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Armenian

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Volume 14

Armenian. Modern Eastern Armenian
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 transitivisation and detransitivisation which alter the verb's syntactic frame. The chief transitivising process is causative formation, which adds an additional participant to the verb frame in the form of a new subject, resulting in the demotion of the subject of the base verb. The main detransitive forms are the passive, anticausative, reciprocal and reflexive, all formed by means of one and the same suffix. The similarities and differences of these constructions are clearly set out and attention is drawn to areas of ambiguity.

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

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

Theodora Bynon

Preface

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

From the very beginning, this grammar was designed as a modern linguistic set of rules, combining the prescriptive traditions of grammars written in Armenia and modern linguistic approaches to descriptive grammars based on linguistic typology with extensive data from both spoken (colloquial) and written Eastern Armenian. The data and material used consist of two parts: the written corpus is composed of (a) written material excerpted from school text books, teaching aids, grammars used in Armenian schools and Institutes of Higher Education, and of (b) Armenian newspapers that are available online, e.g. AZG, Noyan Tapan, Arravot, Armenpress, 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 Išxan in Yerevan, School No. 8 named after Puškin in Yerevan; School No. 55 named after Čexov in Yerevan, School No. 69 named after Saxarov in Yerevan-Šengavit'; School No. 1 named after N. Aštarakec'i in the town of Aštarak and community school in the village of Aramus.
Šnorhakalutyun!

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

Introduction

a. Modern Eastern Armenian

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

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

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

The verbal system of Modern Eastern Armenian is comparatively, relatively complex: it shows transitive and intransitive (including inchoative) verbs that can be morphologically detransitivised (by means of the multifunctional – i.e. passive/anticausative/reflexive/reciprocal – suffix -v-) and transitivised (by means of the causative suffix -c'n-); a distinctive system of tenses (also regarding aspect and aktionsart) and of moods. Modern Eastern Armenian has two verbal stems - present and perfect (or aorist) - from which the tenses and moods are formed. The tenses, except the aorist, are generally analytically formed with participles and the auxiliary. Modern Eastern Armenian can express terminative vs. non-terminative, durative vs. stative, the habitual,

the ingressive, but not the progressive aspects/aktionsarten. The aorist also conveys evidential meaning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Formation period of Early Modern Eastern Armenian (beginning of 18th century until the mid-19th century)
2. Pre-Soviet period (mid-19th century until 1920s)
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 armeniacae, antiquae et hodierne*" 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 Aytěnean 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. Aytěnean, A. 1987 (reprint of 1866): *K'nnakan k'erakanut'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 Aštarakec'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 Abełyan's progressive works in 1906-1912.

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

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

Soviet period

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

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6. Palasanean, St. 1870. *Ěndhanur 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 kaṙavarut'yan aṙěnt'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 šrǰanum. 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 world. Even linguists kept their conservative Armenian grammar tradition, not opening grammar to other description methods and approaches. Conservatism is particularly observable in school teaching, where children have to keep their spoken language clean from vernacular Armenian – and must not use "incorrect" forms. Everything deviating even slightly from the prescriptive rules as given by grammars is regarded as incorrect and bad language.

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

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 "*Ěndhanur tesut'yun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc'*" ("General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language"), written in 1870. His work book "*K'erakanut'yun mayreni lezvi*" (Grammar of the Mother Tongue), written in 1874, was used in Armenian schools until the year 1906. Palasanyan mainly contributed to the description of the nominal paradigms and attributes.
– Further concise grammars were written by Manuk Abełyan and his successor H. Petrosyan at the beginning of the 20th century. It was Abełyan above all, who not only provided the first detailed description of the Modern Armenian tense system, but also introduced the term "transitivity" into the verbal forms and demonstrated the functions of the resultative participle in his publications: 1906 "*Ašxarhabari k'erakanut'yun*" (Grammar of the Modern Language), 1908 "*Ašxarhabari holovnerě*" (Declinations of the Modern Language), 1909 "*Hayc'akan holově mer ašxarhabarum*" (The Accusative Case in our Modern Armenian), 1912 "*Ašxarhabari šarahyusut'yun*" (Syntax of Modern Armenian) and 1931 "*Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun*" (Theory of Armenian Language). Abełyan was the first Armenian linguist to explore the Armenian case system in detail (reducing the number of cases from seven to five). He also worked on declension, definiteness and on the tense system, particularly on the function of the resultative participle. In his later grammar, "Theory of Armenian Language" (1931), he tried to defend his approach, particularly of his five-case system. It was his idea of five cases that has initiated a major debate on the number and classification of cases in Modern Eastern Armenian, which continues today. His successors mainly focused on the tense system and on participles.

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. Łaribyan in 1934 "*Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yan dasagirkě*" (Schoolbook of the Grammar of Armenian Language), of G. Sevak 1936 "*Hayoc' lezvi šarahyusut'yuně*" (Syntax of Armenian Language). Many Armenian linguists specialised in certain features of Modern Eastern Armenian: on declension and conjugation. Also famous linguists like H. Ačařyan ("*Liakatar k'erakanut'yun hayoc' lezvi `hamematut'yamb 562 lezuneri*" (A Complete Grammar of Armenian – compared with 562 languages) 1952–1967) and E. Ałayan ("*Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yuně*" (Armenian Grammar) and "*Žamanakakic' hayereni holovumě ew xonarhumě*" (Modern Armenian Declension and Conjugation) 1967) made

quite impressive contributions to MEA grammar. These armenologists can be regarded as having had a formative influence on Modern Eastern Armenian grammars with their traditional, preferably morphological and only marginally syntactic descriptions. Łaribyan studied the Armenian negation participle, Sevak the functions and forms of the perfect participles and both have worked on the verbal moods. Ałayan tried to answer specific questions about Modern Eastern Armenian declension and conjugation, also about word formation. The brilliant Ačaŕyan 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. Ǯahukyan, mainly influenced by the Russian schools of linguistics, have definitely shown some new approaches.

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

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

Only a few Western linguists and armenologists have contributed grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian that can be regarded simply as teaching aids, except for more modernised grammars: Martiros Minassian's detailed, but often criticized, "*Grammaire d'arménien oriental*", (1980) and Natalya Kozintseva's short grammar "*Modern Eastern Armenian*", (1995). Kozintseva has written many articles about the special linguistics features of Modern Eastern

Armenian; her linguistic work and pioneering spirit in Armenian Linguistics has laid the foundation for modern linguistic approaches to Modern Eastern Armenian and has definitely also contributed to many chapters in the present grammar.

Transliteration of Modern Eastern Armenian alphabet

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	ǰ ǰ
Ը ը	Ě ě	Ռ ռ	Ṙ ṙ
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 ր	R r
Խ խ	X x	Ց ց	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	և	ew
Ղ ղ	Ł ł	Օ օ	Ō ō
Ճ ճ	Č č	Ֆ ֆ	F f
Մ մ	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

CHAPTER 1

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]

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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. է *ē* and օ *ō* were completely deleted from the alphabet and were replaced by ե *e* and ո *o*.
b. The initial ո *o* [vɔ] and ե *e* [jɛ] were written phonetically, i.e. with the initial glide, e.g. վորակ *vorak* [vɔɾɑk] "style", վոչինչ *vočinč'* [vɔtʃʰiɲtʃʰ] "nothing", յերկիր *yerkir* [jɛɾkiɾ] "country", յերես *yeres* [jɛɾɛs] "face") . This rule has also affected the writing of the auxiliary "to be" when following a vowel, e.g. գնալու յեմ *gnalu yem* [gənɑlu jɛm] "I will go", but գնում եմ *gnum em* [gənum ɛm] "I go".
c. The old letter ւ *w* was replaced by the letter վ *v* (and also realized as such) as in նվեր *nver* < նուեր *nuer* "gift";
d. եա *ea*, եո *eo* were replaced by յա *ya*, յա *yo*, as in սենյակ *senyak* < սենեակ *seneak* both: [sɛnjɑk] "room", յոթ *yot'* < եոթ *eot'* both [jɔtʰ] "seven" etc.
e. իւ *iw* was replaced by յու *yu*, as in արյուն *aryun* < արիւն *ariwn* both [ɑɾjun] "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 *xoy*[χɔj] "ram".
g. The initial յ *y* [h] was only written as հ *h* if also pronounced as such, as in հարմար *harmar* < յարմար *yarmar* both [hɑɾmɑɾ] "comfortable".
h. The final, silent յ *y* was totally deleted, as in ծառա *caŕa* < ծառայ *caŕay* both [tsɑɾɑ] "servant, slave".
i. էա *ēa*, էո *ēo*, էի *ēi* were replaced by the phonetically written եյա *eya*, եյո *eyo*, եյի *eyi* as in գրեյի *greyi* < գրէի *grēi* "I wrote".

In the 1940 revision of this orthography reform,

a. է *ē* and օ *ō* 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 ե *e* and ո *o*.
b. The initial ե *(y)e* and ո *(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", աներկյուղ *anerkyuł* "fearless" etc.
d. յ *y* is only written across morpheme boundary with ա *a*/ո *o* and ի *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
[ɑ]	[b]	[g]	[d]	[(j)ɛ]	[z]	[ɛ]	[ə]	[tʰ]	[ʒ]	[i]	[l]	[χ]

ծ	կ	հ	ձ	ղ	ճ	մ	յ	ն	շ	ո	չ	պ
c	k	h	j	ł	č	m	y	n	š	o	č’	p
[ts]	[k]	[h]	[dz]	[ʁ]	[tʃ]	[m]	[j]	[n]	[ʃ]	[(ʋ)ɔ]	[tʃʰ]	[p]

ջ	ռ	ս	վ	տ	ր	ց	ու	փ	ք	և	օ	ֆ
ǰ	ř	s	v	t	r	c’	u	p’	k’	ew	ō	f
[dʒ]	[r]	[s]	[v]	[t]	[ɾ]	[tsʰ]	[u]	[pʰ]	[kʰ]	[jɛv]	[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	*near front*	CENTRAL	*near back*	BACK
CLOSE	i				u
Near close					
Close mid					
MID			ə		
Open mid	ɛ				ɔ
Near open					
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 [ʊ] 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 ա *a* [ɑ], ի *i* [i] and ու *u* [u] are the same in all positions, there are positional differences in the writing and spelling of ե *e* and է *ē* for [ɛ] and ո *o* and օ *ō* for [ɔ].

The difference expressed in having two graphemes for each of the two phonemes [ɛ] and [ɔ], namely ե *e* and է *ē* for [ɛ] and ո *o* and օ *ō* for [ɔ] is caused by the historic change from diachronic Armenian, by former distributional differences[14] (the phonemes had been real allophones in diachronic Armenian) and by orthographical conventions.

1. The open mid front vowel phoneme [ɛ], orthographically expressed ե *e* and է*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 ե *e* and, as for example in: Երևան *Erewan* [jɛɾɛʋɑn], երազ *eraz* [jɛɾɑz] "dream"; ես *es* [jɛs] "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 *enk'* [ɛnkʰ] "we are" եք *ek'* [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. գնալու եմ *gnalu em* [gənɑluˌjɛm] "I will go".[15]

– There are only some words written with the initial [ɛ] pronounced without the glide as [ɛ], such as է*ž* *ēš* [ɛʃ] "donkey", էժան *ēžan* [ɛʒɑn] "cheap", է*j* *ēj* [ɛdʒ] "page" etc. or loans such as էպոս *ēpos* [ɛpɔs] "epic", էլեկտրոն *ēlektron* [ɛlɛktɾɔn] "electron" etc. These words are written with the letter է *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 է *ē,* which only occurs in stressed syllables. It could have developed from an Indo-European diphthong [ej]. The grapheme օ *ō* was only introduced in the 12th century to replace the classical diphthong [ɑʊ], expressed by the digraph աւ *aw*, e.g. classical աւր *awr* versus medieval/modern օր *ōr* "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 *Erusałēm* may indicate that the initial ե *e* was pronounced with a glide [jɛ]. The pronunciation of the initial [ɔ], written ո *o* as [ʋɔ] seems to be post-classical.

15. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 4.

prefixes), in which a vowel, usually [ɑ], 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 ամենաերկար *amena-erkar* [ɑmɛnɑjɛɾkʰɑɾ] "the longest" կիսաեզրափակիչ *kisa-ezrap'akič'* [kisɑjɛzɾɑpʰɑkitʃʰ] հակաեկեղեցական *haka-ekełec'akan* [hɑkɑjɛkɛʁɛtsʰɑkɑn] "anticlerical" համաեվրոպական *hama-evropakan* [hɑmɑjɛvɾɔpɑkɑn] "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-erǰanik* [ɑpɛɾtʃʰɑnik] "unhappy", գետեզերք *get-ezerk'* [gɛtɛzɛɾkʰ] "river bank, river side", պարերգ *par-erg* [pɑɾɛɾkʰ] "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* [jɛɾku] "two" and երեք *erek'* [jɛɾɛkʰ], such as e.g. տասներկու *tasnerku* [tɑsənɛɾkʰu] versus colloquial [tɑsnəjɛɾkʰu] "twelve",[16] քսաներեք *k'sanerek'* [kʰsɑnɛɾɛkʰ] versus colloquial [kʰsɑnjɛɾɛkʰ] "twenty-three".[17]
– In verb formations with the prefixes կ- *k-* of conditional mood and the negative prefix չ- *č'-*. In SMEA, the vowel has to be pronounced without a glide,[18] such as e.g. կերգեմ *kergem* [kɛɾkʰɛm] "I shall sing" as opposed to the colloquial Armenian which generally pronounces with a glide կերգեմ *kergem* [kəjɛɾkʰɛm]; or Standard չերգեցի *č'-ergec'i* [tʃʰɛɾkʰɛtsʰi] "I did not sing" versus colloquial Armenian [tʃʰ(ə)jɛɾkʰɛtsʰi].

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

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

17. (Łaragyulyan 1981: 59) and (Zak'aryan 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, Zak'aryan 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 *heřaxos* [hɛɾɑχɔs] "phone", բազէ *baze* [bɑzɛ] "falcon", ոսկե *oske* [vɔskɛ] "golden" etc. The grapheme է *ē,* however, occurs in the medial and final positions only in a few words: դողէրոցք *dołēroc'k'* "fewer; malaria", մանրէ *manrē* "microbe" and its derivations, հնէաբան *hnaēban* "palaeontologist" and its derivations, երբէք *erbewē* "sometime, ever", որևէ *orewē* "any", ովևէ *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 *orteł* [vɔɾtɛʁ] "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* [ɔvkʰɛr] "who?" (plural), ովևիցէ *ovewic'ē* [ɔvɛvitsʰɛ] "whoever".

– There are only some words which are pronounced without a glide as [ɔ], such as օր *ōr* [ɔr] "day", օգնել *ognel* [ɔkʰnɛl] "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 ամենաողորմելի *amenaołormeli* [ɑmɛnɑvɔʁɔɾmɛli] "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] "unhuntable".

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. [ɑnvɔɾɔʃ]

Stand. եղբորորդի *ełborordi* [jɛχpɔɾɔɾtʰi] "fraternal nephew; brother's son" versus Coll. [jɛχpɔɾvɔɾtʰi]

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

Stand. չորոշեցի *č'orošec'i* [tʃʰɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi] "I did not decide" versus Coll. [[tʃʰ(ə)v ɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi]

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 *o* and օ *ō*, e.g. ո *o* appears in all positions, whereas օ *ō* is restricted to the initial position in some inherited words of Classical Armenian.[19]

3. The schwa phoneme ը *ĕ* [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 *-ĕ*. 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 uvular[20] 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 *ō* is not of Armenian origin, but was introduced into Middle Armenian by foreign influence. It replaced the classical writing of աւ *aw* [ɑʊ] 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, Aŕakelyan et al. 1979: 24. Vaux 1998 and others argue for uvular fricatives.

21. This seems to be a controversial approach in Armenian linguistics. Whereas in most traditional grammars and even in school grammars Standard Modern Eastern Armenian is said to represent velar fricatives [x] [ɣ] with the graphemes խ *x* and ղ *ł* 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 *ł*.

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

Some minimal pair examples:

voiced : voiceless

բադ *bad* [bɑd] “duck”	:	պատ *pat* [pɑt]“wall”
բահ *bah* [bɑh] “spade”	:	պահ *pah* [pɑh] “moment”
դատ *dat* [dɑt] “trial”	:	տատ *tat* [tɑt] “grandmother”
դեղ *deł* [dɛʁ] “medicine”	:	տեղ *teł* [tɛχ]“place”
գին *gin* [gin] “price”	:	կին *kin* [kin]“woman”
գետ *get* [gɛt] “river”	:	կետ *ket* [kɛt] “point; stop”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

թաթ *t’at’* [tʰɑtʰ] “paw”	:	տատ *tat* [tɑt] “grandmother”
թուր *t’ur* [tʰuɾ] “sabre”	:	տուր *tur* [tuɾ] “give!”
քար *k’ar* [kʰɑɾ] “stone”	:	կար *kar* [kɑɾ] “seam”
քույր *k’uyr* [kʰujɾ] “sister”	:	կույր *kuyr* [kujɾ]“blind”
տաք *tak’* [tɑkʰ]“hot”	:	տակ *tak* [tɑk]“under”

voiced : voiceless aspirated

բակ *bak* [bɑk] “courtyard”	:	փակ *p’ak* [pʰɑk] “closed, shut”
դաս *das* [dɑs] “class”	:	թաս *t’as* [tʰɑs] “cup”
երդ *erd* [jɛɾd] “roof”	:	երթ *ert’* [jɛɾtʰ] “procession, march”
գդալ *gdal* [gədɑl] “spoon”	:	ցթալ *gt’al* [gətʰɑl] “to have mercy”
գայլ *gayl* [gɑjl] “wolf”	:	քայլ *k’ayl* [kʰɑjl] “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 *zard* [zɑɾtʰ] “ornament”	:	սարդ *sard* [sɑɾtʰ] “spider”
զգալ *zgal* [(ə)zgɑl] “to feel”	:	սգալ *sgal* [səgɑl] “to mourn”
մազ *maz* [mɑz] “hair”	:	մաս *mas* [mɑs] “part”
ուժ *už* [uʒ] “force, power”	:	ուշ *uš* [uʃ] “late”
նեղ *neł* [nɛʁ] “narrow”	:	նեխ *nex* [nɛχ] “rottenness”
վաղ *vał* [vɑʁ] “early”	:	վախ *vax* [vɑχ] “fear”

3. *Affricates*

	alveolar	postalveolar
voiced	dz	dʒ
voiceless	ts	tʃ
voiceless aspirated	tsʰ	tʃʰ

Some examples:

voiced : voiceless

ձախ *jax* [dzɑχ] “left”	:	ծախ *cax* [tsɑχ] “sale”
ձորակ *jorak* [dzɔɾɑk] “small valley”	:	ծորակ *corak* [tsɔɾɑk] “tap, spout”
ջանք*ǰ ank’* [dʒɑŋkʰ] “effort”	:	ճանկ *čank* [tʃɑŋk] “claw”
ջուր *ǰut’* [dzutʰ] “jute”	:	ճուտ *čut* [tʃut] “chick”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

ծիծ *cic* [tsits] “breast”	:	ցից *c’ic’* [tsʰitsʰ] “stake”
ծառ *caŕ* [tsɑr] “tree”	:	ցար *c’ar* [tsʰɑɾ] “tsar”
ծծել *ccel* [tsətsɛl] “to suck”	:	ցցել *c’c’el* [tsʰətsʰɛl] “to stick into”
ճաղ *čał* [tʃɑʁ] “spoke”	:	չաղ *č’ał* [tʃʰɑʁ] “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 անջնջելի *anǰnǰeli* [ɑɲdʒədʒɛli] “indestructible” and a velar nasal [ŋ] preceding velar plosives, as in անկաելի *ankareli* [ɑŋkɑɾɛli] “impossible” or even as bilabial nasal [m] following bilabial plosives. See “Nasal assimilation”, p. 28.

5. *Rhotics*

	alveolar
flap	ɾ
trill	r

In SMEA the flap ɾ is much more wide-spread than its trill counterpart.

The flap [ɾ] 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 *ŕus* [rus] “Russian” and its derivations as well as of loans with initial trill [r], such as ռադիո *radio* [rɑdi(j)ɔ] “radio”, ռեալիստ *ŕealist* [rɛɑlist] “realist”, ռեժիմ *ŕežim* [rɛʒim] “regime”, ռիսկ *ŕisk* [risk] “risk” etc. In medial position, trill r [r] occurs frequently as in թռչուն *t’ŕč’un* [tʰərtʃʰun] “bird”, կռիվ *kŕiv* [kəriv] “battle”, հեռու *heŕu* [hɛru] “far”, հառաչել *haŕač’el* [hɑrɑtʃʰɛl] “sigh”, մեռնել *meŕnel* [mɛrnɛl] “to die”, խառնել *xaŕnel*

[χɑrnɛl] “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 *nuř* [nur] “pomegranate”, լեռ *leř* [lɛr] “mountain”, գառ *gař* [gɑr] “lamb” etc.[22]

Some examples for minimal pairs:

սար *sar* [sɑɾ] “mountain”	:	սառ *sař* [sɑr]”cold, freezy”
լուր *lur* [luɾ] “news”	:	լուռ *luř* [lur] “silence”
սեր *ser* [sɛɾ] “love”	:	սեռ *seř* [sɛr] “sex, gender”
դեր *der* [dɛɾ] “role”	:	դեռ *deř* [dɛr] “still”

6. *Approximants*

labiodental	palatal	lateral
ʋ	j	l

In SMEA, the labial approximant [ʋ] occurs:

- as a glide with the initial ո *o*, as in որդի *ordi* [ʋɔɾdi] “son”, ոսկի *oski* [ʋɔski] “gold” etc.
- as a glide following [jɛ] in the lexeme և *ew* [jɛʋ] “and” and its compositions; and as a glide following [ɛ] in the medial position before other vowels as in Երևան *Erewan* [jɛrɛʋɑn], երևի *erewi* [jɛrɛʋi] “evidently”; and as a glide in the final position following [ɛ] as in e.g. որովհետև *orovhetew* [ʋɔɾɔhɛtɛʋ] “because, since”, պարգև *pargew* [pɑɾkʰɛʋ] “gift” etc.
- This phonetic combination of the vowel [ɛ] and the glide [ʋ] 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* [jɑsɑmɑn] “lilac”, յոթ *yot’* [jɔtʰ] “seven”, յուղել *yułel* [juʁɛl] “to oint”, յուրականչյուր *yurak’ anč’ yur* [juɾɑkʰɑɲtʃʰjuɾ] “each” or in medial position մայր *mayr* [mɑjɾ] “mother”, գայլ *gayl* [gɑjl] “wolf”, արբունյակ *arbunyak* [ɑɾbunjɑk] “satellite”, սենյակ *senyak* [sɛnjɑk] “room”, ձյուն *jyun* [dzjun] “snow”, մյուս *myus* [mjus] “other”, կահույք *kahuyk’* [kɑhujkʰ] “furniture”, or in final position as in հայ *hay* [hɑj] “Armenian”, բայ *bay* [bɑj] “verb”, տրամվայ *tramvay* [tɾɑmvɑj] “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 *řadioyi* [rɑdiɔji] “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 ē.* “Vardan is her big love”.

the radio", Անգլիայի *Angliayi* [ɑŋgliɑji] "of England, England's", Աննայի *Annayi* [ɑnnɑji] "Anna's", Մարոյի *Maroyi* [mɑɾɔji] "Maro's", ատոմային *atomayin* [ɑtɔmɑjin] "nuclear", հանքային *hank' ayin* [hɑŋkʰɑjin] "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 յ *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,* եյ *ey*, ոյ *oy*, ույ *uy* and յա *ya,* յո *yo* and յու *yu*. The glide itself is spoken weakly.

Examples

հայր *hayr* [hɑjɾ] "father"
սայլ *sayl* [sɑjl] "cart"
գայլ *gayl* [gɑjl] "wolf"
այսօր *aysōr* [ɑjsɔɾ] "today"
պայքար *payk'ar* [pɑjkʰɑɾ] "battle, struggle"

թեյ *t'ey* [tʰɛj] "tea"
Զեյթուն *Zeyt'un* [zɛjtʰun] "Zeyt'un" (place name)
Սեյրան *Seyran* [sɛjɾɑn] "Seyran" (personal name)

խոյ *xoy* [χɔj] "ram"
Նոյ *Noy* [Nɔj] "Noah"
Հանոյ *Hanoy* [hɑnɔj] "Hanoi"
գույն *guyn* [gujn] "colour"
հաճույք *hačuyk'* [hɑtʃujkʰ] "pleasure"
լույս *luys* [lujs] "light"
կույս *kuys* [kujs] "nun"

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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'uyn* [tʰujn] “poison”

սենյակ *senyak* [sɛnjɑk] “room”
մատյան *matyan* [mɑtjɑn] “book”
առավոտյան *aṙavotyan* [ɑrɑvɔtjɑn] “in the morning”
արծաթյա *arcat'ya* [ɑɾtsɑtjɑ] “silvern”
անցյալ *anc'yal* [ɑntsʰjɑl] “past”

հյութ *hyut'* [hjutʰ] “juice”
ճյուղ *čyuł* [tʃjuʁ] “branch”
հյուսիս *hyusis* [hjusis] “North”
ձյուն *jyun* [dzjun] “snow”
արյուն *aryun* [ɑɾjun] “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] [ɾ], it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

որբ *orb* [vɔɾpʰ] “orphan”, բարդ *bard* [bɑɾtʰ] “complex”, երգ *erg* [jɛɾkʰ] “song”, փորձ *p'orj* [pʰɔɾtsʰ] “test, attempt; արջ *arǰ* [ɑɾtʃʰ] “bear” etc.

դարբնոց *darbnoc'* [dɑɾpʰnɔtsʰ] “smithy”, արդեն *arden* [ɑɾtʰɛn] “already”, երգիչ *ergič'* [jɛɾkʰitʃʰ] “singer”, դարձյալ *darjyal* [dɑɾtsʰjɑl] “again”, վերջին *verǰin* [vɛɾtʃʰin] “last” etc.

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

– in loans from dialectal forms that have been included in normative MEA, e.g. դարդ *dard* [dɑɾd] "grief, care", նարդի *nardi* [nɑɾdi] "Nardi (Backgammon)", բուրջ *burǰ* [buɾdʒ] "tower", մարջան *marǰan* [mɑɾdʒɑn] "coral" etc.
– in some new loans
– usually in reduplicated forms such as e.g. գրգիռ *grgiř* [gəɾgir] "excitement", բարբառ *barbař*[bɑɾbɑr] "dialect" etc.
– SMEA has adopted some words of colloquial or even dialectal Eastern Armenian in popular folk sayings. In the original dialects or colloquial forms the plosives and affricates appear as devoiced and aspirated, whereas in SMEA in quoting these dialectal/colloquial lexemes the plosives and affricates following [ɾ] are realised as voiced. e.g. dial. [χɑrtʰɑχ] > խարդախ *xardax* [χɑɾdɑχ] "crafty; cheat", dial. [bɔɾpʰɛl] > բորբոքել *borbok'el* [bɔɾbɔkʰɛl] "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 *aǰ* [ɑtʃʰ] "right" etc.

խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] "to cheat", անդադար *andadar* [ɑntʰɑtʰɑɾ] "unceasing", հոգի *hogi* [hɔkʰi] "soul", ոջիլ *oǰil* [vɔtʃʰil] "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* [hɑmpʰujɾ] "kiss"
– if the dental voiced consonant d [d] follows the alveodental nasal [n], as in անդամ *andam* [ɑntʰɑm] "member", խնդիր *xndir* [χəntʰiɾ] "problem, question", կենդանի *kendani* [kɛntʰɑni] "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. ապստամբել *apstambel* [ɑpʰstɑmbel] "to revolt", ապշել *apšel* [ɑpʰʃɛl] "to be surprised" etc.

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24. see Ařak'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 *ełbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] "brother", շաղգամ *šałgam* [ʃɑχkɑm] "turnip", դեղձ *dełj* [dɛχtsʰ] "peach", աղջիկ *ałǰik* [ɑχtʃʰik] "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 [r] [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* [vɔɾpʰ] "orphan", նուրբ *nurb* [nuɾpʰ] "fine, delicate", սրբել *srbel* [səɾpʰɛl] "to clean", ուրբաթ *urbat'* [uɾpʰɑtʰ] "Friday", հարբել *harbel* [harpʰɛl] "to drink, to get drunk". In all other words written բ *b* is pronounced [b], as in բորբ *borb* [bɔɾb] "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 *t'amb* [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", աբխազ *abxaz* [ɑpʰχɑz] "Abkhaz", շաբաթ *šabat'* [ʃɑpʰɑtʰ] "week, Saturday", խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] "to cheat", հակոբենի *hakobeni* [hɑkɔpʰɛni] "winter cherry (tree)", Հակոբ *Hakob* [hɑkɔpʰ] "Hakob", Գաբրիել *Gabriel* [gɑpʰɾi(j)ɛl] "Gabriel", Քերոբ *kʻerob* [kʰɛɾɔpʰ] "K'erob". In all other words it is pronounced [b], as աբեթ *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 *ałb* [ɑχp] "dirt", աղբյուր *ałbyur* [ɑχpjuɾ] "spring", եղբայր *ełbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] "brother", ողբալ *ołbal* [vɔχbɑl] "to lament".

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

– it follows a flap [r] [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* [bəɾtʰɛl] "to crumble" բուրդ *burd* [buɾtʰ] "wool", դրդել *drdel* [dəɾtʰɛl] "to incite", երդ *erd* [jɛɾtʰ] "roof", երդում *erdum*

25. Vaux 1998: 18.

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

[jɛɾtʰum] “oath”, զարդ *zard* [zɑɾtʰ] “ornament”, զերդ *zerd* [zɛɾtʰ] “as, like”, լերդ *lerd* [lɛɾtʰ] “liver; convolution”, լյարդ *lyard* [ljɑɾtʰ] “liver”, կարդալ *kardal* [kɑɾtʰɑl] “to read”, կոկորդ *kokord* [kɔkɔɾtʰ] “throat”, հաղորդ *hałord* [hɑʁɔɾtʰ] “participating; social”, մարդ *mard* [mɑɾtʰ] “man, person”, նյարդ *nyard* [njɑɾtʰ] “nerve”, որդ *ord* [vɔɾtʰ] “worm”, որդի *ordi* [vɔɾtʰi] “son”, ջարդ *ǰard* [dʒɑɾtʰ] “slaughter”, վաղորդյան *vałordyan* [vɑʁɔɾtʰjɑn] “in the morning, early”, վարդ *vard* [vɑɾtʰ] “rose”, վարդապետ *vardapet* [vɑɾtʰɑpɛt] “master, Vardapet”, վրդովել *vrdovel* [vəɾtʰɔvɛl] “to perturb”, օրիորդ *ōriord* [ɔɾi(j)ɔɾtʰ] “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 *aṙaǰnord* [ɑɾɑdʒnɔɾtʰ] “first; leader”, երրորդ errord [jɛɾɾɔɾtʰ] “third”, ժողովուրդ *žołovurd* [ʒɔʁɔvuɾtʰ] “people”, արձակուրդ *arjakurd* [ɑɾdzɑkuɾtʰ] “holiday, vacation” etc. and to some names, such as Նվարդ *Nvard* [Nəvɑɾtʰ], Վարդան *Vardan* [Vɑɾtʰɑn], Վարդգես *Vardges* [Vɑɾtʰgɛs], Վարդուհի *Varduhi* [Vɑɾtʰuhi], Վարդուշ *Varduš* [Vɑɾtʰuʃ] 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* [ɑntʰɑm] “member”, խնդիր *xndir* [χəntʰiɾ] “problem”, կենդանի *kendani* [kɛntʰɑni] “alive; animal”. The same rule is applied in all words with the prefix ընդ- *ĕnd-* e.g. ընդհանուր *ĕndhanur* [əntʰhɑnuɾ] “general”, ընդամենը *ĕndamenĕ* [əntʰɑmɛnə] “in all, total”, ընդունել *ĕndunel* [əntʰunɛl] “to accept” and the name Սեդրակ *Sedrak* [Sɛtʰɾɑk].
– In all other words written դ *d* it is also pronounced as [d] e.g. in ադամանդ *adamand* [ɑdɑmɑnd] “diamond”, ավանդ *avand* [ɑvɑnd] “deposit, investment”, թունդ *t’und* [tʰund] “strong”, թինդ *t’ind* [tʰind] “noise, sound” etc.
– It occurs between two vowels or after a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): դադար *dadar* [dɑtʰɑɾ] “pause, rest”, օդ *ōd* [ɔtʰ] “air” and դադրել *dadrel* [dɑtʰɾɛl] “to tire, to become tired”.

3. A voiced velar [g] is pronounced as [kʰ][27]if:

– it follows a flap [r] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) երգել *ergel* [jɛɾkʰɛl] “to sing”, թարգմանիչ *t’argmanič’* [tʰɑɾkʰmɑnitʃʰ] “interpreter”, կարգ *karg* [kɑɾkʰ] “order, system”, մարգարե *margare* [mɑɾkʰɑɾɛ] “prophet”, պարգև *pargew* [pɑɾkʰɛv] “gift” and proper names Գևորգ *Geworg* [Gɛvɔɾkʰ], Սարգիս *Sargis* [Sɑɾkʰis], Մարգար *Margar* [Mɑɾkʰɑɾ]. In all other instances it is written գ *g* and pronounced [g], e.g. բուրգ *burg* [buɾg] “pyramid”, գորգ *gorg* [gɔɾg] “carpet” etc.it follows an alveodental nasal [n] in the word (and its derivations and compounds) անգամ *angam* [ɑŋkʰɑm] “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* [ɑvɑkʰ] "elder, senior", զագս *zags* [zɑkʰs] "register office", զուգել *zugel* [zukʰɛl] "to dress up", էգ *ēg* [ɛkʰ] "female", թագավոր *t'agavor* [tʰɑkʰɑvɔɾ] "king", ծագել *cagel* [tsɑkʰɛl] "to rise, to origin", կարագ *karag* [kɑɾɑkʰ] "butter", հագնել *hagnel* [hɑkʰnɛl] "to wear, to put on", հոգնել *hognel* [hɔkʰnɛl] "to get tired", հոգի *hogi* [hɔkʰi] "soul", ձագ *jag* [dzɑkʰ] "youngling", ձիգ *jig* [dzikʰ] "tight, stretched ", ճրագ *črag* [tʃəɾɑkʰ] "lamp", մարագ *marag* [mɑɾɑkʰ] "hay-loft", մուգ *mug* [mukʰ] "dark", նորոգել *norogel* [nɔɾɔkʰɛl] "renew, renovate", շոգ *šog* [ʃɔkʰ] "hot", պատարագ *patarag* [pɑtɑɾɑkʰ] "holy mass", սուգ *sug* [sukʰ] "grief", տեգր *tegr* [tɛkʰ(ə)ɾ] "husband's brother", օգնել *ōgnel* [ɔkʰnɛl] "to help", օգուտ *ōgut* [ɔkʰut] "favour", as well in the names Գրիգոր *Grigor* [Gɾikʰɔɾ] and Գարեգին *Garegin* [GɑɾɛkʰiN].
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ], [g] is just devoiced but not aspirated [k] in շաղկամ *šałkam* [ʃɑχkɑm] "turnip".

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

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ], as in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) արձակ *arjak* [ɑɾtsʰɑk] "prose", բարձ *barj* [bɑɾtsʰ] "cushion", բարձր *barjr* [bɑɾtsʰɾ] "high", դերձան *derjan* [dɛɾtsʰɑn] "needleful, string", դերձակ *derjak* [dɛɾtsʰɑk] "taylor", խուրձ *xurj* [χuɾtʰs] "bundle", համբարձում *hambarjum* [hɑmbɑɾtsʰum] "ascension", հանդերձ *handerj* [hɑndɛɾtsʰ] "with; clothes", հարձակվել *harjakvel* [hɑɾtʰsɑkvɛl] "to attack", որձ *orj* [vɔɾtʰs] "male", վարձակ *varjak* [vɑɾtsʰɑk] "singer; whore", վրձին *vrjin* [vəɾtsʰin] "brush", փորձ *p'orj* [pʰɔɾtsʰ] "test". In all other words it is pronounced [dz] e.g. մերձ *merj* [mɛɾdz] "near", արձան *arjan* [ɑɾdzɑn] "statue", etc.
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) դեղձ *dełj* [dɛχtsʰ] "peach", դաղձ *dałj* [dɑχtsʰ] "mint", դեղձան *dełjan* [dɛχtsʰɑn] "yellowish; canary bird". In all other words the cluster [ʁdz] is written ղձ *łj* and pronounced [ʁdz] eg. in գեղձ *gełj* [gɛʁdz] "gland".
- in the word ոձ *ōj* [ɔtsʰ] "snake" and its derivations and compounds.

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

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) արջ *arj* [ɑɾtʃʰ] "bear", թրջել *t'rjel* [tʰəɾtʃʰɛl] "to wet", վերջ *verj* [vɛɾtʃʰ] "end". In all other cases it is written as ջ *ǰ* and pronounced as [dʒ] as in շուրջ *šurǰ* [ʃuɾdʒ] "around, about", խուրջին *xurǰin* [χuɾdʒin] "saddle cloth", մարջան *marǰan* [mɑɾdʒɑn] "coral", որջ *orǰ* [vɔɾdʒ] "den, burrow", կամուրջ *kamurǰ* [kɑmuɾdʒ] "bridge" etc.
- it occurs between two vowels, or follows a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աջ *aǰ* [ɑtʃʰ] "right", առաջ *aṙaǰ* [ɑɾɑtʃʰ] "before, in front of", առաջին *aṙaǰin* [ɑɾɑtʃʰin] "first", մեջ *meǰ* [mɛtʃʰ] "in", ոջիլ *oǰil* [vɔtʃʰil] "louse", քաջք *kaǰk'* [kʰɑtʃʰkʰ] "demons". In all other words it is written as ջ *ǰ* pronounced as [dʒ] as in հաջորդ *haǰord* [hɑdʒɔɾtʰ] "next", իջնել *iǰnel* [idʒnɛl] "to descend", միջին *miǰin* [midʒin] "middle", միջատ *miǰat* [midʒɑt] "insect", քրոջ

k'roǰ [kʰəɾɔdʒ] "of the sister, sister's", ընկերոջ *ěnkeroǰ* [əŋkɛɾɔdʒ] "of the friend, friend's" etc.[28]

– it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աղջիկ *ałǰik* [ɑχtʃʰik] "girl", ամբողջ *ambołǰ* [ɑmbɔχtʃʰ] "whole, entire", ողջ *ołǰ* [vɔχtʃʰ] "entire, whole", առողջ *arǒłǰ* [ɑrɔχtʃʰ] "healthy" etc. In other words written ջ *ǰ* is pronounced as [dʒ], e.g. եղջերու *ełǰeru* [jɛʁdʒɛɾu] "deer", զղջալ *złǰal* [zɛʁdʒɑl] "to regret", շեղջ *šełǰ* [ʃɛʁdʒ] "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* [ɑmbits] "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* [ɑŋgiɾ] "by heart", սունկ *sunk* [suŋk] "mushroom", վանք *vank'* [vɑŋkʰ] monastery etc.
– if followed by the postalveolar affricate [dʒ], it appears as a palatal [ɲ], as in անջատ *anǰat* [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* [intɛrnɑt] "internat", կոմինտերն *komintern* [kɔmintɛrn] "komintern" and other words with ինտերնացիոնալ- *international-*.

In all other words the trill [r] is also written as ռ *ř*, e.g. առնել *ařnel* [ɑrnɛl] "to take", գառնուկ *gařnuk* [gɑrnuk] "little lamb", դառնալ *dařnal* [dɑrnɑl] "to become" etc.

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28. (Minassian 1996: 26) argues that [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʃʰ] also in the case of the preposed alveolar nasal [n] and in the case of an ending -ոջ-*oǰ* of the -ոջ *-oǰ* declination. The same is mentioned by other Armenian authors in orthography schoolbooks, e.g. Sahakyan,Sahakyan 2002: 23. This means that devoicing and aspiration of written ջ *ǰ* [dʒ] in the declension suffix ոջ-*oǰ* 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. Xač'atryan 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 անմեղ *anmeł* [ɑmmɛʁ] "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* [hɑɾɑf] "south", ավտո *avto* [ɑftɔ] "auto-; car" and նավթ *navt'* [nɑftʰ] "oil, petroleum".

g. *Silent Glottal Fricative h [h]*

There are seven words (and their derivations and compounds[31]) in SMEA in which the glottal fricative following a flap [ɾ] is written, but not pronounced: աշխարհ *ašxarh* [ɑʃχɑɾ] "world", խոնարհ *xonarh* [χɔnɑɾ] "humble", խորհուրդ *xorhurd* [χɔɾuɾtʰ] "advice", ճանապարհ *čanaparh* [tʃɑnɑpɑɾ] "way, path", շնորհ *šnorh* [ʃnɔɾ] "mercy", օրհնել *ōrhnel* [ɔɾnɛl] "to bless" The silent final -հ *-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 ɛkɑv] "he came out", երբ *erb* [jɛpʰ] "when" etc. This loss of [r] in closed syllables is particularly common in the last syllable in imperative 2nd singular forms of verbs in -ել *-el*, such as [gəɾi] "write" < գրիր *grir*!, [uʁɑki] "send" < ուղակիր *ułakir*! These *ɾ*-less forms of the imperative of *el*-verbs are already conventionalized and are used also in public language, and even in literature.[32]

There are other deviating pronunciations of vowels, consonants, and particularly consonant clusters in colloquial Eastern Armenian, which are particularly caused by the long and still continuing influence of Russian in Armenia.[33]

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31. With exception of աշխարհայացք *ašxarhayac'k'* [ɑʃχɑɾhɑjɑtʰskʰ] "outlook", in which [h] is not pronounced. In the word արհամարհել *arhamarhel* [ɑɾhɑmɑɾəl] "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* [ɑkɑdʲɛmi(j)ɑ] "academy", պարտիական *partiakan* [pɑɾtʲiɑkɑn] "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 *tiezerk'* [tʲi(j)ɛzɛɾkʰ] "cosmos, universe", դաստիարկել *dastiarkel* [dɑstʲi(j)ɑɾkɛl] "to educate".

The palatalisation of the aspirated, voiceless թ t' [tʰ] in the suffix -թյուն *-t'yun* is also a typical feature of colloquial Armenian, and is also regarded as highly conventional and as being used by in public, journalistic language,[35] e.g. in ազատություն *azatut'yun* [ɑzɑtutʰʲun] "freedom".

k. *Palatalisation of Lateral Approximant*[15]

The Russian influence has also lead 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* [vɑlʲs] "waltz", ալմանախ *almanax* [ɑlʲmɑnɑχ] "almanac", բոլշեվիկ *bolšewik* [bolʲʃɛvik] "Bolshevik", կուլտուրա *kultura* [kulʲtuɾɑ] "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 [pɑmidɔɾ] < պոմիդոր *pomidor* "tomato"; [kɔnfɛt] < կոնֆետ *konfet* "sweet, candy"; [Bɑɾis] < Բորիս *Boris;* [Viktəɾ] < 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-c'ič'* "teacher" etc.

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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. Łaragyulyan 1981: 63. Zak'aryan 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 *ułłel* [uʁʁɛl] "to correct", մասսա *massa* [mɑssɑ] "mass", սողուններ *sołunner* [sɔʁunnɛɾ] "reptiles", հետ տար *het tar* [hɛt‿tɑɾ] "take with (you)!", մեծ ծով *mec cov* [mɛts‿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 արճճե *arčče* [ɑɾtʃətʃɛ] "leaden" < արճիճ *arčič* "lead", պտտել *pttel* [pətətɛl] "to twirl" < 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; CCCCV = 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 *gěl-xa-vor,* շըղ-թա *šěł-t'a,* կը-տըր-տել *kě-těr-tel,* Մը-կըր-տիչ *Mě-kěr-tič',* երբե-մըն *erbe-měn.* In the case of the causative suffix -ցն- *-c'n-* the division line is preferred between -ց- *-c'-* and -ն- *-n-*, as in մերկաց-նել *merkac'-nel,* մո-տեց-նել *mo-tec'-nel.* In the case of the verbal suffix -վ- *-v-* preceded by two or more consonsants, the division preferred is before the suffix as in զըսպ-վել *zěsp-vel,* թըրջ-վել *těrǰ-vel,* տանջ-վել *tanǰ-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-p'an,* Ստրաս-բուրգ *Stras-burg* etc. Compare: Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 36–38.

