a man with a woman's manners; cowardly), *kəḡanək* (like a woman), *āxčəkavari* (like a girl), *k'ik'ir* (old woman /metaphorical/), *k'ac* (literal *female dog*, means *feminine man*), *p'ēši təki* (literal *man under the skirt*, means *timid*),

- temperamental defects: *kəlavuznik* (slanderer), *kāyen* (malicious; stingy), *k'ēn k'əšōt* (spiteful), *xəlti tāk p'ōrōt* (literal *digging under another*, means *-secretly harming another*), *t'at'alabaz* (frivolous person), *t'amaxk'är* (greedy),

- psychic and intellectual defects: *ālot'uk ēš* (literal *bewitched donkey*, means *astray, perplexed*), *kāman yez* (literal *working ox*, means *distinguished only by strength*), *kāmaz* (obtuse), *xotə b'ēran həyvän* (literal *grass in the mouth animal*, means *as dumb as cattle*), *duiak* (fool), *āxmax* (silly), *p'alas* (literal *rag*, means *nothingness*),

- irritability: *kərvavar* (bully), *kādtuk* (furious), *t'ərt'əp'an* (shaking with unbridled fury), *həngnavor* (fierce), *ārənxum* (bloodthirsty),

- immodesty: *lōčuk b'ēran* (literal *with an enlarged mouth*, means *boastful*), *läp'āzän* (talker of dirty things), *läp'ärōš* (talker of dirty things), *lōpaz* (vainglorious), *kušt āk'lör* (literal *well-fed rooster*, means *proud*),

- other habits and qualities considered to be vices: *kumarbaz* (gambler), *kāč'at* (thief), *əskəbō* (stingy), *piyan* (alcoholic), *xəmət* (drinker), etc.

Sometimes the same expression can describe women and men from different aspects. For example, the phrase *hir xōski tēr* for women can mean “disobedient, unruly”, while for men it has the meaning “true to his word”. It is noticeable that in this semantic group, the words referring to men are not inferior in number to the descriptions of women, which may mean that the mental, moral qualities and abilities of men and women are equally important in the dialect-speaking community.

4)The reflection of gender differences in vocabulary indicating the position and status of men and women

The position and status of women and men are significantly different among dialect-speaking communities. Words referring to that reality express:

a) general gender description:

- female: *ēk'eten* (representatives of the female sex), *kənik* (woman), *kənikārmət* (literal *of female descent*, means *woman*),

- male: *voic'eten* (male representatives), *təlamārt'* (man),

b) family status and relationship:

- female: *tân kənik* (landlady), *mēr* (mother), *mērac'u* (stepmother), *xort' mēr* (stepmother), *tāl* (husband's sister), *tātik* (grandmother), *kisur* (husband's mother), *zōnk'ač* (wife's mother), *xar's* (son's wife), *k'ur* (sister), *zalō* (uncle's wife), *tēk'ärkanik* (husband's brother's wife), *k'ärukanik* (mother's brother's wife), *āxpörkanik* (brother's wife), *k'ēni* (wife's sister), etc.

- male: *tân tātamärt'* (literal *man at home*, means *head of house*), *tân tēr* (literal *the owner of the house*, means *head of house*), *g'əlxavor* (literal *chief*, means *husband*), *märt'* (literal *man*, means *husband*), *xēr* (father), *āxpēr* (brother), *pāpik* (grandfather), *təla* (son), *ānerjäk'* (wife's brother), *baĵanał* (wife's sister's husband), *āner* (wife's father), *kēsrar* (husband's father), *p'ēsä* (son-in-law), *tənp'ēsä* (husband living in wife's house), *tēk'ər* (husband's brother), *shirik'* (each of the brothers dividing the paternal property), etc,

c) status by age:

- female: *pārav* (old woman), *māmik* (grandmother), *ādē* (old woman), *jäji* *pārav* (a very old woman), *k'ik'ir* (old woman), *āzabāxčik* (unmarried girl), *märt'ac'u* (a girl of marriageable age), *d'ax āxčik* (aged and unmarried girl),

