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Volume 14

Armenian. Modern Eastern Armenian
by Jasmine Dum-Tragut
Armenian
Modern Eastern Armenian

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The variety of Armenian familiar to the average Indo-Europeanist is Classical Armenian, the language into which the Bible was translated in the fifth century A.D. and which continues to serve as the ritual language of the Armenian Church. Students are taught that erku, the Armenian word for ‘two’ is, despite its unfamiliar appearance, a regular cognate of Latin duo and English two and that Armenian has borrowed so extensively, mainly from Iranian but also from Greek and Aramaic that loan-words came to predominate over the inherited vocabulary (for a lexical sample see section vi.) This is because, as a result of their geographical location and their political history, Armenians have throughout the ages been exposed to the languages of conquerors and neighbours, so that Armenian is now characterised as much by its lexical and structural borrowings as by its Indo-European heritage.

The present volume sets out to describe the grammatical structure of Modern Eastern Armenian, the official language of Armenia, a state which only attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Armenia is situated in the Anatolian highlands between Turkey in the west, Syria and Iran in the south and south-east, and the Caucasus in the north. Communities speaking varieties of Eastern Armenian are also found in Abkhazia, southern Georgia and Azerbaijan, as well as throughout the Armenian diaspora. Those communities who live in Turkey speak a somewhat different variety, known as Western Armenian.

The author, Jasmine Dum-Tragut, is Universitäts-Dozentin in Linguistics and Armenian Studies at the University of Salzburg in Austria and holds an honorary doctorate from the Armenian Academy. Her analysis combines the findings of traditional Armenian grammars with methods and insights drawn from more recent theoretical linguistics, in particular language typology. It is based on an extensive corpus of spoken and written material, a rich selection of Armenian sentences being presented both in the Armenian script and in Romanised transcription, all fully glossed and translated.

Armenian has a three-term plosive system which opposes voiced, voiceless aspirated and plain voiceless stops although a number of dialects have substituted ejectives (glottalised stops) for the latter. The noun has five cases, the dative incorporating the functions of a genitive and, in the case of human definite referents, also marking the direct object. Demonstrative pronouns have a three-term system paralleling the three persons. The verb distinguishes a present and an aorist stem, tenses other than the aorist being formed analytically by means of a participle and an auxiliary. Of the two perfective past tenses the aorist encodes witnessed events, the perfect unwitnessed ones.

The basic word order of Armenian is object-verb and verb-auxiliary, modifiers precede the governing noun while the definite article is suffixed to it. The order of the main constituents of the clause is to some degree flexible so that, under certain discourse-pragmatic conditions, the subject may follow the direct and indirect objects. The syntax of the verb
Armenian is described in terms of a universal framework of syntactico-semantic verb classes and of processes of transitivisation and detransitivisation which alter the verb’s syntactic frame. The chief transitivising process is causative formation, which adds an additional participant to the verb frame in the form of a new subject, resulting in the demotion of the subject of the base verb. The main detransitive forms are the passive, anticausative, reciprocal and reflexive, all formed by means of one and the same suffix. The similarities and differences of these constructions are clearly set out and attention is drawn to areas of ambiguity.

A section entitled ‘Special constructions’ deals with structures which are seen as potential areal features shared with neighbouring languages. Thus it is noted that participial structures are found competing with finite subordinate clauses, especially adverbial and relative clauses. There are also alternative ways of forming the comparative of adjectives: either the ablative-marked standard of comparison may precede the base form of the adjective (Ararat-ABL high, ‘higher than Ararat’) or the adjective may be preceded by a comparative marker and followed by the nominative-marked standard of comparison which is itself preceded by a conjunction (more high than Ararat). What is clearly innovative is the use of a possessive pronoun suffixed to a participle in order to mark the agent of the action (painted-your portrait, ‘the portrait you have painted’).

A brief lexical section at the end contains sample vocabularies of kinship terms, of words for colours, for parts of the body, for the days, months and seasons, and for numerals. Although this was probably not the author’s primary intention it serves to illustrate why it took so long for Indo-Europeanists to identify Armenian as being an independent member of the Indo-European language family.

Theodora Bynon
Preface

With the financial support of the Austrian Science Funds, the present reference grammar of Eastern Armenian was realised over a three-year period.

From the very beginning, this grammar was designed as a modern linguistic set of rules, combining the prescriptive traditions of grammars written in Armenia and modern linguistic approaches to descriptive grammars based on linguistic typology with extensive data from both spoken (colloquial) and written Eastern Armenian. The data and material used consist of two parts: the written corpus is composed of (a) written material excerpted from school text books, teaching aids, grammars used in Armenian schools and Institutes of Higher Education, and of (b) Armenian newspapers that are available online, e.g. AZG, Noyan Tapan, Arravot, Armenpress, Hetak, etc. The second part comprises my own records of colloquial Armenian.

For both corpora, linguistic field work in Armenia was of particular importance in order to observe the linguistic behaviour of native speakers in various settings, but also for systematic elicitation by means of questionnaires and interviews. Attending classes of Armenian language and Armenian literature in various elementary and secondary schools in rural and urban Armenia was efficient and inspiring.

This has been a massive task and I am deeply indebted to many for their valuable help, all of them native speakers of Eastern Armenian living in Armenia. These informants are widely dispersed across various age groups, social strata, educational levels and professions – to allow for a diverse linguistic knowledge and behaviour as much as possible.

Over the years numerous people, not only informants, have contributed to this grammar. I cannot name everyone here, but I would like to thank explicitly Prof. Bernard Comrie, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology at Leipzig, for his friendly and patient consultation regarding tricky linguistic issues. Thanks as well to those Armenian linguists, armenologists and their students of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, of Yerevan State University, State Pedagogical Institute and Linguistic Institute named after Bryusov for their willingness to discuss various questions. I am particularly grateful to the directors, teachers and pupils of the schools I visited in the last few years: School No. 5 named after Išxan in Yerevan, School No. 8 named after Puškin in Yerevan; School No. 55 named after Čexov in Yerevan, School No. 69 named after Saxarov in Yerevan-Šengavit; School No. 1 named after N. Aštarakec’i in the town of Aštarak and community school in the village of Aramus.

Šnorhakalutyun!

Hopefully this grammar will be of service and help for general and comparative linguists, typologists, for armenologists and for all those interested in Modern Eastern Armenian.
Introduction

a. Modern Eastern Armenian
Modern Eastern Armenian belongs to the group of the Indo-European languages and is classified as an independent branch of this language family. Together with Modern Western Armenian it represents the two written (Standard) varieties of Modern Armenian, which have developed as separate standard and literary languages since the 18th century. The major division of the Armenian language into two major dialectal blocks, Eastern and Western, was not only caused by divergent historic linguistic developments such as, phonetic shift, morphological and syntactic changes, but is also due to historical and political factors in the history of the Armenian people.

Modern Eastern Armenian has evolved because of its constant exposure to and contact with the languages of both its neighbours and also its alien conquerors. Modern Eastern Armenian shares many linguistic features with the neighbouring languages of the linguistic area of Caucasus/Armenian-Anatolian Highland, i.e. modern South-Caucasian, Turkic and Iranian languages. Among these features are: a lack of gender distinction, ternary opposition in plosives and affricates (voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated), predominant left branching of noun phrase attributes (ADJ N, DEM N, QNT N, GEN N, N POST), unmarked V + AUX, morphological agglutination in declensions following the common order noun-plural-case-determiner; it distinguishes transitives from intransitives by means of morphology and syntax; widespread use of participle constructions (to avoid or to shorten subordinate clauses) etc.

Modern Eastern Armenian distinguishes five cases in two numbers; it has a suffixed definite article as well as possessive suffixes for 1st and 2nd person also conveying demonstrative and agentive meaning; it uses postpositions almost exclusively. There is a general humanness distinction in the noun class, triggering, in simple terms, the use of the dative case with (+human) and the use of the unmarked nominative case with (–human) direct objects. Indefiniteness, however, interacts with the humanness distinction in the morphological marking and the syntactic position of the direct object.

The verbal system of Modern Eastern Armenian is comparatively, relatively complex: it shows transitive and intransitive (including inchoative) verbs that can be morphologically detransitivised (by means of the multifunctional – i.e. passive/anti-causative/reflexive/reciprocal – suffix -v-) and transitivised (by means of the causative suffix -c’n-); a distinctive system of tenses (also regarding aspect and aktionsart) and of moods. Modern Eastern Armenian has two verbal stems - present and perfect (or aorist) - from which the tenses and moods are formed. The tenses, except the aorist, are generally analytically formed with participles and the auxiliary. Modern Eastern Armenian can express terminative vs. non-terminative, durative vs. stative, the habitual,
the ingressive, but not the progressive aspects/aktionsarten. The aorist also conveys evidential meaning.

Modern Eastern Armenian has five moods, of which the debitive is a mood specific to Eastern Armenian and does not exist in Western Armenian. Modern Eastern Armenian also offers the possibility to express various aktionsarten/aspect stative vs. durative (habitual) vs. processual vs. progressive in both tenses and moods, depending on the participle and the auxiliary used and on the context.

Modern Eastern Armenian generates its sentences on the basis of the functional sentence perspective rather than on a fixed basic word order.

Modern Eastern Armenian is the official state language of the Republic of Armenia, where it is spoken by the majority, i.e. 97.9% (Census 2001, est. 2008 %) of its 3.213 million (Census 2001), est. 2008 3.230 million inhabitants. It is also the official state language of the unrecognised Republic of Mountainous Karabakh, where it is spoken by 95% of the Republic's 137,737 inhabitants (Census Oct. 2005). Modern Eastern Armenian and its dialects are also used in the regions bordering Armenia, namely in the southern region of Georgia called Javakh, mainly inhabited by Armenians but also in the Georgian capital of Tiflis. Eastern Armenian dialects are also spoken in some regions of the Caucasus: in Abkhazia, the Krasnodar region, in Azerbaijan. Modern Eastern Armenian is also employed by the worldwide Armenian Diaspora.

This grammar exclusively describes Modern Eastern Armenian as it is written (Standard Modern Eastern Armenian) and spoken in the Republic of Armenia. It definitely does not refer to any other vernacular or dialect spoken in Armenia’s bordering countries, particularly not to the Eastern Armenian as spoken in neighbouring Iran.

b. Outline of the history of formation of Modern Eastern Armenian

The history of MEA may be subdivided into four major periods\(^1\) that reflect the historical, socio-political and the linguistic changes in Armenia from the 18th century to the 21st century. These changes can be described as linguistic changes proper, having affected the linguistic features of both spoken and written MEA, but also in terms of the altered status of functions of MEA throughout its development and in terms of language policy.

1. Formation period of Early Modern Eastern Armenian (beginning of 18th century until the mid-19th century)
2. Pre-Soviet period (mid-19th century until 1920s)
4. Post-Soviet period (1991 to present)

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\(^1\) Jahukyan 1969:49f.
Formation period

The first significant efforts to describe the spoken Armenian language, which was termed Ašxarhabar “civil language” (as opposed to the “church language”, the still used Classical Armenian “Grabar”), can be traced back to Bałdasar Dpir in the 17th century, and particularly to the German scholar Johann Ioachim Schroeder. The latter published the “Thesaurus linguae armeniacae, antiquae et hodiernae” in Amsterdam in 1711, a comparison of Classical Armenian and the spoken Armenian vernacular. Although relating all features of “Modern Armenian” to Classical Armenian, Schroeder’s work contains a glut of useful linguistic information about the “civil language.”

The formation of Modern Eastern literary and standard language only took place in the mid-19th century, whereas the vernacular of Western Armenian, as spoken in Asia Minor and in the urban Ottoman Empire, was, for the first time, codified in the first half of the 18th century in the “Grammar of Modern Armenian” by Mxit’ar of Sebaste in Constantinople. Modern Western Armenian was conventionalised to its literary standard by another Mekhitarist father, Arsen Ayténean in Venice in 1866.

After the Russian-Persian war (1826-1828), the former Khanates of Erivan and Naxičevan were united to form the Province of Armenia under the Russian Tsarist government. The Lazaryan-Institute in Moscow, founded in 1815, and the Nersisyanschool in Tiflis, founded in 1814, became the centres of Eastern Armenian culture and language. The central dialect of Ararat Valley was chosen as the basis for the standard or written MEA. It should also be mentioned that the first publications in the new MEA standard developed by the Nersisyanschool in Tiflis were not broadly accepted and even prosecuted by public authorities of Tsarist Armenia; even new schoolbooks were banned from the classrooms. The first literary work in MEA, “Wounds of Armenia” was written by Xač’atur Abovyan, but it was also immediately forbidden and only published posthumously in Tiflis in 1858.

2. Mxit’ar of Sebaste was the founder of the Armenian-Catholic congregation called “Mekhitarists” in 1701.


4. The leading role of the dialect of Aštarak belonging to the group of dialects of the central Ararat plain is usually explained by the fact that the founder of the Nersesyan-Institute in Tbilisi, Nersēs Aštarakec’i, came from the small town of Aštarak.

5. The historical novel ṿępųr կյանքային Verk’ Hayastani “Wounds of Armenia” was the first Armenian secular novel dedicated to the fate of the Armenian people and its struggle for liberation in the period of Russo-Persian war of 1826–1828. Before writing the novel, Abovyan also tried to write a comparative grammar of Classical Armenian and the newly codified Modern Eastern Armenian in 1839–1490.
Pre-Soviet period (end of the 19th century)

This period, at the end of the 19th century, is characterised by the term “grapayk’ar”, i.e. the conflict between the revival of Classical Armenian and the rise of the newly created MEA.

Again it was in Tiflis that the first work in MEA appeared—in the weekly periodical ‘Ararat’ in 1850. It was Mik’ayel Nalbandyan, who first tried to describe the new standard, independent from the paradigms of Classical Armenian, in 1860; his grammatical treatises are, however, not completely preserved. In 1870, Step’anos Palasanyan published his seminal grammar “A general theory of the new literary Armenian language, Eastern Armenian”⁶. This grammar opened a new era: the triumphal procession of Modern Eastern Armenian and its unstoppable spread in Tsarist Armenia. This grammar, and the following school grammar “Grammar of the Mother Tongue”⁷ in 1874, remained the undisputed norm until Manuk Abelyan’s progressive works in 1906-1912.

Establishing MEA was the main aim of the Armenian nationalists at the eve of the Armenian massacres in the Ottoman Empire. Armenians were not simply fighting for their political independence, but for their survival and for the maintenance of their main ethnic frame: their homeland, their people and their language.

One should keep in mind that the severe political demarcation of the 19th century in the Armenian settlements between Ottomans, Russians and Persians has also made an impact on the spread and the use of the newly developed MEA; i.e. the political demarcation line also gradually became a distinct linguistic border between the two literary standards of Modern Armenian. Linguistically, this period is characterised by the adoption of some features of MEA vernacular and even some dialects in the newly created standard, as in the changes in the plural paradigm or major changes in the verbal classes affecting tense formation, voice and mood. Through the grammaticalisation of these typical features of MEA, the existing divergence with MWA was additionally deepened.

Soviet period

During the Soviet era, Eastern Armenian was definitely shaped in the most significant and fundamental way: (a) by explicitly describing, defining and labelling the specific linguistic feature of MEA in manifold grammars (representing various, often differing linguistic approaches to MEA); (b) by obtaining new linguistic functions, particularly in new domains in political, scientific and economic life, but also in administrational and

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⁶. Palasanean, St. 1870. Ėndhanur tesuyun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc’. (General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language), Tiflis. See p. 8

juridical matters and (c) by equalling the status of an official national, and thus state, language of the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

The constant strengthening of MEA as the main means of communication in Soviet Armenia was heavily disturbed and even undermined by a rigorous Russification policy by central Moscow. Despite the fact that MEA had assured its position as the national language of Soviet Armenia, in many crucial domains it was clearly endangered by Russian; particularly in the very sensitive domains of education, science, military and administration. Russian had become the second, almost obligatory, language in Armenia, and, until the end of the 80s, most ethnic Armenians were more or less bilingual. The educational system was in Russian, and a good command of Russian was the major precondition for higher education. Apart from that, speaking Russian was also regarded as having a high social prestige and of being up to date.

Russian has also strongly influenced many linguistic features of Armenian. Undoubtedly, it was particularly the lexicon that was influenced: a wide range of loans from Russian and several internationalisms transferred into Armenian through Russian and also many loan translations.

There were many changes in morphology and syntax – triggered by internal linguistic factors, such as typological tendencies, but also external factors such as language contact and the pro-Russian language policy.8

One of the most important changes during the Soviet period was the Orthography Reform. The Soviet Orthography Reform of 1922 disunited the written MEA and MWA by abandoning historical, (i.e. etymological) writing and the elimination of the classical letter viwn. Some of the mistakes of the early reform were corrected in the second reform in 1940, but the gap between the official orthography of Soviet Armenian and the Armenian literary languages outside of Armenia remain.

Post-Soviet period

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the political independence of Armenia declared in 1991, the Armenian language was brought to the fore by the Armenian leaders and intelligentsia. Armenian thus became the centre of attention not only of overzealous Armenian linguists, but also of historians and politicians. It is not surprising at all that the Armenian Language Law and the so-called State Language Office (Hayastani hanrapetut’yan kařavarut’yan ařeñt’er lezvi petakan tesčut’yun) were founded during the darkest period of Armenia’s independence, in 1993: in the shadow of the armed conflict on Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia was not only confronted with tremendous economic and energy problems, but also with a

major demographic change in Armenia caused mainly by emigration waves from Armenia capturing ethnic Armenians as well as non-ethnic Armenians.

It was important to encourage and strengthen the re-awakened ‘Armenianness’ by means of a rigorous language policy and language reforms: both led to the monopoly position of Armenian language in RA. Thus the first years of Armenia’s independence were characterised “De-Russification” and “Re-Armenisation” in a wide range of former Russian domains, such as public administration, education or military. With the opening of the Republic of Armenia to Western Culture, the technical, political, economic terminology has often been “internationalised”, in sensu stricto “anglicised”.


Linguistic purism and conservatism are often regarded as the basic principles of Armenian language policy. Starting from the first years of independence until now, purist leaders and linguists have been trying to either re-introduce archaic or obsolete Classical Armenian terms or to create odd loan-translations for many foreign words. Purism is also explicitly included in Article 3 of Law on Language: “In official conversation, citizens of the Republic of Armenia shall be obliged to ensure the purity of language.”

The State Language Office also undertakes the responsibility to keep Armenian clean from foreign influences “to preserve originality and to ensure free and unconstrained development.”

Linguistic conservatism is also a popular concomitant of the purist language policy. This is particularly observable in the gap between the currently spoken Armenian vernacular and the written standard. All text books and school grammars simply overlook the linguistic development of the last few years and are conservatively prescriptive in the truest sense of the world. Even linguists kept their conservative Armenian grammar tradition, not opening grammar to other description methods and approaches. Conservatism is particularly observable in school teaching, where children have to keep their spoken language clean from vernacular Armenian – and must not use “incorrect” forms. Everything deviating even slightly from the prescriptive rules as given by grammars is regarded as incorrect and bad language.

It is striking, however, that major demographic changes in Armenia since 1991 – such as mass emigration, immigration of refugees from Mountainous Karabakh and Azerbaijan, rural exodus and repatriation of Diaspora Armenians - have influenced Eastern Arm. lg: various Eastern (above all Iranian-Armenian) dialects have caused a process of

“dialectalisation” and the contact with Western Armenian has also left interferences to a surprisingly high extent. This “Westernisation” can be regarded as a natural convergence of the two existing literary Modern Armenian varieties.

c. Outline of the history of grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian\textsuperscript{11}

The development of Eastern Armenian grammars can be regarded as a reflection of the general advance of grammars over the last few centuries, starting from (a) “comparative grammars”, which mainly embody a comparison of the present formal properties with those of the classical source language and rather “morphological-historical grammars”; (b) “particular language grammars”, which usually describe a particular modern language independent from its classical predecessor language, but still being mainly orientated on morphology; (c) the typical “structural, traditional grammars” of the 20th century, with the first description of syntactic regularities and properties of a particular language, but still using the traditional terminology based on Latin/Greek grammars and (d) “reference grammars”, typological grammars based on universal terminology and mainly orientated on the description of (morpho)syntactic properties of a natural language.

From the very beginning of the grammatical descriptions of Modern Eastern Armenian one can find all types of grammars, except the modernised reference grammars, which might be due to the scientific traditions in Armenia, which seem to have not yet reached the same scientific level and approaches as has European or American linguistics.

a. “Comparative grammars”, which are usually called “

grabaratip” (Classical Armenian-type) in Armenian:
– As already mentioned above, the first description of the colloquial language of the 18th century Armenians written by J. Schröder in 1711. Abovyan based his descriptive grammar of 1839/40 on Schröder’s work, defining the “civil language” by means of Classical Armenian and dealing with case syncretism, declensional classes, verbal voice and tenses and the use of participles.

b. “Particular language grammars”, which are usually called “

ink’natip” (original) in Armenian:
– In 1860, Mik’ael Nalbandyan wrote a grammar of Modern Armenian without comparing its properties with Classical Armenian, but describing this new language as a separate linguistic system. Unfortunately only sections of his grammar remain; in

\textsuperscript{11} Jahukyan 1969: 49–90.
these sections he describes the nominal inflection, syncretism, the plural marking of nouns and the suffixed articles.

- The first concise grammar of Modern Armenian and linguistic signpost for further grammarians, however, is Step’łnos Palasanyan’s “Endhanur tesut’yun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc’” (“General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language”), written in 1870. His work book “K’erakanut’yun mayreni lezvi” (Grammar of the Mother Tongue), written in 1874, was used in Armenian schools until the year 1906. Palasanyan mainly contributed to the description of the nominal paradigms and attributes.

- Further concise grammars were written by Manuk Abełyan and his successor H. Petrosyan at the beginning of the 20th century. It was Abełyan above all, who not only provided the first detailed description of the Modern Armenian tense system, but also introduced the term “transitivity” into the verbal forms and demonstrated the functions of the resultative participle in his publications: 1906 “Ašxarhabari k’erakanut’yun” (Grammar of the Modern Language), 1908 “Ašxarhabari holovnerē” ( Declinations of the Modern Language), 1909 “Hayc’akan holovē mer ašxarhabarum” (The Accusative Case in our Modern Armenian), 1912 “Ašxarhabari šarahyusut’yun” (Syntax of Modern Armenian) and 1931 “Hayoc’ lezvi tesut’yun” (Theory of Armenian Language). Abełyan was the first Armenian linguist to explore the Armenian case system in detail (reducing the number of cases from seven to five). He also worked on declension, definiteness and on the tense system, particularly on the function of the resultative participle. In his later grammar, “Theory of Armenian Language” (1931), he tried to defend his approach, particularly of his five-case system. It was his idea of five cases that has initiated a major debate on the number and classification of cases in Modern Eastern Armenian, which continues today. His successors mainly focused on the tense system and on participles.

- The first structural grammars, also dealing for the first time with word formation and sentence patterns, appeared in the thirties; morphology, however, remained in the focus of grammatical interest. Some of the grammarians of the 30s denied morphological approaches, but tried to explain and describe Modern Armenian by means of semantics and functions of grammatical forms instead.

- Remarkable works among this “semantic” group are the grammars of A. Łaribyan in 1934 “Hayoc’ lezvi k’erakanut’yan dasagirkē” (Schoolbook of the Grammar of Armenian Language), of G. Sevak 1936 “Hayoc’ lezvi šarahyusut’yunē” (Syntax of Armenian Language). Many Armenian linguists specialised in certain features of Modern Eastern Armenian: on declension and conjugation. Also famous linguists like H. Ačariyan (“Liakatar k’erakanut’yun hayoc’ lezvi ’hamematut’yamb 562 lezuneri” (A Complete Grammar of Armenian – compared with 562 languages) 1952–1967) and E. Alayan (“Hayoc’ lezvi k’erakanut’yunē” (Armenian Grammar) and “Žamanakakic’ hayereni holovumē ew xonarhumē” (Modern Armenian Declension and Conjugation) 1967) made
quite impressive contributions to MEA grammar. These armenologists can be regarded as having had a formative influence on Modern Eastern Armenian grammars with their traditional, preferably morphological and only marginally syntactic descriptions. Łaribyan studied the Armenian negation participle, Sevak the functions and forms of the perfect participles and both have worked on the verbal moods. Alayan tried to answer specific questions about Modern Eastern Armenian declension and conjugation, also about word formation. The brilliant Ačaryan compared the grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian with the formal properties of 562 languages. In addition to the publications mentioned above there is a wide range of studies and papers on various morphological and morphosyntactic features of Eastern Armenian, mainly written in the fifties and sixties.

- In 1975 Sergey Abrahamyan produced a precise grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian “Žamanakakic’ Hayereni Kerakanutyun”, based on the findings of his numerous predecessors, the traditional terminology of his scientific surroundings and on the description of morphological rather than syntactic features. The later published book “Žamanakakic’ grakan Hayeren” (Literary Modern Armenian) (1981) contains neither essential new findings nor more detailed syntactic descriptions. Indeed, it is complete regarding morphology, but provides only scant information about syntactic constructions. Its syntactic part is confined to the description of the various types of sentences, but there is absolutely no information about specific syntactic constructions, word-order and serialisation of noun-phrase components, emphasised order patterns or focussing. All following grammar books published in Armenia are mainly based on the predecessors given above, such as e.g. Azatyan. Remarkable is that some of the grammatical methods of G. Jahukyan, mainly influenced by the Russian schools of linguistics, have definitely shown some new approaches.

It goes without saying, that the grammars used and published in Armenia were mainly written for use in schools and in institutes of higher education and are thus for native speakers. This fact may explain the apparent lack of general linguistic information, of modern linguistic explanations and of internationally standardised linguistic terminology.

Moreover, the many linguistic changes Modern Eastern Armenian has undergone, not only in spoken but also in written Armenian, are not at all contained in these prescriptive, often purist Armenian grammars. Even native speakers do not understand why the special linguistic features they frequently use are not even mentioned in recent Armenian grammars – and this has nothing to do with any dialectal or specific sociolectal forms in urban Yerevan.

Only a few Western linguists and armenologists have contributed grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian that can be regarded simply as teaching aids, except for more modernised grammars: Martiros Minassian’s detailed, but often criticized, “Grammaire d’arménien oriental”, (1980) and Natalya Kozintseva’s short grammar “Modern Eastern Armenian”, (1995). Kozintseva has written many articles about the special linguistics features of Modern Eastern
Armenian; her linguistic work and pioneering spirit in Armenian Linguistics has laid the foundation for modern linguistic approaches to Modern Eastern Armenian and has definitely also contributed to many chapters in the present grammar.

**Transliteration of Modern Eastern Armenian alphabet**

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# Abbreviations used

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<td>verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vpart</td>
<td>verbal particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orthography and spelling of Armenian letters

Standard Modern Eastern Armenian (SMEA) has 39 graphemes. SMEA orthography is basically phonemic, with exceptions (a) of the schwa phoneme, which in certain positions is not reflected in orthography and, (b) some consonant realisations deviating from orthography. The orthography used in Armenia nowadays goes back to the Soviet orthography reform of 1922 and its revision of 1940.12

The main features of the orthography reform of 1922 were the neutralization of classical, etymological writing and the adjustment of phonetic realization and writing:

a. ę́ and ą́ were completely deleted from the alphabet and were replaced by ę and ą.

b. The initial ę́ [ę] and ą́ [ą] were written phonetically, i.e. with the initial glide, e.g. ę́ę́ę́ “yere”, ę́ę́ę́ “no”.

c. The old letter ą was replaced by the letter ę as in ęęę “yere”.

d. ę́ and ą́ were reintroduced, but only in the initial position, and, in a few words, also in the final position. In the medial position the writing of these letters coincides with the ę and ą.

In the 1940 revision of this orthography reform,

a. ę́ and ą́ were reintroduced, but only in the initial position, and, in a few words, also in the final position. In the medial position the writing of these letters coincides with the ę and ą.

b. The initial ę́ [ę] and ą́ [ą] are always realized with a glide, were again written without the initial glide.

c. In some complex words the etymological writing has been reintroduced too, as in ę́ę́ę “yere”, ę́ę́ę “no”.

d. ę and ą are only written across morpheme boundary with ę́ or ą́ and ę́ or ą́ (particularly in inflection).
This is the alphabetic order of Armenian letters (from left to right) with the usual transliteration and their (isolated) phonetic value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ա</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>բ</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>գ</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>դ</td>
<td>d</td>
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<tr>
<td>ե</td>
<td>e</td>
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<td>dz</td>
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<tr>
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<td>j</td>
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<td>ջ</td>
<td>jh</td>
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<tr>
<td>կ</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>լ</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>լճ</td>
<td>l’</td>
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<tr>
<td>մ</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>ն</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>օ</td>
<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td>օճ</td>
<td>o’h</td>
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<tr>
<td>ո</td>
<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td>ֆ</td>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
<td>և</td>
<td>jv</td>
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<tr>
<td>ի</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>ժ</td>
<td>ž</td>
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<tr>
<td>ճ</td>
<td>t’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ch</td>
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<td>իղ</td>
<td>i’h</td>
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<td>չեկ</td>
<td>ch’ek</td>
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<td>ev’’</td>
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<tr>
<td>կերջ’</td>
<td>kev’’</td>
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<td>ev’’’</td>
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<td>իերջ’’</td>
<td>i’ev’’’</td>
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<tr>
<td>իք</td>
<td>i’k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>իջ’</td>
<td>i’j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>եջ’:</td>
<td>ev’’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>եջ’’</td>
<td>ev’’’</td>
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<tr>
<td>եջ’’’</td>
<td>ev’’’’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>իերջ’’’</td>
<td>i’ev’’’’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.1 Phonological units – Sound system

SMEA has an inventory of 36 phonemes (with allophonic realisations) of which six are vowels and 30 are consonants.

#### 1.1.1 Vowels

SMEA distinguishes six vowel phonemes with a vowel system which is much richer in back and open-mid vowels.

- **Front**
  - Near front: ɪ
  - Central: ʊ
  - Near back: ʊ
- **Central**
  - Close mid: ɔ
- **Mid**
  - Near close: ɛ
  - Near open: ə
- **Open**
  - Open mid: ɤ

The back vowels [ʊ] and [ɔ] are rounded, the near back vowel [ɑ] is unrounded.

SMEA has no distinctive quantity opposition and also has no difference in the opening of the vowels.

As given above, there is a positional difference in the phonetic realisation of some vowels, mainly in the initial position for the open mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], as will be explained later.

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in details below, and for the close back vowel [u] in colloquial/dialectal Armenian in the position following [j] as [ʊ], i.e. more centralised.

These positional allophonic differences are also expressed in orthography. Whereas the writing and pronunciation of the vowel phonemes u a [a], h i [i] and n u [u] are the same in all positions, there are positional differences in the writing and spelling of ë e and ĭ ë for [ɛ] and n o and o ô for [ɔ].

The difference expressed in having two graphemes for each of the two phonemes [ɛ] and [ɔ], namely ë e and ĭ ë for [ɛ] and n o and o ô for [ɔ] is caused by the historic change from diachronic Armenian, by former distributional differences14 (the phonemes had been real allophones in diachronic Armenian) and by orthographical conventions.

1. The open mid front vowel phoneme [ɛ], orthographically expressed ë e and ĭ ë

a. In the initial position [ɛ] is usually pronounced with a glide as [jɛ].

As stated above, the glide is not written; thus, in the initial position [jɛ] is written with ë e and, as for example in: Երևան Erewan [jɛɾewan], էրչեռ երազ [jɛɾaz] “dream”; էս էս [jes] “I”;

- The exception to this rule in the initial position is found in the present tense forms of the auxiliary, which are pronounced without the initial glide as [ɛ], as in եմ em [em] “I am”, էս էս [jes] “you are”, եկեր enk’ [ɛŋk’] “we are” եկեր ek’ [ɛk’] “you are”, են en [en] “they are”. In colloquial Armenian, however, the forms of the auxiliary present tense are spoken with the glide [j] as is the case of the final vowel in the participle, e.g. գնալու եմ [gŋalu _jem] “I will go”.15

- There are only some words written with the initial [ɛ] pronounced without the glide as [ɛ], such as ĭ ես [ɛʃ] “donkey”, եներ ելան [ɛɾan] “cheap”, էջ էջ [ɛdʒ] “page” etc. or loans such as եպոս եպոս [epos] “epic”, Էլեկտրոն էլեկտրոն [elektron] “electron” etc. These words are written with the letter ĭ ե [ɛ].

b. In the medial and final positions [ɛ] is realised as [ɛ].

- There is, however, an exception to this rule of word formation in which the internal [ɛ] is pronounced with an initial glide as [jɛ]: in the case of words (compounds or with

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14. According to historical linguistics, Classical Armenian exhibited a phonological difference between [ɛ], written as e and the diphthong-like vowel [e(j)] written as ĭ ե, which only occurs in stressed syllables. It could have developed from an Indo-European diphthong [ej]. The grapheme ô ô was only introduced in the 12th century to replace the classical diphthong [aw], expressed by the digraph ւ ւ, e.g. classical ւռ ավր versus medieval/modern ոռ օռ “day”. The evidence for a pronunciation with the initial glide extending back to the historical period is unclear. Classical texts often transcribe Greek names beginning with epsilon or the alpha-iota diphthong with the initial e, whereas the Armenian word for “Jerusalem” written as Երուսաղեմ Êrusalêm may indicate that the initial ë e was pronounced with a glide [jɛ]. The pronunciation of the initial [ɔ], written n o as [ʊɔ] seems to be post-classical.

prefixes), in which a vowel, usually [a], precedes the second part with the initial [je], as in the superlative forms with prefixes իցառ- kisa- “semi-; half”, հակա- haka- “counter-; contra-; against “, համա- “all-; pan-” e.g. in ամենակերկար համա- երքար “the longest” իցառակից kisa-կիսա- “semi-; half “, էջի- եգերի “coun-ter-; contra-; against “, էպի- եմա “all-; pan-” e.g. in կիսա-կիսա-երքար kisajezrapâkit [kisajezrapâkit] հակա-եկելեցյական [hakajekêetsêyan] “anticlerical” համա-եվրոպական [hamajêvropayan] “all-European; pan-european” etc.

- If, however, a consonant precedes the second constituent with the initial [e], this is usually spoken without the glide as [e], as in ապար-երճան [aper[têjan] “unhappy”, գետ-էզրք get-ezrêk [getezrêk] “river bank, river side”, պարեր [parêr] “dance song” etc.

There are major differences in the pronunciation of [e] between SMEA and colloquial Eastern Armenian, particularly in two cases:

- In compounds where the second part starts with a [e] and follows with a final consonant of the first part (i.e. C+e), this [e] has to be pronounced without a glide in SMEA. In colloquial, and even in public/journalistic Eastern Armenian, however, it is usually pronounced with a glide as [je]. This is particularly true for compound numerals where the second part is formed with the numerals երկու erku [jêrku] “two” and երեք erêk [jêrek]b], such as e.g. տասերք tasêrêk [tâsêrêk]u versus colloquial [tâsêrêk]u “twelve”, քսերք k'sanêrek [k'bsanêrek] versus colloquial [k'bsanêrek] “twenty-three”.17

- In verb formations with the prefixes է- k- of conditional mood and the negative prefix է- -c-. In SMEA, the vowel has to be pronounced without a glide,18 such as e.g. կերգել kergem [kerêm] “I shall sing” as opposed to the colloquial Armenian which generally pronounces with a glide կերգել kergem [k'ajêrkêem]; or Standard է-երջել է-երջել [tôêrekêetsêi] “I did not sing” versus colloquial Armenian [tôêl(ơ)jêrekêetsêi].

The realisation with a glide, particularly in the verbal forms, seems, however, to prevail, and is highly conventionalized.

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16. There are also other realizations of this numeral in colloquial Armenian, also [tâsêrêk], i.e. without -n-.

17. (Łaragyulyan 1981: 59) and (Zak'aryan 1981:173) regard the pronunciation of the medial [e] in the word formation without a glide as normative and standard, whereas the pronunciation with the glide [je] is given as colloquial. (Vaux 1998:14) additionally claims that the glide does not occur in compounds. (Minassian 1996:17) regards the glide realization as the common, i.e. conventionalised ones.

In orthography, the grapheme ե is mainly used in the medial and final positions, such as e.g. in պետություն beran [beran] “mouth”, տեղ lezu [lezu], հեռախոս heraxos [heraxos] “phone”, բազե baze [baze] “falcon”, ոսկե oske [oske] “golden” etc. The grapheme ե, however, occurs in the medial and final positions only in a few words: ունից dolérock’ “fewer; malaria”, սուրբ manre “microbe” and its derivations, հանգստա hnaēban “palaeontologist” and its derivations, երբեմ “sometime, ever”, ուրա orewë “any”, ովեր orewë “anybody”.

2. The Open Mid Back Vowel Phoneme [ɔ], orthographically expressed as ո or օ ո

a. In the initial position ո is usually pronounced with a glide as [ɾ]. e.g. որդի ordi [ɔɾdi] “son”, որտեր ortel [ɔɾteɾ] “where”; ոսկե oske [oske] “golden” etc. The glide is not expressed in orthography (compare the orthography of [ɾ] as ե). The exception to this realisation with the glide as [ɾ] in the initial position are mainly the interrogative pronoun որ որ “who?” and its derivations such as որուհով ovker [ɔɾkʰer] “who?” (plural), ովերի orewic’ ē “whoever”.

– There are only some words which are pronounced without a glide as [ɾ], such as օր օր “day”, օգնել ognel [ɔɡʰnel] “to help”, օդանավ օդանավ “plane” etc. or loans such as օբյեկտ obyekt “object”, օպերա օպերա “opera” etc. In these words, the initial ո is represented by the grapheme օ.

– The same exceptions as above with the vowel [ɾ] also apply to the vowel [ɔ] in the word formation: the internal ո or օ is pronounced with an initial glide as [ɾ]: in such words (compounds or those with prefixes), in which a vowel, usually ու or ա [a], precedes the second part of the word with the initial ո or օ, as in the superlative form ամենահրամետ amenaolormel [amenaworkmel] “the most pitiable”. If a consonant precedes the second part of the word with the initial ո or օ [ɔ] is spoken without glide, as in e.g. անորսալи anorsali [anorsali] “unhunteable”.

Again, spoken Standard and colloquial Armenian differ in respect of realising [ɔ] with or without a glide in compounds (a) and verbal forms (b) with the conditional prefix ե- k- and negative prefix ը- ե’-. Standard Armenian prescribes, in both cases, the realisation without the glide; whereas in colloquial Armenian realisation with the glide is common.

Stand. անորս անորս [anors] “uncertain” versus Coll. [anors]
Stand. եբորություն elborordi [jẹxɔɾoɾtbi] “fraternal nephew; brother’s son” versus Coll. [jẹxɔɾoɾtbi]
Stand. կորում korošem [kɔɾɛm] “I shall decide” versus Coll. [kɔɾɛm]
Stand. լորոշեն čorošec’i [tʃɔɾoʃetsbi] “I did not decide” versus Coll. [[tʃ(ə)ɾ oʃetsbi]

The colloquial realisation with a glide is, however, very frequent and widespread and has even entered into public speech – it seems to be highly conventional.
Chapter 1. Phonology

The phoneme [ɔ] is represented by two graphemes տ տ, e.g. տ տ appears in all positions, whereas տ տ is restricted to the initial position in some inherited words of Classical Armenian.¹⁹

3. The schwa phoneme ե [ə]

The Armenian schwa is realised as a mid central vowel.
The orthography of this schwa is, unfortunately, not clear.
The schwa is written in the initial position and in the final position if it expresses the allomorphic definite article -ե ե. In most cases, however, the schwa is pronounced in consonant clusters to generate syllables, but not written, see below Ch. 1.2.2 “Consonant clusters”, p. 30f.

1.1.2 Consonants

The consonant system of SMEA comprises 30 phonemes.
The most interesting features of the consonantal inventory are:

– the tripartite opposition in the plosive and affricate series, voiced, voiceless and voiceless aspirated,
– the two contrastive rhotics: one tense trill [r] and one lax flap [ɾ],
– the presence of two uvular¹²⁰ fricatives, voiced [ʁ] and voiceless [χ].²¹

1. Plosives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>bʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the most characteristic series of the SMEA consonant system. In some publications, the voiceless plosives are also defined as ejectives or glottalised. Glottalised plosives occur in various Armenian dialects and can also be found in the Eastern Armenian vernacular

¹⁹. Please note that the letter տ տ is not of Armenian origin, but was introduced into Middle Armenian by foreign influence. It replaced the classical writing of wa տա [wa] before consonants, post-classically realised as [ɔ].

²⁰. In older and traditional grammars, these fricatives are usually given as velar. Also in Abrahamyan 1981: 15, Afakelyan et al. 1979: 24. Vaux 1998 and others argue for uvular fricatives.

²¹. This seems to be a controversial approach in Armenian linguistics. Whereas in most traditional grammars and even in school grammars Standard Modern Eastern Armenian is said to represent velar fricatives [x] [ɣ] with the graphemes ա x and ե й and thus also reflects the supposed Classical Armenian consonant system; newer Western grammars tend to see uvular fricatives as realizations of է x and ե й.
based on the Yerevan dialect, but according to normative grammars, SMEA shows no glottalised voiceless plosives.

Some minimal pair examples:

voiceless: voiceless

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>քաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to feel”</td>
<td>սաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to mourn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կառ [kɑɾ] “class”</td>
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voiceless: voiceless aspirated

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<td>կաղ կում [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
</tr>
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</table>

2. Fricatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կուր [kɔɾ] “sister”</td>
<td>կաղ կուր [kɔɾ] “sister”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կում [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
<td>կաղ կում [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fricatives occur in all positions.

The labiodental voiceless fricative [f] is not a prototypical Armenian sound in the initial position; it was introduced into the Armenian consonant system in the late medieval, middle Armenian period. Nowadays mainly loans show this sound in the initial position, but it appears frequently in the final position.

Some examples for minimal pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>կաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to feel”</td>
<td>սաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to mourn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կառ [kɑɾ] “class”</td>
<td>կաղ կառ [kɑɾ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կոր [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
<td>կաղ կոր [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կոռ [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
<td>կաղ կոռ [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կուր [kɔɾ] “sister”</td>
<td>կաղ կուր [kɔɾ] “sister”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կաղ կում [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
<td>կաղ կում [kɔɾ] “to feel”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fricatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labiodental</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [çaɾtʰ] “ornament”</td>
<td>սաղ ժաթ [çaɾtʰ] “spider”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>կաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to feel”</td>
<td>սաղ ժառանգ [çaɾɡal] “to mourn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postalveolar</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvular</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “hair”</td>
<td>կաղ ճար [kɑɾtʰ] “part”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fricatives occur in all positions.
3. **Affricates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>postalveolar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples:

voices: voiceless

voiceless: voiceless aspirated

δόντ ccel [tsatsel] “to suck” : γγγ c’cel [tsʰatsel] “to stick into”

4. **Nasals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveodental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alveodental nasal [n] is usually realised as [n], but has several allophonic variants in assimilation, a palatal nasal [n] preceding postalveolar affricates, as in ωυπγινεϊ anjelidi [ʔινεϊ] “indestructible” and a velar nasal [n] preceding velar plosives, as in ωυπγινεϊ ankareli [ʔινεϊ] “impossible” or even as bilabial nasal [m] following bilabial plosives. See “Nasal assimilation”, p. 28.

5. **Rhotics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>alveolar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In SMEA the flap [r] is much more wide-spread than its trill counterpart.

The flap [r] can be found in all positions, whereas the distribution of trill [r] is comparatively restricted.

[χարեն], “to mix” etc. In final position trill r [ɾ] is also found; also in some words which have lost their originally final n from Classical Armenian as in օրստ [nur] “pomegranate”, [ռո] ղեռ [ler] “mountain”, գար [gar] “lamb” etc.22

Some examples for minimal pairs:


6. **Approximants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In SMEA, the labial approximant [v] occurs:

- as a glide with the initial ն o, as in որջ [ordi] “son”, ոսկո [oski] “gold” etc.
- as a glide following [je] in the lexeme ավ [jev] “and” and its compositions; and as a glide following [e] in the medial position before other vowels as in Երևան [jerevan], Երեվի [jervi] “evidently”; and as a glide in the final position following [e] as in e.g. Օրովեթեր [xorve] “because, since”, Պաղես [park] “gift” etc.
- This phonetic combination of the vowel [e] and the glide [v] is graphemically expressed by the graphemic combination եվ.

The palatal approximant [j] occurs as:

- as a glide with the initial բ e in [je],
- in the initial, medial and final position in combination with vowels in so-called glide formation, or “unreal” diphthongs, such as in the initial position e.g. երեկություն [yasan] “lilac”, յուր եր [jor] “seven”, կարես [gar] “to oint”, Երևան [jerevan], Երեվի [jervi] “evidently”; and as a glide in the final position following [e] as in e.g. Օրովեթեր [xorve] “because, since”, Պաղես [park] “gift” etc.
- in the hiatus position between two vowels, particularly in inflection, word formation and derivation in hiatus of a/o/e and i, as e.g. Երաժիշտ ռադիոյ [radij] “of

22. Please note that the position of a rhotic before alveodental nasal [n], does not automatically imply that this rhotic is realized as trill. This is particularly true for word formation, where flap [ɾ] meets [n] because of alternations, as in e.g. գարնան-ային “spring-like” > գառ “spring” or with suffixed definite article -n in case of following vowel, e.g., Կարես կար մեկ շրջ: Վարդան-է նրա մեկ շրջ է. “Vardan is her big love”

The (alveolar) lateral approximant [l] occurs in all positions. It shows “dark” and “light” or palatalized allophones, particularly in colloquial Armenian. The dark allophone is realised with a raised back part of the tongue and is regarded as the more frequent and neutral allophone. Palatalized [lj], with the tongue arched against the soft palate, occurs particularly in the colloquial Armenian realisation of loans from Russian, e.g. in the Russian loan տարած ալբոմ [albom] “album”.

1.1.3 Diphthongs

SMEA is often considered not to have “real diphthongs”.

There are, however, vowel combinations or glide-vowel combinations, which can be understood as diphthongs in a broad sense of definition.

The glide որ [j] combines with vowels and generates the following quasi-diphthongs in SMEA; i.e. rising [oj] [oj] [oj] and falling [j] [j] [j], graphically expressed with the grapheme combinations որ a, որ ey, որ oy, որ uy and որ ya, որ yo and որ yu. The glide itself is spoken weakly.

Examples

հոր hayr [hajr] “father”
սայլ sayl [sajl] “cart”
գայլ gayl [gajl] “wolf”
այսոր ayšor [ajšor] “today”
փայքար paykar [paʃkar] “battle, struggle”
թե’ թե’ têy [tẽj] “tea”
Զեյթ’ուն Zeyt’un [zejtʰun] “Zeyt’un” (place name)
Սեյրան Seyran [sejran] “Seyran” (personal name)

ղոյ xo’y [χəj] “ram”
Բո’ Բո’ Noy [Nɔj] “Noah”
Հանոյ Hanoy [hɑnɔj] “Hanoi”
գույն guyn [gujn] “colour”
հաչուyk’ haçuyk’ [hɑçuykʰ] “pleasure”
լույս luyş [lujs] “light”
նուն kuys [kujs] “nun”

23. In Russian, if the lateral is followed by a so-called ‘soft-indicating’ vowel, i.e. я ja, е je, ё jo, и i, ю ju and the soft sign -ь’, it is spoken as “soft” or palatalized consonant [lj], as in e.g. воля vo’lja [vo’la] “will, volition”.
In an unstressed position, in inflection or word-formation, diphthongs may be subject to alternations and monophthongization (see below).

1.2 Phonotactics

1.2.1 Writing and pronunciation of SMEA consonants

The phonetic realisation and the orthography of the consonants in SMEA diverge in some cases. This divergence is caused by some phonological changes.

Please note, that the “rules” of (a) devoicing and/or aspiration, (b) s-aspiration and (c) fricative voice assimilation given below are NOT strict and general rules in SMEA: they are only applied to one part of the lexicon (see below), whereas the other part is still pronounced without a devoicing or aspiration. In spoken, colloquial Eastern Armenian devoicing and aspiration are widely-spread due to analogy. There are also often doublets.

a. Devoicing and Aspiration of Voiced Plosives and Affricates

In SMEA there is, in principle, no terminal devoicing: voiced consonants in general remain voiced in the final position.

Terminal devoicing (and aspiration) as well as medial devoicing (and aspiration) may, however, happen with voiced plosives and affricates in special distribution:

– r-devoicing and –aspiration

If the medial or final voiced consonant follows the flap [ɾ] [ɾ], it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

- դոռ [dorpʰ] “test, attempt”; դեռ [derʰ] “bear” etc.
Voiced plosives and affricates following the flap [ɾ] are realised as voiced in the following cases:

- in loans from dialectal forms that have been included in normative MEA, e.g. դարդ [dard] “grief, care”, նարդի [nardi] “Nardi (Backgammon)”, բուրջ [burdʒ] “tower”, մարջան [mardʒan] “coral” etc.
- in some new loans
- usually in reduplicated forms such as e.g. գրգիր [gərgir] “excitement”, բաբար [babar] “dialect” etc.
- SMEA has adopted some words of colloquial or even dialectal Eastern Armenian in popular folk sayings. In the original dialects or colloquial forms the plosives and affricates appear as devoiced and aspirated, whereas in SMEA in quoting these dialectal/colloquial lexemes the plosives and affricates following [ɾ] are realised as voiced. e.g. dia. դարդ [dard] > նարդաք [nardaq] “crafty; cheat”, dia. բաբար [babar] > բորբոկել [borbokel] “to kindle, to inflame”.

- Preceding vowel devoicing and aspiration
If the final voiced consonant follows a vowel, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration. If the medial voiced consonant appears between two vowels, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

- if a bilabial voiced [b] follows a bilabial nasal [m], as in համբույր [hambuyr] “kiss”
- if the dental voiced consonant d [d] follows the alveodental nasal [n], as in անդամ [andam] “member”, խնդիր [xdir] “problem, question”, կենդանի [kendani] “alive; animal” etc.
- if the velar voiced plosive [g] follows the velar nasal [ŋ], as in the word անգամ [ŋangam] “times”

b. S-aspiration of Voiceless Plosives
Voiceless plosives may be subject to aspiration if they are followed by sibilants, e.g. ապստամբել [apʰstambel] “to revolt”, ափսել [apʰsel] “to be surprised” etc.

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c. **Fricative Voice Assimilation**

Consonant clusters with voiced fricative [ʔ] and plosives/affricates may undergo a devoicing and aspirating assimilation: both fricative and plosive or affricates are devoiced, but only affricates are also aspirated,\(^\text{25}\) e.g. Եղբայր եղբայր [.jupiter`jupiter] “brother”, Հաջորդ շագամ [after kam] “turnip”, նետո դելի [dečtsʰ] “peach”, Ալիք ալիք [αχʰik] “girl” etc.

**Divergences between Pronunciation and Orthography with Plosives and Affricates**

Following these changes caused by assimilation, the following divergences between pronunciation and orthography can be stated:

1. A voiced bilabial plosive [b] is pronounced as [pʰ],\(^\text{26}\) if:
   - it follows a bilabial nasal [m] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) համբերել [hampʰel] “to be patient”, համբէռ [hambərb] “harm” in all other words written [m] is pronounced [b], as in բարբ բառ “brightness, heat”, արբանյակ “saddle” etc.
   - it follows the voiced uvular fricative [s], [b] is only pronounced voiceless but not aspirated [p] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) ալբ [arp] “dirt”, ալբերու ալբար [αχjur] “spring”, ալբար եղբայր [.jupiter`jupiter] “brother”, ալբ ալբ [vɔɾb] “to lament”.

2. A voiced dental [d] is pronounced as [tʰ], if:


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– It follows a flap [r] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): երգ ( jerkʰ [jerkʰ]), "to sing", տարգման ( tarkʰ [tarkʰ]) "interpreter", քար ( karkʰ) "order, system", ապար ( margare [markʰae]) "prophet", թղթ ( parxkʰev) "gift" and proper names Գեորջ ( Geworg [Geworg]), Սարգիս ( Sarkʰis), Մարգար ( Markʰar). In all other instances it is written q g and pronounced [g], e.g. բուրգ ( burg) "pyramid", արք ( gorg [gorg] "carpet" etc. It follows an alveodental nasal [n] in the word (and its derivations and compounds) անգամ ( angam [ankʰam]) "times".

3. A voiced velar [g] is pronounced as [kʰ]:

– it follows a flap [r] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): երգ ( jerkʰ), "to sing", տարգման ( tarkʰ) "interpreter", քար ( karkʰ) "order, system", ապար ( margare [markʰae]) "prophet", թղթ ( parxkʰev) "gift" and proper names Գեորջ ( Geworg [Geworg]), Սարգիս ( Sarkʰis), Մարգար ( Markʰar). In all other instances it is written q g and pronounced [g], e.g. բուրգ ( burg) "pyramid", արք ( gorg [gorg] "carpet" etc. It follows an alveodental nasal [n] in the word (and its derivations and compounds) անգամ ( angam [ankʰam]) "times".

27. Compare school books and orthography instruction material, just as Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004:13ff.

it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɾ], [g] is just devoiced but not aspirated [k] in անձ [axak] “turnip”.

4. A voiced alveolar affricate [dz] is pronounced as [tsʰ], if:


- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) դելջ [dextʰ] “peach”, դալջ [daxtʰ] “mint”, դելջան [dextʰan] “yellowish; canary bird”. In all other words the cluster [tdz] is written դէ [tʰ] and pronounced [tsd] eg. in կտայ գել [gɛrdz] “gland”.

- in the word ոջ [tsʰ] “snake” and its derivations and compounds.

5. A voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʃʰ], if:


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\[ k'roj \ [k^b\varnothing\mathrm{d}] \] “of the sister, sister’s”, 
\[ \eta\varnothing\mathrm{ŋ} \eta\varnothing \mathrm{keroj} \ [\eta\mathrm{k}\varnothing\mathrm{d}] \] “of the friend, friend’s” etc.\textsuperscript{28}

- it follows the voiced uvular fricative \[ [k] \] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) 
\[ \eta\varnothing\mathrm{ŋ} \ a\mathit{lik} \ [\alpha\chi][\mathit{t}] \] “girl”, 
\[ \eta\varnothing\mathrm{ŋ} \ a\mathit{bolj} \ [\alpha\mathrm{m}\chi\theta][\mathit{t}] \] “whole, entire”, 
\[ \eta\varnothing\mathrm{ŋ} \ a\mathit{loj} \ [\alpha\chi\theta][\mathit{b}] \] “entire, whole”, 
\[ \eta\varnothing\mathrm{ŋ} \ a\mathit{olj} \ [\alpha\chi\mathit{t}][\mathit{b}] \] “healthy” etc. In other words written \[ q \ j \] is pronounced as \[ [d] \], e.g. 
\[ \eta\mathit{leru} \ [j\eta\mathrm{d}xe\mathit{ru}] \] “deer”, 
\[ \eta\mathit{zljal} \ [z\eta\mathrm{d}zal] \] “to regret”, 
\[ \eta\mathit{selj} \ [j\eta\mathrm{d}] \] “heap” etc.

There are also some other alternations that affect the pronunciation of consonants and which are not expressed in orthography.

d. \textit{Nasal Assimilation}\textsuperscript{29}

The nasal \[ [n] \] undergoes assimilation if followed by plosives/affricates:

- if followed by a bilabial plosive \( [b, p, p^h] \) it may appear as \[ [m] \], as e.g. 
\[ \mathit{anbic} \ [\mathit{c}mb\mathit{t}] \] “spotless”\textsuperscript{30}
- if followed by a dental plosive \( [d, t, t^h] \) it appears as an alveodental \[ [n] \]
- if followed by a velar plosive \( [g, k, k^h] \) it appears as a velar \[ [\mathit{g}] \], as in 
\[ \mathit{angir} \ [\mathit{c}gi] \] “by heart”, 
\[ \mathit{sunk} \ [\mathit{su}k] \] “mushroom”, 
\[ \mathit{vank'} \ [\mathit{v}c\mathit{k}] \] “monastery etc.”
- if followed by the postalveolar affricate \( [d^h] \), it appears as a palatal \[ [\mathit{d}] \], as in 
\[ \mathit{anjat} \ [\mathit{c}d\mathit{t}] \] “separate”.

e. \textit{R-assimilation}

The flap \( [r] \) \( [n] \) becomes a trill \( [r] \) before nasal \( [n] \).

This is orthographically not expressed in the following loan words: \[ \mathit{internat} \ [\mathit{i}nt\mathit{n}\mathit{nt}] \] “internat”, \[ \mathit{komintern} \ [\mathit{k}om\mathit{int}\mathit{rn}] \] “komintern” and other words with \[ \mathit{international-} \].

In all other words the trill \( [r] \) is also written as \( r \), e.g. 
\[ \mathit{atnel} \ [\mathit{c}rn\mathit{l}] \] “to take”, 
\[ \mathit{garnuk} \ [\mathit{g}rn\mathit{uk}] \] “little lamb”, 
\[ \mathit{darnal} \ [\mathit{d}rn\mathit{cl}] \] “to become” etc.

\textsuperscript{28} (Minassian 1996: 26) argues that \[ [d^h] \] is pronounced as \( [t^h] \) also in the case of the preposed alveolar nasal \( [n] \) and in the case of an ending \( -n\varnothing\cdot-oj \) of the \( -n\varnothing\cdot-oj \) declination. The same is mentioned by other Armenian authors in orthography schoolbooks, e.g. Sahakyan,Sahakyan 2002: 23. This means that devoicing and aspiration of written \( q \ j [d^h] \) in the declension suffix \( n\varnothing\cdot-oj \) and in the position between or after vowels are more productive in colloquial Eastern Armenian. These assimilations do, however, not conform to normative rules of current Modern Eastern Armenian standard, which means that there are doublets in spoken Armenian.

\textsuperscript{29} Xač’atryan 1988: 106; Vaux 1998: 18.

\textsuperscript{30} This alternation is particularly observable in colloquial Armenian. See Abrahamyan 1981: 27. He also quotes a popular assimilation in colloquial Armenian: if the alveodental nasal \( [n] \) is followed by the bilabial nasal \( [m] \), it is assimilated to the bilabial one, as in \( \varnothing\mathit{amnel} \ [\mathit{c}m\mathit{m}x\mathit{e}] \) “innocent”.
f. **Devoicing of Labiodental Voiced Fricative [v]**


g. **Silent Glottal Fricative h [h]**


Some of the phonological alternations of consonants occur rather in colloquial and not in normative Eastern Armenian, very often pronunciation doublets coexist.

h. **Palatalisation of the Final Flap [ɾ]**

Particularly in Eastern Armenian vernacular (and in some Eastern Armenian dialects as well) the final flap [ɾ] is palatalized to [ɾʲ].

i. **Non-realisation (loss) of the Flap [ɾ] in Closed Syllables**

The flap [ɾ] is often not spoken in closed syllables in colloquial Armenian, as in դուրս [dus] “he came out”, երբ [erb] “when” etc. This loss of [ɾ] in closed syllables is particularly common in the last syllable in imperative 2nd singular forms of verbs in -ել, such as [giri] “write” < գրի grir!, [ McConnell] “send” < տեղափոխել ułakir! These ɾ-less forms of the imperative of el-verbs are already conventionalized and are used also in public language, and even in literature.32

There are other deviating pronunciations of vowels, consonants, and particularly consonant clusters in colloquial Eastern Armenian, which are particularly caused by the long and still continuing influence of Russian in Armenia.33
j. **Palatalisation of Alveolar Plosives Preceding Front Vowels**

A palatalised pronunciation of the sequence դի di դե de, իտi իտ te and of sequences of dental plosives followed by the approximant [j] can be observed in colloquial Armenian. This is particularly noticeable in the pronunciation of Russian loans such as դիպլոմ diploma [d̩ipлом], ակադեմիա akademiya [a kadəmiya] “academy”, իրավունք partiakan [par ti a kan] “party; party member”, տեխնիկական texnikakan [t/ɛ 9 nikakan] “technical”. In genuine Armenian words the palatalisation is not as productive, but may happen as an exception in some colloquial Armenian, e.g. տիեզեր tyezer’ [tji(j)7nkh] “cosmos, universe”, դաստիրկ dastirke [dasti ɾke] “to educate”.

The palatalisation of the aspirated, voiceless ռ t’ [tʰ] in the suffix -առ t’yun is also a typical feature of colloquial Armenian, and is also regarded as highly conventional and as being used by in public, journalistic language, e.g. in ազատուն azat’yun [azatʰun] “freedom”.

k. **Palatalisation of Lateral Approximant**

The Russian influence has also lead to a palatalisation of the alveolar lateral ɾ preceding consonants, in the pronunciation of Russian loans in colloquial Armenian, such as ալբոմ al’bom [al’bom] “album”, վալս vals [val’s] “waltz”, ալմանախ almanax [al’manax] “almanac”, բոլշևիկ bolševik [bolj evik] “Bolshevik”, կուլտուր kultura [kul’tura] “culture” etc.

l. **“Pseudo-vowel Reduction” in Russian Loans**

Loan words and personal names from Russian are also often pronounced with “Russian-like reduced vowels” in colloquial Armenian (but with “Armenian” stress on last syllable), as in [pamidɔr] < պոմիդոր pomidɔr “tomato”; [kɔnfɛt] < կոնֆետ konfet “sweet, candy”; [Baris] < Բորիս Boris; [Viktor] < Վիկտոր Viktor etc.

### 1.2.2 Consonant clusters – Syllabification

In SMEA a syllable’s nucleus invariably consists of a vowel, codas contain two segments at most, compare below final consonant clusters. Consonants may be geminated in the intervocalic position, but not in the initial, preconsonantal position. Only in the final position is a germination of the trill possible.

A syllable is either open or closed; as in other languages an open syllable ends with a vowel, whereas a closed syllable ends with a consonant, e.g. դի ժ “egg”, կատու ka-tu “cat”, գին gi-ni “wine”, ըն ժ “dog”, մարդ man, person”, գնդակ gn-dak “ball”, պատեր a-şakert “pupil”, սուչեր u-su-c’ic’ “teacher” etc.
SMEA is complex in its consonant clusters and the syllabification of initial, medial and final clusters. Schwa epenthesis is employed for syllabifying only in spoken Armenian, whereas this insertion of the schwa is not allowed in written Armenian syllables, except in line division.37

The epenthetic schwas appear adjacent to sonority peaks, i.e. to original syllable nuclei. In general, one can distinguish consonant clusters in initial, medial or final position.

There are some general rules:

a. Doubling consonants: if two same consonants co-occur in the same syllable or at the border of two syllables, they are usually spoken without schwa epenthesis, but with a longer “consonant”, as in թթռռ ուտե [ուտե] “to correct”, օատատ մաս [մասա] “mass”, ուտռուտ սոլուներ [սոլուներ] “reptiles”, հետ ուտե հետ տար [հետ_տար] “take with (you)!”, տուն ռու մես կով [մես_եսնով] “big sea” etc.

b. In the case that the co-occurrence of two same consonants is due to etymological consonant doubling (because of an unstressed vowel reduction or deletion in the word formation), a schwa has to be spoken between the two consonants, as in արչե երկու [արչետե] “leaden” < արծինա արջ “lead”, պտեր պտել [պտեט] “to twirl” < պտուտ “rotation”, etc.38

c. In the initial position, the schwa is usually inserted after the first C; in the case of four and more Cs also after the 2nd or 3rd consonant, i.e. CCV = Հ-ՀՀ; CCCCV = ՀՀՀ-ՀՀՀ-

d. In the medial position, if one consonant appears between two vowels, then it forms a syllable with the following vowel, i.e. VCV = Վ-ՎՀ- as in Ա-պարան Ապարան “Aparan (town)”, հետ-հետ-հետ հա-մա-նա-վանդ “particularly”

e. In the medial position, if two consonants appear between two vowels, then the first forms a syllable with the first vowel, and the second with the second vowel, i.e. VCCV = -ԱՀ-ՀՀՀ- as in Ա-պարան Ապարան “Aparan (town)”, կարեկ “other”, ԱՀՀ ԱՀՀ “canons, rules”, ԱՀՀ-ՀՀՀ ԱՀՀ “canons, rules” etc.

f. In the medial position, if the number of consonants is more than two, then the first two form a syllable with the preceding vowel, and the third remains in a syllable with

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37. In general, line division reflects syllable structures. In the case of the spoken epenthetic schwa, the schwa is written in the line division according to the syllable structure, e.g. ռռռռ տեշ տա, ռռռռռ կեր-տել, ռռռռռ Մեկեր-տիչ, բեբ-ըկմեր երե-մեր. In the case of the causative suffix -կա- -ան- the division line is preferred between -կա- -ան-, as in կարեկ ”others”, կար կար ”canons, rules”, կար կար ”canons, rules”.

38. Արակ`ելյան, Խաչ`ատրյան, Էլոյան 1979: 115.
the following vowel, i.e. VCCCV = VCC-CV, as in Աստ-վաց “God”, Սել-վաց “pressed”, կանգ-նել “to stand” etc.

Initial Clusters

a. Two consonants, CC


– If the initial consonant cluster consists of a sibilant [s, z, ŋ] and a plosive [b, p, ph, g, k, kh, d, t, th], the schwa is pronounced preceding the cluster C₁C₂, as in Տար-վաց [tər-vəc] “to write”, Սանալ [sənəl] “to receive”, Սապի [səpə] “sensible”.

– If, however, this consonant cluster of sibilant and plosive is the result of a vowel reduction in the word formation or inflection, the schwa is inserted between the sibilant and the plosive C₁C₂, as in Սել [səl] “lie” < Սուտ [sut] “lie”, Սգալ [səgal] “to mourn” < Սուգ [sug] “grief” etc.

The given pronunciation of the initial cluster of sibilant and plosive is a strict normative rule, which seems to have undergone changes already during the period of Soviet Armenia. Already in the Armenian Grammars of the seventies, the Armenian grammarians stated a much weaker pronunciation of the schwa preceding this cluster and they even mentioned vernacular pronunciation of such clusters without any schwa epenthesis as highly productive. It can almost be considered as convention in colloquial and in “sub-standard” written Armenian to realise these clusters without the initial schwa epenthesis; sometimes, and with increasing frequency, also without an epenthesis between the first two consonants. This current – very strong tendency to pronounce the schwa neither in front nor in between the consonants is due to a heavy influence of Russian. A possible reason for this might be the range of Russian lexemes that have entered Armenian during the Soviet period and which are regularly pronounced with the initial schwa in Russian and, thus, also in Armenian, such as Տար-պարտ [tar-par] “Tarpar”, Սպտակ [spətak] “Spartak”, Սպիտակ [spətak] “Spitac” etc. This is, of course, also true for later loans from English, such as Տար-շտաբ [tar-tab] “Tar-tap” “urgent” etc.

The pronunciation of the initial sibilant-plosive consonant cluster without the schwa epenthesis is a productive and even conventional feature of colloquial Armenian, and,

39. Լարագյուլյան 1973: 428. (Vaux 1998: 25) notes that sibilant + plosive clusters sometimes behave “differently”. (Arakelyan, Xaçatryan, Eloyan 1979: 120) even argue that a pronunciation of this cluster without schwa epenthesis “has already become the norm”.
as such, it has now entered normative and written Eastern Armenian, as can be seen from the examples below. Thus, nowadays also in written Armenian doublets can be found. 40

In general, there is a strong tendency to pronounce all loan words with the initial two consonant cluster without any schwa epenthesis. It can be observed that this loan-word pronunciation has also a growing impact on the pronunciation of such clusters in Armenian words: the schwa epenthesis is very weak or even not employed at all. 41

Examples for a regular SMEA realisation of the initial cluster sibilant + plosive as sCC:

(1) հետևո Ալիևի տնօրենը, իր երկրի համբերթունը կատարվում է.

(Armenpress 20.1.2006)

Ilham Aliëv-i xosk’-ov ir erkr-i
Ilham Aliëv-DAT word-INSTR his country-DAT
hamberut’yun-n spař-v-um è.

[.........hampʰerutʰjun-n ə s-pærvmum ]
patience-NOM-the runout-ANTIC- PTCP. PRES. it is

“In the words of Ilham Aliëv, his country’s patience is running out.”

40. Please note that in colloquial, almost dialectal Armenian the schwa is also inserted between sibilant and plosive. There is one “cultural” word in Eastern Armenian, which conventionally uses this rather unusual pronunciation, the word տափս [sopas] “yoghurt-soup”. (Zak’aryan 1981: 172) even regards a deviating or more prescriptive realization of this cultural word as e.g. [spas] or [spas] as being typical for speakers without “real Eastern Armenian background”.

41. One has to note that the growing frequency of the initial two consonant clusters spoken without any schwa epenthesis leads also to growing problems and deviations in morphology, particularly in the formation of the plural and the attachment of the definite article. As will be explained in detail in Ch. 2.1.1.2 “Number”, p. 63f., the choice of the plural suffix -եր or -երn depends on the number of syllables of the noun: if it is monosyllabic -եր -er is suffixed, if it is polysyllabic -երn -ner is suffixed. Thus, if a two consonant initial cluster is not considered as own syllable, native speakers will probably attach the “wrong” plural-suffix. The same is true for the definite article suffix. The definite article -ու-ե/-n is attached to the noun according to its final sound or the sound of the word immediately following the article. Thus -ե is attached to nouns ending in consonants or to nouns the following word which starts with a consonant. In contrast, -ու-ե/-n is attached either to nouns ending in vowels or to nouns where the following word starts with a vowel, e.g. Մեք ըսկվում: Aram-ե գնում է կալակ’: “Aram goes to town’ versus Մեք-ու-ե գնում: Aram-n է գնում կալակ’. “It is Aram who goes to town’. (comp. Asatryan 2004: 95) Thus, according to the normative rules, the article -ե/-č must be suffixed to a noun if it is followed by a word with initial sibilant-plosive consonant cluster. For example Մեք-ու-ե ըսկվում: Aram-ու-ե գնում կալակ’. “The holidays start in one week.” That this normative rule of SMEA is sometimes heavily “violated” because of the gradually disappearing schwa-epenthesis in sibilant-plosive clusters, can easily be shown by examples from daily newspapers, school books etc.
Chapter 1. Phonology

(2) Արեւմտյան տարածաշրջանի լայն ճանաչության, յուրաքանչյուր աշխարհի տարածությունից տես առաջարկության: (Armenpress 04.05.2006)

\[ \text{nranc'-ie} \quad \text{om-ank'} \quad \text{arden} \quad \text{ayc'el-el} \quad \text{en} \quad \text{Erewan} \]

they-ABL some-PL-NOM already visit-PTCP.PERF they are Yerevan-NOM

\[ \text{myus-ner-i} \quad \text{ayc'-n} \quad \text{spas-v-um} \quad \text{è mot} \]

other-PL-DAT visit-NOM-the expect-pass-PTCP.PRES it is near

\[ \text{apaga-yum}. \]

future-LOC

“Some of them have already visited Yerevan, the visit of the others is expected in near future.”

(3) Հարաբերությունների բոլոր նպատական ուժերի որոշումները «Հայաստանի օրենքից» վերաբերումների ապահովում: (Aravot 08.04.2006)

\[ \text{xorhrdanakan} \quad \text{olor} \quad \text{uz-er-n} \quad \text{storagrec'-in} \quad \text{éntrakan} \]

parliamentary all force-PL-NOM-the sign-AOR.3.PL electional

\[ \text{öresent'i} \quad \text{pööxüt'yun-ner-i} \quad \text{naxagic'-è}. \]

lawbook-DAT change-PL-DAT draft. NOM-the

“All parliamentary forces have signed the draft of the changes of the “Electoral lawbook”.”

(4) Այս քարերի հարաբերությունների համաձայնության համաձայնության հետևում ընդունեցին Նախիջևան.

\[ \text{ew} \quad \text{Bak'v-i} \quad \text{išxanu'tyun-ner-i} \quad \text{hamajafnut'yun-n} \quad \text{stan-al-uc'} \]

[ hamadzajafnut'jun-n_3s-tanuluts'bin ]

CONJ Baku-DAT government-PL-DAT agreement.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL

\[ \text{heto} \quad \text{kmekn-en} \quad \text{Naxijewan}. \]

POST depart-COND. FUT.3.PL Naxijewan.NOM

“And after having received the agreement of Baku's governments, they will depart to Nakhijevan.”

(5) Սերնենք այս հարաբերությունը բարեբերությունների ծայր է Հայոց պետականության:

(Aravot 05.04.2006)

\[ \text{tužac-è} \quad \text{stanal-ov} \quad \text{ařajin} \quad \text{bužõgrunt'yun} \]

suffer-PTCP.RES.NOM-the receive-INF-INST first medical aid.NOM

\[ \text{[tuzats-éstanalov]} \]

\[ \text{durs} \quad \text{èr} \quad \text{gr-v-el} \quad \text{hivandanoc'-ic'}. \]

out  he was write-pass-PTCP. PRES. hospital-ABL

“After having received the first medical aid, the sufferer was checked out of the hospital.”
(6) Արամը հեռվել纽带. (Հետկ’ 15.01.2007)
Aram-է հեռվել-կեր.
[aram-օ_հեռվել-պարկ]
Aram.nom-the hurry-ptcp.pres he was
"Aram was in a hurry."

(7) Նկատ-եք եթե ճգնաժամը տաքածվելով էնհերք իրավականություն պատճառով

Nkat-enk’ or dataran-է ճգնաժամ-ի-իալ նորի-ի
dataran-օ_ճգնաժամ-ը-կեր
deconv.set-1.pl conj court.nom-the force-pass-ptcp.pres it has been
datavči-է հրապարակ-էլ հում-է
derc-tov-է եր-անկախ-ի
dat post
"Let us note that the court has been forced to promulgate the verdict in a riot."

(8) The Armenian language, for feeling its exclusiveness of which is sufficient to

hayeren-է օր-ի հացարիկ-խում-է զգալ-է համար
[batsʰrikutʰjuna_զգալ]
Armenian.nom-the rel-dat exclusiveness.nom-the feel-inf-dat post
bavakan է հիշ-է HMACristoneakan
sufficient it is remember-inf all-Christian
grk’-i anvanum-է.
book-dat appellation.nom-the
"The Armenian language, for feeling its exclusiveness of which is sufficient to
remember the appellation of the All-Christian book."

b. Three consonants CCC and following V
According to a general rule, the schwa is spoken after the first consonant of a consonant
cluster consisting of more than two consonants, that means:

– Usually the 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the schwa-epenthesis, the 3rd
consonant with the following vowel, i.e. CəC-CV

Արտաքին trvac [təր-vats] “having been given” (Participle Resultative passive)
գտնել gtel [գտ-նել] “to find”
կսկծվել ksic [կսկծվել] “bitterness”
նահատակ nstaran [նահ-անատակ] “bench, seat”
կրկել krčaxel [կր-կրել] “to reduce”
բեռնել bnel [բեռ-նել] “to catch, to hold”
տենսություն tnesut’yun [տենսություն] “economy” etc.

– According to normative MEA, if the 1st consonant is a sibilant and the 2nd a plosive,
the initial schwa epenthesis forms a syllable with the first, and the 2nd consonant with
the schwa, a syllable with the 3rd consonant. As explained above, these kinds of clusters are more productively pronounced without the initial schwa epenthesis, particularly in vernacular Armenian. They are more frequently realised as C-C-V or CC-CA-V. Loans as well as foreign name clusters, however, are pronounced without any schwa epenthesis:

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Romanisation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>քանդ սպրոք’ [k'h as-prok'] or preferably [k'h as-prok']</td>
<td>sp’roc’</td>
<td>“tablecloth”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>քանդ սկել [k'h askh'-el] or preferably [k'h askh'-el]</td>
<td>sk’t’el</td>
<td>“to shrink from cold”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>քանդ ստրուկ [k'h as-tar-uk] or preferably [k'as-ruk]</td>
<td>struk</td>
<td>“serf”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>քանդ սկսէլ [k'h askets] or preferably [k'as-ek']</td>
<td>sksel</td>
<td>“to begin”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>քանդ ստեկ’ել [k'h askh-ets]</td>
<td>stkel</td>
<td>“to repair; to straighten”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>քանդ ստրետեգյանան [k'h strtjagyan-an]</td>
<td>strtegyakan</td>
<td>“strategical”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

(9) Բոլոր-ն սկսեցին ցիկալ-էլ. (Gyurjanyan, Hek’ek’yan 2002:123.)

bolor-n sksec’in cical-el.

[ bolor • as[k'h asketsin]

all.NOM-the start-AOR.3.PL laugh-INF

“All started to laugh.”

(10) Հեր ստելագորցկան ուլի-ն Ուժեկ’իյան-է սկսէլ [T’h ukhdzjan skosel]

ir stelagorcakan ulti-n Chek’iyan-ë sksel

his creative way.NOM-the Chek’iyan.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF

ë Stambul-ic’.

he is Istanbul-ABL

“Chek’iyan has started his creative way from Istanbul.”

c. Four consonants CCCC and following V

In general, four consonant clusters may behave in different ways, depending on the various consonants. The most frequent and representative cases are given:

- The 1st consonant forms a syllable with the epenthetic schwa, the 2nd and 3rd form another syllable with the inserted schwa, the 4th consonant with the following vowel: Ca-CA-C-V
– The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the inserted schwa, the 3rd forms another syllable with the schwa, and the 4th consonant with the following vowel: CaC-Ca-CV
– The 1st, 2nd and 3rd form a syllable with the epenthetic schwa, the 4th consonant with the following vowel: CaCC(ǝ)-CV
– In consonant clusters starting with sibilant and plosive, there is usually no initial schwa epenthesis.

Some examples:

\[ \text{բժկուտ‚յուն} \quad \text{[բզ-ը-կու-թ:]} \quad \text{“medicine”} \]
\[ \text{մկրտուտ‚յուն} \quad \text{[մա-կար-տ] \quad \text{“baptizm”} \]
\[ \text{սնդամթերք} \quad \text{[սա-նա-դա-մաթերք]} \quad \text{“groceries, food stuff”} \]
\[ \text{կկոմբատ‚յուն} \quad \text{[տս-տամ-բա-թ:]} \quad \text{“sulphuric acid”} \]

\[ \text{բզլալ} \quad \text{[բզ-ալ-տալ]} \quad \text{“to buzz”} \]
\[ \text{մթկել} \quad \text{[մատ-կե] \quad \text{“to bring in”} \]
\[ \text{եվկել} \quad \text{[եվ-կե] \quad \text{“to prune”} \]
\[ \text{չգորի} \quad \text{[չզար-ե-րի]} \quad \text{“precise, exact”} \]
\[ \text{տրմուտ‚յուն} \quad \text{[տզար-մու-թ:]} \quad \text{“sadness”} \]
\[ \text{սլկել} \quad \text{[սող-կե]} \quad \text{“to slip”} \]
\[ \text{չնշատ‚յուն} \quad \text{[չնա-տ-ռու]] \quad \text{“depression”} \]
\[ \text{մղյուն} \quad \text{[մարձ-յուն]} \quad \text{“ant”} \]
\[ \text{ստրակել} \quad \text{[ստար-կե]} \quad \text{“to enslave”} \]
\[ \text{սպլել} \quad \text{[սպալ-չե]} \quad \text{“to slip”} \]

(11) Ուղինվասու ազգային ասպարեզ ամենակարևորագույն է հայտնի, ինչպես այսու նույն \[ \text{Ադրբեջան-ի} \quad \text{նախարար-է} \quad \text{սկբ-ում} \quad \text{պատրաստակամուտ‚յուն} \quad \text{է} \]
\[ \text{[…} \quad \text{նաչարար-սկա-բում…]} \]
\[ \text{Ազերբայջան-DAT} \quad \text{նում-} \quad \text{ասբ-ում} \quad \text{է} \quad \text{o'ę}.\]
\[ \text{դինար-o'ę} \quad \text{հայտ-ՊՏԿ."} \quad \text{հայտ-ՊՏԿ."} \]
\[ \text{հայտ-ՊՏԿ."} \quad \text{հայտ-ՊՏԿ."} \]
\[ \text{“Azerbaijan’s minister had declared willingness in the beginning, now he says no.”} \]

d. Five consonants with a following vowel

As with three and four consonants, in general, the first consonant forms a syllable with the epenthetic schwa.

There are many variants in pronouncing a five consonant cluster; the most frequent are given below:

– The 1st consonant forms a syllable with the schwa, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th another syllable with a schwa and the 5th with the following vowel, i.e. Ca-CaCC-CV
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The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with a schwa, the 3rd and 4th another syllable with a schwa, and the 5th consonant with the following vowel, i.e. C-C-C-C-V

In consonant clusters starting with sibilant + plosives, again, the epenthetic schwa is not pronounced before the sibilant.

C-C-C-C-C-C-V

Examples:

\[\text{crinkled, crumpled} \quad \text{to pierce} \quad \text{whitening, bleaching} \quad \text{to snuff, to snort} \quad \text{crinkled, crumpled} \]

\[\text{to pierce} \quad \text{to get excited, to be provoked} \quad \text{to whisper, to murmur} \quad \text{everlasting, eternal} \quad \text{gruesome, horrid} \]

\[\text{to mumble}; \quad \text{growl}; \quad \text{tinkle}; \quad \text{to jostle}.\]

Six and more consonants with a following vowel

In SMEA, words with six and more consonants do not occur very often. Mostly, they represent reduplicated triconsonantal roots, where the common pronunciation is C-C-C-C-C-C-V, whereas in other words there are, again, various ways of pronunciation, the most common C-C-C-C-C-C-V.

Some examples: \[\text{mumble}; \quad \text{growl}; \quad \text{tinkle}; \quad \text{gruesome, horrid} \]

2. Medial Consonant Clusters
a. Two medial consonants -CC-

Two consonants in the intervocalic position can be separated into two syllables with the preceding and following vowel, i.e. the schwa epenthesis is not employed. -VC-C-, e.g. \[\text{to tell}, \text{garden}, \text{red}, \text{to wear}.\]

b. Three medial consonants – CCC-

- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the preceding vowel, the 3rd consonant with the following vowel, i.e. V-C-C-C, e.g. \[\text{to stand}, \text{to ask}, \text{to turn red, to blush}.\]
- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the schwa epenthesis, and the 3rd consonant with the following vowel, i.e. V-C-C-C, e.g. \[\text{profitable}\.\]
If the lexeme ends in consonants and the last one is the voiced uvular fricative, flap – expressions – words with suffixes
Two final consonants with the epenthetic schwa occur seldom in SMEA. These limited cases are mainly representing
Final Consonant Clusters
In SMEA final consonant clusters are more constraint than initial clusters. In general they can consist of, at most, three consonants, and the epenthetic schwa is only employed once.

3. Final Consonant Clusters
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The last consonant often represents the definite article -n, the possessive suffixes -s/-d as well as the personal/demonstrative suffix -s/-d. If these suffixes are attached to a word, the epenthetic schwa must be pronounced before these suffixes.

- Final consonants quite often form a syllable with their preceding vowel. -VCC, e.g. հանետ [hangstanal] “to relax”, > հանետ + verbal suffix -ավետ, անկրքենի [anrkneli] “unrepeatable” > prefix ար- + չեր- "repeatable"; հայազգիբ [dasagrker [dasagorkh] “schoolbooks” > հայ “class” + գիրը “book” և -եր (Plural)
- Two final consonants with the epenthetic schwa occur seldom in SMEA. These limited cases are mainly representing
- words with suffixes -ա -ո -ջ -կ or -ի. As explained above, the schwa has to be pronounced before the suffix, e.g. համբարձ [jemb] “group”, տոմս [toms] “ticket”, գիրը “book”, դրակտ [dakht] “paradise”, հայորդ [hajord] “next”, պետք “case” etc.
- If the lexeme ends in consonants and the last one is the voiced uvular fricative, flap [r] or trill [r], then this last consonant forms a syllable with the schwa, which is pronounced before this consonant, e.g. դառայը [dagar] “tiger”, մար կան [tsanar] “heavy”, ամենապոքոր [amenapokh] “smallest”, անկրլական [arkhlakast] “king’s daughter”, արկի [arkh] “box”, պարկեր [parkr] “debt”, գամբար [gamb] “Armenian sheepdog”, բարդր [bardzr] “high”, աստղ [astl] “star” etc.
1.3 Alternations

In Modern Eastern Armenian, alternations are conditioned by the phonological or morphological environment, i.e. by the change of the stress caused by the inflection or, more generally, word formation.

Alternations affect only the syllable nuclei, i.e. vowels, with the exception of the schwa ē and diphthongs: the high vowels [i] and [u] undergo an alternation with the change of stress, they are either absolutely deleted or “reduced” to schwa [ə]; diphthongs are reduced to monophtongs.

1. The Vowel [a] [ə]

- The vowel [a] never underlies alternations in inflection.
- In word formation, however, [a] may be deleted. This deletion is, nonetheless, an exception and has to be regarded as diachronic and, currently, unproductive: it goes back to Middle Armenian and Early Modern Eastern Armenian time and has affected only some words, such as բերնակ “muzzle” < բերան + կապ, there is the more frequent regular form բերանակ, կոչկել “to button” < կոչակ “button” + -ել, պատել “to tear, to rip” < պատ “piece” + -ել etc.

- Both in inflection and word formation, the sequence of the final [a] + vowel in morpheme boundary triggers the insertion of the glide [j], which is also expressed in orthography. The glide insertion is typical for a sequence containing a singly high [i] and a single non high vowel ([a], [ə]), e.g. տլա “boy” < տղա -իDAT, տլա-յական “boyhood”; Անգլիա “England” > Անգլիա-ի պատրս “quantum leap” etc.

2. The Vowel [o] [ɔ]

- The vowel [o] [ɔ] never underlies alternations (reduction, deletion) in inflection.
- In word formation, the internal (interconsonantal) [o] may be deleted in some cases. This is true for the same historical phenomenon for the vowel [a] (see above); it is not productive any more, e.g. օկրամոլ “edacious, greedy” < օկր “womb; belly” + -մոլ; օսկրեյին “bony” < օսկոր “bone” + -եյին etc.

- In inflection, the sequence of the final [o] + vowel triggers the insertion of the glide [j]. This glide is also expressed in orthography. Usually words ending in [o] are loans or person or place names, e.g. Մարո > Մարո-ի տարած “cinematographic apparat”; Օսլո > Օսլո-ի պատրս etc.

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45. A sequence of two non-high vowels is allowed to form a hiatus, as in բոա, կաոս, ամենազնին amenaazniv. Vaux 1998: 96.
3. The Vowel [e] [ĕ]

- In inflection the vowel [e] does not underlie alternations.
- In word formation, however, the vowel [e] undergoes alternations caused by a change of stress:
  - In the initial position, the vowel [e] pronounced without the preceding glide [j] (thus graphically expressed with ē) is changed to ĭ in some words in the word formation, e.g. թե եզ “donkey” < հետս išuk “small/young donkey”, հետսուր išakan “donkey”;
  - In the medial position, the vowel ē, written ē, is reduced to ĭ, if its basic form is monosyllabic, e.g. իվս vep “novel” < իվսպահ vipagir “novelist” տեր “lord, master” < տերազր tirakan “masterful, imperious”; զենկ’ zenk’ “weapon” < զենկ’ zinel “to arm”;
  - In the final position, the vowel [e] remains unaltered both in inflection and word formation. The final [e] and the following initial vowel of a word, suffix or ending are pronounced with weakly spoken glide in between [e] and the following vowel. This glide is however not graphically expressed. Մարգարе margare [markʰate] “prophet” < ՄԱՐԳԱՐԱ margare-i [markʰareji] (DAT), ՄԱՐԳԱՐՈՒՄ margare-anal [markʰ-arejianal] “to prophesy”; ԲԱԶԵ baze [baze] “falcon” < ԲԱԶԵ baze-i [bazeji] (DAT); ԲԱԶԵԱՊԱՀ baze-a-pah [bazeja-pah] “falconer” etc.

4. The vowel [ě] [ĕ]

The schwa does not underlie alternation, since it is the only syllable-forming vowel, which does not bear a prosodic stress. A change in stress in either inflection or word formation
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5. The vowel [i] [ɪ]
In both inflection and word formation, the vowel [i] shows alternation.

a. Initial position
   – In inflection, in the initial position [i] remains unaltered.
   – In word formation, in the initial position [i] is reduced to schwa [ə] in some monosyllabic words. This reduction is historical and thus unproductive nowadays, e.g. հղայ էնի “jaguar”46 > ՊՍԴԻՈՒՆ էնի-ուտ “giraffe”; խղա իլջ “longing, desire” > ՊՍԴԻՈՒՆ ելի-ական “desireable”; խղար ինչ’к’ “thing; possession” > ՊՍԴԻՈՒՆ էնի-ա-կալկ’ “greedy”

b. Medial position
   – Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words (as well as in compounds of which last part is a monosyllabic) the vowel [i] is reduced to [ə], which is not expressed graphically, e.g. պհար եռե “heart” > ՊՍԴԻՈՒՆ եռի (DAT), պհար եռ-եր (NOM.PL.), պհազակ եռ-ա-կավ “heartache”; գղի գիկ “line” > գղի գե-ի (DAT), գղի գե-եր (NOM.PL.), գղի-ի “to draw”; գղա գիր “writing; letter” > գղի գրի (DAT); գղա գե-ր (NOM.PL.), գղազակ գր-ուտ’յուն “note”
   – Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words with final ք k’, which is historically or etymologically not explicable,47 [i] remains unaltered, e.g. ՊԱՐ դիրք’ “position” > ՊԱՐ դիրք-ի (DAT), ՊԱՐ դիրք-եր (NOM.PL.), ՊԱՐ դիրքային դիրքային “positional”, ՊԱՐ հիմք “basis” > ՊԱՐ հիմք-ի (DAT), ՊԱՐ հիմքային հիմքային “basic” etc.
   – Both in inflection and word formation, [i] remains unchanged in all other than the last syllable of polysyllabic words, e.g. ՊԱՐ դիտել “to watch” < ՊԱՐ դիտամբ “deliberately”, ՊԱՐ դիտորդ “observer” etc.

c. Final position
   – In word formation – and only under certain morphological constraints also in declination,48 [i] maybe deleted in the last closed syllable of polysyllabic words, e.g. ՊԱՐ դեղին “yellow” < ՊԱՐ դեղին-դեղնու “yolk”, ՊԱՐ ենար նկար “painter” < ՊԱՐ ենարազակ նկար-ուտ’յուն նակար+րուտ’յուն “painting”, ՊԱՐ ենար թուն+թուն “teacher”

46. There is also a reduction in the older inflected forms of the lexeme “jaguar”, i.e. ՊԱՐ էն-ի (DAT). They are not productive.
47. That means, that the final consonant ք k’ does not originate in the Classical Armenian Plural morpheme -ք’.
48. see Ch. 4., “Word formation” p. 645f.
< նարուպաբեր ուսուցչի “female teacher”, արդար tšnami “foe” < արդարահայ տանական “hostile” etc.

- In word formation and only under certain morphological constraints also in declination, final [i] of closed syllables may be reduced to [ɛ], which is not expressed graphically, e.g. արդար arčič “lead” < արդարահայ arčč-aguyn “lead-coloured”, արդար marmin “body” < արդարահայ marmin-a-marzik [marminamarzik] “gymnast”, արդարահայ naxagc “project; draft” < արդարահայ naxagc-er (NOM.PL) etc.

- In plural formation, the open final [i] in polysyllabic words does not change, e.g. ճեռովային kendani-ner “animals”.

- In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with the suffix -քար-ատյուն, արտեի “good” < արտյունար barut’yun “kindness, goodness”, գետի geri “captive” < գետային gerut’yun “captivity”; versus արդարահայ kalak’ci “citizen” < արդարահայ kalak’ci-ut’yun “citizenship”, արտի ar “brave” < արտային arut’yun “bravery”, etc.

- In word formation, the open final [i] remains unaltered if it is combined with verbal suffixes -անալ, -աչնել, or nominal suffixes -ական, -ահնու and adverbial suffixes -աբար, -ապես, -արեն, e.g. արտ ar “brave” < արտային ar-akan “manly”, արտային ar-anal “to have courage”, արտային ar-abar “valiantly”; արտային nakanali “understandable” < արտային nakanali-oren “understandable”, etc.

- In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with a following vowel, as in արեն alavn “pigeon” < արդարահայ alavn-a-tun “pigeonry”. կեռո “uncle, mother’s brother” > կեռ-այր “husband of sister”, պոր “dust” > պոր-ոտ “dusty”, գայ o’r “wine” > գայ-ով INST etc.

- In word formation and case inflection, the open final [i] is deleted if a suffix or an ending starting with the vowels [a, e] follows, e.g. բերը kebi “birch” > բերեր keb-ut “birch (Adj)”, մոր mor “raspberry” > մոր-ուտ [mɔrut] “raspberry (Adj)” etc.

- In word formation and case inflection, the open final [i] is deleted if it represents (a part of) a suffix, as in ճեռովային kend-ani “animal; alive” > ճեռովային kendan-akan “animal, brute”, թեր t’er “incomplete” > թերային t’er-ut’yun “lack, fault”, եղան եկ’-i “earthenware” > եղանակոր եկ’-a-gorc “potter” etc.

- In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with following unstressed word formational -ա- may trigger a sound change (i.e. across a morpheme boundary -i + -ա = -ե-), as in ոտար ordi “loving one’s children” > ոտար-ուտ ordi+a-ser, կեռային ենթանեկան “family, domestic” > կեռային ենթանեկան, արդարահայ baretes “good-looking, optimistic” > արդար-արեն bari+a+tes, արդարահայ barexile “conscientious” > արդար-արեն bari+a+xlíc, կեռային ոսկերգոր “goldsmith” > կեռային ոսկի+a+gorc etc.

49. There is also a doublet form եղանակոր եկ’-a-gorc.
In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with the diminutive suffix -ak may also trigger a sound change in the form of a glide formation: -i + -ak = -ak, as in կլզի “island” < կլզակ “little island” > կլզ + -ak, դիրի որդի “son” < դիրոյակ “little son” > որդի + -ak, ալավնի “pidgeon” < ալավնակայ “little pidgeon” > ալավն + -ak etc.

In inflection, the open final [i] in a sequence with [-i-] inserts the glide [j] in pronunciation, but not in orthography. This happens with personal names or places names ending in -i e.g. Անի < Անի-ի DAT.SG

In monosyllabic words with the open final [i] followed by [u] – the prototypical Dative of the u-declination nouns -, the glide is inserted in pronunciation but not in orthography, whereas in polysyllabic words with the open final [i] followed by morphological ending [u], the [i] is deleted, e.g. ձի “horse” < ձի-ի DAT.SG; մատանի “ring” < մատան DAT.SG; գին “wine” < գին DAT.SG.

6. The Vowel [u]

a. Initial [u]

- The open initial [u] remains unaltered both in word formation and inflection, e.g. պու “power” < պո-ի DAT., պու “promise, covenant” < պո DAT., պո “exhausted”; ժու “power” < ժոDAT.

b. Medial [u]

- Both in inflection and word formation, the medial [u] is reduced to [ə] in monosyllabic words, which is not expressed graphically, e.g. կրտ “cold” < կրտ DAT, կրտ-ել “to freeze, to be cold”; սու “dog” < սո DAT.

- Both in inflection and word formation, the medial [u] in polysyllabic words remains unaltered.

- Both in inflection and word formation, the closed final [u] of polysyllabic words is either reduced to [ə] or remains unaltered, e.g. գլուխ “head” < գլուխ DAT, գլուխ-եր DAT, սու “food” < սո DAT.

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50. Comp. Ch. 2.1.2.2 u-declension, p. 71f.
< եթերագն ճոլորդ-ի [ցուցարշ] DAT, ընտանիքային ճոլորդ-ական “popular”; 
ճահար խանուտ “shop” < ճահար խանուտ’-i DAT, ճահարիային խանուտ’-ա-պան “shop 
քարվ”; հատակ հանելուկ “riddle” < հատակը հանելուկ-i DAT, հատակույթային հա-

Both in inflection and word formation, the open final [u] of monosyllabic and bisyl-

– In some words with diphthong [ju] in historical and thus fossilized forms an alternation [ju] –

“cornerstone”; դղյա jyun “snow” < դղյաքյաղմի jyun-a-gndak “snowball”, դղյա yot “seven”< դղյապատեր yot’-anasun “seventy”; պղյա gayl “wolf” < պղյապատա gayl-a-jag “wolf’s puppy”, դղյա jayn “voice” < դղյաքյաղ jayn-a-grel “to record” etc.

c. The diphthong ն յ [uj]

This diphthong remains preferably unchanged, both in inflection and word formation. There are however some antiquated, fossilised forms from historical Armenian which are still used in inflection – at the same time with newer doublets.52

In word formation, in closed syllables, [uj] often alternates with [u], e.g. գռն գյու գուն-ա-վոր “coloured”; կարջչար կարջչա-el “to build”; բյուր բյուր “fragrance, aroma” < բյուրել bur-vař “censer”; բյուր buyr “plant” < բյուրաբան bus-a-ban “botanist”, կյու կյուս “light” < կարջչա lus-a-vor “luminous, bright” etc.

In some words, [uj] is reduced to [a], e.g. պտույտ ptyut “rotation, turn, twist” < պտույտ ptt-v-el [պտ-տ-վել] “to revolve, to rotate” or absolutely deleted, e.g. կապույտ kapat “blue” > կապել kapt-el “to turn blue” կապելվանք kapt-a-vank “Blue Monastery”; սարջչար սարջչա-el “ice-cube” etc.

[ju] remains unaltered in all derivates and compounds of ն յ նյուն “same”.

Vocalic Alternations Caused by Syllabification

As already explained above, syllabification produces alternation between [u] and [v] and even between [i] and [j], where the final vowel meets a following vowel in inflection of word formation.

[i] alternates with [j]

In the case of syllabification of a final vowel [i] with another following vowel, [j] is usually spoken between [i] and the following vowel. This vowel alternation (glide formation) is never considered in orthography, e.g. ձի “horse” > ձի-u DAT, ձի-ե c’ ABL, ձի-er NOM.PL., ձի-h ձի-uk “little horse”, ձիար ձի-ա-vor “rider”, ձիարձիար ձի-մա-bucaran “stud” etc.

[u] alternates with [v]

In case of syllabification of the final vowel [u] with another following vowel, [v] is usually spoken instead of [u] but only in monosyllabic and bisyllabic words. In orthography this alternation is taken into account.

e.g. լեզու lesz “language, tongue” > լեզու lezv-i DAT, լեզուղ lezv-ic’ ABL, լեզուբան lezv-a-ban “linguist”, լեզուղ lezv-ak “clapper”; ձու ձու “egg” > ձ-ձ v-i DAT, ձ-ձ v-er NOM.PL.,

forms [ju] appears also as reduced to [u] or even to [ə], as in ձմարմի jnat’ayr = ձմարմի jyunat’ayr “snow-white, white as snow”.

52. These are the following words: հույս huys “hope” and լույս luy “light”.

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Hiatus / Syllabification of Sequences of Vowels

The following vowel combinations are, in general, to be found in simple words, across-morpheme boundary also in word formation,\(^{53}\): a+a, a+e, a+i, [a+o], a+u; e+a; e+e, e+i, [e+o], e+u; i+a, i+e, i+i (only across morpheme -boundary), [i+o], i+u; [o+a], [o+e], o+i, [o+o]. Sequences with the schwa are possible in word formation (compounds), but not very productive.

Hiatus is only tolerated


b. and in some native low vowel sequences, i.e. in sequences of non-high vowels,\(^{54}\) e.g. ամենաարդար amena-ardar [a.mء.νa.ɾdʰar] “the fairest”, հերւստ-ա-էնկերուտ’յուն her’ust-a-էնկերուտ’յուն [hɛr.ust.a.ɞŋ.ɛɾ.utʰjʊn] “TV-company” etc.

As described above, in the case of syllabification of the final vowel [u] with another following vowel across morpheme boundary, [v] is usually spoken instead of [u].

Other hiatus inserts an epenthetic glide [j]:

- in general across morpheme (word) boundaries where two vowels meet as in

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a+e թռու na-yew [najɛv] “also”} \\
\text{e+a կ’վեռկել k’ve-arkel [kʰ(ə)veɾkɛl] “to vote” etc.} \\
\text{e+e եռել t’ė-yew [tʰɛɾɛl] “although”} \\
\text{e+o պանթեոն pant’eeon} \\
\text{e+u լուսում է-ուտ’յուն [ɛ(j)utʰjʊn] “essence, substance”} \\
\text{i+a միաժամ miajazhɛm [miasjɛm] “to unite”, մեզին miasin [mijasɛn] “together” etc.} \\
\text{i+u միապետ mi-ut’yun [mijутʰjʊn] “unity”, հավասարություն հավասարություն havasti-ut’yun [havastijutʰjʊn] authenticity, trustworthiness” etc.} \\
\text{o+i ճուդուստ judo-ist [dzjudo(j)ɪst] “judoka”}
\end{align*}\]

\(^{53}\) The combinations not being productive in genuine Armenian words and more frequently to be found in loans, are marked with [ ].

Chapter 1. Phonology

In monosyllabic nouns with final -i, when it is followed by the plural allomorph -er, as in Ԫհեղ ji-er [dzijer] NOM.PL.

In words ending in a vowel at cross-morpheme boundary, when followed by a vowel. In the case of a sequence a+i, o+i, this is also expressed in orthography.

- a+i [aɪ], a+e [aɛ], e.g. Ԫնու tla “boy” > Ԫայ tla-y-i [tsaɪ] DAT, Ԫվար k’imia “chemistry” > Ԫար k’imia-y-i [k’imijaɪ] DAT etc.
- e+i [ɛɪ], e+u [ɛu], e.g. Ԫծ tła “boy” > Ԫտ tła-y-i [tɛɪ] DAT, Ԫւոր k’imia “chemistry” > Ԫոր k’imia-y-i [k’imijaɪ] DAT etc.
- i+e [iɛ], i+u [iʊ], e.g. Ԫուò tła “boy” > Ԫո tła-y-i [tɛɪ] DAT, Ԫվոր k’imia “chemistry” > Ԫոր k’imia-y-i [k’imijaɪ] DAT etc.
- o+i [ɔɪ], e.g. Ԫա tła “boy” > Ԫա tła-y-i [tɔɪ] DAT, Ԫվոր k’imia “chemistry” > Ԫոր k’imia-y-i [k’imijaɪ] DAT etc.

In colloquial Armenian, hiatus is also tolerated in some genuine Armenian words, as in e.g. Ԫեղներ miut’yun [mi.ut’yun] “unity”. More productively, however, is the deletion of the morpheme boundary in colloquial Armenian, particularly in a sequence of –[i/ɛ] and [ɛ] to [ɪ],55 as e.g. [hjanali] > Ԫհուավի hianali [hi(j)anali] “wonderful”, [dzrak] > Ԫհուավի jriakan [dz(ə)riakan] “cost free, free”, [kʰvarkel] > Ԫվար k’vearkel [kʰ(a) vəjarkel] “to vote” etc.

1.4 Intonation

1.4.1 Stress

In Modern Eastern Armenian, the stress lies on the last syllable with a full vowel-nucleus. The stressed vowel is characterised by greater loudness, higher pitch and (in general) greater lengths.56

Some examples:


56. (Abelyan 1971: 34) argues that under stress the syllable is also pronounced longer, whereas, comparably, the syllables following the stressed nucleus are spoken shorter and more weakly. von der Hulst. Hendriks. van der Weijer. 1999: 446.
In some cases, the stress lies on the penultimate syllable:57

- If the vowel contained in the last closed syllable is the schwa [ə], as in կայսր [káysr], սառ [šār]
- In some words, the stress is on the penultimate rather than on the last syllable, e.g. որեվե “any”, ուղղվու “niynisk “even”, ուղիրբու “niynk’án “so much”, ուղիթհու “niynpes “also, as well”, ուղիբու “niynpes “also, as well”, ուղիթհու “niynpes “also, as well”
- In some cases, the stress lies on the first syllable58
  - In vocatives; but not as a general rule.
  - In hypocoristics.

In some cases, the stress falls on other than the ultimate full vowel syllable:

- In some loan words, especially proper names, a non-final syllable is stressed. In the oblique forms and in derivations of these loan proper names, however, the stress moves to the last syllable; e.g. Ալմոնտով, Ներենցուլտու Լերմոնտով (DAT.), Աշիա, Աշուկան “Asian”, Ատյար “Asian”, Ամերիկա, Ամերիկայի (DAT), Ամերիկան “American” etc.
- In compound verbs, the first non-verbal component is stressed, such as ցույց որոշ “to show”, ցույց որոշ ման գալ “to walk, to strove”, ցույց որոշ վեր կեռալ “to stand up”, ցույց որոշ ակե՛կ’յենկլե “to differ from; to burst upon the eye”, ցույց որոշ բացե՛լո “to open” etc.
- In juxtaposed compounds with a second constituent որ or որե՛ վե, the first constituent is stressed, as in որոսու որ ասես վե “as if”, ուղիթհու որ միան վե “if only”, ուղիթհու որ տե՛ն “as, so”, ուղիթհու որ հազիվ վե “no sooner; hardly”, ուղիթհու որ է՛կ’ե՛ր “when, as”, ուղիթհու որ հենե՛ր “just when, as”, ուղիթհու որ կա՛նի “since; insofar as”, etc.

57. A regular stress on the penultimate syllable is often found in Eastern Armenian dialects, such as in the Karabakh-dialect group.
In prohibitive, the prohibitive particle ophile mi, and not the verb form in imperative, is stressed.

ophile mi xosir “do not speak!”, ophile qow mi gna “do not go!”, ophile waw mi nayir “do not look!” etc.

There are also some proclitics that form a phonological unit with the word it precedes and are never stressed:

- the verbal particles ophile waw peti/petk’ of Debitive mood and ophile toł used in Imperative mood, e.g. ophile qoww piti gnas [piti_gonas] “you have to go”; ophile qoww toł gna [thok_gon] “let (him) go!” etc.
- the less productive prepositions Ši i, Ši ař and the more productive prepositions ophile minč’, ophile minčew, e.g. Ši waw pweš kayl ař kǝyl [kǝyl_ar_kǝyl] “step by step”, ophile waw minč’ valē [mi emptied_vaw] “until tomorrow” etc.
- some adverbs such as e.g. ophile inč’pes, as e.g. ophile Ši waw inč’pes mard [in tθpes_mard] “as a human being” etc.

As a principle, all Armenian stressed words contain at least ONE full vowel. There are, however, a number of words that contain no full vowels and surface only with one or more schwas. Such words usually receive an initial stress, such as e.g. Šem t’rmp’ [thtrmp] “crash! Sound made by something falling down”.

SMEA and, for the most part, colloquial Eastern Armenian can be described as last-first systems: the stress falls regularly on the last syllable containing a full vowel, but, where there is no full vowel, on the first syllable.59

In colloquial Armenian, the stress also lies principally on the last full syllable. Deviations such as the stress on the penultimate occur frequently in short, one-word expressions and in order to emphasize or contrast a meaning, e.g.60

[gıtɛm] < qınuhû gitem “I know”, meaning here: “yes, I do know”
[he:rik] < ḥepër t herik’ e “it is enough”, meaning “It is definitely enough. Stop!”
[tθũnem] < ſ Turnen “I have not”, meaning here “I do certainly not have”

As explained above, changing the stress in word formation or inflection, deletion and reduction rules apply to unstressed syllables with high vowels. In dialectal, but also colloquial Armenian, a secondary stress is assigned to the initial syllable of the word, because of this vowel reduction/deletion.

That means that there are secondary stresses at the word-level, but also phrasal and sentential stresses. The stress types interact with each other and are subject to phonological rules like high-vowel deletion or so-called clash deletion.

No stress can occur adjacent to another stress: a word-level stress is not allowed to appear next to another word-level stress, and it is also not allowed next to a phrasal or sentential stress.

Thus in word-formation clash deletion occurs, where two word-level stresses meet: usually the second part of the word, the final syllable of the word is stressed.

e.g. պատաներին բառացի գիտություն "lexicography" < բառան բառան "dictionary" + -ա- + գիտություն "science".

In general, in unmarked sequences, word-level stress (') deletes adjacent to phrasal stress (underlined) in (a) or sentential stress (bold) in (c).61

Before stress clash                              | Surface form                               | Meaning
---                                           | ---                                        | ---
(a) սիրուն ալիքե  →                                | [սիրուն ալիքե]                      | the pretty girl
(b) մեծ Հյուսիսի կղզի ածխաղում    | [մեծ Հյուսիսի կղզի]                  | the great sea enclosed his land
(c) սիրուն ալիքե  →                                | [սիրուն ալիքե]                      | the pretty girl

Sentential Stress

The new information given in an utterance is regarded as the focus of a sentence and is thus more strongly stressed than the remaining parts of a neutral sentence. In an unmarked sentence, the sentential stress usually falls on the predicate in declarative sentences, the polar in interrogative sentences, and most frequently also in exclamatory sentences.

(12) Հանդիպել առաջ գտարանը,
    Vardan-է  գնեց  գիրք-է.
    Vardan.NOM-the  buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
    “Vardan bought the book.”

In declarative sentences there may occur some adverbs and phrases that usually bear the sentential stress, such as e.g. ոչ միայն "only", ուղղություն նույն "even", ուրուերգում մանավանդ "particularly", ուղղություն այնպիսի mincew angam "even", etc.62

(13) Հանդիպել առաջ գտարանը,
    Vardan-է  նույնով  գնեց  գիրք-է.
    Vardan.NOM-the  even   buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
    “Vardan even bought the book.”


62. These are considered focus sensitive operators, see also Ch. 3.6.2.2 Marked “Pragmatic” Focus, p. 637f.
The sentential stress falls on the interrogative pronoun in content questions and also on the questioned information in the answer; on the negation marker (such as negative particles ին mi, ե՞ է՞ or negative words նու oč', բերեք erbek' “never” etc.) in a negated declarative sentence. In the latter two cases the word order is also marked: the (new) information in focus is put into immediate preverbal position.

(14) Ի՞վ գույն գիրքը:

ov gneč' girk'-է?
wh-who.nom buy-AOR.3.sg book.nom-the
“Who bought the book?”

(14) a. Կարճ գույն գիրքը:

Vardán-է (gneč' girkė).
Vardan.nom-the (bought the book).
“Vardan (bought the book).”

(15) Ի՞վ գույն գիրքը:

inc' gneč' Vardan-է?
wh-what-nom buy-AOR.3.sg Vardan.nom-the
“What did Vardan buy?”

(15) a. Կարճ գույն գիրքը գույն:

(Vardan-է) girk'-է (gneč').
(Vardan) book.nom-the (bought)
(Vardan bought) the book.”

(16) Կարճ գույն գիրքը:

Vardan-է է'-gneč' girk-է.
Vardan.nom-the neg-buy-AOR.3.sg book.nom-the
“Vardan did not buy the book.”

(17) Կարճ գույն բերեք ջին գիրքը:

Vardan-է erbek' է'-i gn-i girk'-է.
Vardan.nom-the never neg-he is buy-PTCP.NEG. book-nom-the
“Vardan will/shall never buy the book.”

If the whole phrase is regarded as new information, then all the elements of the sentence are stressed in a comparatively similar way. This happens in declarative sentences conveying general, known information and in the beginning of stories and fairy-tales.

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64. Preverbal focus position refers to the position immediate before the finite verb form.
(18) Գտեր Հորդեսու ձվոցի Ղարաղ ուծի բարձր պահարի: (Grakanut’yun 6:100)

\[ \text{Geworg Doroxyan-} \, \text{cn-v-el} \, \text{ę} \, \text{Lrim-i} \]

Geworg Doroxyan.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Crimea-DAT

\[ \text{Simferopol } \text{kalak’-um}. \]

Simferopol.NOM town-loc

“Geworg Doroxyan was born in the town Simferopol of Crimea.”

(19) Հայկական հայկական պատկանում է Հայզանից իրավուրք խմբում:

\[ \text{paplor haykakan patkanum ě šušanazgi-ner-i } \]

hyazinth.NOM Armenian belong-PTCP.PRES. it is liliaceous plant-PL-DAT

\[ \text{ěntanik’-i-n.} \]

family-DAT-the

“The Armenian hyacinth (Muscari armeniacum) belongs to the family of

liliaceous plants.”

Contrastive/Emphatic Stress\(^{65}\)

A very important feature of the stress in Armenian is the contrastive and/or emphatic stress: it is placed on some element of an utterance to contrast it with other elements either in the utterance itself or in the whole context. In the emphatic stress, the stress is placed on a particular part of the utterance to draw attention to it.

Both stress types can co-occur with special syntactic word-order of preverbal focus (see Ch. 3.6.2 Focus, p. 629f.).

(20) Անուշ կարդացել է այս գիրք-է.

\[ \text{Anúš-én kardac’el ě ays girk-ě.} \]

[anúʃ kartʰatsʰel_e ajš girkʰa] “Anuš has read this book.”

In this sentence the subject Anuš is stressed: Anuš has read this book, and not somebody else. It was Anuš who read this book. This is a contrastive/emphatic stress.

(20) a. Անուշ-ն կարդացել է այս գիրք-է.

\[ \text{Anúš-n kardac’el ě ays girk-ě.} \]

[anúʃon_e kartʰatsʰel ajš girkʰa] “It is Anuš who read the book”.

Comment: This sentence is also syntactically marked as emphatic or contrastive by putting the stressed part of the utterance into preverbal focus. The contrastive/emphatic stress is also on Anuš.

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\(^{65}\) In traditional Armenian grammars this stress is termed “grammatical or logical stress.” e.g. Abelyan 1971: 25.
1.4.2 Intonation

In SMEA, intonation using pitch and possibly also additional prosodic phenomena as loudness, tempo and pause is used for several purposes:

– for marking grammatical boundaries (phrases and clauses)
– for signalling sentence types (declarative, interrogative, exclamative etc.)
– for conveying the speaker’s emotion (surprise, irony, anger etc.).

Following there is an outline on the intonation contours used in Modern Eastern Armenian.66

In general, SMEA exhibits a falling tone (fall in pitch on the nuclear syllable) and a rising tone (rise in pitch on the nuclear syllable). The rising tone occurs in polar question and in non-final utterances, the falling tone in one-word utterances. The slowly falling tone is the most frequent, particularly in statements.

a. Declarative sentences67

Declarative sentences in MEA generally exhibit a (rising-) falling tone. The nucleus of the sentence is stressed (highest pitch), but the tone after this nucleus stress does not fall abruptly, rather gradually or fades away. The stressed syllable is always the longest and most intense one.

– in one-element sentences there is an equally rising-falling tone in nominal one-element utterances and an evenly rising and slowly falling tone in verbal one-element utterances.
– simple sentences have a (rising-) slowly falling (fading) tone.
– Negative declarative sentences do not differ in intonation from affirmative sentences, the stress (nucleus) is on the negated form or negative word. They have the same (rising) – slowly falling intonation as affirmative sentences.

66. More detailed literature with studies of various sentence types, lengths etc. can be found in Hakobyan H.G. 1978. Hnč’erangē ew šeště žamanakakic’hayerenum.
b. Interrogative Sentences

The most important feature of an interrogative sentence is its rising intonation pattern: the pitch abruptly rises on the nucleus, and after the nucleus the tone abruptly falls or is weakened.

– Polar Questions

The question intonation is independent from the syntactic surface of an interrogative sentence, i.e. the stress in polar questions may fall on each constituent of a polar question, independent of the word order and of preverbal focus position. In the case of a marked word order, i.e. use of preverbal focus, the auxiliary plays an important role in analytic tense forms: it is immediately following the stressed nucleus.

(21)  
a. Անուշը արձանագրել է գրք?  
[անուշ արձանագրել է գրք]  
“Did ANUŠ read a book?” = Was it Anuš who read a book?

b. Անուշը արձանագրել է գրք?  
[անուշ արձանագրել է գրք]  
“Did Anuš read a BOOK?” (Did Anuš read a book – or a newspaper, journal etc.?)

c. Անուշը արձանագրել է գրք?  
[անուշ արձանագրել է գրք]  
“Did Anuš read a book?” (Did Anuš read a book – or did she write, buy, steal etc. a book…?)

d. Անուշը արձանագրել է գրք?  
Anuš-NOM-the book-NOM she is read-PTCP.PERF.  
“Has Anuš read a book?”  
(Marked word order, the item in the interrogative intonation is also in preverbal focus position)

e. Անուշը արձանագրել է գրք?  
Anuš-NOM-the she is read-PTCP.PERF. book-NOM  
“Has Anuš read a book? Is it Anuš who has read a book?”

68. Լուկասյան. 1978: 76–170.
The intonation contour depends on the position of the nucleus in the utterance:

- In neutral polar questions, the interrogative stress is always on the predicate, which appears in the sentence's final position, i.e. the sentence's last syllable that is stressed, thus the intonation contour is simply rising.

(22) թևհեանք հավաճառք՝

\[ \text{ays girk'-ë havanec' Ir?} \]

this book.NOM-the like-AOR.2.SG

"Did you like this book?"

- The nucleus may occur in the medium position in the case of disjunctive questions, in assumptive questions, comparative and in neutral polar questions. In this case the intonation contour rises (on the nucleus) and falls after it.

(23) թռիձմիչ նձբ ք" քուջ:

\[ \text{erexa-d deř č'-i k'n-el?} \]

child.NOM-your yet neg-it is sleep-PTCP.PERF.

"Your child has not slept yet?"

(24) թոնհենու Եւ ավանընթա, Եթ թավարգուկ:

\[ \text{Gyuł-um es apr-um t' e kālak'-um?} \]

town.LOC you are live-PTCP.PRES. conj town-LOC

"Do you live in a village or in a town?"

(25) թյա ծառի ք" թարգ, քան թավար:

\[ \text{aveli lav č'-ē mn-ank' kān gn-ank' Ɪ} \]

more good neg-it is stay-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL. than go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL

"Is it not better that we stay than we go?"

- Re-confirming interrogative utterances have a mixed intonation contour: the first part is prototypically declarative, i.e. falling, the second part is interrogative, i.e. rising.

(26) թաղսը քամակը դեհ, ք" ք:

\[ \text{Anuš-ë gelec'ik kin č' č' Ɪ} \]

Anuš.NOM-the beautiful woman.NOM she is neg-she is

"Anuš is a beautiful woman, isn’t she?"

The greatest length of the stressed nucleus in polar interrogatives was found in polar questions with a final nucleus and in re-confirming interrogative utterances.
Following a perceptual study by Volkskaya and Grigoryan, these distinct patterns of intonation questions could be confirmed:

- a continuous rise within the tonic syllable, where the stressed syllable is in the final position
- a rise on the tonic syllable, followed by a fall on the post-tonic, unstressed syllable.

Final rises are the most observed patterns in Armenian intonation question.

In bisyllabic and polysyllabic words, the rise on the tonic syllable was followed by a fall in the post-tonic syllable.

Colloquial Armenian exhibits a remarkable difference in putting the stress and question intonation in the polar question. Whereas in SMEA, the question lies on the full last syllable of the stress bearing verbal form, in colloquial Armenian, more commonly, the stress and question intonation falls on the auxiliary. In colloquial Armenian the question stress may even fall on a final schwa-syllable.

Col. Միասին էք’ գալու? [mijasın_ékʰ galu]  
Stand. Միասին էք’ գալու? “Will you come together?”

Coll. Գնու՞ էս գրադարան? [gnum_ës gradaran]  
Stand. Գնու՞ էս գրադարան? “Are you going to the library?”

Coll. Ուո ինչ ’ ե? Վագե’ եր տե արջւց? [sac_ïnçʰ ə vakʰær tʰɛ arjuts]  
Stand. Ուո ինչ ’ ե? Վագե’ եր տե արջւց? “What is this? A tiger or a lion?”

- Content questions

In content questions the interrogative pronouns bear the main stress and rising tone of interrogative sentence. The wh- pronoun with its rising tone appears in preverbal focus position. The contour after the stressed nucleus with rising tone is falling.

(27) Ուո ինչ ’ ե? Վագե’ եր տե արջւց?  
“Where are you going?”

In principle, the intonation contours of polar and content questions are the same, with a rising tone on the nucleus of the question and a falling tone after the stressed syllable.

c. Exclamatory Sentences


The intonation of exclamatory sentences is usually spread on the whole utterance, but there is an intonational centre on a certain word in the utterance, which may coincide with the logical stress.

(28) ḫûłkawn qeñtikç ë ëm wññchññ:
    inč'kanden geleç'ik ë ëm alys alyjë-ë!
    [ţiŋkâkben geleç'ik ë ëm alyjë-ë]
    “This girl is beautiful!”

(29) ìwëj, ḡûñ ë ëm pûñwññññ phaq:
    vây inç' ë patahel kez?
    [vâj îŋfë phaţhel kež]
    “Oh! What has happened to you?”

The main intonational feature is the rising tone on the nucleus and the fall or the remaining on this tone after the nucleus. The stressed syllable in an exclamatory intonation is also spoken longer and more intensely than all others.71

The tone pitch however depends on the position of the stressed nucleus: if it occurs at the end of the exclamatory utterance, it is the highest pitch and also has the greatest length. If it occurs at the utterance’s beginning, it is just a “little bit higher and longer” than the other syllables.

Thus:
- if the stressed nucleus is at the beginning of the sentence, the tone rises exactly on this nucleus and falls in the following syllables.
- if the stressed nucleus is at the end of the utterance, then the tone constantly, gradually rises.
- if the stressed nucleus occurs in the middle of the utterance, the intonation contour is rising-falling, i.e. the tone rises on the stressed nucleus and falls after it.

Exclamatory interjections or modal words bear the stress and thus the rising tone.

d. Imperatives and Prohibitives72

A typical imperative/prohibitive sentence has a distinctive rise on the nucleus (usually the last syllable of the imperative verb form or the prohibitive particle ðî mi), although the general intonation contour is much like a declarative sentence. The main intonational difference is the more actively spoken stress (the rising tone) on the nucleus in imperatives/prohibitives.

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71. Abelyan 1971: 34.
The stress of imperatives/prohibitives is also comparatively quicker and longer than the one in declarative sentences; even the schwa is more strongly articulated in an imperative intonation.73

Excursus: Vocative.74

A word conveys vocative functions only by intonation. The rising in tone on the nucleus and the falling of tone after the nucleus is prototypical for vocatives. But these intonation contours may differ in the flexibility of the rise: it may be abrupt; slowly rising; pronounced weakly or strongly – depending on the position of the vocative and on the number of elements in vocative functions.

- The highest pitch occurs in vocative utterances that consist only of the vocative element.
- In sentence’s initial position, and consisting just of one element, the vocative element shows the strongest and highest pitch. There is a clearly perceptible pause after the rising tone of the vocative element.

The intonation is even stronger, if the vocative element occurs in a directive.

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73. Abelyan 1971: 34.
Chapter 1. Phonology

(34) ζηω, ορη ζωνη:
        Arám ar-i aystel!
    Aram.nom come-imp.2.sg. here
    “Aram, come here!”

- If the vocative occurs in any other position than beginning of the sentence, it is comparatively weaker. If the vocative element follows an interjection, this interjection also intensifies the intonation contour of the vocative in a higher and quicker rising of tone.

- If the vocative occurs in an interrogative sentence, the centre of the sentence’s intonation is the questioned word, thus the intonation of the vocative is comparatively weaker and shorter than in other vocative expressions.

(35) ζηηη ζη ζηη; ζηηη:
     âr es gn-um papik?
    wh-where you are go-ptcp.pres. grandpa.nom
    “Where are you going, Grandpa?”
2.1 Nouns

The noun in EA falls into different classes according to its semantic, morphological and word formation features.

Semantic criteria, in general, divide nouns into

a. concrete nouns: denoting concrete entities, i.e. accessible to the senses, observable or measurable and
b. abstract nouns, which are typically non-observable and non-measurable.

Concrete nouns are further subdivided into

a. proper nouns; including e.g. personal names, place names etc.
b. common nouns; denoting objects, states of affairs or individual representatives thereof.

Nouns can also semantically be distinguished according to their “nominal aspect” and their countability.

- Individual aspect, [+shape], [–structure]: a countable, but not divisible, noun. Count nouns are syntactically combined with quantifiers, particularly numerals; count nouns appear in both singular and plural, as in ṭrīpī ṭatīnī erku tun “two houses” (lit.: two house), šōnu ṭrīpīn ēōrs ērexā “four children”, (lit.: four child).
- Mass aspect, [–shape] [+structure]: not countable, but divisible nouns. Mass nouns usually appear only in the singular and never in the plural. They syntactically co-occur with classifiers as in ṭrīpī pūśaṅī ŋīpī erku bažak ğur “two glasses of water” (lit.: two glass water).
- Collective aspect, [+shape] [+structure]: nouns expressing a group or set of several members in terms of a single unit. Collective nouns co-occur with quantifiers, especially numerals.

2.1.1 Semanto-Syntactic categories

2.1.1.1 Humanness/Animacy

MEA has no a gender distinction; natural gender is included in the lexicon entry; the grammatical gender can be changed by suffixing the female suffix -ńih -uhi to the neutral (or inherently male) word.

MEA distinguishes the semanto-syntactic category humanness/animacy, i.e. MEA distinguishes between nouns denoting persons (+human) and nouns denoting objects, state of
affairs and even animals (–human); thus, all personal names, all nouns denoting person e.g. job titles are basically (+human), but even personified animals or objects. Thus, chess figures and playing cards are also basically (+human). In general, however, animals and plants are (–human).

The lexically inherent or semantically predetermined ± humanness of a noun may, however, be changed in certain semantic, and even morpho-syntactic, contexts. This is particularly true for the personification of objects and animals and the “institutionalization” and “depersonification” of nouns denoting persons.

It seems that in Colloquial Armenian, the humanness distinction is gradually expanding to an animacy distinction; especially within the noun subclass of (–human) animals, when referring to a certain, specific animal and not to animals in general.

(1) Աննա շներ է տիր.  
Anna-n šn-er ē sir-um.  
Anna_nominative - the dog plural is love-PTCP.PRES.  
“Anna loves dogs.” (In general, all dogs)

(2) Աննա տիր է հայ շներ.  
Anna-n sir-um ē ir  
Anna_nominative - love -PTCP.PRES. she is her  
hor šn-er-i-n.  
father_dat - dog plural - the  
“Anna loves her father’s dogs.” (Specific, defined dogs)

The category “humanness” is of importance primarily for the case assignment and morphological expression of the direct object (=patient) of a transitive verb. In general, (+human) direct objects appear in the dative case, whereas (–human) direct objects appear in the nominative. The humanness distinction is also substantial for the expression of the passive object (logical subject) of a passivised verb in the bare ablative or as a postpositional phrase, and even to distinguish the various functions of detransitivised verbs.

It was the Armenian grammarian Asatryan who, in 1970, first gave a systematic overview of the interaction of the category ‘humanness’ focusing on the morphological expression of a direct object of a transitive verb, with definiteness.

1. (human) noun, denoting a definite person dative (with definite article) 
Հու այունու խու մոր: Es sir-um em im mor-է. I love my mother. 

2. (human) noun, denoting a definite object, state of affair → nominative (with definite article) 
Ծած խոր էնքեր կորճե. Na ir ènker-է korc’rec’. He lost his friend. 

3. (human) noun, denoting an indefinite, non-specific person → dative (without definite article) 
Ծած պիւսիցե պիրկու: Na usanol-i sirec’. He loved a student. 

4. (human) noun, denoting an indefinite object, institution or state of affairs (depersonification) → nominative (without definite article)
Es hayr em korc’rel. I have lost (my) father.

5. (–human) noun, denoting a definite object or state of affair → nominative (with definite article)
Es vard-ě gta. I found the rose. Na kov-ë mort’ec’. He killed the cow.

6. (–human) noun, denoting a definite person ("personification") → dative (with definite article)
Soxak-ē ir vard-i-n gtav. The nightingale found its rose. Gyulac’i-n o’e mi kov-i ē’i mort’i. The farmer will not kill any cow.

7. (–human) noun, denoting an indefinite, non-specific object, state of affair → nominative (without indefinite article)
Es vard gta. I found a rose. Na kov mort’ ec’. He killed a cow.

8. (–human) noun, denoting an indefinite person (personification) → dative (with definite article)
Soxak-ē amen vard-i č’i siri. The nightingale will not love every rose. Gyulac’i-n o’e mi kov-i ē’i mort’i. The farmer will not kill any cow.

Among the possible expressions given by Asatryan the following two cases occur seldom and are highly unproductive:

2. (+human) noun, denoting a definite object, state of affair → nominative (with definite article)
Kendani-n čanač’-um ē ir ter-ě. An animal knows its master.

6. (–human), denoting a definite person ("personification") → dative (with definite article)
Arew-ē šoy-um ē yurak’anč’yur terew-i. The sun caresses each leaf.

One can follow, that the case assignment (dative vs. nominative) is to the direct object of a transitive verb primarily and depends on the “contextual humanness” of a noun rather than on the inherent humanness as given in the basic lexical entry of a noun. Secondarily, definiteness of a noun also seems be of importance for case assignment; this is particularly true, if a (+human) noun appears as contextually (–human) and thus is generalised and indefinite.

(3) Տես մեր:  
tes-a  mi  mard. 
see-aor.1.sg  indef  person.nom 
“I saw a person.” (Absolutely neutral statement)
The second form with (+human) indefinite direct object in the nominative (3a) seems to be used only in cases where the person “I” saw is additionally specified by a following sentence or dependent clause. In a completely neutral and indefinite expression the first form (3) is preferably used.

The division into semantic classes is also reflected in the morphological declension classes, but also in word formation (derivation, composition).

2.1.1.2 Number

MEA distinguishes between singular and plural. The division of nouns according to the expression of number is the following:

a. count nouns, combining with singular and plural;

b. nouns combining only with singular, i.e. singularia tantum;

c. nouns combining only with plural, i.e. pluralia tantum.

The following noun groups belong to singularia tantum.

a. (Abstract) collective nouns suffixed with -ýun or -elen, as e.g. üýun mardkut’yun “mankind”, nyan mardkut’yun “student body”, bëut’uñ erkat’elen “ironware, hardware” etc.

b. Abstract nouns suffixed with -ýun, denoting

- qualities as found in hpartut’yun “pride”, karmrut’yun “redness” etc.
- nouns from the lexical field job/profession as in erkragorcut’yun “agriculture, tillage”, qen mutnuse erkat’yun “agriculture” etc.
- nouns from the lexical fields of policy, sociology e.g. strkatirut’yun “slavery” etc.
- nouns from the lexical fields of science, various fields of studies as e.g. lezvabanat’yun “linguistics”, erkrabanat’yun “geology” etc.

c. abstract nouns suffixed with -izm, as in nyýut’uñ socialist “socialism”, kapitalizm “capitalism” etc.

d. material nouns, like. kat’ “milk”, gini “wine”, bëut’uñ erkat’ “iron” etc.

e. Nouns denoting certain objects or a certain person (as e.g. personal or place names)

In some contexts, however, the nouns given above may also occur in the plural. This can occur with personal names in the plural, referring to various persons or to family members.
Our course-dat two Aram.nom-pl-the good they are learn-ptcp.pres.

"The two Arams on our course learn well."

MEA no longer has real pluralia tantum. The majority of those words inherited as former dual words or plural words from Classical Armenian are nowadays interpreted as regular countable words and as such can also combine with the plural, such as աչք’ “eye”, ուտկ’ “foot”, as well as դեպք’ xelk’ “mind, intellect”, դեպք’ mît’ “thought”, գայ’ kyank’ “life” etc.

The following two groups of nouns may, however, be considered as pluralia tantum.

a. Nouns with inherited Classical Armenian plural forms -ուկ’, ուկ’ -ank’, ուկ’ -onk’, ուկ’ -unk’, which denote a family or kin, cannot combine with the plural e.g. բանակտուկ’ Vardenëk’ “the family/kin of Vardon”

b. Geographical names already showing a plural morpheme.

**Formation of Number**

The singular is expressed with a zero-morpheme, whilst the plural is expressed by means of the allomorph suffix -(ու)էր -(ո)nër, which is directly attached to the noun stem.

1. Plural in -էր -er
   - -էր -er is generally suffixed to monosyllabic words.

Exceptions to this general rule for monosyllabic words


b. Nouns inherited from Classical Armenian, but with the loss of the final (-n) and thus of the second syllable in the course of Armenian language development. These former -n-nouns form the plural with the suffix –էր: խոշ “fish”, ձեռ “hand”, երեխ’ “grandchild”, ուտկ “foot”, մուկ “mouse”, դեկ “ox”, լեռ “mountain”, բեր “load; burden”, մատ “finger”, գայ “lamb”.

This plural formation is also applied to compound nouns the last element of which is a monosyllabic word, which is interpreted as nominal, e.g. հերագիր heragir “telegraph” -հերագիր-էր “telegraphs”; պայմանագիր paymanagir “contract” -պայմանագիր-էր “contracts” etc.

If, however, the monosyllabic lexeme (the last element of the compound is interpreted as being deverbal, the plural suffix –էր must be used, e.g. դասատու datsatu “teacher” < -տու < տալ “give” դասատու-էր datsatu-er “teachers”; պատմագիր patmagir < -գիր -գիր < գրել “write”, “historian”, պատմագիր-էր patmagir-er “historians” etc.

2. Plural in –էր-եր
   - The suffix –էր-եր is generally used with all polysyllabic nouns.
Those nouns consisting of one and a half syllables, i.e. nouns of which one syllable is not formed with a full vowel, but with the unstressed central vowel ð ĕ, form the plural in the following way:

a. if the word's first syllable is formed with the central vowel ð ĕ, then this word is interpreted as bisyllabic and the suffix -ųyper-ner has to be used, as in ðųyper ðųyper-ßer ēnker – ēnker-ner “friend to friends”, ðųyper ðųyper-šer g(è)dak – g(è)dak-ner “ball to balls” etc.

b. if the word's second syllable is formed with the central vowel ð ĕ, then this noun is interpreted as monosyllabic and thus the suffix -ęer has to be used, as in ùyper ùyper-šer ast(è)l – ast(è)l-er “star – stars”; ÷yper ÷yper-šer vag(è)r – vag(è)r-er “tiger – tigers”; ÷yper ÷yper-šer kays(è)r – kays(è)r-er “emperor – emperors”; ùyper ùyper-šer tet(è)r – tet(è)r-er “notebook – notebooks” etc.

Apart from these productive suffixes there are some other plural suffixes which have been inherited from Classical Armenian and which are still used with certain nouns or in certain contexts and styles.

3. Plural in -ųlų -ik
This plural suffix occurs only with the noun ÷ųyper mard “human/person” and its compounds, such as ÷ųyper mard ÷ųlų-šer mardik, ùųlųwū tênard “man” ùųlųwū-ųlı tênardik etc.

4. Plural in -ųyr -ayk'
This plural suffix occurs only with the nouns ÷ųyr kin “woman” and ÷ypypyp paron “mister” and their compounds, such as e.g. ÷ųyr kin “woman” ÷ųyr-ųyr kanayk', ÷ypypyp tikin “Mrs.” ùųlųwū tiknayk'; ÷ypypyp paron “Mr.” - ÷ypypypik'paronayk’ etc.

5. Plural in -ų -k'
This plural suffix is commonly used in colloquial Armenian, particularly with the noun ÷uřexa erexa “child” and nouns denoting origin, ending in -ų, -č', as e.g. in ÷uřexa erexa “child” - ÷uřexa erexa; ÷ųlųwū gyłuć‘i ‘farmer’ - ÷ųlųwūgyłućik'

(5) ÷ųlųwū-ųlų-šer tênardik, nųlų šapawa tênardik:
(Hetk’ 15.01.2006)
azgut’y-amb belańüs èr èrex-ek’
nationality-inst White Russian.nom he was child-pl.nom
č‘-un-ën̄k’ ink‘-ę hivand èr.
neg-have-past.1.pl he.nom ill he was
“He was White Russian by nationality, we had no children, he was ill.”

6. Plural of Personal Names
The plural forms of personal names -ųyyp ank’, -ųyyp-ën̄k’ and -ųyyp -ünk’ denote the affiliation and membership to a certain person. The forms in -ųyyp -ën̄k’ are nowadays the most frequent and productive ones, whereas the other forms tend to occur in colloquial Armenian and in older texts. ÷ypypyp Vardan – ÷ypypyp Vardanenk’ “the family/kin of Vardan.”
Excursus: Alternation in Plural Formations

Alternation due to the suffixation of the plural suffixes and the involved change of stress may happen with the weak vowels -u- and -i-.

1. In the initial position -i- and -u- remain unchanged in plural formations.
2. In the medial position -i- and -u- undergo alternations with plural formations.
   a. In general, the medial -i- is reduced to -ě- in monosyllabic nouns. Exceptions to this plural alternation are the following words: դիրք dirk’ “position, setting”, չիպք čip’ “smile”, կիրճ kirč “canyon”, հիմք himk’ “base”, ջիրկ jirk’ “gift, talent”, հովկ չիր “cry”, նոս մաք “mark”, իտ ճիտ “jet, stream”, վիհ աբես “abyss”, կուար պեղ “palate”, ֆիլմ “Film” etc.
   b. The medial -i of polysyllabic nouns remain unchanged in plural formations, as in բժիշկ bžišk’ “doctor”: բժիշկ-ներ bžišk-ner; հաշիվ hašiv “invoice”: հաշիվ-ներ hašiv-ner, օրոշ առու ”attribute”: օրոշ-ներ etc.
   c. The medial -u- is generally reduced to -ě- in monosyllabic words, as in ջուր jür’ “water”: ջուր-եր, սուրբ surb “holy”: սուրբ-եր.
   d. There are however some monosyllabic nouns, in which -u- remains unchanged e.g. ջուր t’uxs “brood-hen”, սուրբ t’urk’ “Turk”, կուտ kut’ “refid”, ջուր կուտ “core”, կուրս kurs “course”, հուն hın “channel, riverbed”, հուս hus “recollection, memory”, մուկ mutk’ “entrance”, մուրչ murč “hammer”, թունբ tumb “bomb”, սուրբ surč “coffee”, տուրk “fee; toll”, տուփ tup “box”, տուֆ tuf “tuff”, կուար կունկ’ “temple” etc.
   e. There are even some monosyllabic words with -u- which used to show reduction, but which are not productively reduced any more, such as բուկ buk’ “snow-storm”, բուրջ burg “pyramid”, դուք duk’ “duke”, հուն hún “harvest”, սուգ sug “sorrow, grief”, կուրմ kûrm “priest” etc.
   f. The -u- of the last syllable of polysyllabic compounds remains unchanged, if the plural is formed by means of the suffix -ner as in կարամբ cařabun “tree nest” – կարամբ-ներ cařabner.
   g. The medial -u- of polysyllabic nouns remains unchanged if plural form -ner is used.

3. In the final position -i- and -u- may undergo alternations with plural formations
   - -i and -u remain unchanged in polysyllabic nouns, such as կատու կատու-ներ “cat to cats”, գինի գինի-ներ “wine to wines” etc.
   - The final - u of a monosyllabic noun changes with the plural suffix -er to -v-, as in e.g. ճու ճու-եր “eggs” etc.
The Use of the Plural

The plural is not used with countable nouns in combination with modifying cardinal numbers and indefinite quantifiers.

(6) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es tesn-um em erek’ aljk-a.
I.nom see-PTCP.pres. I am 3 girl-dat
“I see three girls.”

However, the plural is obligatory in combination with the collective quantifier բոլոր bolor “all” and the quantifier շատ sat “many/much.” With the distributive quantifiers ամեն amen “all” and յուրաքանչյուր yurakan’eyur “each” the nouns obligatorily appear in the singular.

(7) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es piti kard-am bolor grk’-er-č.
I.nom read-DEB.FUT.1.SG all book-PL.NOM-the
“I must read all books.”

(8) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es čanač’-um em šat usanoł-ner-i.
I.nom know-PTCP.pres. I am many student-PL-DAT
“I know many students.”

The plural must also be used if apart from the quantifying attribute, nouns also have other modifying attributes, such as adjectives, possessives, determiners etc.

(9) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es tesn-um em elb-or erek’ aljk-ner-i-n.
I.nom see-PTCP.pres. I am brother-DAT three girl-PL-DAT-the
“I see my brother’s three daughters (girls).”

(10) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es tesn-um em ays erek’ aljk-ner-i-n.
I.nom see-PTCP.pres I am this three girl-PL-DAT-the
“I see these three girls.”

(11) կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es gov-um em im hing usanoł-ner-i-n.
I.nom praise-PTCP.pres. I am my five student-PL-DAT-the
“I praise my five students.”

a. կանաչ արտաքանում  INCIDENTAL MODIFICATION

Es gov-um em hing usanoł-ner-i-s.
I.nom praise-PTCP.pres. I am five student-PL-DAT-my
“I praise my five students.”
2.1.2 Declension classes

The noun can also be grouped according to its morphological (and semantic) features into various declension classes. The most productive declension is the i-declension.

Following the traditional grammar approach, one distinguishes vowel or thematic declension from consonant or athematic declension.

The declension is formed by means of case endings, which are directly attached to the noun's stem in the singular or following the plural suffix.

SMEA uses the same case endings for the ablative case in -Çó, the instrumental case in -áí (respectively in consonant an-declension -³Ùµ as well as for the locative case in -áõ-um. These suffixes are used both in the singular and the plural. Case endings in the plural are the same for all declension classes.

stem-(plural suffix)-(case ending)-(definiteness/possessiveness suffix)

In declension, as in word formation and plural formation, the stress shift happens, due to which alternations may happen with the weak vowels i and u.

Alternations in Declension

1. Initial position: in the initial position both i- and u- remain unchanged in declension.

2. Medial position

- The medial -i of monosyllabic nouns is generally reduced in declension, as in e.g. սիր t‘izi “hand (as measure)”, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi “heart” – սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi “neck” – սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi, սիր t‘izi etc.

- There are some monosyllabic words, in which -i remains unchanged in declension, such as դիր k‘irš “position, setting”, դիր k‘irš “charge, filling”, դիր k‘irš “canyon”, դիր k‘irš “base”, դիր k‘irš “gift, talent”, դիր k‘irš “cry”, դիր k‘irš “mark”, դիր k‘irš “jet; stream”, դիր k‘irš “abyss”, դիր k‘irš “palate”, դիր k‘irš “film”, “Film” etc.

- The medial -u of polysyllabic words is reduced to -ě-, as in բժշկ bžški “doctor, physician”, բժշկ bžški, բժշկ bžški “account” etc.

- There are some monosyllabic words, in which u- remains unchanged in declension, such as քուր k‘un “core” etc.

- The medial -u of the last element of a polysyllabic compound remains unchanged if it is not a noun ending in -սուս-սուս, -սուս-սուս, -սուս-սուս, such as. սուս-սուս-սուս-սուս.
3. Final position
The final -u is changed to -v- with case endings in instances of belonging to the u-declension, such as ձնի ճ՝ "egg"—ձնի ճ՝ v, ևաաներ կաթ «cat"—ևաաներ կաթ v, ևաաներ ելզու «language/tongue"—ևաաներ ելզու v etc.

Other alternations in declension affect

- the medial vowel a which may be deleted (u a < 0), as in սուճ ամր «summer»
- the medial vowel e (է է) which is reduced to -i- or completely deleted (է է < է է i, 0), as in ուտեր տեր «lord»—ուտեր տեր i, ևաաներ ջմե «winter»—ևաաներ ջմե i
- the medial diphthong uy is reduced in high literary styles in monosyllabic words to ո u as in եռեւ հյուս «hope»—եռեւ հյուս i, ևաաներ լյուս «light»—ևաաներ լյուս i, ; otherwise, particularly in colloquial Armenian, it remains unchanged.
- the medial diphthong uy is reduced to ո է in monosyllabic words, such as պուչ կյուր պուչ կյուր i, ևաաներ բյուն «bird's nest»—պուչ կյուր b(է)ni etc.
- the medial diphthong ու ու in monosyllabic words is reduced to ո է or even entirely deleted in colloquial and dialectal Armenian, such as դիներ ջյուն «snow», դիներ ջյուն j(է) ni,76 պյուր ալեւ «flour»—պյուր այլি etc.

MEA has eight declension classes; it is the dative singular that specifies and denominates the declension classes.

The -i, -u, -an, -va and -o declension types are grouped with vowel declension. The consonant declension types are relatively unproductive and can be found in the declension classes of -a and -o.

The subclassification of nouns into declension classes is both motivated by morphological and semantic reasons.

2.1.2.1 i-declension
This most productive declension class is not semantically motivated. Apart from the majority of MEA nouns being declined according to this group, the following nouns also classify with the i-declension class. The i-declension is also the most frequently used declension in colloquial Armenian; here even other declension classes are replaced by the more productive i-declension (see below):78

75. In both written and spoken Armenian երև բերան - երև բերան i nowadays regarded as common form.
76. In written Armenian դիներ ջյուն «snow»—դիներ ջյուն i, ևաաներ �յուս «light»—ևաաներ լյուս i
77. In written Armenian պյուր ալեվ «flour»—պյուր ալի i, ևաաներ ելզու «language/tongue»—ևաաներ ելզու i, this is also the more common form in spoken Armenian.
78. (Լարագիլունյան 1981: 92) for colloquial Armenian in general and (Զակարյան 1981: 216) for colloquial Yerevan Armenian mentions the frequent replacement of the following declension
a. Nominalised adjectives, pronouns as well as nominalised possessive datives, as e.g.

- կանաչ kanač “green” : կանաչ kanač “the green” : կանաչ(ու) kanač’im, կանաչ kanač’ic’, կանաչ kanač’ov, կանաչ kanač’um
- իմ im “my” : իմ im ě “mine” : իմ(ու) im(n), իմ imic’, իմ imov, իմ իմ իմ իմ mej
- Արամ գիրք Arami girk’ “Aram’s book”. Արամինե Aramin “Aram’s”, Արամիկ(ու) Aramin(n), Արամինու Araminov, Արամիկ Արամին mej

b. The nouns հուս huys “hope”, լուս luy “light”, սուր sug “sorrow/grief”, are nowadays predominantly inflected following the i-declension, particularly in colloquial Armenian. Apart from these productive forms, in high literary style, in idioms and compounds the older, classical forms are still used:

- հուս huys “hope”; հուս հուս հուս իս “I hope”
- լուս luy “light” – լուս լուս, but in modern words երկրբ հուսի bekum “refraction”
- սուր sug “sorrow/grief”, ան սուր սուր մահ (“funeral speech”, but more common ան իս ըն zgest “mourning (clothes)”)

c. Nouns ending in -(ո)է (է)r. These nouns are inherited from the Classical Armenian e-declension of r-stems, which is nowadays highly unproductive and often replaced by the i-declension, particularly in colloquial Armenian. In high literary style as well as in some compounds, the Classical declension is however still used:

- դուսե dstr “daughter”, դուսե dster: coll. դուսե dstri
- կայսե kaysr “emperor”, կայսե kaysr: coll. կայսե kaysri

d. Nouns ending in -եւ st and -եր -nd. These nouns are inherited from the Classical Armenian an-declension and are only used in this antiquated or high literary style, some compounds and in some idioms. In colloquial language they are replaced by the i-declension

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80. E.g. Classical Armenian, SG. < դուսե dstr, դուսե dster, զեուս zdus, հ դուսե i dsterē, դուսե dsterb, հ դուսե is dster.
81. E.g. Classical Armenian, SG. ցնդ cnund < ցնդ cnund, ցնդան cnndean, ցնդե cnund, հ ցնդե i cnndenē, ցնդան cnndamh, հ ցնդե i cnndean.
Chapter 2. Morphology

2.1.2.2 u-declension

Certain nouns are classified with the u-declension.

a. Nouns ending in -i, with the exception of
   - nouns for days of the week
   - personal and place names of non-Armenian origin
   - compounds consisting of տեղ teli as the second element
   - the nouns անդր andri “statue”, իշ švi “shalm”, սպ spi “seam/scar”, տատ tati “grandma, պապ papi “grandfather”, կած hac’i “ash tree”, etc.

b. The four nouns մարդ mard “person”, ամուսին amusin “husband”, անկոլ ankol “bed”, տատակ astvac “god” and their compounds

c. The nominalised infinitives

d. The noun քառ ser “love”.

The final -i belonging to the stem of the noun is often replaced by -u in the dative and ablative cases of polysyllabic nouns; the instrumental is directly attached to the i-less stem of the noun.

The locative is rarely used in this declension class; it is more often analytically expressed by means of the postposition ուղ mej “in” and the noun in the dative case.
It is interesting to note, that in colloquial Armenian, some words belonging to the i-declension, are inflected following this u-declension, as e.g. կամ “wind” < կամ-y-i (DAT) instead of i-declension կամ-y-i (DAT). 83

2.1.2.3 an-declension
This declension class comprises the following nouns:

a. all nouns in -ն -հ in inherited from Classical Armenian -ն -հ 84
b. all monosyllabic nouns that origin in Classical Armenian simple n-stems, 85 such as մուս “mouse”, դուռ “door”, լեռ “mountain”, գառ “lamb”, ձեռ “fish”, կեն “pomegranate”. The following Classical Armenian n-stems are more frequently inflected according to the productive i-declension: քեզ “ox”, քոր “grandchild”, կեն “knee”, ձեռ “goose berry”.

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83. Լարգիլյուլյան 1981: 92.
c. all nouns denoting seasons of the year, i.e. գարուն  "spring", ամար  "summer", աշուն  "autumn" and ջեր  "winter".

d. the noun մանուկ  "child".

Also some alternations occur in the u-declension

- If the noun contains [u] -ռ -u in the last syllable, this [u] -ռ -u is deleted in declension
- If the noun is monosyllabic, the final [u] -ռ -u is reduced to [e] -ռ -e in declension, as in e.g. դուռ - դուռ դ(ե)րան, ձկու ձկու -ձկու (ե)կան.

The ablative in -հե -ic’ and the instrumental in -ով are formed in the following ways:

- in nouns ending in -ռ -um the ablative and instrumental endings are directly attached to the nominative of the nouns, as in անկում  "fall/breakdown" անկումիչ անկուման, բաժանում  "separation" բաժանումիչ բաժանուման etc.
- in monosyllabic nouns having -հ -i- or -ռ -u-, the ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the stems with reduced vowel to -ե- , as in e.g. կուն  "knee" կունիչ կունով.
- in nouns originating in Classical Armenian -ո -n-stems, the -ո -n- occurs in the ablative and instrumental, e.g. դուռ  "door" դուռիչ դուռով.
- nouns denoting seasons of the year attach the ablative ending to the dative form and the instrumental to the nominative form, such as. գարուն  "springtime", գարունիչ գարունային, գարունով.
- the noun մանուկ  "child" attaches both ablative and instrumental endings to the nominative form.

նունդ usum “study”

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<td>usm-an(ե)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

մուկ muk “mouse”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>PL.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM մուկ(ը)</td>
<td>muk(ե)</td>
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<td>ABL մուկ-իչ</td>
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<td>INST մուկ-ով</td>
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<td>mkn-ում</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2.4 va-declension

- This declension class is semantically motivated: it comprises all nouns denoting time, such as time of the day, days of the week, e.g. փղներ գիշեր “night”, բազմաթիվ երկուսաբ்த’ “Monday”, but NOT the following nouns, grouped with the i-declension: դար “century”, ռոպե “minute”, վայրկյան “second” and երեկո “evening”.
- Some Armenian place names such as Լորե, Շուշի used were originally inflected following the va-declension, nowadays, however, they are inflected according to i- or -u declension.
- The noun մահ “death” may also be inflected according to the va-declension if expressing a particular time reference.

Thus, the va-declension is primarily used to express a particular time reference. If, however, the noun does not principally refer to time but to a general or transferred meaning, it has to be inflected following the i-declension. The time reference is additionally marked with quantifying or temporal nominal attributes, such as անցյալ “past/last”, նախորդ “coming”, միջև “next” etc.

This means, that the va-declension is mainly used with nouns expressing a period of time or the temporary process of an action, whereas the i-declension is used with nouns expressing a point in time or the temporary begin of an action.

(12) Մեկ շաբաթ-դար ամենից ավարտ-այց - ամենից ավարտ-այց
one week-dat post complete-aor.1.pl. our work-pl.nom-the
“In the course of one week we completed our work.”

(13) Մեկ օր-օր Մարինե-դար գրե-իր որկ-եւ իր դր-եւ
one day-dat post Marine-n write-aor.3.sg. her report-nom-the
“Marine wrote her report in one day.”

(14) Մյուս տարվանից այլին սկս-առ-այդ մագ-իր նպատակ-ամբ-եւ մար-եւ
other year-abl begin-pass-ptcp.res. we.nom occupy-ptcp.fut.
“Starting next year we will be occupied with that work.”

“In three weeks he leaves for Hawaii for holiday.”

“Two years we will go to China.”

“I will be ready in one minute.”

**Formation**

Basically, all nouns belonging to this class can form the ablative with -\(\text{vanic}^\prime\), which is directly attached to the nominative form, such as \(\text{nē ōr “day”-\(\text{or-va}\) (DAT) – \(\text{or-\(\text{vanic}^\prime\)}\).}

The instrumental in -\(\text{ov}\) is usually attached to the nominative form; only with a few nouns is it attached to the dative form.

The locative is seldom used. The only productive case is with the noun \(\text{zvurnal šabat‘ “week”}, as in \(\text{mek šabat‘um “in one week”}.

\(\text{or-ōr “day”}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>(\text{or-ē(n)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(\text{or-(\text{va(ū)}}</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{hē(ū)}}</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(\text{or-(\text{van-ic}</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{hē-(ic}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{nē}</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{um}</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{nē}</td>
<td>(\text{or-(\text{um}</td>
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**2.1.2.5 oj-declension**

This rather small class comprises most of the nouns denoting kinship, as well as the nouns \(\text{tēr “lord/master”}, \(\text{ênk “friend” and their compounds.}

**Formation**

The ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the dative form ending in -\(\text{oj}".}
Only with a few nouns, the instrumental ending can also be attached to the nominative form, as in e.g. ենկեր, ենկերոտ, ենկերով. ենկեր-ի ենկեր-ով. 

նյուն k’yur “sister”

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<tbody>
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<td>NOM կ’yur(է)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC –</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.6 Consonant -a-declension

The following nouns are inflected following the consonant -a-declension:

a. all nouns ending in -ուտ’յուն
b. all nouns ending in -յուն

c. monosyllabic nouns ending in -ուն.

Alternation in declension occurs in the group of monosyllabic nouns in -ուն, in which the vowel -ու is reduced to -է, as in e.g. տուն - տուն-է.

Formation

The ablative ending is attached to the nominative form, e.g. հերոսուտ’յուն-ի հերոսուտ’յուն-ով “from heroism”, օւր-ի օւր-ի “from the column”, տուն-ի տուն-ով “from the house”.

There are two possibilities for an instrumental ending, which are both attached to the nominative form.

– The instrumental in -ով օվ is attached to the nouns ending in -ուտ’յուն and -ուն, as in անկուն-է ânkoyn “corner”, տուն-է տուն-ով “house”.

– The instrumental in -ամբ ամբ, which is inherited from Classical Armenian, is attached to nouns ending in -ուտ’յուն, such as հերոսոււտ’յուն-ի հերոսոււտ’յուն-ի հերոսոււտ’յուն-ի հերոսոււտ’յուն-ով. In colloquial Armenian the instrumental ending -ով օվ is also used for nouns ending in -ուտ’յուն; the ending is directly attached to the nominative form, e.g. հերոսոււտ’յուն-ի հերոսոււտ’յուն “heroism”.

– The locative ending is attached to the nominative form. The locative is not often used due to semantic constraints.

հերոսուտ’յուն herosut’yun “heroism”

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<td>herosut’yan-ամ</td>
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</table>
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2.1.2.6 Consonant -o-declension
This declension comprises only a few nouns and their compounds: հար hayr “father”, մար mayr “mother”, եղբայր elbayr “brother”.

**Formation**
Both ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the dative form.

The synthetic locative is not used because of semantic constraints.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>71</th>
<th>tun “house”</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>NOM</td>
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<td>71</td>
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2.1.2.7 Consonant -o-declension
This declension comprises only a few nouns and their compounds: հար hayr “father”, մար mayr “mother”, եղբայր elbayr “brother”.

**Formation**
Both ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the dative form.

The synthetic locative is not used because of semantic constraints.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>71</th>
<th>hayr “father&quot;</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>SG.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>հոր-ից’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>հոր-ով</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.8 Deviating or obsolete/antiquated declensions
The noun աղջիկ aljik “girl” shows a deviating inflection; however, some Armenian authors group this noun with the vowel an-declension.