38. Aŗak'elyan, Xač'atryan, Eloyan 1979: 115.

the following vowel, i.e. VCCCV = VCC-CV, as in Աստ-ված *Ast-vac* "God", սեղմ-ված *sełm-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* [gəɾɛl] "to write", հպարտ *hpart* [həpɑɾt] "proud", ժպիտ *žpit* [ʒəpit] "smile", նկար *nkar* [nəkɑɾ] "picture", տղա *tła* [təʁɑ] "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 *spasel* [əs-pɑsɛl] "to wait", ստանալ *stanal* [əs-tɑnɑl] "to receive", սթափ *stʻap'* [əs-t^hɑp^h] "sober", զբոսնել *zbosnel* [əz-bɔsnɛl] "to walk", զգալ *zgal* [əz-gɑl] "to feel", շտապ *štap* [ə*ʃ*-tɑp] "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* [səgɑl] "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 "substandard" 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* [spɔɾt] "Sport", շտաբ *štab* [ʃtɑb], սկանդալ *skandal* [skɑndɑl] "scandal", ստանդարդ standard [stɑndɑɾd] "standard" as well as names such as Սպարտակ S*partak* [Spɑɾtɑk], Սպինոզա *Spinoza* [Spinɔzɑ] etc. This is, of course, also true for later loans from English, such as սկաուտ *skaut* [skɑut] "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,

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39. Łaragyulyan 1973: 428. (Vaux 1998: 25) notes that sibilant + plosive clusters sometimes behave "differently". (Aŕak'elyan, Xač'atryan, Eloyan 1979: 120) even argue that a pronunciation of this cluster without schwa epenthesis "has already become the norm".

as such, it has now entered normative and written Eastern Armenian, as can be seen from the examples below. Thus, nowadays also in written Armenian doublets can be found.[40]

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

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

(1) Իլհամ Ալիեւի խոսքով, իր երկրի համբերությունն 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 *spaŕ-v-um* *ē.*
[……hɑmpʰɛɾutʰjun-**n**‿ə **s**-pɑrvum]
patience-NOM-the runout-antic- PTCP. PRES. it is

"In the words of Ilham Aliew, his country's patience is running out."

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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* [səpɑs] "yoghurt-soup". (Zak'aryan 1981: 172) even regards a deviating or more prescriptive realization of this cultural word as e.g. [əspɑs] or [spɑs] 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-*ĕ/-n* is attached to the noun according to its final sound or the sound of the word immediately following the article. Thus -ը-*ĕ* 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 stars with a vowel, e.g. Արամը գնում է քաղաք: *Aram-ĕ **g**num ē k'ałak'*. "Aram goes to town" versus Արամն է գնում քաղաք: *Aram-**n** **ē** gnum k'ałak'*. "It is Aram who goes to town". (comp. Asatryan 2004: 95) Thus, according to the normative rules, the article -ե *-ĕ* 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** **sk**svum 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 Yerewan-NOM

myus-ner-i *ayc’-n* *spas-v-um* *ē* *mot*
other-PL-DAT visit-NOM-the expect-pass-PTCP.PRES it is near
[ɑjtsʰ-**n̪**ˌəs-pɑsvum]

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 «Ընտրական օրենսգրքի» փոփոխությունների նախագիծը: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

xorhrdaranakan *bolor* *už-er-n* *storagrec’-in* *ĕntrakan*
parliamentary all force-PL.NOM-the sign-AOR.3.PL electional
[uʒɛɾ**n̪**ˌəs-tɔɾɑgəɾɛtsʰin]

ōrensgrk’-i *p’op’oxut’yun-ner-i* *naxagic’-ĕ.*
lawbook-DAT change-PL-DAT draft. NOM-the

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

(4) Եվ Բաքվի իշխանությունների համաձայնությունն ստանալուց հետս կմեկնեն Նախիջևան:

ew *Bak’v-i* *išxanut’yun-ner-i* *hamajaynut’yun-n* *stan-al-uc’*
[hɑmɑdzɑjnutʰjun-**n̪**ˌəs-tɑnɑlutsʰ]
CONJ Baku-DAT government-PL-DAT agreement.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL

heto *kmekn-en* *Naxiǰewan.*
POST depart-COND. FUT.3.PL Naxiǰewan.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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

tužac-ĕ *stanal-ov* *aŕaǰin* *bužōgnut’yun*
suffer-PTCP.RES.NOM-the receive-INF-INST first medical aid.NOM
[tuʒɑts-**ĕst**ɑnɑlɔv]

durs *ēr* *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 *štap-um* *ēr.*
[ɑɾɑm-ə ̯ʃtɑ-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* *eław*
[dɑtɑɾɑn-ə ̯stip-vɑts]
note-IMP.1.PL CONJ court.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES it has been

datavčiŕ-ě *hraparak-el* *ałmuk-i* *meǰ*
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* *bacʾaŕikutʾyun-ě* *zgal-u* *hamar*
[bɑtsʰrikutʰjunə ̯**zg**ɑlu]
Armenian.NOM-the REL-DAT exclusiveness.NOM-the feel-INF-DAT POST

bavakan *ě* *hiš-el* *hamakʾristoneakan*
sufficient it is remember-INF all-Christian

grkʾ-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-vɑts] “having been given” (Participle Resultative passive)
գտնել *gtnel* [gət-nɛl] “to find”
կսկիծ *kskic* [kəs-kits] “bitterness”
նստարան *nstaran* [nəst-ɑɾɑn] “bench, seat”
կրճատել *krčatel* [kər-tʃɑtɛl] “to reduce”
բռնել *bŕnel* [bər-nɛl] “to catch, to hold”
տնտեսություն *tntesutʾyun* [tən-tɛsutʰjun] “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:

Examples[43]
սփրոց *sp'roc'* [əs-pʰəɾ-ɔtsʰ] or preferably [səpʰ-ɾɔtsʰ] "tablecloth"
սքթել *sk't'el* [əs-kʰətʰ-ɛl] or preferably [səkʰ-tʰɛl] "to shrink from cold"

ստրուկ *struk* [əs-təɾ-uk] or preferably [stə-ɾuk] or even in colloquial [stɾuk] "serf"
սկսել *sksel* [əs-kəs-ɛts] or preferably [skə-sɛl] "to begin"

շտկել *štkel* [əʃ-kət-ɛl] or preferably [ʃtə-kɛl] "to repair; to straighten"
ստրատեգիական *strategiakan* [stɾɑtɛgi(j)ɑkɑn] "strategical"
Ստրասբուրգ *Strasburg* [Stɾɑsbuɾg] "Strasburg"

(9) Բոլորն սկսեցին ծիծաղել: (Gyurǰanyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002:123.)
bolor-n sksec'in cicał-el.
[bɔlɔɾ-**n‿əs**[-kʰəs-ɛtʰsin]
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 stełcagorcakan ułi-n čʼekʼiǰyan-ě sks-el
[Tʃʰɛkʰidʒjɑnə‿**sk**ə-sɛl]
his creative way.NOM-the Čʼekʼiǰyan.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF
ē Stambul-icʼ.
he is Istanbul-ABL
"Čʼekʼiǰyan 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

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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:

բժշկություն *bžškut'yun* [bə-ʒəʃ-ku-t^{h}jun] "medicine"
մկրտություն *mkrtut'yun* [mə-kəɾ-tu-t^{h}jun] "baptizm"
սննդամթերք *snndamt'erk'* [sə-nən-dɑ-mət^{h}ɛɾk^{h}] "groceries, food stuff"
ծծմբաթթու *ccmbat't'u* [tsə-tsəm-bɑ-t^{h}ət^{h}u] "sulphuric acid"
բզլտալ *bzltal* [bə-zəl-tɑl] "to buzz"

մտցնել *mtc'nel* [mət-ts^{h}ɛ-nɛl] "to bring in"
ճվտկել *čvtkel* [tʃəv-tə-kel] "to prune"

ճշգրիտ *čšgrit* [tʃəʃ-gə-ɾit] "precise, exact"
տրտմություն *trtmut'yun* [t^{h}əɾt-mu-t^{h}jun] "sadness"

սլկվել *slkvel* [səlk(ə)-vel] "to slip"
ճնշվածություն *čnšvacut'yun* [tʃənʃ-vɑ-tsut^{h}jun] "depression"
մրջյուն *mrǰyun* [məɾdʒ-jun] "ant"

ստրկացնել *strkac'nel* [st^{h}ə-rə-kats^{h}nɛl] "to enslave"
սպլխել *splxel* [sə-pəl-χɛl] "to slip "

(11) Ադրբեջանի նախարարը սկզբում պատրաստակամություն է հայտնել, այժմ ասում է՝ ոչ: (Azg 03.03.2006)

Adrbeǰan-i	*naxarar-ě*	*skzb-um*	*patrastakamut'yun*	*ē*
[…Azerbaijan-DAT	nɑχɑɾɑɾə̯skəz-bum…. 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-məɾt-vɑts] "crinkled, crumpled"
մխրճվել *mxrčvel* [mə-χəɾtʃ-vɛl] "to pierce"
սփրթնում *sp'rt'num* [sə-pʰəɾtʰ-num] "whitening, bleaching"
փռնգտալ *p'řngtal* [pʰə-rəŋg-tɑl] "to snuff, to snort"
տրտնջալ *trtnǰal* [təɾ-təɲʒɑl] "to grumble, to complain"
բռնցքամարտ *břnc'k'amart* [bər-nəts-kʰɑməɾt] "boxing"
մշտնջենաբար *mštnǰenabar* [məʃ-təɲ-dʒɛ-nɑbɑɾ] "everlasting, eternal"
գրգռվել *grgřvel* [gəɾ-gər-vɛl] "to get excited, to be provocated"
մրմնջալ *mrmnǰal* [məɾ-məɲ-dʒɑl] "to whisper, to murmur"
քստմնալից *k'stmnalic'* [kʰəs-təm-nɑlitsʰ] "gruesome, horrid"
սրսկվել *srskvel* [səɾs-kə-vɛl] "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: մրթմրթալ *mrt'mrt'al* [məɾtʰ-məɾ-tʰɑl] "to mumble"; փնթփնթոց *p'nt'p'nt'oc'* [pʰəntʰ-pʰən-tʰɔtsʰ] "growl"; զնգզնգոց *zngzngoc'* [zəŋg-zəŋ-gɔtʰs] "tinkle"; հրմշտկել *hrmštkel* [həɾ-məʃ-tə-kɛl] "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* [pɑt-mɛl] "to tell", պարտեզ *partez* [pɑɾ-tɛz] "garden", կարմիր *karmir* [kɑɾ-miɾ] "red", հագնել *hagnel* [hɑkʰ-nɛl] "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* [kɑŋg-nɛl] "to stand", հարցնել *harc'nel* [hɑɾtsʰ-nɛl] "to ask", կարմրել *karmrel* [kɑɾm-ɾɛl] "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. ձեռնտու *jeřntu* [dzɛ-rən-tu] "profitable",

հետաքրքիր *hetak'rk'ir* [hɛtɑ-kʰəɾ-kʰiɾ] "interesting", երաժշտություն *eražštut'yun* [jɛɾa-ʒəʃ-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 *ałmkarar* [ɑʁ-mə-kɑɾɑɾ] "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 derivates or compounds. Examples: հանգստանալ *hangstanal* [hɑŋgəstɑnɑl] "to relax", > հանգիստ + verbal suffix -անալ; անկրկնելի *ankrkneli* [ɑŋkəɾknɛli] "unrepeatable" > prefix ան- + կրկնելի "repeatable"; դասագրքեր *dasagrk'er* [dɑsɑgəɾkʰɛɾ] "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'* [giɾkʰ] "book", դրախտ *draxt* [dəɾɑχt], "paradise", հաջորդ *haǰord* [hɑdʒɔɾtʰ] "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*/-ս *-s* or -դ *-d*. As explained above, the schwa has to be pronounced before the suffix, e.g. եղբայրս *ełbayrs* [jɛχpɑjɾ-əs] "my brother", տունդ *tund* [tun-əd] "your hourse", գրածս *gracs* [gɾɑts-əs] "your writing", ձեռքս *jeřk's* [dzɛɾkʰ-əs] "my hand", խելքդ *xelk'd* [χɛlkʰ-əd] "your mind" etc.
– expressions ևս *ews* [jɛvəs] "also,too", դեռևս *deřews* [dɛɾɛvəs] "still,yet", թերևս *t'erews* [tɛɾɛvəs] "perhaps", ոմն *omn* [vɔmən] "somebody", անհիմն *anhimn* [ɑnhimən] "groundless", այժմ *ayžm* [ɑjʒəm] "now", ըստ այսմ *ěst aysm* [əst ɑjsəm] "according to this", ըստ այնմ *ěst aynm* [əst ɑjnəm] "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* [vɑgəɾ] "tiger", ծանր *canr* [tsɑnəɾ] "heavy", ամենափոքր *amenap'ok'r,* [ɑmɛnɑpʰɔkʰəɾ] "smallest", արքայադուստր *ark'ayadustr* [ɑɾkʰɑjɑdustəɾ] "king's daughter", արկղ *arkł* [ɑɾkəʁ] "box", պարտք *partk'* [pɑɾtkʰ] "debt ", գամփռ *gamp'ř* [gɑmpʰəɾ] "Armenian sheepdog", բարձր *barjr* [bɑɾdzəɾ] "high", աստղ *astł* [ɑstəʁ] "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 ě and diphthongs: the high vowels [i] and [u] undergo an alternation with the change of stress, they are either absolutely deleted or "reduced" to schwa [ə]; diphthongs are reduced to monophtongs.

1. The Vowel [a] [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,* կոճկել *kočkel* "to button" < կոճակ *kočak* "button" + -ել *-el*, պատռել *patřel* "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 *tła* "boy" < տղայի *tła-y-i* DAT, տղայական *tła-y-aka*n "boyish, childish", տղայություն *tła-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", հսկայաքայլ *hska-y-ak'ayl* "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: կինոապպարատ *kinoapparat* "cinematographic apparat"; Օսլո *Ōslo* > Օսլոյում *Ōslo-y-um* LOC: Չիկագո *Č'ikago* > Չիկագոյից *Č'ikago-y-ic'* ABL etc.

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

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

3. The Vowel [e] [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 ի *i* [i] in some words in the word formation, e.g. էշ *ēž* "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 ի 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 անեծքատու *aneck'atu* [ɑnɛtsk^{h}ɑtu] "cusser", պետքական, *petk'akan* [pɛtk^{h}ɑkɑn] "suitable, fit", մեջքակապ *meǰk'akap* [mɛdʒk^{h}ɑkɑp] "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* [ɔɾɛnsdiɾ] "legislative", մեջտեղ *meǰteł* [mɛdʒtɛʁ] "middle, centre", կեսօր *kesōr* [kɛsɔɾ] "midday, noon" etc.
c. if the monosyllabic word is reduplicated in the word formation, as in դեմառդեմ *demaŕdem* [dɛmɑrdɛm] "vis-a-vis ", մեջընդմեջ *meǰĕndmeǰ*[mɛdʒənt^{h}mɛdʒ] "sometimes, from time to time", ստեպ-ստեպ *stepstep* [stɛp stɛp] "often" etc.
d. In general, in all compounds and derivates from the word տեր *ter* [tɛɾ] "lord, master", տերություն *teruťyun* "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* [mɑɾk^{h}ɑɾɛ] "prophet" < մարգարեի *margare-i* [mɑɾk^{h}ɑɾɛji] (DAT), մարգարեանալ *margare-anal* [mɑɾk^{h}ɑɾɛjɑnɑl] "to prophesy"; բազե *baze* [bɑzɛ] "falcon" < բազեի *baze-i* [bɑzɛji] (DAT); բազեապահ *baze-a-pah* [bɑzɛjɑpɑh] "falconer" etc.

4. The vowel [ĕ] [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 *-ĕ* (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] > ընձուղտ *ĕnj-ułt* "giraffe"; իղձ *iłj* "longing, desire" > ըղձական *ĕłj-akan* "desireable"; ինչք *inč'k'* "thing; possession" > ընչաքաղց *ĕnč'-a-k'ałc'* "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-c'av* "heartache"; գիծ *gic* "line" > գծի *gc-i* (DAT), գծեր *gc-er* (NOM.PL.), գծ-ել *gc-el* "to draw"; գիր *gir* "writing; letter" > գրի *gr-i* (DAT); գրեր *gr-er* (NOM.PL.), գրություն *gr-ut'yun* "note"
– Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words with final ք *k'*, which is historically or etymologically not explicable,[47] [i] remains unaltered, e.g. դիրք *dirk'* "position" > դիրքի *dirk'-i* (DAT), դիրքեր *dirk'-er* (NOM.PL.), դիրքային *dirk'ayin* "positional", հիմք *himk'* "basis" > հիմքի *himk'-i* (DAT), հիմքային *himk'ayin* "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 *dełin* "yellow" < դեղնուց *dełnuc'* [dɛʁnut^{h}s] "yolk", նկարիչ *nkarič'* "painter" < նկարչություն *nkarč'ut'yun* [nəkɑɾt^{h}ʃut^{h}jun] "painting", ուսուցիչ *usuc'ič'* "teacher"

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46. There is also a reduction in the older inflected forms of the lexeme "jaguar", i.e. ընձի *ĕnj-i* (DAT). They are not productive.

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

48. see Ch. 4., "Word formation" p. 645f.

< ուսուցչուհի *usucč'uhi* [usut^{h}st^{h}ʃuhi] "female teacher", թշնամի *t'šnami* "foe" < թշնամական *t'šnamakan* [t^{h}əʃnɑmɑkɑn] "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. արճիճ *arčič* "lead" < արճճագույն *arčč-aguyn* [ɑrtʃətʃɑgujn] "lead-coloured", մարմին *marmin* "body" < մարմնամարզիկ *marmn-a-marzik* [mɑrmənəmərzik] "gymnast", նախագիծ *naxagic* "project; draft" < նախագծեր *naxagc-er* [nɑχɑgətsɛr] (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 *-ut'yun*. բարի *bari* "good" < բարություն *barut'yun* "kindness, goodness", գերի *geri* "captive" < գերություն *geruťyun* "captivity"; versus քաղաքացի *k'ałak'ac'i* "citizen" < քաղաքացիություն *k'ałak'ac'i-ut'yun* "citizenship", արի *ari* "brave" < արիություն *ariut'yun* "bravery", etc.
- In word formation, the open final [i] remains unaltered if it is combined with verbal suffixes -անալ *-anal*, -ացնել *-ac'nel*, or nominal suffixes -ական *-akan*, -ացում *-ac'um* 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 *ałavni* "pigeon" < աղավնատուն *ałavn-a-tun* "pigeonry".
- In word formation, the open final [i] is deleted if the adjectival suffix -ուտ *-ut* is attached, as in կեչի *keč'i* "birch" > կեչուտ *keč'-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 *t'eri* "incomplete" > թերություն *t'er-ut'yun* "lack, fault", խեցի *xec'-i* "earthenware" > խեցագործ *xec'-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 *k'eř-ayr* "husband of sister", փոշի *p'oši* "dust" > փոշոտ *p'oš-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 որդեսեր *ordeser* "loving one's children" > որդի -ա-սեր *ordi+a+ser,* ընտանեկան *ěntanekan* "family, domestic" > ընտանի -ական *ěntani+akan,* բարետես *baretes* "good-looking, optimistic" > բարի-ա-տես *bari+a+tes,* բարեխիղճ *barexiłč* "conscientious" > բարի-ա-խիղճ *bari+a+xiłč,*ոսկեգործ *oskegorc* "goldsmith" > ոսկի-ա-գործ *oski+a+gorc* etc.

49. There is also a doublet form խեցեգործ *xec' 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 *kłzi* "island" < կղզյակ *kłzyak* "little island" > *kłzi* + *-ak,* որդի *ordi* "son" < որդյակ *ordyak* "little son" > *ordi* + *-ak.,* ղավնի *ałavni* "pidgeon" < աղավնյակ *ałavnyak* "little pidgeon" > *ałavni* + *-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 [ɑniji] 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-spaŕ* "exhausted"; ուխտ *uxt* "promise, covenant",< ուխտի *uxt-i* DAT, ուխտագնաց *uxtagnac'* "pilgrim"; ուղեվոր *ułevor* "passenger" < ուղեվորներ *ułevor-ner* NOM.PL., ուղեվորություն *ułevor-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-ełen* "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* [gəlχi] DAT, գլխավոր [g(ə)ləχɑvɔr] *glx-a-vor* "main"; սնունդ *snund* "food" < սննդի *snnd-i* [sənəndi] DAT, սննդամթերք *snnd-a-mt'erk'* "food stuff"; ժողովուրդ *žołovurd* "people"

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

< ժողովրդի *žołovrd-i* [ʒɔʁɔvəɾt^{h}i] DAT, ժողովրդական *žołovrd-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’řč’un* “bird” < թռչուններ *t’řč’un-ner* NOM.PL., թռչունաբույծ *t’řč’un-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 *jv-i* [dzəvi] DAT, ձվաձև *jv-a-jew* “oval”; չու *č’u* “migration” > չվի *č’v-i* [t^{h}ʃəvi] DAT, չվել *č’v-el* “to migrate”, չվացուցակ *č’v-a-c’uc’ak* “migration’s list”; առու *aŕu* “creek” < առվի *aŕv-i* DAT, առվակ *aŕv-ak* “little creek”; մեղու *mełu* “bee” < մեղվի *mełv-i* DAT, մեղվաբուծություն *mełv-a-bucut’yun* “apiculture”; թթու *t’t’u* “sour” < թթվի *t’t’v-i* DAT, թթվասեր *t’t’v-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” < վերակուի *verarku-i* [vɛɾɑɾkuji] DAT; դասատու *dasatu* “lecturer” < դասատուի *dasatu-i* [dɑsɑtuji] 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 *ya* [jɑ]

– 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 [jɑ] may alternate with ե [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 [jɑ] may alternate with ե [ɛ], e.g. գործունյա *gorcunya* “active” < գործունեություն *gorcuneut’yun* “activity”.

b. In word formation, diphthongs յու *yu* [ju], յո *yo* [jɔ] and այ *ay* [ɑj] remain unchanged if unstressed,[51] e.g. յուղ *yuł* “oil, fat” < յուղալի *yuł-ali* “creamy”; արյուն *aryun* “blood” < արյունոտ *aryun-ot* “bloody”, անկյուն *ankyun* “corner” < անկյունաքար *ankyun-a-k’ar*

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. արենպարտ *arenpart* = արյունպարտ *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" < գայլաձագ *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 *kaṙuyc'* "building" < կառուցել *kaṙuc'-el* "to build"; բույր *buyr* "fragrance, aroma" < բուրվառ *bur-vaṙ* "censer"; բույս *buys* "plant" < բոսաբան *bus-a-ban* "botanist", լույս *luys* "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-vɛl] "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 *saṙuyc'* "ice" > սառցահատ *saṙc'ahat* "ice-cube" etc.
- [uj] remains unaltered in all derivates 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 *lezv-i* DAT, լեզվից *lezv-ic'* ABL, լեզվաբան *lezv-a-ban* "linguist", լեզվակ *lezv-ak* "clapper"; ձու *ju* "egg" > ձվի *jv-i* DAT, ձվեր *jv-er* NOM.PL.,

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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 *luys* "light".

ձվածեղ *jv-a-ceł* "scrambled eggs" etc. but polysyllabic դասատու *dasatu* "lecturer, teacher > դասատուի *dasatu-i* DAT and one-and-a-half-syllabic գնչու *gnčʼu* "gypsy" > գնչուի *gnčʼu-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

a. in loans e.g. քաոս *kʼaos* [kʰɑ.ɔs] "disorder, chaos"; բոա *boa* [bɔ.ɑ] "boa (snake)"; կոոպերացիա *kooperacʼia* [kɔ.ɔpɛɾɑtsʰijɑ] "cooperation"; աերոկլուբ *aeroklub* [ɑ.ɛɾɔklub] "aeroclub"; Մաեստրո *maestro* [mɑ.ɛstɾɔ] also [mɑ(j)ɛstɾɔ] but also with weakly spoken epenthetic glide, e.g. ռադիո *ŕadio* [ɾɑdi(j)ɔ] "radio", պոեզիա *poezia* [pɔ(j)ɛzijɑ] "poetry", գեոդեզիա *geodezia* [gɛ(j)ɔdɛzijɑ] "geodesy" etc.
b. and in some native low vowel sequences, i.e. in sequences of non-high vowels,[54] e.g. ամենաարդար *amena-ardar* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.ɑɾ.tʰɑɾ] "the fairest", ամենաուժեղ *amena-užeł* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.uʒ.ɛʁ] "the strongest", հեռուստաընկերություն *heřust-a-ěnkeruťyun* [hɛr.ust.ɑ.əŋk.ɛɾ.utʰjun] "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* [nɑjɛʋ] "also"
e+a քվեարկել *kʼve-arkel* [kʰ(ə)vɛjɑɾkɛl] "to vote" etc.
e+e թեև *tʼe-yew* [tʰɛjɛʋ] "although"
e+o պանթեոն *pantʼeon*
e+u էություն *ē-utʼyun* [ɛ(j)utʰjun] "essence, substance"
i+a միանալ *mi-anal* [mijɑnɑl] "to unite",միասին *miasin* [mijɑsin] "together" etc.
i+u միություն *mi-utʼyun* [mijutʰjun] "unity", հավաստիություն *havasti-utʼyun* [hɑvɑstijutʰjun] authenticity, trustworthiness" etc.
o+i ջյուդոիստ *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 *-er,* as in ձիեր *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 *tła* "boy" > տղայի *tła-y-i* [tʁɑji] DAT, քիմիա *k'imia* "chemistry" > քիմիայի *k'imia-y-i* [k^{h}imijɑji] 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* [hɑsts^{h}ɛji] DAT; կոմիտե" *komite* "committee" > կոմիտեում *komite-um* [kɔmitɛjum] LOC; րոպե *rope* "minute" > րոպեում *rope-um* [ɾɔpɛjum] LOC etc.
- i+e [ijɛ], i+u [iju], e.g. միևնույն *mi-y-ew-nuyn* [mijɛʊnujn] "same", շարունակելիություն *šarunakeli-ut'yun* [ʃɑɾunakɛlijut^{h}jun] "continuation possibility", Սոչի Soč'i > Սոչիում *Soč'i-um* [sɔtʃ^{h}ijum] LOC etc.
- o+i [ɔji], e.g. Կամո *Kamo* > Կամոյի *Kamo-y-i* [Kɑmɔji] DAT; կինո *kino* "cinema; film" > կինոյից *kino-y-ic'* [kinojit^{h}s] ABL etc.

In colloquial Armenian, hiatus is also tolerated in some genuine Armenian words, as in e.g. միություն *miut'yun* [mi.ut^{hj}un] "unity". More productively, however, is the deletion of the morpheme boundary in colloquial Armenian, particularly in a sequence of –[i/ɛ] and [ɑ] to [jɑ],[55] as e.g. [hjɑnɑli] > հիանալի *hianali* [hi(j)ɑnɑli] "wonderful", [dzɾjɑkɑn] > ձրիական *jriakan* [dz(ə)ɾijɑkɑn] "cost free, free", [k^{h}vjɑɾkɛl] > քվեարկել *k'vearkel* [k^{h}(ə)vɛjɑɾkɛl] "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", *grk'í* "book, DAT", *grk'ér* "books",
ընկեր *ěnkér* "friend", ընկրոջ *ěnkrój* "friend, DAT", ընկերներ *ěnkernér* "friends",
քաղաք *k'ałák'* "town", քաղաքացի *k'ałak'ac'í* "citizen", քաղաքացիություն *k'ałak'ac'iut'yún* "citizenship"

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55. Łaragyulyan 1981: 58.

56. (Abełyan 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.

ինը *ínĕ* “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*[kájsəɾ], աստղ *ástł* [ástəʁ]
- In some words, the stress is on the penultimate rather than on the last syllable, e.g. որևէ *órewĕ* “any”, նույնիսկ *núynisk* “even”, նույնքան *núynk'an* “so much”, նույնպես *núynpes* ″also, as well”, նամանավանդ *námanavand* “particularly”, որպեսզի *orpészi* “in order to”, քանիերրորդ *k'aníerrord* “how many?”, որերրորդ *órerord* “how many”, գոնե *góne* “if only”, գրեթե *gré t'e* “almost,nearly”, այսօր *áysōr* “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* [jɛɾkʰúm‿ɛm] “I sing” etc.
- If the last consonant of a word is represented by a definite article-suffix ը *-ĕ*, or -ն *-n*, possessive suffix -ս *-s-*, -դ *d-*, e.g. ծաղիկը *całíkĕ* [tsaʁíkə] “the flower”, ծաղիկս *całiks* [tsaʁíkəs] “my flower”, ծաղիկդ *całíkd* [tsaʁíkəd] “your flower” etc.
- The enclitic adverb էլ *ēl* “also; even” behaves with its preceding word like an enclitic, e.g. տղան էլ գնաց: *Tłan ēl gnac'*. [t(ə)ʁán‿ɛl gnɑtsʰ] “The boy went as well”.

In some cases, the stress lies on the first syllable[58]

- 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'í* “Asian”, Ամերիկա *Amé'rika,* Ամերիկայի *Amerikayí* (DAT), ամերիկյան *amerikyán* “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 *ač'k'í ĕnknel* “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 թէ *asés t'e* “as if”, միայն թե *miáyn t'e* “if only”, ինչպես թե *inč'pés t'e* “as, so”, հազիվ թե *hazív t'e* “no sooner; hardly”, երբ որ *érb or* “when, as”, հենց որ *hénc' or* “just when, as”, քանի որ *k'aní or* “since; insofar as”, etc.

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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/petk'* of Debitive mood and թող *t'oł* used in Imperative mood, e.g. պիտի գնաս *piti gnas* [piti‿gənάs] "you have to go"; թող գնա *t'oł gna* [tʰɔʁ‿ gənά] "let (him) go!" etc.
– the less productive prepositions ի *i*, առ *aŕ* and the more productive prepositions մինչ *minč'*, մինչև *minč'ew*, e.g. կայլ առ քայլ *k'ayl aŕ k'ay*l [kʰɑjl ɑr‿kʰάjl] "step by step", մինչ վաղը *minč' vałə* [miɲtʃʰ‿vɑʁə] "until tomorrow" etc.
– some adverbs such as e.g. ինչպես *inč'pes*, as e.g. ինչպես մարդ *inč'pes mard* [iɲ tʃʰpɛs‿mάɾd] "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. թրմփ *t'rmp'* [tʰɾə́mpʰ] "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 *gitem* "I know", meaning here: "yes, I do know"
[hɛ́ɾikʰ ɛ] < հերիք է *herik' ē* "it is enough", meaning "It is definitely enough. Stop! "
[tʃʰúnɛm] < չունեմ *č'unem* "I have not", meaning here "I do certainly not have"
[nɔ́ɾitsʰ] < նորից *noric'* "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. Zak'aryan 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 *baŕaranagitut'yún* "lexicography" < բառարան *baŕaraán* "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) *sirún ałǰíkě*	→	[siɾun ɑχtʃʰí̱kə]	"the pretty girl"
(b) *méc cóv ēr patél nrá ašxárhě*		[mét͡s t͡sɔv ɛɾ pɑtél nəɾɑ́ ɑʃχɑ́ɾə]	"the **great** sea enclosed his land"
(c) *sirún ałǰíkě*	→	[siɾún ɑχtʃʰìkə]	"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	*nuynsik*	*gnec'*	*girk-ě.*
Vardan.NOM-the	even	buy-AOR.3.SG	book.NOM-the

"Vardan even bought the book".

61. comp. Abełyan 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- *č'*- or negative words ոչ *oč'*, երբեք *erbek'* "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 *gnec'* *girk'-ě?*
wh-who.NOM buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
"Who bought the book?"

(14) a. Վարդանը (գնեց գիրքը):

Vardán-ě *(gnec' girk'ě).*
Vardan.NOM-the (bought the book).
"Vardan (bought the book)."

(15) Ի՞նչ գնեց Վարդանը:

ínč' *gnec'* *Vardan-ě?*
wh-what-NOM buy-AOR.3.SG. Vardan.NOM-the
"What did Vardan buy?"

(15) a. Վարդանը գիրքը գնեց:"

(Vardan-ě) *gírk'-ě* *(gnec').*
(Vardan) book.NOM-the (bought)
(Vardan bought) the book."

(16) Վարդանը չգնեց գիրքը:

Vardan-ě *č'-gnec'* *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:

Vardan-ě *erbek'* *č'-i* *gn-i* *girk'-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.

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63. Ałayan 1978: 48.

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

(18) Գևորգ Դորոխյանը ծնվել է Ղրիմի Սիմֆ երոպոլ քաղաքում: (Grakanut'yun 6:100)

Geworg Doroxyan-ě *cn-v-el* *ē* *Łrim-i*
Geworg Doroxyan.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Crimea-DAT

Simferopol *k'ałak'-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* *šušanazgi-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) Անո՛ւշը կարդացել է այս գիրքը:

Anúš-ě kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
[ɑnúʃə kaɾtʰatsʰɛl̪ɛ ɑjs giɾkʰə]
"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. Անո՛ւշն է կարդացել այս գիրքը:

Anúš-n kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
[ɑnúʃən̪ɛ kaɾtʰatsʰɛl ɑjs giɾkʰə]
"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. Abełyan 1971: 25.

Or

(15) a. Վարդանը գի՛րքը գնեց:

Vardan-ě *gírk'-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 sentences[67]

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.

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66. More detailed literature with studies of various sentence types, lengths etc. can be found in Hakobyan H.G. 1978. *Hnčerangě ew šeště žamanakakic' hayerenum*.

67. Ałayan 1978: 12–75.

b. Interrogative Sentences[68]

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:

Anŭš-ě girk' kardac'?
[ɑnúʃə gɪɾk^{h} kɑɾt^{h}ats^{h}]
"Did ANUŠ read a book?" = Was it Anuš who read a book?

b. Անուշը գի՞րք կարդաց:

Anŭš-ě girk' kardac'?
[ɑnúʃə gɪɾk^{h} kɑɾt^{h}ats^{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'?
[ɑnuʃə gɪɾk^{h} kɑɾt^{h}ât͡s^{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	*gîrk'*	*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:

Anûš-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'-ĕ 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'-ǐ 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:

Gyuł-um es apr-um t'e k'ałak'-um?
Town-LOC you are l ive-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'-ĕ̌ mn-ank' k'an 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, չ՞է:

Anuš-ĕ gełec'ik kin ē̌ 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 ék' galu?* [mijɑsin˽ĕkʰ gɑlu]
Stand. Միասի՞ն եք գալու: *Miasín ek' galu?* "Will you come together?"

Coll Գնում ե՞ս գրադարան: *gnum és gradaran?* [gənum˽ĕs gɾɑdɑɾɑn]
Stand. Գնո՞ւմ ես գրադարան: *gnúm es gradaran?* "Are you going to the library?"

Coll. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագ՞ր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa ínč' ē? Vagĕ´r t'é ařjuc?* [sɑ ǐɲtʃʰ˽ɑ vɑkʰə̆ɾ tʰĕ ɑrjuts]
Stand. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa ínč' ē? Vagr t'é ařjuc?* "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:

ûr *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 Sentences[70]

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69. Volskaya, Grigoryan 1999: 160–164.

70. Xač'atryan1978: 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'k'ân gełec'ik ē ays ałǰik-ě!
[iɲktʃʰkʰân gɛʁɛtsʰik˯ɛ ɑjs ɑχtʃʰikə]
"This girl îs beautiful!"

(29) Վա՜յ, ի՞նչ է պատահել քեզ:
vây ínč' ē patahel k'ez?
[vɑ̂j ǐɲtʃʰ˯ɛ pɑtɑhɛl 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 Prohibitives[72]

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.

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71. Abełyan 1971: 34.

72. Ałayan1978: 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) Լիլի՛թ:

Lilɨ́t'
"Lilit'!"

(33) Տիկի՛ն, ձեր պահանջը կկատարվի:

tikɨ́n *jer* *pahanǰ-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. Abełyan 1971: 34.

74. Badikyan 1983: 227–290.

(34) Արա՛մ, արի՛ այստեղ:
Arám *ar-i* *aysteł!*
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:
ûr *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 measureable 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 ǰur* "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 ± humanness of a noun may, however, be changed in certain semantic, and even morpho-syntactic, contexts. This is particularly true for the personification of objects and animals and the "institutionalization" and "depersonification" of nouns denoting persons.

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

(1) 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 սիրում է 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'rec'*. He lost his friend.
3. (+human) noun, denoting an indefinite, non-specific person → dative (without definite article)
   Նա ուսանողի սիրեց: *Na usanoł-i sirec'*. He loved a student.
4. (+human) noun, denoting an indefinite object, institution or state of affairs (depersonification) → 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.* I found the rose. *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: *Gyułac'i-n oč' 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: *Gyułac'i-n oč' 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. Secondarily, definiteness of a noun also seems be of importance for case assignment; this is particularly true, if a (+human) noun appears as contextually (–human) and thus is generalised and indefinite.

(3) 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:

a. count nouns, combining with singular and plural;
b. nouns combining only with singular, i.e. singularia tantum;
c. nouns combining only with plural, i.e. pluralia tantum.

The following noun groups belong to singularia tantum.

a. (Abstract) collective nouns suffixed with -ություն *-ut'yun* or -եղեն *-ełen*, as e.g. մարդկություն *mardkut'yun* "mankind", ուսանողություն *usanołut'yun* "student body", երկաթեղեն *erkat'ełen* "ironware, hardware" etc.
b. 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 *gyułatntesut'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.

c. abstract nouns suffixed with -իզմ *-izm,* as in սոցիալիզմ *soc'ializm* "socialism", կապիտալիզմ *kapitalizm* "capitalism" etc.
d. material nouns, like. կաթ *kat'* "milk", գինի *gini* "wine", երկաթ *erkat'* "iron" etc.
e. Nouns denoting certain objects or a certain person (as e.g. personal or place names)

In some contexts, however, the nouns given above may also occur in the plural. This can occur with personal names in the plural, referring to various persons or to family members.

(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 *řus* "Russian", ռուսներ *řus-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"; պամանագիր *paymanargir* "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 *ě*, form the plural in the following way:

a. if the word's first syllable is formed with the central vowel ը *ě* , then this word is interpreted as bisyllabic and the suffix -ներ *-ner* has to be used, as in ընկեր ընկեր-ներ *ěnker – ěnker-ner* "friend to friends", գնդակ գնդակ-ներ *g(ě)ndak – g(ě)ndak-ner* "ball to balls" etc.
b. if the word's second syllable is formed with the central vowel ը *ě* , then this noun is interpreted as monosyllabic and thus the suffix -եր *-er* has to be used, as in աստղ աստղ-եր *ast(ě)ł – ast(ě)ł-er* "star – stars"; վագր վագր-եր *vag(ě)r – vag(ě)r-er* "tiger – tigers"; կայսր կայսր-եր *kays(ě)r – kays(ě)r-er* "emperor – emperors"; տետր տետր-եր *tet(ě)r – tet(ě)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 *gyułac'i* "farmer" -գյուղացիք *gyułac'ik'*

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

azgut'y-amb	*belaŕus*	*ēr*	*ērex-ek'*
nationality-INST	White Russian.NOM	he was	child-PL.NOM
č'-un-eink'	*ink'-ě*	*hivand*	*ēr.*
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 -ĕ- 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 *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 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 -ĕ- 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 -ĕ- in monosyllabic words, as in ջուր *jur* "water": ջրեր *jr-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 *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.

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" -եծատուններ *mecatunner*. It is reduced to -ĕ-, if the plural is formed by means of -er, as in հանքաջուր *hank'ajur* "mineral water"– հանքաջրեր *hank'ajrer,* ծառաբուն *cařabun* "tree nest"– ծառաբներ *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' ałǰk-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 *yurak'anč'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 ełb-or erek' ałǰik-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' ałǰik-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 ուսանուներին:

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 ուսանողներիս:

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 *lič* "lake" - լճի *lči*, վիզ *viz* "neck" – վզի *vzi*, գիժ *giž* "madman" – գժի *gži* etc.

– There are some monosyllabic words, in which -i remains unchanged in declension, such as դիրք *dirk'* "position, setting", ժպիտ *žpit* "smile", լիքց lic'k' "charge, filling", կիրճ *kirč* "canyon", հիմք *himk'* "base", ձիրք *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 *bžški*" doctor, physician", հաշիվ *hašiv* – հաշվի *hašv-i* "account", ուսուցիչ *usuc'ič* – ուսուցչի *usucč'-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 *t'ur* "sabre" - թրի *t'ri* , հուր *hur* "fire" - հրի *hri*, թութ *t'ut'* "mulberry" թթի *t't'i* , սուտ *sut* "lie" ստի *sti* , ջուր *ǰur* "water" ջրի *ǰri*, ճուտ *čut* "chick" – ճտի *čti* etc.

– There are some monosyllabic words, in which u- remains unchanged in declension, such as թուխս *t'uxs* "brood-hen", թուրք *t'urk'* "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 ju "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 (ա *a* < 0), as in ամառ *amaṙ* "summer" ամռան *amṙan*, 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 (է *ē* < ի i, 0), as in տէր *tēr* "lord" – տիրոջ *tiroǰ*, ձմեռ *jmeṙ* "winter"– ձմռան *jm(ĕ)ṙan*
- the medial diphthong *uy* is reduced in high literary styles in monosyllabic words to ու *u* as in հույս *hyus* "hope"– հուսո *huso*, լույս *luys* "light"– լուսո *luso*, ; otherwise, particularly in colloquial Armenian, it remains unchanged.
- the medial diphthong *uy* is reduced to ը *ĕ* in monosyllabic words, such as քույր *k'uyr* ք(ը)րոջ *k'(ĕ)roǰ* , բույն *buyn* "bird's nest" – բ(ը)նի *b(ĕ)ni* etc.
- the medial diphthong ույ *uy* in monosyllabic words is reduced to ը *ĕ* or even entirely deleted in colloquial and dialectal Armenian, such as ձյուն *jyun* "snow", ձ(ը)նի *j(ĕ) 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 -oǰ 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]

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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. (Łaragylulyan 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 *kanačə* "the green" : կանաչի(ն) *kanač'in*, կանաչից *kanač'ic'*, կանաչով *kanač'ov*, կանաչում *kanač'um*
– իմ *im* "my" : իմը *imə* "mine" : իմի(ն) *imi(n)*, իմից *imic'*, իմով *imov,* իմի մեջ *imi meǰ*
– Արամի գիրքը *Arami girkə* "Aram's book": Արամինը *Araminə* "Aram's", Արամինի(ն) *Aramini(n)*, Արամինից *Araminic',* Արամինով *Araminov*, Արամինի մեջ *Aramini meǰ*

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 բեկում *luysi bekum* "refraction"
– սուգ *sug* "sorrow/grief", սգո ճառ *sgo čaṙ* "funeral speech", but more common սգի զգեստ *sgi zgest* "mourning (clothes)"

c. Nouns ending in -(ը)ր *(ə)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-declension[81] and are only used in this antiquated or high literary style, some compounds and in some idioms. In colloquial language they are replaced by the i-declension[82]

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classes by i-declension: vowel u-, an- (particularly nouns ending in -um), -va, and -oǰ 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. Łaragylulyan 1981: 92: Zak'aryan 1981: 216.

