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by Jasmine Dum-Tragut

Armenian

Modern Eastern Armenian

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Foreword

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

is described in terms of a universal framework of syntactico-semantic verb classes and of processes of transitivity and detransitivity which alter the verb's syntactic frame. The chief transitivity 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, Hetk', 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 Iŝxan in Yerevan, School No. 8 named after Puŝkin 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. Aŝtarakec'i in the town of Aŝtarak and community school in the village of Aramus.

Šnorhokalutyun!

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 periods¹ 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)
3. Soviet period (1920–1991)
4. Post-Soviet period (1991 to present)

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 Iohann Ioachim Schroeder. The latter published the “*Thesaurus linguae armeniacaе, 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.² Modern Western Armenian was conventionalised to its literary standard by another Mekhitarist father, Arsen Aytēnean in Venice in 1866.³

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 Łazaryan-Institute in Moscow, founded in 1815, and the Nersisyan-school 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.⁴ It should also be mentioned that the first publications in the new MEA standard developed by the Nersisyan-school 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”⁵ 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.

3. Aytēnean, A. 1987 (reprint of 1866): *K’nnakan k’erakanu’t’yun ašxarhabar kam ardi hayeren lezvi*. Erevan: Erevani hamalsarani hratarakč’ut’yun. (Critical grammar of *Ašxarhabar* or Modern Armenian)

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 Aštarakeč’i, came from the small town of Aštarak.

5. The historical novel Վերք Հայաստանի *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 administrative and

6. Palasanean, St. 1870. *Ĕndhanur tesut'yun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc'*. (General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language), Tiflis. See p. 8

7. Palasanean, St. 1874. *K'erakanut'yun mayreni lezvi* 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 ařent'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

8. The features are described in the present reference grammar. See also: Abrahamyan S.G. (Ed.). 1973. *Hayoc' lezvi zargac'umě Sovetakan šrjanum*. Erewan: Haykakan SSH GA hratarakč'ut'yun. (The development of Armenian in the Soviet period)

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”.

The Language Law of the Republic of Armenia, implemented in 1993, amended in 2004, defines in Article 1: “*The Armenian language, which serves all the spheres of life of the Republic, shall be the state language of the Republic of Armenia. The literary Armenian language shall be the official language of the Republic of Armenia.*”⁹

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.*”¹⁰

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 word. 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

9. Language law 2004:5.

10. Zakarian 1996: 355–360.

“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*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

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'annos Palasanyan's "*Ĕndhanur 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 Abelyan and his successor H. Petrosyan at the beginning of the 20th century. It was Abelyan 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 "*Hayčakan 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). Abelyan 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.
- c. 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. Ĕaribyan 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. Ačar'yan ("*Liakatar k'erakanut'yun hayoc' lezvi 'hamematut'yamb 562 lezuni*") (A Complete Grammar of Armenian – compared with 562 languages) 1952–1967) and E. Ałayan ("*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. Ľaribyan studied the Armenian negation participle, Sevak the functions and forms of the perfect participles and both have worked on the verbal moods. AĽayan tried to answer specific questions about Modern Eastern Armenian declension and conjugation, also about word formation. The brilliant AĽaĽyan 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 K’erakanut’yun*”, 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 orientale*”, (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

Ա ա	A a	Յ յ	Y y
Բ բ	B b	Ն ն	N n
Գ գ	G g	Շ շ	Š š
Դ դ	D d	Ո ո	O o
Ե ե	E e	Չ չ	Č č
Զ զ	Z z	Պ պ	P p
Է է	Ē ē	Ջ Ջ	ǰǰ
Ը ը	Ĕ ě	Ռ ռ	Ř ř
Թ թ	T t	Ս ս	S s
Ժ ժ	Ž ž	Վ վ	V v
Ի ի	I i	Տ տ	T t
Լ լ	L l	Ր ը	R r
Խ խ	X x	Ց զ	C c
Ծ ծ	C c	Ու ու	U u
Կ կ	K k	Փ փ	P' p'
Հ հ	H h	Ք ք	K' k'
Ձ ձ	J j	Լ	ew
Ղ ղ	Ł ł	Օ օ	Ō ō
Ճ ճ	Č č	Ֆ ֆ	F f
Ս ս	M m		

Abbreviations used

MEA	Modern Eastern Armenian		
SMEA	Standard Modern Eastern Armenian		
MWA	Modern Western Armenian		
1	first person	neg	negation particle
2	second person	NOM	nominative
3	third person	NUM	numeral
ABL	ablative	part	verbal particle
ADJ	adjective	O	direct object
relADJ	relational adjective	pass	passive suffix
ADV	adverb	PL	plural
antic	anticausative suffix	PN	proper noun
attr	attributive suffix	POSS	possessive pronoun
AUX	auxiliary	poss	possessive suffix
caus	causative suffix	PERF	perfect participle
CN	common noun	PRES	present participle
COMP	complementizer	PROH	prohibitive
COMPL	complement	PAST	past
COND	conditional	POST	postposition
CONJ	conjunction	PREP	preposition
DAT	dative	PTCP	participle
DEB	debitive	QUAL	qualifier
def	suffixed definite article	QNT	quantifier
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	wh	question-word
dem	demonstrative suffix	REC	reciprocal pronoun
DET	determiner	rec	reciprocal suffix
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive pronoun
GEN	genitive; Genitive attribute	refl	reflexive suffix
IMP	imperative	REL	relative pronoun
INDEF	indefinite article	RES	resultative participle
INF	infinitive	S	subject
INST	instrumental	SUB	subjective participle
INT	intensifier	SUBJ	subjunctive
INTERJ	interjection	SG	singular
IO	indirect object	TR	transitive
LOC	locative	V	verb
NEG	negative participle	Vpart	verbal particle

Phonology

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

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. \bar{t} \bar{e} and \bar{o} were completely deleted from the alphabet and were replaced by t e and n o .
- b. The initial n o [ʋɑ] and t e [jɛ] were written phonetically, i.e. with the initial glide, e.g. վորակ *vorak* [ʋɑrɑk] “style”, վոչինչ *vočincʰ* [ʋɑtʰɨntʰ] “nothing”, Երկիր *yerkir* [jɛrkɨr] “country”, Երես *yeres* [jɛrɛs] “face”. This rule has also affected the writing of the auxiliary “to be” when following a vowel, e.g. գնալու յեմ *gnalu yem* [gənalu jɛm] “I will go”, but գնում եմ *gnum em* [gənum ɛm] “I go”.
- c. The old letter w was replaced by the letter v (and also realized as such) as in նվեր *nver* < նուեր *nuer* “gift”;
- d. եա *ea*, եո *eo* were replaced by յա *ya*, յո *yo*, as in սենյակ *senyak* < սենեակ *seneak* both: [senjak] “room”, յոթ *yot* < եոթ *eot* both [jɔtʰ] “seven” etc.
- e. իւ *iw* was replaced by յու *yu*, as in արյուն *aryun* < արիւն *ariwn* both [ɑrjun] “blood”.
- f. ոյ *oy* was generally replaced by ույ *uy* [uj]; it is only preserved in this writing, and is also realized as [ɔj], as in խոյ [xɔj] “ram”.
- g. The initial y [h] was only written as h if also pronounced as such, as in հարմար *harmar* < յարմար *yarmar* both [hɑrmɑr] “comfortable”.
- h. The final, silent y was totally deleted, as in ծառա *caṛa* < ծառայ *caṛay* both [tsɑrɑ] “servant, slave”.
- i. էա $\bar{e}a$, էո $\bar{e}o$, էի $\bar{e}i$ were replaced by the phonetically written եյա *eya*, եյո *eyo*, եյի *eyi* as in գրեի *greyi* < գրէի *grēi* “I wrote”.

In the 1940 revision of this orthography reform,

- a. \bar{t} \bar{e} and \bar{o} 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 t e and n o .
- b. The initial t (y) e and n (v) o , usually 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 անօգուտ *anōgut* “useless”, անորակ *anorak* “anorak”, աներկյուն *anerkyun* “fearless” etc.
- d. y is only written across morpheme boundary with u a/n o and h i (particularly in inflection).

This is the alphabetic order of Armenian letters (from left to right) with the usual transliteration and their (isolated) phonetic value.

ա	բ	գ	դ	ե	զ	է	ը	թ	ժ	ի	լ	խ
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	ě	t'	ž	i	l	x
[a]	[b]	[g]	[d]	[(j)ɛ]	[z]	[ɛ]	[ɔ]	[tʰ]	[ʒ]	[i]	[l]	[χ]
օ	կ	հ	ձ	ղ	ճ	ւ	յ	ն	շ	ո	չ	պ
c	k	h	j	ł	č	m	y	n	š	o	č'	p
[ts]	[k]	[h]	[dz]	[ɣ]	[tʃ]	[m]	[j]	[n]	[ʃ]	[(v)ɔ]	[tʰ]	[p]
ջ	ռ	ս	վ	տ	ր	ց	և	փ	ք	օ	ֆ	
j	r	s	v	t	r	c'	u	p'	k'	ew	ō	f
[dʒ]	[r]	[s]	[v]	[t]	[r]	[tsʰ]	[u]	[pʰ]	[kʰ]	[jev]	[ɔ]	[f]

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	<i>near front</i>	CENTRAL	<i>near back</i>	BACK
CLOSE	i				u
<i>Near close</i>					
<i>Close mid</i>					
MID			ə		
<i>Open mid</i>	ɛ				ɔ
<i>Near open</i>					
OPEN				ɑ	

The back vowels [u] and [ɔ] are rounded, the near back vowel [ɑ]¹³ 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

13. Armenian grammarians and phoneticians clearly describe the open vowel as a back vowel, as Ařak'elyan, Xač'atryan, Eloyan 1979: 15. Abrahamyan 1981: 9.

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

These positional allophonic differences are also expressed in orthography. Whereas the writing and pronunciation of the vowel phonemes *u a* [ɑ], *ḥ i* [i] and *u* [u] are the same in all positions, there are positional differences in the writing and spelling of *ḥ e* and *ḥ ē* for [ɛ] and *n o* and *o ḡ* for [ɔ].

The difference expressed in having two graphemes for each of the two phonemes [ɛ] and [ɔ], namely *ḥ e* and *ḥ ē* for [ɛ] and *n o* and *o ḡ* 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 *ḥ e* and *ḥ ē*
 - 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 *ḥ e* and, as for example in: *Երևան Erewan* [jɛrɛvɑn], *երազ eraz* [jɛrɑz] “dream”; *ես es* [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* [ɛm] “I am”, *ես es* [ɛs] “you are”, *ենք enkʻ* [ɛnkʰ] “we are” *եք ekʻ* [ɛkʰ] “you are”, *են en* [ɛn] “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. *զնալու em* [gənalu.jɛm] “I will go”.¹⁵
 - There are only some words written with the initial [ɛ] pronounced without the glide as [ɛ], such as *էշ ēš* [ɛʃ] “donkey”, *էժան ēžan* [ɛʒɑn] “cheap”, *էջ էջ* [ɛdʒ] “page” etc. or loans such as *էպոս ēpos* [ɛpɔs] “epic”, *էլեկտրոն ēlektron* [ɛlɛktrɔn] “electron” etc. These words are written with the letter *ḥ ē* [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

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 *ḥ ē*, which only occurs in stressed syllables. It could have developed from an Indo-European diphthong [ej]. The grapheme *o ḡ* was only introduced in the 12th century to replace the classical diphthong [ɑv], expressed by the digraph *աւ aw*, e.g. classical *աւր awr* versus medieval/modern *օր ḡr* “day”. The evidence for a pronunciation with the initial glide extending back to the classical 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 *Երուսաղէմ Erusalēm* may indicate that the initial *ḥ e* was pronounced with a glide [jɛ]. The pronunciation of the initial [ɔ], written *n o* as [vɔ] seems to be post-classical.

15. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 4.

prefixes), in which a vowel, usually [a], precedes the second part with the initial [jɛ], as in the superlative forms with prefixes կիսա- *kisa-* “semi-; half”, հակա- *haka-* “counter-; contra-; against”, համա- *hama-* “all-; pan-” e.g. in ամենատերկար *amena-erkar* [amenəjerkʰɑr] “the longest” կիսատգրասիակիչ *kisa-ezrapʰakičʰ* [kisaʒɛzɾapʰakitʰ] հակատեղոցական *haka-eketečʰakan* [hakəjɛkɛʒetsʰakan] “anticlerical” համատվրոպական *hama-evropakan* [haməjɛvrɔpakan] “all-European; pan-european” etc.

- If, however, a consonant precedes the second constituent with the initial [ɛ], this is usually spoken without the glide as [ɛ], as in ապերջանիկ *ap-erʃanik* [apɛrtʰanik] “unhappy”, գետնգերք *get-ezerkʰ* [gɛtɛzɛrkʰ] “river bank, river side”, պարերգ *par-erg* [pɑrɛrkʰ] “dance song” etc.

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

- In compounds where the second part starts with a [ɛ] and follows with a final consonant of the first part (i.e. C+e), this [ɛ] 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 [jɛ]. This is particularly true for compound numerals where the second part is formed with the numerals երկու *erku* [jɛrku] “two” and երեք *erekʰ* [jɛrɛkʰ], such as e.g. տասներկու *tasnerku* [tasənɛrkʰu] versus colloquial [tasnəjɛrkʰu] “twelve”,¹⁶ քսաներեք *kʰsanerekʰ* [kʰsanɛrɛkʰ] versus colloquial [kʰsanjɛrɛkʰ] “twenty-three”.¹⁷
- In verb formations with the prefixes կ- *k-* of conditional mood and the negative prefix չ- *čʰ-*. In SMEA, the vowel has to be pronounced without a glide,¹⁸ such as e.g. կերգես *kergem* [kɛrkʰɛm] “I shall sing” as opposed to the colloquial Armenian which generally pronounces with a glide կերգես *kergem* [kəjɛrkʰɛm]; or Standard չերգեսի *čʰ-ergeci* [tʰɛrkʰɛtsʰi] “I did not sing” versus colloquial Armenian [tʰ(ə)jɛrkʰɛtsʰi].

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

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

17. (Łaragyulyan 1981: 59) and (Zakʰaryan 1981:173) regard the pronunciation of the medial [ɛ] in the word formation without a glide as normative and standard, whereas the pronunciation with the glide [jɛ] 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.

18. comp. Łaragyulyan 1981: 59, Zakʰaryan 1981: 173, Ałayan 1970: 43, Łaribyan 1960: 73.

In orthography, the grapheme *ե* *e* is mainly used in the medial and final positions, such as e.g. in բերան *beran* [bɛɾɑn] “mouth”, լեզու *lezu* [lɛzu], հերախոս *heraxos* [hɛɾɑxɔs] “phone”, բազէ *baze* [bɑzɛ] “falcon”, ոսկե *oske* [ɔskɛ] “golden” etc. The grapheme *է* *ē*, however, occurs in the medial and final positions only in a few words: դո՛ղերոցք *dolēroc’k* “fewer; malaria”, մանրէ *manrē* “microbe” and its derivations, հնէաբան *hnaēban* “palaeontologist” and its derivations, երբէ *erbewē* “sometime, ever”, որբէ *orewē* “any”, ովբէ *ovewē* “anybody”.

2. The Open Mid Back Vowel Phoneme [ɔ], orthographically expressed as *ո* *o* and *օ* *ō*
 - a. In the initial position [ɔ] is usually pronounced with a glide as [vɔ]. e.g. որդի *ordi* [vɔɾtʰi] “son”, որտեղ *ortel* [vɔɾtɛɛ] “where”; ոսկե *oske* [vɔskɛ] “golden” etc. The glide is not expressed in orthography (compare the orthography of [jɛ] as *ե* *e*).
 - The exception to this realisation with the glide as [vɔ] in the initial position are mainly the interrogative pronoun ով *ov* [ɔv] “who?” and its derivations such as ովքեր *ovk’er* [ɔvk’hɛɾ] “who?” (plural), ովկից *ovewic’ē* [ɔvɛvits’hɛ] “whoever”.
 - There are only some words which are pronounced without a glide as [ɔ], such as օր *ōr* [ɔɾ] “day”, օգնել *ognel* [ɔk’hnel] “to help”, օդանավ *ōdanav* [ɔtʰɑnɑv] “plane” etc. or loans such as օբյեկտ *ōbyekt* [ɔbjɛkt] “object”, օպերա *ōpera* [ɔpɛɾɑ] “opera” etc. In these words, the initial [ɔ] is represented by the grapheme *օ* *ō*.
 - b. In the medial and final positions [ɔ] is realised as [ɔ].

The same exceptions as above with the vowel [ɛ] also apply to the vowel [ɔ] in the word formation: the internal *ո* *o* is pronounced with an initial glide as [vɔ]: in such words (compounds or those with prefixes), in which a vowel, usually *ա* *a* [ɑ], precedes the second part of the word with the initial *ո* *o* [vɔ], as in the superlative form ամենաօղորմելի *amenaolormeli* [ɑmɛnɑvɔɾmɛli] “the most pitiable”. If a consonant precedes the second part of the word with the initial *ո* *o* [vɔ] [ɔ] is spoken without glide, as in e.g. անորսալի *anorsali* [ɑnɔɾsɑli] “unhunnable”.

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 *կ-* *k-* and negative prefix *չ-* *č’-*. Standard Armenian prescribes, in both cases, the realisation without the glide; whereas in colloquial Armenian realisation with the glide is common.

Stand. անորոշ *anoroš* [ɑnɔɾɔʃ] “uncertain” versus Coll. [ɑnɔɾvɔʃ]

Stand. եղբորորդի *elborordi* [jɛxɔɾɔɾtʰi] “fraternal nephew; brother’s son” versus Coll. [jɛxɔɾvɔɾtʰi]

Stand. կորոշեմ *korošem* [kɔɾɔʃɛm] “I shall decide” versus Coll. [kəvɔɾɔʃɛm]

Stand. չորոշեցի *č’orošec’i* [tʰɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi] “I did not decide” versus Coll. [[tʰ(ə)vɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi]

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.

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

3. The schwa phoneme ղ ֛ [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 -ը -֛. 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 uvular²⁰ fricatives, voiced [ʁ] and voiceless [χ].²¹

1. Plosives

	bilabial	dental	velar
voiced	b	d	g
voiceless	p	t	k
voiceless aspirated	b ^h	t ^h	k ^h

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 օ օ̄ is not of Armenian origin, but was introduced into Middle Armenian by foreign influence. It replaced the classical writing of աւ աւ [av] 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, Ařakelyan 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] [χ] with the graphemes խ x and ղ l and thus also reflects the supposed Classical Armenian consonant system; newer Western grammars tend to see uvular fricatives as realizations of խ x and ղ l.

based on the Yerevan dialect, but according to normative grammars, SMEA shows no glottalised voiceless plosives.

Some minimal pair examples:

voiced : voiceless

բաղ <i>bad</i> [bad] “duck”	:	պատ <i>pat</i> [pat] “wall”
բահ <i>bah</i> [bah] “spade”	:	պահ <i>pah</i> [pah] “moment”
դատ <i>dat</i> [dat] “trial”	:	տատ <i>tat</i> [tat] “grandmother”
դեղ <i>deł</i> [dɛɾ] “medicine”	:	տեղ <i>teł</i> [tɛχ] “place”
գին <i>gin</i> [gin] “price”	:	կին <i>kin</i> [kin] “woman”
գետ <i>get</i> [gɛt] “river”	:	կետ <i>ket</i> [ket] “point; stop”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

թաթ <i>t'at'</i> [tʰatʰ] “paw”	:	տատ <i>tat</i> [tat] “grandmother”
թուր <i>t'ur</i> [tʰur] “sabre”	:	տուր <i>tur</i> [tur] “give!”
քար <i>k'ar</i> [kʰɑr] “stone”	:	կար <i>kar</i> [kɑr] “seam”
քույր <i>k'uyr</i> [kʰujr] “sister”	:	կույր <i>kuyr</i> [kujr] “blind”
տաք <i>tak'</i> [takʰ] “hot”	:	տակ <i>tak</i> [tak] “under”

voiced : voiceless aspirated

բակ <i>bak</i> [bak] “courtyard”	:	փակ <i>p'ak</i> [pʰak] “closed, shut”
դաս <i>das</i> [das] “class”	:	թաս <i>t'as</i> [tʰas] “cup”
երդ <i>erd</i> [jɛrd] “roof”	:	երթ <i>ert'</i> [jɛrtʰ] “procession, march”
գդալ <i>gdal</i> [gɔdal] “spoon”	:	ցթալ <i>gt'al</i> [gɔtʰal] “to have mercy”
գայլ <i>gayl</i> [gajl] “wolf”	:	քայլ <i>k'ayl</i> [kʰajl] “step, pace”

2. Fricatives

	labiodental	alveolar	postalveolar	uvular	glottal
voiced	v	z	ʒ	ʁ	h
voiceless	f	s	ʃ	χ	

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:

զարդ <i>zard</i> [zɑrtʰ] “ornament”	:	սարդ <i>sard</i> [sɑrtʰ] “spider”
զգալ <i>zgal</i> [zɔgɑl] “to feel”	:	սգալ <i>sgal</i> [sɔgɑl] “to mourn”
մազ <i>maz</i> [mɑz] “hair”	:	մաս <i>mas</i> [mɑs] “part”
ուժ <i>už</i> [uʒ] “force, power”	:	ուշ <i>uš</i> [uʃ] “late”
նեղ <i>neł</i> [nɛɾ] “narrow”	:	նեխ <i>nex</i> [nɛχ] “rotteness”
վաղ <i>vat</i> [vɑɾ] “early”	:	վախ <i>vax</i> [vɑχ] “fear”

3. *Affricates*

	alveolar	postalveolar
voiced	dz	dʒ
voiceless	ts	tʃ
voiceless aspirated	ts ^h	tʃ ^h

Some examples:

voiced : voiceless

ծախ <i>jax</i> [dʒɑχ] “left”	:	ծախ <i>cax</i> [tsɑχ] “sale”
ծորակ <i>jorak</i> [dʒɔrɑk] “small valley”	:	ծորակ <i>corak</i> [tsɔrɑk] “tap, spout”
զանք <i>ank</i> [dʒɑŋk ^h] “effort”	:	ճանկ <i>čank</i> [tʃɑŋk] “claw”
ջութ <i>jut</i> [dʒut ^h] “jute”	:	ճուտ <i>čut</i> [tʃut] “chick”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

ծիծ <i>cic</i> [tsits] “breast”	:	ցից <i>c’ic</i> [ts ^h its ^h] “stake”
ծառ <i>cař</i> [tsar] “tree”	:	ցար <i>c’ar</i> [ts ^h ar] “tsar”
ծծել <i>ccel</i> [tsɔtsɛl] “to suck”	:	ցցել <i>c’cel</i> [ts ^h ɔts ^h ɛl] “to stick into”
ճաղ <i>čal</i> [tʃɑɬ] “spoke”	:	ջաղ <i>čal</i> [tʃ ^h ɑɬ] “fat”

4. *Nasals*

bilabial	alveodental
m	n

The alveodental nasal [n] is usually realised as [n], but has several allophonic variants in assimilation, a palatal nasal [ɲ] preceding postalveolar affricates, as in աճճճելի *anjnjeli* [ɑɲdʒɔdʒɛli] “indestructible” and a velar nasal [ŋ] preceding velar plosives, as in աճկաբերի *ankareli* [ɑŋkɑrɛli] “impossible” or even as bilabial nasal [m] following bilabial plosives. See “Nasal assimilation”, p. 28.

5. *Rhotics*

	alveolar
flap	r
trill	r

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.

The trill [r] seldom occurs in the initial position, with the exception of some words among that ռուս *rus* [rus] “Russian” and its derivations as well as of loans with initial trill [r], such as ռադիո *radio* [rɑdi(j)ɔ] “radio”, ռեալիստ *realist* [rɛɑlist] “realist”, ռեժիմ *režim* [rɛʒim] “regime”, ռիսկ *risk* [risk] “risk” etc. In medial position, trill r [r] occurs frequently as in թռչուն *t’rč’un* [t^hɛrt^hun] “bird”, կռիվ *křiv* [kɛriv] “battle”, հեռու *heřu* [hɛru] “far”, հառաչել *hařačel* [harɑt^hɛl] “to sigh”, մեռնել *meřnel* [mɛrnɛl] “to die”, խառնել *xařnel*

[χarnɛl] “to mix” etc. In final position trill r [r] is also found; also in some words which have lost their originally final n from Classical Armenian as in նուռ *nur* [nur] “pomegranate”, լե՛ր *leʹ* [lɛr] “mountain”, գառ *gar* [gar] “lamb” etc.²²

Some examples for minimal pairs:

սար <i>sar</i> [sar] “mountain”	:	սահ <i>saʹ</i> [sar] “cold, freezy”
լուր <i>lur</i> [lur] “news”	:	լուռ <i>luʹ</i> [lur] “silence”
սեր <i>ser</i> [sɛr] “love”	:	սե՛ր <i>seʹ</i> [sɛr] “sex, gender”
դեր <i>der</i> [dɛr] “role”	:	դե՛ր <i>deʹ</i> [dɛr] “still”

6. *Approximants*

labiodental	palatal	lateral
v	j	l

In SMEA, the labial approximant [v] occurs:

- as a glide with the initial *n o*, as in որդի *ordi* [vɔrdi] “son”, ոսկի *oski* [vɔski] “gold” etc.
- as a glide following [jɛ] in the lexeme *և ew* [jɛv] “and” and its compositions; and as a glide following [ɛ] in the medial position before other vowels as in Երևան *Erewan* [jɛrɛvɑn], երևի *erewi* [jɛrɛvi] “evidently”; and as a glide in the final position following [ɛ] as in e.g. որովհետև *orovhetew* [vɔrɔhɛtɛv] “because, since”, պարգև *pargew* [pɑrkʰɛv] “gift” etc.
- This phonetic combination of the vowel [ɛ] and the glide [v] is graphemically expressed by the graphemic combination *և ew*.

The palatal approximant [j] occurs as.

- as a glide with the initial *ե e* in [jɛ],
- 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. յասաման *yasaman* [jasaman] “lilac”, յոթ *yot* [jɔtʰ] “seven”, յուրել *yutel* [juɛl] “to oint”, յուրականյուր *yurakʹ ancʹ yur* [jurakʰɑntʰjur] “each” or in medial position մայր *mayr* [majr] “mother”, գայլ *gayl* [gajl] “wolf”, արբունյակ *arbunyak* [ɑrbunjak] “satellite”, սենյակ *senyak* [sɛnjak] “room”, ձյուն *zyun* [dzjun] “snow”, մյուս *myus* [mjus] “other”, կահույք *kahuykʹ* [kahujkʰ] “furniture”, or in final position as in հայ *hay* [haj] “Armenian”, բայ *bay* [baj] “verb”, տրամվայ *tramvaj* [tramvaj] “streetcar” 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. ռադիոյի *radioyi* [radioji] “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. գարնանային *garnan-a-yin* “spring-like” > գարուն *garun* “spring” or with suffixed definite article *-n* in case of following vowel, e.g., Վարդանը նրա մեծ սերն է: *Vardan-ě nra mec ser-n ɛ*. “Vardan is her big love”.

the radio”, Անգլիայի *Angliayi* [aŋgɫiaji] “of England, England’s”, Աննայի *Annayi* [annaɟi] “Anna’s”, Մարոյի *Maroyi* [marɔɟi] “Maro’s”, ատոմային *atomayin* [atɔmajin] “nuclear”, հանքային *hank’ ayin* [hɑŋkʰajin] “mineral”, նայել *nayel* [nɑjɛl] “to watch” etc.

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,²³ e.g. in the Russian loan ալբոմ *albom* [ɑlʲbɔm] “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 j y [j] combines with vowels and generates the following quasi-diphthongs in SMEA; i.e. rising [ɑj] [uj] [ɛj] [ɔj] and falling [jɑ] [jɔ] [ju], graphically expressed with the grapheme combinations այ *ay*, էյ *ey*, ոյ *oy*, ոյ *uy* and յա *ya*, յո *yo* and յու *yu*. The glide itself is spoken weakly.

Examples

հայր *hayr* [hɑjɾ] “father”

սայլ *sajl* [sɑjɫ] “cart”

գայլ *gayl* [gɑjɫ] “wolf”

այսօր *aysōr* [ɑjsoɾ] “today”

պայքար *paykār* [pɑjɫkʰɑɾ] “battle, struggle”

թէյ *tʰey* [tʰɛj] “tea”

Չէյթուն *Zeyt’un* [zejtʰun] “Zeyt’un” (place name)

Սէյրան *Seyran* [sejɾɑn] “Seyran” (personal name)

խոյ *xoy* [xɔj] “ram”

Նոյ *Noy* [Nɔj] “Noah”

Հանոյ *Hanoy* [hɑnɔj] “Hanoi”

գույն *guyñ* [gujn] “colour”

հաճույք *hačuykʰ* [hɑtʰujkʰ] “pleasure”

լույս *luys* [lujs] “light”

կույս *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’lʲa] “will, volition”.

թույն *t'uyñ* [tʰujn] “poison”

սենյակ *senyak* [senjak] “room”

մատյան *matyan* [matjan] “book”

առավոտյան *aʀavotjan* [aravotjan] “in the morning”

արծաթյա *arcatʻya* [artsatja] “silvern”

անցյալ *ancʻyal* [antsʰjal] “past”

հյութ *hyutʻ* [hjutʰ] “juice”

ճյուղ *čyutʻ* [tʃjuʂ] “branch”

հյուսիս *hyusis* [hjusis] “North”

ձյուն *jyun* [dzjun] “snow”

արյուն *aryun* [arjun] “blood”

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 [r] [r], it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

որբ *orb* [vɔɾpʰ] “orphan”, բարդ *bard* [bartʰ] “complex”, երգ *erg* [jɛɾkʰ] “song”, փորձ *pʰorj* [pʰɔɾtsʰ] “test, attempt; արջ *arj* [artʰ] “bear” etc.

դարբնոց *darbnocʻ* [darpʰnɔtsʰ] “smithy”, արդեն *arden* [artʰɛn] “already”, երգիչ *ergičʻ* [jɛɾkʰitʰ] “singer”, դարձյալ *darjyal* [dartsʰjal] “again”, վերջին *verjin* [vertʰin] “last” etc.

Voiced plosives and affricates following the flap [r] are realised as voiced in the following cases:

- in loans from dialectal forms that have been included in normative MEA, e.g. դարդ *dard* [dard] “grief, care”, նարդի *nardi* [nɑrdi] “Nardi (Backgammon)”, բուրջ *burj* [burdʒ] “tower”, մարջան *marjan* [mɑrdʒɑn] “coral” etc.
- in some new loans
- usually in reduplicated forms such as e.g. գրգիռ *grgir* [gərgir] “excitement”, բարբառ *barbar* [bɑrbɑr] “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 [r] are realised as voiced. e.g. dial. [χɑrtʰɑχ] > խարդախ *xardax* [χɑrdɑχ] “crafty; cheat”, dial. [bɔrpʰɛl] > բորբոքել *borbok'el* [bɔrbɔkʰɛl] “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.

- օդ *ōd* [ɔtʰ] “air”, էգ *ēg* [ɛkʰ] “female”, օձ *ōj* [ɔtsʰ] “snake”, աջ *aj* [ɑtʰ] “right” etc.
- խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] “to cheat”, անդադար *andadar* [ɑntʰɑtʰɑr] “unceasing”, հոգի *hogi* [hɔkʰi] “soul”, ոջիլ *oʒil* [vɔtʰil] “louse” etc.

- *Nasal devoicing and aspiration*

If the medial or final voiced consonant follows a nasal, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

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

b. *S-aspiration of Voiceless Plosives*

Voiceless plosives may be subject to aspiration if they are followed by sibilants,²⁴ e.g. ապստանբել *apstambel* [ɑpʰstɑmbel] “to revolt”, ապշել *apʂel* [ɑpʰʂel] “to be surprised” etc.

24. see Aʔak'elyan, Xač'atryan, Eloyan 1979: 145 f. Xač'atryan 1988: 106. Vaux 1998: 17.

c. *Fricative Voice Assimilation*

Consonant clusters with voiced fricative [ʁ] and plosives/affricates may undergo a devoicing and aspirating assimilation: both fricative and plosive or affricates are devoiced, but only affricates are also aspirated,²⁵ e.g. եղբայր *elbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] “brother”, շաղկամ *šalgam* [ʃɑχkɑm] “turnip”, դեղձ *dɛlj* [dɛχtsʰ] “peach”, աղջիկ *əljik* [ɑχtʰik] “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],²⁶ if:
 - it follows a flap [ɾ] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): արբել *arbel* [ɑɾpʰɛl] “to get drunk”; դարբին *darbin* [dɑɾpʰin] “smith”, երբ *erb* [jɛɾpʰ] “when”, որբ *orb* [vɑɾpʰ] “orphan”, նուրբ *nurb* [nuɾpʰ] “fine, delicate”, սրբել *srbel* [sɑɾpʰɛl] “to clean”, ուրբաթ *urbat* [uɾpʰɑtʰ] “Friday”, հարբել *harbel* [hɑɾpʰɛl] “to drink, to get drunk”. In all other words written բ b is pronounced [b], as in բորբ *borb* [bɑɾb] “brightness, heat”, արբանյակ *arbanyak* [ɑɾbɑnjɑk] “satellite”, սերբ *serb* [sɛɾb] “Serbian”, կարբիդ *karbid* [kɑɾbid] “carbide” etc.
 - it follows a bilabial nasal [m] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) համբերել *hamberel* [hɑmpʰɛɾɛl] “to be patient”, համբույր *hambuyr* [hɑmpʰujɾ] “kiss”; in all other words it is pronounced [b], as in թամբ *tamb* [tʰɑmb] “saddle” etc.
 - it occurs between two vowels or follows a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): իբր *ibr* [ipʰɾ] “as, like”, արխազ *abxaz* [ɑpʰχɑz] “Abkhaz”, շաբաթ *šabat* [ʃɑpʰɑtʰ] “week, Saturday”, խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] “to cheat”, հակոբենի *hakobeni* [hɑkɑpʰɛni] “winter cherry (tree)”, Հակոբ *Hakob* [hɑkɑpʰ] “Hakob”, Գաբրիել *Gabriel* [gɑpʰri(j)ɛl] “Gabriel”, Քերոբ *kèrob* [kʰɛɾɑpʰ] “Kèrob”. In all other words it is pronounced [b], as արեթ *abet* [ɑbɛtʰ] “tinder”, գուբ *gub* [gub] “ditch, hollow”, լոբի *lobi* [lɔbi] “bean”, հոբելյան *hobelyan* [hɔbɛljɑn] “jubilee”, Աբել *Abel* [ɑbɛl] “Abel” etc.
 - it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ], [b] is only pronounced voiceless but not aspirated [p] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աղբ *alb* [ɑχp] “dirt”, աղբյուր *albyur* [ɑχpjur] “spring”, եղբայր *elbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] “brother”, ողբալ *olbal* [vɑχbɑl] “to lament”.
2. A voiced dental [d] is pronounced as [tʰ], if:
 - it follows a flap [ɾ] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): արդար *ardar* [ɑɾtʰɑɾ] “fair, just”, արդեն *arden* [ɑɾtʰɛn] “already”, բարդ *bard* [bɑɾtʰ] “complex”, բերդ *berd* [bɛɾtʰ] “fortress”, բրդել *brdel* [bɛɾtʰɛl] “to crumble” բուրդ *burd* [bʉɾtʰ] “wool”, դրդել *drdel* [dɛɾtʰɛl] “to incite”, երդ *erd* [jɛɾtʰ] “roof”, երդում *erdum*

25. Vaux 1998: 18.

26. compare school book *Hayoc' lezu 4*, Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 10f.

- [jɛr^hum] “oath”, գարդ *zard* [zart^h] “ornament”, զերդ *zerd* [zert^h] “as, like”, լերդ *lerd* [lert^h] “liver; convolution”, լյարդ *lyard* [ljart^h] “liver”, կարդալ *kardal* [kart^hal] “to read”, կոկորդ *kokord* [kɔkɔrt^h] “throat”, հաղորդ *halord* [haxɔrt^h] “participating; social”, մարդ *mard* [mart^h] “man, person”, նյարդ *nyard* [njart^h] “nerve”, որդ *ord* [ɔrt^h] “worm”, որդի *ordi* [ɔrt^hi] “son”, ջարդ *yard* [dʒart^h] “slaughter”, վաղորդյան *valordyan* [vaxɔrt^hjan] “in the morning, early”, վարդ *vard* [vart^h] “rose”, վարդապետ *vardapet* [vart^hapet] “master, Vardapet”, վրդովել *vrdovel* [vɔrt^hɔvɛl] “to perturb”, օրիորդ *ɔriord* [ɔri(j)ɔrt^h] “Miss, maid”.
- An additional devoicing and aspiration rule applies to the suffixes -որդ -*ord*, -երո-ւրդ -*erord*, -րորդ -*rord* and -ուրդ -*urd*, as e.g. առաջնորդ *aʁajnord* [aradʒɔrt^h] “first; leader”, երրորդ *errord* [jɛrɔrt^h] “third”, ժողովուրդ *ʒolovurd* [ʒɔxɔvurt^h] “people”, արձակուրդ *arjakurd* [ardʒakurt^h] “holiday, vacation” etc. and to some names, such as Նվարդ *Nvard* [Nɔvart^h], Վարդան *Vardan* [Vart^han], Վարդգես *Vardges* [Vart^hges], Վարդուհի *Varduhi* [Vart^huhi], Վարդուշ *Varduš* [Vart^huʃ] etc.
 - In some other words the voiced alveolar [d] is written դ *d* and pronounced [d].
 - It follows an alveolar nasal [n] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) անդամ *andam* [ant^ham] “member”, խնդիր *xndir* [xɔnt^hir] “problem”, կենդանի *kendani* [kent^hani] “alive; animal”. The same rule is applied in all words with the prefix ընդ- *ənd-* e.g. ընդահնուր *əndhanur* [ənt^hhanur] “general”, ընդամենը *əndamenə* [ənt^hamenə] “in all, total”, ընդունել *əndunel* [ənt^hunel] “to accept” and the name Սեդրակ *Sedrak* [Set^hrak].
 - In all other words written դ *d* it is also pronounced as [d] e.g. in ադամանդ *adamand* [adamand] “diamond”, ավանդ *avand* [avand] “deposit, investment”, թունդ *tʰund* [t^hund] “strong”, թինդ *tʰind* [t^hind] “noise, sound” etc.
 - It occurs between two vowels or after a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): դադար *dadar* [dat^har] “pause, rest”, օդ *ɔd* [ɔt^h] “air” and դադրել *dadrel* [dat^hrɛl] “to tire, to become tired”.
3. A voiced velar [g] is pronounced as [k^h]²⁷if:
- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) երգել *ergel* [jɛrk^hɛl] “to sing”, թարգմանիչ *tʰargmanič* [t^hark^hmanit^h] “interpreter”, կարգ *karg* [kark^h] “order, system”, մարգարե *margare* [mark^harɛ] “prophet”, պարգև *pargew* [park^hɛv] “gift” and proper names Գևորգ *Geworg* [Gɛvɔrk^h], Սարգիս *Sargis* [Sark^hhis], Սարգար *Margar* [Mark^har]. In all other instances it is written գ *g* and pronounced [g], e.g. բուրգ *burg* [burɟ] “pyramid”, գորգ *gorg* [gɔrɟ] “carpet” etc. it follows an alveodental nasal [n] in the word (and its derivations and compounds) անգամ *angam* [aŋk^ham] “times”.

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

- it occurs between two vowels or if it follows a vowel in the words (and their derivations and compounds) ավագ *avag* [avak^h] “elder, senior”, գագա *zags* [zak^hs] “register office”, գուգել *zugel* [zuk^hel] “to dress up”, էգ *ēg* [ek^h] “female”, թագավոր *t’agavor* [t^hak^havɔr] “king”, ծագել *cagel* [tsak^hel] “to rise, to origin”, կարագ *karag* [karak^h] “butter”, հագնել *hagnel* [hak^hnel] “to wear, to put on”, հոգնել *hognel* [hɔk^hnel] “to get tired”, հոգի *hogi* [hɔk^hi] “soul”, ծագ *jag* [dzak^h] “youngling”, ծիգ *jig* [dzik^h] “tight, stretched”, ճրագ *črag* [tʃɔrak^h] “lamp”, մարագ *marag* [marak^h] “hay-loft”, մուգ *mug* [muk^h] “dark”, նորոգել *norogel* [nɔrɔk^hel] “renew, renovate”, շոգ *šog* [ʃɔk^h] “hot”, պատարագ *patarag* [patarak^h] “holy mass”, սուգ *sug* [suk^h] “grief”, տեգր *tegr* [tek^h(ə)ɾ] “husband’s brother”, օգնել *ognel* [ɔk^hnel] “to help”, օգուտ *ogut* [ɔk^hut] “favour”, as well in the names Գրիգոր *Grigor* [Grik^hɔr] and Գարեգին *Garegin* [Garek^hin].
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ], [g] is just devoiced but not aspirated [k] in շաղկամ *šalkam* [ʃaɣkɑm] “turnip”.

4. A voiced alveolar affricate [dz] is pronounced as [ts^h], if:

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ], as in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) արծակ *arjak* [arts^hak] “prose”, բարձ *barj* [barts^h] “cushion”, բարձր *barjr* [barts^hɾ] “high”, դերձան *derjan* [derts^hɑn] “needleful, string”, դերձակ *derjak* [derts^hak] “tailor”, խուրձ *xurj* [χurt^hs] “bundle”, համբարձում *hambarjum* [hambarts^hum] “ascension”, հանդերձ *handerj* [handerts^h] “with; clothes”, հարձակվել *harjakvel* [hart^hsakvel] “to attack”, որձ *orj* [vɔrts^hs] “male”, վարձակ *varjak* [varts^hak] “singer; whore”, վրձին *vrjin* [vɔrts^hin] “brush”, փորձ *p’orj* [p^hɔrts^h] “test”. In all other words it is pronounced [dz] e.g. մերձ *merj* [merdz] “near”, արձան *arjan* [ɑrdzɑn] “statue”, etc.
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) դեղձ *delj* [dexɬs^h] “peach”, դաղձ *dalj* [daxɬs^h] “mint”, դեղձան *deljan* [dexɬs^hɑn] “yellowish; canary bird”. In all other words the cluster [ɣdz] is written դձ *đj* and pronounced [ɣdz] eg. in գեղձ *gełj* [gexɬdz] “gland”.
- in the word ոձ *ođ* [ɔts^h] “snake” and its derivations and compounds.

5. A voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʃ^h], if:

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) արջ *arj* [artʃ^h] “bear”, թրջել *t’rjel* [t^hɛrtʃ^hel] “to wet”, վերջ *verj* [vertʃ^h] “end”. In all other cases it is written as ջ *j* and pronounced as [dʒ] as in շուրջ *šurj* [ʃurdʒ] “around, about”, խուրջին *xurjin* [χurdʒin] “saddle cloth”, մարջան *marjan* [mardʒɑn] “coral”, որջ *orj* [vɔrdʒ] “den, burrow”, կամուրջ *kamurj* [kamurdʒ] “bridge” etc.
- it occurs between two vowels, or follows a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աջ *ađ* [atʃ^h] “right”, առաջ *a’rađ* [aratʃ^h] “before, in front of”, առաջին *a’rađin* [aratʃ^hin] “first”, մեջ *mej* [metʃ^h] “in”, ոջիլ *ođil* [vɔtʃ^hil] “louse”, քաջք *kajk* [k^hatʃ^hk^h] “demons”. In all other words it is written as ջ *j* pronounced as [dʒ] as in հաջորդ *hađord* [hadʒɔrt^h] “next”, իջնել *iđnel* [idʒnɛl] “to descend”, միջին *mijin* [midʒin] “middle”, միջսառ *mijat* [midʒɑt] “insect”, քրոջ

k'roj [kʰəɾɔdʒ] “of the sister, sister’s”, ընկերոջ *enkeroj* [ənkerɔdʒ] “of the friend, friend’s” etc.²⁸

- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աղջիկ *aljik* [ɑχtʰik] “girl”, ամբողջ *ambotj* [ambɔχtʰ] “whole, entire”, ողջ *otj* [vɔχtʰ] “entire, whole”, առողջ *aʁotj* [ɑɾɔχtʰ] “healthy” etc. In other words written ջ *j* is pronounced as [dʒ], e.g. եղջերու *eljeru* [jɛdʒɛɾu] “deer”, գղջալ *zljal* [zɛʁdʒal] “to regret”, շեղջ *šelj* [ʃɛdʒ] “heap” etc.

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

d. *Nasal Assimilation*²⁹

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

- if followed by a bilabial plosive [b, p, pʰ] it may appear as [m], as e.g. անբիծ *anbic* [ambits] “spotless”³⁰
- if followed by a dental plosive [d, t, tʰ] it appears as an alveodental [n]
- if followed by a velar plosive [g, k, kʰ] it appears as a velar [ŋ], as in անգիր *angir* [ɑŋgɪɾ] “by heart”, սունկ *sunk* [sʊŋk] “mushroom”, վանք *vankʰ* [vɑŋkʰ] monastery etc.
- if followed by the postalveolar affricate [dʒ], it appears as a palatal [ɲ], as in անջատ *anjat* [ɑɲdʒɑt] “separate”.

e. *R-assimilation*

The flap [r] [ɾ] becomes a trill [r] before nasal [n].

This is orthographically not expressed in the following loan words: ինտերնատ *internat* [internat] “internat”, կոմիտերն *komintern* [kɔmintern] “komintern” and other words with ինտերնացիոալ- *international-*.

In all other words the trill [r] is also written as ռ *r*, e.g. առնել *arnel* [ɑɾnɛl] “to take”, գարնուկ *garʰnuk* [gɑɾnʊk] “little lamb”, դառնալ *daʰnal* [dɑɾnɑl] “to become” etc.

28. (Minassian 1996: 26) argues that [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʰ] also in the case of the preposed alveolar nasal [n] and in the case of an ending -ոջ-*oj* of the -ոջ-*oj* declension. 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 ջ *j* [dʒ] in the declension suffix ոջ-*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.

29. Xacʿatryan 1988: 106; Vaux 1998: 18.

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 անսեղ *annemel* [ammɛɾ] “innocent”.

f. *Devoicing of Labiodental Voiced Fricative [v]*

The labiodental voiced fricative [v] undergoes devoicing to [f] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) հարավ *harav* [haraf] “south”, ավտո *avto* [aftɔ] “auto-; car” and նավթ *navt* [nafth] “oil, petroleum”.

g. *Silent Glottal Fricative h [h]*

There are seven words (and their derivations and compounds³¹) in SMEA in which the glottal fricative following a flap [ɾ] is written, but not pronounced: աշխարհ *ašxarh* [aʃxar] “world”, խոնարհ *xonarh* [xɔnar] “humble”, խորհուրդ *xorhurd* [xɔrurth] “advice”, ճանապարհ *čanaparh* [tʃanapar] “way, path”, շնորհ *šnorh* [ʃnɔr] “mercy”, օրհնել *ōrhnel* [ɔrnel] “to bless” The silent final -h -h [h] is particularly common in colloquial Armenian.

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 r [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 եկավ *durs ekav* [dus ekav] “he came out”, երբ *erb* [jɛp^h] “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 -el, such as [gəri] “write” < գրիր *grir!*, [uʂaki] “send” < ուղարկիր *ulakir!* These r-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

31. With exception of աշխարհայացք *ašxarhayac’k* [aʃxarhajathsk^h] “outlook”, in which [h] is not pronounced. In the word արհամարհել *arhamarhel* [arhamarəl] “to despise, to scorn” only the first [h] is pronounced.

32. Łaragyulyan 1981: 61.

33. Łaragyulyan 1973: 427–543.

j. *Palatalisation of Alveolar Plosives Preceding Front Vowels*³⁴

A palatalised pronunciation of the sequence դի *di* դե *de*, տի *ti* տե *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* [dʲiplɔmɑ] “diplom”, ակադեմիա *akademia* [akadʲemi(j)ɑ] “academy”, պարտիական *partiačan* [pɑrtʲiɑkɑn] “party; party member”, տեխնիկական *texnikakan* [tʲɛχnikɑkɑn] “technical”. In genuine Armenian words the palatalisation is not as productive, but may happen as an exception in some colloquial Armenian, e.g. տիեզերք *tiezerkʰ* [tʲi(j)ɛzerkʰ] “cosmos, universe”, դաստիարակել *dastiarkel* [dastʲi(j)ɑrkɛl] “to educate”.

The palatalisation of the aspirated, voiceless ք tʰ [tʰ] in the suffix -թյուն *-tʰyun* is also a typical feature of colloquial Armenian, and is also regarded as highly conventional and as being used by in public, journalistic language,³⁵ e.g. in ազատություն *azatutʰyun* [azatutʰjʉn] “freedom”.

k. *Palatalisation of Lateral Approximant*¹⁵

The Russian influence has also led to a palatalisation of the alveolar lateral l preceding consonants, in the pronunciation of Russian loans in colloquial Armenian, such as ալբոմ *albom* [ɑlʲbɔm] “album”, վալս *vals* [valʲs] “waltz”, ալմանախ *almanax* [ɑlʲmɑnɑχ] “almanac”, բոլշեվիկ *bolševik* [bolʲʃevik] “Bolshevik”, կուլտուրա *kultura* [kulʲtura] “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 [pɑmidɔr] < պոմիդոր *pomidor* “tomato”; [kɔnfɛt] < կոնֆետ *konfet* “sweet, candy”; [Bɑris] < Բորիս *Boris*; [Viktɔr] < 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.³⁶

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. ձու *ju* “egg”, կատու *ka-tu* “cat”, գինի *gi-ni* “wine”, շուն *šun* “dog”, մարդ *mard* “man, person”, գնդակ *gn-dak* “ball”, աշակերտ *a-ša-kert* “pupil”, ուսուցիչ *u-su-cʰičʰ* “teacher” etc.

34. This phenomenon shows social stratification and depends on the use of Russian as first or second language of Armenians in the Republic of Armenia.

35. Էարաջյուլյան 1981: 63. Հակոբյան 1981: 182.

36. Vaux 1997: 2.

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 ուղղել *ullēl* [uɫɛl] “to correct”, մասսա *massa* [massa] “mass”, սողուններ *solunner* [sɔɫunner] “reptiles”, հետ տար *het tar* [het_tar] “take with (you)!”; մեծ ծով *mec cov* [mets_tsov] “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 արձև *arčē* [artʃətʃe] “leaden” < արձիճ *arčic* “lead”, պտտել *pttel* [pətətɛl] “to swirl” < պտույտ *ptuyt* “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 = Cə-CV; CCCC = Cə-CəC-CV
- d. In the medial position, if one consonant appears between two vowels, then it forms a syllable with the following vowel, i.e. VCV – V-CV- as in Ա-պա-րան *A-pa-ran* “Aparan (town)”, նա-մա-նա-վանդ *na-ma-na-vand* “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 = -VC-CV-, as in ու-րիշ-ներ *u-riš-ner* “others”, կա-նոն-ներ *ka-non-ner* “canons, rules”, ապ-տակ *ap-tak* “slap” 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

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. գըլ-խա-վոր *gēl-xa-vor*, շըլ-թա *šēl-tʰa*, կը-տըր-տել *kē-tēr-tel*, Մը-կըր-տիչ *Mē-kēr-tičʰ*, երբե-մըն *erbe-mēn*. In the case of the causative suffix -ցն- -cʰn- the division line is preferred between -g- -cʰ- and -ն- -n-, as in մերկաց-նել *merkacʰ-nel*, մո-տեց-նել *mo-tecʰ-nel*. In the case of the verbal suffix -վ- -v- preceded by two or more consonants, the division preferred is before the suffix as in զըսպ-վել *zēsp-vel*, թըրջ-վել *tērj-vel*, տանջ-վել *tanj-vel*. In words with the initial consonant cluster sibilant+plosive, the epenthetic schwa is expressed in the line division in front of the initial sibilant.. The exception to this rule is personal names, such as Ստե-փան *Ste-pan*, Ստրաս-բուրգ *Stras-burg* etc. Compare: Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 36–38.

38. Arakʰelyan, Xačʰatryan, Eloyan 1979: 115.

the following vowel, i.e. VCCCV = VCC-CV, as in Աստ-ված *Ast-vac* “God”, սեղմ-ված *selm-vac* “pressed”, կանգ-նել *kang-nel* “to stand” etc.

Initial Clusters

a. Two consonants, CC

- The schwa is usually inserted between the two consonants to form a syllable CəC, e.g. գրել *grel* [gərel] “to write”, հպարտ *hpart* [həpart] “proud”, ժպիտ *žpit* [žəpit] “smile”, նկար *nkar* [nəkɑr] “picture”, տղա *tla* [təɬɑ] “boy” etc.
- If the initial consonant cluster consists of a sibilant [s, z, ʃ] and a plosive [b, p, p^h, g, k, k^h, d, t, t^h], the schwa is pronounced preceding the cluster əC-C, as in սպասել *spa-sel* [əs-pasel] “to wait”, ստանալ *stanal* [əs-tanal] “to receive”, սթափ *stap* [əs-t^hap^h] “sober”, զբոսնել *zbosnel* [əz-bɔsnel] “to walk”, զգալ *zgal* [əz-gal] “to feel”, շտապ *štap* [əʃ-tap] “urgent” etc.

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 CəC, as in ստել *stel* [sətɛl] “to lie” < սուտ *sut* [sut] “lie”, սգալ *sgal* [səgal] “to mourn” < սուգ *sug* [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.³⁹ 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 սպորտ *sport* [spɔrt] “Sport”, շտաբ *štab* [ʃtab], սկանդալ *skandal* [skandal] “scandal”, ստանդարդ *standard* [standard] “standard” as well as names such as Սպարտակ *Spartak* [Spartak], Սպինոզա *Spinoza* [Spinɔzɑ] etc. This is, of course, also true for later loans from English, such as սկաուտ *skaut* [skaut] “scout”.

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. Լարայլյան 1973: 428. (Vaux 1998: 25) notes that sibilant + plosive clusters sometimes behave “differently”. (Աֆաֆեյան, Ջաճատրյան, Էլոյան 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 əCC:

- (1) Իլիհամ Ալիեւի խոսքով, իր երկրի համբերութիւնն սպառվում է:
 (Armenpress 20.1.2006)
- Ilham Aliew-i xosk'-ov ir erkr-i*
 Ilham Aliew-DAT word-INST his country-DAT
- hamberut'yun-n spař-v-um ē.*
 [...hamp^hεrut^hjun-n_ə s-pərvum]
 patience-NOM-the runout-antic- PTCP. PRES. it is
 “In the words of Ilham Aliew, 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 սպաս *spas* [səpəs] “yoghurt-soup”. (Zak’aryan 1981: 172) even regards a deviating or more prescriptive realization of this cultural word as e.g. [əspas] 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 *-er* or -ներ *-ner* depends on the number of syllables of the noun: if it is monosyllabic -եր *-er* is suffixed, if it is polysyllabic -ներ *-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 -ը/-ն/-ձ/-ն is attached to the noun according to its final sound or the sound of the word immediately following the article. Thus -ը/-ձ is attached either to nouns ending in consonants or to nouns the following word which starts with a consonant. In contrast, -ն *-n* is attached either to nouns ending in vowels or to nouns where the following word starts with a vowel, e.g. Արամը գնում է քաղաք: *Aram-ə gnum ē k'alak*. “Aram goes to town” versus Արամն է գնում քաղաք: *Aram-n ē gnum k'alak*. “It is Aram who goes to town”. (comp. Asatryan 2004: 95) Thus, according to the normative rules, the article -ը/-ձ must be suffixed to a noun if it is followed by a word with initial sibilant-plosive consonant cluster. For example Մեկ շաբաթից արձակուրդն սկսվում է: *Mek šabat'ic' arjakurd-n sksvum ē*. “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.

- (2) Նրանցից ոմանք արդեն այցելել են Երևան, մյուսների այցն սպասվում է մոտ ապագայում: (Armenpress 04.05.2006)

nranc'-ic' om-ank' arden ayc'el-el en Erewan
 they-ABL some-PL-NOM already visit-PTCP.PERF they are Yerevan-NOM
myus-ner-i ayc'-n spas-v-um ē mot
 other-PL-DAT visit-NOM-the expect-pass-PTCP.PRES it is near
 [ajts^h-n_əs-pasvum]

apaga-yum.
 future-LOC

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

- (3) Խորհրդարանական բոլոր ուժերն ստորագրեցին «Ուստրական օրենսգրքի» փոփոխությունների նախագիծը: (Արօտ 08.04.2006)

xorhradaranakan bolor už-er-n storagrec'-in ěntrakan
 parliamentary all force-PL.NOM-the sign-AOR.3.PL electoral
 [uʒerⁿ_əs-tɔragɛts^hin]

ōrensgrk'-i p'òp'oxut'yun-ner-i naxagic'-ě.
 lawbook-DAT change-PL-DAT draft. NOM-the

“All parliamentary forces have signed the draft of the changes of the “Electoral law-book.”

- (4) Եվ Բաքվի իշխանությունների համաձայնությունն ստանալուց հետո կմեկնեն Նախիջևան:

ew Bak'v-i išxanut'yun-ner-i hamajaynut'yun-n stan-al-uc'
 [hamadzajnut^hjun-n_əs-tanaluts^h]
 CONJ Baku-DAT government-PL-DAT agreement.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL

heto kmekn-en 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) Տուժածը ստանալով առաջին բուժօգնություն՝ դուրս էր գրվել հիվանդանոցից: (Արօտ 05.04.2006)

tužac-ě stanal-ov aʀajin bužōgnut'yun
 suffer-PTCP.RES.NOM-the receive-INF-INST first medical aid.NOM
 [tuʒats-ěstanalɔv]

durs ěr gr-v-el 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) Արմանը շտապում էր. (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Aram-ě stap-um ěr.
 [arəm-ə_ʃta-pum]
 Aram.NOM-the hurry-PTCP.PRES he was
 “Aram was in a hurry.”

- (7) Նկատենք, որ դատարանը ստիպված եղավ դատավճիռը հրապարակել աղմուկի մեջ: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

Nkat-enk' or dataran-ě stip-v-ac elav
 [dataran-ə_stip-vats]
 note-IMP.I.PL CONJ court.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES it has been
datavciř-ě hraparak-el almuk-i mej.
 verdict.NOM-the promulgate-INF noise-DAT POST
 “Let us note that the court has been forced to promulgate the verdict in a riot.”

- (8) Հայերենը, որի բացառիկությունը զգալու համար բավական է հիշել համաքրիստոնեական գրքի անվանումը: (Azg 06.04.2006)

hayeren-ě or-i bac'ařikut'yun-ě zgal-u hamar
 [bats^hrikut^hjunə_zgalu]
 Armenian.NOM-the REL-DAT exclusiveness.NOM-the feel-INF-DAT POST
bavakan ě hiš-el hamak'ristoneakan
 sufficient it is remember-INF all-Christian
grk'-i anvanum-ě.
 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

տրված *trvac* [tər-vats] “having been given” (Participle Resultative passive)

գտնել *gtnel* [gət-nel] “to find”

կսկիծ *kskic* [kəs-kits] “bitterness”

նստարան *nstaran* [nəst-arən] “bench, seat”

կրճատել *krčatel* [kər-tʃatəl] “to reduce”

բռնել *břnel* [bər-nel] “to catch, to hold”

տնտեսություն *tntesut'yun* [tən-təsut^hjun] “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. əC-CəC-V. As explained above, these kinds of clusters are more productively pronounced without the initial schwa epenthesis, particularly in vernacular Armenian.⁴² They are more frequently realised as CəC-CV or CCə-CV. Loans as well as foreign name clusters, however, are pronounced without any schwa epenthesis:

Examples⁴³

սփրոց *sp'roc'* [əs-p^hər-ɔts^h] or preferably [səp^h-rɔts^h] “tablecloth”

սրթել *sk't'el* [əs-k^hət^h-el] or preferably [sək^h-t^hel] “to shrink from cold”

ստրուկ *struk* [əs-tər-uk] or preferably [stə-ruk] or even in colloquial [struk] “serf”

սկսել *sksel* [əs-kəs-ets] or preferably [skə-sel] “to begin”

շտկել *štkel* [əf-kət-el] or preferably [ʃtə-kel] “to repair; to straighten”

ստրատեգիական *strategiakan* [stratɛgi(j)akən] “strategical”

Ստրասբուրգ *Strasbourg* [Strasburg] “Strasbourg”

- (9) Բոլորն սկսեցին ծիծաղել: (Gyurjanyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002:123.)

bolor-n sksec'in cical-el.

[bɔlɔr-n_əs[-k^həs-ɛt^hsin]

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

“All started to laugh.”

- (10) Իր ստեղծագործական ուղին Չեքիջյանը սկսել է Ստամբուլից:
(Armenpress19.01.2006)

ir stelcagorcakan uli-n ček'ijyan-ě sks-el

[T^hɛk^hidzjanə_ska-sel]

his creative way.NOM-the Ček'ijyan.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF

ē Stambul-ic'.

he is Istanbul-ABL

“Ček'ijyan 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: Cə-CəC-CV

42. This is also observed by various Armenian and Western grammarians (e.g. Vaux 1998: 25), as well as from native speakers and even from written corpus.

43. The first pronunciation is the strict normative one, the second the more frequent and “more natural”. The latter pronunciation is also observed by (Vaux 1998: 25).

- 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: CəC-Cə-CV
- The 1st, 2nd and 3rd form a syllable with the epenthetic schwa, the 4th consonant with the following vowel: CəCC(ə)-CV
- In consonant clusters starting with sibilant and plosive, there is usually no initial schwa epenthesis.

Some examples:

բժշկութիւն *bžškut'yun* [bə-ʒəf-ku-tʰjun] “medicine”

մկրտութիւն *mkrtut'yun* [mə-kəɾ-tu-tʰjun] “baptism”

սննդամթերք *snndamt'erk'* [sə-nən-da-mətʰɛrkʰ] “groceries, food stuff”

ծծմբաթթու *ccmbat't'u* [tsə-tsəm-ba-tʰətʰu] “sulphuric acid”

բզլտալ *bzltal* [bə-zəl-tal] “to buzz”

մտնել *mtc'nel* [mət-tsʰɛ-nɛl] “to bring in”

ճվտկել *čvtkel* [tʃəv-tə-kel] “to prune”

ճշգրիտ *čšgrit* [tʃəf-gə-rit] “precise, exact”

տրտմութիւն *trtmut'yun* [tʰəɾt-mu-tʰjun] “sadness”

սլկվել *slkvel* [səlk(ə)-vel] “to slip”

ճնշվածութիւն *čnšvacut'yun* [tʃənf-va-tsutʰjun] “depression”

մրջիւն *mrjyun* [mərɟʒ-jun] “ant”

ստրկացնել *strkac'nel* [stʰə-rə-katsʰnɛl] “to enslave”

սալխել *splxel* [sə-pəl-χɛl] “to slip”

- (11) Ադրբեյջանի նախարարը սկզբում պատրաստակամութիւն է հայտնել, այժմ ասում է՝ ոչ: (Azg 03.03.2006)

Adrbejan-i naxarar-ě skzb-um patrastakamut'yun ē

[... naxararə skəz-bum....

Azerbaijan-DAT minister.NOM-the beginning-LOC readiness.NOM he is

haytn-el ayžm as-um ē oč'.

declare-PTCP.PRES. now say-PTCP. PRES he is no

“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. Cə-CəCC-CV

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

Cə-CəCC-CV CəC-CəC-CV

Examples:

ճմրթված *čmrt'vac* [tʃə-mərt-vats] “crinkled, crumpled”

մխրճվել *mxc'čvel* [mə-χərtʃ-vəl] “to pierce”

սփրթնում *sp'rt'num* [sə-pʰərtʰ-num] “whitening, bleaching”

փռնգտալ *p'rngtal* [pʰə-rəŋg-tal] “to snuff, to snort”

տրտնջալ *trtnjal* [tə-r-təŋʒal] “to grumble, to complain”

բռնցքամարտ *b'nc'kamart* [bər-nəts-kʰamart] “boxing”

մշտնջենաբար *mštnjenabar* [məʃ-təŋ-dʒɛ-nabar] “everlasting, eternal”

գրգռվել *grg'čvel* [gər-gər-vəl] “to get excited, to be provoked”

մրմնջալ *mrnmjal* [mər-məŋ-dʒal] “to whisper, to murmur”

քստմնալից *kštmnalic* [kʰəs-təm-nalitsʰ] “gruesome, horrid”

սրսկվել *srskvel* [sərs-kə-vəl] “to be/get injected”

e. 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 CəCC-CəC-CV, whereas in other words there are, again, various ways of pronunciation, the most common CəC-CəC-Cə-CV.

Some examples: մրմրթալ *mrt'mrt'al* [mərtʰ-mə-r-tʰal] “to mumble”; փնթփնթոց *p'nt'p'nt'oc* [pʰəntʰ-pʰən-tʰətsʰ] “growl”; զնգզնգոց *zngzngoc* [zəŋg-zəŋ-gətsʰ] “tinkle”; հրմշտկել *hrmštkel* [hər-məʃ-tə-kəl] “to jostle”.

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-CV-, e.g. պատմել *patmel* [pat-məl] “to tell”, պարտեզ *partez* [par-tez] “garden”, կարմիր *karmir* [kar-mir] “red”, հագնել *hagnel* [hakʰ-nəl] “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. VCC-CV, e.g. կանգնել *kangnel* [kaŋg-nəl] “to stand”, հարցնել *harc'nel* [hartsʰ-nəl] “to ask”, կարմրել *karmrel* [karɾm-rəl] “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-CəC-CV, e.g. ձեռնոտ *je'ntu* [dʒɛ-rən-tu] “profitable”.

հետաքրքիր *hetak'rk'ir* [hɛtɑ-kʰɛr-kʰir] “interesting”, երաժշտություն *eražštut'yun* [jɛrɑ-zəf-tutʰjun] “music”.

- The 1st consonant forms a syllable with its preceding vowel, the 2nd consonant a syllable with the schwa, and the 3rd with its following vowel, i.e. VC-Cə-CV, e.g. աղմկարար *atmkarar* [ɑɤ-mə-karɑr] “noisy”, վազվզել *vazvzel* [vɑz-və-zɛl] “to run around”, հագցնել *hagc'nel* [hɑg-tsʰə-nɛl] “to dress somebody, to put on somebody”.

c. Four medial consonants

If a word occurs with four medial consonants, it is most probably a compound word, or a word with a prefix or suffix. In general, the employment of the epenthetic schwa in the original element does not change in derivatives or compounds. Examples: հանգստանալ *hangstanal* [hɑŋgəstɑnɑl] “to relax”, > հանգիստ + verbal suffix -անալ; անկրկնելի *ankrkneli* [ɑŋkɛrkneli] “unrepeatable” > prefix ան- + կրկնելի “repeatable”; դասագրքեր *dasagrker* [dɑsɑgɛrkʰɛr] “schoolbooks” > դաս *das* “class” + գիրք *girk'* “book” + եր -er (Plural)

3. 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.

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. խումբ *xumb* [χumb] “group”, տոմս *toms* [tɔms] “ticket”, գիրք *girk'* [girkʰ] “book”, դրախտ *draxt* [dɛrɑχt], “paradise”, հաջորդ *hajord* [hadzɔrtʰ] “next”, դեպք *depk'* [dɛpkʰ] “case” etc.
- Two final consonants with the epenthetic schwa occur seldom in SMEA. These limited cases are mainly representing
- words with suffixes *-ն -n/-ու -s* or *-դ -d*. As explained above, the schwa has to be pronounced before the suffix, e.g. եղբայրս *elbayrs* [jɛχpɑjɾ-əs] “my brother”, տունդ *tund* [tun-əd] “your house”, գրածս *gracs* [grɑts-əs] “your writing”, ձեռքս *jeřk's* [dzɛrkʰ-əs] “my hand”, խելքդ *xelk'd* [χɛlkʰ-əd] “your mind” etc.
- expressions *ևս ews* [jɛvəs] “also,too”, դեռևս *deřews* [dɛrɛvəs] “still,yet”, թերևս *t'erevs* [tɛrɛvəs] “perhaps”, ոմն *omn* [vɔmən] “somebody”, անհիմն *anhimn* [ɑnhimən] “groundless”, այժմ *ayžm* [ɑjzəm] “now”, ըստ այսմ *ěst aysm* [ɛst əjsəm] “according to this”, ըստ այնմ *ěst aynm* [ɛst əjnəm] “according to that”,etc. These expressions employ the epenthetic schwa between the two final consonants.
- If the lexeme ends in consonants and the last one is the voiced uvular fricative, flap [ɾ] or trill [r], then this last consonant forms a syllable with the schwa, which is pronounced before this consonant, e.g. վագր *vagr* [vɑgɛr] “tiger”, ծանր *canr* [tsɑnɛr] “heavy”, ամենափոքր *amenap'ok'r*, [ɑmɛnɑpʰɔkʰɛr] “smallest”, արքայադուստր *arkayadustr* [ɑrkʰɑjɑdustɛr] “king's daughter”, արկղ *arkl* [ɑrkɔɤ] “box”, պարտք *partk'* [partkʰ] “debt”, գամփոռ *gamp'or* [gɑmpʰɛr] “Armenian sheepdog”, բարձր *barjr* [bardzɛr] “high”, աստղ *astl* [ɑstɔɤ] “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 *ë* 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 monophthongs.

1. The Vowel [a] [ɑ]

- The vowel [ɑ] never underlies alternations in inflection.
- In word formation, however, [ɑ] 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,⁴⁴ such as բերնակապ *bernakap* “muzzle” < բերան *beran* + կապ *kap*, there is the more frequent regular form բերանակապ *beranakap*, կոճկեկ *kočkel* “to button” < կոճակ *kočak* “button” + -ել *-el*, պատռել *patrel* “to tear, to rip” < պատառ *patař* “piece” + -ել *-el* etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, the sequence of the final [ɑ] + 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 ([ɑ], [ɔ]),⁴⁵ e.g. տղա *tla* “boy” < տղայի *tla-y-i* DAT, տղայական *tla-y-akan* “boyish, childish”, տղայություն *tla-y-ut'yun* “boyhood”; Անգլիա *Anglia* “England” > Անգլիայից *Anglia-y-ic'* ABL; հսկա *hska* “giant” > հսկայի *hska-y-i* DAT, հսկայաբար *hska-y-abar* “giant; mammoth”, հսկայաբայլ *hska-y-akayl* “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) [ɔ] may be deleted in some cases. This is true for the same historical phenomenon for the vowel [ɑ] (see above); it is not productive any more, e.g. որկրամոլ *orkramol* “edacious, greedy” < որկոր *orkor* “womb; belly” + -մոլ *-mol*; ոսկրային *oskrayin* “bony” < ոսկոր *oskor* “bone” + ային *-ayin* 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 [ɔ] are loans or person or place names, e.g. Մարո *Maro* > Մարոյին *Maro-y-in* DAT, կինո *kino* > կինոյի *kino-y-i* DAT but: կինոսալարատ *kinoapparat* “cinematographic apparatus”; Օսլո *Oslo* > Օսլոյում *Oslo-y-um* LOC: Չիկագո *Čikago* > Չիկագոյից *Čikago-y-ic'* ABL etc.

44. Abrahamyan 1981: 25; Minassian 1996: 44.

45. A sequence of two non-high vowels is allowed to form a hiatus, as in բոս *boa*, կաոս *kaos*, ամենազնիվ *amenaazniv*. Vaux 1998: 96.

3. The Vowel [ɛ] [ɛ]

- In inflection the vowel [ɛ] does not underlie alternations.
- In word formation, however, the vowel [ɛ] undergoes alternations caused by a change of stress:
- In the initial position, the vowel [ɛ] pronounced without the preceding glide [j] (thus graphically expressed with է *ē*) is changed to հի [i] in some words in the word formation, e.g. էշ *ēš* “donkey” < իշուկ *išuk* “small/young donkey”, իշական *išakan* “donkey-”, էգ *ēg* “female” < իգական *igakan* “female, feminine” etc.
- In the medial position, the vowel [ɛ], written ե *e*, is reduced to [i] written հի *i*, if its basic form is monosyllabic, e.g. վեպ *vep* “novel” < վիպագիր *vipagir* “novelist” տեր *ter* “lord, master” < տիրական *tirakan* “masterful, imperious”; զենք *zenk* “weapon” < զինել *zinel* “to arm”; գեշ *geš* “monster, beast” < գիշատիչ *gišatič* “predator; predatory”, հրավեր *hraver* “invitation” < հրավիրել *hravirel* “to invite”, գրագետ *graget* “literate” < գրագիտություն *gragitut’yun* “literacy” etc.

In the medial position, [ɛ] remains, however, unchanged

- a. if the medial [ɛ] is followed by [k^h], as in անեծքաժու *anetsk^hatu* “cusser”, պետքական *petk^hakan* “suitable, fit”, մեջքակապ *mej^hkakap* “belt” etc.
 - b. if the monosyllabic word appears in compounds without a binding vowel -a- and as first part of the compound, as in օրենսդիր *ōrensdir* [ɔrensdir] “legislative”, մեջտեղ *mej^hteł* [medʒtɛɬ] “middle, centre”, կեսօր *kesōr* [kesɔr] “midday, noon” etc.
 - c. if the monosyllabic word is reduplicated in the word formation, as in դեմաճեմ *demačdem* [demɑdɛm] “vis-a-vis”, մեջընդմեջ *mej^hendmej* [medʒənt^hmedʒ] “sometimes, from time to time”, ստեպ-ստեպ *stepstep* [stɛp stɛp] “often” etc.
 - d. In general, in all compounds and derivatives from the word տեր *ter* [tɛr] “lord, master”, տերություն *terut’yun* “state”, տերունական *terunakan* “Lord’s; (state)” etc.
- In the final position, the vowel [ɛ] remains unaltered both in inflection and word formation. The final [ɛ] and the following initial vowel of a word, suffix or ending are pronounced with weakly spoken glide in between [ɛ] and the following vowel. This glide is however not graphically expressed. մարգարե *margare* [mark^harɛ] “prophet” < մարգարեի *margare-i* [mark^hareji] (DAT), մարգարեանալ *margare-anal* [mark^harejanal] “to prophesy”; բազե *baze* [baze] “falcon” < բազեի *baze-i* [bazeji] (DAT); բազեապահ *baze-a-pah* [bazejapah] “falconer” etc.

4. The vowel [ɛ̃] [ə]

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

does not affect the schwa. The only exception to this is the suffixed definite article -ը -՛ (see Ch. 2.1.4 “Definiteness”, p. 102f.).

5. The vowel [i] [i]

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. ինձ *inj* “jaguar”⁴⁶ > ընծուղտ *enj-ult* “giraffe”; իղձ *ilj* “longing, desire” > ըղձական *ěj-akan* “desireable”; ինչք *incʻkʻ* “thing; possession” > ընչաքաղց *encʻ-a-kʻalcʻ* “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. սիրտ *sirt* “heart” > սրտի *srt-i* (DAT), սրտեր *srt-er* (NOM.PL.), սրտացավ *srt-a-cʻav* “heartache”; գիծ *gic* “line” > գծի *gc-i* (DAT), գծեր *gc-er* (NOM.PL.), գծել *gc-el* “to draw”; գիր *gir* “writing; letter” > գրի *gr-i* (DAT); գրեր *gr-er* (NOM.PL.), գրութուն *gr-utʻyun* “note”
- Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words with final ք *kʻ*, which is historically or etymologically not explicable,⁴⁷ [i] remains unaltered, e.g. դիրք *dirkʻ* “position” > դիրքի *dirkʻ-i* (DAT), դիրքեր *dirkʻ-er* (NOM.PL.), դիրքային *dirkʻayin* “positional”, հիմք *himkʻ* “basis” > հիմքի *himkʻ-i* (DAT), հիմքային *himkʻayin* “basic” etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, [i] remains unchanged in all other than the last syllable of polysyllabic words, e.g. դիտել *ditel* “to watch” < դիտմամբ *ditmamb* “deliberately”, դիտորդ *ditord* “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. դեղին *delin* “yellow” < դեղնուց *delnucʻ* [dɛʁnutʰs] “yolk”, նկարիչ *nkaričʻ* “painter” < նկարչություն *nkarcʻutʻyun* [nɛkɑrtʰjʊtʰjun] “painting”, ուսուցիչ *usucʻicʻ* “teacher”

46. There is also a reduction in the older inflected forms of the lexeme “jaguar”, i.e. ընծի *enj-i* (DAT). They are not productive.

47. That means, that the final consonant ք *kʻ* does not originate in the Classical Armenian Plural morpheme -ք-*kʻ*.

48. see Ch. 4., “Word formation” p. 645f.

- < ուսուցչուհի *usucʻuhi* [usutʰstʰjuhi] “female teacher”, թշնամի *tʃnami* “foe” < թշնամական *tʃnamakan* [tʰəjnamakan] “hostile” etc.
- In word formation and only under certain morphological constraints also in declination, final [i] of closed syllables may be reduced to [ə], which is not expressed graphically, e.g. արձիճ *arčič* “lead” < արձճագույն *arčč-aguyn* [artʃətʃagujn] “lead-coloured”, մարմին *marmin* “body” < մարմնամարզիկ *marmn-a-marzik* [mɑrmənəmərzik] “gymnast”, նախագիծ *naxagic* “project; draft” < նախագծեր *naxagc-er* [nɑxagətser] (NOM.PL.) etc.
 - In plural formation, the open final [i] in polysyllabic words does not change, e.g. կենդանիներ *kendani-ner* “animals”.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with the suffix -ություն *-utʻyun*. բարի *bari* “good” < բարություն *barutʻyun* “kindness, goodness”, գերի *geri* “captive” < գերություն *gerutʻyun* “captivity”; versus քաղաքացի *kʻalakacʻi* “citizen” < քաղաքացիություն *kʻalakacʻi-utʻyun* “citizenship”, արի *ari* “brave” < արիություն *ariutʻyun* “bravery”, etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] remains unaltered if it is combined with verbal suffixes -անալ *-anal*, -ացնել *-acʻnel*, or nominal suffixes -ական *-akan*, -ացում *-acʻum* and adverbial suffixes -աբար *-abar*, -ապես *-apes*, -որեն *-oren*, e.g. արի *ari* “brave” < արիական *ari-akan* “manly”, արիանալ *ari-anal* “to have courage”, արիաբար *ari-abar* “valiantly”; հասկանալի *haskanali* “understandable” < հասկանալիորեն *haskanali-oren* “understandable”, etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with a following vowel, as in աղավնի *alavni* “pigeon” < աղավնատուն *alavn-a-tun* “pigeonry”.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is deleted if the adjectival suffix -ուտ *-ut* is attached, as in կեչի *kečʻi* “birch” > կեչուտ *kečʻ-ut* “birch (Adj)”, մորի *mori* “raspberry” > մորուտ *mor-ut* [mɔrut] “raspberry (Adj)” etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is deleted if it represents (a part of) a suffix, as in կենդանի *kend-ani* “animal; alive” > կենդանական *kendan-akan* “animal, brute”, թերի *tʻeri* “incomplete” > թերություն *tʻer-utʻyun* “lack, fault”, խեցի *xecʻ-i* “earthenware” > խեցագործ *xecʻ-a-gorc*⁴⁹ “potter” etc.
 - In word formation and case inflection, the open final [i] is deleted if a suffix or an ending starting with the vowels [ɑ, ɔ] follows, e.g. քեռի *keři* “uncle, mother’s brother” > քեռայր *kʻər-ayr* “husband of sister”, փոշի *pòši* “dust” > փոշոտ *pòš-ot* “dusty”, գինի *gini* “wine” > գինով *gin-ov* INST etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with following unstressed word formational *-a-* may trigger a sound change (i.e. across a morpheme boundary *-i + -a = -e-*), as in որդետեր *ordeser* “loving one’s children” > որդի-ա-սեր *ordi+a+ser*, ընտանեկան *əntanekan* “family, domestic” > ընտանի-ական *əntani+akan*, բարետես *baretēs* “good-looking, optimistic” > բարի-ա-տես *bari+a+tes*, բարեխիղճ *barexilč* “conscientious” > բարի-ա-խիղճ *bari+a+xilč*, ոսկեգործ *oskegorc* “goldsmith” > ոսկի-ա-գործ *oski+a+gorc* etc.

49. There is also a doublet form խեցեգործ *xecʻ egorc*.

- In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with the diminutive suffix *-ակ* *-ak* may also trigger a sound change in the form of a glide formation: *-ի* *-i* + *-ակ* *-ak* = *-յակ* *y-ak*, as in *կղզի ktzi* “island” < *կղզյակ ktzyak* “little island” > *կէշի + -ak*, որդի *ordi* “son” < *որդյակ ordyak* “little son” > *ordi* + *-ak*., դավաճի *alavni* “pidgeon” < *աղավնյակ alavnyak* “little pidgeon” > *alavni* + *-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 *Ani* < Անիի *Ani-i* [aniji] DAT.SG
- In monosyllabic words with the open final [i] followed by [u] – the prototypical Dative of the u-declination nouns -, again 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,⁵⁰ e.g. ձի *ji* “horse” < ձիու *ji-u* [dziju] DAT.SG; մատանի *matani* “ring” < մատանու *matan-u* DAT.SG; գինի *gini* “wine” < գինու *gin-u* DAT.SG.

6. The Vowel [u]

a. Initial [u]

- The open initial [u] remains unaltered both in word formation and inflection, e.g. ուժ *už* “power” < ուժեր *už-er* NOM.PL., ուժասպառ *už-a-spař* “exhausted”; ուխտ *uxt* “promise, covenant”, < ուխտի *uxt-i* DAT, ուխտագնաց *uxtagnac* “pilgrim”; ուղեվոր *ulevor* “passenger” < ուղեվորներ *ulevor-ner* NOM.PL., ուղեվորություն *ulevor-ut’yun* “journey” etc.

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. ցուրտ *c’urt* “cold” < ցրտի *crt’i* DAT, ցրտել *c’rt-el* “to freeze, to be cold”; շուն *šun* “dog” < շներ *šn-er* NOM.PL., շնիկ *šn-ik* “little dog”; սուր *sur* “sharp; sword” < սրեր *sr-er* NOM.PL., սրել *sr-el* “to sharpen”; հուր *hur* “flame, fire” հրի *hr-i* DAT, հրեղեն *hr-elen* “fiery, flaming”; գունդ *gund* “ball; regiment” < գնդեր *gnd-er* NOM.PL., գնդաձև *gndajew* “round” etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, the medial [u] in polysyllabic words remains unaltered.

c. Final [u]

- Both in inflection and word formation, the closed final [u] of polysyllabic words is either reduced to [ə] or remains unaltered, e.g. գլուխ *glux* “head” < գլխի *glx-i* [gəlxɨ] DAT, գլխավոր [g(ə)ləxavɔr] *glx-a-vor* “main”; սնունդ *snund* “food” < սննդի *snnd-i* [sənəndi] DAT, սննդամթերք *snnd-a-mt’erk* “food stuff”; ժողովուրդ *žolovurd* “people”

50. Comp. Ch. 2.1.2.2 u-declension, p. 71f.

< ժողովրդի *žolovrd-i* [ʒɔɫɔvɛrtʰi] DAT, ժողովրդական *žolovrd-akan* “popular”; խանութ *xanut* “shop” < խանութի *xanut’-i* DAT, խանութապան *xanut’-a-pan* “shop keeper”; հանելուկ *haneluk* “riddle” < հանելուկի *haneluk-i* DAT, հանելուկային *haneluk-ayin* “cryptic”; թռչուն *t’rčun* “bird” < թռչուններ *t’rčun-ner* NOM.PL., թռչունաբույծ *t’rčun-a-buyc* “bird breeder” etc.

- Both in inflection and word formation, the open final [u] of monosyllabic and bisyllabic words often becomes [v], particularly with a following vowel, e.g. ձու *ju* “egg” < ձվի *ju-v-i* [dzəvi] DAT, ձվածև *ju-a-jew* “oval”; չու *č’u* “migration” > չվի *č’v-i* [tʰʃəvi] DAT, չվել *č’v-el* “to migrate”, չվացուցակ *č’v-a-c’uc’ak* “migration’s list”; առու *a’ru* “creek” < առվի *a’v-i* DAT, առվակ *a’v-ak* “little creek”; մեղու *meļu* “bee” < մեղվի *meļv-i* DAT, մեղվաբուծություն *meļv-a-bucut’yun* “apiculture”; թթու *t’tu* “sour” < թթվի *t’tv-i* DAT, թթվասեր *t’tv-a-ser* “soured cream” etc. But if the final [u] belongs to a polysyllabic consisting of more than two syllables, [u] remains unchanged, e.g. վերարկու *verarku* “coat” < վերարկուի *verarku-i* [vɛɾɾkujɪ] DAT; դասատու *dasatu* “lecturer” < դասատուի *dasatu-i* [dasatujɪ] DAT etc.

Diphthongs in Alternations

These days, diphthongs usually alternate only in word formation. There are only some exceptions in inflections, which are due to historical developments and are regarded as historical, even antiquated, forms. Diphthong alternation in inflection is thus unproductive.

a. Diphthong յա [ja]

- It remains unchanged in the initial position, e.g. յասաման *yasaman* “lilac” > յասամանաբույր *yasaman-a-buyr* “scent of lilac” etc.
- In the medial and in the closed final positions, յա [ja] may alternate with Է [ɛ]. This alternation is employed only in some diachronic word formation, this rule is unproductive nowadays, e.g. մատյան *matyan* “book” < մատենադարան *maten-a-daran* “library”, մատենանիշ *maten-a-niš* “bookmark”; ատյան *atyan* “tribunal, court” < ատենակալ *aten-a-kal* “magistrate, senator”; վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second” < վայրկենական *vayrken-akan* “momentary” etc.
- In word formation, in the final position in open syllables, յա [ja] may alternate with Է [ɛ], e.g. գործունյա *gorcunya* “active” < գործունեություն *gorcuneut’yun* “activity”.

b. In word formation, diphthongs յու *ju* [ju], յո *jo* [jo] and այ *aj* [aj] remain unchanged if unstressed,⁵¹ e.g. յուղ *yul* “oil, fat” < յուղալի *yul-ali* “creamy”; արյուն *aryun* “blood” < արյունոտ *aryun-ot* “bloody”, անկյուն *ankyun* “corner” < անկյունաքար *ankyun-a-kar*

51. In some words with diphthong [ju] in historical and thus fossilized forms an alternation [ju] – [ɛ] can be observed. This alternation is unproductive currently, and many words show doublets; e.g. արենապարտ *arenpart* = արյունապարտ *aryunapart* “blood guiltiness”. Sometimes in historical

“cornerstone”; ձյուն *jyun* “snow” < ձյունագնդակ *jyun-a-gndak* “snowball”, յոթ *yot* “seven” < յոթանասուն *yot'-anasun* “seventy”; գայլ *gayl* “wolf” < գայլածագ *gayl-a-jag* “wolf’s puppy”, ձայն *jayn* “voice” < ձայնագրել *jayn-a-grel* “to record” etc.

c. The diphthong ույ *uy* [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. գույն *guyn* “colour” < գունավոր *gun-a-vor* “coloured”; կառույց *karuyc* “building” < կառուցել *karuc'-el* “to build”; բույր *buyr* “fragrance, aroma” < բուրվար *bur-var* “censer”; բույս *buy* “plant” < բուսաբան *bus-a-ban* “botanist”, լույս *luy* “light” < լուսավոր *lus-a-vor* “luminous, bright” etc.
- In some words, [uj] is reduced to [ə], e.g. պտույտ *ptuyt* “rotation, turn, twist” < պտտվել *ptt-v-el* [pə-tət-vəl] “to revolve, to rotate” or absolutely deleted, e.g. կապույտ *kapuyt* “blue” > կապտել *kapt-el* “to turn blue” կապտավանք *kapt-a-vank* “Blue Monastery”; սառույց *saruyc* “ice” > սառցահատ *sarc'ahat* “ice-cube” etc.
- [uj] remains unaltered in all derivatives and compounds of նույն *nuyn* “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 *ji* “horse” > ձիու *ji-u* DAT, ձիուց *ji-uc* ABL, ձիեր *ji-er* NOM.PL., ձիուկ *ji-uk* “little horse”, ձիավոր *ji-avor* “rider”, ձիաբուծարան *ji-a-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 *lezu* “language, tongue” > լեզվի *lev-i* DAT, լեզվից *lev-ic* ABL, լեզվաբան *lev-a-ban* “linguist”, լեզվակ *lev-ak* “clapper”; ձու *ju* “egg” > ձվի *ju-i* DAT, ձվեր *ju-er* NOM.PL.,

forms [ju] appears also as reduced to [u] or even to [ə], as in ձնաթույր *jnat'uyr* = ձյունաթույր *jyunat'uyr* “snow-white, white as snow”.

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

ծվածեղ *ju-a-cel* “scrambled eggs” etc. but polysyllabic դասատու *dasatu* “lecturer, teacher > դասատուի *dasatu-i* DAT and one-and-a-half-syllabic գնչու *gnč'u* “gypsy” > գնչուի *gnč'u-i* DAT etc.

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

- in loans e.g. քաոս *k'aos* [k^ha.ɔs] “disorder, chaos”; բոա *boa* [bɔ.a] “boa (snake)”; կոոպերացիա *kooperac'ia* [kɔ.ɔpɛrats^hijɑ] “cooperation”; աերոկլուբ *aeroklub* [ɑ.ɛrɔklub] “aeroclub”; Մաեստրո *maestro* [ma.ɛstrɔ] also [mɑ(j)ɛstrɔ] but also with weakly spoken epenthetic glide, e.g. ռադիո *radio* [radi(j)ɔ] “radio”; պոեզիա *poezia* [pɔ(j)ɛzija] “poetry”, գեոդեզիա *geodezia* [gɛ(j)ɔdɛzija] “geodesy” etc.
- and in some native low vowel sequences, i.e. in sequences of non-high vowels,⁵⁴ e.g. ամենաարդար *amena-ardar* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.ɑr.t^hɑr] “the fairest”, ամենաուժեղ *amena-užel* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.uʒ.ɛɛ] “the strongest”, հերուստալընկերություն *her'ust-a-ženkerut'yun* [hɛr.ust.ɑ.ɛŋk.ɛr.ut^hjun] “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

a+e նաև *na-yew* [nɑjɛv] “also”

e+a քվեարկել *k^hve-arkel* [k^h(ə)vɛjɑrkɛl] “to vote” etc.

e+e թեև *t^he-yew* [t^hɛjɛv] “although”

e+o պանթեոն *pant^heon*

e+u էություն *ɛ-ut'yun* [ɛ(j)ut^hjun] “essence, substance”

i+a միանալ *mi-anal* [mijɑnɑl] “to unite”, միասին *miasin* [mijasin] “together” etc.

i+u միություն *mi-ut'yun* [mijut^hjun] “unity”, հավաստիություն *havasti-ut'yun* [havastijut^hjun] “authenticity, trustworthiness” etc.

o+i ձյուդոիստ *judo-ist* [dzjudo(j)ist] “judoka”

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

54. Vaux 1998: 28.

- In monosyllabic nouns with final *-i*, when it is followed by the plural allomorph *-եր*, as in *ծիեր* *ji-er* [dzijɛr] 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* [ɑji], *a+e* [ɑjɛ], e.g. *տղա* *tla* “boy” > *տղայի* *tla-y-i* [tɾɑji] DAT, *քիմիա* *k’imia* “chemistry” > *քիմիայի* *k’imia-y-i* [kʰimijɑji] DAT etc.
- *e+i* [ɛji], *e+u* [ɛju], e.g. *եմ* *em* “I am” > *էի* *ēi* [ɛji] “I was”; *հասցե* *hasc’e* “address” > *հասցեի* *hasc’e-i* [hastsʰɛji] DAT; *կոմիտե* “komite” “committee” > *կոմիտեում* *komite-um* [kɔmitɛjum] LOC; *րոպե* *rope* “minute” > *րոպեում* *rope-um* [rɔpɛjum] LOC etc.
- *i+e* [ijɛ], *i+u* [iju], e.g. *միևնույն* *mi-y-ew-nuyn* [mijɛvnujn] “same”, *շարունակելի-ություն* *šarunakeli-ut’yun* [ʃɑrunakelijutʰjun] “continuation possibility”, *Սոցի* *Soč’i* > *Սոցիում* *Soč’i-um* [sɔtʰijum] LOC etc.
- *o+i* [ɔji], e.g. *Կամո* *Kamo* > *Կամոյի* *Kamo-y-i* [Kamɔji] DAT; *կինո* *kino* “cinema; film” > *կինոյից* *kino-y-ic’* [kinojitʰs] ABL etc.

In colloquial Armenian, hiatus is also tolerated in some genuine Armenian words, as in e.g. *միություն* *miut’yun* [mi.utʰjun] “unity”. More productively, however, is the deletion of the morpheme boundary in colloquial Armenian, particularly in a sequence of *-[i/ɛ]* and *[a]* to *[ja]*,⁵⁵ as e.g. [hjanali] > *հիանալի* *hianali* [hi(j)anali] “wonderful”, [dzɾjakan] > *ծրիական* *jriakan* [dz(ə)rijakan] “cost free, free”, [kʰvjɑrkɛl] > *քվեարկել* *k’vearkel* [kʰ(ə)vɛjarkɛl] “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:

գիրք *girk’* “book”, *գրկ’* “book, DAT”, *գրկ’եր* “books”,
ընկեր *ɛnkér* “friend”, *ընկրոջ* *ɛnkroj’* “friend, DAT”, *ընկերներ* *ɛnkernér* “friends”,
քաղաք *k’alák’* “town”, *քաղաքացի* *k’alákac’i* “citizen”, *քաղաքացիություն* *k’alákac’iut’yun*
 “citizenship”

55. Łaragyulyan 1981: 58.

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.

իւնը *ině* “nine”, իններորդ *innerórd* “ninth”, etc.

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* [káj̥sər], աստղ *ástł* [ástəɫ]
- In some words, the stress is on the penultimate rather than on the last syllable, e.g. որևէ *órewě* “any”, նույնիսկ *núynisk* “even”, նույնքան *núynk’an* “so much”, նույնպես *núynpes* “also, as well”, նամանապանհ *námanavand* “particularly”, որպեսզի *orpészi* “in order to”, քանիերորդ *k’anierord* “how many?”, որերորդ *órerord* “how many”, գոնե *góne* “if only”, գրեթե *grét’e* “almost, nearly”, այսօր *áysör* “today”, միթե *mít’e*, միգուցե *míguc’e* “perhaps” etc.
- Enclitic auxiliary forms of եմ *em* with the preceding participles or predicatives do not have the stress on their nucleus; երգում եմ *ergúm em* [jɛrɫ^húm_ɛm] “I sing” etc.
- If the last consonant of a word is represented by a definite article-suffix ը -*ě*, or -ն -*n*, possessive suffix -ս -*s*-, -դ -*d*-, e.g. ծաղիկը *calíkě* [tsəvíkə] “the flower”, ծաղիկս *calíks* [tsəvíkəs] “my flower”, ծաղիկդ *calíkd* [tsəvíkəd] “your flower” etc.
- The enclitic adverb էլ *ěl* “also; even” behaves with its preceding word like an enclitic, e.g. տղան էլ գնաց: *Tłan ěl gnac’*. [t(ə)ɬán_əl gnats^h] “The boy went 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. Լերմոնտով *Lérmontov*, Լերմոնտովի *Lermontoví* (DAT.), Ասիա *àsia*, ասիական *asiakán* “Asian”, ասիացի *asiac’i* “Asian”, Ամերիկա *Amérika*, Ամերիկայի *Amerikayí* (DAT), ամերիկյան *amerikján* “American” etc.
- In compound verbs, the first non-verbal component is stressed, such as ցույց տալ *cúyc’ tal* “to show”, ման գալ *mán gal* “to walk, to strove”, վեր կենալ *vér kenal* “to stand up”, աչքի ընկնել *áč’k’i ěnknel* “to differ from; to burst upon the eye”, բաց անել *bác’ anel* “to open” etc.
- In juxtaposed compounds with a second constituent որ *or* or թե *t’e*, the first constituent is stressed, as in ասես թե *asés t’e* “as if”, միայն թե *miáyñ t’e* “if only”, ինչպես թե *inč’pés t’e* “as, so”, հազիվ թե *hazív t’e* “no sooner; hardly”, երբ որ *ėrb or* “when, as”, հենց որ *hėnc’ or* “just when, as”, քանի որ *k’aní or* “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.

58. Ačařyan 1971: 6: 283; 336.

- In prohibitive, the prohibitive particle մի *mi*, and not the verb form in imperative, is stressed.

Մի խոսիր *mí xosir* “do not speak!”, մի գնա *mí gna* “do not go!”, մի նայիր *mí 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 պիտի պետք *piti/petkʻ* of Debitive mood and թող *tʰol* used in Imperative mood, e.g. պիտի գնաս *piti gnas* [piti_gənás] “you have to go”; թող գնա *tʰol gna* [tʰɔɫ_gəná] “let (him) go!” etc.
- the less productive prepositions ի *i*, առ *aʻ* and the more productive prepositions մինչ *minčʻ*, մինչև *minčʻew*, e.g. կայլ առ քայլ *kʻayl aʻ kʻayl* [kʰajl ar_kʰáj] “step by step”, մինչ վաղը *minčʻ valě* [mɪntʰ_vaxə] “until tomorrow” etc.
- some adverbs such as e.g. ինչպես *inčʻpes*, as e.g. ինչպես մարդ *inčʻpes mard* [ɪn tʰpəs_márd] “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. թրմի *tʻrmpʻ* [tʰrəmpʰ] “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

[gítɛm]	< գիտեմ <i>gitem</i> “I know”, meaning here: “yes, I do know”
[hɛ́rikʰ ɛ]	< հերիք է <i>herikʻ ē</i> “it is enough”, meaning “It is definitely enough. Stop! ”
[tʰúnɛm]	< չունեմ <i>čunem</i> “I have not”, meaning here “I do certainly not have”
[nóritsʰ]	< նորից <i>noricʻ</i> “again”, meaning here “yes, again. Definitely again.”

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.

59. von der Hulst. Hendriks. van der Weijer. 1999: 446.

60. Zakʻaryan 1981: 184.

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. բառարանագիտություն *bařaranagitut'yún* “lexicography” < բառարան *bařaran* “dictionary” + -ա- -a- + գիտություն *gitut'yún* “science”.

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

Before stress clash		Surface form	
(a) <i>sirún aljĭkě</i> →		[sirun aχtʰĭkə]	“the pretty girl”
(b) <i>méc cón ěr patél nrá ařxárhě</i>		[més tsɔv ɛr patél nəɾá aχxáɾə]	“the great sea enclosed his land”
(c) <i>sirún aljĭkě</i> →		[sirún aχtʰĭkə]	“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) Վարդանը գնեց գիրքը:

Vardan-ě *gnec'* *girk'-ě.*
 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. միայն *miayn* “only”, նույնիսկ *nuynisk* “even”, մանավանդ *manavand* “particularly”, մինչև անգամ *minčew angam* “even”, etc.⁶²

(13) Վարդանը նույնիսկ գնեց գիրքը:

Vardan-ě *nuynisk gnec'* *girk'-ě.*
 Vardan.NOM-the even buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
 “Vardan even bought the book”.

61. comp. Abelyan 1932: 5: 25–28.

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 մի՛ *mi*, չ- *čʻ*- or negative words ոչ *očʻ*, երբեք *erbekʻ* “never” etc.) in a negated declarative sentence.⁶³ In the latter two cases the word order is also marked: the (new) information in focus is put into immediate preverbal position.⁶⁴

(14) Ո՞վ գնեց գիրքը:

ov *gnecʻ* *girkʻ-ě?*
wh-who.NOM buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
“Who bought the book?”

(14) a. Վարդանը (գնեց գիրքը):

Vardán-ě (*gnecʻ girkě*).
Vardan.NOM-the (bought the book).
“Vardan (bought the book).”

(15) Ի՞նչ գնեց Վարդանը:

ínčʻ *gnecʻ* *Vardan-ě?*
wh-what-NOM buy-AOR.3.SG. Vardan.NOM-the
“What did Vardan buy?”

(15) a. Վարդանը գիրքը գնեց:”

(*Vardán-ě*) *girkʻ-ě* (*gnecʻ*).
(Vardan) book.NOM-the (bought)
(Vardan bought) the book.”

(16) Վարդանը չգնեց գիրքը:

Vardán-ě *čʻ-gnecʻ* *girk-ě*.
Vardan.NOM-the neg-buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
“Vardan did not buy the book.”

(17) Վարդանը երբեք չի գնի գիրքը:

Vardán-ě *erbekʻ* *čʻ-i* *gn-i* *girkʻ-ě*.
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.

63. Ałayan 1978: 48.

64. Preverbal focus position refers to the position immediate before the finite verb form.

- (18) Գևորգ Դորոխյանը ծնվել է Դրիմի Սիմֆ Երոպոլ քաղաքում: (Grakanut'yun 6:100)

Geworg Doroxyan-ě cn-v-el ē Ērim-i
 Geworg Doroxyan.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Crimea-DAT
Simferopol k'alak'-um.
 Simferopol.NOM town-LOC

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

- (19) Պապլոր հայկական պատկանում է շուշանազգիների ընտանքին:

paplor haykakan patkanum ē šušanzgi-ner-i
 hyazinth.NOM Armenian belong-PTCP.PRES. it is liliaceous plant-PL-DAT
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) Անուշը կարդացել է այս գիրքը:

Anuš-ě kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
 [անւժ kart^hats^hel _ε ajs girk^hə]
 “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. Անուշն է կարդացել այս գիրքը:

Anuš-n kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
 [անւժն _ε kart^hats^hel ajs girk^hə]
 “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.

65. In traditional Armenian grammars this stress is termed “grammatical or logical stress.” e.g. Abelyan 1971: 25.

Or

- (15) a. Վարդանը գիրքը գնեց:
Vardan-ě girk'-ě (gnec').
 Vardan.NOM-the book.NOM-the (bought)
 “Vardan bought the book.” (and not the newspaper etc.) Contrastive stress on
 “book”.

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'erangě ew šestě žamanakacic' hayerenum*.

67. Ałayan 1978: 12–75.

b. Interrogative Sentences⁶⁸

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. Անո՞ւշը գիրք կարդաց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardac'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^hats^h]
 “Did ANUŠ read a book?” = Was it Anuš who read a book?
- b. Անուշը գի՞րք կարդաց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardac'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^hats^h]
 “Did Anuš read a BOOK?” (Did Anuš read a book – or a newspaper, journal etc.?)
- c. Անուշը գիրք կարդա՞ց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardác'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^háts^h]
 “Did Anuš read a book?” (Did Anuš read a book – or did she write, buy, steal etc. a book...?)
- d. Անուշը գի՞րք է կարդացել:
Anuš-ě girk' ē kardac'el?
 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. Անո՞ւշն է կարդացել գիրք:
Anuš-n ē kardac'el girk'?
 Anuš-NOM-the she is read-ptcp.perf. book-NOM
 “Has Anuš read a book? Is it Anuš who has read a book?”

68. Łukasyan. 1978: 76–170.

(Marked word order, the item in interrogative intonation is also in preverbal focus position).

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) Այս գիրքը հավանեցի՞ր:
ays girk'-ě 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) Երեխադ դեռ չի՞ քնել:
erexa-d deř č'-ĩ k'n-el?
 child.NOM-your yet neg-it is sleep-PTCP.PERF.
 “Your child has not slept yet?”

(24) Գյուղում ես ապրո՞ւմ, թե քաղաքում:
Gyul-um es apr-um t'e k'atak'-um?
 TOWN-LOC you are live-PTCP.PRES. CONJ TOWN-LOC
 “Do you live in a village or in a town?”

(25) Ավելի լավ չէ՞ մնանք, քան գնանք:
aveli lav č'-ě mn-ank' kan gn-ank'?
 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) Անուշը գեղեցիկ կին է, չէ՞:
Anuš-ě gelec'ik kin ē č'ē?
 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,⁶⁹ 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.

Coll. Միասին ե՞ք գալու: *Miasin ek' galu?* [mijasín_ékʰ galu]

Stand. Միասին՞ն եք գալու: *Miasín ek' galu?* “Will you come together?”

Coll. Գնում ե՞ս գրադարան: *gnum és gradaran?* [gənum_əs gradaran]

Stand. Գնո՞ւմ ես գրադարան: *gnúm es gradaran?* “Are you going to the library?”

Coll. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագ՞ր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa inc' ē? Vagé'r té arjuc?* [sa ɨntʰ_a vakʰər thə arjuts]

Stand. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa inc' ē? Vagr té arjuc?* “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) Ո՞ւր ես գնում:

úr es gn-um?

Where-NOM you are go-PTCP.PRES.

“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 Sentences⁷⁰

69. Volkskaya, Grigoryan 1999: 160–164.

70. Xaç'atryan 1978: 130–170. Ačařyan 1971: 6: 287–296.

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) Ինչքա՛ն գեղեցիկ է այս աղջիկը:
inč'kân gelec'ik ē ays atjik-ě!
 [ɪnktʰkʰân gɛɛɛtsʰik_ɛ ajs aχtʰikə]
 “This girl is beautiful!”
- (29) Վա՛յ, ի՞նչ է պատահել քեզ:
vây inč' ē patahel kèz?
 [vâj ɪntʰ_ɛ patahel kʰɛz]
 “Óh! 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 *մի՛* *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.

71. Abelyan 1971: 34.

72. Ałayan 1978: 56–74.

(30) Գնա՛ տուն:

gná tun!
go-IMP.2.SG house-NOM
“Go home!”

(31) Մի՛ գնա տուն:

mí gna tun!
NEG go-IMP.2.SG house-NOM
“Do not go home!”

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.

(32) Լիլիթ:

Lilit’
“Lilit’!”

(33) Տիկի՛ն, ձեր պահանջը կկատարվի:

tikín jer pahanj-ě kkatar-v-i.
madam.NOM your request.NOM-the comply with-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
“Madam, your request will be complied with.”

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

73. Abeġyan 1971: 34.

74. Badikyan 1983: 227–290.

(34) Արամ, արի՛ այստեղ:

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) Ո՞ւր ես գնում, պապիկ:

úr es gn-um papík?

wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. grandpa.NOM

“Where are you going, Grandpa?”

CHAPTER 2

Morphology

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 երկու տուն *erku tun* “two houses” (lit.: two house), չորս երեխա *čors erexa* “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 երկու բաժակ ջուր *erku bažak ĵur* “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 *-ուհի -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 \pm 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 “depersonalification” 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) Աննան շներ է սիրում:

Anna-n šn-er ē sir-um.
 Anna.NOM-the dog.PL-NOM she is love-PTCP.PRES.
 “Anna loves dogs.” (In general, all dogs)

- (2) Աննան սիրոմ Ե իր հոր շներին:

Anna-n sir-um ē ir
 Anna.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. she is her
hor šn-er-i-n.
 father-DAT dog-PL-DAT-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)
 Ես սիրում եմ իմ մորը: *Es sir-um em im mor-ě.* I love my mother.
2. (+human) noun, denoting a definite object, state of affair → nominative (with definite article)
 Նա իր ընկերը կորցրեց: *Na ir ěnker-ě korc’reč’.* He lost his friend.
3. (+human) noun, denoting an indefinite, non-specific person → dative (without definite article)
 Նա ուսանողի սիրեց: *Na usanol-i sirec’.* He loved a student.
4. (+human) noun, denoting an indefinite object, institution or state of affairs (depersonalification) → nominative (without definite article)

- Ես հայր եմ կորցրել: *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)
 Ես վարդը գտա: Նա կովը մորթեց: *Es vard-ě gta. Na kov-ě mort'ec'.*
 He killed the cow.
6. (–human) noun, denoting a definite person (“personification”) → dative (with definite article)
 Սոխակը իր վարդին գտավ: *Soxak-ě ir vard-i-n gtav.* The nightingale found its rose. Գյուղացին ոչ մի կովի չի մորթի: *Gyulac'i-n oc' mi kov-i č'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)
 Ես վարդ գտա: *Es vard gta.* I found a rose. Նա կով մորթեց: *Na kov mort'ec'.* He killed a cow.
8. (–human) noun, denoting an indefinite person (personification) → dative (with definite article)
 Սոխակը ամեն վարդի չի սիրի: *Soxak-ě amen vard-i č'i siri.* The nightingale will not love every rose. Գյուղացին ոչ մի կովի չի մորթի: *Gyulac'i-n oc' mi kov-i č'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)
 Կենդանին ճանաչում է իր տերը: *Kendani-n čanač'-um ē ir ter-ě.* An animal knows its master.
6. (–human), denoting a definite person (“personification”) → dative (with definite article)
 Արևը շոյում է յուրաքանչյուր տերևի: *Arew-ě 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. Secondly, definiteness of a noun also seems to 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) Տեսա մի մարդ:

tes-a mi mard.

see-AOR.1.SG INDEF person.NOM

“I saw a person.” (Absolutely neutral statement)

- (3) a. Տեսա մի մարդու:
tesa mi mard-u.
 see-AOR.1.SG INDEF person-DAT
 “I saw a (certain) person...”

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:

- count nouns, combining with singular and plural;
- nouns combining only with singular, i.e. *singularia tantum*;
- nouns combining only with plural, i.e. *pluralia tantum*.

The following noun groups belong to *singularia tantum*.

- (Abstract) collective nouns suffixed with *-ություն* *-ut’yun* or *-ելեն* *-elen*, as e.g. *մարդկություն* *mardkut’yun* “mankind”, *ուսանողություն* *usanolut’yun* “student body”, *երկաթեղեն* *erkat’elen* “ironware, hardware” etc.
- Abstract nouns suffixed with *-ություն* *-ut’yun*, denoting
 - qualities as found in *հպարտություն* *hpartut’yun* “pride”, *կարմրություն* *karmrut’yun* “redness” etc.
 - nouns from the lexical field job/profession as in *երկրագործություն* *erkragorcut’yun* “agriculture, tillage”, *գյուղատնտեսություն* *gyulatntesut’yun* “agriculture” etc.
 - nouns from the lexical fields of policy, sociology e.g. *ստրկատիրություն* *strkatirut’yun* “slavery” etc.
 - nouns from the lexical fields of science, various fields of studies as e.g. *լեզվաբանություն* *lezvabanut’yun* “linguistics”, *երկրաբանություն* *erkrabanut’yun* “geology” etc.
- abstract nouns suffixed with *-իզմ* *-izm*, as in *սոցիալիզմ* *soçializm* “socialism”, *կապիտալիզմ* *kapitalizm* “capitalism” etc.
- material nouns, like *կաթ* *kat* “milk”, *գինի* *gini* “wine”, *երկաթ* *erkat* “iron” etc.
- 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.

- (4) Մեր կուրսի երկու Արամները լավ են սովորում:

mer kurs-i erku Aram-ner-ě lav en sovor-um.

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 *ač'k* “eye”, ոտք *otk* “foot”, as well as խելք *xelk* “mind, intellect”, միտք *mitk* “thought”, կյանք *kyank* “life” etc.

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

- a. Nouns with inherited Classical Armenian plural forms -նք *-nk'*, անք *-ank'*, ոնք *-onk'*, -ունք *-unk'*, which denote a family or kin, cannot combine with the plural e.g. Վարդանենք *Vardanenk* “the family/kin of Vardan”
- 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 -(ն)եր *-(n)er*, which is directly attached to the noun stem.

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

Exceptions to this general rule for monosyllabic words

- a. The following monosyllabic nouns: ռուս *rus* “Russian”, ռուսներ *rus-ner* “Russians”, մարդ *mard* “human, person”, մարդիք *mard-ik* “humans, people”, կին *kin* “woman”, կանայք *kanayk* “women”.
- 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 – ներ *ner*: ձուկ *juk* “fish”, ձեռ *jeř* “hand”, թոռ *t'oř* “grandchild”, ոտ *ot* “foot”, մուկ *muk* “mouse”, եզ *ez* “ox”, լեռ *leř* “mountain”, բեռ *beř* “load; burden”, մատ *mat* “finger”, գառ *gař* “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. հեռագիր *heřagir* “telegraph” - հեռագրեր *heřagr-er* “telegraphs”; պայմանագիր *paymanagir* “contract” - պայմանագրեր *paymanagr-er* “contracts” etc.

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

2. Plural in – ներ *-ner*
 - The suffix – ներ *-ner* 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 ը ջ, form the plural in the following way:
 - a. if the word's first syllable is formed with the central vowel ը ջ, then this word is interpreted as bisyllabic and the suffix -ներ *-ner* has to be used, as in ընկեր ընկեր-ներ *ēnker – ēnker-ner* “friend to friends”, գնդակ գնդակ-ներ *g(ē)ndak – g(ē)ndak-ner* “ball to balls” etc.
 - b. if the word's second syllable is formed with the central vowel ը ջ, then this noun is interpreted as monosyllabic and thus the suffix -եր *-er* has to be used, as in աստղ-եր *ast(ē)ł – ast(ē)ł-er* “star – stars”; վագր վագր-եր *vag(ē)r – vag(ē)r-er* “tiger – tigers”; կայսր կայսր-եր *kays(ē)r – kays(ē)r-er* “emperor – emperors”; տետր տետր-եր *tet(ē)r – tet(ē)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 -իկ *-ik*

This plural suffix occurs only with the noun մարդ *mard* “human/person” and its compounds, such as մարդ *mard* մարդ-իկ *mardik*, տղամարդ *tłamard* “man” տղամարդ-իկ *tłamardik* etc.

4. Plural in -այք *-ayk'*

This plural suffix occurs only with the nouns կին *kin* “woman” and պարոն *paron* “mister” and their compounds, such as e.g. կին *kin* “woman” կան-այք *kanayk'*, տիկին *tikin* “Mrs.” տիկնայք *tiknayk'*; պարոն *paron* “Mr.” - պարոնայք *paronayk'* etc.

5. Plural in -ք *-k'*

This plural suffix is commonly used in colloquial Armenian, particularly with the noun երեխա *erexa* “child” and nouns denoting origin, ending in -ցի, *-c'i*, as e.g. in երեխա *erexa* “child” - երեխեք *erexek'*; գյուղացի *gyulac'i* “farmer” - գյուղացիք *gyulac'ik'*

- (5) Ազգությամբ բելառուս էր, էրեխեք չունեինք, ինքը հիվանդ էր:
(Hetk' 15.01.2006)

<i>azgut'y-amb</i>	<i>belar'us</i>	<i>ēr</i>	<i>ērex-ek'</i>
nationality-INST	White Russian.NOM	he was	child-PL.NOM
<i>č'-un-eink'</i>	<i>ink'-ē</i>	<i>hivand</i>	<i>ēr.</i>
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 -անք *ank'*, -ենք *-enk'* and -ունք *-unk'* denote the affiliation and membership to a certain person. The forms in *-ենք -enk'* are nowadays the most frequent and productive ones, whereas the other forms tend to occur in colloquial Armenian and in older texts. Վարդան *Vardan* – Վարդանենք *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- underlie 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", ժպիտ *žpit* "smile", լիքց *lic'k'* "charge, filling", կիրճ *kirč* "canyon", հիմք *himk'* "base", ձիրք *žirk'* "gift, talent", ճիչ *čič* "cry", նիշ *niš* "mark", շիթ *šit* "jet; stream", վիհ *vih* "abyss", քիմք *k'imk'* "palate", ֆիլմ *film* "Film" etc.
 - b. The medial -i of polysyllabic nouns remain unchanged in plural formations, as in բժիշկ *bžišk* "doctor": բժիշկներ *bžišk-ner*; հաշիվ *hašiv* "invoice" : հաշիվներ *hašiv-ner*, որոշիչ *orošič* "attribute" : որոշիչներ *orošič'ner* etc.
 - Exceptions to this rule are (a) the lexeme երկիր *erkir* "country", in plural formations with the reduced vowel -i- to -ě- Երկրներ *erkr-ner* (NOM.PL) as well as (b) all compound nouns the last element of which is a monosyllabic deverbal lexeme containing -i- such as պատմագիր *patmagir* "historian": պատմագիրներ *patmagir-ner*.
 - c. The medial -u- is generally reduced to -ě- in monosyllabic words, as in ջուր *žur* "water": ջրեր *žr-er*, սուրբ *surb* "holy": սրբեր *srb-er*.
 - d. There are however some monosyllabic nouns, in which -u- remains unchanged e.g. թուխս *t'uxs* "brood-hen", թուրք *t'urk'* "Turk", խութ *xut'* "reef", կուռք *kur'k'* "idol", կուտ *kut* "core", կուրս *kurs* "course", հուն *hun* "channel, riverbed", հուշ *huš* "recollection, memory", մուտք *mutk'* "entrance", մուրճ *murč* "hammer", ռումբ *řumb* "bomb", սուրճ *surč* "coffee", տուրք *turk'* "fee; toll", տուփ *tup'* "box", տուֆ *tuf* "tuff", քունք *k'un'k'* "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 բուք *buk* "snow-storm", բուրգ *burg* "pyramid", դուքս *duks* "duke", հունձ *hunj* "harvest", սուգ *sug* "sorrow, grief", քուրմ *k'urm* "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 մեծատուն *mecatun* "rich man" -մեծատուններ *mecatunner*. It is reduced to -ě-, if the plural is formed by means of -er, as in հանքաջուր *hank'ajur* "mineral water"– հանքաջրեր *hank'ajrer*, ծառաբուն *cařabun* "tree nest"– ծառաբուներ *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 underlie alternations with plural formations
 - -i and -u remain unchanged in polysyllabic nouns, such as կատու – կատուներ *katu – katu-ner* "cat to cats", գինի – գինիներ *gini – gini-ner* "wine to wines" etc.
 - The final – u of a monosyllabic noun changes with the plural suffix -er to -v-, as in e.g. . ձու *ju* "egg" ձվեր *j-v-er* "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) Ես տեսնում եմ երեք աղջկա:

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 *šat* “many/much”. With the distributive quantifiers ամեն *amen* “all” and յուրաքանչյուր *yurakanč'yur* “each” the nouns obligatorily appear in the singular.

- (7) Ես պիտի կարդամ բոլոր գրքերը:

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

- (8) Ես ճանաչում եմ շատ ուսանողների:

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) Ես տեսնում եմ եղբոր երեք աղջիկներին:

Es tesn-um em elb-or erek' aljik-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) Ես տեսնում եմ այս երեք աղջիկներին:

Es tesn-um em ays erek' aljik-ner-i-n.
 I.NOM see-PTCP.PRES. I am this three girl-PL-DAT-the
 “I see these three girls.”

- (11) Ես գովում եմ իմ հինգ ուսանողներին:

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. Ես գովում եմ հինգ ուսանողներին:

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 -ից *-ic'*, the instrumental case in -ով *-ov* (respectively in consonant an-declension -ամբ *-amb*) as well as for the locative case in -ում *-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
 - a. The medial -i of monosyllabic nouns is generally reduced in declension, as in e.g. սիրտ *sirt* "heart" – սրտի *srti*, գիրք *girk'* "book" – գրքի *grk'i*, թիզ *t'iz* "hand (as measure)" – թզի *t'zi*, միս *mis* "meat" – մսի *msi*, լիճ *lic* "lake" – լճի *lci*, վիզ *viz* "neck" – վզի *vzi*, գիժ *giz* "madman" – գժի *gzi* etc.
 - There are some monosyllabic words, in which -i remains unchanged in declension, such as դիրք *dirk'* "position, setting", ժպիտ *zpit* "smile", լիքց *lic'k* "charge, filling", կիրճ *kirč* "canyon", հիմք *himk'* "base", ծիրք *jirk'* "gift, talent", ճիչ *čič* "cry", նիշ *niš* "mark", շիթ *šit* "jet; stream", վիհ *vih* "abyss", քիմք *k'imk'* "palate", ֆիլմ *film* "Film" etc.
 - b. The medial -i of polysyllabic words is reduced to -ě-, as in բժիշկ *bžišk-* բժշկի *bžski* "doctor, physician", հաշիվ *hašiv* – հաշվի *hašv-i* "account", ուսուցիչ *usuc'ič* – ուսուցչի *usuc'č-i* "teacher" etc.
 - c. The medial -u- is reduced in monosyllabic words, such as սուր *sur* "sword" – սրի *sri*, մուր *mur* "soot" – մրի *mri*, թուր *tur* "sabre" – թրի *t'ri*, հուր *hur* "fire" – հրի *hri*, թուբ *tut* "mulberry" – թթի *t'ti*, սուտ *sut* "lie" – ստի *sti*, ջուր *jur* "water" – ջրի *jri*, ճուտ *čut* "chick" – ճտի *čti* etc.
 - There are some monosyllabic words, in which u- remains unchanged in declension, such as թուխս *tuxs* "brood-hen", թուրք *turk'* "Turk", խութ *xut* "reef", կուռք *kuřk* "idol", կուտ *kut* "core", կուրս *kurs* "course", հուն *hun* "channel, riverbed", հուշ *huš* "recollection, memory", մուտք *mutk'* "entrance", մուրճ *murč* "hammer", ռումբ *řumb* "bomb", սուրճ *surč* "coffee", տուրք *turk'* "fee; toll", տուփ *tup* "box", տուֆ *tuf* "tuff", քունք *k'unk'* "temple" etc. Some of the nouns given here used to show reduction of the medial -u- in former days.
 - d. The medial -u of the last element of a polysyllabic compound remains unchanged if it is not a noun ending in -ություն *-ut'yun*, -ում *-um*, -ուն *-un*, such as. մեծատուն *-մեծատան*.

3. Final position

The final -u is changed to -v- with case endings in instances of belonging to the u-declension, such as ձու յս “egg” – ձվի *jvi*, կատու *katu* “cat” – կատվի *katvi*, լեզու *lezu* “language/tongue” – լեզվի *lezvi* etc.

Other alternations in declension affect

- the medial vowel *a* which may be deleted ($\omega a < 0$), as in ամառ *amar* “summer” ամռան *amran*, is a particularly productive alternation in colloquial Armenian: բերան *beran* “mouth” – բերնի *bern-i*⁷⁵
- the medial vowel *e* (ե, է) which is reduced to -i- or completely deleted ($\epsilon \bar{e} < \text{ի i, 0}$), as in տէր *tēr* “lord” – տիրոջ *tiroj*, ձմեռ *jmeř* “winter” – ձմռան *jm(ě)řan*
- the medial diphthong *uy* is reduced in high literary styles in monosyllabic words to *u* as in հույս *hyus* “hope” – հուս *huso*, լույս *luy* “light” – լուս *luso*; otherwise, particularly in colloquial Armenian, it remains unchanged.
- the medial diphthong *uy* is reduced to *ը* *ě* in monosyllabic words, such as քույր *kuyr* ք(ը)րոջ *k'(ě)roj*, բույն *buy*n “bird’s nest” – բ(ը)նի *b(ě)ni* etc.
- the medial diphthong *ույ uy* in monosyllabic words is reduced to *ը* *ě* or even entirely deleted in colloquial and dialectal Armenian, such as ձյուն *jyun* “snow”, ձ(ը)նի *j(ě)ni*,⁷⁶ ալյուր *alyur* “flour” – ալրի *alri*⁷⁷ etc.

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

The -i, -u, -an, -va and -oյ 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 բերան *beran* – բերանի *berani* is nowadays regarded as common form.

76. In written Armenian ձյուն *jyun* – ձյան *jyan* or in spoken Armenian sometimes ձյան *jyuni*

77. In written Armenian ալյուր *alyur* – ալյուրի *alyuri*; this is also the more common form in spoken Armenian.

78. (Ջարգյուլյան 1981: 92) for colloquial Armenian in general and (Zak’aryan 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” : կանաչը *kanačë* “the green” : կանաչի(ն) *kanač’in*, կանաչից *kanač’ic’*, կանաչով *kanač’ov*, կանաչում *kanač’um*
 - իմ *im* “my” : իմը *imë* “mine” : իմի(ն) *imi(n)*, իմից *imic’*, իմով *imov*, իմի մեջ *imi mej*
 - Արամի գիրքը *Arami girkë* “Aram’s book”: Արամինը *Araminë* “Aram’s”, Արամինի(ն) *Aramini(n)*, Արամինից *Araminic’*, Արամինով *Araminov*, Արամինի մեջ *Aramini mej*
- b. The nouns հույս *huys* “hope”, լույս *luys* “light”, սուգ *sug* “sorrow/grief”, are nowadays predominantly inflected following the i-declension, particularly in colloquial Armenian.⁷⁹ Apart from these productive forms, in high literary style, in idioms and compounds the older, classical forms are still used:
- հույս *huys* “hope”, հուսով եմ *husov em* “I hope”
 - լույս *luys* “light” – լուսո *luso*, but in modern words լույսի քելում *luysi bekum* “refraction”
 - սուգ *sug* “sorrow/grief”, սգո ճառ *sgo čar* “funeral speech”, but more common սգի զգեստ *sgi zgest* “mourning (clothes)”
- c. Nouns ending in -(ը)ր (*ë*)r. These nouns are inherited from the Classical Armenian e-declension of r-stems,⁸⁰ 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:
- դուստր *dustr* “daughter”, դստեր *dster*: coll. դստրի *dstri*
 - կայսր *kaysr* “emperor”, կայսեր *kayser*: coll. կայսրի *kaysri*
- d. Nouns ending in -ստ *st* and -նդ *-nd*. These nouns are inherited from the Classical Armenian an-declension⁸¹ 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-declension⁸²

classes by i-declension: vowel u-, an- (particularly nouns ending in -um), -va, and -oj as well as the limited consonantal declensions in a- and o-. Particularly affected are the inherited declensions from Classical Armenian, as will be specified in this chapter.

79. Լարայլույան 1981: 92; Հակ’արյան 1981: 216.

80. e.g. Classical Armenian, SG. < դուստր *dustr*, դստեր *dster*, զրուստր *zdustr*, ի դստերէ *i dsterë*, դստերք *dsterb*, ի դստեր *is dster*.

81. e.g. Classical Armenian, SG. ծնունդ *cnund* < ծնունդ *cnund*, ծննդեան *cnndean*, զծնունդ *zcnund*, ի ծննդենէ *i cnndenë*, ծննդեամբ *cnndeamb*, ի ծննդեան *i cnndean*.

82. Լարայլույան 1981: 92; Հակ’արյան 1981: 216.

- գալուստ *galust* “arrival”, գալստյան *galstyan*, coll. (modern) – գալուստի *galusti*
- հանգիստ *hangist* “rest, peace”, հանգստյան *hangstyan* as in հանգստյան օրը *hangstyan օր* “day off” : coll. (modern) հանգստ-ի *hangsti*
- ծնունդ *cnund* “birth”, ծննդյան *cnndyan* as in ծննդյան օրը *cnndyan օր* “birthday”: coll. (modern): ծննդ-ի *cnndi*.

If a noun ends in *-a* or *-o*, the sequence of the final [ɑ] or [ɔ] and thematic vowel [i] Ի *i* in morpheme boundary triggers the insertion of the glide [j], which is also expressed in orthography as *y*, as in e.g. տղա *tla* “boy” տղայի *tlayi*, կին *kino* “cinema; movie” կինոյի *kinoyi*.

If a mono- or bisyllabic noun ends in [u] – ու *u*, the sequence of [u] with thematic vowel [i] becomes [v] վ *v*, as in լեզու *lezu* “language/tongue” լեզվի *lezvi*, առու *aru* “brook” առվի.

սար *sar* “mountain”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	սար(ը)	<i>sar(ě)</i>	սար-եր(ը)	<i>sar-er(ě)</i>
DAT	սար-ի(ն)	<i>sar-i(n)</i>	սար-եր-ի(ն)	<i>sar-er-i(n)</i>
ABL	սար-ից	<i>sar-ic’</i>	սար-եր-ից	<i>sar-eric’</i>
INST	սար-ով	<i>sar-ov</i>	սար-եր-ով	<i>sar-er-ov</i>
LOC	սար-ում	<i>sar-um</i>	սար-եր-ում	<i>sar-er-um</i>

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 տեղի *tehi* as the second element
 - the nouns անդրի *andri* “statue”, շվի *švi* “shalm”, սպի *spi* “seam/scar”, տատի *tati* “grandma, պապի *papi* “grandfather”, հացի *hac’i* “ash tree”, etc.
- b. The four nouns մարդ *mard* “person”, ամուսին *amusin* “husband”, անկողին *ankolin* “bed”, Աստված *astvac* “god” and their compounds
- c. The nominalised infinitives
- d. The noun սեր *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 մեջ *mej* “in” and the noun in the dative case.

քամի *kami* “wind”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	քամի	<i>kami</i>	քամի-ներ(ը)	<i>kami-ner(ë)</i>
DAT	քամ-ու(ն)	<i>kam-u(n)</i>	քամի-ների(ն)	<i>kami-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	քամ-ուց	<i>kam-uc'</i>	քամի-ների-ից	<i>kami-ner-ic'</i>
INST	քամ-ով	<i>kam-ov</i>	քամի-ներ-ով	<i>kami-ner-ov</i>
LOC	քամ-ում	<i>kam-um</i>	քամի-ներ-ում	<i>kami-ner-um</i>

մարդ *mard* “person”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	մարդ(ը)	<i>mard(ë)</i>	մարդիկ	<i>mard-ik</i>
DAT	մարդ-ու(ն)	<i>mard-u(n)</i>	մարդկանց	<i>mardkanc'</i>
ABL	մարդ-ուց	<i>mard-uc'</i>	մարդկանցից	<i>mardkanc'ic'</i>
INST	մարդ-ով	<i>mard-ov</i>	մարդկանով	<i>mardkanov</i>
LOC	–	–	–	–

գնալը *gnal-ë* “the going” (nominalised infinitive)

	SG.	
NOM	գնալ(ը)	<i>gnal(ë)</i>
DAT	գնալ-ու	<i>gnal-u</i>
ABL	գնալ-ուց	<i>gnal-uc'</i>
INST	գնալ-ով	<i>gnal-ov</i>
LOC	(գնալ-ում)	(<i>gnal-um</i>)

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. տղա *tla* “boy” < տղու *tł-u* (DAT) instead of i-declension տղայի *tla-y-i* (DAT).⁸³

2.1.2.3 *an-declension*

This declension class comprises the following nouns:

- a. all nouns in -ում *-um* inherited from Classical Armenian -ումն *-umn*⁸⁴
- b. all monosyllabic nouns that origin in Classical Armenian simple n-stems,⁸⁵ such as մուկ *muk* “mouse”, դուռ *dur* “door”, լեռ *leř* “mountain”, գառ *gar* “lamb”, ձուկ *juk* “fish”, նուռ *nur* “pomegranate”. The following Classical Armenian n-stems are more frequently inflected according to the productive i-declension: եզ *ez* “ox”, թոռ *řor* “grandchild”, ծունկ *cunk* “knee”, ծոռ *coř* “goose berry”.

83. Լարաղլյան 1981: 92.

84. In Classical Armenian, stems in -ումն *-umn*, a consonant declension class: ուսում *usum* “study”: ուսման *usm-an*, զուսումն *z-usm-an*, յուսմանէ *y-usm-anë*, ուսմամբ *usm-amb*, յուսում *y-usum*.

85. In Classical Armenian simple stems in -ն *-n*, a consonant declension class: մուկն *mukn* “mouse”, մկ-ան *mk-an*, գ-մուկն *z-muk-n*, ի մկ-անէ *i mk-anë*, մկ-ամբ *mk-amb*, ի մկան *i mk-an*.

- c. all nouns denoting seasons of the year, i.e. գարուն *garun* “spring”, ամառ *amar* “summer”, աշուն *ašun* “autumn” and ձմեռ *jmeř* “winter”.
- d. the noun մանուկ *manuk* “child”.

Also some alternations occur in the u-declension

- If the noun contains [u] -ու -u in the last syllable, this [u] -ու -u is deleted in declension
- If the noun is monosyllabic, the final [u] -ու -u is reduced to [ə] -ը -ě- in declension, as in e.g. դուռ *duř* - դռան *d(ě)řan*, մուկ *muk* - մկան *m(ě)kan*.

The ablative in -ից *-ic’* and the instrumental in -ով *-ov* are formed in the following ways:

- in nouns ending in -ում *-um* the ablative and instrumental endings are directly attached to the nominative of the nouns, as in անկում *ankum* “fall/breakdown” անկումից *ankumic’* անկումով *ankumov*; բաժանում *bažanum* “separation” բաժանումից *bažanumic’* բաժանումով *bažanumov* etc.
- in monosyllabic nouns having -ի *-i-* or -ու *-u-*, the ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the stems with reduced vowel to -ը *-ě-*, as in e.g. ծունկ *cunk* “knee” ծնկից *cnkic’*, ծնկով *cnkov*.
- in nouns originating in Classical Armenian -ն *-n-* stems, the -ն *-n-* occurs in the ablative and instrumental, e.g. դուռ *duř* “door” դռնից *dř-n-ic’* դռնով *dř-n-ov*.
- nouns denoting seasons of the year attach the ablative ending to the dative form and the instrumental to the nominative form, such as. գարուն *garun* “springtime”, գարնանից *garn-a-nic’*, գարնանով *garun-ov*.
- the noun մանուկ *manuk* “child” attaches both ablative and instrumental endings to the nominative form.

ուսմ *usum* “study”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	ուսում(ը)	<i>usum(ě)</i>	ուսում-ներ(ը)	<i>usum-ner(ě)</i>
DAT	ուսմ-ան(ը)	<i>usm-an(ě)</i>	ուսում -ների(ն)	<i>usum-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	ուսում-ից	<i>usum-ic’</i>	ուսում -ներ-ից	<i>usum-ner-ic’</i>
INST	ուսում-ով	<i>usum-ov</i>	ուսում -ներ-ով	<i>usum-ner-ov</i>
LOC	(ուսումի մեջ	<i>usum-i mej</i>	ուսում-ներ-ի մեջ	<i>usum-ner-i mej</i>

մուկ *muk* “mouse”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	մուկ(ը)	<i>muk(ě)</i>	մկ-ներ(ը)	<i>mk-ner(ě)</i>
DAT	մկ-ան(ը)	<i>mk-an(ě)</i>	մկ-ների(ն)	<i>mk-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	մկն-ից	<i>mkn-ic’</i>	մկ-ներ-ից	<i>mk-ner-ic’</i>
INST	մկն-ով	<i>mkn-ov</i>	մկ-ներ-ով	<i>mk-ner-ov</i>
LOC	(մկն-ում	<i>mkn-um</i>	մկ-ներ-ում	<i>mk-ner-um</i>

մանուկ *manuk* “child”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	մանուկ(ը)	<i>manuk(ĕ)</i>	մանուկ-ներ(ը)	<i>manuk-ner-(ĕ)</i>
DAT	մանկ-ան(ը)	<i>mank-an(ĕ)</i>	մանուկ-ների(ն)	<i>manuk-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	մանուկ-ից	<i>manuk-ic’</i>	մանուկ-ներից	<i>manuk-ner-ic’</i>
INST	մանուկ-ով	<i>manuk-ov</i>	մանուկ-ներ-ով	<i>manuk-ner-ov</i>
LOC	–		–	

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. գիշեր *gišer* “night”, երկուշաբթի *erkušabt’i* “Monday”, but NOT the following nouns, grouped with the i-declension: դար *dar* “century”, րոպե *rope* “minute”, վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second” and երեկո *ereko* “evening”.
- Some Armenian place names such as Լոռի *Loři*, Շուշի *Šuši* used were originally inflected following the va-declension, nowadays, however, they are inflected according to i- or -u declension.
- The noun մահ *mah* “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 *anc’yal* “past/last”, նախորդ *naxord* “past”, այս *ays* “this”, հաջորդ *hajord* “next”, գալիս *galis* “to come/next”, եկող *ekot* “coming”, մյուս *myus* “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 շաբաթվա ընթացքում ավարտեցինք մեր աշխատանքները:

Mek šabat’-va ěnt’ac’k’-um avartec’-ink’ mer ašxatank’-ner-ĕ.
 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 օրվա մեջ Մարինեն գրեց իր զեկուցումը:

Mek ōr-va mej Marine-n gr-ec’ ir zekuc’um-ĕ.
 one day-DAT POST Marine.NOM-the write-AOR.3.SG. her report.NOM-the
 “Marine wrote her report in one day.”

- (14) Մյուս տարվանից սկսված մենք զբաղվելու ենք այդ աշխատանքով:

Myus tar-vanic’ sks-v-ac menk’ zbatvel-u.
 other year-ABL begin-PASS-PTCP.RES. we.NOM occupy-PTCP.FUT.

enk' ayd ašxatank'-ov.
 we are that work-INST
 “Starting next year we will be occupied with that work.”

- (15) Երեք շաբաթից նա մեկնում է Հավայան կղզիներ՝ արձակուրդի:
erek' šabat'-ic' na mekn-um ē Havayin
 three week-ABL he.NOM leave-PTCP.PRES. he is Hawaii
klzi-ner arjakurd-i.
 island-PL.NOM holiday-DAT
 “In three weeks he leaves for Hawaii for holiday.”

- (16) Երկու տարուց մենք կգնանք Չինաստան:
Erku tar-uc' menk' kğna-nk' Č'inastan.
 two year-ABL we.NOM go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL China.NOM
 “In two years we will go to China.”

- (17) Մեկ րոպեից պատասաւս կլինեմ:
Mek rope-ic' patrast klin-em.
 one second-ABL ready be-COND.FUT.1.SG
 “I will be ready in one minute.”

Formation

Basically, all nouns belonging to this class can form the ablative with *-վանից -vanic'*, which is directly attached to the nominative form, such as օր *ōr* “day”-օրվա *ōr-va* (DAT) – օրվանից *ōr-vanic'*.

The instrumental in *-ով -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 շաբաթ *šabat'* “week”, as in մեկ շաբաթում *mek šabat'um* “in one week”.

օր-*ōr* “day”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	օր(ը)	<i>ōr(ĕ)</i>	օր-եր(ը)	<i>ōr-er(ĕ)</i>
DAT	օր-վա(ն)	<i>ōr-va(n)</i>	օր-երի(ն)	<i>ōr-er-i(n)</i>
ABL	օրվան-ից	<i>ōr-van-ic'</i>	օր-եր-ից	<i>ōr-er-ic'</i>
INST	օր-ով	<i>ōr-ov</i>	օր-եր-ով	<i>ōr-er-ov</i>
LOC	օր-ում	<i>ōr-um</i>	օր-եր-ում	<i>ōr-er-um</i>

2.1.2.5 *oĵ* -declension

This rather small class comprises most of the nouns denoting kinship, as well as the nouns տէր *tēr* “lord/master”, ընկեր *ĕnker* “friend” and their compounds.

Formation

The ablative and instrumental endings are attached to the dative form ending in *-ոջ -oĵ*.

Only with a few nouns, the instrumental ending can also be attached to the nominative form, as in e.g. ընկեր *ėnker*, ընկերոջ *ėnker-oj*, ընկերոջից *ėnkeroy-ic* but ընկերով *ėnker-ov*
քույր *k'yur* “sister”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	քույր(ը)	<i>k'yur(ė)</i>	քույր -ներ(ը)	<i>k'yur-ner(ė)</i>
DAT	քր-ոջ(ը)	<i>k'r-oj(ė)</i>	քույր -ների(ն)	<i>k'yur-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	քրոջ-ից	<i>kroj-ic</i>	քույր -ներ-ից	<i>k'yur-ner-ic</i>
INST	քրոջ-ով	<i>kroj-ov</i>	քույր -ներ-ով	<i>k'yur-ner-ov</i>
LOC	–		–	

2.1.2.6 Consonant -a-declension

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

- all nouns ending in -ություն *-ut'yun*
- all nouns ending in -յուն *-yun*
- monosyllabic nouns ending in -ուն *-un*.