- male: *jäyēl* (young), *āp'ēr* (old man), *bijä* (old man), *pāpē* (old man), *j'oš märt'* (elderly), *xay* (literal - *Armenian*, means - *the eldest male of the house*), etc.

d) kinship relations:

- female: *xörk'ur* (father's sister), *mörk'ur* (mother's sister), *āxpör āxčik* (brother's daughter), *k'avor āxčik* (sister's daughter)

- male: *xörōxpēr* (father's brother), *āmi* (father's brother), *k'eri* (mother's brother), *āxpör təla* (brother's son), *k'avor təla* (sister's son), etc.

e) words naming a temporary role:

- female: *xar'snak'ur* (bridesmaid),

- male: *t'ämädä* (toastmaster), *āzabaši* (an unmarried friend standing next to the groom at a wedding), *sāldat'* (soldier), etc.

In the semantic group representing position and status, layers referring to different genders have no significant quantitative difference.

5) The reflection of gender differences in the vocabulary representing married life and relationships

Words related to women represent:

- marriage process: *bäxtə b'asvel* (luck opened up), *mārt'i tal* (literal *give to a person*, means *to marry the girl*), *mārt'i ēt'al* (literal *to go to man*, means *get married*), *p'axnel* (literal *run away*, means *to leave home with a young man secretly from his parents for the purpose of marriage*), *xaṛsi pâr* (the bride's dance at the wedding), *kârmir xənjor* (literal *red apple*, means *a fruit sent to the home of the bride's father after the wedding to confirm that the bride was a virgin*), *d'arc'* (literal *turn*, means *the visit of the bride to her father's house a few days after the wedding*)

- marital status: *āzab āxčik* (a girl of marriageable age), *āxčik* (literal *girl*, means *virgin*), *tunə məc'uk* (literal *the one who remained in the home*, means *unmarried girl*), *voṛp'ēvēri* (literal *orphan and widow*, means *a wife whose husband is dead*), *p'ōxnäk* (the new wife of a divorced man), *mārt'ōv kənik* (married woman), *ānmārt' kənik* (woman without a husband)

- desired marital relationship: *xaṛsnut'un ānel* (live like a bride), *kəngut'un ānel* (live like a wife), *mārt'i xōskic' d'us č'ig'al* (not to oppose what the husband says), *mārt'i pātivə b'anc'ər pāxel* (to uphold the honor of the husband), *mārt'ic' haṛēč' č'əngnel* (literal *not to be ahead of the husband*, means *not to take the initiative from the husband*)

- unwanted marital relationship: *mārt'i vārēn āxt hānel* (to rule over the husband), *nəstel mārt'i g'alxin* (literal *sit on her husband's head*, means *to rule over the husband*), *mārt'in xēznel k'āšel* (literal *to mount her husband and ride him away*, means *to subjugate her husband completely*)

- childbirth: *pāčaravor* (literal *having a reason*, means *pregnant*), *čəžōv* (literal *with a child*, means *pregnant*), *mətkap'ox* (literal *changed her mind*, means *pregnant*), *čəžōvnał* (get pregnant), *mənał* (literal *stay*, means *pregnant*), *cāndərnał* (literal *get heavy*, means *days to give birth are approaching*), *c'avə b'ərnel* (literal *catch the pain*, means *the onset of labor pains*), *čiž b'ērel* (literal *bring a child*, means *give birth to a child*), *pārkel* (literal *lie down*, means *give birth to a child*), *āzadvel* (literal *get rid of*,

means *give birth to a child*), *təʎaskan* (a woman who has given birth), *portə kədrel* (cut the umbilical cord)

- child care: *kōndəxel* (swaddle), *lōkəc'anel* (bathe the baby), *cic tal* (to breastfeed), *cəcic' kədrel* (to wean the child), *hērkanavəzik anel* (holding the baby's head while bathing and lifting him up so that he has a long neck)

- undesirable realities: *mādnik'ə yet tal* (literal *return the ring*, means *cancel the engagement*), *nəšanə yet tal* (literal *return the token*, means *cancel the engagement*), *mārt'at'ot həlnel* (divorce her husband), *hənc'əc'anel* (literal *pass*, means *have a miscarriage*), *b'ič b'ērel* (having a child out of wedlock), *b'əčatel* (to abort a pregnancy from an extramarital affair), *čəžē kədrel* (to lose the ability to have children out of fear), *č'əb'er* (barren), etc.