80. e.g. Classical Armenian, SG. < դուստր *dustr,* դստեր *dster,* զդուստր *zdustr,* ի դստերէ *i dsterē,* դստերբ *dsterb,* ի դստեր *is dster.*

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

82. Łaragylulyan 1981: 92; Zak'aryan 1981: 216.

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

If a noun ends in -ա *a* or -ո *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 յ *y* , as in e.g. տղա *tła* "boy" տղայի *tłayi*, կինո *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 *aŕu* "brook" առվի.

սար *sar* "mountain"

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	սար(ը)	*sar(ě)*	սար-եր(ը)	*sar-er(ě)*
DAT	սար-ի(ն)	*sar-i(n)*	սար-եր-ի(ն)	*sar-er-i(n)*
ABL	սար-ից	*sar-icʾ*	սար-եր-ից	*sar-ericʾ*
INST	սար-ով	*sar-ov*	սար-եր-ով	*sar-er-ov*
LOC	սար-ում	*sar-um*	սար-եր-ում	*sar-er-um*

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 *teli* as the second element
- the nouns անդրի andri "statue", շվի *švi* "shalm", սպի *spi* "seam/scar", տատի *tati* "grandma, պապի *papi* "grandfather", հացի *hacʾi* "ash tree", etc.

b. The four nouns մարդ *mard* "person", ամուսին *amusin* "husband", անկողին *ankołin* "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 expressedby means of the postposition մեջ *meǰ* "in" and the noun in the dative case.

քամի *k'ami* "wind"

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	քամի	*k'ami*	քամի-ներ(ը)	*k'ami-ner(ĕ)*
DAT	քամ-ու(ն)	*k'am-u(n)*	քամի-ների(ն)	*k'ami-ner-i(n)*
ABL	քամ-ուց	*k'am-uc'*	քամի-ներ-ից	*k'ami-ner-ic'*
INST	քամ-ով	*k'am-ov*	քամի-ներ-ով	*k'ami-ner-ov*
LOC	քամ-ում	*k'am-um*	քամի-ներ-ում	*k'ami-ner-um*

մարդ *mard* "person"

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

գնալը *gnal-ĕ* "the going" (nominalised infinitive)

	SG.	
NOM	գնալ(ը)	*gnal(ĕ)*
DAT	գնալ-ու	*gnal-u*
ABL	գնալ-ուց	*gnal-uc'*
INST	գնալ-ով	*gnal-ov*
LOC	(գնալ-ում)	(*gnal-um)*

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 *tła* "boy" < տղու *tł-u* (DAT) instead of i-declension տղայի *tła-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 *duṙ* "door", լեռ *leṙ* "mountain", գառ *gaṙ* "lamb", ձուկ *juk* "fish", նուռ *nuṙ* "pomegranate". The following Classical Armenian n-stems are more frequently inflected according to the productive i-declension: եզ *ez* "ox", թոռ *t'oṙ* "grandchild", ծունկ *cunk* "knee", ծոռ *coṙ* "goose berry".

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83. Łaragylulyan 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-anē*, 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*, զ-մուկն *z-muk-n*, ի մկ-ան-է *i mk-anē*, մկ-ամբ *mk-amb*, ի մկան *i mk-an*.

c. all nouns denoting seasons of the year, i.e. գարուն *garun* "spring", ամառ *amaṙ* "summer", աշուն *ašun* "autumn" and ձմեռ *jmeṙ* "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- *-ĕ-* in declension, as in e.g. դուռ *duṙ* - դռան *d(ĕ)ṙan*, մուկ *muk* - մկան *m(ĕ)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- *-ĕ-*, 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 *duṙ* "door" դռնից *dṙ-n-ic'* դռնով *dṙ-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'*, գարունով *garun-ov*.
– the noun մանուկ *manuk* "child" attaches both ablative and instrumental endings to the nominative form.

ուսում *usum* "study"

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	ուսում(ը)	*usum(ĕ)*	ուսում-ներ(ը)	*usum-ner-(ĕ)*
DAT	ուսմ-ան(ը)	*usm-an(ĕ)*	ուսում -ների(ն)	*usum-ner-i(n)*
ABL	ուսում-ից	*usum-ic'*	ուսում -ներ-ից	*usum-ner-ic'*
INST	ուսում-ով	*usum-ov*	ուսում -ներ-ով	*usum-ner-ov*
LOC	(ուսումի մեջ	*usum-i meǰ*	ուսում-ներ-ի մեջ	*usum-ner-i meǰ*)

մուկ *muk* "mouse"

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

մանուկ *manuk* “child”

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	մանուկ(ը)	*manuk(ĕ)*	մանուկ-ներ(ը)	*manuk-ner-(ĕ)*
DAT	մանկ-ան(ը)	*mank-an(ĕ)*	մանուկ-ների(ս)	*manuk-ner-i(n)*
ABL	մանուկ-ից	*manuk-ic’*	մանուկ-ներ-ից	*manuk-ner-ic’*
INST	մանուկ-ով	*manuk-ov*	մանուկ-ներ-ով	*manuk-ner-ov*
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 *Loŕi*, 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 *ekoł* “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 ĕnt’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 meǰ 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’ zbałvel-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 Hawai
kłzi-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'* *kgna-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 պատսաստ 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)	*ōr(ě)*	օր-եր(ը)	*ōr-er(ě)*
DAT	օր-վա(ն)	*ōr-va(n)*	օր-երի(ն)	*ōr-er-i(n)*
ABL	օրվան-ից	*ōr-van-ic'*	օր-եր-ից	*ōr-er-ic'*
INST	օր-ով	*ōr-ov*	օր-եր-ով	*ōr-er-ov*
LOC	օր-ում	*ōr-um*	օր-եր-ում	*ōr-er-um*

2.1.2.5 *oǰ -declension*

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

Formation

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

Only with a few nouns, the instrumental ending can also be attached to the nominative form, as in e.g. ընկեր *ĕnker*, ընկերոջ *ĕnker-oǰ*, ընկերոջից *ĕnkeroǰ-ic'* but ընկերով *ĕnker-ov*.

քույր *k'yur* "sister"

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	քույր(ը)	*k'uyr(ĕ)*	քույր -ներ(ը)	*k'uyr-ner(ĕ)*
DAT	քր-ոջ(ը)	*k'r-oǰ(ĕ)*	քույր -ների(ն)	*k'uyr-ner-i(n)*
ABL	քրոջ-ից	*kroǰ-ic'*	քույր -ներ-ից	*k'uyr-ner-ic'*
INST	քրոջ-ով	*kroǰ-ov*	քույր -ներ-ով	*k'uyr-ner-ov*
LOC	–		–	

2.1.2.6 *Consonant -a-declension*
The following nouns are inflected following the consonant -a-declension:

a. all nouns ending in -ություն *-ut'yun*
b. all nouns ending in -յուն *-yun*
c. 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 *ĕ-*, as in e.g. տուն *tun* – տնից *t(ĕ)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" հերոսությունով *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)	*herosut'yun(ĕ)*
DAT	հերոսության(ը)	*herosut'yan(ĕ)*
ABL	հերոսություն-ից	*herosut'yun-ic'*
INST	հերոսությամբ	*herosut'yamb*
LOC	հերոսություն-ում	*herosut'yun-um*

անկյուն *ankyun* “corner”

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

տուն *tun* “house”

NOM	տուն(ը)	*tun(ĕ)*	տն-եր(ը)	*tn-er(ĕ)*
DAT	տան(ը)	*tan(ĕ)*[86]	տն-եր-ի(ն)	*tn-er-i(n)*
ABL	տն-ից	*tn-ic’*	տն-եր-ից	*tn-er-ic’*
INST	տն-ով	*tn-ov*	տն-եր-ով	*tn-er-ov*
LOC	տն-ում	*tn-um*	տն-եր-ում	*tn-er-um*

2.1.2.7 *Consonant -o-declension*

This declension comprises only a few nouns and their compounds: հայր *hayr* “father”, մայր *mayr* “mother”, եղբայր *ełbayr* “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)	*hayr(ĕ)*	հայր-եր(ը)	*hayr-er(ĕ)*
DAT	հոր(ը)	*hor(ĕ)*	հայր-եր-ի(ն)	*hayr-er-i(n)*
ABL	հոր-ից	*hor-ic’*	հայր-եր-ից	*hayr-er-ic’*
INST	հոր-ով	*hor-ov*	հայր-եր-ով	*hayr-er-um*
LOC	–		–	

2.1.2.8 *Deviating or obsolete/antiquated declensions*

The noun աղջիկ *ałǰik* “girl” shows a deviating inflection; however, some Armenian authors group this noun with the vowel an-declension[87].

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

87. In Classical Armenian this noun is grouped with consonant-declension of stems in -ուկ/-իկ *-uk/-ik*, as e.g. աղջիկ *ałǰik*, աղջկ-ան *ałǰk-an*, զաղջիկ *załǰik*, յաղջկանէ *y-ałǰk-anē* աղջկամբ *ałǰk-amb*, յաղջկան *y-ałǰk-an*.

	SG.		PL.	
NOM	աղջիկ(ը)	*ałǰik(ě)*	աղջիկ -ներ(ը)	*ałǰik-ner(ě)*
DAT	աղջկա(ն)	*ałǰka(n)*	աղջիկ -ներ-ի(ն)	*ałǰik-ner-i(n)*
ABL	աղջկան-ից	*ałǰkan-ic'*	աղջիկ -ներ-ից	*ałǰik-ner-ic'*
INST	աղջկան-ով	*ałǰkan-ov*	աղջիկ -ներ-ով	*ałǰik-ner-ov*
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 Սևանա լիճ *Sewana Lič* "Lake Sevan".
b. Remains of the Classical Armenian o-declension,[89] particularly with the nouns սեր *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 սեր *ser* "love", which is still productively inflected following the Classical Armenian paradigm of the o-declension: սեր *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 – եր *-er* declension[91] 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 -ենց *-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 ող *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

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88. The prototypical declension of personal names in Classical Armenian, e.g. Տիտան *Titan,* Տիտան-աւ *Titanay*, զ-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 սէր *sēr* "love", սիր-ոյ *siroy,* զ-սէր *zsēr*, ի սիր-ոյ *i siroy*, սիր-ող *sirow*, ի սէր *i sēr*

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 -r.

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'-ě* "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 jorě* "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.

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

E.g.

մայր ու աղջիկ *mayr u ałǰik* "mother and daughter"

a. մայր ու աղջկա *mayr u ałǰka*, մայր ու աղջկանից *mayr u ałǰkanic'*, մայր ու աղջկանով *mayr u ałǰkanov*
b. մոր ու աղջկա *mor u ałǰka*, մոր ու աղջկանից *mor u ałǰkanic'*, մոր ու աղջկանով *mor u ałǰkanov*

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 -ն *-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 *meǰ* “in” and the noun in the dative.

2.1.3.1 *Nominative*

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

The primary functions of the nominative are the syntactic ones.

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

(18) Աշակերտը գնում է դպրոց։

Ašakert-ě	*gn-um*	*ē*	*dproc’*.
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։

Ašakert-ě	*sovor-um*	*ē*	*hayeren.*
pupil.NOM-the	learn-PTCP.PRES.	he is	Armenian.NOM

“The pupil learns Armenian.” (Agent subject with transitive verb)

(20) Քամին կոտրեց պատուհանը:

K'ami-n *kotrec'* *patuhan-ĕ.*
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:

J̌ur-ĕ *hang-c'r-ec'* *krak-ĕ.*
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-ĕ *kard-um* *ē* *ays* *girk'-ĕ.*
Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is this book.NOM-the
"Aram reads this book."

(23) Արամը բժիշկ կանչեց:

Aram-ĕ *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-ĕ* *Aram-n* *ē.*
His name.NOM-the Aram.NOM-the it is
"His name is Aram."

(25) Առաջին ձիավորը հնագետ էր:

Aŕăǰin *jiavor-ĕ* *hnaget* *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* *aysteł!*
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 *minčʻew* "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) Գյուղացիները գնացին դաշտ:

Gyułaci-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*	*ancʻ-ankʻ*	*kʻsan*	*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:

Girkʻ-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 բե՛ր կթել:

očʻxar-ě	*ber*	*ktʻ-el!*
sheep.NOM-the	bring-IMP.2.SG	milk-INF

"Bring the sheep to milk!"

a. Ոչխարը բե՛ր կթելու:

oč'xar-ě	*ber*	*kt'el-u!*
sheep.NOM-the	bring-IMP.2.SG	milk-INF-DAT

"Bring the sheep to milk!"

b. Ոչխարը բե՛ր կթելու համար:

oč'xar-ě	*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, an also be expressed without indicating the possessor and do not have to be particularly marked.

(32) Աշակերտի գիրքը նոր է:

Ašakert-i	*girk'-ě*	*nor*	*ē.*
pupil-DAT	book.NOM-the	new	it is

"The pupil's book is new."

(33) Անուշի եղբայրը դպրոց է գնում:

Anuš-i	*ełbayr-ě*	*dproc'*	*ē*	*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 ձագը

katv-i	*jag-ě*
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

usanoł-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 *goř-al-ě*
cloud-DAT rumble-INF.NOM-the
"The rumbling of the cloud/ the cloud's rumbling."

(38) տիրոջ գալուստը

tiroǰ *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) շենքի կառուցումը

šenk'-i *kařucum-ě*
building-DAT construction.NOM-the
"The construction of the building."

(40) այս տղամարդու սպանությունը

ays tłamard-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' *kaṙuc'-el-ě*
building.NOM construct-INF.NOM-the
"The construction of the building."

(42) այս տղամարդու սպանելը

ays *tłamard-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

ǰr-i *vessel*
water-DAT vessel.NOM
"Water vessel" (A vessel for water)

(45) պատերազմի դաշտ

paterazm-i *dašt*
war-DAT field.NOM
"Battlefield" (a field for battle)

(46) Պավելին ամուսնացնելու ժամանակն էր:

Pavel-i-n *amusna-c'n-el-u* *žamanak-n* *ēr.*
Pavel-DAT-the marry-caus-INF-DAT time.NOM-the it was
"It was the time to make Pavel marry."

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

(47) հինգ 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. (Adverbal dative functions).

Adverbal 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:

Ašot-ě	*tes-av*	*Aram-i-n.*
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) Դասախոսը ուսանողին տվեց գիրքը:

Dasaxos-ě	*usanoł-i-n*	*tvec'*	*girk'-ě.*
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:

Aram-i	*ułark-ac*	*namak-ě*	*kardac'-el*	*em.*
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:

Aram-ě	*Ašot-i-n*	*bac'-el*	*tvec'*	*artł-ě.*
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

a. 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) Գառնանը գնալու ենք Մոսկվա:

Gaṙnan-ě	*gnal-u*	*enk'*	*Moskva.*
spring-DAT-the	go-PTCP.FUT.	we are	Moscow.NOM

"In spring we will go to Moscow."

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

(53) Նրանք պառկած էին գետի ափին:

Nrank' *paṙk-ac* *ēin* *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:

Gyuł-n *ēr* *iǰ-el* *patani-n* *ałǰik*
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:

Ašot-ě *gnac'* *gradaran* *grk'-i.*
Ašot.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG library.NOM book-DAT
"Ašot went to the library for books (to take books)."

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

a. Trivalent verbs of "giving", where the dative fulfils the function of the indirect object: տալ *tal* "give", մատուցել *matucʿel* "to present, to offer", առաջարկել *aṙaǰarkel* "to propose, to suggest", պարգևել *pargewel* "to give", նվիրել *nvirel* "to present, to donate", մատնել *matnel* "to betray; to give away", վճարել *včarel* "to pay", կտակել *ktakel* "to will", վաճառել *vačaṙel* "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* *ē* *nranc'* *včar-el*
PREP that he.NOM certain amount.NOM he is they.DAT pay-PTCP.PERF.
sakayn *apac'uc'-el* *č'-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) ՀՀառաջին տիկինը հագուստներ և կոշիկներ նվիրեց մանկատան բոլոր 110 սաներին: (Armenpress 29.12.2005)

HH aṙaǰin *tikin-ě* *hagust-ner* *ew* *košik-ner*
RA first Lady.NOM-the cloth-PL.NOM CONJ shoe-PL.NOM
nvir-ec' *mankat-an* *bolor* *110* *san-er-i-n.*
give-AOR.3.SG children's home-DAT all 110 orphan-PL-DAT
"The First Lady of the Republic of Armenia presented clothes and shoes to all 110 orphans of the children's home."

b. Verbs of "approaching", such as մոտենալ motenal "to approach/to draw near"

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

č'-em	*hamar-um*	*or*	*motec'-el*	*enk'*
NEG-I am	see-PTCP.PRES.	CONJ	approach-PTCP.PERF.	we are
harc'-i	*lucm-an-ě.*			
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 *masnakc'el* "participate at", գործակցել *gorcakc'el* "participate at, work with", աջակցել *ajakc'el* "to help, to assist", համաձայնել *hamajaynel* "to agree with", աշխատակցել *ašxatakc'el* "to operate, to work", ուղեկցել *ułekc'el* "to accompany, to guide", մտերմնալ *mtermnal* "to become friends", բարեկամանալ *barekamanal* "to become friends", ծանոթանալ *canot'anal* "to become acquainted with", ընկերանալ *ěnkeranal* "to become friends" etc.

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

gitažołov-i-n	*masnakc'el-u*	*en*	*Hayastan-ic' Sp'yuṙk'-ic'*
conference-DAT-the	participate-PTCP.FUT.	they are	Armenia-ABL Diaspora-ABL
inč'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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

paštpanut'-yan	*naxararut'yun-ě*	*aǰakc'-um*	*ē*	*Ōhanyan-i-n*
defence-DAT	ministry.NOM-the	support-PTCP.PRES.	it is	Ōhanyan-DAT-the
nran	*tramardr-el-ov*	*ěndameně*	*5000*	*dolar-ě.*
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 *hałordel* "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 *akanǰ dnel* "to give ear" etc.

(61) Դասախոսն ուսանողներին բացատրում է լեզվաբանության նոր տեսակցությունները:

Dasaxos-n	*usanoł-ner-i-n*	*bac'atr-um*	*ē*
lecturer.NOM-the	student-PL-DAT-the	explain-PTCP.PRES.	he is
lezvabanut'y-an	*nor*	*tesakc'ut'yun-ner-ě.*	
linguistics-DAT	new	theory-PL.NOM-the	

"The lecturer explains new linguistic theories to the students."

(62) Մայրը իր երեխաներին պատմում է հեքիաթ:

Mayr-ě	*erexa-ner-i-n*	*patm-um*	*ē*	*hek'iat'.*
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 *harmar* "proper" etc.

(63) Անին նմանվում է իր հորը:

Ani-n	*nman-v-um*	*ē*	*ir*	*hor-ě.*
Ani.NOM-the	resemble-REFL-PTCP.PRES.	she is	her	father-DAT-the

"Ani resembles her father."

(64) Դոցենտի աշխատավարձը՝ գոնե պետք է հավասարվի ԱԺ պատգամավորների աշխատավարձին: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

docent-i	*ašxatavarj-ě*	*gone*	*petk' ē havarsar-v-i*	*AŽ*
docent-DAT	salary.NOM-the	if only	equal-REFL-DEB.FUT.3.SG	NA
patgamavor-ner-i	*ašxatavarj-i-n.*			
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", ճեղքել *čełkel* "to cut through, to split", վերածել *veracel* "to convert, to turn into", փոխարեկել *p'oxarkel* "to convert", փոխադրել *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 ŕuseren-i* "to transfer into Russian"= փոխադրել լուսերեն *poxadrel ŕuseren*

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

p'oxadr-el *500hazar* *ułewor.*
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”, վերապահել *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'* *jr-ov.*
fire.NOM-the extinguish-pass-AOR.3.SG water-INST
“The fire was extinguished with water.”

(69) Քարերը տեղափոխվեցին բեռնասայլակով:

k'ar-er-ě *tełap'ox-v-ec'in* *beŕnasaylak-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) Գետո՞վ անցնել, թե կամուրջով գնալ:

Get-ov *anc'n-el* *t'e* *kamurǰ-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 չոքում է մեր լեռներում:

Ōr-er-ov *maŕaxuł-ě* *č'ok'-um* *ē* *mer* *leŕ-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 *verǰapes* *has-ank'* *mi* *gyuł.*
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:

Ambołǰ *kyank'-n* *anc'kac'rel*[92] *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."

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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*, -եղ *eł*, -վոր *vor* .

(76) մեծ աչքերով աղջիկ

mec	*ač'k-er-ov*	*ałǰik*
big	eye-PL-INST	girl.NOM

"A girl with big eyes."

(77) մորուքով տղամարդը

moruk'-ov	*tłamard-ě*
beard-INST	man.NOM-the

"The man with a beard"

a. մորուքավոր տղամարդը

moruk'avor	*tłamard-ě*
bearded	man-the

"The bearded man"

e. The instrumental of a quantitative complement denotes

– the distance between two objects/persons[93]
– a certain unit of time
– a certain quantity, e.g. of money

(78) Այս քաղաքը երկու կիլոմետրով հեռու է մյուսից:

Ays k'ałak'-ě	*erku*	*kilometr-ov*	*heŕu*	*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 kʾałak'-ě erku kilometr heřu ē myus-icʾ.
this town.NOM-the two kilometre.NOM far it is other-ABL
"This town is two kilometres away from the other (next)."

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

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

Ayžm šat mard-ik K'aǰaran en gal-is
now many man-PL.NOM K'aǰaran.NOM t they are come-PTCP.PRES.
irenc' ěntanik'-ner-ov.
their family-PL-INST
"Now many people come to K'aǰaran with their families."

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

Ayžm šat mard-ik K'aǰaran en gal-is
now many man-PL.NOM K'aǰaran.NOM they are come-PTCP.PRES.
irenc' ěntanik'-ner-i het.
their family-PL-DAT POST
"Now many people come to K'aǰaran with their families."

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

(80) Ներսեսը նույն կայսրի հրամանաով աքսորված էր Պատմոսանբնակ կղզին:

Nerses-ě nuyn kaysr-i hraman-ov akʾsor-v-ac
Nerses.NOM-the same emporer-DAT order-INST exile-pass-PTCP.RES
ēr Patmos anbnak kłzi-n.
he was Patmos lonely island.NOM-the
"Nerses was exiled by the order of the same emperor to the lonely Patmos Island."

h. The instrumental is also obligatorily used with a group of verbs, e.g. զբաղվել *zbałvel* "to be occupied with, to be engaged with", հետաքրքվել *hetakʾrkʾvel* "to be interested in", հպարտանալ *hpartanal* "to be proud of", etc.

(81) Մեր բուհերում ոչ ոք լուրջ չի զբաղվում այս հարցով: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

mer buh-er-um oč' ok' lurǰ čʾ-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 *likʻě*, լեցուն *lecʻun*, հարուստ *harust*, հղի *hłi*.

(82) Ռուսաստանը և Հայաստանը լի են վճռականությամբ: (Armenpress 11.05.2006)
Rusastan-ě *ew* *Hayastan-ě* *li* *en* *včřakanutʻy-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-ě *ir* *mor-icʻ* *nver* *stacʻ-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-ě *sir-v-um* *ē* *Anuš-icʻ.*
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 կումից *kołmicʻ* "by/from the side of" and the noun in the dative.[96]

(85) Պատուհանը կոտրվել է Արամի կորմից:
Patuhan-ě *kotr-v-el* *ē* *Aram-i* *kołmicʻ.*
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:

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

96. Paṙnasyan 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 կոտրվել է քամուց:

Patuhan-ĕ *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-ĕ *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-ĕ *arew-ic'* *čora-c'av.*
grass.NOM-the sun-ABL dry-AOR.3.SG
"The grass dried from the sun."

(89) Փուղը լայնացավ տակությորնից:

P'oloc'-ĕ *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:

całik-ner-ĕ *t'aṙam-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-ĕ *čora-c'r-ec'* *xot-ĕ.*
sun.NOM-the dry-caus-AOR.3.SG grass.NOM-the
"The sun dried the grass. (The sun has made the grass dry.)"

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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. Տակությունը լայնացնում է փողոցը:

Takut'yun-ě *layna-c'n-um* *ē* *p'ołoc'-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'aṙame-c'r-el* *ēr* *całik-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'roǰ-ic'* *gełec'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-gełec'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 *heṙanal* "to leave, to go away", փախչել *p'axč'el* "to flee, to escape", անջատել *anǰatel* "to separate; to switch off", խուսափել *xusap'el* "to escape", զատվել *zatvel* "to separate", հրաժարվել *hražarvel* "to refuse", մեկուսանալ *mekusanel* "to isolate", առանձնանալ *aṙanjnanal* "to seclude oneself; to stand apart", կղզիանալ *kłzianal* "isolate", բաժանվել *bažanvel* "to divide, to separate, to divorce".

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

Hayastan-ic' *amen* *gn-ov* *petk' ē heṙan-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 *patčaṙov* "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'ołoc'-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'ołoc'-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:

Aŕavot-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 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."

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

aŕaspelakan	*gn-er-ov.*
legendary	price-PL-INST

"Aram sold from that wheat with legendary prices."

(102) Աշոտի 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 *gangatvel* "to complain", տեղեկանալ *tełekanal* "to be informed".

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

Mher-ě	*naxkin*	*tir-oǰic'*	*imac'-el*	*ē*
Mher.NOM-the	former	landlord-ABL	know-PTCP.PERF.	he is

or	*tun-ě*	*vačaŕ-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", գանգատվել *gangatvel* "to complain", տեղեկանալ *tełekanal* "to be informed" etc.

(104) Տատիկը թոռներին պատմում է իր կյանքից:

Tatik-ě	*t'oř-ner-i-n*	*patm-um*	ē
Grandmother.NOM-the	grandchild-PL-DAT-the	tell-PTCP.PRES	she is

ir	*kyank'-ic'*.
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 *verab-eryal* "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:

Tatik-ě	*t'oř-ner-i-n*	*patm-um*	*ē*
Grandmother.NOM-the	grandchild-PL-DAT-the	tell-PTCP.PRES.	she is

ir	*kyank'-i*	*masin.*
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 գեղեցիք է.

Na	*demk'-ic'*	*gełec'ik'*	*ē.*
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 *amač' 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'vel* "to be disappointed", վշտանալ *vštanal* "to be sad, to grieve", հագենալ *hagenal* "to be satisfied", նեղանալ *nełanal* "to take offence", երկնչել *erknčel* "to fear", բավականանալ *bavakananal* "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)

mek angam	*mankat-an-ě*	*mecac'-ac*	*cnoł-ner-ic'*
one time	children's home-DAT-the	grow up-PTCP.RES.	parent-PL-ABL

mek-n	*as-ac'*	*or*	*hogn-el*	*ē*
one.NOM-the	say-AOR.3.SG.	CONJ	get tired-PTCP.PERF.	she is

ir	*erexa-y-i-n*	*pah-el-uc.*
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)

na	*č'-i*	*džgoh-um*	*ir*	*bnakaran-i'*
he.NOM	neg-he is	be dissatisfied-PTCP.PRES.	his	apartment-DAT

payman-ner-ic'.
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.

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98. The noun in the ablative denotes an object/peron 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-ĕ	*parap-um*	*ē*	*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 *meǰ* "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	*ōgtagorc-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	*meǰ*	*ōgtagorc-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-ĕ	*grk'-i*	*meǰ*	*ē.*
pencil.NOM-the	book-DAT	POST	it is

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

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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* *ē.*
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 *meǰ* "in" is used to express this function.

(113) Գործ կատարելում նա առողջ է և ժիր։

Gorc *katarel-um* *na* *arǒłǰ* *ē* *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 կատաերելու մեջ նա առողջ է և ժիր։

Gorc *katarel-u* *meǰ* *na* *arǒłǰ* *ē*
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 *-ě*/-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:

Kin-ě	*namak*	*berec'.*
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)

Hima	*Ēdgar-n*	*ašxatank'*	*un-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:

Hoł	*tv-ek'*	*mez*	*jer*	*tan-ic'.*
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", որևե *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)

Et'e	*iman-ayi*	*ayspes*	*ē*	*het-s*	*mi k'ani*	*vermak*
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

singluar 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 gyułabnak*	*kan-ayk'*	*u*	*tłamard-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	*łekavar-i*	*t-an-ě*
community-DAT	leader-DAT	house-DAT-the

heŕaxos	*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-oǰ.*
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-oǰ.*
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	*pełum-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	*pełum-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'ołoc'*	*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'ołoc'*	*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'*	*gnec'-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'*	*gnec'-i.*
today	one/a	book.NOM	buy-AOR.1.SG.

"Today I bought one/a book."
Comment: in this sentence Ùեկ 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 -ĕ/-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 -ĕ resp and -n that are attached to the noun following the pronunciation rules.

– If the noun has a final consonant, always with – ը *ĕ*.
– 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 the 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 -ը *ĕ* 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-ĕ	*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:

Aram-n	*iravunk'*	*un-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:

Petros-ĕ	*mekn-ec'*	*Moskva.*
Petros.NOM-the	leave-AOR.3.SG	Moscow.NOM

"Petros left for Moscow."

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

Mi (inč'-or)	*Petros*	*mekn-ec'*	*Moskva.*
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:

Anuš-ĕ	*erg-um*	*ē.*
Anuš.NOM-the	sing-PTCP.PRES.	she is

"Anuš is singing."

(137) Անին սիրում է Արամին:

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

"Ani loves Aram."

(138) Անին Արամին գիրք է տալիս:

Ani-n	*Aram-i-n*	*girk'*	*ē*	*tal-is.*
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	*ełbayr-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*	*ełbayr-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 ամենագեղեցիկ աղջիկն է:

Anuš-ě	*amena-gełec'ik*	*ałjik-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	*p'ok'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 *ambolǰ*, ողջ *ołǰ*, համայն *hamayn* "whole" or բոլոր *bolor* "all" etc.

(146) Ամբողջ երկիրը նշում է Սուրբ Մեսրոպի տոնը:

Ambołǰ *erkir-ĕ* *nš-um* *ē* *Surb Mesrop-i*
whole country.NOM-the celebrate-PTCP.PRES. it is Holy Mesrop-DAT
ton-ĕ.
feast.NOM-the
"The whole country celebrates the feast of St. Mesrop."

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

Bolor *erexa-ner-ĕ* *uraxan-um* *en* *Jmŕan* *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* *kʻałakʻ-ĕ.*
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-ĕ* *tes-av* *ir* *ĕnkeroǰ-ĕ*
yesterday Aram.NOM-the see-AOR.3.SG his friend.DAT-the
"Aram saw Vardan yesterday."

(150) Երեկ Արամը կարդացավ գիրքը:

Erek *Aram-ĕ* *kardacʻ-av* *girkʻ-ĕ.*
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:

Bžišk-ĕ *piti* *ušadir* *lin-i.*
doctor.NOM-the part careful be-DEB.FUT.3.SG
"A doctor must be careful."

2.1.5 Other Determination of Nouns

Nouns can also be determined by several means.

- By the possessive suffixes -ս *-s*, -դ *-d*
- By the personal suffixes -ս *-s*, -դ *-d*
- By the demonstrative suffix-ս *-s*

Possessive Suffixes

The possessive suffixes -ս *-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 inč'* "everything", ոչինչ *oč'inč'* "nothing", այստեղ/այդտեղ/այնտեղ *aystełaydtełaynteł* "here/there", ինչ *inč'* "something", որտեղ *ortełwhere* etc.

(152) Ամեն ինչովդ տարբերվում ես ուրիշներից:

Amen inč'-ov-d	*tarber-v-um*	*es*	*uriš-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 *ēnt' erc' oł-d* "you (as) reader".

(153) Ստացածս առատ ծաղկեփնջերի մասին ավելորդ եմ համարում նշել.
(Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

stac'-ac-s	*aŕat*	*całkap'nǰ-er-i*	*masin*	*avelord*	*em*
receive-PTCP.RES-my	abundant	bouqet-PL-DAT	POST	superfluous	I am

hamar-um	*nš-el.*
regard-PTCP.PRES.	note-INF

"I regard it superfluous to note the abundant bouquets I have received."

- They co-occur with postpositions in pseudo-possessive[103] 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 *meĵs* “in me”, տակս *taks* “under me” etc. (see Ch. 2.8. “Adpositions”, p. 294f.)

(154) «Թարսի պես տան բանալիները կորցրել եմ, բայց դակումենտները մոտս են, պահել եմ»: (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 *k’o 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 *srt**n**ers* “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 *jeṙk'-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 g*lux-ner-s* "our head(s), բերաններս *beran-ner-s* "our mouth(s)", ճակատներդ *čakat-ner-d* "your front(s)" , անուններդ *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 *-s* und -դ *-d* 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 Ինք-ը *ink'-ě*, as in

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

es	*ink'-s*	*erkar*	*tari-ner*	*p'orj-um*	*em*	*gtn-el*
I.NOM	myself	long	year-PL.NOM	try-PTCP.PRES.	I am	find-INF

ayn	*harc'-i*	*patasxan-ě.*
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:

Es'	*usuc'ič'-s*	*gitakc'-um*	*em*
I.NOM	teacher.NOM-my	recognise-PTCP.PRES.	I am

im ašxatank'-i	*patasxanatvut'yun-ě.*
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 *yurak'anč'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*	*ĕntanik'*	*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՛ առաջավորներդ, պիտի օգնեք մեզ՛ ետ մնացողներիս:

Duk'	*arăjavor-ner-d*	*piti ōgnek'*	*mez'*
you.NOM	advanced-PL.NOM-your	help-SUBJ.FUT.2.PL	we.DAT

et mna-c'o ł-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 -ս *-s* (i.e. the speaker) and is also rigidly constrained to an immediate local or temporal vicinity to the speaker.

Purposes for use of -ս *-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 *amaŕ-s* "this summer", ձմեռս *jmeŕ-s* "this winter", վերջերս *verǰer-s* "lately" etc.

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

mer internetayin	*ēǰ-ĕ*	*verǰers*	*ē*	*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	*bnakič'-ner-ĕ*	*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:

Barbaŕ-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 -ս *-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 adjectivel 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-ĕ* "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:

Ani-n	*amena-gełec'ik*	*ałǰik-n*	*ē.*
Ani.NOM-the	most-beautiful	girl.NOM-the	she is

"Ani is the most beautiful girl."

a. Անին գեղեցիկագույն աղջիկն է:

Ani-n	*gełec'ika-guyn*	*ałǰik-n*	*ē.*
Ani.NOM-the	most beautiful	girl.NOM-the	she is

"Ani is the most beautiful girl." (Ani is a very beautiful girl)

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104. (Łaragyulyan 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. (Łaragyulyan 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')*	*gełec'ik*	*ałǰik-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 -ագույն *-aguyn* 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:

a. Simple cardinal numbers (1–10, 100, 1000, million, milliard etc.) consisting of one numeral word
b. 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	*mek*
2	երկու	*erku*
3	երեք	*erek'*
4	չորս	*č'ors*
5	հինգ	*hing*
6	վեց	*vec'*
7	յոթ	*yot'*
8	ութ	*ut'*
9	ինը	*inə*[106]
10	տաս(ը)	*tas(ə)*

100	հարյուր	*haryur*
1000	հազար	*hazar*
1.000.000	միլիոն	*million*
1.000.000.000	միլիարդ	*milliard*

The complex and compound cardinal numbers

11	տասնմեկ	*tasn[ə]mek*
12	տասներկու	*tasnerku*
13	տասներեք	*tasnerek'*
14	տասնչորս	*tasn[ə]č'ors*
15	տասնհինգ	*tasn[ə]hing*
16	տասնվեց	*tasn[ə]vec'*
17	տասնյոթ	*tasn[ə]yot'*
18	տասնութ	*tasnut'*
19	տասնինը	*tasninə*[4]
20	քսան	*k'san*
30	երեսուն	*eresun*
40	քառասուն	*k'aṙasun*
50	հիսուն	*hisun*
60	վաթսուն	*vat'sun*
70	յոթանասուն	*yot'anasun*
80	ութսուն	*ut'sun*
90	իննսուն	*inn[ə]sun*

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106. For the forms of the numerals ինը *in-ə resp*. ինն *in-n* and տասը *tas-ə* 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'ə* and other lexemes e.g. խառը *xaṙə* "mixed; entangled", դառը *daṙə* "bitter", սառը *saṙə* "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 վաթսունութ *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	*erku-s*
DAT	երկուսի(ն)	*erku-s-i(-n)*
INST	երկուսով	*erku-s-ov*
ABL	երկուսից	*erku-s-ic'*
LOC	երկուսում	*erku-s-um*

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 – երորդ (*e)rord*: the suffix is -րորդ *-rord* for the cardinal երկու *erku* "*two*", երեք *erek'* "three" and չորս *č'ors* "four":

երկու *erku* "two" < երկրորդ *erk-rord* "second"
երեք *erek'* "three" < երրորդ *er-rord* "third"
չորս *č'ors* "four" < չորրորդ *č'or-rord* "fourth"

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

հինգ *hing* "five" < հինգերորդ *hing-erord* "fifth"
ինը *inə* "nine" < իններորդ *inn-erord* "ninth"
տասնմեկ *tasnmek* "eleven" < տասնմեկերորդ *tasnmek-erord* "eleventh" etc.

The cardinal մեկ *mek* "one" has a suppletive form as its ordinal number: առաջին *aṙajin* "first". This suppletive is only used in the cardinal մեկ *mek* "one" and not in other numbers with the unit մեկ "mek", as can be seen above in տասնմեկ *tasnmek* "eleven", տասնմեկերորդ *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, *verǰin* "last", հաջորդ *haǰord* "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 *kʾsan-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-ecʾ*	*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-icʾ	*pahanǰ-v-um*	*ē*	*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	*mek hing-erord*	or	մեկ հինգերորդական
երկու յոթերորդ	*erku yotʾ-erord*	or	երկու յոթերորդական

mek hing-erord-akan	1/5
erku yotʾ-erord-akan	2/7

Though the forms with ordinals as denominator are more frequently used, it seems that there is a slight semantic difference between the two morphological forms:

a. մեկ հինգերորդ *mek hing-erord*, 1/5, refers to a part of a whole in general.
b. 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:

Gyułac'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:

Yurak'anč'yur	*gyułac'-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:

č'-git-em	*t'e*	*orteł*	*em*	*dr-el*	*baṙaran-ĕ.*
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."

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108. Traditional grammars of SMEA list eight subgroups: (1) personal pronouns (including possessive and emphatic prounouns) (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'e orteł em dr-el
I neg-know-PRES.1.SG. CONJ where I am put-PTCP.PERF.
baṙaran-ě.
dictionary.NOM-the

"I do not know where I have put the dictionary."

	1. Person		2. Person	
	I		you	
NOM	ես	*es*	դու	*du*
(GEN	իմ	*im*	քո	*k'o*)
DAT	ինձ	*inj*	քեզ	*k'ez*
ABL	ինձ(ա)նից	*inj(a)nic'*	քեզ(ա)նից	*k'ez(a)nic'*
INST	ինձ(ա)նով	*inj(a)nov*	քեզ (ա)նով	*k'ez(a)nov*
[LOC[109]	ինձ(ա)նում	*inj(a)num*	քեզ (ա)նում	*k'ez(a)num*
	իմ մեջ	*im meǰ*	քո մեջ	*k'o meǰ*]

	1. Person		2. Person	
NOM	մենք	*menk'*	դուք	*duk'*
(GEN	մեր	*mer*	ձեր	*jer*)
DAT	մեզ	*mez*	ձեզ	*jez*
ABL	մեզ(ա)նից	*mez(a)nic'*	ձեզ(ա)նից	*jez(a)nic'*
INST	մեզ(ա)նով	*mez(a)nov*	ձեզ(ա)նով	*jez(a)nov*
[LOC	մեզ(ա)նում	*mez(a)num*	ձեզ(ա)նում	*jez(a)num*
	մեր մեջ	*mer meǰ*	ձեր մեջ	*jer meǰ*]

	3. Person SG.		3. Person PL.	
	he/she/it		they	
NOM	նա	*na*	նրանք	*nran-k'*
(GEN	նրա	*nra*	նրանց	*nran-c'*)
DAT	նրան	*nra-n*	նրանց	*nran-c'*
ABL	նրանից	*nran-ic'*	նրանցից	*nranc-ic'*
INST	նրանով	*nran-ov*	նրնացով	*nranc'-ov*
[LOC	նրանում	*nran-um*	նրանցում	*nranc'-um*
	նրա մեջ	*nra meǰ*	նրանց մեջ	*nranc' meǰ*]

109. Of course, the locative on personal pronouns can only be used in figurative sense. Both with +human nouns and personal pronouns the synthethic locative is very rarely used, see examples (174) and (175).

Please note that the forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural in ablative and instrumental (and locative) with -ա- *-a-* between the stem and ending are common in colloquial Armenian, whereas the forms without -ա- *-a-* are considered as SMEA[110].

(171) Նա պատմեց ինձ քո մասին:

Na	*patm-ec'*	*inj*	*kʻo*	*masin.*
He.NOM	tell-AOR.3.SG.	I.DAT	you.GEN	POST

"He told me about you."

(172) Այս բանը կիմանամ նրանցից:

Ays	*ban-ĕ*	*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-ĕ	*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:

Inčʻ	*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*	*meǰ*	*už*	*gtn-el*
he.NOM	can-AOR.3.SG.	he.GEN	POST	power.NOM	find-INF

anmijapes	*hražarkan 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)

es	*hankarc*	*inj*	*mełavor*	*zgac'-i*	*or*
I.NOM	suddely	I.DAT (myself)	guilty	feel-AOR.1.SG.	CONJ

tun	*un-em.*
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'ĕ*. 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'ĕ* can be combined with all personal pronouns, meaning "myself, yourself, himself" etc.[111] In this meaning and use the intensive pronoun ինքը *ink'ĕ* 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*, դուք ինքներդ *duk' ink'nerd*

(177) Ես ինքս կպատասխանեմ նրան:

Es	*ink'-s*	*kpatasxan-em*	*nran.*
I.NOM	myself-poss	answer-COND.FUT.SG.	him.DAT

"I myself will answer him."

(178) Դու ինքդ պիտի խոսես Արամի հետ:

Du	*ink'-d*	*piti xos-es*	*Aram-i*	*het.*
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'-ĕ/ink'-n* behaves like the definite article -ը/-ն-*ĕ/-n* across word/morpheme boundary, e.g. (a) Ինքը գնում է գրադարան: *Ink'-ĕ 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'*	*ułarkec'-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 *inkə̌* 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'-ə̌.*
He.NOM	read-PTCP.PRES.	he is	this	book.NOM-the

"He reads this book."

(182) a. Ինքը կարդում է այս գիրքը:

Inkə̌	*kard-um*	*ē*	*ays*	*girk'-ə̌.*
He .NOM	read-PTCP.PRES.	he is	this	book.NOM-the

"He reads this book."

(183) Երեք Արամը տեսել է նրան:

Erek'	*Aram-ə̌*	*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-ĕ*	*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	ինքը	*inkĕ*	իրենք	*irenk'*
(GEN	իր	*ir*	իրենց	*iren-c'*)
DAT	իրեն	*iren*	իրենց	*iren-c'*
ABL	իրենից	*iren-ic'*	իրենցից	*irenc-ic'*
INST	իրենով	*iren-ov*	իրենցով	*irenc'-ov*
[LOC	իրենում	*iren-um*	իրենցում	*irenc'-um*
	իր մեջ	*ir mej*	իրենց մեջ	*irenc' mej*]

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 *im* "my"	մեր *mer* "our"
2.	քո *kʻo* "your"	ձեր *jer* "your"
3.	նրա *nra* "his, her, its"	նրանց *nranc'* "their"
	or from intensive pronoun իր *ir*	or from intensive pronoun իրենց *irenc'*

The possessive generated from the genitive of the intensive pronoun must be used as a "reflexive" possessive pronoun if the attributive possessive pronoun of the third person singular or plural refers to the subject of the sentence. If it refers to another person, the regular possessive pronouns of the third persons are used.

112. Łaragyulyan 1981: 93.