Alternation in declension occurs in the group of monosyllabic nouns in -ուն *-un*, in which the vowel -ու *u-* is reduced to -ը *ė-*, as in e.g. տուն *tun* – տնից *t(ė)n-ic*.

Formation

The ablative ending is attached to the nominative form, e.g. հերոսություն-ից *herosut'yun-ic* “from heroism”, սյուն-ից *syun-ic* “from the column”, տն-ից *tn-ic* “from the house”.

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

- The instrumental in -ով *ov* is attached to the nouns ending in -յուն *yun* and -ուն *un*, as in անկյուն *ankyun* “corner” - անկյունով *ankyun-ov*, տուն *tun* “house” - տնով *tn-ov*.
- The instrumental in -ամբ *amb*, which is inherited from Classical Armenian, is attached to nouns ending in -ություն *ut'yun*, such as հերոսություն *herosut'yun* “heroism” հերոսությամբ *herosut'y-amb*. In colloquial Armenian the instrumental ending -ով *ov* is also used for nouns ending in -ություն *-ut'yun*; the ending is directly attached to the nominative form, e.g. հերոսություն *herosut'yun* “heroism” հերոսությամբ *herosut'yun-ov*.
- The locative ending is attached to the nominative form. The locative is not often used due to semantic constraints.

հերոսություն *herosut'yun* “heroism”

	SG.	
NOM	հերոսություն(ը)	<i>herosut'yun(ė)</i>
DAT	հերոսությամ(ը)	<i>herosut'yan(ė)</i>
ABL	հերոսություն-ից	<i>herosut'yun-ic</i>
INST	հերոսությամբ	<i>herosut'yamb</i>
LOC	հերոսություն-ում	<i>herosut'yun-um</i>

անկյուն *ankyun* “corner”

NOM	անկյուն(ը)	<i>ankyun(ě)</i>	անկյուն-ներ(ը)	<i>ankyun-ner(ě)</i>
DAT	անկյան(ը)	<i>ankyan(ě)</i>	անկյուն-ներ-ի(ն)	<i>ankyun-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	անկյուն-ից	<i>ankyun-ic’</i>	անկյուն-ներ-ից	<i>ankyun-ner-ic’</i>
INST	անկյուն-ով	<i>ankyun-ov</i>	անկյուն-ներ-ով	<i>ankyun-ner-ov</i>
LOC	անկյուն-ում	<i>ankyun-um</i>	անկյուն-ներ-ում	<i>ankyun-ner-um</i>

տուն *tun* “house”

NOM	տուն(ը)	<i>tun(ě)</i>	տն-եր(ը)	<i>tn-er(ě)</i>
DAT	տան(ը)	<i>tan(ě)</i> ⁸⁶	տն-եր-ի(ն)	<i>tn-er-i(n)</i>
ABL	տն-ից	<i>tn-ic’</i>	տն-եր-ից	<i>tn-er-ic’</i>
INST	տն-ով	<i>tn-ov</i>	տն-եր-ով	<i>tn-er-ov</i>
LOC	տն-ում	<i>tn-um</i>	տն-եր-ում	<i>tn-er-um</i>

2.1.2.7 Consonant -o-declension

This declension comprises only a few nouns and their compounds: հայր *hayr* “father”, մայր *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.

հայր *hayr* “father”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	հայր(ը)	<i>hayr(ě)</i>	հայր-եր(ը)	<i>hayr-er(ě)</i>
DAT	հոր(ը)	<i>hor(ě)</i>	հայր-եր-ի(ն)	<i>hayr-er-i(n)</i>
ABL	հոր-ից	<i>hor-ic’</i>	հայր-եր-ից	<i>hayr-er-ic’</i>
INST	հոր-ով	<i>hor-ov</i>	հայր-եր-ով	<i>hayr-er-um</i>
LOC	–	–	–	–

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-declension⁸⁷.

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 -ուկ/-իկ *-uk/-ik*, as e.g. աղջիկ *aljik*, աղջկ-ան *aljk-an*, գաղջիկ *zajjik*, յաղջկանէ *y-aljk-anē* աղջկանք *aljk-amb*, յաղջկան *y-aljk-an*.

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	աղջիկ(ը)	<i>atjik(ë)</i>	աղջիկ -ներ(ը)	<i>atjik-ner(ë)</i>
DAT	աղջկա(ն)	<i>atjka(n)</i>	աղջիկ -ներ-ի(ն)	<i>atjik-ner-i(n)</i>
ABL	աղջկան-ից	<i>atjkan-ic'</i>	աղջիկ -ներ-ից	<i>atjik-ner-ic'</i>
INST	աղջկան-ով	<i>atjkan-ov</i>	աղջիկ -ներ-ով	<i>atjik-ner-ov</i>
LOC	–	–	–	–

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,⁸⁸ which used to be the prototypical declension for personal names, are considered archaisms and occur only in fossilised forms, such as Սևանա լիճ *Sewana Lič* “Lake Sevan”.
- b. Remains of the Classical Armenian o-declension,⁸⁹ particularly with the nouns տեր *ser* “love”, հույս *huys* “hope”, լույս *luys* “light”, սուգ *sug* “sorrow”, պատիվ *pativ* “honour”, հուր *hur* “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 տեր *ser* “love”, which is still productively inflected following the Classical Armenian paradigm of the o-declension: տեր *ser*, սիրո *siro*, սիրուց *siruc'*, սիրով *sirov*.
- c. The -յան *-yan* declension of nouns ending in -ուստ *-ust* and -նդ *-nd*⁹⁰ 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 – ր *-er* declension⁹¹ used for nouns ending in -ր *-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 -անք *-ank'*, ենք *-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 -անց *-anc'* or -եց *-enc'* which is the basis for the formation of the ablative and instrumental.

The Declension of Compounds Connected with “and” or “-”

If two nouns are connected by means of the coordinating conjunction որ *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

88. The prototypical declension of personal names in Classical Armenian, e.g. Տիտան *Titan*, Տիտան-աւ *Titanay*, գ-Տիտան *zTitan*, ի Տիտան-այ *i Titanay*, Տիտան-աւ *Titanaw*, ի Տիտան *i Titan*.

89. See above. The vowel o-declension of Classical Armenian of տեր *sër* “love”, սիր-ոյ *siroy*, գ-տէր *zsër*, ի սիր-ոյ *i siroy*, սիր-ող *sirov*, ի տէր *i sër*

90. See above, the Classical Armenian consonant an-declension of nouns in -ուրդ *-urd* and -ունդ *-und*.

91. See above, the Classical Armenian consonant e-declension of nouns in -ր.

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.

աչք ու ունքը *ač'k' u unk'-ë* “eye and ear”: աչք ու ունքի *ač'k' u unk'-i*, աչք ու ունքից *ač'k' u unk'-ic'*, աչք ու ունքով *ač'k' u unk'-ov*

սար ու ձորը *sar u jorë* “mountain and valley”: սար ու ձորի *sar u jor-i*, սար ու ձորից *sar u jor-ic'*, սար ու ձորով *sar u jor-ov*

աղ ու հաց *ał u hac'* “salt and bread”: աղ ու հացի *ał u hac'-i*, աղ ու հացից *ał u hac'-ic'*, աղ ու հացով *ał u hac'-ov*

օր ու գիշեր *ōr u gišer* “day and night”: օր ու գիշերվա *ōr u gišer-va* etc.

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

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

մայր ու աղջիկ *mayr u ałjik* “mother and daughter”

- մայր ու աղջկա *mayr u ałjka*, մայր ու աղջկանից *mayr u ałjkanic'*, մայր ու աղջկանով *mayr u ałjkanov*
- մոր ու աղջկա *mor u ałjka*, մոր ու աղջկանից *mor u ałjkanic'*, մոր ու աղջկանով *mor u ałjkanov*

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:

- *-ան/-ի-an/-i*-declensions. This may be the case with nouns ending in *-ում -um*, but also with the monosyllabic stems inherited from Classical Armenian *-ու -n*-stems. These nouns may also be declined following the *i*-declension, except the nouns մուկ *muk* and դուռ *duř*.
- *-ու/ի -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. Գյումրի *Gyumri*, Գյումրու *Gyumr-u* vs. more frequent/productive Գյումրիի *Gyumri-i*

- $-վա/-ի$ *va/-i*-declensions. As explained above, the $-վա$ *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.

Nominative	stem-plural-0 (-DEF)
Dative	stem-plural-i (-DEF)
Instrumental	stem-plural-ov
Ablative	stem-plural-ic'
Locative	stem-plural-um

In many cases, the synthetic locative is replaced by a postpositional phrase consisting of the postposition մեջ *mej* "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.

- 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 գնում է դպրոց:

<i>Ašakert-ě</i>	<i>gn-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>dproc'</i>
pupil.NOM-the	go-PTCP.PRES.	he is	school.NOM
"The pupil goes to school." (Agent subject with intransitive verb)			

- (19) Աշակերտը սովորում է հայերեն:

<i>Ašakert-ě</i>	<i>sovor-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>hayeren.</i>
pupil.NOM-the	learn-PTCP.PRES.	he is	Armenian.NOM
"The pupil learns Armenian." (Agent subject with transitive verb)			

- (20) Քամին կտրեց պատուհանը:

K'ami-n kotrec' patuhan-ě.
 wind.NOM-the break-AOR.3.SG window.NOM-the
 “The wind broke the window”. (Natural force agent with transitive verb)

- (21) Ջուրը հանգցրեց կրակը:

Ĵur-ě hang-c'r-ec' krak-ě.
 water.NOM-the extinguish-caus-AOR.3.SG fire.NOM-the
 “The water extinguished the fire.”
 (Instrumental agent with transitive verb. Of course, the instrumental agent implies a human agent)

- 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) Արամը կարդում է այս գիրքը:

Aram-ě kard-um ē ays girk'-ě.
 Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is this book.NOM-the
 “Aram reads this book.”

- (23) Արամը բժիշկ կանչեց:

Aram-ě bžišk kanč'-ec'.
 Aram.NOM-the doctor.NOM call-AOR.3.SG.
 “Aram called a doctor.”

- c. As predicative nominative

- (24) Նրա անունը Արամն է:

Nra anun-ě Aram-n ē.
 His name.NOM-the Aram.NOM-the it is
 “His name is Aram.”

- (25) Առաջին ձիավորը հնագետ էր:

Ařājin jiaavor-ě hmaget ēr.
 first horseman.NOM-the archaeologist.NOM he was
 “The first horseman was an archaeologist.”

- d. As vocative

- (26) Վահա՛ն, արի՛ այստեղ:

Vahan, ari aystel!
 Vahan.NOM come.IMP.2.SG. here
 “Vahan, come here!”

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 *minč'ew* “until”, the nominative also denotes the temporal end of an action.

- (27) Գիշերը անձրև եկավ:

Gišer-ě anjrew ek-av.
 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) Գյուղանիցները գնացին դաշտ:

Gyulaci-ner-ě gnac-'in dašt.
 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 ժամում անցանք քսան կիլոմետր:

Mek žam-um anc'-ank' k'san kilometr.
 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) Գիրքն արժե 1500 դրամ:

Girk²-n arž-e 1500 dram.
 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) *Ոչխարը բեր կթել:

oč'xar-ě ber kt²-el!
 sheep.NOM-the bring-IMP.2.SG milk-INF
 “Bring the sheep to milk!”

- a. Ոչխարը բեր կթելու:

oĉ'xar-ĕ ber kt'el-u!
 sheep.NOM-the bring-IMP.2.SG milk-INF-DAT
 “Bring the sheep to milk!”

- b. Ոչխարը բեր կթելու համար:

oĉ'xar-ĕ ber kt'el-u hamar!
 sheep.NOM-the bring-IMP.2.SG milk-INF-DAT POST
 “Bring the sheep to milk!”

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:

Ašakert-i girk'-ĕ nor ĕ.
 pupil-DAT book.NOM-the new it is
 “The pupil’s book is new.”

- (33) Անուշի եղբայրը դպրոց է գնում:

Anuš-i elbayr-ĕ dproc' ĕ gn-um.
 Anuš-DAT brother.NOM-the school.NOM he is go-PTCP.PRES.
 “Anuš’s brother goes to school.”

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

- (34) կատվի ծագը

katv-i jag-ĕ
 cat-DAT young.NOM-the
 cat’s young = “kitten”

- c. The partitive dative stands for the noun defined in the relationships of the whole to its parts.

(35) ուսանուների մի խումբ
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) որսի շուն *ors-i šun* “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) ամպի գոռալը
amp-i gor^o-al-ě
 cloud-DAT rumble-INF.NOM-the
 “The rumbling of the cloud/ the cloud’s rumbling.”

(38) տիրոջ գալուստը
tiroj galust-ě
 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) շէնքի կառուցումը
šenk[’]-i kařucum-ě
 building-DAT construction.NOM-the
 “The construction of the building.”

(40) այս տղամարդու սպանությունը
ays tlamard-u spanut’yun-ě
 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) շենք կառուցելը
šenk' kařuc'-el-ě
 building.NOM construct-INF.NOM-the
 “The construction of the building.”

(42) այս տղամարդու սպանելը
ays 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) գրքերի պահարան
grk'-er-i paharan
 book-PL-DAT cupboard.NOM
 “Book shelf/ bookcase” (A shelf for books)

(44) ջրի աման
řr-i vessel
 water-DAT vessel.NOM
 “Water vessel” (A vessel for water)

(45) պատերազմի դաշտ
paterazm-i dařt
 war-DAT field.NOM
 “Battlefield” (a field for battle)

(46) Պավելին ամուսնացնելու ժամանակն էր:
Pavel-i-n amusna-c'n-el-u žamanak-n ěr.
 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 դրամի 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.

(48) Աշոտը տեսավ Արամին:

<i>Ašot-ě</i>	<i>tes-av</i>	<i>Aram-i-n.</i>
Ašot.NOM-the	see-AOR.3.SG	Aram-DAT-the
S	V	O

“Ašot saw Aram.”

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

(49) Ղասախոսը ուսանողին տվեց գիրքը:

<i>Dasaxos-ě</i>	<i>usanoł-i-n</i>	<i>tvec'</i>	<i>girk'-ě.</i>
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) Արամի ուղարկած նամակը կարդացել եմ:

<i>Aram-i</i>	<i>ułark-ac</i>	<i>namak-ě</i>	<i>kardac'-el</i>	<i>em.</i>
Aram-DAT	send-PTCP.RES.	letter.NOM-the	read-PTCP.PERF.	I am

“I have read the letter sent by Aram.”

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

(51) Արամը Աշոտին բացել տվեց արտղը:

<i>Aram-ě</i>	<i>Ašot-i-n</i>	<i>bac'-el</i>	<i>tvec'</i>	<i>artł-ě.</i>
Aram.NOM-the	Ašot-DAT-the	open-INF	give-AOR.3.SG	box.NOM-the

“Aram made Ašot open the box.”

This dative also fulfils further semantic functions

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

(52) Չառնանը գնալու ենք Մոսկվա:

<i>Gařnan-ě</i>	<i>gnal-u</i>	<i>enk'</i>	<i>Moskva.</i>
spring-DAT-the	go-PTCP.FUT.	we are	MOSCOW.NOM

“In spring we will go to Moscow.”

- 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) Նրանք պառկած էին գետի ափին:

Nrank' paŋk-ac ěin get-i ap'-i-n.
 they.NOM lie-PTCP.RES they were river-DAT bank-DAT-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) Գյուղն էր իջել պատանին, աղջիկ տեսնելու:

Gyul-n ěr ij-el patani-n ałjik
 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) Աշոտը գնաց գրադարան՝ գրքի:

Ashot-ě gnac' gradaran grk'-i.
 Ashot.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG library.NOM book-DAT
 “Ashot 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 *tal* “give”, մատուցել *matuĉel* “to present, to offer”, առաջարկել *aŋajarkel* “to propose, to suggest”, պարգևել *pargewel* “to give”, նվիրել *nvirel* “to present, to donate”, մատնել *matnel* “to betray; to give away”, վճարել *vĉarel* “to pay”, կտակել *ktakel* “to will”, վաճառել *vaĉaŋel* “to sell”, ծախել *caxel* “to sell”, վարձատրել *varjatrel* “to pay, to recompense” etc.

- (56) Բացի այդ, ինքը որոշակի գումար է նրանց վճարել, սակայն ապացուցել չի կարող: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

bac'i ayd ink-ě orošaki gumar ě nranc' vĉar-el
 PREP that he.NOM certain amount.NOM he is they.DAT pay-PTCP.PERF.
sakayn apac'uc'-el ĉ'-i kar-oł.
 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) ՀՀ առաջին տիկինը հագուստներ և կոշիկներ նվիրեց մանկատան քոլոր 110 սաներին: (Armenpress 29.12.2005)

HH aŋajin tikiŋ-ě haġust-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 մոտենալ *motenal* “to approach/to draw near”

- (58) Չեմ համարում, որ մոտեցել ենք հարցի լուծմանը:
(Ařavot 05.04.2006)

ĉ-em hamar-um or motec'-el enk'
NEG-I am see-PTCP.PRES. CONJ approach-PTCP.PERF. we are
harc'-i lucm-an-ĕ.
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. մասնակցել *masnack'el* “participate at”, գործակցել *gorcack'el* “participate at, work with”, աջակցել *ařakc'el* “to help, to assist”, համաձայնել *hamajaynel* “to agree with”, աշխատակցել *ařxatakc'el* “to operate, to work”, ուղեկցել *ulekc'el* “to accompany, to guide”, մտերմնալ *mtermnal* “to become friends”, բարեկամանալ *barekamanal* “to become friends”, ծանոթանալ *canot'anal* “to become acquainted with”, ընկերանալ *ĕnkeranal* “to become friends” etc.

- (59) Գիտաժողովին մասնակցելու են Հայաստանից, Սփյուռքից, ինչպես նաև արտերկրից հրավիրված մասնագետներ: (Armenpress 05.01.2006)

gitařolov-i-n masnack'el-u en Hayastan-ic' Sp'yurk'-ic'
conference-DAT-the participate-PTCP.FUT. they are Armenia-ABL Diaspora-ABL
inĉ'pes naew arterkr-ic' hravir-v-ac masnaget-ner.
as well also foreign country-ABL invite-pass-PTCP.RES. specialist-PL.NOM

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

- (60) Պաշտպանության նախարարությունը աջակցում է Օհանյանին՝ նրան տրամադրելով ընդամենը 5000 դոլարը: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

pařtpanut'-yan naxararut'yun-ĕ ařakc'-um ĕ Ōhanyan-i-n
defence-DAT ministry.NOM-the support-PTCP.PRES. it is Ōhanyan-DAT-the
nran tramardr-el-ov ĕndamenĕ 5000 dolar-ĕ.
he.DAT provide-INF-INST in total 5,000 dolar.NOM-the

“The Ministry of Defence supports Ōhanyan by providing him 5,000 dollars in total.”

d. Verbs of utterance, communication, as in ասել *asel* “to say”, հաղորդել *halordel* “to report, to communicate”, հայտնել *haytnel* “to inform, to report”, թելադրել *t'eladrel* “to dictate”, հրամայել *hramayel* “to command, to order”, պատասխանել *patasxanel* “to answer”, խոստովանել *xostovanel* “to confess”, պատմել *patmel* “to tell”, բացատրել *bac'atrel* “to explain”, հարցնել *harc'nel* “to ask”, զեկուցել *zekuc'el* “to report”, լսել *lsel* “to listen”, ականջ դնել *akanj dnel* “to give ear” etc.

- (61) Ղասախոսն ուսանողներին բացատրում է լեզվաբանության նոր տեսակցությունները:

<i>Dasaxos-n</i>	<i>usanol-ner-i-n</i>	<i>bačatr-um</i>	<i>ē</i>
lecturer.NOM-the	student-PL-DAT-the	explain-PTCP.PRES.	he is
<i>lezbabanuť-y-an</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>tesakc'ut'yun-ner-ě.</i>	
linguistics-DAT	new	theory-PL.NOM-the	

“The lecturer explains new linguistic theories to the students.”

- (62) Մայրը իր երեխաներին պատմում է հեքիաթ:

<i>Mayr-ě</i>	<i>erexa-ner-i-n</i>	<i>patm-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>hek'iat'.</i>
mother.NOM-the	child-PL-DAT-the	tell-PTCP.PRES.	she is	fairytale

“The mother tells the children a fairytale.”

- e. Verbs denoting similarity/analogy as in equative/similative constructions, as seen in նմանվել *nmanvel* “to resemble”, հավասարվել *havasarvel* “to equal”, համակերպվել *hamakerpvel* “to conform with/to”, հարմարվել *hamarvel* “to agree”, համապատասխանել *hamapatasxanel* “to correspond with/to”, համեմատվել *hamematvel* “to compare with”.

With copula verb: համեմատ *hamemat* “corresponding”, նման *nman* “similar”, հավասար *havasar* “equal”, հարմար *hamar* “proper” etc.

- (63) Անին նմանվում է իր հորը:

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>nman-v-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>hor-ě.</i>
Ani.NOM-the	resemble-refl-PTCP.PRES.	she is	her	father-DAT-the

“Ani resembles her father.”

- (64) Ղոցենտի աշխատավարձը՝ զոնե պետք է հավասարվի ԱԺ պատգամավորների աշխատավարձին: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

<i>docent-i</i>	<i>ařxatavarj-ě</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>petk' ē havarsar-v-i</i>	<i>AŽ</i>
docent-DAT	salary.NOM-the	if only	equal-refl-DEB.FUT.3.SG	NA
<i>patgamavor-ner-i</i>	<i>ařxatavarj-i-n.</i>			
deputy-PL-DAT	salary-DAT-the			

“The salary of a docent should only equal the salary of deputies of the National Assembly.”

- f. Verbs denoting replacement, transfer, change, such as փոխել *p'oxel* “to change”, բաժանել *bažanel* “to separate”, կիսել *kisel* “to halve”, ձեղքել *čelkel* “to cut through, to split”, վերածել *veracel* “to convert, to turn into”, փոխարեկել *p'oxarkel* “to convert”, փոխադեկել *p'oxadrel* “to transport, to move, to change” etc.

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

փոխադրել լուսերենի *poxadrel řuseren-i* “to transfer into Russian”= փոխադրել լուսերեն *poxadrel řuseren*

կիսել երկու մասի *kisel erku masi* “to halve into two pieces” = կիսել երկու մաս *kisel erku mas*

- (65) Իսկ այս տարվա կանխատեսմամբ, ընկերությունը ծրագրել է փոխադրել 500 հազար ուղևոր: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

isk ays tar-va kanxatesm-amb ěnkerut'yun-ě
CONJ this year-DAT forecast-INST company.NOM-the

cragr-el ē
plan-PTCP.PERF. it is

pòxadr-el 500hazar ulewor.
transport-INF 500,000 passenger.NOM

“And following this year’s forecast, the company has planned to transport 500,000 passengers.”

- g. Verbs denoting possession or affiliation, as in պատկանել *patkanel* “to belong to”, վիճակվել *vičakvel* “to fall out, to occur”, վերպահել *verapahel* “to reserve”, վերագրել *veragrel* “to attribute to, to refer to”, հատուկ լինել *hatuk linel* “to be special for” etc.

- (66) Ալեքսանդրին պատկանել է բնակարանի 3/4-ը, իսկ Յուրիին՝ 1/4-ը: (Hetk' 19.02.2006)

Alek'sandr-i-n patkan-el ē bnakaran-i 3/4-ě
Alek'sandr-DAT-the belong-PTCP.PERF. it is apartment-DAT 3/4.NOM-the

isk Yuri-i-n-ě 1/4-ě.
CONJ Yuri-DAT-the 1/4.NOM-the

“Three-quarters of the apartment belonged to Alek’sandr, and a quarter to Yuri.”

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) Աշակերտը գրում է մատիտով:

Ašakert-ě 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) Կրակը հանգցվեց ջրով:

Krak-ě hangc'-v-ec' j'r-ov.
fire.NOM-the extinguish-pass-AOR.3.SG water-INST

“The fire was extinguished with water.”

- (69) Քարերը տեղափոխվեցին բեռնասլակով:

k'ar-er-ě telap'ox-v-ec'in beřnasaylak-ov.
 stone-PL.NOM-the move-pass-AOR.3.PL truck-INST
 “The stones were moved with a truck.”

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.

- (70) Գետով անցնել, թե կամուրջով գնալ:

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.

- (71) Օրերով մառախուղը չորում է մեր լեռներում:

Ör-er-ov mařaxul-ě čok'-um ē 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.”

- (72) Մթնով վերջապես հասանք մի գյուղ:

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.

- (73) Ամբողջ կյանքն անցկացրել է անդուլ գործունեությամբ:

Ambolj kyank'-n anc'kač'rel⁹² ē andul gorcuneut'y-amb.
 whole live.NOM-the spend-PTCP.PERF. he is assiduous activity-INST
 “He spent his whole life in assiduous activity.”

92. Please note that this verb անցկացնել *anc'ka-c'n-el* is a highly lexicalised causativised form with the meaning “to spend, to pass, to lead”. Thus the causative suffix -ցն- -c'n-, for perfect stem -ցր- -c'r- is not glossed here.

(74) Մեկը իմ սիրտը փշրելով անցավ:

Mek-ě im sirt-ě pšr-el-ov anc'-av.
 one.NOM-the my heart.NOM-the break up-INF-INST pass by-AOR.3.SG
 “One passed by breaking my heart.”

(75) Նրանք վազելով հասան հրապարակ:

Nrank' vazel-ov has-an hraparak.
 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 instrumental preposed to the head noun and is a synonymous form to the qualitative adjectives in -անի *ani*, -ավոր *avor*, -ել *el*, -վոր *vor*.

(76) մեծ աչքերով աղջիկ

mec ač'k-er-ov aljik
 big eye-PL-INST girl.NOM
 “A girl with big eyes.”

(77) մորուքով տղամարդը

moruk'-ov tlamard-ě
 beard-INST man.NOM-the
 “The man with a beard”

a. մորուքավոր տղամարդը

moruk'avor tlamard-ě
 bearded man-the
 “The bearded man”

- e. The instrumental of a quantitative complement denotes

- the distance between two objects/persons⁹³
- a certain unit of time
- a certain quantity, e.g. of money

(78) Այս քաղաքը երկու կիլոմետրով հեռու է մյուսից:

Ays k'alak'-ě erku kilometr-ov heřu ē myus-ic'.
 this town.NOM-the two kilometre-INST far it is other-ABL
 “This town is two kilometres away from the other (next).”

93. Informants confirm that the use of the instrumental in this quantitative function is very productive, particularly in expressing the distance between two objects. The nominative is also used in this function, but rather in colloquial Armenian.

- a. Այս քաղաքը երկու կիլոմետր հեռու է մյուսից:

Ays k'alak'-ě erku kilometr heřu ē myus-ic'.
 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 *het* “with” and the noun in the dative.⁹⁴

- (79) Այժմ շատ մարդիկ Քաջարան են գալիս իրենց ընտանիքներով:

Ayřm řat mard-ik K'ařaran en gal-is
 now many man-PL.NOM K'ařaran.NOM t they are come-PTCP.PRES.
irenc' řntanik'-ner-ov.
 their family-PL-INST

“Now many people come to K'ařaran with their families.”

- a. Այժմ շատ մարդիկ Քաջարան են գալիս իրենց ընտանիքների հետ:

Ayřm řat mard-ik K'ařaran en gal-is
 now many man-PL.NOM K'ařaran.NOM they are come-PTCP.PRES.
irenc' řntanik'-ner-i het.
 their family-PL-DAT POST

“Now many people come to K'ařaran with their families.”

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

- (80) Ներսեսը նույն կայսրի հրամանատվ աքսորված էր Պատմոսանքնակ կղզին:

Nerses-ě nuyn kaysr-i hraman-ov akřor-v-ac
 Nerses.NOM-the same emporer-DAT order-INST exile-pass-PTCP.RES
ēr 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. գրադվել *zbalvel* “to be occupied with, to be engaged with”, հետաքրքրվել *hetak'rk'vel* “to be interested in”, հպարտանալ *hpartanal* “to be proud of”, etc.

- (81) Մեր բուհերում ոչ ոք լուրջ չի գրադվում այս հարցով: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

mer buh-er-um oč' ok' lurř č'-i
 our institute higher education-PL-LOC nobody.NOM serious neg-it is

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.

zbałv-um *ays* *harc'-ov.*
 occupy -PTCP.PRES. this question-INST

“In our institutes of higher education nobody seriously deals with this question.”

- i. The instrumental is also obligatorily used with some adjectives, mainly expressing “filled with/full with/abundant with, etc.”, as e.g. լի *li*, լիքը *lik'ë*, լեցուն *lec'un*, հարուստ *harust*, հղի *hli*.

(82) Ռուսաստանը և Հայաստանը լի են վճռականությամբ: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)

Rusastan-ë *ew* *Hayastan-ë* *li* *en* *včřakanut'y-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) Անուշը իր մորից նվեր ստացավ:

Anuš-ë *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 սիրել *sirel* “to love”, ատել *atel* “to hate”.⁹⁵

(84) Արամը սիրվում է Անուշից:

Aram-ë *sir-v-um* *ë* *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 կողմից *kol'mic'* “by/from the side of” and the noun in the dative.⁹⁶

(85) Պատուհանը կտրվել է Արամի կողմից:

Patuhan-ë *kotr-v-el* *ë* *Aram-i* *kol'mic'.*
 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:

95. Kozintseva 1995: 19; Abrahamyan 1981: 192.

96. Pařnasyan 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.

- (86) Պատուհանը կտրվել է քամուց:

Patuhan-ě kotr-v-el ē k'am-uc'.
 window.NOM-the break-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is wind-ABL
 “The window has been broken by the wind.”

- (87) Ալպինիստը սպանվեց կայծակից:

alpinist-ě span-v-ec' kaycak-ic'.
 alpinist.NOM-the kill-pass-AOR.3.SG lightning-ABL
 “The alpinist was killed by the lightning.”

- c. The ablative signifies the (–human) instigator/causer of an inchoative verb in an anti-causative construction:⁹⁷

- (88) Խոտը արևից չորացավ:

Xot-ě arew-ic' čora-c'av.
 grass.NOM-the sun-ABL dry-AOR.3.SG
 “The grass dried from the sun.”

- (89) Փուռը լայնացավ տակութորնից:

P'oloc'-ě laynac'-av takut'yun-ic'.
 street.NOM-the extend-AOR.3.SG heat-ABL
 “The road expanded from the heat.”

- (90) Ծաղիկները թառամել էին ցրտից:

calik-ner-ě tařam-el ēin c'rt-ic'.
 Flower-PL.NOM-the fade-PTCP.PERF. they were cold-ABL
 “The flowers had faded from the cold.”

One can simply prove the fact that the (–human) causer in the ablative is part of an anti-causative 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. Արևը չորացրեց է խոտը:

Arew-ě čora-c'r-ec' xot-ě.
 sun.NOM-the dry-caus-AOR.3.SG grass.NOM-the
 “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. Տափությունը լայնացնում է փողոցը:

Takut'yun-ě layna-c'n-um ē p'oloc'-ě.
Heat.NOM-the extend-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is street.NOM-the
“The heat expands the road.”

- (90) a. Ցուրտը թառամեցրել էր ծաղիկները:

c'urt-ě t'ařame-c'r-el ē catik-ner-ě.
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) Անին իր քրոջից գեղեցիկ 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) Անին բոլորից ամենագեղեցիկն է:

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
- heřanal*
- “to leave, to go away”, փախչել
- p'axč'el*
- “to flee, to escape”, անջատել
- anjatel*
- “to separate; to switch off”, խուսափել
- xusap'el*
- “to escape”, զատվել
- zatvel*
- “to separate”, հրաժարվել
- hrařarvel*
- “to refuse”, մեկուսանալ
- mekusanel*
- “to isolate”, առանձնանալ
- ařanjnanel*
- “to seclude oneself; to stand apart”, կղզիանալ
- klzianal*
- “isolate”, բաժանվել
- bařanvel*
- “to divide, to separate, to divorce”.

- (93) Հայաստանից ամեն զնով պետք է հեռանա: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Hayastan-ic' amen gn-ov petk' ē heřan-a.
Armenia-ABL all price-INST leave-DEB.FUT.3.SG
“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 պատճառով
- patč'ařov*
- “because of” and the noun in the dative respectively with the personal or demonstrative pronoun in the genitive (=possessive pronoun).

- (94) Նա կարմրել է ցրտի պատճառով:

Na karmr-el ē c'rt-i patčařov.
 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) Փողոցից կարելի է տեսնել բակն:

P'oloc'-ic' kareli ē 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) Արամը դուրս եկավ Մոսկվայից:

Aram-ě durs ek-av Moskva-yic'.
 Aram.NOM-the get out-AOR.3.SG MOSCOW-ABL
 “Aram got out of Moscow.”

- (97) Մեքենան այս փողոցից չի անցնում:

Mek'ena-n ays p'oloc'-ic' č'-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) Առավոտվանից ձյուն է գալիս:

Ařavot-vanic' jyun ē gal-is.
 morning-ABL snow it is go-PTCP.PRES.
 “It has been snowing since morning.”

- (99) Այս տարվանից սովորում ենք հայերեն:

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 բրդից չորը չի սիրում:

Na brd-ic' šor-ě č'-i sir-um.
 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 hat* “piece”, *անհատ anhat* “individual”, *մաս mas* “part”, *քանակ k'anak* “quantity”
- with nouns indicating a part of something
- with adjectives with partitive meaning

(101) Արամը այդ ցորենից ծախում էր առասպելական գներով:

Aram-ě ayd c'oren-ic' cax-um ēr
 Aram.NOM-the that wheat-ABL sell-PTCP.PRES. he was
a'aspelakan gn-er-ov.
 legendary price-PL-INST
 “Aram sold from that wheat with legendary prices.”

(102) Աժոտի ընկերներից մեկը գնացել է Ռուսաստան աշխատելու:

Ašot-i ěnker-ner-ic' mek-ě gnac'-el ē Rusastan
 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. *խոսել xosel* “to speak”, *ասել asel* “to say”, *բամբասել bambasel* “to gossip”, *չարախոսել č'araxosel* “to speak badly”, *պատմել patmel* “to tell”, *գանգատվել gan-gatvel* “to complain”, *տեղետանալ telekanal* “to be informed”.

(103) Մհերը նախկին տիրոջից իմացել է, որ տունը վաճառվել է 1500 ԱՄՆ դոլարով: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Mher-ě naxkin tir-o'jic' imac'-el ē
 Mher.NOM-the former landlord-ABL know-PTCP.PERF. he is
or tun-ě vač'aṣ'-el ē 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 խոսել *xosel* “to speak”, ասել *asel* “to say”, բամբասել *bambasel* “to gossip”, չարախոսել *čaraxosel* “to speak badly”, պատմել *patmel* “to tell”, զանգասովել *gangatvel* “to complain”, տեղեկանալ *telekanal* “to be informed” etc.

(104) Տատիկը թոռներին պատմում է իր կյանքից:

<i>Tatik-ě</i>	<i>t'ō-ner-i-n</i>	<i>patm-um</i>	<i>ē</i>
Grandmother.NOM-the	grandchild-PL-DAT-the	tell-PTCP.PRES	she is
<i>ir</i>	<i>kyank'-ic'</i>		
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 մասին *masin* “about” or վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* “referring to” and the noun in the dative. The ablative is not used in this meaning.

(104) a. Տատիկը թոռներին պատմում է իր կյանքի մասին:

<i>Tatik-ě</i>	<i>t'ō-ner-i-n</i>	<i>patm-um</i>	<i>ē</i>
Grandmother.NOM-the	grandchild-PL-DAT-the	tell-PTCP.PRES.	she is
<i>ir</i>	<i>kyank'-i</i>	<i>masin.</i>	
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) Նա դեմքից գեղեցիկ է.

<i>Na</i>	<i>demk'-ic'</i>	<i>gelec'ik'</i>	<i>ē.</i>
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: ձանձրանալ *janjranal* “to be bored”, ամաչել *amac' el* “to be ashamed” վախենալ *vaxenal* “to be afraid of”, զարհուրել *zarhurel* “to be horrified”, սոսկալ *soskal* “to be terrified”, զզվել *zzvel* “to loathe”, հոգնել *hognel* “to get tired”, վիրավորվել *viravorvel* “to be offended”, խռովել *xřovel* “to feel

hurt”, դժգոհել *džgohel* “to be dissatisfied; to complain”, հիասթափվել *hiast’ ap’veł* “to be disappointed”, վշտանալ *vštanal* “to be sad, to grieve”, հագեցնալ *hagenal* “to be satisfied”, նեղանալ *nelanal* “to take offence”, երկնչել *erknčel* “to fear”, բավականանալ *bavakanaanal* “to be enough, sufficient”, շնորհակալ լինել *šnorhakal linel* “to be thankful, grateful”, գոհ մնալ *goh mnal* “to be content, satisfied”, զգալ *zgal* “to feel” etc.

- (106) Մեկ անգամ մանկատանը մեծացած ծնողներից մեկն ասաց, որ հոգնել է իր երեխային պահելուց: (Hetk 26.02.2007)

<i>mek angam</i>	<i>mankat-an-ě</i>		<i>mecac’-ac</i>		<i>cnoł-ner-ic’</i>
one time	children’s home-DAT-the		grow up-PTCP.RES.		parent-PL-ABL
<i>mek-n</i>	<i>as-ac’</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>hogn-el</i>		<i>ē</i>
one.NOM-the	say-AOR.3.SG.	CONJ	get tired-PTCP.PERF.		she is
<i>ir</i>	<i>erexa-y-i-n</i>		<i>pah-el-uc.</i>		
her	child-DAT-the		care-INF-ABL		

“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.”

- (107) Նա չի դժգոհում իր բնակարանի պայմաններից: (Hetk 12.02.2007)

<i>na</i>	<i>č’-i</i>	<i>džgoh-um</i>		<i>ir</i>	<i>bnakaran-i’</i>
he.NOM	neg-he is	be dissatisfied-PTCP.PRES.		his	apartment-DAT
	<i>payman-ner-ic’.</i>				
	condition-PL-ABL				

“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.⁹⁸

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. *թարգմանել բնագրից t’argmanel bnagric’* “to translate from the original”, *նկարել օրիգինալից nkarel ōriginalic’* “to draw from the original”.

(108) Արամը պարապում է լսարանում:

Aram-ě parap-um ě lsaran-um.
 Aram.NOM-the study-PTCP.PRES. he is auditorium-LOC
 “Aram 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 մեջ *mej* “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) Հայերենում օգտագործում են հինգ հոլով:

Hayeren-um õgtagorc-um en 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) a. Հայերենի մեջ օգտագործում են հինգ հոլով:

Hayeren-i mej õgtagorc-um en 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) Մատիտը գրքի մեջ է:

Matit-ě grk'-i mej ě.
 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.

- (110) a. *Մատիտը գրքում է:

matit-ě grk'-um ě.
 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) Արամը Երևան է:

Aram-ě Erewan ě.
 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) Մեկ ժամում անցանք քսան կիլոմետր:

Mek žam-um anc'-ank' k'san kilometr.
 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
- mej*
- “in” is used to express this function.

- (113) Գործ կատարելում նա առողջ է և ժիր:

Gorc katarel-um na a'olj ě ew žir.
 work.NOM fulfil-INF-LOC he.NOM wealthy he is CONJ smart.
 “In fulfilling (his) the work he is wealthy and smart.”

- (113) a. Գործ կատարելու մեջ նա առողջ է և ժիր:

Gorc katarel-u mej na a'olj ě
 work.NOM fulfil-INF-DAT POST he.NOM wealthy he is
ew žir.
 CONJ smart.

“In fulfilling (his) the work he is wealthy and smart.”

2.1.4. *Definiteness of Nouns*

MEA distinguishes definite and indefinite nouns. Definiteness is marked by suffixing the definite article -ը -՛/ն -n to the noun. Indefiniteness appears unmarked by using the bare noun and as marked by using the preposed indefinite article մի *mi* “a”.

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) Կինը նամակ բերեց:

<i>Kin-ě</i>	<i>namak</i>	<i>berec'.</i>	
woman.NOM-the	letter.NOM	bring-AOR.3.SG	
S	O	V	

“The woman brought a letter.” (An unknown, unspecific letter)

(115) Հիմա Էդգարն աշխատանք ունի: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

<i>Hima</i>	<i>Ēdgar-n</i>	<i>ašxatank'</i>	<i>un-i.</i>
now	Ēdgar.NOM-the	work.NOM	have-PRES.3.SG

“Now Ēdgar 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) Հող տվեք մեզ ձեր տանից:

<i>Hoł</i>	<i>tv-ek'</i>	<i>mez</i>	<i>jer</i>	<i>tan-ic'.</i>
soil.NOM	give-IMP-2.PL	we.DAT	your	house-ABL

“Give us (some) soil from your house!”

- d. There is a range of determiners such as այլ *ayl* “other”, ուրիշ *uriš* “other” որոշ *oroš* “a certain one”, of quantifiers such as e.g. մի քանի *mi k'ani* “some”, and of indefinite pronouns such as e.g. ինչ-որ *inč'-or* “some”, ինչ *inč'* “some”, որևէ *orewē* “any”, ոմն *omn* “someone” etc., that assign indefiniteness because of the semantic contents. These determiners, quantifiers and indefinite pronouns co-occur with bare indefinite nouns.

(117) «Եթե իմանայի այսպես է, հետս մի քանի վերմակ կբերեի»: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

<i>Etè</i>	<i>iman-ayi</i>	<i>aypes ē</i>	<i>het-s</i>	<i>mi k'ani</i>	<i>vermak</i>
CONJ	know-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG	so	it is	POST-my	some
					blanket.NOM

kber-ei.
bring-COND.PAST.1.SG

“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 դպրոցների 80 տոկոսում կանայք են աշխատում:

(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
ašxat-um.
 work-PTCP.PRES.

“Women are working in 80 % of our schools.” (Morphologically and semantically indefinite)

- (119) Սակայն այս գյուղաբնակ կանայք ու տղամարդիկ Հայաստանի տնտեսության զգալի մասն են ներկայացնում: (Armenpress 28.05.2006)

sakayn ays gyulabnak *kan-ayk'* *u* *tlamard-ik*
 CONJ this living in village woman-PL.NOM CONJ man-PL.NOM
Hayastan-i tntesut'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 ազգանունով մարդիկ մի քանի տասնյակ են:

(Hetk 26.02.2007)

Karapetyan azganun-ov *mard-ik* *mi k'ani 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) Համայնքի ղեկավարի տանը հեռախոս չկա: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

hamaynk'-i lekavar-i t-an-ě
 community-DAT leader-DAT house-DAT-the

heřaxos *č'-ka.*
 telephone.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3.SG.

“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 մի *mi* “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. մի *mi* occurs in all cases and can also be replaced by the synonymous indefinite pronouns ինչ-որ *inč-or* “some”, մի ոմն *mi omn* “someone/ somebody” etc.

- (122) Մի պատանի տեսա մի կնոջ:

Mi patani te-sa mi kn-oj.
INDEF boy.NOM see-AOR.3.SG INDEF woman-DAT

“A (specific) boy saw a (specific) woman.”

- (122) a. Ինչ-որ պատանի տեսա ինչ-որ կնոջ:

Inč-or patani tesa inč-or kn-oj.
some boy.NOM see-AOR.3.SG some 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 մի *mi* 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 մի *mi* as indefinite but specific.

- (123) Հնագետները պեղումների վայրում մարդու կմախք գտան:

Hnaget-ner-ě pelum-ner-i vayr-um mard-u
archaeologist-PL.NOM-the excavation-PL-DAT site-LOC person-DAT

kmaxk' gt-an.
skeleton.NOM 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. Հնագետները պեղումների վայրում բրոնզեդարյա մի մարդու կմախք գտան:

hnaget-ner-ě pelum-ner-i vayr-um mi
archaeologist-PL.NOM-the excavation-PL-DAT site-LOC INDEF

bronzedarya mard-u kmaxk' gt-an.
bronze age person-DAT skeleton.NOM 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 մի *mi*, however, does only imply a singular meaning and does only denote a single object/person.

(124) Դուրս եկա փողոց՝ մարդ տեսա:

Durs ek-a p'òloc' mard tes-a.
 go out-AOR.1.SG street.NOM person.NOM see-AOR.1.SG
 “I went out on the street and saw persons (somebody).”

(125) Դուրս եկա փողոց՝ մի մարդ տեսա:

Durs ek-a p'òloc' mi mard tes-a.
 go 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 մեկ *mek* “one” from the indefinite article մի *mi* “a”.

մի *mi* is used to indicate both functions; the cardinal number մեկ *mek* “one” is only emphatically used to stress the contrast between one or more. Even in written Armenian, hypergeneralised forms of the indefinite article մի *mi* 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) Մի տարում նա փականագործ դարձավ մի մեծ գործարանում:

Mi tar-um na p'akanagorc darj-av mi
 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 մի *mi* is used here instead of the numeral մեկ *mek* “one”, the second in its real function as an indefinite article.

(126) a. Մեկ տարում նա փականագործ դարձավ ինչ-որ մեծ գործարանում:

Mek tar-um na p'akanagorc darj-av
 ONE year-LOC he.NOM locksmith.NOM become-AOR.3.SG
inč-or mec gorcaran-um.
 some big factory-LOC

“In one year he became a locksmith in some big factory.”

The numeral մեկ *mek* is seldom used in colloquial Armenian, maybe only for enumeration or when the numerical value is emphasised.

Some Armenian grammarians explain the distinction between մի *mi* “a” as an indefinite article and մի *mi* “one” as a numeral only based in the differing intonation: if մի *mi* is stressed it is used as numeral in the sense of “one”¹⁰¹.

(127) Այսօր գիրք գնեցի:

Aysōr girk' gneč'-i.
today book.NOM buy-AOR.1.SG

“Today I bought a book”. (Also possible: today I bought some books)

(127) a. Այսօր մեկ / մի գիրք գնեցի:

Aysōr mek/mi girk' gneč'-i.
today one/a book.NOM buy-AOR.1.SG.

“Today I bought one/a book.”

Comment: in this sentence Մեկ *mek* “one” would be stressed.

(128) Նրան տեսա միայն մի անգամ:

Nran tes-a miayn mi angam.
he.DAT see-AOR.1.SG only a time.

“I have seen him only once.”

(128) a. Նրան տեսա միայն մեկ անգամ:

Nran tes-a miayn mek angam.
he.DAT see-AOR.1.SG only one time

“I have seen him only one single time.”

(129) Մի մարդ դաշտում աշխատում էր:

Mi mard dašt-um ašxat-um ēr.
INDEF man.NOM field-LOC work-PTCP.PRES. he was

“A (specific) person worked in the field.” (Somebody)

(129) a. Դաշտում մեկ մարդ էր աշխատում:

Dašt-um mek mard ēr ašxat-um.
Field-LOC one person he was work-PTCP.PRES.

“One person worked in the field.” (Only one person, not more)

(130) Ինձ մի աթոռ տվեք:

Inj mi at'oř tv-ek'!
I.DAT INDEF chair.NOM give-IMP.2.PL

“Give me a chair! (Give me any chair!)”

101. Asatryan 2004: 99.

- (130) a. Ինձ մեկ աթոռ տվեք:
Inj mek at'or tv-ek'!
 I.DAT one chair.NOM give-IMP.2.PL
 “Give me one chair!” (And not more)

As can be seen from the examples above, it is mainly the context and the intonation that decide upon the function of the word մի *mi* as the indefinite article “a” or the numeral “one”.

Marked, Definite Nouns

MEA has a definite article that is expressed by the suffix *-ě/-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 *-ě* resp and *-n* that are attached to the noun following the pronunciation rules.

- If the noun has a final consonant, always with *-ն չ*.
- If the noun has a final vowel and if the following word has an initial vowel and is spoken without pause, the suffix *-ն 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 there is no pause between the definite noun and the following word, the article *-ն n* must be used. If the following word is heavily prosodically contrasted from the definite noun, the definite article suffix *-ն չ* must be used.

The article is always unstressed.

- (131) Անին կարդում է:
Ani-n kard-um ē.
 Ani.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is
 “Ani is reading.”

- (132) Արամը կարդում է:
Aram-ě kard-um ē.
 Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is
 “Aram is reading.”

- (132) a. Արամն է կարդում:
Aram-n ē kard-um.
 Aram.NOM-the he is read-PTCP.PRES.
 It is Aram who is reading.” (Functional perspective: change of order verb+auxillary)

102. Abrahamyan 1981: 160.

(133) Արամն իրավունք ունի:

<i>Aram-n</i>	<i>iravunk'</i>	<i>un-i.</i>
Aram.NOM-the	right.NOM	have-PRES.3.SG

“Aram is right.”

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.

(134) Պետրոսը մեկնեց Մոսկվա:

<i>Petros-ě</i>	<i>mekn-ec'</i>	<i>Moskva.</i>
Petros.NOM-the	leave-AOR.3.SG	MOSCOW.NOM

“Petros left for Moscow.”

(135) Մի (ինչ-որ) Պետրոս մեկնեց Մոսկվա:

<i>Mi (inc'-or)</i>	<i>Petros</i>	<i>mekn-ec'</i>	<i>Moskva.</i>
a (some)	Petros.NOM	leave-AOR.3.SG	MOSCOW.NOM

“A (certain) Petros left for Moscow.”

The definite article is, however, only used with personal names if they appear in the nominative or dative case, and in the latter only with bare datives. The indefinite article never occurs with other cases or with adpositions.

(136) Անուշը երգում է:

<i>Anuš-ě</i>	<i>erg-um</i>	<i>ē.</i>
Anuš.NOM-the	sing-PTCP.PRES.	she is

“Anuš is singing.”

(137) Անին սիրում է Արամին:

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>sir-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>Aram-i-n.</i>
Ani.NOM-the	love-PTCP.PRES.	she is	Aram-DAT-the

“Ani loves Aram.”

(138) Անին Արամին գիրք է տալիս:

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>Aram-i-n</i>	<i>girk'</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>tal-is.</i>
Ani.NOM-the	Aram-DAT-the	book.NOM-the	she is	give-PTCP.PRES.

“Ani gives a book to Aram.”

- 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) Անուշի եղբայրը երգում է:

Anuš-i elbayr-ě erg-um ē.
 Anuš-DAT brother.NOM-the sing-PTCP.PRES. he is
 “Anuš’s brother sings.”

(140) Իմ ընկերուհու եղբայրը բժիշկ է:

Im ěnkeruh-u elbayr-ě bžišk ē.
 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) Անուշը ամենազեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:

Anuš-ě amena-gelec’ik atjik-n ē.
 Anuš.NOM-the most-beautiful girl.NOM-the she is
 “Anuš is the most beautiful girl.”

(142) Արամը մեր կուրսում ամենախելոք ուսանողն է:

Aram-ě mer kurs-um amena-xelok’ usanoł-n ē.
 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) Երկրորդ դասը սկսվում է հիմա:

Erkrord das-ě 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) Այս գիրքը շատ հետաքրքիր է:

Ays girk’-ě šat hetak’rk’ir ē.
 this book.NOM-the INT interesting it is
 “This book is very interesting.”

(145) Նրա փոքր քույրը սովորում է դպրոցում:

Nra pòk’r k’uyr-ě sovor-um ē 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. *ամբողջ* *ambolj*, *ողջ* *olj*, *համայն* *hamayn* “whole” or *բոլոր* *bolor* “all” etc.

- (146) Ամբողջ երկիրը նշում է Սուրբ Մեսրոպի տոնը:

Ambolj erkir-ě nš-um ē Surb Mesrop-i
 whole country.NOM-the celebrate-PTCP.PRES. it is Holy Mesrop-DAT
ton-ě.
 feast.NOM-the

“The whole country celebrates the feast of St. Mesrop.”

- (147) Բոլոր երեխաները ուրախանում են Ձմռան պապիի գալու համար:

Bolor erexa-ner-ě uraxan-um en Jmřan 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 գնալու են Մոսկվա քաղաքը:

Nrank' gnal-u en Moskva Kalak'-ě.
 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 Արամը տեսավ իր ընկերոջը:

Erek Aram-ě tes-av ir ěnkeroj'-ě
 yesterday Aram.NOM-the see-AOR.3.SG his friend.DAT-the
 “Aram saw Vardan yesterday.”

- (150) Երեկ Արամը կարդացավ գիրքը:

Erek Aram-ě kardac'-av girk'-ě.
 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) Բժիշկը պիտի ուշադիր լինի:

Bžiřk-ě piti uřadir 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, -դ -d
- By the personal suffixes -u -s, -դ -d
- By the demonstrative suffix-u -s

Possessive Suffixes

The possessive suffixes -u -s, -դ -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. գիրք, գիրքս, գրքերս, գրքի, գրքիս, գրքիցս, գրքովդ.

In addition to their primary function of denoting possession with nouns, as in գիրքս *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 ինչ amen inc'* “everything”, *ոչինչ oc'inc'* “nothing”, *այստեղ/այդտեղ/այնտեղ aystel/aydtel/ayntel* “here/there”, *ինչ inc'* “something”, *որտեղ ortel* “where etc.

(152) Ամեն ինչովդ տարբերվում ես ուրիշներից:

Amen inc'-ov-d tarber-v-um es uris-ner-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. *գնալս gnal-s* “my going”, *ասածդ asac-d* “the thing said by you”, *ընթերցողդ ent'erc' ot-d* “you (as) reader”.

(153) Ստացածս առատ ծաղկեփնջերի մասին ավելորդ եմ համարում նշել.

(Ařavot 08.04.2006)

stac'-ac-s ařat calkap'nj-er-i masin avelord em
 receive-PTCP.RES-my abundant bouquet-PL-DAT POST superfluous I am
hamar-um ns-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-possessive¹⁰³ meaning identifying the location in the first or second person: *մոտս mots* “with me/at me/near me”, *վրաս*

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”, *մեջս mejs* “in me”, *տակս taks* “under me” etc. (see Ch. 2.8. “Adpositions”, p. 294f.)

- (154) «Թարսի պես տան բանալիները կորցրել են, բայց դակումենտները մոտս են, պահել են»: (Hetk’ 15.01.2007; quoted colloquial Arm.)

t’ars-i pes t-an banali-ner-ě korc’r-el em
contrast-DAT POST house-DAT key-PL.NOM-the lose-PTCP.PERF I am

bayc dakument-ner-ě 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) ինչու-իդ դժվար է պատասխանել:

inč’u-i-d džvar ē patasxanel.
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

գիրքս *girk’-s* = իմ գիրքը *im girk’-ě* “my book”

գրքերս *grk’-er-s* = իմ գրքերը *im grk’-er-ě* “my books”

նամակդ *namak-d* = քո նամակը *kò namak-ě* “your letter”

նամակներդ *namak-ner-d* = իմ նամակները *im namak-ner-ě* “your letters”

If one wants to refer to the 1st or 2nd person in the plural, then the plural suffix *-ներ -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

սիրտ *sirt* “heart” : սիրտս – *sirt-s* “my heart”; սրտեր *srt-er* “hearts”: սրտերս *srter-s* “my hearts”

1st Person Plural

սիրտ *sirt* “heart” : սրտներս *srtners* “our heart OR our hearts” = մեր սիրտը *mer sirtě* “our heart” or մեր սրտերը *mer srterě* “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 *-եր* *-er*, such as գործներս *gorc-n-ers* “our work(s)”, աչքներս *ač’k’-n-er-s* “our eye(s)”, կյանքներս *kyank’-ne-rs* “our life, our lives”, ձեռքներս *jeřk’-ner-d* “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: գլուխներս *glux-ner-s* “our head(s)”, բերաններս *beran-ner-s* “our mouth(s)”, ճակատների *čakat-ner-d* “your front(s)”, անունների *anun-ner-d* “your name(s)” etc.
- Non-finite verb forms such as the infinitive, resultative participle or future participle, such as գալներս *gal-ner-s* “our coming(s)”, գրածներս *grac-ner-d* “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 *-ս* und *-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 Ինքը *ink’-ě*, as in

- (156) Ես ինքս երկար տարիներ փորձում եմ գտնել այն հարցի պատասխանը: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

<i>es</i>	<i>ink’-s</i>	<i>erkar</i>	<i>tari-ner</i>	<i>p’orj-um</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>gtn-el</i>
I.NOM	myself	long	year-PL.NOM	try-PTCP.PRES.	I am	find-INF
<i>ayn</i>	<i>harc’-i</i>		<i>patasxan-ě.</i>			
that	question-DAT		answer.NOM-the			

“I myself have been trying to find the answer to that question for long years.”

- (157) Ես՝ ուսուցիչս, գիտակցում եմ իմ աշխատանքի պատասխանատվությունը:

<i>Es’</i>	<i>usuc’ič’-s</i>	<i>gitakc’-um</i>	<i>em</i>
I.NOM	teacher.NOM-my	recognise-PTCP.PRES.	I am
<i>im ašxatank’-i</i>	<i>patasxanatvut’yun-ě.</i>		
my work-DAT	responsibility.NOM-the		

“I, (as a) teacher, recognise the responsibility of my work.”

The personal suffixes also co-occur with the following indefinite pronouns and quantifiers, ամենքը *amenk’-ě* “all, everybody”, բոլորը *bolor-ě* “all”, յուրաքանչյուր *yurakanč’yur* “each”, ամեն մեկը *amen mek-ě* “everybody” and ոչ մեկը *oč mek-ě* “nobody”.

(158) «Մենք բոլորս մեկ ընտանիք ենք: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

menk' bolor-s mek ěntanik' enk'.
 we.NOM all.NOM-my one family.NOM we are
 “We all are one family.”

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).

(159) Դուք առաջավորների, պիտի օգնեք մեզ՝ ետ մնացողներին:

Duk' aʔajavor-ner-d piti oġnek' mez'
 you.NOM advanced-PL.NOM-your help-SUBJ.FUT.2.PL we.DAT
et mna-c'ò ĩ-ner-i-s.
 backward-PL-DAT-my
 “You, the advanced ones, have to help us, the backward ones.”

Demonstrative Suffixes

The use as demonstrative suffix is limited to only the 1st person suffix -u -s (i.e. the speaker) and is also rigidly constrained to an immediate local or temporal vicinity to the speaker.

Purposes for use of -u -s in demonstrative function

- Some temporal expressions indicating a point of time being very close to the moment of speech, such as e.g. *ամառս amaʔ-s* “this summer”, *ձմեռս jmeʔ-s* “this winter”, *վերջերս verj'er-s* “lately” etc.

(160) Մեր ինտերնետային էջը վերջերս է թարմացվել: (Aʔavot 08.04.2006)

mer internetayin ěj-ě verj'ers ě t'armac'-v-el
 our internet page.NOM-the lately it is update-PASS-PTCP.PERF.
 “Lately our website has been updated.”

- Some expressions indicating a location very close (or even familiar) to the speaker.

(161) Տեղիս բնակիչները հայեր են:

Teli-s bnakic'-ner-ě hay-er en.
 site-DAT-this inhabitant-PL.NOM-the Armenian-PL.NOM they are
 “The inhabitants of this (my) site are Armenians.”

(162) Բարբառումս կա 43 հնչյուն:

Barbaʔ-um-s ka 43 hnč'yun.
 dialect-LOC-this exist-PRES.3.SG 43 sound.NOM
 “There are 43 sounds in this dialect.”

The double, and thus redundant, use of the attributive demonstrative pronoun *այս* *ays* “this” (proximal to speaker) and the demonstrative suffix *-u -s* 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) Արամը իր մորը նվիրում է կարմիր վարդեր
Aram-ě ir mor-ě nvir-um ē karmir vard-er.
 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) Վարդերը կարմիր են:
Varder-ě karmir en.
 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 k’an* + standard in nominative, see details in Ch. 3.4.3. “Comparative constructions”, p. 531f.¹⁰⁴
- 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- amena-* and the positive degree of the adjective: *ամենամեծ տունը amena-mec tun-ě* “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 -aguyn*: this superlative form is limited to certain adjectives and is mainly used in the attributive function. E.g. *նորագույն noraguyn* “the newest”. There is, however, a slight semantic difference between the prefix *ամենա- amena-* and the suffix *-ագույն -aguyn*.¹⁰⁵ The third way to express a superlative meaning is to use the expression *ամենից amenic’* or *բոլորից boloric’* followed by the positive degree of the adjective, in both attributive and predicative use:

(165) Անին ամենագեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>amena-gelec’ik</i>	<i>aljik-n</i>	<i>ē.</i>
Ani.NOM-the	most-beautiful	girl.NOM-the	she is

“Ani is the most beautiful girl.”

a. Անին գեղեցիկագույն աղջիկն է:

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>gelec’ika-guyn</i>	<i>aljik-n</i>	<i>ē.</i>
Ani.NOM-the	most beautiful	girl.NOM-the	she is

“Ani is the most beautiful girl.” (Ani is a very beautiful girl)

104. (Ľaragyulyan 1981:91) claims that the comparative constructions with standard in ablative are more productive in colloquial Armenian, whereas the form with *քան k’an* and standard in nominative is more wide-spread and productive in literary Armenian.

105. (Abrahamyan 1975:83) *ամենա- amena-* is more frequently used than *-ագույն -aguyn*. *-ագույն -aguyn*, however, expresses a high degree of a quality even without a comparison. This would mean that *-ագույն -aguyn* now has an elative rather than superlative meaning. (Ľaragyulyan 1981:91) states that *-ագույն -aguyn* is predominantly used in written Armenian; in colloquial Armenian it does not sound “natural”.

- b. Անին ամենից (բոլորից) գեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:

Ani-n amen-ic' (bolor-ic') gelec'ik aljik-n ē.
 Ani.NOM-the all-ABL (all-ABL) beautiful girl.NOM-the she is
 “Ani is the most beautiful girl (of all).”

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. շատ մեծ տուն, *šat mec tun* “a very big house” (b) by reduplicating the positive degree of the adjective: մեծ մեծ տուն *mec-mec tun* “a very big house” (c) as already mentioned above, the suffix -ագոյն *-aguyñ* 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 wide-spread 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:

e.g.

25 քսանհինգ *k'sanhing* 20 + 5 “twenty five”

351 երեքհարյուր հիսունմեկ *erek'-haryur-hisun-mek* (three-hundred-fifty-one) = 300 + 50 + 1
 “threehundred fifty one”

2.3.1 Cardinal Numbers

Armenian distinguishes two compositional types of cardinal numbers according to their word formation:

- Simple cardinal numbers (1–10, 100, 1000, million, milliard etc.) consisting of one numeral word
- Compound cardinal numbers: cardinal numbers consisting of two or more separate numeral words, such as քսանհինգ *k'sanhing* “25”, երեքհարյուր հիսունմեկ *erek'-haryur-hisun-mek* 351.

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	մեկ	<i>mek</i>
2	երկու	<i>erku</i>
3	երեք	<i>erek'</i>
4	չորս	<i>čors</i>
5	հինգ	<i>hing</i>
6	վեց	<i>vec'</i>
7	յոթ	<i>yot'</i>
8	ութ	<i>ut'</i>
9	ինը	<i>ině¹⁰⁶</i>
10	տաս(ը)	<i>tas(ě)</i>
100	հարյուր	<i>haryur</i>
1000	հազար	<i>hazar</i>
1.000.000	միլիոն	<i>million</i>
1.000.000.000	միլիարդ	<i>milliard</i>

The complex and compound cardinal numbers

11	տասնմեկ	<i>tasn[ě]mek</i>
12	տասներկու	<i>tasnerku</i>
13	տասներեք	<i>tasnerek'</i>
14	տասնչորս	<i>tasn[ě]čors</i>
15	տասնհինգ	<i>tasn[ě]hing</i>
16	տասնվեց	<i>tasn[ě]vec'</i>
17	տասնյոթ	<i>tasn[ě]yot'</i>
18	տասնութ	<i>tasnut'</i>
19	տասնինը	<i>tasnině⁴</i>
20	քսան	<i>k'san</i>
30	երեսուն	<i>eresun</i>
40	քառասուն	<i>k'ařasun</i>
50	հիսուն	<i>hisun</i>
60	վաթսուն	<i>vat'sun</i>
70	յոթանասուն	<i>yot'anasun</i>
80	ութսուն	<i>ut'sun</i>
90	իննսուն	<i>inn[ě]sun</i>

106. For the forms of the numerals ինը *in-ě* resp. ինն *in-n* and տասը *tas-ě* and տասն *tas-n* see Ch. 2.1.4. “Definiteness of Nouns”, p. 102f. These words, as well as as the intensive pronoun ինքը *ink'ě* and other lexemes e.g. խառը *xar'ě* “mixed; entangled”, դառը *dar'ě* “bitter”, սառը *sař'ě* “cold, icy” 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 վաթսուներեք *erku hazar erek' haryur vats'un ut'*

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.

Երկուս *erkus* “the two”

SG.

NOM	երկուս	<i>erku-s</i>
DAT	երկուսի(ն)	<i>erku-s-i(-n)</i>
INST	երկուսով	<i>erku-s-ov</i>
ABL	երկուսից	<i>erku-s-ic'</i>
LOC	երկուսում	<i>erku-s-um</i>

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 – երրորդ (*e*)*rord*: the suffix is -րորդ *-rord* for the cardinal երկու *erku* “two”, երեք *erek'* “three” and չորս *čors* “four”:

երկու *erku* “two” < երկրորդ *erk-rord* “second”

երեք *erek'* “three” < երրորդ *er-rord* “third”

չորս *čors* “four” < չորրորդ *čor-rord* “fourth”

All other ordinals are formed from the cardinal and the suffix -երորդ *-erord*.

հինգ *hing* “five” < հինգերորդ *hing-erord* “fifth”

ինը *ině* “nine” < իններորդ *inn-erord* “ninth”

տասներեք *tasnmek* “eleven” < տասներեքերորդ *tasnmek-erord* “eleventh” etc.

The cardinal մեկ *mek* “one” has a suppletive form as its ordinal number: առաջին *ařajin* “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 տասներեք *tasnmek* “eleven”, տասներեքերորդ *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, *verjin* “last”, հաջորդ *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 -ական *-akan*, as e.g. մեկական *mek-akan* “one each”, երկուական *erku-akan* “two each”, քսանական *k’san-akan* “twenty each” etc.

As with other numerals, distributive numerals precede the head noun and never agree in case and number:

- (166) Տատիկը երեխաներին բաժանեց երկուական խնձոր:
Tatik-ě erexa-ner-i-n bažan-ec’ erku-akan
 Grandmother.NOM-the child-PL-DAT-the distribute-AOR.3.SG two each
xnjor.
 apple.NOM
 “The grandmother distributed two apples each to the children.”

- (167) Բոլորից պահանջվում է տասական դրամ:
Bolor-ic’ pahanj-v-um ě tas-akan dram.
 all-ABL demand-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is 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.

մեկ հինգերորդ	<i>mek hing-erord</i>	or	մեկ հինգերորդական
երկու յոթերորդ	<i>erku yot’-erord</i>	or	երկու յոթերորդական
<i>mek hing-erord-akan</i>	1/5		
<i>erku yot’-erord-akan</i>	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:

- մեկ հինգերորդ *mek hing-erord*, 1/5, refers to a part of a whole in general.
- մեկ հինգերորդական *mek hing-erord-akan*, 1/5, is a rather distributive meaning and must thus be used in sentences with a distributive meaning.

- (168) Գյուղացին ս.տացավ իր ցանած հացահատիկի մեկ հինգերորդը:

Gyulac'i-n *stac'av* *ir* *c'an-ac* *hac'ahatik-i*
Farmer-NOM-the receive-AOR.3.SG his sow-PTCP.RES. grain-DAT

mek hing-erord-ě.
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) a. Յուրաքանչյուր գյուղացու տրվեց հավաքված հացահատիկի մեկ հինգերորդական մասը:

Yurakanč'yur *gyulac'-u* *tr-v-ec'* *havak'-v-ac*
each farmer-DAT give-pass-AOR.3.SG gather-pass-PTCP.RES.

hac'ahatiki *mek hingerordakan* *mas-ě.*
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 *angam* “time(s)”. This can be used in both adverbial and attributive function:

- (169) Արամը կարդացել է այս գիրքը երեք անգամ:

Aram-ě *kardac'-el* *ē* *ays girk'-ě* *erek'* *angam.*
Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PERF. he is this book.NOM-the three time
“Aram has read this book three times.”

- (169) a. Արամի այս գիրքը երեք անգամ կարդալը...

Aram-i *ays* *girk'-ě* *erek'* *angam* *kardal-ě*
Aram-DAT this book.NOM-the three time read-INF.NOM-the
“Aram’s reading the book three times...”¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸ 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 նա *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) Չգիտեմ թե որտեղ եմ դրել բառարանը:
čʰ-git-em tʰe ortel em dr-el baʃaran-ě.
 neg-know-pres.1.SG CONJ where I am put-PTCP.PERF. dictionary.NOM-the
 “I 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.

(170) a. Ես չգիտեմ թե որտեղ եմ դրել բառարանը:

Es *č'-git-em* *t'è* *ortel* *em* *dr-el*
 I neg-know-PRES.1.SG. CONJ where I am put-PTCP.PERF.
bařaran-ě.
 dictionary.NOM-the

“I do not know where I have put the dictionary.”

1. Person

2. Person

	I		you	
NOM	Ես	<i>es</i>	դու	<i>du</i>
(GEN	իմ	<i>im</i>	քո	<i>kò</i>)
DAT	իմձ	<i>inj</i>	քեզ	<i>kez</i>
ABL	իմձ(ա)նից	<i>inj(a)nic'</i>	քեզ(ա)նից	<i>kez(a)nic'</i>
INST	իմձ(ա)նով	<i>inj(a)nov</i>	քեզ (ա)նով	<i>kez(a)nov</i>
[LOC ¹⁰⁹	իմձ(ա)նում	<i>inj(a)num</i>	քեզ (ա)նում	<i>kez(a)num</i>
	իմ մեջ	<i>im mej'</i>	քո մեջ	<i>kò mej]</i>

1. Person

2. Person

NOM	մենք	<i>menk'</i>	դու՛մ	<i>duk'</i>
(GEN	մեր	<i>mer</i>	ձեր	<i>jer</i>)
DAT	մեզ	<i>mez</i>	ձեզ	<i>jez</i>
ABL	մեզ(ա)նից	<i>mez(a)nic'</i>	ձեզ(ա)նից	<i>jez(a)nic'</i>
INST	մեզ(ա)նով	<i>mez(a)nov</i>	ձեզ(ա)նով	<i>jez(a)nov</i>
[LOC	մեզ(ա)նում	<i>mez(a)num</i>	ձեզ(ա)նում	<i>jez(a)num</i>
	մեր մեջ	<i>mer mej'</i>	ձեր մեջ	<i>jer mej]</i>

3. Person SG.

3. Person PL.

	he/she/it		they	
NOM	նա	<i>na</i>	նրանք	<i>nran-k'</i>
(GEN	նրա	<i>nra</i>	նրանց	<i>nran-c'</i>)
DAT	նրան	<i>nra-n</i>	նրանց	<i>nran-c'</i>
ABL	նրանից	<i>nran-ic'</i>	նրանցից	<i>nranc-ic'</i>
INST	նրանով	<i>nran-ov</i>	նրանցով	<i>nranc'-ov</i>
[LOC	նրանում	<i>nran-um</i>	նրանցում	<i>nranc'-um</i>
	նրա մեջ	<i>nra mej'</i>	նրանց մեջ	<i>nranc' mej]</i>

109. Of course, the locative on personal pronouns can only be used in figurative sense. Both with +human nouns and personal pronouns the synthetic 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 SMEA¹¹⁰.

- (171) *Նա պատմեց ինձ քո մասին:*
Na patm-ec' inj k'o masin.
 He.NOM tell-AOR.3.SG. I.DAT YOU.GEN POST
 “He told me about you.”
- (172) *Այս բանը կիմանամ նրանից:*
Ays ban-ě kiman-am nranc'-ic'.
 This.NOM thing.NOM-the hear-COND.FUT.1.SG they-ABL
 “I will learn this thing from them.”
- (173) *Հայրը հպարտանում է մեզ(ա)նով:*
Hayr-ě hpartan-um ē mez-(a)nov.
 Father.NOM-the to be proud-PTCP.PRES. he is we-INST
 “The father is proud of us.”
- (174) *Ի՞նչ ես տեսնում նրանում:*
Inč' es tesn-um nran-um?
 What you are see-PTCP.PRES. he-LOC
 “What do you see in him?”
- (175) *Նա կարողացավ իր մեջ ուժ գտնել անմիջապես հրաժարական տալու:* (Armenpress 13.01.2006)
na karołac'-av ir mej už gtn-el
 he.NOM can-AOR.3.SG. he.GEN POST power.NOM find-INF
anmiĵapes hrazarkan t-al-u.
 immediately resign-INF-DAT
 “He could find power in him to immediately resign.”

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:

- prototypical “personal pronoun” function: replacing a noun.
- “possessive pronoun” function
- 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”.
- “reflexive pronoun” function:

110. Łaragyulyan 1981: 93.

- The personal pronouns 1st and 2nd person SG. and PL. in dative also functions as reflexive pronouns i.e. ինձ *inj* “myself”, քեզ *k'ez* “yourself”, մեզ *mez* “ourselves”, ձեզ *jez* “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 *pahel* “to behave, to act”, զգալ *zgal* “to feel”, զսպել *zspel* “to restrain oneself” etc.

(176) Ես հանկարծ ինձ մեղավոր զգացի, որ տուն ունեմ: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

<i>es</i>	<i>hankarc inj</i>	<i>melavor</i>	<i>zgak'-i</i>	<i>or</i>
I.NOM	suddenly I.DAT (myself)	guilty	feel-AOR.1.SG.	CONJ
<i>tun</i>	<i>un-em.</i>			
house.NOM	have-PRES.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 ինքը *ink'ë*. 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 ինքը *ink'ë* can be combined with all personal pronouns, meaning “myself, yourself, himself” etc.¹¹¹ In this meaning and use the intensive pronoun ինքը *ink'ë* usually suffixes the possessive suffixes *-s, -d* corresponding to the person, i.e. ես ինքս *es ink's*, դու ինքդ *du ink'd*, մենք ինքներդ *menk' ink'nerd*, դու՛մ ինքներդ *duk' ink'nerd*

(177) Ես ինքս կպատասխանեմ նրան:

<i>Es</i>	<i>ink'-s</i>	<i>kpatasxan-em</i>	<i>nran.</i>
I.NOM	myself-poss	answer-COND.FUT.SG.	him.DAT

“I myself will answer him.”

(178) Դու ինքդ պիտի խսես Արամի հետ:

<i>Du</i>	<i>ink'-d</i>	<i>piti xos-es</i>	<i>Aram-i</i>	<i>het.</i>
You.NOM	yourself-poss	speak-DEB.FUT.2.SG.	Aram-DAT	POST

“You yourself have to speak with Aram.”

111. Please note that the intensive pronoun ինքը/ինքն *ink'-ë/ink'-n* behaves like the definite article *-ը/-ն-ը/-ն* across word/morpheme boundary, e.g. (a) Ինքը գնում է գրադարան: *Ink'-ë gnum ē gradaran*. “He (himself) goes to the library.” (b) Ինքն է գնում գրադարան: *Ink'-n ē gnum gradaran*. “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) Ես մի գիրք ուղարկեցի (ինքս) ինձ:
es mi girk' ularkec'-i (ink'-s) inj.
 I.NOM INDEF book.NOM send-AOR.1.SG myself-poss I.NOM
 “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) Երեխաներն իրենց այսօր լավ պահեցին:
Erexa-ner-n irenc' aysōr lav pahec'-in.
 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) Ծերունին ապաքինվելուց հետո իրեն արդեն լավ է զգում:
Ceruni-n apak'in-v-el-uc' heto iren
 Old man.NOM-the recover-pass-INF-ABL POST REFL.3.SG
arden lav ē zg-um.
 already well he is feel-PTCP.PRES.
 “The old man already feels well after (his) recovering.”

c. In spoken Armenian the pronoun ինքը *ink'ē* is commonly used instead of the regular personal pronoun to express the third person. In this function it is also inflected.

- (182) Նա կարդում է այս գիրքը:
Na kard-um ē ays girk'-ē.
 He.NOM read-PTCP.PRES. he is this book.NOM-the
 “He reads this book.”

- (182) a. Ինքը կարդում է այս գիրքը:
Ink'ē kard-um ē ays girk'-ē.
 He .NOM read-PTCP.PRES. he is this book.NOM-the
 “He reads this book.”

- (183) Երեք Արամը տեսել է նրան:
Erek' Aram-ē tes-el ē nran.
 Yesterday Aram.NOM-the s see-PTCP.PERF. he is he.DAT
 “Aram saw him yesterday.”

(183) a. Երեք Արամը տեսել է իրեն:

Erek' Aram-ě tes-el ē iren.
 Yesterday Aram.NOM-the see-PTCP.PERF. he is he.DAT

“Aram saw him yesterday.”

3.Person SG 3. Person PL.

he/she/it

they

NOM	իմը	<i>ink'ě</i>	իրենք	<i>irenk'</i>
(GEN	իր	<i>ir</i>	իրենց	<i>iren-c'</i>)
DAT	իրեն	<i>iren</i>	իրենց	<i>iren-c'</i>
ABL	իրենից	<i>iren-ic'</i>	իրենցից	<i>irenc-ic'</i>
INST	իրենով	<i>iren-ov</i>	իրենցով	<i>irenc'-ov</i>
[LOC	իրենում	<i>iren-um</i>	իրենցում	<i>irenc'-um</i>
	իր մեջ	<i>ir mej</i>	իրենց մեջ	<i>irenc' mej</i>]

In colloquial Armenian the intensive pronoun used as the personal pronoun 3rd person is usually realised with the vowel -ա- -a- instead of -ե- -e- in dative, ablative, instrumental [and locative] SG and PL, as well as in nominative PL, i.e. իրան *iran* instead of written իրեն *iren*. Moreover, the genitive form իրա *ira* is commonly used in colloquial Armenian instead of standard իր *ir*.¹¹²

(15) իրանք մի կերպ հասցրել են մեր տուն. (Hetk' 05.02.2007)

irank' mi kerp hasc'r-el en mer tun.
 they.NOM INDEF way reach-PTCP.PERF. they are our house.NOM

“They have somehow reached our house.” (colloquial)

2.4.2 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.

SG.

PL.

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | իմ <i>im</i> “my” | մեր <i>mer</i> “our” |
| 2. | քո <i>kò</i> “your” | ձեր <i>jer</i> “your” |
| 3. | նրա <i>nra</i> “his, her, its”
or from intensive pronoun իր <i>ir</i> | նրանց <i>nranc'</i> “their”
or from intensive pronoun իրենց <i>irenc'</i> |

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. Լարաջյուլյան 1981: 93.

(185) Արամը վերցրեց նրա գիրքը:

Aram-ě *verc'rec'* *nra* *girk'-ě.*
 Aram.NOM-the take-AOR.3.SG. his.NOM book.NOM-the
 “Aram took his book.” (i.e. the book of another person)

(185) a. Արամը վերցրեց իր գիրքը:

Aram-ě *verc'rec'* *ir* *girk'-ě.*
 Aram.NOM-the take-AOR.3.SG. his own.NOM book.NOM-the
 “Aram took his (own) book.”

Possessive pronouns can be nominalised and, as such, they follow the *i*-declension.

	My		your		our		your	
NOM	իմը	<i>im-ě</i>	քոնը	<i>k'on-ě</i>	մերը	<i>mer-ě</i>	ձերը	<i>jer-ě</i>
DAT	իմի(ն)	<i>im-i(n)</i>	քոնի(ն)	<i>k'on-in</i>	մերի(ն)	<i>mer-i(n)</i>	ձերի(ն)	<i>jer-i(n)</i>
ABL	իմից	<i>im-ic'</i>	քոնից	<i>k'on-ic'</i>	մերից	<i>mer-ic'</i>	ձերից	<i>jer-ic'</i>
INST	իմով	<i>im-ov</i>	քոնով	<i>k'on-ov</i>	մերով	<i>mer-ov</i>	ձերով	<i>jer-ov</i>
LOC	իմում	<i>im-um</i>	քոնում	<i>k'on-um</i>	մերում	<i>mer-um</i>	ձերում	<i>jer-um</i>

(186) Բառարան չունեք. ուզում եմ Ձեզ տալ իմը:

Bařaran *č'-unek'.* *Uz-um* *em* *jez* *t-al*
 dictionary.NOM neg-have-PRES.2.PL like-PTCP.PRES. I am you.DAT give-INF
im-ě.
 mine.NOM-the.

“You do not have a dictionary. I like to give you mine.”

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 deixis, 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:

- demonstratives in *-u-* *-s-* are proximal to the speaker
- demonstratives in *-η-* *-d-* are proximal to the hearer
- demonstratives in *-ն-* *-n-* distal to both.

(187) Սա իմ գիրքն է:

Sa *im* *girk'-n* *ē.*
 This.NOM my book.NOM-the it is
 “This is my book.”

(188) Ղա քո գիրքն է:

Da kò girk'-n ē.
 That.NOM your book.NOM-the it is
 “That is your book.”

(189) Նա նրա գիրքն է:

Na nra girk'-n ē.
 That.NOM his book.NOM-the it is
 “That is his 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: սա *sa*, դա *da*, նա *na*
- b. determinative demonstratives (or demonstrative attributes): the demonstratives are attributively used to modify and determine a noun: այս *ays*, այդ *ayd*, այն *ayn*.

(190) Սուրենը երեխային վերցրեց:

Suren-ě erexa-yi-n verc'rec'.
 Suren.NOM-the child-DAT-the take-AOR.3.SG.
 “Suren took the child.”

(190) a. Սուրենը սրան վերցրեց:

Suren-ě sran verc'rec'.
 Suren.NOM-the it.DAT take-AOR.3.SG.
 “Suren took it.” (=the child, +human, thus DATIVE)

(191) Սուրենը գիրքը վերցրեց:

Suren-ě girk'-ě verc'rec'.
 Suren.NOM-the book.NOM-the take-AOR.3.SG
 “Suren took the book.”

(191) a. Սուրենը սա վերցրեց:

Suren-ě sa verc'rec'.
 Suren.NOM-the it.NOM take-AOR.3.SG
 “Suren took it.” (=the book, –human, thus NOMINATIVE).

(192) Սրանք իմ տեքերն են:

Srank' im tert-er-n en.
 This.PL.NOM my textbook-PL.NOM-the they are
 “These are my textbooks.”

(193) Այս քաղաքն ինձ շատ է դուր գալիս:

Ays kʰalak'-n inj šat ē durgal-is.
 This town.NOM-the I.DAT very it is like-PTCP.PRES.
 “I like this town very much.”

(194) Այս տանը մի ժամանակ գրադարան կար:

Ays tan-ě 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.

	1. series		2. series		3. series	
NOM	սա	<i>sa</i>	դա	<i>da</i>	նա	<i>na</i>
(GEN	սրա	<i>sra</i>	դրա	<i>dra</i>	նրա	<i>nra</i>)
DAT	սրան	<i>sran</i>	դրան	<i>dran</i>	նրան	<i>nran</i>
ABL	սրանից	<i>sranic'</i>	դրանից	<i>dranic'</i>	նրանից	<i>nranic'</i>
INST	սրանով	<i>sranov</i>	դրանով	<i>dranov</i>	նրանով	<i>nranov</i>
LOC	սրանում	<i>sranum</i>	դրանում	<i>dranum</i>	նրանում	<i>nranum</i>
	(սրա մեջ	<i>sra mej</i>	դրա մեջ	<i>dra mej</i>	նրա մեջ	<i>nra mej</i>)

PL.

NOM	սրանք	<i>srank'</i>	դրանք	<i>drank'</i>	նրանք	<i>nrank'</i>
(GEN	սրանց	<i>sranc'</i>	դրանց	<i>dranc'</i>	նրանց	<i>nranc'</i>)
DAT	սրանց	<i>sranc'</i>	դրանց	<i>dranc'</i>	նրանց	<i>nranc'</i>
ABL	սրանցից	<i>sranc'ic'</i>	դրանցից	<i>dranc'ic'</i>	նրանցից	<i>nranc'ic'</i>
INST	սրանցով	<i>sranc'ov</i>	դրանցով	<i>dranc'ov</i>	նրանցով	<i>nranc'ov</i>
LOC	սրանցում	<i>sranc'um</i>	դրանցում	<i>dranc'um</i>	նրանցում	<i>nranc'um</i>
	(սրանց մեջ	<i>sranc' mej</i>	դրանց մեջ	<i>dranc' mej</i>	նրանց մեջ	<i>nranc' mej</i>)

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

- սույն *suyn*, դույն *duyn*, նույն *nuyn* dasselbe “identical, same”
- այսպիսի *ayspisi*, այդպիսի *aydpisi*, այնպիսի *aynpisi* “such a”
- նույնպիսի *nuypisi* “the same”

ad a.

The pronoun սույն *suyñ* is very rarely used; it is used only in official documents and is a typical feature of juridical style.

- (195) Սույն փաստաթուղթը շատ կարևոր է:

Suyñ pàstat'ult'-ē šat karewor ē.
 Same document.NOM-the very important it is
 “The same (=this) document is very important.”

- (196) Սույն անձն արդեն երեք անգամ հայտնվել է մեղադրյալի աթոռին:

Suyñ anj-n arden erek' angam haytn-v-el ē
 Same person.NOM-the already three time appear-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
meladryal-i at'oŕ-i-n.
 accused-DAT chair-DAT-the
 “The same (=this) person appeared already three times in the chair of the accused.”

- (197) Իսկ սույն հատորը տպագրվել է «ԵԳԵԱ» հրատարակչատանը՝ «Հայաստան» հրատարակչության ֆինանսավորմամբ: (Armenpress 14.05.2006)

isk suyñ hator-ē tpagr-v-el ē “EGEA”
 CONJ same volume.NOM-the print-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is “EGEA”
hratarakčatan-ē “Hayastan” hratarakčut'y-an finansavorm-amb.
 publishing house-DAT-the “Hayastan” publishing house-DAT financing-INST
 “And the same (=this) volume was printed in EGEA publishing house, with the financing of “Hayastan” publishing house.”

The form of the third series, նույն *nuyn*, is wide-spread. It is used to express the meaning “the same, identical” both in attributive and pronominal (nominalised) uses.

- (198) Բոլորը խոսում են նույն հարցի մասին:

Bolor-ē xos-um en nuyn harc'-i masin.
 All.NOM-the speak-PTCP.PRES. they are same question-DAT POST
 “Everybody speaks about the same question.”

- (199) Նույն հարկի հարևանների բնակարանները նույն վիճակում են: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

nuyn 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 նույն *nuyñ*, նորին *norin*, is still used in addressing superior personalities, e.g. նորին սրբազանուտթյունը *norin srbazanut'yunë* “your holiness”.

A synonym of նույն *nuyñ* is միևնույն *miewnuyn*, the expression however is emphasised, meaning “one and the same”:

- (200) Միևնույն քաղաքում մենք կհանդիպենք մեր ընկերների հետ:
Miewnuyn k'alak'-um menk' khandip-enk' mer ënker-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 սենյակում կարելի է լավ աշխատել:
Ayspisi senyak-um kareli ë lav ašxat-el.
 Such a room-LOC possible it is well work-INF
 “In such a room one can work well”.
- (202) Այդպիսի մարդ ճանաչում ե՞ս:
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: այսքան *aysk'an* “so many, so much”, այդքան *aydk'an* “that much”, այնքան *aynk'an* “that much”; նույնքան *nuyñk'an* “so much, as much” as well as այսչափ *aysč'ap*, այնչափ *ayñč'ap*. 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: այստեղ *aystel* “here”, այդտեղ *aydtel* “there”, այնտեղ *ayntel* “there”, and նույնտեղ *nuyntel* “same place”. These “pronouns” are grouped with place adverbs in this grammar.

- c. Manner (identity) pronouns, such as այսպիսի *ayspisi* “such”, այդպիսի *aydpisi* “such”, այնպիսի *aynpisi* “such”, այսպես *ayspes* “so, thus”, այդպես *aydpes* “so, like that”, այնպես *aynpes* “so, so long, so far”. The forms in -պիսի *-pisi* are mainly used in attributive function, the forms in -պես *-pes* are used in adverbial function and are syntactically grouped with manner adverbs in this grammar.

- (203) Այսքան շենքեր են 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) Այսքան շատ մարդ դեռ այստեղ չէր հավաքվել:

Aysk'an šat mard deř aystel č'-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) Ես տանն անգամ հաց չունեմ ուտելու, ինձանից այդքան փող են վերցնում: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

es tan-n angam hac' č'-un-em
 I.NOM house-DAT-the even bread.NOM neg-have.PRES.1.SG
ut-el-u injan-ic' aydk'an p'ol en verc'n-um.
 eat-INF-DAT I-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 ընկույզ ունես:

Du nuynk'an ěnkuyz un-es ...
 You as many walnut.NOM have-PRES.2.SG....
 “You have as many walnuts (as....)”

- (207) Գործում են 4 հիվանդանոց, նույնքան պոլիկլինիկա, մեկ շտապ օգնության մարզային կայան, 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 oğnut'y-an marzayin kayan 14 bžskakan 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) Նույնչափ փայտ պետք է ջարդել վաղվա համար:

Nuync'ap' p'ayt petk' ē jard-el vał-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 մյուս *myus* “other; the next; the following”. This determiner is very similar in meaning to adjectives like հաջորդ *hajord* “the next”, հետևյալ *hetewyal* “the following” etc., which can be regarded as a quantifying adjective. մյուս *myus* is used to choose between two or more persons or objects, and it refers to a specific person/object:

- (209) Վաղը չեմ գա, մյուս օրը կգամ:

<i>Valë</i>	<i>č-em ga</i>	<i>myus</i>	<i>ōr-ë</i>
Tomorrow	neg-come-COND.FUT.1.SG	next.NOM	day.NOM-the
<i>kg-am.</i>			
come-COND.FUT.1.SG			

“Tomorrow I will not come; I will come the next day.” (=day after tomorrow)

In this sentence: մյուս *myus* has the same meaning as հաջորդ *hajord* “the next”.

If մյուս *myus* is used with a noun in the plural, it expresses “the remaining, the other”, as in:

- (210) Իսկ մյուս կանայք ամոթից ծածկեցին բերանները:

<i>Isk</i>	<i>myus</i>	<i>kanayk'</i>	<i>amot'ic'</i>	<i>cackec'-in</i>	<i>beran-ner-ë.</i>
And	other	woman-PL.NOM	shame-ABL	close-AOR-3.PL	mouth-PL.NOM-the
“And the other women closed the(ir) mouths from shame.”					

In attributive use մյուս *myus* usually precedes its noun and assigns definiteness to it. This inherent definite meaning of մյուս *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 հաջորդ *hajord*, հետևյալ *hetewyal*, վերջին *verjin* etc. also assign definiteness to their head noun and why these words are not classified as demonstratives.

The indefinite and non-specific counterpart of մյուս *myus*, ուրիշ *urish* “other, any other” is usually traditionally classified as an indefinite pronoun.

- (41) a. Վաղը չեմ գա, մի ուրիշ օր կգամ:

<i>Valë</i>	<i>č-em ga</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>urish</i>	<i>ōr</i>
Tomorrow	neg- I am come-PTCP.NEG.	INDEF	other	day.NOM
<i>kg-am.</i>				
come-COND.FUT.1.SG.				

“Tomorrow I will not come; I will come another day.”

ուրիշ *urish* does not belong to the class of indefinite pronouns for several reasons. It is almost synonymous with the adjectives տարբեր *tarber* “different, unlike” and այլ *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:

- իրար *irar* “each other, one another”. This seems to be the most wide-spread and productive reciprocal pronoun in both written and spoken Armenian. The form իրարու *iraru* is particularly wide-spread in colloquial Armenian.¹¹³
- միմյանց *mimyanc’* “each other”. This form is mainly used in written Armenian.
- մեկմեկու *mekmeku* “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.

DAT	իրար	<i>irar</i>	մեկմեկու	<i>mekmeku</i>	միմյանց	<i>mimyanc’</i>
ABL	իրարից	<i>iraric’</i>	մեկմեկուց	<i>mekmekuc’</i>	միմյանցից	<i>mimyanc’ic’</i>
INST	իրարով	<i>irarov</i>	մեկմեկով	<i>mekmekov</i>	միմյանցով	<i>mimyanc’ov</i>

(211) Նրանք սիրում են իրար:

Nrank’ sir-um en irar.
 They.NOM love-PTCP.PRES. they are each other.DAT
 “They love each other.”

(212) Աժոտն ու Արամը հեռու ապրում են իրարից:

Ašot-n u Aram-ě heřu apr-um en
 Ašot.NOM-the and Aram.NOM-the far live-PTCP.PRES. they are
irar-ic’.
 each other-ABL
 “Ašot and Aram live far away from each other.”

(213) Քննարկումների ժամանակ ավագանու անդամները և քաղաքապետը միմյանց չեն լսում: (Hetk’ 05.02.2007)

k’nnarkum-ner-i žamanak avagan-u andam-ner-ě ew
 discussion-PL-DAT POST COURT-DAT member-PL.NOM-the CONJ
k’atak’apet-ě mimyanc’ č-en ls-um.
 mayor.NOM-the each-other.DAT neg-they are listen-PTCP.PRES.
 “During the discussions the members of the court and the mayor do not listen to each other.”

113. Asatryan 200: 178.

(214) Քույր ու եղբայր հարգում են մեկմեկու:

K'uyr *u* *elbayr* *harg-um* *en*
Sister.NOM CONJ brother.NOM appreciate-PTCP.PRES. they are

mekmeku.

one another.DAT

“Sister and brother appreciate one another.”

2.4.5 Indefinite Pronouns¹¹⁴

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.

- այսինչ *aysinč* “so-and-so”
- այնինչ *ayninč* “so-and-so”
- երբևէ *erbewē*, երբևիցէ *erbewicē* “sometime, ever”
- ինչ-ինչ *inč-inč* “some, a kind of”
- ինչ-որ *inč-or* “a, an, some, a kind of”
- ինչ-որ մեկը *inč-or mekē* “someone”
- մեկը *mekē* “someone”
- մեկնումեկը *meknumekē* “someone” (used above all in colloquial Armenian)
- մի բան *mi ban* “something”
- ոմն *omn* “anyone, anybody, someone, somebody”
- ոմանք *omank* “some, some people”
- ովևէ, *ovewe* “somebody, anybody”
- որևէ *orewe*, որևիցէ *orewicē* “some; any”.

Traditionally, indefinite pronouns are subdivided into three “syntactic” groups – according to their syntactic function in a clause:

- a. Pronominal including: ոմանք *omank* “some, some people”, մեկը *mekē* “someone”, մեկնումեկը *mekumekē* “someone”, որևէ մեկը *orewē mekē* “anybody”, ինչ-որ մեկը *inč-or mekē* “somebody”, ինչ-որ բան *inč-or ban* “something”, որևէ բան *orewē ban* “anything”, as well as other nominalised indefinite pronouns
- b. Attributive: ոմն *omn* “anyone, anybody”, այսինչ *aysinč* “so-and-so”, այնինչ *ayninč* “so-and-so”, մի *mi* “a”, ինչ-որ *inč-or* “some”, որևէ *orewē* “any”, որևիցէ *orewicē* “any” etc.
- c. Adverbial: երբևէ *erbewē* “sometime, ever”, երբևիցէ *erbewicē* “sometime, ever” “sometime, ever” etc.

114. Following here the approach of Haspelmath, M. 1997. Indefinite pronouns. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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:

- մի քանի *mi k'ani* “some”, մի քանիսը *mi k'anisē* “some”, մի շարք *mi šark'* “a series, a range of”, մի խումբ *mi xumb* “a group of, a lot of...”, մի երկու *mi erku* “some” (=non-specific quantifiers)
- ուրիշ *uriš*, այլ *ayl* “other” (= non-specific determiners)
- որոշ *oroš*, attributive ոմն *omn*. 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 քննարկենք որոշ հարցեր:

Menk' piti k'nmark-enk' oroš harc-er.
 We discuss-DEB.FUT-1.PL certain question-PL.NOM
 “We have to discuss certain questions.”

(216) Ոմն նկարիչ ժամանել է քաղաքից և ցուցահանդես է բացել:

Omn nkarič' žaman-el ē k'atak'-ic' ew
 A certain painter.NOM arrive-PTCP.PERF. he is town-ABL CONJ
c'uc'ahandes ē bac'-el.
 exhibition.NOM he is open-PTCP.PERF.

“A certain painter has arrived from town and has opened an exhibition.”

The indefinite pronouns in this grammar are semantically distinguished on the basis of their ontological categories:

- person: ովևե *ovewē* “somebody”, ոմն *omn* “anyone, anybody, someone, somebody”, ոմանք *omank'* “some, some people”, մեկը *mekē* “one”.
- thing: բան *ban*, մի բան *mi ban* “something”.
- time: երբևր *erbewē*, երբևիցե *erbewicē* “sometime, ever”.
- place: ուրևե *urewē*, ուրևիցե *urewicē* (are very seldomly used, almost obsolete).
- manner: որևե *orewē kerp* “somehow”, ինչ-որ *inc'-or kerp* “somehow”, ոչ մի կերպ *oč mi kerp* “in 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.

e.g. որևէ մեկը *orewē mekē* “somebody”, ինչ-որ բան *inč-or ban* “something”, ոչ մի տեղ *oč mi tel* “nowhere”

Thus, SMEA has three series of indefinite pronouns distinguished by means of the above mentioned indefinite marker.

- specific: ինչ-որ *inč'-or* + stem
- non-specific: որևէ *orewē (orewic'ē)* + stem
- negative: ոչ *oč'* + stem

These indefinite markers are combined with the “stems” for ontological categories to express the various indefinite pronouns.

Additionally որևէ *orewe*, ինչ-որ *inč'-or*, ոչ մի *oč' mi*, can be used attributively with any noun to give this noun indefinite meaning.

- (217) Ոմանք գտնոմ են, որ նրա հարցը պետք է քննել:

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) Քաղաքում ինչ-որ լուրեր էին պտտվում:

K'alak'-um inč'-or lur-er ēin ptt-v-um.
 TOWN-LOC INDEF new-PL.NOM they were circulate-antic-PTCP.PRES.
 “Some (specific) news was circulating in town.”

- (219) Նա ինչ-որ ժամանակ բնակվել է Լոս Անջելեսում: (Armenpress 22.06.2006)

na inč'-or žamanak bnak-v-el ē Los Anjeles-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) Որևէ տեղեկություն ունե՞ս իմ ընկերոջից:

Orewē telekut'yun un-es im ěnker-ojic'?
 INDEF information.NOM have-PRES.2.SG. my friend-ABL
 “Do you have any news from my friend?”¹¹⁵

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. տեղեկություն ունե՞ս իմ ընկերոջից:

Telekut'yun un-es im ěnker-ojic'?
 Information-NOM have-PRES.2.SG. my friend-ABL
 “Do you have (any) news from my friend?”

- (221) Չգիտեմ, թե արդյունքում ինչ-որ բան փոխվե՞լ է «Էրեբունի»
բժշկական կենտրոնում: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)
- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>č'-gi-tem</i> | <i>t'e</i> | <i>ardjunk'-um</i> | <i>inč'-or ban</i> |
| neg-know.PRES.1.SG. | CONJ | result-LOC | something.NOM |
| <i>p'òx-v-el</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>“Ērebuni” bžškakan</i> | <i>kentron-um.</i> |
| change-pass-PTCP.PERF. | it is | “Erebuni” medical | centre-LOC |
- “I do not know, whether as a result something has changed in the medical centre “Erebuni.”” (specific)

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:¹¹⁶ the speaker is committed to the existence and identifiability of the pronoun.

- (222) Արամը հիմա խոսում է ինչ-որ մեկի հետ:
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Aram-ē</i> | <i>hima</i> | <i>xos-um</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>inč'-or mek-i</i> | <i>het.</i> |
| Aram-the | now | speak-PTCP.PRES. | he is | somebody-DAT | POST |
- “Aram is speaking with somebody now.” (specific)
- (223) Աննան հենց հիմա կարդում է ինչ-որ հոդված:
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Anna-n</i> | <i>henc'</i> | <i>hima</i> | <i>kard-um</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>inč'-or</i> | <i>hodvac.</i> |
| Anna-the | right | now | read-PTCP.PRES. | she is | some | paper |
- “Anna is reading some (a certain) paper right now.” (specific)
- (224) Արամը խոսեց ինչ-որ մեկի հետ:
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Aram-ē</i> | <i>xosec'</i> | <i>inč'-or mek-i</i> | <i>het.</i> |
| Aram-the | speak-AOR.3.SG. | somebody-DAT | POST-with |
- “Aram spoke with somebody.” (specific)
- (225) Մեր աշխատանքում ինչ-որ բան ստացվեց. (Armenpress 12.01.2006)
- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>mer ašxatank'-um</i> | <i>inč'-or ban</i> | <i>stac'vec'.¹¹⁷</i> |
| our work-LOC | some thing.NOM | come out-AOR.3.SG |
- “Something turned out in our work.” (specific)

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 ստանալ *stanal* “to get” is highly lexicalised in its meaning.

- (226) Քուցե ինչ-որ տեղ ընկել ու գլուսը խփե՞լ է: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

gucè inč'-or tel ěnk-el u glux-ě
 perhaps some place.NOM fall-PTCP.PERF. CONJ head.NOM
xpèl ě?
 hit-PTCP.PERF he is

“Perhaps he has fallen somewhere and hit his head?”

- (227) Իսկ Հայաստանում կտեսնե՞նք որևէ երկրի ներկայացուցչի:
-
- (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

isk Hayastan-um ktesn-enk' orewē erkr-i nerkayac'učč'-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) Պատերազում խաղացող ինչ-որ երեխա(ներ)ի տեսա՞ր:

Partez-um xala-c'òł 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. Պարտեզում խաղացող որևէ երեխա(ներ)ի տեսա՞ր:

Partez-um xala-c'òł 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. որևէ *orewē* may occur. These are often irrealis contexts and conditional protases:

- (229) Եթե որևէ մեկը զանգահարի, ինձ ասա:

Et'è orewē mek-ě zangahar-i inj as-a!
 CONJ-if anybody.NOM-the call-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG. I.DAT tell-IMP.2.SG.

“If anyone calls, tell me!”

- (230) Եթե կլինի որևէ պրոբլեմ, մենք էլ մարդ ենք, հայ ենք, Հայաստանից ենք: (Armenpress 14.01.2006)

et'è klini orewē problem menk' ěl 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) Խոսիր որևէ մեկի հետ, եթե լավ չես զգում:

Xos-ir orewē mek-i het et'ē lav č'-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 որևէ մեկը լուծել:

Ays xndir-ē kar-ot' 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) a. Այս խնդիրը կարող է ամեն մեկը լուծել:

Ays xndir-ē kar-ot' 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 unspecific 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 որևէ *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 semanto-syntactic groups and can be used according to their content (specific, non-specific, negative) and in the given semantic-syntactic context:

- Specific ինչ-որ *inč'-or* + ontological stem; preferably used in affirmative statements in the ongoing (continuous) present and aorist tense; in questions with affirmative replies
- Non-specific որևէ *orewē* + ontological stem; preferably used in questions; in protases and as free choice indefinites
- Direct negation ոչ ոք *oč' ok'* “nobody”, ոչ մեկը *oč' mekē* “no one”; ոչինչ *oč'inč'* “nothing” and attributive ոչ մի *oč' mi*

Negative Indefinites

- Person: *նչ որ օճ' ok' "nobody", նչ մեկը օճ' mekë "no one"*
- Thing: *նչինչ օճ'inč' "nothing"*
- The negated indefinite article *նչ մի օճ'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) Ո՞ւմ հետ ես հանդիպելի: Ոչ մեկի հետ:
Um het es handip-el? Oճ' mek-i het.
 Who.DAT POST you are meet-PTCP.PERF.? nobody-DAT POST
 “With whom have you met? With nobody.”

The MEA negative indefinites obligatorily co-occur with verbal negation.¹¹⁸

- (234) Այս քաղաքում ոչ մեկին չեմ ճանաչում:
Ays k'alak'-um oճ' mek-i-n č'-em č'anač'-um.
 This town-LOC nobody-DAT-the neg-I am know-PTCP.PRES.
 “In this town I know nobody.”
- (235) Պատկերացրեք, ոչ մի տղամարդ ինձ չօգնեց այս հարցում:
 (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
patkerac'r-ek' oճ' mi tlamard inj č'-ōgnec' 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) Եվ կարտոֆիլից բացի ոչինչ չի աճում: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)
ev kartofl-ic' bac'i oճ'inč' č'-i 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.

118. Haspelmath's subtype NV-NI (1997: 214), meaning obligatory co-occurrence of negative indefinite pronouns with verbal negation.

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 *ամենքը amenkë* “all people”, *բոլորը bolor(ē)* “all” .
- definite pronouns, that show the quantitative completeness and stress which items are one-by-one included in this completeness, *ամեն amen* “every; each”, *յուրաքանչյուր yurakančyur* “each, every”, *ամենայն amenayn* “all, every”, *ամեն որ amen ok'/mekë* “everybody”, *ամեն ինչ amen inc'* “everything”; *ամեն մի amen mi* “each”, *ամեն մեկը amen mekë* “everyone”, *յուրաքանչյուր որ yurakančyur ok'* “each one, every one”. (=distributive quantifiers)
- definite pronouns that show the completeness of a single subject (collective or not collective), in MEA *ոլջ olj* “whole”, *ամբողջ 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) Բոլոր ուսանուները հավաքվել են գրադարանում:

Bolor usanoł-ner-ē 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. *Ամեն ուսանող հավաքվել է գրադարանում:

Amen usanoł 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: *ամենքը amenkë* “all people”, բոլորը *bolor(ë)* “all”; as well as MEA *ոլջ olj* “whole”, *ամբողջ ambolj* “all, whole, entire”, *համայն hamayn* “all, whole”.
- distributive quantifiers are those which stand for the names of persons or things considered singly: *ամեն amen* “every; each”, յուրաքանչյուր *yurakančyur* “each, every”, *ամենայն amenayn* “all, every”,¹¹⁹ *ամեն ոք amen ok/mekë* “everybody”, *ամեն ինչ amen inč* “everything”; *ամեն մի amen mi* “each”, *ամեն մեկը amen mekë* “everyone”, յուրաքանչյուր ոք *yurakančjur ok* “each one, every one”.

The following universal quantifiers can be nominalised:

ամենքը amenkë “all people”, բոլորը *bolor(ë)* “all; յուրաքանչյուրը *yurakančyurë* “each, every”, *ամեն ոք/մեկը amen ok/mekë* “everybody”, *ամեն ինչ amen inč* “everything”; *ամեն մեկը amen mekë* “everyone”, յուրաքանչյուր ոք *yurakančyur ok* “each one, every one”.

The collective quantifiers բոլոր *bolor*, *ոլջ olj*, *ամբողջ ambolj*, *համայն hamayn* and the distributive quantifiers *ամեն amen*, *ամենայն amenayn*, յուրաքանչյուր *yurakančyur*, *ամեն մի amen mi* 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 արդյունքները շուտով բոլորը կտեսնեն : (Armenpress 19.05.2006)

dra ardyunk'-ner-ë šutov bolor-ë ktesn-en.
that.GEN result-PL.NOM-the soon all.NOM-the see-COND.FUT.3.PL
“All will soon see the results of that.”

- (239) Ինչպես Ադամով բոլորը մեռնում են, նույնպես և Քրիստոսով ամենքը պիտի կենդանանան»: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)

inčpes Adam-ov bolor-ë meřn-um en nuynpes ew K'ristos-ov
as Adam-INST all.NOM-the die-PTCP.PRES. they are as well Christ-INST
amenk'-ë piti kendan-an.
all people.NOM-the resurrect-DEB.FUT.3.PL.
“As all die with Adam, so all have to resurrect with Christ.”

The collective, attributive quantifiers բոլոր *bolor* and ողջ *olj*, *ամբողջ ambolj*, *համայն hamayn* assign definiteness to its head noun.

- (240) Բոլոր աշակերտները հավաքվել են դպրոցի գրադարանում:

Bolor ašakert-ner-ë havak'-v-el en dproč'-i
All pupil-PL.NOM-the gather-refl-PTCP.PERF. they are school-DAT
gradaran-um.
library-LOC
“All pupils have gathered in the school’s library.”

119. *ամենայն amenayn* is rarely used; it is more or less obsolete and can be used only in a few contexts.

- (241) Վարդանը կատարեց ամբողջ աշխատանքը:

Vardan-ě katarec' ambołj' ašxatank'-ě.
 Vardan-the fulfill-AOR.3.SG. all.NOM work.NOM-the
 “Vardan finished the whole work.”

- (242) Համայն հայությունը մեծ շուքով է նշում այդ տոնը:

Hamayn hayut'yun-ě mec šuk'-ov ē nš-um
 Whole.NOM Armenians.NOM-the big luxury-INST it is celebrate-PTCP.PRES
ayd ton-ě.
 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) Ամեն մեկը նվեր ստացավ:

Amen mek-ě nver stac'av.
 Everyone.NOM-the present.NOM receive-AOR.3.SG
 “Everyone received a present.”

- (244) Ամեն ինչ ծածկվեց ձյան սպիտակ սավանի տակ:

Amen inč' 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) Ամեն մի երեխա գիտի այդ հարցի պատասխանը:

Amen mi erexa git-i ayd harc'-i patasxan-ě.
 Every child know-PRES.3.SG that question-DAT answer.NOM-the.
 “Every child knows the answer to that question.”

- (246) Յուրաքանչյուր քաղաքացի պարտավոր է կատարելու իր պարտականությունները:

Yurakanč'yur k'atakac'i partavor ē katarel-u ir
 Each citizen.NOM obliged he is fulfil-INF-DAT his
partakanut'yun-ner-ě.
 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) *ո՞վ ov* “who?”
- subject/thing *ի՞նչ incʻ*? “what?”
- quality *ո՞ր or* “which?”; *ի՞նչպիսի incʻpisi/ո՞րպիսի orpisi?* “what? what kind of?”
- quantity *քանի՞ kani* “how many/much?” *ի՞նչքան incʻkan/ո՞րքան orkan* “how many/much?”; *ի՞նչչափ incʻčapʻ/ո՞րչափ orčapʻ*
- time *ե՞րբ erb* “when?” *երվանի՞ց erbvanicʻ* “since when?”
- place *ո՞րտեղ ortelʻ, ո՞ւր ur* “where?”, *ո՞ւր ur* “where to?”, *ո՞րտեղից ortelicʻ* “where from?”
- manner: *ի՞նչպես incʻpes* “how?”
- cause: *ինչո՞ւ incʻu* “why?”

The interrogative pronoun *ո՞վ 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) *Ո՞վ է գիրքը դրել սեղանին:*

Ov ē girkʻ-ē dr-el selan-i-n?
 Wh-who.NOM it is book.NOM-the put-PTCP.PERF table-DAT-the
 “Who has put the book on the table?”

(248) *Աննան տեսնում է Արամին:*

Anna-n tesn-um ē Aram-i-n.
 Anna.NOM-the see-PTCP.PRES she is Aram-DAT-the
 “Anna sees Aram.”

(248) a. *Ո՞վ է տեսնում Ահամին:*

Ov ē tesn-um Aram-i-n?
 wh-who.NOM is-it see-PTCP.PRES Aram-DAT-the
 “Who sees Aram?”

b. *Աննան – ո՞ւմ է տեսնում:*

Anna-n um ē tesn-um?
 Anna.NOM-the, wh-who.DAT she is see-PTCP.PRES.
 “Whom does Anna see?”

(249) *Ո՞վքեր են պատրաստել տնային աշխատանքները:*

Ov-k'er en patrast-el tnayin ašxatankʻ-ner-ē?
 Wh-who-PL-NOM they are prepare-PTCP.PERF.home.NOM work-PL-NOM-the
 “Who has prepared the homework?”

(250) *Աննան տեսնում է աշակերտներին:*

Anna-n tesn-um ē ašakert-ner-i-n.
 Anna.NOM-the see-PTCP.PRES she is pupil-PL-DAT-the
 “Anna sees the pupils.”

(250) a. Աննան – ո՞ւմ է տեսնում:

Anna-n um ē tesn-um?
 Anna.NOM-the, wh-who.DAT she is see-PTCP.PRES.
 “Whom does Anna see?”

As can be seen in the examples above, it is not possible to use a plural form of the interrogative pronoun *ով* *ov* in oblique cases.

	SG		PL.
NOM	<i>ով</i>	<i>ov</i>	<i>ովքեր ovk'er</i>
DAT	<i>ում</i>	<i>um</i>	
ABL	<i>ումից</i>	<i>um-ic'</i>	
INST	<i>ումով</i>	<i>um-ov</i>	
LOC	<i>ում մեջ</i>	<i>um mej'</i>	

- The interrogative pronoun *ի՞նչ inč'* 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) Ի՞նչ էին խոսում իմ մասին:

Inč' ēin xos-um im masin?
 Wh-what.NOM they were speak-PTCP.PRES. I.GEN POST?
 “What were they saying about me?”

(252) Անուշը սունկ է հավաքում:

Anuš-ē sunk ē havak'-um.
 Anuš.NOM-the mushroom.NOM she is collect-PTCP.PRES.
 “Anuš collects mushrooms.”

(252) a. Ի՞նչ է հավաքում Անուշը:

Inč' ē havak'-um Anuš-ē?
 Wh-what.NOM she is collect-PTCP.PRES. Anuš.NOM-the.
 “What does Anuš collect?”

(253) Անուշը հավաքում է ծաղիկներ:

Anuš-ē havak'-um ē calik-ner.
 Anuš.NOM-the pick-PTCP.PRES. she is flower-PL.NOM
 “Anuš picks flowers.”

(253) a. Ինչե՞ր է հավաքում Անուշը:

Inč'-er ē havak'-um Anuš-ē?
 Wh-what-PL.NOM she is pick-PTCP.PRES. Anuš.NOM-the
 “What does Anuš pick?”

(254) Նարան սիրում է շներ:

Nara-n sir-um ē š-ner.
 Nara.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES she is dog-PL.NOM
 “Nara loves dogs.”

(254) a. Ինչէ՞ր է սիրում Նարան:

Inč²-er ē sir-um 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) Նարան սիրում է իր շանը:

Nara-n sir-um ē ir šan-ě.
 Nara.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. she is her dog-DAT-the
 “Nara loves her dog.”

(255) a. Նարան – ինչի՞ն է սիրում:

Nara-n inč²-i-n ē sir-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) Նարան սիրում է իր շներին:

Nara-n sir-um ē 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. Ինչերի՞ն է սիրում Նարան:

Inč²-er-i-n ē sir-um 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. ո՞վ, *ov* “who”, respectively for the asking for the direct object ո՞ւմ *um* “whom?”.

- ո՞ր *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 գրողին ես 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 քաղաքից եկավ Արամի դասախոսը:

Or k'alak'-ic' ek-av Arami dasaxos-ě?
Wh-which.NOM town-ABL come-AOR.3.SG Aram-DAT lecturer.NOM-the
“From which town did Aram’s lecturer come?”

(259) Ո՞րն է այս երկուսից իտալացին:

Or-n ays erku-s-ic' italac'i-n?
Wh-which.NOM-the his two-ABL Italian.NOM-the
“Which of these two is Italian?”

(260) Այս չորս ֆիլմերից ո՞րը կառաջարկեիր ինձ:

Ays čors film-er-ic' or-ě kařajark-ëir inj?
This four film-PL-ABL wh-which.NOM-the recommend-COND.PAST.2.SG I.DAT
“Which of these four films would you recommend to me?”

This pronoun is inflected following the i-declension:

	SG.		PL	
NOM	որը	<i>or-ě</i>	որոնք	<i>oronk'</i>
DAT	որի(ն)	<i>or-i(n)</i>	որոնց	<i>oronc'</i>
ABL	որից	<i>or-ic'</i>	որոնցից	<i>oronc'-ic'</i>
INST	որով	<i>or-ov</i>	որոնցով	<i>oronc'-ov</i>
LOC	որում	<i>or-um</i>	որոնցում	<i>oronc'-um</i>

- *ինչպիսի՞ orpisi*, որպիսի՞ *orpisi*? “what? what kind of?” are synonymous. որպիսի՞ *orpisi* 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 *ինչպիսիք inc'pistik'*, որպիսիք *orpisik'* are almost obsolete and, if used, only in highly scientific texts.

(261) Ինչպիսի՞ մարդ է այդ Արան:

Inc'pisi mard ē 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 *որը or-ě* only refers to things. (Asatryan 2004: 178f.)

(262) Ինչպիսի՞ գրքեր գնեցիր:

Inč'pisi *grk'-er* *gnec'-ir?*
Wh-what kind of.NOM book-PL.NOM buy-AOR.2.SG.
“What kind of books did you buy?”

Note: the interrogative pronoun Ինչպիսի՞ *inč'pisi* can be replaced by the interrogative pronoun Ի՞նչ *inč'* with the same meaning though Ինչպիսի՞ *inč'pisi* is used in literary style.

(261) a. Ի՞նչ մարդ է այդ Արան:

Inč' *mard* *ē* *ayd* *Ara-n?*
Wh-what .NOM person.NOM he is that.NOM Ara.NOM-the
“What kind of person is that Ara?”

(262) a. Ի՞նչ գրքեր գնեցիր:

Inč' *grk'-er* *gnec'-ir?*
Wh-what .NOM book-PL.NOM buy-AOR.2.SG.
“What kind of books did you buy?”

- The interrogative pronouns քանի՞ *k'ani* “how many/much?”, ինչքա՞ն *inč'k'an*/որքա՞ն *ork'an* “how many/much?”, ինչչա՞ն *inč'č'ap'*/որչա՞ն *orč'ap'* refer to a quantitative feature of a person or a thing/subject.

քանի՞երորդ *k'anierord* and its synonym ո՞րերորդ *orerord*, “the how-manyeth¹²¹ “ask for the position of a person/thing in a row. It is formed by means of the interrogative pronouns քանի՞ *k'ani* and որ *or* and the “ordinal number”-suffix -երորդ *-erord*. Because of the meaning and the suffix, these pronouns always assign definiteness to its head noun. While քանի՞երորդ *k'anierord* is used both in spoken and written Armenian, ո՞րերորդ *orerord* is mainly used in colloquial style.

(263) Քանի՞երորդ գնացքն է սա, որ այսօր ուշանում է:

K'anierord *gnac'k'-n* *ē* *sa* *or* *aysōr*
Wh-how-manyeth train.NOM-the it is this REL.NOM today
ušan-um *ē?*
be late-PTCP.PRES. it is
“The how-manyeth train is this, which arrives late today?”

(264) Ո՞րերորդ դասարանում է այժմ:

Orerord *dasaran-um* *ē* *ayžm?*
Wh-how manyeth class-LOC he is now?
“In the how-manyeth class is he now?” i.e. “In which class is he now?”

121. This interrogative is very marginal in English.

քանի՞ *k'ani* “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) Քանի՞ տարեկան ես:

K'ani tarekan es?
Wh-how many.NOM year-PL.NOM you are
“How many years are you?” (= How old are you?)

(266) Քանի՞ տուն են այցելել:

K'ani tun en ayč'el-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) Քանի՞սն են այդ հացերից սպիտակ, քանի՞սը սև:

K'anis-n en ayd hac'eric' spitak
Wh-how many-PL.NOM-the they are that.NOM bread-PL-ABL white
k'anis-ě sew?
wh-how many-PL.NOM-the black
“How many of those breads are white, how many black?”

NOM	քանիսը	<i>k'anis-ě</i>
DAT	քանիսին	<i>k'anis-i(n)</i>
ABL	քանիսից	<i>k'anis-ic'</i>
INST	քանիսով	<i>k'anis-ov</i>
LOC	քանիսում	<i>k'anis-um</i>

ինչքա՞ն *inč'kan*/որքա՞ն *ork'an* “how many/much?” are synonyms (counting measure), as well as ինչչա՞փ *inč'č'ap'* and որչա՞փ *orč'ap'* (mass measure). They are used to ask for the quantity of non-countable objects:

(268) Ինչչա՞փ ձեթ է մնացել շշի մեջ:

Inč'č'ap' jet' ē mnac'-el šš-i mej?
Wh-how much.NOM oil.NOM it is remain-PTCP.PERF. bottle-DAT POST
“How much oil is left in the bottle?”

(269) Որչա՞փ հաց ունես:

Orč'ap' hac' un-es?
Wh-how much.NOM bread.NOM have-PRES.2.SG.
“How much bread do you have?”

- The interrogative pronouns ե՞րբ *erb* “when?” երվանի՞ց *erbvanic'* “since when?” refer to time and are adverbially used. The basic interrogative pronoun is ե՞րբ *erb* “when?”

which can be inflected, but the most widespread forms are the basic form and the ablative form:

- (270) Ե՞րբ վերադարձար Երևանից:
Erb veradarj-ar Erewan-ic'?
 Wh-when.NOM return-AOR.2.SG Yerevan-ABL
 “When did you return from Yerevan?”

- (271) Երբվանի՞ց գիտես դրա մասին:
Erb-vanic' git-es dra masin?
 Wh-when-ABL know-PRES.2.SG. that.GEN POST
 “Since when do you know about that?”

The interrogative pronouns որտե՞ղ *ortel* “where?”, ո՞ւր *ur* “where to?”, որտեղի՞ց *ortelic* “where from?” refer to a place and are adverbially used.

In colloquial MEA ո՞ւր *ur*, “where to”, is commonly used both as a basic interrogative pronoun referring to place, meaning “where” and thus substitutes the literary ո՞րտեղ *ortel* “where?” and as questioning for the direction of an action.

In written MEA, however, ո՞ւր *ur*, “where to” can only be used to ask for a direction of an action.

- (272) Գրքերս – որտե՞ղ են գտնվում:
Grk'-er-s ortel en gtn-v-um?
 Book-PL.NOM-my wh-where they are find-refl-PTCP.PRES.
 “Where are my books (located)?”

- (272) a. Գրքերս – ո՞ւր են:
Grk'-er-s ur en?
 Book-PL.NOM-my wh-where to they are
 “Where are my books?” Colloquial MEA.

- (273) Ո՞ւր ես դրել գրքերս:
Ur es dr-el grk'-er-s?
 Wh-where-to you are put-PTCP.PERF. book-PL.NOM-my
 “Where have you put my books?”

- (274) Վարդանը – ո՞ւր է գնացել:
Vardan-ě ur ē gnac'-el?
 Vardan.NOM-the wh-where-to.NOM he is go-PTCP.PERF.
 “Where has Vardan gone (to)?”

Excursus

The adverbial place interrogative pronoun որտեղ *ortel* “where?” (etymologically consisting of որ *or* “which” and տեղ *tel* “place”, lit. “which place”) occurs also combined with possessive suffixes or even the definite article:

(275) Ասա, որտե՞ղդ է ցավում:

As-a ortel-d ē c'av-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?)

(276) Որտե՞ղն է թրջվել:

Ortel-n ē t'ŗj-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 ինչպես *inč'pes* “how?” refers to the manner of an action and is adverbially used.

(277) Արմենի տղան – ինչպե՞ս է սովորում:

Armen-i tla-n inč'pes ē 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 *n'ung onc'* “how?” usually substitutes ինչպես *inč'pes* “how?”:

(277) a. Արմենի տղան – *n'ung* է սովորում:

Armen-i tla-n onc' ē sovor-um?
 Armen-DAT boy.NOM-the wh-how he is learn-PTCP.PRES.
 “How does Armen’s boy (son) learn?”

The interrogative pronoun ինչո՞ւ *inč'u* “why?” refers to the reason or the cause of an action and is adverbially used.

(278) Ինչո՞ւ ես գնացել երևան:

Inč'u es gnac'-el Erewan?
 Wh-why you are go-PTCP.PERF. Yerevan.NOM
 “Why have you gone to Yerevan?”

In colloquial Armenian ինչո՞ւ *inč'u* “why?” is commonly replaced by ինչի՞ն *inč'i* “why?” or even dialectal խի *xi* “why?”.

(278) a. Ինչի՞ն ես գնացել երևան:

Inč'i es gnac'-el Erewan?
 Wh-why you are go-PTCP.PERF. Yerevan.NOM
 “Why have you gone to Yerevan?”

Secondary Uses of Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns may be used as relative pronouns in relative clauses.

- (279) Ով որ կգա, ասա՛ տանը մարդ չկա:
Ov or kg-a as-a
 Wh-who.NOM REL.NOM come-COND.FUT.3.SG say-IMP.2.SG
tan-ě mard č'-ka.
 house-DAT-the man.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3.SG
 “Whoever comes, say, there is nobody at home.”
- (280) Նա, ով կլուծի այս հանելուկը, կստանա թագավորության կեսը:
Na ov kluc-i ays haneluk-ě
 That.NOM wh-who.NOM unravel-COND.FUT.3.SG this riddle.NOM-the
kstan-a t'agavorut'y-an kes-ě.
 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) Այն, ինչ մեզ չի բավարարում, պետք է քանդվի և կրկին կառուցվի:
Ayn inc' mez č'-i bavarar-um
 That.NOM wh-what.NOM we.DAT neg-it is satisfy-PTCP.PRES.
petk' ē kand-v-i ew krkin kařuc'-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) Քույրս կգա այն ժամանակ, երբ աշխատանքս ավարտած կլինեմ:
K'uyr-s k-ga ayn žamanak
 Sister.NOM-my come-COND.FUT.3.SG. that time.NOM
erb ařxatank'-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) Գնացինք այն պարտեզը, որտեղ շատ ծաղիկներ կան:
Gnac'-ink' ayn partez-ě ortel řat 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 որ *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 որ *or* to nouns or noun phrases, it can be used for + and –animate head nouns.

- (284) Այն գիրքն եմ կարդացել, որ նվիրել էիր ինձ:

Ayn girk'-n em kardac'-el or nvir-el
 That book.NOM-the I am read-PTCP.PERF. REL.NOM give-PTCP.PERF.
ēir inj.
 you were I.DAT

“I have read that book that you had given to me.”

- (285) Տեսա Արեւմնին, որը իմ դասընկերն էր:

Tes-a Armen-i-n or-ē im dasēnker-n ēr.
 See-AOR.1.SG Armen-DAT-the REL.NOM-the my schoolfriend.NOM-the he was
 “I saw Armen who used to be my classmate.”

- (286) Տունը, որ շինել է Գրիգորը, շատ մեծ է:

Tun-ē or šin-el ē Grigor-ē šat.
 House.NOM-the REL.NOM build-PTCP.PERF. it is Grigor.NOM-the very
mec ē.
 big it is

“The house that Grigor has built is very big.”

- (287) Այն դերասանը, որի մասին խոսում էին, կգա երեկոյան:

Ayn deras-an-ē or-i masin xos-um ēin
 That actor.NOM-the REL-DAT POST talk-PTCP.PRES. they were
kg-a erekoyan.
 come-COND.FUT.3.SG evening.

“The actor, about whom they were talking, will come in the evening.”

- (288) Հանդիպեցի տղաներին, որոնք վերադարձել էին Հայաստանից:

Handıpec'-i tla-ner-i-n or-onk' veradarj-el
 meet-AOR.1.SG boy-PL-DAT-the REL-PL.NOM return-PTCP.PERF.
ēin 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) Մարդիկ կան, որ այս պարզ բանը չեն հասկանում:

Mard-ik k-an or ays parz ban-ē
 Man-PL.NOM exist-PRES.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) Մարդկանց հետ հանդիպումներ են լինում, որ քեզ խորապես տպավորում է:

Mard-k-anc' het handipum-ner en lin-um
Man-PL-DAT POST meeting-PL.NOM they are exist-PTCP.PRES.

or k'ez xorapes tpavor-um ē.
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 ինչ *inč'* is used to replace որ *or*, particularly in those subordinate clauses which refer to an inanimate noun (phrase):

- (291) Դա այն չէ, ինչ եմ ուզում:

Da ayn č'-ē inč' em uz-um.
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 որպեսզի *orpeszi*, especially in spoken Armenian. However, it is not used in the beginning of the clause, where որպեսզի *orpeszi* is preferably used.

- (292) Ուտում ենք, որ ապրենք:

Ut-um enk' or apr-enk'.
eat-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ live-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL

“We eat in order to survive.”

- (292) a. Ուտում ենք, որպեսզի ապրենք:

Ut-um enk' orpeszi apr-enk'.
Eat-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ live-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL.

“We eat in order to survive.”

- (293) Որպեսզի կարողնանանք մասնակցել այդ համերգին,

Orpeszi karolan-ank' masnacc'-el ayd hamerg-i-n
CONJ can-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL participate-INF that concert-DAT-the

պիտի պատվիրենք մեր տոմսերը:

piti patvir-enk' mer toms-er-ē.
book-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.”

Ինչ *inč'* 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 որ *or* or երբ *erb*. As such it is used in spoken and in written Armenian; seemingly with a noticeable preference in written Armenian.

(294) Մեկ շաբաթ է, ինչ անձրև է գալիս:

Mek šabat' ē inč' anjrew ē gal-is.
 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, ինչ եղբորից լուր չունեմ:

Erkar žamanak ē inč' elbor-ic' lur č'-unem.
 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) Ինչ քույրս տեղափոխվել է Երևան, հաճախ կարոտում եմ նրան:

Inč' k'uyr-s telap'ox-v-el ē Erevan
 CONJ sister.NOM-my move-refl-PTCP.PERF. she is Yerevan.NOM
hačax karot-um em nran.
 often miss-PTCP.PRES. I am she.DAT
 “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 ժամանակից, ինչ քույրս տեղափոխվել է Երևան, հաճախ կարոտում եմ նրան:

Ayn žamanak-ic' inč' k'uyr-s telap'ox-v-el
 That time-ABL CONJ sister.NOM-my move-refl-PTCP.PERF.
 ē
 she is
Erevan hačax karot-um em nran.
 Yerevan-NOM often miss-PTCP.PRES. I am she.DAT
 “Since my sister has moved to Yerevan, I often miss her.”

– Interrogative pronouns are also used as direct antecedents of the “real” relative pronoun որ *or*, without any change in the meaning of these pronouns.

For example: ինչ որ *inč' or*, ինչպես որ *inč' pes or*, ով որ *ov or*, ուր որ *ur or*, որտեղ որ *ortel or*, երբ որ *erb or* etc.

(297) Գրիգորը անում է ինչ որ ուզում է:

Grigor-ě an-um ē inč' or
 Grigor-the do-PTCP.PRES. he is wh-what.NOM REL.NOM

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 տե* “what; whether”:

(298) *Զգիտեմ, թե ինչ է նշանակում այս բառը:*

Ĉ-git-em *tē* *inč'* *ē* *nšanak-um* *ays* *baš-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) *Վահանը ուզում է իմանալ, թե ով է այս կինը:*

Vahan-ē *uz-um* *ē* *iman-al* *tē* *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) *Ինչպիսի ընկեր էր Վարդանը:*

Inč'pisi *ēnker* *ēr* *Vardan-ē!*
 Wh-what a kind of friend.NOM he was Vardan.NOM-the
 “What a (kind of) friend was Vardan!”

2.5 Verbs

2.5.1 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.

2.5.1.1 *Semantic verb classes*

a. Weather verbs

Weather verbs are weather indicating verbs, such as *անձրև է գալիս* *anjrew ē galis* “it rains”, *ձյուն է գալիս* *jyun ē galis* “it snows”, *կարկուտ է գալիս* *karkut ē galis* “it hails”, *փրփրրել է* *p’r’p’rel* “to froth”, *մոլեգնել* *molegnel* “storm”, *որոտալ* *orotal* “thunder”, *ամպրոպ է* *amprop ē* “it thunders”, *փայլատակել* *p’aylataknel* “to lighten, be cold, be hot, be light, be dark”, *ամպերով ծածկվել* *amperov cackvel* “to get cloudy”, *մթնել* *mt’nel* “to darken”, *երեկոայանալ* *erekoayanal* “to dawn, to darken, to become evening”, *լուսանել* *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) *Աձձրև է գալիս:*

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 *լինել* *linel* “to be”. They are used as predicate nominals or adjectives.

(302) *Վարդանը ուսանող է:*

Vardan-ě usanoł ē.
Vardan.NOM-the student.NOM he is
“Vardan is a student.”

(303) *Վարդանը ծուլ է:*

Vardan-ě 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 *հազել* *hazel* “to cough”, *փռշտալ* *p’r’shtal* “to sneeze”, *փսխել* *p’sxel* “to vomit”, *քրտնել* *k’rtnel* “to sweat”, *միզել* *mizel* “to urinate”, *տքել* *tk’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 -ցն- -c'n-, and analytically by means of տալ *tal* and the infinitive.

(304) Փռշտում են թե՛ մուժիկները, թե՛ ոստիկանապետերը և թե՛ երբմեն էլ նույնիսկ զաղտնի խորհրդականները: (Grakanut'yun 6: 103)

p'rstum *en* *t'e* *mužik-ner-ě* *t'e*
sneeze-PTCP.PRES they are CONJ mužik-PL.NOM-the CONJ
ostikanapet-er-ě *ew* *t'e* *erbemn* *ēl* *nuynisk*
police governor-PL.NOM-the CONJ CONJ sometimes also even
gałtni *xorhrdakan-ner-ě*.
secret service member-PL.NOM-the

“Both the muzhiks and the police governors sneeze, and sometimes even the members of secret service.”

(305) Ուժեղ քամին հազեցնում է ինձ:

užel *kami-n* *haze-c'n-um* *ē* *inj*.
strong wind.NOM-the cough-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is I.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) Երեք երեխաներս գնում են հարևան գյուղի դպրոց:

erek' *erexa-ner-s* *gn-um* *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 *kangnel* “stand”, նստել *nstel* “sit”, պառկել *pařkel* “lie”, կախել *kaxel* “hang”, ծնկի գալ *cnki gal* “to kneel down”, չոկել *čokel* “kneel”, կռահալ *křanal* “to bend down, to crouch”, խոնարհվել *xonarhvel* “to bend, to bow, to crouch”, պազել *ppzel* “to cower” etc.

These verbs are usually intransitives; and can be morphologically causativised with the suffix -ցն- -c'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) Անուշը նստում է ավտոբուս:

Anuš-ě nst-um ē avtobus.
 Anuš.NOM-the sit down –PTCP.PRES. she is bus.NOM
 “Anuš sits down in the bus. “= “Anuš takes the bus.”

(307) a. Անուշը նստած է ավտոբուս:

Anuš-ě nst-ac ē 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 *parel* “to dance”, երգել *ergel* “to sing”, խոսել *xosel* “to speak”, քնել *k’nel* “to sleep”, կարդալ *kardal* “to read”, գրել *grel* “to write”, etc.

In Armenian, also the semantic subgroup of factives¹²² such as անել *anel* “to make”, ստեղծել *stelcel* “to create”, կառուցել *ka’rucel* “to build”, սարքել *sarkel* “to manufacture; to fabricate”, հորինել *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 *spanel* “to kill”, կրակել *krakel* “to shoot”, ծեծել *cecel* “to hit”, ջարդել *yardel* “to break, to fracture”, հալել *halel* “to melt” etc.

These verbs are transitive; they can be passivised and causativised, preferably by means of the analytical տալ *tal* + infinitive-construction.

(308) Մարդուն կարող է կրակելով չսպանես, բայց խոսքով սպանես: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

mard-u-n kar-oł ē krakel-ov č’-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 գիտենալ *gitenal* “to know”, կարծել *karcel* “to think, to believe”, ուսանել *usanel* “to learn”, հիշել *hišel* “to remember”, քննել *k’nnel* “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 -ցն- *-c’n-*; but there are some heavy semantic constraints on the passivisation on most of the verbs of cognition.

122. Factive verbs denote the coming of existence of some entity.

Verbs of cognition also occur with dependent, subordinate clauses introduced with the subordinating conjunctions *որ* *or* “that” and *թե՛ տե՛* “that; whether”.

- (309) Մեկը նույնիսկ հիշեց իր նախկին «շեֆին»: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
mek-ě nuynisk hišec’ ir naxkin šef-i-n.
 one.NOM-the even remember-AOR.3.SG his former boss-DAT-the
 “One even remembered his former boss.”

- (310) Բնակավայրը ձորակի մեջ է և վերևից նայողին արտես է հիշեցնում:
 (Hetk’19.02.2007)
Bnakavayr-ě jorak-i mej ē ew verew-ic’
 settlement.NOM-the canyon-DAT POST it is CONJ above-ABL
nayol-i-n ap’se ē hiše-c’n-um.
 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 *լսել* *lšel* “to hear; to listen”, *տեսնել* *tesnel* “to see, to look”, *դիտել* *ditel* “to observe, to watch”, *զգալ* *zgal* “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* *tal*+infinitive construction, depending on context.

- (311) Բոլոր թաղապետերը անձամբ տեսել են բացվող այս խաղաղաշտը: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
bolor t’alapat-er-ě anjamb tes-el en
 all district head-PL.NOM-the personally see-PTCP.PERF they are
bac’-v-ol ays xaladašt-ě.
 open-pass-PTCP.SUB. this field.NOM
 “All district leaders have personally seen this being opened field”¹²³

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 սիրել *sirel* “to love”, ատել *atel* “to hate”, վախենալ *vaxenal* “to fear; to be afraid of”, ուրախանալ *uraxanal* “to be happy”, բարկրանալ *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) Կինն էլ սիրում է նրան հարազատի պես.

kin-n ēl sir-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. Նա սիրվում է հարազատի պես:

na sir-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) Մարզիկները կշարունակեն իրենց հաղթանակներով ուրախացնել ժողովրդին:
-
- (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 žoľovrd-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, ասել *asel* “to say”, խոսել *xosel* “to speak”, նշել *nšel* “to note”, նկատել *nkatel* “to notice, to note”, պատմել *patmel* “to tell”, պատասխանել *patasxanel* “to answer”, հարցնել *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 *te* “whether; that”.

Whilst verbs of utterance can be passivised, they can also be causativised by means of analytic *tal*+infinitive construction.

- (314) Հետո էլ Ռոբերտի հետ խոսեցի, ասացի, որ հայրը վատ է: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

Heto ēl Ğobert-i het xosec'-i asac'-i or
after also Ğobert-DAT POST speak-AOR.1.SG say-AOR.1.SG CONJ

hayr-ě vat ē.
father.NOM-the bad he is

“Afterwards I also spoke with Robert and said that the father was not doing well.”

- (315) Այս մասին ասվել է ուրբաթ օրը տարածված մամլո հաղորդագրության մեջ:
(Armenpress 14.01.2006)

ays masin as-v-el ē urbat' ōr-ě tarac-v-ac
this POST say-pass-PTCP.PRES it is Friday day.NOM-the spread-pass-PTCP.RES
maml-o halordagrut'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 *stipel* “to force”, հրամայել *hramayel* “to command”, համոզել *hamozel* “to convince”, պատճառել *patčarēl* “to cause”, թույլադրել *t'uyladrel* “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) Առավոտյան ստիպել են նրան հեռանալ հիվանդանոցից:
(Hetk' 15.01.2007)

a'avotyan stip-el en nran heřan-al hivandanoc'-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) Ես նկատի ունեմ հայերին, որոնք ստիպված էին այստեղից գնալ:
(Armenpress 19.05.2006)

es nkati un-em hay-er-i-n or-onk'
I.NOM mean-RES.1.SG Armenian-PL-DAT-the REL-PL.NOM
stip-v-ac ēin aysteł-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 *sksel* “begin, start”, վերջանալ *verjanal* “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 causative in -ցն- *-c'n-* or analytically with սալ *tal* and the infinitive.

- (318) Բանվորները սկսել են քանդել թատրոնի բեմը: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

banvor-ner-ě sks-el en k'and-el
 worker-PL.NOM -the begin-PTCP.PERF they are destroy-INF
t'atron-i bem-ě.
 theatre-DAT stage.NOM-the

“The workers have started to destroy the theatre’s stage.”