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86. Please note that the definite dative form is also lexicalised with the meaning “(at) home”.

87. In Classical Armenian this noun is grouped with consonant-declension of stems in -իկ/-եկ -ուկ/-իկ, as e.g. աղջիկ aljik, պարսկական aljk-an, կարսկական zaljk, մարգարես y-aljki-anē պարտված aljk-amb, մարգարես y-aljki-an.
Some nouns have kept the inflection of inherited declension classes from Classical Armenian; nonetheless, these declensions are only used in high literary style and in idioms.

a. Remains of the Classical Armenian vowel a-declension,\(^8\) which used to be the prototypical declension for personal names, are considered archaisms and occur only in fossilised forms, such Սևանա Լիչ “Lake Sevan”.

b. Remains of the Classical Armenian o-declension,\(^9\) particularly with the nouns սեր “love”, հույս “hope”, խույս “light”, սղո “sorrow”, պատիվ “honour”, հուր “fire” are still used in literary language, in Church lexicon and in fossilised forms, but in modern language they are declined following the productive i-declension. The only exception is the noun սեր “love”, which is still productively inflected following the Classical Armenian paradigm of the o-declension: սեռ, սիրո, սիրուց, սիրով.

c. The -չան -yan declension of nouns ending in -առ -ust and -առ -nd\(^\) is almost obsolete and only used in idioms and fossilised forms. In all other cases this declension is replaced by the productive i-declension.

d. The -եր -er declension\(^1\) used for nouns ending in -եռ -r is only used in idioms and fossilised forms; otherwise it is completely replaced by the forms of the i-declension.

The inflection of nouns ending in -եռք -ank’, -եռք -enk’ is not considered as a single declension class, since it only reflects the regular plural forms of the noun paradigm. It is the dative form in -եռք -anc’ or -եռք -enc’ which is the basis for the formation of the ablative and instrumental.

\textit{The Declension of Compounds Connected with “and” or “-”}

If two nouns are connected by means of the coordinating conjunction եռ u “and” or the hyphen, they are regarded as compound nouns. Such a compound usually appears only in the singular. Only the second part of such a compound noun is inflected – according to the

---

\(^8\) The prototypical declension of personal names in Classical Armenian, e.g. Տիտան, Տիտանայ, Տիտան, Տիտանայ, Տիտանար, Տիտան.

\(^9\) See above. The vowel o-declension of Classical Armenian of սեռ “love”, սիրո, սիրուց, սիրով.

\(^\) See above, the Classical Armenian consonant an-declension of nouns in -առ -urd and -առ -und.

\(^1\) See above, the Classical Armenian consonant e-declension of nouns in -եռ.
declension class of the respective noun. The second part of the compound noun may also show determining suffixes such as the definite article or the possessive suffix.

E.g.

ψγ ρ κν ρ κρκ' u unk'-έ “eye and ear”: ψγ ρ κν ρ κρκ' u unk'-ί, ψγ ρ κν ρ κρκ' u unk'-ί', ψγ ρ κν ρ κρκ' u unk'-οv

ωσ και δικη sar u jor-έ “mountain and valley”: ωσ και δικη sar u jor-i, ωσ και δικη sar u jor-ί', ωσ και δικη sar u jor-οv

σκ και υγ σαl u hac-έ “salt and bread”: σκ και υγ σαl u hac'-ί, σκ και υγ σαl u hac'-ί', σκ και υγ σαl u hac'-οv

γδ και ψηθή Όr u gišer “day and night”: γδ και ψηθή Όr u gišer-ν, etc.

If such compounds denote persons, there are two ways of declension.

a. Only the second noun is inflected and may have a suffixed definite article.

b. The first noun is inflected in the dative case; the second noun is inflected in any case and may also have the suffixed definite article.

E.g.

ψκ και μαγκη mayr u aljik “mother and daughter”

a. ψκ και μαγκη mayr u aljik, ψκ και μαγκηπέρ mayr u aljkanic', ψκ και μαγκηπέρ mayr u aljkanov

b. ψκ και μαγκη mor u aljik, ψκ και μαγκηπέρ mor u aljkanic', ψκ και μαγκηπέρ mor u aljkanov

Varying Declension of Certain Nouns

As already mentioned above, certain nouns may occur with various declension types, which is mainly due to morphological, semantic, morpho-semantic and even diachronic features of these particular nouns.

The occurrence of various morphological forms of a noun is caused by:

hypergeneralisation of the extremely productive i-declension, especially in colloquial Armenian;

semantic variation e.g. the already mentioned specific time reference of the va-declension;

the gradual loss of inherited Classical Armenian forms.

Double forms occur with the following declension classes:

- -ωθ/θ-an/-i-declensions. This may be the case with nouns ending in -νο/or -um, but also with the monosyllabic stems inherited from Classical Armenian -ύ -n-stems. These nouns may also be declined following the i-declension, except the nouns υπο/ν muk and νο/ν duτ.

- -π/π -u/-i-declensions are case with place names and personal names of non-Armenian origin, which are nowadays usually declined following the i-declension, e.g. υπο/ν Gyumri, υπο/ν Gyurm-u vs. more frequent/productive υπο/ν Gyumri-i
- -ի- va/-i-declensions. As explained above, the -ի va-declension is mainly semantically motivated, primarily comprising nouns with a particular time reference. This semantic motivation may be so strong that even place names could be used with a particular time reference and are thus inflected according to the va-declension.

### 2.1.3 Case

MEA distinguishes five morphological cases, which fulfil various semantic and syntactic functions.

- Nominative
- Dative
- Instrumental
- Ablative
- Locative

The case endings are attached to the noun stem in the singular or the plural. In the plural all case endings are uniform for all nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Stem-Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>stem-plural-0 (-DEF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>stem-plural-i (-DEF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>stem-plural-ov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>stem-plural-ic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>stem-plural-um</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many cases, the synthetic locative is replaced by a postpositional phrase consisting of the postposition ի ու “in” and the noun in the dative.

#### 2.1.3.1 Nominative

The morphological nominative has a zero-morphem-ending and is regarded as an unmarked case. The nominative expresses many functions as a syntactic and semantic case.

The primary functions of the nominative are the syntactic ones.

a. The prototypical case of the subject of intransitive and transitive verbs shows no formal (i.e. morphological, syntactic) distinction between various semantic functions of the nominative subject as (+human) agent, natural-force agent or even the instrumental agent. In MEA there is also no formal difference between the experiencer and agent subject.

(18) Աշակերտը գունի է դպրոց.
    Ašakert-է  gn-um  ē  dproc’.
pupil.nom-the  go-PTCP.pres.  he  school.nom
“The pupil goes to school.” (Agent subject with intransitive verb)

(19) Աշակերտը սովորում է հայերեն.
    Ašakert-է  sovor-um  ē  hayeren.
pupil.nom-the  learn-PTCP.pres.  he  Armenian.nom
“The pupil learns Armenian.” (Agent subject with transitive verb)
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(20)  The prototypical case of the (–human) direct object of a transitive verb may also be used for (+human) direct objects, if they are interpreted as objects, institutions, i.e. as (–human), indefinite and non-specific.

(21)  The prototypical case of the (–human) direct object of a transitive verb may also be used for (+human) direct objects, if they are interpreted as objects, institutions, i.e. as (–human), indefinite and non-specific.

b. The prototypical case of the (–human) direct object of a transitive verb may also be used for (+human) direct objects, if they are interpreted as objects, institutions, i.e. as (–human), indefinite and non-specific.

(22)  As predicative nominative

(23)  As vocative
The nominative fulfils the following functions as the semantic case:

e. As the temporal nominative it denotes the time of an action without referring to the beginning or the end of the action. Combined with the preposition մինչև minčew “until”, the nominative also denotes the temporal end of an action.

(27) Գիշեր-ե անջրե եկ-ավ:  
night.nom-the rain.nom come-aor.3.sg  
“The rain fell in the night.”

f. The local nominative it denotes the place to which an action is directed and usually answers the question “where (to)?”. The local nominative is generally used with verbs of motion.

(28) Գյուլացի-ներ-ե գնաց-ին դաշտ:  
Farmer.pl.nom-the go-aor.3.pl field.nom  
“The farmers went to the field.”

g. The quantitative nominative connotes a certain measure and is usually expressed with measuring units.

(29) Մեկ ժամ-ում անց-անկ’ կսան կիլոմետր.  
one hour-loc pass-aor.1.pl 20 kilometre.nom  
“In one hour we covered 20 kilometres.”

h. The nominative of price/value denotes the price or value of a certain object/person.

(30) Գիրք-ն արժ-է 1500 դրամ.  
book.nom-the cost-pres.3.sg 1500 dram.nom  
“The book costs 1,500 Dram.”

i. The final nominative (of nominalised infinitives, which is used to express the goal of an action, is obsolete and can only be found in antiquated, high literary use. Nowadays the final nominative is completely replaced by the final dative or, in colloquial Armenian, also by the postpositional phrase consisting of the postposition համար hamar and the noun in the dative.

(31) Օջտակի բեր կտ’-էլ!  
sheep.nom-the bring.imp.2.sg milk-inf  
“Bring the sheep to milk!”
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2.1.3.2 Dative

Due to case syncretism of the genitive and dative, the morphological dative case fulfils various syntactic and semantic functions, which can be regarded as typical functions of both the morphological genitive and morphological dative.

According to the Armenian grammar traditions, the genitive is mainly described as dependent from a noun (i.e. adnominal) and the dative as dependent from a verb (adverbal).

The case shows the primary function of marking a possessive relation in its genitive function. That is, the case expresses a possessive relation between the head noun and the noun in the dative. In the broader sense this relationship between the head noun and the noun in the dative also indicates affiliation or origin. Thus, one can distinguish the following semantic prototypical genitive functions of the dative.

Adnominal Dative Function

a. The possessive dative denotes ownership or possession. MEA neither structurally distinguishes alienable and inalienable nor inherent and non-inherent possession. In MEA, inherent possession, as expressed with body parts, can also be expressed without indicating the possessor and do not have to be particularly marked.

(32) Աշակերտի գիրքը նոր է.

“Pupil’s book is new.”

b. The dative of origin shows a person or object of which a person or object originates.

(33) Անուշի եղբայրը դպրոց է գնում.

“Anush’s brother goes to school.”

b. The dative of origin shows a person or object of which a person or object originates.

(34) Կատի ինք ուտած է.

“Cat’s young = ‘kitten’”
c. The partitive dative stands for the noun defined in the relationships of the whole to its parts.

(35) փառչա ունի բազմ կա. The partitive dative stands for the noun defined in the relationships of the whole to its parts.

usanol-ner-i mi xumb
student-PL-DAT INDEF group.NOM
“A group of students”

d. The qualitative dative indicates the quality or character of the head noun.

(36) բարձր որս-ի շուն “hound” (Lit.: hunting-DAT dog)

e. The subjective dative suggests a subject-predicate relationship; the head noun names an action performed by the noun in the dative. The subjective dative can also be replaced by a simple sentence, in which the noun in the dative becomes the sentence’s subject.

(37) ռամ-ի ինգա-ի հարավ “The rumbling of the cloud/ the cloud’s rumbling.”

(38) տիրոջ գալուստ-է
tiroj galust-ê
Lord-DAT arrival.NOM-the
“The arrival of the Lord/the Lord’s arrival.”

f. The objective dative denotes an object-predicate relationship, i.e. the noun in the dative modifies the head noun from which one can infer an action worked on the dative. In other words the objective dative stands for a person or object, which is the direct object of an action.

(39) շենք-ի կառույց-է
šenk’-i kar cum-ê
building-DAT construction.NOM-the
“The construction of the building.”

(40) այս տղամարդ-ի սպանություն-է
ays tlamard-u spanut’yun-ê
this man-DAT murder.NOM-the
“The murder of this man.”

If the head noun is expressed by a real noun and not by any nominalised infinitive, the objective noun is always expressed in the dative.

Please note that, by contrast, nominalised infinitives as head nouns combine either with the objective dative (with +human nouns) or with the objective nominative (with −human nouns). (See Ch. 3.4.5.1. “Nominalised Infinitives”, p. 549f.)
(41) ընկ’ կառկ-ել-է
building.NOM construct-INF.NOM-the
“The construction of the building.”

(42) այս տղամարդին սպան-է
tlamard-u spanel-ě
this man-DAT kill-INF.NOM-the
“The killing of this man.”

g. The dative of purpose or contents identifies the purpose or intended recipient or contents of the head noun.

(43) գրկ-եր-ի պահարան
grk'-er-i paharan
book-PL-DAT cupboard.NOM
“Book shelf/ bookcase” (A shelf for books)

(44) ջր-ի ավան
vr-i vessel
water-DAT vessel.NOM
“Water vessel” (A vessel for water)

(45) պատերազմ-ի դաշտ
paterazm-i dašt
war-DAT field.NOM
“Battlefield” (a field for battle)

(46) Պավել-ի ամուսնա-կանու ժամանակ-ն էր.
Pavel-i-n amusna-ć’n-el-u žamanak-n ēr.
Pavel-DAT-the marry-caus-INF-DAT time.NOM-the it was
“It was the time to make Pavel marry.”

h. The dative of price and value is only used with some archaic or fossilised forms and is not productively used any more.

(47) հինգ դրամ-ի ապրանք’
hing dram-i aprank’
five dram-DAT goods.NOM
“Goods for five drams”

Apart from these semantic functions, the dative case is also used in prototypical syntactic functions of the dative, depending mainly on the verb. (Adverbial dative functions).

Adverbial Dative Functions

a. The dative of the (+human) direct object in its primary syntactic function denotes the (+human) direct object of a transitive verb.
Armenian

(48) Անկյուն տեսած Արամին:

Aşot-ē  tes-av  Aram-i-n.
Aşot.NOM-the  see-AOR.3.SG  Aram-DAT-the
S       V       O

“Aşot saw Aram.”

– Dative of the indirect object represents the indirect object of trivalent verbs.

(49) Դասախոս տանում աշակերտ վիճակը:

Dasaxos-ē  usanot-i-n  tvec'  girk'-ē.
Lecturer.NOM-the  student-DAT-the  give-AOR.3.SG  book.NOM-the
S       iO       V       O

“The lecturer gave the book to the student.”

– The dative of the subject of non-finite verbs, in participial constructions with the participle resultative and future the dative, signifies the subject (logical agent).

(50) Արամը ստորյա տանած արամից չէ:

Aram-i  ulark-ac  namak-ē  kardac'-el  em.
Aram-DAT  send-PTCP.RES.  letter.NOM-the  read-PTCP.PF.  I am

“I have read the letter sent by Aram.”

– The dative of causee in causative constructions with causativised verbs shows the cau-
see of the action:

(51) Արամը Ասոթի նստած ապրանք

Aram-ē  Aşot-i-n  bac'-el  tvec'  artl'-ē.
Aram.NOM-the  Aşot-DAT-the  open-INF  give-AOR.3.SG  box.NOM-the

“Aram made Aşot open the box.”

This dative also fulfils further semantic functions

a. The temporal dative, which denotes the time and in which course the action is per-
formed; it also indicates the date. In this function the dative is always combined with the suffixed definite article.

(52) Գարնանը գալի մնալ Մոսկվա:

Garêan-ē  gnal-u  enk'  Moskva.
spring-DAT-the  go-PTCP.FUT.  we are  Moscow.NOM

“In spring we will go to Moscow.”

b. The dative of local complement connotes the place of an action. However, it is often replaced by postpositional phrases. The use of the dative to express the place of an action is wide-spread and occurs preferably in those situations, where the exact local position of an object/person is either unknown or non-specific (i.e. in, on, at, over, under) or irrelevant for the action itself. (See Ch. 2.1.3.5. Locative, p. 100f.)
(53) արաբ՝ այսպիսի ծանր գրիթի:

*Rrank’ park-**ac e**ın get-i ap’-i-n.

They.nom lie-**pTCP.res** they were river-d**at** bank-d**at**-the

“They were resting on the river’s bank.”

c. The dative of complement of purpose is used to mark the purpose or goal of an action. In this case, the dative is mainly used on infinitives.

(54) Հյուր՝ թե ինչպես ապագա, պատահանում:

*Gyul-n er i**j-**el patani-n aljik*

Village.nom-the he was descend-pTCP.perf young man.nom-the girl.nom
tesnel-u.

see-inf-dat

“The young man had descended to the village to see girls.”

(55) Աշոտ գնաց գրադարան գրք.

*Ašot-ě gnac’ gradaran grk’-i.

Ašot.nom-the go-aor.3.sg library.nom book-dat

“Ašot went to the library for books (to take books).”

In colloquial Armenian the dative of complement is often replaced by a postpositional phrase with the postposition hamar “to/in order to” and the infinitive in the dative case. Some semantic verb groups also obligatorily combine with the dative:

a. Trivalent verbs of "giving", where the dative fulfils the function of the indirect object: տալ "give", մատուցել "to present, to offer", առաջարկել "to propose, to suggest", պարեգել "to give", ուրշել "to present, to donate", մարկել "to betray; to give away", վճարել "to pay", պատկել "to propose, to suggest",

*tal včar-el, ù³ïáõó»É matuc’el, ù³ïÝ»É mat-nel, ù³ïáõó»É matuc’el, ù³ïÝ»É mat-nel*

“to sell”, կատարել “to sell”, վճարել “to pay, to recompense” etc.

(56) Այսօր այսպիսի կարգտիվ կարդացնող:

*Hetk’ 08.01.2007*

*bac’i ayd ink-è orošaki gumar è nranc’ včar-el*

Prep that he.nom certain amount.nom he is they.dat pay-pTCP.perf

*sakayn apac’uc’-el è-i kar-ol*

Conj prove-inf neg-he is can-pTCP.pres

“Apart from this, he has paid them a certain amount, but he can not prove (it).”

(57) Հայաստանի լիրիկայի երաժշտություն է նշանակվում ու էրաժշտություն տարածվում տարածաշրջան 110 աղքատական:

*Hetrin tikin-è hagust-ner ew košik-ner*

RA first Lady.nom-the cloth-pl.nom conj shoe-pl.nom

*nvir-ec’ mankat-an bolor 110 san-er-i-n*

give-aor.3.sg children’s home-dat all 110 orphan-pl-dat

“The First Lady of the Republic of Armenia presented clothes and shoes to all 110 orphans of the children’s home.”
b. Verbs of “approaching”, such as սուանում to approach/to draw near

(58) ես հանում եմ, ես սուանում եմ հանում եմ: Լսված 05.04.2006

c'-em hamar-um or motec'-el enk'
NEG-I am see-PTCP.pres. conj approach-PTCP.perf. we are

harc'-i lucm-an-է.
problem-DAT solution-DAT-the

“I do not see that we have approached the problem’s solution.”

c. Verbs denoting mutual effect or of being closely connected with something/somebody, such as e.g. անձակել “participate at”, ցորեկել “participate at, work with”, այակել “to help, to assist”, համայնել “to agree with”, աշխատել “to operate, to work”, ուղեկել “to accompany, to guide”, մեռնել mel “to become friends”, բարեկաման “to become friends”, ակոտանալ “to become acquainted with”, տեղիում էնկերանալ “to become friends” etc.

(59) գիտաժողովի մասնակցության ժամանակ, Սրբոց, Հայաստան

conference-DAT-the participate-PTCP.fut. they are Armenia-ABL Diaspora-ABL

inc'pes naew arterkr-ic' hravir-v-ac masnaget-ner.
as well also foreign country-ABL invite-pass-PTCP.pres. specialist-PL.NOM

“Invited specialists from Armenia, from the Diaspora and as well from foreign countries will participate in the conference.”

d. Verbs of utterance, communication, as in ստան “to say”, հայրեն հաբորդել “to report, to communicate”, հայտել “to inform, to report”, ցորեկել “to dictate”, հրամայել “to command, to order”, պատասխանել patasxanel “to answer”, ախոստովանել xostovanel “to confess”, պատմել patmel “to tell”, պատմել patmel “to explain”, հայրեն harcnel “to ask”, ցորեկել zekečel “to report”, տեղ velsel “to listen”, ակոտանալ akanj dnel “to give ear” etc.
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(61) The lecturer explains new linguistic theories to the students.

(62) The mother tells the children a fairytale.

e. Verbs denoting similarity/analogy as in equative/similative constructions, as seen in

\[ \text{yanvel} \] “to resemble”, \[ \text{havasarvel} \] “to equal”, \[ \text{hamakerpvel} \] “to conform with/to”, \[ \text{hamarvel} \] “to agree”, \[ \text{hamapatasxanel} \] “to correspond with/to”, \[ \text{hamematvel} \] “to compare with”.

With copula verb: \[ \text{hamemat} \] “corresponding”, \[ \text{nman} \] “similar”, \[ \text{havasar} \] “equal”, \[ \text{harmar} \] “proper” etc.

(63) Ani resembles her father.

(64) The salary of a docent should only equal the salary of deputies of the National Assembly.

f. Verbs denoting replacement, transfer, change, such as

\[ \text{poxel} \] “to change”, \[ \text{bažanel} \] “to separate”, \[ \text{kisel} \] “to halve”, \[ \text{celkel} \] “to cut through, to split”, \[ \text{veracel} \] “to convert, to turn into”, \[ \text{poxarkel} \] “to convert”, \[ \text{poxadrel} \] “to transport, to move, to change” etc.

This function of the dative may be replaced by an unmarked nominative in colloquial Armenian:

\[ \text{poxadrel ţuseren-i} \] “to transfer into Russian” = \[ \text{poxadrel ţuseren} \]
Armenian

կիսել էրկու մաս — kisel erku masi “to halve into two pieces” = կիսել էրկու մաս

(65) Հազար ամսի տարածքում կիսել էրկու մասեր, հիմնականում ձույքով է փոխապետության
500 հազար տարվով: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)
isk ays tar-va kannatesm-amb ēnkeruťyun-ē
conz this year-dat forecast-inst company-nom-the
cragr-el ē
plan-ptcp.perf. it is
pōxadr-el 500hazar ulewor.
transport-inf 500,000 passenger-nom
“And following this year’s forecast, the company has planned to transport
500,000 passengers.”

2.1.3.3 Instrumental
The most prototypical function of the instrumental is to highlight the object by which
means an action is performed.

(67) Աշակերտ-է գրում է մատի-ով:
Ašakert-ē gr-um ē matit-ov.
pupil-nom-the write-ptcp.pres. he is pencil-inst
“The pupil writes with a pencil.”

An important syntactic function of the instrumental case is to denote the instrument-
agent in a passive clause.

(68) Հայտնորեն համարվում էր:
Krak-ē hangč-v-ec’ ēr-ov.
fire-nom-the extinguish-pass-aor.3.sg water-inst
“The fire was extinguished with water.”
In addition, the instrumental has further semantic functions.

a. The instrumental of local complement signifies the place (through/over/by) that an action is performed. This function of the instrumental is usually found in combination with verbs of motion.

“Get-ov anc’n-el t’e kamurj-ov gn-al?
river-inst pass-inf or bridge-inst go-inf
“(Shall we) pass the river or go over the bridge?”

b. The instrumental of temporal complement signals (1) the duration of an action, i.e. the period of time in which an action is performed or (2) a not clearly defined, vague point in time of the action.

“Or-er-ov mařaxul-ė ěok’-um ě mer leř-ner-um.
day-pl-inst fog.nom-the kneel-ptcp.pres. it is our mountain-pl-loc
“The fog has been lingering in our mountains for days.”

“Mt’n-ov verjapes has-ank’ mi gyul.
darkness-inst finally reach-aor.1.pl indef village.nom
“By darkness we finally reached a village.”

c. The instrumental of modal complement implies the manner of an action and is usually expressed with nominalised infinitives.

“Ambolj kyank’-n anc’ka-cref²⁹ ᛳ andul gorcuneut’y-amb.
whole live.nom-the spend-ptcp.perf. he is assiduous activity-inst
“He spent his whole life in assiduous activity.”

²⁹ Please note that this verb wąxwąwąwą anc’ka-c’-el is a highly lexicalised causativised form with the meaning “to spend, to pass, to lead”. Thus the causative suffix -c’-el, for perfect stem -g- -c’-, is not glossed here.
(74) Մեկ-է սիր-է պնջրել-էվ անց-ավ.
one.nom-the my heart.nom-the break up-inf-inst pass by-aor.3.sg
“One passed by breaking my heart.”

(75) Նրանք վազել-են հասան հարապալաս.
they.nom run-inf-inst reach-aor.3.pl square.nom
“Running, they reached the square.”

d. The instrumental of a qualitative complement sees attributive noun in the instrument-
al proposed to the head noun and is a synonymous form to the qualitative adjectives
in -ան, -ավոր, -ել, -վոր.

(76) Մեջ սաթյառի պարզու.
mec աչք-էր-էվ ալիջ
big eye-pl-inf girl.nom
“A girl with big eyes.”

(77) Աղեղայի տրամաշարը
moruk'-ov tlamard-է
beard-inst man.nom-the
“The man with a beard”

a. աղեղայի տրամաշարը
morukavor tlamard-է
bearded man-the
“The bearded man”

e. The instrumental of a quantitative complement denotes
– the distance between two objects/persons\(^{93}\)
– a certain unit of time
– a certain quantity, e.g. of money

(78) Այս քաղաքի էրկու կիլոմետր-էվ հեռու է մյուս-ի.
this town.nom-the two kilometre-inst far it is other-abl
“This town is two kilometres away from the other (next).”

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\(^{93}\) Informants confirm that the use of the instrumental in this quantitative function is very pro-
ductive, particularly in expressing the distance between two objects. The nominative is also used
in this function, but rather in colloquial Armenian.
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a. Այս քալակ'-ե երկու կիլոմետր հեռու է մյուս-ից.  
   Ays կալակ'-է էրկու կիլոմետր հեռու է մյուս-ից.  
   This town nom-the two kilometre nom far it is other abl.  
   “This town is two kilometres away from the other (next).”

f. The instrumental of the sociative or commitative complement denotes a group of persons/objects that perform an action together. There is a rather wide-spread use of the instrumental, which can also be paraphrased by the postpositional phrase consisting of the postposition հետ het “with” and the noun in the dative.94

(79) Նույն քաղաքի բնակչությունը լինում է մյուս քաղաքի հետ.
   Ayžm šat mard-ık K'ajaran en gal-is  
   now many man-pl nom K'ajaran nom they are come-ptcp.pres.  
   irenc' entanik'-ner-ov.  
   their family pl-inst  
   “Now many people come to K'ajaran with their families.”

a. Այս քաղաքի բնակչությունը լինում է մյուս քաղաքի հետ.
   Ayžm šat mard-ık K'ajaran en gal-is  
   now many man-pl nom K'ajaran nom they are come-ptcp.pres.  
   irenc' entanik'-ner-i het.  
   their family pl-dat post  
   “Now many people come to K'ajaran with their families.”

g. The instrumental of basis/reason signals the basis or even reason of an action.

(80) Ներսեսը նույն կարծիքի հրամանով է ընդունել թագավորի հրամանը.
   Nerses-է nuyn kaysr-i hraman-ov ak'sor-v-ac  
   Nerses nom the same emporer dat order inst exile pass ptcp res  
   ėr Patmos anbnak klzi-n.  
   he was Patmos lonely island nom the  
   “Nerses was exiled by the order of the same emperor to the lonely Patmos Island.”

h. The instrumental is also obligatorily used with a group of verbs, e.g. զբաղվել zbalvel “to be occupied with, to be engaged with” հավատարել hetak'rk'vel “to be interested in”, հավատարել hpartanal “to be proud of”, etc.

(81) Միի քրուքով երէ ինստիտուտը աչքի է.
   mer buh-er-um oč' ok' lurj ě'i  
   our institute higher education pl loc nobody nom serious neg it is

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94. Informants confirm that the instrumental is wide-spread in the sociative function; the synonymous postpositional construction seems to be used rather in colloquial Armenian.
The instrumental is also obligatorily used with some adjectives, mainly expressing “filled with/full with/abundant with, etc.”, as e.g. ին լի, ին լիք, ին լեկ, հարջուն հարուստ, ինը հղի.

(82) Հայաստանը, Ռուսաստանը, երկու պատմական տարածաշրջանները: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)

Rusastan-ě ew Hayastan-ě li en vēřakanut'ý-amb.
Russia.NOM-the conj Armenia.NOM-the full they are resolution-INST
“Russia and Armenia are full of resolution(s).”

2.1.3.4 Ablative

The ablative case essentially marks a person or object from which an action originates.

(83) Անվան իր մորից սահմանիվ:

Anuš-ę ir mor-ic’ nver stac’-av.
Anuš.NOM-the her mother-ABL present.NOM receive-aor.3.sg
“Anuš received a present from her mother.”

The syntactic functions of the ablative are the following:

a. it denotes the (+human) agent of a passive sentence, preferably with affective verbs such as սարի “to love”, ասել “to hate”.

(84) Արամը սարից, Անուշ:

Aram-ę sir-um ē Anuš-ic’.
Aram.NOM-the love-pass-ptcp.pres. he is Anuš-ABL
“Aram is loved by Anuš.”

With other verbs, the (+human) agent of a passive sentence is preferably expressed with a postpositional phrase consisting of the postposition կոլմից “by/from the side of” and the noun in the dative.

(85) Պատճառն ոչինչերից Երանուհի:

Patanχ-ę kotr-v-el ē Aram-i kõlmc’.
window.NOM-the break-pass-ptcp.perf it is Aram-dat post
“The window has been broken by Aram.”

b. The ablative denotes the natural-force agent of a passivised verb:

96. Paınasyan 1970: 226–228, Abrahamyan 1981: 299. Papoyan. Badikyan 2003:144. (Asatryan 2004: 213) also states that the form with the noun in the dative and in postposition is more productive and can be regarded the prevalent form for expressing the (+human) agent of a passive sentence.
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(86) Պատիկիլիոպ, ինըրից երբեք:

Patuhan-Č kotr-v-el ē kiam-ue'.

“The window has been broken by the wind.”

(87) Ալպինիստ անպատրից ինսպորավ:

alpinist-Č span-v-eč' kaycak-ic'.

“The alpinist was killed by the lightning.”

c. The ablative signifies the (–human) instigator/causer of an inchoative verb in an anticausative construction:

(88) Գրին ադրեց երկայի:

Xot-Č arew-ic' čora-c'āv.

“The grass dried from the sun.”

(89) Բողոքի ցածուցուց ենայցհավ:

Poloč-Č laynač'-av takui'yun-ic'.

“The road expanded from the heat.”

(90) Գգդաշապի ցածուցի էր գնաց:

calik-ner-Č tašam-el ēin c'pt-ic'.

“The flowers had faded from the cold.”

One can simply prove the fact that the (–human) causer in the ablative is part of an anticausative construction: the sentence may easily be transformed into a causative sentence, in which the verb is causativised and the (–human) causer appears as (–human) subject of the sentence.

(88) a. Ադրեց հարձակ էր գնաց:

Arew-Č čorač-r-ec' xot-Č.

“The sun dried the grass. (The sun has made the grass dry.)”

97. In traditional Armenian, grammars such ablatives are subsumed and called “causal ablatives”, which is of course true, since the noun in the ablative denotes the cause(r) of the action. But this definition is too “broad”. Here the two functions of the ablative are distinguished: (a) syntactic ablative used to express the (–human) causer of an inchoative verb and (b) a semantic causal ablative.
(89) a. Տաքությունը ընձայնվում է փոքրացվել:
   *Takut’yun-ě layna-č’n-um ē p’oloc’-è.*
   Heat.NOM-the extend-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is street.NOM-the
   “The heat expands the road.”

(90) a. Սերմունք մասնակցությունը եղանակություն:
   *c’urt-è tāfame-c’r-el ēr calik-ner-è.*
   cold.NOM-the fade-caus-PTCP.PERF. it was flower-PL.NOM-the
   “The cold had made the flowers fade.”

d. The ablative in comparative and superlative constructions is used here to mark the standard in comparison. (See Ch. 3.4.3. Comparative Constructions, p. 531f.)

(91) Անի-ի քից գեղեցիկի է:
   *Ani-n ir k’roj-ic’ gelec’ik ē.*
   Ani.NOM-the her sister-ABL beautiful she is
   “Ani is more beautiful than her sister.”

(92) Անի-ի գեղեցիկ ամրոցագործություն:
   *Ani-n bolor-ic’ amena-gelec’ik-n ē.*
   Ani.NOM-the all-ABL most-beautiful-the she is
   “Ani is the most beautiful (of all).”

The ablative additionally fulfils the following semantic functions

a. The ablative of a complement of separation indicates the division of a person/object. This person/object must be in motion. This function of the ablative preferably co-occurs with verbs such as հեռանալ *heånal* “to leave, to go away”, փակել *p’axč’el* “to flee, to escape”, անջատել *anjal* “to separate; to switch off”, սապել *xusap’el* “to escape”, զավել *zatvel* “to separate”, հարավացել *hrazarvel* “to refuse”, տարածել *mekusanel* “to isolate”, պատրաստվել *aţanjananal* “to seclude oneself; to stand apart”, որումել *klzianal* “isolate”, բաժանել *bažanvel* “to divide, to separate, to divorce”.

(93) Հայկական-ի անցան գնու պետք է հեռանվա:
   *Hayastan-ic’ amen gn-ov petk’è heån-a.*
   Armenia-ABL all price-INST leave-DECL.FUT.3SG
   “He must leave Armenia at all costs.”

b. The ablative of a complement of cause marks the reason/cause of an action. Causal ablatives can be paraphrased by means of the postposition պատկանություն *patca’r’ov* “because of” and the noun in the dative respectively with the personal or demonstrative pronoun in the genitive (=possessive pronoun).
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(94)  Ye vatarra t grena apswawtawu:

Na karmr-el è črt-i patčarōn.
He.nom turn red-ptcp.perf. he is cold-dat post

“He turned red because of the cold.”

This postpositional phrase is less frequently used than the bare causal ablative and is also considered to be a lower style.

c. The ablative of local complement signals:
- the starting point of an action
- the place through which an action passes
- the place from which the agent moves or through which the agent passes.

(95)  Fōgēgē vaprēj t awafē rauja:

Pōloč-ic’ kareli è tesn-el bak-n.
Street-abl possible it is see-inf courtyard.nom-the

“It is possible to see the courtyard from the street.” (One can see the courtyard from the street.)

(96)  Umirē ḫapə ḫuṣy Umpilувə:

Aram-è durs ek-av Moskva-yic’.
Aram.nom-the get out-aor.3.sg Moscow-abl

“Aram got out of Moscow.”

(97)  Mekēna-n ays pōloč-ic’ e-i anc’n-um.
Car.nom-the this street-abl neg-it is pass-ptcp.pres.

“The car does not pass (from) this street.”

d. The ablative of temporal complement indicates:
- the beginning of an action
- the time in which the course of action is performed and terminates
- a simultaneous action
- the point in time after which an action will be performed.

(98)  Umpiluvərə ḫapə t quvə:

Ārnov-vanic’ jyun è gal-is.
morning-abl snow it is go-ptcp.pres.

“It has been snowing since morning.”

(99)  Umu vaprējə urapənə ḫuṛ urawə:

Ays tar-vanic’ sovor-um enk’ hayeren.
This year-abl learn-ptcp.pres. we are Armenian.nom

“Since the beginning of this year we have been learning Armenian.”
e. The ablative of complement of material highlights the matter of which an object consists. This ablative can be replaced by a corresponding qualitative adjective.

(100) Նա բրդ-ից շոր-ի է իչ-ում:  
He.NOM wool-ABL cloth.NOM-the NEG-he is love-PTCP.PRES.
“He doesn’t like the woollen cloth.”

f. The partitive ablative is preferably used to express partitive meaning. It is often used with

- indefinite, interrogative or relative pronouns, but also with some adverbs or nouns, such as հատ “piece”, անհատ “individual”, մաս “part”, քանակ “quantity”
- with nouns indicating a part of something
- with adjectives with partitive meaning

(101) Արամ-ի այդ կոդերից այսպիսով է արամայցելու փոխարեն:
Aram-NOM-the that wheat-ABL sell-PTCP.PRES. he was
aɾasapelakan gn-er-ov. legendary price-PL-INST
“Aram sold from that wheat with legendary prices.”

(102) Ասոթի այդ կոդերից մեկ ապահերք է Ռուսաստան դասավանդության:
Ašot-DAT friend-PL-ABL one.NOM-the go-PTCP.PERF. he is Russia.NOM
ašxatel-u. work-INF-DAT
“One of Ašot’s friends has gone to Russia to work.”

g. The ablative of the complement of utterance/cognition suggests the object/person from which an utterance/information originates and usually co-occurs with verbs of utterance and cognition such as e.g. Կան ‘to speak’, ընդունել ‘to say’, բանաստեղծ ‘bambasil “to gossip’, խաղազնուց ‘c’araxosel “to speak badly’, պատմել ‘patmel “to tell”, դիտող ‘gang-gatvel “to complain”, տեղեկացնել ‘tełekanal “to be informed”.

(103) Մհեր-ի նախընտրի տարբերության համար է որ նախընտրի պատմվածք է 1500 ԱՄՆ դոլարով:  
(Mhet’ 12.02.2007)  
Mher-NOM-the former landlord-ABL know-PTCP.PERF. he is  
or tun-ց vačaɾ-ել է 1500 AMN dolar-ov  
conj house.NOM-the sell-PTCP.PERF. he is 1,500 US dollar-INST  
“Mher knew from his former landlord that he had sold the house for $1,500 U.S.”
h. The ablative of narrative-partitive complement indicates the object/person about which it is spoken, or which the narration refers to. This ablative occurs with verbs of utterance, such as տուծ հուս “to speak”, վատ ասել “to say”, կառաքանության ճարախոսել “to speak badly”, ատամ պատմել “to tell”, գահահույսի անգամանություն “to complain”, տելեկանալ “to be informed” etc.

(104) Ծախսի հունագրություն ապագանուել է իր պարստության: 

Tatik-ե տոր-ներ-ի-ն պատմ-էմ է
Grandmother.NOM-the grandchild-PL-DAT-the tell-PTCP.PRES she is

ir կյանէ-ի-ն
her life-ABL

"The grandmother tells the grandchildren from her life."

This narrative ablative has a strict partitive meaning, as in (104): the grandmother does not tell all about her life, but some events from her life.

In the case of a general complement of narration, this type is preferably expressed with postpositional phrases with the postpositions մնակ “about” or բերաբերյալ vel-eryal “referring to” and the noun in the dative. The ablative is not used in this meaning.

(104) a. Ծախսի հունագրություն ապագանուել է իր պարստության: 

Tatik-ե տոր-ներ-ի-ն պատմ-էմ է
Grandmother.NOM-the grandchild-PL-DAT-the tell-PTCP.PRES she is

ir կյանէ-ի-ն
her life-DAT POST

"The grandmother tells the grandchildren about her life."

i. The ablative of limiting or constraining complement, in combination with a qualitative adjective, can be used to constrain the quality to a certain amount or degree.

(105) Անու էնթերդ գիրքիչ է.

Na դեմկ-եի’ գելեղիկ’ է
she.NOM face-ABL beautiful she is

Lit.: “he is beautiful from the face.”

Meaning: She only has a beautiful face, but nothing else is beautiful.

It seems that this function of the ablative is nowadays limited to literary use. In colloquial Armenian this function is often fulfilled with the instrumental case.

j. The ablative also co-occurs with a group of intransitive verbs denoting various mental conditions; the noun in the ablative denotes the person/object/situation etc. which is the reason/basis for the mental condition. Mental verbs: թաքցարել ճանգառանալ “to be bored”, գվալել ամար ‘էլ “to be ashamed” կառուցված վանեկալ “to be afraid of”, ճարհուշել zarhurel “to be horrified”, սոսքալ soskal “to be terrified”, զվել zzel “to loathe”, հոգնել hognel “to get tired”, գահահույսի վիրավորվել “to be offended”, տուծ xîvel “to feel
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dzqohel “to be dissatisfied; to complain”, hagenał “to be disappointed”, vštænal “to be sad, to grieve”, hagenał “to be satisfied”, nelænal “to take offence”, erknčεl “to fear”, bavakanał “to be enough, sufficient”, šnorhakal lineł “to be thankful, grateful”, gong mnæl “to be content, satisfied”, ẽgal “to feel” etc.

At one point, one of the parents, having grown up in the children’s home, said that she had got tired from caring for her child.

He is not dissatisfied with the conditions of his apartment.

Other semantic ablatives with rather restricted use are the equative ablative, the ablative of manner and the ablative of complement of example.

2.1.3.5 Locative

The locative is the prototypical case to convey primarily the place and secondarily the time in which an action is performed. The locative is the only case that has only semantic functions.

There is a range of nouns that cannot form the locative because of semantic constraints, such as personal names and, in general, (+human) nouns. In these cases, the locative is only used in literary style or with postpositional phrases.

The locative has the following functions:

a. Local locative signifies the place in which an action is performed.

98. The noun in the ablative denotes an object/person which serves as an example or model for another object/person, e.g. t’argmanel bnagric’ “to translate from the original”, nkarel originalic’ “to draw from the original”.
Chapter 2. Morphology

(108) Արամ հասունի է երաժշտության:

Aram-է parap-um է Isaran-um.
Aram.NOM-the study-PTCP.PRES.  he is auditorium-LOC

“Аram studies in the auditorium.”

The locative in this function describes an object/person etc. as being located only in(side of) a place.99 Because of this semantic restriction, the locative cannot be used with other local positions (behind, near, on, under, in front of etc.) and is thus replaced by postpositional phrases with corresponding postpositions and nouns in the dative.

Very often two possible variants of expressing a person/object/action being located in a place co-exist: the synthetic locative and the analytic postpositional phrase with the postposition միջ “in” and the noun in the dative.

Sometimes these variants express a stylistic difference: whereas the locative is mainly used in written language, in scientific language, the postpositional phrase is usually found in colloquial Armenian.100

(109) Հայրեն օգտագործում է հինգ հոլով:

Hayeren-um դոցարու-ում էn hing holov.
Armenian-LOC use-PTCP.PRES.  they are five case.NOM

“Five cases are used in Armenian.” (Lit.: They use five cases in Armenian.)

(109) ա. Հայրեն միջ օգտագործում է հինգ հոլով:

Hayeren-i meջ դոցարու-ում էn hing holov.
Armenian-DAT POST use-PTCP.PRES.  they are five case.NOM

“Five cases are used in Armenian.” (Lit.: They use five cases in Armenian.)

The sentences (109) and (109a) are synonymous but different in style. (108) is rather used in scientific texts and in written Armenian, (109a) can rather be found in colloquial Armenian.

In other semantic contexts – apart from the use of the locative with (+human) nouns - however, it is not possible to use the locative at all, as e.g.

(110) Մատիթ միջ է հինգ:

Matit-է գրք-ի meջ է.
pencil.NOM-the book-DAT POST it is

“The pencil is in the book.” (In between the pages of the book)

99. As such it rather reminds one of the function of the inessive case, which is defined as a case confirming that an object is only located “in” a place.

100. In Western Armenian a locative case does not exist, thus all utterances “in a place” are expressed with this postpositional phrase. One might also regard the increasing use of postpositional phrases in MEA as a gradually increasing influence of Western Armenian.
In colloquial Armenian, this strict meaning of the locative is sometimes replaced by the bare nominative, particularly with place names and in co-occurrence with the copular verb.

b. The temporal locative signals the period of time in which an action is performed.

c. The locative of limiting or constraining complement can only be found in literary MEA; it is an absolutely unproductive and obsolete function in colloquial and in written MEA. Also here, the postpositional phrase with մեջ “in” is used to express this function.

2.1.4. Definiteness of Nouns

MEA distinguishes definite and indefinite nouns. Definiteness is marked by suffixing the definite article ԳԳ -եռ / -ռ to the noun. Indefiniteness appears unmarked by using the bare noun and as marked by using the preposed indefinite article ուի ռռ “ա”.

(110) a. Ուիարաբուրկու գրքուն է:
matit-է քրկ'-ում է.
pencil.nom-the  book-loc it is
“The pencil is in the book.”
Note: this is ungrammatical; the real locative can only be used here in the sense of “contents of the book”.

In colloquial Armenian, this strict meaning of the locative is sometimes replaced by the bare nominative, particularly with place names and in co-occurrence with the copular verb.

(111) Ուիարաբուրկու գրքուն է:
Aram-է Երևան է.
Aram.nom-the Yerevan.nom he is
“Aram is in Yerevan.”

b. The temporal locative signals the period of time in which an action is performed.

(112) Ուելի դավապար գարդար չէրաբուրկու:
Mek ժամ-ում անց-անք’ քսան կիլոմետր.
one hour-loc pass-aor.1.pl 20 kilometre.nom
“In one hour we covered 20 kilometres.”

c. The locative of limiting or constraining complement can only be found in literary MEA; it is an absolutely unproductive and obsolete function in colloquial and in written MEA. Also here, the postpositional phrase with մեջ “in” is used to express this function.

(113) Ուիարաբուրկու գրքուն է:
Gorc կատարել-ում ռաֆոլջ է եր ժիր.
work.nom fulfil-inf-loc he.nom wealthy he is conj smart.
“In fulfilling (his) the work he is wealthy and smart.”

(113) a. Ուիարաբուրկու գրքուն է:
Gorc կատարել-u ռաֆոլջ է եր ժիր.
work.nom fulfil-inf-dat post he.nom wealthy he is conj smart.
“In fulfilling (his) the work he is wealthy and smart.”
Unmarked Indefinite Nouns

The unmarked, i.e. bare or zero form of a noun denotes the general meaning of a noun without determining it more closely or without constraining its meaning.

Uses of the zero indefinite form

a. It is used if the speaker refers for the first time to a person/object, i.e. it is completely unknown and unspecific to both speaker and hearer.

b. It is used in enumerations, lists etc.

(114) Կին կատարեց նամակ.

\[ Kin-\hat{\circ} \text{n mak}\text{.}
\]

S   O    V

“The woman brought a letter.” (An unknown, unspecific letter)

(115) Հեդր էդգեր աշխատում է.

\[ Hima  \hat{\circ} \text{Edgar-n a\text{š}xatan}k\text{a} \text{.}
\]

S   O    V

“Now Edgar has a job.” (An unknown, unspecific job, i.e. he is working).

c. It is used if a noun is only used in its partitive meaning, i.e. only a part of an object is mentioned and not the whole object.

(116) Հոճ տվեց մեզ ճեր տանիկ.

\[ Hol  \hat{\circ} \text{te-k}\text{’ mez jer tan-i-c’.}
\]

S   O    V

“Give us (some) soil from your house!”

d. There is a range of determiners such as այլ “other”, ուրիշ “other” որոշ “a certain one”, of quantifiers such as e.g. իս աշխատի մի կանի “some”, and of indefinite pronouns such as e.g. ինչ-ի կանու “some”, ինչ կանու “some”, ուրթուղի առեւե “any”, նույն ոմի “someone” etc., that assign indefiniteness because of the semantic contents. These determiners, quantifiers and indefinite pronouns co-occur with bare indefinite nouns.

(117) Եթե հանակու ասպես է հետ-ի մի կանի վերմակ.

\[ Et’e  \hat{\circ} \text{iman-ayi ayspes \text{å} het-s mi k\text{â}ni vermak}
\]

S   O    V

“If I knew that it was like this, I would have brought some blankets with me.”

e. All plural forms being inherited from Classical Armenian, such as մարդիկ mardik “people”, կանայք kanayk’ “women”, as well as the nouns ending in -c’i in Nominative
singular and ending in the plural in '-ik' NEVER co-occur with the definite article, i.e. these nouns are always morphologically indefinite.

(118) Մեր դպրոց-ների 80 տոկոս-ն կան-այկ' են
(Armenpress 14.05.2006)
mer dproc'-ner-i 80 tokos-um kan-ayk' en
our school-PL-DAT 80 per cent-LOC woman-PL.NOM they are
aşıxat-um.
work-PTCP.PRES.

“Women are working in 80 % of our schools.” (Morphologically and semantically indefinite)

(119) Սակայն այս գյուլաբնակ կան-այկ' ու տղամարդ-իկ
(Armenpress 28.05.2006)
sakayn ays gyulabnak kan-ayk' u tłamard-ik
con conj this living in village woman-PL.NOM conj man-PL.NOM
Hayastan-i intesut'y-an zgali mas-n en
Armenia-DAT economy-DAT considerable part.NOM-the they are
nerkaya-c'n-um.
present-caus-PTCP.PRES.

“But these women and men living in villages represent a considerable part of Armenia's economy.” (Morphologically indefinite, but semantically definite)

f. All case forms in the instrumental, ablative and locative are always morphologically indefinite and never co-occur with a definite article.

(120) Կարապետյան ազգանուն-ի մարդ-իկ մի կան տանյակ են.
(Hetk 26.02.2007)
Karapetyan azganun-ov mard-ik mi kâni tasnyak en.
Karapetyan family name-INST person-PL.NOM some decade they are

“There are some dozens of people with the family name Karapetyan.”
(Morphological indefinite noun in locative, but semantically definite)

g. The vocative, nominal appositions and adnominal dative as well as all nouns combined with adpositions are morphologically indefinite and NEVER co-occur with the definite article.

(121) Համայնք-ի ղեկավար հյուսիս հեռախոս չէ.
(Hetk' 12.02.2007)
hamaynk'-i lekavar-i t-an-ê
community-DAT leader-DAT house-DAT-the
heraxos ç'-ka.
telephone.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3SG.
“There is no telephone in the house of the leader of the community.”
(Morphologically indefinite nouns in (adnominal) dative; semantically definite).

Marked Indefiniteness: the Use of the Indefinite Article

In general, the indefinite article /mit “a” is used to denote an indefinite, specific and not totally new or unknown object/person. This object/person is also known to the speaker, but unknown to the hearer. /mit occurs in all cases and can also be replaced by the synonymous indefinite pronouns ʰ succès- or “some”, ʰ nulu  mi omn “someone/ somebody” etc.

(122) /mit  aya-pa-xa-wa  mit  yung:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mi} & \quad \text{patani} & \quad \text{te-sa} & \quad \text{mi} & \quad \text{kn-oj}.
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{INDEF} \quad \text{boy.NOM} \quad \text{see-AOR.3.SG} \quad \text{INDEF} \quad \text{woman-DAT}
\]

“A (specific) boy saw a (specific) woman.”

(122) a. ʰ succès- na-pa-xa-wa ʰ succès- yung:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inc’-or} & \quad \text{patani} & \quad \text{tesa} & \quad \text{inc’-or} & \quad \text{kn-oj}.
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{some} \quad \text{boy.NOM} \quad \text{see-AOR.3.SG} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{woman-DAT}
\]

“Some boy saw some woman.”

The main difference in the use of the unmarked or zero indefinite form and the use of the indefinite article /mit lies in the specificity of the noun.

- A zero definite noun has to be regarded as indefinite and non-specific, whereas the noun with an indefinite article /mit as indefinite but specific.

(123) ʰwafununtwe  aya-pa-xa-wa ʰwafununtwe  yungu wamwar quawu

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hnaget-ner-ě} & \quad \text{pelim-ner-i} & \quad \text{vayr-um} & \quad \text{mard-u}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{archaeologist-PL.NOM} \quad \text{the excavation-PL-DAT} \quad \text{person-DAT}
\]
\[
\text{kmaxk’} & \quad \text{gt-an}.
\]
\[
\text{skeleton.NOM} \quad \text{find-AOR.3.PL}
\]

“The archaeologists found a skeleton of a man (= a human skeleton) in the excavations’ site.” (Non-specific, thus not marked with an indefinite article).

(123) a. ʰwafununtwe  aya-pa-xa-wa ʰwafununtwe  yungu wamwar quawu

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hnaget-ner-ě} & \quad \text{pelim-ner-i} & \quad \text{vayr-um} & \quad \text{mi}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{archaeologist-PL.NOM} \quad \text{the excavation-PL-DAT} \quad \text{site-LOC} \quad \text{INDEF}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bronzedarya} & \quad \text{mard-u} & \quad \text{kmaxk’} & \quad \text{gt-an}.
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{bronze age} \quad \text{person-DAT} \quad \text{skeleton.NOM} \quad \text{find-AOR.3.PL}
\]

“The archaeologists found a skeleton of a Bronze Age man in the excavations’ site.” (Specific, since the person is characterised as from the Bronze Age, but still indefinite)
The zero indefinite noun in the singular often denotes generic and/or plural meaning. The noun with Դի ռ, however, does only imply a singular meaning and does only denote a single object/person.

(124) Դուրս քարե հարս տես-ա।

goa-out-aor.1.sg street.nom person.nom see-aor.1.sg

“I went out on the street and saw persons (somebody).”

(125) Դուրս քարե ռ տես-ա।

goa-out-aor.1.sg street.nom indef person.nom see-aor.1.sg

“I went out on the street and saw a person.”

In recent years there has been a lively debate regarding the very existence and the functions of the indefinite article. This discussion is based on the fact that particularly in colloquial Armenian native speakers do not distinguish the numeral Դուռ ռ եկ “one” from the indefinite article Դի ռ “a”.

Դի ռ is used to indicate both functions; the cardinal number Դուռ ռ եկ “one” is only emphatically used to stress the contrast between one or more. Even in written Armenian, hypergeneralised forms of the indefinite article Դի ռ occur, both functioning as the numeral and as the indefinite article. However, it is clear that there is a semantic distinction between the numeral and the indefinite article in certain contexts.

(126) Դուռ տար-ուն քարե հարս տես-ա।

ONE year-loc he.nom locksmith.nom become-aor.3.sg indef

mec gorcaran-um.

big factory-loc

“In (the course of) one year he became a locksmith in a big factory.”

Comment: the first Դի ռ is used here instead of the numeral Դուռ ռ եկ “one”, the second in its real function as an indefinite article.

(126) a. Դուռ տար-ուն քարե հարս տես-ա।

ONE year-loc he.nom locksmith.nom become-aor.3.sg

mec gorcaran-um.

big factory-loc

“In one year he became a locksmith in some big factory.”

The numeral Դուռ ռ եկ is seldom used in colloquial Armenian, maybe only for enumeration or when the numerical value is emphasised.
Some Armenian grammarians explain the distinction between նի mi “a” as an indefinite article and նի mi “one” as a numeral only based in the differing intonation: if նի mi is stressed it is used as numeral in the sense of “one”\textsuperscript{101}.

(127) Այսօր գիրք կупի՛ի:

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Ays\textö̈r & girk’ & gneč’-i. \\
today & book\textsc{nom} & buy\textsc{-aor.1.sg}
\end{tabular}

“Today I bought a book”. (Also possible: today I bought some books)

(127) a. Այսօր մեկ/մեկ գիրք կупի՛ի:

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Ays\textö̈r & mek/mi & girk’ & gneč’-i. \\
today & one/a & book\textsc{nom} & buy\textsc{-aor.1.sg}
\end{tabular}

“Today I bought one/a book.”

Comment: in this sentence Մեկ mek “one” would be stressed.

(128) Այսօր սերե՛ մեկ ապահով:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Nran & tes-a & miayn & mi & angam. \\
he\textsc{dat} & see\textsc{-aor.1.sg} & only & a & time.
\end{tabular}

“I have seen him only once.”

(128) a. Այսօր սերե՛ մեկ մեկ ապահով:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Nran & tes-a & miayn & mek & angam. \\
he\textsc{dat} & see\textsc{-aor.1.sg} & only & one & time
\end{tabular}

“I have seen him only one single time.”

(129) Մեկ մարդ դաշտ-ամ աշխատ-ամ էր.

\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
Mi & mard & dašt-um & ašxat-um & ēr. \\
indef & man\textsc{nom} & field\textsc{-loc} & work\textsc{-ptcp.pres.} & he\textsc{was}
\end{tabular}

“A (specific) person worked in the field.” (Somebody)

(129) a. Մարդիկ մեկ մարդ տես աշխատում:

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Dašt-um & mek & mard & ēr & ašxat-um. \\
field\textsc{-loc} & one & person & he\textsc{was} & work\textsc{-ptcp.pres.}
\end{tabular}

“One person worked in the field.” (Only one person, not more)

(130) Ինջ մի ատոր տվե՛:

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
Inj & mi & at’ır & tv-ek’!
\end{tabular}

“I gave me a chair! (Give me any chair!)”

\textsuperscript{101} Asatryan 2004: 99.
As can be seen from the examples above, it is mainly the context and the intonation that decide upon the function of the word ին mi as the indefinite article “a” or the numeral “one”.

**Marked, Definite Nouns**

MEA has a definite article that is expressed by the suffix -ե/-n. This definite article typically assigns definite reference to the noun and is suffixed to the noun’s stem, or to the plural suffix or to the case ending.

**noun-(plural suffix)-(case ending)-definite article suffix**

The definite article has two allomorph variants -ե resp and -n that are attached to the noun following the pronunciation rules.

1. If the noun has a final consonant, always with – ։ ū.
2. If the noun has a final vowel and if the following word has an initial vowel and is spoken without pause, the suffix -ու n is attached. This is the case (1) if an auxiliary which follows, marks the preceding noun with the definite article as being in preverbal focus and thus in marked syntactic function and (2) if the following word begins with a vowel and bears the phrasal stress. 102 I.e. if the there is no pause between the definite noun and the following word, the article -ու n must be used. If the following word is heavily prosodically contrasted from the definite noun, the definite article suffix -ու ū must be used.

The article is always unstressed.

(131) կարդում է.

Aram-n  kard-um  ē.

Aram.nom-the  read-ptcp.pres. he is

“It is Aram who is reading.” (Functional perspective: change of order verb+auxillary)

(132) կարդում է.

Ani-n  kard-um  ē.

Ani.nom-the  read-ptcp.pres. she is

“Ani is reading.”

Although it is primarily the context which rules the use of the definite article, there are also various semantic, morphological and syntactic constraints controlling the use of the definite article.

The definite article is obligatorily used in a number of ways:

a. With personal names. MEA exhibits an inherently definite group of nouns: personal names. Thus, personal names are usually regarded as being definite, except from the context in which a neutral, general, or even indefinite-specific person is indicated with a personal name.
b. If the noun is modified by an adnominal dative attribute, the definite article is suffixed to
the head noun. The article, however, never occurs on the adnominal dative attribute.

(139) Մունք տերակետ տերակետ է:
Anuš-i elbayr-է erg-um է.
Anuš-DAT brother.NOM-the sing-PTCP.PRES. he is
“Anuš’s brother sings.”

(140) Հին գիտակցություն տերակետ է:
Im ēnkeruh-u elbayr-է bžišk է.
my girlfriend-DAT brother.NOM-the doctor.NOM he is
“My girlfriend’s brother is (a) doctor.”

c. If the noun is modified by an adjective to any superlative degree.

(141) Մունք տարածաշրջանային արդարություն է:
Anuš-է amena-geleč’ik aljik-n է.
Anuš.NOM-the most-beautiful girl.NOM-the she is
“Anuš is the most beautiful girl.”

(142) Մունք տարածաշրջանային արդարակացություն է:
Aram-է mer kurs-um amena-xelok’ usanol-n է.
Aram.NOM-the our course-LOC most-intelligent student.NOM-the he is
“Aram is the most intelligent student on our course.”

d. If the noun is modified by an ordinal number.

(143) Հայրենիք պատրաստիկ համար է:
Erkrord das-է sks-v-um ē hima.
second class.NOM-the start-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is now.
“The second class is starting now.”

e. If the noun is determined and modified by an attributive, demonstrative or possessive pronoun.

(144) Մունք ազդեց հանգարգեր է:
Ays girk’-է ʃat hetak’rk’ir է.
this book.NOM-the INT interesting it is
“This book is very interesting.”

(145) Հայրենիք գործարան տարածաշրջան է:
Nra p’ok’r k’uyr-է sovor-um է dproc’-um.
his/her little sister.NOM-the learn-PTCP.PRES. she is school-LOC
“His/her little sister learns in (the) school.”
f. If the noun is modified by collective quantifiers such as e.g. ամբոլջ ambolj, ոլջ oļj, համայն hamayn “whole” or բոլոր bolor “all” etc.

(146) Ամբոլջ երկիր-ի է Սուրբ Մեսրոպ-ի

Ambolj erkir-ē nš-um ē Surb Mesrop-i
whole country.nom-the celebrate-ptcp.pres. it is Holy Mesrop-dat
ton-ē.
feast.nom-the

“The whole country celebrates the feast of St. Mesrop.”

(147) Բոլոր երեխա-ներ-ի է Յուրի-ի պապի-ր

Bolor erexa-ner-ē uraxan-um en Ymfran papi-i
all child.pl.nom-the rejoice-ptcp.pres they are Winter-dat grandpa-dat
gal-u hamar.
come-inf-dat post

“All children rejoice about the coming of Santa Claus.”

g. If the noun is part of a close apposition:

(148) Նրանք գնալ-ի են Մոսկվա քաղաք-ի

Nrank’ gnal-u en Moskva kalak’-ē.
they.nom go-ptcp.fut. they are Moscow.nom town.nom-the

“They will go to (the town of) Moscow.”

h. If the noun denotes the definite direct object of a transitive verb:

(149) Երեկ Արամ-ի տես-ար է էնկերոջ-ի

Erek Aram-ē tes-av ir ēnkeroj-ē
yesterday Aram.nom-the see-aor.3.sg his friend.dat-the

“Aram saw Vardan yesterday.”

(150) Երեկ Արամ-ի կարդաչ-ար է գիրք-ի

Erek Aram-ē kardac’-av girk’-ē.
yesterday Aram.nom-the read-aor.3.sg book.nom-the

“Aram read the book yesterday.”

i. Nouns may also show the definite article if expressing a general meaning:

(151) Բժիշկ-ի պտտի ուսադիր լին-ի

Bžišk-ē piti ušadir lin-i.
doctor.nom-the part careful be-deb.fut.3.sg

“A doctor must be careful.”
2.1.5 Other Determination of Nouns

Nouns can also be determined by several means.

- By the possessive suffixes -u -s, -η -d
- By the personal suffixes -u -s, -η -d
- By the demonstrative suffix-u -s

Possessive Suffixes

The possessive suffixes -u -s, -η -d are frequently used in both written and colloquial Armenian to express various functions. In principle, the possessive suffixes can be attached to nouns, nominalised words and all words of nominal function. There are no constraints caused by number or case, e.g. փիրվ, փրմ, փրդ, փմ, փմու, փմգու, փմկր.

In addition to their primary function of denoting possession with nouns, as in փիրվ girk’-s “my book”, possessive suffixes also fulfil the following functions with word classes other than nouns.

- They co-occur with the following pronouns, quantifiers and adverbs to denote possessive meaning: ամեն amë inë “everything”, ուռար oë’ë” “nothing”, այստեղ/այստեղ/այսբակ aystel/aydteł/ayntel “here/there”, ռու bë’ë “something”, որտ otel “where etc.

(152) Ամեն amë inë ov-d tarrber-v-um es urir-s-er-ic’. everything,inst-your differ-refl-PTCP.PRES. you are other-PL-ABL

“You differ with everything (in you) from the others.”

- They co-occur with non-finite verbal forms such as the infinitive, resultative participle, future participle or subjective participle and denote an agentive rather than a possessive meaning, as in e.g. գնալ gnal-s “my going”, ասակ-ա ašac-d “the thing said by you”, ռու bë’ë “something”, որտ otel “where etc.

(153) Շտաց-այս stac’-ac-s aɾat calkap’ny-er-i masin avelord em receive-PTCP.RES-my abundant bouquet-PL-DAT POST superfluous I am hamar-um nês-el.

“regard-PTCP.PRES. note-INF

“I regard it superfluous to note the abundant bouquets I have received.”

- They co-occur with postpositions in pseudo-possessive meaning identifying the location in the first or second person: մոտs mots “with me/at me/near me”, ուռար

103. This seems to be a common feature of possessive suffixes: to hypergeneralise their use as synonyms not only of possessive pronouns, but also of the genitive of personal pronouns when used to express agency or relation.
vras “on me”, մէր մէրj “in me”, տանք taks “under me” etc. (see Ch. 2.8. “Adpositions”, p. 294f.)

(154) «Ջնանու պատրոս անհավանական կերպով եմ, բուջ կառուցված կաիրեն տանք եմ, դառնալով եմ»: (Hetk’ 15.01.2007; quoted colloquial Arm.)

târs-i pes t-an banali-ner-ê korç’r-el em contrast-DAT POST house-DAT key-PL.NOM-the lose-PTCP.PERF I am
bayc dakument-ner-ê mot-s en pah-el em. conj document-PL.NOM-the POST-my they are keep-PTCP.PERF I am

“As ill luck would have it, I have lost the keys of the house, but the documents are with me, I have kept (them).”

- In metalanguage, they can appear in every possible part of speech to refer to the 1st or 2nd person:

(155) հուզկու-եր նունը տապասես:
inçu-i-d dzvar ê pataxanel.
why-DAT-your difficult it is answer-INF

“It is difficult to answer to your ‘Why?’”

As mentioned above, the primary use of the possessive suffix is to indicate possession. In colloquial Armenian the double, and thus redundant, use of both attributive possessive pronouns and possessive suffixes is quite frequent. This double use clearly breaks the rules of SMEA. The possessive relation denoted by both possessive suffixes primarily refers to the 1st and 2nd person in the singular, as in

գիրք girk’-s = հու գիրք im girk’-ê “my book”
գրքեր grk’-er-s = հու գրքեր im grk’-er-ê “my books”
նամակ namak-d = ռն նամակ k’o namak-ê “your letter”
նամակեր namak-ner-d = ռու նամակեր im namak-ner-ê “your letters”

If one wants to refer to the 1st or 2nd person in the plural, then the plural suffix -ner must be used on the noun – regardless of the number of syllables in the noun and regardless of whether the possessed objects/person are in the singular or plural.

1st Person Singular
փոխ sirt “heart”: փոխու – sirt-s “my heart”; տպնտ srt-er “hearts”: տպնտ srt-er-s “my hearts”

1st Person Plural
փոխ sirt “heart”: տպնտ srters “our heart OR our hearts” = ռու տպնտ mer sirtê “our heart” or ռու տպնտ mer srtërê “our hearts”.

This means that the plural forms used with the plural suffix -ner are highly ambiguous; it is only the context which can clarify whether the noun is semantically in the singular or plural.
On the other hand, this means that the possessive suffix in the 1st or 2nd person plural can only be overtly expressed on all monosyllabic words that, in principle, have a regular plural in -ը-եր, such as քույր-ը գործ-եր “our work(s)”, ոչեր-ը աչք-եր-եր “our eye(s)”, ցար-ը կյանկ-եր-եր “our life, our lives”, ջեր-ը ջեր-եր “your hand(s)”. All other polysyllabic words are morphologically ambiguous in this respect, but plural possessives often occur with certain semantic and morphological groups.

- Words that describe human body parts, human features etc., such as քույր-ը գլխ-եր-եր “our head(s), բորան-ը բորան-եր-եր “our mouth(s)”, կակատ-ը կակատ-եր-եր “your front(s)”, անուն-ը անուն-եր-եր “your name(s)” etc.
- Non-finite verb forms such as the infinitive, resultative participle or future participle, such as քույր-ը գալ-եր-եր “our coming(s)”, գրակ-ը գրակ-եր-եր “the thing(s) you have written” (Lit.: our written), etc.

An important syntactic function of the possessive suffixes is their agentive function (logical subject) with the infinitive, resultative participle and future participle in shortened or deranked constructions. In this function they may be attached to their head noun but also to the non-finite verbal forms. (See Ch. 3.4.1. “Participle constructions”, p. 499f.)

Personal Suffixes
The suffixes -ե and -դ may also refer to the 1st and 2nd person as an agent. This use is not as frequent as the use as possessive suffixes, but they can be found in many idioms and constructions. The most frequent and productive use as personal suffixes can be found with the emphatic pronoun ԷՆՔ-ը ինկ-է, as in

(156) Ես ինի երիտասարդ ինկերերը բանի աշխատանքի իրականացրե են գտնել.

(157) Ես նարերը, բոլորը բոլորը բոլորը բոլորն իրականացրե իրականացրե իրականացրե իրականացրե.

The personal suffixes also co-occur with the following indefinite pronouns and quantifiers, ամենՔ-ը “all, everybody”, բոլօ “all”, յուրաքանչյուր յուրաքանչյուր “each”, ամեն երեխա ամեն երեխա “everybody” and երեխա ոչ երեխա “nobody”.


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The personal suffixes are thus used:

- with nouns and pronouns indicating a person and also with some nouns such as job titles referring to a person (as above 158);
- with words functioning like nouns and denoting features or characteristics of a person (159).

**Demonstrative Suffixes**

The use as demonstrative suffix is limited to only the 1st person suffix -s (i.e. the speaker) and is also rigidly constrained to an immediate local or temporal vicinity to the speaker.

Purposes for use of -s in demonstrative function

- Some temporal expressions indicating a point of time being very close to the moment of speech, such as e.g. ամսի “this summer”, ջմեր “this winter”, վերջ “lately” etc.

Some expressions indicating a location very close (or even familiar) to the speaker.

"We all are one family."

"You, the advanced ones, have to help us, the backward ones."

"You are 43 sounds in this dialect."

"The inhabitants of this (my) site are Armenians."

"Our website has been updated."

"There are 43 sounds in this dialect."
The double, and thus redundant, use of the attributive demonstrative pronoun իս իս “this” (proximal to speaker) and the demonstrative suffix -ու -ու is frequent in colloquial Armenian, but irregular in terms of the rules in SMEA.

2.2 Adjectives

The class of adjectives can be separated in MEA as a separate part of speech, usually modifying the noun in its quality.

Adjectives, as parts of speech, show semantic as well as morphological and syntactical features.

Generally MEA adjectives can be subdivided into three major groups:

a. qualitative adjectives, which represent also the class of gradable adjectives, i.e. adjectives that can be compared in comparative and superlative degrees.
b. adjectives of relation or relational adjectives, which are usually derived from a noun, with the general meaning “of, relating to or like (the noun)”.
c. quantifying adjectives, which are grouped with the part of speech of “Quantifiers” in the present grammar.

In MEA, adjectives are also characterised by their word formation, by means of prefixes or – more often - of suffixes. (For derivational affixes of adjectives in MEA see Ch. 4.1.2.3. “Deriving adjectives and adjectival suffixes”, p. 663f.)

Adjectives in attributive use usually precede their head nouns, not being congruent in case and number. (see Ch.3.5.3. “Noun Phrase Constituents’ order”, p. 585f.).

Adjectives can be nominalised, following the productive i-declension, see Ch. 2.1.2.1. “i-declension”, p. 69f.

Adjectives can be used in attributive and predicative functions. In both functions they do not agree with the noun(s) in number and case.

(163) Արամից դիմ մորը նայեցրել է կարմիր վարդեր
Aram-է հիր մորե-է ուր-էմ է կարմիր վարդեր.
Aram.NOM-the his mother-DAT-the give-PTCP.PRES. he is red.NOM rose-PL.NOM
“Aram gives red roses to his mother.”

(164) Կարմիր վարդեր են:
Varder-է կարմիր էն.
rose-PL.NOM-the red they are
“The roses are red.”

The Comparison of Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives can be compared and have the following degrees in MEA:

- Positive degree: denotes the quality in the basic level. The positive degree is expressed by the bare adjective.
Comparative: a quality is more or less available than the object of comparison. When the adjective is used in attributive function, then the intensifier (or in syntactic terms the marker) ավելի [aveli] is preposed to the positive degree of the adjective, e.g. ավելի մեծ տուն [aveli mec tun] “a bigger house”.

In predicative use, i.e. in comparative constructions the adjective is mainly used in its positive degree without the preposed intensifier (marker) but with standard (=the object of comparison) in ablative case or with the construction “than…” քան [kan] + standard in nominative, see details in Ch. 3.4.3. “Comparative constructions”, p. 531f.

Superlative: indicates that a member of a set transcends the other members in some way. The superlative is formed by means of the prefix ամենա- [amenya-] and the positive degree of the adjective: ամենա-մեծ տուն [amenya-mec tun] “the biggest house”. Please note that in the attributive use the superlative degree of the adjective is always combined with the definite article attached to the head noun in nominative or dative (the later if not in the function of an adnominal attribute). A second way to express a superlative meaning is by use of the suffix -ագույն [aguyun]: this superlative form is limited to certain adjectives and is mainly used in the attributive function. E.g. արդյունք [noraguyun] “the newest”. There is, however, a slight semantic difference between the prefix ամենա- [amenya-] and the suffix -ագույն [aguyun]: the third way to express a superlative meaning is to use the expression ամենի [ameni] ‘ or բոլորի [bolori] followed by the positive degree of the adjective, in both attributive and predicative use:

(165) Անի-ն ամենագեղեցիկ աղջիկ-ն է.
Ani-n amenya-gelic’ik aljik-n e.
“Ani is the most beautiful girl.”

a. Անի-ն աղջիկագույն աղջիկ-ն է.
Ani-n gelec’ika-guyun aljik-n e.
“Ani is the most beautiful girl.” (Ani is a very beautiful girl)

104. (Łaragyulyan 1981:91) claims that the comparative constructions with standard in ablative are more productive in colloquial Armenian, whereas the form with քան [kan] and standard in nominative is more wide-spread and productive in literary Armenian.

105. (Abrahamyan 1975:83) ամենա- [amenya-] is more frequently used than -ագույն [aguyun]. -ագույն [aguyun], however, expresses a high degree of a quality even without a comparison. This would mean that -ագույն [aguyun] now has an elative rather than superlative meaning. (Łaragyulyan 1981:91) states that -ագույն [aguyun] is predominantly used in written Armenian; in colloquial Armenian it does not sound “natural”.
If the superlative is used in a predicative way, the standard (=object of comparison) is expressed in the ablative case.

- Elative: expresses a category of comparison similar to the superlative. Elative meaning can be expressed (a) by using preposed intensifiers and the positive degree of the adjectives. ցավ ծմու ծռւու, ըառ մեց թու “a very big house” (b) by reduplicating the positive degree of the adjective: ծմու ծմու մեց-մեց թու “a very big house” (c) as already mentioned above, the suffix -ագրու -ագրու has an elative rather than a superlative meaning in MEA.

2.3 Numerals

In MEA traditional grammars, numerals are also grouped as a separate part of speech. Numerals traditionally comprise cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, distributive and fraction numbers. In modern linguistic grammars numerals are usually grouped together with quantifying adjectives, quantifying (indefinite) pronouns, universal (definite) pronouns with the a part of speech “quantifiers”.

Armenian language uses the widespread decimal system, like most other Indo-European languages. Compound numbers are formed by first naming the tens column and afterwards the ones column without any coordinating conjunction, i.e. MEA does not use linkers between the individual digits:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{25 րուանգհա կսանհ 20 + 5 “twenty five”}
  \item \text{351 երկ’հարյուր-հիսուն-մեկ (three-hundred-fifty-one) = 300 + 50 + 1 “threethousand fifty one”}
\end{itemize}

2.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

Armenian distinguishes two compositional types of cardinal numbers according to their word formation:

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. Simple cardinal numbers (1–10, 100, 1000, million, milliard etc.) consisting of one numeral word
  \item b. Compound cardinal numbers: cardinal numbers consisting of two or more separate numeral words, such as րուանգհա կսանհ “25”, երկ’հարյուր-հիսուն-մեկ 351.
\end{itemize}

Cardinal numbers never agree with the head noun in case, and always precede the head noun. As shown in chapter 2.1.1.2. “Number” p. 63f., a countable noun does not show
plural marking when modified by cardinal numbers only, but it has to show plural marking when additionally modified by other attributes.

The simple cardinal numbers:

1. Ṣën  
   *mek*

2. Ṣën  
   *erku*

3. Ṣën  
   *erek’*

4. Ṣën  
   *c’ors*

5. Ṣën  
   *hing*

6. Ṣën  
   *vec’*

7. Ṣën  
   *yot’*

8. Ṣën  
   *ut’*

9. Ṣën  
   *in*₁⁰⁶

10. Ṣën  
    *tas(ĕ)*

100  Ṣën  
    *haryur*

1,000  Ṣën  
    *hazar*

1,000,000  Ṣën  
    *million*

1,000,000,000  Ṣën  
    *milliard*

The complex and compound cardinal numbers:

11. Ṣën  
    *tasn[ĕ]mek*

12. Ṣën  
    *tasnerku*

13. Ṣën  
    *tasnerek’*

14. Ṣën  
    *tasn[ĕ]c’ors*

15. Ṣën  
    *tasn[ĕ]hing*

16. Ṣën  
    *tasn[ĕ]vec’*

17. Ṣën  
    *tasn[ĕ]yot’*

18. Ṣën  
    *tasnut’*

19. Ṣën  
    *tasninĕ⁴*

20. Ṣën  
    *k’san*

30  Ṣën  
    *eresun*

40  Ṣën  
    *kaṭasun*

50  Ṣën  
    *hisun*

60  Ṣën  
    *vat’sun*

70  Ṣën  
    *yot’anasun*

80  Ṣën  
    *uṭ’sun*

90  Ṣën  
    *inn[ĕ]sun*

---

¹⁰⁶ For the forms of the numerals Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën see Ch. 2.1.4. “Definiteness of Nouns”, p. 102f. These words, as well as as the intensive pronoun Ṣën Ṣën and other lexemes e.g. Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën Ṣën etc. behave like the suffixed definite article across word/morpheme boundary.
The combination with hundreds, thousands etc. without any linking word: 2,368 = Երկու հազար երեք հարյուր վառսուն ուտ’

Cardinal numbers can also be nominalised. When nominalised the cardinal numbers inflect according to the i-declension, except the numeral 2.

Similar to other compound terms, in compound cardinals only the second part inflects according to i-declension.

Երկու erkus “the two”

SG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Երկու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Երկուի(ը)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>Երկուի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Երկուուց</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Երկուում</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are numbers used to denote the position in an ordered sequence.

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers and the suffix -որդ (e)rord: the suffix is -որդ -rord for the cardinal Երկու erku “two”, Երեք երեք “three” and Չորս չորս “four”:

Երկու erku “two” < Երկուորդ erk-rord “second”
Երեք երեք “three” < Երեքորդ er-rord “third”
Չորս չորս “four” < Չորսորդ չոր-rord “fourth”

All other ordinals are formed from the cardinal and the suffix -որդ -erord.

Հինգ hing “five” < Հինգորդ hing-erord “fifth”
Երեք in “nine” < Երեքորդ inn-erord “ninth”
Երկուուց tasnmek “eleven” < Երկուուցորդ tasnmek-erord “eleventh” etc.

The cardinal մեկ mek “one” has a suppletive form as its ordinal number: Առաջին aṙajin “first”. This suppletive is only used in the cardinal մեկ mek “one” and not in other numbers with the unit մեկ “mek”, as can be seen above in Երկուուց tasnmek “eleven”, Երկուուց tasnmek-erord “eleventh”.

Ordinal numbers never agree with the head noun in attributive use, and always precede the head noun. Ordinal numbers also assign definiteness to the head noun.

Ordinal numbers can be nominalised. In the case of nominalisation they follow the i-declension, see Ch. 2.1.2.1. “i-declension”, p. 69f.

There is also a range of “ordinal-like” adjectives that also show a position in a sequence or a certain order in a sequence. They behave syntactically like ordinal numbers; they also assign definiteness to their head nouns.
These adjectives are վերջին (verjın “last”), հերբուր hajord “next”, հետևյալ hetewyal “following” etc.

2.3.3 Distributive Numbers

A distributive numeral is a numeral which expresses a group of the number specified and shows the quantitative distribution of objects.

Distributive numerals are formed from the cardinal number and the suffix -akan, as e.g. մեկ-այն մեկ-ական “one each”, երկու-այն երկու-ական “two each”, քառուսկու-այն քառուսկու-ական “twenty each” etc.

As with other numerals, distributive numerals precede the head noun and never agree in case and number:

(166) Ῥասին քրիստոնեություն ռուսական քրիստոնեություն Հրաչյա:

Tatik-ե երեկա-ն բաժան-եր երկու-ական
Grandmother.NOM-the child-PL-DAT-the distribute-AOR.3.SG two each

“Two apples each to the children.”

(167) Բոլոր-եկ պահանջվում եր տաս-ական դրամ.

all-ABL demand-pass-PTCP.PRES. it 10 each dram.NOM

“10 Dram each are demanded from all.”

Distributive numerals are seldom nominalised. In the case of nominalisation they inflect according to the i-declension.

2.3.4 Fraction Numbers

The numerator of the fraction is expressed by a cardinal number, and the denominator by an ordinal number or from its distributive number, e.g.

 ordinarily քառուսկու-ական 1/4
ordinarily երկու-ական 2/7

Though the forms with ordinals as denominator are more frequently used, it seems that there is a slight semantic difference between the two morphological forms:

a. մեկ հինգ-երդ mak hing-erord, 1/5, refers to a part of a whole in general.

b. մեկ հինգ-երդ-ական mak hing-erord-akan, 1/5, is a rather distributive meaning and must thus be used in sentences with a distributive meaning.
(168) Գյուղացի ստացավ իր կանանց սուճի հատվածը:

\[ Gyula\'c-i-n \quad \text{stac\'av} \quad \text{ir} \quad \text{can-ac} \quad \text{ha\'c\'ahatik-i} \]

Farmer-NOM-the receive-Aor.3.sg his sow-PTCP.RES. grain-DAT

\[ mek \quad \text{hing-erord-\={e}}. \]

one fifth.NOM-the

"The farmer received one fifth of his sowed grain." (i.e. 1/5 of the grain that he has sowed)

(168) ա. Այնուրանդյան գյուղացին ստացեց իր կանանց սուճի հատվածը:

\[ Yurak\'\=an\'cyur \quad \text{gyula\'c-u} \quad \text{tr-v-ec\'} \quad \text{havak\'v-ac} \]

each farmer-DAT give-pass-Aor.3.sg gather-pass-PTCP.RES.

\[ ha\'c\'ahatiki \quad \text{mek \quad \text{hingerordakan} \quad mas-\={e}}. \]

grain-DAT one-fifth part.NOM-the

"The fifth part of the gathered grain was given to each farmer."

Fraction numerals can also be nominalised; but note that for the nominalization of fraction numbers with overwhelming frequency, only fraction numbers are used formed with the ordinal and not the ordinal-distributive number. The second part of the fraction number is usually inflected according to the i-declension (see Ch. 2.1.2.1. “i-declension”, p. 69f.):

MEA does not have an own subgroup of multiplicative numerals. Multiplicative meaning is expressed by the cardinal number and the word անգամ \textit{angam} “time(s)”. This can be used in both adverbial and attributive function:

(169) Արամը կարդացրեց երեք անգամ:

\[ Aram\=-\text{\={e}} \quad \text{kardac\'-el} \quad \text{\={e}} \quad \text{ays girk\'-\={e}} \quad \text{erek\' angam.} \]

Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PERF. he is this book.NOM-the three time

"Aram has read this book three times."

(169) ա. Արամը վեց անգամ կարդացավ:

\[ Aram\=i \quad \text{ays} \quad \text{girk\'-\={e}} \quad \text{erek\' angam kardal-\={e}} \]

Aram-DAT this book.NOM-the three time read-INF.NOM-the

"Aram’s reading the book three times…”

107. In English, the translation of the SMEA shortened construction would sound odd; in German it would be possible: “Arams dreimaliges Lesen des Buches”.
2.4 Pronouns

Traditional grammars in SMEA present a huge class of pronouns. In this grammar, following modern linguistic approaches, the part of speech “pronoun” has been re-arranged according to the semanto-syntactic properties of the “traditional pronouns”. The term pronoun only comprises pronoun in sensu stricto, a word class replacing and substituting a noun; all other pronouns are better coined proforms, i.e. forms substituting adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers or complements of manner.

Several pronouns can be regarded as pronouns in sensu stricto i.e. they remain in the group of pronouns, whereas those “traditional” pronouns that express quantifying properties have been grouped with the “quantifiers”; other pronouns are classified according to their semanto-syntactic value and functions, and not – as in traditional Armenian grammars – according to their (historical) word formation. Thus, MEA has the following pronouns:

1. personal pronouns (including intensive and reflexive pronoun)
2. possessive pronouns (determiner pronouns)
3. demonstrative pronouns (determiner pronouns)
4. reciprocal pronouns
5. indefinite pronouns (including negative pronouns)
6. interrogative and relative pronouns

2.4.1 Personal Pronouns

The first and the second person personal pronouns are of Indo-European origin, the third person personal pronoun was generated from the demonstrative pronoun ւա na.

The pers. pronouns in nominative are only used if they are emphasised or stressed. As a pro-drop language, MEA can express number and person of the subject also in the finite verbal form.

Compare:

(170) ցետ պատվ տերել դերել բադան-է.

“Do not know where I have put the dictionary.”

108. Traditional grammars of SMEA list eight subgroups: (1) personal pronouns (including possessive and emphatic pronouns) (2) demonstratives (but including various subtypes) (3) reciprocal pronouns (4) interrogative pronouns (5) relative pronouns (6) indefinite pronouns (7) definite pronouns and (8) negative pronouns.
Of course, the locative on personal pronouns can only be used in figurative sense. Both with +human nouns and personal pronouns the synthethic locative is very rarely used, see examples (174) and (175).
Please note that the forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural in ablative and instrumental (and locative) with -u- -a- between the stem and ending are common in colloquial Armenian, whereas the forms without -u- -a- are considered as SMEA\textsuperscript{110}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(171)] ըս պատմության հիմք է նույնիսչ:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Na & patm-ec' & inj & ko & masin. \\
He.NOM & tell-AOR.3.SG. & I.DAT & you.GEN & POST \\
\end{tabular}
\text{“He told me about you.”}

\item[(172)] դեր վարում դեկրկում նպատակ:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Ays & ban-ĕ & kiman-am & nranc'-ic'. \\
This.NOM & thing.NOM-the & hear-COND.FUT.1.SG & they-ABL \\
\end{tabular}
\text{“I will learn this thing from them.”}

\item[(173)] կարող հայկաշահում \text{լի} մեկ(չ)ուն:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Hayr-ĕ & hpartan-um & ĕ & mez-(a)nov. \\
Father.NOM-the & to be proud-PTCP.PRES. & he & we-INST \\
\end{tabular}
\text{“The father is proud of us.”}

\item[(174)] հույյուս հարցեցանում իրավիճակ:
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Inč' & es & tesn-um & nran-um? \\
What & you & are & see-PTCP.PRES. & he-LOC \\
\end{tabular}
\text{“What do you see in him?”}

\item[(175)] կարողեք հայտներգրավ իր մուշ ու քանդի առաջին համակարգում նպատակ:
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
na & karolac'-av & ir & mej & už & gtn-el \\
he.NOM & can-AOR.3.SG. & he.GEN & POST & power.NOM & find-INF \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
annijapes & hražarkan t-al-u. \\
immediately & resign-INF-DAT \\
\end{tabular}
\text{“He could find power in him to immediately resign.”}
\end{enumerate}

In MEA, a genitive case is only separately expressed in the personal and demonstrative pronouns. The personal pronoun usually fulfils the following functions in MEA:

\begin{itemize}
\item prototypical “personal pronoun” function: replacing a noun.
\item “possessive pronoun” function
\item The genitive of the personal pronouns, the emphatic pronoun and the demonstrative pronouns primarily express possessive meaning and are used as “possessive pronouns”, and as such are lexicalised. See below, Ch. 2.4.2 “Possessive pronouns”.
\item “reflexive pronoun” function:
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{110} Laragyulyan 1981: 93.
The personal pronouns 1st and 2nd person SG. and PL. in dative also functions as reflexive pronouns i.e. իմ ինջ “myself”, երկինք կեզ “yourself”, մեզ “ourselves”, ձեզ “yourselves”.

The personal pronouns of 1st and 2nd person SG and PL are also used to function as reflexive pronouns. In MEA, reflexivity is also expressed by means of the verbal form (see Ch. 3.1.2.2.3. “Reflexivisation” p. 347f.), but sometimes the personal pronoun is used in the dative case with transitive verbs expressing behaviour or feelings, such as պահել “to behave, to act”, զգալ “to feel”, զսպել “to restrain oneself” etc.

(176) Ես հանքարդ ինջ մելավոր զգաց-ի օր
1.ΝΟΜ  suffixally 1.ԴԱՏ (myself) guilty feel-aor.1.SG. ԿՆՋ
տուն ան-եմ.
house.ΝΟΜ  have-јես.1.SG

“I suddenly felt myself guilty that I have a home.”

Various functions are in combination with pre- and postpositions.

In addition to the regular personal pronoun there also exists an emphatic pronoun with the basic form իմ ինջ. This pronoun, however, fulfils three various semanto-syntactic functions.

a. Intensive Pronoun
As an intensive pronoun it is used to emphasise its antecedent. The basic form իմ ինջ can be combined with all personal pronouns, meaning “myself, yourself, himself” etc. In this meaning and use the intensive pronoun իմ ինջ usually suffixes the possessive suffixes -s,-d corresponding to the person, i.e. ես իմ ես, դու իմ դու, նուն իմ նուն menк’ інк’rd, դու իմ դո դոк’ інк’rd

(177) Ես իմ կպատասխան-էմ անվան.
1.ΝΟΜ myself-poss answer-cond.fut.SG. հիմ.ԴԱՏ

“I myself will answer him.”

(178) Դու իմ պիտի խոս-էս Արամ-ի հետ.
You.ΝΟΜ yourself-poss speak-deb.fut.2.SG. Արամ-ԴԱՏ ՊՈՍՏ

“You yourself have to speak with Aram.”

111. Please note that the intensive pronoun իմ/իմ ինջ’-է/ինջ’-ո is behaves like the definite article -ու/-ու-է/-ո across word/morpheme boundary, e.g. (a) իմ գուն է գրադարան․ “He (himself) goes to the library.” (b) իմ է գուն գրադարան․ “It is he (himself) who goes to the library.”
The intensive pronoun is also used to emphasise reflexive meaning in 1st and 2nd person, i.e. in combination with the personal/reflexive pronoun 1st and 2nd person in the dative:

(179) տու ապ քեր պատրազ (հուր) հիդ:
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{es} & \text{mi} & \text{girk’} & \text{ularkec’-i} & (\text{ink’-s}) & \text{inj.} \\
\text{i.nom} & \text{indef} & \text{book.nom} & \text{send-aor.1.sg} & \text{myself-poss} & \text{i.nom}
\end{array}
\]
“I sent myself a book.”

b. Reflexive Pronoun
The intensive pronouns are also used in the function of a reflexive pronoun of the 3rd Person SG. and PL.

(180) երեխա ներ նիր-ն իրեն այսոր լավ պահե-ին.
Child-pl.nom-the refl.3.pl today well behave-aor.3.pl
“The children behaved well today.” (lit: The children kept themselves well today)

(181) երախ-եր-ն էրեկ’ արկ’ է ջ-ում.
Old man.nom-the recover-pass-inf-abl post refl.3.sg
already well he is feel-ptcp.pres.
“The old man already feels well after (his) recovering.”

c. In spoken Armenian the pronoun հիբ դ էnk’ is commonly used instead of the regular personal pronoun to express the third person. In this function it is also inflected.

(182) նա կարդ-ում է այս գիրկ-է.
He.nom read-ptcp.pres. he is this book.nom-the
“He reads this book.”

(182) a. հիբ դ էnk’ կարդ-ում է այս գիրկ-է.
He.nom read-ptcp.pres. he is this book.nom-the
“He reads this book.”

(183) էրեխ արամ-ե տես-էլ է նրան.
Yesterday Aram.nom-the s see-ptcp.perf. he is he.dat
“Aram saw him yesterday.”
In colloquial Armenian the intensive pronoun used as the personal pronoun 3rd person is usually realised with the vowel \(-\H_{-}\) instead of \(-\V_{-}\) in dative, ablative, instrumental [and locative] SG and PL, as well as in nominative PL, i.e. \(\H_{}\) instead of written \(\V_{}\). Moreover, the genitive form \(\H_{}\) is commonly used in colloquial Armenian instead of standard \(\V_{}\).112

(15) \H_{\text{ir}} \text{mi kerp hasc-r-el en mer tun}. (Hetk’ 05.02.2007)

“They have somehow reached our house.” (colloquial)

### Possessive Pronouns

As indicated above, the possessive pronoun is the genitive form of the personal pronouns, and as such is used to express primarily possessive or (relational) meaning. In attribute function it precedes its head nouns and assigns definiteness to it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. \H_{im} “my”</td>
<td>\H_{mer} “our”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. \H_{kò} “your”</td>
<td>\H_{jer} “your”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. \H_{nra} “his, her, its”</td>
<td>\H_{mranc’} “their”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive generated from the genitive of the intensive pronoun must be used as a “reflexive” possessive pronoun if the attributive possessive pronoun of the third person singular or plural refers to the subject of the sentence. If it refers to another person, the regular possessive pronouns of the third persons are used.

112. Łaragyulyan 1981: 93.
2.4.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives are deictic words that indicate which entities a speaker refers to, and distinguish those entities from others. Demonstratives are usually employed for spatial deixis (using the context of the physical surroundings), but they double as discourse deictics, referring not to concrete objects but to words, phrases and propositions mentioned in speech. Demonstratives belong to the group of determiners.

In MEA, as in Classical Armenian, there is a three-way deictic distinction:

a. demonstratives in -u- -s- are proximal to the speaker
b. demonstratives in -η- -d- are proximal to the hearer
c. demonstratives in -u- -n- distal to both.

(187) Ում հա գրքու է:
Sa im girk'-n ē.
This.NOM my book.NOM-the it is
“This is my book.”
MEA distinguishes three major types of demonstrative pronouns according to their morpho-syntactic use and their semantics:

According to their syntactic use MEA distinguishes:

a. independent demonstratives (or demonstrative pronouns): these are “real” pronouns, they are used to replace a noun: ւմ sa, դո da, աւ na

b. determinative demonstratives (or demonstrative attributes): the demonstratives are attributively used to modify and determine a noun: օս ays, օն ayd, օա ayn.
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(193) Այս քաղաքի հին ժամանակում:

Ays kālak'-n inj šat ē dur gal-is.
This town.nom-the I.dat very it is like-ptcp.pres.
“I like this town very much.”

(194) Այս տունի ձայնով գրադարան կար:

Ays tan-ē mi žamanak gradaran ka-r.
This house-dat-the indef time.nom library.nom exist-past.3.sg
“Once there was a library in this house.”

The real demonstrative pronouns are inflected similar to the personal pronouns of the 3rd person, like personal pronouns they have a separate genitive:

SG.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. series</th>
<th>2. series</th>
<th>3. series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM սայ</td>
<td>սա</td>
<td>դա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(GEN սրայ</td>
<td>սրա</td>
<td>դրա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT սրան</td>
<td>սրան</td>
<td>դրան</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL սրանց</td>
<td>սրակ’</td>
<td>դրակ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST սրակ’</td>
<td>սրակ’</td>
<td>դրակ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC սրակ’</td>
<td>սրակ’</td>
<td>դրակ’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(պատ մեջ սրակ’ | դրակ’ | նրակ’)

PL.

| NOM սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |
| (GEN սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |
| DAT սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |
| ABL սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |
| INST սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |
| LOC սրակ’ | սրակ’ | դրակ’ | սրակ’ | նրակ’ |

(պատ մեջ սրակ’ | դրակ’ | նրակ’)

The attributive demonstratives always precede the head noun and assign definiteness.
A third semantic group, the group of identity demonstratives is used to express identity. There is also a deictic distinction. This group has three semantic subgroups

a. սյուն suyn, հին suyn դամ դասել “identical, same”
b. այքսք ayspisi, այքսք aydpisi, այքսք aynpisi “such a”
c. ուներսը nypisi “the same”
The pronoun եսին /suyn/ is very rarely used; it is used only in official documents and is a typical feature of juridical style.

(195) Եսին ըստանալություն զանակ կոչում է:  
Suyn պաստատության շատ կարելու.  
The same document.nom-the very important it is  
“The same (=this) document is very important.”

(196) Եսին ադար տեղում ուղղահայց հայտնի է միջազգային պայքարի:  
Suyn անջ-ի արդեն էր անգամ հայտնչ-ի ե.  
Same person.nom-the already three times appear-pass-perf. it is  
“Meladryal-i ator-i-n. accused-dat  
“The same (=this) person appeared already three times in the chair of the accused.”

(197) Հույյուս եսին համարում է «ԵՐԵԱ» հրատարակչության «Հայաստան» հրատարակչությունը ալիքղեն:  
(Armenpress 14.05.2006)  
isk  suyn hator-է tpagr-v-el ē “EGEA”  
conj same volume.nom-the print-pass-perf. it is “EGEA”  
hratarakč’atan-է “Hayastan” hratarakč’ut’y-an finansavorm-amb.  
publishing house-dat-the “Hayastan” publishing house-dat financing-instr  
“And the same (=this) volume was printed in EGEA publishing house, with the financing of “Hayastan” publishing house.”

The form of the third series, եսին /nuyn/, is wide-spread. It is used to express the meaning “the same, identical” both in attributive and pronominal (nominalised) uses.

(198) Բոլորը եսինում են եսին հարցի ժամանակ:  
Bolor-է xos-um en nuyn harc’-i masin.  
All.nom-the speak-perf.pres. they are same question-dat post  
“Everybody speaks about the same question.”

(199) Եսին հարցի հարցամշակությունը նախագահությունը եսին ընդունում է:  
(Hetk’ 12.02.2007)  
uyn hark-i harewan-ner-i bnakaran-ner-i nuyn vičak-um  
same floor-dat neighbour-pl-dat apartment.nom-pl-the same condition-loc  
en.  
they are  
“The neighbouring apartments of the same floor are in the same condition.”
The old (classical) genitive of the identity pronoun 🇾áõÛÝ nuyn, Նորին norin, is still used in addressing superior personalities, e.g. Նորին սրբազանություն “your holiness”.

A synonym of 🇾áõÛÝ nuyn is Դեղուն miewnuyn, the expression however is emphasised, meaning “one and the same”:

(200) Դեղուն քաղաք-ում մենք հանձնարարում մեր ընկեր-ի
Miewnuyn kalak'-um menk' khandip-enk' mer ĕnker-ner-i
One-same town-LOC we.NOM meet-SUBJ,FUT.1.PL our friend-PL-DAT
het.
POST
“In the one and same town we will meet with our friends.”

NOTE: All types of identity pronouns of this group obligatorily co-occur with the definite article in both the nominative and dative case (expect adpositions + dative case).

Ad b.

These subgroups of identity pronouns are mainly used attributively to modify the noun. As such, they precede the noun.

(201) Այսպիսի սենյակ-ում կարելի է լավ աշխատ-ել.
Ayspisi senyak-um kareli ĕ lav ašxat-el.
Such a room-LOC possible it is well work-INF
“In such a room one can work well”.

(202) Այդպիսի մարդ կանաչ-ում է?
Aydpisi mard čanač'-um es?
such a person.NOM know-PTCP.PRES. you are?
“Do you know such a person?”

The identity pronouns can be nominalised and follow the -i-declension.

Traditional grammars of SMEA also group the following pronouns with this class of demonstrative pronouns –mainly because of their composition – using a demonstrative as the first part of the word. These “demonstrative pronouns” can be distinguished according to their ontological category:

a. amount/quantity (identity) pronouns, such as: Թթափու այսկան “so many, so much”, Թթափու այդկան “that much”, Թթափու այնկան “that much”; Թթափու մշակ “so much, as much” as well as Թթափու այսչար, Թթափու այնչար. These identical quantifiers are grouped with the class of quantifiers. In attributive use they co-occur with (countable) nouns in the plural.

b. place (identity) pronouns, such as: Թթափու aystel “here”, Թթափու aydteł “there”, Թթափու aynṭel “there”, and Թթափու nuynṭel “same place”. These “pronouns” are grouped with place adverbs in this grammar.
c. Manner (identity) pronouns, such as այսպիսի "such", այդպիսի "such", այնպիսի "such", այսպես "so, thus", այդպես "so, like that", այնպես "so, so long, so far". The forms in -ապսի -փես are mainly used in attributive function, the forms in -այսպես -այդպես are used in adverbial function and are syntactically grouped with manner adverbs in this grammar.

(203) հայկեան շենք է կառուցվել մեր փողոցում:
Aysk'an šenk'-er en kařuc'-v-el mer p'oloc'-um.
So many building-PL.NOM are build-pass-PTCP.PERF. our street-LOC.
“So many buildings have been built in our street.”

(204) հայկեան ժան մարդ են պահպանել է համարվել:
Aysk'an šat mard deš aystel ē'-ēr havak'-v-el.
So many many man.NOM until now here neg-it was gather-refl-PTCP.PERF.
“So many people had not gathered here until now.”

(205) նույնքան սառը ուսում կարելի է երգել տեղը կառույցի տակ: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)
es tan-n angam hac' ē'-un-em
1.NOM house-DAT-the even bread.NOM neg-have.PRES.1.SG
ut-el-u injan-ic' aydk' an p' oł en verc'n-um.
et-INF-DAT 1-ABL so much money.NOM they are take-PTCP.PRES
“I do not even have bread to eat at home, so much money do they take from me.”

(206) դու նույնքան դանդաղ ասեք:
Du nuynk'an ēnkuyz un-es …
You as many walnut.NOM have-PRES.2.SG. …
“You have as many walnuts (as…)”

(207) Քերենն է 4 հեռավորություն, տեղական վայրից, ուսում ընթացկության մասնագմբեթային կառույց, 14 բժշկական ամբուլատորիա: (Armenpress 13.05.2006)
Gorc'-um en 4 hivandanoc' nuynk'an poliklinika mek
work-PTCP.PRES. they are 4 hospital.NOM as many polyclinic.NOM 1
štap ţgrut'y-an marzayin kayan 14 bžikakan ambulatoria.
first aid-DAT provincial station.NOM 14 medical ambulatoria.NOM
“Four hospitals, as many policlinics, one provincial first aid-station and 14 medical ambulatoria function.”

(208) նույնքան դանդաղ ասեք և կարելի է երգել:
Nuynč' ap' p' ayt petk' ē jard-el val-va hamar.
Same quantity wood part is-it chop-INF tomorrow-DAT post
“As much wood must be chopped for tomorrow.”
Other “demonstrative pronouns”
In traditional grammars of SMEA the following lexemes are usually classified belonging to the demonstrative pronouns:

a. determiners such as ыму myus “other; the next; the following”. This determiner is very similar in meaning to adjectives like имвъш hajord “the next”, имвъшым hetewyal “the following” etc., which can be regarded as a quantifying adjective. ыму myus is used to choose between two or more persons or objects, and it refers to a specific person/object:

(209) ыму ыма, ыму орр ыма:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Valē} & \text{č-em ga} & \text{myus} & \text{ор-ė} \\
\text{Tomorrow} & \text{neg-come-COND.FUT.1.SG} & \text{next.NOM} & \text{day.NOM-the} \\
\text{kg-am.} & \\
\text{come-COND.FUT.1.SG} & \\
\end{array}
\]

“Tomorrow I will not come; I will come the next day.” (=day after tomorrow)
In this sentence: ыму myus has the same meaning as имвъш hajord “the next”.

If ыму myus is used with a noun in the plural, it expresses “the remaining, the other”, as in:

(210) ымъ ыму ымъымъ ымыръ ымыръ ымымъыръ ымымъыръ:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Isk} & \text{myus} & \text{kanayk'} & \text{amot'ic'} \\
\text{And other} & \text{woman-PL.NOM} & \text{shame-ABL} & \text{close-AOR-3.PL} \\
\text{other woman} & \text{mouth-PL.NOM-the} & \\
\end{array}
\]

“And the other women closed the(ir) mouths from shame.”

In attributive use ыму myus usually precedes its noun and assigns definiteness to it. This inherent definite meaning of ыму myus was probably the main reason to group it with the demonstratives in traditional grammars of SMEA. But this “fact” does not explain why “adjectives” like имвъш hajord, имвъшым hetewyal, ычъръ ыръ jin etc. also assign definiteness to their head noun and why these words are not classified as demonstratives.

The indefinite and non-specific counterpart of ыму myus, уръш uriš “other, any other” is usually traditionally classified as an indefinite pronoun.

(41) a. ыму ыма, ыму рр ыма:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Valē} & \text{č-em ga} & \text{mi} & \text{uriš} & \text{ор} \\
\text{Tomorrow} & \text{neg- I am come-PTCP.NEG. INDEF} & \text{other} & \text{day.NOM} \\
\text{kg-am.} & \\
\text{come-COND.FUT.1.SG.} & \\
\end{array}
\]

“Tomorrow I will not come; I will come another day.”

уръшuriš does not belong to the class of indefinite pronouns for several reasons. It is almost synonymous with the adjectives ычъръ tarber “different, unlike” and ыл ayl “other.”
2.4.4 Reciprocal Pronouns

A reciprocal pronoun is a pronoun that expresses a mutual feeling or action among the referents of a plural subject, i.e. an interchangeable or mutual action or relationship.

In MEA there are three synonymous reciprocal pronouns:

- հավ եր "each other, one another". This seems to be the most wide-spread and productive reciprocal pronoun in both written and spoken Armenian. The form հավի էր is particularly wide-spread in colloquial Armenian.
- միմյանջ "each other". This form is mainly used in written Armenian.
- մեքմեկու "one another". This is not a very productive form and less frequently used than the other reciprocal pronouns.

The reciprocal pronouns are inflected, but they have no nominative case for the subject and usually do not have a synthetic locative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun 1</th>
<th>Pronoun 2</th>
<th>Pronoun 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>հավ եր</td>
<td>մեքմեկու</td>
<td>միմյանջ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>հավի էր</td>
<td>մեքմեկու</td>
<td>միմյանջ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>հավով Բեր</td>
<td>մեքմեկու</td>
<td>միմյանջ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(211) Նրանք երի են հավ.

“They love each other.”

(212) Աշոտը նա Արամը հեռու ապրում են հավի.

“Ashot and Aram live far away from each other.”

(213) Կնորքերը ժամանել ավագե կուրթի համակարգ ու քալակապետի միմյանջ չէ ենթադարձ: (Հետկ’ 05.02.2007)

“During the discussions the members of the court and the mayor do not listen to each other.”

2.4.5 Indefinite Pronouns

In many traditional grammars of SMEA one can find a wide range of pronouns classified as indefinite pronouns.

The following words are definitely indefinite pronouns.

- վրհեղ այնչ’ “so-and-so”
- վրհեղ այնչ’ “so-and-so”
- բերվեղ երբեղ, բեռլը երբեղչ’ “sometime, ever”
- հուչի հուչ իշը-իշ “some, a kind of”
- հուչ-իռ իշը-իռ “a, an, some, a kind of”
- հուչ-իռ մեկի իշը-իռ մեկչ “someone”
- մեկչ մեկը “someone”
- մեկնւմեկի մեկնմեկը “someone” (used above all in colloquial Armenian)
- իռ մի բան “something”
- կու ոման “anyone, anybody, someone, somebody”
- կում ոման “some, some people”
- ուեղ, օրեղը “somebody, anybody”
- ուեղը օրեղը, ուեղը օրեղը “some; any”.

Traditionally, indefinite pronouns are subdivided into three “syntactic” groups – according to their syntactic function in a clause:


c. Adverbial: երբեղ երբեղ իշը-իռ երբեղ իշը-իռ “sometime, ever”, բեռլը երբեղչ’ “sometime, ever” “sometime, ever” etc.

In this grammar only those indefinite pronouns which are grouped in the class “indefinite pronouns” refer to “real” indefinite items. Indefinite pronouns are defined as pronouns, which are used if the exact identity of the person, thing or fact is not specified, i.e. identity/recognition indefiniteness. Thus lexemes expressing the indefinite number of persons or things, i.e. quantitative indefiniteness, are excluded from the class of indefinite pronouns and are grouped with quantifiers.

Thus, the currently used definition excludes the following “traditional indefinite pronouns” such as:

- ւառ բառու սամ “some”, վառ բառու սամ “some”, շան շար “a series, a range of”, ահ խառ սամ “a group of, a lot of...”, բառ բառ “some” (=non-specific quantifiers)
- ուրիշ, ուրիշ “other” (= non-specific determiners)
- որոշ, attributional ուն Omni. These expressions can be regarded as kinds of determiners, i.e. they assign a clearly specific reading to the nounphrase: i.e. as “a certain” (= specific determiners)

but includes the negative pronouns.

(215) Մենք պիտի կմարտ-էնք օրոշ հար-էր.
We discuss-DEB.FUT-1.PL certain question-PL.NOM
“We have to discuss certain questions.”

(216) Ուր-իմանք զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեր է զավադեров.

The indefinite pronouns in this grammar are semantically distinguished on the basis of their ontological categories:

- person: նու օվեր “somebody”, նու Omni “anyone, anybody, someone, somebody”, նու ոմանk “some, some people”, նու մեկ “one”.
- thing: թան բան, թան բան “something”.
- time: երբեր “sometime, ever”.
- place: ուեր “here”, ուեր “here” (are very seldomly used, almost obsolete).
- manner: դեր տեր “somehow”, աու-էր տեր է-որ տեր “somehow”, դեր եր ուեր “no way”.

In addition to simple indefinites- consisting just of the indefinite pronoun- there are also several compound indefinites: they have a word expressing an ontological category and a preceding indefinite marker.
Thus, SMEA has three series of indefinite pronouns distinguished by means of the above mentioned indefinite marker.

- specific: ḥỳz-ŋi inč'-or + stem
- non-specific: ṅũt orewe (orewicē) + stem
- negative: ṅ ōč' + stem

These indefinite markers are combined with the “stems” for ontological categories to express the various indefinite pronouns.

Additionally ṅũt orewe, ḥỳz-ŋi inč'-or, ṅ ōč' mi, can be used attributively with any noun to give this noun indefinite meaning.

(217) ԪՆՈՒՐԻՐ ՑԱՆԱՅԻՆ ԵՆ, ՈՐ ՔՈՐԻՆ ՀԱՐՑԻՐ ԱՊԱՐԻՇ ՏՐՈՒՆԻ:

Omank’ gtn-um en or nra harc'-ē
indef find-ptcp.pres. they are conj his question.nom-the
petk’ ē k’nn-el.
part it is examine-inf

“Some people think that his question has to be examined.”

(218) ՔՈՐԼՈՒՆ ՀՐԱՏԱՐԻՆ ԹԱԿ ՊԱՅՆԵԼՆԱ:

Kalak’-um inč'-or lur-er ēin ptt-v-um.
town-loc indef new-pl.nom they were circulate-anti-ptcp.pres.

“Some (specific) news was circulating in town.”

(219) ԴԱՇԵՔԱՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՑԱՆԱՅԻՆ ԵՆ ԼԱՆ ԱԿԲԱՐԻՆԱ:

na inč'-or žamanak bnak-v-el ē Los Angeles-um.
he.nom indef time.nom live(refl)-ptcp.perf. he is Los Angeles-loc

“He has lived for some time in Los Angeles.”

(220) ὜ΠΩΤΕ ՍՈՇԱՅՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆԱՅԻ’ՈՆ ՀԱՐՑԻՐՈՒՑ:

Orewē telekut’yun un-es im ūnker-ojic’?
indef information.nom have-pres.2.sg. my friend-abl

“Do you have any news from my friend?” (non-specific)

115. This sentence has a specific context; in neutral context, this sentence would rather be expressed without any indefinite pronoun, only with the indefinite noun:

(220) a. ՍՈՇԱՅՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆԱՅԻ’ՈՆ ՀԱՐՑԻՐՈՒՑ:

Telekut’yun un-es im ūnker-ojic’?
information-nom have-pres.2.sg. my friend-abl

“Do you have (any) news from my friend?”
Some indefinite pronouns can only be used in a certain context. In many contexts, only specific pronouns are possible. This is the case in affirmative declarative sentences in perfective past (= SMEA aorist) or in the ongoing present: the speaker is committed to the existence and identifiability of the pronoun.

In questions, however, both the specific and non-specific indefinite can be used, although it seems that the non-specific is more commonly used in questions. It may also depend on (slight!) semantic context (see below).

116. Ongoing present: although grammarians consider the analytical SMEA present tense as continuous, ongoing present, real continuous or ongoing reading/understanding of an utterance can only be stated by means of context or by means of time adverbs or temporal arguments like "now, just now, in this moment" etc.

117. Please note that this passive form derived from the transitive verb տանալ stanal “to get” is highly lexicalised in its meaning.
Chapter 2. Morphology

(226) գույք է որ կլիր է թաթու ի բերված կլիրոյ: (Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

perhaps some place. NOM fall-PTCP. PERF conj head. NOM

xpēl è?

hit-PTCP. PERF he is

Perhaps he has fallen somewhere and hit his head?"

(227) թե կարողանում ես տեղում գտնել ես թողնել մերիմասնությունը:

(Afavot 05.04.2006)

isk Hayastan-um ktesn-enk’ orewē erkr-i nerkaya’uč’-i?

conj Armenia-LOC see-COND. FUT. 1. PL any country- DAT representative- DAT

“But shall we see a representative of any country in Armenia?”

(228) էսանուրային կասկադ է որ երկրում ուտարված:

Partez-um xala-c’ol inč’-or erexa-(ner)-i tes-ar?

Park-LOC play-PTCP. SUB some child- PL-DAT see-AOR. 2. SG.

“Have you seen some children playing in the park?”

(228) a. էսանուրային կասկադ ենք երկրում (ուտարված):

Partez-um xala-c’ol orewē erexa-(ner)-i tes-ar?

Park-LOC play-PTCP. SUB some child- PL-DAT see-AOR. 2. SG.

“Have you seen any children playing in the park?”

COMMENT:

In (228) according to informants, the questioner already knows about the children in the park, maybe he/she has already seen them, thus specific meaning, whereas in (228a) the questioner asks a very general question, if, in general there have been children in the park, and if they have been playing, thus non-specific meaning.

But there are contexts in which preferably non-specific indefinites, i.e. նուած orewē may occur. These are often irrealis contexts and conditional protases:

(229) երբ ուրavity գարում հավաքված է, նուած պատճառ է կարողանում:

Et’e orewē mek-ē zangahar-i inj as-a!

conj-if anybody. NOM-the call-SUBJ. FUT. 3. SG. DAT tell-IMP. 2. SG.

“If anyone calls, tell me!”

(230) երբ կլիր է արագ թափում, մեծ է ի մարմին տալ, դառա թափ, կարողանում անց եու:

(Armenpress 14.01.2006)

et’e klini orewē problem menk’ el mard enk’

conj be-COND. FUT. 3. SG any problem. NOM we. NOM also human. NOM we are

hay enk’ Hayastan-ic’ enk’.

Armenian. NOM we are Armenia-ABL we are

“If there is any problem, we are also human, we are Armenian, we are from Armenia.”
In imperatives, polite questions and negation both specific and non-specific indefinite pronouns can be used – their use depends on the context and function (as mentioned above).

(231) Խոս-իր ուրու ուկի, եթե իմ չեմ բարում:
Xos-ir orewē mek-i het et'e lav ē'es zg-um!
Talk-IMP.2.SG anybody-DAT POST conj well neg-you are feel-PTCP.PRES.
"Talk to somebody if you do not feel well!"

Free choice indefinites are semantically similar to universal quantifiers like “every”. The SMEA free choice indefinites can be replaced by universal quantifiers; although there is a slight semantic difference between the universal quantifiers and the indefinite pronoun:

(232) Այս խնդիրը կարող է ուրու էնձեն:
Ays xndir-ē kar-ol ē orewē mek-ē luc-el.
This problem.nom-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is anyone.nom-the solve-INF
"Anyone can solve this problem."

(232) Այս խնդիրը կարող է անցյալ մեկը էնձեն:
Ays xndir-ē kar-ol ē amen mek-ē
This problem.nom-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is everyone.nom-the
luc-el.
solve-INF
"Everyone can solve this problem."

COMMENT: Whereas (232a) has a general/universal meaning, “Everybody can solve this problem”, (232) refers to a concrete, but unknown person in an unspecified group of persons, whilst the free choice meaning is, "Anybody can solve this problem".

This interpretation seems to involve the secondary semantic meaning of the indefinite pronouns ուրու orewē: although it is to be understood as primarily non-specific, it has also a kind of “partitive indefinite” meaning of one person/object etc. out of a group of persons/objects etc.

Thus, the indefinite pronouns in this grammar are divided into the following semantico-syntactic groups and can be used according to their content (specific, non-specific, negative) and in the given semantic-syntactic context:

- Specific հուս-ու ինչ-որ + ontological stem; preferably used in affirmative statements in the ongoing (continuous) present and aorist tense; in questions with affirmative replies
- Non-specific ուրու orewē + ontological stem; preferably used in questions; in protases and as free choice indefinites
- Direct negation ու ոչ ոչ “nobody”; ու ուկի oč' mekē “no one”; ուսու ոչ ինչ “nothing” and attributive ու ոչ մի
Negative Indefinites

- Person: \(\text{ŋ} \; \text{oč’} \; \text{ok’} \) “nobody”, \(\text{ŋ} \; \text{mekē} \) “no one”
- Thing: \(\text{ŋ} \; \text{mekē} \) “nothing”
- The negated indefinite article \(\text{ŋ} \; \text{mi} \) is only used attributively with all nouns.

The MEA negative indefinites are inherently negative and can also be used in elliptic context. Haspelmath calls these elliptic negatives “free standing negatives” (Haspelmath 1997:194)

(233) \(\text{Um} \; \text{het} \; \text{es} \; \text{handip-el?} \; \text{Oč’} \; \text{mek-i} \; \text{het.} \)

\(\text{Who.DAT} \; \text{POST} \; \text{you are} \; \text{meet-PTCP.PERF.} \; \text{nobody-DAT} \; \text{POST} \)

“With whom have you met? With nobody.”

The MEA negative indefinites obligatorily co-occur with verbal negation.118

(234) \(\text{Ays} \; \text{k’alak’-um} \; \text{oc’} \; \text{mek-i-n} \; \text{č’-em} \; \text{čanač’-um.} \)

This town-LOC nobody-DAT-the neg-I am know-PTCP.PRES.

“In this town I know nobody.”

(235) \(\text{patkerac’-ek’} \; \text{oc’} \; \text{mi} \; \text{tlamard} \; \text{inj} \; \text{č’-ōgnec’} \; \text{ays} \)

imagine-IMP.2.PL. neg a man.NOM I.DAT neg-help-AOR.3.SG this

harc’-um.

question-LOC

“Imagine, not one man (nobody) helped me in this question.”

(236) \(\text{ev} \; \text{karto}f’\text{-ic’} \; \text{bac’i} \; \text{oč’inc’} \; \text{č’-i} \; \text{ač’-um.} \)

conj potato-ABL POST nothing neg-it is grow-PTCP.PRES.

“And except potatoes nothing grows.”

When the indefinite pronouns are used as nouns (nominalised), they can be inflected following the i-declension.

2.4.6 Traditional Definite Pronouns = Universal Quantifiers
In all traditional grammars of SMEA there is a pronouns subclass, called definite pronouns. Following the traditional definition, these definite pronouns express the object's/person's quantitative completeness (unity) or the completeness (unity) of a single object/person.

These traditional definite pronouns have been subdivided into three semantic groups:

- definite pronouns, expressing the general completeness of subjects, without stressing which objects are included into this completeness/unity: MEA վառես amenk’ė “all people”, բոլոր bolor(ė) “all”.

- definite pronouns, that show the quantitative completeness and stress which items are one-by-one included in this completeness, վառես amen “every; each”, յուրաքանչյուր yurakan’čyur “each, every”; վառես որ amen ok/mekė “everybody”, վառես հաս amen inc “everything”; վառես ին amen mi “each”, վառես մեկ amen mekė “everyone”, յուրաքանչյուր որ yurakan’čyur ok’ “each one, every one”. (=distributive quantifiers)

- definite pronouns that show the completeness of a single subject (collective or not collective), in MEA ող olj “whole”, յուրաքանչյուր ambolj “all, whole, entire”, համայն hamayn “all, whole”. (=collective quantifiers)

In modern linguistic grammars the group of definite pronouns is usually a subgroup of quantifiers, which is also true in this grammar.

As a rule, universally quantified nouns are semantically definite, and in MEA nouns are marked with the definite article if combined with universal quantifiers. The universal quantifiers can be distinguished into two groups:

- collective quantifiers, meaning all, whole.
- distributive quantifiers, meaning each, every.

Apart from semantic differences they differ from each other within their syntax: whether or not they can be the subject of a “collective” verb: i.e. collective quantifiers can be subjects of collective verbs, but not distributive.

(237) Այսօր պատահանություն հայտարարվել է գրադարանում.
Bolor usanol-ner-ė havak’-v-el en gradaran-um.
All.NOM student-PL.NOM-the gather-refl-PTCP.PERF. they are library-LOC
“All the students gathered in the library.”

(237) a. *Այսօր պատահանություն հայտարարվել է գրադարանում.
Amen usanol havak’-v-el ē gradaran-um.
Every.NOM student.NOM gather-refl-PTCP.PERF. he is library-LOC
*“Every student gathered in the library.”
In MEA there are the two semanto-syntactic groups of universal quantifiers:

- collective quantifiers: ամենքʼ ամենքʼ “all people”, բոլոր “all”; as well as MEA ողջ “whole”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”, համայն “all, whole”.

- distributive quantifiers are those which stand for the names of persons or things considered singly: ամեն “every, each”, ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”, հանի “all, whole”.

The following universal quantifiers can be nominalised: ամենքʼ “all people”, բոլոր “all; ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ, հանի “all, whole” can also be used attributively.

Collective quantifiers always assign the plural to the verb, if used as the subject, and to the noun, if used as the quantifying attribute:

(238) դրա արդյունք-է շուտում բոլոր-է կտես-է
that.gen result-pl.nom-the soon all.nom-the see-cond.fut.3.pl
“All will soon see the results of that.”

(239) ոչինչ չէ այնպիսի բոլոր մեռած է, որը այնպիսի ամբոլջ ամեն-է սպառվածած
As Adam-inst all.nom-the die-ptcp.pres. they are as well Christ-inst
ամեն-է պիտի կերծած-է
distributed all people.nom-the resurrect-deb.fut.3.pl.
“All pupils have gathered in the school’s library.”

Collective quantifiers are those which stand for the names of persons or things considered singly: ամեն “every, each”, ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”, հանի “all, whole”. ամենքʼ պուր ամեն ok/եկջ “everybody”, ամեն էջ “everything”. ամեն ուր պուր ամեն եկջ “everyone”, ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”.

The collective quantifiers բոլոր, ողջ, ամբոլջ, համայն and the distributive quantifiers ամեն, ռազարանք “everybody”, ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”, հանի “all, whole” can also be used attributively.

Collective quantifiers are those which stand for the names of persons or things considered singly: ամեն “every, each”, ռազարանք “every, each”, ամբոլջ “all, whole, entire”, հանի “all, whole” can also be used attributively.

Collective quantifiers always assign the plural to the verb, if used as the subject, and to the noun, if used as the quantifying attribute:

(238) դրա արդյունք-է շուտում բոլոր-է կտես-է
that.gen result-pl.nom-the soon all.nom-the see-cond.fut.3.pl
“All will soon see the results of that.”

(239) ոչինչ չէ այնպիսի բոլոր մեռած է, որը այնպիսի ամբոլջ ամեն-է սպառվածած
As Adam-inst all.nom-the die-ptcp.pres. they are as well Christ-inst
ամեն-է պիտի կերծած-է
distributed all people.nom-the resurrect-deb.fut.3.pl.
“All pupils have gathered in the school’s library.”

119. ամեն-է սպառված is rarely used; it is more or less obsolete and can be used only in a few contexts.
(241) Vardan-ĕ katarec’ ambolj ašxatank’-ĕ.
    Vardan-the fulfill-AOR.3.SG. all.NOM work.NOM-the
    “Vardan finished the whole work.”

(242) Hamayn hayut’yun-ĕ mec šuk’-ov è nš-um
    Whole.NOM Armenians.NOM-the big luxury-INST it is celebrate-PTCP.PRES
    ayd ton-ĕ.
    that festivity.NOM-the.
    “All Armenians (lit. the whole Armenian people) celebrate that festivity with big luxury.”

- Distributive quantifiers always assign the singular to the verb, if used as the subject, and to the noun, if used as the quantifying attribute:

(243) Amen mek-ĕ nver stac’ av.
    Everyone.NOM-the present.NOM receive-AOR.3.SG
    “Everyone received a present.”

(244) Amen inte’ cack-v-ec’ jyan spitak savan-i tak.
    Everything.NOM cover-pass-AOR.3.SG snow-DAT white sheet-DAT post
    “Everything was covered under the white sheet of snow.”

(245) Amen mi erexa git-i ayd harc’-i pataxsan-ĕ.
    Every child know-PRES.3.SG that question-DAT answer.NOM-the.
    “Every child knows the answer to that question.”

(246) Yurak’anč’yur kalakac’i partavor ē katarel-u ir
    Each citizen.NOM obliged he is fulfil-INF-DAT his
    partakanut’yun-ner-ĕ.
    duty-PL.NOM-the
    “Each citizen is obliged to fulfil his duties.”

Those universal quantifiers that can also be nominalised or that are only used in a nominalised way can be inflected in singular following the i-declension.
## 2.4.7 Interrogative and Relative Pronouns

The subgroup of MEA interrogative pronouns comprises the following ontological groups:

- **person (human)** `n’ý ov “who?”
- **subject/thing** `h’úg `inc’? “what?”
- **quality** `n’ or “which?”; `h’úgwaši `inc’pisí/n’yamwísí `orpísí? “what? what kind of?”
- **quantity** `pam’i káni “how many/much?” `h’úgwaši `inc’káni/n’yamwí `orkán “how many/much?”; `h’úgwaši `inc’caní/n’yamwí `or’ap’
- **time** `ñí–páp `erb “when?” `búmwaši `g er`vanic’ “since when?”
- **place** `n’yamwa ortel, `n’i–ur “where?”, `n’i–ur “where to?”; `n’yamwa ortelc’ “where from?”
- **manner** `h’úgwam `inc’pes “how?”
- **cause** `húgn’i `inc’u “why?”

The interrogative pronoun `n’ý ov refers exclusively to (+ human) nouns, and is only used as a pronouns in sensu stricto. It can also be used in the plural, but only in the nominative plural.

(247)  `n’ý t qjë “who?”

\[
\text{Ov } \overset{\text{gir}}{e} \text{ -dr- } \text{selan-i-n?}
\]

“Who has put the book on the table?”

(248)  `númwa ušawini t `pamwi:yí

\[
\text{Anna-n } \text{tesn-um } \overset{\text{e}}{\text{Aram-i-n.}}
\]

“Anna sees Aram.”

(248)  a.  `n’ý t ušawini `pamwi:yí

\[
\text{Ov } \overset{\text{e}}{\text{tesn-um } \overset{\text{Aram-i-n?}}{\text{Aram-i-n?}}}
\]

“Who sees Aram?”

b.  `númwa – `n’ý t ušawini:

\[
\text{Anna-n } \overset{\text{um}}{\text{tesn-um?}}
\]

“Whom does Anna see?”

(249)  `núpíkè bù `pamwašawini ušawini `pamwašiyí

\[
\text{Ov-ker } \overset{\text{en}}{\text{patrast- } \text{tnayin ašxatank-ner-?}}
\]

“Who has prepared the homework?”

(250)  `númwa ušawini t `pamwašawini

\[
\text{Anna-n } \text{tesn-um } \overset{\text{e}}{\text{aškert-ner-i-n.}}
\]

“Anna sees the pupils.”
(250)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
\text{NOM} & \text{nų} & \text{ov} & \text{nųγῃ} & \text{ovκէr} \\
\text{DAT} & \text{nų} & \text{um} \\
\text{ABL} & \text{nųŋ̡ğ} & \text{um-ic’} \\
\text{INST} & \text{nųŋ̡ŋ̡} & \text{um-ov} \\
\text{LOC} & \text{nų Ź̓ęq̃} & \text{um mej} \\
\end{array}
\]

As can be seen in the examples above, it is not possible to use a plural form of the interrogative pronoun \(nų\ ov\) in oblique cases.

The interrogative pronoun \(h̓ų̞̊̃g̓̊̑̂́̓  \text{iņ’} \) refers primarily to things/subjects (-human). It also, however, secondarily refers to (+animate, –human) nouns, e.g. animals. It can also be used in the plural, and is inflected following the i-declension.

(251)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Inč’} & \text{ēin xos-um im masin?} \\
\text{Wh-what.NOM they were speak-PTCP.PRES. I.GEN POST?} \\
\text{“What were they saying about me? “} \\
\end{array}
\]

(252)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Anuš-ē} & \text{sunk ē havak’-um.} \\
\text{Anuš.NOM-the mushroom.NOM she is collect-PTCP.PRES. “Anuš collects mushrooms.”} \\
\end{array}
\]

(252)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Inč’ ē havak’-um Anuš-ē?} \\
\text{Wh-what.NOM she is collect-PTCP.PRES. Anuš.NOM-the. “What does Anuš collect?”} \\
\end{array}
\]

(253)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Anuš-ē havak’-um ē calik-ner.} \\
\text{Anuš.NOM-the pick-PTCP.PRES. she is flower-PL.NOM “Anuš picks flowers.”} \\
\end{array}
\]

(253)  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Inč’-er ē havak’-um Anuš-ē?} \\
\text{Wh-what-PL.NOM she is pick-PTCP.PRES. Anuš.NOM-the “What does Anuš pick?”} \\
\end{array}
\]
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(254) Նարայ բարձր է շոբ:

\[ \text{Nara-n} \quad \text{siř-um} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{š-ner}. \]

Nara.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES she is dog-PL.NOM

“Nara loves dogs.”

(254) a. Հիշյիւ է բարձր Նարայ:

\[ \text{Inč'-er} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{siř-um} \quad \text{Nara-n?} \]

Wh-what.NOM-PL she is love-PTCP.PRES. Nara.NOM-the

“What does Nara love?”

Note: if the +animate/–human noun is not used in a general sense, it is primarily regarded as +animate, and as such it behaves like other +animate nouns in the function of the direct object of a transitive verb and it shows the dative case as direct object case:

(255) Նարայ բարձր է դար:

\[ \text{Nara-n} \quad \text{siř-um} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{ir \ šan-ê}. \]

Nara.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. she is her dog-DAT-the

“Nara loves her dog.”

(255) a. Նարայ – Հիշյիւ է բարձր:

\[ \text{Nara-n} \quad \text{inč'-i-n} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{siř-um?} \]

Nara.NOM-the wh-what-DAT-the she is love-PTCP.PRES.

“What (animal) does Nara love?”

In this sentence, “what?” refers to a +animate/–human noun.

Respectively

(256) Նարայ բարձր է դար:

\[ \text{Nara-n} \quad \text{siř-um} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{ir \ š-ner-i-n}. \]

Nara.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. she is her.NOM dog-PL-DAT-the

“Nara loves her dogs.”

(256) a. Հիշյիւ է բարձր Նարայ:

\[ \text{Inč'-er-i-n} \quad \epsilon \quad \text{siř-um} \quad \text{Nara-n?} \]

Wh-what-PL-DAT-the she is love-PTCP.PRES. Nara.NOM-the

“What does Nara love?”

In this sentence, “what?” in dative plural refers to +animate/–human noun in plural.

Note: in (255) and (256a) in colloquial Armenian, speakers may even use the interrogative for persons, i.e. ու ու “who”, respectively for the asking for the direct object ու ու “whom?”.

- ու or “which?” refers to a qualitative feature of a thing or person and is used to refer to a certain person or thing in a group/collection, thus this pronoun is mainly used in
the attributive function. If this interrogative pronoun is nominalised by means of the definite article, it refers to both (+human) and (–human) nouns.120

(257) Հայ ո՞ր գրող եք շատ սիրում;

Hay or groł-i-n es šat sir-um?
Armenian wh-which.nom author-dat-the you are much love-ptcp.pres.
“Which Armenian author do you like very much?”

(258) Ո՞ր քաղկային համարվում:

Or կալակ'-ic’ ek-av Arami dasaxos-է?
Wh-which.nom town-abl come-3.aor.3sg Aram-dat lecturer.nom-the
“From which town did Aram’s lecturer come?”

(259) Ո՞ր ու ազգանուն համարվում:

Or-n ays erk-3.sg-ic’ italač’i-n?
Wh-which.nom-the his two-abl Italian.nom-the
“Which of these two is Italian?”

(260) Այս երբ ֆիլմեր ո՞ր երեք իտալական են;

Ays ēfers film-3.pl-ic’ or-է kaťajark-3.aor inj?
This four film-pl-abl wh-which.nom-the recommend-cond.past.2.sg 1.dat
“Which of these four films would you recommend to me?”

This pronoun is inflected following the i-declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ներ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>ներ(ի)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ներղ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>ներդա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>որեք</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Հինգերի* inč’pisik, որեքեր *orpisik? “what? what kind of?” are synonymous. որեք *orpis is almost obsolete, in colloquial MEA and it is rarely used in written MEA.
These interrogative pronouns of quality are mainly used attributively. The nominalised plural forms of the interrogative pronouns հինգեր inč’pisik, որեքեր orpisik’ are almost obsolete and, if used, only in highly scientific texts.

(261) Ինչիպիսի ուրար տար Արան;

Inč’pisik marlo է ayd Ara-n?
Wh-what kind of.nom person.nom he is that.nom Ara.nom-the
“What kind of person is that Ara?”

120. As contrast to Asatryan’s suggestions, that nominalised որ or-է only refers to things. (Asatryan 2004: 178f.)
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(262) հիման “պարն ըղութ:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inč’pisi} & \quad \text{grk’-er} & \quad \text{gnee’-ir?} \\
\text{Wh-what kind of.} & \quad \text{book-PL.} & \quad \text{buy-AOR.2.sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

“What kind of books did you buy?”

Note: the interrogative pronoun հիման “inč’pisi can be replaced by the interrogative pronoun ինչ “inč’ with the same meaning though հիման “inč’pisi is used in literary style.

(261) a. ինչ այսպես է այդ Արա-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inč’} & \quad \text{mard} & \quad \text{է} & \quad \text{ayd Ara-n?} \\
\text{Wh-what.} & \quad \text{person.} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{is that.} & \quad \text{ARANOM-the}
\end{align*}
\]

“What kind of person is that Ara?”

(262) a. ինչ գնդու գնում:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inč’} & \quad \text{grk’-er} & \quad \text{gnee’-ir?} \\
\text{Wh-what} & \quad \text{book-PL.} & \quad \text{buy-AOR.2.sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

“What kind of books did you buy?”

The interrogative pronouns թառ “how many/much?”, թառք “inč’kăn/երք “orkăn “how many/much?”, թաքց “inč’cap’/երց “oreč’ refer to a quantitative feature of a person or a thing/subject.

թառ “kani “kander and its synonym երջիր “orerord, “the how-manyeth121 “ask for the position of a person/thing in a row. It is formed by means of the interrogative pronouns թառ “kani and եր or and the “ordinal number”-suffix -երջիր -erord. Because of the meaning and the suffix, these pronouns always assign definiteness to its head noun. While թառ “kani “kander is used both in spoken and written Armenian, երջիր “orerord is mainly used in colloquial style.

(263) թառ “kani “կամյա է սա, որ այսպիսի նկատվո է:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kanierord} & \quad \text{gnaeck’-n} & \quad \text{է} & \quad \text{sa} & \quad \text{or} & \quad \text{aysör} \\
\text{Wh-how-manyeth} & \quad \text{train.NOM-the} & \quad \text{it} & \quad \text{is this} & \quad \text{REL.NOM today} & \quad \text{ušan-um} & \quad \text{է?} \\
\text{be late-PTCP.PRES.} & \quad \text{it} & \quad \text{is}
\end{align*}
\]

“The how-manyeth train is this, which arrives late today?”

(264) երջր “erord “երջերեսնատվո է այդ:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Orerord} & \quad \text{dasaran-um} & \quad \text{է} & \quad \text{ayz&m?} \\
\text{Wh-how} & \quad \text{manyeth} & \quad \text{class-LOC} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{is now?}
\end{align*}
\]

“In the how-manyeth class is he now?” i.e. “In which class is he now?”

---

121. This interrogative is very marginal in English.
“how many/much?” is used to ask for the number of countable persons/subjects/things and is attributively used; its head noun appears in the singular.

(265) կանի թարկան է?

*Kani* tarekan es?

Wh-how many.NOM year-PL.NOM you are

“How many years are you?” (= How old are you?)

(266) կանի թանի թվածի?

*Kani* tun en aycêl-el?

Wh-how many.NOM house.NOM they are visit-PTCP.PERF.

“How many houses have they visited?”

If the pronoun is nominalised by means of the definite article it can also be used in the plural and in inflected case forms.

(267) կանիս-ն թվի աղբյուր այլուս, կանիս-է ավ.

*Kanis-n* en ayd hacêric’ spitak

Wh-how many-PL.NOM-the they are that.NOM bread-PL-ABL white

*kanis-é sew?*

wh-how many-PL.NOM-the black

“How many of those breads are white, how many black?”

NOM կանիս կանիս-է

DAT կանիսի կանիս-ի(n)

ABL կանիսից կանիս-իс’

INST կանիսիուց կանիս-իու

LOC կանիսից կանիս-իմ

ինչքան/որքան/որքոʀքան “how many/much?” are synonyms (counting measure), as well as ինչքան ինչքան որքան и En ‘since when?’ refer to time and are adverbially used. The basic interrogative pronoun is բերբեր երբ “when?”,
which can be inflected, but the most widespread forms are the basic form and the ablative form:

(270) թե զինվորյանդուք զինվորու։

Erb veradarj-ar Erewan-ic’?
When did you return from Yerevan?

(271) թեռբակողպայե դեռ զինվու։

Erb-vanic’ giť-es dra masin?
Since when do you know about that?

The interrogative pronouns որոնմե որտել “where?” , որոնուր որտելիկ’ “where from?” refer to a place and are adverbially used.

In colloquial MEA որոնչն որտել “where to” , is commonly used both as a basic interrogative pronoun referring to place, meaning “where” and thus substitutes the literary որոնմե որտել “where?” and as questioning for the direction of an action.

In written MEA, however, որոնչ որտել “where to” can only be used to ask for a direction of an action.

(272) Գրքերը – որոնմե եւ գտնենի։

Grk’-er-s ortel en gtn-v-um?
Where are my books (located)?

(272) a. Գրքերը – որոնուր Եւ:

Grk’-er-s ur en?
Where are my books?

(273) որոնչ կար դեռ գտնենի:

Ur es dr-er-grk’-er-s?
Where have you put my books?

(274) Վարդանի մի փոքրերը:

Vardan-ē ur Ṇ gnac’-el?
Where has Vardan gone (to)?

Excursus
The adverbial place interrogative pronoun որոնուր որտել “where?” (etymologically consisting of որ or “which” and որոնչ որտել “place”, lit. “which place”) occurs also combined with possessive suffixes or even the definite article:
As-a ortel-d è cav-um?
Say-imp.2.sg wh-where-your it is hurt-ptcp.pres.
“Say, where does it hurt you?” (meaning: which part of you hurts you?)

Ortel-n è t'ry-v-el?
Wh-where-the it is wet-pass-ptcp.perf.
“Where has he/she/it got wet?” (meaning: which part of him/her/it has got wet)

This use of the adverbial place interrogative pronoun is wide-spread in colloquial Armenian, but can also be found in written Armenian.

The interrogative pronoun հայքաբ Ցէŏpes “how?” refers to the manner of an action and is adverbially used.

Armen-i tla-n inćepes è sovor-um?
Armen-dat boy.nom-the wh-how he is learn-ptcp.pres.
“How does Armen’s boy (son) learn?”

In colloquial MEA the pronoun ն ու Ց ոնց “how?” usually substitutes հայքաբ Ցէŏpes “how?”:

Armen-i tla-n onc’ è sovor-um?
Armen-dat boy.nom-the wh-how he is learn-ptcp.pres.
“How does Armen’s boy (son) learn?”

The interrogative pronoun հաջին Ցէ “why?” refers to the reason or the cause of an action and is adverbially used.

In colloquial Armenian հաջի Ցէ “why?” is commonly replaced by հաջ Ցէ Ց’ “why?” or even dialectal հաջ Ցի “why?”.

Secondary Uses of Interrogative Pronouns
Interrogative pronouns may be used as relative pronouns in relative clauses.
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(279) ופןיה₇, ומנית ופייה ציימ.

Ov or kg-a as-a
Wh-who.NOM REL.NOM come-COND.FUT.3.SG say-IMP.2.SG
tan- её mard e'-ka.
house-DAT-the man.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3.SG

“Whoever comes, say, there is nobody at home.”

(280) ופןיה₇, ומנית ופייה ציימ.

Na ov kluc-i ays haneluk-ê
That.NOM ov wh-who.NOM unravel-COND.FUT.3.SG this riddle.NOM-the
tkstan-a t'agavorut'ý-an kes-ê.
receive-COND.FUT.3.SG kingdom-DAT half.NOM-the

“The one who will unravel this mystery, will receive the half of the kingdom.”

(281) ופןיה₇, ומנית ופייה ציימ.

Ayn int' mez e'-i bavarar-um
That.NOM wh-what.NOM we.DAT neg-it is satisfy-PTCP.PRES.
petak'é kând-v-i ew krkin kafuc'-v-i.
destroy-PASS-DEB.FUT.3.SG conj again build-PASS-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“That, which does not satisfy us, must be destroyed and again be built.”

(282) ופןיה₇, ומנית ופייה ציימ.

K'uyr-s k-ga ayn žamanak
Sister.NOM-my come-COND.FUT.3.SG that time.NOM
erb ašxatank'-s avart-ac klin-em.
wh-when work.NOM-my finish-PTCP.PRES. be-COND.FUT.1.SG

“My sister will come at that time, when I have finished my work.”

(283) ופןיה₇, ומנית ופייה ציימ.

Gnac'-ink' ayn partez-ê ortel šat calik-ner
Go-AOR.1.PL that garden.NOM-the wh-where many flower-PL.NOM
k-an.
exist-PRES.3.PL

“We went to that garden, where there are many flowers.”

The pronoun ṗ or is regarded as a “real” relative pronoun, or relative pronoun in sensu stricto: it refers to an immediate preceding noun, noun phrase or sentence and serves to introduce attributive subordinate (relative) clauses.

Regarding the reference of ṗ or to nouns or noun phrases, it can be used for + and –animate head nouns.
(284) Ան գիրք-ի ես կարդի, որ այնտեղ ես եկում:
Ayn  girl'-n  em  kardac'-el  or  nvir-el
That book.nom-the  I am  read-ptcp.perf. rel.nom  give-ptcp.perf.

dir  inj.
you were 1.dat
“I have read that book that you had given to me.”

(285) Տես Արմենի, որ հու դաշնակից էի:
Tes-a  Armen-i-n  or-ê  im  dasenker-n  êr.
See-aor.1.sg  Armenian-dat-the  rel.nom-the  my  schoolfriend.nom-the  he  was
“I saw Armen who used to be my classmate.”

(286) Տն-ը, որ տես եմ Գրիգորի:
Tun-ê  or  sin-el  ê  Grigor-ê  šat.
House.nom-the  rel.nom  build-ptcp.perf.  it  is  Grigor.nom-the  very
mec  ê.
big  it is
“The house that Grigor has built is very big.”

(287) Ան դերասան-ի ես խոսի, որ դա անհատական է, իսպանյան:
Ayn  derasan-ê  or-i  masin  xos-um  êin
That actor.nom-the  rel-dat  post  talk-ptcp.pres.  they  were
kg-a  erokoyan.
come-cond.fut.3.sg  evening.
“The actor, about whom they were talking, will come in the evening.”

(288) Հանդիպեց-ի տղաներ-ի-ն ես զավակաշնչում էմ Հայաստան-ից. :
Handipec'-i  tla-ner-i-n  or-ørk'  veradarj-el
meet-aor.1.sg  boy-pl-dat-the  rel-pl.nom  return-ptcp.perf.
êin  Hayastan-ic'.
they were  Armenia-ABL
“I met the boys that had returned from Armenia.”

In spoken, and with increasing frequency also in written, MEA the singular form որ  or  is commonly used to refer to a plural noun (phrase): the finite verb (or the auxiliary) of the subordinate relative clause however has to appear in the plural. Also in colloquial MEA very often the plural form of the verb is replaced by the singular form because of the over-generalisation of the singular relative pronoun:

(289) Մանկու ես, որ այս պարզ բան է հանդիպի:
Mard-ik  k-an  or  ays  parz  ban-ê
Man-pl.nom  exist-presp.3.pl  rel.nom  this  simple  thing.nom-the
č'-en haskan-um.
NEG-they are understand-PTCP.PRES.

“There are people that do not understand this simple thing.”

(290) Մարդ-կ-անց’ հետ հանդիպում-ներ են լին-ում
Man-PL-DAT POST meeting-PL.NOM they are exist-PTCP.PRES.
or կեզ ազուղած տպավոր-ում է.
REL.NOM you.DAT deeply impress-PTCP.PRES. it is

“There are meetings with people that deeply impress you.”

Paradigm of the relative pronoun see p. 150.

Sometimes the interrogative pronoun ենч’ մեռ is used to replace որ or, particularly in those subordinate clauses which refer to an inanimate noun (phrase):

(291) Դա այն չ-է մեռ էմ ւզ-ում.
That that-DEM neg-it is REL.NOM I am want-PTCP.PRES.

“This is not (that,) what I want.”

Note: the interrogative and relative pronoun որ or should not be mistaken for the conjunction որ or “that, in order to”, which is a synonym to the conjunction օրբեցի orpeszi, especially in spoken Armenian. However, it is not used in the beginning of the clause, where օրբեցի orpeszi is preferably used.

(292) Նունդի Եր, որ պառքեր:
Ut-ում էնկ’ մեռ ապր-էնկ’.
eat-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ live-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL

“We eat in order to survive.”

(292) ա. Նունդի Եր, օրբեցի ապարդա:
Ut-ում էնկ օրբեցի ապր-էնկ’.
Eat-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ live-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL

“We eat in order to survive.”

(293) Օրբեցի Նահապետացման համաձայն այս հավասարություն,
Orpeszi karolam-անկ’ մասնակց’-ել այդ համերգ-ի-ն
CONJ can-SUBJ.1.PL participate-INF that concert-DAT-the

պատվի պատվուրմը ծրագրելյա:
piti patvir-էնկ’ մեռ տոմս-եր-է.
buy-DEB.FUT.1.PL our ticket-PL.NOM-the

“In order to be able to participate at that concert, we have to book our tickets.”
The conjunction կան (inɛ') can also be used in the function of a conjunction, meaning “that; after that; since (that time); where” and thus often replaces the synonym conjunctions ո՞ր or ո՞ր երբ է. As such it is used in spoken and in written Armenian; seemingly with a noticeable preference in written Armenian.

(294) Մեկ շաբաթ է կան անջրեա է գալ-ի.  
One week.NOM it is conj rain.NOM it is come-PTCP.PRES.  
“ It has been raining for one week.” (lit: It is one week that rain is falling?)

(295) Երկար ժամանակ է կան եղբոր-ից հար է-ում.  
Long time.NOM it is conj brother-ABL news.NOM neg-have-PRES.1.SG  
“It is a long time, since I have had news from my brother.”

(296) Կան քիչ-ի ուրախ-ում Երևան.  
conj little-ABL happiness-refl is Yerevan.  
“Since my sister has moved to Yerevan, I often miss her.”

Such a sentence is more typical for colloquial Armenian; in written Armenian the following synonymous sentences would be

(296) a. Այն ժամանակ-ից կան քիչ-ի ուրախ-ում:  
That time-ABL conj little-ABL happiness-refl is  
“Since my sister has moved to Yerevan, I often miss her.”

Interrogative pronouns are also used as direct antecedents of the “real” relative pronoun ո՞ր or, without any change in the meaning of these pronouns.

For example: ո՞ր է կան, ո՞րքան են կան երբ or, ո՞ր է կան ո՞ր, ո՞րքան են որեու որ, ո՞րքան են որտեղ or, ո՞րքան են երբ or etc.

(297) Գրիգոր-է ան-ում է կան օր.  
Grigor-the do-PTCP.PRES. he is wh-what.NOM REL.NOM
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2. Verbs

2.1 Classification of Verbs

Verbs can be classified according to:

1. semantic types: semantic verb classes generalise over verbs according to their semantic properties, i.e. they capture large amounts of verb meaning without defining the idiosyncratic details for each verb,
2. morphological types (synthetic : analytic; stem verbs; derived verbs),
3. clause types (“transitivity”),
4. aspect/Aktionsart types (perfective : imperfective, progressive : habitual),
5. diathesis type.

uz-um ē.
want-PTCP.PRES. he is

“Grigor does what he likes.”

- Interrogative pronouns may also be used in indirect questions, introduced by the conjunction թե “what; whether”:

(298) Օղներ, թե հույն է զգացում ապա գիր.

Č'-git-em t'ē inē ē nšanak-um ays bař-ē.
NEG-know-PRES.1.SG. CONJ wh-what it is mean-PTCP.PRES. this word.NOM-the

“I do not know what this word means.”

(299) Վահան է զգացում է իմանալ թե ով է այս规范.

Vahan-ē uz-um ē iman-al t'ē ov ē
Vahan.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. he is know-INF CONJ wh-who she is
ays kin-ē.
this woman.NOM-the

“Vahan wants to know who this woman is.”

- The interrogative pronouns are also often used in exclamations, and can be called “exclamative pronouns” in this function:

(300) Հույսակ կարգած են զարգացում:

Inē'pisī ūnker ēr Vardan-ē!
Wh-what a kind of friend.NOM he was Vardan.NOM-the

“What a (kind of) friend was Vardan!”
2.5.1.1 Semantic verb classes

a. Weather verbs

Weather verbs are weather indicating verbs, such as անջրվի այսպէս anjrew ē galis “it rains”, ճուռն այսպէս jyun ē galis “it snows”, քարկուդ այսպէս karkut ē galis “it hails”, պրեպեր有效的ly pr'p'rel “to froth”, մողենց molegnel “storm”, դոթեթալ orotal “thunder”, անջրվի այսպէս amprop ē “it thunders”, ափամարտական p'aylatakel “to lighten, be cold, be hot, be light, be dark”, քատերի ունարկության amperov cackvel “to get cloudy”, մեզ միզ el “to overcast”, դերբայութասպէս erekoayanal “to dawn, to darken, to become evening”, ունարկության lusanel “to dawn”, etc.

Characteristics:
- they are intransitive
- they cannot be passivised or causativised.
- they have no real subject, but represent “impersonal” constructions with exception of the “precipitation” expressions, which are usually formed with the motion verb “to go” and the “weather nouns” (rain, snow, hail etc.) as subject in nominative case.

(301) անջրվի այսպէս:

anjrew ē gal-is.

rain.nom it is go-ptcp.pres.

“It rains. It is raining.”

b. States/Stative Verbs

States or stative verbs are verbs that express a state or condition state rather than an action, such as the auxiliary verb ելտել linel “to be”. They are used as predicate nominals or adjectives.

(302) կարուագահ կառուագահ է:

Vardan-է usanoł ē.

Vardan.nom-the student.nom he is

“Vardan is a student.”

(303) կարուագահ կառուագահ է:

Vardan-է cuyl ē.

Vardan.nom-the lazy he is

“Vardan is lazy.”

c. Bodily Function Verbs

These denote the involuntary processes of one's body; they do not however involve a change of state, such as հառպել hazel “to cough”, հիրոտակալ p ' rștal “to sneeze”, պողոտ p'sxel “to vomit”, կկտել krtnel “to sweat”, միան mizel “to urinate”, տիկ el “to shit” etc.

Characteristics:
- they are always intransitive and co-occur with (+human) subjects,
- the passivisation is restricted mainly by the lexical entry of the verb; with some bodily function verbs, passivisation is possible in metaphorical use,
they can be causativised: depending on the verb semantics, they can be morphologically causativised by means of -ğuş- -ç'n-', and analytically by means of the tal and the infinitive.

(304) Շնչան ին է ձտետդեմ, եթե նահենականությունը և է ձտետդեմ է նահենական աշխատանքը հանդերձականությունը: (Grakanut’yun 6: 103)

prştum en te mužik-ner-ê te sneeze-PTCP.PRES they are CONJ mužiķ-PL.NOM-the CONJ
ostikanapet-er-ê ew te erbmn el m unnisk police governor-PL.NOM-the CONJ CONJ sometimes also even
galtni xorhrdakan-ner-ê. secret service member-PL.NOM-the

“Both the muzhiks and the police governors sneeze, and sometimes even the members of secret service.”

(305) բոթ մուժիկը հանգդեկնում է հաճախ:

užeł kami-n haze-ç'n-um ē inj.

strong wind-nom-the cough-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is 1.DAT

“The strong wind makes me cough.”

d. Verbs of Motion or Locomotion

Motion verbs are the unmarked motion verbs “come-go” and all other verbs expressing a particular manner of movement. Locomotion verbs imply a change of place. Armenian exhibits no morphological or syntactic differences between motion and locomotion verbs. Motion verbs are usually intransitive; they can be causativised, but not passivised.

(306) Երեխ երեխա-ներ-ս գն-ւմ en harewan three child-PL.NOM-my go-PTCP.PRES. they are neighbour
gyul-i dproc’.
village-DAT school-NOM

“My three children go to the school of the neighbouring village.”

e. Verbs of Position

describe the static position of an object, such as կանգնել “stand”, պետք աէ “sit”, պարկել “lie”, կախել “hang”, ձույլ անա “to kneel down”, չնցել է “kneel”, կառուցել “to bend down, to crouch”, խորտանալ “to bend, to bow, to crouch”, պատկան ppzel “to cower” etc.

These verbs are usually intransitives; and can be morphologically causativised with the suffix -ğuş- -ç'n- (but only in the dynamic and not in the stative meaning).

For expressing a static position in Armenian, one must use the resultative participle of the position verb and the auxiliary (plus locative to indicate the place of the position). If one wants to express the dynamic position, one has to use the regular action forms of the verbs of position.
(307) Anuš-ě st-um ė avtobus.
Anuš.NOM-the sit down -PTCP.PRES. she is bus.NOM
"Anuš sits down in the bus." = "Anuš takes the bus."

(307) a. Anuš-ě st-ac ė avtobus.
Anuš.NOM-the sit-PTCP.RES. she is bus.NOM
"Anuš sits in the bus."

f. Verbs of Action
These describe voluntary acts, which do not involve an overtly affected patient; such as e.g. պարել “to dance”, երգել “to sing”, խոսել “to speak”, կան “to sleep”, կատարել “to read”, գրել “to write”, etc.

In Armenian, also the semantic subgroup of factives\(^{122}\) such as տեսել “to make”, կառուցել “to create”, կառուցել “to build”, ստեղծել “to manufacture; to fabricate”, հաստատել horinel “to fabricate, to design” etc. belongs to the group of plain action verbs.

Action verbs can be dynamic, (i.e. they involve a change) or non-dynamic.
They are intransitive, transitive or ambitransitive; can be passivised and causativised (depending on the basic in-transitivity and semantic constraints).

g. Action-process verbs
describe situations that involve both a voluntary actor and a distinct affected patient, e.g. սպանել “to kill”, կրակել “to shoot”, կեկել “to hit”, կատարել jardel “to break, to fracture”, հալել “to melt” etc.

These verbs are transitive; they can be passivised and causativised, preferably by means of the analytical \(\text{tal} + \text{infinitive-construction}\).

(308) mard-u-n kar-oł ė krakel-ov ė-span-es
person-DAT-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is shoot-INF-INST NEG-kill.SUBJ.FUT.2.SG
bayc xosk’-ov span-es.
CONJ word-INST kill.SUBJ.FUT.2.SG

“One cannot kill a human with shootings, but with words you kill him.”

h. Verbs of cognition
or cognitive verbs refer to mental processes, such as գիտել “to know”, կարդել karcel “to think, to believe”, խոսել usanel “to learn”, համել hišel “to remember”, կատարել k’nel “to examine” etc.

The subject of these verbs is often regarded as the experiencer. Verbs of cognition are intransitive or transitive; they can be morphologically causativised by means of -\(\text{gu}\)- -\(\text{ch}\)-; but there are some heavy semantic constraints on the passivisation on most of the verbs of cognition.

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122. Factive verbs denote the coming of existence of some entity.
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Verbs of cognition also occur with dependent, subordinate clauses introduced with the subordinating conjunctions դո “that” and թե “that; whether”.

(309) Մեք-է նյունսկ հիսե է իր նախկին շեֆ-ի-ն.
   one.NOM-the even remember-AOR.3.SG his former boss-DAT-the
   “One even remembered his former boss.”