(185) Արամը վերցրեց նրա գիրքը:

Aram-ĕ	*verc'rec'*	*nra*	*girk'-ĕ.*
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-ĕ	*verc'rec'*	*ir*	*girk'-ĕ.*
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	*im-ĕ*	քոնը	*kʻon-ĕ*	մերը	*mer-ĕ*	ձերը	*jer-ĕ*
DAT	իմի(ն)	*im-i(n)*	քոնի(ն)	*kʻon-in*	մերի(ն)	*mer-i(n)*	ձերի(ն)	*jer-i(n)*
ABL	իմից	*im-ic'*	քոնից	*kʻon-ic'*	մերից	*mer-ic'*	ձերից	*jer-ic'*
INST	իմով	*im-ov*	քոնով	*kʻon-ov*	մերով	*mer-ov*	ձերով	*jer-ov*
LOC	իմում	*im-um*	քոնում	*kʻon-um*	մերում	*mer-um*	ձերում	*jer-um*

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

Baŕaran	*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-ĕ.
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 deictics, referring not to concrete objects but to words, phrases and propositions mentioned in speech. Demonstratives belong to the group of determiners.
In MEA, as in Classical Armenian, there is a three-way deictic distinction:

a. demonstratives in -ս- *-s-* are proximal to the speaker
b. demonstratives in -դ- *-d-* are proximal to the hearer
c. 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) Դա քո գիրքն է։

Da *k'o* *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-ĕ *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-ĕ *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-ĕ *girk'-ĕ* *verc'rec'.*
Suren.NOM-the book.NOM-the take-AOR.3.SG
"Suren took the book."

(191) a. Սուրենը սա վերցրեց։

Suren-ĕ *sa* *verc'rec'.*
Suren.NOM-the it.NOM take-AOR.3.SG
"Suren took it." (=the book, –human, thus NOMinative).

(192) Սրանք իմ տերերն 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	*kʾałakʾ-n*	*inj*	*šat*	*ē*	*dur gal-is.*
This	town.NOM-the	I.DAT	very	it is	like-PTCP.PRES.

"I like this town very much."

(194) Այս 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	*sa*	դա	*da*	նա	*na*
(GEN	սրա	*sra*	դրա	*dra*	նրա	*nra*)
DAT	սրան	*sran*	դրան	*dran*	նրան	*nran*
ABL	սրանից	*sranicʾ*	դրանից	*dranicʾ*	նրանից	*nranicʾ*
INST	սրանով	*sranov*	դրանով	*dranov*	նրանով	*nranov*
LOC	սրանում	*sranum*	դրանում	*dranum*	նրանում	*nranum*
	(սրա մեջ	*sra mejˇ*	դրա մեջ	*dra mejˇ*	նրա մեջ	*nra mejˇ*)

PL.

NOM	սրանք	*srankʾ*	դրանք	*drankʾ*	նրանք	*nrankʾ*
(GEN	սրանց	*srancʾ*	դրանց	*drancʾ*	նրանց	*nrancʾ*)
DAT	սրանց	*srancʾ*	դրանց	*drancʾ*	նրանց	*nrancʾ*
ABL	սրանցից	*srancʾicʾ*	դրանցից	*drancʾicʾ*	նրանցից	*nrancʾicʾ*
INST	սրանցով	*srancʾov*	դրանցով	*drancʾov*	նրանցով	*nrancʾov*
LOC	սրանցում	*srancʾum*	դրանցում	*drancʾum*	նրացնում	*nrancʾum*
	(սրանց մեջ	*srancʾ mejˇ*	դրանց մեջ	*drancʾ mejˇ*	նրանց մեջ	*nrancʾ mejˇ*)

The attributive demonstratives always precede the head noun and assign definiteness.
A third semantic group, the group of identity demonstratives is used to express identity. There is also a deictic distinction. This group has three semantic subgroups

a. սույն *suyn,* դույն *duyn*, նույն *nuyn* dasselbe "identical, same"
b. այսպիսի *ayspisi*, այդպիսի *aydpisi*, այնպիսի *aynpisi* "such a"
c. նույնպիսի *nuynpisi* "the same"

ad a.

The pronoun սույն *suyn* 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:

Suyn *p'astat'ułt'-ě* *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:

Suyn *anj-n* *arden* *erek'* *angam* *haytn-v-el* *ē*
Same person.NOM-the already three time appear-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is

meładryal-i *at'oř-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 *suyn hator-ě* *tpagr-v-el* *ē* *"EGEA"*
CONJ same volume.NOM-the print-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is "EGEA"

hratarakč'atan-ě *"Hayastan" hratarakč'ut'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-ě *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 *nuyn*, նորին *norin*, is still used in addressing superior personalities, e.g. նորին սրբազանուտյունը *norin srbazanut'yunĕ* "your holiness".

A synonym of նույն *nuyn* is միևնուն *miewnuyn*, the expression however is emphasised, meaning "one and the same":

(200) Միևնույն քաղաքում մենք կհանդիպենք մեր ընկերների հետ:

Miewnuyn	*k'ałak'-um*	*menk'*	*khandip-enk'*	*mer*	*ĕnker-ner-i*
One-same	town-LOC	we.NOM	meet-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL	our	friend-PL-DAT

het.
POST

"In the one and same town we will meet with our friends."

NOTE: All types of identity pronouns of this group obligatorily co-occur with the definite article in both the nominative and dative case (expect adpositions + dative case).

Ad b.

These subgroups of identity pronouns are mainly used attributively to modify the noun. As such, they precede the noun.

(201) Այսպիսի սենյակում կարելի է լավ աշխատել:

Ayspisi	*senyak-um*	*kareli*	*ē*	*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 *nuynk'an* "so much, as much" as well as այսչափ *aysč'ap*, այնչափ *aynč'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 *aysteł* "here", այդտեղ *aydteł* "there", այնտեղ *aynteł* "there", and նույնտեղ *nuynteł* "same place". These "pronouns" are grouped with place adverbs in this grammar.

c. Manner (identity) pronouns, such as այպիսի *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* *kaŕuc'-v-el* *mer* *p'ołoc'-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* *deŕ* *aysteł* *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'oł* *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 ōgnut'y-an *marzayin kayan* *14 bžškakan* *ambulatoria.*
first aid-DAT provincial station.NOM 14 medical ambulatoria.NOM
"Four hospitals, as many policlinics, one provinicial first aid-station and 14 medical ambulatoria function."

(208) Նույնչափ փայտ պետք է ջարդել վաղվա համար:

Nuynčap' *p'ayt* *petk'* *ē* *ǰard-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:

Vałě	*č'-em ga*	*myus*	*ōr-ě*
Tomorrow	neg-come-COND.FUT.1.SG	next.NOM	day.NOM-the

kg-am.
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:

Isk	*myus*	*kanayk'*	*amot'ic'*	*cackec'-in*	*beran-ner-ě.*
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 *verǰin* 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 *uriš* "other, any other" is usually traditionally classified as an indefinite pronoun.

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

Vałě	*č'-em ga*	*mi*	*uriš*	*ōr*
Tomorrow	neg- I am come-PTCP.NEG.	INDEF	other	day.NOM

kg-am.
come-COND.FUT.1.SG.

"Tomorrow I will not come; I will come another day."

ուրիշ *uriš* 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	*irar*	մեկմեկու	*mekmeku*	միմյանց	*mimyanc'*
ABL	իրարից	*iraric'*	մեկմեկուց	*mekmekuc'*	միմյանցից	*mimyanc'ic'*
INST	իրարով	*irarov*	մեկմեկով	*mekmekov*	միմյանցով	*mimyanc'ov*

(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) Աշոտն 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'ałak'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*	*ełbayr*	*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 Pronouns*[114]

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 "
- երբևը *erbewē*, երբևիցէ *erbewicʻē* "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 *mekĕ* "someone"
- մեկնումեկը *meknumekĕ* "someone" (used above all in colloquial Armenian)
- մի բան *mi ban* "something "
- ոմն *omn* "anyone, anybody, someone, somebody"
- ոմանք *omank'* "some, some people"
- ովևե, *ovewe* "somebody, anybody"
- որեևը *orewe*, որևիցէ *orewicʻē* "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 *mekĕ* "someone", մեկնումեկը *mekumekĕ* "someone", որևէ մեկը *orewē mekĕ* "anybody", ինչ-որ մեկը *inč'-or mekĕ* "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 *orewicʻē* "any"etc.
c. Adverbial: երբևէ *erbewē* "sometime, ever", երբևիցէ *erbewicʻē* "sometime, ever" "sometime, ever" etc.

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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'anisĕ* "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 քնաարկենք որոշ հարցեր:

Menk'	*piti k'nnark-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'ałak'-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: երբևը *erbewē* , երբևիցէ *erbewicĕ* "sometime, ever".
- place: ուրևէ *urewē*, ուրևիցէ *urewicĕ* (are very seldomly used, almost obsolete).
- manner: որևէ կերպ *orewē kerp* "somehow", ինչ-որ կերպ *inč'-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 teł* "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* (*orewicʾē*) + 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 գտնում են, որ նրա հարցը պետք է քննել:

Omank' *gtn-um* *en* *or* *nra* *harc'-ě*
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'ałak'-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 Anǰeles-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 *tełekut'yun* *un-es* *im* *ěnker-oǰic'?*
INDEF information.NOM have-PRES.2.SG. my friend-ABL
"Do you have any news from my friend?" (non-specific)[115]

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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:

Tełekut'yun *un-es* *im* *ěnker-oǰic'?*
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)

č’-gi-tem	*t’e*	*ardyunk’-um*	*inč’-or ban*
neg-know.PRES.1.SG.	CONJ	result-LOC	something.NOM
p’ox-v-el	*ē*	*“Ērebuni” bžškakan*	*kentron-um.*
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:

Aram-ĕ	*hima*	*xos-um*	*ē*	*inč’-or mek-i*	*het.*
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:

Anna-n	*henc’*	*hima*	*kard-um*	*ē*	*inč’-or*	*hodvac.*
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:

Aram-ĕ	*xosec’*	*inč’-or mek-i*	*het.*
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)

mer ašxatank’-um	*inč’-or ban*	*stac’vec’.*[117]
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).

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

guc'e	*inč'-or teł*	*ěnk-el*	*u*	*glux-ě*
perhaps	some place.NOM	fall-PTCP.PERF.	CONJ	head.NOM

xp'el	*ē?*
hit-PTCP.PERF	he is

"Perhaps he has fallen somewhere and hit his head?"

(227) իսկ Հայաստանում կտեսնե՞նք որևէ երկրի ներկայացուցչի:
(Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

isk	*Hayastan-um*	*ktesn-enk'*	*orewē*	*erkr-i*	*nerkayac'uč'č'-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	*xała-c'oł*	*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	*xała-c'oł*	*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'e	*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'e	*klini*	*orewē*	*problem*	*menk'*	*ēl*	*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) Խոսի՛ր որևէ մեկի հետ, եթե լավ չես զգում:

Xos-ir	*orewē mek-i*	*het*	*et'e*	*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-ě*	*kar-oł*	*ē*	*orewē mek-ě*	*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-ě*	*kar-oł*	*ē*	*amen mek-ě*
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' mekě* "no one"; ոչինչ *oč'inč'* "nothing" and attributive ոչ մի *oč' mi*

Negative Indefinites

- Person: ոչ ոք *oč' ok'* "nobody", ոչ մեկը *oč' mekě* "no one"
- Thing: ոչինչ *oč'inč'* "nothing"
- The negated indefinite article ոչ մի *oč'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 հանդիպել: Ոչ մեկի հետ:

Um	*het*	*es*	*handip-el?*	*Oč' 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'ałak'-um*	*oč' mek-i-n*	*č'-em*	*čanač'-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:
(Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

patkerac'r-ek'	*oč'*	*mi*	*tłamard*	*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*	*oč'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.

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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 *amenkĕ* "all people", բոլորը *bolor(ĕ)* "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 *yurak'anč'yur* "*each, every*", ամենայն *amenayn* "all, every", ամեն ոք *amen ok'/mekĕ* "everybody", ամեն ինչ *amen inč'* "everything"; ամեն մի *amen mi* "each", ամեն մեկը *amen mekĕ* "everyone", յուրաքանչյուր ոք *yurak'anč'yur ok'* "each one, every one". (=distributive quantifiers)
- definite pronouns that show the completeness of a single subject (collective or not collective), in MEA ոլջ *ołǰ* "whole", ամբողջ *ambołǰ* "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-ĕ*	*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 *amenkě* "all people", բոլորը *bolor(ě)* "all"; as well as MEA ոլջ *ołǰ* "whole", ամբողջ *ambołǰ* "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 *yurak'anč'yur* "each, every", ամենայն *amenayn* "all, every",[119] ամեն ոք *amen ok'/mekě* "everybody", ամեն ինչ *amen inč* "everything"; ամեն մի *amen mi* "each", ամեն մեկը *amen mekě* "everyone", յուրաքանչյուր ոք *yurak'anč'jur ok'* "each one, every one".

The following universal quantifiers can be nominalised:
ամենքը *amenkě* "all people", բոլորը *bolor*(ě) "all; յուրաքանչյուրը *yurak'anč'yurě* "each, every", ամեն ոք/մեկը *amen ok'/mekě* "everybody", ամեն ինչ *amen inč'* "everything"; ամեն մեկը *amen mekě* "everyone", յուրաքանչյուր ոք *yurak'anč'yur ok'* "each one, every one".

The collective quantifiers բոլոր *bolor*, ոլջ *ołǰ*, ամբողջ *ambołǰ*, համայն *hamayn* and the distributive quantifiers ամեն *amen*, ամենայն *amenayn*, յուրաքանչյուր *yurak'anč'yur*, 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-ě* *šutov* *bolor-ě* *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)

inč'pes Adam-ov *bolor-ě* *meŕn-um* *en* *nuynpes ew* *K'ristos-ov*
as Adam-INST all.NOM-the die-PTCP.PRES. they are as well Christ-INST
amenk'-ě *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 *ołǰ*, ամբողջ *ambołǰ*, համայն *hamayn* assign definiteness to its head noun.

(240) Բոլոր աշակերտները հավաքվել են դպրոցի գրադարանում:

Bolor *ašakert-ner-ě* *havak'-v-el* *en* *dproc'-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."

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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-ĕ *katarec'* *ambołǰ* *ašxatank'-ĕ.*
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-ĕ* *mec* *šuk'-ov* *ē* *nš-um*
Whole.NOM Armenians.NOM-the big luxury-INST it is celebrate- PTCP.PRES
ayd *ton-ĕ.*
that festivity.NOM-the.
"All Armenians (lit. the whole Armenian people) celebrate that festivity with big luxury."

– Distributive quantifiers always assign the singular to the verb, if used as the subject, and to the noun, if used as the quantifying attribute:

(243) Ամեն մեկը նվեր ստացավ:

Amen mek-ĕ *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-ĕ.*
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:

Yurak'anč'yur *k'ałak'ac'i* *partavor* *ē* *katarel-u* *ir*
Each citizen.NOM obliged he is fulfil-INF-DAT his
partakanut'yun-ner-ĕ.
duty-PL.NOM-the
"Each citizen is obliged to fulfil his duties."

Those universal quantifiers that can also be nominalised or that are only used in a nominalised way can be inflected in singular following the i-declension.

2.4.7 Interrogative and Relative Pronouns

The subgroup of MEA interrogative pronouns comprises the following ontological groups:

- person (human) ո՞վ *ov* "who?"
- subject/thing ի՞նչ *inč'*? "what?"
- quality ո՞ր *or* "which?"; ի՞նչպիսի *inč'pisi*/ո՞րպիսի *orpisi*? "what? what kind of?"
- quantity քանի՞ *k'ani* "how many/much?" ի՞նչքան *inč'k'an*/ո՞րքան *ork'an* "how many/much?", ի՞նչչափ *inčč'ap'*/ո՞րչափ *orč'ap'*
- time ե՞րբ *erb* "when?" երվանի՞ց *erbvanic'* "since when?"
- place ո՞րտեղ *orteł*, ո՞ւր *ur* "where?", ո՞ւր *ur* "where to?", ո՞րտեղից *ortełic'* "where from?"
- manner: ի՞նչպես *inč'pes* "how?"
- cause: ինչո՞ւ *inč'u* "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 theplural, but only in the nominative plural.

(247) Ո՞վ է գիրքը դրել սեղանին:

Ov	*ē*	*girk'-ě*	*dr-el*	*sełan-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*	*ašxatank'-ner-ě?*
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. Աննաան – 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	ով	*ov*	ովքեր	*ovk'er*
DAT	ում	*um*		
ABL	ումից	*um-ic'*		
INST	ումով	*um-ov*		
LOC	ում մեջ	*um mej*		

– 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-ĕ	*havak-'um*	*ē*	*całik-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-ĕ?*
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. Ինչե՞ր է սիրում Նարան:

Inč'-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 *inč'-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:

Inč'-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 *kʿałak'-ic'* *ek-av* *Arami* *dasaxos-ĕ?*
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 կառաջարկէիր ինձ:

Ays *čʿors* *film-er-ic'* *or-ĕ* *kaŕaǰark-ēir* *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	*or-ĕ*	որոնք	*oronkʿ*
DAT	որի(ն)	*or-i(n)*	որոնց	*oronc'*
ABL	որից	*or-ic'*	որոնցից	*oronc'-ic'*
INST	որով	*or-ov*	որոնցով	*oronc'-ov*
LOC	որում	*or-um*	որոնցում	*oronc'-um*

– ինչպիսի՞ *inčʿpisi*, 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 *inčʿpisikʿ*, որպիսիք *orpisikʿ* are almost obsolete and, if used, only in highly scientific texts.

(261) Ինչպիսի՞ մարդ է այդ Արան:

Inčʿpisi *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-ĕ* 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՞փ *inč'č'ap'*/որչա՞փ *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-manyeth[121] "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՞ *kʻani* "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:

Kʻani	*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:

Kʻani	*tun*	*en*	*aycʻel-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:

Kʻanis-n	*en*	*ayd*	*hacʻeric'*	*spitak*
Wh-how many-PL.NOM-the	they are	that.NOM	bread-PL-ABL	white
kʻanis-ĕ	*sew?*			
wh-how many-PL.NOM-the	black			

"How many of those breads are white, how many black?"

NOM	քանիսը	*kʻanis-ĕ*
DAT	քանիսին	*kʻanis-i(n)*
ABL	քանիսից	*kʻanis-icʻ*
INST	քանիսով	*kʻanis-ov*
LOC	քանիսում	*kʻanis-um*

ինչքա՞ն *inčʻkʻan*/որքա՞ն *orkʻan* "how many/much?" are synonyms (counting measure), as well as ինչչա՞փ *inččʻap'* and որչա՞փ *orčʻap'* (mass measure). They are used to ask for the quantity of non-countable objects:

(268) Ինչչա՞փ ձեթ է մնացել շշի մեջ:

Inččʻap'	*jetʻ*	*ē*	*mnacʻ-el*	*šš-i*	*mejʻ?*
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:

Orčʻap'	*hacʻ*	*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 *erbvanicʻ* "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 *orteł* "where?", ո՞ւր *ur* "where to?", որտեղի՞ց *ortełic'* "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 *orteł* "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	*orteł*	*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-ĕ	*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 *orteł* "where?" (etymologically consisting of որ *or* "*which*" and տեղ *teł* "place", lit. "which place") occurs also combined with possessive suffixes or even the definite article:

(275) Ասա, որտե՞ղդ է ցավում:

As-a *orteł-d* *ē* *cʾav-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:

Orteł-n *ē* *tʾrǰ-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 *inčʾpes* "how?" refers to the manner of an action and is adverbially used.

(277) Արմենի տղան – ինչպե՞ս է սովորում:

Armen-i *tła-n* *inčʾpes* *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 ո՞նց *onc'* "how?" usually substitutes ինչպես *inčʾpes* "how?":

(277) a. Արմենի տղան – ո՞նց է սովորում:

Armen-i *tła-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 *inčʾu* "why?" refers to the reason or the cause of an action and is adverbially used.

(278) Ինչո՞ւ ես գնացել Երևան:

Inčʾu *es* *gnacʾ-el* *Erewan?*
Wh-why you are go-PTCP.PERF. Yerevan.NOM
"Why have you gone to Yerevan?"

In colloquial Armenian ինչո՞ւ *inčʾu* "why?" is commonly replaced by ինչի՞ *inč i*' "why?" or even dialectal խի *xi* "why?".

(278) a. Ինչի՞ ես գնացել Երևան:

Inčʾi *es* *gnacʾ-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-ĕ *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-ĕ*
That.NOM wh-who.NOM unravel-COND.FUT.3.SG this riddle.NOM-the
kstan-a *t'agavorut'y-an* *kes-ĕ.*
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 *inč'* *mez* *č'-i* *bavarar-um*
That.NOM wh-what.NOM we.DAT neg-it is satisfy-PTCP.PRES.
petk' ē k'and-v-i *ew* *krkin* *kaṙuc'-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 *ašxatank'-s* *avart-ac* *klin-em.*
wh-when work.NOM-my finish-PTCP.PRES. be-COND.FUT.1.SG
"My sister will come at that time, when I have finished my work."

(283) Գնացինք այն պարտեզը, որտեղ շատ ծաղիկներ կան։

Gnac'-ink' *ayn* *partez-ĕ* *orteł* *šat* *całik-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 Արեմնին, որը իմ դասընկերն էր:

Tes-a *Armen-i-n* *or-ĕ* *im* *dasĕnker-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-ĕ *or* *šin-el* *ē* *Grigor-ĕ* *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 *derasan-ĕ* *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:

Handipec'-i *tła-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-ĕ*
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 *kʻez* *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 կարողանանանք մասնակցել այդ համերգին,

Orpeszi *karołan-ank'* *masnakc'-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-ě.*
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'* *ełbor-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* *tełap'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 կարոտումեմ նրան:

Ayn žamanak-ic' *inč'* *k'uyr-s* *tełap'ox-v-el*
That time-ABL CONJ sister.NOM-my move-refl-PTCP.PERF.
ē
she is
Erewan *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 *orteł or*, երբ որ e*rb 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 *t'e* "what; whether":

(298) Չգիտեմ, թե ինչ է նշանակում այս բառը:
Č'-git-em *t'e* *inč'* *ē* *nšanak-um* *ays* *baṙ-ě.*
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-ě *uz-um* *ē* *iman-al* *t'e* *ov* *ē*
Vahan.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. he is know-INF CONJ wh-who she is
ays *kin-ě.*
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 *ěnker* *ēr* *Vardan-ě!*
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", փրփրել *p'rp'rel* "to froth", մոլեգնել *molegnel* "storm", որոտալ *orotal* "thunder", ամպրոպ է *amprop ē* "it thunders", փայլատակել *p'aylatakel* "to lighten, be cold, be hot, be light, be dark", ամպերով ծածկվել *amperov cackvel* "to get cloudy", մթնել *mt'nel* "to darken", երեկոյանալ *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) Անձրև 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 ծույլ 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'řštal* "to sneeze", փսխել *p'sxel* "to vomit", քրտնել *k'rtnel* "to sweat", միզել *mizel* "to urinate", տքել *tkèl* "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 գաղտնի խորհրդականները: (Grakanut'yun 6: 103)

p'rštum *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:
užeł *k'ami-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

gyuł-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 *paṙkel* "lie", կախել *kaxel* "hang", ծնկի գալ *cnki gal* "to kneel down", չոկել *čok'el* "kneel", կռանալ *kṙanal* "to bend down, to crouch", խոնարհվել *xonarhvel* "to bend, to bow, to crouch", պպզել *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 factives[122] such as անել *anel* "to make", ստեղծել *stełcel* "to create", կառուցել *kaŕucʻel* "to build", սարքել *sarkʻel* "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 *ǰardel* "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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

mard-u-n *kar-oł* *ē* *krakel-ov* *čʻ-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 *kʻnnel* "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- *-cʻn-*; 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 *t'e* "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 ափսե է հիշեցնում: (Hetk'19.02.2007)

Bnakavayr-ě *jorak-i* *meǰ* *ē* *ew* *verew-ic'*
settlement.NOM-the canyon-DAT POST it is CONJ above-ABL
nayoł-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 *lsel* "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 խաղադաշտը: (Ařavot 05.04.2006)

bolor *t'ałapet-er-ě* *anjamb* *tes-el* *en*
all district head-PL.NOM-the personally see-PTCP.PERF they are
bac'-v-oł *ays* *xaładašt-ě.*
open-pass-PTCP.SUB. this field.NOM
"All district leaders have personallyseen 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-ě *kšarunak-en* *irenc'* *hałťanak-ner-ov*
sportsman-PL.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.PL their victory-PL-INST
uraxa-c'n-el *žołovrd-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 *t'e* "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* *Ŗobert-i* *het* *xosec'-i* *asac'-i* *or*
after also Ŗobert-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 *hałordagrut'y-an* *meǰ.*
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 *patčaŕel* "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)

aŕavotyan *stip-el* *en* *nran* *heŕan-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 *verǰanal* "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 տալ *tal* and the infinitive.

(318) Բանվորները սկսել են քանդել թատրոնի բեմը: (Aŕavot 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'* *Širak-i* *marz-um* *sks-v-el*
May-DAT 20-ABL Širak-DAT province-LOC begin-pass-PTCP.PERF

ē *oŕogm-an* *sezon-ě.*
it is irrigation-DAT season.NOM-the

"The irrigation season started in the province of Širak after May 20th."

n. Modal verbs[124]

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 deontic[126] and epistemic[127] modality, the subjunctive as well as the deontic and dynamic modalities, and conditional mood dynamic.[128]

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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 *šrǰanavart-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)

aŕaǰin *teł-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* *aŕnvazn* *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 aťoř-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 iskapes 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 parenthetic 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 *iskapes* "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)

Vrastan-i norĕntir xorhrdaran-i aŕajin nist-ě
Georgia-DAT new elected parliament-DAT first session.NOM-the
havanabar teł i kunen-a aprił-i verǰ-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. *o*f 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)

mahac'ac *mard-i* *masin* *vat ban* *č'-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)

Et'e *uz-um* *ē* *or* *ir* *gorc'-n* *aŕaĵ*
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 *karołanal* "to be able, can", a defective verb. It has a regular participle present կարողանում *karołanum*, which is used to express habitual and repeated actions, particularly abilities. For single actions the shorter form կարող *karoł* 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'e orteł
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 ełbayrik-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?"

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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 ełbayrik-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 *karołanal* may also denote permission, particularly in questions.

(335) Կարո՞ղ եմ այս գրքերը վերցնել գրադարանից:

Kar-ołʰ	*em*	*ays*	*grkʼ-er-ě*	*vercʼn-el*	*gradaran-icʼ?*
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 սոսկածանցավոր *soskacancʼavor* "simply suffixed" verbs with the suffixes -ան- *-an-*, -են- *-en-*, -ն- *-n-* and -չ- *-čʼ-* and verbs that are suffixed with -ցն- *-cʼn-* (=causatives), -վ- *-v-* (=passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anti-causatives) and -ոտ- *-ot-*, -ատ- *-at-*, -տ- -t- (=iteratives).[130]

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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 *-cʼn-, -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 ւախենալ *vax-en-al* "to fear", ուզենալ *uz-en-al* "to want, to wish" etc.
– verbs with -անալ *-an(al)*, such as հեռանալ *heŕ-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 *- č̌(el)*, such as փախչել *p'ax-č̌-el* "to flee", թռչել *t'r-č̌-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, anticausativisation.
– morphosyntactic inflection: as morphological means for valence increasing and transitivisation, 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 *meǰ 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.

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131. Note: in colloquial MEA , in suffixed verbs in -չ- *-č̌-* the suffix -չ- *-č̌-* is often replaced with -ն- *-n-*, as in փախնել *p'axnel* instead of written փախչել *p'ax-č̌-el* "to flee", թռնել *t'ŕnel* instead of written թռչել *t'r-č̌-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*, -ենալ - *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*, -ենալ *-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:

całik-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'* *antaṙ-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։

Antaŕ-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 ĵardec' całkaman-ě.
Anuš.NOM-the break-AOR.3.SG vase.NOM-the
"Anuš broke the vase."

(340) a. Ծաղկամանը ջարդվեց։

Całkaman-ě ĵard-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, aterminative) and telic (non-durative, terminative) verbs in Armenian.

Atelic (durative, aterminative) verbs describe processes that are temporally not delimited, in contrast to telic (non-durative, terminative) verbs, whose lexical meaning implies temporal delimitation, an accomplishment, or a change in the process involved.

a. Atelic verbs generally refer to situations that do not imply a state predicted by the action. They can further be subdivided into static and dynamic verbs.
b. Atelic (aterminative, durative) Armenian verbs have subcategory of iterative verbs.

Telic (non-durative, terminative) Armenian verbs can be divided into verbs of achievement and accomplishment, depending on whether there is a process leading to the terminal point of action (Kozintseva 1999:23).

– Resultative or accomplishment verbs, which imply that the terminal point is achieved as a result of a process, e.g. կառուցել *karuc'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 forms[133] (formed with the resultative participle and the actional tense forms of the auxiliary եմ *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.

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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 *kard-al*		կարդացվել *kardac'-v-el*
Simple e-conjugation	գրել *gr-el*		գրվել *gr-v-el*
Suffixed -n-	տեսնել *tes-n-el*		տեսնվել *tes-n-v-el*
Suffixed -č'-	թռչել *t'ṙ-č'-el* (intrans!)		թռչվել *t'ṙ-č-v-el*
Suffixed -an- (inherently inchoative)	ուրախանալ *urax-an-al*	ուրախացնել *urax-ac'n-el*	ուրախացվել *uraxa-c'-v-el*
Suffixed -en- (inherently inchoative)	մոտենալ *mot-en-al*	մոտեցնել *mot-ec'-nel*	մոտեցվել *mote-c'-v-el*
Causativised verbs	հիշեցնել *hiše-c'n-el*		հիշեցվել *hišec'-v-el*

Usually all real transitive verbs can be passivised. There are some exceptions: the verbs ունենալ *unenal* "to have", գիտենալ *gitenal* "to know", զղջալ *złjal* "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 զբաղվել *zbałvel* "to be occupied", թաքնվել *t'ak'nvel* "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.

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134. see Ch. 3.1.2.2. "Detransitivisation processes", p. 334f..

(341) Արամմն 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: զբաղվել *zbałvel* "to be occupied; to work on" (transitive: զբաղեցնել *zbałe-c'n-el*); թաքնվել *t'ak'nvel* "to hide (oneself), " (transitive թաքցնել *t'ak'-c'n-el*), համարձակվել *hamarjakvel* "to dare" (transitive form համարձակել *hamajarkel* is not used), հաշտվել *haštvel* "to reconcile (oneself)" (transitive: հաշտեցնել *haštec'nel*), սխալվել *sxalvel* "to make a mistake; to be mistaken" (no transitive form at all; must be paraphrased).

(342) a. Անին զբաղվում է իր սենյակում:

Ani-n zbałv-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 զբաղեցնում է

Ani-n ir p'ok'r ełbor-n zbałe-c'n-um ē.
Ani.NOM-the her little brother-DAT-the occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES. she is
"Ani occupies her little brother."

(343) a. Նապաստակը թաքնվում է անտառում:

Napastak-ě t'ak'nv-um ē antaŕ-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-ě t'ak'-c'n-um ē ir napastak-ě
girl.NOM-the hide-caus-PTCP.PRES. she is her rabbit.NOM-the

ir mahčakal-i tak.
her bed-DAT POST

"The girl hides her rabbit under her bed."

2.5.2 Tenses of Armenian verbs[135]

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 եմ *em* "to be" in present or imperfect tense or synthetically;

- the participle present for present tense and imperfect tense;
- the participle perfect for present perfect and past perfect tense;
- the participle future for future and future-in-the-past tenses;
- the synthetic aorist tense.

Stative forms

Stative forms[136] 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 եմ *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 հարակատոր 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)

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135. Paradigms are given in the respective subchapters.

136. This term corresponds to Kozintseva's (1995 : 286): "resultative proper".

137. The basic meaning is that of the state that results from a previous action.

(344) Ջրագրական ցանցն առավել զարգացած է բարձր լեռնային գոտիներում: (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

J̌ragrakan *cʿanc'-n* *aṙavel* *zargac'-ac* *ē* *barjr*
water net.NOM-the more develop-PTCP.RES. it is high

leṙnayin *goti-ner-um.*
mountainuous 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* *ełb-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)

T'eew *čšt-v-ac* *č'-ě* *aycʿelut'y-an* *konkret* *amsat'iv-ě*
even adjust-pass-PTCP.RES. NEG-it is visit-DAT concrete date.NOM-the

bayc' *t'erews* *teli unena* *april-i* *errord* *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:

Ełbayr-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 *ełbayr-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-ĕ* *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-ĕ *barkran-um* *e* *ir* *ełb-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-ĕ *barkrac'-ac* *e* *ir* *ełb-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 clauses[138] (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 *kołmic'*)
- 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 (Ařavot 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։ (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Lusankar-um *patker-v-ac-ě* *zin-v-ac* *ēr*
fotograf-LOC portray-pass-PTCP.RES.NOM-the arm-pass-PTCP.RES. he was
"Makarov" *tip-i* *atrčanak-ov.*
"Makarov" type-DAT gun-INST
"The man portrayed in the photograph was armed with a gun of the type "Makarov"."

(353) Բոլոր գյուղական համայնքներն ապահովված են տեխնիկական միջոցներով։ (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

Bolor *gyułakan* *hamaynk'-ner-n* *apahov-v-ac* *en*
all rural community-PL.NOM-the equip-pass-PTCP.RES. they are
texnikakan *miǰoc'-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 *łekavar-ner-i* *kołmic'* *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."

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138. see Ch. 3.1.2.2.1. "Passivisation", p. 335f.

Very often, objective resultatives are used agentless:

(355) Վերջերս հայտնաբերված այդ կղզին բոլորվին անմարդաբնակ է եղել:

verǰers haytnaber-v-ac ayd kłzi-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 transitivised one with causative suffix -ցն- *-c'n.* E.g. զարմացած եմ *zarmac'ac em* not *զարմացված եմ *zarmac'v-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, can 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-ĕ *mišt* *nst-ac* *ē* *aysteł.*
Vardan.NOM-the always sit-PTCP.RES. he is here
"Vardan is always sitting here."

(357) Վարդանը հաճախ նստած է լինում այստեղ:

Vardan-ĕ *hačax* *nst-ac* *ē* *lin-um* *aysteł.*
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-ĕ *deŕ* *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-ĕ *kangn-um* *ēr.*
Aram.NOM-the stand-PTCP.PRES. he was
"Aram stood (stopped)."

(360) a. Արամը կանգնած էր:

Aram-ĕ *kangn-ac* *ēr.*
Aram.NOM-the- stand-PTCP.RES. he was.
"Aram was standing."
Note: (360) has a dynamic meaning; = dynamic imperfect. (360a) has a stative meaning and shows the result of an action or the actual state at the moment of speech. It is stative imperfect.

(361) Երբ Վարդանը հասավ կայարան, Նարինեն արդեն ժամանած է եղել:

Erb *Vardan-ĕ* *has-av* *kayaran* *Narine-n*
CONJ Vardan.NOM-the reach-AOR.3.SG station.NOM Narine.NOM-the
arden *žaman-ac* *ē* *eł-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-ĕ *hing-i-n* *Aram-ĕ* *das-er-ĕ* *mišt*
hour.NOM-the 5-DAT-the Aram.NOM-the class-PL.NOM-the always
patrast-ac *ē* *lin-um.*
prepare-PTCP.RES. he is be repeatedly-PTCP.PRES.
"Aram has finished his classes always at five o'clock."
Meaning: At five o'clock the classes are usually finished.
Note: this is a durative stative present indicative, which expresses a habitual state.

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difference between (359) and (359a); but all of them unanimously agreed that the difference is an aspectual one: the experiential form with the defective auxiliary կամ *kam* is the more common form, a generally experienced action, independent of a certain time frame in which the action is experienced.

Processual forms
Processual forms[142] usually denote an action

– which is in process at the moment of speech or at the reference point;
– simultaneous to another action (coincides with another action).

They are usually expressed by means of the processual participle in -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:

Ołǰ	*k'ałak'-ě*	*tonaxmbut'y-an-ě*	*masnakc'el-is*	*ē*
whole	town.NOM-the	celebration-DAT-the	participate-PTCP.PROC.	it is

eł-el	*erb*	*erkr-i*	*naxagah-ě*	*ayc'el-el*
be-PTCP.PERF.	CONJ	country-DAT	president.NOM-the	visit-PTCP.PERF.

ē	*k'ałak'.*
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 where 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 *grum em*	գրում էի *grum ēi*	գրել եմ *grel em*	գրել էի *grel ēi*	գրելու եմ *grelu em*	գրելու էի *grelu ēi*	գրեցի *grec'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 *gnac'ac em*	կարդացած եմ լինում *kardac'ac em linum*
Imperfect	գնացած էի *gnac'ac ēi*	կարդացած էի լինում *kardac'ac ēi linum*
Pres. Perfect	գնացած եմ եղել *gnac'ac em ełel*	կարդացած եմ եղել *kardac'ac em ełel*
Past Perfect	գնացած էի եղել *gnac'ac ēi ełel*	կարդացած էի եղել *kardac'ac ēi ełel*
Future	գնացած եմ լինելու *gnac'ac em linelu*	կարդացած եմ լինելու *kardac'ac em linelu*
Future Past	գնացած էի լինելու *gnac'ac ēi linelu*	կարդացած էի լինելու *kardac'ac ēi linelu*
Aorist	գնացած եղա *gnac'ac eła*	կարդացած եղա *kardac'ac eła*

– Experiential Forms

Table 4. Formation of Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)
Present	գնացած կամ *gnac'ac kam*
Imperfect	գնացած կայի *gnac'ac kayi*

– Processual and Prospective Forms

Table 5. Formation of Processual and Prospective Forms, 1st Person Singular

	Processual	**Prospective**
Present	կարդալիս եմ լինում *kardalis em linum*	կարդալու եմ լինում *kardalu em linum*
Imperfect	կարդալիս էի լինում *kardalis ēi linum*	կարդալու էի լինում *kardalu ēi linum*
Pres. Perfect	կարդալիս եմ եղել *kardalis em eł el*	կարդալոիւ եմ եղել *kardalu em eł el*
Past Perfect	կարդալիս էի եղել *kardalis ēi eł el*	
Future	կարդալիս եմ լինելու *kardalis em linelu*	
Future Past	կարդալիս էի լինելու *kardalis ēi linelu*	
Aorist	կարդալիս եղա *kardalis eła*	

The prospective forms in Future, Future Past and Aorist are not productive.

For a detailed description of the morphological formation of the various morphological verbal classes and of the meaning of tenses and aspects see the corresponding chapters.

Negation of Armenian Tense Forms

Generally speaking, there are three ways of forming negative tense forms of verbs.

a. By means of the prefixed, negative particle չ *-č'-* to the synthetic tense form (aorist); e.g. գնացի *gnaci* " went", չգնացի *č'-gnac'i* "I did not go".
b. 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]
c. 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 չէ *č'ē*. 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
չեմ գրում *č'-em grum*	չէի գրում *č'-ēi grum*	չեմ գրել *č'-em grel*	չէի գրել *č'-ēi grel*	չեմ գրելու *č'-em grelu*	չէի գրելու *č'-ēi grelu*	չգրեցի *č'-grec'i*

Table 7. Negated Stative forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)	**Durative tenses**
Present	գնացած չեմ *gnac'ac č'-em*	կարդացած չեմ լինում *kardac'ac č'-em linum*
Imperfect	գնացած չէի *gnac'ac č'-ēi*	կարդացած չէի լինում *kardac'ac č'-ēi linum*
Pres. Perfect	գնացած չեմ եղել *gnac'ac č'-em eł el*	կարդացած չեմ եղել *kardac'ac č'-em eł el*
Past Perfect	գնացած չէի եղել *gnac'ac č'-ěi eł el*	կարդացած չէի եղել *kardac'ac č'-ēi eł el*
Future	գնացած չեմ լինելու *gnac'ac č'-em linelu*	կարդացած չեմ լինելո *kardac'ac č'-em linelu*
Future Past	գնացած չէի լինելու *gnac'ac č'-ēi linelu*	կարդացած չէի լինելու *kardac'ac č'-ēi linelu*
Aorist	գնացած չեղա *gnac'ac č'-eła*	կարդացած չեղա *kardac'ac č'-eła*

Table 8. Negated Experiential forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Stative (non-durative)
Present	գնացած չկամ *gnac'ac č'-kam*

Table 9. Negated Processual and Prospective Forms, e.g. 1st Person Singular

	Processual	**Prospective**
Present	կարդալիս չեմ լինում *kardalis č'-em linum*	կարդալու չեմ լինում *kardalu č'-em linum*
Imperfect	կարդալիս չէի լինում *kardalis č'-ēi linum*	կարդալու չէի լինում *kardalu č'-ēi linum*
Pres. Perfect	կարդալիս չեմ եղել *kardalis č'-em eł el*	կարդալու չեմ եղել *kardalu č'-em eł el*
Past Perfect	կարդալիս չէի եղել *kardalis č'-ēi eł el*	կարդալու չէի եղել *kardalu č'-ēi eł el*
Future	կարդալիս չեմ լինելու *kardalis č'-em linelu*	կարդալու չեմ լինելու *kardalu č'-em linelu*
Future Past	կարդալիս չէի լինելու *kardalis č'-ēi linelu*	կարդալու չէի լինելու *kardalu č'-ēi linelu*
Aorist	կարդալիս չեղա *kardalis č'-eła*	կարդալու չեղա *kardalu č'-eła*

2.5.3 Moods of Armenian verbs[144]

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:

et'e	*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*	*minč'ew*	*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'	*k'o*	*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.

havak'-ac *klin-em*.
collect-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.1SG.

"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 ուսանուների հետ թարգմանելիս կլինեմ:

Erb *g-as* *ayl* *usanoł-ner-i* *het*
CONJ come-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG other student-PL-DAT POST

*t'argmanel-i*s *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) գնացեք *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 գնացեք *mí gnac'ek* "Don't go!" (2.PL)

(371) չգնաս *č̓gnas!* "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:

a. the subjunctive is negated by means of the prefixed negative particle չ- *č̓*-, e.g. գնամ *gnam* "I want to go" չգնամ *č̓-gnam* "I do not want to go".
b. 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", չեմ գրի *čem gri* "I shall not write"; կկարդամ *kkardam* "I shall read", չեմ կարդա *čem karda* "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 -չ *č'*- 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 *č'-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 չ- *č'* prefixed to the auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնացած լինեմ gnac'ac linem, գնացած չլինեմ *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 չ- *č'*- negated auxiliary եմ *em*, and the preposed participle resultative: գնացած կլինեմ *gnac'ac klinem*, գնացած չեմ լինի *gnac'ac čem lini*. The order is PTCP.RES + neg-AUX + PTCP.NEG.
c. the stative 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. պիտի գնացած լինեմ *piti gnac'ac linem*, չպիտի գնացած լինեմ *č'-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 չ- *č'* prefixed auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնալիս լինեմ *gnalis linem*, գնալիս չլինեմ *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 *lintel* and with the negative prefix չ- *č'*-, negated auxiliary եմ *em*, and the preposed participle processual: գնալիս կլինեմ *gnalis klinem*, գնալիս չեմ լինի *gnalis čem lini*. The order is PTCP.PROC. + 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. գնալիս պիտի լինեմ *gnalis piti linem*, գնալիս չպիտի լինեմ *gnalis č'piti linem.*

The prospective forms are negated:

a. the processual subjunctive is negated by means of the negative particle չ- *č'* prefixed auxiliary լինել *linel* in subjunctive mood; i.e. գնալու լինեմ *gnalu linem,* գնալու չլինեմ *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 չ- *č'*-, negated auxiliary եմ *em*, and the

preposed participle processual: գնալու կլինեմ *gnalu klinem*, գնալու չեմ լինի *gnalu čem 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 լինեմ *gnalu piti linem*, գնալու չպիտի լինեմ *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.