- (319) Մայիսի 20-ից Շիրակի մարզում սկսվել է ոռոգման սեզոնը.
-
- (Armenpress 21.05.2006)

Mayis-i 20-ic' řirak-i marz-um sks-v-el
 May-DAT 20-ABL řirak-DAT province-LOC begin-pass-PTCP.PERF
ē ořogm-an sezon-ě.
 it is irrigation-DAT season.NOM-the

“The irrigation season started in the province of řirak after May 20th.”

n. Modal verbs¹²⁴

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,¹²⁵ since it generally uses other ways to express modality.

- a. Primarily, verbal moods express modality, as with the debitive deontic¹²⁶ and epistemic¹²⁷ modality, the subjunctive as well as the deontic and dynamic modalities, and conditional mood dynamic.¹²⁸

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) commitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by the utterance.

127. Epistemic modality connotes how much certainty or evidence a speaker has for the proposition 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 (լինել *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 լինել *hnaravor linel* “to be possible”, պարտադիր լինել *partadir linel* “to be obligatory, compulsory”, անհրաժեշտ լինել *anhražešt linel* “to be essential”, պետք լինել *petk’ linel* “to be necessary”, հարկավոր լինել *harkavor linel* “to be necessary”, կարելի լինել *kareli linel* “to be possible; to be allowed to” etc.

- (320) Մանկատան շրջանավարտներին հատկացված տներում հնարավոր չէ ապրել:
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

mankat-an *šrjanavart-ner-i-n* *hatkac’-v-ac*
children’s home-DAT graduate-PL-DAT-the give-pass-PTCP.RES

tn-er-um *hnaravor* *č’-ē* *apr-el.*
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) Հարցի լուծումը կարելի է այլ տեղ փնտրել:
(Hetk’ 19.02.2007)

Harc’-i *lucum-ě* *kareli* *ē* *ayl* *teł*
problem.NOM solution.NOM-the possible it is other place.NOM

p’ntrel.
search-INF

“It is possible to look for the solution of the problem in another place.”
(Expressing possibility)

- (322) Առաջին տեղը նվաճելու համար անհրաժեշտ է, որ անգլիացիները նույնպես առնվազն մեկ պարտություն կրեն: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)

aʃajin tel-ě *nvač-el-u* *hamar* *anhražešt*
first place.NOM-the win-INF-DAT POST essential

ē *or*
it is CONJ

angliac’i-ner-ě *nuynpes* *aʃnvazn* *mek*
Englishman-PL.NOM-the also at least one

partut’yun *kr-en.*
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 աթոռը վերցնել:

kareli ē ays at'oř-ě verc'n-el?
possible it is this chair.NOM-the take-INF

“Is it possible to take this chair? = May I take this chair?” (Expressing permission.)

- (324) Վարդանն իսկապես պարտավոր է այնպես անել, ինչպես որ ասաց:

Vardan-n iskapēs partavor ē aynpes an-el inč'pes or
Vardan.NOM-the really liable he is so do-INF as CONJ
as-ac'.

say-AOR.3.SG

“Vardan should really do as he said.” (Expressing obligation)

“Modal” words, such as modal adverbs, dubitative or parenthetical expressions e.g. *արդյոք ardyok* “whether”, *գոնե gone* “if only; at least”, *գուցե guc'e* “perhaps, maybe”, *երևի erewi* “probably”, *իհարկե iharke* “of course, certainly”, *իսկապես iskapēs* “really”, *իրոք irok* “really”, *լոկ lok* “only, simply”, *բնավ bnav* “not at all”, *հավանաբար havanabar* “probably”, *հաստատ hastat* “certainly, for sure” etc.

- (325) Այո, գուցե ես սխալվում եմ:

ayo guc'e es sxal-v-um em.
yes perhaps I.NOM make-mistake-refl-PTCP.PRES. I am

“Yes, perhaps I am wrong. Yes, I might be wrong.” (Expressing possibility/probability)

- (326) Հաստատ հոգնած ես:

hastat hogn-ac es.

certainly become tired-PTCP.RES you are

“You are certainly tired. = You must be tired.” (Expressing necessity)

- (327) Վրաստանի նորընտիր խորհրդարանի առաջին նիստը հավանաբար տեղի կունենա ապրիլի վերջին: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

Vrastian-i nor'entir xorhrdaran-i ařařin nist-ě
Georgia-DAT new elected parliament-DAT first session.NOM-the

havanabar tełi kunen-a april-i verj-i-n.
probably take place-COND.FUT.3.SG April-DAT end-DAT-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. *ուզենալ uzenal* “to wish, want”, *կամենալ kamenal* “to desire, to wish”, *ցանկանալ c'ankanal* “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) Մահացած մարդի մասին վատ բան չենք ուզում ասել:

(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

mahaçac mard-i masin vat ban ç'-enk'
die-PTCP.RES person-DAT POST bad thing.NOM NEG-we are

uz-um as-el.
want-PTCP.PRES. say-INF

“We do not want to say something bad about a dead person.”

- (329) Եթե ուզում է, որ իր գործն առաջ գնա, իրեն պիտի 120 հազար դոլար տա: (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

Etê uz-um ē or ir gorc'-n aʃaj
CONJ want-PTCP.PRES he is CONJ his work.NOM-the ahead

gna iren piti 120 hazar dolar t-a.
go-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG he.DAT part 120 thousand dollar.NOM give-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“If he wants his work to goe ahead he must give him 120,000 dollars.”

Colloquial Armenian

- (330) Ուզում էր տունը սարքեր իրա անունով ու ինձ գցեր քուչեքը:

(Hetk' 15.02.2007)

uz-um ēr tun-ĕ sark'-er ira
want-PCTP.PRES. he was house.NOM-the arrange-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG his

anun-ov u inj gc'-er k'uček'-ĕ.
name-INST CONJ I.DAT throw-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG. street.NOM-the

“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 *karotanal* “to be able, can”, a defective verb. It has a regular participle present կարողանում *karotanium*, which is used to express habitual and repeated actions, particularly abilities. For single actions the shorter form կարող *karot* is used. In colloquial Armenian, the participle present կարում *karum* is used, which originates from the much less frequent modal verb կարենալ *karenal* “can, be able to” together with the verb in the subjunctive.

This verb as three major meanings in MEA

– Possibility

- (331) Նույնիսկ մասնագետները կարող են սխալվել:
nuynisk masnaget-ner-ě kar-oł en sxal-v-el.
 even expert-PL.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. they are make a mistake-refl-INF
 “Even experts can make mistakes.”

– Ability

- (332) Կարո՞ղ ես հիշել, թե որտեղ է իմ գիրքը:
karoł es hiš-el t'è ortel
 can-PTCP.PRES you are remember-INF CONJ wh-where
ē im girk'-ě?
 it is my book.NOM-the
 “Can you remember where my book is?”
- (333) Իմ եղբայրիկը արդեն կարողանում է գրել:
im elbayrik-ě arden karołan-um ē gr-el.
 my little brother.NOM-the already can-PTCP.PRES. he is write-INF
 “My little brother can already write.”¹²⁹
- a. Ապերիկս արդեն կարում ա գրի:
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) Չէի՞ք կարող պատուհանը բացել, խնդրեմ:
Č-ěik' kar-oł patuhan-ě 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 գիտենալ *gitenal* “to know” is used instead of the modal verb.

- (333) b. Իմ եղբայրիկը արդեն գրել գիտի:
im elbayrik-ě 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 *karotanal* may also denote permission, particularly in questions.

- (335) Կարո՞ղ եմ այս գրքերը վերցնել գրադարանից:
Kar-ot em ays grk'er-ě verc'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 -ել *-el*, -ալ *-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 կարդալ *kard-al* “read”, հավատալ *havat-al* “believe”, մնալ *mn-al* “stay, remain” etc.
- simple e- verbs as in գրել *gr-el* “write”, լսել *ls-el* “hear”, խմել *xm-el* “drink” etc.

- b. Suffixed Verbs

Traditional Armenian grammars usually distinguish between so-called սուկաժանցավոր *soskacanc'avor* “simply suffixed” verbs with the suffixes -ան- *-an-*, -են- *-en-*, -ն--*n-* and -չ- *-č'* and verbs that are suffixed with -ցն- *-c'n-* (=causatives), -վ- *-v-* (=passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anti-causatives) and -ոտ- *-ot-*, -ատ- *-at-*, -տ- *-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 *-c'n-*, *-v-*. 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 *-ենալ -en(al)*, such as *իախենալ vax-en-al* “to fear”, *ուզենալ uz-en-al* “to want, to wish” etc.
- verbs with *-անալ -an(al)*, such as *հեռանալ heř-an-al* “to remove”, *ուրախանալ urax-an-al* “to be happy”, *սևանալ sew-an-al* “to get black” etc.
- verbs with *-նել -n(el)*, such as *տեսնել tes-n-el* “to see”, *մտնել mt-n-el* “to enter” etc.
- verbs with *-չել -č'(el)*, such as *փախչել p'ax-č'-el* “to flee”, *թռչել t'ř-č'-el* “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 -at-*, *-ոտ -ot-*, *-տ -t*.¹³²
- morphosyntactic inflection: as morphological means for valence decreasing or detransitivisation, such as *-վ- -v-* in passivisation, reflexivisation, reciprocalisation, anti-causativisation.
- morphosyntactic inflection: as morphological means for valence increasing and transitivity, such as *-ցն- -c'n-* 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. *դուրս գալ durs gal* “to go out”, *վազ տալ vaz tal* “to run”, *ցույց տալ c'uyc' tal* “to show”, *լաց լինել lac' linel* “to cry”, *մեջ ընկնել mej' ěnknel* “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.

– Intransitive 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 *-չ- -č'* the suffix *-չ- -č'* is often replaced with *-ն- -n-*, as in *փախնել p'axnel* instead of written *փախչել p'ax-č'-el* “to flee”, *թռնել t'řnel* instead of written *թռչել t'ř-č'-el* “to fly” etc.

132. With some Armenian verbs iterative meaning can also be generated by means of reduplication: e.g. *վազել vazel* “to run”, *վազվզել vaz-vz-el* “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 *անալ* -*anal*, *եանալ* -*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 *անալ* -*anal*, *եանալ* -*enal* are inchoative, as well as some verbs in *-ել* -*el*. Verbs can also receive an inchoative meaning by detransitivisation by means of the suffix *-վ* -*v*-, in a process termed “anti-causativisation”; such intransitive verbs, marked with *-վ* -*v*- and conveying inchoative meaning are termed “anti-causatives.”

(336) Ծաղիկները չորանում են:

catik-ner-ě *čoran-um* *en.*
flower-PL.NOM-the dry-PTCP.PRES. they are
“The flowers are drying.” (Inchoative intransitive; verb in *-անալ* -*anal*.)

(337) Ձյունը հալվում է:

jyun-ě *hal-v-um* *ē.*
snow.NOM-the melt-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is
“The snow is melting.” (Anti-causativised intransitive; basic verb *հալել* *hal-el*
in *-ել*, -*el*)

Intransitive verbs can be transitivised by means of causative alternation by suffixing *-ցն-* *-c'n-* 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 *-վ* -*v*-.

Usually strictly transitive verbs can not be morphologically causativised by means of the suffix *-ցն-* *-c'n-*, but have to use the analytic causative with the finite forms of the verb *տալ* *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) Սամվելը մարեց անտառի հրդեհը:

Samvel-ě *marec'* *antař-i* *hrdeh-ě.*
Samvel.NOM-the extinguish-AOR.3.SG forest-DAT fire.NOM-the
“Samvel extinguished the forest fire.” (Transitive verb, active reading)

(339) Անտառի հրդեհը մարեց:

Antaṣ-i hrdeh-ě marec'.
forest-DAT fire-NOM-the extinguish-AOR.3.SG.

“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 *-վ-* *-v-* suffix:

(340) Անուշը ջարդեց ծաղկամանը:

Anuš-ě jardec' calkaman-ě.
Anuš.NOM-the break-AOR.3.SG vase.NOM-the
“Anuš broke the vase.”

(340) a. Ծաղկամանը ջարդվեց:

Calkaman-ě jard-v-ec'.
vase.NOM-the break-anticaus-AOR.3.SG
“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, atterminative) and telic (non-durative, terminative) verbs in Armenian.

Atelic (durative, atterminative) 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. կառուցել *kaɾuc'el* “to build”, նորոգել *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. պատահել *patahel* “to occur”, հանդիպել *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 a 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 *tū em* “to be” and լինել *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. 335f.)

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.

133. See Kozintseva 1995: 297ff.

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 *-վ- -v-*, which is attached to the (present and-or aorist) stem of the verb in question. From verbs suffixed with *-ան -an-*, and *-են -en-*, the passive can only be formed from the causativised form.

Table 1. General paradigm of Passive formation

	Active infinitive	“causativised infinitive”	“passive” infinitive
Simple a-conjugation	կարդալ <i>kardac'</i>		կարդացվել <i>kardac'-v-el</i>
Simple e-conjugation	գրել <i>gr-el</i>		գրվել <i>gr-v-el</i>
Suffixed -n-	տեսնել <i>tes-n-el</i>		տեսնվել <i>tes-n-v-el</i>
Suffixed -՛ջ-	թռչել <i>t'ṙ-č'-el</i> (intrans!)		թռչվել <i>t'ṙ-č'-v-el</i>
Suffixed -an- (inherently inchoative)	ուրախանալ <i>urax-an-al</i>	ուրախացնել <i>urax-ac'n-el</i>	ուրախացվել <i>uraxa-c'-v-el</i>
Suffixed -en- (inherently inchoative)	մոտենալ <i>mot-en-al</i>	մոտեցնել <i>mot-ec'-nel</i>	մոտեցվել <i>mote-c'-v-el</i>
Causativised verbs	հիշեցնել <i>hiše-c'n-el</i>		հիշեցվել <i>hišec'-v-el</i>

Usually all real transitive verbs can be passivised. There are some exceptions: the verbs ունենալ *unenal* “to have”, գիտենալ *gitenal* “to know”, գղջալ *zġjal* “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 *-վ- -v-*.

One must be aware, however, that verbs with the suffix *-վ- -v-* do not exclusively express the passive voice. In contrast, the suffix *-վ- -v-* 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 *-վ- -v-* 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 -վ- -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 anti-causative is retained to reveal the various functions of the suffix -վ- -v-.

*Reflexives*¹³⁴

As stated above the suffix -վ- -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 -վ- -v-
- analytic reflexives: with some verbs reflexive pronouns such as իրեն *iren* “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 գբաղվել *zbalvel* “to be occupied”, թաքնվել *tak'nel* “to hide oneself” etc.

Morphological reflexives, i.e. verbs reflexivised by means of the suffix -v-, can be found in a range of verbs, particularly in grooming verbs, but also in other verb groups, as in e.g. սանրել *sanrel* “to comb somebody” – սանրվել *sanrvel* “to comb oneself”
 հանգնել *hagnel* “to put on something” – հանգնվել *hagnvel* “to dress oneself”
 սափրել *sap'rel* – սափրվել *sap'rvel* “to shave oneself”
 լվանալ *lvanal* “to wash” – լվացվել *lvac'vel* “to wash oneself”

Reciprocals

In MEA one can distinguish:

- Morphological reciprocals formed by attaching the multifunctional suffix -վ- -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 իրար *irar*, միմյանց *mimyanc'*, մեկ մեկու *mek meku*, 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.

134. see Ch. 3.1.2.2. “Detransitivisation processes”, p. 334f..

- (341) Արամն ու Գայանեն համբուրում են իրար:

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.”

- (341) a. Արամն ու Գայանեն համբուրվում են:

Aram-n u Gayane-n hambur-v-um en.
 Aram.NOM-the CONJ Gayane.NOM-the kiss-rec-PTCP.PRES. they are
 “Aram and Gayane kiss each other.”

Some lexicalised-conventionalized “-v-forms”

There are several verbs in MEA which have lexicalised the -վ- -v- 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: գբաղվել *zbatvel* “to be occupied; to work on” (transitive: գբաղեցնել *zbate-c’n-el*); թաքնվել *tak’nvel* “to hide (oneself)”, “ (transitive թաքցնել *tak’-c’n-el*), համարձակվել *hamarjakvel* “to dare” (transitive form համարձակել *hamajarkel* is not used), հաշտվել *hashtvel* “to reconcile (oneself)” (transitive: հաշտեցնել *hashtec’nel*), սխալվել *sxalvel* “to make a mistake; to be mistaken” (no transitive form at all; must be paraphrased).

- (342) a. Անին գբաղվում է իր սենյակում:

Ani-n zbatv-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 եղբորին գբաղեցնում է

Ani-n ir p’ok’r elbor-n zbate-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. Նապաստակը թաքնվում է անտառում:

Napastak-ē tak’nv-um ē antaš-um.
 rabbit.NOM-the hide-PTCP.PRES. it is forest-LOC
 “The rabbit hides in the forest.”

- b. Աղջիկը իր նապաստակին թաքցնում է իր մահճակալի տակ:

Ałjik-ē tak’-c’n-um ē ir napastak-ē
 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 verbs¹³⁵

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 *tū 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 forms¹³⁶ usually denote a state, a situation which is the result of a process-action,¹³⁷ and are usually expressed by means of the inflected auxiliary *tū em* “to be” in all tense forms and the participle resultative in *-ած -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 *հարակատար դերբայ harkakatar 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)

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) Ջրագրական ցանցն առավել զարգացած է բարձր [եռնային գոտիներում: (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

Ĵragrakan c'anc'-n ařavel zargac'-ac ē barjr
 water net.NOM-the more develop-PTCP.RES. it is high
leřnayin goti-ner-um.
 mountainous zone-PL-LOC

“The hydrographic net is more developed in high mountainous zones.”

- (345) Անին բարկացած է իր եղբոր վրա:

Ani-n barkac'-ac ē ir elb-or vra.
 Ani.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.RES. she is her brother-DAT POST
 “Ani is angry with her brother.”

- (346) Թեև ճշտված չէ այգելության կոնկրետ ամսաթիվը, բայց թերևս տեղի ունենա ապրիլի երրորդ տասնօրյակում: (Azg 08.04.2006)

Teew čšt-v-ac č'-ě ayčelut'y-an konkret amsat'iv-ě
 even adjust-pass-PTCP.RES. NEG-it is visit-DAT concrete date.NOM-the
bayc' terevs teli unena april-i errorđ tasnōrjakan-um.
 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) Եղբայրս ամուսնացած է:

Elbayr-s amusnac'-ac ē.
 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. Մայիսին եղբայրս ամուսնացել է:

Mayis-i-n elbayr-s amusnac'-el ē.
 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 comparably small than with achievement verbs.

(348) Վարդանի անգլերենը լավացած է:

Vardan-i angleren-e lavac'-ac ē.
 Vardan-DAT English.NOM-the improve-PTCP.RES. it is
 “Vardan’s English is better.”

(348) a. Վարդանի անգլերենը լավացել է:

Vardan-i angleren-ě lavac'-el ē.
 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) Արմինեն նստում է ավտոբուս:

Armine-n nst-um ē avtobus.
 Armine.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES. she is bus.NOM
 “Armine takes a seat in the bus.”

(349) a. Արմինեն նստած է ավտոբուս:

Armine-n nst-ac ē avtobus.
 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) Վարդանը բարկրանում է իր եղբոր վրա:

Vardan-ě barkran-um e ir elb-or vra.
 Vardan.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.PRES. he is his(own) brother-DAT POST
 “Vardan gets angry about his brother.”

(350) a. Վարդանը բարկրացած է իր եղբոր վրա:

Vardan-ě barkrac'-ac e ir elb-or
 Vardan.NOM-the get angry-PTCP.RES. he is his(own) brother-DAT
vra.
 POST
 “Vardan is angry about is brother.”

Objective Resultatives

Objective resultatives, as mentioned above, usually contain the passive suffix -վ- -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 կողմից *kolmic’*)
- if the agent is –human (natural force, animal) by synthetic ablative
- if the agent is an instrument agent by instrumental

(351) ԵՊՀ-ն մեկուսացված է իր ռեկտորի ընտրություններից (Aճavot 08.04.2006)

EPH-n mekusac’-v-ac ē ir řektor-i ěntrut’yun-ner-ic’.
 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) Լուսանկարում պատկերվածը զինված էր «Մակարով» տիպի ատրճանակով:
 (Aճavot 08.04.2006)

Lusankar-um patker-v-ac-ě zin-v-ac ěr
 fotograf-LOC portray-pass-PTCP.RES.NOM-the arm-pass-PTCP.RES. he was
 “Makarov” tip-i atrĉanak-ov.
 “Makarov” type-DAT gun-INST
 “The man portrayed in the photograph was armed with a gun of the type “Makarov””

(353) Բոլոր գյուղական համայնքներն ապահովված 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) Պետությունների ղեկավարների կողմից նման խնդիր է դրված:
 (Armenpress 18.06.2005)

Petut’yun-ner-i lekavar-ner-i kolmic’ nman xndir
 government-PL-DAT leader-PL-DAT POST similar question.NOM
ē dr-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) Վերջերս հայտնաբերված այդ կղզին բոլորովին անմարդաբնակ է եղել:
verʃers haytnaber-v-ac ayd ktzi-n bolorvin
 recently discover-pass-PTCP.RES. that island.NOM-the absolutely
anmardabnak ē eł-el.
 uninhabited it is be-PTCP.PERF.
 “That recently discovered island has been absolutely uninhabited.”

Exceptions to this rule are emotion verbs suffixed with *-ենալ -enal*, *-անալ -anal*, usually use the resultative of its intransitive basis instead of the transitive one with causative suffix *-ցն- -cʻn*. E.g. *զարմացած եմ zarmacʻac em* not **զարմացված եմ zarmacʻv-ac em* “I am surprised”.

Of course, the suffix- *-վ- 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 լինել *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 եմ *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.

140. Kozintseva 1995: 290.

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) Վարդանը միշտ նստած է այստեղ:

Vardan-ě mišt nst-ac ē aystel.
 Vardan.NOM-the always sit-PTCP.RES. he is here
 “Vardan is always sitting here.”

- (357) Վարդանը հաճախ նստած է լինում այստեղ:

Vardan-ě hačax nst-ac ē lin-um aystel.
 Vardan.NOM-the often sit-PTCP.RES. he is be-PTCP.PRES. here
 “Vardan is often sitting here.”

- (358) Վարդանը դեռ նստած է գրասենյակում:

Vardan-ě deř nst-ac ē grasenyak-um.
 Vardan.NOM-the still sit-PTCP.RES. he is office-LOC
 “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 *kam* ‘to be, to exist’. It conveys a general meaning of experience, i.e. if an action has, in general, ever been performed.

- (359) Որևէ կենդանի սպանած կա՞ս:

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 *kam* ‘to exist’. This is experiential present tense.

- (359) a. Որևէ կենդանի սպանե՞լ ես:

Orewē kendani span-el es?
 any 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

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) Արամը կանգնում էր:

Aram-ě kangn-um ěr.
 Aram.NOM-the stand-PTCP.PRES. he was
 “Aram stood (stopped).”

(360) a. Արամը կանգնած էր:

Aram-ě kangn-ac ěr.
 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) Երբ Վարդանը հասավ կայարան, Նարինեն արդեն ժամանած է եղել:

Erb Vardan-ě has-av kayaran Narine-n
 CONJ Vardan.NOM-the reach-AOR.3.SG station.NOM Narine.NOM-the
arden žaman-ac ě 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) Ժամը հինգին Արամը դասերը միշտ պատրաստած է լինում:

Žam-ě hing-i-n Aram-ě das-er-ě mišt
 hour.NOM-the 5-DAT-the Aram.NOM-the class-PL.NOM-the always
patrast-ac ě 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 forms¹⁴² 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 -իս *-is* and the inflected auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually” in all tense forms.

(363) Ողջ քաղաքը տոնախմբությանը մասնակցելիս է եղել, երբ երկրի նախագահը այցելել է քաղաք:

Olj katal'ë tonaxmbut'y-an-ë masnack'el-is ē
 whole town.NOM-the celebration-DAT-the participate-PTCP.PROC. it is
el-el erb erkr-i naxagah-ë ayc'el-el
 be-PTCP.PERF. CONJ country-DAT president.NOM-the visit-PTCP.PERF.
ē k'alak'.
 he is town.NOM.

“The whole town was participating in the celebration, when the country’s president visited the town.”

Note: at the time when the president was in town, all inhabitants were in the process of celebrating his visit. This is a processual present perfect.

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 -ու- *-u* and the inflected auxiliary լինել *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 եմ *em* “to be” or լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually”.

– Dynamic Forms

Present tense: participle present in -ում *-um* + auxiliary in present tense
 Imperfect tense: participle present in -ում *-um* + auxiliary in imperfect tense
 Present perfect tense: participle perfect in - (աց)ել *(-ac')-el* + auxiliary in present tense
 Past perfect tense: participle perfect in - (աց)ել *(-ac')-el* + auxiliary in imperfect tense
 Future tense: participle future in - ելու--ալու *-elu-alu* + auxiliary in present tense
 Future past: participle future in - ելու--ալու *-elu-alu* + auxiliary in imperfect tense

The only synthetic tense is the aorist.

142. This term corresponds to Kozintseva’s (1995:286): “resultative proper”.

Table 2. Formation of Dynamic forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Analytic					Synthetic	
	Present	Imperfect	Pres. Perfect	Past Perfect	Future	Future Past	Aorist
1. SG	գրում եմ <i>grum em</i>	գրում էի <i>grum ēi</i>	գրել եմ <i>grel em</i>	գրել էի <i>grel ēi</i>	գրելու եմ <i>grelu em</i>	գրելու էի <i>grelu ēi</i>	գրեցի <i>grec'i</i>

– Stative Forms

Participle resultative and inflected forms of the auxiliary եմ *em* “to be”.

a. Durative (habitual) Stative Forms

Participle resultative (very seldom processual and/or future participle) and inflected forms of the auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually”.

b. Experiential Forms

Participle resultative and inflected forms of the defective auxiliary կամ *kam* “to exist” in present tense.

Table 3. Formation of Stative forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)	Durative stative
Present	գնացած եմ <i>gnac'ac em</i>	կարդացած եմ լինում <i>kardac'ac em linum</i>
Imperfect	գնացած էի <i>gnac'ac ēi</i>	կարդացած էի լինում <i>kardac'ac ēi linum</i>
Pres. Perfect	գնացած եմ եղել <i>gnac'ac em ešel</i>	կարդացած եմ եղել <i>kardac'ac em ešel</i>
Past Perfect	գնացած էի եղել <i>gnac'ac ēi ešel</i>	կարդացած էի եղել <i>kardac'ac ēi ešel</i>
Future	գնացած եմ լինելու <i>gnac'ac em linelu</i>	կարդացած եմ լինելու <i>kardac'ac em linelu</i>
Future Past	գնացած էի լինելու <i>gnac'ac ēi linelu</i>	կարդացած էի լինելու <i>kardac'ac ēi linelu</i>
Aorist	գնացած եղա <i>gnac'ac ela</i>	կարդացած եղա <i>kardac'ac ela</i>

– Experiential Forms

Table 4. Formation of Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)
Present	գնացած կամ <i>gnac'ac kam</i>
Imperfect	գնացած կայի <i>gnac'ac kayi</i>

– Processual and Prospective Forms

Table 5. Formation of Processual and Prospective Forms, 1st Person Singular

	Processual	Prospective
Present	կարդալիս եմ լինում <i>kardalis em linum</i>	կարդալու եմ լինում <i>kardalu em linum</i>
Imperfect	կարդալիս էի լինում <i>kardalis ēi linum</i>	կարդալու էի լինում <i>kardalu ēi linum</i>
Pres. Perfect	կարդալիս եմ եղել <i>kardalis em etel</i>	կարդալուիս եմ եղել <i>kardalu em etel</i>
Past Perfect	կարդալիս էի եղել <i>kardalis ēi etel</i>	
Future	կարդալիս եմ լինելու <i>kardalis em linelu</i>	
Future Past	կարդալիս էի լինելու <i>kardalis ēi linelu</i>	
Aorist	կարդալիս եղա <i>kardalis etā</i>	

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.

- By means of the prefixed, negative particle չ-*č'*- to the synthetic tense form (aorist); e.g. գնացի *gnaci* “went”, չգնացի *č'-gnac'i* “I did not go”.
- By means of the negative particle չ-*č'*- 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. գնում եմ *gnum em* “I go” : չեմ գնում *č'-em gnum* “I do not go”. The negated form of the auxiliary as part of an analytic tense form is, however, in present tense, 3.SG., չի *č'i*.¹⁴³
- By means of the negative particle չ-*č'*- prefixed, negated auxiliary and the participle resultative for stative verb forms. For durative stative tenses, with the negative participle չ-*č'*- negated auxiliary “em”, the participle of the auxiliary լինել *linel* 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. նստած եմ *nstac em* “I sit”, նստած չեմ *nstac č'-em* “I do not sit”

143. In contrast to the negated auxiliary in copular use, present 3.SG. is չի *č'i*. In colloquial Armenian for both functions very often only չի *č'i* is used.

Table 6. Negated Dynamic Forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

Analytic						Synthetic
Present	Imperfect	Pres. Perfect	Past Perfect	Future	Future Past	Aorist
չեն գրում <i>č'em grum</i>	չի գրում <i>č'-ēi grum</i>	չեն գրել <i>č'-em grel</i>	չի գրել <i>č'-ēi grel</i>	չեն գրելու <i>č'-em grelu</i>	չի գրելու <i>č'-ēi grelu</i>	չգրեցի <i>č'-grec'i</i>

Table 7. Negated Stative forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)	Durative tenses
Present	զնացած չեն <i>gnac'ac č'-em</i>	կարդացած չեն լինում <i>kardac'ac č'-em linum</i>
Imperfect	զնացած չի <i>gnac'ac č'-ēi</i>	կարդացած չի լինում <i>kardac'ac č'-ēi linum</i>
Pres. Perfect	զնացած չեն եղել <i>gnac'ac č'-em etel</i>	կարդացած չեն եղել <i>kardac'ac č'-em etel</i>
Past Perfect	զնացած չի եղել <i>gnac'ac č'-ēi etel</i>	կարդացած չի եղել <i>kardac'ac č'-ēi etel</i>
Future	զնացած չեն լինելու <i>gnac'ac č'-em linelu</i>	կարդացած չեն լինելու <i>kardac'ac č'-em linelu</i>
Future Past	զնացած չի լինելու <i>gnac'ac č'-ēi linelu</i>	կարդացած չի լինելու <i>kardac'ac č'-ēi linelu</i>
Aorist	զնացած չեղա <i>gnac'ac č'-ela</i>	կարդացած չեղա <i>kardac'ac č'-ela</i>

Table 8. Negated Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)
Present	զնացած չկամ <i>gnac'ac č'-kam</i>

Table 9. Negated Processual and Prospective Forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Processual	Prospective
Present	կարդալիս չեն լինում <i>kardalis č'-em linum</i>	կարդալու չեն լինում <i>kardalu č'-em linum</i>
Imperfect	կարդալիս չի լինում <i>kardalis č'-ēi linum</i>	կարդալու չի լինում <i>kardalu č'-ēi linum</i>
Pres. Perfect	կարդալիս չեն եղել <i>kardalis č'-em etel</i>	կարդալու չեն եղել <i>kardalu č'-em etel</i>
Past Perfect	կարդալիս չի եղել <i>kardalis č'-ēi etel</i>	կարդալու չի եղել <i>kardalu č'-ēi etel</i>
Future	կարդալիս չեն լինելու <i>kardalis č'-em linelu</i>	կարդալու չեն լինելու <i>kardalu č'-em linelu</i>
Future Past	կարդալիս չի լինելու <i>kardalis č'-ēi linelu</i>	կարդալու չի լինելու <i>kardalu č'-ēi linelu</i>
Aorist	կարդալիս չեղա <i>kardalis č'-ela</i>	կարդալու չեղա <i>kardalu č'-ela</i>

2.5.3 Moods of Armenian verbs¹⁴⁴

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 "debitive" 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) Եթե ժամանակ ունենաս, մենք միասին կգնանք թատրոն:

eʔe žamanak unen-as menk' miasin kgn-ank'
 CONJ time.NOM have-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG we.NOM together go-COND.FUT.1.PL
t'atron.
 theatre.NOM

"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 հագնվեմ մինչև ժամը 4-ը :

es piti hang-v-em minčew žam-ě 4-ě.
 I.NOM dress-refl.-DEB.FUT.1.SG PREP hour.NOM 4.NOM-the

"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) Մինչ քո գալը ես բոլոր իրերը հավաքած կլինեմ:

Minč' kò gal-ě es bolor ir-er-ě
 PREP your come-the I.NOM all thing-PL.NOM-the

144. Detailed paradigms are given in the respective subchapters.

havak³-ac *klin-em.*
 collect-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.1.SG.

“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.

(367) Երբ գաս, այլ ուսանունների հետ թարգմանելիս կլինես:

Erb g-as *ayl usanoł-ner-i* *het*
 CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG other student-PL-DAT POST
t'argmanel-is *klin-em.*
 translate-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.1.SG

“When you come, I will still be (in the action of) translating with other students.”

Comment: the sentence expresses that when one comes, the other person will still be in the action of translating with other students. The verb of the main clause expresses a progressive meaning: “at the moment you arrive, you will see me translating.” The verb in the main clause is a processual conditional (future).

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 մի *mí* and the regular imperative forms.

“Weaker” prohibitives can also be expressed by means of a negated subjunctive, which is fairly common in spoken Armenian.

(368) գնա *gna!* Go! (2.SG) գնացք *Gnac'ek'* “go” (2-PL).

(369) գնանք *Gnank'* “let's go!” (1.PL) (hortative)

(370) մի գնա *Mí gna!* Don't go! (2.SG.) մի գնացք *mí gnac'ek* “Don't go!” (2.PL)

(371) չգնաս *čgnas!* “You shall not go! Do not go!”

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.

Negation of Armenian Moods

In MEA “dynamic” moods are negated in the following way:

- the subjunctive is negated by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č'*, e.g. գնամ *gnam* “I want to go” չգնամ *č'-gnam* “I do not want to go”.
- The conditional mood has a special negative participle for negation; it is formed in -i of e-conjugation verbs, e.g. գրել *grel* գրի *gr-i*, and -a of a-conjugation verbs, e.g. կարդալ

kard-al, կարդա *kard-a*. These negative participles are combined with the negated auxiliary “to be” to express a negated conditional. e.g. կգրեմ *kgrem* “I shall write”, չեն գրի *č'em gri* “I shall not write”; կկարդամ *kkardam* “I shall read”, չեն կարդա *č'em kard-a* “I shall not read”. 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 $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to the debitive particle պիտի *piti*. The word order remains the same as in affirmative clauses. E.g. պիտի գնամ *piti gnam*, “I have to go” չպիտի գնամ $\check{\text{c}}\text{-piti gnam}$ “I do not have to go”
- d. The imperative is negated by means of the prosodically stressed prohibitive particle մի *mi*, e.g. գնա *gna!* “go!” մի գնա *mi 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 $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ prefixed to the auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնացած լինեն *gnac'ac linem*, գնացած չլինեն *gnac'ac č'-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 լինել *linel* and with the negative prefix $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ negated auxiliary են *em*, and the preposed participle resultative: գնացած կլինեն *gnac'ac klinem*, գնացած չեն լինի *gnac'ac č'em lini*. The order is PTCP.RES + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.
- c. the stative debitive, by means of the negative prefix $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to the Debitive particle *piti*, the auxiliary and the participle, remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. պիտի գնացած լինեն *piti gnac'ac linem*, չպիտի գնացած լինեն $\check{\text{c}}\text{-piti gnac'ac linem}$. 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 $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ prefixed auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնալիս լինեն *gnalis linem*, գնալիս չլինեն *gnalis č'linem*. There is no change in order.
- b. the processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary լինել *linel* and with the negative prefix $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$, negated auxiliary են *em*, and the preposed participle processual: գնալիս կլինեն *gnalis klinem*, գնալիս չեն լինի *gnalis č'em lini*. The order is PTCP.PROC. + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.
- c. the processual debitive by means of the negative prefix $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ to the debitive particle *piti*, the auxiliary and the participle remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. գնալիս պիտի լինեն *gnalis piti linem*, գնալիս չպիտի լինեն *gnalis č'piti linem*.

The prospective forms are negated:

- a. the processual subjunctive is negated by means of the negative particle $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$ prefixed auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնալու լինեն *gnalu linem*, գնալու չլինեն *gnalu č'linem*. There is no change in order.
- b. the processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary լինել *linel* and the with the negative prefix $\text{-չ } \check{\text{c}}\text{-}$, negated auxiliary են *em*, and the

preposed participle processual: գնալու կլինեն *gnalu klinem*, գնալու չեն լինի *gnalu č'em lini*. The order is PTCP.FUT. + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.

- c. the processual debitive by means of the negative prefix չ- *č'* to the debitive particle *piti*, the auxiliary and the participle remain in the same form and order as in affirmative clauses, e.g. գնալու պիտի լինեն *gnalu piti linem*, գնալու չպիտի լինեն *gnalu č'piti linem*.

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 *tanel* “to carry”, կշռել *kšřel* “to weigh”, արժենալ *arženal* “to cost”, etc.
- relations, e.g. ենթարկվել *ent'arkvel* “to obey”, վերաբերվել *verabervel* “to regard”, համապատասխանել *hamapatasxanel* “to agree with, to correspond”, etc.
- skills, knowledge, e.g. գիտենալ *gitenal* “to know”, կարծել *karcel* “to think”, համարել *hamarel* “to regard, to consider”, ենթադրել *ent'adrel* “to suppose, to assume” etc.
- residence, e.g. ապրել *aprel* “to live; to dwell”, բնակվել *bnakvel* “to dwell, to inhabit”, etc.

145. see Kozintseva 1995:278.

146. see Kozintseva 1995:278.

- possession, e.g. ունենալ *unenal* “to have”, պարունակել *parunakel* “to contain, to include”, տիրապետել *tirapetel* “to possess, to dominate”, etc.
- occupation, e.g. ղեկավարել *lekavarel* “to guide, to lead”, աշխատել *asxatel* “to work”, ուսուցչություն անել *usuc’ut’yun anel* “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 վերջերս նրանք ջուր էին ունենում օրական երկու անգամ, ապա շուրջ 20 օր է ինչ խմելու ջուրը քաղաք է մտնում միայն առավոտյան: (Armenpress 02.04.2005)

Et’è minčew verjers nrank’ jur ėin unen-um
 If PREP recent they.NOM water.NOM they were have-PTCP.PRES.
ōrakan erku angam apa šurj 20 ōr ė inč xmel-u
 daily two time then PREP 20 day.NOM it is that drink-INF-DAT
jur-ė k’alak’ ė mtn-um miayn a’avotyān.
 water.NOM-the town.NOM it is enter-PTCP.PRES. only morning.

“If, until recently, they used to have water two times a day, then it is 20 days that the drinking water enters the town only in the morning.”

- (373) Տարեկան գրադարանն ունենում է 750 հազար այցելու, 200 հազար ընթերցող: (Armenpress 08.12.2005)

Tarekan gradaran-n unen-um ė 750 hazar ayc’elu
 yearly library.NOM-the have-PTCP.PRES. it is 750 thousand visitor.NOM
200 hazar ėnt’erc’ōt.¹⁴⁷
 200 thousand reader.NOM

“Yearly the library has 750 000 visitors and 200 000 readers.”

Note: in both sentences (372) and (373) ունենալ *unenal* expresses a habitual action.

- (374) Հեքիաթներն ունենում են յուրահատուկ կառուցվածք: (Grakanut’yun 4: 40)

Hek’iat’ner-n unen-um en yurahatuk ka’uc’vack’.
 fairy-tale-PL.NOM-the have-PTCP.PRES. they are special structure.NOM.
 “Fairy-tales (usually) have a special structure.”

The countable verbal lexemes are subdivided into terminative/telic (non-durative)¹⁴⁸ and aterminative/atelic (durative).

147. The verbal form ընթերցող *ėnt’erc’ōt* “reading”, a participle subjective of the verb ընթերցել *ėnt’erc’el* “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 *kařuc’el* “to build”, նորոգել *norogel* “to renovate”, լուծել *lucel* “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: լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly”, պատահել *patahel* “to happen”, կատարվել *katarvel* “to go on”, հանդիպել *handipel* “to meet”, տեսնվել *tesnvel* “to meet, 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. խոսել *xosel* “to speak”, շնչել *řnc’el* “to breath” 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. գտնվել *gtnvel* “to be located, to exist”, երևալ *erewal* “to be visible, to appear”
- b. modals, e.g. կամենալ *kamenal* “to want, to wish”, ուզենալ *uzenal* “to want, to wish”, կարողանալ *karotanal* “can, to be able to”
- c. verbs of relation, e.g. նշանակել *nřanakel* “to signify, to mean”, տարբերվել *tarbervel* “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 -աւտ- *at-*, -ոտ- *ot-*, -տ- *t-* 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.

- (375) Արդարություն» դաշինքի համախոհները պատահուտել են նրանց պատահուները և բռնություն կիրառել դրանք բարձրացնունների դեմ: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

Ardarut'yun dašink'-i hamaxoh-ner-ě patařot-el
 "Justice".NOM treaty-DAT partisan-PL.NOM-the tear to pieces-PTCP.PERF.

en nranc' pasta-ner-ě ew břnut'yun
 they are their wallpaper-PL.NOM-the CONJ violence.NOM

kirař-el drank' barjra-c'n-oř-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 պատահուտել *patařot-el* "to tear to pieces" is a multiplicative verb with the suffix -nun- -oř-, formed from the verb պատահել *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 necessarily 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).¹⁴⁹

(376) Արմենը սովորաբար Մարիի հետ էր գնում ծովափ:

Armen-ě sovorabar Mari-i het ěr
 Armen.NOM-the usually Mari-DAT POST he was
gn-um covap’.
 go-PTCP.PRES. beach.NOM
 “Armen usually went to beach with Mary.”

(376) a. Արմենը Մարիի հետ երեք անգամ է ծովափ գնացել:

Armen-ě Mari-i het erek’ angam ě
 Armen.NOM-the Mari-DAT POST three time he is
covap’ gnac’-el.
 beach.NOM go-PTCP.PERF.
 “Armen has gone to beach with Mary three times.”

Ingressive:

(377) Արմենը սիրեց Անուշին:

Armen-ě sirec’ Anuš-i-n.
 Armen.NOM love-AOR.3.SG Anuš-DAT-the
 “Armen fell in love with Anuš. Armen started to love Anuš.”

Terminative

(378) Երբ ես սենյակ մտա՝ Վարդանը գիրք էր կարդում:

Erb es senyak mt-a Vardan-ě girk’
 when I.NOM room.NOM enter-AOR.1.SG Vardan.NOM-the book.NOM
ēr kard-um.
 he was read-PTCP.PRES.
 “When I entered the room, Vardan was reading the book.”

b. Evidentiality

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)

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) Արմենը խնձոր է ուտում:

Armen-ĕ 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) Աննան խնձոր էր ուտում:

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 -իս *-is* with the inflected forms of the auxiliary լինել *linel* “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) Հայրը երբ եկավ տուն, երեխաները տոնածառը զարդարելիս են եղել:

Hayr-ĕ erb ek-av tun erexa-ner-ĕ

father.NOM-the CONJ come-AOR.3.SG house.NOM child-PL.NOM-the

tonacaġ-ĕ 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.

(382) Վաղն առավոտյան նա գիրքը դեռ կարդալիս կլինի:

Vahn ařavotyán na girk'-ě deř
tomorrow morning he.NOM book.NOM-the still

kardal-is klin-i.
read-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.3.SG

“Tomorrow morning he will still be reading the book.”

Note: tomorrow morning he will still be in the process of reading the book. The form is a processual conditional future, formed with the processual participle and the auxiliary in the conditional future.

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 լինել *lineł*, 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 *-an-*, -են *-en-*, -ն *-n-*, -չ *-č'* and the morphological suffixes -ցն *-c'n* (causative) and -վ *-v-* (passive, reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative).

Thus the present stem is the following:

	PRESENT STEM	examples
Simple verbs in -el	Stem-	գր- <i>gr-</i> (< գրել <i>grel</i>), լս- <i>ls-</i> (< լսել <i>lsel</i>),
Simple verbs in -al	Stem-	կարդ- <i>kard-</i> (< կարդալ <i>kardal</i>), խաղ- <i>xal-</i> (< խաղալ <i>xatal</i>),

150. Petrosyan 1987: 305 writes about a durative: non-durative aspect distinction in Armenian as expressed by the following pairs: գրում եմ *grum em* “I write; I am writing”: գրելիս եմ լինում *grelis em linum* “I am usually writing”; նստած եմ *nstac em* “I am sitting, I sit”: նստած եմ լինում *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'-	փախչ- <i>p'axč'</i> - (< փախչել <i>p'axč'el</i>), տռչ- <i>třč'</i> - (< տռչել <i>třč'el</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -n-el	Stem -n-	տեսն- <i>tesn</i> - (<տեսնել <i>tesnel</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al	Stem -an-	մոռան- <i>mořan</i> - (< մոռանալ <i>mořanal</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -en-al	Stem -en-	մոտեն- <i>moten</i> - (< մոտենալ <i>motenal</i>),
Causativised verbs in -c'n-el	Stem -c'n-	կարդացն- <i>kardac'n</i> - (< կարդացնել <i>kardac'nel</i>
Passivised verbs in -v-el	Stem -v-	տեսնվ- <i>tesn-v</i> - (< տեսնվել <i>tesnvel</i>).

The following finite and non-finite verbal forms can be generated from the present stem:

Participles

- Infinitive: -ել *-el*, -ալ *-al*. գրել *gr-el* “to write”, կարդալ *kard-al* “to read”
- Present participle: of both conjugations: *-um*. գրում *gr-um* “writing”, կարդում *kard-um* “reading”
- Negative participle: e-conjugation verbs: *-i* գրի *gr-i*; a-conjugation verbs *-a* կարդա *kard-a*.
- Subject participle: (nomen agentis) of the e-conjugation *-ot* գրող *gr-ot* “writer, the writing one”
- Resultative participle of the e-conjugation: *-ac* գրած *gr-ac* “written”
- Participle perfect of the e-conjugation: *-el* ըրել *gr-el* “written”
- Future participle: e-conjugation verbs in *-elu* գրելու *gr-elu*, a-conjugation verbs in *-alu* կարդալու *kard-alu*
- Processual participle: e-conjugation verbs in ելիս *-elis* գրելիս *gr-elis*, a-conjugation verbs in -ալիս *-alis*, կարդալիս *kard-alis*

Moods

- Subjunctive of a- and e-conjugation կարդ-ամ *kard-am*, գր-են *gr-em*,
- Conditional of a- and e-conjugation կկարդ-ամ *k-kard-am*, կգր-են *k-gr-em*,
- Debitive of a- and e-conjugation պիտի կարդ-ամ *piti kard-am*, պիտի գր-ես *piti gr-es*,
- Imperative singular of a- and e-conjugation: կարդ-ա *kard-a*, գր-իր *gr-ir*.

The aorist or perfect stem is formed in the following way:

AORIST STEM	examples	
Simple verbs in -el	Pres.stem-	գր- <i>gr</i> - (< գրել <i>grel</i>), լս- <i>ls</i> -(< լսել <i>lsel</i>),
Simple verbs in -al	Pres.stem+ <i>-ac'</i> -	կարդաց- <i>kardac'</i> - (< կարդալ <i>kardal</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -č'el	Pres.stem without -č'-	փախ- <i>p'ax</i> - (< փախչել <i>p'axč'el</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -n-el	Pres.stem without -n-	տես- <i>tes</i> - (< տեսնել <i>tesnel</i>),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al	Pres.stem without -an-+ <i>ac'</i>	մոռաց- <i>mořac'</i> - (< մոռանալ <i>mořanal</i>),

Suffixed verbs in -en-al	Pres.stem without -en-+ac'	մոտեց- <i>motec'</i> - (< մոտենալ <i>motenal</i>),
Causativised verbs in -c'n-el	Stem+ -c'r-	կարդացր- <i>kardac'r-</i> (< կարդացնել <i>kardac'nel</i>)
Passivised verbs in -v-el	Pres.stem-v-	տեսնվ- <i>tesn-v-</i> (< տեսնվել <i>tesnvel</i>).

This stem forms

a. Participles

- Resultative participle of the a-conjugation, as well as -n- and -č'- suffixed and causativised verbs կարդաց-ած *kardac'-ac*, տես-ած *tes-ac*, փախ-ած *pox-ac*,
- Perfect participle of the a-conjugation verbs, as well as -n- and -č'- suffixed and causativised verbs կարդաց-ել *kardac'-el*, տես-ել *tes-el*, փախ-ել *p'ax-el*.
- Subject participle of the a-conjugation verbs կարդաց-ող *kardac'-ot*.

b. Tense

- Aorist: e-conjugation verbs գրեց-ի *grec'-i*, a-conjugation verbs կարդաց-ի *kardac'-i*;

c. Moods

- Imperative singular of -ն -n-, -չ -č'-, -ան -an- and -են -en- suffixed verbs, as e.g. մտ-իր *mt-ir*, փախ-իր , *p'ax-ir*, մոռաց-իր *mořac'-ir*, վախեց-իր *vaxec'-ir* as well as of causativised verbs կարդացրու *kardac'-ru* etc.,
- Imperative plural of all verbs, e.g. գրեց-էք *grec'ek'*, կարդաց-էք *kardac'-ek'*, տեսեք *tes-ek'*, փախեք *p'ax-ek'*, մոռացեք *mořac'-ek'*, վախեցեք *vaxec'-ek'*, կարդացրեք *kardac'-ek'* etc.

2.5.6 Non-finite verbal forms

The MEA non-finite verb forms are

1. Infinitive in -ել -el, or -ալ -al
2. Processual participle in -իս -is
3. Future participle in -ու -u
4. Resultative participle in -ած -ac
5. Subject participle in -ող -ot

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 -ում -um
7. Perfect participle in -ել -el
8. Negative participle

2.5.6.1 Infinitive¹⁵¹

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. ուզենալ *uzenal* “to want, to wish”, կարողանալ *karołanal* “can, to be able to” etc.
 - of phase verbs as e.g. *sksel* “to begin, to start”, դադարել *dadarel* “to finish, to end”, վերջացնել *verʃacʹnel* “to finish sth.” etc.
 - of manipulation verbs as e.g. ստիպել *stipel* “to force”, թույլատրել *tʹuylatrel* “to allow”, արգելել *argelel* “to forbid”, խանգարել *xangarel* “to disturb, to hinder from”, դրդել *drdel* “to instigate”, համոզել *hamozel* “to convince” etc.
 - in analytic causative constructions with տալ *tal*, e.g. (388) (389).

(383) Անուշը ուզում է աշխատել գրադարանում:

Anuš-ě uz-um ē ašxat-el gradaran-um.
 Anuš.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. she is work-INF library-LOC
 “Anuš wants to work in a library.”

(384) Հայկը կարողացավ ժամանակին վերջացնել աշխատանքը:

Hayk-ě karołacʹ-av žamanakin verja-cʹn-el ašxatankʹ-ě.
 Hayk.NOM-the can-AOR.3.SG. in time finish-caus-INF work.NOM-the
 “Hayk could finish the work in time.”

(385) Նա հանկարծ սկսում էր երգել:

Na hankarc sks-um ēr erg-el.
 He.NOM suddenly begin-PTCP.PRES. he was sing-INF
 “He suddenly began to sing.”

(386) Ես ստիպում եմ Պետրոսին կարդալ գիրքը:

Es stip-um em Petros-i-n kard-al girkʹ-ě.
 I.NOM force-PTCP.PRES. I am Petros-DAT-the read-INF book.NOM-the
 “I force Petros to read the book.”

(387) Մայրը համոզեց որդուն վաղը տանը մնալ:

Mayr-ě hamozecʹ ord-u-n vaļě
 Mother.NOM-the convince-AOR.3.SG son-DAT-the tomorrow
tan-ě mn-al.
 house-DAT-the stay-INF
 “The mother convinced the son (her son) to stay at home tomorrow.”

151. See Petrosyan 1987: 45f.

- (388) Հայրը քարտուղարին (մի) նամակ է գրել տալիս:

Hayr-ē k'artular-i-n (mi) namak ē
 Father.NOM-the secretary-DAT-the (a) letter.NOM he is
gr-el tal-is.
 write-INF give-PTCP.PRES.

“Father makes the secretary write a letter.”

- (389) Ուսուցիչը երեխաներին նկարել է տալիս գրքի մի քանի պատկերներ:

Usuč'ič'-ē erecox-ner-i-n nkar-el ē tal-is
 Teacher.NOM-the child-PL-DAT-the draw-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.
grk'-i mi k'ani patker-ner.
 book-DAT some picture-PL.NOM

“The teacher made the children draw some pictures of the book.”

- b. With the auxiliary “to be” as a predicative complement e.g.:

- (390) Իմ կարծիքով սա աշխատել չէ:

Im karcik'-ov sa ašxat-el č'-ē.
 My opinion-INST this.NOM work-INF neg-it is
 “In my opinion this is not work.”

- c. As a predicative complement in impersonal clauses e.g.:

- (391) Պետք է սիրել հայրենիքը:

Petk' ē sir-el hayrenik'-ē.
 need it is love-INF fatherland.NOM-the
 “One should love the fatherland. lit: It is needed to love the fatherland.”

- (392) Հարկավոր է ճշտորեն կատարել հանձնարարությունը:

Harkavor ē čštoren katar-el hanjnararut'yun-ē.
 necessary it is correctly fulfil-INF order.NOM-the
 “It is necessary to fulfil the order correctly.”

- (393) Հարգել ուրիշի աշխատանքը:

Harg-el uriš-i ašxatank'-ē.
 appreciate-ING other-DAT work.NOM-the
 “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) Չկրակել:

Č'-krak-el!
 neg-shoot-INF
 “Do not shoot! 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) Ծխելն արգելվում է:

Cx-el-n argel-v-um ē.
smoke-INF-the forbid-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is
“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) Ուտելուց հետո կգնամ քաղաք գնումների:

Utel-uc' heto kgn-am katalak' gnum-ner-i.
eat-INF-ABL POST go-COND.FUT.1.SG town.NOM shopping-PL-DAT
“After having eaten I will go shopping to town.”

(397) Հանգստանալու ժամանակ չունեմ:

Hangstanal-u žamanak č-un-em.
relax-INF-DAT time.NOM neg-have-PRES.1.SG
“I do not have time to relax.”

(398) Արամը սպասում է քո գալուն:

Aram-ě spas-um ē k'o gal-u-n.
Aram.NOM-the wait-PTCP.PRES. he is your come-INF-DAT-the
“Aram expects your coming. (Aram waits for your coming)”

(399) Անին գնաց գրադարան պարապելու:

Ani-n gnac' gradaran parap-el-u.
Ani.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG library.NOM study-INF-DAT
“Ani went to the library in order to study.”

(400) Սիլվան ծիծաղելով եկավ ինձ մոտ:

Silva-n cical-el-ov ek-av inj mot.
Silva.NOM-the laugh-INF-INST come-AOR.3.SG I.DAT POST
“Silva came to me laughing (lit. with laughing).”

Some of these declined infinitives, particularly in the dative, have been lexicalised¹⁵² such as e.g.

խմելու ջուր *xmelu jur* lit: water to drink = drinkable water

ուտելու միս *utel-u mis*, lit. meat to eat = eatable meat

152. Compare Petrosyan 1987: 182.

The declined infinitive, particularly in instrumental -ով *-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 participle¹⁵³

Formation

The participle is formed using the verb’s infinitive and the suffix -իս *-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) Անտառում սունկ հավաքելիս, Մադլենը կորցրեց տան բանալին:

Antař-um sunk havak'el-is Madlen-ě
 forest-Loc mushroom.NOM collect-PTCP.PROC. Madlen.NOM-the
kor-c'ŕ-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) Արմենը երեկ վազելիս վնասեց ոտքը:

Armen-ě erek vazel-is vnasec' otk'-ě.
 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 + ժամանակ *žamanak*, ընթացքում *ěntac'k'um*, meaning during the time of, in the course of etc.

- (403) Այս երաժշտությունը լսելիս տրամադրությունս բարձրանում է:

Ays eražštut'un-ě lsel-is tramadrut'yun-s
 DEM music.NOM-the listen-PTCP.PROC. mood.NOM-my
barjran-um ě.
 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 -ում *-um* can not occur alone in a sentence; by contrast the second present participle in -իս *-is* can occur in a sentence – in the function of a participial or verbal adverb or as a kind of participial complement.

- (403) a. Այս երաժշտությունը լսելու ժամանակ տրամադրությունս բարձրանում է:
Ays eražštut'yun-ě lsel-u žamanak tramadrut'yun-s
 DEM music.NOM-the listen-INF-DAT time.NOM mood.NOM-my
barjran-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 լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly”. It expresses an action that is/will be/was usually/habitually in progress.

- (404) Առավոտյան նա դեռ գնալիս կլինի:
ařavotyān na deř gnał-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 Անին սովորելիս է լինում:
ayd žamanak Ani-n sovoreł-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 -ու *-u*.

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) կատարելու գործ
katar-el-u gorc
 fulfil-INF-DAT work.NOM
 “the work to fulfil”

(406) a. կատարելու գործ

katarel-u *gorc*
 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 *լինել* *linel* to be repeatedly/ habitually” to express prospective actions, particularly in subjunctive, conditional (and debitive) mood.

(407) Երբ խանութ գնալու լինես, ինձ նույնպես ասա՛ միասին գնանք:

Erb *xanut'* *gnalu* *lines* *inj* *nuynpes*
 CONJ shop.NOM go-PTCP.FUT. be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG I.DAT also

asa *miasin* *gn-ank'*.
 say-IMP.2. SG together go-SUBJ.FUT.1PL¹⁵⁴

“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 *-իք* *ik'*.

Formation

It is derived from transitives and passives only; it is formed from these verbs' infinitive + suffix *-իք* *-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) Թարգմանվելիք էջերը նշված են կարմիրով:

t'argman-v-el-ik' *ēj-er-ē* *nš-v-ac*
 translate-pass-PTCP.FUT.2. page-PL.NOM-the mark-pass-PTCP.RES.

en *karmir-ov*.
 they are red-INST

“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!

- (409) Այսօրվա ժողովին խոսվելիք քիչ բան կա:

aysōr-va žoʻlov-i-n xos-v-elik’ k’ič’
 today-DAT meeting-DAT-the talk-pass-PTCP.FUT.2. few

ban k-a.

thing.NOM exist-PRES.3.SG.

“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.)

- (410) Կարդալիք գրքերս բերել եմ ինձ հետ:

kardal-ik’ grk’-er-s ber-el em inj het.
 read-PTCP.FUT.2. book-PL.NOM-my bring-PTCP.PERF. I am I.DAT POST

“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 sensu 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 -ած *-ac*.

Table 10. Formation of Resultative Participle

	Simple in -el	Simple in -al	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in - ը’-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -en-
Inf.	գրել <i>gr-el</i>	կարդալ <i>kard-al</i>	տեսնել <i>tes-n-el</i>	փախչել <i>p’ax-č’-el</i>	ուրախանալ <i>urax-an-al</i>	վախենալ <i>vax-en-al</i>
Aorist stem	գր- <i>gr-ac</i>	կարդաց- <i>kardac’-</i>	տես- <i>tes-</i>	փախ- <i>p’ax-</i>	ուրախաց- <i>uraxac’-</i>	վախեց- <i>vaxec’-</i>
Part. Res.	գրած <i>gr-ac</i>	կարդացած <i>kardac’-ac</i>	տեսած <i>tes-ac</i>	փախած <i>p’ax-ac</i>	ուրախացած <i>uraxac’-ac</i>	վախեցած <i>vaxec’-ac</i>
		Causativised in -c’n-el		Passivised in -vel ¹⁵⁵		
Inf.		կարդացնել <i>karda-c’n-el</i>		գրվել <i>gr-v-el</i>		
Aorist stem		կարդացր- <i>kardac’r-</i>		գրվ- <i>grv-</i>		
Part. Res.		կարդացրած <i>kardac’r-ac</i>		գրված <i>grv-ac</i>		

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 քայլել *k'ayleł* “to step, to walk”, վազել *vazel* “to run”, շարունակել *šarunakel* “to continue”, տևել *tewel* “to last”, մլավել *mlavel* “to mew” etc.
- non-terminative verbs of volition and possession: ուզենալ *uzenal* “to want, to wish”; կամենալ *kamenal* “to want, to wish”, ունենալ *unenal* “to have”, գիտենալ *gitenal* “to know”.¹⁵⁶

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) Արամը հիացած է լսում:

Aram-ě hiac'-ac ē ls-um.
 Aram.NOM-the delight-PTCP.RES. he is listen-PTCP.PRES.
 “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) Ծառի տակ նստած աղջիկը կարդում է:

Cař-i tak nst-ac aljik-ě kard-um ē.
 tree-DAT POST sit-PTCP.RES. girl.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is
 “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 ուզել *uzel*, ունել *unel* “to have”, գիտել *gitel* “to know”.

- (413) Անուշի տնկած ծառը այս տարի բերք տվեց:
Anuš-i tnk-ac' cař-ě ays tari
 Anuš-DAT plant-PTCP.RES. tree.NOM-the this year.NOM
berk' tv-ec'.
 harvest.NOM give-AOR.3.SG.

“The tree that Anuš has planted gave fruits this year.”¹⁵⁷

- (414) Իմ կարդացած գիրքը շատ հետաքրքիր էր
im kardac'-ac girk'-ě řat hetak'rk'ir ēr.
 my read-PTCP.RES. book.NOM-the INT interesting was-it
 “The book I have read was very interesting.”

- (415) կարդացածս գիրքը շատ հետաքրքիր էր
kardac'ac-s girk'-ě řat hetak'rk'ir ēr.
 read-PTCP.RES-my book.NOM-the INT interesting was-it
 “The book I have read was very interesting.”

The participle can also be nominalised by means of the definite article and can be inflected following the *i*-declination:

- (416) Քնածը արթնացավ:
K'nac-ě art'nac'-av.
 sleep-PTCP.RES-the wake-AOR.3.SG.
 “The asleep/sleeping (person) woke up.”

- (417) Արամի գրածից ոչինչ չեմ հասկանում:
Aram-i grac-ic' oč'inč' č'-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 participle¹⁵⁸

Formation

The subject participle is generated from the present stem of verbs of the *-e*-conjugation (including *-ն -n-* and *չ -č'-* suffixed, as well as causativised and passivised) and from the aorist stems of the verbs of the *-a*-conjugation (including *-ենալ -enal* and *-անալ -anal*, suffixed) + suffix *-ող -oł*. 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.*

158. Compare Petrosyan 1987: 159f.

Table 11. Formation of the Subject Participle

	Simple in -el	Simple in-al	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in -ĕ'-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -en-
Present Stem	գր <i>gr-</i>		տես-ել <i>tes-n-</i>	փախչ- <i>pax-ĕ'-</i>		
Aorist stem		կարդաց- <i>kardac'-</i>			ուրախաց- <i>uraxac'-</i>	վախեց- <i>vaxec'-</i>
Part. Sub.	գրող <i>gr-oł</i>	կարդացող <i>kardac'- oł</i>	տեսնող <i>tesn- oł</i>	փախչող <i>paxĕ'- oł</i>	ուրախացող <i>uraxac'- oł</i>	վախեցող <i>vaxec'- oł</i>
			Causativised in -c'n-el		Passivised in -vel¹⁵⁹	
Present Stem			կարդացն- <i>karda-c'n-el</i>		գրվ- <i>gr-v-</i>	
Aorist Stem						
Part. Sub.			կարդացնող <i>kardac'n- oł</i>		գրվող <i>grv- oł</i>	

Functions

It is strictly subject-oriented and functions most frequently as noun modifying attribute.

- (418) Սա լավ կարդացող աշակերտն է:

Sa lav kardac'-oł ašakert-n ē.
DEM good read-PTCP.SUB. pupil.NOM-the it is
“This is the pupil who reads well.”

- (419) Գնալով սաստկացող քամին ստիպեց ծնողներին տուն կանչելու բակում խաղացող իրենց երեխաներին:

gnal-ov¹⁶⁰ sastkac'-oł k'ami-n stip-ec'
go-INF-INST intensify-PTCP.SUB. wind.NOM-the force-AOR.3.SG
cnol-ner-i-n tun kanĕ'-el-u bak-um
parent-PL-DAT-the house.NOM call-INF-DAT courtyard-LOC
xalac'-oł 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 -վ- -v- means not only passivised verbs, but also reflexivised, reciprocalised and anticausativised verbs.

160. This instrumental infinitive of the motion verb գնալ *gnal* “go” is lexicalised: գնալով *gnalov* simply means “increasingly”, “by and by”, “little by little”.

The participle can also be nominalised and inflected following the i-declination.

(420) Շատ կարդացողը խելոք կլինի.

Šat kardac'-oł-ě 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) Իսկույն տեսա ինձ դիմավորողներին:

Iskuyñ tes-a inj dimavor-oł-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.

գրող <i>groł</i>	a. writing	b. writer
ուսանող <i>usanol</i>	a. learning	b. student
ծնող <i>cnoł</i>	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 -ում *-um*.

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) Ամեն կիրակի օրը Վարդանը գնում է Վերնիսաժ:

Amen kiraki ōr-ě Vardan-ě 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) Ամեն կիրակի օրը Վարդանը գնում էր Վերնիսաժ:

Amen kiraki ōr-ě Vardan-ě gn-um
 every Sunday day.NOM-the Vardan.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES.

ēr Vernisaž.
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 *-ում* *-um* is a typical feature of all Eastern dialects of Modern Armenian, whereas Western dialects form the present imperfect with typically *կ-* *k-*particle and synthetic verbal forms.¹⁶¹

In some Eastern dialects there still remains a third present form in a participle in *-իս* *-is*. Some of these forms are preserved as petrified forms also in current spoken and written MEA: գալ *gal* “to come”– գալիս եմ *galis em* “I come, I am coming” տալ *tal* “to give”– տալիս եմ *talis em* “I am giving; I give”, լալ *lal* “to cry”– լալիս եմ *lalis em* “I am crying; I cry”¹⁶². In colloquial MEA, these fossilised present participles in *-իս* *-is* 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 *-ել* *-el* is attached.

Table 12. Formation of the Perfect Participle

	Simple in -el	Simple in -al	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in -՛-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -en-
Inf.	գրել <i>gr-el</i>	կարդալ <i>kard-al</i>	տեսնել <i>tes-n-el</i>	փախչել <i>pax-č'-el</i>	ուրախանալ <i>urax-an-al</i>	վախենալ <i>vax-en-al</i>
AOR. Stem	գր- <i>gr-</i>	կարդաց- <i>kardac'-</i>	տես- <i>tes-</i>	փախ- <i>pax-</i>	ուրախաց- <i>uraxac'-</i>	վախեց- <i>vaxec'-</i>
Part. Perf.	գրել <i>gr-el</i>	կարդացել <i>kardac'-el</i>	տեսել <i>tes-el</i>	փախել <i>pax-el</i>	ուրախացել <i>uraxac'-el</i>	վախեցել <i>vaxec'-el</i>

161. This feature is one of the “oldest” features given in Armenian dialectology: already in A. Aytėnian’s (1866) Քննական քերականութիւն աշխարհաբար կամ արդի հայերէն լեզվի *K’nnakan k’erakanut’iwn ašxarhabar kam ardi hayerēn lezvi*; in the first Armenian dialectology of H. Ačfayan (1911) Հայ բարբառագիտություն *Hay barbařagitut’yun*; and the following S. Łaribyan (1953): Հայ բարբառագիտություն *Hay barbařagitut’yun.*; G. Jahukyan (1972) Հայ բարբառագիտության ներածություն *Hay barbařagitut’yan neracut’yun.*

e.g. “I write”: MEA գրում եմ *grum em*, MWA: կը գրեմ *kē grem*.

162. Note: the verb լալ *lal* is increasingly less used in MEA; it can only be found in written Armenian. In spoken Armenian the verbs լացել *lacel* and լաց լինել *lac linel* have totally replaced լալ *lal* in the meaning of to cry”. e.g. The meaning of Վարդանը լալիս է *Vardanē lalis ē*. “Vardan cries” is expressed by Վարդանը լացում է *Vardane lac’um ē* or Վարդանը լաց է լինում: *Vardanē lac’ ē linum* in spoken Armenian. There is no semantic difference between these three verbs.

	Causativised in -c'n-el	Passivised in -vel ¹⁶³
Inf.	կարդացնել <i>karda-c'n-el</i>	գրվել <i>gr-v-el</i>
Aorist Stem	կարդացր- <i>kardac'r-</i>	գրվ- <i>grv-</i>
Part. Perf.	կարդացրել <i>kardac'r-el</i>	գրվել <i>grv-el</i>

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) Սիրանուշը 22 տարի աշխատել է Կապի և տրանսպորտի նախարարությունում:

Siranuš-ě 22 *tari* *ašxat-el* *ē*
Siranuš.NOM-the 22 year.NOM work-PTCP.PERF. she is
kap-i *ew* *transport-i* *naxararut'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 -ի *-i* for verbs of the e-conjugation and with the suffix -ա *-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 -վ- *-v-* means not only passivised verbs, but also reflexivised, reciprocalised and anticausativised verbs.

2.5.7.1 *Auxiliary*

MEA has one major auxiliary *եմ em* “to be” with a restricted inventory to express tenses and copular meaning.

This auxiliary has the following forms in present tense and imperfect tense:

	Present tense	Imperfect tense
1. SG.	եմ <i>em</i> “I am”	էի <i>ēi</i> “I was”
2. SG.	ես <i>es</i> “you are”	իր <i>ēir</i> “you were”
3. SG.	է <i>ē</i> “he-she-it is”	ր <i>ēr</i> “he-she-it was”
1. PL.	ենք <i>enk’</i> “we are”	ինք <i>ēink’</i> “we were”
2. PL.	եք <i>ek’</i> “you are”	իք <i>ēik’</i> “you were”
3. PL.	են <i>en</i> “they are”	ին <i>ēin</i> “they were”

The auxiliary usually follows the participle in neutral and unmarked sentences, e.g. գրում եմ *grum em* “I write”, Վարդանը կարդում է գիրքը: *Vardanē kardum ē girķē*. “Vardan reads the book”

The auxiliary is negated by prefixing the negative particle չ- *č’* to the inflected auxiliary that usually precedes the participle in analytic forms, e.g. չեմ գրում *čēm grum* “I do not write”.

Note: there are two forms of the negated 3. SG. present tense: չի *č’i* and չէ *č’ē*.

չի *č’i* is exclusively used in analytic tenses, whereas չէ *č’ē* is used in copular function.

(425) Անուշը գրում է:

Anuš-ē *gr-um* *ē*.
 Anuš.NOM-the write-PTCP.PRES. she is
 “Anuš is writing.”

(425) a. Անուշը չի գրում:

Anuš-ē *č’-i* *gr-um*.
 Anuš.NOM-the neg-she is write-PTCP.PRES.
 “Anuš is not writing.”

(426) Անուշը գեղեցիկ աղջիկ է:

Anuš-ē *gelec’ik* *ałjik* *ē*.
 Anuš.NOM-the beautiful girl.NOM she is.
 “Anuš is a beautiful girl.”

(426) a. Անուշը գեղեցիկ աղջիկ չէ:

Anuš-ē *gelec’ik* *ałjik* *č’-ē*.
 Anuš.NOM-the beautiful girl.NOM neg-she is
 “Anuš is not a beautiful girl.”

Note: in colloquial MEA speakers frequently use the negative 3. SG. չի *č’i* for both the analytic tense and copular use.¹⁶⁴

164. Լարաջյւլյան 1981:101. Հակ’արյան 1981:211.

The secondary auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually” can be used in the following functions:

- as a copular verb it expresses a habitual state

(427) Դիզվառելիքի ներկրման ծավալները ավելի մեծ են լինում աշնանային և ձմեռային ամիսներին: (Armenpress 02.05.2005)

Dizvařelik'-i nerkm-an caval-ner-ě aveli mec en
diesel oil-DAT import-DAT extent-PL.NOM-the INT big they are

lin-um ařnanayin ew jmeřayin amis-ner-i-n.
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 եմ “em” does not have: perfect (եղել եմ *el el em*), past perfect (եղել էի *el el ēi*), aorist (ելա *ela*), future (լինելու եմ *linelu em*), future-in-the-past (լինելու էի *linelu ēi*) 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) Հանրակրթության ոլորտի հիմնական խնդիրներից է եղել համակարգի օպտիմալացումը: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

Hanraktır'tu'y-an olort-i himnakan xndir-ner-ic' ē
general education-DAT field-DAT basic question-PL-ABL it is

el-el hamakarg-i ōptimalic'um-ě.
be-PTCP.PERF. system-DAT optimisation.NOM-the

“The basic question of the general education’s area (domain) has been the optimisation of the system.”

(429) Տոնավաճառի առաջին օրը նվիրված է լինում ավանդաբար գորգ արտադրող որևէ պետության: (Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Tonavačar'-i ařajin ōr-ě nvir-v-ac ē
fair-DAT first day.NOM-the dedicate-pass-PTCP.RES. it is

lin-um avandabar gorg artadr-oł
be-PTCP.PRES. traditionally carpet -NOM produce-PTCP.SUB.

orewē petu'y-an.

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

- The dynamic (i.e. “regular” present tense) is formed with the present participle in -ում *-um* and the auxiliary “to be” in the present tense, e.g. գրում եմ *grum em* “I write”.
- The stative present tense is formed with the resultative participle in – ած *-ac* and the auxiliary “to be” in the present tense for durative and with the auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the present tense for non-durative statives, e.g. գրած եմ *grac em*, գրած եմ լինում *grac em linum*
- The processual present tense is formed with the processual participle in իս *-is* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the present tense, e.g. գրելիս եմ լինում *grelis em linum*.
- 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. գրելու եմ լինում *grelu em linum*. 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,

- 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.
- The dynamic present tense has a narrative function as the “historical present” and denotes sequences of past events from a retrospective point of view.
- 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,

- The dynamic present tense denotes the agent’s ability to perform an action.
- 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 *orekan* “daily”, տարեկան *tarekan* “yearly”, ամսական *amsakan* “monthly”, գիշերներով *gišerov* “at night”, ամեն օր *amen or* “every day” etc.
 - frequency or interval as հաճախ *hacax* “often”, հազվադեպ *hazvadep* “seldom”, սակավ *sakav* “rarely”, երբմեն *erbemn* “sometimes”, ժամանակ առ ժամանակ *žamanak ar*

165. Comp.: Konzintseva 1995: 280.

žamanak “from time to time, occasionally”, մեկ-մեկ *mek-mek* “sometimes, from time to time” etc.

- habituality, as սովորաբար *sovorabar* “usually”, միշտ *mišt* “always”, մեծ մասամբ *mec masamb* “mostly” etc. (Kozintseva 1995:281)

- (430) Հասմիկը նամակ է գրում:

Hasmik-ě namak ē gr-um.

Hasmik.NOM-the letter.NOM she is write-PTCP.PRES.

“Hasmik writes a letter. Hasmik is writing a letter.” (Action in progress)

- (431) Հասմիկը նստում է, գրիչը վերցնում ու գրում նամակը:

Hasmik-ě nst-um ē grič-ě verc'n-um u

Hasmik.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES. she is pen.NOM-the take-PTCP.PRES. CONJ

gr-um namak-ě.

write-PTCP.PRES. letter.NOM-the

“Hasmik sits down, takes the pen and writes the letter.”

- (432) Հենց վաղը տոմս եմ վերցնում, թունում եմ ամեն ինչ և թռչում Փարիզ:

henc' valē toms em verc'n-um tołn-um

just tomorrow ticket.NOM I am take-PTCP.PRES. leave-PTCP.PRES

em amen inč' ew t'řč-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) Հասմիկը խոսում է իտալերեն:

Hasmik-ě xos-um ē italeren.

Hasmik.NOM-the speak-PTCP.PRES. she is Italian.NOM

“Hasmik speaks Italian.” (Agent’s ability to perform an action)

- (434) Հասմիկը հաճախ նամակ է գրում:

Hasmik-ě hačax namak ē gr-um.

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. նստած եմ *nstac em* “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. *nstac em linum* “I am habitually, usually sitting”

- (435) Հասմիկը նստած է գրասենյակում:

Hasmik-ě nst-ac ě 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) Հասմիկը ամեն օր գրասենյակում նստած է լինում:

Hasmik-ě amen ōr grasenyak-um nst-ac

Hasmik.NOM-the every day.NOM office-LOC sit-PTCP.RES.

ě 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 լինել *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*: կարդալիս եմ լինում *kardalis em linum* “I am usually reading”.

- (437) Այդ ժամանակ Հասմիկը սովորելիս է լինում:

ayd zamanak Hasmik-ě sovorel-is

that time.NOM Hasmik.NOM-the learn-PTCP.PROC.

ě 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 լինել *linel*.

2.5.7.2.2 *Imperfect (or Past) tense*

Formation

- The dynamic i.e. “regular” imperfect tense is formed with the present participle in *-ում* *-um* and the auxiliary “to be” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրում էի *grum ěi* “I wrote”
- The stative imperfect tense is formed with the resultative participle in *-ած* *-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. գրած էի *grac ěi*, գրած էի լինում *grac ěi linum*

- c. The processual tense is formed with the processual participle in *-hu -is* and the auxiliary “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրելիս էի լինում *grelis ēi linum*.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,

- 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)
- 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 *hima* “now”, այս պահին *ays pahin* “at this moment”, այժմ *ayžm* “now” etc. (439)
- 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 նամակ էի գրում իմ եղբորը:

Erek namak ēi gr-um im elbor-ě.
yesterday letter.NOM-the I was write-PTCP.PRES. my brother-DAT-the
“Yesterday I wrote a letter to my brother.”

- (439) Միգուցե նա հիմա հանրահայտ պարող էր: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

migučè na hima hanrahayt par-oł ēr.
perhaps he.NOM now popular dance-PTCP.SUB.NOM he was
“Perhaps he was a popular dancer now.”

- (440) Ճաշելուց հետո Վարդանը նստում էր՝ աշխատելու:

Čaş-el-uc' heto Vardan-ě nst-um ēr ašxat-el-u.
eat-INF-ABL PAST Vardan.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES. he was work-INF-DAT
“After eating Vardan sat down to work.”

166. The prospective forms are not productive in this tense. They are formed with the future participle in *-ni-u* and the auxiliary “to be repeatedly/habitually” in the imperfect tense, e.g. գրելու էի լինում *grelu ēi linum*.

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) Գյուղում Թենին միշտ հանգիստ էր քնում:

Gyul-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 երեխաների մոտ մայրերն ավելի հաճախ էին գալիս: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

oros̄ erexa-ner-i mot mayr-er-n aveli hačax
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) Ուսուցիչը հանկարծ սկսում էր գոռալ:

Usuc'ič'-ě hankarc sks-um ēr goř-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. նստած էի *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 “lineł” in the imperfect tense and the resultative participle) e.g. նստած էի լինում *nstac ēi linum* “I was usually sitting; I was sitting for a long time”. (See (446) below)

(444) Անին կանցնած էր պատուհանի առաջ և նայում էր դեպի փողոց:

Ani-n kangn-ac ēr patuhan-i ařař
Ani.NOM-the stand-PTCP.RES. 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.”

167. see Kozintseva 1995: 26; Kozintseva 1995b: 282f.

- (445) Վիրահատությունից առաջ ստիպված էի Ինտերնետում փնտրել ինձ հետաքրքրող տեղեկությունները: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

virahatut'yun-ic ařaj stip-v-ac ēi
 surgery-ABL POST force-pass-PTCP.RES. I was
internet-um p'ntr-el
 internet-LOC search-INF

inj hetak'kr-oł 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) Նախկինում հիմնադրամը ստիպված էր լինում արձագանքել հումանիտար բնույթի հրատապ խնդիրներին:

(Armenpress 19.05.2006)

naxkin-um himnadram-ě stip-v-ac ēr
 former days-LOC foundation.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES. it was

lin-um arjagank'el 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 -իս *-is* and the imperfect tense of the auxiliary լինել *linel*: կարդալիս էի լինում *kardalis ēi linum* “I was usually reading”

- (447) Ամեն անգամ երբ հավետով էր պատմելիս լինում, ասում էր [...] :
 (Grakanut'yun 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 եմ *em* in the present tense. e.g. գնացել եմ *gnac'el 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. կանգնած եմ եղել *kangnac em elel* “I have stood”.
- c. The rarely seen processual perfect tense is formed from the processual participle and the inflected auxiliary լինել “*linel*” in present perfect tense, e.g. գնալիս եմ եղել *gnalis em elel* “I have been going.”¹⁶⁸

In colloquial MEA, the final -լ *-l* of the perfect participle is often omitted when using the perfect or pluquamperfect tense, as in e.g. ես նրան չեմ տեսել: *es nran čem tese[l]*. “I have not seen him.”¹⁶⁹

*Functions and meanings*¹⁷⁰

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 դառնալ *daɾnal* “to become”, գալ *gal* “to go”, հոգնել *hognel* “to tire, to become tired”, by verbs of acquisition such as գնել *gnel* “to buy”, վերցնել *verc'nel* “to take; to get”, առնել *aɾnel* “to take, to buy” and by dynamic verbs affecting the possessive object, e.g. աչքերը փակել *ač'kèrë p'akel* “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. Aterminative 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 կարծես *karces* “as if”, երևի *erewi* “probably”, գուցե *guc'e* “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.

168. Please note that prospective forms are also not productive and are obsolete in the perfect tense.

169. Լարայույան 1981: 101.

170. Kozintseva 1995: 284f.

- 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) Արմենը դուրս է եկել:

Armen-ĕ durs ē ek-el.
 Armen.NOM-the out he is come-PTCP.PERF.
 “Armen has gone out.” (I.e. he is not here any more)

(449) Նա ավարտել է իր աշխատանքը:

Na avart-el ē ir ašxatank'-ĕ.
 he.NOM complete-PTCP.PERF. he is his work.NOM-the
 “He has completed his work.” (I.e. the work is finished)

(450) Տենիս խաղալուց հոգնել եմ:

Tenis xał-al-uc' hogn-el em.
 Tennis.NOM play-INF-ABL become tired-PTCP.PERF. I am
 “I have become tired from playing tennis.”

b. With Verbs of Acquisition

(451) Ստացել եմ քո նամակը:

Stac'-el em kò namak-ĕ.
 receive-PTCP.PERF. I am your letter.NOM-the
 “I have received your letter.” (It is in my hands now)

(452) Անին գնել է նոր մեքենա:

Ani-n gn-el ē nor mek'ena.
 Ani.NOM-the buy-PTCP.PERF. she is new car.NOM
 “Ani has bought a new car.” (It is in her garage now)

– Perfective Meaning with Terminative Verbs

(453) Հայկը կարդացել է այս գիրքը:

Hayk-ĕ kardac'-el ē ays girk'-ĕ.
 Hayk.NOM-the read-PTCP.PERF. he is this book.NOM-the
 “Hayk has read this book.” (Now he can tell you the contents)

171. Asatryan 2004: 281ff.

– Inclusive Meaning with Aterminative Verbs

- (454) երբևէ չի էլ մտածել, որ հայրենիքում էլ կարող է անտուն մնալ:
(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 երկի հասկացել է նամակդ:

Vahan-ē 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) Հայկական այբուբենը ստեղծվել է հիգերորդ դարում:

Haykakan aybuben-ē stelc-v-el ē
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) ...առևանգվողը եղել է նրա որդին, իսկ ընտանիքի հետ խնդիրն արդեն դրանից առաջ է լուծված եղել», -նշել է Գ. Կիրակոսյանը:
(Armenpress)

ařewang-v-oł-ē el-el ē nra ordi-n isk
kidnapped-NOM-the be-PTCP.PERF. he is his son.NOM-the CONJ
ēntanik'-i het xndir-n arden dranic' ařaj ē
family-DAT POST question.NOM-the already that-ABL POST it is
luc-v-ac el-el nš-el
solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-PTCP.PERF. remark-PTCP.PERF.

ē G. Kirakosyan-ē.
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

(458) Երբ հայրս երեկոյան եկել է, ես գրելիս եմ եղել:

erb hayr-s erekoyan ek-el ē es
 when father.NOM-my evening come-PTCP.PERF. he is I.NOM
grel-is em el-el.
 write-PTCP.PROC. I am be-PTCP.PERF.

“When my father came in the evening, I have been writing.”

– Use of Perfect Tense in Conditional Clauses in Colloquial Armenian:

(459) Եթե տեսել եմ նրան, քեզ կասեմ:

eʔe tes-el em nran kʔez kas-em.
 CONJ see-PTCP.PERF. I am he.DAT you.DAT say-COND.FUT.I.SG.

“If I see him, I will tell you.”

...instead of more common aorist in “written” Armenian:

(459) a. Եթե տեսա նրան, քեզ կասեմ:

eʔe tesa nran kʔez kas-em.
 CONJ see-AOR.I.SG. he.DAT you.DAT say-COND.FUT.I.SG.

“If I see him, I will tell you.”

(460) Եթե գնացել ես, էլ քեզ հետ չեմ խոսելու:

Eʔe gnacʻ-el es ēl kʔez het
 CONJ go-PTCP.PERF. you are anymore you.DAT POST
čʻ-em xosel-u.
 neg-I am speak-PTCP.FUT.

“If you go, I will not talk to you any longer.”

2.5.7.2.4 Past perfect tense (*Pluquamperfekt*)

Formation

- The dynamic forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the perfect participle in -ել *-el* and the auxiliary եմ *em* “to be” in the imperfect tense. i.e. կարդացել էի *kardacʻel ēi* “I had read”.
- The stative forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the resultative participle in -ած *-ac* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly, habitually” in the past perfect tense, i.e. պառկած էի եղել *paʻrkac ēi elēl* “I had lied down”. These forms occur very seldom.
- The processual forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the processual participle -իս *-is* and the the auxiliary լինել *linel* “to be repeatedly, habitually” in the past perfect tense, i.e. գնալիս էի եղել *gnalis ēi elēl* “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 վաղուց *vałuc* ‘long ago’, արդեն *arden* ‘already’ or the preposition մինչև *minčew* ‘until’ or the postposition առաջ *aʀaǰ* ‘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 ժամանակին *žamanakin* ‘timely’, տարիներին *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 մոռացել էինք *moʀac'el ēink* ‘we had forgotten’ and մտքերով էի տարվել *mtk'erov ēi tarvel* ‘I had let my mind wander’ are no longer relevant at the moment of speech (the result is cancelled). (Kozintseva 1999:217)

- (461) 2005 թ. սեպտեմբերի 15-ին նախագահ Ահմեդ Նեջդեթ Սեյիտերը նամակ էր հղել
 Հռոմի պապ Բենեդիկտոս 16-րդին՝ հրավիրելու համար Թուրքիա: (Azg 10.01.2006)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 2005 Թ. | September-i | 15-in | naxagah | Ahmed Nejdēt |
| 2005 year-DAT | september-DAT | 15-DAT-the | president.NOM | Ahmed Nejdēt- |
| Sezer-ē | namak | ēr | hł-el | Hřom-i pap |
| Sezer.NOM-the | letter.NOM | he was | send-PTCP.PERF. | Rome-DAT pope.NOM |

Benediktos 16-rd-i-n' hravir-el-u hamar T'urk'ia.
 Benedict.NOM 16th-DAT-the invite-INF-DAT POST Turkey.NOM.

“On September 15th, 2005 President Ahmed Nejdet Sezer had sent a letter to the pope Benedict 16th in Rome to invite (him) to Turkey.”

- (462) Երբ եկար ինձ մոտ՝ նամակն արդեն գրել էի:

Erb ek-ar inj mot namak-n arden
 when come-AOR.2.SG I.DAT POST letter.NOM-the already
gr-el ēi.
 write-PTCP.PERF. I was

“When you came to me, I had already written the letter.”

- (463) Երբ հասավ կայարան՝ գնացքն արդեն շարժվել էր:

Erb has-av kayaran gnac'k'-n
 when reach-AOR.3.SG station.NOM train.NOM-the
arden šarž-v-el ēr.
 already move-antic-PTCP.PERF. it was

“When he reached the station, the train had already departed.”

- (464) Ես այդ մասին վաղուց էի լսել:

Es ayd masin vałuc' ēi ls-el.
 I.NOM this.NOM POST long ago I was hear-PTCP.PERF.

“I had heard about that long ago.”

- (465) Նախագահ Լևոն Տեր-Պետրոսյանը համաձայնել էր հենց հաջորդ օրն ինձ ընդունել:
 (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

naxagah Lewon Ter-Petrosyan-ě hamajayn-el ēr
 president Lewon Ter-Petrosyan.NOM-the agree-PTCP.PERF. he was
henc' hajord ōr-n inj ěndun-el.
 just next day.NOM-the I.DAT receive-INF

“President Lewon Ter-Petrosyan had agreed to receive me just the next day.”

- (466) Ամռան մի օր ազնավը խիստ ծարավել էր: (Grakanut'yun 4: 81)

amřan mi ōr agra'v-ě xist
 summer-DAT INDEF day.NOM crow.NOM-the INT
carav-el ēr.
 become-thirsty-PTCP.PERF. it was

“One day in summer the crow had become deeply thirsty.”

- (467) Ես շատ անգամ էի եղել անտառում, բայց առաջին անգամ էր, որ պիտի գիշերի
 այնտեղ: (Grakanut'yun 4:170)

Es šat angam ēi el-el antar'um bayc' ařajin
 I.NOM many time.NOM I was be-PTCP.PERF. forest-LOC CONJ first

angam ēr or piti gišer-i ayntel.
 time.NOM it was CONJ spend the night-DEB.FUT.1.SG there.

“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) Սակայն դրան նախորդած շաբաթվա ընտացքուն ես պառկած էի եղել, ուստի նրան այծելել չէի կարող:

sakayn dran naxord-ac šabat'-va ěnt'ac'k'um es
 CONJ that.DAT precede-PTCP.RES week-DAT POST I.NOM
pařk-ac ěi el-el usti nran aycel-el
 lie down-PTCP.RES. I was be-PTCP.PERF CONJ he.DAT visit-INF
č'-ěi kar-oł.
 neg-I was can-PTCP.PRES.

“But in the course of the week preceding that I had lain (sick), thus I could not visit him.”

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 -ել *-el* and -ալ *-al*, including verbs suffixed with -վ- *-v-* (passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anticausatives) and -ցր- *-c'ř-* (causatives).

	Singular		Plural	
1.	-ի	<i>-i</i>	-իք	<i>-ink'</i>
2.	-իր	<i>-ir</i>	-իրք	<i>-ik'</i>
3.	-օ		-ին	<i>-in</i>

- b. secondary endings for verbs suffixed with -ենալ *-enal*, -անալ *-anal*, -ն- *-n-*, -չ- *-č'-*.

	Singular		Plural	
1.	-ա	<i>-a</i>	- աճք	<i>-ank'</i>
2.	-ար	<i>-ar</i>	-արք	<i>-ak'</i>
3.	-ալ	<i>-av</i>	-ան	<i>-an</i>

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 լինել *linel* to be repeatedly, habitually in aorist.

- Stative aorist, mainly from verbs of position e.g. կանգնած եղա *kangnac ela* “I stood”
- Processual aorist, e.g. գնալիս եղա *gnalis ela* “I was going”¹⁷³

Some deviating aorist forms of frequently used verbs often occur in colloquial Armenian.¹⁷⁴

- The standard written MEA aorist forms of the verbs բերել *berel* “to bring”, տալ *tal* “to give”, թողնել *t’olnel* “to let, to leave”, անել *anel* “to do, to make”, դնել *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

բերի <i>ber-i</i>	instead of standard բերեցի <i>berec’-i</i>
տվի <i>tv-i</i>	instead of standard տվեցի <i>tvec’-i</i>
թողի <i>t’ol-i</i>	instead of standard թողեցի <i>t’olec’-i</i>
արի <i>ar-i</i>	instead of standard արեցի <i>arec’-i</i>
դրի <i>dr-i</i>	instead of standard դրեցի <i>drec’i</i>
ասի <i>as-i</i> ¹⁷⁵	instead of standard ասացի <i>asac’-i etc.</i>

- Sometimes, there are more deviating forms with secondary endings, such as the colloquial forms of the following verbs:

Example aorist 3.SG.

նստավ <i>nstav</i>	instead of նստաց <i>nstac’</i> “He sat down”
բերավ <i>berav</i>	instead of բերեց <i>berec’</i> “He brought”
տվավ <i>tvav</i>	instead of տվեց <i>tvec’</i> “He gave”
ասավ <i>asav</i>	instead of ասաց <i>asac’</i> “He said”
սկսավ <i>sksav</i>	instead of սկսեց <i>sksec’</i> “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

- 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

173. Prospective forms are not productive in the aorist.

174. Abrahamyan 1974: 426–430; Ĭaragyulyan 1981: 97–98; Zak’aryan 1981: 207.

175. Even more frequently than this deviating form, the also deviating form ասեցի *asec’i* is used, i.e. the aorist stem of the utterance verb ասել *asel* “to say” in Colloquial Armenian is ասեց- *asec’*—and not as in Standard written Armenian ասաց- *asac’*-. see Ch. 2.5.8. “Irregular verbs”, p. 277f.

co-occurs with terminative verbs, definite temporal adverbs such as այն ժամանակ *ayn zamank* “then”, expression of time (e.g. ժամը վեցին *žamě vec’in* “at 6 o’clock”) and weakly definite time adverbials as մի օր *mi ōr* “one day”. The aorist is non compatible with adverbs or phrases denoting indefinite time, such as երբևէ *erbewē*, որևէ ժամանակ *orewě zamanak* “ever”, հաճախ *hačax* “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) Այս տարի առատ բերք ստացանք:

Ays tari ařat berk’ stac’-ank’.
 This year.NOM rich harvest.NOM receive-AOR.1.PL.
 “This year we had a rich harvest.”

- (470) Մենք շատ սպասեցինք ձեզ՝ բայց չեկաք:

Menk’ řat spasec’-ink’ jez bayc’ 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 հասավ:

Ani-n verřapes has-av.
 Ani.NOM-the finally arrive-AOR.3.SG.
 “Ani arrived finally.”

Successive Actions in a Narration

- (472) Հայկը տուն եկավ, բանալին գրպանը դրեց և շտապ քայլերով դուրս գնաց:

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 řtap k’ayl-er-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) Լիլիթն ատեց այն նոր ուսանողին:

Lilit'-n atec' ayn nor usanol'-i-n.
 Lilit'.NOM-the hate-AOR.3.SG. that new student-DAT-the
 "Lilit' started to hate that new student."

Ingressive Meaning with Motion Verbs

(474) Ես գնացի:

es gnac'-i.
 I.NOM go-AOR.1.SG.
 (lit : I went). "I am gone!"
 In Subordinate Conditional Clauses, (particularly in written MEA)

(475) Եթե ձյուն եկավ, վրանները կծածկվեն մինչև զագաթները:

Et'e jyun ek-av vran-ner-ě kcack-v-en
 if snow.NOM come-AOR.3.SG tent-PL.NOM-the cover-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL
minč'ew gogat'-ner-ě.
 PREP top-PL.NOM-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 լինել *linel*, e.g. ստիպված եղա *stipvac eła* "I was forced". It is usually restricted to some manipulation verbs in their passive forms, such as ստիպել *stipel* "compel", հարկադրել *harkadrel* "oblige" etc. and to position verbs.

(476) Սակայն անհավասար ուժերի պատճառով ստիպված եղավ թողնել հայրենի բնակավայրերն ու հաստատվել ՀՀ¹⁷⁶-ում:

(Armenpress 05.05.2006)
sakayn anhasasar uż-er-i patčar'ov stip-v-ac
 CONJ unequal force-PL-DAT reason-INST force-pass-PTCP.RES.
eł-av t'ot-nel hayreni bnakavayr-er-n u
 be-AOR.3.SG leave-INF native place-PL.NOM-the CONJ
hastat-v-el HH-um.
 install-refl-INF RA-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) Նկատենք, որ դատարանը ստիպված եղավ դատավճիռը հրապարակել աղմուկի մեջ: (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 ałmuk-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 tense*¹⁷⁷

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

- The dynamic future tense is formed with the future participle in -ու *-u* and the auxiliary եմ *em* in the present tense. i.e. գնալու եմ *gnalu em* “I will go”
- The stative future tense is formed with the resultative participle in -ած *-ac* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the future tense, i.e. պառկած եմ լինելու *pařkac em linelu* “I will be lied down”.
- The processual future tense is formed with the processual participle in -իս *-is* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the future tense, i.e. գնալիս եմ լինելու *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) Նրան վաղը անպայման տեսնելու եմ:

Nran valě anpayman tesnel-u em.
 he.DAT tomorrow certainly see-PTCP.FUT I am
 “I will certainly see him tomorrow.”

177. Kozintseva 1995: 286. Asatryan 2004: 281ff.

- (479) Որ հիմի բոլորով վեր կենանք ու զնանք էստեղից, էն զինվորն ո՞ւմ համար է կանգնելու դիրքերում»: (Hetk' 19.02.2006. Colloquial Armenian)
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.
ēstel-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?”
- (480) Գիշերը հավանաբար անձրև է գալու:
gišer-ě havanabar anjrew ē gal-u.
 night.NOM-the probably rain it is come-PTCP.FUT.
 “It will probably rain in the night.”
- (481) Ղատարանն իր վճիռը կայացնելու է ապրիլի 13-ին:
 (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
dataran-n ir včiř-ě kaya-c'n-el-u
 court.NOM-the its decision-NOM-the establish-caus-PTCP.FUT
ē april-i 13-i-n.
 it is April-DAT 13-DAT-the
 “The court will come to a decision on April 13th.”
- (482) Կարդա՛, ֆուտբոլ չես խաղալու:
Karda futbol č-es xatal-u.
 read-IMP.2.SG soccer.NOM neg-you are play-PTCP.FUT.
 “Read! You will not play soccer!”

Stative Future Tense

The stative future tense occurs very rarely. Like the stative aorist, it preferably occurs with manipulation and position verbs.

- (483) ... իր գործունեությունը սկսելուց առաջ ստիպված է լինելու ծանրակշիռ որոշում ընդունել և միշտ հաշվի առնել հակառակ կողմի իրավունքները: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
ir gorcuneut'yun-ě sks-el-uc' ařař stip-v-ac ē
 his activity.NOM-the begin-INF-ABL POST force-pass-PTCP.RES. he is
linel-u canrakšič' orošum endun-el ew mišt
 be-PTCP.FUT. heavy decision.NOM accept-INF CONJ always
hašvi ařn-el hakařak kořm-i iravunk'-ner-ě.
 take into account-INF opposite side-DAT right-PL.NOM-the
 “...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.”

- (484) Նրա խոսքերով, ուսուցիչների աշխատավարձի աճի չափը հաջորդ տարվանից շաղկապված է լինելու Հայաստանի տարեկան ՀՆԱ-ի աճի տեմպերի հետ:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

Nra xosk'-er-ov usucič'-ner-i ašxatavarj-i ač-i čap-ě
his word-PL-INST teacher-PL-DAT salary-DAT growth-DAT rate.NOM-the
hajord tar-vanic' šalkap-v-ac ē linel-u Hayastani
next year-ABL connect-pass-PTCP.RES. it is be-PTCP.FUT. Armenia-DAT
tarekan HNA¹⁷⁸-i ač-i temp-er-i het.
yearly HNA-DAT growth-DAT tempo-PL-DAT POST

“In his words, the expansion rate of the teachers’ salary will be connected with the speed of the growth of Armenia’s yearly gross domestic product from next year on.”

Processual Future Tense

The use of processual future tense is very restricted, and almost unproductive.

2.5.7.2.7 Future in the past tense

This is the least of all used tenses in MEA.

Formation

- The dynamic future in the past is formed with the future participle in -ու *-u* and the auxiliary եմ *em* in the past tense, i.e. գնալու էի *gnalu ēi* “I will have gone”
- The stative future in the past is formed with the resultative participle in -ած *-ac* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the future past, i.e. պառկած էի լինելու *pařkac ēi linelu* “I will have laid down”.
- The processual future in the past is formed with the processual participle in -իս *-is* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the future past, i.e. գնալիս էի լինելու *gnalis ēi linelu* “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:

- an action that will have already taken place at a certain reference point in future;
- 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;
- an action, whose performance in the future is unsure, i.e. assumptions about past actions.

178. The Armenian abbreviation ՀՆԱ *HNA* stands for Համախառն Ներքին Արտադրանք *Hamaxarn Ner' in Artadrak'* “gross domestic product”.

- (485) Անին գնալու էր Մոսկվա բայց հիվանդացավ:

Ani-n gnal-u ēr 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) Որքան գիտեմ աշխատանքը կատարելու էր Սուրենը:

Ork'an git-em ašxatank'-ē katarel-u ēr 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) Եղբայրս գալու էր, չգիտեմ ինչու չեկավ:

Elbayr-s gal-u ēr č'-git-em
 brother.NOM-my come-PTCP.FUT. he was neg-know-PRES.1.SG
inč'u č'-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) Ցուցահանդեսում ներկայացված էին նաև հաշմանդամության խնդիրներին վերաբերող լազերային սկավառակներ, որոնք տրվելու էին Ազգային ժողովի պատգամավորներին: (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-oł lazerayin skavařak-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 žolov-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.¹⁷⁹
- 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 *ունել* *un-el* "to have" and *ցիտել* *gi-tel* "to know" form their present and imperfect indicative subjunctive-like, i.e. synthetically, not by using the present participle and auxiliary: *ունեն* *unem* "I have", *ունեի* *unei* "I had" and *ցիտեն* *gitem* "I know", *ցիտեի* *gitei* "I knew" do convey present meaning/imperfect meaning. To express and to form other tenses and moods, the expanded forms *ունենալ* *un-en-al* and *ցիտենալ* *git-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

	DYNAMIC		STATIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1. SG	զնամ <i>gnam</i>	զնայի <i>gnayi</i>	զնալիս լինեմ <i>gnac'ac linem</i>	զնալիս լինեի <i>gnac'ac linei</i>
2. SG	զնաս <i>gnas</i>	զնայիր <i>gnayir</i>	զնալիս լինես <i>gnac'ac lines</i>	զնալիս լինեիր <i>gnac'ac lineir</i>
3. SG	զնա <i>gna</i>	զնար <i>gnar</i>	զնալիս լինի <i>gnac'ac lini</i>	զնալիս լիներ <i>gnac'ac liner</i>
1. PL	զնանք <i>gnank'</i>	զնայինք <i>'gnayink'</i>	զնալիս լինենք <i>gnac'ac linenk'</i>	զնալիս լինեինք <i>gnac'ac lineink'</i>
2. PL	զնաք <i>gnak'</i>	զնայիք <i>gnayik'</i>	զնալիս լինեք <i>gnac'ac linek'</i>	զնալիս լինեիք <i>gnac'ac lineik'</i>
3. PL	զնան <i>gnan</i>	զնային <i>gnayin</i>	զնալիս լինեն <i>gnac'ac linen</i>	զնալիս լինեին <i>gnac'ac linein</i>

	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1. SG	զնալիս լինեմ <i>gnalis linem</i>	զնալիս լինեի <i>gnalis linei</i>	զնալու լինեմ <i>gnalu linem</i>	զնալու լինեի <i>gnalu linei</i>
2. SG	զնալիս լինես <i>gnalis lines</i>	զնալիս լինեիր <i>gnalis lineir</i>	զնալու լինես <i>gnalu lines</i>	զնալու լինեիր <i>gnalu lineir</i>
3. SG	զնալիս լինի <i>gnalis lini</i>	զնալիս լիներ <i>gnalis liner</i>	զնալու լինի <i>gnalu lini</i>	զնալու լիներ <i>gnalu liner</i>
1. PL	զնալիս լինենք <i>gnalis linenk'</i>	զնալիս լինեինք <i>gnalis lineink'</i>	զնալու լինենք <i>gnalu linenk'</i>	զնալու լինեինք <i>gnalu lineink'</i>
2. PL	զնալիս լինեք <i>gnalis linek'</i>	զնալիս լինեիք <i>gnalis lineik'</i>	զնալու լինեք <i>gnalu linek'</i>	զնալու լինեիք <i>gnalu lineik'</i>
3. PL	զնալիս լինեն <i>gnalis linen</i>	զնալիս լինեին <i>gnalis linein</i>	զնալու լինեն <i>gnalu linen</i>	զնալու լինեին <i>gnalu linein</i>

All forms of the subjunctive are negated in a very simple way:

- the dynamic subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č'*- to the verb in the subjunctive
- the stative subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č'*- to the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the subjunctive
- the processual subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č'*- to the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the subjunctive
- the prospective subjunctive by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č'*- to the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the subjunctive

Table 15. Formation of Negated Subjunctive

DYNAMIC		STATIVE	
Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG չգնամ <i>č'-gna-m</i>	չգնայի <i>č'-gna-yi</i>	զնացած չլինեմ <i>gnac'ac č'-lin-em</i>	զնացած չլինեի <i>gnac'ac č'-lin-ei</i>

PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
Future	Past	Future	Past
1. SG. զնալիս չլինեմ <i>gnalis č'-lin-em</i>	զնալիս չլինեի <i>gnalis č'-lin-ei</i>	զնալու չլինեմ <i>gnalu č'-lin-em</i>	զնալու չլինեի <i>gnalu č'-lin-ei</i>

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) Բերեմ ևս մեկ հետաքրքիր օրինակ: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

berem ews mek hetak'rk'ir ōrinak.
bring-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG yet another interesting example.NOM

“I want to bring yet another interesting example. I shall bring yet another interesting example.”

- Secondly, 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) Գնանք տուն:

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 *մի* *mi* is used with the subjunctive to express a wish or soft directive of the speaker.¹⁸⁰

(491) Մի շարժես այս աթոռը:

Mi šarž-es ays at'ot'-ě?
 part move-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG this chair.NOM-the
 “Move this chair, please! Would you please move this chair?”

Often one can even hear the combination of the unstressed particle *մի* *mi* with the qualifier *հատ* *hat* and the subjunctive:

(492) Մի հատ շարժես այս աթոռը:

mi hat šarž-es ays at'ot'-ě?
 part QUAL move-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG this chair.NOM-the
 “Move this chair, please! Would you please move this chair?”

- Negated subjunctive denotes prevention – a polite form of a negated imperative (prohibitive), which is very popular in colloquial Eastern Armenian.

(493) Հեռու չգնաս:

Heřu č'-gn-as.
 far neg-go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.
 “Do not go far away (please)!”

- Subjunctive can be used with a general subject for slogans, appeals and in proverbs.

(494) Ով կարդա՛ նա մարդ ա:¹⁸¹

Ov kard-a na mard a.
 REL read-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG he.NOM human.NOM he is
 “Whoever reads, he/she is a human.”

- The subjunctive is obligatorily used in the function of an “analytic imperative”: it is formed with the 2.SG. imperative of the verb *թողնել* *t'otnel* “let”, and the subjunctive future. (See Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. “Imperative”, p. 271f.)

(495) Թող Արմենը գնա տուն:

Toř Armen-ě gn-a tun.
 let-IMP.2S.G Armen.NOM-the go-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG house.NOM
 “Let Armen go home!”

180. Łaragyulyan 1981: 98.

181. This is the colloquial or even dialectal form of *է* *ē* 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 խնդրել *xndrel* “to ask”, հարցնել *harc’nel* “to ask”, ուզենալ *uzenal* “to wish, to want”, կամենալ *kamenal* “to will, to wish”, ցանկանալ *c’ankanal* “to wish, to desire” etc.; (496) (497)
- non-factive mental verbs such as վախսենալ *vaxenal* “to fear, to be afraid”; ուրախանալ *uraxanal* “to be glad” etc.; (498)
- phrases such as ավելի լավ է *aveli lav ē* “it is better”, կարելի է *kareli ē* “it is possible, is it possible?” “with or without the conjunction որ or “that”; (499) (500)
- conjunction որ(պեսզի) or(*pesz*)i “in order to, that”. (501)

If the subordinate clause is governed by such a verb or expression and is introduced by the conjunction որ *or* “that”, the subjunctive future must be used referring to an action that is wished/requested by the agent.

- (496) Անին ուզում է որ քեզ օգնեն:

Ani-n uz-um ē or k’ez ōgn-em.
 Ani.NOM-the wish-PTCP.PRES. she is CONJ you.DAT help-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.
 “Ani wants me to help you.”

- (497) Եթե մենք ցանկանում ենք, որ 21-րդ դարը լինի ավելի մարդկային, մենք չենք կարող մոռանալ 20-րդ դարի սարսափները:
 (Armenpress 15.12.2005)

Et’e menk’ c’ankan-um enk’ or 21-rd dar-ē
 CONJ we.NOM desire-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ 21st century.NOM-the
lini aveli mardkayin menk’ č’-enk’ kar-ot
 be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG INT human we.NOM neg-we are can-PTCP.PRES.
mořa-nal 20-rd dari sarsap’-ner-ē.
 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) ...քանի որ վախսնում են, թե նույնը կարող է կրկնվել ամեն վայրկյան:
 (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

k’ani or vaxen-um en t’e nuyn-ē kar-ot
 CONJ afraid of-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ same.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES.
ē krkn-v-el amen vayrkyan.
 it repeat-antic-INF every second.NOM

“...since they are afraid that the same can recur every second.”

- (499) Ավելի լավ է Անուշին հարցնես:

Aveli lav ē Anuš-i-n harc'n-es.
 INT good it is Anuš-DAT-the ask-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG
 “It is better to ask Anuš.”

- (500) Կարելի՞ է նստնմ:

Kareli ē ns-tem?
 possible it is sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.
 “May I take a seat?” (Lit.: is it possible that I sit down?)

- (501) Հայաստանը պետք է ամեն ինչ անի, որպեսզի այդ գնահատականը դրական լինի:
-
- (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

Hayastan-ě petk' ē amen inc' an-i
 Armenia.NOM-the part it is everything.NOM make-DEB.FUT.3.SG
orpeszi ayd gnahatakan-ě drakan lin-i.
 CONJ that mark.NOM-the positive be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.
 “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.

- (502) Խնդրեցի Վարդանին որ ինձ համար նամակը թարգմանի ռուսերեն:

Xnrdec'-i Vardan-i-n or inj hamar namak-ě
 ask-AOR.1.SG. Vardan-DAT-the CONJ I.DAT POST letter.NOM-the
t'argman-i řuseren.
 translate-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG Russian.NOM

“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).

- (503) Անին ուզում է քեզ օգնի:

Ani-n uz-um ē k'ez õgn-i.
 Ani.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. she is you.DAT help-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
 “Ani wants to help you.” (Colloquial)

- (504) a. Անին ուզում է քեզ օգնել:

Ani-n uz-um ē k'ez õgn-el.
 Ani.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. she is you.DAT help-INF
 “Ani wants to help you.” (Standard)

- (505) Անի, կարա՞մ¹⁸² քեզ մոտ գամ:
Ani kara-m k'ez 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 եմ քեզ մոտ գալ:
Ani kar-ot em k'ez mot g-al.
 Ani, able to-PTCP.PRES. I am you.DAT POST come-INF
 “Ani, can I visit you?” (Standard)
- (507) Խնդրում եմ ինձ հաց տալ:
Xndr-um em inj hac' t-as.
 ask-PTCP.PRES. I am I.DAT bread.NOM give-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG.
 “I ask you to give me bread.” (Colloquial)
- (508) a. Խնդրում եմ ինձ հաց տալ:
Xndr-um em inj hac' t-al.
 ask-PTCP.PRES. I am I.DAT bread.NOM give-INF
 “I ask to give me bread.” (Written Standard but also impersonal, neutral)
- b. Խնդրում եմ որ ինձ հաց տալ:
xndr-um em or inj hac' t-as.
 ask-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ I.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) Թոյլ տվեք նստեմ:
t'uył tv-ek' nst-em.
 allow-IMP.2.PL sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
 “Allow (me) to sit down!” (Colloquial)
- (504) a. Թոյլ տվեք նստել:
t'uył tv-ek' nst-el!
 allow-IMP.2.PL sit-INF
 “Allow (me) to sit down!” (Standard)
- b. Թոյլ տվեք որ նստեմ:
T'uył 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 կարողանալ *karolanal*. The corresponding written (normative) form is կարող եմ *karot 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) Ասացի եղբորս որ ինքը զանգահարի ինձ ավելի ուշ:

Asac'i etb-or-s or inkë zangahar-i
say-AOR.1.SG brother-DAT-my CONJ he.NOM call-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
inj aveli uš.
I.DAT INT late.

“I told my brother to call me later.” (Lit: I told my brother that he should call me later.)

(506) Ես համոզեցի նրան, որ թողնի իր աշխատանքը:

Es hamozec-i nran or t'oln-i
I.NOM persuade-AOR.1.SG he.DAT CONJ quit-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
ir ašxatankë.
his job.NOM-the

“I persuaded him to quit his job.”

(507) Անուշն իր ամուսնուն ասաց, որ ժամը 6-ին տանը լինի:

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) Արհեստականորեն այնպես արեցին, որ կործանվի, ու վաճառեցին:
(Ařavot 08.04.2006)

arhestakanoren aynpes arec'-in or korcan-v-i
artificially so make-AOR.3.PL CONJ destroy-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
u vačařec'-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) Անին որ գա, մենք շատ կուրախանանք:

Ani-n or g-a menk'
Ani.NOM-the CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG we.NOM

šat kuraxan-ank'.
 much happy-COND.FUT.1.PL.

“If Ani comes, we will be very happy.”

- (510) Իսկ եթե թերացողներ լինեն, մենք նրանցից կվերցնենք դաշտերը ու կտանք ավելի պարտաճանաչներին: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

Isk et'e t'eraç'ol-ner lin-en menk' nranc'ic'
 CONJ CONJ loser-PL.NOM be-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL. we.NOM they-ABL

kverc'n-enk' dašt-er-ě u kt-ank'
 take-COND.FUT.1.PL field-PL.NOM-the CONJ give-COND.FUT.1.PL

aveli partačanač'-ner-i-n.

INT conscientious-PL-DAT-the

“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

- (511) Մենք ցանկանում ենք, որ Համագործակցությունը դառնա ավելի ձկուն, նպատակամղված լինի երկրների ու մարդկանց կարիքների: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

Menk' cankan-um enk' or Hamagorcakc'ut'yun-ě
 we.NOM desire-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ cooperation.NOM-the

dařna aveli čkun npatakamł-v-ac
 become-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG INT flexible put-pass-PTCP.RES.

lin-i erkr-ner-i u mardkanc' karik'-ner-i-n.
 be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG country-PL-DAT CONJ man-PL-DAT need-PL-DAT-the

“We wish that the Cooperation would be more flexible, would be put for the needs of the countries and the people.”

- (512) Բոլորիս խնդիրները կլուծվեն, եթե պետության խնդիրը լուծված լինի, եթե ժողովրդի խնդիրները լուծված լինեն: (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

bolor-i-s xndir-ner-ě kluc-v-en et'e
 all-DAT-our problem-PL.NOM-the solve-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL CONJ

petuťy-an xndir-ě luc-v-ac lin-i
 state-DAT problem.NOM-the solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

et'e žoťovrd-i xndir-ner-ě
 CONJ people-DAT problem-PL.NOM-the

luc-v-ac *lin-en.*
 solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL

“The problems of all of us will be solved, if the state’s problem is solved,
 if the peoples’s problems are solved.”

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 գուցե *guce* “perhaps, maybe”, հնարավոր է *hnaravor ē* “it is possible” etc. If the same meaning is expressed by the simple perfect, it sounds more natural or perhaps neutral.¹⁸³

(513) Գուցե մարագ մտնելիս մկանը տեսած լինես:

guč'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. Գուցե մարագ մտնելիս մկանը տեսել ես:

Guč'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) Հնարավոր է, որ պահարան մաքրելիս վազան ջարդած լինես:

hnaravor ē or paharan mak'rel-is vaza-n
 possible it is CONJ cupboard.NOM clean-PTCP.PROC. vase.NOM-the
řard-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.

- (516) a. Հնարավոր է, որ պարարան մաքրելիս վազան ջարդել ես:
hnaravor ē or paharan mak'rel-is vaza-n
 possible it is CONJ cupboard.NOM clean-PTCP.PROC. vase.NOM-the
yard-el es.
 break-PTCP.PERF. you are
 “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 չկարծել *č'karcel* “to not think, to not believe”, չհիշել *č'hišel* “to not believe”, կասկածել *kaskacel* “to doubt” etc.

- (517) Չեմ կարծում, որ Արամը երբևէ համոզված լինի իր կնոջից:
č'-em karc-um or Aram-ě erbewē
 neg-I am believe-PTCP.PRES CONJ Aram.NOM-the ever
hamoz-v-ac lin-i ir knoj-ic'.
 convince-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG his wife-ABL.
 “I do not believe that Aram has ever been convinced by his wife.”
- (518) Արամը չի հիշում, որ Անուշը երբևէ գնալիս լինի Մոսկվա
Aram-ě č'-i hiš-um or Anuš-ě
 Aram.NOM-the neg-he is remember-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Anuš.NOM-the
erbewē gnac'-ac lin-i Moskva.
 ever go-PTCP.RES be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG MOSCOW.NOM
 “Aram does not remember that Anuš has ever gone to Moscow.”
- (519) Կարծում էի, թե գիշերվա ընթացքում ցած ընկած կլինի:
 (Grakanut'yun 6:149)
Karc-um ēi t'è gišer-va ěnt'ac'k'-um
 think-PTCP.PRES. I was CONJ night-DAT course-LOC
č'ac ěnk-ac klin-i.
 down fall-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.SG
 “I thought that it will be fallen down in the course of the night.”

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) Արարատի պատկերը յուրաքանչյուր հայրորդի կրում է իր հոգում,
 որտեղ էլ նա ապրելիս լինի: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)
Ararat-i patker-ě yurakanč'yur hayord kr-um
 Ararat-DAT image.NOM-the each Armenian.NOM bear-PTCP.PRES. is
ē ir hog-um ortel ēl na aprel-is lini.
 it is his soul-LOC where ever it.NOM live-PTCP.PRES. be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.
 “Each Armenian bears the picture of the Ararat in his soul, wherever he shall be living.”

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) Եթե ես գնալու լինեմ, քեզ անպայման կզանհահարեմ:

Et'è es gnal-u lin-em k'èz
 CONJ I.NOM go-PTCP.FUT. be-SUBJ.FUT.1SG you.DAT
anpayman kzangahar-em.
 certainly call-COND.FUT.1.SG.

“If I am about to go, I will certainly call you.”

- (522) Երբ որ այս գիրքը կարդալով լինես, մյուսը կտաս եղբորդ:

Erb or ays girk'-ë kardal-u lin-es
 CONJ CONJ this book.NOM-the read-PTCP.FUT. be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG
myus-ë kt-as etbor-d.
 other.NOM-the give-COND-FUT.2.SG brother-DAT-your

“When you are about to read this book, you shall give the other to your brother.”

- (523) Եթե ետ նայելու լինեմ, չեմ կարող ասել, թե Հայաստանն այսօր ուր¹⁸⁴
 կլիներ առանց Սփյուռքի: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

et'è et nayel-u lin-em č'-em kar-ot
 CONJ look back-PTCP.FUT. be-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG. neg-I am can-PTCP.PRES.
as-el t'è Hayastan-n aysör ur klin-er
 say-INF CONJ Armenia.NOM-the today where be-COND.PAST.3.SG
ašanc' Sp'yurk'-i.
 PREP Diaspora-DAT

“If I am about to look back, I can not say, where Armenia would be without the Diaspora.”

- (524) Անցյալ տարվա ընթացքում խորացել է Միացյալ Նահանգների և Հայաստանի համագործակցությունը բիզնեսի զարգացման, իրավապահ համագործակցության, սահմանների անվտանգության, գյուղատնտեսության ասպարեզներում, եթե թվարկելու լինենք սոսկ մի քանիսը: (Armenpress 28.12.2005)

Anc'yal tar-va ënt'ac'k'um xorac'-el ë Miac'yal Nahangneri ew
 last year-DAT POST deep-PTCP.PERF. it is United States-DAT CONJ

184. Note: this is a quotation of a spoken utterance. The use of ուր *ur*, meaning “where” is not standard, but colloquial Armenian. The standard form should be որտեղ *ortel*, but in many contexts this form is accepted as a correct written and standard Armenian.

Hayastan-i hamagorcakc'ut'yun-ě biznes-i zargac'm-an
 Armenia-DAT cooperation.NOM-the business-DAT development-DAT
iravapah hamagorcakc'ut'y-an sahman-ner-i anvtangut'y-an
 law-keeping cooperation-DAT border-PL-DAT safety-DAT
gyulatntesut'y-an asparez-ner-um, etè t'varkel-u
 agriculture-DAT field-PL-LOC CONJ enumerate-PTCP.FUT.
lin-enk' sosk mi qani-s-ě.
 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) Լավ կլիներ որ դու ինքդ գնայիր Մոսկվա:

Lav 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) Եթե մի քիչ շուտ գայիր՝ կհնադիպեիր նրան:

Etè mik'ic' šut 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.”

- (527) Եթե հրավեր ստանայի, կգնայի գիտաժողովին:
Et'è hraver stana-yi
 CONJ invitation.NOM receive-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG
kgna-yi gitažolov-i-n.
 go-COND.PAST.1.SG conference-DAT-the
 “If I had received an invitation, I would have gone to the conference.”
- (528) Շատ կցանկանայի, որ այսպես լիներ տարին 12 ամիս:
 (Ařavot 08.03.2006)
řat kc'ankan-ayi 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 would much desire it, that it were that way 12 months in the year.”

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 ասացի, որ Լիլիթը զար չորսին:
es asac-'i or Lilit'ë
 I.NOM say-AOR.1.SG CONJ Lilit'.NOM-the
g-ar čors-i-n.
 come-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG four-DAT-the
 “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 լիներ, ապա այսօր Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի հակամարտությունը կարգավորված կլիներ: :(Armenpress 22.03.2006)
Et'è ayn storagr-v-ac lin-er apa aysōr
 CONJ that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then today
Leřnayin Ęarabał-i hakamartut'yun-ë
 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).

2.5.7.3.2 Conditional

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 *կ-* *k-* 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. *ցոյց տալ c'uyc tal* “to show”, *ցոյց կտամ c'uyc k-tam* “I shall show, I will show.”¹⁸⁵

- The dynamic conditional is formed from the present stem of all verbs plus the modal prefix *k-* and the primary ending of the present or past tense.
- The stative conditional is formed with the resultative participle in *-ած -ac* plus the auxiliary *լինել 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 *-իս -is* and the conditional of the auxiliary *լինել linel* “to be”.
- Prospective conditionals do occur, but not frequently. These forms are formed with the future participle in *-ու -u* and the conditional forms of the auxiliary *լինել linel* “to be”.

Table 16, 17. Formation of the Conditional

	DYNAMIC		STATIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	կգնամ <i>k-gn-am</i>	կգնայի <i>k-gn-ayi</i>	գնացած կլինեմ <i>gnac' ac k-lin-em</i>	գնացած կլինեի <i>gnac' ac k-lin-ei</i>
2. SG	կգնաս <i>k-gn-as</i>	կգնայիր <i>k-gn-ayir</i>	գնացած կլինես <i>gnac' ac k-lin-es</i>	գնացած կլինեիր <i>gnac' ac k-lin-eir</i>
3. SG	կգնա <i>k-gn-a</i>	կգնար <i>k-gn-ar</i>	գնացած կլինի <i>gnac' ac k-lin-i</i>	գնացած կլիներ <i>gnac' ac k-lin-er</i>
1. PL	կգնանք <i>k-gn-ank'</i>	կգնայինք <i>k-gn-ayink'</i>	գնացած կլինենք <i>gnac' ac k-lin-enk'</i>	գնացած կլինեինք <i>gnac' ac k-lin-eink'</i>
2. PL	կգնաք <i>k-gn-ak'</i>	կգնայիք <i>k-gn-ayik'</i>	գնացած կլինեք <i>gnac' ac k-lin-ek'</i>	գնացած կլինեիք <i>gnac' ac k-lin-eik'</i>
3. PL	կգնան <i>k-gn-an</i>	կգնային <i>k-gn-ayin</i>	գնացած կլինեն <i>gnac' ac k-lin-en</i>	գնացած կլինեին <i>gnac' ac k-lin-ein</i>

185. Please note that in colloquial Armenian one can also hear the modal particle *կ-* *k-* not prefixed to the verb but to the noun or other verb component of the compound verb, as e.g. *կցոյց տամ k-c'uyc' tam* instead of given above written Standard *ցոյց կտամ c'uyc k-tam* “I will/shall give”. Łaragyulyan 1981: 99.

	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1. SG	գնալիս կլինեմ <i>gnalis k-lin-em</i>	գնալիս կլինեի <i>gnalis k-lin-ei</i>	գնալու կլինեմ <i>gnalu k-lin-em</i>	գնալու կլինեի <i>gnalu k-lin-ei</i>
2. SG	գնալիս կլինես <i>gnalis k-lin-es</i>	գնալիս կլինեիր <i>gnalis k-lin-eir</i>	գնալու կլինես <i>gnalu k-lin-es</i>	գնալու կլինեիր <i>gnalu k-lin-eir</i>
3. SG	գնալիս կլինի <i>gnalis k-lin-i</i>	գնալիս կլիներ <i>gnalis k-lin-er</i>	գնալու կլինի <i>gnalu k-lin-i</i>	գնալու կլիներ <i>gnalu k-lin-er</i>
1. PL	գնալիս կլինենք <i>gnalis k-lin-enk'</i>	գնալիս կլինեինք <i>gnalis k-lin-eink'</i>	գնալու կլինենք <i>gnalu k-lin-enk'</i>	գնալու կլինեինք <i>gnalu k-lin-eink'</i>
2. PL	գնալիս կլինեք <i>gnalis k-lin-ek'</i>	գնալիս կլինեիք <i>gnalis k-lin-eik'</i>	գնալու կլինեք <i>gnalu k-lin-ek'</i>	գնալու կլինեիք <i>gnalu k-lin-eik'</i>
3. PL	գնալիս կլինեն <i>gnalis k-lin-en</i>	գնալիս կլինեին <i>gnalis k-lin-ein</i>	գնալու կլինեն <i>gnalu k-lin-en</i>	գնալու կլինեին <i>gnalu k-lin-ein</i>

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 -ի-*i* for verbs in -ել *-el* and -ալ *-a* for verbs in -ալ *-al* as ending.

- The dynamic conditional is negated by means of the negative participle and the չ-*č'*-prefixed auxiliary եմ *em* in the present or the imperfect tense.
- The stative conditional is negated by means of negative participle and the auxiliary լինել *linel* i.e. լինի *lini* plus the չ- *č'*-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եմ *em* in the present and imperfect tense. In neutral utterances the order is the following: resultative participle – negated auxiliary – negative participle of լինի *lini*.
- The processual conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary լինել *linel* i.e. լինի *lini* plus the չ- *č'*-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եմ *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 լինի *lini*.
- The immanent conditional is negated by means of the negative participle of the auxiliary լինել *linel* i.e. լինի *lini* plus the չ- *č'*-prefixed negative particle on the auxiliary եմ *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 լինի *lini*.

Table 18. Formation of negative Conditional, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	DYNAMIC		STATIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	չեն գնա <i>č'em gna</i>	չեի գնա <i>č'ei gna</i>	գնացած չեն լինի <i>gnač'ac č'em lini</i>	գնացած չեի լինի <i>gnač'ac č'ei lini</i>
	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	գնալիս չեն լինի <i>gnalis č'em lini</i>	գնալիս չեի լինի <i>gnalis č'ei lini</i>	գնալու չեն լինի <i>gnalu č'em lini</i>	գնալու չեի լինի <i>gnalu č'ei lini</i>

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 mood¹⁸⁶” 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) Վաղը նամակ կգրմ:

Valë namak kgr-em.

tomorrow letter.NOM write-COND.FUT.1.SG

“Tomorrow I will (shall) write a letter.”

(531) a. Վաղը նամակ եմ գրելու:

Valë namak em grel-u.

tomorrow letter.NOM I am write-PTCP.FUT.

“Tomorrow I will write a letter.”

186. In Armenian հաստատողական եղանակի իմաստ *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) Արմենը կվերադառնա հունվարի հինգին:

Armen-ě kverdařn-a hunvar-i hing-i-n.
 Armen.NOM-the return-COND.FUT.3.SG January-DAT five-DAT-the
 “Armen 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) Հիմա կկարդամ հոդվածդ:

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. Հիմա կարդալու եմ հոդվածդ:

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

- in iterative or generalised constructions: the conditional future denotes iterative actions, that are either a typical property of the agent or that are generalised. Such a reading is usually triggered by iterative adverbs.
- This function of the conditional can mainly be found in written Armenian, and is also considered as a type of narrative tense.¹⁸⁹

(534) Քամին կփչի, անձրևը կտեղա՝ բայց լեռը կմնա կանգուն:

Kami-n kpč-’i anjrew-ě ktel-a
 wind.NOM-the blow-COND.FUT.3.SG rain.NOM-the fall-COND.FUT.3.SG

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 the սահմանական եղանակի իմաստ, 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.
 CONJ mountain.NOM-the stay-COND.FUT.3.SG standing.

“The wind blows, the rain falls down, but (only) the mountain stands still.”

(535) Ամեն օր նա կգնա խանութ հաց գնելու:

Amen ōr na kgn-a xanut' hac' gnel-u.
 every day.NOM he.NOM go-COND.FUT.3.SG shop.NOM bread.NOM buy-INF-DAT

“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) Այս հին պատմությունը դեռ կլսես գյուղի տարեճ մարդկանցից:

Ays hin patmut'yun-ě deř kls-es gyut-i
 this old story.NOM-the still hear-COND.FUT.2.SG village-DAT

tarec mardkanc'-ic'.

aged man-PL-ABL

“This old story you may still hear from aged village people.”

(537) Մեր կողմերում դանակ-մկրատ սրողների այլևս չես տեսնի:

Mer kolm-er-um danak-mkrat srot-ner-i aylews
 our side-PL-LOC knife-scissors.NOM grinder-PL-DAT no more

č-es tesn-i.

neg-you are see-PTCP.NEG.¹⁹⁰

“Hereabout you will not see knife-scissors-grinders any more.”

– Assumptive meaning¹⁹¹

Conditional Future also expresses the objective meaning of the speaker about an action (or state) in the present tense¹⁹²

190. This is the negated conditional, formed by means of the preposed negated auxiliary չես *č'es* and the negative participle of the verb տեսնել *tesnel* “to see”, տեսնի *tesni*.

191. in Armenian grammars: ենթադրական եղանակի իմաստ *ent'adrakan elanaki imast*: 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.

- (538) Վահանը մի մեծ գործարանի կառավարիչ է եղել, լավ թոշակ կստանա:
Vahan-ě mi mec gorcaran-i kařavarič ē eł-el
 Vahan.NOM-the a big factory-DAT manager.NOM he is be-PTCP.PERF.
lav t'ošak kstan-a.
 good pension receive-COND.FUT.3.SG.
 “Vahan has been manager of a big factory; he shall receive a high pension.”

- (539) Անին հիմա հաստատ ամեն ինչ կիմանա իր ապագայի մասին:
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.”

- The conditional future can also express an assumption of the speaker referring to an action or a state in the future.

- (540) Այսօր գիշերը ցուրտ կլինի:
Aysōr giřer-ě c'urt klin-i.
 today night.NOM-the cold be-COND.FUT.3.SG
 “It will be cold tonight.”

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:

- (541) Դու կվերջանաս քո գործը:
Du kverjan-as k'o 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.

- (542) Լավ, վաղը կգամ քեզ մոտ:
Lav valē k-gam k'ez mot.
 okay, tomorrow come-COND.FUT.1.SG you.DAT POST
 “Okay, tomorrow I will seek you out.”

- The conditional future is also used to formulate a polite request or a polite order:

- (543) Ինձ հաց կտա՞ս:
Inj hac' kt-as?
 I.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) Մարդու իրավունքների խախտում կլինի, եթե օրենքով չկարգավորվի այս հարցը: (Aravot 07.04.2006)
- Mard-u iravunk'-ner-i xaxtum klin-i et'e*
 Person-DAT right-PL-DAT violation.NOM be-COND.FUT.3.SG CONJ
orenk'-ov č'-kargavor-v-i ays harc'-ë.
 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 հայ ծյուղոհիստները կարողանան մեդալներ նվաճել 2 միջազգային մրցումներում, ապա արդեն կապահովվի նրանց օլիմպիական ելույթը: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)
- et'e hay jyudoist-ner-ë karolan-an medal-ner*
 CONJ Armenian judoka-PL.NOM-the can-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL medal-PL.NOM
nvač-el 2 mi jazgayin mrc'um-ner-um apa arden
 win-INF 2 international competition-PL-LOC then already
kapahov-v-i nranc' olimpiakan eluyt'-ë.
 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 subordinated clause:

- (546) Եթե նույնիսկ Ջոն Քերին ընտրվի ԱՄՆ-ի նախագահ, Կոնգրեսը կմնա հանրապետական և միայն զլորբալ հարցերում` (Armenpress 17.01.2006)
- Et'e nuynisk Jon Keri-n ëntr-v-i AMN-i*
 CONJ even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG US-DAT
naxagah Kongres-ë kmn-a hanrapetakan
 president.NOM Congress.NOM-the remain-COND.FUT.3.SG Republican
ew miayn global harc-er-um.
 CONJ only global question-PL-LOC
 “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:

- (547) Ասածս ժամին կգաս, կհանդիպենք:

Asac-s žam-i-n kg-as khandip-enk'.
 say-PTCP.RES-my hour-DAT-the come-COND.FUT.2.SG meet-COND.FUT.1.PL
 “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:

- (548) Վաղն առավոտյան Վարդանը նամակը գրած կլինի:

vahn a'avotyan Vardan-ě namak-ě gr-ac
 tomorrow morning Vardan.NOM-the letter.NOM-the write-PTCP.RES.
klin-i.
 be-COND.FUT.3.SG

“Tomorrow morning Vardan will have written the letter.”

I.e. tomorrow morning Vardan will have finished writing the letter. The letter will be written.

- (549) Ընթրիքը պատրաստած կլինես, երբ գամ երեկոյան ժամը 7-ին:

ěnt'rik'-ě patrast-ac klin-es erb
 dinner.NOM-the prepare-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.2.SG CONJ
g-am erekoyan žam-ě yot'-i-n?
 come-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG evening hour.NOM-the seven-DAT-the

“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.

- (550) Կարդացել ես այդ գիրքը: Անշուշտ կարդացած կլինես:

kardac'-el es ayd girk'-ě? Anšust
 read-PTCP.PERF. you are that book.NOM-the doubtless
kardac'-ac klin-es.
 read-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.2.SG

“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.

- (551) Կյանքումդ քանի՞ անգամ տեսած կլինես այս կինոն:

kyank'-um-d k'ani angam tes-ac klin-es
 life-LOC-your wh-how many time see-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.2.SG

ays kino-n?
this movie.NOM-the

“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.

- (551) a. *Կյանքունդ քանի՞ անգամ ես տեսել այս կինոն:*
Kyank'-um k'ani angam es tes-el
life-LOC-your wh-how many time you are see-PTCP.PERF.
ays kino-n?
this movie.NOM-the
How many times have you seen this movie in your life?”

– If the speaker thinks or supposes that an action has been performed in the past. (The state as a result of this action refers but to the moment of speech)

- (552) *Եղբայրդ որտե՞ղ է: Գնացած կլինի:*
Elbayr-d ortel ē? Gnac'-ac klin-i.
brother-your wh-where he is? go-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.SG
“Where is your brother? He must be gone. (i.e. he has certainly gone)”
- (553) *Նրանք հիմա արդեն տեղ հասած կլինեն:*
Nrank' hima arden tel has-ac klin-en.
they.NOM now already place.NOM arrive-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.PL
“They will have already arrived at the place now.”
- (554) *Մենք իզուր ենք շտապում՝ գնացքն արդեն մեկնած կլինի:*
Menk' izur enk' štap-um. gnac'k'-n arden
we.NOM for nothing we are hurry-PTCP.RES. train.NOM-the already
mekn-ac klin-i.
depart-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.SG.
“We are hurrying for nothing; the train will have already departed.”

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) *Վաղն այս ժամին գնալիս կլինենք դեպի թանգարան:*
Vaġn ays žam-i-n gnal-is klin-enk'
tomorrow this hour-DAT-the go-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.1.PL
depi t'angaran.
PREP museum.NOM
“Tomorrow at this time we will be going towards the museum.”

(556) Դու դասերդ դեռ սովորելի՞ս կլինես, երբ քեզ երեկոյան զանգեմ:

Du das-er-d def sovorel-is klin-es
 you.NOM lesson-PL.NOM-your still learn-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.2.SG
erb kez erekoyan zang-em.
 CONJ you.DAT evening call-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.

“Will you still be learning your lessons, when I call you in the evening?”

(557) Երբ դուք մերս մտնեք, մենք պարելիս կլինենք:

Erb duk' ners mtn-ek' menk'
 CONJ you.NOM come in-SUBJ.FUT.2.PL we.NOM
parel-is klin-enk'.
 dance-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.1PL

“When you come in, we will be dancing.”

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.

(558) Երբ որ ճանապարհորդության մեկնելու կլինես, Սոնային նույնպես հետդ կտանես:

Erb or čanaparhordut'yan meknel-u lin-es
 CONJ CONJ journey-DAT depart-PTCP.FUT. be-COND.FUT.2.SG
Sona-yi-n nuynpes het-d ktan-es.
 Sona-DAT-the also with-your take-COND.FUT.2.SG

“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 կգրեի, եթե իմանայի նրա հասցեն:
Nran namak kg-rei etè imana-yi
 he.DAT letter.NOM write-COND.PAST.1.SG CONJ know-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG
nra hascè-n.
 his address.NOM-the
 “I would have written to him, if I had known his address.”
- (560) Օլիմպիական չեմպիոն Լևոն Ջուլֆալակյանն ասաց, որ
 հնարավորության դեպքում ավելի շատ հայ ըմբիշներ կմեկնեին
 Ֆրանսիա: (Armenpress 16.11.2005)
ōlimpiakan čempion Lewon Ĵulfalakyan-n asac’
 Olympic champion.NOM Lewon Ĵulfalakyan.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG
or hnaravorut’yan depk’-um aveli šat hay ěmbiš-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 Ĵulfalakyan said, that if it had been possible” (Lit: in the case of possibility), many more Armenian wrestlers would have gone to France.)
- (561) Եթե հարձակվուները իսկական տղամարդ լինեին, նրանք
 կհարձակվեին տղամարդկանց, այլ ոչ թե խեղճ կանանց վրա:
 (Armenpress 22.01.2006)
etè harjakvoł-ner-ě 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’ tē xelč 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 համաձայնեինք Ռուսաստանի պարտադրած սակագնի հետ, գոնե 1
 տարի անց կկարողանայինք օգտվել իրանական գազից: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
Etè menk’ hamajayn-eink’ Ŕusastan-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
ōgt-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”)

In the function of expressing a habitual action in the past and in the function of a narrative tense:

- (563) Մեր հաւանը ժամերով կաշխատեր իր այգում և կխնամեր իր տնկած ծառերը:
Mer harewan-ě žam-er-ov kašxat-er ir
 our neighbour.NOM-the hour-PL-INST work-COND.PAST.3.SG his
ayg-um 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) Գյուղի ամենատարեծ կինը իր մոտ կկանչեր երեխաներին և նրանց կպատմեր զանազան հետաքրքիր պատմություններ ու հեքիաթներ:
Gyul-i amena-tarec kin-ě ir mot kkanč'-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
hetak'rk'ir patmut'yun-ner u hek'iat'-ner.
 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 դա հեշտ լիներ, ապա խնդիրը վաղուց լուծված կլիներ:
 (Armenpress, 27.03.2006)
etě da hešt lin-er apa xndir-ě
 CONJ that easy be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then problem.NOM-the
vałuc' 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 այն ստորագրված լիներ, ապա այսօր Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի հակամարտությունը կարգավորված կլիներ: (Armenpress 22.03.2006)
Etě ayn storagr-v-ac lin-er apa aysōr
 CONJ that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG. then today
Leřnayin Łarabał-i hakamartu'yun-ě 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 the conflict of Mountainous Karabach would have been settled today.”