(310) Բնակավայր-է ջոռ-ի մեջ է եւ վերեվ-ի-ն.
   settlement.NOM-the canyon-DAT post it is CONJ above-ABL
   look-PTCP.SUB-DAT-the plate.NOM it is remember-caus-PTCP.PRES.
   “The settlement is in a canyon and reminds the one looking from above of a plate.”

i. Verbs of perception
denote perception, such as էիլ “to hear; to listen”, տեսել “to see, to look”, դիտել “to observe, to watch”, զգալ “to feel”, etc. The subjects of these verbs are likely to be agents or experiencers.

   In general, one can distinguish between
   – direct perception, i.e. a direct physical perception of the event-state (sensory)
   – indirect perception, i.e. a conclusion the speaker arrived at on the basis of his/her perception (cognitive).

Semantically one also distinguishes three different semantic types of perception verbs
   – non-agentive or cognitive
   – agentive or active
   – descriptive.

In MEA there is this semantic distinction, too, which does not affect the choice of the complement (direct object, infinitive, dependent subordinate clause).

   These verbs can be passivised; but impersonal passives clearly prevail.

   The verbs can also be causativised, mainly by means of analytical տալ+infinitive construction, depending on context.

(311) Բոլոր տալապետ-էր-է անջամ տես-է է են
   all district head-PL.NOM-the personally see-PTCP.PRES they are
   open-pass-PTCP.SUB. this field.NOM
   “All district leaders have personally seen this being opened field”

123 Please note that this sentence does not denote that the leaders have seen the opening of this field, but the field that was being opened.
j. Verbs of emotion
or affective verbs express emotion or some kinds of opinions, such as երբեք sirel “to love”, փորձ atel “to hate”, դեգձավ vaxenal “to fear; to be afraid of”, Կարկառատ uraxanal “to be happy”, քարկառատ barkranal “to get excited” etc.
These verbs can be intransitive (mainly in inchoative emotion verbs) and transitive.
They can be passivised, but in contrast to other transitive verbs with human direct objects, the verbs of emotion have a logical agent in bare ablative case.
They can also be causativised; if transitive predominantly with analytic tal+infinitive construction, if intransitive with synthetic -c’n- suffixation.
Verbs of emotion may have various complements, as do objects but they may also have dependent subordinate clauses.

(312) Հենրիկ է ամուսնու գրական հարմարություն էլ.

kin-n el sîr-um ē nran harazat-i pes.
woman.nom-the also love-ptcp.pres. she is he.dat relative-dat post
“The woman also loves him like a close relative.”

(312) a. Շատ ամուսնու գրական հարմարություն էլ:

na sîr-v-um ē harazat-i pes.
he.nom love-pass-ptcp.pres. he is relative-dat post
“He is loved like a close relative.” (passivised)

(313) Արմանին գրական հարմարություն էլ:

(Armenpress 29.12.2005)
marzik-ner-ē kšarunak-en irenc’ halt’anak-ner-ov
sportsman-pl.nom-the continue-cond.fut.3.pl their victory-pl-inst
uraxa-c’n-el žolovrd-i-n.
be happy-caus-inf people-dat-the
“The sportsmen will continue to make the people happy with their victories.”
(causativised)

k. Verbs of utterance
or performative verbs, comprise verbs of speaking, such as, օրենք asel “to say”, հանձնետ xosel “to speak”, ինձ nîşel “to note”, անդուն nkatel “to notice, to note”, պահպան patmel “to tell”, պահպանավ patasxanel “to answer”, հարցել harc’nel “to ask”, etc.
Verbs of utterance are often ambitransitive and transitive verbs, combined with direct and indirect objects and the so-called narrative ablative, but they also occur with dependent subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions որ or “that” or թե “whether; that.”
Whilst verbs of utterance can be passivised, they can also be causativised by means of analytic tal+infinitive construction.

(314) Ուտում է Ուրարտի հան խաղումը, շատ ամուսնու գրական էլ: (Hetk’ 08.01.2007)

Heto el Robert-i het xosec’-i asac’-i or
after also Robert-dat post speak-aor.1.sg say-aor.1.sg conj
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hayr-ē vat ē.
father.nom-the bad he is

“Afterwards I also spoke with Robert and said that the father was not doing well.”

(315) Հայրը ավելի բարեկամ երեք օրի պահանջում էր հայրի հայտեռության մասին:
(Armenpress 14.01.2006)

ays masin as-v-el ē urbat' or-ē tarac-v-ac
this post say-pass-ptcp.pres it is Friday day.nom-the spread-pass-ptcp.res
maml-o haldogradru'y-an mej.
press-dat message-dat post

“On Friday’s press release it was said about this.”

l. Manipulation verbs
denote concepts that involve the use of a physical or rhetorical force to get someone else
to do something, such as ստիպել “to force”, հրամայել “to command”, համոնալ “to convince”, պատչառել “to cause”, տայլածառա “to permit” etc.

Manipulation verbs occur with the second verb in the infinitive or with a dependent
subordinate clause.

Manipulation verbs can be passivised and causativised with the analytical tal+infinitive
construction, although causativisation of manipulation verbs does not happen often. Note that
manipulation verbs are often used instead of causative constructions.

(316) Առաջին օրը իսկ հոնուսք հոգավորություններ:
(Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

atavotyan stip-el en nran hetan-al hivandano'-ic'.
morning-dat force-ptcp.pres. they are he.dat leave-inf hospital-abl

“In the morning they forced him to leave the hospital.”

(317) Հայրը հայրի հերթին, որպես պահանջում էր այս պահանջից գրավ.
(Armenpress 19.05.2006)

es nkati un-em hay-er-i-n or-onk'
1.nom mean-res.1.sg Armenian-pl-dat-the rel-pl.nom
stip-v-ac ēin aystel-ic' gn-al.
force-pass-ptcp.res. they were here-abl go-inf

“I mean the Armenians that were forced to go from here.”

m. Phase verbs
denote a phase of an event, i.e. a situation-event given at any point of time in its duration,
{i.e. they point at the particular phase of another verb, such as սկսել “begin, start”, վերջանալ “to stop, to finish” etc.

They are always combined with lexical verbs in the infinitive.

Phase verbs can be used in transitive and intransitive sentences; they can be passivised and
they can also be causativised, depending on the verb, by means of the morphological caus-
ative in -գո- -գն- or analytically with մաս tal and the infinitive.
(318) Դարձային տեկություն են բարձր բանակրատուրություն բերել: (Արատոտ 08.04.2006)

banvor-ner-է sks-el en kand-el
worker-pl.nom -the begin-ptcp.perf they are destroy-inf

t’atron-i bem-է.
theatre-dat stage.nom-the

“The workers have started to destroy the theatre’s stage.”

(319) Սպահակ 20-րդ Ուրարտյան տարություն է նորագույն տարվա
(Արմենպրես 21.05.2006)

Mayis-i 20-ic’ Širak-i marz-am sks-y-el
May-dat 20-abl Širak-dat province-loc begin-pass-ptcp.perf
è orqom-an sezon-է.
it is irrigation-dat season.nom-the

“The irrigation season started in the province of Širak after May 20th.”

n. Modal verbs
A modal verb is a type of auxiliary verb that is used to indicate modality; they are often
defective verbs because of their incomplete verb forms. Modals are used to change the
mood of the main verb and they help to incorporate the element of necessity, obligation,
capability and permission.

MEA exhibits a rather restricted group of modal verbs, since it generally uses other
ways to express modality.

a. Primarily, verbal moods express modality, as with the debitive deontic and
epistemic modality, the subjunctive as well as the deontic and dynamic modalities,
and conditional mood dynamic.

124. Traditional Armenian grammars do not have a separate class of modal verbs.

125. Following Kozintseva, the modal verbs belong to the subgroup of aterminative, (static verbs
which do usually not admit adverbs) referring to an intensity with which the participants are
involved or the way in which the event is proceeding. States exist or persist for an indefinite period
of time; their features are homogeneity and lack of change, limits or agencies.

126. Deontic modality connotes the speaker’s degree (a) of requirement (b) desire for, or (c) com-
mitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by the utterance.

127. Epistemic modality connotes how much certainty or evidence a speaker has for the proposi-
tion expressed by his or her utterance. The speaker is expressing his attitude about whether it is
true or not, accepting that there is a possibility, but not being certain.

128. Dynamic modality does not express the speaker’s opinion, rather it concerns the speaker’s
ability, volition, habit or futurity. Thus dynamic modals make factual statements.
b. “Modal” phrases consisting of an adverb and auxiliary (ինչպես linel “to be” + main verb in the infinitive or dependent subordinate clause with the verb preferably in the subjunctive are very often used to express modality (e.g. possibility, ability, permission, necessity, obligation etc.). The most common are հնարավոր linel “to be possible”; պատասխան linel partadir linel “to be obligatory, compulsory”, անհրաժեշտ linel “to be essential”, պետք linel “to be necessary”, կարելի linel “to be possible; to be allowed to” etc.

(320) Ապահովված գրականությունների հատկացման Մայրցամաքու համար է ապահով:
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

mankat-an երաժշտ-ըն-ի-ն հատկա-վայ-այ-ի-ն
children’s home-DAT graduate-PL-DAT-the give-pass-PTCP.RES

tn-եր-ում հնարավոր է-է պրո-ջեկ-ու-թ-ի-ն
house-PL-LOC possible neg-it is live-INF

“It is impossible to live in the houses allocated to the graduates of the children’s home.” (Expressing ability)

(321) Ապահովված գրականության Մայրցամաքու համար է ապահով:
(Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

Հարց-ի լուծ-այ-ե կարելի է այլ տեղ.
problem.NOM solution.NOM-the possible it is other place.NOM

search-INF

“It is possible to look for the solution of the problem in another place.”
(Expressing possibility)

(322) Ապահովված գրականությունների հատկացման Մայրցամաքու համար է ապահով:
(Armenpress 25.03.2006)

առաջ տեղ-ե նվաճ-եւ համար անհրաժեշտ
first place.NOM-the win-INF-DAT post essential

or
it is CONJ

անգլիացա-ներ-է նյունպես առնվազն մեկ
Englishman-PL.NOM-the also at least one

defeat.NOM suffer-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL

“To win the first place, it is essential that the Englishmen also suffer at least one defeat.” (Expressing necessity)
(323) Կարելի է այս աթոռ-է զբանել;

possible it is this chair.

"Is it possible to take this chair? = May I take this chair?" (Expressing permission.)

(324) Վարդան-ն իսկապես բարդաբար է այնպես ան-էլ ինչպես ո Վարդան.

really liable he is so do-INF as CONJ

"Vardan should really do as he said." (Expressing obligation)

"Modal" words, such as modal adverbs, dubitative or parenthetical expressions e.g. թեթիկ ardyok “whether”, քուրս gone “if only; at least”, քուրս գուչե “perhaps, maybe”, իրեն ewi “probably”, թեթիկ iharke “of course, certainly”, իսկապես iskapes “really”, թեթ irok “really”, իս լոկ “only, simply”, քառ բնաv “not at all”, իսկպում havanabar “probably”, իսկպում hastat “certainly, for sure” etc.

(325) Ասե պուր թողամիկսի տու:

yes perhaps 1Nom make-mistake-refl-PTCP.PRES. I am

“Yes, perhaps I am wrong. Yes, I might be wrong.” (Expressing possibility/probability)

(326) Հաստատ հոգն-աց էս.

certainly become tired-PTCP.RES you are

“You are certainly tired. = You must be tired.” (Expressing necessity)

(327) Վրաստան-ի նորենտիր խորհրդարան-ի առաջին անց-է

Georgia-DAT new elected parliament-DAT first session.NOM-the

"The first session of the newly elected parliament of Georgia will probably take place at the end of April." (Expressing possibility/probability.)

Volitional verbs are an important subgroup of modal verbs in MEA. They denote the action of willing something and thus convey a deontic modal meaning. Volitional verbs are e.g. արձան uzenal “to wish, want”, կանկան kamenal “to desire, to wish”, գուշական cankanakal “to wish” etc. of which the first is the most frequently used volitional verb.
Volitional verbs combine with the main verb in the infinitive, or with a dependent subordinate clause with the finite verb in the subjunctive mood.

In colloquial Armenian, however, volitional verbs are used with the subjunctive instead of the infinitive.

(328) Սեմ է պատի տարիք պատրաստված է միջին մասն մեկ փոքր մասու՝
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

\begin{verbatim}
mahac’ac  mard-i  masin  vat ban  e’-enk’
die-PTCP.RES  person-DAT  POST  bad thing.NOM  NEG-we are
uz-um  as-el.
want-PTCP.PRES.  say-INF
\end{verbatim}

“We do not want to say something bad about a dead person.”

(329) Եթե երկու տարի մեկ փոքր մասն, հոդված տարիք 120 հազար դոլար է
(Armenpress 20.05.2006)

\begin{verbatim}
Et’e  uz-um  e’ or ir gorc’-n  araj
conj  want-PTCP.PRES  he is  conj  his  work.NOM-the  ahead
gba  iren  piti  120 hazar  dolar  t-a.
go-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG  he.DAT  part  120  thousand  dollar.NOM  give-DEB.FUT.3.SG
\end{verbatim}

“If he wants his work to goe ahead he must give him 120,000 dollars.”

Colloquial Armenian

(330) Հետև երեք տարի չափեն համար պատրաստված է հեռացնել պատկու
(Hetk’ 15.02.2007)

\begin{verbatim}
uz-um  er  tun-e  sark’-er  ira
want-PTCP.PRES.  he  was  house.NOM-the  arrange-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG  his
anun-ov  u  inj  ge’-er  ku’cej’-e.
name-INST  conj  I.DAT  throw-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG  street.NOM-the
\end{verbatim}

“He wanted to arrange the house in his name and to turn me adrift. (lit. to throw me on the street).”

Volitional verbs can be passivised, though it occurs quite seldom. Causativisation is also rarely found because of semantic restrictions; but if it occurs, native speakers prefer to express a causative-like meaning with manipulative verbs.

Another very frequent modal verb is կարողանալ karolanal “to be able, can”, a defective verb. It has a regular participle present կարողանում karolanum, which is used to express habitual and repeated actions, particularly abilities. For single actions the shorter form կարող karol is used. In colloquial Armenian, the participle present կարում karum is used, which originates from the much less frequent modal verb կարել karenal “can, be able to” together with the verb in the subjunctive.

This verb as three major meanings in MEA
– Possibility

(331) Ընդհանուր մասնագիտական կարողություն:  

\[
\text{nuynisk masnaget-ner-է kar-ol en sxal-v-el.}
\]

even expert-pl.nom-the can-ptcp.pres. they make a mistake-refl-inf  

“Even experts can make mistakes.”

– Ability

(332) Կարող ես եւ երբ, երբ պատշաճ եկ փթողություն:  

\[
karoł es hiș-el t' e ortel
\]

can-ptcp.pres you are remember-inf conj wh-where  

ē im girk'-է?  

it is my book.nom-the  

“Can you remember where my book is?”

(333) Հա տիեզերական գրություն կարողանա՞ գրե՛:  

\[
im elbayrik-է arden karolan-um ē gr-el.
\]

my little brother.nom-the already can-ptcp.pres. he is write-inf  

“My little brother can already write.”

a. Մարդում կարող կարողանում շնորհիլ:  

\[
aperik-s arden kar-um
\]

little brother.nom-my already be able-ptcp.pres.  

a gr-i.  

he is write-subj.fut.3.sg  

“My little brother can already write.” (Colloquial Armenian)

(334) Օրինակ պատմական բացումներ պատկերի, ինչպես:  

\[
Č-čik' kar-ol patuhan-է bac'-el xndrem?
\]

neg-you are can-ptcp.pres. window.nom-the open-inf Please  

“Could you please open the window?”

129. Please note that in the case of (learnt) skills often the verb գիտել “to know” is used instead of the modal verb.

(333)  b. Հա տիեզերական գրություն գրե՛ի:  

\[
im elbayrik-է arden gr-el git-i.
\]

my little brother.nom-the already write-inf know-pres.3.sg  

“My little brother can already write.”
Comment: to express a polite question, MEA very often uses negated forms. Here, the affirmative form in the present would be interpreted as rude.

- Permission

The modal verb կարողանալ karolanal may also denote permission, particularly in questions.

(335) Կարող եմ այս գրքերը վճռանցի գրադարանից;  
Kar-ol  em  ays  grk'-er-ē  verč'n-el  gradaran-ic'?

can-PTCP.PRES. I am this book-PL.NOM-the borrow-INF library-ABL

“Can (=May) I borrow these books from the library?”

2.5.1.2 Verb classes based on word formation

Verbs can also be classified according to their form (and word formation)

a. Simple or root verbs: a simple verb is constructed using just a single word
b. Suffixed verbs: simple verbs that are suffixed.
c. Compound verbs: one element is the single lexical verb, the other is another lexical item, such as a noun and adposition.

a. Simple Verbs

Simple verbs are made up of a root stem. The infinitive endings in -ȃ-el, -³É-al are attached to these roots to express the basic and neutral meanings of the verb. Thus, according to the conjugation, there are

- simple a-verbs as in կարդե  kard-al “read”, հավատե  havat-al “believe”, մնե  mn-al “stay, remain” etc.
- simple e- verbs as in գրե  gr-el “write”, եղե  ls-el “hear”, խմե  xm-el “drink” etc.

b. Suffixed Verbs

Traditional Armenian grammars usually distinguish between so-called սուզումնական soskacanc’avor “simply suffixed” verbs with the suffixes -ան-, -են-, -ո- and -է- and verbs that are suffixed with -չ- (-c’n- (=causatives), -չ- (-v- (=passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anti-causatives) and -ո- -ot-, -աթ- -at-, -պ- -t- (=iteratives).130

130. Note: this kind of classification will not be used in this grammar since it mixes:

- purely word-formation suffixes that have no semantic, no morphological and no syntactic meaning and function at all and which do belong to the lexicon entry of the verbs in question and form the verb's infinitive form
- suffixes that carry a strongly lexical/semantic meaning (-ot, -at, -t). By means of these suffixes the meaning of the verb is changed and the verb does not represent the basic form.
- suffixes that have a strongly morpho-syntactic function as -չ’n-, -չ-. By means of these suffixes the verb either increases or reduces its valency, so these forms cannot be regarded as the basic forms of a lexical verb.
In this grammar the term “suffixed verbs” only refers to those verbs having suffixes in their basic lexical form; i.e. these suffixes have no semantic, morphological or syntactic meaning. Thus, suffixed verbs are

- verbs with -անալ, such as վակ-անալ “to fear”, վրա-անալ “to want, to wish” etc.
- verbs with -անալ, such as հեր-անալ “to remove”, տար-անալ “to get black” etc.
- verbs with -տեն-ան, such as նետ-տեն-առ “to see”, մոտ-տեն-առ “to enter” etc.
- verbs with -անալ, such as թև-ան-առ “to fly” etc.131

The other suffixes belong to

- verbal word-formations: in both the verbal aspect and Aktionsart, such as the iterative suffix(es) -ատ-, -ուտ-, -տ-.
- morphosyntactic inflection: as morphological means for valence decreasing or detransitivisation, such as -չ- -վ- in passivisation, reflexivisation, reciprocalisation, anti-causativisation.
- morphosyntactic inflection: as morphological means for valence increasing and transitivisation, such as -քո- -չ-ո- in causativisation.

c. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs have two or more elements of which one element is a simple lexical verb, the other(s) being another lexical item such as a noun, an adverb or an adposition.

E.g. դոս-գալ “to go out”, վաս-ապա-ալ “to run”, գնու-սու-կու-սու “to show”, լա-սել-առ “to cry”, ռմ-ամբա “to fall in” etc.

2.5.1.3 Clause types – Transitivity

Verbs can also be classified according to their clause type:

a. intransitive verbs
b. transitive verbs
c. ambitransitive verbs.

In Armenian intransitive verbs are those verbs that have only one verbal argument, or in other words, that are monovalent. The one and only argument of the verb is the grammatical subject, expressed in the nominative case.

131. Note: in colloquial MEA, in suffixed verbs in -անա- the suffix -ան- is often replaced with -ա- -ա>, as in պատ-առ instead of written պատ-առ-առ “to flee”, տր-առ-առ instead of written տր-առ “to fly” etc.

132. With some Armenian verbs iterative meaning can also be generated by means of reduplication: e.g. վազ-առ-առ “to run”, վազ-առ-առ “to run around, to run often”
Among this group of strictly intransitive verbs are e.g. the semantic groups of weather verbs, motion verbs and the morphological group of suffixed verbs in ʰəwəl -anal, ʰəwəl -enal.

Intransitive verbs can also be subdivided into unaccusatives and unergatives.

The main characteristic of unaccusatives is that the surface subject is patient-like; i.e. it is the object position in the underlying structure; it is telic.

A subgroup of the intransitive unaccusative verbs is the inchoative verbs. In MEA, the verbs suffixed with ʰəwəl -anal, ʰəwəl -enal are inchoative, as well as some verbs in -ɬ- -el. Verbs can also receive an inchoative meaning by detransitivisation by means of the suffix -ɬ- -v-, in a process termed “anti-causativisation”; such intransitive verbs, marked with -ɬ -v- and conveying inchoative meaning are termed “anti-causatives.”

(336) Ըալկեներ-ե ցորան-ում է:
    calik-ner-ë  coran-um  en.
    flower-pl.nom-the dry-ptcp.pres. they are
“The flowers are drying.” (Inchoative intransitive; verb in -ʰəwəl -anal.)

(337) Ջեռյար հմելնում է:
    jyun-ë  hal-v-um  է.
    snow.nom-the melt-antic-ptcp.pres. it is
“The snow is melting.” (Anti-causativised intransitive; basic verb հմել hal-el
in -ɬ-, -el )

Intransitive verbs can be transitivised by means of causative alternation by suffixing -qul- -čh- to the verbal stem. Some intransitive verbs – especially motion, cognition and weather verbs – can however, not be synthetically causativised.

- Transitive Verbs

Prototypically transitive verbs have two arguments; they require a direct object. Transitive verbs can be detransitivised by passivisation, reflexivisation and reciprocalisation and anti-causativisation by means of the suffix -ɬ- -v-.

Usually strictly transitive verbs can not be morphologically causativised by means of the suffix -qul- -čh-, but have to use the analytic causative with the finite forms of the verb վում tal and the infinitive (see 3.1.2.1. “Causative constructions”, p. 316f.).

Ambitransitive Verbs are those verbs, which can be used in the transitive and the intransitive sense without any formality, i.e. morphological distinction. These verbs can undergo all kinds of detransitivisation or transitivisation processes. The ambitransitive verbs also contain inchoatives, where the alternation between the transitive and the intransitive forms produces a change of the position of the patient role (the transitive form has a patientive direct object, and this becomes the patientive subject in the intransitive).

(338) Սամվել-ե մարց անտառ հրդեհ-է:
    Samvel-ë  marec’  antaľ-i  hrdeh-ë.
    Samvel.nom-the extinguish-aor.3.sg forest-dat fire.nom-the
“Samvel extinguished the forest fire.” (Transitive verb, active reading)
(339) Արևած հրդեհը տարծված:  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anata\text{-}i} & \quad \text{hrdeh\text{-}ē} & \quad \text{marem\text{'}.} \\
\text{forest\text{-}DAT} & \quad \text{fire\text{-}NOM\text{-}the} & \quad \text{extinguish\text{-}AOR.3.SG.}
\end{align*}
\]
"The forest fire extinguished." (Intransitive verb, inchoative reading).

The subject of the intransitive variant (339) and the object of the transitive variant (338) have the same thematic role:

- causer (=agent) –transitive V – undergoer (=patient)
- undergoer – intransitive V

When the subject of the intransitive form is a patient (like the direct object of the transitive form), so that the verb aligns the syntactic roles S and O, then the ambitransitive verb has an intransitive version as an unaccusative verb. This means that the subject of the intransitive form corresponds with the direct object of the transitive version, so the roles are exchanged. Such a verb is called anti-causative.

The term “inchoative-anti-causative” derives from the fact that the intransitive form of such a verb implies an omission of the agent of causation (the reverse of a causative construction), as if the event happened by itself. When the fire extinguishes, we know, in fact, that it was extinguished (by some person, or by some physical alteration). The anti-causative form, however, syntactically deletes the cause and also makes it impossible or difficult to refer to it (as opposed to the passive voice, where the agent can usually be introduced back as an adjunct, e.g. an ablative or postpositional phrase in MEA).

Forms of intransitive-transitive pairs can also be used in an anti-causative sense: if a sentence conveys an anti-causative meaning, as given above (the subject of the intransitive form is underlying patient; but the agent of the causation is deleted), then the transitive verb can be anti-causativised by means of the multifunctional -í- -v- suffix:

(340) Անուշ կարձտեց կարկաման:  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anuš\text{-}ē} & \quad \text{jardec\text{'}} & \quad \text{calkaman\text{-}ē.} \\
\text{Anuš\text{-}NOM\text{-}the} & \quad \text{break\text{-}AOR.3.SG} & \quad \text{vase\text{-}NOM\text{-}the}
\end{align*}
\]
"Anuš broke the vase."

(340) a. Կարկամանը կարծեց:  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Calkaman\text{-}ē} & \quad \text{jard\text{-}v\text{-}ec\text{'}.} \\
\text{vase\text{-}NOM\text{-}the} & \quad \text{break\text{-}anticaus\text{-}AOR.3.SG}
\end{align*}
\]
"The vase broke."

2.5.1.4 Aspectual/Aktionsart verb classes

As in other natural languages there is also a fundamental subcategorisation of aspect into atelic (durative, aterminative) and telic (non-durative, terminative) verbs in Armenian.

Atelic (durative, aterminative) verbs describe processes that are temporally not delimited, in contrast to telic (non-durative, terminative) verbs, whose lexical meaning implies temporal delimitation, an accomplishment, or a change in the process involved.
a. Atelic verbs generally refer to situations that do not imply a state predicted by the action. They can further be subdivided into static and dynamic verbs.

b. Atelic (aterminative, durative) Armenian verbs have subcategory of iterative verbs. Telic (non-durative, terminative) Armenian verbs can be divided into verbs of achievement and accomplishment, depending on whether there is a process leading to the terminal point of action (Kozintseva 1999:23).

- Resultative or accomplishment verbs, which imply that the terminal point is achieved as a result of a process, e.g. կարգչի karçčel “to build”, նորգել norogel “to repair, renovate” etc.
- Punctual or achievement verbs, which indicate a sudden change in the situation. This does not suggest a process leading to the terminal point; the beginning and end are merged, e.g. ուղղիկ patahel “to occur”, հանվակ handipel “to meet”, etc.
- Transformative verbs, which connote a change from one state into the other
- Ingressive (beginning of an action) verbs. The aorist tense can also have an ingressive meaning.

This distinction between telic and atelic determines the choice of temporal modifiers indicating the duration of the action.

In MEA there is also a third aspectual distinction between stative and dynamic, which is mainly expressed by means of tense morphology. Armenian distinguishes between statives, (states, which do not involve a change in time and dynamics, i.e. actions, processes, activities, which refer to an active situation). As can be seen below (see Tenses), Armenian has an elaborate system of parallel tense forms, usually called “dynamic” and “stative” verb forms133 (formed with the resultative participle and the actional tense forms of the auxiliary է m “to be” and խուբ linel “to be repeatedly”). Actional verb forms are dynamic whilst resultative forms are stative in aspect.

2.5.1.5 *Diathesis types*

MEA verbs can show a diathetic distinction, depending both on the verb’s semantics, and valences: active-passive diatheses, as well as verb voice reflexive, reciprocal and anti-causative.

*Passive*

Passive is not only a morphological term, but is also strongly characterised by syntax and discourse functions. (See Ch. 3.1.2.2.1. “Passivisation”, p. 335ff.)

In a morphosyntactic definition a passive is a semantically transitive verb with the following properties:

- the logical agent is either omitted or demoted to an oblique role,
- the logical patient possesses all properties of a grammatical subject,
- the verb possesses the language-specific formal properties of intransitive verbs.

Referring here only to the language-specific formal property of the MEA verbs, one can see that a verb is detransitivised by means of the suffix -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-}, which is attached to the (present and-or aorist) stem of the verb in question. From verbs suffixed with -\textsuperscript{an-}, and -\textsuperscript{en-}, the passive can only be formed from the causativised form.

Table 1. General paradigm of Passive formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Active infinitive</th>
<th>“causativised infinitive”</th>
<th>“passive” infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple a-conjugation</td>
<td>kard-al</td>
<td>kardac’-v-el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple e-conjugation</td>
<td>gr-el</td>
<td>gr-v-el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixed -n-</td>
<td>tes-n-el</td>
<td>tes-n-v-el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixed -č’-</td>
<td>t’ť-č’-el (intrans!)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixedi-inchoative</td>
<td>urax-an-al</td>
<td>urax-ac’n-el</td>
<td>uraxa-č’-v-el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixedi-inchoative</td>
<td>mot-en-al</td>
<td>mot-ec’-nel</td>
<td>mote-č’-v-el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causativised verbs</td>
<td>hiše-c’n-el</td>
<td>hišec’-v-el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usually all real transitive verbs can be passivised. There are some exceptions: the verbs կտակ “to have”, գիտել “to know”, զալ “to regret” etc. do not have passive counterparts and thus cannot be passivised.

MEA has passive clauses and constructions, usually expressed by verbal morphology, as mentioned above, with the suffix -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-}.

One must be aware, however, that verbs with the suffix -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-} do not exclusively express the passive voice. In contrast, the suffix -\textsuperscript{-í-} -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-} is a multifunctional suffix in MEA verbs. It also expresses reflexivity, reciprocity and inchoative meaning.

Generally, the passivisation, reflexivisation, reciprocalisation, and/or anti-causativisation of transitive verbs are important means of valence decreasing operations, i.e. detransitivisation processes of transitive verbs. (see Ch. 3.1.2.1. “Transitivisation”, p. 316f.)

In contrast to passive verbs and constructions, reflexive verbs and constructions are prototypically expressing an action-state in which the subject (agent) and the object (patient) are the same entity.

Additionally, there are only a few cases in which analytic reflexives have to be used, i.e. regular “active” verb forms combined with the reflexive pronouns.

Reciprocal verbs and constructions being conceptually close to reflexive ones are expressed identically – by means of the suffix -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-} -\textsuperscript{v} -\textsuperscript{-í-} on the verb. A prototypical, reciprocal construction is one in which two participants act equally upon each other, they are both subject (agent) and object (patient) at the same time.
Thus, suffixing -í- -v- to the verb stem does not automatically passivise the verb only.

In traditional Armenian grammars, Eastern Armenian distinguished three voices: active, passive and “neutral”. The latter is something of a cover term for detransitivised verbs with a reflexive, reciprocal or inchoative meaning. In the present grammar, the cover term “neutral voice” is not used; the distinctions between passive, reflexive, reciprocal and anticausative is retained to reveal the various functions of the suffix -í- -v-.

Reflexives

As stated above the suffix -í- -v- is also used to mark reflexive verbs and to decrease the valence of a transitive verb. Here it is not a part of real diathesis distinction in MEA. In general, subject and object are the same entity; through reducing the semantic valence of the verb by specifying that there are not two separate semantic entities involved. One verbal argument fulfils the semantic-syntactic role of agent-patient and subject-object. In MEA one can distinguish

- lexical reflexives: the reflexivity is tied to the lexical meaning of the verb itself
- morphological reflexives: a transitive verb is reflexivised by means of the suffix -í- -v-
- analytic reflexives: with some verbs reflexive pronouns such as իրէն “himself, herself” are used.

Lexical reflexives of MEA can be found in the group of those verbs that have no “active” transitive counterpart, but that have lexicalised the suffixed form in -v- only to reflexive and never to passive meaning, such as զբավել “to be occupied”, տալիր “to hide oneself” etc.

Morphological reflexives, i.e. verbs reflexivised by means of the suffix -í- -v-, can be found in a range of verbs, particularly in grooming verbs, but also in other verb groups, as in e.g. սառել “to comb somebody” – սառվել “to comb oneself” հագնել “to put on something” – հագնվել “to dress oneself” սպարել – սպարվել “to shave oneself” կամարել “to wash” – կամարվել “to wash oneself”

Reciprocals

In MEA one can distinguish:

- Morphological reciprocals formed by attaching the multifunctional suffix -í- -v- to the verb
- Wide-spread and common form analytic reciprocals that express reciprocal meaning in MEA are formed with transitive verbs and reciprocal pronouns such as իր “him, herself”, միմյանց, մեկ մեկու, etc.

Morphological reciprocals, such as morphological reflexives, are considered as detransitivised verbal forms and can only be formed from a specific group of verbs, depending on the semantics.

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134. see Ch. 3.1.2.2. “Detransitivisation processes”, p. 334f.
(341) Արամը և Գայանին համբուր-ում
Aram-n  u  Gayane-n  hambur-um
Aram.NOM-the  conj  Gayane.NOM-the  kiss-PTCP.PRES.
en  irar.
they are  each other
“Aam and Gayane kiss each other.”

Some lexicalised-conventionalized “-v-forms”

There are several verbs in MEA which have lexicalised the -վ- detransitivised forms mainly in reflexive meaning, but NEVER with passive meaning and those which no longer have an unmarked transitive counterpart in MEA.

These verbs, the most frequent ones, are given in the following list:

- zbałvel  "to be occupied; to work on" (transitive: zbałe-c’n-el);
- t’ak’nv el  "to hide (oneself), “ (transitive t’ak’-c’n-el),
- hamarjakvel  “to dare” (transitive form hamajarkel is not used),
- haštel vel  "to reconcile (oneself)” (transitive: haštec’nel),
- sxal vel  “to make a mistake; to be mistaken” (no transitive form at all; must be paraphrased).

(342) Անին զբալվ-ում է սենյակ-ում.
Ani-n  zbalv-um  ē  senyak-um.
Ani.NOM-the  study-PTCP.PRES.  she is  room-LOC
“Ani studies in her room. Ani is occupied in her room”

b. Անին իր փոքր եղբայրի զբաղխում է
Ani-n  ir  p’ok’r  elbor-n  zbałe-c’n-um  ē.
Ani.NOM-the  her  little  brother-DAT-the  occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES.  she is
“Ani occupies her little brother.”

(343) a. Անդան անվտանգություն զբաղեցրեց անտառ-ում.
Napastak-ě  t’ak’nv-um  ē  antař-um.
rabbit.NOM-the  hide-PTCP.PRES.  it is  forest-LOC
“The rabbit hides in the forest.”

b. Կիվինը իր բաժանմանը զբաղեցրեց իր պահածունճի սեփ.
Aljik-ě  t’ak’-c’n-um  ē  ir  napastak-ě
girl.NOM-the  hide-caus-PTCP.PRES.  she is  her  rabbit.NOM-the
ir  mahčakal-i tak.
her  bed-DAT Post
“The girl hides her rabbit under her bed.”
2.5.2 Tenses of Armenian verbs

Tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of the event to some reference point in time, most often the moment the sentence is uttered.

The MEA indicative generally conveys a distinction in the present, past and future. In addition, various tense-aspect forms can express these distinctions.

- Present time is expressed by present tense.
- Past time is expressed by imperfect tense (habitual, imperfective aspect), present perfect and past perfect and aorist (perfective aspect).
- Future tense is expressed by future and future-in-the-past, but as will be explained below also by means of the conditional or debitive mood.

MEA tense forms are divided into dynamic, stative, processual and prospective forms.

**Dynamic forms**

Dynamic forms usually denote dynamic actions and processes, and are expressed analytically by means of compound verbal forms consisting of a participle and the inflected auxiliary բե em “to be” in present or imperfect tense or synthetically;

- the participle present for present tense and imperfect tense;
- the participle perfect for present perfect and past perfect tense;
- the participle future for future and future-in-the-past tenses;
- the synthetic aorist tense.

**Stative forms**

Stative forms usually denote a state, a situation which is the result of a process-action, and are usually expressed by means of the inflected auxiliary բե em “to be” in all tense forms and the participle resultative in -ակ -ac.

The meaning of this proper (resultative) stative tense, as well as the correlation between this tense and its actional opponent, depends primarily on the diathesis type of the verb in the հարկատար derbay “resultative participle”, which also expresses an aspectual difference:

- Active (or subjective): the participle is derived from an intransitive verb or from transitive verbs expressing possession.
- Passive (or objective): the participle is derived from transitive verbs with or without the passive suffix -v-; the last construction being rare and impossible with the agentive complement. (Kozintseva 1995:287)

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135. Paradigms are given in the respective subchapters.
136. This term corresponds to Kozintseva’s (1995 : 286): “resultative proper”.
137. The basic meaning is that of the state that results from a previous action.
(344) Քաղաքային գաղութ առաջինը քաղաքային գաղութից տեղում վերակառուցվում է: (Armenian press 20.05.2006)

İfragrakan canc'-n աղավ զարգաց-աի է բարձր
water net.NOM-the more develop-PTCP.RES. it is high
leğnayin գոտի-ներ-պիւ.
mountainous zone-PL-LOC

“The hydrographic net is more developed in high mountainous zones.”

(345) Սովորական ու հասարակական:

Ani-n բարձր-ար է իր երեխա վրա.
Ani.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.RES. she is her brother-DAT POST

“Ani is angry with her brother.”

(346) Եփում զգում է զարգացման զուգակցության, բայց ժամանակ կանոնավոր զարգացման բնագավառներով:
(Tel 08.04.2006)

Teew էջ-վա էջ-է այցելության հանրախանության
even adjust-pass-PTCP.RES. neg-it is visit-DAT concrete date.NOM-the
bayc’ տերես տեղ տնե ապրիլ-ի օրիորդ տասնութվական-պիւ.
conj probably take place-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG. April-DAT third decade-LOC

“Even if the concrete date of the meeting is not adjusted, it will but probably take place in the third decade of April.”

The semantic correlation between the stative and dynamic forms, however, often also depends on the lexical meaning of the verb and even on the context.

The most distinct differences between dynamic and stative forms can be observed in the following semantic verb classes:

a. difference between subjective resultative and intransitive perfect with achievement verbs. Here, the resultative is used when not the beginning of the state is important, but the result of the action. The present perfect, in contrast, is used when it is necessary to denote that the event took place at some time in the past.

(347) Սունդուն ավարտից է:

Elbayr-s ամուսնաց-ամ է.
brother.NOM-my marry-PTCP.RES. he is

“My brother is married.”

The stative present tense (=subjective resultative) describes a situation in the present tense, which is the result of an action in the past.

(347) a. Սունդուն ավարտից է:

Mayis-i-n elbayr-s ամուսնաց-ու.
May-DAT-the brother.NOM-the marry-PTCP.PERF. he is

“My brother has married in May.”
The present perfect describes an action, which has taken place sometime in the past. We do not know the actual state – maybe my brother is still married, or divorced …

b. Difference between stative present tense and dynamic present perfect tense with accomplishment verbs, which denote a gradual change of state. However, the semantic difference is comparatively small than with achievement verbs.

(348) Քարինի անգլերեն մաշակվել է:

\[\text{Vardan-i angleren-e lavac'-ac ē.}\]

\[\text{Vardan-DAT English.NOM-the improve-PTCP.RES. it is}\]

“Vardan’s English is better.”

(348) a. Քարինի անգլերեն մաշակվել է:

\[\text{Vardan-i angleren-ē lavac'-el ē.}\]

\[\text{Vardan-DAT English.NOM-the improved-PTCP.PERF. it is}\]

“Vardan’s English has improved.”

c. Difference between stative and dynamic forms with position verbs:

(349) Արմինի անհաջողություն:

\[\text{Armine-n nst-um ē avtobus.}\]

\[\text{Armine.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES. she is bus.NOM}\]

“Armine takes a seat in the bus.”

(349) a. Արմինի անհաջողություն:

\[\text{Armine-n nst-ac ē avtobus.}\]

\[\text{Armine.NOM-the sit-PTCP.RES. she is bus.NOM}\]

“Armine sits in the bus.”

d. Difference between stative and dynamic forms with emotion verbs

(350) Քարինի անգամ բեռնադրություն:

\[\text{Vardan-ē barkran-um e ir elb-or vra.}\]

\[\text{Vardan.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.PRES. he is his(own) brother-DAT POST}\]

“Vardan gets angry about his brother.”

(350) a. Քարինի անգամ բեռնադրություն:

\[\text{Vardan-ē barkrac'-ac e ir elb-or vra.}\]

\[\text{Vardan.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.RES. he is his(own) brother-DAT POST}\]

“Vardan is angry about is brother.”
Objective Resultatives

Objective resultatives, as mentioned above, usually contain the passive suffix -ի- -v-. As a rule, objective constructions are formed using transitive terminative verbs; the agent is expressed as in regular passive clauses138 (351) (352) (353) (354)

The agent of such a passive-objective resultative may be expressed as in regular passive clauses:

- if the agent is +human by “analytic ablative” (=noun in DAT + POST կողմուց kolmic’)
- if the agent is –human (natural force, animal) by synthetic ablative
- if the agent is an instrument agent by instrumental

(351) ԵՊՀ-n mekusac’-v-ac է ի rектор-i էներուր-ին-ի’.
YSU.NOM-the isolate-pass-PTCP.RES. it is its rector-DAT election-PL-ABL
“Yerevan State University is isolated by the rector’s elections.”

(352) Լուսանկար-ում patker-v-ac-է zin-v-ac էր
fotograf-LOC portray-pass-PTCP.RES.NOM-the arm-pass-PTCP.RES. he was
“Makarov” tip-i atrčanak-ov.
“Makarov” type-DAT gun-INST
“The man portrayed in the photograph was armed with a gun of the type “Makarov”.”

(353) Բոլոր գյուղական համայնքները կառուցված են տեխնիկական միջոցներով.
(Armenpress 08.04.2006)
Bolor gyulakan hamaynk’-ner-n apahov-v-ac en
all rural community-PL.NOM-the equip-pass-PTCP.RES. they are
texnikakan mijoc’-ner-ov.
technical means-PL-INST
“All rural communities are equipped with technical means.”

(354) Պետություն-ուր ռեգենտ-ուր կարծր-ուր սինկեր նման xndir
government-PL-DAT leader-PL-DAT POST similar question.NOM
է դր-v-ac.
it is put-pass-PTCP.RES.
“A similar question is put by leaders of governments.”

138. see Ch. 3.1.2.2.1. “Passivisation”, p. 335f.
Very often, objective resultatives are used agentless:

\[(355)\] 
\[\text{verjers haytnaber-v-ac ayd klzi-n bolorvin}\]
recently discover-pass-PTCP.RES. that island.NOM-the absolutely
\[anmardabnak ê el-el.\]
uninhabited it is be-PTCP.PERF.

“That recently discovered island has been absolutely uninhabited.”

Exceptions to this rule are emotion verbs suffixed with -տուատ -enal, -ատաւատ -anal, usually use the resultative of its intransitive basis instead of the transitivised one with causative suffix -գու- -էն. E.g. ապրումներու Եւ zarmac’ ac em not *ապրումներու Եւ zarmac’v-ac em “I am surprised”.

Of course, the suffix- -գու- v- can also function as a marker of reflexivity or reciprocity in resultative forms.

Objective resultative and present perfect passive are quite different. The present perfect passive has a strictly dynamic meaning and is used when actions are related in formal style. It can co-occur with quantitative and iterativity adverbs and expressions. The objective resultative (see above (351) (352) (353) (354) (355)) denotes the state of the object, as given at a certain moment and is mainly used for the description. It never co-occurs with adverbs indicating the time of the preceding action.

**Durative Statives**

There are also stative forms that do not imply a previous action. The basic transitives express durative actions and states, which usually correspond to the meaning of the present (imperfect) form. There is also a difference in iterative-habitual meaning.

This "durative stative"\[^{139}\] forms with habitual-iterative meaning can be regarded as an additional distinction in aspect: which Armenian grammarians often refer to as “secondary tenses”. These statives are usually expressed by means of the resultative participle and the inflected forms of the auxiliary Եւ linel “to be repeatedly/habitually”.

These verbal forms denote an iterative or generalised situation that precedes some reference point expressed by an adverbial of time or by another clause. If the resultative refers to a continuous state then the form of the resultative can only be combined with the auxiliary Եւ em in present-imperfect tense.

The “durative statives” refer to an action that:

- precedes another action in the past,
- belongs to the remote past and is inferred by the speaker.\[^{140}\]

\[^{139}\] Petrosyan 1987: 372.

The contrast between durative and non-durative states can, thus, be expressed in MEA by means of the two stative tenses. A main formal difference can only be seen in the present and imperfect tenses.

(356) Կարծաքան միշտ նախորդ է այստեղ:

Vardan-ե միշտ նախորդ է այստեղ.

“Vardan is always sitting here.”

(357) Կարծաքան հեշտություն նախորդ է իրունք այստեղ:

Vardan-ե հեշտություն նախորդ է իրունք այստեղ.

“Vardan is often sitting here.”

(358) Կարծաքան դեռ նախորդ է գրանցման:

Vardan-ե դեռ նախորդ է գրանցման.

“Vardan is still sitting in his office.”

**Experiential Forms**

Furthermore, in colloquial Armenian there are so-called ‘experiential forms’, created by means of the resultative participle and the inflected forms of the defective auxiliary կամ “to be, to exist”. It conveys a general meaning of experience, i.e. if an action has, in general, ever been performed.

(359) Որոնք էին նախորդ կամ ես?

Orewē kendani span-ac k-as?

INDEF animal.NOM kill-PTCP.RES. exist-PRES.2.SG.

“Have you (ever) killed an animal?” Lit.: “Does any animal exist killed by you?”

Note: this is a typical experiential meaning expressed by the resultative participle and the auxiliary կամ “to exist”. This is experiential present tense.

(359) a. Որոնք էին նախորդ կամ ես?

Orewē kendani span-el es?

INDEF animal.NOM kill-PTCP.PERF. you are

“Have you (ever) killed any animal?”

Note: (359a) is the second way to express the experiential meaning, present perfect indicative. It is mainly used in written language, but also seems to convey a more specific meaning regarding the time period of the action: it has an action which has been performed in a certain time, and not in general.141

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141. 86.87% of all informants (30 in total) clearly declared (359) as colloquial Armenian. 53.33% of all informants, however, felt a clear semantic, not merely stylistic, (i.e. colloquial: written)
Some more examples underlining the use of dynamic versus stative tense forms:

(360) Մթանու կերակուռում տր:  
Aram-է kangn-um ēr.  
Aram.NOM-the stand-PTCP.PRES. he was  
“Aram stood (stopped).”

(360) a. Մթանու կերակուռում տր:  
Aram-է kangn-ac ēr.  
Aram.NOM-the stand-PTCP.RES. he was.  
“Aram was standing.”  
Note: (360) has a dynamic meaning; = dynamic imperfect. (360a) has a stative meaning and shows the result of an action or the actual state at the moment of speech. It is stative imperfect.

(361) Հեր Վարդանի հայաստանի, Նարինի արդյունքում ճանաչված տեղեկություն:  
Erb Vardan-է has-av kayaran Narine-n  
conj Vardan.NOM-the reach-AOR.3.SG station.NOM Narine.NOM-the  
arden žaman-ac ē el-el.  
Already arrive-PTCP.RES. she is be-PTCP.PERF.  
“When Vardan reached the station, Narine had already arrived.”  
Note: the main clause shows stative present perfect indicative: at the moment, when Vardan came to pick up Narine, she has already arrived, i.e. is already waiting for Vardan at the station.

(362) Բարու հարցի Մթան հայրենիք միջնապատճառան է հնագǔ:  
Zam-է hing-i-n Aram-է das-er-է mišt  
hour.NOM-the 5-DAT-the Aram.NOM-the class-PL.NOM-the always  
patrast-ac ē lin-um.  
prepare-PTCP.RES. he is be repeatedly-PTCP.PRES.  
“Aram has finished his classes always at five o’clock.”  
Meaning: At five o’clock the classes are usually finished.  
Note: this is a durative stative present indicative, which expresses a habitual state.

difference between (359) and (359a); but all of them unanimously agreed that the difference is an aspectual one: the experiential form with the defective auxiliary կամ kam is the more common form, a generally experienced action, independent of a certain time frame in which the action is experienced.
Processual forms

Processual forms\textsuperscript{142} usually denote an action – which is in process at the moment of speech or at the reference point; – simultaneous to another action (coincides with another action).

They are usually expressed by means of the processual participle in -\texttt{is} and the inflected auxiliary \texttt{linel “to be repeatedly/habitually” in all tense forms.}

Prospective Forms

Prospective forms usually denote an action that is about to be done by the agent in reference to the moment of speech or to a reference point in the past or future.

They are usually expressed by means of the future participle in -\texttt{u} and the inflected auxiliary \texttt{linel “to be repeatedly/habitually” in all tense forms.}

Formation of All Indicative Tenses

Except the aorist, all tense-aspect forms are analytical, formed by means of the corresponding participle and the auxiliary \texttt{em “to be” or linel “to be repeatedly/habitually”}.

\begin{itemize}
\item Dynamic Forms
\item Present tense: participle present in -\texttt{um} + auxiliary in present tense
\item Imperfect tense: participle present in -\texttt{um} + auxiliary in imperfect tense
\item Present perfect tense: participle perfect in -\texttt{ac’} + auxiliary in present tense
\item Past perfect tense: participle perfect in -\texttt{ac’} + auxiliary in imperfect tense
\item Future tense: participle future in -\texttt{elu-alu} + auxiliary in present tense
\item Future past: participle future in -\texttt{elu-alu} + auxiliary in imperfect tense
\end{itemize}

The only synthetic tense is the aorist.

\textsuperscript{142} This term corresponds to Kozintseva’s (1995:286): “resultative proper”.
Table 2. Formation of Dynamic forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Analytic</th>
<th>Synthetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. SG</td>
<td>grum bō</td>
<td>grum ṭē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Stative Forms
  Participle resultative and inflected forms of the auxiliary բ em “to be”.

  a. Durative (habitual) Stative Forms
  Participle resultative (very seldom processual and/or future participle) and inflected forms of the auxiliary ժ ūni linel “to be repeatedly/habitually”.

  b. Experiential Forms
  Participle resultative and inflected forms of the defective auxiliary Կա� kam “to exist” in present tense.

Table 3. Formation of Stative forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stative (non-durative)</th>
<th>Durative stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>gnač‘ać em</td>
<td>kardac‘ać em linel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>gnač‘ać ēi</td>
<td>kardac‘ać ēi linel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Perfect</td>
<td>gnač‘ać em elel</td>
<td>kardac‘ać em elel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td>gnač‘ać ēi elel</td>
<td>kardac‘ać ēi elel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>gnač‘ać em linelu</td>
<td>kardac‘ać em linelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Past</td>
<td>gnač‘ać ēi linelu</td>
<td>kardac‘acı ēi linelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>gnač‘ać ela</td>
<td>kardac‘acı ela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Experiential Forms

Table 4. Formation of Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stative (non-durative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>gnač‘ać kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>gnač‘ać kayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Processual and Prospective Forms
Table 5. Formation of Processual and Prospective Forms, 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Processual</th>
<th>Prospective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Կարդալիս էմ լինում</td>
<td>Կարդալու էմ լինում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի լինում</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի լինում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Perfect</td>
<td>Կարդալիս էմ էլել</td>
<td>Կարդալու էմ էլել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի էլել</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի էլել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Կարդալիս էմ լինելու</td>
<td>Կարդալու էմ լինելու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Past</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի լինելու</td>
<td>Կարդալու էի լինելու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>Կարդալիս էլա</td>
<td>Կարդալու էլա</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prospective forms in Future, Future Past and Aorist are not productive.

For a detailed description of the morphological formation of the various morphological verbal classes and of the meaning of tenses and aspects see the corresponding chapters.

Negation of Armenian Tense Forms

Generally speaking, there are three ways of forming negative tense forms of verbs.

a. By means of the prefixed, negative particle չ to the synthetic tense form (aorist); e.g. գալել գնաչ “went”, գալել չ-գնաչ “I did not go”.

b. By means of the negative particle չ prefixed, negated auxiliary and the participle for dynamic verb forms. The word order of participles and auxiliary is inverse. In neutral, affirmative forms it is regularly PART + AUX, whereas in negation it is regularly neg-AUX + PART, e.g. գալել էմ գնում էմ “I go” : չի գալել չ-էմ գնում “I do not go”. The negated form of the auxiliary as part of an analytic tense form is, however, in present tense, 3.SG., չէ. 143

c. By means of the negative particle չ prefixed, negated auxiliary and the participle resultative for stative verb forms. For durative stative tenses, with the negative participle չ negated auxiliary “em”, the participle of the auxiliary հուբի լինել and the participle of the main verb.

The word order is NOT inverse: both for neutral affirmative and negative sentences the word-order of stative tenses is PART(res) + (neg)AUX. e.g. նատինու էմ նստակ էմ “I sit”, չի նատինու չէ-նստակ “I do not sit”

143. In contrast to the negated auxiliary in copular use, present 3.SG. is չէ. In colloquial Armenian for both functions very often only չէ is used.
Table 6. Negated Dynamic Forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytic</th>
<th>Synthetic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future Past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Negated Stative forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative (non-durative)</th>
<th>Durative tenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Perfect</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
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<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<td>Future</td>
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<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future Past</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Negated Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative (non-durative)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Negated Processual and Prospective Forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Processual</th>
<th>Prospective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>փակում փակում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pres. Perfect</td>
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<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
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<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
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<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future Past</td>
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<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գնադ գնադ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.3 Moods of Armenian verbs

The category mood describes the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality or likelihood.

In MEA the following moods can be distinguished:

a. indicative
b. subjunctive (in Armenian grammars and traditional grammars often called ‘optative’)
c. conditional
d. debitive
e. imperative

The subjunctive, conditional and debitive moods have two tense forms, one referring to future, the second to past, which may be dynamic and stative.

Stative, processual and prospective forms of moods are wide-spread in both spoken and written Armenian. Stative mood forms are particularly common in spoken Armenian “conditional” and the “deitive” moods. In newspaper style, “stative” tenses and moods are frequently used. As in the tense paradigm, the mood paradigm has also a distinction as follows:

– dynamic
– stative (non-durative and durative)
– processual
– prospective

(364) եք ժամանակ, մեքսեն միսին կգն

“If you have time, we will go to theatre together.”

Comment: this is a conditional sentence, in which the main clause contains a verb in dynamic conditional future.

(365) ես պիտի հան-վ եմ, միսեն 4-ը

“I must dress until 4 o’clock.”

Comment: this is a sentence, in which the verb denotes an obligatory action, i.e. a dynamic debitive future.

(366) միսեն որ զառ եմ բոլոր էր-է

Detailed paradigms are given in the respective subchapters.
“Until your arrival I will have collected all your things.”
Comment: literally: “… your stuff will be collected.” This is a stative conditional future tense. The main semantic difference to a possible expression of an action in the cond. future “I will collect” is the stress on the state. The use of a dynamic form of the cond. pres. does not necessarily mean that the stuff will really be collected at the arrival.

The imperative occurs usually in two forms: 2.Sg and 2.Pl. There is also a hortative form and meaning in the 1.Pl. The prohibitive is formed by means of the stressed prohibitive particle ˚ûç mtı and the regular imperative forms.

“Weaker” prohibitives can also be expressed by means of a negated subjunctive, which is fairly common in spoken Armenian.

Although scarcely used, there are also stative, processual and prospective imperatives.
For a detailed description of the meaning and use of moods and their formation see the respective chapters.
These negative participles are combined with the negated auxiliary “to be” to express a negated conditional. E.g. կարդ-ալ karem  “I shall write”, կարդ-ա kardam “I shall read”, կարդ-ալ karem  “I shall not not write”. The auxiliary appears in inverse order, i.e. neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG. (=negated conditional mood)

c. The debitive is negated by means of the prefixed negative particle կարդ-ա piti. The word order remains the same as in affirmative clauses. E.g. կարդ-ա piti gnam, “I have to go” կարդ-ա piti gnam “I do not have to go”

d. The imperative is negated by means of the prosodically stressed prohibitive particle դի mi, e.g. դի gna! “go!” դի gna! “do not go!”

The “stative” mood forms are negated in the following way:

a. the stative subjunctive is negated by means of the negative particle կարդ-ա linel in subjunctive mood; i.e. կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac linem, կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac կարդ-ա linem. There is no change in order, i.e. PTCP.RES. neg-AUX

b. the stative conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary կարդ-ա linel and with the negative prefix կարդ-ա - negated auxiliary բո em, and the preposed participle resultative: կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac klinem, կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac կարդ-ա lini. The order is PTCP.RES + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.

c. the stative debitive, by means of the negative prefix կարդ-ա to the Debitive particle piti, the auxiliary and the participle, remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac linem, կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac linem. There is no change in order in the negative form.

The processual mood forms are negated as follows:

a. the processual subjunctive is negated with the negative particle կարդ-ա linel in subjunctive mood; i.e. կարդ-ա linel gnalı linem, կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac կարդ-ա կարդ-ա linem. There is no change in order.

b. the processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary կարդ-ա linel and with the negative prefix կարդ-ա - negated auxiliary բո em, and the preposed participle processual: կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac klinem, կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac կարդ-ա lini. The order is PTCP.PROC. + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.

c. the processual debitive by means of the negative prefix կարդ-ա to the Debitive particle piti, the auxiliary and the participle, remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac linem, կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac կարդ-ա piti gnač’ac linem.

The prospective forms are negated:

a. the processual subjunctive is negated by means of the negative particle կարդ-ա linel in subjunctive mood; i.e. կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac linem, կարդ-ա linel gnač’ac կարդ-ա կարդ-ա linem. There is no change in order.

b. the processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary կարդ-ա linel and the with the negative prefix կարդ-ա, negated auxiliary բո em, and the
preposed participle processual: գնալու է-չե-ու գնալու կլինեմ, գնալու է-չե-ու գնալու չե-ու լինի. The order is PTCP.FUT. + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.

c. the processual debitive by means of the negative prefix է- չ- to the debitive particle պիտի, the auxiliary and the participle remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. գնալու պիտի չե-ու գնալու պիտի լինեմ, գնալու չե-ու գնալու չպիտի լինեմ.

2.5.4 Aspects-aktionsart of Armenian verbs

As stated above, MEA distinguishes various aspects in its verbal tenses.

The following aspectual distinctions exist in Armenian:

- perfective (completed) versus imperfective (not completed) action
- habitual-iterative versus processual
- actional versus stative (durative versus non-durative)

The aspectual classification of verbs is based on semantical features of

- countability vs. non-countability;
- terminatives vs. non-terminatives;
- activities vs. States;
- accomplishments vs. achievements.

Countability145

- Countable verbs refer to actions that take place at a certain point or interval.
- Non-countable verbs refer to situations that are lasting without change and are unbounded by any specific intervals. They cannot express habitual or iterative meaning (if the agent is specific, they are incompatible with adverbials of iteration).

In MEA, a verb is considered to be non-countable if it is impossible to combine the present or imperfect form of the verb with an adverb expressing iterativity. Non-countable verbs are inherently aterminative. Thus, non-countable verbs can be found in the following semantic groups, denoting:146

- constant properties of things (weight, size, orientation): տանել “to carry”, կշել “to weigh”, արզել “to cost”, etc.
- relations, e.g. կուրտակել entârvel “to obey”, վերաբերել veravel vel “to regard”, համապատասխան “to agree with, to correspond”, etc.
- skills, knowledge, e.g. գիտել gitenal “to know”, վարձ karcel “to think”, համարձ hamarel “to regard, to consider”, ենթադրել ent’adrel “to suppose, to assume” etc.
- residence, e.g. ապել aprel “to live; to dwell”, բնակել bnakvel “to dwell, to inhabit”, etc.

145. see Kozintseva 1995:278.
146. see Kozintseva 1995:278.
- possession, e.g. հանել կարողանա՞ն լընկել “to contain, to include”, տեղակայել կարողանա՞ն տեղակայել “to possess, to dominate”, etc.
- occupation, e.g. գործառում ներկայացնել “to guide, to lead”, աշխատել աշխատել “to work”, անվճարողական առնություն ունեն ասել “to make instruction; to teach” etc.

There is, however, a small group of uncountable verbs with countable counterparts in present and imperfect. Such additional forms have their historic origin in Classical Armenian, they are relics of the Classical Armenian subjunctive present and past (Abelyan 1974: 251), e.g.

(372) Եթե մինչև վերջին գիշեր դուք էքսում օրինակ հեռան զույգ, ապա 20 օր էլ մինչև գիշեր բավար է մինչև ձեւառումի: (Armenpress 02.04.2005)

If recently they were have-pst.pcp.

(373) Օրվա հարավից բնութագիր, 200 հարվա բնակչություն:
(Armenpress 08.12.2005)

If yearly library it is 750 thousand visito.

(374) Վերերբազեն բնութագիր հարվա իսպանիա տարածվածության:
(Grakanut’yun 4: 40)

The countable verbal lexemes are subdivided into terminative/telic (non-durative) and aterminative/atelic (durative).

147. The verbal form եթերեկոլ “reading”, a participle subjective of the verb եթերեկոլ “to read” has been lexicalised.

148. Durative (aterminative) verbs describe processes which are temporally not delimited. In contrast to non-durative (terminative verbs), whose lexical meaning implies temporal
The meaning of terminative verbs implies temporal delimitation, accomplishment or a change in the process. Depending on whether the process leads to the terminal point of the action, one can distinguish accomplishment (resultative) and achievement (punctual) verbs.

Accomplishment verbs denote a process – which has some duration - and its final result e.g. կառուցել “to build”, կառուցել “to renovate”, լուծել “to solve” etc. Accomplishment can also be regarded as a process with a natural end-point [+telic, +progressive], e.g. to read a book.

Achievement verbs imply a sudden change in the situation; the beginning and end of the process are merged: թեռ “to be repeatedly”, դարձնել “to happen”, կառուցել “to go on”, հանդիպել “to meet”, երեխա “to see each other” etc. Achievement is thus a near-instantaneous event which is over as soon as it has begun, e.g. to find. Both are [+telic, – progressive]

Aterminative (durative) verbs refer to situations that are not delimited temporally.

The aterminative verbs are further subdivided into static and dynamic verbs. Dynamic aterminative verbs denote homogeneous processes including participants that play a relatively active role, e.g. խաղել “to speak”, ածխանալ “to breathe” etc.

Static aterminative verbs do not usually admit adverbs referring to an intensity with which the participants are involved or the way in which the event is proceeding. States exist or persist for an indefinite period of time; they are characterised by homogeneity and lack of change, limits or agency. Armenian static verbs may be subdivided into the following groups:

a. verbs of state, e.g. գտնել “to be located, to exist”, տեսնել “to visible, to appear”

b. modals, e.g. կաննել “to want, to wish”, պահել “to want, to wish”, կարուանալ “can, to be able to”

c. verbs of relation, e.g. նշանակել “to signify, to mean”, տարբերել “to differ” etc.

Activities are open-end processes [–telic; +progressive]. States are non-dynamic situations [–telic, -progressive].

Among the derivate verbs, multiplicative and distributive Aktionsart are marked with special suffixes -աս-, -ատ-, -ոտ-, -ոտ- that are attached to the verbal stem. Other verbs also use reduplication.

delimitation, an accomplishment, or a change in the process involved. Non-durative verbs can be recognised because their imperfective variants do not imply the perfective variant. Durative verbs have subcategories (a) iterative verbs (b) diminutive verbs (intensity of action expressed by verb). Non-durative verbs have (a) ingressive verbs, which indicate the beginning of an action (b) resultative or accomplishment verbs, which denote a process and its final result (c) transformative verbs, which indicate a change from one state into another and (d) punctual or achievement verbs, which imply a sudden change in the situation.
Ardarut’yun dašink’-i hamaxoh-ner-ê patařot-el
“Justice”.nom treaty-dat partisan-pl.nom-the tear to pieces-ptcp.perf.
en mranc’ pasta-ner-ê ew bînut’yun
they are their wallpaper-pl.nom-the conj violence.nom
kirař-el drank’ barjra-çn-ol-ner-i dem.
use-ptcp.perf. those.nom fix-caus-ptcp.sub-pl-dat post
“The partisans of the “Justice” treaty have torn their wallpapers to pieces and have
used force against those that have fixed them.”
Comment: the verb պատրատում patařot-el “to tear to pieces” is a multiplicative verb
with the suffix -ot-er-, formed from the verb պատրատ patařel “to tear”.

In all moods, the tenses have a system of actional, stative, processual and prospective
forms. For intransitive verbs this opposition may be regarded as aspectual (action/
state), for transitive verbs this opposition combines features of both aspect and
diathesis.

The oblique moods have two tenses: the future and the past. The aspectual distinction
in oblique moods is represented only by the opposition of dynamic and stative forms.

Aspect
The tense forms of the indicative are arranged according to their aspectual distinction into
three series: imperfective (present and imperfect), perfective (aorist) and perfect (present
and past perfect).

The features include

– the presence of aspectual distinctions in the past tenses (imperfect vs. aorist)
– the marking of evidentiality by means of perfect vs. aorist opposition.

a. Perfective vs. imperfective
The perfective aspect usually indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, i.e. there
is no distinction between the separate phases of an action or situation. It is not a situation
with limited duration, but it certainly reduces the internal structure to a single point. It also
denotes a complete action or situation, with beginning, middle and end. It does not neces-
sarily put an emphasis on the termination of the situation.

The imperfective aspect, however, denotes the internal structure of the situation and
also denotes uncompleted actions or situations. (Comrie 1976: 16ff.)

The imperfective aspect can also be subdivided into (a) habitual and (b) continuous,
(c) non-progressive (d) progressive) actions.

In MEA imperfective aspect is expressed in the past by the imperfect tense and the
perfective aspect by the aorist.
The perfective aspect, i.e. aorist, does but also include terminativity: aorist may relate to the beginning of an action (ingressive) or even to the termination of the action (terminative).\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(376)] "Armen usually went to beach with Mary."
\item[(376)] a. "Armen has gone to beach with Mary three times."
\item[(377)] "Armen fell in love with Anuš. Armen started to love Anuš."
\item[(378)] "When I entered the room, Vardan was reading the book."
\end{enumerate}

Another aspectual distinction in MEA is between perfective aorist and perfective perfect: the aorist expresses witnessed events in the past, whilst the perfect indicates unwitnessed events in the past. (see Ch. 2.5.7.2.5. “Aorist”, p. 229f.)

The imperfective aspect may also be subdivided into another aspectual distinction between habitual and progressive actions. (Comrie 1976:24)

\textsuperscript{149} Petrosyan 1987: 305.
c. Progressive vs. Habitual

In general, the progressive aspect indicates an action that takes place over a long period of time relative to an implicitly or explicitly stated time of reference; i.e. it shows an action state in the present, past or future, that is, was or will be unfinished until the time referred to.

The habitual aspect, by contrast, refers to a situation that is protracted over a long period of time, or a situation that occurs frequently during a period of time, to the point that the situation becomes the characteristic feature of the whole period.

In MEA the present and imperfect tenses are also used to describe both habitual and progressive actions, depending on the context and adverbial arguments. There is an overt difference neither in the morphological form nor in the syntactic ordering.

Progressive meaning is usually expressed by adverbs and is inherent to the participle present and processual participle.

(379) Դեղարը անձանց ե նպատակ:

\[
\text{Armen-ű xnjor ē ut-um.}
\]

Armen.NOM-the apple.NOM he is eat-PTCP.PRES.

“Armen eats an apple. -Armen is eating an apple.”

Note: this isolated sentence is without any pragmatic context or modifying adverbs so has two readings: (a) a rather habitual meaning (b) a rather progressive meaning.

The same is true for the imperfect tense:

(380) Դեղարը անձանց ե նպատակ:

\[
\text{Anna-n xnjor ēr ut-um.}
\]

Anna.NOM-the apple-THE she was eat-PTCP.PRES.

“Anna ate an apple. -Anna was eating an apple.”

Durative vs. non-durative - The Processual Forms

The processual participle in - Photographer “to be repeatedly/habitually” may be used to express an action that is/will be/was usually/habitually in progress. Only accomplishment and active verbs can be used in this progressive aspect.

(381) Հայրի ծխախոս բերք են, զարդարել են ծխախոսի ծխախոս էլ.

\[
\text{Hayr-ě erb ek-av tun erexa-ner-ē}
\]

father.NOM-the conj come-AOR.3.SG house.NOM child-PL.NOM-the

\[
\text{tonacar-ē zardarel-is en el-el.}
\]

Christmas tree.NOM-the decorate-PTCP.PROC. they are be-PTCP.PERF.

“When the father came home, the children were decorating the Christmas tree.”

Note: at the moment when the father came home, the children were in the process of decorating the tree. This form is a processual simple perfect, formed with the processual participle and the auxiliary in the simple perfect tense.
Chapter 2. Morphology

There are also processual present and imperfect tenses. The processual forms of the present and imperfect tenses stress the fact that the actions are/were usually/habitually in progress.

More often the semantic difference between the present tense (non-progressive) of a verb and the “pseudo-progressive” form of the same verb with the processual participle and the secondary auxiliary ինչպես linel, is regarded as expressing the difference between durative and non-durative aspect.150

2.5.5 Conjugation of Armenian verbs

The Morphological Forms of the Armenian Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or non-finite forms. Finite forms are all morphological forms expressing number, person, tense and/or mood; non-finite forms are prototypically participles.

All finite and non-finite forms of Armenian verbs are generated either from the present or the perfect aorist stem. In traditional Armenian grammars the “infinitive” stem is often used instead of the present stem.

The present stem is the verb’s pure stem without the infinitive ending in -ել -el or -ալ -al, and includes the lexical suffixes -ան-, -են-, -ա- n-, -է- e and the morphological suffixes -կու- -cu (causative) and -չ- -ch (passive, reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative).

Thus the present stem is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENT STEM examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple verbs in -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple verbs in -al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

150. Petrosyan 1987: 305 writes about a durative: non-durative aspect distinction in Armenian as expressed by the following pairs: գրում grum em “I write; I am writing” : գրել grel em linum “I am usually writing”; գալու նստակ nstac em linum “I am sitting, I sit”; գալ nstac em linum “I am usually sitting”. I do not really regard this as a durative/non-durative distinction but rather as a progressive/habitual distinction primarily expressed by Armenian processual participles.
Suffixed verbs in -č'el Stem -č'- կառչ- պաչ- (< կառչություն պաչել), տեղ- տեղ- (< տեղություն տեղել),
Suffixed verbs in -n-el Stem -n- տեսն- (<տեսնություն տեսել),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al Stem -an- մուրան- մուրան- (<մուրապություն մուրանալ),
Causativised verbs in -č'el Stem -č'n- կարդաչ- (<կարդապություն կարդանել)
Passivised verbs in -v-el Stem -v- տեսվ- տեսվ- (<տեսնություն տեսվել).

The following finite and non-finite verbal forms can be generated from the present stem:

Participles
- Infinitive: -ել, -են գրել գրել “to write”, կրել կարդալ “to read”
- Present participle: of both conjugations: -մ գրում գրում “writing”, կարդել kard-um “reading”
- Subject participle: (nomen agentis) of the e-conjugation -ոլ գրում գրում “writer, the writing one”
- Resultative participle of the e-conjugation: -աչ գրում գր-աչ “written”
- Participle perfect of the e-conjugation: -էլ i էլ գրել “written”
- Future participle: e-conjugation verbs in -ելու գրելու գրելու, a-conjugation verbs in -ալու կարդալ kard-alu
- Processual participle: e-conjugation verbs in -էլիս գրելիս գրելիս, a-conjugation verbs in -ալիս կարդալ kard-alis

Moods
- Subjunctive of a- and e-conjugation կարդ-ամ կարդ-ամ, գրել գր-էմ,
- Conditional of a- and e-conjugation կարդ-ամ կարդ-ամ, գր-էմ k-gr-em,
- Debitive of a- and e-conjugation պիտի կարդ-ամ, պիտի գրես piti gr-es,
- Imperative singular of a- and e-conjugation: կարդ-ա, գր-ի" gr-ir.

The aorist or perfect stem is formed in the following way:

AORIST STEM examples
Simple verbs in -el Pres.stem- գր- (<գրել grel), տես- (<տեսել tesel),
Simple verbs in -al Pres.stem+-աչ’- կարդաչ’- (<կարդապություն kardal),
Suffixed verbs in -č'el Pres.stem without -č’- պաչ- (<պաչել paxčel),
Suffixed verbs in -n-el Pres.stem without -n- տես- (<տեսել tesnel),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al Pres.stem without -an+-աչ’ մուրան- մուրան- (<մուրապություն moñanal),
Suffixed verbs in -en-al

Pres.stem without -en+-ac’ ṽ œntœg- motœc’- (< ṽ œntœwč motenal),

Causativised verbs in -c’n-el Stem+-c’r-

lösung- kardač’r- (<lösungwč kardač’nel)

Passivised verbs in -v-el

Pres.stem-v-

verbs- tesn(v)- (< verbswč testsvel).

This stem forms

a. Participles

– Resultative participle of the a-conjugation, as well as -n- and -č’- suffixed and causativised verbs ṽ œntœwč-kardač’-ac, ṽ œntœwč tes-ac, ṽ œntœwč-pox-ac,

– Perfect participle of the a-conjugation verbs, as well as -n- and -č’- suffixed and causativised verbs ṽ œntœwč-ti kardač’-el, ṽ œntœwč tes-el, ṽ œntœwč-pax-el.

– Subject participle of the a-conjugation verbs ṽ œntœwč-kardač’-oł.

b. Tense

– Aorist: e-conjugation verbs ṽ œntœwč-gřec’-i, a-conjugation verbs kardač’- ṽ œntœwč-kardač’-i;

C. Moods

– Imperative singular of -u -n-, -č’-, -wʊ -an- and -tʊ -en- suffixed verbs, as e.g. ṽ œntœwč mt-ir, ṽ œntœwč-pax-ir, ṽ œntœwč-mořac’-ir, ṽ œntœwč-vaxec’-ir as well as of causativised verbs ṽ œntœwčkardač’-ru etc.,


2.5.6 Non-finite verbal forms

The MEA non-finite verb forms are

1. Infinitive in -tʊ -el, or -wʊ -al
2. Processual participle in -tu -is
3. Future participle in -n -u
4. Resultative participle in -wʊ -ac
5. Subject participle in -nɛ -ol

The following participles as non-finite verbal forms can only be used as constituents of analytical forms and cannot be used without an auxiliary in a clause.

6. Present participle in -nʊ -um
7. Perfect participle in -tʊ -el
8. Negative participle
The infinitive can be used in the following ways:

a. as the complement of a compound predicate, e.g.

- of modal verbs as e.g. ինչնավետ վեցել “to want, to wish”, կարոլանի կարոլան “can, to be able to” etc.
- of phase verbs as e.g. սկսել “to begin, to start”, դադարել “to finish, to end”, վերացնել “to instigate” etc.
- of manipulation verbs as e.g. ստիպել “to force”, տաշարել “to allow”, գտրել “to forbid”, կտորակել “to disturb, to hinder from”, համզել “to convince” etc.
- in analytic causative constructions with տալ e.g. (388) (389).

(383) Անուշ դիտիէ արշավանք գրադարան-ում:
Anuş-ě uz-um ē ašxat-el gradaran-um.
“Anuš wants to work in a library.”

(384) Հայկ կարոլել-է ժամանք վերա-է աշխատ-ել.
HAYK-Ě KAROLAC'-AV ZAMANAKIN VERJA-C'EL AŞXATANK'-Ĕ.
“Hayk could finish the work in time.”

(385) Հանս հանքարկ սկսել է երգ-էլ.
Na HANKARC SKS-UM ĖR ERG-EL.
“He suddenly began to sing.”

(386) Իս ստիպել-է Պետրոս-ի դադարել գիրք-էլ.
Es STIP-UM EM PETROS-I-N KARD-AL GIRK'-Ĕ.
“I force Petros to read the book.”

(387) Մայր համոզել-է արշավանք համառ մահ-էլ.
Mother-Ĕ HAMOZEC’ ORD-U-N VALĔ.
“The mother convinced the son (her son) to stay at home tomorrow.”

151. See Petrosyan 1987: 45f.


(388) Հայր-ը կարտայի-ն (մի) նամակ-ը է
give-PTCP.PRES. he is

“Father makes the secretary write a letter.”

(389) Ուսուցիչը երեխայի-ն կարտեզ-ը է տալ-ի
give-PTCP.PRES. she is

“Teacher made the children draw some pictures of the book.”

b. With the auxiliary “to be” as a predicative complement e.g.:

(390) Իմ կարծիք-ը այս աշխատանքը է
give-PTCP.PRES. it is

“In my opinion this is not work.”

c. As a predicative complement in impersonal clauses e.g.

(391) Ուսուցիչը էլ աշխատում է
give-PTCP.PRES. it is

“One should love the fatherland.”

(392) Հարկավոր է ընդունել զանգակատուն-ը
give-PTCP.PRES. it is

“It is necessary to fulfil the order correctly.”

(393) Հարգած էլ աշակերտ-ը
give-PTCP.PRES. it is

“One should appreciate the other’s work.” (Lit.: (to) appreciate the other’s work.)

d. As a predicate in an imperative sentence, in combination with prosodic features of imperative e.g.:

(394) Հարկավոր է
give-PTCP.PRES. it is

“No shooting!”
e. The infinitive may also be nominalised (by means of the definite article) and/or declined (u-declination) and combined with adpositions.

a. Nominalised infinitive functioning as subject

(395) Օրեքրի արգելեր էջ.

\[
\begin{align*}
Cxe-\text{el}-n & \quad \text{argel-\text{v-um} \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \text{it is}} \\
\text{smoke-\text{inf-the}} & \quad \text{forbid-pass-\text{PTCP.PRES.}}
\end{align*}
\]

“Smoking is forbidden.”

b. Infinitive as modal, causal, instrumental, final etc. complement:

Declined forms of the infinitive can be used as complements, adverbial modifiers, and noun modifying attributes.

(396) Հանգստանլու ժամանակ երկուս

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Utel-\text{uc}'} & \quad \text{heto kgn-am k'alak' gnum-ner-i}.
\end{align*}
\]

“After having eaten I will go shopping to town.”

(397) Բամբակի զգանման զգում

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hangstanal-u n zamanak c'-un-em}.
\end{align*}
\]

“I do not have time to relax.”

(398) Արամը գնաց էջ զգում

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aram-é spas-um é k'o gal-u-n.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Aram expects your coming. (Aram waits for your coming)”

(399) Մինչք գրանց զգումաբեր զգումաբեր

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ani-n gnac' gradaran parap-el-u.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Ani went to the library in order to study.”

(400) Սիլվա զգանման նկար հող զգու

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Silva-n cical-el-ov ek-av inj mot.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Silva came to me laughing (lit. with laughing).”

Some of these declined infinitives, particularly in the dative, have been lexicalised\(^{152}\) such as e.g.

կարպիր զգու նել կաթր աղ կաթր

կարպիր պուտ utel-u միս, lit. meat to eat = eatable meat

---

\(^{152}\) Compare Petrosyan 1987: 182.
Chapter 2. Morphology

The declined infinitive, particularly in instrumental -nt-ov-, is often used to shorten constructions. For a more detailed description see the Ch. 3.4.5.1. “Nominalised infinitives”, p. 549f.

2.5.6.2 Processual participle

Formation

The participle is formed using the verb’s infinitive and the suffix -hu - is.

a. Meaning and Functions

c. As a head of a temporal non-finite clause, it expresses simultaneous action, but the action expressed by the participle has to be regarded as being in progress - independent of the tense of the main verb. As such it is often used to shorten clauses and to avoid subordinated temporal.

(401) Antar-um sunk havakel-is Madlen-è
forest-Loc mushroom.NOM collect-PTCP.PROC. Madlen.NOM-the
kor-cr-ec’ t-an banali-n.
lose-caus-AOR.3.SG house-DAT key.NOM-the
“Collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her front door key.”
(While she was collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her front door key.)

(402) Armen-è erek vazel-is vnasec’ otk’-è.
Armen.NOM-the ADV run-PTCP.PROC. hurt-AOR.3.SG. foot.NOM-the
“Armen hurt his foot when he was running yesterday.”

It is possible to substitute the meaning of the processual participle by the periphrastic expression: verb in infinitive in dative + žamanak, Դըսբառապոչում էռնակ’ում, meaning during the time of, in the course of etc.

(403) Ays eražstut’un-è lsel-is tramadru’t’yun-s
DEM music.NOM-the listen-PTCP.PROC. mood.NOM-my
barjran-um è.
rise-PTCP.PRES. it is
“Listening (to) this music, my mood rises.”(When I listen to this music, my mood rises.)”

153. In a range of Armenian grammars this participle is regarded as a secondary present participle. The separation into two present participles goes back to M. Abelyan’s (1906: 132) functional approach: the simple present participle in -nt-um can not occur alone in a sentence; by contrast the second present participle in -hu -is can occur in a sentence – in the function of a participial or verbal adverb or as a kind of participial complement.
(403) a. Աս երաժշտություն-է եռա-ժամանակ թամադրություն-է բարձր-քվի
Ays eražstu’tyun-ě lsel-u žamanak tramadrut’yun-s
dem music.nom-the listen-inf-dat time.nom mood.nom-my
barjr-an-um ē.
rise-ptcp.pres. it is.
“Listening (to) this music, my mood rises. (When I listen to this music, my mood rises.)”

There is no major semantic difference between (403) and (403a), just a difference in style; (403) is considered to be high or literary style. The periphrastic way to express a simultaneous action in progress occurs more frequently in spoken Armenian.

d. As a constituent of a processual tense form, with the inflected forms of the auxiliary verb իուտ լինել “to be repeatedly”. It expresses an action that is/will be/was usually/habitually in progress.

(404) Առավոտյան նա դեռ գնում ելիս
aṙavotyan na de rê gnal-is klin-i.
morning he.nom still go-ptcp.proc. be-cond.fut.3.sg.
“In the morning we will still be going.”

(405) այդ ժամանակ Անի-ն սովորել-է ել
ayd žamanak Ani-n sovorel-is ē lin-um.
that time.nom Ani.nom-the learn-ptcp.proc. she is be-ptcp.pres.
“At that time Anin is (usually) learning.”

2.5.6.3 Future participle

Formation

The participle is formed from the infinitive + suffix -ան -ու.

Meaning

It expresses a potential meaning, or that an action shall be performed after the moment of speech.

Functions

a. To shorten temporal clauses. Since this participle is formal, similar to the dative of the infinitive, the following clauses may have two readings:

– a potential meaning, expressed by the future participle

– a final meaning, expressed by the dative of the infinitive

(406) կատար-ել-է գործ
katar-el-u gorc
fulfil-inf-dat work.nom
“the work to fulfil”
a. \( \text{katarel-u gorc} \)
\( \text{fulfil-PTCP.FUT. work.NOM} \)
the work which must be done

b. The future participle is mainly used as a constituent of the regular compound future tense(s) of the indicative.

c. The future participle is also used with the inflected auxiliary \( \text{linel} \) to be repeatedly/habitually to express prospective actions, particularly in subjunctive, conditional (and debitive) mood.

(407) \( \text{Erb xanut’ gnalu lines inj nuynpes} \)
\( \text{CONJ shop.NOM go-PTCP.FUT. be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG I.DAT also} \)
\( \text{asa miasin gn-ank’} \)
\( \text{say-IMP.2. SG together go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL}^{154} \)
“When you are about to go to the shop, tell me also, let us go together!”

2.5.6.4 Future participle II
There is also a secondary future participle in -\( \text{hp} ik’ \).

Formation
It is derived from transitives and passives only; it is formed from these verbs’ infinitive + suffix -\( \text{hp} -ik’ \).

Meaning
It expresses an action that must be accomplished after the moment of speech.

Functions
It is highly object-oriented and functions syntactically as a noun modifier, shortening temporal clauses.

(408) \( \text{t’argman-v-el-ik’ ej-er-\( \ddot{\text{e}} \) n\( \ddot{s} \)-v-ac} \)
\( \text{translate-pass-PTCP.FUT.2. page-PL.NOM-the mark-pass-PTCP.RES.} \)
\( \text{en karmir-ov.} \)
they are red-INSTR
“The pages that must be translated are marked with red (colour).”

\(^{154}\) The first person Plural of Subjunctive Future is here used in hortative function!
There is not much to talk (about) in today’s meeting. “ (lit. A few things exist that have to be talked (about) in today’s meeting.)

“I have brought the books I have to read with me.”

Note: the possessive suffix on the noun ‘book’ refers to the agent of the participle and has no possessive meaning in senso stricto: it does not mean “my books that have to be read”, but the “books that I have to read.”

2.5.6.5 Resultative participle

Formation

The resultative participle is generated from the present stem of the e-conjugation verbs and the aorist stem of the -a-conjugation verbs plus the suffix -ac.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Formation of Resultative Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>───</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. Res.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causativised in -č'n-el</th>
<th>Passivised in -vel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>qąp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karda-č'n-el</td>
<td>gr-v-el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist stem</td>
<td>qąp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kardac'-</td>
<td>grv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>qąp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Res.</td>
<td>kardac'-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

155. Multifunctional -v- means not only passivised verbs, but also reflexivised, reciprocalised and anticausativised verbs.
Restriction: the resultative participle can not be formed from a group of intransitive verbs:
(Kozintseva 1988: 452)

- non-terminative process verbs like կայլել kaleyel “to step, to walk”, վազել vazel “to run”, սառանել sarunakel “to continue”, տվել tewel “to last”, մեղել mlavel “to mew” etc.
- non-terminative verbs of volition and possession: զավել uzenal “to want, to wish”; կամենալ kamenal “to want, to wish”, ունել unenal “to have”, գիտել gitenal “to know”.

Meaning
This participle denotes a state that results from an action.

Functions
a. As the verbal head of a non-finite clause.
As such it can be used in an adverbial function:

(411) պուշպա հացեգու է տուր:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aram} & - \text{hiac’-ac} & \text{e} & \text{ls-um}. \\
\text{Aram.NOM-the} & \text{ delight-PTCP.RES.} & \text{he is} & \text{listen-PTCP.PRES.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Aram listens delightedly.”

b. It is also frequently used as a noun attribute, particularly in shortened participial constructions.

In this attributive function, the resultative participle can refer

- To the same agent/subject as the finite verb of the main action, and thus the participle’s agent-subject is not expressed.

(412) ծիրան էսպարտ դրիկ պարույր գրական է:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Car˚-i} & \text{ tak} & \text{nst-ac} & \text{ aljik-ē} & \text{kard-um} & \text{ē}. \\
\text{tree-DAT} & \text{ post sit-PTCP.RES.} & \text{girl.NOM-the} & \text{ read-PTCP.PRES.} & \text{she is}
\end{align*}
\]

“The girl (who is) sitting under the tree is reading.”

- To an agent/subject which does not coincide with the one of the finite verb of the main action, thus its overt agent/subject must be expressed by means of a noun in the dative (413) or pronoun genitive case (= possessive pronouns) as in (414); or in the case of a 1st or 2nd person agent/subject, by means of the corresponding possessive suffix on the noun, as in (415).

---

156. These verbs are the extended, non-terminative and habitual forms of the corresponding verbs զավել uzel, ունել unel “to have”, գիտել gitel “to know”.
The participle can also be nominalised by means of the definite article and can be inflected following the i-declension:

(416) **βύωνοι παραβεματικά:**

Kʹnac-ē  artʹnacʹ-av.

sleep-PTCP.RES-the   wake-AOR.3.SG.

“The asleep/sleeping (person) woke up.”

(417) **Αρμυθίας κηρώθη βήμα ηλεκτρισμού:**

Aram-i  grac-icʹ  oč′-em  haskan-um.

Aram-DAT   write-PTCP.RES-ABL  nothing  neg-I am  understand-PTCP.PRES.

“I understand nothing of what Aram has written. I understand nothing of Aram’s writing.”

c. As a constituent of the series of stative tenses (with the auxiliary “to be”) and the stative durative tenses (with the auxiliary “to be repeatedly”).

2.5.6.6 Subject participle

**Formation**

The subject participle is generated from the present stem of verbs of the -e-conjugation (including -ů -n- and Č -č'- suffixed, as well as causativised and passivised) and from the aorist stems of the verbs of the -a-conjugation (including -ůωįl -enal and -ůωįl -anal, suffixed ) + suffix -ηl -ol. This participle is a nomen agentis.

---

157. In German such shortened participle constructions are quite common, but in contrast to MEA here a passive form is used: compare: Der von Anuš gepflanzte Baum brachte dieses Jahr Früchte.

### Table 11. Formation of the Subject Participle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple in -el</th>
<th>Simple in -al</th>
<th>Suffixed in -n-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -č'-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -an-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -en-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present Stem</strong></td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>gr-</td>
<td>nũš-ši</td>
<td>župěšu-</td>
<td>župěšu-</td>
<td>župěšu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aorist Stem</strong></td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>kardac'-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part. Sub.</strong></td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>kardac'-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Causativised</strong></td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>kardac'n'-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župămug-</td>
<td>župämug-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passivised</strong></td>
<td>qn-</td>
<td>gr-v-</td>
<td>qn-</td>
<td>qn-</td>
<td>qn-</td>
<td>qn-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Functions**

It is strictly subject-oriented and functions most frequently as noun modifying attribute.

(418) Sa lav kardac'-ol ašakert-n ē. dem good read-PTCP.SUB. pupil.NOM-the it is “This is the pupil who reads well.”

(419) gnal-ov160 sastkac'-ol kāmi-n stip-ec' go-INF-INST intensify-PTCP.SUB. wind.NOM-the force-AOR.3.SG cnol-ner-i-n tun kanč'-el-u bak-um parent-PL-DAT-the house.NOM call-INF-DAT courtyard-LOC xalač'-ol irenc' erexa-ner-i-n. play-PTCP.SUB. their child-PL-DAT-the “The increasingly intensifying wind forced the parents to call their children, who were playing in the courtyard, home.” (lit: The increasingly intensifying wind forced the parents to call their in the courtyard playing children home.)

159. Multifunctional -q- -v- means not only passivised verbs, but also reflexivised, reciprocalised and anticausativised verbs.

160. This instrumental infinitive of the motion verb qn qnal “go” is lexicalised: qn qnul qnalov simply means “increasingly”, “by and by”, “little by little”.
The participle can also be nominalised and inflected following the i-declination.

(420) Համարտական առաջացրել ենք հաջորդ.

Šat  kardac’-ol-ĕ  xelok’ klin-i.

much  read-PTCP. SUB.NOM-the  clever  be-COND.FUT.3.SG.

“The one who reads a lot will be clever.”

(421) Տարած գիծված հիմնական փոխաձևին.

Iskuyn  tes-a  inj  dimavor-ol-ner-i-n.

immediately  see-AOR.1.SG  I.DAT  welcome-PTCP.SUB-PL-DAT-the

“Immediately I saw the people welcoming me.”

Some of these participles have been lexicalised and show two different readings nowadays, e.g.

գրել  a. writing  b. writer

արագած  a. learning  b. student

կնոր  a. giving birth  b. parent

2.5.6.7 Present participle

Formation

The present participle is formed from the verb’s present stem and the suffix -ну ūnūm.

Meaning

The participle expresses an action in progress or a habitual action in the present time.

Function

- The present participle is only used with the auxiliary “to be” or to be repeatedly/habitually” to express the present or imperfect tense.

(422) Հյանք կերակրված էր Վարդանի գնաց է Վենիսաժ.

Amen  kiraki  ār-ĕ  Vardan-ē  gn-um

every  Sunday  day.NOM-the  Vardan.NOM-the  go-PTCP.PRES.

ē  Vernisaž.

he  is  Vernisage

“Every Sunday Vardan goes to Vernisage.”

(423) Հյանք կերակրված էր Վարդանի գնաց է Վենիսաժ.

Amen  kiraki  ār-ĕ  Vardan-ē  gn-um

every  Sunday  day.NOM-the  Vardan.NOM-the  go-PTCP.PRES.
he was Vernisage

“Vardan used to go to Vernisage every Sunday.”

The ending of the present participle is one of the main morphological features to distinguish Armenian dialects. The form in -աõ-um is a typical feature of all Eastern dialects of Modern Armenian, whereas Western dialects form the present imperfect with typically կ- particle and synthetic verbal forms.161

In some Eastern dialects there still remains a third present form in a participle in -է. Some of these forms are preserved as petrified forms also in current spoken and written MEA: կալ “to come” – կանկան թու կալ “I come, I am coming” մար տալ “to give” – մարք թու տալ “I give”, մար լալ “to cry” – մարք թու լալ “I am crying; I cry”162. In colloquial MEA, these fossilised present participles in -է  are often pronounced without the final -s.

2.5.6.8 Perfect participle

Formation

The perfect participle is formed from the aorist stem to which the suffix -ե  is attached.

Table 12. Formation of the Perfect Participle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple in -ел</th>
<th>Simple in -ел</th>
<th>Suffixed in -է-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -է-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -է-</th>
<th>Suffixed in -է-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inf.</td>
<td>նկտի</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գր-</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR.</td>
<td>նկ-</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>գր-</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf.</td>
<td>նկտի</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>գր-</td>
<td>կարդ-</td>
<td>տես-</td>
<td>պաք-</td>
<td>ստեր-</td>
<td>կամար-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

161. This feature is one of the “oldest” features given in Armenian dialectology: already in A. Aytěnian’s (1866) Թունիկի, թունիկը և թունիկականությունը арм. арминар армани армени армени к""макан кёракана""иван асархабар кам арди хайрени лезви; in the first Armenian dialectology of H. Acayan (1911) չոր բառաբագիտություն Hay barbağagitut’yun; and the following S. Łaribyan (1953): չոր բառաբագիտություն Hay barbağagitut’yun.; G. Jahukyan (1972) չոր բառաբագիտություն Hay barbağagitut’yun. e.g.”I write”: MEA գրում թու գրում em, MWA: դեր գրում կե գրում.

162. Note: the verb ես լալ is increasingly less used in MEA; it can only be found in written Armenian. In spoken Armenian the verbs ստեր լալ el and մար կամար lacl el have totally replaced ես լալ in the meaning of to cry”. e.g. The meaning of կամարտ մարք ե Extensions lal ե."Vardan cries is expressed by կամարտ ում ե Vardana lalis է or կամարտ ե Vardana laci\’um է or կամարտ ե Vardana laci\’um է or կամարտ ե Vardana laci\’um է in spoken Armenian. There is no semantic difference between these three verbs.
Causativised in -c’n-el | Passivised in -vel¹⁶³
---|---
**Inf.** | | |
ycled` | qm^b` | |
karda-c’n-el | gr-v-el | |
**Aorist Stem** | | |
ycled` | qm^b` | |
kardac’r | grv- | |
**Part. Perf.** | | |
ycled` | qm^b` | |
kardac’r-el | grv- | |

**Meaning**
The perfect participle expresses a general action that has been accomplished and/or completed in the past. It is also an action which the speaker himself has not witnessed.¹⁶³

**Function**
The perfect participle is used to form the present perfect and past perfect (pluquamperfect) tenses with the inflected auxiliary.

(424) Siranuš-é 22 tari ašxat-el é Siranuš. | the 22 year. | work-ptcp.perf. | she is kap-i ew transport-i naxarar’yun-um. communication-dat conj transport-dat ministry-loc | “Siranuš has worked 22 years in the Ministry of Communication and Transport.”

².⁵.⁶.⁹ **Negative participle**

**Formation**
The participle is formed from the infinitive stem and the suffix -h-i for verbs of the e-conjugation and with the suffix -w-a for verbs of the a-conjugation.

**Meaning and Function**
It negates the subjunctive mood and is exclusively used in this function.

².⁵.⁷ **Finite verbal forms**

A finite verb is a verb that is inflected for person, number, and for tense and mood. Regarding tenses, MEA forms all tenses – except the aorist – analytically with participles and the inflected forms of the auxiliary.

Regarding moods, MEA forms all moods – except the indicative – synthetically.

¹⁶³. Multifunctional -q- -v- means not only passivised verbs, but also reflexivised, reciprocalised and anticausativised verbs.
2.5.7.1 **Auxiliary**

MEA has one major auxiliary էմ “to be” with a restricted inventory to express tenses and copular meaning.

This auxiliary has the following forms in present tense and imperfect tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Imperfect tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SG. էմ “I am”</td>
<td>է է “I was”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SG. էս “you are”</td>
<td>էք է է “you were”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SG. է “he-she-it is”</td>
<td>էք է է “he-she-it was”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PL. էւ էnm “we are”</td>
<td>էւ էnm “we were”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PL. էր է “you are”</td>
<td>էր է է “you were”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. PL. էո է “they are”</td>
<td>էո է է “they were”</td>
<td>տղ է է “you were”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The auxiliary usually follows the participle in neutral and unmarked sentences, e.g. գրում էմ “I write”, Վարդանէ լուրտ էմ է. “Vardan reads the book”

The auxiliary is negated by prefixing the negative particle է- է- to the inflected auxiliary that usually precedes the participle in analytic forms, e.g. էմ գրում է “I do not write”.

Note: there are two forms of the negated 3. SG. present tense: է է and է է.

է է is exclusively used in analytic tenses, whereas է է is used in copular function.

(425) Անուշ-է գրում է:

Anuş-է գր-ում է.  
Anuş.NOM-the write-PTCP.PRES. she is  
“Anuş is writing.”

(425) a. Անուշ-է է է:

Anuş-է է-ի գր-ում.  
Anuş.NOM-the neg-she is write-PTCP.PRES.  
“Anuş is not writing.”

(426) Անուշ-է գեղեցիկ ալջիկ է:

Anuş-է գեղ-եկ ալջիկ է.  
Anuş.NOM-the beautiful girl.NOM she is.  
“Anuş is a beautiful girl.”

(426) a. Անուշ-է գեղեցիկ ալջիկ է:

Anuş-է գեղ-եկ ալջիկ է.  
Anuş.NOM-the beautiful girl.NOM neg-she is  
“Anuş is not a beautiful girl.”

Note: in colloquial MEA speakers frequently use the negative 3. SG. է է for both the analytic tense and copular use.164

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The secondary auxiliary եկել linel “to be repeatedly/habitually” can be used in the following functions:

- as a copular verb it expresses a habitual state

(427) Դիզվառեղի-ի ներկուման կառավարություն պատճառով ու հետ եկել աշխատանքի և ձևավորման ակտուարի:

\[ Dizvarelik'-i \text{ nerkm-an caval-ner-ē aveli mec en } \]
\[ \text{diesel oil-dat import-dat extent-pl.nom-the INT big they are } \]
\[ \text{lin-um ašnanayin ew jmēfayin amis-ner-i-n.} \]
\[ \text{be-PTCP.pres. autumn conj winter month-pl-dat-the} \]

“The volume of diesel oil import is (usually) higher in the autumn and winter months.”

- In compound tenses, it is used in its inflected forms to express:

  a. the auxiliary in all those tenses that the defective auxiliary եւ “em” does not have: perfect (եւ եւ el el em), past perfect (եւ եւ եւ el el ei), aorist (եւ եւ ela), future (եկել եւ linelu em), future-in-the-past (եկել եւ linelu ei) etc;

  b. stative forms (perfect, past perfect, aorist, future, future-in-the-past) with the participle resultative;

  c. to express a durative stative (=habitual) form with resultative participles;

  d. to express a repeated/habitual action with processual participles.

(428) Հանրակրտության ոլորտի հիմնամարտի հիմնադեպքը էլ հիմնամարտի պատմական տեղեկագործություն;

\[ Hanrakrt'ut'y-an olor-i himnakan xndir-ner-ic' ō \]
\[ \text{general education-dat field-dat basic question-pl-ABL it is } \]
\[ el-el \text{ hamakarg-i optimalic'um-ē.} \]
\[ \text{be-PTCP.perf. system-dat optimalisation.nom-the} \]

“The basic question of the general education's area (domain) has been the optimalisation of the system.”

(429) Տոնավաչարի առաջին օրի զարգացումը էկել աշխատանքային զարգացման և պատմական պուրագրության

\[ Tonavačar'-i aţajin ōr-ē nvir-v-ac ō \]
\[ \text{fair-dat first day.nom-the dedicate-pass-PTCP.res. it is } \]
\[ \text{lin-um avandabar gorg artadr-ol} \]
\[ \text{be-PTCP.pres. traditionally carpet –nom produce-PTCP.sub.} \]
\[ orewē petut'y-an. \]
\[ \text{any state-dat} \]

“The first day of the fair is (usually) dedicated to any traditional carpet-producing state.”
2.5.7.2 Tense forms

2.5.7.2.1 Present tense

Formation

a. The dynamic (i.e. “regular” present tense) is formed with the present participle in -nú -um and the auxiliary “to be” in the present tense, e.g. գրուм եմ “I write”.

b. The stative present tense is formed with the resultative participle in -դո -ac and the auxiliary “to be” in the present tense for durative and with the auxiliary հիմու լինել “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the present tense for non-durative statives, e.g. գրում եմ, գրում եմ գրել յուրաքանչյուր օր

c. The processual present tense is formed with the processual participle in -մ կո- and the auxiliary հիմու լինել “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the present tense, e.g. գրել եմ գրել յուրաքանչյուր օր.

d. The prospective present tense is formed with the future participle in -ու -u and the auxiliary “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the present tense, e.g. գրել է գրել յուրաքանչյուր օր. These prospective forms are not productive any more; they are practically obsolete and are so scarcely used that the average native speaker doesn’t know them.

Meaning

In general, the present tense can refer to general situations or to situations localised anywhere in time:165

In temporally localised situations,

a. the dynamic present tense denotes an action that is in progress at the point of speech, i.e. the point of references coincides with the moment of speech.

b. The dynamic present tense has a narrative function as the “historical present” and denotes sequences of past events from a retrospective point of view.

c. The dynamic present tense also denotes future actions; if the performance of the action is regarded as sure or as if the action is already performed in the moment of speech. This is very common in spoken Armenian.

In general situations,

d. The dynamic present tense denotes the agent’s ability to perform an action.

e. The dynamic present tense denotes a habitual or iterative action. This meaning can be stressed by a range of adverbs expressing:

- cyclical time such as օրեկան օրեկան “daily”, տարեկան “yearly”, ամսական “monthly”, գիշերով “at night”, ուրիշ օր “every day” etc.

- frequency or interval as հաճախ հաճախ “often”, հաճախություն “seldom”, տերոր “someday” sakav “rarely”, երբեմն երբեմն “sometimes”, ուղինրից ուղինրից “everywhere” ջանակ այ

źamanak “from time to time, occasionally”, ճեց-ճեց mek-mek “sometimes, from time to time” etc.

- habituality, as սովորաբար sovorabar “usually”, միշ mišt “always”, ճեց ճարայր mec masamb “mostly” etc. (Kozintseva 1995:281)

(430) Հասմիկ է առետ է գր-ում.
Hasmik-nom-the letter-nom she is write-ptcp.pres.
“Hasmik writes a letter. Hasmik is writing a letter.” (Action in progress)

(431) Հասմիկ է բաժին է փոքր սերը ու գր-ում առետ.
Hasmik-nom-the sit-ptcp.pres. she is pen-nom-the take-ptcp.pres. conj write-ptcp.pres. letter-nom-the
“Hasmik sits down, takes the pen and writes the letter.”

(432) Հենց ռայ ուտակ ծրած ածրուկ ու իր անցկաց Փարիզ.
henc’ val’ toms em verc’n-um toln-um
just tomorrow ticket-nom I am take-ptcp.pres. leave-ptcp.pres
em amen inc’ ew t’ie’-um P’ariz.
I am everything-nom conj fly-ptcp.pres. Paris-nom
“Just tomorrow I take a ticket, leave everything and fly to Paris.
(Just tomorrow I will take a ticket, will leave everything and will fly to Paris).”

(433) Հասմիկ է խոս-ում է իտալեր.
Hasmik-nom-the speak-ptcp.pres. she is Italian-nom
“Hasmik speaks Italian.” (Agent’s ability to perform an action)

(434) Հասմիկ է հաճախ առետ է գր-ում.
Hasmik-nom-the often letter-nom she is write-ptcp.pres.
“Hasmik often writes letters.” (Habitual, iterative action)

Stative Present Tense

a. Denotes a one-time state in the present tense (with the auxiliary “em” and the resultative participle), e.g. իստակ է ստաց էm “I sit”, “I am sitting”

b. Denotes a habitual state in the present tense (with the auxiliary linel in the present tense and the resultative participle) e.g. առետ է ամեն linum “I am habitually, usually sitting”
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(435) Հասմիկին անհատո երբեք ենքւմ։

Hasmik-է nst-ac է grasenyak-um.
Hasmik.NOM-the sit-PTCP.RES.  she is office-LOC
“Hasmik is sitting in the office.”
Note: the stative tense form, expressing a state and not an action. With the auxiliary
“em” it more closely refers to a state at the moment of speech, i.e. Hasmik is sitting
in the office NOW.

(436) Հասմիկին օրերը երբեք ենքում անում։

Hasmik-է amen օր grasenyak-um nst-ac
Hasmik.NOM-the every day. NOM office-LOC sit-PTCP.RES.
է lin-um.
she is be-PTCP.PRES.
“Hasmik sits in the office every day.”
Note: the stative present tense form, expressing a habitual state of the agent by
means of the inflected form of the auxiliary ենքում linel: Hasmik sits in the office, not
[just] now (at the moment of speech), but every day.

Processual Present Tense
Denotes an action that is usually/habitually in progress; the processual participle in -is and
the present tense of the auxiliary linel: կարդաս ենքում kardalis em linum “I am usu-
ally reading”.

(437) Այդ ժամանակ Հասմիկին անում։

ayd ժամանակ Hasmik-է sovorel-is
that time.NOM Hasmik.NOM-the learn-PTCP.PROC.
է lin-um.
she is be-habitually-PTCP.PRES.
“(Usually) At this time Hasmik is learning.”
Note: a habitual action in progress: usually at a certain time Hasmik is learning. The
action in progress is expressed by the processual participle, the habitual
action by the auxiliary ենքում linel.

2.5.7.2.2 Imperfect (or Past) tense
Formation
a. The dynamic i.e. “regular” imperfect tense is formed with the present participle in -nu
-um and the auxiliary “to be” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրում էի “I wrote”
b. The stative imperfect tense is formed with the resultative participle in -wod -ac and
the auxiliary “to be” in the imperfect tense for durative and with the auxiliary “to be
repeatedly habitually” in the imperfect tense for non-durative statives, e.g. գրում էի, գրում էի ենքում grac էի, գրում էի ենքում grac էի linum
c. The processual tense is formed with the processual participle in -հու -is and the auxiliary “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրելել -ի է հետո գրել է լինում. 166

**Meaning**

The primary characteristic of the imperfect tense is that it denotes an action which started in the past and which is not completed. Thus, the imperfect tense always expresses the imperfective aspect.

As with the present tense, the imperfect tense can refer to temporally localised situations or to general situations.

In temporally localized situations,

a. if the expression refers to a single situation in the past, the dynamic imperfect tense conveys the meaning of an ongoing process. (See (438) below)

b. The dynamic imperfect tense denotes an action that was in progress at the reference point i.e. the situation is viewed from the synchronic reference point. The imperfect conveys the meaning of an ongoing process. This synchronic point of reference can be additionally expressed by deictic adverbs like հիմա “now”, այս պահին ays pahin “at this moment”, այժմ “now” etc. (439)

c. If the reference point is retrospective, the imperfect conveys a situation included in the progression of events. The marker of this usage is usually a time adverbial of limited duration and/or other elements, indicating that the situation referred to is part of the succession of events; e.g. constructions with the postposition հետո heto “after”. (440)

(438) Երեկ անդամ էի գր-ում իմ էլբոր-է.  
*Yesterday I wrote a letter to my brother.*

(439) Միգուցէ նա հիմա հանրահայտ պար-ող էր.  
*Perhaps he was a popular dancer now.*

(440) Հաղցեց հետո Վարդան-է նստ-ում էր աշխատ-էլ-է.  
*After eating Vardan sat down to work.*

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166. The prospective forms are not productive in this tense. They are formed with the future participle in -ու-u and the auxiliary “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրելել է հետո գրել է լինում.
In general situations,

d. the dynamic imperfect tense denotes a habitual action in the past. This meaning can be stressed by a range of adverbs conveying habitual meaning, as given above. (See (441) below)

e. The dynamic imperfect denotes an iterative action in the past, also marked by adverbial modifiers, as given above. (442)

f. The dynamic imperfect may also: (i.) characterise the result of the action, or (ii.) relate to the beginning of an action or state, or (iii.) relate to the final moment of the action. These meanings are usually marked by complements or adverbial modifiers which imply that the action has reached its limit or the result has been obtained.¹⁶⁷ (443)

(441) Գյուղի տեղամասում միջոց հատում էր ընդվ.

Gyuł-um T'eni-n mišt hangist ēr k'n-um.

village-LOC T'eni.nom—the always quiet she was sleep-PTCP.PRES.

“In the village T'eni always slept quietly.”

(442) Որոշ իրենին հաճախ առանձնագրում էր ծավալ էր բարձր գիշեր:

(Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

oroš erexa-ner-i mot mayr-er-n aveli ha心头

certain child-PL-DAT POST mother-PL.NOM—the more often

ēin gal-is.

they were come-PTCP.PRES.

“Certain children the mothers visited more often.”

(443) Ուսուցիչ համալսարանում կան կոչ.

Usuc'ë'-ê hankarc sks-um ēr goñ-al.

teacher.nom—the suddenly start-PTCP.PRES. he was yell-INF

“The teacher suddenly started to yell.”

**Stative Imperfect Tenses**

a. The stative imperfect denotes a one-time state in the past (with the auxiliary “em” and resultative participle), e.g. ընալ ես nstac ēi “I sit”, “I was sitting.” (See (444) and (445) below)

b. The stative imperfect denotes a durative and/or habitual state in the past (with the auxiliary “linel” in the imperfect tense and the resultative participle) e.g. ընալ ես nstac ēi linum “I was usually sitting; I was sitting for a long time.” (See (446) below)

(444) Անի կանգնով էր պատահանում էր համար անհաջ.

Ani-n kangn-ac ēr patuhan-š araj

Ani.nom—the stand-PTCP.PRES. she was window-DAT POST

ew nay-um ēr depi p'oloc'.

CONJ look-PTCP.PRES. she was prep street.nom

“Ani stood in front of the window and looked on to the street.”

(445) Հեթկ’ 22.01.2007

virahatun-ic araj stip-v-ac ēi
surgery-ABL POST force-pass-PTCP.RES. I was
internet-um p’nt-el
internet-LOC search-INF
inj hetakrkr’-ol telekut’yun-ner.
I.DAT interest-PTCP.SUB. information-PL.NOM

“Before the surgery I was forced to search the internet for information interesting me.”

(446) Արմենփրկիչ հումանիտար սահմանում էր հինգ ամսամյակի հիմանմադար

naxkin-um himnadram-ē stip-v-ac ēr
former days-LOC foundation.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES. it was
lin-um arjagankēl humanitar bnuyt’-i
be-PTCP.PRES. respond-INF humanitarian character-DAT
hratap xndir-ner-i-n.
urgent problem-PL-DAT-the

“In former days the foundation used to be forced to respond to urgent issues of humanitarian character.”

**Processual Imperfect Tense**

Denotes an action that was usually/habitually in progress in the past; processual participle in -հու -is and the imperfect tense of the auxiliary ինչպես linel: կարդալու էր ինչպես kardalis ēi linum “I was usually reading”

(447) Գրականություն 4–50.

Amen angam erb haves-ov ēr patmel-is
every time.NOM conj relish-INST he was narrate-PTCP.PROC.
lin-um as-um ēr.
be-PTCP.PRES. say-PTCP.PRES. he was

“Every time, when he was narrating with relish, he used to say. […]”

2.5.7.2.3 **Simple perfect tense**

**Formation**

a. The dynamic perfect tense is formed from the verb’s perfect participle and the inflected auxiliary ես em in the present tense. e.g. կանաց էմ gncel em “I have gone”.
b. The stative perfect tense, although it scarcely occurs, is formed from the verb’s participle resultative and the inflected auxiliary “linel” in the perfect tense, e.g. ṭogwòmò bù tēnì kangnac em etel “I have stood”.

c. The rarely seen processual perfect tense is formed from the processual participle and the inflected auxiliary ṭγò “linel” in present perfect tense, e.g. ṭogwò bù bēnì gnalis em etel “I have going.”

In colloquial MEA, the final - l of the perfect participle is often omitted when using the perfect or pluquamperfect tense, as in e.g. bì ṭgwu Êsù ùsì. es nran č’em tese[1]. “I have not seen him.”

**Functions and meanings**

The meaning and the function of the perfect depends highly on the aspectual class and valency of a verb: (a) resultative, (b) perfective and (c) inclusive.

a. The resultative meaning refers to the resulting state of an action and is mainly expressed using intransitive/terminative (telic) verbs such as õnèrë adcomings “to become”, ṭìgal “to go”, ñdnèrë hongel “to tire, to become tired”, by verbs of acquisition such as ṭìgal gnel “to buy”, ṭìnèrë vercnel “to take; to get”, ñnìbò aŋnel “to take, to buy” and by dynamic verbs affecting the possessive object, e.g. ñngbò ñnwèrë aŋkerè pâkél “to close the eyes”.

b. Other terminative verbs express the “perfective” meaning implying that the consequence or the result of the past action is relevant for the subsequent period.

c. A terminative verbs often express durative (“inclusive”) meaning in the perfect tense, i.e. an activity or state whose duration comprises the period from a given moment in the past, up to and including the moment of speech or some other reference point in the past.

a. The dynamic present perfect is used in three major contexts: (1) in conversations referring to isolated actions in the past, (2) in accounts of unwitnessed actions in the past and (3) in narration.

1. In conversations, the dynamic present perfect denotes the experimental meaning that a situation existed at least once at some time in the past (Comrie 1976: 58)

2. The dynamic perfect is used in accounts of unwitnessed or inferred events; as such it is compatible with dubitative adverbs and parenthetical words, such as ñngbò karces “as if”, ñnìbò erewi “probably”, ñnìbò gúcè “maybe, likely” etc.

3. In narration and in fiction, past events are expressed by the perfect, if they are understood as digressions from the main event.

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168. Please note that prospective forms are also not productive and are obsolete in the perfect tense.


- Note: the dynamic perfect is used in colloquial Armenian in conditional sentences to denote an action, which shall be performed in future. This is usually expressed by aorist in written Armenian.¹⁷¹

b. The stative present perfect is used in accounts of past events and denotes a state in the remote past, which is not taking place at the moment of speech.

c. The processual present perfect denotes an iterative action in progress in the past.

d. The prospective present perfect denotes a prospective action in the past.

- Resultative Functions of the Present Perfect

a. With Intransitive/ Terminative Verbs

(448) Հայկ-է կարդաչ-է է այս գիրք-է.
Armen-_nom the read-ptcp.perf. he is this book.nom-the
“Armen has gone out.” (I.e. he is not here any more)

(449) Նա ավարտ-է է իր աշխատանք-է.
he.nom complete-ptcp.perf. he is his work.nom-the
“He has completed his work.” (I.e. the work is finished)

(450) Տենիս խաղ-է է հաճախ-է.
Tenis.nom play-Inf-abl become tired-ptcp.perf. I am
“I have become tired from playing tennis.”

b. With Verbs of Acquisition

(451) Անի-է նվագած-է է նոր մեքենա.
Ani.nom the buy-Inf-abl become new car.nom
“Ani has bought a new car.” (It is in her garage now)

(452) Սակ-է դուր-է է է կո նամա-է.
receive-ptcp.perf. I am your letter.nom-the
“I have received your letter.” (It is in my hands now)

- Perfective Meaning with Terminative Verbs

(453) Հայկ-է կարդաչ-է է այս գիրք-է.
Hayk.nom the read-Inf-abl. he is this book.nom-the
“Hayk has read this book.” (Now he can tell you the contents)

– Inclusive Meaning with Aterminative Verbs

(454) բռնեց չի տոնելք, որ հայրենիքում չի կարող տանած վերջին:
(Hetk' 12.02.2007)
erbewē č’-i ēl mtac-el or hayrenik’-um ēl
ever neg-he is also think-PTCP.PERF. conj fatherland-LOC also
kar-oł ē antun mn-al.
can-PTCP.PRES. he is homeless stay-INF
“He has never even thought that he could stay homeless also in the fatherland.”
(But now he sees that he is mistaken)

– Perfect in the Function of Denoting an Unwitnessed Event

(455) Վահանը բոլոր հանգստները զգուշացնում:
Vahan-ě erevi haskac’-el ē namak-d.
Vahan.NOM-the probably understand-PTCP.PERF. he is letter.NOM-your
“Vahan has probably understood your letter.”

– Perfect in Narrative Function

(456) Հայաստան այբուբեն-ը ստեղծվել է հինգերորդ դարում:
Armenian alphabet.NOM-the create-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
hingerord dar-um.
5th century-LOC
“The Armenian alphabet was created in the 5th century.”

– Stative Present Perfect

(457) երեկոյանը կարող է շատ բաներ, հատուկ բնապատկերները ճանաչելու համար կօգնել շատ բաներ, ինչպես ոչ պակ պատկեր:
( Armenpress)
arknew-v-oł-ě eł-el ē nra ordi-n isk
kidnapped-NOM-the be-PTCP.PERF. he is his son.NOM-the conj
čentanik’-i het xndir-n arden dranic’ ařaj ē
family-DAT POST question.NOM-the already that-ABL POST it is
luc-v-ac ēl-el nš-el
solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-PTCP.PERF. remark-PTCP.PERF.
ē G. Kirakosyan-ě.
he is G. Kirakosyan.NOM-the
“[…]the kidnapped one was his son, but the problem with the family has already been resolved before that,” “remarked G. Kirakosyan.”

– Processual Present Perfect
“When my father came in the evening, I have been writing.”

– Use of Perfect Tense in Conditional Clauses in Colloquial Armenian:

“If I see him, I will tell you.”

…instead of more common aorist in “written” Armenian:

“If is see him, I will tell you.”

2.5.7.2.4 Past perfect tense (Pluquamperfekt)

Formation

a. The dynamic forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the perfect participle in -el and the auxiliary տա em “to be” in the imperfect tense. i.e. կարդացել el “I had read”.

b. The stative forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the resultative participle in -եի and the auxiliary դա linel “to be repeatedly, habitually” in the past perfect tense, i.e. գնալ el “I had lied down”. These forms occur very seldom.

c. The processual forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the processual participle -ել and the auxiliary դա linel “to be repeatedly, habitually” in the past perfect tense, i.e. կարդացել el “I had been going”. These forms occur very seldom.\(^{172}\)

172. Prospective forms do not occur.
Meaning and Function

According to Comrie, MEA past perfect can cover the meaning of the past of the second degree of remoteness (Comrie 1985:68); i.e. the past perfect is directly related to the moment of speech in the deictic centre.

In MEA, the past perfect is used in two functions, also in independent clauses and dialogues:

– it relates to a reference point in the past;
– it relates to the moment of speech and designates the remote past.

As in other languages, the past perfect denotes an action/situation that precedes the main action (expressed by aorist or imperfect) and it denotes:

a. actions that have been performed in the past, and have been completed to a certain point in the past (461);
b. actions that have been performed in the remote past. Such a reference to an interval preceding to the reference point is sometimes explicitly expressed by adverbs such as վաղ vağ “long ago”, արդեն ardeñ “already” or the preposition մինչ minč’ew “until” or the postposition առաջ araj “before; ago”; (462) (463) (464)
c. experiential actions in the past;
d. A kind of resultative state as a background for another action, constituting a narrative sequence. (466)

The dynamic past perfect functions also as a remote past, if:

– the reference point coincides with the moment of speech; in such a case the past perfect is directly related to the present;
– sequences of the past perfect are used in narration to express a past action that occurred prior to the events in the main clause denoted by the aorist or the imperfect. It may but also denote successive events in the remote past. In such a context past perfect is usually combined with adverbs like ժամանակ zamanakin “timely”, տարիներ tarinerin “yearly”, see (467)
– in conversational discourse the past perfect may refer to a remote past action with a cancelled result.

Pragmatically, this form is used in utterances expressing apology. Situations denoted by the forms մերսեջիř moşçel čink’ “we had forgotten” and մտկերով mtkerov ēi tarvel “I had let my mind wander” are no longer relevant at the moment of speech (the result is cancelled). (Kozintseva 1999:217)
“On September 15th, 2005 President Ahmed Nejdet Sezer had sent a letter to the pope Benedict 16th in Rome to invite (him) to Turkey.”

“When you came to me, I had already written the letter.”

“When he reached the station, the train had already departed.”

“I had heard about that long ago.”

“President Lewon Ter-Petrosyan had agreed to receive me just the next day.”

“One day in summer the crow had become deeply thirsty.”

“One day in summer the crow had become deeply thirsty.”
Many times I had been in the forest, but it was the first time, that I had to spend the night there.”

Stative Past Perfect

The stative past perfect refers to the results of actions or states that precede the reference point in the past. It is not very productively used, but may occur in certain contexts.

E.g. The speaker refers to a situation which happened one month ago; he says: “A month ago I saw him. He told me that he had been offended, since I had not visited him.”

(468) Մեքսիկացիայից արված գրաֆիկական դեպքերով են պատասխանում իր բնության, նաև
պատրաստությունը:

Many times I had been in the forest, but it was the first time, that I had to spend the night there.”

2.5.7.2.5 Aorist

Formation

The aorist is the only synthetic tense in Armenian. It is formed from the aorist stem of the verb and

a. primary endings for simple verbs in -եղ -el and -ու -al, including verbs suffixed with -ող -v- (passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anticausatives) and -կղ -կr - (causatives).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. եղ</td>
<td>եղեր</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. եղեր</td>
<td>եղեր</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. եղ</td>
<td>եղեր</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. secondary endings for verbs suffixed with -եղու -enal, -ումու -anal, -ու -n-, -ու -c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ու</td>
<td>ուղեր</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. ուղեր</td>
<td>ուղեր</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ու</td>
<td>ուղեր</td>
</tr>
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</table>

There are, however, very scarcely, also forms of a stative, processual and prospective aorist. These forms are produced with the respective participles and the auxiliary եղեր linel to be repeatedly, habitually in aorist.
– Stative aorist, mainly from verbs of position e.g. եղել Kangnac ela “I stood”
– Processual aorist, e.g. գնալ gnalis ela “I was going”

Some deviating aorist forms of frequently used verbs often occur in colloquial Armenian.

– The standard written MEA aorist forms of the verbs բերել berel “to bring”, տալ tal “to give”, թոնել tolnel “to let, to leave”, անել anel “to do, to make”, ձեռ dnel “to put”, are replaced by the following forms in colloquial Armenian (these forms are often historical forms of Classical Armenian):

**Example Aorist 1.SG**

- բերել ber-i instead of standard բերեց berec'-i
- տալ tv-i instead of standard տվեց tvec'-i
- թոնել tol-i instead of standard թոնեց tolec'-i
- անել ar-i instead of standard անեց arec'-i
- ձեռ dr-i instead of standard ձեռց drec'i
- ասել as-i instead of standard ասեց asac'-i etc.

– Sometimes, there are more deviating forms with secondary endings, such as the colloquial forms of the following verbs:

**Example aorist 3.SG.**

- նստավ nstav instead of standard նստաց nstac ‘He sat down’
- բերավ berav instead of standard բերեց berec ‘He brought’
- տվավ tvav instead of standard տվեց tvec ‘He gave’
- ասավ asav instead of standard ասաց asac ‘He said’
- սկսավ sksav instead of standard սկսեց sksec ‘He started’

**Meaning and Function**

The aorist is the tense to denote a completed action in the past and thus expresses the perfective aspect.

**The Dynamic Aorist**

a. This denotes, almost exclusively, a single action in the past in an independent sentence: it relates to a situation at a certain point in the past. Therefore it often

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173. Prospective forms are not productive in the aorist.
175. Even more frequently than this deviating form, the also deviating form ասել asec'i is used, i.e. the aorist stem of the utterance verb ասել asel “to say” in Colloquial Armenian is ասել- asec’—and not as in Standard written Armenian ասում asac’-. see Ch. 2.5.8. “Irregular verbs”, p. 277f.
co-occurs with terminative verbs, definite temporal adverbs such as տեղի ժամը այն զամանk “then”, expression of time (e.g. տեղի ժամը վեց’ է ‘at 6 o’clock”) and weakly definite time adverbials as երբ օր “one day”. The aorist is non compatible with adverbs or phrases denoting indefinite time, such as երբեւ, որը ժամանակ արեւէ զամանk “ever”, հաճախ հաճ “often” etc.

b. It is used as the main form of narration, especially if several actions/situations succeed and only if the narrator is a witness of the actions.

c. With aterminative verbs it pinpoints the action/situation at a specific moment or interval on the time axis, (1) ingressive (2) limited duration. Particularly motion verbs are often used in the ingressive sense, especially in colloquial Armenian.

d. In direct speech it refers to the action that had occurred immediately before the moment of speech. The result of this action must be observable at the moment of speech.

e. In subordinate conditional clauses the aorist is often used to denote a single, unexpected action in the future or an iterative unexpected action.

Single Event in the Past

(469) Թուր տարի արդար բերք ստաց-է:

*Ays tari aŋat berk’ stac’-ank’.*
This year.NOM rich harvest.NOM receive-AOR.1.PL.
“This year we had a rich harvest.”

(470) Ուեր շատ շատ սպաս-է ճեր կոմ ջեր-ակ’:

*Menk’ šat spasec’-ink’ jez buc’ č-ek-ak’.*
we.NOM much wait-AOR.1.PL you.DAT but neg-come-AOR.2.PL.
“We waited for you much (long), but you didn’t come.”

(471) Անին վերջապես հասած:

*Ani-n verjapes has-av.*
Ani.NOM-the finally arrive-AOR.3.SG.
“Ani arrived finally.”

Successive Actions in a Narration

(472) Հայկ-ե տուն եկ-է բանալ-է գրպան-է

*Hayk-ě tun ek-av banali-n grpan-ě*
Hayk.NOM-the house.NOM come-AOR.3.SG key.NOM-the pocket.NOM-the
*dr-ec’ ew štap këyler-ov durs gn-ac’.*
put-AOR.3.SG conj quick step-PL-INST out go-AOR.3.SG.

“Hayk came home, put the key into the pocket, and went out with quick steps.”

Ingressive Meaning of Aorist with Verbs of Emotion
(473) Լիլիթ սահմանում է զգճ որն սկսած է հասնել:

$Lilit\text{-}n$ $atec'$ $ayn \ nor$ $usanol\text{-}i\text{-}n$

$Lilit'\text{ NOM}\text{-the} \ hate\text{-}\text{AOR.3.SG.} \ that \ new \ student\text{-DAT}\text{-the}$

“Lilit' started to hate that new student.”

Ingressive Meaning with Motion Verbs

(474) Ես գնացած եմ.

$es \ gnac\text{-}i$

$i\text{ NOM} \ go\text{-}\text{AOR.1.SG.}$

(lit : I went). “I am gone!”

In Subordinate Conditional Clauses, (particularly in written MEA)

(475) Եթե ես շատ եմ գնացած.

$Et'\text{e} \ jyun \ ek\text{-}av \ vran\text{-}ner\text{-}ě \ kcack\text{-}v\text{-}en$

if $snow\text{ NOM} \ come\text{-AOR.3.SG.} \ tent\text{-PL.NOM}\text{-the} \ cover\text{-PASS\text{-COND.FUT.3.PL}$

$minč'\text{ew} \ gagat'\text{-}ner\text{-}ě$

$prep \ top\text{-PL.NOM}\text{-the}$

“If it snows, the tents will be covered to the roofs”

**Stative Aorist**

The stative aorist occurs very rarely. It is formed with the resultative participle and the aorist of the auxiliary ջենու, e.g. արխավության փուլ $stipvac\text{ ela}$ “I was forced”. It is usually restricted to some manipulation verbs in their passive forms, such as սպառել $stipel$ “compel”, հարկադրել $harkadrel$ “oblige” etc. and to position verbs.

(476) Այսինքն ունենք պատկանող պատկերագրություն պատկերագրական բարձր կարգի համակարգչային

$Armenpress 05.05.2006$

$sakayn \ anhavasar \ už\text{-}er\text{-i} \ patča\text{-ov} \ stip\text{-ac}$

$conj \ unequal \ force\text{-PL\-DAT} \ reason\text{-INST} \ force\text{-PASS\text{-PTCP\text{-RES}}$

$el\text{-av} \ töl\text{-nel} \ hayreni \ bnakavayr\text{-er\text{-n} \ u}$

$be\text{-AOR.3.SG} \ leave\text{-INF} \ native \ place\text{-PL.NOM}\text{-the} \ conj$

$hostat\text{-v\text{-el} \ HH\text{-um}}$

$install\text{-refl\text{-INF} \ RA\text{-LOC}$

“But because of unequal forcers he was forced to leave his native places and to settle in the Republic of Armenia.”

176. Abbreviation for Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն Hayastani Hanrapetut'yun “Republic of Armenia”.
(477) Ümumdür, դեր դիմագրական ուղիները դիմագրականներ համապատասխան արտադրության
վերք: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

Nkatenk’ or dataran-ě stip-v-ac
remark-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL CONJ court.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES.
el-av datavč’iř-ě hrapartak-el ahmuk-i mej.
be-AOR.3.SG verdict.NOM-the publish-INF noise-DAT POST

“Let us remark, that the court was forced to publish the verdict in a riot.”

Processual Aorist
The processual forms of the aorist are scarcely used and can be considered as
unproductive.

2.5.7.2.6 Simple future tense177
Future tense can be regarded as a tense rarely used in MEA; this is mainly due to the fact that
future meaning is also expressed with the subjunctive and the debitive moods.

Formation
a. The dynamic future tense is formed with the future participle in -ű -u and the auxil-
liary tű em in the present tense. i.e. qúwını tű gnal u em “I will go”
b. The stative future tense is formed with the resultative participle in -wo -ac and the
auxiliary լհու linel in the future tense, i.e. լվաոքսո tű լհու pařkac em linelu “I will
be lied down”.
c. The processual future tense is formed with the processual participle in -çë -is and the
auxiliary լհու linel in the future tense, i.e. qúwını tű լհու gnalis em linelu “I will be
going”.

Meaning and function
The simple dynamic future tense denotes:
– an action, which will be performed after the moment of speech. This action can be
performed immediately after the moment of speech but also after a while in the future.
Furthermore, it is not important, if the action will be completed in future or not; (478) (479)
– planned action which is expected or intended by the agent; (480) (481)
– prescriptive use in utterances with directive form. (482)

(478) Ումաւու քամա ամապամայան ութանին թու:
Nran valé anpayman tesnel-u em.
he.DAT tomorrow certainly see-PTCP.FUT I am
“I will certainly see him tomorrow.”

or himi bolor-ov ver ken-ank' u gn-ank'
conj now all-inst stand up-subj.fut.1.pl conj go-subj.fut.1.pl.
ëstel-ic' ēn zinvor-n um hamar ē
here-abl that soldier-nom-the who-dat post he is
kangnel-u dirk'-er-um?
stand-ptcp.fut. position-pl-loc.
“If we all together stand up now and go from here, for whom will the soldier hold
the fort?”

gišer-ē havanabar anjrew ē gal-u.
night.nom-the probably rain it is come-ptcp.fut.
“It will probably rain in the night.”

“…and before starting his activity, he will be forced to accept a heavy decision and to
always take into account the rights of the opposite side.”

Stative Future Tense
The stative future tense occurs very rarely. Like the stative aorist, it preferably occurs with
manipulation and position verbs.
Chapter 2. Morphology

Chapter 2. Morphology

2.5.7.2.7 Future in the past tense

This is the least of all used tenses in MEA.

Formation

a. The dynamic future in the past is formed with the future participle in -i -u and the auxiliary բּ em in the past tense, i.e. գնկ դե “I will have gone”

b. The stative future in the past is formed with the resultative participle in -աc and the auxiliary եկ լինե in the future past, i.e. պարկակ եկ լինե “I will have laid down”.

c. The processual future in the past is formed with the processual participle in -i -is and the auxiliary եկ լինե in the future past, i.e. գնալ եկ գնալ եկ լինե “I will have been going”

Meaning and Function

In general future in the past denotes an action/state, which is in the future when seen from a viewpoint in the past.

Dynamic future in the past denotes:

a. an action that will have already taken place at a certain reference point in future;

b. a planned action that would have occurred in future, as seen from the viewpoint in the past, i.e. future in the past denotes anteriority relative to a future event;

c. an action, whose performance in the future is unsure, i.e. assumptions about past actions.

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178. The Armenian abbreviation ՀՆԱ HNA stands for Համայնքի Ներկայացուցչի Համակարգ "gross domestic product".
(485) Սիրել գալի թե Մոսկվա թեր:  
Ani-n gnal-u ḫr Moskva  
Ani.nom-the go-PTCP.FUT. she was Moscow.nom

bayc’ hivandac’-av.  
conj fall ill-AOR.3.SG.

“Ani had planned to go to Moscow, but she fell ill.” (Lit.: Ani would have gone to Moscow, but she fell ill.)

(486) Որքու գնալ աշխատանք թե՛ռանք թե Մոսկվա:  
Ork’an git-em ašxatank’-ē katerel-u ḫr Suren-ē.  
as far know-PRES.1.SG work.nom-the do-PTCP.FUT. he was Suren.nom-the

“As far as I know, Suren was to do this work.”

(487) Մեծ դեպք եղել է. Համբ հավ էլին:  
Ełbayr-s gal-u ḫr ē’-git-em  
brother.nom-my come-PTCP.FUT. he was neg-know-PRES.1.SG

inč’u ē’-ek-av.  
why neg-come-AOR.3.SG.

“My brother should have come, I do not know, why he didn’t come.”  
“My brother was going to come, I do not know why he didn’t.”

(488) Անցալության ժամանակ հայ նոր համբառության տարածքների զարգացմունքի երկշռջակի մակերական մեծության պաշարության, որոնց նպատակը թե՛ր Ազգային ժողովի աշխատանքի պահանջարկությունների:  (Armenpress, 27.12.2005)

C’uc’ahandes-um nerkayac’-v-ac ēin naew hašmandamut’y-an  
exposition-LOC present-pass-PTCP.RES. they were also disability-DAT

xndir-ner-i-n veraber-ol lazerayin skavrak-ner  
question-PL-DAT-the refer-PTCP.SUB. Laser-disc-PL.NOM

or-onk’ tr-v-elu ēin  
rel-PL.NOM give-pass-PTCP.FUT. they were

Azgayin zolov-i patgamavor-ner-i-n.  
National Assembly-DAT deputy-PL-DAT-the.

“In the exposition there were also presented Laser-Discs regarding disability questions, which were to be given to the Deputies of the National Assembly.”

The stative future in the past occurs rarely, and is almost restricted to manipulation and position verbs.

The processual and prospective future in the past can be regarded as unproductive and obsolete.

2.5.7.3 Moods  
MEA has five moods

a. Indicative  
b. Subjunctive
c. Conditional
d. Imperative
e. Debitive

The indicative portrays the state of affairs as real. It is also considered the most basic mood and usually expresses neutral, objective statements.

2.5.7.3.1 Subjunctive

Generally, the subjunctive, in contrast to the indicative, describes the state of affairs as subjectively evaluated by the speaker as wish, doubt, hypothesis, recommendation, probability etc.

In MEA the subjunctive has many functions and is used in simple sentences and subordinate clauses. In subordinate conditional clauses, final clauses as well as in comparative constructions it denotes a hypothetical action.

Formation

The subjunctive is expressed by synthetic verbal forms in two tenses: in the future and the past. It also distinguishes dynamic and stative forms, as with indicative tenses.

It is formed using the present stem of the verb, the verb’s conjugation vowel and the personal endings.

- Dynamic subjunctives are formed with the present stem and the personal endings.
- Stative subjunctives are formed with the resultative participle and the subjunctive future/past of the auxiliary *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually”.
- Processual subjunctives are formed with the processual participle and the subjunctive future/past of the auxiliary *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually”. The processual subjunctive is unproductive.
- Prospective subjunctives are formed with the future participle and the subjunctive future/past of the auxiliary *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually”. Prospective subjunctives occur but scarcely and are unproductive.

179. Please note that the two defective verbs *nuđi un-el* ”to have” and *guñtül gi-tel* ”to know” form their present and imperfect indicate subjunctive-like, i.e. synthetically, not by using the present participle and auxiliary: *nuđi unem* ”I have”, *nuđi unei* ”I had” and *guñtül gitem* ”I know”, *guñtül gitei* ”I knew” do convey present meaning/imperfect meaning. To express and to form other tenses and moods, the expanded forms *nuđi-un-al un-en-al* and *guñtül-gi-en-al* are used; if these suffixed and expanded stems are used to form present or imperfect indicative they convey a strongly habitual and iterative action.
Table 13, 14. Formation of Subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
<th></th>
<th>STATIVE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>կնաս</td>
<td>կնայի</td>
<td>գնաչ ենեմ</td>
<td>գնաչ ենեի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gnam</td>
<td>gnyi</td>
<td>gnačac linem</td>
<td>gnačac linei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SG</td>
<td>կնաս</td>
<td>կնայուր</td>
<td>գնաչ ենու</td>
<td>գնաչ ենու</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gnas</td>
<td>gnyir</td>
<td>gnačac lines</td>
<td>gnačac lineir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SG</td>
<td>կնաս</td>
<td>կնար</td>
<td>գնաչ ենի</td>
<td>գնաչ ենի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gna</td>
<td>gnyin</td>
<td>gnačac lin</td>
<td>gnačac liner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PL</td>
<td>կնանք</td>
<td>կնայուր'</td>
<td>գնաչ ենուր</td>
<td>գնաչ ենուր</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gnak'</td>
<td>'gnayink'</td>
<td>gnačac linenk'</td>
<td>gnačac lineink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PL</td>
<td>կնայք</td>
<td>կնայուր'</td>
<td>գնաչ ենուր</td>
<td>գնաչ ենուր</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gnak'</td>
<td>'gnayik'</td>
<td>gnačac linek'</td>
<td>gnačac linek'</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. PL</td>
<td>կնան</td>
<td>կնայուր'</td>
<td>գնաչ ենու</td>
<td>գնաչ ենու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gnan</td>
<td>gnyin</td>
<td>gnačac linen</td>
<td>gnačac linein</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All forms of the subjunctive are negated in a very simple way:

- the dynamic subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle ե- չ- to the verb in the subjunctive
- the stative subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle ե- չ- to the auxiliary ենել linel in the subjunctive
- the processual subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle ե- չ- to the auxiliary ենել linel in the subjunctive
- the prospective subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle ե- չ- to the auxiliary ենել linel in the subjunctive
### Chapter 2. Morphology

**Table 15. Formation of Negated Subjunctive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
<th>STATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>ę·gna-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESSUAL</th>
<th>PROSPECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Meaning and Functions**

Generally speaking, the subjunctive denotes an action/state that is desired by the speaker (optative meaning) or an action/state that takes place under a certain condition. Besides, it also conveys an intentional, hypothetical, imperative and experiential meaning.

2.5.7.3.1.1 **Subjunctive future**

**Dynamic Forms**

a. Simple sentences

- In simple sentences the subjunctive future primarily denotes an action that shall be performed immediately after the point of speech, or that is desired by the speaker. In optative meaning and function the subjunctive is often used for idioms expressing wishes.

(489) ę·gnał ę·gnał ę·gnał ę·gnał. (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

berem ews mek hetak'r'ir őrinak.

“I want to bring yet another interesting example. I shall bring yet another interesting example.”

- Secondarily, the subjunctive future denotes an action that is possible to be performed in the future from the speaker’s point of view or via an indirect request; i.e. if the speaker wants to have the action performed.

- The subjunctive can be used in hortative meaning.

(490) ę·gnał ę·gnał ę·gnał ę·gnał.

gn-ank' tun!

go-subj.fut.1.pl house.nom

“Let's go home!”

- The subjunctive future is also used for polite requests, meaning that the action requested by the speaker shall be performed at a certain point in time.

- Only agentive verbs may contain an imperative meaning in the subjunctive: if the clause contains modal words that express doubt or a desire. Overt markers are often
in real imperative forms. The use of the subjunctive instead of the imperative is very common in colloquial Armenian: here the unstressed particle վի  mi is used with the subjunctive to express a wish or soft directive of the speaker.\(^{180}\)

(491) վի звучմու պատահք:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Mi շարժ-էս ays at’oř-é?} \\
&\text{part move-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG this chair.NOM-the} \\
&\text{“Move this chair, please! Would you please move this chair?”}
\end{align*}
\]

Often one can even hear the combination of the unstressed particle վի  mi with the qualifier իս hat and the subjunctive:

(492) իս звучմու պատահք:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mi hat շարժ-էս ays at’oř-é?} \\
&\text{part QUAL move-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG this chair.NOM-the} \\
&\text{“Move this chair, please! Would you please move this chair?”}
\end{align*}
\]

– Negated subjunctive denotes prevention – a polite form of a negated imperative (prohibitive), which is very popular in colloquial Eastern Armenian.

(493) երև գիտա:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Her’u եչ-gn-as.} \\
&\text{far neg-go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.} \\
&\text{“Do not go far away (please)!”}
\end{align*}
\]

– Subjunctive can be used with a general subject for slogans, appeals and in proverbs.

(494) ու իրիտայ Եվ ըաղ վ։\(^{181}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ov kard-a na mard a.} \\
&\text{REL read-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG he.NOM human.NOM he is} \\
&\text{“Whoever reads, he/she is a human.”}
\end{align*}
\]

– The subjunctive is obligatorily used in the function of an “analytic imperative”: it is formed with the 2.SG. imperative of the verb տուն t’ořnel “let”, and the subjunctive future. (See Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 271f.)

(495) ժեղ Արմենար գաւ շուտ: 181

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{T’oř Արմեն-է gn-a tun.} \\
&\text{let-IMP.2.SG Armen.NOM-the go-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG house.NOM} \\
&\text{“Let Armen go home!”}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{180}\) Լարագյուլյան 1981: 98.

\(^{181}\) This is the colloquial or even dialectal form of է է he/she/it is, Present 3.SG.
b. Subordinate Clauses

The subjunctive is obligatorily used in subordinate clauses of condition, concession and purpose.

Typical subjunctive triggers are

- volitional verbs such as ԭհերջու դուր “to ask”, ծախսում հարց’նել “to ask”, երդին ուզել “to wish, to want”, ծախսում կամել “to will, to wish”, ծախսում կանկան “to wish, to desire” etc.; (496) (497)
- non-factive mental verbs such as իվերջում վաքել “to fear, to be afraid”; դուրթում ուռաջական “to be glad” etc.; (498)
- phrases such as անհրաժեշտ էլ ավելի ավելի “it is better”, իվերջում էլ կարելի “it is possible, is it possible? “with or without the conjunction էլ or “that”; (499) (500)
- conjunction էլ(պեշի) or(պեշ) i “in order to, that”. (501)

If the subordinate clause is governed by such a verb or expression and is introduced by the conjunction էլ or “that”, the subjunctive future must be used referring to an action that is wished/requested by the agent.

(496) Մեծեցալ որպես ձայնորեն:

Ani-ն uz-ում ē որ kez է ուղ. կեց դղկ-էմ.

Ani.nom-the wish-PTCP.pres. she is conj you.dat help-subj.fut.1.sg.

“Ani wants me to help you.”

(497) Արևելյան գրանցավարդապետները, որ 21-րդ դարի համաձայն հանձնացվեն, անհրաժեշտ կրկնարարանք 20-րդ դարի ստանդարտիան.

(Armenpress 15.12.2005)

Et’e menk’ կանկան-ում enk’ որ 21-րդ dar-է

conj we.nom desire-PTCP.pres. we are conj 21st century.nom-the

lini aveli mardkayin menk’ ē-enk’ kar-ol

be-subj.fut.3.sg int human we.nom neg-we are can-PTCP.pres.

mo’na-nal 20-րդ dari sarsap’-ner-է.

forget-inf 20th century-dat horror-pl.nom-the

“If we wish the 21st century to be more human, we can not forget the horrors of the 20th century.”

(498) …այսինքն են պայքարիչ, պես դեպքում կարելի է կապվել ավելի պալական:

(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

kani or vaxen-um en t’è nyn-է kar-ol

conj afraid of-PTCP.pres. they are conj same.nom-the can-PTCP.pres.

ć krcn-v-el amen vayrkyan.

it repeat-antic-inf every second.nom

“…since they are afraid that the same can recur every second.”
Aveli lav ē Anuš-i-n harc’n-es.

“It is better to ask Anuš.”

Kareli ē ns-tem?

“May I take a seat?” (Lit.: is it possible that I sit down?)

Hayastan-ě petk’ ē amen inč’ an-i Armenia.

“Armenia must do everything that this mark would be positive.”

Please note that there is no sequence of time: independent from the tense of the subjunctive trigger verb, the subjunctive future has to be used, e.g.

“I asked Vardan to translate the letter into Russian.” (Lit.: I asked Vardan that he would translate the letter into Russian.)

Note: it is common in spoken Armenian to use volitional and modal verbs with the main verb in the subjunctive (503) (504) (505) (506) instead of the infinitive in written Standard Armenian (503a) (504a) (505a) (506a). Both spoken and written Armenian use volitional and modal verbs with a dependent subordinate clause with the conjunction որ or “that” and the verb in the subjunctive (505b) (506b).
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(505) Անի, կարող ե՞ս զանգակատունասեք;
        Ani  kara-m  kêz  mot g-am?
        Ani,  can-PRES.1.SG  you.DAT  post  come-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
        “Ani, can I visit you?” (Colloquial)

(506) a. Անի, կարող ե՞ս զանգակատունասեք:
        Ani  kar-ôl  em  kêz  mot  g-al.
        Ani,  able-to-PTCP.PRES.  I am  you.DAT  post  come-INF
        “Ani, can I visit you?” (Standard)

(507) Ուղեկոս ես հուդ հաշ մատվես:
        Xndr-um  em  inj  hac’  t-as.
        ask-PTCP.PRES.  I am  1.DAT  bread.NOM  give-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.
        “I ask you to give me bread.” (Colloquial)

(508) a. Ուղեկոս ես հուդ հաշ մատվես:
        Xndr-um  em  inj  hac’  t-al.
        ask-PTCP.PRES.  I am  1.DAT  bread.NOM  give-INF
        “I ask to give me bread.” (Written Standard but also impersonal, neutral)

b. Ուղեկոս ես ես հուդ հաշ մատվես:
        xndr-um  em  or  inj  hac’  t-as.
        ask-PTCP.PRES.  I am  conj  1.DAT  bread.NOM  give-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG
        “I ask to give me bread.” (Lit: I ask you that you give me bread. (If addressing a
certain person))

(504) Տույլ տվեք հանվես:
        t’uyl  tv-ek’  nst-em.
        allow-IMP.2.PL  sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
        “Allow (me) to sit down!” (Colloquial)

(504) a. Տույլ տվեք հանվես:
        t’uyl  tv-ek’  nst-el!
        allow-IMP.2.PL  sit-INF
        “Allow (me) to sit down!” (Standard)

b. Տույլ տվեք հանվես:
        T’uyl  tv-ek’  or  nst-em.
        allow-IMP.2.PL  conj  sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
        “Allow me that I sit down!”

This use of the subjunctive is so wide-spread and common, that it has also begun to enter
the unofficial written language.

182. Please note this is the wide-spread colloquial present tense form of the modal verb
կարողանում  karolanal. The corresponding written (normative) form is կարող ես karol em.
If the clause is governed by an utterance verb, the subjunctive future renders the future action that is desired by the agent of the matrix verb and the main verb conveys causative meaning:

(505) Ասակ’ի ելբ-ուր զանգահար-ի մուկ արետ:  
Asac’i elb-or-s or inkě zangahar-i  
say-AOR.1.SG brother-DAT-my conj he.NOM call-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG  
inj aveli uš.  
1.DAT INT late.  
“I told my brother to call me later.” (Lit: I told my brother that he should call me later.)

(506) Ես համոզեց-ի զանգահար-ի գալ մուկ:  
Es hamozec’-i nran or t’oļn-i  
1.NOM persuade-AOR.1.SG he.DAT conj quit-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG  
ir ašxatankě.  
his job.NOM-the  
“I persuaded him to quit his job.”

(507) Անուշ’ու համիլվող սառց, որ համար 6-հի զանգահար հիշ:  
Anuš-n ir amus-nu-n asac’ or žam-ě  
Anuš.NOM-the her husband-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG conj hour.NOM-the  
vec’-i-n tan-ě lin-i.  
six-DAT-the house-DAT-the be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.  
“Anuš told her husband to be at home at 6 o’clock.”

The subjunctive future is also used in subordinate clauses of purpose, which is put by the agent of the matrix verb. In such a clause, the subjunctive future expresses also dependence from the will of the agent of the main action:

(508) Արհեստական արետ վաճառել արետ. որ կորանվածք, քան պահված:  
(Aṙavot 08.04.2006)  
arhostakanoren aynpes arec’-in or korcan-v-i  
artificially so make-AOR.3.PL conj destroy-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL  
u vačašec’-in.  
conj sell-AOR.3.PL.  
“Artificially, they made it go to ruin, and they sold (it).” (Lit.: They did (it) artificially in such a way, that it would be destroyed…)  

In the conditional clause, the future subjunctive expresses a hypothetical action that is possible from the speaker’s point of view:

(509) Անի’ու քան վաճառված արետ:  
Ani-n or g-a menk’  
Ani.NOM-the conj come-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG we.NOM
“If Ani comes, we will be very happy.”

“But if (there) are losers, we will take the fields from them and will give (them) to more conscientious (people).”

**Stative Subjunctive Future**

The resultative i.e. stative forms of the subjunctive futures can be used

- if the induced action has to be performed before the reference point in the future.
- to express the result/state of a hypothetical experiential state

“We wish that the Cooperation would be more flexible, would be put for the needs of the countries and the people.”
Hypothetical experiential action or a state can also be expressed with the stative subjunctive future:

this subjunctive future refers to hypothetical experiential actions in the future or in the past in non-assertive contexts, particularly with adverbs of hesitation, such as գուչե կամ հաջորդ է “perhaps, maybe”, հաջորդ է nharavor “it is possible” etc. If the same meaning is expressed by the simple perfect, it sounds more natural or perhaps neutral. 183

(513) Գուչե մարագ մարտվիս մազման ծնունդ ինչպիսի:

guc’e marag mtnel-is mk-an-ě
maybe barn.NOM enter-PTCP.PROC. mouse-DAT-the
tes-ac lin-es.
see-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.
“Maybe you saw the mouse when you entered the barn.”

(514) a. Գուչե մարագ մարտվիս մազման ծնունդ ինչպիսի:

Guc’e marag mtnel-is mk-an-ě
maybe barn.NOM enter-PTCP.PROC. mouse-DAT-the
tes-el es.
see-PTCP.PERF. you are
“Maybe you saw the mouse when you entered the barn.”

(515) Հաջորդ է, որ ապահովակ մարտվիս մազման ծնունդ ինչպիսի:

hnaravor է or paharan mak’rel-is vaza-n
possible it is conj cupboard.NOM clean-PTCP.PROC. vase.NOM-the
jard-ac lin-es.
break-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.
“It is possible that you broke the vase when you were cleaning the cupboard.”

183. Only 40 % of the informants (total number 30) argued for a semantic difference between (515) and (515a); the difference again is explained by the aspectual distinction between the participle perfect and resultative. Some informants claimed that the use of the aorist would seem most natural to them in this context. 80% of the informants declared a difference in style between (515) and (515a); of which 70.83 % said that (515) is colloquial Armenian. It is interesting to note that 43.33% of all informants regarded (515) as an antiquated form; and 46.67% of all informants said that they would not use (515) at all to express such a meaning.
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(516) a. Հայկական թերթ, ուր պատկերագրված է գրական գրքի շարքում:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{hnaravor} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{paharan} \quad \text{mak'rel-is} \\
  \text{vaza-n} & \\
  \text{possible it is} & \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{cupboard.nom} \quad \text{clean-PTCP.PROC.} \quad \text{vase.nom-the} \\
  \text{jard-el} & \quad \text{es.} \\
  \text{break-PTCP.PERF.} & \quad \text{you are}
\end{align*} \]

“It is possible that you broke the vase when you were cleaning the cupboard.”

In a non-assertive context it is usually used with verbs like չկարչել “to not think, to not believe”, չհիշել “to not believe”, կասկել “to doubt” etc.

(517) Հայկական թերթ, ուր պատկերագրված է գրական գրքի շարքում:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{č’-em karc-um} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{Aram-ē erbewē} \\
  \text{neg-I am believe-PTCP.PRES} & \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{Aram.nom-the ever} \\
  \text{hamoz-v-ac} & \quad \text{lin-i} \quad \text{ir knoj-ic’}. \\
  \text{concrete-pass-PTCP.RES.} & \quad \text{be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG his wife-ABL.} \\
  \text{“I do not believe that Aram has ever been convinced by his wife.”}
\end{align*} \]

(518) Հայկական թերթ, ուր պատկերագրված է գրական գրքի շարքում:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{Aram-ē} & \quad \text{č’-i hiš-um} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{Anuš-ē} \\
  \text{Aram.nom-the neg-he is remember-PTCP.PRES.} & \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{Anuš.nom-the} \\
  \text{erbewē gnac’-ac} & \quad \text{lin-i} \quad \text{Moskva.} \\
  \text{ever go-PTCP.RES.} & \quad \text{be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Moscow.nom} \\
  \text{“Aram does not remember that Anuš has ever gone to Moscow.”}
\end{align*} \]

(519) Հայկական թերթ, ուր պատկերագրված է գրական գրքի շարքում:

(Grakanut’yun 6:149)

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{Karc-um} & \quad \text{ēi t’ė gišer-va ěnt’ac’k’-um} \\
  \text{think-PTCP.PRES.} & \quad \text{I was conj night-DAT course-LOC} \\
  \text{c’ac ěnk-ac} & \quad \text{klin-i.} \\
  \text{down fall-PTCP.RES.} & \quad \text{be-COND.FUT.3.SG} \\
  \text{“I thought that it will be fallen down in the course of the night.”}
\end{align*} \]

**Processual Subjunctive Future**

The processual, i.e. progressive, forms of the subjunctive future can be used if the induced action is in progress before the reference point in the future.

(520) Հայկական թերթ, ուր պատկերագրված է գրական գրքի շարքում:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{Ararat-i patker-ē} & \quad \text{yurak’an’yur hayord kr-um} \\
  \text{Ararat-DAT image.nom-the each Armenian.nom bear-PTCP.PRES. is} \\
  \text{ē ir hog-um ortel ēl na aprel-is} & \quad \text{lini.} \\
  \text{it is his soul-LOC where ever it.nom live-PTCP.PRES.} & \quad \text{be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.} \quad \text{be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG} \\
  \text{“Each Armenian bears the picture of the Ararat in his soul, wherever he shall be living.”}
\end{align*} \]
Prospective Subjunctive Future

The prospective subjunctive future is used to indicate that the action is about to start or that the agent is about to perform the action. This subjunctive form emphasises the beginning of an action; it can also denote that the action has already started. There is a very strong pragmatic relation between the action and the condition.

(521) Եսե ես գնալ եմ կեզ, անպահձ կցանահար դեմ:

conjugation

anpayman

“if I am about to go, I will certainly call you.”

(522) Երբ որ դառքերի կունայիր ին, դրսեր կունար տարագ:

conjugation

other

“when you are about to read this book, you shall give the other to your brother.”

(523) Եսե ես նայել էմ կարում, անդես կլին էմ ամերիկա, երբ կայրյանավար առօր էմ.

conjugation

as-el

“if I am about to look back, I can not say, where Armenia would be without the Diaspora.”

(524) Անջաղ տար էմ ենթակ’մ եմ տարագ էմ Միայալ Նահանգներ էմ:

last

post

“it is United States.”

184. Note: this is a quotation of a spoken utterance. The use of որ էմ որոշ կուտակ էմ, այլ կլուծական առօր էմ որոշ կուտակ էմ, անդես կայրյանավար առօր էմ, երբ երբերբուր ինչպիսի այսօր էմ: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

Note: this is a quotation of a spoken utterance. The use of որ էմ որոշ կուտակ էմ, այլ կլուծական առօր էմ որոշ կուտակ էմ, անդես կայրյանավար առօր էմ, երբ երբերբուր ինչպիսի այսօր էմ: (Armenpress 28.12.2005)
Chapter 2. Morphology

Hayastan-i hamagorcake’ut’yun-ë biznes-i zargac’m-an Armenia-DAT cooperation.NOM-the business-DAT development-DAT
iravapah hamagorcake’ut’y-an sahman-ner-i anvtangut’y-an law-keeping cooperation-DAT border-PL-DAT safety-DAT
gyulatnesut’y-an asparez-ner-um, et’e t’varkel-u agriculture-DAT field-PL-LOC conj enumerate-PTCP.FUT.
lin-enk’ sosk mi qani-s-ë.
be-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL only a few-PL.NOM-the

“In the course of the last year the cooperation between the US and Armenia has deepened in business development, law-keeping cooperation, border safety and in agricultural fields, if we are about to enumerate only a few (of them).”