Countability[145]

- 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 *łekavarel* "to guide, to lead", աշխատել *ašxatel* "to work", ուսուցչություն անել *usučč'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 (Abełyan 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'e *minčew* *verǰers* *nrank'* *ĵur* *ēin* *unen-um*
If PREP recent they.NOM water.NOM they were have-PTCP.PRES.

ōrakan *erku angam* *apa* *šurǰ* *20 ōr* *ě* *inč'* *xmel-u*
daily two time then PREP 20 day. NOM it is that drink-INF-DAT

ǰur-ě *k'ałak'* *ē* *mtn-um* *miayn* *aṙavotyan.*
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* *ē* *750 hazar* *ayc'elu*
yearly library.NOM-the have-PTCP.PRES. itis 750 thousand visitor.NOM

200 hazar *ěnt'erc'oł.*[147]
200 thousand reader.NOM

"Yearly the library has 750 000 visitors and 200 000 readers."
Note: in both sentences (372) and (373) ունենեալ *unenal* expresses a habitual action.

(374) Հեքիաթներն ունենում են յուրահատուկ կառուցվածք: (Grakanut'yun 4: 40)

Hek'iat'ner-n *unen-um* *en* *yurahatuk* *kaṙuc'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 *ěnt'erc'oł* "reading", a participle subjective of the verb ընթերցել *ěnt'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 *kaṙucʻel* "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 *šnčel* "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 *karołanal* "can, to be able to"
c. verbs of relation, e.g. նշանակել *nšanakel* "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 -ատ- *at-*, -ոտ- *ot-*, -տ- *t-* that are attached to the verbal stem. Other verbs also use reduplication.

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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 պատառոտել են նրանց պաստառները և բռնություն կիրառել դրանք բարձրացնուների 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* *bŕnut'yun*
they are their wallpaper-PL.NOM-the CONJ violence.NOM

kiraŕ-el *drank'* *barjra-c'n-oł-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 պատառոտել *pataŕ-ot-el* "to tear to pieces" is a multiplicative verb with the suffix -ոտ- *-ot-*, formed from the verb պատառել *pataŕel* "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* *ēr*
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* *ē*
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-ě *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-ě *erb* *ek-av* *tun* *erexa-ner-ě*
father.NOM-the CONJ come-AOR.3.SG house.NOM child-PL.NOM-the

tonacaṙ-ě *zardarel-is* *en* *eł-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:

Vałn *ařavotyan* *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 *linel,* is regarded as expressing the difference between durative and non-durative aspect.[150]

2.5.5 Conjugation of Armenian verbs

The Morphological Forms of the Armenian Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or non-finite forms. Finite forms are all morphological forms expressing number, person, tense and/or mood; non-finite forms are prototypically participles.

All finite and non-finite forms of Armenian verbs are generated either from the present or the perfect aorist stem. In traditional Armenian grammars the "infinitive" stem is often used instead of the present stem.

The present stem is the verb's pure stem without the infinitive ending in -ել *-el* or -ալ *-al*, and includes the lexical suffixes -ան *-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-*gr-* (< գրել *grel*), լս- *ls-*(< լսել *lsel*),
Simple verbs in -al	Stem-	կարդ- *kard-* (< կարդալ *kardal*), խաղ- *xał-* (<խաղալ *xałal*),

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- *p'axč'-* (< փախչել *p'axč'el*), տռչ- *tŕč'-* (< տռչել *tŕč'el*),
Suffixed verbs in -n-el	Stem -n-	տեսն- *tesn-* (<տեսնել *tesnel*),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al	Stem -an-	մոռան-*moŕan-* (< մոռանալ *moŕanal*),
Suffixed verbs in -en-al	Stem-en-	մոտեն- *moten-* (< մոտենալ *motenal*),
Causativised verbs in -c'n-el	Stem-c'n-	կարդացն- *kardac'n-* (< կարդացնել *kardac'nel*
Passivised verbs in -v-el	Stem-v-	տեսնվ- *tesn*-v- (< տեսնվել *tesnvel).*

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 *-oł* գրող *gr-oł* "writer, the writing one"
- Resultative participle of the e-conjugation: *-ac* գրած. *gr-ac* "written"
- Participle perfect of the e-conjugation: *-el* ·րել *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-եմ *gr-em*,
- Conditional of a- and e-conjugation կկարդ-ամ *k-kard-am*, կգր-եմ *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- *gr-* (< գրել *grel*), լս- *ls-*(< լսել *lsel*),
Simple verbs in -al	Pres.stem+-ac'-	կարդաց- *kardac'-* (< կարդալ *kardal*),
Suffixed verbs in -č'el	Pres.stem without -č'-	փախ- *p'ax-* (< փախչել *p'axč'el)*,
Suffixed verbs in -n-el	Pres.stem without -n-	տես- *tes-* (< տեսնել *tesnel*),
Suffixed verbs in -an-al	Pres.stem without -an-+ac'	մոռաց- *moŕac'-* (< մոռանալ *moŕanal*),

Suffixed verbs in -en-al	Pres.stem without -en-+ac’	մոտեց- *motec’*- (< մոտենալ *motenal*),
Causativised verbs in -c’n-el	Stem+ -c’r-	կարդացր- *kardac’r*- (< կարդացնել *kardac’nel*
Passivised verbs in -v-el	Pres.stem-v-	տեսնվ- *tesn-v*- (< տեսնվել *tesnvel*).

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’-oł*.

b. Tense
– Aorist: e-conjugation verbs գրեց-ի *grec’*-i, a-conjugation verbs *kardac’*- 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 *moṙac’-ir*, վախեց-իր *vaxec’-ir* as well as of causativised verbs կարդացրու *kardac’-ru* etc.,
– Imperative plural of all verbs, e.g. գրեց-է՛ք *grec’ek’*, կարդաց-է՛ք *kardac’-ek’*, տեսե՛ք *tes-ek’*, փախե՛ք *p’ax-ek’*, մոռացե՛ք *moṙac’-ek’*, վախեցե՛ք *vaxec-’ek’*, կարդացրե՛ք *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 *-oł*

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 Infinitive[151]

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 *verǰac'nel* "to finish sth." etc.
– of manipulation verbs as eg. ստիպել *stipel* "to force", թույլատրել *t'uylatrel* "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	*karołac'-av*	*žamanakin*	*verǰa-c'n-el*	*ašxatank'-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 Պետրոին կարդալ գիրքը:

Es	*stip-um*	*em*	*Petros-i-n*	*kard-al*	*girk'-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	*hamozec'*	*ord-u-n*	*vałě*
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-ě *k'artułar-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:

Usuc'ič'-ě *erexa-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'-ě.*
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-ě.*
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'-ě.*
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) Չկրակե՛լ:

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* *k'ałak'* *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-ĕ *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 *cicał-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, particulary in the dative, have been lexicalised[152] 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 participle[153]

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։

Antaŕ-um	*sunk*	*havak’el-is*	*Madlen-ě*
forest-Loc	mushroom.NOM	collect-PTCP.PROC.	Madlen.NOM-the
kor-c’r-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 *ěnt’ac’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		*ē.*	
rise-PTCP.PRES.		it is	

“Listening (to) this music, my mood rises.”(When I listen to this music, my mood rises.)”

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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. Abełyan’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:

arʻavotyan *na* *deř* *gnal-is* *klin-i.*
morning he.NOM still go-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.3.SG.
"In the morning we will still be going."

(405) Այդ ժամանակ Անին սովորելիս է լինում:

ayd *žamanak* *Ani-n* *sovorel-is* *ē* *lin-um.*
that time.NOM Ani.NOM-the learn-PTCP.PROC. she is be-PTCP.PRES.
"At that time Anin is (usually) learning."

2.5.6.3 Future participle

Formation

The participle is formed from the infinitive + suffix -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.1PL[154]

"When you are about to go to the shop, tell me also, let us go together!"

2.5.6.4 Future participle II

There is also a secondary future participle in -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' *ēǰ-er-ě* *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	*žołov-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 betalked (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 – č'-**	**Suffixed in-an-**	**Suffixed in -en-**
Inf.	գրել *gr-el*	կարդալ *kard-al*	տեսնել *tes-n-el*	փախչել *p'ax-č'-el*	ուրախանալ *urax-an-al*	վախենալ *vax-en-al*
Aorist stem	գր- *gr-ac*	կարդաց- *kardac'-*	տես- *tes-*	փախ- *p'ax-*	ուրախաց- *uraxac'-*	վախեց- *vaxec'-*
Part. Res.	գրած *gr-ac*	կարդացած *kardac'-ac*	տեսած *tes-ac*	փախած *p'ax-ac*	ուրախացած *uraxac'-ac*	վախեցած *vaxec'-ac*

	Causativised in -c'n-el	**Passivised in -vel**[155]
Inf.	կարդացնել *karda-c'n-el*	գրվել *gr-v-el*
Aorist stem	կարդացր- *kardac'r-*	գրվ- *grv-*
Part. Res.	կարդացրած *kardac'r-ac*	գրված *grv-ac*

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'aylel* "to step, to walk", վազել *vazel* "to run", շարունակել *šarunakel* "to continue", տևել *tevel* "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-ĕ	*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:

Caŕ-i	*tak*	*nst-ac*	*ałǰik-ĕ*	*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 ծարը այս տարի բերք տվեց:

Anuš-i *tnk-ac'* *caŕ-ĕ* *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'-ĕ* *šat* *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'-ĕ* *šat* *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-ĕ *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 participle[158]

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.*

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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 – č'-**	**Suffixed in -an-**	**Suffixed in -en-**
Present Stem	գր *gr-*		տես-ել *tes-n-*	փախչ- *p'ax-č'-*		
Aorist stem		կարդաց- *kardac'-*			ուրախաց- *uraxac'-*	վախեց- *vaxec'-*
Part. Sub.	գրող *gr-oł*	կարդացող *kardac'- oł*	տեսնող *tesn- oł*	փախչող *p'axč'- oł*	ուրախացող *uraxac'- oł*	վախեցող *vaxec'- oł*

	Causativised in -c'n-el	**Passivised in -vel**[159]
Present Stem	կարդացն- *karda-c'n-el*	գրվ- *gr-v-*
Aorist Stem		
Part. Sub.	կարդացնող *kardac'n- oł*	գրվող *grv- oł*

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-ov[160] *sastkac'-oł* *k'ami-n* *stip-ec'*
go-INF-INST intensify-PTCP.SUB. wind.NOM-the force-AOR.3.SG
cnoł-ner-i-n *tun* *kanč'-el-u* *bak-um*
parent-PL-DAT-the house.NOM call-INF-DAT courtyard-LOC
xałac'-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:

Iskuyn *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 *groł*	a. writing	b. writer
ուսանող *usanoł*	a. learning	b. student
ծնող *cnoł*	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 – č'-**	**Suffixed in -an-**	**Suffixed in -en-**
Inf.	գրել *gr-el*	կարդալ *kard-al*	տեսնել *tes-n-el*	փախչել *p'ax-č'-el*	ուրախանալ *urax-an-al*	վախենալ *vax-en-al*
AOR. Stem	գր- *gr-*	կարդաց- *kardac'-*	տես- *tes-*	փախ- *p'ax-*	ուրախաց- *uraxac'-*	վախեց- *vaxec'-*
Part. Perf.	գրել *gr-el*	կարդացել *kardac'-el*	տեսել *tes-el*	փախել *p'ax-el*	ուրախացել *uraxac'-el*	վախեցել *vaxec'-el*

161. This feature is one of the "oldest" features given in Armenian dialectology: already in A. Aytěnian'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. Ačřayan (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 *kě 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 *Vardanĕ lalis ē*. "Vardan cries" is expressed by Վարդանը լացում է *Vardane lac'um ē* or Վարդանը լաց է լինում: *Vardanĕ 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 *karda-c'n-el*	գրվել *gr-v-el*
Aorist Stem	կարդացր- *kardac'r-*	գրվ- *grv-*
Part. Perf.	կարդացրել *kardac'r-el*	գրվել *grv-el*

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 *em* "I am"	էի *ēi* "I was"
2. SG.	ես *es* "you are"	էիր *ēir* "you were"
3. SG.	է *ē* "he-she-it is"	էր *ēr* "he-she-it was"
1. PL.	ենք *enk'* "we are"	էինք *ēink'* "we were"
2. PL.	եք *ek'* "you are"	էիք *ēik'* "you were"
3. PL.	են *en* "they are"	էին *ēin* "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: V*ardanĕ kardum ē girkĕ.* "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 *čem grum* "I do not write". Note: there are two forms of the negated 3. SG. present tense: չի *č'i* and չէ *čĕ*.
չի *č'i* is exclusively used in analytic tenses, whereas չէ *čĕ* is used in copular function.

(425) Անուշը գրում է:

Anuš-ĕ *gr-um* *ē.*
Anuš.NOM-the write-PTCP.PRES. she is
"Anuš is writing."

(425) a. Անուշը չի գրում:

Anuš-ĕ *č'-i* *gr-um.*
Anuš.NOM-the neg-she is write-PTCP.PRES.
"Anuš is not writing."

(426) Անուշը գեղեցիկ աղջիկ է:

Anuš-ĕ *gełec'ik* *ałǰik* *ē.*
Anuš.NOM-the beautiful girl.NOM she is.
"Anuš is a beautiful girl."

(426) a. Անուշը գեղեցիկ աղջիկ չէ:

Anuš-ĕ *gelec'ik* *ałǰik* *č'-ĕ.*
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]

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164. Łaragyulyan 1981:101. Zak'aryan 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 *ašnanayin 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 *ełel em*), past perfect (եղել էի *ełel ēi*), aorist (ելա *ełа*), 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)

Hanrakrt'ut'y-an *olort-i* *himnakan* *xndir-ner-ic'* *ē*
general education-DAT field-DAT basic question-PL-ABL it is

eł-el *hamakarg-i* *ōptimalic'um-ě.*
be-PTCP.PERF. system-DAT optimalisation.NOM-the

"The basic question of the general education's area (domain) has been the optimalisation of the system."

(429) Տոնավաճառի առաջին օրը նվիրված է լինում ավանդաբար գորգ արտադրող որևէ պետության: (Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Tonavačař-i *ařaǰin* *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 *petut'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

a. 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".
b. 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*
c. 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.*
d. The prospective present tense is formed with the future participle in -ու -u and the auxiliary "to be repeatedly/habitually" in the present tense, e.g. 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,

a. the dynamic present tense denotes an action that is in progress at the point of speech, i.e. the point of references coincides with the moment of speech.
b. The dynamic present tense has a narrative function as the "historical present" and denotes sequences of past events from a retrospective point of view.
c. The dynamic present tense also denotes future actions; if the performance of the action is regarded as sure or as if the action is already performed in the moment of speech. This is very common in spoken Armenian.

In general situations,

d. The dynamic present tense denotes the agent's ability to perform an action.
e. The dynamic present tense denotes a habitual or iterative action. This meaning can be stressed by a range of adverbs expressing:

– cyclical time such as օրեկան *ōrekan* "daily", տարեկան *tarekan* "yearly", ամսական *amsakan* "monthly", գիշերներով *gišerov* "at night", ամեն օր *amen ōr* "every day" etc.
– frequency or interval as հաճախ *hačax* "often", հազվադեպ *hazvadep* "seldom", սակավ *sakav* "rarely", երբեմն *erbemn* "sometimes", ժամանակ առ ժամանակ *žamanak arə*

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-ĕ *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-ĕ *nst-um* *ē* *gričʼ-ĕ* *vercʼn-um* *u*
Hasmik.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES. she is pen.NOM-the take-PTCP.PRES. CONJ
gr-um *namak-ĕ.*
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' *vałĕ* *toms* *em* *vercʼn-um* *tołn-um*
just tomorrow ticket.NOM I am take-PTCP.PRES. leave-PTCP.PRES
em *amen inčʼ* *ew* *tʼřčʼ-um* *Pʼariz.*
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-ĕ *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-ĕ *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 ē 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.
ē 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 žamanak Hasmik-ě sovorel-is
that time.NOM Hasmik.NOM-the learn-PTCP.PROC.
ē 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

a. 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 ēi* "I wrote"
b. 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 ēi*, գրած էի լինում *grac ēi linum*

c. The processual tense is formed with the processual participle in -իս *-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,

a. if the expression refers to a single situation in the past, the dynamic imperfect tense conveys the meaning of an ongoing process. (See (438) below)
b. The dynamic imperfect tense denotes an action that was in progress at the reference point i.e. the situation is viewed from the synchronic reference point. The imperfect conveys the meaning of an ongoing process. This synchronic point of reference can be additionally expressed by deictic adverbs like հիմա *hima* "now", այս պահին *ays pahin* "at this moment", այժմ *ayžm* "now" etc. (439)
c. If the reference point is retrospective, the imperfect conveys a situation included in the progression of events. The marker of this usage is usually a time adverbial of limited duration and/or other elements, indicating that the situation referred to is part of the succession of events; e.g. constructions with the postposition հետո *heto* "after". (440)

(438) Երեկ նամակ էի գրում իմ եղբորը:
Erek namak ēi gr-um im ełbor-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)
miguc'e 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:
Čaš-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 -ու-*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:

Gyuł-um *T'eni-n* *mišt* *hangist* *ēr* *k'n-um.*
village-LOC T'eni.NOM-the always quiet she was sleep-PTCP.PRES.
"In the village T'eni always slept quietly."

(442) Որոշ երեխաների մոտ մայրերն ավելի հաճախ էին գալիս: (Hetk' 19.02.2007)

oroš *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* *goŕ-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 "*linel*" 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 կանգնած էր պատուհանի առաջ և նայում էր դեպի փողոց:

Ani-n *kangn-ac* *ēr* *patuhan-i* *aŕaǰ*
Ani.NOM-the stand-PTCP.RES. she was window-DAT POST

ew *nay-um* *ēr* *depi* *p'ołoc'.*
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 *aṙaǰ* *stip-v-ac* *ēi*
surgery-ABL POST force-pass-PTCP.RES. I was

internet-um *p'ntr-el*
internet-LOC search-INF

inj *hetak'rk'r-oł* *tełekut'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 հավեսով 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 eɫel* "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 eɫel* "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 տեսե: *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 *daṙnal* "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 *aṙnel* "to take, to buy" and by dynamic verbs affecting the possessive object, e.g. աչքերը փակել *ač'kʻerə pʻakel* "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 parenthetic words, such as կարծես *karces* "as if", երևի *erewi* "probably", գուցե *gucʻe* "maybe, likely" etc.
3. In narration and in fiction, past events are expressed by the perfect, if they are understood as digressions from the main event.

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168. Please note that prospective forms are also not productive and are obsolete in the perfect tense.

169. Łaragyulyan 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-ě *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'-ě.*
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.*
Tenis.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* *k'o* *namak-ě.*
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-ě *kardac'-el* *ē* *ays* *girk'-ě.*
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 երևի հասկացել է նամակդ:

Vahan-ě erevi haskac'-el ē namak-d.
Vahan.NOM-the probably understand-PTCP.PERF. he is letter.NOM-your
"Vahan has probably understood your letter."

– Perfect in Narrative Function

(456) Հայկական այբուբենը ստեղծվել է հիգերորդ դարում:

Haykakan aybuben-ě stełc-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)

aŕewang-v-oł-ě eł-el ē nra ordi-n isk
kidnapped-NOM-the be-PTCP.PERF. he is his son.NOM-the CONJ

ěntanik'-i het xndir-n arden dranic' aŕaĵ ē
family-DAT POST question.NOM-the already that-ABL POST it is

luc-v-ac eł-el nš-el
solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-PTCP.PERF. remark-PTCP.PERF.

ē G. Kirakosyan-ě.
he is G. Kirakosyan.NOM-the

"[…]the kidnapped one was his son, but the problem with the family has already been resolved before that," " remarked G. Kirakosyan."

– Processual Present Perfect

(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* *eł-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:

et'e *tes-el* *em* *nran* *k'ez* *kas-em.*
CONJ see-PTCP.PERF. I am he.DAT you.DAT say-COND.FUT.1.SG.
"If I see him, I will tell you."

…instead of more common aorist in "written" Armenian:

(459) a. Եթե տեսա նրան, քեզ կասեմ:

et'e *tesa nran* *k'ez* *kas-em.*
CONJ see-AOR.1.SG. he.DAT you.DAT say-COND.FUT.1.SG.
"If is see him, I will tell you."

(460) Եթե գնացել ես, էլ քեզ հետ չեմ խոսելու:

Et'e *gnac'-el* *es* *ēl* *k'ez* *het*
CONJ go-PTCP.PERF. you are anymore you.DAT POST
č'-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

a. 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 *kardac'el ēi* "I had read".
b. 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 *paṙkac ēi eł*el "I had lied down". These forms occur very seldom.
c. The processual forms of the past perfect tense are formed with the processual participle -իս *-is* and the the auxiliary լինել *linel* "to be repeatedly,habitually" in the past perfect tense, i.e. գնալիս էի եղել *gnalis ēi eł*el "I had been going". These forms occur very seldom.[172]

172. Prospective forms do not occur.

Meaning and Function

According to Comrie, MEA past perfect can cover the meaning of the past of the second degree of remoteness (Comrie 1985:68); i.e. the past perfect is directly related to the moment of speech in the deictic centre.

In MEA, the past perfect is used in two functions, also in independent clauses and dialogues:

– it relates to a reference point in the past;
– it relates to the moment of speech and designates the remote past.

As in other languages, the past perfect denotes an action/situation that precedes the main action (expressed by aorist or imperfect) and it denotes:

a. actions that have been performed in the past, and have been completed to a certain point in the past (461);
b. actions that have been performed in the remote past. Such a reference to an interval preceding to the reference point is sometimes explicitly expressed by adverbs such as վաղուց *vałuc'* "long ago", արդեն *arden* "already" or the preposition մինչև *minč'ew* "until" or the postposition առաջ *aŕaĵ* "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 *moŕac'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 Սեխերը նամակ էր հղել Հռոմի պապ Բենեդիկտոս 16-րդին՝ հրավիրելու համար Թուրքիա: (Azg 10.01.2006)

2005 t'.	*September-i*	*15-in*	*naxagah*	*Ahmed Neĵdet*
2005 year-DAT	september-DAT	15-DAT-the	president.NOM	Ahmed Neĵdet-

Sezer-ĕ	*namak*	*ēr*	*hł-el*	*Hŕom-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' *haǰord* *ōr-n* *inj* *ěndun-el.*
just next day.NOM-the I.DAT receive-INF

"President Lewon Ter-Petrosyan had agreedo receive me just the next day."

(466) Ամռան մի օր ագռավը խիստ ծարավել էր: (Grakanut'yun 4: 81)

amŕan *mi* *ōr* *agŕav-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* *eł-el* *antaŕ-um* *bayc'* *aŕaǰin*
I.NOM many time.NOM I was be-PTCP.PERF. forest-LOC CONJ first

angam *ēr* *or* *piti gišer-i* *aynteł.*
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 ընտացքում 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
paŕk-ac *ēi* *eł-el* *usti* *nran* *aycel-el*
lie down-PTCP.RES. I was be-PTCP.PERF CONJ he.DAT visit-INF
č'-ēi *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'r-* (causatives).

	Singular		Plural	
1.	-ի	*-i*	-իք	*-ink'*
2.	-իր	*-ir*	-իք	*-ik'*
3.	-Ø		-ին	*-in*

b. secondary endings for verbs suffixed with -ենալ *-enal*, -անալ *-anal*, -ն- *-n-*, -չ- *-č'-*.

	Singular		Plural	
1.	-ա	*-a*	- անք	*-ank'*
2.	- ար	*-ar*	-աք	*-ak'*
3.	- ավ	*-av*	-ան	*-an*

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 eła* "I stood"
– Processual aorist, e.g. գնալիս եղա *gnalis eła* "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'ołnel* "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 *ber-i*	instead of standard բերեցի *berec'-i*
տվի *tv-i*	instead of standard տվեցի *tvec'-i*
թողի *t'oł-i*	instead of standard թողեցի *t'ołec'-i*
արի *ar-i*	instead of standard արեցի *arec'-i*
դրի *dr-i*	instead of standard դրեցի *drec'i*
ասի *as-i*[175]	instead of standard ասացի *asac'-i etc.*

– Sometimes, there are more deviating forms with secondary endings, such as the colloquial forms of the following verbs:

Example aorist 3.SG.

նստավ *nstav*	instead of նստաց *nstac'* "He sat down"
բերավ *berav*	instead of բերեց *berec'* "He brought"
տվավ *tvav*	instead of տվեց *tvec'* "He gave"
ասավ *asav*	instead of ասաց *asac'* "He said"
սկսավ *sksav*	instead of սկսեց *sksec'* "He started"

Meaning and Function

The aorist is the tense to denote a completed action in the past and thus expresses the perfective aspect.

The Dynamic Aorist

a. This denotes, almost exclusively, a single action in the past in an independent sentence: it relates to a situation at a certain point in the past. Therefore it often

173. Prospective forms are not productive in the aorist.

174. Abrahamyan 1974: 426–430; Łaragyulyan 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 arǝat 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' šat 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 verǰapes 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 štap 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* *usanoł-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 գագաթները:

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 *gagat'-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 ՀՀ[176]-ում:
(Armenpress 05.05.2006)

sakayn *anhavasar* *už-er-i* *patčaṙ-ov* *stip-v-ac*
CONJ unequal force-PL-DAT reason-INST force-pass-PTCP.RES.
eł-av *t'oł-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.

eł-av	*datavč'iṙ-ě*	*hrapartak-el*	*ałmuk-i*	*meǰ.*
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

a. 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"
b. 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 *paṙkac em linelu* "I will be lied down".
c. 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	*vałě*	*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 գնանք 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.

ēsteł-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) Դատարանն իր վճիռը կայացնելու է ապրիլի 13-ին: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

dataran-n *ir* *včiŕ-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* *xałal-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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

ir *gorcuneut'yun-ě* *sks-el-uc'* *aŕaĵ* *stip-v-ac* *ē*
his activity.NOM-the begin-INF-ABL POST force-pass-PTCP.RES. he is

linel-u *canrakšiŕ* *orošum* *endun-el* *ew* *mišt*
be-PTCP.FUT. heavy decision.NOM accept-INF CONJ always

hašvi aŕn-el *hakaŕak* *kołm-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' šałkap-v-ac ē linel-u Hayastani
next year-ABL connect-pass-PTCP.RES. it is be-PTCP.FUT. Armenia-DAT

tarekan HNA[178]*-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

a. 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"
b. 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 *paŕkac ēi linelu* "I will have laid down".
c. 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:

a. an action that will have already taken place at a certain reference point in future;
b. a planned action that would have occurred in future, as seen from the viewpoint in the past, i.e. future in the past denotes anteriority relative to a future event;
c. an action, whose performance in the future is unsure, i.e. assumptions about past actions.

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178. The Armenian abbreviation ՀՆԱ *HNA* stands for Համախառն Ներքին Արտադրանք *Hamaxarn Nerk'in Artadrank*' "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'-ě* *katarel-u* *ēr* *Suren-ě.*
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:

Ełbayr-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 skavaŕak-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 žołov-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 գիտել *gi-tel* "to know" form their present and imperfect indicate subjunctive-like, i.e. synthetically, not by using the present participle and auxiliary: ունեմ *unem* "I have", ուներ *unei* "I had" and գիտեմ *gitem* "I know", գիտեի *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 գիտնեալ *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	գնամ *gnam*	գնայի *gnayi*	գնալիս լինեմ *gnac'ac linem*	գնալիս լինեի *gnac'ac linei*
2. SG	գնաս *gnas*	գնայիր *gnayir*	գնալիս լինես *gnac'ac lines*	գնալիս լինեիր *gnac'ac lineir*
3. SG	գնա *gna*	գնար *gnar*	գնալիս լինի *gnac'ac lini*	գնալիս լիներ *gnac'ac liner*
1. PL	գնանք *gnank'*	գնայինք *'gnayink'*	գնալիս լինենք *gnac'ac linenk'*	գնալիս լինեինք *gnac'ac lineink'*
2. PL	գնաք *gnak'*	գնայիք *gnayik'*	գնալիս լինեք *gnac'ac linek'*	գնալիս լինեիք *gnac'ac lineik'*
3. PL	գնան *gnan*	գնային *gnayin*	գնալիս լինեն *gnac'ac linen*	գնալիս լինեին *gnac'ac linein*

	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1.SG	գնալիս լինեմ *gnalis linem*	գնալիս լինեի *gnalis linei*	գնալու լինեմ *gnalu linem*	գնալու լինեի *gnalu linei*
2. SG	գնալիս լինես *gnalis lines*	գնալիս լինեիր *gnalis lineir*	գնալու լինես *gnalu lines*	գնալու լինեիր *gnalu lineir*
3. SG	գնալիս լինի *gnalis lini*	գնալիս լիներ *gnalis liner*	գնալու լինի *gnalu lini*	գնալու լիներ *gnalu liner*
1. PL	գնալիս լինենք *gnalis linenk'*	գնալիս լինեինք *gnalis lineink'*	գնալու լինենք *gnalu linenk'*	գնալու լինեինք *gnalu lineink'*
2. PL	գնալիս լինեք *gnalis linek'*	գնալիս լինեիք *gnalis lineik'*	գնալու լինեք *gnalu linek'*	գնալու լինեիք *gnalu lineik'*
3. PL	գնալիս լինեն *gnalis linen*	գնալիս լինեին *gnalis linein*	գնալու լինեն *gnalu linen*	գնալու լինեին *gnalu linein*

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 *č'-gna-m*	չգնայի *č'-gna-yi*	գնացած չլինեմ *gnac'ac č'-lin-em*	գնացած չլինեի *gnac'ac č'-lin-ei*

	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	Past	Future	Past
1. SG.	գնալիս չլինեմ *gnalis č'-lin-em*	գնալիս չլինեի *gnalis č-'lin-ei*	գնալու չլինեմ *gnalu č-'lin-em*	գնալու չլինեի *gnalu č-'lin-ei*

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."

– Secondarily, the subjunctive future denotes an action that is possible to be performed in the future from the speaker's point of view or via an indirect request; i.e. if the speaker wants to have the action performed.
– The subjunctive can be used in hortative meaning.

(490) 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* *aťoř-ĕ?*
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 շարես այս աթոռը:

mi *hat* *šarž-es* *ays* *aťoř-ĕ?*
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'ołnel* "let", and the subjunctive future. (See Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. "Imperative", p. 271f.)

(495) Թող Արմենը գնա տուն:

T'oł *Armen-ĕ* *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 վախենալ *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 օգենմ:

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-ĕ*
CONJ we.NOM desire-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ 21st century.NOM-the

lini *aveli mardkayin* *menk'* *č'-enk'* *kar-oł*
be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG INT human we.NOM neg-we are can-PTCP.PRES.

moŕa-nal *20-rd* *dari* *sarsap'-ner-ĕ.*
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 վախենում են, թե նույնը կարող է կրկնվել ամեն վայրկյան:
(Armenpress 13.01.2006)

k'ani or *vaxen-um* *en* *t'e* *nuyn-ĕ* *kar-oł*
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 նստեմ:

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 inč' 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 ṙuseren.
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 ōgn-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 ōgn-el.
Ani.NOM-the want-PTCP.PRES. she is you.DAT help-INF
"Ani wants to help you." (Standard)

(505) Անի, կարա՞մ[182] 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-oł 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 տաս:
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." (WrittenStandard but also impersonal, neutral)

b. Խնդրում եմ որ ինձ հաց տաս:
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) Թույլ տվեք նստեմ:
t'uyl tv-ek' nst-em.
allow-IMP.2.PL sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
"Allow (me) to sit down!" (Colloquial)

(504) a. Թույլ տվե՛ք նստել:
t'uyl tv-ek' nst-el!
allow-IMP.2.PL sit-INF
"Allow (me) to sit down!"(Standard)

b. Թույլ տվե՛ք որ նստեմ:
T'uyl tv-ek' or nst-em.
allow-IMP.2.PL CONJ sit-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG
"Allow me that I sit down!"

This use of the subjunctive is so wide-spread and common, that it has also begun to enter the unofficial written language.

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182. Please note this is the wide-spread colloquial present tense form of the modal verb կարողանալ *karołanal*. The corresponding written (normative) form is կարող եմ *karoł 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 *ełb-or-s* *or* *inkě* *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'ołn-i*
I.NOM persuade-AOR.1.SG he.DAT CONJ quit-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

ir *ašxatankě.*
his job.NOM-the

"I persuaded him to quit his job."

(507) 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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

Isk *et'e* *t'erac'oł-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 ճկուն, նպատակամղված լինի երկրների ու մարդկանց կարիքներին: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

Menk' *cankan-um* *enk'* *or* *Hamagorcakc'ut'yun-ě*
we.NOM desire-PTCP.PRES. we are CONJ cooperation.NOM-the

daŕna *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

petut'y-an *xndir-ě* *luc-v-ac* *lin-i*
state-DAT problem.NOM-the solve-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG

et'e *žołovrd-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:
guc'e *marag* *mtnel-is* *mk-an-ĕ*
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:
Guc'e *marag* *mtnel-is* *mk-an-ĕ*
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
ǰard-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

ǰard-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'e gišer-va ěnt'ac'k'-um
think-PTCP.PRES. I was CONJ night-DAT course-LOC

c'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 հայորդի կրում է իր հոգում,
որտեղ էլ նա ապրելիս լինի: (Armenpress 02.05.2006)

Ararat-i patker-ě yurak'anč'yur hayord kr-um
Ararat-DAT image.NOM-the each Armenian.NOM bear–PTCP.PRES. is

ē ir hog-um orteł 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, whereverhe 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'e	*es*	*gnal-u*	*lin-em*	*k'ez*
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 կարդալող լինես, մյուսը կտաս եղբորդ:

Erb	*or*	*ays*	*girk'-ě*	*kardal-u*	*lin-es*
CONJ	CONJ	this	book.NOM-the	read-PTCP.FUT.	be-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG

myus-ě	*kt-as*	*ełbor-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 ուր[184] կլիներ առանց Սփյուռքի: (Armenpress 28.03.2006)

et'e	*et nayel-u*	*lin-em*	*č'-em*	*kar-oł*
CONJ look	back-PTCP.FUT.	be-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.	neg-I am	can-PTCP.PRES.

as-el	*t'e*	*Hayastan-n*	*aysōr*	*ur*	*klin-er*
say-INF	CONJ	Armenia.NOM-the	today	where	be-COND.PAST.3.SG

aṙanc'	*Sp'yuṙk'-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*	*ěnt'ac'k'um*	*xorac'-el*	*ē*	*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 *orteł*, 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

gyułatntesut'y-an *asparez-ner-um,* *et'e* *t'varkel-u*
agriculture-DAT field-PL-LOC CONJ enumerate-PTCP.FUT.

lin-enk' *sosk* *mi qani-s-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՝ կհանդիպեիր նրան:

Et'e *mik'ič'* *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'e *hraver* *stana-yi*
CONJ invitation.NOM receive-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG

kgna-yi *gitažołov-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:
(Aŕavot 08.03.2006)

šat *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 գար չորսին:

es *asac-'i* *or* *Lilit'ě*
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'e *ayn storagr-v-ac* *lin-er* *apa* *aysōr*
CONJ that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG then today

Leŕnayin Łarabał-i *hakamartut'yun-ě*
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 wouldhave 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. ցույց տալ *c'uyc tal* "to show", ցույց 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 *k-gn-am*	կգնայի *k-gn-ayi*	գնացած կլինեմ *gnac' ac k-lin-em*	գնացած կլինեի *gnac' ac k-lin-ei*
2. SG	կգնաս *k-gn-as*	կգնայիր *k-gn-ayir*	գնացած կլինես *gnac 'ac k-lin-es*	գնացած կլինեիր *gnac' ac k-lin-eir*
3. SG	կգնա *k-gn-a*	կգնար *k-gn-ar*	գնացած կլինի *gnac' ac k-lin-i*	գնացած կլիներ *gnac 'ac k-lin-er*
1. PL	կգնանք *k-gn-ank'*	կգնայինք *k-'gn-ayink'*	գնացած կլինենք *gnac' ac k-lin-enk'*	գնացած կլինեինք *gnac' ac k-lin-eink'*
2. PL	կգնաք *k-gn-ak'*	կգնայիք *k-gn-ayik'*	գնացած կլինեք *gnac' ac k-lin-ek'*	գնացած կլինեիք *gnac' ac k-lin-eik'*
3. PL	կգնան *k-gn-an*	կգնային *k-gn-ayin*	գնացած կլինեն *gnac 'ac k-lin-en*	գնացած կլինեին *gnac 'ac k-lin-ein*

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. կցույց տամ *k-c'uyc' tam* instead of given above written Standard ցույց կտամ *c'yuc k-tam* "I will/shall give". Łaragyulyan 1981: 99.

	PROCESSUAL		PROSPECTIVE	
	Future	**Past**	**Future**	**Past**
1.SG	գնալիս կլինեմ *gnalis k-lin-em*	գնալիս կլինեի *gnalis k-lin-ei*	գնալու կլինեմ *gnalu k-lin-em*	գնալու կլինեի *gnalu k-lin-ei*
2. SG	գնալիս կլինես *gnalis k-lin-es*	գնալիս կլինեիր *gnalis k-lin-eir*	գնալու կլինես *gnalu k-lin-es*	գնալու կլինեիր *gnalu k-lin-eir*
3. SG	գնալիս կլինի *gnalis k-lin-i*	գնալիս կլիներ *gnalis k-lin-er*	գնալու կլինի *gnalu k-lin-i*	գնալու կլիներ *gnalu k-lin-er*
1. PL	գնալիս կլինենք *gnalis k-lin-enk'*	գնալիս կլինեինք *gnalis k-lin-eink'*	գնալու կլինենք *gnalu k-lin-enk'*	գնալու կլինեինք *gnalu k-lin-eink'*
2. PL	գնալիս կլինեք *gnalis k-lin-ek'*	գնալիս կլինեիք *gnalis k-lin-eik'*	գնալու կլինեք *gnalu k-lin-ek'*	գնալու կլինեիք *gnalu k-lin-eik'*
3. PL	գնալիս կլինեն *gnalis k-lin-en*	գնալիս կլինեին *gnalis k-lin-ein*	գնալու կլինեն *gnalu k-lin-en*	գնալու կլինեին *gnalu k-lin-ein*

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	չեմ գնա *č ’em gna*	չեի գնա *č’ ei gna*	գնացած չեմ լինի *gnac’ac č’ em lini*	գնացած չեի լինի *gnac’ac č’ ei lini*
	PROCESSUAL		**PROSPECTIVE**	
	Future	**Past**	**Future**	**Past**
1.SG	գնալիս չեմ լինի *gnalis č ’em lini*	գնալիս չեի լինի *gnalis č’ ei lini*	գնալու չեմ լինի *gnalu č’ em lini*	գնալու չեի լինի *gnalu č’ ei lini*

2.5.7.3.2.1 *Conditional future (Conditional I)*

Dynamic forms

a. Simple sentences

The conditional future originally denotes an action that shall be performed in the future under certain conditions.

Future Meaning (or “meaning of a confirming mood[186]” 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:
Vałě namak kgr-em.
tomorrow letter.NOM write-COND.FUT.1.SG
“Tomorrow I will (shall) write a letter.”

(531) a. Վաղը նամակ եմ գրելու:
Vałě namak em grel-u.
tomorrow letter.NOM I am write-PTCP.FUT.
“Tomorrow I will write a letter.”

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186. In Armenian հաստատողական եղանակի իմաստ *hastatołakan ełanaki 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-ĕ *kverdaṙn-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 meaning[188]

- 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:

K'ami-n *kpč-'i* *anjrew-ĕ* *kteł-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 xanuť 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 տարեծ մարդկանցից:
Ays hin patmut'yun-ě deř kls-es gyuł-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 kołm-er-um danak-mkrat sroł-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 meaning[191]

Conditional Future also expresses the objective meaning of the speaker about an action (or state) in the present tense[192]

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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 ełanaki 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-ĕ *mi* *mec* *gorcaran-i* *kaṙavarič'* *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 *gišer-ĕ* *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 *kverǰan-as* *k'o* *gorc-ĕ.*
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 *vałē* *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

ōrenk'-ov *č'-kargavor-v-i* *ays* *harc'-ě.*
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 ձյուդոիստները կարողանան մեդալներ նվաճել 2 միջազգային մրցումներում, ապա արդեն կապահովվի նրանց օլիմպիական ելույթը: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

et'e *hay* *jyudoist-ner-ě* *karołan-an* *medal-ner*
CONJ Armenian judoka-PL.NOM-the can-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL medal-PL.NOM

nvač-el *2 mi ǰazgayin* *mrc'um-ner-um* *apa* *arden*
win-INF 2 international competition-PL-LOC then already

kapahov-v-i *nranc'* *ōlimpiakan* *eluyt'-ě.*
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 գլոբալ հարցերում՝ (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

Et'e *nuynisk* *Jon K'eri-n* *ěntr-v-i* *AMN-i*
CONJ even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG US-DAT

naxagah *Kongres-ě* *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:

vałn *aŕavotyan* *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 պատրաստա՞ծ 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) Կարդացե՞լ 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. Կյանքումդ 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:

Ełbayr-d orteł 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 teł 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:

Vałn 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* *deṙ* *sovorel-is* *klin-es*
you.NOM lesson-PL.NOM-your still learn-PTCP.PROC. be-COND.FUT.2.SG

erb *k'ez* *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 ներս 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'y-an* *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 et'e imana-yi
he.DAT letter.NOM write-COND.PAST.1.SG CONJ know-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG

nra hasc'e-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 Julfalakyan-n asac'
Olympic champion.NOM Lewon Julfalakyan.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG

or hnaravoruťy-an 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 Julfalakyan 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)

et'e harjakvoł-ner-ě iskakan tłamard lin-ein
CONJ attacker-PL.NOM-the real man.NOM be-SUBJ.PAST.3.PL

nrank' kharjak-v-ein tłamardk-anc'
they.NOM attack-REFL-COND.PAST.3.PL man-PL-DAT

ayl oč' t'e xełč 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)

Et'e menk' hamajayn-eink' Řusastan-i partadr-ac sakagni
CONJ we.NOM agree-SUBJ.PAST.1.PL Russia-DAT compel-PTCP.RES. tariff-DAT

het gone 1 tari anc' kkarołanay-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 հաևանը 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 caṙ-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:

Gyuł-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)

et'e 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)

Et'e ayn storagr-v-ac lin-er apa aysōr
CONJ that sign-pass-PTCP.RES. be-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG. then today

Leṙnayin 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 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 *vałuc'* *iǰ-ac* *klin-ei* *im* *gah-ic'*
I.NOM long ago descend-PTCP.RES. be-COND.PAST.1.SG my throne-ABL

et'e *katar-v-ac* *tesn-ei* *ayn* *mitk'-ě.*
CONJ carry-out-pass-PTCP.RES. see-SUBJ.PAST.1.SG that thought.NOM-the

"I would have descended from my throne long ago, if I had only seen this thought carried out."

Processual Conditional Past

The processual conditional past refers to a hypothetical action in progress that precedes the reference point in the past.

(568) Դու գնալիս 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'-imanay-ir* *ayd* *masin.*
CONJ neg-hear-SUBJ.PAST.2.SG that POST

"You would have been going to the museum, if you had not heard about that."

Prospective Conditional Past

The prospective conditional past denotes a hypothetical action that was about to be performed in the past.