- (567) Ես վաղուց իջած կլինեի իմ գահից, եթե կատարված տեսնեի այն միտքը: (Grakanut'yun 4:186)
- Es valuc' ij-ac klin-ei im gah-ic'*
 I.NOM long ago descend-PTCP.RES. be-COND.PAST.1.SG my throne-ABL
ete 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 գնլախս կլինեիր թանգարան, եթե չիմանայիր այդ մասին:
- Du gnal-is klin-eir t'angaran*
 du.NOM go-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.PAST.2.SG museum.NOM
ete č'-imany-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) Երեք օր առաջ Հասմիկը այս աշխատանքը հանձնելու կլիներ, եթե խանգարիչ հանգամանքներ չլինեին:
- erek' ōr ařaj Hasmik-ě ays ařxatank'-ě hanjnel-u*
 three day.NOM POST Hasmik.NOM-the this work.NOM-the deliver-PTCP.FUT.
klin-er ete xangarič' hangamank'-ner
 be-COND.PAST.3.SG CONJ disturbing circumstance-PL.NOM
č'-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 պիտի *piti* or պետք է *petk' ē* and the verb in the subjunctive mood. պիտի *piti* is the form that is more common in spoken Armenian, պետք է *petk' ē*, however, it is more common in written Armenian.¹⁹⁴ 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 պիտի *piti* or պետք է *petk' ē* and the subjunctive future (debitive future) or the subjunctive past (debitive past).
- The stative debitive is formed with the particle պիտի *piti* or պետք է *petk' ē* + the resultative participle in -ած *-ac* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the subjunctive future (stative debitive future) or the subjunctive past (stative debitive past).
- The processual debitive is formed with the particle պիտի *piti* or պետք է *petk' ē* + the processual participle in -իս *-is* and the auxiliary լինել *linel* in the subjunctive future (processual debitive future) or the subjunctive past (processual debitive past).
- The prospective debitive is formed with the particle պիտի *piti* or պետք է *petk' ē* + the future participle in -ու *-u* and the auxiliary լինել *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 պիտի *piti* (or պետք է *petk' ē*) + participle + լինել *linel* in the subjunctive, but participle + բիտի *piti* (or պետք է *petk' ē*) + լինել *linel* in the subjunctive is also wide-spread. There is no semantic difference between these two orders.

Table 19. Formation of Debitive, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	DYNAMIC		STATIC	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	պիտի գնամ <i>piti gnam</i>	պիտի գնայի <i>piti gnayi</i>	գնացած պիտի լինեմ <i>gnac' ac piti linem</i>	գնացած պիտի լինեի <i>gnac' ac piti linei</i>
	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	գնալիս պիտի լինեմ <i>gnalis piti linem</i>	գնալիս պիտի լինեի <i>gnalis piti linei</i>	գնալու պիտի լինեմ <i>gnalu piti linem</i>	գնալու պիտի լինեի <i>gnalu piti linei</i>

194. Լարայուլյան 1981: 99.

The Negation of the Debitive

The negation of all debitive forms is simple: the negative particle չ- *č'* is prefixed to պիտի *piti* i.e. չպիտի *č'-piti* or պետք *petk'* i.e. չպետք *č'-petk'*.

Note: the periphrastic form պետք է *petk' ē* 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) Պետք է, որ սխալ լինի:

Petk' ē or sxal lin-i.

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) Պետք է պայքարել կոռուպցիայի դեմ և այդ ոլորտում

համապատասխանել եվրոպական չափանիշներին:

(Armenpress 23.03.2006)

Petk' ē paykarel koʁupč'ia-yi dem ew ayd olort-um

Part it is fight-INF corruption-DAT POST CONJ that field-LOC

hamapatasxan-el evropakan čapaniš-ner-i-n.

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 -չ -*č'*; e.g. պետք է գնալ *petk' ē gnal* “one has to go”, պետք չի գնալ *petk' č'i 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) Գիտես, քեզ ի՞նչ պիտի պատմեն:

git-es k'ez inč' piti patm-em?

know-PRES.2.SG YOU.DAT wh-what tell-DEB.FUT.1SG

“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) Վաղը պիտի գնամ համալսարան:

Valë piti gn-am hamalsaran.
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 expect-
edness, 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) Պետք է ասեմ, որ մեր մինչ այս էլ լավ հարաբերությունները վերջին
ժամանակներս դինամիկ եւ առաջընթաց զարգացում են ապրում:
(Armenpress 20.05.2006)

Petk' ē asem or mer minč ays ēl lav haraberut'yun-nerë
part say-DEB.FUT.1SG CONJ our PREP this still good relation-PL.NOM-the
verjin žamanak-ner-s dinamik ew ařajënt'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) Ղուք պետք է հաշտվեք ձեր պատմության հետ և ընդունեք Հայոց
ցեղասպանության փաստը: (Azg 08.04.2006)

Duk' petk' ē hašt-v-ek' jer patmut'y-an het ew
you.NOM reconcile-pass-DEB.FUT.2.PL your history-DAT POST CONJ
ëndun-ek' Hayoc' c'elaspanut'y-an p'ast-ë.
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) Հենց պիտի այսօր մեկնեն:

henc' piti aysōr 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) Կյանքս թեքվել ա: Բայց չպիտի հանձնվեն, պիտի պայքարեն:

(Hetk' 15.01.2007)

kyank'-s tēk'-v-el a bayc' č'-piti hanjn-v-em
life.NOM-my turn-antic-PTCP.PERF. it is. CONJ neg-yield-refl-DEB.FUT.1.SG
piti paykar-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 *անշուշտ anšušť* “doubtless, without doubt”, *անպայման anpayman* “absolutely” etc.

(578) Շան տարերքը կրակն է և այդ պատճառով տոնական սեղան ին պետք է անպայման մոմ վառվի: (Armenpress 30.12.2005)

Š-an tarerk'-ē krak-n ē ew ayd patčar'-ov
dog-DAT element.NOM-the fire.NOM-the it is CONJ that reason-INST
tonakan seġan-i-n petk' ē anpayman mom
festive table-DAT-the part absolutely candle.NOM
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) Ղարաբաղի խնդիրը պիտի լուծվի խաղաղ ճանապարհով: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

Ġarabaġ-i xndir-ē piti luc-v-i xaġaġ
Karabach-DAT problem.NOM-the solve-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG. peaceful
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) Խանութներում վաճառվող հավկիթի վրա պետք է նշված լինի արտադրման օրը: (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 ōr-ě.
be-DEB.FUT.3.SG production-DAT day.NOM-the
“On the eggs being sold in shops the production date must be given.”

- (581) Երկու կրոնների միջև փոխգործակցությունը պետք է հիմնված լինի փոխադարձ հարգանքի ու վստահության սկզբունքների վրա: (Armenpress 22.05.2006)
- Erku kron-ner-i mijew p'oxagorcakc'ut'yun-ě (petk' ē himn-v-ac*
two religion-DAT POST cooperation.NOM-the part base-pass-PTCP.RES.
lin-i) p'oxadarj hargank'-i u vstahut'y-an
DEB.FUT.3.SG mutual respect-DAT CONJ trust-DAT
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) Կարգավորումը պետք է իրականացվի փուլ առ փուլ և առաջին հերթին պիտի ապահովված լինի Ադրբեջանի տարածքային ամբողջականությունը: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)
- kargavorum-ě petk' ē irakanc'-v-i p'ul aš p'ul ew ašajin*
regulation.NOM-the fulfil-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG stage PREP stage CONJ first
hert'-i-n (piti apahov-v-ac lini) Aذربեյան-ի
row-DAT-the part guarantee-pass-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.SG Azerbaijan-DAT
tarackayin amboļjakanut'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 պատմությունները պետք է հասած լինեն մեզ մեկ անանուն ձեռագրի միջոցով:
- Ays patmut'yun-ner-ě (petk' ē hasac lin-en) mež*
This story-PL.NOM-the (reach-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.PL) we.DAT

mek ananun jeřagr-i miřoc'ov.
 one anonymous manuscript-DAT POST

“These stories must have reached us by means of one anonymous manuscript.”

- (584) Հրդեհը պետք է բռնկված լինի չնազգված ծխախոտից:

Hrdeh-ě (petk' ē b'rnk-v-ac lin-i)
 fire.NOM-the (part ignite-pass-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.SG)
č'-hagc'-v-ac cxaxot-ic'.
 neg-extinguish-pass-PTCP.RES. cigarette-ABL

“The fire must have been ignited by (from) a not-extinguished cigarette.”

Processual Debitive Future

The processual debitive future signals an obligatory action that is in progress at a certain reference time in future or at the moment of speech.

- (585) Նրանք հիմա անցնելիս պետք է լինեն այդ կամուրջով. ինչ որ մեկը
 պետք է զգուշացնի նրանց կամուրջի անսարքության մասին:

Nrank' hima anc'nel-is petk' ē lin-en ayd kamurj-ov
 they.NOM now cross-PTCP.PROC. be-DEB.FUT.3.PL that bridge-INST
inč'-or mek-ě petk' ē zguša-c'n-i nranc'
 somebody.NOM-the warn-caus-DEB.FUT.3.SG they.DAT
kamurj-i ansark'ut'y-an masin.
 bridge-DAT defect-DAT POST

“They must be passing that bridge (right) now, somebody must warn them of the bridge’s defect.”

Prospective Debitive Future

The prospective debitive future indicates an obligatory action, that is about to be performed at a certain reference point in the future (or at the moment of speech).

- (586) Դուք այս ժամին վազելու պետք է լինեք:

Duk' ays žam-i-n vazel-u petk' ē lin-ek'.
 you.NOM this time-DAT-the run-PTCP.FUT. be-DEB.FUT.2.PL

“You should (be about to) hurry at this time of the day.”

2.5.7.3.3.2 *Debitive past*

Dynamic Debitive Past

The debitive past marks an action that had to be performed in the past, if the reference point coincides with the moment of speech.

- (587) Դուռը պիտի բացեր այս բանալիով:

Duř-ě piti bac'-er ays banali-ov.
 door.NOM-the open-DEB.PAST.3.SG. this key-INST
 “He should have opened the door with this key.”

- (588) Նկարահանումները պետք է սկսվեին անցյալ տարի, քանի որ նախագիծը ներառված է եղել «Հայֆիլմե»: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Nkaranum-ner-ě petk' ē sks-v-ein anc'yal tari
 Shooting-PL.NOM-the begin-antic-DEB.PAST.3.PL last year.NOM
kani or naxagic'-ě nerař-v-ac ē eł-el
 CONJ project.NOM-the include-pass-PTCP.RES. it is be-PTCP.PERF.
 “Hayfilm”.
 “Hayfilm”.NOM.
 “The shooting should have begun last year, since the project has been included in “Hayfilm”.”

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. մի րոպե ևս *mi rope ews* “one more minute and...”¹⁹⁵

- (589) Մեկ րոպե ևս և ռումբը պիտի պայտեր առևտրի կենտրոնում:

Mek rope ews ew řumb-ě piti payt-er
 one minute more CONJ bomb.NOM-the explode-DEB.PAST.3.SG
ařewtr-i kentron-um.
 commerce-DAT centre-LOC
 “One more minute and the bomb would explode in the shopping centre.

The Stative Debitive Past

The stative debitive past indicates an epistemic necessity concerning the past.

- (590) ...քանի որ արդեն տասը տարուց ավելի է տարածքի մեծ մասը զբաղեցնում է սիյուռքահայ Մարկոս Գրիգորյանի հավաքածուն, որը վաղուց պետք է ստացած լիներ առանձին թանգարանի կարգավիճակ՝ տեղափոխվելով այլ վայր: (Armenpress 27.03.2006)
(kani or arden tasē tar-uc' aveli ē tarack'i mec mas-ē zbate-c'n-um ē sp'yur'kahay Markos Grigorjan-i havakacu-n),

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. կպայտեր *kpayter*.

or-ě *valuc'* *petk' ē stac-ac'* *lin-er* *ařanjin*
REL.NOM-the long ago part receive-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.PAST.3.SG separate
t'angaran-i *kargavičak* *telap'ox-v-elov* *ayl* *vayr.*
museum-DAT status.NOM move-pass-INF-INST other place.NOM.

“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) երեք մենք պետք է անցնելիս լինեի՞նք այդ կամուրջով, եթե մեզ ճիշտ
ժամանակին չզգուշացնեին:
erek' *menk'* *petk' ē anc'nel-is* *lin-eink'* *ayd kamurj-ov*
yesterday we.NOM part pass-PTCP.PROC. be-DEB.PAST.1.PL that bridge-INST
et'è *mez* *čišt* *žamanak-i-n* *č'-zguša-c'n-ein.*
CONJ we.DAT right time-DAT-the neg-warn-caus-SUBJ.PAST.3.PL
“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 ձեզ վատ թվանշան պետք է դնելու լինեի՞նք, եթե ձեր ուսուցիչը
չբարեխոսեր ձեր մասին:
Menk' *jez* *vat* *t'vanšan* *petk' ē dnel-u*
we.NOM you.DAT bad mark.NOM part put-PTCP.FUT.
lin-eink' *et'è* *jer* *usuc'ič'-ě*
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 spokenwell of you.”

2.5.7.3.4 *Imperative*¹⁹⁶

Formation

The imperative 2nd person SG. is formed with the present stem for verbs in *-ել* *-el* and *-ալ* *-al* as well as *-վ* *-v*-suffixed verbs, from the aorist stem for *-ն* *-n*-, *-չ* *-č'*-, *-անալ* *anal*, *-ենալ* *-enal* suffixed verbs as well as for causativised verbs in *-ցնել* *-c'n-el*.

196. Gareginyan 1973: 296ff. Abrahamyan 1974: 415–416; Łaragyulyan 1981: 94 and Zak'aryan 1981: 205.

- -ալ *-al* verbs is -ա *-a*
- -ել *-el* verbs it is -իր *-ir*.
- verbs with suffixes -ն- *-n-*, -չ՝- *-čʻ-*, -անալ *-anal*, -ենալ *-enal* have -իր *-ir*
- causativised verbs with -ցն- *-cʻn-* have *ցրու *-cʻru*
- վ *v-* suffixed verbs have -վիր *-v-ir*.

The imperative 2nd person PL. of all verbs is usually formed from the aorist/perfect stem and the ending -եք *-ekʻ*: գրեց-եք *grecʻ-ekʻ*, կարդաց-եք *kardacʻ-ekʻ*, տես-եք *tes-ekʻ*, փախ-եք *pʻax-ekʻ*, մոռաց-եք *moʻracʻ-ekʻ*, վախեց-եք *vaxec-ekʻ*, կարդացր-եք *kardacʻr-ekʻ* etc.

Negation

The imperative is negated by means of the stressed particle մի՛ *mi*. In strict normative Armenian grammars the prohibitive is said to be formed exclusively from the present stem and the prohibitive particle *mi*.¹⁹⁷ 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 -ել *-el* from the present stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ գրիր *mi grir!*
- simple verbs in -ալ *-al* from the present stem + ending -ա *-a*: մի՛ կարդա *mi kardā!*
- suffixed verbs in -ն-ել *-n-el* and -չ-ել *-čʻ-el* from the aorist stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ մտիր *mi mtir!* մի՛ փախիր *mi pʻaxir!*
- suffixed verbs in -ան-ալ *-an-al* and -են-ալ *-en-al* from the aorist stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ ուրախացիր *mi uraxacʻir!* մի՛ վախեցիր *mi vaxecʻir!*
- causativised, suffixed verbs in -ցն-ել *-cʻn-el* from the aorist stem + ending -ու *-u*: մի՛ հեռացրու *mi heʻacʻru!*
- suffixed verbs in -վ-ել *-v-el* from the present stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ գրվիր *mi grvir!*

2nd person PL.

Coincides with positive forms:

- simple verbs in -ել *-el* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ekʻ*: մի՛ գրեցեք *mi grecʻekʻ!*
- simple verbs in -ալ *-al* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ekʻ*: մի՛ կարդացեք *mi kardacʻekʻ!*
- suffixed verbs in -ն-ել *-n-el* and -չ-ել *-čʻ-el* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ekʻ*: մի՛ մտեք *mi mtekʻ!* մի՛ փախեք *mi pʻaxekʻ!*

197. Barsefyan 1980: 318.

- suffixed verbs in *-ան-ալ -an-al* and *-են-ալ -en-al* from the aorist stem+ending *-եք -ek'*: մի՛ ուրախացե՛ք *mi uraxac'ek'*! մի՛ վախեցե՛ք *mi vaxec'ek'*!
- causativised, suffixed verbs in *-ցն-ել -c'n-el* from the aorist stem + ending *-եք -ek'*: մի՛ հեռացրե՛ք *mi heřac'rek'*!
- suffixed verbs in *-վ-ել -v-el* from the aorist stem + ending *-եք -ek'*: մի՛ գրվեցե՛ք *mi grvec'ek'*!

Normative, however unproductive, antiquated forms from the present stem:

2nd person SG.

- simple verbs in *-ել -el* and *-ալ -al* have the same form as the positives: մի՛ գրիր *mi grir!* մի՛ կարդա *mi kardā!*
- suffixed verbs with *-ն-ել -n-el-*, *-չ-ել -č'-el* as well as the causativised verbs with *-ցն-ել -c'n-el* attach the general ending *-իր -ir* to their present stem: մի՛ մտնիր *mi mtmir!* մի՛ փախչիր *mi paxč'ir!* մի՛ հեռացնիր *mi heřac'nir!*
- suffixed verbs with *-են-ալ -en-al* and *-ան-ալ -an-al* attach the ending *-ա -a* to their present stem: մի՛ ուրախանա *mi uraxana!* մի՛ վախենա *mi vaxena!*

2nd person PL.

- simple verbs in *-ել -el* from the present stem + ending *-եք -ek'*: մի՛ գրեք *mi grek'!*
- simple verbs in *-ալ -al* from the present stem + ending *-աք -ak'*: մի՛ կարդաք *mi kardak'!*
- suffixed verbs with *-ն-ել -n-el-*, *-չ-ել -č'-el* as well as the causativised verbs with *-ցն-ել -c'n-el* attach the general ending *-եք -ek'* to their present stem: մի՛ մտնեք *mi mtnek'!* մի՛ փախչեք *mi paxč'ek'!* մի՛ հեռացնեք *mi heřac'nek'!*
- suffixed verbs with *-են-ալ -en-al* and *-ան-ալ -an-al* attach the ending *-աք -ak'* to their present stem: մի՛ ուրախանաք *mi uraxanak'!* մի՛ վախենաք *mi vaxenak'!*

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 *-իր ir* is usually reduced to *-ի -i*.¹⁹⁸

(593) Անուշ, ինձ նամակ գրի:

<i>Anuš</i>	<i>inj</i>	<i>namak</i>	<i>gr-i!</i>
Anuš.NOM,	I.DAT	letter.NOM	write-IMP.2.SG.
“Anuš, write me a letter!”			

198. comp. Abrahamyan 1974: 415–416. Ğaragyulyan 1981: 96. Zak'aryan 1981: 201.

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 գրեք *grek'* versus written Standard գրեցեք *greč'ek'*.¹⁹⁹

The 1st Person PL. is used in hortative function; the form is the subjunctive future 1st person PL.

(594) Գնանք սուրճ խմելու:

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 թող *t'ol* 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) Նորմալ է, ինչպես հայտարարել են, թող այդպես էլ անեն:
 (Armenpress 27.11.2005)

normal ē inč'pes haytnaber-el en t'ol aydpes ēl
 normal it is how find out-PTCP.PERF. they are part so also
an-en.
 do-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) Գնա՛ տուն. պատրաստի՛ր 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 ավարտեցե՛ք ժամանակին:

Ašxatank'-ē avartec'-ek' žamanak-i-n.
 work.NOM-the complete-IMP.2.PL time-DAT-the
 "Complete the work in time!"

199. Abrahamyan 1974: 416; Gareginyan 1973: 286; Łaragyulyan 1981: 95; Zak'aryan 1981: 202; Asatryan 2004: 311. etc.

The grammatical subject (=agent) of a regular Imperative clause is usually inherent in verbal form, the corresponding personal pronouns *դու* “you”, *դուք* *duk* “you” are only used if the subject is emphasized. The intensive personal pronouns *ինքը* *ink'd* “you yourself” *ինքները* *ink'nerd* “you yourselves” can also be used for emphasis.

(598) Դու հանգիստ գնա՛ տուն, ես դեռ կմնամ այստեղ:

Du hangist gn-a tun es deʃ kmn-am
 you.NOM quietly go-IMP.2.SG house.NOM I.NOM still stay-COND.FUT.1.SG
aystel!
 here

“You quietly go home, I will still stay here!”

(599) (Դուք) ինքներդ կատարե՛ք արաջադրանքը:

(duk') ink'n-er-d katar-ek' aʃajadrank'-ě.
 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. *թող* *toł*) imperative clause is a third person, it must be expressed by the personal name, the personal pronoun or a noun phrase.

(600) Թող Արամը տեղափոխվի Գյումրի:

Toł Aram-ě telap'ox-v-i Gyumri.
 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 *toł* 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 *թող* *t'ol*. (Kozintseva 1995:51).²⁰⁰

(601) Թող Արմենը գանգախարի այն աղջկան:

Toł Armen-ě zangahar-i ayn ałjka-n.
 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. Արմենը թող զանգահարի այն աղջկան:

Armen-ě toł zangahar-i ayn aljka-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*²⁰¹

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 իմանալ *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) Բայց իմացի՞ր կյանքի համար վտանգավոր է: (Grakanut’yun 4:191)

Bayc’ imac’-ir kyank’-i hamar vtangavor ē.
 CONJ know-IMP.2.SG life-DAT POST dangerous it is
 “But (you should) know: it is dangerous for (your) life!”

- (603) Իմացած եղի՞ր, որ մենք սա անպատասխան չենք թունի:

Imac’-ac et’-ir or menk’ sa anpatasxan
 know-PTCP.RES. be-IMP.2.SG CONJ we.NOM this.NOM unanswered
č’-enk’ t’oln-i!
 neg-we are leave-PTCP.NEG.

“You should have learnt that we will not leave this unanswered!”

- b. The imperative of the verb տեսնել *tesnel* “to see, to look” means prevention:

- (604) Տես փորձանքի չգաս:

Tes p’orjank’-i č’-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 փորձել *p’orjel* “to try” convey the impossibility of the embedded action.

201. Kozintseva 1995: 52.

(605) Դե փորձիր չենթարկվել իմ կումից.

de p'orj-ir č'-ent'ark-v-el im kołm-ic'!
 Well, try-IMP.2.SG neg-subject-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 -ում *-um* resp. processual participle in -իս *-is*
- future participle in -ու *-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 *-ող-ot* can be formed using either perfect or present stem.

List of irregular Verbs

- տալ *tal* “to give”

Infinitive	տալ <i>tal</i>
Part. present	տալիս <i>talis</i>
Part. future	տալու <i>talu</i>
Part. perfect	տվել <i>tvel</i>
Part. result.	տված <i>tvac</i>
Part. subj.	տվող <i>tvoł</i>
neg. Part.	տա <i>ta</i>
Aorist	տվեցի, տվեցիր, տվեց <i>tvec'i, tvec'ir, tvec'...</i> ²⁰²
Imperative	տո՛ւր, տվե՛ք <i>tur, tvek'</i>
Subjunctive	տամ, տաս, տա <i>tam, tas, ta...</i>
Conditional	կտամ, կտաս, կտա <i>ktam, ktas, kta...</i>
Debitive	պիտի տամ, պիտի տաս, պիտի տա <i>piti tam, piti tas, piti ta...</i>

202. Note the colloquial Armenian form տվի *tvi*, տվիր *tvir*...etc.

– գալ *gal* “to come”

Infinitive	գալ <i>gal</i>
Part. present	գալիս <i>galis</i>
Part. future	գալու <i>galu</i>
Part. perfect	եկել <i>ekel</i>
Part. result.	եկած <i>ekac</i>
Part. subj.	եկող <i>ekoł</i>
neg. part	գա <i>ga</i>
Aorist	եկա, եկար, եկավ... <i>eka, ekar, ekav...</i>
Imperative	արի՛ (եկ) <i>ari (ek)</i> , եկե՛ք <i>ekek'</i>
Subjunctive	գամ, գաս, գա <i>gam, gas, ga...</i>
Conditional	կգամ, կգաս, կգա <i>kgam, kgas, kga...</i>
Debitive	պիտի գամ, պիտի գաս, պիտի գա ... <i>piti gam, piti gas, piti ga...</i>

– լալ *lal* “to cry, to weep”²⁰³

Infinitive	լալ <i>lal</i>
Part. present	լալիս <i>lalis</i>
Part. future	լալու <i>lalu</i>
Part. perfect	լացել <i>lac'el</i>
Part. result.	լացած <i>lac'ac</i>
Part. subj.	լացող <i>lac'oł</i>
neg. Part.	լա <i>la</i>
Aorist	լացեցի, լացեցիր, լացեց <i>lac'ec'i, lac'ec'ir, lac'ec'...</i>
Imperative	լաց, լացե՛ք <i>lac', lac'ek'</i>
Subjunctive	լամ, լաս, լա <i>lam, las, la...</i>
Conditional	կլամ, կլաս, կլա <i>klam, klas, kla...</i>
Debitive	պիտի լամ, պիտի լաս, պիտի լա <i>piti lam, piti las, piti la...</i>

– լինել *linel* “to be (habitually, repeatedly)”

Infinitive	լինել <i>linel</i>
Part. present	լինում <i>linum</i>
Part. future	լինելու <i>linelu</i>
Part. perfect	եղել <i>etel</i>
Part. result.	եղած <i>etac</i>

203. In spoken Armenian usually the verb լացել *lac'el* or the compound verb լաց լինել *lac' linel* are used instead of the irregular լալ *lal*: e.g. լացում եմ *lac'um em* = լաց եմ լինում *lac' em linum* = լալիս եմ *lalis em* “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. լալի եմ *lali em*.

Part. subj.	(եղող) լինող (<i>elot</i>), <i>linot</i>
neg. Part.	լինի <i>lini</i>
Aorist	եղա, եղար, եղավ <i>ela, elar, elav...</i>
Imperative	եղիր <i>elir</i> , եղե՛ք <i>elek'</i>
Subjunctive	լինեմ, լինես, լինի <i>linem, lines, lini...</i>
Conditional	կլինեմ, կլինես, կլինի <i>klinem, klines, klini...</i>
Debitive	պիտի լինեմ, պիտի լինես, պիտի լինի <i>piti linem, piti lines, piti lini...</i>
– ուտել <i>utel</i> “eat”	
Infinitive	ուտել <i>utel</i>
Part. present	ուտում <i>utum</i>
Part. future	ուտելու <i>utelu</i>
Part. perfect	կերել <i>kerel</i>
Part. result.	կերած <i>kerac</i>
Part. subj.	կերող <i>kerot</i>
neg. Part.	ուտի <i>uti</i>
Part. proc.	ըտելիս <i>utelis</i>
Aorist	կերա, կերար, կերավ ... <i>kerav, kerar, kerav...</i>
Imperative	կեր <i>ker</i> , կերե՛ք <i>kerek'</i>
Subjunctive	ուտեմ, ուտես, ուտի ... <i>utem, utes, uti...</i>
Conditional	կուտեմ, կուտես, կուտի ... <i>kutem, kutes, kuti...</i>
Debitive	պիտի ուտեմ, պիտի ուտես, պիտի ուտի ... <i>piti utem, piti utes, piti uti...</i>
– դնել <i>dnel</i> “to put”	
Infinitive	դնել <i>dnel</i>
Part. present	դնում <i>dnum</i>
Part. future	դնելու <i>dnelu</i>
Part. perfect	դրել <i>drel</i>
Part. result.	դրած <i>drac</i>
Part. subj.	դնող <i>dnot</i>
neg. Part.	դնի <i>dni</i>
Part. proc.	դնելիս <i>dnelis</i>
Aorist	դրեցի, դրեցիր, դրեց... <i>drec'i, drec'ir, drec'...</i> ²⁰⁴
Imperative	դիր <i>dir</i> , դրե՛ք <i>drek'</i>
Subjunctive	դնեմ, դնես, դնի... <i>dnem, dnes, dni...</i>
Conditional	կդնեմ, կդնես, կդնի <i>kdnem, kdnes, kdni...</i>
Debitive	պիտի դնեմ, պիտի դնես, պիտի դնի <i>piti dnem, piti dnes, piti dni...</i>

204. Note the colloquial Armenian Aorist forms in դրի *dri*, դրիր *drir* etc.

– անել *anel* “to do, to make”

Infinitive	անել <i>anel</i>
Part. present	անում <i>anum</i>
Part. future	անելու <i>anelu</i>
Part. perfect	արել <i>arel</i>
Part. result.	արած <i>arac</i>
Part. subj.	անող <i>anol</i>
neg. Part.	անի <i>ani</i>
Part.proc.	անելիս <i>anelis</i>
Aorist	արեցի, արեցիր, արեց <i>arec'i, arec'ir, arec'...</i>
Imperative	արա՛ <i>ara</i> , արե՛ք <i>arek'</i>
Subjunctive	անեմ, անես, անի... <i>anem, anes, ani...</i>
Conditional	կանեմ, կանես, կանի... <i>kanem, kanes, kani...</i>
Debitive	պիտի անեմ, պիտի անես, պիտի անի... <i>piti anem, piti anes, piti ani...</i>

– տանել *tanel* “to carry, to bear”

Infinitive	տանել <i>tanel</i>
Part. present	տանում <i>tanum</i>
Part. future	տանելու <i>tanelu</i>
Part. perfect	տարել <i>tarel</i>
Part. result.	տարած <i>tarac</i>
Part. subj.	տանող <i>tanol</i>
neg. part	տանի <i>tani</i>
Part. proc.	տանելիս <i>tanelis</i>
Aorist	տարա, տարար, տարավ ... <i>tara, tarar, tarav...</i>
Imperative	տար՛ <i>tar</i> , տարե՛ք <i>tarek'</i>
Subjunctive	տանեմ, տանես, տանի ... <i>tanem, tanes, tani...</i>
Conditional	կտանեմ, կտանես, կտանի... <i>ktanem, ktanes, ktani...</i>
Debitive	պիտի տանեմ, պիտի տանես, պիտի տանի <i>piti tanem, piti tanes, piti tani...</i>

– դառնալ *daʁnal* “to become”

Infinitive	դառնալ <i>daʁnal</i>
Part. present	դառնում <i>daʁnum</i>
Part. future	դառնալու <i>daʁnalu</i>
Part. perfect	դառձել <i>darjel</i>
Part. result.	դառձած <i>darjac</i>
Part. subj.	դառնող <i>daʁnoł</i>
neg. Part.	դառնա <i>daʁna</i>
Part. proc.	դառնալիս <i>daʁnalis</i>

Aorist	դարծա, դարծար, դարծավ <i>darja, darjar, darjav...</i>
Imperative	դարծիր <i>darjir</i> , դարծե՛ք <i>darjek'</i>
Subjunctive	դառնամ, դառնաս, դառնա... <i>dařnam, dařnas, dařna...</i>
Conditional	կդառնամ, կդառնաս, կդառնա... <i>kdařnam, kdařnas, kdařna...</i>
Debitive	պիտի դառնամ, պիտի դառնաս, պիտի դառնա ... <i>piti dařnam, piti dařnas, piti dařna...</i>

– առնել *ařnel* “to take, to buy”

Infinitive	առնել <i>ařnel</i>
Part. present	առնում <i>ařnum</i>
Part. future	առնելու <i>ařnelu</i>
Part. perfect	առել <i>ařel</i>
Part. result.	առած <i>ařac</i>
Part. subj.	առնող <i>ařnoł</i>
neg. Part.	առնի <i>ařni</i>
Part. proc.	առնելիս <i>ařnelis</i>
Aorist	առա, առար, առավ... <i>ařa, ařar, ařav...</i>
Imperative	ա՛ռ <i>ař</i> , առե՛ք <i>ařek'</i>
Subjunctive	առնեմ, առնես, առնի... <i>ařnem, ařnes, ařni...</i>
Conditional	կառնեմ, կառնես, կառնի... <i>kařnem, kařnes, kařni...</i>
Debitive	պիտի առնեմ, պպիտի առնես, պիտի առնի ... <i>piti ařnem, piti ařnes, piti ařni...</i>

– բանալ *banal* “to open”²⁰⁵

Infinitive	բանալ <i>banal</i>
Part. present	բանում <i>banum</i>
Part. future	բանալու <i>banalu</i>
Part. perfect	բացել <i>bac'el</i>
Part. result.	բացած <i>bac'ac</i>
Part. subj.	բացող <i>bac'oł</i>
neg. Part.	բանա <i>bana</i>
Part. proc.	բանալիս <i>banalis</i>
Part. fut.II	բանալիք <i>banalik'</i>
Aorist	բացեցի, բացեցիր, բացեց <i>bac'ec'i, bac'ec'ir, bac'ec'</i> ... ²⁰⁶

205. In spoken Armenian, also increasingly in written, the verb բանալ *banal* is usually substituted by the regular verb բացել *bac'el* and the compound verb բաց անել *bac'anel*. e.g. բանում եմ *banum em*, բացում եմ *bacum em*, բաց եմ անում *bac'em anum* “I open, I am opening”.

206. Please note that there are older Aorist forms that are still productively used in Colloquial Armenian: բացի *bac'i*, բացիր *bac'ir*...

Imperative	բաց՝ <i>bac'</i> , բացե՛ք <i>bac'ek'</i>
Subjunctive	բանամ, բանաս, բանա ... <i>banam, banas, bana...</i>
Conditional	կբանամ, կբանաս, կբանա ... <i>banam, banas, bana...</i>
Debitive	պիտի բանամ, պիտի բանաս, պիտի բանա ... <i>piti banam, piti banas, piti bana...</i>

– կենալ *kenal* “to stay, to remain”

Infinitive	կենալ <i>kenal</i>
Part. present	կենում <i>kenum</i>
Part. future	կենալու <i>kenalulu</i>
Part. perfect	կացել <i>kac'el</i>
Part. result.	կացած <i>kac'ac</i>
Part. subj.	կացող <i>kac'og</i>
neg. Part.	կենա <i>kena</i>
Part. proc.	կենալիս <i>kenalis</i>
Part. fut.II	կենալիք <i>kenalik'</i>
Aorist	կացա, կացար, կացավ <i>kac'a, kac'ar, kac'av...</i>
Imperative	կաց՝ <i>kac'</i> , կացե՛ք <i>kac'ek'</i>
Subjunctive	կենամ, կենաս, կենա... <i>kenam, kenas, kena...</i>
Debitive	պիտի կենամ, պիտի կենաս, պիտի կենա ... <i>piti kenam, piti kenas, piti kena</i>

This verb is usually used with adpositions, such as վեր կենալ *ver kenal* “to stand up”.

– ասել *asel* “to say”

Though being a simple verb in -ել *-el*, it shows irregular formation of the Aorist, the aorist stem is սսաց- *asac'*-, and of the Imperative.

Aorist	սսացի, սսացիր, սսաց <i>asac'i, asac'ir, asac'...</i> ²⁰⁷
Imperative	սսա՛ <i>asa</i> , սսացե՛ք <i>asac'ek'</i>

Defective Verbs

1. կամ *kam* “to exist”

This verb exists only in two tenses:

- Present tense: կամ, կաս, կա, կանք, կաք, կան *kam, kas, ka, kank', kak', kan*
- Imperfect tense: կայի, կայիր, կար, կայինք, կայիք, կային *kayi, kayir, kar, kayink', kayik', kayin*

207. Please note that in Colloquial Armenian the Aorist is formed like a regular simple -ել *-el* stem, i.e. սսացի *asac'i*, սսացիր *asac'ir*, սսաց *asac'* 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 *եմ 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) Դեպքեր էին լինում, որ ուտելու ոչինչ չէի ունենում, հանում էի ատամներիս ոսկե շապիկներն ու վաճառում, որ հաց գնեմ:
(Hetk' 08.01.2007)

<i>depk'-er</i>	<i>ēin</i>	<i>lin-um</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>ut-el-u</i>	<i>oč'inč'</i>
case-PL.NOM	they were	be-PTCP.PRES.	CONJ	eat-INF-DAT	nothing.NOM
<i>č'-ēi</i>	<i>unen-um</i>	<i>han-um</i>		<i>ēi</i>	<i>atam-ner-i-s</i>
neg-I was	have-PTCP.PRES.	take out-PTCP.PRES.		I was	tooth-PL-DAT-my
<i>oske šapik-ner-n</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>vačar'-um</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>hac'</i>
golden crown-PL.NOM-the		CONJ	sell-PTCP.PRES.	CONJ	bread.NOM
<i>gn-em.</i>					
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. *եմ 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 լինել *linel* “to be (repeatedly/habitually)”.

- Present tense: *եմ, ես, է, ենք, եք, եմ em, es, ē, enk', ek', en*
- Imperfect tense: *էի, էիր, էր, էինք, էիք, էին ēi, ēir, ēr, ēink', ēik', ēin*

Secondary verb stem լինել *linel* is a regular *-ել -el* stem.

3. ունեմ *unem* “have”

This verb exists only in the present and imperfect tenses. All other tenses and moods have to be formed from the expanded verb ունենալ *unenal*.

- Present tense: *ունեմ, ունես, ունի, ունենք, ունեք, ունես unem, unes, uni, unenk', unek', unen*
- Imperfect tense: *ունեի, ունեիր, ուներ, ունեինք, ունեիք, ունեին unei, uneir, uner, uneink', uneik', unein*

The expanded verb stem ուն-ենալ *un-enal* is a regular *-ենալ -enal* stem:

- Infinitive, future participle, future participle II, processual participle, negative participle; subjunctive, conditional and the debitive are formed from the present stem ունեմ- *unen-*.

- Perfect participle, resulative participle, aorist, subjective participle and the imperative are formed from the aorist stem ունեց- *unec'*;

4. գիտեմ *gitem* “know”

This verb exists only in the present and imperfect tenses. All other tenses and moods have to be formed from the extended verb գիտենալ *git-enal*.

- Present tense: գիտեմ, գիտես, գիտի, գիտենք, գիտեն, գիտեն *gitem, gites, giti, gitenk', gitek', giten*
- Imperfect tense: գիտեի, գիտեիր, գիտեր, գիտեինք, գիտեիք, գիտեին *gitei, giteir, giter, giteink', giteik', gitein*

The expanded verb stem գիտ-ենալ *git-enal* is a regular -ենալ *-enal* stem:

- Infinitive, future participle, future participle II, processual participle, negative participle; subjunctive, conditional and the debitive are formed using the present stem գիտեն- *giten-*.
- Perfect participle, resultative participle, aorist, subjective participle and the imperative are formed with the aorist stem գիտեց – *gitec'*;

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:

- Simple or root adverbs
 - Suffixed adverbs
 - Complex
 - 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 Լավ *lav* “good”, վատ *vat* “bad”, գեղեցիկ *gelec'ik* “beautiful”, հպարտ *hpart* “proud”, ազատ *azat* “free”, բարձր *barjr* “high”, ծածր *cacr* “low” etc.

(607) Նյութը շատ վատ վիճակում է: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

nyut'-ě šat vat vičak-um ě.

material.NOM-the INT bad condition-LOC it is

“The material is in very bad condition.” (վատ *vat* “bad” used as attributive adjective)

(607) a. Գյուղական շրջանում վատ են ապրում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Gyulakan šrjan-um vat en apr-um.

Rural region-LOC bad they are live-PTCP.PRES.

“Bad they live in the rural region.” (վատ *vat* “bad” used as adverb)

- For formation of adverbs by means of affixes, see Ch. 4.1.2.4. “Deriving 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” > մի-ա-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 *šut-šut* “(very) quickly”, մեկ-մեկ *mek-mek* “sometimes”, արագ-արագ *arag-arag* “quickly” and բառ առ բառ *baʁ aʁ baʁ* “word by word”, վանկ առ վանկ *vank aʁ vank* “syllable by syllable” etc.
 - c. Other compound adverbs (mostly with antonyms) e.g. գիշեր-ցերեք *gišer-cèrek* “day and night”
 - d. Adverbial phrases, such as e.g. մեծ մասամբ *mec masamb* lit. big part-INST = “mostly”; չափից դուրս 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. վաղուց *valuc’* (etymologically the Ablative of վաղ *val* “early”) “long ago; lit: since early”, or հնուն *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 առաջ “before”, այժմ *ayžm* “now”, հիմա *hima* “now”, ներկայումս *nerkayums* “at present”, վերջերս *verjers* “lately”, հետագայում “in the future”, շուտով *šutov* “soon”, հետո *heto* “after”, etc.
- Adverbs denoting the initial or the final point of an action: վաղուց *valuc* “long ago; since long time”, մանկուց *mankuc’* “since childhood” etc.
- Adverbs denoting times of the day: առավոտյան *aʁavotyan* “in the morning”, երեկոյան *erekoyan* “in the evening”, ցերեկով *cèrekov* “in/during daytime” etc.

- Adverbs of durativity and iterativity. They may express cyclic time such as *օրեկան orekan* “daily”, *ամեն գիշեր amen gišer* “every night”, *տարեկան tarekan* “yearly” etc. or a certain frequency or interval such as *հաճախ hačax* “often”, *հազվադեպ hazvadep* “seldom”, *երբեմն erbemn* “sometimes”, etc. or a habituality such as *սովորաբար sovorabar* “usually”, *միշտ mišt* “always” etc.

- (608) Սևանա լիճը ծովի մակերևույթից ներկայումս գտնվում է 1897,86 մ բարձրության վրա: (Armenpress 16.05.2006)

Sewana lič-ě cov-i makerewuyt'-ic' nerkayums
Sewan-DAT lake.NOM-the sea-DAT level-ABL at present

gtn-v-um ē 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) Այսօր առավոտյան ժամը 8-ին Արագածոտնի մարզում բացվել են բոլոր՝ 150 ընտրատեղամասերը: (Armenpress 27.11.2005)

aysōr ařavotyan žam-ě 8-in Aragacotn-i marz-um
today morning hour.NOM-the 8-DAT-the Aragacotn-DAT province-LOC

bac'-v-el en bolor 150 ěntratelamas-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) Ռուսական շուկան վրացական գինիներ վաղուց արդեն չի ընդունում: (Ařavot, 07.04.2006)

Řusakan šuka-n vracakan gini-ner valuc' arden
Russian market.NOM-the Georgian wine-PL.NOM since long already

č'i ěndun-um.
neg-it is accept-PTCP.PRES.

“The Russian market has not accepted Georgian wines already for a long time.”

- (611) Արևելքում մենք միշտ խաղաղ ապրել ենք կողք-կողքի: (Azg 03.03.2006)

arewlk'-um menk' mišt xatał apr-el
East-LOC we.NOM always peacefully live-PTCP.PERF.

enk kołk'-kołk'i.
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 *aysteł* “here”, առաջ *ařaj* “before”, դուրս *durs* “outside”, ներս *ners* “inside”, ետ *et* “back”, վերև *verew* “upside”, մոտ *mot* “near, close” etc.

- (612) ԵՏՀ պրոռեկտոր Միհրդատ Հարությունյանը փաստեց, որ այստեղ ընդամենը մեկ սիրիացի է սովորում: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- ETH*²⁰⁸ *prořektor* *Mihrdat* *Haruťyunyan-ě* *păstec'*
 ETH prorector.NOM Mihrdat.NOM Haruťyunyan.NOM-the approve-AOR.3.SG
 or *aysteł* *ěndameně mek siriaci'i* *ě* *sovorum*.
 CONJ here only one Syrian.NOM he is study-PTCP.PRES.
 “Mihrdat Harutyunan, prorector of the Yerevan Technical University, approved that only one Syrian is studying here.”

- (613) Երբ ներս մտա նրա աշխատասենյակ, նա անմիջապես տեղից վեր կացավ, մոտեցավ ինձ, առաջարկեց նստել: (Hetk 26.02.2007)
- erb ners mt-a nra ařxatasenyak na anmiřapes*
 CONJ in(side) enter-AOR.3.SG his office.NOM he.NOM immediately
teł-ic' ver kac'-av motec'-av inj
 place-ABL part stand up-AOR.3.SG approach-AOR.3.SG I.DAT
ařajarkec' 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) Աշխատանքներն առավել արագ են ընթանում Մելրիի տարածաշրջանում: (Armenpress 28.01.2006)
- Ařxatank'-ner-n ařavel arag en ěnt'an-um*
 Work-PL.NOM-the more quickly they are go-PTCP.PRES.
Melri-i taracařrjan-um.
 Melri-DAT region-LOC
 “The works go more quickly in the region of Melri.”

208. This is the abbreviation of Երևանի Տեխնիկական Համալսարան *Erevani Texnikakan Hamalsaran* “Yerevan Technical University”.

- (615) Բայց կառավարության վերջին որոշումը նրան ստիպում է լրջորեն մտահոգվել երեխաների կրթության համար: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

bayc' kařavarut'y-an verĵin orořum-ě nran stip-um ē
 CONJ government-DAT last decision.NOM-the he.DAT force-PTCP.PRES. it is
lrĵoren mtahog-v-el erexa-ner-i krt'ut'y-an hamar.
 seriously worry-refl-INF child-PL-DAT education-DAT POST

“But the government’s last decision forces him to worry seriously about the education of the children.”

d. Measure (and Quantity) Adverbs

This group of adverbs denotes the measure or the quantificational features of an action; e.g. ամբողջովին *ambolĵovin* “wholly, completely, entirely”, բազմակի *bazmaki* “repeatedly (not in temporal sense)”, հազիվ *haziv* “scarcely, hardly”, համարյա *hamarya* “almost, nearly”, շատ *řat* “much, many”, քիչ *k'ič* “little, a few” etc.

- (616) Թաղամասի բնակչությունն ամբողջովին ջրազրկվել է:
 (Armenpress 15.01.2006)

Tařamas-i bnakč'ut'yun-n ambolĵovin ĵrazrk-v-el ē.
 quarter-DAT population.NOM-the completely dewater-pass-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: շատ *řat* “very”, ավելի *aveli* “more”, խիստ *xist* “strictly; seriously”, բավական(ին) *bavakan(in)* “sufficiently, reasonably”, “bit” ահավոր *ahavor* “awfully;extremely” etc.

- (617) Հավելեց, թե այս նախագիծը շատ լուրջ փաստաթուղթ է:
 (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Havelec' tē ays naxagic'-ě řat lurĵ p'astat'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) ազիկ Մարտիրոսյանի կարծիքով, նման այցելությունները խիստ անհրաժեշտ են [...]: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

Gagik Martirosyan-i karcik'-ov nman ayc'elut'yun-ner-ě
 Gagik.NOM Martirosyan-DAT opinion-INST similar visit-PL.NOM -the
xist anhražeřt 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 սուպեր *super*, մեգա *mega*).

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 *և ew* “and”, *ու u* “and”, *ոչ ...ոչ ուր* “neither...nor”, *և ...և ew...ew* “as well...as”, *նաև naew* “also, too, as well”, *ևս ews* “”, *էլ ɛl* “also”, *այլև aylew* “also, too”, *ինչպես ...նաև inč’pes... naew* “as also, as well”, *նույնպես նաև nuynpes naew* “also, too, as well”, *նմանապես nmanapes* “likewise”, *ոչ միայն...այլև ուր miayn...aylew* “not only...but also”, etc.
- 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 kam* “or”, *կամ թե, կամ...կամ թե, կամ...կամ kam...kam* “either...or”²
- c. Adversative conjunctions relate units that express the opposition of their meanings: *բայց bayc* “but”, *իսկ isk* “but, and”, *սակայն sakayn* “but, however”, *այլ ayl* “but”, *մինչդեռ minč’deř* “while, whereas”, *սպա apa* “then, afterwards”, *թե ոչ tɛ ուր* “either, whether, otherwise”, *այնումենայնիվ aynumenayniv* “however, nevertheless”, *ոչ թե ...այլ ուր tɛ...ayl* “not..., but” etc.

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 kam...kam* “either...or”, *ոչ ...ոչ ուր...ուր* “neither...nor”, *և ...և ew...ew* “as well...as”. In colloquial Armenian the conjoining correlative conjunction *և ...և ew...ew* “as well...as” is often replaced by the synonymous *համ... համ ham...ham*.

- (619) «Մի սենյակ ա՛ համ ճաշարան ա, համ ննջարան ա, համ գուգարան ա»,- բողոքում է տարեց կինը: (Hetk’ 15.01.2007)

mi senyak a ham čaşaran a ham nnj’aran
 INDEF room.NOM it is CONJ dining room.NOM it is CONJ sleeping room.NOM
a ham zugaran a bolok’-um ɛ tarec’ kin-ě.
 it is CONJ toilet it is complain-PTCP.PRES. she is aged woman.NOM-the
 “It is one room. It is dining room, and it is sleeping room and it is toilet as well.”
 Complains the aged woman.

209. Haspelmath 2005: 262–265; Haspelmath 1998: 3–39.

The wide-spread conjoining conjunction *և ew* “and” refers to a connection of coordinate objects or qualities etc. The conjoining conjunction *ու u* “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) Ստացա քո նամակը և հեռագիրը:

Stac'a k'o namak-ě ew heřagir-ě.
 receive-AOR.1.SG. your letter.NOM-the CONJ cable.NOM-the
 “I received your letter and cable.”

(621) Հայր ու որդի աշխատում են շենքի վրա:

Hayr u ordi ařxat-um en řenk'-i vra.
 father.NOM CONJ son.NOM work-PTCP.PRES they are building-DAT POST
 “Father and son (both) work on the building.”

(622) Վազգենը վերցնում է թուղթ ու գրիչ:

Vazgen-ě ver'num ē t'ut' u grič'.
 Vazgen.NOM-the take-PTCP.PRES. he is paper.NOM CONJ pen.NOM
 “Vazgen takes paper and a pen.”

Disjunctives

(623) Այդ խմբում ընդգրկված է 25 հոգի, իսկ ֆանատները կամ
 ցանկացուները կարող են գալ իրենց ծախսերով: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

Ayd xmb-um ěndrk-v-ac ē 25 hogi isk fanat-ner-ě
 That group-LOC include-pass-PTCP.RES. it is 25 soul.NOM CONJ fan.NOM-PL-the
kam c'ankac'oł-ner-ě kar-oł en g-al
 CONJ wishing-PL.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. they are come-INF
irenc' caxs-er-ov.
 their expense-PL-INST

“Twenty-five people are included in that group, but fans or people wishing to, can come on their own expenses.”

Adversatives:

(624) Գնում եմ թատրոն, իսկ դու՝ կինո:

Gn-um em t'atron isk du kino.
 go-PTCP.PRES I-m theatre.NOM, CONJ you.NOM cinema.NOM
 “I go to the theatre, and (but) you to the cinema.”

(625) Արամը ոչ թէ արտասանում, այլ երգում է Շիրազի բանաստեղծությունը:

Aram-ě oč t'ē artisan-um ayl erg-um ē
 Aram.NOM-the CONJ read out-PTCP.PRES CONJ sing-PTCP.PRES. he is
Siraz-i banastelcut'yun-ě.
 řiraz-DAT poem.NOM-the
 “Aram does not read out the poem of řiraz, but sings it.”

Conjoining – correlatives

- (626) Արմենը ոչ միայն լավ է սովորում, այլև օգնում է դասընկերներին:

Armen-ĕ oĉ' miayn lav ē sovor-um
 Armen.NOM-the NEG only good he is learn-PTCP.PRES.

aylew ḡgn-um ē dasēnker-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) Ո՛չ Արամը եկավ, ո՛չ Վարդանը:

Oĉ' Aram-ĕ ek-av oĉ' Vardan-ĕ.
 CONJ Aram.NOM-the come-AOR.3.SG CONJ Vardan.NOM-the
 “Neither Aram came, nor Vardan.”

- (628) Անուշը և՛ գեղեցիկ է, և՛ խելացի:

Anuš-ĕ ew gelecik ē ew xelac'i.
 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 *or* “that”, թե *tē* “that, if”, ինչ *inĉ* “that, what”, իբր *ibr* *tē* “as if”; թե իբր *tē ibr* “as if” etc.
- b. Conditional conjunctions such as: եթե *etē* “if, when”, թե որ, որ *tē or, or* “if, that”, միայն *miayn tē* “only if”, նայած *nayac* “if, in case”, քանի դեռ *kani deř* “meanwhile”, եթե ...ապա, եթե ...ուրեմն “if...then” etc.
- c. Concessive conjunctions, such as: թեև *tēew* “although, even if, while”, թեկուզ *tēkuz* “even, though”, թեպետ *tēpet* “though”, չնայած *ĉ'nayac* “in spite of, despite”, փոխանակ *p'oxanak* “instead of” etc.
- d. Temporal subordinate conjunctions, denoting time (point in time, duration, iterativity, referring to previous or to impending events): որ *or* “that, when”, երբ որ *erb or* “when”; մինչ *minĉ* “until”, հենց *henc* “just”, նախքան *naxkan* “before, until”, մինչև որ *minĉew or* “until that”, հենց որ *henc' or* “as soon as”, քանի դեռ *kani deř* “meanwhile, in the meantime” etc.
- e. Causal subordinate conjunctions, denoting a cause or giving a base: որովհետև *oro-vhetew* “because”, քանի որ *kani or* “as, because, since”, որ *or* “that”, մասնավանդ որ *manavand or* “particularly because” = նամանավանդ որ *namanavand or* etc.
- f. Final subordinate conjunctions, denoting purpose or goal: որպեսզի *orpeszi* “that, in order to”, որ *or* “that, in order to”, միայն *miayn tē* “if only” etc.
- g. Manner subordinate conjunctions, denoting manner, subdivided into comparative conjunctions: աես *ases tē* “as if”, կարծես *karces tē* “it seems, as if”, ոեղ որ *denc' or* “so that”, ինչպես *inĉ'pes* “as, such as” etc.

- h. Consecutive subordinate conjunctions, denoting consequences or effects: ուստի *usti* “so, therefore, whence”, ուրեմն *uremn* “consequently, therefore”; հետևաբար *hetewabar* “consequently” etc.
- i. Explicative subordinate conjunctions: այսինքն *aysink’n*, այն է *ayn ē* “that is, in other words”.

Explicative

- (629) Պարզվեց, որ նա մեղավոր է:

Parz-v-ec’ or na melavor ē.
 turn out-antic-AOR3.SG CONJ he.NOM guilty he is
 “It turned out that he is guilty.”

- (630) Հայտնի չէ, թե նա երբ կվերադառնա Երևանից:

Haytni č’-ē tē na erb kveradaʔn-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) Եթե վաղը անձրև չգա, անտառ կգնանք:

Eʔe valē anjrew č-ga antaʔn kgn-ank’.
 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) Շտապեցի տուն, որպեսզի տեսնեմ նրան:

štapec’i tun orpeszi tesn-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) Եվ քանի որ այս հարցը չի լուծված, չեմ համարում, որ հիմնախնդիրը կարելի է համարել լուծված: (Aʔavot 07.04.2006)

Ev kani or ays harc’-ē č-i luc-v-ac č-em
 CONJ CONJ this question.NOM-the NEG-it is solve-pass-PTCP.RES NEG-I am
hamarum or himnaxndir-ē kareli ē
 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.”

- (634) Սակայն չեմ կարծում, թե Ադրբեջանն այսօր պատրաստ է ռազմականգործողություններ սկսելու, մանավանդ որ ուժերի հարաբերակցությունը մեզ հաջողվում է պահպանել:» (Armenpress 07.04.2006)

Sakayn č-em karc-um tē Aذربեյան-n aysōr patrast
 CONJ neg-I am think-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Azerbaijan.NOM-the today ready
ē řazmakan gorcořut'yun-ner sksel-u manavand or uř-er-i
 it is military activity-PL-NOM begin-INF-DAT CONJ force-PL-DAT
haraberak'ut'yun-ē mez hařoř-v-um ē pahpan-el.
 proportion.NOM-the we.DAT succeed-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is protect-INF
 “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) Թեև քեզ հրավիրեցինք, բայց դու չեկար:

T'eew kēz hravirec'ink' bayc' du č'-ek-ar.
 CONJ you.DAT invite-AOR.1.PL CONJ you.NOM neg-come-AOR.2.SG
 “Although we invited you, you did not come.”

Explaining:

- (636) Ապրիլին հնարավոր կլինի հասնել նախագծային հզորություններին, այսինքն 800–900 տոննա կաուչուկի արտադրությանը: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

April-i-n hnaravor klini hasn-el naxagcayin
 April-DAT-the possible be-COND.FUT.3.SG reach-INF planning
hzorut'yun-ner-i-n aysink'n 800–900 tonna kaučuk-i artadrut'yan-ē.
 capacity-PL-DAT-the CONJ 800–900 ton.NOM rubber-DAT production-DAT-the
 “In April it will be possible to reach the planned capacities; that is the production of 800–900 tons of rubber.”

Consecutive:

- (637) Մեր մարզի այգիները ծերացել են, նոսրացման տոկոսը շատ բարձր է, ուստի պետք է վերականգնել և միաժամանակ ունենալ ժամանակակից նոր տեսակներ: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

Mer marz-i aygi-ner-ē cerac'-el en
 our region-DAT garden-PL.NOM-the get old-PTCP.PERF. they are
nosrac'm-an tokos-ē řat barjr ē uřti
 thinning-DAT percent.NOM-the INT high it is CONJ
petk' ē verakangn-el ew miařamanak unen-al řamanakaki' nor tesak-ner.
 part restore-INF CONJ same time have-INF modern new species-PL.NOM
 “The gardens of our region have got old, the percentage of thinning is very high, therefore 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: ի *i* “for the sake of”, ըստ *est* “according to”, առ *aʃ* “up to”, մասին *masin* “about”, առանց *aʃanc* “without”, բացի *bacʻi* “except”, դեպի *depi* “towards”, համար *hamar* “for”, հանուն *hanun* “for the sake of”, հանդերձ *handerj* “with”, շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thanks to”, հաշիվ *hašiv* “considering, given”, նկատմամբ *nkatmamb* “with respect to”, վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* “regarding”, փոխանակ *pòxanak* “instead of”, տեղակ *telak* “instead of”, մինչև *minčew* “until”, նախքան *naxkàn* “before;not until”, ներքո *nerkò* “under”, միջև *mijew* “between”, հետ *het* “with”, ընդդեմ *ěnddem* “in defiance of”, հանդիպման *handipman* “concerning”, հանդեպ *handep* “in front of; with regard to”, պես *pes* “as”, հանձինս *hanjins* “in the person of”, իբրև *ibrew* “as”, որպես *orpes* “as”, ի դեմս *i dems* “facing, given”, ի փառս *i pʻaʃs* “to the fame”, ի հեճուկս *i hečuks* “in defiance of”, ի դեպ *i dep* “besides, again”, ի հաշիվ *i hašiv* “considering, given”, հիման վրա *himan vra* “on the grounds of”.
- Impure adpositions, i.e. those words that are primarily used as adpositions but can be secondarily used in the functions of other parts of speech: մոտ *mot* “at”, վրա *vra* “on”, մեջ *mej* “in”, տակ *tak* “under”, շուրջ *šurj* “around”, դեմ *dem* “against”, փոխարեն *pòxaren* “instead of”, դիմաց *dimac* “opposite”, առջև *aʃjew* “in front of”, համեմատ *hamemat* “compared with”, համաձայն *hamajayn* “in accordance with”, հակառակ *hakaʻak* “in contradiction with”, չափ *čap* “about”, նայած *nayac* “if”, չնայած *čʻnayac* “despite”, տեղ *tel* “instead of”, նման *nman* “like”, զատ *zat* “except”, անց *anc* “after”, առաջ *aʻaj* “in front of”, հետո *heto* “after”. Adpositional words, i.e. words that can secondarily be used in adpositional function are considered a subgroup of impure adpositions. These adpositional words are often petrified forms of inflected nouns (mainly instrumental, ablative), as in ժամանակ *žamanak* “while”, վերև *verew* “above, up”, ներքև *nerkew* “below, beneath”, ներս *ners* “inside, within”, դուրս *durs* “outside”, հեռու *heřu* “far from”, կից *kic* “attached to”, պատճառով *patčaròv* “because of”, միջոցով *mijòcov* “by means of”, ձեռքով *jeřkòv* “by”, անունով *anunov* “in the name of”, հետևանքով *hetewankòv* “due to” etc.

Semantically they can be classified into groups referring to the following meaning:

- Locative including direction: մեջ *mej* “in”, վրա *vra* “on”, տակ *tak* “under”, մոտ *mot* “at”, ներքո *nerkò* “under”, միջև *mijew* “between”, հանդեպ *handep* “in front of”, դիմաց *dimac* “opposite”, շուրջ *šurj* “around”, դեպի *depi* “towards”, հեռու *heřu* “far

- from”, վերև *verew* “above, up”, վեր *ver* “up, over”, վար *var* “down”, դուրս *durs* “out of, outside”, առաջ *ařaj* “in front of”, առջև *ařjew* “in front of” etc.
- Temporal: օրոք *ōrok* “, հետո *heto* “after”, անց *anc* “after, past”, նախքան *naxk’an* “before”, մինչև *minčew* “until”, առաջ *ařaj* “before”, առ, սկսած *sksac* “starting from, with”, ժամանակ *žamanak* “while” etc.
 - Manner: պես *pes*, նման *nman*, ինչպես *inč’pes* “as, like” etc.
 - Causal: շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thank to”, ձեռքից *jerk’ic* “because of somebody”, երեսից *eresic* “because of somebody”, պատճառով *patčarov* “because of”, հետևանքով *hetewankov* “due to” etc.
 - Purpose: համար *hamar* “for”, հոգուս *hōgut* “for the sake of”, անուն *anun* “in the name of”, ի *i* “for, to”, օգտին *ōgtin* “for the favor of” etc.
 - Basis: ըստ *ěst* “according to”, առթիվ *ařt’iv* “concerning”, համաձայն *hamajayn* “according to, in accordance with”, հիման վրա *himan vra* “on grounds of”, etc.
 - Instrument means: ձեռքով *jeřkov* “by”, միջոցով *mijocov* “by means of” etc.
 - Measure: չափ *čap* “about”, ավել *avel* “except”, պակաս *pakas* “less than”, ավելի քան *aveli kan* “more than”, մինչև *minčew* “until” etc.
 - Opposition: դեմ, ընդդեմ *dem, ěnddem* “against”.
 - Accompaniment: հետ *het*, հանդերձ *handerj* “with”.
 - Limitation: հետ *het*, հանդերձ *handerj* “with” etc.
 - Reference (relation): նախին *masin* “about”, վերեաբերյալ *veraberyal* “concerning”, վերաբերմամբ *verabermamb* “concerning”, նկատմամբ “referring to”, առթիվ *ařt’iv* “concerning”, կապակցությամբ *kapakčut’yamb* “with concern” etc.
 - Explication, exception: բացի *bac’i* “except”, առանց *ařanc* “without”, զատ *zat* “except”, փոխարեն *poxaren* “instead of” փոխանակ *poxanak* “instead”, տեղ *teł*, տեղակ *tełak* “instead”, չնայած *čnayac* “despite” « հակառակ *hakařak* “despite of”, բացառությամբ *bac’arut’yamb* “with the exception”, 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: բացի *bac’i*, փոխանակ *poxanak*, շնորհիվ *šnorhiv*, ընդդեմ *ěnddem*, համաձայն *hamajayn*, անկախ *ankax*, սկսած *sksac*, հանդերձ *handerj*, հակառակ *hakařak*.

Some of the adpositions used as pre- or postposition appear but in different forms, such as e.g. ի հաշիվ *i hařiv* + N/N + հաշվին *hařvin* “on account of”, ի պատիվ *i pativ* + N/N պատվին *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”,
- առ *ař* “up to; until”,

- դեպի *depi* “towards”
- զերդ *zerd* “as, like”
- մինչև *minč’ew* “until”
- ց *c’* “until” (temporal reading only)
- նախքան *naxkan* “before, until”
- իբրև, որպես, ինչպես *ibrew, orpes, inc’pes* “as”

Postpositions

- առաջ *ařaj* “before”
- ի վեր *i ver* “since”
- ի վար *i var* “down”
- անց *anc’* “after”
- հետո *heto* “after”
- քան *k’an* “than” (in comparative constructions)

and in colloquial Armenian also the postpositions

- ոնց *onc’*; ոնց որ *onc’ or* as colloquial synonyms to իբրև *ibrew*, ինչպես *inc’pes*, որպես *orpes* “as; like”
- քանց *k’anc’*, հանց *hanc’* as colloquial synonyms to քան *k’an* “than”.

(638) Մեքենան գնում է դեպի հրապարակ:

Mekēna-n gn-um ē depi hraparak.
 car.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. it is PREP square.NOM
 “The car goes towards (the) square.”

(639) Տանը կլինեմ մինչև ժամը երեքը:

Tan-ě klin-em minč’ev žam-ě erek’-ě.
 house-LOC-the be-COND.FUT.1.SG PREP hour.NOM-the three.NOM-the
 “I will be home until three o’clock.”

Note:

- The postpositions առաջ *ařaj* “before” and հետո *heto* “after” and անց *anc’* “after” are only used with the nominative case if they are used with temporal expressions, such as մեկ շաբաթ հետո *mek šabat’ heto* “after one week, one week later”, մեկ շաբաթ առաջ *mek šabat’ ařaj* “one week before”. By contrast, in other expressions they govern the ablative.

(640) Մի քանի ամիս առաջ պարոն Մովսիսյանը հայտնել էր, որ Հայաստանն էլ ծախսելու ոչինչ չունի, բայց պարզվեց ունի: (Ařavot, 07.04.2006)

Mi kani amis ařaj paron Mosisyan-ě haytn-el ēr
 a few month.NOM POST Mr. Movsisyan.NOM-the declare-PTCP.PERF. he was
or Hayastan-n ēl caxel-u oč’inč’ č-un-i.
 CONJ Armenia.NOM-the more sell-INF-DAT nothing NEG-have-PRES.3.SG

bayc' parz-v-ec' un-i.
 CONJ come out-antic-AOR.3.SG 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) «Պործող նախագահի հրաժարականը պահանջելուց առաջ պետք է ներկայացնել սեփական ծրագրերը», (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

Gorc-ol naxagah-i hražarakan-ě pahanjel-uc' ašaj.
 work-PTCP.SUB. president-DAT resignation.NOM-the claim-INF-ABL POST

petk' ē nerkaya-c'n-el sep'akan cragr-er-ě.
 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. դեպի ինձ *depi inj* “towards me”, մինչև ձեզ *minčew jez* “until you”.

- In spoken and written Armenian two other prepositions are also used with the nominative, but only if combined with demonstrative pronouns: առանց *ar°anc'* “without” and բացի *bac'i* “except”. These forms, however, can be regarded as lexicalised: բացի այդ *bac'i ayd* “besides; moreover; furthermore”, առանց այդ *ar°anc' ayd* “already; anyway”.
- In written and normative Armenian, as can be seen below, առանց *ašanc'* usually governs the dative, whereas բացի *bac'i* governs the ablative.

b. Dative

Prepositions governing the dative of nouns and genitive of pronouns 3rd person

- a. առանց *ašanc'* “without”
- b. ըստ *est* “according to, in accordance with”
- c. ի դեմս *i dems* “in front, before”g
- d. հանուն *hanun* “for the sake of”
- e. հոգուտ *hōgut* “in favour of”
- f. օգտին *ōgtin* “to the profit of”
- g. ի փառս *i p'afs* “to the glory of”

Postpositions governing the dative of nouns, and genitive of pronouns 3rd person

- առաջ *ašaj* “in front of”
- առթիվ *ašt'iv* “concerning”
- առջև *ašjew* “in front of”
- դեմ *dem* “against”
- դիմաց *dimac'* “opposite”
- երեսից *eresic'* “because of”
- զուգընթաց *zugent'ac* “parallel to, simultaneously”

- ընդառաջ *ēndařaj* “towards”
- ընդդեմ *ēnddem* “in defiance of”
- ընթացքում *ēnt'ac'k'um* “during, in the course of”
- ժամանակ *žamanak* “while”
- կից *kic* “attached to”
- կողմից *kolmic* “from the side of”
- հակառակ *hakařak* “opposite to, despite”
- համաձայն *hamajayn* “according to”
- համար *hamar* “for” dat
- հանդեպ *handep* “with regard to”
- հասցեին *hasc'ein* “about”
- հավասար *havasara* “evenly; equal with”
- հետ *het* “with”
- հետևանքով *hetewank'ov* “due to”
- հիման վրա *himan vra* “on grounds of”
- ձերքից *jeřk'ic* “because of”
- մասին *masin* “about”
- մեջ *mej* “in”
- միջև *mijew* “between”
- միջոցով *mijoc'ov* “by means of”
- մոտ *mot* “at; by”
- ներքո *nerk'o* “within”
- նկատմամբ *nkatmamb* “with respect to”
- նման *nman* “like”
- նպատակով *npatakov* “in order to”
- շնորհիվ *řnorhiv* “thanks to”
- շուրջ *řurj* “around”
- չափ *čap* “about”
- չնայած *č'nayac* “despite “
- պատճառով *patčar'ov* “because of”
- պես *pes* “as”
- վերաբերմամբ *verabermamb* “with regard to”
- վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* “with regard to”
- վրա *vra* “on”
- տակ *tak* “under”
- տեղ *teł* “instead of”
- փոխանակ *p'oxanak* “instead of”
- փոխարեն *p'oxaren* “instead of”

Note:

In combination with the 1st and 2nd person of personal pronouns the following postpositions and prepositions govern the dative case:

- Postpositions: մոտ *mot*, վրա *vra*, հետ *het*, պես *pes*, չափ *čap'*, համար *hamar*, զուգընթաց *zugənt'ac'*, ընդառաջ *əndaʔaj*, նման *nman*, հակառակ *hakaʔak*, համաձայն *hamajayn*; e.g. ինձ մոտ *inj mot* “with me, at my side”, քեզ վրա *kəz vra* “on you”, մեզ հետ *mez het* “with us”, ձեզ պես *jez pes* “like you”, ինձ չափ *inj čap'* “about me”, քեզ համար *kəz hamar* “for you”.
- Prepositions: առանց *aʔanc'*, հանձինս *hanjins*, ի դեմս *i dems*, հանուն *hanun*, հոգուս *hōgut*, հոգուս մեզ *hōgut mez* “in favor of us”, հանձինս ձեզ *hanjins jez* “in the person of you”, հանուն ինձ, *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.

- (642) Տրամաբանությունը շատ պարզ էր, եթե իրենց մոտ ստացվեց, ապա ինչու մեր մոտ չի կարող ստացվել: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)
- Tramabanut'yun-ě šat parz ēr et'e irenc' mot stac'v-ec'*
 logic.NOM-the INT clear it was CONJ they-GEN POST workout-AOR.3.SG
apa inč'u mer mot č-'i kar-ot stac'v-el.
 then wh-why we.GEN POST NEG-it is can-PTCP.PRES. work out-INF
 “The logic was clear: if it worked out with them, then why can it not work out with us?”

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 մեջ *mej*, տակ *tak*, վրա *vra*, մոտ *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.

- (643) Վրաս մեկ ծածկոց գծիր:
Vra-s mek cackoc' gc-ir!
 on-my one blanket.NOM draw-IMP.2.SG.
 “Draw one blanket on (over) me!”
- (644) Նստելիս այս բաձուկը տակդ դիր:
Nstel-is ays barjuk-ě tak-d d-ir!
 sit down-PTCP.PROC. this pad.NOM-the under-your put-IMP.2.SG
 “When you sit down, put this pad under you!”

(645) Իմ ընկերոջ հետ միշտ հայերեն եմ խոսում:

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. Նրա հետ միշտ հայերեն եմ խոսում:

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. Ինձ հետ միշտ հայերեն է խոսում:

inj het mišt hayeren ē xos-um.
I.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. Իմ հետ միշտ հայերեն է խոսում:

Im het mišt hayeren ē xos-um.
I.GEN(=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. Հետս միշտ հայերեն է խոսում:

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 grammarians²¹⁰ 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) Քո հանդեպ այստեղ մեծ հարգանք կա:

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 Հայոց Հայրապետը շնորհակալություն է հայտնել իր հանդեպ ցուցաբերած ժողովրդական սիրո ու մեծարանքի համար՝
 (Armenpress 17.05.2006)

Amenayn Hayoc' Hayrapet-ě šnorhakalut'yun ē
 all Armenians patriarch.NOM-the thank.NOM he is

haytn-el ir handep c'ucaber-ac žolovrdakan
 express-PTCP.PRES. he.GEN POST demonstrate-PTCP.RES popular

sir-o u mecarank'-i 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 հայրենիքը նրա սերն անչափելի է:

Handep hayrenik'-ě 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:

- ըստ *ěst* “according to, in accordance with”. ըստ *ěst* is also used with the old, petrified accusative form of Classical Armenian, especially in a high style, e.g. ըստ իս *ěst is* “according to me”.
- օգտին *ōgtin* “to the favour of”

b. Postpositions governing the genitive of personal (i.e. իմ *im*, քո *k'o*, նրա/իր *nra/ir*, մեր *mer*, ձեր *jer*, նրանց/իրենց *nranc'/irenc'*) and demonstrative pronouns (սրա *sra*, դրա *dra*, նրա *nra*):

- առաջ *aʃaj* “in front of”
- առթիվ *aʃt'iv* “concerning”
- առջև *aʃjew* “in front of”
- դեմ *dem* “against”

- դիմաց *dimac* ‘opposite’
- երեսից *eresic* ‘because of (somebody)’
- ընդդեմ *ēnddem* ‘in defiance of’
- ընթացքում *ēnt’ac’k’um* ‘during, in the course of’
- ժամանակ *žamanak* ‘while’
- կողմից *kolmic* ‘from the side of’
- հասցեին *hasc’ein* ‘about’
- հետևանքով *hetewank’ov* ‘due to’
- հիման վրա *himan vra* ‘on grounds of’
- ձերքից *jeřk’ic* ‘because of’
- մասին *masin* ‘about’
- մեջ *mej* ‘in’
- միջև *mijew* ‘between’
- միջոցով *mijoc’ov* ‘by means of’
- ներքո *nerk’o* ‘within’
- նկատմամբ *nkatmamb* ‘with respect to’
- նպատակով *npatakov* ‘in order to’
- շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* ‘thanks to’
- շուրջ *šurj* ‘around’
- չափ *čap* ‘about’
- պատճառով *patčařov* ‘because of’
- վերաբերմամբ *verabermamb* ‘with regard to’
- վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* ‘with regard to’
- տակ *tak* ‘under’
- տեղ *tel* ‘instead of’
- փոխանակ *p’oxanak* ‘instead of’
- փոխարեն *p’oxaren* ‘instead of’

c. Ablative

Adpositions govern the ablative, if they denote a certain relation.

Prepositions governing ablative

- բացի *bac’i* ‘except’

As mentioned before, this preposition is usually used with the nominative case in colloquial Armenian.

Postpositions governing ablative

- առաջ *ařař* ‘before’
- դուրս *durs* ‘out’
- զատ *zat* ‘except, free from’
- ի վեր *i ver* ‘since’
- հեռու *heřu* ‘far from’

- հետո *heto* “after”
- ներքև *nerk'ew* “under”
- սկսած *sksac* “starting from”
- վար *var* “down”
- վեր *ver* “more than; up”
- վերև *verew* “above”

Note again, that the postpositions առաջ *ařaj* and հետո *heto* govern the nominative case, if used with temporal expressions.

d. Instrumental

- There is only one postposition that governs the instrumental: Հանդերձ *handerj* “with”.
- The postposition չափ *čap* “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:

- առթիվ *ařt'iv* “concerning”
- մասին *masin* “about”
- նպատակով *npatakov* “in order to”
- պատճառով *patčarov* “because of”

e.g. այս առթիվ *ays ařt'iv* “concerning this”, այդ մասին *ayd masin* “about that”, այն նպատակով *ayn npatakov* “in order to that”, այս պատճառով *ays patčarov* “because of this”.

In colloquial Armenian, the prepositions առանց *ařanc* “without” and բացի *bac'i* “except” are also used with the nominative, i.e. առանց այս *ařanc' ays* “without this”, բացի այդ *bac'i ayd* “except that”.

- (649) ՀՀ վարչապետ Անրոյանիկ Մարգարյանը ևս ծանոթ է վարչութեան ծրագրերին և տվել է այդ մասին իր համաձայնությունը: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

HH varčapet Andranik Margaryan-ě ewš canot' ē
RA prime minister Andranik Margaryan.NOM-the also familiar he is

varčut'y-an cragr-er-i-n ew tv-el ē ayd masin
authority-DAT program-PL-DAT-the CONJ give-PTCP.PERF. he is that.NOM POST

ir hamajaynut'yun-ě.
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: վրա - վրայից, վրայով *vra-vrayic'-vrayov*; տակ-տակից- տակով *tak-takic'-takov*; մեջ-միջից-միջով *měj-mijic'-mijov*; առաջ-առաջից-առաջով *ařaj-ařajic'-ařajov*; մոտ-մոտից-մոտով *mot-motic'-motov*; արջև-արջևից-արջևով *arjew-arjewic'-arjewov*; 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’ 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 առջևից մեքենա է գալիս:

Mer arjew-ic' mekëna ē gal-is.

we-GEN POST-ABL car.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 առջևից մեքենա է գնում:

Mer arjew-ic' mekëna ē gn-um.

we-GEN POST-ABL car.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 without 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. Մկները վազում էին կատվի առջևով:

Mkn-er-ě vaz-um ěin kat-vi ařjew-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. Մկները վազում էին կատվի առջևից:

Mkner-ě vaz-um ěin kat-vi ařjew-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) Խանութի մոտից կթեքվես աջ ու փողոցն անցնելով, անմիջապես կհայտնվես մեր շենքի դիմաց:

Xanut'-i mot-ic' ktek'-v-es ař u p'oloc'-n
 shop-DAT POST-ABL turn-refl-COND.FUT.2.SG right CONJ street.NOM-the
anc'nel-ov anmijapes khaytn-v-es mer řenk'-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, turn right...)

- (653) Եթե այդ խանութի մոտով անցնես, խնդրում եմ մտիր ու ինձ համար երկու հատ տետր գնիր:

E'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 starting point of the action. It is not important, from which direction the agent passes the shop.)

- (654) Տան վրայով էլեկտրական հաղորդալարեր էին անցնում:

T-an vra-yov ēlektrakan halordalar-er ēin anc'n-um.
 house-DAT POST-INST electric wire-PL.NOM they were pass-PTCP.PRES.
 “Power supply lines passed over the house.”

(I.e. there is no starting point and no direction given.)

- (655) Երեխան սեղանի տակից մոտեցավ մորը:

Erexa-n selan-i tak-ic' motec'-av mor-ě.
 child.NOM-the table-DAT POST-ABL approach-AOR.3.SG. mother-DAT-the
 “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) Գետնի տակով մի մեծ գետ է հոսում:

Getn-i tak-ov mi mec get ē hos-um.
 ground-DAT POST-INST INDEF big river.NOM it is flow-PTCP.PRES.
 “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 attributively used:

- (657) Մհերին ասել են, որ տան դիմացի փոքրիկ հողամասն իրենն 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
pòk'rik holamas-n iren-n ē.
 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 դիմաց *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.

(658) Ճաշը սեղանի վրան ա:
čaš-ě selan-i vra-n a.
 food.NOM-the table-DAT POST.NOM-the it is
 “The food is on the table.”

(659) Կատունը աթոռի տակն ա:
katu-n atòř-i tak-n a.
 cat.NOM-the chair-DAT POST.NOM-the it is
 “The cat is under the chair.”

– 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 մեջ *mej*, տակ *tak*, վրա *vra*, մոտ *mot*. This is particularly a feature of colloquial Armenian.

(660) «Եթե իմանայի այսպես է, հետս մի քանի վերմակ կբերեի»
 (Hetk' 15.02.2007)
et'e imanay-i ayspes ē het-s mi kani
 CONJ know-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG so it is POST-poss some
vermak kber-ei.
 blanket.NOM bring-COND.PAST.1.SG

“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, ջան *jan*, ուխայ *uxay*, ուռա *urā*, վալ *vay*, ուլ *uy*, օհ *ōh*, կախ *ax*, օյ *ōy*, ա *a* etc.
- Surprise, ohն *ōho*, օ *ō*, օհ *ōh*, բա *ba*, ա *a*, պահ *pah*, հո *ho*, վա *va*, վալ *vay*, վահ *vah* etc.

212. This is certainly not a complete list of all interjections used in SMEA. Compare: Abrahamyan 1981:266–268; Minassian 1980:256–259; Asatryan 2004:421–423 etc.

- Pain, fear, grief, ա՛ a, ա՛յ ay, ա՛յ-ա՛յ-ա՛յ ay-ay-ay, ամա՛ն aman, ա՛խ ax, ավա՛ղ aval, վա՛յ vay, վու՛յ vuy, վի՛ vi, վա՛շ vaš, վի՛շ viš, օ՛ ò, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, etc.
- Displeasure, nuisance, disgust, օ՛ ò, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, etc.
- Displeasure, nuisance, disgust, օ՛ ò, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, etc.
- Complaint, dissatisfaction, օ՛ ò, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, օ՛հ òh, օ՛յ òy, etc.
- Rebuke, reproach, as ա՛յ-ա՛յ ay-ay, վա՛յ vay, ա՛խ ax, ը՛հ èh, ո՛հ oh, է՛խ èx, է՛հե՛յ èhey, չո՛ւ չու, տո՛ to, etc.
- Regret, pity, ա՛խ ax, է՛խ èx, ավա՛ղ aval, օ՛հ òh, վա՛յ vay, վա՛խ vax, etc.
- Indifference, confirmation, as է՛ ò, է՛հ èh, ա՛հ ah, ը՛հ èh, etc.

The following interjections are used to address the interlocutor, ա՛ a, ա՛յ ay, հե՛յ hey, է՛հե՛յ èhey, հա՛յ hay, հարա՛յ haray, տո՛ to, հե՛ he etc.

There are also some interjections used to call animals, such as քը՛ւ-քը՛ւ kës-kës or քուչի-քուչի k'uč'i-k'uč'i for dogs, փիս(ի)-փիս(ի) p'is(i)-p'is(i) or փիշի-փիշի p'isi-p'isi for cats, ջու՛-ջու՛ ju-ju or քշա՛ kša for hens (poultry) or other birds.

(661) - Հը՛, աղջիկս, ինչպը՛ս են գործերդ: (Grakanut'yun 4:49)

Hě aljik-s inč'pes en gorc-er-d.
 INTERJ girl.NOM-my wh-how they are work-PL.NOM-your
 “Hey, my girl, how are your affairs?”

(662) - Ախ, մայրիկս ինձ վռնդել է տնից: (Grakanut'yun 4:49)

ax mayrik-s inj vřnd-el ē tn-ic'.
 INTERJ mother.NOM-the I.DAT expel-PTCP.PERF. she is house-ABL
 “Oh, my mother has expelled me from the house.”

(663) - Որտե՞ղ ես, է՛յ, – ասում է ամուրիին և կանչում. – փիսի՛, փիսի՛, փիսի՛... (Grakanut'yun 7:203)

ortel es ēy as-um ē amuri-n
 wh-where you are INTERJ say-PTCP.PRES. he is widower.NOM-the
 ew kanč'-um p'isi p'isi p'isi.
 CONJ call-PTCP.PRES. puss puss puss
 “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

1. Noun
2. Adjectives
 - a. Qualifying
 - b. Quantifying

The present grammar

1. Noun
2. Adjectives
 - a. Qualifying
 - b. → → Quantifiers

	c. Relational	c. Relational	
3.	Numerals	3. → Quantifiers	→Quantifiers
	a. Cardinals		
	b. Ordinals		
	c. Distributive		
	d. Fractions		
4.	Pronouns	4. Pronouns	
	a. Personal	a. Personal	
	b. Possessive	b. Possessive	→ Determiners
	c. Demonstrativ	c. Demonstratives	→ Determiners
	d. Reflexive	d. Part of 2. or 3.	
	e. Reciprocal	e. Reciprocal	
	f. Indefinite	f. Indefinite	→ Various quantifiers
	g. Definite	g. → Definite=	→ Universal quantifiers
	h. Negative	h. Part of 5.	→ Belongs to indefinites
	i. Interrogative	i. Interrogative,	→ Relative
	j. Relative		
5.	Verbs	5. Verbs	
6.	Adverbs	6. Adverbs	
7.	Conjunctions	7. Conjunctions	
8.	Adpositions	8. Adpositions	
9.	Interjections	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 *ὅπου myus*; non-specific determiners: traditionally indefinite pronouns such as *αὐτὴ ayl*, *οὐρῆζ 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 (=semantic-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) Կարդում եմ Բալակյանի նոր գիրքը:
kard-um em Balakyan-i nor girk'-ě.
 read-PTCP.PRES. I am Balakyan-DAT new book.NOM-the
 “I am reading Balakyan’s new book.”
- (2) Կարդացի Բալակյանի նոր գիրքը:
kardac'-i Balakyan-i nor girk'-ě.
 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) a. Ես կարդում եմ Բալակյանի նոր գիրքը:
es kard-um em Balakyan-i nor girk'-ě.
 I.NOM 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”²¹⁴. 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) Ռադիոյով հեռարձակվում էին Հովհաննես Շումանյանի պատմվածքներից:
Radio-y-ov heřarjak-v-um ěin Hovhannes
 radio-INST broadcast-pass-PTCP.PRES. they were Hovhannes
T'umanyan-i patmvack'-ner-ic'.
 T'umanyan-DAT story-PL-ABL
 “Some of Hovhannes T'umanyan’s stories were broadcasted on the radio.”

214. See Abrahamyan 2004: 40; Papoyan 2003: 142–143. In Armenian this subject is called “մասնական ենթակա *masnakan ent'aka*”, i.e. partitive subject.

- (4) *Երեխաներից տեսվել են Երևանում:

erexa-ner-ic' tes-v-el en Erewan-um.
 child-PL-ABL see-pass-PTCP.PERF. they are Yerevan-LOC
 “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 -u -s and -դ -d. (see Ch. 3.4.1. “Participle” constructions, p. 499f.)²¹⁵

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 complement²¹⁶ can be subdivided into several types:²¹⁷

– Predicative Nominal

- (5) Վարդանի մայրը լրագրող է:

Vardan-i mayr-ě lragroł ē.
 Vardan-DAT mother.NOM-the journalist.NOM she is.
 “Vardan’s mother is a journalist.”

– Predicative Pronominal

- (6) Վերջնական հաղթությունը մերն է:

verjñakan halt'ut'yun-ě mer-n ē.
 final victory.NOM-the our-the it is
 “The final victory is ours.”

215. In Armenian grammars this subject in the dative is usually termed as a “secondary subject”, կողմնակի ենթակա *kołmnaki ent'aka*. comp. Abrahamyan 2004: 25; Papoyan 2003: 95; Petrosyan 1987: 199.

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 Abrahamyan 1981: 286.

– Predicative Adjective

- (7) Այս շենքը բազմահարկ է:

Ays šenk'-ě bazmahark ē.
 this building.NOM-the multi-storey it is
 “This building is multi-storey.”

– Predicative Numeral

- (8) Այս դասարանի աշակերտների քանաքը քսան է:

Ays dasaran-i ašakertn-er-i kanak'-ě ksan ē.
 this class-room-DAT pupil-PL-DAT number.NOM-the twenty it is
 “The number of this classroom’s pupils is twenty.”

– Predicative Adverb

- (9) Այդ մասին մտածելը արդեն ուշ է:

Ayd masin mtac-el-ě arden uš ē.
 That POST think-INF.NOM-the already late it is
 “It is already late to think about that.”

– Predicative Adpositional Phrases

- (10) Այս երկիրը հեքիաթի նման զեղեցիկ է:

ays erkir-ě hek'iat'-i nman ē.
 this country.NOM-the fairytale-DAT POST it is
 “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. Այն երեք աշակերտները գնում են տուն:

ayn erek' ašakert-ner-ě gn-um en tun.
 that three pupil-PL.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. they are house.NOM
 “Those three pupils are going home.”

- (11) Երեք աշակերտ զնում է տուն:

Erek' ašakert gn-um ē tun.
 three pupil.NOM go-PTCP.PRES. it is house.NOM
 “Three pupils are going home.”

- (12) Այդ բառարանի վրա աշխատել է հինգ սերունդ: (Gyurjinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 81)

ayd bařaran-i vra ašxat-el ē hing serund.
 that dictionary-DAT POST work-PTCP.PERF. it is five generation.NOM
 “Five generations have worked on that dictionary.”

Intransitive verbs usually describe a property, state or situation involving only one participant, i.e. intransitive verbs do not have a direct object:

- (13) Վարդանը զնում է դպրոց:

Vardan-ě gn-um ē dproc'.
 Vardan.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. he is school.NOM
 S V
 “Vardan goes to school.”

- (14) Անին ժպտում է:

Ani-n žpt-um ē.
 Ani.NOM-the smile-PTCP.PRES. she is
 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) Վարդանը նամակ է ստացել:

Vardan-ě namak ē stac'el.
 Vardan.NOM-the letter.NOM he is receive-PTCP.PERF.
 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) Արմենը դանդաղ է գրում:

Armen-ě dandał ē gr-um.
 Armen.NOM-the slow he is write-PTCP.PRES.
 S V
 “Armen writes slowly.” (Intransitive)

- (16) a. Արմենը նամակ է գրում:
Armen-ĕ namak ĕ gr-um.
 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 multi-functional suffix *-վ- -v-*.
- b. intransitive verbs can be transitivised by causativisation, by means of the morphological suffix *-ցն- -c'n-* or the analytic causative with *տալ tal*.

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 *-ցն- -c'n-*) (18), and
- c. analytical causative paraphrases (*տալ tal* + Infinitive) (19).

- (17) Նրա բանաստեղծական խոսքը գերել է շատերին և ստիպել այլ աչքերով նայել աշխարհին: (Armenpress 25.10.2005)

nra banastelcakan xosk'ĕ ger-el
 his poetic speech.NOM-the fascinate-PTCP.PERF.

ĕ sat-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 հիշեցնում է Աֆղանստանում Բուդդայի արձանները ոչնչացրած թալիբ խավարամուլների գործողությունները: (AZG 10.01.2006)

ayn hiše-cʻn-um ē Aḡanstan-um Budda-y-i
that remember-caus-PTCP.PRES it is Afghanistan-LOC Buddha-DAT

arjan-ner-ě očʻnčʻa-cʻr-ac ʻalib
statue-PL.NOM-the destroy-caus-PTCP.RES. Taliban

xavaramol-ner-i gorcoluʻyun-ner-ě.
reactionist-PL-DAT action-PL.NOM-the

“This reminds (one) of the Buddha statues in Afghanistan destroyed by Taliban reactionists.”

- (19) Աննան Արամին կարդալ տվեց նոր գիրքը:

Anna-n Aram-i-n kard-al tv-ec nor girkʻ-ě.
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 -ցն- -cʻn- to the verbal present stem (for morphological forms see Ch. 2.5.1.3. p. 172f.)

- (20) Ով չի իրականացնի պետության ծրագիրը՝ նա դուրս կմնա այդ գործընթացից: (Aravot 07.04.2006)

Ov čʻ-i irakana-cʻn-i petuʻy-an cragir-ě
Who neg- he is fulfil-caus-COND.FUT.3.SG state-DAT program.NOM-the

na durs kmn-a ayd gorcēntʻacʻ-icʻ.
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) Եթե նման միջադեպերը նախկինում «Նոր ժամանակներում» ծիծաղելի էին որակվում, ապա այժմ դա բարկացնում է Ա. Կարապետյանի կուսակիցներին: (Aḡavot 07.04.2006)

Etʻe nman mijadep-er-ě naxkinum “Nor žamanakner-um” cicaleli
CONJ similar incident-PL.NOM-the former “New time-PL-LOC” funny

ēin orak-v-um apa ayžm da barka-cʻn-um
they were qualify-pass-PTCP.PRES. then now that become angry-caus-PTCP.PRES.

ē A. Karapetyan-i kusakicʻ-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”, then now that is making A. Karapetyan’s party members angry.”

- (22) Նպատակն է մեծացնել եզրակացության ազդեցությունը և նշանակությունը, իսկ դրա համար հարկավոր է քաղաքական բոլոր ուժերի աջակցությունը: (A՛ravot 05.04.2006)

npatak-n ē meca-c'n-el ezrakac'uty'an azdec'uty'un-ě ew
 task.NOM-the it is grow-caus-INF conclusion-DAT influence.NOM-the CONJ
nšanakut'yun-ě isk dra hamar harkavor ē katalakan
 importance.NOM-the CONJ it.GEN POST obligatory it is civil
bolor už-er-i ajak'ut'yun-ě.
 all force-PL-DAT support.NOM-the

“The task is to increase the influence and the importance of the conclusion, but therefore the support of all civil forces is obligatory.”

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 տալ *tal* + infinitive construction or with manipulative verbs + infinitive.

- (23) Նրա ընկերուհին նրան կարծել է տալիս, թե ինքը գեղեցիկ է:

Nra ěnkeruhi-n nran karc-el ē tal-is
 his girlfriend.NOM-the he.DAT think-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.
t'ē ink'ě gelec'ik ē.
 CONJ he beautiful he is

“His girlfriend makes him think, (that) he is beautiful.”

- (24) Ուսուցիչը իր աշակերտներին լսել տվեց իր խոսքը:

usuc'ič'-ě ir ašakert-ner-i-n ls-el tv-ec' ir xosk'-ě.
 teacher.NOM-the his pupil-PL-DAT-the listen-INF give-AOR.3.SG his speech.NOM-the
 “The teacher made his pupils listen to his speech.”

- (25) Ես կստիպեմ քեզ ինձ լսել:

es kstipe-m k'ez inj ls-el.
 I.NOM force-COND.FUT.1.SG you.DAT I.DAT listen-INF
 “I will force you to listen to me!”

Motion verbs, in general, can be morphologically causativised, with the exception of the motion verbs գնալ *gnal* “to go”, գալ *gal* “to come”, etc.

- (26) Բանակում զինվորներին ամեն օր վազեցնում են:

Banak-um zinvor-ner-i-n amen ōr vaze-c'n-um en.
 armee-LOC soldier-PL-DAT-the every day.NOM run-caus-PTCP.PRES. they are
 “In the army they make (the) soldiers run every day.”

- (26) a. *Բանակում զինվորներին ամեն օր զնացնում են:
Banak-um zinvor-ner-i-n amen ōr
 armee-LOC soldier-PL-DAT-the every day.NOM
gna-c'n-um en.
 walk-caus-PTCP.PRES.they are
 “In the army they make (the) soldiers walk every day.”

Some motion verbs, however, seem to underlie other semantic/pragmatic constraints for the morphological or analytical causativisation:

- (27) Բայց իմ թշնամիներն ինձ մոլորեցրին, քեզանից վախեցրին և փախչել տվին:
 (Grakanuty'un 7:7)

Bayc' im tšnami-ner-n inj molore-c'r-in
 CONJ my enemy-PL.NOM-the I.DAT misguide-caus-AOR.3.PL.

kèz-anic' vaxe-c'r-in ew p'axč'-el tv-in.
 you-ABL fear-caus-AOR.3.PL CONJ flee-INF give-AOR.3.PL²¹⁹

“But my enemies misguided me, made [me] fear you, and made me flee.”

Comment: the verb մոլորեցնել *molorec'nel* “to misguide, to mislead” is a lexicalised causativised intransitive, whose basic intransitive form does not exist anymore in MEA. The second existing form of this verb is the detransitivised, lexicalised, reflexive form մոլորվել *molor-v-el* “to stray; to get lost”.

The emotion verb վախեցնել *vaxe-c'n-el* “to frighten, to scare” is a regularly morphologically causativised intransitive verb, from the basic form վախենալ *vaxenal* “to fear, to be afraid”.

The motion verb փախչել *p'axč'el* can be only analytically causativised, since its morphologically causativised form is lexicalised with another meaning, փախցնել *p'ax-c'n-el* “to take away, to kidnap”.

– Transitives

Transitive verbs can only be analytically causativised.

- (28) Վարդանը բոլորին տեսնել տվեց իր նոր մեքենան:

Vardan-ě bolor-i-n tesn-el tv-ec' ir nor mekënan.
 Vardan.NOM-the all-DAT-the see-INF give-AOR.3.SG his new car.NOM-the
 “Vardan made everybody see his new car.”

– Ambitransitives

Ambitransitive verbs can be morphologically or analytically causativised, depending on whether the causative form is based on the intransitive or transitive meaning of the verb.

219. This is colloquial, somewhat antiquated form of the Aorist of տալ *tal* “to give”; the form in written and more modern colloquial Armenian is տվեցին *tvec'in* “they gave”.

- (29) Լևոնին շախմատ է սովորեցրել խաղալ իր ավագ քույրը:
(Armenpress 14.12.2005)

Lewon-i-n šaxmat ē sovore-cʻr-el xał-al ir
Lewon-DAT-the chess.NOM she is learn-caus-PTCP.PERF. play-INF his
avag kʻuyr-ě.
older sister.NOM-the

“His older sister has taught Lewon to play chess.”

- (30) Նրա հայրը Արամին ուտել տվեց խնձորը:

Nra hayr-ě Aram-i-n ut-el tvecʻ 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 *-ցն--cʻn-* and the paraphrase with *տալ 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) a. Մայրը երեխային կաթ է խմեցնում:

Mayr-ě erexa-y-i-n katʻ ē xme-cʻn-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. Մայրը երեխային կաթ խմել է տալիս:

Mayr-ě erexa-y-i-n katʻ 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) a. Քեներալը վազեցնում է իր զինվորներին:

General-ě vaze-cʻn-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. Պեներեալը վազել է տալիս իր զինվորներին:

General-ē vaz-el ē 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 -վ- -v-, especially grooming verbs, can be analytically causativised with the տալ *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 իր որդուն սափրվել տվեց:

Mayr-ē ir ord-u-n sapʻr-v-el tv-ecʻ.

mother.NOM-the her son-DAT-the shave-refl-INF give-AOR.3.SG
“The mother made her son shave (himself).”

- (34) Կինն ամուսնուն հանվել է տալիս:

Kin-n amusn-u-n han-v-el ē tal-is.

wife.NOM-the husband-DAT-the undress-refl-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.
“The wife makes her husband undress.”

- (35) Հայրն իր փոքր տղային ստիպում է լվացվել:

Hayr-n ir pòkʻr tla-y-i-n stip-um ē lvacʻ-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) Արամն Արմենին ստիպում է պաշտպանվել:

Aram-n Armen-i-n stip-um ē paštpan-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) Հովիվները իրենց գամառներին հարձակվել տվեցին զայլերի վրա:

Hoviv-ner-ē irencʻ gampʻr-ner-i-n harjak-v-el

Shepherd-PL.NOM-the their sheepdog-PL-DAT-the set on-refl-INF

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 (*հարձակել *harjakel*) 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 կստիպեմ նրան իրեն լավ պահել:

es kstipe-m nran iren lav pah-el.
I.NOM force-COND.FUT.1.SG. he.DAT he himself-DAT good behave-INF
“I will make him behave himself well.”

- (39) Վարդանը ստիպում է իր պրոֆեսորին ճանաչել իրեն որպես կարևոր գիտնական:

Vardan-ě stip-um ē ir professor-i-n čanač-el
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.

“Vardan makes his professor recognise him as an important scholar.”

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)

- the causer (agent), the entity causing the event = the grammatical subject of the sentence
- the causee (recipient), i.e. the entity responding to the causation and implementing the action expressed by the main verb
- 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:

- 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) Ուժեղ քամին ինձ հազացնում է:

Užel' k'ami-n inj haza-c'n-um ē.
 Strong wind.NOM-the I.DAT cough-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “The strong wind makes me cough.”

- (41) Փոթորիկն ինձ ստիպեց պատուհանները փակել:

P'ot'orik-n inj stip-ec' patuhan-ner-ē p'ak-el.
 storm-the I.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) Տեղացած ձյունը և ցուրտ եղանակը ստիպել են մարզի գյուղացիական տնտեսություններին դադարեցնել զարնանացանի աշխատանքները, որը սկսվել էր մարտի 20-ից: (Armenpress 04.04.2006)

telaçac jyun-ē ew c'urt etanak-ē stip-el
 fall-PTCP.RES. snow.NOM-the CONJ cold weather.NOM-the force-PTCP.PERF.
en marzi gyulac'iakan tntesut'yun-ner-i-n dadare-c'n-el
 they are province-DAT peasant economy-PL-DAT-the slow-caus-INF
garnanac'ani ašxatank'-ner-ē or-ē sks-v-el
 spring wheat-DAT work.PL.NOM-the REL-the begin-refl-PTCP.PERF.
ēr marti 20-ic'.
 it was March-DAT 20-ABL

“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. Ղառը դեղը երեխային հազացնում է:

Dařē del-ē erexa-y-in haza-c'n-um ē.
 bitter medicine.NOM-the child-DAT-the cough-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “The bitter medicine makes the child cough.”

- b. Ղառը դեղը երեխային հազալ է տալիս:

Dařē del-ē erexa-y-i-n haz-al ē tal-is.
 bitter medicine.NOM-the child-DAT-the cough-INF it is give-PTCP.PRES.
 “The bitter medicine makes the child cough.”

- c. *Ղառը դեղը երեխային ստիպում է հազալ:

Dařē del-ē erexa-y-i-n stip-um ē haz-al.
 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) Արսենը փայլեցնում է իր մեքենայի ապակիները:

Arsen-ě p'ayle-c'n-um ē ir mekëna-y-i apaki-ner-ě.

Arsen.NOM-the shine-caus-PTCP.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) Կարենը զարմացրեց բոլորին իր փայլուն կատարմամբ:

Karen-ě zarma-c'r-ec' bolor-i-n ir

Karen.NOM-the surprise-caus-AOR.3.SG all-DAT-the his

p'aylun katarm-amb.

brilliant performance-INST

“Karen surprised all with his brilliant performance.”

- (46) Այս միատոն երաժշտությունը հոգնեցնում է ինձ:

Ays miaton eražštut'yun-ě hogne-c'n-um ē inj.

this monotone music.NOM-the tire-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is I.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).

221. Abrahamyan 1962: 534; Barsefyan 1953: 122–123; Abrahamyan 1981: 190.

- (47) Վերջին ժամանակներս ի վնաս Թուրքիայի ԱՄՆ-ը ամրացնում է հարաբերությունները Վրաստանի հետ: (Azg 07.04.2006)

Verĵin žamanak-ner-s i vnas Turĳia-yi AMN-ě
last time.PL.NOM-this PREP harm.NOM Turkey-DAT USA-the
amra-c'n-um ē haraberuťyun-ner-ě Vrastan-i het.
get stronger-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is relation-PL.NOM-the Georgia-DAT POST.

“Recently the United States is strengthening its relations with Georgia to the disadvantage of Turkey.”

Comment: ամրացնել *amra-c'n-el* is the regular causative form to the intransitive ամրանալ *amranal* “to get stronger”.

- (48) Երևանի ՋԷԿ-ն այս տարի ջեռուցում չի իրականացնի. նախորդ տարիներին կայանը տաքացնում էր Շենգավիթ և Էրեբունի համայնքների շենքերը: (Armenpress 16.12.2005)

Erewan-i JēK-n ays tari ĵeřuc'um
Yerevan-DAT JEK.NOM-the this year.NOM heating.NOM
ĉ-i irakana-c'n-i.
neg-it is fulfil-caus-COND.FUT.3.SG.

Naxord tari-ner-i-n kayan-ě tak'a-c'n-um ēr
previous year-PL-DAT-the station.NOM-the warm-caus-PTCP.PRES. it was

Šengavit' ew Erebuni hamaynk'ner-i šenk'-er-ě.
Šengavit'.NOM CONJ Erebuni.NOM community-PL-DAT building-PL.NOM-the

“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:

- իրականացնել *irakana-c'n-el* is the morphological causative of the intransitive verb իրականալ *irakanal*.
- տաքացնել *tak'a-c'n-el* is the morphological causative of the intransitive verb տաքանալ *tak'anal* “to warm oneself, to warm up”, and literally means “to make something warm up” = to heat.

- (49) Մարդիկ մեղավորներ են փնտրում, ո՛չ մեղավորներն են մեղավորներ փնտրում իրենց իսկ մեղքերը թաքցնելու համար: (Aravot 08.04.2006)

Mard-ik melavor-ner en p'ntr-um ĉ- melavor-ner-n
Man-PL.NOM guilty-PL.NOM they are seek-PTCP.PRES neg-guilty-PL.NOM-the
en melavor-ner p'ntr-um irenc' isk melk'-er-ě
they are guilty-PL.NOM seek-PTCP.PRES. their CONJ sin-PL.NOM-the
t'ak'-c'n-el-u hamar.
hide-caus-INF-DAT POST

“People do seek culprits; innocents seek culprits, to hide their own sins.”

Comment: թաքցնել *t'ak'-c'nel* is the lexicalised causative form; it is absolutely regarded as the regular transitive form. No intransitive form exists, only the reflexive form թաքնվել *t'ak'n-v-el* “to hide oneself”.

Thus, native speakers of MEA quite often regard transitive structures originating from causativised intransitives as the normal transitive structure.

One reason for this may be the rather vast group of lexicalised causativised intransitives, which sometimes do not even have a regular intransitive form in MEA anymore, such as:

- գբաղեցնել *zbalet'nel* “to occupy, to engage; to interest” < no intransitive form existent in MEA²²²
- լցնել *lc'nel* “to fill; to pour out” < no intransitive form existent in MEA²²³
- կասեցնել *kasec'nel* “to avert; to suspend; to disable; to constrain” < no intransitive form existent in MEA²²⁴
- յուրացնել *yurac'nel* “to appropriate; to adopt, to acquire; to assimilate” < no intransitive form existent in MEA²²⁵
- վերցնել *verc'nel* “to take, to pick” < no intransitive form existent; etc.

(50) Նա այն կարծիքը հայտնեց, որ այս տարվա արդյունքով մեր երկիրն այլ դիրք կգբաղեցնի: (Azg 07.04.2006)

Na ayn karcik'-ë haytnec' or ays
 He.NOM that meaning.NOM-the declare-AOR.3.SG CONJ this
tar-va ardyunk'-ov mer erkir-n ayl
 year-DAT result-INST our country.NOM-the other
dirk' kzbale-c'n-i.
 position.NOM occupy-caus-COND.FUT.3.SG

“He expressed the opinion, that our country would occupy another position as the result of this year.”

222. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 86: the basic form գբաղիլ *zbalil* is represented as a “passive” form in Classical Armenian (which is actually represented by the *v*-suffixed reflexive and heavily lexicalised form գբաղվել *zbal-v-el* “to be occupied with; to study” in MEA).

223. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 279: the basic transitive form լնլ *lnul* “to fill” is attested in Classical Armenian, as well as its causative, լցուցնել *lc'uc'anel* “to fill; to make fill”.

224. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 531: the intransitive forms կասիլ, կասել *kasil, kasec'* “to stop, to cease etc.” are attested in classical Armenian as well as their causative form with the Classical Armenian causativising suffix -ուցանել *-uc'anel*, i.e. կասեցուցանել *kasec'uc'anel*.

225. Malxasyanc' explains a verbal form յուրանալ *yuranal* as being the same as յորանալ *yöranal* 3: 424:

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.

- պատկերացնել *patkerac'nel* “to imagine” < պատկերել *patkerel* in the meaning “to imagine”
- փակցնել *p'akc'nel* “to stick, to paste, to attach to” < փակել *p'akel* “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) Հայրը քարտուղարին նամակ է գրել տալիս:

Hayr-ě kartular-i-n namak ē gr-el tal-is.
 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) Արան Արամին դուռը բանալ է տալիս:

Ara-n Aram-i-n duř-ě ban-al ē ta-lis.
 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) Ձեներալը զինվորներին սպանել տվեց գյուղի տղամարդկանց:

general-ě zinvor-ner-i-n span-el tvec'
 general.NOM-the soldier-PL-DAT-the kill-INF give-AOR.3.SG
gyul-i tlamardk-anc'.
 village-DAT man-PL-DAT

“The 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. ...ստիպեց սպանել *stipec' spanel* “forced to kill”,... հրամայեց սպանել *hramayec' spanel* “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.

- (54) a. Հայրը ստիպում է քարտուղարին ուսուցչին մի նամակ գրել:

Hayr-ě stip-um ē k'artular-i-n usuč'č'-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 քարտուղարին ուսուցչին մի նամակ գրել է տալիս:

Hayr-ě kartular-i-n usuč'č'-i-n mi
 father.NOM-the secretary-DAT-the teacher-DAT-the INDEF
S/causer 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) Արկը բացվեց Վարդանի եղբոր կողմից:

Ark-ě bac'-v-ec Vardan-i ełb-or kolmic'.
 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. ? Վարդանը բացել տվեց արկը իր եղբոր կողմից:

Vardan-ě bac'-el tv-ec' ark-ě
 Vardan.NOM-the open-INF give-AOR3.SG box.NOM-the
S/causer V O

ir ełb-or kolmic'.
 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/causative structures are avoided both in written and spoken Arme-

nian, because of their “unnatural” character. “Active” causative constructions are highly preferred and used instead of passive causative constructions (55b).

- (55) b. Վարդանը իր եղբորը բացել տվեց արկղը:
Vardan-ě ir ełbor-ě bac'-el
 Vardan.NOM-the his brother-DAT-the open-INF
S/causer IO/causee V
tv-ec' arkt'-ě.
 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. Հայրը ստիպում է քարտուղարին ուսուցչին մի նամակ գրել:
Hayr-ě stip-um ē kartular-i-n
 father.NOM-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is secretary-DAT-the
S/causer V IO/causee
usuc'č'-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) Աննան Արամին ստիպեց իր գիրքը Նինային տալ:
Anna-n Aram-i-n stip-ec' ir girk'-ě
 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 Արամին ստիպեց, որ իր գիրքը տա Նինային:
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
ta Nina-y-in.
 give-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Nina-DAT-the
IO
 “Anna made Aram give her book to Nina.” (Lit: Anna forced Aram that he shall give her book to Nina).

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 morphological) and thus they use the morphologically and analytically causative verbs at the same time to express a simple causative sentence (59) (60).

Double causativization is usually expressed with a manipulation verb (main verb) and the second causativised verb either morphologically or analytically causativised.

- (57) Հայրը ստիպեց մորը երեխային խմեցնել կաթը:
Hayr-ě stip-ec' mor-ě erexa-y-i-n
 Father.NOM-the force-AOR.3.SG mother-DAT-the child-DAT-the
xme-c'n-el kat'-ě.
 drink-caus-INF milk.NOM-the
 “The father made the mother make the child drink milk.”

- (58) Ես ստիպեցի Արամին Սոնային գրել տալ այս նամակը:
es stipec'i Aram-i-n Sona-y-i-n gr-el tal
 I.NOM force-AOR1.SG Aram-DAT-the Sona-DAT-the write-INF give-INF
ays namak-ě.
 this letter.NOM-the
 “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. Ես ստիպեցի Արամին որ Սոնային գրել տա այս նամակը:
es stip-ec'i Aram-i-n or Sona-y-i-n
 I.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. Ուժեղ քամին ինձ հազացրեց:
Užel k'ami-n inj haza-c'r-ec'.
 strong wind.NOM-the I.DAT cough-caus-AOR3.SG
 “The strong wind made me cough.”
- b. Ուժեղ քամուց ես հազեցի:
užel k'am-uc' es haz-ec'-i.
 strong wind-ABL I.NOM cough-AOR1.SG
 “I coughed from the strong wind.”
- c. Ուժեղ քամու պատճառով ես հազեցի:
užel k'am-u patč'arov es haz-ec'-i.
 strong wind-DAT POST I.NOM cough-AOR.1.SG
 “Because of the strong wind, I coughed.”
- (60) Կայծակի պատճառով ծեր մարդը անջատեց ռադիոն:
kajcak-i patč'arov cer mard-ě anjat-ec' řadio-n.
 lightning-DAT POST old person.NOM-the switch off-AOR.3.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 *-անալ -anal* and *-եմալ -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/anticausative 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) Աշնանը քանուց ծառերը մերկացել էին.²²⁶

ašnan-ě k'am-uc' cař-er-ě merkac'-el ěin.
 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 *մերկանալ merkanal* is an inchoative intransitive. The causer – a natural force – is wind, so is expressed with the ablative.

- (62) Ծաղիկները թառամել էին ցուրտից:

Calik-ner-ě t'ařam-el ěin c'rt-ic'.
 Flower-PL.NOM-the fade-PTCP.PERF. they were cold-ABL
 “The flowers had faded from the cold.”

Comment: the intransitive verb *թառամել t'ařamel* is inchoative “to fade”. The causer, a natural force, is expressed with the ablative.

- a. Յուրտը թառամեցրել էր ծաղիկները:

c'urt-ě t'ařame-c'ř-el ěr calik-ner-ě.
 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) Հայրը վշտացել էր որդու վարմունքից:

Hayr-ě vřtac'-el ěr ord-u varmunk'-ic'.
 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 *վշտանալ vřtanal* “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 Puřkin, in the classroom 7a. The topic of the class was causative constructions.

- (63) a. Հորը վշտացրել էր որդու վարմունքը:

Hor-ě vřta-c'ŕ-el ěr ord-u varmunk-ě.
 Father-DAT-the be sad-caus-PTCP.PERF. he was son-DAT behaviour.NOM-the
 “The son’s behaviour had made the father sad (saddened the father).”

Comment: the intransitive verb is causativised; the causer appears as the sentential subject in the nominative.

- (64) Ես ոչ տխրեցի այլ ուրախացա այդ դեպքից:

es oc' txrec'-i ayl uraxac'-a ayd depk'-ic'.
 I.NOM neg grow sad-AOR1.SG CONJ be glad-AOR1.SG that case-ABL

“I did not grow sad, but became glad from that case.” (because of that case)

Comment: the emotion verbs տխրել *txrel* and ուրախանալ *uraxanal* are inchoative intransitives.

- (64) a. Այդ դեպքը ոչ թե տխրեցրեց, այլ ուրախացրեց ինձ:

Ayd depk'-ě oc' tĕ txre-c'ŕ-ec' ayl
 that case.NOM-the neg CONJ grow sad-caus-AOR.3.SG CONJ

uraxa-c'ŕ-ec' inj.
 be glad-caus-AOR.3.SG I.DAT

“That case did not make me sad, but made me glad.”

Comment: both intransitive verbs are causativised; the causer appears as the sentential subject in the nominative.

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 *-վ- -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 sometimes difficult to distinguish passives from reflexives, reciprocals and even anticausatives. Such morpho-syntactic doublets make clear the rather high occurrence of lexicalised *-վ- -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 *-վ- -v-*, which is attached to the verbal stems as follows:

- a. to the present stem of simple verbs in *-ել el*, of verbs in *-նել -n-el*, *չել -č'-el*, such as գրվել *grel -gr-v-el* “write-be written”, տեսնել – տեսնվել *tesnel – tesn-v-el* “see – be seen, see each other” etc.

- b. to the aorist stem of simple verbs in -ալ *-al* and of suffixed verbs in անալ, *-an-al*, ենալ-*-enal* such as կարդալ – կարդացվել *kardal – kardac'-v-el* “read – being read”, ուրախանալ – ուրախացվել *uraxanal – uraxac'-v-el* “to be happy; to be gladdened”, վախենալ – վախեցվել *vaxenal – vaxec'-v-el* “to fear, 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 լսել *lsel* “to hear, listen”, զգալ *zgal* “to feel”, նկատել *nkatel* “to notice; to observe” etc. may also express the possibility of an action/state.²²⁷

- (65) Ըստ նրա, աշխուժություն է նկատվում նաև անավարտ շինարարության օբյեկտների մասնավորեցման ուղղությամբ՝ հատկապես գյուղերում:
(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

ěst nra ašxužut'yun ē nkat-v-um naew anavart
PREP his briskness.NOM it is notice-pass-PTCP.PRES also unfinished
šinararut'y-an objekt-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) Խորհրդարանի որոշման մեջ ասվում է, որ Մելքոնյան վարժարանը ոչ միայն հայերի, այլև Կիպրոսի մշակութային ու պատմական ժառանգությունն է:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

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-ě oč' miayn hay-er-i aylew
Melk'onyan.NOM college.NOM-the neg only Armenian-PL-DAT also
Kipros-i mšakut'ayin u patmakan žařangut'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.”

227. Kozintseva 1984: 82.

- Verbs triggering a change of position or change of state like շարժել *šaržel* “to move”, օրորել *ōrorel* “to swing, to rock”, ավերել *averel* “to destroy”, դատարկել *datarkel* “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) Ըստ ՀՀ նախագահի, «մենք մեծ նրցանակային ֆոնդ ունենք, և այնպես պետք է անենք, որ այն դատարկվի»: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

ēst H.H.naxagah-i “menk’ mec mrc’akayain fond
 PREP R.A. president-DAT we.NOM big price-winning fund.NOM
un-enk’ ew aynpes petk’ ē an-enk’ or ayn
 have-PRES.1.PL CONJ so do-DEB.FUT.1.PL CONJ that.NOM
datark-v-i.
 empty-antic/pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

“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 դատարկվի *datarkvi* “is emptied/becomes empty”.

- (68) Շենքի շուրջն արդեն սկսվել են կանաչապատման աշխատանքները: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

šenk’-i šurjn sks-v-el en kanačapatm-an
 building-DAT POST begin-antic-PTCP.PERF. they are planting vegetation-DAT
ašxatank’-ner-ě.
 work-PL.NOM-the

“The planting vegetation works have started around the building.”

- Modal verbs can also be passivised, except the verbs ամենալ *kamenal* “to wish”, ուզենալ *uze(na)l* “to want, to wish”, գիտե(նա)լ *gite(na)l* “to know”, դժվարանալ *džvaranal* “to become difficult” etc.

In passive constructions the passivised modal verb combines with the bare infinitive of the main verb.

- (69) Դիպլոմային աշխատանքը նախատեսվում է վերջացնել լեզվաբանության ուսանողի կողմից:

Diplomayin ašxatank-ě naxates-v-um ē verja-c’n-el
 diplom work.NOM-the intend-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is finish-caus-INF
lezvabanu’yan usanol-i kołmic’.
 linguistics-DAT student-DAT POST

“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. *Դասերը սկսում են կարդացվել ուսանողի կողմից:*
das-er-ě sks-um en kardac'-v-el
 class-PL.NOM-the begin-PTCP.PRES. they are read-pass-INF
usanoł-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. *Դասերը սկսվում են կարդացվել ուսանողի կողմից:*
das-er-ě sks-v-um en kardac'-v-el
 class-PL.NOM-the begin-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are read-pass-INF
usanoł-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) *Ասպետին հրամայվում է (թագավորի կողմից) նրա ձիուն չծեծել:*
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 č'-cecel.
 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 reflexives²²⁸) may also denote a necessity or instruction. In MEA, these are regarded as impersonal passives.

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) Իմ ազգանունը գրվում է առանց հ-ի:

im azganun-ě gr-v-um ē ařanc' 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) (Ավտո)մեքենան այսպես չի քշվում:

(avto)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 քշել *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. Այսպես ավտոմեքենա չեն վարում:

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 passives²²⁹ convey a meaning “by chance, against will, inadvertently” and are less common. This meaning is rendered by passive forms in MEA.

- (74) Այս կոշիկները շուտ մաշվեցին:

ays kořik-ner-ě řut mař-v-ec'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; Abrahamyan 1963: 74–78). In MEA, these sentences are regarded as regular agentive passive with or without an agent.

- (75) Գիրքը կարդացվում է (Անուշի կողմից):

girk'-ě kardac-v-um ē (Anuř-i kořmic')
 book.NOM-the read-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is (Anuř-DAT POST)
 “The book is read (by Anuř). The book is being read (by Anuř).”

- 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).

229. comp. Geniuřiene 1987: 257.

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 ստիպել *stipel* “to force”, հրաման տալ *hraman tal* “to order, to command”, արգելել *argelel* “to forbid, to prohibit”, թույլ տալ *t’uyl tal* “to allow, to permit”, խորհորդ տալ *xorhurd tal* “to advise” etc. or verbs of intention such as որոշել *orošel* “to decide”, ծրագրել *cragrel* “to plan, to schedule”, նախատեսել *naxatesel* “to intend” etc. the infinitive of the main verb functions as the grammatical subject of the sentence.

- (76) «Գովազդի մասին» ՀՀ օրենքի 9-րդ հոդվածի համաձայն, արգելվում է
նադիոհեռուստատեսային հաղորդման ընթացքում հեռարձակել գովազդ:
(Armenpress 08.12.2005)

“Govazd-i masin” H.H. örenk’-i 9rd hodvac-i hamajayn
“Advertising-DAT POST” R.A. law-DAT 9th article-DAT POST
argel-v-um ē radioheřustatesayin hařord-man
forbid-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is Radio/Television broadcasting-DAT
ēnt’ac’k’-um heřarjak-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.

230. Siewierska 1984: 28.

- (77) Համալսարանի ժողովում ռեկտորի առաջարկությունը մերժվեց:
hamalsaran-i žořov-um řektor-i ařajarkuťyun-ě
 university-DAT meeting-LOC rector-DAT proposal.NOM-the
merž-v-ec’.
 reject-pass-AOR.3.SG.
 “The proposal of the rector was rejected at the university’s meeting.”
- (77) a. Համալսարանի ժողովում ռեկտորի առաջարկությունը մերժեցին:
hamalsaran-i žořov-um řektor-i ařajarkuťyun-ě
 university-DAT meeting-LOC rector-DAT proposal.NOM-the
merž-ecin’.
 reject-AOR.3.PL.
 “They rejected the proposal of the rector at the university’s meeting.”
- (78) Այսօր էլ դրանք կարդացվում են մեծ հետաքրքրությամբ:
 (Grakanutyun 7: 51)
Aysör el drank’ kardac’-v-um en mec hetak’rkrut’y-amb.
 today still they.NOM read-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are big interest-INST
 “Today they are still read with great interest.”

If the agentive phrase is overtly expressed, it is represented by the noun in the dative and the postposition կողմից *kolmic’*, if the noun expresses a prototypical agent (+human).

- (79) Այն գործադիրի կողմից գնահատվել է բավարար: (Armenpress 10.01.2006)
ayn gorcadir-i kolmic’ gnahat-v-el e bavarar.
 That.NOM executive-DAT POST appraise-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is sufficient
 “It has been appraised by the executive as sufficient.”
- (80) Առ Աստված ունեցած իրենց հավատքի համար հալածվում են
 Ղեկոս կայսեր կողմից և թաքնվում մոտակա Ողբոս լեռան այրում: (Armenpress
 09.01.2006)
Ař Astvac unec’-ac irenc’ havatk’-i hamar
 PREP God.NOM have-PTCP.RES. their belief-DAT POST
halac-v-um en Dekos kays-er kolmic’ ew
 persecute-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are Dekos emporer-DAT POST CONJ
t’ak’n-v-um motaka Oľkos leř-an ayr-um.
 hide-refl-PTCP.PRES. close Oľkos mountain-DAT cave-LOC
 “They are persecuted for their belief (they have) to God by Emperor Dekos, and they
 hide in a cave in the close Mountain Oľkos.”
- By the personal pronoun in the genitive and the postposition կողմից *kolmic’* (except in co-occurrence with emotion verbs).
- (81) Նման միջադեպ չի եղել, և մեր կողմից հրադադարի ռեժիմի խախտում չի
 արձանագրվել: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

Nman mijadep č-i el el ew mer kołmic'
 similar incident.NOM neg-it is be-PTCP.PERF. CONJ we-GEN POST
hradadar-i řezim-i xaxtum č-i arjanagr-v-el.
 ceasefire-DAT regime-DAT disturbance.NOM neg-it is register-pass-PTCP.PERF.
 “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.

(82) Աննան սիրվում է իր բոլոր դասընկերներին:

Anna-n sir-v-um ē ir bolor dasēnker-ner-ic'.
 Anna.NOM-the love-pass-PTCP.PRES. she is her all classmate-PL-ABL
 “Anna is loved by all her classmates.”

- By the noun in the ablative, if the noun expresses a natural force-agent (–animate)

(83) Լեռնալանջի խրճիթներն ավերվեցին ձյունահոսքից:

Leřnalanj-i xrcit'-ner-n aver-v-ec'in jyunahosk'-ic'.
 mountainside-DAT hut-PL.NOM-the destroy-pass-AOR.3.PL avalanche-ABL
 “The mountainside huts were destroyed by the avalanche.”

(84) Արամը սպանվեց կայծակից:

Aram-ě span-v-ec' kaycak-ic'.
 Aram.NOM-the kill-pass-AOR.3.SG lightning-ABL
 “Aram was killed by lightning”.

(85) Տերևները շարժվում են քամուց:

Terew-ner-ě řarž-v-um en k'amu-c'.
 leave-PL.NOM-the move-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are wind-ABL
 “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.

(86) Նայիր պատուհանից դուրս բաղեղի վերջին տերևին: Չե՞ս զարմանում, որ Նա քամուց չի դողում ու չի շարժվում: (Grakanut'yun 6: 150)

nayir patuhan-ic' durs balet-i verjin terew-i-n. č-es
 look-IMP.2.SG window-ABL POST ivy-DAT last leave-DAT-the. neg-you
zarman-um or na k'amu-c' č-i doł-um
 are be surprised-PTCP.PRES. CONJ it wind-ABL neg-it is shiver-PTCP.PRES.
u č-i řarž-v-um.
 CONJ neg-it is move-antic-PTCP.PRES.

“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) Երեխան խայթվեց օձից:

Erexa-n xayt'-v-ec' ōj-ic'.
 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 կողմից *kolmic'*:

(87) a. Երեխան խայթվեց օձի կողմից:

Erexa-n xayt'-v-ec' ōj-i kolmic'.
 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 կողմից *kolmic'*, 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: Կայծակը սպանեց Արամին: *Kaycak-ē spanec' Aram-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 կողմից *kolmic'* to emphasise the passive and not inchoative meaning.

From (86) only a causative (basic) and not a passive form is acceptable:

Քամին չի դողացնում ու չի շարժում տերևը: *Kamin č'i dola-c'n-um u č'i šarzum terew-ē.* “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 *dolacnəl. šarzel* trans. verb “to move sth.” – *šarž-v-el* = (a) passive “to be moved” (b) anticausative “to move” thus delivering an inchoative meaning.

- (88) 2003 թվականին ՀՀ բնապահպանության նախարարության կողմից վերականգնվել և լրացվել է մոտ 436 հեկտար անտառատարածք:
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)

2003 *t'vakan-i-n* H.H. *bnapahpanut'y-an* *naxararut'y-an* *kołmic'*
2003 year-DAT-the R.A. environmental protection-DAT ministry-DAT POST
verakangn-v-el *ew* *lrac'-v-el* *ē* *mot* 436
restore-pass-PTCP.PERF CONJ fill-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is approximately 436
hektar *antařatarack'.*
hectare.NOM forest area.NOM

“In 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) Աջոտը սպանվեց ատրճանակով:

Ařot-ě *span-v-ec'* *atrčanak-ov.*
Ařot.NOM-the kill-pass-AOR.3.SG gun-INST
“Ařot was killed with a gun.”

- (90) Գետինը ծածկվեց ձյունով:

Getin-ě *cack-v-ec'* *jyun-ov.*
ground.NOM-the cover-pass-AOR.3.SG snow-INST
“The ground was covered with snow.”

3.1.2.2.2 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) Արմենը ջարդեց պատուհանը:

Armen-ě *řard-ec'* *patuhan-ě.*
Armen.NOM-the break-AOR.3.SG window.NOM-the
“Armen broke the window.”

- (92) Պատուհանը ջարդվեց:

Patuhan-ě *řard-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. Պատուհանը ջարդվեց:
Patuhan-ě jard-v-ec'.
 window.NOM-the break-pass-AOR3.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 *-anal*, *-anal* conjugation belong to this group, such as հեռանալ *heřanal* “to remove, to go way”, ուրախանալ *uraxanal* “to be happy”, մոտենալ *motenal* “to approach, to approximate”, վախեանալ *vaxenal* “to be afraid of” etc.

- (93) Հիվանդի վիճակը լավացել է:
hivand-i vičak-ě lavac'-el ē.
 sick-DAT situation.NOM-the improve-PTCP.PERF. it is
 “The sick persons’ condition has improved.” (From the inchoative verb լավանալ *lavanal*)
- (94) Անուշը զարմանում է իր եղբոր վրա:
Anuš-ě 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) Պողոցը լայնանում է:
P'oloc'-ě laynan-um ē.
 street.NOM-the widen-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “The street widens.”
- (96) Անտառի հրդեհը մարեց:
Antar'-i hrdeh-ě mar-ec'.
 forest-DAT fire.NOM-the extinguish-AOR.3.SG
 “The forest fire extinguished.”
- (97) Ջուրը սառչում է Ցելսիուսի 0 աստիճանում:
jur-ě sařč'-um ē C'elsius-i zro astičan-um.
 water.NOM-the freeze-PTCP.PRES. it is Celsius-DAT zero degree-LOC
 “Water freezes at zero degrees Celsius.”

- (98) Սեղանին թափված օղին արագ ցնդեց:
Seġan-i-n t'ap'-v-ac ôli-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) Ծաղիկները թառամում են աշնանը:
calik-ner-ě t'ařam-um en ařnan-ě.
 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 -վ- -v-.

- (100) Ծաղկամանը ջարդվեց:
calkaman-ě ĵard-v-ec'.
 vase.NOM-the break-antic-AOR.3.SG
 “The vase broke.”

- (101) Փայտը վառվեց:
P'ayt-ě vař-v-ec'.
 wood.NOM-the burn-antic-AOR.3.SG
 “The wood burnt.”

- c. Semantic groups of -վ- -v- suffixed verbs with preferable inchoative meaning.

In MEA there are many -վ- *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 գիրքը լավ է վաճառվում:
ays nor girk'-ě lav ē vačar'-v-um.
 this new book.NOM-the good it is sell-antic-PTCP.PRES.
 “This new book sells well.”

- (103) Շոկոլադը հեշտ է հալվում:
řokolad-ě heřt 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.²³⁴

- a. Verbs having only one valence and a facultative oblique object showing the causer (usually in the ablative),²³⁵ such as the following verbs denoting emotional states բախտավորվել *baxtavorvel* “to become lucky, to succeed in”, հուսադրվել *husadrvel* “to reassure”, խանդավառվել *xandavařvel* “to be inspired”, խղճահարվել *xlĉaharvel* to commiserate, to “take pity”, հուզվել *huzvel* “to be disturbed, to be agitated”, գրգռվել *grgr̥vel* “to get excited”, խոցվել *xoc’vel* “to be hurt; to be injured”, բորբոքվել *borbok’vel* “to blaze; to inflame”, խելագարվել *xelagarvel* “to go mad”, հիաստափվել *hiastap’vel* “to be disappointed” etc.

- (104) Պրոմեթեոսը հայտնեց, որ Ջևսի ատելությունն իր նկատմամբ առավել բորբոքվեց այն բանից հետո: (Grakanut’yun 6:21)

Promet’ews-ĕ haytnec’ or Jews-i atelut’yun-n
Prometheus.NOM-the declare-AOR.3.SG CONJ Zeus-DAT hate.NOM-the
ir nkatmamb ařavel 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 նրա ընկերուհին՝ Նախիջևանի Շաքին քաղաքից եկած Արփիկ տատը, խոցված էր բարոյապես. (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

Isk nra ĕnkeruhi-n Naxijewan-i Šak’in k’atak’-ic ek-ac
CONJ his friend.NOM-the Naxijewan-DAT Šak’in town-ABL come-PTCP.RES.
Arp’ik tat-ĕ xoc’-v-ac ĕr 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) Խոտը չորացավ կիզիչ արևից:

xot-ĕ ĉorac’-av kiziĉ’ arew-ic’.
grass.NOM-the dry-AOR.3.SG burning sun-ABL

“The grass dried in (lit. from) the burning sun.”

234. This group of verbs is termed (intentional) converse reflexives in the classification following Genusiene 1987: 257.

235. Kozintseva 1981: 94.

- (107) Սարույցը հալվեց տաքից:

saruyc'-ě hal-v-ec' tak'-ic'.
 ice.NOM-the melt-antic-AOR.3.SG heat-ABL
 “The ice melted from the heat.”

- (108) Մի օր գործարանի տնօրենը կգժվի շատ աշխատելուց:

mi ōr gorcaran-i tnōren-ě kgž-v-i
 INDEF day factory-DAT director.NOM-the crazy-antic-COND.FUT.3.SG
šat ašxatel-uc'.
 much work-ABL

“One day the factory’s director will become crazy from so much working.”

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.

3.1.2.2.3 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:

- morphological reflexivisation, by means of the verbal suffix *-v-* which is attached to the verbal stems, and
- syntactic reflexivisation, with the bare form of the verb and the personal pronoun in the dative for 1st (ինձ *inj*, մեզ *mez*) and 2nd persons (քեզ *kəz*, ձեզ *jez*), and the intensive pronoun in the dative իրեն *iren* (see Ch. 2.4.1. “Personal pronouns”, p. 123f.).

- (109) Այս ամենը բերեց մի վիճակի, երբ ընդդիմությունն ինքն իրեն ներքաշեց այնպիսի փակուղու մեջ, որից ելք ինքն այսօր չի կարողանում գտնել: (Armenpress 08.04.2005)

Ays amen-ě berec' mi vičak-i erb
 this all.NOM-the bring-AOR3.SG INDEF situation-DAT CONJ
ēnddimut'yun-n ink'n iren nerkāšec' aynpiš'i p'akut-u
 opposition.NOM-the he-REFL implicate-AOR3.SG such blind alley-DAT
mej or-ic' elk' ink'n aysōr č'-i karotan-um gtn-el.
 POST REL-ABL exit.NOM he.NOM today neg-he is can-PTCP.PRES. find-INF

“All this brought a situation, when the opposition implicated itself in such a blind alley, from which it can not find an exit today.”

- (110) Լրագրողների այն հարցին, թե ինքն իրեն ճանաչում է որպես ահաբեկիչ, Հարությունյանը պատասխանել է. «Ես պարզապես մարդ եմ»:
(Armenpress 12.05.2005)

Lragroł-ner-i ayn harc'-i-n t'è ink'n iren
journalist-PL-DAT that question-DAT-the CONJ he-REFL
ĉanaĉ-um ē orpes ahabekiĉ Haruťyunyan-ĕ
know-PTCP.PRES. he is as terrorist.NOM Haruťyunyan.NOM-the
patasxan-el ē. Es parzapes mard em.
answer-PTCP.PERF. he is I.NOM simply human.NOM I am.

“Haruťyunyan answered to the question of the journalists, whether he recognises himself as terrorist,” I am simply a human.”

- (111) Առնետները, երբ սոված են մնում, խժռում են իրենց ծագերին, իսկ մարդն իրեն գոհաբերում է հանուն զավակների: (Azg 07.04.2006)

ařnet-ner-ĕ erb sov-ac en mn-um xĉř-um
rat-PL.NOM-the CONJ hungry they are stay-PTCP.PRES eat up-PTCP.PRES.
en irenc' jag-er-i-n isk mard-n iren
they are their young-PL-DAT-the CONJ man.NOM-the REFL
zohaber-um ē hanun zavaĉ-ner-i.
sacrifice-PTCP.PRES. he is PREP child-PL-DAT

“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.²³⁶

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:

236. Geniušiene 1987: 244; Kozintseva 1981: 81.

- 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).²³⁷

In MEA there is also a large group of lexicalised reflexive verbs:

- Grooming verbs: լվացվել *lvac'vel* “to wash oneself”, մաքրվել *mak'rvel* “to clean oneself”, սրբվել *srbvel* “to clean oneself”, զուգվել *zugvel* “to get dressed”, հագնվել *hagnvel* “to get dressed”, հանվել *hanvel* “to get undressed”, զարդարվել *zardarvel* “to adorn (oneself)”, կոկվել *kokvel* “to dress up”, պճնազարդվել *pčnazardvel* “to dress up”, պճնվել *pčnvel* “to doll oneself”, զգեստավորվել *zgestavorvel* “to get dressed”, սափրվել *sap'rvel* “to shave oneself”, ածիլվել *acilvel* “to shave (oneself)”, դիմակավորվել *dimakavorvel* “to mask; to disguise”, ներկվել *nerkvel* “to get coloured”, սանրվել *sanrvel* “to comb oneself” etc.

(112) Փոքրիկ աղջիկը լվացվում է:

p'ok'rik aljik-ě lvac'-v-um ē.
 little girl.NOM-the wash-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “The little girl washes (herself).”

- Some emotional verbs: զսպվել *zspel* “to restrain; to calm down; to tame”, լարվել *larvel* “to exert oneself”, տրմադրվել *tramadrvel* “to be prepared for”, պատրաստվել *patrastvel* “to prepare, to get ready”, նախապատրաստվել *naxapatrastvel* “to prepare, to get ready”, հուզվել *huzvel* “to be disturbed, to be agitated”, նեղվել *nelvel* “to take offense”, մտահոգվել *mtahogvel* “to care of, to worry” etc.

(113) Ռուսաստանը պատրաստվում է իր զորքերը դուրս հանել Տաջիկստանից:
 (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

Rusastan-ě patrast-v-um ē ir zork'-er-ě
 Russia.NOM-the get-ready-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is its troop-PL.NOM-the
durs hanel Tajikstan-ic'.
 remove-INF Tajikistan-ABL

“Russia is preparing to remove its troops from Tajikistan.”

- Verbs indicating the reason for a loss or damage e.g. այրվել *ayrvel* “to burn out”, թունավորվել *t'unavorvel* “to poison, to intoxicate”, խեղդվել *xeldvel* “to drown”, կեղտոտվել *keltotvel* “to dirty, to stain”, վարակվել *varakvel* “to be infected”, զոհվել *zohvel* “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) Ինձ շատ է անհանգստացնում այն, որ մեծ թվով մարդիկ են զոհվում:
(Armenpress, 16. 12.2005)

inj šat ē anhangsta-c'n-um ayn or mec
I.DAT INT it is make-uneasy-caus-PTCP.PRES. that CONJ big
t'v-ov mard-ik en zoh-v-um.
number-INST person-PL.NOM they are be sacrificed-refl-PTCP.PRES.

“It makes me very uneasy that people sacrifice themselves in huge numbers.”

- (115) Այս հիվանդությունով վարակվել է անգամ մեկ ամսական մի փոքրիկ:
(Armenpress 15.06.2006)

Ays hivandut'yun-ov varak-v-el ē angam mek amsakan
this illness-INST infect-refl-PTCP.PERF. it is even one month
mi pòk'rik.
INDEF little.NOM

“Even a one-month old child has contracted this illness.”

- Verbs indicating a change in location; translocation, such as թաքնվել *t'ak'nvel* “to hide (oneself)”, կողպվել *kolpvel* “to be locked”, պահվել *pahvel* “to repose”, տեղավորվել *telavorvel* “to find room, to be placed” etc.