There are also many expressions referring to men that represent the process of marriage, moreover, they testify to a man's initiative: *xōzgin tərkel* (to send someone to the girl's father to ask for her hand in marriage), *xōsk ārnel* (literal *take a word*, means *get consent to a marriage proposal*), *nəšan d'anel* (make an engagement), *mādnik' d'anel* (literal *put on a ring*, means - *make an engagement*), *hangačə kədrel* (literal *cut off the ear*, means - *betroth the son*), *kārk'əvel* (literal *be appointed*, means *to get married*), *p'axcanel* (abduct).

Other words represent:

- marital status: *āzab təʎa* (a boy of marriageable age), *xalastō* (single), *kark'əvuk* (married), *b'ažvuk* (divorced from wife)

- desired marital relationship: *kəngan hira tətə hargel* (respect his wife properly), *kəngan sirel*, *b'ayc' gāmerə jeṛə pāxel* (literal *to love his wife but hold the reins*, means *to love his wife, but not to allow everything*)

- unwanted marital relationship: *kənga g'ēri g'ərvel* (literal *become captive of his wife*, means *submit to his wife*), *kənga xōskōv šāržəvel* (always to obey what the wife says), *kənga kənik həlnel* (literal *to become a woman's wife*, means *to cease to be a man, to submit to a woman*)

- undesirable realities: *xərkel* (literal *kick out*, means *divorce from wife*), *t'ōtel* (literal *to leave*, means *divorce from wife*), *pādvī xēt xatal* (discredit by courting), *ānuna xanel* (discredit by courting), etc.

In general, the reflection of the dominant role of men and the passive role of women is quite noticeable in this semantic group. On the other hand, words related to childbirth and childcare have a significant distinctive role for women.

6) The reflection of gender differences in the vocabulary representing the occupation and lifestyle of men and women

Of course, technological progress is also a reality in dialect-speaking communities. If earlier a number of occupations were the monopoly of only one sex, now there is no such distinction. However, even now, in general, women's and men's fields of work are significantly different (it can be said that there is a clear division of labor), and naturally the words reflecting them acquire the value of gender differentiation.

Word units of this semantic group represent a fairly wide range of women's employment in the household. Word groups related to the following areas can be distinguished:

- preparation of food for immediate use: *māt ānel* (sieve), *ālur mātēl* (sift flour), *g'āndel* (make dough balls), *g'ārtānk'el* (to get layers of dough from balls with a roller), *xac' t'axel* (bake bread), *kārtōl histakel* (peel the potatoes), *bāmbālel* (to clean by plucking the feathers), *soxarāc ānel* (to make onion stew), *čāšēp'el* (cook soup), *čāšā xānel* (stir the soup), *k'uftā k'ac'el* (make kufta), *p'axlava sārēl* (make baklava), *g'at'a t'axel* (to bake ghata), *kārak' xalel* (melt butter),

- preparation of food for non-immediate consumption: *mācun mērel* (make yogurt), *zakat ānel* (close the can), *kāmpōt p'agel* (make compote), *jēm ēp'el* (cook jam), *t'urši d'ānel* (marinate finely chopped cabbage and other vegetables), *čāvik d'ānel* (marinate beet stalks), *žāžik dānel* (make cheese in a pitcher)

- family feeding: *seṭan d'ānel* (set the table), *xac' tal* (literal *give bread*, means *entertain*), *čāš lāc'el amanā* (pour lunch into the bowl),