2.5.7.3.1.2 Subjunctive past
In general, the subjunctive past denotes the desired, but unreal, action or irrealis actions in the past.

Dynamic Subjunctive Past

a. Simple Sentences
In simple sentences the reference point coincides with the moment of speech. In such a context, the subjunctive past expresses the unreal action.

(525) Lavan klin-er or du ink’d good be-COND.PAST.3.SG conj you.NOM yourself

gnay-ir Moskva.
go-SUBJ.PAST.2.SG Moscow.NOM

“It would have been good if you yourself had gone to Moscow.”

In simple sentences addressed to the hearer (second person), the subjunctive past expresses a suggestion or request.

b. Subordinate Clauses
In conditional or concessive clauses the reference point can also belong to the present or past.

If it belongs to the present, the subjunctive past denotes an unlikely action in the past, present or future.

(526) Et’e mik’ie’sut gay-ir khandip-eir nran.
conj a bit early come-SUBJ.PAST.2.SG meet-COND.PAST.2.SG he.DAT

“If you had come a bit earlier, you would have met him.”
If utterance verbs are used in a causative meaning, subjunctive past usually expresses a desired action belonging to the past - especially in narrations.

(529) Ես ասաց, որ Լիլիթ անհաջող լիրիկ:  
еs  asac’i or ayspes lin-er  
much desire-cond.past.1.sg conj so be-subj.past.3.sg  
tari-n 12 amis. 
year.nom-the 12 month.nom 
“I said that Lilit’ should come at four (o’clock).”

Stative Subjunctive Past
In subordinate clauses, the stative subjunctive past can be used
a. in conditional clauses, if it refers to an unlikely state, and if the reference point is not shifted to the past;

(530) Եթե այն ստորագրված լինի, պատասխանատվություն տրված լիրիկ:  :
Et’e ayn storagr-v-ac lin-er apa aysōr  
conj that sign-pass-ptcp.res be-subj.past.3.sg  
Leṙnayin Łarabal-i hakamart’yun-ć  
Mountainous Karabach-dat conflict.nom-the  
kargavor-v-ac klin-er.  
settle-pass-ptcp.res be-cond.past.3.sg.  
“If that had been signed, then today the Mountainous Karabach conflict would have been settled.”

b. in complement clauses, if they are governed by a negative mental non-factive verb, such as not believe, not think, not remember etc. In such a context, the stative subjunctive (past) rather conveys experiential meaning, as above (214) (215).
Conditional mood has two tense forms, the future and the past as well as also two aspects: dynamic and stative. The conditional of MEA is used in many functions, particularly in denoting future actions or states. It can be used in simple sentences, in main clauses of complex conditional sentences of condition or concession and in asyndetic complex sentences.

Formation

The suffix ئ٨- is the prototypical marker of the conditional mood, which is always prefixed to the finite verb form. In compound verbs, the main verb form shows the particle, as e.g. گنیچ یکیو c’уyc’ tal “to show”, گنیچ یکیو c’уyc k-tam “I shall show, I will show.”

- The dynamic conditional is formed from the present stem of all verbs plus the modal prefix ئ٨- and the primary ending of the present or past tense.
- The stative conditional is formed with the resultative participle in -و٨ -ac plus the auxiliary ئ٨٨ linel in the conditional.
- In some contexts, processual forms of the conditional in the future and the past are also used. This processual conditional is formed by means of the processual participle in -ح٨ -is and the conditional of the auxiliary ئ٨٨ linel “to be”.
- Prospective conditionals do occur, but not frequently. These forms are formed with the future participle in -ع٨-u and the conditional forms of the auxiliary ئ٨٨ linel “to be”.

Table 16, 17. Formation of the Conditional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
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<td>Past</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
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<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-gn-am</td>
<td>k-gn-ayi</td>
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<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
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<td>2. SG</td>
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<td>گاربیس</td>
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<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-gn-as</td>
<td>k-gn-ayir</td>
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<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-gn-a</td>
<td>k-gn-ar</td>
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<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PL</td>
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<td>گاربیس</td>
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<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-gn-ak’</td>
<td>k-gn-ayik’</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PL</td>
<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
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<td></td>
<td>k-gn-ak’</td>
<td>k-gn-ayik’</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. PL</td>
<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گاربیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-gn-an</td>
<td>k-gn-ayin</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
<td>گیبیس یکیحیس یکیحیس</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

٨٨٨. Please note that in colloquial Armenian one can also hear the modal particle ئ٨- not prefixed to the verb but to the noun or other verb component of the compound verb, as e.g. گنیچ یکیو k-c’уyc’ tam instead of given above written Standard گنیچ یکیو c’уyc k-tam “I will/shall give”. یاراگیلویان ١٩٨١: ٩٩.
Negation
The conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the verb and the negated auxiliary. The negative participle is formed using the present stem of all verbs and the ending -i for verbs in -el and -al as ending.

- The dynamic conditional is negated by means of the negative participle and the ձ-ձ'-prefixed auxiliary եկ em in the present or the imperfect tense.
- The stative conditional is negated by means of negative participle and the auxiliary եկ i.e. եկ lini plus the ձ-ձ'-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եկ em in the present and imperfect tense. In neutral utterances the order is the following: resultative participle – negated auxiliary – negative participle of եկ lini.
- The processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary եկ i.e. եկ lini plus the ձ-ձ'-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եկ em in the present and imperfect tense and the preceding processual participle. In neutral utterances the order is the following: processual participle– negated auxiliary – negative participle of եկ lini.
- The immanent conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary եկ i.e. եկ lini plus the ձ-ձ'-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եկ em in the present and past tense and the preceding future participle. In neutral utterances the order is the following: future participle– negated auxiliary – negative participle of եկ lini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESSUAL</th>
<th>PROSPECTIVE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SG</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էս</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SG</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PL</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էմ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PL</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էկ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. PL</td>
<td>գնալիս կլին-էն</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18. Formation of negative Conditional, e.g. 1st Person Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
<th>STATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>ã»Ù ×Ý³ č' em gna</td>
<td>ã»Ç ×Ý³ č' ei gna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>déµã³ó³Í ã»Ù ÉÇÝÇ</td>
<td>déµã³ó³Í ã»Ç ÉÇÝÇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>›ë ÑÇÉ Ç’ em lini</td>
<td>›ë ÑÇÉ Ç’ ei lini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                | PROCESSUAL                 | PROSPECTIVE                           |
|                | Future                     | Past                                  |
|                | Future                     | Past                                  |
| 1.SG           | q₉µã³h ã³h ã³h gna          | q₉µã³h ã³h ã³h lini                    |
|                | q₉µã³h ã³h ã³h lini         | q₉µã³h ã³h ã³h lini                    |
|                | g₉a ÷æ ã³h ã³h gna          | g₉a ÷æ ã³h ã³h lini                    |
|                | g₉a ÷æ ã³h ã³h lini         | g₉a ÷æ ã³h ã³h lini                    |

### 2.5.7.3.2.1 Conditional future (Conditional I)

**Dynamic forms**

a. Simple sentences

The conditional future originally denotes an action that shall be performed in the future under certain conditions.

*Future Meaning* (or “meaning of a confirming mood” Asatryan 2004:303)

In MEA, however, it is more often used to express simple actions in the future and as such has no major semantic differences to the future tense and is even more often used as the future tense.187

(531) կարտ առանց կոչվի:

Valé namak kgr-em.

tomorrow letter.nom write-cond.fut.1.sg

“Tomorrow I will (shall) write a letter.”

(531) a. կարտ առանց կոչվի բոլորովի:

Valé namak em grel-u.

tomorrow letter.nom I am write-ptcp.fut.

“Tomorrow I will write a letter.”

---

186. In Armenian հաստատողության և հաստատողության համար hastatolakan elanaki imast; this term is used to express the future meaning of the conditional future which also “confirms” that the action will certainly be performed in (a nearer) future.

187. This common use of the conditional to denote the future indicative meaning has also led to a broader discussion of the term for this verbal form. Still, in all traditional grammars the term “conditional” is used.
There is a subtle semantic difference, however: if the future action is expressed in the conditional future, the objective relation of the speaker to the action is expressed: the speaker is quite certain that this action will really be performed in future. It is also referring to a “nearer” future than the future tense.

(532) Հայերեն կերպառության հիշատակը ձևաչափ:

Armen-ե kverdaän-a hunvar-i hing-i-n.
Armen.nom-the return-cond.fut.3.sg January-dat five-dat-the
“Amen will return on January 5th.”

Moreover, the conditional future also denotes an action that is either in progress at the point of speech or that will be performed in the nearest future.

(533) Հայերեն կերպառության հիշատակը:

hima kkard-am hodvac-d.
now read-cond.fut.1.sg paper.nom-your
“I will read your paper now.” Means: I have already started to read; soon I will have read your paper.

(533) a. Հայերեն կերպառության հիշատակը:

Hima kardal-u em hodvac-d.
now read-ptcp.fut I am paper.nom-your
“I will read your paper now.” Means: I will read your paper, but I have not yet started to read it. It is also not sure that I will read it soon.

Conditional future also conveys potential meaning, if the context does not refer to future. Potential meaning or indicative meaning188

188. In Armenian grammars this function of the conditional to express habitual or iterative actions of the present (or past tense for the conditional past) is called կանխասային տեղական, the indicative meaning. (Asatryan 2004: 304).

189. Informants mentioned that this use of the conditional future can be regarded as antiquated and restricted especially to “literary” SMEA.
bayc’ leř-ě kmn-a kangun.

“The wind blows, the rain falls down, but (only) the mountain stands still.”

(535) bayc’ leř-ě kmn-a kangun.

“Amen ōr na kgn-a xanu‘ hac’ gnel-u.

“Every day he goes to the shop to buy bread.”

– Objective potential meaning

Generalised constructions with the 2nd person SG. in the conditional future denote an objective potentiality of the action.

(536) hin patmut’yun-ě der kls-es gyul-i

“This old story you may still hear from aged village people.”

(537) kolm-er-um danak-mkrat sroł-ner-i aylews

“Hereabout you will not see knife-scissors-grinders any more.”

– Assumptive meaning

Conditional Future also expresses the objective meaning of the speaker about an action (or state) in the present tense

190. This is the negated conditional, formed by means of the preposed negated auxiliary ęłu ě’es and the negative participle of the verb ęññułi tesnel “to see”, ęññułi tesni.

191. in Armenian grammars: երբեմնիսը դարձավ հասած ենթարկան ելանակ իմաստ: not referring to an action in the future, but expressing a potential action in the present tense (or past tense for the conditional past).

192. or past tense for the conditional past.
Vahan-ě mi mec gorcaran-i kařavarič ē el-el
Vahan.nom-the a big factory-dat manager.nom he is be-ptcp.perf.
lav tōšak kstan-a.
good pension receive-cond.fut.3.sg.
“Vahan has been manager of a big factory; he shall receive a high pension.”

Ani-n hima hastat amen inch kiman-a
Ani.nom-the now sure everything learn-cond.fut.3.sg
ir apaga-yi masin.
her future-dat post
“Now Ani will learn everything about her future for sure.”

Other functions
– In direct speech the conditional future may also express a strict order or demand. The hearer has no right to refuse the action:

Du kverjan-as kō gorc-ě.
you.nom finish-cond.fut.2.sg. your work.nom-the
“You will finish your work.”

– The conditional future can also be used to express a binding promise to the hearer, to perform the action in the nearest future.

Lav valē k-gam kēz mot.
okay, tomorrow come-cond.fut.1.sg you.dat post
“Ohkay, tomorrow I will seek you out.”

– The conditional future is also used to formulate a polite request or a polite order:

Inj hac’ kt-as?
1.dat bread.nom give-cond.fut.2.sg
“Please give me some bread do?”
b. Complex sentences
In conditional clauses, the conditional future is used in the main clause to denote a hypothetical potential action that will be performed in future under certain conditions, as expressed by the subordinate clause.

(544) Սույն պնդումը նշանակում է, որ սկզբունքը միջնորդված է որոշ դեպքերում. 

Mard-u iravunk’-ner-i xaxtum klin-i et’e
Person-DAT right-PL-DAT violation.NOM be-cond.FUT.3.SG conj
örenk’-ov e’-kargavor-v-i ays harc’-ē.
law-INST neg-regulate-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG this question.NOM-the

“It will be a violation of human rights, if this question is not regulated with law.”

(545) Եթե այս փաստը ճիշտ է, ուշադիր ռեալիտար է հասկացվում: 

canj hay jyudoist-ner-ē karolan-an medal-nom
Conj Armenian judoka-PL.NOM-the can-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL medal-PL.NOM
nvac’-el 2 mi jazgayin mr’um-ner-um apa arden
win-INF 2 international competition-PL-LOC then already
kapahov-v-i nranc’ olmiriakan eluyt’-ē.
guarantee-pass-cond.FUT.3.SG their Olympic appearance.NOM-the

“If the Armenian judokas can win medals at the two international competitions, then their Olympic appearance will be already guaranteed.”

In contrast, in concessives clauses, the conditional future denotes the future action that will be fulfilled despite the state of affairs expressed in the subordinate clause:

(546) Եթե նույն տվյալը է, որ Հայաստանի վարչապետն իր գլխավոր աշխատանքներից էր, ապա կարող է հանձնարարվել սեփականության մասին. 

Et’e nuynisk Jon K’eri-n ēntr-v-i AMN-i
Conj even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG US-DAT
naxagah Kongres-ē kmn-a hamrapetakan
president.NOM Congress.NOM-the remain-cond.FUT.3.SG Republican

“Even if John Kerry is elected President of the United States, Congress will remain Republican only in global questions.”

Asyndetic complex clauses
The conditional future is also used in asyndetic complex clauses, in which the prepositive clause expresses the conditional meaning:
"If you come at the time said by me, we will meet."

**Stative Conditional Future**

The stative conditional future may function in the following contexts:

- if a future perfective action (a result from this future action) precedes a reference point in future:

> tomorrow morning Vardan will have written the letter."

I.e. tomorrow morning Vardan will have finished writing the letter. The letter will be written.

- If it expresses a highly probable hypothetical action whose result is important at the moment of speech:

> Have you read this book? Of course, you should have read it."

- To a manifold hypothetical action, which result is summarised at the moment of speech.

"Will you have prepared the dinner, when I come at seven o’clock in the evening?” I.e. will the dinner be prepared at 7’ o’clock in the evening.

If it expresses a highly probable hypothetical action whose result is important at the moment of speech.
ays kino-n?
this movie

“How many times have you (approximately) seen this film in your life?”

Note: if the manifold action is not hypothetical, and if the result of the manifold action is exactly countable, the present perfect is used.


“Where is your brother? He must be gone. (i.e. he has certainly gone)”

(552) Ունի դուր գրում թե՞ թե? թե? թե? թե? թե?

“They will have already arrived at the place now.”

Processual Conditional Future
The processual conditional is preferably used with a strict future meaning: it refers to an action that will be in progress (at a certain point) in the future:

(555) Վալն ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ես ե
Prospective Conditional Future
The prospective form of the conditional future is used to indicate that a potential action is about to be performed at a certain point of time in the future, and that this action is governing or triggering a second action.

Dynamic Conditional Past
If the reference point coincides with the moment of speech, the conditional past usually denotes
- an unlikely possibility
- polite questions, requests or advices
If the reference point, however, refers to a moment in the past, the conditional past denotes
- a possible prospective action in the past
- habitual actions in the past (indicative meaning): as with the conditional future, the conditional past can also be used in the function of a narrative tense to express iterative or habitual actions in the past.193

193. compare functions of the conditional future, p. 254; “potential or indicative meaning”.

(56) Դու դաս-եր-դ դեր սովորել-էս կնել-էս
you.nom lesson-pl.nom-your still learn-ptcp.proc. be-cond.fut.2.sg

“Will you still be learning your lessons, when I call you in the evening?”

(57) Երբ դու էս եվենյան էներկուան էջիներ:

When you come in, we will be dancing.”

(58) Երբ օր Համարհորդության-ն անցնեություն էջին:

“When you will be about to leave for your trip, you will take Sona also with you.”

2.5.7.3.2.2 Conditional past
The conditional past is generally used to express an action which should have been performed in past, but which was not performed due to certain conditions and circumstances.

Dynamic Conditional Past
If the reference point coincides with the moment of speech, the conditional past usually denotes
- an unlikely possibility
- polite questions, requests or advices
If the reference point, however, refers to a moment in the past, the conditional past denotes
- a possible prospective action in the past
- habitual actions in the past (indicative meaning): as with the conditional future, the conditional past can also be used in the function of a narrative tense to express iterative or habitual actions in the past.193

193. compare functions of the conditional future, p. 254; “potential or indicative meaning”. 
(559) Նրան նամակ է սնձել, եթե հանձնարար էր համարում:

Nran namak kg-rei et'e imana-yi
he.dat letter.nom write-cond.past.1.sg conj know-subj.past.1.sg
nra hascê-n.
his address.nom-the

“I would have written to him, if I had known his address.”

(560) Օլիմպիական չեմպիոն Լևոն Յուլֆալակյան ասաց:

Olympic champion.nom Lewon Julfalakan.nom-the say-aor.3.sg
or hnaravorut'-an depk'-um aveli şat hay embourg-ner
conj possibility-dat case-loc much more Armenian wrestler-pl.nom
kmekn-ein Fransia.
go-cond.past.3.pl France.nom

“The Olympic champion Lewon Julfalakan said, that if it had been possible” (Lit: in the case of possibility), many more Armenian wrestlers would have gone to France.)

(561) Եթե հարձակողությունը հաճախում տարածած էր, որպես

et'e harjakvol-ner-ë iskakan tlamard lin-ein
conj attacker-pl.nom-the real man.nom be-subj.past.3.pl
nrank' kharjak-v-ein tlamardk-anc'
they.nom attack-refl-cond.past.3.pl man-pl-dat
ayl oč' te xelê kananc' vra.
conj neg conj poor woman-pl-dat post

“If the attackers were real men, they would have attacked men and not poor women.”

(562) Եթե մենք համաձայնված են Ռուսաստանի կողմից անվճար տարածք

Ete menk' hamajyan-eink' Rusantan-i partadr-ac sakagni
conj we.nom agree-subj.past.1.pl Russia-dat compel-ptcp.res. tariff-dat
het gone 1 tari anc' kkarolanay-ink'
post at least one year.nom later can-cond.past.1.pl
õgt-v-el iranakan gaz-ic'.
profit-refl-inf Iranian gas-abl

“If we had agreed with the tariff compelled by Russia, we would have been able at least to profit one year later from the Iranian gas.” (Lit. “….agreed with the of Russia compelled tariff”)

(Armepress 16.11.2005)

(Armenpress 22.01.2006)

(Armepress 22.01.2006)
In the function of expressing a habitual action in the past and in the function of a narrative tense:

(563) Սեր համարժեք դիմումները նկարում են այս ժամանակ և նկարում են այս ժամանակը կարճ.

\[
\text{Mer harewan-ě žam-ér ov kašxat-er ir} \\
\text{our neighbour.NOM-the hour-PL-INST work-COND.PAST.3.SG his} \\
\text{ayg-un ew kxnam-er ir tnk-ac cař-er-ě.} \\
garden-LOC conj take care-COND.PAST.3.SG his plant-PTCP.RES. tree-PL-NOM-the.
\]

“Our neighbour used to work for hours in his garden and take care of the trees planted by him.”

(564) Աստիճանաբար տասնամեկան քաղաքի մայրաքաղաքային գիտաժամանակը ներկայացվել է հետևում:

\[
\text{Gyuł-i amena-tarec kin-ě ir mot kkaně-er} \\
village-DAT most-aged woman.NOM-the her POST call-COND.PAST.3.SG \\
erexa-ner-i-n ew nranc’ kpatm-er zanazan \\
child-PL-DAT-the conj they.DAT tell-COND.PAST.3.SG various
\]

“Interesting story-PL.NOM conj fairy-tale-PL.NOM

“The most aged woman of the village used to call the children and tell them various interesting stories and fairy-tales.”

**Stative Conditional Past**

The stative conditional past refers to a hypothetical perfective action’s result or a state that precedes the reference point in the past.

(565) Եթե էք հեշ խնդր, ապա խնդրերը կարողանում են լինել:

\[
\text{(Armenpress, 27.03.2006)} \\
ete da hešt lin-er apa xndir-ě \\
conj that easy be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then problem.NOM-the \\
valuć luc-v-ac klin-er.
\]

“…long ago solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-COND.PAST.3.SG

“If that had been easy, then the problem would have been solved long ago.”

(566) Եթե էք սինգարաբար խնդր, ապա խնդրերը կարողանում են լինել:

\[
\text{(Armenpress 22.03.2006)} \\
ete ayn storag-v-ac lin-er apa aysör \\
conj that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG. then today \\
Lernayin Larabal-i hakamartut’yun-ě kargavor-v-ac \\
Mountainous Karabach-DAT conflict.NOM-the settle-pass-PTCP.RES. \\
klin-er.
\]

“…Mountainous Karabach would have been settled today.”
Chapter 2. Morphology

(567) ես վաւկսու հորո դիմուն հի գծիչ, տեւ մանրամասիք անպհապ այց կարողում (Grakanut'yun 4:186)

Es vałuc’ ij-ac klin-ei im gah-ic’
1.nom long ago descend-PTCP.RES. be-COND.PAST.1.SG my throne-ABL
et’e katar-v-ac tesn-ei ayn mitk'-ě.
conj carry-out-pass-PTCP.RES. see-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG that thought.NOM-the

“I would have descended from my throne long ago, if I had only seen this thought carried out.”

Processual Conditional Past
The processual conditional past refers to a hypothetical action in progress that precedes the reference point in the past.

(568) դու գնալիս կլինի տանգարան, խեր ժիմարիչ քե, տեր:
Du gnal-is klin-eir t’angaran
du.nom go-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.PAST.2.SG museum.nom
ete č’-imanay-ir ayd masin.
conj neg-hear-SUBJ.PAST.2.SG that post

“You would have been going to the museum, if you had not heard about that.”

Prospective Conditional Past
The prospective conditional past denotes a hypothetical action that was about to be performed in the past.

(569) երբ որ բում պահանջ այսակուզ երկրաշարժ, թեև
erek’ ōr aťaj Hasmik-ě ays aśxatank’-ě hanjnel-u
three day.nom post Hasmik.nom-the this work.nom-the deliver-PTCP.FUT.
klin-er et’e xangarič’ hangamank’-ner
be-COND.PAST.3.SG conj disturbing circumstance-PL.NOM
če’-lin-ein.
neg-be-SUBJ.PAST.3.PL

“Three days before, Hasmik would have been about to deliver this work, if there hadn’t been disturbing circumstances.” (Meaning: would have started to deliver this work...)

2.5.7.3.3 Debitive
The debitive is a specific deontic mood of Eastern Armenian. As a deontic mood, it expresses the subject’s obligation to perform an action, as shown by the verb. This means, that primarily the debitive mood indicates an “obligative action”. The debitive mood in SMEA has also an epistemic meaning, i.e. it communicates the speaker’s degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions and furthermore the debitive mood signals the speaker’s estimation of the necessity to perform an action.
The debitive mood is marked by the particle այսին piti or պետք petk’ ē and the verb in the subjunctive mood. պետք piti is the form that is more common in spoken Armenian, պետք petk’ ē, however, it is more common in written Armenian. Thus it has two general tense forms, future and past and can also distinguish an aspectual meaning in actional, stative, processual and prospective forms. The debitive is regarded as an analytic mood, but the particle piti can not be used separately, it is strictly related to the debitive.

- The dynamic debitive is formed with պետք piti or պետք petk’ ē and the subjunctive future (debitive future) or the subjunctive past (debitive past).
- The stative debitive is formed with the particle պետք piti or պետք petk’ ē + the resultative participle in -ակ -ac and the auxiliary պոտե linel in the subjunctive future (stative debitive future) or the subjunctive past (stative debitive past).
- The processual debitive is formed with the particle պետք piti or պետք petk’ ē + the processual participle in -էս -is and the auxiliary պոտե linel in the subjunctive future (processual debitive future) or the subjunctive past (processual debitive past).
- The prospective debitive is formed with the particle պետք piti or պետք petk’ ē + the future participle in -ու -u and the auxiliary պոտե linel in the subjunctive future (prospective debitive future) or the subjunctive past (prospective debitive past).

The order of the constituents of the analytic stative, processual and prospective forms can vary. The most common order is պետք piti (or պետք petk’ ē) + participle + պոտե linel in the subjunctive, but participle + պետք piti (or պետք petk’ ē) + պոտե linel in the subjunctive is also wide-spread. There is no semantic difference between these two orders.

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The Negation of the Debitive

The negation of all debitive forms is simple: the negative particle ç- ç'- is prefixed to թուրթ piti i.e. թուրթ ç'-piti or թուրթ petk' i.e. թուրթ ç'-petk'.

Note: the periphrastic form թուրթ ç'-petk' is also used in other functions and constructions:

a. In the function of a simple predicate with a dependent subordinate clause with the finite verb in the subjunctive mood.

(570) թուրթ ç'-petk' ğē

Part it is CONJ mistake.NOM be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.
"There must be a mistake."

b. In impersonal functions to express a general debitive action. The lexical verb obligatorily appears in the infinitive:

(571) թուրթ ç'-petk' ē payk'arel korupc'ia-yi dem ew ayd olort-um

Part it is fight-INF corruption-DAT POST CONJ that field-LOC
meet-INF European standard-PL-DAT-the
"One must fight against corruption and meet the European standards in that field."

Please note that in this generalised function, the auxiliary is negated by means of the prefixed negative particle ç- ç'; e.g. թուրթ ç'-qaws petk' ē gnal "one has to go", թուրթ ç'-qaws petk' ēi gnal "one does not have to go".

2.5.7.3.3.1 Debitive future

Dynamic Debitive Future

a. The debitive future refers to the near future and denotes the present intention to perform an action in the near future.

(572) թուրթ ç'-qaws petk' ē gnal?

Know-PRES.2.SG you.DAT wh-what tell-DEB.FUT.1.SG
"Do you know what I am going to tell you?"

b. The debitive declares that the action has to be performed in the (near) future; this is stressed with special markers (adverbs e.g.).
(573) Վալէ պիտի գն-ամ համասարան.

tomorrow go-deb.fut.1sg. university.nom

“Tomorrow I have to go to the university.”

c. The debitive conveys objective or subjective necessity, epistemic necessity and expectedness, depending on the context and verb meaning.

- Objective necessity

When the agent of the verb regards the future action as obligatory according to his own will, needs, intentions or duties, then objective necessity exists. It means that the agent and the modal subject coincide. Usually, objective necessity is typically conveyed by the following contexts

- in utterances in the 1. SG,
- in narration, when the position of the speaker is eliminated and the subject of the verb is also the agent.

(574) Դեք ազն, որ մեզ ընկնի զիս ի իմ ինքահայրապետություն պայքար զինն ի զարգացնալ գործապես քայլելու ճամանակ.

(Armenpress 20.05.2006)

Petk’ է ազե որ մեր մինչ էլ էլ հաբեր է էն ներ-է.

part say-deb.fut.1sg conj our prep this still good relation-pl.nom-the

verjın žamanak-ner-s dinamik ew arafènt’ac’ zargac’um

last time-pl.nom-these dynamic conj progressive development.nom

en apr-um.

they are live-ptcp.pres.

“I have to say, that our so far good relations undergo a dynamic and progressive development “recently.”

- Subjective necessity

By contrast, subjective necessity is characterised by occurring in dialogues, in which the obligation to perform an action is imposed by the speaker or the addressee.

The second person often expresses the explicit wish or order of the speaker to the addressee to perform an action:

(575) Դուք պետկ’ է հաս-եկ’ եր պամութ-ան հետ է արմին.

you.nom reconcile-pass-deb.fut.2.pl your history-dat post conj

endun-ek’ Հայոց ելասպանութ-ան պաս-է.

accept-deb.fut.2.pl. Armenians’ genocide-dat fact.nom-the.

“You have to reconcile with your history and accept the fact of the Armenian Genocide.”

In interrogation, however, the hearer functions as the modal subject, whereas the speaker operates as the agent:
(576) լուս պեշոգչական գիրտական վիճակ:

\[ \text{henc' piti aysör mekn-em?} \]
just part today leave-DEB.FUT.1SG.

“DO I really have to leave today?”

- Expectedness
The action or situation is regarded as highly probable by the speaker, predetermined – even by destiny (and inescapable) – and as such expected.

(577) Կարելի գնալ ամսվա համար, պեշոգչական գիրտական վիճակ:

(Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

\[ \text{kyank'-s t' ek'-v-el a bacy' č'-piti hanjn-v-em} \]
life.NOM-my turn-antic-PTCP.PERF. it is. CONJ neg-yield-refl-DEB.FUT.1.SG

\[ \text{piti paykăr-em.} \]
fight-DEB.FUT.1.SG.

“My life has changed. But I should not lump it, I should fight.”

- Epistemic Necessity
When the speaker expresses his own degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions and evaluates the situation as hypothetically true. The certitude of the speaker about the action is usually additionally expressed by epistemic adverbs, such as անշուշ “doubtless, without doubt”, անպայմտ “absolutely” etc.

(578) Համարբերեցրած հակումն է այս պեշոգական գիրտական վիճակի համար

(Armenpress 30.12.2005)

\[ \text{Š-an tarek'-ē krak-n ē ew ayd patčar-ov} \]
dog-DAT element.NOM-the fire.NOM-the it is. CONJ that reason-INST

\[ \text{tonakan selan-i-n petk' ē anpayman mom} \]
festive table-DAT-the part absolutely candle.NOM

\[ \text{vař-v-i.} \]
burn-antic-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“The dog’s element is fire and for that reason a candle absolutely must burn on the festive table.”

Debitive future may but also denote general actions (or results of actions) that must be performed.

(579) Ուղևորության համար պեշոգչական գիրտական վիճակ պայմանագրի:

(Armenpress 08.04.2006)

\[ \text{Łarabal-i xndir-ē piti luc-v-i xalal} \]
Karabach-DAT problem.NOM-the solve-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG. pieceful

\[ \text{čanaparh-ov.} \]
way-INST

“The problem of Karabach must be solved in a peaceful way.”
Stative Debitive Future

The stative debitive future expresses the result of a specific or general action that must be performed (after the moment of speech).

(580) հանդիպականություն պատմական հիմնավոր պատճառ է կարճա իրավում ապահովում որով (Armenpress 24.10.2005)
xanut'-ner-um vačar-v-ol havkit'-i vra (petk’ ē nš-v-ac shop-PL-LOC sell-pass-PTCP.SUB. egg-DAT post part. mark-pass-PTCP.RES. lini) artadrm-an őr-ē.
be-DEB.FUT.3.SG production-DAT day.NOM-the

“On the eggs being sold in shops the production date must be given.”

(581) թեքում փրկություն էքս փորձարկությունը պատճառ է հինգերով իրավում փորձարկություն սպասարարություն պատճառված պատճառով: (Armenpress 22.05.2006)
skzbunk’-ner-i vra.
principle-PL-DAT POST

“The cooperation between the two religions must be based on the principles of mutual respect and trust.”

(582) Կարգավորումները պատճառ է դրամաշնորհակերպության կանոն ու այլաբանության հիանալի պատճառ արարողության իրավում սպասարարության մշակույթային արդյունքները: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)
kargavorum-ē petk’ ē irakanc’-v-i p’ul ar p’ul ew ařajin regulation.NOM-the fulfil-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG stage prep stage conj first hert’-i-n (piti apahov-v-ac lini) Adrbejan-i row-DAT-the part guarantee-pass-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.SG Azerbaijan-DAT
tarack’ayin amboljakanut’yun-ē.
territorial completeness.NOM-the

“The regulation must be fulfilled step by step and in the first instance Azerbaijan’s territorial completeness must be guaranteed.”

It also conveys a situation or a state that is evaluated as trustworthy by the speaker (epistemic necessity).

(583) Այս պատմությունը պատճառ է համավոր իրավում մթերք անցնել պատմական ձևով: Ays patmut’yun-ner-ē (petk’ ē hasac lin-en) mez This story-PL.NOM-the (reach-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.PL) we.DAT
“These stories must have reached us by means of one anonymous manuscript.”

“The fire must have been ignited by (from) a not-extinguished cigarette.”

“They must be passing that bridge (right) now, somebody must warn them of the bridge’s defect.”

“You should (be about to) hurry at this time of the day.”

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“You should (be about to) hurry at this time of the day.”

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"You should (be about to) hurry at this time of the day.”
The debitive past however denotes an obligatory action in the future seen from a point in the past, if the reference point is in the past.

The debitive past can also describe a not-performed action, which would have been unavoidable if the situation had not changed. Such meaning is often emphasised by conditional adjuncts such as e.g. կան կազմի են mi rope ews “one more minute and…”.

The Stative Debitive Past

The stative debitive past indicates an epistemic necessity concerning the past.

195. This use of the dynamic debitive past is regarded as high literary style. The same meaning can also be expressed by the dynamic conditional past, i.e. կպայթեր kpayter.
“Since it is already more than ten years that the majority of the region occupies Diaspora-Armenian Markos Grigoryan’s collection, which should have received the status of a separate museum long ago, by moving it to another place.”

Processual Debitive Past
The processual debitive past expresses an obligatory action that was in progress at a certain reference point in the past.

(591) երեկ’ մենք’ պետկ’ է անցնել-իս լինենք’ այդ կամուրջ-օ 

Yesterday we.
om part pass-PTCP.PROC. be-DEB.PAST.1.PL that bridge-INST

et’ e mez čišt žamanak-i-n č’-zguša-č’n-ein.
conj we.dat right time-dat-the neg-warn-caus-SUBJ.PAST.3.PL

“We yesterday we would be passing that bridge, if they had not warned us at theright time.”

Prospective Debitive Past
The prospective debitive past represents an obligatory action that was about to be performed at a certain moment in the past.

(592) Մենք’ ջեզ վատ տվանդ պետկ’ է դնել-ու 

Menk’ jez vat t’vanšan petk’ ē dnel-u
we.nom you.dat bad mark.nom nom part put-PTCP.FUT.

lin-eink’ et’ e jer usuc’ie’-e
DEB.PAST.1.PL conj your teacher.nom-the

č’-barexoser jer masin.
neg-speak well-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG you.gen post

“We would have had to give you a bad mark, had your teacher not spoken well of you.”

2.5.7.3.4 Imperative
Formation
The imperative 2nd person SG. is formed with the present stem for verbs in -ȃ -el and -³É -al as well as -q -v-suffixed verbs, from the aorist stem for -Ý -n-, -ɛ’ -ɛ’enal suffixed verbs as well as for causativised verbs in -gʊ-ţl -c’n-el.

- -վա-էլ verbs is -ա
- -ել verbs it is -եր -իր.
- verbs with suffixes -ու -ն, -ձ-էլ, -արալ -անալ, -Եւալ -ենալ have -եր -իր
- causativised verbs with -գու -չն have *գրի -կրու
- -վ suffixed verbs have -վիր.

The imperative 2nd person PL. of all verbs is usually formed from the aorist/perfect stem and the ending -բ-էկ': գրե-բ grec'-ek', կատար-բ kardac'-ek', տաս-բ tes-ek', մարդ-բ p'ax-ek', մոտար-բ mořac'-ek', վասե-բ vaxec'-եկ', կատարու-բ kardac'r-եկ' etc.

Negation
The imperative is negated by means of the stressed particle ոհ mi. In strict normative Armenian grammars the prohibitive is said to be formed exclusively from the present stem and the prohibitive particle mi. However, the linguistic reality shows that the prohibitive forms today totally coincide with their positive forms (=imperative). The forms generated from the present stem are regarded as antiquated and are no longer productive.

Thus the productive forms:

2nd Person SG.
Coincides with positive forms

- simple verbs in -բ- -էл from the present stem + ending -եր -իր: ոհ գրի mi ggrir!
- simple verbs in -վա- from the present stem + ending -ա: ոհ կատար mi karda!
- suffixed verbs in -ու-բ- -էլ and -ձ-էլ from the aorist stem + ending -եր -իր: ոհ կնոր mi mtir! ոհ վասե mi p'axir!
- suffixed verbs in -ար-ա- -ան-ել and -Եւալ -են-էլ from the aorist stem + ending -եր -իր: ոհ կատարուց mi uraxac'ir! ոհ վասե mi vaxec'ir!
- causativised, suffixed verbs in -գու-բ- -չն-էլ from the aorist stem + ending -ու -ւ: ոհ կատարուց mi kardač'ir!
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2nd person PL.
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- simple verbs in -վա- from the aorist stem + ending -բ-էկ': ոհ կատար-բ kardac'ek!
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- suffixed verbs in -ու-բ- -էլ and -ձ-էլ from the aorist stem + ending -բ-էկ': ոհ կոր mi mtir! ոհ վասե mi p'axek'!
suffixed verbs in -\(\text{-an-al}\) and -\(\text{-en-al}\) from the aorist stem + ending -\(\text{bp\,-ek'}\): 
\(\text{ûh' n̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ ir̄āxacc̄ēk'! ūh' q̄mp̄sp̄ m̄ vaxecc̄ēk'!}\)

causativised, suffixed verbs in -\(\text{-c'n-el}\) from the aorist stem + ending -\(\text{bp\,-ek'}\): 
\(\text{ûh' h̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ h̄r̄ācc̄ēk'!}\)

suffixed verbs in -\(\text{-w̄-w̄i}\) -\(\text{-v-el}\) from the aorist stem + ending -\(\text{bp\,-ek'}\): 
\(\text{ûh' qp̄m̄sp̄ m̄ grv̄ecc̄ēk'!}\)

Normative, however unproductive, antiquated forms from the present stem:

2nd person SG.

simple verbs in -\(\text{-el}\) and -\(\text{-al}\) have the same form as the positives: 
\(\text{ûh' q̄p̄sp̄ m̄ gr̄ī! ūh' q̄p̄sp̄ m̄ k̄r̄d̄ā!}\)

suffixed verbs with -\(\text{-n-el, -c'-el}\) as well as the causativised verbs with -\(\text{-c'n-el}\) attach the general ending -\(\text{-ir}\) to their present stem: 
\(\text{ûh' úñȳsp̄ m̄ m̄t̄n̄īr! ūh' q̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ p̄āx̄c̄īr! ūh' h̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ h̄r̄āc̄n̄īr!}\)

suffixed verbs with -\(\text{-w̄-w̄i}\) -\(\text{-en-al}\) and -\(\text{-w̄-w̄i}\) -\(\text{-an-al}\) attach the ending -\(\text{-a}\) to their present stem: 
\(\text{ûh' n̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ ur̄āx̄ān̄ā! ūh' q̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ v̄āx̄ēn̄ā!}\)

2nd person PL.

simple verbs in -\(\text{-el}\) from the present stem + ending -\(\text{bp\,-ek'}\): 
\(\text{ûh' q̄p̄sp̄ m̄ ḡr̄ēk'!}\)

simple verbs in -\(\text{-al}\) from the present stem + ending -\(\text{w̄p\,-ak'}\): 
\(\text{ûh' q̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ k̄r̄d̄āk'!}\)

suffixed verbs with -\(\text{-n-el, -c'-el}\) as well as the causativised verbs with -\(\text{-c'n-el}\) attach the general ending -\(\text{-ek'}\) to their present stem: 
\(\text{ûh' úñȳsp̄ m̄ m̄t̄n̄ēk'! ūh' q̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ p̄āx̄c̄ēk'! ūh' h̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ h̄r̄āc̄n̄ēk'!}\)

suffixed verbs with -\(\text{-w̄-w̄i}\) -\(\text{-en-al}\) and -\(\text{-w̄-w̄i}\) -\(\text{-an-al}\) attach the ending -\(\text{-w̄p\,-ak'}\) to their present stem: 
\(\text{ûh' n̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ ur̄āx̄ān̄āk'! ūh' q̄p̄m̄sp̄ m̄ v̄āx̄ēn̄āk'!}\)

The coinciding forms of the prohibitive are preferred forms in written and colloquial Armenian; many Armenian grammars already regard them as the conventionalised forms of the prohibitive in MEA.

In colloquial Armenian the imperative 2nd person SG ending -\(\text{-h̄īr}\) is usually reduced to -\(\text{-h̄-i}^\text{198}\).

\(\text{(593) Ún̄ùṣ ūh̄d̄ úp̄áw̄ ñp̄h:}\
\text{Anuṣ \text{inj} namak \text{gr-i}!}\
\text{Anuṣ.n̄om, 1.dat letter.n̄om write-imp.2.sg.}\
\text{“Anuṣ, write me a letter!”}\
In colloquial Armenian the imperative 2nd person PL. of simple verbs in -el/-vel is preferably formed from the present stem, i.e. instead of the normative written form of the aorist stem. i.e. colloquial գերկ’ versus written Standard գերկ’կ’.[199]

The 1st Person PL. is used in hortative function; the form is the subjunctive future 1st person PL.

(594) Գնանք զառե հումերի:
Gn-ank’
surč
xmel-u!
go-subj.fut.1.pl
coffee.nom
drink-inf-dat

“Let’s go to drink coffee!”

There is also a secondary imperative, an “analytic” imperative formed from the particle տոլ and the verb in the 3rd person SG. or PL of the subjunctive future. Such sentences do not necessarily imply that the hearer is the transmitter of the prescription. This analytical form can be understood as being more prescriptive for the deficient person in the Imperative paradigm.

(595) Թույժի, հուժիշտ հայտներում են, եթե աշխատեն եթե:
(Armenpress 27.11.2005)
normal è inč’pes haytnaber-el en t’oł aydpes el
normal it is how find-out-ptcp.perf. they are part so also
an-en.
don-subj.fut.3.pl

“It is normal, how they have found out; let them also do it in that way.”

Meaning and Function
The general meaning of the imperative is a reference to the directive of an illocutionary act. It always represents a direct speech act. Other meaning and functions: appeal, advice, suggestion, invitation etc.

(596) Գն-ա տուն պարտաշար դասերդ!
Gn-a
tun
patrast-ir
das-er-d!
go-imp.2.sg
home.nom
prepare-imp.2.sg
lesson-pl.nom-your

“Go home and prepare your lessons!”

(597) Աշխատանքը ավերեկ’ ժամանակ-է ժամանակին.
Ašxatank’-è
avartec’-ek’
žamanak-i-n.
work.nom-the
complete-imp.2.pl
time-dat-the

“Complete the work in time!”

The grammatical subject (=agent) of a regular Imperative clause is usually inherent in verbal form, the corresponding personal pronouns դու “you”, դուկ’ “you” are only used if the subject is emphasized. The intensive personal pronouns դիկ ինքի “you yourself” դիկ’երդ “you yourselves” can also be used for emphasis.

(598) դու հանգիստ գնա տուն էս դեր կմն-ամ
you.NOM quietly go-IMP.2.SG house.NOM I.NOM still stay-COND.FUT.1.SG
“you quietly go home, I will still stay here!”

(599) դուկ’ ինկ’երդ կատար-եկ’ արայադրանք’-է.
you.NOM yourself-PL.NOM-you perform-IMP.2.PL task.NOM-the
“You yourselves perform the task!”

If the agent of the “analytic” (i.e.դու töl) imperative clause is a third person, it must be expressed by the personal name, the personal pronoun or a noun phrase.

(600) դու töl արամ-է տելափոխ-ի գյումրի.
let-IMP.2.SG. Aram.NOM-the move-refl-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Gyumri.NOM
“Let Aram move to Gyumri!”

In neutral analytic imperative clauses the subject (agent) is usually placed between the lexicalised particle դու and the verb in the subjunctive future. If the subject/agent is emphasised or accentuated, it is usually placed in front of the imperative particle դու töl. (Kozintseva 1995:51).

(601) դու töl արմեն-է զանգահար-ի այն ալջկա-ն.
let-IMP.2.SG. Armen.NOM-the call-SUBJ.FUT.3SG that girl-DAT-the
“Let Armen call that girl!”

200. Kozintseva’s argument could not definitely been proved by my questioning informants. About 2/3 of the informants (40 informants in total) do not see any semantic difference between these two sentences. About 1/3 however feel a semantic difference, but can not definitely explain in which of these two sentences the subject/agent is emphasised. The emphasised word order with the subject before the verbal particle would however correspond to the syntactic phenomenon preverbal focus.
(601)  a. Պրոբոսիթ բուժ պատկերն են ուղղված:

\[\text{Armen-} \text{ė} \quad \text{tol} \quad \text{zangahar-i} \quad \text{ayn} \quad \text{ajka-n.}\]

Armen.NOM-the let-IMP.2.SG. call-SUBJ.FUT.3SG that girl-DAT-the

“Let Armen call that girl!”

Note: it is Armen who shall call the girl! i.e. the subject is marked!

This marked word order also fits in the syntactic phenomenon of focusing on the preverbal order. (See Ch. 3.6.2. “Focus”, p. 629f.).

Imperative 2nd Person may also be used in conditional and concessive clauses without a “pure” imperative meaning, if they have a generalised agent.

**Pragmatic meaning**

Some verbs in the imperative convey a special pragmatic meaning to the clause. This meaning is often related to the speakers’ evaluation of the action of the main verb.

a. The imperative of the verb հավատք imanal “to know, to learn” often points out that the following content of the main clause or the sentential complement is very significant and important.

(602) Դրաց հավատքի էլ անալ հավատքը պատկերված է: (Grakanut'yun 4:191)

\[\text{Bayc' imac'-ir} \quad \text{kyank'-i} \quad \text{hamar} \quad \text{vtangavor} \quad \text{ē.}\]

CONJ know-IMP.2.SG life-DAT POST dangerous it is

“But (you should) know: it is dangerous for (your) life!”

(603) Հավատքը ևս, եթե միջ ան պատասխանի պանտ պետք:

\[\text{Imac'-ac} \quad \text{el-ir} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{menk' sa anpatasxan}\]

know-PTCP.RES. be-IMP.2.SG CONJ we.NOM this.NOM unanswered

\[\text{ē'-enk'} \quad \text{tōn-i!}\]

neg-we are leave-PTCP.NEG.

“You should have learnt that we will not leave this unanswered!”

b. The imperative of the verb ետել tesnel “to see, to look” means prevention:

(604) Ստա ետելի էլավ:

\[\text{Tes} \quad \text{pōrjank'-i} \quad \text{ē'-g-as!}\]

see-IMP.2.SG temptation-DAT neg-come-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG

“Look, don’t take the bait!”

c. The imperative of the verb պորջել pōrjel “to try” convey the impossibility of the embedded action.

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Chapter 2. Morphology

(605) Դե փորի-իր ենթարկ-վել ին կոլմ-սել!

Well, try-IMP.2.SG neg-subj-pass-INF my side-ABL

“Well, try not to be subjected by me!”

2.5.8 Irregular verbs

The range of irregular verbs in Eastern Armenian is characterised by using two stems, the perfect and the present stem.

Usually the present stem is used to generate the following forms:

- present participle in -nants -um resp. processual participle in -hu -is
- future participle in -n -u
- the negative participle
- as well as the forms of the subjunctive, conditional and compulsive.

The perfect stem is used to generate:

- the perfect participle and the resultative participle
- the aorist
- sometimes the imperative
- The subjective participle in -n}-oł can be formed using either perfect or present stem.

List of irregular Verbs

- տալ tal “to give”

| Infinitive | տալ tal |
| Part. present | տանս talis |
| Part. future | տալ talu |
| Part. perfect | տել tvel |
| Part. result. | տվաց tvac |
| Part. subj. | տվոլ tvol |
| neg. Part. | տա ta |
| Aorist | տվեց, տվեցմեն, տվեց tvec’i, tvec’ir, tvec’… |
| Imperative | տվեր, տվերtur, tvek’ |
| Subjunctive | տան, տանեմ, տան tam, tas, ta… |
| Conditional | կանն, կանհատ, կան ktam, ktas, kta… |
| Debitive | պհետհա տանում, պհետտկա տան, պհետտկա piti tam, piti tas, piti ta… |

202. Note the colloquial Armenian form տվի tvi, տվիր tvir…etc.
- կար ջալ “to come”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>կար ջալ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>կարհջալիս</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>կարհջալու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>բար եկել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>բարմո եկաչ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. subj.</td>
<td>բարո եկոլ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. part</td>
<td>գա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>բարո, բարմ, բարմի… եկա, եկար, եկավ…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>տալ (բա) արի (եկ), բայ եկե’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>գամ, գամ, գա գամ, գաս, գա…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>կամս, կամս, կամ քամ, քաս, քա…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debitive</td>
<td>ապահ գամ, ապահ գամ, ապահ գա…  piti գամ, piti գա, piti գա…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- կար լալ “to cry, to weep”203

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>կար լալ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>կարհիտտանիս</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>կարհիտտանու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>բարղտ եկեղել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>բարհիտ եկաչ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. subj.</td>
<td>բարհիտ եկոլ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. Part.</td>
<td>տա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>բարհիտ, բարհիտղ, բարհիտղ լակե’ել, լակե’եր, լակե’ե’…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>կար, կարհջ լակ’, լակե’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>կամս, կամս, կամ կամ կլամ, կլա, կլա…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>կամս, կամս, կամ կլամ, կլաս, կլա…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debitive</td>
<td>ապահ կամ, ապահ կամ, ապահ կա  piti կամ, piti կաս, piti կա…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- կար լինել “to be (habitually, repeatedly)”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>կար լինել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>կարհինու լինում</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>կարհինու լինելու</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>բարբե ելել</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>բարմո ելաչ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

203. In spoken Armenian usually the verb կարհիտտան լակե’ or the compound verb կար կարհիտտան լակ’ լինել are used instead of the irregular կար լալ: e.g. կարհիտտան լակ’ լինում em = կար կարհիտտան լակ’ լինում linum = կարհիտ կա լալ կամ կամ “I am weeping; I weep”. If the irregular verb is used in colloquial Armenian, usually the final -s- of the present participle is omitted, i.e. կարհիտ կա լալ em.
| Part. subj. | (տոտ) ռծուր (elot), linoł |
| neg. Part. | ռծուր lini |
| Aorist | տում, տուր, տուտ ela, elar, elav… |
| Imperative | տիր elir, բոտ p elek’ |
| Subjunctive | ռծուր, ռծուր, ռծուր linem, lines, lini… |
| Conditional | ռծուրտ, ռծուրտ, ռծուր klinem, klines, klini… |
| Debitive | ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծու piti linem, piti lines, piti lini… |

- **ուտել utel “eat”**

| Infinitive | ուտել utel |
| Part. present | ուտեմ utum |
| Part. future | ուտեմ utelu |
| Part. perfect | ուտեմ kerel |
| Part. result. | ուտեմ kerac |
| Part. subj. | ուտեմ keroł |
| neg. Part. | ուտ uti |
| Part. proc. | ուտեմ utelis |
| Aorist | ուտեմ, ուտեմ, ուտեմ … kera, kerar, kerav… |
| Imperative | ուտեմ ker, ուտեմ p kerek’ |
| Subjunctive | ուտեմ, ուտեմ, ուտեմ … utem, utes, uti… |
| Conditional | ուտեմ, ուտեմ, ուտեմ … kutem, kutes, kuti… |
| Debitive | ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծու piti utem, piti utes, piti uti… |

- **դնել dnel “to put”**

| Infinitive | դնել dnel |
| Part. present | դնեմ dnum |
| Part. future | դնեմ dnuu |
| Part. perfect | դնեմ drel |
| Part. result. | դնեմ drac |
| Part. subj. | դնեմ dnoł |
| neg. Part. | դն dni |
| Part. proc. | դնեմ dnelis |
| Aorist | դնեմ, դնեմ, դնեմ … drec’i, drec’ir, drec’… 204 |
| Imperative | դու dir, դու p drek’ |
| Subjunctive | դու, դու, դու … dnem, dnes, dni… |
| Conditional | դու, դու, դու kdnem, kdnes, kdni… |
| Debitive | ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծուր, ռծուր ռծու piti dnem, piti dnes, piti dni… |

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204. Note the colloquial Armenian Aorist forms in դռ dri, դռ ddir etc.
- անչ անել “to do, to make”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>անել anel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>անում anum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>անելու anelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>արել arel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>արած arac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. subj.</td>
<td>անոլ anol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. Part.</td>
<td>ան  ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part.proc.</td>
<td>անելուս anelis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- թանել “to carry, to bear”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>թանել tanel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>թանում tanum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>թանելու tanelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>թանել tarel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>թանած tarac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. subj.</td>
<td>թանող tanoł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. part</td>
<td>թան  tani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. proc.</td>
<td>թանելուս tanelis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- դարնալ “to become”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>դարնալ dařnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. present</td>
<td>դարնամ dařnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. future</td>
<td>դարնալու dařnalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. perfect</td>
<td>դարած darjel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. result.</td>
<td>դարածած darjac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. subj.</td>
<td>դարնող dařnol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. Part.</td>
<td>դարն  dařna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. proc.</td>
<td>դարնալուս dařnalis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Aorist դարջ, դարճ, դարճվ…
Imperative դարջուր, դարճեր, դարճերկ’
Subjunctive դարձում, դարձար, դարձարվ…
Conditional կդարձարմ, կդարձարն, կդարձարն…
Debitive պիտի դարձարվ, պիտի դարձարվ…

– աբնել “to take, to buy”

Infinitive աբնել
Part. present աբնելու
Part. future աբնելու
Part. perfect աբնել
Part. result. աբակ
Part. subj. աբնելո
neg. Part. աբ
Part. proc. աբնելու
Aorist պաշտպան, պաշտպան, …
Imperative պաշտպանություն, պաշտպանություն, …
Subjunctive պաշտպանություն, պաշտպանություն, …
Conditional կպաշտպանություն, կպաշտպանություն, …
Debitive պիտի պաշտպանություն, պիտի պաշտպանություն, …

– բանալ “to open”

Infinitive բանալ
Part. present բանալու
Part. future բանալու
Part. perfect բանալ
Part. result. բանալո
Part. subj. բանալո
neg. Part. բանա
Part. proc. բանալու
Part. fut.II բանալու
Aorist բանակ, բանակ, բանակ, բանակ, …

205. In spoken Armenian, also increasingly in written, the verb բանալ is usually substituted by the regular verb բակել and the compound verb բակել-աբել, e.g. պաշտպանություն բակել պակես բակել բակել-աբել “I open, I am opening”.

206. Please note that there are older Aorist forms that are still productively used in Colloquial Armenian: բակել, բակել…
- ḷêɥér kenal “to stay, to remain”

This verb is usually used with adpositions, such as ɾëhγ ɣëwí ver kenal “to stand up”.

- ąwë asel “to say”

Though being a simple verb in -ȃ- -el, it shows irregular formation of the Aorist, the aorist stem is ąwë- asac’-, and of the Imperative.

Defective Verbs
1. ḷêm kam “to exist”

This verb exists only in two tenses:
- Present tense: ɾëwû, ṛwû, ɾwû, ṛwû, ɾwû kam, kas, ka, kank’, kak’, kan
- Imperfect tense: ɾwêh, ɾwêhêh, ɾwêh, ɾwêhêhêh, ɾwêhêhêh, ɾwêhêh kaiy, kaiyêr, kar, kayink’, kayik’, kayin

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207. Please note that in Colloquial Armenian the Aorist is formed like a regular simple -ȃ- -el stem, i.e. ąwëγ asècî, ąwëγh asèc’ir, ąwëγ asèc’ etc.
Defective Verbs with Secondary Expanded Stems

MEA has some defective verbs of which only the present and imperfect tenses can be formed. For the formation of other tenses and moods, secondary stems – in the form of another stem (as for the auxiliary/copular թու em “I am”) - or an expanded stem are used.

These secondary stems, if used in the present and imperfect tenses convey a habitual or iterative meaning.

(606) կարիք թու ինիու, որ տույտն ողդել ոտ տույտնա, տանուն ոտ առաջադրեն նոր, որ պատշաճեն ու պատճառ, որ թու գրել:

(Hetk’ 08.01.2007)

depk'-er ēin lin-um or ut-el-u oēine'
case-PL.NOM they were be-PTCP.PRES. conj eat-INF-DAT nothing.NOM

č'-ēi unen-um han-um ēi atam-ner-i-s
neg-I was have-PTCP.PRES. take out –PTCP.PRES. I was tooth-PL-DAT-my

oske šapik-ner-n u vačar-um or hac’
golden crown-PL.NOM-the conj sell-PTCP.PRES. conj bread.NOM
gn-em.

buy-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.

“There used to be periods when I had nothing to eat, and I took the golden crowns from my teeth, and sold them to buy bread (lit.: that I may buy bread).”

2. թու em “to be”
The auxiliary only exists in two tenses, the present and the imperfect. All other tenses and moods must be formed using the auxiliary թու linel “to be (repeatedly/habitually)”.

- Present tense: թու, թու, ե, եր, ե, ե, em, es, ē, enk’, ek’, en
- Imperfect tense: թե, թե, եր, եր, ե, ե, ei, ēr, eink’, ēk’, ēn

Secondary verb stem թու linel is a regular -el stem.

3. ուտե ում “have”
This verb exists only in the present and imperfect tenses. All other tenses and moods have to be formed from the expanded verb ուտե unenal.

- Present tense: ուտե, ուտե, ու, ու, ու, ու, unem, unes, uni, unenk’, unek’, unen
- Imperfect tense: ուտե, ուտե, ու, ու, ու, ու, unem, unei, uneir, uner, uneink’, uneik’, unein

The expanded verb stem ուտե unenal is a regular -el -enal stem:

- Infinitive, future participle, future participle II, processual participle, negative participle; subjunctive, conditional and the debitive are formed from the present stem ուտե unen-.
Perfect participle, resulative participle, aorist, subjective participle and the imperative are formed from the aorist stem տու- եներ’-;

4. գիտեմ “know”

This verb exists only in the present and imperfect tenses. All other tenses and moods have to be formed from the extended verb գիտեմ- ենալ.

- Present tense: գիտե, գիտե, գիտ, գիտեկ’, գիտե
- Imperfect tense: գիտեի, գիտեր, գիտհար, գիտեխ, գիտեպ գիտեր, գիտենկ’, գիտեկ’, գիտե

The expanded verb stem գիտ-ենալ է a regular -ենալ stem:

- Infinitive, future participle, future participle II, processual participle, negative participle; subjunctive, conditional and the deative are formed using the present stem գիտ- ե-.
- Perfect participle, resultative participle, aorist, subjective participle and the imperative are formed with the aorist stem տու- ե-;

2.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are a part of speech in MEA; they usually serve to modify verbs, but also adjectives, other adverbs and whole clauses. Adverbs are usually not declined.

In MEA adverbs can be grouped into the following word-formation groups:

a. Simple or root adverbs
b. Suffixed adverbs
c. Complex
d. Petrified forms from Classical Armenian inflected nouns (=adverbialisation).

- Many simple or root adverbs formally coincide with qualitative adjectives and can only be differentiated by their syntactic position and function such as լուս lav “good”, զավ vat “bad”, գեղեցիկ geleč’ik “beautiful”, հաղթա hpart “proud”, զավ azat “free”, բարձ barjr “high”, աղբ cacr “low” etc.

(607) Նյութը զավ զավ վտահամեր t: (Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

nyut’-ἐ sat vat vičak-um ἐ.
material.NOM-the INT bad condition-LOC it is
“The material is in very bad condition.” (զավ vat “bad” used as attributive adjective)

(607) a. Գյուլական ժոգա-վ զավ նրբայդու t: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Gyułakan šrjan-um vat en apr-um.
Rural region-LOC bad they are live-PTCP.PRES.
“Bad they live in the rural region.” (զավ vat “bad” used as adverb)
For formation of adverbs by means of affixes, see Ch. 4.1.2.4. “Derving adverbs and adverb suffixes”, p. 667f.

Complex adverbs comprise the following subgroups

a. Compositional adverbs, combining two or more words: e.g. միաբերան miaberan “unanimously” > միա-բերան mi-a-beran “one” + “mouth”

b. Reduplicated adverbs. In this group there is a distinction between real reduplicated adverbs written with a hyphen and those reduplicated adverbs with a conjunction or an adposition between the reduplicated words e.g. շուտ-շուտ shut-shut “(very) quickly”, մեկ-մեկ mek-mek “sometimes”, արագ-արագ arag-arag “quickly” and բարձր բարձր bar° bar° “word by word”, երկու պան vank ař vank “syllable by syllable” etc.

c. Other compound adverbs (mostly with antonyms) e.g. գիշ-ցեր giš-çerek “day and night”

d. Adverbial phrases, such as e.g. մեծ մասանg mec masamb lit. big part-INST = “mostly”; մեծ հանու lit. measure-ABL out čap-ic’ durs “exceedingly”.

Petrified and lexicalised forms mainly originating from inflected nouns or adjectives from Classical Armenian, such as e.g. վալուկ’ valuc’ (etymologically the Ablative of վան val “early”) “long ago; lit: since early”, or հնում hnum (etymologically the Locative of հին hin “old”), “in old times; in former times” etc.

In MEA adverbs can be distinguished by their semantic meaning (and function) into the following groups:

a. Temporal
b. Locative
c. Manner
d. Measure/quantity
e. Intensifiers.

a. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs express time, duration or repetition. They are usually divided into the following subgroups:

- Adverbs denoting a time span relating to the moment of speech, such as ավագ “before”, այժ maim “now”, հետ kim “now”, կենտրոնական nerkayums “at present”, վերջեր verjers “lately”, երկրորդ nhen “in the future”, շուտ shut “soon”, հետ heto “after”, etc.

- Adverbs denoting the initial or the final point of an action: վաղ val “long ago; since long time”, մանկվում mankue’ “since childhood” etc.

- Adverbs denoting times of the day: արագ առավոտյան in the morning”, Երեք Երեք երեկոյան in the evening”, կերկով “in/during daytime” etc.
Adverbs of durativity and iterativity. They may express cyclic time such as որեկան “daily”, ամեն գիշեր ամեն գիշեր “every night”, տարեկան “yearly” etc. or a certain frequency or interval such as հակա “often”, հազվադեպ “seldom”, բոլոր “sometimes”, etc. or a habituality such as սովորաբար “usually”, ավանձ “always” etc.

(608) Սևանի լիճ տեղակայված է 1897,86 մ բարձրությունում: (Armenpress 16.05.2006)

Sewana lič-ě cov-i makerewyt'-ic’ nerkayums
Sewan-DAT lake-NOM-the sea-DAT level-ABL at present
gtν-v-um է 1897.86 m barjrut’y-an vra.
find-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is 1897.86 m altitude-DAT POST

“Lake Sevan is at present located at an altitude of 189786 m above sea level.”

(609) Այս երկուսնոր օրերում 8-րդ դարակում տեղակայված տարածաշրջան ներկայացնում է 150 պատկերասրահային վայր。

aysōr aṙavotyan žam-ė 8-in Aragacotn-i marz-um
today morning hour-NOM-the 8-DAT-the Aragacotn-DAT province-LOC
bac'-v-el en bolor 150 ěntratelas-er-ě.
open-pass-PTCP.PERF. they-are all 150 electoral office-PL-NOM-the

“This morning at 8 o’clock all 150 electoral offices have been opened in the province of Aragacotn.”

(610) Սուրբ ծնի պատմության ընթացքում գրավված փուրկություն չի պահպանվում: (Ar奉, 07.04.2006)

Rusakan šuka-n vrac’akan gini-ner valuč’ arden
Russian market.NOM-the Georgian wine-PL.NOM since long already
či ēndun-um.

“The Russian market has not accepted Georgian wines already for a long time.”

(611) Մեր երկու երկրաբանական տարածքների մեջ Մեծ Հայք-Մեծ Կիրքավար:

(Azag 03.03.2006)

arewelk’-um menk’ mišt xałał apr-el
East-LOC we.NOM always peacefully live-PTCP.PERF.
enk kolk’-kolki.
we are side by side

“In the East we have always lived peacefully side by side.”
b. Local Adverbs

Local adverbs usually express place or direction. Adverbs of direction are usually combined with verbs of motion, e.g. այստեղ aystel “here”, առաջ arej “before”, դառն durs “outside”, ներ ners “inside”, հետ et “back”, վերեւ verew “upside”, մոտ mot “near, close” etc.

(612) ETH prorector Mihrdat Harut’yunyan-է p’astec’

or aystel ēndamenē mek siriac’î ē sovorum.

“Mihrdat Harutyunan, prorector of the Yerevan Technical University, approved that only one Syrian is studying here.”

(613) erb ners mt-a nra ašxatasenyak na anmijapes

con conj in(side) enter-aor.3.sg his office.nom he.nom immediately

tel-ic’ ver kac’-av motec’-av inj

place-abl part stand up-aor.3.sg approach-aor.3.sg i.dat

arąjaronč’ nst-el.

offer-aor.3.sg. sit-inf

“When I went into his office, he stood up immediately from his seat, approached me and offered (me) to sit down.”

c. Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs modify the verb and denote how an action is/was or will/should be performed.

(614) Ašxatank’-ner-n aaravel arag en ēnt’an-um

Work-pl.nom-the more quickly they are go-ptcp.pres.

Melri-i tarakaśrjan-um.

Melri-dat region-loc

“The works go more quickly in the region of Melri.”

208. This is the abbreviation of Երևան Տեխնիկական Համալսարան Erevani Texnikakan Hamalsaran “Yerevan Technical University”.

d. Measure (and Quantity) Adverbs
This group of adverbs denotes the measure or the quantificational features of an action; e.g. ամբոլովին “wholly, completely, entirely”, բազմակի “repeatedly (not in temporal sense)”, հազիվ “scarcely, hardly”, համար “almost, nearly”, զատ “much, many”, փոքրիկ “little, a few” etc.

(616) Թալամասի բնակչությունը ամբոլովին գրավում է:
(Talamasi bnakč'ut'yun-n amboljovin jrazrk-v-el ē. quarter-DAT population-NOM-the completely dewater-pas-ptcp.perf. it is “The quarter’s population has been completely out of water supply.”)

e. Intensifiers
Adverbs that are used to modify other adverbs or adjectives usually intensify the meaning and particularly the emotional content. In MEA they are commonly used, especially for expressing the comparison of adjectives. Frequently used intensifiers are: զատ “very”, ավելի “more”, խիստ “strictly; seriously”, բավական(ի) “sufficiently, reasonably”, “bit” ահավոր “awfully; extremely” etc.

(617) Հավելեց, թե այս նախագծը զատ էր ինչպես իրականացնել է:
(Havelec' t' e ays naxagic'-ē sat lurj pastat'ult' ē. add-aor.3.sg conj this draft-NOM-the INT serious document-NOM it is “He added that this draft is a very serious document.”)

(618) Գագիկ Մարտիրոսյանի որոշումը, ինչպես այլևս չինկրական իրավունք ամբողջությամբ է …: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)
(Gagik Martirosyan-i karcik'-ov nman ayčel'tyun-ner-ē Gagik.NOM Martirosyan-DAT opinion-INST similar visit-PL.NOM-the xist anhražešt en. INT essential they are “In the opinion of Gagik Martirosyan, similar visits are strictly essential.”)

The use of intensifiers is common, but the range of adverbs used in intensifying functions is greater in colloquial Armenian (including fashionable intensifiers, such as ունի սիրե ուրախ լուսավորիչ).
2.7 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are indeclinable words that connect words, phrases or sentences syntactically while characterising the semantic relations between those elements.

Regarding their syntactic function MEA distinguishes coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

Coordinating conjunctions connect elements – both words and clauses that are equally ranked with each other- i.e. they connect two or more identifiable constituents having the same semantic role and forming together a larger constituent. (Haspelmath 2005) On the other hand, subordinating conjunctions introduce (a) clausal subordination, i.e. dependent clauses that can express a causal, modal or temporal relation or (b) verbal subordination.209

Semantically, there are the following groups of coordinating conjunctions:

a. Conjoining conjunctions connect words, word groups or clauses without denoting any other specific type of relation between them, such as կամ “and”, նաև “also, too, as well”, իսկ “as also, as well”, չէ՞լ “also”, այնպես “also, too”, երբէ՞լ “as well”, ոչի՞նչպես naew “also, too, as well”, ևս֑ ևս “as well…as”, նույնպես naew “also, too, as well”, նույնպես nmanapes “likewise”, նույնպես “as as well”, ևս֑ ևս “likewise”, ինչպես naew “also, too, as well”

b. Disjunctive conjunctions express an opposition or separation inherent in the notions or thoughts, i.e. they express that the connected elements are mutually exclusive possibilities: such as կամ “or”, պատահական “but”, կախված “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”

c. Adversative conjunctions relate units that express the opposition of their meanings: բայց “but”, պատահական “but, and”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”, պատահական “but, however”

As can be seen, correlative conjunctions are included in all three semantic groups. Correlative conjunctions usually consist of two parts or pairs of conjunctions, both of which have to be included in the sentence. Usually one part is in the first clause, the other in the second clause, as e.g. կամ...կամ “either…or”, նույնպես naew “also, too, as well”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախված “but, however”, կախվաս ee tarec’

(619) «Ուզմում է, հանձավում է, հանձավում է, հանձավում է, հանձավում է», քաղաքի նախագահ եվրոպական (Հեթկ’ 15.01.2007) մի սենյակ ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարան ճաշարա

The wide-spread conjoining conjunction и ew “and” refers to a connection of coordinate objects or qualities etc. The conjoining conjunction ии иu “and”, however, expresses a closer range between the connected objects, qualities etc. and is commonly used to connect coordinate parts of a sentence belonging to the same part of speech.

(620) Ստաց եւ նամակ-ի է եւ հերգու-է.
       “I received your letter and cable.”

(621) Հայր ւ որդի աշխատ-ի է ժաման-է.
       “Father and son (both) work on the building.”

(622) Վազգեն-է տաք-ի բաց-ը վեր-է.
       “Vazgen takes paper and a pen.”

Disjunctives

(623) Հայտարարեմ զուգակցվում է 25 հոգա, ինչպես թույլատրված է նաև
       փաստաթղթի համար բյուջե ուղղություն;
       (Արաբոտ 05.04.2006)
       “Twenty-five people are included in that group, but fans or people wishing to,
       can come on their own expenses.”

Adversatives:

(624) Նույն եւ աշխատում, հետևն է հետև:
       “I go to the theatre, and (but) you to the cinema.”

(625) Արամ-է դեր արտահանվում, այժմ վարում է Չերազ բանաստեղծություն:
       “Aram does not read out the poem of Širaz, but sings it.”
Conjoining – correlatives

(626) Համարական որոշակի կատարելական աստիճանան պատկանող կանոններով:
Armen-ě oĉ miayn lav ē sovor-um
Armen.NOM-the NEG only good he is learn-PTCP. PRES.
aylew ãgn-um ē dasênkner-ner-i-n.
conj help-PTCP. PRES. he is schoolmate-PL-DAT-the
“Armen does not only learn well, he also helps his schoolmates.”

(627) Ոչ Արամն է, ոչ Վարդանը:
Oĉ' Aram-ě ek-av oĉ' Vardan-ě.
conj Aram.NOM-the come-AOR.3SG conj Vardan.NOM-the
“Neither Aram came, nor Vardan.”

(628) Անուշն է, կрасив է, և մեծ է:
Anuš-ě ew gelecik ē ew xelaci.
Anuš.NOM-the conj beautiful she is conj intelligent
“Anuš is beautiful as well as clever.”

Subordinating conjunctions introduce dependent (subordinate) clauses and indicate the nature of the relationship among the independent clause(s) and the dependent clause(s).

According to their semantic contents they can be subgrouped into:

a. Explicative conjunctions such as: որ որ “that”, եթե եթե “that, if”, ինչ ինչ “that, what”, ինչով ինչով “as if”; եթե եթե եթե “as if” etc.

b. Conditional conjunctions such as: եթե եթե “if, when”, եթե որ, եթե որ, որ “if, that”, որոշ որ miayn tê “only if”, ուսում nayac “if, in case”, պատ եւ kâni det “meanwhile”, եթե …այնքում, եթե …այնքում “if…then” etc.

c. Concessive conjunctions, such as: եթե եթե ew “although, even if, while”, եթե եթե têkuz “even, though”, եթե եթե têpet “though”, ուսում եւ nayac “inspite of, despite”, եթե եթե pòxanak “instead of” etc.

d. Temporal subordinate conjunctions, denoting time (point in time, duration, iterativity, referring to previous or to impending events): որ որ “that, when”, եթե էր էր or “when”; մինչ մինչ “until”, հետ henc’ “just”, էութեր naxkan “before, until”, եթե եթե minçew or “until that”, հետ henc’ “as soon as”, պատ եւ kâni det “meanwhile, in the meantime” etc.

e. Causal subordinate conjunctions, denoting a cause or giving a base: որովհետու որովհետու “because”, պատ եւ kâni or “as, because, since”, որ որ “that” որովհետու որ “particularly because” աստիճանան պատ kâni det or etc.

f. Final subordinate conjunctions, denoting purpose or goal: որովհետու երպեզի “that, in order to”, որ որ “that, in order to”, պատ եւ miayn tê “if only” etc.

g. Manner subordinate conjunctions, denoting manner, subdivided into comparative conjunctions: կամ սղ ասես tê “as if”, կամ սղ kâres tê “it seems, as if”, որովհետու denc’ or “so that”, տղազգ inc’pes “as, such as” etc.
h. Consecutive subordinate conjunctions, denoting consequences or effects: նաև usti “so, therefore, whence”, ուրջ үրեմ “consequently, therefore”; հետևաբար hetew-abar “consequently” etc.

i. Expletive subordinate conjunctions: քանի ayrink’h, իսկ է այն “that is, in other words”.

Expletive

(629) պատմատ. որ իմ ընթացքում է:
Parz-v-ec’ or na melavor է.
turn out-antic-AOR3.SG conj he.NOM guilty he is
“It turned out that he is guilty.”

(630) այսպիսով է, որ իսկ հույսով ընդունանալով զրակրի:
Haytni է-է է t’ē na erb kveradārın-a Erevan-ic’.
known NEG-it is conj he.NOM when return-COND.FUT.3.SG Yerevan-ABL
“It is not known when he will return from Yerevan.”

Conditional

(631) երբ պատասխան գալու ձայն, անդամ կազմավոր:
Et’ē valē anjrew է-ը aorgt քգ-անկ’.
conj tomorrow rain.NOM NEG-come-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG forest.NOM go-COND.FUT.1.PL
“If it does not rain tomorrow, we will go to the forest.”

Final

(632) կանոնավոր ձմռան, որպեսզի տեսահաղ գրավի:
štapec’i tun orpeszi tsn-em nran.
hurry-AOR.1.SG house.NOM conj see-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG he.DAT
“I hurried home that I see him”. (I hurried home to see him)

Causal

(633) եթե բանին ուր ապա հարցի են լուծվում, չի համարում, որ հթավատություն կարող է համարել լուծված: (Արարություն 07.04.2006)
Ev kâni or ays harc-է է-ը luc-v-ac է-em
conj conj this question.NOM-the NEG-it is solve-pass-PTCP.RES NEG-I am
hamarum or himnaxndir-է kareli է
consider-PTCP.PRES conj problem.NOM-the possible it is
hamar-el luc-v-ac.
consider-INF solve-pass-PTCP.RES.

“And since this question is not solved, I do not think that it is possible to consider the problem (as) solved.”
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(634) Մարդությունից, բե Արմենիայում այսօր պատմված է պայմանագրությունների

«I do not think, however, that Azerbaijan is ready today to start military

activities, particularly because we succeed in keeping the forces’ proportion.

Concessive

(635) բնու թթ հավանակցություն, քան դե գրչի:

“Although we invited you, you did not come.”

Explaining:

(636) Նպատակ համապատասխան այսօրի համար գրավում է հարցմանավորություններ,

“In April it will be possible to reach the planned capacities; that is the

production of 800–900 tons of rubber.”

Consecutive:

(637) Մեր միջատոն պաշարները չեն երենք ծած, որոնպատասխան նշեն չափ

“The gardens of our region have got old, the percentage of thinning is very high, there

fore one must restore (them) and at the same time have modern, new species.”
2.8 Adpositions

Adpositions are functional words that prototypically relate two linguistic elements to each other. They are used with noun phrases to indicate various meanings, but also appear as complementation of verbs and adjectives.

Both prepositions and postpositions are used in MEA, however postpositions are more frequent.

Referring to their form, one can distinguish the following formation-groups of SMEA adpositions:

- Pure adpositions, i.e. they can exclusively be used as adpositions: հի “for the sake of”, բու “according to”, որոտ “up to”, ամսա “about”, արեա “without”, բու ”except”, դու “towards”, համա “for”, համա ”for the sake of”, հանդեր “with”, շնորհի “thanks”, հասի “considering, given”, նկատմա “with respect to”, վերաբեր  “regarding”, դու ”around instead of”, պես “as”, հանջ “in the person of “, և իբրև “as”, պես ”as”, ին “facing, given” , պար ”to the fame”, ին ”in defiance of”, ի դեպ ”besides, again”, և ”considering, given”, դու ”on the grounds of”.

- Impure adpositions, i.e. those words that are primarily used as adpositions but can be secondarily used in other parts of speech: ժամա ”at”, դո ”on”, երբ ”in”, տա ”under”, շու ”around”, դեմ ”against”, կատ ”instead of”, ախ ”in front of”, հանդեր ”in front of; with regard to”, թե ”instead of”, դիմ ”opposite”, սկ ”around”, դեպ ”towards”, հան ”far from”, կից ”attached to”, պատ ”because of”, կող ”by means of”, հեր ”by”, ”in the name of”, հետ ”due to “, etc.

Semantically they can be classified into groups referring to the following meaning:

- Locative including direction: երբ ”in”, դո ”on”, տա ”under”, ժամա ”at”, և ”under”, երբ ”between”, հան ”in front of”, դիմ ”opposite”, շու ”around”, դո ”towards”, հեր ”far
from”. վերջի վերև “above, up”, կենտ վեր “up, over”, կենտ վար “down”, դեպի durs “out of, outside”, պատություն aɾaj “in front of”, պատություն aɾew “in front of” etc.

- Temporal: օրը բորք “after”, պատություն naxkәn “before”, պատություն minčew “until”, պատություն aɾaj “before”, պատություն sksac “starting from, with”, համաձև ժամանակ “while” etc.

- Manner: վերջի pes, համաձև mman, պատություն inč’pes “as, like” etc.

- Causal: ժուրայի snorhiv “thank to”, պատություն jerk’ic’ “because of somebody”, քերես eresic’ “because of somebody”, փառական patčar°ov “because of”, անցկացվել հետեվանկ “due to” etc.

- Purpose: համար hamar “for”, հոգու hõgut “for the sake of”, անուն anun “in the name of”, ի ի “for, to”, զույգ ogtin “for the favor of” etc.

- Basis: պատություն ēst “according to”, պատություն ar°t’iv “concerning”, դեպի hōgut “on grounds of”, etc.

- Instrument means: վերջի jerk°ov “by”, պատություն mijoc’ov “by means of” etc.

- Measure: վերջի ġap’ “about”, պատություն avel “except”, պատություն pakas “less than”, պատություն aveli k’an “more than”, պատություն minčew “until” etc.

- Opposition: հատ, գերեզ dem, չնցdem “against”.

- Accompaniment: հեռ het, անցկան հանդերj “with”.

- Limitation: հեռ het, անցկան հանդերj “with” etc.

- Reference (relation): գերեզ masin “about”, դեպի hāṣiv veraberyal “concerning”, դեպի hāṣiv verabermamb “concerning”, փառական referring to, պատություն akt’iv “concerning”, փառական kapac’ut’yamb “with concern” etc.


Syntactically adpositions are grouped relating to their position to the noun: if preceding, they are prepositions, if following they are postpositions.

There is a small group of adpositions that can be used as pre- and postposition, without any semantic distinction.

These adpositions are: վաղ bac’i, դեպի hāṣiv pōxanak, գերեզ snorhiv, կենտ կենտ ēnddem, գերեզ hamaʃayn, անկախ ankax, փառական sksac, հանդերj handerj, փառական hakaɾak.

Some of the adpositions used as pre- or postposition appear but in different forms, such as e.g. ի հաշիւ i haʃiv N/N + ի հաշիւ haʃvin “on account of”, ի պատություն i pativ N/N անկախ patvin “for/in the honour of”.

Pre- and postpositions usually govern different cases.

a. Nominative

The following prepositions govern the nominative:

- ի i “for the sake of”,
- պատություն aɾ “up to; until”,
- հեռան depi “towards”
- քեր zerd “as, like”
- միհիկ minčèw “until”
- գ c’ “until” (temporal reading only)
- նահկան naxkän “before, until”
- հեռա հեռա, նիկու, նիկու ibrew, orpes, inc’pes “as”

Postpositions
- արաջ araj “before”
- հ վեր i ver “since”
- հ վեր i var “down”
- դիգ anc’ “after”
- հետո heto “after”
- գալ k'an “than” (in comparative constructions)

and in colloquial Armenian also the postpositions
- նկ one; նկ ու one or as colloquial synonyms to հեռա ibrew, նիկո inc’pes, ուկռ որpes “as; like”
- գալ kanc’, գալ hanc’ as colloquial synonyms to գալ k'an “than”.

Note:
- The postpositions արաջ araj “before” and հետո heto “after” and դիգ anc’ “after” are only used with the nominative case if they are used with temporal expressions, such as միհ գարդ հետո mek šabat’ heto “after one week, one week later”, միհ գարդ արաջ mek šabat’ araj “one week before”. By contrast, in other expressions they govern the ablative.

(640) Մեկ անց araj paron Movsisyan-է haytn-el էր
a few month.nom post Mr. Movsisyan.nom-the declare-ptcp.perf. he was
or Հայաստան-n el caxel-u oč’inc’ է-un-i.
conj Armenia.nom-the more sell-inf-dat nothing neg-have-pres.3.sg
“A few months ago Mr. Movsisyan had declared that Armenia has nothing more to sell, but it turned out – it has.”

(641)  «Առաջին մոտենաշատ պատասխանի տպա}/> ձեռք բերեց ի վերջապահություն դրամաշրջան», (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

Gorc-oł naxagah-i hražarak-an-ě pahanjel-uc’ araj.
work-PTCP.SUB. president-DAT resignation.NOM-the claim-INF-ABL POST

petk’è nerkaya-č’-el sep’akan crag-er-è.
part present-caus-INF proper plan-PL.NOM-the

“Before claiming the resignation of the acting president the proper plans have to be presented.”

If the adpositions governing nominative are used with the 1st and 2nd person of the personal pronouns, the same adpositions govern the dative case, e.g. հորը հուդ dep inj “towards me”, միջին դու minč’ ew jez “until you”.

- In spoken and written Armenian two other prepositions are also used with the nominative, but only if combined with demonstrative pronouns: ուսուց ar’anc’ “without” and պուշ bac’i “except”. These forms, however, can be regarded as lexicalised: պուշ ուս bac’i ayd “besides; moreover; furthermore”, ուսուց ուս ar’anc’ ayd “already; anyway”.
- In written and normative Armenian, as can be seen below, ուսուց ar’anc’ usually governs the dative, whereas պուշ bac’i governs the ablative.

b. Dative
Prepositions governing the dative of nouns and genitive of pronouns 3rd person

a. ուսուց ar’anc’ “without”
b. րգ ew “in accordance with”
c. հետև i dems “in front, before”
d. հորը hanun “for the sake of”
e. հորը hogut “in favour of”
f. ուսուց ogtin “to the profit of”
g. հետև i p’as “to the glory of”

Postpositions governing the dative of nouns, and genitive of pronouns 3rd person

- ուսուց araj “in front of”
- ուսուց ar’iv “concerning”
- ուսուց ar’ew “in front of”
- հուս dem “against”
- հուս armac’ “opposite”
- հուս armac’ “because of”
- զուգենτ’ac zugent’ac “parallel to, simultaneously”
- արտակ, ենդարաջ "towards"
- արտակ, ենդդեմ "in defiance of"
- արտակ, ենտակճու "during, in the course of"
- էդմանդավ, ժամանակ "while"
- կիր, կիկ էջ "attached to"
- կիր, կուլմիկ "from the side of"
- հակախ, հակառակ "opposite to, despite"
- հակախ, համայնակ "according to"
- հակախ, համար "for" dat
- հակախ, հանդեպ "with regard to"
- հակախ, հասեն "about"
- հակախ, հավասար "evenly; equal with"
- հետ, հետ "with"
- հետեւային, հետեվանք "due to"
- հետա, համա "on grounds of"
- դեր, դերկիկ ճկիր կու "because of"
- ճման ճմաս "about"
- ճուղ, ճուղ "in"
- ճուղ, ճուղեն "between"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "by means of"
- ճուղ, ճուղ "at; by"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "within"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "by means of"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "like"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "in order to"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "thanks to"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "-around"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "about"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "despite "
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "because of"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "as"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "with regard to"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "with regard to"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "on"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "under"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "instead of"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "instead of"
- ճուղեն, ճուղեն "instead of"

Note:
In combination with the 1st and 2nd person of personal pronouns the following postpositions and prepositions govern the dative case:
Postpositions:
- ùáï mot, ùáï vra, ùáï het, ùáï pes, ùáï čap', ùáï hamar, ùáï hame, ùáï endar°a, ùáï nman, ùáï hakar°ak, ùáï hame, ùáï hamajayn;
- e.g. ùáï inj mot “with me, at my side”, ùáï k' ez vra “on you”, ùáï mez het “with us”, ùáï inj čap’ “about me”, ùáï k' ez hamar “for you”.

Prepositions:
- ar°anc’, hanjins, dems, hanun, hōgut, hakar°ak, hōgut mez “in favor of us”, hanjins jez “in the person of you”, hanun, inj “for the sake of me”.

In colloquial Armenian the genitive case is hypergeneralised for the 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns and is usually used with the postpositions and prepositions given above. This is a hypergeneralised and conventionalised rule in colloquial Armenian for adpositions governing the dative of nouns, but the genitive of all persons of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

This hypergeneralisation of the genitive also for 1st and 2nd person of the personal pronouns may have also triggered some “pseudopossessive” forms with postpositions mainly expressing local meaning such as ùáï mot, ùáï kraj, ùáï vra, ùáï mot, etc.: some of the given postpositions can be used with the possessive suffixes -s for 1st person, and -d for 2nd person SG and PL instead of the colloquial genitive (=possessive) form of these pronouns and instead of the normative, written dative of the pronouns in question. Interestingly enough, these forms have been conventionalised and can also be used in written Armenian – which is impossible for the genitive forms given above. In many instances the “pseudopossessive” forms even seem more natural to speakers than the form with personal pronouns and postpositions.
(645) հու գնացող հուն մերը հայրենի թու տունին:

\textit{im ěnkeroj het mišt hayeren em xos-um.}

my friend-DAT POST always Armenian I am speak-PTCP.PRES.

“I always speak Armenian with my friend.” (Note: postposition governing noun in dative)

a. Այս հուն մերը հայրենի թու տունին:

\textit{nra het mišt hayeren em xos-um.}

he.GEN POST always Armenian I am speak-PTCP.PRES.

“I always speak Armenian with him.” (Note: postposition governing 3rd person of personal pronouns in genitive; written and standard Armenian)

b. Հու հուն մերը հայրենի թու տունին:

\textit{inih het mišt hayeren ē xos-um.}

1.DAT POST always Armenian he is speak-PTCP.PRES.

“He always speaks Armenian with me.”

(Note: postposition governing 1st and 2nd person of personal pronouns in dative; written and standard, as opposed to (34ba):)

c. Հու հուն մերը հայրենի թու տունին:

\textit{Im het mišt hayeren ē xos-um.}

1gen (=my) POST always Armenian he is speak-PTCP.PRES.

“He always speaks Armenian with me.”

(Note: colloquial Armenian: genitive for personal pronouns and demonstratives is hypergeneralised also to 1st and 2nd person)

d. Հու հուն մերը հայրենի թու տունին:

\textit{het-s mišt hayeren ē xos-um.}

POST-my always Armenian he is speak-PTCP.PRES.

“He always speaks Armenian with me.” (Note: colloquial Armenian: instead of the personal pronoun in hypergeneralised genitive the possessive suffix is used in “pseudopossessive” meaning.)

Some Armenian grammarians\(^\text{210}\) argue that the case governed by the adposition հանդեպ handep “with regard to” for personal pronouns depends on its use as a preposition or postposition: if used as postposition, it governs the dative for nouns, but the genitive for pronouns. The use as a postposition is overwhelming.

\(^{210}\) (Abrahamyan 1981: 243) lists հանդեպ handep among the postpositions only (Asatryan 2004: 377) observes a totally different use of this adposition.
If used as a preposition, which occurs rather seldom and is considered an antiquated style, it governs the nominative for nouns. Use as a preposition with pronouns is actually avoided; it may happen only with personal pronouns of 3rd person.

(646) Ոն հանդեպ այստեղ մեկ հարգանք էմ:

\[ k' o \ handep \ aystel \ mec \ hargank' \ ka. \]

you-gen(Your) post here big esteem.nom exist-pres.3.sg

“There is big esteem for you here.”

(647) Ամենայն Hayoc' Hayrapet-է šnorhakalut'yun ē all Armenians patriarch.nom-the thank.nom he is

haytn-el ir handep c'uc'aber-ac žolovrdakan express-ptcp.pres. he.gen post demonstrate-ptcp.res popular

sir-o u mecarank'ı hamar.

love-dat conj homage-dat post

“The Patriarch of all Armenians has expressed gratitude for the people’s love and homage demonstrated with respect to him.”

(648) Հանդեպ հայրենիք՝ ուրա ստեղ անցա

\[ Handep \ hayrenik'-ē \ nra \ ser-n \ ančapeli ē. \]

prep fatherland.nom-the his love.nom-the immeasurable it is.

“His love for his fatherland is immeasurable.”

The following adpositions, however, always govern the genitive case of personal and demonstrative pronouns, independent from the person:

a. Prepositions governing the genitive of personal and demonstrative pronouns:

- ուժ est “according to, in accordance with”. ուժ est is also used with the old, petrified accusative form of Classical Armenian, especially in a high style, e.g. ուժ հու est is “according to me”.
- օգտու օգտ in “to the favour of”

b. Postpositions governing the genitive of personal (i.e. էմ im, ուժ k'o, ուժա/հու nra/ir, ուժ mer, ձեռ jer, ուժայ ուժայ nran'/irenc’) and demonstrative pronouns (ուժ sra, ուժ dra, ուժ nra):

- առաջ araj “in front of”
- առցուց aţiv “concerning”
- առցուց aţew “in front of”
- դեմ dem “against”
Adpositions govern the ablative, if they denote a certain relation. Prepositions governing ablative

- քաջ բաչ’ “except”

As mentioned before, this preposition is usually used with the nominative case in colloquial Armenian.

Postpositions governing ablative

- աշք առայ “before”
- դիրու դուր “out”
- քան զատ “except, free from”
- հ վեր ի վեր “since”
- համ հեռ “far from”

Adpositions
Adpositions govern the ablative, if they denote a certain relation.

- հենակ dima’ “opposite”
- տենան եռեց “because of (somebody)”
- ընտրու էնդդեմ “in defiance of”
- հավսակ էնտակ’ում “during, in the course of”
- անձան ժամանակ “while”
- կամակ կոլմիկ “from the side of”
- հավսակ հասե’են “about”
- հավսակ հետեվանք “due to”
- հենակ վին հիման վրա “on grounds of”
- դարբեր երք’են “because of”
- անձան մասին “about”
- մու մեյ “in”
- մագի միջև “between”
- մագիըս միջկու “by means of”
- մաগար ներկո “within”
- մագարատ նկատման “with respect to”
- մագարատ նպատակ “in order to”
- գինեհեն շորհի “thanks to”
- գիներ շոր “around”
- գայ ցար “about”
- պատմություն պատւառ “because of”
- տերպություն վերաբերման “with regard to”
- տերպություն վերաբերալ “with regard to”
- պուտ տակ “under”
- տել տել “instead of”
- պտուտասիլ պոխանակ “instead of”
- պտուտասիլ պոխարեն “instead of”

Postpositions governing ablative
Chapter 2. Morphology

- **hêrê** *heto* “after”
- **ûrêrê** *nerêw* “under”
- **ûlêmû** *skac* “starting from”
- **vêrê** *var* “down”
- **vêrê** *ver* “more than; up”
- **vêrê** *verêw* “above”

Note again, that the postpositions *şŵâşâr* and *hêrê* *heto* govern the nominative case, if used with temporal expressions.

d. Instrumental

- There is only one postposition that governs the instrumental: *çwûçûñò* *handerj* “with”.
- The postposition *şwê şêp* “about” that usually governs the dative of nouns and the genitive of pronouns is used in two petrified, not very productive, expressions also with the instrumental case

### Some Special Features of MEA Adpositions

- **Case, Adpositions and Demonstrative Pronouns**

  Although the case of the demonstrative pronouns is generally governed by adpositions, demonstratives are also commonly used with demonstratives in the nominative case, particularly with the following postpositions:

  - *şûrê* *şût* “concerning”
  - *ûwñû* *masin* “about”
  - *ûwôswûnû* *npatakov* “in order to”
  - *wâswôswûnû* *patcaâov* “because of”

  E.g. *wûwôswûnû* *ay* *şût* “concerning this”, *ûwñû* *ûwñû* *ay* *masin* “about that”, *wûwôswûnû* *aun* *npatakov* “in order to that”, *wû* *wûwôswûnû* *ay* *patcaâov* “because of this”.

  In colloquial Armenian, the prepositions *şûwûgh* *arand* “without” and *şûgh* *baci* “except” are also used with the nominative, i.e. *şûwûgh* *wû* *arand* *ays* “without this”, *şûgh* *wû* *baci* *ayd* “except that”.

  (649) ՀՀ վարեղ ան Անդրանիկ Մարգարյան-ի և որդու է նախագահ Հայաստանի ի առաջարկ է ան արագ և բավարար ընդհանուր ավանդական իրավիճառ ու ակտիվ է այս այսօր հայ հասարակությունից: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

  **HH** *varčapet*  Andranik Margaryan-ê  **ews** *canot’ ê*  
  **RA**  prime minister  Andranik Margaryan.nom-the  also  familiar  he is  

  *varčut‘yan*  crag-er-i-n  ew  tv-el  ê  ayd  *masin*  
  authority-dat  program-pl-dat-the  conj  give-ptcp.perf.  he is  that.nom post  

  *ir*  hamajanyut’yun-ê.  
  his  agreement.nom-the  

  “The prime minister of the Republic of Armenia, Andranik Margaryan, also knows the authority’s programs and has given his agreement concerning that.”
"Inflected Adpositions"

The main feature of adpositions, in general, is that they are not inflectional function words. However, there are some adpositions, which show inflected forms in ablative and instrumental, as well as dative, such as: Երմ - Երմաղ, Երմաղ vra-vrayic'-vrayov; սաու-սախնղ- սախնղ tak-takic'-takov; մեղ-մեկող-մեկող mēj-mējić'-mējo; մեկող-մեկողահամսկող աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեղ աղեղ-աղեղկող-աղեphe; etc.

In MEA, such adpositions can be used "inflected" if

- they express local meaning
- the main verb of the clause is a motion verb and the local adposition conveys "directional" meaning.

The ablative on the adposition is used if

a. the adpositional phrase expresses a direction "off" a certain place
b. the starting point of the movement of the clause's subject coincides with the position of the object/person given in the postpositional phrase, i.e. if the movement of the clause's subject begins from this starting point towards a certain direction. That means, there is a certain direction from the starting point of the movement of the clause's subject to a point far from the object/person given in the positional phrase, i.e. subject and person/object in postpositional phrase have the same direction

c. if the movement of the agent/subject starts from a certain starting point and is directed towards the person/object expressed in the postpositional phrase.

(650) a. Մեր ակերծ մեկեն է գալ.  
Mer  arjew-ic’ mekëna  è  gal-is.  
we-gen post-abl cat.nom it is come-ptcp.pres.  
"In front of us a car is coming." i.e. the coming car is directed towards us, an oncoming car.

b. Մեր աերծ մեկեն է գն.  
Mer  arjew-ic’ mekëna  è  gn-um.  
we-gen post-abl cat.nom it is go-ptcp.pres.  
"In front of us a car is going." i.e. the car in front of us is moving in the same direction as we are; we have the same starting point direction.

- The instrumental on the adposition is used if

a. the adpositional phrase expresses a direction "through" a certain place
b. the movement is not directed from a certain starting point towards a certain direction, but is performed with any certain direction away from the object/person given in
the postpositional phrase. That means, the instrumental expresses an uncertain, not specific direction.
c. the direction of the object/person in the postpositional phrase is different from the one of the clause’s subject (or agent).
d. the direction of the movement is not important for the reading of the clause.

(651) a. Ումիտքավառ թեւ ինչպես ապակում:

Mkn-er-ē  vaz-um  ēin  kat-vi  arjew-ov.
mouse-pl.nom-the  run-ptcp.pres.  they were  cat-dat  post-inst

“The mice were running in front of the cat.”

(I.e. the mice were running somehow in front of the cat. Probably the cat was not moving, was sitting or lying and watching the mice running in front of it. It was not running in the same direction as the mice.)

b. Ումիտքավառ թեւ ինչպես ապակում:

Mkner-ē  vaz-um  ēin  kat-vi  arjew-ic’.
Mouse-pl.nom-the  run-ptcp.pres.  they were  cat-dat  post-abl

“The mice were running in front of the cat.”

(I.e. the mice and the cat were running in the same direction that the cat was running after them, i.e. chasing the mice. The starting point of the mice’s movement was the cat. The cat was running in the same directions as the mice.)

(652) Ումիտքավառ թեւ ինչպես ապակում:

Xanut’-i  mot-ic’  ktek’-v-es  af  u  pọloć-n
shop-dat  post-abl  turn-refl-cond.fut.2.sg  right  conj  street.nom-the
anc’nel-ov  amniąjapes  khaytn-v-es  mer  šenk’-i  dimac’.
cross-inf-inst  immediately  appear-refl-cond.fut.sg  our  building-dat  post

“At the shop you should turn right and, crossing the street, you will immediately appear opposite our building.” (I.e. from the starting point of the shop, turnright…)

(653) Ումիտքավառ թեւ ինչպես ապակում:

Et’e  ayd  xanut’-i  mot-ov  anc’n-es  xndr-um
conj  that  shop-dat  post-inst  pass-subj.fut.2.sg  ask-ptcp.pres.
em  mt-ir  u  inj  hamar  erku  hat  tetr  gn-ir!
I am  enter-imp.2.sg  conj  me.dat  post  two  piece  notebook.nom  buy-imp.2.sg

“If you pass that shop, I ask you, enter and buy two notebooks for me.”

(I.e. the direction of the “passing” is not given, and the shop is not the startingpoint of the action. It is not important, from which direction the agent passes the shop.)
(654) Տան վռայուին էլեկտրական հալորդա-ար էին անցում:
T-an vra-yov elektrakan halordalar-er ein anc'n-um.
“Power supply lines passed over the house.”
(I.e. there is no starting point and no direction given.)

(655) Երեխա-ն տեղի-ի մոտեց մոր-է:
Erexan-n selan-i tak-ie` motec'-av mor-ê.
“The child approached the mother from under the table.”
(I.e. the starting point of the action is under the table, in the direction of
the mother.)

(656) Գրունտի տակում է մեկ փակ էթ թռչուն:
Getn-i tak-ov mi mec get ë hos-um.
“Under the ground a big river flows.”
(I.e. there is no starting point and no direction given.)

The dative case on the adposition is used, if the adposition modifies nouns, i.e. is attribu-
tively used:

(657) Մհերի-ն ասել է որ տան ժամը զոհակցու հզորական ռեզիւում է:
(Hetk’ 12.02.2007)
Mher-i-n as-el en or tan dimac`-i
Mher-dat-the say-ptcp.perf. they are conj house-dat post-dat
pokrik holamas-n iren-ñ ë.
small strip.nom-the his.nom-the it is
“They have told Mher that the small strip opposite the house is his.”
Comment: the basic form is տան ժամը tan dimac` house-dat post;
the postpositional phrase is used attributively, thus the postposition appears in
dative case.

Adpositions with Definite Articles or Possessive Suffixes

In colloquial Armenian, the definite article is commonly used with postpositions before
the verb “to be” particularly if the postposition occurs at the end of the utterance and if the
postposition appears in the nominative i.e. unmarked form.211

211. This feature is even more wide-spread in dialectal Eastern Armenian.
Adpositions with Possessive Suffix 1st and 2nd Person

As explained above, p. 299, possessive suffixes for 1st and 2nd person appear with postpositions mainly expressing local meaning such as չաթե մեթ, ուտե թակ, գուրա վար, ունե մոտ. This is particularly a feature of colloquial Armenian.

If I knew that it was so, I would have brought some blankets with me.”

2.9 Interjections

Interjections are purely emotive words that do not enter into syntactic relations. They are included in a sentence usually at the start to express a sentiment such as surprise, disgust, joy, excitement, enthusiasm etc. Interjections are more frequently used in spoken language. If occurring in written language, they are marked with the exclamation mark.

Many interjections may be associated with nonsystematic features such as vowel lengthening and extended pitch range.

Interjections can be grouped into the following semantic groups expressing various feelings:212

- Joy, happiness, pleasure, կարճ jan, դուր տաք, կարճ վայ, ուռ ուռ, որ օհ, կարճ աք, որ օյ, որ ա etc.
- Surprise, դոհար օհ, որ օհ, դոհար բա, որ ա, Կարճ պահ, ուռ հո, կարճ վա, կարճ վայ, կարճ վահ etc.

212. This is certainly not a complete list of all interjections used in SMEA. Compare: Abrahanyan 1981:266–268; Minassian 1980:256–259; Asatryan 2004:421–423 etc.
The following interjections are used to address the interlocutor, 🗻 a, 🗻 ay, 🗻 hey, 🗻 ēhey, هة jhay, هة jhay, هة haray, هة to, هة he etc.

There are also some interjections used to call animals, such as  SCE--send or  SCE- send for dogs,  SCE- send for cats,  SCE- send for hens (poultry) or other birds.

(661) - 𐒟, 𐒟, 𐒟 and 𐒟: (Grakanut’yun 4:49)

“Hey, my girl, how are your affairs?”

(662) - 𐒟, 𐒟, 𐒟: (Grakanut’yun 4:49)

“Oh, my mother has expelled me from the house.”

(663) - 𐒟, 𐒟, 𐒟: (Grakanut’yun 7:203)

“Where are you, hey?” says the widower and calls: “Puss puss puss”

2.10 Overview of parts of speech in this grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian

Traditional grammars | The present grammar
---|---
1. Noun | 1. Noun
2. Adjectives | 2. Adjectives
   a. Qualifying | a. Qualifying
   b. Quantifying | → Quantifiers
c. Relational  
3. Numerals  
   a. Cardinals  
   b. Ordinals  
   c. Distributive  
   d. Fractions  
3. → Quantifiers  
   → Quantifiers  
4. Pronouns  
   a. Personal  
   b. Possessive  
   c. Demonstrative  
   d. Reflexive  
   e. Reciprocal  
   f. Indefinite  
   g. Definite  
   h. Negative  
   i. Interrogative  
   j. Relative  
4. Pronouns  
5. Verbs  
6. Adverbs  
7. Conjunctions  
8. Adpositions  
9. Interjections  

COMMENT:  
Because of a new organization and re-ordering of the group of adjectives, numerals and pronouns, the following groups of modifiers have been introduced into this grammar.

a. Determiners  
A determiner is a modifier that expresses what kind of reference a noun or noun phrase has in the context; whether it is definite or indefinite, partitive or universal. It also includes quantity.

- Definite article  
- Pure demonstratives  
- Possessive pronouns and suffixes in determining functions  
- Quantifiers  
- “Other” determiners (specific determiner: traditionally demonstratives such as ὅνον myus; non-specific determiners: traditionally indefinite pronouns such as ὦ άνα yl, ἀνόης uriš)
b. Quantifiers
The class of quantifiers comprises lexemes that express a referent’s definite or indefinite number or amount. Quantifiers are usually regarded as a subgroup of the class of determiners.

The class “quantifier” in the present grammar comprises:

- quantitative adjectives
- numerals
- indefinite quantifiers (traditionally indefinite pronouns)
- universal quantifiers subdivided into collective (traditionally collective definite pronouns) and distributive quantifiers (traditionally distributive definite pronouns)
CHAPTER 3

Syntax

MEA, as other languages, classifies clauses by syntactic structure or by purpose (=semanto-pragmatic types).

Based on the various degrees of complexity of the syntactic structure, MEA distinguishes the following clause patterns

- Simple sentences: containing only one finite verb plus obligatory or optional constituents; i.e. consisting of a single independent clause.
- Multiple sentences: containing one or more clauses as its immediate constituents.
- Compound sentences: containing at least two finite verbs, whose clauses are joined through co-ordination, i.e. in a compound sentence the immediate constituents are two or more coordinate clauses.
- Complex sentences: containing at least two finite verbs, with dependent clauses being joined to the main clause via subordination, i.e. in a complex sentence one or more of its elements are realised by a subordinate clause.
- There are also so-called compound/complex clauses, in which a compound and a complex sentence join together. They should contain two or more independent clauses and one more dependent clause.

Sentences are also classified by discourse function into the following:

a. Declarative sentences, which commonly make a statement
b. Interrogative sentences, which are used to request information, though are also used in rhetorical questions
c. Exclamatory sentences, which are generally more emphatic forms of statements
d. Imperative sentences (or directives), which are ordinarily used to make a demand or request.

3.1 Clause elements

Usually each complete sentence is regarded having at least a subject and a predicate. Semantic roles are expressed by grammatical relations of subject, direct object and indirect object and usually depend on the transitivity (valence) of the verb. Other semantic roles are more likely to be expressed by adverbials – in oblique phrases or in adpositional phrases – though even these can sometimes be expressed by subjects and objects; such as location, direction, setting, purpose, time, manner etc.
In MEA, a complete sentence may have the following elements:

a. subject
b. predicate
c. object
d. adverbial complements

3.1.1 Subject

The term subject usually refers to a syntactic function; the most prominent grammatical relation that a noun phrase may bear in a sentence. In MEA, the subject agrees with the finite verb in person/number. The most specific semantic role of the subject in MEA is that of the agent of an action, but the subject can take different roles. In such cases, one has to distinguish formal and semantic criteria, in which subjects occur: grammatical subject (syntactic) and logical (semantic or underlying) subject.

In MEA, the grammatical subject usually expresses the following semantic roles:

a. agent: prototypically the animate instigator of an action. A prototypical agent acts with volition and also controls the event;
b. (natural) force: denotes an entity – mainly natural forces – that instigates the action, but not consciously or voluntarily;
c. instrument: denotes an entity that instigates an action indirectly;
d. experiencer: normally denotes an entity that receives a sensory impression, or in some other way is neither the locus of some event or activity that involves neither volition nor change of a state.

Force, instrument and experiencer are clearly distinct from agent, but MEA treats them grammatically in the same way as the agent. In MEA only the semantic roles of agent and of natural force, however, can also be understood as the logical subject, but never the instrument. A grammatical subject expressed by the semantic role of an instrument is usually not regarded as the logical agent in MEA: normally there has to be an agent that acts upon the instrument.\(^{213}\)

The grammatical subject of an active, transitive or intransitive verb is usually expressed in the unmarked Nominative case, and usually the verb agrees in number and person with this subject. The subject may be expressed with nouns, pronouns and all kinds of nominalised adjectives, quantifiers, pronouns and verbs.

\(^{213}\) The use of agent and natural force as the logical subject of a construction can easily be seen in passive constructions, in which the agent and the natural force appears in the prototypical case of the logical agent/subject: in ablative (or in an adpositional ablative construction), whereas the instrument can only appear in the prototypical instrument case – the instrumental with passive verbs.
In MEA, which is a pro-drop language, subjects can also be inherently expressed by the finite verbal form or the auxiliary in compound tenses and moods – in its number and person conjugation.

(1) Կարդ-իմ իմ Բալակյան-ի որ գիրք-է.
read-PTCP.PRES.I  am  Balakyan-DAT new book.NOM-the
“I am reading Balakyan’s new book.”

(2) Կարդաց-ի Բալակյան-ի որ գիրք-է.
read-AOR.1.SG Balakyan-DAT new book.NOM-the
“I read Balakyan’s new book.”

The subject can also be expressed with personal/demonstrative pronouns. In general, the use of the personal pronoun is optional with finite verb forms; when used, the personal pronoun weakly stresses the pronominal subject.

(1) ա. Ես կարդ-իմ իմ Բալակյան-ի որ գիրք-է.
es read-PTCP.PRES.I am Balakyan-DAT new book.NOM-the
“I am reading Balakyan’s new book.”

In addition to the prototypical nominative case for the subject, the subject can also be expressed with the ablative or dative case.

The grammatical subject in the ablative case is usually labelled “partitive subject”. The partitive subject denotes the grammatical subject of passive verbs (= the logical object of an active verb) and shows that the action is only carried out on one part, or partially this grammatical subject (logical object).

There are some syntactical and semantic constraints regarding this partitive subject:

a. it only co-occurs with passive verbs;
b. it only refers to (–human) entities.

(3) Կերաժ-ով հերաժակ-ում էին Հովհաննես
radio-INS\* broadcast-pass-PTCP.PRES. they were Hovhannes
T’umanyan-ի պատմակ-ներ-ից’.
T’umanyan-DAT story-PL-ABL
“Some of Hovhannes T’umanyan’s stories were broadcasted on the radio.”

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214. See Abrahamyan 2004: 40; Papoyan 2003: 142–143. In Armenian this subject is called “մասնակ ձուկ մասնակ ձուկ masa gan en tar a”, i.e. partitive subject.
Some children have been seen in Yerevan.

The logical subject of a participle or infinitive construction is usually expressed with the dative, or, in the case of personal pronouns, with the 1st and 2nd person by means of the possessive suffixes -ë and -¹. (see Ch. 3.4.1. “Participle” constructions, p. 499f.)

3.1.2 The predicate

The predicate, as expressed by the finite form of a verb, is another main constituent of a complete sentence. By definition, the predicate expresses actions, processes and states that refer to the subject. It consists of

a. simple finite verb forms
b. compound finite verb forms
c. copular verb and predicative complement. The predicative complement can be subdivided into several types:

- Predicative Nominal

(5) Vardan-ı mayr-ê lragrol ê.
Vardan-DAT mother.NOM-the journalist.NOM she is.
“Vardan’s mother is a journalist.”

- Predicative Pronominal

(6) verjnakan halt’ut’yun-ê mer-n ê.
final victory.NOM-the our-the it is
“The final victory is ours.”

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216. Here I refer only to subject complements; i.e. by definition “a complement that is used to predicate a description of the subject of a clause”. Subject complements do not only combine with copular verbs, but also with “linking verbs” such as “to become, to turn, to seem” etc.

217. Compare Armenian grammars, such as Abrahanyan 1981: 286.
– Predicative Adjective

(7) Այս շենքը բազմահարկ է:

*Ays šenk'-ē bazmahark ē.

“This building is multi-storey.”

– Predicative Numeral

(8) Այս դասարանը պupil-PL-DAT քանակ-է:

*Ays dasaran-i ašakertn-er-i k’anak’-ē k’san ē.

“The number of this classroom’s pupils is twenty.”

– Predicative Adverb

(9) Այդ մասն հատուկ արդեն ուշ է:

*Ayd masin mtac-el-ē arden uš ē.

“It is already late to think about that.”

– Predicative Adpositional Phrases

(10) Այս երկիրը պատկանում է տասը:

*Ays erkir-ē hek’iat’-i nman ē.

“This country is like a fairy-tale.”

The predicate is usually linked to the grammatical subject of a sentence through an agreement (in person and number) and through the valence/transitivity of the verb it determines – the kind and number of obligatory or optional complements.

In agreement, the number of the verb agrees with the morphologically expressed number of the subject. This means that if the subject noun appears in the singular, the verb also has to appear in the singular; independent of whether it has singular or plural meaning. That is particularly for morphologically unmarked “singular” subject nouns with quantifying modifiers only:218

218. If a noun has a quantifying and qualifying or determining attributes, it is marked as a plural. Thus, in case that these nouns function as a subject, the finite verb has to also appear in the plural.

(11) a. Այս երեք պupil-PL-NOM-ER the գնում են տուն.

*Ayn erek’ ašakert-ner-ē gn-um en tun.

“They are house.NOM going home.”
Intransitive verbs usually describe a property, state or situation involving only one participant, i.e. intransitive verbs do not have a direct object:

(13) Կարճ աղսակիր գիտակցություն:  
\( \text{Vardan-ը աշակերտ է աշխատում}. \)  
Vardan.NOM-the pupil.NOM go-PTCP.PRES. he is \( \text{sCHOOL.NOM} \)  
S V  
“Vardan goes to school.”

(14) Անի աշակերտ է:  
\( \text{Ani-ն դպրոց-ը է}. \)  
Ani.NOM-the school-DET he is \( \text{S V} \)  
“Ani is smiling.”

Transitive verbs, by contrast, describe a relation between at least two participants, i.e. transitive verbs have a direct object.

(15) Կարճ աղսակիր պատմություն:  
\( \text{Vardan-ը նամակ է ստացել}. \)  
Vardan.NOM-the letter.NOM he is receive-PTCP.PREV.  
S O V  
“Vardan has received a letter.”

In MEA, there are also ambitransitive verbs, i.e. verbs that can be used both as intransitive and as transitive without requiring a morphological change. That is, the same verb form may or may not require a direct object.

(16) Արմեն աղսակիր գրություն:  
\( \text{Armen-ը դանդաղ է գրություն}. \)  
Armen.NOM-the slow he is write-PTCP.PRES.  
S V  
“Armen writes slowly.” (Intransitive)
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(16)  a.  Արմեն է նամակ է գրում.  
     Armen-nom the letter-nom he is write-PTCP.PRES.  
     S  O  V  
     “Armen is writing a letter.”  (Transitive)

The valence or transitivity of a verb can be altered by various operations which adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations:

a. transitive verbs can be detransitivized by passivisation, reflexivation, reciprocisation and anticausativisation. In MEA these alternations are usually formed with the multifunctional suffix -í-v-.

b. intransitive verbs can be transitivised by causativisation, by means of the morphological suffix -gú- -cn- or the analytic causative with ṭal.

3.1.2.1  Transitivisation – Causative constructions

A causative, in general, is an expression of an agent causing or forcing a patient to perform an action (or to be in a certain state). Thus, a causative verb is expected to have one more argument than the corresponding non-causative verb: in addition to the subject and direct object (in case of a basically transitive verb), there is an additional argument that expresses the person or thing, which causes or instigates the action.

In MEA, one has, however, to distinguish between

a. semantically or inherently “causative” verbs, which are mainly represented in the group of manipulation verbs and which are lexicalised direct causations (manipulation verb + main verb in the infinitive in the nominative), (17)

b. morphologically causativised verbs (showing the suffix -gú- -cn-) (18), and

c. analytical causative paraphrases (ṭal + Infinitive) (19).

(17)  Նրա բանաստեղծության խոսքի է ֆասկալավ ու անձնական կարծիք այլ այլ եզրի պայմանում։  (Armenpress 25.10.2005)  
     nra  banastelcakan  xosk’-ě  ger-el  
     his poetic speech-nom the fascinate-PTCP.PERF.  
     è  šat-er-i-n  ew  stip-el  ayl  
     it is many-PL-DAT-the conj force-PTCP.PERF. other  
     ač’k’-er-ov  nay-el  ašxarh-i-n.  
     eye-PL-INST look-INF world-DAT-the  
     “His poetic speech has fascinated many and has forced (them) to see the world with other eyes.”
(18) այն hiše-כ'n-um է Afghanistan-LOC Buddha-DAT  
that remember-caus-PTCP.PRES it is  
արջան-ներ-է oč'nč-ա-כ'-ա'c-t' alib  
statue-PL.NOM-the destroy-caus-PTCP.PRES. Taliban  
xavaramol-նer-i gorcolut'yun-נer-է.  
reactionist-PL-DAT action-PL.NOM-the  
“This reminds (one) of the Buddha statues in Afghanistan destroyed by  
Taliban reactionists.”

(19) Աննա Aram-i-n kard-al tv-ec nor girk'-է.  
Anna.nom-the Aram-dat-the read-inf give-aor.3.sg new book.nom-the  
“Anna made Aram read the new book.”

– Intransitive Verbs
Intransitive verbs can be transitivised by means of causativisation by suffixing -גũ- -כ'n- to the  
verbal present stem (for morphological forms see Ch. 2.5.1.3. p. 172f.)

(20) Օվ č'-i irakana-כ'n-i petut'y-an cragir-է  
Who neg-he is fulfil-caus-cond.fut.3.sg state-dat program-nom-the  
na durs kmn-a ayd gorcent'ac'-ic'.  
he.nom outside stay-cond.fut.3.sg that process-abl  
“Who does not fulfil the state’s program, will remain outside of that process.”

(21) Et'e nman mijadep-ר-է naxkinum “Nor žamanakner-um” cicaļeli  
conj similar incident-PL.NOM-the former “New time-PL-LOC” funny  
ēin orak-v-um apa ayžm da barta-כ'n-um  
they were qualify-pass-PTCP.PRES. then now that become angry-caus-PTCP.PRES.  
է A. Karaptyan-i kusakic'-ner-i-n.  
it is A. Karapetyan-dat party member-PL-DAT-the  
“If similar incidents were regarded as funny by the former (political party) “New times”,  
than now that is making A. Karapetyan’s party members angry.”
There is a semantic constraint to some intransitive verbs for morphological causativisation, comprising especially some verbs of cognition and the weather verbs. They can only be synthetically causativised with the ում ուտ + infinitive construction or with manipulative verbs + infinitive.

Motion verbs, in general, can be morphologically causativised, with the exception of the motion verbs տառ ուտ “to go”, տուռ ուտ “to come”, etc.
Some motion verbs, however, seem to underlie other semantic/pragmatic constraints for the morphological or analytical causativisation:

(27) Უղ հա ռազմիկների հետ նպատակեր, որպեսզի զգացրանք և զարգացի սարք։
(Grakanuty’un 7:7)

Bayc’ im tšnami-ner-n inj molore-c’r-in
conj my enemy-pl.nom-the 1.dat misguide-caus-aor.3.pl.
kèz-anic’ vaxe-c’n-in ew p’axč’-el tv-in.
you-abl fear-caus-aor.3.pl conj flee-inf give-aor.3.pl.219

“But my enemies misguided me, made [me] fear you, and made me flee.”

Comment: the verb ʭáÉáñí»É molor-v-el “to stray; to get lost”.

The emotion verb í³Ë»óÝ»É vaxe-c’n-el “to frighten, to scare” is a regularly morphologically causativised intransitive verb, from the basic from í³Ë»Ý³É vaxenal “to fear, to be afraid”.

The motion verb p’axč’-el can be only analytically causativised, since its morphologically causativised form is lexicalised with another meaning, ʭáÉáñí»É p’ax-c’n-el to “take away, to kidnap”.

Transitives
Transitive verbs can only be analytically causativised.

(28) Պարենքը բոլորի գերակր գերից նրա մեքենան.
Vardan-ē bolor-i-n tesn-el tv-ec’ ir nor mekènan.
Vardan.nom-the all-dat-the see-inf give-aor.3.sg his new car.nom-the

“Vardan made everybody see his new car.”

Ambittransitives
Ambittransitive verbs can be morphologically or analytically causativised, depending on whether the causative form is based on the intransitive or transitive meaning of the verb.
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(29) Դառնում զարգացված տարրին ընթացքում դա ապրել էր:

Lewon-i-n šaxmat է sovore-č’r-el xal-al ir
Lewon-DAT-the chess.NOM she is learn-caus-PTCP.PERF. play-INF his
avag k’uyr-ě.
older sister.NOM-the

“His older sister has taught Lewon to play chess.”

(30) Դառնում զարգացված տարրին ընթացքում դա ապրել էր:

Nra hayr-ě Aram-i-n ut-el tvec’ xnjor-ě.
his father.NOM-the Aram-DAT-the eat-INF give-AOR.3.SG apple.NOM-the

“His father made Aram eat the apple.”

In most cases, there is a subtle semantic difference between the use of the suffix -טט- and the paraphrase with מ to tal + infinitive.

a. In constructions with the morphological causative, the grammatical subject of the sentence is not only the instigator/causer of the action but usually also performs the action itself. (31a, 32a)

b. In analytical causative constructions, the grammatical subject never performs the action itself; it is only the causer of the action. (31b, 32b)

(31) Դառնում զարգացված տարրին ընթացքում դա ապրել էր:

Mayr-ě erexa-y-i-n kat’ ē xme-č’n-um.
mother.NOM-the child-DAT-the milk.NOM she is drink-caus-PTCP.PRES.

“The mother makes the child drink milk.”
i.e. “the mother” is also the agent; she, herself, gives milk to the child.

b. Դառնում զարգացված տարրին ընթացքում դա ապրել էր:

Mayr-ě erexa-y-i-n kat’ xm-el ē tal-is.
mother.NOM-the child-DAT-the milk.NOM drink-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.

“The mother makes the child drink milk.”
i.e. the mother, herself, does not give the milk.

The same semantic difference can also be observed in the choice of the causativisation method with some motion verbs.

(32) Դառնում զարգացված տարրին ընթացքում դա ապրել էր:

General-ě vaze-č’n-um ē ir zinvor-ner-i-n.
General.NOM-the run-caus-PTCP.PRES. he is his soldier-PL-DAT-the

“The general (himself) makes his soldiers run.”
i.e. the general is also the agent, he does something to make his soldiers run.
b. Գնահատվում է, որ հարցի հետ կոչին երբ:

General-ě vaz-el è tal-is ir zinvor-ner-i-n.
General.NOM-the run-INF he is give-PTCP.PRES. his soldier-PL-DAT-the

“The general makes his soldiers run.”

i.e. the general himself does not act on the soldiers to make them run, but he
gives an order to the soldiers or he gives an order to somebody else to make the
soldiers run.

– Reflexive verbs
There seem to also be semantic constraints on reflexive constructions being causativised:

a. morphologically, lexicalised reflexivised verbs with -イル-v-, especially grooming verbs,
can be analytically causativised with the なる tal-paraphrases (33) (34);

b. the more common and even more “natural” causative construction is, however, the
construction with manipulation verbs (35) (36).

(33) Մայրը որ որոք տանածի փոխը:

Mayr-ě ir ord-u-n sapr-y-el tv-ec'.
mother.NOM-the her son-DAT-the shave-refl-INF give-AOR.3.SG

“The mother made her son shave (himself).”

(34) Կինը ամուսինին համար է տպայն:

Kin-n amusn-u-n han-v-el è tal-is.
wife.NOM-the husband-DAT-the undress-refl-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.

“The wife makes her husband undress.”

(35) Հայրը որ որոք ոսկերը տանածի փոխը:

Hayr-n ir pık' tla-y-i-n stip-um è lvac'-v-el.
father.NOM-the his little boy-DAT-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is wash-refl-INF

“The father forces his little son to wash himself.”

(36) Արամը Արմենին տանածի փոխը:

Aram-n Armen-i-n stip-um è paştpan-v-el.
Aram.NOM-the Armen-DAT-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is defend-refl-INF

“Aram forces Armen to defend himself.”

c. Lexicalised morphological reflexives, with mainly non-reflexive meaning, co-occur
with analytical causatives or with manipulation verbs:

(37) Հովիվների ընկերք գամփարկություն համադրում փոխել է:

Hoviv-ner-ě irenc' gampİ-ner-i-n harjak-v-el
Shepherd-PL.NOM-the their sheepdog-PL-DAT-the set on-refl-INF
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tvec’-in gayl-er-i vra.
give-AOR.3.PL wolf-PL-DAT POST

“The shepherds made their sheepdogs set on the wolves.”

Comment: this reflexivised form is a strongly lexicalised with even a non-reflexive meaning, of “to attack, to assault”. There is no basic, i.e. no “v-suffixed” form (*հարյակել harjakele) preserved in Modern Eastern Armenian.

d. Analytical reflexives with transitive verbs and “reflexive” pronouns can only appear in causative constructions with manipulation verbs.

(38) ես կստիպե-մ նրան իրեն լավ պահ-էլ.
Nom force-COND.FUT.1.SG. he.DAT himself-DAT good behave-INF
“I will make him behave himself well.”

(39) Վարդան-է ստիպ-ում է իր պրոֆեսոր-ի եւ նրան կարերում.
Vardan.NOM-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is his professor-DAT-the recognise-INF
iren orpes karewor gitnakan.
he himself-DAT as important scholar.NOM.

“The structure of causative sentences

As mentioned above, the primary characteristic of causative constructions is that the causativised verb receives an additional argument that usually expresses the causer/instigator of the action.

Thus, a causative sentence has major semantic roles, which are expressed as follows (Draye 1998: 75)

a. the causer (agent), the entity causing the event = the grammatical subject of the sentence
b. the causee (recipient), i.e. the entity responding to the causation and implementing the action expressed by the main verb
c. the affectee (patient), the entity that is subjected to the causative element.

In MEA, the causer as agent is usually expressed with nominative case. There seems to be semantic constraints on the expression of the causer:

a. natural forces can occur as causers, but they may only be combined with morphological causatives or – more often, more natural and wide-spread – with manipulation verbs. Natural force causers usually do not co-occur with analytical causative constructions.
(40) Ուժել կամ-ի հաղ-ող կու-ղ-ռ-ի է.
Strong wind.nom-the 1.dat cough-caus-ptcp.pres. it is
“The strong wind makes me cough.”

(41) Փորուկ-ին հաղ-ող պատուհան-եր-է պակ-էլ.
Storm-the 1.dat force-aor.3.sg window-pl.nom-the close-inf
“The storm forced me to close the windows. The storm made me close the windows.”

(42) Տեղակայված դեմքու ու գերակշռության անձնականություն
ապահովվածության ինդիվիդալության քաշազգության զարգացմանը, որը տեղական
է 20-րդ: (Armenpress 04.04.2006)

"The fallen snow and the cold weather have forced the province's peasant economy
to slow down the spring-wheat works, which had started on (lit. from) March 20th"

b. (-human) entities occur as causer; they may be combined with the morphological causative or analytical causative. They usually do not co-occur with manipulation verbs.

(43) a. Երեխայի հաղող հաղողյան է.
Bitter medicine.nom-the child-dat-the cough-caus-ptcp.pres. it is
“The bitter medicine makes the child cough.”

b. Երեխայի հաղող հաղող է տալիս.
Bitter medicine.nom-the child-dat-the cough-inf it is give-ptcp.pres.
“The bitter medicine makes the child cough.”

c. *Երեխայի հաղող հաղող հաղող է.
Bitter medicine.nom-the child-dat-the force-ptcp.pres it is cough-inf
“The bitter medicine forces the child to cough.”

The causee is usually expressed with the dative case. The causee is usually +human; -human entities as well as natural force or instruments do not usually function as the causee; but if
they occur in this function e.g. in metaphorical use, then they are preferably in the nominative case.220 See above examples (29) (30).

Causatives of Intransitive Verbs

Causative structures derived from intransitives should have the former, embedded subject as direct object, i.e. the causer appears in the nominative, the direct object, i.e. the causee in the dative.

The structure of such a clause is very similar to a basic transitive sentence. This fact has caused raised extensive discussion in Armenian traditional grammars about the semantic meaning of such intransitive causatives: as (a) all other regular transitive verbs or as (b) transitive verbs with a special causative meaning.221

Causativised intransitives are usually believed to share the main syntactic features with “regular” transitive verbs, in having two arguments: a subject in the nominative and a direct object in the dative (+human) or nominative (–human).

(44) Arsen-ě p’ayle-c’n-um ē ir mekèna-y-i apaki-ner-ě.

Arsen-nom shine-caus-pres. he is his car-dat glass-pl.nom-the

S V (caus. intransitive=transitive) O

“Arsen makes his car’s panes shine.” (Lit: Arsen polishes his car’s panes.)

Semantically, however, “normal” transitives and causatives derived from intransitives (causativised intransitives) are distinguished from each other: while in normal transitive sentences, the subject is considered as the agent of an action, in causativised intransitive sentences the subject is not only the agent, but also the causer of an action.

(45) Karen-ě zarma-c’r-ec’ bolor-i-n ir p’aylun katarm-amb.

Karen-nom surprise-caus-aor.3.sg all-dat-the brilliant performance-inst

“Karen surprised all with his brilliant performance.”


this monotone music.nom-the tire-caus-pres. it is 1.dat

“This monotone music makes me tired (become tired).”

220. There are also cases in which –human causee also occurs in the dative (in case of animals).
(47) 

Recently the United States is strengthening its relations with Georgia to the disadvantage of Turkey.

Comment: ամրա-ճ'առ-ել is the regular causative form to the intransitive ամրանալ "to get stronger".

(48) 

The thermal power plant of Yerevan will not carry out heating this year. In the previous years the station was heating the buildings of the Šengavit' and Erebuni communities.

Comment:

– հրապարասիրվել irakana-ճ'առ-ել is the morphological causative of the intransitive verb հրապարասնալ irakanal.

– ուղղվածություն takà-ճ'առ-ել is the morphological causative of the intransitive verb ուղղվածան takanal “to warm oneself, to warm up”, and literally means “to make something warm up” = to heat.

(49) 

People do seek culprits; innocents seek culprits, to hide their own sins.
Comment: կարկեչ է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է Է
This wide group also includes those where meaning is specific and differs from the basic meaning of the intransitive, i.e. they represent heavily lexicalised causatives.

- պատկերակնել պատկերել “to imagine” < պատկերել in the meaning “to imagine”
- պակել պակել “to stick, to paste, to attach to” < պակել պակել “to close”, etc.

Causatives of Transitive Verbs

The former, embedded subject stands as the indirect object in the derived structure.
The causer is expressed as the grammatical subject in the nominative case, the causee (embedded subject) as the indirect object in the dative and the direct object of the underlying transitive verb appears as the direct object in the nominative (if –human), (51) (52) or in also in the dative (if +animate, + human) (53).

(51) Հայր-է կառուց-ի-ն նամակ է գր-է տա-է.

father-the secretary-dat-the letter.nom he is write-inf give-ptcp.res.
S/causer IO/causee direct O V

“Father makes the secretary write a letter.”

(52) Արա-ն Արա-մ-ի-ն բան-է է տա-է.

Ara.nom-the Aram-dat-the door.nom-the open-inf he is give-ptcp.pres.
S/causer IO/causee direct O V

“Ara makes Aram open the door.”

(53) Գեներալ-է զինվոր-ն-ի-ն սպան-է տվեց.

general.nom-the soldier-pl-dat-the kill-inf give-aor.3.sg
S/causer IO/causee direct O V

“General made the soldiers kill the men of the village.”

Comment: although this sentence is acceptable and grammatically correct, native speakers would prefer to use a manipulation verb here instead of the analytic causative construction, i.e. …պետություն ապահովել ստիպել սպանել “forced to kill”,… հրամայել սպանել “ordered to kill” etc.

Causatives of Transitive Verbs with an Indirect Object

If the transitive verb has both direct and indirect objects, its derived causative is expected to have the embedded subject in an oblique case other than the subject, direct object or indirect object. In MEA such double indirect constructions are usually avoided with analytical causatives, instead manipulation verbs are preferably used. In spoken Armenian, exclusively manipulation verbs are used.
Chapter 3. Syntax

(54) a. Հայրը սույնում է կարտառական Երանուշ իր նամակին կոչված:

Hayr-ě stip-um ē kartular-i-n usucē'-'i-n
father.NOM-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is secretary-DAT-the teacher-DAT-the
S/causer V IO/causee IO

mi namak gr-el.
INDEF letter.NOM write-INF
O

“Father makes the secretary write a letter to the teacher.”

b. Հայրը կարտառական Երանուշ իր նամակին կոչված է այսինքն:

Hayr-ě kartular-i-n usucē'-'i-n mi
father.NOM-the secretary-DAT-the teacher-DAT-the INDEF
S/causer V IO/causee IO

namak gr-el ē tal-is.
letter.NOM write-INF he is give-PTCP.PRES.
O

“Father makes the secretary write a letter to the teacher.”

This sentence sounds very odd to Armenian native speakers, and it is highly ambiguous.

Passive Causatives

In MEA, passive causatives do occur, though seldom; meaning that passive clauses such as (55) may also be causativised. The grammatical subject of the passive verb becomes the direct object under causativization through “object demotion” (55a).

(55) a. Հայրի բանից բարձրակետ Երանուշ կոչված:

Arkl-ě bac'-v-ec Vardan-i elb-or kołmic'.
box.NOM-the open-pass-aor3.sg. Vardan-DAT brother-DAT post
S V (logical agent)

“The box was opened by Vardan’s brother.”

(55) a. Վարդանի բանից բարձրակետ Երանուշ կոչված:

Vardan-ē bac'-el tv-ec' arkl'-ē
Vardan.NOM-the open-INF give-aor3.sg box.NOM-the
S/causer V O

ir elb-or kołmic'.
his brother-DAT post
(causee)

“Vardan had the box opened by his brother.”

In Armenian, structures like (55a) are allowed, though not really wide-spread. Usually such complex passive/causeative structures are avoided both in written and spoken Arme-
Armenian, because of their “unnatural” character. “Active” causative constructions are highly preferred and used instead of passive causative constructions (55b).

(55) b. Քայլում են նրանցից պաշար նշաններ:  
Vardan-ե ir elbor-է bac’-el  
Vardan.NOM-the his brother-DAT-the open-INF  
S/causer IO/causee V  
tv-ec’ arkl-է.  
give-AOR.3.SG box.NOM-the  
O  
“Vardan had his brother open the box.”

Syntactic Doubling

Doubling of the Indirect Object
In general, indirect object doubling as in (54a) is possible in MEA with sentences using analytical causatives; informants, however, reject such doubling with overwhelming frequency. Instead of using two indirect objects in the dative case and in order to avoid ambiguity, they prefer to substitute the analytical causative construction with a manipulation verb and a dependent infinitive construction, in which the second indirect object appears as a regular indirect object of the verb in the infinitive. In such a case the causee’s indirect object usually precedes the indirect object of the main verb in neutral sentences (56).

(54) a. Հայր-ե stip-um է kartular-i-n  
father.NOM-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is secretary-DAT-the  
S/causer V IO/causee  
usuc’-i-n mi namak gr-el.  
teacher-DAT-the INDEF letter.NOM write-INF  
IO IO  
“Father makes the secretary write a letter to the teacher (double indirect).”

(56) Anna-n Aram-i-n stip-ec’ ir girk’-է  
Anna.NOM-the Aram-DAT-the force-AOR.3.SG her book.NOM-the  
S/causer IO/causee V O  
Nina-y-i-n t-al.  
Nina-DAT-the give-INF  
IO  
“Anna made Aram give her book to Nina.”
Another possibility, which is commonly used both in spoken and written Armenian, is usually regarded as not elegant or lower style: the use of a manipulation verb with a subordinate clause with the verb in the subjunctive.

(56) a. Աննան Արամի ձերգեր որի է նպատակ էլ Աննա
Anna-n Aram-i-n stip-ec’ or ir girk’-ě
Anna.nom-the Aram-dat-the force-aor.3.sg conj her book.nom-the
S/causer IO (causee) O

"Anna made Aram give her book to Nina." (Lit: Anna forced Aram that he shall

There are many individual variations to observe on this point in MEA.

- Doubling of Direct Objects does not occur in MEA.
- Doubling of Causative Verbs

Though rarely, double causativisation may occur in Armenian

a. in some pragmatic/semantic contexts as in (57) (58) below
b. if the speakers are unsure of which causative form to use (analytical or morphologi-

Double causativization is usually expressed with a manipulation verb (main verb) and the second causativised verb either morphologically or analytically causativised.

(57) հայրի ձերգեր երեխայի մահճառային իրավիճակի վրա
Father.nom-the force-aor.3.sg mother-dat-the child-dat-the
drink-caus-inf milk.nom-the

"The father made the mother make the child drink milk."

(58) ես ձերգեր Արամը Սոնայ գրել տալ
es stipec’i Aram-i-n Sona-y-i-n gr-el tal
1.nom force-aor.1.sg Aram-dat-the Sona-dat-the write-inf give-inf

"I made Aram make Sona write this letter."
More commonly, however, such complex structures are expressed by means of subordinate clauses, resulting from manipulation verbs as in (56a) and (58a).

(58) a. եւ սունհաբար Արամի ու Սոնա-յի նման այս տարբերությունը:
   es stip-ec'i Aram-i-n or Sona-y-i-n
   1.NOM force-aor.1.SG Aram-dat-the conj Sona-dat-the
   gr-el ta ays namak-ě.
   write-inf give-subj.fut.3.sg this letter.nom-the

   “I made (forced) Aram make Sona write this letter.”

Excursus: Causative Meaning Expressing Sentences without Causativised Verbs

In MEA it is possible, and even rather common, to express causative meaning not through the morphological or analytical causativisation of the verbs or by using manipulation verbs with the main verb in the infinitive, but by using simple structures. In these structures the causer is expressed by the prototypical case of causer/causation – the ablative – or by adpositional phrases with postpositions with a causative meaning, here labelled “nominal causatives”.

There is no semantic difference between sentences containing a verbal causative and a nominal causative. The difference lies in the style and very often also in linguistic economy. Particularly in spoken Armenian, nominal causatives are more commonly used.

Such nominal causatives are synonymous with verbal causatives when the “causer” or instigator of an action or situation is not a prototypical agent (+animate, + human) but a natural force or (–animate) entity.

(59) a. Պատը թռչնել է կողքով:
   Užeł k' ami-n inj haza-čr-ec'.
   strong wind.nom-the 1.dat cough-caus-aor3.sg
   “The strong wind made me cough.”

b. Պատը սպանել է կողքով:
   užeł k' âm-uc' es haz-ec'-i.
   strong wind-abl 1.nom cough-aor1.sg
   “I coughed from the strong wind.”

c. Պատը թռչնել է կողքով:
   užeł k' âm-u patčar ov es haz-ec'-i.
   strong wind-dat post 1.nom cough-aor1.sg
   “Because of the strong wind, I coughed.”

(60) Լայնալսկու Պատը թռչնել է կողքով:
   kajcak-i patčar ov cer mard-ě anjat-ec' radio-n.
   lightning-dat post old person.nom-the switch off-aor3.sg radio.nom-the
   “The old man switched off the radio because of the lightning.”
Sentences in which a natural force or a (–human) noun (causer) is combined with intransitive verbs (a) expressing emotions (b) changes in the physical state or (c) belonging to the inchoative -ամուսա -anal and -հանու -enal group express an inchoative rather than a causative meaning. Thus, they cannot be regarded as synonyms of the verbal causatives:

- sentences with causativised intransitive verbs are causative constructions;
- sentences with intransitive verbs (either inchoatives or anticausatives) and nominal causatives (made from natural force and/or (–animate) nouns) are inchoative/anti-causative constructions.

In traditional Armenian grammars, however, such nominal causative sentences are regarded as causative and as semantic synonyms to the corresponding verbal causatives without any exception.

(61) աշան-է կամ-ու էր մերկա-է եու. 226
    autumn-DAT-the wind-ABL tree-PL.NOM-the undress-PTCP.PERF. they were
    “In autumn, the trees get bare from the wind.”
    Comment: the verb մերկամ merkanal is an inchoative intransitive. The causer – a
    natural force – is wind, so is expressed with the ablative.

(62) կալիկ-եր էր տար-է կր-ի. 226
    Flower-PL.NOM-the fade-PTCP.PERF. they were cold-ABL
    “The flowers had faded from the cold.”
    Comment: the intransitive verb տարան el t'armel is inchoative “to fade”. The causer,
    a natural force, is expressed with the ablative.
    a. կուրտ-է տարամ-է էր կալիկ-է.
    cold.NOM-the fade-caus-PTCP.PERF. it was flower-PL.NOM-the
    “The cold had made the flowers fade.”
    Comment: the intransitive verb is morphologically causativised, the causer – a
    natural force – appears in the nominative.

(63) հայր-է վեստակ-է էր օրդ-ու վարմուկ-է.
    Father.NOM-the be sad-PTCP.PERF. he was son-DAT behaviour-ABL
    “The father had been sad from (because of) the son's behaviour.”
    Comment: the intransitive emotion verb վեստակ vstanal “to be sad, to grief” is
    inchoative.

226. The sentences were recorded visiting the class of Armenian language in Yerevan’s school No 8, named after Puškin, in the classroom 7a. The topic of the class was causative constructions.
3.1.2.2 Detransitivisation processes

In MEA, transitive verbs can be detransitivised by the following processes:

- passivisation
- anticausativisation
- reflexivisation
- reciprocalisation

The main means of these detransitivisation processes is the multifunctional suffix -í-v-, which is attached to the verb stems. Because of this homonymous suffix, ambiguous sentences and various semantic interpretations may arise so that it is may sometimes be difficult to distinguish passives from reflexives, reciprocals and even anticausatives. Such morpho-syntactic doublets make clear the rather high occurrence of lexicalised -í-v- suffixed verb forms on the one hand, and the importance of the animacy and even humanness distinction within the agentive (subject) noun phrase on the other. The discussion about doublets will follow after the description of the three detransitivisation processes below.

In MEA transitive verbs are detransitivised with the suffix -í-v-, which is attached to the verbal stems as follows:

a. to the present stem of simple verbs in -þi el, of verbs in -Ý»É-n-el, Ñi -c’-el, such as Ñi el grel -gr-v-el “write-be written”, Ñi el tesnel – tesn-v-el “see – be seen, see each other” etc.
b. to the aorist stem of simple verbs in -\(\text{al}\) and of suffixed verbs in \(\text{al}\), \(\text{an}\)-, \(\text{enal}\) such as \(\text{ka}\)rd\(\text{al}\) – \(\text{ka}\)rd\(\text{c}'\)-\(\text{el}\) “read – being read”, \(\text{vax}\)\(\text{enal}\) – \(\text{vax}\)\(\text{c}'\)-\(\text{el}\) “to be afraid of – to be frightened” etc.

3.1.2.2.1 Passivisation

The Passive in Semantic Verb Groups

The use and function of the passive suffix also depends on the semantics of the various verb types.

- The passive form of perception verbs such as \(\text{lsel}\) “to hear, listen”, \(\text{zgal}\) “to feel”, \(\text{nkatel}\) “to notice; to observe” etc. may also express the possibility of an action/state.227

(65) \(\text{ëst nra ašxužut'yun ē nkat-v-um naew anavart prep his briskness.NOM it is notice-pass-PTCP.PRES also unfinished šinararut'y-an öjekt-ner-i masnavorec'm-an ułłuty-amb hatkapes building-DAT object-PL-DAT establishment-DAT direction-INST particularly gyul-er-um. village-PL-LOC

“According to him, the liveliness can be also observed in the tendency of privatizing of unfinished construction sites, particularly in the villages.”

- The passive form of verbs of utterance usually refers to a text or a speech.

(66) \(\text{Xorhrdaran-i orošm-an mej as-v-um ē or council-DAT decision-DAT POST say-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is conj Melk' onyan varžaran-ē oē' miayn hay-er-i aylew Melk' onyan.NOM college.NOM-the neg only Armenian-PL-DAT also Kipros-i mšakut'ayin u patmakan žaŋgut'yun-n ē. Cyprus-DAT cultural CONJ historical heritage.NOM-the it is.

“In the council's decision it is said, that the Melk' onyan College is not only a cultural and historical heritage of the Armenians, but also of Cyprus.”

Verbs triggering a change of position or change of state like շարժել “to move”, օրերել “to swing, to rock”, ավերել “to destroy”, դատերել “to empty” etc. are preferably used in impersonal constructions – and as such also often express an inchoative meaning. The difference between passive and inchoative interpretation can only be found in the context:

(67) Ճան։ <<Անկախության, «անձիր ծնձ եղեկավածություն փուլ անձիր, ին անձիրն անցեր է անձիր, դու անձիրությունը»: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{էստ} & \quad \text{Ա.Հ.նախագահ-ի } \quad \text{“menk’ mec mrc’akayain fond} \\
\text{prép} & \quad \text{R.A. president-dat} \quad \text{we.nom big price-winning fund.nom} \\
\text{un-enk’} & \quad \text{ew aynpes petk’ ē an-enk’ or ayn} \\
\text{have-pres.1.pl conj so do-deb.fut.1.pl conj that.nom} \\
\text{datark-v-i.} & \quad \text{empty-antic/pass-subj.fut.3.sg}
\end{align*}
\]

“According to the president of the Republic of Armenia, “We have a big price-winning fund, and we have to act in such a way that that (fund) is emptied (becomes empty).”

Note: Without context this sentence has a passive or anticausative reading of the verb դատերել datarkvi “is emptied/becomes empty”.

(68) Ճան։ <<Անկախության, «անձիր ծնձ եղեկավածություն փուլ անձիր, ին անձիր

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šenk’-i} & \quad \text{šun je sks-v-el en kanač’apatm-an} \\
\text{building-dat post begin-antic-ptcp.perf. they are planting vegetation-dat} \\
\text{ašxatank’-ner-ě.} & \quad \text{work-pl.nom-the}
\end{align*}
\]

“The planting vegetation works have started around the building.”

Modal verbs can also be passivised, except the verbs ազնվակ կամենալ “to wish”, ուզել “to want, to wish”, գիտել “to know”, դժվարանալ “to become difficult” etc.

In passive constructions the passivised modal verb combines with the bare infinitive of the main verb.

(69) Ճան։ <<Անկախության, «անձիր ծնձ եղեկավածություն փուլ անձիր, ին անձիր

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ Diplomayin ašxatank-ě naxates-v-um ē verja-c’n-el} \\
\text{diplom work.nom-the intend-pass-ptcp.pres. it is finish-caus-inf} \\
\text{lezvabanut’yan usanol-i kolmic’.} \\
\text{linguistics-dat student-dat post}
\end{align*}
\]

“The student of linguistics intends to finish his MA thesis.” (Lit: “The MA thesis is intended to be finished by the student of linguistics.”)

Comment: as stated above, in MEA – in contrast to English- it is the modal verb which is passivised and not the main verb.
Phase verbs can also be passivised. In passive constructions there are two possibilities to express the passive:

a. The phase verb is not passivised; only the main verb in the infinitive is passivised:

(70) a. 

das-er-ě sks-um en kardac'-v-el
class-pl.nom-the begin-ptcp.pres. they are read-pass-inf
usanol-i kolmic'.
student-dat post

“The classes begin to be read by the student.”
Comment: here not the phase verb is passivised, but the main verb in the infinitive.

b. Both the main verb in the infinitive and the finite phase verb are passivised

(70) b. 

das-er-ě sks-v-um en kardac'-v-el
class-pl.nom-the begin-pass-ptcp.pres. they are read-pass-inf
usanol-i kolmic'.
student-dat post

“The classes begin to be read by the student.”

The second form with passivisation of both the phase verb and main verb in the infinitive is more frequently used.

- Manipulative verbs that are also usually combined with the main verb in the infinitive can also be passivised. In such cases, only the manipulative verb is passivised; and very commonly the agentive phrase is omitted. The infinitive is used as the grammatical subject of the passive clause.

(71) 

aspet-i-n hramay-v-um ē (t'agavor-i kolmic')
knight-dat-the command-pass-ptcp.pres. it is (king-dat post)
nra ji-u-n ē-cecəl.

his horse-dat-the neg-hit-inf

“The knight was commanded (by the king) not to hit his horse.”

**Lexicalised Passives**

Very often, the multifunctional suffix -v- may be interpreted as passive vs. reflexive vs. anticausative. The following verb groups are lexicalised in their interpretation as passives.

- The modal meaning of v-suffixed forms (quasi-passive reflexives\(^\text{228}\)) may also denote a necessity or instruction. In MEA, these are regarded as impersonal passives.

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\(^{228}\) Term of Genusiene 1987: 257. She regards these verbs as a semantic type of object reflexive, also occurring in Armenian. She is right in noting that there are no impersonal reflexives.
(72) հու ազգանական գրչություն է անհատ հ-հ:
im azganun-ě gr-v-um ē ahranc’ h-i.
my family name.nom-the write-pass-ptcp.pres. it is prep h-dat
“My family name is written without an “h”.”

(73) Ավտոմեքենան այսպես չէ կար:
(acvto)mek’ ena-n ayspes č’-i kš-v-um.
car.nom-the so neg-it is drive-pass-ptcp.pres.
“One cannot drive the car in such a way.”

Comment: this sentence represents the spoken, very common variant of this clause, which uses the passive of the verb կողբ kšel “drive” found in written Armenian or a higher spoken style, an active variant of the higher style verb վարել varel “drive” is preferred:

(73) a. Ավտոմեքենան այսպես չեն վար:
ayspes avtomek’ENA č’-en var-um.
so car.nom neg-they are drive-ptcp.pres.
“One cannot drive a car in such a way.”

– Resultative passives 229 convey a meaning “by chance, against will, inadvertently” and are less common. This meaning is rendered by passive forms in MEA.

(74) Այս շուկին է վարող անվան:
ays kosiš-ner-ě šut maš-v-eč’in.
this shoe-pl.nom-the quickly wear-pass-aor.3.pl
“These shoes have worn (off) quickly.”

– Reflexive passives, in which an agentive object is usually optional and is seldom overtly expressed. In MEA the suffix -v- is also used to mark the agentive passive with an optional agentive object (Kozinceva 1976: 5; Abrahanyan 1963: 74–78). In MEA, these sentences are regarded as regular agentive passive with or without an agent.

(75) Գիրք կարդացված է Անուշի կոլմից:
girš’-ě kardac-v-um ē (Anuš-i kolmıc’)
book.nom-the read-pass-ptcp.pres. it is (Anuš-dat post)
“The book is read (by Anuš). The book is being read (by Anuš).”

– Reflexive impersonal: if derived from a transitive verb, having the equal meaning as impersonal constructions. In Armenian these are regarded as impersonal passives.

in Armenian – impersonal forms with the suffix -v- are interpreted rather as impersonal passives (see above).

Passive Construction
The complements of a passivised verb are the grammatical subject (the logical direct object) and the grammatical object (the logical subject and agent).
A construction is regarded as personal passive if:230

- there is an overt subject with semantic content;
- there is a corresponding active construction;
- the subject of the passive corresponds to the direct object of the active sentence.

An impersonal passive, however, is characterised by an agentless construction and a -v-passivised verb, i.e. there is no grammatical object and no overt agent.

Subject (Logical Direct Object)
The grammatical subject of the passive construction is usually expressed with the nominative case in personal passive constructions.

In some passive constructions with non-specific agents and manipulation verbs such as stipel “to force”, hraman tal “to order, to command”, argelel “to forbid, to prohibit”, t'yl tal “to allow, to permit”, xorhurd tal “to advise” etc. or verbs of intention such as orošel “to decide”, cragrel “to plan, to schedule”, naxatesel “to intend” etc. the infinitive of the main verb functions as the grammatical subject of the sentence.

(76) «Govazd-i masin» ≫ որտիրել 9-ի հայտարարություն երկրի հայրենիքի հետաքրքրությունը, առկայուն պատմական իրավիճակների առթիվ,
(Armenpress 08.12.2005)
“Advertising-dat post” R.A. law-dat 9th article-dat post
argel-v-um ē radioheřustatesayin halord-man
forbid-pass-ptcp.pres. it is Radio/Television broadcasting-dat
t'ent'ac'k'-um herarjak-el govazd.
POST broadcast-inf advertisement
“According to the 9th article of the “advertising” law of the Republic of Armenia, it is forbidden to broadcast advertisement during radio/TV broadcasting.”

Object (Agentive Phrase, Logical Subject)
The logical agent of the passive construction is often omitted. Such agentless passives occur in impersonal passive sentences in MEA. They usually convey a general meaning, and are semantically synonymous with active clauses in the 3rd person plural of finite verbs/auxiliary. The impersonal passive is, however, preferred in written language, whereas the active 3rd person plural forms are preferred in spoken Armenian.

(77) The proposal of the rector was rejected at the university's meeting.

(78) They rejected the proposal of the rector at the university's meeting.

If the agentive phrase is overtly expressed, it is represented by the noun in the dative and the postposition կոլմից՝, if the noun expresses a prototypical agent (+human).

(79) It has been appraised by the executive as sufficient.

(80) They are persecuted for their belief (they have) to God by Emperor Dekos, and they hide in a cave in the close Mountain Ołkos.

By the personal pronoun in the genitive and the postposition կոլմից՝ (except in co-occurrence with emotion verbs).
“A similar incident has not happened, and no transgression of ceasefire has been registered by us.”

By the noun in ablative, if the (+human) noun co-occurs with emotion verbs, or by the personal pronoun in the ablative co-occurring with emotion verbs.

“Anna is loved by all her classmates.”

By the noun in the ablative, if the noun expresses a natural force-agent (–animate)

“The mountainside huts were destroyed by the avalanche.”

“Aram was killed by lightning”.

“The leaves are moved by the wind.”

Note, that the inchoative verb has the same morphological marking as the passive. It is likely, that sentences are understood as anticausative and not as passive, and the (–human) noun in Ablative is regarded as causer and not as agent.

“Look out of the window at the last leaf of the ivy! Are you not surprised that it doesn’t shiver and does not move in (lit.: from) the wind?”

Note: This sentence has definitely an inchoative interpretation, the noun in Ablative is regarded as causer.
Some Armenian grammarians argue that all ablative arguments being (–human) are causal arguments and not passive agentive phrases.231

(–Human) ablative arguments of -v- anticausativised verbs indeed have to be understood as causal arguments (causers), but not exclusively: verb semantics and the pragmatic context are very important in deciding.232

- by the noun in the ablative, if the noun is (+animate, –human), i.e. an animal

(87) Ուտտանք էլքայթող օդեղ:
Erexa-n xayt’-v-ec’ օջ-իե’.
Child.NOM-the bite-pass-AOR3.SG snake-ABL
“The child was bitten by a snake.”

Please note that – particularly in the case of animals – there is a strong tendency in spoken, but also in written, Armenian to treat (+animate, –human) as if they were (+animate, + human). Therefore one can find the use of the respective noun in the dative with the postpositions կոլմից:

(87) a. Ուտտանք էլքայթող օդեղ կոլմից:
Erexa-n xayt’-v-ec’ օջ-i կոլմից’.
Child.NOM-the bite-pass-AOR3.SG snake-DAT POST
“The child was bitten by a snake.”

- By the noun in the dative and the postposition կոլմից կոլմից’, if a non-human or abstract agent is conveyed through personification.

231. e.g. Asatryan 1959: 118ff.

232. There is a simple test to distinguish passive constructions with (-human) nouns in ablative expressing the agentive phrase (logical subject) from anticausative constructions with (-human) nouns in the ablative expressing the causer of an action: one should only try to form the basic active form or the causative form from this sentence: when it is possible to “activise” the sentence, it is more likely to be a passive, and if it can be causativised, more likely to be an anticausativised structure.

Sentence (84) can only be interpreted as passive clause: the clause can be activised but not causativised: Կայկակ-է սպանեց’ Արամ-i-n thus giving a passive interpretation.

Sentences like (85) with a natural force object that may be interpreted as either agent or causer can only be interpreted according to the context. Speakers tend to use the prototypical passive construction with the noun in the ablative and postposition կոլմից to emphasise the passive and not inchoative meaning.

From (86) only a causative (basic) and not a passive form is acceptable:
Քամին չէ դոլա-չն-ում ու չէ սարզում տերեկ-է。“The wind does not make the leaf shiver and does not move it.” i.e. basic forms of verbs: dolal “to shiver”, inherently inchoative; causativised dolacn’el. սարզ trans. verb “to move sth.” – սարզ-վ-el = (a) passive “to be moved” (b) anticausative “to move” thus delivering an inchoative meaning.
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3.1.2.2 Anticausativisation

Anticausativisation is an detransitivisation process, through which transitive verbs become intransitive. The semanto-syntactic relation between the anticausativ(ise)d and its transitive verb is the same as that of an intransitive and a causativised verb: the anticausativised does not have a grammatical object, the object (undergoer) of the corresponding transitive verb becomes the grammatical subject of the anticausative (such as the subject of the intransitive becomes the object (undergoer) of the causative.