- (116) Կալանված բեռը տեղավորվել է Թբիլիսիի սառցարանային պահեստներում:
(Armenpress 30.10.2005)

Kalan-v-ac beř-ě telavor-v-el ē
confiscate-pass-PTCP.RES. freight.NOM-the find room-refl-PTCP.PERF. it is
T'bilisi-i sařčaranayin pahest-ner-um.
Tbilisi-DAT refrigerating storage-house-PL-LOC

“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 հակադրվել *hakadrvel* “to contrast with”, համաձայնվել *hamajaynvel* “to agree with” etc.

- (117) Մի խումբ մարդկանց հայտարարությունները չպետք է հակադրվեն հիմնական զանգվածի, ժողովրդի շահերին: (Armenpress 31.3.2006)

mi xumb mard-k-anc' haytarat'yun-ner-ě
INDEF group.NOM man-PL-DAT statement-PL.NOM-the
č'petk' ē hakadr-v-en himnakan zangvac-i žolovrd-i
neg-contrast-refl-DEB.FUT.3.PL basic pile-DAT nation-DAT
šah-er-i-n.
interest-PL-DAT-the.

“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 organs²³⁸ such as գալարվել *galar-v-el* “to coil, to twist, to crinkle”, կկոցվել *kkoc'-v-el* “to squint, to narrow”, չռվել *č'ŕ-v-el* “to spread wide”, “to stare”; թարթվել *t'art-v-el* “to wink, to blink”, սրկվել *prk-v-el* “to tighten”, սուզվել *suz-v-el* “to sink, to drown, to plunge, to dive”, խոժոժվել *xožož-v-el* “to frown”, կնճռոտվել *knč'rot-v-el* “to crinkle, to wrinkle”, ծալվել *cal-v-el* “to fold, to bend”, ճոճվել *čoč'-v-el* “to rock, to swing” 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) Արամը կկոցեց իր աչքերը:

Aram-ě *kkoc'-ec'* *ir* *ač'k'-er-ě.*
 Aram.NOM-the narrow-AOR.3.SG his eye-PL.NOM-the
 “Aram narrowed his eyes.”

- (118) a. Արամի աչքերը կկոցվեցին:

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) Երեխան կնճռոտտուն է քիթը:

Erexa-n *knč'rot-um* *ē* *k'it'-ě.*
 child.NOM-the wrinkle-PTCP.PRES. it is nose.NOM-the
 “The child wrinkles its nose.”

- (119) a. Նրա քիթը կնճռոտվում է:

Nra *kit'-ě* *knč'rot-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 -վ- -v- have an inchoative interpretation, particularly with an expressed causer:

- (118) b. Արամի աչքերը կկոցվեցին արևից:

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.

- (119) b. Նրա քիթը կնճռոտվում է վատ հոտից:
Nra kit'-ě kničrot-v-um ē vat hot-ic'.
 his nose.NOM-the wrinkle-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is bad smell-ABL
 "His nose wrinkles from the bad smell."

- b. Causative reflexive verbs:²³⁹ 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 -վ- -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.²⁴⁰

The following sentences exemplify and explain this group of reflexives.

- (120) Տարեց մարդը բուժվեց չինացի բժշկի կողմից:
Tarec' mard-ě buž-v-ec' č'inac'i bžšk-i kołmic'.
 aged man.NOM-the heal-pass-AOR.3.SG Chinese doctor-DAT POST
 "The aged man was healed by the Chinese doctor"
 Comment: this is a typical passive sentence with an overtly expressed agent.

- (120) a. Տարեց մարդն ինքն իրեն բուժեց չինական դեղերով:
Tarec' mard-n (ink'n) iren bužec' č'inakan del-er-ov.
 aged man.NOM-the (he) REFL heal-AOR.3.SG Chinese drug-PL-INST
 "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:

Ես այստեղ եմ ապրելու և, պարզ է, կերակրվելու եմ քեզ մոտ:
es aystel em aprel-u ew parz ē kerakr-v-el-u em
 I. NOM here I am live-PTCP.FUT. CONJ clear it is feed-pass-PTCP.FUT. I am
kēz mot.
 you.DAT POST

"I will live here, and it is clear, I will be fed at (=by) you."

Here again, this is more a passive than reflexive meaning.

- (120) b. Տարեց մարդը բուժվեց չինական դեղերով:

Tarec' mard-ě buž-v-ec' č'inakan deł-er-ov.
 aged man.NOM-the heal-pass/refl-AOR.3.SG Chinese drug-PL-INST
 "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 խմվել *xmbvel* "to accumulate", հավաքվել *havak'vel* "to gather, to collect", կոտակվել *kotakvel* "to gather", խոնվել *x'invvel* "to swarm, to gather, to collect", համախմբվել *hamaxmbvel* "to gather, to align with", բաժանակվել *bažanvel* "to separate; to divide" etc.²⁴⁴

241. Geniušiene 1987: 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: Աշոտն ու Արամը գրկվեցին *Ašot-n u Aram-ě grkvec'in*. "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) Նրանք գրկվեցին: *Nrank' grk-v-ec'in*. *They embraced (each other)*.

(b) Աշոտն ու Արամը գրկվեցին: *Ašot-n u Aram-ě grk-v-ec'in*. *Ašot and Aram embraced (each other)*.

243. Term is from Geniusiene 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.

- (121) Առաջին անգամ Սփյուռքի և Հայաստանի մասնագետները հավաքվեցին. (Armenpress 07.04.2006):

Aʔaʒin angam Sp'yuʔk'-i ew Hayastan-i masnaget-ner-ě
 first time.NOM Diaspora-DAT CONJ Armenia-DAT specialist-PL.NOM-the
havak'-v-ec'in.
 gather-refl-AOR.3.PL

“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.²⁴⁵ These are verbs denoting emotional or thought reactions to a certain object, such as բավարարվել *bavararvel* “to be satisfied, content” հետաքրքրվել *hetak'rk'rvcl* “to be interested”, զմայլվել *zmaylvel* “to be delighted”, համոզվել *hamozvel* “to ascertain; to be convinced”, գրավվել *gravvel* “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.

- (122) 100 մ վազբատարածությունում 11.8 վրկ արդյունքով Սարինե Ղազարյանը բավարարվեց բրոնզե մեդալով: (Armenpress 15.01.2006)

100 m vazkataracut'yun-um 11.8 vrk ardyunk'-ov Marine
 100 m sprint-LOC 11.8 second.NOM result-INST Marine.NOM
Łazaryan-ě bavarar-v-ec' bronze medal-ov.
 Łazaryan.NOM-the satisfy-refl-AOR.3.SG bronze medal-INST

“For a result of 11.8 seconds in the 100 m sprint, Marine Łazaryan was satisfied (content) with a bronze medal.”

- (123) Տ.Պետրոսյանով շարունակում են հետաքրքրվել բազմաթիվ հետազոտողներ, գիտնականներ, շախմատի մասնագետներ և շախմատասերներ: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

T. Petrosyan-ov šarunak-um en hetak'rk'r-v-el bazmat'iv
 T. Petrosyan-INST continue-PTCP.PRES. they are interest-refl-INF numerous
hetazotoł-ner gitnakan-ner šaxmat-i masnaget-ner ew
 researcher-PL.NOM scientist-PL.NOM chess-DAT specialist-PL.NOM CONJ
šaxmataser-ner.
 chess amateur-PL.NOM

“Numerous researchers, scholars, chess professionals and chess amateurs continue to be interested in T. Petrosyan.”

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 տարբերվել *tarbervel* “to differ”, զանազանվել *zanazanvel* “to differ”, կապված լինել *kapvac linel* “to be connected, related”, հավասարվել *havasarvel* “to equal, to be equal to, to match”, արտահայտվել *artahaytvel* “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) Որդիներիցս ամենաշատը նրա հետ եմ կապված: (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
 “Of my sons I am most attached to him.”

- (125) Պատճառը կապված էր քառյակի նոր համերգային ծրագրի հետ: (Aravot 07.04.2006)

Patčar-ě kap-v-ac ēr kařjak-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 վերակառուցելը կամ վերանորոգելը, նրա խոսքերով, էապես տարբերվում է նոր շենքի կառուցումից: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)

Isk verakaruc’-el-ě kam veranorog-el-ě nra xosk’-er-ov
 CONJ rebuild.NOM-the CONJ renew.NOM-the his word-PL-INST
ēapes tarber-v-um ē nor šenk’-i kařuc’um-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).

- (127) Իսկ նրանց ֆիլմը տարբեր է մյուս խմբի աշխատանքից՝ թե գույներով, թե կոլորիտով: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Isk nranc' film-ě tarber ē myus xmb-i ašxatank'-ic'
 CONJ their film.NOM-the different it is other group-DAT work-ABL
tē guyn-er-ov tē kolorit-ov.
 CONJ colour-PL-INST CONJ colorit-INST

“And their film differs (=is different) from the work of the other group, both in colours and in colourit.”

- (128) Նախարարի խոսքերով, Հայաստանում գազի գները վաղ թե ուշ պետք է հավասարվեն համաշխարհային գներին,.... (Armenpress 29.09.2005)

Naxarar-i xosk'-er-ov Hayastan-um gaz-i gn-er-ě val
 minister-DAT word-PL-INST Armenia-LOC gas-DAT price-PL.NOM early
tē uš petk' ē havasar-v-el hamašxarhayin gn-er-i-n....
 CONJ late part it is equal-refl-INF global price-PL-DAT-the

“In the minister’s word, sooner or later the gas prices in Armenia have to equal the global prices...”

Comment: The reflexive verb of this sentence can be replaced by a copular verb + adjective expression, հավասար լինել *havasari linel* “to be equal”; i.e. պետք է հավասար լինել... *petk' ē havasari linel...* “have to be equal with the global prices”; thus creating a reflexive reading.

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).

- (129) Հայրս սափրիչի մոտ սափրվեց:

hayr-s sap'rič'-i mot sap'r-v-ec'.
 father.NOM-my barber-DAT POST shave-refl-AOR.3.SG
 “My father had (himself) shaved at the barber’s.”

This sentence has clear reflexive meaning. In contrast, the sentence below conveys a passive meaning because of the overt expression of the agent.

- (129) a. Հայրս սափրվեց սափարիչի կողմից:

hayr-s sap'r-v-ec' sap'rič'-i kolmic'.
 father.NOM-my shave-pass-AOR.3.SG barber-DAT POST
 “My father was shaved by the barber.”

- b. Dative transitive reflexives, with the meaning of benefactive, recipient or possessive/objective reflexive verbs do not occur in MEA.

- (130) Նա իր համար երեկ մի գիրք գնեց:
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) Նա կոտրեց իր աջ ոտքը:
na kotrec' ir aĵ otk'-ě.
 he.NOM break-AOR.3.SG his right leg.NOM-the
 “He broke his right leg.”

- (132) Արմենը վիրակապեց իր վնասված ձեռքը:
Armen-ě virakapec' ir vnas-v-ac jeĵk'-ě.
 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 -վ- -v-.

- (133) Ազնավուրն ասաց, որ ինքը խոնարհվում է նրա առաջ:
 (Armenpress 22.03.2006)
Aznavur-n asac' or ink-ě xonarh-v-um ě
 Aznavur.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ he bow-refl-PTCP.PRES. he is
nra aĵaĵ.
 he.GEN POST
 “Aznavur said, that he bowed before him.”

3.1.2.2.4 Reciprocalisation

Reciprocal constructions occur in MEA in two forms:

- a. morphological reciprocalisation by means of the multifunctional suffix *-վ- -v-*. Morphological reciprocals, however, appear quite seldom and are restricted to a few verbs, such as համբուրվել *hamburvel* “to kiss, embrace each other”, տեսնվել *tesnvel* “to see each other”, ողջագուրվել *oljagurvel* “to kiss, to embrace each other”. These reciprocal verbs seem to be lexicalised. There is no productive reciprocalisation and thus no detransitivisation process with *-վ- -v-* to observe in MEA.
- b. analytical reciprocalisation by means of a transitive verb and the reciprocal pronouns *իրար irar*, միմյանց *mimjanc*²⁴⁷, մեկնմեկ *meknmek* 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. Անուշն ու Արամը համբուրվում են:
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. Անուշն ու Արամը համբուրում են իրար:
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) «Հին Կամուրջը» ժամանակին եղել է Քասախ գետի եզրերն իրար կապող միակ կամուրջը: (Armenpress 07.04.2006)
“Hin kamurj-ě žamanakin eł-el ē K’asax get-i
 old bridge.NOM-the once be-PTCP.PERF. it is K’asax river-DAT
ezr-er-n irar kap-oł miak kamurj-ě.
 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 K’asax (to each other).

247. Gleitman et al. 1996: 321–376.

- (136) Սովորաբար պետություններն իրար հետ առևտուր են անում ռազմավարական նյութերով: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

Sovorabar petut'yun-ner-n irar het a'ewtur en
 usually state-PL.NOM-the REC POST commerce.NOM they are
an-um řazmavarakan nyut'-er-ov.
 do-PTCP.PRES. strategic material-PL-INST

“States usually do merchandise (with each other) with strategic materials.”

- (137) Ս. Հարության տոնին հավատացյալների միմյանց դիմում են հետևյալ կերպ...: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)

Surb Harut'yan ton-i-n havataç'yal-ner-i mimyanc'
 Holy Resurrection-DAT festive day-DAT-the believer-PL-DAT REC
dim-um en hetewyal kerp.
 address-PTCP.PRES. they are following form.NOM

“On the festive day of Holy Resurrection, believers address each other in the following way...”

3.1.2.3 Doublets

Because of the multifunctional morphological suffix *-վ- -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/Anticausative²⁴⁸

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

248. see Kozintseva 1974: 88.

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) Ավտոմեքենան արագորեն շարժվեց դեպի փողոց:

avtomek'ena-n avtotnak-ic' aragoren šarž-v-ec'
car.NOM-the garage-ABL quickly move-antic/pass-AOR.3.SG

depi p'oloc'.

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 աղջիկը շատ դանդաղ է շարժվում:

ays aljik-ě šat dandał ē šarž-v-um.
this girl.NOM-the INT slow she is move-antic-PTCP.PRES.

“This girl moves very slowly.” (Anticausative)

(140) Քարերը հեռացվեցին ճանապարհից:

k'ar-er-ě heřac'-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/Reflexive²⁵⁰

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) Նախկինում գյուղացիները լվացվում էին միայն շաբաթ օրը:
Naxkin-um gyulac'i-ner-ě lvac-v-um ěin
 former days-LOC farmer-PL.NOM-the wash-refl-PTCP.PRES. they were
miayn šabat' ōr-ě.
 only Saturday day.NOM-the
 “In former days farmers washed (themselves) only on Saturdays.”

(142) Կեղտոտ շորերը լվացվում էին ամեն շաբաթ:
Kettoť šor-er-ě lvac'-v-um ěin amen šabat'.
 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/Reciprocal²⁵¹

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

250. see Kozintseva 1974: 88.

251. see Kozintseva 1974: 88.

252. Kozinceva 1981: 94. The basic verbs are regular transitives with a direct object, expressed by +animate/+–human or –animate nouns.

- (143) Արագածոտնում հավաքվել է շուրջ 40000 տոննա հացահատիկ:
(Armenpress 15.11.2005)
Aragacotn-um havak'-v-el ē šurj
Aragacotn-LOC collect-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is approximately
40000 tonna hač'hatik.
40000 ton.NOM grain.NOM
“Approximately 40,000 tons of grain have been collected in Aragacotn.” (Passive)
- (144) Ահա թե ինչու են այսօր այստեղ հավաքվել քսանից ավելի երկրների
ներկայացուցիչներ: (Armenpress 14.11.2005)
aha tē inč'u en aysōr aystel havak'-v-el
behold CONJ why theyare today here gather-refl-PTCP.PERF.
k'san-ic' aveli erkr-ner-i nerkayac'uc'ic'-ner.
twenty-ABL more country-PL-DAT representative-PL.NOM
“That is why representatives of more than 20 countries have gathered today here.”

e. Converse Reflexives

Verbs denoting emotional or thought reactions to a certain object, such as բավարարվել *bavararvel* “to be satisfied, content” հետաքրքրվել *hetak'rk'rvcl* “to be interested”, գմայլվել, համոզվել *hamozvel* “to ascertain; to be convinced”, գրավվել *gravvel* “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).

- (145) Գուգարքի տարածաշրջանում 12 գործից բավարարվել է 5-ը, մեկը մերժվել:
(Armenpress 22.03.2006)
Gugark'-i taracašrjan-um tasnerku gorc-ic' bavarar-v-el ē
Gugark'-DAT region-LOC twelve case-ABL fulfil-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
hing-ě mek-ě merž-v-el.
five.NOM-the one.NOM-the reject-pass-PTCP.PERF.
“In the region of Gugark' five of twelve cases have been fulfilled, one rejected.”

In (122) is the verb բավարարվել *bavararvel* is used in the reflexive sense with a (+human) grammatical subject and in (145) in the passive sense, with a (–human) grammatical subject, and omitted agent.

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) Շունը պտտվում էր:

šun-ě ptt-v-um ēr.
 dog-the spin round-refl-PTCP.PRES. it was
 “The dog spun around.”

(147) Հողը պտտվում էր երկու րոպե:

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 *-ը/-ն*
- the possessive suffixes *-u, -ի, -ն, -s-, -d-, -n*
- the attributive demonstrative pronouns such as *այս այդ այն ays, ayd, ayn* etc. as well as the attributive identity pronouns such as *նույն nuyn* “the same”, etc.
- the indefinite article *մի mi*
- non-specific determiners such as *ուրիշ uriš* “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.

- (148) Եվ մենք այնտեղ նյութական հարուստ ունեցվածք ունենք:
(Armenpress 31.03.2006)

ev menk' ayntel nyut'akan harust unec'vack' un-enk'.

CONJ we.NOM there material rich property.NOM have-PRES.1.PL

“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 մի քանի *mi kani* “some”, մի շարք *mi šark'* “a series, a range of”, մի խումբ *mi xumb* “a group of, a lot of...”, մի երկու *mi erku* “some” etc.
- universal quantifiers subdivided into collective quantifiers such as բոլորը *boror* “all”; ողջ *olj* “whole”, ամբողջ *ambolj* “all, whole, entire”, համայն *hamayn* “all, whole” etc. and distributive quantifiers such as ամեն *amen* “every; each”, յուրաքանչյուր *yurak'anč'yur* “each, every”, ամենայն *amenayn* “all, every”,²⁵³ ամեն մի *amen mi* “each” etc.

- (149) Մինչդեռ երեք ամիսը բավարար չէ էքսկուրսավար դառնալու համար,...

Minčdeř erek' amis-ě bavarar č'-ē ēk'skursavar
CONJ three month.NOM-the enough neg-it is tour guide.NOM
dařn-al-u hamar...
become-INF-DAT POST

“Whereas the(se) three months are not enough to become a tour guide...”

- (150) Այսօր երկրում բազմաթիվ խնդիրներ կան, սակայն քաղաքական հակամարտությամբ դրանք չեն լուծվի: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

Aysōr erkr-um bazmat'iv xndir-ner k-an sakayn
today country-LOK numerous problem-PL.NOM exist-PRES.3.PL CONJ
k'alak'akan hakamartut'y-amb drank' č'-en luc-v-i.
political conflict-INST they neg-they are solve-pass-PART.NEG

“Today there are numerous problems in the country, but they will not be solved with a political conflict.”

253. ամենայն *amenayn* is rarely used; it is more or less obsolete and can be used only in a few contexts.

- (151) Նախարարները կստորագրեն մի շարք փաստաթղթեր: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)
naxarar-ner-ě kstoragr-en mi šark' p'astat't'-er.
 minister-PL.NOM-the sign-COND.FUT.3.PL a series document-PL.NOM
 “The ministers will sign a series of documents.”
- (152) Կոռուպցիայի դեմ ամբողջ աշխարհն է պայքարում... (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
Kořupc'ia-yi dem amboļj ašxarh-n ē paykar-um.
 corruption-DAT POST whole world.NOM-the it is fight-PTCP.PRES.
 “The whole world is fighting against corruption.”
- (153) Աշխարհում ամեն տարի տուբերկուլյոզից մահանում է 2 մլն մարդ
 (Armenpress 24.04.2006)
Ašxarh-um amen tari tuberkulyoz-ic' mahan-um ē
 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 լինել թերություններ, բայց կեղծիքներով ընտրացուցակները բացառվում են: (Azg 07.04.2006)
Kar-oļ en lin-el t'erut'yun-ner bayc'
 an-PTCP.PRES they are be-INF shortcoming-PL.NOM CONJ
keļcik'-ner-ov ěntrac'uc'ak-ner-ě bac'ař-v-um en.
 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 *aysinč'* “so-and-so”, այնինչ *ayninč'* “so-and-so”, ինչ-որ *inč'-or* “some”, որևէ *orewē* “any”, որևիցէ *orewicē* “any”; ոչ մի *oč mi* “no” etc
- interrogative pronouns such as քանի *k'ani* “how many/much?”, ո՞ր *or* “which?”, ի՞նչպիսի *inč'pisi/n'rapisi*? “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. ոսկե *oske* < *osk-e* “(made) from gold” = golden, also արծաթե *arcate* “lit. from silver = silver”, փայտե *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. իմ *im* “my”, քո *kò* “your”, նրա *nra* “his, her, its”, մեր *mer* “our”, ձեր *jer* “your”, նրանց *nranc’* “their”) as well as the genitives of the intensive pronoun functioning as attributive reflexive possessive pronouns իր *ir* “his, her, its own”, իրենց *irenc’* “their own”
- attributive nouns in the dative, expressing a possessive relation to the head noun (“GEN”)
- possessive suffixes -u -s, -դ -d
- possessivised elements are expressed by means of the suffix -ին *-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 գյուղում շատ ընտանիքներ ունեն իրենց օձերը: (Mayreni 3: 22)

Ararat gyul-um šat ėntanik’-ner-ė un-en
 Ararat.NOM village-LOC many family-PL.NOM-the have.PRES.3.PL
irenc’ òj-er-ė.
 their snake-PL.NOM-the

“In Ararat village (the) many families have their own snakes.”

(156) Կարելի է այն մոր տղան էլ հեռու տեղ է, ու ես նրան իմ որդու բաժինն եմ տալիս: (Mayreni 3: 65)

Kareli ē ayn mor tla-n ēl heřu tel ē
 possible it is that mother-DAT boy.NOM-the still far place.NOM he is
u es nran im ordu bařin-n em tal-is.
 CONJ I.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) Մեծ քույրս սովորում է իններորդ դասարանում: (Mayreni 3: 47)

Mec k’uyr-s sovor-um ē 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) Միջնադարում գյուղացիների բերքի մեկ երրորդը ֆեոդալինն էր:

Mijnadar-um gyulac’i-ner-i berk’-i mek error-d-ė
 middle age-LOC farmer-PL-DAT harvest-DAT one third.NOM-the
feodal-in-n ēr.
 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 -ած -ac
- the subject participle in -ող -ot
- the future participle in -իք -ik'

Attributive participles precede their head-noun.

- (159) Հարցված երիտասարդները խիստ դժգոհ են բուհերում տիրող կաշառակերության մթնոլորտից.... (Azg 06.04.2006)

Harc'-v-ac eritasard'-ner-ě xist džgoh en
ask-pass-PTCP.RES young-PL.NOM-the INT dissatisfied they are
buh-er-um tir-ot kašařakerut'y-an
inst.higher education-PL-LOC reign-PTCP.SUB. corruption-DAT
mt'nolort-ic'...
atmosphere-ABL

“The interviewed youngsters are extremely dissatisfied with the atmosphere of corruption dominating in the institutes of higher education.”

- (160) Շենքին հարող սարածքում մեքենաների թիվը դժվար էր հաշվել: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

řenk'-i-n har-ot tarack'-um mekena-ner-i
building-DAT-the adjoin-PTCP.SUB. area-LOC car-PL-DAT
t'iv-ě džvar ěr hařv-el.
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-ին իրականացվելիք շինարարական աշխատանքների համար նախատեսված է 100 միլիոն դրամ: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

2004-in irakanac'-v-elik' řinarakan ařcatank'-ner-i
2004-DAT-the realize-pass-PTCP.FUT.II building work-PL-DAT
hamar naxates-v-ac ě 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 նախագահ Քոճարյան *naxagah K'oč'aryan*²⁵⁶ “K'oč'aryan, the president” (asking “which K'oč'aryan?”). 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 Քոճարյան նախագահ *K'oč'aryan naxagah* “President K'oč'aryan” (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 (տեր *ter* “Lord”, պարոն *paron* “Mister”, տիկին *tikin* “madam, Lady”, հայր *hayr* “father” etc.).

(162) Սարատովի մարզի Բալտայ քաղաքում ռուս և հայ դպրոցականների ծեծկռուք է տեղի ունեցել: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

Saratov-i marz-i Baltay kalak'-um rus ew
Saratov-DAT province-DAT Baltay.NOM town-LOC Russian CONJ

255. Please note that in traditional Armenian grammar terminology the term բացահայտիչ *bac'ahaytic'*, 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.

Hay dpročakan-ner-i ceckřtuk' ē teli 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) Մի քանի ամիս առաջ պարոն Մովսիսյանը հայտնել էր, որ Հայաստանն էլ ծախսելու ոչինչ չունի, բայց պարզվեց՝ ունի. (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Mi kani amis ařaj paron Movsisyan-ě haytn-el
 a few month.NOM POST Mr. Movsisyan.NOM-the report-PTCP.PRES.

ēr or Hayastan-n ēl cax-el-u oč'inč'
 he was CONJ Armenia.NOM-the anymore sell-INF-DAT nothing

č'-un-i bayc' parz-v-ec' un-i.
 neg-have-PRES.3.SG CONJ turn-out-pass-AOR.3.SG have-PRES.3.SG

“A few months ago, Mr. Movsisyan had reported that Armenia had nothing to sell anymore, but it turned out, it has.”

- (164) “Սպառողների միություն” հասարակական կազմակերպության նախագահ Արմեն Պողոսյանը երևոյթը որակում է որպես “փոթորիկ մեկ բաժակ ջրում”:
 (Azg 08.04.2006)

Spařol-ner-i miut'yun hasarakakan kazmakerput'yan
 consumer-PL-DAT union.NOM public organization-DAT

naxagah Armen Połosyan-ě erewuyt'-ě orak-um
 president Armen Połosyan.NOM-the event.NOM-the characterise-PTCP.PRES.

ē orpes pōťorik mek bažak řr-um.
 he is CONJ storm.NOM one glass.NOM water-LOC

“Armen Połosyan, the president of the public organization “Consumers’ Union”, characterises the event as “storm in a tea-cup.”²⁵⁷

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 եղբայրը, լավ է սովորում:

Vardan-ě im ełbayr-ě lav ē sovor-um.
 Vardan.NOM-the my brother.NOM-the well he is learn-PTCP.PRES.
 “Vardan, my brother, learns well.”

(166) Ումբերտո Էկոյի այս գիրքը՝ գրողի երկերից ամենահետաքրքրականը, երկրորդ անգամ կարդացի:

Umberto Eko-y-i ays girk-ě grot-i erk-er-ic'
 Umberto Eco-DAT this book.NOM-the author-DAT work-PL-ABL
amenahetak'rk'akan-ě 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 որպես *orpes*, իբրև *ibrew*, ինչպես *inč'pes* or օրինակ *ōrinak* “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.²⁵⁹

(167) Սա նրա՝ որպես պետության ղեկավարի, առաջին պաշտոնական այցն է:
 (Armenpress 22.01.2005)

Sa nra orpes petut'y-an lekavar-i a'ajin paštonakan
 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 ²⁶⁰

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.

259. Such appositions are termed մասնական բացահայտիչ *masnakan bac'ahaytič'* “appositions with particles” by Armenian Grammarians, e.g. S. Abrahamyan 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.

- 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) Նովոսիբիրսկում ոստիկանները ծերբակալել են 10-ամյա աղջկա, որը թմրանյութերի վաճառքով էր զբաղվում: (Ařavot, 08.04.2006)

Novosibirsk-um ostikan-ner-ě jerbakalel en
 Novosibirsk-LOC policeman-PL.NOM-the arrest-PTCP.PERF. they are
10-amyā ałjk-a or-ě t'mranyut'-er-i vačark'-ov ēr
 10 year girl-DAT REL.NOM-the drug-DAT-PL sell-INST she was
zbałv-um.
 work-PTCP.PRES.

“In Novosibirsk (the) policemen arrested a ten-year old girl who was involved in drug-selling.”

(169) Երևանը, որ Հայաստանի մայրաքաղաքն է, գտնվում է Արարատյան դաշտավայրում:

Erevan-ě or Hayastan-i mayrakalak'-n ē
 Yerevan.NOM-the REL.NOM Armenia-DAT capital.NOM-the it is
gtn-v-um ē Araratyan dařtavayr-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) Տեսա Արեմնին, որը իմ դասընկերն էր:

Tes-a Armen-i-n or-ě im
 See-AOR.1.SG Armen-DAT-the REL.NOM-the my
dasenker-n ēr.
 schoolfriend.NOM-the he was

“I saw Armen who was my school friend.”

- (171) Դրանք շատ հետաքրքիր փաստաթղթեր են, որոնք հայերեն լեզվով
 հրատարակվում են առաջին անգամ: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)
Drank' šat hetak'rk'ir p'astat'h'-er en or-onk'
 They INT interesting document-PL.NOM they are REL-PL.NOM
hayeren lezv-ov hratak-v-um en a'ajin angam.
 Armenian language-INST publish-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are first time.NOM.
 “Those are very 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 proposed to the noun they modify.

Two kinds of such relative clauses are distinguished depending on whether the shortened proposed 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 *-ած -ac* as well as the future participle II in *-իք -ik'* are commonly used for such proposed shortened relative clauses, both in written and spoken Armenian.

- (172) Արայի կատարած աշխատանքից գոհ մնացին բոլորը:
Ara-yi katar-ac ašxatank'-ic' goh mnač'in
 Ara-DAT fulfil-PTCP.RES. work-ABL satisfied remain-AOR3.PL
bolor-ě.
 all.NOM-the
 “Everybody (lit. all) was satisfied with the work fulfilled by Ara.” (Lit: all was satisfied with Ara’s fulfilled work.)

- (173) Թարգմանվելիք էջերը նշված են կարմիրով:
T'argman-v-elik' ēj-er-ě nš-v-ac en
 translate-pass-PTCP.FUT.II. page-PL.NOM-the mark-pass-PTCP.RES they are
karmir-ov.
 red-INST
 “The pages that shall be translated are marked with red.”

– 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) Ով շատ է աշխատում, նա շատ է ստանում:
ov šat ē ašxat-um na šat ē 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.)²⁶¹

– Nominative Direct Object

The direct object is morphologically marked with the nominative if it is:

- (-human)/(-animate), definite (176)
- (-human)/(-animate), indefinite (177)
- as well as objectified (+human)/(+animate) nouns, regardless of them being definite or indefinite (178):

(175) Ես այն ժամանակ իմ աչքերով եմ տեսել այդ մոտիկ ժողովուրդների դժբախտությունը: (Armenpress 05.12.2005)

Es ayn žamanak im ač'k'-er-ov em tes-el ayd
I.NOM that time.NOM my eye-PL-INST I am see-PTCP.PERF. that
motik žolovurd-ner-i džbaxtut'yun-ě.
close people-PL-DAT misfortune.NOM-the

“At that time I have seen with my (own) eyes the misfortune of those close peoples.”

(176) Անձամբ ինձ նվիրեցին հիանալի փնջեր: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

anj-amb inj nvir-ec'-in hianali p'nj-er.
person-INST I.DAT give-AOR.3.PL wonderful bouquet-PL.NOM
“They have personally given me wonderful bouquets.”

(177) Երեկ եղբայրս բժիշկ կանչեց տատիկի համար:

erek ełbayr-s bžišk kanč'-ec' tatik-i hamar.
yesterday brother.NOM-my doctor.NOM call-AOR.3.SG grandma-DAT POST
“Yesterday my brother called a doctor for Grandma.”

– Dative Direct Object

The direct object is morphologically marked with the dative if it is

- (+human), (+animate), definite (179)
- (+human), (+animate), indefinite (180)
- as well as personified (-animate/-human) nouns regardless of whether they are definite or indefinite (181)

261. comp. Papoyan 2003: 11.

- (178) Թուրքերը իրենց ամենաթանկ բանը՝ երեխաներին վստահում են հայաստանցիներին: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
- T'urk'-er-ě irenc' amena-t'ank ban-ě erexa-ner-i-n*
 turk-PL.NOM-the their most expensive thing.NOM-the child-PL-DAT-the
vstah-um en hayastanc'i-ner-i-n.
 entrust-PTCP.PRES. they are Armenian-PL-DAT-the
 “The Turks entrust their most precious thing, the(ir) children, to Armenians.”
- (179) Եվ հանրապետության նախագահի ցուցումով մենք ձեռնամուխ ենք եղել շատ «եռանդ ցուցաբերած» մարդկանց գտնել: (Armenpress 13.01.2005)
- Ev hanrapetut'y-an naxagah-i c'uc'um-ov menk' jeřnamux*
 CONJ republic-DAT president-DAT instruction-INST we.NOM disposed we
enk' el-el řat "eřand c'uc'aber-ac" mardk-anc' gtn-el.
 are be-PTCP.PERF. many “energy.NOM show-PTCP.RES.” person-PL.DAT find-INF
 “And with the Republic’s president’s instruction we have disposed ourselves to find many persons ‘having shown energy’”.
- (180) Անին սիրում է իր հոր շանը:
- Ani-n sir-um ě ir hor řan-ě.*
 Ani.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. she is her father-DAT dog-DAT-the
 “Ani loves her father’s dog”. (i.e. a specific, definite dog: the animal is regarded ani-
 mate and as a “person”)

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.

- (181) Անին շներ է սիրում:
- Ani-n řn-er ě sir-um.*
 Ani.NOM-the dog-PL.NOM she is love-PTCP.PRES.
 “Ani loves dogs.” (I.e. a non-specific, indefinite dog: dogs in general,
 as animals)

– 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

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:²⁶³ ուտել *utel* “to eat”, խմել *xmel* “to drink”, ճաշակել *čašakel* “to taste; to partake”, ծախել *caxel* “to sell”, տալ *tal* “to give”, տանել *tanel* “to carry, to take”, կատարել *katarel* “to fulfil, to complete”, կարդալ *kardal* “to read”, թարգմանել *t’argmanel* “to translate”, հաղորդել *halordel* “to communicate, to broadcast”, լսել *lsel* “to hear”, նվազել *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;²⁶⁴ e.g. with verbs such as տալ *tal* “to give”, հանձնել *hanjnel* “to hand (over), to deliver”, մատուցել *matuĉ’el* “to present; to offer”, նվիրել *nvirel* “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 ասել *asel* “say”, հաղորդել *halordel* “to communicate”, բացատրել *baĉ’atrel* “to explain”, կտակել *ktakel* “to will” etc., see (183) below
- the cause of causative constructions, see (184) below.

- (182) Այս մասին այսօր լրագրողներին ասաց ՀՀ արտգործնախարար Վարդան Օսկանյանը: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

Ays masin aysōr lragrot-ner-i-n asac’ HH
 this POST today journalist-PL-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG RA
artagorcnaaxarar.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan-ĕ.
 Foreign Minister.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan.NOM-the

“The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Armenia, Vardan Ōskanyan, spoke to the journalists about that...”

- (183) Տատիկը իր թոռնիկին ուտել տվեց խնձորը:

Tatik-ĕ ir t’ōrnik-i-n ut-el tv-ec’
 Tatik.NOM-the her grandchild-DAT-the eat-INF give-AOR.3.SG
xnjor-ĕ.
 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 մատուցման խնդիր *matuĉ’man xndir* “object of offering”.

Dative objects can but also depend on the semantics of the verbs which assign dative to its argument, other than the subject,²⁶⁵ i.e. verbs that express the approaching to a person/object, such as e.g. մոտենեալ *motenal* “to approach, to draw near”, հասնել *hasnel* “to reach, to arrive” etc.

- (184) 2003թ.օգոստոսին սկսված Լոռու մարզի Քարինջ գյուղի ջրատարի վերակառուցման աշխատանքները մոտենում են ավարտին:
(Armenpress 13.06.2006)
- 2003t. *ōgostos-i-n* *sks-v-ac* *Loř-u* *marz-i*
2003 August-DAT-the begin-pass-PTCP.RES. Loři-DAT province-DAT
K'arinj gyul-i j'atar-i verakařuc'm-an ařxatank'-ner-ě
K'arinj.NOM village-DAT conduit-DAT rebuilding-DAT work-PL.NOM-the
moten-um en avert-i-n.
approach-PTCP.PRES. they are termination-DAT-the
“The rebuilding works of the conduit in the village of K'arinj or Loři 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) Լիլիթը գնաց հացի:
Lilit'-ě gnac' hac'-i.
Lilit'.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG bread-DAT
“Lilit' went for bread.” (i.e. Lilit' went to buy bread)

3.1.4.1.3 *Oblique objects*

Oblique objects, as mentioned above, are not considered to be among the primary syntactic functions of a language and are not usually dependent on the valence of the verb. Instead, they express specific semantic functions and semantic categories, which are not directly related to the action expressed by the verb (predicate) locative, such as the agent (logical subject) in passive constructions.

a. The Agentive Object (Agent of the Passive Sentence)²⁶⁶

This oblique object denotes the person/entity whose activity or action passes over to the subject. It stands for the logical agent of a passive clause, but is grammatically expressed as an oblique object of a passivised verb with

265. In Armenian grammars this “indirect object” is labelled հանգման խնդիր *hangman xndir* “object of approach”.

266. see Abrahamyan 2004: 43–44; Papoyan 2003: 144–5.

- the bare ablative
 - the synthetical ablative in a postpositional phrase with the postposition կողմից *kołmic'* 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 Separation²⁶⁷

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.

(186) Որոշ ժամանակ անց նա հեռանում է իր հայրենի գյուղից:

(Armenpress 19.01.2006)

oroš žamanak anc' na heřan-um ē ir hayreni
 certain time POST he.NOM depart-PTCP.PRES. he is his native
gyuł-ic'.
 village-ABL

“After a certain time, he departs from his native village.”

(187) Նա տեղեկացրեց, որ թատրոնը պետությունից ոչ մի կոպեկ չի ստացել:

(Ařavot 08.04.06)

Na telekac'rec' or t'atron-ě petuťyun-ic' oč' mi
 he.NOM inform-AOR.3.SG CONJ theatre.NOM-the state-ABL neg INDEF
kopek č'-i stac'-el.
 kopek neg-it is receive-PTCP.PERF.

“He informed that the theatre did not receive a penny from the state.”

(188) Նկատի ունեմ այն հիմնական խնդիրը, որից ծագել է այս ամբողջ կռիվը:

(Ařavot 04.04.2006)

Nkati un-em ayn himnakan xndir-ě or-ic'
 account have-PRES.1.SG that basic problem.NOM-the REL-ABL
cag-el ē ays amboť křiv-ě.
 result-PTCP.PERF. it is this whole quarrel.NOM-the.

“I take this basic problem, which the whole quarrel resulted from, into account.”

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 միջոցով *mijoc'ov* “by means of”, շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thanks to”²⁶⁸+ noun in dative.

- (189) Իսկ մերած լեզվով չի կարելի շունչ ներարկել կենդանի իրականությունը:
(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-ě.
infuse-INF living reality-DAT-the

“And it is not possible to infuse life to the living reality with a dead language.”

- (190) Խնդիրը հետևյալն է. ինձնից շանտաժի և ահաբեկությունների միջոցով գումարներ են կորզվել: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Xndir-ě hetewyal-n ē injn-ic' šantaž-i ew
problem.NOM-the following.NOM-the it is I-ABL blackmail-DAT CONJ
ahabekut'yun-ner-i mijoc'ov gumar-ner en korz-v-el.
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.”

- (191) Իր ընկերոջ շնորհիվ դարձի է գալիս և ընդունում քրիստոնեական հավատքը:
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)

im ěnker-oj šnorhiv darj-i ē gal-is ew
my friend-DAT POST conversion-DAT he is come-PTCP.PRES.3.SG CONJ
ěndun-um k'ristoneakan havatk'-ě.
adopt-PTCP.PRES. Christian belief.NOM-the

“Thanks to my friend, he converts and adopts the Christian belief.”

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 մասին *masin* “about”, վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* “referring to, regarding”, նկատմամբ *nktamamb* “with respect to”, հանդեպ *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”, խոսել

268. I, personally, see no function of “means, instrument” expressed with the postposition շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thanks to”, as in the example (192). This belongs instead to objects of reason.

xosel “to speak”, պատմել *patmel* “to tell”, ցրուցել *zruc’el* “to talk”, գանգատվել *gangat-vel* “to complain”, բամբասել *bambasel* “to gossip”, կարծիք հայտնել *karcik’ haytnel* “to declare one’s opinion”, դատել *datel* “to think; to judge” etc.

- (192) Անհրաժեշտ է, որ կողմերը հրաժարվեն խոսելու ուժի դիրքերից:
(Armenpress 14.12.2005)

Anhražešt ē or kołm-er-ě hražar-v-en
necessary it is CONJ side-PL.NOM-the refuse-antic-SUBJ.FUT.3. PL
xos-el už-i dirk’-er-ic’.
speak-INF power-DAT situation-PL-ABL

“It is necessary that the sides refuse to speak about the situation of the power.”

- (193) Խորհրդակցության ընթացքում խոսվել է վարկային կազմակերպությունների գործունեության ընդլայնման մասին: (Armenpress 22.01.2006)

xorhrdak’ut’y-an ěnt’ac’k’um xos-v-el ē varkayin
meeting-DAT POST speak-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is credit
kazmakerpuťyun-ner-i gorcuneuťyan ěndlaynm-an masin.
organization-PL-DAT activity-DAT expansion-DAT POST

“During the meeting they spoke about the expansion of the activity of credit organisations.” (lit. it was spoken about....)

- (194) Աղբահանության խնդիրների հանդեպ անտարբերություն են ցուցաբերում նաև տնտեսվարող սուբյեկտները: (Armenpress 15.12.2005)

Albahanuťyan-xndir-ner-i handep antarberuťyun en
waste disposal-DAT problem-PL-DAT POST indifference.NOM they are
c’uc’aber-um naew intesavar-oł subyekt-ner-ě.
show-PTCP.PRES. also economically-govern-PTCP.SUB. subject-PL.NOM-the

“Regarding the problems of waste disposal, economically governing subjects also show indifference”.

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 *քան* *kan* “than” and the standard in the nominative.

- (195) Եղբոր աղջիկը իմ տղայից մեծ է:

Elbor aljik-ě im tla-y-ic’ mec ē.
brother-DAT girl.NOM-the my boy-ABL old she is

“My brother’s daughter is older than my son.”

- (196) Իմ առողջությունը շատ լավ է և ավելի առողջ եմ, քան բոլոր այն մարդիկ, ովքեր փորձում են շահարկել դա: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)
- im arołʃut'yun-ě šat lav ē ew aveli aʃołj em kʰan bolor*
 my health.NOM-the INT good it is CONJ more healthy I am COMP all
ayn mard-ik ov-kèr pòrj-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 *քան kʰan* and the standard in the nominative is possible.

- (197) Բախշյանը նույնիսկ ասաց, որ այսօր իր հուսահատությունն ավելի խորն է, քան հոկտեմբերի 27-ին էր: (Aʃavot 08.04.2006)
- Baxšyan-ě nuynisk as-ac' or aysōr ir husahatut'yun-n*
 Baxšyan.NOM-the even say-AOR.3.SG CONJ today his despair.NOM-the
aveli xor-n ē kʰan 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) Շվեյցարիայից Հայաստան է վերադարձել 9 ընտանիք՝ 24 անձից բաղկացած: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)
- Šveycʰaria-y-ic' Hayastan ē veradarj-el 9 ěntanik'*
 Switzerland-ABL Armenia.NOM it is return-PTCP.PERF. 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) Անահիտը թույլ է օտար լեզվից:
Anahit-ě t'uył ē oțar lezv-ic'.
 Anahit.NOM-the weak she is foreign language-ABL
 “Anahit is weak in foreign languages.”
- (200) Այդ տղամարդը ազգությամբ հայ է:
ayđ tlamard-ě azgut'y-amb hay ē.
 that man.NOM-the nationality-INST Armenian he is
 “That man is Armenian by nationality.”
- (201) Վարդանը սխալ էր իր հաշիվներում:
Vardan-ě sxal ēr ir hašiv-ner-um.
 Vardan.NOM-the wrong he was his calculation-PL-LOC
 “Vardan was wrong in his calculations.”
- (202) Քանի որ մասնագիտությամբ բեմադրիչ էի, բեմի նկարչությունն ինձ գրավում էր խորքով, տարազով, իմաստով և ամենակարեւորը՝ լույս ու ստվերով: (Armen-press 23.01.2006)
kani or masnatitut'y-amb bemadrič' ēi bem-i nkarčut'yun-n
 CONJ profession-INST performer.NOM I was stage-DAT painting.NOM-the
inj grav-um ēr xork'-ov taraz-ov imasto-ov
 I.DAT seize-PTCP.PRES. it was depth-INST costumes-INST meaning-INST
ew amena-karewor-ě luys u stver-ov.
 CONJ most important.NOM-the light.NOM CONJ shadow-INST
 “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) Իմ հայրը աշխատում է Անի հյուրանոցում:
Im hayr-ě ašxat-um ē Ani hyuranoc'-um.
 my father.NOM-the work-PTCP.PRES. he is Ani.NOM hotel-LOC
 “My father works in the Hotel Ani.”
- (204) Իմ հայրը Անի հյուրանոցում է:
Im hayr-ě Ani hyuranoc'-um ē.
 my father.NOM-the Ani.NOM hotel-LOC he is
 “My father is in the Hotel Ani.”

The most common categories of adverbial adjuncts and complements are:

- a. place
- b. time
- c. manner
- d. purpose
- e. cause
- f. reason
- g. concession
- h. condition
- i. measure/quantity
- j. 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 *որտե՞ղ ortel* “where?”
- It denotes the place in which direction the action is directed. It answers the question *ն՞որտ ur* “where to?”
- It signifies the place from where the action/movement of the subject starts. It answers the question *որտեղի՞ց ortelic* “where from?”.
- It indicates the place through/on/over/under etc. which the action/movement of the subject passes. It answers the question *որի՞ վրայով ori vrayov* “on/upon what?”, *որի՞ միջոցով ori mijocov* “through what?”, *որի՞ մոտով ori mot* “close to/near what?”, etc.

The complement/adjunct can be expressed

- a. with local adverbs, including forms like *այստեղ aystel* “here”, *այնտեղ 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.²⁶⁹ 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 մեջ *mej* “in”, վրա *vra* “on”, տակ *tak* “under”, etc. (212)

(205) Աշէնք, որ այս տարի Սուրբ Ծնունդն այստեղ նույնպէս նշվել էր նոր տոնարով:(Armenpress 29.03.2006)

nšenk' or ays tari Surb Cnund-n aystel
 note-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL. CONJ this year.NOM Christmas.NOM-the here
nuynpes nš-v-el ēr nor tomar-ov.
 also celebrate-pass-PTCP.PERF. it was new calendar-INST
 “Let us note that this year Christmas had also been celebrated here with a new calendar.”

(206) Պատրաստվում էի մեկնել Գյումրի: (Mayreni 3: 128)

patrast-v-um ēi mekn-el Gyumri
 prepare-refl-PTCP.PRES. I was depart-INF Gyumri.NOM
 “I prepared (myself) to depart to Gyumri.”

(207) Մի պարան փաթաթեցինք հովվի մեջքին: (Mayreni 2: 43)

mi paran p'at'at'-ec'ink' hovv-i mejk'-i-n.
 INDEF rope.NOM wrap up-AOR.1.PL shepherd-DAT back-DAT-the
 “We wrapped up a rope on the shepherd’s back.”

(208) Իմ բարեկամ Կորյուն Կորյունյանը Թբիլիսից եկավ Երևան ... (Grakanut'yun 5: 207)

im barekam Koryun Koryunyan-ē T'bilisi'-c ek-av
 my friend.NOM Koryun Koryunyan.NOM-the Tiflis-ABL come-AOR.3.SG
Erewan.
 Yerevan.NOM
 “My friend Koryun Koryunyan came from Tiflis to Yerevan.”

(209) Գրիգորի տան պատերի և առաստաղի վրայով, չգիտես ինչու, տարբեր հաստության խողովակներ են անցնում: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Grigor-i t-an pat-er-i ew ařastal'-i vra-y-ov
 Grigor-DAT house-DAT wall-PL-DAT CONJ ceiling-DAT POST-inst
č'-git-es inč'u tarber hastut'y-an xořovak-ner
 neg-know-PRES.2.SG wh-why various thickness-DAT pipe-PL.NOM
en anc'n-um.
 they are pass-PTCP.PRES.
 “Pipes of various widths run over the walls and the ceiling of Grigor’s house, you don’t know why.”

- (210) Այսօր Ադրբեջանում բնակվում է շուրջ 30 հազար հայ:
(Ařavot 13.01.2006)
Aysōr Ardrbeĵan-um bnak-v-um ē řurĵ
today Azerbaijan-LOC dwell-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is approximately
30 hazar hay.
30 thousand Armenian.NOM
“Today approximately 30,000 Armenians live in Azerbaijan.”
- (211) Մեր գերեզմանները մնացել են այնտեղ, ուր մենք այլեւս երբեք չենք գնա:
(Hetk’ 08.01.2007),
mer gerazman-ner-ē mnac’-el en ayntel ur
our grave-PL.NOM-the remain-PTCP.PERF. they are there wh-where
menk’ aylews erbek’ č’-enk’ gn-a.
we no more never neg-we are go-PTCP.NEG
“Our graves remained there, where we will never go again.”
- (212) Դա հայերի խաղացած դերն է մարդկության պատմության մեջ:
(Grakanut’yun 10: 77)
da hay-er-i xalac’-ac der-n ē mardkut’y-an
that Armenian-PL-DAT play-PTCP.RES. role.NOM-the it is mankind-DAT
patmut’y-an mej.
history-DAT POST
“That is the role Armenians played in the history of mankind.”

b. Adverbial Complement/Adjunct of Time²⁷⁰

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 ե՞րբ *erb* “when?”; ինչքա՞ն ժամանակ *inč’kan žamanak* “how long?”; քանի՞ ժամով ...*kani žamov* “for how many hours?” etc.
- the starting point of an action/event. It answers the question երբվանի՞ց *erbvanic’* “from when?”
- the end point of an action/event. It answers the question մինչև ե՞րբ *minčew erb* “until when?”

It can expressed

- a. with time adverbs.
- b. with nouns in the following cases:

270. In Armenian ժամանակի պարագա *žamanaki paraga* “complement of time”. See: Abrahamyan 2004: 48; Papoyan 2003: 158–160.

- 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) Նա այդ գիշեր ուրախությունից չքնեց: (Mayreni 3: 109)

Na ayd gišer uraxut'yun-ic' č-k'nec'.
 he that night.NOM joy-ABL neg-sleep-AOR.3.SG
 "That night he did not sleep for joy."

(214) Գրիգոր Ջոհրապը ծնվել է 1861 թվականին Կոստանդնուպոլսում:
 (Grakanut'yun 10: 130)

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
Kostandnupols-um.
 Constantinople-LOC
 "Grigor Zohrap was born in 1861 in Constantinople."

(215) Այդ օրվանից Հայկի հետնաորդները կոչվեցին հայեր: (Mayreni 3: 151)

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) Օտարական եմ, մի գիշերով հյուր չե՞ս ընդունի: (Mayreni 3: 237)

ōtarakan em, mi gišer-ov hyur č-es ěndun-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) Ֆրանսիայից եկած բժիշկները ընդամենը մի քանի օրում դրեցին կոնքի 9 պրոթեզ:
 (Armenpress 18.05.2006)

Fransia-y-ic' ek-ac bžišk-ner-ě ěndameně 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 prosthesis
 "The doctors, having come from France, have put nine pelvis prostheses all in all in some days."

- (218) Լսելով նրա սրբակեցության մասին՝ շատերը թողնում են իրենց տներն ու հեռանում անապատ ճգնելու: (Armenpress 10.01.2005)
- lʹsel-ov nra srbakecʹutʹy-an masin šat-er-ě*
 hear-INF-INST his holy way of life-DAT POST many-PL.NOM-the
tʹòln-um en irencʹ tn-er-n u heřan-um
 leave-PTCP.PRES. they are their house-PL.NOM-the CONJ depart-PTCP.PRES.
anapat čgn-el-u.
 desert.NOM endeavour-INF-DAT

“Hearing about his holy way of living, many leave their houses and depart for hermitage.”

- (219) Ռոլանդ Շարոյանից հետո մշակույթի նախարար է նշանակվել Թամարա Պողոսյանը: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- Roland Šaroyan-icʹ heto mšakuytʹ-i naxarar ē*
 Roland Šaroyan-ABL POST culture-DAT minister.NOM she is
nšanak-v-el Tʹamara Połosyan-ě.
 appoint-pass-PTCP.PERF. Tʹamara Połosyan.NOM-the
 “After Roland Šaroyan, Tʹamara 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 պես *pes* “as, like”, նման *nman* “like, as”, ինչպես *inčʹpes* “as”, որպես *orpes* “as” etc. (223)

- (220) Եվ եթե այսպես գնանք, մենք բավական շահեկան վիճակում ենք լինելու: (Armenpress 31.10.2005)
- Ev etʹe ayspes gn-ankʹ menkʹ bavakan*
 CONJ CONJ so go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL we.NOM sufficiently
šahekan vičak-um enkʹ lin-elu.
 useful situation-LOC we are be-PTCP.FUT.

“And if we go like this, we will be in a sufficiently useful situation.”

- (221) Նրա աշակերտները մեծ սիրով ու հաճույքով էին սովորում հայերեն տառերը:
(Mayreni 3: 108)

Nra ašakert-ner-ě mec sir-ov u hačuyk²-ov ěin
his pupil-PL.NOM-the big love-INST CONJ pleasure-INST they were
sovor-um hayeren tař-er-ě.
learn-PTCP.PRES. Armenian letter-PL.NOM-the.

“His pupils learnt the Armenian letters with great love and pleasure.”

- (222) Արմենը լարված է սպասում իր եղբոր գալուն:

Armen-ě lar-v-ac ě 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) Այսօր հրավիրած քննարկմանը նման տեսակետ հայտնեց Երիտասարդ քաղաքական գործիչների ակումբի նախագահ Արման Վարդանյանը: (Ařavot 28.03.2006)

aysōr hravir-ac k²nnarkman-ě nman tesaket
today convene-PTCP.RES. discussion-DAT-the POST view.NOM
haytn-ec² Eritasard k²alakakan gorcič-ner-i akumb-i
report-AOR.3.SG Young political agent-PL-DAT club-DAT
naxagah Arman Vardanyan-ě.
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: ինչո՞ւ *inč²u* “why?”, ինչի՞ց *inč²ic²* “why, by which (reason)?”, ի՞նչ պատճառով *inč² patč²ařov* “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 պատճառով *patč²ařov* “because of”, հետևանքով *hetewank²ov* “due to”, ձեռքից *jeřk²ic²* “because of”, երերից *eresic²* “because of”. (231)

- (224) Մի կարճատև պահ արթնացավ պատուհանի կիսաբաց փեղկից փչող սառը քամուց: (Gyurjinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 180)

mi karčatew pah art'n-ač'av patuhan-i kisabac
 INDEF short moment.NOM wake-up-AOR.3.SG window-DAT half-opened
p'elk-ic' pč'-oł sar-ě k'am-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) Վարդանը արթնացավ իր հարևանի շան հաչելուց:

Vardan-ě art'n-ač'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) Վերջին տարիներին անտառահատումների հետևանքով ոչնչացվել է մարզի անտառապատ տարածքների ավելի քան 70 տոկոսը: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

Verjin tari-ner-i-n antařahatum-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 k'an 70 tokos-ě.
 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 Ինչի՞ց *inč'ic'* “which from?”, Ի՞նչ հիմունքով *inč' himunk'ov* “with which basis?/on which basis?”, Ինչի՞նչ հիման վրա *inč'i 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: ըստ *est* “according to, in accordance with”, շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thanks to”, հիման վրա *himan vra* “on the basis of/on grounds of”, առիթով *ařit'ov* “on the opportunity”, համաձայն *hamajayn* “in accordance with”, կարծիքով *karcik'ov* “of the opinion” etc. and in colloquial Armenian also often with համար *hamar* “for”.

- (227) Ա. Օհանյանի անձնական կապերի շնորհիվ 1993–94թթ. կազմակերպվել է «Նեյտրոն» գործարանում հոսքազծերի տեղադրումը: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
A. Ōhanyan-i anjnakan kap-er-i řnorhiv 1993–95 t't.
 A. Ōhanyan-DAT personal relation-PL-DAT POST 1993–94 year
kazmakerp-v-el ē “Neytron” gorcaran-um
 organise-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is “Neytron” factory-LOC
hosk'agc-er-i teladrum-ě.
 power supply line-PL-DAT installation.NOM-the
 “Thanks to the private relationships of A. Ōhanyan the installation of a power supply line was organised in the “Neytron” factory.”
- (228) Այն ստեղծվել է երկու ակումբների միջև համապատասխան պայմանագրի հիման վրա: (Armenpress 05.04.2006)
Ayn stec-v-el ē 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) Մեկ դիմում մերժվել է՝ ընտրացուցակում քաղաքացու անվան առկայության պատճառով: (Armenpress 27.11.2005)
mek dimum merř-v-el ē ěntrac'uc'ak-um
 one application.NOM deny-pass.PTCP.PERF. it is electoral register-LOC
k'alakac'-u anv-an ařkayut'y-an patčařov.
 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 Condition²⁷¹

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”, պարագայում, *paragayum* “under the condition of”, պայմանով *paymanov* “under the condition of, that” and the dative of the noun or infinitive.

271. In Armenian պայմանի պարագա *paymani paraga* “complement of conditon”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 49; Papoyan 2003: 165.

- (230) Անհրաժեշտության դեպքում այդ հանդիպումներն ապագայում կշարունակվեն:
(Armenpress 20.01.2006)

Anhražeštut'y-an depk'um ayd handipum-ner-n apaga-y-um
necessity-DAT POST that meeting-PL.NOM-the future-LOC
kšarunak-v-en.
continue-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL

“In case of necessity those meetings will be continued in future.”

- (231) Թուրքիայում փոքրամասնություններն ընդունելի են նրանց ինչքան հնարավոր է փոքր լինելու պայմանով: (Armenpress 12.12.2005)

T'urk'ia-y-um pòk'ramasnut'yun-ner-n ěnduneli en nranc'
Turkey-LOC minority-PL.NOM-the acceptable they are their
inč'kan hnaravor ē pòk'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) Քաղով ջեռուցման պարագայում, 1կվտ/ժամ-ի դիմաց բնակիչը վճարում է ոչ թե 25 դրամ, այլ՝ 6,5–7 դրամ:(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Gaz-ov jeřuc'm-an paragayum 1 Kvt/žam-i dimac' bnakič'-ě
gaz-INST heating-DAT POST 1 KW/hour-DAT opposite inhabitant.NOM-the
včar-um ē oč' t'e 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 Purpose²⁷²

These complements/adjuncts describe for what reason the action is taking place. It usually answers the question ինչո՞ւ *inč'u* “why/what for?”, ինչի՞ համար *inč'i hamar* “what for?”, ի՞նչ նպատակով *inč' 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 հանուն *hanun* “for the sake of”, համար *hamar* “for”, նպատակով *npatakov* “in order to” and nouns and infinitives in the dative.

272. In Armenian նպատակի պարագա *npataki paraga* “complement of purpose”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 49; Papoyan 2003: 162. This is a “final” complement/adjunct.

- (233) Մայրը խնդրեց իր տղային գնալ հացի:
Mayr-ě xndr-ec' ir tla-yi-n gn-al hac'-i.
 mother.NOM-the ask-AOR3.SG her son-DAT-the go-INF bread-DAT
 “The mother asked her son to get bread. (Lit.: to go for bread)”
- (234) Ուսանողը գնում է գրադարան՝ գիրք կարդալու.
Usanol-ě gn-um ē gradaran girk' kardal-u.
 student.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. he is library.NOM book.NOM read-INF-DAT
 “The student goes to the university’s library to read a book.”
- (235) Հիվանդին դեղ գտնելու համար Լենկ-Թեմորի մարդիկ սար ու ձոր ընկան, շատ տեղերում եղան: (Mayreni 3: 164)
Hivand-i-n del gtnel-u hamar Lenk-T'emor-i mard-ik
 sick-DAT-the medicine find-INF-DAT POST Lenk-T'emor-DAT man-PL.NOM
sar u jor ěnk-an šat tel-er-um el-an.
 mountain.NOM CONJ valley.NOM fall-AOR3.PL many place-PL-LOC be-AOR3.PL
 “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.”
- (236) Հանրապետության մարզերն անհրաժեշտ բժիշկներով ապահովելու նպատակով ստեղծվել է «Բժշկական կադրեր» տեղեկատվական բազա: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)
Hanrapetut'y-an marz-er-n anhražest bžišk-ner-ov
 republic-DAT province-PL.NOM-the necessary doctor-PL-INST
apahovel-u npatakov stełc-v-el ē “Bžškakan
 provide-INF-DAT POST found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is “Medical
kadr-er” telekatvakan baza.
 employee-PL.NOM” information base.NOM
 “The information centre ‘Medical Employees’ was founded in order to provide the Republic’s provinces with necessary doctors.”

j. Complement/Adjunct of Measure/Quantity²⁷³

It describes the action in some features regarding measure, quantity and duration. It usually answers the questions ինչքա՞ն *inč'kan* “how much/how many?”, որքա՞ն *ork'an* “how much/how many?”, ի՞նչ չափով *inč' čap'ov* “with which size/how much?”, քանի՞ անգամ *kani angam* “how often/ how many times?” etc.

It is usually expressed with

- adverbs of measurement and quantity (intensifiers),
- interrogative/relative pronouns,

273. In Armenian չափի ու քանաքի պարագա *čap'i u kanak'i paraga* “Complement of measure and quantity”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 51; Papoyan 2003: 165–166.

- quantifying noun phrases with nouns in various cases,
- quantifiers in various cases.

(237) Այսօր առավոտյան բավական ցուրտ էր:

Aysōr aravotyān bavakan c'urt ēr.
today morning rather cold it was
“This morning it was rather cold.”

(238) Վարդանը երկու անգամ կարդաց այդ գիրքը:

Vardan-ě erku angam kard-ac' ayd girk'-ě.
Vardan.NOM-the two time.NOM read-AOR.3.SG this book.NOM-the
“Vardan read this book twice.”

(239) Եվ ինչքան շուտ իրենք որոշեն ով է, այնքան շուտ կհանգստանան և իրենք, և իրավիճակը: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

Ev inč'kān šut irenk' oroš-en ov ē aynk'an
CONJ how much soon they decide-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL who.NOM it is somuch
šut khangstan-an ew irenk' ew iravičak-ě.
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 Substitution²⁷⁴

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. հակառակ *hakařak* “in contradiction with”, չնայած *č'nayac* “despite of”, փոխանակ *poxanak*, փոխարեն *poxaren* “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) Հակառակ որոշ ծագող հույսերի, սահմանների բացման հետ կապված տեղաշարժ չի եղել: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

hakařak oroš cag-oł huys-er-i sahman-ner-i bac'm-an
PREP certain rise-PTCP.SUB. hope-PL-DAT border-PL-DAT opening-DAT
het kap-v-ac telařarž č'-i eł-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.”

274. In Armenian զիջման պարագա *zijman paraga* “complement of concession”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 50; Papoyan 2003: 164–5.

- (241) Նկարչությունը դա մի պոեզիա է, որը կարելի է տեսնել՝ զգալու փոխարեն, իսկպոեզիան դա մի նկարչություն է, որը կարելի զգալ՝ տեսնելու փոխարեն: (Armenpress 14.05.2006)

Nkarč'ut'yun-ě da mi poezia ē or-ě kareli ē tesn-el
 Painting.NOM-the that INDEF poetry.NOM it is which-the possible it is see-INF
zgal-u pòxaren isk poezia-n da mi nkarč'ut'yun
 feel-INF-DAT POST CONJ poetry.NOM-the that INDEF painting.NOM
ē or-ě kareli ē zg-al tesn-el-u pòxaren.
 it is REL.NOM-the possible it is feel-INF see-INF-DAT POST

“Painting, that is a poetry, which one can see instead of feel, and poetry, that is a painting, which one can feel instead of see.”

1. Sociative Complement/Adjunct²⁷⁵

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 *het* “with” and the noun in the dative; *հանդերձ handerj* “with” and the noun in the instrumental; and to additionally mark the comitative meaning also with *het* միասին *het miasin* “together with” and the nouns in the dative.

- (242) Հանդուգն ու անժոռնի Բելը հսկայական բանակով գալիս է դեպի Հայկի բնակավայրը: (Mayreni 3: 150)

Handugn u anč'orni Bel-ě hskayakan banak-ov
 impertinent CONJ abhorrent Bel.NOM-the huge army-INST
gal-is ē depi Hayk-i bnakavayr-ě.
 come-PTCP.PRES. he is PREP Hayk-DAT domicile.NOM-the

“Impertinent and abhorrent Bel comes with a huge army to Hayk’s domicile.”

- (243) Երբ սկսվում են քրիստոնյաների դեմ հալածանքները, Հուլիտան որդու հետ փախչում է Տարսոն: (Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Erb sks-v-um en k'ristonya-ner-i dem halacank'-ner-ě
 When start-antic-PTCP.PRES. they are Christian-PL-DAT POST persecution-PL.NOM-the
Hulitan ord-u het p'axč'-um ē Tarson.
 Hulitan.NOM son-DAT POST flee-PTCP.PRES. she is Tarson.NOM.

“When the persecutions of (lit. against) the Christians started, Hulitan fled with her son to Tarson.”

275. In Armenian: միասնության պարագա *miasnut'yan paraga* “complement of unity”. See Abrahamyan 2004: 50; Papoyan 2003: 166.

- (244) Կրթութեան բնագավառում Համաշխարհային բանկի հետ միասին փորձ է արվում իրականացնել վարկավորման ծրագիր:

(Armenpress, 26.12.2005)

Krt'ut'yan bñagavař-um Hamařxarhayin bank-i het
 education-DAT field-LOC World Bank-DAT POST
miasin p'orj ē ar-v-um irakana-c'n-el
 together experiment.NOM it is make-pass-PTCP.PRES realise-caus-INF
varkavorm-an cragir.
 credit-DAT program.NOM

“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) Ամռան մի օր ագռավը խիստ ծարավել էր: (Grakanut'yun 4: 81)

Amř-an mi ōr agřav-ě xist carav-el ē.
 summer-DAT INDEF day.NOM crow.NOM-the INT be thirsty-PTCP.PERF. it was
 “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 pre-verbal focus position, the logical stress lies on this marked constituent.

- (245) a. Ամռան մի օր ագռավն էր խիստ ծարավել:

Amř-an mi ōr agřav-n ēr xist carav-el.
 summer-DAT INDEF day.NOM crow.NOM-the it was INT be thirsty-PTCP.PERF.
 “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) Իմ ասած գիրքը չես կարդացել:

Im as-ac girk'-ě č-es kardac'-el.
 my say-PTCP.RES. book.NOM-the neg-you are read-PTCP.PERF.

“You have not read the book I told you to.” (Directive: you should read the book)

Declarative sentences can be affirmative and negative.²⁷⁶ 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) Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ě nra pòk'r elbayr-n ē.
 Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is
 "Aram is his little brother."

- (247) a. Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ě nra pòk'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. Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ě nra pòk'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. Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ě nra pòk'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. Արամն է նրա փոքր եղբայրը:

Aram-n ē nra pòk'r elbayr-ě?
 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 փոքր եղբայրը գնում է դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'r elbayr-ě 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 փոքր եղբայրն է գնում դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'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 brother go to school?" (Change in verbal order, intonational stress on 'Vardan', the GEN in the subject-NP)

- b. Վարդանի փոքր եղբայրն է գնում դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'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. Վարդանի փոքր եղբայրն է գնում դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'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?” (Movement of the whole NP into the preverbal focus, and the intonational stress on the head noun ‘brother’.)

- d. Վարդանի փոքր եղբայրը գնում է դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'r elbayr-ě gnu-m ē 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. Վարդանի փոքր եղբայրը գնում է դպրոց:

Vardan-i pòk'r elbayr-ě gnu-m ē 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. Վարդանի փոքր եղբայրը դպրոց է գնում:

Vardan-i pòk'r elbayr-ě dproc' ē 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 անվան դպրոց է գնում:

Aram-ě Puškin-i anv-an dproc' ē 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. Արամը գնում է Պուշկինի անվան դպրոց:
Aram-ě gn-um ē 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. Պուշկինի անվան դպրոց է գնում Արամը:
Puškin-i an-van dproc' ē gn-um Aram-ě?
 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. *Արամը Պուշկինի՞ է գնում անվան դպրոց:
Aram-ě Puškin-i ē 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 թե *t’è* “or”.

If a sentence contains the disjunctive conjunction թե *t’è* “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) Դու դպրոց ես գնո՞ւմ թե եկեղեցի:
du dproc' es gn-um t’è ekelec’i?
 you.NOM school.NOM you are go.PTCP.PRES. CONJ church.NOM
 “Are you going to school or to church?”
- (251) Ո՞ւր ես գնում, եկեղեցի՞, թե՞ գրադարան:
ur es gn-um ekelec’i t’è gradaran?
 wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. church.NOM CONJ library.NOM
 “Where are you going? To church or to (the) library?”

(252) Ո՞ր զգեստն է ինձ ավելի սազում, կա՞րճը, թե՞ երկարը:

or zgest-n ē inj aveli saz-um karč-ě
 wh-which dress.NOM-the it is I.DAT more suit-PTCP.PRES. short.NOM-the
t'ē erkar-ě?
 CONJ long.NOM-the

“Which dress suits me better, the short or the long one?”

(253) Չգիտեմ, թե որ թեյը կվերցնեմ. սև՞ը, կանա՞չը, մրգայի՞նը, թե՞ բուսականը:

č'-git-em t'ē or t'ey-ě kverc'n-em.
 neg-know-PRES.1.SG CONJ wh-which tea.NOM-the take-COND.FUT.1.SG
sew-ě kanač'-ě mrgayin-ě t'ē busakan-ě?
 black.NOM-the green.NOM-the fruit.NOM-the CONJ herbal.NOM-the

“I do not know which tea I shall take: the black, the green, the fruit or the herbal one.”

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) *n'ol ov* “who?”
- subject/thing *h'նչ inč'?* “what?”
- quality, *n'or or* “which?”; *h'նչպիսի inč'pisi/n'րպիսի orpisi?* “what/ what kind of?”
- quantity *քանի՞ k'ani* “how many/much?” *h'նչքան inč'k'an/n'րքան ork'an* “how many/much?”, *h'նչչափ inč'č'ap/n'րչափ orč'ap'*
- time *ե՞րբ erb* “when?” *երվանի՞ց erbvanic'* “since when?”
- place *n'րտեղ ortel', n'ր ur* “where?”, *n'ր ur* “where to?”, *n'րտեղից ortelic'* “where from?”
- manner: *h'նչպես inč'pes* “how?”
- cause: *ինչն՞ի inč'u* “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.²⁷⁷ The logical stress is syntactically expressed by a preferred movement of the *wh*-pronoun into focus, i.e. preverbal position.

- (254) Արամը կարդում է դասընկերոջ գրած հոդվածը:

Aram-ě kard-um ě dasěnk-eroj gr-ac
Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.

hodvac-ě.
essay.NOM-the

“Aram reads the essay which a schoolmate has written.”

- (254) a. Ո՞վ է կարդում դասընկերոջ գրած հոդվածը:

Ov ě kard-um dasěnk-eroj gr-ac
wh-who he is read-PTCP.PRES. schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.

hodvac-ě?
essay.NOM-the

“Who reads the essay which a schoolmate has written?” (Asking for the subject)

- b. Ի՞նչ է կարդում Արամը:

inč' ě kard-um Aram-ě?
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. Դասընկերոջ գրած հոդվածը՝ ո՞վ է կարդում:

Dasěnker-oj gr-ac hodvac-ě ov ě 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. Արամը՝ ի՞նչ է կարդում:

Aram-ě inč' ě 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. Ո՞ւմ գրած հոդվածը կարդում է Արամը:

Um gr-ac hodvac-ě kard-um
 wh-who-DAT write-PTCP.PRES. essay.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES.

ē Aram-ě?

he is Aram.NOM-the

“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. Արամը կարդում է ո՞ւմ գրած հոդվածը:

Aram-ě kard-um ē um gr-ac
 Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is wh-who-DAT write-PTCP.RES.

hodvac-ě?

essay.NOM-the

“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. Ո՞ւմ գրած հոդվածն է կարդում Արամը:

um gr-ac hodvac-n ē kard-um
 wh-who-DAT write-PTCP.RES. essay.NOM-the he is read-PTCP.PRES.

Aram-ě?

Aram.NOM-the

“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.

(255) Եղբոր աղջիկը երկար նամակ է գրում:

Elb-or ałjik-ě 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. Ո՞վ ի՞նչ է գրում:

Ov inc’ ē gr-um?
 wh-who.NOM wh-what.NOM it is write-PTCP.PRES.
 “Who writes what?” (Neutral)

b. Ո՞վ է ի՞նչ գրում:

Ov ē inc’ 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. Ի՞նչ է գրում ո՞վ:

inc’ ē gr-um ov?
 wh-what.NOM it is write-PTCP.PRES. wh-who.NOM?
 “What does who write?”²⁷⁸ (The direct object wh-pronoun is more marked and thus in the focus position.)

(256) Եղբոր աղջիկը ինձ երկար նամակ է գրում:

Elb-or ałjik-ě inj erkar namak ē gr-um.
 brother-DAT girl.NOM-the I.DAT 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. Ո՞վ ո՞ւմ է երկար նամակ գրում:

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. Ո՞վ է ո՞ւմ երկար նամակ գրում:

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.

- c. Ո՞ւմ ո՞վ է գրում երկար նամակ:

um ov ē gr-um erkar namak?
 wh-who-DAT wh-who.NOM it is write-PTCP.PRES. long letter.NOM
 “Who writes whom a long letter?” (Lit.: Whom who writes a long letter?)

- Asking for indirect object and direct object

- (256) d. Եղբոր աղջիկը ո՞ւմ ի՞նչ է գրում:

Elb-or aljik-ě um inč' ē
 brother-DAT girl.NOM-the wh-who-DAT wh-what.NOM she is
gr-um?
 write-PTCP.PRES.

“Whom does my brother’s girl write what?”²⁷⁹

Unmarked order, both wh-s are, however, in the preverbal focus position.

- e. Եղբոր աղջիկը ո՞ւմ է ի՞նչ գրում:

Elb-or aljik-ě um ē inč'
 brother-DAT girl.NOM-the wh-who-DAT she is wh-what.NOM
gr-um?
 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. Եղբոր աղջիկը ի՞նչ է ո՞ւմ գրում:

Elb-or aljik-ě inč' ē um
 brother-DAT girl.NOM-the wh-what.NOM she is wh-who-DAT
gr-um?
 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. Ո՞վ ո՞ւմ ի՞նչ է գրում:

Ov um inč' ē 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?)

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. Ո՞վ ի՞նչ է ո՞ւմ գրում:
Ov inč' ē um gr-um?
 wh-who.NOM wh-what.NOM it is wh-who-DAT 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 (ն՞վ *ov* ‘who?’, ի՞նչ *inč'* ‘what?’) + object-wh (ն՞ւմ *um* ‘whom?’, ի՞նչ *inč'* ‘what?’; ինչի՞ն *inč'in* ‘what?’); indirect object-wh (ն՞ւմ *um* ‘(to) whom?’, ինչի՞ն *inč'in* ‘(to) what?’) – direct object-wh (ն՞ւմ *um* ‘who(m)?’, ի՞նչ *inč'* ինչի՞ն *inč'in* ‘what?’) etc.

*Re-Confirming Interrogative Sentence*²⁸⁰

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) Դո՞ւ պիտի ինձ օգնես:
Du piti inj ōgn-es?
 you.NOM part I.DAT help-DEB.PRES.2.SG
 “You must help me?” (Meaning: You? – how can somebody like you help me?)

- (258) Աճափյանը Փարիզում է սովորել, (այնպես) չ՞է:
Ačařyan-ē P'ariz-um ē sovor-el (aynpes) č'-ē?
 Ačařyan.NOM-the Paris-LOC he is study-PTCP.PERF. (so) neg-it is
 “Ačařyan 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.

280. See Papoyan, Badikyan 2003: 73; Abrahamyan 1975: 347ff.

A leading question is one that suggests an answer that implies that there is a proper answer.

- (259) Սովա՞ծ չես:
sovac č'-es?
 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. Ես ձուկը չհավանեցի: B. - Դու այն չհավանեցիր:
es juk-ě č'-havan-ec'i. B: Du ayn č'-havan-ec'-ir?
 I fish.NOM-the neg-like-AOR.1.SG B: you that.NOM neg-like-AOR.2.SG
 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. Ես կվճարեմ (դրա համար): B. - Դու ինչ կանես:
es kvčar-em (dra hamar) Du inč' kan-és?
 I pay-COND.FUT.1.SG it-GEN POST you wh-what do-COND.FUT.1.SG
 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. Իմ եղբայրը հնագետ է: B. - Քո եղբայրն ինչ է?:
 A. *im elbayr-ě hnaget ē.*
 my brother.NOM-the archaeologist.NOM he is
 B. *K'o elbayrn inč' ē?*
 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. Ես այսօր Անուշին տեսա: B. - Դու ում տեսա՞ր:
es aysōr Anuṣ-i-n tes-a. Du um
 I today Anuṣ-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. Դու վերցրել ե՞ս գիրքս: B.- Ես վերցրել եմ քո գրի՞չդ:
 A. *du verç’r-el ês girk’-s?*
 you take-PTCP.PERF. you are book.NOM-my
 B. *es verç’r-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. *գրիչդ ե՞մ վերցրել. grič’-d em verçrel?* In this case, again, the final verbal form, i.e. the auxiliary, has the interrogative intonation.
- (265) A. Ի՞նչ ես մտածում այդ գրքի մասին: B. - Ինչ եմ մտածում այդ մասին:
 A. *inč’ es mtac-um ayd grk’-i masin?*
 wh-what you are think-PTCP.PRES that book-DAT POST
 B. *inč’ em mtac-ûm ayd masin?*
 wh-what I am think-PTCP.PRES. that POST
 A. “What do you think of the book?” B: “What do I THINK of it?”
 Note: as above, in the echo question the constituent, i.e. *մտածում 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. Նայիր այն աղջկա՞ն: B.- Նայիր ո՞ւմ:
 A. *Nay-ir ayn atjk-a-n!* B. *Nay-ir ûm?*
 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

- tasks
- wishes
- requests
- advice
- invitations or proposals

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 մի *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 դու *du* “you”, դուք *duk* “you”, or the intensive pronouns in 2nd person SG or PL. ինքը *ink'd* “you yourself” ինքներդ *ink'nerd* “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) Եթե կամենում ես կատարյալ լինել, գնա վաճառի՛ր ինչ-որ ունես ու աղքատներիս տուր և երկնքում զանծեր կունենաս: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

eʔe kamen-um es kataryal lin-el gn-a vačaʔ-ir
 CONJ wish-PTCP.PRES you are perfect be-INF go-IMP.2.SG sell-IMP.2.SG
inčʻ-or un-es u alkʻat-ner-i-n t-ur ew
 what-REL have-PRES.2.SG CONJ poor-PL-DAT-the give-IMP.2.SG CONJ
erknkʻ-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 թող *toł* “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) Նորմալ է, ինչպես հայտարարել են, թող այդպես էլ անեն:
 (Armenpress 27.11.2005)
normal ē inč'pes haytnaberel en t'ol aydpes ēl
 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 *t'ol* or between the lexicalised particle *tol* and the verb in the subjunctive future. According to Kozintseva,²⁸¹ in the case of a marked subject/agent, this is usually placed in front of the imperative particle *թող t'ol* (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 Meaning²⁸²

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 *imanal* “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 տեսնել *tesnel* “to see/to look” means ‘prevention’, see Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. example (604), p. 276):
- The imperative of the verb փորձել *p'orjel* “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 մի *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.

281. Kozintseva 1995: 51.

282. Kozintseva 1995: 52.

(268) Մի՛ գնա գրադարան:
Mi' gn-a gradaran!
 neg go-IMP.2.SG library.NOM
 “Do not go to the library!”

(268) a. Չգնա՛ս գրադարան:
č'-gn-as gradaran!
 neg-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG library.NOM
 “You shall not go to the library!”

d. Directives Without Imperative Verb Forms

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) Չծխել:
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 softened prohibitive.

(270) Չշարժվե՛ս այդտեղից:
č'-šarž-v-es aydteł-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 affirmative use.

(271) Ղդւք բոլորդ կգա՞ք մեր տունը:

Duk' bolor-d kg-ak' mer tun-ë!
 You.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) Հիմա գնում ես ինձ մոտ:

hima gn-um es inj mot.
 now go-PTCP.PRES. you are I.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) Ապրե՛ս:

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 շքեղ դրյալ ունե՛ք, – ասաց թագավորը: (Grakanut’yun 4: 200)

O, inč’ škeł dlyak un-ek’ asac’
oh, wh-what luxurious fortress.NOM have-PRES.2.PL say-AOR.3.SG

t’agavor-ě.

king.NOM-the

“Oh, what a luxurious fortress you have!’ said the king.”

(275) Վա՛յ, այս ինչքա՛ն ծաղիկներ կան: (Mayreni 3: 231)

Vay, ays inč’kan calik-ner k-an!

Vay, that wh-how many flower-PL.NOM exist-PRES.3.PL

“Wow, how many flowers there are!”

(276) Պրիմիտիվ գործ էր, բայց ինչպիսի՛ ճաշակ: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Primitiv gorc ěr bayc’ inč’pisi čašak!

primitive work.NOM it was CONJ wh-which taste.NOM

“It was a primitive work, but what a taste!”

(277) Տիրոջ՝ Երուսաղեմի տաճար մտնելու ժամանակ մանուկներն աղաղակում էին՝
ասելով. «Օրհնությո՛ւն Դավթի որդուն»:

(Armenpress 03.04.2006)

Tir-oj’ Erusalem-i tačar mtn-el-u žamanak

Lord-DAT Jerusalem-DAT temple.NOM enter-INF-DAT time.NOM

manuk-ner-n alalak-um ěin asel-ov

child-PL.NOM-the shout-PTCP.PRES. they were say-INF-INST

Ōrhnut’yun Davt’-i ord-u-n.

blessing.NOM David-DAT son-DAT-the

“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*²⁸³

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) Բարի ճանապարհ:
Bari ĵanaparh
 good journey.NOM
 “Have a nice journey!”

- e. A noun with or without a modifier used as an exclamation of surprise, anger, fear etc.

283. comp. Abrahamyan 2004: 69 ff.; Papoyan-Badikyan 2003: 83ff.

(279) Երկար զգեստ:

erkar zgest

long dress.NOM

“A long dress!”

- 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) Աձոտ:

“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) Անձրև է գալիս:

anjrew ē gal-is.

rain.NOM it is go-PTCP.PRES.

“It is raining.”

(282) Մթնեց:

mt'neč'.

grow dark-AOR.3.SG

“It was growing dark. It began to darken.”

- b. Time: times of day, months, seasons

- (283) Ամառ է:
Amař *ē*.
 summer.NOM it is
 “It is summer.”

c. General states and conditions.

- (284) Խաղաղություն է:
Xalalut'yun *ē*.
 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) Թոշակ են տալիս:
Tořak *en* *tal-is*.
 pension.NOM they are give-PTCP.PRES.
 “Retirement is paid.” (Lit. They give pension)

- (286) Դռան զանգը տվեցին:
Dř-an *zang-ē* *tv-ec'in*.
 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: *Ayo*. “Yes”. Իհարկե: *Iharke*. “Of course” Անշուշտ: *Anšušť*. “Certainly. Of course.” Անպայման *Anpayman*. “Absolutely!”
- Negative one-word sentences: the speaker answers the question of his partner with negative replies, using one-word sentences such as: Ոչ: *Oč*. “No.” Բնավ: *Bnav*. “Never. Not at all.” Երբեք: *Erbek*. “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. Ինչո՞ւ: *Inč’u?* “Why?” Իսկապո՞ւ: *Iskapes?* “Really?” Այո՞: *Ayo?* “Yes?” Ո՞չ *Oč?* “No?” etc.

3.3.1.2 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.²⁸⁴ 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) - Ի՞նչ է այս, - հարցրեց Քսանթոսը զարմացած: - Լեզու, տէր իմ:

(Mayreni 3: 111)

Inč’ ē ays? harc’reč K’sant’os-ě zarmac’-ac.
wh-what.NOM 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.

- (288) Իմացողին՝ մին, չիմացողին՝ հազար ու մին: (Armenian saying)
imac'òł-i-n mi-n č'-imac'òł-i-n
 know-PTCP.SUB-DAT-the one.NOM-the neg-know-PTCP.SUB-DAT-the
hazar u mi-n.
 1000 CONJ one.NOM-the
 “For the bright say it once; for the dumb one thousand and one times.”
 Ellipsis of the finite verb.

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) Մարդուն ընկերով են ճանաչում:
Mard-u-n ěnker-ov en čanač'-um.
 person-DAT-the friend-INST they are know-PTCP.PRES.
 “You know a person from his friend.”

- (290) Այսօր էլ դրանք կարդացվում են մեծ հետաքրքրությամբ:
 (Grakanutyun 7: 51)
Ays'òr ěl drank' kardac'-v-um en mec hetak'rk'rut'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 clauses²⁸⁵

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.

285. See Payne 1985: 3–41.

3.3.2.1.1 *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 լուսաստղը, վեր կացավ վաղորդյան զեփյուռը: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 21)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>erewac'</i> | <i>lusastl-ě</i> | <i>ver kac'av</i> | <i>valordyan</i> |
| appear-AOR.3.SG | bright star.NOM-the | stand-up-AOR.3.SG | of tomorrow |
| <i>zep'yut-ě.</i> | | | |
| 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.

3.3.2.1.2 *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:²⁸⁶

- Conjoined coordinated sentences, i.e. “and”-sentences, using *և ew, ու u*;
- Disjunctive coordinated sentences, i.e. “or”-sentences, using *կամ kam, թե t'e*;
- Adversative coordinated sentences, i.e. “but”-sentences, using *բայց bayc'*, *սակայն sakayn*, *իսկ isk մինչդեռ minčder* “while, whereas” etc.
- There is also a range of correlative conjunctions, conveying
- copulative meaning, such as *ոչ միայնայլև oč' miayn...aylew* “not only.... but also”;
- adversative meaning such as *ոչ թե....այլև oč' t'e...ayl* “ (with additional negative meaning) “not...., but”, *et'e....apa....*

- (292) Ավանում ունևոր գղջուկ էր նա, և բոլորը նախանծում էին նրան:
(Hayoc' lezu 8: 23)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Avan-um</i> | <i>unewor</i> | <i>gel'juk</i> | <i>ēr</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ew</i> | <i>bolor-ě</i> |
| settlement-LOC | wealthy | farmer.NOM | he was | he.NOM | CONJ | all.NOM-the |
| <i>naxanj-um</i> | <i>ēin</i> | <i>nran.</i> | | | | |
| 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.

- (293) 2003թ. փետրվարին հայկական գերեզմանատան զգալի մասը ոչնչացված էր, իսկ գերեզմանները հարթեցված էին բուլդոզերով: (Azg 10.01.2006)
 2003 t'. p'ètrvar-i-n hayakakan gerezmanat-an zgali
 2003 y. February-DAT-the Armenian cemetery-DAT considerable
 mas-ě oč'nčac'-v-ac ěr isk gerezman-ner-ě
 part.NOM-the destroy-pass-PTCP.RES. it was CONJ tombstone-PL.NOM-the
 hart'ec'-v-ac ěin buldozer-ov.
 level-pass-PTCP.RES. they were bulldozer-INST
 “A considerable part of the Armenian cemetery was destroyed in February 2003, and the tombstones were levelled with a bulldozer.”
- (294) Իրենք միայն բողոք կարող են ներկայացնել, բայց դա հայեցակարգ չի կարող համարվել: (Ařavot 06.04.2006)
 irenk' miayn bolok' kar-ot en nerkaya-c'n-el
 they.NOM only complaint.NOM can-PTCP.PRES they are present-caus-INF
 bayc' da hayec'akarg č'-i ka-roť hamar-v-el.
 CONJ that doctrine.NOM neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. regard-pass-INF
 “They can only present complaint(s), but one cannot regard that a doctrine.”
- (295) Կարենը գրանցված էր Բուզանդի 101 հասցեում, սակայն փաստացի բնակվում է այլ հասցեում: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
 Karen-ě granč'-v-ac ěr Buzand-i 101 hasc'e-um
 Karen.NOM-the register-pass-PTCP.RES he was Buzand-DAT 101 address-LOC
 sakayn p'astac'i bnak-v-um ě ayl hasc'e-um.
 CONJ really reside-refl-PTCP.PRES. he is other address-LOC
 “Karen was registered under the address Buzand 101, but in reality he resides at another address.”
- (296) Ագահ մեծահարուստն այրվում էր դժոխքի կրակների մեջ, մինչդեռ Աղքատ Ղազարոսը բազմել էր հայր Աբրահամի կողքին: (Nazaryan 2006: 170)
 Agah mecaharust-n ayr-v-um ěr džoxk'-i
 greedy very rich.NOM-the burn-antic-PTCP.PRES. he was hell-DAT
 krak-ner-i mej minčdeř Alk'at Łazaros-ě bazm-el
 fire-PL-DAT POST CONJ poor Łazaros.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES.
 ěr hayr Abraham-i kolk'-i-n.
 he was father Abraham-DAT side-DAT-the
 “The greedy rich man burnt in the fires of hell, whereas poor Lazarus sat at the side of father Abraham.”

- (297) Նա նաև ընդգծել է, որ հակամարտությունը կարող են լուծել ոչ թեմիջնորդները, այլ կողմերը: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)
- Na naew ěndgc-el ē or hakamartut'yun-ě*
 he.NOM also underline-PTCP.PERF. he is CONJ conflict.NOM-the
kar-oł en luc-el oč' t'e mijnord-ner-ě ayl
 can-PTCP.PRES they are solve-INF CONJ mediator.NOM-the CONJ
kotm-er-ě.
 party-PL.NOM-the
 "He also highlighted that not the mediators could solve the conflict, but the parties."

- (298) Նա եղել է ոչ միայն անվանի լեզվաբան, մեծ մարդ, այլև՝ մեծ մանկավարժ: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)
- Na et-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) Չեմ կարծում, որ այս կամ այն երկիրը, կամ միջազգային կառույցը կարող է պարտադրել մեզ ընդունել խաղաղապահ ուժերին: (Armenpress 25.01.2006)
- č'em karc-um or ays kam ayn erkir-ě*
 neg-I am believe-PTCP.PRES. CONJ this CONJ that country.NOM-the
kam mijazgayin kařuyč'-ě kar-oł ē partadr-el
 CONJ international structure.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is compel-INF
mez ěndun-el xalalapah uř-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: *և...և ew...ew...;* *թեթե t'e...t'e;* "and...and; both...and";
- correlative disjunction: *կամկամ kam...kam* "either ...or";
- negative correlation disjunction: *ոչ.....ոչ oč'....oč'...* "neither ...nor".

- (300) Թուրքերը կոնֆերանսի սկզբում և նկարել են, և՛ տեսնյութ են վերցրել: (Armenpress 19.11.2006)
- t'urk'-er-ě 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) Կամ իրենք Սահմանադրությունը և գործող օրենքները լավ չգիտեն, կամ պարզապես զբաղվում են աչքակապությամբ:
(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

kam irenk' Sahmanadrut'yun-ě ew gorc-ot' õrenk-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) Քույրը կգնա դպրոց, իսկ ինքը՝ մանկապարտեզ: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 31)

K'uyr-ě kgn-a dproc' isk inkě
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) Ձեռքերը դրել էր այտին ու աչքերը փակել: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 31)

jeřk-er-ě dr-el ěr ayt-i-n u
hand-PL.NOM-the put-PTCP.PERF. he was cheek-DAT-the CONJ
ačk'-er-ě p'ak-el.
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 ոչ *oč* “not”:

- (304) Այդ կինոնկարը քույրս դիտել է, իսկ ես՝ ոչ: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 31)
ayd kinonkar-ě k'uyr-s dit-el ē isk es oč.
 that film.NOM-the sister.NOM-my watch-PTCP.PERF. she is CONJ I.NOM not
 “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) Վարդանը սիրում է Անիին, իսկ Անին՝ Վարդանին:
Vardan-ě sir-um ē 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) Անին ուսուցչին բացիկ ուղարկեց, իսկ Արամը՝ նամակ:
Ani-n usučč'-i-n bac'ik ulark-ec' isk
 Ani.NOM-the teacher-DAT-the postcard.NOM send-AOR.3.SG CONJ
Aram-ě 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) Տատիկը լավաշ է թխում, իսկ մենք ուտում ենք (այն):
Tatik-ě lavaš ē 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.

- (308) Հայրս գնել էր գիրքը, իսկ մայրս՝ կարդացել:

hayr-s gn-el ēr girk'-ĕ isk
 father.NOM-my buy-PTCP.PERF. he was book.NOM-the CONJ
mayr-s kardac'-el.
 mother-my read-PTCP.PERF.

“My father had bought the book and my mother had read (it).” (Better translated as: the book had been bought by my father and read by my mother.)

Forward medial ellipsis of the auxillary (finite) and forward final ellipsis of the direct object, S [V+AUX] [O] + S [V] []

Forward ellipsis of the verb (“gapping”) does not automatically require identical inflection of the ellipted verbal element.

- (309) Արամը սիրում է Խաչատրյան, իսկ նրա ծնողները՝ Կոմիտաս:

Aram-ĕ sir-um ē Xač'atryan isk
 Aram.NOM-the like-PTCP.PRES. he is Xač'atryan.NOM CONJ
nra cnoł-ner-ĕ Komitas.
 his parent-PL.NOM-the Komitas.NOM

“Aram likes Xač'atryan, and his parents Komitas.” S [V3.SG] O + S [3.PI] O.

There is no restriction on the number of remnant constituents left after gapping in MEA.

Backward ellipsis is also acceptable, it usually occurs with the ellipsis of direct objects (right periphery ellipsis).

- (310) Տղան տեսավ, իսկ աղջիկը լսեց շանը:

Tla-n tes-av isk ałjik-ĕ ls-ec' šan-ĕ.
 boy.NOM-the see-AOR.3.SG CONJ girl.NOM-the hear-AOR.3.SG dog-DAT-the
 “The boy saw and the girl heard the dog.”

Backward final ellipsis; right periphery ellipsis of the direct object: S V [] + S V [O]

- (311) Հովիկը սիրում, իսկ Աննան ատում է արկածային ֆիլմերը:

Hovik-ĕ sir-um isk Anna-n at-um
 Hovik.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Anna.NOM-the hate-PTCP.PRES.
ē arkacayin film-er-ĕ.
 she is adventure film-PL.NOM-the

“Hovik loves, but Anna hates action films.”

Backward final ellipsis; right periphery ellipsis of the direct object S V [] + S V [O] and also backward medial ellipsis of the AUX: S V [] [] + CONJ S V [+AUX] [O] .

3.3.2.2 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 sub-groups 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 *որ* *or* “that” and the verb in the subjunctive.

(312) Մասնակիցները ստիպված կլինեն կանգ առնել և գիշերել ճանապարհին:
(Armenpress 09.04.2006)

Masnakic'-ner-ě stip-v-ac klin-en kang ařn-el
participant-PL.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.PL stop-INF
ew giřer-el čanaparh-i-n.
CONJ overnight-INF way-DAT-the

“The participants will be forced to stop and to overnight on the way.”

(313) Նրան ձերբակալում են և ստիպում, որ զոհեր մատուցի կուռքերին:
(Armenpress 21.01.2006)

nran jerbakal-um en ew stip-um or
he.DAT arrest-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ force-PTCP.PRES. CONJ
zoh-er matuc'-i kuřk-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 ուզենալ *uzenal* “to wish”, ցանակալ *c'ankanal* “to wish/to desire”, կամենալ *kamenal* “to wish/to desire”, etc. can also be used in two ways:

- a. with the infinitive of its dependent verb

(314) Նրանք ուզում են իմ քիթը ցեխի մեջ սնցնել, բայց ես պնդելու եմ իմ ճշմարտությունը: (Armenpress 24.10.2005)

nrank' uz-um en im k'it'-ě
they.NOM want-PTCP.PRES. they are my nose.NOM-the
c'ex-i mej mt-c'n-el bayc' es pndel-u em im
MUD-DAT POST enter-caus-INF CONJ I.NOM affirm-PTCP.FUT. I am my
čšmartuťyun-ě.
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 *որ* *or* “that” and the verb of the subordinate clause in the subjunctive.

- (315) Վարդանն ուզում է, որ Վրաստան գնաս:

Vardan-n uz-um ē or Vrastan
 Vardan.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. he is CONJ Georgia.NOM
gn-as.
 go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG

“Vardan wants you go to Georgia”

- (316) Իգդիրի քաղաքապետը չի ուզում, որ հայ-թուրքական սահմանը բացվի: (Armen-press 17.05.2006)

Igdir-i k'alak'apet-ě č'-i uz-um or
 Igdir-DAT mayor.NOM-the neg-he is want-PTCP.PRES CONJ
hay-t'urkakan sahman-ě bac'-v-i.
 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”

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) a. Վարդանն ուզում է Վրաստան գնաս:

Vardan-n uzum ē Vrastan gn-as.
 Vardan.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. he is Georgia.NOM go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG
 “Vardan wants you go to Georgia.”

- (317) Ուզում էր տունը սարքեր իրա անունով ու ինձ զցեր քուչեքը: (Hetk' 15.02.2007)

uz-um ēr tun-ě sark'-er
 want-PTCP.PRES. he was house.NOM-the repair-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG
ira anun-ov u inj gc'-er k'uč'ek'-ě.
 his name-INST CONJ I.DAT throw-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG street.NOM-the
 “He wanted to repair the house in his name and to turn me adrift.
 (Lit.: to throw me on the street).”

– 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

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 *թե* *t’e* “that” as preceding the interrogative pronoun.²⁸⁹

- (318) Մալինկան երբեք չի տեսել իր մորը: (Hetk’ 17. 02.2007)
Malinka-n erbek’ č’-i tes-el ir mor-ě.
 Malinka.NOM-the never neg-she is see-PTCP.PERF. her mother-DAT-the
 “Malinka has never seen her mother.”
- (319) Ես լսեցի Վարդանի գալը:
es ls-ec’i Vardan-i gal-ě.
 I.NOM hear-AOR.1.SG Vardan-DAT come-INF.NOM-the
 “I heard Vardan coming.”
- (319) b. Ես լսեցի որ Վարդանը գալիս է:
es ls-ec’i or Vardan-ě gal-is ē.
 I.NOM hear-AOR.1.SG CONJ Vardan.NOM-the come-PTCP.PRES. he is
 “I heard that Vardan was coming.”
- (320) Բայց ահա, այս վերջերս ծնողների գերեզմանին այցի գալով,
 զգաց որ իրեն հիշում են: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)
Bayc’ aha ays verjers cnoł-ner-i gerezman-i-n ayc’-i
 CONJ look this recently parent-PL-DAT grave-DAT-the visit-DAT
gal-ov zg-ac’ or iren hiš-um en.
 come-INST feel-AOR.3.SG CONJ he.DAT remember-PTCP.PRES. they are
 “But, look, recently coming to visit the parents’ grave, he felt that they remember him.”
- (321) Երբ շղթան քանդում ես ու տեսնում, թե ինչպես են խճճել, հետքերը կորցրել՝
 ապշում ես: (Aravot 08.04.2006)
erb št’a-n k’and-um es u tesn-um
 wh-when chain.NOM-the break-PTCP.PRES. you are CONJ see-PTCP.PRES.
t’e inc’pes en xčč-el hetk’-er-ě korc’r-el
 CONJ wh-how they are tangle-PTCP.PERF trace-PL.NOM-the lost-PTCP.PERF.
apš-um es.
 be surprised-PTCP.PRES. you are
 “When you break the chain and see (that) how they are tangled and the traces are
 lost, you are surprised.”

²⁸⁹. Felser 1999: 15f; Rogers 1971: 202–222.

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. գիտենալ *gitenal* “know”, իմանալ *imanal* “to know/ to learn”, հասկանալ *haskanal* “understand/perceive etc.,” etc. This clause is usually linked to the verb with the subordinators, որ *or* “that”, թե *tê* “that” and/or interrogative pronouns.

- (322) Կա գենետիկորեն ձևափոխված սնունդ, բայց մեր կենտրոնակայանը գիտի, որ Հայաստանում չենք ընդունում այդ պարենի տեսակը:
(Armenpress 31.10.2006)

Ka *genetikoren* *jewap'ox-v-ac* *snund* *bayc'*
exist-PRES.3.SG genetically modify-pass-PTCP.RES. food.NOM CONJ
mer *kentronakayan-ë* *giti* *or* *Hayastan-um* *ë-enk'*
our centre.NOM-the know-PRES.3.SG CONJ Armenia-LOC neg-we are
ëndun-um *ayd* *paren-i* *tesak-ë.*
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) Եվ իրենք՝ դերասանները երբեք չեն իմացել, թե իրենց նկարող կա խաղի պահին:
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)

Ev *irenk'* *derasan-ner-ë* *erbek'* *ë-en* *imac'-el*
CONJ they.NOM actor-PL.NOM-the never neg-they are know-PTCP.PERF.
tê *irenc'* *nkar-ot* *ka* *xat-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 *kareli ê* “it is possible that”, հավանական *havanakan ê* “it is probable that”, հաստատ է *hastat ê* “it is certain that”, etc.
- b. Indirectly with cognition verbs such as մտառել *mtacel*, կարծել *karcel* “to think/ to believe; to suppose” կասկածել *kaskacel* “to doubt”, վախենալ *vaxenal* “to fear” etc.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.

- (324) Եվ հնարավոր է զարգացնել փոխհարաբերությունները նաև ներդրումային իմաստով: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

Ev hnaravor ē zarga-cʻn-el p'oxaharaberut'yun-ner-ē naew
 CONJ probable it is develop-caus-INF interrelation-PL.NOM-the also
nerdrumayin imast-ov.
 investing sense-INST

“It is possible to develop interrelations also in the area of investment.”

Verbs of cognition commonly have dependent clauses that can occur without a subordinator or with the subordinators *որ* ‘that’ or *թե՛* ‘that’ (often with following interrogative pronouns).

- (325) Կարծում եմ, դեռևս ճանապարհի սկզբին ենք և ամենաշեշտ մասն ենք անցել միայն: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

Karc-um em defews čanaparh-i skzb-i-n enk'
 believe-PTCP.PRES. I am still way-DAT beginning-DAT-the we are
ew amenahešt mas-n enk' anc'-el miayn.
 CONJ 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) Թող իրենք մտածեն, թե ինչ լուծումներ պետք է տան: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

t'ol irenk' mtac-en t'e inc'
 let-IMP.2.SG they.NOM think-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL CONJ what.NOM
lucum-ner petk' ē t-an.
 solution-PL.NOM give-DEB.FUT.3.PL

“Let them think what solutions they have to offer.”

- (327) Ես կարծում եմ, որ մեր դիրքորոշումը լավ հայտնի է: (Azg 10.01.2006)

Es karc-um em or mer dirkorošum-ē lav
 I.NOM suppose-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ our position.NOM-the INT
haytni ē.
 known it is

“I suppose that our position is well-known.”

- (328) Բայց ես խիստ կասկածում եմ, որ նրանք քննարկել են ինչ-որ նոր առաջարկներ: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

Bayc' es xist kaskac-um em or nrank'
 CONJ I.NOM heavy doubt-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ they.NOM
k'nnark-el en inc'-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* *asel* “to say”, *պատմել* *patmel* “to report/to tell”, *հարցնել* *harc’nel* “to ask”, *պատասխանել* *patasxanel* “to answer”, *նշել* *nšel* “to annotate”, *նկատել* *nkatel* “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* *or* “that”, *թե* *tē* “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) «Ցավոք, իրավունք չունեինք նրանց թույլատրելու, որպեսզի քվեարկեն», - ասաց Ա.Սմբատյանը: (Armenpress 27.11.2005)

čavok’ iravunk’ č’un-eink’ nranc’ t’uylatrel-u
 unfortunately right neg-have-PAST.1.PL they.DAT permit-INF-DAT
orpeszi k’veark-en as-ac’ A. Smbatyan-č.
 CONJ vote-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL say-AOR.3.SG A. Smbatyan.NOM-the
 “A. Smbatyan said, ‘Unfortunately we had no right to permit them to vote.’”

- (330) Ղեկավարը նկատում է, որ քիչ-քիչ վերանում են նաև քաղաքային և գյուղական բնակիչների միջև եղած տարբերությունները: (Azg 07.04.2006)

Ķekavar-č 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
bnakič-ner-i mijew eł-ac tarberut’yun-ner-č.
 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) Հայաստանի ներկայացուցիչն ասաց, որ դա ոչ իր իրավասության, ոչ էլ քննարկվող թեմայի հետ որևէ կապ չունի: (Azg 03.03.2006)

Hayastan-i nerkayac’uc’ič-n asac’ or da oč’ ir
 Armenia-DAT representative.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ that CONJ his
iravasut’y-an oč’ ēl k’nmark-v-oł t’ema-yi het
 competence-DAT CONJ also discuss-pass-PTCP.SUB. issue-DAT POST
orewē kap č’-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
- contiguency

The following subordinators are used to express temporal meaning երբ *erb* “when”, երբ որ *erb or* “when”, հենց *henc* “just”, հենց որ *henc or* “as soon as”, քանի դեռ *kani der* “meanwhile”.

The interrogative pronoun երբ *erb* “when” is often used to articulate not only simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority of actions/events but also temporal relative clauses.

(332) Անձրևն սկսվեց այն ժամանակ, երբ երեխաները դեռ չէին հասել պատսպարանին:

Anjrew-n sks-v-ec' ayn zamanak erb erexa-ner-ě
 rain.NOM-the start-antic-AOR.3.SG that time.NOM REL child-PL.NOM-the
der č-ēin 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) Ես պատահար ունեցա, երբ անցնում էի կիրճի մոտով:
es patahar unec'-a erb anc'n-um ēi
 I.NOM accident.NOM have-AOR.1.SG CONJ pass-PTCP.PRES. I were
kirč-i mot-ov.
 canyon-DAT POST-INST
 “I had an accident, while I was passing near the canyon.”
- (334) Սակայն վախեցա, երբ նայեցի պետության կողմը, լուսանկարում պատկերվածը
 զինված էր «Մակարով» տիպի ատրճանակով: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
sakayn vax-ec'-a erb nay-ec'-i petut'y-an kołm-ě
 CONJ fear-AOR.1.SG CONJ see-AOR.1.SG government-DAT side.NOM-the
lusankar-um patker-v-ac-ě zin-v-ac ēr
 foto-LOC portray-pass-PTCP.RES.NOM-the arm-pass-PTCP.RES. he was
 “Makarov” tip-i atrčanak-ov.
 “Makarov” type-DAT gun-INST
 “I was scared to see a person portrayed at the side of the government armed with a
 gun of the ‘Makarov’ type.”
- (335) Նշենք, որ արգելքը սկսել է գործել 2002-ի դեկտեմբերից, երբ միայն Երևանում
 առգրավվեց շուրջ 200 ապօրինի հատված սոճի:-
 (Armenpress 26.12.05)
nšenk' or argelk'-ě sks-el ē gorc-el
 note-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL CONJ ban.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF. it is work-INF
2002-i dektember-ic' erb miayn Erewan-um
 2002-DAT December-ABL CONJ only Yerevan-LOC
ařgrav-v-ec' šurj 200 apōrini hat-v-ac' soči.
 confiscate-pass-AOR.3.SG about 200 illegal cut-pass.PTCP.RES. pine.NOM
 “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) Երբ մեծ եղբայրս անցել էր փողոցով, տեսավ իր ընկերոջը:
erb mec elbayr-s anc'-el ēr p'oloc'-ov
 CONJ big brother.NOM-my pass-PTCP.PERF. he was street-INST
tes-av ir ēnker-oj-ě.
 see-AOR.3.SG his friend-DAT.
 “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 երբ *erb* “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 *աճաջ* *aʃaʃ* “before”. Simultaneity can be articulated with the infinitive in the instrumental, but more often with the processual participle *-իս* *-is*.²⁹¹

- (337) Բնակարանը ստանալուց հետո մենք աջակցում ենք նաև աշխատանքի տեղավորման հարցում: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

bnakaran-ě stanal-uc’ heto menk’ aʃakc’-um enk’
apartment.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL POST we.NOM assist-PTCP.PRES. we are
naew ašxatank’-i telavorm-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 զնալուց առաջ նկարակալի վրա մի մաքուր կտավ էի դրել:
(Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Tun gnal-uc’ aʃaʃ nkarakal-i vra mi mak’ur ktav
house go-INF-ABL 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) Անտառում սունկ հավաքելիս, Մադլենը կորցրեց տան բանալին:

Antaʃ-um sunk havak’el-is Madlen-ě
forest-LOC mushroom.NOM collect-PTCP.PROC. Madlen.NOM-the
korc’r-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 *քանի դեռ* *k’ani deʃ* “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 *առաջ* *aʃaʃ* “before” (with infinitive constructions) or by means of the subordinator *հենց որ* *henc’* or “as soon as” (anteriority), the subordinator *մինչև* *minčew* “until, before” and the adverb *նախքան* *naxkan* “before” (posteriority) used as subordinating conjunction.

- (340) Թուրք-հայկական սահմանը չի բացվի, քանի դեռ դարաբաղյան հակամարտությունը չի լուծվել Ադրբեջանի օգտին: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

T'urk'-haykakan saħman-ě č'-i bac'-v-i k'ani deř
 Turkish-Armenian border.NOM-the neg-it is open-pass-PTCP.NEG. CONJ

larabalyan hakamartut'yun-ě č'-i luc'-v-el
 Karabakh conflict.NOM-the neg-it is solve-pass-PTCP.PERF.

Adrbeĵan-i oġt-i-n.
 Azerbaijan-DAT favour-DAT-the

“The Turkish-Armenian border will not be opened as long as the Karabakh conflict has not been solved in favour of Azerbaijan.”

- (341) Քանի դեռ երեխաները դասը չեն սովորել, բալ իջնել չեն կարող:

K'ani deř erexa-ner-ě das-ě č'-en sovor-el
 CONJ child-PL.NOM-the lesson.NOM neg-they are learn-PTCP.PERF.

bak iĵn-el č'-en kar-ol.
 courtyard.NOM descend-INF neg-they are can-PTCP.PRES.

“As long as the children have not learnt their lessons, they may not go down to the courtyard. (i.e. to play)”

The subordinator *հենց որ* *henc' or* “as soon as” usually expresses immediate anteriority, and sometimes also the contingency “whenever”.

- (342) Հենց որ հասնեմ տունը, քեզ կզանգահարեմ:

henc' or hasn-em tun-ě k'ez
 CONJ arrive-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG house.NOM-the you.DAT

kzangahar-em.
 phone-COND.FUT.1.SG

“As soon as I arrive at home, I will phone you.”

- (343) Հենց որ որոշես անդամագրվել մեր ակումբին, բարի գալուստ քեզ:

Henc' or oroř-es andamagr-v-el mer akumb-i-n
 CONJ decide-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG member become-refl-INF our club-DAT-the

bari galust k'ez.
 good arrival.NOM you.DAT

“Whenever you decide to join our club, you are welcome.”

The subordinator *նախքան* *naxk'an* “before” expresses posteriority.

- (344) Այս արագ տեմպերի դեպքում տասնամյակներ կպահանջվեն, նախքան մենք կհասնենք միջին եվրոպացու բարեկեցության աստիճանի: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

Ays arag temp-er-i depk'-um tasnamyak-ner
 this quick tempo-PL-DAT case-LOC decade-PL.NOM

kpahanj-v-en *naxkàn menk' khasn-enk'*
 require-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL CONJ WE.NOM arrive-COND.FUT.1.PL

mijin evropac'-u barekec'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 subordinate clause introduced by the subordinating phrase այն ժամանակվանից ինչ (երբ) *ayn žamanakvanic', inč' (erb)* “from that time, that (when)...”

- (345) Այսօր լրանում է 33 տարին այն օրից, ինչ կյանքից հեռացավ երկրի վրա ընդամենը 47 տարի ապրած պոեզիայի մեծ վարպետ Պարույր Սևակը.
 (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Aysōr Iran-um ē 33 tari-n ayn ōr-ic'
 today be completed-PTCP.PRES. it is 33 year.NOM-the that day-INST
inč' kyank'-ic' heš-ac'av erkr-i vra ēndamenē
 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.RES. poetry-DAT master.NOM

Paruyr Sewak-ē.

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 մինչև (որ) *minč'ew (or)* “until”; մինչ *minč'* “until”.

- (346) Երկիրը կշարունակի այդպես ապրել այնքան ժամանակ, մինչև նոր ընդդիմություն ձևավորվի: (Armenpress 07.12.2005)

Erkir-ē kšarunak-i aydpes apr-el aynkàn
 country.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.SG so live-INF so much
žamanak minč'ew nor ēnddimut'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.”

- (347) Ամեն երեկո եկեղեցուն կից տնակներից մեկում հավատացյալների հավաքներ է կազմակերպում մինչև կավարտվեն շինարարական աշխատանքները: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

amen ereko ekelec'u-n kic' tnak-ner-ic' mek-um
every evening church-DAT-the close house-PL-ABL one-LOC

havatac'yal-ner-i havak'-ner ē kazmakerp-um
believer-PL-DAT meeting-PL.NOM he is organize-PTCP.PRES.

minčew kavart-v-en šinarakan ašxatank'-ner-ě.
CONJ complete-pass-OND.FUT.3.PL building work-PL.NOM-the.

“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.”

մինչև *minčew* can also be used to express posteriority, i.e. “before”

- (348) Մինչև նրանք կգան, պետք է այս աշխատանքը կատարվի:

minčew nrank' kg-an petk' ē ays ašxatank'-ě
CONJ they come-COND.FUT.3.PL part this work.NOM-the

katar-v-i.

fulfil-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“Until (=Before) they come, this work must be fulfilled.”

մինչ *minč* is also used to express (a) simultaneity of actions, i.e. “in the meantime/ when/ during/while” (b) posteriority of action “before”.

- (349) Հարևանի շունը հաչում էր, մինչ ես փորձում էի քուն մտնել:

harewan-i šun-ē hač'-um ēr minč' es
neighbour-DAT dog.NOM-the bark-PTCP.PRES. it was CONJ I.NOM

pørjum ēi k'un mtn-el.
try-PTCP.PRES. I was sleep.NOM enter-INF

“The neighbour’s dog was barking, while I was trying to fall asleep.”

- (350) Մինչ ընկերներս սրճում էին, ես հասցրեցի հոդվածը կարդալ:

minč' ěnker-ner-s srč'-um ěin es
CONJ friend-PL.NOM-my drink coffee-PTCP.PRES. they where I.NOM

hasc'ŕ-ec'i hodvac-ě kard-al.
succeed-AOR.1.SG essay.NOM-the read-INF

“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) Մարդուն չի կարելի արտաքսել մի երկիր, ուր նրան սպառնում են կտտանքներ:
(Ařavot 08.04.06)

Mard-u-n *č'-i* *kareli* *artak's-el* *mi* *erkir*
person-DAT-the neg-it is possible deport-INF INDEF country.NOM
ur *nran* *spařn-um* *en* *kttank'-ner.*
wh-where he.DAT threaten-PTCP.PRES. they are torture-PL.NOM.
“You can not deport a person to a country, where torture threaten him.”

- (352) Իսկ մենք շարունակելու ենք մարտական հերթապահությունը տանել այնտեղ, որտեղ հասել ենք: (Armenpress 08.04.06)

Isk *menk'* *řarunakel-u* *enk'* *martakan* *hert'apahut'yun-ě*
CONJ we.NOM continue-PTCP.FUT. we are fighting duty.NOM-the
tan-el *ayntel* *ortel* *has-el* *enk'.*
carry-INF there wh-where arrive-PTCP.PERF. we are

“But we will continue to carry out fighting duties there, where we arrived.”

- (353) Գետը երեխայի մարմինը քշել է մինչեւ Ծովինար լիճը, որտեղից այն դուրս է բերվել ջրասուզակների կողմից: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

get-ě *erexa-y-i* *marmin-ě* *kř-el* *ē* *minčew*
river.NOM-the child-DAT body.NOM-the drive-PTCP.PERF. it is PREP
Covinar *lič-ě* *ortel-ic'* *ayn* *durs* *ē*
Covinar lake.NOM-the wh-where from that.NOM out it is
ber-v-el *řrasuzak-ner-i* *kořmic'.*
bring-pass-PTCP.PERF. diver-PL-DAT POST

“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 *orovhetew* “because”, որ *or* “that”, քանի որ *kani or* “since”, քանզի *kanzi* “because; for; as”.

Another subordination marker is the postpositional phrase այն պատճառով *ayn patčar'ov* “with that reason” in the main clause, followed by CONJ որ *or* “that” in the subordinate clause.

- (354) Եվ քանի որ այս հարցը չի լուծված, չեմ համարում, որ հիմնախնդիրը կարելի է համարել լուծված: (Ařavot 04.04.2006)

Ev kani or ays harc'ë ç-i luc-v-ac ç-em
 CONJ CONJ this problem.NOM-the neg-it is solve-pass-PTCP.RES. neg-I am
hamar-um or himnaxndir-ë kareli ë
 consider-PTCP.PRES CONJ basic problem.NOM-the possible it is
hamar-el luc-v-ac.
 consider-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) Տոն է հույսի ու հավատի նորոգության, քանզի ավետավոր հրեշտակի շուրթերով ամենքս լսում ենք. «Տերը քեզ հետ է»: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

Ton ë huysi u havati norogut'y-an kanzi
 feast.NOM it is hope-DAT CONJ belief-DAT renewal-DAT CONJ
avetavor hreřtak-i řurt'-er-ov amenk'-s ls-um
 news bringing angel-DAT lip-PL-INST all.NOM-my listen-PTCP.PRES.
enk' "Ter-ë kez het ë".
 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) Հանդիպումը հետաձգվել է այն պատճառով, որ Ադրբեջանի հոգևոր առաջնորդ Ալլահշուքյուր Փաշազադեն երկրի նախագահ Իլհամ Ալիևի հետ մեկնել է Սաուդյան Արաբիա: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

Handipum-ë hetajg-el ë ayn patčarov or
 meeting.NOM-the delay-PTCP.PERF. it is that reason CONJ
Adrbejani hogevor ařajnord Allahřuk'yur Pařazade-n
 Azerbaijan-DAT spiritual leader.NOM Allahřuk'yur P'azade.NOM-the
erkr-i naxagah Ilham Aliew-i het mekn-el
 country-DAT president.NOM Ilham Aliew-DAT POST depart-PTCP.PERF.
ë 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 *որ* *or* “that” or *որպեսզի* *orpeszi* “in order to”. The constructions with the postpositional phrase *այն նպատակով* *ayn npatakov* “with that aim” in the matrix and with the conjunction *որ* *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) Թերևս ճիշտ կլինի այն ավելի ուշ քննարկել, որպեսզի որևէ մեկը չկապի ընտրությունների հետ: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

T'erews čišť klini ayn aveli uš k'nnark-el orpeszi
Probably right be-COND.FUT.3.SG that more later discuss-INF CONJ

orewē mekē č'-kap-i ěntrut'yun-ner-i het.
anyone.NOM-the neg-connect-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG election-PL-DAT POST

“It would probably be right to discuss that later, in order that no one relates (it) to the elections.”

- (358) Աղջկա հետ մտերմացել էր այն նպատակով, որ ամուսնության առաջարկ անի: (Hayoc Lezu 8: 62)

Ałjk-a het mtermac'-el ěr ayn npatakov
girl-DAT POST become friends-PTCP.PERF. he was that reason-with

or amusnut'y-an ařajark an-i.
CONJ marriage-DAT proposal.NOM make-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

“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 *որ* *or* is more frequently found in both spoken and written MEA to express the meaning of “in order to”.

- (359) Հաջորդ օրն մեկնեցի Շեքսպիրի ծննդավայրը որ խոնարհվեմ հանձարեղ գրողի աճյունին:

hajord ěr-n mekn-ec'-i řek'spir-i cndavayr-ě
next day.NOM-the depart-AOR.1.SG Shakespeare-DAT birthplace.NOM-the

or xonarh-v-em hančareł groł-i ačyun-i-n.
CONJ bow-refl-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG genius author-DAT tomb-DAT-the

“The 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 conjunctive words:

ինչպես *inč'pes* “as, such as”, որ *or* “as, that”, ինչպես որ, ոնց որ *onc' or* “as if”, ասես *ases* “as if”, ասես թե *ases t'e* “as if”, կարծես *karces* “it seems, as if”, կարծես թե *karces t'e* “it seems, as if”.

Manner subordinators quite often co-occur with the manner adverb այնպես *aynpes* “so” in the matrix clause.

- (360) Նախագահ Ռոբերտ Բոչարյանը կշարունակի աշխատել այնպես, ինչպես մինչ այժմ: (Armenpress 24.11.2006)

naxagah Robert Koč'aryan-ě kšarunak-i
 president.NOM Robert Koč'aryan.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.SG
ašxat-el aynpes inč'pes minč' ayžm.
 WORK-INF SO CONJ PREP NOW

“President Robert Koč'aryan will continue to work so, as he did until now.”

- (361) . . . և ավելացրեց, որ կարծես թե հակավաճություն կա աշխատանքները շարունակելու: (Armenpress 04.06.2006)

ew avelac'ec or karces t'e hakavacuťyun ka
 CONJ add-AOR.3.SG CONJ CONJ tendency.NOM exist-PRES.3.SG
ašxatank'-ner-ě šarunakel-u.
 work-PL.NOM-the continue-INF-DAT

“And he added that as if there were a tendency to continue the works.”

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: որքան *ork'an* “how much/as much”, որքան որ *ork'an or* “so much that”, ինչքան *inč'kan* “so much”, որ *or* “that”, մինչև որ *minč'ew or* “until that”.

A very common construction is the measure/degree adverb այնքան *aynk'an* “so much” in the matrix and the subordinators որքան *ork'an* “how much/ as much” or որ *or* in the subordinate clause.

- (362) Սակայն դա այնքան սարսափելի չի լինի, որքան ներկայացվում է: (Armenpress 23.03.20069)

Sakayn da aynk'an sarsap'eli č-i lini ork'an
 CONJ that so much horrible neg-it is be-PTCP.NEG CONJ
nerkayac'-v-um ē.
 present-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is

“However, that will not be as horrible, as it is presented.”

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 *usti* “so/therefore/whence”, ուրեմն *uremn* “consequently/therefore”, հետևաբար *hetewabar* “consequently”.²⁹²

Note that consecutive or “consequence” clauses appear exclusively following the main clause.

- (363) Մեր երկրում գրաքննություն չկա, ուստի և այդ բնագավառում պրորբլեմ գոյություն չունի. (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

mer erkr-um grak'nut'yun č'-ka usti ew ayd
our country-LOC auditing.NOM neg-exist-PRES.3.SG. CONJ CONJ that
bnagawař-um problem goyutyun č'-un-i.
field-LOC problem.NOM existence.NOM neg-have-PRES.3.SG

“There is no auditing in our country; so a problem does not exist in this field.”

- (364) Հայաստանը պատրաստ չէ ատոմակայանի փակմանը, հետևաբար այդ առաջարկը ընդունելի չէ: (Armenpress 13.05.2006)

Hayastan-ě patrast č'-ě atomakayan-i
Armenia.NOM-the ready neg-it is nuclear power plant-DAT
p'akm-an-ě hetewabar ayd ařajark-ě ěnduneli č'-ě.
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 *aysink'n* and այն է *ayn ě* “that is/in other words”.

These subordinate clauses regularly follow their main clauses.

- (365) Երկուսն էլ իրացվելիություն են տալիս ֆինանսական շուկային, այսինքն ավելացնում են դրամի քանակը: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

Erku-s-n ěl irac'veliut'yun en tal-is
two-PL.NOM-the also realization-NOM they are give-PTCP.PRES.
finansakan řuka-y-i-n aysink'n avela-c'n-um en
financial market-DAT-the CONJ raise-caus-PTCP.PRES. they are
dram-i k'anak-ě.
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 *թեև* *t'ew* “although, even if, while”, *թեկուզ* *t'ekuz* “even, though”, *թեպետ* *t'epet* “though”, *չնայած* *č'nayac* “in spite of, despite”, *փոխանակ* *p'oxanak* “instead of” etc.

- (366) Գործուղվողները թեպետ ապահովվելու են բնակարաններով, ստանալու են միանվագ և ամսական դրամական փոխհատուցում: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)

Gorcul-v-ol-ner-ě *t'epet apahov-v-elu*
business trip send-pass-PTCP.SUB-PL.NOM-the CONJ provide-pass-PTCP.FUT.
en bñakaran-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 չնայած զարգացման տեմպերը բավական դանդաղ են, աճ կա, թեև աշխատողն են ոչ լրիվ ծանրաբեռնվածությամբ: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

na nš-ec' or č'nayac zargac'm-an
he.NOM mark-AOR.3.SG CONJ CONJ development-DAT
temp-er-ě bavakan dandał en ač ka
tempo-PL.NOM-the INT slow they are growth.NOM exist-PRES.3.SG
t'ew ašxat-um en oč' lriv canrabeřnvacuťy-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 *սակայն* *sakayn* or *բայց* *bayc'* “but”.

- (368) Թեև այժմ տեսչությունն ունի լաբորատորիա, սակայն այն հավաստագրված չէ և չունի ժամանակակից սարքավորումներ: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

T'ew ayžm tesčut'yun-n uni laboratoria sakayn
CONJ now supervisory.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG laboratory.NOM CONJ
ayn havastagr-v-ac č'-ē ew č'-un-i
that legalize-pass-PTCP.RES neg-it is CONJ neg-have-PRES.3.SG
žamanakacic' sark'avorum-ner.
modern equipment-PL.NOM

“Although the supervisory has a laboratory now, (but) it is not legalised and has no modern equipment.”

3.3.2.2.2 Conditional clauses²⁹³

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.

Conditionals can also be regarded as the most flexible or ambiguous of all adverbial 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) Եթե ավելի լավ սովորես, ավելի լավ գնահատականներ կստանաս:
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

293. Shopen 1985: II:190 ff; Comrie 1986: 77–102; König 1986: 229–246; Cristofaro 2003: 160ff; Kozintseva 2005: 168–194.

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 սովորեիր, ավելի լավ գնահատականներ կստանայիր:

et'e aveli lav sovor-eir aveli lav gnahatakan-ner
 CONJ more good learn-SUBJ.PAST.2.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 անցյալ տարի լավ սովորեիր, ավելի լավ գնահատականներ կստանայիր:

Et'e anc'yal tari lav sovor-eir aveli lav gnahatakan-ner
 CONJ last year good learn-SUBJ.PAST.2.SG more good mark-PL.NOM

kstan-ayir.

receive-COND.PAST.2.SG

“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 Անուշը գա, մենք կգնանք միասին թատրոն:

et'e Anuš-ě ga menk' kgn-ank'
 CONJ Anuš.NOM-the come-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG we.NOM go-COND.FUT.1.PL

miasin t'atron.

together theatre.NOM

“If Anuš comes, we will go to the theatre together.”

- Asyndetic conditional sentences, without any conditional conjunction.

294. Kozintseva 2005: 170.

- (373) Ինչ եղանակ էլ լինի աշխարհում, քեզ, իմ Երևան, չեմ դավաճանի:
(Nazaryan 2006: 170)

Inč' ełanak ēl lin-i ašxarh-um k'ez
wh-what season.NOM ever be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG world-LOC you.DAT
im Erewan č'-em davačan-i.
my Yerevan.NOM neg-I am betray-PTCP.NEG

“Whatever the weather is in the world, you, my Yerevan, I will never betray.”

- 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.

- (374) Երկաթը չօգտագործելով ժանգոտվում է:

Erkat'-ē č'-ōgtagorcel-ov žangot-v-um ē.
iron.NOM-the neg-use-INF-INST rust-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is
“Iron becomes rusty if not being used.”

- (375) Մարդու ողելի հնավորությունները չկիրարվելով ետ են զարգանում:

Mard-u ulet-i hnaravorut'yun-ner-ē č'-kirar-v-el-ov et
human-DAT brain-DAT possibility-PL.NOM-the neg-use-pass-INF-INST back
en zargan-um.
they are develop-PTCP.PRES.

“The capacities of a human brain regress if not being applied.”

- Simple sentences with conditional adverbials introduced by դեպքում *depk'um* “in case”, պարագայում *paragayum* “under the circumstance” or պայմանով *paymanov* “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.

- (376) Նշված ժամկետները խախտելու դեպքում այդ մասին կգրանցվի վարկային քյուրոյում: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

nš-v-ac žamket-ner-ē xaxt-el-u dep'k-um
note-pass-PTCP.RES term-PL.NOM-the break-INF-DAT case-LOC
ayd masin kgranc'-v-i varkayin byuro-y-um.
that POST register-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG credit bureau-LOC

“In case of exceeding the noted terms, (lit.: about) that will be registered in the credit bureau.”

- (377) Այս ծրագրի իրագործման պարագայում որոշ չափով կլուծվի հաշմանդամներ զբաղվածության խնդիրը: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)

ays cragr-i iragorcm-an paragayum oroš čap'ov
 this program-DAT realisation-DAT ADV certain extent-INST
kluc-v-i hašmandam-ner zbałvacuťy-an
 solve-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG disabled person-PL.NOM employment-DAT
xndir-ě.
 problem.NOM-the

“Under the circumstances of the realisation of this program, the problem of the employment of disabled persons will be solved to a certain extent.”

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 *miayn t'è* or with the adverbial subordinator այն պայմանով *ayn paymanov*;
- in the case of a de-emphasized afterthought.

- (378) Ես ուրախ կլինեի, եթե մեր հարևանների կառավարող վերնախավերը ավելի շուտ դա գիտակցեին: (Armenpress 12.05.2006)

Es urax klin-ei et'è mer harewan-ner-i
 I.NOM happy be-COND.PAST.1.SG CONJ our neighbour-PL-DAT
kařavar-oł vernaxav-er-ě aveli šut da
 govern-PTCP.SUB. elite-PL.NOM more quick that.NOM
gitakc'-ein.
 recognise-SUBJ.PAST.3.PL

“I would be happy, if the elites ruling our neighbours recognised that more quickly.”

- (379) «Գազպրոմը» պատրաստ է վճարելու նաև բարձրացված գներով՝ ի վնաս իրեն, միայն թե երաշխավորի Եվրոպայում հումքի գնորդների շահերը: (Armenpress 29.11.2005)

GAZPROM-ě patrast ē včarel-u naew barjrac'-v-ac
 GAZPROM.NOM-the ready it is sell-INF-DAT also rise-pass-PTCP.RES.
gn-er-ov i vnas iren miayn t'è erašxavor-i Ewropa-y-um
 price-PL-INST PREP it.DAT CONJ guarantee-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Europe-LOC
humk'-i gnord-ner-i šah-er-ě.
 raw material-DAT buyer-PL-DAT benefit-PL.NOM-the

“GAZPROM is also disposed to sell with raised prices to its own disadvantage, only if it guarantees the profits of the raw material buyers in Europe.”

- (380) Ես երեկոյան ազատ կլինեմ, եթէ իսկապէս իմ կարիքն ունես:
es erekoyan azat klin-em etè iskapés im
 I.NOM evening-DAT free be-COND.FUT.1.SG CONJ really my
karik'-n un-es.
 need.NOM-the have-PRES.2.SG

“I am free in the evening. If you really need me.”

This conditional clause may also be interpreted as an after-thought conditional, depending on the intonation and the pause between the protasis and apodosis.

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) Թշնամին եթէ ցանկանար նման հասկացություններ ներմուծել,
 երկի չկարողանար: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
T'snami-n etè c'ankan-ar nman haskac'ut'yun-ner
 enemy.NOM-the CONJ wish-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG similar understanding-PL.NOM
nermuc-el erewi č'-karołan-ar.
 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 եթէ *etè* “if/when”, թէ *tè* “if”,²⁹⁵ թէ որ *tè or* “if”,²⁹⁶ որ *or* “if”, միայն թէ *miayn tè* “only if” (for restrictive conditionals),

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 թէ որ *tè or* < թէ *tè* 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 թէ որ *tè or*. The

but also երբ *erb* “when” and the conjunctive phrase այն պայմանով *ayn paymanov* “under the condition”.

j. եթե *et'e* “if/when” is the most frequently used conditional subordinator; it is neutral in its meaning.

(382) Ղրա դեմ հնարավոր է պայքարել, եթե առկա է իշխանության ցանկությունն ու կամքը: (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

Dra dem hnaravor ē payk'ar-el et'e ařka ē
this-GEN POST possible it is fight-INF CONJ available it is
iřxanut'y-an čankut'yun-n u kamk'-ě.
authority-DAT wish.NOM-the CONJ will.NOM-the

“It is possible to fight against that, if the wish and will of the authority is available.”

k. Both *թե t'e* “if” and particularly *որ or* “if” are preferably used in spoken MEA as conditional subordinators; *որ or* “if” is usually found clause-initially.

(383) Մոսկվա որ գնաս, եղբորս անպայման զանգ կտաս:

Moskva or gn-as elbor-s anpayman
MOSCOW.NOM CONJ go-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG brother-DAT-my certainly
zang kt-as.
phone-COND.FUT.2SG

“If you go to Moscow, you should certainly phone my brother.”

(384) Ես որ մեռնեմ, ինձ կթաղեք Արարատի լանջերում:

es or meřn-em inj kt'at-ek' Ararat-i
I.NOM CONJ die-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG I.DAT bury-COND.FUT.2.PL Ararat-DAT
lanj'er-um.
slope-PL-LOC

“If/when I die, will you bury me on the slopes of Mt. Ararat?”

latter – the conditional subordinator – is not very commonly used in written language, it occurs sometimes in literature within direct speech to express colloquial dialogue. *թե որ t'e or* is a feature of conditional clauses in colloquial Armenian.

(381) a. Կողմերը քննարկել են, թե որ առյանում պետք է լուծվի հարցը:
(Armenpress 26.03.2006)

kořm-er-ě k'nark-el en t'e or
side.NOM-PL-the discuss-PTCP.PERF. they are CONJ wh-which
atyan-um petk' ě luc-v-i harc'-ě.
institution-LOC solve-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG question.NOM-the

“The parties have discussed (that) in which institution the problem must be solved.”

In written Armenian, the conjunction *որ* *or* is also used as a conditional subordinator in proverbs and sayings:

- (385) էշը որ զռաց, զարուն է: (Armenian saying)
ēš-ē or zř-ac' garun ē.
 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 *թե որ* *t'e or* or “if”, when expressing pure conditional meaning.²⁹⁷

- (386) Թե որ էդքան համարձակ ես, հենց տնօրենի ճակատին ասա ամեն ինչ:
t'e or ēdk'an hamarjak es henc' tnōren-i čakat-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 *որ* *or* is used in combination with *էլ* *ēl* it conveys a concessive meaning.

- (387) Էդ (այդ) էլ որ չանի իր հարազատ աղջկա համար, էլ նրա հայրն է:
Ēd ēl or č'ani ir harazat atjk-a hamar
 That even CONJ neg-do-COND.FUT.3.SG his close girl-DAT POST
ēl 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 *որ* *or* is also often combined with modal particles or interjections, such as *դե* *de* “well”, *բա* *ba* “well, that’s it”. These modal expressions usually occur at the beginning of the sentence, immediately followed by the conditional clause introduced by *որ* *or*. Such sentences convey agreement or intention.

- (388) Դե, որ գաս, մանրամասն կխոսենք:
de or g-as manramasn kxos-enk'.
 well CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG in detail speak-COND.FUT.1.PL
 “Well, if you come we will talk in detail.”

1. *պայմանով* *paymanov* “under the condition” is mainly used in literary Armenian and usually co-occurs with the multifunctional conjunction *որ* *or* “that” introducing the matrix clause.

297. Łaragyulyan 1981: 111.

- (389) Կգամ այն պայմանով, որ երեկոյան ապահովես վերադարձս:
(Hayoc' Lezu 8: 63)

kg-am *ayn payman-ov* *or* *erekoyan*
come-COND.FUT.1.SG that condition-INST CONJ evening

apahov-es *veradarj-s.*
ensure-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG return.NOM-my

“I will come under the condition, that you ensure my return in the evening.”

The conditional subordinating conjunction միայն թե *miayn 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 *erb* “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 այն դեպքում *ayn depk'um* “in that case” to the conditional clause, either independently or in the matrix clause.

- (390) Երբ ՆԱՏՕ-ն ֆինանսավորում է այդպիսի վարժանքներ, ապա մասնակցությունն ազատ լինի ծրագրում ներգրավված բոլոր երկրների համար:
(Armenpress 31.03.2006)

Erb *NATŌ-n* *finansavor-um* *ē* *aydpisi*
wh-when *NATO.NOM-the* *fund-PTCP.PRES.* *it is* *such a*

varžank'-ner *apa* *masnak'ut'yun-n* *azat* *lin-i*
training-PL.NOM *then* *participation.NOM-the* *free* *be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG*

cragr-um *nergrav-v-ac* *bolor* *erkr-ner-i* *hamar.*
program-LOC *include-pass-PTCP.RES.* *all* *country-PL-DAT* *POST*

“When (If) NATO funds such training, then the participation shall be free for all countries included in the program.”

- (391) Իսկ երբ պաշտոնապես իրենք ստանան այն, կաատասխանեն բոլոր դիտողություններին: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

Isk *erb* *paštonapes* *irenk'* *stan-an* *ayn*
CON *CONJ* *officially* *they.NOM* *receive-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL* *that*

kpatasxan-en *bolor* *ditołut'yun-ner-in.*
answer-COND.FUT.3.PL *all* *observation-PL-DAT-the*

“But when/if they will officially receive that, they will answer to all observations.”

- (392) Սա այն դեպքում, երբ «Աձլիդ» ընկերությունն ունի բաժանորդներ, ում հետ 3 տարվա պայմանագիր ունի: (Armenpress 19.11.2005)

sa ayn depk'-um erb "Aşlid" ênkerut'yun-n un-i
 this that case-LOC wh-when "Aşlid" company.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG
bażanord-ner um het 3 tar-va paymanagir
 subscriber-PL.NOM wh-who-DAT POST 3 year-DAT contract.NOM
uni.
 have-PRES.3.SG

"This (is) the case, when the company "Aşlid" has subscribers with whom it has a three years contract."

- (393) Խուզարկության անձը կարող է ենթարկվել միայն այն դեպքում, երբ արդեն կա հարուցված քրեական գործ: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

xuzarkut'y-an anj-ê karot ê ent'ark-v-el
 house search-DAT person.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is subject-pass- INF
miayn ayn depk'-um erb arden ka
 only that case-LOC wh-when already exist-PRES.3.SG
haruc'-v-ac k'reakan gorc.
 prosecute-pass-PTCP.RES. criminal act.NOM

"The person can be subjected to a house search only when there is already a prosecutable criminal offense."

The matrix clauses of conditional subordinated phrase may contain correlatives such as:

- the correlative *սպա* *apa* "then";
- the adverbial phrase *այն ժամանակ* *ayn žamanak* "then", sometimes also combined with *սպա* *apa* "then";
- consecutive elements such as *ուրեմն* *uremn* "consequently/ therefore", *հետևաբար* *het-ewabar* "consequently", also in possible combination with *սպա* *apa* "then".
- *սպա* *apa* "then" can be used in all types of conditional clauses together with the conditional conjunction *եթե* *etê* "if". It is natural to have both in common utterances and business/newspaper style.