- sewing, needlework, carpet weaving: *kårkatel* (to patch), *yōrlan kârel* (sew a blanket), *t'at'man g'ōrcel* (knit a glove), *xali g'ōrcel* (to weave a carpet), *t'ēši mânel* (spin wool)

- wash: *lavask ânel* (do laundry), *pârzaŋ'arel* (rinse), *âmannerâ laval* (wash the dishes), *âmannerâ sarp'el* (wipe the dishes), *ōlâtel* (to rinse)

- house cleaning: *âvel ânel* (sweep the floor), *pâtu harik' ânel* (literal *clean the wall and ceiling*, means *clean the whole house*), *t'ōzerâ vērc'el* (dust off), *seŋan sarp'el* (clean the table), *polâ sarp'el* (mop the floor)

- care of the bed, clothes: *hart'ukel* (iron out), *b'urt'â č'ap'xel* (to beat the wool with a whip), *teŋerâ b'ac'el* (make the bed)

- agricultural works: *k'axank'el* (weed out), *t'ut'un šârel* (arrange the tobacco leaves on the stick), *kōv kât'el* (milk a cow), etc.

Words representing a man's occupation refer to:

- construction: *xim k'ac'el* (lay a foundation), *k'ar čâktel* (smooth one side of the stone), *pât šârel* (build a wall), *pōlzânel* (make a floor with boards), *savaŋ ânel* (to plaster), *p'os p'ōrel* (to dig a hole)

- housework: *šušâ k'ac'el* (install glass), *pol nêrkel* (paint the floor), *mâxel* (to nail), *mâx zânel* (to drive a nail), *sâtoc'el* (to saw), *dânâk sarel* (sharpen a knife), *g'armōrt'el* (slaughter a lamb),

- agricultural activity: *râžbârut'un ânel* (cultivate land), *câr tyngel* (to plant a tree), *hartâ ŋarel* (to shear a sheep), *k'aŋ ânel* (to reap), *hâbrâkel* (to shear a sheep), *č'ōban* (shepherd), *nâxârč'i* (herdsman)

- crafts: *durgâr* (carpenter), *sōlkâr* (shoemaker), *dâlâk'* (barber), *žēštanč'i* (sheet metal worker), *kâsab* (butcher)

- military service: *b'anak êt'al* (go to the army), *cârâyel* (to serve in the army), *g'albari* (party on the occasion of returning from the army), *êt'albari* (a party on the occasion of going to the army), *sâldat'* (soldier), etc.

Let's add that the vocabulary of the dialect evaluates the work done by the woman and man with positive and negative general characteristics:

a) positive characteristics:

- female: *ārōt-d'arōt* (skilled in household chores), *j'eri j'ark'ōv* (capable of various jobs), *kadrōt-kārōt* (with tailoring skills), *ēp'ōt-t'ap'ōt* (good cook), *tun d'anōt* (hearth maker), *tantēsakan* (good housekeeper)

- male: *hazar p'ēšäki tēr* (skilled in many trades), *voski jeiner* (literal *hands of gold*, means *very skilled*), *jeiic' hāmēn inč' g'al* (literal *to come everything from hand*, means *to be able to do everything*)

b) negative characteristics:

- female: *āntantēsakan* (uneconomical), *tun āvirōt* (homewrecker), *tun k'andōt* (homewrecker), *c'ap'nōt* (non-conservator of property)

- male: *t'āmbäl* (lazy), *bärädi* (inactive), *āvāra* (parasite), *k'āsmuk* (unskilful), *bēk'ärä* (useless), etc.

The evaluative vocabulary of this semantic group for both sexes emphasizes hard work and skill and rejects disorganization, incompetence, and laziness in the household.