(88) 2003 թվականին ՀՀ բնապահպանության նախարարությունը իր ինքն ուրանկում է 436 հեկտար արաբատորակման:
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)
2003 թ.-ի ՀՀ բնապահպանության նախարարությունը իր ինքն ուրանկում է 436 հեկտար արաբատորակման:

“By the year 2003 approximately 346 hectares of forest area have been afforested and filled by the ministry for environmental protection of the Republic of Armenia.”

by the noun in the instrumental, if the noun expresses an instrument-agent and sometimes a natural-force agent

(89) Աշոտ տանձրի անկյունով:
Ašot-է span-v-ec’ atrč’ anak-ov.
Ašot.nom-the kill-pass-aor.3.sg gun-inst

“Ašot was killed with a gun.”

(90) Գրանիք հոսվածքով ծածկում:
Getin-է cack-v-ec’ jyun-ov.
ground.nom-the cover-pass-aor.3.sg snow-inst

“The ground was covered with snow.”

3.1.2.2 Anticausativisation

Anticausativisation is an detransitivisation process, through which transitive verbs become intransitive. The semanto-syntactic relation between the anticausativ(ise)d and its transitive verb is the same as that of an intransitive and a causativised verb: the anticausativised does not have a grammatical object, the object (undergoer) of the corresponding transitive verb becomes the grammatical subject of the anticausative (such as the subject of the intransitive becomes the object (undergoer) of the causative.

(91) Արմեն զավակի անկյունով:
Armen-է jard-ec’ patuhan-է.
Armen.nom-the break-aor.3.sg window.nom-the

“Armen broke the window.”

(92) Փատվանի զավակի:
Patuhan-է jard-v-ec’.
window.nom-the break-antic-aor.3.sg

“The window broke.”
In an anticausative structure, the undergoer becomes the sentential subject. That means that the anticausativised and intransitive inchoative verb shows an event affecting its subject. The causer of the event/state may be expressed or not (if expressed, with the ablative case).

If the causer is not expressed, the structure may also have – without context – a passive reading.

(92) a. թփանտարակ գարելու է:

\[
\text{Patuhan-֖ Jared-v-ec'.}
\]

window.nom-the break-pass-aor.3.sg

“The window was broken.”

In general, one has to distinguish an anticausative sentence without an overt cause/r (92) from an impersonal passive (92a), (i.e. a passive sentence with an omitted agent – usually termed “indefinite object deletion”) although they look superficially, i.e. structurally the same. The semantic interpretation, as mentioned above, can only be identified from the context.

In MEA there are two different morphological kinds of inchoative verbs

a. inherently inchoative verbs, which are not overtly marked. Usually intransitive verbs of the -enal, -anal conjugation belong to this group, such as նեմատել he\text{anal} “to remove, to go way”, յազմենալ uraxanal “to be happy”, ամուտել motenal “to approach, to approximate”, վասենալ vaxenal “to be afraid of” etc.

(93) թփանտարակ գարելու է:

\[
\text{hivand-i vičak-֖ lavač'-el .}
\]

sick-dat situation.nom-the improve-ptcp.perf. it is

“The sick person’s condition has improved.” (From the inchoative verb լավամալ lavanal)

(94) անուշը զարմանալ է: հարանք փիփ:

\[
\text{Anuš-֖ zarman-um ē ir elb-or vra.}
\]

Anuš.nom-the be-surprised-ptcp.pres. she is her brother-dat post

“Anuš is surprised about her brother.” (From the inchoative verb զարմանալ zarmanal)

(95) թփանտարակ գարելու է:

\[
\text{Poloc-֖ laynan-um ē.}
\]

street.nom-the widen-ptcp.pres. it is

“The street widens.”

(96) անանծիրը հրդեհը ավարգ:

\[
\text{Antař-i hrdeh-֖ mar-ec'.}
\]

forest-dat fire.nom-the extinguish-aor.3.sg

“The forest fire extinguished.”

(97) թփանտարակ գարելու է: ջրի զեռից 0 զարմանալ է:

\[
\text{jur-֖ saře'-um ē Celsius-i zro astičan-um.}
\]

water.nom-the freeze-ptcp.pres. it is Celsius-dat zero degree-loc

“Water freezes at zero degrees Celsius.”
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(98) Ուտիտում կարծիք ուղղ ապագա գիրք:
Selan-i-n  t’ap’-v-ac  օղi-n  arag
table-DAT-the spill-pass-PTCP.RES. vodka.NOM-the quick
c’nd-ec’.
evaporate-AOR.3.SG

“The vodka spilt on the table evaporated quickly.”

(99) Սուրբիտտեր պատանի քաղ ատամ:
calik-ner-է  t’ărəm-um  en  ašnan-է.
Flower-PL.NOM-the fade-PTCP.PRES. they are autumn-DAT-the
“The flowers fade in autumn.”

b. Anticausativised verbs, which are anticausativised by means of the multifunctional suffix -կ- -v-.

(100) Սուրբառի գարուն:
calkaman-է  jard-v-ec’.
vase.NOM-the break-antic-AOR.3.SG
“The vase broke.”

(101) Փայրի գարուն:
P’ayt-է  var-v-ec’.
wood.NOM-the burn-antic-AOR.3.SG
“The wood burnt.”

c. Semantic groups of -կ- -v- suffixed verbs with preferable inchoative meaning.

In MEA there are many -կ- v-suffixed verbs whose classifications are difficult to decipher as either reflexives or inchoatives. This distinction is mainly a consequence of the native speakers’ sometimes subjective interpretation of a verb as reflexive or inchoative, but in some instances the meaning is also lexicalised.

Anticausativised verbs with a modal meaning that denote that something is potentially possible or easy to perform due to the properties of the subject’s referent.233

(102) Այս նոր գիրք են պատասխանում:
ays nor girk’-է  lav  ē  vačař-v-um.
this new book.NOM-the good it is sell-antic-PTCP.PRES.
“This new book sells well.”

(103) Ցոլադ հեշտ է հարձակվում:
šokolad-է  hešt  ē  hal-v-um.
chocolate.NOM-the easily it is melt-antic-PTCP.PRES.
“Chocolate melts easily.”

233. Such verbs have been grouped as a subgroup of “quasi-passive-reflexives” as “potential passive reflexives” in Genusiene’s classification of reflexives, see Genusiene 1987: 289.
Anticausativised verbs denoting psychological and emotional states, having a (+human) subject.\textsuperscript{234}

a. Verbs having only one valence and a facultative oblique object showing the causer (usually in the ablative),\textsuperscript{235} such as the following verbs denoting emotional states բախատորվել  "to become lucky, to succeed in", հուսարձել  "to reassure", խանդավարվել  "to be inspired", տունահարվել  "to commiserate, to "take pity", հազվել  "to be disturbed, to be agitated", զգվել  "to get excited", խմարվել  "to be hurt; to be injured", բորբոկվել  "to blaze; to inflame", խելարվել  "to go mad", հյաստապվել  "to be disappointed" etc.

(104) Պրոմեթեյս-ե հայտնէց որ Հիսուսը պատրաստված է շենքերային ծառայության համար նպատակ տուտ է (Գրականություն 6:21)

\textit{Prometheus-nom-the declare-aor.3.sg conj Zeus-dat hate.nom-the}

\textit{ir nkatmamb aravel borbok'-v-ec' ayn ban-ic' heto. he.gen post more inflame-(antic)-aor.3.sg that thing-abl post}

"Prometheus said, that the hate of Zeus towards him inflamed even more after that."

(105) Իսկ նռա էնկերուհի-ն Նախիջևան-ի Շակ'ին կալակ'-ic ek-ac

\textit{conj his friend.nom-the Naxijewan-dat Shak'in town-abl come-ptcp.res.}

\textit{Arp'ik tat-ե xoc'-v-ac er baroyapes. Arp'ik granny-nom-the hurt-antic-ptcp.res. she was morally}

"And his friend, Granny Arp'ik having come from the town of šak'in from Nakhichevan, was (felt) morally hurt."

The Anticausative Structure

The subject of the inchoative/anticausativised verb appears in the nominative. The (–human) causer, if overt, is usually expressed in the ablative.

(106) Խոտ ընտանիկ բուսական

\textit{xot-ե էբրաc'-av kizi' arew-ic'. grass.nom-the dry-aor.3.sg burning sun-abl}

"The grass dried in (lit. from) the burning sun."

\textsuperscript{234} This group of verbs is termed (intentional) converse reflexives in the classification following Genusiene 1987: 257.

\textsuperscript{235} Kozintseva 1981: 94.
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3.1.2.3 Reflexivisation
Reflexivisation is a detransitivising process; as such it involves valence recession by decreasing the number of valences, lowering the syntactic status of the noun phrase in the hierarchy and changing an obligatory syntactic function (that of the direct object) into an optional one. (Geniušiene 1987: 50).

- Formation
MEA has two types of reflexive constructions:

a. morphological reflexivisation, by means of the verbal suffix -v- which is attached to the verbal stems, and

b. syntactic reflexivisation, with the bare form of the verb and the personal pronoun in the dative for 1st (հուձ inj, ձու mez) and 2nd persons (գեզ kèz, ձու jez), and the intensive pronoun in the dative հեբի iren (see Ch. 2.4.1. “Personal pronouns”, p. 123f.).

“All this brought a situation, when the opposition implicated itself in such a blind alley, from which it can not find an exit today.”

Note: in the literature on Armenian grammar anticausative verbs are commonly categorised as being “neutral”, and are grouped with reflexivised or even passivised verbs in one group.
“Harut’yunyan answered to the question of the journalists, whether he recognises himself as terrorist, “I am simply a human”.

“Rats eat up their younglings, when they are hungry, but the human sacrifices himself for the sake of (his) children.”

Types of MEA Reflexives

In general, one has to distinguish various types of reflexive verb on the basis of the relation between the valences of the reflexivised and its corresponding transitive verb: subjective and objective reflexives.

One has to note, however, that the reflexive meaning is conveyed by verbs suffixed with -v- only with (+animate) subjects. Otherwise the reflexive meaning also depends on the context: if it has to be read reflexively, inchoatively or even in the passive.

a. Subjective Reflexives

Subjective reflexives are represented by those reflexive verbs whose first semantic valence (i.e. the subject) relates to the first semantic valence of the non-reflexive verb (i.e. the subject), and are usually characterised by the elimination of the direct object.

Depending on the semantic relations to the basic transitive verb, the subjective reflexive can be divided into three major groups:

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a. Semantic reflexives: usually in the primary meaning of reflexive pronouns in the combination with simple verbs or with reflexive verbs belonging to certain semantic verb groups (grooming verbs, emotion verbs etc. see below).

In MEA there is also a large group of lexicalised reflexive verbs:

- Grooming verbs: իվացի լվաց’ “to wash oneself”, մակ’ մակրել “to clean oneself”, սրբ սրբել “to clean oneself”, զգվել “to get dressed”, հանել “to get dressed”, մանկել “to get undressed”, զարդարել “to adorn (oneself)”, կոկել “to dress up”, պնազաբանել “to dress up”, պենցել “to doll oneself”, զգեստավորել “to get dressed”, սպարել “to shave oneself”, պաճենել “to shave (oneself)”, դնակավորել “to mask; to disguise”, երկի երկվել “to get coloured”, սանրել “to comb oneself” etc.

- Some emotional verbs: զսպել “to restrain; to calm down; to tame”, լարել “to exert oneself”, տրամադրել “to be prepared for”, պատրաստել “to prepare; to get ready”, նախապատրաստվել “to prepare, to get ready”, հուզել “to be disturbed, to be agitated”, նելել “to take offense”, մտահովել “to care of, to worry” etc.

- Verbs indicating the reason for a loss or damage e.g. այրվել “to burn out”, ունավորել “to poison, to intoxicate”, չելդել “to drown”, կելտովել “to dirty, to stain”, վարկվել “to be infected”, զոհել “to be sacrificed” etc.

237. Since it is not always possible to definitely distinguish reflexives from anticausatives, the following classification of semantic reflexives follows the established grouping by traditional Armenian grammarians. Meaning, that here the verbs’ conventionalised reading by native speakers is used.
(114) Համապատասխանություն տալու համար պետք է Կենտրոնական Հայաստանում լույս տեսնենք:  
(Armenpress, 16. 12.2005)

"It makes me very uneasy that people sacrifice themselves in huge numbers."

(115) Պետք է համարվեն զիանավոր վնասները զարգացնել պատմական ժամանակում և գրեթե:
(Armenpress 15.06.2006)

"Even a one-month old child has contracted this illness."

- Verbs indicating a change in location; translocation, such as թաքնել "to hide (oneself)”, կողքակցել "to be locked”, պահել "to repose”, տեղափոխել "to find room, to be placed” etc.

(116) Հիշատակվում են տեղիություններ, որոնք արգելվում են պատմական ժամանակաշրջանում:  
(Armenpress 30.10.2005)

"The confiscated freight found its place in the refrigerating storage houses of Tbilisi."

- Verbs indicating a logical relation between the agent and other participants at the action expressed by verbs such as հակադրել "to contrast with”, համաձայնել "to agree with” etc.

(117) Հետազոտվող հայաստանագրական կազմակերպության կազմից է հայտնի Հայաստանի կազմակերպության զարգացման միջոցով: (Armenpress 31.3.2006)

"The statement of a group of people shall not contrast with the interest of the main masses, or with the nation's interests."
Verbs denoting actions performed on body parts or actions on body parts as well as uncontrolled movements of human body parts or organs such as *galar-v-el* “to coil, to twist, to crinkle”, *kkoc’-v-el* “to squint, to narrow”, *č’r˚-v-el* “to spread wide”, “to stare”; *tart-v-el* “to wink, to blink”, *prk-v-el* “to tighten”, *suz-v-el* “to sink, to drown, to plunge, to dive”, *xožor˚-v-el* “to frown”, *knčr˚ot-v-el* “to crinkle, to wrinkle”, *cal-v-el* “to fold, to bend”, etc. The grammatical subject of these verbs is always (–human) (118a) (119a); the corresponding transitive verbs denotes that the (+human) subject moves a body part, i.e. a body movement of the subject (118), (119).

(118) **Aram narrowed his eyes:**

Aram-ě kkoc’-ec’ ir ač’k’-er-ě.

Aram.NOM-the narrow-AOR.3.SG his eye-PL.NOM-the

“Arum narrowed his eyes.”

(118) a. **Aram’s eyes narrowed:**

Aram-i ač’k’-er-ě kkoc’-v-ec’in.

Aram-DAT eye-PL.NOM-the narrow-refl-AOR.3.PL

“Aram’s eyes narrowed.”

(119) **The child wrinkles its nose.**

Erexa-n knčr˚ot-um ē k’it’-ě.

child.NOM-the wrinkle-PTCP.PRES. it is nose.NOM-the

“The child wrinkles its nose.”

(119) a. **His nose wrinkles.**

Nra kit’-ě knčr˚ot-v-um ē.

his nose.NOM-the wrinkle-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is

“His nose wrinkles.”

In some contexts, these body movement verbs with suffix -í/v- have an inchoative interpretation, particularly with an expressed causer:

(118) b. **Aram’s eyes narrowed from the sun.**

Aram-i ač’k’-er-ě kkoc’-v-ec’in arew-ic’.

Aram-DAT eye-PL.NOM-the narrow-antic-AOR.3.PL sun-ABL

“Aram’s eyes narrowed from the sun.”

238. Compare Kozintseva’s (1981: 90) group of “autocausative verbs” and Genusiene’s “partitive object reflexives” (Genusiene 1987: 244). Both refer to actions affecting the body or parts of the body of the subject.
b. Causative reflexive verbs: the first valence-actant (agent/causer) and the recipient of the action coincide, i.e. the action instigated by the subject passes over to another. The agent (subject) of such a causative/reflexive construction may be overt in the function of a locative argument. (Kozinceva 1981: 86). Usually these verbs do not have a reflexive meaning expressed by the marker -v- only in some emphasised contexts. And thus the lexical entry of such -v- marked verbs in traditional Armenian grammars would be (1) passive (2) reflexive.

The following sentences exemplify and explain this group of reflexives.

(120) a. Տարեկ մարդ է բժշկի փոխել է

(120) a. Տարեկ մարդ է բժշկի փոխել է

The aged man was healed by the Chinese doctor.

Comment: this is a typical passive sentence with an overtly expressed agent.

(120) b. Tarec mard-ě buž-v-ec' č'inac'i bžšk-i kołmic'.

The aged man healed himself with Chinese drugs.

Comment: this is a typical reflexive sentence. The reflexivity is, however, not expressed in the verbal form but it is analytically expressed with a reflexive pronoun and the transitive form of the verb. This is the most natural form to express a reflexive meaning with this verb, both in literary and colloquial Armenian.

239. This is a term used by Kozintseva 1981: 86; Nedjalkov 1975: 24.

240. Kozintseva’s example:
b.  The aged man was healed/healed himself with Chinese drugs.

Comment: the interpretation of this sentence depends highly on the context.

- The passive reading seems to be the preferable one: the doctor has given/prescribed Chinese drugs to the old man in order to heal him. Thus, the old man was healed with Chinese drugs (by the doctor).
- The reflexive reading is possible in the context that the old man has decided on his own to try Chinese drugs, and by means of these Chinese drugs he succeeded in healing himself.
- Without context, the sentence would be interpreted as a passive one.

c.  Absolute reflexives, implying a (+animate, +human) patient, which does not have a possessive relationship with the agent, do not exist in MEA.241

d.  Reciprocal reflexive verbs, i.e. verbs suffixed with -v- and conveying reciprocal meaning are regarded as reciprocalised verbs in this grammar.242

2.  Objective Reflexives

In objective reflexive verbs, the first semantic valence of the reflexive verb relates to the second semantic valence of the not-reflexivised, basic transitive verb.

The following subgroups can be distinguished in MEA.

a.  Decausative reflexives243 usually comprise a group of v-suffixed verbs denoting the general change of the place, translocation, such as SqlServer xmbvel “to accumulate”, havakvel “to gather, to collect”, kotakvel “to gather”, xinvel “to swarm, to gather, to collect”, hamaxmbvel “to gather, to align with”, bazanvel “to separate; to divide” etc.244


242.  In contrast to Geniušiene 1987: 257; Kozinceva 1981: 87–88 regards these reciprocal verbs as reciprocal reflexives and not as bare reciprocals. Kozinceva’s example is clearly reciprocal: Ψνσικ-ν Ψνσικ γφβνκην Αςότ-ν u Αραμ-έ γρκκμεν.”Asot and Aram embraced (each other)”. Kozinceva argues that there is a difference between a sentence, (a) in which A=B (only one actant), thus a reciprocal verb; and (b) in which A and B are different (two or more octants), thus a reflexive verb. i.e.

(a)  Ψνσικ-ν γφβνκην: Nrank’ grk-v-ec’in. They embraced (each other).
(b)  Ψνσικ-ν u Ψνσικ γφβνκην: Αςότ-ν u Αραμ-έ γρκ-ν-εκ’εν. Asot and Aram embraced (each other.)

243.  Term is from Genusiene 1987: 257. (Kozintseva 1981: 90) uses the term “autocausative” for this group of objective reflexives.

244.  Kozinceva 1981: 94. The basic verbs are regular transitives with direct object, expressed by +animate/+human or –animate nouns.
“Diasporan and Armenian specialists gathered for the first time.”

b. (Intentional) converse reflexives mark psychological and emotional states, but use two valences with an obligatory object. These are verbs denoting emotional or thought reactions to a certain object, such as բավարար “to be satisfied, content” հատակրուց “to be interested”, զրայլ “to be delighted”, համոզ “to ascertain; to be convinced”, գրավ “to be occupied” etc. The subject is (+human). The oblique objects, i.e. the second obligatory complement, can be expressed with a noun or the infinitive in the instrumental, with a noun in the locative or even with a subordinated clause.

“For a result of 11.8 seconds in the 100 m sprint, Marine Łazaryan was satisfied (content) with a bronze medal.”

“Numerous researchers, scholars, chess professionals and chess amateurs continue to be interested in T. Petrosyan.”

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245. Note that (intentional) converse reflexives having only one valence are grouped with anti-causatives, p. 346.
c. “Absolute reflexives”246 Kozintseva’s “absolute” reflexives refer to a group of objective reflexives, such as տարբեր “to differ”, զանազան “to differ”, կապակ “to be connected, related”, հավասար “to be equal, to be equal to, to match”, արտահայ “to express oneself”. Most of these verbs need more than one complement to form a complete sentence; some of them are heavily lexicalised as seen in (103).

These groups of verbs can be interpreted in two ways.

- If they can be replaced with the verb “to be” and a corresponding adjective, they are interpreted as reflexive; i.e. the grammatical subject of the reflexive verb and the copular verb are, in general, the same.
- If the subject is a (–human) agent, it is interpreted as passive.

(124) Որքա՞ն ձեր ընկալում եմ, իսկ ինձ հավասար եմ: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

ordi-ner-ic’-s amena-šat-ě nra het em kap-v-ac.
son-PL-ABL-my most-much-the he.gen post I am connect-refl-PTCP.RES

“My of sons I am most attached to him.”

(125) Մինչև բոլոր ընկալումից ինձ հավասարից դւրական եմ: (Aravot 07.04.2006)

Patčar-ě kap-v-ac ēr kāřak-i nor
reason.nom-the connect-pass-PTCP.RES it was quarter-DAT new
hamergayin cragr-i het.
concert program-DAT post

“The reason was related to the new concert program of the quarter.”

Comment: (–human) subject, thus passive reading.

(126) Իսկ վերակառուցային գործընթացի, իսկ ինձ հավասարից, որպես ընկալում, ինձ իսկ վերակառուցային գործընթացից: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)

İsk verakaruš’-el-ě kam veranorog-el-ě nra xosk’-er-ov
conj rebuild.nom-the conj renew.nom-the his word-PL-INST
ėapes tarber-v-un ē nor šenk’-i kašćum-ic’.
really differ-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is new building-DAT construction-ABL

“But the rebuilding or renewing, in his words, really differs from the construction of a new building.”

Comment: the verbal form with -v- can be replaced by a copular verb and adjective տարբեր tarber “different”, as in sentence (129) below; it thus has a reflexive reading.

246. Note that “absolute reflexives” refers here to the term and definition used by Kozintseva and definitely differ from absolute reflexives as defined by Geniušiene. Geniušiene (1987: 244) defines absolute reflexives as verbs that need no other complement than the subject to form a complete sentence. They imply a human patient, which does not have any possessive relationship with the agent. Geniušiene indicates that Armenian has no absolute reflexives in her definition. Usually this group is often restricted by lexical distribution and the possibility of combination with certain tenses and aspects. (Nedjalkov 1969: 23).
3. Other Reflexives

a. “Reflexive causatives” – a group defined by Geniušiene – occurs in Armenian, and usually relates to verbs of professional activities that can be performed by barbers, hairdressers, physicians and the like. Of course, this cross-refers also to the semantic group of grooming verbs (see p. 349).

Example:

(129) Հայրը մարտական սպառմի է մշակել մարտական սպառմի է (Hetz’ 12.02.2007)

İsk nranc’ film-ê tarber ê myus xmb-i ašxatank’-ic’
conj their film.nom-the different it is other group-dat work-abl

tè guyn-er-ov tè kolorit-ov.
conj colour-pl-inst conj colourit-inst

“And their film differs (=is different) from the work of the other group, both in colours and in colourit.”

b. Dative transitive reflexives, with the meaning of benefactive, recipient or possessive/objective reflexive verbs do not occur in MEA.
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(130) Անհաճախ իրական կնք:  
na ir hamar erek mi girk’ gneč’.  
he.nom he.gen post yesterday indef book.nom buy-aor.3.sg  
“He bought himself a book yesterday.” (Lit.: he bought for him(self) a book yesterday)

The use of a morphological reflexive is not possible in MEA in such a function/meaning.

c. Reflexive/possessives do not occur in MEA. A quasi-possessive relationship between the referents of a direct object (body part or other inalienable or quasi –inalienable possession) and indirect object (human referent) expresses a possessive relationship between the direct object referent and the human subject.

In MEA this is never morphologically expressed with reflexive verbs. It is expressed with transitive verbs and uses the body part as the direct object.

(131) Անհաճախ իրական կնք:  
na kotrec’ ir aj otk’-è.  
he.nom break-aor.3.sg his right leg.nom-the  
“He broke his right leg.”

(132) Համեմատե կանչատեսակ ու զանրական ձևաբանություն:  
Armen-è virakapec’ ir vnas-v-ac jeřk’-è.  
Armen.nom-the bandage-aor.3.sg his injure-pass-ptcp.res hand.nom-the  
“Armen bandaged his injured hand.”

In general, reflexive/possessive structures are not possible in Armenian, as can be proved by the absence of an ethical dative.

d. Endoreflexives

So-called endoreflexives (Haspelmath 1987: 27) signal actions, that one does with oneself or with one’s own body, where the actions does not get outside, but remains completely within the agent, in reflexive use.

The intransitive verbs used in such constructions with body motion verbs are marked with -ի- -վ-.

(133) Անհաճախ իրական կնք:  
(Armenpress 22.03.2006)  
Aznavur-n asac’ or ink-è xonarh-v-un è  
Aznavur.nom-the say-aor.3.sg conj he bow-refl-ptcp.pres he is  
nra ařaj.  
he.gen post  
“Aznavur said, that he bowed before him.”
Reciprocalisation

Reciprocal constructions occur in MEA in two forms:

a. morphological reciprocalisation by means of the multifunctional suffix -і-/-v-. Morphological reciprocals, however, appear quite seldom and are restricted to a few verbs, such as համբուր համբուր “to kiss, embrace each other”, տեսնել տեսնել “to see each other”, օջագուր օջագուր “to kiss, to embrace each other”. These reciprocal verbs seem to be lexicalised. There is no productive reciprocalisation and thus no detransitivisation process with -і-/-v- to observe in MEA.

b. analytical reciprocalisation by means of a transitive verb and the reciprocal pronouns իր իր “to each other”, միմյանց միմյանց “to each other” etc. (compare Ch. 2.4.4. “Reciprocal Pronouns”, p. 136).

These two constructions are almost synonymous, where both can be applied.

The morphological construction, with an intransitivised reciprocal verb, however, must denote a necessarily symmetric event – i.e. an event that expresses a binary relationship whose participants have necessarily identical participation (134). The analytical construction with a transitive verb and a reciprocal pronoun, however, refers also to an exchange of a non-symmetric event (134b).247

(134) a. Anuš-n u Aram-ě hambur-v-um en. Anuš.nom-the conj Aram.nom-the kiss-rec-ptcp.pres. they are “Anuš and Aram kiss.”

b. Anuš-n u Aram-ě hambur-um en irar. Anuš.nom-the conj Aram.nom-the kiss-ptcp.pres. they are rec “Anuš and Aram kiss each other.”

Usually analytical reciprocal structures are common both in written and spoken Armenian.

(135) Hin kamurj-ër žamanakin el-el ē Käsax get-i old bridge.nom-the once be-ptcp.perf. it is Käsax river-dat ezr-er-n irar kap-ol miak kamurj-ër. edge-pl.nom-the rec connect-ptcp.sub. only bridge.nom-the “The Old Bridge” was once the only bridge, connecting the edges of the river Käsax (to each other).

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3.1.2.3 Doublets

Because of the multifunctional morphological suffix -í- -v- being used to mark passives, anticausatives, reflexives and reciprocals, syntactic with semantic ambiguity doublets may occur:

In general, there is no explicit “rule” whose application results in a clear interpretation of a sentence with detransitivised verbal forms and omitted agents/causers. As having explained and exemplified several times in this chapter on detransitivised verbal forms, there are several factors that decide on their interpretation

- Factor lexicalisation/conventionalised meaning: the verbs are very often lexicalised/conventionalised in their meaning as passive or reflexive or reciprocal or anticausative. This lexicalised or conventionalised function of a certain verb is often not really explicable in terms of linguistics.
- Factor context: the context in which an utterance is embedded is the most decisive factor for the interpretation.
- Factor humanness of the subject: the humanness of the grammatical subject may also influence the interpretation. Humanness is however not to be understood as a universal rule.

a. Passive/Anticausative

Armenian grammarians relate this doublet to factitive verbs that cause the state of an entity. If the object of the action of the causative/transitive verb is the causer/instigator or even the agent of the detransitivised verbal action, the verb and the sentence have to be interpreted

as anticausative, i.e. the main difference is, with the passive agent, implied and this agent can also be expressed overtly.

If there is no agent given in a passive, and also no causer in an anticausative expression, the expression is, in general, ambiguous and may be interpreted as either passive or anticausative.

(138) Կառուցված վրանի պահանջման ժամանակ զարգացավ արագորեն զարջ:  
*avtomek'ena-n avtotnak-ic' aragoren šarž-v-ec'*  
*car.nom-the garage-abl quickly move-antic/pass-aor.3.sg*  
*depi  pöloc':*  
*prep  street.nom*  

“The car moved quickly from the garage to the street.” (Or: The car was moved quickly from the garage to the street.)

It seems however, that the humanness of the grammatical subject may affect the interpretation of the verbal form.

- If the subject of an anticausative/passive sentence is (+)human, the sentence is interpreted as anticausative.
- If the subject of an anticausative/passive sentence is (−)human, the sentence is more likely to be interpreted as passive.

This would imply that the example (138) above, should be interpreted as passive. Indeed, it is more likely that the car was moved by somebody than it moved without any human action.²⁴⁹

The interpretation of the following – isolated – sentences following the animacy approach is highly plausible:

(139) Այս կին են պահի դատի զարջվել:  
*ays  aljik-ě šat dandal ē šarž-v-um.*  
*this girl.nom-the INT slow she is move-antic-ptcp.pres.*  

“This girl moves very slowly.” (Anticausative)

(140) Երգի հետազոտված տարածքից:  
*kar-er-ě  he'ac'-v-ec'in  čanaparh-ic'*  
*Boulder-nom-the move away-pass-aor.3.pl  street-abl*  

“The boulders were moved from the street.” (Passive)

²⁴⁹. Unlikely though it may be, cars may of course move without any human action – e.g. without a pulled handbrake on a steep street.
b. Passive/Reflexive
A doublet passive/reflexive may happen with verbs, expressing situations, in which the subject and object may appear as identical.
Again, one could argue with the animacy factor here
- If the subject is (+animate, +human) the sentence must be interpreted as reflexive as in (141)
- If the subject is (–animate) as passive (142).

(141) Նախքին-ում գյուլաց’եր-է լվաց-վ-ում էին
former days-LOC farmer-PL.NOM-the wash-refl-PTCP.PRES. they were
miayn շաբատ’ օր-է.
only Saturday day.NOM-the
“In former days farmers washed (themselves) only on Saturdays.”

(142) Կելտոտ’ սոր-եր-է լվաց-վ-ում էին ամեն շաբատ’.
dirty cloth-PL.NOM-the wash-pass-PTCP.PRES. they were every week.NOM
“The dirty clothes were washed every week.”
Comment: in this sentence the interpretation as passive is also clear because of the context: clothes cannot wash (themselves).

c. Passive/Reciprocal
Passive/reciprocal doublets occur extremely seldom. In MEA, reciprocalised verbs are unproductive.

d. Reflexives and Anticausatives
- Decausative reflexives and passives.
As Decausative reflexives usually comprise verbs denoting the general change of the place or translocation.252
The sentences may be distinguished by the help of the animacy distinction of the subject
- If the grammatical subject is (+animate, +human) or even (–animate), the sentence has to be interpreted as reflexive
- If the grammatical subject is (–human; –animate), the sentence has to be interpreted as passive

252. Koźinceva 1981: 94. The basic verbs are regular transitives with a direct object, expressed by +animate/+human or –animate nouns.
e. Converse Reflexives
Verbs denoting emotional or thought reactions to a certain object, such as բավարար  "to be satisfied, content" հետակր "to be interested", համոզ "to ascertain; to be convinced", գրավ "to be occupied" etc.

The animacy/humanness distinction in the grammatical subject of the sentence may again serve as crucial criterion for a reflexive or passive reading

- If the grammatical subject is (+human), (+animate) or even (–animate), the sentence has to be interpreted as reflexive, see above example (124).
- If the grammatical subject is (–human, –animate), the sentence has to be interpreted as passive, see (147).

f. Endoreflexives and anticausatives
Endoreflexives as explained above can be distinguished from anticausatives.
The difference between an endoreflexive and an anticausative reading is expressed by the agentivity of the subject: only if the subject is (+animate, +human) the verbal form can be interpreted as (endoreflexive).

(146) Ʉnů Ʉmůn Ʉnů ññ:
śun-ě ptt-v-um ēr.
dog-the spin round-refl-PTCP.PRES. it was
“The dog spun around.”

(147) Ʉnů Ʉmůn Ʉnů ññ ññ-
hol-ě ptt-v-um ēr erku rope.
top.nom-the spin round-antic-PTCP.PRES. it was two minute.nom
“The top spun around for two minutes.”

3.1.3 Nominal attributes

A noun in its various grammatical functions may have several modifiers. Noun modifiers specify or determine more closely the meaning of the noun. In MEA, a noun can have the following modifiers:

a. determiners
b. adjectives
c. quantifiers
d. nouns
e. possessives (including possessive genitive attributes)
f. participles
g. appositions
h. relative clauses

a. Determiners
As given in this grammar, the group of determiners comprises the following parts of speech:

- the suffixed definite article -ȩ/-ń/n
- the possessive suffixes -u, -η, -u, -s, -d, -n
- the attributive demonstrative pronouns such as ւ ւ ւ ւ ւ ays, ayd, ayn etc. as well as the attributive identity pronouns such as ւ ւ ւ “the same”, etc.
- the indefinite article ʮ mi
- non-specific determiners such as ւ ւ ւ uriś “other, any other” etc.

b. Adjectives
As discussed in Ch. 2.2, in MEA one distinguishes qualitative from relational adjectives. Quantitative adjectives are grouped with quantifiers.
And we have there rich material property. Note: there are two kinds of attributive adjective in this example: nyutakan a relational adjective and harust a qualitative adjective.

Adjectives and words functioning like adjectives usually precede the noun they modify, without any agreement in case/number.

c. Quantifying Attributes

The group of quantifying attributes comprises:

- quantitative adjectives
- numerals
- indefinite quantifiers such as որոշ լինելով կան “some”, որոշ արդյունք “a series, a range of”, որոշ լինելով ինդեքս “a group of, a lot of...”, որոշ լինելով երկու “some” etc.
- universal quantifiers subdivided into collective quantifiers such as բոլոր “all”; ողջ “whole”, ամբողջ “all, whole, entire”, ամբողջ “all, whole” etc.
- distributive quantifiers such as ամեն “every; each”, կողմակից “yurak’anc’yur “each, every”, ամենայն “all, every” etc.

“Whereas the(se) three months are not enough to become a tour guide...”

“Today there are numerous problems in the country, but they will not be solved with a political conflict.”

253. ամենայն is rarely used; it is more or less obsolete and can be used only in a few contexts.
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(151) Ուղիղականություն ուսումնաալիք մեջ գտնող գիտակցություն: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)
naxarar-ner-է kstoragr-en mi šark' p'astat'lt'-er.
minister-PL.NOM-the sign-COND.FUT.3.PL a series document-PL.NOM
“The ministers will sign a series of documents.”

(152) Կուրսավորում են այս այսպիսի հիշատակի տվյալներ… (Արավոտ 08.04.2006)
Ko'tup'cia-yi dem ambolj ašxarh-n ě payk'ar-um.
corruption-DAT POST whole world.NOM-the it is fight-PTCP.PRES.
“The whole world is fighting against corruption.”

(153) Ուշադրություն նախա սարքի սարգիստությունը մշակող է 2 միլիոն մարդ.
(Armenpress 24.04.2006)
Ašxarh-um amen tari tuberkulyoz-ic’ mahan-um ě world-LOC every year.NOM tuberculosis-ABL die-PTCP.PRES. it is 2 milion mard.
2 million person.NOM
“Every year two million people die from tuberculosis.”

d. Nouns
It is quite common in MEA for a noun to modify the meaning of another noun. These attributive nouns occur in all cases, but especially in dative, instrumental and ablative.

These attributive nouns must be distinguished from close appositions because of their weaker syntactic relationship to the head noun. Attributive nouns precede the head noun.254

(154) Կարող են լսված միջամտություն, բավական մեծություն միաժամանակությունը
պահանջում է: (Azg 07.04.2006)
Kar-ol en lin-el t' erut'yun-ner bayc’
an-PTCP.PRES they are be-INF shortcoming-PL.NOM conj
kelcik’-ner-ov ěntrac’uc’ ak-ner-ě bac’ a
falsification-PL-INST poll-PL.NOM-the exclude-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are
“There may be shortcomings, but polls with falsifications are excluded.”

e. Pronouns
Only a limited number of pronouns can also be used attributively:

- indefinite pronouns such as այսինչ “so-and-so”, այնուհեց ayninc’ “so-and-so”, ենում inĉ’-or “some”, որպես orveč “any”, որպեսի orwēç “any”; նչ ոչ oč’ mi “no” etc
- interrogative pronouns such as թերցի “how many/much?”, որ “which?”, ենայում inê’pisi/n’ųyaypų orpisi? “what? what kind of?” etc.

254. In fact, many inflected nouns in the attributive function have been lexicalised to regular adjectives, particularly nouns with the classical ablative case-suffix -e, e.g. ութեդ oske < osk-e “(made) from gold” = golden, also որտև arcat’ “lit. from silver = silvern”, ութեδ payte “made from wood, wooden” etc.
Refer to examples from Ch. 2.4.5 “Indefinite Pronouns”, ex. (51) (52) (65), Ch. 2.4.7. “Interrogative Pronouns”, examples (93) (97)

f. Possessives

In MEA possessive meaning is expressed in four ways:

- attributive possessive pronouns, i.e. the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, (i.e. հիւ im “my”, դիղ kə “your”, յուա nra “his, her, its”, եդն mer “our”, դիղ ջեր “your”, յուայո nranc’ “their”) as well as the genitives of the intensive pronoun functioning as attributive reflexive possessive pronouns հի ir “his, her, its own”, հույու իրենց “their own”

- attributive nouns in the dative, expressing a possessive relation to the head noun (“GEN”)

- possessive suffixes -ւ -s, -դ

- possessivised elements are expressed by means of the suffix -հի -in, which is attached to nouns, adjectives or pronouns. This is very commonly used in spoken Armenian, but more in predictive rather than in attributive use (see example (11) below).

(155) Արարատ գյուղ-համալիր Երատ բազար-ի հերթ հերան ան-եր-ի երեխա-ներ.
Ararat village-PL.NOM Ararat.NOM village-LOC many family-PL.NOM-PL have.pres.3.PL

irenc’ ոջ -եր.
their snake-PL.NOM-the

“In Ararat village (the) many families have their own snakes.”

(156) Կարելի է ակ սուր տիպ-ի եհոս տար-ը, ես եւ սուր հյուսիս բազար-ի համալիր.
Kareli է ayn mor tla-n ěl heřu tel ě possible it is that mother-dat boy-nom-the still far place-nom he is

u es nran im ordu bažin-n em tal-is.
conj 1.nom he.dat my son-dat part-nom-the I am give-ptcp.pres.

“It is possible that that mother’s son is still far away, and I am giving him my son’s part.”

(157) Մեջորդ գյուղ-համալիր է հիմնադրված թվային բազար-ի.
Mec kuyr-s sovor-um ě innerord dasaran-um.
big sister-my learn-ptcp.pres. she is ninth class-loc

“My big (=older) sister is (learns) in the ninth class.”

(158) Միջնադար-համալիր գյուղ-համալիր բազար-ի տող-ի ըրահար-ի երեխա-ներ.
Miñnadar-um gyulači-ner-i berk’i mek errord-ӗ middle age-loc farmer-pl-dat harvest-dat one third-nom-the

feodal-in-n ěr.
lord-poss.-nom-the it was

“In the Middle Ages two third of the farmers’ harvest was the lord’s.”
Possessive attributes, except possessive suffixes, precede their head noun.

g. Participles
In Armenian, a limited number of participles can be used in attributive function
- the resultative participle in -ակ -ac
- the subject participle in -ոլ -ol
- the future participle in -իկ’ -ik’

Attributive participles precede their head-noun.

(159) Հարց-վ-ակ երիտասարդ-ու-է իստ դժիբ է էն
ask-pass-PTCP.RES young-PL,NOM-the int dissatisfied they are
inst.higher education-PL-LOC reign-PTCP.SUB. corruption-DAT
mu’ocolort-ic’...

atmosphere-ABL
“The interviewed youngsters are extremely dissatisfied with the atmosphere of corruption dominating in the institutes of higher education.”

(160) Ընկ’-ի-ն հար-ոլ տարաց-ու-է մեկենա-ու-է
building-DAT-the adjoin-PTCP.SUB. area-LOC car-PL-DAT
t’iv-է դժվար էր հաշ-էլ.
number,NOM-the difficult it was count-PTCP.PERF.

“It was difficult to count the number of cars in the area adjoining (i.e. adjacent to) the building.”

(161) 2004-ի իրականաց-ի-է նախատես-ու-է համար հավաքածուային է 100 միլիոն դրամ:
2004-in irakanac’-v-elic’ šinarakan ašxatan’-ner-i
2004-DAT-the realize-pass-PTCP,FUT.II building work-PL-DAT
hamar naxates-v-ac է 100 milion dram.
post plan-pass-PTCP.RES. it is 100 million dram,NOM

“In (the year) 2004, 100 million drams are planned for building works that have to be realised.”

h. Appositions
Appositions are typically adnominal attributes in the form of nouns or noun phrases, although they are not limited to these categories. They are usually closely connected with the noun, often through morphological agreement, and might be pre- or postposed.
In general, the head constituent being qualified by the apposition can be expressed with the following categories:

- nouns
- personal or nominalised pronouns
- other nominalised words.

The apposition can be expressed with:

- nouns
- other nominalised words

There are two types of apposition in Armenian:255

- Close appositions
- Loose appositions

In close appositions two nouns are combined, usually a proper and a common noun. This type of apposition refers to a very close relationship between the apposition and its antecedent, and it is usually expressed by means of titles, addresses, kinship terms, etc.

Proper nouns may occur pre- and postposed to the common noun, depending on whether an individual (proper noun) is specified.

- by means of a type (common noun) as in կոչարյան նախագահ Կոչարյան — “Kočaryan, the president” (asking “which Kočaryan?”). Here the apposition is the common noun. CN+PN
- if a certain type (common noun) is specified by means of an individual (proper noun) as in Կոչարյան նախագահ Կոչարյան naxagah — “President Kočaryan” (asking “which president?”). Here the apposition is the proper noun. PN+CN

Close appositions expressed by personal or geographical proper nouns usually precede the common noun, which is the head of the construction.

Proper nouns are regularly found following certain common nouns such as addresses, titles, kinship names such as (ոստ “Lord”, գարաջաբ պարոն “Mister”, քահեր տիկին “madam, Lady”, հայր hayr “father” etc.).

255. Please note that in traditional Armenian grammar terminology the term բացահայտիչ bac’ahaytic’ı, i.e. appositions, does only refer to loose appositions. Close appositions are grouped with (modifying) attributes.

256. This order of CN+PN is also commonly used in direct address to persons in Armenian.
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Hay dпро́чакан-ner-и c Heck'uk’ è telи unec’-el.
Armenian pupil-PL-DAT affray-NOM it is take place -PTCP.PERF.

“In the town Baltay, of the Saratov province, an affray between Russian and Armenian pupils has taken place.”

(163) Մե թերակռավարության հատուկ ակցիա, որում մասնակցում էին քաղաքում բոլոր կազմակերպություններ.

“Armen Połosyan, the president of the public organization “Consumers’ Union”, characterises the event as “storm in a tea-cup.””

Close appositions are wide-spread in both spoken and written Armenian.

Loose Appositions

In loose appositions, the syntactic relation between the head noun and its appositions is not as close as in close appositions. Loose appositions usually follow the head noun. They agree with their head noun in person, case and number and they also attach the definite article or determining suffixes. They are usually separated from the head noun with the punctuation mark short stop (´).258

257. Please note that in the English translation there is a postposed loose apposition; by contrast to the Armenian close apposition.

258. For details see Ch. 5.2.4. “Short Stop”, p. 705f.
Loose appositions are common in written Armenian. In spoken Armenian particularly, longer and complex loose appositions are often substituted by subordinated clauses.

(165) Վարդանը իմ ընկերը, ինձ է սովորում:  
Vardan-ŋ im elbayr-ŋ lav ē sovor-um.  
“Vardan, my brother, learns well.”

(166) Միրստեղ էլ փակում տակելու վարկածների մեջ տրվող մատները, տարբերակ այսպիսի:  
Umberto Eko-y-i ays girk-ǐ ģrol-i erk-er-ic'  
Umberto Eco-DAT this book.NOM-the author-DAT work-PL.ABL  
amenahetak'yikan-ē erkrord angam kard-ac'-i.  
most interesting-the second time.NOM read-AOR.1.SG  
“I read this book of Umberto Eco, the most interesting of the author’s works, a second time.”

Also exemplifying, explaining or illustrating constructions using conjunctions such as այս, ինչպես, որպես կամ որոնք “such as, as, for example” are regarded as belonging to the group of loose appositions if not functioning as predicatives or complements of manner or basis.

(167) Այս հարանոցն այսպիսի դիրքակի սեռում, այսպիսի առաջանումը այս է:  
(Armenpress 22.01.2005)  
Sa nra orpes petut'y-an lekavar-i aŋajin pašttonakan  
This his conj state-DAT leader-DAT first official  
ayc'-n ē.  
visit.NOM-the it is  
“This is his first official visit as Head of State.”

i. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are generally defined as clauses modifying a noun phrase or embedded modifiers of a noun phrase. There are two major semantic types of relative clauses: restrictive (adnominal) and non-restrictive.

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259. Such appositions are termed մասնակցային բանակցակցություն masnakan ba'c'haytic “appositions with particles” by Armenian Grammarians, e.g. S. Abrahanyan 1981: 35; Petrosyan 1975: 142.

260. A detailed description of the various formation and functions of relative clauses see Ch. 3.3.2.3.1, p. 487f.
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Restrictive relative clauses are those relative expressions which aid the understanding of the referent of the noun-phrase (168)

Non-restrictive relative clauses are expressions that add further information to the noun phrase but are not required for the identification of the referent. (169)

(168) Սուվորողուհին ռուսական պետականություն է 10-ամյա աղջիկ, որու քաղաքին է արարվել: (Aravot, 08.04.2006)

Novosibirsk-um ostikan-ner-ē jerbakalel en
Novosibirsk-LOC policeman-PL.NOM-the arrest-PTCP.PERC. they are
10-amyā aljk-a or-ē t’mranyut'-er-i vačark'-ov ēr
10 year girl-DAT REL.NOM-the drug-DAT-PL sell-INST she was
zbalv-um.
work-PTCP.PRES.

“In Novosibirsk (the) policemen arrested a ten-year old girl who was involved in drug-selling.”

(169) Երեւան, որը Հայաստանի մայրաքաղաքն է, գտնվում է Արարատի գտնվությունում:

Erewan-ē or Hayastan-i mayrak'āłak'-n ē
Yerevan.NOM-the REL.NOM Armenia-DAT capital.NOM-the it is
gtn-v-um ē Araratyan daštavayr-um.
locate-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is Ararat plain-LOC

“Yerevan, which is the capital of Armenia, is located in the Ararat plain.”

Syntactically, Armenian distinguishes three types of relative clauses:

− “real” relative clauses, which appear as modifiers of the head noun using relative pronouns and finite verb forms (subordinated relative clause),
− “participial” deranked relative clauses,
− correlative relative clauses: they usually precede the main clause with an overt marking on both.

− Subordinated Relative Clause

A real or subordinated relative clause refers to the head noun in the main clause by using a relative pronoun and a finite verb form; these relative clauses, regardless of whether they are restrictive or not, follow the head noun.

(170) Տես-ի Արմեն-ի-ն որ-է իմ
See-aor.1.sg Armen-DAT-the REL.NOM-the my
dasĕnker-n ēr.
schoolfriend.NOM-the he was

“I saw Armen who was my school friend.”
(171) They are interesting documents which are published for the first time in Armenian.

Shortened Relative Clauses

In Armenian, deranked or shortened relative clauses are often used and expressed with a participle and are exclusively preposed to the noun they modify.

Two kinds of such relative clauses are distinguished depending on whether the shortened preposed clause has a subject of its own or not. More frequently, the subject of the main and the relative clause are the same. The subject of deranked relative clauses, other than the subject of the main clause, is expressed in the dative case. (For details see Ch. 3.3.2.3. “Relative Clauses”, p. 478f.).

The resultative participle in -³Í- as well as the future participle II in -Çù- are commonly used for such preposed shortened relative clauses, both in written and spoken Armenian.

(172) Everybody was satisfied with the work fulfilled by Ara. (Lit: all was satisfied with Ara’s fulfilled work.)

Correlative Relative Clauses

As mentioned above, correlative clauses in Armenian are characterised by overt marking both the main clause and its preceding correlative clause. This means the relationship
between the two clauses is usually expressed by a relative pronoun, which references to the prominent constituent of the first clause.

(174) Երբ զավառ ի աշխատանքի, հա զավառ ի աշխատանքի:

ov șat է ašxat-um na șat է stan-um.

wh.nom much he is work-ptcp.pres he.nom much he is earn-ptcp.pres.

“(The one) who works much, will earn much”

3.1.4 Verb complements

Syntactic verb complements are words/phrases that appear in a syntactic relationship with a verb in a clause, such as the subject and direct object. One, generally, distinguishes obligatory complements such as subjects (excluding subject-inherent finite verbal forms) and objects from optional adjuncts.

Adverbials characterising a verbal action, process or state of affairs with respect to time, place, kind, manner or measure can be both obligatory and optional.

An object is a noun (phrase) occupying an argument position of a verb other than the subject. In MEA, objects are conventionally divided into direct, indirect and oblique objects. Oblique objects are more describable in semantic terms and usually fulfil specific semantic functions to describe semantic categories that are not directly related to the action expressed in the predicate. They are usually expressed by oblique cases other than the nominative or dative, and often by adpositional phrases.

3.1.4.1 Objects

In traditional Armenian grammars the following objects are usually listed:

1. direct object
2. indirect – dative object

and as 3. oblique objects:

a. object of agency
b. object of separation
c. object of means
d. object of comparison
e. object of relation
f. object of composition
g. object of limitation

3.1.4.1.1 Direct object

The direct object is one of the main syntactic functions of transitive verbs in a nominative-accusative language such as MEA. It usually expresses the semantic role of the patient, i.e. the entity that is directly affected by the action of the verb.
The morphological marking of the direct object in MEA depends on the animacy, the humanness and – obviously – also on the definiteness of the patient. (See Ch. 2.1.1.1. “Humanness”, p. 60.)

- **Nominative Direct Object**

The direct object is morphologically marked with the nominative if it is:

- \((-\text{human})/(-\text{animate}), \text{definite}\) (176)
- \((-\text{human})/(-\text{animate}), \text{indefinite}\) (177)
- as well as objectified \((+\text{human})/(+\text{animate})\) nouns, regardless of them being definite or indefinite (178):

  (175) 
  "At that time I have seen with my (own) eyes the misfortune of those close peoples."

- **Dative Direct Object**

The direct object is morphologically marked with the dative if it is:

- \((+\text{human}), (+\text{animate}), \text{definite}\) (179)
- \((+\text{human}), (+\text{animate}), \text{indefinite}\) (180)
- as well as personificated \((-\text{animate}/-\text{human})\) nouns regardless of whether they are definite or indefinite (181)

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(178) Թուրք «Երկիրը մասնակցիք ռազմական զարգացման համար»: (Արատու 05.04.2006)

"The Turks entrust their most precious thing, the(ir) children, to Armenians."

(179) Եվ հանրապետության նախագահը մեղադրել է բազմաթիվ երիտասարդական կազմակերպություններ.

"And with the Republic’s president’s instruction we have disposed ourselves to find many persons ‘having shown energy’.”

Some discrepancies seem to exist in case assignment to direct objects expressing +animate, + human but indefinite: they can be expressed in the dative, but also in the nominative.

In spoken MEA, many native speakers face difficulties in deciding whether to use the nominative or dative for animals. It seems, however, that they prefer to use the dative to refer to animate and definite262 animals.

(180) Անին նույն է իր հայ ծածկ:

“Ani loves her father’s dog” (i.e. a specific, definite dog: the animal is regarded animate and as a “person”)

Partitive Direct Object

There is also a partitive direct object, which is usually only used for –animate, – human nouns and is often expressed by active verbs denoting an object, on a part of which the subject executes the action. These partitive direct objects are expressed with the ablative

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262. Definite here means not only definite in the sense of articles or determiners, but also more closely specified by other modifiers, particularly GEN-attributes or possessives.
and usually co-occur with the following verbs: utel “to eat”, xmel “to drink”, čašakel “to taste; to partake”, caxel “to sell”, tal “to give”, tanel “to carry, to take”, kataral “to fulfil, to complete”, kardal “to read”, šargmanel “to translate”, halordel “to communicate, to broadcast”, lsel “to hear”, nvazel “to decrease”, etc.

3.1.4.1.2 Indirect object

The indirect object is a syntactic function which depends on the valence of the verb. Its semantic function is usually that of the benefactive or recipient.

In MEA the indirect object is used to denote the benefactive, i.e. the entity for which an action is carried out; for whose advantage or benefit. Thus it is usually assigned by verbs that commonly involve giving something to someone or making something for someone.

The indirect object, expressed with the bare dative, is thus used to denote:

– the entity to which another object passes over or is given; e.g. with verbs such as tal “to give”, hanjnel “to hand (over), to deliver”, matucel “to present; to offer” , nivrel “to give, to donate” and other verbs with similar meaning, see example (180) above.

– the entity, which something is communicated to, e.g. with verbs such as asel “say”, halordel “to communicate”, bac’atrel “to explain”, ktakel “to will” etc., see (183) below.

– the cause of causative constructions, see (184) below.

(182) Ays masin aysōr lragroł-ner-i-n asac’ HH
this post today journalist-pl-dat-the say-aor.3.sg RA
artagorcexarar.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan-ě.
Foreign Minister.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan.nom-the
“The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Armenia, Vardan Ōskanyan, spoke to the journalists about that…”

(183) Tatik-ě ir t’oršik-i-n ut-el tv-ec’
Tatik.nom-the her grandchild-dat-the eat-inf give-aor.3.sg
xnjor-ě.
apple.nom-the
“The grandmother made her (little) grandchild eat the apple.”

263. Comp. Ch. 2.1.3.4. “Ablative”, p. 98f.

264. In Armenian grammars this indirect dative object is usually labelled ūmatuc’man ūmat yëxir “object of offering”.

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Dative objects can but also depend on the semantics of the verbs which assign dative to its argument, other than the subject, i.e. verbs that express the approaching to a person/object, such as e.g. մոտենի "to approach, to draw near", հասել "to reach, to arrive" etc.

(184) 2003թ.օգոստոս-ի սկսված Լոր շրջանի կառլի տարածքում կայանեցված տեղեկագիր մասնագիտությունները արտահայտում են հետևյալների:
(Armenpress 13.06.2006)
2003t. օգոստոս-i-n սկս-վ-աց Լոր-u մարզ-i
2003 August-DAT-the begin-pass-PTCP.RES. Lor-DAT province-DAT
K'arînî գյուլ-i յրատար-i վերակարգչ-ն-an աշխատանկեր-է
to go.3SG dat build-DAT rebuild-DAT work-pl.nom-the approach-PTCP.PRES. they are termination-DAT-the
K'arinj.NOM village-DAT conduit-DAT rebuilding-DAT work-pl.nom-the
moten-um en avart-i-n.
approach-PTCP.PRES. they are termination-DAT-the
“The rebuilding works of the conduit in the village of K'arinj or Lor province that have been started in August 2003 are near completion.”

Dative objects also commonly occur in the meaning of an object of purpose or final object, particularly in combination with movement verbs.

(185) Լիլիթ-է գնաց հաց-i.
Lilit’NOM the go-aor.3sg bread-DAT
“Lilit' went for bread.” (i.e. Lilit' went to buy bread)
– the bare ablative
– the synthetical ablative in a postpositional phrase with the postposition կոլմից' and the noun in the dative, and the personal pronouns in the genitive (=possessive pronouns).
– In the case of instruments being used as pseudo-agent – the instrumental.

b. Object of Separation\textsuperscript{267}

The object of separation signifies
– that a component or part of an object is taken/separated/moved away etc.
– the entity from which another constituent comes from
– the entity from which another constituent originates/derives/descends.

The object of separation/origin is expressed with the morphological ablative case.

\begin{enumerate}
\item (186) \textit{կուրս ծառայությունը միջ տեղամուտքում է իր տեղագրվել}:  
\begin{flushright}
(Armenpress 19.01.2006) 
\textit{որոշ ժամանք անց’ ի հերման է իր հայրեն}:} \\
\textit{certain time POST he.NOM depart-PTCP.PRES. he is his native} \\
gyul-ic’.  \\
village-ABL \\
\end{flushright} \\
\textit{“After a certain time, he departs from his native village.”}

\item (187) \textit{Նա տեղակարգը, որ պատմված պատմությունը նպ կազմել է նամուշ}:  
\begin{flushright}
(Aravot 08.04.06) 
\textit{Na telekačrec’ or t’atron-če petut’yun-ic’ oč’ mi} \\
he.NOM inform-AOR.3.SG conj theatre.NOM-the state-ABL neg INDEF \\
kopek ě-i stac’-el.  \\
kopek neg-it is receive-PTCP.PERF. \\
\end{flushright} \\
\textit{“He informed that the theatre did not receive a penny from the state.”}

\item (188) \textit{Նկատի ուն-էմ այն հիմնական խնդիրը, որից անցան է այն ազատություն}:  
\begin{flushright}
(Aravot 04.04.2006) 
\textit{Nkati un-em ayn himnakan xndir-če or-ic’} \\
account have-PRES.1.SG that basic problem.NOM-the REL-ABL \\
cag-el ě ays ambolj kriw-č.  \\
result-PTCP.PERF. it is this whole quarrel.NOM-the. \\
\end{flushright} \\
\textit{“I take this basic problem, which the whole quarrel resulted from, into account.”}
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{267} see Abrahamyan 2004.42; Papoyan 2003: 148-49. In Armenian grammars this object is termed անջատման խնդիր anjatman xndir “Object of separation”.
c. Object of Instrument/Means

This object indicates the entity, the event and the method by which means something is completed or by which the action is carried out. It is usually expressed with the instrumental case, but sometimes also with adpositional phrases with փոխաչափ mijoçov “by means of”, զարդարել šnorhiv “thanks to”268 + noun in dative.

(189) Հերը Կարելի աչքով նշվեց ու կարույցվեց երբ թփաշարավանդ էր սունճ.

(Grakanut’yun 10: 75)

isk mer-ac lezv-ov č’-i kareli šunč’

CONJ die-PTCP.RES. language-INSTR NEG-it is possible breath.NOM

nerark-el kendani irakanut’y-an-ē.

infuse-INF living reality-DAT-the

“And it is not possible to infuse life to the living reality with a dead language.”

(190) Որպես իսկ միջոցը են միայն ու պարունակության մեջ հոգեկան գիտակցություն

(Grakanut’yun 10: 75)

isk mer-ac lezv-ov č’-i kareli šunč’

CONJ die-PTCP.RES. language-INSTR NEG-it is possible breath.NOM

nerark-el kendani irakanut’y-an-ē.

infuse-INF living reality-DAT-the

“And it is not possible to infuse life to the living reality with a dead language.”

(191) Ինձ հանրությունը հավատ’կում է քայլել և զետի ժամանակագրական հավակցություն:

(Armenpress 21.01.2006)

im č’-išnorhiv darj-i č’ gal-is ew

my friend-DAT POST conversion-DAT he is come-PTCP.PRES.3.SG CONJ

endun-um kristoneakan havatk’-ē.

adopt-PTCP.PRES. Christian belief.NOM-the

“The problem is the following: amounts have been defrauded from me by means of blackmail and terror.”

(192) Հանդեսից ինքը ոտքով է կնքել ինչպես թվագրական համակարգ:

(Armenpress 21.01.2006)

im č’-išnorhiv darj-i č’ gal-is ew

my friend-DAT POST conversion-DAT he is come-PTCP.PRES.3.SG CONJ

endun-um kristoneakan havatk’-ē.

adopt-PTCP.PRES. Christian belief.NOM-the

“The problem is the following: amounts have been defrauded from me by means of blackmail and terror.”

d. Object of Relation

This oblique object connotes the person/entity, to whom/which the action relates.

It is expressed with the ablative case and/or postpositional phrases with the postpositions սիրույն masin “about”, փոխաչափ veraberyal “referring to, regarding”, ինչպես nkamamb “with respect to”, հավակցություն handep “with regard to” etc.

The object of relation is also assigned by verbs of saying and thinking (compare Ch. 2.1.3.4. Ablative: so-called narrative ablative) such as e.g. ասել asel “to say”, հանդիպ

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268. I, personally, see no function of “means, instrument” expressed with the postposition զարդարել šnorhiv “thanks to”, as in the example (192). This belongs instead to objects of reason.
e. Object of Comparison

This oblique object signifies an entity, which is distinguished by some features from another entity. Thus, this object is mainly used to express the *standard* in comparative constructions (for details on comparative constructions see Ch. 3.4.3. “Comparative Construction”, p. 531f.).

It is usually expressed in the ablative case if it refers to the subject of the clause. It may also be “analytically” expressed by means of the conjunction կան* kán “than” and the standard in the nominative.

(195) Կան ծայրամասում հոգավոր է ու մեք է:

*Elbor աղջիկ-է եւ մել թլաստ-է*.

brother-DAT girl-NOM-the my boy-ABL old she is

“My brother’s daughter is older than my son.”
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(196) թե աշխատանքից զավաթ կամ տ և ապրելիս ապրելու կամ, պահ բերել սեր քառույթ, նվագու զինամթե թուա: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

im arōjut’yun-é sāt lava ē ew aveli aroł em kān bolor
my health.NOM-the int good it is conj more healthy I am comp all
ayn mard-ik ov-kēr pōrj-um en šahark-el da.
that person-pl.NOM who-pl.NOM try-PTCP.PRES. they are profit-INF that.NOM
“My health is very good and I am healthier than all those people, who try to profit from it.”

If the object of comparison, however, does not refer back to the subject, only a construction with the conjunction կամ and the standard in the nominative is possible.

(197) Բախշյան-ը մունիսք ապահ, իդ ապահ եր հուսահատության ավելի է կար է մու, պահ

Baxšyan-ė muynisk as-aor conj today his despair.NOM-the
aveli xor-n ē kān hoktember-i 27-i-n ēr.
more deep-the it is comp October-DAT 27-DAT-the it was
“Baxšyan even said that today his despair is deeper than it was on October 27th.”

f. Object of Composition

It denotes the material, or the entity, of which another entity consists or is made. It is usually expressed with the ablative.

(198) Հայաստանից Հայաստանի տեսքությունը կար 24 անձն բազմազանություն:

Armenpress 23.01.2006

Šveyc’aria-y-ic’ Hayastan ē veradarj-el 9 èntanik’
Switzerland-abl Armenia.NOM it is return-PTCP.PERC. 9 family.NOM
24 anj-ic’ balkac’-ac.
24 person-abl consist-PTCP.RES.

“Nine families consisting of 24 persons have returned from Switzerland to Armenia.”

g. Object of Limitation

It implies the entity by which the activity/state of the subject is specialised, more detailed, described or limited to a certain part. This entity appears also limited in measure, size etc. This object can be expressed with

- ablative
- instrumental
- locative
- with adpositional phrases

The choice of the case/adpositional phrase mainly depends on the verb used and on (often fossilised) idiomatic use.
(199) Anahit-ě t’uyl ē òtar lezv-ic’.
“Anahit is weak in foreign languages.”

(200) That man is Armenian by nationality.

(201) “Vardan was wrong in his calculations.”

(202) Since I was a performer by profession, the painting of a stage seized me with depth, costume, meaning and the most important, with light and shadow.

3.1.4.2 Adverbials
An adverbial usually modifies the verb, but also the sentence as a whole. One can distinguish between adverbial adjuncts and complements. Adverbial adjuncts can be removed and a well-formed sentence remains (203). If, however, an adverbial is a necessary sentence element, then it is an adverbial complement. Adverbial complements are usually formed with the copular (204).

(203) My father works in the Hotel Ani.

(204) My father is in the Hotel Ani.
The most common categories of adverbial adjuncts and complements are:

- place
- time
- manner
- purpose
- cause
- reason
- concession
- condition
- measure/quantity
- comitative

Adverbial adjuncts and complements can be expressed with single adverbs, but also with adpositional phrases or even subordinate clauses.

a. Complement/Adjunct of Place

This complement/adjunct generally describes the place, where the action/state takes place. In MEA, one can distinguish the following subtypes of complements/adjuncts of place.

- It connotes the place where the action takes place. It answers the question ἡ ὅπου ὁ ortel “where?”
- It denotes the place in which direction the action is directed. It answers the question ἡ ὅπου ὁ ur “where to?”
- It signifies the place from where the action/movement of the subject starts. It answers the question ἡ ὅπου ὁ ortelic’ “where from?”.
- It indicates the place through/on/over/under etc. which the action/movement of the subject passes. It answers the question ἡ ὅπου ὁ vrayov “on/upon what?”, ἡ ὅπου ὁ mijocòv “through what?”, ἡ ὅπου ὁ mot “close to/near what?”, etc.

The complement/adjunct can be expressed

a. with local adverbs, including forms like ὅπου ὁ aystel “here”, ὅπου ὁ ayntel “there” etc. (206)
b. with the following cases:

- NOMinative: for indicating the direction of the action. (206)
- DATive: for indicating the place of the action. It is particularly used to indicate body parts of humans and animals as the place of the action. (207)
- ABLative: for indicating the local origin or the starting point of the action. (208)

269. comp. Ch. 2.1.3.2. “Dative”, p. 86 about the difference in use of dative and locative for expressing the local position of an entity.
- INSTRumental: for indicating the place, through/on/over/under etc. the action passes. (209)
- LOCative: the most frequent case used to indicate the place of the action. (210)
  c. with interrogative/relative pronouns, particularly if introducing/connecting a subordinate clause (211)
  d. with adpositional phrases using adpositions of place such as թե մեջ “in”, դրա վրա
    “on”, տարա տակ “under”, etc. (212)

(205) Նշենք, որ այս տարի Սուրբ Հովհաննես Գյումրին նոր հանդիսանց էր տեղ կնքած: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

(206) Պատրաստ-քրե քիչ-քիչ Տիֆլիս-ից: (Mayreni 3: 128)

(207) Մի փետրվան փաթեթերտ հովի տեղում: (Mayreni 2: 43)

(208) Տեղափոխվել Կորյուն Կորյունյանը Երևան-ից T'bilisi-ից եկ-ավ

(209) Գրիգոր-ի տան պատ-երի եւ աֆաստալ-ի վրա-ով

“Let us note that this year Christmas had also been celebrated here with a new calendar.”

“I prepared (myself) to depart to Gyumri.”

“We wrapped up a rope on the shepherd’s back.”

“My friend Koryun Koryunyan came from Tiflis to Yerevan.”

“Pipes of various widths run over the walls and the ceiling of Grigor’s house, you
  don’t know why.”
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(210) Այսօր Ադրբեջան-ն բնակ-ի է շուրջ
today Azerbaijan-LOC dwell-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is approximately
30 thousand Հայ
30 thousand Armenian.NOM

“Today approximately 30,000 Armenians live in Azerbaijan.”

(211) Հետ գերազանցություն մասամբ են պատրաստ, որ ներքին աշխատանքի շնորհիվ գտնվում են:
(Hetk’ 08.01.2007),

մեր գերազանց-է մնաց-էլ է այնտեղ էր
our grave-PL.NOM-the remain-PTCP.PERF. they are there wh-where

մենք այլեր երբեկ’ է-էնք է
we no more never neg-we are go-PTCP.NEG

“Our graves remained there, where we will never go again.”

(212) Այս հարցում հատուկ դիրք է այսպիսով կանոնավորվում է:
(Grakanutyun 10: 77)

դա հայ-էր-ի երակ’-ակ էր մարդկույթ-է
d that Armenian-PL-DAT play-PTCP.RES. role.NOM-the it is mankind-DAT

հիսություն-է եմեֆ
history-DAT post

“That is the role Armenians played in the history of mankind.”

b. Adverbial Complement/Adjunct of Time

It generally denotes the time/duration of an action or event. In detail, it indicates

– the time of the execution of an action/event (=duration of an action/event). It answers the questions Երբ էր “when?”; Հարցանալ Համար “how long?”; Որպես Տասիներ “for how many hours?” etc.
– the starting point of an action/event. It answers the question Երբից է Երբվանից “from when?”
– the end point of an action/event. It answers the question Երբեկ’ Երբ Պիտիշեն “until when?”.

It can expressed

a. with time adverbs.
b. with nouns in the following cases:

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- NOMinative: for the time of the day, months, season (214)
- DATive: for the time when the action takes place (125)
- ABLative: for the starting point of the action (216)
- INSTRumental: for the duration of the action (217)
- LOCative: for the time in which course the action takes place (218)

(c) with the infinitive in INSTR (219)
(d) with adpositional phrases with time adpositions (220).

(213) Na ayd gišer uraxuťyun-ic’ č’-k’nec’.
He that night.nom joy-abl neg-sleep-aor.3.sg
“That night he did not sleep for joy.”

(214) Grigor Zohrap-ě cn-v-el ē 1861 t’vakan-i-n
Grigor Zohrap.nom-the bear-pass-ptcp.perf. he is 1861 date-dat-the
Constantinople-loc
“Grigor Zohrap was born in 1861 in Constantinople.”

(215) ayd ōr-vanic’ Hayk-i hetnaord-ner-ě koč’-v-ec’in
that day-abl Hayk-dat descendent-pl.nom call-pass-aor.3.pl
hay-er.
Armenian-pl.nom
“Since that day Hayk’s descendents have been called Armenians.”

(216) otarakan em, mi gišer-ov hyur č’-es ēndun-i?
stranger.nom I am indef night-inst guest.nom neg-you are receive-ptcp.neg.
“I am a stranger; would you not receive a guest for a night?”

(217) Fransia-y-ic’ ek-ac bžišk-ner-ě ēndameně mi kani
France-abl come-ptcp.res. doctor-pl.nom-the all-in-all some
ōr-um dr-ec’in konk’-i 9 prot’ez.
day-loc put-aor.3.pl pelvis-dat 9 prothesis
“The doctors, having come from France, have put nine pelvis protheses all in all in
some days.”
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(218) Լսել-ով նրա սբակեցությամբ միայն կանխատեսեք ենի երկկու սուլը ու հետաքրքրականություն.

(219) Համարեք Օրոգնիչ հետև զբաղմունքի տարածումը տարածված են տարածված

(220) Ես եթե այսպես շահեն, մինչև հաճալանում գիտակցում են իսկ էջ: Համարեք:

“Hearing about his holy way of living, many leave their houses and depart for hermitage.”

“After Roland Šařoyan, T’amar Połosyan was appointed Minister of Culture.”

e. Adjunct/Complement of Manner

It usually describes in what way or how the action is taking place. It is usually expressed with

- manner adverbs (220)
- nouns in INSTRumental or, more rarely, in LOCative (221)
- infinites in INSTRumental
- resultative participles functioning as manner adverbs (222)
- with adpositional phrases expressing manner such as այսպես “as, like”, նման nman
  “like, as”, հավանաբար inç’pes “as”, որպես orpes “as” etc. (223)
(221) Հարս ազգայինության մեջ ազգի ու համայնքի թիվ ազգայինության համակարգում:
(Mayreni 3: 108)
Nra ašakert-ner-ē mec sir-ov u hačyk'-ov ēin
his pupil-PL.NOM-the big love-INST conj pleasure-INST they were
sovor-um hayeren tar-er-ē.
learn-PTCP.PRES. Armenian letter-PL.NOM-the.

“His pupils learnt the Armenian letters with great love and pleasure.”

(222) Արմենի զարգացմունքը պատմվել եւ բարձր հատորը:
Armen-ē lar-v-ac ē spas-um ir elbor
Armen.NOM-the stress-refl-PTCP.RES he is wait-PTCP.PRES. his brother-DAT
gal-u-n.
come-INF-DAT-the

“Armen is waiting for his brother’s arrival in a strained condition.”

(223) Արմեն հանդիպելավ առաջադրանքի առաջադրանքի համար բյուջենային
Քևինը՝ նույն ժամանակ (Արափ 28.03.2006)
aysōr hravir-ac k'narkman-ē nman tesaket
today convene-PTCP.RES. discussion-DAT-the post view:NOM
haytn-ec' Eritasard kalak'akan gorcié-ner-i akumb-i
report-AOR.3.SG Young political agent-PL-DAT club-DAT
naxagah Arman Vardanyan-ē.
president.NOM Arman Vardanyan.NOM-the

“The president of the “Young Political Agents’ Club”, Arman Vardanyan, has expressed a similar view at the discussion held today.”

f. Complement/Adjunct of Cause

These adjunct/complements describe the cause of the action/event, and also denote the condition which is the cause for the action. It is usually expressed with the ablative and very occasionally with the instrumental and answers the question: երբեմն inč'u "why?", երբեմն inč'ic’ "why, by which (reason)?", և պատճառը inč' patčar ˚ov “by what reason?”. It can be expressed in the following way:

- with nouns in the ablative (229)
- with infinitives in the ablative (230)
- with postpositional phrases using the postpositions պատճառը patčar ˚ov “because of”. հանրային hetewankov “due to”, երեք jêk'ic’ “because of”, երեք երեք eresic’ “because of”. (231)
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(224) Սեր կարճատեր պահ արտահայթ պատշաճ սերում պատժ կատար սերում քար. (Gyurjinyan, Heke'k'yan 2002: 180)

mi karčatew pah art'n-ac' av patuhan-i kisabac
INDEF short moment.NOM wake-up-AOR.3.SG window-DAT half-opened
pěl-ic' pě'-ol sar-će kām-uc'.
shutter-ABL blow-PTCP.SUB. cold wind-ABL.

“He woke up a short moment from (=because of) the cold wind blowing through
the shutter of the half-open window.”

(225) Հայրենիք մարդումները երիտասարդահանելուն հեռացնում են կրճատ մարմնի:
Vardan-ę art'n-ac' av ir harewan-i š-an hač'-el-uc'.
Vardan.NOM the wake up-AOR.3.SG his neighbour-DAT dog-DAT bark-INF-ABL

“Vardan woke up from the barking of his neighbour’s dog.”

(226) Արմենիայի տարածքի մեկնաբանական բնագավառը հիգում է 70 տարեկան:
(Armenpress 29.03.2006)
Verjin tari-ner-i-n antařahatun-ner-i hetewank'ov
last year-PL-DAT the clearing-PL-DAT post
oč'nč' ac'-v-el ē marz-i antařapat tarack'-ner-i
destroy-pass-PTCP.PERF it is province-DAT forested territory-PL-DAT
aveli kān 70 tokos-ę.
more COMP 70 percent.NOM-the

“In the last year more than 70 percent of the province’s forested territories have been
destroyed due to clearing.”

g. Complement/Adjunct of Basis

It usually indicates the basis, reason or background of an action or state. It is different from
the complement/adjunct of a cause: by contrast to the latter, the complement/adjunct of
the basis denotes the traditional, legal, scientific, natural etc. origin or pre-requisite of an
action/state. It usually answers the questions Որքա՞ն ինչ... (“which from?”), Որքա՞ն ինչ...
ինչ himunk’ov “with which basis?/on which basis?”, Վրա ինչ
ինչ’ himan vra “on which basis?” etc.

It is usually expressed with

- nouns in either the ablative or the instrumental
- adpositional phrases with the following adpositions: որպես էստ “according to, in accord-
dance with”, գնահատ snorhiv “thanks to”, դեռաևս պետ hamajyn “in accordance
with”, թե՜դնորար karčik’ov “of the opinion” etc. and in colloquial Armenian also often
with համար hamar “for”.

(227) Ու. Օհանյանի առաջադիմություն վարկածի ժամանակ 1993–94թ. իրավիճակում է «Նեյթրոն» գործարանի համար հնարավորություն: (Առավոտ 08.04.2006)
A. Öhanyan-i anjankan kap-er-i šnorhiv 1993–95 t't'.
A. Öhanyan-dat personal relation-pl-dat post 1993–94 year
kazmakerp-v-el è “Neytron” gorcaran-um
organise-pass-ptcp.perf. it is “Neytron” factory-loc
hoskâç-er-i teladrum-ê.
power supply line-pl-dat installation.nom-the
“Thanks to the private relationships of A. Öhanyan the installation of a power supply line was organised in the “Neytron” factory.”

(228) Ու. Օհանյանի առաջադիմություն վարկածի ժամանակ համակարգչային պատմական հիմնական
դիտարկվել է. (Armenpress 05.04.2006)
Ayn stelc-v-el è erku akumb-ner-i mijew hamapastaxan
that found-pass-ptcp.perf. it is two club-pl-dat post corresponding
paymanagr-i himan vra.
contract-dat post
“That has been founded on the basis of a corresponding contract between two clubs.”

(229) Ու. Օհանյանի առաջադիմություն վարկածի ժամանակ համակարգչային պատմական
դիտարկվել է. (Armenpress 27.11.2005)
mek dimum merž-v-el è ēntrač‘uc‘ak-um
one application.nom deny-pass.ptcp.perf. it is electoral register-loc
kalakac‘u anv-an aŕkayut‘y-an patčaov.
citizen-dat name-dat presence-dat post
“One application has been denied because of the presence of the name of a (the) citizen in the electoral register.”

h. Complement/Adjunct of Condition

It signifies the condition for the action/state of the subject. It is usually expressed with

– the infinitive in the instrumental
– postpositional phrases with the postposition դեպքում depk‘um “in case of”,
պատահում paragayum “under the condition of”, պատճառով paymanov “under
the condition of, that” and the dative of the noun or infinitive.

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(230) Անհրաժեշտության դեպքում պետք է որ հանդիպանական համար կիրառվեն:
(Armenpress 20.01.2006)
Anhrazhetsut’-yan depk’um ayd hanhipum-ner-n apaga-y-um
necessity-DAT POST that meeting-PL.NOM-the future-LOC
kšaranak-v-en.
continue-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL
“In case of necessity those meetings will be continued in future.”

(231) Թուրքիայի տրամասները կիրառվի թվով որ այն քննավորվեր համար չունի
Türk’ia-y-um p’ok’ramasnut’yun-ner-n ěnduneli en nranc’
Turkey-LOC minority-PL.NOM-the acceptable they are their
inče’kan hnaravor è p’ok’r linel-u paymanov.
how much possible it is small be-INF-DAT POST
“The minorities in Turkey are acceptable under the condition, that they are as small
(in number) as possible.”

(232) Գզ-ի վրա հարավը պահպանվում է, այլևս դառնալով քսարուկ է նկարագրել է նկ 25 դրամ, որ 6.5–7 դրամ:
(Armenpress 24.01.2006)
Gaz-ov jeřuc’-an paragayum 1 Kvt/žam-i dimac’ bnakič’e-è
gaz-INST heating-DAT POST 1 KW/hour-DAT opposite inhabitant.NOM-the
včar-um è oč’ t’è 25 dram ayl 6,5–7 dram.
pay-PTCP.PRES. he is not CONJ 25 dram.NOM, CONJ 6.5–7 dram.NOM.
“Under the condition of heating with gas, the inhabitant does not pay 25 dram for a
KW/h but 6.5–7 dram.”

i. Complement/Adjunct of Purpose

These complements/adjuncts describe for what reason the action is taking place. It usually
answers the question ինչպես “why/what for?”, ինչպես համար ինչ’ hamar “what for?”,
ինչպես ուղղադիր ինչ’ npatakov “for what purpose?”.
It is usually expressed with
- a noun in the dative
- an infinitive in the dative
- infinitive constructions (separated from the rest of the sentence by a ‘but’ accent)
- postpositional phrases with հառնել հանու “for the sake of”, համար hamar “for”,
 ուղղադիր npatakov “in order to” and nouns and infinitives in the dative.

272. In Armenian ուղղադիր ուղղադիր npataki paraga “complement of purpose”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 49; Papoyan 2003: 162. This is a “final” complement/adjunct.
(233) The mother asked her son to get bread.

Mayr-ě xndr-ec’ ir tla-yi-n gn-al hac’i.

mother.nom-the ask-aor.3.sg her son-dat-the go-inf bread-dat

“The mother asked her son to get bread. (Lit.: to go for bread)

(234) The student goes to the university’s library to read a book.

Usanol-ě gn-un ē gradaran girk’ kardal-u.

student.nom-the go-ptcp.pres. he is library.nom book.nom read-inf-dat

“In order to find a medicine for the sick, the people of Timor Lenk went to mountains and valleys, they (i.e. the people) were in many places.”

(235) It describes the action in some features regarding measure, quantity and duration. It usually answers the questions հատված ինչպես “how much/how many?”, թեթև “how much/how many?”, որոշ տեսքով կարո ինչպես “with which size/how much?”, քանի անգամ “how often/how many times?” etc.

It is usually expressed with

- adverbs of measurement and quantity (intensifiers),
- interrogative/relative pronouns,

j. Complement/Adjunct of Measure/Quantity

quantifying noun phrases with nouns in various cases,
- quantifiers in various cases.

(237) Ուզոր գրավոտյան բավակ նպատ: Aysor aravotyan bavakan c'urt er.
today morning rather cold it was
“This morning it was rather cold.”

(238) Վարդան երկու անգամ կարդ այդ գիրք-է. Vardan-ê erku angam kard-ac' ayd girk'-ê.
Vardan.NOM-the two time.NOM read-AOR.3.SG this book.NOM-the
“Vardan read this book twice.”

(239) Երբ էր կարճ տարիկ որակը նկատ է, այնպիսի տարիկ պատասխանում է տարիկ, ու հրապարակում: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)
Ev in'êkan šut irenk' oroš-en ov ê aynk'an
CONJ how much soon they decide-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL who.NOM it is somuch
šut khangstan-an ew irenk' ew iravičak-ê.
soon calm down-COND.FUT.3.PL. CONJ they.NOM CONJ situation.NOM-the
“And the sooner they decide who it is, the sooner they also will calm down, and so will the situation.”

k. Complement/Adjunct of Concession and Substitution

It indicates that an action is carried out against certain conditions, reasons or causes. It also shows that an action is carried out instead of another action. It can also be grouped with the complements/adjuncts of contingency, comprising adjuncts of cause and concession.

It is usually expressed with postpositional phrases using e.g. հակարեա hakaṙak “in contradiction with”, զիմաստության poxanak, զինական.pagination “in instead of” and the noun or infinitive in the dative. It is also commonly separated from the rest of the sentence by the punctuation mark short stop (’).

(240) Հակարեա որոշ այս տարիկ է և հրապարակում է ինչպես կարճ տարիկ պատասխանում է: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)
hakaṙak oroš cag-ol huys-er-i sahman-ner-i bač'm-an
het kap-v-ac telašarê ê'-i el-el.
POST connect-pass-PTCP.RES. migration.NOM neg-it is be-PTCP.PERF:
“Against certain rising hopes, there was no migration connected with the opening of the borders.”

It shows that the subject does not carry out the action alone, but (together) with other objects/persons.

It is usually expressed with

- nouns in the instrumental
- postpositional phrases with the postpositions հետ het “with” and the noun in the dative; հանդեր handerj “with” and the noun in the instrumental; and to additionally mark the comitative meaning also with հետ miasin “together with” and the nouns in the dative.

“Impertinent and abhorrent Bel comes with a huge army to Hayk’s domicile.”

“When the persecutions of (lit. against) the Christians started, Hulitan fled with her son to Tarson.”

(244) An attempt was made together with the World Bank to realise the credit program in the field of education.

3.2 Semanto-pragmatic sentence types

3.2.1 Declarative sentences

The declarative sentence is the most common and most frequently used sentence type in MEA. It generally makes a statement. A declarative sentence usually has neutral prosody, without any emphasis and without a special pitch. In unmarked, neutral word order the logical stress lies on the predicate.

(245) In summer, one day the crow became heavily thirsty.

In the case of inverse or marked orders, in which the marked constituent is put in the preverbal focus position, the logical stress lies on this marked constituent.

(245) a. In summer, one day the crow became heavily thirsty.

Note: in this sentence the subject is marked. It was the crow that became heavily thirsty in summer one day.

Declarative sentences also have secondary non-default pragmatic uses in directives, i.e. in indirect speech acts, such as

(246) You have not read the book I told you to.
Declarative sentences can be affirmative and negative. Regarding the number of constituents, declarative sentences can be simple, one-constituent or complex sentences.

3.2.2 Interrogative sentences

As in other natural languages, interrogative sentences in MEA use specific devices for marking interrogative sentences and thus distinguishing them from “neutral” declarative sentences.

- A different tonal pattern with raised tone
- A marked word order with some interrogative pronouns (wh-movement)
- Distinctive punctuation: a question mark on the last full syllable of the constituent in question

Semantically MEA distinguishes four types of interrogative sentences:

1. yes/no (=polar) questions
2. wh-questions (=content questions)
3. rhetorical questions: these type questions are posed for effect rather than for the purpose of getting an answer. They encourage reflection within the listener: what has to be the answer to the question, or at least how does the questioner imply the answer.

Syntactically, MEA distinguishes two main types of interrogative sentences:

a. polar interrogatives sentences
b. content sentences

Intonation patterns

- Polar interrogative sentences in Armenian have a typical rising-falling intonation. The constituent, which is in question, is stressed with the highest intonation on its stressed vowel (the last syllable).
- Content questions sentences have the logical stress on the wh-pronoun.

3.2.2.1 Polar interrogatives (Yes/No questions)

In general, each constituent of a sentence, or even a constituent of a phrase, can be questioned in MEA. By questioning, the logical stress falls on the word/constituent in question with a rising intonation (which is marked by the question mark on the stressed vowel in written language). Questioning, however, does not automatically trigger a change of the word order of the declarative sentence.

276. see Ch. 3.4.2. “Negation”, p. 522f.
(247) կամատի կոր փրկի տարիալ:  
Aram-ē nra pok'r elbayr-n ē.  
Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is  
"Aram is his little brother."

(247) a. կամատի կոր փրկի տարիալ տի:  
Aram-ē nra pok'r elbayr-n ē?  
Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is  
"Is Aram his little brother?" (No change in order, intonational stress on 'brother.')

b. կամատի կոր փրկի տարիալ տի:  
Aram-ē nra pok'r elbayr-n ē?  
Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is  
"Is Aram his little brother?" (No change in order, intonational stress on 'little'.)

c. կամատի կոր փրկի տարիալ տի:  
Aram-ē nra pok'r elbayr-n ē?  
Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is  
"Is Aram his little brother?" (No change in order, intonational stress on 'his'.)

d. կամատի կոր փրկի տարիալ:  
Aram-n ē nra pok'r elbayr-ē?  
Aram.NOM-the he is his little brother.NOM-the  
"Is Aram his little brother?" (Change of subject into preverbal focus, intonational stress on 'Aram'.)

(248) վարդանի փրկի տարիալ գունատ տարալ:  
Vardan-i pok'r elbayr-ē gn-um ē dproc'.  
Vardan.NOM-the little brother.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. he is school.NOM  
"Vardan's little brother goes to school."

(248) a. վարդանի փրկի տարիալ գունատ տարալ:  
Vardan-i pok'r elbayr-n ē gn-um dproc'?  
Vardan.NOM-the little brother.NOM-the he is go-PTCP.PRES. school.NOM  
"Vardan's little brother goes to school? Does Vardan's little brother go to school?" (Change in verbal order, intonational stress on 'Vardan', the GEN in the subject-NP)

b. վարդանի փրկի տարիալ գունատ տարալ:  
Vardan-i pok'r elbayr-n ē gn-um dproc'?  
Vardan.NOM-the little brother.NOM-the he is go-PTCP.PRES. school.NOM  
"Vardan's little brother goes to school? Does Vardan's little brother go to school?" (Intonational stress of the adjective 'little' in the subject-NP and movement of whole NP into the focus position.)
c. Գրառության փոխ բերամության տարբերություն:

Vardan-i p'ok'r elbayr-n è gn-um dproc'?
Vardan.nom-the little brother.nom-the he is go-ptcp.pres. school.nom
“Vardan’s little brother goes to school? Does Vardan’s little brother go to school?” (Movement of the whole NP into the preverbal focus, and the intonational stress on the head noun ‘brother’.)

d. Գրառության փոխ բերամության տարբերություն:

Vardan-i p'ok'r elbayr-Č gnu-m è dproc'?
Vardan.nom-the little brother.nom-the go-ptcp.pres. he is school.nom
“Does Vardan’s little brother go to school?” (Participle is already in focus, intonational stress of the participle as the main verb meaning ‘go’.)

e. Գրառության փոխ բերամության տարբերություն:

Vardan-i p'ok'r elbayr-Č gnu-m è dproc'?
Vardan.nom-the little brother.nom-the go-ptcp.pres. he is school.nom
“Does Vardan’s little brother go to school?” (No movement of the adverbial into the focus position, intonational stress on ‘school’.)

f. Գրառության փոխ բերամության տարբերություն:

Vardan-i p'ok'r elbayr-Č dproc’ è gn-um?
Vardan.nom-the little brother.nom-the school.nom he is go-ptcp.pres.
“Does Vardan’s little brother go to school?” (Movement of the adverbial into the focus position, with intonational stress on ‘school’.)

Even though Armenian grammarians state that there are no imperative changes in word order, rather that the position of the auxiliary or of the finite verb is free to change, obviously there are some changes triggered by pragmatic focus in questions depending on the syntactic function of the sentence constituent in question. (Compare Ch. 3.6.2.1. “Neutral syntactic focus”, p. 631f.)

The constituent expressing subjects, compound verbs, objects and adverbials (also expressed with adpositional phrases), is preferably moved into the prototypical MEA preverbal position. Constituent here also means the constituent as a whole, the head including subconstituents such as modifiers, intensifiers, etc. ex. (249).

(249) Արամը Պուշկինի անվանված դպրոց է գնում?

Aram-Č Puškin-i anv-an dproc’ è gn-um?
Aram.nom-the Puškin-dat name-dat school.nom he is go-ptcp.pres.
“Does Aram go to the school named after Puškin?”

But it is also wide-spread and accepted by native speakers to not move the constituent into the preverbal focus position, and just mark it with the interrogative punctuation mark in written, or the interrogative rising intonation in spoken MEA – without any semantic difference.
(249)  a. Կուրահ թինկայ տ հինգերով ամբոս էմպրա:  
    Aram-է  gn-um է Puškin-i an-van dproc’?  
    Aram.nom-the  go-PTCP.pres. he is Puškin-dat name-dat school.nom  
    “Does Aram go to the school named after Puškin?”

The adjunct of place may also be moved in preverbal focus and into the sentence’s initial position for more emphasis.

b. հինգերով ամբոս էմպրա տ թինկայ Կուրահ:  
    Puškin-i an-van dproc’ է gn-um Aram-է?  
    Puškin-dat name-dat school.nom he is go-PTCP.pres. Aram.nom-the  
    “Does Aram go to the school named after Puškin?” (Meaning: is it the school named after Puškin Aram goes to?)

Subconstituents of phrases such as noun phrase modifiers, intensifiers in adjective phrases etc. in question can also trigger this change in word order. However, they have to be moved as a whole phrase into the preverbal, focus position; a single subconstituent may not move.

It is highly ungrammatical to split such phrases in real interrogatives and to move the subconstituent of a phrase into preverbal focus.

(249)  c.  "Կուրահ հինգերով ամբոս էմպրա:  
    Aram-է Puškin-i է gn-um an-van dproc’?  
    Aram.nom-the Puškin-dat he is go-PTCP.pres. name-dat school.nom  
    “Does Aram go to the school named after Puškin?” (I.e. not to the school named after Saxarov, T’umanyan, Saryan... etc)

**Disjunctive Questions**

A subtype of the polar question is the disjunctive questions, i.e. a polar question connected by “or”, in MEA Են տե “or”.

If a sentence contains the disjunctive conjunction Են տե “or”, the intonational stress, and thus the question mark, can lie on this conjunction and/or on all preceding, coordinating constituents, but not the constituents following the disjunctive conjunction.

(250)  Են թեք եւ թեք, թեք եւ անահող:  
    du dproc’ es gn-um տե ekelec’i?  
    you.nom school.nom you are go-PTCP.pres. conj church.nom  
    “Are you going to school or to church?”

(251)  Ուր եւ թեք, թեք, թեք անահող:  
    ur es gn-um ekelec’i տե gradaran?  
    wh-where you are go-PTCP.pres. church.nom conj library.nom  
    “Where are you going? To church or to (the) library?”
3.2.2.2 Content (wh-interrogative) sentences

Wh-interrogatives, i.e. content questions, are generally used to request information, i.e. to specify the value(s) of the variable bound by the wh-pronoun. MEA has a range of wh-interrogatives.

Semantically, one distinguishes the following ontological groups of wh-pronouns in Armenian:

The subgroup of MEA's interrogative pronouns comprises the following ontological groups:

- person (human) ռո՞ւ ո՞ ov “who?”
- subject/thing ո՞ւ ռն ինչ? “what?”
- quality, ռո՞ օր ո՞ “which?”, ռո՞ միջնոր ենչեսի/ռո՞ միջնոր օրէսի “what/ what kind of?”
- quantity ռո՞ւ ռնա “how many/much?” ռո՞ւ ռոջակ ենչեսի/ռո՞ ռոջակ օրէս “how many/much?”, ռո՞ ռոջակ ենչեսի/ռո՞ ռոջակ օրէս?
- time ռո՞ երբ “when?” ռո՞ երբանի ջերբանի “since when?”
- place ռո՞ ուր ո՞ ուր “where?”, ռո՞ ուր “where to?”, ռո՞ ուր ուր ուր ուր ուր ուր ուր “where from?”
- manner: ռո՞ ուր ենչեսի “how?”
- cause: ռո՞ ուր ենչեսի/ռո՞ ուր “why?”

Syntactically, one distinguishes two major groups,

- wh-interrogatives proper
- attributive wh-pronouns (qualifying, quantifying wh-pronouns)

The prosody of the sentence is centred on the wh-pronoun, which is preferably moved into the focus position of the sentence, also taking the logical emphasis of the sentence. Wh-pronouns usually appear at the beginning of the sentence, particularly if
the wh-pronoun asks for the subject of the sentence. The logical stress is syntactically expressed by a preferred movement of the wh-pronoun into focus, i.e. preverbal position.

(254) 

Aram-ě kard-um ē dasėnk-eroj gr-ac

Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.

hodvac-ē.

essay.NOM-the

“Aram reads the essay which a schoolmate has written.”

(254) a. 

Ov ē kard-um dasėnk-eroj gr-ac

wh-who he is read-PTCP.PRES. schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.

hodvac-ē?

essay.NOM-the

“Who reads the essay which a schoolmate has written?” (Asking for the subject)

b. 

inč’ ē kard-um Aram-ē?

wh-what he is read-PTCP.PRES. Aram.NOM-the

“What does Aram read?” (Asking for the direct object)

As exemplified below, wh-pronouns, even in subject-function, may also appear embedded, but never at the end of the sentence (if being the sole wh-pronoun in an interrogative sentence). Wh-movement to the sentence’s initial position is optional, whereas wh-movement into the preverbal focus position is highly preferred (except for attributively used wh-pronouns):

(254) c. 

Dasėnker-oj gr-ac hodvac-ē ov ē kard-um?

schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES. essay.NOM-the wh-who he is read-PTCP.PRES.

“Who reads the essay which a schoolmate has written?”

d. 

Aram-ē inč’ ē kard-um?

Aram.NOM-the wh-what he is read-PTCP.PRES.

“What does Aram read?”

277. Sentence initial position as prototypical position of the subject, see Ch. 3.5.1.1. “Subject order”, p. 555f.
e. Ում գրած հոդված-է կարդ-ում Արամ-է?

“Who has written the essay which Aram reads?” (Lit. Whose written essay does Aram read?)

With attributive wh-pronouns, the order of the other constituents in the interrogative sentence remains, (a) either unchanged or (b) undergoes movements:

f. Արամ-է կարդ-ում ում գրած հոդված-է?

“Who has written the essay which Aram reads?” (Lit. Whose written essay does Aram read?)

Preferably, the whole phrase containing the attributive wh-pronoun is moved to the preverbal focus position or even to the sentence’s initial position:

g. Ում գրած հոդված-է կարդ-ում Արամ-է?

“Who has written the essay which Aram reads?”

To summarise:

- the wh-pronoun appears in general in the focus position (in the case of attributive wh-pronouns, the whole phrase containing the wh-pronoun as a modifier), i.e. in the preverbal position; i.e. the order of the verb and the auxiliary appears inverse as auxiliary + verb;
- wh-movement to the sentence’s initial position is optional;
- in particular, wh-pronouns asking for a subject and object occur preferably in the sentence’s initial position.

Multiple Wh-Questions

MEA multiple wh-questions do not exhibit categorial order constraints, and only a slight preference for superiority of the wh-pronoun when asking for the subject.

Generally speaking, the order of the wh-pronouns in a sentence with multiple questions is rather free because of clear case marking, general order preferences of constituents and functional sentence perspective.
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(255) բացահայտ եներկում ուբբան տրվում է գրում:

Elb-or aljik-է erkar namak ē gr-um.
brother-DAT girl.NOM-the long letter.NOM she is write-PTCP.PRES.
“My brother’s daughter writes a long letter.”

- Asking for both subject and direct object:

(255) a. Ու՞ հանձ վուր գրում:  
    Ov inč’ ē gr-um?  
    wh-who.NOM wh-what.NOM it is write-PTCP.PRES.  
    “Who writes what?” (Neutral)

b. Ու՞ հանձ վուր գրում:  
   Ov ē inč’ gr-um?  
   wh-who.NOM it is wh-what.NOM write-PTCP.PRES.  
   “Who writes what?” (The subject wh-pronoun is more marked and thus more 
in focus than the direct object wh-pronoun.)

c. Հանձ վուր ու՞:  
   inč’ ē gr-um ov?  
   wh-what.NOM it is write-PTCP.PRES. wh-who.NOM?  
   “What does who write?” (The direct object wh-pronoun is more marked and 
thus in the focus position.)

(256) բացահայտ եներկում հուդ բացահայտ տրվում է գրում:

Elb-or aljik-է inj erkar namak ē gr-um.
brother-DAT girl.NOM-the 1DAT long letter.NOM she is write-PTCP.PRES.
“My brother’s daughter writes a long letter to me.”

- Asking for subject and indirect object

(256) a. Ու՞ ու՞ հանձ վուր գրում վուր:  
   ov um ē erkar namak gr-um?  
   wh-who.NOM wh-who-DAT it is long letter.NOM write-PTCP.PRES.  
   “Who writes whom a long letter?”

b. Ու՞ ու՞ հանձ վուր գրում վուր:  
   ov ē um erkar namak gr-um?  
   wh-who.NOM it is wh-who-DAT long letter.NOM write-PTCP.PRES.  
   “Who writes whom a long letter?”

278. Please note that this question is not grammatical in English.
Asking for indirect object and direct object

(256) d. ընդհանուր արդյո՞ք նիւ հիու է գրե՞ն;
\[Elb-or\ \ aljik-\varepsilon\ \ um\ \ \varepsilon\ \ int'\ \ \varepsilon\ \ gr-um?\]
brother-DAT \ girl.NOM-the \ wh-who-DAT wh-what.NOM \ she \ is
write-PTCP.PRES.

"Whom does my brother's girl write what?" \(279\)
Unmarked order, both wh-\(\text{s}\) are, however, in the preverbal focus position.

e. ընդհանուր արդյո՞ք նիւ հիու է գրե՞ն;
\[Elb-or\ \ aljik-\varepsilon\ \ um\ \ \varepsilon\ \ int'\ \ \varepsilon\ \ gr-um?\]
brother-DAT \ girl.NOM-the \ wh-who-DAT she \ is \ wh-what.NOM
write-PTCP.PRES.

"Whom does my brother's girl write what?"
The wh-pronoun asking for the indirect object is marked, being in the preverbal focus position.

(256) f. ընդհանուր արդյո՞ք հիու է նիւ գրե՞ն;
\[Elb-or\ \ aljik-\varepsilon\ \ int'\ \ \varepsilon\ \ um\ \ \varepsilon\ \ gr-um?\]
brother-DAT \ girl.NOM-the \ wh-what.NOM \ she \ is \ wh-who-DAT
write-PTCP.PRES.

"What does my brother's girl write whom?"
The wh-pronoun asking for the direct object is marked, being in the preverbal focus position.

- Asking for subject, direct and indirect object

(256) g. նիւ հիու է գրե՞ն;
\[Ov\ \ um\ \ \varepsilon\ \ int'\ \ \varepsilon\ \ gr-um?\]
wh-who.NOM \ wh-who-DAT \ wh-what.NOM \ it \ is \ write-PTCP.PRES

"Who writes what to whom?" (Lit.: Who writes whom what?)

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279. Please note that this question is not grammatical in English.
This is the expected order in the interrogative sentence, i.e. subject – indirect object – direct object. This is an unmarked interrogative sentence, asking for all three constituents with the same emphasis. Thus, in such a case, a change in the order of the three wh-pronouns, which are all in the focus position, would cause ungrammatical utterances. If one of the wh-pronouns should be marked or moved into the preverbal focus position, the order has to be changed, as below:

(256) h. ʾnʾ̀į ʾúgu t ʾnʾiʾū qmnā:

\[\begin{align*}
Ov & \quad \text{in}·\text{c}′ & \quad \text{ē} & \quad \text{um} & \quad \text{gr}·\text{um}?
\end{align*}\]

\(\text{wh-who.nom}\ | \text{wh-what.nom} \text{ it is} \ | \text{wh-who-dat} \ | \text{write-pTCP.pres.}\)

“Who writes what to whom?”

In this order the wh-pronouns asking for the subject and the direct object are “higher” in focus and thus more marked than the wh-pronoun asking for the indirect object.

It seems that the order of the wh-pronouns in MEA is generally determined by pragmatic context and by which constituent asked for is more in the centre of the speaker’s interest. This fact can easily be seen by the movement into the preverbal focus position. If none of the wh-pronouns are marked, i.e. if they appear in a string followed by the finite verb, the order of the wh-pronouns in the interrogative sentence reflects the preferred order of a regular declarative sentence, as e.g. subject–wh (ʾnʾį ʾov who?, ʾ̄uʾįg in ʾc′ “what?”) + object-wh (ʾnʾiʾū um “whom?”, ʾ̄uʾįg in ʾc′ “what?”, ʾ̄u ʾgīh ʾū in ʾc′ “what?”); indirect object-wh (ʾnʾiʾū um “(to) whom?”, ʾ̄u ʾgīh ʾū in ʾc′ “(to) what?”) – direct object-wh (ʾnʾiʾū um “who(m)?”, ʾ̄uʾįg in ʾc′ ʾ̄u ʾgīh ʾū in ʾc′ “what?”) etc.

Re-Confirming Interrogative Sentence

In general a reconfirming question is a kind of question in which the speaker wants to get a confirmation for the uttered question, or he wants to stress his opinion. Usually such additional questions function as a type of request or command, but can also express envy or jealousy; they can use wh-pronouns or not.

(257) ʾnʾį ʾwḥnḥ ʾhūḏ ʾqmtu:

\[\begin{align*}
Du & \quad \text{piṭi inj ʾg}·\text{n}·\text{es?}
\end{align*}\]

\(\text{you.nom} \ | \text{part} \ | \text{I.dat} \ | \text{help-deb.pres.2.sg}\)

“You must help me?” (Meaning: You? – how can somebody like you help me?)

(258) ʾuʾw富贵š ʾwḥnḥtū t ṣuṣḥbāt. (wəbūti) ʾčʾ: āćārān-ē ʾḥār·ān-um ē sovor-el (aynpes) ēʾ-ē?

\(\text{Ačārān.nom-the} \ | \text{Parīz-loc} \ | \text{he is} \ | \text{study-pTCP.perf.} \ | \text{so} \ | \text{neg-it is}\)

“Ačārān has studied in Paris?” (Lit.: is it not so?).

In MEA, re-confirming interrogative sentences can also take the form of leading questions and of echo utterances.

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A leading question is one that suggests an answer that implies that there is a proper answer.

(259) էուսսղարու ժմու:  
sovac է-էս?  
hungry  neg-you are  
“Aren’t you hungry?”

**Echo questions**

An echo question is simply a question, which repeats part or all of a message as a way of having its content confirmed. As can also be seen from the examples above, the intonation of an echo question using wh-pronouns differs from that of regular content interrogatives with wh-pronouns. Whereas in regular content questions the wh-pronoun bears the interrogative rising intonation, in echo questions it is not on the wh-pronoun, but on the constituent which is echo questioned (and thus in focus), and the finite verb (i.e. also the auxiliary in compound tense and mood forms).

There are various kinds of echo questions in MEA.

There is (a) the recapitulatory echo question which repeats a part (or all) of the message. This type of echo question simply confirms the content.

(260) A. էա ձուկ եւայքաւ բայբ: B. էհ Մի էւայքաւ բայբք:  
es juk-է է-հավան-եկի. B: Du ayn է-հավան-եկ-էր?  
I fish.NOM-the neg-like-AOR.1SG B: you that.NOM neg-like-AOR.2SG  
A: I didn’t like the fish. B: You didn’t LIKE it?

There are also echo questions in which wh-pronouns are used to ask for a certain part of the previous utterance that the speaker did not hear or understand:

(261) A. էուս կվարի (նկա հավար): B. էին հի կվարք:  
es kvčar-em (dra hamar) Du inč’ kan-էս?  
I pay-COND.FUT.1SG it-gen post you wh-what do-COND.FUT.1SG  
A: “I will pay for it.” B: “You will WHAT?”  
Note: preferably the interrogative intonation in the echo question is again on the finite verb (if used) and not, as usually found in interrogative sentences, on the wh-pronoun.

(262) A. հու բիրբուր հավարտ: B. էին բիրբուր հի է”?  
A. im elbayr-է hnegat է.  
my brother.NOM-the archaeologist.NOM he is  
B. Ko elbayrn inč’ է?  
your brother.NOM-the wh-what he is?  
A: “My brother is an archaeologist.” B: “WHAT is your brother?”  
Note: the interrogative intonation is on the finite verb form (auxiliary) and not on the wh-pronoun.

Echo question can also be (b) questions about questions.
(263) A. es aysör Anuší-n tes-a. B. - ñeni nù ubawâr:
I today Anuš-DAT-the see-AOR.1.SG you wh-who-DAT
tes-âr?
see-AOR.2.SG

A. “I saw Anush today.” B: “You saw WHO?”
Note: again, the interrogative intonation in the echo question is on the finite verb.

(264) A. du verc'el ès girk'-s?
you take-PTCP.PERF. you are book.NOM-my
B. es verc'el em gr ič'-d?
I take-PTCP.PERF I am pen.NOM-your
A. “Have you borrowed my book?” B: “Have I borrowed your PEN?”
Note: for stronger emphasis, it is also possible to move the object of the echo question, i.e. “pen”, into the preverbal focus position. i.e. grič' em vercrel? In this case, again, the final verbal form, i.e. the auxiliary, has the interrogative intonation.

(265) A. înc' es mtac-um ayd grk'-i masin?
wh-what you are think-PTCP.PRES that book-DAT post
B. înc' em mtac-ûm ayd masin?
wh-what I am think-PTCP.PRES. that post
Note: as above, in the echo question the constituent, i.e. ñiùwóñ ñi mtacum
“think” has the interrogative intonation.

There are also (c) explicatory echo questions that ask for clarification of the first speaker’s utterance. They always use a wh-pronoun and are identical to the wh-question, except for the substitution of the falling exclamatory tone for the rising interrogative tone on the wh-pronoun.

(266) A. ñawrë nîmû waqûwây-u: B.- ñawrë nîyû:
A. Nay-ir ayn ajk-a-n! B. Nay-ir úm?
look-IMP.2.SG that girl-DAT-the look-IMP.2.SG wh-who-DAT?
A. “Look at that girl!” B: “Look at who?”

3.2.3 Imperative sentences

Most commonly an imperative sentence is used to express
- order, commands or instructions
- reproaches, which are usually expressed with prohibitive and hortative sentences
- calls or appeals
The main features of the Eastern Armenian imperative sentence are the verbal form and the prosody, i.e. the logical stress. The logical stress coincides with the imperative stress and is usually put on the verb's last full vowel. In some contexts, however, the stress can also lie on other constituents of the sentence. In such cases the intonation differs a little bit from a regular imperative intonation: it is higher and stronger. Only in the prohibitive is the prohibitive particle ûǰ mi and not the verbal form strongly stressed.

Generally, imperative sentences may be intonated in two ways, depending on their function and the context. The real imperative intonation is high-strong, and the weak intonation for imperative sentences with the function of uttering wishes, beggings etc.

a. Regular Imperative Sentences
A regular imperative sentence is characterised by the use of the imperative mood, most frequently in 2nd person SG and PL (see Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 271f.).

Hortative use is also possible in the 1st person PL of the subjunctive mood.

The grammatical subject (agent) of the imperative sentence is usually inherent in the imperative verbal forms. Sometimes the subject is marked by the use of the personal pronouns in 2nd person SG or PL ḫû du “you”, ḫû ḫû “you”, or the intensive pronouns in 2nd person SG or PL. ḫû ṭink’d “you yourself” ḫû ṭink’neld “you yourselves”, or by the use of a vocative.

Imperative 2nd person may also be used in conditional and concessive clauses without a “pure” imperative meaning, if they have a generalised agent.

(267) ṭê ˈken-em-um es ṭa*jər la* m-a ṭa*j-er-ir
conj wish-PTCP.pres you are perfect be-INF go-IMP.2.SG sell-IMP.2.SG
inč’or un-es ṭu ál-kâ-t-ner-i-n t-ur ew
what-REL have-PRES.2.SG conj poor-PL-DAT-the give-IMP.2.SG conj
erknk’-um ganj-er kunen-as.
heaven-LOC treasure-PL.NOM have-COND.FUT.2.SG

“If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give it to the poor and you will have treasures in heaven!” (Here, 2nd person stands for a generalised agent: ‘if one wishes.’)

b. Analytic Imperative Sentences
An analytic imperative sentence refers to an agent in the 3rd person. The imperative is expressed by means of the particle ḫû ṭol “let” and the verb in the 3rd person SG or PL
of the subjunctive future. Such sentences do not necessarily imply that the hearer is the transmitter of the prescription. This analytical form can be understood as being more prescriptive for the deficient person in the imperative paradigm.

Remember ex. (595), Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 274:

(595) Նզրպում ձ, համաձև համաձևություն է, որը այժմնուրց է լար:  
(Armenpress 27.11.2005)  
normal է նչպես հայտնաբերել է տոլ այդպես էլ  
normal it is how find out-PTCP.PERF. they are part so also  
anen.  
do-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL  
“It is normal, how they have found out; let them also do in that way.”

In such a case the agent must be expressed by a personal name, the personal or intensive pronoun or a noun phrase.

In analytic imperative clauses the subject (agent) is usually placed before the particle տոլ or between the lexicalised particle տոլ and the verb in the subjunctive future. According to Kozintseva, in the case of a marked subject/agent, this is usually placed in front of the imperative particle րուտ (599a). In neutral order, the subject occurs after the particle (599). (See also Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 275, footnote 200)

Pragmatic Meaning

Some verbs in the imperative convey a special pragmatic meaning to the clause. This meaning is often related to the speakers’ evaluation of the action of the main verb.

- The imperative of the verb իմանալ “to know/to learn” often points out that the following content of the main clause or the sentential complement is particularly significant and important. (See Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, examples (601), (602), p. 275)
- The imperative of the verb տեսել “to see/to look” means ‘prevention’, see Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. example (604), p. 276):
- The imperative of the verb փորձել “to try” conveys the impossibility of the embedded action, see Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. example (605), p. 277).

c. Prohibitive Sentences

Prohibitive is a directive expression that signals a prohibition. It is formed with the stressed negative marker ուղ mi and the imperative verb form.

The prohibitive has a strong directive function with a strong intonation. Prohibitive meaning can also be expressed in the negated subjunctive, which is fairly common in spoken Armenian. This variant is much softer and more polite than the regular prohibitive.

(268) Մի գնա գրադարան:

Mi’ gn-a gradaran!

neg go-IMP.2.SG library.NOM

“Do not go to the library!”

(268) ա. Քանի գրադարան:

č’-gn-as gradaran!

neg-subj.fut.2.sg library.nom

“You shall not go to the library!”

In Armenian, verbal forms other than the imperative mood can also convey the function of
the imperative forms to communicate a directive, command, request etc.:

— infinitive
— subjunctive
— Generalised or Impersonal Directives

Generalised or impersonal directives are expressed with the bare infinitive form of the verb.

(269) Ասնի:

č’-cxel

neg-smoke-INF

“No smoking!”

— Softened command

Sentences communicating calls, appeals, wishes, pleas, advice, invitations, proposals etc.
are usually characterised by a weaker prosody rather than the highly stressed imperative
forms and by:

— negated subjunctive future, particularly 2nd person SG
— conditional future 2nd person SG or PL
— present indicative 2nd person SG or PL.

As already mentioned above, the negated subjunctive future is commonly used for a soft-
ened prohibitive.

(270) Ապահովել:

č’-šarž-v-es ayydet-ic’!

neg-move-refl-subj.fut.2.sg. there-abl

“Do not move from there!” (Will you not move from there?)

Conditional future 2nd person is used for “polite” directives, usually only in affirm-
tive use.
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(271) Դուք բոլորը մեր տուն են!  
You.all.nom all-you come-cond.fut.2.pl our house.nom-the  
“You all come to our house!” (Will you all come to our house?)

Present 2nd person has a very similar meaning to an affirmative sentence, the main difference lies in the imperative intonation on the verb; this is very common in spoken Armenian.

(272) Համարձակ տուն է մի կանոն:  
now go-ptcp.pres. you are 1.dat post  
“Now you come to me!”

3.2.4 Exclamatory sentences

Exclamatory sentences in MEA convey the speaker's subjective feelings about the sentence he says i.e.

- the speaker's opinion on a certain person/object/situations/action  
- a wish, demand  
- a pleasant memory  
- despair, discontent and dissatisfaction  
- mockery, irony, scorn  
- call or invitation for an action

They differ from other sentence types primarily in their intonation; they are characterised by a typical rise-fall intonation (and often also by a longer pronunciation of vowels).

Two prototypical functions of exclamatory sentences are greetings or wishing formulas used in social settings and utterances of negative opinion or attitude such as vows, abuses and vulgarisms.

(273) Դուք եմ:  
Apr-es.  
live-subj.fut.2.sg  
“You shall live.” (Meaning: Well done!)

The main characteristics of an exclamatory sentence in SMEA are its intonational and syntactic features.

- A high and strong intonation, which stress can, in principle, lie on each constituent of the sentence, but mainly on interjections or relative/interrogative pronouns.  
- Usually a regular declarative sentence is used, just with an exclamatory intonation. The use of interjections is very common. There is no change in word order.
– Usually the verbs of an exclamatory sentence appear in the indicative, imperative or conditional.
– In written MEA, the exclamatory intonation is indicated by the “exclamatory sign” on the stressed vowel of the word.

(274) Օ, ինչ շքել դլյակ ուն-եկ ասաց.  (Grakanut’yun 4: 200)
Oh, what luxurious fortress have you said the king.

(275) Վայ, այս ինչ-քան կալիկ-եր կան!  (Mayreni 3: 231)
Wow, how many flowers are there?

(276) Փորձից զրկերի ոչի, ութ հզավասիր ձարբեր:  (Armenpress 17.06.2006)
It was a primitive work, but what a taste!

(277) Ուրբ Երուսաղեմի տաճար մթեր ժամանակ. «Օրհնություն Դավիդի որդի»:  (Armenpress 03.04.2006)
On the Lord’s entry into Jerusalem, the children were crying (saying) ‘Hosanna to the son of David!’

3.3 Clause patterns

3.3.1 Simple sentences

Distinguishing the three structural types of sentences has previously been explored. The simple sentence is regarded as the most basic type of a sentence, containing only one independent clause.
A simple sentence can be as short as one single word in “one-constituent” sentences, but usually it has a (finite) verb plus obligatory or optional constituents such as subjects, objects, adverbials, modifiers etc. The latter type is considered the more frequently used and regular type of simple sentence.

3.3.1.1 One-constituent sentences
The main characteristics of a MEA one-constituent sentence are that they consist of a single constituent, which is neither subject or predicate, but preferably a single noun, a finite verb (without overt subject) or a verb in the infinitive.

One-constituent sentences are usually used to shorten sentences, particularly in spoken Armenian, but also to provide an utterance with a special style both in spoken and written Armenian. Thus, prosody is also an essential feature of one-constituent sentences.

One-constituent sentences can be subdivided into two major groups

- Non-finite, without grammatical categories of person/number
- Finite, with an overtly expressed grammatical category of person/number

3.3.1.1.1 Non-finite one-constituent sentences
Impersonal one-constituent sentences do not contain finite verbs, thus also no copular or auxiliary verbs.

The central constituent of the sentence can be expressed by an infinite verb or a by noun.

A non-finite sentence expressed with a verb in the infinitive, usually expresses orders, proposals, questions, messages, wishes or utterances of surprise. As such they commonly have imperative or interrogative intonation patterns in spoken language. In written language they are often used in all kinds of prohibition signs.

The non-finite one-constituent sentence may also be expressed with only a noun or noun phrase.

a. A noun in the nominative
b. A quantifying noun-phrase consisting of numeral and head-noun
c. Proper nouns, such as person names, place names etc.
d. A qualifying noun-phrase consisting of an adjective and head-noun, commonly expressing formulae used in social situations

(278) Քայք ավեապատ:
       Bari  չանապարհ
good  journey.NOM
“Have a nice journey!”

e. A noun with or without a modifier used as an exclamation of surprise, anger, fear etc.

f. With a personal name or a noun designating a person as vocative with specific vocative (exclamatory) intonation (in spoken) and punctuation (in written).

\[(280)\] Աշոտ! "Ašot!"

Depending on the function, nominal infinite one-constituent sentences are commonly used as a stylistic device in written, even poetic, language or in spoken, colloquial languages.

### 3.3.1.1.2 Finite one-constituent sentences

The main characteristic of finite one-constituent sentences is the existence of a finite verb, i.e. a morphologically overt person. Usually this type of sentence is also labelled “subjectless” sentence, since there is no overt subject. They differ, however, from sentences with an omitted subject (zero-subject clauses), in which the subject (a) expresses a concrete and not a neutral or general subject and (b) might be re-introduced.

Depending on the semantic-pragmatic function of the expressed person of the one-constituent sentence, one distinguishes the following sub-types:

- subjectless finite one-constituent sentences
- indefinite finite one-constituent sentences
- general finite one-constituent sentences

- Subjectless finite one-constituent sentences can usually be found in expressions denoting
  a. Natural events: such as weather, climate, weather conditions

\[(281)\] Անջրև է գալիս.

\[\text{rain.NOM it is go-PTCP.PRES.}\]

“It is raining.”

\[(282)\] Ծուծեց.

\[\text{grow dark-AOR.3.SG}\]

“It was growing dark. It began to darken.”

b. Time: times of day, months, seasons
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(283) ამარ ო.
summer.nom it is
“It is summer.”

c. General states and conditions.

(284) ხალახუ’უნ ო.
peace.nom it is
“There is peace. It is peaceful.”

- Indefinite finite one-constituent sentences are structurally sentences in which verbs express an indefinite, or non-concrete subject: the agent of the action – the grammatical subject – is unknown. To give a more general and indefinite impression of the contents of the sentence, the verb often exhibits in the plural.

The following verb forms are commonly used in one-constituent sentences to convey indefinite meaning:
- Present tense, 2nd SG.
- Present tense, 3rd PL.
- Present perfect, 3rd PL.
- Aorist, 3rd PL.

(285) თოშკ ო თალ-იმ.
pension.nom they are give-PTCP.PRES.
“Retirement is paid.” (Lit. They give pension)

(286) დრ-ენ ზანგ-ე თვ-ე-ინ.
door-dat bell.nom-the give-AOR.3.PL
“They rang the doorbell”. (Somebody rang the doorbell. The doorbell rang).

General finite one-constituent sentences are used in both spoken and written language, but are less wide-spread than regular sentences with more than one constituent.

They have a general meaning, expressing general actions and states, but also broad advice, and very often sayings, proverbs and familiar quotations; that means that the verbal form can express all persons, moods and tenses, with its grammatical subject not concrete, but general.

3.3.1.1.3 One-word sentences
One-word sentences represent a special type of simple, one-constituent sentence. A one-word sentence is expressed, rather predicatably, by a single word.
Such sentences are a feature of conversation: they occur commonly in spoken language,
but also in written dialogues as one-word-replies, affirmation, negation or question.
According to their pragmatic function, three sub-groups are distinguished.

- Affirmative one-word sentences: the speaker answers the question of his conversational
  partner with affirmative words, such as Այո:  "Yes" Իհարկե: "Of course"
 Անսուշ: "Certainly. Of course." Անպայման: "Absolutely!"
- Negative one-word sentences: the speaker answers the question of his partner with
  negative replies, using one-word sentences such as: Ոչ: "No." Ինայ: "Never. Not at all." Երբեք: "Never" etc.
- Interrogative one-word sentences: one-word questions occur commonly in spoken
  and written conversation. Not only interrogative pronouns may express one-word
  questions, but also affirmative or negative verbs with the interrogative intonation
  respectively question marked. Ուհի:  "Why?" Կեքա:  "Really?" Այո: "Yes?" Ոչ: "No?" etc.

3.3.1. Ellipsis
The term ellipsis here refers to incomplete sentences or sentence fragments: in questions
and answers previously mentioned linguistic material is often omitted due to economic
reasons.

Ellipses occur in MEA with the following structural characteristics:

a. the grammatical subject is omitted: usually with finite verbs – since the category’s
  person/number are expressed by the verb;
b. the predicate (finite verb) is omitted: the predicate may be omitted if it has already
  occurred in the same sentence, or it is clear from the context. An omitted predicate
  is a main feature of folk sayings in Armenian;
c. other constituents, if they have already occurred in the same sentence, or it is clear
  from the context.

(287) Ինչ է այս? հարց’ երկ K’սանտ’ոս-է զարմակ-ակ.
wh-what it is this? ask-aor.3.sg K’ sant’os.nom-the surprise-PTCP.RES.
Lezu ter im.
Tongue.nom lord.nom my.
“What is this?” asked Xanthos surprised. “A tongue, my Lord.”

Ellipsis in the answer to the question, the predicate – in this case the copular- is
omitted.

284. See more on ellipses in Ch. 3.3.2.1. “Coordinated Clauses”, p. 417f.
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3.3.1.3 Impersonal sentences

As mentioned above, MEA has the possibility to express impersonal sentences. The subject of such sentences is (a) unknown, not concrete, or (b) general.

MEA has two methods to express impersonal or general meaning.

- active sentences with verbs in the 3rd PL.
- passive sentences with the omitted agent (=grammatical subject).

(289) Մարդ-ու-ն էնկեր-ով են կանաչ-ում:
Mard-u-n enker-ov en canač'-um.
person-dat-the friend-inst they are know-ptcp.pres.
“You know a person from his friend.”

(290) Այսոր էլ դրակ- կարդաչ-ում են մեկ հետակրատուր-ամբ.
Aysor el kardac'-v-um en mec hetak'rkarut'y-amb.
today still they.nom read-pass-ptcp.pres. they are big interest-inst
“Today they are still read with great interest.”

There is no semantic difference between these two methods, but there is a difference in style and in use. Whereas active verbs in the 3rd person plural are more preferably used in spoken language, the impersonal passive more frequently occurs in written language. (see Ch. 3.1.2.2.1. “Passivisation”, p. 340, examples (77) and (77a)).

3.3.2 The complex sentence

3.3.2.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordinated clauses are syntactic constructions combining two or more units of the same type to a larger unit by maintaining the same semantic relations; these units are usually clauses.

In MEA, the units to combine are linked in form of asyndetic and syndetic coordination.

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Asyndetic coordinate clauses

In asyndetic coordination the clauses are combined without an overt linker, i.e. in spoken MEA intonation is the only means to indicate the coordinate in the structure; in written MEA it is punctuated with comma or point.

(291) երևաց’ լուսառլ-է վեր կալավ վալորդյան
appear-aor.3.sg bright star.nom-the stand-up-aor.3.sg of tomorrow
zɛp’yũr-ɛ.

breeze.nom-the

“The bright star appeared, tomorrow’s breeze stood up.”

Semantically, the relationship between asyndetic coordinated clauses can be:

- temporal, i.e. simultaneous or successive actions, events, states are coordinated;
- causal;
- enumerate, i.e. enumeration of actions, events, states etc.

Syndetic coordinate clauses

Syndetic coordinate clauses use conjunctions to link the clauses. Depending on the semantics of the conjunction, one can distinguish the following semantic types of syndetic coordinated sentences in MEA:

- Conjoined coordinated sentences, i.e. “and”-sentences, using ք եր, ք ու;
- Disjunctive coordinated sentences, i.e. “or”-sentences, using քամ, ք թէ;
- Adversative coordinated sentences, i.e. “but”-sentences, using բայց, քալվար sakayn, հով իսկ մինչդեղ “while, whereas” etc.
- There is also a range of correlative conjunctions, conveying
  - copulative meaning, such as ք ոչկ ....այլ ոչ’ միայն…այլ “not only…. but also”;  
  - adversative meaning such as ք թե…այլ ոչ’ թէ…այլ “(with additional negative meaning) “not..., but”, թէ....apa....

(292) Avan-um unewor geljuk ēr na ew bolor-ɛ
settlement-loc wealthy farmer.nom he was he.nom conj allnom-the
naxanj-um ēin nran.
envy-ptcp.pres. they were he.dat

“He was a wealthy farmer in the settlement, and everybody envied him.”

286. All these conjunctions are used for both phrasal and sentential coordination.
A considerable part of the Armenian cemetery was destroyed in February 2003, and the tombstones were levelled with a bulldozer.

They can only present complaint(s), but one cannot regard that a doctrine.

Karen was registered under the address Buzand 101, but in reality he resides at another address.

The greedy rich man burnt in the fires of hell, whereas poor Lazarus sat at the side of father Abraham.
(297) Na naew ēndgc-el ē or hakamartūt’yun-ē
d he.nom also underline-ptcp.perf. he is conj conflict.nom-the
kar-ol en luc-el oč’ té mijnord-ner-ē ayl
can-ptcp.pres they are solve-inf conj mediator.nom-the conj
kohm-er-ē.
party-pl.nom-the
“He also highlighted that not the mediators could solve the conflict, but the parties.”

(298) Na eł-el ē oč’ miayn anvani lezvaban mec
He.nom be-ptcp.perf. he is conj famous linguist.nom great
mard aylew mec mankavarž.
person.nom conj great pedagogue
“He was not only a famous linguist and great person, but also a great pedagogue.”

As in many other languages, both conjunctive and disjunctive conjunctions may be used for multiple coordinations, whereas adversative (and causals) are strictly binary.

(299) č’em karc-um or ays kam ayn erkir-ē
neg-I am believe-ptcp.pres. conj this conj that country.nom-the
kam mijazgaiyin kara’yč’-ē kar-ol ē partadr-el
conj international structure.nom-the can-ptcp.pres. it is compel-inf
mez ēndun-el xalalapah už-er-i-n.
we.dat accept-inf peace-keeping force-pl-dat-the
“I do not believe, that this or that country, or the international organisation can compel us to accept peace-keeping troops.”

Common in MEA are conjunctive and disjunctive conjunctions, which, if used for multiple coordinations in a certain order, may also convey a correlative meaning.

In MEA the following frequently used conjunctions convey the following meanings:

- correlative conjunction: կամ...կամ; ոչ-ոչ t’ē ... t’ē; “and...and; both...and”;
- correlative disjunction: կամ ....կամ kam....kam “either ....or”;
- negative correlation disjunction: ոչ-ոչ oč’‘...oč’’ “neither ...nor”.

(300) t’urk’-er-ē konferans-i skzb-um ew nkar-el
turk-pl.nom-the conference-dat start-loc conj draw-ptcp.perf.
en ew tesnyut’ en verc’r-el.
they are conj demo material nom they are take-PTCP PERF.

“At the beginning of the conference the Turks have both drawn and taken demonstration material.”

(301) թաղ համար Աֆղանիստանից և փոքրիկ օրինաչաígեր թեմա եզակի, իսկ ապահովում արմատներ են անցմանավորում:
(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

kam irenk’ Sahmanadrut’yun-ě ew gorc-ol örenk-ner-ě
conj they constitution nom-the conj work-PTCP SUB law PL nom-the
lav č’-git-en kam parzapes zbalv-um en
well neg know PRES 3 PL conj simply work ON-PTCP PRES they are
ač’kakaput’y-amb.
glossing things OVER-INST

“Either they do not know the Constitution or the laws in effect well, or they simply work on glossing things over.”

**Coordination Reduction or Coordination Ellipsis**

MEA also allows non-constituent coordination. In such sentences, not each coordinand is a regular full syntactic constituent; this is called coordination reduction or ellipsis. The ellipsis may happen with verbal and noun phrases. The main function of such non-constituent coordination is that identical material should not be repeated in one sentence.

Ellipsis is very common in coordinated sentences. The most common ellipsis is that of the verb (gapping) and that of the right periphery of the first clause – usually direct objects. Being a pro-drop language, ellipsis of the subject is wide-spread in MEA; i.e. personal pronouns are not necessarily used in the second clause of a coordinated sentence.

The ellipsis regarding the verb might be full or partial in MEA. In the case of a synthetic verb form, the verb is totally deleted. In the case of an analytic verb form, the finite auxiliary has to be deleted (in case of the same subject).

(302) թղթար դղթար, հենց հարմար ապահովում։ (Hayoc’ lezu 8: 31)

K’uyr-ě kgn-a dproc’ isk inkè
sister nom-the go-COND FUT 3 SG school nom conj he nom

mankapartez.

kindergarten nom

“The sister will go to school, but he to kindergarten.” (S [V] adv. + S [ ] adv.)

(303) ըծայրացրել եռու տեղական նա արեցացրել կարճ։ (Hayoc’ lezu 8: 31)

jerč-er-ě dr-el ēr ayt-i-n u
hand PL nom-the put-PTCP PERF he was cheek DAT the conj

ačk’er-ě p’āk-ēl.
eye PL nom the close PTCP PERF

“He had put his hands on the cheek and had closed his eyes.”
(O V [+AUX] adv. + O [ ] + V)
If the verb of the second – the coordinated – clause is negated, the negative element is maintained in ellipsis as a particle կ "not":

\[(304)\] Կենս եսքնելաբան Ṿհհա էմեւ էմեւ, հեռի եսք (Հայոց’ լեզու 8: 31)

\`\`My sister has watched that film, but I (have) not.” (O S [V + Aux] Conj S [ ] neg)

In MEA, the forward ellipsis, in which the ellipsis is in the second clause, is more common than the backward ellipsis, in which the ellipsis is in the first clause. The forward ellipsis usually consists in the ellipsis of the verb,287 but in fact other elements can be omitted, as in (305) (306).

MEA allows medial and final forward ellipses; initial ellipsis, however, is highly unusual and would represent a marked order of V or NP.

\[(305)\] Հայոց վերնիստ ջորեր վերնիսբ վերնիստ, հեռի վերնիս վերնիստ:
\`
Vardan-ե sir-um չ Ani-i-n isk Ani-n
\`
Vardan.nom-the love-ptcp.pres. he is Ani-dat-the conj Ani.nom-the

Vardan-i-n.
Vardan-dat-the

“Vardan loves Ani, and Ani Vardan.”

Forward medial ellipsis of the verb: S [V] O + S [ ] O

\[(306)\] Ռան կասկած կասկած կասկած, հեռի կասկած կասկած:
\`
Ani-n usuc' -i-n bac'ik ułark-ec' isk
\`
Ani.nom-the teacher-dat-the postcard.nom send-aor.3.sg conj

Aram-ե namak.
Aram.nom-the letter.nom

“Ani sent a postcard to the teacher, and Aram a letter.”

Forward ellipsis; for verb forward final ellipsis, for indirect object forward medial ellipsis: S [IO] O [V] + S [ ] O [ ]

\[(307)\] Գարգալ գարգալ գարգալ (գարգալ):
\`
Tatik-ե lavaš չ t'x-um isk menk'
\`
grandmother.nom-the lavash.nom she is bake-ptcp.pres conj we.nom

ut-um enk' (ayn).
eat-ptcp.pres. we are (that)

“Grandmother bakes lavash, and we eat (it).”

Forward medial ellipsis of the direct object: S [O] V + S [ ] V

287. In linguistics usually referred to as gapping, since ellipsis of the verb leaves a gap between the remaining verbal constituents, mainly S and O.
Chapter 3. Syntax

3.3.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are usually defined as clauses that are syntactically, semantically and pragmatically dependent from a main clause (or even another subordinate clause). The most
important aspects in classifying a clause as independent are formal markers of subordination, such as subordinating conjunction, relative or interrogative pronouns or adverbs, the function of the independent clause in relation to the main clause (subject, object, adverbial) as well as various semantic aspects (in adverbials: temporal, spatial, causal etc.).

As in many other natural languages, MEA distinguishes formally the following subgroups of subordinate clauses with an introducing element.

– Clauses that are introduced with subordinators (=subordinating conjunctions; mainly adverbial and conditional clauses).
– Clauses that are introduced with relative pronouns or interrogative pronouns (relative clauses).

Indirect speech in MEA is obligatorily linked to the main clause by means of a conjunction.

Conjunctionless, i.e. unintroduced subordinated clauses are usually found in

– infinitive constructions
– participle constructions

In MEA a subordinate clause may function as a/an

– subject clause
– object clause
– attributive clause referring to an antecedent in the main clause
– adverbial clause
– clause that does not refer to specific elements in the main clause, but to the main clause as a whole

The semantics of the subordinate clause depends, particularly in adverbial clauses, on the semantics of the subordinating conjunction.

Syntactically, subordinate clauses may appear

– preceding the main clause
– following the main clause
– center-embedded.

In MEA, specific semantics of some verb groups may also generate subordinate clauses; usually, these are verbs that need a complement, such as

– manipulation verbs
– desiderative and volitional verbs
– perception verbs
– knowledge verbs
– verbs expressing propositional attitude
– utterance verbs. (Cristofaro 2003: 99)
Manipulation verbs usually co-occur with their dependent complements in two-ways, (a) with the zero-infinitive; (b) with the subordinating conjunction NSString or “that” and the verb in the subjunctive.

(312) Առավույտների անհրաժեշտության փոխարինումը կարևոր է ու փոխազդված առմամբ:
(Armenpress 09.04.2006)
\[
\text{Masnakic'-ner-ě} \quad \text{stip-v-ac} \quad \text{klin-en} \quad \text{kang aʁn-el}
\]
participant-PL.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.PL stop-INF
\[
\text{ew giser-el} \quad \text{ćanaparh-i-n.}
\]
CONJ overnight-INF way-DAT-the

“The participants will be forced to stop and to overnight on the way.”

(313) Այսուհանգը տեղի է ու ասալում, դրա պայմանը տարբեր է կարգի:
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)
\[
\text{nran jerbakal-um en ew stip-um or}
\]
he.DAT arrest-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ force-PTCP.PRES. CONJ
\[
\text{zoh-er matuc’-i kuɾ-er-i-n.}
\]
sacrifice-PL.NOM offer-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG idol-PL-DAT-the

“They arrest and force him that he brings sacrifices to the idols. ” (They arrest and force him to bring sacrifices to the idols.)

Although there is no difference in meaning between these two constructions with manipulation verbs, speakers prefer the infinitive construction in both spoken and written Armenian. It seems to be the higher stylistic construction.

Desiderative and Volitional Verbs

The Armenian verbs ավատար uzenal “to wish”, կանոնալ c’ankanal “to wish/to desire”, ավատար kamenal “to wish/to desire”, etc. can also be used in two ways:

a. with the infinitive of its dependent verb

(314) Այսօր քանի թե ինչ է դրանցից զավակը, թեև նմանների թե ինչ է
(Armenpress 24.10.2005)
\[
\text{nrank’ uz-um en im k’it’-ē}
\]
they.NOM want-PTCP.PRES. they are my nose.NOM-the
\[
\text{ç’ex-i mej mt-ćn-el baye’es pndel-u em im}
\]
mud-DAT POST enter-caus-INF CONJ I.NOM affirm-PTCP.FUT. I am my
\[
\text{çmartut’yun-ē.}
\]
veracity.NOM-the

“They want to put my nose into mud, but I will affirm my veracity.”

b. with a subordinate clause, introduced with the conjunction NSString or “that” and the verb of the subordinate clause in the subjunctive.
In spoken Armenian a third version is wide-spread and usually used. This form is so pervasive in colloquial Armenian, that it is even gradually entering literary Armenian:

c. Without a subordinating conjunction but with the verb in the subjunctive

(315) ա. Կարճասի պոտու Կառն ապահովագրում:

\[
\text{Vardan-n uz-um ē or Vrastan} \\
\text{Vardan.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. he is CONJ Georgia.NOM} \\
\text{go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG}
\]

“Vardan wants you go to Georgia”

(316) Ադրագան իսպահապատիչ է պատմո, որ հայ-թուրքական սահմանը բացակայի: (Armenpress 17.05.2006)

\[
\text{Igdir-i kālakapat-ē ē'i uz-um or} \\
\text{Igdir-DAT mayor.NOM-the neg-he is want-PTCP.PRES CONJ} \\
\text{hay-t'urkakan sahman-ē bac'-v-i.} \\
\text{Armenian-Turkish border.NOM-the open-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG}
\]

“The mayor of Igdir does not want that the Armenian-Turkish border is opened”

Perception Verbs

Neither the semantic distinction of perception verbs into two main types, sensory and cognitive interpretation nor the interpretation of the perception as direct or indirect,\(^{288}\) seem to affect the admission of the ‘that’ complement (=subordinate clause) and infinitive for all

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\(^{288}\) Several natural languages, including English, distinguish between the use of the subordinate clause or the infinitive in the interpretation of the perception, i.e. whether the perception is direct or indirect. Direct perception means a direct physical perception of the event and also a requirement of temporal simultaneity between the act of perception and the situation perceived.
types of perception verbs. It seems that there are only stylistic – and no semantic- differences between the use of infinitive and subordinate clauses.

Perception verbs thus combine with the direct object (asking “who?” “what”?) (318), with the infinitive (319) (320) and with a subordinate clause introduced with the conjunctions որ or “that” (319 b). In cases where interrogative pronouns are used in the subordinate clause, they tend to co-occur with the conjunction որ “that” as preceding the interrogative pronoun.289

(318) Մալինկա-ն երեք չ-ի տես-է իր մոր-է.
Malinka-n  erbek’  č’-i  tes-el  ir  mor-ē.
“Malinka has never seen her mother.”

(319) Հու մասին փորձագիր գրես:
es  ls-éc’i  Vardan-i  gal-ē.
“I heard Vardan coming.”

(319) ո. Հու մասին կարող գրես է:
es  ls-éc’i  or  Vardan-ē  gal-is  ē.
“I heard that Vardan was coming.”

(320) Բայց այս, այս վերջն տվելու անհրաժեշտություն այն գրես, որ երեք հետ-ի հետ նման է:
Bayc’  aha  ays  verjers  cnol-ner-i  gerezman-i-n  ayc’-i
“But, look, recently coming to visit the parents’ grave, he felt that they remember him.”

(321) երբ երբ դիմում էին եւ նշեկ ու հանդես գան, հասեցած կործանի առաջանում է:
erb  sl’ta-n  känd-um  es  u  tsn-um
“When you break the chain and see (that) how they are tangled and the traces are lost, you are surprised.”

Cognition verbs signify a state of knowledge or a process of acquisition of knowledge that can also co-occur with a dependent clause, e.g. կառուցել լուսանկար “to construct a photograph”, հավանություն հասկանալ “understand/ perceive etc.”, etc. This clause is usually linked to the verb with the subordinators, որ ուև “that”, բե ուև “that” and/or interrogative pronouns.

(322) Կա գենետիկորեն ճկում-աչ նուն բակ’
exist-PRES.3.SG genetically modify-pass-PTCP.RES. food.NOM CONJ
mer կենտրոնակայան-է գիտի ուև Hayastan-ում է’-ենկ’
our centre.NOM-the know-PRES.3.SG CONJ Armenia-LOC neg-we are
էնդում-ում այդ պարեն-է տեսակ-է.
accept-PTCP.PRES. that victuals-DAT kind.NOM-the
“There is genetically modified food, but our centre knows that we do not accept that kind of victuals in Armenia.”

(323) Եթե հեռանք պատրաստված երբեք ուև հայրեն, բե հեռանք պատրաստված երբեք հայրեն՝
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)
Ev irenk’ derasan-ner-է erbek’ է’-en imac’-el
conj they.NOM actor-PL.NOM-the never neg-they are know-PTCP.PERF.
t’ե irenc’ nkar-oł ka xal-i
conj they.DAT photograph-PTCP.SUB. exist-PRES.3.SG play-DAT
pah-i-n.
moment-DAT-the
“And the actors never knew (recognised), that there was a person photographing them during the moment of the play.”

– Verbs Expressing Propositional Attitudes.

There are two ways of expressing propositional attitudes.

a. Directly with expressions such as կարելի է “it is possible that”, հավանություն հասկանալ “it is probable that”, հավանություն հասկանալ “it is certain that”, etc.

b. Indirectly with cognition verbs such as կանկալ mtcel, կարելի karcel “to think/ to believe; to suppose” կանկալ kaskacel “to doubt”, կանկալ vaxenal “to fear” etc.\(^\text{290}\)

In the direct expressions, infinitive constructions are highly preferred, as below:

\(^{290}\) Please note that in MEA the subordinated clauses that depend on verbs expressing propositional values – even in negation – the verbs do not appear in the subjunctive mood.
Verbs of cognition commonly have dependent clauses that can occur without a subordinator or with the subordinators որ or “that” or որտե “that” (often with following interrogative pronouns).

(325) Կարդեմ եմ, դառնում ենսկզբնական նշանի էմ ու մատակարանի մասամբ եռչ առաքել էմ: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

Karc-um em deřews čanaparhl skzb-i-n enk' believe-PTCP.PRES. I am still way-DAT beginning-DAT-the we are

ew amenahèșt mas-n enk' anc'-el miayn. easiest part.NOM-the we are pass-PTCP.PERF. only

“I believe (that) we are still at the beginning of the journey and (that) we have only passed the easiest part.”

(326) կարծիք ուսուցե՛ն էմ որ եզրակացնե՛նք աշխատանք էմ: (Ararot 07.04.2006)

t' ol irenk' mtac-en t'e inè' let-IMP.2.SG they.NOM think-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL conj what.NOM

lucum-ner petk' è t-an. solution-PL.NOM give-DEB.FUT.3.PL

“Let them think what solutions they have to offer.”

(327) Էս կարդեմ էմ որ եզրակացնե՛նք աշխատանք էմ: (Ararot 07.04.2006)

Bayc' es xist kaskac-um em or nrank' conj I.NOM heavy doubt-PTCP.PRES. I am conj they.NOM

k'nmark-el en inè'-or nor ařajark-ner. discuss-PTCP.PERF. they are any new proposal-PL.NOM.

“But I heavily doubt that they have discussed any new proposals.”
– Verbs of utterance

These verbs such as ասել  "to say”, թողարկել  "to report/to tell”, հարցել  "to ask”, պատասխանել  "to answer” , նշել  "to annotate” , հատուկ  "to notice/to remark” etc. may be used for both direct and indirect speech to convey the content of somebody’s utterance.

If used in indirect speech the reported speech is regarded as a subordinated clause, introduced with the subordinators որ “that”, որոնք “that/whether”. The detailed description of indirect speech, as well as the required morphosyntactic transformations of directly reported speech into indirect speech, can be found in the Ch. 3.4.4. “Indirect Speech”, p. 542f.

(329) «Թարգեր, հիմնադրված տնտեսական իրավունքի, դրանցից կենսաբանական», անան Ա.Մեդինաքու (Armenpress 27.11.2005)

Unfortunately right neg-have-PAST.1.PL they.DAT permit-INF-DAT

orpeszi k‘veark-en as-ac’ A. Smbatyan-ė.

“A. Smbatyan said, ‘Unfortunately we had no right to permit them to vote.’”

(330) Կարևոր հատուկ է, որ բոլորը վերադարձնեն վերադարձնեն ու զարգանալու ընթացքում տարբեր սեփականական

or Lekavar-ė nkat-um ē or k’ič’-k’ič’

Leader.NOM-the remark-PTCP.PRES. he is CONJ bit-bit

veran-um en naew kalakayin ew gyulakan

disappear-PTCP. PRES. they are also urban CONJ rural

bnak‘i-ner-i mijew el-ac tarberut’yun-ner-ē.

inhabitant-PL-DAT POST be-PTCP.RES. difference-PL.NOM-the

“The leader remarks that the established differences between urban and rural inhabitants are also vanishing bit by bit.”

(331) Hayastan-i nerkaya’ac’iĉ-’n asac’ or da oĉ’ ir

Armenia-DAT representative.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ that CONJ his

iravasut’y-an oĉ’ ēl k’mar-k-v-ol têma-yi het

competence-DAT CONJ also discuss-pass-PTCP.SUBJ. issue-DAT POST

orewē kap ē’uni.

any relation.NOM neg-have-PRES.3.SG

“Armenia’s representative said that this had not any relation either with his competence or with the issue being discussed.”
3.3.2.2.1 Adverbial subordinate clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses correspond to the circumstances under which the main clause takes place. (Cristofaro 2003: 155). Thus the subordinate clause may represent the following types of interclausal relations with the main clause (Kortmann 1997: 80):

a. time
b. place/location
c. reason
d. purpose
e. manner
f. measure and degree
g. consecutive
h. explicative
i. conditional
j. concessive
k. comparative

a. Time Adverbials

Depending on the semantics of the conjunctions, adverbials expressing time relations may describe the following interclausal relations:

- simultaneity
- anteriority
- posteriority
- terminus
- contingency

The following subordinators are used to express temporal meaning ṭηr erb “when”, ṭηr erb or “when”, ṭųg henc’ “just”, ṭųg ṭη henc’ or “as soon as”, ṭųg ṭη kani der “meanwhile”.

The interrogative pronoun ṭηr erb “when” is often used to articulate not only simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority of actions/events but also temporal relative clauses.

(332) Հեռիշ ասենք այն ժամանակ, եթե երեխաները չէին հանդի անցած պատչառան:
Anjrew-n  sks-v-ec’  ayn  žamanak  erb  erexa-ner-č
rain.nom-the  start-antic-aor.3.sg  that  time.nom  rel  child-pl.nom-the
der  č’-ēn has-el  patsparan-i-n.
yet  neg-they were  arrive-ptcp.perf.  shelter-dat-the
“The rain started at the time, when the children had not yet arrived at the shelter.”
(333)  I had an accident, while I was passing near the canyon.

(334)  I was scared to see a person portrayed at the side of the government armed with a gun of the 'Makarov' type.

(335)  We shall note that the ban started to become effective from December 2002, when only in Yerevan about 200 illegally cut down pine trees had been confiscated.

(336)  When my big (older) brother had passed the street, he saw his friend.

Particularly in written Armenian, subordinate temporal clauses expressing anteriority, posteriority and simultaneity are frequently expressed not by means of a subordinate clause introduced by էս էբ “when”, but by means of infinitive constructions.
Thus, anteriority is expressed by means of infinitive constructions, usually with the postposition հետո heto “after” and the infinitive in the ablative.

Posteriority is expressed with the infinitive in the ablative and the postposition առ araj “before”. Simultaneity can be articulated with the infinitive in the instrumental, but more often with the processual participle -իս -is.291

(337) Բնակարան-է ստանալ-ն հետո մենք-է այակ-է մենք-է 

 bnakaran-ê stanal-uc’ heto menk’ ajakec’-um enk’

 apartment.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL POST we.NOM assist-PTCP.PRES. we are

 naew ašxatank’-i telavorn-an harc’um.

 also work-DAT disposal-DAT question-LOC

 “After having received the apartment we also assisted in the question of disposal of work.”

(338) Տուն գնալ-ն առ նկարակալ-ի վրա մի մակ’ուր կտավ

 Tun gnal-uc’ araj nkarakal-i vra mi mak’ur ktav

de -DAT post easel -DAT POST INDEF clean canvas.NOM

 ēi dr-el.

 I was put-PTCP.PERF.

 “Before I went home I had put a clean canvas on the easel.”

(339) Անտառ-ում սունկ հավակել-է Մադլեն-է

 Antař-um sunk havakel-is Madlen-ê

 forest-LOC mushroom.NOM collect-PTCP.PROC. Madlen.NOM-the

 korec’-ec’ t-an banali-n.

 lose-AOR.3.SG house-DAT key.NOM-the

 “Madlen lost her front door key when (during) she was collecting mushrooms in the forest”

Note: the subordinator իսոր կան դեռ “meanwhile; because; as long as” denotes both time and cause in subordinate clauses. In temporal clauses it usually expresses duration or co-extensiveness.

291. Please note, that in MEA the function of subordinating conjunctions denoting “before” or “after” is fulfilled either by the postpositions հետո heto “after” and առ araj “before” (with infinitive constructions) or by means of the subordinator հենց ṇε henc’ or “as soon as” (anteriority), the subordinator մինչև minc’ew “until, before” and the adverb հայտարար նախ կետ naḵkan “before” (posteriority) used as subordinating conjunction.
The subordinator հենց է henc’ or “as soon as” usually expresses immediate anteriority, and sometimes also the contingency “whenever”.

The subordinator նախից naxk’ an “before” expresses posteriority.
kpahanj-ven naxkan menk’ khasn-enk’
require-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL CONJ we NOM arrive-COND.FUT.1.PL
mijin evropac’-u bareke’ut’y-an astičan-i.
average European-DAT welfare-DAT level-DAT
“In the case of these quick tempos, decades will be necessary before we will arrive at the level of the welfare of an average European.”

The starting point of an action/event/state (“terminus a quo”) is expressed by a subordinated clause introduced by the subordinating phrase ʷիլ ժամանական չվածքի բարձրություն, ինչ (բեր) ayn žamanakvanic’, int’ (erb) “from that time, that (when)...”

(345) Շարժման ժամանակ է 33 տարին ավելի ազդեցության, ինչ ինչպես հետազոտական բազուկ դուրս կան 47 տարի ամենաբարձր կատարումները այս ժամանակ. (Armenpress 17.06.2006)
Aysor Iran-un ū 33 tari-n ayn òr-ic’
today be completed-PTCP.PRES. it is 33 year.NOM-the that day-INST
int’ kyank’-ic’ hër-ac’ erkr-i vra ěndamenë
wh-what life-ABL leave-AOR.3.SG country-DAT POST in all
47 tari apr-ac poezia-y-i varpet
47 year.NOM live-PTCP.PRES. poetry-DAT master.NOM
Paruyr Sewak-ê.
Paruyr Sewak.NOM-the
“Today, 33 years have passed since the day that poetry’s master Paruyr Sewak, having lived on this earth 47 years in all, had departed from this world (lit.: from life).”

Utterances with this meaning are, however, preferably expressed by means of infinitive constructions (see Ch. 3.4.5.1. “Nominalised infinitives”, p. 549f.).

The terminal point of an action/event/state (“terminus ad quem”) is expressed with the subordinating conjunctions փոխարինող (որ) minč’ew (or) “until”, փոխարինող minčë “until”.

(346) զանցակալի ինքնառույթի զմտամուծ զարգացած ձևով, փոխարինող նոր զգուշակություններ ձևավորեց. (Armenpress 07.12.2005)
Erkir-ê kšarunak-i aydpes apr-el aynk’an
country.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.SG so live-INF so much
žamanak minč’ew nor ěnddimut’yun jewavor-v-i.
time.NOM CONJ new opposition.NOM form-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
“The country will continue to live in that way such a long time, until a new opposition is formed.”
“Every evening he organises meetings of the believers in one of the small houses close to the church, and will do so until the construction works are completed.”

宜宾 minč’ew can also be used to express posteriority, i.e. “before”

“Until (=Before) they come, this work must be fulfilled.”

宜宾 min’ is also used to express (a) simultaneity of actions, i.e. “in the meantime/ when/during/while” (b) posteriority of action “before”.

“The neighbour’s dog was barking, while I was trying to fall asleep.”

While my friends were drinking coffee; I succeeded in reading the essay.”

b. Place Adverbials

The place adverbial subordinate clauses relate to the place, where the action takes place, to the local starting point of an action and to the local end point of an action/event. Usually MEA uses constructions with:
interrogative pronouns communicating location, place etc. used as relative pronouns;
- deictic adverbials in the main and interrogative pronouns with place meaning used as relative pronouns.

These constructions can be regarded as a sub-group of relative subordinate clauses because of their “subordinating markers” (i.e. relative pronouns).

(351) Մարդ-ու-ն չէ-ի քարել արտաք-էլ մի էրկիր
person-dat-the neg-it is possible deport-inf indef country.nom

"You can not deport a person to a country, where torture threaten him."

(352) Իսկ մենք սարանակ-էլ ռենք մարտական հերթապահություն-է
carr-inf the drive-perf there

"But we will continue to carry out fighting duties there, where we arrived."

(353) Հայր այրել-է երեխա-ը-ի մարմին-է կի-է
river.nom-the child-dat body.nom-the drive-perf it is

"The river carried the child's body until the Lake of Covinar, from where it was pulled out by divers.”

c. Reason/Causal Adverbials

A subordinate causal clause is one which gives either the cause or the reason for the fact/action stated in the matrix clause.

The following subordinators usually introduce causal subordinate clauses: որովհետև “because”, որ or “that”, քանի որ kani or “since”, քանից kantsi “because; for; as”.

Another subordination marker is the postpositional phrase որպես պատճառով ayn patçar’ov “with that reason” in the main clause, followed by CONJ որ or “that” in the subordinate clause.
(354) Եվ կանի այս հարց-ի է լուծվում, եթե համարինք, որ համատեղական կարգի է համարինք իրավիճակը: (Արավոտ 04.04.2006)
Ev kāni or ays harc'-ē ē'-i luc-v-ac ē'-em
cconj conj this problem.nom-the neg-it is solve-pass-ptcp.res. neg-I am
hamar-un or himinaxndir-ē kareli ē
cconj consid-ptcp.pres conj basic problem.nom-the possible it is
hamar-el luc-v-ac.
cconsider-inf solve-pass-ptcp.pres.

“And since this problem is not solved, I do not think that it is possible to consider the basic problem (as) solved.”

(355) Թոն է հիշություն ճանաչել եւ հավատ նորգատ'յան կանզի
feast.nom it is hope-dat conj belief-dat renewal-dat conj
avetavor hreštak-i šurt'-er-ov amenk'-s ls-um
news bringing angel-dat lip-pl-inst all.nom-my listen-ptcp.pres.
enk’ “Ter-ē kēz het ē”.
we are Lord.nom-the you.dat post he is”.

“It is the feast of the renewal of hope and belief, for we all hear from the lips of the good news-bringing angel: ‘The Lord is with you’.”

(356) Հանդիպում-է հետագ-է է այն պատկանում
dealing,conj meeting.nom-the delay-perf it is that reason conj
Adrbejani hogevor arajnord Allahšuk'yr Pāšazade-n
Azerbaijan-dat spiritual leader.nom Allahshuk'yur Pazahe.nom-the
erkr-i naxagah Ilham Aliew-i het mekn-el
country-dat president.nom Ilham Aliew-dat post depart-perf.
ē Saudyan Arabia.
he is Saudi Arabia.

“The meeting was delayed for the reason that the spiritual leader of Azerbaijan, Allahshukyur Pasha-Zade has departed with the country’s president, Ilham Aliew for Saudi-Arabia.”
d. Purpose Adverbials (Final Adverbials)

The ‘purpose clause’ is used to show the purpose or intention of the action/state of the main verb in the matrix clause.

Purpose (or final) clauses are usually introduced with the conjunctions դ  or “that” or որպեսզի orpeszi “in order to”. The constructions with the postpositional phrase այն ուղարկելու ayn npatakov “with that aim” in the matrix and with the conjunction դ  or “that” in the subordinate clause is also used.

A special feature of subordinate purpose clauses is the exclusive and obligatory use of the subjunctive mood as the verbal form.

(357) Տերես չիստ այն ուշ եք կով որպեսզի որպեսզի այն ուղարկելու հան: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

Probably right be-COND.FUT.3.SG that more later discuss-INF CONJ նկարել-որպեսզի

“It would probably be right to discuss that later, in order that no one relates (it) to the elections.”