- (394) Եթե 90-ական թթ. սկզբին գերակշռում էր առևտրային կապիտալը, ապա այժմ արդեն այն վերափոխվում է արտադրական կապիտալի: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

Etê 90-akan t't. skzb-i-n gerakşf-um êr ařewtrayin
 CONJ 90-ies beginning-DAT-the prevail-PTCP.PRES. it was commercial
kapital-ê apa ayžm arden ayn verapòx-v-um ê
 capital.NOM-the then now already that transform-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is
artadrakan kapital-i.
 productive capital-DAT

"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* *apa* “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 որևէ անդամ չի կատարում իր ստանձնած պարտավորությունները, ապա մնացած անդամները պատասխանատու են դրա համար: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)
- eʔe orewē andam č-i katar-um ir stanjn-ac*
 CONJ any member.NOM neg-it is fulfil-PTCP.PRES. its take-PTCP.RES.
partavorutʹyun-ner-ě apa mnacʹ-ac andam-ner-ě
 duty-PL.NOM-the then remain-PTCP.PRES. member-PL.NOM-the
patasxanatu en dra hamar.
 responsible they are that-GEN POST

“If any member does not attend to the duties he has taken upon himself, then the remaining members are responsible for that.”

- (396) Եթե Թուրքիան չի ճանաչում իր ոճիրը, ուրեմն կա դրա կրկնության վտանգը: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)
- eʔe Tʹurkʹia-n č-i čanačʹ-um ir očir-ě*
 CONJ Turkey.NOM-the neg-it is know-PTCP.PRES. its crime.NOM-the
uremn ka dra krknutʹy-an vtang-ě.
 consequently exist-PRES.3.SG its repetition-DAT danger.NOM-the
- “If Turkey does not know its crime, consequently there exists the danger of recurrence (of that.)”

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) Հյուրը որ համբերի, տանտերը հաց կբերի: (Armenian saying)
- Hyur-ě or hamber-i tanter-ě*
 Guest.NOM-the REL-NOM wait-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG host.NOM-the
hacʹ kber-i.
 bread.NOM bring-COND.FUT.3.SG.
- “If the guest can wait, the host will bring bread.”

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.

3.3.2.2.2.2 *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 *kareli ē*, կարող է *karol ē*. These modal phrases convey the meaning of the possibility of a permission to perform the action.

- (398) Որևէ փաստաթուղթ չի կարող բացարձակ դրական կամ բացասական լինել,
հատկապես, եթե խնդիրը Սահմանադրությանն է վերաբերում:

(Armenpress 17.11.2005)

Orewē p'astat'ut' č-i kar-ol bac'arjak drakan kam
any document.NOM neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. absolutely positive CONJ
bac'asakan lin-el hatkapes etè xndir-ē Sahmanadrut'yan-n
negative be-INF especially CONJ problem.NOM-the Constitution-DAT-the
ē veraber-um.

it is concern-PTCP.PRES.

“Any document can not be absolutely positive or negative, particularly if the problem concerns the Constitution.”

- (399) Ըստ Դրագո Կոսի՝ ներդրումերը չեն կարող ավելացնել երկրում կոռուպցիայի մակարդակը, եթե այնտեղ կոռուպցիայի մակարդակը բարձր չէ:

(Armenpress 30.11.2005)

ěst Drago Kos-i nerdrum-er-ě č-en karot
 PREP Drago Kos-DAT investment.NOM-the neg-they are can-PTCP.PRES
avela-c'n-el erkr-um kořupc'ia-y-i makardak-ě
 increase-caus-INF country-LOC corruption-DAT level.NOM-the
eťe ayntel kořupc'ia-yi makardak-ě barjr č'-ē.
 CONJ there corruption-DAT level.NOM-the high neg-it is

“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.”

- (400) Եթե Բ. Եսայանն ունի որևիցէ առաջարկ, նա կարող է դիմել ԱԺ-ին:
 (Azg 07.04.2006)

eťe B. Esayan-n un-i orewičě ařajark na
 CONJ B. Esayan.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG any proposal.NOM he
kar-oť ē dim-el AŽ-i-n.
 can-PTCP.PRES. he is address-INF National Assembly-DAT-the

“If B. Esayan has any proposal, he may/can address the National Assembly.”

1. Protasis in the Present Indicative and Apodosis in the Present Indicative

The present time reference in the matrix clause can be localised in the moment of speech (=present) with attitudinal utterances of the speaker, i.e. any utterance which either conveys a negative or positive assessment or which can be interpreted as inviting the listener/reader to supply their own negative or positive assessments.

- (401) Եթե կարիքս ունես, երեկոյան ազատ եմ:

Ete karik's un-es erekoyan azat em.
 CONJ need.NOM-my have-PRES.3.SG evening-DAT free I am
 “If you need me, I am free in the evening.”

n. Protasis in the Present Indicative and Apodosis in the Imperative Present time reference in the matrix clause can also be expressed with the imperative.

- (402) Թե ուզում ես երգի լսեն, ժամանակիդ շունչը դարձի՛ր:
 (Nazaryan 2006: 170)

tě uzum es erg-d ls-en
 CONJ wish-PTCP.PRES. you are song.NOM-your listen-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL
žamanak-i-d šunc'-ě darj-ir.
 time-DAT-your breath.NOM-the make-IMP.2.SG

“If you wish that they listen to your song, draw breath in (your) time!”

- (403) Եթե դու ոզնի ես, ոզնու հետ ամուսնացիր: (Armenian proverb)
et'e du ozni es ozn-u het
 CONJ you.NOM hedgehog.NOM you are hedgehog-DAT POST
amusna-ac'ir!
 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) Ապատեղեկատվությունը եթե սարքում ես, զոնե ճշմարտանման պետք է սարքես:
 (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
Apatelekatvut'yun-ě et'e sark'-um es gone
 False information.NOM-the CONJ make-PTCP.PRES. you are at least
čšmartanman petk' ē sark'-es.
 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 20. Distribution of tenses and moods containing future time reference

	Protasis	Apodosis
a.	Subj. future	Cond. future
b.	Subj. future	Future indicative
c.	Subj. future	Present indicative with potential meaning
d.	Subj. future	Imperative; emphatic prohibitive
e.	Subj. future	Modal “can/be able to” with infinitive in the present
f.	Subj. future	Debitive future
g.	Fut. indicative	Imperative
h.	Cond. future	One of the forms given above

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) եթէ մարզիչները մի քանի բարձրակարգ մարզիկներ նախապատրաստեն, ապա բոլորի համար համապատասխան վճարում կստանան: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)
- eʔe marzičʻ-ner-ě mi kani barjrakarg marzik-ner*
 CONJ trainer-PL.NOM some high-class sportsman-PL.NOM
naxapatrast-en apa bolor-i hamar hamapatasxan včarum
 prepare-SUBJ.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) եթէ հնարավոր լինի այս կայունությունը պահել, կարծում եմ 4–5 տարի հետո արդեն այսօրվա խնդիրներից չենք խոսելու: (Armenpress 31.10.2005)
- eʔe hnaravor lini ays kayunutʻyun-ě pah-el*
 CONJ possible be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG t his stability.NOM-the keep-INF
karc-um em 4–5 tari heto arden aysōrva
 believe-PTCP.PRES. I am 4–5 year.NOM POST already today-DAT
xndir-ner-icʻ čʻ-enkʻ 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.”

- (406) a. եթե հնարավոր լինի այս կայունությունը պահել, 4–5 տարի հետո արդեն այսօրվա խնդիրներից չենք խոսի:

et'e hnaravor lini ays kayunut'yun-ě pah-el
 CONJ possible be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG this stability.NOM-the keep-INF
karc-um em 4–5 tari heto arden aysōrva
 believe-PTCP.PRES. I am 4–5 year.NOM POST already today-DAT
xndir-ner-ic' č-enk' xos-i.
 problem-PL-ABL neg-we are speak-PTCP.NEG.

“If it is possible to keep this stability, I believe, after 4–5 years we will (certainly) already not speak about today’s problems.”

- c. Subj. Future in protasis + Present Ind. with Potential Meaning in apodosis

- (407) եթե առաջնորդվեն միջազգային վիճակագրական մեթոդով, ապա Հայաստանի 3 մլն բնակչությանը բաժին է ընկնում նոս 300–400 հիվանդ:

(Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Et'e ařajñord-v-en mijazgayin vičakagrakan met'od-ov
 CONJ guide-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL international statistical method-INST
apa Hayastan-i 3 mln bnakčut'y-an-ě bažin ē
 then Armenia-DAT 3 million population-DAT-the part.NOM it is
ėnkn-um mot 300–400 hivand.
 fall-PTCP.PRES. about 300–400 sick.NOM

“If they follow up with an international statistical method, then about 300–400 sick people are allotted to Armenia’s three million inhabitants.”

- 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.

- (408) եթե հանդիպեն օտար լեզվով խոսող մեկին, ապա թող չհապաղեն, քանի որ նա հենց իրենց փնտրած անձնավորությունն է: (Armenpress 29.12.2005)

Et'e handip-en ořar lezv-ov xos-ot
 CONJ meet-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL foreign language-INST speak-PTCP.SUB.
mek-i-n apa tōt č-hapał-en kani or na
 one-DAT-the then let-IMP.2.SG neg-be late-SUBJ FUT.3.PL CONJ he
henc' irenc' p'ntr-ac anjñavorut'yun-n ē.
 just their search-PTCP.RES. person.NOM-the it is

“If they meet someone talking a foreign language, let them not delay, since he is just the person (they) looked for.”

e. Subj. Fut. in protasis + modal phrase in apodosis

The modal phrases կարող է *karoł ē*, կարելի է *kareli ē* “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 ճանաչել վաղը չէ մյուս օրը, եթե վաղը Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ճանաչի ԱՄՆ-ը: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Karoł ē čanač'-el vale č'-ē myus ōr-ě
Can-PTCP.PRES. it is recognise-INF tomorrow neg-it is other day.NOM-the,
et'ē valē Hayoc' c'ēlaspanut'yun-ě čanač'-i
CONJ tomorrow Armenian genocide.NOM-the recognise-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
AMN-ě.
USA.NOM-the

“Not tomorrow but the day after tomorrow it can recognise (it), if tomorrow the USA recognises the Armenian genocide.”

- (410) Իսկ եթե դիտարկվի նաև փոխարժեքի անկումը, ապա կարելի է ասել, որ կայունացում է տեղի ունեցել: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

isk et'ē ditark-v-i naew p'oxaržek'-i
CONJ CONJ consider-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG also exchange rate-DAT
ankum-ě apa kareli ē as-el or kayunac'um ē
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 stabilisation 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 գիտեմ, թե ինչ պիտի ասեմ, եթե գնամ այնտեղ: (Armenpress 06.03.2006)

es git-em t'ē inč' piti as-em et'ē
I.NOM know-PRES.1.SG CONJ wh-what say-DEB.FUT.1.SG CONJ
gn-am ayntel.
go-SUBJ.FUT1.SG there.

“I know what I have to say if I go there.”

- (412) եթե ընտրական փուլի արգելքը չկարողանաք հաղթահարել, դա այնքան էլ տխրեցնող փաստ չպետք է լինի: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

et'ë ëntrakan p'ul-i argelk'-ë č'-karoťan-ak'
 CONJ electoral phase-DAT prohibition.NOM-the neg-can-SUBJ.FUT.2.PL
haťťahar-el da aynkan ël txre-c'n-ot p'ast
 overcome-INF that so much also grow sad-caus-PTCP.SUB. fact.NOM
č'-petk' ë lin-i.
 neg-be-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“If you can not overcome the prohibition of the electoral stage,
 that is not necessarily such a saddening fact.”

g. Cond. Future in protasis

The use of the conditional future in the protasis is often described as obsolete.²⁹⁸ 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.²⁹⁹

- (413) Հիվանդանոցը պատրաստ է բուժօգնություն տրամադրել, եթե կլինեն թռչնագրիպով վարակված հիվանդներ: (Armenpress 09.01.2006)

Hivandanoc'-ë patrast ë bužōgnut'yun tramadr-el et'ë
 hospital.NOM-the ready it is medical help.NOM provide-INF CONJ
klin-en t'řč'nagrip-ov varak-v-ac hivand-ner.
 be-COND.FUT.3PL. bird flu-INST contract-pass-PTCP.RES. patient-PL.NOM.

“The hospital is disposed to provide medical help, if there are patients contracted with bird flu.”

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 կողզես *et'ë kuzes* “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.

- (414) Եթե այդպիսիք կլինեն, կարող են ընդգրկվել 2004 թ.-ին նախատեսված աշխատանքների ցանկում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Et'è aydpisi-k' klin-en kar-ot en
 CONJ such-PL.NOM be-COND.FUT.3.PL can-PTCP.PRES they are
ëndgrk-v-el 2004 t'-i-n naxates-v-ac ašxatank'-ner-i
 include-pass-INF 2004 year-DAT-the plan-pass-PTCP.RES. work-PL-DAT
c'ank-um.
 list-LOC

“If there are such, they can be included in the list of works planned for 2004.”

- (415) Եթե կլինեն ցանկացողներ, ովքեր կկարողանան հոգալ իրենց բոլոր ծախսերը, ապա նրանք ևս կմասնակցեն համաշխարհային այդ իրադարձությանը: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

Et'è klin-en c'ankac'ot'-ner ovk'-er
 CONJ be-COND.FUT.3.PL wish-PTCP.SUB-PL.NOM wh-who-PL.NOM
kkarolan-an hogal irenc' bolor caxs-er-ë apa
 can-COND.FUT.3.PL care-INF their all expense-PL.NOM-the then
nrank' ews kmasnack'-en hamašxarhayin ayd
 they also participate-COND.FUT.3.PL global that
iradarjut'yan-ë.
 event-DAT-the

“If there are interested people that will also be able to cover all their own expenses, then they will also participate at that worldwide event.”

- (416) Եթե կլինի որևէ պրոբլեմ, մենք էլ մարդ ենք, հայ ենք, Հայաստանից ենք: (Armenpress 14.01.2006)

Et'è klin-i orewē problem menk' ël mard
 CONJ be-COND.FUT.3.SG any problem.NOM we also human.NOM
enk' hay enk' hayastan-ic' enk'.
 we are Armenian we are Armenia-ABL we are.

“If there will be any problem, we are still human beings, we are Armenians, we are from Armenia.”

– 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

	Protasis	Apodosis
a.	Future. ind.	Cond. fut.
b.	Deb. fut.	Present ind.
c.	Deb. fut.	Cond. future
d.	Aorist	Subj. future
e.	Aorist	Cond. fut.
f.	Aorist	Present ind.
g.	Perfect	Cond. future; deb. fut.
h.	Pres. indicative	Imperative
i.	Pres. indicative	Pres. indicative with potential meaning

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) Իսկ եթե մեր շուկային թելադրողը ոչ թե մենք, այլ ուրիշ երկիր է լինելու, հետևաբար ոչ ներքին, ոչ արտաքին քաղաքականությունն թելադրողն էլ մենք չենք լինելու: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Isk et'e mer řukayin řeladr-oł-ě o' ř'e menk'
 CONJ CONJ our market dictate-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the CONJ we
ayl uriř erkir ē linel-u hetewabar o' nerk'in
 CONJ other country.NOM it is be-PTCP.FUT. consequently neg inner
o' artak'in kalakakanut'yun řeladroł-n ēl menk'
 neg outer politics dictate-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the also we.NOM
č-enk' linel-u.
 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 անգամ էլ նա ստորելու է արյունահեղություն և գնալու է թաքնվի՝ ոչինչ չեմ կարող ասել: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

Et'è ays angam ēl na sardrel-u ē aryunahelut'yun
 CONJ this time also he.NOM commit-PTCP.FUT. he is bloodshed.NOM
ew gnal-u ē t'akn-v-i oč'inč' č'-em
 CONJ go-PTCP.FUT. he is hide-refl-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG nothing.NOM neg-I am
kar-ot' 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 ուսումնասիրելու լինեք պատմությունը, կտեսնեք, որ Հայոց ցեղասպանություն չի եղել: (Azg 08.04.2006)

et'è usumansirel-u lin-ek' patmut'yun-ě
 CONJ investigate-PTCP.FUT. be-PRES.2.PL history.NOM-the
ktesn-ek' or Hayoc' č'elaspanut'yun č'-i et-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 կոալիցիայի կարծիքով զինված ուժերը պետք է չեզոքություն պահպանեն, իրենք հանդուժեցնում են, որ հողված 11.5-ը պետք է շարադրվի հետևյալ կերպ՝ զինված ուժերը ապաքաղաքականացված են և գտնվում են քաղաքացիական վերահսկողության ներքո: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

et'è koalic'ia-yi karcik'-ov zin-v-ac uż-er-ě
 CONJ coalition-DAT opinion-INST arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the
petk' ē č'ezokut'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-ě petk' ě šaradr-v-i hetewyal
 they are CONJ article 11.5.NOM-the state-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG following
kerp zin-v-ac uż-er-ě
 manner.NOM arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the
apakalakanac'-v-ac en ew gnt-v-um en
 depolitize-pass-PTCP.RES. they are CONJ locate-refl-PTCP.PRES. they are

Katalak'ական verahskolut'y-an nerk'o.
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) Եթե Հայաստանը, որ տունն է աշխարհասփյուռ բոլոր հայերի, պիտի դառնա ծաղկուն, զարգացած և ժողովրդավարական երկիր, ապա սփյուռքը շատ ավելին պետք է անի, քան այսօր: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

et'e Hayastan-ě or tun-n ē ašxarhasp'yur'
CONJ Armenia.NOM-the wh-that home.NOM-the it is diaspora
bolor hayer-i piti da'n-a calkun zargac'-ac ew
all Armenian-PL-DAT become-DEB.FUT.3.SG flowering developed CONJ
žolovrdavarakan erkir apa sp'yur'k'-ě šat aveli-n
democratic country.NOM then diaspora.NOM-the INT more.NOM-the
petk' ē an-i k'an aysōr.
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 aspectual 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, Debitive Fut. in Apodosis

- (422) Պայմանագրով յուրաքանչյուր չաշխատած ամսվա համար ներդրողը պետք է պետությանը վճարի 100 հազար դրվար, նաև աշխատավարձ՝ եթե այդ դադարը տեղի չի ունեցել տարերային աղետի հետևանքով: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

paymanagr-ov yurakanč'yur č'-ašxat-ac ams-va hamar
contract-INST each neg-work-PTCP.RES. month-DAT POST
nerdol-ě petk' ē petut'y-an-ě včar-i 100 hazar
investor.NOM-the part government-DAT pay-DEB.FUT.3.SG 100,000
dolar naew ašxatavarj et'e ayd dadar-ě teli č'-i
dollar.NOM also salary.NOM CONJ that break.NOM-the neg-it is
unec'-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 դիմումը կարելի է մերժել միայն այն դեպքում, եթե ընտրությանը մնացել է քսանմեկ օր: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

granc'm-an dimum-ě kareli ē merž-el miayn
 registration-DAT application.NOM-the able it is reject-INF only
ayn depk'-um et'ē ěntrut'y-an-ě mnac'-el ē k'sanmek ōr.
 that case-LOC CONJ election-DAT-the stay-PTCP.PERF. it is 21 day.NOM
 "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 նորից բախումներ տեղի ունեցան շփման գծում, ապա այդ պատժամիջոցները կվերականգնվեն: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

Et'ē noric' baxum-ner teli unec'-an šp'm-an gc-um
 CONJ again conflict-PL.NOM take place-AOR.3.PL contact-DAT line-LOC
apa ayd patžamijoc'-ner-ě kverakangn-v-en.
 then that punishment-means-PL.NOM-the regenerate-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL
 "If again the conflicts take place in the line of contact, then those means of punishment will be regenerated."

- (425) Եթե արդար ընտրություն չեղավ, այ, էսպես կանգնած ենք, փակելու ենք ընտրական տեղամասի դուռը: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

et'ē ardar ěntrut'yun č'-el-av ay, ēspes kangn-ac enk'
 CONJ fair election.NOM neg-be-AOR.3.SG ay so stand-PTCP.RES. we are
p'akel-u enk' ěntrakan telamas-i duř-ě.
 close-PTCP.FUT. we are electoral section-DAT door.NOM-the
 "If this is not a fair election, here, we stand, we are going to close the door of this electoral 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 *անսպառնալիք*, *anpayman* "certainly/by all means", *անշուշտ* *anšust* "undoubtedly/without doubt" etc.

300. comp. Gareginyan 1991: 264; Kozintseva 2005: 177.

- (426) Տրամաբանությունը շատ պարզ էր, եթե իրենց մոտ ստացվեց, ապա ինչու մեր մոտ չի կարող ստացվել: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

Tramabanut'yun-ě šat parz ēr et'ē irenc' mot
 logic.NOM-the INT simple it was CONJ they.DAT POST
stac'-v-ec' apa inč'u mer mot č'-i
 turn out-antic-AOR.3.SG then wh-why we.GEN POST neg-it is
kar-oł 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:

- past time reference in both clauses
- past time reference only in conditional clauses and the present tense in the matrix clause
- 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) Նա նշեց, որ եթե 1990թ. կար 14 հազար իրականացված գործարք, ապա 2003թ. կատարվել է շուրջ 74 հազար գործարք:
 (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

na nšec' or et'ē 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) Եթե Ղարաբաղին որևէ մեկը չի ճանաչել, ինչո՞ւ ստեղծվեց Մինսկի խումբը:
(Armenpress 28.10.2006)

eṭe ʎarabał-i-n orewē mek-ě č'-i čanač'-el
CONJ Karabach-DAT-the anybody.NOM-the neg-he is recognise-PTCP.PERF.
inč'u stelc-v-ec' Minsk-i xumb-ě.
wh-why found-pass-AOR.3.SG. Minsk-DAT group.NOM-the

“If nobody has recognised Karabakh, why was the Minsk group founded?”

- (429) Եթե 2005թ-ի սկզբին հնարավոր էր որոշակի գումար վճարել, և ողջ ամսվա ընթացքում ազատ միանալ ինտերնետին, ապա տարեվերջին այդ սահմանափակումը դուրս է եկել և յուրաքանչյուր րոպեի համար պետք էր վճարել:
(Armenpress 09.01.2006)

Eṭe 2005 t'-i skzb-i-n hnaravor ēr orošaki
CONJ 2005 year-DAT beginning-DAT-the possible it was certain
gumar včar-el ew ołj ams-va ěnt'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 saħmanap'akum-ě durs ē ek-el ew yurak'anc'jur
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 *karot ē*, կարելի է *kareli ē*.

301. see functions of Debitive Past, Ch. 2.5.7.3.3.2. “Debitive Past”, p. 269.

- (430) Չի կարելի օգնություն ակնկալել դրսից, եթե դեռևս չես սպառել սեփական հնարավորություններդ: (Armenpress 11.01.2006)

č'-i kareli oġnut'yun aknkal-el drs-ic' et'e deřews
neg-it is able help.NOM expect-INF outside-ABL CONJ still

č'-es spař-el sep'akan hnaravorut'yun-ner-d.
neg-you are use-PTCP.PERF. private possibility-PL.NOM-your

“One cannot expect help from outside, if you have not yet used up your own possibilities.”

- (431) Եթե կիպրոսյան հարցում այդ երկիրը զիջումների է գնացել, ապա ինչու նա չպետք է լուծի թուրք-հայկական սահմանի բացման հարցը: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)

Eře kiprosyan harc'-um ayd erkir-ě zijum-ner-i
CONJ Cypriote question-LOC that country.NOM-the concession-PL-DAT

ē gnač'-el apa inč'u na č'-petk' ē luc-i
it is go-PTCP.PERF. then wh-why it.NOM neg-solve-DEB.FUT.3.SG

t'urk'-haykakan saħman-i bac'm-an harc'-ě.
Turkish-Armenian border-DAT opening-DAT question.NOM-the

“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?”

c. Protasis with Past and Apodosis with Future Reference

The future reference of the matrix clause is expressed by the conditional future. This verbal form conveys hypothetical meaning.

- (432) Եթե ներկայումս այս կամ այն բնակավայրի ընտրացուցակները տպագրվում էին Երևանում, ապա նոր համակարգը հնարավորություն կտա դա իրականացնել տեղերում: (AZG 07.04.2006)

Eře nerkayums ays kam ayn bnakavayr-i
CONJ now this CONJ that settlement-DAT

ěntrač'uc'ak-ner-ě t'pagr-v-um ěin Erewan-um
electoral register-PL.NOM-the print-pass-PTCP.PRES they were Yerevan-LOC

apa nor hamakarg-ě hnaravorut'yun kt-a da
then new order.NOM-the possibility.NOM give-COND.FUT.3.SG that

irakana-c'n-el teř-er-um.
realize-caus-INF place-PL-LOC.

“If nowadays the electoral registers of this or that settlement were printed in Yerevan, the new order will give the possibility to realise this in (various) places.”
Note: the meaning is also contrastive here.

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) Ինչ կպատահեր ինձ հետ, եթե շահեի: Նա կկրակեր:

(Ařavot 08.04.2006)

inč kpatah-er inj het e'e šah-ei.

wh-what happen-COND.PAST.3.SG I.DAT POST CONJ win-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG

Na kkrak-er.

He shoot-COND.PAST.3.SG

“What would have happened to me, if I had won? He would have shot.”

(434) Եթե այն ստորագրված լիներ, ապա այսօր Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի հակամարտությունը կարգավորված կլիներ: (Armenpress 22.03.2006)

e'e ayn storagr-va-c lin-er apa aysōr

CONJ that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then today

Leřnayin Łarabał-i hakamartut'yun-ě 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) Համոզված եմ, որ եթե հարկ լիներ, նա ուրախությամբ իր կյանքը կզոհեր ինձ համար: (Grakanut'yun 6: 65)

hamoz-v-ac em or e'e hark lin-er

convince-antic-PTCP.RES. I am CONJ CONJ need.NOM be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG

na uraxut'y-amb ir kyank'-ě kzoh-er

he joy-INST his life.NOM-the sacrifice-COND.PAST.3.SG

inj hamar.

I.DAT POST

“I am convinced that if it had been necessary, he would have joyfully sacrificed his life for me.”

- (436) Ես վաղուց իջած կլինեի իմ գահից, եթե կատրված տեսնեի այն միտքը:
(Grakanut'yun 4: 186)
- Es vałuc' ij-ac klin-ei im gah-ic'*
I.NOM long ago descend-PTCP.RES. be-COND.PAST.1.SG my throne-ABL
et'e katr-v-ac tesn-ei ayn mitk'-ě.
CONJ fulfil-pass-PTCP.RES. see-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG that thought.NOM-the
“I would have descended from my throne long ago, if I had seen that thought fulfilled.”
- (437) Պարզ էր, որ եթե նա էլի մի կես ժամ վազեր այդպիսի արագությամբ, նրանք ոչ մի ղեպքում բռնել չէին կարող: (Grakanut'yun 6: 61)
- parz ēr or et'e na ēli mi kes žam*
clear it was CONJ CONJ he.NOM more a half hour.NOM
vaz-er aydpisi aragut'y-amb nrank' oč mi depk'-um
run-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG such a velocity-INST they.NOM neg a case-LOC
břn-el č'-ėin kar-ot.
catch-INF neg-they were can-PTCP.PRES.
“It was clear that if he had run a half hour more at such a velocity, they would in no case have been able to catch (him).”

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.

- (438) Եթե հայկական սփյուռքը չլիներ, ապա թուրք-հայկական հարաբերությունները շատ ավելի լավ կլինեին: (Armenpress 27.03.2006)
- et'e haykakan sp'yurk'-ě č'-lin-er apa t'urk'-*
CONJ Armenian diaspora.NOM-the neg-be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then Turkish-
haykakan haraberut'yun-ner-ě šat aveli lav klin-ein.
Armenian relation-PL.NOM-the INT more good be-COND.PAST.3.PL.
“If there were no Armenian Diaspora, then the Armenian-Turkish relations would be much better.”
Note: the Armenian Diaspora still exists so this does not refer to the past.
- (439) Դա դատական գործ է, նախարարի գործ չէ, եթե ես նախարարությունում մնայի՝ անպայման դատի կտայի: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- da datakan gorc ē naxarar-i gorc č'-ě et'e*
that juridical matter.NOM it is minister-DAT matter.NOM neg-it is CONJ
es naxararut'yun-um mna-yi anpayman dat-i
I.NOM ministry-LOC stay-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG certainly court-DAT
kta-yi.
give-COND.PAST.1.SG
“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 մի գուցե *mi guc'e*, երևի *erevi* “maybe”, “probably” etc. and suggests that the hypothetical action/state is hardly realisable but desired by the speaker.

- (440) Թշնամին եթե ցանկանար նման հասկացություններ ներմուծել, երևի չկարողանար:
(Armenpress 05.05.2006)

Tšnami-n e'te čankan-ar nman haskac'ut'yun-ner
enemy.NOM-the CONJ wish-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG similar concept-PL.NOM
nermuc-el erewi č-karolan-ar.
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) Եթե Արմենը կարդար այդ մասին թերթում, նա չպետք է անհրաժեշտ քայլեր ձեռնակեր:

E'te Armen-č kard-ar ayd masin t'ert'-um
CONJ Armen.NOM-the read-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG. that POST newspaper-LOC
na č-petk' ē anhražešt k'ayl-er je'nark-er.
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 Conditionals³⁰³

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 ուրմենն *uremn*, հետևաբար *hetewabar* “consequently”, or նշանակում է *nšanakum ē* “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 դուք չգիտեք ձեր իրավունքները, ուրեմն դուք իրավունքներ չունեք:
(Ařavot 07.04.2006)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Et'e</i> | <i>duk' č'-git-ek'</i> | <i>jer</i> | <i>iravunk'-ner-ě</i> | <i>uremn duk'</i> |
| CONJ | you neg-know-PRES.2.PL | your | right-PL.NOM-the | CONJ you.NOM |
| | <i>iravunk'-ner</i> | <i>č'-un-ek'.</i> | | |
| | right-PL.NOM | neg-have-PRES.2.PL | | |
- “If you do not know your rights, consequently you do not have rights.”

302. See Kozintseva 2005: 191ff.

303. See Gareginyan 1991: 265.

- (443) Եթե հաղթում է ընդդիմությունը, նշանակում է ընտրությունները եղել են օրինական: (Armenpress 16.12.2005),

Et'è halt'-um ē ēnddimut'yun-ě nšanak-um ē
 CONJ win-PTCP.PRES. it is opposition.NOM-the mean-PTCP.PRES. it is
ēntrut'yun-ner-ě et-el en ōrinakan.
 election-PL.NOM-the be-PTCP.PERF. they are legal

“If the opposition wins that means that the elections have been valid.”

- (444) Եթե սկսել ենք գործընթաց, ուրեմն դա դրական քայլ է: (Armenpress 13.05.2006)

Et'è sks-el enk' gorcēnt'ac' uremn da drakan
 CONJ start-PTCP.PERF. we are process.NOM consequently that positive
kayl ē.
 step.NOM it is

“If we have started the process, it is consequently a positive step.”

If the perfect is used in both clauses, it indicates that the speaker has not evidenced the actions with an unspecified past tense reference.

- (445) Եթե տեղում հայեր չեն ապրել, հետևաբար նաև այդ շրջաններում Ցեղասպանություն չի եղել: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

Et'è tel-um hay-er č-en apr-el
 CONJ place-LOC Armenian-PL.NOM neg-they are live-PTCP.PERF.
hetewabar naew ayd šrjan-ner-um C'ēspanut'yun č-i
 consequently also that region-PL-LOC Genocide.NOM neg-it is
et-el.
 be-PTCP.PERF.

“If Armenians have not lived there, consequently there has also not been Genocide in these regions.”

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).

- (446) Ինչպե՞ս աշխարհը ճանաչի Արցախի անկախությունը, եթե Հայաստանն ինքը դա չի անում: (Armenpress 28.10.2005)

inč'pes ašxarh-ě čanač-i Arc'ax-i
 wh-how world.NOM-the recognise-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Arc'ax-DAT
ankaxut'yun-ě et'è Hayastan-n ink'č' da č-i
 independence.NOM-the CONJ Armenia.NOM-the itself that neg-it is
an-um.
 do-PTCP.PRES.

“How shall the world recognise Arc'ax's (= Mountainous Karabach's) independence, if Armenia itself does not do it?”

- (447) Իսկ ինչպե՞ս պետք է համախմբվի, եթե ոչ համապատասխան մեխանիզմներ ստեղծելով և դրանք օրենքների մեջ ներառելով: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

isk inc'pes petk' ě hamaxmb-v-i etē oc' hamapatasxan
 CONJ wh-how consolidate-antic-DEB.FUT.3.SG CONJ neg adequate
mexanizm-ner stelcel-ov ew drank' ěrenk'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 ապօրինություններ են եղել, ապա ե՛ւ քաղաքապետարանը, ե՛ւ քաղաքաշինության նախարարությունը պարտավոր են վերացնել ապօրինությունը՝ քանդելով կամ դատական կարգով:
 (Armenpress 26.Oktober 2006)

Etē apōrinut'yun-ner en et-el apa ew
 CONJ illegality-PL.NOM they are be-PTCP.PERF. then CONJ
kalakāpetaran-ě ew kalakāšinut'y-an naxararut'yun-ě
 mayor's office.NOM-the CONJ urban development-DAT ministry.NOM-the
partavor en vera-c'n-el apōrinut'yun-ě
 obliged they are disappear-caus-INF illegality.NOM-the
kandel-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 ընկերությունը վնասել է բաժանորդին, ապա վերջինս փոխհատուցում է ստանում: (Armenpress 09.12.2005)

Etē ěnkerut'yun-ě vnas-el ē bařanord-i-n
 CONJ company-NOM-the harm-PTCP.PERF. it is subscriber-DAT-the
apa verjin-ř pōxahatuc'um ē 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.”

- (450) Եթե ընկերության արտադրանքը սպառվում է, ապա այն իր տեղը շուկայում գտել է: (Armenpress 28.12.2005)
- et'ë ënkerut'y-an artadrak'-ë spař-v-um ë apa*
 CONJ company-DAT product.NOM-the consume-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is then
ayn ir tel'-ë řuka-y-um gt-el ë.
 that its place.NOM-the market-LOC find-PTCP.PERF. it is
 “If the product of a company is consumed, then it has found its place in the market.”

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 *apa* “then” is obligatory in the matrix clause.

The meaning of the conditional subordinator *et'ë* “if” is to understand rather as the contrastive “whereas”.

Both the protasis and the apodosis use indicative verbs. The correlative word *apa* “then” must appear in the matrix clause.

- (451) Եթե անցյալում կրթությունն ամբողջովին իրականացվում էր պետության հաշվին, ապա այսօր վճարովի համակարգում սովորում է ուսանողների 75–76 տոկոսը, պետական հատվածում՝ 24–25 տոկոսը: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
- et'ë anc'yal-um kr'tut'yun-n ambořjovin irakanc'-v-um*
 CONJ past-LOC education.NOM-the completely realize-pass-PTCP.PRES.
ër petut'y-an hařv-i-n apa aysör včarovi
 it was state-DAT account-DAT-the then today tuition fee
hamakarg-um sovor-um ë usanol-ner-i 75–76
 system-LOC study-PTCP.PRES. it is student-PL-DAT 7 5–76
tokos-ë petakan hatvac-um 24–25 tokos-ë.
 per cent.NOM-the state sector-LOC 24–25 percent.NOM-the.
 “(=Whereas; while) in the past education was completely realised on account of the state, then today 75–76 per cent of the students study in the tuition fee system, and 24–25 per cent in the state sector.”

- (452) Եթե տասնյակ տարիներ առաջ մեծ թվով երիտասարդներ էին գալիս Հայաստան սովորելու նաև եվրոպական երկրներից, ապա այսօր նրանց թիվը կտրուկ նվազել է...: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- Et'ë tasnyak tari-ner ařař mec t'v-ov eritasard-ner*
 CONJ decade year-PL.NOM POST big number-INST youngster-PL.NOM
ëin gal-is Hayastan sovorel-u naew evropakan
 they were come-PTCP.PRES. Armenia.NOM study-INF-DAT also European
erkr-ner-ic' apa aysör nranc' t'iv-ë ktruk
 country-PL-ABL then today their number.NOM-the sharply

nvaz-el *ē.*
decrease-PTCP.PERF. it is

“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 նույնիսկ *nuynisk*, մինչև իսկ *minčew isk*, մինչև անգամ (*minčew*) *angam*, էլ *ēl* all “even”, etc. that immediately follow the prototypical conditional subordinator եթե *etē* “if”.

- (453) Հասել ենք այնպիսի վիճակի, որ եթե նույնիսկ անձերը փոխվեն,
նշինչ չի փոխվելու: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
- has-el* *enk' aynpisi vičak-i* *or etē nuynisk*
reach-PTCP.PERF. we are such a situation-DAT CONJ CONJ even
anj-er-ē *p'ox-v-en* *oč'inč* *č'-i*
person-PL.NOM-the change-antic-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL nothing.NOM neg-it is
p'ox-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 Ջոն Քերին ընտրվի ԱՄՆ-ի նախագահ, Կոնգրեսը կմնա
հանրապետական և միայն զլոբալ հարցերում: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)
- Etē nuynisk jon K'eri-n* *ēntr-v-i* *AMN-i*
CONJ even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG USA-DAT
naxagah Kongres-ē *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) Բոլոր ժամանակների զավթիչները նման են իրար, եթե նրանք նույնիսկ ելած են
քո ժողովրդի ծոցից: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- Bolor žamanak-ner-i zavt'ic'-ner-ē* *nman en irar etē*
all time-PL-DAT invader-PL.NOM-the similar they are REC CONJ
nrank' nuynisk el-ac *en k'o žoľovrd-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.”

- (456) Ես ուսումնասիրել եմ և պետք է ասեմ, որ, ցավոք սրտի, դեռևս լիարժեք երջանիկ ընտանիք չեմ տեսել, եթե նույնիսկ զույգերը մանկատան շրջանավարտներ են: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Es usumnasir-el em ew petk' ē as-em or
 I.NOM investigate-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ say-DEB.FUT.1.SG CONJ
čavok' srt-i deřews liaržek' erjanik ěntanik' č-em tes-el
 unfortunately still of value lucky family.NOM neg-I am see-PTCP.PERF.
eře nuynisk zuyg-er-ě mankat-an šřjanavort-ner
 CONJ even couple-PL.NOM-the children's home-DAT graduate-PL.NOM
en.
 they are

“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.”

- (457) Փորձելու ենք օբյեկտիվ փաստերի հիման վրա հասնել խնդրի լուծմանը միջազգային իրավունքի շրջանակներում՝ եթե անգամ պահանջվի տասնամյակներ: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

P'orjel-u enk' obyektiv p'ast-er-i himan vra hasn-el
 try-PTCP.FUT. we are objective fact-PL-DAT basis-DAT POST reach-INF
xndr-i lucman-ě mijjazgayin iravunk'-i šřjanak-ner-um
 problem-DAT solution-DAT-the international law-DAT frame-PL-LOC
eře angam pahanj-v-i tasnamjak-ner.
 CONJ even require-antic-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG decade-PL.NOM

“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.

- (458) Եթե անձրև գալիս է, ապա բավականաչափ չի լինում արտերի համար:

Eře anjrew gal-is ē apa bavakanačap' č-i
 CONJ rain come-PTCP.PRES. it is then sufficiently neg-it is
lin-um art-er-i hamar.
 be-PTCP.PRES. field-PL-DAT POST

“Although it rains, it is not sufficient for the fields.” (Lit.: If it rains, then it is not sufficient for the fields.)

- (459) Եթե նրանք ուշադիր լսում են, ապա բան չեն հասկանում:

Eře nrank' ušadir lsu-m en apa ban
 CONJ they.NOM attentively listen-PTCP.PRES. they are then thing.NOM
č-en haskan-um.
 neg-they are understand-PTCP.PRES.

“Although they listen attentively, they understand nothing.” (Lit.: If they listen attentively, then they understand nothing.)

3.3.2.2.2.5 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 ճիշտ ասեմ, ապա հանձնաժողովն այնքան էլ զոհ չէր միջոցառումից:
Eṭe čišť as-em apa hanjnažoťov-n aynk’an goh
 CONJ true say-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG then committee.NOM-the so much satisfied
č’-ēr mijoc’ařum-ic’.
 neg-it was measure-ABL
 “If I tell the truth, then the committee would not be very satisfied with the measure.”
- (461) Ինչևիցե, չենք սխալվի, եթե ասենք՝ հայուհու այրպիսի խոսելաճը համարժեք է տղաների հայիոյելուն: (Azg 07.04.2006)
inčewiče č’-enk’ sxal-v-i eṭe as-enk’
 anyway neg-we are mistake-refl-PTCP.NEG. CONJ say-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL
hayuh-u aydpisi xoselaoč-ě hamaržek’
 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) Հայաստանում Արևելքի պատկերացումները, եթե չասեմ աղավաղված, ապա կրկնօրինակված են անենաանճաշակ ծևով և տեսքով: (Hetk’ 22.01.2007)
Hayastan-um Arewelk’-i patkerac’um-ner-ě eṭe
 Armenia-LOC West-DAT imagination-PL.NOM-the CONJ
č’-as-em alavať-v-ac apa krknōrinak-v-ac
 neg-say-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG distort-pass-PTCP.RES. then copy-pass-PTCP.RES.
en amena-ančařak 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 եթե Վարդանը սիրահարվի, ապա կսիրահարվի նրա գայթակղիչ ժպիտի պատճառով:

Nran etë Vardan-ě sirahar-v-i apa
 She.DAT CONJ Vardan.NOM-the fall in love-refl-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG then
ksirahar-v-i nra gayt'aklič' žpit-i patčař-ov.
 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*³⁰⁴

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.

304. Cristofaro, 2003: 195 ff.; Keenan 1985: 141–170; Keenan, Comrie 1977: 63.99; Andrews 2007: 206–236; Gareginyan 1991: 210–218.

- (464) Ղարաբաղցիներ էլ կան, որոնց համար Սամվելը հերոս է:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

karabalc'i-ner ēl k-an or-onc' hamar
Karabakhian-PL.NOM also exist-PTCP.PRES. REL-PL.DAT POST
Samvel-ě heros ē.
Samvel.NOM-the hero.NOM he is

“There are also Karabakhians for whom Samvel is a hero.”

- (465) Անհրաժեշտ վառելանյութով ապահովված են այն դպրոցները, որոնք ջեռուցվում են հեղուկ վառելիքով: (Armenpress 22.01.2006)

anhražest' vařelanyut'-ov apahov-v-ac en ayn
necessary heating material-INST provide-pass-PTCP.RES. they are that
dproc'-ner-ě or-onk' jeřuc'-v-um en
school-PL.NOM-the REL-PL.NOM heat-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are
heluk vařelik'-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 գտա ինչ որ դու փնտրում էիր:

Es gt-a inč' or du p'ntr-um
I.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 գտա այն, ինչ որ դու փնտրում էիր:

es gt-a ayn inč' du
I.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.”

- c. 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.

- (467) Նա ինձ ասաց, որ նրանք այստեղ ապրելու են, ինչին ես դեմ էի:
(Hetk' 19.02.2007)

na inj as-ac' or nrank' aystel aprel-u
he.NOM I.DAT say-AOR.3.SG. CONJ they.NOM here live-PTCP.FUT.

en inc'-i-n es dem ěi.
they are REL.DAT-the I.NOM against I was

“He told me that they would live here, something I was against.”

- d. Participial relative clauses, i.e. clauses without a relative subordinator and with the verb in the participle.³⁰⁵

- (468) Արամի գրած նամակը դեռ չեմ ստացել:

Aram-i gr-ac namak-ě deř 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:

- Adnominal relative clauses predominantly follow the head noun (NP + REL) or (dem NP + wh REL)
- Free relative clauses predominantly precede the main clause in subject function, but predominantly follow in object function (RELsubj + S), (S + RELobj)
- Sentential relative clauses preferably and predominantly follow the main clause.
- 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
- adverbial 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 *ով* “who?” and *ինչ* *inč* “what?” are inflected for case and number (the latter only the relative pronoun *որ* *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 *նա* *na* “he/she/it”, *այն* *ayn* “that”, *այնպիսի* *aynpisi* “such a”, *այսքան* *aysk’an* “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) *ով* *ov* “who”, *որ* *or* “that”
- subject/thing, i.e. (–human) *որ* *or* “that”; *ինչ* *inč* “which”
- time *երբ* *erb* “when”, *երբվանից* *erbvanic* “since when”
- place *որտեղ* *ortel*, *ուր* *ur* “where”; *ուր* *ur* “where to”, *որտեղից* *ortelic* “from where”
- manner *ինչպես* *inč’pes* “how”
- cause *ինչու* *inč’u* “why”

For the use of the relative pronouns given above, see Ch. 2.4.7. “Interrogative/Relative Pronouns”, p. 147f.

Only the pronoun *որ* *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 *որ* *or* (subject and (–human) direct object function) and to bare dative forms of the relative pronoun *որ* *or* (with verbs assigning the bare dative³⁰⁶). The relative pronoun *որ* *or*

306. To express the (+human) direct object in the bare dative in a relative subordinator, the *wh*-interrogative pronoun *ով* *ov* “who” is used in its dative form *ում* *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) Հերթապահը, որն արթնացրել է մեզ, դեռ շարունակում է վազվզել վրանների արանքով: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 41)
Hert'apah-ě or-n art'na-c'r-el ē mez deř
 on duty.NOM-the REL.NOM-the wake-caus-PTCP.PERF. he is we.DAT still
šarunak-um ē vazvz-el vran-ner-i arank'-ov.
 continue-PTCP.PRES. he is run around-INF tent-PL-DAT gap-INST
 “The boy on duty, who has woken us up, is still running around in the gaps of the tents.” (Subject relative clause)
- (470) Սակայն նրանց համար ամենալավ, ամենաթանկ խաղալիքները նրանք են, որոնք մայրիկն է բերել: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)
Sakayn nranc' hamar amena-lav amena-t'ank xatalik'-ner-ě
 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 մրցաշարը, որին մասնակցում են Երևանի, Արարատի, Էջմիածնի և Թբիլիսիի պատանի մարզիկները, կազմակերպել է ԵՊՀ ֆիզիկական դաստիարակության ամբիոնը: (Armenpress 22.01.2006)
ays mrc'as'ar-ě or-i-n masnack'-um -en
 this tournament.NOM-the REL-DAT-the participate-PTCP.PRES. they are
Erewan-i Ararat-i Ējmiacn-i ew T'bilisi-i patani
 Yerevan-DAT Ararat-DAT Ejmiacin-DAT CONJ Tbilisi.DAT adolescent
marzik-ner-ě kazmakerp-el ē EPH fizikakan
 sportsman-PL.NOM-the organise-PTCP.PERF. it is YSU physical
dastiarakut'y-an ambion-ě.
 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 աղջիկը սիրում է օձեր, որն (= ինչն) ինձ զարմացնում է:
ays atjik-ě sir-um ē ōj-er or-n (=inc'-n)
 this girl.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES she is snake-PL.NOM REL.NOM-the
 (what.NOM-the)

inj zarma-c'n-um ē.
 I.DAT surprise-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “This girl likes snakes, which surprises me.”

ինչ *inč'*

The prototypical relative pronoun որ *or* however is often replaced by the interrogative pronoun *ինչ inč'*

- 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) Ինտերնետ բաժանորդների թիվը չի անցնում 11 հազարից, *ինչ* բավական ցածր է:
 (Armenpress 13.05.2006)

Internet bažanord-ner-i t'iv-ě č'-i
 Internet.NOM subscriber-PL-DAT number.NOM-the neg-it is
anc'n-um 11 hazar-ic' inč' bavakan c'acr ē.
 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 խոսքերով, արդեն չորրորդ տարին է, *ինչ* ինքը աշխատում և
 բեմադրություններ է անում: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

nra xosk'-er-ov arden č'orrord tari-n ē inč'
 his word-PL-INST already fourth year.NOM-the it is rel
inkě ašxat-um ew bemadrut'yun-ner ē an-um.
 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 մնում են բարդ հարցեր, որոնց վերաբերյալ Հայաստանի և
 Ադրբեջանի կարծիքները տարբեր են, *ինչը* դրոյում է սպասելիքների առումով
 զգուշավոր լինել: (Azg 02.02.2006)

sakayn defews mn-um en bard harc'-er
 CONJ still stay-PTCP.PRES. they are complex question-PL.NOM
or-onc' veraberyal Hayastan-i ew Aذربեյան-i
 REL-PL-DAT POST Armenia-DAT CONJ Azerbaijan-DAT
karcik'-ner-ě tarber en inč'-ě drd-um
 opinion-PL.NOM-the different they are REL.NOM-the motivate-PTCP.PRES.
ē spselik'-ner-i ařum-ov zgušavor lin-el.
 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.”

ինչ *inč'* is predominantly used in combination with demonstrative pronouns in adnominal and free relative clauses.

- (476) Սակայն չէին պատկերացնում այն, ինչ նրանք տեսան մեր այցելած գյուղերում:
(Hetk' 07.01.2007)

sakayn č'-ēin patkerac'n-um ayn inč' nrank'
CONJ neg-they were imagine-PTCP.PRES. that REL.NOM they.NOM
tes-an mer ayc'el-ac gyuł-er-um.
see-AOR.3.PL we.GEN visit-PTCP.RES. village-PL-LOC

“But they were not imagining that, which they saw in the villages we have visited.”

- (477) Այդ փոփոխություններն այն բանի համար են, ինչի մասին դուք մտածում եք:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

ayd p'òp'uxut'yun-ner-n ayn ban-i hamar en inč'-i
that change-PL.NOM-the that thing-DAT POST they are REL-DAT
masin duk' mtac-um ek'.
POST you.NOM think-PTCP.PRES. you are

“Those changes are for the thing, which you are thinking about.”

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 ինչ որ *inč' or*, ինչպես որ *inč'pes or*, ով որ *ov or*, ուր որ *ur or*, որտեղ որ *ortel or*, երբ որ *erb or* etc. The pause in intonation between the main and relative clause marks their border.

- (478) Գրիգորը անում է ինչ որ ուզում է:

Grigor-ē an-um ē inč' or uz-um ē.
Grigor-the do-PTCP.PRES. he is wh-what REL.NOM want-PTCP.PRES. he is
“Grigor does what he likes.”

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” երբվանից *erbvanic'* “since when”
- Place որտեղ *ortel*, ուր *ur* “where”, ուր *ur* “where to”, որտեղից *ortelic'* “where from”
- Manner: ինչպես *inč'pes* “how”
- Cause ինչու *inč'u* “why”

These are also used in the function of relative clause subordinators.

- (479) Դերասանները պնդում են, որ իրենք այդ վաճառքի մասին իմացել են աշնանը, երբ արձակուրդից հետո եկել են թատրոն: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

derasan-ner-ě pnd-um en or irenk' ayd vacařk'-i
 actor-PL.NOM-the affirm-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ they that sale-DAT
masin imac'-el en ašn-an-ě erb arjakurd-ic'
 POST learn-PTCP.PERF. they are autumn-DAT-the wh-when vacation-ABL
heto ek-el en t'atron.
 POST come-PTCP.PERF. they are theatre.NOM

“The actors affirm that they have learned about that sale in autumn, when they have come to the theatre after the vacation.”

- (480) Հարավային Կովկասի երկրներից Հայաստանն առաջինն է, որտեղ Մեծ Բրիտանիայի դեսպանությունն ունի առանձին շենք:
 (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

haravayin kovkas-i erkr-ner-ic' Hayastan-n ařajin-n
 south Caucasus-DAT country-PL-ABL Armenia.NOM-the first.NOM-the
ē ortel Mec Britania-yi despanuťyun-n un-i
 it is wh-where Great Britain-DAT embassy.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG
ařanjin šenk'.
 separate building.NOM

“Armenia is the first of the South Caucasian countries, where Great Britain’s embassy has a separate building.”

- (481) Մեր գերեզմանները մնացել են այնտեղ, ուր մենք այլևս երբեք չենք գնա:
 (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

Mer gerezman-ner-ě mnač'-el en aynteł ur
 our tomb-PL.NOM-the remain-PTCP.PERF. they are there wh-where-to
menk' aylews erbek' č'-enk' gn-a.
 we.NOM now never neg-we are go-PTCP.NEG

“Our tombs have remained there where we will now never go (to).”

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 *ayn* “that”, նույն *nuyn* “the same”, այնպիսի *aynpisi* “such a”, այնքան *aynk'an* “that much”, այնչապ *aynč'ap* “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) Հաղթողը նա էր ով բոլորից շուտ էր տեղ հասել: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 49)

Halt'ol-ē na ēr ov bolor-ic' šut ēr
 win-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the he.NOM it was REL.NOM all-ABL quick he was
teł has-el.
 place arrive-PTCP.PERF

“The winner was (the one) who had more quickly arrived than all others.”

- (483) Նախատեսվում է օրենքի միջոցով կարգավորել այնպիսի դրույթներ, որոնք, ըստ էության, հնարավոր չէ կարգավորել օրենքով: (A'xavot 07.04.2006)

naxates-v-um ē ōrenk'-i mijoc'ov kargavor-el aynpisi druyt'-ner
 plan-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is law-DAT POST regulate-INF such idea-PL.NOM
or-onk' ēst ēut'y-an hnaravor č'-ē kargavor-el ōrenk'-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) Նրանք թաղվում են նույն քարայրում, որի վրա հետագայում կառուցվում է փառահեղ մի եկեղեցի: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

nrank' t'al-v-um en nuyñ k'arayr-um or-i
 they.PL.NOM bury-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are same cave-LOC REL-DAT
vra hetagayum ka'uc'-v-um ē p'arahel mi ekelec'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 functionally 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. նույնքան – որքան *nuyñk'an – ork'an*, նույնպես – որպես *nuyñpes – orpes*, նույնչափ – որչափ *nuyñč'ap' – orč'ap'*.

- (485) Այն ևս լուծում է հազար հա տարածքի ոռոգման խնդիրը՝ խնայելով նույնքան էլեկտրաէներգիա, որքան Այրումում: (Armenpress 21.05.2006)

ayñ ews luc-um ē hazar ha tarack'-i o'ogm-an
 that also solve-PTCP.PRES. it is 1000 ha area-DAT irrigation-DAT
xndir-ē xnayel-ov nuyñk'an
 problem.NOM-the spare-INF-INST as much
ēlektraēnergia 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.”

- (486) Նոր սերունդը նույնքան քաջածանոթ լինի հայկական մշակույթին, որքան նրանց ծնողները: (Armenpress 24.01.2006)

nor serund-ě nuynkan k'ajacanot' lini haykakan
 new generation.NOM-the as much familiar be-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL Armenian
mšakuyt'-i-n orkan nranc' cnoł-ner-ě.
 culture-DAT-the as much their parent-PL.NOM-the

“The new generation shall be as much familiar with the Armenian culture as their parents.”

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).

- (487) Պապիկը, որ տեղաշարժվում է հենակներով, այցելում է նրան տարին մի քանի անգամ: (Hetk' 17.02.2007)

Papik-ě or telašarž-v-um ē henak-ner-ov
 Grandpa.NOM-the REL.NOM move-refl-PTCP.PRES. he is crutch-PL-INST

ayc'el-um ē nran tari-n mi k'ani angam.
 visit-PTCP.PRES. he is he.DAT year.NOM-the a few time.NOM

“The grandfather, who moves with crutches, visits him a few times in the year.”

- (488) Այն խնդիրներն ու հանձնարարականները, որոնք դրված էին հանձնաժողովի առջև, այս փուլում կատարված են:

(Armenpress 21.05.2006)

ayn xndir-ner-n u hanjnararakan-ner-ě or-onk'
 that problem-PL.NOM-the CONJ recommendation-PL.NOM-the REL-PL.NOM

dr-v-ac ěin hanjažotov-i ařjew ays p'ul-um
 put-pass-PTCP.RES. they were committee-DAT POST this stage-LOC

katar-v-ac en.
 fulfil-pass-PTCP.RES. they are

“Those problems and recommendations that were submitted to the committee are fulfilled in this stage.”

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) Ղատավարության ժամանակ պարզվել է, որ բուժքույրը որոշել է ազատվել հարբեցող ամուսնուց, որը անընդհատ ստորացրել, ծեծել է իրեն և երեխաներին: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Datavarut'yan zamanak parz-v-el ē or bužk'uyr-ě
 process-DAT time.NOM clear-antic-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ nurse.NOM-the
oroš-el ē azat-v-el harbec'-oł amusn-uc'
 decide-PTCP.PERF. she is free-refl-INF drink-PTCP.SUB. husband-ABL
or-ě aněndhat storac'r-el cec-el ē
 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 մասին մտածի. (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

mez aynpisi mard ē petk' or 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 գողացավ այդ գումարը, որը կարող էր ներդրվել նույն այդ էներգետիկ համակարգում: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

ov gołac'av ayd gumar-ě or-ě karot
 wh-who steal-AOR.3.SG that amount.NOM-the REL.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES
ēr nerd-v-el nuyn ayd ēnergetik hamakarg-um?
 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) Հիմնականում պահանջվում է հրշեջ տեխնիկա, որը չի թարմացվել վերջին 20 տարիների ընթացքում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

himnakan-um pahanj-v-um ē hršej
 principle-LOC require-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is fire extinguishing
texnika or-ě č-i t'armac'-v-el verjin 20
 technique.NOM REL.NOM-the neg-it is refresh-pass-PTCP.PERF. last 20

tari-ner-i *ěntac'k'um.*
 year-PL-DAT POST

“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 subordinator *որ* *or* “that” is used in the nominative for indicating (–human) direct objects. The definite article is attached to the pronoun.

- (493) Ինտերնետում գտա մի փաստաթուղթ, որը ստորագրում է հիվանդը վիրահատվելուց առաջ: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

internet-um *gt-a* *mi* *p'astat'ult'* *or-ě*
 internet-LOC find-AOR.1.SG INDEF document.NOM REL.NOM-the
storagr-um *ē* *hivand-ě* *virahat-v-el-uc'* *a'raj.*
 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) Հիմա հիմնական պատճառը, որը մայրերը նշում են իրենց դիմումի համապատասխան բաժնում, սոցիալականն է: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

hima *himmakan* *patčar-ě* *or-ě* *mayr-er-ě*
 now basic reason.NOM-the REL.NOM-the mother-PL.NOM-the
nš-um *en* *irenc'* *dimum-i* *hamapatasxan*
 the state-PTCP.PRES. they are their application-DAT corresponding
bažn-um *soc'ialakan-n* *ē.*
 part-LOC social.NOM-the it is

“Now the basic reason that the mothers state in the corresponding part of their application is the social one.”

The subordinators *որ* *or* “that” and *ով* *ov* “who” are used in the dative for marking (+human) direct objects. Whereas the definite article is obligatorily attached to the relative pronoun *որ* *or* “that” in the function of a (+human) direct object, it is never attached to the interrogative pronoun *ով* *ov* “who” when used in this function.

- (495) Բրիտանական ոստիկանությունը բացահայտել է այն մարդու ինքնությունը, որին մեկ տարի առաջ դանակահարել և իրկիզել են Պետերբորո թաղաքի մոտակայքում: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

britanakan ostikanu'tyun-ě bac'ahaytel ē ayn mard-u
 British police.NOM-the reveal-PTCP.PERF. it is that person-DAT
ink'nut'yun-ě or-i-n mek tari a'aj danakahar-el
 identity.NOM-the REL-DAT-the one year.NOM POST knife-PTCP.PERF.
ew hrkiz-el en Peterboro kalak'-i otakayk'-um.
 CONJ torch-PTCP.PERF. they are Peterborough town-DAT vicinity-LOC

“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) Նկարիչ Հենրիկ Գուլանյանն էլ նշեց, որ ընդունում է այն նախարարին, ում ընտրում է իշխանությունը: (Armenpress 11.01.2006)

nkarič' Henrik Gulanyan-n ēl nš-ec' or
 painter.NOM Henrik Gulanyan.NOM-the also remark-AOR.3.SG CONJ
ěndun-um ē ayn naxarar-in um ěntr-um
 accept-PTCP.PRES. he is that minister-DAT-the REL-DAT elect-PTCP.PRES.

ē išxanu'tyun-ě.
 it is government.NOM-the

“The painter, Henrik Gulanyan, also remarked that he accepts the minister who(m) 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) Հարկ է նշել, որ սա այն թիմը չէ, որին 1995 թ.-ին Հայաստանի հավաքականը 2:1 հաշվով հաղթեց Սկոպիեյում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

hark ē nš-el or sa ayn t'im-ě č'-ē
 necessary it is state-INF CONJ this that team.NOM-the neg-it is
or-i-n 1995 t'.-i-n Hayastan-i havakakan-ě 2:1
 REL-DAT-the 1995 year-DAT-the Armenia-DAT collective.NOM-the 2:1
hašv-ov halt'-ec' Skopje-yum.
 result-INST defeat-AOR.3.SG Skopje-LOC

“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) Այստեղ դու պարզապես հոսքագծի անշունչ, ստանդարտ մի առարկա ես, որին վիրահատելուց անմիջապես հետո մոռանում են. (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

aystel du parzapes hosk'ag-i anšunč' standart
 here you.NOM simply power supply line-DAT dead standard

mi ařarka es or-i-n virahatel-uc' anmiřapes
 INDEF thing.NOM you are REL-DAT-the operate-INF-ABL immediately

heto mořan-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 *որ or*, *ով ov*, *ինչ inč'* 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 կողմը ԵԱՀԿ Մինսկի խմբի եռանախագահներից ստացել է նման հանդիպման հրավեր, որին արձագանքել է դրականորեն: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

haykakan kořm-ě EAHK Minsk-i xmb-i eřanaxagah-ner-ic'
 Armenian side.NOM-the OSCE Minsk-DAT group-DAT triumvirate-ABL

stac'-el ē nman handipm-an hraver
 receive-PTCP.PERF. it is similar meeting-DAT invitation.NOM

or-i-n arjagank'-el ē 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 մրցամարտը, որին հատուկ հետաքրքրություն հաղորդեց Գարրի Կասպարովի մասնակցությունը, իրոք մեծ իրադարձություն դարձավ: (Armenpress 16.01.2006)

ays mrc'amart-ě or-i-n hatuk hetak'rk'rut'yun
 this competition.NOM-the REL-DAT-the special interest.NOM

hařord-ec' Garri Kasparov-i masnak'ut'yun-ě 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) Հետազոտությունը պատվիրել է ժողովրդավարության և ընտրությունների աջակցության միջազգային ինստիտուտը, որին անդամակցում են 56 երկրները: (Azg 06.04.2006)

hetazotut'yun-ě patvir-el ē žolovrdavarut'y-an ew
 investigation.NOM-the order-PTCP.PERF. it is democracy-DAT CONJ
ěntrut'yun-ner-i ajakc'ut'y-an mijazgayin institute-ě or-i-n
 election-PL-DAT support-DAT international institute.NOM-the REL-DAT-the
andamak'-um en 56 erkr-ner-ě.
 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 նշել է, որ դա հանձնաժողովի խնդիրը չէ, ինչին եվրոպացի գործընկերները չեն առարկել: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

Sakayn haykakan kolm-ě nš-el ē or da
 CONJ Armenian side.NOM-the state-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ this
hanjažolov-i xndir-ě č'-ē inč'-i-n evropac'i
 committee-DAT problem.NOM-the neg-it is REL-DAT-the European
gorcėnker-ner-ě č'-en ařark-el.
 partner-PL.NOM-the neg-they are object-PTCP.PERF.

“The Armenian side stated, however, that this is not the problem of the committee to which the European partners have not objected.”

Instrumental Object

- (503) Տ. Սարգսյանը տեղեկացրեց, որ կներկայացվի նաև նոր օրենքի նախագիծ, որով պետք է Հայաստանում կանոնակարգվի այդ դաշտը: (Armenpress 22.01.2005)

T. Sargsyan-ě teleka-c'ř-ec' or
 T. Sargsyan.NOM-the inform-caus-AOR.3.SG CONJ
knerkayac'-v-i naew nor ėrenk'-i naxagic or-ov
 present-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG also new law-DAT draft.NOM REL-INST
petkē Hayastan-um kanonakarg-v-i ayd dašt-ě.
 part Armenia-LOC regulate-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG that field.NOM-the

“T. Sargsyan informed the group that the new draft law would also be presented with which that field had to be regulated in Armenia.”

Locative Object

- (504) Այժմ քննարկվում է ԱՊՀ երկրների համար համատեղ արբանյակ ունենալու ծրագիրը, որում Հայաստանի մասնակցությունը կկազմի առավելագույնը 7%: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

ayžm k'nnark-v-um ē APH erkr-ner-i hamar
 now examine-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is APH country-PL-DAT POST

hamatel' arpanyak unenal-u cragir-ě or-um Hayastan-i
 joint satellite.NOM have-INF-DAT program.NOM-the REL-LOC Armenia-DAT
masnack'ut'yun-ě kkazm-i ařavelaguyn-ě 7 %.
 participation.NOM-the make-COND.FUT.3.SG. maximal.NOM-the 7 %
 “The joint satellite program is actually examined for the APH countries, in which
 Armenia’s participation will be 7 per cent at most.”

- (505) Խաչատրյանի գործերին ծանոթացել է շնորհիվ իր ուսուցչի՝
 Նաթան Միլշտեյնի, ում մոտ ուսանել է 10 տարի: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

Xač'atryan-i gorc-er-i-n canot'ac'-el ē
 Xač'atryan-DAT work-PL-DAT-the get acquainted-PTCP.PERF. he is
šnorhiv ir usuc'č'-i Nat'an Milšteyn-i um mot
 PREP his teacher-DAT Nat'an Milšteyn-DAT REL-DAT POST
usan-el ē 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) Ջոքանչի հետ հարաբերություններն օր-օրի սրվել են, ինչի պատճառով էլ տնից
 հեռացել է: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

zokanč'-i het haraberut'yun-ner-n ōr-ōr-i
 mother-in law-DAT POST relation-PL.NOM-the day-day-DAT
sr-v-el en inč'-i patč'ařov ēl tn-ic'
 sharpen-antic-PTCP.PERF. they are REL-DAT POST also house-ABL
heřac'-el ē.
 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) Այդ տարածքում մոտ 160 հա բերրի հողեր են, որի դիմաց գյուղացին պահանջում
 է փոխհատուցում, ինչի մասին որևէ կետ չկա ծրագրում: (Armenpress 16.01.2006)

Ayd tarack'-um mot 160 ha berri hoł-er en or-i
 that area-LOC almost 160 ha cultivable land-PL.NOM they are REL-DAT
dimac' gyuřac'-i-n pahanj'-um ē p'oxahatuč'um
 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.3.SG. 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) Վերելակը պիտի շահագործվի 20–25 տարի, ինչից հետո այն պետք է քանդվի կամ վերասարքավորվի: (Armenpress 07.06.2005)

verelak-ě piti šahagorc-v-i 20–25 tari inč'-ic' heto
 elevator.NOM-the use-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG 20–25 year.NOM REL-ABL POST
ayn petk' ē känd-v-i kam verasarkavor-v-i.
 that destroy-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG CONJ repair-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“The elevator must be used for 20–25 years, after which it must be destroyed or repaired.”

e. Possessor relative clauses

Possessor relative clauses use the relative subordinator which functions as the possessor attribute to the head noun in the matrix clause.

The possessor attribute is usually expressed in the dative case, i.e. the relative subordinators *որ*, *ով* *ով*, *ինչ inč'* appear in the dative case. The definite article is never attached to relative subordinators in this function.

- (509) Հիմա գյուղի բնակիչների մեծամասնությունը փախստականներ են, ում կյանքն ու կենցաղը շատ բանով չի տարբերվում Սվետլանա Առուստամովայի վիճակից: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

hima gyul-i bnakič'-ner-i mecamasnut'yun-ě p'axstakan-ner
 now village-DAT inhabitant-PL-DAT majority.NOM-the refugee-PL.NOM

en um kyank'-n u kenc'al-ě šat
 they are REL-DAT life.NOM-the CONJ way of life.NOM-the many

ban-ov č'-i tarber-v-um
 thing-INST neg-it is distinguish-pass-PTCP.PRES.

Svetlana Ařustamova-yi vičak-ic'.
 Svetlana Ařustamova-DAT situation-ABL

“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 Ařustamova.”

- (510) Ժողովուրդը, որի որդիները հավասար չեն օրենքի և մահվան առջև, հաղթական հայրենիք չի ունենա: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

žoťovurd-ě or-i ordi-ner havasar č'-en ōrenk-i
 people.NOM-the REL-DAT son-PL.NOM equal neg-they are law-DAT

ew mah-van ařjew haťakan hayrenik' č'-i
 CONJ death-DAT POST victorious fatherland.NOM neg-it is

unen-a.
 have-PTCP.NEG.

“The nation, whose sons are not equal before law and the death will not have a victorious fatherland.”

- (511) Ներկայումս քննարկվում են մի շարք ցուցադրական ծրագրեր, որոնց իրականացումը կկսվի փետրվարին: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

nerkayums k'nnark-v-um en mi šark' c'uc'adrakan
 now discuss-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are a series model
cragr-er or-onc' irakanc'um-ě kskv-v-i
 program-PL.NOM REL-PL.DAT realization.NOM-the start-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
p'etrvar-i-n.
 February-DAT-the

“Now a series of model programs is discussed, the realisation of which will be started in February.”

- (512) Տեղադրվել են սարքավորումներ, ինչի արդյունքում հնարավոր է թափոնների վերամշակմամբ արտադրանք ստանալ: (Armenpress 16. 11.2005)

teladr-v-el en sarkavorum-ner inc'-i ardyunk'-um
 place-pass-PTCP.PERF. they are plant-PL.NOM REL-DAT result-LOC
hnaravor ē t'ap'on-ner-i veramšakm-amb
 possible it is waste-PL-DAT recycling-INST
artadrank' stan-al.
 output.NOM receive-INF

“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.)

- (513) Այն աղջիկը, որից (դու) խելացի էիր, հաղթեց մրցույթունը:

Ayn ałjik-ě or-ic' (du) xelac'i ěir halt'-ec'
 that girl.NOM-the REL-ABL (you) smart you were win-AOR.3.SG
mrc'ut'yun-ě.
 competition.NOM-the

“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 ով *ov* and ինչ *inc'* with the relative pronoun որ *or* 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) Ով գալիս ա, զարմանում ա, թե ոնց ենք մնացել ստեղ:
 (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' mnac'-el ste³⁰⁷.
 CONJ wh-how we are stay-PTCP.PERF. here
 "Who(ever) comes, is surprised how we could stay here."

- (515) Ով չգիտի այս գիրքը, պետք է կարդա այն:
 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) Թող Ջարան անի, ինչ կամենում է:
 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

307. Please note that this sentence is the written reproduction of a colloquial utterance. In written Standard Armenian it would be: Ով գալիս է, զարմանում է, թե ինչպես ենք մնացել այստեղ: *Ov galis ē, zarmanum ē, t'e inč'pes enk' mnac'el aystel.*

- (517) Ով շուտ է քնում, նա անկողնում է պառկում, մյուսները՝ գետնին:
(Hetk' 12.02.2007)

ov šut ē k'n-um na ankołn-um ē
wh-who quickly he is sleep-PTCP.PRES. he.NOM bed-LOC he is
pařk-um myus-ner-ě 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. Նա, ով անեմաղ է, թող նետի առաջին քարը:

na ov anmel ē t'ot
he.NOM wh-who.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG
net-i ařajin kar-ě.
throw-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG first stone.NOM-the

“He, who is without sin, shall cast the first stone.”

- b. Ով որ անմեղ է, թող նետի առաջին քարը:

ov or anmel ē t'ot
wh-who.NOM REL.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG.
net-i ařajin kar-ě.
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) Ինչ որ գրված է գրիչով, չի ջնջվի բրիչով: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 50)

inč' or gr-v-ac ē grič'-ov
wh-what REL write-pass-PTCP.RES. it is pen-INST
č'-i jnj-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) Կատարվեց այն, ինչ վաղուց էր սպասվում: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:42)

katar-v-ec' ayn inč' valuc' 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) Ես հասկանում եմ այն, ինչ մենք ենք ստեղծում: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

es haskan-um em ayn inč' menk' enk'
I.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՛ լսիր այն, ինչ նա ասում է:
mi lsir ayn inč' na as-um ē.
 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) Շունը կերավ այն, ինչ (որ) կատուն թողել էր:
šun-ě ker-av ayn inč' (or) katu-n
 dog.NOM-the eat-AOR.3.SG that.NOM wh-what.NOM (REL) cat.NOM-the
tòt-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 ortel* “where”, *որ ur* “where to”, *որտեղից ortelic* “where from”.

Adverbial relative clauses of time are introduced by interrogative pronouns as relative subordinators such as *երբ erb* “when”, *երբվանից erbvanic* “since when”.

Adverbial relative clauses of reason are introduced with a postpositional phrase consisting of a relative pronoun and the postposition, as in *սաւտճառով 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.

3.4.1 Participle constructions³⁰⁸

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 *ուր* *ur* and *որտեղ* *ortel* “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) Գրադարանից, որտեղ տեղադրված է նաև Մեսրոպ արքեպիսկոպոս Աշխանի անձնական կահույքը, կարող են օգտվել բոլոր ցանկացողները:
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)

gradaran-ic' ortel teladr-v-ac ē naew Mesrop
library-ABL wh-where place-pass-PTCP.RES. it is also Mesrop

ark'episkopos Aščyan-i anjnakan kahuyk'-ě kar-ol
archbishop Aščyan-DAT personal furniture-NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES.

en ōgt-v-el bolor c'ankac'ol-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.”

308. Papoyan, Badikyan: 2003: 309ff.; Markosyan 2002: 28ff.; Davt'yan 2005: 6 ff.

- (525) Իսկ Շամիրամում վերանորոգվում է գյուղապետարանի շենքը, ուր և կտեղափոխվի դպրոցը: (Armenpress15.01.2006)

isk Šamiram-um veranorog-v-um ē
 CONJ Šamiram-LOC renovate-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is

gyulapetaran-i šenk'-ě ur ew
 village-mayor's office-DAT building-NOM-the wh-where CONJ

ktelapox-v-i dproc'-ě.
 move-refl-COND.FUT.3.SG school-NOM-the

“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).

- (526) Այն տղան, որը սովորում է Երևանի պետական համալսարանում, Սիլվայի կրտսեր որդին է:

ayn tla-n or-ě sovor-um ē Erewan-i
 that boy.NOM-the REL.NOM-the study-PTCP.PRES. he is Yerevan-DAT

petakan hamalsaran-um Silva-y-i krtser ordi-n ē.
 state university-LOC Silva-DAT youngest son.NOM-the he is

“That boy, who studies at the Yerevan State University, is Silva’s youngest son.”

The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “that boy”, and functions as the subject.

- (527) Արամը վաճարեց այն տունը, որն իր հայրն է կառուցել:

Aram-ě vačar-ec' ayn tun-ě or-n ir
 Aram.NOM sell-AOR.3.SG that house.NOM-the REL.NOM-the his

hayr-n ē kařuc'-el.
 father.NOM-the he is build-PTCP.PERF.

“Aram sold that house, which his father built.”

The subordinate relative clause modifies the NP “that house”, and functions as the direct object.

- (528) Այլ բան է երեխաները, ում գտել են փողոցում: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

ayl ban ē erexa-ner-ě um gt-el
 other thing.NOM it is child-PL.NOM-the wh-who-DAT find-PTCP.PERF.

en p'oloc'-um.
 they are street-LOC

“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) Այն դպրոցը կրում է Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի անունը, որի 32 աշակերտ տնօրենի գլխավորությամբ մի քանի օրով այցելեց Արագածոտնի մարզ: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

ayn drpoc'ë kr-um ē Mesrop Maštoc'-i
that school.NOM-the bear-PTCP.PRES. it is Mesrop Maštoc'-DAT
anun-ë or-i 32 ašakert tnōren-i glxavorut'y-amb
name.NOM-the REL-DAT 32 pupil.NOM director-DAT guidance-INST
mi kani òr-ov ayc'el-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) Գործը հանձնարարվեց այն սպային, որը կոչումով ամենակրտսերը չէր:

gorc-ë hanjnaranar-v-ec' ayn spa-yi-n or-ë
work.NOM-the entrust-pass-AOR.3.SG that officer-DAT-the REL.NOM-the
koč'um-ov amena-krtser-ë č'-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 համալսարանում սովորող տղան Սիլվայի կրտսեր որդին է:

Erewan-i petakan hamalsaran-um 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. Արամը վաճառեց իր հոր կառուցած տունը:

Aram-ë vačar'-ec' ir hor kařuc'-ac
Aram.NOM-the sell-AOR.3.SG his father-DAT build-PTCP.RES.
tun-ë.
house.NOM-the

“Aram sold the house built by his father.”

- (528) a. Այլ բան փողոցում գտնված երեխաներն է:

Ayl ban p'oloc'-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. Մեսրոբը Մաշտոցի անունը կրող դպրոցի 32 աշակերտ տնօրենի
 գլխավորությամբ մի քանի օրով այցելեցին Արագածոտնի մարզ:
Mesrop Maštoc'-i anun-ě kr-oł dproc'-i 32
 Mesrop Maštoc-DAT name.NOM-the bear-PTCP.SUB. school-DAT 32
ašakert tnōren-i glxavorut'y-amb mi kani ōr-ov
 pupil.NOM director-DAT guidance-INST some day-INST
ayc'el-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 չ- *č'*- is attached to the corresponding participle of the verb լինել *linel*.

- (530) a. Գործը հանձնարարվեց կոչունով ամենակրստերը չլինող սպային:
gorc-ě hanjnarar-v-ec' kočum-ov amena-krtser-ě
 work.NOM-the entrust-pass-AOR.3.SG rank-INST most-minor.NOM-the
č'-lin-oł 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) Կարինեն առանձին վաճառել է թիվ 26 ա բնակարանը, որից ոչ մի լումա,
 բնականաբար, Ալեքսանդրին չի հասել: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)
Karine-n ařanjin vačař-el ē t'iv 26a bnakaran-ě
 Karine.NOM-the alone sell-PTCP.PERF. she is No. 26a apartment.NOM-the
or-ic oč mi luma bnakanabar Aleksandr-i-n č'-i
 REL-ABL no luma.NOM naturally Aleksandr-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 օրենքի և իրավունքի շնորհիվ հնարավոր կլինի կառուցել
 այն Հայաստանը, որի մասին երազել ենք բոլոր ժամանակներում:
 (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
kařuc'-el ayn Hayastan-ě or-i masin eraz-el
 build-INF that Armenia.NOM-the REL-DAT POST dream-INF we

enk' bolor zamanak-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 իհարկե այնքան միամիտ չէինք, որ հավատալիք նրա սուտ խոստումներին:

Bayc' menk' iharke aynkan miamit č'-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 իհարկե նրա սուտ խոստումներին հավատալու չափ միամիտ չէինք:

Bayc' menk' iharke nra sut xostum-ner-i-n
CONJ we.NOM of course his false promise-PL-DAT-the
havatal-u čap' miamit č'-ēink'.
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) Հայաստանում այնքան ամուր հիմք է ստեղծվել, որ նաև գյուղական շրջանների զարգացումն ապահովվելը հնարավոր է դարձել:
(Armenpress 15.11.2005)

Hayastan-um aynkan amur himk' ē 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-č' hnaravor ē 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 թվալ *t'val* “to seem”.

General Features of Participle and Infinitive Constructions

Methods to Shorten a Subordinate Clause³⁰⁹

- a. The whole subordinate clause is “reduced” to a single word, commonly a nominalised participle.

- (535) Յանածղ կհնծես: (Armenian saying)

c'anac'-d *khnj-es*.
 sow-PTCP.RES-YOUR harvest-COND.FUT.2.SG
 “You will harvest what you have sowed.”

- (535) a. Ինչ որ ցանես, այն կհնծես:

Inč *or* *c'an-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) Ով աշխատի, նա կուտի: (Armenian saying)

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. Աշխատողը կուտի:

ašxat-ot-ě *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) Երեխան, որ քնած էր բազմոցին, երազ էր տեսնում:
 (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 88)

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

ēr *tesn-um*.
 it was see-PTCP.PRES.
 “The child that was sleeping on the sofa had a dream.”

- (537) a. Բազմոցին քնած երեխան երազ էր տեսնում:

Bazmoc'-i-n *k'n-ac* *erexa-n* *eraz*
 sofa-DAT-the sleep-PTCP.RES. child.NOM-the dream.NOM

309. Papoyan, Badikyan 2003: 414.

ēr tesn-um.
it was see-PTCP.PRES.

“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 distinguish between participle (mainly adnominal functions) and infinitive (exclusively adverbial functions) constructions.

Thus, regarding syntactic order:

- participle constructions with the resultative participle in *-ած -ac*, the future participle II in *-իք -ikʻ* and the subjective participle in *-ող -olʻ*, functioning exclusively as adnominal modifiers, obligatorily precede their head noun.
- Participle constructions with processual participle in *-իս -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 beginning 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 negative participles of *[իսնել] 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 *-ած -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 resembles 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, pluquamperfect) in the corresponding relative clause.

- (538) Աշակերտի կարդացած գիրքը շատ հետաքրքիր է:
Ašakert-i kardacʻ-ac girkʻ-ě šat hetakʻrkʻir ē.
pupil-DAT read-PTCP.RES. book.NOM-the INT interesting it is
“The book read by the pupil is very interesting.”

- (538) a. Գիրքը, որը կարդացել է աշակերտը, շատ հետաքրքիր է:
Girk'-ě or-ě kardac'-el ē ašakert-ě
 book.NOM-the REL.NOM-the read-PTCP.PERF. he is pupil.NOM-the
šat hetak'rk'ir ē.
 INT interesting it is.
 “The book, that the pupil has read, is very interesting.”

The future participle in *-իք-իկ'* 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.

- (539) Աշակերտի կարդալիք գիրքը շատ հետաքրքիր է:
Ašakert-i kardal-ik' girk'-ě šat hetak'rk'ir ē.
 pupil-DAT read-PTCP.FUT.II. book.NOM-the INT interesting it is
 “The book the pupil shall read is very interesting.”

- (539) a. Գիրքը, որը կարդալու է աշակերտը, շատ հետաքրքիր է:
girk'-ě or-ě kardal-u ē ašakert-ě
 book.NOM-the REL.NOM-the read-PTCP.FUT. it is pupil.NOM-the
šat hetak'rk'ir ē.
 INT interesting it is
 “The book the pupil shall read is very interesting.”

The subject participle in *-ող -ոլ* 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.

- (540) Նա խոսում է շատ հետաքրքիր գիրքը կարդացող ուսանողի հետ:
na xos-um ē šat hetak'rk'ir girk'-ě
 he.NOM speak-PTCP.PRES. he is INT interesting book.NOM-the
kardac'-ol usanoł-i het.
 read-PTCP.SUB. student-DAT POST
 “He speaks with the student who is reading the very interesting book.”

- (540) a. Նա խոսում է այն ուսանողի հետ, որը կարդում է շատ հետաքրքիր գիրքը:
na xos-um ē ayn usanoł-i het or-ě
 he.NOM speak-PTCP.PRES. he is that student-DAT POST REL.NOM-the

kard-um ē šat hetak'rk'ir girk'-ě.
 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 *-hu -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) Անտառում սունկ հավաքելիս, Մադլենը կորցրեց իր բանալին:
Antař-um sunk havak'el-is Madlen-ě
 forest-LOC mushroom.NOM collect-PTCP.PROC. Madlen.NOM-the
korc'ŕ-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 [ինել *linel* “to be”.

- (542) Սակայն տեղանքի բարդ լինելու պատճառով ջրամատակարարումը կվերասկսվի միայն 1–2 օրից: (Armenpress 16.01.2006)

sakayn telank'-i bard linel-u patčar'ov řramatakarum-ě
 CONJ locality-DAT complicated be-INF-DAT POST water-supply.NOM-the
kverasks-v-i miayn 1–2 ōr-ic'.
 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. Ջրամատակարարումը կվերսկսվի միայն 1–2 օրից, քանի որ տեղանքը բարդ է:

řramatakararum-ě kversks-v-i miayn 1–2 or-ic'
 water-supply.NOM-the restart-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG only 1–2 day-ABL
k'ani vor telank'-ě bard ē.
 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 *-իս* *-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 կատարած աշխատանքից գոհ մնացին բոլորը:

Ara-yi katar-ac ašxatank'-ic' goh mnac'-in bolor-ě.
 Ara-DAT fulfill-PTCP.RES. work-ABL content remain-AOR.3.PL all.NOM-the
 “Everybody (lit.: all) was content with the work done by Ara.”

(544) Քո ստորագրելիք փաստաթուղթը շատ մեծ կարևորություն ունի:

K'o storagrel'ik' p'astat'ult'-d šat mec
 your sign-PTCP.FUT.II document.NOM-your INT big
kareworut'yun un-i.
 importance.NOM have-PRES.3.SG

“The document you shall sign is of very great importance.”

(545) Այսօր լսածս պատմությունը շատ տխուր էր:

aysōr ls-ac-s patumut'yun-ě šat txur ēr.
 today listen-PTCP.RES-my story.NOM-the INT sad it was
 “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) Պարտեզում աճեցրած ծաղիկների ծաղկել են:
Partez-um ačecʻr-ac calik-ner-d
 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. Պարտեզում աճեցրած ծաղիկները ծաղկել են:
Partez-um ačecʻr-ac-d calik-ner-ě
 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) Նկարած դիմանկարս այժմ ցուցադրվում է պատկերասրահում:
Nkar-ac-d dimankar-s cʻučadr-v-um
 paint-PTCP.RES-your portrait.NOM-my exhibit-pass-PTCP.PRES.
ē patkerasrah-um.
 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 կողմից *kolmic'* + 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) Բոլորի կողմից հաճախ պատմված այս պատմությունը ամեն տեղ վաղուց հայտնի է:

bolor-i kolmic' hačax patm-v-ac ays patmut'yun-ě amen
all-DAT POST often tell-pass-PTCP.RES. this story.NOM-the every
teł valuc' 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) Հրատարակվելիք գիրքս նախապես հետաքրքրության մեծ ալիք է առաջացրել:

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 ařařa-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) Արամն ապրում է փոտորքից քանդված գյուղում:

Aram-n aprum ē p'otork'-ic'
Aram.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. he is storm-ABL
k'and-v-ac gyul-um.
destroy-pass-PTCP.RES. village-LOC

“Aram lives in the village destroyed by the storm.”

(551) Այս թաղամասում է գտնվում նաև ծերերով բնակեցված երկու քրթեջ: (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
bnakec'-v-ac erku k'ot'eř.
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.

- (552) Մեր նպատակն է լսումների ժամանակ հաստատված մտեցումները հասցնել տրամաբանական ավարտի: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

mer npatak-n ē lsum-ner-i žamanak hastat-v-ac
our aim.NOM-the it is hearing-PL-DAT time.NOM fix-PASS-PTCP.RES.

motec'um-ner-ě has-c'n-el tramabanakan avart-i.
approach-PL.NOM-the deliver-caus-INF logical termination-DAT

“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) Ես ուղարկել եմ քո՝ քրոջս գրած նամակը:

es ulark-el em k'o k'roj-s
I.NOM send-PTCP.PERF. I am your sister-DAT-my

gr-ac namak-ě.
write-PTCP. RES. letter.NOM-the

“I have sent the letter you have written to my sister.”

- (554) Սա ձեր ինձ պարզևած մի անզնահատելի զանձ է: (Markosyan 2002:39)

Sa jer inj pargew-ac mi angnahateli ganj ē.
this.NOM your I.DAT give-PTCP.RES. INDEF invaluable treasure.NOM it is

“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 երեկ տևած ճակատամարտում զոհվեցին հազար երեսուվեց հայեր:
(Grakanut'yun 4:15)

Minčew uš ereko tew-ac čakatamart-um
PREP late evening.NOM last-PTCP.RES. battle-LOC

zoh-v-ec'in hazar eresunvec' hay-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 քրոջդ արած գործերն են: (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) Բրյուսելում հետաձգվել է Հարավային Կովկասի հարցով Եվրասխորհրդարանի ներկայացուցչի հունվարի 22-ին սպասվելիք գեկուցումը: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)

Bryusel-um hetajg-v-el ē Haravayin Kovkas-i
Brussels-LOC delay-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is Southern Caucasus-DAT

harc'-ov Evraxorhrdaran-i nerkayac'uc'č'-i hunvar-i
question-INST Euro-Council-DAT representative-DAT January-DAT

22-i-n spas-v-elik' 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) Քաղաքապետարանի կողմից իրականացվելիք վերականգնման աշխատանքների ծավալը 350 մլն դրամ է: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

k'alak'apetaran-i kolmic' irakanc'-v-elik' verakangnm-an
mayor's office-DAT POST realize-pass-PTCP.FUT.II. resumption-DAT

ašxatank'-ner-i caval-ě 350 mln dram ē.
work-PL-DAT extent-NOM-the 350 milion 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) Ջուրը բերում են 250–300 մետր հեռու գտնվող մի ջրհորից:
(Hetk' 05.02.2007)

jur-ě ber-um en 250–300 metr he'u
water.NOM-the bring-PTCP.PRES. they are 250–300 metre.NOM far

gtn-v-oł mi j'rhор-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) Ուտելիս չի կարելի խոսել:

Utel-is č-i kareli xos-el.

eat-PTCP.PROC. neg-it is possible speak-INF

“When one eats, he shall not speak.” (Lit.: Eating, one shall not speak.)

- (561) Առավոտյան դպրոց գնալիս տեսնում էի մայթի վրա կիսապառկա մի մարդու:
(Grakanutyun 4:82)

Ařavotyan dproc' gnal-is tesn-um ěi mayt'-i

morning school.NOM go-PTCP.PROC see-PTCP.PRES. I was pavement-DAT

vra kisapařkac mi mard-u.

POST half-lie-PTCP.RES. INDEF person-DAT

“(When I was) going to school in the morning, I saw a person almost lying on the pavement.”

- (562) Յանկացած քայլ կատարելիս պետք է ճիշտ հաշվարկվեն հետևանքները:
(Armenpress 05.04.2006)

čankanc'-ac k'ayl katarel-is petk' ě ĉiřt

want-PTCP.RES. step.NOM take-PTCP.PROC. part it is correctly

hařvark-v-en hetewank'-ner-ě.

calculate-pass.DEB.FUT.3.PL consequence-PL.NOM-the

“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* *žamanak* “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 լինել *linel* 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 չեմ ուզում հավատալ, որ Ադամ և Եվան առաջին մարդիկ են եղել:

Es č'em uz-um havat-al or Adam ew
 I.NOM neg-I am want-PTCP.PRES. believe-INF CONJ Adam.NOM CONJ
Eva-n aʔaʃin mard-ik en eł-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 չեմ ուզում հավատալ Ադամի և Եվայի առաջին մարդիկ լինելուն:

es č'em uz-um havat-al Adam-i ew
 I.NOM neg-I am want-PTCP.PRES. believe-INF Adam-DAT CONJ
Eva-yi aʔaʃin mard-ik linel-u-n.
 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 զգում եմ, որ այստեղ իմ տեղը չէ: (Davit’yan 2005:17)

es zg-um em or aystel im tel-č č'-ē.
 I.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 զգում եմ այստեղ իմ տեղը չլինելը:

es zg-um em aystel im tel-č č'-linel-č.
 I.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 չափ *čap'* 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) Օրն ձորակները համրել կարելի լինելու չափ պարզ էր: (Davt'yan 2005:15)

ōr-n jorak-ner-ě hamr-el kareli linel-u
day.NOM-the ravine-PL.NOM-the count-INF possible be-INF-DAT

čāp' parz ēr.
POST clear it was

“The day was so clear that one could count the ravines.”

- (565) a. Օրն այնքան պարզ էր, որ կարելի էր համրել ձորակները:

ōr-n aynk'an parz ēr or kareli ēr
day.NOM-the so clear it was CONJ possible it was

hamr-el jorak-ner-ě.
count-INF ravine-PL.NOM-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 *համար hamar* “for, in order to” or *նպատակով 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) Ես գործարք չեմ արել պետության հետ՝ փող աշխատելու նպատակով:

(Ařavot 08.04.2006)

es gorcark' č'-em ar-el petu'y-an het
I.NOM deal.NOM neg-I am make-PTCP.PERF. government-DAT POST

p'ol' ašxatel-u npatakov.
money.NOM work-INF-DAT POST

“I have made no deal with the government in order to earn money.”

- (567) Ծրագիրն իրականացնելու նպատակով ստեղծվել է բազմաճյուղ մասնագիտական աջակցության խումբ: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

Cragir-n irakanac'nel-u npatakov stelc-v-el ē
program.NOM-the realize-INF-DAT POST found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is

bazmač'yuł masnagitakan ařak'ut'y-an xumb.
multi-branch professional support-DAT group.NOM

“In order to realise the program, a group for the multi-branch professional support has been founded.”

- (568) Սննդամթերք գնելու համար պիտի 55 կմ գնանք: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)
snndamterk' gnel-u hamar piti 55 km gn-ank'.
 foodstuff.NOM buy-INF-DAT POST part 55 km.NOM go-DEB.FUT.1.PL.
 "In order to buy foodstuff we must walk 55 kilometres."

These infinitive constructions of purpose are synonymous with subordinate clauses of purpose introduced with the conjunctions որ *or* or որպեսզի *orpeszi* "in order to".

c. Causal Infinitive Constructions

Causal meaning is conveyed by using the dative on the infinitive in combination with the postposition պատճառով *patčařov*. This is a synonymous construction with causal subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions որովհետև *orovhetew* or քանի որ *kani or* "since, because, as".

- (569) 1 տարեկան Լիաննային հագուստ չունենալու պատճառով անկողնում են պահում:
 (Hetk' 05.02.2007)
mek tarekan Lianna-y-i-n hagust č'-unenal-u patčařov
 one year Lianna-DAT-the cloth.NOM neg-have-INF-DAT POST
ankoln-um en pah-um.
 bed-LOC they are keep-PTCP.PRES.

"Because they have no clothes, they keep the one-year-old Lianna in bed."

This causal meaning can also be expressed by means of a "real" infinitive construction with the infinitive in the instrumental.³¹¹

- (570) Պայմաններին չհարմարվելով՝ երկու որդիները տեղափոխվել են Ռուսաստան:
 (Hetk' 29.01.2007; Colloquial Armenian)
payman-ner-i-n č'-harmar-v-el-ov erku ordi-ner-ě
 condition-PL-DAT-the neg-accommodate-refl-INF-INST two son-PL.NOM-the
telap'ox-v-el en Rusastan.
 move-refl-PTCP.PERF. they are Russia.NOM

"Since they have not acclimatised themselves to the conditions, the two sons have moved to Russia."

d. Conditional Infinitive Constructions

Conditional meaning is conveyed by using the dative on the infinitive in combination with the postposition դեպքում *depk'um*. This is a synonymous construction with the conditional subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions եթե *et'e* or թե *t'e* "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.

- (571) Հաղթելու դեպքում նրանք կստանան դրամական պարգև:
(Armenpress 31.05.2006)

hałt'el-u depk'um nrank' 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 անգամ զուգարանից և լվացարանից օգտվելու դեպքում ամսվա մեջ շուկային պետք է վճարի շուրջ 9 հազար դրամ: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

5–6 angam zugaran-ic' ew lvac'aran-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 petk' ē 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 հանդերձ *handerj* “together with”. This is a synonymous construction with the concessive subordinate clauses introduced with the conjunctions թեև *t'ew*, թեպետ *t'epet*, չնայած որ *č'nayac* or “even if/although”.

- (573) Եժույգի հոգնած լինելով հանդերձ՝ նա շտապեցնում էր խեղճ կենդանուն:

nžuyg-i hogn-ac linel-ov handerj na
palfrey-DAT to became tired-PTCP.RES. be-INF-INST POST he.NOM

štape-č'n-um ēr xelč 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) Բնությունից գեղեցիկ չլինելով՝ անչափ հմայիչ ու առիքնող էր այդ կինը: (Gyurjinyan 2002:180)

bnut'yun-ic' gelec'ik č'-linel-ov ančap hmayic' u
nature-ABL beautiful neg-be-INF-INST immeasurably charming CONJ

ařink'noł ēr ayd kin-ē.
compelling she was that woman.NOM-the

“Although she was not beautiful by nature, that woman was immeasurably charming and compelling.”

- (575) Հացի կտրուկ թանկացումը օբեկտիվ պատճառներ ունենալով հանդերձ, արհեստական է: (Armenpress 15.06.2005)

hac'-i ktruk t'ankac'um-ě obyektiv patčar'-ner
bread-DAT sharp price increase.NOM-the objective reason-PL.NOM
unenal-ov handerj arhestakan ē.
have-INF-INST POST artificial it is

“Even if the sharp increase of the price of bread has objective reasons, it is artificial.”

f. Temporal Infinitive Constructions

Infinitive constructions conveying temporal meaning are synonymous with temporal subordinate clauses introduced mainly with the temporal interrogative pronoun երբ *erb* “when”.

- The pure instrumental of the infinitive also conveys a temporal meaning.
- The dative of the infinitive combined with the postposition ժամանակ *žamanak* “during/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 dative of the infinitive combined with the postposition պես *pes* “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 հենց *henc'*, հենց որ *henc' or*, թե չէ *t'ē č'e* “as soon as/ just as/ just”.
- The ablative of the infinitive combined with the postposition առաջ *aʔaj* “before” and հետո *heto* “after” denotes anteriority and posteriority.

The logical agent, if other than the sentence’s subject, appears in the dative.

- (576) Կրկեսի մասին լսելով բոլոր երեխաները վազեցին դուրս:

Krkes-i masin lsel-ov bolor erexa-ner-ě
circus-DAT POST hear-INF-INST all children-PL.NOM-the
vaz-ec'in durs.
run-AOR.3.PL out

“When they heard about the circus, all the children ran outside”

- (577) Չարչյանը, ավարտելով Երևանի պետական համալսարանի փանասիական ֆակուլտետը, մշտապես ծավալել է ժուռնալիստական գործունեությունը: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Č'arxč'yan-ě avartel-ov Erewan-i petakan hamalsaran-i
Č'arxč'yan.NOM-the graduate-INF-INST Yerevan-DAT state university-DAT
banasirakan fakultet-ě mštapes caval-el ē žuʔnalistakan
philological faculty.NOM-the always extend-PTCP.PERF. he is journalistic
gorcuneut'yun.
activity.NOM

“Č'arxč'yan, after having graduated at the philological faculty of Yerevan State University, has always pursued a journalist activity.”

- (578) Լույսի բացվելու ժամանակ մշուշն արդեն ցրվում էր: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:90)
luys-i bac'-v-el-u zamanak mšuš-n arden
 light-DAT open-antic-INF-DAT POST fog.NOM-the already
c'v-um ēr.
 scatter-antic-PTCP.PRES. it was
 “When the daylight dawned, the fog had already scattered.”
- (579) Դարպասի տապալվելուն պես թշնամի զինվորները ներս խուժեցին:
 (Hayoc' Lezu 8:90)
darapas-i tapal-v-el-u-n pes tšnami zinvor-ner-ě
 gate-DAT throw-down-pass-INF-DAT-the POST enemy soldier-PL.NOM-the
ners xuz'-ec'in.
 inside rush-AOR.3.PL
 “Just as the gate was thrown down, the hostile soldiers rushed inside.”
- (580) Մեկնելուց առաջ դեսպանը հունվարի 6-ին կայցելի Մայր աթոռ Սուրբջմիածին:
 (Armenpress 05.01.2005)
meknel-uc' ašaj despan-ě hunvar-i 6-i-n
 depart-INF-ABL POST ambassador.NOM-the January-DAT 6-DAT-the
kayc'el-i Mayr Atoš Surb Ĕjmiacin.
 visit-COND.FUT.3.SG. Mother See Holy Ĕjmiacin.NOM
 “Before he will depart the ambassador will visit the Mother See of Holy Ĕjmiacin on January 6th.”
- (581) Ֆրանկֆուրտում մրցանակը ստանալուց առաջ թուրք գրողը խախտել է ավելի քան վեցամսյա լռությունը: (Armenpress 25.10.2005)
Frankfurt-um mrc'anak-ě stanal-uc' ašaj t'urk' grot-ě
 Frankfurt-LOC award.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL POST Turkish writer.NOM-the
xaxt-el ē aveli k'an vec'amsya l'ut'yun-ě.
 break-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) Հայաստանում երկար փնտրելուց հետո միայն կարողացել է գտնել բանակից զորացրված որդուն: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)
Hayastan-um erkar p'ntrel-uc' heto miayn karolac'-el ē
 Armenia-LOC long search-INF-ABL POST only can-PTCP.PERF. he is
gtn-el banak-ic' zorac'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.”

- (583) Որոշ ժամանակ ճգնողական կյանքով ապրելուց հետո Գրիգորը վերադառնում է Նազիանոս: (Armenpress 29.01.2006)

oroš žamanak čgnolakan kyank'-ov aprel-uc' heto Grigor-ě
 certain time.NOM eremit life-INST live-INF-ABL POST Grigor.NOM-the
veradařn-um ē Nazianz.
 return-PTCP.PRES. he is Nazianz.NOM

“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 *k'an* “than...”. They are formed with the infinitive in the dative and the postposition փոխարեն *p'oxaren* “instead of”. In written language, this comparative infinitive construction is also separated from the main clause with a *short stop*.

- (584) Ավելի լավ սոված մնամ՝ նրա երդումին հավատալու փոխարեն:

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 լավ սոված մնամ, քան թե հավատամ նրա երդումին:

aveli lav sovac mn-am k'an t'e 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) Փորձելով ազատվել դատավորի ձեռքից՝ մանուկն ուժգին հարվածում է նրան: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

p'orjel-ov azat-v-el datavor-i jerk'-ic' manuk'-n užgin
 try-INF-INST free-refl-INF judge-DAT hand-ABL child.NOM-the strongly

harvac-um ē nran.
hit-PTCP.PRES. it is he.DAT

“Trying to free himself from the judge’s hand, the boy strongly hits him.”

- (586) a. Մանուկն ուժգին հարվածում է դատավորին, որ ազատվի նրա ձեռքից:
Manuk-n użgin harvac-um ē datavor-i-n
boy.NOM-the strongly hit-PTCP.PRES. he is judge-DAT-the
or azat-v-i nra jeřk’-ic’.
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 *որ* or “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) Վահանը գիտեր ընկերոջ հոր ծանր հիվանդ լինելը: (Hayoc’ Lezu 8:90)
Vahan-ě git-er ěnker-oj hor canr hivand
Vahan.NOM-the know-IMP.3.SG friend-DAT father-DAT seriously ill
linel-ě.
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. Վահանը գիտեր որ ընկերոջ հայրը ծանր հիվանդ էր:
Vahan-ě giter or ěnker-oj hayr-ě
Vahan.NOM-the know-IMP.3.SG CONJ friend-DAT father.NOM-the
canr hivand ěr.
seriously ill he was
“Vahan knew that his friend’s father was seriously ill.”

- (587) Նա պատմում էր մի քանի օր առաջ իր նախկին ընկերներից մեկին՝ Գիրգորին, տեսած լինելու մասին: (Hayoc' Lezu 9:156)

na patm-um ēr mi k'ani ōr aʔaʃ ir naxkin
 he.NOM tell-PTCP.PRES. he was some day.NOM POST his former
ēnker-ner-ic' mek-i-n Grigor-i-n tes-ac linel-u masin.
 friend-PL-ABL one-DAT-the Grigor-DAT-the see-PTCP.RES. be-INF-DAT POST
 “He mentioned that a he saw one of his former friends, Grigor, a few days ago.”

- (588) Երկօրյա քննարկումների ընթացքում մասնակիցներից ոչ ոք չխոսեց սահմանադրական բարեփոխումների անհրաժեշտ չլինելու մասին: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

erkōrya k'namkum-ner-i ēnt'ac'k'um masnacic'-ner-ic' oč' ok'
 two day debate-PL-DAT POST participant-PL-ABL nobody.NOM
č'-xosec' sahmanadrakan barepòxum-ner-i anhražešt
 neg-speak-AOR.3.SG constitutional reform-PL-DAT necessary
č'-linel-u masin.
 neg-be-INF-DAT POST

“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 Negation³¹²

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 չ- *č'* 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 ոչ *oč'*, 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

312. Bernini, Payne 1985: 197–242; Dahl 1979: 79–106; Croft 1991: 1–27; Dryer 1988: 93–124; Payne 1997: 282–294.

- 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 *ոչ ո՞չ* “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 *չէ չե՞* “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 *չ- չ’-*. (neg-V)

(589) Կողմերը համաձայնության էին եկել շենքից մարդ չծերբակալել: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

kołm-er-ě hamajaynut’yan ěin ek-el řenk’-ic’
 side-PL.NOM-the agreement-DAT they were come-PTCP.PERF. building-ABL
mard č’-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 *չ- չ’-*. (neg-V)

(590) Գոլերը խփել են Գրիգորյանը և Թադևոսյանը, բայց այդ հաղթանակը, սակայն, չփոխեց «Փյունկի» վիճակը: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

gol-er-ě xp’-el en Grigoryan-ě ew
 goal-PL.NOM-the hit-PTCP.PERF. they are Grigoryan.NOM-the CONJ
T’adewosyan-ě bayc’ ayd halt’anak-ě sakayn
 T’adewosyan.NOM-the CONJ that victory.NOM-the CONJ
č’-p’ox-ec’ P’yunki” vičak-ě.
 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) Ուստի տվյալ երկրամասում այդ ժամանակվանից հայեր չէին ապրում:
(Azg 10.01.2006)

usti tvyal erkramas-um ayd žamanak-vanic' hay-er
CONJ give-PTCP.PERF. world's part-LOC that time-ABL Armenian-PL.NOM
č'-ēin apr-um.
neg-they were live-PTCP.PRES.

“Therefore since that time Armenians did not live in the given part of the world.”

(592) Երևանում էլ չեմ կարող այնպիսի գործ գտնել, որ գոնե ճանապարհածախսի գումարի հարցը լուծեն: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Erewan-um ēl č'-em karot aynpisi gorc gtn-el
Yerevan-LOC also neg-I am can-PTCP.PRES. such work.NOM find-INF
or gone čanaparhacaxs-i gumar-i harc'-ě
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 կնոջս հետ չեմ, բայց բաժանված չեմ: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

2004-ic' knoj-s het č'-em bayc' bažan-v-ac č'-em.
2004-ABL wife-DAT-my POST neg-I am CONJ divorce-pass-PTCP.RES. 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 Մի՛ *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 պիտի or պետք 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 չպիտի հանձնվեմ, պիտի պայքարեմ: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Bayc' č'-piti handjn-v-em piti paykar-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.”

- (595) Բոլորը պետք է լինեն աղքատ և հավասարապես աղքատ, և երկրում հարուստներ չպետք է լինեն: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Bolor-ě petk' ē lin-en alkāt ew havasarapes alkāt ew
 all.NOM-the be-DEB.FUT.3.PL poor CONJ equally poor CONJ
erkr-um harust-ner č'-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) Եթե նրանց հաջողվի լուծել դարաբաղյան հարցը, ապա ԱՄՆ-ն և ՆԱՏՕ-ն առիթ չեն ունենա Ադրբեջան թափանցելու համար:
 (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Et'e nranc' haǰot'-v-i luc-el ĩarabalyan
 CONJ they.DAT succeed-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG solve-INF Karabakh
harč'-ě apa AMN-n ew NATŌ-n ařit
 problem.NOM-the then USA.NOM-the CONJ NATO.NOM-the opportunity.NOM
č'-en unen-a Ađrbeǰan t'apančel-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) Վարդանը կարդում է ԱԶԳ թերթը:

Vardan-ě kard-um ē AZG tert'-ě.
 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. Վարդանը ԱԶԳ թերթը չի կարդում:

Vardan-ě AZG tert'-ě č'-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 մի *mi*. The verbal form following this prohibitive particle is preferably the imperative form.

- (598) Ուտելիս մի խոսիր:
Utel-is mi xos-ir!
 eat-PTCP.PROC. neg speak-IMP.2.SG
 “Do not speak when you eat!”

- (599) Մի անհանգստացիր:
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 ոչ *oč'*; i.e. the particle immediately precedes the constituent to be negated.

The negation of a constituent does not trigger change in word order.

- (600) Իսկ ի՞նչն է ստիպել Քոչարյանին զնալ այս ակնհայտորեն ոչ ամենալավ լուծմանը:
 (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
isk inč'-n ē stip-el Koč'aryan-i-n gn-al
 CONJ wh-what-the it is force-PTCP.PERF. Koč'aryan-DAT-the go-INF
ays aknahaytoren oč' amenalav lucman-ě?
 this obviously neg best solution-DAT-the
 “And what has forced Koč'aryan to follow this obviously not-best solution?” (Negative scope on the modifying adjective in the superlative)

- (601) Հարցումներն անցկացվել են 18–30 տարեկան, տարբեր բուհերում սովորող 100 ուսանողների և ևս 100 ոչ ուսանողների շրջանում: (Azg 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-oł 1000
 different institution of higher education-LOC study-PTCP.SUB. 1000
usanoł-ner-i ew ews 100 oč' usanoł-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) Բայց հարցն այն է, որ ոչ բարձր աշխատավարձը նպաստում է կոռուպցիայի զարգացմանը:
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 kořupc'ia-yi zargač'man-ě.
 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) Գյուղապետը գյուղի երաժշտական դպրոցում մեթոդիստ է նշանակել ոչ մասնագետ իր կնոջը: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)
gyulapet-ě gyul-i eražštakan dproc'-um metodist
 village's mayor.NOM-the village-DAT music school.NOM methodician.NOM
ē nšanak-el oč' masnaget ir knoř-ě.
 he is appoint-PTCP.PERF. 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 բայց *bayc'*, այլ *ayl* (the latter more frequently used in spoken Armenian) “but” are used.

- (604) Անին ձուկ չի ուտում, (բայց)/այլ՝ միս:
Ani-n juk č'-i ut-um bayc'/ayl mis.
 Ani.NOM-the fish.NOM neg-she is eat-PTCP.PRES. CONJ meat.NOM
 “Ani does not eat fish, but meat.”
- (605) Վարդանը նամակ գրել չի սիրում, այլ՝ կարդալ:
Vardan-ě namak gr-el č'-i sir-um
 Vardan.NOM-the letter.NOM write-INF neg-he is love-PTCP.PRES.
ayl kard-al.
 CONJ read-INF
 “Vardan does not like to write letters, but to read.”

(606) Շուշանը չի գնում դպրոց, այլ՝ իր քույրը:

Šušan-ě č'-i gn-um dproc' ayl ir k'uyr-ě.
 Šušan.NOM-the neg-she is go-PTCP.PRES. school CONJ her sister.NOM-the
 “Not Šušan goes to school, but her sister.”

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 *ոչ թե* *oč' t'e*, the second is put into contrast by means of an adversative conjunction *այլ* *ayl*. The verb is not negated.

(604) a. Անին ոչ թե ձուկ է ուտում, այլ՝ միս:

Ani-n oč' t'e juk ē ut-um ayl mis.
 Ani.NOM-the neg fish.NOM she is eat-PTCP.PRES. CONJ meat.NOM
 “Ani does not eat fish, but meat.”

b. Coordinated Negation

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 *ոչ* *oč'* precedes each of the affirmative coordinated constituents. Double negation does not occur here.

(607) Որ ապրում էր իժերի և քարբերի մեջ, որտեղ ո՛չ գրուցակից կար, ո՛չ վշտակցող քարեկան, ո՛չ օգնական, ո՛չ մխիթարող և ո՛չ ծառայող: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

or apr-um ēr iž-er-i ew k'arb-er-i mej
 REL.NOM live-PTCP.PRES. he was donkey-PL-DAT CONJ viper-PL-DAT POST
ortel oč' zruc'akic k-ar oč' vštakc-ot barekam
 wh-where neg mate.NOM exist-IMP.3.SG neg care-PTCP.SUB. friend.NOM
oč' oğnakan oč' mxit'ar-ot ew oč' cafa-y-ot.
 neg assistant.NOM neg comfort-PTCP.SUB. CONJ neg serve-PTCP.SUB.

“Who lived among donkeys and vipers, where there was neither a mate, nor a caring friend, nor an assistant, nor a comforting nor a serving (person)?”

(Coordinated negative nouns in the subject function in the subordinated relative clause)

(608) Հիմա իմ մասին տեղեկություն չունի, արդեն քանի տարի է իրար հետ կապ չունենք՝ ո՛չ գրում ենք, ո՛չ զանգում: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Hima im masin telekut'yun č'-un-i arden
 now I.GEN POST information.NOM neg-have-PRES.1.SG already
k'ani tari ē irar het kap
 wh-how many year.NOM it is each other POST connection.NOM

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 *նչ մի oč' mi* “no”) or with indefinite pronouns.

Ontological Groups

- person: *նչ ոք oč' ok'* “nobody”; *նչ մեկը oč' mekë* “no one”
- thing: *նչինչ oč' inc'* “nothing”; *նչ մեկը oč' mekë* “not one/nothing”
- place: *նչ մի տեղ oč' mi tel* “nowhere”³¹³
- time: *երբեք erbek* “never”

The pronouns denoting person and thing are used in the primary pronominal function, the negative quantifier *նչ մի oč' mi* “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) Յանկացած փախստականի հարցրեք, ոչ ոք չի ասի, թե վատ է ասրել: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

c'ankac'-ac p'axstakan-i harc'r-ek' oč' ok' č'-i as-i
 ish-PTCP.RES. refugee-DAT ask-IMP.2.PL nobody.NOM neg-he is say-PTCP.NEG
t'è vat ē 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 *նչ մի oč' mi* “no” and the noun *տեղ tel* “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) Առայժմ ժյուրիի անդամները չեն ծանոթացել ուղարկված ստեղծագործությունների և ոչ մեկի հետ: (Armenpress 12.12.2005)

ařayřm řyuri-i andam-ner-ě ř-en canot'ac'-el
 at present jury-DAT member-PL.NOM-the neg-they are acquainted-PTCP.PERF.
ulark-v-ac stelcagorcutyun-ner-i ew oř mek-i het.
 send-pass-PTCP.RES. creation-PL-DAT CONJ nobody-DAT POST
 “At present the members of the jury have not got acquainted with creations submitted and with anybody.”

- (611) Գրքում զետեղված նյութերից ոչ մեկը չի հերքվել: (Armenpress 17.11.2005)

Grk'-um zetel'-v-ac nyut'-er-ic' oř mek-ě
 book-LOC insert-pass-PTCP.RES. material-PL-ABL nothing.NOM-the
ř-i herk'-v-el.
 neg-it is deny-pass-PTCP.PERF.
 “Nothing (none) of the materials inserted in the book has been denied.”

- (612) Այս հարցում ես չեմ տեսնում ոչ մի դրական փոփոխություն:
 (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Ays harc'-um es ř-em tesn-um oř mi drakan řop'uxut'yun.
 this issue-LOC I.NOM neg-I am see-PTCP.PRES. no positive change.NOM
 “In this issue I don't see positive change.”

- (613) Այն գտնվում է քաղաքի ծայրամասում, որտեղ ոչ մի աշխատանք չկա:
 (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

ayn gtn-v-um ē k'alak-i cayramas-um ortel oř mi
 that.NOM find-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is town-DAT outskirts-LOK wh-where no
ařxatank' ř-ka.
 work.NOM neg-exist- PRES.3.SG.
 “That is located in the outskirts of the town, where there is no work.”

- (614) Այստեղ կա այն, ինչ չկա ուրիշ ոչ մի տեղ: (Armenpress 16.12.2005)

aystel ka ayn inc' ř-ka uriř oř mi tel.
 here exist-PRES.3.SG. that wh-what neg-exist-PRES.3.SG other neg INDEF place.NOM
 “Here there exists that which does not exist in another place.”

- (615) Աշխարհում ոչ մի տեղ թերթերը չեն գոյատևում տպաքանակի հաշվին, այլ՝ գովազդի: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)

ařxarh-um oř mi tel tert'-er-ě ř-en goyatew-um
 world-LOC nowhere newspaper-PL.NOM-the neg-they are survive-PTCP.PRES.
tpakanak-i hařv-i-n ayl govazd-i.
 circulation-DAT account-DAT-the CONJ advertisement-DAT
 “The newspapers survive nowhere in the world not on the account of their circulation, but of advertisement.”

- (616) Փափուկ պապն ասում է, որ գիրքը երբեք տնից դուրս չի հանել:
(Hetk' 22.01.2007)

P'ap'ul pap-n as-um ē or girk'-ē erbek'
P'ap'ul grandpa.NOM-the say-PTCP.PRES. he is CONJ book.NOM-the never
tn-ic' durs č-i han-el.
house-ABL out neg-he is take-PTCP.PERF.

“P'ap'ul's grandpa says that he has never taken this book out of the house.”

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 *un-* *t-*, *ան-* *an-*, *դժ-* *dž-*, of which *ան-* *an-* is the most productive one.

For nouns usually *ան-* *an-* is used, particularly for abstract nouns. (For details see Ch. 4.1.1. “Prefixes”, p. 647)

- (617) Իսկ տհաճ իրավիճակից ելքը գտնվել է Բելառուսի շնորհիվ:
(Armenpress 20.05.2006)

isk t-hač iravič'ak-ič' elk'-ē gnt-v-el ē
CONJ un-pleasant situation-ABL exit.NOM-the find-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
Belaruš-i šnorhiv.
Belarus-DAT POST

“And the resort from this unpleasant situation was found thanks to Belarus.”

- (618) Այս ընթացքում կորոշեմ՝ մնալ անկուսակցակա՞ն, թե՞ անդամակցել որևէ
կուսակցության: (A'rvot 07.04.2006)

ays ěnt'ac'k'-um koroš-em mn-al an-kusakč'akan t'ē
this course-LOC decide-COND.FUT.1.SG remain-INF un-party member CONJ
andamakc'-el orewē kusakc'ut'y-an.
become member-INF any party-DAT

“In this course I will decide to remain a non-party member or to become a member of any party.”

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 *քան* *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) Արարատը ավելի բարձր է քան Արագածը:

Ararat-ĕ aveli barjr ē k'an Aragac-ĕ.
 Ararat.NOM-the more high it is COMP Aragac-ĕ
 M ADJ Standard

“Ararat is higher than Aragac.” (M-A-S)

(619) a. Արարատը Արագածից (ավելի) բարձր է:

Ararat-ĕ Aragac'-ic' (aveli) barjr ē.
 Ararat.NOM-the Aragac-ABL (COMP) high it is
 Standard (M) ADJ

“Ararat is higher than Aragac.” (S- (M) -A)

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. Անին Արամից ավելի լավ 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, հնարավոր չէ առաջարկել ԵԱՀԿ Մինսկի խմբից ավելի արդյունավետ ձևաչափ: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)
nra karcik'-ov hnaravor č'-ē aʀaǰark-el EAHK Minski-i
 his opinion-INST possible neg-it is propose-INF OSCE Minsk-DAT
xmb-ic' aveli ardyunavet jewačap'.
 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 *քան k'an* construction is exclusively accepted in such constructions.

- (627) Անցած երկու ամիսների ընթացքում 27 տոկոսով ավելի գործարքներ են կատարվել, քան նախորդ տարվա նույն ժամանակահատվածում:
 (Aʀavot 06.04.2006)
ancac' erku amis-ner-i ěnʔac'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 žamanakahatvac-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.”

- (628) Հայաստանի գիտությունը ներկայումս շատ ավելի տարողունակ է, քան կարող է «մարտել» Հայաստանի արդյունաբերությունը: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

Hayastan-i gitut'yun-ě nerkayums šat aveli taroḥunak ē
 Armenia-DAT science.NOM-the now INT more capacious it is
kān kar-oł ē mars-el Hayastan-i ardyunaberut'yun-ě.
 COMP can-PTCP.PRES. it is digest-INF Armenia-DAT industry.NOM-the
 “Armenia’s science is nowadays much more capacious than Armenia’s industry can “digest”.”

2. Correlative Comparatives

Correlative comparatives are formed by using correlative expressions, and are very similar to correlative relatives.

- (629) Սրանց վախեցնում է ոչ այնքան ճանաչման խնդիրը, որքան դրա հետևանքները: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

nranč' vaxe-c'n-um ē oč' aynk'an čanač'm-an
 they.DAT fear-caus-PTCP.PRES. it is neg as much recognition-DAT
xndir-ě ork'an dra hetewank²-ner-ě.
 question.NOM-the as much its consequence-PL.NOM-the

“It is not the question of recognition but rather its consequences that make them fear.”

- (630) Ներկայումս Թուրքիայում ապրում է այնքան վրացի, որքան բուն Վրաստանում: (Armenpress 23.05.2006)

nerkayums Tur'kia-yum apr-um ē aynk'an vrac'i
 nowadays Turkey-LOC live-PTCP.PRES. it is as much Georgian.NOM
ork'an bun Vrastan-um.
 as much real Georgia-LOC

“Nowadays as many Georgians live in Turkey as in Georgia itself.”

- (631) Սրանց համար կսահմանվի նույնքան սոցվճար, որքան այսօր վճարում է անհատ ձեռնարկատերը: (Armenpress 17.12.2005)

nranč' hamar ksaḥman-v-i nuynk'an
 they.DAT POST limit-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG same much
soc'včar ork'an aysōr včar-um ē
 social contribution.NOM as much today pay-PTCP.PRES. he is
anhat jeḥnarkater-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 *ամենա-* *amena-* 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. Անին ամենագեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:
Ani-n amena-gelec'ik al'jik-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 *ամենից* *amenic'* i.e. of all to the positive form of the adjective.

- (632) b. Անին ամենից գեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:
Ani-n amenic' gelec'ik all'jik-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; (632b) is more literary.

An important feature of the nominal standard of superlative construction is that it is obligatorily definite.

- (633) ԱՄՆ-ն ՀՀ-ն համարում է տարածաշրջանի ամենակայուն երկիրը:
AMN-n HH-n hamar-um ē taracašrjan-i
 USA.NOM-the RA.NOM-the regard-PTCP.PRES. it is region-DAT
amena-kayun erkir-ě.
 most stable country.NOM-the
 “The US regards the Republic of Armenia as the most stable country of the region.”

- (634) Հայաստանում ամենամեծ ազգային փոքրամասնությունը եզդիներն են.
 (Hetk' 19.02.2006)
Hayastan-um amena-mec azgayin pòkramasnut'yun-ě
 Armenia-LOC most-big ethnic minority.NOM-the
ezdi-ner-n en.
 yesidi-PL.NOM-the they are
 “In Armenia, the Yesidis are the biggest ethnic minority.”

- (635) Ըստ հայ ակադեմիկոսների ու պատմաբանների՝ այս տեսակետն ամենից նորն ու ծիծաղելին է: (Armenpress 27.12.2005)

ěst hay akademikos-ner-i u patmaban-ner-i ays
 PREP Armenian academician-PL-DAT CONJ historian-PL-DAT this
tesaket-n amenic' nor-n u cicaleli-n ě.
 viewpoint.NOM-the all-ABL new.NOM-the CONJ risible.NOM-the it is
 “According to Armenian academicians and historians that viewpoint is the newest and most risible.”

3. Equatives³¹⁴

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 similitive 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.

- (636) Քույրս այնպես գեղեցիք է ինչպես դու:

k'-uyr-s aynpes gelec'ik' ě inč'pes du.
 sister.NOM-the as beautiful she is as you.NOM
 Comparee PAM beautiful STM Standard
 “My sister is as beautiful as you.”

In specific equative constructions MEA uses the relative-based, canonical construction with a separate parameter and standard marker, i.e. այնպեսինչպես *aynpes....inč'pes* “as....as”. These markers are preferably used with qualitative adjectives.

In equatives denoting quantity, այնքան *aynk'an* is used as the parameter and ինչքան *inč'kan* as the standard marker. These markers are usually combined with quantitative expressions but also with qualitative adjectives expressing dimension.

314. Haspelmath, Buchholz 1998: 277–334; Henkelmann 2006:370–398.

- (637) Արմենը այնքան գրքեր ունի, որքան (ինչքան)՝ ես:

Armen-ě 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) Եղբոր մեծ աղջիկը արդեն այնքան բոյով է ինչքան իր մայրը:

Elbor aljik-ě arden aynk'an boyov ē inč'k'an
 brother-DAT daughter.NOM-the already as much tall she is as much
 Comparee PAM STM

ir mayr-ě.
 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 *aynč'ap'* and the standard marker ինչչափ *inčč'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 նման *nman* or պես *pes* “like” and the standard in the dative case. This is the same construction as in similatives (see below).

- (639) Քույրս քեզ նման գեղեցիկ է:

K'uyr-s k'ez nman gelec'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) a. Արմենը իմ չափ գրքեր ունի:

Armen-ě 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) a. Քույրս քո չափ գեղեցիկ է:

k'uyr-s k'o č'ap' gelec'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 չափ *čap*, 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).³¹⁵

- In generic equative constructions the postpositions պես *pes* or չափ *čap* are used as markers. In generic equatives the standards do not have a specific reference, but refers to a class generically.

(640) Այս լոլիկը ձիթապտուղի պես փոքր է:

ays lolik-ě jit'aptul-i pes pòk'r ē.
 this tomato.NOM-the olive-DAT POST small it is
 “This tomato is (as) small as an olive.”

- 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. ինչպես *inč'pes* “as, like”.

(641) Այս տղան գրում է այնպես, ինչպես իր մայրն է խոսում:

ays tla-n gr-um ě aynpes inč'pes ir mayr-n
 this boy.NOM-the write-PTCP.PRES. he is like as his mother.NOM-the
 PAM STM

ē xos-um.
 she is speak-PTCP.PRES.
 “This boy writes like his mother talks.”

4. Similitives

Similitive phrases usually consist of a similitive marker meaning “like” and a standard, which together function as a kind of manner adverbial of the verb, answering the question “in what way?”

Similitive markers are the postpositions պես *pes* and նման *nman*, both co-occurring with the dative on nouns and pronouns; պես *pes* is more often used in colloquial MEA. The similitive marker can also be used predicatively.

(642) Կինն էլ սիրում է նրան հարազատի պես և ուրախությամբ կորդեգրեր նրան:
 (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

kin-n ēl sir-um ē nran harazat-i pes ew
 wife.NOM-the also love-PTCP.PRES. she is he.DAT relative-DAT POST CONJ

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.”

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) Քրիուկացիներն էլ հայերի նման մեծ դեր են վերապահում իրենց ընտանիքին և տանը: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

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' ěntanik'-i-n ew t-an-ě.
 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 similitive 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 similitive phrases, but as propositional adverbials.

- (644) Վարդանը խժռում է ձիու նման:

Vardan-ě xžř-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 որպես *orpes* or իբրև *ibrew* “as, like”.

- (645) Ես՝ որպես նախագահ, յուրաքանչյուրիդ հաղթանակը համարում եմ իմ անձնական հաղթանակը: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

es orpes naxagah yurakanč'yur-i-d halt'anak-ě
 I.NOM as president.NOM each-DAT-your victory.NOM-the

hamar-um em im anjnakan halt'anak-ě.
 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) Մենք ճանաչում ենք Հայաստանն իբրև ինքնիշխան պետություն: (Aravot 06.04.2006)

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 *ասել* *asel* “to say”, *խոսել* *xosel* “to speak”, *հարցնել* *harc’nel* “to ask”, *պատասխանել* *patasxanel* “to answer”, *առարկել* *a’arkel* “to argue”, *մտածել* *mtacel* “to think”, *նկատել* *nkatel* “to notice; to remark”, *գոռալ* *goral* “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 *որ* *or* in case of affirmative sentences or with the subordinating conjunction *թե՛* *t’e* in case of interrogative sentences. *թե՛ t’e* is particularly often used introducing interrogative sentences with interrogative pronouns but it also serves to introduce reported speech clauses governed by certain verbs.

- (647) Ասում են, որ նա էլ գյուղում չի բնակվում, ապրում և աշխատում է Վարդենիսում:
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

As-um en or na ēl gyul-um č’-i
say-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ he.NOM also village-LOC neg-he is
bnak-v-um apr-um ew ašxat-um ē Vardenis-um.
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) Վերջում նրանք խմբի ղեկավարին հարցրել են, թե հնարավո՞ր է տղային որդեգրել: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

Verjum nrank’ xmb-i lekavar-i-n harc’r-el en
finally they.NOM group-DAT leader-DAT-the ask-PTCP.PERF. they are
t’e hnaravor ē tla-yi-n ordegr-el.
CONJ 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...)

- (649) Արմեն Ռուստամյանի հետ զրույցում փորձեցինք պարզել, թե ի՞նչ նպատակ է հետապնդում այդ քայլը: (A՛ravot 05.04.2006)

Armen Rustamyan-i het zruyc'-um p'orjec'ink'
 Armen Rustamyan-DAT POST conversation-LOC try-AOR.1.PL
parz-el t'e inc' npatak ē hetapnd-um
 clear up-INF CONJ wh-which aim.NOM he is pursue-PTCP.PRES.
ayd k'ayl-ě.
 that step.NOM-the

“We tried to clear up in the talk with Armen R^ustamyan, which aim pursues that step.”

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.

- (650) -Ես քեզ ստեղծեցի կրակից, իսկ Ադամին՝ հողից, – ասաց Աստված Լիլիթին:

es kez stelc-eč'i krak-ic' isk Adam-i-n hol-ic'
 I.NOM you.DAT create-AOR.1.SG. fire-ABL CONJ Adam-DAT-the earth-ABL
as-ac' Astvac Lilit'-in.
 say-AOR.3.SG God.NOM Lilit'-DAT-the

“I created you from fire, but Adam from earth.” said God to Lilith.

- (650) a. Աստված Լիլիթին ասաց, որ ինքը նրան ստեղծել է կրակից, իսկ Ադամին՝ հողից: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:110)

Astvac Lilit'-i-n as-ac' or inkě
 God.NOM Lilit'-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG. CONJ he.NOM
nran stelc-el ē krak-ic' isk
 she.DAT create-PTCP.PERF. he is fire-ABL CONJ
Adam-i-n hol-ic'.
 Adam-DAT-the earth-ABL

“God said to Lilith that he had created her from fire, but Adam from earth.

- (651) Սակայն վերջին այցելության ժամանակ մայրիկն ասաց, որ նրան տեղափոխում են Գավառի մանկատուն, քանի որ նա ունի մեկ այլ նորածին երեխա և չի կարող պահել իրենց երկուսին: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

Sakayn verjin ayçelut'yan žamanak mayrik-n as-ac'
 CONJ last vist-DAT time.NOM mother-dim.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG
or nran telap'ox-um en Gavař-i mankatun
 CONJ he.DAT move-PTCP.PRES. they are Gavař-DAT children'shome.NOM
kani or na un-i mek ayl noracin erexa ew
 CONJ she.NOM have-PRES.3.SG another new-born child.NOM CONJ
č-i kar-oł 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 կյանքովս Ձեզ եմ պարտական,»- ասաց զինվորը:

es kyank'-ov-s jez em partakan as-ac' zinvor-ě.
 I.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. Զինվորը ասաց, որ ինքը իր կյանքովը նրան է պարտական:

Zinvor-ě as-ac' or ink'ě ir kyank'-ov-ě nran
 soldier.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ he.NOM his life-INST-the he.DAT
ē partakan.
 he is obliged.

“The soldier said that he was obliged to him with his life.”

- (653) Տիգրանն ասաց. «Ես շատ եմ ուզում իմանալ, թե Դուք ինչ գիտեք:»

Tigran-n as-ac' Es šat em uz-um
 Tigran.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG I.NOM much I am want-PTCP.PRES.
iman-al tē Duk' inč' 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. Տիգրանն ասաց, որ ինքը շատ է ուզում իմանալ թե նա ինչ գիտի:

Tigran-n as-ac' or ink'ě šat ē
 Tigran.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ he.NOM much he is
uz-um iman-al tē na inč' 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) - Նոր մեքենա կգնեն, – ասացի քեզ:

nor mekëna kgn-em as-ac'i këz.
 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. Ես քեզ ասացի, որ կգնեն նոր մեքենա:

es këz as-ac'i or kgn-em nor mekëna.
 I.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) – Ես քեզ երբեք չեմ մոռանա,- հաճախ էիր ինձ ասում:

es këz erbek' č-em mořan-a hačax ëir
 I.NOM you.DAT never neg-I am forget-PTCP.NEG often you were
inj as-um.
 I.DAT say-PTCP.PRES.

“‘I will never forget you,’ you told me often.”

- (655) a. Ինձ հաճախ էիր ասում որ ինձ երբեք չես մոռանա:

inj hačax ëir as-um or inj erbek'
 I.DAT often youwere say-PTCP.PRES. CONJ I.DAT never
č-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 *ays* “this”, այսպիսի *ayspisi* “such a”, այսքան *ayskan* “so much”, այստեղ *aystel* “here”, սույն *suyn* “same” (proximal deixis) of the direct speech clause turn into այդ *ayd* “that”, այդպիսի *aydpisi* “such a”, այդքան *aydkan* “that much”, այդտեղ *aydtel* “there”, նույն *nuyn* “same” (distal deixis) in reported speech clause.

- (656) -Այստեղ, այս ժամին է վճռվում հայրենիքի բախտը, - ասաց զորավարը ռազմիկներին: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:111)

aystel ays žam-i-n ë včř-v-um hayrenik'-i
 here this hour-DAT-the it is decide-pass-PTCP.PRES. fatherland-DAT
baxt-ě as-ac' zoravar-ě řazmik-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.”

- (656) a. Ջորավարը ռազմիկներին ասաց, որ այդտեղ, այդ ժամին է վճռվում հայրենիքի բախտը: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 111)

zoravar-ě *řazmik-ner-i-n* *as-ac'* *or* *aydtel'*
 commander.NOM-the soldier-PL-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG. CONJ there
ayd *řam-i-n* *ē* *včř-v-um* *hayrenik'-i*
 that time-DAT-the it is decide-pass-PTCP.PRES. fatherland-DAT
baxt-ě.
 destiny.NOM-the

“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.

- (657) - Բոլորը միասին ինձ հետ երգեցե՛ք, – գոչեց ուսուցիչը: (Hayoc' lezu 8:113)

bolor-d *miasin* *inj* *het* *ergec'-ek'*
 all.NOM-you together I.DAT POST sing-IMP.2.PL
goč'-ec' *usuc'ič'-ě*.
 shout-AOR.3.SG teacher.NOM-the

“You all sing together with me!” shouted the teacher.

- (657) a. Ուսուցիչը գոչեց որ բոլորը միասին երգեն իր հետ:

usuc'ič'-ě *goč'-ec'* *or* *bolor-ě* *miasin*
 teacher.NOM-the shout-AOR.3.SG CONJ all.NOM-the together
erg-en *ir* *het*.
 sing-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL she.GEN POST

“The teacher shouted that all should sing together with her.”

- (658) – Մի՛ զարմանաք,- ասաց ծեր ծովայինը:

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. Ծեր ծովայինը ասաց որ չզարմանան: (Hayoc' lezu 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) Ասացի. «Ի՞նչ կասես, մայր, երբ տեսնես, թե որքան շատ հատապտուղ 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'ë 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. Ասացի, թե ինչ կասի մայրս, երբ տեսնի, թե որքան շատ հատապտուղ եմ բերել:

asac'i t'ë inč' kas-i mayr-s
 say-AOR.1.SG CONJ wh-what say-COND.FUT.3.SG mother.NOM-my
erb tesn-i t'ë 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) Հարցոյց. «Արքայ, ո՞ւր է իմ ոսկին»

harcʻr-ecʻ Arkà ur ē im oski-n?
ask-AOR.3.SG king-NOM wh-where it is my gold.NOM-the
He asked: “King, where is my gold?”

(660) a. Հարցոյց արքային, թե ո՞ւր է իր ոսկին:

harcʻr-ec arkàyin tʻe ur ē ir oski-n.
ask-AOR.3.SG king-DAT-the CONJ wh-where it is his gold.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 ո՞ւր ես գնում, աղջիկս, - հարցոյց հայրը:

Du ur es gn-um aljik-s
you.NOM wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. girl.NOM-my
harcʻr-ecʻ hayr-ě.
ask-AOR.3.SG father.NOM-the

“(You) Where are you going to, my girl?” asked the father.

(661) a. Հայրը հարցոյց, թե նա ուր է գնում:

Hayr-ě harcʻr-ecʻ tʻe na ur
father.NOM-the ask-AOR.3.SG CONJ she.NOM wh-where
ē gn-um.
she is go-PTCP.PRES.
“The father asked where she was going to.”

(662) Մայրը որդուն գրում էր.«Տղաս, քո գալուն եմ ես անհամբեր սպասում:»

Mayr-ě ord-u-n gr-um ēr. Tla-s kò
mother.NOM-the son-DAT-the write-PTCP.PRES. she was boy.NOM-my your
gal-u-n em es anhamber spas-um.
come-INF-DAT-the I am I.NOM impatiently wait-PTCP.PRES.

The mother wrote to her son: “My boy, I am waiting impatiently on your arrival.”

(662) a. Մայրը որդուն գրում էր, որ նրա գալուն անհամբեր սպասում է:

Mayr-ě ord-u-n gr-um ēr or nra
mother.NOM-the son-DAT-the write-PTCP.PRES. she was CONJ his
gal-u-n anhamber spas-um ē.
come-INF-DAT-the 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.

- (664) Քրիստոսի գալը
K'ristos-i gal-ě
 Christ-DAT come-INF.NOM-the
 “The coming of Christ”
- (665) հաջորդ գնացքի ժամանելը
hajord gnac'k-i žaman-el-ě
 next train-DAT arrive-INF.NOM-the
 “The arrival (arriving) of the next train”
- (666) շան հաչալը
š-an hač'-al-ě
 dog-DAT bark-INF.NOM-the
 “The barking of the dog”
- (667) փոթորքի ավերելը
p'ot'ork'-i aver-el-ě
 storm-DAT destroy-INF.NOM-the
 “The destruction created by the storm”
- (668) Նրա մասին մինչ ձեր այստեղ գալը շատ էին խոսում:
 (Armenpress 31.03.2006)
nra masin minč' jer aystel' g-al-ě šat
 he.GEN POST PREP you.GEN here come-INF.NOM-the much
ēin xos-um.
 they were speak-PTCP.PRES.
 “They were speaking a lot about him until your arrival here.”
- (669) Մեր այնտեղ չլինելը Հայաստանի շահերի դեմ կաշխատի:
 (Armenpress 15.12.2005)
mer ayntel' č'-lin-el-ě Hayastan-i šah-er-i
 we.GEN here neg-be-INF.NOM-the Armenia-DAT interest-PL-DAT
dem kašxat-i.
 POST work-COND.FUT.3.SG
 “Our not being here will work against Armenia’s interests.”

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.

- (670) երկու երեխաների հորը վարկաբեկելը ոչ բարոյապես, ոչ նյութապես չի փոխհատուցվել: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
- erku erexa-ner-i hor-ě varkabek-el-ě oč' baroyapes oč' nyut'apes č'-i p'oxahatuc'-v-el.*
 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 կարդալը
girk' kard-al-ě
 book.NOM read-INF.NOM-the
 “The reading of a book”
- (672) կրակը հանգցնելը
krak-ě hang-č'n-el-ě
 fire.NOM-the extinguish-caus-INF.NOM-the
 “The extinguishing (of) the fire”
- (673) դանակն օգտագործելը
danak-n oğtagorc-el-ě
 knife.NOM-the use-INF.NOM-the
 “The using (of) the knife.”
- (674) Մտադրությունս թուրքերի և հայերի պատմության վերաբերյալ բանավեճ սկսելը չէ: (Armenpress 18.11.2005)
- Mtadrut'yun-s t'urk'-er-i ew hay-er-i patmut'y-an*
 intention-this Turk-PL-DAT CONJ Armenian-PL-DAT history-DAT
veraberyal banaveč sks-el-ě č'-ē.
 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) Քաղաքացիություն չընդունելը մի տեսակ ընդվզում է կեղծիքի դեմ: (Hetk' 05.02.2007)
- kałakac'iut'yun č'-ëndun-el-ě mi tesak ěndvzum ē*
 citizenship.NOM neg-accept-INF.NOM-the INDEF kind.NOM revolt.NOM it is
kełcik'-i dem.
 lie-DAT POST
 “Not accepting citizenship is one kind of revolt against a lie.”