7) The reflection of gender differences in the vocabulary related to the everyday life and behavior of men and women

The behavior and daily life of men and women, and various relationships represent the essential aspects of their lives. The vocabulary reflects these realities as follows:

Vocabulary related to women expresses:

- lighthearted behavior: *j'ever t'ap'el* (literal *pour out forms*, means *to coquet*), *kātor-kātor hālne* (literal *to be in pieces*, means *to coquet*), *āzāzvorel* (draw attention and care to himself), *t'ēlkatal* (to coquet), *kāč'kāč'al* (laugh out loud)

- beliefs: *t'uxt ānel* (literal *make a paper*, means *cast a spell by writing*), *t'uxt u g'ir ānel* (literal *make a paper letter*, means *cast a spell by writing*), *t'uxt b'anal* (to guess with playing cards), *t'extāb'ac'* (literal *paper opener*, means *fortune teller*), *b'āzak hiškal* (literal *to look at the cup*, means *fortune-telling through a coffee cup*), *mom t'ap'el* (literal *pour out a candle*, means *pouring melted wax into the water for divination*), *g'ari k'ac'el* (divination with barley grains),

- nervous outbursts: *lāp'ut'un d'ānel* (to shout uncontrollably), *kāžal* (scream loudly), *čāvčaval* (scream all the time), *cāmerā p'idel* (tear out the hair), *māzēric' k'ašel* (pull hair), *cāvatel* (cause lacerations through nails), *k'arōv k'aralefānel* (to throw stones at someone)

- damnation, hate, and gossip: *kātor xanel* (literal *take out a piece*, means *much to hate*), *pādārel* (literal *tear up*, means *hate to the point of bursting*), *tarak'el* (literal *explode*, means *hate to the point of bursting*), *čōšk ānel* (to babble), *āneskōv āneskač'or ānel* (to curse someone so hard that they dry up), *āneskab'ēran* (literal *a woman with a curse mouth*, means *very cursing woman*), *bābā č'ap'el* (to turn the fingers of the hand wide open to show hatred towards someone), *xōlor zānel* (to look at with displeasure),

- games: *k'arkatik* (a game with small round stones with flexible finger movements), *pāran* (a jump rope game), *kēlas* (a game of jumping on squares drawn on the ground), *tikin* (game with a doll),

- other realities: *g'ōvk' āsel* (to praise the dead in song), *kāsā-gālāji ānel* (to talk at length), etc.

Words referring to men represent:

- boasting: *āk'lōrnal* (literal *to pose as a cock*, means *get cocky*), *habārgel* (become overconfident), *lopaznal* (to brag), *p'ap'atā cu' d'ānel* (literal *to put the hat on the head in a slanted position*, means *to be self-satisfied and confident*),

- presence of force: *t'urāč' u jax kādrel* (literal *to cut the sword left and right*, means *he is strong, he will do whatever he wants*), *zāzand t'ap'el* (to cause terror), *hāškērov mār't' utel* (literal *to eat people with eyes*, means *to have a sullen look*), *hāškēric' karak t'ap'el* (to shoot fire from the eyes),

- hospitality: *pātiv tal* (a feast in one's honor), *cāxs ānel* (throw a party),

- alcohol abuse: *k'ēfōvnal* (get drunk), *kātara tāk'nal* (literal *heat the top*, means *get drunk*), *kōnjet* (get drunk), *lakēl* (literal *lap up*, means *drink too much alcohol*),

- undesirable realities: *šāyki mēč' hānel* (fall into the bad company), *kumar xaṭal* (play for money), *xužanut'un ānel* (make a hooligan), *d'ārnēric' tun č'ig'al* (literal *not coming home from other people's yards, means to be outside all the time*),

- blasphemy: *k'ārfel* (curse), *mēr k'ārfel* (curse mother), *mēr u kanik k'ārfel* (curse mother and wife), *k'āfuri mēkə xazar ānel* (literal *to turn one curse into a thousand, means to curse someone a lot*), *k'ārfatu* (a man who curses a lot),

- nervous outbursts and fights: *bōrbāral* (to shout), *kālmakal ānel* (to make noise), *xōspārtal* (to argue lightly), *kādṭei-həngnavorel* (get very angry), *zānel - zārkaṭel* (to be in fights), *dərbel* (hit hard with the hand), *gōmp'el* (to punch), *čəlōṭ'el* (to slap), *ārun t'ap'el* (to shed blood)

- games: *fudbōl* (football), *gulāš kəbnel* (to wrestle), *kārt' xaṭal* (to play cards)

- other realities: *pāpilož k'ašel* (to smoke), *ēt'al g'exi mēč'* (literal *go to the center of the village, means to go to the village meeting place to talk with the men*), etc.