(569) Երեք օր առաջ Հասմիկը այս աշխատանքը հանձնելու կլիներ, եթե խանգարիչ հանգամանքներ չլինեին:

erek' *ōr* *aṙaǰ* *Hasmik-ě* *ays* *ašxatank'-ě* *hanjnel-u*
three day.NOM POST Hasmik.NOM-the this work.NOM-the deliver-PTCP.FUT.

klin-er *et'e* *xangarič'* *hangamank'-ner*
be-COND.PAST.3.SG CONJ disturbing circumstance-PL.NOM

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 todeliver 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 debitivefFuture) 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 + թիտի *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		**STATIVE**	
	Future	**Past**	**Future**	**Past**
1.SG	պիտի գնամ *piti gnam*	պիտի գնայի *piti gnayi*	գնացած պիտի լինեմ *gnac' ac piti linem*	գնացած պիտի լինեի *gnac' ac piti linei*
	PROCESSUAL		**PROSPECTIVE**	
	Future	**Past**	**Future**	**Past**
1.SG	գնալիս պիտի լինեմ *gnalis piti linem*	գնալիս պիտի լինեի *gnalis piti linei*	գնալու պիտի լինեմ *gnalu piti linem*	գնալու պիտի լինեի *gnalu piti linei*

194. Łaragyulyan 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*	*payk'arel*	*koŕupc'ia-yi*	*dem*	*ew*	*ayd*	*olort-um*
Part	it is	fight-INF	corruption-DAT	POST	CONJ	that	field-LOC

hamapatasxan-el	*evropakan*	*čap'aniš-ner-i-n.*
meet-INF	European	standard-PL-DAT-the

"One must fight against corruption and meet the European standards inthat 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 պատմեմ:

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:

Vałě 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 expectedness, depending on the context and verb meaning.

– Objective necessity

When the agent of the verb regards the future action as obligatory according to his own will, needs, intentions or duties, then objective necessity exists. It means that the agent and the modal subject coincide. Usually, objective necessity is typically conveyed by the following contexts

– in utterances in the 1. SG,
– in narration, when the position of the speaker is eliminated and the subject of the verb is also the agent.

(574) 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 haraberuťyun-nerě
part say-DEB.FUT.1SG CONJ our PREP this still good relation-PL.NOM-the
verǰin žamanak-ner-s dinamik ew aŕaǰěnťac' zargac'um
last time-PL.NOM-these dynamic CONJ progressive development.NOM
en apr-um.
they are live-PTCP.PRES.

"I have to say, that our so far good relations undergo a dynamic and progressive development "recently."

– Subjective necessity

By contrast, subjective necessity is characterised by occurring in dialogues, in which the obligation to perform an action is imposed by the speaker or the addressee.

The second person often expresses the explicit wish or order of the speaker to the addressee to perform an action:

(575) Դուք պետք է հաշտվեք ձեր պատմության հետ և ընդունեք Հայոց ցեղասպանության փաստը: (Azg 08.04.2006)

Duk' petk' ē hašt-v-ek' jer patmuťy-an het ew
you.NOM reconcile-pass-DEB.FUT.2.PL your history-DAT POST CONJ
ěndun-ek' Hayoc' c'ełaspanuťy-an p'ast-ě.
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 այսօ՞ր մեկնեմ:

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 հանձնվեմ, պիտի պայքարեմ: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

kyank'-s *t'ek'-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 payk'ar-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 *anšušt* "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'-ě* *krak-n* *ē* *ew* *ayd* *patčaṙ-ov*
dog-DAT element.NOM-the fire.NOM-the it is CONJ that reason-INST
tonakan *sełan-i-n* *petk' ē* *anpayman* *mom*
festive table-DAT-the part absolutely candle.NOM
vaṙ-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)

Łarabał-i *xndir-ě* *piti luc-v-i* *xałał*
Karabach-DAT problem.NOM-the solve-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG. pieceful
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 *vačaṙ-v-oł* *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* *miǰew* *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* *aṙ* *p'ul* *ew* *aṙaǰin*
regulation.NOM-the fulfil-pass-DEB.FUT.3.SG stage PREP stage CONJ first

hert'-i-n *(piti apahov-v-ac* *lini)* *Adrbeǰan-i*
row-DAT-the part guarantee-pass-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.SG Azerbaijan-DAT

tarack'ayin *ambołǰakanut'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)* *mez*
This story-PL.NOM-the (reach-PTCP.RES. be-DEB.FUT.3.PL) we.DAT

mek *ananun* *jeŕagr-i* *miǰoc'ov.*
one anonymous manuscript-DAT POST

"These stories must have reached us by means of one anonymous manuscript."

(584) Հրդեհը պետք է բռնկված լինի չհագցված ծխախոտից:

Hrdeh-ě *(petk' ē* *bŕnk-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* *kamurǰ-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
kamurǰ-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:

Duṙ-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»: (Aṙavot 07.04.2006)

Nkarahanum-ner-ě *petk' ē sks-v-ein* *anc'yal* *tari*
Shooting-PL.NOM-the begin-antic-DEB.PAST.3.PL last year.NOM
k'ani or *naxagic'-ě* *neraṙ-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* *ṙumb-ě* *piti payt-er*
one minute more CONJ bomb.NOM-the explode-DEB.PAST.3.SG
aṙewtr-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 սփյուռքահայ Մարկոս Գրիգորյանի հավաքածուն, որը վաղուց պետք է ստացած լիներ առանձին թանգարանի կարգավիճակ՝ տեղափոխվելով այլ վայր: (Armenpress 27.03.2006)

(k'ani or arden tasě tar-uc' aveli ē tarack'i mec mas-ē zbałe-c'n-um ē sp'yuṙk'ahay Markos Grigorjan-i havak'acu-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 *vałuc'* *petk' ē stac-ac'* *lin-er* *aŕanjin*
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 լինեինք այդ կամուրջով, եթե մեզ ճիշտ ժամանակին չզգուշացնեին:

erek' *menk'* *petk' ē anc'nel-is* *lin-eink'* *ayd kamurǰ-ov*
yesterday we.NOM part pass-PTCP.PROC. be-DEB.PAST.1.PL that bridge-INST

et'e *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 լինեինք, 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'e* *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 -ցն-ել *-c'n-el.*

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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-*č'-*, -անալ *-anal*, -ենալ *-enal* have -իր *-ir*
- causativised verbs with -ցն- *-c'n-* have *ցրու *-'cru*
- -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 *-ek'*: գրեց-եք *grec'-ek'*, կարդաց-եք *kardac'-ek'*, տես-եք *tes-ek'*, փախ-եք *p'ax-ek'*, մոռաց-եք *moŕac'-ek',* վախեց-եք *vaxec-'ek',* կարդացր-եք *kardac'r-ek'* 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 karda*!
- suffixed verbs in -ն-ել *-n-el* and -չ-ել *-č'-el* from the aorist stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ մտիր *mi mtir!* մի՛ փախիր *mi p'axir!*
- suffixed verbs in -ան-ալ *-an-a*l and -են-ալ *-en-al* from the aorist stem + ending -իր *-ir*: մի՛ ուրախացիր *mi uraxac'ir*! մի՛ վախեցիր *mi vaxec'ir!*
- causativised, suffixed verbs in -ցն-ել *-c'n-el* from the aorist stem + ending -ու *-u*: մի՛ հեռացրու *mi heŕac'ru!*
- suffixed verbs in -վ-ել *-v-e*l 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 *-ek'*: մի՛ գրեցեք *mi grec'ek'*!
- simple verbs in -ալ *-al* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ek'*: մի՛ կարդացեք *mi kardac'ek'!*
- suffixed verbs in -ն-ել *-n-el* and -չ-ել *-č'-e*l from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ek'*: մի՛ մտեք *mi mtek'!* մի՛ փախեք *mi p'axek'!*

197. Barsełyan 1980: 318.

– suffixed verbs in -ան-ալ *-an-al* and -են-ալ *-en-al* from the aorist stem+ending -եք *-ek'*: մի՛ ուրախացեք *mi uraxac'ek'!* մի՛ վախեցեք mi vaxec'ek'!
– causativised, suffixed verbs in -ցն-ել *-c'n-el* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ek'*: մի՛ հեռացրեք *mi heŕac'rek'!*
– suffixed verbs in -վ-ել *-v-el* from the aorist stem + ending -եք *-ek'*: մի՛ զրվեցեք *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 karda!*
– 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 mtnir*! մի՛ փախչիր *mi paxč'ir!* մի՛ հեռացնիր *mi heŕac'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 *-ek'* to their present stem: մի՛ մտնեք *mi mtnek'!* մի՛ փախչեք *mi p'axč'ek'!* մի՛ հեռացնեք *mi heŕac'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։

Anuš	*inj*	*namak*	*gr-i!*
Anuš.NOM,	I.DAT	letter.NOM	write-IMP.2.SG.

"Anuš, write me a letter!"

198. comp. Abrahamyan 1974: 415–416. Łaragyulyan 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 *grec'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'oł* 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'oł*	*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'-ě	*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 *du* "you", դուք *duk'* "you" are only used if the subject is emphasized. The intensive personal pronouns ինքդ *ink'd* "you yourself" ինքներդ *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*	*deŕ*	*kmn-am*
you.NOM	quietly	go-IMP.2.SG	house.NOM	I.NOM	still	stay-COND.FUT.1.SG

ayteł!
here

"You quietly go home, I will still stay here!"

(599) (Դուք) ինքներդ կատարե՛ք արաջադրանքը։

(duk')	*ink'n-er-d*	*katar-ek'*	*aŕaǰadrank'-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*	*tełap'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'oł*. (Kozintseva 1995:51).[200]

(601) Թող Արմենը զանգահարի այն աղջկան։

Toł	*Armen-ě*	*zangahar-i*	*ayn*	*aĺǰka-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*	*aɫǰka-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: (Grakanuťyun 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 եղիր, որ մենք սա անպատասխան չենք թուլի:

Imac'-ac	*eł-ir*	*or*	*menk'*	*sa*	*anpatasxan*
know-PTCP.RES.	be-IMP.2.SG	CONJ	we.NOM	this.NOM	unanswered
č'-enk'	*t'oł-n-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-*oł* can be formed using either perfect or present stem.

List of irregular Verbs

- տալ *tal* "to give"

Infinitive	տալ *tal*
Part. present	տալիս *talis*
Part. future	տալու *talu*
Part. perfect	տվել *tvel*
Part. result.	տված *tvac*
Part. subj.	տվող *tvoł*
neg. Part.	տա *ta*
Aorist	տվեցի, տվեցիր, տվեց *tvec'i, tvec'ir, tvec'*…[202]
Imperative	տո՛ւր, տվե՛ք *tur, tvek'*
Subjunctive	տամ, տաս, տա *tam, tas, ta…*
Conditional	կտամ, կտաս, կտա *ktam, ktas, kta...*
Debitive	պիտի տամ, պիտի տաս, պիտի տա *piti tam, piti tas, piti ta...*

202. Note the colloquial Armenian form տվի *tvi* , տվիր *tvir*…etc.

– գալ *gal* “to come”

Infinitive	գալ *gal*
Part. present	գալիս *galis*
Part. future	գալու *galu*
Part. perfect	եկել *ekel*
Part. result.	եկած *ekac*
Part. subj.	եկող *ekoł*
neg.part	գա *ga*
Aorist	եկա, եկար, եկավ… *eka, ekar, ekav*…
Imperative	արի՛ (ե՛կ) *ari (ek),* եկե՛ք *ekek’*
Subjunctive	գամ, գաս, գա *gam, gas, ga...*
Conditional	կգամ, կգաս, կգա *kgam, kgas, kga...*
Debitive	պտի գամ, պիտի գաս, պիտի գա … *piti gam, piti gas, piti ga...*

– լալ *lal* “to cry, to weep”[203]

Infinitive	լալ *lal*
Part. present	լալիս *lalis*
Part. future	լալու *lalu*
Part. perfect	լացել *lac’el*
Part. result.	լացած *lac’ac*
Part. subj.	լացող *lac’oł*
neg. Part.	լա *la*
Aorist	լացեցի, լացեցիր, լացեց *lac’ec’i, lac’ec’ir, lac’ec’*…
Imperative	լա՛ց, լացե՛ք *lac’, lac’ek’*
Subjunctive	լամ, լաս, լա *lam, las, la...*
Conditional	կլամ, կլաս, կլաս *klam, klas, kla...*
Debitive	պիտի լամ, պիտի լաս, պիտի լա *piti lam, piti las, piti la...*

– լինել *linel* “to be (habitually, repeatedly)”

Infinitive	լինել *linel*
Part. present	լինում *linum*
Part. future	լինելու *linelu*
Part. perfect	եղել *ełel*
Part. result.	եղած *ełac*

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 (*ełoł*), *linoł*
neg. Part.	լինի *lini*
Aorist	եղա, եղար, եղավ *ełа, ełar, ełav…*
Imperative	եղի՛ր *ełir*, եղե՛ք *ełek'*
Subjunctive	լինեմ, լինես, լինի *linem, lines, lini…*
Conditional	կլինեմ, կլինես, կլինի *klinem, klines, klini…*
Debitive	պիտի լինեմ, պիտի լինես, պիտի լինի *piti linem, piti lines, piti lini…*

– ուտել *utel* "eat"

Infinitive	ուտել *utel*
Part. present	ուտում *utum*
Part. future	ուտելու *utelu*
Part. perfect	կերել *kerel*
Part. result.	կերած *kerac*
Part. subj.	կերող *keroł*
neg. Part.	ուտի *uti*
Part. proc.	ըուտելիս *utelis*
Aorist	կերա, կերար, կերավ … *kera, kerar, kerav…*
Imperative	կե՛ր *ker*, կերե՛ք *kerek'*
Subjunctive	ուտեմ, ուտես, ուտի … *utem, utes, uti…*
Conditional	կուտեմ, կուտես, կուտի … *kutem, kutes, kuti…*
Debitive	պիտի ուտեմ, պիտի ուտես, պիտի ուտի … *piti utem, piti utes, piti uti…*

– դնել *dnel* "to put"

Infinitive	դնել *dnel*
Part. present	դնում *dnum*
Part. future	դնելու *dnelu*
Part. perfect	դրել *drel*
Part. result.	դրած *drac*
Part. subj.	դնող *dnoł*
neg. Part.	դնի *dni*
Part. proc.	դնելիս *dnelis*
Aorist	դրեցի, դրեցիր, դրեց… *drec'i, drec'ir, drec'…*[204]
Imperative	դի՛ր *dir*, դրե՛ք *drek'*
Subjunctive	դնեմ, դնես, դնի…*dnem, dnes, dni…*
Conditional	կդնեմ, կդնես, կդնի *kdnem, kdnes, kdni…*
Debitive	պիտի դնեմ, պիտի դնես, պիտի դնի *piti dnem, piti dnes, piti dni…*

204. Note the colloquial Armenian Aorist forms in դրի *dri*, դրիր *drir* etc.

– անել *anel* “to do, to make”

Infinitive	անել *anel*
Part. present	անում *anum*
Part. future	անելու *anelu*
Part. perfect	արել *arel*
Part. result.	արած *arac*
Part. subj.	անող *anoł*
neg. Part.	անի *ani*
Part.proc.	անելիս *anelis*
Aorist	արեցի, արեցիր, արեց *arec’i, arec’ir, arec’*…
Imperative	արա՛ *ara*, արե՛ք *arek’*
Subjunctive	անեմ, անես, անի… *anem, anes, ani…*
Conditional	կանեմ, կանես, կանի…*kanem, kanes, kani*…
Debitive	պիտի անեմ, պիտի անես, պիտի անի… *piti anem, piti anes, piti ani*…

– տանել *tanel* “to carry, to bear”

Infinitive	տանել *tanel*
Part. present	տանում *tanum*
Part. future	տանելու *tanelu*
Part. perfect	տարել *tarel*
Part. result.	տարած *tarac*
Part. subj.	տանող *tanoł*
neg. part	տանի *tani*
Part. proc.	տանելիս *tanelis*
Aorist	տարա, տարար, տարավ … *tara, tarar, tarav*…
Imperative	տա՛ր *tar*, տարե՛ք *tarek’*
Subjunctive	տանեմ, տանես, տանի … *tanem, tanes, tani*…
Conditional	կտանեմ, կտանես, կտանի… *ktanem, ktanes, ktani*…
Debitive	պիտի տանեմ, պիտի տանես, պիտի տանի *piti tanem, piti tanes, piti tani*…

– դառնալ *daṙnal* “to become”

Infinitive	դառնալ *daṙnal*
Part. present	դառնում *daṙnum*
Part. future	դառնալու *daṙnalu*
Part. perfect	դառձել *darjel*
Part. result.	դառձած *darjac*
Part. subj.	դառնող *daṙnoł*
neg. Part.	դառնա *daṙna*
Part. proc.	դառնալիս *daṙnalis*

Aorist	դառձա, դարձար, դարձավ *darja, darjar, darjav…*
Imperative	դառձի՛ր *darjir*, դարձե՛ք *darjek'*
Subjunctive	դառնամ, դառնաս, դառնա… *daṙnam, daṙnas, daṙna…*
Conditional	կդառնամ, կդառնաս, կդառնա… *kdaṙnam, kdaṙnas, kdaṙna…*
Debitive	պիտի դառնամ, պիտի դառնաս, պիտի դառնա …*piti daṙnam, piti daṙnas, piti daṙna…*

– առնել *aṙnel* "to take, to buy"

Infinitive	առնել *aṙnel*
Part. present	առնում *aṙnum*
Part. future	առնելու *aṙnelu*
Part. perfect	առել *aṙel*
Part. result.	առած *aṙac*
Part. subj.	առնող *aṙnoł*
neg. Part.	առնի *aṙni*
Part. proc.	առնելիս *aṙnelis*
Aorist	առա, առար, առավ,… *aṙa, aṙar, aṙav…*
Imperative	ա՛ռ *aṙ*, առե՛ք *aṙek'*
Subjunctive	առնեմ, առնես, առնի… *aṙnem, aṙnes, aṙni…*
Conditional	կառնեմ, կառնես, կառնի… *kaṙnem, kaṙnes, kaṙni…*
Debitive	պիտի առնեմ, պպիտի առնես, պիտի առնի …*piti aṙnem, piti aṙnes, piti aṙni…*

– բանալ *banal* "to open"[205]

Infinitive	բանալ *banal*
Part. present	բանում *banum*
Part. future	բանալու *banalu*
Part. perfect	բացել *bac'el*
Part. result.	բացած *bac'ac*
Part. subj.	բացող *bac'oł*
neg. Part.	բանա *bana*
Part. proc.	բանալիս *banalis*
Part. fut.II	բանալիք *banalik'*
Aorist	բացեցի, բացեցիր, բացեց *bac'ec'i, bac'ec'ir, bac'ec'* …[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	բա՛ց *bac'*, բացե՛ք *bac'ek'*
Subjunctive	բանամ, բանաս, բանա …*banam, banas, bana*…
Conditional	կբանամ, կբանաս, կբանա … *banam, banas, bana* …
Debitive	պիտի բանամ, պիտի բանաս, պիտի բանա … *piti banam, piti banas, piti bana*…

– կենալ *kenal* "to stay, to remain"

Infinitive	կենալ *kenal*
Part. present	կենում *kenum*
Part. future	կենալու *kenalu*
Part. perfect	կացել *kac'el*
Part. result.	կացած *kac'ac*
Part. subj.	կացող *kac'oł*
neg. Part.	կենա *kena*
Part. proc.	կենալիս *kenalis*
Part. fut.II	կենալիք *kenalik'*
Aorist	կացա, կացար, կացավ *kac'a, kac'ar, kac'av* …
Imperative	կա՛ց *kac'*, կացե՛ք *kac'ek'*
Subjunctive	կենամ, կենաս, կենա…*kenam, kenas, kena* …
Debitive	պիտի կենամ, պիտի կենաս, պիտի կենա … *piti kenam, piti kenas, piti kena*

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 ասաց- *asac'*-, and of the Imperative.

Aorist	ասացի, ասացիր, ասաց *asac'i, asac'ir, asac'*…[207]
Imperative	ասա՛ *asa*, ասացե՛ք *asac'ek'*

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. ասեցի *asec'i*, ասեցիր *asec'ir*, ասեց *asec'* 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)

depk'-er *ēin* *lin-um* *or* *ut-el-u* *oč'inč'*
case-PL.NOM they were be-PTCP.PRES. CONJ eat-INF-DAT nothing.NOM

č'-ēi *unen-um* *han-um* *ēi* *atam-ner-i-s*
neg-I was have-PTCP.PRES. take out –PTCP.PRES. I was tooth-PL-DAT-my

oske šapik-ner-n *u* *vačaṙ-um* *or* *hac'*
golden crown-PL.NOM-the CONJ sell-PTCP.PRES. CONJ bread.NOM

gn-em.
buy-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG.
"There used to be periods when I had nothing to eat, and I took the golden crowns from my teeth, and sold them to buy bread (lit.: that I may buy bread)."

2. 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, են *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, ունեն *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 ունեն- *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:

a. Simple or root adverbs
b. Suffixed adverbs
c. Complex
d. Petrified forms from Classical Armenian inflected nouns (=adverbalisation).

– 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 *gełec'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* *ē.*
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)

Gyułakan *šrǰan-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. “Derving adverbs and adverb suffixes”, p. 667f.
– Complex adverbs comprise the following subgroups

a. Compositional adverbs, combining two or more words: e.g. միաբերան *miaberan* “unanimously” > 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 *baŕ aŕ baŕ* “word by word”, վանկ առ վանկ *vank aŕ vank* “syllable by syllable” etc.
c. Other compound adverbs (mostly with antonyms) e.g. գիշեր-ցերեք *gišer-c’erek’* “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 *č’ap-’ic’ durs* “exceedingly”.

– Petrified and lexicalised forms mainly originating from inflected nouns or adjectives from Classical Armenian, such as e.g. վաղուց *vałuc’* (etymologically the Ablative of վաղ *vał* “early”) “long ago; lit: since early”, or հնում *hnum* (etymologically the Locative of հին *hin* “old”), “in old times; in former times” etc.

In MEA adverbs can be distinguished by their semantic meaning (and function) into the following groups:

a. Temporal
b. Locative
c. Manner
d. Measure/quantity
e. Intensifiers.

a. Temporal adverbs
Temporal adverbs express time, duration or repetition. They are usually divided into the following subgroups:

– Adverbs denoting a time span relating to the moment of speech, such as առաջ “before”, այժմ *ayžm* “now”, հիմա *hima* “now”, ներկայումս *nerkayums* “at present”, վերջերս *verǰers* “lately”, հետագայում “in the future”, շուտով *šutov* “soon”, հետո *heto* “after”, etc.
– Adverbs denoting the initial or the final point of an action: վաղուց *vałuc* “long ago; since long time”, մանկուց *mankuc’* “since childhood” etc.
– Adverbs denoting times of the day: առավոտյան *aŕavotyan* “in the morning”, երեկոյան *erekoyan* “in the evening”, ցերեկով *c’erekov* “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 1897,86մ 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	*aŕavotyan*	*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 ĕntratełamas-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: (Aŕavot, 07.04.2006)

Ŕusakan	*šuka-n*	*vrac'akan*	*gini-ner*	*vałuc'*	*arden*
Russian	market.NOM-the	Georgian	wine-PL.NOM	since long	already

č'i	*ĕndun-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)

arewelk'-um	*menk'*	*mišt*	*xałał*	*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 *aṙaǰ* "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: (Aṙavot 08.04.2006)

ETH[208] *proṙektor* *Mihrdat* *Haruťyunyan-ě* *p'astec'*
ETH prorector.NOM Mihrdat.NOM Haruťyunyan.NOM-the approve-AOR.3.SG

or *aysteł* *ěndameně* *mek* *siriac'i* *ē* *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* *ašxatasenyak* *na* *anmiǰapes*
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

aṙaǰarkec' *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 Մեղրիի տարածաշրջանում: (Armenpress 28.01.2006)

Ašxatank'-ner-n *aṙavel* *arag* *en* *ěnt'an-um*
Work-PL.NOM-the more quickly they are go-PTCP.PRES.

Mełri-i *taracašrǰan-um.*
Mełri-DAT region-LOC

"The works go more quickly in the region of Mełri."

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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' *kaŕavarut'y-an* *verǰin* *orošum-ě* *nran* *stip-um* *ē*
CONJ government-DAT last decision.NOM-the he.DAT force-PTCP.PRES. it is

lrǰoren *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 *ambołǰovin* "wholly, completely, entirely", բազմակի *bazmaki* "repeatedly (not in temporal sense)", հազիվ *haziv* "scarely, hardly", համարյա *hamarya* "almost, nearly", շատ *šat* "much, many", քիչ *k'ič* "little, a few" etc.

(616) Թաղամասի բնակչությունն ամբողջովին ջրազրկվել է: (Armenpress 15.01.2006)

T'ałamas-i *bnakč'ut'yun-n* *ambołǰovin* *ǰrazrk-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 *šat* "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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

Havelec' *t'e* *ays naxagic'-ě* *šat lurǰ* *p'astat'ułt'* *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 *anhražešt* *en.*
INT essential they are

"In the opinion of Gagik Martirosyan, similar visits are strictly essential."

The use of intensifiers is common, but the range of adverbs used in intensifying functions is greater in colloquial Armenian (including fashionable intensifiers, such as 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", ո՛չ …ո՛չ *oč'… oč'* "neither…nor" , և՛ …և՛ *ew…ew* "as well …as", նաև *naew* "also, too, as well", ևս *ews* " ", էլ *ēl* "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 *oč' 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 *minčdeŕ* "while, whereas", ապա *apa* "then, afterwards", թե ոչ *t'e oč'* "either, whether, otherwise", այնուամենայնիվ *aynumenayniv* "however, nevertheless ", ոչ թե …այլ *oč' t'e…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*", ո՛չ …ո՛չ *oč'…oč'* "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 զուգարան ա»,- բողոքում է տարեց կինը: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

mi *senyak* *a* *ham* *čašaran* *a* *ham* *nnǰaran*
INDEF room.NOM it is CONJ dining room.NOM it is CONJ sleeping room.NOM
a *ham* *zugaran* *a* *bołok'-um* *ē* *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.

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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* *heŕagir-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* *ašxat-um* *en* *šenk'-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 *verc'num* *ē* *t'ułt'* ***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: (Aŕavot 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 թե արտասանում, այլ երգում է Շիրազի բանաստեղծությունը:

Aram-ě *oč' t'e* *artisan-um* *ayl* *erg-um* *ē*
Aram.NOM-the CONJ read out-PTCP.PRES CONJ sing-PTCP.PRES. he is

Siraz-i *banastełcut'yun-ě.*
Širaz-DAT poem.NOM-the
"Aram does not read out the poem of Širaz, but sings it."

Conjoining – correlatives

(626) Արմենը ոչ միայն լավ է սովորում, այլև օգնում է դասընկերներին:

Armen-ě *oč' miayn* *lav* *ē* *sovor-um*
Armen.NOM-the NEG only good he is learn-PTCP.PRES.

aylew *ōgn-um* *ē* *dasěnker-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:

Oč' *Aram-ě* *ek-av* *oč'* *Vardan-ě.*
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-ě *ew* *gełecik* *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 *t'e* "that, if", ինչ *inč'* "that, what", իբր թե *ibr t'e* "as if"; թե իբր *t'e ibr* "as if" etc.
b. Conditional conjunctions such as: եթե *et'e* "if, when", թե որ, որ *t'e or, or* "if, that", միայն թե *miayn t'e* "only if" , նայած *nayac* "if, in case", քանի դեռ *k'ani deṙ* "meanwhile", եթե ...ապա, եթե ...ուրեմն "if…then" etc.
c. Concessive conjunctions, such as: թեև *t'eew* "although, even if, while", թեկուզ *t'ekuz* "even, though", թեպետ *t'epet* "though", չնայած *č'nayac* "inspite 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 *minč'* "until", հենց *henc'* "just", նախքան *naxk'an* "before, until", մինչև որ *minčew or* "until that", հենց որ *henc' or* "as soon as", քանի դեռ *k'ani deṙ* "meanwhile, in the meantime" etc.
e. Causal subordinate conjunctions, denoting a cause or giving a base: որովհետև *orovhetew* "because", քանի որ *k'ani or* "as, because, since", որ *or* "that", մանավանդ որ *manavand or* "particularly because" = նամանավանդ որ *namanavand or* etc.
f. Final subordinate conjunctions, denoting purpose or goal: որպեզսի *orpeszi* "that, in order to", որ *or* "that, in order to", միայն թե *miayn t'e* "if only" etc.
g. Manner subordinate conjunctions, denoting manner, subdivided into comparative conjunctions: ասես թե *ases t'e* "as if", կարծես թե *karces t'e* "it seems, as if", ոեդց որ *denc' or* "so that", ինչպես *inč'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* *mełavor* *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* *t'e* *na* *erb* *kveradaṙn-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:

Et'e *vałě* *anjrew* *č-ga* *antaṙ* *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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Ev *k'ani or* *ays* *harc'-ě* *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-ě* *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 ռազմականգործողություն ներ սկսելու, մանավանդ որ ուժերի հարաբերակցությունը մեզ հաջողվում է պա հպ անել»: (Armenpress 07.04.2006)

Sakayn č'-em karc-um t'e Adrbeǰan-n aysōr patrast
CONJ neg-I am think-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Azerbaijan.NOM-the today ready

ē řazmakan gorcołut'yun-ner sksel-u manavand or už-er-i
it is military activity-PL-NOM begin-INF-DAT CONJ force-PL-DAT

haraberakc'ut'yun-ě mez haǰoł-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 k'ez 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'y-an-ě.
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-ě cerac'-el en
our region-DAT garden-PL.NOM-the get old-PTCP.PERF. they are

nosrac'm-an tokos-ě šat barjr ē usti
thinning-DAT percent.NOM-the INT high it is CONJ

petk' ē verakangn-el ew miažamanak unen-al žamanakaki' 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, there fore one must restore (them) and at the same time have modern, new species."

2.8 Adpositions

Adpositions are functional words that prototypically relate two linguistic elements to each other. They are used with noun phrases to indicate various meanings, but also appear as complementation of verbs and adjectives.

Both prepositions and postpositions are used in MEA, however postpositions are more frequent.

Referring to their form, one can distinguish the following formation-groups of SMEA adpositions:

- Pure adpositions, i.e. they can exclusively be used as adpositions: ի *i* "for the sake of", ըստ *ěst* "according to", առ *aŕ* "up to", մասին *masin* "about", առանց *aŕanc'* "without", բացի *bac'i* "except", դեպի *depi* "towards", համար *hamar* "for", հանուն *hanun* "for the sake of", հանդրեձ *handerj* "with", շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* "thanks to", հաշիվ *hašiv* "considering, given", նկատմամբ *nkatmamb* "with respect to", վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* "regarding", փոխանակ *p'oxanak* "instead of", տեղակ *tełak* "instead of", մինչև *minč'ew* "until", նախքան *naxk'an* "before;not until", ներքո *nerk'o* "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 p'aŕs* "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 *meǰ* "in", տակ *tak* "under", շուրջ *šurǰ* "around", դեմ *dem* "against" , փոխարեն *p'oxaren* "instead of", դիմաց *dimac'* "opposite", առջև *aŕǰew* "in front of", համեմատ *hamemat* "compared with", համաձայն *hamajayn* "in accordance with", հակառակ *hakaŕak* "in contradiction with", չափ *čap'* "about", նայած *nayac* "if", չնայած *č'nayac* "despite", տեղ *teł* "instead of", նման *nman* "like", զատ *zat* "except", անց *anc'* "after", առաջ *aŕaǰ* "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 ամանակ *žamanak* "while", վերև *verew* "above, up", ներքև *nerk'ew* "below, beneath", ներս *ners* "inside, within", դուրս *durs* "outside", հեռու *heŕu* "far from", կից *kic'* "attached to", պատճառով *patčaŕov* "because of", միջոցով *mijoc'ov* "by means of", ձեռքով *jeŕk'ov* "by", անունով *anunov* "in the name of", հետևանքով *hetewank'ov* "due to" etc.

Semantically they can be classified into groups referring to the following meaning:

- Locative including direction: մեջ *meǰ* "in", վրա *vra* "on", տակ *tak* "under", մոտ mot "at", ներքո *nerk'o* "under", միջև *mijew* "between", հանդեպ *handep* "in front of", դիմաց *dimac'* "opposite", շուրջ *šurǰ* "around", դեպի *depi* "towards", հեռու *heŕu* "far

from", վերև *verew* "above, up", վեր *ver* "up, over", վար *var* "down", դուրս *durs* "out of, outside", առաջ *aṙăǰ* "in front of", առջև *aṙǰew* "in front of" etc.

- Temporal: օրոք *ōrok'* ", հետո *heto* "after", անց *anc'* "after, past", նախքան *naxk'an* "before", մինչև *minčʻew* "until", առաջ *aṙaǰ* "before", առ, սկսած *sksac* "starting from, with", ժամանակ *žamanak* "while" etc.
- Manner: պես *pes*, նման *nman*, ինչպես *inčʻpes* "as, like" etc.
- Causal: շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* "thank to", ձեռքից *jerk'ic'* "because of somebody", երեսից *eresic'* "because of somebody", պատճառով *patčaṙov* "because of", հետևանքով *hetewank'ov* "due to" etc.
- Purpose: համար *hamar* "for", հօգուտ *hōgut* "for the sake of", անուն *anun* "in the name of", ի *i* "for, to", օգտին *ōgtin* "for the favor of" etc.
- Basis: ըստ *ĕst* "according to", առթիվ *aṙtʻiv* "concerning", համաձայն *hamajayn* "according to, in accordance with", հիման վրա *himan vra* "on grounds of", etc.
- Instrument means: ձեռքով *jeṙkov* "by", միջոցով *miǰocʻov* "by means of" etc.
- Measure: չափ *čʻap'* "about", ավել *avel* "except", պակաս *pakas* "less than", ավելի քան *aveli kʻan* "more than", մինչև *minčʻew* "until" etc.
- Opposition: դեմ, ընդդեմ *dem, ēnddem* "against".
- Accompaniment: հետ *het*, հանդերձ *handerj* "with".
- Limitation: հետ *het*, հանդերձ *handerj* "with" etc.
- Reference (relation): մասին *masin* "about", վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* "concerning", վերաբերմամբ *verabermamb* "concerning", նկատմամբ "referring to", առթիվ *aṙtiv* "concerning", կապակցությամբ *kapakcʻutʻyamb* "with concern" etc.
- Explication, exception: բացի *bacʻi* "except", առանց *aṙanc'* "without", զատ *zat* "except", փոխարեն *pʻoxaren* "instead of" փոխանակ *pʻoxanak* "instead", տեղ *teł*, տեղակ *tełak* "instead", չնայած *čʻnayac* "despite"« հակառակ *hakaṙak* "despite of", բացառությամբ *bacʻarutʻyamb* "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 *bacʻi*, փոխանակ *pʻoxanak*, շնորհիվ *šnorhiv*, ընդդեմ *ĕnddem*, համաձայն *hamajayn*, անկախ *ankax*, սկսած *sksac*, հանդերձ *handerj*, հակառակ *hakaṙak*.

Some of the adpositions used as pre- or postposition appear but in different forms, such as e.g. ի հաշիվ *i hašiv* + N/N + հաշվին *hašvin* "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 *aṙ* "up to; until",

- դեպի *depi* “towards”
- զերդ *zerd* “as, like”
- մինչև *minčʻew* “until”
- ց *cʻ* “until” (temporal reading only)
- նախքան *naxkʻan* “before, until”
- իբրև, որպես, ինչպես *ibrew, orpes, inčʻpes* “as”

Postpositions

- առաջ *aṙaǰ* “before”
- ի վեր *i ver* “since”
- ի վար *i var* “down”
- անց *ancʻ* “after”
- հետո *heto* “after”
- քան *kʻan* “than” (in comparative constructions)

and in colloquial Armenian also the postpositions

- ոնց *oncʻ*; ոնց որ *oncʻ or* as colloquial synonyms to իբրև *ibrew*, ինչպես *inčʻpes*, որպես *orpes* “as; like”
- քանց *kʻanc’*, հանց *hancʻ* as colloquial synonyms to քան *kʻan* “than”.

(638) Մեքենան գնում է դեպի հրապարակ։

Mekʻena-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*	*minčʻev*	*žam-ě*	*erekʻ-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 *aṙaǰ* “before” and հետո *heto* “after” and անց *ancʻ* “after” are only used with the nominative case if they are used with temporal expressions, such as մեկ շաբաթ հետո *mek šabatʻ heto* “after one week, one week later”, մեկ շաբաթ առաջ *mek šabatʻ aṙaǰ* “one week before”. By contrast, in other expressions they govern the ablative.

(640) Մի քանի ամիս առաջ պարոն Մովսիսյանը հայտնել էր, որ Հայաստանն էլ ծախելու ոչինչ չունի, բայց պարզվեց՝ ունի։ (Aṙavot, 07.04.2006)

Mi kʻani amis	*aṙaǰ*	*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*	*očʻinčʻ*	*čʻ-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) «Գործող նախագահի հրաժարականը պահանջելուց առաջ պետք է ներկայացնել սեփական ծրագրերը», (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

Gorc-oł *naxagah-i* *hražarakan-ě* *pahanǰel-uc'* *aŕaǰ.*
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 *minčʿew 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 *arʿanc'* "without" and բացի *bac'i* "except". These forms, however, can be regarded as lexicalised: բացի այդ *bac'i ayd* "besides; moreover; furthermore", առանց այդ *arʿanc' ayd* "already; anyway".
– In written and normative Armenian, as can be seen below, առանց *aŕanc'* 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 *aŕanc'* "without"
b. ըստ *ěst* "according to, in accordance with"
c. ի դեմս *i dems* "in front, before"g
d. հանուն *hanun* "for the sake of"
e. հօգուտ *hōgut* "in favour of"
f. օգտին *ōgtin* "to the profit of"
g. ի փառս *i pʿaŕs* "to the glory of"

Postpositions governing the dative of nouns, and genitive of pronouns 3rd person

– առաջ *aŕaǰ* "in front of"
– առթիվ *aŕtʿiv* "concerning"
– առջև *aŕǰew* "in front of"
– դեմ *dem* "against"
– դիմաց *dimac'* "opposite"
– երեսից *eresic'* "because of"
– զուգընթաց *zugěntʿac* "parallel to, simultaneously"

- ընդառաջ *ěndaŕaǰ* “towards”
- ընդդեմ *ěnddem* “in defiance of”
- ընթացքում *ěnťac’k’um* “during, in the course of”
- ժամանակ *žamanak* “while”
- կից *kic’* “attached to”
- կողմից *kołmic’* “from the side of”
- հակառակ *hakaŕak* “opposite to, despite”
- համաձայն *hamajayn* “according to”
- համար *hamar* “for” dat
- հանդեպ *handep* “with regard to”
- հասցեին *hasc’ein* “about”
- հավասար *havasar* “evenly; equal with”
- հետ *het* “with”
- հետևանքով *hetewank’ov* “due to”
- հիման վրա *himan vra* “on grounds of”
- ձեռքից *jeŕk’ic’* “because of”
- մասին *masin* “about”
- մեջ *meǰ* “in”
- միջև *miǰew* “between”
- միջոցով *miǰoc’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 *šnorhiv* “thanks to”
- շուրջ *šurǰ* “around”
- չափ *č’ap’* “about”
- չնայած *č’nayac* “despite “
- պատճառով *patčaŕov* “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 *zugĕnt'ac'*, ընդառաջ *ĕndaŕaǰ*, նման *nman*, հակառակ *hakaŕak*, համաձայն *hamajayn*; e.g. ինձ մոտ *inj mot* "with me, at my side", քեզ վրա *k'ez vra* "on you", մեզ հետ *mez het* "with us", ձեզ պես *jez pes* "like you", ինձ չափ *inj čap'* "about me", քեզ համար *k'ez hamar* "for you".
– Prepositions: առանց *aŕanc'*, հանձինս *hanjins*, ի դեմս *i dems*, հանուն *hanun*, հօգուտ *hōgut*, հօգուտ 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-ĕ 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-oł 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 *meǰ*, 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 "pseudopossesive" 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 բաճուկը տակդ դիր:

Nstel-is ays barjuk-ĕ 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 ěnkeroǰ 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 grammarians[210] argue that the case governed by the adposition հանդեպ *handep* "with regard to" for personal pronouns depends on its use as a preposition or postposition: if used as postposition, it governs the dative for nouns, but the genitive for pronouns. The use as a postposition is overwhelming.

210. (Abrahamyan 1981: 243) lists հանդեպ *handep* among the postpositions only (Asatryan 2004: 377) observes a totally different use of this adposition.

If used as a preposition, which occurs rather seldom and is considered an antiquated style, it governs the nominative for nouns. Use as a preposition with pronouns is actually avoided; it may happen only with personal pronouns of 3rd person.

(646) Քո հանդեպ այստեղ մեծ հարգանք կա:

k'o *handep* *aysteł* *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'uc'aber-ac* *žołovrdakan*
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* *anč'ap'eli* *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 *aŕaǰ* "in front of"
– առթիվ *aŕt'iv* "concerning"
– առջև *aŕǰew* "in front of"
– դեմ *dem* "against"

- դիմաց *dimacʻ* “opposite”
- երեսից *eresicʻ* “because of (somebody)”
- ընդդեմ *ĕnddem* “in defiance of”
- ընթացքում *ĕntʻacʻkʻum* “during, in the course of”
- ժամանակ *žamanak* “while”
- կողմից *kołmicʻ* “from the side of”
- հասցեին *hascʻein* “about”
- հետևանքով *hetewankʻov* “due to”
- հիման վրա *himan vra* “on grounds of”
- ձերքից *jeṙkʻicʻ* “because of”
- մասին *masin* “about”
- մեջ *meǰ* “in”
- միջև *miǰew* “between”
- միջոցով *miǰocʻov* “by means of”
- ներքո *nerkʻo* “within”
- նկատմամբ *nkatmamb* “with respect to”
- նպատակով *npatakov* “in order to”
- շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* “thanks to”
- շուրջ *šurǰ* “around”
- չափ *čapʻ* “about”
- պատճառով *patčaṙov* “because of”
- վերաբերմամբ *verabermamb* “with regard to”
- վերաբերյալ *veraberyal* “with regard to”
- տակ *tak* “under”
- տեղ *teł* “instead of”
- փոխանակ *pʻoxanak* “instead of”
- փոխարեն *pʻoxaren* “instead of”

c. Ablative

Adpositions govern the ablative, if they denote a certain relation.
Prepositions governing ablative

- բացի *bacʻi* “except”

As mentioned before, this preposition is usually used with the nominative case in colloquial Armenian.

Postpositions governing ablative

- առաջ *aṙaǰ* “before”
- դուրս *durs* “out”
- զատ *zat* “except, free from”
- ի վեր *i ver* “since”
- հեռու *heṙu* “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 *aṙaǰ* 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 *aṙt’iv* “concerning”
- մասին *masin* “about”
- նպատակով *npatakov* “in order to”
- պատճառով *patčaṙov* “because of”

e.g. այս առթիվ *ays aṙt’iv* “concerning this”, այդ մասին *ayd masin* “about that”, այն նպատակով *ayn npatakov* “in order to that”, այս պատճառով *ays patčaṙov* “because of this”.

In colloquial Armenian, the prepositions առանց *aṙanc’* “without” and բացի *bac’i* “except” are also used with the nominative, i.e. առանց այս *aṙanc’ ays* “without this”, բացի այդ *bac’i ayd* “except that”.

(649) ՀՀ վարչապետ Անդրանիկ Մարգարյանը ևս ծանոթ է վարչության ծրագրերին և տվել է այդ մասին իր համաձայնությունը: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

HH varčapet Andranik Margaryan-ě ews 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 *měǰ-miǰic'-miǰov*; առաջ-առաջից-առաջով *aṙaǰ-aṙaǰic'-aṙaǰov*; մոտ-մոտից-մոտով *mot-motic'-motov*; արջև-առջևից-առջևով *arǰew-arǰewic'-arǰewov*; 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 aṙǰew-ic' mek'ena 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 aṙǰew-ic' mek'ena 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* *ēin* *kat-vi* *aŕǰew-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* *ēin* *kat-vi* *aŕǰew-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* *aǰ* *u* *p'ołoc'-n*
shop-DAT POST-ABL turn-refl-COND.FUT.2.SG right CONJ street.NOM-the
anc'nel-ov *anmiǰapes* *khaytn-v-es* *mer šenk'-i* *dimac'.*
cross-INF-INST immediately appear-refl-COND.FUT.SG our building-DAT POST
"At the shop you should turn right and, crossing the street, you will immediately appear opposite our building." (I.e. from the starting point of the shop, turnright…)

(653) Եթե այդ խանութի մոտով անցնես, խնդրում եմ մտիր ու ինձ համար երկու հատ տետր գնիր:

Et'e *ayd* *xanut'-i* *mot-ov* *anc'n-es* *xndr-um*
CONJ that shop-DAT POST-INST pass-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG ask-PTCP.PRES.
em *mt-ir* *u* *inj* *hamar* *erku* *hat* *tetr* *gn-ir!*
I am enter-IMP.2.SG CONJ me.DAT POST two piece notebook.NOM buy-IMP.2.SG
"If you pass that shop, I ask you, enter and buy two notebooks for me."
(I.e. the direction of the "passing" is not given, and the shop is not the startingpoint of the action. It is not important, from which direction the agent passes the shop.)