- (676) Հայաստանի կողմից Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի Հանրապետության չճանաչելը հայկական կողմի փոխզիջումն է: (Armenpress 14.12.2005)
- Hayastan-i kolmic' Leřnayin ĽarabaĽ-i Hanrapetut'y-an*
 Armenia-DAT POST Mountainous ĽarabaĽ-DAT Republic-DAT
ĉ'ĉanaĉ'-el-ě haykakan kolm-i p'oxzijum-n ě.
 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.”

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.

- (677) Հրազդանի ՋԷԿ-ի 5-րդ էներգաբլոկը ռուսական կողմին վաճառելը բխում է Հայաստանի ազգային շահերից: (Ařavot 06.04.2006)
- Hrazdan-i JĔK-i 5-ord ěnergablok-ě*
 Hrazdan-DAT HP plant-DAT fifth energy block.NOM-the
řusakan kolm-i-n vaĉar'-el-ě bx-um ě Hayastan-i
 Russian side-DAT-the sell.NOM-the result-PTCP.PRES. it is Armenia-DAT
azgayin řah-er-ic'.
 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) Բռնապետությունից ազատվելը անպայմանորեն չպետք է ուղեկցվի պետության փլուզմամբ: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
- břnapetut'yun-ic' azat-v-el-ě anpaymanoren*
 dictatorship-ABL free-refl-INF.NOM-the necessarily
ĉ'-petk' ě utekc'-v-i petut'y-an p'ľuzm-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) Այստեղ և արտասահմանում ցուցահանդեսներին մասնակցելը շատ օգտակար է: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)
- aysteĽ ew artasahman-um c'uc'ahandes-ner-i-n masnakc'el-ě*
 here CONJ abroad-LOC exhibition-PL-DAT-the participate-INF.NOM-the
řat ořtakar ě.
 INT useful it is
 “Participation at exhibitions here and abroad is very useful.” (Dative object; the verb “participate” assigns the dative case)

- (680) Այդ պատճառով սխալներից խուսափելն անհնար էր:
(Armenpress 20.01.2006)
ayd patcaʔ-ov sxal-ner-ic' xusap'-el-n anhnar ēr.
that reason-INST mistake-PL-ABL escape-INF.NOM-the impossible it was
“Therefore the escape from mistakes was impossible.”
- (681) Կարծում եմ, որ դրա մասին խոսելը վաղաժամ է: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)
karc-um em or dra masin xos-el-ě valažam ē.
think-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ it-GEN POST speak-INF.NOM-the precipitate it is
“I think that talking about this is precipitate.”

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 *-ին -in*;³¹⁶ this marker is used to convey the meaning “belonging to/ of”.

- (682) «Էս գիրքը Նորավանքինն ա եղել, Նորավանքը 1373թ.-ին ա կառուցվել:
(Hetk' 29.01.2007)³¹⁷
ēs girk'-ě Noravank'-in-n a eł-el
this book.NOM-the Noravank'-attr-the it is be-PTCP.PERF.
Noravank'-ě 1373 t'-in a kaʔuc'-v-el.
Noravank'.NOM-the 1373 year-DAT-the it is build-PASS-PTCP.PERF.
“This book was (the) one from(lit. belonging to) Noravank', Noravank' was built in the year 1373.”
- (683) Լեռնային Դարաբաղի խնդրի կարգավորման հարցը «միայն Ադրբեջանինը ու Հայաստանինը չէ, այլ նաև Եվրոպայինն էլ է: (Aʔmenpress 07.04.2006)
Leʔnayin Łarabał-i xndr-i kargavorman harc'-ě
Mountainous Karabakh-DAT problem-DAT settlement-DAT question.NOM-the
miayn Ađrbežan-in-ě u Hayastan-in-ě č'-ē ayl naew
only Azerbaijan-attr-the CONJ Armenia-attr-the neg-it is CONJ also
Ewropa-yin-n ēl ē.
Europe-attr-the also it is
“The question of the settlement of the Mountainous Karabakh problem is not only one of Azerbaijan and of Armenia, but it is also (the) one of Europe.”

316. Diachronically the suffix *-in* 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.

- (684) Բայց այդ ընդհանրությունը պետք է լինի նաև մեր մասնակցությամբ,
և ոչ թե ուրիշինը վերցնելու և մերը դարձնելու ճանապարհով:
(Armenpress 12.05.2006)

bayc' ayd' ěndhanrut'yun-ě petk' ē lin-i naew mer
CONJ that association.NOM-the be-DEB.FUT.3.SG also our
masnakc'ut'yamb ew oc' t'ē uriš-in-ē verc'nel-u ew
participation-INST CONJ not other-attr-the take-INF-DAT CONJ
mer-ě darjn-el-u čanaparh-ov.
our.NOM-the turn into-INF-DAT way-INST

“But that association must also happen with our participation and not by way of taking theirs and turning it into ours.”

Since it seems that the attribute nominalisation suffix *-ին -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.

- (685) Սեղանին դրված նկարները Կարինեինն են:

selan-i-n dr-v-ac nkar-ner-ě
table-DAT-the put-pass.PTCP.RES. photo-PL.NOM-the
Karine-in-n en.
Karine-attr.NOM-the they are

“The pictures put on the table are Karine’s.”

- (686) Կարինեինից մի հատ ցույց կտա՞ս:

Karine-in-ic' mi hat c'uyc' kt-as?
Karine-attr-ABL INDEF piece.NOM show-COND.FUT.2.SG
“Would you show one of Karine’s?”

Attribute nominalisation is also possible with the instrumental case (in proprietive function), instead of using the attribute nominalisation suffix.

- (687) Մորուքովին տեսա՞ր:

Moruk'-ov-i-n tes-ar?
beard-INST-DAT-the see-AOR.2.SG
“Did you see the one with a beard?”

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 rigidity 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*³¹⁸

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)

318. comp.: Badikyan 1976: 44f; Badikyan, Papoyan 2203: §§ 1140–1141; Abrahamyan 1975: 313f.

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) Արտադրությունը պայմանավորում է սպառումը:
artadrut’yun-ě paymanavor-um ē spařum-ě.
 productivity.NOM-the cause-PTCP.PRES. it is consumption.NOM-the
 “Productivity causes consumption.”

- (688) a. Սպառումը պայմանավորում է արտադրությունը:
spařum-ě paymanavor-um ē artadrut’yun-ě.
 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) Քաղաք գնում է ավտոբուսը:
kałak’ gn-um ē avtobus-ě.
 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.)

- (689) a. Քաղաք է գնում ավտոբուսը:
kałak’ ē gn-um avtobus-ě.
 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) Ծխում էին և մեծաշեն քաղաքները: (Grakanut’yun 4: 151)
cx-um ėin ew mečaşen kałak’-ner-ě.
 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) Հանկարծ երկնքից վայր ընկավ մի շատ պայծառ և գեղեցիկ աստղ:
(Mayreni 5: 95)

hankarc erknk'-ic' vayr ěnk-av mi řat paycař
suddenly heaven-ABL fall down-AOR.3SG. INDEF INT bright
ew gelec'ik astł.
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) Իրիկունը Գիկորը կուչ էր եկել խոհանոցում: (Grakanut'yun 4: 133)

irikun-ě Gikor-ě kuč ěr
evening.NOM-the Gikor.NOM-the part he was
ek-el xohanoc'-um.
huddle-PTCP.PERF. kitchen-LOC

“In the evening Gikor 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) Մի օր այդ գյուղով մի խեղճ, աղքատ կին էր անցնում: (Mayreni 5: 96)

mi ěr ayd gyul-ov mi xelč atkat kin
INDEF day.NOM that village-INST INDEF wretched poor woman.NOM
ěr anc'n-um.
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 inverted order of V+AUX, i.e. the subject appears in the preverbal focus position.

3.5.1.2 Verb Order³¹⁹

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 subject³²⁰ 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 *եմ em* ‘I am’. The basic and neutral order is V + AUX, e.g. գնացել եմ *gnac’el 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. պիտի գնամ *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 լինել *linel* ‘to be repeatedly’; the basic and neutral order is V + sec.AUX, e.g. գնացած լինեմ *gnac’ac klinem* ‘I will be gone...’

Analytic secondary forms may but also consist of the participle of the main verb, the participle of the secondary auxiliary լինել *linel* ‘to be repeatedly’, and the inflected auxiliary *em* ‘I am’; the basic and neutral order V + AUX + sec.AUX (participle); գնացած է եղել *gnac’ac ē etel* ‘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. գնացած պիտի լինեմ *gnac’ac piti linem* ‘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. ցույց տվեցի *c’uyc’ tvec’i* ‘I showed’, ցույց կտամ *c’uyc’ ktam* ‘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. ցույց եմ տալիս *c’uyc’ em talis* ‘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. պիտի ցույց տամ *piti c’uyc’ 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. դուրս եկած լինեմ *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. դուրս եկած պիտի լինեն: *durs ekac piti linem* “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) Բանվորները սկսել են քանդել թատրոնի բեմը: (Ařavot 06.04.2006)

banvor-ner-ě sks-el en k'and-el
worker-PL.NOM-the begin-PTCP.PERF. they are destroy-INF

t'atron-i bem-ě.
theatre-DAT stage.NOM-the

“The workers have started to destroy the theatre’s stage.”

- (695) Նախ ես ուզում եմ շնորհակալություն հայտնել հրավերի համար:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

nax es uz-um em šnorhakalut'yun haytnel
first I.NOM want-PTCP.PRES. I am gratitude.NOM express-INF

hraver-i hamar.
invitation-DAT POST

“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 ուղղակի ստիպված էինք մեզ մոտ պահել նրանցից մեկին:
(Hetk' 1 4.01.2007)

menk' ullaki stip-v-ac ěink' mez mot pah-el
we.NOM simply force-pass-PTCP.RES. we were we.DAT POST keep-INF
V1 V2

nranc'-ic' mek-i-n.
they-ABL one-DAT-the

“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 չեմ հասցրել խորանալ այդ խնդրի մեջ: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

deř č'em hasc'ʀ-el xoran-al ayd xndr-i mej.
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 են տեսնում տաքդեղը, առաջին անգամ են լսում անունը:
(Mayreni 5: 79)

Arajin angam en tesn-um takdet-ě araĵin
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 order³²³

The nominal predicate describes the state of the subject of the sentence, typically using the inflected forms of copular verbs, such as եմ *em* “I am”, մնալ *mnal* “to stay”, դառնալ *darṅnal* “to become”, թվել *t'vel* “to seem”, համարել *hamarel* “to hold for, to regard as”, երևալ *erewal* “to seem?”, կոչվել *koč'vel* “to be called” etc.

In neutral sentences, the nominal predicate usually follows the subject i.e. S – nominal predicate.

With the auxiliary verbs եմ *em* լինեմ *linem*, the nominal predicate regularly precedes these copular verbs, i.e. S – nominal predicate – AUX

- (699) Ես սովետական պետության մարդն եմ եղել: Ես էս պետության հակամարդն եմ:
(Hetk' 15.01.2007)

es sovetakan petut'y-an mard-n em el-el. Es
I.NOM soviet state-DAT human.NOM-the I am be-PTCP.PERF. I.NOM

ēs petut'y-an hakamard-n em.
this state-DAT against human.NOM-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 եղել է Երևանի Վ.Բրյուսովի անվան պետական մանկավարժական
ինստիտուտի փիլիսոփայության և ԵՊՀ փիլիսոփայության և տրամաբանության
ամբիոնների վարիչ: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

na el-el ē Erewan-i V. Bryusov-i anvan
he.NOM be-PTCP.PERF. he is Yerevan-DAT V. Bryusov-DAT named
petakan mankaržakan institute-i p'ilisop'ayut'y-an ew EPH
state pedagogical institute-DAT philosophy-DAT CONJ YSU
p'ilisop'ayut'y-an ew tramabanut'y-an ambion-ner-i varič.
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.

323. Papoyan, Badikyan 2003: 469 ff.

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'-ě.
Ani.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. she is her new book.NOM-the
“Ani is reading her new book.”

(702) Կայսրը հրամայեց կանչել պալատական բժշկին: (Mayreni 5: 68)

kaysr-ě hramay-ec' kanč'-el palatakan bžšk-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 նուր հայացքով հետևում էր նրան: (Gyurjinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 211)

ałjik-ě 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 գիրք է կարդում:

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 գիրք կարդում է:

Ani-n girk' kard-um ē
Ani.NOM-the book.NOM read-PTCP.PRES. she is
*“Ani is reading a book”

- (705) Անկյունում սարդը ուստայն է հյուսել: (Patkerazard *k'ërankanut'yun* 2: 57)

ankyun-um sard-ë ostayn ë hyus-el.
 corner-LOC spider.NOM-the spider's web.NOM it is knit-PTCP.PERF.
 "In the corner, the spider has woven a spider's web."

- (706) Մի մարդ երկու որդի ուներ: (Gyurjanyan, *Hekek'yan* 2002: 213)

mi mard erku ordi un-er.
 INDEF man.NOM two son.NOM have-IMPER.3.SG.
 "A man had two sons."

- (707) Ես կայսեր աչքերում արցունք տեսա: (Mayreni 5: 67)

es kays-er ačk'-er-um arc'unk' tes-a.
 I emperor-DAT eye-PL-LOC tears.NOM see-AOR.1.SG.
 "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).

- (708) Ինքնաթիռը վարում է հմուտ օդաչուն: (Patkerazard *k'ërankanut'yun* 2: 56)

ink'nat'ir-ë var-um ë hmut òdač'u-n.
 aeroplane.NOM-the drive-PTCP.PRES. he is experienced pilot.NOM-the
 "The experienced pilot flies the aeroplane."

Comment: this sentence shows a marked order caused by inversion of the subject to the sentence's final position; thus the object had to move to the initial position. Again, this order exhibits stylistic variation rather than a real marked order.

- (709) Ախ, այս ցուրտ օրվա ապրուստն է կորցրել:

(Gyurjinayn, *Hekek'yan* 2002: 209)

ax ays c'urt òr-va aprust-n ë kor-c'r-el.
 alas this cold day-DAT living.NOM-the he is lose-caus-PTCP.PERF.
 "Alas, this cold day's living he has lost!"

Comment: the order of the definite direct object here is marked in the preverbal focus position. (O V).

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) Լիբանանն արաբական միակ երկիրն է, որի հետ Հայաստանը ստորագրել է բարեկամության և համագործակցության համաձայնագիր:
(Armenpress 11.05.2006)
- Libanan-n arabakan miak erkir-n ē or-i*
Lebanon.NOM-the Arabic only country.NOM-the it is REL-DAT
het Hayastan-ě storagr-el ē barekamut'y-an ew
POST Armenia.NOM-the sign-PTCP.PERF. it is friendship.DAT CONJ
hamagorcakc'uty-an hamajaynagir.
cooperation-DAT contract.NOM
- “Lebanon is the only Arabic country with which Armenia has signed a contract of friendship and cooperation.” (S V Oindef)
- (711) Հետո նա հիշեց քաղցած ու կիսաքաղց անցկացրած էլի օրեր:
(Gyurjinyan, Heke'yan 2002: 210)
- heto na hiš-ec' kalc'ac u kisakalc'*
then he.NOM remember-AOR.3.SG hungry CONJ half-hungry
anc'ka-c'r-ac ēli ōr-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 բերեցին տասը հազար քանքարի պարտք ունեցող մի պարտապանի:
(Gyurjinyan, Heke'yan 2002: 213)
- Nra mot ber-ec'in tasě hazar k'ank'ar-i partk'*
he.GEN POST bring-AOR.3.PL ten thousand k'ank'ar-DAT debt.NOM
unec'-oł mi partapan-i.
have-PTCP.SUB. INDEF debtor-DAT
- “They brought him a debtor with a debt of 10,000 *k'ank'ar*.” (V indefO)
- (713) Աղջիկը մատով ցույց տվեց ծառի բարձր ճյուղին նստած թռչնակին:
(Mayreni 5: 66)
- aljik-ě mat-ov c'uyc' tv-ec' cař-i barjr čyul-i-n*
girl.NOM-the finger-INST show-AOR.3.SG tree-DAT high branch-DAT-the
nst-ac t'řč'nak-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) Վահանը հանձնեց իր գնած իրերը իր ընկերուհուն:
Vahan-ě 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 ěnkeruh-u-n.
 his girlfriend-DAT-the
 “Vahan handed the things he bought over to his girlfriend.” (S V O def-IO)

(715) Երեխային վերադարձրե՛ք իր մորը:
Erexa-yi-n veradarjr-ek' ir mor-ě!
 child-DAT-the return-IMP.2.SG its mother-DAT-the
 “Return the child to its mother!” (O V def-IO).

(716) Բնակարան Սիերին հատկացրել են 2005 թվականին Մասիսում:
 (Hetk' 12.02.2007)
bnakaran Mher-i-n hatka-c'r-el en 2005
 apartment.NOM Mher-DAT-the assign-caus-PTCP.PERF they are 2005
t'vakan-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) իր կյանքը նվիրել է թուրքական մշակույթին: (Armenpress 24.10.2005)
ir kyank'-ě nvir-el ě t'urkakan mšakuyt'-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 փոխնախագահը հավաքականի անդամների
 ստորագրություններով բռնցքամարտիկի ձեռնոցներ նվիրեց Ռ.Զոչարյանին:
 (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

federac'ia-y-i pòxnaxagah-ě havak'an-i andam-ner-i
 federation-DAT vice-president.NOM-the collective-DAT member-PL-DAT
storagrut'yun-ner-ov b'nc'kamartik'-i jeřnoc'-ner
 signature-PL-INST boxer-DAT glove-PL.NOM
nvir-ec' R. K'oč'aryan-i-n.
 give-AOR.3.SG R. K'oč'aryan-DAT-the

“The Federation’s vice-president presented boxing gloves with the signatures of the national team to R. K'oč'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) Ղասախոսը նոր գիրքը մի ուսանողի տալիս է:

dasaxos-ě nor girk'-ě mi usanoł-i
lecturer.NOM-the new book.NOM-the INDEF student-DAT
tal-is ē.
give-PTCP.PRES. he is

“The lecturer gives the new book to a student.” (S O indef-IO V)

(719) a. ?Ղասախոսը տալիս է մի ուսանողի նոր գիրքը :

dasaxos-ě tal-is ē mi usanoł-i
lecturer.NOM-the give-PTCP.PRES. he is INDEF student-DAT
nor girk'-ě.
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) Վարդանն իր որդակ Տիգրանին վստահում է մի դայակի:

Vardan-n ir ordyak Tigran-i-n vstah-um
Vardan.NOM-the his little son.NOM Tigran-DAT-the trust-PTCP.PRES.
ē 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) Անձամբ ինձ նվիրեցին հիանալի փնջեր: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

anjamb inj nvir-ec'in hianali p'ňj-er.
personally I.DAT give-AOR.3.PL wonderful bouquet-PL.NOM
“They give me, personally, wonderful bouquets.”

(722) Այդ պատասխանիդ համար ես քեզ կնվիրեմ ամեն ինչ: (Mayreni 5:89)

Ayd patasxan-i-d hamar es k'ez
that answer-DAT-your POST I.NOM you.DAT
knvir-em amen inč.
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.

- (719) b. Դասախոսը դա (այդ) տալիս է նրան:

dasaxos-ě da (ayd) tal-is ē nran.
 teacher.NOM-the it.NOM give-PTCP.PRES. he is he.DAT
 “The teacher gives it to him.”

- (720) a. Վարդանը նրան վստահում է նրան:

Vardan-ě nran vstah-um ē 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) Անին քեզ կհանձնի նրան. Մնացածը քո գործն է:

Ani-n kez khanjn-i nran.
 Ani.NOM you.DAT deliver-COND.FUT.3.SG he.DAT
 S O V IO

mnačac-ě kò gorc-n ē.
 rest.NOM-the you work.NOM-the it is

“Ani will deliver you to him; the rest is up to you.”

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;³²⁴ the direct object typically precedes the indirect object.

- (723) a. Տատիկը խաղալիկը տվեց թոռնիկին:

tatik-ě xatalik-ě tv-ec' t'òrnik-i-n.
 grandma.NOM-the toy.NOM-the give-AOR.3.SG grandchild-DAT-the
 S O V IO
 “The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

- b. Տատիկը տվեց խաղալիկը թոռնիկին:

Tatikě tvec' xatalik-ě t'òrnik-i-n.
 grandma.NOM-the give-AOR.3.SG toy.NOM-the grandchild-DAT-the
 S V O IO
 “The grandma gave the toy to the grandchild.”

324. Comp. Badikyan 1976: 158.

- (724) Երկար բանակցություններից հետո թշնամին վերջապես պատանդներին հանձնեց մեր սպաներին:

erkar banakc'ut'yun-ner-ic' heto tšnami-n verjapes
long negotiation-PL-ABL POST enemy.NOM-the finally

S

patand-ner-i-n hanjn-ec' mer spa-ner-i-n.
hostage-PL-DAT-the deliver-AOR.3.SG our officer-PL-DAT-the
O V IO

“After long negotiations, the enemy finally delivered the hostages to our officers”

- (725) Ռուբենի տղան ներկայացնում է հորը իրենց տուն եկած հարգարժան իր ընկերոջը: (Geworgyan 1999:166a)³²⁵

Ruben-i tla-n nerkaya-c'n-um ē hor-ě
Ruben-DAT son.NOM-the introduce-caus-PTCP.PRES. he is father-DAT-the
S V def-IO

irenc' tun ek-ac hargaržan ir ěnker-oj-ě.
their house.NOM come-PTCP.RES. respectable his friend-DAT-the
O

“Ruben’s son introduces to his father his respectable friend, having come to their house.”

Comment: in this sentence the definite indirect object precedes the direct object. This is not the preferred order of the direct object; the IO at the end of the sentence may be due to the syntactic heaviness and complexity of the direct object noun phrase.

If the verb follows both objects, the object standing in the immediate preverbal (focus) position is interpreted as marked:

- (723) c. Տատիկը խաղալիկը թոռնիկին տվեց:

Tatik-ě xatalik-ě t'ornik-i-n tvec'.
grandmother.NOM-the toy.NOM-the grandchild-DAT-the give-AOR.3.SG
S O iO V

“The grandmother gave the toy to the grandchild.”

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.

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) Կարինեն տարբեր մարդկանց էր տալիս սենյակը: (Hetk' 17.02.2007)
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 մոտենում են ավարտին:
 (Armenpress 31.10.2005)
hay-italakan barekamut'y-an ōr-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:

- object of agency
- object of separation
- object of means
- object of comparison
- object of relation
- object of composition
- 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 կողմից *kolmic'*; it generally follows the verb and frequently appears at the end of the sentence.

- (728) Սակայն բնակչության համեմատաբար բավարար կամ բարձր վաստակը ստեղծվում է արտագնա աշխատանքից: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)
- sakayn bnakč'ut'y-an hamematabar bavarar kam barjr*
 CONJ population-DAT relatively sufficient CONJ high
vastak-ě stelc-v-um ē artagna ašxatank'-ic'.
 profit.NOM-the create-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is outside work-ABL
 “But the relatively sufficient or high profit of the population is created through labour migration.”

This postposed position V – object of agency is also preferred for those objects expressed with the postpositional phrase:

- (729) Բանկի բաժնետոմսերի 45 տոկոսը առաջիկա 3–5 տարում կարող է իրացվել այլ ներդրողի կողմից: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)
- bank-i bažnetoms-er-i 45 tokos-ě aʔajika 3–5 tar-um*
 bank-DAT security-PL-DAT 45 per cent.NOM-the coming 3–5 year-LOC
kar-oł ē irac'-v-el ayl nerdoł-i kołmic'.
 can-PTCP.PRES. it is sell-pass-INF other investor-DAT POST
 “45 % of the bank’s securities can be sold in the coming 3–5 years by another investor.”

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

- (730) Անժամանակ կյանքից հեռացան երկու արժանավոր եկեղեցականներ: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)
- anžamanak kyank'-ic heřac'an erku aržanavor ekelec'akan-ner.*
 unseasonable life-ABL leave-AOR.3.PL two worthy ecclesiastic-PL.NOM
 “Unseasonably two worthy ecclesiastics passed away (Lit.: have departed from life).”

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 միջոցով *mijoc'ov* “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 ձեռքով *jeřk'ov* “by the hands of”.³²⁶

326. Pařnasyan 1970: 245.

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 երգչուհին ելույթ է ունենում հեռուստացույցով:
(Patkerazard *k'erakanut'yun* 2: 50)
hanrahayt ergč'uhi-n eluyt' ē
Popular singer performance.NOM she is
unen-um heřustac'uyč'-ov.
have-PTCP.PRES. television-INST
“The popular (female) singer performs on TV.”
- (732) Հուշագրում փոփոխությունների կատարումը նախատեսվում է իրականացնել լեհական կողմի հետ նոտաների փոխանակման միջոցով:
(Armenpress 08.12.2005)
huřagr-um p'op'oxut'yun-ner-i katarum-ě
memorandum-LOC change-PL-DAT fulfilment.NOM-the
naxates-v-um ē irakanc'n-el lehakan kořm-i het
foresee-pass-PTCP.PRES it is pursue-INF Polish side-DAT POST
nota-ner-i p'oxanamak-man mijoc'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) Հրեաների թիվը հազարից պակաս է: (Hetk' 14.02.2007)
Hrea-ner-i ř'iv-ě hazard-ic' pakas ē.
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 k'an*, it appears after the verb, mainly at the end of a basic sentence.

- (734) Տղաների մոտ հիվանդությունը հանդիպում է 3–4 անգամ ավելի, քան աղջիկների մոտ: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)
tla-ner-i mot hivandut'yun-ě handip-um ē 3–4 angam
boy-PL-DAT POST sickness.NOM-the occur-PTCP.PRES. it is 3–4 time.NOM
aveli k'an aljik-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 + adverbial of place

(735) Պատրաստվում էի մեկնել Գյումրի: (Mayreni 3: 128)

patrast-v-um ēi mekn-el Gyumri.
 prepare-refl-PTCP.PRES. I was depart-INF Gyumri-NOM
 “I prepared (myself) to depart for Gyumri”.

- (736) Ծնվել է Լոռու Դսեղ գյուղում: (Grakanut'yun 6: 125)
cn-v-el ē Loř-u Dseł gyul-um.
 bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is LořI.DAT Dseł.NOM village-LOC
 “He was born in the village Dseł in (lit: of) Loři.”
- (737) Դա հայերի խաղացած դերն է մարդկության պատմության մեջ:
 (Grakanut'yun 10: 77)
da hay-er-i xalac'-ac der-n ē
 that Armenian-PL-DAT play-PTCP.RES. role.NOM-the it is
mardkut'y-an patmut'y-an mej.
 mankind-DAT history-DAT POST
 “That is the role Armenians played in the history of mankind.”

Adverbials of place expressed only with a place adverb or with an interrogative pronoun denoting place generally occur in the sentence-initial position:

- (738) Այստեղ սննդամթերքն ու բանջարեղենը վաճառվում են հենց գետնի վրա: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)
aysteł snndamt'erk'-n u banjarelen-ě vačař-v-um
 here foodstuffs.NOM-the CONJ vegetables.NOM-the sell-pass-PTCP.PRES.
en henc' getn-i vra.
 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) Բյուրականի աստղադիտարանից երևոմ են ամենահեռավոր աստղերը:
 (Patkerazard k'akanut'yun 2: 50)
Byurakan-i astladitaran-ic' erew-um en
 Byurakan-DAT observatory-ABL be visible-PTCP.PRES. they are
amena-heřavor astl-er-ě.
 most-far star-PL.NOM-the
 “The farthest stars are visible from Byurakan's observatory.”
- (740) Քաղաքի դարպասի մոտ մի բորոտ ծերունի էր նստած: (Mayreni 5: 105)
k'alak'-i darpas-i mot mi borot ceruni ēr nst-ac.
 town-DAT gate-DAT POST INDEF leper old man.NOM he was sit-PTCP.RES.
 “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 գիշերներն անցկացնում Տոնին ու Մյասնիկը:
(Het' 15.02.2007)

aystel en gišer-ner-n anc'ka-c'n-um Toni-n
here they are night-PL.NOM-the pass-caus-PTCP.PRES. Toni.NOM-the
u Myasnik-ě.
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 Կորյուն Կորյունյանը Թբիլիսից եկավ Երևան ... (Grakanut'yun 5: 207)

im barekam Koryun Koryunyan-ě 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-Աբասի ժամանակ հեռու աշխարհից դերվիշի հագուստով մի մարդ է գալիս Սպահան քաղաքը: (Grakanut'yun 6: 95)

Šah-Abas-i žamanak heřu ašxarh-ic' derviš-i hagust-ov
Šah-Abas-DAT time.NOM far world-ABL dervish-DAT clothe-INST
mi mard ē gal-is Spahan k'atak'-ě.
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.”³²⁷

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. timeADV + S + V...

- (744) Դասերից հետո տղաները բալուն ֆուտբոլ էին խաղում:
(Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2:50)

das-er-ic' heto tla-ner-ě bak-um futbol
class-PL-ABL POST boy-PL.NOM-the courtyard-LOC futbol.NOM
ēin xal-um.
they were play-PTCP.PRES.

“After school the boys used to play soccer in the courtyard.”

- (745) Հունվարի 26-ին աղբատար մեքենան տարել էր Օգանովի 64 շենքի աղբը:
(Hetk' 29.01.2007)

hunvar-i 26-i-n albatar mekena-n tar-el
January-DAT 26-DAT-the refuse collection car.NOM-the take-PTCP.PERF.
ēr Ōganov-i 64 šenk'-i alb-ě.
it was Ōganov-DAT 64 building-DAT refuse.NOM-the

“On January 26th the garbage truck took the refuse of the building of Ōganov (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 էդգարն աշխատանք ունի: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Hima Ēdgar-n ašxatank' un-i.
now Ēdgar.NOM-the work.NOM have-PRES.3.SG.
“Ēdgar has a job now.”

- (747) Վաղը Լևոն Չիլինգիրյանը ղեկավարելու է նվագախումբը:
(Armenpress 03.05.06)

vał-ě Lewon Č'ilingiryan-ě lekavarel-u
tomorrow Lewon Č'ilingiryan.NOM-the conduct-PTCP.FUT
ē nvagaxumb-ě.
he is orchestra.NOM-the

“Lewon Č'ilingiryan 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 + time ADV + V.

- (748) Ադրբեջանի նախագահ Իլհամ Ալիևը երեկ երեկոյան եռօրյա պաշտոնական այցով մեկնել է Բրյուսել: (Armenpress 18.05.2006)

Adrbejan-i naxagah Ilham Aliew-ě erek erekoyan
 Azerbaijan-DAT president.NOM Ilham Aliew.NOM-the yesterday evening
eřorya pařtonakan ayc'-ov mekn-el ě Bryusel.
 three-day official visit-INST depart-PTCP.PERF. he is Brussels.NOM

“Azerbaijan’s president Ilham Aliew departed yesterday evening for a three-day official visit to Brussels.”

- (749) Հիվանդներից մի քանիսն այսօր դուրս կգրվեն հիվանդանոցից: (Armenpress 14.06.2006)

hivand-ner-ic' mi kani-s-n aysōr durs
 sick person-PL-ABL some-PL.NOM-the today check

kgr-v-en hivandanoc'-ic'.
 out-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL. hospital-ABL

“Today some sick people will be checked out from the hospital.”

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-ին նախագահ Ահմեդ Նեջդեթ Սեզերը նամակ էր հղել Հռոմի պապ Բենեդիկտոս 16-րդին: (Azg 10.01.2006)

2005 t. September-i 15-i-n naxagah Ahmed Nejdēt'
 2005 year-DAT September-DAT 15-DAT-the president.NOM Ahmed Nejdēt'

Sezer-ě namak ěr hl-el Hřom-i
 Sezer.NOM-the letter.NOM he was send-PTCP.PERF Rome-DAT

pap Benediktos 16-rd-i-n.
 pope.NOM Benediktos 16th-DAT-the

“On September 15th 2005, President Ahmet Necdet Sezer had sent a letter to Rome’s Pope Benedict 16th.”

- (751) Այսօր առավոտյան Մեղրիում օդի ջերմաստիճանը արձանագրվել -3: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

aysōr ařavotyan Meřri-um ōd-i řermastičan-ě
 today morning Meřri-LOC air-DAT temperature.NOM-the

arjanagr-v-el ě -3.
 register-pass-PTCP.PERF it is -3

“This morning the air temperature in Meřri 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.³²⁸

- (752) Ապրիլին բնում երևացին արագիլի կարմրանակտուց ձագուկները:
(Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 50)
april-i-n bn-um erewac'in aragil-i
April-DAT-the nest-LOC bevisible-AOR.3.PL stork-DAT
karmraktuc' jaguk-ner-ě.
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) Այսօր Ադրբեջանում բնակվում է շուրջ 30 հազար հայ:
(Ařavot 13.01.2006)
Aysor 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) Ամռանը հոտը բարձրանում է սարը: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 54)
amřan-ě hot-ě barjranum ē sar-ě.
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 adverbial of time appears at the end of the sentence, this order can be regarded as inverse according to some Armenian grammarians.³²⁹

- (755) ԵՄ հատուկ ներկայացուցիչը Երևան կժամանի Վրաստան այցելելուց հետո:
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)
EM hatuk nerkayačuc'ič-ě Erewan kžamani
EU special representative.NOM-the Yerevan.NOM arrive-COND.FUT.3.SG
Vrastan ayc'-el-uc' heto.
Georgia.NOM visit-INF-ABL POST
“The special representative of the European Union will arrive in Yerevan after having visited Georgia.”

328. Badikyan 1976: 170. In the newspaper used as text corpus here, this preference could not really be proved.

329. comp. Ařak'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 նման գրքույկը հրատարակվել է 1999 թվականին:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

aʔajin nman grk'uyk-ě hrarak-v-el ē
first similar booklet.NOM-the publish-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
1999 t'vakan-i-n.
1999 year-DAT-the

“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) Վաճառատեղանի առջև պատրաստակամ կանգնել է վաճառողը:
(Patkerazard k'erakanu'tyun 2: 50)

vačaʔaselan-i aʔjew patrastakam kangn-el ē vačaʔot-ě.
stand-DAT POST readily stand-PTCP.PERF. he is seller.NOM-the
“The seller has readily stood in front of the stand.”

(758) Մեծ հաճույքով կգամ:

Mec hačuyk'ov 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.

- (759) Այդ տախտակները վառելով դիմացա: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

ayd taxtak-ner-ě vařel-ov dim-ač̣a.
 that plank-PL.NOM-the burn-INF-INST endure-AOR.1.SG.
 “By burning those planks I endured.”

- (760) Ուզում եմ բոմժի պես չապրեն: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)
- ³³¹

uzum em bomž-i pes č'-apr-em.
 want-PTCP.PRES. I am bum-DAT POST neg-live-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.
 “I do not want to live like a bum.” (Lit.: I want to live not like a bum.)

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) Դրանից հետո գործընթացն առավել արագ կընթանա:
-
- (Armenpress 24.10.2006)

dranic' heto gorcěnt'ac'-n ařavel arag kěnt'an-a.
 that-ABL POST process.NOM-the COMP quickly go-COND.FUT.3.SG.
 “After that (Afterwards) the process will go more quickly.”

- (762) Իր հերթին Իրանի դեսպանը լայնորեն անդրադարձել է Իրանի
-
- դերակատարությանը Լիբանանում: (Armenpress 26.12.2005)

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-ě 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) Երեք հիմնավորապես տարբեր մեղադրանքներով նույն ընտանիքի անդամները
-
- հերթով հայտնվել են բանտում: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

erek' himnavorapes tarber meladrank'-ner-ov nuyn ětanik'-i
 3 basically different charge-PL-INST same family-DAT
andam-ner-ě 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) Եվ ես միշտ գալիս եմ նորություն սպասելով: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

ev es mišt gal-is em norut'y-an spasel-ov.
 CONJ I.NOM always come-PTCP.PRES. I am news-DAT wait-INF-INST
 “And I always come waiting for news.”

(765) Տոները կավարտվեն Հիսուս Քրիստոսի հրաշափառ հարությունը նշելով:
 (Armenpress 10.07.2006)

ton-er-ě kavart-v-en Hisus K'ristos-i
 festivity-PL.NOM-the terminate-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL Hisus K'ristos-DAT
hrašap'ar 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) Նա հարկային և մաքսային պարտավորությունները կատարել է բարեխղճորեն
 և ժամանակին: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

na harkayin ew mak'sayin partavorut'yun-ner-ě
 he.NOM tax CONJ customs obligation-PL.NOM-the
katar-el ě barexlčoren 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:

- (767) Դրանք անավարտ են մնացել հիմնականում ֆինանսների բացակայության պատճառով: (Armenpress 14.05.2006)

drank' anavart en mnac'-el himnakanum finans-ner-i
 they unfinished they are remain-PTCP.PERF. in principle finance-PL-DAT
bačakayut'y-an patčařov.
 lack-DAT POST

“They have remained unfinished, principally because of the lack of finances.”

- (768) Վերջին տարիներին անտառահատումների հետևանքով ոչնչացվել է մարզի անտառապատ տարածքների ավելի քան 70 տոկոսը:
 (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

Verjin tari-ner-i-n antařahatum-ner-i hetewankov
 last year-PL-DAT-the clearing-PL-DAT POST
oč'nčac'-v-el ē marz-i antařapat tarack'-ner-i
 destroy-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is province-DAT forested territory-PL-DAT
aveli kàn 70 tokos-ě.
 more COM 70 percent.NOM-the

“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.

- (769) Տատիկը խնդրեց իր թոռնիկին գնալ հացի:

Tatik-ě xndrec' ir t'or'nik-i-n
 Grandmother.NOM-the ask-AOR.3.SG. her grandchild-DAT-the
gn-al hac'-i.
 go-INF bread-DAT

“The grandmother asked her grandchild to get bread.” (Lit.: to go for bread)

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.

- (770) Ուսանողը գնում է գրադարան՝ գիրք կարդալու.

Usanol-ě gn-um ē gradaran girk' kardal-u.
 student.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. he is library.NOM book.NOM read-INF-DAT

“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) Հիվանդին դեղ գտնելու համար Լենկ-Թեմորի մարդիկ սար ու ծոր ընկան, շատ տեղերում եղան: (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 ěnk-an řat
 man-PL.NOM mountain.NOM CONJ valley.NOM fall-AOR.3.PL many
teĽ-er-um eĽ-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) Հանրապետության մարզերն անհրաժեշտ բժիշկներով ապահովելու նպատակով ստեղծվել է «Բժշկական կադրեր» տեղեկատվական բազա: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

[*Hanrapetut'yan marz-er-n anhražeřt bžiřk-ner-ov*
 republic-DAT province-PL.NOM-the necessary doctor-PL-INST
apahovel-u npatakov] *stetĽ-v-el ě*
 provide-INF-DAT POST found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
Bžřkakan kadr-er *teĽekatvakan 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) Հարազատները Արթուրին գերությունից ազատելու համար վաճառել էին միակ բնակարանը: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

harazat-ner-ě [*Art'ur-i-n gerut'yun-ic' azatel-u*
 close friend-PL.NOM-the Art'ur-DAT-the captivity-ABL free-INF-DAT
hamar] *vaĽař-el ěin miak bnakaran-ě.*
 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) Նրանցից 311-ը տարբեր հիվանդությունների պատճառով գտնվել են մասնագիտացված մանկատներում: (Armenpress 24.01.2006)

nranĽ-ic' 311-ě tarber hivandut'yun-ner-i patĽařov
 they-ABL 311.NOM-the various sickness-PL-DAT POST

gtn-v-el en masnagitac'-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) Այն ստեղծվել է երկու ակումբների միջև համապատասխան պայմանագրի հիման վրա: (Armenpress 05.04.2006)

Ayn stelc-v-el ē [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) Քազով ջեռուցման պարագայում, 1կվտ/ժամ-ի դիմաց բնակիչը վճարում է ոչ թե 25 դրամ, այլ՝ 6,5–7 դրամ:(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Gaz-ov jēuc'm-an paragayum 1 kwt/žam-i dimac' bnakič'-ē
 Gas-INST heating-DAT POST 1 KW/h-DAT POST inhabitant-NOM-the
včar-um ē oč' t'ē 25 dram ayl 6,5–7 dram.
 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) Նորաբակում շատերը Երևան ասելու փոխարեն Հայաստան են ասում:
 (Hetk'26.02.2007)

Norabak-um šat-er-ē Erewan asel-u p'oxaren
 Norabak-LOC many-PL.NOM-the Yerevan.NOM say-INF-DAT POST
Hayastan en as-um.
 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) Սամվելը չորս անգամ կարդաց այդ թերթը:

Samvel-ě čors angam kardac' ayd tert'-ě.

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 տարում Հայաստանում տուբերկուլյոզով հիվանդացությունն աճել է 2.5 անգամ: (Armenpress 23.03.2006)

isk verjin 10 tar-um Hayastan-um tuberkulyoz-ov hivandac'utyun-n
CONJ last 10 year-LOC Armenia-LOC tuberculosis-INST infection.NOM-the

ač-el ē 2.5 angam.
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) Հանդուգն ու անճոռնի Բելը հսկայական բանակով գալիս է դեպի Հայկի բանակավայրը: (Mayreni 3:150)

Handugn u ančořni Bel-ě hskayakan banak-ov
Impertinent CONJ abhorrent Bel.NOM-the huge army-INST

gal-is ē depi Hayk-i banakavayr-ě.
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) Կրթության բնագավառում Համաշխարհային բանկի հետ միասին փորձ է արվում իրականացնել վարկավորման ծրագիր: (Armenpress, 26.12.2005)

Krt'ut'y-an bnagavař-um Hamařxarhayin bank-i het miasin
Education-DAT field-LOC World Bank-DAT POST together

põrj ē ar-v-um irakana-c'n-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 prog]ram 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) Սիրանուշ Մարգարյանն ապրում է Երևանի Աջափնյակ համայնքի Սիսակյան 4 հասցեում գտնվող վթարային հանրակացարանում իր հինգ որդիների, հարսի և թոռան հետ: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Siranuš Margaryan-n apr-um ē Erewan-i Aĵap'nyak
Siranuš Margaryan.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. she is Yerevan-DAT Aĵap'nyak
hamaynk'-i Sisakyan 4 hasc'e-um gnt-v-ot vt'arayin
community-DAT Sisakyan 4 address-LOC find-refl-PTCP.SUB. emergency
hanrakac'aran-um ir hing ordi-ner-i hars-i ew
dormitory-LOC her five son-PL-DAT daughter-in-law-DAT CONJ
t'oř-an het.
grandchild-DAT POST

“Siranuš Margaryan lives in the emergency dormitory located in Yerevan's Aĵap'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) Անճռռնի ճուտիկը սիրուն կարապ կդաճնա: (Armenian folk saying)
ančor̄ni čutik-n sirun karap kdađn-a.
 unsightlyly chick.NOM-the pretty swan.NOM become-COND.FUT.3.SG.
 “The ugly duckling will turn into a beautiful swan.”

- (782) Մեր ֆուտբոլային թիմը հաղթեց ուժեղ մրցակիցներին:
 (Patkerazard K'erakanut'yun2: 41)
mer futbolayin t'im-ě halt'-ec' užeł 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) Ծղոտե գլխարկը աղջկան շատ է սազում:
člote glxark-ě al'jk-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) Լեռնային լիճը զարթնեց ծնեռային քնից: (Patkerazard k'erakanu'tyun 3: 4)
leřnayin lič-ē zart'n-ec' jmeřayin k'n-ic'.
 mountainous lake.NOM-the wake up-AOR.3.SG. wintery sleep-ABL
 “The mountain lake woke up from its winter sleep.”

With participles in attributive function:

- (785) Թխված հացը պահում են: (Patkerazard k'erakanu'tyun 2: 33)
t'x-v-ac hac'-ē pah-um en.
 bake-pass-PTCP.RES. bread.NOM-the keep-PTCP.PRES. they are
 “They keep the baked bread.”
- (786) Ուշացած ուղևորը վազեց շարժվող գնացքի ետևից:
 (Patkerazard k'erakanu'tyun 2:41)
uřac'-ac ulewor-ē vaz-ec' řarž-v-oł
 be late-PTCP.RES. passenger.NOM-the run-AOR.3.SG move-pass-PTCP.SUB
gnac'k'-i etew-ic'.
 train-DAT POST-ABL
 “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 proposed 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) Իմ զարմիկ Մուրադը նստել էր մի գեղեցիկ սպիտակ ձի: (Grakanu'tyun 5: 202).
im zarmik Murad-ē nst-el ēr mi gelec'ik
 my nephew.NOM Murad.NOM-the seat-PTCP.PERF. he was INDEF beautiful
spitak ji.
 white horse.NOM
 “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. մեծ սպիտակ տուն
mec spitak tun
 big white house.NOM
 “a big white house”
- b. մեծ հին տուն
mec hin tun
 big old house
 “a big old house”
- c. հին սպիտակ տուն
hin spitak tun
 old white house
 “an old white house”
- d. մեծ հին սպիտակ տուն
mec 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 sub-groups 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 զինվորականը կայցելի նաև հայկական խաղաղապահ զոււմարտակ: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)
- amerikac'i barjraštican zinvorakan-ě kayc'el-i naew*
 American high-level soldier.NOM-the visit-COND.FUT.3.SG also
haykakan xalaləpah 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).

- (790) Եվրոպական, ամերիկյան և ռուսական հեղինակավոր ամսագրերում ազդեցիկ կինոգործիչների կողմից շատ բարձր արձագանքներ են եղել փառատոնի վերաբերյալ: (Armenpress 13.12.2005)

evropakan amerikyan ew řusakan helinakavor amsagr-er-um
 European American CONJ Russian authoritative monthly magazine-PL-LOC
azdec'ik kinogorcic'-ner-i kolmic' šat barjr arjagank'-ner
 influential filmmaker--PL-DAT POST INT high response-PL.NOM
en et-el p'ařaton-i veraberyal.
 they are be-PTCP.PERF. festival-DAT POST

“There have been very high responses from influential filmmakers regarding the festival in authoritative European, American and Russian monthly magazines.”

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 + N³³³

- (791) Պարնանային պայծառ արևը հալեցրեց ձյունը: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 3:8)

garnanayin paycař arew-ě hale-c'ř-ec' jyun-ě.
 spring bright sun.NOM-the melt-caus-AOR.3.SG snow.NOM-the
 “The bright spring sun made the snow melt.”

- (792) Արդեն նորոգված է գմբեթավոր փոքր եկեղեցին:
 (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

arden norog-v-ac ē gmbetavor p'ok'ř ekelec'i-n.
 already renovate-pass-PTCP.RES. it is domed small church.NOM-the
 “The small domed church is already renovated.”

- (793) Արագածոտնի մարզում տնտեսական մեծ ներուժ ունեն կանայք:
 (Armenpress 07.04.2006)

Aragacotn-i marz-um tntesakan mec neruž
 Aragacotn-DAT province-LOC economic big potential.NOM
un-en kanayk'.
 have-PRES.3.PL woman.PL.NOM

“In the province of Aragacotn women have a big economic potential.”

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. ուսումնական տարի *usumnakan tari* (Lit.: “educational year”) “academic year”, Նոր Տարի *Nor tari* “New Year”, Սուրբ Ծնունդ *Surb Cnund* (Lit.: “Holy Birth”) “Christmas” etc.

333. comp.: Badikyan 1976: 147; Badikyan.Papoyan 2003: 471ff; Abrahamyan 1975: 313ff.; etc.

- (794) Հին հույն առակագիր Եզոպոսը ապրել է Քրիստոսից առաջ 6-րդ դարում: (Grakanut'yun 5:63)

hin huyn ařakagir Ezopos-ě apr-el ē K'ristos-ic'
old Greek fabulist Aesop.NOM-the live-PTCP.PERF. he is Christ-ABL
ařař 6-rd dar-um.
POST 6th century-LOC

“The Old Greek fabulist Aesop lived in 600 B.C.”

- (795) Նոր ուսումնական տարում հանրապետության բուհերը կանցնեն ուսուցման երկաստիճան համակարգի: (Armenpress 19.06.2006)

nor usumnakan tar-um hanrapetut'y-an buh-er-ě
new academic year-LOC government-DAT I.H.E.-PL.NOM-the
kanc'n-en usuc'm-an erkastičan hamakarg-i.
pass-COND.FUT.3.PL study-DAT two-level system-DAT

“In the new academic year the government’s Institute for Higher Education will pass into a two-level system of studies.”

- (796) ՀՀ պատմության և մշակույթի հուշարձանների պահպանության գործակալությունն օրերս ստացել է հերթական տեղեկատվությունը՝ նոր ճարտարապետական կառույցի հայտնաբերման վերաբերյալ: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)

HH patmuty'an ew mřakuyt'-i huřarjan-ner-i pahpanut'y-an
RA history-DAT CONJ culture-DAT monument-PL-DAT preservation-DAT
gorcakalut'yun-n or-er-s tac'-el ē her'takan
agency.NOM-the day-PL.NOM-this receive-PTCP.PERF. it is periodical
telemekatvut'yun-ě nor čartarapetakan kařuyc'-i
information.NOM-the new architectural building-DAT
haytnaber-man veraberyal.
discovery-DAT POST

“These days RA’s Preservation Agency for Historical and Cultural Monuments has received the periodical information regarding the discovery of new architectural buildings.”

The adverbs or adjectives used in the function of an intensifier canonically precede the adjective they intensify. INT + ADJ

- (797) Քեթի Ռուբենը ունի նամականիշների շատ մեծ հավաքածու: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 41)

K'eři Ruben-ě un-i namakaniř-ner-i řat
Uncle Ruben.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG stamp-PL-DAT INT

mec havakacu.
big collection.NOM

“Uncle (mother’s brother) Ruben has a very big stamp-collection.”

- (798) Այստեղ արկա են շնչառական օրգանների համար խիստ վտանգավոր պոլիցիկլիկ ածխաջրատներ և պենզիպիրիններ:
(Armenpress 19.06.2006)

aystel arka en šnčarakan organ-ner-i hamar xist vtangavor
here available they are breathing organ-PL-DAT POST INT dangerous
polic’iklik acxajrat-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 ժողովուրդը ունի 5000 տարվա պատմություն:
(Patkerzard k’erakanut’yun 3: 58)

hay žołovurd-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) Մանկատանը մեծացած բոլոր երեխաներն անխտիր ունեն հոգեկան ցնցումներ:
(Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

Mankatan-ě mecac’-ac bolor erexa-ner-n
Children’s home-DAT-the grow-up-PTCP.RES. 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 mental health problems.”

- (801) Հայաստանում գործում են բազմաթիվ հասարակական կազմակերպություններ:
(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 semantic context and the emphasis of the speaker. In general, however, cardinal numbers appear closest to the noun.

- (802) Քվեարկությանը մասնակցած բոլոր 86 ընտրողներն իրենց ձայները տվել են նրան: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

k'vearkut'y-an-ě masnakc-ʻac *bolor* 86 *ěntrol-ner-n*
 ballot-DAT-the participate-PTCP.RES. 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) Ալավերդու երկաթգծով գնացքների գրեթե չեն աշխատում:
 (Hetk' 05.02.2007)

Alaverd-u *erkat'gc-ov* *gnac'k'-ner* *gre'e*
 Alaverdi-DAT railway-INST train-PL.NOM almost
č'-en *ašxat-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) Նա բրդից շորը չի սիրում:

Na *brd-ic'* *šor-ě* *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 *ays*, *ayd*, *ayn* as well as the attributive identity demonstratives այսպիսի *ayspisi*, այդպիսի *aypisi*, այնպիսի *aynpisi* “such a”, նույնպիսի *nuynpisi*, նույն *nuyn* “the same” canonically precede the noun. (DEM + N)

- (804) Հայ կանայք ևս իրենց ներդրումը պիտի ունենան այս գործում:
 (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

hay *kanayk'* *ews* *irenc'* *nerdum-ě*
 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.”

334. comp. Badikyan 1976: 142.

- (805) Այն ժամանակ դրա գինը շատ ավելի մեծ էր: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
ayn žamanak dra gin-ě šat aveli mec ěr.
 that time.NOM its price.NOM-the INT more big it was
 “At that time its price was much higher.”
- (806) Համայնքի շենքերի զգալի մասը նույն վիճակում են: (Hetk’ 09.01.2007)
hamaynk’-i šenk’-er-i zgali mas-ě 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 նույն սկզբունքով կփոխվեն նաև 10 մարզային փոստային մասնաձյուղերի դասիչները: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)
ays nuyn skzbunk’-ov kp’ox-v-en naew 10
 this same principle-INST change-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL also 10
marzayin postayin masnačyul’-er-i dasič’-ner-ě.
 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 փետուրները զարմանալիորեն ծյունաճերմակ էին: (Mayreni 5:50)
karap-i p’etur-ner-ě zarmanalioren jyunačermak ěin.
 swan-DAT feather-PL.NOM-the wonderfully snow-white they were
 “The swan’s feathers were wonderfully snow-white.”
- (809) Հանկարծ կայսեր պատուհանի տակ մի հրաշալի երգ հնչեց: (Mayreni 5:68)
hankarc kays-er patuhan-i tak mi hrašali
 suddenly emperor-DAT window-DAT POST INDEF wonderful
erg hnc’-ec’.
 song.NOM sound-AOR.3.SG
 “Suddenly a wonderful song sounded under the emperor’s window.”

- (810) Պարուհին իր նազելի պարով հիացրեց բոլորին: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2:44)

Paruhi-n ir nazeli par-ov hia-c'r-ec' bolor-i-n.
 dancer.NOM-the her graceful dance-INST admire-caus-AOR.3.SG all-DAT-the
 “The dancer delighted all with her graceful dance.”

- (811) Մայրը չի հասկանում նրա տխրության պատճառը. (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Mayr-ě č'i haskan-um nra
 mother.NOM-the neg-she is understand-PTCP.PRES his
txrut'y-an patčaf-ě.
 sadness-DAT reason.NOM-the
 “The mother does not understand the reason for his sadness.”

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:

- (812) Սա արդյունք է նաև երկու երկրների նախագահների,
 վարչապետների, կառավարությունների սերտ համագործակցության:
 (Armenpress 04.05.2006)

Sa ardyunk' ē naew erku erkr-ner-i naxagah-ner-i
 this result.NOM it is also two country-PL-DAT president-PL-DAT
varčapet-ner-i kařavarut'yun-ner-i sert hamagorcakc'ut'y-an.
 prime minister-PL-DAT government-PL-DAT close cooperation-DAT
 This is also a result of the close cooperation between the presidents, prime ministers and governments of the two countries.”

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.

- (813) a. Քոչարյան նախագահ
Koč'aryan naxagah
 “President Koč'aryan” (PN + CN)

but also a common noun, as in

- (813) b. նախագահ Քոճարյան
*naxagah K'oč'aryan*³³⁵
 “K'oč'aryan, 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) “Սպառողների միությունն” հասարակական կազմակերպության նախագահ Արմեն Պողոսյանը երևույթը որակում է որպես “փոթորիկ մեկ բաժակ ջրում”:
 (Azg 08.04.2006)

Spařot-ner-i miu'tyun hasarakakan kazmakerput'y-an
 consumer-PL-DAT union.NOM public organisation-DAT
naxagah Armen Polosyan-ě erewuyt'-ě orak-um
 president Armen Polosyan.NOM-the event.NOM-the characterise-PTCP. PRES.
ē orpes "p'ot'orik mek bažak ĵr-um".
 he is CONJ “storm.NOM one glass.NOM water-LOC”

“Armen Polosyan, 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) Վարդանը՝ իմ եղբայրը, ապրում է Մոսկվայում:
Vardan-ě im elbayr-ě apr-um ē Moskva-y-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.

- (816) Ծրագրվում է անցկացնել 15 բացօթյա անվճար համերգ, որոնց ժամանակ կհնչի դասական, ջազային և ժողովրդական երաժշտություն: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

Cragr-v-um ē anc'ka-c'n-el 15 bacōt'ya anvčar
 plan-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is organise-INF 15 open-air free
hamerg oronc' žamanak khnč'-i dasakan
 concert.NOM REL-PL-DAT time.NOM sound-COND.FUT.3.SG Classical
jazayin ew žoļovrdakan eražštut'yun.
 Jazz CONJ folk music.NOM

“Fifteen free, open-air concerts are being planned, where Classical, Jazz and Folk music will be played.”

- (817) Փողոցում հայտնվելուց հետո Տոնին ծանոթացել է կորեացի Կլարա Վոն Դեն Յունի հետ, ում մայրը հայուհի է: (Hetk' 19.01.2007)

pōloc'-um haytn-v-el-uc' heto Toni-n canot'ac-el ē
 street-LOC appear-refl-INF-ABL POST Toni.NOM-the meet-PTCP.PERF. he is
koreac'i Klara Von Den Yun-i het um mayr-ě
 Korean Klara Von Den Yun-DAT POST wh-who-DAT mother.NOM-the
hayuhi ē.
 Armenian.NOM she is

“After appearing in the street, Toni became acquainted with the Korean Klara Von den Yun, whose mother is an Armenian.”

The relative clause itself occurs at the end of the sentence but also embedded in the middle of the sentence.

- (818) Գրենայի որդիները, որոնցից երկուսն արդեն իսկ ծառայել են Ազգային բանակում, չեն լքի իրենց գյուղը: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Grena-y-i ordi-ner-ě or-onc'-ic' erkus-n arden isk
 Grena-DAT son-PL.NOM-the REL-PL-ABL two.NOM-the already but
cařay-el en Azgayin banak-um č'-en
 serve-PTCP.PERF. they are National Army-LOC neg-they are
lk'-i irenc' gyul-ě.
 abandon-PTCP.NEG. their village.NOM-the

“Grena’s sons, of whom two have already served in the National Army, will not abandon their village.”

The relative clause does often not immediately follow the head noun; in this case of extraposition³³⁸ it appears at the end of the sentence.

338. see extraposition/discontinuous noun-phrases Ch. 3.6.1. “Inversion vs. dislocation and extraposition”, p. 623f.

- (819) Նրանք երկու սենյակ են զբաղեցնում, որոնցից մեկը ծառայում է որպես հյուրասենյակ, ննջարան և լողարան, իսկ մյուսը՝ պահեստ ու խորհանոց: (Hetk'15.02.2007)

nrank' erku senyak en zbate-c'n-um or-onc'-ic
 they.NOM two room.NOM they are occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES. REL-PL-ABL
mek-ě cařay-um ē orpes hyurasenyak nnžaran
 one.NOM-the serve-PTCP.PRES. it is as living room sleeping room
ew lołaran isk myus-ě pahest u xordanoc'.
 CONJ 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.”

h. Order of the Indefinite Article

The indefinite article մի *mi* is invariably preposed to the noun. INDEF + N.

- (820) Վերջերս մի պաշտոնյա դատապարտվել է կոռուպցիայի համար: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

veržers mi pařtonya datapart-v-el ē
 recently INDEF official convict-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is
kořupc'ia-yi hamar.
 corruption-DAT POST

“Recently an official was convicted for corruption.”

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 constituents 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) Հանդես եկան նաև բազմաթիվ երիտասարդ երաժիշտներ: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)
handes ek-an naew bazmat'iv eritasard eražišt-ner.
 perform-AOR.3.PL also numerous young musician-PL.NOM
 “Numerous young musicians also performed.”
- (822) Հայաստանի համար ժողովն ունեցել է երկու կարևոր արդյունք: (Armenpress 04.05.2006)
Hayastan-i hamar žolov-n unec'-el ē
 Armenia-DAT POST meeting.NOM-the have-PTCP.PERF. it is
erku karewor ardyunk'.
 two important result.NOM
 “For Armenia, the meeting had two important results.”
- (823) Դիմել եմ բոլոր քաղաքական ուժերին: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
dim-el em bolor k'alak'akan uř-er-i-n.
 address-PTCP.PERF. I am QNT political force-PL-DAT-the
 “I have addressed all political forces.”
- 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
- (824) Նրանք են ստորագրել եկեղեցու ֆինանսական բոլոր փաստաթղթերը: (Armenpress 22.03.2006)
nrank' en storagr-el ekelec'-u finansakan
 they.NOM they are sign-PTCP.PERF. church-DAT financial
bolor p'astat'it'-er-ě.
 QNT document-PL.NOM-the
 “They have signed all of the financial documents of the church.” (relADJ+QNT+N)
- (825) 1969-ին լույս է տեսել երկրորդ տարբերակը, ուր հեղինակը կատարել է բանասիրական բազմաթիվ ճշտումներ, լեզվաոճական խմբագրումներ: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)
1969-i-n luys ē tes-el erkrord tarberak-ě
 1969-DAT-the light it is see-PTCP.PERF. second version.NOM-the
ur helinak-ě katar-el ē banasirakan bazmat'iv
 wh-where author.NOM-the fulfill-PTCP.PERF. he is philological QNT
čštum-ner lezvaočakan xmbagrurn-ner.
 correction-PL.NOM stylistic editorial work-PL.NOM
 “In 1969, the second version was published, in which the author has made numerous philological corrections and stylistic editorial alterations.” (relADJ+QNT+N)

339. Badikyan 1976: 147.

– Demonstratives and Adjectives and/or Quantifiers

The determining demonstratives usually appear furthest left of the noun, immediately proposed to other modifiers relating to the head noun, i.e. DEM + ADJ + N; DEM + QNT + N and thus DEM + QNT + ADJ.

- (826) Այս փորձնական ծրագիրը կիրականացվի նաև մյուս համայնքներում:
(Armenpress 03.05.2006)

ays p'orjnakan cragir-ě kirakanc'-v-i naew myus
this trial program.NOM-the realize-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG also other
hamaynk'-ner-um.
community-PL-LOC

“This test program shall also be realised in other communities.” (DEM ADJ N)

- (827) Այս երեք անչափահաս երեխաներն իրենց մոր հետ ապրում են Երևանի Նոր-Արեշ 127/2 հասցեում գտնվող հանրակացարանի 8-րդ հարկում: (Hetk'05.02.2007)

ays erek' ančap'ahas erexa-ner-n irenc' mor het
this three under age child.PL.NOM-the their mother-DAT POST
apr-um en Erewan-i Nor-Areš 127/2 hasc'e-um
live-PTCP.PRES they are Yerevan-DAT Nor-Areš 127/2 address-LOC
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) Բոլոր այս թատերախմբերը ֆինանսական լուրջ դժվարություններ ունեն:
(Armenpress 08.04.2006)

bolor ays t'ateraxmb-er-ě finansakan lurj
all this troupe-PL.NOM-the financial serious
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

- (829) ՀՀԳԱԱ բոլոր 32 գրադարանների ավելի քան 4 մլն կտոր գրականությունից 2003 թվականին օգտվել է 21.902 ընթերցող: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

HH GAA bolor 32 gradaran-ner-i aveli k'ān 4 mln ktor
 RA AS all 32 library-PL-DAT more COMP 4 million piece
grakanut'yun-ic' 2003 t'vakan-i-n o'gtv-el ē
 literature-ABL 2003 year-DAT-the make use of-PTCP.PRES. it is
 21,901 ēnt'erc'ol.
 21,902 reader.NOM

“In the year 2003, 21,902 readers made use of the more than 4 million pieces of literature of all 32 libraries of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia.”
 (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

- (830) Չէ որ աճել է մի ամբողջ սերունդ, որն սկսել է մոռանալ ռուսաց լեզուն:
 (Armenpress 13.12.2005)

č'-ē or ač-el ē mi amboł'j serund
 neg-it is CONJ grow-PTCP.PERF. it is INDEF whole generation
or-n sks-el ē mořan-al
 REL.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF. it is forget-INF
řusac' lezu-n.
 Russian language.NOM-the

“Is it not (true) that a whole generation has grown-up, which has begun to forget the Russian language?” (INDEF + QNT + N)

- (831) ...ցեղական մի շուն իր սուր դունչը հանեց նրանց միջից:
 (Grakanut'yun 6: 205)

celakan mi řun ir sur dunč'-ē han-ec'
 pedigree INDEF dog.NOM its sharp snout.NOM-the draw out-AOR.3.SG
nranc' mijic'.
 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.

- (832) Ֆ. Սարգսյանը գրադարանին հանձնեց Ն.Ս.Օ.Տ.Տ. Քարեզին Բ-ի նվիրածինագույն մի ձեռագիր: (Armenpress 15.12.2005)

F. Sargsyan-ě gradaran-i-n hanjn-ec' N.S.Ö.T.T.
 F. Sargsyan.NOM-the library-DAT-the hand over-AOR.3.SG H.E.

Garegin B.-i nvir-ac hnaguyn mi jeřagir.
 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)

– 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

- (833) Խնձորենու դալար ճյուղերը ճկվել էին բերքի ծանրությունից:
 (Patkerazard Kerakanut'yun 2: 41)

xnjoren-u dalar čyul-er-ě čk-v-el
 apple tree-DAT (young branch-PL.NOM-the) bend-refl-PTCP.PERF.

ēin 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) Աշխարհի բոլոր ծագերից ճանապարհորդներ էին գալիս այդ կայսեր մայրաքաղաքը: (Mayreni 5: 65)

Ašxarh-i bolor cag-er-ic' čanaparhord-ner ēin
 World-DAT all corner-PL-ABL traveller-PL.NOM they were

gal-is ayd kays-er mayrak'alak'-ě.
 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) Մայիսի երկրորդ կեսին կսկսվի ծրագրավորողների հայկական երկրորդ մրցույթի առաջին փուլը: (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

cragravorol-ner-i (haykakan erkrord mrc'uyt'-i) (ařašin p'ul-ě).
 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) Հետկալ օրը Չերվյակովը հագավ իր նոր վիցմունդիրը: (Grakanu'tyun 6: 103)

hetevyal or-ě Červyakov-ě hag-av ir
next day.NOM-the Červyakov.NOM-the put on-AOR.3.SG his

nor vic'mundir-ě.
new service clothing.NOM-the

“Next day Červyakov put on his new service clothing.”

(837) Աշոտի շունը կատարում է նրա բոլոր հրամանները:
(Patkerazard K'erakanu'tyun 2: 41)

Ašot-i šun-ě katar-um ē nra bolor hraman-ner-ě.
Ašot-DAT dog.NOM-the fulfill-PTCP.PRES. it is his all order-PL.NOM-the

“Ašot's dog fulfils all his commands.”

(838) ...Հայաստան կատարած իր այս առաջին այցելությունն այդ առումով իրեն լայն հնարավորություններ կընձեռի: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

Hayastan katar-ac ir ays ašajin ayčelut'yun-n ayd
Armenia.NOM fulfil-PTCP.RES. his this first visit.NOM-the that

ařum-ov iren layn hmaravoru'tyun-ner kēnjeř-i.
respect-INST he.DAT broad possibility-PL.NOM leave-COND.FUT.3.SG

“This, his first visit fulfilled in Armenia, shall leave him with broad possibilities in that respect.” (N + participle + POSS + DEM + NUM + headN)

– 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) իսկ նրա տանն այժմ ապրում է Ուշեր գյուղից տեղափոխված Սուլգուն ընտանիքը:
(Armenpress 05.05.2006)

isk nra t-an-n ayžm apr-um ē Ušer
CONJ his house-DAT-the now live-PTCP.PRES. it is Ušer.NOM

gyul-ic' telapòx-v-ac Sulgun ětanik'-ě.
village-ABL move-refl-PTCP.RES. Sulgun.NOM family.NOM-the

“And in his house now lives the Sulgun family, which moved from the village Ušer.”

- (840) Այսինքն՝ իր վրա ընդունի և մեղմի իշխանության դեմ ուղղված հասարակական զայրույթը: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

aysink'n ir vra ěndun-i ew mełm-i
 that is he.GEN POST accept-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG CONJ soften-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG
iřxanut'y-an dem uł-v-ac hasarakakan zayrut'-ě.
 government-DAT POST direct-pass-PTCP.RES. public wrath.NOM-the
 “That means, he would take him on and would soften the public wrath directed against the government.”

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*³⁴¹

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).

- (841) Շաբաթվա ծրագրում ընդգրկված է վրաց դերասանուհի Սոֆիկո Ճիաուրելիի ստեղծագործական երեկոն, որը խաղացել է Փարաջանովի մի քանի ֆիլմերում: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

řabat'-va cragr-um ěndgrk-v-ac ě vrac' derasanuhi
 week-DAT program-LOC include-pass-PTCP.RES. it is Georgian actress.NOM
Sofiko Ćiaureli-i stelcagorcakan ereko-n or-ě
 Sofiko Ćiaureli.DAT creative evening.NOM-the REL.NOM-the
xalac'-el ě P'arajanov-i mi kani film-er-um.
 play-PTCP.PERF. she is P'arajanov-DAT several film-PL-LOC
 “In the week’s program a creative evening by the Georgian actress Sofiko Ćiaureli, who has played in several films of P’arajanov, is also included.”

341. Badikyan 1976: 57ff.

- (842) Ես այն երջանիկներից եմ, ով բախտ է ունեցել տեսնելու նման անկրկնելի դարպասապահի խաղը: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

es ayn erjanik-ner-ic' em ov baxt ē unec'-el
I.NOM that lucky-PL-ABL I am wh.NOM luck it is have-PTCP.PERF.

tesn-el-u nman ankrkneli darpasapah-i xal-ě.
see-INF-DAT similar unique goalie-DAT game.NOM-the

“I am one of the lucky ones who have had the chance to see the game of a similarly unique goalie.”

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) Քննարկումները կտևեն 2,5 ամիս, որոնց կմասնակցեն ուսուցիչներ, ծնողներ և հասարակության լայն խավեր: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

k'nmakum-ner-ě ktew-en 2,5 amis or-onc
Debate-PL.NOM-the last-COND.FUT.3.PL 2.5 month.NOM REL-PL.DAT

kmasnak'-en usuc'ic'-ner cnot'-ner ew
participate-COND.FUT.3.PL teacher-PL.NOM parent-PL.NOM CONJ

hasarakut'g-an layn xav-er.
society-DAT broad stratum-PL.NOM

“The debates, in which teachers, parents and broad strata of the society will participate, will last 2.5 months.”

- (844) Պարզվել է, որ այդպիսի շենքերը 545-ն են, որոնցից 87-ը գտնվում են Երևանում: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)

parz-v-el ē or aydpisi šenk'-er-ě
become clear-antic-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ such building-PL.NOM-the

545-n en or-onc'ic' 87-ě gtn-v-um
545-the they are REL-PL-ABL 87-the locate-refl-PTCP.PRES

en Erewan-um.
they are Yerevan-LOC

“It turned out that there are 545 such buildings of which 87 are located in Yerevan.”

- (845) Մեծ Բրիտանիայի օրենքների համաձայն՝ մարդուն չի կարելի արտաքսել մի երկիր, ուր նրան սպառնում են կտտանքներ: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Mec Britania-yi örenk'-ner-i hamajayn mard-u-n č'-i kareli
Great Britain-DAT law-PL-DAT POST man-DAT-the neg-it is possible

artak's-el mi erkir ur nran spa'n-um
deport-INF INDEF country.NOM wh-where he.DAT threaten-PTCP.PRES.

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.”

- (846) Այս մեկ ամսվա ընթացքում, երբ տեսնում ես երիտասարդությանը ծաղիկներով ողողված, մի անբացատրելի հիշվանք ես ապրում: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

ays mek ams-va ěnt'ac'kum erb tesn-um es
this one month-DAT POST wh-when see-PTCP.PRES. you are
eritasardut'y-an-ě calik-ner-ov olol-v-ac mi
youth-DAT-the flower-PL-INST overwhelm-pass-PTCP.RES. 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 *այնտեղ* *ayntel*, the subordinated clause invariably follows the main clause.

- (847) Կորուստների մակարդակը բարձր է այնտեղ, որտեղ հաշվառման համակարգ երդրված է: (Armenpress 15.11.2005)

korust-ner-i makardak-ě barjr ě ayntel ortel hařvařm-an
Loss-PL-DAT level.NOM-the high it is there wh-where registration-DAT
hamakarg erdr-v-ac ě.
system.NOM install-pass-PTCP.RES. 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 *հիմա* *hima* “now”, *այժմ* *ayřm* “now”, *երեկոյան* *erekoyan* “in the evening”, *առավոտյան* *ařavotyan* “in the morning”, *երբեմն* *erbemn* “sometimes”, or postpositional phrase with *հետո* *heto* “after(wards)”. etc. in the main clause, the subordinated clause invariably follows the main clause.

342. Gareginyan G.L. 1991: 223–224.

- (848) Մյասնիկը փողոցում է հայտնվել այն բանից հետո, երբ վաճառել են նախկին բնակարանը: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Myasnik-ě pòloc'-um ē haytn-v-el ayn ban-ic'
 Myasnik.NOM-the street-LOC it is appear-refl-PTCP.PERF. that thing-ABL
heto erb vačař-el en naxkin bnakaran-ě.
 POST CONJ sell-PTCP.PERF. they are former apartment.NOM-the

“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 ապա *apa* “then”, այդ ժամանակ *ayd žamanak* “at that time”, այդ պահին *ayd pahin* “at that moment”, այդ նույն ժամանակ *ayd nuyn žamanak* “at the same time” etc., the subordinated clause invariably follows the main clause.

- (849) իր «Բարել, ես եմ» ֆիլմի թվանշայնացրած տարբերակը տեսել է այն ժամանակ, երբ իրեն կանչել են «Մի ֆիլմի պատմություն» հաղորդման մեջ կարծիք հայտնելու: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

ir “barew, es em” film-i t’vanšayana-c’r-ac tarberak-ě
 his “hello, it’s me” film-DAT digitalise-caus-PTCP.RES. version.NOM-the
tes-el ē ayn žamanak erb iren kanč-el
 see PTCP.PERF. he is that time.NOM CONJ he.DAT call-PTCP.PERF.
en “mi film-i patmut’yun” halordm-an meĵ
 they are “INDEF film-DAT story.NOM” broadcast-DAT POST
karcik’ haytn-el-u.
 opinion.NOM announce-INF-DAT

“He had seen the digitalised version of his film “Hello, It’s Me” at that time, when he was called to give (his) opinion on the broadcast show “The Story of a Film””

- (850) Մինչ ուշքի կգար Դրաստամարը, Արշակը վերցնում է խնձոր կճպելու դանակը: (Gyurjinyan, Heke’yan 2002:188).

Minč’ ušk’i kgar Drastamat-ě
 PREP regain consciousness-COND.PAST.3.SG Drastamat.NOM-the
Aršak-ě verč’n-um ē xnjor
 Aršak.NOM-the take-PTCP.PRES. he is apple.NOM
kčp-el-u danak-ě.
 peel-INF-DAT knife.NOM-the

“Until Drastamat regained consciousness, Aršak takes the knife (used) to peel apples.”

c. The Order of Subordinated Clauses of Manner

The order of the subordinated clause is most frequently postposed to the main clause. The subordinated clause of manner obligatorily follows its main clause, if այնպես *aynpes*

“like that” is in the main clause and the conjunction որ *or* introduces the subordinated clause.³⁴³

- (851) Տիկին Էմմայի երեք սենյականոցի ննջասենյակի առաստաղը կոյուղաջրերից այնպես է թրջվել, որ նույնիսկ ապակե ջահն է լցվել ջրով: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)
- Tikin Ĕmma-yi erek' senyakanoc' -i nmjasenyak-i*
Mrs. Ĕmma-DAT-the three room-apartment-DAT sleeping room-DAT
ařastal koyulařr-er-ic' aynpes ē t'řj-v-el or
ceiling.NOM-the drainage-PL-ABL so it is wet-pass-PTCP.PERF. CONJ
nyunisk apake řah-n ē lc'v-el řr-ov.
even glass luster.NOM-the it is filled-pass-PTCP.PERF. water-INS
- “The ceiling of the bedroom of the three-room-apartment of Mrs. Ĕmma’s has been so (much) wetted by the drainages that even the lustre was filled with water.”

The same postposed order of the subordinated clause introduced with the conjunction ինչպես *inčpes* can be found in constructions in which the main clause also contains the relational expression այնպես *aynpes*:

- (852) Հարցը դուր չի եկել քմահաճ երգչին, և նա ի պատասխան հայհոյել է այնպես, ինչպես կարող է հայհոյել. (Armenpress 15.01.2006)
- harč'ĕ dur č'-i ek-el k'mahač ergč'-i-n*
question.NOM-the part neg-it is come-PTCP.PERF. capricious singer-DAT-the
ew na i patasxan hayhoy-el ē aynpes inčpes
CONJ he.NOM PRE answer.NOM curse-PTCP.PERF. he is so CONJ
kar-oł ē hayhoy-el.
be able-PTCP.PRES he is curse-INF
- “The capricious singer did not like the question, and he cursed in reply as (much), as he is able to curse.”

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):

- (853) Ինչպես Ադամով բոլորը մեռնում են, նույնպես և Քրիստոսով ամենքը պիտի կենդանանան: (Armenpress 09.04.2006)
- inčpes Adam-ov bolor-ĕ meřn-um en nuynpes ew*
CON Adam-INST all.NOM-the die-PTCP.PRES. they are also CONJ
K'ristos-ov a menk'-ĕ piti kendantan-an.
Christ-INST all.NOM-the come to life-DEB.FUT.3.PL
- “As all die with Adam, they also have to come to life with Jesus.”

343. Gareginyan 1991: 238.

d. The Order of the Subordinated Clauses of Measure

The subordinated clause of measure introduced with the conjunctions որ *or*, ինչքան *inč'kan*, որքան *ork'an*, ինչչափ *inčč'ap'* and որչափ *orč'ap'* more often follows its main clause. This postposed position is almost canonical, if the main clause contains relational expressions like այնքան *aynk'an*, այնչափ *aynč'ap*.

- (854) Վերջին շրջանում թատրոնում այնքան շատ ցերեկային ներկայացումներ էինբեմադրվում, որ գյումրեցիներն առաջարկում են թատրոնն անվանել «Հեքիաթն է կանչում»:
(Armenpress 03.05.2006)

verjin šrjan-um t'atron-um aynk'an šat c'erekayin nerkayac'um-ner
last time-LOC theatre-LOC so much many day's performance-PL.NOM
ēin bemadr-v-um or
they were perform-pass-PTCP.PRES. CONJ
gyumrec'i-ner-n ašajark-um en
inhabitant of Gyumri-PL.NOM- the propose-PTCP.PRES they are
t'atron-n anvan-el "hek'iat'n ē kanč'-um".
theatre.NOM-the name-INF "fairytale.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"."

- (855) Հայաստանն այնքան ներդրումներ չի ստանա, որքան կարող էր ստանալ կոռուպցիայից զերծ երկիր լինելով: (Armenpress 30.10.2005)

Hayastan-n aynk'an nerdrum-ner č'-i stan-a
Armenia.NOM-the so much investment-PL.NOM neg-it is receive-PTCP.NEG.
ork'an kar-oł ēr stan-al košupc'ia-yic
that much be able-PTCP.PRES. it was receive-INF corruption-ABL
zerc' 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.

- (856) Քաղաքի վիճակն առավել անմխիթար է համայնքներում. որքան կենտրոնից հեռու, այնքան վատ: (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

katak'-i vičak-n ašavel anmxit'ar ē hamaynk'-ner-um.
city-DAT situation.NOM-the more uncomfortable it is community-PL-LOC

ork'an kentron-ic' heřu aynk'an 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) Այս առումով ծրագիրն ընդգրկուն է, քանի որ իր մեջ ներառում է բազմաթիվ ոլորտներ: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

ays ařum-ov cragir-n ěndgrkun ě k'ani or
this aspect-INST program.NOM-the comprehensive it is CONJ

ir mej nerař-um ě bazmat'iv olort-ner.
it.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) Մենք պետք է շատ լավ զեկույց ներկայացնենք, որովհետև դա ինչ-որ տեղ մեր երկրի դեմքն է: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

menk' petk' ě řat lav zekuyc' nerkayac'n-enk' orovhetew
we.NOM part it is very good report.NOM present-DEB.FUT.1.PL CONJ

da inč'-or tel mer erkr-i demk'n ě.
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 *(նա)մանավանդ որ*, *(na)manavand or*, *վասն զի* *vasn zi*, *քանզի* *k'anzi*, *զի* *zi* etc., the subordinate clause obligatorily follows the main clause.

- (859) Էջմիածին այցելությունը կարևոր էր բոլորի համար, քանզի այն վերակենդանացնելու է մեր ազգային նվիրական զգացումները: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

Ĕjmiacin ayc'elut'yun-ě karewor ěr bolor-i hamar
Ĕjmiacin.NOM visit.NOM-the important it was all-DAT POST

k'anzi ayn verakendana-c'n-elu ě mer azgayin
CONJ that reanimate-caus-INF-DAT it is our national

nvirakan zgac'um-ner-ě.
sacred feeling-PL.NOM-the

“The visit of Ĕjmiacin was important for all, to reanimate it is our sacred, national feeling.”

- (860) Մենք պարտավոր ենք պաշտպանել մեր շուկան՝ Համագործակցության երկրների շուկան, մասնավորապես որ արևմտյան շուկայում մեզ ոչ ոք չի սպասում»: (Armenpress26.10.2006)

menk' partavor enk' pašpan-el mer šuka-n Hamagorcakc'ut'yan
 we.NOM obliged weare protect-INF our market.NOM-the cooperation-DAT
erkr-ner-i šuka-n manavand or arewmtyan šuka-y-um
 country-PL-DAT market.NOM-the CONJ western market-LOC
mez oč' ok' č'-i spas-um.
 we.DAT nobody.NOM neg-it is wait-PTCP.PRES.

“We are obliged to protect our market – the market of the cooperating countries – because nobody is waiting for us in the western market.”

If the main clause contains explicative expressions such as ուստի *usti*, ուրեմն *uremn*, դրա համար *dra hamar* etc., the subordinate clause ordinarily precedes the main clause.

- (861) Քանի որ չվերագրանցվելու դեպքում օրենքը հասարակական կազմակերպությունների գործունեության դադարեցում չի նախատեսում, ուստի ներկայումս ՀՀ-ում գործում է 508 վերագրանցված և փաստացի գրանցված 4223 հասարակական կազմակերպություն: (Armenpress 25.12.2005)

K'ani or č'-veragranc'-v-el-u depk'um òrenk'-ě hasarakakan
 CONJ neg-re-register-pass-INF-DAT POST law.NOM-the public
kazmakerput'yun-ner-i gorcuneut'y-an dadareč'um č'-i naxatesum usti
 organization-PL-DAT activity-DAT closure.NOM neg-it plan-PTCP.PRES. CONJ
nerkayums HH-um gorc-um ē 508 veragranc'-v-ac ew
 presently RA-LOC work-PTCP.PRES it is 508 re-register-pass-PTCP.RES. CONJ
p'astac'i granc'-v-ac 4223 hasarakakan kazmakerput'yun.
 really register-pass-PTCP.RES. 4223 public organization.NOM

“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.”

If a subordinated clause introduced with որովհետև *orovhetew* or քանի որ *k'ani* or precedes the main clause, the cause/consequence relation between the subordinated and main clauses is additionally stressed:

- (862) Քանի որ մեկ տարեկան երեխա կա տանը, էս վիճակում չկարողացանք ապրել: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)

k'ani or mek tarekan erexa ka t-an-ě
 CONJ one year child.NOM exist-PRES.3.SG house-DAT-the

ēs vičak-um č'-karolač'ank' apr-el.
 that situation-LOC neg-be able-AOR.1.PL live-INF

“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 *եթե et'e* and *երբ erb*.

This preferred preposed position of the conditional clause is additionally strengthened if the main clause contains the relational expressions of *ապա apa*, *ուրեմն uremn*, *զուցե guč'e*, *թերևս t'erews*, *թող toł* etc.

- (863) *Եթե վազողներ ունենանք անպայման կմասնակցենք:* (Ařavot 05.04.2006)
et'e vazot-ner unen-ank' anpayman kmasnak'-enk'.
 CONJ runner-PL.NOM have-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL certainly participate-COND.FUT.3.PL.
 “If we have runners, we will certainly participate.”

- (864) *Եթե գա, ապա հայկական պնդումների հարցում անպայման կփոխի իր կարծիքը:* (Armenpress 05.05.2006)
et'e ga apa haykakan pndum-ner-i
 CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG then Armenian allegation-PL-DAT
harc'-um anpayman kp'ox-i ir karcik'-ě.
 question-LOC certainly change-COND.FUT.3.SG his opinion.NOM-the
 “If he comes, then he will certainly change his opinion in the question of Armenian allegations.”

Conditional clauses introduced with *եթե et'e* or *երբ erb* usually follow the main clause, if the main clause contains the phrase *այն դեպքում ayn depk'um* “in that case”:

- (865) *Սակայն, առաջխաղացումը հնարավոր կլինի այն դեպքում, եթե այդ հնարավորությունները օգտագործվեն:* (Armenpress 13.12.2005)
sakayn ařaxač'um-ě hnaravor klin-i ayn depk'-um
 CONJ advance.NOM-the possible be-COND.FUT.3.SG that case-LOC
et'e ayd hnaravorut'yun-ner-ě oğtagorc-v-en.
 CONJ that possibility-PL.NOM-the use-Pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL
 “But the advance will be achievable in that case, if those possibilities are used.”

In spoken Armenian, the conjunctions *թե t'e* and *որ or* are more frequently used in conditional clauses. Also in spoken Armenian, the conditional clauses typically precede their main clause.

- (866) Որ ասում ենք անտեր ենք, սխալ ենք ասում: (Hetk' 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) Որ հիմի բոլորով վեր կենանք ու գնանք էստեղից, էն զինվորն ո՞ւմ համար է կանգնելու դիրքերում» (Hetk' 18.02.2007, colloquial speech)
or himi bolor-ov ver ken-ank' u gn-ank' ēstel-ic
 CONJ now all-INST stand up-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL CONJ go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL here-ABL
ēn zinvor-n um hamar ē 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) Նոր սոցիալական քարտ ստանալու համար, եթե նախկինը կորել է կամ այլևս գործածության ենթակա չէ, քաղաքացու լրացրած նոր հայտի հիման վրա նրան տրվում է նոր քարտ՝ նույն համարով: (Armenpress 21.03.2006)
nor so'cialakan k'art stanal-u hamar etē naxkin-ē
 new social card.NOM receive-INF-DAT POST CONJ former.NOM-the
kor-el ē kam aylews gorcacut'y-an ent'aka
 disappear-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ no more usage-DAT subject.NOM
č-ē k'alakacu lra-c'r-ac nor hayt-i himan vra nran
 neg-it is citizen-DAT fill in-caus-PTCP.RES. new order-DAT POST he.DAT
tr-v-um ē nor k'art 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 *որպեսզի orpeszi* "(in order) to" usually appear postposed to the main clause, subordinated final clauses introduced with the conjunction *որ or* "that" obligatorily follow the main clause.³⁴⁴

344. Gareginyan 1991: 271.

- (869) Նա ընդգծել է, որ հայկական կողմն ամեն ինչ կանի, որպեսզի այդ գաղափարն իրականություն դառնա: (Armenpress 14.05.2006)

na ěndgc-el ě or haykakan kotm-n
 he.NOM stress-PTCP.PERF. he is CONJ Armenian side.NOM-the
amen inč' kan-i orpeszi ayd galap'ar-n
 everything.NOM do-COND.FUT.3.SG CONJ that idea.NOM-the
irakanuťyun dařn-a.
 reality.NOM become-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG.

“He stressed that the Armenian side will do everything so this idea shall become reality.”

- (870) Ոմանք ամաչում են գրագետ խոսել, որպեսզի ծիծաղելի դրության մեջ չընկնեն կամ էլ, լավագույն դեպքում, ստիպված չլինըն դիմացինի համար թարգմանել ասածը: (Azg 07.04.2006)

omank' amač'-um en graget xos-el
 some be ashamed-PTCP.PRES. they are literate speak-INF
orpeszi cicateleli drut'y-an mej č'-ėnknen
 CONJ ridiculous situation-DAT POST neg-fall-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL
kam ěl lavaguyun depk'-um stip-vac
 CONJ even best case-LOC force-pass-PTCP.RES.
č'-linen dimac'in-i hamar
 neg-be-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL interlocutor-DAT POST
t'argman-el as-ac-ė.
 translate-INF say-PTCP.RES.NOM-the

“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.”

- (871) Նրանք ամեն ամիս իրենց թոշակներից մի քիչ վճարում են, որ չանջատեն:(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

nrank' amen amis irenc' tořak-ner-ic' mi k'ic'
 they.NOM every month.NOM their pension-PL-ABL a bit
včar-um en or č'-anjat-en.
 pay-PTCP.PRES. they are CONJ neg-switch off-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL.

“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) Որպեսզի ճանապարհը նորմալ գործի, Գուստովն առաջարկում է դրա պահպանությունը վստահել խաղաղապահներին:
(Armenpress 14.05.2006)

Orpeszi čanaparh-ě normal gorc-i Gustov-n
CONJ street.NOM-the normal work-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG Gustov.NOM-the

aʔaʃark-um ē dra pahpanutʹyun-ě
propose-PTCP.PRES. he is its preservation.NOM-the

vstah-el xalalaph-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 նրա համար *nra hamar*, այն բանի համար *ayn bani hamar*, այն նպատակով *ayn npatakov*, այն հաշվով *ayn hašvov* in the main clause stress the final meaning of the following subordinated clause:

- (873) Եվրախորհուրդը դա լավ գիտակցում է և դրա համար էլ կոչ է անում, որպեսզի ընդդիմությունը անհապաղ վերադառնա խորհրդարան:
(Armenpress 17.05.2006)

evroxorhurd-ě da lav gitakʹ-um ē ew
European Council.NOM-the it.NOM well recognise-PTCP.PRES. it is CONJ

dra hamar ēl koč ē an-um orpeszi ěnddimutʹyun-ě
it.GEN POST more call it is make-PTCP.PRES. CONJ opposition.NOM-the

anhapat veradaʔn-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 չնայած (որ) *čnayac or*, թեև *tʔew*, թեպետ *tʔepet*, թեկուզ *tʔekuz*, հակառակ որ *hakaʔak or* is usually and dominantly preposed to the main clause.

- (874) Չնայած եղել են շատ հրավերքներ, սակայն հայկական կողմը գերադասելի է համարում նիստերն անցկացնել Հայաստանում: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Čnayac el-el en šat hraverkʹ-ner sakayn hayakakan
CONJ be-PTCP.PERF. they are many invitation-PL.NOM CONJ Armenian

kołm-ě geradaseli ē hamar-um nist-er-n
side.NOM-the preferable it is consider-PTCP.PRES. session-PL.NOM-the

ancka-c'n-el Hayastan-um.
pass-caus-INF Armenia-LOC

“Even though there have been many invitations, (but) the Armenian side considers it preferable to hold the session in Armenia.”

- (875) Թեև Հայաստանը չունի իր սեփական արբանյակը, սակայն ունի այն շահագործելու համար անհրաժեշտ տարածքներ: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

t'ew Hayastan-ě č-un-i ir sep'akan abanyak-ě
CONJ Armenia.NOM-the neg-have-PRES.3.SG its own satellite.NOM-the
sakayn un-i ayn řahagorcel-u hamar anhražeřt tarack'-ner.
CONJ have-PRES.3.SG that.NOM run-INF-DAT POST necessary territory-PL.NOM

“Although Armenia does not have its own satellite, it has the necessary territories to run one.”

- (876) Թեպետ նորաձևությունը տասնյակ տարիների պատմություն ունի, բայց մինչև հիմա նորաձև հագուստի միակ չափանիշներն են ճիշտ կարված և հարմար հագուստը: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

t'epet norajewut'yun-ě tasnyak tari-ner-i patmut'yun un-i
CONJ fashion.NOM-the decade year-PL-DAT history.NOM have-PRES.3.SG
bayc' minčew hima norajew hagust-i miak čapaniš-ner-n
CONJ PREP now modern clothes-DAT only standard-PL.NOM-the

en čiřt kar-v-ac ew harmar hagust-ě.
they are exact sew-pass-PTCP.RES. CONJ comfortable clothes.NOM-the

“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.

- (877) Ամեն տարի ծրագրի շրջանակներում մոտ 40–50 հոգի ստանում է բնակարան, թեպետ մանկատների շրջանավարտների թիվն ամեն տարի մոտավորապես 30 է: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

amen tari cragt-i řřjanak-ner-um mot 40–50 hogi
every year.NOM program-DAT frame-PL-LOC approximately 40–50 person.NOM
stan-um ē bnakaran t'epet mankatn-er-i
receive-PTCP.PRES. it is apartment.NOM CONJ children's home-PL-DAT

řřjanavart-ner-i t'iv-n amen tari motavorapes 30 ē.
graduate-PL-DAT number.NOM-the every year.NOM almost 30 it is

“Every year approximately forty to fifty people receive an apartment within the program, although every year the number of graduates of the children's home is about thirty.”

3.5.4.2 *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 *որ* or *թե՛*.³⁴⁵

- (878) Բաճճյանը նույնիսկ ասաց, որ այսօր իր հուսահատությունն ավելի խորն է, քան հոկտեմբերի 27-ին էր: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- Baxšyan-ě nuynisk asac' or aysōr ir husahatu'yun-n*
 Baxšyan.NOM-the even say-AOR.3.SG CONJ today his despair.NOM-the
aveli xorn ē k'an hoktember-i 27-i-n ēr.
 more deep it is COMP October-DAT 27-DAT-the it was
 “Baxšyan even said that his despair was deeper today than it was on October 27th.”
- (879) Վ. Օսկանյանը պատասխանեց, որ ինչ-որ փուլում հարցը պետք է դրվի հասարակական քննարկման: (Armenpress 15.12.2005)
- V Ōskanyan-ě patasxan-ec' or inč'-or p'ul-um*
 V.Ōskanyan.NOM-the answer-AOR.3.SG CONJ some phase-LOC
harc'-ě petk' ē dr-v-i hasarakakan k'nmarkm-an.
 question.NOM-the put-pass.DEB.FUT.3.SG public discussion-DAT
 “V. Ōskanyan answered that at some stage the question must be put up for public discussion.”
- (880) Իրնա Արոյանը Ֆիլիպ Բեդրոսովիչին հարցրել է, թե ինչու են նրա ծրագրերում մեծ տեղ գրավում օտար հեղինակների երգերի մշակումները: (Armenpress 15.06.2006)
- Irna Aroyan-ě Filip Bedrostovič'-i-n harc'-el ē*
 Irna Aroyan.NOM-the Filip Bedrostovič'-DAT-the ask-PTCP.PERF. she is
tē inč'u en nra cragr-er-um mec teł
 CONJ why they are his program-PL-LOC big place.NOM
grav-um ōtar helinak-ner-i
 occupy-PTCP.PRES. foreign author-PL-DAT
erg-er-i mšakum-ner-ě.
 song-PL-DAT elaboration-PL.NOM-the
 “Irna Aroyan asked Filip Bedrostovič why the cover versions of songs by foreign writers occupied a big space in his program.”

345. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 155f; Badikyan 1976: 66f.

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) Ես նույնպես այդ զոհերից մեկի թոռն եմ», ասաց նա:
 (Armenpress 15.11.2005)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>es</i> | <i>nuynpes</i> | <i>ayd</i> | <i>zoh-er-ic'</i> | <i>mek-i</i> | <i>t'oř-n</i> | <i>em</i> |
| I.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 order³⁴⁶

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.

346. Harlig, Bardovi-Harlig 1988: 125–146; Kim 1988: 147–169; Herring, Paolillo 1995: 163–198; Kiss 1998: 241–268.

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) Արձակուրդն սկսվում է մեկ շաբաթից:

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) Մեկ շաբաթից սկսվում է արձակուրդը:

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) Ղասի ավարտը ազդարարող զանգին փոխարինում է փոքրիկների տրտունջը: (Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

das-i avart-ě azdarar-oł 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 trtunj-ě.
 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) Մնացել էին միայն անխոս տապանաքարերը: (Azg 10.01.2006)

Mnac'el ēin miayn anxos tapanak'ar-er-ě
 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 focus³⁴⁷ as normally used in questions, negations and compound verbs (865) (866) (867) and (b) for functional pragmatic focus³⁴⁸ (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.

(886) Ի՞նչ ես կարդում:

inč *es* *kard-um?*
wh-what are you read-PCTP.PRES.
wh-pronoun AUX V

“What are you reading?”

(887) Ես չեմ ծխում:

es *č-em* *cx-um.*
I.NOM neg-I am smoke-PTCP.PRES.
S neg AUX V

“I do not smoke.”

(888) Անին դուրս է եկել:

Ani-n *durs ē* *ek-el.*
Ani.NOM-the out she is go-PTCP.PRES.
S part AUX V

“Ani has gone out.”

(889) Նոր աշակերտը Վրաստանից է եկել:

nor ašakert-ě *Vrastan-ic' ē* *ek-el.*
new pupil.NOM-the Georgia-ABL it is come-PTCP.PERF.
S place adverbial AUX V

“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.

347. This term corresponds to Kiss’ “informational focus”, Dik’s “assertive focus” and Lambrecht’s “sentence focus”.

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) Վարդանը ուտում է կարմիր խնձորը:

Vardan-ě ut-um ě karmir xnjor-ě.
 Vardan.NOM-the eat-PTCP.PRES. he is red apple.NOM-the
 “Vardan is eating the red apple.”

Comment: a neutral, unmarked sentence, with a neutral intonation.

(890) a. Վարդանը ուտում է կարմիր խնձորը :

Vardan-ě ut-um ē karmir xnjor-ě.
 Vardan.NOM eat-PTCP.PRES. he is red apple.NOM-the
 “It is the red apple that Vardan is eating.”

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. Վարդանը ուտում է կարմիր խնձորը :

Vardan-ě ut-um ē karmir xnjor-ě.
 Vardan.NOM eat-PTCP.PRES. he is red apple.NOM-the
 “It is the red apple that Vardan is eating.”

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

Syntactic Position	Pragmatic Function
– Unmarked position but prosodically stressed	Contrastive/exhaustive/emphatic marking or identification of discourse entities
– Inversion into contrast prototypical syntactic position	Primarily stylistic variation
– Immediate preverbal position	Focus(ing)
– Marked hanging topic (with topic introducing expressions)	Promoting discourse entities to topic status

Extrapolation 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:

Syntactic Movement	Pragmatic Function
– Right dislocation	Expression of emphasis/contrast; afterthought; postponed identification
– Left dislocation	Defining/contrasting topic; anticipated identification
– Cleft sentences as a special type of left dislocation	Defining/contrasting topic
– Un-marked hanging topic	Promoting discourse entities to topic status
– Discontinuous noun phrase	Stylistic variation
– Quantifier floating	Stylistic variation

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) Քաղաք գնում է ավտոբուսը:

kałak' gn-um ē avtobus-ě.
 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).³⁴⁹

(891) *Վահեն, ես այսօր նրան չեմ հանդիպել:

Vahe-n es aysōr nran č'-em handip-el.

Vahe.NOM-the I.NOM today he.DAT neg-I am meet-PTCP.PERF:

“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) Ինչ վերաբերում է սննդին ու ծեծին, սուտ է: (Hetk' 09.01.2007)

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

“What concerns the food and the beating; it is a lie.”

(893) Ինչ վերաբերում է Հայաստանի ռադիոկայաններին, ապա դրանք գրեթե ամբողջովին կոմերցիալացված են կամ ունեն մշակութային բնույթ: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)

inč veraber-um ē Hayastan-i řadiokayan-ner-i-n apa

wh-what concern-PTCP.PRES. it is Armenia-DAT radio station-PL-DAT-the then

drank' gre'e ambořjovin komerc'ialac'-v-ac en

they.NOM almost totally commercialize-pass-PTCP.RES. they are

kam un-en mřakuřayin bnuyt'.

CONJ have-PRES.3.PL cultural character.NOM

“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.

349. I.e. Unmarked hanging topics are treated in the same way as left dislocations (cleft sentences): they are not accepted.

- (894) Արամը գնել է այս մեքենան:

Aram-ě gn-el ē ays mekëna-n.

Aram.NOM-the buy-PTCP.PERF. he is this car.NOM-the
 “Aram bought this car.”

An unmarked, neutral sentence. S V+AUX O

- (895) a. Այս մեքենան գնել է Արամը:

ays mekëna-n gn-el ē Aram-ě.

this car.NOM-the buy-PTCP.PERF. he is Aram.NOM-the
 “Aram bought this car.”

A marked sentence. There is an inversion of the subject. O V+AUX S.

- b. Արամն է գնել այս մեքենան:

Arám-n ē gn-el ays mekëna-n.

Aram.NOM-the he is buy-PTCP.PERF. this car.NOM-the
 “It is Aram, who bought this car.” (Lit.: Aram bought this car.)

A marked sentence. There is a marked focus: the subject appears in the preverbal position and additionally carries the sentence’s intonational nucleus; S AUX+V O

- c. Այս մեքենան է գնել Արամը:

Ays mekëna-n ē gn-el Aram-ě.

this car.NOM-the he is buy-PTCP.PERF. Aram.NOM-the
 “It is this car Aram bought.”

A marked sentence. The direct object appears in marked focus and because of the stylistic variation of postposing of the subject (subject inversion) in the sentence’s initial position; the direct object appears additionally and carries the sentence’s intonational nucleus. Pragmatic focus and subject inversion. O AUX + V S

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) Երևանում Արմենը հանդիպել է իր դասընկերոջը:
Erewan-um Armen-ě handip-el ē ir dasēnker-oj-ě.
 Yerevan-LOC Armen.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) Հուշարձանի հանդիսավոր բացումը կկայանա մի քանի ամիս հետո:
 (Armenpress 20.05.2006)
hušarjan-i handisavor bac'um-ě kkayan-a mi k'ani
 monument-DAT ceremonial opening.NOM-the be-COND.FUT.3.SG some
amis heto.
 month.NOM POST
 “The ceremonial opening of the monument will be after some months.”
 (Unaccusative verb)
- (898) Տղաները խաղում էին դասերից հետո:
Tla-ner-ě xat-um ein das-er-ic' heto.
 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 հարևան երկրները կրթական նոր համակարգերի անցել են 2 տարի առաջ: (Armenpress 28.12.2005)
isk harewan erkr-ner-ě krt'akan nor hamakarg-er-i
 and neighbour country-PL.NOM-the educational new system-PL-DAT
anc'-el en 2 tari ařaj.
 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 շաբաթից սկսվում է, արձակուրդը:
na mek šabat'ic' sks-v-um ē arjakurd-ě.
 it.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.

Extraposition from Noun phrase

Extraposition 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 extrapositions from noun phrases occur both with relative clauses and adpositional phrases.

Remember example (819), p. 597

- (819) Նրանք երկու սենյակ են զբաղեցնում, որոնցից մեկը ծառայում է որպես հյուրասենյակ, ննջարան և լողարան, իսկ մյուսը՝ պահեստ ու խորհանոց: (Hetk' 15.02.2007)
- nrank' erku senyak en zbate-c'n-um or-onc'-ic*
 they.NOM two room.NOM they are occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES. REL-PL-ABL
mek-ě cařay-um ě orpes hyurasenyak nnjaran ew
 one.NOM-the serve-PTCP.PRES. it is as living room sleeping room CONJ
lolaran, isk myus-ě 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 extraposed to the end of the clause, following the verbal form and typically not as the head noun phrase.

- (901) Սպաները մասնագիտորեն կատարում են իրենց ծառայողական պարտքը և պատկերացում ունեն պատվի և արժանապատվության մասին: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)
- Spa-ner-ě masnagitoren katar-um en irenc' cařayolakan*
 officer-PL.NOM-the professionally fulfil-PTCP.PRES. they are their official
partk'-ě 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 extraposed.

- (902) Երեկ Վարդուհին մի գիրք գնեց ձիերի մասին:

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.

- (903) Նրա հոգին՝ փափուկ ու բարի, դուրս էր հորդում նրա էությունից:
-
- (Abrahamyan 2004:33)

nra hogi-n p'ap'uk u bari durs ēr hord-um
 his soul.NOM-the soft CONJ good out it was rush-PTCP.PRES.
nra ēut'yun-ic'.
 his nature-ABL

“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.

- (904) Ամեն ծաղկում չքնաղ դեմքն եմ քո տեսնում.... (“Nights of Yerevan”
-
- poem, written MEA)

amen calk-um č'knał demk'-n em kò tesn-um.
 every flower-LOC admirable face.NOM-the I am your see-PTCP.PRES.
 (POSS+ ADJ+N-def) ... POSS

“In every flower I see your admirable face...”. (*kò č'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.

- (905) Ես գրքեր ունեմ հետաքրքիր. կուզես տամ՝ կարդաս: (colloquial MEA)

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

t-am kard-as.
give-SUBJ.1.SG read-SUBJ.2.SG.

“I have interesting books.(Lit: (Books I have interesting). Do you want that I give you that you read (them)?” (*hetak'rk'ir grker* “interesting books”)

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 *šat* “much/ many”; անթիվ *ant'iv* “numerous” have the property to allow them to float. The quantifier floating with this subgroup of quantifiers most frequently occurs in existential sentences.

- (906) Բայց կարիքավոր երկրներ շատ կան աշխարհում:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

bayc' karik'avor 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) Իսկ պահանջելու բան նորաբակցիները շատ ունեն: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

isk pahanjel-u ban norabakc'i-ner-ě
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 աշակերտներն այսօր գնացին դպրոց:

bolor ašakert-ner-n aysōr gnac'-in dproc'.
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. *Աշակերտները բոլոր այսօր գնացին դպրոց:

ašakert-ner-ě bolor aysōr gnac-'in dproc'.
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. Աշակերտները այսօր բոլորով գնացին դպրոց:

ašakert-ner-ě aysōr bolor-ov 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) Յուրաքանչյուր աշակերտ կստանա լավ գնահատական:

yurakančyur ašakert kstan-a lav gnahatakan.
QNT pupil.NOM receive-COND.FUT.3.SG. high mark.NOM

“Each pupil will receive high marks”.

Comment: A regular, neutral order QNT + N

- (909) a. *Աշակերտ յուրաքանչյուր կստանա լավ գնահատական:

ašakert yurakančyur 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. Աշակերտներից յուրաքանչյուրը կստանա լավ գնահատական:

ašakert-ner-ic' yurakančyur-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 երկուսը *erkusě* “both”,³⁵⁰ 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”.

- (910) Երկու աղջիկն էլ դեռ խաղում է տիկնիկներով:
erku aljik-n ēl deř xal-um ē 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. *Աղջիկը երկու էլ դեռ խաղում է տիկնիկներով:
aljik-ě erku ēl deř xal-um ē 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. Աղջիկները՝ երկուսն էլ դեռ խաղում են տիկնիկներով:
aljik-ner-ě erkus-n ēl deř 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 information in a sentence with unmarked order³⁵¹
- 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.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.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) Ո՞վ է գրել այս հոդվածը:

ôv ē gr-el ays hodvac-ě?
 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) Աննան է գրել այս հոդվածը:

Anna-n ē grel ays hodvac-ě.
 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.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.

352. Syntactic and functional pragmatic foci are covered by Kiss’ term “identificational focus”. Lambrecht uses the term “argument focus” for functional pragmatic focus.

353. Whereas the neutral and syntactic focus also occurs in Western Armenian, the functional pragmatic focus is a specific feature only of Eastern Armenian.

354. Comrie 1981: 57.

The various marked focus types, contrastive vs. exhaustive, which do 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) Ո՞վ է կարդում նոր գիրքը:

ov ē kard-um nor girk'-ě?

wh-who it is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the

“Who reads the new book?/Who is reading the new book?” (wh AUX V O)

(914) Անին ի՞նչ է կարդում:

Ani-n inč' ē kard-um?

Ani.NOM-the wh-what she is read-PTCP.PRES.

“What does Ani read? / What is Ani reading?” (S wh AUX V)

(915) Անին որտե՞ղ է կարդում նոր գիրքը:

Ani-n ortel ē kard-um nor girk'-ě?

Ani.NOM-the wh-where she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM

“Where does Ani read the new book?/ Where is Ani reading the new book?”

(S wh AUX V O)

355. Aġak'elyan 1958:457 ff; Abrahamyan 1975:154ff; Minassian 1996: 270; Parnasyan 1989:30; Kozintseva 1995:8; Abelyan 1965: 532f. etc.

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.

- (916) Ինչո՞վ կլցնես այս ահագին շտեմարանս: (Grakanut'yun 4:187)
inč-ov klč'n-es ays ahagin štemaran-s?
 wh-what-INST fill-COND.FUT.2.SG this huge barn.NOM-this
 “With what will you fill this huge barn here?” (wh V O)

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.³⁵⁷ These are the answers to the questions (917) (918) (919) (920):

- (917) a. Անին է կարդում նոր գիրքը:
Ani-n ē kard-um nor girk'-ě.
 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. *Անին կարդում է նոր գիրքը:
Ani-n kard-um ē nor girk'-ě.
 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. (Անին) նոր գիրքն է կարդում:
(Ani-n) nor girk'-n 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. * Անին նոր գիրքը կարդում է:
Ani-n nor girk'-ě 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. (Անին) գրադարանում է կարդում նոր գիրքը:

(Ani-n) gradaran-um ē kard-um nor girk'-ē.

(Ani.NOM-the) library-LOC she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the

“Ani reads the new book in the library. Ani is reading the new book
in the library”

Comment: the content question asked for the place (S wh AUX V O).
In the answer the place (library) is also in the focus position, i.e. (S)
place AUX V (O).

- (920) a. Հողով կլցնեմ այս ահագին շտեմարանը:

Hoł-ov klc'n-em ays ahagin štemaran-ē.

earth-INST fill-COND.FUT.1.SG this huge barn.NOM-the

“I will fill this huge barn with earth.”

Comment: the content question asked for the instrument (wh AUX V O).
In the answer the instrument (earth) also appears in the focus position,
i.e. (S) instrument AUX V O.

b. Negation

In simple clausal negation, the negated compound verbal tense or mood form is subject to a syntactic focus: the negative particle is directly prefixed to the inflected auxiliary; the auxiliary appears before the verb (neg-AUX + V).

- (921) Հայաստանի նախագահ Ռոբերտ Բոճարյանը չի ստացել ԱՄՆ
այցելելու հրավեր: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Hayastan-i naxagah Robert K'oč'aryan-ē č'-i

Armenia-DAT president.NOM Robert K'oč'aryan.NOM-the neg-he is

stac'-el. AMN aycelel-u hraver.

receive-PTCP.PERF. USA visit-INF-DAT invitation.NOM

“Armenia’s president, Robert K'oč'aryan, has not received a invitation to
visit the United States.”

c. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are created using one element, which is a simple lexical verb and further elements, which are from other lexical groupings (such as a noun an adverb or an adposition). In the formation of compound tenses, the inflected auxiliary always appears before the main verb (participle), or in other words between the verb’s first part and its main verb. (Vpart AUX V)

- (922) Կատարված հաշվարկները ցույց են տալիս, որ վնասի չափը հասել է
1 մլրդ դրամի: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)
katar-v-ac *hašvark-ner-ě* *c'uyc' en tal-is*
perform-pass-PTCP.RES. calculation.-PL.NOM-the Vpart they are show-PTCP.PRES.
or *vnas-i* *čap'-ě* *has-el* *ē 1 mlrd dram-i.*
CONJ damage-DAT measure.NOM-the reach-PTCP.PERF. it is 1 milliard dram-DAT
“The performed calculations show that the damage’s extent has reached one
milliard dram.”

In finite compound verbs, the verb’s first part immediately precedes its main verb (i.e. also in preverbal focus position). Vpart V

- (923) Ես նկատի ունեմ հակաօդային պաշտպանության համակարգը:
(Armenpress 30.11.2006)
es nkati un-em *hakaōdayain paštapanut'y-an*
I.NOM Vpart take into account-PRES.1.SG. air raid defence-DAT
hamakarg-ě.
system.NOM-the
“I am taking the air raid defences’ system into account.”

- (924) Հայաստանի գեղասահորդները դուրս կգան հունգարական
սառցադաշտ (Armenpress 23.01.2006)
Hayastan-i gelasahord-ner-ě *durs kg-an*
Armenia-DAT figure skater.PL.NOM-the Vpart come-COND.FUT.3.PL
hungarakan sařcadašt.
Hungarian rink.NOM
“Armenia’s figure skaters will come out on a Hungarian skating rink.”

- (925) Մեր մրցակիցը լուրջ դիմադրություն ցույց տվեց:
(Armenpress 31.03.2006)
mer mrc'akic'-ě lurj dimadrut'yun c'uyc' tv-ec'.
our rival.NOM-the serious resistance.NOM Vpart show-AOR.3.SG.
“Our rival showed serious resistance.”

In combinations of content questions, negation and compound verbs, the following orders occur:

– Negated Questions

In negated content questions, the negative prefixed auxiliary (or negative prefixed finite verb) appears in the preverbal focus position directly following the wh-pronoun, i.e. wh neg-AUX V? wh neg-V?

- (926) Արամն ի՞նչ չի կարդում:

Aram-n inč' 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) Հարց է առաջանում ինչո՞ւ չէին ստանում: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

harc' ē aʔaʔanum inč'u
 question.NOM it is come up-PTCP.PRES. wh-why

č'-ēin stan-um?
 neg-they were receive-PTCP.PRES.

“The question comes up why they did not receive (it).” (wh neg-AUX V?)

- (928) Ինչո՞ւ չկարողացավ պատասխանել: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

inč'u 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) Արամն ինձ ցույց չի տալիս Բալակյանի նոր գիրքը:

Aram-n inj c'uyč' č'-i tal-is
 Aram.NOM-the I.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) Որպես նախընտրական բլոկ, կոալիցան նկատի չէր առնվում:
-
- (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

orpes naxētrakan blok koalica-n
 as pre-electorial block.NOM coalition.NOM-the

nkati č'-ēr aʔn-v-um.
 Vpart neg-it was consider-pass.PTCP.PRES

“The coalition was not being taken into consideration as pre-electorial block.”

With finite verb forms, the verb's first part immediately precedes the negative prefixed finite verb. Vpart neg-V

- (931) Որոշ միավորների կորուստը թույլ չտվեց թիմին ավելի հաջող
 ելույթ ունենալ: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

oroš miavor-ner-i korust-ě t'uył č'-tv-ec' t'im-i-n
 certain point-PL-DAT loss.NOM-the Vpart neg-allow-AOR.3.SG team-DAT-the
aveli hajot eluyt' un-enal.
 more successful appearance.NOM have-INF

“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?

- (932) Արամն ի՞նչ է ցույց տալիս:

Aram-n inč' ē c'uyč' tal-is?
 Aram.NOM-the wh-what he is Vpart show-PTCP.PRES.
 “What does Aram show?”

- (933) Ինչպիսի՞ օգնություն է ցույց տրվում կենտրոնում: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

inč'pisi oğnut'yun ē c'uyč' tr-v-um kentron-um?
 wh-which help.NOM it is Vpart show-pass-PTCP.PRES. centre-LOC
 “Which help is shown in the centre?”

With finite verbs, the whole compound form directly follows the *wh*-pronoun, i.e. *wh* Vpart V?

- (934) Հետաքրքիր է, թե ի՞նչ նկատի ունեն «չարաշահում» ասելով:
 (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

hetak'rk'ir ē t'ē inč' nkati un-en
 interesting it is CONJ wh-what Vpart consider-PRES.3.PL
č'arašahum as-el-ov.
 misuse.NOM say-INF-INST

“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?

- (935) Արամն ինձ ի՞նչ ցույց չի տալիս:
Aram-n inj inc' c'uyc' č-i tal-is?
 Aram.NOM-the I.DAT wh-what Vpart neg-he is show-PTCP.PRES.
 “What is Aram not showing me?”

Regarding finite verb forms, the verb's first part immediately follows the wh-pronoun and immediately precedes the negative prefixed finite verb form. wh Vpart neg-V?

- (936) ինչո՞ւ թոյլ չտվեց ապրել այնտեղ:
inc'u t'uył č-tvec' apr-el ayntel?
 wh-why Vpart neg-allow-AOR.3.SG live-INF there
 “Why did he not allow to live there?”

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 contrastive, 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 է կարդում նոր գիրքը:
Ani-n ē kard-um nor girk'-č.
 Ani.NOM-the she is read-PTCP.PRES new book.NOM-the
 “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 Anuš 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) Աղջիկներից ո՞րն է կարդում նոր գիրքը:
aljik-ner-ic' ór-n ē kard-um nor girk'-č.
 girl-PL-ABL wh-which-the she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the
 “Which of the girls is reading the new book?”

Reply:

- (938) a. Անին է կարդում նոր գիրքը:
Ani-n ē kard-um nor girk'-ě.
 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) Արամն է գնել այս մեքենան:
Arám-n ē gn-el ays mek'ena-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. Արամն այս մեքենան է գնել:
Aram-n áys mek'ena-n ē 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. Արամը գնել է այս մեքենան :
Aram-ě gn-él ē ays mek'ena-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 intonational 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) Անին գիրք է կարդում:
Ani-n girk' ē 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. Անին է գիրք կարդում:

Ani-n ē girk' kard-um.
Ani.NOM-the she is book.NOM read-PTCP.PRES.

“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. Անին գիրք է կարդում:

Ani-n girk' ē kard-um.
Ani.NOM-the book.NOM she is read-PTCP.PRES.

“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 է կարդում Անին:

Girk' ē kard-um Ani-n.
book.NOM she is read-PTCP.PRES. Ani.NOM-the

“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 S³⁵⁸

358. Other order variants of this sentence would sound odd to native speakers without being embedded in a special context.

- (940) d. Անին 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 sentence. Only marginally, it may be interpreted, in case of intonation, as marking the action, i.e. the verb “read”.

- e. *Անին գիրք կարդում է:

Ani-n girk' kard-um ē. (S O V+AUX)

Native speakers judge such a sentence as ungrammatical.

Other examples:

- (941) Եվ դատարանն է որոշում պահպանել՞ նրա ծնողական իրավունքը,
թե՞ ոչ: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

Ew dataran-n ē oroš-um pahpan-el nra cnołakan
CONJ court.NOM-the it is decide-PTCP.PRES. protect-INF his parental
iravunk'-ě t'ē 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) Բայց, ամեն դեպքում, նրանք շատ դժվար են հրաժարվում
խնամողից կախված լինելու սովորությունից: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Bayc amen depk'-um nrank' šat džvar en
CONJ all case-LOC they.NOM INT difficult they are
hrazar-v-um xnamoł-ic' kax-v-ac
abandon-antic-PTCP.PRES. fostering -ABL depend-pass-PTCP.RES.
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) Եղբայրն ու քույրերը վաղուց Ռուսաստան են տեղափոխվել.
(Hetk' 19.02.2007)

elbayr-n u k'uyr-er-ě 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) Ես շատ անգամ էի եղել անտառում, բայց առաջին անգամ էր, որ պիտի գիշերեի
այնտեղ: (Grakanut'yan 4:170)

es šat angam ēi elel antař-um bayc' ařajin angam
I.NOM very time I was be-PTCP.PERF. forest-LOC CONJ first time
ēr or piti gišer-ēi ayntel.
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 *miayn* “only”, նույնիսկ *nuynisk* “even”, անգամ *angam* “even”, մանավանդ *manavand* “particularly”, մինչև անգամ *minčew angam* “even”, etc.

- (945) Տիգրանը ուտում է միայն իր տատիկի խնձորները

Tigran-ě ut-um ē miayn ir
Tigran.NOM-the eat-PTCP.PRES. he is only his
tatik-i xnjor-ner-ě.
grandmother-DAT apple-PL.NOM-the

“Tigran eats only the apples of his grandmother.”

- (946) Նա ընդհանրապես չէր նկարում, երբ նույնիսկ անցել էր 50-ը:
-
- (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

na ěndhanrapes č'ěr nkar-um erb núynisk
he.NOM generally neg-he was paint-PTCP.PRES. wh-when even
anc'-el ē 50-ě.
pass-PTCP.PERF. he was 50.NOM-the

“He generally did not use to paint, even when he had passed fifty.”

- (947) Հիմա այս ամենը մնացել է միայն մարդկանց հիշողություններում:
-
- (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

hima ays amen-ě mnac'-el ē miayn
now this all.NOM-the stay-PTCP.PERF. it is only
mard-kanc' hišoht'yun-ner-um.
person-PL-DAT memory-PL-LOC

“Now all that has remained only in the memory of the people.”

- (948) Ճաշարանում ափսեներ է լվանում, թխվածքաբլիթներ է թխում,
-
- անգամ աշխատում է գիշերները: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

čaşaran-um apše-ner ē lvan-um txvack'ablit'-ner
restaurant-LOC plate-PL.NOM he is wash-PTCP.PRES. cookie-PL.NOM
ē t'x-um angám ašxatum ē gišer-ner-ě.
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. Տիգրանը միայն իր տատիկի խնձորներն է ուտում:
Tigran-ě 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.”³⁵⁹

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) Անին չի կարդում նոր գիրքը:
Ani-n č-i kard-um nor girk'ě.
 Ani.NOM-the neg-she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the
 “Ani does not read the new book.”
 Comment: Negated, neutral sentence S neg-AUX+V O; positive sentence “Անին կարդում է նոր գիրքը: *Ani-n kardum ē nor girk'-ě.* “Ani reads a new book”

- a. Անին չի կարդում նոր գիրքը :
Aní-n č-i kard-um nor girk'-ě.
 Ani.NOM-the neg-she is read-PTCP.PRES. new book.NOM-the
 “It is Ani who 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. Անին նոր գիրքը չի կարդում:
Ani-n nór girk'-ě 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*³⁶⁰

In case of constituent negation, the negation particle *ոչ օ՛* 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) Բայց հարցն այն է, որ ոչ բարձր աշխատավարձը նպաստում է կոռուպցիայի զարգացման:

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 kořupc'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) Բայց հարցն այն է, որ ոչ բարձր աշխատավարձն է նպաստում կոռուպցիայի զարգացմանը:

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 kořupc'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) Փափուլ պապը հպարտությամբ է ցույց տալիս նաև հին ձեռագրերի մասնագետի մակագրած «Ձեռագրերի հետքերով» գիրքը: (Hetk' 29.01.2007)

P'ap'ul pap-ě hpartut'y-amb ē c'uyc' tal-is
 P'ap'ul grandfather.NOM-the pride-INST he is Vpart show-PTCP.PRES .
naew hin jeřagr-er-i masnaget-i makagr-ac "Jeřagr-er-i
 also old manuscript-PL-DAT expert-DAT title-PTCP.RES. "manuscript-PL-DAT
hetk'-er-ov" girk'-ě.
 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...

CHAPTER 4

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) Արան արագ է խոսում:
Ara-n arag ē 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 *ի i* and *ու u* of a closed syllable undergo alternation, they are either reduced to a schwa or totally deleted, as in սրտացավ *srt-a-c'av* “heartache” < սիրտ *sirt* “heart” + ցավ *c'av* “ache, pain”; գլխաշոր *glx-a-šor* “kerchief, scarf” > գլուխ *glux* “head” + շոր *šor* “cloth”.
- The final *ու u* of an open syllable often becomes -վ -v-, particularly with the following word formation -ա -a-, as in առու *aʀu* “creek” < առվակ *aʀv-ak* “little creek”.

- The final *i* of an open syllable of polysyllabic words combined with a following unstressed word formation *-ա- -a-* may trigger a sound change (i.e. across a morpheme boundary *-i + -a = -e-*), as in *որդեսեր ordeser* “loving one’s children” > *որդի-ա-սեր ordi+a +ser*; *i+a* undergo sound change, thus *որդ-ե-սեր ord-e-ser*
- The final *i* in an open syllable of polysyllabic words combined with the diminutive suffix *-ակ -ak* may also trigger a sound change in the form of a glide formation: *-ի -i + -ակ -ak = -յակ y-ak*, as in *կղզի ktzi* “island” < *կղզյակ ktzyak* “little island” < *ktzi + -ak*
- The diphthong *ույ uy* often alternates with *ու u*, as *ինույն guyn* “colour” < *զունավոր 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 derivatives 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 Prefixes³⁶¹

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 *ան- an-*, *դժ- dž-*, *չ- č-*, *տ- t-*, the locational prefix *ներ- ner-*, and the superlative prefix *ամենա- amena-* are attached to the base by means of the vowel *-ա-, -a-*, if the base’s initial sound is a consonant.

The superlative prefix ամենա- amena-

The superlative prefix *ամենա- 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: *ամենահարմար amena-harmar* “most comfortable”, *ամենածանր amena-canr* “heaviest”, *ամենատերկար amena-erkar* “longest” etc.

Negative and privative prefixes

These types of prefix are commonly used to alter the meaning of a term from positive into negative.

361. Minassian1996: 50f. Abrahamyan 1981: 105f.

In MEA, the following negative/privative prefixes are used: *ան-* *an-*; *դժ-* *dž-*; *չ-* *č-*; *տ-* *t-* and *ապ-* *ap-*.

The given prefixes do however not exhibit equal productivity.

a. *ան-* *an-* is the most productive negative prefix. It freely combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots.

– *ան-* *an-* + noun; forms adjectives with the meaning “lacking of, free of”, for example *տուն tun* “house” > *անտուն an-tun* “homeless”

խիղճ xilč “conscience” > *անխիղճ an-xilč* “ruthless”

ամոթ amot “shame” > *անամոթ an-amot* “shameless”

ան- *an-* + adjective; forms an antonym of the adjective, e.g.

առողջ arołj “healthy” > *անառողջ an-arolj* “unhealthy”

բնական bnakan “natural” > *անբնական an-bnakan* “unnatural”

կիրթ kirt “educated” > *անկիրթ an-kirt* “uneducated”

– *ան-* *an-* + verbal roots; forms adjectives with negative a meaning, e.g.

շարժել šarž-el “move” > *անշարժ an-šarž* “motionless, immovable”

համբերել hamber-el “to bear, to be patient” > *անհամբեր an-hamber* “impatient”

համեմատել hamemat-el “to compare” > *անհամեմատ an-hamemat* “incomparable, matchless”

b. *ապ-* *ap-* combines with nouns, adjectives and verbs, with which it forms antonymous meaning. *ապ(ա)- ap(a)-* + noun, forms negative adjectives or nouns, e.g.

շնորհ šnorh “grace” > *ապաշնորհ ap-a-šnorh* “maladroit”

երախտ- eraxt- “gratitude” > *ապերախտ ap-eraxt* “ingrate”

ուշ(ք) us(k) “mind” > *ապուշ ap-us* “idiot; silly”

– *ապ(ա)- ap(a)-* + adjective, forms antonyms of adjectives, e.g.

երջանիկ erjanik “happy” > *ապերջանիկ ap-erjanik* “unhappy”

– *ապ(ա)- ap(a)-* + verb, forms antonyms of verbs, privative verbs and verbs with reversative meaning, e.g.

զինել zin-el “to arm” > *ապազինել apa-zinel* “to disarm”

կոդավորել kodavor-el “to encode” > *ապակոդավորել apa-kodavorel* “to decode, to decipher”

c. *դժ-* *dž-* is not very productive and in many cases is highly lexicalised. It combines with adjectives and nouns, denoting antonymous meaning.

– *դժ-* *dž-* + noun, forms adjectives with the meaning “lacking of, free of”, sometimes also real antonyms:

գույն guyn “colour” > *դժգույն dž-guyn* “colourless, pale”

բախտ baxt “fortune” > *դժբախտ dž-baxt* “unfortunate, unlucky”

– *դժ-* *dž-* + adjective, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:

գոհ *goh* “content, satisfied” > դժգոհ *dž-goh* “dissatisfied, discontented”

d. չ- չ’- exhibits a very limited use and productivity with nouns and adjectives. Most adjectives with prefix չ’- are lexicalised, e.g.

բեր(ք) *ber(k’)* “harvest, yield, fruit” > չբեր չ’-*ber* “sterile”

կամ(ք) *kam(k’)* “will, wish” > չկամ չ’-*kam* “malicious, vicious”

With verbs, however, չ- չ’- 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, with verbs it also has an important syntactic function.

E.g.

գրել *gr-el* “to write” (infinitive) > չգրել չ’-*grel* “not to write” գրեցի *grec’-i* “I wrote” (Aor. 1.Sg.) > չգրեցի չ’-*grec’i* “I did not write”

գրեմ *gre-m* “I shall write” (Subj.Fut.1.Sg.) > չգրեմ չ’-*grem* “I shall not write”

գրում եմ *gr-um em* “I am writing” (Pres.1.Sg.) > չեմ գրում չ’-*em grum* “I am not writing”

գրած *grac* “written” (Part.Res.) > չգրած չ’-*grac* “not written”, e.g. իմ գրած նամակը *im grac namak-ě* “the letter I have written” > իմ չգրած նամակը *im չ’-grac namak-ě* “the letter I have not written”, etc.

e. տ- *t-* is nowadays unproductive. It combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots.

– տ- *t-* + nouns, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:

ծև *jew* “shape” > տծև *t-jew* “shapeless, formless”

– տ- *t-* + adjectives, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:

գեղեցիկ *gelec’ik* “beautiful” > տգեղ *t-geł* “ugly”

հաճելի *hačeli* “pleasant” > տհաճ *t-hač* “unpleasant”

– տ- *t-* + verbal roots, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning, e.g.

գիտենալ, գիտել *gitenal, gitel* “to know” > տգետ *t-get* “ignorant”

Prefixes of degree and size

These prefixes usually have excess meaning.

– արտ- *art-* “extra-”; e.g. արտակարգ *art-a-karg* “extraordinary, remarkable”, արտահերթ *art-a-hert* “extraordinary” etc.

– գեր- *ger-* “super-, more than, special”. e.g. գերազնահատել *ger-a-gnahatel* “to over-rate”; գերակատարել *ger-a-katarel* “to over-fulfill”; գերանաքուր *ger-a-mak’ur* “very clean, spotless”; գերապայծառ *ger-a-paycař* “brilliant, splendid” etc.

– դեր- *der-* “vice-, pro-” is not very productive; as in դերանուն *der-anun* “pronoun”, դերբայ *der-bay* “adverb” etc.

Prefixes of orientation and attitude

- բաղ- *bał-* “co-, together” combines with nouns, adjectives and often with verbal roots, e.g. բաղաձայն *bał-a-jayn* “consonant” < ձայն *jayn* “voice, sound”, բաղադրություն *bał-a-drut’yun* “composition” < դրություն *drut’yun* “place, position, situation”, բաղդատել *bał-datel* “to compare” < դատել *datel* “to judge” etc.
- ընդ- *ënd-* “against, opposite; for-”, ընդմիշտ *ënd-mišt* “forever”, ընդհանուր *ënd-hanur* “general”
- հակ- *hak-* “contra-, anti-”, հակասել *hak-asel* “to contradict”, հակազդել *hak-azdel* “to counteract” < ազդել *azdel* “to affect, to influence”, հակամարմին *hak-a-marmin* “antibody”, հակադիր *hak-a-dir* “opposite” etc.
- հեղ- *hel-* “contra-, contrary, inverse”, e.g. հեղախոսություն *hel-a-pòxut’yun* “revolution” < փոխություն *pòxut’yun* “< փոխել *pòxel* “to change, to alter” etc.
- դեմ-, դիմ- *dem-, dim-* “against” as in դիմադրություն *dim-a-drut’yun* “resistance, opposition”, դիմամարտ *dim-a-mart* “opponent, enemy” < *mart* “battle, fight, combat”, դիմադարձել *dim-a-darjnel* “to oppose” etc.
- համ- *ham-* “all-, co-, com-, pan-; jointly”, e.g. համաժողով *ham-a-žotov* “convention”, համաձայն *ham-a-jayn* “agreeably, according to” < ձայն *jayn* “voice, sound”; համագործակցություն *ham-a-gorcakc’ut’yun* “cooperation”, համասեռ *ham-a-seř* “uniform, homogeneous”, համարժեք *ham-aržek’* “equivalent”, համահայկական *ham-a-haykakan* “panarmenian” etc.
- տար- *tar-* “different (from); foreign; extra-”, as in տարադրամ *tar-a-dram* “foreign currency”, տարատեսակ *tar-a-tesak* “various; variety, version”; տարօրինակ *tar-òrinak* “strange, extravagant”, տարամիտել *tar-a-mitel* “to diverge” < միտել *mitel* “to lean, to incline, to bias” etc.
- տրամ- *tram-* “other, part of, partly, dia-” as in տրամադրություն *tram-a-drut’yun* “mood, temper” < դրություն *drut’yun* “place, position, situation”, տրամաբանական *tram-a-banakan* “logical” < բանական *banakan* “rational, logical”, տրամաչափել *tram-a-čapèl* “to calibrate” < չափել *čapèl* “to measure” etc.
- փոխ- *pòx-* “trans-; reverse, back; inter-; vice-” as in փոխարկում *pòx-arkum* “conversion” < արկանել *ark-anel* “to cast, to throw; փոխնախագահ *pòx-naxagah* “vice-president”, փոխադարձ *pòx-a-darj* “mutual, reciprocal”, փոխազդել *pòx-azdel* “to interact” etc.

Locational prefixes

- անդր- *andr-* “trans-; ultra-, over-; re-; other, other side” has manifold meanings, among them locational, contemplative and excess meaning, e.g. անդրկովկաս *andr-kovkas* “Transcaucasus”, անդրածովյան *andr-a-covyan* “overseas”, անդրադառնալ *andr-a-darñal* “to reflect, to revert”, անդրամանուշակագույն *andr-a-manušakaguyn* “ultraviolet” etc.
- առ- *ař* “to, by, near, close to”, e.g. առկայություն *ař-kayut’yun* “presence, availability, handy”, արձեռն *ař-jeřn* “handy, pocket”, առօրյա *ař-òrya* “daily; dull”, արլցնել *ař-lc’nel* “to download” < լցնել *lc’nel* “to fill” etc.

- արտ- *art-* “outside, out-”, e.g. արտածել *art-aced* “to deduce; to output” արտաբերել *art-a-berel* “to pronounce” < բերել *berel* “to bring”, արտագրել *art-a-grel* “to write out, to re-write”, արտահանել *art-a-hanel* “to export” < հանել *hanel* “to draw out, to take out” etc.
- բաց- *bac’-* “ex-, extra-, far, away, apart from” combines with nouns, adjectives and verbal roots, e.g. բացահայտում *bac’-a-haytum* “exposure, revelation” < հայտնել *hayt-nel* “to inform to announce”, բացահայտ *bac’-a-hayt* “apparent, explicit”, բացականչել *bac’-a-kančel* “to exclaim” < կանչել *kančel* “to call, to shout” etc.
- ենթ- *ent’-* “sub-”, as in ենթակա *ent’-aka* “subject”, ենթախումբ “subgroup”, ենթամաշկային *ent’-a-maşkayin* “hypodermic”, ենթադրել *ent’-a-drel* “to suppose” < դնել *dnel* “to put” etc.
- ընդ- *ënd-* “in-; inter-; with”, e.g. ընդգրկել *ënd-grkel* “to include”, ընդհատել *ënd-hatel* “to intervene, to interrupt” < հատել *hatel* “to divide”, ըրդմիջում *ënd-mijum* “break; interruption, pause” etc.
- հար- *har-* “near, close to; co-; joint”, e.g. հարադրել *har-a-drel* “to juxtapose” < դնել *dnel* “to put”, հարազեկուցիչ *hara-zekuc’ič* “co-lecturer”, etc.
- մակ- *mak-* “sur-”, e.g. մակերես *mak-eres* “surface”, մակաբուծ *mak-a-buc* “parasite”, մականուն *mak-anun* “nickname, antiquated: surname” etc.
- մեջ-, միջ- *mej-, mij’-* “in, inter-; middle of; between”, e.g. մեջտեղ *mej-tel* “centre”, միջանցք *mij-anc’k* “corridor, passage”, միջադեպ *mij-a-dep* “incident, episode”, մեջբերել *mej-berel* “to quote”, միջամտել *mij-a-mtel* “interfere” etc.
- ներ- *ner-* “in, inside of”, e.g. ներգաղթել *ner-galtel* “immigrate”, ներգրել *ner-grel* “to inscribe” etc.
- պար- *par-* “about, around”, e.g. պարագիծ *par-a-gic* “circumference” < գիծ *gic* “line”, պարբերական *par-berakan* “periodical” etc.
- ստոր- *stor-* “sub-, under-, below”, e.g. ստորագրել *stor-a-grel* “to sign, to subscribe”, ստորադաս *stor-a-das* “subordinate, inferior” < դաս *das* “class” etc.
- վայր- *vayr-* “down”, e.g. վայրէջք *vayr-ëjk* “landing, descent” < էջք *ëjk* “descending” < իջնել *ijnel* “to descend, to lower”, վայրահակ *vayr-a-hak* “inclined, downwards” etc.
- վեր- *ver-* “on, above, super-”, e.g. վերադաս *ver-a-das* “higher; chief, boss” < դաս *das* “class”, վերագրություն *ver-a-grut’yun* “inscription, epigraph”, վերահսկել *ver-a-hskel* “to supervise” etc.

Temporal, aspectual or order prefixes

- առաջ- *ařař-* “pre-, before”, e.g. առաջաբան *ařař-a-ban* “preface, foreword”, առաջամաս *ařař-a-mas* “front” etc.
- հետ- *re-, post-, after*, as in հետամնաց *het-a-mnac* “backward” < մնալ *mnal* “to stay, to remain”, հետմահու *het-mahu* “posthumous”, հետաձգել *het-a-jgel* “to postpone” etc.
- նախ- *nax-* “fore-, pre-, proto”, e.g. նախաբան *nax-a-ban* “preface”, նախահայր *nax-a-hayr* “fore-father”, նախագահել *nax-a-gahel* “to preside” < գահ *gah* “throne” etc.

- վեր- *ver-* “re-”, e.g. վերածնունդ *ver-a-cnund* “rebirth, renaissance”, վերադառնալ *ver-a-daʁnal* “to return”, վերանորոգել *ver-a-norogel* “to renovate, to renew” etc.

Quantitative prefixes

- բազմ- *bazm-* “multi-, poly-”, e.g. բազմազգ *bazm-azg* “multinational”, բազմահարկ *bazm-a-hark* “multi-storey”, բազմավանկ *bazm-a-vank* “polysyllabic” etc.
- երկ- *erk-* “bi-, duo”,³⁶² e.g. երկլեզվություն *erk-lezvutʹyun* “bilingualism”, երկկողմանի *erk-kolʹmani* “bilateral”, երկակին *erk-a-kin* “bigamist”, երկատեսակ *erk-a-tesak* “of two kinds” etc.
- կիս- *kis-* “half-, semi-, demi”, e.g. կիսագունդ *kis-a-gund* “hemisphere” < գունդ *gund* “sphere, ball”, կիսածայն *kis-a-jayn* “semivowel, half-tone”, կիսաքաղցր *kis-a-kʰalʹcʻr* “semi-sweet (wine)”, etc.
- միա- *mia-* “mono; uni-”, e.g. միաստվածություն *mia-astvacutʹyun* “monotheism”, միալար *mia-lar* “monotonous” < լար *lar* “wire, chord, string” միաձև *mia-jew* “uniform”, միավանկ *mia-vank* “monosyllabic” etc.

“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).