It is noticeable that the words of this group reflect the differences between the sexes due to both the psyche and the social position and ideas.

8) The reflection of gender differences in the vocabulary related to people's clothing and grooming

Nowadays, some types of clothing and grooming no longer differentiate between the sexes. This phenomenon has also penetrated to some extent in the dialect-speaking community. In particular, it has long become common for women to wear pants here, or men have also started wearing gold necklaces and bracelets, etc. However, gender differences in clothing and grooming, in general, are very significant. They are also clearly reflected in the corresponding vocabulary.

It is natural that the words related to women in this field are numerous and diverse. They represent:

- head cover: *kāsinga* (light headscarf), *g'alxašor* (headscarf), *lāylux* (headscarf), *šāl* (a thick headdress that is also thrown over the shoulders), *k'ōṭ* (veil),

- outerwear: *žakēt'* (jacket), *baluska* (blouse), *yupka* (skirt), *kalyōš yupka* (flared skirt), *dēyrā* (dress), *yapōnka* (sleeveless dress), *šub* (fur coat), *xalat'* (dressing gown), *p'ēštamal* (apron), *p'ēš* (long skirt), *rubaška* (shirt),

- underwear: *lēp'č'ik* (brassiere), *kāmbēnac'i* (female underwear), *g'išeranoc'* (nightwear), *tumban* (women's panty),

- shoes and socks: *b'anc'arakarung* (high-heeled shoes), *mātkarung* (a shoe with a thin heel), *basanōška* (sandals), *tuflik* (shoes), *kālgotka* (tights), *č'ulk'i* (stockings), *gidri* (socks),

- hair styling: *hustakel* (to braid the hair), *māz kədrel* (cut hair), *xinā danel* (put henna on), *māzerā nērkel* (dye hair), *fēnel* (dry the hair), *bārōška* (brooch), *bigudi* (curlers), *ābadok* (headband),

- jewelry: *g'ind* (earring), *uling* (beads), *kōlē* (necklace), *bāraslēt* (bracelet), *bāilyant* (diamond),

- makeup: *hunk'erā k'ašel* (pluck the eyebrows), *mārt'ānerā k'asel* (paint the lips), *hāškerā k'asel* (paint eyes), *pāmada* (lipstick), *pudri k'asel* (apply powder),

other types of care: *mānikur ānel* (do a manicure), *kārem k'asel* (apply cream)

The vocabulary related to men has relatively few words. They represent:

- hat: *šalapka* (brimmed hat), *p'ap'at* (fur hat), *c'ilindar* (cylinder), *kēpka* (light cap),

- outerwear: *sāruška* (shirt), *žilēt* (vest), *šalvar* (pants), *pēnjāk* (jacket), *kāstum* (suit), *šānel* (overcoat), *k'urk'* (sheepskin coat), *tēlēgārēyka* (quilted jacket), *bušlat* (peacoat),

- underwear: *tārusik-māyka* (panty-shirt), *p'ōxan* (underpants),

- other clothing items: *g'alastuk* (tie), *kāyiš* (girdle), *zapinka* (cufflink),

- shoes and socks: *b'arc'ōwka* (sports shoes), *tābuška* (sneakers), *nāski* (socks), *č'ōrab* (men's wool socks),

- head and facial hair care: *k'āk'ul t'ōtel* (grow a tuft of forehead hair), *bet t'ōtel* (grow a mustache), *g'alōxā sār'k'el* (literal *make head*, means *cut the hair of the head*), *t'ārašvel* (to shave), *t'ārašā g'al* (growth of facial hair), *t'āraš t'ōtel* (grow a beard), *ānt'āraš* (unshaven), *k'āč'alnal* (go bald), etc.