(358) Ալիք հունո զայրերացուն տի այն ուղարկելու, որ ամուսություն ստացին այն:

(Hayoc Lezu 8: 62)

He had become friends with the girl with the purpose of making a marriage proposal.” (Lit.: that he makes a marriage proposal.)

The shorter form դ  or is more frequently found in both spoken and written MEA to express the meaning of “in order to”.

(359) Հայոց օգն եւարտե Տարածության զանգակատուն ու իրավիճակ համամթերք կազմակերպակ

“Next day I departed for Shakespeare's birthplace in order to bow before the tomb of the genius playwright.”
e. Manner Adverbials

Manner subordinate clauses are usually introduced with the following conjunctions and
conjunctival words:

- "as, such as", դեր "as, that", դեր դեր ոնչ որ որ "as if", պատյա ասե "as if", պատյա պեր ասե որ "as if", դեր դեր քարց "it seems, as if", դեր դեր պե քարց որ "it seems, as if".

Manner subordinators quite often co-occur with the manner adverb առմասու անքես "so" in the matrix clause.

(360) Դերասանու Որբեթ Կոչարեն կառավարություն անցուման ներկայացրել լինեց, դեր դեր ժամանակ անքես.

(361) Հետզովածություն, դեր դեր պեր համապատասխանություն ինսան անցումանավորություն
ազատություն. (Armenpress 24.11.2006)

f. Measure and Degree Adverbials

These adverbial clauses are commonly introduced with the following conjunctions and also
with interrogative pronouns of measure and degree, which function, in this case, as relative
pronouns: թերու զկան "how much/as much", թերու դեր որ զկան or "so much that", դեր դեր ինչեկան "so much", դեր դեր որ որ "that", դեր դեր դեր մինչք "until that".

A very common construction is the measure/degree adverb առմաս անոն "so much" in the matrix and the subordinators թերու զկան "how much/ as much" or դեր դեր in the subordinate clause.

(362) Դերասանու տա առմաս առմասություն կեղծ նրան, թերու դեր անորոնվագրություն է.
(Armenpress 23.03.20069)

"However, that will not be as horrible, as it is presented."
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g. Consecutive Adverbials

The subordinating consecutive clause denotes the consequences or effects of the action/state of the matrix clause, i.e. the situation being described follows on from some previously mentioned situation. It is usually introduced by the following conjunctions ուստի “so/therefore/whence”, ուրեմ “consequently/therefore”, հետեվաբար “consequently”.292

Note that consecutive or “consequence” clauses appear exclusively following the main clause.

(363) Մեր բնականու քաղաքում չէ, ուր էս բացառվում է այսպիսի գիտակցությու կամչե. (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

mer erkr-um grak'nut'yun ե'-'ka ուստի ew ayd
our country-LOC auditing.nom neg-exist-pres.3sg. conj conj that

bnagawär-um problem goyutyun ե'-'un-i.
field-loc problem.nom existence.nom neg-have-pres.3sg

“There is no auditing in our country; so a proposal does not exist in this field.”

(364) Հայաստանու ազատամարտից չէ ազատամարտի գործադիր, հետեվաբար ազա
ազատամարտի գործադիր չէ; (Armenpress 13.05.2006)

Hayastan-ě patrast ե'-'ę atomakayan-i
Armenia.nom-the ready neg-it is nuclear power plant-dat

p'akm-an-ę hetewabar ayd arajark-ę enduneli ե'-'ę.
closure-dat-the consequently that proposal.nom-the acceptable neg-it is.

“Armenia is not ready for a closure of the nuclear power plant; consequently that proposal is not acceptable.”

h. Explicative Adverbials

Explicative subordinate clauses explain the contents of the main clause. The explicative subordinators are the conjunctions այսինքն ‘ and այն է “that is/in other words”.

These subordinating clauses regularly follow their main clauses.

(365) Երկու սեռում էլ իրականիուս էն տալիս մարդու ազատամարտու գործադիր, այսինք
այսինքն ավելա-կանաչ մարդու ազատամարտ.
(Armenpress 02.05.2006)

Erku-s-n էլ իրականություն en tal-is
two-pl.nom-the also realization-nom they are give-ptcp.pres.

finansakan սոկայ-ի-n այսինքն ավելա-կան-ե
financial market-dat-the conj raise-caus-ptcp.pres. they are

dram-i կանաչ.
money-dat amount.nom-the

“Both also give realisation to the financial market; in other words they are raising the amount of the money.”

292. Please note that these consecutive and explicative words are also used in real conditional sentences to convey the meaning of a logical conclusion. Consecutive and explicative subordinated clauses also occur without introducing conjunctions, as asyndetic clauses.
i. Concessive Adverbials

Concessive subordinate clauses usually make a concession, against which the propositions in the matrix clause are contrasted; are introduced with concessive conjunctions such as թե, թեթ, թեթ թեթ “although, even if, while”, թեթ թեթ “even though”, թեթ թեթ “though”, թեթ թեթ “instead of”, etc.

(366) Քաղաղությանը թեթ երկիր անվանելիս տեղ օրենքային ծառայություն, սահմանում է մի ինքնաբերման տարբերակի փոխանակություն: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)

Gorcul-v-ol-ner-է թեթ ապահով-v-elu
business trip send-pass-PTCP.SUB-PL-NOM-the  Conj  provide-pass-PTCP.FUT.
en  bnakaran-ner-ov stanal-u en  mianvag ew
they are apartment-PL-INST receive-PTCP.FUT they are once-only Conj
amsakan dramakan  p’oxhatuc’um.
monthly financial compensation.NOM

“Although they will be provided with apartments, travellers on business trips will receive a once-only monthly financial compensation.”

(367) Նա նշեց, որ թեթ ազգակցության մեջ իրեն համար համապատասխան են, այն էին, թեթ ազգակցության մեջ իրեն համապատասխան կիրառել: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

na  nis-ec’ or  Կարաչ’-an
he.NOM mark-AOR.3.SG Conj Conj  development-DAT
temp-er-է  bavakan  dandal en  ač  ka
tempo-PL-NOM-the  INT  slow  they are  growth.NOM  exist-PRES.3.SG
t’ee  ašxat-um  en  oč’  lriv  canrabeńvacut’y-amb.
conj  work-PTCP.PRES.  they are  not  full  workload-INST

“He marked that although the pace of the development is fairly slow; there is growth, although they do not work with a full workload.”

Concessive conjunctions are often used in combination with placeholder elements in the matrix clause, such as adversative conjunctions such as թեթ երկիր անվանելու (but).
3.3.2.2.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are actually subtypes of adverbial clauses and usually express circumstances or a condition upon whose fulfilment the proposition expressed in the main clause depends.

These circumstances, or conditions, as will be explained below, can have already been fulfilled in the past, are fulfilled in the present or will be/must be/can be fulfilled in the future, (i.e. time reference in the protasis: past/present/future). The action/state depending on this past/present/future fulfilment is given in the form of the verb of the matrix clause.

Conditional clauses can also be regarded as the most flexible or ambiguous of all adverbials clauses; they are open to various interpretations, as will be exemplified below.

Types of MEA Conditionals

Before analysing conditional clauses in detail, the general types of semantic and syntactic conditionals shall be outlined.

a. Semantic Types

As other natural languages, basically MEA distinguishes between open and hypothetical conditionals.

Open conditionals usually refer to situations in the present, habitual (generic) or past. They can also be regarded as statements of fact or of actions, which may happen or not. A prototypical open conditional clause shows the subjunctive future in the subordinate clause and the conditional future in the main clause – this is also the most common form of Armenian conditional sentence.

(369) et’e aveli lav sovor-es aveli lav gnahatakan-ner
conj more good learn-subj.fut.2.sg more good mark-pl.nom
kstan-as.
receive-cond.fut.2.sg.

“If you study better, you will get better marks.”

Hypothetical conditional, by contrast, conveys the speaker’s belief that the condition is not fulfilled (present), will not be fulfilled (future) or was not fulfilled (past). The low probability, or even certain falsity, of the proposition is expressed in the main clause.

Unreal situations may be viewed from an imaginative and predictive viewpoint. The imaginative viewpoint expresses the thoughts of the speaker about (a) what is hypothetical (i.e. what might be or happen if the action/situation takes place) and about (b) what is counterfactual (i.e. what might have been or happened, if the action/situation had taken

place). Whereas, the predictive viewpoint predicts what will be or will happen, if the action/situation takes place.

The degree of hypothetically of the probability of the realisation of an action or situation is indicated by the choice of the verb forms (mood and tense) both in the protasis and the apodosis.

(370) եթե ավելի լավ սովոր-էիր ավելի լավ գնահատական-ներ
conj more good learn-subj.past.sg more good mark-pl.nom
kstan-ayir.
receive-cond.past.2sg
“If you studied better, you would have better marks.”
= a future action, which is considered to be of very low probability, or will be absolutely excluded.

(371) եթե ավելի լավ սովոր-էիր ավելի լավ գնահատական-ներ
conj more good learn-subj.past.sg more good mark-pl.nom
kstan-ayir.
receive-cond.past.2sg
“If you had studied hard last year, you would have had better marks.”
= a desirable action not performed in the past

b. Formal Types

MEA distinguishes four formal types of conditional clauses.294

- Prototypical conditionals within a conditional subordinate clause, introduced with conditional conjunctions and optional correlatives in the apodosis. This is the most frequent type of conditional clause.

(372) եթե Անուշ-է գա մենք’ կգն-անկ’
conj Anuš.nom-the come-subj.fut.3.sg we.nom go-cond.fut.1.pl
miasin t’atron.
一起 theatre.nom
“If Anuš comes, we will go to the theatre together.”

- Asyndetic conditional sentences, without any conditional conjunction.

Conditional-like sentences with infinitive constructions. In such sentences the infinitive appears in the instrumental case. The meaning of the sentence is not exclusively conditional; it can also be read in the instrumental i.e. modal meaning.

Simple sentences with conditional adverbials introduced by դեպք “in case”, պայման “under the circumstance” or պայմանով “provided that” with the noun or nominalised infinitive in the dative case. These sentences usually refer to generalised, i.e. real conditional situations. They are exclusively used in written MEA, in spoken Armenian they seem to be too complex.

“In case of exceeding the noted terms, (lit.: about) that will be registered in the credit bureau.”
c. Order Types

The protasis commonly precedes the apodosis (if p, q). Inverse order is also possible, but in general is marked: the protasis is marked and in the pragmatic focus of the whole sentence. The subordinate clause may also follow its matrix clause (q, if p) if:

- the verb of the main clause is an emotional state verb;
- the conditional clause is introduced with the restrictive conjunction միայն թե or with the adverbial subordinator այն պայմանից այն պայմանավոր;
- in the case of a de-emphasized afterthought.

(378) Ես ուրախ եմ երբ, երբ մենք համագործակցությունից բերեցինք վերջինը զգալի գիտակցում,

(379) «Գազպրոմը» պայքարում է պահանջում նաև այլ արդյունավետությունների համար, որոնցով կլորանմիական շրջանից զգալի գիտակցում զանազան...
Embedded protasis occurs particularly in spoken Armenian. In written Armenian, it can be found in sentences in which the subject has alternatives of action/state i.e. the same subject has two different verbs in protasis and apodosis.

(381) Թիզնամի-ն էթե չանկան-ար նման հասկածակցության-ն էթերան-դի, enem.nom-the conj wish-subj.past.3.sg similar understanding-pl.nom nermuc-el erewi է’-կարոլան-ար. introduce-INF probably neg-can-subj.past.3.sg

“If the enemy wished to introduce similar understandings, he probably would not be able to.”

**Time Reference**

Any proposition can refer to the future, present or past. As mentioned above, this time reference is a common means to distinguish between degrees of hypotheticality.

Generally, low hypotheticality with a future reference is expressed (a) with the present tense indicative and more commonly – particularly in written Armenian – (b) with the subjunctive future in the protasis. The main verb of the apodosis usually shows a future time reference, either in the simple future indicative or the conditional future. (For details see below).

High hypotheticality is usually articulated with a past time reference with the simple perfect indicative and more commonly – particularly in counterfactive conditionals – with the subjunctive past in the protasis. The main verb of the apodosis, if showing the past time reference, too, appears most frequently (a) in the conditional past, (b) in the debitive past, or (c) in the subjunctive past. (For details see below).

Subordinating Conjunctions in Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are usually marked with the conjunctions եթե et'e “if/when”, էթե t'e “if”,[295] էթե որ t'e or “if”,[296] որ or “if”, որոշում pə miayn t'e “only if” (for restrictive conditionals),

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295. This conjunction is frequently used in spoken MEA in conditional sentences with an imperative function. comp. Kozintseva 2005: 171.

296. Please note that one should not confuse the combined conjunction pə որ t'e or < pə t'e and interrogative/relative pronouns որ or as used in explicative non-assertive clauses that contain questions, advice or doubt (see example below) with the conditional conjunction pə որ t'e or. The
but also երբ “when” and the conjunctional phrase բայց պայմանով այն պայմանով “under the condition”.

j. եթե et`e “if/when” is the most frequently used conditional subordinator; it is neutral in its meaning.

(382) Եթե պետք համրամուտ լինարդ, եթե պետք է համարի պայման, ու եթե պետք է կապի պայման ու պայմանն ու պայմանն ու պայմանն ու պայմանն ու պայմանն ու պայմանն ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պաЯ ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայման ու պայম
In written Armenian, the conjunction եւ or is also used as a conditional subordinator in proverbs and sayings:

(385) եւ ի գառը, գառին է: (Armenian saying)


donkey.NOM - the conj roar-AOR.3.SG spring.NOM it is

“If the donkey brays, it’s spring.”

Colloquially, the two conjunctions may also be used together in the form of եւ է or “if”, when expressing pure conditional meaning.

(386) եւ ի համարդակ եւ, հիմն կովկա կայանի այս արդյունք եւ:


tė or ճական համարջ էς հեն’ տնրեն-i չակատ-i-n

conj so courageous you are just principal-DAT forehead-DAT-the

as-a amen inč’.

say-IMP.2.SG everything.NOM

“If you are so courageous, just say everything to the principal’s face!”

(Colloquial)

In the case that the colloquial conditional subordinator եւ or is used in combination with էլ it conveys a concessive meaning.

(387) էլ (այլ) էլ է ւսան ի ուռուեաքա այսինքս եւ:


dēd eł or է-a-ni ir harazat aļk-a hamar

That even conj neg-do-cond.fut.3.sg his close girl-DAT post

eł nra hayr-n ē.

even her father.NOM-the he is

“Even if/though he does not do that for his close daughter, he still is her father.”

The colloquial conditional subordinator եւ or is also often combined with modal particles or interjections, such as եւ է “well”, էլ է “well, that’s it”. These modal expressions usually occur at the beginning of the sentence, immediately followed by the conditional clause introduced by եւ or. Such sentences convey agreement or intention.

(388) էս, էս գառ, այսուհատակ իջնեմութ:


dē or է-a Մանթասիս կխս-էնկ’.

well conj come-subj.fut.2.sg in detail speak-cond.fut.1.pl

“Well, if you come we will talk in detail.”

1. պայմանավոր paymanov “under the condition” is mainly used in literary Armenian and usually co-occurs with the multifunctional conjunction եւ or “that” introducing the matrix clause.

The conditional subordinating conjunction միայն t’e “only if” offers a contrastive conditional meaning. However, one has to note, that using this conjunction with the subjunctive in the protasis, the sentence may have either a conditional or purpose, i.e. a final meaning. Instead, the final meaning is expressed with a postposed protasis in the subjunctive. See example (379) above, p. 446.

Particularly in spoken MEA, the wh-pronoun երբ “when” is also used to introduce conditional clauses. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a conditional clause and a subordinated adverbial clause of time, introduced with “when”. This is usually avoided by preposing the place holder տեղը ayn depk’um “in that case” to the conditional clause, either independently or in the matrix clause.

“I will come under the condition, that you ensure my return in the evening.”

“When (If) NATO funds such training, then the participation shall be free for all countries included in the program.”

“But when/if they will officially receive that, they will answer to all observations.”
The matrix clauses of conditional subordinated phrase may contain correlatives such as:

- the correlative պայմ “then”;
- the adverbial phrase պայմ ժամանակ “then”, sometimes also combined with պայմ “then”;
- consecutive elements such as նրբանց փել կրակ “consequently/therefore”, հետևաբար “consequently”, also in possible combination with պայմ “then”;
- պայմ “then” can be used in all types of conditional clauses together with the conditional conjunction եթե “if”. It is natural to have both in common utterances and business/newspaper style.

“If the commercial capital prevailed at the beginning of the 90s, then today it is already transformed into productive capital.”
Only in contrastive conditional sentences, the use of ապա "then" is obligatory in the apodosis.

3.3.2.2.1 Open conditionals

Open conditionals state general habits or facts that are always true and never change, thus they also include present or past habitual respectively recurrent activities that are or were true.

Open conditionals expressing generalisations or habitual activities/situations usually appear in the same tense/mood in both clauses.

(395) Եթե ըստ ապամ չի պահպանել էս պահպանվածքի պատվիրակություններ, ապա
դառնանան պահպանությունը դառնանան ապա դառնան ապա. (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

(396) Եթե Թուրքիան չե գրանցի իր ծայրը, դա կարողանան կարողանան պատմությունը:
(Armenpress 06.04.2006)

Habitual or recurrent actions with a present tense reference from the condition usually denote general truth, scientific statements, as well as proverbs. Descriptions of the features of persons/things/situations etc. may also be included in a present time narration.

Proverbs and general assertions often appear in the conditional future in matrix clauses, conveying categorical — or general — meaning.

(397) Հյուր-է որ հաճախում, տանատեսնում եմ երբեք: (Armenian saying)
If habitual or iterative actions or situations are expressed with a past time reference, then usually, by means of the prototypical habitual/iterative imperfect tense in protasis and apodosis.

Spontaneous or unexpected iterative actions are often represented with the aorist in the protasis.

3.3.2.2.2 Hypothetical conditionals
Hypothetical utterances can be expressed with various time references.

1. Hypothetical Conditionals with Present Time Reference

Hypothetical conditionals with present time reference may occur in the following forms:

a. Present time reference in protasis and apodosis
b. Present time reference in protasis and future time reference in apodosis

a. Present Time Reference in Protasis and Apodosis

The condition, as given in the protasis, is regarded as a potential situation. The action in the matrix clause can be performed in the present.

Hypothetical conditionals with a present time reference are semantically restricted to situations that are not obvious or observed by the speaker i.e. the speaker himself is not participant of the given situation or the situation describes the subject’s mental processes that can not be observed overtly.

m. Protasis in the Present Indicative and Modal Phrases in Apodosis

The potentiality of the present situation as given in the matrix clause is commonly expressed with modal phrases such as կարելի է, կարող է կարող է. These modal phrases convey the meaning of the possibility of a permission to perform the action.

(398) Որևէ պաստատիւտ’ է’-ի կար-ող բակարջ դրական կամ
any  document.NOM neg-it is  can-PTCP.PRES. absolutely positive CONJ
բակասական լին-էլ հատկաս էթ’ խնդր-է Սահմանադրության-n
negative be-INF especially CONJ problem.NOM-the Constitution-DAT-the
է վերաբեր-ում.
it is concern-PTCP.PRES.
“Any document can not be absolutely positive or negative, particularly if the problem concerns the Constitution.”
According to Drago Kos, the investments can not raise the level of the corruption in the country if the level of corruption is not high there."

"If B. Esayan has any proposal, he may/can address the National Assembly."

"If you need me, I am free in the evening."

"If you wish that they listen to your song, draw breath in (your) time!"
Chapter 3. Syntax

(403) Հեռանի նորի ծալ, այնուհետև առավոտյաց (Armenian proverb)

\[
\text{et'e du ozni es ozn-u het} \\
\text{conj you.nom hedgehog.nom you are hedgehog-dat post} \\
\text{amusna-ac'ir!} \\
\text{marry-imp.2.sg}
\]

“If you are a hedgehog, marry a hedgehog!”

o. Protasis in the Present Tense and Apodosis in the Future

Actions and states in the present tense can be regarded as hypothetical when the speaker does not witness them or does not have complete knowledge about them. The future reference in the matrix clause is conveyed by the conditional future, imperative and debitive future.

(404) Ապատեկատվությունը զգձրել ենք նորի, այնուհետև առավոտյաց աղբյուր է նշելված: (Aravot 05.04.2006)

\[
\text{Apatelekatvut'yun-ě et'e sark'-um es gone} \\
\text{False information.nom-the conj make-ptcp.pres. you are at least} \\
\text{čšmartanman petk' ě sark'-es.} \\
\text{credible make-deb.fut.2.sg}
\]

“If you generate false information, you have to make it at least credibly.”

2. **Hypothetical conditionals with Future Time Reference**

Future reference is the most common time reference in hypothetical conditionals. It can occur both in subordinate and matrix clauses but only explicitly in the matrix clause.

- Future reference in protasis and apodosis

One can find the following distribution of moods, tenses and phrases containing future reference in both protasis and apodosis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Subj. future</td>
<td>Cond. future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Subj. future</td>
<td>Future indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Subj. future</td>
<td>Present indicative with potential meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Subj. future</td>
<td>Imperative; emphatic prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Subj. future</td>
<td>Modal “can/be able to” with infinitive in the present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Subj. future</td>
<td>Debitive future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Fut. indicative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Cond. future</td>
<td>One of the forms given above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20.** Distribution of tenses and moods containing future time reference
a. Subj. Future in protasis + Cond. Future in apodosis

The most frequently used conditional sentence with a future reference in both protasis and apodosis shows the subjunctive future of the protasis and the conditional future of the apodosis verb. Conditional future is used in the matrix clause and refers to a hypothetical or potential action in the future, depending on the truth of the protasis:

(405) եթե մարզիչ-ի դերի ունի բարձրություն մարզիչ-ի դերի ավելի մարզաճակցություն, այդպիսի վիճակի հիմնավորությունը զավակում լինի: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

| et`e marzič`-ner-`é mi kāni barjrakarg marzik-ner |
| conj trainer-pl.nom some high-class sportsman-pl.nom |

naxapatrast-en apa bolor-i hamar hamapatassan včarum
| prepare-sbj.fut.3.pl then all-dat post adequate payment.nom |

kstan-an.
| receive-cond.fut.3.pl |

“If the trainers prepare some high-class sportsmen, then they will receive payments (being) adequate for all.”

b. Subj. Future in protasis + Ind. Future in apodosis

Future indicative is used in the matrix clause to signify that the future action is expected or intended by the agent of the condition of the if-clause. The slight semantic difference in the protasis to the use of the conditional future in the protasis might be that the conditional future usually conveys that the action of the matrix clause is already in progress or will be performed and terminated in the immediate future (and is regarded as such by the speaker). Native speakers do often not differ between the future meaning of the future indicative and the conditional future, for some native speakers it is rather a question of style (use of the conditional future seems more natural and common to them) than of any real semantic difference, as explained before.

(406) եթե հնարավոր է, որ մի կարճաժամկետ ժամանակ, կարգում է 4–5 տարվա տատար այն պահպանել աղքատություն, դա ապահովում է: (Armenpress 31.10.2005)

| et`e hnaravor lini ays kayunut`yun-`é pah-el |
| conj possible be-sbj.fut.3.sg t his stability.nom-the keep-inf |

karc-um em 4–5 tari heto arden aysörva
| believe-ptcp.pres. I am 4–5 year.nom post already today-dat |

xndir-ner-ič` ć-enk` xosel-u.
| problem-pl-abl neg-we are speak-ptcp.fut. |

“If it is possible to keep this stability, I believe, after 4–5 years we will already not speak about today’s problems.”
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(406) a. Եթե հանարավոր լինի այս կայունության պահին, 4-5 տարի հետո այսու՝ կարելի է կանխարգել եւհայություն լիներ:

եթե հնարավոր է ինչպես այս կայունության պահին, 4-5 տարի հետո այսու՝

(407) Եթե արաբյան բժշկ մեծաշրջանում գործում է և մեկ որոշ բժշկական խնդիր է գործում 300-400 հազար:

(408) Եթե հենց հաճախ գտնվեն խնդրում հետևի, այն բժշկ հաճախ կոտորում ու հետևում է. (Armenpress 29.12.2005)

c. Subj. Future in protasis + Present Ind. with Potential Meaning in apodosis

d. Subj. Future in protasis + Imperative (emphatic prohibitive) in apodosis

A matrix clause with a future reference may also denote that the speaker/writer urges the action of the listener/reader. In these cases the imperative or the emphatic prohibitive (i.e. the negative subjunctive future) is preferably used.
e. **Subj. Fut. in protasis + modal phrase in apodosis**

The modal phrases կարող է, կարող է “can/to be able to; may” are used in the matrix sentence to convey the meaning that the action/situation can happen, depending on the truth in the protasis.

(409) կարող է ճանաչ-ի վալե ե-ե մյուս օր-է
Can-PTCP.pres. it is recognise-INF tomorrow neg-it is other day.nom-the,
ete vale Hayoc’ celaspanut’yun-ë ճանաչ-i
conj tomorrow Armenian genocide.nom-the recognise-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
AMN-ë.
USA.nom-the
“Not tomorrow but the day after tomorrow it can recognise (it), if tomorrow the USA recognises the Armenian genocide.”

(410) իսկ ես եդիրեք-ու նաև պողոտային թաղամաս,
isk ete ditarke-v-i naew p’oxarze’k-i
conj conj consider-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG also exchange rate-dat
ankum-ë apa kareli է ա-էլ կայնակ’ում է
take place-PTCP.PERF.
fall.nom-the then able it is say-INF conj stabilization.nom it is
teli unec’-el.
take place-PTCP.PERF.
“But if also the exchange rate’s fall is considered, then one can say that a stabilization has taken place.”

f. **Subj. Future in protasis + Deb. Future in apodosis**

The debitive future is used in the matrix sentence to convey the meaning that the action/situation must be performed after the moment of speech, i.e. in near future, in case of truth in the protasis.

(411) ես գիտ-է ե-ե ինէ’ պիտ ա-էլ ե-է
I.nom know-PRES.1.SG conj wh-what say-DEB.FUT.1.SG conj
gn-am aynotel.
go-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG there.
“I know what I have to say if I go there.”
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(412) եթե ենթական պլես քարել է քաղաքական իրավիճակ, եթե պատկերն է լիության իրավիճակ լուրդում է: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>եթե ենթական պլես քարել է քաղաքական իրավիճակ, եթե պատկերն է լիության իրավիճակ լուրդում է: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)</td>
<td>If the electoral phase is prohibition, then is not necessarily such a saddening fact.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

et’ e ենթական պլես քարել է քաղաքական իրավիճակ, եթե պատկերն է լիության իրավիճակ լուրդում է: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

The use of the conditional future in the protasis is often described as obsolete. However, the conditional future is still used in the if-clause to convey – it seems – the same meaning as the subjunctive future in a protasis with a future reference, i.e. a future hypothetical action that is possible from the speaker's point of view.

(413) Հիվանդանոց-ը պարտական է բուժօգնություն տեսական պատկերում է, որպես եթերի բժշկական իրավիճակ հիվանդության: (Armenpress 09.01.2006)

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Հիվանդանոց-ը պարտական է բուժօգնություն տեսական պատկերում է, որպես եթերի բժշկական իրավիճակ իրավիճակ հիվանդության: (Armenpress 09.01.2006)</td>
<td>The hospital is disposed to provide medical help, if there are patients contracted with bird flu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hivandanoc’-է պարտական է բուժօգնություն տեսական պատկերում է, որպես եթերի բժշկական իրավիճակ իրավիճակ հիվանդության: (Armenpress 09.01.2006)

298. comp. Gareginyan 1991: 264; Kozintseva 2005: 176. (Bediryan 1999: 102) even decidedly states that “if” clauses have to be k-less (i.e. it is only right to use verbal forms without k-, i.e. the subjunctive, in conditional clauses). He also mentions that the use of the conditional in the protasis was wide-spread and accepted even in written language in the first quarter of the 20th century. According to Bediryan the use of the conditional future in the protasis is highly unacceptable and “wrong” from the point of view of standard written Armenian; only the fossilised form “եթե կուզես եթե կուզես “if you want” can be accepted as a relict of the former use of k-forms with a present indicative meaning.

299. According to informants there is no semantic difference between the use of the conditional future and the subjunctive future in the hypothetical protasis with a future reference. Some native speakers also regard the use of conditional future in this function as grammatically problematic, if not even as wrong, but state that the conditional future in this function is conventionalised and thus accepted.
Hypothetical conditionals with Future time reference in apodosis

It is possible to express a sequence of tenses, in which the conditional subordinate clause temporally precedes the matrix clause. Such a conditional sentence refers to the speaker’s opinion about an action rather than to the true fulfilment of an action as the condition for another action/state. The speaker (only) regards this action, which shall or must be
performed in the future or which had been performed in past, as the condition for the following action/state (Abrahamyan 2004: 182).

Hypothetical events in the future are expressed by the tense/mood of the verb in the matrix clause. The selection of the tense/mood of the verb of the subordinate clause depends on the taxis relation between protasis and apodosis. (Kozintseva 2005: 176)

The following table shows the sequence of tenses/moods as usually and frequently used in MEA. Other combinations are also possible, particularly with the debitive future in the apodosis.

Table 21. Distribution of tenses and moods containing future hypothetical meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. Deb. fut.</td>
<td>Cond.future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Aorist</td>
<td>Subj. future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Aorist</td>
<td>Cond. fut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Aorist</td>
<td>Present ind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Perfect</td>
<td>Cond. future; deb. fut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Pres. indicative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Pres. indicative</td>
<td>Pres. indicative with potential meaning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Future Ind. in Protasis and Cond. Fut. in Apodosis

The future indicative in the protasis denotes actions/states absolutely localised in the future and which have no connection with the present tense. It expresses commonly indented actions by a +human subject or expected states of (–human) subjects.

(417) Ḥaŋ ḕe ḕe ṡukayin teladr-oł-ě oč’ t’e menk’
\[\text{Isk conj mer šukayin teladr-oł-ě oč’ t’e menk’}\]
\[\text{conj our market dictate-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the conj we}\]
\[\text{ayl uriš erkir ė linel-u hetewabar oč’ nerkin}\]
\[\text{conj other country.NOM it is be-PTCP.FUT. consequently neg inner}\]
\[\text{oč’ artak’in kalakikanut’yun teladrol-n ėl menk’}\]
\[\text{neg outer politics dictate-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the also we.NOM}\]
\[\text{č’-enk’ linel-u.}\]
\[\text{neg-we are be-PTCP.FUT.}\]

“And if not we, but another country is going to be dictating our market, we are consequently going to be dictating neither the internal nor the foreign politics.”
(418) Եթե այս այն ժամանակ է այս առաջադիմությունը տեսնելու համար ես մեզի պահուստ
եմ, ապա այս պահանջը կկայանի: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)
Et’e ays angam el na sardrel-u è aryunahelut’yun conj this time also he.NOM commit-PTCP.FUT. he is bloodshed.NOM
ew gnal-u è t’akn-v-i o’inc’ è’em conj go-PTCP.FUT. he is hide-refl-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG nothing.NOM neg-I am
kar-ol as-el.
can-PTCP.PRES say-INF.
“If this time he is also going to commit bloodshed and is going to go and hide himself, I can say nothing.”

(419) Եթե նպատակները տարածվելուն, նրանները, որ էջան կերևությանը
կկայանի: (Azg 08.04.2006)
et’e usumansirel-u lin-ek’ patmut’yun-è conj investigate-PTCP.FUT. be-PRES.2.PL history.NOM-the
ktesn-ek’ or Hayoc’ c’elaspanut’yun è’i el-el.
see-COND.FUT.2.PL conj Armenian genocide.NOM neg-it is be-PTCP.PERF.
“If you are going to repeatedly investigate the history, you will see that there has not been an Armenian genocide.”

b. Debitive Future in protasis and Present Indicative or Conditional Future in apodosis

A conditional clause in the debitive future denotes that the speaker regards the conditions as inevitable.

A protasis in the debitive future can, however, also convey the debitive's pure meaning, i.e. an action that must be performed in the near future. In the latter case, the verb of the matrix clause appears in the conditional future.

(420) Եթե հայկական ոստականությունը պահպանելու հարցը պաշարի, որ ճանաչվի հայտնաբերման
համար հայկական ոստականության, ինչպես այսպիսով, որ հուլիսի 11.5-ի վիճակը չպահպանի հանդերձ,
չի կկայանի իր պահպանության միջոցով ոչ ոք գտնելի ոչ ճանաչված ոստականություն:
(Armenpress 06.05.2006)
et’e koalic’ia-yi karcik’-ov zin-v-ac už-er-è conj coalition-DAT opinion-INST arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the
petk’ è čezok’ut’yun pahpan-en irenk’ hamozv-ac part it is neutrality.NOM preserve-DEB.FUT.3.PL they convince-PTCP.RES.
en or hodvac 11.5-è petk’ è šaradr-v-i hetewyal they are conj article 11.5.NOM-the state-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG following
kerp zin-v-ac už-er-è manner.NOM arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the
apak’alak’inanac’-v-ac en ew gnt-v-um en depolitisize-pass-PTCP.RES. they are conj locate-refl-PTCP.PRES. they are
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kālakac'ıakan verahskolut'y-an nerkö.
civil supervision-DAT POST

“If the armed forces have to preserve neutrality in the opinion of the coalition, they are convinced that article 11.5 has to be stated in the following manner: the armed forces are depoliticised and are under civil supervision.”

(421) Hetk’ 26.02.2007
et’e Hayastan-ē or tun-n ē ašxahasp’yuř
conj Armenia.nom-the wh-that home.nom-it is diaspora
bolor hayer-i piti dař-n ĉalkun zargac’-ac ēw all Armenian-pl-DAT become-deb.fut.3.sg flowering developed conj
žolovrdaarak’rān erkir apa šp’yuřk-ē šat aveli-n democratic country.nom then diaspora.nom-the int more.nom-the
petk’ē an-i kān aysör.
do-deb.fut.3.sg comp today

“If Armenia, which is the home of all world-wide Diasporan Armenians, has to become a flowering, developed and democratic country, then the Diaspora has to do much more than today.”

c. Aorist and Simple Perfect in Protasis

Aorist and the simple perfect seem to lose their function as aspektual markers and as original tense marking function when they are used in conditional subordinate clauses.

The simple perfect in the protasis refers to an action or event as a fact that had been completed at a point in time in the past, which is not specified. The use of the perfect in the protasis marks the whole sentence stylistically as marked.

Perfect in Protasis, Debitve Fut. in Apodosis

(422) Armenpress 26.03.2006
paymanagr-ov yurakan’č’yur ē-ašxat-ac ams-va hamar contract-inst each neg-work-ptcp.res. month-DAT post
ner dol-ē petk’ē petut’y-an-ē včar-i 100 hazar investor.nom-the part government-DAT pay-deb.fut.3.sg 100,000
dolar naew ašxatavarj et’e ayd dadar-ē teli ē-i dollar.nom also salary.nom conj that break.nom-the neg-it is
uneč’-el tarerayin alet-i hetewank’ov.
take place-ptcp.perf. disaster-DAT POST

“By contract the investor has to pay 100,000 dollars for each not-worked month to the government, also salary, if that break has not taken place because of force majeure.”
(423) Գրանցման դեպքում էլ երջանկում է ընդունել հարցազրույկ, որը գրանցվելի է իր դեպքում. (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

“One can only reject the application for registration in the case, that (lit: if) 21 days have remained for the election.”

In subordinate conditional clauses the aorist is often used in the protasis to represent a single, unexpected action in the future or an iterative unexpected action. In such a case, the protasis verb in the aorist commonly does not refer to a real action in the past, but refers to an action or situation in the future (see translations).300

The future reference of the aorist is influenced by the mood of the verb used in the matrix clause, most frequently the conditional future.

– Aorist in Protasis and Conditional Fut. in Apodosis

(424) Եթե փոփոխությունը տեղի ունեցի, գրավել էլ համար, այդ դեպքում կարող կէտեղական համարվեն: ( Armenpress 31.03.2006)

“If again the conflicts take place in the line of contact, then those means of punishment will be regenerated.”

(425) Եթե այս պատահաստացը չէ, այլևս չկարողանանք այս պատահաստացը լայնամասնություններ։ (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

“If this is not a fair election, here, we stand, we are going to close the door of this electoral office.” (Coll.)

Sentences, in which the protasis is in the aorist and the apodosis in the present tense, are very common. The present indicative in the apodosis expresses the speaker’s firm intention to perform the action. The future meaning of such clauses can be marked with adverbs, such as անվարժ, anpayman “certainly/by all means”, անհատական anšust “undoubtedly/without doubt” etc.

(426) Տրամաբանությունը ստացավ գույք, եթե իմացավ ում առաջադրանք, այժմ հայտնի է` այս նպատակով սահմանված: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)
tramabanutyun-ě šat parz ēr etê irenc’ mot
logic.nom-the int simple it was conj they.dat post
stac’-v-ec’ apa inc’u mer mot č’-i
turn out-antic-aor.3.sg then wh-why we.gen post neg-it is
kar-ól stac’-v-el.
can-ptcp.pres. turn out-antic-inf
“The logic is very simple. If it turned out with them, then why can it not turn out with us?” (Written colloquial dialogue.)

3. Past Time Reference

Past time reference in hypothetical conditional sentences appears in three different forms:

a. past time reference in both clauses
b. past time reference only in conditional clauses and the present tense in the matrix clause

c. past time reference only in conditional clauses and the future tense in the matrix clause

a. Past Time Reference in Protasis and Apodosis

Such sentences usually indicate the speaker’s assumptions about possible actions/states in the past. This type of conditional clause occurs rarely in real conditional meaning. In protasis the simple perfect and imperfect may be used.

The simple perfect conveys the usual perfect meaning: it describes past events with an unspecified past reference and non-evidential past time actions and state.

Imperfect, however, describes an action/state in the past having taken place at a specific point in time.

(427) Հեդկ է` փրկ 1990թ. տապալ 14 հազար համահազարամությանը գրականության, այսինքն 2003թ.

远景 1990 முதல் 14,000 ஹாரை வியாபாரமானது, முடிய 2003 முன்பின்
(Armenpress 06.05.2006)
na nšec’ or etê 1990 t. ka-r 14 hazar
he.nom note-aor.3.sg conj conj 1990 year exist-imperf.3.sg. 14,000
irakanac’-v-ac gorcark’ apa 2003 t’.
realize-pass-ptcp.res transaction.nom then 2003 year
katar-v-el ē šurj 74 hazar gorcark’.
perform-pass-ptcp.perf. it is about 74,000 transaction.nom
“He noted that if in 1990 there were 14,000 realised transactions, and then in 2003 about 74,000 transactions had been performed.”
The matrix clause also contains the perfect tense if combined with the simple perfect in protasis.

If the protasis contains the imperfect, the matrix clause may use either the aorist or debitive (past). The aorist, in this case, denotes real facts from the past and the debitive (past) conveys its most common meaning: that the action had to be realised in the past.\(^{301}\)

(428) քու ազատագրությունը դարձրե մարդ չի ձայնագրել, հայեցի առաջընթացը նկարագրե.
(Armenpress 28.10.2006)

et'e  Larabat-dat-the anybody.nom the neg-he is recognise-PTCP.PERF.

inč'u  stelc-v-ec'  Minsk-i xumb-è.

“If nobody has recognised Karabakh, why was the Minsk group founded?”

(429) 2005թ-ի սկզբի հայտնությունը էր ոչպիսինի զգալի վիճակը, և ուր պատճառով դարձաված ուշագրավ հատկացվեց, քանի որ համախառնությունը գրանցեր տեղի են ունենում ինչպես ինչպես պահանջման վրա հատկաց ավելի զգալի վիճակը.
(Armenpress 09.01.2006)

Et'e  2005 t'.-i skzb-i-n hnaravor ēr orošaki

conj 2005 year-DAT beginning-DAT-the possible it was certain

gumar  včar-el ew olj ams-va ēnt'ac'k'um azat

amount.nom pay-INF conj whole month-DAT post free

mian-al internet-i-n apa taraverj-i-n

connect-INF internet-DAT-the then end of year-DAT-the

ayd sahmanap'akum-è durs ē ek-el ew yurak'anč'yar

that limitation.nom-the go out-PTCP.PERF. it is conj each

rope-i hamar petk' ēr včar-el.

minute-DAT post part it was pay-INF

“If (whereas) in the beginning of 2005 it was possible to pay a certain amount and to connect freely with the internet in the course of a month, then why at the end of the year had this limitation run out and one had to pay for each minute.”

b. Protasis in the Past and Apodosis in the Present Reference

The perfect verb form of the protasis points to the relevance of the result of the action/state in the past tense for the following action/state.

The potential meaning of the present reference in the matrix clause is commonly expressed by modal phrases, such as կարող է (karol ē), կարողում է (kareli ē).

\(^{301}\) see functions of Debitive Past, Ch. 2.5.7.3.3.2. “Debitive Past”, p. 269.
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(430) One cannot expect help from outside, if you have not yet used up your own possibilities.

(431) “If that country has made concessions in the Cyprus question, then why does it not have to solve the question of the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border?”

3.3.2.2.3 Counterfactual or irrealis conditionals

Counterfactual conditional sentences express an unrealisable condition, or what might have happened if the event had taken place.
As mentioned before irrealis or high hypotheticality is usually expressed with a past
time reference.
The prototypical verb form of the protasis is the subjunctive past.

- **Protasis and Apodosis with a Past Time Reference**
The various degrees of the speaker’s opinion in the realisability of the condition in the past
time are usually expressed by (a) the conditional past, (b) the subjunctive past and (c) the
debitive past.

- **Conditional Past in Apodosis.**
The most frequent counterfactual sentence consists of a subjunctive past in the protasis and
the conditional past in the apodosis. The conditional past can be considered as unmarked
and neutral regarding the speaker’s opinion.

(433) հուզ կասկածիան եղա, եթե գնեք: ես իրավակցու.
(Aravot 08.04.2006)
s wcześniej
wh-what happen-COND.PAST.3.SG
i.DAT POST conj win-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG
Na կկրակ-եր.
He shoot-COND.PAST.3.SG
“What would have happened to me, if I had won? He would have shot.”

(434) եթե ուշ նախագծված էր, ապա այսպիսով կարողանա
երևանագրությունը նախագծված էր:
(Armenpress 22.03.2006)
ete ayn storagr-vac lin-er apa aysör
conj that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then today
Lernayin Larabal-i hakamartut’yun-ë kargavor-v-ac
Mountainous Karabach-DAT conflict.nom-the settle-pass-PTCP.RES.
klin-er.
be-COND.PAST.3.SG
“If that had been signed, then today the conflict of M. Karabach would have been
settled.”

(435) Համոզ-առեր է, որ եթե հանցատեր էր, ուռում վերանցված էր
այս բանից էջ հայ իրավակցու.
(Grakanut’yun 6: 65)
hamoz-v-ac em or ete hark lin-er
convince-antic-PTCP.RES. I am conj conj need.nom be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG
na uraxut’y-amb ir kyank’-ê kzhoh-er
he joy-inst his life.nom-the sacrifice-cond.PAST.3.SG
i.DAT POST
“I am convinced that if it had been necessary, he would have joyfully sacrificed his
life for me.”
The combination of the subjunctive past in protasis and the conditional past in apodosis may convey a present tense reference, if the context provides present reference markers. This means that it is possible, but very unlikely, that the condition will be fulfilled.

Note: the Armenian Diaspora still exists so this does not refer to the past.

“This is a juridical matter, not the matter of a minister. If I were to stay at the ministry, I would certainly give (it) to court.”
Subjunctive Past in Apodosis

The subjunctive occurs quite seldom in the apodosis and conveys a more subjective (from the viewpoint of the speaker) degree – a wish or desire. In the case of counterfactual conditionals, the subjunctive past in the apodosis is often combined with markers like հետ զառե ॥ կար երևի “maybe”, “probably” etc. and suggests that the hypothetical action/state is hardly realisable but desired by the speaker.

(440) Երիտսած Երշատի առաջադրանք երբ Շարինը կար զարդարել երեմուտ, Երիտ, դավանումիս: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

|
| Tšnami-n etè cankan-ar nman haskan'ut'yun-ner |
| enemy.NOM-the conj wish-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG similar concept-PL.NOM |
| nermuc-el erevi է-քարոլ-ար |
| introduce-INF maybe neg-can-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG |

“If the enemy had wished to introduce similar concepts, he maybe would not have been able to.”

Debitive Past in Apodosis

The debitive past in the matrix clause denotes the highest degree of realisability from the viewpoint of the speaker: an action that had to be realised under a certain condition. Such sentences occur comparatively seldom.

(441) Երիտ Արմենի կար արքա մասին տեղեկագրություն, որը հայտարարել երեյիթ դատության: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

|
| Etè Armen-է kard-ar ayd masin t'ert'-um |
| conj Armen.NOM-the read-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG that post newspaper-LOC |
| na է-կերքի ենխրաշեֆ կայլ-եր եր-նար-եր |
| he.NOM neg-part. essential step-PL.NOM undertake-DEB.PAST.3.SG |

“If Armen had read about this in the newspaper, he would not have had to take essential steps.”

b. Counterfactual Conditional with Past Time Reference in Protasis and Present Time Reference in Apodosis

These types of counterfactual conditionals denote different time references of events. Usually the stative forms of the subj. past are used in the protasis and the future-in-the past or conditional past in the main clause. Future-in-the past is used in the apodosis, if this action/state follows the one of the protasis.

Temporal adverbials may additionally mark the past time reference in the protasis.

3.3.2.2.4 Pseudo-conditional and non-conditional clauses

Many subordinated clauses which look structurally like conditional clauses do not really convey a conditional meaning, i.e. the category conditional clause can also be viewed from a semantic level. This kind of clause is termed a pseudo-conditional here.
On the other hand, there are clauses structurally unlike conditional clauses, but which convey a conditional meaning. This kind of clause is termed “non-conditional” here. The basic assumption – that form and meaning of the clause do not correspond – is true for both clause types.

Such sentences may be regarded as subordinate adverbial clauses with consecutive, causal, contrastive, concessive meaning, and often it is not easy to distinguish conditional clauses from related adverbial clauses, particularly since the same conjunctions are often used in these semantic types of clauses.

There are also conditional clauses that can not be regarded as conditional at all. Here, conditional constructions serve as stylistic means to express “metatext” constructions, or to mark an utterance by putting it in a topic position.

There are various semantic groups of pseudo-conditionals and non-conditional clauses.\(^{302}\)

a. Consecutive conditionals, or conditionals of logical conclusion
b. Causal conditionals
c. Contrastive conditionals
d. Concessive conditionals

a. Consecutive Conditionals\(^{303}\)

The conditional relationship between the state of affairs – as given in the conditional clause – and a logical conclusion – as given in the matrix clause – is a logical conclusion: if q, (then consequently) p.

The situations may appear in any possible temporal sequence; very often the protasis temporally precedes the apodosis.

Such conditional sentences are usually marked with indicative tenses in both clauses, and additionally with explicative or consecutive words, such as Դու ազատ ուրեմ, հետևաբար “consequently”, or Դու իրավիճակ է “that means” etc. Usually the verbs appear in the indicative present or simple perfect tense; in the subordinate clause these indicatives also convey their usual aspectual meaning.

(442) Եթե դու չիք էք չիք շուրջ հակադարձ, դու իրավիճակ չէք էք: (Aravot 07.04.2006)

Et’e duk’ c’-git-ek’ jer iravunk’-ner-ë uren’m duk’
conj you neg-know-pres.2.pl your right-pl.nom-the conj you.nom
iravunk’-ner c’-un-ek’.
right-pl.nom neg-have-pres.2.pl

“If you do not know your rights, consequently you do not have rights.”

---

If the perfect is used in both clauses, it indicates that the speaker has not evidenced the actions with an unspecified past tense reference.

A specific consecutive meaning is conveyed in the case of a postposed protasis, but only if this protasis denotes a contradicting condition, on which the negation of the question expressed in the apodosis is based (Gareginyan 1991: 266).

"How shall the world recognise Arc’ax’s (= Mountainous Karabach’s) independence, if Armenia itself does not do it?"
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(447) Հան համովքեր այսպիսի համովքեր, որոնք լինելու տրամադրված ծառայություն
ունեցնելու և համաձայնելու միջոցների համար նախահանջ;
(Արավոտ 08.04.2006)
isk inc'pes petk' ě hamaxmb-v-i et' ě oč' ě hamapatassan
conj wh-how consolidate-antic-deb.fut.3.sg conj neg adequate
mexanizm-ner stelcel-ov ew drank' ōrenk'ner-i mej
mechanism-pl.nom create-inf-inst conj they law-pl-dat post
nerařel-ov?
include-inf-inst
“But how do we have to consolidate, if not by creating adequate mechanisms
and including those in the laws?”

b. Causal Conditionals

The subordinate clause provides the basis or the cause for explaining past actions,
logical conclusions or even questions expressed in the matrix clause.

Causal conditional sentences are usually marked with indicative verbs in both
clauses preferably with the correlative word ապա “(then)” in the matrix clause.

(448) եթե ապրունական են, ապա են չափազանցումներ, եթե
ռենքային կարգավորական պահանջում, ուր կանգնած
ապրունական մշակույթում պահանջում, ուր կանգնած
վերահանձնել:
Et' ě apōrinut'yun-ner en el-el apa ew
conj illegality-pl.nom they are be-ptcp.perf. then conj
kalakapetaran-ě ew kalakăšimut'y-an naxararut'yun-ě
mayor's office.nom-the conj urban development-dat ministry.nom-the
partavor en vera-ć-n-el apōrinut'yun-ě
oblige they are dissappear-caus-inf illegality.nom-the
kăndel-ov kam datakan karg-ov.
destroy-inf-inst conj juridical order-inst
“If there have been illegalities, then both the office of the Mayor and the Ministry of
Urban Development are obliged to abolish the illegality, by destroying (it) or
with juridical order.”

(449) եթե միկրոառույթ է, ապա է խնդիր վարպետին տալ:
(Armenpress 09.12.2005)
Et' ě ěnkerut'yun-ě vnas-el ě bažanord-i-n
conj company-nom-the harm-ptcp.perf. it is subscriber-dat-the
apa verjin-š pôxahatućum ě stan-um.
then latter.nom-this compensation.nom he is receive-ptcp.pres.
“If the company has harmed the subscriber, then the latter receives
compensation.”
c. Contrastive Conditionals

The subordinate clause presents not a hypothesis, but a fact in the past. This fact in the past is contrasted with a fact in the present, i.e. in the matrix clause.

Contrastive sentences look like conditional sentences, but they contrast various elements of the situation, such as subjects, objects, time adverbials etc. In this case, the use of the adverb ապա “then” is obligatory in the matrix clause.

The meaning of the conditional subordinator եթե “(if)” is to understand rather as the contrastive “whereas”.

Both the protasis and the apodosis use indicative verbs. The correlative word ապա “then” must appear in the matrix clause.

“If the product of a company is consumed, then it has found its place in the market.”
“If (whereas) decades ago youngsters came in great numbers to Armenia to study, also from European countries, then today their number has sharply decreased.”

d. Concessive Conditionals

In concessive conditionals a set of antecedent conditions is related to a consequent (König 1986: 230). Such clauses are usually marked either with (a) concessive conjunctions or with (b) particles like կառուցվել nuynisk, դառնել հատ minč’ew isk, տարած անց (minč’ew) angam, ել all “even”, etc. that immediately follow the prototypical conditional subordinator եթ “if”.

(453) Հաճի դեպքի պատճառ, որ դեռ սուրաբյուր ավելիք բաները,
ՈՉ մի փոխադասով: (Արավոտ 07.04.2006)

has-el enk’ aynpisi vičak-i or et’e nuynisk
reach-PTCP.PERF. we are such a situation-DAT CONJ CONJ even
anj-er-ě pox-v-en oč’iš’ ė-i
person-PL.NOM-the change-antic-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL nothing.NOM neg-it is
pox-v-el-u.
change-antic-PTCP.FUT.

“We have reached such a situation that even if the persons change, nothing will change.”

(454) Եթե նույնիսկ Ժոն Քերի-ն ընտրվի ԱՄՆ-ի նախագահը,
Կենսակրթ եթում
Հարաբերակցությունները ձեռքից ենարկելու: (Արմենպրես 17.06.2006)

Et’e nuynisk jon K’eri-n entr-v-i AMN-i
CONJ even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG USA-DAT
naxagah Kongres-ě kmn-a hanrapetakan
president.NOM Congress.NOM-the stay-COND.FUT.3.SG republican
ew miayn global harc’er-um.
CONJ only global question-PL-LOC

“Even if John Kerry will be elected president of the USA, the Congress will remain Republican only in global questions.”

(455) Ռոբերտ Ժամանակ-ներ-ի զավակից հազար տա հազար,
եթում իմանալի բնակ տա
բուխարեցուի ձեռն: (Արավոտ 08.04.2006)

Bolor žamanak-ner-i zavit’iš’-ner-ē nman en irar et’e
all time-PL-DAT invader-PL.NOM-the similar they are REC CONJ
nrank’ nuynisk el-ac en ko žolovrd-i coc’-ic’.
they+NOM even rise-PTCP.RES. they are your people-DAT bosom-ABL

“The invaders of all ages are similar to each other, if they even are raised from your people’s bosom.”
“I have investigated (this) and I have to say, that, unfortunately, I have not seen a valuable lucky family yet, even if the couples are graduates of the children’s home.”

“We will try to reach the solution of the problem on the basis of objective facts in the frame of international law, even if that requires decades.”

Concessive meaning of conditional clauses is also conveyed, if the postposed matrix clause expresses a negation or a restriction of the contents of the preposed subordinate clause. (Gareginyan 1991: 267) Such clauses can only be found in colloquial Armenian.

Although it rains, it is not sufficient for the fields.” (Lit.: If it rains, then it is not sufficient for the fields.)
“Although they listen attentively, they understand nothing.” (Lit.: If they listen attentively, then they understand nothing.)

3.3.2.2.5 Metatext construction

In such a function conditional clauses appear either preposed to the matrix clause or embedded, and they express the speaker’s attitude to the contents of the matrix clause.

If following the matrix clause, however, the conditional clause can be regarded as adding additional information regarding the truth of the matrix clause.

(460) Եթե չիշտ աս-եմ ապա հանձնաղոլու այնքան սո մUCH ցած կան:

Et'ē čišt as-em apa hanjnažolov-n aynk'an goh
CONJ true say-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG then committee.NOM-the so much satisfied
č'-ēr mijocārūm-ic'.
neg-it was measure-ABL

“If I tell the truth, then the committee would not be very satisfied with the measure.”

(461) Որոշով, ինչպես ոչինչ, եթե սուրբ համերգի այնտեսական համակարգեր են

inč'ewice č'-enk' sxal-v-i et'ē as-enk'
anyway neg-we are mistake-refl-PTCP.NEG. CONJ say-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL
hayuh-u aypadisi xošelaoč'-ē hamarţek'
female Armenian-DAT such manner of speaking.NOM-the equivalent
ē tla-ner-i hayhoyel-u-n.
it is boy-PL-DAT curse-INF-DAT-the

“Anyway, we are not mistaken, if we say such a manner of speaking by a female Armenian is equivalent to the boys’ cursing.”

(462) Ապայվանդան Որոշ պատկերապատկեր են, եթե նույն պատկերներ, ապա

Hayastan-um Arewelk'-i patkerac'um-ner-ē et'ē
Armenia-LOC West-DAT imagination-PL.NOM-the CONJ
č'-as-em alaval-v-ac apa krknōrinak-v-ac
neg-say-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG distort-pass-PTCP.RES. then copy-pass-PTCP.RES.
en amena-ančašak jew-ov ew tesk'-ov.
they are most-tasteless manner-INST CONJ look-INST

“The concepts about the West in Armenia, are, if I do not say distorted, and then copied in the most tasteless way and look.”

c. “Topicalized” Conditional Construction

The form of conditional constructions can be used as a means to mark the functional perspective of a sentence. In such a sentence, the subordinate pseudo-conditional clause contains the topic, the matrix clause the focus.
(463) Նրան է ե Վարդան-է սուրահար-վի ապա
She dat conj Vardan nom-the fall in love refl subj fut 3 sg then

Քսիրահար-վի նրա գայտակից ժոպի-ի պատչար-ով,
fall in love refl cond fut 3 sg her enchanting smile dat post

“If it is she Vardan falls in love with, then he will fall in love because of her enchanting smile.”

3.3.2.3 Relative clauses

General Facts about Relative Clauses

The main distinguishing parameters for relative clauses are usually grouped according to a variety of features.

- Semantic characteristics of the modifying relative (restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clause)
- Structural characteristics of the relative clause (adjoined vs. correlative vs. shortened participial relative clause)
- Syntactic characteristics i.e. where expressions can be relativised (subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object, possessor; the whole matrix clause; i.e. adnominal: nominal)
- The mode of expression of the relativised noun phrase (relative pronoun vs. relativiser and gap vs. no relativiser and gap strategies)
- The position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun (pronominal, post-nominal, internally headed relative clauses)

MEA has both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. There is no morphological or syntactic distinction between these two semantic types.

There are four various structural types of relative clauses

a. Adnominal relative clauses contain a relative pronoun, which introduces the relative clause and a finite verb. The relative clause relates to a domain nominal in the main clause. A subtype is a relative clause construction, in which both the matrix and the relative clause are overtly marked: the relative clause by a wh-item and the main clause by a demonstrative pronoun or deictic adverb.

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(464) Դառառաջյալ է դեպք, որում հանդիպում է մարդկանց հետևում.
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)
larabalc’-i-ner է կ-ան որ-ոնե’ համար
Karabakhian-PL NOM also exist-PTCP PRES REL-PL DAT POST
Samvel-է հերոս է.
Samvel NOM the hero NOM he is
“There are also Karabakhians for whom Samvel is a hero.”

(465) Մինչև վաղ սպասավոր առաջնորդի նպատակները, որոնք ընդունվում
են հետևում զարգացման: (Armenpress 22.01.2006)
anhráz’est varelanyut’-ov apahov-v-ac en ayn
necessary heating material INST provide-pass-PTCP PRES. they are that
dproc’-ner-է որ-ոնկ’ jeřuc’-v-um en
school-PL NOM the REL-PL NOM heat-pass-PTCP PRES. they are
heluk varelik’-ov.
liquid fuel INST
“Those schools are provided with necessary heating material, are heated with liquid fuel.”

b. Free or nominal relative clauses, which lack a domain nominal in the main clause.

(466) Ես գրած հիշի որ դու փորձելիք եք:
Es gt-a inč’ or du p’ntr-um
1 NOM find AOR 1 SG. wh what NOM REL NOM you NOM look for PTCP PRES
ēir.
you were
“I found what you were looking for.”

Free or nominal relative clauses may also have a correlative-like construction. There is no
semantic difference between these syntactic variants of free relative clauses.

(466) a. Ես գրած այս, հիշի որ փորձելիք եք:
es gt-a ayn inč’ du
1 NOM find AOR 1 SG. that NOM wh pronoun you NOM
p’ntr-um ēir.
look for PTCP PRES you were
“I found (that) what you were looking for.”

b. Sentential relative clauses, which do not modify a noun but refer back to a part of a
sentence, a whole sentence or even more than one sentence. The antecedent is thus not
nominal but clausal.
d. Participial relative clauses, i.e. clauses without a relative subordinator and with the verb in the participle.305

(468) Հայրը գրատես նամակ-է դեռ չէ-էմ ստաց-է.
Aram-i gr-ac namak-ě de ēr č'-em stac'-el.
Aram-DAT write-PTCP.PRES. letter.nom the yet neg-I am receive-PTCP.PERF.
“I have not yet received the letter written by Aram.”

There are four structural types which are also characterised by a preferred, or even fixed, order:

a. Adnominal relative clauses predominantly follow the head noun (NP + REL) or (dem NP + wh REL)
b. Free relative clauses predominantly precede the main clause in subject function, but predominantly follow in object function (RELsubj + S), (S + RELobj)
c. Sentential relative clauses preferably and predominantly follow the main clause.
d. Participial relative clauses obligatorily precede their head noun (rel + N).

Adnominal relative clauses may realise the following syntactic functions:

- relativisation of grammatical subject
- relativisation of direct object
- relativisation of indirect object
- relativisation of oblique objects
- relativisation of possessor
- relativisation of object of comparison.

A free relative clause, not modifying an external noun phrase but having instead a nominal function fused to it, is exclusively restrictive relative clauses, with

- subject function
- direct object function
- adverbal relative clauses also modify an entire clause and are usually introduced with the interrogative pronouns denoting place, time, manner or reason. Only non-restrictive relative clauses can be used adverbially.

305. for details see Ch. 3.4.1 “Participle Constructions”, p. 499f.
Sentential relative clauses modify parts of a sentence, a whole sentence or many sentences. These are non-restrictive relative clauses with the matrix clause as their antecedents.

Participial relative clauses are syntactic variants of adnominal, nominal and even sentential relative clauses and can thus occur with subject and direct object function as well as in adjectival or genitive attribute function.

Subordinated relative clauses are introduced by relative or interrogative pronouns. The relative pronouns and the wh-pronouns ṭį ov “who?”, ḋu će “what?” are inflected for case and number (the latter only the relative pronoun ṭį or “that”) and show a humanness distinction.

The General Structure of Relative Clauses
The subordinate relative clause is introduced with a relative/interrogative pronoun. In some adnominal relative clauses, this pronoun co-occurs with demonstrative pronouns or deictic adverbs such as ṭw na “he/she/it”, ḋu ayn “that”, Ḏw açypp “such a”, ḋu ᵃry ᵃypisi “as much” etc. in the main clause, which emphasise the semantic and syntactic relationship between the relative clause and specified element in the main clause.

There is no syntactic or morphological difference between adnominal and free relative clauses.

The verb of the relative clause may appear in all tenses and moods.

Ontological groups of relative/interrogative pronouns

- person (human), i.e. (+ human) ṭį ov “who”, ṭį ḋor “that”
- subject/thing, i.e. (–human) ṭį ḋor or “that”; ḋu će “which”
- time ḋebb erb “when”, Ḏw açypp erbvanic’ “since when”
- place ḋpûty ortel, ṭį ur “where”; ṭį ur “where to”, ḋpûty ortelic’ “from where”
- manner Ḏw açypp inc’pes “how”
- cause ḋu će inc’u “why”

For the use of the relative pronouns given above, see Ch. 2.4.7. “Interrogative/Relative Pronouns”, p. 147f.

Only the pronoun ṭį or can be regarded as a “real” relative pronoun, or a relative pronoun in sensu stricto: it refers to an immediate preceding noun, noun phrase or sentence and serves to introduce attributive subordinate (relative) clauses. This relative pronoun can refer both to (+)human and (–)human head nouns. It can also refer in its singular form to head nouns in the singular and/or plural.

The definite article may also be attached to the nominative of the relative pronoun ṭį or (subject and (–human) direct object function) and to bare dative forms of the relative pronoun ṭį or (with verbs assigning the bare dative306). The relative pronoun ṭį or

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306. To express the (+human) direct object in the bare dative in a relative subordinator, the wh-interrogative pronoun ṭį ov “who” is used in its dative form ṭį um “who(m)”. 
also appears in inflected plural forms, but more often, particularly in colloquial Armenian, the singular forms are used even if they convey the plural meaning, especially in the subject function.

(469) Հերթապահ որը տեղակայված է տեղ, որում գաղտնվողներ են գրավում պատմության արձանագրության: Հայոց Լեզու 8: 41

Hert'apah-é or-n art'na-c'el ē mez deł on duty.nom-the rel.nom-the wake-caus-PTCP.PERF. he is we.dat still
šaranak-um ē vazvz-el vran-ner-i arank'-ov. continue-PTCP.PRES. he is run around-INF tent-pl-dat gap-instr
“The boy on duty, who has woken us up, is still running around in the gaps of the tents.” (Subject relative clause)

(470) Սակայն առավույյա ավետարան, ավետարանի նախապատրաստման արձանք է, դրսից ապահովվում է բոլոր:

Sakayn nranc’ hamar amena-lav amena-t’ank xalalik’-ner-é conj they.dat post most-good most-expensive toy-pl.nom-the
nrank’ en or-onk’ mayrik-n ē ber-el.
they.nom they are rel-pl.nom mother.nom-the she is bring-PTCP.PERF.
“But for them the best and most expensive toys are those that their mother has brought.” (Object relative clause; direct object is in the unmarked nominative)

(471) Այս մրցաշրջան, որին բացվում է Երևանի, Արարատի, Էջմիածինի և Թբիլիսիի ապարատների ճանապարհորդության անցկացումը, կարևոր է Հայաստանի պատմահայտնի պատման արձանագրության:

ays mrc’asár-é or-i-n masnake’-um -en this tournament.nom-the rel-dat-the participate-PTCP.PRES. they are
Erewan-i Ararat-i Êjmiacin-i ew T’bilisi-i patani Yerevan-dat Ararat-dat Ejmiacon-dat conj Tbilisi.dat adolescent
marzik-ner-é kazmakerp-el ē EPH fizikakan sportsman-pl.nom-the organise-PTCP.PERF. it is YSU physical
dastiarakut’-an ambion-é.
education-dat chair.nom-the
“This tournament, at which participate adolescent sportsmen from Yerevan, Ararat, Ejmiacin and Tbilisi, has organised the Chair of Physical Education of Yerevan State University.”

որ or is also used in sentential relative clauses in colloquial Armenian.

(472) Այս կանանց կանանց է որդի, որու (=հիփո) հետ գաղտնվում է:

ays aljik-é sir-um ē őj-er or-n (=inč’-n)
this girl.nom-the love-PTCP.PRES she is snake-pl.nom rel.nom-the (what.nom-the)
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“This girl likes snakes, which surprises me.”

The prototypical relative pronoun ռո  or however is often replaced by the interrogative pronoun ինչ’

- if referring to a (–) animate noun (phrase)
- in free relative clauses.

This pronoun is also inflected and obtains the definite article in the function of a definite grammatical subject, direct object and indirect object.

(473) Համարվում է, որ անցնելու անկախ 11 հզորության, ինչ’ կարգավիճակը կարող է:

(Armenpress 13.05.2006)

Internet բազանորդ-ուր տվեց և ինչ’

Internet.NOM subscriber-PL-DAT number.NOM-the neg-it is

anc’-um 11 հզոր-ի ինչ’ բավական կարող է.

pass-PTCP.PRES. 11 thousand-ABL REL.NOM INT low it is

“The number of internet subscribers does not exceed 11,000, which is fairly low.”

(474) Նրա բարձրությունը, որտեղ բոլորը առաջանալու է, ինչ’ երկրում ապահովելու և

ընդհանուրպայնաբնություն է տպավում: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

nra xosk’-er-ov arden դերորդ տարի-ն և ինչ’

his word-PL-INST already fourth year.NOM-the it is rel

ink’ ašxat-um ew bemadrut’yun-ner ե ան-մ.

he.NOM work-PTCP.PRES. CONJ performance-PL-NOM he is do-PTCP.PRES.

“In his words it is already the fourth year that he has been working and performing.”

(475) Սակայն դեռևս մինչև իսկ բարձր հզորություն, որոպես վերաբերյալ Հայաստանի և

Ադրբեջանի կամարակրեցրիչ սարքածուն բու, ինչ’ դեպքում է անպատասխանող ուղղություն

գրավում է (Հայտ). (Azg 02.02.2006)

sakayn deřews mn-um en bard harc’-er

CONJ still stay-PTCP.PRES. they are complex question-PL-NOM

or-one’ veraberyal Hayastan-i ew Adrbejan-i

REL-PL-DAT POST Armenia-DAT CONJ Azerbaijan-DAT

karcik’-ner-ե տարբեր է ինչ’-ե std-ում

opinion-PL.NOM-the different they are REL.NOM-the motivate-PTCP.PRES.

է սպասելիք-ներ-ի արժում-ու զգուշար կան-ի

it is expectations-PL-DAT capture-INST cautious be-INF

“But there still remain complex questions, about which the opinions of Armenia

and Azerbaijan are different, which motivates caution regarding expectations.”
The interrogative pronouns listed above are also used directly preceding the “real” relative pronoun որ or, without changing the meaning of the pronouns, such as հուզ որ ինչը or, հուզամ որ ինչպես որ, ուր որ որ որ, որուտ որ օրթել որ, երբ որ երբ or etc. The pause in intonation between the main and relative clause marks their border.

This combined use of the interrogative pronoun and the real relative pronoun in free relative clauses is a synonymous variant to the use of correlating the demonstrative pronoun in the main clause and the wh-pronoun functioning as a relative subordinator in the relative clause, as in ex. (467) above.

Signals of Adverbial Interrogative Pronouns

- Time երբ erb “when” երբմանց erbvanic’ “since when”
- Place որուտ օրթել, որ որ որ որ “where”, որ որ որ “where to”, որուտէր օրթելic’ “where from”
- Manner: ինչպես ինչը “how”
- Cause ինչ ինչի ինչ “why”

These are also used in the function of relative clause subordinators.
Adnominal clauses with main clauses containing a demonstrative pronoun, identity pronoun or deictic adverb occur often both in written and spoken Armenian. These clause types are functionally equivalent to relative clauses, but also appear similar to comparative (equative) constructions. In the case of such a relative clause, the noun in the main clause is normally accompanied by a distinctive marker. Usually the demonstrative and identity pronouns or deictic adverbs serve as correlative markers in the main clause, such as այն “that”, նույն “the same”, այնպիսի “such a”, այնպիսի այնքան “that much”, այնպիսի այնդա “that much” etc. Only the presence of these correlative markers in the main clause is responsible for the subordinate status of the clause, introduced by a wh- or a relative pronoun.
(482) Հալտ'E-է են էր օվ բոլոր-ից շուտ էր

place arrive-PTCP.PERF

"The winner was (the one) who had more quickly arrived than all others."

(483) Առաջիններից էին ընկերներից ամենաշատ թղթակցի, որուց բոլոր

rel past

որն, տառապով, հասակներից էին ընկերություն;

 vít.

(Aravot 07.04.2006)

naxates-v-um է որենկ'-ի միջոցով կարգավոր-էլ այնպիսի դրույթ'_-ներ

plan-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is law-DAT post regulate-INF such idea-PL.NOM

or-onk' էստ ըկտ'_ան հմարավ է-է կարգավոր-էլ որենկ'-ov.

REL-PL.NOM prep substance-DAT possible neg-it is regulate-INF law-INST

"It is planned to regulate such ideas by means of the law, which, according to their

substance, one can not regulate with law."

(484) Այություն բանիներից չեն դարձել առմամբ, որը ծնունդ հասակական առմամբ

vitr.

էին թեև թվանշան;

vitr.

(Armenpress 19.01.2006)

nrank' t'al-v-um en nuyn kârayr-um or-i

they.PL.NOM bury-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are same cave-LOC REL-DAT

vra hetagayum kârc'-v-um է պատահել մի եկեղեց'i.

post subsequently build-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is grand indef church.NOM

"They will be buried in the cave above which afterwards a grand church

will be built."

Adnominal relative clauses with identity expressions denoting “as much/as” are function-

ally similar to equative constructions. In this case the correlative marker in the main clause

is an identity expression and the subordinator of the correlative clause is a relative-based

expression, i.e. կենսամար – դեպքույթ nuynk'ân – ork'an, ունեցում – դեպքույթ nuynpes – orpes,

կանխատեր – դեպք nuynč' ap' – orč' ap'.

(485) Այն էլ ինչպես են հատել հնարիվ ուսուցակ կանոններ կանխատերի կազմակերպում,

vitr.

որպես Դարձել:

(Armenpress 21.05.2006)

ayn ews luc-um է հազար հա տարակ'_ի օղոմ-էն

that also solve-PTCP.PRES. it is 1000 ha area-DAT irrigation-DAT

xndir-ե քնայել-ով nuynk'ân

problem.NOM-the spare-INF-INST as much

elektar'energia ork'an Ayrum-um.

electric energy.NOM as much Ayrum-LOC

"That also solves the problem of irrigating an area of 1,000 hectares, by sparing as

much electric energy as in Ayrum."
3.3.2.3.1 The types of relative clauses according to the grammatical relations relativised

1. Adnominal Relative Clauses

a. Subject Relative Clause

In a subject relative clause, the relative subordinator functions as the subject in the relative clause.

As such it appears in the nominative case, either definite or indefinite.

In subject relative clauses, the relative subordinator can function as the grammatical subject of both an active sentence (= agent) and passive sentence (= patient).

“The new generation shall be as much familiar with the Armenian culture as their parents.”

The definite article is attached to the relative subordinator in subject functions, i.e. in the nominative case, if the subject of the underlying clause, which is subordinated, is definite and specific. Logically, the definiteness or indefiniteness of the domain noun (phrase)
is not important for marking the relative pronoun in its subject function as definite or indefinite.

(489) Թարազամթուցվում Հայաստանում պատմություն, որը բացարձակ իր իրարական
հարցերով պատմություն, որում պատկերված արարակը ցույց է տալիս ու կենսաբանվում:
(Aravot 08.04.2006)
Datavarut’yan ժամանակ պարզ-վ-է կամ բաժանող-է
process-DAT time.NOM clear-antic-PTCP.PERF. it is conj nurse.NOM-the
որա-է է ազատ-վ-է հաբեկ-ուլ ամուսն-ակ’
decide-PTCP.PERF. she is free-refl-INF drink-PTCP.SUB. husband-ABL
or-է անենդհատ ստորաչ-է կեկ-է է
REL.NOM-the continuously humiliate-PTCP.PERF. beat-PTCP.PERF. he is
iren ew erexa-ner-i-n.
she.DAT conj child-PL-DAT-the

“Over the course of the trial it became clear that the nurse had decided to get rid
from her alcoholic husband, who had continuously humiliated and beaten her and
the children.”
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the definite subject in the relative clause.

(490) Մեզ այնպիսի մարդ է պետք, որ մարդկանց մարդիկ մարդի.
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)
mez aynpisi mard է petk’ կամ mard-k-anc’
we.DAT such person.NOM it is necessary REL.NOM person-PL-DAT
masin mtac-i.
POST think-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

“We need such a person who shall think about people.”
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the indefinite subject in the relative
clause.

(491) Ո՞վ զգուշացվում է պաշտոնը, որը պարունակում է այս տևողությունի
համաձայնագրական: (Aravot 07.04.2006)
ov gołaçav ayd gumar-է կամ կարոլ
wh-who steal-aor.3.SG that amount.NOM-the REL.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES
էր ներ-է մույն այդ էներգետիկ համակարգ-ում?
it was invest-pass-INF same that energetic system-LOC

“Who stole that amount that could be invested in the same energetic system?”
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the definite subject in the relative
clause.

(492) Վանանալսավորում են փուչելքներ, որոնք են ենթադրվում են ինքն երես 20
որպես տարբեր տարբերություն: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)
himmakan-um pahanj-վ-է է հրեշ
declare-LOC require-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is fire extinguishing

“Who stole that amount that could be invested in the same energetic system?”
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the definite subject in the relative
clause.

(492) Կենսականում պատմության տեսքը ժամանակ, որը ենթադրվում են ինքն երես 20
օրվա տարիների ընթացքում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

himmakan-um pahanj-վ-է է հրեշ
declare-LOC require-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is fire extinguishing

“Who stole that amount that could be invested in the same energetic system?”
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the definite subject in the relative
clause.
In principle a fire-extinguishing technique is required that has not been
up-dated in the course of the last 20 years.
Comment: relative pronoun functioning as the definite subject in the relative clause)

b. Direct Object Relative Clause

In direct object relative clauses, the relative subordinator appears in the function of the
direct object.

The subordinators are obligatorily marked with the definitive article and occur in the
following cases depending on the humanness of the head noun in the matrix clause to
which the subordinator refers to.

- Nominative for (–human)
- Dative for (+human).

The subordinators η or “that” is used in the nominative for indicating (–human) direct
objects. The definite article is attached to the pronoun.

(493) հիմնադիրները պատմացի ու չարմանարկում,
որը սահմանված է հիմնադիր
առաջացության պատճառ։ (Հետկ’ 22.01.2007)
internet-um gt-a mi pastat’ult’ or-ě
internet-LOC find-AOR.1.SG INDEF document.NOM REL.NOM-the
storagr-um ē hivand-ě virahat-v-el-uc’ ar ˚a
sign-PTCP.PRES. it is patient.NOM-the operate-pass-INF-ABL POST
“I found a document on the internet that the patient signs before being operated on.”

(494) հիմնադիրները պատմացի ու չարմանարկում,
որը սահմանված է հիմնադիր
առաջացության պատճառ։ (Հետκ’ 19.02.2007)
hima himnak an patčar-ě or-ě mayr-er-ě
now basic reason.NOM-the REL.NOM-the mother-PL.NOM-the
nš-um en irenc’ dimim-i hamapataxan
the state-PTCP.PRES. they are their application-DAT corresponding
bažn-um soc’ialakan-n ē.
partment social.NOM-the it is
“Now the basic reason that the mothers state in the corresponding part of their ap-
plication is the social one.”

The subordinators η or “that” and η ov “who” are used in the dative for marking (+human)
direct objects. Whereas the definite article is obligatorily attached to the relative pronoun
η or “that” in the function of a (+human) direct object, it is never attached to the inter-
rogative pronoun η ov “who” when used in this function.
(495) The British police has revealed the identity of the person who was knifed and torched one year ago in the vicinity of the town of Peterborough.

(496) The painter, Henrik Gulanyan, also remarked that he accepts the minister who the government elects.

The dative of the relative pronoun որ or is also used to mark the direct object of (–human) nouns if they are used in a “personalised” sense.

(497) One must note that it is not the team (that) the Armenian collective defeated with a result of 2:1 in 1995 in Skopje.

(498) Here you simply power supply line is dead standard.
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mi ar ˚arka es or-i-n virahatel uc` anmijapes
INDEF thing.NOM you are REL-DAT-the operate-INF-ABL immediately
heto mo˚ran-um en.
POST forget-PTCP.PRES. they are

“Here you are simply a dead, standard part of the power supply line that they forget immediately after the operation.”

c. Indirect Object Relative Clause

In indirect object relative clauses the relative subordinator fulfils the function of the indirect object. The subordinators ɳ or, ռ օv, ռի ռոc’ appear in the dative case and with an attached definite article, regardless of whether the head noun in the matrix clause is (+human) or (–human).

(499) Հայկական կողմից ԵԱՀԿ Մինսկի խմբի երաշխագիծների սահման է գտնվում ու նախորդների համար, որոնք արդարավորում է դրամաշնչով: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

haykakan kolm-ě EAHK Minsk-i xmb-i e˘ranaxagah-ner-ic’ Armenian side.NOM-the OSCE Minsk-DAT group-DAT triumvirate-ABL
stac’-el è nman handipm-an hraver receive-PTCP.PERF. it is similar meeting-DAT invitation.NOM
or-i-n arjagank’-el è drakanoren.
REL-DAT-the respond-PTCP.PERF. it is positively

“The Armenian side has received an invitation for a similar meeting from the triumvirate of the OSCE Minsk group, (to) which it responded positively.”

(500) Այս մրցանակի, որոնց համար հենրակարգչություն հանձնելու Գարի Kasparov-ի մասնակիցության մշակողության, հատուկ միջին հրաշավություն համարվում: (Armenpress 16.01.2006)

ays mrc’amart-ě or-i-n hatuk hetak’krut’yun this competition.NOM-the REL-DAT-the special interest.NOM
halord-ec’ Garri Kasparov-i masnakc’ut’yun-ê irok’ impart-PTCP.PERF. Garri Kasparov-DAT participation.NOM-the really
mec iradarjut’yun darj-av.
big event.NOM become-AOR.3.SG

“This competition, for which the participation of Gari Kasparov produced special interest, has become a really big event.”

d. Oblique Objects

Relative clauses may also serve as oblique objects when the relative pronoun or relative subordinator appears in all bare cases and with adpositions. Such relative clauses are very common both in written and spoken Armenian.
Dative Object

(501) Հետազոտության պատվիրմում է ցույց տալով իրավաբանական և գործարարական առաջաբանի մեջագծային հնարավորությունը, որում ամենամեծապես է 56 զբոսաշրջիկ:
(Azg 06.04.2006)
hetazot'yun-ě patvir-el է žolovrdavarut'y-an ew investigation.nom-the order-ptcp.perf. it is democracy-dat conj
entrut'yun-ner-i ajak'ut'y-an mijazgayin institute-ե or-i-n election-pl-dat support-dat international institute.nom-the rel-dat-the
andamakc'-um en 56 erkr-ner-է. associate-ptcp.pres. they are 56 country-pl.nom
“The International Institute for the Support of Democracy and Elections, with which 56 countries associate, has ordered this investigation.”

(502) Սակայն հայկական կողմը կան է, որ նու համաձայնություն հայերի է, հյուսիս-

Instrumental Object

(503) Տ. Սարգսյանը տեղեկան է, որ նու համաձայնություն հայերի է, հյուսիս-

Locative Object

(504) Այս պետք է, որ նու համաձայնություն հայերի է, հյուսիս-
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The joint satellite program is actually examined for the APH countries, in which Armenia’s participation will be 7 per cent at most.

(505) Հայաստանի համագործակցությունները ունեն 690 ծխատեղի հիման վրա, որոնց միջոցով կարելի է տեսնել համաշխարհային համաշխարհային ծխասրահային համագործումը, որն ունի սահմանափակում ու 10 ութ է. Անդրկոմ Ներկայություն (Հայաստան 05.05.2006)

Xač'atryan-i got-er-i-n canoťac'-el è
Xač'atryan-DAT work-PL-DAT-the get acquainted-PTCP.PERF. he is

šnorhiv ir usuc'-i Nat' an Milšteyn-i um mot
PREP his teacher-DAT Nat'an Milšteyn-DAT REL-DAT POST

usan-el è 10 tari.
learn-PTCP.PERF. he is 10 year.NOM

“He became acquainted with the works of Xač’atryan thanks to his teacher, Nathan Milstein, with whom he has for studied 10 years.”

Other Oblique Objects

(506) Հայրի համար հետախուզման արդյունքում այս ջրբերը տեսնել են, որոնց պատմությունը տեսարան է. Հետպակություն (Հետկ’ 15.01.2007)

zok' anč'-i het haraberut'yun-ner-n or-ør-i
mother-in law-DAT POST relation-PL.NOM-the day-day-DAT

sr-v-el en inč'-i patčar ˚ov ēl tn-ic'
sharpen-antic-PTCP.PERF. they are REL-DAT POST also house-ABL

heřac'-el è.
leave-PTCP.PERF. he is

“The relationship with his mother in law has worsened by the day, because of which he has also left the house.”

(507) Ուսումնասիրվում է այս 690 հարակիր համակարգի հիման վրա, որոնց հետ կարելի է տեսնել համաշխարհային համագործումը, որն ունի սահմանափակում ու 10 ութ է. Անդրկոմ Ներկայություն (Հայաստան 16.01.2006)

Ayd tarack'-um mot 160 ha berri hol-er en or-i
that area-LOC almost 160 ha cultivable land-PL.NOM they are REL-DAT

dimac’ gyulac'-i-n pahanj-um è pőxahatučum
POST farmer.NOM-the claim-PTCP.PRES. he is compensation.NOM

inč'-i masin orewē ket č'-ka cragr-um.
REL-DAT POST any item.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3SG. program-LOC.

“In that area there is almost 160 hectare of cultivable land, for which the farmer claims compensation, about which not any item exists in the program.”
(508)  "The elevator must be used for 20–25 years, after which it must be destroyed or repaired."

(509)  "Now the majority of the village’s inhabitants are refugees whose lives and way of life do not differ much from the situation of Svetlana Arşustamova."

(510)  "The nation, whose sons are not equal before law and the death will not have a victorious fatherland."
Now discuss-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are a series model

cragr-er or-onc’ irakanc’um-ě ksks-v-i
program-PL.NOM REL-PL.DAT realization.NOM-the start-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
pètvar-i-n.
February-DAT-the

“Now a series of model programs is discussed, the realisation of which will be started in February.”

Plants have been placed, as result it is possible to receive an output from the recycling of waste.

f. Object of Comparison

Relativisation of the object of comparison also occurs, even if not very frequently. As with other relativisation, Armenian speakers tend to avoid complex subordinated clauses by using participial constructions. (For details see Ch. 3.4.1. “Participle constructions”, p. 499f.)

The girl, who you were smarter than, won the competition.

2. Free or Nominal Relative Clauses

Free relative or headless relative clauses arguably lack a domain nominal in the main clause; such clauses are common in MEA. The relative pronouns and relative subordinators serve either as subject or direct objects. Particularly in these free relative clauses the combination of the interrogative pronouns ու որ and թու ինչ’ with the relative pronoun ու որ are commonly used as relative subordinators.
The basic structure of headless/free relative clauses is the same as well for correlative constructions. In fact, correlative constructions are preferably and more commonly used to denote headless relative clauses.

a. Subject Function
The relative subordinator, preferably an interrogative pronoun, introduces the relative clause, which serves as the subject of the main clause.

(514) Նու քանի ու, քարագույնու ու, բե նուգ եւր կավացք ունեն:  
(Hetk’ 19.02.2007; colloquial)  
\(ov\) \(gal-is\) \(a\) \(zarman-um\) \(a\) \(wh-who.NOM\) \(come-PTCP.PRES\). he is \(surprise-PTCP.PRES\). he is \(t'e\) \(onc'\) \(enk'\) \(mnač'-el\) \(stel\)\(^{307}\). \(conj\) \(wh-how\) \(we\) are \(stay-PTCP.PERF\). here  
“Who(ever) comes, is surprised how we could stay here.”

(515) Նու ջան ուու քեր, ուան ու համահ ուու:  
\(ov\) \(č'-giti\) \(ays\) \(girk'-ě\) \(wh-who.NOM\) \(neg-know-PRES.3.SG\) \(this\) \(book.NOM\)-the \(petk'\) \(ē\) \(kard-a\) \(ayn.\) \(read-DEB.FUT.3.SG\) \(that.NOM\)  
“Who(ever) does not know this book must read it.”

b. Object Function
The relative subordinator, preferably an interrogative pronoun, introduces the relative clause, which serves as the direct object of the main clause.

(516) Բուծ Ծառու ուու, հույ կարտեսու տ:  
\(Toł\) \(Zara-n\) \(an-i\) \(inč\) \(let-IMP.2.SG\) \(Zara.NOM\)-the \(do-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG\) \(REL.NOM\) \(kamen-um\) \(ē\) \(wish-PTCP.PRES\) \(she\) is  
“Let Zara do what she wants (to do)!"

3. Free Relative Clauses with Correlative-like Constructions
a. Subject Function

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\(^{307}\) Please note that this sentence is the written reproduction of a colloquial utterance. In written Standard Armenian it would be: Նու քանի տ, քարագույնու տ, բե հայքայ եւր կավացք ապահովե։ \(ov\) \(galis\) \(ē\), \(zarmanum\) \(ē\), \(t'e\) \(inč'pes\) \(enk'\) \(mnač'el\) \(aystel\).
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(517) Να γίνει το γλώσσιο, λα θεωρηθείται το παραδείγμα, όπως άδεια φαντάζου.
(Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

ov šut े kñ-um na ankoln-um े
wh-who quickly he is sleep-PTCP.PRES. he.NOM bed-LOC he is
par-um myus-ner-े getn-i-n.
lie-PTCP.PRES. other-PL.NOM-the floor-DAT-the

“The person who falls asleep quickly sleeps in the bed; the others – on the floor.”

(518) a. Να γίνει το γλώσσιο, λα θεωρηθείται το παραδείγμα, όπως άδεια φαντάζου:

na ov anmet े toł
he.NOM wh-who.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG
net-i ařajin kør-े.
throw-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG first stone.NOM-the

“He, who is without sin, shall cast the first stone.”

b. Να γίνει το γλώσσιο, λα θεωρηθείται το παραδείγμα, όπως άδεια φαντάζου:

ov or anmet े toł
wh-who.NOM REL.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG.
net-i ařajin kør-े.
throw-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG first stone.NOM-the

“Who(ever) is without sin, shall cast the first stone.” (lit. Who that is without sin, let him throw the first stone!)

(519) Έεί το γλώσσιο, η θεωρηθείται το παραδείγμα: (Hayoc’ Lezu 8: 50)

inc’ or gr-v-ac े grič’-ov
wh-what REL write-pass-PTCP.RES. it is pen-INST
č’-i jnff-v-i brič’-ov.
neg-it is erase-pass-PTCP.NEG. pick-INST

“What is written with a pen can not be erased with a pick.”

(520) Έεί το γλώσσιο, η θεωρηθείται το παραδείγμα: (Hayoc’ Lezu 8:42)

katar-v-ec’ ayn inc’ value’ ēr spas-v-um
fulfil-pass-AOR.3.SG that REL.NOM for a long time it was wait-pass-PTCP.PRES.

“What was fulfilled has been expected for a long time.”

b. Direct Object Function

(521) es haskan-um em ayn inc’ menk’ enk’
1.NOM understand-PTCP.PRES. I am that REL.NOM we.NOM weare
stelc-um.
create-PTCP.PRES.

“I understand (that) what(ever) we create.”
(522) Մի ասեր որում չեմ ուղեկցել:

\[\text{mi lisir ayn inc' na as-um è.} \]

neg listen-IMP.2.SG. that.NOM wh-what.NOM he.NOM say-PTCP.PRES. he is

"Do not listen to whatever he says!"

(523) Չունի ինչպես ողջ, եռա (դե) ինչպես բոլոր է?

\[\text{šun-ē ker-av ayn inc' (or) katu-n} \]

dog.NOM-the eat-AOR.3.SG that.NOM wh-what.NOM (REL) cat.NOM-the

\[\text{t'ol-el ēr.} \]

leave-PTCP.PERF. she was

"The dog ate whatever the cat left."

4. Adverbial Relative Clauses

An interrogative pronoun is used to introduce a subordinate relative clause, which modifies either a noun/pronoun of the main clause or the main clause as a whole.

Only non-restrictive clauses can be used as adverbial clauses.

Adverbial relative clauses of place are introduced by the interrogative որտեղ ortele “where”, որտեղ ur “where to”, որտեղով ortelic “where from”.

Adverbial relative clauses of time are introduced by interrogative pronouns as relative subordinators such as երբ erb “when”, երբպացել erbvanic “since when”.

Adverbial relative clauses of reason are introduced with a postpositional phrase consisting of a relative pronoun and the postposition, as in պատճառով patčar’ov “because of…."

5. Sentential Relative Clauses.

Sentential relative clauses have a semantic affinity with coordinate clauses.

6. Participial Relative Clauses

Participial relative clauses are very productive both in colloquial and written Armenian. They replace adnominal and free relative clauses with various functions, as given above. For a detailed description please see the following chapter on special syntactic constructions.

3.4 Special constructions

In MEA there are several constructions which deserve a separate description and detailed explanation. Such “special” constructions are usually regarded as significant parameters or features from a typological point of view. Some of these special constructions, such as participle constructions, are undeniable features MEA shares with its geographical and linguistic neighbours. Some of the features may also be extremely innovative and are obviously contrary to the expected typological characteristics of Indo-European languages.
Participle constructions are non-finite sentential expressions composed of modifiers and a participle. They may function as attributive or adverbial complements; as such they can be paraphrased by corresponding subordinate clauses (or vice versa): in their attributive function they are synonymous with relative clauses, in their adverbial function to adverbial clauses with various meanings (temporal, causal, modal, conditional, concessive, etc).

In traditional grammars of SMEA, participle constructions including infinitive constructions are usually regarded as being semantically equal to but structurally different from subordinate clauses with finite verbs and subordinating conjunctions, interrogative or relative pronouns. Thus, they are often regarded as depending on a regular subordinate clause. Participle constructions, however, should be regarded as independent syntactic constructions, following their own morpho-syntactic rules, which sometimes make them difficult to deduce from the corresponding subordinate clauses.

There are some semantic or syntactic constraints on using participle constructions or on turning subordinate clauses into participle constructions.

a. Subordinated clauses convey local meaning, either as local relative clauses or as local adverbials, being introduced with the interrogative pronouns որ ur and որոտ ur tel “where/where to”, cannot be turned into participle constructions. Or vice versa: participle constructions never convey local meaning, neither in local adnominal nor in local adverbial function.

(524) Գրադարանի անձավկով, ձեք կարուանում է երկու աշխատակիցների աշխատանքի անձավկով, որոտը ոչ միայն հանդիպում է իրենից բարձր գիտակցություն։
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)

gradaran-ic’ ortel teladr-v-ac ē naew Mesrop
canon-ABL wh-where place-pass-PTCP.RES. it is also Mesrop

arkespiskopos Aščyan-i anjnakan kahuyk’-ě kar-ol
archbishop Aščyan-DAT personal furniture-NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES.

en āgt-v-el bolor čankačol-ner-ě.
they are use-refl-INF all desire-PTCP.SUB-PL.NOM-the

“All those who desire can use the library, in which there is also placed the personal furniture of Archbishop Mesrop Aščyan.”

And in Šamiram the building of the village mayor’s office is also renovated, which (where) the school will move to.

Adnominal participle constructions are only acceptable and possible as alternative expressions to relative subordinate clauses, if the relative clause functions as

- Subject (relative pronoun in the nominative) or
- Direct object (relative pronoun in the nominative or the dative) or
- Or in adjectival or genitive attribute functions (if the relative pronoun is used in an attributive or genitive attribute function).

The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “that boy”, and functions as the subject.

The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “that house”, and functions as the direct object.

The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “that house”, and functions as the direct object.
“Another issue is the children, whom they have found in the street.”
The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “the children”, and functions as the
direct object.

(529) Մեկ դեպքը կոչվում է Արմավիր Ամբուլատորիա ոճով, որում 32 աշակերտ վարձուկի
ամբուլատորիային մեկ աշակերտ գործում է, որի արդյունքով Արմավիր ոճով: (Armenpress
06.05.2006)

* ayn * drpeć’-ē kr-um ē Mesrop Maštoci’-i
* that school.nom-the bear-ptcp.pres. it is Mesrop Maštoci-dat

* anum-ē or-i 32 ašakert tnōren-i glxavorut’-amb
* name.nom-the rel-dat 32 pupil.nom director-dat guidance-inst

* mi kani or-ov ayćel-ec’ Aragacotn-i marz.
* some day-inst visit-aor.3.sg Aragacotn-dat province.nom

“That school bears the name of Mesrop Maštoc’ from which 32 pupils visited the
province of Aragacotn for a few days under the guidance of the director.”

(530) Գլխահարդարի անվանը բառային, որում Ամբուլատորիա ամբուլատորիայի վրա:

* goreć-ē hanjnara-v-ec’ ayn spa-yi-n or-ē
* work.nom-the entrust-pass-aor.3.sg that officer-dat-the rel.nom-the

* koćum-ov amena-ktser-ē ć’-ēr.
* rank-inst most-minor.nom-the neg he was

“This work was entrusted to that officer who was not the most minor in rank.”

These sentences can be alternatively expressed with participle constructions:

(526) a. Երևանի պետական համալսարանի երրորդ հատուկ շաբաթը Այրազ

* Erewan-i petakan hamalsaran-unm sovor-ol tla-n
* Yerevan-dat state university-loc study-ptcp.sub. boy.nom-the

* Silva-yi krtser ordi-n ē.
* Silva-dat youngest son.nom-the he is

“The boy studying at Yerevan State University is Silva’s youngest son.”

(527) a. Արամի սիրահագ հիմունքների շրջանում:

* Aram-ē vača’-ec’ ir hor kařuc’-ac
* Aram.nom-the sell-aor.3.sg his father-dat build-ptcp.res.

* tun-ē.
* house.nom-the

“Aram sold the house built by his father.”

(528) a. Ուր պատ փոխության գործում գտնվող բոլորը որպես

* Ayl ban pōloć’-um gtn-v-ac erexa-ner-n ē.
* other issue.nom street-loc find-pass-ptcp.res. child-pl.nom-the it is

“Another issue is the children found in the street.”
(529) a. Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի անունով 32 աշակերտ ուսանող սարքավորել էին սուր օրը՝ որպես ուսանողության առաջընթացի.

Mesrop Maštoc'-i anun-ě kr-ol dproc'-i 32
Mesrop Maštoc-dat name.nom-the bear-ptcp.sub. school-dat 32
ašakert tnōren-i gliavorut'y-amb mī kāni ṭr-ov
pupil.nom director-dat guidance-inst some day-inst
aycèl-ec'-in Aragacotn-i marz.
visit.aor.3.pl Aragacotn-dat province.nom

“Thirty-two pupils of the school bearing the name of Mesrop Maštoc visited the province of Aragacotn for a few days under the guidance of the director.”

If the finite relative clause is a predicative with the copular verb “to be”, it cannot be substituted by a participle construction, except if the copular is negated; then the negative prefix Ė- Ė'- is attached to the corresponding participle of the verb ḳenųz linel.

(530) a. Փորձով համահասարական կենսային աշխատանքի ամենամիջինը:

gorc-ē hanjnarar-v-ec' koč'um-ov amena-krtsér-ē
work.nom-the entrust-pass-aor.3.sg rank-inst most-minor.nom-the
ć'-lin-ol spa-yi-n.
neg-be-ptcp.sub. officer-dat-the

“The work is entrusted to the officer not being the most minor in rank.”

That means, that those subordinate relative clauses introduced with an inflected relative pronoun that do not denote subject, direct object, or genitive attribute, as well as those inflected relative pronouns combined with adpositions, are excluded from the possibility of being turned into corresponding participle constructions.

(531) Կարինի անձը նախորդ տնտեսություն է եղել 26-րդ սպառության, որը նորք է կունել, վարկածային, Արևելատար Հայաստանից. (Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

Karine-n anajan vačar-el ē t'iv 26a bnakanaran-ē
Karine.nom-the alone sell-ptcp.perf. she is No. 26a appartment.nom-the
or-ic oč mī luma bnakanabar Alek’andr-i-n Ė'-i
rel-abl no luma.nom naturally Alek’andr-dat-the neg-it is
has-el.
reach-ptcp.perf.

“Karine sold the apartment No. 26a alone, of which not a luma has reached Aleksandr.”

(532) Միայն որպես Արմենիայի շինարարի համահասարակային շարժման, որտեղ նախորդ տնտեսություն է կունել, Հայաստանը, որը շահական է հասցրել բոլոր բոլոր համահասարակայինների:

(Armenpress 05.05.2006)

Miayn ōrenk'-i ew iravunk'-i šnorhiv hnaravor klin-i
only law-dat conj order-dat post possible be-cond.fut.3.sg
karuc'-el ayn Hayastan-ē or-i masin eraz-el
build-inf that Armenia.nom-the rel-dat post dream-inf we
enk’ bolor žamanak-ner-um.
are all time-PL-LOC

“Only thanks to law and order will it be possible to build that Armenia about which we have dreamed the whole time.”

b. The subordinate clause also cannot be turned into a participle or infinitive construction for a simple semantic reason: the meaning expressed by the subordinate clause cannot be “reproduced” in the same multifunctional reading in participle constructions. This often happens with subordinate clauses functioning as adverbials of consequence, adverbials of goal (=final adverbials), as well as modal adverbials or adverbials of measure. This is due to slight semantic distinctions and thus ambiguous readings between these adverbials, which might be easily misinterpreted in participle constructions.

(533) Բայց մենք հանելով ամբողջ ժամանակ ձեռք, որ հավանաբար էին, որ տեղ 
ունեին ընտանիքը:
Bayc’ menk’ iharke aynk’ an miamit ē-ēink’ or
conj we.nom of course that naive neg-we were conj
havata-yink’ nra sut xostum-ner-i-n.
believe-subj.past.1.pl his false promise-pl-dat-the

“But we, of course, would not be so naive that we would believe his false promises.”
This subordinate clause (533) may be interpreted as an adverbial of measure, but also as an adverbial of consequence or even as a final adverbial.

(533) a. Բայց մենք հանելով ամբողջ ժամանակ ձեռք, որ տեղ 
ունեին ընտանիքը:
Bayc’ menk’ iharke nra sut xostum-ner-i-n
conj we.nom of course his false promise-pl-dat-the
havatal-u ēap’ miamit ē-eink’.
believe-inf-dat post naive neg-we were

“We would, of course, not be so much naive to believe his false promises.”
This participle construction (533a) can only be interpreted as an adverbial of measure.

(534) Հայաստանից պահպանված պատմություն է ստեղծվել, որ նույն ժամանակի արագացմանը 
զարգացման վայրում հավանաբար է հանձնել:
(Armenpress 15.11.2005)
Hayastan-um aynk’ an amur himk’ è stelc-v-el
Armenia-loc that much stable basis.nom it is found-pass-ptcp.perf.
or naew gyulakan šrjan-ner-i zargac’um-n
conj also rural region-pl-dat development.nom-the
apahovel-ē hnaravor è darj-el.
guarantee-inf.nom-the possible it is become-ptcp.perf.

“In Armenia such a stable basis has been founded, that it has also become possible to guarantee the development of rural regions.”
Some participle utterances do not seem acceptable to native speakers for stylistic reasons. The latter stylistic constraint is particularly true for those modifying the subject of the clause, or subordinate clauses governed by the verb չինձ t'val “to seem”.

**General Features of Participle and Infinitive Constructions**

**Methods to Shorten a Subordinate Clause**

a. The whole subordinate clause is “reduced” to a single word, commonly a nominalised participle.

(535) Ըսրուխում վերահայ: (Armenian saying)

\[ \text{c'anac'-d khnj-es.} \]

sow-PTCP.RES-your harvest-COND.FUT.2.SG

“You will harvest what you have sowed.”

(535) a. Ըսրուխում վերահայ, վերահայ:

\[ \text{Inč’ or čan-es ayn khnj-es.} \]

wh-what REL sow-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG that harvest-COND.FUT.2.SG

“You will harvest what you have sowed.”

(536) Որպես վերահայ, ուշ վերահայ: (Armenian saying)

\[ \text{ov ašxat-i na kut-i.} \]

wh-who work-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG he.NOM eat-COND.FUT.3.SG

“He who works, will eat.” (Lit.: Who works, he will eat.)

(536) a. Ուժավորություն վերահայ:

\[ \text{ašxat-ol-ē kut-i.} \]

work-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the eat-COND.FUT.3.SG

“He who works, will eat.” (Lit.: The working one will eat.)

b. The subordinate clause is replaced by a participial or infinitive construction (modifying function).

(537) Որպես վերահայ, ուշ վերահայ, տեղա տեփունի:

(Hayoc’ Lezu 8: 88)

\[ \text{erexa-n or k'n-ac ēr bazmoc'-i-n eraz} \]

child.NOM-the REL.NOM sleep-PTCP.RES. it was sofa-DAT-the dream.NOM

\[ \text{ēr tesn-um.} \]

it was see-PTCP.PRES.

“The child that was sleeping on the sofa had a dream.”

(537) a. Որպես վերահայ, ուշ վերահայ, տեղա տեփունի:

\[ \text{Bazmoc'-i-n k'n-ac erexa-n eraz} \]

sofa-DAT-the sleep-PTCP.RES. child.NOM-the dream.NOM

The child sleeping on the sofa had a dream.

Though in traditional grammars, participle and infinitive constructions are merged in
the term “participle construction”, there are semantic and morphosyntactic differences
between participle and infinitive constructions, which makes it reasonably easy to distin-
guish between participle (mainly adnominal functions) and infinitive (exclusively adver-
bial functions) constructions.

Thus, regarding syntactic order:

- participle constructions with the resultative participle in -wô -ac, the future participle II
  in - hã -ik’ and the subjective participle in -rn -ol, functioning exclusively as adnominal
  modifiers, obligatorily precede their head noun.
- Participle constructions with processual participle in -hu -is, functioning exclusively
  as temporal adverbs expressing simultaneity, usually appear at the beginning of the
  sentence.
- Infinitive constructions functioning as various kinds of adverbials appear in the begin-
  ning or in the end of the sentence, depending on the function.

a. Adnominal Constructions

If the subordinate clause is adnominal, it has an attributive function, i.e. if it is introduced
with a relative pronoun, in the corresponding participle construction:

- the relative pronoun is omitted;
- the finite verb is changed to a resultative participle, future participle II or subjective
  participle;
- the positive copular verb is omitted;
- the negative copular verb in the predicative is substituted by the corresponding nega-
  tive participles of õùâ linel according to the sequence of tenses.

The particular meaning of the participles given above determines the possible function of
the participle constructions.

The resultative participle in -wô -ac refers to states as the result of an action in the
past and is usually used in participial constructions functioning as an adnominal attribute,
modifying and determining a nominal constituent of a sentence. In this function it resem-
bles a relative clause. The resultative participle construction thus refers to states/actions in
the past, and resembles the finite verb forms in past tenses (perfect, aorist, pluquamper-
fect) in the corresponding relative clause.

(538) Ùσλήσηνή ύσαρμόμαντο ρήπον χάρματοσην η:  
Ašakert-i kardac’-ac girk’-ê sat hetak’rk’ir ê.  
pupil-DAT read-PTCP.RES. book.NOM-the INT interesting it is
“The book read by the pupil is very interesting.”
The future participle in -hcp-ik' refers to an action, that will be fulfilled in near the future and is usually used in participial constructions functioning as an adnominal attribute, modifying and determining a nominal constituent of a sentence. In this function it also resembles a finite relative clause. Thus the future participle II as expression of a future action resembles the finite verb forms in future tense meanings (future, conditional future) in the corresponding relative clause.

The subject participle in -n olig is generally used in participial constructions functioning as an adnominal attribute, modifying and determining a nominal constituent of a sentence. In this function is also resembles a finite relative clause. The subject participle construction as an expression of a present action thus resembles the finite verb forms in the present tense in the corresponding relative clause. Consequently it is used to convey a simultaneous action or even an action in process.

“He speaks with the student who is reading the very interesting book.”

“He speaks with the student who is reading the very interesting book.”

“He speaks with the student who is reading the very interesting book.”
kard-um è šat hetak’r’ir girk’-è.
read-PTCP.pres. he is INT interesting book.nom-the
“He speaks with the student who is reading the very interesting book.”

By contrast, the processual participle in -ḫum-is referring to an action in progress, is exclusively used in participial constructions functioning as a temporal adverbial, denoting that the action expressed by the participle is simultaneous to the main action, the action expressed by the finite verb.

(541) Անտառ-ում սունկ հավակել-է Մադլեն-է:
Antař-um sunk havakel-ě Madlen-ě
forest-loc mushroom.nom collect-PTCPPROC. Madlen.nom-the
korc’r-ec’ ir banali-n.
lose-AOR.3.SG her key-dat-the
“Collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her key.” Lit.: when she was collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her key.)

b. Adverbial Constructions

If the subordinate clause is introduced with a conjunction and contains a finite verb, (i.e. if the subordinate clause has an adverbial function) the corresponding infinitive constructions show the following features:

– the conjunction is omitted or substituted by a semantically corresponding adposition;
– the finite verb is changed to its corresponding infinitive and is often marked with case;
– the copular verb is changed to its corresponding infinitive [ինք linel “to be”.

(542) Սակայն տելանկ-է բարդ լինել-է պատչարով ջրամբարակում-է
sakayn telank’-i bard linel-u patčarov framatakarum-ě
conj locality-dat complicated be-INF-DAT POST water-supply.nom-the
kversks-v-i miayn 1–2 or-ič’.
restart-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG. only 1–2 day-ABL
“But, because the locality is complicated, the water supply will restart only after one or two days.”

This sentence can be easily changed to a causal subordinate clause:

(542) a. Ջրամբարակում-է կվերսկս-է միայն 1–2 օրից.
framatakarum-ě kversks-ě miayn 1–2 or-ic’
water-supply.nom-the restart-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG only 1–2 day-ABL
k’ani vor telank’-è bard è.
conj locality.nom-the complicated it is
“The water supply will restart only after one or two days, since the locality is complicated.”
This type of construction is possible:

- with the (inflected) infinitive and thus usually functions as an adverbial with various meanings
- with the processual participle in -հա -is and thus usually functions as a temporal adverbial denoting simultaneity.

In addition to the semantic-functional contrasts between the four participle constructions, one also has to note the morphosyntactic differences.

- In participle constructions with the resultative participle and future II., the logical subject and object(s) can be expressed.
- In constructions with a subject participle, the noun it modifies also governs the participle as the subject.
- In constructions with a processual participle, the non-finite verb forms co-refer exclusively to the main subject of the clause.

The Expression of the Subject of the Non-finite Verb Forms

The (logical) subject of the resultative and future II active participle is expressed with:

- nouns in the nominative case, if (–human) and the dative case if (+human);\(^{310}\)
- personal pronouns in the genitive case (= lexicalised possessive pronouns);
- possessive suffixes in the 1st and 2nd person attached either to the head noun of the participle construction or even to the participle itself.

(543) Արայի կատար-ա աշխատ-անկ-ից գոհ մնակ-են բոլոր-է.
Ara-yi katar-ac ašxatank'-ic' goh mnac'-in bolor-ě.
“Everybody (lit.: all) was content with the work done by Ara.”

(544) Թո ստորագրել-իք պաստանթ-ում ժամ մեկ մեկնաբանության նյութ.
K' o storagrik' pastat'ult'-um šat mec kareworut'yun un-i.
“The document you shall sign is of very great importance.”

(545) Այսոր դա-ս պահում-են-է ժամ էր.
aysōr ls-ac-s patumut'yun-ě šat txur ēr.
“The story I heard today was very sad.”

\(^{310}\) Obviously resultative and future II participle can only be used in participle constructions with an expressed subject, in case it is a real agent (i.e. +human) and not a natural force or instrument agent.
The accepted and conventionalised use of possessive suffixes to express agency of the 1st and 2nd person directly on the non-finite participle form is a rather recent development. In the Armenian grammars of the Soviet period, there is very little knowledge about this unusual use of the possessive suffix. In post-Soviet grammars, some grammarians refer to the existence of such constructions particularly in spoken language. Nowadays, however, attaching "possessive suffixes" directly to participles, thus functioning as "agentive" suffixes, has also entered written language.

The possessive suffix used in participle constructions may cause ambiguity, regarding its possessive or agentive reading, particularly if it is only attached to the head-noun, as below.

(546) Ըսծածոծ անձուկ ուրահովի դատարկություն տեսք:
Partez-um աչեչ-առ կալիկ-ներ-դ
garden-LOC grow-caus-PTCP.RES. flower-PL.NOM-your
calk-el en.
blossom-PTCP.PERF. they are

“Your flowers that have been growing in the garden have blossomed.”
(Possessive reading)
or: “The flowers you have grown in the garden have blossomed.” (Agentive reading)

If it is, however, attached to the participle, its agentive reading is clear. The possessive suffix attached to the participle definitely expresses the agent in the 1st or 2nd person.

(546) a. Ըսծածոծ անձուկ ուրահովի դատարկություն տեսք:
Partez-um աչեչ-առ-դ կալիկ-ներ-է
garden-LOC grow-caus-PTCP.RES.-your flower-PL.NOM-the
calk-el en.
blossom-PTCP.PERF. they are

“The flowers you have grown in the garden have blossomed.” (Only an agentive reading possible)

That means when there is a co-occurrence of possessive suffixes both on the head noun and the participle, only the one on the participle can be read as an agent.

(547) Նմանակություն զետկապես ծավալ գրասենյակում ու պատկերասրահում:
Nkar-ac-d դիմանկար-s կուդրաձ-առ-դ
paint-PTCP.RES-Your portrait.NOM-my exhibit-pass-PTCP.PRES.
է պատկերասրահ-առ-դ
it is gallery-LOC.

“My portrait, that you have painted, is exhibited in the gallery.”
If the non-finite resultative or future II participle is passive, the (logical) agent is preferably expressed with:

- the postpositional phrase կոլմից' + noun/pronoun in the dative, in cases of (+human) agent;
- the noun/pronoun in the ablative, in cases of (+human) agent and affective/emotional verbs or in cases of (–human, natural force) agent;
- the noun in the instrumental, in case of (–human) agent.

(548) Քորըղ համար պատմական էր պատմության նալ ունեցած համար:

bolor-i kolmc' haçax patm-v-ac ays patmut'yun-ě amen
all-DAT POST often tell-pass-PTCP.RES. this story.NOM-the every
tel valuec' haytni ē.
place.NOM for a long time known it is

“This story which has been often told all people is known everywhere for a long time.”

(549) Հրատարակել էր գիրքի անձնական հատակագիրության վերջին ժամը համար:

Hratarak-v-el-ik' girk'-s naxapes hetak'rk'rut'y-an
publish-pass-PTCP.FUT.II book.NOM-my in advance interest-DAT
mec alik' ē ar ˚a j\ a-c'r-el.
big wave.NOM it is cause-caus-PTCP.PERF.

“Lit.: My book, that will be published, has caused a wave of interest in advance.”

Note: the future participle II is in the passive, so that the possessive suffix on the noun “book” can not be read in an agentive but a possessive sense. It is my book, which will be published (by somebody).

(550) Արամ ապրում է ստորմի պատկերով գրորդով:

Aram-n aprum ē potork'-ic'
Aram.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. he is storm-ABL
kand-v-ac gyuł-um.
destroy-pass-PTCP. RES. village-LOC

“Aram lives in the village destroyed by the storm.”

(551) Այս քառորդում էր տանել գլխավոր աշխատանքի տեղը գրորդով:

(Hetk' 26.02.2007)
ays talamas-um ē gtn-v-um naew cer-er-ov
this quarter-LOC it is find-refl-PTCP.PRES. also old-PL-INST
bokaneac'-v-ac erku kotlej.
populate-pass-PTCP.RES. two cottage.NOM

“In this quarter there are two cottages also occupied by old people.”
As with other passive verb forms, the agent may also be unexpressed.
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(552) Our aim is to bring the approaches which have been affirmed in the time of the hearings to a termination.

The (logical) direct object of a transitive non-finite participle is expressed with:

- nouns in the dative if (+human) and in the nominative case if (–human).
- pronouns in the dative (if referring to a (+human) noun) or in the nominative (if referring to an (–human) noun).

In cases of a co-occurrence of an explicit nominal dative or pronominal genitive agent with (a) nominal or pronominal direct object in dative or (b) nominal or pronominal indirect object in dative ambiguity is usually avoided.

This can be achieved by

- conventionalised word order of relative sentence-like participle constructions i.e. agent noun in the dative (agent pronoun in the genitive) – object – participle
- by attaching the possessive suffix to the participle in cases where the agent is in the 1st and 2nd person
- by punctuation marks in written language (i.e. putting the but' between agent and object).

(553) I have sent the letter you have written to my sister.

(554) This is an invaluable treasure, which you have given to me.

c. Participial Relative Clauses

As already explained in detail, relative clauses may also be expressed by means of participle constructions using the resultative (for past time reference), future II (for future time reference) and even subject participles (for present time reference).
Such participial relative clauses exclusively precede the noun they modify (rel+N).

(555) Մինչև ուշ երեկո տեղ-ում ճակատամարտ-ում
PREP late evening.NOM last-PTCP.RES battle-LOC
վհար երեսունցշր հայ-er.
sacrifice-refl-AOR.3.PL 1036 Armenian-PL.NOM.
“In the battle that lasted until late evening 1036 Armenians had sacrificed themselves.”

(556) Սա կրոյ-ու Բարձր գերդերը տու: (Grakanut’yun 4:15)
Sa k’roj-d ar-ac gorc-er-n en.
this sister-DAT-your do-PTCP.RES. work-PL.NOM-the they are
“These are the works that your sister has done.”

(557) Երուսաղեմյան հետագայություն է Հարավային Հայաստանի Հայաստանի Հայաստանի
Bryusel-um hetajg-v-el è Haravayin Kovkas-i
Brussels-LOC delay-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is Southern Caucasus-DAT
հարց-ի Եվրո-Կուստու-դի ներկայացուցակ հունվարի 22-ի այց-ի
22-i-n spas-v-elic’ zekucum-ě
22-DAT-the expect-pass-PTCP.FUT.II paper.NOM-the
“The paper, that was expected on January 22nd from the representative of the European Council about the questions of the South Caucasus, was delayed in Brussels.”

(558) Քաղաքականային կառույց հետևածույթով վերնամասնված վերավերմասնիչ
kalakapetaran-i kohmic’ irakanc’-v-elic’ verakangnm-an
mayor’s office-DAT POST realize-pass-PTCP.FUT.II. resumption-DAT
աշխատանք-ի կառավարում 350 միլ. դրամ է.
work-PL-DAT extent-NOM-the 350 million dram.NOM it is
“The extent of the resumption of works, which shall be realised by the mayor’s office, is (costs) 350 million dram.”

(559) Նրանք բերել են 250–300 մետր հետև գաղտնի հու գերիտկով:
(Hetk’ 05.02.2007)
jur-ě ber-um en 250–300 metr heřu
water.NOM-the bring-PTCP.PRES. they are 250–300 metre.NOM far
gtn-v-oł mi jhor-ic’.
find-refl-PTCP.SUB. INDEF well-ABL
“They bring the water from a well, which is located 250–300 metres away.”
Temporal Adverbials with Processual Participle

As previously mentioned, the processual participle can be used in temporal adverbials, in participial subordinate temporal constructions, for expressing simultaneity to the main action of the sentence.

The subject of the main verb is also the subject of the processual participle, only in cases of impersonal, general utterances the subjects may be different (563).

The processual participle construction usually precedes the main clause with the finite verb.

(560) Եթե նույն ժամը կերել է այս ժամը, ապա այդ ժամը կերել է.  "When one eats, he shall not speak.” (Lit.: Eating, one shall not speak.)

(561) Վերջինից հայրը ճանապարհորդ էր այս ժամը, այս ժամը ճանապարհորդ էր.  (Grakanutyun 4:82)

"(When I was) going to school in the morning, I saw a person almost lying on the pavement.”

(562) Երբ որոշում է, այնուհետև գտնել է դառնալ նույն ժամը ճանապարհորդ.  (Armenpress 05.04.2006)

"Taking the desired step, the consequences have to be calculated.”

These processual participle constructions expressing simultaneity may also be articulated by means of an infinitive construction: the infinitive in the dative case combined with the postposition ժամանակ "time/in the time/during”. (See also below)

Adverbials Expressed By Infinitive Constructions

As with participle constructions, infinitive constructions are usually regarded as shortened alternatives to subordinate sentences, i.e. having the same meaning but a different structure.

Infinitive constructions are commonly used to denote the following meanings:

a. measure/degree
b. purpose
c. cause/reason
d. condition
e. concession
f. temporal meaning
g. substitute meaning
h. modal meaning.

The infinitive is nominalised by attaching the definite article to its zero form and by declining it according to the u-declination.

If the infinitive refers to the same subject as the main finite verb, the subject is not expressed in the infinitive construction. If, however, the infinitive construction refers to a subject different from the one of the main verb, this infinitive subject must be expressed in the dative case.

If the copular verb occurs in a subordinate clause with a predicative, the auxiliary usually appears in the infinitive construction (inflected and often co-occurring with adpositions). This rule relates only to such predicative subordinate clauses that are introduced with a conjunction and not with a relative pronoun, i.e. such predicative subordinate clauses do not function as a subordinate relative clause.

(563) Ես չէ-եմ ուզ-ում հավատ-ալ կամ Համե եւ Ավագ պատժ-ի հարահի թիե։
Es չ-է-em uz-um havat-al or Adam ew 1.nom neg-I am want-ptcp.pres. believe-inf conj Adam.nom conj Eva-n aɾajin mard-ik en el-el. Eva.nom-the first man-pl.nom they are be-ptcp.perf.
“I do not want to believe that Adam and Eve were the first human beings.”

(563) a. Ես չէ-եմ ուզ-ում հավատ-ալ Համե-ի եւ Ավագ-ի պատժ-ի հարահի թիե։
Eva-dat first man-pl.nom be-inf-dat-the
“I do not want to believe in Adam’s and Eve’s being the first human beings.”

(564) Ես զգ-ում եմ որս այստեղ հատ եմ է։ (Դավթ’յան 2005:17)
es zg-um em or aystel im tel-է է-է. 1.nom feel-ptcp.pres. I am conj here my place.nom-the neg-it is
“I feel that here is not my place.”

(564) a. Ես զգ-ում եմ ուստեղ հատ եմ է։
es zg-um em aystel im tel-է է-linel-է. 1.nom feel-ptcp.pres. I am here my place.nom-the neg-be-inf.nom-the
“I feel that here is not my place.”

a. Infinitive Constructions of Measure/Degree
Nominalised infinitives are used in combination with the postposition էջի էար է to express a subordinate clause, with a correlating demonstrative pronoun, identity pronoun or deictic
adverb in the matrix clause and the conjunction introducing the subordinate clause of measure/degree.

(565) Օրի դրապետություն համրել կարալε հանգել զաքալաս եմ: (Dav’tyan 2005:15)

\[ \text{ôr-n} \quad \text{jorak-ner-ê} \quad \text{hamr-el} \quad \text{kareli} \quad \text{linel-u} \]

\[ \text{day.nom} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{ravine-pl.nom} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{count-inf} \quad \text{possible} \quad \text{be-inf-dat} \]

\[ \text{çap’} \quad \text{parz} \quad \text{êr.} \]

\[ \text{post} \quad \text{clear} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{was} \]

“The day was so clear that one could count the ravines.”

(565)  a. Օրի այնքն այդպիս է, որ հանգել կարալ դրապետություն:

\[ \text{ôr-n} \quad \text{aynk’ân} \quad \text{parz} \quad \text{êr} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{kareli} \quad \text{êr} \]

\[ \text{day.nom} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{clear} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{was} \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{possible} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{was} \]

\[ \text{hamr-el} \quad \text{jorak-ner-ê.} \]

\[ \text{count-inf} \quad \text{ravine-pl.nom} \quad \text{the} \]

“The day was so clear that one could count the ravines.”

b.  Infinitive Constructions of Purpose

Infinitive constructions of purpose are very frequently used in both spoken and written MEA. One of the prototypical functions of the dative case is to denote purpose; thus the infinitive is used either in the pure dative case or in the dative case co-occurring with the postpositions համրել hamar “for, in order to” or պատակով npatakov “in order to”.

This infinitive construction of purpose appears usually at the end of the sentence and is separated from the main clause by the punctuation mark short stop [ ]. If the infinitive of purpose, however, appears at the beginning of the sentence it may only be used with the postpositions mentioned above and – in written Armenian – always without the punctuation mark short stop.

(566) Աս գործոքոր չի ավարտ պատանիրս համ չի պատասխանել այսպիսով:

(Aravot 08.04.2006)

\[ \text{es} \quad \text{gorcark’} \quad \text{ê-em} \quad \text{ar-el} \quad \text{petut’y-an} \quad \text{het} \]

\[ \text{i.nom} \quad \text{deal.nom} \quad \text{neg-I} \quad \text{am} \quad \text{make-ptcp.perf.} \quad \text{government-dat} \quad \text{post} \]

\[ \text{pôl} \quad \text{aşxatel-u} \quad \text{npatakov.} \]

\[ \text{money.nom} \quad \text{work-inf-dat} \quad \text{post} \]

“I have made no deal with the government in order to earn money.”

(567) Հիմացույց հետամշակություն ամբողջական կոչելու դաշտագրական կոչմանի մասերից կարճացնել համարով:

(Armenpress 29.03.2006)

\[ \text{Cragir-n} \quad \text{irakanac’nel-u} \quad \text{npatakov} \quad \text{stelc-v-el} \quad \text{ê} \]

\[ \text{program.nom} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{realize-inf-dat} \quad \text{post} \quad \text{found-pass-ptcp.perf.} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{bazmaçyul} \quad \text{masnagitakan} \quad \text{ajakc’ut’y-an} \quad \text{xumb.} \]

\[ \text{multi-branch professional support-dat group.nom} \]

“In order to realise the program, a group for the multi-branch professional support has been founded.”
These infinitive constructions of purpose are synonymous with subordinate clauses of purpose introduced with the conjunctions եր or երպես։ "in order to".

c. Causal Infinitive Constructions

Causal meaning is conveyed by using the dative on the infinitive in combination with the postposition պատչառով patčaɾov. This is a synonymous construction with causal subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions որպեսի or կանի որ "since, because, as".

This causal meaning can also be expressed by means of a "real" infinitive construction with the infinitive in the instrumental.311

d. Conditional Infinitive Constructions

Conditional meaning is conveyed by using the dative on the infinitive in combination with the postposition դեպկում depk’um. This is a synonymous construction with the conditional subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions եթե or եթե “if”.

311. In written language, the punctuation mark short stop separates this causal infinitive construction in instrumental if it appears in the beginning or in the end of the sentence. If it is embedded, it is separated from the other constituents of the sentences with a comma. In spoken Armenian there are clearly perceptible pauses between infinitive construction and rest of the sentence.
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(571) Համբարձում ենթարկվող էթանալ հիմնամասում էթանալային պատրաստ:
(Armenpress 31.05.2006)

haltel-u depk’um mrank‘ kstan-an dramakan pargew.
win-INF-DAT POST they.NOM receive-COND.FUT.3.PL. monetary gift.NOM

“If they win, they will receive a monetary gift.”

(572) 5–6 տարվա պատմության նույն պատմության օրոքը տարած տարածաշինություն պատկանող զբաղ ընկոյ 9 հազար դրամ.
(Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

5–6 angam zugaran-ic’ ew lavacaran-ic’ ogt-v-elu depk’um
5–6 time.NOM toilet-ABL conj washroom-ABL use-INF-DAT POST
ams-va mej šuka-yi-n pet’ê včar-i
month-DAT POST market-DAT-the pay-DEB.FUT.3.SG.
šurj 9 hazar dram.
about 9,000 dram.NOM

“If he uses the toilet and the washroom 5–6 times, he has to pay about 9,000 dram to
the market.” (Lit.: in the case of using the toilet and the washroom 5–6 times...)

e. Concessive Infinitive Constructions
Concessive meaning is conveyed by using the instrumental on the infinitive alone, or in
combination with the postposition համբարձում handerj “together with”. This is a synonymous
construction with the concessive subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions
եթանալ տեև, ռուբութ տեփետ, զույգով դի էնայակ ու ընդունում “even if/although”.

(573) Սուրդար ռազմական ծրագրի համար ինչպես կարողանելու ուր շարադրված ուր ջուր պիտայան:

żuyg-i hogn-ac linel-ov handerj na
palfrey-DAT to became tired-PTCP.RES. be-INF-INST POST he.NOM
štape-c’n-um ēr xelé kendan-u-n.
hurry-caus-PTCP.PRES. he was poor animal-DAT-the

“Even though the palfrey was tired, he made the poor animal hurry.”

(574) Ամբողջությամբ աչքերը ընդունելի ավելի մեծ համար ին ապահովին ու ապահովում որ այս կարճ: (Gyurjin-
yan 2002:180)

bnat’yun-ic’ gelec’ik č-linel-ov anč’ap hmayic’ u
nature-ABL beautiful neg-be-INF-INST immeasurably charming conj
ařink’noł ēr ayd kin-č.
compelling she was that woman.NOM-the

“Although she was not beautiful by nature, that woman was immeasurably charming
and compelling.”
Even if the sharp increase of the price of bread has objective reasons, it is artificial.

Temporal Infinitive Constructions

Infinitive constructions conveying temporal meaning are synonymous with temporal subordinate clauses introduced mainly with the temporal interrogative pronoun ԲԵՐ “when”.

- The pure instrumental of the infinitive also conveys a temporal meaning.
- The dative of the infinitive combined with the postposition ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ “in the time of” denotes a simultaneous action to the main action. The same sense is often expressed by means of the processual participle.
- The ablative of the infinitive combined with the postposition ՐԱՏ “as” denotes the sequence of an instant or immediate action in the actual time. The same sense is usually expressed by means of a subordinate clause introduced with the conjunctions ՈՐԵՑ “as soon as/ just as/ just”.
- The ablative of the infinitive combined with the postposition ԲԵՐ “after” denotes anteriority and posteriority.

The logical agent, if other than the sentence’s subject, appears in the dative.

“When they heard about the circus, all the children ran outside”
(578) \(\text{luys-i bac’-v-el-u źamanak mšuš-n arden} \)
light-DAT open-antic-INF-DAT post fog.NOM-the already
\(c’r-v-um ěr. \)
scatter-antic-PTCP.PRES. it was
“When the daylight dawned, the fog had already scattered.”

(579) \(\text{darapas-i tapal-v-el-u-n pes t’snami zinvor-ner-ě} \)
gate-DAT throw-down-pass-INF-DAT-the post enemy soldier-PL.NOM-the
\(něrs xuž-ec’in. \)
inside rush-AOR.3.PL
“Just as the gate was thrown down, the hostile soldiers rushed inside.”

(580) \(\text{meknel-uc’ ar j despan-ě hunvar-i 6-i-n} \)
depart-INF-ABL post ambassador.NOM-the January-DAT 6-DAT-the
\(kayc’el-i \text{ Mayr Ator Śurb Ejmiacin.} \)
visit-COND.FUT.3.SG. Mother See Holy Ejmiacin.NOM
“Before he will depart the ambassador will visit the Mother See of Holy Ejmiacin on January 6th.”

(581) \(\text{Frankfurt-um mrc’anak-ě stanal-uc’ araj t’urk’ grol-ě} \)
Frankfurt-LOC search-INF-ABL post Turkish writer.NOM-the
\(xaxt-el ě aveli k’an već’amsya lŕut’yun-ě. \)
bring-PTCP.PERF. he is more COMP six month long silence-NOM-the
“Before he had received the award at Frankfurt, the Turkish writer had broken the silence – having lasted more than six months.”

(582) \(\text{Hayastan-um erkar p’ntrel-uc’ heto miayn karolac’-el ě} \)
Armenia-LOC long search-INF-ABL post only can-PTCP.PERF. he is
\(gtn-el banak-ic’ zorač’r-v-ac ord-u-n. \)
find-INF armee-ABL strengthen-pass-PTCP.RES. son-DAT-the.
“After he had searched a long time in Armenia, he could only find his son being strengthened by the army.”
“After having lived a certain time with an eremite life, Grigor returns to Nazianz.”

g. Comparative Infinitive Constructions

Infinitive constructions conveying comparative meaning are synonymous with comparative subordinate clauses introduced mainly with the adverb քան քան “than...”. They are formed with the infinitive in the dative and the postposition փոխ փոխ “instead of”. In written language, this comparative infinitive construction is also separated from the main clause with a short stop.

(584) Ավելի եմ մեր միսեր տասնվեց բարձր վարունք:  
Aveli lav sovac mn-am nra erdum-i-n  
INT good hungry stay-SUBJ,FUT.1.SG his oath-DAT-the  
havatal-u p’oxaren.  
believe-INF-DAT POST  
“It is better I stay hungry instead of believing his oath.”

or

(584) a. Ավելի եմ մեր միսեր տասնվեց բարձր վարունք:  
aveli lav sovac mn-am k’an te havat-am nra  
INT good hungry stay-SUBJ,FUT.1.SG COMP believe-SUBJ,FUT.1.SG his  
erdum-i-n.  
oath-DAT-the  
“It is better I stay hungry than I believe his oath.” (I would better stay hungry than I believe in his oath.)

h. Modal Infinitive Constructions

Modal infinitive constructions with the pure instrumental of the infinitive are synonymous with modal subordinate clauses mainly introduced with the conjunctions որ or “that”. Again, the infinitive construction is separated from the main clause with short stop in written and with a suprasegmental pause in spoken MEA.

(585) Փորձել-եմ ազատ-է դատարի նկատել նահապետ Կարլոս:  
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)  
p’orjel-ov azat-v-el datavor-i jeřk’-ic’ manuk’n užgin  
try-INF-INST free-refl-INF judge-DAT hand-ABL child.NOM-the strongly
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“Trying to free himself from the judge’s hand, the boy strongly hits him.”

(586) a. Ուսումները ուղղեցի հարվածող է համարվում, որ այսպիսի որոշ դերեր:

\[
\text{Manuk-n užgin harvac-um è datavor-i-n} \\
\text{boy.nom-the strongly hit-ptcp.pres. he is judge-dat-the} \\
\text{or azat-v-i} \\
\text{conj free-refl-subj.fut.3.sg. his hand-abl}
\]

“The boy strongly hits the judge to free himself from his hand.” (Lit.: that he frees himself...)

Verb Dependent Infinitive Constructions

Infinitive constructions that depend on the main verb and are a complement to this verb are synonymous to those subordinate clauses depending on these verb groups and usually introduced with the conjunction եր որ “that”.

These verb groups contain:

- desiderative and volitional verbs
- perception verbs
- knowledge verbs
- verbs expressing propositional attitude
- utterance verbs.

Usually the infinitive constructions appear at the end of the sentence, the case of the infinitive depends on the main verb.

(586) Վահան-ը գիտ-եր էնկեր-օջ հոր ճան հիվանդ

\[
\text{Vahan.nom-the know-impe.3.sg friend-dat father-dat seriously ill} \\
\text{linel-է. be-inf.nom-the}
\]

“Vahan knew that his friend’s father was seriously ill.”

This infinitive construction can be replaced by a subordinate clause introduced with որ “that”.

(586) a. Վահան-ը գիտ-եր որ էնկեր-օջ հայր-է

\[
\text{Vahan.nom-the know-impe.3.sg conj friend-dat father.nom-the} \\
\text{canr hivand էր. seriously ill he was}
\]

“Vahan knew that his friend’s father was seriously ill.”
“He mentioned that a he saw one of his former friends, Grigor, a few days ago.”

“In the course of the two-day debates none of the participants spoke about the unnecessary constitutional reforms. (…that constitutional reforms were not necessary).”

3.4.2 Negation

In general, negation is a pragmatically marked structure. Whereas clausal negation has the scope over the entire clause, constituent negation has its scope over a particular constituent of the clause.

In general, clausal negation negates the entire proposition. Clausal negation is expressed by means of analytic negation, i.e. negative prefix እ- չ- attached to finite, analytic verb forms or to the auxiliary or particles of finite, synthetic verb forms, except the negation of imperative clauses (prohibitive).

In constituent negation the negative scope is over a particular constituent of a clause. Constituent negation is expressed by means of the negative particle չ ոչ, which is immediately preposed to the constituent in negative scope.

Clausal and constituent negation may also interact to cause variation in negative scope.

There is also non-clausal negation, which is mainly expressed in word-formation by means of derivational negation and “negative” prefixes.

Negation Types

a. Clausal negation
b. Constituent negation

c. Combined clausal and constituent
d. Non-clausal negation derivational negation

3.4.2.1 Clausal negation
Clausal negation comprises:
a. pro-sentences
b. simple negative sentences
c. prohibitive sentences.

3.4.2.1.1 Pro-sentences
A pro-sentence is a function word or expression that substitutes a whole sentence. In the case of negation, pro-sentence is more properly defined as the answer to a yes/no question consisting of an entire sentence with the same content as the clause before.

For yes/no questions MEA uses the negative particle ռ ոչ “no”. Only rarely is the whole sentence repeated, particularly in spoken Armenian. The more frequently used form of the negative particle in colloquial Armenian is ռ չ “no”.

3.4.2.1.2 Simple negative sentences
A simple sentence is negated by means of the negation of its predicate. Depending on the morphological form of the predicate, i.e. analytic or synthetic, there are the following morphological negation rules.

- The infinitive is negated by means of the prefix ռ -չ-. (neg-V)

(589) Կողմերն համաձայնեցին չի ենթադրում դարձան դատարկ գործընթաց:
(Արած 07.04.2006)

kolm-er-չ hamajaynut'yan չin ek-el շenk'-ic'
side-PL.NOM-the agreement-DAT they were come-PTCP.PERF. building-ABL
mard չ-jerbakal-el.
person.NOM neg-arrest-INF

“The sides have reached an agreement not to arrest a person (anybody) from this building.”

- Finite analytic verb forms, such as aorist, subjunctive future and past forms are negated by means of the prefix ռ -չ-. (neg-V)

(590) Գրիգորյանը և Թադեուսյանը հաղթահարեց, սակայն կապակցված արդյունքը չփոխվեց:
(Armenpress 20.01.2006)

gol-er-չ xp'-el en Grigoryan-չ ew
goal-PL.NOM-the hit-PTCP.PERF. they are Grigoryan.NOM-the conj
T'adewosyan-չ bayc' ayd halt'anak-չ sakayn
Tadewosyan.NOM-the conj that victory.NOM-the conj
չ-փոխ-չ "P'yunki" vičak-չ.
neg-change-AOR.3.SG "P'yunki" situation.NOM-the

“Grigoryan and T'adewosyan scored the goals, but this victory, has not, however, changed the situation of “P'yunki”.”
Synthetic finite verb forms of present, imperfect, future, perfect, and pluquamperfect indicative are negated by means of the negated auxiliary and the participle. The order of auxiliary and participle is inverse in negation, because of the syntactic negation focus (see below). (neg-AUX PART). The only exception is the compound tense with the resultative participle: here the order of the negated auxiliary and the participle is the same as in the affirmative form (PTCP.RES. + neg-AUX).

“(591) Այսօր հայերը դեռևս այսպիսի համար չեն ապահովում:
(Azg 10.01.2006)

ustin tvyal erkramas-um ayd žamanak-vanic’ hay-er
conj give-PTCP.PERF. world’s part-LOC that time-ABL Armenian-PL.NOM
c’-ēin ap-um.
neg-they were live-PTCP.PRES.

“Therefore since that time Armenians did not live in the given part of the world.”

“(592) Այսօր իսպանուց այսպիսի քանի՞ք, որ գույն Ամենաերիտասարդարան

Erewan-um el c’-em karol aynpisi gerc gtn-el
Yerevan-LOC also neg-I am can-PTCP.PRES. such work.NOM find-INF
or gone čanaparhacxs-i gumar-i harc-ē
conj at least travel expense-DAT amount-DAT question.NOM-the
luc-em.
solve-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG

“In Yerevan I can also not find such a job, that I may at least solve the problem of the travel expense’s amount.”

“(593) 2004-ից տեղում անցել չեմ, բայց պատասխանի չեմ: (Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

2004-ic’ kno-s het c’-em bacy baźan-vač c’-em.
2004-ABL wife-DAT-my post neg-I am conj divorce-pass-PTCP.PRES. neg-I am

“Since 2004 I have not been with my wife, but I am not divorced.”

- The imperative is negated by means of the stressed prohibitive particle Uğ mi that immediately precedes the imperative forms. (neg IMP)
- The debitive is negated by means of the negative prefix, which is usually directly attached to the partitive particle պահեր ու պատեր without any order change of the particle and the verb form. (neg-piti + V). In colloquial Armenian, however, the negative prefix may also be attached directly to the main verb. (piti + neg-V)

“(594) Բայց չպետք է ճակատար կառույցեր:
(Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

Bayc’ c’-piti handjn-va-em piti payk’ar-em.
conj neg-(part) hand-pass-DEB.FUT.1.SG fight-DEB.FUT.1.SG

“But I do not have to surrender, I have to fight.”
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(595) Ψηφισματος για την κατάθλιψη και οικονομική ανάπτυξη, και της κατάθλιψης και οικονομικής ανάπτυξης (Αραβότ 07.04.2006)

Bolor-ĕ petk’ ē lin-en ałk’ at ew havasarapes ałk’ at ew all.nom-the be-deb.fut.3.pl poor conj equally poor conj
erkr-um harust-ner ē-petk’ ē lin-en. country-loc rich-pl.nom neg-(part) be-deb.fut.3.pl

“All (people) have to be poor or equally poor, and in the country there have to be no rich.” (Lit.: ..there have not to be rich)

– The conditional has a separate negative form: with the negated auxiliary and the negative participle. (neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG).

(596) Սբուրաբար հավասար կամ միակ հարաբերակցություն պահելու համար, պատմ. ՍՍԱԿ-ի և ՍՍՖ-ի սպար կենս զարգացում են հարաբերակցություն համար:
(Аrmenpress 19.01.2006)

Et’ e nranc’ hajol-v-i i luc-el larabalyan conj they.dat succeed-pass-subj.fut.3.sg solve-inf Karabakh
harc’-ē ē apa AMN-n ew NATO-n arət problem.nom-the then USA.nom-the conj NATO.nom-the opportunity.nom
ē’-en unen-a Adrbejan t’apec’el-u hamar. neg-they are have-ptcp.neg Azerbaijan.nom penetrate-inf-dat post

“If they succeed in solving the problem of Karabakh, then USA and NATO will not have an opportunity to penetrate Azerbaijan.”

In general, the word order of the constituents of a sentence does not change if the entire sentence is negated, with exception of the order of the auxiliary and participle in compound tense forms.

This change of position of the auxiliary from V + AUX to neg-AUX + V is triggered by syntactic focus: the negation is in the syntactic focus of the sentence, i.e. in the immediate preverbal position.

(597) Ψηφισματος για την κατάθλιψη και οικονομική ανάπτυξη:

Vardan-ĕ kard-um ē AZG t’ert’-ē.
Vardan.nom-the read-ptcp.pres. he is AZG newspaper.nom-the V + AUX

“Vardan reads the newspaper AZG.” (Vardan is reading the newspaper AZG.)

(597) a. Ψηφισματος ΟΛΑ ρήγμα της κατάθλιψης:

Vardan-ĕ AZG t’ert’-ē ē’-i kard-um.
Vardan.nom-the AZG newspaper-the neg-he is read-ptcp.pres. neg-aux v

“Vardan does not read the newspaper AZG.” (Vardan is not reading the newspaper AZG.)
3.4.2.1.3 **Prohibitive**

The prohibitive is the negative form of the imperative and conveys directive meaning. This negative form negates the entire directive proposition.

As mentioned in Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 271f.), the prohibitive uses the separate and stressed prohibitive particle ի- մի. The verbal form following this prohibitive particle is preferably the imperative form.

(598) իսիրմի մի մայք: Կառուցիչ սովորություն: իսիրմի մի մայք

Utît-is մի կոր-ի

eat-pTCP.proc. neg speak-imp.2.sg

“Do not speak when you eat!”

(599) մի անհապակություն: մի անհապակություն

mi anhangst-ac’ir!

neg worry-imp.2.sg

“Do not worry!”

3.4.2.2 **Constituent negation**

Any constituent of a sentence can be negated by means of the preposed particle ը- ոչ; i.e. the particle immediately precedes the constituent to be negated.

The negation of a constituent does not trigger change in word order.

(600) ինչ է անհայտ բեռնաշարժություն գալիս այն անհավանություն ը- ոչ առկա։ (Առաջ 07.04.2006)

isk inê-n è stip-el Kočaryan-i-n gn-al

conj wh-what-the it is force-pTCP.perf. Kočaryan-dat-the go-inf

ays aknahaytoren oc’ amenalav lucman-ë?

this obviously neg best solution-dat-the

“And what has forced Kočaryan to follow this obviously not-best solution?” (Negative scope on the modifying adjective in the superlative)

(601) Հայոց-նահապետություն ամենաձևություն 18–30 ադրբեջանցու անձնականություն 1000

կառուցվելով և 100 նոր կառուցվելով գիտավորություն: (Ազգ 06.04.2006)

harc’um-ner-n anc’kac’-v-el en 18–30 tarekan

interview-pl nom-the conduct-pass-pTCP.perf. they are 18–30 year

tarber buh-er-um sovor-ôl 1000

different institution of higher education-loc study-pTCP.sub. 1000

usanol-ner-i ew ew 100 oc’ usanol-ner-i šrjan-um.

student-pl dat conj also 100 neg student-pl dat circle-loc

“The interviews were conducted in the circle of 18–30- year-old people, of 1000 students in different institutes of higher education and also of 100 non-students.” (Negative scope on the dative attribute)
(602) Համարի հարցը իմ է, որ նույն պահին այլ ակնպահություն է կազմում ծանրամասության վերածմամբ:

\[ \text{bayc' harc'-n ayn e or oč' barjr așxatavarj-ē} \]
\[ \text{conj question.nom-the that it is conj neg high salary.nom-the} \]
\[ \text{npast-um ē koɾup'ia-yi zargac'man-ē.} \]

promote-PTCP.PRES. it is corruption-DAT development-DAT-the

“But the question is whether the not high salary promotes the development of corruption.” (Negative scope on the attributive adjective)

(603) Գեղենագիտությունը զարգացնելու դնությունը վերածում է ից ծանրամաս ու առաջանալու խումբ:
\[ \text{(Hetk' 12.02.2007)} \]
\[ \text{gyułapet-ě gyuł-i eražštakan dproc'-um metodist} \]
\[ \text{village's mayor.nom-the village-DAT music school.nom methodician.nom} \]
\[ \text{ē nšanak-el oč' masnaget ir knoį-ē.} \]

he is appoint-PTCP.PERC. neg specialist.nom his wife-DAT-the

“The village's mayor has appointed in the village's music school a non specialist, his wife, as methodician.” (Negative scope on the attributive noun; not a prototypical constituent negation)

Special Types of Constituent Negation

a. Contrastive Negation

In a contrastive negation usually two constituents, having the same syntactic function, are contrasted, e.g. nouns in subject or direct object functions, verbs in predicate function etc.

Nowadays, there are two ways to express contrastive negation: in written Armenian, contrastive negation is usually expressed by means of clausal negation: the verb is negated, and the contrasted constituents remain affirmative, but are distinguished by means of intonation and the movement of the first contrasted constituent into the preverbal focus position. By contrast, the adversative conjunctions \text{µ³Ûó bayc'}, \text{³ÛÉ ayl} (the latter more frequently used in spoken Armenian) “but” are used.

(604) Անի ես չի հավատ ու ես չեմ խում. (µ³Ûó)/³Ûɪ ÙÇë:
\[ \text{Ani-n juk c'-i ut-um bayc'/ayl mis.} \]
\[ \text{Ani.nom-the fish.nom neg-she is eat-PTCP.PRES. conj meat.nom} \]

“Ani does not eat fish, but meat.”

(605) Վարդանը չի գրում աստիճան չի հավատ, ինչպես կարծիքի:
\[ \text{Vardan-ē namak gr-el c'-i sir-um} \]
\[ \text{Vardan.nom-the letter.nom write-INF neg-he is love-PTCP.PRES.} \]
\[ \text{ayl kard-al.} \]
\[ \text{conj read-INF} \]

“Vardan does not like to write letters, but to read.”
This way to express contrastive negation is usually used in written Armenian. In colloquial Armenian and, with increasing frequency, in written Armenian too, contrastive negation is expressed in another way: the first constituent is preceded by the negative particle եւ ոչ է, the second is put into contrast by means of an adversative conjunction և այլ. The verb is not negated.

Coordinated negation can also be regarded as belonging to constituent negation: the coordinated constituent(s) of a sentence are negated.

Coordinated negation uses the same syntactic structure and means to negate coordinated nouns or verbs: the negative particle եւ ոչ է precedes each of the affirmative coordinated constituents. Double negation does not occur here.
č'-un-enk' oč’ gr-um enk’ oč’ zang-um.
  neg-have-PRES.1.PL neg write-PTCP.PRES. we are neg phone-PTCP.PRES.

“Now he has no information about me, how many years it is already since we have not had any connection with each other, we neither write nor phone (each other).”
(Coordinated negation of finite verbs, i.e. predicates)

3.4.2.3 Combined clausal and constituent negation

MEA, as with other natural languages, employs quantifiers or pronouns that are inherently negative. In traditional grammars, negative pronouns appear as a separate subgroup of pronouns. In modern grammars, however, some of these pronouns are grouped with quantifiers (such as the negative quantifier ներ ոչ’ մի “no”) or with indefinite pronouns.

Ontological Groups

- person: ներ ոչ’ ու “nobody”; ներ ու “no one”
- thing: ներ ոչ’ մի “nothing”; ներ ու “not one/nothing”
- place: ոչ’ բն ոչ’ մի տեղ “nowhere”
- time: ռոբուտ էրբեկ “never”

The pronouns denoting person and thing are used in the primary pronominal function, the negative quantifier ոչ’ մի “no” as an adnominal attribute, and those denoting place and time as adverbs.

Negative pronouns and quantifiers are required to obligatorily co-occur with clausal negation, i.e. with negated verb forms. This multiple, or double, negation is a special feature of Eastern Armenian and does not occur in Western Armenian.

(609) Բանիքիս տարանդասպանության հարցներից, ներ ոչ’ առ, բայց գտնալ է այստեղ: (Հեթկ’ 08.01.2007)
  խանկաչ-աչ պաշտագնի հարց-եկ’ ոչ’ ոկ’ է-ի աս-ի
  ish-PTCP.RES. refugee-DAT ask-IMP.2.PL nobody.NOM neg-he is say-PTCP.NEG
  t’e vat է apr-el.
  CONJ badly he is live-PTCP.PERF.

  “Ask any refugee, nobody will say that he has lived badly.”

313. It is obvious that the negative place adverb is formed by means of the negative quantifier ոչ’ մի “no” and the noun տեղ “place”. This noun phrase has been lexicalised to the meaning “nowhere”. If there co-occurs, however, another modifier with the noun, then the original and literary meaning of the noun phrase as “no place” is maintained. (see example (614) below)
(610) Այսօր դիրղի ամրանությունը չէ դատական դիրղիների աղքատականության և նրա մակը հաս։ (Armenpress 12.12.2005)

at present jury-DAT member-PL.NOM-the neg-they are acquainted-PTCP.PERF.

“At present the members of the jury have not got acquainted with creations submitted and with anybody.”

(611) Գրքի գրանցման կյանքին նկարչի հրապարակում։ (Armenpress 17.11.2005)

“Nothing (none) of the materials inserted in the book has been denied.”

(612) Այս հարցը բոլոր տարիներին նկարչի կյանքին։

“In this issue I don’t see positive change.”

(613) Այս կյանքն է դատական դիրղիների համար ճիշտ:

“That is located in the outskirts of the town, where there is no work.”


“Here exists that which does not exist in another place.”

(615) Այսօր կա այս, ինչ էլ այսը այսերից չէ գրանցված հավասարություն, թեորիական (HeTk’ 29.01.2007)

“The newspapers survive nowhere in the world not on the account of their circulation, but of advertisement.”
3.4.2.4 Derivational negation

MEA allows some words to be transformed into their negative or opposite using derivational morphology.

Adjectives are most frequently “negated” by means of derivational negation. For this purpose “negative” prefixes are usually used. Such negative prefixes for adjectival (adverbial) stems are տ-, ան-, դժ-, of which ան- is the most productive one.

For nouns usually ան- is used, particularly for abstract nouns. (For details see Ch. 4.1.1. “Prefixes”, p. 647)

3.4.3 Comparative constructions

In general, comparative constructions compare two items according to some quality. They can also be regarded as referring to a degree and thus being a morphological category of adjectives and adverbs.

The expression of degree (positive, comparative, superlative, elative) is expressed by means of morphology and syntax.
The crucial elements of a comparative construction are:

a. standard (S), i.e. the element to which some other element is compared
b. marker (M), i.e. the element expressing the degree of the adjective/adverb and
c. quality (A), i.e. the element by which the elements are compared, usually adjectives or adverbs.

MEA adjectives have three degrees of comparison: positive (basic, neutral form), comparative and superlative.

1. Comparative

The comparative degree is expressed in various ways depending on whether the comparative degree is part of a predicative or an attributive construction.

a. Predicative Use

If the adjective is part of a comparative construction, two different constructions are applied:

- The marker-adjective-standard (MAS) construction: the marker ավելի aveli precedes the adjective’s positive form and co-occurs with the comparative conjunction կան k’an and the standard in the nominative case
- The standard-(marker) adjective construction (SMA): the bare positive form of the adjective is used with the standard in the ablative preceding it. The marker is optional in such a construction.

The object of comparison determines the comparative construction:

- if two different items are compared, either constructions may be used, i.e. if the object of comparison co-refers with the subject of the sentence. There is no difference in meaning between the two possible comparative constructions.

(619) Արարատ ավելի բարձր է կան Արագած.

Ararat-֐ aveli ֑ barjr ֐ k’an Aragac-֕.
Ararat.NOM-the more high it is COMP Aragac-֕.
M ADJ Standard

“Ararat is higher than Aragac.” (M-A-S)

(619) a. Արարատ Արագածից ավելի բարձր է:

Ararat-֐ Aragac’-ic’ (aveli) ֑ barjr ֐.
Ararat.NOM-the Aragac-ABL (COMP) high it is
Standard (M) ADJ

“Ararat is higher than Aragac.” (S- (M) -A)
It seems, however, that with complex, (i.e. multi-sub constituent) noun-phrases as standard the MAS or կան-construction is used with overwhelming frequency because of easier language processing and due to heavy noun phrase shift:

\[
\text{(620) } \quad \text{Mankat-an-} \, \text{erek' amang} \, \text{aveli k'ič' ē}
\]

children's home-dat-the child.nom-the three time more few it is

\[
\text{ls-um } \quad \text{ir anun-} \, \text{kan ěntanik'-um}
\]

hear-ptcp.pres. its name.nom-the comp family-loc

\[
\text{mecac'-ac } \quad \text{erek' amang} \, \text{aveli k'ič' ē}
\]

grow up-ptcp.pres. child.nom-the

Standard

“The child in the children's home hears its name three times fewer than the child growing up in a family.” (MAS)

This sentence would also be accepted as an S(M)A –construction.

\[
\text{(620) a. } \quad \text{Mankat-an-} \, \text{erek' amang} \, \text{aveli ěntanik'-um}
\]

children's home-dat-the child.nom-the family-loc

\[
\text{mecac'-ac } \quad \text{erek' amang} \, \text{aveli k'ič' ē}
\]

grow up-ptcp.pres. child-abl three time (more) few it is

Standard

M

ADJ

“The child in the children's home hears its name three times fewer than the child growing up in a family.” (S (M) A)

Other examples for preferred (MAS)-constructions because of heavy noun phrases:

\[
\text{(621) } \quad \text{Hayastan-um transportayin mijoc'-ner-i havak'um-ē šat}
\]

Armenia-loc transport means-pl-dat collection.nom-the int

\[
\text{aveli šahavet ū kān dranc' nermuc'um-ē.}
\]

more profitable it is comp their import.nom-the

ADJ Standard

“In Armenia, the collection of vehicles is much more profitable than import.”
If the object of comparison does not co-refer to the subject of the sentence, only the syntactic constructions with կան kân is acceptable.

b. Attributive Use

Usually, if the adjective in a comparative degree is used in an attributive function without an overt standard, the marker ավելի aveli “more” immediately precedes the positive adjective. (marker – adjective – noun)

“Ani is a better pupil.”

“The program was started with bigger extents in Gyumri.”
If the adjective in a comparative degree is used in an attributive function and the standard is overtly expressed, the marker immediately precedes the positive adjective. The standard appears in the ablative case and is preposed to the adjective. (S-ABL marker ADJ + N)

(624) a. Անի-ը արամ-ից ավելի ավելի աշակերտ է.  
Ani-n Aram-ic’ aveli lav ašakert ē.  
Ani:nom-the Aram:abl more good pupil:nom she is  
S marker ADJ N  
“Ani is a better pupil than Aram.”

(626) Նրա կարծիքով, նրանում էլ ավելի ավելի ավելի ավելի աշակերտ է. (Armenpress 17.01.2006)  
Nra karcik’-ov hnaravor ē-ē arajark-el EAHK Minski-i  
his opinion:inst possible neg-it is propose:inf OSCE Minsk-dat  
xmb-ic’ aveli ardyunavet jewač’ap’.  
group:abl more effective form:nom  
S marker ADJ N  
“In his opinion, it is not possible to propose a more effective form than (that of) the OSCE Minsk group.”

c. Other Comparative Constructions

In addition to the prototypical comparative constructions with subject-nouns and adjectives, comparative constructions may also apply to other sentence constituents belonging to another part of speech and fulfilling another syntactic function than just subject.

– Comparative constructions can also apply to comparisons of entire clauses. The թուր k’an construction is exclusively accepted in such constructions.

(627) Անցան երկու ավելի ավելի աշակերտ է. 27 տոկոս-ով ավելի աշակերտ է.  
Ancac’ erku amis-ner-i ēntac’k’-um 27 tokos-ov aveli  
pass-ptcp.res. two month-pl-dat course-loc 27 percent-inst more  
gorcark’-ner en katar-v-el k’an naxord  
transaction-pl.nom they are perform-pass-ptcp.perf. comp previous  
tar-va nuyn ժամանակահատված-um.  
year-dat same period-loc  
“Over the course of the past two months, 27 percent more transactions have been performed than in the same period of the previous year.”
2. Correlative Comparatives

Correlative comparatives are formed by using correlative expressions, and are very similar to correlative relatives.

(629) Նրանց վարձակալում է ոչ ավելի ավելի ազդեցություն, որպես դեռ ծանոթացած: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

nranc’ vaxe-čn-un ē oč’ aynk’an čaččm-an
they.DAT fear-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is neg as much recognition-DAT

“it is not the question of recognition but rather its consequences that make
them fear.”