- ավտո- *avto-* “auto- (self-”, e.g. ավտոբուս *avtobus* “bus”, ավտոմատ *avtomat* “automat”, ավտոմեքենա *avtomekʻena* “car” etc.
- ինքն- *inkʻn-* “auto-, self-”, e.g. ինքնակենսագրություն *inkʻn-a-kensagrutʹyun* “autobiography”; ավտոնոմ *avtonom* = ինքնավար *inkʻn-a-var* “autonomous”
- նեո- *neo-* “new”, e.g. նեոլիթ *neo-litʻ* “neolithikum, young stone age”, նեոլոգիզմ *neologizm* = նորաբանություն *nor-a-ban-utʹyun* “neologism” < նոր *nor* “new” + բան *ban* “word” + suffix -ություն *-utyun*
- պան- *pan-* “pan-, all-”, e.g. պանիսլամիզմ *pan-islamizm* = համաիսլամություն *ham-a-islamutʹyun* “pan-islamism”
- տելե- *tele-* “Tele-”, e.g. տելեվիզոր *tele-vizor* = հեռուստացույց *heʻru-stacʻuycʻ* “televisor”, տելեֆոն *tele-fon* = հեռախոս *heʻ-a-xos* “phone”

362. Please note that the formational *-ա-а-* does not appear in all derivations with this prefix. It seems that younger lexemes as well as loan translations preferably have non formational *-ա-а-* 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 subsection.

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 *-իստ -ist*, *-կից -kic*, *-յան -yan*, *-վար -var*, *-ուհի -uhi*, *-ցի -c'i*), and those that are used to form non-concrete, abstract nouns (typically *-ություն -ut'yun*, *-ում -um*). Some of the suffixes to be given can be used for both derivation of concrete (including human) and abstract nouns.

-ակ, -ak; -իկ, -ik; -ուկ, -uk

This suffix may denote a diminutive, sometimes pejorative meaning. *-իկ -ik* has often a caressing meaning, e.g.

տուն <i>tun</i> “house”	> տնակ <i>tn-ak</i> “small house”
իմաստ <i>imast</i> “sense, meaning”	> իմաստակ <i>imast-ak</i> “little meaning”
մայր <i>mayr</i> “mother”	> մայրիկ <i>mayr-ik</i> “little mother, dear mother”
մարդ <i>mard</i> “man, person”	> մարդուկ <i>mard-uk</i> “manikin; also fool” etc.

*-(ա)նոց, -(a)noc*³⁶³

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,³⁶⁴ e.g.

363. Abrahamyan 1974: 124. Ēloyan 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. Կամո *Kamo* > Կամոյանոց *Kamo-ya-noc* “Kamo’s place”.

364. Minassian 1996: 125.

ամառ <i>amar</i> “summer”	> ամառանոց <i>amar-a-noc</i> “summer cottage”
զազան <i>gazan</i> “beast”	> զազանանոց <i>gazan-a-noc</i> “zoo”
հյուր <i>hyur</i> “guest”	> հյուրանոց <i>hyur-a-noc</i> “hotel”
հազար <i>hazar</i> “1000”	> հազարանոց <i>hazar-a-noc</i> “a thousand note” etc.

-արան, *-aran*³⁶⁵

This denominal suffix

– forms place names or denotes places, e.g.

զանձ <i>ganj</i> “treasure”	> զանձարան <i>ganj-aran</i> “treasury”
դաս <i>das</i> “lesson, class”	> դասարան <i>das-aran</i> “class-room”
սուրճ <i>surc</i> “coffee”	> սրճարան <i>srč-aran</i> “coffee shop”
կաթողիկոս <i>kat’olikos</i>	> կաթողիկոսարան <i>kat’olikos-aran</i> “Catholicossate” etc.

– denotes a collection or compilation, e.g.

բառ <i>bař</i> “word”	> բառարան <i>bař-aran</i> “dictionary”
երգ <i>erg</i> “song”	> երգարան <i>erg-aran</i> “book of songs”
սաղմոս <i>salmos</i> “psalm”	> սաղմոսարան <i>salmos-aran</i> “psalter” etc.

-արեն, երեն *-aren, -eren*

This specific suffix exclusively derives language names from nouns and adjectives, e.g.

հայ <i>hay</i> “Armenian”	> հայերեն <i>hay-eren</i> “Armenian (language)”
հույն <i>huyn</i> “Greek”	> հունարեն <i>hun-aren</i> “Greek (language)” etc.

-ելեն, *-elen*

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.

երկաթ <i>erkat</i> “iron”	> երկաթեղեն <i>erkat’-elen</i> “ironware, hardware”
արծաթ <i>arcat</i> “silver”	> արծաթեղեն <i>arcat’-elen</i> “things made of silver; silver jewellery”
միս <i>mis</i> “meat”	> մսեղեն <i>ms-elen</i> “made of meat; meat products” etc.

-ենի, *-eni*

This suffix usually derives plant names, particularly names of trees and bushes, from nouns denoting fruits, e.g.

դեղձ <i>delj</i> “peach”	> դեղձենի <i>delj-eni</i> “peach tree”
խնձոր <i>xnjor</i> “apple”	> խնձորենի <i>xnjor-eni</i> “apple-tree”
տանձ <i>tanj</i> “pear”	> տանձենի <i>tanj-eni</i> “pear tree” etc.

-իզմ, *-izm*

The “international suffix” *-izm* is used to denote items concerning religion, politics, philosophy and arts, e.g. իդեալիզմ *idealism*, ռեալիզմ *realizm*, մարքսիզմ *mark’sizm* etc.

-իստ, *-ist*

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

365. Abrahamyan 1974: 125; Ėloyan 1979: 456; Minassian 1996:56.

instruments,³⁶⁶ e.g. իդեալիստ *idealist*, ռեալիստ *realist*, մարքսիստ *mark'sist*, but also ֆուտբոլիստ *futbolist* “footballer”, ակորդեոնիստ *akordeonist* “accordion player” etc.

-կից, *-kic'*

This suffix denotes sociative meaning “co-, participating at”, e.g.

սեղան *selan* “table” > սեղանակից *selan-a-kic'* “guest, commensal”
 դաս *das* “class” > դասակից *das-a-kic'* “classmate”
 զրույց *zrucyč* “conversation” > զրուցակից *zruc'akic'* “interlocutor” etc.

-յան, *-yan*

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-yan*
 Ոսկարիչ *oskarič* “goldsmith” > Ոսկարիչյան *Oskarič'-yan*
 Ստամբուլ *Stambul* “Istanbul” > Ստամբուլյան *Stambul-yan* etc.

-որդ, *-ord*

This suffix forms nouns denoting job titles or agents, e.g.

ճանապարհ *čanaparh* “way” > ճանապարհորդ *čanaparh-ord* “traveller, voyager”
 որս *ors* “hunt” > որսորդ *ors-ord* “hunter”
 սայլ *sayl* “cart, waggon” > սայլորդ *sayl-ord* “carter” etc.

-ոց, *-oc'*

This suffix has various functions and can derive nouns from both nouns and verbs.

– it denotes a place, location, e.g.

դարբին *darbin* “smith, forger” > դարբնոց *darbn-oc'* “smithy”
 դպիր *dpir* “scribe” > դպրոց *dpr-oc'* “school”

– This suffix also occurs in combination with body parts to denote tools or devices used especially by or for these body parts,³⁶⁷ e.g.

մատն *matn* “finger” > մատնոց *matn-oc'* “thimble”
 ալն *akn* “eye” > ալնոց *akn-oc'* “eyeglasses”
 ձեռն *jeřn* “hand” > ձեռնոց *jeřn-oc'* “glove” etc.
 Analogous also վիզ *viz* “neck” > վզնոց *vzn-oc'* “necklace”

-պան, *-pan*

This suffix forms nouns denoting an employment, a job title of a person being in charge or control of something/somebody, e.g.

366. Abrahamyan 1974:127. Ałayan 1976:1: 18b, 314c, 736c.

367. Abrahamyan 1974:128. Please note that the Classical Armenian form serves here as the main basis for derivation.

այգի <i>aygi</i> “garden”	> այգեպան <i>ayg-e-pan</i> ³⁶⁸ “gardener”
կառք <i>kaṙk</i> “carriage”	> կառապան <i>kaṙ-a-pan</i> “coachman”
դուռ <i>duṙ(n)</i> “door”	> դռնապան <i>dṙn-a-pan</i> “portier”

-պանակ, *-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.

դրամ <i>dram</i> “money”	> դրամապանակ <i>dram-a-panak</i> “wallet”
թուղթ <i>t’ult’</i> “paper”	> թղթապանակ <i>t’lt’-a-panak</i> “paper-case for documents”

-ստան, *-stan*³⁶⁹

This suffix forms

– country names from denominations of people; e.g.

հայ <i>hay</i> “Armenian”	> Հայաստան <i>Hay-a-stan</i> “Armenia”
հնդիկ <i>hndik</i> “Indian”	> Հնդկաստան <i>Hndk-a-stan</i> “India”
հույն <i>huyn</i> “Greek”	> Հունաստան <i>Hun-a-stan</i> “Greece” etc.

– place names and locations that denote a place being rich in something, e.g.

այգի <i>aygi</i> “garden”	> այգեստան <i>ayg-e-stan</i> “place abounding in gardens”
լեռ <i>leṙ</i> “mountain”	> լեռնաստան <i>leṙn-a-stan</i> “place abounding in mountains”
մեն(ակ) <i>men(ak)</i> “alone”	> մենաստան <i>menastan</i> “monastery” etc.

-վար, *-var*

This suffix derives nouns denoting “leader, conductor, director, supervisor of something/somebody”, e.g.

զորք <i>zork’</i> “army”	> զորավար <i>zor-a-var</i> “military leader, commander”
խումբ <i>xumb</i> “group, orchestra”	> խմբավար <i>xmb-a-var</i> “conductor” etc.

-ցի, -ացի, -եցի, *-c’i, -ac’i, -ec’i*³⁷⁰

This suffix forms proper names and nouns that denote

368. Comp. Ch. 1.3. “Alternation”, p. 43, unstressed -i- meeting -a- may become -e-.

369. Abrahamyan 1974: 129. Minassian 1996: 55.

370. The suffix in -ացի *-a-c’i* is the most productive one; it is usually attached to bases ending in consonant. The forms in -եցի *-e-c’i* seem to be (a) either older forms (as e.g. obvious in many names of Armenian katholikos where the place name indicates the birthplace, as e.g. Հովհաննէս Օծնեցի *Hovhannēs 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 Շամախեցի *Šamax-ec’i* “a person from Šamaxi” < Շամախի *Šamax-i* + 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 *Erewan* > երևանցի *Erewan-c'i* “person from/living in Yerevan”
 - Վան *Van* > վանեցի *Van-e-c'i* “person from/living in Van”
 - գյուղ *gyul* “village” > գյուղացի *gyul-a-c'i* “person from/living in a village; farmer” etc.
- ethnonyms, nationalities e.g.
 - Անգլիա *Anglia* “England” > անգլիացի *anglia-c'i* “Englishman”
 - Գերմանիա *Germania* “Germany” > գերմանացի *german-a-c'i* “a German”
 - Ճապոնիա *čaponia* “Japan” > ճապոնացի *čapon-a-c'i* “a Japanese”
- persons that follow or belong to a certain doctrine, approach, belief, community etc., e.g.
 - դասարան *dasaran* “class(room)” > դասարանցի *dasaran-c'i* “classmate”
 - Թոնդրակ *T'ondrak* “T'ondrak” > Թոնդրակեցի *t'ondrak-e-c'i* “Thondrakian; i.e. member of a Christian sect in Armenian and Byzantine Empires from 9th to 11th cc.”

-ություն, *-ut'yun*³⁷¹

This is a very productive suffix, usually deriving abstract, non-countable or collective nouns from nouns, but also from adjectives and verbs e.g.

- ընկեր *ēnker* “friend” > ընկերություն *ēnker-ut'yun* “friendship”
- հերոս *heros* “hero” > հերոսություն *heros-ut'yun* “heroism”
- դարբին *darbin* “smith” > դարբնություն *darbn-ut'yun* “smithcraft”
- լեզվաբան *lezvaban* “linguist” > լեզվաբանություն *lezvaban-ut'yun* “linguistics”
- զազան *gazan* “beast” > զազանություն *gazan-ut'yun* “brutality” etc.

The collective meaning of the suffix is particularly obvious in forms³⁷² as e.g.

- աշակերտ *ašakert* “pupil” > աշակերտություն *ašakert-ut'yun* “pupils”
- ուսանող *usanoł* “student” > ուսանողություն *usanoł-ut'yun* “students”
- հայ *hay* “Armenian” > հայություն *hay-ut'yun* “Armenians” etc.

-ուհի/*-uhi*

This suffix assigns explicit female gender to the nouns. It can also be used to derive nouns from adjectives. (see below)

- աշակերտ *ašakert* “pupil” > աշակերտուհի *ašakert-uhi* “female pupil”
- ուսանող *usanoł* “student” > ուսանողուհի *usanoł-uhi* “female student”
- ուսուցիչ *usuc'ic* “teacher” > ուսուցչուհի *usuc'c'-uhi* “female teacher”

-ույթ/*-uyk*³⁷³

This is a rather rare suffix which is usually used to denote a collective meaning.

- գահ, կահ *gah kah* “throne” > կահույթ *kah-uyk* “furniture”

371. Ēloyan 1979: 457. Ałayan 1976: 1: 88a. Abrahamyan 1974: 130.

372. Ēloyan 1979: 457–458.

373. Ēloyan 1979: 457. Minassian 1996:56.

-ունք, -unk³⁷⁴

This suffix is used in various meanings, but usually originates in Classical Armenian forms with highly lexicalised and even fossilised meaning.

- ալ(ն) *ak(n)* “eye, source, gem” > ալունք *ak-unk* “source”
 սկիզբ *skizb* “beginning” > սկզբունք *skizb-unk* “principle”
 հիմք *himk* “base, foundation” > հիմունք *him-unk* “principles, fundamentals”

Sometimes, there is no semantic difference between the suffixed and the non suffixed nouns.

- շուրթ *šurt* “lip” > շրթունք *šrt'-unk* “lip”

-ուտ, -ut

This suffix forms nouns which denote a place abounding in something.

- կաղնի *kałni* “oak” > կաղնուտ *kałn-ut* “place abounding in oak trees”
 կեչի *keč'i* “birch” > կեչուտ *keč'-ut* “place abounding in birch trees”
 ճահիճ *čahič* “marsh” > ճահճուտ *čahč-ut* “place abounding in marsh land”

-ք, -k³⁷⁵

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 աչք *ač'-k* “eye”, երկինք *erkin-k* “sky, heaven”, խոսք *xos-k* “speech”, շեմք *šem-k* “threshold” etc.

However, the Classical Armenian suffix is also used to convey a special meaning which has also been lexicalised, as in

- բաժին *bažin* “share” > բաժինք *bažin-k* “dowry”
 գիր *gir* writing > գիրք *girk* “book”
 փող *p'ot* “tube« pipe” > փողք *p'ot-k* “trouser-leg”
 խնդիր *xndir* “problem, task” > խնդիրք *xndirk* “request”

4.1.2.1.2 Deadjectival noun suffixes**-անոց, -anoc'**

This suffix is also used to derive nouns denoting a special place or location from adjectives, e.g.

- ծեր *cer* “old” > ծերանոց *cer-anoc'* “old people’s home”
 հիվանդ *hivand* “ill” > հիվանդանոց *hivand-anoc'* “hospital”
 գիժ *giž* “fool” > գժանոց *gž-anoc'* “madhouse” etc.

-ոց, -oc'

This suffix is used to derive nouns denoting a place, location from adjectives.

- ամուր *amur* “hard, strong” > ամրոց *amr-oc'* “stronghold, fortress”
 ջերմ *žerm* “warm” > ջերմոց *žerm-oc'* “glass-house” etc.

374. Abrahamyan 1974: 131. Ėloyan 1979: 457.

375. Abrahamyan 1974: 131–132. Ėloyan 1979: 458–459. Minassian 1996: 57.

-ություն -ut'yun³⁷⁶

This suffix is used to derive nouns from adjectives conveying two special meanings:

– abstract meaning, e.g.

ագահ *agah* “greedy” > ագահություն *agah-ut'yun* “greed, greediness”

դաժան *dažan* “cruel” > դաժանություն *dažan-ut'yun* “cruelty”

մաքուր *mak'ur* “pure” > մաքրություն *mak'r-ut'yun* “purity” etc.

– intensifying, specifying meaning, e.g.

գրական *grakan* “literary” > գրականություն *grakan-ut'yun* “literature”

-ուհի, -uhi

The suffix assigns female gender to the noun derived from an adjective, e.g.

գեղեցիկ *gelec'ik* “beautiful” > գեղեցկուհի *gelec'k-uhi* “beautiful girl/woman”

-ույթ, -uyt'

This suffix derives nouns from adjectives, e.g.

բուն *bun* “natural, genuine” > բնույթ *bn-uyt'* “nature, character”

նոր *nor* “new” > նորույթ *nor-uyt'* “novelty” etc.

-ք, -k'

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.

արժանի *aržani* “worthy” > արժանիք *aržani-k'* “worth, merit”

բարի *bari* good, kind > բարիք *bari-k'* “good”

գաղտնի *galtni* “secret” > գաղտնիք *galtni-k'* “mystery, secret” etc.

4.1.2.1.3 Deverbal noun suffixes**-անակ, -anak**

This has a very limited usage, with various meanings, as in e.g.

ըմպել *ēmpel* “to drink” > ըմպանակ *ēmp-anak* “cup”

հաղթել *halt'el* “to win, overcome” > հաղթանակ *halt-anak* “victory”

ճոճել *čočel* “to swing” > ճոճանակ *čoč-anak* “swing” etc.

-ածու, -a-cu

This rare suffix denotes the result of an action, as in e.g.

ժողովել *žołovel* “to collect” > ժողովածու *žołov-a-cu* “collection”

ծաղրել *całrel* “to mock, to ridicule” > ծաղրածու *całr-a-cu* “clown” etc.

-անք, -ank³⁷⁷

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 *ašxatel* “to work” > աշխատանք *ašxat-ank* “work”

հոսել *hosel* “to flow” > հոսանք *hos-ank* “stream”

376. Abrahamyan 1974: 122. Ėloyan 1979: 457, 458. Ałayan 1976: 1: 919–920.

377. Ėloyan 1979:456. Minassian 1996:54.

հարգել *hargel* “to respect, esteem” > հարգանք *harg-ank* “respect” etc.

-անոց, -անո՛ւ

As given above, this suffix is also used to derive nouns from verbs, denoting the place of an action.

աշխատել *ašxat-el* “to work” > աշխատանոց *ašxat-anoc* “workshop, studio, laboratory”
 արգելել *argel-el* “to forbid” > արգելանոց *argel-anoc* “reservation, reserve”
 չորացնել *čor-ac’nel* “to make dry, to dry something” > չորանոց *čor-anoc* “drying room” etc.

-ատակ, -*atak*

The suffix derives nouns referring to an action.

հիշել *hiš-el* “to remember” > հիշատակ *hiš-atak* “memory”
 փլվել *p’l-v-el* “to be destroyed, go to ruin” > փլատակ *p’l-atak* “ruin” etc.

-արան, -*aran*

As mentioned above, this suffix is used to derive nouns both from nouns and verbs.³⁷⁸ If derived from verbs it denotes the location or place of an action.

բնակվել *bnak-v-el* “to dwell” > բնակարան *bnak-aran* “apartment, dwelling place”
 լսել *ls-el* “to listen, hear” > լսարան *ls-aran* “lecture-room, audience”
 նստել *nst-el* “to sit” > նստարան *nst-aran* “seat” etc.

-արք, -*ark*

This suffix derives verbal nouns or denotes the result of an action.

գործել *gorc-el* “to act” > գործարք *gorc-ark* “deal, transaction”
 ստուգել *stug-el* “to check, test, verify” > ստուգարք *stug-ark* “pass-examination, test” etc.

-իչ, -*ič*

This is a very productive suffix which forms (a) agent nouns or, (b) nouns denoting tools or implements.

լուսավորել *lusavorel* “to illuminate” > լուսավորիչ *lusavor-ič* “illuminator”
 փրկել *p’rkel* “to save” > փրկիչ *p’rk-ič* “saviour”
 կառավարել *kařavarel* “to govern, to rule” > կառավարիչ *kařavar-ič* “governor; manager”
 գրել *grel* “to write” > գրիչ *gr-ič* “pen”

-իք, -*ik*

If this suffix is used to derive a noun from the verbal root, then it has various meanings.

կարծել *karc-el* “to think, believe” > կարծիք *karc-ik* “opinion”
 գործել *gorc-el* “to act, work” > գործիք *gorc-ik* “tool, instrument”
 ընթրել *ěnt’r-el* “to have supper” > ընթրիք *ěnt’r-ik* “supper”

378. It is not always clear what is the derivational basis of nouns suffixed with -արան *-aran*. E.g. ճաշարան *čaš-aran* “dining-room” > ճաշ *čaš* “dinner, meal” or > ճաշել *čaš-el* “to dine”.

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 *-իք -ik'* can also be regarded as nominalised future participles. Many of these suffixed nouns are highly lexicalised.

գալ <i>gal</i> “to come”	> գալիք <i>gal-ik'</i> “future”
խաղալ <i>xalal</i> “to play”	> խաղալիք <i>xalal-ik'</i> “toy”
խմել <i>xmel</i> “to drink”	> խմելիք <i>xmel-ik'</i> “drink”
վառել <i>vařel</i> “to burn something”	> վառելիք <i>vareł-ik'</i> “fuel”

-մունք, -munk'

This suffix derives verbal nouns or nouns from verbs that denote the result or the consequences of an action.

բաժանել <i>bažanel</i> “to divide”	> բաժանմունք <i>bažan-munk'</i> “division”
զբաղվել <i>zbařvel</i> “to be busy”	> զբաղմունք <i>zbař-munk'</i> “occupation”
հիանալ <i>hianal</i> “to admire”	> հիացմունք <i>hiac'-munk'</i> “admiration” etc.

-յուն, -yun

This suffix is used to derive nouns from the verbal root of mainly verbs of utterance or onomatopoeic “sound” verbs, as in

գոչել <i>gočel</i> “to shout”	> գոչյուն <i>goč'-yun</i> “shout”
հնչել <i>hnčel</i> “to sound”	> հնչյուն <i>hnč'-yun</i> “sound”
մռնչալ <i>mřnčal</i> “to bellow”	> մռնչյուն <i>mřnč'-yun</i> “bellow” etc.

-ող, -ot'

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.

գրող <i>gr-ot'</i> “writer, author”	> գրել <i>grel</i> “to write”
աշխատող <i>ašxat-ot'</i> “employee; worker”	> աշխատել <i>ašxatel</i> “to work”
ծխող <i>cx-ot'</i> “smoker”	> ծխել <i>cxel</i> “to smoke” etc.

-ոց, -oc'

The suffix is used

- to denote tools, as in

քամել <i>kamel</i> “to strain, to filter”	> քամոց <i>kam-oc'</i> “strainer”;
սփռել <i>spřel</i> “to spread out, to scatter”	> սփռոց <i>spř'-oc'</i> “tablecloth”
- to form onomatopoeic nouns or *nomina actionis*

փսփսել <i>pšpsel</i> “to whisper”	> փսփսոց <i>pšps-oc'</i> “whisper”
բղավել <i>blavel</i> “to shout”	> բղավոց <i>blav-oc'</i> “shout”

-ված/-վածք, -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 *-վածք, -vack'* is nowadays more productive than *-ված, -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.

բացել <i>bac'el</i> “to open”	>	բացվածք <i>bac'-vack'</i> “opening”
հյուսել <i>hyusel</i> “to plait”	>	հյուսվածք <i>hyus-vack'</i> “plait”
ունենալ <i>unenal</i> “to have”	>	ունեցվածք <i>unec'-vack'</i> “property”
պատմել <i>patmel</i> “to narrate”	>	պատմվածք <i>patm-vack'</i> “narration, story” etc.

-ություն, -ություն

This suffix derives abstract or collective nouns from verbs, as in

գովաբանել <i>govaban-el</i> “to praise”	>	գովաբանություն <i>govaban-ut'yun</i> “praise, laudation”
սպանել <i>span-el</i> “to kill, to murder”	>	սպանություն <i>span-ut'yun</i> “murder, murdering”
ծեռնարկել <i>jeřnark-el</i> “to undertake”	>	ծեռնարկություն <i>jeřnark-ut'yun</i> “undertaking, enterprise”, etc.

-ում, -um³⁷⁹

This suffix derives *nomina actionis*, verbal nouns from the verbal aorist stem, e.g.

ներշնչել <i>ner-řnc'-el</i> “to inspire”	>	ներշնչում <i>ner-řnc'-um</i> “inspiration”
անհետանալ <i>an-het-anal</i> “to disappear”	>	անհետացում <i>an-hetac-um</i> “disappearance”
անցնել <i>anc'-nel</i> “to pass”	>	անցում <i>anc'-um</i> “passage” etc.

-ույթ, -uyt'

This suffix derives abstract and collective nouns from the verbal present stem, e.g.

երևալ <i>erew-al</i> “to appear”	>	երևույթ <i>erew-uyt'</i> “appearance, phenomenon”
հնչել <i>hnc'-el</i> “to sound”	>	հնչույթ <i>hnc'-uyt'</i> “phoneme”
սովորել <i>sovor-el</i> “to learn, get used”	>	սովորույթ <i>sovor-uyt'</i> “habit”
ծանծրանալ <i>janjr-anal</i> “to be annoyed”	>	ծանծրույթ <i>janjr-uyt'</i> “annoyance”, etc.

-ույց, -uyc³⁸⁰

This is a rarely used suffix with various meanings. The derived nouns are highly lexicalised.

սառչել <i>sar'(č)-el</i> “to freeze”	>	սառույց <i>sar'-uyc</i> “ice”
*հանգչել <i>hang-č'-el</i> “to go out”	>	հանգույց <i>hang-uyc</i> “knot, tie” etc.

4.1.2.2 Unproductive and rare noun suffixes

The following noun suffixes present a selection of currently unproductive, lexicalised or fossilised noun suffixes.

-ակ, -ak; -իկ, -ik; -ուկ, -uk

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem; the meaning of the derived nouns is lexicalised.

ավերել <i>aver-el</i> “to destroy”	>	ավերակ <i>aver-ak</i> “ruin(s)”
պահել <i>pah-el</i> “to protect”	>	պահակ <i>pah-ak</i> “guardian”
վրիպել <i>vrip-el</i> “to miss, to fail”	>	վրիպակ <i>vrip-ak</i> “lapse; misprint” etc.

379. Abrahamyan 1974: 130–131. Minassian 1996: 56.

380. Abrahamyan 1974: 131. Ėloyan 1979: 457.

-եստ, -est

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

գովել *gov-el* “to praise” > գովեստ *gov-est* “praise, laudation”
 պահել *pah-el* “to keep, hold” > պահեստ *pah-est* “storehouse”

-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.

կաթել *kat'-el* “to drop” > կաթիլ *kat'-il* “drop”
 տեսնել *tes-n-el* “to see” > տեսիլ *tes-il* “vision”

-իչք, -ičk'

This suffix seldom occurs and usually derives nouns from verbal present stems.

խմել *xm-el* “to drink” > խմիչք *xm-ičk'* “drink, beverage”
 թռել *t'ṛ-el* “to fly” > թռիչք *t'ričk'* “flight”

-ույկ/-uyk³⁸¹

This is an unproductive suffix, which is used to derive nouns from nouns or verbs assigning the derived nouns various meanings, most commonly with nouns of diminutive meaning.

գիրք *girk'* “book” > գրքույկ *grk'-uyk* “a small book, booklet”
 խար(ան)ել *xar(an)el* “to enkindle, to light” > խարույկ *xar-uyk* “bonfire” etc.

-ունդ, -und

This suffix is attached to the verbal root. The derived nouns have lexicalised meanings.

ծնել *cn-el* “to give birth” > ծնունդ *cn-und* “birth”
 սերել *ser-el* “to descend” > սերունդ *ser-und* “generation”
 սնել *sn-el* “to nourish” > սնունդ *sn-und* “food, nourishment” etc.

-ուստ, -ust

This suffix is attached to the verbal aorist stem.

ապրել *apr-el* “to live” > ապրուստ *apr-ust* “living”
 փախչել *p'ax-č'-el* “to escape” > փախուստ *p'ax-ust* “escape”
 հագնել *hag-n-el* “to put on” > հագուստ *hag-ust* “clothes, garment” etc.

-ուրդ, -urd

This suffix occurs quite rarely and is not productive; many derived nouns are lexicalised. The suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

արձակել *arjak-el* “to let go, release” > արձակուրդ *arjak-urd* “holiday”
 ժողովել *žolov-el* “to gather” > ժողովուրդ *žolov-urd* “people, nation”
 խառնել *xar'n-el* “to mix” > խառնուրդ *xar'n-urd* “mixture”
 խորհել *xorh-el* “to consider, think” > խորհուրդ *xorh-urd* “advice”, etc.

-ուք, -uk'

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

381. Abrahamyan 1974: 131. Minassian 1996: 56.

արբե(նա)լ *arbe(na)l* “to drink” > գինարբուք *gin-arb-uk* “drinking-bout, carousal”
 քսել *k’s-el* “to smear, spread, oil” > քսուք *k’s-uk* “ointment” etc.

-ք, -կ’

This unproductive suffix is attached to the verbal present stem. The meaning of the derived nouns is lexicalised and fossilised, as in

հանել *han-el* “to take out/off” > հանք *han-k* “mine”

4.1.2.3 Deriving adjectives and adjectival suffixes³⁸²

Adjectives can be derived by means of suffixation from nouns, adjectives and verbs.³⁸³

4.1.2.3.1 Denominal adjective suffixes

-ալի, *-ali* meaning “-ful; being worth of something, being subject to”, as in

ամոթ *amot* “shame” > ամոթալի *amot’-ali* “shameful”

ցավ *cav* “pain” > ցավալի *cav-ali* “painful”

հրաշ(ք) *hras(k)* “wonder” > հրաշալի *hras-ali* “wonderful” etc.

-ային, *-ayin*

This suffix derives relational adjectives from nouns, as in

լեռ(ն) *leř(n)* “mountain” > լեռնային *leřn-ayin* “mountainous”

ամառ *amar* “summer” > ամառային *amar-ayin* “(of) summer”

ազգ *azg* “people, nation” > ազգային *azg-ayin* “national” usw.

-ատ, *-at* meaning “free from, without; -less”, as in

պոչ *poč* “tail” > պոչատ *poč-at* “without tail”

գույն *guyn* “colour” > գունատ *gun-at* “colourless, pale”

քուն *k’un* “sleep” > քնատ *k’n-at* “sleepless” etc.

-արար, *-arar*

is a rather unproductive suffix used to derive agent nouns from adjectives, as in

բարի *bari* “kind, good” > բարերար *bar-e-rar* “benefactor” etc.

-երիմ / -արիմ *-arim, -erim*

This rare, rather unproductive, suffix is attached to nouns, forming adjectives meaning “having a quality, feature; -ful”.

հավատ *havat* “faith” > հավատարիմ *havat-arim* “faithful”

ոխ *ox* “spite, vengeance” > ոխերիմ *ox-erim* “sworn” etc.

-գար, *-gar* meaning “having a certain disease, a lack of”, as in

աչ(ք) *ač(k)* “eye” > աչագար *ač-a-g-ar* “ill-eyed”

խել(ք) *xel(k)* “intelligence” > խելագար *xel-a-gar* “mad, crazy” etc.

-եղ, *-el* meaning “rich in a certain feature, abounding in” e.g.

գույն *guyn* “colour” > գունեղ *gun-el* “colourful”

382. Abrahamyan 1974: 122f.

383. Ėloyan 1979: 460–463.

- համ *ham* “taste” > համեղ *ham-el* “tasty, delicious”
 հյութ *hyut* “juice” > հյութեղ *hyut'-el* “juicy”
 ձայն *jayn* “voice” > ձայնեղ *jayn-el* “voiced” etc.

The following two suffixes are presented together because of their synonymous meaning. The suffixes -ե, -e and -յա, *ya* are identical and can only distinguished in their use. Whereas the suffix -ե, -e is commonly used in colloquial Armenian, the suffix in -յա, *ya* is used in written, often literary Armenian and represents a higher style.

- ե, -e means “made of a certain material”, being synonymous to the suffix -յա, -*ya*; e.g.
 արծաթ *arcat* “silver” > արծաթե *arcat'-e* “silver”
 երկաթ *erkat* “iron” > երկաթե *erkat'-e* “iron”
 մետաքս *metak's* “silk” > մետաքսե *metak's-e* “silken” etc.

- յա, *ya* is the synonym to the suffixes -ե, -e “made of; (pertaining to)”, as in
 արծաթ *arcat* “silver” > արծաթյա *arcat'-ya* “silver”
 երկաթ *erkat* “iron” > երկաթյա *erkat'-ya* “iron”
 բուրդ *burd* “wool” > բրդյա *brd-ya* “woollen” etc.

- զան, -*zan* is a rare suffix meaning “abound in a certain feature”, e.g.
 գույն *guy'n* “colour” > գունազան *gun-a-zan* “variegated, colourful”

-իք, -*ik*

This suffix has a very limited use with adjectives. It is used as a suffix to derive nouns from verbs.

- չար *čar* “evil” > չարիք *čar-ik* “evil”

-կոտ, -*kot*. This suffix can be regarded as being synonymous to the suffix -ոտ, -*ot*, meaning “abounding in”, as in

- վախ *vax* “fear” > վախկոտ *vax-kot* “cowardly”
 երազ *eraz* “dream” > երազկոտ *eraz-kot* “dreamy”
 քուն *k'un* “sleep” > քնկոտ *k'n-kot* “sleepy” etc.

-յան -*yan*. This suffix is used to derive relational adjectives, (expressing affiliation to the noun) from nouns, as in

- առավոտ *a'avot* “morning” > առավոտյան *a'avoty'an* “in the morning”
 Արարատ *Ararat* > արարատյան *ararat-yan* “Ararat-, of Ararat”
 արևելք *arewelk* “East, Orient” > արևելյան *arewel-yan* “Eastern, oriental” etc.

-ոտ, -*ot*. This suffix is synonymous to the suffix -կոտ, -*kot*, meaning “abounding in”, as in

- անձրև *anjrew* “rain” > անձրևոտ *anjrew-ot* “rainy”
 հող *hol* “earth, ground” > հողոտ *hol-ot* “earthy, earthen”
 սիրտ *sirt* “heart” > սրտոտ *srt-ot* “brave (hearted)” etc.

-վետ, -*vet*, meaning “abounding in, having an eye-catching feature”, e.g.

- արդյունք *ardyun(k)* “result, product” > արդյունավետ *ardyun-a-vet* “productive”
 բույր *buyr* “smell” > բուրավետ *bur-a-vet* “odorant, odoriferous”
 միրգ *mirg* “fruit” > մրգավետ *mrg-a-vet* “abounding in fruits” etc.

-վոր, *-vor*, meaning “abounding in; equipped with; having; -ful” as in
 թույն *t’uyn* “poison” > թույնավոր *t’un-a-vor* “poisonous, toxic”
 լույս *luy* “light” > լուսավոր *lus-a-vor* “luminous, bright”
 գույն *guy* “colour” > գունավոր *gun-a-vor* “colourful, coloured” etc.

4.1.2.3.2 Deadjectival adjective suffixes

-ակ, *-ak* intensifies or modifies the meaning of the basic adjective, as in
 կլոր *klor* “round” > կլորակ *klor-ak* “totally round” etc.

-ական, *-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
 որդի *ordi* “son, child” > որդիական *ordi-akan* “childlike”
 Անգլիա *anglia* “England” > անգլիական *angli-akan* “English”
 մանուկ *manuk* “child” > մանկական *mank-akan* “childish” etc.

-գին, *-gin* intensifies the meaning of the basic adjective, as in
 թանկ *t’ank* “expensive; dear” > թանքագին *t’ank’-a-gin* “valuable, costly”
 ապահով *apahov* “safe, secure” > ապահովագին *apahov-a-gin* “premium” etc.

-զան, *-zan*. As given above, this suffix can derive adjectives from both nouns and adjectives, meaning “abundant in”, as in
 բազում *bazum* “numerous, many” > բազմազան *bazm-a-zan* “various, miscellaneous” etc.
 սուրբ *surb* “holy” > սրբազան *srb-a-zan* “very holy; Bishop, “Right Reverend” etc.

-իկ, *-ik* intensifies or weakens the meaning of the adjective, for example
 փոքր *pok’r* “small” > փոքրիկ *pok’r-ik* “very small”
 սիրուն *sirun* “pretty” > սիրունիկ *sirun-ik* “very pretty, nice” etc.

-ին, *-in* strongly intensifies the quality/features of the adjective, such as
 նուրբ *nurb* “fine, delicate” > նրբին *nrb-in* “sophisticated”
 խոր *xor* “deep” > խորին *xor-in* “very deep”
 ստոր *stor* “lower” > ստորին *stor-in* “lower, inferior” etc.

-լիկ, *-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 connotation, as in

ճաղ *čal* “fat” > ճաղիկ *čal-lik* “podgy”
 հաստ *hast* “thick, heavy” > հաստիկ *hast-lik* “plump”
 փափուկ *p’ap’uk* “soft, tender, delicate” > փափիկ *p’ap’-lik* “fluffy, cuddly” etc.

-վետ, *-vet*. As given above, this suffix can derive adjectives from nouns and adjectives, meaning “abounding in, having an eye-catching feature”, e.g.

կանաչ *kanac’* “green” > կանաչավետ *kanac’-a-vet* “very green; eye-catching green”
 հարմար *harmar* “convenient” > հարմարավետ *harmar-a-vet* “very convenient, comfortable” etc.

-վուն, *-vun*, meaning “having a certain degree of a feature/quality” (especially with colour adjectives), as in

սպիտակ *spitak* “white” > սպիտակավուն *spitak-a-vun* “whitish”
 սև *sew* “black” > սևավուն *sew-a-vun* “blackish”
 երկար *erkar* “long” > երկարավուն *erkar-a-vun* “longish” etc.

-ուկ, *-uk* usually intensifies the meaning of the basic adjective, e.g.
 տաք *tak* “hot” > տաքուկ *tak'-uk* “very hot, completely hot”

4.1.2.3.3 *Deverbal adjective suffixes*

-(ալ)ի, -(ել)ի, -(al)i, -(el)i is attached to the verbal infinitive, meaning “worth of, subject to”, as in

երևալ *erewal* “to appear, be visible” > երևելի *erewal-i* “distinguished”
 հիանալ *hianal* “to admire” > հիանալի *hianal-i* “wonderful”
 շոշափել *šoşapēl* “to feel, touch” > շոշափելի *šoşapēl-i* “considerable” etc.

-ական, *-akan*

This rare suffix also forms qualitative adjectives from verbs. It is usually attached to the verbal aorist stem, as in

հիանալ *hianal* “to admire” > հիացական *hiac'-akan* “admiring; adoringly”
 ուրանալ *uranal* “to deny, to give up” > ուրացական *urac'-akan* “negative; deniable” etc.

-իկ-, *-ik* also functions as a deverbal suffix, directly attached to the verbal present stem, as in
 թափանցել *t'ap'ancēl* “to penetrate” > թափանցիկ *t'ap'anc'-ik* “transparent”

-իչ, *-ič'*. The prototypical agent noun suffix also has the function of deriving adjectives from verbs. The suffix is attached to the verbal present stem and derives adjectives denoting the quality of the action of the base verb.

հուզել *huzel* “to excite, to disturb” > հուզիչ *huz-ič'* “disturbing, exciting”
 գրավել *graval* “to occupy; to seize” > գրավիչ *grav-ič'* “attractive, charming”
 գրգռել *grg'el* “to excite, to provoke” > գրգռիչ *grg'f'-ič'* “exciting, provocative” etc.

-կոտ, *-kot* “abounding in; -ful”, is also used on verbs to derive adjectives, attached to the verbal root, as in

ամաչել *amačel* “to shame” > ամաչկոտ *amač'-kot* “shy”
 վախենալ *vaxenal* “to fear” > վախկոտ *vax-kot* “cowardly”
 պարծենալ *parcenal* “to boast” > պարծենկոտ *parcen-kot* “boastful” etc.

4.1.2.3.4 *Other adjective suffixes*

-երորդ/-որդ, *-erord, -ord*.

This suffix derives ordinal number adjectives from cardinal number quantifiers.

հինգ *hing* “five” > հինգերորդ *hing-erord* “fifth” etc.

4.1.2.4 Deriving adverbs and adverb suffixes³⁸⁴

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

-(ա)բար, *-(a)bar* is attached to (+human) nouns (and adjectives, see below) forming manner adverbs, meaning “as, like -like, in manner of”, as in

բարեկամ *barekam* “friend” > բարեկամաբար *barekam-a-bar* “in a friendly manner”
 երեխա *erexa* “child” > երախայաբար *erexa-ya-bar* “in a childish manner”
 հայր *hayr* “father” > հայրաբար *hayr-a-bar* “fatherly” etc.

-(ա)պես, *-(a)pes* also forms manner adverbs, meaning “-like, as” as well as adverbs of time, as in

արմատ *armat* “root” > արմատապես *armat-a-pes* “radically”
 բժիշկ *bžišk* “doctor, physician” > բժշկապես *bžšk-a-pes* “like a doctor”
 վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second” > վայրկենապես *vayrken-a-pes* “very quickly, in a second”
 վերջ *verj* “end” > վերջապես *verj-a-pes* “finally” etc.

-ովին, *-ovin* forms manner adverbs usually from nouns, as in

խումբ *xumb* “group” > խմբովին *xmb-ovin* “as a group; group-like”
 գլուխ *glux* “head” > գլխովին *glx-ovin* “totally”
 հիմն *himn* “base, basis” > հիմնովին *himn-ovin* “basically, totally” etc.

4.1.2.4.2 Deadjectival adverb suffixes

-(ա)բար, *-abar* 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

ազնիվ *azniv* “honest” > ազնվաբար *aznv-a-bar* “honestly”
 քաջ *kāj* “brave” > քաջաբար *kāj-a-bar* “bravely”
 համեմատ *hamemat* “corresponding, conform” > համեմատաբար *hamemat-a-bar* “comparatively; rather” etc.

-(ա)պես, *-(a)pes* also forms manner adverbs derived from adjectives, as in

բացարձակ *bačarjak* “absolute” > բացարձակապես *bačarjak-a-pes* “absolutely”
 ընդհանուր *ėndhanur* “general” > ընդհանրապես *ėndhanr-a-pes* “generally”
 խոր *xor* “deep” > խորապես *xor-a-pes* “deeply” etc.

384. Abrahamyan 1974: 446–449. Minassian 1996: 241–248.

-որեն, *-oren* also forms manner adverbs derived from adjectives, as in
 ազնիվ *azniv* “honest” > ազնվորեն *aznv-oren* “honestly”
 լայն *layn* “wide” > լայնորեն *layn-oren* “broadly, widely”
 ծանր *canr* “heavy” > ծանրորեն *canr-oren* “heavily” etc.

-ովին, *-ovin* forms manner adverbs, also from adjectives, such as in
 լի *li* “full” > լիովին *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.

-(ա)պես, *-apes* suffixed to time adverbs and forms manner adverbs meaning “such as, like -like”, as in e.g.

միշտ *mišt* “always” > մշտապես *mšt-a-pes* “always, repeatedly”
 նախ *nax* “firstly” > նախապես *nax-a-pes* “at first, previously”
 վաղ *val* “early” > վաղապես *val-a-pes* “previously” (seldomly used), etc.

-ուց, *-uc* suffixed to time adverbs and forms adverbs answering to the question “since when?”, as in

առաջ *aʀaj* “before, earlier” > առաջուց *aʀaj-uc* “long before”
 վաղ *val* “early” > վաղուց *val-uc* “long ago, earlier; colloquial also “long time”, etc.

In colloquial Armenian, particularly in youth language, the adjectival suffix *-ոտ*, *-ot*, meaning “abounding in”, is also used to derive adverbs with the same meaning, as in
 ուշ *uš* “late” > ուշոտ *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.

-իցս, *-ic’s*, is attached to quantifiers, meaning “so many times, as many times”, as in

բազում *bazum* “many” > բազմիցս *bazm-ic’s* “several times; repeatedly”
 քանի *kani* “many, how many” > քանիցս *kani-c’s* “how many times, how often”
 երեք *erek* “three” > երիցս *er-ic’s* “three times” etc.

-պատիկ, *-patik* is attached to quantifiers, meaning “so many times, -fold” e.g.

բազում *bazum* “many” > բազմապատիկ *bazm-a-patik* “several times; multiple; manifold”
 հինգ *hing* “five” > հնգապատիկ *hng-a-patik* “five times; fivefold” etc.

- (2) Նա բազմիցս եղել է Հայաստանում: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)

Na bazmic’s el-el ē Hayastan-um.
 he.NOM several times be-PTCP.PRF. he is Armenia-LOC
 “He has been to Armenia several times.”

- (3) Հայաստանում ջրային թռչունների թիվը տասնապատիկ նվազել է:
(Armenpress 07.04.2006)

Hayastan-um ĵrayin t'ŗĉun-ner-i t'iv-ě tasnapatik
Armenia-LOC water bird-PL-DAT number.NOM-the tenfold
nvaz-el ě.
decrease-PTCP.PRF. it is

“The number of water birds has decreased tenfold in Armenia.”

4.1.2.5 Deriving verbs and verb suffixes³⁸⁵

MEA productively uses the following suffixes to derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, adverbs and quantifiers:

- -ել *-el* (productive), forms transitive and intransitive verbs.
- -անալ, *-anal* (less productive), forms intransitive verbs with inchoative or reflexive meaning.
- -ալ, *-al* (least productive), forms intransitive and transitive verbs.

4.1.2.5.1 Denominal verb suffixes

-ել *-el*

անձրև *anjrew* “rain” > անձրևել *anjrew-el* “to rain”
գիշեր *giŗer* “night” > գիշերել *giŗer-el* “to spend the night, overnight”
ծունկ *cunk* “knee” > ծնկել *cnk-el* “to kneel”
քար *kār* “stone” > քարել *kār-el* “to stone” etc.

-անալ, *-anal*

ամուսին *amusin* “husband; spouse” > ամուսնանալ *amusn-anal* “to marry; get married”
գիշեր *giŗer* “night” > գիշերանալ *giŗer-anal* “to become night”
եղբայր *elbayr* “brother” > եղբայրանալ *elbayr-anal* “to become brothers, fraternize”
քար *kār* “stone” > քարանալ *kār-anal* “to petrify, to become stone” etc.

-ալ, *-al*

շող *ŗol* “ray” > շողալ *ŗol-al* “to shine”
ժպիտ *ŗpit* “smile” > ժպտալ *ŗpt-al* “to smile”
խիղճ *xilĉ* “conscience” > խղճալ *xlĉ-al* “to pity, to feel sorry” etc.

4.1.2.5.2 Deadjectival verb suffixes

-ել, *-el*

ապուշ *apuş* “idiot, silly” > ապշել *apŗ-el* “to be astonished”
դատարկ *datark* “empty” > դատարկել *datark-el* “to empty”
փափուկ *pāp'uk* “soft” > փափկել *pāp'k-el* “to become soft, to soften”
երկրորդ *erkrord* “second” > երկրորդել *erkrord-el* “to repeat” etc.

385. Abrahamyan 1962: 48.

-անալ, *-anal*

ագահ *agah* “greedy” > ագահանալ *agah-anal* “to become greedy”
 խելոք *xelok’* “quiet, smart” > խելոքանալ *xelok’-anal* “to become quiet, smart”
 հղի *hli* “pregnant” > հղինալ *hli-anal* “to become pregnant” etc.

4.1.2.5.3 *Deadverbial verb suffixes*

-ել, *-el*

դանդալ *dandal’* “slowly” > դանդալել *dandal-el* “to slow (down)”
 կանուխ *kanux* “early” > կանխել *kanx-el* “to prevent”
 հաճախ *hačax* “frequently” > հաճախել *hačax-el* “to attend” etc.

-անալ, *-anal*

արագ *arag* “fast” > արագանալ *arag-anal* “to become fast”
 դանդալ *dandal’* “slowly” > դանդալանալ *dandal-anal* “to become slow”
 հաճախ *hačax* “frequently” > հաճախանալ *hačax-anal* “to become frequent” etc.

4.1.2.5.4 *Dequantifier verb suffixes*

-անալ, *-anal*

երկու *erku* “two” > երկուանալ, երկվանալ *erku-anal, erkv-anal* “to become two; to doubt”
 բազում *bazum* “many” > բազմանալ *bazm-anal* “to multiply, to increase”
 շատ *šat* “many, plenty” > շատանալ *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.

անծրևաջուր *anjrew-a-žur* “rain-water”, գետաձի *get-a-ji* “hippopotamus” < գետ *get* “river” + ձի *ji* “horse”, աշխարհագրություն *ašxarh-a-grut’yun* “geography” < աշխարհ *ašxarh* “world” + գրություն *grut’yun* “writing” etc.

MEA has also exocentric compounds, i.e. bahuvrihi or possessive compounds, such as մեծատուն *mec-a-tun* “rich” < մեծ *mec* “big” + տուն *tun* “house” = “having a big house”, այլակերպ *ayl-a-kerp* “different” < այլ *ayl* “different, other” + կերպ *kerp* “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 գիշեր-ցերեկ *gišer-čerek* “day and night”, հագած-կապած *hagac-kapac* “dressed up”, գնալ-գալ *gnal-gal* “coming and going”, հայր ու մայր *hayr u mayr* “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.

գետաձի *getaji* “hippopotamus”, NOM. SG., գետաձիու *getaji-u* DAT.SG., գետաձիեր *getaji-er* NOM.PL.

In synthetic or verbal compounds either, (a) the head of the compound is derived from a verb or (b) the non-head fulfils 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 -ա- -a-.³⁸⁶

- If the second part of the compound has an initial vowel, it directly follows the first part (i.e. without the vowel -ա- -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

ձնաբուք *jn-a-buk* “snow-storm” = ձյուն *jyun* “snow” + բուք *buk* “storm”
 արևածաղիկ *arew-a-calik* “sunflower” = արև *arew* “sun” + ծաղիկ *calik* “flower”
 անձրևաջուր *anjrew-a-žur* “rainwater” = անձրև *anjrew* “rain” + ջուր *žur* “water” etc.

386. There are, however, many compounds, inherited from Classical Armenian, without the formation vowel -a-, such as e.g. ջրվեժ *žr-vež* “waterfall”, բանբեր *ban-ber* “bulletin”, արևմուտք *arew-mutk* “West, occident”, հացթուխ *hac'-t'ux* “baker”, etc. Comp. Minassian 1996: 65.

Meaning (possessive): noun1 is part/belongs to part2

ծովափ *cov-ap'* "sea shore" = ծով *cov* "sea" + ափ *ap'* "shore, coast"

ծառարմատ *cař-armat* "the root of a tree" = ծառ *cař* "tree" + արմատ *armat* "root"

ծնկահոդ *cnk-a-hod* "knee-joint" = ծունկ *cunk* "knee" + հոդ *hod* "joint" etc.

Meaning: noun2 is for noun1

աանկապարտեզ *mank-a-partez* "kindergarten" = մանուկ *manuk* "child" + պարտեզ *partez* "garden"

մոխրաման *moxr-aman* "ashtray" = մոխիր *moxir* "ash" + աման *aman* "dish, vessel"

հյուրասենյակ *hyur-a-senyak* "guestroom" = հյուր *hyur* "guest" + սենյակ *senyak* "room" etc.

Meaning: noun2 is of/consists of noun1

ծաղկափունջ *calk-a-p'unj* "bouquet of flowers" = ծաղիկ *calik* "flower" + փունջ *p'unj* "bunch"

ծնազնդակ *jn-a-gndak* "snowball" = ձյուն *jyun* "snow" + գնդակ *gndak* "ball"

խաչքար *xac'-kar* cross-stone = խաչ *xac'* "cross" + քար *kar* "stone" etc.

Meaning: noun2 produces/yields noun1

օձառագործ *ořar'-a-gorc* "soap boiler (person)" > օձառ *ořar'* "soap" + գործ *gorc* "work(er)"

ծիարբույծ *ji-a-buyc* "horse breeder" > ծի *ji* "horse" + բույծ *buyc* "breeder"

2. Adjective – noun compounds

The adjective modifies the noun; thus, as in a noun phrase and the adjective-noun compound, the adjective precedes its head noun.

բարձրավանդակ *barjr-a-vandak* "highland, height" = բարձր *barjr* "high" + վանդակ *vandak* "cage"

դեղնախտ *deln-axt* "jaundice" = դեղին *delin* "yellow" + ախտ *axt* "illness"

լիալուսին *li-a-lusin* "full moon" = լի *li* "full" + լուսին *lusin* "moon"

մանրանկար *manr-a-nkar* "miniature" = մանր *manr* "small" + նկար *nkar* "picture" = etc.

3. Quantifier – noun compounds

The quantifier modifies the noun; thus, as in noun phrases, the quantifier precedes the noun. Also deverbal nouns can be used here, as in

հնգամարտ *hng-a-mart* "pentathlon" = հինգ *hing* "five" + մարտ *mart* "fight, battle"

չորքոտանի *řork'-ot-ani* "quadruped" = չորս *řors* "four" + ոտ *ot* "leg, foot" + Suffix -անի *ani*

բազմանկյուն *bazm-ankyun* "polygon" = բազում *bazum* "many, countless" + անկյուն *ankyun* "corner, angle", etc.

4.2.1.2 Synthetic noun compounds

In the range of synthetic noun compounds, one can distinguish various subgroups referring to the function of the noun relating to the verb.

a. Type subject + deverbal noun

The deverbal noun is derived from intransitive verbs.

տերևաթափ *terew-a-tap* ‘fall/shedding of the leaves’ = տերև *terew* ‘leaf’ + թափ *tap* ‘fall(ing)’

բայիմաստ *bay-imast* ‘verbal meaning’ = բայ *bay* ‘verb’ + իմաստ *imast* ‘meaning’

ամառնամուտ *amaṙ-n-a-mut* ‘beginning of summer’ = ամառ *amaṙ* ‘summer’ + մուտ *mut* ‘enter(ing)’

այգաբաց *ayg-a-bac* ‘day-break, dawn’ = այգ *ayg* ‘dawn’ + բաց *bac* ‘opening’

հոգեգալուստ *hog-e-gal-ust* ‘Pentecost’ = հոգի *hogi* ‘ghost’ + գալուստ *gal-ust* ‘coming, arrival’

b. Type object + verb

The deverbal noun is derived from transitive verbs i.e.

– object + deverbal noun

դարպասապահ *darpas-a-pah* ‘goal-keeper’ = դարպաս *darpas* ‘gate, door’ + պահ *pah* ‘keeper’ > պահել *pahel* ‘to keep’

ատամնաբույժ *atamn-a-buyž* ‘dentist’ = ատամ *atam* ‘tooth’ + բույժ *buyž* ‘healer’ > բուժել *bužel* ‘to heal, to cure’

մանկավարժ *mankavarž* ‘pedagogue’ = մանուկ *manuk* ‘child’ + վարժ *varž* > վարժել *varžel* ‘to train, to bring up’ etc.

– verbal noun (infinitive) + object

ապրելաձև *aprel-a-jew* ‘living, way of living’ = ապրել *aprel* ‘to live’ + ձև *jew* ‘shape, form, way’

մտածելակերպ *mtacel-a-kerp* ‘mentality’ = մտածել *mtacel* ‘to think’ + կերպ *kerp* ‘way, manner’

վարելահող *varel-a-hoḥ* ‘arable land’ = վարել *varel* ‘to furrow’ + հող *hoḥ* ‘earth, ground’ etc.

– object + verbal form

տիեզերագնաց *tiezer-a-gnac* ‘cosmonaut’ = տիեզեր(ք) *tiezer(k’)* ‘cosmos, space’ + *գնաց *gnac* ‘went’ Aor.3.SG. of գնալ *gnal* ‘to go’ = ‘a person who went to cosmos’

c. Type verb + adverbial noun

զբոսայգի *zbos-aygi* ‘park’ = զբոս- *zbos-* ‘to walk’ + այգի *aygi* ‘garden’; meaning ‘x walks in the garden’

լողավազան *loḥ-a-vazan* ‘swimming pool’ = լողալ *loḥ-al* ‘to swim’ + վազան *vazan* ‘pool’; meaning ‘x swims in the pool’ etc.

4.2.2 Adjective compounds

1. Root Adjective Compounds

a. Type noun + noun

առյուծասիրտ *aṙyuc-a-sirt* ‘having a heart of a lion’ = առյուծ *aṙyuc* ‘lion’ + սիրտ *sirt* ‘heart’

քարասիրտ *k’ar-a-sirt* ‘stone-hearted’ = քար *k’ar* ‘stone’ + սիրտ *sirt* ‘heart’

վարդագույն *vard-a-guyn* ‘pink’ = վարդ *vard* ‘rose’ + գույն *guyn* ‘colour’ etc.

b. Type noun + adjective

- Adjective and noun. The modifying adjective precedes its head noun.

բարեհոգի *bar-e-hogi* “having a kind soul” = բարի *bari* “kind” + հոգի *hogi* “soul”
 թեթևամիտ *tetew-a-mit* “light-minded” = թեթև *tetew* “light” + միտ(ք) *mit(k)* “mind”
 քաղցրաձայն *k'alč'r-a-jayn* “having a sweet-voice” = քաղցր *k'alč'r* “sweet” + ձայն *jayn* “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.

ջրառատ *jr-arat* “abundant with water” = ջուր *jur* “water” + առատ *arat* “rich”
 ձյունամաքուր *gyun-a-mak'ur* “pure as snow” = ձյուն *gyun* “snow” + մաքուր *mak'ur* “pure, clean”
 երկնակապույտ *erkna-kapuyt* “skyblue” = երկինք *erkink'* “heaven” + կապույտ *kapuyt* “blue” etc.

c. Type adjective + adjective

- Adjective + adjective

ամրապինդ *amr-a-pind* “very hard” = ամուր *amur* “strong, tough” + պինդ *pind* “hard”
 զարմանահրաշ *zarman-a-hraš* “amazing and wonderful” = զարման(ալի) *zarman(-ali)* “amazing” + հրաշ(ալի) *hraš(-ali)* “wonderful”
 հեզաձկուն *hez-a-čkun* “gracious” = հեզ *hez* “meek, gentle” + ձկուն *čkun* “flexible” etc.

- Intensifier + adjective

լավատեղյակ *lav-a-telyak* “well-informed” = լավ *lav* “good, well” + տեղյակ *telyak* “aware”
 քաջատեղյակ *k'aj-a-telyak* “well-informed” = քաջ *k'aj* “brave; good, well” + տեղյակ *telyak* “aware”
 մեծահարուստ *mec-a-harust* “very rich” = մեծ *mec* “big, great” + հարուստ *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 -ած *-ac*. Many of these forms are lexicalised.

հավասարակշռված *havasar-a-kš'rvac* “well-balanced”

լայնատարած *layn-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

խոր զգացված *xor zgac'vac* “deep-felt”,

խոր նստած *xor nstac* “deep-seated”

- (4) Մեկ շաբաթ առաջ տպագրվեց Բալոյանի երկար սպասված գիրքը:
mek šabat' aŕaj tpaġr-v-ec' Baloyan-i
 one week-NOM POST publish-pass-AOR3.SG Baloyan-DAT
erkar spas-v-ac girk'-ě.
 long wait-pass-PTCP.RES. book-NOM-the
 “Baloyan’s long-awaited book was published one week ago.”
- (5) Այս ռեստորանում վաճարում են տանը պատրաստված զարեջուր:
ays řestoran-um vačar-um en tan-ě
 this restaurant-LOC sell-PTCP-.PRES. they are house-DAT-the
patrast-v-ac garejur.
 prepare-pass.PTCP.RES beer.NOM
 “In this restaurant they sell home-brewed beer.”
- (6) Ունե՞ս նոր թխված հաց:
Un-es nor t'x-v-ac' 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 *-ած -ac*.

մեքենագրած *mekēna-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-ցերեկ *gišer-cērek* “day and night”, հագած-կապած *hagac-kapac* “dressed up” etc.

A further form of adverbial compounds is fossilised and highly lexicalised (even antiquated). In such adverbial compounds the conjunctions *ու, և u, ew* “and” and the classical adpositions *զ, ընդ, ի z, ěnd, i* are used, as in

գիշեր ու զօր *gišer u z-ōr* “night and day”

սարն ի վեր *sar-n i ver* “up to the mountain; uphill”

օրնիրուն *ōr-n-i-bun* “all day long” = օր *ōr* “day” + բուն *bun* “stem”

4.3 Miscellaneous modes

4.3.1 Reduplication³⁸⁷

Some compounds also have two or more constituents, which are either identical or only slightly different.

387. Minassian 1996: 63.

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 *ու* “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.

տեսակ-տեսակ *tesak-tesak* “of different sorts, kinds”

զույգ-զույգ *zuyg-zuyg* “in pairs, by pairs”

Simple reduplication of adjectives usually intensifies the meaning of the adjective, as in մեծ-մեծ *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 խոսել *arag-arag xosel* “to speak very quickly”

ուշ-ուշ վերադառնալ *uš-uš veradařnal* “to return very late” etc.

In some reduplicated words - generally monosyllabics – the medial vowel *u* *a* alternates with *ու* *ի* such as

ծակ ու ծուկ *cak u cuk* “in every corner, everywhere” < ծակ *cak* “hole”

խառնիխուռն *xařn-i-xuřn* “mish-mash, hodge-podge” < խառն *xařn* “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”.

ցախ-մախ *cax-max* “kind of brushwood, brushwood and the like” < ցախ *cax* “brushwood”

հաց-մաց *hac'-mac'* “bread and the like” < հաց *hac'* “bread”

սուտ-մուտ *sut-mut* “lying, false suchlike” < սուտ *sut* “false, lying” etc.

388. For Turkish see: Kornfilt 1997: 482.

ոլոր-մոլոր *olor-molor* “zigzag; winding (lit. a spire or so)” < ոլոր *olor* “spire, circuit”
 ավել-մավել *avel-mavel* “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.

մարդ-մուրդ *mard-murd* “(some) person” etc.

մանր-մուներ *manr-munr* “small and the like”

մաս-մուս *mas-mus* “part and the like”, e.g.

ավտոմեքենայի մաս-մուս *avtomek'enayi mas-mus* “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

սուս-փուս *sus-p'us* “very quiet, very silent”

պարապ-սարապ *parap-sarap* “inactive, deedless”

The consonants *u s* and *փ p'* used for reduplication remind us of those used in fixed-coda reduplication, as described below.

– Fixed-coda reduplication³⁸⁹

MEA has a very special reduplication pattern, in which a fixed coda segment is drawn from *p'* and *s*.³⁹⁰ 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 *u s* or *փ p'*, is prefixed to the adjective’s root, i.e. the whole first syllable of the adjective is reduplicated by replacing the final consonant with *u s* or *փ p'*, as in

կաս-կարմիր <i>kas-karmir</i> “very red”	< կարմիր <i>karmir</i> “red”
պաս-պարապ <i>pas-parap</i> “very idle, very useless”	< պարապ <i>parap</i> “idle, useless”
բաս-բարձր <i>bas-barjr</i> “very high”	< բարձր <i>barjr</i> “high” etc.
սեփ-սև <i>sep'-sew</i> “very, really black”	< սև <i>sew</i> “black”
շիփ-շիտակ <i>šip'-šitak</i> “completely, really true”	< շիտակ <i>šitak</i> “true” etc.
դեփ-դեղին <i>dep'-delin</i> “very yellow”	< դեղին <i>delin</i> “yellow” etc.

There are several approaches to the explanation of the choice of the *u s* or *փ p'*; however, the most convincing is William’s approach³⁹¹ of constraints following the Obligatory Contour Principle, which prohibits adjacent segments having the identical place of articulation. Thus, *u s* does not occur with roots with the initial coronal consonants (i.e. [d], [t], [t^h], [s], [z], [ʃ] [ʒ], [r] [r] [n] [l]), whereas *փ p'* does not co-occur with initial labial consonants (i.e. [m], [b], [p], [p^h], [v], [f]).

389. Vaux 1998: 242ff.

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}.

391. Vaux 1998: 243. Southern 2005: 68, 70, 84, 86.

This constraint also means that there is no “rule” for dorsal consonants such as [g] [k] [kʰ], i.e. they can, in principle, freely combine with *u* *s* or *ʃ p*, as can be seen from the examples below:

կաս-կանաչ <i>kas-kanač</i> “very green”	<	կանաչ <i>kanač</i> “green”
կափ-կարճ <i>kap'-karč</i> “very short”	<	կարճ <i>karč</i> “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 *ը* *ě*.

ԱԱՀ AAH < Ավելացված Արժեքի Հարկ *Avelac'vac Aržek'i Hark* “VAT, value added tax”
 ՄԱԿ MAK < միավորված ազգերի կազմակերպություն *miavorvac azgeri kazmakerput'yun* “UNO”

ԱՄՆ AMN < Ամերիկայի Միացյալ Նահանգները *Amerikayi Miac'yal Nahangnerë* “USA”
 ԳՖՀ GFH < Գերմանիայի Ֆեդերատիվ հանրապետություն *Germaniayi federativ hanrapetut'yun* “German Federal Republic”

ՀՀ HH Հայաստանի հանրապետություն *Hayastani Hanrapetut'yun* “Republic of Armenia”

ԳԱ Գիտության Ակադեմիա *Gitut'yan Akademia* “Academy of Sciences”

ՍՍՀՄ SSHM < Սովետական Սոցիալիստական Հանրապետությունների Միություն *Sovetakan Soc'ialistakan Hanrapetut'yunneri Miut'yun* “USSR”

ՀՍԽՀ HSXH < Հայկական Սովետական Խորհրդային Հանրապետություն *Haykakan Sovetakan Xorhrdayin Hanrapetut'yun* “Soviet Republic of Armenia”

ԵՊՀ EPH < Երևանի պետական համալսարան *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.

բուհ *buh* < բարձրագույն ուսումնական հաստատություն *barjraguyn usumnakan hastatut'yun* “Institute for higher education”

Russian acronyms have also entered Armenian language and are highly lexicalised in Modern Eastern Armenian such as e.g.

զագս *zags* “civil registry office” from Russian “*zapis' aktov graždanskogo sostojanija*”

գէս *gēs* “hydroelectric powerstation” from Russian “*gidroēlektrostantsija*”

The same is productive for other “foreign” acronyms, as in

ՆԱՏՕ *NATŌ* “North-Atlantic Treaty Organization”

ՎԻՊ *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.

մեքենա *mek'ena* < ավտոմեքենա *avtomek'ena* “car”

կոմպու *kompū* < կոմպյուտեր *kompyuter* “computer”

պրոֆ *prof* < պրոֆեսոր *professor* “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 minuscles and without any separation mark.

ուսմասվար *us-mas-var* < ուսումնական մասի վարիչ *usumnakan masi varič* “head of education department”

հայգյուտխոր *hay-gyut-xor* < Հայաստանի գյուտարարների խորհուրդ *Hayastani gyutararneri xorhurd* “Armenian Council of inventors”

հայպետհրատ *haya-pet-hrat* < Հայաստանի պետական հրատարակչություն *Hayastani petakan hratarakč'utyun* “Armenia state publication”

բուժֆակ *buž-fak* < Բուժական ֆակուլտետ *bužakan fakultet* “faculty of medicine”

գործկոմ *gorc-kom* < գործադիր կոմիտե *gorcadir komite* “executive committee”

գիտխորհուրդ *git-a-xorhurd* < գիտական խորհուրդ *gitakan xorhurd* “scientific council”

դասղեկ *das-łek* “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. Վ. Տերյան *V. Teryan*, Ե. Չարենց *E. Č'arenc'* etc.

- Initials of forms of address. The usual forms of address used in Modern Eastern Armenian are: Պ.Ք. < պարոն *paron* “Mister” and Տ.Թ. > տիկին *tikin* “Madame, Miss, Mrs.”. Please note the plural forms Պրն. < պարոնայք *paronayk’*, Տկն. < տիկնայք *tiknayk’*.
- Initials to express general nouns, particularly conveying temporal meaning, such as
 - դ. *d.* < դար(ում) *dar(um)*, century; (Plural դդ. *dd.* < դարերում *darer(um)*)
 - թ. *t’.* < թվական *t’vakan* “year” (Plural թթ. *tt.* թվականներ *t’vakanner*)
 - ժ. շ. < ժամը *žamě* “time, hour”, ժամին *žamin* “o’clock”
 - մ.թ. *m.t’.* < մեր թվականության *mer tvakanutyan* “A.D. Anno Domini”
 - մ.թ.ա. *m.t’.a.* < մեր թվականությունից առաջ *mer tvakanut’yunic’ ašaj* “B.C. before Christ”
 - հ. *h.* < հատոր *hator* “volume”
 - տ. *t.* < տես *tes!* “see” etc.

– Abbreviations with two letters

Such abbreviations are commonly used with personal names, forms of address, and titles.

- ակ. *ak.* < ակադեմիկոս *akademikos* “academician”
- դր. *dr.* < դոկտոր *doktor* “doctor” (of philosophy, of art etc.)
- բժ. *bž.* < բժիշկ *bžišk* “physician, medical doctor”
- Օր. *ōr.* < օրիորդ *ōriord* “Miss”
- Ավ. Իսահակյան *Av. Isahakyan* < Ավետիք *Avetik’*
- Ալ. Ծատուրճան *Al. Caturyan* < Ալեքսանդր *Alek’sandr*
- Գր. Տաթևազի *Gr. Tat’ewac’i* < Գրիգոր *Grigor*

- ևն *ewn.* < և այլն *ew ayln* “and so on, etc.”
- օր. *ōr.* < օրինակ *ōrinak* “for example”

Two-letter abbreviations are also frequent with ordinal numbers, usually graphically expressed with the number and the corresponding suffix, such as

- 1-ին *1-in* < առաջին *ašajin* “first”
- 2-րդ *2-rd* < երկրորդ *erkrord* “second”
- 6-րդ *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.

- Հովհ. Թումանյան *Hovh. T’umanyan* < Հովհաննես *Hovhannes*
- ընկ. *ēnk.* < ընկեր *ēnker* “friend, colleague; corresponding to Russian *towarišč*”
- պրոֆ. *prof.* < պրոֆեսոր *profesor* “Professor”
- վրկ. *vrk.* < վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second, moment”
- թրգմ. *t’rgm.* < թարգմանություն *t’argmanut’yun* “translation”
- հմմտ. *hmmt.* < համեմատել *hamematel* “compare”
- մլրդ. *mlrd.* < միլիարդ *miliard* “billion”

մլն. *mln.* < միլիոն *milion* “million” etc.

– Abbreviations of weights and measures.

գ *g* < գրամ *gram*

կգ *kg* < կիլոգրամ *kilogram*

մգ *mg* < միլիգրամ *miligram*

մ *m* < մետր *metr* “metre”

սմ *sm* < սանտիմետր *santimetr* “centimetre”

մմ *mm* < միլիմետր *milimetr* “millimetre”

կմ *km* < կիլոմետր *kilometre* “kilometre”

լ *l* < լիտր *litr* “litre”

4.3.3 Hypocoristics³⁹²

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 *-n -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 *-n-o*.

Հայկ *Hayk* > Հայկո *Hayko* (m.)

Վարդ *Vard* > Վարդո *Vardo* (f.)

Աջ *Aj* > Աջո *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)VCV- append *-o* to the leftmost CVC-:

Մարիամ *Mariam* > Մարո *Maro* (f.)

Լուսաբեր *Lusaber* > Լուսո *Luso* (f.)

Դանիել *Daniel* > Դանո *Dano* (m.)

Քերոբ *K'erob* > Քերո *K'ero* (m.)

Անահիտ *Anahit* > Անո *Ano* (f.)

Ավետիք *Avetik'* > Ավո *Avo* (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 CĕC-

Մխիթար *Mxit'ar* [mæχi-t^hɑr] > Մխո *Mxo* [mæχɔ] (m.)

392. Vaux 1998: 247ff.

Դրաստամատ *Drastamat* [dər-astamat] > Դրո *Dro* [dərɔ] (m.)

Սկրտիչ *Mkrt'ič'* [məkərtitʃ^h] > Սկո *Mko* [məkɔ] (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)

Սկրտիչ *Mkrt'ič'* [məkərtitʃ^h] > Մակո *Mako* [makɔ] (m.)

Հմայակ *Hmayak* [həmajak] > Համո [hamɔ] (m.) etc.

- 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-

Գրիգոր *Grigor* > Գիգո *Gigo* (m.)

- If the initial consonant cluster consists of a sibilant and a plosive, the sibilant is deleted.

Ստեփան *Step'an* > Տեփո *Tep'o* (m.)

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:

Արշալույս *Aršaluyš* > Արշո *Aršo* (f.)

Արփինե *Arp'ine* > Արփո *Arp'o* (f.)

Վազգեն *Vazgen* > Վազո *Vazo* (m.)

Համբարձուն *Hambarjum* > Համբո *Hambo* (m.) etc.

- There are alternating forms – if *r* is contained in the consonant cluster, it may be pronounced or not.

Սարգիս *Sargis* > Սագո *Sago*, Սարգո *Sargo* (m.)

Աբրահամ *Abraham* > Աբո *Abo*, Աբրո *Abro* (m.)

Մարտիրոս *Martiros* > Մարտո *Marto*, Մատո *Mato* (m.) etc.

- 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:

Բագրատ *Bagrat* > Բագո *Bago* (m.)

Պետրոս *Petros* > Պետո *Peto*, Պեպո *Pepo* (m.)

Տիգրան *Tigran* > Տիգո *Tigo* (m.)

Գաբրիել *Gabriel* > Գաբո *Gabo* (m.)

Մանվել *Manvel* > Մանո *Mano* (m.)

Միհրան *Mihran* > Միրո *Miro* (m.) etc.

CHAPTER 5

Punctuation³⁹³

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) Տե՛ս, ինչ փոքրիկ ինքնաթիռ է: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)
tés inč' pòk'rik ink'nat'if ē!
look-IMP.2.SG wh-what tiny airplane.NOM it is
“Look, what a tiny airplane that is!”

393. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004a: 107–129. Sahakyan 2004b: 48–156.

394. Petrosyan 1987: 303.

- (2) Գրի՛ր թե՛ ի՞նչ ես տեսնում նկարներում: (Patkerazard 2:7)

Gr-ír t'è inč' es tesn-um nkar-ner-um!
 write-IMP.2.SG CONJ wh-what you are see-PTCP.PRES. picture-PL-LOC
 “Write what you see in the pictures!”

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) Հասմի՛կ, խնդրում եմ՝ դուրը փակիր:

Hasmik xndr-um em dur'ë p'ak-ir!
 Hasmik ask-PTCP.PRES. I am door.NOM-the close-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) Մի բաժակ ջուր տուր ծարավ տուրիստին:

mi bažak ĵúr tur carav turist-i-n!
 INDEF glass.NOM water.NOM give-IMP.2.SG thirsty tourist-DAT-the
 “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՛ք բարեկամներ:

Eke-k' barekam-ner!
 come-IMP.2.PL friend-PL.NOM
 “Come friends!”

- In prohibitive sentences, the stress mark is put on the prohibitive particle մի՛ *mí*:

- (6) Տիկին, ձեր պահանջը կկատարվի, մի՛ անհանգստացեք:
-
- (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Tikín jer pahanj'ë kkatar-v-i
 Mrs.NOM your request.NOM-the comply-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
mí anhangstac'-ek'!
 neg worry-IMP.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, արի դու էլ խաղա: (Mayreni 3:59)

Sahak ari du ēl xał-a!
 Sahak come-IMP.2.SG du.NOM also play-IMP.2.SG
 “Sahak, come and play, too!”

(8) Եւ Դուք, սիրելի՛ հնդկահայեր... (Armenpress 09.01.2006)

ew duk' sireli hndkahay-er
 CONJ you dear Indo-Armenian.PL.NOM
 “And you, dear Armenians from India...”

(9) Իմ հերոսական ընկեր...

im herosakan ěnker
 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) Իմ շատ սիրելի ընկեր, շնորհավորում եմ քեզ:

im šat sireli ěnker šnorhavor-um em kėz!
 my INT dear friend.NOM congratulate-PTCP.PRES. I am you.DAT
 “My vėry 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՛, հրատարակվել են: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

ayó hrarak-v-el en.
 yes publish-pass-PTCP.PERF they are
 “Yes (indeed), they have been published!”

(12) Չէ՛, չէ՛, չեմ ուզում:

čė' čė' č'-em uz-um.
 no no neg-I am wish-PTCP.PRES.
 “No no, I do not want to.”

- (13) Հեյ, ո՞ր ես գնում:

hey ur es gn-um?
 hey wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES
 “Hey, where are you going?!”

- (14) այ, կրակը վառվում է... (Hetk' 16.01.2007)

áy, krak-ě vař-v-um ē!
 ay fire.NOM burn-antic-PTCP.PRES. it is
 “Here you are, the fire is burning!”

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. Հիմա բոլորին հրավիրեցեք դահլիճ:

hima bolor-i-n hravirec'-ék' dahlič!
 now all-DAT-the invite-IMP.2PL hall.NOM
 “Now invite all (everybody) to the hall!” (Unmarked sentence; verb is in focus)

- b. Հիմա՛ բոլորին հրավիրեցեք դահլիճ:

himá bolor-i-n hravirec'-ék' dahlič!
 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. Հիմա բոլորին հրավիրեցեք դահլիճ:

hima bolor-í-n hravirec'-ek' dahlič!
 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. Հիմա դահլիճ հրավիրեցեք բոլորին:

hima bolor-i-n dahlič 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) Կառավարությունը երբեք չի կարող որոշել... (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Kařavarut'yun-ě erbék' č'-i kar-oř oroř-el...
 government.NOM-the never neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. decide-INF
 “The government is never able to decide...”

- (17) Մեկ անգամ էլ լսիր այդ երգը: (Mayreni 5:160)

mek angám ēl ls-ir ayd erg-ě!
 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) Բուհական թերթերը բազմազան են թե՛ բնույթով, թե՛ ուղղվածությամբ: (Ա՛տավոտ
buhakan t'ert'-er-ě *bazmazan en* *t'è* *bnuyt'-ov*
 IHE newspaper-PL.NOM-the various they are CONJ character-INST
t'è *uġvacut'y-amb*.
 CONJ direction-INST

“The newspapers of the Institutes of Higher Education are various either in character or in direction.”

- (19) Ինձ հետ էր իմ բժիշկը, ով ինձ օգնում էր և՛ նյութապես, և՛ բարոյապես:
 (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

inj *het* *ēr* *im* *bžišk-ě* *ov* *inj* *ōgnum*
 I.DAT POST he was my doctor.NOM-the REL.NOM I.DAT help-PTCP.PRES.
ēr *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) արդեն քանի տարի է իրար հետ կապ չունենք՝ ո՛չ գրում ենք, ո՛չ զանգում:
 (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

arden *k'ani* *tari* *ē* *irar* *het* *kap*
 already wh-how many year.NOM it is each other POST relation.NOM
č'-un-enk' *oč'* *gr-um* *enk'* *oč'* *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. Լիլիթը գնա՞ց գրախանութ:

Lilit'-ě *gnac'* *graxanut'?*
 Lilit'.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG bookshop.NOM
 Did Lilit' go to a bookshop? (Unmarked, neutral interrogative sentence).

- b. Լիլիթը գնաց գրախանութ:

Lilit'-ě *gnac'* *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. Լիլիթը գնաց գրախանո՞ւթ:

Lilit'-ě gnac' graxanút'?

Lilit'.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG bookshop.NOM

“Did Lilit’ go to a bookshop? Was it a bookshop Lilit’ went to?”

(Focus on bookshop)

(22) «Գյուղ կա՞, որ շուն չլինի»: (Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

gyuł ká or šun č'-lin-i?

village.NOM exist-PRES.3.SG REL.NOM dog.NOM neg-be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

“Are there any villages without a dog?”

(23) Առայարկում եք նրան աշխատանքից հեռացնել քննադատության համար:
(Azg 06.04.2006)

ařajark-um ek' nran ařxatank'-ič heřa-c'n-el

propose-PTCP.PRES. you are he.DAT work-ABL remove-caus-INF

k'nnadatut'y-án hamar?

criticism-DAT POST

“Do you propose to send him away from work because of criticism?”

(24) Ինչ-որ իրավակա՞ն կարգավորում պետք է լինի:
(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

inč-or iravakán kargavorum petk' ē lin-i?

some juridical regulation.NOM be-DEB.FUT.3.SG

“Should there be some juridical regulation?”

(25) Ֆիլմերի նեգատիվները բերվում են Ռուսաստանի՞ց:
(Hetk’ 12.02.2007)

film-er-i negativ-ner-ě ber-v-um

film-PL-DAT negative-PL.NOM-the bring-pass-PTCP.PRES.

en Ruřastan-íc'?

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) «Իսկ վաղն ի՞նչ է լինելու» (Hetk’ 08.01.2007)

isk valn inč' ē linel-u?

CONJ tomorrow wh-what it is be-PTCP.FUT.

“And what will be tomorrow?”

(27) Հարցրեց, թե ինչու՞ են իմ խնդրանքը մերժել: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

harc'rec' tē inč'ú en im xndrank'-ě merž-el.

ask-AOR.3.SG CONJ wh-why they are my request.NOM refuse-PTCP.PERF

“He asked why they had refused my request.”

- (28) Ակամա ծագում է հարցը, թե ինչպե՞ս ստեղծվեց լեզվական այս ճգնաժամը:
(Azg 07.04.2006)

akama cag-um ē harc'-ě tē inč'pés
unwillingly arise-PTCP.PRES it is question.NOM-the CONJ wh-how
stelc-v-ec' lezvakan ays čgnažam-ě.
found-pass-AOR.3.SG lingual this crisis.NOM-the

“Unwillingly the question arises (whether) how this lingual crisis was founded.”

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) «Մյասնիկ, նայի, մո՛մ ունենք, մո՛մ: Հիմա լու՛յս կունենանք»:
(Hetk' 15.01.2007)³⁹⁵

Myasnik, nay-i, môm un-enk' môm.
Myasnik look-IMP.2.SG candle.NOM have-PRES.1.PL candle.NOM
Hima lûys kunen-ank'.
now light.NOM have-COND.FUT.1.PL

“Myasnik, look, we have a candle, a candle! Now we will have light!”

- (30) Պրիմիտիվ գործ էր, բայց ինչպիսի՛ ճաշակ: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

primitiv gorc ēr bayc' inč'pisî čaşak!
primitive work.NOM it was CONJ what taste.NOM
“It was a primitive work, but whãt a taste!”

- (31) Գիրքն իմ կյանքի անբաժանելի մասն է, մե՛ծ, շա՛տ մեծ գրադարան եմ թողել
Բաքվում: (Hetk' 08.01.2007)

girk'-n im kyank'-i anbažaneli mas-n ē mec
book.NOM-the my life-DAT inseparable part.NOM-the it is big
šât mec gradaran em töt-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.

- (32) Դու ի՞նչ լավն ես:
du inč lav-n es.
 du wh-what good.NOM-the you are
 “You, how good you are.” (Colloquial Arm.)

- 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) Այս հողի վրա բազում դարերի ընթացքում հայեր են ապրել:
 (Azg 10.01.2006)
ays hoł-i vra bazum dar-er-i ěntac’k’um
 this soil-DAT POST many century-PL-DAT POST
hay-er en apr-el.
 Armenian-PL.NOM they are live-PCTP.PERF
 “For many centuries, Armenians have been living on this soil.”

- (34) Հաճախ կարելի է լսել, թե Հայաստանում զարգանում է զբոսաշրջությունը:
 (Ařavot 07.04.2006)
Hačax kareli ě lsel t’e Hayastan-um zargan-um
 often able it is hear-INF CONJ Armenia-LOC develop-PTCP.PRES
ě zbosařjut’yun-ě.
 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) Իրենց արտահայտած իմաստներով մակբայները բաժանվում են չորս խմբի՝ ժամանակի, տեղի, ձևի, չափի:
1. Ժամանակի մակբայները ցույց են տալիս գործողության կատարման ժամանակ:
 2. Տեղի մակբայները ցույց են տալիս գործողության կատարման տեղ:
 3. Ձևի մակբայները ցույց են տալիս գործողության կատարման ձև:
 4. Չափի մակբայները ցույց են տալիս գործողության կատարման չափ:
(Hayoc' Lezu 6:111)

Irenc' artahayt-ac imast-ner-ov makbay-ner-ě bažan-v-um en čors xmb-i žamanak-i, tel-i, jew-i, čap'i

1. *žamanak-i makbay-ner-ě č'uyč' en talis gorcolut'y-an katarm-an žamanak*
2. *tel-i makbay-ner-ě č'uyč' en talis gorcolut'yan katarm-an tel*
3. *jew-i makbay-ner-ě č'uyč' en talis gorcolut'y-an katarm-an jew*
4. *čap'-i makbay-ner-ě č'uyč' en talis gorcolut'y-an katarm-an čap'*

“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) «Իհարկե, հնարավոր է, -պատասխանեց նա: - Կարող է ճանաչել վաղը չէ մյուս օրը, եթե վաղը Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ճանաչի ԱՄՆ-ը»:
(Armenpress 18.01.2005)

iharke hnaravor ē patasxanec' na. Kar-ol ē
of course possible it is answer-AOR.3.SG he.NOM can-PTCP.PRES. it is
čanač-ěl valě č'ē myus ōr-ě etè valě hayoc'
recognise-INF day after tomorrow CONJ tomorrow Armenian
č'elaspanut'yun-ě čanač'-i AMN-ě.
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) «Հիմա բարեկամի տանն ենք ապրում,- ասում է Հ. Ոսկերչյանը:- Բոլոր հոսանքալարերը պատերի մեջ պայթել են, խոնավության հոտը անտանելի է»:
(Hetk' 27.01.2007)

hima barekam-i tan-n enk' apr-um as-um ē
now friend-DAT house-DAT-the we are live-PTCP.PRES say-PTCP.PRES. he is

H. Oskerčyan-ě bolor hosank'alar-er-ě pat-er-i meġ
H. Oskerčyan.NOM-the all power cable-PL.NOM-the wall-PL-DAT POST

payt'-el en xonavut'y-an hot-ě antaneli ē.
explode-PTCP.PERF they are humidity-DAT smell.NOM-the unbearable it is

“Now we live in a friend’s house,” says H. Oskerčyan. “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. ծանոթություն *cano'tut'yun* “note, remark”, վարժություն *varžut'yun* “exercise”, խնդիր *xndir* “problem”, առաջադրանք *ařajadrank'* “task” and similar words.

- (38) Վարժություն 43: Գտիր և կետադրիր ուղղակի խոսքերն:
(Patkerazard 1: 23)

varžut'yun 43: gt-ir ew ketadr-ir ułłaki
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) Առաջադրանք: Ի՞նչ հատկանիշներ ունեն հեքիաթներում հանդիպող կենդանիները: (Mayreni 5:116)

Ařajadrank' Inč' hatkaniš-ner un-en hek'iat'-ner-um
task.NOM wh-what feature-PL.NOM have-PRES.3.PL fairytale-PL-LOC

handip-oł kendani-ner-ě?

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) Աբեղյան Մ., Աշխարհաբարի քերականություն, Վաղարշապատ, 1908: Աբեղյան Մ., Հայոց լեզվի տեսություն, Երևան, 1965:

Abelyan M., Ařxarhabari k'erakanut'yun, Valaršapat, 1908. Abelyan, M., Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun, Erewan, 1965.

- A full stop is used between sequences or expressions referring to academic, scientific and other similar subjects or themes.

(41) Բնական թվեր: Պարզ և բաղադրյալ թվեր: (Abrahamyan 2004:17)

bnakan t'v-er parz ew baladryal t'v-er.
 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 թվականին Երևանի կոնյակի գործարանը վաճառել է 4,022 812լ կոնյակ (Armenpress 19.01.2005)

2003 t'vakani-n Erewani-konyak-i gorcaran-ě vačař-el
 2003 year-DAT-the Yerevan-DAT cognac-DAT factory.NOM-the sell-PTCP.PERF.
ē 4,022 812 l konyak.
 it is 4,022812 l cognac.NOM

“In 2003 Yerevan’s cognac factory sold 4,022 812 litres of cognac” (headline)

(43) Ինչո՞ւ չկան բարձրակարգ էկսկուրսավարներ (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

inču č-k-an barjrakarg ěkskursavar-ner?
 wh-why neg-exist-PRES.3.PL high-quality tourist guide-PL.NOM
 “Why there are no high-quality tourist guides” (headline)

(44) Ավանի տաճարը

Avan-i tačar-ě
 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) Մալինկան մոտեցավ ինձ ու իրեն բոլորովին ոչ հաստուկ երկչոտությամբ խնդրեց... (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

Malinka-n motec'av inj u iren bolorovin
 Malinka.NOM-the approach-AOR.3.SG I.DAT CONJ she.DAT absolutely
oč hatuk erkčotut'y-amb xndrec'...
 neg special timidness-INST ask-AOR.3.SG

“Malinka approached me and asked with a timidity quite unusual for her...”

(46) Նա ընդհանրապես չէր նկարում, երբ նույնիսկ անցել էր 50-ը: Բայց մի օր, 53 տարեկանում... (Armenpress 17.01.2005)

na ěndhanrapes č-ēr nkar-um erb nuynisk
 he.NOM generally neg-he was paint-PTCP.PRES CONJ even
anc'-el ēr 50-ě: Bayc' mi ōr 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) Քամին դադարեց. ամպերը ցրվեցին. շողաց պայծառ արևը: (Hayoc' lezu 8:147)
k'ami-n dadarec'. amp-er-ě c'r-v-ec'-in.
 wind.NOM-the cease-AOR.3.SG. cloud-PL.NOM -the scatter-antic-AOR.3.PL
šo'ac' 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 ուշանում ենք. պետք է շտապել:
menk' ušan-um enk'. petk' ē stap-el.
 we.NOM be late-PTCP.PRES. we are part it is hurry-INF
 “We are late. We have to hurry up.”
- (49) Խնդիրը հետևյալն է. ինձնից շանտաժի և ահաբեկությունների միջոցով գումարներ են կորզվել: (Aravot 06.04.2006)
xndir-ě hetewyal-n ē. injn-ic' šantaž-i ew
 problem.NOM-the following.NOM-the it is I-ABL blackmail-DAT CONJ
ahabekut'yun-ner-i miřoc'ov gumar-ner en korz-v-el.
 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 խառնեցիք իրար. սոցիալական խնդիրը և քաղաքական խնդիրը պետք է բաժանել: (Armenpress 13.01.2006)
erku harc' xařnec'-ik' irar soc'ialakan xndir-ě
 two question.NOM mix-AOR.2.PL each other social problem.NOM-the

ew k'alak'akan xndir-ě petk' ē bažan-el.
 CONJ political problem.NOM-the part it is separate-INF

“You have mixed up two questions: the social problem and the political problem have to be separated (from each other).”

- 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) Տարվա ամեն մի եղանակ իր յուրահատուկ ներկապանակն ունի. անտառն աշնանը դեղնակարմիր է դառնում: (Abrahamyan 2004: 20)

tar-va amen mi elanak ir yurahatuk nerkapnak-n un-i.
 year-DAT every season.NOM its special palette.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG
antañ-n ašnan-ě deñnakarmir ē dañn-um.
 forest.NOM-the autumn-DAT-the yellow-red it is become-PTCP.PRES.

“Every season of the year has its special palette: the forest turns into yellow-red in autumn.”

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.

- The dot is used before direct speech quoted after the author’s words (=verbs of utterance).

- (52) Պողոսյանն ասաց. «Թողնում է արագ գրված մի փաստաթղթի տպավորություն:» (Ařavot 06.04.2006)

Połosyan-n asac' t'oln-um ē
 Połosyan.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG leave-PTCP.PRES. it is
arag gr-v-ac mi p'astat't'-i tpavorut'yun.
 quick write-pass-PTCP.RES. INDEF document-DAT impression.NOM

“Połosyan said: “This leaves the impression of a quickly written document.”

- (53) Խմբի ղեկավար Կարեն Կարապետյանը հակիրճ պատասխանեց. «Եթե անհրաժեշտություն լինի՝ կօժանդակեմ»: (Ařavot 06.04.2006)

xmb-i lekavar Karen Karapetyan-ě hakirč patasxanec'
 group-DAT leader.NOM Karen Karapetyan.NOM-the briefly answer-AOR.3.SG
et'e anhražeštut'yun lini kōžandak-em.
 CONJ necessity.NOM be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG assist-COND.FUT.1.SG

“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) –Տարվա ամեն մի եղանակ իր յուրահատուկ ներկայանակն ունի, – ասաց պապը թոռնիկին. – անտառն աշնանը դեղնակարմիր է դառնում: (Abrahamyan 2004:21)

Tar-va amen mi etanak ir yurahatuk nerkapnak-n
year-DAT every weather.NOM its special palette.NOM-the
un-i asac’ pap-ě t’òrnik-i-n
have-PRES.3.SG say-AOR.3.SG grandfather.NOM-the grandchild-DAT-the
antař-n ašn-an-ě delnakarmir ē dařn-um.
forest.NOM-the autumn-DAT-the yellow-red it is become-PCTP.PRES.

“Every season of the year has its special palette,” said the grandfather to his grandchild, “In autumn the forest turns into yellow-red.”

- The dot is used mostly in titles between words and expressions, of which one clause contains specification (often as a sub-title), generalization, or additional information concerning the other.

- (55) «Հայոց լեզու. ձևաբանություն»

hayoc’ lezu jewabanut’yun
Armenian language.NOM morphology.NOM
“Armenian language: Morphology.”

- The dot is used after numerals or letters indicating enumeration. Note that no separation marks are in simple enumerations outside a connected speech, which starts on a new line.
- The dot is used after words, phrases and sentences expressing denomination, appeal or question and followed by an opinion, appraisal or conclusion directly connected with them. Usually the expressions ահա *aha* “here (you are)”, սա *sa* “this, that” introduce the opinion, appraisal or conclusion.

- (56) Եվ այսպես ձևավորվեց ագրեսիվ քաղաքական փոքրամասնություն. սա է այս վիճակի վերլուծությունը: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

ev ayspes jewavor-v-ec’ agresiv k’alakakan p’òkramasnut’yun.
CONJ thus form-pass-AOR.3.SG. aggressive political minority.NOM
sa ē ays vičak-i verlucut’yun-ě.
this it is this situation-DAT analysis.NOM-the

“And thus (an) aggressive political minority was formed. This is the analysis of the situation.”

- (57) Մենք ջրի հետ միասին նաև երեխային դուրս թափեցինք. ահա թե ինչն է խնդիրը:
(Armenpress 06.05.2006)

menk' jr-i het miasin naew erexa-y-i-n durs t'ap'ec'-ink'
we.NOM water-DAT POST together also child-DAT-the pour out-AOR.1.PL
aha te inč-n ē xndir-ě.
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.”

- The dot is used after rules and definitions immediately followed by examples, which are not introduced with expressions as օրինակ *ōrinak* “example”, ինչպես *inč'pes* “such as, like”, այսպես *ayspes* “so, such as”.

- (58) Տեղի պարագան կարող է արտահայտվել տրական, բացառական, գործիական, ներգոյական հոլովներով.

Tel-i paraga-n kar-ol ē artahayt-v-el
place-DAT adverbial modifier.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is express-pass-INF
trakan bac'ařakan, 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.”

- The dot is used after abbreviations. If, however, the abbreviation consists of all the consonants of the abbreviated word, such abbreviations are written without a dot, as e.g. պրն (պարոն) *prn (paron)* “Mr., Mister”, մլն (միլիոն) *mln (milion)* etc.

- (59) Հովհ. Թումանյանն ամենայն հայոց բանաստեղծն է:
(Hayoc' lezu 8:148)

Hovh. T'umanyan-n amenayn hayoc' banastelc-n ē.
Hovh. T'umanyan.NOM-the all Armenian poet.NOM-the he is
“Hovhannes T'umanyan is the poet of all Armenians.”

- (60) 2006թ. փետրվարին մահացել է նրա մայրը: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

2006 t'. p'etrvar-i-n mahac'-el ē nra mayr-ě.
2006 y. February-DAT-the died-PTCP.PERF. she is his mother.NOM-the
“In February of the year 2006 his mother died.”

- (61) Զրոյցի ընթացքում պրն Կոստինը շնորհակալություն է հայտնել ընդունելության համար: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)

zruc'-i ent'ac'kum prn Kostin-ě šnorhakatut'yun ē
conversation-DAT POST prn Kostin.NOM-the gratitude.NOM he is
haytn-el ěndunelut'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. մ (մետր) *m* (*metr*), կմ (կիլոմետր) *km* (*kilometr*) “km, kilometre”, գրամ) *g* (*gram*) “gr, gram”, տ (տոննա) *t* (*tonna*) “t, ton”, լ (լիտր) *l* (*litr*) “l, litre”, ր (րոպե) *r* (*rope*) “min., minute”, ժ (ժամ) *ž* (*žam*) “h., hour; o’clock”, etc.

- (62) Ա. Մելիք-Շահնազարյանի հոգեհանգիստը կկատարվի հունվարի
20-ին ժ. 18:00-ից: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)
A. Melik'-Šahnazaryan-i hogehangist-ě kkatar-v-i
A. Melik'-Šahnazaryan-DAT requiem.NOM-the carry out-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
hunvar-i 20-i-n ž. 18.00-ic'.
January-DAT 20-DAT-the o'clock 18.00-ABL
“The requiem for A. Melik'-Šahnazaryan will be carried out on January 20th
(starting at) six o'clock.”

5.2.3 Comma

- The comma is used between main and subordinate clauses.

- (63) Իսկ ինձ թո՛ւյլ տուր, որ գամ քեզ մոտ, երբ կամենամ: (Mayreni 5: 69)
isk inj t'uył t-ur or ga-m k'ez
CONJ I.DAT permit-IMP.2.SG CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG you.DAT
mot erb kamena-m.
POST CONJ wish-COND.FUT.1.SG
“But allow me that I come to you when I wish to.”
- (64) Որոշվել է, թե ով է մեկնելու Բաքու: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 43)
oroš-v-el ē t'è ov ē meknel-u Bak'u.
decide-pass-PTCP.PERF it is CONJ wh-who it is depart-PTCP.FUT. Bak'u.NOM
“It has been decided who will depart for Baku.”
- (65) Երկրի նախագահն ունի լայն լիազորություններ, որոնք համեմատաբար
անվերահսկելի են խորհրդարանի կողմից: (Azg 07.04.2006)
erkr-i naxagah-n un-i layn liazorut'yun-ner
country-DAT president.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG broad warrant-PL.NOM
or-onk' hamematabar anverahskeli en xorhrdaran-i kolmic'.
REL-PL.NOM comparatively uncontrollable they are parliament-DAT POST
“The country’s president has broad warrants, which are comparatively
uncontrollable by the parliament”.

When main and subordinate clauses are not connected with conjunctions, they are usually separated with a short stop (‘).

- (66) Ինձ թվում է՝ շատերը հենց դրանից են տուժել: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

inj t'v-um ē šat-er-ě henc' dranic'
I.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) Գիշերը մռայլ էր ու խավար, անտառում ցուրտ էր ու քամի: (Mayreni 3: 82)

gišer-ě mřayl ēr u xavar antař-um c'urt ēr u kãmi.
night.NOM-the gloomy it was CONJ dark forest-LOC cold 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 *և ew* “and”, *ու u* “and”, and *կամ kam* “or”.

- (68) Երկնքում անարոպ էր որոտում, բայց անձրև չէր գալիս: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:148)

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) Նրա բնակարանը 9 հարկանի շենքի վերջին հարկում է, սակայն նա ոչ մի օր այնտեղ չի ապրել: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

nra bnakaran-ě 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 ōr 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 *և ew* “and”, *ու u* “and”, *կամ kam* “or”, if the clauses have no common subject.

- (70) Գարունը բացվեց, և չվող թռչունները վերադարձան: (Hayoc' lezu 8:149)

garun-ě bac'-v-ec' ew č'voł
spring.NOM-the open-antic-AOR.3.SG CONJ migrant
t'ř'un-ner-ě veradarj-an.
bird-PL.NOM-the return-AOR.3.PL

“Spring begun and the migratory birds returned.”

- (71) Եղբոր արվեստանոցում մնաց մի քանի տարի, ու նրա անունն արդեն դուրս եկավ արվեստանոցից: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

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 conjunctions *և ew* “and”, *ու u* “and”, *կամ kam* “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) Մենք ճանապարհ ընկանք, երբ լույսը նոր էր բացվել, և տեղ հասանք ուշ երեկոյան: (Abrahamyan 2004: 27)

menk' čanaparh ěnk-ank erb luys-ě nor ěr
 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.1PL 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 *և ew* “and”, *ու u* “and”, and *կամ kam* “or”.

- (73) Պատերին կախված էին նիզակներ, տեգեր, դաշույններ: (Hayoc' Lezu 8:149)

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 dašuy-n-ner.
 pike-PL.NOM dagger-PL.NOM

“On the walls there were hanging lances, pikes and daggers.”

- (74) Տաք, արևոտ օր էր: (Mayreni 3: 38)

tak' arewot ěr ěr.
 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) Մոռացված, հեռու անտառ է: (Gyurjinyan, Heke'yan 2002:180)

mořac'-v-ac heřu antař ě.
 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) Մենք, իհարկե, շատ ուրախ ենք, որ հաղթեցինք: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

menk' iharke šat urax enk' or hałt'ec'-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) Դու, անշուշտ, ունես քո սիրած տոները: (Mayreni 3:133)

du anšušť un-es k'o sir-ac ton-er-ě.
 you.NOM certainly have-PRES.2.SG your love-PTCP.RES. feast-PL.NOM-the
 “You do certainly have your favourite feasts.”

(78) Օ, դա շատ հետաքրքիր է: (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) Տղա՛ս, ուզո՞ւմ ես քեզ հետս մայրաքաղաք տանեմ: (Mayreni 5:188)

tla-s uz-um es k'ez het-s
 boy.NOM-my want-PTCP.PRES you are you.DAT POST-my
mayrak'atak' 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 *և... և ew...ew* “and...and, both...and”, *թե... թե t'e...t'e* “either...or”, *կամ... կամ kam....kam* “either...or”, and *ոչ... ոչ oč'...oč'* “neither...nor”.

(80) Այս հարցը բարձրացվել էր և՛ մարզային այցելությունների ժամանակ, և՛ վարչապետի առաջ: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

ays harc'-ě barjrac'-v-el ēr ew marzayin
 this question.NOM-the raise-pass-PTCP.PERF. it was CONJ provincial
ayč'elut'yun-ner-i žamanak ew varč'apet-i aňaj.
 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) Նրանք, ավարտելով իրենց աշխատանքը, սկսեցին օգնել ընկերներին:

nrank' avart-el-ov irenc' ašxatank'-ě sksec'-in
they.NOM finish-INF-INST their work.NOM-the start-AOR.3.PL

ōgnel ěnker-ner-i-n.
help-INF friend-PL-DAT-the

“Finishing their work, they started to help the(ir) friends.”

- (82) Բաբելոնում գտնվող պարսիկները, վախենալով իրենց կյանքի համար, չհամարձակվեցին դուրս գալ մակեդոնացիների դեմ:

(Gyurjinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 180)

Babelon-um gtn-v-ol parsik-ner-ě vaxenal-ov irenc'
Babelon-LOC locate-refl-PTCP.SUB. Persian-PL.NOM-the fear-INF-INST their
kyank'-i hamar ě-hamarjak-v-ec'in durs g-al makedonac'i-ner-i dem.
life-DAT POST neg-dare-antic.AOR.3.PL go out-INF Macedonian- PL-DAT POST

“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, expressed with adpositions ըստ *ěst* “in accordance with”, համաձայն *hamajayn* “according to”, համապատասխան *hamapatasxan* “respective to”, հակառակ *hakararak* “against”, հանդերձ *handerj* “with, in spite of”, չնայած *ě'nayac* “despite of; although”, չհաշված *ě'hašvac* “not counted”, փոխանակ *p'oxanak* “instead of”, ի տարբերություն *i tarberut'yun* “unlike”, բացի *bac'i* “except”, զատ *zat* “except”, բացառությամբ *bac'ařut'yamb* “except” etc.

- (83) Այդ երկրները, համաձայն հետազոտության, իսկական արհավիրք են խոսքի ազատության համար: (Armenpress 03.05.2006)

ayd erkr-ner-ě hamajayn hetazotut'y-an iskakan arhavirk' en
that country-PL.NOM-the POST research-DAT real disaster.NOM they are
xosk'-i azatut'y-an hamar.
speech-DAT freedom-DAT POST

“According to research, those countries represent (are) a real disaster for freedom of speech.”

- (84) Մենք, ըստ էության, չունենք լիարժեք, պաշտոնական բանակցային գործընթաց: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

menk' ěst ěut'y-an ě-un-enk' liaržek' pařtonakan
we PREP substance-DAT neg-have-PRES.1.PL of value official
banakc'ayin gorc'ent'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.

- (85) Սայաթ-Նովան՝ երգիչ-բանաստեղծը, մի պահ կանգ առավ:
(Sahakyan/Sahakyan a 2004: 63)
Sayat'-Nova-n ergic'-banastelc-ě mi pah kang aš-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) Տիկին Սիրանուշը, որպես բազմազավակ և միայնակ մայր, դիմում է տարբեր պետական կառույցների... (Hetk' 26.02.2007)
Tikin Siranuš-ě orpes bazmazavak ew miaynak mayr
Mrs. Siranuš.NOM-the as many-children CONJ solitary mother.NOM
dim-um ē tarber petakan kašuyč-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 մեծ բանաստեղծի երկերը թարգմանվել են աշխարհի շատ լեզուներով: (Sahakyan/Sahakyan 2004a: 68)
T'umanyan-i hay mec banastelc-i erk-er-ě
T'umanyan-DAT Armenian great poet-DAT work-PL.NOM-the
t'argman-v-el en ašxarh-i šat lezu-ner-ov.
translate-pass-PTCP.PERF. 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՝ որպես առաջին խորհրդատուի հետ էլ խորհրդակցեց:
(Abrahamyan 2004: 32)
na ir mor orpes ašajin xorhrdatu-i het
he.NOM his mother-DAT as first adviser-DAT POST
ēl xorhrdak'ec'.
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) Ամեն անգամ եղբայրս՝ Վարդանն է օգնում նրան:
amen angam elbayr-s Vardan-n ē ṓgn-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) Ամռանը՝ ամենաարևոտ օրերին է նա սիրում նստել արևին:
Amṙ-an-ě amenaarewot ṓr-er-i-n ē na
 summer-DAT-the sunniest day- PL-DAT-the he is he.NOM
sir-um nst-el arew-i-n.
 love-PTCP.PRES. sit-INF sun-DAT-the
 “In summer, on the sunniest days he likes to sit in the sun.”

4. If the apposition is followed by the (focusing) adverbs էլ *ēl* “also, still, more etc.,” ևս *ews* “also, too”, անգամ *angam* “even”.

- (91) Իմ կուրսի ավագը՝ Անուշն էլ իմ կարծիքին է:
im kurs-i avag-ě Anuš-n ēl im karcik'-i-n ē.
 my course-DAT oldest.NOM-the Anuš.NOM-the also my opinion-DAT-the she is
 “The oldest of my course, Anuš, 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) Զգվելի եղանակ էր՝ խոնավ, ցուրտ, մառախլապատ: (Sahakyan/
 Sahakyan 2004a: 59)
zzveli elanak ēr xonav c'urt mařaxlapat.
 horrible weather.NOM it was humid cold misty
 “It was a horrible weather, humid, cold and misty.”

- The comma is used before explanatory words, such as այն է *ayn ē*, այսինքն *aysink'n* both “that means, it is; i.e.” etc.

- (93) Աշխատանքները կտևեն 1 տարի 8 ամիս, այսինքն՝ 2009թ. աշխատանքները
 ավարտված կլինեն:
ařxatank'-ner-ě ktew-en 1 tari 8 amis aysink'n 2009 t'.
 work-PL.NOM-the last-COND.FUT.3.PL 1 year 8 month that is 2009 year
ařxatank'ner-ě avart-v-ac klin-en.
 work-PL.NOM-the finish-pass-PTCP.RES be-COND.FUT.3.PL
 “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 հիմունքները, Երևան, 1974, էջ 53:
G.B. Jahukyan, žamanakacic' hayereni tesut'yan himunk'nerĕ, Erewan 1974, ĕj 53.
 “G.B.Jahukyan, Bases of the Theory of Modern Armenian, Yerevan 1974, page 53.”

5.2.4 Grave accent = Short stop

- The short stop is used before multiple postposed indefinite subjects, if the predicate is nominal.

- (95) Հայաստանի ամենամեծ քաղաքներն են՝ Երևան, Գյումրի, Վանաձոր:
Hayastan-i amena-mec k'alak'-ner-n en Erewan
 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) Բայերն ունեն երեք դեմք՝ առաջին, երկրորդ, երրորդ: (Mayreni 5:131)
bay-er-n un-en erek' demk' ařajin
 verb- PL.NOM-the have-PRES.3.PL three person.NOM first.NOM
erkrord errorđ.
 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) Պետրոսը իմ եղբայրը, լավ է երգում:
Petros-ĕ im elbayr-ĕ lav ĕ erg-um.
 Petros.NOM-the my brother.NOM-the good he is sing-PTCP.PRES.
 “Petros, my brother, sings well.”
- (98) Իմ եղբայրը՝ Պետրոսը, լավ է երգում:
im elbayr-ĕ Petros-ĕ lav ĕ erg-um.
 my brother.NOM-the Petros.NOM-the good he is sing-PTCP.PRES.
 “My brother, Petros, sings well.”

- (99) Վահեին, որպես լեզվաբանի, բոլորը գովում են:

Vahe-i-n orpes lezvaban-i bolor-ě 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) Որպես լեզվաբանի՝ Վահեին բոլորը գովում են:

orpes lezvaban-i Vahe-i-n bolor-ě 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) Բալակյանի նոր գրքի մասին Անին է պատմել՝ իմ ընկերուհին:

Balakyan-i nor grk'-i masin Ani-n ē
 Balakyan-DAT new book-DAT POST Ani.NOM-the she is
patm-el im ěnkeruhi-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 NP³⁹⁶ attributes postposed to the head noun.³⁹⁷

- (102) Նա գեղեցիկ մի աղջիկ էր՝ բաց կապույտ աչքերով, զանգուր մազերով:

na getec'ik mi aljik ěr bac' kapuyt ac'k'-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) Սեղանին դրված էր մի թանաքաման՝ սպիտակ մարմարից պատրաստված: (Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004a: 61)

Selan-i-n dr-v-ac ěr mi t'anak'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.

“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. Մեր տուն մի աղջիկ է եկել՝ բաց կապույտ աչքերով, զանգուր մազերով:

mer tun mi aljik ē ek-el bac' kapuyt
 our house.NOM INDEF girl.NOM she is come-PTCP.PEF. light blue
ač'k'-er-ov gangur maz-er-ov.
 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) Աշխատելով նրանց հետ՝ հասկացանք, որ մանկատունը բազմաթիվ հետևանքներ է թողել նրանց վրա: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

ašxatel-ov nranc' het haskac'-ank' or
 work-INF-INST they.DAT POST understand-AOR.1.PL CONJ
mankatun-ě bazmat'iv hetewank'-ner ē
 children's home.NOM-the numerous consequence-PL.NOM it is
toł-el nranc' 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) Իր գործն ավարտած համարելով՝ դեսպանը հանգիստ շունչ քաշեց: (Azg 03.03.2006)

ir gorc-n avart-ac hamar-el-ov despan-ě
 his work.NOM-the finish-PTCP.RES. regard-INF-INST ambassador.NOM-the
hangist šunč' kašec'.
 quiet breath.NOM take-AOR.3.SG

“Regarding his work finished, the Ambassador took a quiet breath.”

- (106) Մի օր որոշեցի հանրապետության նախագահին հեռագիր ուղարկել՝ խնդրելով ընդունել ինձ: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

mi ōr orošec'-i hanrapetut'y-an naxagah-i-n
 INDEF day.NOM decide-AOR.1.SG republic-DAT president-DAT-the
heřagir ulark-el xndrel-ov ěndun-el inj.
 telegram.NOM send-INF ask-INF-INST receive-INF I.DAT

“One day I decided to write a telegram to the Republic’s president, asking him to receive me.”

- (107) Սակայն սա չի նշանակում, թե Հայաստանը պիտի քայլեր չձեռնարկի՝ համատեղ արբանյակ ունենալու համար: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

Sakayn sa č-i nšanak-um t'e Hayastan-ě piti
 CONJ this neg-it is mean-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Armenia.NOM-the part
kayl-er č'-jeřmark-i hamateř arbanyak
 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) Եվ դժվար չէ հասկանալ, որ փախստականներն առանձին ազգ են մերժված բոլոր ազգերի կողմից: (Hetk' 05.02.2007) (postposed)

ev džvar č'-ě haskan-al or p'axstakan-ner-n ařanjın
 CONJ difficult neg-it is understand-INF CONJ refugee-PL.NOM-the separate
azg en merž-v-ac bolor azg-er-i kořmic'.
 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 ավարտելով օրվա աշխատանքը, գոհ վերադարձան տուն:

Nrank' hajoluťy-amb avartel-ov ōr-va ařxatank'-ě goh
 they.NOM success-INST finish-INF-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) a. Տեսնելով, որ արև է գալիս՝ նա որոշեց գնալ լիճ:

tesnel-ov or arew ē gal-is na orořec'
 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. Տեսնելով, որ արև է գալիս, նա որոշեց գնալ լիճ:

tesnel-ov or arew ē gal-is na
see-INF-INST CONJ sun.NOM it is go-PTCP.PRES. he.NOM

orošec' gn-al lič.
decide-AOR.3.SG go-INF lake.NOM

“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. Դիմացի տան պատուհանին մի հայացք գցելով՝ արագ, մեծ քայլերով նա անցավ փողոցը: (Abrahamyan 2004: 37)

dimac'i tan patuhan-i-n mi hayac'k gc'el-ov
opposite house-DAT window-DAT-the INDEF glance.NOM throw-INF-INST

arag mec k'ayl-er-ov na anc'av p'oloc'-ē.
quick big step-PL-INST he.NOM pass-AOR.3.SG street.NOM-the

“Throwing a glance at the window of the opposite house, he passed the street quickly, with big steps.”

- b. Նա անցավ փողոցը արագ, մեծ քայլերով՝ դիմացի տան պատուհանին միհայացք գցելով:

na anc'av p'oloc'-ē arag mec k'ayl-er-ov dimac'i
he.NOM pass-AOR.3.SG street.NOM-the quick big step-PL-INST opposite

tan patuhan-i-n mi hayac'k gc'el-ov.
house-DAT window-DAT-the INDEF glance.NOM throw-INF-INST

“He passed the street quickly, with big steps, throwing a glance at the window of the opposite house.”

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 ըստ *ēst* “in accordance with”, համաձայն *hamajayn* “according to”, համապատասխան *hamapatasxan* “respective to”, հակառակ *hakařak* “against”, հանդերձ *handerj* “with, inspite of”, չնայած *č'nayac* “despite of; although”, չհաշված *č'hařvac* “not counted”, փոխանակ *p'oxanak* “instead of”, ի տարբերություն *i tarberut'yun* “unlike”, բացի *bac'i* “except”, զատ *zat* “except”, բացառությամբ *bac'ařut'yamb* “except” etc. from the other constituent of a sentence, independent whether the adverbial modifier is pre- or postposed.

- (112) Չնայած ցուրտ եղանակին՝ նա բավականին թեթև էր հագնված:
(Hayoc' Lezu 8:151)
ĉ'nayac c'urt etanak-i-n na bavakanin t'et'ew
PREP cold weather-DAT-the he.NOM quite light
ēr hagn-v-ac.
he was dress-refl-PTCP.RES.
“Despite of the cold weather he was dressed quite lightly.”
- (113) Ի տարբերություն նախորդ տարիների, այս տարի պարարտանյութը չի վաճառվել
աճուրդով: (Armenpress 21.05.2006)
i tarberut'yun naxord tari-ner-i ays tari parartanyut'-ě ĉ'-i
PREP previous year-PL-DAT this year.NOM fertilizer.NOM-the neg-it is
vačar'-v-el ačurd-ov.
sell-pass-PTCP.PERF. auction-INST
“Unlike previous years the fertilizer was sold this year by means of an auction.”
- (114) Սմբատը համաձայնություն էր տվել՝ հակառակ իր հայացքն՝րին:
Smbat-ě hamajaynut'yun ēr tv-el hakařak
Smbat.NOM-the agreement.NOM he was give-PTCP.PERF. PREP
ir hayac'k'-ner-i-n.
his view-PL-DAT-the
“Smbat had given his agreement against his views.”
- (115) Համակարգը ներդրվել է հանրապետության 38 երկաթուղային կայաններում
բացառությամբ Երևան-Երասխ կայանից: (Armenpress 03.04.2006)
Hamakarg-ě nerd-v-el ē hanrapetut'y-an 38 erkat'ulayin
system.NOM-the apply-pass-PTCP.PERF it is republic-DAT 38 railway
kayan-ner-um bac'arut'yamb Erewan-Erasx kayan-ic'.
station-PL-LOC PREP Yerevan-Erasx station-ABL
“The system has been applied in 38 railway stations of the Republic, except the sta-
tion Yerevan-Yerasx.”

When in medial sentence position, the mentioned adverbial modifiers are separated from the other constituents with commas.

- (114) a. Սմբատը, հակառակ իր հայացքներին, համաձայնություն էր տվել:
Smbat-ě hakařak ir hayac'k'-ner-i-n hamajaynut'yun
Smbat.NOM-the PREP his view-PL-DAT-the agreement.NOM
ēr tv-el.
he was give-PTCP.PERF.
“Smbat had given his agreement against his views.”

- (116) Հանդիպման ընթացքում, ըստ Հ. Աբրահամյանի, խոսվել է նախարարների մարզեր կատարած այցելությունների մասին: (Armenpress 07.04.2006)
- handipm-an ent'ac'kum est H. Abrahamyan-i xos-v-el ē*
meeting-DAT POST PREP H. Abrahamyan-DAT speak-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
naxarar-ner-i marz-er katar-ac ayçelut'yun-ner-i masin.
minister-PL-DAT province-PL.NOM fulfil-PTCP.RES. visit-PL-DAT POST
“According to H. Abrahamyan, it was also spoken about the ministers’ paid visits to the provinces.”
- The short stop is used after the words *nax* “first”, *ապա apa* “then”, *առաջին ašajin* “first”, *երկրորդ erkrord* “second”, *երրորդ errorđ* “third”, *չորրորդ čorrord* “forth”, etc., introducing enumeration.
- (117) Հիվանդության աճը պայմանավորված է նախ՝ ժառանգականության գործոնով, ապա՝ սոցիալ-տնտեսական և սթրեսային լարված իրավիճակով: (Armenpress 18.05.2006)
- hivandut'y-an ač'-ē paymanavor-v-ac ē nax*
disease-DAT increase.NOM-the condition-pass-PTCP.RES. it is first
žāngakanut'y-an gorcon-ov apa soc'ial-tntesakan ew st'resayin
heredity-DAT factor-INST second social-economic CONJ stressful
lar-v-ac iravičak-ov.
strain-antic-PTCP.RES. state-INST
“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 *այսպես ayspes* “so”, *այսպիսով ayspison* “so”, *այն ē* “that is”, *այսինքն aysink'n* “that is”, *օրինակ ōrinak* “(for) example”, etc.
- (118) Ընկերության իրավաբանական հասցեն է Ալեք Մանուկյան-5-ը, այսինքն՝ Հանրային հեռուստառադիոընկերության շենքը: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)
- ēnkerut'y-an iravabanakan hasc'è-n ē Alek' Manukyan 5-ē*
company-DAT legal address.NOM-the it is Alek' Manukyan 5-the
aysink'n Hanrayin heřustařadioēnkerut'y-an řenk'-ē.
i.e. Public Broadcasting company-DAT building.NOM-the
“The company’s legal address is Alek’ Manukyan (street) 5, i.e. the building of the Public Broad-casting company.”

Explanatory expressions are usually separated from the preceding sentence constituents with a comma, and sometimes with a dot.

When occurring embedded, the explanatory words *այսպիսով* *ayspisoṽ* “thus” and *օրինակ* *ōrinak* “for example” are regarded as parenthetical 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) Վահանը գնաց տուն, իսկ Արսենը՝ դպրոց: (Hayoc' lezu 8:151)

Vahan-ě gnac' tun isk Arsen-ě dproc'.
 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 սերունդը՝ մեր հույսը:

nor serund-ě mer huys-ě.
 new generation.NOM-the our hope.NOM-the
 “The new generation (is) our hope.”

(121) Սերժ Սարգսյանը՝ Հայաստանի հանրապետության նոր նախագահը:

Serž Sargsyan-ě Hayastan-i hanrapetut'yan nor naxagah-ě.
 Serž 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) Հրավիրեցի նրան մի անգամ, և նա ընդունեց՝ ասելով՝ կգամ: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 151)

Hravirec-'i nran mi angam ew na ěndunec'
 invite-AOR.1.SG he.DAT INDEF time CONJ he.NOM accept-AOR.3.SG
asel-ov kga-m.
 say-INF-INST come-COND.FUT.1.SG
 “I invited him once, and he accepted by saying, “I will come.””

(123) Նրանք էլ ասացին՝ տունը աճուրդի դնենք, վաճառենք: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

nrank' ēl asac'-in tun-ě ačurd-i
 they.NOM also say-AOR.3.PL house.NOM-the auction-DAT
dn-enk' vačar'-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.

(124) Խմբագիր՝ Ս. Վարդանյան
xmbagir S. Vardanyan
 xmbagir.NOM S. Vardanyan.NOM
 “Editor: S. Vardanyan”

(125) Մուտքը՝ բակի կողմից
mutk'-ě bak-i kołmic'
 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) Առավոտյան գյուղի հարսները գնում էին աղբյուրը՝ ջրի:
Ařavot-yan gyul-i hars-ner-ě gn-um ěin
 morning-DAT village-DAT bride-PL.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. they were
albyur-ě ř-ri.
 spring.NOM-the water-DAT
 “In the morning the village’s brides used to go to the spring for water.”

(127) Երբ որ հինգերորդ անգամ խցանվեց, նորից դիմեցինք համատիրություն՝ բացելու համար: (Hetk՝ 29.01.2007)
erb or hingerord angam xc'an-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 infinitive 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) Եվ ես/մենք ստացել ենք բավարար տեղեկատվություն՝ տալու այս տեղեկացված համաձայնությունը: (Hetk՝ 22.01.2007)
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-ě.
 this advise-pass-PTCP.RES agreement.NOM-the
 “And I/we have received enough information (in order) to give this advised agreement.”

5.2.5 Brackets

Brackets () or [] are used to enclose parenthetical words, expressions and clauses having explanatory value, as well as samples of marks.

- (129) Ռաֆֆին ծնվել է Սալմաստ գավառի Փայաջուկ գյուղում
(այժմ Պարկաստանում): (Hayoc' lezu 8: 157)

Raffi-n cn-v-el ē Salmast gavař-i
Raffi.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Salmast province-DAT

P'ayajuk gyul-um (ayřm Parskasan-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) Ահա Ադամ [եղավ] իբրև մեզանից մեկը:

aha Adam [elav] ibrew mezanic' mek-ě.
thus Adam.NOM [be-AOR.3.SG] 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 կամաց-կամաց *kamac'-kamac'* “slowly”, մեկ-մեկ *mek-mek* “sometimes”, ոլոր-մոլոր *olor-molor* “winding”, etc.³⁹⁸

398. Exceptions to this rule are compounds where one component represents a fossilized form, such as տնետուն *tnetun*, գյուղեգյուղ *gyulegyul*, տարեցտարի *tarec'tari*, etc.

- in word combinations consisting of two same parts of speech, which denote objects, persons, phenomena in different aspects, such as *ինժեներ-մեխանիկ inžener-mexanik* “engineer-mechanician”, *տուն-թանգարան tun-t’angaran* “house-museum”, *հյուսիս-արևելք hyusis-arewelk’* “Northeast”, *ասել-խոսել asel-xosel* “to say and speak”, *ուտել-խմել utel-xmel* “to eat and drink”, *Էլզաս-Լոթրինգիա Elsz-Lot’ringia* “Alsace-Lorraine”, *աշակերտ-աշակերտուհի ašakert-ašakertuhi* “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-ռուսերեն hay-řuseren* “Armenian-Russian”, *գերմանա-իտալական germana-italakan* “German-Italian”, *եգիպտա-սիրիական egipta-siriakan* “Egyptian-Syrian”, etc.³⁹⁹
- in personal or family names with initial components as *տեր Ter*, *մելիք Melik’*, *միրզա Mirza*, if they are pronounced separately, such as e.g. *Տեր-Գաբրիելյան Ter-Gabrielyan*, *Մելիք-Մուսյան Melik’-Musyan*, *Միրզա-Ավագյան Mirza-Avagyanyan* etc.⁴⁰⁰
- foreign proper names consisting of two or more components written as separate words, without a hyphen, such as *Լեոնարդո դա Վինչի Leonardo da Vinci*, *Լյուդվիգ վան Բեթհովեն Lyudvig van Beethoven*, *Հարուն ալ Ռաշիդ Harun als Rašid*, *Նահր էլ Բարիդ Nahr el Barid* etc.,
- combinations of quantifiers indicating approximations, such as *տասը-տասնհինգ (10–15) մարդ tasē-tanshing mard* “10 to 15 people” etc.,
- in the grammatical forms, where the stem is a numeral, abbreviation, or title in quotation marks, the case endings, suffixes and articles are connected with the stem with a hyphen, such as *15-ամյա 15-amyā* “15 years”, *ԱՄՆ-ն AMN-n* “The United States of America”, *Գարուն-ը երկվանկ բառ է: Garun-ē erkvank bař ē.* “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 *բաց դեղին bac’ delin* “light yellow”, *մուգ կարմիր mug karmir* “dark red”, *Նոր Զելանդիա Nor Zelandia* “New Zealand”, *Վերին Թալին Verin T’alin*, *Հեռավոր Արևելք Heřavor Arewelk’* “Far East”, etc.
- adjectives and nouns derived from the above-mentioned toponyms are written as a solid word, such as *հեռավորարևելյան heřavorewelyan* “Far-Eastern”, *փոքրասիական pòk’rasiakan* “minor asian”, *վերինթալինցի verint’alineci* “citizen of Verin T’alin”, etc.
- combinations of personal names and nouns characterizing certain aspects of the activity of the relevant persons such as e.g. *Թումանյան քննադատը T’umanyan k’nnadat’ē* “the critic T’umanyan”, *Շիրվանզադե դրամատուրգը Širvanzade dramaturgē* “the dramatic adviser Širvanzade”, *Րաֆֆի վիպասանը Raffi vīpasanē* “the novelist Raffi”.

400. *տեր Ter* “lord, master”, *մելիք Melik’* < arab. *malik*, *amlāk* “king” was an Armenian hereditary title of nobility in Eastern Armenia; *միրզա 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. *Մելիքսեթ(յան) Melik’set’(yan)*, etc. If *տեր ter*, *մելիք melik’*, etc. are used as appositions with personal names they are written separately, such as *Տեր Սահակ Ter Sahak* “Lord Sahak; (not celibate) Father Sahak”, *մելիք Ավան Melik’ Avan* “King Avan”, etc.

- word.”; «Եթե»-ից առաջ ստորակետ դիր: *et'è-ic' ařaĵ storaket dir!* “Before “et'è” put a dot.” etc,
- in combinations of words and symbols expressed both with letters and figures such as Ա-93 բենզին *A-93 benzin* “A-93 benzine”, ՏՈՒ-104 ինքնաթիռ *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 Հանրախանութիւնը բաց է ժամը 10–21-ը, *Hanraxanut'ē bac' ē žamē 10–21ē*. “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 դ'Արկ *Žanna d'Ark* “Jeanne d'Arc”, դ'Ալամբեր *d'Alamber* “d'Alembert”, դ'Անունցիո *d'Anunc'io* “d'Annunzio”, Օ'Հենրի *Ō'Henri* “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.

CHAPTER 6

Lexicon – Structured semantic fields

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”⁴⁰¹

զավակ *zavak* “child in the sense of offspring”; in colloquial Armenian also բալիկ, բալա *balik, bala*.

որդի *ordi* “son”; more frequently and particularly in spoken Armenian տղա *tla*

դուստր *dustr* “daughter”; more frequently and particularly in spoken Armenian աղջիկ *aljik*

անդրանիկ *andranik* “first born son”

եղբայր *elbayr* “brother”

քույր *k'uyr* “sister”

թոռ(նիկ) *t'ot'(nik)* “grandchild”

հորեղբայր *horelbayr* “paternal uncle” (father’s brother); in colloquial Armenian հոպար *hopar*.

քեռի *ke'ri* “maternal uncle” (=mother’s brother)

401. In some regions of Armenia even maternal grandparents are distinguished lexically, see Malkaseanc' III:245,c. 1. as in մամ *mam* maternal grandmother vs. տատ *tat* “paternal grandmother”.

հորաքույր *horak'uyr* “paternal aunt” (father’s sister), in colloquial Armenian also հորքույր *hork'ur*, հոքոր *hok'or*, հոքիր *hok'ir*

մորաքույր *morak'uyr* “maternal aunt” (mother’s sister), in colloquial Armenian also մորքույր *mork'ur*, մոքոր *mok'or*, մոքիր *mok'ir*.

եղբորորդի *elborordi* “fraternal nephew” (brother’s son)

քեռորդի *ke'ordi* “sororal nephew” (sister’s son)

եղբոր աղջիկ *elbor al'jik* “fraternal niece” (brother’s daughter)

քրոջ աղջիկ *k'roj al'jik* “sororal niece” (sister’s daughter)

մորաքրոջ տղա աղջիկ *morak'roj tla/al'jik* “cousin” (son or daughter of mother’s sister)

հորաքրոջ տղա աղջիկ *horak'roj tla/al'jik* “cousin” (son or daughter of father’s sister)

քեռու տղա աղջիկ *ke'ru tla/al'jik* “cousin” (son or daughter of mother’s brother). In colloquial Armenian there is also the term եգան⁴⁰² *egan* for the son of mother’s brother)

հորեղբոր տղա աղջիկ *horelbor tla/al'jik* “cousin” (son or daughter of father’s brother)

b. Kinship by marriage

ամուսնացած *amusnac'ac* “married”

չամուսնացած, ամուրի *č'amusnac'ac*, *amuri* “unmarried”

նշանած *nšanac* “engaged”, also “fiancé, fiancée”

բաժանված *bažanvac* “divorced”

հարս *hars* “bride”; daughter-in-law (wife of son)”

փեսա *p'esa* “bridegroom; son-in-law” (husband of daughter)

ամուսին *amusin* “spouse”, often – husband.

կին *kin* “wife”

այրի *ayri* “widow; widower”

սկեսրայր *skesrayr* “husband’s father”

սկեսուր *skesur* “husband’s mother”

տագր, տեգր *tagr*, *tegr* “husband’s brother”

տագերակին *tagerakin* “wife of husband’s brother”, in colloquial Armenian also տեգերկին *tegerkin*

տալ *tal* “husband’s sister”

աներ *aner* “wife’s father”

զոքանչ *zokanč'* “wife’s mother”, colloquial Armenian also զոնքաչ *zonk'ač'*

աներծագ *anerjag* “wife’s brother”

քենի *k'eni* “wife’s sister”

402. Obviously from Turkish *yeğen* “cousin” or “niece/nephew” (depending on dialect).

բաջանաղ *bajanat* “husband of wife’s sister” (only in colloquial Armenian!)⁴⁰³

քեռակին, քեռեկին *k’ēřakin, k’ēřekin* “wife of maternal uncle”⁴⁰⁴

c. Other Kinship

որդեգրել *ordegrel* “to adopt”

հոգեզավակ *hogejavak* “adopted child”

հոգեորդի *hogeordi* “adopted son”

հոգեդուստր *hopedustr* “adopted daughter”

խորթ *xort’*- “step-”

խորթ հայր *xort’ hayr* “stepfather”

խորթ մայր *xort’ mayr* “stepmother”

խորթ զավակ *xort’ zavak* “stepchild” etc.

մկրտել *mkrtel* “to baptize”

սանիկ *sanik* “godchild”

կնքահայր, քավոր *knk’ahayr, k’avor* “godfather”

կնքամայր *knk’amayr* “godmother”

6.2 Colour terms

The Armenian basic colour terms are the following:

սև *sew* “black”

սպիտակ *spitak* “white” (less frequently ճերմակ *čermak*)

կարմիր *karmir* “red”

դեղին *delin* “yellow”

կանաչ *kanač* “green”

կապույտ *kapuyt* “blue”

Apart from the six basic colour terms given above all other colour terms are polymorphic;

usually compounds with the second lexical item գույն *-guyn* “colour”:

շագանակագույն *šaganakaguyn* “brown” < շագանակ *šaganak* “chestnut”

վարդագույն *vard-a-guyn* “pink” < վարդ *vard* “rose”

ծիրանագույն *ciran-a-guyn* “apricot-coloured” < ծիրան *ciran* “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.

նարնջագույն *narnj-a-guyn* “orange” < նարինջ *narinj* “orange” (less frequently
 գազարագույն *gazar-a-guyn* < գազար *gazar* “carrot”)
 մոխրագույն *moxraguyn* “grey” < մոխիր *moxir* “ash”

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”, մանուշակագույն *manušak-a-guyn* “violet”, սրճագույն *srč-a-guyn* “dark brown, coffee-coloured”, etc.
- adjective compounds, type adjective մութ *mug* “dark” or բաց *bac* “light” + colour term, such as in մութ կարմիր *mug karmir* “dark red”, բաց կանաչ *bac’akanač* “light green” etc.
- the suffix -ավուն *-avun* “having a certain nuance of ...; -ish” attached to a colour term, such as կարմրավուն *karmr-avun* “reddish”, դեղնավուն *deġn-avun* “yellowish” etc.

6.3 Human body parts⁴⁰⁵

մարմին *marmin* “body”
 կոճ *koč* “ankle”
 թև *t’ew* “arm”
 անութ *anut’*, թևատակ *t’ewatak* “armpit”
 մեջք *mej’k* “back”
 ծոծրակ *cocrak* “back of the head, occiput”
 փոր *p’or* “belly, abdomen”
 կուրծք *kurck’* “breast”, “breast of a woman”
 հետույք *hetuyk’* “buttocks”
 բուրբ *bumb* “calf” (very rarely used)
 այտ *ayt’*, more frequently թուշ *t’uš* “cheek”
 կրծքավանդակ *krck’avandak* “chest”
 կզակ, *kzak* or ծնոտ *cnot* or դունջ *dunc’* “chin”
 ականջ *akanj* “ear”
 արմունկ *armunk* “elbow”
 աչք *ač’k* “eye”
 հոնք *honk’* “eyebrow” (in colloquial Armenian rather ունք *unk’*)
 թարթիչ *t’art’ič’* “eyelash”
 կոպ *kop* “eyelid”

405. Alphabetically listed following to English translation.

դեմք *demk'*, երես *eres* “face”
 ճակատ *čakat* “forehead”
 մատ *mat* “finger”
 ոտնաթաթ *otnat'at* “foot”
 աճուկ *ačuk* “groin”
 լինդ *lind* “gum”
 մազ *maz* “hair”
 ձեռք *jeřk'* “hand”
 գլուխ *glux* “head”
 կրունկ *krunk* “heel”
 ծունկ *cunk* “knee”
 ոտք *otk'* “leg; foot”
 շուրթ *šurt'* “lip”
 գոտկատեղ *gotkatel* “loins”
 բերան *beran* “mouth”
 եղունգ *eřung* “nail”
 վիզ *viz* “neck, throat”
 պարանոց *paranoc* “neck; nape of the neck”
 քիթ *k'it'* “nose”
 ռունգ *řung*, քթածակ *k'tacak* “nostril”
 քիմք *k'imk'* “palate”
 առնանդամ *ařnandam* “penis”
 կող *kol* “rib”
 սրունք *srunk'* “shin, shank”
 ուս *us* “shoulder”
 ամորձի *amorji* “testicle”
 ազդր *azdr* “thigh”
 ատամ *atam* “tooth”
 լեզու *lezu* “tongue”
 բազուկ *bazuk* “upper arm”
 հեշտոց *heřtoc* “vulva”
 դաստակ *dastak* “wrist”

արյուն *aryun* “blood”
 ուղեղ *utel* “brain”
 աղիք *alik'* “gut, bowel”
 սիրտ *sirt* “heart”
 երիկամ *erikam* “kidney”
 լյարդ *lyard* “liver”
 թոք *t'ok'* “lung”
 ձվարան *jvaran* “ovary”

ստամոքս *stamok's* “stomach”
արգանդ *argand* “uterus; womb”

6.4 Seasons, months, days

տարի *tari* “year”
եղանակ *elanak* “season”
տարվա եղանակներ *tarva elanakner* “seasons (of the year)”
գարուն *garun* “spring”
ամառ *amař* “summer”
աշուն *ařun* “autumn”
ձմեռ *jmeř* “winter”

ամիս *amis* “month”
հունվար *hunvar* “January”
փետրվար *p'etrvar* “February”
մարտ *mart* “March”
ապրիլ *april* “April”
մայիս *mayis* “May”
հունիս *hunis* “June”
հուլիս *hulis* “July”
օգոստոս *ogostos* “August”
սեպտեմբեր *september* “September”
հոկտեմբեր *hoktember* “October”
նոյեմբեր *noyember* “November”
դեկտեմբեր *dektember* “December”

շաբաթ *řabat'* “week; Saturday”
օր *or* “day”
շաբաթվա օրեր *řabat'va orer* “days of the week”
երկուշաբթի *erkuřabt'i* “Monday”
երեքշաբթի *erekřabt'i* “Tuesday”
չորեքշաբթի *çorekřabt'i* “Wednesday”
հինգշաբթի *hingřabt'i* “Thursday”
ուրբաթ *urbat'* “Friday”
շաբաթ *řabat'* “Saturday”
կիրակի *kiraki* “Sunday”

ժամ *řam* “hour”
րոպե *rope* “minute”
վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second”

6.5 Numbers

մեկ <i>mek</i>	1
երկու <i>erku</i>	2
երեք <i>erek'</i>	3
չորս <i>čors</i>	4
հինգ <i>hing</i>	5
վեց <i>vec'</i>	6
յոթ <i>yot'</i>	7
ութ <i>ut'</i>	8
ինը <i>ině</i>	9
տաս(ը) <i>tas(ě)</i>	10
տասնմեկ <i>tasnmek</i>	11
քսան <i>k'san</i>	20
երեսուն <i>eresun</i>	30
քառասուն <i>k'ařasun</i>	40
հիսուն <i>hisun</i>	50
վաթսուն <i>vat'sun</i>	60
յոթանասուն <i>yot'anasun</i>	70
ութ(անա)սուն <i>ut'(ana)sun</i>	80
իննսուն <i>innsun</i>	90
հարյուր <i>haryur</i>	100
երկու հարյուր <i>erku haryur</i>	200
հազար <i>hazar</i>	1,000
երկու հազար <i>erku hazar</i>	2,000
միլիոն <i>million</i>	1,000,000
example	
325,784	
երեք հարյուր քսան հինգ հազար յոթ հարյուր ութանասուն չորս	
<i>erek' haryur k'san hing hazar yot' haryur ut'(ana)sun čors</i>	
three hundred twenty five thousand seven hundred eighty four	

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