In this semantic group, women's vocabulary significantly outperforms men's vocabulary in terms of clothing names, but the advantage is more visible in the grooming layer.

4. Conclusions

The observation of the material provided by the Bayazet dialect allows us to confirm that gender is systematically reflected in the vocabulary of dialectal Armenian, covering almost all spheres of life. The gender specificities of the vocabulary, which are expressed in separate word units, are conditioned by the traditional ideas of the society, the daily life of the dialect-speaking community, and the current situation of social relations. Dialectal vocabulary in many cases represents not only reality but also perceptions and positive or negative attitudes towards it. Gender differentiation records men's strength and ability, women's beauty, and perceptions of them. Traditional society, however, is reticent in presenting the positive attributes, but quite eloquent in recording the shortcomings. A similar phenomenon was also observed in Armenian proverbs (Hovhannisyan 2017: 37).

The gender difference is greater in the case of moral and psychological characteristics. If in terms of women, the words reflect modesty, high moral character, intelligence, and restraint, then in the case of men, the best human qualities worthy of a man, manifestations of masculine temperament and character are important. Vocabulary with a negative tone represents realities unacceptable to the public. In the case of both men and women, moral decline and deviations, immodesty, and unrestrained behavior are strictly condemned, for men effeminacy, drunkenness, and laxity are rejected, for women — mismanagement and sloppiness, etc. Vocabulary reflecting the position and status of the sexes presents them in the most diverse relationships in the family and society, emphasizing male dominance as necessary. However, the vocabulary also reflects the respect for women, which has traditionally been typical of Armenian society (Nahapetyan 2009).

In the vocabulary related to married life and relationships, the dominant role of men is reflected to a certain extent, in the vocabulary related to women, words reflecting childbirth and childcare form a separate group. In the vocabulary related to people's occupations and skills, words related to women mainly represent indoor work and occupations, and words related to men — outdoor work and occupations. Male-related vocabulary also represents the monopoly of trades and military service. The vocabulary related to men's and women's daily life and behavior covers various realities, reflecting the differences between the sexes due to both the psyche and the social position and ideas. Despite some shifts, gender differences in dress and grooming are still very strong and stable. The observation of the gender vocabulary of the language of the traditional society confirms the point of view that in the Armenian reality, the gender ideal of a man implies strength, persistence, uprightness, initiative, and ruling qualities, and the gender ideal of a woman's behavior is characterized by delicacy, obedience, decency, compromise, loyalty to the family, etc. (Poghosyan 2007).

References

- AUDRING, J. (2016) Audring, J. (2016) "Gender", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*.
<<https://oxfordre.com/linguistics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-43>> (Retrieved 9 Jul. 2025)
- BERN, SH. (2004) *Gendernaya psixologiya [Gender psychology]*, Saint Petersburg, "praym-Evroznak" Publishing. <https://pedlib.ru/Books/5/0294/5_0294-1.shtml>
- BRUTYAN, L. (2008) *Yazik i gender [Language and gender]*, Yerevan, «Meždunarodnaya akademiya filosofii» Publishing.
- CLOPPER, C.G, Brianna CONREY & David B. PISONI (2005) "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect Categorization", *J Lang Soc Psychol*, 24(2), 182-206.
- DEMESHKINA, T. A. & M. A. TOLSTOVA (2017) "Gendernaya dialectologiya i slovari kak yee istotshnic" [Gender dialectology and dictionaries as its source], *Voprosi lekcikografii*, 12, 83-105.