(630) Ներկայումս Թուրքիայում ավելի է ավելի մեծ իրավականություն: (Armenpress 23.05.2006)

nerkayums Turk’ia-yum apr-un ē aynk’an vrač’i
nowadays Turkey-LOC live-PTCP.PRES. it is as much Georgian.NOM

“Nowadays as many Georgians live in Turkey as in Georgia itself.”

(631) Նրանց համար ավելի ավելի մեծ իրավականություն, որպես տվյալ դեպքում է ավելի

nranc’ hamar ksahman-v-i nuynk’an
they.DAT POST limit-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG same much

soc’včar ork’an aysör včar-un ē
social contribution.NOM as much today pay-PTCP.PRES. he is

anhat jeřnarkater-ě.
individual employer.NOM-the

“The social contribution will be limited for them to the amount the individual
employer pays today.”
2. Superlative

The superlative degree is usually expressed with the prefixing element *awen-* *amen-* to the adjective which serves as a morphological superlative marker combined with the standard of the superlative in the ablative case and preposed to the adjective in the superlative degree. This S-M-A structure is similar to that of comparative constructions. This is the most productive superlative construction.

(632) a. Ani namena-gelec'ik aljik-n ē.
    Ani nom-the most-beautiful girl nom-the she is
    “Ani is the most beautiful girl.”

Another variant of superlative construction is to prepose the expression *awen-* *amen-* i.e. of all to the positive form of the adjective.

(632) b. Ani namena-gelec’ik aljik-n ē.
    Ani nom-the all-abl beautiful girl nom-the she is
    “Ani is the most beautiful girl.”

The main difference between these two constructions is purely stylistic; (633b) is more literary.

An important feature of the nominal standard of superlative construction is that it is obligatorily definite.

(633) AMN HH hamar um ē taracašr.pr.
    USA nom-the RA nom-the regard ptcp.pres. it is region-dat
    amenena kayun erkir ē.
    most stable country nom-the
    “The US regards the Republic of Armenia as the most stable country of the region.”

(634) Hayastan um amenec mec azgayin pôkramasnu yun ē
    Armenia loc most-big ethnic minority nom-the
    ezidi ner en.
    yesidi pl nom-the they are
    “In Armenia, the Yesidis are the biggest ethnic minority.”
According to Armenian academicians and historians that viewpoint is the newest and most risible.”

3. Equatives

Equatives are generally defined as constructions in which one entity is characterised by having the same property to the same extent as another entity (i.e. the equal extent of a quality is attributed to two or more entities). Equative constructions are similar to comparative constructions. Real equatives, expressing sameness of extent have to be distinguished from simulative constructions that express the sameness of manner and usually involve expressions denoting “like”.

Equative constructions are characterised by the co-occurrence of the following constituents: comparative constructions and equative constructions consist of two entities, one being the basis of the equative construction, the comparee, and the other being the standard. The adjective or adverb as a basis for the equation (same extent) is the parameter, and there are usually two markers involved: a parameter marker (PAM) and a standard marker (STM).

The lexical expression of both the parameter and standard marker depends on the type of equative construction. The parameter marker usually precedes the adjective; the standard marker precedes the standard. Usually, both comparee and the standard appear in the nominative case.

“In specific equative constructions MEA uses the relative-based, canonical construction with a separate parameter and standard marker, i.e. այնպես ....ինչպես “as....as”. These markers are preferably used with qualitative adjectives.

In equatives denoting quantity, այնքան is used as the parameter and ինչքան as the standard marker. These markers are usually combined with quantitative expressions but also with qualitative adjectives expressing dimension.

Chapter 3. Syntax

(637) Առիստ այն գրքի քանակը նույն է։
Armen-է aynk’ an grk’-er un-i ork’ an (inč’pes) es.
Armen NOM-the as much book-PL.NOM have-PRES.3.SG as much I.NOM
Comparee PAM STM Standard

“Armen has as many books as I (have).”

(638) Ուրիշ մեծ արձանիկ այն գրքի քանակը է։
Ełbor aljik-ē arden aynk’an boyov ē inč’k’an
brother-DAT daughter NOM-the already as much tall she is as much
Comparee PAM STM

“arjun’ ē.
her mother NOM-the
Standard

“My brother’s daughter is already as tall as her mother.”

Quantity or measure can also be expressed by means of the parameter marker այնչափ’ and the standard marker տարածաշրջան inč’ap’.

This kind of equative construction is a high-literary style, which is not used in spoken language, and with increasing frequency also not in written language. A common construction, only using the standard markers տուտու nman or տրաս pes “like” and the standard in the dative case. This is the same construction as in similatives (see below).

(639) Ուրիշ մեծ արձանիկ այն գրքի քանակը է։
K’uyr-s k’ez nman gełec’ik ē.
sister NOM-my you DAT like beautiful she is
Comparee Standard STM ADJ

“My sister is as beautiful as you.”

In colloquial Armenian there is another construction for copular (or verbal predicate) equative constructions.

(637) ա. Առիստ այն գրքի քանակը նույն է։
Armen-է im č’ap’ grk’-er un-i.
Armen NOM-the I.GEN measure NOM book-PL.NOM have-PRES.3.SG
Comparee Standard STM

Armen has as many books as I (have).”

(639) ա. Ուրիշ մեծ արձանիկ այն գրքի քանակը է։
k’uyr-s k’o č’ap’ gełec’ik ē.
sister NOM-my you GEN degree NOM beautiful she is
Comparee Standard STM

“My sister is as pretty as you.”
In this unusual structure, the STM is the postposition կար է, the standard has moved into the prototypical position of the standard in comparison (pre-adjectival position) and is morphologically marked with the genitive (pronouns) or dative (nouns).

In generic equative constructions the postpositions պես or կար are used as markers. In generic equatives the standards do not have a specific reference, but refers to a class generically.

Equative clauses express a comparison in which the verb is part of the standard. Here, the standard marker is simply used as a subordinating conjunction in an equative clause, i.e. ենիք “as, like”.

Similative phrases usually consist of a similative marker meaning “like” and a standard, which together function as a kind of manner adverbial of the verb, answering the question “in what way?”

Similative markers are the postpositions պես and կար, both co-occurring with the dative on nouns and pronouns; պես is more often used in colloquial MEA. The similative marker can also be used predicatively.

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315. This structure is most probably a calque of the corresponding Turkish equative construction: (see Kornfilt 1997: 182 example (665a))

(665) a. sen ben-im kadar iyi bir insan-sın
    you i-gen as much as good indef person-2.sg
    “You are a person as good as me.”
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uraxut’-y-amb kordegr-er nran.
joy-inst adopt-cond.past.3.sg. he.dat
“The wife loves him like a relative and would adopt him with joy.”

(643) Friulac’i-ner-n ēl hay-er-i nman mec der en
Friulian-pl.nom-the also Armenian-pl-dat post big role they are

verapah-um irenc’ ēntanič’-i-n ew t-an-ē.
reserve-ptcp.pres. their family-dat-the conj house-dat-the
“The Friulians, like the Armenians, also attach big importance to their family and home.”

The same postpositions are also used in other types of similitative constructions: in simile construction, i.e. in an explicit comparison of two unlike things. Similes do not express exclusively the manner adverb(ial)s as similitative phrases, but as propositional adverbials.

(644) Vardan-ē xžr˚-um ē ji-u nman.
Vardan.nom-the munch-ptcp.pres. he is horse-dat post
“Vardan eats like a horse.”

5. Role Phrases

Semantically distinct from all kinds of comparative phrases are role phrases, which express the role or the function in which a participant appears. Such sentences are marked by the particle ռապեր orpes or իբրև ibrew “as, like”.

(645) es orpes naxagah yurak’ān’č’ur-i-d halt’anak-ē
I.nom as president.nom each-dat-your victory.nom-the

hamar-um em im anjnakan halt’anak-ē.
regard-ptcp.pres. I am my personal victory.nom-the
“I, as president, regard the victory of each of you as my personal victory.”

(646) menk’ čanač’-um enk’ Hayastan-n ibrew
we.nom know-ptcp.pres. we are Armenia.nom-the as

ink’naišxan petu’yun.
self-rule state.nom
“We know Armenia as a self-ruling state.”
3.4.4 Indirect speech

Indirect speech is a specific form of recounting speech through paraphrasing in a subordinate clause, which depends usually on verbs of utterance such as թալ “to say”, ասել “to speak”, հարցել “to ask”, պատասխանել “to answer”, ստանձել “to argue”, տալ “to think”, դետել “to notice; to remark”, զուգա “to shout” etc.

As in other natural languages, the change of direct into indirect speech is often accompanied with other changes.

In MEA these alterations comprise:

- a change of the personal pronoun: from 1st or 2nd person to the corresponding 3rd person SG. or PL.
- a change of deictic elements.

The change of direct into reported speech does not trigger an amendment to verbal tense or mood, with a single exception: the imperative of direct speech is changed to subjunctive Future in reported speech.

The Structure of Indirect Speech Clauses

The main clauses contain the verb of utterance, which governs the subordinate indirect speech clause. The indirect speech clause is introduced either with the subordinating conjunction ու in case of affirmative sentences or with the subordinating conjunction եր in case of interrogative sentences. եր is particularly often used introducing interrogative sentences with interrogative pronouns but it also serves to introduce reported speech clauses governed by certain verbs.

(647) Հետկ’ 26.02.2007

As-un en or na է-ի gyul-un է-ի
say-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ he.NOM also village-LOC neg-he is
bnak-v-un apr-un է ew ašxat-un է Vardenis-un.
live-refl-PTCP.PRES. live-PTCP.PRES. CONJ work-PTCP.PRES. he is Vardenis-LOC

“They say that he also does not live in the village; he lives and works in Vardenis.”

(648) Հետկ’ 26.02.2007

Verjum nrank’ xmb-i lekavar-i-n harc’ril en
finally they.NOM group-DAT leader-DAT-the ask-PTCP.PERF. they are
եր նրանով է tla-ի-ի օրդեգ-է
possible it is boy-DAT-the adopt-INF

“Finally they asked the group leader whether it was possible to adopt the boy.”
(Lit.: whether it is possible…)
Indirect speech clauses show the following syntactic specificities:

- the subordinate indirect speech clause always follows the main clause.
- the order of a prototypical sentence with reported speech: usually the subject of the main clause precedes the predicate (the verb of utterance), then follows the indirect speech clause.

The Change of the Person
As mentioned above, the person has to be changed into the 3rd person SG. or PL. if the direct speech uses the 1st or 2nd person SG. or PL. This change in person affects both of the personal pronouns in all cases and inflected verb forms.

“I created you from fire, but Adam from earth.” said God to Lilith.

“God said to Lilith that he had created her from fire, but Adam from earth.
(651) Սակայը վերջին այդպիսի ժամանակ մայրը նաև ի մեջ նախագծելու է ինքը աշխատանքով, քանի որ նա այդ ժամանակ եղացել է  cialis ճենապակու բանավիճակի վրա։ (Het' 19.02.2007)

Sakayn verjin ayc'el'yan zamanak mayrik-n as-ac'
conj last vist-dat time.nom mother-dim.nom-the say-aor.3.sg
or nran talapox-um en Gava'i mankatun
conj he.dat move-ptcp.pres. they are Gava'i-dat children's home.nom
kani or na un-i mek ayl noracin erexa ew
conj she.nom have-pres.3.sg another new-born child.nom conj
ce-i kar-ok pah-el irenc'erku-s-i-n.
neg-she is can-ptcp.pres. keep-inf they.dat two-dat-the

“But during the last visit the dear mother said that they moved him to the children's home of Gavar", since she had another new-born child and could not keep both of them.”

Another change in person occurs in formal (polite) forms of address, i.e. 2nd person PL., in direct speech: it has also to be changed to the 3rd person SG. in reported speech:

(652) «ես մրցրեմ ունի քո պատահականությունը, »- ասաց խնդիրը:
es kyank'-ov-s jez em partakan as-ac'
1.nom life-inst-my you.dat I am obliged say-aor.3.sg soldier.nom-the

“I am obliged to you with my life”, said the soldier.

(652) a. Խնդիրը ասաց, որ Հիդր ոչ պատահական գրքը եզրակացում:
Zinvor-ê as-ac' or ink-ê ir kyank'-ov-ê nran
soldier.nom-the say-aor.3.sg conj he.nom his life-inst-the he.dat
t-partakan.
he is obliged.

“The soldier said that he was obliged to him with his life.”

(653) Տիգրանը ասաց. «Ես իման ու մշակ կարծիք, որ Տիգրանի հույզ գիտել”:
Tigran-n as-ac' Es sat em uz-um
Tigran.nom-the say-aor.3.sg 1.nom much I am want-ptcp.pres.
iman-al te Duk' inc' git-ek'.
know-inf conj you.nom wh-what.nom know-pres.2.pl

“Tigran said: “I want to know much of what you know””

(653) a. Տիգրանը ասաց, որ Տիգրանի հույզ գիտել ու իման ու մշակ կարծիք:
Tigran-n as-ac' or ink-ê sat e
Tigran.nom-the say-aor.3.sg conj he.nom much he is
uz-um iman-al te na inc' git-i.
want-ptcp.pres. know-inf conj he.nom wh-what.nom know-pres.3.sg.

“Tigran said that he wanted to know much of what he knows.”
The 1st or 2nd person does not change, however, if the agent of the main clause and of the subordinate reported speech clause coincide.

(654)  - նոյ բերդիմ նկատի, – ըստեր թա:

nor mekêna kgn-em as-ac’i kêz.
new car.nom buy-cond.fut.1.sg. say-aor.1.sg. you.dat
“I will buy a new car, I told you.”

(654)  a.  ☉ո թա այսեր, որ նկատի ուն բերդիմ:

es kêz as-ac’i or kgn-em nor mekêna.
1.nom you.dat say-aor.3.sg conj buy-cond.fut.1.sg new car.nom
“I told you that I would buy a new car.”

(655)  - ☉ո թա բերբեր ըն օպոսիում,- հնարե թեր հիդ անդու:

es kêz erbek’ ē’-em mořan-a hačax ēir
1.nom you.dat never neg-I am forget-ptcp.neg often you were
inj as-um.
1.dat say-ptcp.pres.
“I will never forget you, you told me often.”

(655)  a.  հիդ հնարե թեր անդու որ հիդ բերբեր ըն օպոսիում:

inj hačax ēir as-um or inj erbek’
inj-as-um.
1.dat often you were say-ptcp.pres. conj 1.dat never
ē’-es mořan-a.
neg-you are forget-ptcp.neg.
“You often told me that you would never forget me.”

The Change of Deictic Elements

Deictic elements such as demonstrative or identity pronouns as well as deictic adverbs have to change their deictic too. Thus այս “this”, այսպիսի “such a”, այսքան “so much”, այստեղ “here”, նույն “same” (proximal deixis) of the direct speech clause turn into այդ “that”, այսպիսի “such a”, այսքան “that much”, այստեղ “ayd tel “there”, նույն “same” (distal deixis) in reported speech clause.

(656)  -այստեղ, այս ժամի ու գիտնական հայրենիքի ռազմի, - այսային ընդհանուր

aystel ays žam-i-n ē vêr-v-um hayrenik’-i
here this hour-dat-the it is decide-pass-ptcp.pres. fatherland-dat
baxt-ē as-ac’ zoravar-ē ţazmik-ner-i-n.
destiny.nom-the say-aor.3.sg. commander.nom-the soldier-pl-dat-the
“Here, at this hour the destiny of (our) fatherland is decided” told the commander to the soldiers.”
The commander told the soldiers that (exactly) there, at that hour, the destiny of the fatherland was decided.

The Change of the Verbal Form in Mood/Tense

In general, the mood and the tense do not change if direct speech is changed to reported speech – except in two cases.

Case 1

A change in tense/aspect is triggered when the aorist 1st person is used in direct speech, if the agent of the direct speech clause does not coincide with the agent of the main clause (the utterance verb). Since aorist 1st person denotes prototypical evidential meaning, it has to be changed in reported speech into simple perfect 3rd person. See this chapter, examples (650) and (650a), p. 543.

Case 2

A change in mood is triggered when the imperative mood is used in direct speech. In reported speech the imperative has to be changed into the subjunctive. This is also true for the prohibitive: it is changed to a negated subjunctive in reported speech.

“You all sing together with me!” shouted the teacher.

“The teacher shouted that all should sing together with her.”
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(658) – Ոհ քայթայքա։ այնք ժամ ժամանակ:

Mi zarman-ak’ as-ac’ cer covayin-ě.
neg be surprised-IMP.2.PL say-AOR.3.SG old sailor.NOM-the

“Do not be surprised!” said the old sailor.

(658) a. Ժամ ժամանակ այնք ժամանակ: (Հայոց թերթ 8:113)

cer covayin-ě as-ac or č’-zarman-an.
old sailor.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG conj neg-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL

“The old sailor said they should not be surprised.”

Other Changes

– Vocative

If proper names, nouns or pronouns occur in a vocative function in an imperative clause in direct speech, this vocative element can trigger changes.

a. The vocative element is kept even in reported speech, in the function of the subject of the indirect speech clause or as an apposition.

(659) Մանուհի։ «Ինչ կան, գտնե, իր տնտեսություն, որում գտնվի քան հասավածություն եմ բերել։»:

Asac’-i Inč’ kas-es mayr erb
say-AOR.1.SG wh-what say-COND.FUT.2.SG mother.NOM wh-when
tesn-es t’ e ork’ an šat hataptuł
see-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG conj wh-how many many berry.NOM
em ber-el?
I am bring-PTCP.PERF.

I said: “What will you say, Mother, when you see, how many berries I have brought?”

(659) a. Մանուհի, բու հու կան գտնե, իր տնտեսություն, որում գտնվի քան հասավածություն եմ բերել։

asac’i t’ e inč’ kas-i mayr-s
say-AOR.1.SG conj wh-what say-COND.FUT.3.SG mother.NOM-my
erb tesn-i t’ e ork’ an šat hataptuł
wh-when see-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG conj wh-how many many berry.NOM
em ber-el.
I am bring-PTCP.PERF.

“I asked what would my mother say when she saw how many berries I had brought.”

b. If the vocative element does not function as the agent of the action or if there is a pronominal subject in direct speech, the vocative element may function as the object in the main clause of the indirect speech sentence.
(660) Հայր, որ ուր է աշխատ?  
ask-AOR.3.SG  king.NOM wh-where it is my gold.NOM-the  
He asked: “King, where is my gold?”

(660) a. Հայր, որ ուր է աշխատ:  
ask-AOR.3.SG  father.NOM-the  
“He asked the king where his gold was.”

c. If the vocative element occurs separated, i.e. preceding or following the direct speech, it is usually omitted in indirect speech clauses.

(661) - Դու ուր է աշխատի? ավատար, - հայր, հայր:  
Du NOM wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. girl.NOM-my  
ask-AOR.3.SG father.NOM-the  
“(You) Where are you going to, my girl?” asked the father.

(661) a. Հայր, որ ուր է աշխատ:  
ask-AOR.3.SG  she.NOM wh-where  
“He asked where she was going to.”

(662) Մոր, որ ուր է աշխատի? Թա-ս իմ սիր-ում:  
Mayr-ě ord-U-N gr-um ēr. Tla-s ko mother.NOM-the son-DAT-the write-PTCP.PRES. she was boy.NOM-my your  
come-INF-DAT-the I am 1.NOM impatiently wait-PTCP.PRES.  
The mother wrote to her son: “My boy, I am waiting impatiently on your arrival.”

(662) a. Մոր, որ ուր է աշխատի? Թա-ս իմ սիր-ում:  
come-INF-DAT-the  I am 1.NOM impatiently wait-PTCP.PRES. she is  
“The mother wrote to her son, that she was impatiently waiting on his arrival.”

d. The vocative element of direct speech is also usually omitted in reported speech if conveying a very emotional meaning.
– If the interrogative sentence in direct speech is a rhetoric interrogative sentence, the
adverbs անգիր ardyok’ “really/whether” or իրե "mitève “really?” are preposed imme-
diately to the asked constituent in indirect speech.

(663) են զարդար, եթե ես կորասակցաճ զարդարություն ունի ես թե, զարդարված հարցում
պատրաստ:

Du e-git-es or es Andranik-i zinvor-ner-ic’
you.nom neg-know-ptcp.pres. conj 1.nom Andranik-dat soldier-pl-abl
mek-n em el-el zarmac’-ac
one.nom-the I am be-ptcp.perf. surprise-ptcp.res.
harc’-ec’ pap-će.
ask-aor.3.sg grandfather.nom-the

“You do not know that I was one of the soldiers of Andranik?’ the grandfather
asked, surprised.”

(663) a. այնքան զարդարված հարցում, եթե ես կորասակցաճ զարդար, եթե ես կորասակցաճ
զարդարություն ունի ես թե,

Pap-će zarmac’-ac harc’-ec’ t’e na
grandfather.nom-the surprise-ptcp.res. ask-aor.3.sg conj he.nom
ardyok’ e-git-i or ink’e Andranik-i zinvor-ner-ic’
really neg-know-pres.3.sg conj he.nom Andranik-dat soldier-pl-abl
mek-n è eël.
one.nom-the he is be-ptcp.perf.

“‘The grandfather asked in surprise whether he really did not know that he had
been one of Andranik’s soldiers.”

իրե "mitève “really?” used in direct speech remains unchanged – even in intonation – in
reported speech.

All kinds of interjections used in direct speech are usually omitted in indirect speech.

3.4.5 Miscellaneous
3.4.5.1 Nominalised infinitives
Nominalised infinitives are commonly used both in spoken and written MEA. These nom-
inalised infinitives appear in all cases and also with adpositions.

a. Subject of nominalised infinitive

With nominalised infinitives, the prototypical (+human) agent of the nominalised verbal
form usually appears in the dative case with nouns and with the genitive case for per-
sonal and demonstrative pronouns. The same is always true for (–human) grammatical
subjects; the grammatical subject of a nominalised infinitive appears obligatorily in the
dative (nouns) or the genitive (personal or demonstrative pronouns).
b. Direct object of nominalised infinitive

The direct object of the nominalised infinitive, however, appears in two ways and thus follows the general humanness criterion:

- if the direct object of the infinitive is a person (+human), it has to appear in the dative with nouns and pronouns.
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(670) Երկու երեխա-ներ-ի հար-է վարքաբեկ-ել-է ոչ բարոյա-պես ոչ

two child-pl-dat father-dat-the discredit-inf.nom-the neg morally neg

physically neg-it is compensate-pass-ptcp.perf.

“Discrediting the father of two children has not been compensated, neither morally
nor physically.”

– if the direct object of the infinitive is (–human), it has to appear in the nominative with
nouns and pronouns. Exceptions are possible with personified expressions and with
animals (676).

(671) Գիրք կարդալ-է
girk’ kard-al-ě
book.nom read-inf.nom-the
“The reading of a book”

(672) Պատմություն ջրանցման
krak-ē hang-č’n-el-ē
fire.nom-the extinguish-caus-inf.nom-the
“The extinguishing (of) the fire”

(673) Փառազդային օգտագործում
danak-n ögtagorc-el-ě
knife.nom-the use-inf.nom-the
“The using (of) the knife.”

(674) Մտավորության ինտենցիա և հայտնի պատմության վերաբերյալ

intention-this Turk-pl-dat conj Armenian-pl-dat history-dat

post discussion.nom begin-inf.nom-the neg-it is

“The intention here is not to begin a discussion about the history of Turks
and Armenians.”

(675) Բնակչության չափազանց

not accepting citizenship is one kind of revolt against a lie.”
c. Oblique Objects

Nominalised infinitives also combine with oblique objects, i.e. indirect object (dat), object of agency (passive object) (ABL), object of separation (ABL), object of means (INST), object of comparison (ABL), object of relation (ABL), object of composition (ABL), object of limitation (ABL, INST) etc. The nominalised infinitives also combine with adpositional phrases denoting all kinds of oblique objects or adverbials.

(676) Հայաստանի կոլմից Լեռնային Լարաբաղի Հայաստանի կողմից կոմպրիզի չի կարողացել, որ Հայաստանը չի աջակցուություն հայկական կողմից ճանաչել։ (Armenpress 14.12.2005)
Hayastan-i kolmi' Lerañayin Larabal-i Hanrapetut'y-an Armenia-dat post Mountainous Larabal-dat Republic-dat č'-ćanač'-el-č haykakan kolm-i pòxijum-n č. neg-accept-inf.nom-the Armenian side-dat compromise.nom-the it is
“Not accepting of the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh by Armenia is the compromise of the Armenian side.”

(677) Հրազդանի ՀԲ-ի 5-րդ էներգաբլոկի վաճառությունը Հայաստանի կողմից չի կարողացել։ (Armenpress 06.04.2006)
Hrazdan-i JÉK-i 5-ord ĕnergablok-č Hrazdan-dat HP plant-dat fifth energy block.nom-the ěrusakan kolm-i-n vačar-el-č bx-um č. Hayastan-i Russian side-dat-the sell.nom-the result-ptcp.pres. it is Armenia-dat azgayin šah-er-ič'. national interest-pl-abl.
“Selling the fifth energy block of the Hrazdan hydropower plant to the Russian side, results from Armenia’s national interests.” (indirect object in dative)

(678) Ազատակցումներից հակաքաղաքականության ընթացքում ճանաչել է, որ Հայաստանի ուստինչը պալետական շարժում չի կարողացել։ (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
bınnapetut'yun-ic' azat-v-el-č anpaymanoren dictatorship-abl free-refl-inf.nom-the necessarily č'-petk' ě ulekc'-v-i petut'y-an pľuzm-amb. neg-accompany-pass-deb.fut.3.sg state-dat destruction-inst “Freeing (oneself) from dictatorship must not necessarily be accompanied by the destruction of the state.” (Object of separation in ablative)

(679) Առաջընթացում արտահանումներից խոշորացման արդյունքների մասին դեմ գրում է։ (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
aystel ew artasahman-um c'cåahandes-ner-i-n masnakcg'el-č here conj abroad-loc exhibition-pl-dat-the participate-inf.nom-the šat ōgtakar ć. int useful it is
“Participation at exhibitions here and abroad is very useful.” (Dative object; the verb “participate” assigns the dative case)
3.4.5.2 Attribute nominalisation and pseudo-double-definiteness

Attribute nominalisation is a widespread phenomenon in MEA; although the nominalisation belongs in part to morphology and the morphological derivation of adjectives, numerals etc., this kind of nominalisation also triggers a definiteness marking, and thus a specific syntactic construction.

The regular attribute nominalisation marker is -ın; this marker is used to convey the meaning “belonging to/of”.

316 Diachronically the suffix -ın consists of the genitive/dative case marker -i and the suffix -n which is one of the allomorphs of the definite article.

317 This is the written reproduction of an utterance of colloquial Armenian.
Since it seems that the attribute nominalisation suffix -չու -in has been conventionalised and grammaticalised with the bare meaning of “belonging to/of” without the original diachronic reflex of the definiteness in this suffix, double definiteness marking occurs regularly both in spoken and written MEA. These suffixed forms may, of course, also be used in various cases, and they morphologically follow the i-declension.

Attribute nominalisation, particularly in spoken Armenian, highly depends on the linguistic context and the apperception basis shared by the interlocutors.
3.5  Word order – A general overview

The word order of Eastern Armenian is very often described as ‘non rigid’ or as ‘relatively free’; but this description obviously only relates to the superficially free, basic word order. In the following chapters this grammar will illustrate that this “freedom” of Modern Eastern Armenian word order is not boundless.

Thus, one has to distinguish the canonical rigidness of sub-constituent order rules in noun phrases from frequent order preferences with secondary constituents and from order “freedom” in the basic word order that are subject both to conventionalised order rules and to the functional focus principle in the case of non-neutral utterances.

One also has to differentiate between order rules of spoken and written MEA. Whereas in spoken Armenian syntactic word order is usually intensified and even substituted with prosodic means particularly in a constituent order, written Armenian can be regarded as more strongly influenced by more or less canonical syntactic rules.

However, the main distinction is between neutral and marked word order. Whereas neutral word order observes syntactic order rules, marked word order is mainly defined by syntactic inversion, i.e. movement from a default syntactic position into a non typical syntactic position and by the functional focus principle.

Furthermore, the following chapters will show that the alleged OV-order of Modern Eastern Armenian basically shares many word order features with OV-languages, but particularly in basic word order itself Modern Eastern Armenian is both OV and VO.

3.5.1  Main constituents order

The common order of MEA basic sentences is (S)OV or (S)VO.

3.5.1.1  Subject order

As already mentioned in this grammar, SMEA is a pro-drop language, and thus the grammatical subject of a neutral sentence is usually only expressed with lexical nouns or nominalised items. As the grammatical subject of a finite verb, it is usually marked with the nominative case.

The neutral position of the sentence’s expressed subject, regardless of whether it is definite or indefinite, is preposed to the finite verb and usually at the beginning of the sentence, i.e. S V O, respectively S O V. The canonical position of the grammatical subject preceding its predicate verb is not constrained by the semantic properties of the various parts of speech that may function as subjects, such as noun, pronoun, as well as nominalised adjectives, quantifiers, participles and infinitives or even participle constructions. That means that the preverbal position of the grammatical subject of a neutral sentence may be regarded as rigid. (S V)

This rigid position of ‘S’ preceding the verb and also at the beginning of the sentence avoids possible ambiguities, caused by the possibly identical morphological marking of the subject and the (–human) direct object with the nominative case, which may happen in general statements, like:

(688)  artyrun-ĕ paymanavor-um ē spařum-ĕ.
        productivity.NOM-the cause-PTCP.PRES. it is consumption.NOM-the
        “Productivity causes consumption.”

(a)     sparuṃĕ paymanavor-um ē artadrut’un-ĕ.
        consumption.NOM-the cause-PTCP.PRES. it is productivity.NOM-the
        “Consumption causes productivity.”

Due of stylistic (poetic) or emphatic reasons, ‘S’ may also follow the verb, particularly if:

- the subject is marked by an inverse order (particularly in literary Armenian) (689)
- the action and thus the finite verb is marked by an inverse order (690)
- verbal complements (objects or adverbials) are marked by an inverse order and by a
  preverbal focus position; compare (689) and (689a)

It is mainly the context and intonation that decides upon which element is really marked
in a sentence; in isolated sentences there are various readings.

(689)  kalak’ gn-um ē avtobus-ĕ.
        town.NOM go-PTCP.PRES. it is bus.NOM-the
        “The bus goes to town.” (Subject is moved to the sentence’s final position and is thus
        marked.)

(a)     k’ałak’ ē gn-um avtobus-ĕ.
        town.NOM it is go-PTCP.PRES. bus.NOM-the
        “The bus goes to town.” (Lit.: it is to town the bus goes.)

The verbal complement, the place, is marked by means of the preverbal focus
position. Due to the inversed order of the subject, the place complement also
appears in the sentence’s initial position.

(690)   cx-um eĩn ew mec’asen kalak’ner-ĕ.
        smoke-PTCP.PRES. they were conj splendid town-PL.NOM-the
        “There was also smoke in the splendid towns.” (Lit.: the splendid towns were also
        smoking.”)

The verb is marked by its inversed position preceding the subject.
In cases of multiple verbal complements being marked and if all these marked complements appear in immediate preverbal (focus) and are sometimes moved to the beginning of the sentence, the finite V usually immediately follows its complements and is also followed by the subject: COMPL COMPL V S

\[(691)\]

\[\text{hankarc erkn'–ic' vayr ěnk–av mi šat payca’} \]
\[\text{ew gelec’ik astl.} \]
\[\text{conj beautiful star.nom} \]

“Suddenly from Heaven fell a very bright and beautiful star.”

If, however, only a part of the marked verbal complement is moved to the sentence’s initial position, and the other appears in the neutral postverbal position, the ‘S’ obligatorily precedes the finite V: COMPL – S – V – VCOMPL

\[(692)\]

\[\text{irikun–ě Gik’or–ě kuč ěr} \]
\[\text{ek–el xohanoc’–um.} \]
\[\text{huddle–ptcp.perf. kitchen–loc} \]

“In the evening Gik’or huddled in the kitchen.”

The same is true, if, although verbal complements appear in inverse order i.e. at the beginning of the sentence, it is the subject that is marked, particularly if it appears in the preverbal focus position as seen below:

\[(693)\]

\[\text{mi ĕr ayd gyul–ov mi xelč alk’at kin} \]
\[\text{ēr anc’n–um.} \]
\[\text{she was pass–ptcp.pres.} \]

“It was a wretched, poor woman that passed one day through that village.”

Comment: in this case the subject is typically marked with the inversed order of V+AUX, i.e. the subject appears in the preverbal focus position.

3.5.1.2 Verb Order

As explained in the previous chapter on subject order, the finite verb usually follows the ‘S’ in neutral and basic sentences. S V

\[319\] see Badikyan, Papoyan 2003: 463 ff.
This unmarked order of the ‘V’ following its overtly expressed subject occurs without any exception with transitive, intransitive (both unaccusative and unergative verbs) and presentative/existential verbs.

Before speaking of the basic and neutral order of the ‘V’, first one has to closely look at the order of the various parts of a verbal form.

Analytic verbal forms, particularly in the indicative tense paradigm, and in some mood forms obviously prevail. This is particularly true for the so-called secondary forms.

The only synthetic forms are the indicative aorist, the imperative 2nd SG. and PL. as well as the subjunctive and the conditional.

Thus, analytic tense forms usually consist of the non-finite participle and the inflected auxiliary բէ _em “I am”. The basic and neutral order is V + AUX, eg. ըփում բէ gnacél em “I have gone”.

The analytic forms of the debitive mood consist of a verbal particle and the finite verbal form, i.e. the basic and neutral order is part + V, e.g. էփում փիտ  piti gnam “I have to go”.

The analytic secondary forms consist of a participle of the main verb and the inflected forms of the secondary auxiliary էղավ կլին Lucy “to be repeatedly”; the basic and neutral order is V + sec.AUX, e.g. ըփում էղավ կլինem “I will be gone….”

Analytic secondary forms may but also consist of the participle of the main verb, the participle of the secondary auxiliary էղավ կլին Lucy “to be repeatedly”, and the inflected auxiliary բէ “I am”; the basic and neutral order V + AUX + sec.AUX (participle); ըփում էղավ էղավ կլինem “he has usually gone (?)”

Analytic secondary forms of the debitive mood may also consist of the particle + V in the participle form + inflected sec. auxiliary, the order is V + part + sec.AUX, e.g. ըփում էղավ բէ piti gnam “I will have been gone.”

Compound verbs consisting of a nominal part (or particle) and the main verb show the following basic order of the particle (or nominal part) and the verb:

- in synthetic verb forms, the nominal part/particle precedes the inflected main verb, part + V, e.g. էին անըբոց է机组 tvec’i “I showed”, էին անըբ է机组 կուեկ’կող “I will show/I would like to show”.
- in analytic tense forms, the nominal part/particle precedes the inflected auxiliary followed by a participle of the main verb, the neutral order is thus: part + AUX + V, as e.g. էին ին անըբ է机组 կուեկ’կող “I show”.
- in analytic debitive mood forms, the debitive particle precedes the compound verb’s particle/nominal part followed by the inflected verbal form, the neutral order is thus: dpart + part + V, as e.g. էփում փիտ կուեկ’կող tam “I have to show”.
- in analytic secondary forms, the inflected secondary auxiliary co-occurs with the particle/nominal part and the participle of the verb, the neutral order is: part + V + sec. AUX, as e.g. էփում փիտ կուեկ’կող durs ekac klinem “I will have been brought out”

320. The pronominal subject is only expressed if marked; in unmarked utterances the pronominal subjects drop.
in analytic secondary forms of the debitive mood, compound verbs show the following neutral order of the compound verb's particle/nominal part, verb in participle, debitive particle and inflected sec. auxiliary: part + V(participle) + dpart + sec.AUX, as in e.g. Դուս Էկաչ Պիթի Լինեմ “lit.: I will have to have been brought out”.

These rules for basic order show an overwhelming preference for left-adjacent order of verbal particles, and a fixed right-adjacent basic order of for the auxiliary, which would support the argument for a preferable basic word order of OV.

What about the order of the main verb and its dependent verbs like modal, volitional, phrasal etc. verbs e.g.?

In such constructions, the inflected verb is considered to be the governing verb; the governed or dependent verb appears usually in the infinitive (or in some constructions in colloquial Armenian in the subjunctive) and follows the governing verb in basic, neutral order.

(694) Բանվոր-ներ-է սկսել են կանդ-էլ
worker-PL.NOM-the begin-PTCP.PERF. they are destroy-INF

“the workers have started to destroy the theatre’s stage.”

(695) Առաջին էջին են իսկրչակալություն հայտնել նախորդ
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

“First I want to express (my) gratitude for the invitation.”

The regular order of such constructions with modal, volitional, phase etc. verbs is V1 + V2. The V2, mainly the second verb in the infinitive, either immediately follows its governing verb or may be separated from its preceding governing verb by other constituents.

(696) Մենք ուլլակի սիպ-վակ էմին մետ պահ-էլ
we.NOM simply force-pass-PTCP.RES. we were we.DAT POST keep-INF

“We were simply forced to keep one of them with us.”
This regular order, is however, not consistent with the preferred order of such verb series in OV-language, where the basic order is V2 + V1 instead.

The functional focus principle heavily influences word order: the marked part of the sentence appears in the immediate preverbal position. Preverbal position is the position immediately preceding the inflected part of the whole verbal form. This may also be called focus-related constituent order variation.321

Marked focus order can easily be identified with the changed order of the verb and the auxiliary from basic V + AUX to AUX + V in compound tense forms.

Serving the focus position, the auxiliary may also be separated from the participle and occur immediately following the part of the sentence that is marked.

Apart from the changed order of the auxiliary and the verb in content questions, another typical order change triggered by syntactic focus is the negation of compound tense forms: in negative sentences, the negated inflected auxiliary invariably precedes the verb in the participle form, i.e. neg AUX + V.322

(697) դեռ եմ հասցրել »որատ պահ հատված մու։ (Հետկ’ 22.01.2007)
still neg-I am manage-ptcp.perf. go deep-inf that problem-dat post
“I have not yet managed to go deep into that problem.”

The negated auxiliary appears in the preverbal position; an example of a syntactic focus in MEA.

(698) Առաջին անգամ էն տեսնում տակը է առաջին անգամ իմ անագնում։
first time.nom they are see-ptcp.pres. pepper.nom-the first
angam en ls-um anun-ě.
time.nom they are hear-ptcp.pres. name.nom-the

“It is the first time they see pepper, it is the first time they hear the name.”

Here, the time adverbial “first time” is marked, and is thus directly followed by the inflected auxiliary. This is an example of a marked (pragmatic) focus.

321. comp. Ch. 3.4.2.1. “Clausal Negation”, p. 523f.

322. Please note that the negation of analytic verbal forms with verbal particles, such as in Debitive, does not trigger a change in the order of the elements; the negative suffix is just attached to the debitive particle. More on the various functions of focus and focus types see Ch. 3.6.2. “Focus”, p. 629f.
3.5.1.3 Nominal predicate order

The nominal predicate describes the state of the subject of the sentence, typically using the inflected forms of copular verbs, such as եմ “I am”, մնալ “to stay”, դարձալ “to become”, տեղ “to seem”, համարել “to hold for, to regard as”, եռակատար “to seem”, կոչել “to be called” etc.

In neutral sentences, the nominal predicate usually follows the subject i.e. S – nominal predicate.

With the auxiliary verbs եմ տեղել կոչել, the nominal predicate regularly precedes these copular verbs, i.e. S – nominal predicate – AUX

(699) ես սովետական պետք-ան մարդ-ն եմ էլ-էլ. Ես

I.nom soviet state-dat the I am be-pTCP.perf. I.nom

էս պետք-ան հակամարդ-ն էմ.

this state-dat the I am

“I have been a person of the Soviet State. I am person against this state.”

The order of the nominal predicate is subject to the syntactic phenomenon of heavy nominal predicate shift, i.e. the shift of long and complex noun phrases to the left periphery. Syntactically heavy nominal predicates tend to appear at the very end of the sentence, also following the auxiliary verb.

(700) Նա էլ-էլ է Երևան-ի Վ. Բրյուսով-ի անվան

he.nom be-pTCP.perf. he is Yerevan-dat V. Bryusov-dat named

պետքան մանկավարժական ինստիտուտ-ի փիլիսոփայությ-ան էվ ԵՊՀ

state pedagogical institute-dat philosophy-dat conj YSU

փիլիսոփայությ-ան էվ դղմանատ-ան ամբիոն-եր-ի վարչ.

philosophy-dat conj logic-dat chair-pl-dat head.nom

“He has been (the) Head of the Chairs of Philosophy of the State pedagogical institute named after V. Bryusov and of (the chair of) Philosophy and Logic of Yerevan State University.”

With other copular verbs, the predicative preferably follows the inflected copular verb forms in basic sentences, i.e. S – V – nominal predicate.

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3.5.1.4 Direct object order

The order of the direct object, ‘O’, seems to be the most discussed and also controversial, since it may appear as SVO or SOV – depending on the definiteness of the direct object.

Definiteness of the Direct Object

Although there is obviously a strong interaction of definiteness and word order, the neutral word order SOV, as given in many Armenian grammars, gives no further information on the semantic and syntactic features of the direct object.

Both in written and spoken MEA, native speakers, with overwhelming frequency, prefer the word order SVO for definite direct objects and SOV for indefinite or non-specific direct objects.

If the direct object is expressed by a definite noun, it usually appears in SVO-order. The same is also true for personal pronouns if used to express direct objects.

(701) Անին կարդում է իր նոր գիրքը:

Ani-n kard-um ē ir nor girk'-ē.
Ani.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is her new book.NOM-the

“Ani is reading her new book.”

(702) Կայսրը հրամանատար է զարգացել պալատական բժշկին.

kaysr-ē hramay-ec' kanč'-el palatakan bēžk-i-n.
emperor.NOM-the order-AOR.3.SG call-INF palace doctor-DAT-the

“The emperor summoned to call the palace doctor.”

(703) Աղջիկը հարվածով հանձնել է իր իրավում:

ałik-ē molor hayac'k'-ov hetew-um ēr nran.
girl.NOM-the stray gaze-INST follow-PTCP.PRES. she was he.DAT

“The girl was following him with a stray gaze.”

If the direct object is expressed by an indefinite/and or non-specific noun, it usually appears in SOV-order. With verbal forms in compound tenses, this order is also characterised by an inverse order of participle and auxiliary, i.e. AUX + V. (704) This inverse order, AUX + V does not present a marked order: it must be regarded as the basic and neutral order of a sentence with an indefinite direct object.

Here, the order V + AUX would sound odd to native speakers (*704a).

(704) Անին կարդում է գիրքը:

Ani-n girk' ē kard-um.
Ani.NOM-the book.NOM she is read-PTCP.PRES

“Ani is reading a book.” (Lit.: Ani reads books.)

(704) a. *Անին կարդում է գիրքը:

Ani-n girk' kard-um ē
Ani.NOM-the book.NOM read-PTCP.PRES. she is

*“Ani is reading a book”
In the corner, the spider has woven a spider's web.

A man had two sons.

I saw tears in the eyes of the emperor.

There can be several reasons for a direct object to appear in the beginning of the sentence: (a) inverse, non-neutral order usually due to a stylistic variation; (b) the sentence’s initial order of the direct object may also be caused by the inverse order of the subject, as in (708); (c) The sentence’s initial order of the object is definitely marked if it coincides with the preverbal focus position of the direct object (709).

The experienced pilot flies the aeroplane.

Alas, this cold day’s living he has lost!

One has to note, that the order SVO for definite and SOV for indefinite direct objects is not a rigid rule, but has to be regarded a highly frequent preference rule, particularly with short basic sentences.

This preferred order rule may easily be changed in favour of SVO in the case of more complex sentences with a range of various verbal objects and complements and particularly with direct objects consisting of several subconstituents. The latter change from SOV to SVO even for indefinite direct objects is probably due to heavy noun phrase shift.
(710) կինական ապարաբն [Hayastan-ě] քարկեր է, որի հետ Հայաստանի առաջարկը
իրականացվել է Քարկերով և երկարատևական համագործակցության հիմավանից:
(Armenpress 11.05.2006)
Lebanon-n arabakan miak erkir-n è or-i
het Hayastan-ě storagr-el è barekamut’y-an ew
post Armenia-n Arab country-it is REL-DAT
hamagorcakc’uty-an hamajynagir.
cooperation-DAT contract NOM
“Lebanon is the only Arabic country with which Armenia has signed a contract of
friendship and cooperation.” (S V O indef)

(711) Քան սա հեյբբղ բովակսա նի հայաստանց աշխարհում էր որդի:
(Gyurjinyan, Hek’ek’yan 2002: 210)
heto na hiš-c’ kālc’ac u kisak’ālc’
then he NOM remember-aor.3.sg hungry conj half-hungry
anc’ka-c’r-ac ēli ēr-er.
pass-caus-ptcp.res more day-PL.NOM
“Then he remembered more days passed, hungry and half-starved.” (S V indefO)

(712) Նրա մոտ բեթեղի տապա համար համարիչ առնել նպուգել է պաշտպանության:
(Gyurjinyan, Hek’ek’yan 2002: 213)
Nra mot ber-ec’ in tasē hazar kānk’ar-i partk’
he gen post bring-aor.3.pl ten thousand kānk’ar-DAT debt.NOM
uneč’-ol mi partapan-i.
have-ptcp.sub. indef debtor-DAT
“They brought him a debtor with a debt of 10,000 kānk’ar.” (V indefO)

(713) Մեզերի տաճարի դղե տարբ ժայռ ժողովրդ մանուկ բերմադրում:
(Mayreni 5: 66)
alijk-ě mat-ov č’uyuc tv-c’ car-i barjr čyul-i-n
girl NOM-the finger-instr show-aor.3.sg tree DAT high branch-DAT-the
nst-ac t’rēnak-i-n.
sit-ptcp.res birdie-DAT-the
“The girl pointed a finger at the birdie sitting on a tree’s high branch.” (Lit.: the girl
showed with a finger the birdie…)

The partitive direct object expressed in the ablative case usually appears postposed to the
verb. (S V partO).

3.5.1.5 Indirect object order
Some Armenian verbs also govern an indirect object, expressed with the dative case. When there is a co-occurrence of direct and indirect object in a neutral sentence, the usual
orders are the following (this is particularly important to avoid possible ambiguity caused by a marking of direct and indirect object with the same case (i.e. the dative in cases of (+human) direct object and (+human) indirect object; as in (715)):

a. The indirect object usually follows the direct object, if the indirect object is definite. O – def IO

(714) կարողանք համապատասխանել հին գինու հոբելն է որոշումները:

Vahan-է hanjn-ec’ ir gn-ac ir-er-ě
Vahan.NOM-the hand over-aor.3.sg he,GEN buy-PTCP.RES. thing-PL.NOM-the
ir ėnk eru-u-n.
his girlfriend-DAT-the
“Vahan handed the things he bought over to his girlfriend.” (S V O def-IO)

(715) Երեխային վերադարձնել է որոշ:

Erexa-yi-n veradarjr-ek’ ir mor-ĕ!
child-DAT-the return-IMP.2.SG its mother-DAT-the
“Return the child to its mother!” (O V def-IO).

(716) Բնակարան Մհերին հատկացրել en 2005 բնակելի Բնակարան:

Hetk’ 12.02.2007
bnakaran Mher-i-n hatka-č’-el en 2005
apartment.NOM Mher-DAT-the assign-caus-PTCP.PERF they are 2005
t’vak an-i-n Masis-um.
year-DAT-the Masis-LOC
“They assigned an apartment to Mher in Masis in the year 2005.” (O iO-def V)

(717) Երեխին կյանքի նվիրել է ընտրության վնասակարգ:

Armenpress 24.10.2005
ir kyank’-ę nvir-el ē t’urk’akan msaku y’-i-n.
his life.NOM-the dedicate-PTCP.PERF. he is Turkish culture-DAT-the
“He dedicated his life to the Turkish culture.” (O V iO-def)

(718) Ֆեդերացիայի վիպերական գերաինքնատեսական անցումների

Armenpress 24.03.2006
federac’ia-y-i փոխնախագահ-է havakan-i andam-ner-i
federation-DAT vice-president.NOM-the collective-DAT member-PL-DAT
storagrut’yun-ner-ov b’nc’kamartik’-i jeńoc’-ner
signature-PL-INST boxer-DAT glove-PL.NOM
nvir-ec’ R. Koč’aryan-i-n.
give-aor.3.sg R. Koč’aryan-DAT-the
“The Federation's vice-president presented boxing gloves with the signatures of the national team to R. Koč’aryan.”
b. The indirect object obligatorily follows the direct object, if the indirect object is indefinite. This strict order rule is required to avoid ambiguities with a possible possessive attribute: O – indef-IO

(719) տան առյուծ իր թույլ տալիս է ամուսնու աշակերտ:
dasaxos-ě nor girk'-ě mi usanol-i
lecturer.NOM-the new book.NOM-the INDEF student-DAT
tal-is è.
give-PTCP.PRES. he is
“The lecturer gives the new book to a student.” (S O indef-IO V)

(719) a. ?առյուծ իր թույլ տալիս է ամուսնու աշակերտ:
dasaxos-ě tal-is è mi usanol-i
lecturer.NOM-the give-PTCP.PRES. he is INDEF student-DAT
nor girk'-è.
new book.NOM-the
Lit.: “The lecturer gives a student's new book.”
“a student” in Dative is here not used to denote an indefinite direct object, but a dative (possessor) attribute of “new book”.

(720) Պատրաստվելով է այս տիրապետությունն է ասում է:
Vardan-n ir ordyak Tigran-i-n vstah-um
Vardan.NOM-the his little son.NOM Tigran-DAT-the trust-PTCP.PRES.
è mi dayak-i.
he is INDEF nanny-DAT
“Vardan entrusts his little son, Tigran, to a nanny.” (S O V indef-IO)

c. The indirect object usually precedes the direct object, if the indirect object is expressed with a pronoun. pronIO + O

(721) Ուսուցե՛ր իմ առյուծների համար եմ անվճար: (Արարոտ 08.04.2006)
anjamb inj nvir-ec’in hianali p’nj-er.
personally 1.DAT give-AOR.3.PL wonderful bouquet-PL.NOM
“They give me, personally, wonderful bouquets.”

(722) Դիմ պատասխանի համար ես նշին մեզ անցք է:
(Mayreni 5:89)
Ayd patassan-i-d hamar es këz
that answer-DAT-your post 1.NOM you.DAT
knvirm-ën amen inc’.
give-COND.FUT.1.SG everything.NOM
“For that, your answer, I will give you everything.”

d. The indirect object generally follows the direct object, if both direct and indirect object are expressed with pronouns; pronO + pronIO.
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(719)  b. Դասախոս • (այդ) տալիս • է երան:

dasaxos-է  da (ayd) tal-is է  nran.
teacher.nom-the  it.nom  give-ptcp.pres.  he.is  he.dat

“The teacher gives it to him.”

(720)  a. Տարդան տալիս • է երան:

Vardan-է  nran vstah-um է  nran.
Vardan.nom-the  he.dat  trust-ptcp.pres.  he.is  her.dat

“Vardan entrusts him to her.”

Comment: although this sentence is grammatically accepted, speakers will avoid using two pronouns of the same number/person in one sentence: using, instead, a noun for one of the objects.

A sentence with two pronouns, functioning as the direct and indirect object, sounds more natural if there are two different person/numbers of the personal pronouns involved.

(723) Անի • տալիս • է երան. Սակայի • որ որոշ է:

Ani-n  kéz  khanj-i  nran.
Ani.nom  you.dat  deliver-cond.fut.3.sg  he.dat

mnac'ac-է  k'o  goric-n է.
rest.nom-the  you  work.nom-the  it is

“The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

b. Տարդան տալիս է երան:

Tatik'k  tv-ec'  xalalik-է  t'or'nik-i-n.
grandma.nom-the  toy.nom-the  give-aor.3.sg  grandchild-dat-the

“The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

The order of the indirect object and direct object regarding the finite verb seems not to underlie word order rules; the verb may appear in between the two objects or may precede both objects – without any semantic difference; the direct object typically precedes the indirect object.

(723)  a Սակայի տալիս հուզես որոշ երան:

tatik-է  xalalik-է  tv-ec'  t'or'nik-i-n.
grandma.nom-the  toy.nom-the  give-aor.3.sg  grandchild-dat-the

“The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

b. Սակայի տալիս հուզես որոշ երան:

Tatik'k  tv-ec'  xalalik-է  t'or'nik-i-n.
grandma.nom-the  toy.nom-the  grandchild-dat-the

“The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

After long negotiations, the enemy finally delivered the hostages to our officers.

Ruben's son introduces to his father his respectable friend, having come to their house.

Thus there are the following order preferences for indirect objects expressed with a lexical noun in neutral sentences:

- the indirect object follows the direct object, O IO
- in sentences with both direct and indirect object, the verb usually appears in between both; O V IO-def.

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325 Geworgyan 1999: Lofi, short story 238.
if the direct object appears preposed to the verb, then the indirect object follows the verb.

Other orders can be regarded as non-neutral, inverse or marked.

(726) Կարին-ը տարբեր մարդ-ի էր տան-ի տեխ-է սենյակ-է.

Karine-n tarber mardk-anc’ ēr tal-is senyak-ě.

Karine-nom-the various man-pl.dat she was give-ptcp.pres. room.nom-the

Comment: In this sentence there is an inverse order of the indefinite indirect object and the direct object, the emphasis is additionally strengthened by means of the obvious preverbal focus position the indirect object.

Other Indirect (Dative) Objects
The indirect object closely related to verbs of “approaching” is postposed to the V with overwhelming frequency.

(727) Հայ-իտալական բարեկամության օրերը տեսակն էլ ավարտ-է.

hay-italakan barekamut’yan őr-er-ě moten-um

Armenian-Italian friendship-dat day-pl.nom-the approach-ptcp.pres.

en avart-i-n.

they are end-dat-the

“The days of Armenian-Italian friendship are approaching their end.”

3.5.2 Secondary constituents order

3.5.2.1 Oblique objects order

MEA has a range of oblique objects:

a. object of agency
b. object of separation
c. object of means
d. object of comparison
e. object of relation
f. object of composition
g. object of limitation

In comparison to the direct object and the real indirect object, the order of oblique objects is relatively free and is just subject to preferences.

a. Object of Agency

The agency object, or passive object, is usually expressed with the bare ablative or postpositional phrase with the POST կոլմիչ kołmić’; it generally follows the verb and frequently appears at the end of the sentence.
This postposed position V – object of agency is also preferred for those objects expressed with the postpositional phrase:

b. Object of Separation

In principle, the object of separation occurs both preposed and postposed to the verb; though it appears more frequently preposed to the verb. Object of separation – V

c. Object of Means

In general, both pre- and postverbal order is possible for the object of means usually expressed with the instrumental or with postpositional phrases. The postpositional phrase is mainly applied to (+human) objects with the noun in the dative and the postposition որպես mijoc’ов “by means of”. For (+human) nouns this postpositional phrase is more seldom used; it can also be expressed – depending on the verb – with the postposition միջնույթ jekkov “by the hands of”.

The more frequent and apparently preferred order is the postverbal, particularly if the object of means co-occurs with other objects or adverbials.

(731) Հանրահայտ երգչուհի է: (Patkerazard քերականություն 2: 50)
hanrahayt ergê'hi-n eluyt' է
garnet-PL LOC singer perform-INF NOM she is
unen-um heɾustac'uye'-ov.
have-PTCP PRES. television-INSTR

“The popular (female) singer performs on TV.”

(732) Հանրահայտ երգչուհի է: (Armenpress 08.12.2005)
husag-um pöpoxyut'yun-ner-i katarum-է
document-LOC change-PL-DAT achieve-INF NOM-the
naxates-v-um è irakan'el lehakan kolm-i het
foresee-PTCP PRES it is pursue-INF Polish side-DAT POST
nota-ner-i pòxanamak-man mioč'ov.
note-PL-DAT exchange-DAT POST

“The fulfilment of changes in the memorandum is planned to pursue with the Polish side by means of the exchange of (diplomatic) notes.”

d. Object of Comparison

The object of comparison usually precedes the copular verb, if the noun/pronoun is expressed with the ablative case. If the object of comparison is expressed with the ablative case, it also precedes its standard noun phrase, mostly the subject.

(733) Հերա-է: (Hetk’ 14.02.2007)
Hrea-ner-i t'iv-է hazar-ic' pakas è.
jew-PL-DAT number-NOM-the 1,000-ABL less it is

“The number of Jews is less than 1,000.”

If this object is expressed by means of the conjunction քան kän, it appears after the verb, mainly at the end of a basic sentence.

(734) Ավելի քան ունի պահանջումներ կախվածություն են 3–4 անգամ ավելի, քան քան ունի:
Avæli kän ałjik-ner-i mot.
more COMP girl-PL-DAT POST

“The sickness occurs 3–4 times more (often) in boys than in girls.”
All other oblique objects, namely:
- object of relation
- object of composition
- object of limitation

ordinarily follow the verb and commonly appear at the end of the sentence.

3.5.2.2 The order of adverbials
Adverbials (adverbs or adverbial phrases) modify either (a) the verb or (b) the whole sentence. Thus the order of adverbials must primarily be discussed in relation to the verb and only secondarily regarding their position in the sentence.

All adverbials can occur either in the preverbal or the postverbal position in basic sentences, as will be explained and exemplified below; but the order of adverbials relating both to the verb and the sentence as a whole is also subject to constraints of syntactic heaviness and the co-occurrence of various adverbials in one sentence.

* a. place
* b. time
* c. manner
* d. purpose
* e. cause
* f. basis
* g. concession
* h. condition
* i. measure/quantity
* j. comitative

a. Adverbials of Place
In general, the adverbial of place has a rather free order relating to the verb. This rather free order, however, correlates with the general and basic order of the whole sentence. Furthermore, it is also subject to semantic constraints depending on the semantic contents of the adverbial of place: whether it denotes the place of origin of action, place of action or the direction of an action.

- Unmarked order
In a neutral, basic sentence with the order SV, the adverbial of place usually follows the verb, $S + V + \text{adverbial of place}$

\[(735) \: \text{patrast-v-um ēi mekn-el Gyumri.} \]

prepare-refl-\text{ptcp.pres}. I was depart-\text{inf} Gyumri-\text{nom}

“I prepared (myself) to depart for Gyumri”.
Adverbials of place expressed only with a place adverb or with an interrogative pronoun denoting place generally occur in the sentence-initial position:

(738) թեքեստ նվերգվածքը ին բնագավառին՝ լուսաբերում ի հենց գայթա դեր: ։(Հետք 15.01.2007)

аўстել сնիդամ’էրկ’-ն ւ բանջարել է վաչար-վ-ում
here foodstuffs Nom-the conj vegetables Nom-the sell-pass-PTCP.PRES.

են հեն’ դեռ-ի վրա.
they are just soil DAT POST

“Foodstuffs and vegetables are sold here directly on the soil.”

In many utterances and sentences, the adverbial of place appears at the beginning of the sentence, particularly in written Armenian, as a form of stylistic variation.

(739) թեղափոխության առաջադիմանական գրաչուն է առավելագետ պատկեր:
(Պատկերազարդ կերակուն’յուն 2: 50)

Byurakan-ի աստղադիտարան-իկ’ էրեւ-ում են
Byurakan-DAT observatory-ABL be visible-PTCP.PRES. they are

ամենահեղավոր աստ-եր-է.
most-far star-pl Nom-the

“The farthest stars are visible from Byurakan’s observatory.”

(740) բնական համակարգի մուտ էր բորոտ գերեզի տեղում է գտնվում:
(Մայրենի 5: 105)

կալակ-ի դարպաս-ի մոտ մի բորոտ գերեզի էր տուն-այ.
town-DAT gate-DAT POST indef leper old man Nom he was sit-PTCP.PRES.

“It was an old, leper man that was sitting near the town’s gate.”

Comment: in this sentence (a) the subject appears in the marked preverbal focus position (b) the adverbial of place appears in an inverse order in the beginning of the sentence. This is a highly marked sentence.
Marked order (focus)

If the adverbial precedes the verb and appears in the preverbal (focus) position, its order is usually interpreted as marked. This is true for all semantic variants of place adverbials.

(741) այստեղ են գիշեր-ներ անկ’a-կ’-իմ Toni-n
here they are night-PL.NOM-the pass-caus-PTCP.PRES. Toni.NOM-the
u Myasnik-է.
CONJ Myasnik.NOM-the
“It is here Toni and Myasnik pass the nights.” (Lit.: Here Toni and Myasnik pass the nights.)
Comment: the place adverb appears in the immediate preverbal focus, ADV + AUX…

Cooccurrence of Place Adverbials

When there is a co-occurrence of place adverbials denoting the place of origin of the action and adverbials denoting the direction of the action, the adverbial denoting the place of origin logically precedes the place of termination of the action. These two adverbials may also be separated from each other by other complements.

(742) իմ բարեկամ Koryun Koryunyan-է T’bilisi’-c
my friend Koryun Koryunyan.NOM-the Tiflis-ABL
ek-av Erewan.
COME-AOR.3.SG Yerevan.NOM
“My friend Koryun Koryunyan came from Tiflis to Yerevan.”

(743) Շահ-Աբաս-ի ժամանակ he’ɾu așxarh-ic’ derviš-i hangust-ov
Shah-Abas-DAT time.NOM far world-ABL dervish-DAT clothe-INST
mi mard է gal-is Spahan k’alak’-է.
INDEF man.NOM he is come-PTCP.PRES. Spahan.NOM town.NOM-the
“In the time of Shah Abbas, a man in dervish clothes came from a far world to the town (of) Isfahan.”

Any order differing from this conventional neutral order is regarded as marked; particularly if appearing in the preverbal focus position, see (740) above.

327. Please note that in this sentence the subject “a man in dervish clothes” is marked.
b. Adverbials of Time

– Unmarked, neutral order

Adverbials of time usually occur in the sentence’s initial position; thus they are also usually preposed to the verb.

This order is the most frequent and also most productive order of adverbials of time in both written and spoken Armenian. \( \text{timeADV} + S + V \)…

(744) Հանրապետություն նորամուտության թվային փունիկյան էկում կամ հայաստան:  
(Patkerazard քերականություն 2:50)  
\( \text{das-er-ic’ heto tla-ner-է bak-um futbol} \)  
\( \text{class-PL-ABL POST boy-PL.NOM-the courtyard-LOC futbol.NOM} \)  
\( \text{ēin xal-um.} \)  
they were  \text{play-PTCP.PRES.}  
“After school the boys used to play soccer in the courtyard.”

(745) Հունվարի 26-ի հայրասանոց մերկանթական տարիքով Կոմիտասի 64 թագավոր պատկանում:  
(Hetk’ 29.01.2007)  
\( \text{hunvar-i 26-i-n albatar mekêna-n tar-el} \)  
\( \text{January-DAT 26-DAT-the refuse collection car.NOM-the take-PTCP.PERF.} \)  
\( \text{ēr Ŭganov-i 64 šenk’-i alb-է.} \)  
\( \text{it was Ŭganov-DAT 64 building-DAT refuse.NOM-the} \)  
“On January 26th the garbage truck took the refuse of the building of Ŭganov (street) (No) 64.”

If the adverbial of time it expressed with a single time adverb, it ordinarily appears at the beginning of the sentence.

(746) Հիմա Էդգար-ն աշխատանք ունի:  
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)  
\( \text{Hima Ėdgar-n ašxatank’ un-i.} \)  
\( \text{now Ėdgar.NOM-the work.NOM have-PRES.3.SG.} \)  
“Ėdgar has a job now.”

(747) Վարպետ Լևոն Չիլինգիրյանը օգտագործում է որմնափոխություն:  
(Armenpress 03.05.06)  
\( \text{val-է Lewon Čilingiryan-է lekavarel-u} \)  
\( \text{tomorrow Lewon Čilingiryan.NOM-the conduct-PTCP.FUT} \)  
\( \text{ē nvagaxumb-է.} \)  
\( \text{he is orchestra.NOM-the} \)  
“Lewon Čilingiryan will conduct the orchestra tomorrow.”

If the subject of the sentence occupies the sentence’s initial position, the adverbial of time usually immediately follows it, and thus still precedes the verb. \( S + \text{time ADV} + V \).
Co-occurrence
If various semantic variants of time adverbials co-occur in a sentence, the most general one commonly precedes the more concrete ones.

(750) 2005 թ. սեպտեմբերի 15-ի դաօրական Անհետ Սեզեր Անհետ Սեզերի կայանում է հունը 
2005 թ. սեպտեմբերի 15-ի դաօր Անհետ Սեզեր 
Sezer Nom-the letter Nom he was send ptcp perf Rome Dat 
pope Nom Benediktos 16-th Dat the 
“On September 15th 2005, President Ahmet Necdet Sezer had sent a letter to Rome’s Pope Benedict 16th.”

(751) Այսօր աչքաբանում Ուդը զջուռավագում մթնում է -3: 
(Armenpress 06.04.2006) 
aysor agravotyan Melri-um od-i jermastian -e 
today morning Melri Loc air Dat temperature Nom the 
arjanagr-v-el e -3. 
register pass ptcp perf it is -3 
“This morning the air temperature in Melri was registered as minus three.”

For a co-occurrence of adverbials of time and place, the adverbials of time usually precede the place adverbial. The latter may immediately follow the time adverbial in the sentence’s
initial position or may also appear at the end of the sentence. The opposite order is possible, but seems to be a typical feature of journalistic style.  

(752) Հայրենիքի բռնուն բեռլաքի ապագահ ցանցամանից դարձավուր են:
(Patkerazard kərakanuṭ'yun 2: 50)

*april-i-n  bn-um erewac'ın aragil-i*  
April-DAT-the nest-LOC bevisible-AOR.3.PL stork-DAT  

* karmraktuc’ jaguk-ner-ɛ.*  
red beak-having youngling-PL.NOM-the  
“In April the stork's younglings, having red beaks, became visible in the net.”
(timeADV placeADV V S)

(753) Ուսող Հայրենիքի բռնուն է ժաման 30 հազար հայ:
(Aravit 13.01.2006)

*Aysör Ardrbejan-um bnakv-um ē šurj 30*  
today Azerbaijan-LOC live-PTCP.PRES. it is circa 30  

*hazar hay.*  
thousand Armenian.NOM  
“Today approximately 30,000 Armenians live in Azerbaijan.”
(timeADV placeADV V S)

(754) Ուտնակ հատ բարձքավուր է լասավ:
(Patkerazard kərakanuṭ'yun 2: 54)

*amran-ɛ  hot-ɛ barjranum ē sar-ɛ.*  
summer-DAT-the smell.NOM-the rise-PTCP.PRES. it is mountain.NOM-the  
“In summer the smell rises to the mountain.” (timeADV S V placeADV)

If the adverbal of time appears at the end of the sentence, this order can be regarded as inverse according to some Armenian grammarians.  

(755) ԵՄ հատուկ ներկայացուցակ Երևան քաղաքացու ազգագրություն են։
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)

*EM hatuk nerkayačuc'ič-ɛ Erewan kžamani*  
EU special representative.NOM-the Yerevan.NOM arrive-COND.FUT.3.SG  

*Vrastan ayč’-el-uc’ heto.*  
Georgia.NOM visit-INF-ABL post  
“The special representative of the European Union will arrive in Yerevan after having visited Georgia.”

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328. Badikyan 1976: 170. In the newspaper used as text corpus here, this preference could not really be proved.

329. comp. Arak'elyan 1958: 487; Badikyan, Papoyan 2003: §1226; Badikyan 1976: 177; This inverse order is due to a stylistic variation.
Badikyan (1967: 171–172) argues that the position of the time adverbial is also subject to semantic constraints. According to him, the time adverbial appears in the sentence-final position, and thus follows the verb, if:

- the utterance refers to official actions or events such as birth, death, publications, lectures etc.

\[(756)\] Առաջին նույնիսկ հրապարակ-վել 1999 թվականին:

\[a	ext{ɾajin} \ n\text{man} \ \text{grk'uyk}-\varepsilon \ \text{hrapar}-v-el \ \varepsilon\]
\[1999 \ \text{t'vakan}-i-n.\]

“The first similar booklet was published in 1999.”

- The verb belongs to the group of unaccusative intransitives.

Whereas the semantic constraint (a) seems to be proved by many examples, the alleged morpho-semantic constraint (b) cannot be proved here.\(^{330}\)

c. Word Order of Adverbials of Manner

In unmarked, neutral order adverbials of manner are generally (directly) preposed to the verb:

- Manner adverbials expressed by a single manner adverb ordinarily precede the verb; this is also true for reduplicated adverbs (757)
- Manner adverbials expressed by nouns in the instrumental usually precede the verb; this is also true for reduplicated nouns. (758)
- Manner adverbials expressed by participles or participle constructions also typically precede the verb (759).
- Manner adverbials expressed with adpositional phrases for the most part precede the verb. (760)

\[(757)\] Պատկանցած կողմից պատրաստված կանգնել է վաճառող:

\[\text{vačaṛaselan}-i \ \text{ařew} \ \text{patrastakam} \ \text{kangn}-el \ \varepsilon \ \text{vačaɾol}-\varepsilon.\]

“The seller has readily stood in front of the stand.”

\[(758)\] Մեծ հայտնործ ունեցում:

\[\text{Mec} \ \text{hačuyk'-ov} \ \text{kg-am}.\]

Big pleasure-INST come-COND.FUT.1.SG

“I will come with great pleasure.”

\(^{330}\) There is no limitation for this inversion to unaccusative verbs; there are too many counter examples, which show that also unergative and even transitive verbs are used in the inversion of adverbials of time to the end of the sentence.
Co-occurrence

Manner adverbials have a stronger adjacency to the verb than other adverbials; therefore they usually appear immediately adjacent (preposed) to the verb. In cases of any co-occurrence of various adverbials, the manner adverbial is always the closest to the verb.

(761) Երբ հայտնագրվեց այսպիսի պատճառ: (Armenpress 24.10.2006)

*dranic’heto gorčent’ac’-n aravel arag kěnt’ān-a.*
that-ABL post process.nom-the COMP quickly go-cond.fut.3.sg.
“After that (Afterwards) the process will go more quickly.”


*ir hert’-i-n Iran-i despan-ě laynoren*
his turn-DAT-the Iran-DAT ambassador.nom-the widely
*andradarj-el ē Iran-i derakatarut’y-an-ē Libanan-um.*
reflect-ptcp.perf. he is Iran-DAT performance-DAT-the Lebanon-LOC
“On his turn the ambassador of Iran widely reflected the performance of Iran in Lebanon.”

(763) Երբ համապատասխան կարևոր միտումաբարություններից յուրաքանչյուս համապատասխան պատճառով հետևյալ պատճառը: (Aravot 08.04.2006)

*erek’himmavorapes tarber meladrank’-ner-ov nuyn ēntanik’-i*
3 basically different charge-pl-inst same family-dat
*andam-ner-ē hert’ov haytn-v-el en bant-um.*
member-pl.nom-the queue-inst appear-refl-ptcp.perf. they are prison-loc
“The members of the same family with three different charges have, in turn served time in prison.”

331. Please note this is a written reproduction of a spoken utterance in colloquial Armenian.
Manner adverbials may follow the verb in cases of syntactic heaviness, which often occurs with infinitive constructions (the infinitive in the instrumental).

(764) Կարող եմ մեւ ես անգու մեն նրան դասավանդու: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

\[ \text{ev es mišt gal-is em norut'-an spasel-ov.} \]

\[ \text{conj I.nom always come-PTCP.pres. I am news-dat wait-INF-INST} \]

“Always I come waiting for news.”

(765) Հիշք կարող են ինանի հրավիտավոր համակարգել գնահատ. (Armenpress 10.07.2006)

\[ \text{ton-er-ě kavart-v-en Hisus K'ristos-i festivity-pl.nom-the terminate-pass-cond.fut.3.pl Hisus K'ristos-dat} \]

\[ \text{hrašapār harut'yun-ě nš-el-ov.} \]

glorious resurrection.nom-the celebrate-inf-INST

“The festivities will be terminated celebrating the glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ.”

If the manner adverbial occurs following the verb, it is either inverse or does not relate to the verb proper but to the sentence as a whole.

(766) Կարող եմ ու երբ գալ կատարեց ու դատապարտվ՛ կարող եմ համարել: (Aravot 05.04.2006)

\[ \text{na harkayin ew makšayin partavorut'yun-ner-ę he.nom tax conj customs obligation-pl.nom-the} \]

\[ \text{katar-el ę barexłčoren ew žamanakin. fulfill-PTCP.perf. he is conscientiously conj punctually} \]

“Conscientiously and punctually he has fulfilled his tax and customs obligations.”

d. Adverbial of Cause

The adverbial of cause seems to have a rather free order: it both appears preposed and postposed to the verb, both in the initial and final positions in the sentence. The order seems also to productively depend on the “syntactic heaviness” of the adverbial of cause.

- If the adverbial of cause is expressed with a single noun in the ablative or an infinitive in the ablative, it typically precedes the verb.
- If it is syntactically heavier (i.e. a whole noun phrase with attributes, an infinitive construction with infinitive in the ablative) or expressed with an adpositional phrase, it seems ordinarily to follow the verb:
“They have remained unfinished, principally because of the lack of finances.”

“In the last year more than 70 percent of the province’s forested territories have been destroyed due to clearing.”

e. Adverbials of Goal (Final Adverbials)

Final adverbials are productively subject to order preferences due to the form in which they are expressed: inflected noun, inflected infinitive (construction), adpositional phrase.

If the final adverbial is expressed with a single noun (in the dative), it may occur preceding, but it generally follows the verb.

“If the final adverbial is expressed with an infinitive in the dative, it follows the verb and usually stands at the end of the sentence. A sentence-initial position is regarded as marked, particularly because of its preverbal focus position.”

“The student goes to the university’s library to read a book.”
Adpositional final adverbials, which are productively used, precede the verb and usually occur at the beginning of the sentence.

(771) Հայրենից դեպի գյուղը հայտնի են «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից առ ու դեր գյուղում, զարդ վերադարձած տեղում: (Mayreni 3: 164)

[Hivand-i-n del gtnel-u hamar] Lenk-T’emor-i sick-DAT-the medicine find-INF-DAT post Lenk-T’emor-DAT
mard-ik sar u jor ânk-an ŋat man-PL.NOM mountain.NOM conj valley.NOM fall-AOR.3.PL many
tel-er-um el-an.
place-PL-LOC be-AOR.3.PL.
“The people of Timor Lenk went to mountains and valleys; they were in many places to find a medicine for the sick.”

(772) Հայրենից դեպի գյուղը հայտնի են «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից վարձական անձանցուց «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից զարդ վերադարձած տեղում:

(Armenpress 30.03.2006)

[Hanrapetut’yan marz-er-n anhražešt bžišk-ner-ov republic-DAT province-PL.NOM-the necessary doctor-PL-INST
apahovel-u npatakov] stelc-v-el ē provide-INF-DAT post found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
Bžiškakan kadr-er” telekatvakan baza.
“Medical employee-PL.NOM” information base.NOM
“The information centre “Medical Employees” was founded in order to provide the Republic’s provinces with necessary doctors.”

(773) Հայրենից դեպի գյուղը հայտնի են «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից զարդ վերադարձած տեղում: (Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

[Art’ur-i-n gerut’yun-ic’ azatel-u close friend-PL.NOM-the Art’ur-DAT-the captivity-ABL free-INF-DAT
hamar] vačať-el ēin miak bnakaran-ē.
POST sell-PTCP.PERF they were sole apartment.NOM-the
“The close friends had sold the sole apartment in order to free Art’ur from captivity.”

If in the same sentence a final adverbial co-occurs with adverbials of place, then the final adverbial must obligatorily follow the adverbial of place.

(774) Հայրենից 311-րդ սանրվերի հերթաքննությունում կազմավորվում է «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից վարձական անձանցուց «Թումա-Թումի» ամրոցից զարդ վերադարձած տեղում:

(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

[nranc’-ic’ 311-ē tarber hivandut’yun-ner-i patcărov they-ABL 311.NOM-the various sickness-PL-DAT post

“...”
Chapter 3. Syntax

**gtn-v-el en masnagitec-v-ac mankatn-er-um.**

"find-refl-PTCP.PERF they are specialize-pass-PTCP.RES. children's home-PL-LOC"

"Three hundred and eleven of them resided in specialised children's homes because of various sicknesses."

f. **Adverbials of Basis**

Adverbials denoting the basis of an action with bare nouns in the ablative or the instrumental or with adpositional phrases, typically appear preposed to the verb and therefore often at the beginning of the sentence. Without a doubt, the order also depends on the syntactic heaviness of the adverbial of basis.

Remember example (228) in Ch. 3.1.3.1.3. "Oblique Objects", p. 390.

(228) թեք ունեցած է թեքի ամբողջությունը մեկնա համապատասխան հիմնական տակ. (Armenpress 05.04.2006)

Ayn stec-v-el ê [erku akumb-ner-i mijew hamapastaxan that found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is two club-PL-DAT POST corresponding paymanagr-i himan vra.]

contract-DAT POST

"That has been founded on the basis of a corresponding contract between two clubs."

g. **Adverbials of Condition and Concession**

The order of these adverbials shows no real preferences and also depends on the syntactic heaviness. "Light" adverbials of condition and concession generally occur at the beginning of sentences and, thus, also preposed to the verb, whereas heavy adverbials typically occur in the sentence-final position and consequently following the verb.

(775) Հաճախ ջերմասազանակ պայքարում, երբ դպչում է հիմնական տակը, երբ 25 դրամ, այլ 6,5–7 դրամ. (Armenpress 24.01.2006)


pay-PTCP.PRES. he is neg 25 dram CONJ 6.5–7 dram.

“When (Lit.: under the condition of…) heating with gas, the inhabitant does not pay 25 dram for a KW/h but 6.5–7 dram."

(776) Նորաբակի զատ իրավիճակը նշանակում է, որ հայերը կարող են խաղաղ գրառված է այսպիս: (Hetk’26.02.2007)


Armenia.NOM they are say-PTCP.PRES.

“In Norabak many (people) say 'Armenia' instead of 'Yerevan.'”
h. Adverbials of Measure/Quantity

The adverbials of measure and quantity are ordinarily preposed to the verb, thus they also appear at the beginning of the sentence.

(777) Սամվել չէ չորս անգամ կարդաց է երբեմն.
Samvel-nom-the four time-nom read-aor.3.sg this newspaper-nom-the
“Samvel read this newspaper four times.”

If this adverb is placed following the verb at the end of the sentence it also receives the logical stress and is thus marked:

(778) իսկ վերջին 10 տարին Հայաստանի տիպիկական հիπոթեզային ավանդույթի մեջ
isk verjin 10 tar-um Hayastan-um tuberkulyoz-ov hivanda’utyun-n
conj last 10 year-loc Armenia-loc tuberculosis-instrument-nom-the
ač-el է 2.5 անգամ.
grow-pTCP.perf. it is 2.5 time
“And in the last 10 years the infection with tuberculosis has grown 2.5 times in Armenia.”

i. Comitative Adverbials

If the comitative adverbial is expressed with a noun in the instrumental, it usually precedes the verb and appears in the beginning of the sentence.
Remember example (242) from Ch. 3.1.4.1.3. "Oblique Objects", p. 394.

(242) Հանդղն ու անդրդնի Բելի հայրապետական բանակը հասկայան բանակ է պետք Հայկի
Handugn u ančorini Bel-nom-the huge army-loc hskayakan banak-ov
companion conj abhorrent Bel-nom-the huge army-loc
gal-is է դեպի Հայկի բանակայար.
come-pTCP.pres. he is prep Hayk-DAT domicile-nom-the
“Impertinent and abhorrent Bel comes with a huge army to Hayk’s domicile.”

(779) Արևելյան բյուջեվարման Համաշխարհային բանկի ծառայության միջոցով երբեմն
Krt’ut’y-an bnagavar-um Hamašxarhayin bank-i het miasin
Education-DAT field-loc World Bank-DAT post together
p’orj է ար-ում իրական-են-el
experiment-nom it is make-pass-pTCP.pres. realise-caus-inf
varkavorm-an cragir.
Credit-DAT program.NOM
“The experiment is conducted together with the World Bank to realise the credit program in the field of education.”

If the comitative adverbial is expressed with adpositional phrases, it appears preposed or postposed to the verb – depending on the syntactic heaviness of the adpositional phrase.

(780) Մերձափոխումների աշխատանքը տրվում է Երևան-ի Քարինյան համալսարան 4 համալսարանական համառույքը հետևող պորտատոմի, հատկային ու տեղեկատվական ծրագիր: (Հեթո 26.02.2007)
Siranuš Margaryan-n apr-um ē Erewan-i Ajap’nyak
Siranuš Margaryan.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. she is Yerevan-DAT Ajap’nyak
hamaynk’-i Sisakyan 4 hasće-um gnt-v-oł viarayin
community-DAT Sisakyan 4 address-LOC find-refl-PTCP.SUB. emergency
hanrakačaran-um ir hing ordi-ner-i hars-i ew
dormitory-LOC her five son-pl-DAT daughter-in-law-DAT conj
t’or-an het.
grandchild-DAT post
“Siranuš Margaryan lives in the emergency dormitory located in Yerevan’s Ajap’nyak’s community ‘Sisakyan 4’ with her five sons, her daughter-in-law and her grandchild.”

3.5.3 Noun-phrase constituents’ order

The order of the modifying or determining constituents of a noun-phrase is surprisingly canonical and thus rigid.
A noun phrase can have a range of modifiers and determiners:
- attributive adjective
- attributive numerals and quantifiers
- attributive pronouns, such as determining demonstratives or lexicalised possessive pronouns etc.
- attributive inflected nouns functioning as adjectives
- attributive nouns functioning as close appositions
- genitive attributes (expressed with the dative case)
- loose appositions
- relative clauses
- determining suffixed articles and determining possessive/agentive suffixes
- indefinite articles

In general, modifiers and determiners obligatorily precede their head noun. In cases of the definite article and the possessive/agentive suffix, the order is determined by the suffixing
character of the determiners. Both loose appositions and relative clauses, however, obligatorily follow their head noun.

Thus, one can adhere to the following general rules:

- ADJ + N
- NUM/QNT + N
- DEM + N
- POSS + N
- GEN + N
- INDEF + N
- N + APPOS
- N + REL
- N-def
- N-poss

In the following subchapters these order rules will be discussed in more detail and exemplified.

3.5.3.1 The order of simple noun phrase constituents’

a. The Order of Adjectives

As mentioned above, adjectives are rigidly preposed to the noun. An exception to this rigid rule can only be found in poetic language.

This strict order rule is equally true for all semantic groups of adjectives, i.e. qualitative, relative and quantitative adjectives (the latter are grouped with quantifiers), and also for all parts of speech that may be used in attributive adjective function, particularly participles.

With qualifying adjectives:

(781) Մուտարի ճիլիսը վիրավոր իրավոր իրավոր: (Armenian folk saying)

\[ \text{ančor˚ni čutik-n sirun karap kdařn-a.} \]
unsightly chick.NOM-the pretty swan.NOM become-COND.FUT.3.SG.
“The ugly duckling will turn into a beautiful swan.”

(782) Միքար ֆուտբոլային մարզադաշտը վթարածնունդը:  
(Patkerazard Kərakanu’yun2: 41)

\[ \text{mer futbolayin t’im-ē halt’ec’ užel mrc’akic’-ner-i-n.} \]
our soccer team.NOM-the win-AOR.3.SG strong competitor-PL-DAT-the
“Our soccer team beat the strong competitors.”

With relational adjectives:

(783) Քաջ ճիլիսը արջը որպես սառը սառը:

\[ \text{clote glxark-ē aljk-an šat ē saz-um.} \]
straw hat.NOM-the girl-DAT-the INT it is suit-PTCP.PRES.
“The straw hat suits the girl very well.”
(784) Mountainous lake woke up from its winter sleep.

(785) They keep the baked bread.

(786) The belated passenger ran after the moving train.

– The co-occurrence of various types of adjectives in one noun-phrase

A noun-phrase may contain more than one adjective and naturally also more than one semantic type of adjective.

In general, the order of various semantic types of adjectives is subject to major rule of objectiveness: usually the more objective and undisputable qualifications appear closer to the noun, and the more subjective, opinion like ones farther away. (Hetzron 1978: 178). Which means, in other words, that generally the order of various adjectives preposed to the noun is determined by semantic criteria and the speaker's objective meaning.

a. Co-occurrence of Various Qualifying Adjectives

It has not been studied so far, whether MEA shows order preferences regarding the co-occurrence of qualifying adjectives belonging to various semantic subtypes such as colour, size, age, evaluation etc.

The order of various qualifying adjectives generally depends on the context and on the emphasis the speaker/writer puts on one of these qualities. That means, the qualitative adjective closest to the noun usually also expresses the main qualitative feature of the noun.

(787) My nephew, Murad has mounted a beautiful white horse.

“My nephew, Murad has mounted a beautiful white horse.”
There seems to be, however, a preference for the order size-colour, size-age and age-colour and thus for size-age-colour in neutral utterances, in which not a certain quality is marked.332

(788) a. մեջ սպիտակ տուն
   meç spitak tun
   big white house.NOM
   “a big white house”

b. մեջ հուն տուն
   meç hin tun
   big old house
   “a big old house”

c. հուն սպիտակ տուն
   hin spitak tun
   old white house
   “an old white house”

d. մեջ հուն սպիտակ տուն
   meç hin spitak tun
   big old white house
   “a big old white house”

b. Co-occurrence of Various Relational Adjectives
There are no real order rules or preferences regarding the order of various semantic subgroups of relational adjectives. Again, the order depends on the semantic context and the objectiveness of the speaker.

Adjectives denoting nationality, however, are preferably preposed to all other relational adjectives.

(789) Ամերիկացի բարձրաստիճան զինվոր-ը կայսել-ի
   amerikaci’ barjrstican zinvorakan-é kayc’el-i naew
   American high-level soldier.NOM-the visit-COND.FUT.3.SG also

haykakan xalalapah gumartak.
   Armenian peace-keeping battalion.NOM
   “The American high-level soldier will also visit an Armenian peace-keeping battalion.”

332. A sample of 30 native speakers has given the orders of (788a) (788b) (788c) (788d) as the most frequent and most natural in a co-occurrence of various adjectives denoting size, age and colour. It is interesting that the order of (788a) was given with 100%, of (788b) and (788c) both with 81.82% and in the more complex order of (788d) the native speakers seemed to disagree about the preferred and most neutral order, only 54.55 % for (789d).
c. Co-occurrence of Qualifying and Relational Adjectives

In case of a co-occurrence of qualifying and relational adjectives, the relational adjective usually precedes the qualifying one. rADJ + qADJ + N 333

(791) Գարնանային պատասխան արվեստի հավաքություն դրսում: (Patkerazar k' erakanut'yun 3:8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>garnanayin</th>
<th>paycar</th>
<th>arew-é</th>
<th>hale-c'r-ec'</th>
<th>jyun-é.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spring</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>sun.NOM</td>
<td>the melt-caus</td>
<td>AOR.3. SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The bright spring sun made the snow melt.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(792) Ուտերի առքամասը հարսանել ճուրի բերելություն: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>arden</th>
<th>norog-v-ac</th>
<th>è</th>
<th>gmbet'avor</th>
<th>pok'r</th>
<th>ekelec'i-n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already renovate-pass-PTCP.RES</td>
<td>it is domed</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>church.NOM</td>
<td>the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The small domed church is already renovated.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(793) Ուտարմանի ճարտարապետական միջավայրը վերնասե հատուկ յուրաքանչյուր: (Armenpress 07.04.2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aragacotn-i</th>
<th>marz-um</th>
<th>tntesakan</th>
<th>mec</th>
<th>neruz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aragacotn-DAT</td>
<td>province-LOC</td>
<td>economic</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>potential.NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un-en</td>
<td>kanayk'</td>
<td>have-PRES.3.PL</td>
<td>woman.PL.NOM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In the province of Aragacotn women have a big economic potential.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, one has to note that this order is subject to semantic context and emphasis. Additionally, adjectives and nouns often form a conventionalised expression, such as e.g. աստվածական տարի (Lit.: “educational year”) “academic year”, Սուրբ Nor tari “New Year”, Սուրբ Ծիսակ Surb Cnund (Lit.: “Holy Birth”) “Christmas” etc.

The adverbs or adjectives used in the function of an intensifier canonically precede the adjective they intensify. INT + ADJ
mec havak'acu.
big collection.nom
“Uncle (mother’s brother) Ruben has a very big stamp-collection.”

(798) քարություն այստեղ տեղակայված զբոսաշրջույքի համար ներկա զգումակցության
ապրանքների արտադրության և ավարտագրության;
(Armenpress 19.06.2006)
aystel a'ka en sn'c'arkan õrgan-ner-i hamar xist vtangavor
here available they are breathing organ-pl-dat post int dangerous
polic'iklik accajrat-ner ew penzipirin-ner.
polycyclic hydrocarbon-pl.nom conj penzipirin-pl.nom
“Severely dangerous polycyclic hydrocarbons and penzipirin are available here.”

b. The Order of Quantifiers and Numerals
As other nominal attributes, quantifiers (including quantifying adjectives, numerals and
several quantifying pronouns) invariably precede their noun. An inverse order is regarded
as highly marked and poetic in style. NUM + N, QNT + N

(799) Հայ ժոզվուրդը 5000 տարվա պատմություն;
(Patkerzard k'erakan'tyun 3: 58)
hay zołovurd-ě un-i 5000 tar-va patmut'yun.
Armenian people.nom-the have-pres.3.sg 5,000 year-dat history.nom
“The Armenian people have a 5,000 year (old) history.”

(800) Ազգագրության մեջքաղաքի բոլոր բժշկության արտադրություն նույն հայտնի գրության:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)
Mankatan-ē mecac’-ac bolor erexa-ner-n
Children’s home-dat-the grow-up-ptcp.pres. all child-pl.nom-the
anxtir un-en hogekan c’nc’um-ner.
indiscriminately have-pres.3.pl psychic disturbance-pl.nom
“All children who have grown up in the children’s home indiscriminately have men-
tal health problems.”

(801) Հայաստանը ազգություն ու միջազգային հանրապետություն զարգացմանը;
(Hetk’ 05.02.2007)
Hayastan-um gorc-um en bazmat’iv
Armenia-loc work-ptcp.pres. they are many
hasarakakan kazmakerput’yun-ner.
public organisation-pl.nom
“Many public organisations work in Armenia.”

In the case of a co-occurrence of various quantifiers, the order usually depends on the seman-
tic context and the emphasis of the speaker. In general, however, cardinal numbers appear
closest to the noun.
(802) Դիմացքության զարգացման բոլոր 86 գրականությունը հետև ձգտում էքստ տու կատար (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

k’vearkut’y-an-ě masnakc-‘ ac bolor 86 ēntrol-ner-n
ballet-DAT-the participate-PTCPRES. all 86 voter-PL.NOM-the

irenc’ jayn-er-ě tv-el en nran.
their voice-PL.NOM-the give-PTCP.PERF. they are he.DAT

“All 86 voters having participated at the ballot have given their vote to him.”

c. The order of Nominal Attributes334

Nouns in various cases also function in attributive, often qualitative functions. These nominal attributes are usually expressed in the locative, ablative and instrumental cases (see examples below).

Attributive nouns in the instrumental and the ablative productively precede the noun. This preposed order has also become productive for attributive nouns in the locative.

(803) Ուզուրություն տրամագրական զարգացման ճգնաժամը կատար (Hetk’ 05.02.2007)

Alaverd-u erkat’gc-ov gna’ck-‘ ner gret’e
Alaverdi-DAT railway-INST train-PL.NOM almost
č’-en aixat-um.
neg-they are work-PTCP. PRES.

“The railway trains of Alaverdi almost do not function.”

Recall example (100) Ch. 2.1.3.4. “Ablative”, p. 98 of the ablative in the attributive function

(100) Հայ երիտասարդ կարծիք է անում:

Na brd-ic’ šor-ē č’-i sir-um.
he.NOM wool-ABL cloth.NOM-the neg-he is love-PTCP.PRES.

“He doesn’t like the woollen cloth.”

d. The Order of Attributive Demonstratives

The attributive demonstratives այս, այդ, այն as well as the attributive identity demonstratives այսպիսի, այդպիսի, այնպիսի “such a”, ությամբ այսպիսի հակի “the same” canonically precede the noun. (DEM + N)

(804) Հայ ազգային առաջին արտահանում այսպիսի նորովի այս գրականում:
(Aratov 07.04.2006)

hay kanayk’ ews irenc’ nerdum-ē
Armenian woman.PL.NOM also their contribution-NOM-the

piti unen-an ays gorc-um.
have-DEB.FUT.3.PL this matter-LOC

“Armenian women must also have their contribution in this matter.”

Chapter 3. Syntax

(805) Ութևարան երաբ գրիչ գրա փոստից էմ եր: (Արավոտ 07.04.2006)

ayn žamanak dra gin-ē šat aveli mec ēr.

that time.NOM its price.NOM-the INT more big it was

“At that time its price was much higher.”

(806) Համայնքի շենքի բացակայության ժամանակ կամ քարի ժամանակ կարող են: (Հետկ' 09.01.2007)

hamaynk’-i šenk’-er-i zgali mas-ē nuyn

community-DAT building-PL-DAT perceptible part.NOM-the same

vičak-um en.

condition-LOC they are

“The perceptible part of the community's building is in the same condition.”

In case of a co-occurrence of DEM and identity pronouns, the DEM invariably precedes the identity demonstrative.

(807) Այս իսրայելի անցկացությունը նույն 10 ամյակային ինդեքսի ամուսնությանը

ays nuyn skzbunk’-ov kpox-v-en naew 10

this same principle-INST change-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL also 10

marzayin postayin masnačyuł-er-i dasič’-ner-ē.

regional postal department-PL-DAT index-PL.NOM-the

“With the same principle 10 indexes of regional postal departments will also be changed.”

e. The Order of Possessives

The order of both possessive genitives (expressed with the dative case) and attributive possessive pronouns (lexicalised genitive of personal or intensity pronouns) is rigidly preposed to the noun.

Generally speaking, all semantic types of genitive are strictly preposed to the noun. GEN + N, POSS + N

(808) Կարապի թունավոր պատկերազարդիչ դերում ամենահին երեխա: (Մայրենի 5:50)

karap-i pētur-ner-ē zarmanalioren jynāčermak ēin.

swan-DAT feather-PL.NOM-the wonderfully snow-white they were

“The swan's feathers were wonderfully snow-white.”

(809) Հանկարդ կայս-եր պատւան-ի տակ մի հրաշալ հորիխե։ (Մայրենի 5:68)

hankarc kays-er patuhan-i tak mi hrashali

suddenly emperor-DAT window-DAT post indef wonderful

erg hne’-ec’.

song.NOM sound-AOR.3.SG

“Suddenly a wonderful song sounded under the emperor's window.”
The postposed genitive appears in an antiquated, poetic style.

If the non-possessive genitive attributes relate to a predicative noun/pronoun, they are also more frequently postposed to the noun; they are usually not interpreted as inverse genitive attributes but rather as oblique objects, often with a final meaning. This order is more a means of stylistics than of emphasis:

Multiple genitive attributes are all preposed to the noun and follow each other according to their semantic meaning and semanto-syntactic relations, see example (806) above.

f. The Order of Appositions

There are two kinds of appositions in Armenian:

- close appositions
- loose appositions

In close appositions with two nouns (proper and common noun), the noun in apposition is always preposed to the head noun. This noun in apposition may be a proper noun.

(811) Մար-է է գում-ի հար-ն է դեռ-ու է ան-ի մոր հարա. (Հեթկ 26.02.2007)
Mayr-ě ē-i haskan-um nra
mother.NOM-the neg-she is understand-PTCP.PRES his
txrut’y-an patčar-ě.
sadness-DAT reason.NOM-the

“The mother does not understand the reason for his sadness.”

Multiple genitive attributes are all preposed to the noun and follow each other according to their semantic meaning and semanto-syntactic relations, see example (806) above.

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(813) ա. Քաղաքային գրանցման
 Kočaryan naxagah
 “President Kočaryan” (PN + CN)
but also a common noun, as in

(813) b. նախագահ Կոչարյան 335
  “Կոչարյան, the president” (CN + PN)

Close appositions expressed by proper nouns denoting personal or geographical names usually precede the common noun, which is the head of the construction. (close apposition + N)

(814) “Առաջինաների նկարիչներ” համարվում են նախագահները այս երեք նկարիչի ժամանակ համարվում է հարավ այս երեք էվակոայի ժամանակ;
  (Azg 08.04.2006)
  Spar øł-ner-i miut’yun hasarakakan kazmakerput’y-an consumer-PL-DAT union.NOM public organisation-DAT  
  naxagah Armen Połosyan-ē erewuyt’-ē orak-um president Armen Połosyan.NOM-the event.NOM-the characterise-PTCP. PRES.  
  ê orpes “p’ot’ orik mek bažak jr-um” he is conj “storm.NOM one glass.NOM water-LOC”  
  “Armen Połosyan, the president of the public organisation ‘Consumers’ Union’, characterises the event as “storm in a tea-cup.336”

Loose Appositions
Loose appositions invariably follow the head noun, with which they agree in person, case and number, sometimes also in the suffixation of the definite article or determining suffixes. In written Armenian, they are additionally separated from the head noun with the punctuation mark short stop.337 (N + loose apposition)

Longer, complex loose appositions frequently appear at the end of the sentence; but appositions can also be found embedded.

(815) Վարդան իմ եղբայր-ի մայրը է Սուրբբերեն:  
  Vardan-ē im elbayr-ē apr-um  
  Vardan.NOM-the my brother.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. he is Moscow.LOC  
  “Vardan, my brother, lives in Moscow.”

g. The Order of Relative Clauses
Subordinated relative clauses with finite verbs which are introduced with relative or interrogative pronouns invariably follow their head noun. N + REL

335. This order of CN+PN is also commonly used in direct address to people in Armenian.
336. Please note that in the English translation there is a postposed loose apposition; by contrast to the Armenian close apposition.
337. For details see Ch. 5.2.4. “Grave accent”, p. 705f.
“Fifteen free, open-air concerts are being planned, where Classical, Jazz and Folk music will be played.” 

“The relative clause itself occurs at the end of the sentence but also embedded in the middle of the sentence.” 

“The relative clause does often not immediately follow the head noun; in this case of extraposition it appears at the end of the sentence.”
h. Order of the Indefinite Article

The indefinite article Կր mi is invariably preposed to the noun. INDEF + N.

3.5.3.2 Complex noun phrase orders

Complex noun phrases occur commonly both in written and spoken Armenian. That is, a noun has more than one modifying attribute, a complex genitive attribute or modifiers and determiners at the same time.

The rather rigid order rules for subconstituents of the noun phrase have to be followed also in complex noun phrases. There is also a semantically motivated order of the various modifying and determining elements of the noun phrase.

- The adjective usually occurs closest to its head noun and immediately preposed.
- Immediately preposed is the genitive attribute when its head noun has no other attributes.
- Quantifiers usually appear preposed to attributive adjectives.
- Determiners usually stand furthest left in order to the head noun.
- Qualifying adjectives and quantifying attributes usually appear in the order NUM (QNT) + ADJ + N.
(821) *handes ek-an naew bazmat’iv eritasard eražišt-ner.*

Numerous young musicians also performed.

(822) *Hayastan-i hamar žolov-n unec’-el Ė Armenia-dat post meeting.*

For Armenia, the meeting had two important results.

(823) *dim-el em bolor kālakākan už-er-i-n.*

I have addressed all political forces.

(824) *nr ank’ en storagr-el ekełec’-u finansakan theyNom they are sign-perf church-dat financial.

They have signed all of the financial documents of the church.

(825) *1969-i-n luys Ė tes-el erkord tarberak-Č*

In 1969, the second version was published, in which the author has made numerous philological corrections and stylistic editorial alterations.

With relational adjectives, quantifying attributes may also occur in the order relADJ + NUM (QNT) + N, but only for stylistic purposes and in which case the quantifier is particularly marked.339

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Demonstratives and Adjectives and/or Quantifiers

The determining demonstratives usually appear furthest left of the noun, immediately preposed to other modifiers relating to the head noun, i.e. DEM + ADJ + N; DEM + QNT + N and thus DEM + QNT + ADJ.

(826) փորձագրություն երևանի քաղաքում ձևավորման համար: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

\[\text{ays pörjankan cragir-ě kirakanc'-v-i naew myus}\]

this trial program.realize-pass-cond.fut.3.sg also other

\[\text{hamaynk'-ner-um.}\]

community-PL-LOC

“This test program shall also be realised in other communities.” (DEM ADJ N)

(827) փորձագրություն երևանի քաղաքում ձևավորման համար: (Hetk'05.02.2007)

\[\text{ays erek' anč'ap'ahas erexa-ner-n irenc' mor het}\]

this three under age their mother-LOC

\[\text{apr-um en Erewan-i Nor-Areš 127/2 hasc'-um}\]

live-PTCP.pres they are Yerevan-DAT Nor-Areš 127/2 address-LOC

\[\text{gnt-v-oł hanrakac'aran-i 8-rd hark-um.}\]

locate-refl-PTCP.SUB. dormitory-DAT 8th floor-LOC

“These three under-age children live with their mother on the 8th floor of the dormitory located at the address 127/2 of Nor-Areš of Yerevan.” (DEM NUM ADJ N)

Quantifiers, particularly universal quantifiers may also precede the demonstrative in stylistic deviations:

(828) փորձագրություն երևանի քաղաքում ձևավորման համար: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

\[\text{bolor ays tateraxmb-er-ě finansakan lurj}\]

all this troupe-PL.NOM-the financial serious

\[\text{džvarut'yun-ner un-en.}\]

problem-PL.NOM have-PRES.3.PL

“All these troupes have serious financial problems.” (QNT DEM N)

Various Quantifiers in Complex Noun Phrases

In MEA numerals (cardinals) and universal quantifiers in particular co-occur quite frequently.

Universal quantifiers usually precede numerals, QNT+NUM+N
– The Indefinite Article in Complex Noun Phrases

The indefinite article, in general, precedes both adjectives and quantifiers in complex noun phrases. In co-occurrences with (particularly relational) adjectives it may also follow this adjective and thus immediately precedes its head-noun – for stylistic variations, which are so far inexplicable.340

(831) երբ երեք հարավ տեղի է ունեցել համառություն գրականության մեջ:
(Grakanut'yun 6: 205)
celakan mi šun ir sur dunč'-ě han-ec'
pedigree indef dog.nom its sharp snout.nom-the draw out-aor.3.sg
nranc’ mišič’.
they.dat post-abl
“A pedigree dog drew out its pointed nose from in between them.” (relADJ + indef + N)

340. It seems that this inverse order relADJ + INDEF + N marks the adjective.
– Genitive Attributes and Adnominal Possessor Attributes

In complex noun phrases, both the genitive and the possessor appear in the furthest left position to their head noun, particularly if the head noun also has other modifying or determining attributes. GEN + DEM + QNT + ADJ + N

The genitive attribute itself may be expressed by a complex noun phrase. In this case all the attributes modifying or determining the head noun of the genitive attribute phrase appear preposed to this head noun. (DEM + QNT + ADJ + genN) + …… + N

(832) Ուժարծի հայտնի գրականագիտական համագույն Հ.ՈՒ.ՕՍ.Ս. գրականության տարբերակները կարելի է նշելու անցավում (Armenpress 15.12.2005)

F. Sargsyan-е gradaran-i-n hanjn-ec’ N.S.Ô.T.T.
F. Sargsyan.NOM-the library-DAT-the hand over-AOR.3.SG H.E.
Garegin B.-i nvir-ac hnaguyn mi jêragir.
Garegin.NOM 2nd-DAT give-PTCP.RES. very old INDEF manuscript.NOM

“F. Sargsyan handed over a very old manuscript given by H.E. Garegin 2nd to the library.” (ADJ + INDEF + N)

(833) Խաղաղ ծաղիկ ձևին գրադարանի հազվադեպ դատարանում:
(Patkerazard K’erakanut’yun 2: 41)

xnjoren-u dalar ñyuł-er-ê ñk-v-el
apple tree-DAT (young branch-PL.NOM-the) bend-refl-PTCP.PERF.
êin berk'-i canrut’yun-ic’.
they were fruit-DAT weight-ABL

“The young branches of the apple tree had bent from the fruit’s weight.” (GEN) (ADJ+N)

(834) Որպես բնական ձևերի սարքավորումը կարելի է բարձր կերպով նշել (Mayreni 5: 65)

Ašxarh-i bolor cag-er-ic’ ēnaparhord-ner êin
World-DAT all corner-PL-ABL traveller-PL.NOM they were
gal-is ayd kays-er mayrakalak-ê.
come-PTCP.PRES. that emperor-DAT capital.NOM-the

“Travellers from all corners of the world came to that emperor’s capital.” (GEN)+(QNT+ABL)+N

(835) Ուժարծի հայտնի գրականագիտական համագույն Հ.ՈՒ.ՕՍ.Ս. գրականության տարբերակները կարելի է նշելու անցավում (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

(Mayis-i erkrord kes-i-n) ksks-v-i
May-DAT 2nd half-DAT-the begin-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
cragavorol-ner-i (haykakan erkrord mrc’uyt’t-i) (akajin p’ul-ê).
programmer-PL-DAT Armenian 2nd contest-DAT 1st phase.NOM-the

“In the second half of May the first phase of the second Armenian ‘Contest of Programmers’ will start.” (GEN) (NUM+N); (RADJ + NUM + GEN) + (NUM+N)
In general, the adnominal possessor pronouns behave like genitive attributes, with one major exception: in co-occurrence with demonstratives, the possessor follows the demonstrative while preceding all other modifiers. (DEM +) POSS + QNT + ADJ + N

(836) հեթևյալ օր-ը Վերույկի համար են մեկ պահանջողություն։ (Գրականություն 6: 103)

The order of adnominal participial constructions

Participial constructions functioning as deranked, shortened relative clauses invariably precede the head noun. rel + N

The whole participial construction (rel), however, obligatorily precedes the other modifying attributes of the head noun. rel + attributes + N

(839) և իսկ նրա տան-ը այժմ ապր-ում է Ուչեր

"And in his house now lives the Sulgun family, which moved from the village Učer."

(837) Աշոտի շուն-ը կատար-ում է նրա բոլոր հրաման-ներ-ը։

(838) Հայաստանը կատար-ա է այս արար այցելություն-ը է Արմենիա

"This, his first visit fulfilled in Armenia, shall leave him with broad possibilities in that respect." (N + participle + POSS + DEM + NUM + headN)
3.5.4 Word order in complex clauses

In general, there is no difference between the order of the constituents in a main and subordinate clause, basically the finite verb follows the subject both in neutral main and neutral subordinate clauses.

The order of main and subordinated sentence seems to be more or less free.

3.5.4.1 The order of main and subordinated clauses

3.5.4.1.1 The order of the finite verb in subordinated relative clauses

If the subject of the subordinate clause is expressed with a relative pronoun, it always precedes the verb and occurs in the beginning of the subordinate clause, i.e. the relative pronoun must be early in the relative clause.

This also holds for interrogative pronouns used as subjects in relative clauses. In contrast to the relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns in subject function can also be embedded in a sentence and thus not stand in the beginning of a sentence, but they still remain in the preposed position to the verb (842).

“In the week's program a creative evening by the Georgian actress Sofiko Čiaureli, who has played in several films of P'ara Ėn, is also included.”

If the subordinate relative clause refers to other functions than modifying the subject or in the subject function, the order in the subordinate clause corresponds to the order of a neutral simple sentence, i.e. (S) V O resp. (S) O V.

(843) Քնարկում-ներ-է կտեվ-են 2,5 ամիս որպես կանանց հետեւողություն, տեսնելու ի համապատասխան վայր տեսնում: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

(844) Հասարակության համար 545-ը տեղ, որոնցից 87-ը գտնվում է Երեվանում: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)

(845) Մեծ Բրիտանիայի օրենք-ների համաձայն այդպիսի շենքեր կարելի է անկերել որպես ազգի տեղակայություն: (Aravot 08.04.2006)
en kttank’-ner.
they are torture-PL.NOM

“According to the laws of Great Britain, it is not allowed to deport a person to a
country where he/she will be threatened with torture.”

³ûë ù»Ï ³Ùëí³ ÁÝóóùáõÙ, »ñµ ï»ëÝáõÙ »ë »ñÇï³ë³ñ¹áõÃÛ³ÝÁ ͳÕÇÏÝ»ñáí
(846) ³ÛÝï»Õ 

ays mek ams-va éntac’k’um erb tesn-um es
this one month-DAT post wh-when see-PTCP.PRES. you are
eritasardutc’-an-è calik-ner-ov olol-v-ac mi
youth-DAT-the flower-PL-INST overwhelm-pass-PTCP.PRES. INDEF
anbac’atreli hrčvank’ es apr-um.
inexplicable delight.NOM you are live-PTCP.PRES

“In the course of this one month, when you see the youth overwhelmed with flowers
you experience an inexplicable delight.”

3.5.4.1.2 The order of other subordinated clauses and main clauses

a. Subordinated Clauses of Place

The subordinated clause of place may appear before or after the main clause. If the main
clause contains the place adverb aynteł, the subordinated clause invariably follows
the main clause.

(847) ³é³íáïÛ³Ý ar ávotyan “in the morning”

korust-ner-i makardak-è barj’ è aynteł ortel hašvařm-an
Loss--PL-DAT level.NOM-the high it is there wh-where registration-DAT
hamakarg erdr-v-ac è.

system.NOM install-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is

“The level of losses is high there, where the registration system is installed.”

b. Subordinated Clauses of Time

Although the order of the subordinated clause of time is comparatively free, the order is
subject to some constraints.342

– If there is a temporal adverb such as ʰɛ hôw hima “now”, ʰɛôdú ayźm “now”, ʰɛryɛ somew
erekoyan “in the evening”, ʰɛpɛpɛ somew ʰəvotyan “in the morning”, ʰɛpɛpɛ erehnn
“sometimes”, or postpositional phrase with ʰɛpɛpɛ hɛto “after(wards)”. etc. in the main
clause, the subordinated clause invariably follows the main clause.

Myasnik-ē połoc'-um ē haytn-v-el ayn ban-ic'
Myasnik the street it is appear-refl that thing
heto vača en naxkin bnakan-ē.
post sell they are former apartment
“Myasnik appeared on the street after that, when they sold the former apartment.”

If the main clause contains temporal expressions closely relating to the subordinated clause, like apa “then”, ayn žamanak “at that time”, ayn pahin “at that moment”, they are former apartment.

Myasnik appeared on the street after that, when they sold the former apartment.

The order of the subordinated clause is most frequently postposed to the main clause.
“like that” is in the main clause and the conjunction որ or introduces the subordinated clause.343

The same postposed order of the subordinated clause introduced with the conjunction ինչպես can be found in constructions in which the main clause also contains the relational expression այնուհետ.

If the subordinated clause occurs preposed to the main clause, the meaning of it is regarded as stressed (i.e. the meaning of the manner of the action/state or of comparing the action/ state to another):

d. The Order of the Subordinated Clauses of Measure

The subordinated clause of measure introduced with the conjunctions իր, ինչն, որպես որկան, ինչն որպես որդապ, more often follows its main clause. This postposed position is almost canonical, if the main clause contains relational expressions like փղում այնկան, փղում այնդապ.

verjin šrjan-um t'atron-um aynk'an șat c'erekayin nerkayac'um-ner
last time-LOC theatre-LOC so much many day's performance-PL.NOM
éin bemadr-v-um or
they were perform-pass-PTCP.PRES. conj

inhabitant of Gyumri-PL.NOM- the propose-PTCP.PRES they are
t'atron-n anvan-el "hek'iat'n e kanč'-um".
theatre.nom-the name-inf "fairytales.nom-the it is call-PTCP.PRES."

"In the last time (recently) so many afternoon performances were performed in the theatre that the inhabitants of Gyumri propose to name the theatre “The Fairytale is Calling”.”

Hayastan-n aynk'an nerdrum-ner e'i stan-a
Armenia.nom-the so much investment-PL.NOM neg-it is receive-PTCP.NEG.
ork'an kar-ol ér stan-al korupc'ia-yic
that much be able-PTCP.PRES. it was receive-INF corruption-ABL
zer'e erkir lin-el-ov.
free country.nom be-INF-INST

“Armenia will not receive as many investments as it could receive being a country free from corruption.”

If the subordinated clause of measure appears preposed to its main clause it can be regarded as marked.

kalak'-i vičak-n aaravel anmxit'ar é hamaynk'-ner-um.
city-dat situation.nom-the more uncomfortable it is community-PL-LOC
orkàn kentron-ic’ heřu aynkàn vat.
that much centre-ABL far so much bad
“The situation of the city is more uncomfortable in the communities. The further it is from the centre, the worse it is.”

e. Subordinated Clauses of Cause

In general, the subordinated clause of cause follows its main clause, independent from the causal conjunction introducing the subordinated clause.

(857) аys arčum-ov cragir-н ēndgrkun ē kāni or
this aspect-INST program.NOM-the comprehensive it is conj
ir mej nerat-um ē bazmat’iv olort-ner.
il.Gen post include-PTCP.PRES it is several area-PL.NOM
“In this aspect the program is comprehensive because it includes in it several areas.”

(858) menk’ petk’ ē šat zekuyč’ nerkayac’-enk’ orovhetew
we.NOM part it is very good report.NOM present-DEB.FUT.1.PL conj
da inč’-or tel mer erkr-ì demk’n ē.
it.NOM somewhere our country-DAT face.NOM-the it is
“We will have to present a very good report, because this is in a way the face of our country.”

In connection with some conjunctions, such as (ամ)ամառացել, (na)manavand or, պատի qh vasn zi, պատի känzi, qh zi etc., the subordinate clause obligatorily follows the main clause.

(859) Éjmiacin aycel’tyun-ē karewor ēr bolor-i hamar
Éjmiacin.NOM visit.NOM-the important it was all-DAT post
känzi ayn verakendana-c’n-elu ē mer azgayin
conj that reanimate-caus-INF-DAT it is our national
nvirakan zgac’um-ner-ē.
sacred feeling-PL.NOM-the
“The visit of Éjmiacin was important for all, to reanimate it is our sacred, national feeling.”
We are obliged to protect our market – the market of the cooperating countries – because nobody is waiting for us in the western market.

Since the law does not plan the closure of the activity of public organisations in case of not re-registering, (therefore) presently 508 re-registered and 4223 newly registered public organisations work in the Republic of Armenia.
Since there is a one-year-old child at home, we could not live in that situation.

f. Subordinated Conditional Clauses

In general, the order of the subordinated conditional clause is free, but there is a high preference to put it at the beginning of the sentence preceding the main clause, particularly if the subordinated clause is introduced with the conditional conjunctions et’ë and erb.

This preferred preposed position of the conditional clause is additionally strengthened if the main clause contains the relational expressions of apa, uremn, guc’e, t’erews, tol etc.

“If we have runners, we will certainly participate.”

“If he comes, then he will certainly change his opinion in the question of Armenian allegations.”

Conditional clauses introduced with et’ë or erb usually follow the main clause, if the main clause contains the phrase ayn depk’um “in that case”:

“But the advance will be achievable in that case, if those possibilities are used.”

In spoken Armenian, the conjunctions et’ë and erb are more frequently used in conditional clauses. Also in spoken Armenian, the conditional clauses typically precede their main clause.
(866) եր ոսակ էս ամ ամուսնա էս, փուսի էս ամ ամուս: (Հետք’ 26.02.2007; colloquial speech)  
or as-um enk’ anter enk’ sxal enk’ as-um?  
CONJ say-PTCP.PRES. we are homeless we are mistake.NOM we are say-PTCP.PRES.  
“If we say we are homeless, do we say wrong?”

(867) ին հեղ բարձր բեն հեղավոր նո գայթ ավերտա, է ինվերս նու համար է ձայնագծի ձեռքբեռնում» (Հետք’ 18.02.2007, colloquial speech)  
or himi bolor-ov ver ken-ank’ u gn-ank’ էստել-իկ  
CONJ now all-INST stand up-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL CONJ go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL here-ABL  
էն zinvor-n um hamar է kangn-el-u dirk’-er-um.  
that soldier.NOM-the who-DAT post he is stand-PTCP.FUT. location-PL-LOC  
“If we all stand up together and go from here now, for whom will the soldier hold the fort (Lit.: stand in the positions)’”

The conditional subordinated clause can also be found embedded in the main clause.

(868) տուր սոցիալիստիկ բարձր սոցիալիստիկ համար, տեզ սոցիալիստիկ բարձր է ինձ օգտագործվում տիրաստորմի, ծաղկավորական անձ համար հեղավոր փոս ընդ կազմակերպում է ինձ բարձր տեզ համար:  
(Armenpress 21.03.2006)  
nor soc’ialakan kïrt stanal-u hamar et’e naxkin-ė  
new social card.NOM receive-INF-DAT post CONJ former.NOM-the  
kor-el է kam aylews gorcacut’y-an ent’aka  
disappear-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ no more usage-DAT subject.NOM  
ć’-ė kâlaka’cu bra-cr-ac nor hayt-i himan vra nran  
neg-it is citizen-DAT fill in–caus-PTCP.PRES. new order-DAT post he.DAT  
tr-v-um է nor kïrt nuyn hamar-ov.  
give-pass-PTCP.PRES it is new card.NOM same number-INST  
“To receive a new social card, if the former is lost or (it) is no more subject to use, on the basis of the new order filled in by the citizen, the new card is given to him, with the same number.”

g. Subordinated Clauses of Purpose (Subordinated Final Clause)  
Whereas subordinated final clauses introduced with the conjunction դուրս էս որպես “(in order) to” usually appear postposed to the main clause, subordinated final clauses introduced with the conjunction դուրս or “that” obligatorily follow the main clause.344

“He stressed that the Armenian side will do everything so this idea shall become reality.”

“Some are ashamed to speak literate, wanting to not get into a ridiculous situation or, in the best case, (that) they are not forced to translate the said for their interlocutor.”

“Every month they pay a little bit from their pensions (in order) that they do not switch (it) off.”
Preposed final clauses are rather seldom and can be regarded as stressed.

(872) Անհայտ պաստածություն գրքի գրող, Գրիցյան ազատագրում ու դրա
առաջապատմությունը լրացնելու համարակալվածություն:  
(Armenpress 14.05.2006)

Orpeszi չանապարհ-է normal gorc-i Gustov-n
conj street.nom-the normal work-subj.fut.3.sg Gustov.nom-the

әրայիկ-ում է dra pahpanužyun-է
propose-ptcp.pres. he is its preservation.nom-the

vstah-el xalalapah-ner-i-n.
entrust-inf peace-keeper-pl-dat-the

“(In order) that the street works normally, Gustov proposes to entrust
its preservation to the peace-keepers.”

Sometimes the expressions ուռու հավասար նրա համար, ում պաշտոն հավասար այն բանի համար,
ում պաշտոնական այն նպատակով, ում հավասար այն հասնում in the main clause stress the final
meaning of the following subordinated clause:

(873) Ուտարվելիորեն ինչ պես փոխարինվում է որ դրա հավասար է կար, որ կոչվում
որպես դառնող տեսակետ:  
(Armenpress 17.05.2006)

evroxorhurd-է da lav gitak'-um է ew
European Council.nom-the il.nom well recognise-ptcp.pres. it is conj

dra hamar el koč' է an-um orpeszi enddimut’yun-է
il.gen post more call it is make-ptcp.pres. conj opposition.nom-the

anhapał veradora-n-a xorhrdaran.
immediately return-subj.fut.3.sg parliament.nom

“The European Council recognises that well and therefore it even appeals,
(in order) so that the opposition immediately returns to Parliament.”

h. Subordinated Clauses of Concession

The subordinated clause of concession introduced with the conjunctions զիավություն (որ)
էնայակ ուր, բռն տեկո, բռնը տեպեթ, բռնայ տեկուզ, հավասար որ hakařak ուր is usually and
dominantly preposed to the main clause.

(874) Զիավություն տեղ է վա հավասարման, առաջատես հավասարություն զբոսաշրջության է
հավասարություն ընթերցման անցմանուր Հայաստանում:  
(Armenpress 19.01.2006)

էնայակ el-el en šat hraverk'-ner sakayn hayakakan
conj be-ptcp.perf. they are many invitation-pl.nom conj Armenian
kolm-է geradaseli է hamar-um nist-er-n
side.nom-the preferable it is consider-ptcp.pres. session-pl.nom-the
“Even though there have been many invitations, (but) the Armenian side considers it preferable to hold the session in Armenia.”

“Although Armenia does not have its own satellite, it has the necessary territories to run one.”

“Although fashion has a decades’ history, (but) until now the only standards of modern clothes are sewn and comfortable.”

If the subordinated clause of concession follows the main clause, its concessive meaning is weaker.
The order of main and indirect speech clauses

Whereas direct speech clauses usually occur either in the beginning and or in the end of a sentence, i.e. preceding or following the main clause; indirect speech obligatorily follows its main clause. The finite verb of utterance invariably occurs at the end of the main clause, immediately followed by the indirect speech clause introduced with the conjunctions տե or ու.

(878) Բախշյան-ը նորիսն ասաց, որ իմանակ եւ հասակագրությունը ամենա

երկար է, թեև հոկտեմբերի 27-ին էր. (Արած 08.04.2006)

“Baxšyan even said that his despair was deeper today than it was on October 27th.”

(879) Ու. Օսկանյան պատասխանեց, որ հիշատակի հարցը պայքար է

ուրիշ հասակագրության բնավորություն: (Արմենպրես 15.12.2005)

“V. Ōskanyan answered that at some stage the question must be put up for public discussion.”

(880) Իրնա Արոյան-ը Ֆիլիպ Բեդրոսովիչ-ի

հարց-է է

“Irna Aroyan asked Filip Bedrostovič why the cover versions of songs by foreign writers occupied a big space in his program.”

In direct speech clauses, if the direct speech clause precedes the main clause, the finite verb of the main clause obligatorily precedes its subject and immediately follows the direct speech clause.

(881) ṣu նոյթաք ազ գիտելիք մեծի պահա եւ», ապա կամ:
(Armenpress 15.11.2005)
es nuynpes ayd zoh-er-ic’ mek-i to’n em
1.nom also that victim-pl-abl one-dat grandchild.nom-the I am
as-ac’ na.
say-aor.3.sg he.nom
“I am also the grandchild of one of the victims”, he said.

3.6 Marked word order

In Modern Eastern Armenian, two kinds of word order are commonly distinguished: basic or neutral word order and marked word order.

Basic, unmarked word order is characterised by a conventionalised neutral order of the constituents and by neutral sentence intonation.

The marked word order is used to highlight or contrast various constituents of a sentence or to connote importance, prominence or specialness to these constituents and is strictly connected to the logical (prosodical) stress. Word order variation may also have the pragmatic effect of focusing constituents of a sentence. In marked order, marked elements are moved into:

- a typical uncommon, marked position of a constituent, i.e. the exact syntactic contrast position of a more or less rigidly conventionalised position of a certain constituent, such as the subject S or noun phrase constituents, here referred to as “inversion”
- immediate preverbal position, which will be referred to as “focusing”.

Foci take up a particular syntactic position: the preverbal position. This preverbal position refers only to finite verb forms, i.e. the inflected auxiliary in compound tenses, the aorist tense as well as the finite mood forms.

In an inversion, the default position of a constituent in a neutral, basic utterance is changed to its contrast position to mark this element, particularly for stylistic variation.

This inversion particularly applies to the subject, to noun phrase constituents and some verbal complements that have more or less rigid order rules. The most common inversion is the subject inversion and the inversion of place and time adverbials. An inversion never co-occurs with focusing. Such inversions are mainly used as a popular stylistic means in literary Armenian, and only secondarily convey the meaning of highlighting, contrasting etc.

(882) Արժակուրդը հայրը է շաբաթ-ի մեկ ամսակից.

Arjakurd-n sks-v-um ē mek šabat’-ic’.
holidays.NOM-the start-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is one week-ABL
S   V

“The holidays start in one week.”
Comment: a neutral, unmarked sentence, with the prototypical unmarked position of the subject in the sentence’s initial position.

(883) Հայրը շաբաթ-ի մեկ ամսակից է Արժակուրդը.

mek šabat’-ic’ sks-v-um ē arjakurd-ě.
one week-ABL start-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is holidays.NOM-the
V   S

“The holidays start in one week.”
Comment: the inverse order of the subject appears in the sentence’s final position. This unusual position marks the subject in a stylistic variation.

(884) Հեթկ’ 12.02.2007

Das-i avart-ĕ azdarar-ol zang-i-n p’oxarin-um
class-DAT end.NOM-the notify-PTCP.SUB. bell-DAT-the substitute-PTCP.PRES.
iO   V

ē p’ok’rik-ner-i trtun-ĕ.
it is child-PL-DAT murmur.NOM-the
S

“The murmur of the children replaces the bell which signals the end of the class.”
Comment: the subject, again, appears in the inverse, sentence’s final position, as a stylistic variation.

(885) Ազգ 10.01.2006

Mnacèl ēin miayn anxos tapanak’ar-er-ĕ remain-PTCP.PERF. they were only dumb grave stone-PL.NOM-the
V   S

“Only dumb grave stones had remained.”
Focusing into a preverbal position is a common approach (a) for the syntactic focus\textsuperscript{347} as normally used in questions, negations and compound verbs (865) (866) (867) and (b) for functional pragmatic focus\textsuperscript{348} (867), i.e. to mark a certain element of the sentence by putting it into preverbal function.

If speaking of a marked order and relating it to the term “marked focus”, only the functional pragmatic focus is meant. The element in focus always bears the logical stress.

There is no formal difference between syntactic and functional pragmatic focus, i.e. the main difference between the focus types is the function. There is also no formal difference between the various types of pragmatic foci, such as contrastive, exhaustive or emphatic.

\textsuperscript{(886)} \textsuperscript{347} \textsuperscript{348} inč’ es kard-um?

\begin{verbatim}
inc'  es  kard-um?
wh-what are you read-pctp.pres.
wh-pronoun  aux  V
\end{verbatim}

“What are you reading?”

\textsuperscript{(887)}

\begin{verbatim}
es  i' em  cx-um.
1.nom  neg-I am smoke-ptcp.pres.
S  neg  aux  V
\end{verbatim}

“I do not smoke.”

\textsuperscript{(888)}

\begin{verbatim}
Ani-n  durs e  ek-el.
Ani.nom-the out she is go-ptcp.pres.
S  part  aux  V
\end{verbatim}

“Ani has gone out.”

\textsuperscript{(889)}

\begin{verbatim}
nor asakert-e  Vrastan-ic’ e  ek-el.
new pupil.nom-the Georgia-abl it is come-ptcp.perf.
S  place adverbial  aux  V
\end{verbatim}

“The new pupil comes from Georgia.” (Lit.: it is from Georgia the new pupil comes from.)

Comment: this is a marked word order; the adverbial of place appears in the preverbal focus.

\textsuperscript{347} This term corresponds to Kiss’ “informational focus”; Dik’s “assertive focus” and Lambrecht’s “sentence focus”.

\textsuperscript{348} This term corresponds to Kiss’ “identificational focus” and Lambrecht’s “argument focus”, and it comprises different types of pragmatic foci such as contrastive and exhaustive foci.
Marked Order and Intonation

Marked syntactic order obligatorily accompanies prosodic intonation, i.e. marked word order is additionally stressed by means of a prosodic intonation. Pitch prominence on a certain constituent alone, i.e. without syntactic movements, is sufficient to indicate a deviation from a neutral meaning and to stress certain constituents.

(890) Կարծում եմ, որ Վարդան կարմիր ամսագրի է.

Vardan-ե ուտ-ում է կարմիր ընդուն-է.

“Vardan is eating the red apple.”

Comment: a neutral, unmarked sentence, with a neutral intonation.

(890) a. Կարծում եմ, որ Վարդան կարմիր ամսագրի է.

Vardan-ե ուտ-ում է կարմիր ընդուն-է.

“Vardan is eating the red apple.”

Comment: a phonologically marked utterance in which the logical stress is put on the direct object, "the red apple", but the sentence’s syntactical order is neutral and unmarked.

b. Կարծում եմ, որ Վարդան կարմիր ամսագրի է.

Vardan-ե ուտ-ում է կարմիր ընդուն-է.

“Vardan is eating the red apple.”

Comment: a phonologically marked utterance in which the logical stress is put on the adjective “red”; but the sentence’s syntactical order is neutral and unmarked.

Thus, in Modern Eastern Armenian there is a strong interrelation of prosodic stress, word order variation and pragmatic function.

Productive Marked Word Order in Modern Eastern Armenian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic Position</th>
<th>Pragmatic Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Contrastive/exhaustive/emphatic marking or identification of discourse entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inversion into contrast prototypical syntactic position</td>
<td>Primarily stylistic variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate preverbal position</td>
<td>Focus(ing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked hanging topic (with topic introducing expressions)</td>
<td>Promoting discourse entities to topic status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Extraposition from a noun phrase, which is productive in Armenian, is only applied to relative clauses and adpositional phrases as attributes of a noun and serve only the pragmatic function of style variation.

*Not Productive or Not Existent in MEA:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic Movement</th>
<th>Pragmatic Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right dislocation</td>
<td>Expression of emphasis/contrast; afterthought; postponed identification</td>
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<td>Cleft sentences as a special type of left dislocation</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that no formal topicalisation exists in MEA. If a sentence constituent other than the subject appears in sentence's initial position, this is mainly due to inversion: if the subject is postposed to the end of the sentence, anything else must be preposed and appear in the sentence's initial position.

That means that the occurrence of verbal complements at the beginning of the sentence and thus the position of the subject at the end of the sentence does not necessarily imply topicalisation of a verbal complement.

Remember example from Ch. 3.5.1.1. “Subject order”, p. 556f.

(689) Ῥωμαίος γάντι τ ωποίηραργ:
kalak’ gn-um ē avtobus-ē.
town.nom go-ptcp.pres. it is bus.nom-the
“The bus goes to town.”

In this sentence, although the complement of place is in the initial position, the inverse order of subject in the sentence marks the subject at the end of the sentence and not the complement of place in the sentence's initial position. This is primarily a stylistic variation; secondarily it may also denote contrast/exhaustiveness or highlighting of the subject as being prominent or very important, i.e. “It is the bus that goes to town”.

*Marked Hanging Topic as a special type of topicalisation*
Modern Eastern Armenian exhibits “marked hanging topics”, i.e. sentences in which the topic expression is juxtaposed to a clause-like component.
Sentences with unmarked hanging topics are not conventionalised and are therefore avoided, as in (891).\footnote{I.e. Unmarked hanging topics are treated in the same way as left dislocations (cleft sentences): they are not accepted.}

(891) *Վահե, անի այսօր ինչու չեմ հանդիպում:*

\begin{verbatim}
Vahe-n es aysör nran č'-em handip-el.
\end{verbatim}

“Vahe, I have not met him today.”

Very productive topic introducing expressions are found in the meaning “what concerns/ regards T (+DAT)” etc. The hanging topic is also set apart from the sentence by a pause in intonation.

(892) Հետք’ 09.01.2007

\begin{verbatim}
inč’ veraber-um ē snnd-i-n u cec-i-n wh-what concern-ptcp.pres. it is food-dat-the conj beating-dat-the sut ē. false it is
\end{verbatim}

“What concerns the food and the beating; it is a lie.”

(893) Հետք’ 29.01.2007

\begin{verbatim}
inč’ veraber-um ē Hayastan-i radiokayan-ner-i-n apa wh-what concern-ptcp.pres. it is Armenia-dat radio station-pl-dat-the then drank’ gret’e amboljovin komerc’ialac’-v-ac en they.nom almost totally commercialize-pass-ptcp.pres. they are kam un-en mšakut’ayin bnuyt’. conj have-pres.3.pl cultural character.nom
\end{verbatim}

“Concerning Armenia’s radio stations, (then) they are either almost completely commercialised, or they have a cultural character.”

Although the various productive methods of marked word order in Modern Eastern Armenian are considered as semantic equivalents, they are used as various stylistic devices to contrast or to mark certain constituents of a sentence as being prominent, important.

These methods often coincide, (as seen with focusing and inversion) and thus it is often not necessary to decide which syntactic strategy is used to mark a constituent for contrast, exhaustiveness, prominence etc.

The following examples shall illustrate the methods of marking.
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3.6.1 “Inversion” vs. Dislocation and extraposition

As already explained above, in inversion the default position of a constituent is changed to its contrast position to mark this element or for a stylistic reason.

Inversion often happens in the form of subject inversion and inversion of adverbials of place and time – whereas the subject inversion can both convey contrast/exhaustive/emphatic/prominent etc. meaning (depending on the context) and be used for stylistic variation; the inversion of place and time adverbials is only used for stylistic variations.

The inversion of place and time adverbials is independent of the type of verb. Inversion is acceptable with both unaccusative and unergative intransitives and also with transitives.
Example for place adverbial (inversion to the sentence’s first position):

(896) Երեվան-ում Արմեն-է հանձի-էլ է իր դասենկ-ոջ-է.
Yerevan-LOC Armenian-NOM-the meet-PTCP.PRES. he is his schoolmate-DAT-the
“Armen met his schoolmate in Yerevan.” (Transitive verb)

Examples for time adverbials (inversion to the sentence’s final position):

(897) Հուշարջան-ի հանդիսավոր բաչ-էմ կկյա-է mi k’ani
monument-DAT ceremonial opening.NOM-the be-COND.FUT.3.SG some
month.NOM POST
“The ceremonial opening of the monument will be after some months.”
(Unaccusative verb)

(898) Տղա-ներ-է խաղ-էմ էր դաս-է-ի հետո.
boy-PL-NOM-the play-PTCP.PRES. they were class-PL-ABL POST
“The boys used to play after the classes.” (= after school). (Unergative verb)

(899) Իսկ հայրեն-ի էրկ-ներ-է կրտակ-ն որ համակարգ-էր-ի
and neighbour country-PL-NOM-the educational new system-PL-DAT
pass-PTCP.PERF they are 2 year.NOM POST
“And the neighbouring countries passed the new educational systems two
years ago.” (Transitive verb)

Inversion cannot however be regarded as a form of dislocation, in which a constituent is
moved outside the clause boundaries either to its left or to its right. The dislocated element
is separated by a suprasegmental pause (a comma in written language) from the rest of
the sentence. Its place within the clause is often occupied by a pronoun.

The very productive inversion of the subject noun phrase from its prototypical sentence
initial position to sentence final position is not a right dislocation since neither the subject is
moved outside the sentence boundaries nor is its original position marked with a pronominal
element. Such a right dislocation is not acceptable and is unproductive.

(900) Նա մեկ շաբա-ի էս-վ-էմ է արջակուրդ-է.
ite.NOM one week-ABL start-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is holiday.NOM-the
“They start in one week, the holidays.”
Clefting as a type of left dislocation is not exhibited.

Inversion as means of marking a sentential element primarily for a stylistic variation must also be distinguished from the phenomenon of extraposition from the noun phrase and discontinuous noun phrases, in which the deviating order also serves as a stylistic means.

**Extrapolation from Noun phrase**

Extrapolation from noun phrases, in which subordinated relative clauses and adpositional phrases as part of a noun phrase are separated from the rest of this noun phrase by intervening material, move the given elements to the end of the sentence. These are not inversions of the word order.

In MEA, such extrapolations from noun phrases occur both with relative clauses and adpositional phrases.

Remember example (819), p. 597

(819) Üñ³Ýù »ñÏáõ ë»ÝÛ³Ï »Ý ½µ³Õ»óÝáõÙ, áñáÝóÇó Ù»ÏÁ ͳé³ÛáõÙ ¿
áñå»ë ÑÛáõñ³ë»ÝÛ³Ï, ÝÝç³ñ³Ý ¨ ÉáÕ³ñ³Ý, ÇëÏ ÙÛáõëÁª å³Ñ»ëï áõ
Ëáñ¹³Ýáó

: (Hetk’ 15.02.2007)

nrank’ erku senyak en zbale-c’ìn-um or-oné’-ic
they:NOM two room:NOM they are occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES. REL-PL-ABL
mek-é cařay-um ě orpes hyurasenyak nnjaran ew
one:NOM-the serve-PTCP.PRES. it is as living room sleeping room CONJ
lolaran, isk myus-é pahest u xordanoc’.
bathroom CONJ other:NOM-the depot:NOM CONJ storeroom:NOM

“They occupy two rooms, of which one serves as living room, sleeping room and bathroom, and the other as depot and storeroom.”

Comment: the relative clause is extrapolated to the end of the clause, following the verbal form and typically not as the head noun phrase.

(901) Üñ³Ý»ñÁ Ù³ëݳ·Çïáñ»Ý ϳï³ñáõÙ »Ý Çñ»Ýó ͳé³ÛáÕ³Ï³Ý
å³ñïùÁ ¨ å³ïÏ»ñ³óáõÙ áõÝ»Ý å³ïíÇ ¨ ³ñųݳå³ïíáõÃÛ³Ý
Ù³ëÇÝ

: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

Spa-ner-é masnagitoren katar-um en irenc’ cařayolakan
officer:PL.NOM-the professionally fulfil-PTCP.PRES. they are their official
partk’-é ew patkerac’um un-en patv-i
duty:NOM-the CONJ imagination:NOM have-PRES.3.PL honour-DAT
ew aržanapatvut’y-an masin.
CONJ dignity-DAT POST

“The officers professionally fulfil their official duty and they have an idea about honour and dignity.” (N V attributive postpositional phrase)

Comment: The adpositional phrase, which serves as an attribute to the head noun “idea” is extrapolated.
Erek Varduhi-n mi girk' gn-ec' yesterday Varduhi.nom-the indef book.nom buy-aor.3.sg
ji-er-i masin.
horse-pl-dat post
“Varduhi bought a book yesterday about horses.”
Comment: The adpositional phrase, which serves as an attribute to the head noun “book”, is extraposed.

Discontinuous Noun Phrases
Discontinuous noun phrases are, in general, not productive and never a means of pragmatic emphatic, contrastive, exhaustive etc. meaning. The invariably preposed attributes such as adjectives, quantifiers, determiners only rarely occur: in discontinuous order found in poetic and somewhat antiquated language. In colloquial MEA they occur, but again not really productively.

A head noun can, in principle, appear in a position that is separated from the rest of the noun phrase.

His soul, soft and good, rushed out of his nature.
Comment: the adjectives, usually in a rigid order preposed to the noun, appear discontinuously. This form of discontinuous noun phrase is used as a stylistic means in literature.

In every flower I see your admirable face….” (kō ē’knał demk’-ē “your admirable face.”)
Comment: in this quotation from Armenian literature, the attributive possessive pronoun appears in discontinuous order, i.e. postposed and separated from its head noun.

es grk’-er un-em hetak’rk’ir kuz-es
i.nom book-pl.nom have-pres.1.sg interesting want-cond.fut.2.sg
(ADJ + N) V ADJ
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Quantifier Floating

Quantifier floating is not really productive. There is a rather limited group of quantifiers that can float in MEA: only a group of quantitative adjectives such as շատ “much/ many”, անթիվ “numerous” have the property to allow them to float. The quantifier floating with this subgroup of quantifiers most frequently occurs in existential sentences.

(906) Քանի զարդարվածքի բոլորը շատ հավասարակշռված
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)
bayc’ karik’aor erkr-ner šat k-an ašxarh-um.
conj poor country-pl.nom many exist-pres.3.pl world-loc
“But there are many poor countries in the world.”

(907) Հայկ պահանջվողները շատ զարդարված տարելիք
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)
isk pašajel-u ban norabak’i-ner-è
conj require-inf-dat thing.nom inhabitant of Norabak-pl.nom-the
šat un-en.
many have-pres.3.pl
“And the inhabitants of Norabak have many things to require.”

The placement of other quantifiers such as e.g. universal “all”, distributive “each” or “both” at a distance so that they are separated by other sentential elements from their source noun phrase is not an accepted syntactic phenomenon.

Quantifiers usually precede their head noun and do not agree with it in number or person. A change in the syntactic position of the quantifier from left of the head-noun (in attributive function) to right of the head noun, also triggers a change in morphology (case and definiteness marking).

(908) Բոլոր աշակերտ-երը այսօր գնաց ’են դպրոց’.
QNT pupil-pl.nom-the today go-aor.3.pl school.nom
“All the pupils went to school today.”

Comment: A regular sentence with a neutral order of quantifier and noun.

(908) a. Աշակերտ-երը բոլոր այսօր գնաց ’են դպրոց’.
pupil-pl.nom-the QNT today go-aor.3.pl school.nom
“The pupils all went to school today.”
Quantifier floating of universal quantifiers, as in the English translation, is not accepted in MEA.

(908) b. Առաջին քանակավոր պատճառից բնական գրառումներ:

*ašakert-ner-ě aysōr bolorev gnac‘-in dproc‘.*
pupil-PL-NOM-the today QNT-INST go-AOR.3.PL school-NOM
“The pupils altogether went to school today.”

Comment: This utterance is structurally not synonymous, but semantically synonymous with (908); it is also not as a form that is widely accepted in written MEA.

(909) Երկրորդ քանակավոր պատճառից բնական գրառումներ:

*yurak’anč‘yur ašakert kstan-a lav gnahatakan.*
qnt pupil-NOM each receive-COND.FUT.3.SG. high mark-NOM
“Each pupil will receive high marks”.

Comment: A regular, neutral order QNT + N

(909) a. Առաջին քանակավոր պատճառից բնական գրառումներ:

*ašakert yurak’anč‘yur kstan-a lav gnahatakan.*
pupil-NOM each receive-COND.FUT.3.SG high mark-NOM
“The pupils will each receive high marks.”

Comment: This sentence is not accepted in MEA. Quantifier floating with distributive quantifiers is ungrammatical.

b. Երկրորդ քանակավոր պատճառից բնական գրառումներ:

*ašakert-ner-ic’ yurak’anč‘yur-ě kstan-a lav gnahatakan.*
pupil-PL-ABL QNT-NOM-the receive-COND.FUT.3.SG high mark-NOM
“Each of the pupils will receive high marks.”

Comment: This sentence is structurally not synonymous with (909); it does not exhibit quantifier floating as in the English “The students will each receive high marks”. Here the quantifier has turned into the sentence’s subject and the noun is a partitive attribute to it. There is no difference in meaning between (909) and (909b).

With the quantifier Երկու ekusē “both”, dislocation of the quantifier is superficially possible, but only with a morphological, and thus heavy, functional change.

350. This is simply the lexicalised definite nominative plural of the cardinal number Երկու erku “two”. As such it cannot be used attributively to render the meaning of “both”.
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(910) ุณัณฑา วัฒน์รัตติ ณ หาโมณัศวุต วัฒน์รัตติ:
erku alkik-n ěl deď xal-um ě tiknik-ner-ov.
qnt girl-nom-the still play-ptcp.pres she is doll-pl-inst
“Both girls still play with dolls.”

Note: in MEA simply the cardinal number two is used, but with a definiteness marker on
the head noun, literally ‘the two girls’.

(910) a. *ุณัณฑา วัฒน์รัตติ ณ หาโมณัศวุต วัฒน์รัตติ:
aljik-ě erku ěl deď xal-um ě tiknik-ner-ov.
girl-nom-the two nom still play-ptcp.pres she it doll-pl-inst
“The girls both still play with dolls.”

Quantifier floating as in the corresponding English sentence (N + “both” …) is impossible
and not accepted in MEA.

(910) b. ุณัณฑา วัฒน์รัตติ ณ หาโมณัศวุต วัฒน์รัตติ:
aljik-ner-ě erkus-n ěl deď xal-um
girl-pl-nom-the both nom-the still play-ptcp.pres.
en tiknik-ner-ov.
they are doll-pl-inst
“The girls both still play with dolls.” (Lit.: the girls, the two, still play
with dolls.)

Comment: In this sentence, the position of the quantifier is used as an
apposition; it is thus not structurally synonymous with (910), however has
the same meaning as (910).

3.6.2 Focus

In a neutral and unmarked function, the verb functions mainly as a comment and refers
semantically to the part of utterance which contains the new information – usually called
focus.

One has to distinguish between three kinds of structural foci:

a. the neutral or predicate focus, which refers to those elements that convey new infor-
mation in a sentence with unmarked order

b. the syntactic focus, which is used in questions, negation and compound verbs

351. Kiss “informational focus”, Lambrecht’s 1994: 222 “predicate focus”. 
c. the functional pragmatic or marked focus, which highlights or contrasts a certain element of the sentence by putting it into the preverbal focus position in a sentence with marked, non-neutral order.\textsuperscript{352}

Marked focusing is primarily used in Armenian to express exhaustiveness and/or contrast. This focusing in Armenian is both expressed by means of suprasegmental features such as stress and structure by moving the contrast/exhaustive/element into the preverbal position.

Generally, in Eastern Armenian the syntactic and functional focus types do not differ structurally: both appear in the immediate preverbal position.\textsuperscript{353} The constituent in focus in both syntactic and functional focus is also strongly stressed and thus is also the intonation nucleus of a whole utterance.

(911) Ի՞նչ զգում այս հոդվածը:
\[\text{ու} \quad \text{է} \quad \text{գր-ել} \quad \text{այս} \quad \text{հոդված-է?}\]
wh-who he/she is write-PTCP.PERF. this paper.NOM-the
“Who has written this paper?” (wh + AUX + V + O)

Comment: syntactic focus of wh-question: the element in preverbal focus is the wh-pronoun, which also functions as the intonation nucleus of the whole sentence.

(912) Մամում զգում այս հոդվածը:
\[\text{Աննա-ն} \quad \text{է} \quad \text{գրել} \quad \text{այս} \quad \text{հոդված-է.}\]
Anna.NOM-the she is write-PTCP.PERF. this paper.NOM-the
“Anna has written this paper.” (Lit.: it was Anna who has written this paper.)
(S AUX V O)

Comment: this sentence can be regarded both as a reply to the question above (911) and as an isolated marked sentence. As a reply to the question it has to be understood as the syntactic focus, since its content questions the syntactic position of the wh-constituent, which corresponds to the presumed focus constituent in the answer.\textsuperscript{354} As regular declarative sentence it has to be understood as a functional focus. In both interpretations, the constituent in the focus position also represents the intonation nucleus.

\textsuperscript{352} Syntactic and functional pragmatic foci are covered by Kiss’ term “identificational focus”. Lambrecht uses the term “argument focus” for functional pragmatic focus.

\textsuperscript{353} Whereas the neutral and syntactic focus also occurs in Western Armenian, the functional pragmatic focus is a specific feature only of Eastern Armenian.

\textsuperscript{354} Comrie 1981: 57.
The various marked focus types, contrastive vs. exhaustive, which to not exhibit any formal distinction, can usually only be distinguished from each other in a clear pragmatic context.

The preverbal focus position is explicitly obvious in compound tenses and moods with the auxiliary:

- the order of the participle and the auxiliary changes from neutral order V + AUX to the order AUX +V and
- the element in focus appears immediately in front of the auxiliary.\(^{355}\)

### 3.6.2.1 Neutral “syntactic” focus

The syntactic focus is expressed by putting a certain element (in this case interrogative pronouns, negation words (negative particles) or the first constituent of compound verbs) into the preverbal position.\(^{356}\)

It is thus the focus, which is typically used in content questions, in negations and with compound verbs.

#### a. Content Questions

(913) \(\text{ov} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{kard-um} \quad \text{nor} \quad \text{girk’-è?}\)

“Who reads the new book?/Who is reading the new book?” (wh AUX V O)

(914) \(\text{Ani-n} \quad \text{inc’} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{kard-um}\)

“What does Ani read? / What is Ani reading?” (S wh AUX V)

(915) \(\text{Ani-n} \quad \text{ortel} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{kard-um} \quad \text{nor} \quad \text{girk’-è?}\)

“Where does Ani read the new book?/Where is Ani reading the new book?” (S wh AUX V O)

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\(^{356}\) Please note that the wh-pronouns do not obligatorily occur in the sentence’s initial position: only subject-wh-pronouns appear with overwhelming frequency in this position; in other cases also in the place where they are supposed to appear in the answer.
As already stated above, the answers to the content questions must also appear in the pre-verbal focus position, independent from the syntactic function of the element in question. A deviating order, i.e. where the element in question does not appear in the focus position – as in (917b) (918b) – would sound odd and ungrammatical to native speakers.

These are the answers to the questions (917) (918) (919) (920):

(917) a. Անե կարդի, ինչպես է այս մեծ առանձնանում մեկ համար ?
Ani-n ē kard-um nor girk-ē.
Ani.NOM-the she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the

"Ani reads the new book./Ani is reading the new book." (S AUX V O)

Comment: the content question is asking for the subject (wh AUX V O). In the answer the subject (=Ani) appears also in the focus position, i.e. S AUX V O

b. Անե կարդի ինչպես Է այս մեծ առանձնանում մեկ համար ?
Ani-n kard-um ē nor girk-ē.
Ani.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is new book.NOM-the

"Ani reads the new book./Ani is reading the new book. (*S V AUX O)

Comment: this sentence is not accepted as the answer to question (913). It is ungrammatical.

(918) a. (Անե) ինչպես է այս մեծ առանձնանում մեկ համար ?
(Ani-n) nor girk-ē ē kard-um.
(Ani.NOM-the) new book.NOM-the she is read-PTCP.PRES.

"Ani reads the new book./Ani is reading the new book."

Comment: the content question asked for the direct object (S wh AUX V). In the answer the direct object (book) is also in the focus position, i.e. (S) O AUX V.

b. *(Անե) ինչպես է այս մեծ առանձնանում մեկ համար ?
Ani-n nor girk-ē kard-um ē.
Ani.NOM-the new book.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is

357. In this case Eastern Armenian resembles Hungarian.
“Ani reads the new book./Ani is reading the new book) (S O V AUX)
Comment: this sentence is not accepted as the answer to question (914).
It is ungrammatical.

(919) a. (Անի) ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվում ընթացքում է դասվուm ընթացքուm է դասվուm ընթացքուm է դասվուm ընթացքուm է դա
In finite compound verbs, the verb’s first part immediately precedes its main verb (i.e. also in preverbal focus position). Vpart V
(926) Արամը ինչ չէ կարդում:
Aram-n inê’ č’-i kard-um?
Aram.NOM-the wh-what neg-he is read-PTCP.PRES.
“What does Aram not read?” (wh neg-AUX V?)

(927) Ղանես լրագրություն հայերի զինվորությամբ: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)
harc’ ē aṙajanum inê’
question.NOM it is come up-PTCP.PRES. wh-why
ch’-ēn stan-um?
neg-they were receive-PTCP.PRES.
“The question comes up why they did not receive (it).” (wh neg-AUX V?)

(928) Բալակյանի նոության գրականության:
(Ark’ 12.02.2007)
inê’ č’-karolac’-av patasxan-el?
wh-why neg-can-AOR.3.SG answer-INF.
“Why could he not answer?”

Negated Compound Verbs

With negated compound verbs, the negative prefixed inflected auxiliary appears before the main verb (participle), or, in other words, between the verb’s first part and its main verb. Vpart neg-AUX V.

(929) Արամը ինչ չէ ցույց տալ Բալակյանի ինդին: Բալակյան-ի նոր գիրք:
Aram-n inj c’uyc’ č’-i tal-is
Aram.NOM-the 1.DAT Vpart neg-he is show-PTCP.PRES.
Balakyan-i nor girk’-ē.
Balakyan-DAT new book.NOM-the
“Aram does not show me Balakyan’s new book.”

(930) Օրեսն նախընտրական բլոք. նախընտրական կուսակցության ցեղազարդ:
(Armenpress 13.01.2006)
orpes naxêntrakan blok koalic’a-n
as pre-electoral block.NOM coalition.NOM-the
nkati č’-ēr aṙ’n-v-um.
Vpart neg-it was consider-pass.PTCP.PRES
“The coalition was not being taken into consideration as pre-electoral block.”

With finite verb forms, the verb’s first part immediately precedes the negative prefixed finite verb. Vpart neg-V.
The loss of certain points did not allow the team to have a more successful appearance.

**Compound Verbs in Questions**

The inflected auxiliary immediately follows the wh-pronoun and appears in the preverbal position; followed by the compound verb’s first part and the main verb. wh AUX Vpart V?

“What does Aram show?”

“Which help is shown in the centre?”

“It is interesting, what they have in mind by saying “misuse.””

**Negated Questions with Compound Verbs**

The verb’s first part immediately follows the wh-pronoun which is, in turn followed by the negative prefixed auxiliary and the main verb in the participle. wh Vpart neg-AUX V?
Chapter 3. Syntax

Section 3.6.2.2 Marked “pragmatic” focus

As already explained in detail above, there is no formal difference between syntactic and pragmatic or marked focus.

The immediate preverbal position and the inversion of AUX + V are also used to express functional pragmatic focus. This movement is commonly used to express contrasting, emphatic or exhaustive meaning, which means there is also no formal difference between these focus types. The context decides upon the interpretation. This means that, in Modern Eastern Armenian, if the focus is not determined syntactically (in wh-question, negations and compound verbs), then its meaning seems to be exhaustive (and can, in principle, either be or not be contrastive).

The sentence (937a), if not being interpreted as the answer to the content question (937), can thus have the following reading as an isolated sentence:

(937) a. Անին եթայ կարդի մո գիրքէ?
    Ani-n ē kard-um nor girk'-ē.
    “It is Ani who reads the new book.”
    Emphatic: Ani reads the book; really, Ani! Imagine, Ani reads the new book!
    Contrastive: Ani reads the new book, and not Anuş or Vardan or...
    Exhaustive: it is only Ani who reads the new book, nobody else other than Ani.

The exhaustive focus usually requires a context specified set.

Question:

(938) Քերածենից նժու եթայ կարդի մո գիրքէ?
    aljik-ner-ic’ ēr-n ē kard-um nor girk'-ē.
    “Which of the girls is reading the new book?”
    The exhaust focus usually requires a context specified set.
Reply:

(938) a. Նին կատարել է նոր գրքի:

>Ani-n է kard-um nor girk'-ë.  
>Ani.nom-the she is read-ptcp.pres new book.nom-the  
“It is (only) Ani who reads the new book.”

Examples for marked foci with various meanings:

(939) Արմեն կատարել է նոր գրքի:

>Aram-n է gn-el ays mekêna-n.  
>Aram.nom-the he is buy-ptcp.perf this car.nom-the  
“It is Aram, who bought this car. Aram bought this car.”

Comment: The subject is marked, thus moved into preverbal position; S AUX+V O. Interpretation has contrastive or exhaustive focus, depending on context.

(939) a. Արմեն կատարել է նոր գրքի:

>Aram-n ays mekêna-n է gn-el.  
>Aram.nom-the this car.nom-the he is buy-ptcp.perf.  
“It is this car Aram bought.”

Comment: The direct object is marked, (particularly when in the object noun phrase the attributive demonstrative is “this”) if interpreted with a contrastive or exhaustive reading, depending on context. (a) This car he bought and not the other one. (b) He bought ONLY this car, and not any other car. The marked direct object is moved into the focus position: S O AUX + V.

b. Արմեն կատարել է նոր գրքի:

>Aram-ê gn-êl է ays mekêna-n.  
>Aram.nom-the buy-ptcp.perf. he is this car.nom-the  
“Aram did buy this car.”

Comment: The action is marked; which can be interpreted as a contrastive focus: he did buy the car and not rent or lease it. In this case the action, the verb ‘buy’ is focused; therefore there is no inversion of the auxiliary and the verb. In this case, the intonation is of importance: the verb (participle) carries the into national nucleus of the whole utterance. S V AUX O

The same pragmatic focusing is also applied for indefinite, non-specific direct objects in sentences with a preferable basic neutral word order SOV.

(940) Արմեն կատարել է նոր գրքի:

>Ani-n girl’ է kard-um.  
>Ani.nom-the book.nom she is read-ptcp.pres.  
“>Ani reads a book./Ani is reading a book.”
Comment: Neutral, unmarked sentences with a neutral intonation.
S indefO AUX+V.

(940)  a. Անի է կարդում.
Ani-n ē kard-um.
“It is Ani, who reads a book. (...is reading a book)./Ani reads a book.”
Comment: The subject (Ani) is marked and in the focus position,
S AUX+ indefO +V

b. Գիրք է կարդում Անին.
Girk’ ē kard-um Ani-n.
“It is a book that Ani reads (is reading). Ani reads a book.”
Comment: If the intonational nucleus of the sentence is on the direct
object(book), it has to be interpreted as a marked sentence, with the direct
object in focus. Syntactically it has the same structure as the neutral sentence.
S indefO AUX+V.

c. Գիրք Անին.
Girk' ē kard-um Ani-n.
“It is a book that Ani reads (is reading).”
Comment: In this marked sentence, the direct object is in the preverbal
focus position and marks the direct object; it is moved into sentence's initial
position (see below). The direct object also bears the intonational stress. indefO
AUX+V S^358

358. Other order variants of this sentence would sound odd to native speakers without being
embedded in a special context.