(654) Տան վրայով էլեկտրական հաղորդալարեր էին անցնում:

T-an *vra-yov* *ēlektrakan* *hałordalar-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 *sełan-i* *tak-ic'* *motec'-av* *mor-ĕ.*
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
p'ok'rik *hołamas-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 *sełan-i* *vra-n* *a.*
food.NOM-the table-DAT POST.NOM-the it is
"The food is on the table."

(659) Կատուն աթոռի տակն ա։

katu-n *at'oṙ-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 *meǰ*, 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 k'ani*
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, ջա՛ն *ǰan,* ուխայ *uxay*, ուռա՛ *uṙa*, վա՛յ *vay*, ուՙյ *uy*, օ՛հ *ōh*, կա՛խ *ax*, օ՛յ *ōy*, ա՛ *a etc.*
– Surprise, օհո՛ *ōho*, օ՛ *ō*, օ՛հ *ōh*, բա՛ *ba*, ա՛ *a*, պա՛հ *pah*, հո՛ *ho*, վա՛ *va*, վա՛յ *vay*, վա՛հ *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 *avał*, վա՛յ *vay*, վու՛յ *vuy*, վի՛ *vi*, վա՛շ *vaš*, վի՛շ *viš*, օ՛ *ō*, օ՛հ *ōh*, օ՛յ *ōy, etc.*
- Displeasure, nuisance, disgust, օ՛ *ō*, ի՛ *i*, ի՛հ *ih*, թու՛հ *t'uh*, թո՛ւ *t'u*, վա՛հ *vah*, ու՛հ *uh*, է՛խ *ēx*, ֆո՛ւ *fu*, ֆի՛ *fi*, ֆո՛հ *foh* etc.
- Complaint, dissatisfaction, օ՛ *ō*, օ՛հ *ōh*, է՛հ *ēh*, ա՛հ *ah*, օ՛ֆ *ōf*, ա՛խ *ax*, հը՛ *hě*, յա՛ *ya*, etc.
- Rebuke, reproach, as ա՛յ-ա՛յ *ay-ay,* վա՛յ *vay*, ա՛խ *ax*, ը՛հ *ěh*, ո՛հ *oh*, է՛խ *ēx*, էհե՛յ *ēhey*, չո՛ւ *č'u*, տո՛ *to*, etc.
- Regret, pity, ա՛խ *ax*, է՛խ *ēx*, ավա՛ղ *avał*, օ՛հ *ōh*, վա՛յ *vay*, վա՛խ *vax*, etc.
- Indifference, confirmation, as է՛ *ē*, է՛հ *ēh*, ա՛հ *ah*, ը՛հ *ěh*, etc.

The following interjections are used to address the interlocutor, ա՛ *a*, ա՛յ *ay*, հե՛յ *hey*, էհե՛յ *ēhey*, հա՛յ *hay*, հարա՛յ *haray*, տո՛ *to*, հե՛ *he* etc.

There are also some interjections used to call animals, such as քը՛ս-քը՛ս *kěs-kěs* 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'iši-p'iši* for cats, ջու՛-ջու՛ *ǰu-ǰu* or քշա՛ *kša* for hens (poultry) or other birds.

(661) - Հը՛, աղջի՛կս, ինչպե՞ս են գործերդ: (Grakanuťyun 4:49)

Hě ałǰik-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) - Ա՛խ, մայրիկս ինձ վռնդել է տնից: (Grakanuťyun 4:49)

ax mayrik-s inj vŕnd-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 ամուրին և կանչում. – փիսի՛, փիսի՛, փիսի՛… (Grakanuty'un 7:203)

orteł 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			**The present grammar**	
1.	Noun		1.	Noun
2.	Adjectives		2.	Adjectives
	a.	Qualifying	a.	Qualifying
	b.	Quantifying	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 մյուս *myus*; non-specific determiners: traditionally indefinite pronouns such as այլ *ayl*, ուրիշ *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 (=seman-to-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.

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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'-ĕ.
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'-ĕ.
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 գիրկը:
es kard-um em Balakyan-i nor girk'-ĕ.
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:
Ṙadio-y-ov heṙarjak-v-um ēin 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."

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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 -ս *-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 complement[216] 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:

verǰnakan *hałt'ut'yun-ě* *mer-n* *ē.*
final victory.NOM-the our-the it is
"The final victory is ours."

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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 k'anak'-ě k'san 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 գեղեցիկ 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]

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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 գնում 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: (Gyurǰinayan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 81)

ayd baṙaran-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 գնում է դպրոց:

Vardan-ĕ 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-ĕ 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-ĕ 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-ě *namak* *ē* *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 multifunctional 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 *banastełcakan* *xosk'-ě* *ger-el*
his poetic speech.NOM-the fascinate–PTCP.PERF.

ē *šat-er-i-n* *ew* *stip-el* *ayl*
it is many-PL-DAT-the CONJ force-PTCP.PERF. other

ač'k'-er-ov *nay-el* *ašxarh-i-n.*
eye-PL-INST look-INF world-DAT-the

"His poetic speech has fascinated many and has forced (them) to see the world with other eyes."

(18) Այն հիշեցնում է Աֆղանստանում Բուդդայի արձանները ոչնչացրած թալիբ խավարամոլների գործողությունները: (AZG 10.01.2006)

ayn hiše-c'n-um ē Aflanstan-um Budda-y-i
that remember-caus-PTCP.PRES it is Afghanistan-LOC Buddha-DAT

arjan-ner-ĕ oč'nč'a-c'r-ac ťalib
statue-PL.NOM-the destroy-caus-PTCP.RES. Taliban

xavaramol-ner-i gorcołut'yun-ner-ĕ.
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 girk'-ĕ.
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- *-c'n-* 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 č'-i irakana-c'n-i petut'y-an cragir-ĕ
Who neg- he is fulfil-caus-COND.FUT.3.SG state-DAT program.NOM-the

na durs kmn-a ayd gorcĕnt'ac'-ic'.
he.NOM outside stay-COND.FUT.3.SG that process-ABL

"Who does not fulfil the state's program, will remain outside of that process."

(21) Եթե նման միջադեպերը նախկինում «Նոր ժամանակներում» ծիծաղելի էին որակվում, ապա այժմ դա բարկացնում է Ա. Կարապետյանի կուսակիցներին: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Et'e nman mijadep-er-ĕ naxkinum "Nor žamanakner-um" cicałeli
CONJ similar incident-PL.NOM-the former "New time-PL-LOC" funny

ēin orak-v-um apa ayžm da barka-c'n-um
they were qualify-pass-PTCP.PRES. then now that become angry-caus-PTCP.PRES.

ē A. Karaptyan-i kusakic'-ner-i-n.
it is A. Karapetyan-DAT party member-PL-DAT-the

"If similar incidents were regarded as funny by the former (political party) "New times", 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: (Aŕavot 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 k'ałak'akan
importance.NOM-the CONJ it.GEN POST obligatory it is civil
bolor už-er-i aǰakc'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'e inkě gełec'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 kèz 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 գնացնում 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.
k'ez-anic' vaxe-c'r-in ew p'axč'-el tv-in.
you-ABL fear-caus-AOR.3.PL CONJ flee-INF give-AOR.3.PL[219]
"But my enemies misguided me, made [me] fear you, and made me flee."
Comment: the verb 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 from 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 mek'enan.
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.

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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-c'r-el xał-al ir
Lewon-DAT-the chess.NOM she is learn-caus-PTCP.PERF. play-INF his
avag k'uyr-ě.
older sister.NOM-the
"His older sister has taught Lewon to play chess."

(30) Նրա հայրը Արամին ուտել տվեց խնձորը:

Nra hayr-ě Aram-i-n ut-el tvec' xnjor-ě.
his father.NOM-the Aram-DAT-the eat-INF give-AOR.3.SG apple.NOM-the
"His father made Aram eat the apple."

In most cases, there is a subtle semantic difference between the use of the suffix -ցն--*c'n*- 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 kat' ē xme-c'n-um.
mother.NOM-the child-DAT-the milk.NOM she is drink-caus-PTCP.PRES.
"The mother makes the child drink milk."
i.e. "the mother" is also the agent; she, herself, gives milk to the child.

b. Մայրը երեխային կաթ խմել է տալիս:

Mayr-ě erexa-y-i-n kat' xm-el ē tal-is.
mother.NOM-the child-DAT-the milk.NOM drink-INF she is give-PTCP.PRES.
"The mother makes the child drink milk."
i.e. the mother, herself, does not give the milk.

The same semantic difference can also be observed in the choice of the causativisation method with some motion verbs.

(32) a. Գեներալը վազեցնում է իր զինվորներին:

General-ě vaze-c'n-um ē ir zinvor-ner-i-n.
General.NOM-the run-caus-PTCP.PRES. he is his soldier-PL-DAT-the
"The general (himself) makes his soldiers run."
i.e. the general is also the agent, he does something to make his soldiers run.

b. Գեներեալը վազել է տալիս իր զինվորներին:
General-ě 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-ě ir ord-u-n sap'r-v-el tv-ec'.
mother.NOM-the her son-DAT-the shave-refl-INF give-AOR.3.SG
"The mother made her son shave (himself)."

(34) 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 p'ok'r tła-y-i-n stip-um ē lvac'-v-el.
father.NOM-the his little boy-DAT-the force-PTCP.PRES. he is wash-refl-INF
"The father forces his little son to wash himself."

(36) 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 գամպռներին հարձակվել տվեցին գայլերի վրա:
Hoviv-ner-ě irenc' gampř-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)

a. the causer (agent), the entity causing the event = the grammatical subject of the sentence
b. the causee (recipient), i.e. the entity responding to the causation and implementing the action expressed by the main verb
c. the affectee (patient), the entity that is subjected to the causative element.

In MEA, the causer as agent is usually expressed with nominative case. There seems to be semantic constraints on the expression of the causer:

a. natural forces can occur as causers, but they may only be combined with morphological causatives or – more often, more natural and wide-spread – with manipulation verbs. Natural force causers usually do not co-occur with analytical causative constructions.

(40) Ուժեղ քամին ինձ հազացնում է:

Užeł 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-ě 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 գարնանացանի աշխատանքները, որը սկսվել էր մարտի 20-ից: (Armenpress 04.04.2006)

tełac'ac jyun-ě ew c'urt ełanak-ě stip-el
fall-PTCP.RES. snow.NOM-the CONJ cold weather.NOM-the force-PTCP.PERF.

en marzi gyułac'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-ě or-ě 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. Դառը դեղը երեխային հազացնում է:

Daře deł-ě 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. Դառը դեղը երեխային հազալ է տալիս:

Daře deł-ě 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. *Դառը դեղը երեխային ստիպում է հազալ:

Daře deł-ě 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* *mek'ena-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; Barsełyan 1953: 122–123; Abrahamyan 1981: 190.

(47) Վերջին ժամանակներս ի վնաս Թուրքիայի ԱՄՆ-ը ամրացնում է հարաբերությունները Վրաստանի հետ: (Azg 07.04.2006)

Verǰin žamanak-ner-s i vnas T'urk'ia-yi AMN-ě
last time.PL.NOM-this PREP harm.NOM Turkey-DAT USA-the

amra-c'n-um ē haraberut'yun-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 ǰeřuc'um
Yerevan-DAT JEK.NOM-the this year.NOM heating.NOM

č'-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 mełavor-ner en p'ntr-um č'- mełavor-ner-n
Man-PL.NOM guilty-PL.NOM they are seek-PTCP.PRES neg-guilty-PL.NOM-the

en mełavor-ner p'ntr-um irenc' isk mełk'-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:

- զբաղեցնել *zbałec'nel* "to occupy, to engage; to interest" < no intransitive form existent in MEA[222]
- լցնել *lc'nel* "to fill; to poor out" < no intransitive form existent in MEA[223]
- կասեցնել *kasec'nel* "to avert; to suspend; to disable; to constrain" < no intransitive form existent in MEA[224]
- յուրացնել *yurac'nel* "to appropriate; to adopt, to acquire; to assimilate" < no intransitive form existent in MEA[225]
- 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 կզբաղեցնի: (Azg 07.04.2006)

Na *ayn* *karcik'-ě* *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' *kzbałe-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."

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222. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 86: the basic form զբաղիլ *zbałil* is represented as a "passive" form in Classical Armenian (which is actually represented by the *v*-suffixed reflexive and heavily lexicalised form զբաղվել *zbał-v-el* "to be occupied with; to study" in MEA.

223. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 279: the basic transitive form լնուլ *lnul* "to fill" is attested in Classical Armenian, as well as its causative, լցուցանել *lc'uc'anel* "to fill; to make fill".

224. Ačařyan 1973: 2: 531: the intransitive forms կասիլ, կասել *kasil, kasel* "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 յօրանալ *yōranal* 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 k'artułar-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 duṙ-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) Գեներալը 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
gyuł-i tłamardk-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'artułar-i-n* *usuc̆'-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 ուսոցչին մի նամակ գրել է տալիս:

Hayr-ě *kartułar-i-n* *usuc̆'-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) Արկղը բացվեց Վարդանի եղբոր կողմից:

Arkł-ě *bac'-v-ec* *Vardan-i* *ełb-or* *kołmic'.*
box.NOM-the open-pass-AOR3.SG. Vardan-DAT brother-DAT POST
S *V* *(logical agent)*

"The box was opened by Vardan's brother."

(55) a. ? Վարդանը բացել տվեց արկղը իր եղբոր կողմից:

Vardan-ě *bac'-el* *tv-ec'* *arkł'-ě*
Vardan.NOM-the open-INF give-AOR3.SG box.NOM-the
S/causer *V* *O*

ir *ełb-or* *kołmic'.*
his brother-DAT POST
(causee)

"Vardan had the box opened by his brother."

In Armenian, structures like (55a) are allowed, though not really wide-spread. Usually such complex passive/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'	*arkł-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*	*k'artułar-i-n*	
father.NOM-the	force-PTCP.PRES.	he is	secretary-DAT-the	
S/causer	*V*		*IO/causee*	
usucč'-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:

Užeł *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:

užeł *k'am-uc'* *es* *haz-ec'-i.*
strong wind-ABL I.NOM cough-AOR1.SG
"I coughed from the strong wind."

c. Ուժեղ քամու պատճարով ես հազեցի:

užeł *k'am-u* *patčařov* *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 *patčařov* *cer* *mard-ě* *anǰat-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 - ենալ *-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 քամուց ծառերը մերկացել էին.[226]
ašnan-ě *kʻam-ucʼ* *caṙ-er-ě* *merkacʼ-el* *ēin.*
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 ցրտից:
Całik-ner-ě *tʻaṙam-el* *ēin* *cʼrt-icʼ.*
Flower-PL.NOM-the fade-PTCP.PERF. they were cold-ABL
"The flowers had faded from the cold."
Comment: the intransitive verb թառամել *tʻaṙamel* is inchoative "to fade". The causer, a natural force, is expressed with the ablative.

a. Ցուրտը թառամեցրել էր ծաղիկները:
cʼurt-ě *tʻaṙame-cʼr-el* *ēr* *całik-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 *vštacʼ-el* *ēr* *ord-u* *varmunkʼ-icʼ.*
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 *vštanal* "to be sad, to grief" is inchoative.

226. The sentences were recorded visiting the class of Armenian language in Yerevan's school No 8, named after Puškin, in the classroom 7a. The topic of the class was causative constructions.

(63) a. Հորը վշտացրել էր որդու վարմունքը:
Hor-ě všta-c'r-el ēr 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 oč' 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 oč' t'e txre-c'r-ec' ayl
that case.NOM-the neg CONJ grow sad-caus-AOR.3.SG CONJ
uraxa-c'r-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 may sometimes be difficult to distinguish passives from reflexives, reciprocals and even anticausatives. Such morpho-syntactic doublets make clear the rather high occurrence of lexicalised -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)

ĕst nra ašxužut'yun ē nkat-v-um naew anavart
PREP his briskness.NOM it is notice-pass-PTCP.PRES also unfinished

šinararut'y-an ōbjekt-ner-i masnavorec'm-an ułłuty-amb hatkapes
building-DAT object-PL-DAT establishment-DAT direction-INST particularly

gyuł-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 meǰ as-v-um ē or
council-DAT decision-DAT POST say-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is CONJ

Melk'onyan varžaran-ĕ oč' miayn hay-er-i aylew
Melk'onyan.NOM college.NOM-the neg only Armenian-PL-DAT also

Kipros-i mšakut'ayin u patmakan žaŕangut'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 մրցանակային 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 šurǰn sks-v-el en kanač'apatm-an
building-DAT POST begin-antic-PTCP.PERF. they are planting vegation-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 verǰa-c'n-el
diplom work.NOM-the intend-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is finish-caus-INF

lezvabanut'yan usanoł-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 *kołmic'.*
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 *kołmic'.*
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 kołmic')*
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 reflexives[228]) may also denote a necessity or instruction. In MEA, these are regarded as impersonal passives.

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228. Term of Genusiene 1987: 257. She regards these verbs as a semantic type of object reflexive, also occurring in Armenian. She is right in noting that there are no impersonal reflexives

(72) իմ ազգանունը գրվում է առանց h-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 ավտոմեկենա 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 passives[229] convey a meaning "by chance, against will, inadvertently" and are less common. This meaning is rendered by passive forms in MEA.

(74) Այս կոշիկները շուտ մաշվեցին:
ays košik-ner-ě šut maš-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 (Anuš-i kołmic')
book.NOM-the read-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is (Anuš-DAT POST)
"The book is read (by Anuš). The book is being read (by Anuš)".

– Reflexive impersonal: if derived from a transitive verb, having the equal meaning as impersonal constructions. In Armenian these are regarded as impersonal passives.

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in Armenian – impersonal forms with the suffix *-v-* are interpreted rather as impersonal passives (see above).

229. comp. Geniušiene 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 prohibite", թույլ տալ *t'uyl tal* "to allow, to permit", խորհուրդ 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 ռադիոհեռուստատեսային հաղորդման ընթացքում հեռարձակել գովազդ: (Armenpress 08.12.2005)

"*Govazd-i masin*" *H.H. ōrenk'-i 9rd hodvac-i hamajayn*
"Advertising-DAT POST" R.A. law-DAT 9th article-DAT POST
argel-v-um ē řadioheřustatesayin hałord-man
forbid-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is Radio/Televison broadcasting-DAT
ěnt'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.

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230. Siewierska 1984: 28.

(77) Համալսարանի ժողովում ռեկտորի առաջարկությունը մերժվեց:
hamalsaran-i žołov-um řektor-i aŕaǰarkut'yun-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 žołov-um řektor-i aŕaǰarkut'yun-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)
Aysōr ēl 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."

If the agentive phrase is overtly expressed, it is represented by the noun in the dative and the postposition կողմից *kołmic'*, if the noun expresses a prototypical agent (+human).

(79) Այն գործադիրի կողմից գնահատվել է բավարար: (Armenpress 10.01.2006)
ayn gorcadir-i kołmic' gnahat-v-el ē 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
Դեկոս կայսեր կողմից և թաքնվում մոտակա Ողքոս լեռան այրում: (Armenpress 09.01.2006)
Aŕ Astvac unec'-ac irenc' havatk'-i hamar
PREP God.NOM have-PTCP.RES. their belief-DAT POST
halac-v-um en Dekos kays-er kołmic' ew
persecute-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are Dekos emporer-DAT POST CONJ
t'ak'n-v-um motaka Ołkos leř-an ayr-um.
hide-refl-PTCP.PRES. close Ołk'os 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 Ołkos."

– By the personal pronoun in the genitive and the postposition կողմից *kołmic'* (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 miǰadep č'-i ełel ew mer kołmic'
similar incident.NOM neg-it is be-PTCP.PERF. CONJ we-GEN POST
hradadar-i řežim-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 դասընկերներից:
Anna-n sir-v-um ē ir bolor dasĕnker-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:
Leřnalanǰ-i xrčit'-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-ĕ 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-ĕ šarž-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 islikely, 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) Նայի՛ր պատուհանից դուրս բաղեղի վերջին տերևին: Չե՞ս զարմանում, որ Նա քամուց չի դողում ու չի շարժվում: (Grakanuťyun 6: 150)
nayir patuhan-ic' durs bałeł-i verǰin 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 šarž-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 *kołmic'*:

(87) a. Երեխան խայթվեց օձի կողմից:
Erexa-*n* *xayt'-v-ec'* *ōj-i* *kołmic'*.
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 *kołmic'*, if a non-human or abstract agent is conveyed through personification.

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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-ě 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 *kołmic* 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: *K'amin č'i doła-c'n-um u č'i šarzum terew-ě*. "The wind does not make the leaf shiver and does not move it." i.e. basic forms of verbs: *dołal* "to shiver", inherently inchoative; causativised *dołacn'el*. *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 *antaŕatarack'.*
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) Աշոտը սպանվեց ատրճանակով:

Ašot-ĕ *span-v-ec'* *atrč'anak-ov.*
Ašot.NOM-the kill-pass-AOR.3.SG gun-INST
"Ašot was killed with a gun."

(90) Գետինը ծածկվեց ձյունով:

Getin-ĕ *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-ĕ *ǰard-ec'* *patuhan-ĕ.*
Armen.NOM-the break-AOR.3.SG window.NOM-the
"Armen broke the window."

(92) Պատուհանը ջարդվեց:

Patuhan-ĕ *ǰard-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 ǰard-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 *-enal, -anal* conjugation belong to this group, such as հեռանալ *heŕanal* "to remove, to go way", ուրախանալ *uraxanal* "to be happy", մոտենալ *motenal* "to approach, to approximate", վախենալ *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 person's condition has improved." (From the inchoative verb լավանալ *lavanal*)

(94) Անուշը զարմանում է իր եղբոր վրա:

Anuš-ě zarman-um ē ir ełb-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'ołoc'-ě laynan-um ē.
street.NOM-the widen-PTCP.PRES. it is
"The street widens."

(96) Անտառի հրդեհը մարեց:

Antaŕ-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:

ǰur-ě saŕč'-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:
Sełan-i-n t'ap'-v-ac ōłi-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:
całik-ner-ě ťařam-um en ašnan-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:
całkaman-ě ǰard-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 vačař-v-um.
this new book.NOM-the good it is sell-antic-PTCP.PRES.
"This new book sells well."

(103) Շոկոլադը հեշտ է հալվում:
šokolad-ě hešt ē hal-v-um.
chocolate.NOM-the easily it is melt-antic-PTCP.PRES.
"Chocolate melts easily."

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233. Such verbs have been grouped as a subgroup of "quasi-passive-reflexives" as "potential passive reflexives" in Genuisiene'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 *xandavaṙvel* "to be inspired", խղճահարվել *xlčaharvel* to commiserate, to "take pity", հուզվել *huzvel* "to be disturbed, to be agitated", գրգռվել *grgṙvel* "to get excited", խոցվել *xoc'vel* "to be hurt; to be injured", բորբոքվել *borbok'vel* "to blaze; to inflame", խելագարվել *xelagarvel* "to go mad", հիասթափվել *hiastap'vel* "to be disappointed" etc.

(104) Պրոմեթևսը հայտնեց, օր Զևսի ատելությունն իր նկատմամբ առավել բորբոքվեց այն բանից հետո: (Grakanut'yun 6:21)

Prometʻews-ě *haytnec'* *or* *Jews-i* *atelutʻyun-n*
Prometheus.NOM-the declare-AOR.3.SG CONJ Zeus-DAT hate.NOM-the

ir *nkatmamb* *aṙavel* *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'ałak'-ic* *ek-ac*
CONJ his friend.NOM-the Naxĭjewan-DAT Šak'in town-ABL come-PTCP.RES.

Arp'ik *tat-ĕ* *xoc'-v-ac* *ēr* *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 *čʻorac'-av* *kizič'* *arew-ic'.*
grass.NOM-the dry-AOR.3.SG burning sun-ABL
"The grass dried in (lit. from) the burning sun."

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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:

a. morphological reflexivisation, by means of the verbal suffix *-v-* which is attached to the verbal stems, and
b. syntactic reflexivisation, with the bare form of the verb and the personal pronoun in the dative for 1st (ինձ *inj*, մեզ *mez*) and 2nd persons (քեզ *kʻez*, 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
ěnddimut'yun-n *ink'n iren* *nerkʻašec'* *aynpisi* *pʻakuł-u*
opposition.NOM-the he-REFL implicate-AOR3.SG such blind alley-DAT
mej *or-ic'* *elk'* *ink'n* *aysōr* *č'-i* *karołan-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'e* *ink'n iren*
journalist-PL-DAT that question-DAT-the CONJ he-REFL

čʻanač'-um *ē* *orpes* *ahabekič'* *Haruťyunyan-ě*
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 ձագերին, իսկ մարդն իրեն զոհաբերում է հանուն զավակների: (Azg 07.04.2006)

arnet-ner-ě *erb* *sov-ac* *en* *mn-um* *xžř-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* *zavak-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 ałǰik-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 *nełvel* "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 Taǰikstan-ic'.
remove-INF Taǰikistan-ABL
"Russia is preparing to remove its troops from Taǰikistan."

– Verbs indicating the reason for a loss or damage e.g. այրվել *ayrvel* "to burn out", թունավորվել *t'unavorvel* "to poison, to intoxicate", խեղդվել *xełdvel* "to drown", կեղտոտվել *kełtotvel* "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 *p'ok'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 *kołpvel* "to be locked", պահվել *pahvel* "to repose", տեղավորվել *tełavorvel* "to find room, to be placed" etc.

(116) Կալանված բեռը տեղավորվել է Թբիլիսիի սառցարանային պահեստներում: (Armenpress 30.10.2005)

Kalan-v-ac *beř-ě* *tełavor-v-el* *ē*
confiscate-pass-PTCP.RES. freight.NOM-the find room-refl-PTCP.PERF. it is

T'bilisi-i *sařc'aranayin* *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 žołovrd-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 interst of the main masses, or with the nation's interests."

– Verbs denoting actions performed on body parts or actions on body parts as well as uncontrolled movements of human body parts or organs[238] such as գալարվել *galar-v-el* "to coil, to twist, to crinkle", կկոցվել *kkoc'-v-el* "to squint, to narrow", չռվել *č'ř-v-el* "to spread wide", "to stare"; թարթվել *t'art-v-el* "to wink, to blink", պրկվել *prk-v-el* "to tighten", սուզվել *suz-v-el* "to sink, to drown, to plunge, to dive", խոժոռվել *xožoř-v-el* "to frown", կնճռոտվել *knčřot-v-el* "to crinke, 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 կնճռոտում է քիթը:
Erexa-n *knčřot-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* *knčřot-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 knčřot-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 deł-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.

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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 aysteł 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
k'ez 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 reflexives[243] 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", խռնվել *xřnvel* "to swarm, to gather, to collect", համախմբվել *hamaxmbvel* "to gather, to align with", բաժանավել *bažanvel* "to separate; to divide" etc.[244]

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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 Genusiene 1987: 257. (Kozintseva 1981: 90) uses the term "autocausative" for this group of objective reflexives.

244. Kozinceva 1981: 94. The basic verbs are regular transitives with direct object, expressed by +animate/+-human or –animate nouns.

(121) Առաջին անգամ Սփյուռքի և Հայաստանի մասնագետները հավաքվեցին. (Armenpress 07.04.2006):

Aṙaǰin angam Sp'yuṙk'-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'rvel* "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 վազքատարածությունում 11.8 վրկ արդյունքով Մարիներ Ղազարյանը բավարարվեց բրոնզե մեդալով: (Armenpress 15.01.2006)

100 m vazk'ataracut'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 anticausatives, 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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Patčaŕ-ě kap-v-ac ēr k'aŕjak-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 verakaŕuc'-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 kaŕuc'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.

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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

t'e guyn-er-ov t'e 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 vał
minister-DAT word-PL-INST Armenia-LOC gas-DAT price-PL.NOM early

t'e 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 *havasar linel* "to be equal"; i.e. պետք է հավասար լինել… *petk' ē havasar 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 սափրիչի կողմից:

hayr-s sap'r-v-ec' sap'rič'-i kołmic'.
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'* *gnec'*.
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* *aǰ* *otk'-ĕ.*
he.NOM break-AOR.3.SG his right leg.NOM-the
"He broke his right leg."

(132) Արմենը վիրակապեց իր վնասված ձեռքը:
Armen-ĕ *virakapec'* *ir* *vnas-v-ac* *jeŕk'-ĕ.*
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-ĕ* *xonarh-v-um* *ē*
Aznavur.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ he bow-refl-PTCP.PRES. he is
nra *aŕaǰ.*
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 *ołǰagurvel* "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 *mimyanc'*, 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 kamurǰ-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 kamurǰ-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 aŕewtur 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 havatac'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/Anticausative[248]

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) Ավտոմեքեանան ավտոտնակից 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'ołoc'.
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 ałǰik-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/Reflexive[250]

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 *gyułac'i-ner-ě* *lvac-v-um* *ēin*
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:

Kełtot' *šor-er-ě* *lvac'-v-um* *ēin* *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/Reciprocal[251]

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

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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 šurǰ
Aragacotn-LOC collect-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is approximately

40000 tonna hac'ahatik.
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 t'e inč'u en aysōr aysteł havak'-v-el
behold CONJ why theyare today here gather-refl-PTCP.PERF.

k'san-ic' aveli erkr-ner-i nerkayac'uc'ič'-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'rvel* "to be interested", զմայլվել, 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 taracašrǰan-um tasnerku gorc-ic' bavarar-v-el ē
Gugark'-DAT region-LOC twelve case-ABL fulfil-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is

hing-ĕ mek-ĕ 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) Հոլը 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-*ě*/-ն-*n*
– the possessive suffixes -ս, -դ, -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' aynteł 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 k'ani* "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 *bolor* "all"; ողջ *ołǰ* "whole", ամբողջ *ambołǰ* "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,…
(Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Minč'deř erek' amis-ě bavarar č'-ē ēk'skursavar
CONJ three month.NOM-the enough neg-it is tour guide.NOM

daŕn-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'ałak'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'łt'-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… (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)
Kořupc'ia-yi *dem* *ambołǰ* *ašxarh-n* *ē* *payk'ar-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-oł *en* *lin-el* *t'eruť'yun-ner* *bayc'*
an-PTCP.PRES they are be-INF shortcoming-PL.NOM CONJ
kełcik'-ner-ov *ěntrac'uc'ak-ner-ě* *bac'aŕ-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 *orewicè* "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*/ո՞րպիսի *orpisi*? "what? what kind of?" etc.

254. In fact, many inflected nouns in the attributive function have been lexicalised to regular adjectives, particularly nouns with the classical ablative case-suffix *-e*, e.g. ոսկե *oske* < *osk-e* "(made) from gold" = golden, also արծաթե *arcat'e* "lit. from silver = silvern", փայտե *p'ayte* "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 *kʻo* "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 -ս *-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 gyuł-um šat ĕntanikʻ-ner-ĕ un-en
Ararat.NOM village-LOC many family-PL.NOM-the have.PRES.3.PL

irenc' ōj-er-ĕ.
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 tła-n ēl heřu teł ē
possible it is that mother-DAT boy.NOM-the still far place.NOM he is

u es nran im ordu bažin-n em tal-is.
CONJ 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 kʻuyr-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:

Miǰnadar-um gyułacʻi-ner-i berkʻ-i mek errord-ĕ
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 *-oł*
- 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-oł* *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 տարածքում մեքենաների թիվը դժվար էր հաշվել: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

šenk'-i-n *har-oł* *tarack'-um* *mek'ena-ner-i*
building-DAT-the adjoin-PTCP.SUB. area-LOC car-PL-DAT

t'iv-ě *džvar* *ēr* *hašv-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'* *šinararakan* *ašxatank'-ner-i*
2004-DAT-the realize-pass-PTCP.FUT.II building work-PL-DAT

hamar *naxates-v-ac* *ē* *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 a 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 Քոչարյան n*axagah 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 Քոչարյան 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 ծեծկռտուք է տեղի ունեցել: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

Saratov-i	*marz-i*	*Baltay*	*k'ałak'-um*	*řus*	*ew*
Saratov-DAT	province-DAT	Baltay.NOM	town-LOC	Russian	CONJ

255. Please note that in traditional Armenian grammar terminology the term բացահայտիչ *bac'ahaytič'*, 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 *dproc'akan-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 ծախելու ոչինչ չունի, բայց պարզվեց՝ ունի. (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Mi k'ani *amis* *ařaǰ* *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 երևույթը որակում է որպես "փոթորիկ մեկ բաժակ ջրում": (Azg 08.04.2006)

Spařoł-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* *p'ot'orik* *mek* *bažak* *ǰr-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]

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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 groł-i erk-er-ic'
Umberto Eco-DAT this book.NOM-the author-DAT work-PL-ABL
amenahetak'rk'rakan-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 łekavar-i arajin 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 ձերբակալել են 10-ամյա աղջկա, որը թմրանյութերի վաճառքով էր զբաղվում: (Aŕavot, 08.04.2006)

Novosibirsk-um *ostikan-ner-ě* *jerbakalel* *en*
Novosibirsk-LOC policeman-PL.NOM-the arrest-PTCP.PERF. they are

10-amya *ałǰk-a* *or-ě* *t'mranyut'-er-i* *vačaŕk'-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:

Erewan-ě *or* *Hayastan-i* *mayrak'ałak'-n* *ē*
Yerevan.NOM-the REL.NOM Armenia-DAT capital.NOM-the it is

gtn-v-um *ē* *Araratyan* *daštavayr-um.*
locate-REFL-PTCP.PRES. it is Ararat plain-LOC

"Yerevan, which is the capital of Armenia, is located in the Ararat plain."

Syntactically, Armenian distinguishes three types of relative clauses:

– "real" relative clauses, which appear as modifiers of the head noun using relative pronouns and finite verb forms (subordinated relative clause),
– "participial" deranked relative clauses,
– correlative relative clauses: they usually precede the main clause with an overt marking on both.

– Subordinated Relative Clause

A real or subordinated relative clause refers to the head noun in the main clause by using a relative pronoun and a finite verb form; these relative clauses, regardless of whether they are restrictive or not, follow the head noun.

(170) 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

dasěnker-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'łt'-er* *en* *or-onk'*
They INT interesting document-PL.NOM they are REL-PL.NOM

hayeren *lezv-ov* *hratark-v-um* *en* *aŕaǰin* *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 preposed to the noun they modify.

Two kinds of such relative clauses are distinguished depending on whether the shortened preposed clause has a subject of its own or not. More frequently, the subject of the main and the relative clause are the same. The subject of deranked relative clauses, other than the subject of the main clause, is expressed in the dative case. (For details see Ch. 3.3.2.3. "Relative Clauses", p. 478f.).

The resultative participle in -ած *-ac* as well as the future participle II in -իք *-ik'* are commonly used for such preposed shortened relative clauses, both in written and spoken Armenian.

(172) Արայի կատարած աշխատանքից գոհ մնացինբոլորը:

Ara-yi *katar-ac* *ašxatank'-ic'* *goh* *mnac'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' *ēǰ-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 *žołovurd-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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

anj-amb *inj* *nvir-ec'-in* *hianali* *p'nǰ-er.*
person-INST I.DAT give-AOR.3.PL wonderful bouqet-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 personificated (–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: (Aŕavot 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'* *jeŕnamux*
CONJ republic-DAT president-DAT instruction-INST we.NOM disposed we

enk' *eł-el* *šat* *"eŕand* *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* *ē* *ir* *hor* *šan-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 animate 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 definite[262] animals.

(181) Անին շներ է սիրոմ:

Ani-n *šn-er* *ē* *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 *hałordel* "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 *matuc'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 *hałordel* "to communicate", բացատրել *bac'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 lragroł-ner-i-n asac' HH
this POST today journalist-PL-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG RA
artagorcnaxarar.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan-ě.
Foreign Minister.NOM Vardan Ōskanyan.NOM-the
"The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Armenia, Vardan Ōskanyan, spoke to the journalists about that…"

(183) Տատիկը իր թոռնիկին ուտել տվեց խնձորը:

Tatik-ě ir t'oŕnik-i-n ut-el tv-ec'
Tatik.NOM-the her grandchild-DAT-the eat-INF give-AOR.3.SG
xnjor-ě.
apple.NOM-the
"The grandmother made her (little) grandchild eat the apple."

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263. Comp. Ch. 2.1.3.4. "Ablative", p. 98f.

264. In Armenian grammars this indirect dative object is usually labelled մատուցման խնդիր *matuc'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. մոտենալ *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'arinǰ *gyuł-i* *ǰratar-i* *verakařuc'm-an* *ašxatank'-ner-ě*
K'arinǰ.NOM village-DAT conduit-DAT rebuilding-DAT work-PL.NOM-the
moten-um *en* *avart-i-n.*
approach-PTCP.PRES. they are termination-DAT-the
"The rebuilding works of the conduit in the village of K'arinǰ 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

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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 Separation[267]

The object of separation signifies

- that a component or part of an object is taken/separated/moved away etc.
- the entity from which another constituent comes from
- the entity from which another constituent originates/derives/descends.

The object of separation/origin is expressed with the morphological ablative case.

(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	*tełekac'rec'*	*or*	*t'atron-ě*	*petut'yun-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*	*ambołǰ*	*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."

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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 *miǰoc'ov* "by means of", շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* "thanks to"[268]+ noun in dative.

(189) Իսկ մերած լեզվով չի կարելի շունչ ներարկել կենդանի իրականուտյանը: (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: (Aŕavot 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 *miǰoc'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-oǰ* *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", նկամտմամբ *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 *gangatvel* "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 խոսել 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)

xorhrdakc'ut'y-an ěnt'ac'k'um xos-v-el ē varkayin
meeting-DAT POST speak-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is credit

kazmakerput'yun-ner-i gorcuneut'y-an 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)

Ałbahanut'y-an xndir-ner-i handep antarberut'yun en
waste disposal-DAT problem-PL-DAT POST indifference.NOM they are

c'uc'aber-um naew tntesavar-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 *k'an* "than" and the standard in the nominative.

(195) Եղբոր աղջիկը իմ տղայից մեծ է:

Ełbor ałǰik-ě im tła-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 arołǰut'yun-ě šat lav ē ew aveli arǝłǰ em k'an bolor
my health.NOM-the INT good it is CONJ more healthy I am COMP all

ayn mard-ik ov-k'er p'orj-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 fromit."

If the object of comparison, however, does not refer back to the subject, only a construction with the conjunction քան *k'an* and the standard in the nominative is possible.

(197) Բախշյանը նույնիսկ ասաց, որ այսօր իր հուսահատությունն ավելի խորն է, քան հոկտեմբերի 27-ին էր: (Aŕavot 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 k'an 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)

Šveyc'aria-y-ic' Hayastan ē veradarj-el 9 ěntanik'
Switzerland-ABL Armenia.NOM it is return-PTCP.PERF. 9 family.NOM

24 anj-ic' bałkac'-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'uyl ē ōtar lezv-ic'.
Anahit.NOM-the weak she is foreign language-ABL
"Anahit is weak in foreign languages."

(200) Այդ տղամարդը ազգությամբ հայ է:
ayd tłamard-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: (Armenpress 23.01.2006)
k'ani 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 *orteł* "where?"
– It denotes the place in which direction the action is directed. It answers the question ո՞ւր *ur* "where to?"
– It signifies the place from where the action/movement of the subject starts. It answers the question որտեղի՞ց *ortełic'* "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?", որ՞ի միջոցով *ori mijoc'ov* "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 *aysteł* "here", այնտեղ *ayntеł* "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 *meǰ* "in", վրա *vra* "on", տակ *tak* "under", etc. (212)

(205) Նշենք, որ այս տարի Սուրբ Ծնունդն այստեղ նույնպես նշվել էր նոր տոմարով։(Armenpress 29.03.2006)

nšenk' *or* *ays* *tari* *Surb Cnund-n* *aysteł*
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* *meǰk'-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-ě* *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* *aŕastał-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* *xołovak-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 Ադրբեջանումբնակվում է շուրջ 30 հազար հայ:
(Aŕavot 13.01.2006)

Aysōr *Ardrbeǰan-um* *bnak-v-um* *ē* *šurǰ*
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-ě* *mnac'-el* *en* *aynteł* *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* *xałac'-ac* *der-n* *ē* *mardkut'y-an*
that Armenian-PL-DAT play-PTCP.RES. role.NOM-the it is mankind-DAT

patmut'y-an *meǰ.*
history-DAT POST

"That is the role Armenians played in the history of mankind."

b. Adverbial Complement/Adjunct of Time[270]

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'k'an žamanak* "how long?", քանի՞ ժամով …*k'ani 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:

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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 Զոհրապը 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 k'ani
France-ABL come-PTCP.RES. doctor-PL.NOM-the all-in-all some
ōr-um dr-ec'in konk'-i 9 prot'ez.
day-LOC put-AOR.3.PL pelvis-DAT 9 prothesis
"The doctors, having come from France, have put nine pelvis protheses all in all in some days."

(218) Լսելով նրա սրբակեցության մասին՝ շատերը թողնում են իրենց տներն ու հեռանում անապատ ճգնելու: (Armenpress 10.01.2005)

lsel-ov *nra* *srbakec'ut'y-an* *masin* *šat-er-ě*
hear-INF-INST his holy way of life-DAT POST many-PL.NOM-the

t'oł-um *en* *irenc'* *tn-er-n* *u* *heŕan-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 Շառոյանից հետո մշակույթի նախարար է նշանակվել Թամարա Պողոսյանը: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

Ŕoland Šaŕoyan-ic' *heto* *mšakuyt'-i* *naxarar* *ē*
Ŕoland Šaŕoyan-ABL POST culture-DAT minister.NOM she is

nšanak-v-el *T'amara Połosyan-ě.*
appoint-pass-PTCP.PERF. T'amara Połosyan.NOM-the

"After Ŕoland Šaŕoyan, T'amara 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 *inč'pes* "as", որպես *orpes* "as" etc. (223)

(220) Եվ եթե այսպես գնանք, մենք բավական շահեկան վիճակում ենք լինելու: (Armenpress 31.10.2005)

Ev *et'e* *ayspes* *gn-ank'* *menk'* *bavakan*
CONJ CONJ so go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL we.NOM sufficiently

šahekan *vičak-um* *enk'* *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 hačuyk'-ov ēin
his pupil-PL.NOM-the big love-INST CONJ pleasure-INST they were

sovor-um hayeren taŕ-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 ē spas-um ir ełbor
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: (Aŕavot 28.03.2006)

aysōr hravir-ac k'nnarkman-ě nman tesaket
today convene-PTCP.RES. discussion-DAT-the POST view.NOM

haytn-ec' Eritasard k'ałak'akan 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 *inč'u* "why?", ինչի՞ց *inč'ic'* "why, by which (reason)?", ի՞նչ պատճառով *inč' patčaŕov* "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 *patčaŕov* "because of", հետևանքով *hetewank'ov* "due to", ձեռքից *jeŕk'ic'* "because of", երեսից *eresic'* "because of". (231)

(224) Մի կարճատև պահ արթնացավ պատուհանի կիսաբաց փեղկից փչող սառը քամուց: (Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 180)

mi *karčatew* *pah* *art'n-ac'av* *patuhan-i* *kisabac*
INDEF short moment.NOM wake-up-AOR.3.SG window-DAT half-opened

p'ełk-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-ac'av* *ir* *harewan-i* *š-an* *hač'-el-uc'*.
Vardan.NOM-the wake up-AOR.3.SG his neighbour-DAT dog-DAT bark-INF-ABL
"Vardan woke up from the barking of his neighbour's dog."