<<https://vital.lib.tsu.ru/vital/access/services/Download/vtls:000621281/SOURCE1?view=true>>

DEMESHKINA, T. A. & M. A. TOLSTOVA (2021) "Conc'epc'iya dialectnogo slovarya genderno markirovannoj lekciki" [The concept of a dialect dictionary of gender-marked vocabulary]. *Vestnic tomskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo univerciteta*, 3 (215), 17-24

<https://vestnik.tspu.edu.ru/files/vestnik/PDF/articles/demeshkina_t._a._17_24_3_215_2021.pdf>

HAILIANG, Ning, Xue DAI & Fachun ZHANG (2010) "On Gender Difference in English Language and Its Causes", *Asian Social Science*, 6 (2), 126-130.

HOVHANNISYAN, L. (2017) "Gender Relations in English and Armenian Proverbs", *American University of Armenia Yerevan. Presented to the Department of English & Communications in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts*.

<https://baec.aa.am/files/2017/09/Lilit_Hovhannisyan_Gender-Relations-in-English-and-Armenian-Proverbs_Capstone.pdf>

KATVALYAN, V. (2016) *Bayazeti barbarə ev nra lezvakan arnchut'yunnerə shrjaka barbarneri het* [The dialect of Bayazet and its linguistic relations with the surrounding dialects], "Asoghic" Publishing.

KATVALYAN, V. (2018) *Hayastani Hanrapetut'yan barbarayin hamapatker. Girq 1. Gegharquniqi marz* [Dialect panorama of the Republic of Armenia. Book 1: Gegharkunik region], "Asoghic" Publishing.

KATVALYAN, V. (2021) *Bayazeti barbari bararan* [Dictionary of Bayazet dialect].

<http://language.sci.am/sites/default/files/book/bayazeti_barbarhi_bararan.pdf>

KNYAZYAN, A. (2018) "Genderayin hetazotut'yunnerə lezvabanut'yan žamanakakic' harac'uyc'um" [Gender Studies in the Modern Paradigm of Linguistics], *Lezun ev grakanut'yuny gitakan imac'ut'yan žamanakakic' harac'uyc'um*, 9, 15-24.

LABOV, W. (1990) "The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change", *Language Variation and Change*, 2, 205-254.

LABOV, W. (2001) *Principles of linguistic change: Social factors*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

NAHAPETYAN, R. (2009) "Woman in Traditional Armenian Family: According to Ethnographic Customs of the Sasuntsies", 71-87. <[http://hpj.asj-oa.am/2621/1/2009-1\(71\).pdf](http://hpj.asj-oa.am/2621/1/2009-1(71).pdf)>

- MATTHEW L. NEWMAN, Carla J. GROOM, Lori D. HANDELMAN, James W. PENNEBAKER (2008) "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples", *Discourse Processes*, 45, 211–236. <<https://www.scrip.org/journal/paperinformation?paperid=103664>>
- POGHOSYAN, S. (2007) "Knoĵ ev tġamardu xorhrdanishnerə hayoc' mshakut'ayin hamakargum (avandakan ev žamanakakic' ənkalumner)" [Symbols of woman and man in the Armenian cultural system (traditional and modern perceptions)], *Hay žoġovrdakan mshakuyt'*, XIV, *Nyut'er hanrapetakan gitakan nstashrġani*, 249.
- SHAHNAZARYAN, N. (2011) "Gender Asymmetry (Androcentrism) in Karabakhi Armenian Dialect: The Power of Nomination", *Journal of Conflict Transformation*, 4, 84-96. <<http://caucasusedition.net/analysis/gender-asymmetry-androcentrism-in-karabakhi-armeniandialect-the-power-of-nomination/>>
- TRUDGILL, P. (2000) *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*, London: Penguin Books Limited.
- VELYAN, K. (2015) "Hanralezvabanakan tipabanut'yan shurġ. Anglereni ev hayereni genderayin barbarneri sharahyusakan hayec'akerpə" [About general linguistic typology. A syntactic view of English and Armenian gender dialects], *Banber EPLH. Banasirut'yun. Lezvabanut'yun*, 1, 390-400.
- XIUFANG, Xia (2013) "Gender Differences in Using Language", *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 3 (8), 1485-1489.