(940)  d. Անի կարդում է գիրք.
Ani-n kard-um ē girk'. (S V+AUX O)
This sentence sounds somewhat incomplete; the position of the indefinite direct
object is unusual. This position would be more “natural” to native speakers if the
direct object would be more specific. It is not a neutral and not a common sen-
tence. Only marginally, it may be interpreted, in case of intonation, as marking the
action, i.e. the verb “read”.

e. *Անի գիրք կարդում է.
Ani-n girk' kard-um ē. (S O V+AUX)
Native speakers judge such a sentence as ungrammatical.
Other examples:

(941) Երբ դատարանը է որոշել պահպանել տեղի ուսումնասիրված հիշատակը,
(Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

Εw dataran-n è oroš-um pahpan-el nra cnolakan
con conj court.nom-the it is decide-ptcp.pres. protect-inf his parental
iravunk’-è tè oč’.
rights.nom-the conj neg

“And it is the court which decides to protect his parental rights or not.”
Comment: Subject is marked. S AUX + V …

(942) Ծազանց, այսուհետ որպեսզի, պատրաստ գնալու համար
(26.02.2007)

Bayc amen depk’-um nrank’ ʃat džvar en
conj all case-loc they.nom int difficult they are
hražar-v-um xnamoł-ic’ kax-v-ac
abandon-antic-ptcp.pres. fostering -abl depend-pass-ptcp.pres.
linel-u s ovorut’yun-ic’.
be-inf-dat habit-abl.

“But, in any case, they very uneasily abandon from the habit to be dependent
on a fostering person.”
Comment: The manner adverb is marked, thus occurring in the focus position.

(943) Մեկ անգամ եկել գալու ժամանակ Բաքվում երիտասարդ է լինել.
(Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

elbayr-n u k’uyr-er-è valuc’ Rusastan.nom
brother.nom-the conj sister-pl.nom-the long ago Russia.nom
en telapox-v-el.
they are move-refl-ptcp.perf.

“The brothers and the sisters moved to Russia long ago.”
Comment: “Russia”, complement of place, is marked in the focus position,
S time place AUX+V.

(944) Իս ժամանակ էի կալեկ արյան, պատրաստ լինելու անգամ
(Grakanut’yan 4:170)

es ʃat angam edriver elel antar-v bacy’ aɾajin angam
1.nom very time I was be-ptcp.perf. forest-loc conj first time
ër or piti gišer-èi aynel.
it was conj overnight-deb.past.1.sg there

“Many times I had been in the forest, but it was the first time that I had had
to overnight there.”
Comment: The complement of time, “many times”, is marked; time
AUX+V ......
Focus Sensitive Operators

MEA does not exhibit focus sensitive operators, i.e. operators that automatically or obligatorily appear in the preverbal focus position. There are, however, some adverbs and phrases, which carry the sentential stress and immediately appear before the element they refer to, i.e. verbs, nouns, adjective, quantifiers etc. These are adverbs and phrases such as e.g. Միայն “only”, Եվինսք “even”, Անգամ “even”, Փառապել “particularly”, Մինչև “even”, etc.

(945) Տիգրան-է ուտ-էմ է միայն էր
Tigran.nom-the eat-ptcp.pres. he is only his
tatik-i
grandmother-dat
“Tigran eats only the apples of his grandmother.”

(946) Նա էնդհանրապես էր թել, բյուջեստի, սպասում էր 50-է.
(Armenpress 17.06.2006)
na էնդհանրապես էր-էր նկար-էմ էրբ նյունսք
he.nom generally neg-he was paint-ptcp.pres. wh-when even
anc'-el
pass-ptcp.perf.
“He generally did not use to paint, even when he had passed fifty.”

(947) Համայն այս սակավ օգտվել է թել մարզգործավոր հեռացվելաբար:
(Hetk’ 12.02.2007)
hima ays amen-է mnac'-el է miayn
now this all.nom-the stay-ptcp.perf. it is only
mard-kanc’
person-pl-dat
hišolut’yun-nér-um.
memory-pl-loc
“Now all that has remained only in the memory of the people.”

(948) Ճաշային այս նահատ ձեռքբերել է թել, բաժանական գործում է թել, ավելի պահպանի է գիտակցել:
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)
čašaran-um apše-nér է լվան-էմ տվածքաբիլի ներ-է
gerestaurant-loc plate-pl.nom he is wash-ptcp.pres. cookie-pl.nom
է թեք-էմ անգամ աշխատել է գիշեր ներ-է.
he is bake-ptcp.pres. even work-ptcp.pres. he is night-pl.nom-the
“In a restaurant he washes plates, he bakes cookies and he even works in the nights.”

As mentioned above, these adverbs and phrases do not automatically appear in the preverbal focus position. But, of course, it is possible to express contrast/exhaustiveness by
moving the constituent immediately following the adverb/phrase into the preverbal focus position:

(948) a. Տիգրան-է միայն իր տատիկ-ի ոնլին "ոնլին":

Tigran-ē  miayn ir  tatik-i  xnjor-ner-n
Tigran.NOM-the only his grandmother-DAT apple.NOM-PL-the
ē  ut-um.
he is  eat-PTCP.PRES

“Tigran eats only the apples of his grandmother.”

Marked focus in clausal negation
Generally, clausal negation is subject to syntactic focus. A negative sentence can also be subject to marked focus, if one of the constituents of the negated verb is emphasised or contrasted. In such a case it has to occur immediately before the negated verb form and it carries the stress. Without this stress some sentences would be ambiguous.

(949) Ani-n ē-ı kard-um nor  girk'-ē.
Ani.NOM-the neg-she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the

“It is Ani who does not read the new book.”

Comment: Negated, neutral sentence S neg-AUX+V O; positive sentence “Անի կարդել է նոր գիրք.” “Ani reads a new book”.

a. Անի կարդել է նոր գիրք.
Ani-n č'-i kard-um nor  girk'-ē.
Ani.NOM-the neg-she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the

“Ani does not read the new book.”

Comment: Here it is only the intonation which decides upon the interpretation of the sentence: here the subject is stressed. S neg-AUX +V O

b. Նոր գիրքը կարդել է Անի.
Ani-n  nör  girk'-ē  č'-i  kard-um.
Ani.NOM-the new book.NOM-the neg-she is read-PTCP.PRES.

“It is the new book, which Ani does not read.”

Comment: The direct object appears in the preverbal position and is mandatorily stressed to denote the meaning of a contrastive focus. S O neg-AUX+V

359. Please note that depending on the context, exhaustive meaning can also be expressed by moving the direct object into preverbal focus position without using the adverb միայն "only".
Marked Focus in Constituent Negation

In case of constituent negation, the negation particle ȵ oe’ immediately occurs before the constituent to be negated, in general without any change of word order. Preverbal pragmatic focus can be used to mark or contrast the negated constituent.

Example (602) Ch. 3.4.2.2. “Constituent Negation”, p. 527.

(602) Bayc’ harc’-n ayn ē or oč’ barjr ašxatavarj-ě
 conj question.nom-the that it is conj neg high salary.nom-the
 npast-um ē kořupč’ia-yi zargac’man-ě.
 promote-ptcp.pres. it is corruption-dat development-dat-the
 “But the question is whether the low salary promotes the development of corruption.”
 Comment: This is an unmarked neutral sentence with constituent negation.

This sentence can also show a marked order if the negated constituent is moved into the preverbal focus position:

(950) Bayc’ harc’-n ayn ē or oč barjr ašxatavarj-n ē
 conj question.nom-the that it is conj neg high salary.nom-the it is
 npast-um kořupč’ia-y-i zargac’m-an-ě.
 promote-ptcp.pres. corruption-dat development-dat-the
 “But the question is whether it is the low salary, which promotes the development of corruption.”
 Comment: Marked sentence with constituent negation, in which the negated constituent also appears in the preverbal focus position. ....
 neg+ADJ N AUX+V ....

Marked Focus and Compound Verbs

Compound verbs can also be subject to marked focus. The element in focus appears immediately before the inflected auxiliary, and the first part of the compound verb and the main verb follow together, i.e. AUX + Vpart + V

360. Note: in a special type of constituent negation, in contrastive negation, the first contrasted element appears in the syntactic preverbal focus position.
(951) P'ap'ul pap-če hpartut'’-amb ē c'uyc’ tal-is
P’ap’ul grandfather.nom-the pride-inst he is Vpart show-PTCP.PRES.
naew hin je’agr-er-i masnaget-i makagr-ac “Je’agr-er-i also old manuscript-PL-DAT expert-DAT title-PTCP.RES. “manuscript-PL-DAT hetk’-er-ov” girk’-ē.
trace-PL-INST” book.nom-the
“Grandfather P’ap’ul proudly shows also the book ‘Traces of Manuscripts’ titled by an expert of old manuscripts.”

Comment: The manner adverb, here in form of a noun in the instrumental, appears in the preverbal position; S ADV AUX V…
Word formation

MEA represents three main types of word-formation:

- affixation
- compounding (including reduplication)
- conversion.

Affixation comprises

- prefixation, in which a prefix is put in front of the base, with or without a change in word class.
- suffixation, in which a suffix is put after the base, with or without a change in word class.

In compounding a base is added to another.

Conversion assigns the base to a different word class without a change in the form; this is a rare type of word-formation in MEA, which may be applied only to a certain group of adjectives and adverbs: many adjectives are used in their “bare” form to express adverb meaning.

(1) Ṽpwa wםwq ד yפנפפפכ:
Ara-n arag ẽ xos-um.
Ara.nom-the quick he is speak.ptcp.pres.
“Ara speaks quickly.”

In MEA, there exist some word-formation rules, which may differ from syntactic rules of case or number-morphology and mainly refer to vocalic alternations caused by changed stress. That means that points of stress and sometimes also pronunciation is associated with particular word-formation processes or particular suffixes.

Some general word-formation alternations (comp. Ch. 1.3. “Alternations”, p. 39f.)

- The vowels ħ i and ū u of a closed syllable undergo alternation, they are either reduced to a schwa or totally deleted, as in .utf疱ュ srt-a-c’aw “heartache” < unchecked sirt “heart” + ĥow ցaw “ache, pain”; qפךצצצц glx-a-šor “kerchief, scarf” > qפךצצצц glux “head” + צצצצצצצצц šor “cloth”.
- The final ū u of an open syllable often becomes -p -v-, particularly with the following word formation -w -a-, as in  самом ařu “creek” <  самом ař-v-ak “little creek”.

The final \( -i \) of an open syllable of polysyllabic words combined with a following unstressed word formation \(-ω-\ -α-\) may trigger a sound change (i.e. across a morpheme boundary \(-i + -α = -e-\)), as in թթքթք օրեսեր “loving one’s children” > թթք-

-ω-՝ օրի+ա +սեր; i+a undergo sound change, thus թթք-բ-ութք օրդե-սեր

The final \( -i \) in an open syllable of polysyllabic words combined with the diminutive suffix \(-ա\ -ակ\) may also trigger a sound change in the form of a glide formation: \(-ի -i +-ակ = -այ յ-ակ\), as in կղջի “island” < կղջիա կղյակ “little island” < կղջի + -ակ

The diphthong ու ու often alternates with ո ո, as ուներ գույն “colour” < գույնապետ gun-a-vor “coloured”

Sometimes it is difficult to analyse and to indicate the meaning of the individual components of a compound. Many compounds and even derivates have lexicalised meanings. In the following chapters, thus the meaning of the parts is only given in the case where it is not obvious.

4.1 Affixation

4.1.1 Prefixes

The following treatment of the prefixes, which are commonly productive in Modern Eastern Armenian, is based on semantic functions, since prefixes primarily effect a semantic modification of the base.

Most of the prefixes used in MEA are of Armenian origin.

All prefixes, except the negative suffixes ու- an-, ոդ- ձ-, է-է-, ո- t-, the locational prefix որ- ner-, and the superlative prefix ուտում- amena- are attached to the base by means of the vowel -ո-, -ա-, if the base’s initial sound is a consonant.

The superlative prefix ուտում- amena-

The superlative prefix ուտում- amena- has a special semantic and syntactic function: attached to qualitative adjectives, it forms the superlative degree in comparison. Thus, this superlative prefix must definitely be distinguished from the following prefixes, which do not fulfil any syntactic but only semantic functions: ուտումարմար amena-harmar “most comfortable”, ուտումարմար amena-canr “heaviest”, ուտումարմար amena-erker “longest” etc.

Negative and privative prefixes

These types of prefix are commonly used to alter the meaning of a term from positive into negative.

In MEA, the following negative/privative prefixes are used: ṡu- an-; ẹd- dž-; ẹt an- and ọpọ- ap-.

The given prefixes do however not exhibit equal productivity.

a. ṡu- an- is the most productive negative prefix. It freely combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots.

- ṡu- an- + noun; forms adjectives with the meaning “lacking of, free of”, for example

  ṭun “house” > ṡu-tun “homeless”

  ti “conscience” > ṡu-ti “ruthless”

  ọmo “shame” > ṡu-ọmo “shameless”

  ṣu- an- + adjective; forms an antonym of the adjective, e.g.

  ṡu-ọ “healthy” > ṡu-ọ “unhealthy”

  ṣu-bnakan “natural” > ṡu-bnakan “unnatural”

  ṡu-kirt “educated” > ṡu-kirt “uneducated”

b. ọpọ- ap- combines with nouns, adjectives and verbs, with which it forms antonymous meaning. ọpọ(ọ)- ap(a)- + noun, forms negative adjectives or nouns, e.g.

- ṣu- ap(a)- + adjective, forms antonyms of adjectives, e.g.

  ṣu- ọ “happy” > ṣu- ọ “unhappy”

  ṣu- ap(a)- + verb, forms antonyms of verbs, privative verbs and verbs with reverse meaning, e.g.

  ṣu- ọ “to arm” > ṣu- ọ “to disarm”

  ọp- ọ “to encode” > ọp- ọ “to decode, to decipher”

b. ọpọ- - ap(a)- + verb, forms antonyms of verbs, privative verbs and verbs with reverse meaning, e.g.
qnh goh “content, satisfied” > նպտղ dż-goh “dissatisfied, discontented”

d. ը- č- exhibits a very limited use and productivity with nouns and adjectives. Most adjectives with prefix č- are lexicalised, e.g.
pler(p) ber(k’) “harvest, yield, fruit” > գբեր č-ber “sterile”  
լուր(p) kam(k’) “will, wish” > էկել č-kam “malicious, vicious”
With verbs, however, ը- č- is highly productive in conjugation to negate verbs in the infinitive, subjunctive, aorist and auxiliaries in compound tenses and moods, as well as copular verbs in the present and imperfect tenses. It is also used to negate participles in compound tenses or in attributive or adverbial use. Thus, verbs it also has an important syntactic function.
E.g.
քերի gr-el “to write” (infinitive) > քեր č-grel “not to write” քեր grec’-i “I wrote”  
(Ąor. 1.Sg.) > քեր grec’-grec’-i “I did not write”  
քեր gre-m “I shall write” (Subj. Fut. 1.Sg.) > քեր č-grem “I shall not write”  
քուր ու քր um em “I am writing” (Pres. 1.Sg.) > քուր č-um č-um “I am not writing”  
քուր grec’ “written” (Part. Res.) > քուր č-grac “not written”, e.g. ի քուր նամակ-է “the letter I have written” > ի քուր č- նամակ-է “the letter I have not written”, etc.

e. տ- t- is nowadays unproductive. It combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots.

- t- nouns, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:

զկ jew “shape” > տկ․ t-jew “shapeless, formless”

- t- adjectives, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:

քերեք geler’ik “beautiful” > տկ․ t-get “ugly”

հակի kečeli “pleasant” > տկ․ t-keč “unpleasant”

- t- verbal roots, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning, e.g.

քերեք, տկ․ gitenal, gitel “to know” > տկ․ t-get “ignorant”

Prefixes of degree and size
These prefixes usually have excess meaning.

- տսու- art- “extra,” e.g. տսուտկործարար art-a-karg “extraordinary, remarkable”, տսուտկործարար art-a-hert’ “extraordinary” etc.

- քեր- ger- “super-,” more than, special”, e.g. քերեք արահորդարար ger-a-ghatikel “to over-rate”; քերեք արահորդարար ger-a-katerel “to over-fulfill”, քերեք արահորդարար ger-a-mak’er “very clean, spotless”, տկ․ քերեք արահորդարար ger-a-payca’ “brilliant, splendid” etc.

- տեր- der- “vice-, pro-” is not very productive; as in տերեք արահորդարար der-anun “pronoun”, տերեք der-bay “adverb” etc.
Suffixes of orientation and attitude

- **-bal**- "co-, together" combines with nouns, adjectives and often with verbal roots, e.g. **bal-a-jayn** "consonant" < **jayn** "voice, sound"; **bal-a-drut’yun** "composition" < **drut’yun** "place, position, situation"; **bal-datel** “to compare” < **datel** "to judge" etc.

- **-end**- "against, opposite; for-", /projects/n/nd-mišt “forever”, /projects/n/nd-hanur “general”

- **-ěnd**- "against, opposite; for-", _projects/n/nd-mišt “forever”, _projects/n/nd-hanur “general”

- **-hak**- “contra-, anti-”, _projects/n/hak-asel “to contradict”, _projects/n/hak-azdel “to counteract” < **azdel** “to affect, to influence”; **hak-a-marmin** “anti-body”; **hak-a-dir** “opposite” etc.

- **-hak**- “contra-, anti-”, _projects/n/hak-asel “to contradict”, _projects/n/hak-azdel “to counteract” < **azdel** “to affect, to influence”; **hak-a-marmin** “anti-body”; **hak-a-dir** “opposite” etc.

- **-heł**- "contra-, contrary, inverse"; e.g. _projects/n/heł-a-p’ oxut’yun “revolution” < **p’ oxut’yun** < **p’ox el** “to change, to alter” etc.

- **-dem, dim**- “against” as in _projects/n/dim-a-drut’yun “resistance, opposition”, _projects/n/dim-a-mart “opponent, enemy” < **mart** “battle, fight, combat”, _projects/n/dim-a-darjnel “to oppose” etc.

- **-ham**- “all-, co-, com-, pan-; jointly” e.g. **ham-a-žołov** “convocation”, **ham-a-jayn** “agreeably, according to” < **jayn** “voice, sound”; **ham-a-gorcakc’ut’yun** “cooperation”, **ham-a-seṭ** “uniform, homogeneous”, **ham-aržek** “equivalent”, **ham-a-haykakan** “panarmenian” etc.

- **-tar**- “different (from); foreign; extra-” as in _projects/n/tar-a-dram “foreign currency”, _projects/n/tar-a-tesak “various; variety, version”; **tar-ørinak** “strange, extravagant”, _projects/n/tar-a-mitel “to diverge” < **mitel** “to lean, to incline, to bias” etc.

- **-andr**- “trans-; ultra-, over-; re-; other, other side” has manifold meanings, among them locational, contemplative and excess meaning, e.g. **andr-a-covyan** “overseas”, **andr-a-darjnal” to reflect, to revert”, **andr-a-samunyakaguyn** “ultraviolet” etc.

- **-ar˚**- “to, by, near, close to”, e.g. **ar˚-kayut’yun** “presence, availability”, **ar˚-jer˚n” handy, pocket”, **ar˚-ōrya** “daily; dull”, **ar˚-lč’nel” to download” < **lč’nel” to fill” etc.

Locational prefixes

- **-andr**- “trans-; ultra-, over-; re-; other, other side” has manifold meanings, among them locational, contemplative and excess meaning, e.g. **andr-kovkas** “Transcaucasia”, **andr-a-covyan” overseas”, **andr-a-dažvaln” to reflect, to revert”, **andr-a-mamışakaguyn” ultraviolet” etc.

- **-ař** “to, by, near, close to”, e.g. **ař-kayut’yun” presence, availability”, **ař-jeřn” handy, pocket”, **ař-ōrya** “daily; dull”, **ař-lč’nel” to download” < **lč’nel” to fill” etc.
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- ար- ար- “outside, out-”, e.g. արաբալար ար-ակել “to deduce; to output” արաբակել ար-աբերել “to pronounce” < բերել բերել “to bring”, արաբակել ար-ագերել “to write out, to re-write”, արաբակել ար-ահանել “to export” < հանել “to draw out, to take out” etc.

- բաջ- բաջ- “ex-, extra-, far, away, apart from” combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots, e.g. բացահայտ բաջ-ահայտ “exposure, revelation” < հայտ “to inform to announce”, բաց-աբերել “to pronounce” < բերել “to bring”, բաց-ագերել “to write out, to re-write”, բաց-ահանել “to export” < հանել “to draw out, to take out” etc.

- ան- ան- “sub-”, as in ան-ական ան-ական “subject”, ան-աուսակ “subgroup”, ան-աուսակ “hypodermic”, ան-աիր “to suppose” < դատել “to put” etc.

- ուն- ուն- “in-; inter-; with”, e.g. ունակել ուն-արես “surface”, ունակել ուն-ապուկ “parasite”, ունակել ուն-ապատ “nickname, antiquated: surname” etc.

- ին- ին- “on, above, super-”, e.g. ին-ադաս ին-ադաս “higher; chief, boss” < ադա “class” , ին-ագվերել “to supervise” etc.

- փա- փա- “about, around”, e.g. փաակել փա-ակել “circumference” < գեր “line”, փաակել “nickname, antiquated: surname” etc.

- ստոր- ստոր- “sub-, under-, below”, e.g. ստորակել ստոր-ագվերել “to sign, to subscribe”, ստորակել ստոր-ապատ “nickname, antiquated: surname” etc.

- վեր- վեր- “on, above, super-”, e.g. վերակել վեր-ադաս “higher; chief, boss” < ադա “class” , վերակել վեր-ագվերել “to supervise” etc.

Temporal, aspectual or order prefixes

- ան-աթա “pre-, before”, e.g. անապատակ ան-աաթա “preface, foreword”, անապատակ ան-աամաս “front” etc.

- հետ- հետ- “re-, post-, after”, as in հետաման հետ-աման “backward” < ման “to stay, to remain”, հետաման հետ-ահան “posthumous”, հետաման հետ-ագերել “to postpone” etc.

- նախ- նախ- “fore-, pre-, proto” , e.g. նախապատ նախ-աաթա “preface”, նախապատ նախ-ահար “fore-father”, նախապատ նախ-աահակ “to preside” < գահ “throne” etc.
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Quantitative prefixes
- **μωτ weaknesses** **bazm-** “multi-, poly-”, e.g. **μωτ weaknesses** **bazm-agz** “multinational”, **μωτ weaknesses** **bazm-a-hark** “multi-storey”, **μωτ weaknesses** **bazm-a-vank** “polysyllabic” etc.

- **βερ weaknesses** **erk-** “bi-, duo”, e.g. **βερ weaknesses** **erk-lezvu’yun** “bilingualism”, **βερ weaknesses** **erk-kolmani** “bilateral”, **βερ weaknesses** **erk-a-kin** “bigamist”, **βερ weaknesses** **erk-a-tesak** “of two kinds” etc.

- **κις weaknesses** **kis-** “half-, semi-, demi”, e.g. **κις weaknesses** **kis-a-gund** “hemisphere” < qνπν γυν “sphere, ball”, **κις weaknesses** **kis-a-jayn** “semivowel, half-tone”, **κις weaknesses** **kis-a-kal’er** “semi-sweet (wine)”, etc.

- **ιον weaknesses** **mia-** “mono; uni-”, e.g. **ιον weaknesses** **mia-astvacut’yun** “autobiography”; **ιον weaknesses** **avtonom** = **ιον weaknesses** **ink’n-a-var** “autonomous”

- **ντε weaknesses** **pan-** “pan-, all-”, e.g. **ντε weaknesses** **pan-islamizm** = **ντε weaknesses** **ham-a-islamut’yun** “pan-islamism”

- **τελ weaknesses** **tele-** “Tele-”, e.g. **τελ weaknesses** **tele-vizor** = **τελ weaknesses** **heru-stac’uyuc** “television”, **τελ weaknesses** **tele-fon** = **τελ weaknesses** **her-f-axos** “phone”

"Loan prefixes"
In MEA, loan prefixes are used side by side with Classical-Armenian prefixes. The loan prefixes’ forms are mainly used in loan words, having entered Eastern Armenian via the Russian language or recently via the English language. Their productivity is controlled to a certain extent by a rigorous and puristic state language policy, trying to avoid foreign or loans in Armenian language. Thus, many of the loan prefixes are replaced by their corresponding (classical) Armenian prefixes.

There is a wide range of “neo-classical” prefixes with Greek or Latin origin, such as auto- (self), neo- (new, revived), pan- (all, world-wide) or tele-(distant).

- **μωτ weaknesses** **avto** “auto- (self-)”, e.g. **μωτ weaknesses** **avtobus** “bus”, **μωτ weaknesses** **avtomat** “automat”, **μωτ weaknesses** **avtomekena** “car” etc.

- **ιον weaknesses** **ink’n** “auto-, self-”, e.g. **ιον weaknesses** **ink’n-a-kensagrut’yun** “autobiography”, **ιον weaknesses** **ink’n-a-var** “autonomous”

- **ντε weaknesses** **neo-** “new”, e.g. **ντε weaknesses** **neo-lit’“ neolithicum, young stone age”**, **ντε weaknesses** **neologizm** = **ντε weaknesses** **nor-a-ban-ut’yun** “neologism” < υνη nor “new” + **ντε weaknesses** **ban** “word” + suffix -ψηγη -τυγν

- **μωτ weaknesses** **pan** “pan-, all-”, e.g. **μωτ weaknesses** **pan-islamizm** = **μωτ weaknesses** **ham-a-islamut’yun** “pan-islamism”

- **τελ weaknesses** **tele-** “Tele-”, e.g. **τελ weaknesses** **tele-vizor** = **τελ weaknesses** **heru-stac’uyuc** “television”, **τελ weaknesses** **tele-fon** = **τελ weaknesses** **her-f-axos** “phone”

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Please note that the formational -ω-a- does not appear in all derivations with this prefix. It seems that younger lexemes as well as loan translations preferably have non formational -ω--a- before a base with an initial consonant.
4.1.2 Suffixes

As with the prefixes given above, we shall concentrate here on the most productive suffixes. For completeness, a short list of unproductive suffixes is added to each sub-section.

Suffixes have usually a small semantic role; their primary function is to change the grammatical function of the basic lexeme.

One generally distinguishes

a. noun suffixes
b. adjective suffixes
c. adverb suffixes
d. verb suffixes.

As a general rule, the suffix is attached to the basic lexeme in case of a final vowel, but it has to be attached to the basic lexeme by means of the derivational vowel -a- in case of a final consonant.

Several suffixes may only be used to derive certain parts of speech.

4.1.2.1 Deriving nouns and noun suffixes

4.1.2.1.1 Denominal noun suffixes

One can further distinguish between noun suffixes that are used to form exclusively human nouns (typically -Çëï-ist, -ïÇó-kic, -ïwû -yan, -ïwûr -var, -îhî -uhi, -qû -c'ï), and those that are used to form non-concrete, abstract nouns (typically -ïÇûnû -ut'yun, -ïwû -um).

Some of the suffixes to be given can be used for both derivation of concrete (including human) and abstract nouns.

-îwû, -ak; -ïlû, -ik; -înû, -uk

This suffix may denote a diminutive, sometimes pejorative meaning. -îlû -ik has often a caressing meaning, e.g.

ûnû tun “house” > ûnûwût in-ak “small house”

hûwûn imast “sense, meaning” > hûwûwnûl imast-ak “little meaning”

ûwûr mayr “mother” > ûwûpûlû mayr-ik “little mother, dear mother”

ûwûpû mard “man, person” > ûwûpûnlû mard-uk “manikin; also fool” etc.

-(³)ûn, -(a)nûc

This suffix has two main functions, (a) denoting a place and (b) it forms collective nouns from nouns denoting a measure or a certain (monetary) value, e.g.

363. Abrahamyan 1974: 124. Êloyan 1979: 456. Please note that the same suffix is also used in colloquial Eastern Armenian to denote a place, in general: a coffee-shop, restaurant, snack bar etc. belonging to a certain person. Çûwûn Kamo > Çûwûpûmûng Kamo-ya-nûc” “Kamo’s place”.

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This denominal suffix forms place names or denotes places, e.g.

- ³Ø³Ø ganj “treasure”  > ganj-aran “treasury”
- ημαι das “lesson, class”  > das-aran “class-room”
- υρη surc “coffee”  > sr-aran “coffee shop”
- κατολικος kat’ olikos  > kat’ olikos-aran “Catholicossate” etc.

This specific suffix exclusively derives language names from nouns and adjectives, e.g.

- ηυ hay “Armenian”  > hay-eren “Armenian (language)”
- υνυ huyn “Greek”  > hun-aren “Greek (language)” etc.

This suffix, meaning “made of”, is preferably used to denote the meaning of “products made of, -ware” to nouns, forming particularly collective nouns, e.g.

- ηρη erkat’ “iron”  > erkat’-elen “ironware, hardware”
- ηρη arcat’ “silver”  > arcat’-elen “things made of silver; silver jewellery”
- ημου mis “meat”  > ms-elen “made of meat; meat products” etc.

This suffix usually derives plant names, particularly names of trees and bushes, from nouns denoting fruits, e.g.

- ³ηδ δελι delj “peach”  > delj-eni “peach tree”
- ημυδηνυ xnjor “apple”  > xnjor-eni “apple-tree”

The “international suffix” -izm is used to denote items concerning religion, politics, philosophy and arts, e.g. ηντισφικν ideaism, παισεφικν realism, χαρκν markizm etc.

This suffix is the corresponding loan-suffix to express adherents or practitioners of religion, politics, philosophy, arts and sport. It is also used to denote musicians playing certain

Armenian instruments, e.g. հայքիան իդեալիստ, ռազմիական իդեալիստ, զարգացած մարքսիստ, բայց նաև փոքրիկ ֆուտբոլիստ “footballer”, պատմական ակորդեոնիստ “accordion player” etc.

-կից, -կից’
This suffix denotes sociative meaning “co-, participating at”, e.g.

 StartCoroutine selan “table” > օբեցքություն selan-a-կից “guest, commensal”

դաս “class” > ուղղակիություն das-a-կից’ “classmate”

ցույց զրուց “conversation” > ականավորություն zruč’akic’ “interlocutor” etc.

-յամ, -յան
This is the prototypical suffix to form family names from proper names, job titles, place names, but also adjectives and verbs, e.g.

Գևորգ Geworg > Գևորգյան Geworg-յան

Օսկար Oskarì “goldsmith” > Օսկարյան Oskarì-յան

Ստամբուլ “Istanbul” > Ստամբուլյան Stambul-յան etc.

-եր, -որդ
This suffix forms nouns denoting job titles or agents, e.g.

Կանար “way” > Կանարորդ “traveller, voyager”

Օրս “hunt” > Օրս-որդ “hunter”

Սայլ “cart, waggon” > Սայլ-որդ “carter” etc.

-ոգ, -օկ’
This suffix has various functions and can derive nouns from both nouns and verbs.

- յամ, -յան
This suffix forms nouns denoting an employment, a job title of a person being in charge or control of something/somebody, e.g.

derbin “smith, forger” > դերբին արքորդ “smithy”

պէր “scribe” > Պէր-օկ’ “school”

- եր, -պան
This suffix also occurs in combination with body parts to denote tools or devices used especially by or for these body parts, e.g.

մաթին “finger” > մաթին-որդ “thimble”

անը “eye” > անը-օկ’ “eyeglasses”

երին “hand” > երին-օկ’ “glove” etc.

Analogous also ոչ վիզ “neck” > ոչ-ուն վզ-օկ’ “necklace”

-ավա, -պան
This suffix forms nouns denoting an employment, a job title of a person being in charge or control of something/somebody, e.g.


367. Abrahahmyan 1974:128. Please note that the Classical Armenian form serves here as the main basis for derivation.
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-_panak

This suffix is not very productive, it is only used with a few nouns to add the meaning of guarding, covering or protecting something/somebody, e.g.

-panak

This suffix forms

- country names from denominations of people; e.g.
  臾 hay “Armenian” > 臾Hay-a-stan “Armenia”
  臾hndik “Indian” > 臾Hndk-a-stan “India”
  臾huyn “Greek” > 臾Hun-a-stan “Greece” etc.

- place names and locations that denote a place being rich in something, e.g.
  臾aygi “garden” > 臾ayg-e-stan “place abounding in gardens”
  臾leť “mountain” > 臾leťn-a-stan “place abounding in mountains”
  臾men(ak) “alone” > 臾menastan “monastery” etc.

-var

This suffix derives nouns denoting “leader, conductor, director, supervisor of something/somebody”, e.g.

-var

This suffix forms proper names and nouns that denote

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368. Comp. Ch. 1.3. “Alternation”, p. 43, unstressed -i- meeting -a- may become -e-.


370. The suffix in -ogh -a-c’i is the most productive one; it is usually attached to bases ending in consonant. The forms in -bgh -e-c’i seem to be (a) either older forms (as e.g. obvious in many names of Armenian katholikoi where the place name indicates the birthplace, as e.g. 臾Hovhannes Ōjn 臾 Ōjn ec’i “Hovhannes of Ōjun” or (b) are the result of the alternation of a final -i of the base with the formational vowel -a, as in 臾Šamax Ōji + -a + -c’i. It seems however that the choice of the form of suffix is rather subject to conventions than to word formation rules.
that the person lives in a certain place, e.g.

- Երևան > Երևան-ց’ի “person from/living in Yerevan”
- Վան > Վան-ց’ի “person from/living in Van”
- գյուղ “village” > գյուղ-ա-ց’ի “person from/living in a village; farmer” etc.

- ethnonyms, nationalities e.g.

- Անգլիա “England” > Անգլիա-ցィ “Englishman”
- Գերմանիա “Germany” > Գերմանա-ցィ “a German”
- Ճապոնիա “Japan” > Ճապոնա-ցィ “a Japanese”

- persons that follow or belong to a certain doctrine, approach, belief, community etc., e.g.

- դասարան “class(room)” > դասարան-ցィ “classmate”
- Թոնդրակ “T’ondrak” > Թոնդրակ-ցィ “Thondrakian; i.e. member of a Christian sect in Armenian and Byzantine Empires from 9th to 11th cc.”

This is a very productive suffix, usually deriving abstract, non-countable or collective nouns from nouns, but also from adjectives and verbs e.g.

- կիյակ “friend” > կիյակ-ութ’յուն “friendship”
- հերոս “hero” > հերոս-ութ’յուն “heroism”
- դարբին “smith” > դարբին-ութ’յուն “smithcraft”
- լեզվաբան “linguist” > լեզվաբանութ’յուն “linguistics”
- կազան “beast” > կազան-ութ’յուն “brutality” etc.

The collective meaning of the suffix is particularly obvious in forms as e.g.

- դասարան-ութ’յուն “pupils”
- ասակերտ-ութ’յուն “students”
- հայ-ութ’յուն “Armenians” etc.

This suffix assigns explicit female gender to the nouns. It can also be used to derive nouns from adjectives. (see below)

- ասակերտ-ուհի “female pupil”
- ասակերտ-ուհի “female student”
- ասակերտ-ուհի “female teacher”

This is a rather rare suffix which is usually used to denote a collective meaning.

- թանգրական “throne” > թանգրական-ութ’յուն “furniture”

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This suffix is used in various meanings, but usually originates in Classical Armenian forms with highly lexicalised and even fossilised meaning.

-\text{ak}(n) "eye, source, gem" \rightarrow \text{ak-unk}' "source"
-\text{skizb} "beginning" \rightarrow \text{skizb-unk}' "principle"
-\text{himk}' "base, foundation" \rightarrow \text{him-unk}' "principles, fundamentals"

Sometimes, there is no semantic difference between the suffixed and the non suffixed nouns.

\(\text{štut} "\text{lip}" \rightarrow \text{št-unk}' "\text{lip}"\)

-\text{nun}, -\text{ut}

This suffix forms nouns which denote a place abounding in something.

-\text{kahni} "oak" \rightarrow \text{kah-ut} "place abounding in oak trees"
-\text{keč’i} "birch" \rightarrow \text{keč-ut} "place abounding in birch trees"
-\text{čahič} "marsh" \rightarrow \text{čahč-ut} "place abounding in marsh land"

-\text{p}, -\text{k}\textsuperscript{375}

This suffix was the common plural suffix used in Classical Armenian. In MEA the former plural suffix still occurs in lexicalised, fossilised forms with singular meaning, such as \(\text{ač’k}\) "eye", \(\text{erkin-k’}"sky, heaven", \(\text{xos-k’}"speech", \(\text{šem-k’}"threshold" etc.

However, the Classical Armenian suffix is also used to convey a special meaning which has also been lexicalised, as in

\(\text{bažin} "\text{share}" \rightarrow \text{bažin-k’}"dowry"
\(\text{giri} "\text{writing}" \rightarrow \text{girk’} "\text{book}""
\(\text{pol} "\text{tube} \times \text{pipe}" \rightarrow \text{pol-k’}"\text{trouser-leg}""
\(\text{xndir} "\text{problem, task}" \rightarrow \text{xndirk’} "\text{request}""

\(4.1.2.1.2\) \textbf{Deadjectival noun suffixes}

-\text{oc’, -anoc’}

This suffix is also used to derive nouns denoting a special place or location from adjectives, e.g.

-\text{cer} "old" \rightarrow \text{cer-anoc’} "old people’s home"
-\text{hivand} "ill" \rightarrow \text{hivand-anoc’} "hospital"
-\text{giž} "fool" \rightarrow \text{gž-anoc’} "madhouse" etc.

-\text{ng}, -\text{oc’}

This suffix is used to derive nouns denoting a place, location from adjectives.

-\text{amur} "hard, strong" \rightarrow \text{amr-oc’} "stronghold, fortress"
-\text{fem} "warm" \rightarrow \text{fem-oc’} "glass-house" etc.


This suffix is used to derive nouns from adjectives conveying two special meanings:

- abstract meaning, e.g.
  աղա "greedy" > աղա-արթ "greed, greediness"
  դաժան "cruel" > դաժան-արթ "cruelty"
  մակու "pure" > մակո-արթ "purity" etc.

- intensifying, specifying meaning, e.g.
  գրակ "literary" > գրակ-արթ "literature"

The suffix assigns female gender to the noun derived from an adjective, e.g.
  գելեց "beautiful" > գելեց-ահ "beautiful girl/woman"

This suffix derives nouns from adjectives, e.g.
  բուն "natural, genuine" > բուն-այ "nature, character"
  նոր "new" > նոր-այ "novelty" etc.

The Classical Armenian plural suffix is used also to derive nouns from adjectives; some of these derived nouns may also be considered as nominalised adjectives, e.g.
  արժան "worthy" > արժան-ա "worth, merit"
  բարի "good, kind" > բարի-ա "good"
  գալտի "secret" > գալտի-ա "mystery, secret" etc.

This has a very limited usage, with various meanings, as in e.g.
  անպել "to drink" > անպել-ա "cup"
  հատել "to win, overcome" > հատել-ա "victory"
  կոչել "to swing" > կոչել-ա "swing" etc.

This rare suffix denotes the result of an action, as in e.g.
  զալիվ "to collect" > զալիվ-ա "collection"
  կաբի "to mock, to ridicule" > կաբի-ա "clown" etc.

This forms verbal nouns from the verbal present stem, which denote an action, the result of an action or also the means of an action.
  աշխատել "to work" > աշխատա-ա "work"
  հոսել "to flow" > հոս-ա "stream"

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- hargel “to respect, esteem” > harg-ank’ “respect” etc.

- anoc’

As given above, this suffix is also used to derive nouns from verbs, denoting the place of an action.

ašxat-el “to work” > ašxat-ank’ “workshop, studio, laboratory”

argel-el “to forbid” > argel-ank’ “reservation, reserve”

č’or-ac’nel “to make dry, to dry something” > č’or-ank’ “drying room” etc.

- atak

The suffix derives nouns referring to an action.

hiš-el “to remember” > hiš-atak “memory”
p’l-v-el “to be destroyed, go to ruin” > p’l-atak “ruin” etc.

- aran

As mentioned above, this suffix is used to derive nouns both from nouns and verbs. If derived from verbs it denotes the location or place of an action.

bnak-v-el “to dwell” > bnak-aran “apartment, dwelling place”

ls-el “to listen, hear” > ls-aran “lecture-room, audience”

nst-el “to sit” > nst-aran “seat” etc.

- ark’

This suffix derives verbal nouns or denotes the result of an action.

gorc-el “to act” > gorc-ark’ “deal, transaction”
stug-el “to check, test, verify” > stug-ark’ “pass-examination, test” etc.

- ič’

This is a very productive suffix which forms (a) agent nouns or, (b) nouns denoting tools or implements.

lusavrel “to illuminate” > lusavor-ič’ “illuminator”

p’rkel “to save” > p’rk-ič’ “saviour”

kařavarel “to govern, to rule” > kařavar-ič’ “governor; manager”

grel “to write” > gr-ič’ “pen”

- ik’

If this suffix is used to derive a noun from the verbal root, then it has various meanings.

karc-el “to think, believe” > karc-ik’ “opinion”
gorc-el “to act, work” > gorc-ik’ “tool, instrument”
ěnt’-el “to have supper” > ěnt’-ik’ “supper”

378. It is not always clear what is the derivational basis of nouns suffixed with -aran. E.g. čaš-aran “dining-room” > čaš “dinner, meal” or > čaš-el “to dine”.

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However, if this suffix is used to derive nouns from the infinitive, then it has to be understood as expressing, in principle, the object of the action. This suffix both semantically and morphologically corresponds to the future participle in -ik’.

This means that many forms in -Çù-ik’ can also be regarded as nominalised future participles. Many of these suffixed nouns are highly lexicalised.

-³É gal “to come” > ³ÉÇù gal-ik’ “future”
-³É xałal “to play” > ³ÉÇù xałal-ik’ “toy”
-³É xmel “to drink” > ³ÉÇù xmel-ik’ “drink”
-³É vafel “to burn something” > ³ÉÇù varel-ik’ “fuel”

-ûñû, -munk’
This suffix derives verbal nouns or nouns from verbs that denote the result or the consequences of an action.

µ³Å³Ý»É bažanel “to divide” > µ³Å³Ýù bažan-munk’ “division”
µ³Å³Ý»É zbałvel “to be busy” > µ³Å³Ýù zbał-munk’ “occupation”
⁻硣É hianal “to admire” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù hiac’-munk’ “admiration” etc.

-ñû, -yun
This suffix is used to derive nouns from the verbal root of mainly verbs of utterance or onomatopoeic “sound” verbs, as in
-ñû goč’el “to shout” > -ñûÇù goč’-yun “shout”
⁻硣É hnc’el “to sound” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù hnc’-yun “sound”
⁻硣É mřnc’el “to bellow” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù mřnc’-yun “bellow” etc.

-ñû, -ol
This suffix, which serves to form subject participle in verb formation, also derives agent nouns from verbs. It can also be regarded a nominalised subject participle. The suffix is directly attached to the present stem of the verb.

-ñû gr-ol “writer, author” > -ñûÇù grel “to write”
⁻硣É ašxat-ol “employee; worker” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù ašxatel “to work”
⁻硣É cx-ol “smoker” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù cxel “to smoke” etc.

-ô, -oc’
The suffix is used
- to denote tools, as in
-ô kæmel “to strain, to filter” > -ôÇù kæm-oc’ “strainer”;
⁻硣É spřel “to spread out, to scatter” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù spř-oč’ “tablecloth”
- to form onomatopoeic nouns or nomina actionis
⁻硣É psp’sel “to whisper” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù pspš-oč’ “whisper”
⁻硣É blavel “to shout” > ᵃ硣ÉÇù blav-oc’ “shout”

-ôô/-ôôp, - vac/-vack’
This suffix is considered as the passive form of the resultative participle and as such it is rarely used to derive nouns.

The form in -ôôp, -vack’ is nowadays more productive than -ôô, -vac; it is used to derive nouns denoting the results, consequences or conditions of an action. Since it is
considered as having its origin in the passive resultative participle, the nouns are usually
derived from the aorist stem.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{bac’el} “to open” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{bac’-vack’} “opening”
\item \textit{hyusel} “to plait” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{hyus-vack’} “plait”
\item \textit{unenel} “to have” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{une’-vack’} “property”
\item \textit{patmel} “to narrate” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{patm-vack’} “narration, story” etc.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{-нуту, -ут’yun}

This suffix derives abstract or collective nouns from verbs, as in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{govaban-el} “to praise” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{govaban-ut’yun} “praise, laudation”
\item \textit{span-el} “to kill, to murder” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{span-ut’yun} “murder, murdering”
\item \textit{je’rnak-el} “to undertake” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{je’rnak-ut’yun} “undertaking, enterprise”, etc.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{-нут, -ум} \textsuperscript{379}

This suffix derives nomina actionis, verbal nouns from the verbal aorist stem, e.g.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ner-šnč-el} “to inspire” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{ner-šnč-um} “inspiration”
\item \textit{an-het-anal} “to disappear” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{an-hetac-um} “disappearance”
\item \textit{anc’-nel} “to pass” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{anc’-um} “passage” etc.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{-нуту, -ут’}

This suffix derives abstract and collective nouns from the verbal present stem, e.g.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{erew-al} “to appear” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{erew-ут’} “appearance, phenomenon”
\item \textit{hnč’-el} “to sound” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{hnč’-ут’} “phoneme”
\item \textit{sovor-el} “to learn, get used” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{sovor-ут’} “habit”
\item \textit{janjr-anal} “to be annoyed” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{janjr-ут’} “annoyance”, etc.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{-нуг, -уyc’} \textsuperscript{380}

This is a rarely used suffix with various meanings. The derived nouns are highly
lexicalised.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sař(č’)-el} “to freeze” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{sař-уyc’} “ice”
\item \textit{hang-č’-el} “to go out” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{hang-уyc’} “knot, tie” etc.
\end{itemize}

4.1.2.2 Unproductive and rare noun suffixes

The following noun suffixes present a selection of currently unproductive, lexicalised or
fossilised noun suffixes.

\textbf{-ут, -ак; -дут, -ик; -нут, -ук}

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem; the meaning of the derived nouns is
lexicalised.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{aver-el} “to destroy” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{aver-ак} “ruin(s)”
\item \textit{pah-el} “to protect” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{pah-ак} “guardian”
\item \textit{vip-el} “to miss, to fail” \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{vip-ак} “lapse; misprint” etc.
\end{itemize}


This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

-ուն, -est

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

-ի, -il

This suffix occurs only in a few nouns, it is highly fossilised and lexicalised. The suffix is attached to the verbal aorist stem.

-իր, -ič’

This suffix seldom occurs and usually derives nouns from verbal present stems.

-առ, -urd

This suffix occurs quite rarely and is not productive; many derived nouns are lexicalised. The suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

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4.1.2.3 Deriving adjectives and adjectival suffixes

Adjectives can be derived by means of suffixation from nouns, adjectives and verbs.

4.1.2.3.1 Denominal adjective suffixes

-\(\text{-amot'}\), \(\text{-ali}\) meaning “-ful; being worth of something, being subject to”, as in

\(\text{amot'} \, \text{shame} \rightarrow \text{amot'-ali} \, \text{shameful}\)

\(\text{\textasciicircum} \text{av} \, \text{pain} \rightarrow \text{\textasciicircum} \text{avali} \, \text{painful}\)

\(\text{hraš(k')} \, \text{wonder} \rightarrow \text{hrašali} \, \text{wonderful}\)

-\(\text{-ayin}\) derives relational adjectives from nouns, as in

\(\text{\textasciicircum} \text{n} \, \text{mountain} \rightarrow \text{napayin} \, \text{mountainous}\)

\(\text{\textasciicircum} \, \text{summer} \rightarrow \text{napayin} \, \text{(of) summer}\)

\(\text{azg} \, \text{people, nation} \rightarrow \text{azgayin} \, \text{national}\)

\(\text{-at}\) meaning “free from, without; -less”, as in

\(\text{poč'} \, \text{tail} \rightarrow \text{poč'-at} \, \text{without tail}\)

\(\text{gun} \, \text{colour} \rightarrow \text{gunat} \, \text{colourless, pale}\)

\(\text{k'n} \, \text{sleep} \rightarrow \text{k'nat} \, \text{sleepless}\)

-\(\text{-arar}\) is a rather unproductive suffix used to derive agent nouns from adjectives, as in

\(\text{bari} \, \text{kind, good} \rightarrow \text{barar} \, \text{benefactor}\)

-\(\text{-arim}, \text{-erim}\) is a rather unproductive suffix used to derive agent nouns from adjectives, as in

\(\text{havat} \, \text{faith} \rightarrow \text{havarim} \, \text{faithful}\)

\(\text{ox} \, \text{spite, vengeance} \rightarrow \text{oxerim} \, \text{sworn}\)

-\(\text{-gar}\) meaning “having a certain disease, a lack of”, as in

\(\text{ač'k'} \, \text{eye} \rightarrow \text{ač'agar} \, \text{ill-eyed}\)

\(\text{xelk'} \, \text{intelligence} \rightarrow \text{xelagar} \, \text{mad, crazy}\)

\(\text{-el}\) meaning “rich in a certain feature, abounding in” e.g.

\(\text{guyn} \, \text{colour} \rightarrow \text{gulenel} \, \text{colourful}\)
The following two suffixes are presented together because of their synonymous meaning. The suffixes -ե, -ե is commonly used in colloquial Armenian, the suffix in -ա, է is used in written, often literary Armenian and represents a higher style.

-ե, -ե means “made of a certain material”, being synonymous to the suffix -ա, -է; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>արեթ արեթ “silver”</td>
<td>արեթ-արեթ “silver”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Երկատ Երկատ “iron”</td>
<td>Երկատ-Երկատ “iron”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>բուրդ բուրդ “wool”</td>
<td>բուրդ-բուրդ “woollen”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ա, է is the synonym to the suffixes -ե, -ե “made of; (pertaining to)”, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>արեթ արեթ “silver”</td>
<td>արեթ-արեթ “silver”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Երկատ Երկատ “iron”</td>
<td>Երկատ-Երկատ “iron”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>բուրդ բուրդ “wool”</td>
<td>բուրդ-բուրդ “woollen”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-զան, -զան is a rare suffix meaning “abound in a certain feature”, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>գույն գույն “colour”</td>
<td>գույն-գույն “variegated, colourful”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-իկ’

This suffix has a very limited use with adjectives. It is used as a suffix to derive nouns from verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>չար չար “evil”</td>
<td>չար-իկ’ “evil”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-կոտ, -կոտ. This suffix can be regarded as being synonymous to the suffix -ու, -ոտ, meaning “abounding in”, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>վախ վախ “fear”</td>
<td>վախ-կոտ “cowardly”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Եռազ Եռազ “dream”</td>
<td>Եռազ-կոտ “dreamy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>կուն կուն “sleep”</td>
<td>կուն-կոտ “sleepy”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-յան. This suffix is used to derive relational adjectives, (expressing affiliation to the noun) from nouns, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Արաբոտ Արաբոտ “morning”</td>
<td>Արաբոտ-արաբոտ “in the morning”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Արարատ Արարատ “Ararat”</td>
<td>Արարատ-արարատ “Ararat-, of Ararat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Արեվելկ Արեվելկ “East, Orient”</td>
<td>Արեվելկ-արեվելկ “Eastern, oriental”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ու, -ոտ. This suffix is synonymous to the suffix -կոտ, -կոտ, meaning “abounding in”, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Անջրվ Անջրվ “rain”</td>
<td>Անջրվ-ու “rainy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Խոլ Խոլ “earth, ground”</td>
<td>Խոլ-ու “earthy, earthen”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Սրտ Սրտ “heart”</td>
<td>Սրտ-ու “brave (hearted)”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-վետ, -վետ, meaning “abounding in, having an eye-catching feature”, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian (noun)</th>
<th>Armenian (adjective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Արդյուն(կ) Արդյուն(կ) “result, product”</td>
<td>Արդյուն-արդյուն-վետ “productive”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բուր Բուր “smell”</td>
<td>Բուր-աբուր “odorant, odoriferous”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Մարգ Մարգ “fruit”</td>
<td>Մարգ-ամարգ “abounding in fruits”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-ýn, -vor, meaning “abounding in; equipped with; having; -ful” as in
ρνύ t’uyt “poison” → ρνύωπνή t’un-a-vor “poisonous, toxic”
γνύ lus “light” → γνύωπνή lus-a-vor “luminous, bright”
γνύ guyn “colour” → γνύωπνή guy-a-vor “colourful, coloured” etc.

4.1.2.3.2 Deadjectival adjective suffixes
-ων, -ak intensifies or modifies the meaning of the basic adjective, as in
ηηη klor “round” → ηηηωπνή klor-ak “totally round” etc.
-ωνά, -akan. This suffix has various functions, depending on the part of speech to which
it is attached. Attached to nouns, it forms relational adjectives, such as
ονον ordi “son, child” → ονονωπνή ordi-akan “childlike”
ύωλη anglia “England” → ύωληωπνή angli-akan “English”
ύωλη manuk “child” → ύωληωπνή mank-akan “childish” etc.
-ηή, -gin intensifies the meaning of the basic adjective, as in
ρωλή t’ank “expensive; dear” → ρωλήωπνή t’ank-a-gin “valuable, costly”
ωμωπνή apahov “safe, secure” → ωμωπνήωπνή apahov-a-gin “premium” etc.
-ωνά, -zan. As given above, this suffix can derive adjectives from both nouns and adjectives,
meaning “abundant in”, as in
μωλη bazum “numerous, many” → μωληωπνή bazm-a-zan “various, miscellaneous” etc.
υπερ surf “holy” → υπερωπνή surf-a-zan “very holy; Bishop, “Right Revere-
derend” etc.
-ήλ-, -ik intensifies or weakens the meaning of the adjective, for example
νήν pok’r “small” → νήνην pok’r-ik “very small”
υηνή sirun “pretty” → υηνήην sirun-ik “very pretty, nice” etc.
-ήλ, -in strongly intensifies the quality/features of the adjective, such as
υηηη nurb “fine, delicate” → υηηηη nrb-in “sophisticated”
ιηη xor “deep” → ιηηη xor-in “very deep”
ιηηη stor “lower” → ιηηη stor-in “lower, inferior” etc.
-ήη, -lik is a suffix that is used as a kind of diminutive; it weakens also the meaning of the
adjective, and particularly in spoken language it assigns the adjective an affable connota-
tion, as in
δωλ χαł “fat” → δωληλ χαł-lik “podgy”
νωπνη hast “thick, heavy” → νωπνη hast-lik “plump”.
ωμωπνή pap’uk “soft, tender, delicate” → ωμωπνή pʼap-lik “fluffy, cuddly” etc.
-υηη, -vet. As given above, this suffix can derive adjectives from nouns and adjectives,
meaning “abounding in, having an eye-catching feature”, e.g.
νωπνη kanač’ “green” → νωπνη kanač’a-vet “very green; eye-catching green”
νηνη harmar “convenient” → νηνη harmar-a-vet “very convenient, comfortable” etc.
-վն, -վուն, meaning “having a certain degree of a feature/quality” (especially with colour adjectives), as in

ունշաւկ spitak “white” > ունշավանք spitak-a-վուն “whitish”

ուն սև “black” > ունավանք սև-ա-վուն “blackish”

երկար erkar “long” > երկարապունք erkar-a-վուն “longish” etc.

-րկ, -ուկ usually intensifies the meaning of the basic adjective, e.g.

ուտու tak “hot” > ուտարու tak-ուկ “very hot, completely hot”

### 4.1.2.3 Deverbal adjective suffixes

-ում, -(սի)ի, -(ալ)ի, -(ել)ի is attached to the verbal infinitive, meaning “worth of, subject to”, as in

Երևալ ewal “to appear, be visible” > Երևավ ewal-i “distinguished”

Հանու hianal “to admire” > Հանու hianal-i “wonderful”

Հեռադ sôapél to feel, touch > Հեռադ sôapel-i “considerable” etc.

## 4.1.2.4 Other adjective suffixes

-կոտ -կոտ, -ուկ, -ուկ, -երորդ, -երդ.

This suffix derives ordinal number adjectives from cardinal number quantifiers.

Հինջ hing “five” > Հինջ hing-երորդ “fifth” etc.
4.1.2.4 Deriving adverbs and adverb suffixes

In general, the bare adjectives (particularly qualitative adjectives) are also broadly used in adverbial function.

In the case of derived adverbs, most of the following adverb suffixes can be used in derivation from nouns, adjectives and adjective-like adverbs. There is no adverb derivation from verbs.

4.1.2.4.1 Denominal adverb suffixes

- (ο)μραν, -(α)ωρ is attached to (+human) nouns (and adjectives, see below) forming manner adverbs, meaning “as, like -like, in manner of”, as in

ρωρλβυ barekam “friend” > ρωρλβυσωρ barekam-α-ωρ “in a friendly manner”

ηρημερ επεξα “child” > επεξασσωρ erexa-ya-ωρ “in a childishly manner”

ηωη hayr “father” > επεξασσωρ hayr-α-ωρ “fatherly” etc.

- (ο)μβοτυ, -(α)ες also forms manner adverbs, meaning “-like, as” as well as adverbs of time, as in

ομβοτυ armat “root” > ωμβοτυσωρ armat-α-ες “radically”

ρθζβι bžišk “doctor, physician” > ρθζβισωρ bžišk-α-ες “like a doctor”

ζιμεμεν vayrkyan “second” > ζιμεμενσωρ vayrken-α-ες “very quickly, in a second”

επηερ verj “end” > ζιμεμενσωρ verj-α-ες “finally” etc.

-ονηυ, -ονιν forms manner adverbs usually from nouns, as in

ενεβ χομβ “group” > ενεβονηυ χομβ-ονιν “as a group; group-like”

ομενε χερ glux “head” > ομενεονιν glx-ονιν “totally”

ηηυηηυ himn “base, basis” > ηηυηηυ himn-ονιν “basically, totally” etc.

4.1.2.4.2 Deadjectival adverb suffixes

- (ο)μραν, -(α)ωρ is often attached to qualitative adjectives denoting a certain quality or feature of a (+human) noun, but also to other semantic types of adjectives. The suffix forms manner adverbs, meaning “such as, like, -like”, as in

ομαπ αζνιν “honest” > ομαπαζνιν αζνιν-α-ωρ “honestly”

ρομ kaij “brave” > ρομαρ kaij-α-ωρ “bravely”

ηωμεμενε hamemat “corresponding, conform” > ηωμεμεμε αμενα hamemat-α-ωρ“comparatively; rather” etc.

- (ο)μβοτυ, -(α)ες also forms manner adverbs derived from adjectives, as in

ρομαρδουρ χαςαρjak “absolute” > ρομαρδουρ χαςαρjak-α-ες “absolutely”

ζιμεμενερ ενδανυρ “general” > ζιμεμεμερ ενδανυρ-α-ες “generally”

ηηηηηυ xor “deep” > ηηηηηυ xor-α-ες “deeply” etc.

-որեն {-oren} also forms manner adverbs derived from adjectives, as in

-ազնիվ azniv “honest” > ազնիվ-որեն azniv-oren “honestly”

-լայն layn “wide” > լայն-որեն layn-oren “broadly, widely”

-ենար canc “heavy” > էնար-որեն canc-oren “heavily” etc.

-ունդ {-ovin} forms manner adverbs, also from adjectives, such as in

-ի լի “full” > ինունդ liovin “fully”

4.1.2.4.3 Deadverbal adverb suffixes

Some adverbs, particularly time adverbs, can be derived from other (time) adverbs by means of the following suffixes. However, these suffixes are nowadays unproductive; the derived time adverbs can be regarded as lexicalised and/or fossilised.

-պես {-pes} suffixed to time adverbs and forms manner adverbs meaning “such as, like -like”, as in e.g.

-միշ mišt “always” > միշ-պես mišt-a-pes “always, repeatedly”

-նախ nax “firstly” > նախ-պես nax-a-pes “at first, previously”

-վալ val “early” > վալ-պես val-a-pes “previously” (seldomly used), etc.

-դե {-uc’) suffixed to time adverbs and forms adverbs answering to the question “since when?”, as in

-առաջ araj “before, earlier” > առաջ-դե araj-uc’ “long before”

-վալ val “early” > վալ-դե val-uc’ “long ago, earlier; colloquial also “long time”, etc.

In colloquial Armenian, particularly in youth language, the adjectival suffix -ունդ {-ot}, meaning “abounding in”, is also used to derive adverbs with the same meaning, as in

-ուս uš “late” > ուս-ունդ uš-ot “too lately; much lately”

4.1.2.4.4 Dequantifier adverb suffixes

The suffixes given below denote similar meanings, but the first one seems to be more productively used.

-եղջ {-ic’s}, is attached to quantifiers, meaning “so many times, as many times”, as in

-բազմ bazum “many” >՝բազմ-եղջ bazum-ic’s “several times; repeatedly”

-քան kani “many, how many” >՝քան-եղջ kani-ic’s “how many times, how often”

-երեկ er`ek “three” >՝երեկ-եղջ er-ic’s “three times” etc.

-պատիկ {-patik} is attached to quantifiers, meaning “so many times, -fold” e.g.

-բազմ bazum “many” >՝բազմ-պատիկ bazm-apatik “several times; multiple; manifold”

-հին hing “five” >՝հին-պատիկ hng-apatik “five times; fivefold” etc.

(2) Նա բազմեց ել-ել է Հայաստան-ում.

He. NOM several times be-PTCP.PRF. he is Armenia-LOC

“He has been to Armenia several times.”
Chapter 4. Word formation

4.1.2.5 Deriving verbs and verb suffixes

MEA productively uses the following suffixes to derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, adverbs and quantifiers:

- -եռ, -el (productive), forms transitive and intransitive verbs.
- -զիմ, -anal (less productive), forms intransitive verbs with inchoative or reflexive meaning.
- -ու, -al (least productive), forms intransitive and transitive verbs.

4.1.2.5.1 Denominal verb suffixes

-եռ, -el

աղջիկ անջր “rain” > աղջիկ եռ “to rain”
քուզար գիշեր “night” > քուզար եռ “to spend the night, overnight”
ծուճը խնք “knee” > ծուճը եռ “to kneel”
րաբի քար “stone” > րաբի քար-եռ “to stone” etc.

-զիմ, -anal

ահարիք ամուսին “husband; spouse” > ահարիք ամուսին-անալ “to marry; get married”
քուզար գիշեր “night” > քուզար գիշեր-անալ “to become night”
բիզան էլբայր “brother” > բիզան էլբայր-անալ “to become brothers, fraternize”
րաբի քար “stone” > րաբի քար-անալ “to petrify, to become stone” etc.

-ու, -al

զուտ սոլ “ray” > զուտ սոլ-ալ “to shine”
զուրբ ժիպ “smile” > զուրբ ժիպ-ալ “to smile”
խիլի եյիլ “conscience” > խիլի եյիլ-ալ “to pity, to feel sorry” etc.

4.1.2.5.2 Deadjectival verb suffixes

-եռ, -el

ապուշի ապուշ “idiot, silly” > ապուշի ապուշ-եռ “to be astonished”
դատակ դատակ “empty” > դատակ դատակ-եռ “to empty”
պապեր պապէր “soft” > պապեր պապէր-եռ “to became soft, to soften”
երկրորդ երկրորդ “second” > երկրորդ երկրորդ-եռ “to repeat” etc.

4.1.2.5.3 Deadverbal verb suffixes

-ȃ, -el

հանում dandal “slowly” > հանումել dandal-el “to slow (down)”
կանուն kanux “early” > կանունել kanx-el “to prevent”
համաս հաց “frequently” > համասել hačax-el “to attend” etc.

-սուչ, -anq

արագ arag “fast” > արագել arag-el “to become fast”
դանդ dandal “slowly” > դանդել dandal-anal “to become slow”
հաց հաց “frequently” > հացել hačax-anal “to become frequent” etc.

4.1.2.5.4 Dequantifier verb suffixes

-սուչ, -anq

երկու erku “two” > երկունակ, երկուսու erku-anal, erkv-anal “to become two; to doubt”
բազե zem “many” > բազենակ bazm-anal “to multiply, to increase”
սաթ šat “many, plenty” > սաթենակ šat-anal “to multiply, to increase” etc.

4.2 Compounding

Modern Eastern Armenian distinguishes two basic forms of compounding:

- root compounds
- synthetic compounds.

Root compounds are verbless, i.e. (a) the head noun is not deverbal or (b) the non headnoun does NOT function as an argument of the verb from which the head is derived. They are both preferably syntactically and semantically right-headed, i.e. endocentric compounds.

այբունսապարտ anrew-a-jur “rain-water”, գետ get-a-ji “hippopotamus” < գետ get “river” + ջի ji “horse”, գրության ašxarh-a-grut’yun “geography” < աշխար ašxarh “world” + գրություն grut’yun “writing” etc.

MEA has also exocentric compounds, i.e. bahuvrihi or possessive compounds, such as հաճախականում mec-a-tun “rich” < մեկ mec “big” + տն tun “house” = “having a big house”, իրական ayl-a-karp “different” < այլ ayl “different, other” + իրեն karp “way, manner” = “Having a different manner” etc.

Dvandva or copulative compounds, in which the two stems have equal semantic and syntactic weight, also occur in MEA, though rarely with or without copulative conjunction,
such as ընկա-ցից գիշեր-ցերկ “day and night”, հագակ-կապակ “dressed up”, ցիբեր-ցու գնա-ցու “coming and going”, հայ ու հայր “parents” etc.

The second or right-hand stem of root compounds is regarded as the head of the compound and, thus, it contributes category and morphosyntactic features to the compound as a whole, i.e. only the head of the compound is inflected.

գյուճ-ի գետաջ “hippopotamus”, NOM. SG., գյուճայի գետա-է DAT.SG., գյուճայի գետա-էr NOM.PL.

In synthetic or verbal compounds either, (a) the head of the compound is derived from a verb or (b) the non-head fulfills the action of an argument or complement of a verb.

One can also distinguish compounds by their category:
- noun compounds
- adjective compounds
- verbal compounds

In these categories compounds can further be subgrouped depending on the parts of speech used for the compounding, such as nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, pronouns, adverbs, adpositions etc.

General characteristics of Modern Eastern Armenian compounds
If the second part of the compound has an initial consonant, it is attached to the first part by means of the vowel -a-.386

- If the second part of the compound has an initial vowel, it directly follows the first part (i.e. without the vowel -a-).
- The stressed vowel or final semi-vowel of the first part of the compound in losing the stress may undergo alternations.

4.2.1 Noun compounds

Nominal compounds can be composed of various parts of speech and can represent both root and synthetic compounds. In synthetic compounds one distinguishes the functions/syntactic relations of the two lexical units.

4.2.1.1 Verbless or root noun compounds
1. Noun-noun
Meaning (attributive): noun1 is the modifying attribute of noun2
ձիաբար գն-ա-բուկ “snow-storm” = ձիաբ ջյուն “snow” + բուկ “storm”
արեւ-ա-կալիկ “sunflower” = արեւ արեւ “sun” + կալիկ “flower”
անջրբաղջի անջրբա-ա-ջուր “rainwater” = անջրբա անջրբա “rain” + ջուր “water” etc.

386. There are, however, many compounds, inherited from Classical Armenian, without the formation vowel -a-, such as e.g. ջր՜վեժ “waterfall”, բանբեր “bulletin”, արեւամութք “West, occident”, հակեր “baker”, etc. Comp. Minassian 1996: 65.
Meaning (possessive): noun1 is part/belongs to part2

 Armenian

 Meaning: noun2 is for noun1

 Armenian

 Meaning: noun2 is of/consists of noun1

 Armenian

 Meaning: noun2 produces/yields noun1

 Armenian

 2. Adjective – noun compounds

 Armenian

 3. Quantifier – noun compounds

 Armenian

 4.2.1.2 Synthetic noun compounds

 Armenian

 a. Type subject + deverbal noun

 Armenian
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4.1.2 Adjective compounds

1. Root Adjective Compounds

a. Type noun + noun

*terew-a-tap’* “fall/shedding of the leaves” = *terew* leaf + *tap’* “fall(ing)"

*bay-imast* “verbal meaning” = *bay* verb” + *imast* “meaning”

*mama-n-a-mut* “beginning of summer” = *ama*r “summer” + *mut* “enter(ing)"

*ayg-a-bac’* “day-break, dawn” = *ayg* “dawn” + *bac’* “opening”

*hog-e-gal-ust* “Pentecost” = *hogi* “ghost” + *gal-ust* “coming, arrival”

b. Type object + verb

The deverbal noun is derived from transitive verbs i.e.

- object + deverbal noun

*darpas-a-pah* “goal-keeper” = *darpas* “gate, door” + *pah* “keeper”

*atamn-a-bujž* “dentist” = *atam* “tooth” + *buyž* “healer”

*varžel* “to train, to bring up” etc.

- verbal noun (infinitive) + object

*aprel-a-jew* “living, way of living” = *aprel* “to live” + *jew* “shape, form, way”

*mtacel-a-kerp* “mentality” = *mtacel* “to think” + *kerp* “way, manner”

*varel-a-hol* “arable land” = *varel* “to furrow” + *hol* “earth, ground” etc.

- object + verbal form

*tiezer-a-gnac’* “cosmonaut” = *tiezer(k’)* “cosmos, space” + *gnac’* “went” Aor.3.sg. of *gnal* “go” = “a person who went to cosmos”

c. Type verb + adverbial noun

*zbos-aygi* “park” = *zbos* “walk” + *aygi* “garden”; meaning “x walks in the garden”

*lol-a-vazan* “swimming pool” = *lol-al* “to swim” + *vazan* “pool”;

meaning “x swims in the pool” etc.

4.2.2 Adjective compounds

1. Root Adjective Compounds

a. Type noun + noun

*ar˚yuc-a-sirt* “having a heart of a lion” = *ar˚yuc* “lion” + *sirt* “heart”

*kar-a-sirt* “stone-hearted” = *kar* “stone” + *sirt* “heart”

*vard-a-guyn* “pink” = *vard* “rose” + *guyn* “colour” etc.
b. Type noun + adjective

- Adjective and noun. The modifying adjective precedes its head noun.
  ṅer-her em bari “having a kind soul” = ṅer-her bari “kind” + ṅer-her hogi “soul”
  ṅer-her tetew-a-mit “light-minded” = ṅer-her tetew “light” + ṃit “mind”
  ṅer-her k’alr-ajyn “having a sweet-voice” = ṅer-her k’alr “sweet” + ṅajyn “voice” etc.

- Noun and adjective. This type of adjective compound is not as productive as the one given above. In such compounds, the noun often denotes the basis of comparison.
  ṅer-her ñar “abundant with water” = ṅer-her ñar “water” + ṅar “rich”
  ṅer-her jyn-a-mak’ur “pure as snow” = ṅer-her jyn “snow” + ṅer-her mak’ur “pure, clean”
  ṅer-her erkna-kapuyt “skyblue” = ṅer-her erkink’ “heaven” + ṅer-her kapuyt “blue” etc.

c. Type adjective + adjective

- Adjective + adjective
  ṅer-her amr-a-pind “very hard” = ṅer-her amur “strong, tough” + ṅer-her pind “hard”
  ṅer-her zarman-a-hraš “amazing and wonderful” = ṅer-her zarman(-ali) “amazing” + ṅer-her hraš(-ali) “wonderful”
  ṅer-her hez-a-čkun “gracious” = ṅer-her hez “meek, gentle” + ṅer-her čkun “flexible” etc.

- Intensifier + adjective
  ṅer-her lav-a-telyak “well-informed” = ṅer-her lav “good, well” + ṅer-her telyak “aware”
  ṅer-her k’aj-a-telyak “well-informed” = ṅer-her k’aj “brave; good, well” + ṅer-her telyak “aware”
  ṅer-her mec-a-harust “very rich” = ṅer-her mec “big, great” + ṅer-her harust “rich” etc.

2. Synthetic adjective compounds

a. Type adverbial + participle

Synthetic compound adjectives in MEA usually consist of an adverb and the resultative participle in -ac. Many of these forms are lexicalised.
  ṅer-a-kšr vac “well-balanced”
  ṅer-a-tarac “widespread”

The meaning of such compound adjectives is preferably and more productively expressed by means of a free combination of adverb and participle, functioning as a modifying adjective, as in
  ṅer xor zgac vac “deep-felt”,
  ṅer xor nstac “deep-seated”
4. Word formation

(4) Մեկ շաբաթ ամսվա պատմություն Մեկույրում գրանցվում է հետևյալ:

mek šabat’ արաջ տպար-վ-է’ Baloyan-i
one week-NOM POST publish-pass-aor3.sg Baloyan-DAT

erkar sps-վ-ակ’ գիրք’-է.
long wait-pass-ptcp.res. book-NOM-the

“Baloyan’s long-awaited book was published one week ago.”

(5) Այս ռեստորանում երկար է են երկար պատմություն գրանցվում է:

ays ռեստորան-ում վաճառ-ում en tan-է
this restaurant-LOC sell-ptcp.-pres. they are house-DAT-the

patrast-v-ակ’ գարեջուր.
prepare-pass.ptcp.res beer.NOM

“In this restaurant they sell home-brewed beer.”

(6) Ունի էս նոր քամակ է?

Un-es nor t’x-ակ’ hac’?
have-pres.2.sg new bake-pass-ptcp.res bread-NOM

“Do you have fresh-baked bread?”

b. Type noun + participle

A rather rare form of synthetic compound adjectives can be found in lexicalised adjectives, which consist of a noun and a resultative participle in -ակ’ -ակ.

նարտակատրվում mek’ena-grac “typewritten”

4.2.3 Adverbial compounds

In general, the above mentioned adjectival compounds may also be used as adverbs. Furthermore, copulative compounds can be used to express adverbial meaning, such as գիշեր-երեկ գիշեր-երեկ “day and night”, հագաս-պահպան հագաս-ոպահ “dressed up” etc.

A further form of adverbial compounds is fossilised and highly lexicalised (even antiquated). In such adverbial compounds the conjunctions էն, է ու, ew “and” and the classical adpositions ք, քնի, ձ, էնդ, է are used, as in

գիշեր էն գիշեր է զ-էր “night and day”

սար-են sar-n i ver “up to the mountain; uphill”

օրհում օր-n-i-bun “all day long” = օր օր “day” + բան Bun “stem”

4.3 Miscellaneous modes

4.3.1 Reduplication

Some compounds also have two or more constituents, which are either identical or only slightly different.

The difference between the two constituents may be in the initial consonants or in the medial vowels.

The most common uses of reduplicative forms in MEA are:

- to intensify the meaning
- to disparage – by suggesting nonsense, insincerity, instability etc.

a. Simple or full reduplications

The simplest form of reduplication in Armenian is to fully reduplicate the root and to connect the two constituents either with the conjunction և “and” or the hyphen (-).

If such simple reduplications are expressed with nouns they are usually used in modifying, i.e. adjectival function with head-nouns in plural.

եթքուկետքուկесոտ-եթքուկесոտ “of different sorts, kinds”
զույզույզույզ “in pairs, by pairs”

Simple reduplication of adjectives usually intensifies the meaning of the adjective, as in մեկ-մեկ mec-mec “very big, really big”
սպիտակ-սպիտակ spitak-spitak “intensely white, very white”
լավ-լավ lav-lav “very good” etc.

Simple reduplication of adverbs also intensifies the meaning of the base adverb, as in

արագ-արագ arag-arag “to speak very quickly”
վերադառնալ “to return very late” etc.

In some reduplicated words - generally monosyllabics – the medial vowel ո a alternates with և ո such as

կակ ո ցակ u cuk “in every corner, everywhere”< ցակ “hole”
խառի-խառի xaṛ-i-xaṛ “mish-mash, hodge-podge”< խառ “mixed” etc.

b. Partial reduplication

MEA exhibits two methods of partial reduplication: the m-reduplicating and the fixed coda-reduplication; both comparable to the reduplication types employed in modern Turkish.388

- Reduplication with initial m- on the second constituent

In Armenian, particularly in colloquial Armenian, special compounds appear as doublets, in which a word of any category (particularly nouns, adjectives and adverbs) is followed by an echo of itself, but with an m- replacing the initial consonant. This m, or any other consonant, may function as the initial consonant of the second constituent, if its base form starts with a vowel.

The meaning of such a compound is “and so on, suchlike; and the like”.

կած-կած cax-max “kind of brushwood, brushwood and the like”< կած “brushwood”
հաց-հաց hac’-mac’ “bread and the like”< հաց “bread”
սուտ-սուտ sut-mut “lying, false suchlike”< սուտ “false, lying” etc.

______________
388. For Turkish see: Kornfilt 1997: 482.
ηπη-ήπη πολορ-μολορ “zigzag; winding (lit. a spire or so)” < ηπη πολορ “spire, circuit”

ωζει-οζειβι αελ-μαελ “broom and the like”

M-reduplication is avoided in the case of m-initial words: such words, occurring in dialects, tend to show a combination of reduplication and vowel alternation to produce the same semantic meaning as -m-reduplicated words.

υώη-υόη παρδ-μαρ “(some) person” etc.

υαυη-υοη αναν-μαν “small and the like”

υαυ-υοη μασ-μας “part and the like”; e.g.

ωζζαναυθαυβη υαυυ-υαν ανατακεναι μασ-μας “car’s part and the like”

In some, highly lexicalised, reduplicated forms, other consonants may also appear in the place of the initial consonant of the second constituent, such as

υαυυ-υου ψασ-μας “very quiet, very silent”

αιμαρμ-αιραρ ραρα-μαραρ “inactive, deedless”

The consonants υ s and ψ ψ used for reduplication remind us of those used in fixed-coda reduplication, as described below.

Fixed-coda reduplication

MEA has a very special reduplication pattern, in which a fixed coda segment is drawn from ρ’ and s. This reduplication conveys an intensive meaning, particularly of qualitative and colour adjectives.

A CVC syllable consisting of the initial consonant of the adjective’s root, of the left-most root vowel and υ s or ψ ψ, is prefixed to the adjective’s root, i.e. the whole first syllable of the adjective is reduplicated by replacing the final consonant with υ s or ψ ψ, as in

ιψυ-ιψου ψακ-καρμίρ “very red”

αιψυ-αιψου παρ-παραρ “very idle, very useless”

ηψυ-ηψου βασ-βαρχ “very high”

υαψυ-υαψου σεψ’-σεψ’ “very, really black”

ζψεψ-ζψεψου ψήψ-ψήψακ “completely, really true”

ησεψη-ησεψου δεψ’-δεψ’ “very yellow”

There are several approaches to the explanation of the choice of the υ s or ψ ψ; however, the most convincing is William’s approach of constraints following the Obligatory Contour Principle, which prohibits adjacent segments having the identical place of articulation. Thus, υ s does not occur with roots with the initial coronal consonants (i.e. [d], [t], [tʰ], [s], [z], [ʃ], [ʒ], [r] [ɾ] [n] [ɻ]), whereas ψ ψ does not co-occur with initial labial consonants (i.e. [m], [b], [p], [pʰ], [v], [f]).


390. Please note that in Armenian dialects, particularly in Western Armenian dialects in addition to the fixed coda segments in -p’ and -s, fixed coda segments may also be drawn from a set of {-p -m -n -r}.

This constraint also means that there is no “rule” for dorsal consonants such as [ɡ] [k] [kʰ], i.e. they can, in principle, freely combine with ս or բ’, as can be seen from the examples below:

\[\text{կաս-կանաց ‘very green’} \quad \text{< կանաց ‘green’}\]
\[\text{կապ-կարց ‘very short’} \quad \text{< կարց ‘short’}\]

4.3.2 Abbreviations

Lexical items may be shortened to a form, which is linguistically convenient but does not necessarily reflect the morphological make-up of the full form.

In MEA, there are three productive ways in which abbreviation is involved:

- Acronyms
- Clippings
- Stump compounds.

4.3.2.1 Acronyms

Acronyms, i.e. words formed with initial letters of words, are very productive in Modern Eastern Armenian.

One can distinguish acronyms (a) which are pronounced as a sequence of letters and (b) whose letters represent a full word.

**Acronyms pronounced as a sequence of letters**

In MEA, this type of acronyms is usually written with capital letters. If the acronym contains (written) consonant clusters, these consonant clusters are realised with the vowel ė.

\[\text{ԱԱՀ < Ավելացված Արժեք ‘Avela’çvac Aržék ‘VAT, value added tax’}\]
\[\text{ՄԱԿ < Միավորված Ազգեր ‘miavorvac azgeri kazmakerput’yun ‘UNO’}\]
\[\text{ԱՄՆ < ԱՄՆ ԱՄՆ ‘Amerikayi Miac’yal Nahangneré ‘USA’}\]
\[\text{ԳՓ < Գերմանիայի Հանրապետության ‘Germaniayi federativ hanrapetut’yun ‘German Federal Republic’}\]
\[\text{ՀՀ < Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն ‘Hayastani Hanrapetut’yun ‘Republic of Armenia’}\]
\[\text{ԳՊ < Գիտատեխնիկա Ակադեմիա ‘Gitut’yan Akademia ‘Academy of Sciences’}\]
\[\text{ՍՍՀ < Սովետական Խորհրդային ‘Sovetakan Socialistakan Hanrapetut’yunneri Miut’yun ‘USSR’}\]
\[\text{ՀՍԽ < Հայաստանի Խորհրդային ‘Haykakan Sovetakan XORHRAYIN Hanrapetut’yun ‘Soviet Republic of Armenia’}\]
\[\text{ԱՓ < Երևանի Ակադեմիա ‘Erewani Petakan Hamalsaran ‘Yerevan State University’}\]

**Acronyms pronounced as a word**

MEA also productively uses acronyms, also of foreign origin, which are pronounced as a word. These acronyms are often lexicalised and considered as “real” nouns. In this case, the acronyms are even written as “common words”, i.e. usually with minuscule, sometimes with initial capital.
Russian acronyms have also entered Armenian language and are highly lexicalised in Modern Eastern Armenian such as e.g.

- "civil registry office" from Russian “zapis’ aktov graždanskogo sostojanija”
- "hydroelectric powerstation" from Russian “gidroëlektrostancija”

The same is productive for other “foreign” acronyms, as in

- NATO “North-Atlantic Treaty Organization”
- VIP “very important person”

### 4.3.2.2 Clippings

Clippings can be found in informal usage, thus mainly in colloquial Armenian and particularly in youth language. The basic word is often shortened, sometimes to a single syllable.

- "car" from Russian "automobile" or "automobil thet" (am) < "automobil thet" (am) “car”
- "computer" from Russian "personal computer" or "komp'uter" (km) < “komp’uter” (km) “computer”
- "professor" from Russian "professor" or "professor" (pf) < “professor” (pf) “professor” etc.

### 4.3.2.3 Stump compounds

Stump compounds are usually formations in which a compound is made by blending one word with another.

Stump compounding is a very productive word formation strategy in Modern Eastern Armenian: such compounds may consist of two or more words whose first syllables are combined. Stump compounds are written in minuscules and without any separation mark.

- "head of education department" from Russian "head of education department"
- "Armenian Council of inventors" from Russian "Armenian Council of inventors"
- "Armenia state publication" from Russian "Armenia state publication"
- "faculty of medicine" from Russian "faculty of medicine"
- "executive committee" from Russian "executive committee"
- "scientific council" from Russian "scientific council"
- "formmaster" etc.

### 4.3.2.4 Productive and frequent abbreviations

In MEA, one distinguishes abbreviations according to their semantic grouping or their graphical expressions.

In general, Armenian abbreviations consist of one, two, three or more letters, separated from each other with a dot.

- Abbreviations with the initial letter
- Initials of surname, e.g. V. Teryan, E. Čarenc’ etc.
Initials of forms of address. The usual forms of address used in Modern Eastern Armenian are: ግ. Պ. < պարոն paron “Mister” and S.T. > տիկին tikin “Madame, Miss; Mrs.”
Please note the plural forms գ. Պ. Prn. < պարոնայր paronayk’, Տ. Տ. < տիկին tkin.

- Initials to express general nouns, particularly conveying temporal meaning, such as

  դ. ս. < դար(ում) d(um), century; (Plural դ. ս. < դարեր(ում) d(aram))
  թ. թ. < տվական t’vak (year) (Plural թ. թ. տվականեր t’vakanner)
  ժ. ժ. < ժամ ժամ ժամ “time, hour”, ժամի “o’clock”

- Abbreviations with two letters

Such abbreviations are commonly used with personal names, forms of address, and titles.

ակ. ակ. < ակադեմիկական akademik “academician”
ճ. ճ. < ճոկորդ doktor “doctor” (of philosophy, of art etc.)
բ. բժ. < բժիշկ bžišk “physician, medical doctor”
Օ. Օ. < օրիորդ oriod “Miss”

Ա. Ա. Av. Isahakyan < Ավետիք Avetik’
Ա. Ա. Al. Caturyan < Ակադեմիկ Alek’sandr
Գ. Գ. Gr. Tat’ewac’i < Գրիգոր Grigor

եռ ewn. < եռ ew yln “and so on, etc.”
Օ. Օ. < օրիորդ orinak “for example”

Two-letter abbreviations are also frequent with ordinal numbers, usually graphically expressed with the number and the corresponding suffix, such as

1-ի 1-in < առաջ arafin “first”
2-ր 2-nd < երկուորդ erkord “second”
6-ր 6-rd < վեցերորդ vec’erord “sixth”

- Abbreviations with three or more letters.

Such abbreviations are employed for personal names, titles and other commonly used words.

Հ. Հ. Hovh. T’umanyan < Հովհաննես Hovhannes
են. են. < ենկոր enker “friend, colleague; corresponding to Russian tovarišč
փր. փր. < պրոֆեսոր profesor “Professor”
վրկ. վրկ. < վայրկոր vayrkyan “second, moment”
թրգ. թրգ. < թարգմանչուն t’argmanut’yun “translation”
խմ. խմ. < համեմատել hamematel “compare”
միլ. միլ. < միլիարդ miliard “billion”
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ₘₚ. mln. < միլիոն milion “million” etc.

- Abbreviations of weights and measures.

ₙ g < գրամ gram
ₙ kg < կիլոգրամ kilogram
ₙ mg < միլիգրամ miligram
ₙ m < մետր “metre”
ₙ sm < սանտիմետր santimetr “centimetre”
ₙ mm < միլիմետր millimetre
ₙ km < կիլոմետր kilometre “kilometre”
l < լիտր litr “litre”

4.3.3 Hypocoristics

In MEA the use of nicknames or hypocoristics is very common. The formation of nicknames from personal names follows a common pattern, mainly using the suffix -o attached to bare personal name, if monosyllabic, or generally to the often alternating first syllable of polysyllabic personal names. Unlike personal names, hypocoristics are usually stressed on the first syllable.

a. Monosyllabic personal names

To form hypocoristics, monosyllabic personal names simply append the suffix -o.

Հայկ Hayk > Հայկ Hayko (m.)
Վարդ Vard > Վարդ Vardo (f.)
Այ Aj > Այո Ajo (f.)
Վան Van > Վանո Vano (m.)

b. Polysyllabic personal names

There are several ways to form hypocoristics from polysyllabic personal names, depending on the underlying CVC structure.

Names structured with an initial (C)V.CV- append -o to the leftmost CVC-:

Մարիամ Mariam > Մարո Maro (f.)
Լուսաբեր Lusaber > Լուսո Luso (f.)
Դանիէլ Daniel > Դանո Dano (m.)
Կերոբ K’erob > Կերո K’ero (m.)
Անահիտ Anahit > Անո Ano (f.)
Ավետիկ Avetik’ > Ավո Ano (m.) etc.

Names with the initial consonant clusters CCV-:

- place an epenthetic schwa between the two initial consonants and add the suffix directly to this sequence CěC-

Մխիտար Mxit’ar [mɔχi-tʰaɾ] > Մխո Mxo [mɔχɔ] (m.)

place the vowel -a- between the two initial consonants and add the suffix directly to
the sequence CaC-, (this is also an alternative structure of the form with epenthetic
schwa above)

- CCV-C; the second vowel of the cluster is ignored but the C of the following syllable
  is used to append -o. The cluster is usually filled with the vowel following the initial
  consonant cluster, CV-C-

- If the initial consonant cluster consists of a sibilant and a plosive, the sibilant is
  deleted.

Names with initial vowel followed by a consonant cluster VCC, or with the first root vowel
followed by a consonant cluster CVCC...

- beginning from the left edge of the cluster, the formation of the hypocoristic takes as
  many consonants as are admitted by phonological syllable rules:

- There are alternating forms – if r is contained in the consonant cluster, it may be pro-
  nounced or not.

- Such medial consonant sequences are subject to Armenian sonority constraints. Eastern
  Armenian does not allow complex onsets but only complex codas of falling sonority,
  i.e. consonant sequences of rising sonority are not entirely reflected in the derived
  hypocoristics. That means that consonant clusters are often simplified by means of
  second constituent dropping, particularly in the case of -r as second consonant:
CHAPTER 5

Punctuation

In SMEA various punctuation marks are used to express intonation, separation and specification.

It is interesting to note that punctuation marks as they are used nowadays in MEA are the result of an age-long development. Until the 10th century the only punctuation mark used in Armenian manuscripts was a comma-like mark. In the 12th and 13th centuries the Armenian grammar commentaries and the elaboration of an Armenian neume notation evolved marks and rules for punctuation. In medieval manuscripts of that time, punctuation already appears to be conventional.394

5.1 Intonation marks

The intonation marks are the stress mark (‘), the question mark (‘‘), and the exclamation mark (‘‘). They indicate a variation of the pitch in commands, instructions, imperative sentences or simply in contrastive intonation (a certain, strong rise in pitch); in questions (usually final rising) and in emotive exclamations (usually rise-fall tone).

5.1.1 Stress mark

1. A stress mark is used on words and word-forms expressing command, appeal, instruction, exhortation, etc.

– On verbs in the imperative:

(1) Տես, հատի զարդարել հարմարես է: (Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

\[
tés \quad inc’\quad pók’rik \quad ink’nat’iř \quad ė!
\]

look-IMP.2.SG wh-what tiny airplane.NOM it is

“Look, what a tiny airplane that is!”


There are however some exceptions, when the stress mark is not used with imperative forms:

- Verbs in the imperative may be used without a stress when the sentence expresses a polite request:

(3) Հասմիկ հետ-ու տեսն-ում է անապահով:

Hasmik ask-PTCP.PRES. I see-PTCP.PRES. present-IMP.2.SG

“Hasmik, I beg you: close the door!”

- The stress mark of an imperative verb or on other forms with an imperative meaning can be moved to the constituent immediately preceding the imperative, if this constituent is emphasized.

(4) Զնջում գալու ժամանակ զանգված տարածաշրջանի:

mí bázak júr tur carav tourist-dat-imp.2.sg

“Give a glass of water to the thirsty tourist!” (i.e. a glass of water, and not a glass of for example wine)

- In imperative sentences, the stress mark may be replaced by an exclamation mark, if the meaning of the imperative form expresses an exclamation (surprise, wish) not a command. In this case, the rise-fall intonation is used on the imperative form:

(5) Եկե-կ’ զուտ-երահագցու:

Eke-IMPER.2.PL friend-pl.nom

“Come friends!”

- In prohibitive sentences, the stress mark is put on the prohibitive particle ու մի:

(6) Մի ասելու հանդիսանքու բնորոշության, տեսնահարմարանք:

(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

Tikín jer pahanj-ē kkatar-v-i

Mrs.NOM your request.NOM-the comply-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG

mí anhangstac’-ek’!

neg worry-IMPER.2.PL

“Madam, your request will be complied with, do not worry!”
2. The stress mark is generally used on vocative forms:

- A stress mark is used for nouns of address. If the noun of address has preposed modifiers, the stress mark is put on the modifier immediately preceding the head noun (with exception of pronouns).

(7) Սահակ, առի բեր ես! (Mayreni 3:59)

Sahak ari du ēl xal-a!
Sahak come-IMP.2.SG du.NOM also play-IMP.2.SG
“Sahak, come and play, too!”

(8) Ես դաշտ, իբրային հոգեկանություն... (Armenpress 09.01.2006)

ew duk’ sireli hndkahay-er
CONJ you dear Indo-Armenian.PL.NOM
“And you, dear Armenians from India…”

(9) Դու հերոսական ընկեր...
im herosakán ênker
my heroic friend.NOM
“My heroic friend…”

- In words of address with preposed modifiers, a stress mark may be replaced by an exclamation mark to express a more emotional meaning; an exclamative rise-fall intonation is used.

(10) Դու խայացի որոշել, ինչպես նշանակվում ունք? (Ar ˚avot 07.04.2006)

im šat sireli ênker šnorhavor-um em kèz!
my INT dear friend.NOM congratulate-PTCP.PRES. I am you.DAT
“My very dear friend, I congratulate you!”

3. A stress mark is used to confirm or negate already uttered words. It is also added to emotional interjections and onomatopoeic words.

(11) Այո, հրապարակված եմ: (Aravot 07.04.2006)

ayó hraparak-v-el en.
yes publish-pass-PTCP.PERF they are
“Yes (indeed), they have been published!”

(12) Ամ, խուսանու՞մ:
če’ če’ č-em uz-um.
no no neg-I am wish-PTCP.PRES.
“No no, I do not want to.”
4. A stress mark is added to words emphasized by the speaker for logical or stylistic purposes, i.e. it additionally marks the functional focus of the sentence.

(15) a. Քհա բոլորի հրավիրեց դահլից!
hima bolor-i-n hravirec'-ek' dahlic!
now all-DAT-the invite-IMP.2.PL hall.NOM
“Now invite all (everybody) to the hall!” (Unmarked sentence; verb is in focus)

b. Քհա բոլորի հրավիրեց դահլից!
himá bolor-i-n hravirec'-ek' dahlic!
now all-DAT-the invite-IMP.2.PL hall.NOM
“Now invite all (everybody) to the hall!” (Marked sentence: stress marking on temporal adverb)

c. Քհա բոլորի հրավիրեց դահլից!
hima bolor-i-n hravirec'-ek' dahlic!
now all-DAT-the invite-IMP.2.PL hall.NOM
“Now invite all (everybody) to the hall!” (Marked sentence, stress marking on direct object; direct object is also in syntactic focus position)

d. Քհա բոլորի դահլից հրավիրեց!
hima bolor-i-n dahlic hravirec'-ek'!
now all-DAT-the hall.NOM invite-IMP.2.PL
“Now invite all (everybody) to the hall!” (Marked sentence: stress marking on “hall”, it is also moved into syntactic focus position)

(16) Կատավարության բոլոր չի կարող որոշել...
Katavarut'yun-ë erbék' ė-i kar-oł oroš-el...
government.NOM-the never neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. decide-INF
“The government is never able to decide…”

(17) Մեկ անգամ էլ ես-իր այդ երգ-է!
mek angám ėl ls-ir ayd erg-ē!
one time.NOM more listen-IMP.2.SG that song.NOM-the
“Listen to that song one more time!”
5. A stress mark is added to correlative conjunctions, but not obligatorily.

(18) Ռուսիական բուժարդաստ բաժինավոր է ոչ բուժարդաստ, ոչ բուժատարած: (Առաջ aravot buhakan t'ert'-er-ê bazmazan en te buyt'-ov ihe newspaper-PL.NOM-the various they are conj character-INSTR te ulvacut'-y-amb.
conj direction-INSTR

“The newspapers of the Institutes of Higher Education are various either in character or in direction.”

(19) Հայ հայերի հարաբերություններն են հայ ոգնված տեսան ինչպես ու բավական, ինչպես կարողանա:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)
inj het er im bžik-ê ov inj ãgnum
1.DAT post he was my doctor.NOM-the rel.NOM I.DAT help-PTCP.PRES.
er ew nyut'apes ew baroyapes.
he was conj physically conj morally.

“With me was my doctor, who used to support me both physically and morally.”

(20) Ուրախ գալով մարդ է հայերի համար գնահատված, խնդիր, ինչպես կարողանա:
(Hetk' 15.01.2007)
ar den kâni tari é irar het kap
already wh-how many year.NOM it is each other post relation.NOM
c'-un-enk' oc' gr-um enk' oc' zang-um.
neg-have-PRES.1.PL conj write-PTCP.PRES we are conj call-PTCP.PRES.

“It is already so many years that we have no relation with each other. We neither write nor call.”

5.1.2 Question mark

- A question mark ‘?’ is used on interrogative words pronounced with a final rise intonation [’], i.e. words that are in the focus of the question.

(21) a. Լիլիթ գահ գրանահանա?
Lilit' é gnác' graxanut'?
Lilit'.NOM-the go-aor.3.sg bookshop.NOM
Did Lilit’ go to a bookshop?” (Unmarked, neutral interrogative sentence).

b. Լիլիթ գահ գրանահանա?
Lilit' é gnác' graxanut'?
Lilit'.NOM-the go-aor.3.sg bookshop.NOM
“Did Lilit’ go to a bookshop? Was it Lilit’ who went to the bookshop?” (Focus on Lilit)
c. Եթենք գալ գրանական կայացումներ՝:

Lilit'-է գնաց' գրանակի՞?

Lilit' NOM-the գնաց' go-AOR.3SG  գրանակի- NOM bookshop.NOM

“Did Lilit' go to a bookshop? Was it a bookshop Lilit' went to?”

(Focus on bookshop)

(22) «Դուք ճիշտ եք», եթե կան գրանակներ: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

gyuł ká or շն է-lin-i?

village.NOM exist-PRES.3SG  շն REL.NOM  Է-lin-NOM  dog.NOM  neg-be-SUBJ.FUT.3SG

“Are there any villages without a dog?”

(23) Միայնուր եթե կան վերահայրակոչող համագույŷը բանվորականությունը ամբ համար:

( Azg 06.04.2006)

aṙaṙ-jum ek' nran aṙxatank'-i է հենա-չն-ել

propose-PTCP.PRES.  you are  he.DAT  work-ABL  remove-caus-INF

k'nnadatut'y-ăn  hamar?

criticism-DAT  POST

“Do you propose to send him away from work because of criticism?”

(24) Անցային գրանական կայացումներ լրացնել է ճիշտ:

(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

inĉ'-or iravakán kargavorum petk' է lin-i?

some juridical regulation.NOM  be-DEB.FUT.3SG

“Should there be some juridical regulation?”

(25) Քնբություն տարբերակություն ծրագրեր է օգտագործելու որ զբանաստային գրի:

(Hetk' 12.02.2007)

film-er-i  negativ-ner-է  ber-v-um

film-PL-DAT  negative-PL.NOM-the  bring-pass-PTCP.PRES.

en  Rusastan-ic'?

they are  Russia-ABL

“Are the negatives of the films brought from Russia? Is it Russia the negatives of the films are brought from?”

– Usually wh-words have the question mark on their last syllable:

(26) «Հաջորդ օրվա հիշի տիրույթը» (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

isk vahn inĉ'- է linel-u?

conj tomorrow wh-what it is  be-PTCP.FUT.

“And what will be tomorrow?”

(27) Հաջմուկ, թե ինքնի՞ եք թերթիկագիր մերժան: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

hac'r'ec'  tě  inĉ-ú  en  im  xndrank'-e  merž-el.

ask-AOR.3SG  conj  wh-why they are  my  request.NOM  refuse-PTCP.PERF

“He asked why they had refused my request.”
5.1.3 Exclamation mark

- An exclamation mark is put on interjections and also onomatopoeic words, which usually have emotional meaning and occur in the exclamative, i.e. rise-fall intonation.

(29) «Ուժամիչ, աղջիկ, ուրեմ ուտնակ, ուրեմ: Կա այս մի ուտումէաֆազ?»:

(Myasnik, nay-i, môm un-enk' môm.)

Hima läys kunen-ank'.
now light.NOM have-COND.FUT.1.PL

“Myasnik, look, we have a candle, a candle! Now we will have light!”

(30) Պրոտկետա որտեղ եր, բառ հայկական ավաս:

(primitive gorc էր bace' in'e'pisă չաշակ!)

It was a primitive work, but what a taste!

(31) Գիրքի էս պատմություն ապարույթական ուժու է, յուր մեք մեզի անհատական բոլոր

(girk'-n im kyank'-i anbažaneli mas-n է méc book.NOM-the my life-DAT inseparable part.NOM-the it is big)

šat mec gradaran em töl-el Bak'-v-um.

very big library.NOM I am leave-PTCP.PERF. Baku-LOC

“The book is (the) an inseparable part of my life, I have left a big, a very big library in Baku.”

- An exclamation mark is put on interrogative-relative and some demonstrative pronouns, in order to emphasize their meaning and endow them with emotional nuances.

395. Please note that is a quotation from colloquial Armenian. The colloquial form with loss of final -r in imperative 2nd SG. is used here.
An exclamation mark may replace the stress mark in imperative verbal forms, in order to endow the speech with emotional nuances, offering a change in the tone to rise-fall intonation.

Each syllable that can be stressed in words also can bear an exclamation mark and thus convey a particular emotional meaning.

The use of an exclamation mark is often combined with the repetition of words, which helps to emphasize an idea or to make the speech more emotional.

The use of a stress mark and an exclamation mark is often preconditioned by the individuality of the writer or author. Some authors use intonation marks to the maximal extent in order to express their thoughts adequately.

5.2. Separation marks

The separation marks are (:) full stop, dot (.), comma (,), short stop (’), brackets (( )) which indicate separations and pauses having grammatical value in sentences and in speech.

5.2.1 Full stop

The full stop is used at the end of independent sentences, expressing comparably long pauses between sentences.

(33) Դս հոքը պետք պատկանի դում պահեքսրի համեր ու այսը:
(Azg 10.01.2006)

This soil-dat post many century-pl-dat post

Armenian-pl-nom they are live-pctp.perf

“For many centuries, Armenians have been living on this soil.”

(34) Հակայք քալելի է ծաղ թե Հայաստանի զարգանում է զարդարեցվելված
(Afavot 07.04.2006)

It is tourism.nom-the
“One often hears that tourism is developing in Armenia.”

A full stop is also used in combinations of independent sentences expressing enumeration, where the first one expresses a general idea and the others are its particular manifestations.

(35) նրանց պատմավախոց հաստատիչ դիմագրություն ուներին բազմաթիվ կապեր միջև ընդմիջ: կարծվում է, որ, ճապ.:
1. սահմանական դիմագրություն ուներ համար իրավունքներն էնթանդրում ընդմիջ:
2. ըստ դիմագրություն ուներ համար իրավունքներն էնթանդրում ընդմիջ:
3. ճապ. դիմագրություն ուներ համար իրավունքներն էնթանդրում ընդմիջ:
4. ճապ. դիմագրություն ուներ համար իրավունքներն էնթանդրում ընդմիջ:

(Հայոց Լեզու 6:111)

Irenc’ arthahayt-ac imast-ner-ov makbay-ner-ě bažan-v-um en çors xmb-i žamanak-i, tel-i, jew-i, ċap’i
1. žamanak-i makbay-ner-ě c’uyč’ en talis gorcolut’y-an katarm-an žamanak
2. tel-i makbay-ner-ě c’uyč’ en talis gorcolut’yan katarm-an tel
3. jew-i makbay-ner-ě c’uyč’ en talis gorcolut’y-an katarm-an jew
4. ċap’-i makbay-ner-ě c’uyč’ en talis gorcolut’y-an katarm-an ċap’

“The adverbs are divided into four groups according to the meaning expressed by them: time, place, manner, measure:

1. Time adverbs show the time of the performance of the action
2. Place adverbs show the place of the performance of the action
3. Manner adverbs show the manner of the performance of the action
4. Measure adverbs show the measure of the performance of the action.”

If the constituents of such combinations are less independent sentences or more closely connected with one another, they can be separated by a dot.

- If in direct speech sentences the main sentence (author/speaker and verb of utterance) occurs between two independent sentences of direct speech, a full stop is put after the main sentence and before the separation dash (-).

(36) Հարեկ, հարավոր և արտաքինություն կար,- Կարտլ է ծավալիք փորագր է թեթ օր, բայց թվարկ ծաղկող գրաֆիկական տեսանկյուն ԱՄՆ-ում: (Armenpress 18.01.2005)

iharke, hnaravor ĕ  pataxanec’ na. Kar-ol ĕ of course possible it is answer-aor.3.sg he.nom can-ptcp.pres. it is čanač’-ēl valēće myus or-ē etē valē hayoc' recognise-inf 3.sg  usa.nom-the genocide.nom-the recognise-subj.fut.3.sg USA.nom-the
“Of course it is possible”, he answered. “He may recognise it the day after tomorrow, if tomorrow the United States recognises the Armenian genocide.”

(37) «Հերեն իրականացնելու հարցը փորձում է, քանի ոչ որոշ, որ հյուսիսային հունգ ավելացնելիս»: (Hetk’ 27.01.2007)

hima barekam-i tan-n enk’ apr-um as-um è now friend-DAT house-DAT-the we are live-PTCP.PRES say-PTCP.PRES. he is
H. Oskerč’yan-è bolor hosankalar-er-è pat-er-i mej H. Oskerč’yan.nom-the all power cable-PL.NOM-the wall-PL-DAT post payt’el en xonavut’y-an hot-è antaneli è. explode-PTCP.PERF they are humidity-DAT smell.nom-the unbearable it is

“Now we live in a friend’s house,” says H. Oskerč’yan. “All the power cables in the walls have exploded and the smell of humidity is unbearable.”

– A full stop is used after titles at the beginning of a line, as e.g. կանոնիթյուն canot’ut’yun “note, remark”, վարժություն varžut’yun “exercise”, խնդիր xndir “problem”, ուսանումներ aňadrank’ “task” and similar words.

(38) Վարժություն 43: Գիտեմ ու կանոնիթյուն ուսումնաալիք կոչվում:
(Patkerazard 1: 23)

varžut’yun 43: gt-ir ew ketadr-ir ullahki Exercise 43 find-IMP.2.SG. conj punctuate-IMP.2.SG direct xosk’-er-n!
speech-PL.NOM-the

“Exercise 43: find and punctuate direct speech (sentences)!”

(39) Ուսանումներ: Հերեն հարցմանըկնք կարող իրականացնել ինչպիսի խնդիրներ: (Mayreni 5:116)

Aňadrank’ Inč’ hatkaniš-ner un-en hek’iat’-ner-um task.NOM wh-what feature-PL.NOM have-PRES.3.PL fairytale-PL-LOC handip-ol kendani-ner-è?
occur-PTCP.SUB. animal-PL.NOM-the

“Task: which features do the animals occurring in fairytales have?”

– A full stop is used in bibliographic lists and footnotes, after each independent bibliographic reference.

(40) Արտունյան Մ., Անարհաբարի կերականություն, վալարապատ, 1908: Արտունյան Մ., Արջյր Ասխարհաբարի, Երևան, 1965:
A full stop is used between sequences or expressions referring to academic, scientific and other similar subjects or themes.

(41) բնական թվեր: Փարու և բազմակողմ թվեր: (Abrahamyan 2004:17)

natural  number-PL.NOM  simple  conj  compound  number-PL.NOM

“Natural numbers: simple and compound numbers.”

A full stop is not put after sentences not connected with the given speech and used independently, such as titles, headlines, names of periodicals, artistic works, appeals or sentences having informative meaning.

(42) 2003 թվականի Երեվանի կոնյակ-ի գորգար-է վարձ-է 2003 year-DAT-the  Yerevan-DAT cognac-DAT  factory.NOM-the  s ell-PTCP.PERF.

“In 2003 Yerevan's cognac factory sold 4,022,812 litres of cognac” (headline)

(43) ինչպիսի լավ բազմակողմանոց Քնարագրություն (Արան 07.04.2006)

inč'ū չ-ք-an  barjrakarg էկսկուրսար-ներ?

wh-why  neg-exist-PRES.3.PL  high-quality  tourist  guide-PL.NOM

“There why there are no high-quality tourist guides” (headline)

(44) Ավանի տաճար

Avan-DAT  temple.NOM-the

“The Church of Avan” (book title)

A full stop is not used after an ellipsis at the end of a sentence, as it has the additional function as full stop.

(45) Մալինկա մոտեցած էր ու իրեն բոլորովին ոչ հատկան բուժացենտրակություն

Malinka-n  motive่า  inj  u  iren  bolorovin

Malinka.NOM-the  approach-AOR.3.SG  i.DAT  conj  she.DAT  absolutely

og' hatuk  erk'ot'ut'y-amb  xndrec’...

neg  special  timidness-INST  ask-AOR.3.SG

“Malinka approached me and asked with a timidy quite unusual for her…”

(46) Նա էնդհանրապես էր երբ վիճակն էր նստված աշխարհի տեղ-ը: Մատյան էր օր, 53 տարեկաններ...

na  èndhanrapes չ-էր  nkar-um  erb  nuynisk

he.NOM  generally  neg-he  was  paint-PTCP.PRES  conj  even

anc'-el  էր  50-է:  Bayc'  m'  òr  53  tarekan-um…
pass-PTCP.PERF. he was 50.NOM-the conj indef day.NOM 53 year-LOC

“He did not paint at all, even when he was over fifty. Even when he had passed his fiftieth birthday. But one day, at the age of 53…”

5.2.2 Dot

- The dot is used between the coordinate constituents of asyndetic sentences, which are significantly independent and are pronounced with a significant pause.

(47) Էսինտեր առթևորական արտադրություն. ինչպես առթևորական արտադրություն:

kami-n dadarec'. amp-er-ě č'r-ec'-in.

wind.NOM-the cease-AOR.3.SG. cloud-PL.NOM-the scatter-antic-AOR.3.PL

šolac' paycař arew-ě.

shine-AOR.3.SG bright sun.NOM-the

“The wind ceased. The clouds scattered. The bright sun started to shine.”

In such cases, the perception of the whole construction plays a certain role. If the single clauses are less independent and are pronounced with a shorter pause, they are separated with commas. If they are more independent and are pronounced with longer pauses, full stops are used.

- The dot is used between asyndetic sentences, which exhibits the explanation, interpretation of the other or indicates a consequence or conclusion.

(48) Մենք նկատալիք են. այդպես զատքի;

menk' ušan-um enk'. petk' ē štap-INF.

we.NOM be late-PTCP.PRES. we are part it is hurry-INF

“We are late. We have to hurry up.”

(49) Ղազանքի հիմնապատկերը է հեռանում իր համագործակցության միջոցով աշխատակից

xndir-ě hetewyal-n ē. injn-ic' šantaž-i ew

problem.NOM-the following.NOM-the it is ABL blackmail-DAT conj

ahabekut'yun-ner-i mijoc'ov gumar-ner en korz-INF.

terror-PL-DAT post amount-PL.NOM they are defraud-pass-PTCP.PERF.

“The problem is the following: amounts have been defrauded from me by means of blackmail and terror.”

(50) Երկու հարց համազգային հիման համակարգման հիմանց և ամբողջական հիմանց

erku harc' xašec'-ik' irar soc'ialakan xndir-ě

two question.NOM mix-AOR.2.PL each other social problem.NOM-the
The dot is used between coordinate clauses of compound sentences, the first of which contains a general assertion and/or description, while the following one (ones) holds one or more specifications of the preceding clause.

(51) Հայրենիքի ասար. «Հայրենիքը ոչի՞նչ չի իմացրել թե որոնտում կչեմ ուրախ մարդիկ։» (Աբրահամյան 2004: 20)

The dot is used between sentences expressing enumeration, the first among which presents the subject or the phenomenon in general, whereas the others present its particular traits or manifestations. In this case, the component clauses are less independent, with a shorter pause between them. (comp. Example (35a). The enumeration may continue on the same line.

(52) Արարատ-ն ասան-է դեղակարմիր-է դան-ում。

The dot is used before direct speech quoted after the author’s words (=verbs of utterance).

(53) Խմբ-ի լեգավար Karen Karapetyan-է հակիր պատասխանեց «Երբ այսպեսինս ինչպես պարզեցի՞»: (Արարատ 06.04.2006)
“The group leader Karen Karapetyan briefly answered: “If there is a necessity, I will assist.”

If the author’s words interrupt direct speech, a dot is put after the author’s speech, before the separating dash.

(54) ــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ~
The group leader Karen Karapetyan briefly answered: “If there is a necessity, I will assist.”

(55) «代谢 体の 形態学による」

“Armenian language: Morphology.”

(56) ــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ~

“And thus (an) aggressive political minority was formed. This is the analysis of the situation.”
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(57) Մենք իրեն հտացվեն այն բացասական դիրքում ու մարդը: Ում բե հյուսի է տեղեկացնել:
(Armenpress 06.05.2006)
menk’ jr-i het miasin naew erexa-y-i-n durs tapec’-ink’
we.NOM water-DAT post together also child-DAT-the pour out-AOR.1.PL
aha te iinc-n e xndir-e.
here CONJ what.NOM-the it is problem.NOM-the
“We also threw out the baby with the bath water. Here you are. This is the problem.”

(58) Նախաձեռքյան կատարելու է ամբողջականություն, վրանորոգություն, թերափություն, ճարտարապետություն.
Tel-i paraga-n kar-ol e artahayt-v-el
place-DAT adverbial modifier.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is express-pass-INF
trakan baqafakan, gorciakan nergoyakan holov-ner-ov.
Dative Ablative Instrumental Locative case-PL-INST
“The adverbial modifier of place can be expressed with dative, ablative, instrumental and locative cases.”

(59) Հովհ. Տումանյան-ն ամենայն հայոց բանաստեղծուհու է:
(Hayoc’ lezu 8:148)
Hovh. T’umanyan-n amenayn hayoc’ banastele-n e.
Hovh. T’umanyan.NOM-the all Armenian poet.NOM-the he is
“Hovhannes T’umanyan is the poet of all Armenians.”

(60) 2006թ. փետրվարի-ին մահացեց նրա մայրը: (Hetz’ 15.01.2007)
2006 t’ petrvar-i-n mahac-el e nra mayr-e.
2006 y. February-DAT-the died-PTCP.PERF. she is his mother.NOM-the
“In February of the year 2006 his mother died.”

(61) Հազարավոր ամբողջություն այժմ Չիռփվում չինկանալիս է հայտնվել, քննարկելով դիմարման համար: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)
zruyc’-i ent’ack’um prn Kostin-è shnorhaku’t-yun e
conversation-DAT post prn Kostin.NOM-the gratitude.NOM he is
haytn-è endunelut’y-an hamar.
express-PTCP.PERF. reception-DAT post
“During the conversation, Mr. Kostin expressed his gratitude for the reception.”
The abbreviated forms of measurements are written without a dot, e.g. û (մետր) m (metr), ù (կիլոմետր) km (kilometr) “km, kilometre”, (գրամ) g (gram) “gr, gram”, un (տոննա) t (tonna) “t, ton”, й (լիտր) l (litre) “l, litre”, ю (րոպ) r (rope) “min., minute”, Ժ (ժամ) ž (ţam) “h., hour; o’ clock”, etc.

5.2.3 Comma
– The comma is used between main and subordinate clauses.

When main and subordinate clauses are not connected with conjunctions, they are usually separated with a short stop (’).
The comma is used between coordinate asyndetic clauses

(66) notin t’v-um e sat-er-è henc’ dranic’
1.DAT seem-PTCP.PRES. it is many-PL.NOM the just it-ABL
en tuž-el.
they are suffer-PTCP.PERF.

“It seems to me many have just suffered from this.”

- The comma is used between coordinate asyndetic clauses

(67)  gišer-è mfiayl ēr u xavar antar-um c’urt ēr u kami.
night.NOM the cold-LOC forest-LOC dark it was CONJ windy

“The night was gloomy and dark; in the forest it was cold and windy.”

- The comma is used between coordinate syndetic clauses, except connected with the conjunctions - and, ni u “and”, and ãw kam “or”.

(68)  erknk'-um amprop ēr orot-um bayc’ anjrew
sky-LOC thunder.NOM it was ROAR-PTCP.PRES CONJ rain.NOM
č’-ēr gal-is.
neg-it was COME-PTCP.PRES

“Thunder was roaring in the sky, but no rain was falling.”

(69)  nra bnakaran-è 9 harkani šenk’-i verjin hark-um ē
his appartement.NOM the 9 storeyed building-DAT last floor-LOC it is
sakayn na oč’ mi òr ayntel č’-i apr-el.
CONJ he neg INDEF day.NOM there neg-he is live-PTCP.PERF.

“His apartment is on the last floor of a nine-storey building, but he has not lived there a single day.”

- The comma is used between coordinate clauses connected with the conjunctions - and, ni u “and”, ãw kam “or”, if the clauses have no common subject.

(70)  garun-è bac’-v-ec’ ew ēvöl
spring.NOM-the open-antic-aor.3SG CONJ migrant
t’čun-ner-è veradarj-an.
bird-PL.NOM-the return-aor.3.PL

“Spring begun and the migratory birds returned.”
(71) Elbor arvestanoc'-um mnac' mi k' ani tari u nra
brother-DAT atelier-LOC stay-AOR.3.SG s ome year.NOM conj his
anun-n arden durs ek-av arvestanoc'-'ic'.
name.NOM-the already go out-AOR.3.SG atelier-ABL.
“He stayed some years in his brother's atelier, and his name already came out from
the atelier.”

– The comma is used between complex coordinate clauses connected with the conjunc-
tions әew “and”, әu “and”, әkam “or”, which have a common subject. In this case,
the two coordinated clauses are ‘interrupted’ by another clause, either a subordinate
clause or a participial construction.

(72) menk' čanaparh ěnk-ank erb luys-ē nor ēr
we.NOM set forth-AOR.1.PL conj light.NOM-the new it was
bac'-.v-el ew tel has-ank' uš erekoyan.
open-antic-PTCP.PERF conj place.NOM reach-AOR.1.PL late evening
“We set forth when it had just dawned and we reached the place in the
late evening.”

– The comma is used between the coordinated constituents if they are not connected
with the conjunctions әew “and”, әu “and”, and әkam “or”.

(73) pat-er-i-n kax-.v-ac ěin nizak-ner
wall-PL-DAT-the hang-antic-PTCP.RES they were lance-PL.NOM
teg-er dašuyn-ner.
pike-PL.NOM dagger-PL.NOM
“On the walls there were hanging lances, pikes and daggers.”

(74) tak' arewot ŏr ēr.
hot sunny day.NOM it was
“It was a hot, sunny day.”

Coordinated constituents are also separated with a comma if one of them is expressed with
a participial construction.

(75) mošac'-.v-ac hefu antař ē.
forget-pass-PTCP.RES far forest.NOM it is
“It is a far, forgotten forest.”
The comma is used between parenthetical words, phrases, clauses and other sentence constituents. Usually, interjections and adverbs words express parenthetical words.

(76) **menk’ iharke šat urax enk’ or halt’éc’-ink’,**
we.nom of course very happy we are conj win-aor.1.pl
“We are, of course, very happy that we have won.”

(77) **du anšušt un-es ko sir-ac ton-er-ē,**
you.nom certainly have-pres.2.sg your love-ptcp.res. feast-pl.nom-the
“You do certainly have your favourite feasts.”

(78) **O’ë, ñw żaw hñuwpnqēhē t:** (Mayreni 3:162)
O da šat hetak’rk’ir ē.
o that very interesting it is
“Oh, that is very interesting.”

The comma is used between direct address (vocative) and the other sentence constituents.

(79) **tl’a uz-um es këz het-s,**
boy.nom-my want-ptcp.pres you are you.dat post-my
mayrak’alak’ tan-em?
capital.nom take-subj.fut.1.sg
“My boy (son), do you like (that) I take you with me to the capital?”

The comma is used between words and sentences connected with correlative conjunctions u… u ew…ew “and… and, both…and”, φë… φë t’e…t’e “either… or”, įwū… įwū kam….kam “either… or”, and ng… ng oc’…oc’ “neither… nor”.

(80) **ays harc-ē barjac’-v-el ēr ew marzayin,**
this question.nom-the raise-pass-ptcp.perf. it was conj provincial
ayc’elat’yun-ner-i žamanak ew varčapet-i araj.
visit-pl-dat time.nom conj prime minister-dat post
“This question had been raised both during visiting provinces and before the prime minister.”

Embedded participial and infinitive constructions are separated with two commas.
(81) Անվճար, ապացուցեցի հետև ապստամբություն, նման օրինակ գտնվելուց:

\[ nr\text{rank'} \text{ avart-}el{-}\text{ov} \text{ irenc' ašxatank'{-}ě sksec'{-}in } \]

they.NOM finish-INF-INST their work.NOM-the start-AOR.3.PL

\[ ōgnel \text{ ěnker-}er{-}i{-}n. \]

help-INF friend-PL-DAT-the

“Finishing their work, they started to help the(ir) friends.”

(82) Աստվածանուն գնալու պատճառով, պատմական հետև նմանի համար,

\[ Babelon{-}um \text{ gtn-}v{-}ol \text{ parsik-}er{-}ě vaxenal{-}ov \text{ irenc'} \]

Babelon-LOC locate-refl-PTCP.SUB. Persian-PL.NOM-the fear-INF-INST their

\[ kyank'{-}i \text{ hamar č'{-}hamarjak{-}v{-}ec'{-}in } \text{ durs g{-}al } \text{ makedonac'i{-}ner{-}i{-}i } \text{ dem. } \]


“The Persians located in Babylon did not dare to go out against the Macedonians

(because of) being afraid for their lives.”

The comma is put before and after adverbial modifiers of reason and concession,

(83) Այս գրականություն, համաձայն հիմնադրամային, համաձայն արտաքին բյուջե

\[ ayd \text{ erkr{-}er{-}ě \text{ hamajayn hetazuty'{-}an } \text{ iskakan arhavirk' } \text{ en } \]

that country-PL.NOM-the research-DAT post real disaster.NOM they are

\[ xosk'{-}i \text{ azatu}ty'{-}an \text{ hamar. } \]

speech-DAT freedom-DAT POST

“According to research, those countries represent (are) a real disaster for freedom

of speech.”

(84) Այստեղ, սրնել են, արտաքին, ինտերնետ, սրամապահական ռազմականին թողարկվելուց:

\[ menk' \text{ ēst } \text{ ēty'{-}an } \text{ č'{-}un-enk' } \text{ liaržek' paštonakan } \]

we PREP substance-DAT neg-have-PRES.1.PL of value official

\[ banakc'ayin gorcěnt'ac'. \]

negotiating process.NOM

In fact, we do not have an official, full of value, negotiating process.”

The comma is used after an apposition, if the sentence continues.
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(85) Ուսումնա-տուրքիայի տեղեկագրությունները, ոյի այս կտավը ստացել:
(Sahakyan/Sahakyan a 2004: 63)
Sayat'-Nova-n ergič'-banastelc-è mi pah kang ař-av.
Sayat-Nova.NOM-the singer-poet.NOM-the INDEF moment stop-AOR.3.SG
“Sayat'-Nova, the singer and poet, stopped a moment.”

(86) Սիրանուշի Մորիզ, պատան թարգմանական և ժամանակավոր, ինչպես է ուսումնա
առկայից ապահովված... (Hetk' 26.02.2007)
Tikin Siranuš-è orpes bazmazavak ew miaynak mayr
Mrs. Siranuš,NOM-the as many-children conj solitary mother.NOM
dim-um è tarber petakan kaňuc-ner-i.
apply-PTCP.PRES she is various national building-PL-DAT
“Mrs. Siranuš, single mother of many children, applies to various national
institutions...”

A comma is not used after apposition in the following cases:

1. If the apposition is followed by a noun in another case, which cannot be confused with
the apposition:

(87) Թումանյանի հայ մարդու թարգմանչությունները թարգմանական ծագ
իբներում են: (Sahakyan/Sahakyan 2004a: 68)
T’umanyan-i hay mec banastelc-i erk-er-è
T’umanyan-DAT Armenian great poet-DAT work-PL.NOM-the
tàrgman-v-el en ašxarh-i šat lezu-ner-ov.
translate-pass-PTCP.PERC. they are world-DAT many language-PL-INST
“The works of T’umanyan, the great Armenian poet, have been translated in many
languages of the world.”

2. If the apposition is followed by a postposition;

(88) Նա իր մոր ուրախ նախագահի ինչպես է իր ինչպես ենգգրավություն: (Abrahamyan 2004: 32)
na ir mor orpes aţajin xorhrdatu-i het
he.NOM his mother-DAT as first adviser-DAT POST
èl xorhrdakc’èc.
also deliberate-AOR.3.SG
“He also deliberated with his mother, as (his) primary adviser.”

3. If the apposition bears the logical stress of the sentence (i.e. it is in “prosodic” focus)
and at the same time the finite verb or the auxiliary follow the apposition (i.e. it is in
“preverbal” syntactic focus), the comma is not put after the apposition.
(89) amen angam elbayr-s Vardan-n è õgn-um nran. 
“Every time brother nom my Vardan nom the he is help ptcp.pres he dat 
“It is my brother, Vardan, who helps him every time.”

(90) Amr˚-an-è amenaarewot ēr-er-i-n è na 
“Summer dat the sunniest day pl dat the he is he nom 
In summer, on the sunniest days he likes to sit in the sun.”

4. If the apposition is followed by the (focusing) adverbs ël “also, still, more etc.”, ëw ëw “also, too”, wûa wûa angam “even”.

(91) im kurs-i avag-è Anuš-n èl im karcık’-i-n è. 
“The oldest of my course, Anuş, also agrees with me.” (lit. is of also of my opinion)

– The comma is put after postposed noun modifiers, if the sentence continues. However, 
also a short stop or dot may follow the apposition.

(92) zzveli elanak ēr xonav c’urt maרaxlapat. 
“It was a horrible weather, humid, cold and misty.”

– The comma is used before explanatory words, such as wû ū ayn è, wûhûrû ëysink’n both “that means, it is; i.e.” etc.

(93) ašxatank’-ner-è ktew-en 1 tari 8 amis ëysink’n 2009 t’. 
“The works will last one year, 8 months, i.e. the works will be finished” (in) the year 2009.”
The comma is used between the data in bibliographic references.

(94) Գ.Բ. Ջահուկյան, ժամանակակից հայերենի տեսության հիման վրա, Երևան, 1974, էջ 53.

5.2.4 Grave accent = Short stop

The short stop is used before multiple postposed indefinite subjects, if the predicate is nominal.

(95) Հայաստան-ի ամենամեծ ոչքին են Երևան
Armenia-DAT most-big town.PL.NOM-the they are Yerevan.NOM
Gyumri Vanajor.
Gyumri.NOM Vanajor.NOM
“Armenia’s biggest towns are Yerevan, Gyumri and Vanajor.”

The short stop is used before enumeration, or if the enumerated items are words or word-combinations.

(96) Երկու պատեր են՝ եթե այնքան էր, այնուհետև, այդպես՝ (Մայրենի 5:131)
verb PL.NOM-the have-PRES.3.PL three person.NOM first.NOM
erkroid errord.
second.NOM third.NOM
“The verbs have three persons: first, second and third.”

The dot, or comma, is used after the word preceding enumeration, if it follows a sentence, or if the enumerated items are sentences.

The short stop is used before an apposition.

(97) Պետրոս իմ եռակի էր, իսկ իմ եռակի:
Petros-ը im elbayr-է lav ē erg-um.
Petros.NOM-the my brother.NOM-the good he is sing-PTCP.PRES.
“Petros, my brother, sings well.”

(98) իմ եռակի Պետրոս էր
im elbayr-է Petros-ը lav ē erg-um.
my brother.NOM-the Petros.NOM-the good he is sing-PTCP.PRES.
“My brother, Petros, sings well.”
(99) Կարելի է, որ գտնելի գրական գործիչ լինի է:

*Vahe-i-n orpes lezvaban-i bolor-ӗ gov-um en.*

*Vahe-DAT-the as linguist-DAT all.NOM-the praise-PTCP.PRES. they are*

“All praise Vahe as a linguist.”

If the apposition is preposed, a short stop is put after it:

(100) Կարելի է, որ գտնելի գրական գործիչ լինի է:

*orpes lezvaban-i Vahe-i-n bolor-ӗ gov-um en.*

*as linguist-DAT Vahe-DAT-the all.NOM-the praise-PTCP.PRES. they are*

“As a linguist all praise Vahe”

If a finite verb (or auxiliary) occurs between a noun and its apposition, a short stop is used after the verb or words related to it.

(101) Համարելով նոր գրքի գրական գործիչ, էմ որենք հանձնենք:

*Balakyan-i nor grk'-i masin Ani-n ě*

*Balakyan-DAT new book-DAT post Ani.NOM-the she is*

*patm-el im ĭneruhi-n.*

*tell-PTCP.PERF. my friend.NOM-the*

“It was Ani, my friend, who told me about Balakyan’s new book.” or “Ani, my friend, told me about Balakyan’s new book.”

The short stop is used before a syntactic heavy NP attributes postposed to the head noun. 397

(102) Այս քիչից ինք աշխարհ է, քան նպատակի որոշույթ, գրականություն: 396

*na gelečik mi aljik ēr bac' kapuyt aćk'-er-ov*

*she.NOM beautiful INDEF girl she was light blue eye-PL-INST*

*gangur maz-er-ov.*

*curly hair-PL-INST*

“She was a beautiful girl, with light blue eyes and curly hair.”

(103) Սելանին տափաստան հանդես է, որ թաղվածքը գրականություն զարգանալի ապարատազմում: (Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004a: 61)

*Selan-i-n dv-ac ēr mi tanak'aman*

*table-DAT-the put-pass-PTCP.PERF. it was INDEF ink-pot.NOM*

*spitak marmar-ic' patrast-v-ac.*

*white marble-ABL make-pass-PTCP.RES.*

“As an ink-pot, made from white marble, was put on the table.”

396. The meaning here consists of (a) more than two modifiers, (b) of a combination of attributive modifiers or determiners and noun in nominative, dative, instrumental, ablative.

397. One has to emphasise that the postposition of noun phrase modifiers/attributes is a highly stylistic means in literature and represents a marked word-order.
If a finite verb or auxiliary appears between the head noun and postposed attributes, the short stop follows the verb.

(103) a. ñëñòîðóþ ìîå ñ íàêøëè ò áûòè ìàãðîìíàìèöèè, ïîíàëåííûì ñûâàíèåì:

`mer tun mi al̲j̲ì̲k ̲è̲ ek-̲el̲ bac'̲ kapu̲yt_`  
our house.nom indef girl.nom she is come·ptcp.prf. light blue

`ač'k'-̲er̲-̲ov̲ gangur maz-̲er̲̲-̲̲-̲ov̲̲_`  
eye·pl·inst curly hair·pl·inst

“A girl with light blue eyes and curly hair came to our house.”

– The short stop separates preposed and postposed infinitive or participial constructions from other constituents of the sentence. The short stop is put on/after the infinitive or participial construction, if it is preposed. If it is, however, postposed, the short stop is put on/before the word immediately preceding the infinitive or participial construction.

(104) ñëñòîðóþ ìîå ñ íàêøëè ò áûòè ìàãðîìíàìèöèè, ïîíàëåííûì ñûâàíèåì òòäåëíîñòðåííûì ò íòèøëå âûïðîñó: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

`ašxatel-ov̲ mranc’̲ het haskae'-̲ank'̲ or̲ work·inf·inst they.dat post understand·aor.1.pl conj_`  
mankatun-̲è̲ bazmat’i̲v̲ hetewank’-̲ner̲ ē̲ children’s home.nom-the numerous consequence·pl.nom it is

`tol-̲el̲ mranc’̲ vra_`  
leave·ptcp.perf. they.dat post

“Working with them, we understood that the children’s home had left numerous after effects on them.”

(105) ñëñòîðóþ ìîå ñ íàêøëè ò áûòè ìàãðîìíàìèöèè, ïîíàëåííûì ñûâàíèåì òòäåëíîñòðåííûì ò íòèøëå âûïðîñó: (Azg 03.03.2006)

`ir gorc-n̲ avart-ac̲ hamar-el-ov̲ despan-̲è̲ his work·nom-the finish·ptcp.res. regard·inf·inst ambassador.nom-the_`  
`hangist šuné’̲ kåšec’. quiet breath.nom take·aor.3.sg_`

“Regarding his work finished, the Ambassador took a quiet breath.”

(106) ñëñòîðóþ ìîå ñ íàêøëè ò áûòè ìàãðîìíàìèöèè, ïîíàëåííûì ñûâàíèåì ïðåäñòàâëÿþòñÿ íàêøëèì ïðèìåíåííûì ãðóïïèñòè: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

`mi ̲ò̲r̲ orosèc’-i̲ hanrapetut’y-an naxagah-i-n̲ indef day.nom decide·aor.1.sg republic·dat president·dat-the_`  
`heñagir̲ ulark-el̲ xndrel-ov̲ ěndun-el̲ inj̲. telegram.nom send·inf ask·inf·inst receive·inf 1.dat_`

“One day I decided to write a telegram to the Republic’s president, asking him to receive me.”
(107) Սակայն սա չի ինդումին, բայց Հայաստանի փոքր խումբի համար այսպիսի սարքավորում համար հայտնի է: (Արավոտ 05.04.2006)

Sakayn sa չ-ի nšanak-um է tē Hayastan-է piti
conj this neg-it is mean-PTCP.PRES. conj Armenia.nom-the part
kayl-er չ-jeñark-i
step-pl.nom neg-undertake-DEB.FUT.3.SG. joint satellite.nom
unenal-u hamar.
have-INF-DAT post

“But this does not mean that Armenia shall not undertake steps to have a joint satellite.”

In complex sentences, the position of infinitive or participial construction is also preposed or postposed to its main clause. The rules for punctuation as given above, also apply in this case:

(108) Եւ դիտարկությունը չի համարվում, որ Հայաստանի կողմից ապահովվի այս կարծիքը նախապատրաստված ընթերցություն է: (Հետ' 05.02.2007) (postposed)

ev džvar չ-է haskan-al or p'axstakan-ner-n ahanjin
conj difficult neg-it is understand-INF conj refugee-pl.nom-the separate
azg en merž-v-ac bolor azg-er-i kolmic'.
nation.nom they are neglect-pass-PTCP.RES. all nation-pl-dat post

“And it is not difficult to understand that refugees are a separate nation, being neglected by all (other) nations.”

Infinitive and participial constructions may also occur embedded; in this case they are separated from the other words of the sentences with commas.

(109) Նրանք, հաջողությամբ ավարտել ու ավարտեց աշխատանքը, ավելի նպատակազնա-

Nrank' ha jolot'y-amb avartel-ov օր-va ašxatank'-է goh
they.nom success-inst finish-inst day-dat work.nom-the satisfied
veradarj-an tun.
return-AOR.3.PL house.nom

“Finishing their work successfully, they returned home satisfied.”

If a preposed infinitive construction is followed by a subordinate clause depending on the infinitive, it is separated from the rest of the sentence either with a short stop (a) or with a comma (b).

(110) ա. Ստեղծել, որ այս ընդհանուր դեպքում գիտենք իբ:  
tesnel-ov or arew է gal-is na orošec'
see-INF-INST conj sun.nom it is go-PTCP.PRES. he.nom decide-AOR.3.SG
gn-al lič.
go-INF lake.nom

“Seeing that the sun was shining, he decided to go to a lake.”
b. Seeing that the sun was shining, he decided to go to a lake.

The rule of separating preposed infinitive constructions is also employed when it is followed by a coordinated constituent (and also when it is preceded by a coordinated constituent).

(111) a. Throwing a glance at the window of the opposite house, he passed the street quickly, with big steps.

In such cases, the comma may also be used after preposed and before postposed infinitive constructions according to the rule of separating coordinated constituents.

- The short stop separates adverbial modifiers of reason and concession combined with the adpositions (or adpositional phrases քան էստ “in accordance with”, համաձայն hamajayn “according to”, համապատասխան hamapatasxan “respective to”, հակառակ hakašak “against”, հանդեյո handeri “with, inspite of”, ցույց čnayac “despite of; although”, չհաշվում čhasvac “not counted”, փոխատես pox anak “instead of”, ի տարբերակ i tarberut’yun “unlike”, բացի bac’i “except”, զատ zat “except”, բացառատեսք bac’at’yamb “except” etc. from the other constituent of a sentence, independent whether the adverbial modifier is pre- or postposed.
Despite of the cold weather he was dressed quite lightly.

Unlike previous years the fertilizer was sold this year by means of an auction.

Smbat had given his agreement against his views.

The system has been applied in 38 railway stations of the Republic, except the station Yerevan-Yerasx.
(116) According to H. Abrahamyan, it was also spoken about the ministers’ paid visits to the provinces.

The short stop is used after the words Վատ “first”, Վատapa “then”, Վատ athen “first”, ինտերիոր erkord “second”, ինտերիոր errord “third”, ինտերիոր Հորորd “forth”, etc., introducing enumeration.

(117) The increase of the disease is conditioned first by the factor of heredity and second by social-economic and a stressful strained state.

The short stop is used after explanatory expressions such as Անջեն “so”, Անջեն ayispov “so”, Կարդ ayn “that is”, Կարդ ayrink’ “that is”, Օրեն “for example”, etc.

(118) The company’s legal address is Alek’ Manukyan (street) 5, i.e. the building of the Public Broadcasting company.”
When occurring embedded, the explanatory words այսպիսով “thus” and օրինակ “for example” are regarded as parenthetic and separated with two commas.

- The short stop is used for marking the pause at the place of an omitted sentence constituent, i.e. in ellipsis, particularly in ellipsis of grammatical subject and predicate.

(119) Վահան գնաց տուն, Արսեն դպրոց.
Vahan NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG house NOM conj Arsen NOM-the school NOM
“Vahan went home and Arsen to school.”

a. The short stop is used instead of omitted words in titles, headlines and other independently functioning expressions (also slogans).

(120) Նոր սերունդ-ը մեր հույս-ը.
new generation NOM-the our hope NOM-the
“The new generation (is) our hope.”

(121) Սերժ Սարգսյան-ը Հայաստան-ի հանրապետության նոր նախագահը.
Serz Sargsyan NOM-the Armenia DAT republic DAT new president NOM-the
“Serž Sargsyan- the new president of the Republic of Armenia”

b. The short stop is used before very brief, often one-word, indirect speech, when it is cited without quotation marks.

(122) Հրավիրեց-ի նրան մի անգամ էվ նա էնդունեց.
Horavirec-INVITE-AOR.1.SG he DAT indef time conj he NOM accept-AOR.3.SG
asel-ov kga-m.
say-INST come-COND.FUT.1.SG
“I invited him once, and he accepted by saying, “I will come.’’”

(123) Ինքն էլ ասաց-ի տուն-ը աճուր-ը.
they NOM also say-AOR.3.PL house NOM-the auction DAT
dn-enk’ vača-enk’.
put-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL sell-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL
“They also said, “We shall put the house up for auction, we shall sell it.’’”

c. The short stop occurs in informative expressions used outside connected speech, after the word requiring additional information.
Chapter 5. Punctuation

5.2.5  Brackets

Brackets () or [ ] are used to enclose parenthetical words, expressions and clauses having explanatory value, as well as samples of marks.

(124) խմբագիր U. Վարդանյան

xmbagir  S. Vardanyan
xmbagir.NOM S. Vardanyan.NOM

“Editor: S. Vardanyan”

(125) Անվանական կարգ ընդհանուր

mstk’-ē  bak-i  kolmc’
entrance.NOM-the  courtyard-DAT  POST

“Entrance from the courtyard”

d.  The short stop is used before a postposed adverbial modifier of purpose, if it does not immediately follow the final verb.

(126) Առավոտ-ըն գյուղ-ի հարս-ի դն-ը ջկ-ի
morning-DAT village-DAT bride-PL.NOM-the  go-PTCP.PRES. they were
albyur-ē  j-ri.
spring.NOM-the  water-DAT

“In the morning the village’s brides used to go to the spring for water.”

(127) Երբ է հնարավոր սարքավոր համակարգ, տեղեկատվություն համակարգի բացում

erb or hingerord angam xcan-v-ec’  noric dimec’-ink’
conj  fifth  time  plug-pass-AOR.3.SG  again  apply-AOR.1.PL
hamatirut’yun bac’-el-u  hamar.
co-owner.NOM  open-INF-DAT  POST

“And when it got plugged the fifth time, we applied again to the co-owner to open (it)”

If an infinite verb in bare dative is used to convey the meaning of an adverbial of purpose, it is separated irrespective of the place of the final verb (predicate).

(128) Երբ հնարավոր առաջարկ տեղեկատվություն տեղեկագրություն տեղեկատվություն

ev es/menk’ stac’-el  enk’  bavarar telekatvut’yun  tal-u
conj I/we  receive-PTCP.PERF. we are enough information.NOM  give-INF-DAT
ays  telekac’-v-ac  hamajaynut’yun-ē.
this advise-pass-PTCP.RES  agreement.NOM-the

“And I/we have received enough information (in order) to give this advised agreement.”
(129) Հայոց լեզվում կարելի լսել Արմենական գրականության գրությունը (արմկերտ գրականության): (Հայոց լեզվի 8: 157)

Raffi\-n \-cn-\-v-\-el \-è \-Salmast \-gavaf-i
Raffi.NOM\-the  \-bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. \-he  \-is \-Salmast \-province-DAT
P'ayajuk  \-gyul-\-um  \-(ayżm  Parskastan-\-um).
P'ayajuk  \-village-\-LOC  \-(now  Iran-\-LOC)

“Raffi was born in the village of P'ayajuk in the province of Salmast (now in Iran).”

The [ ] brackets are preferably used in scientific literature, or to show that a word is inserted for better understanding of an utterance.

(130) Մեր մասում [նուրք] հերք մերբանք մերջ:  
aha Adam \-[elav] \-ibrew  \-mezac' \-mek-\-ę.
thus  Adam.NOM \-[be-aor.3SG]  \-as \-we.ABL \-one.NOM\-the

“Thus Adam [was] like one of us.”

5.3 Specification marks

The specification marks used in SMEA are: quotation marks (» «), dash (–), hyphen (-), apostrophe (’), three dots (…) and ellipsis (…) which contribute to the correct understanding of the meaning of words, sentences and relations between their components. Here, the use of specification marks will only be briefly described.

a. Quotation marks (» «) are used:
   - to primarily enclose direct speech,
   - with titles of literary, scientific and artistic works, as well as newspapers and journals when quoted in a text,
   - with conventional names societies, institutions, organizations, the brands of equipment and machines,
   - with words or expressions used in ironical or negative sense,
   - with words or other linguistic units when mentioned or discussed in a text,
   - They are however not used in bibliographic lists and foot- or endnotes.

b. Hyphen (-) is used:
   - in compounds formed by reduplication of the same word, such as կամակ’-կամակ’ “slowly”, մեկ-մեկ “sometimes”, օլոր-մոլոր “winding”, etc.\(^{398}\)

\(^{398}\) Exceptions to this rule are compounds where one component represents a fossilized form, such as թարգմանություն tnetun, գիրքառնային gyulegyul, տարեկան tareclari, etc.
in word combinations consisting of two same parts of speech, which denote objects, persons, phenomena in different aspects, such as ևնության-ապահովություն inžener-mechanik “engineer-mechanician”, տուն-թանգարան tun-tangaran “house-museum”, հետազոտություն hyusis-arewelk’ “Northeast”, տեղ-տեղում asel-xosel “to say and speak”, ինչ-ինչ utel-xmel “to eat and drink”, երկր-ուղեկցություն Elaz-Lot’ringia “Alsace-Lorraine”, արձակ-արձակություն ašakert-asakerti “male-female pupil” etc.,
- in word combinations expressing relations of languages, peoples or countries (the first component, with reduced suffix), such as e.g. հայ-ռուսեր hay-r̄useren “Armenian-Russian”, գերման-իտալական germana-italakan “German-Italian”, տիպապույտ-սիրիական egipta-siriakan “Egyptian-Syrian”, etc.399
- in personal or family names with initial components as տեր, մելիկ Melik’, մելիկ Mirza, if they are pronounced separately, such as e.g. սեր-իբրահիմյան Ter-Gabrielyan, մելիկ-Մյուսյան Melik’-Musyan, իբրահիմ-եկամունি Mirza-Avagyan etc.,400
- foreign proper names consisting of two or more components written as separate words, without a hyphen, such as լեոնարդ դա վինչեստի optimate, լյուդվիգ վան բեթվենոն Ludwig van Beethoven, Հարուն այ նորզելիա “Garun is a bisyllabic

399. Note however, that the following word combinations are not written with hyphen:
- word-combinations, the first component of which is an attribute expressed by an adjective or a noun, such as ավագան կաձելական bac’delín “light yellow”, մուկ կարմիր mug karmir “dark red”, Նոր Զելանդիա Nor Zelandia “New Zealand”, Վերին Տալին Verin Talín, ՀայաստանIAN Hefavor Arewelk’ “Far East”, etc.
- adjectives and nouns derived from the above-mentioned toponyms are written as a solid word, such as հայաստանական hefavorarewelyan “Far-Eastern”, տիպապույտ-ասիական pokrasiakan “minor asian”, վերինական verint’alinec’i “citizen of Verin Talín”, etc.
- combinations of personal names and nouns characterizing certain aspects of the activity of the relevant persons such as e.g. իբրահիմից հայաստանց Shirvanzade dramaturg i “the dramatic adviser Shirvanzade”, Ռաֆֆի簸՜ վիպասան Rafﬁ vipasanē “the novelist Rafﬁ”.

400. տեր Ter “lord, master”, մելիկ Melik’ < arab. malik, ամլակ “king” was an Armenian hereditary title of nobility in Eastern Armenia; միրզা mirza < pers. mirzā “prince” an Armenian-Persian. Note, that if such words are pronounced without a pause, they are written without a hyphen, such as e.g. միրզային Melik’set'(yan), etc. If տեր ter, մելիկ melik’, etc. are used as appositions with personal names they are written separately, such as Սեր Սահակ Ter Sahak “Lord Sahak; (not celibate) Father Sahak”, մելիկ Melik’ Avan “King Avan”, etc.
word”; «եթե»-ից անց սանոթավոր լին: ete-i’c’ araj storaket dir! “Before “et’e” put a dot.” etc,
- in combinations of words and symbols expressed both with letters and figures such as U-93 բենզին  A-93 benzin “A-93 benzine”, S61-104 ինկ’նատ’իր TU-104 ink’nat’ir “airplane TU-104” etc.
- The hyphen (-) is secondarily used in line division.

c. The dash (--) is used:
- before each part of dialogue that starts with a new line; between the direct speech and author’s speech in one sentence, a comma with a dash is used,
- between the speaker’s name and his speech, (in dramatic writings and dialogues),
- in explanations of words – between the word and its explanation,
- between words or figures, the first of which indicates the origin, the initial point of something and the other, the end, the final point, such as ցատկվածություն թված տևոր 10–21-րդ, Hanraxanut’ ĕ bac’ ē žamē 10–21ĕ. “The shop is open from 10–21 o’clock.”
- between enumerated words or expressions, the second of which contains some information about the first, expressing various relations, (personage and his traits, role and actor, author and work, etc.).

d. The apostrophe (’) is only used in the writing of foreign names starting with d, O, etc., which in the corresponding languages are also written with apostrophe, such as e.g. Ժաննա d’Ark “Jeanne d’Arc”, Ալեմբերտ d’Alamber “d’Alembert”, Անունց’ io d’Anunc’io “d’Annunzio”, Օ’Հենրի O’Henry “O’Henry”, etc.

e. Three dots (... ) are used in sentences presenting a speaker’s utterance incompletely, especially when he wants to express an unexpressed feeling or emotion. Three dots may occur in the beginning, middle or end of a sentence, dependent on the part of the sentence to which the unexpressed emotion is related.

f. Ellipsis mark (four or more dots) is sometimes used in abridged parts of quotations.
This chapter shall give an overview of important structured semantic fields that might be of area linguistic or typological interest.

6.1 Kinship terminology

Modern Eastern Armenian kinship terminology represents the bifurcative-collateral type: in Armenian kinship terminology one does not only distinguish kinship by blood, by marriage and by adoption but also by paternal and maternal lines.

a. Kinship by blood

հայր hayr “father”
մայր mayr “mother”
պապ pap “grandfather”
տատ tat “grandmother”
զավակ zavak “child in the sense of offspring”; in colloquial Armenian also բալիկ, բալա.
որդи ordi “son”; more frequently and particularly in spoken Armenian տղա tla
դուստր dustr “daughter”; more frequently and particularly in spoken Armenian աղջիk
անդրանիկ andranik “first born son”
եղբոր elbayr “brother”
կիր k’uyr “sister”
պոպ(ի) t’or(nik) “grandchild”

հորելբայր horelbayr “paternal uncle” (father’s brother); in colloquial Armenian հոպար hopar.
կերի keri “maternal uncle” (=mother’s brother)

401. In some regions of Armenia even maternal grandparents are distinguished lexically, see Malxaseanc’ III:245,c. 1. as in մամ mam maternal grandmother vs. տատ tat “paternal grandmother”.
hərəpqin horakʻuyr “paternal aunt” (father’s sister), in colloquial Armenian also hərəpqin horkʻur, hərəpqin hokʻor, hərəpqin hokʻir
hərəpqin morakʻuyr “maternal aunt” (mother’s sister), in colloquial Armenian also hərəpqin morkʻur, hərəpqin mokʻor, hərəpqin mokʻir.
hərəpqin elborordi “fraternal nephew” (brother’s son)
gəncəpər kērordi “sororal nephew” (sister’s son)
hərəpqin pərciğ kēb aljik “fraternal niece” (brother’s daughter)
gəncəpər kēb aljik kēr aljik “sororal niece” (sister’s daughter)

hərəpqin pənciğ morakʻroj tla/aljik “cousin” (son or daughter of mother’s sister)
hərəpqin pənciğ horakʻroj tla/aljik “cousin” (son or daughter of father’s sister)
gəncə pənciğ kēb tla/ał jik “cousin” (son or daughter of mother’s brother). In colloquial Armenian there is also the term ғևնա.footer2 for the son of mother’s brother)  hərəpqin pənciğ horełbor tla/aljik “cousin” (son or daughter of father’s brother)

b. Kinship by marriage

wəmpa̱wəspəw omsnač “married”  cəmpa̱wəspəw, əmpa̱r ćamsnač, amuri “unmarried”  nənəncə nšanac “engaged”, also “fiancé, fiancée”  bəpəspəw ćažanvac “divorced”

hərəpu hars “bride”; daughter-in-law (wife of son)”  ḣebo̱pu ćeśa “bridegroom; son-in-law” (husband of daughter)

wəmpa̱r amusin “spouse”, often – husband.  ćeši ćin “wife”  ćeši ćiri “widow; widower”  ćešarpən skesrayr “husband’s father”  ćešarpən skesur “husband’s mother”  ćešarpən tagr, tegr “husband’s brother”  ćešarpən tagerakin “wife of husband’s brother”, in colloquial Armenian also ćešarpən tegerkın
  ćešarpən tal “husband’s sister”

wəmpa̱r aner “wife’s father”  ćešarpən zokənc “wife’s mother”, colloquial Armenian also ćešarpən zonkəc’  ćešarpən anerjak “wife’s brother”  ćeši ćeni “wife’s sister”

402. Obviously from Turkish yeğen “cousin” or “niece/nephew” (depending on dialect).
“husband of wife’s sister” (only in colloquial Armenian!) ⁴⁰³

wife of maternal uncle” ⁴⁰⁴

c. Other Kinship

“to adopt”
“adopted child”
“adopted son”
“adopted daughter”

“step-”
“stepfather”
“stepmother”
“stepchild” etc.

“to baptize”
“godchild”
“godfather”
“godmother”

6.2 Colour terms

The Armenian basic colour terms are the following:

“black”
“white” (less frequently čermak)
“red”
“yellow”
“green”
“blue”

Apart from the six basic colour terms given above all other colour terms are polymorphic; usually compounds with the second lexical item -guyn “colour”:

“brown” < čaganak “chestnut”
“pink” < yav “rose”
“apricot-coloured” < yiran “apricot”

⁴⁰³. A Turkish loan; Turkish bacanak “the husband of one’s wife’s sister”.

⁴⁰⁴. It seems that there are not other special terms for spouses of other uncles or aunts.
Non-basic colour term can be productively formed by means of:

- noun compounds, type noun + noun գույն guyn “colour”, such as երկնագույն erkn-a-guyn “sky-blue”, մանուշագույն manušak-a-guyn “violet”, գազարագույն gazar-a-guyn “dark brown, coffee-coloured”, etc.
- adjective compounds, type adjective Դակ muk “dark” or Սավ bąc “light” + colour term, such as in Դակ karmir “dark red”, Սավ կարմիր bac’akanč “light green” etc.
- the suffix -ավուն avun “having a certain nuance of …; -ish” attached to a colour term, such as երկուսպրուբ karmr-avun “reddish”, երկուսպրուբ deln-avun “yellowish” etc.

6.3 Human body parts

- մարմին marmin “body”
- կուս koč “ankle”
- տեա t’ew “arm”
- անուտ anut, անուտակ t’ewak “armpit”
- մեջ mej “back”
- կոկրակ cočrak “back of the head, occiput”
- փոր pór “belly, abdomen”
- կուրկ kürk “breast”, “breast of a woman”
- հետուկ hetuk “buttocks”
- բիոύ bumb “calf” (very rarely used)
- այտ ayt, more frequently բկ t’uš “cheek”
- կրկավանդակ krückavandak “chest”
- կուկ kzak or կուկ cnot or կուկ դուն č “chin”
- աստող akanj “ear”
- արմուկ armunk “elbow”
- իշč ačk “eye”
- հոր hitter “eyebrow” (in colloquial Armenian rather հու nuk)“eyebrow”
- յուր t’art’ič “eyelash”
- կոպ kop “eyelid”

405. Alphabetically listed following to English translation.
Chapter 6. Lexicon – Structured semantic fields

ητύρ demk’, ητύρ eres “face”
ζωλμιν čakat “forehead”
ύωνιν mat “finger”
νυώωμιν otnat “foot”
ωόπιν ačuk “groin”
ηύην lind “gum”
ύων maz “hair”
άτερ jerk “hand”
γρηγή glux “head”
ηπινή krunk “heel”
όνιή cunk “knee”
νηρ otk “leg; foot”
γήγη šurt “lip”
γηληγή gotkateł “loins”
ρηνό beran “mouth”
ηηηή cunk “knee”
μη qvis “neck, throat”
αμπηωπον paranoc “neck; nape of the neck”
ρή k’it “nose”
πινή řung, ρρωπή k’tacak “nostril”
ρή k’imk “palate”
αμπηωπον aňmandam “penis”
ηη kół “rib”
νηνηπ srunk “shin, shank”
που us “shoulder”
σύνηθο amorji “testicle”
ουν azdr “thigh”
ουν atam “tooth”
ιτηζη lezu “tongue”
μπάνη bazuk “upper arm”
ηίζωŋ heštoc “vulva”
ημπηση dastak “wrist”

αρην aryun “blood”
ουνη učel “brain”
ουνη alik “gut, bowel”
ουνη sirt “heart”
ουνη ērikam “kidney”
ουη lyard “liver”
ουη tok “lung”
δημπη jvaran “ovary”
6.4 Seasons, months, days

Արմենիայի stamok's “stomach”
արգան “uterus; womb”

 Seasons, months, days

տարի tari “year”
ելանակ elanak “season”
տարվա tara “year”
տարվան tarva “seasons (of the year)”
գարուն garun “spring”
ամար amar “summer”
աշուn ašun “autumn”
դեմ jnet “winter”

ամիս amis “month”
հունվար hunvar “January”
փետրվար p’etvar “February”
մարտ mart “March”
ապրիլ april “April”
մայիս mayis “May”
հունիս hunis “June”
հուլիս hulis “July”
օգոստոս օգոստոս “August”
սեպտեմբեր september “September”
հոկտեմբեր hoktember “October”
նոյեմբեր november “November”
դեկտեմբեր dektember “December”

ըաբաթ šabat “week; Saturday”
օր ör “day”
ըաբաթին օրը šabat’va örer “days of the week”
երկուշաբt erkušabt’i “Monday”
երեքշաբt erkekšabt’i “Tuesday”
չորեքșabt’i “Wednesday”
երեքșabt’i “Thursday”
ուրբատ urbat “Friday”
ըաբաթ šabat “Saturday”
կիրակի kiraki “Sunday”

ժամ žam “hour”
կտավ rope “minute”
վայրկյան vayrkyan “second”
### 6.5 Numbers

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<th>English</th>
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<td>Միլիոն million</td>
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</table>

**Example:**

325,784
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