(226) Վերջին տարիներին անտառահատումների հետևանքով ոչնչացվել է մարզի անտառապատ տարածքների ավելի քան 70 տոկոսը: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

Verǰin *tari-ner-i-n* *antaŕahatum-ner-i* *hetewank'ov*
last year-PL-DAT-the clearing-PL-DAT POST

oč'nč'ac'-v-el *ē* *marz-i* *antaŕapat* *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՞ 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 *ěst* "according to, in accordance with", շնորհիվ *šnorhiv* "thanks to", հիման վրա *himan vra* "on the basis of/on grounds of", առիթով *aŕit'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 հոսքագծերի տեղադրումը: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

A. Ōhanyan-i *anjnakan* *kap-er-i* *šnorhiv* *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 *teładrum-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 stełc-v-el *ē* *erku* *akumb-ner-i* *miǰew* *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* *merž-v-el* *ē* *ěntrac'uc'ak-um*
one application.NOM deny-pass.PTCP.PERF. it is electoral register-LOC
k'ałakac'-u *anv-an* *aŕkayut'y-an* *patčaŕov.*
citizen-DAT name-DAT presence-DAT POST
"One application has been denied because of the presence of the name of a (the) citizen in the electoral register."

h. Complement/Adjunct of Condition[271]

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 p'ok'ramasnut'yun-ner-n ěnduneli en nranc'
Turkey-LOC minority-PL.NOM-the acceptable they are their
inč'k'an hnaravor ē p'ok'r linel-u paymanov.
how much possible it is small be-INF-DAT POST
"The minorities in Turkey are acceptable under the condition, that they are as small (in number) as possible."

(232) Գազով ջեռուցման պարագայում, 1կվտ/ժամ-ի դիմաց բնակիչը վճարում է ոչ թե 25 դրամ, այլ՝ 6,5–7 դրամ:(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Gaz-ov ǰeřuc'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 Purpose[272]

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) Մայը խնդրեց իր տղային գնալ հացի:

Mayr-ě *xndr-ec'* *ir* *tła-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.

Usanoł-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 *deł* *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* *teł-er-um* *eł-an.*
mountain.NOM CONJ valley.NOM fall-AOR.3.PL many place-PL-LOC be-AOR.3.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* *anhražešt* *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" *tełekatvakan* *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/Quantity[273]

It describes the action in some features regarding measure, quantity and duration. It usually answers the questions ինչքա՞ն *inč'k'an* "how much/how many?", որքա՞ն *ork'an* "how much/how many?", ի՞նչ չափով *inč' č'ap'ov* "with which size/how much?", քանի՞ անգամ *k'ani angam* "how often/ how many times?" etc.
It is usually expressed with

– adverbs of measurement and quantity (intensifiers),
– interrogative/relative pronouns,

273. In Armenian չապի ու քանաքի պարագա *č'ap'i u k'anak'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 aravotyan 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'k'an 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 Substitution[274]

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 *hakaŕak* "in contradiction with", չնայած *č'nayac* "despite of", փոխանակ *p'oxanak*, փոխարեն *p'oxaren* "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)
hakaŕak 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 tełašarž 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 p'oxaren 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 p'oxaren.
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."

l. Sociative Complement/Adjunct[275]

It shows that the subject does not carry out the action alone, but (together) with other objects/persons.

It is usually expressed with

– nouns in the instrumental
– postpositional phrases with the postpositions հետ *het* "with" and the noun in the dative; հանդերձ *handerj* "with" and the noun in the instrumental; and to additionally mark the comitative meaning also with հետ միասին *het miasin* "together with" and the nouns in the dative.

(242) Հանդուգն ու անճոռնի Բելը հսկայական բանակով գալիս է դեպի Հայկի բնակավայրը: (Mayreni 3: 150)

Handugn u ančoŕni 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

Hułitan ord-u het p'axč'-um ē Tarson.
Hułitan.NOM son-DAT POST flee-PTCP.PRES. she is Tarson-NOM.

"When the persecutions of (lit. against) the Christians started, Hułitan 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) Կրթության բնագավառում Համաշխարհային բանկի հետ միասին փորձ է արվում իրականացնել վարկավորման ծրագիր:
(Armenpress, 26.12.2005)

Krt'ut'y-an *bnagavař-um* *Hamašxarhayin* *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* *ēr.*
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 preverbal 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.

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276. see Ch. 3.4.2. "Negation", p. 522f.

(247) Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ĕ nra p'ok'r ełbayr-n ē.
Aram.NOM-the his little brother.NOM-the he is
"Aram is his little brother."

(247) a. Արամը նրա փոքր եղբայ՞րն է:

Aram-ĕ nra p'ok'r ełbayr-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 փո՞քր եղբայրն է:

Aram-ĕ nra p'ok'r ełbayr-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-ĕ nra p'ok'r ełbayr-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. Արա՞մն է նրա փոքր եղբայրը:

Aram-n ē nra p'ok'r ełbayr-ĕ?
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 p'ok'r ełbayr-ĕ 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 p'ok'r ełbayr-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 p'ok'r ełbayr-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 եղբա՞յրն է գնում դպրոց:

Vardan-i p'ok'r ełbayr-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 գնո՞ւմ է դպրոց:

Vardan-i p'ok'r ełbayr-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 դպրո՞ց:

Vardan-i p'ok'r ełbayr-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 դպրո՞ց է գնում:

Vardan-i p'ok'r ełbayr-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 դպրո՞ց 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 դպրո՞ց:
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 դպրո՞ց 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 Պոշկինի՞ 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'e* "or".

If a sentence contains the disjunctive conjunction թե *t'e* "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'e ekełec'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 ekełec'i t'e 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'e *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'e* *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'e* *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) ո՞վ *ov* "who?"
- subject/thing ի՞նչ *inč'*? "what?"
- quality, ո՞ր *or* "which?"; ի՞նչպիսի *inč'pisi*/ո՞րպիսի *orpisi*? "what/ what kind of?"
- quantity քանի՞ *k'ani* "how many/much?" ի՞նչքան *inč'k'an*/ո՞րքան *ork'an* "how many/ much?", ի՞նչչափ *inčč'ap'*/ո՞րչափ *orč'ap'*
- time ե՞րբ *erb* "when?" երբվանի՞ց *erbvanic'* "since when?"
- place ո՞րտեղ *orteł*, ո՞ւր *ur* "where?", ո՞ւր *ur* "where to?", ո՞րտեղից *ortełic'* "where from?"
- manner: ի՞նչպես *inč'pes* "how?"
- cause: ինչո՞ւ *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-ĕ *kard-um* *ē* *dasĕnk-eroǰ* *gr-ac*
Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.
hodvac-ĕ.
essay.NOM-the
"Aram reads the essay which a schoolmate has written."

(254) a. Ո՞վ է կարդում դասընկերոջ գրած հոդվածը:
Ov *ē* *kard-um* *dasĕnk-eroǰ* *gr-ac*
wh-who he is read-PTCP.PRES. schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES.
hodvac-ĕ?
essay.NOM-the
"Who reads the essay which a schoolmate has written?" (Asking for the subject)

b. Ի՞նչ է կարդում Արամը:
inč' *ē* *kard-um* *Aram-ĕ?*
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:
Dasĕnker-oǰ *gr-ac* *hodvac'-ĕ* *ov* *ē* *kard-um?*
schoolmate-DAT write-PTCP.RES. essay.NOM-the wh-who he is read-PTCP.PRES.
"Who reads the essay which a schoolmate has written?"

d. Արամը՝ ի՞նչ է կարդում:
Aram-ĕ *inč'* *ē* *kard-um?*
Aram.NOM-the wh-what he is read-PTCP.PRES.
"What does Aram read?"

277. Sentence initial position as prototypical position of the subject, see Ch. 3.5.1.1. "Subject order", p. 555f.

e. Ո՞ւմ գրած հոդվածը կարդում է Արամը:
Um *gr-ac* *hodvac-ĕ* *kard-um*
wh-who-DAT write-PTCP.PRES. essay.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES.
ē *Aram-ĕ?*
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-ĕ *kard-um* *ē* *um* *gr-ac*
Aram.NOM-the read-PTCP.PRES. he is wh-who-DAT write-PTCP.RES.
hodvac-ĕ?
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-ĕ?
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:
Ełb-or ałǰik-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 inč' 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 inč' gr-um?
wh-who.NOM it is wh-what.NOM write-PTCP.PRES.
"Who writes what?" (The subject wh-pronoun is more marked and thus more in focus than the direct object wh-pronoun.)

c. Ի՞նչ է գրում ո՞վ:
inč' 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:
Ełb-or ałǰik-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?"

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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:

Ełb-or *ałǰik-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:

Ełb-or *ałǰik-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:

Ełb-or *ałǰik-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 (ո՞վ *ov* who?, ի՞նչ *inč'* "what?") + object-wh (ո՞ւմ *um* "whom?", ի՞նչ *inč'* "what?", ինչի՞ն *inč'in* "what?"); indirect object-wh (ո՞ւմ *um* "(to) whom?", ինչի՞ն *inč'in* "(to) what?") – direct object-wh (ո՞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) Աճառյանը Փարիզում է սովորել, (այնպես) չ՞է:

Ačaŕyan-ě	*P'ariz-um*	*ē*	*sovor-el*	*(aynpes)*	*č'-ē?*
Ačaŕyan.NOM-the	Paris-LOC	he is	study-PTCP.PERF.	(so)	neg-it is

"Ačaŕyan has studied in Paris?" (Lit.: is it not so?).

In MEA, re-confirming interrogative sentences can also take the form of leading questions and of echo utterances.

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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 չհավանեցի՞ր:
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 կանե՞ս:
es kvčar-em (dra hamar) Du inč' kan-ês?
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 ełbayr-ě hnaget ē.*
my brother.NOM-the archaeologist.NOM he is
B. *K'o ełbayrn inč' ê?*
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:
es aysōr Anuš-i-n tes-a.
I today Anuš-DAT-the see-AOR.1.SG
A. "I saw Anush today."

B. - Դու ում տեսա՞ր:
Du um tes-âr?
you wh-who-DAT see-AOR.2.SG
B: "You saw WHO?"
Note: again, the interrogative intonation in the echo question is on the finite verb.

(264) A. Դու վերցրե ե՞ս գիրքս: B.- Ես վերցրել եմ քո գրի՞չդ:
A. *du verc'r-el ês girk'-s?*
you take-PTCP.PERF. you are book.NOM-my
B. *es verc'r-el em gr îč'-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. *grîč'-d em vercrel?* 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 մտածու՞մ այդ մասին:
A. *înč' 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 ałjk-a-n!* B. *Nay-ir ŭm?*
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. ինքդ *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 աղքատներին տուր և երկնքում գանձեր կունենաս: (Armenpress 19.01.2006)

et'e	*kamen-um*	*es*	*kataryal*	*lin-el*	*gn-a*	*vačař-ir*
CONJ	wish-PTCP.PRES	you are	perfect	be-INF	go-IMP.2.SG	sell-IMP.2.SG

inč'-or	*un-es*	*u*	*ałk'at-ner-i-n*	*t-ur*	*ew*	
what-REL	have-PRES.2.SG	CONJ	poor-PL-DAT-the	give-IMP.2.SG	CONJ	

erknk'-um	*ganj-er*	*kunen-as.*
heaven-LOC	treasure-PL.NOM	have-COND.FUT.2.SG

"If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give it to the poor and you will have treasures in heaven!" (Here, 2nd person stands for a generalised agent: 'if one wishes'.)

b. Analytic Imperative Sentences

An analytic imperative sentence refers to an agent in the 3rd person. The imperative is expressed by means of the particle 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, թո՛ղ այդպես էլ անեն:
(Armenpress 27.11.2005)

normal	*ē*	*inč'pes*	*haytnaberel*	*en*	*t'oł*	*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'oł* or between the lexicalised particle *toł* 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'oł* (599a). In neutral order, the subject occurs after the particle (599). (See also Ch. 2.5.7.3.4. "Imperative", p. 275, footnote 200)

Pragmatic Meaning[282]

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) Չծխե՛լ։
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) Դուք բոլորդ կգա՛ք մեր տունը:
Duk' bolor-d kg-ak' mer tun-ĕ!
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 գնո՛ւմ 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 դղյակ ունե՞ք, – ասաց թագավորը: (Grakanut'yun 4: 200)
O, inč' šk'eł dłyak 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'k'an całik-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 ēr 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-oǰ Erusałem-i tačar mtn-el-u žamanak
Lord-DAT Jerusalem-DAT temple.NOM enter-INF-DAT time.NOM
manuk-ner-n ałałak-um ēin 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 čanaparh
good journey.NOM
"Have a nice journey!"

e. A noun with or without a modifier used as an exclamation of surprise, anger, fear etc.

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283. comp. Abrahamyan 2004: 69 ff.; Papoyan-Badikyan 2003: 83ff.

(279) Երկա՛ր 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) Աշո՛տ։
"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'nec'.
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:
Xałałut'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:
T'ošak en tal-is.
pension.NOM they are give-PTCP.PRES.
"Retirement is paid." (Lit. They give pension)

(286) Դռան զանգը տվեցին:
Dř-an zang-ě 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: *Anšušt*. "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?" Իսկապե՞ս: *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, տե՛ր իմ:
(Mayreni 3: 111)

Inč'	*ē*	*ays?*	*harc'rec*	*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.

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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'oł-i-n *mi-n* *č'-imac'oł-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)
Aysōr *ēl* *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 clauses*[285]

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)

erewac'	*lusastł-ě*	*ver kac'av*	*vałordyan*
appear-AOR.3.SG	bright star.NOM-the	stand-up-AOR.3.SG	of tomorrow

zep'yuř-ě.
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 *minč'deř* "while, whereas" etc.
- There is also a range of correlative conjunctions, conveying
- copulative meaning, such as ոչ միայն .....այլև *oč' miayn…aylew* "not only.… but also";
- adversative meaning such as ոչ թե....այլ *oč' t'e…ayl* " (with additional negative meaning) "not…., but", *et'e.…apa.…*

(292) Ավանում ունևոր գղջուկ էր նա, և բոլորը նախանձում էին նրան: (Hayoc' lezu 8: 23)

Avan-um	*unewor*	*gełǰuk*	*ēr*	*na*	*ew*	*bolor-ě*
settlement-LOC	wealthy	farmer.NOM	he was	he.NOM	CONJ	all.NOM-the

naxanj-um	*ēin*	*nran.*
envy-PTCP.PRES.	they were	he.DAT

"He was a wealthy farmer in the settlement, and everybody envied him."

286. All these conjunctions are used for both phrasal and sentential coordination.

(293) 2003թ. փետրվարին հայկական գերեզմանատան զգալի մասը ոչնչացված էր, իսկ գերեզմանները հարթեցված էին բուլդոզերով: (Azg 10.01.2006)

2003 t'. p'etrvar-i-n hayakakan gerezmanat-an zgali
2003 y. February-DAT-the Armenian cemetery-DAT considerable

mas-ě oč'nč'ac'-v-ac ēr isk gerezman-ner-ě
part.NOM-the destroy-pass-PTCP.RES. it was CONJ tombstone-PL.NOM-the

hart'ec'-v-ac ēin 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: (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)

irenk' miayn bołok' kar-oł 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-roł 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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

Karen-ě granc'-v-ac ēr 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 ē 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 ēr džoxk'-i
greedy very rich.NOM-the burn-antic-PTCP.PRES. he was hell-DAT

krak-ner-i meǰ minčdeł Ałk'at Łazaros-ě bazm-el
fire-PL-DAT POST CONJ poor Łazaros.NOM-the sit-PTCP.PRES.

ēr hayr Abraham-i kołk'-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* *ĕndgc-el* *ē* *or* *hakamartut'yun-ĕ*
he.NOM also underline-PTCP.PERF. he is CONJ conflict.NOM-the
kar-oł *en* *luc-el* *oč' t'e* *miǰnord-ner-ĕ* *ayl*
can-PTCP.PRES they are solve-INF CONJ mediator.NOM-the CONJ
kołm-er-ĕ.
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 *eł-el* *ē* *oč' miayn* *anvani* *lezvaban* *mec*
He.NOM be-PTCP.PERF. he is CONJ famous linguist.NOM great
mard *aylew* *mec* *mankavarž.*
person.NOM CONJ great pedagogue
"He was not only a famous linguist and great person, but also a great pedagogue."

As in many other languages, both conjunctive and disjunctive conjunctions may be used for multiple coordinations, whereas adversative (and causals) are strictly binary.

(299) 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-ĕ*
neg-I am believe-PTCP.PRES. CONJ this CONJ that country.NOM-the
kam *miǰazgayin* *kaŕuyc'-ĕ* *kar-oł* *ē* *partadr-el*
CONJ international structure.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is compel-INF
mez *ĕndun-el* *xałałapah* *už-er-i-n.*
we.DAT accept-INF peace-keeping force-PL-DAT-the
"I do not believe, that this or that country, or the international organisation can compel us to accept peace-keeping troops."

Common in MEA are conjunctive and disjunctive conjunctions, which, if used for multiple coordinations in a certain order, may also convey a correlative meaning.

In MEA the following frequently used conjunctions convey the following meanings:

- correlative conjunction: և.....և *ew….ew*....; ՛թե .....՛թե *t'e….t'e*; "and…and; both…and";
- correlative disjunction: կամ .....կամ *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-ĕ *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-oł* *ōrenk-ner-ě*
CONJ they constitution.NOM-the CONJ work-PTCP.SUB. law-PL.NOM-the

lav *č'-git-en* *kam* *parzapes* *zbałv-um* *en*
well neg-know.PRES.3.PL CONJ simply work on-PTCP.PRES. they are

ač'k'akaput'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)

jeŕk-er-ě *dr-el* *ēr* *ayt-i-n* *u*
hand-PL.NOM-the put-PTCP.PERF. he was cheek-DAT-the CONJ

ačk'-er-ě *p'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 usuc'č'-i-n bac'ik ułark-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'-ě* *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-ě *sir-um* *ē* *Xač'atryan* *isk*
Aram.NOM-the like-PTCP.PRES. he is Xač'atryan.NOM CONJ

nra cnoł-ner-ě *Komitas.*
his parent-PL.NOM-the Komitas.NOM

"Aram likes Xač'atryan, and his parents Komitas." S [V3.SG] O + S [3.Pl] 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:

Tła-n *tes-av* *isk* *ałǰik-ě* *ls-ec'* *šan-ě.*
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-ě *sir-um* *isk* *Anna-n* *at-um*
Hovik.NOM-the love-PTCP.PRES. CONJ Anna.NOM-the hate-PTCP.PRES.

ē *arkacayin* *film-er-ě.*
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 subgroups of subordinate clauses with an introducing element.

- Clauses that are introduced with subordinators (=subordinating conjunctions; mainly adverbial and conditional clauses).
- Clauses that are introduced with relative pronouns or interrogative pronouns (relative clauses).

Indirect speech in MEA is obligatorily linked to the main clause by means of a conjunction.

Conjunctionless, i.e. unintroduced subordinated clauses are usually found in

- infinitive constructions
- participle constructions

In MEA a subordinate clause may function as a/an

- subject clause
- object clause
- attributive clause referring to an antecedent in the main clause
- adverbial clause
- clause that does not refer to specific elements in the main clause, but to the main clause as a whole

The semantics of the subordinate clause depends, particularly in adverbial clauses, on the semantics of the subordinating conjunction.
Syntactically, subordinate clauses may appear

- preceding the main clause
- following the main clause
- center-embedded.

In MEA, specific semantics of some verb groups may also generate subordinate clauses; usually, these are verbs that need a complement, such as

- manipulation verbs
- desiderative and volitional verbs
- perception verbs
- knowledge verbs
- verbs expressing propositional attitude
- utterance verbs. (Cristofaro 2003: 99)

– Manipulation verbs usually co-occur with their dependent complements in two-ways, (a) with the zero-infinitive; (b) with the subordinating conjunction 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 aŕn-el*
participant-PL.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES. be-COND.FUT.3.PL stop-INF

ew *gišer-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* *kuŕk-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 sacrifes 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 մտցնել, 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 *meǰ* *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

čšmartut'yun-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: (Armenpress 17.05.2006)
Igdir-i *kʾałakʾapet-ě* *čʾ-i* *uz-um* *or*
Igdir-DAT mayor.NOM-the neg-he is want-PTCP.PRES CONJ
hay-tʾurkʾakan *sahman-ě* *bacʾ-v-i.*
Armenian-Turkish borderNOM-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 գցեր քուչեքը: (Hetkʾ 15.02.2007)
uz-um *ēr* *tun-ě* *sarkʾ-er*
want-PTCP.PRES. he was house.NOM-the repair-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG
ira *anun-ov* *u* *inj* *gcʾ-er* *kʾučekʾ-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* *verǰers* *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 *šłt'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 *inč'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 *t'e* "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-ě* *giti* *or* *Hayastan-um* *č'-enk'*
our centre.NOM-the know-PRES.3.SG CONJ Armenia-LOC neg-we are

ěndun-um *ayd* *paren-i* *tesak-ě.*
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-ě* *erbek'* *č'-en* *imac'-el*
CONJ they.NOM actor-PL.NOM-the never neg-they are know-PTCP.PERF.

t'e *irenc'* *nkar-oł* *ka* *xał-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 ē* "it is possible that", հավանական *havanakan ē* "it is probable that", հաստատ է *hastat ē* "it is certain that", etc.
b. Indirectly with cognition verbs such as մծատել *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-c'n-el p'oxaharaberut'yun-ner-ě 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 *or* "that" or թե *t'e* "that" (often with following interrogative pronouns).

(325) Կարծում եմ, դեռևս ճանապարհի սկզբին ենք և ամենահեշտ մասն ենք անցել միայն: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

Karc-um em deřews 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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

t'oł irenk' mtac-en t'e inč'
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 dirk'orošum-ě 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 inč'-or nor aŕaǰark-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 *t'e* "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)

c'avok' *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-ě.*
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)

Łekavar-ě *nkat-um* *ē* *or* *k'ič'-k'ič'*
Leader.NOM-the remark-PTCP.PRES. he is CONJ bit-bit

veran-um *en* *naew* *k'ałak'ayin* *ew* *gyułakan*
disappear-PTCP. PRES. they are also urban CONJ rural

bnakič'-ner-i *miǰew* *eł-ac* *tarberut'yun-ner-ě.*
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'nnark-v-oł* *t'ema-yi* *het*
compentence-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
– contigency

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 *k'ani deŕ* "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* *žamanak* *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: (Aŕavot 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 aperson 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

aŕgrav-v-ec' *šurǰ* *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* *ełbayr-s* *anc'-el* *ēr* *p'ołoc'-ov*
CONJ big brother.NOM-my pass-PTCP.PERF. he was street-INST

tes-av *ir* *ěnker-oǰ-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 առաջ *aṙaǰ* "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'* *aǰakc'-um* *enk'*
apartment.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL POST we.NOM assist-PTCP.PRES. we are

naew *ašxatank'-i* *teławorm-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 գնալուց առաջ նկարակալի վրա մի մաքուր կտավ էի դրել: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Tun *gnal-uc'* *aṙaǰ* *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:

Antaṙ-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 deṙ* "meanwhile; because; as long as" denotes both time and cause in subordinate clauses. In temporal clauses it usually expresses duration or co-extensiveness.

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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 *aṙaǰ* "before" (with infinitive constructions) or by means of the subordinator հենց որ *henc' or* "as soon as" (anteriority), the subordinator մինչև *minčʿew* "until, before" and the adverb նախքան *naxk'an* "before" (posteriority) used as subordinating conjunction.

(340) Թուրք-հայկական սահմանը չի բացվի, քանի դեռ ղարաբաղյան հակամարտությունը չի լուծվել Ադրբեջանի օգտին: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

T'urk'-haykakan *sahman-ě* *č'-i* *bac'-v-i* *k'ani deř*
Turkish-Armenian border.NOM-the neg-it is open-pass-PTCP.NEG. CONJ
łarabałyan *hakamartut'yun-ě* *č'-i* *luc'-v-el*
Karabakh conflict.NOM-the neg-it is solve-pass-PTCP.PERF.
Adrbeǰan-i *ōgt-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, բակ 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 *iǰn-el* *č'-en* *kar-oł.*
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 oroš-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

kpahanǰ-v-en *naxkʾan* *menkʾ* *khasn-enkʾ*
require-pass-COND.FUT.3.PL CONJ we.NOM arrive-COND.FUT.1.PL

miǰin *evropacʾ-u* *barekecʾutʾy-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 žamanakvanicʾ, inčʾ (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 *lran-um* *ē* *33* *tari-n* *ayn* *ōr-icʾ*
today be completed-PTCP.PRES. it is 33 year.NOM-the that day-INST

inčʾ *kyankʾ-icʾ* *heř-acʾav* *erkr-i* *vra* *ěndameně*
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-ě.
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) *minčʾew* (*or*) "until", մինչ *minčʾ* "until".

(346) Երկիրը կշարունակի այդպես ապրել այնքան ժամանակ, մինչև նոր ընդդիմություն ձևավորվի: (Armenpress 07.12.2005)

Erkir-ě *kšarunak-i* *aydpes* *apr-el* *aynkʾan*
country.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.SG so live-INF so much

žamanak *minčʾew* *nor* *ěnddimutʾyun* *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 ekełec'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.

minč'ew 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 *minč'ew* can also be used to express posteriority, i.e. "before"

(348) Մինչև նրանք կգան, պետք է այս աշխատանքը կատարվի:

minč'ew 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

p'orjum 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 ēin es
CONJ friend-PL.NOM-my drink coffee-PTCP.PRES. they where I.NOM

hasc'r-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: (Aŕavot 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* *spaŕn-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'* *šarunakel-u* *enk'* *martakan* *herťapahuť'yun-ě*
CONJ we.NOM continue-PTCP.FUT. we are fighting duty.NOM-the

tan-el *ayntеł* *orteł* *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* *kš-el* *ē* *minčew*
river.NOM-the child-DAT body.NOM-the drive-PTCP.PERF. it is PREP

Covinar *lič-ě* *orteł-ic'* *ayn* *durs* *ē*
Covinar lake.NOM-the wh-where from that.NOM out it is

ber-v-el *ǰrasuzak-ner-i* *kołmic'.*
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 *k'ani or* "since", քանզի *k'anzi* "because; for; as".

Another subordination marker is the postpositional phrase այն պատճառով *ayn patčaŕov* "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 *kʾani or ays* *harcʾ-ě* *čʾ-i* *luc-v-ac* *čʾ-em*
CONJ CONJ this problem.NOM-the neg-it is solve-pass-PTCP.RES. neg-I am

hamar-um *or* *himnaxndir-ě* *kareli* *ē*
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 *ē* *huysi* *u* *havati* *norogutʾy-an* *kʾanzi*
feast.NOM it is hope-DAT CONJ belief-DAT renewal-DAT CONJ

avetavor *hreštak-i* *šurtʾ-er-ov* *amenkʾ-s* *ls-um*
news bringing angel-DAT lip-PL-INST all.NOM-my listen-PTCP.PRES.

enkʾ *"Ter-ě* *kʾez* *het* *ē".*
we are Lord.NOM-the you.DAT POST he is".

"It is the feast of the renewal of hope and belief, for we all hear from the lips of the good news-bringing angel: 'The Lord is with you'."

(356) 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-ě *hetajg-el* *ē* *ayn* *patčařov* *or*
meeting.NOM-the delay-PTCP.PERF. it is that reason CONJ

Adrbeǰani *hogevor* *ařajnord* *Allahšukʾyur* *Pʾašazade-n*
Azerbaijan-DAT spiritual leader.NOM Allahšukʾyur Pʾazade.NOM-the

erkr-i *naxagah* *Ilham Aliew-i* *het* *mekn-el*
country-DAT president.NOM Ilham Aliew-DAT POST depart-PTCP.PERF.

ē *Saudyan Arabia.*
he is Saudi Arabia.

"The meeting was delayed for the reason that the spiritual leader of Azerbaijan, Allahshukyur Pasha-Zade has departed with the country's president, Ilham Aliew for Saudi-Arabia."

d. Purpose Adverbials (Final Adverbials)

The 'purpose clause' is used to show the purpose or intention of the action/state of the main verb in the matrix clause.

Purpose (or final) clauses are usually introduced with the conjunctions 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 *čišt* *klini* *ayn* *aveli uš* *k'nnark-el* *orpeszi*
Probably right be-COND.FUT.3.SG that more later discuss-INF CONJ

orewē mekě *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)

Ałǰk-a *het* *mtermac'-el* *ēr* *ayn* *npatakov*
girl-DAT POST become friends-PTCP.PERF. he was that reason-with

or *amusnut'y-an* *aŕaǰark* *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 հանճարեղ գրողի աճյունին:

haǰord *ōr-n* *mekn-ec'-i* *Šek'spir-i* *cnndavayr-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 conjunctional 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 Քոչարյանը կշարունակի աշխատել այնպես, ինչպես մինչ այժմ: (Armenpress 24.11.2006)

naxagah *Robert K'oč'aryan-ě* *kšarunak-i*
president.NOM Robert K'oč'aryan.NOM-the continue-COND.FUT.3.SG

ašxat-el *aynpes* *inč'pes* *minč'* *ayžm.*
work-INF so CONJ PREP now

"President Robert K'oč'aryan will continue to work so, as he did until now."

(361) . . . .և ավելացրեց, որ կարծես թե հակավածություն կա աշխատանքները շարունակելու: (Armenpress 04.06.2006)

ew *avelac'r-ec* *or* *karces t'e* *hakavacut'yun* *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'k'an* "so much", որ *or* "that", մինչև որ *minčew 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 պրոբլեմ գոյություն չունի. (Armenpress 20.05.2006)

mer erkr-um grak'nnut'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'-ē atomakayan-i
Armenia.NOM-the ready neg-it is nuclear power plant-DAT
p'akm-an-ě hetewabar ayd ařaǰark-ě ěnduneli č'-ē.
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 ē* "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 ēl irac'veliut'yun en tal-is
two-PL.NOM-the also realization–NOM they are give-PTCP.PRES.
finansakan šuka-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."

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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* "inspite 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)

Gorcuł-v-oł-ner-ě *t'epet* *apahov-v-elu*
business trip send-pass-PTCP.SUB-PL.NOM-the CONJ provide-pass-PTCP.FUT.

en *bnakaran-ner-ov* *stanal-u* *en* *mianvag* *ew*
they are apartment-PL-INST receive-PTCP.FUT they are once-only CONJ

amsakan *dramakan* *p' oxhatuc'um.*
monthly financial compensation.NOM

"Although they will be provided with apartments, travellers on business trips will receive a once-only monthly financial compensation."

(367) Նա նշեց, որ չնայած զարգացման տեմպերը բավական դանդաղ են, աճ կա, թեև աշխատում են ոչ լրիվ ծանրաբեռնվածությամբ: (Armenpress 05.05.2006)

na *ně-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'eew *ašxat-um* *en* *oč'* *lriv* *canrabeřnvacut'y-amb.*
CONJ work-PTCP.PRES. they are not full workload-INST

"He marked that although the pace of the development is fairly slow; there is growth, although they do not work with a full workload."

Concessive conjunctions are often used in combination with placeholder elements in the matrix clause, such as adversative conjunctions such as 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'eew *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

žamanakakic' *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 clauses*[293]

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 adverbials clauses; they are open to various interpretations, as will be exemplified below.

Types of MEA Conditionals

Before analysing conditional clauses in detail, the general types of semantic and syntactic conditionals shall be outlined.

a. Semantic Types

As other natural languages, basically MEA distinguishes between open and hypothetical conditionals.

Open conditionals usually refer to situations in the present, habitual (generic) or past. They can also be regarded as statements of fact or of actions, which may happen or not. A prototypical open conditional clause shows the subjunctive future in the subordinate clause and the conditional future in the main clause – this is also the most common form of Armenian conditional sentence.

(369) 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-ĕ* *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 Երևա՛ն, 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'-ě *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 ողեղի հնավորությունները չկիրարվելով ետ են զարգանում:

Mard-u *ułeł-i* *hnaravorut'yun-ner-ě* *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 բյուրոյում: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

nš-v-ac *žamket-ner-ě* *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* *zbaɫvacut'y-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'e* 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'e* *mer* *harewan-ner-i*
I.NOM happy be-COND.PAST.1.SG CONJ our neighbour-PL-DAT

kaŕavar-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'e* *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, եթե իսկապես իմ կարիքն ունես:

es *erekoyan* *azat* *klin-em* *et'e* *iskapes* *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 եթե ցանկանար նման հասկացություններ ներմուծել, երևի չկարողանար: (Armenpress 06.05.2006)

T'šnami-n *et'e* *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 եթե *et'e* "if/when", թե *t'e* "if",[295] թե որ *t'e or* "if",[296] որ *or* "if", միայն թե *miayn t'e* "only if" (for restrictive conditionals),

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295. This conjunction is frequently used in spoken MEA in conditional sentences with an imperative function. comp. Kozintseva 2005: 171.

296. Please note that one should not confuse the combined conjunction թե որ *t'e or* < թե *t'e* and interrogative/relative pronouns որ *or* as used in explicative non-assertive clauses that contain questions, advice or doubt (see example below) with the conditional conjunction թե որ *t'e or.* The

but also երբ *erb* "when" and the conjunctional 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) Դրա դեմ հնարավոր է պայքարել, եթե առկա է իշխանության ցանկությունն ու կամքը: (Armenpress 13.01.2006)

Dra dem hnaravor ē payk'ar-el et'e aŕka ē
this-GEN POST possible it is fight-INF CONJ available it is

išxanut'y-an c'ankut'yun-n u kamk'-ĕ.
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 ełbor-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 meŕn-em inj kt'ał-ek' Ararat-i
I.NOM CONJ die-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG I.DAT bury-COND.FUT.2.PL Ararat-DAT

lanǰ-er-um.
slope-PL-LOC

"If/when I die, will you bury me on the slopes of Mt. Ararat?"

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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 ատյանում պետք է լուծվի հարցը: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

kołm-er-ĕ k'nnark-el en t'e or
side.NOM-PL-the discuss-PTCP.PERF. they are CONJ wh-which

atyan-um petk' ĕ luc-v-i harc'-ĕ.
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, գարուն է: (Armenian saying)
ēš-ě *or* *zṙ-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 "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* *ałǰk-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."

l. 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 conditon-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* *masnakc'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, կպատասխանեն 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 «Աշլիդ» ընկերությունն ունի բաժանորդներ, ում հետ 3 տարվա պայմանագիր ունի: (Armenpress 19.11.2005)

sa ayn depk'-um erb "Ašlid" ěnkerut'yun-n un-i
this that case-LOC wh-when "Ašlid" company.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG

bažanord-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 "Ašlid" 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-ě karoł ē 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 ապա *apa* "then";
- the adverbial phrase այն Ժամանակ *ayn žamanak* "then", sometimes also combined with ապա *apa* "then";
- consecutive elements such as ուրեմն *uremn* "consequently/ therefore", հետևաբար *hetewabar* "consequently", also in possible combination with ապա *apa* "then".
- ապա *apa* "then" can be used in all types of conditional clauses together with the conditional conjunction եթե *et'e* "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)

Et'e 90-akan t't'. skzb-i-n gerakšš-um ēr ařewtrayin
CONJ 90-ies beginning-DAT-the prevail-PTCP.PRES. it was commercial

kapital-ě apa ayžm arden ayn verap'ox-v-um ē
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.

3.3.2.2.2.1 *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)

eť'e *orewē* *andam* *č'-i* *katar-um* *ir* *stanjn-ac*
CONJ any member.NOM neg-it is fulfil-PTCP.PRES. its take-PTCP.RES.

partavorut'yun-ner-ě *apa* *mnac'-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)

eť'e *T'urk'ia-n* *č'-i* *čanač'-um* *ir* *očir-ě*
CONJ Turkey.NOM-the neg-it is know-PTCP.PRES. its crime.NOM-the

uremn *ka* *dra* *krknut'y-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

hac' *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 *karoł 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 Սահմանադրության է վերաբերում:
(Armenpress 17.11.2005)

Orewē p'astat'ułt' č'-i kar-oł bac'arjak drakan kam
any document.NOM neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. absolutely positive CONJ
bac'asakan lin-el hatkapes et'e xndir-ě 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՝ ներդրումները 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* *karoł*
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

et'e *aynteł* *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)

et'e *B. Esayan-n* *un-i* *orewič'ē* *aŕaǰark* *na*
CONJ B. Esayan.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG any proposal.NOM he

kar-oł *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 երգդ լսեն, ժամանակիդ շունչը դարձի՛ր:
(Nazaryan 2006: 170)

t'e *uzum* *es* *erg-d* *ls-en*
CONJ wish-PTCP.PRES. you are song.NOM-your listen-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL

žamanak-i-d *šunč'-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 ամուսնացի՛ր: (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, գոնե ճշմարտանման պետք է սարքես: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

Apatełekatvut'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) եթե մարզիչները մի քանի բարձրակարգ մարզիկներ նախապատրաստեն, ապա բոլորի համար համապատասխան վճարում կստանան: (Armenpress 29.03.2006)

et'e *marzič'-ner-ě* *mi k'ani* *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) եթե հնարավոր լինի այս կայունությունը պահել, կարծում եմ 4–5 տարի հետո արդեն այսօրվա խնդիրներից չենք խոսելու: (Armenpress 31.10.2005)

et'e *hnaravor* *lini* *ays* *kayunut'yun-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-ic' *č'-enk'* *xosel-u.*
problem-PL-ABL neg-we are speak-PTCP.FUT.

"If it is possible to keep this stability, I believe, after 4–5 years we will already not speak about today's problems."

(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 մոտ 300–400 հիվանդ:
(Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Et'e ařaǰnord-v-en miǰazgayin vičakagrakan met'od-ov
CONJ guide-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL international statistical method-INST

apa Hayastan-i 3 mln bnakč'ut'y-an-ě bažin ē
then Armenia-DAT 3 million population-DAT-the part.NOM it is

ěnkn-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 ōtar lezv-ov xos-oł
CONJ meet-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL foreign language-INST speak-PTCP.SUB.

mek-i-n apa t'oł č'-hapał-en k'ani or na
one-DAT-the then let-IMP.2.SG neg-be late-SUBJ FUT.3.PL CONJ he

henc' irenc' p'ntr-ac anjnavorut'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 vałe č'-ē myus ōr-ě
Can-PTCP.PRES. it is recognise-INF tomorrow neg-it is other day.NOM-the,

et'e vałē Hayoc' c'ełaspanut'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'e 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 stabilzation.NOM it is

teł unec'-el.
take place-PTCP.PERF.

"But if also the exchange rate's fall is considered, then one can say that a stabilsation 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'e inč' piti as-em et'e
I.NOM know-PRES.1.SG CONJ wh-what say-DEB.FUT.1.SG CONJ

gn-am aynteł.
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'e ĕntrakan p'ul-i argelk'-ĕ č'-karołan-ak'
CONJ electoral phase-DAT prohibition.NOM-the neg-can-SUBJ.FUT.2.PL

hałt'ahar-el da aynk'an ēl txre-c'n-oł p'ast
overcome-INF that so much also grow sad-caus-PTCP.SUB. fact.NOM

č'-petk' ē lin-i.
neg-be-DEB.FUT.3.SG

"If you can not overcame 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'-ĕ patrast ē bužōgnut'yun tramadr-el et'e
hospital.NOM-the ready it is medical help.NOM provide-INF CONJ

klin-en t'ŕč'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."

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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 կոոզես *et'e 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'e *aydpisi-k'* *klin-en* *kar-oł* *en*
CONJ such-PL.NOM be-COND.FUT.3.PL can-PTCP.PRES they are

ěndgrk-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'e *klin-en* *c'ankac'oł-ner* *ovk'-er*
CONJ be-COND.FUT.3.PL wish-PTCP.SUB-PL.NOM wh-who-PL.NOM

kkarołan-an *hogal* *irenc'* *bolor* *caxs-er-ě* *apa*
can-COND.FUT.3.PL care-INF their all expense-PL.NOM-the then

nrank' *ews* *kmasnakc'-en* *hamašxarhayin* *ayd*
they also participate-COND.FUT.3.PL global that

iradarjut'yan-ě.
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'e *klin-i* *orewē* *problem* *menk'* *ēl* *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 քաղաքականություն թելադրողն էլ մենք չենք լինելու: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Isk *et'e* *mer* *šukayin* *t'eladr-oł-ě* *oč' t'e* *menk'*
CONJ CONJ our market dictate-PTCP.SUB.NOM-the CONJ we

ayl *uriš* *erkir* *ē* *linel-u* *hetewabar* *oč'* *nerk'in*
CONJ other country.NOM it is be-PTCP.FUT. consequently neg inner

oč' *artak'in* *k'ałak'akanut'yun* *t'eladroł-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 սադրելու է արյունահեղություն և գնալու է թաքնվի՝ ոչինչ չեմ կարող ասել: (Armenpress 31.03.2006)

Et'e ays angam ēl na sardrel-u ē aryunahełut'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-oł 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'e usumansirel-u lin-ek' patmut'yun-ě
CONJ investigate-PTCP.FUT. be-PRES.2.PL history.NOM-the

ktesn-ek' or Hayoc' c'ełaspanut'yun č'-i eł-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 համոզված են, որ հոդված 11.5-ը պետք է շարադրվի հետևյալ կերպ՝ զինված ուժերը ապաքաղաքականացված են և գտնվում են քաղաքացիական վերահսկողության ներքո:
(Armenpress 06.05.2006)

et'e koalic'ia-yi karcik'-ov zin-v-ac už-er-ě
CONJ coalition-DAT opinion-INST arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the

petk' ē č'ezok'ut'yun pahpan-en irenk' hamozv-ac
part it is neutrality.NOM preserve-DEB.FUT.3.PL they convince-PTCP.RES.

en or hodvac 11.5-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 už-er-ě
manner.NOM arm-pass-PTCP.RES. force-PL.NOM-the

apak'ałak'anac'-v-ac en ew gnt-v-um en
depolitisize-pass-PTCP.RES. they are CONJ locate-REFL-PTCP.PRES. they are

k'ałak'ac'iakan *verahskołut'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-ĕ* *or* *tun-n* *ē* *ašxarhasp'yuŕ*
CONJ Armenia.NOM-the wh-that home.NOM-the it is diaspora

bolor *hayer-i* *piti daŕn-a* *całkun* *zargac'-ac* *ew*
all Armenian-PL-DAT become-DEB.FUT.3.SG flowering developed CONJ

žołovrdavarakan *erkir* *apa* *sp'yuŕk'-ĕ* *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 դոլար, նաև աշխատավարձ՝ եթե այդ դադարը տեղի չի ունեցել տարերային աղետի հետևանքով: (Armenpress 26.03.2006)

paymanagr-ov *yurak'anč'yur* *č'-ašxat-ac* *ams-va* *hamar*
contract-INST each neg-work-PTCP.RES. month-DAT POST

nerdoł-ĕ *petk' ē* *petut'y-an-ĕ* *včar-i* *100 hazar*
investor.NOM-the part government-DAT pay-DEB.FUT.3.SG 100,000

dolar *naew* *ašxatavarj* *et'e* *ayd* *dadar-ĕ* *teł i č'-i*
dollar.NOM also salary.NOM CONJ that break.NOM-the neg-it is

unec'-el *tarerayin ałet-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'e ěntruťy-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'e 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 patžamiǰoc'-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'e ardar ěntruťyun č'-eł-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 tełamas-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 անպայման, *anpayman* "certainly/by all means", անշուշտ *anšust* "undoubtedly/without doubt" etc.

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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'e* *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:

a. past time reference in both clauses
b. past time reference only in conditional clauses and the present tense in the matrix clause
c. past time reference only in conditional clauses and the future tense in the matrix clause

a. Past Time Reference in Protasis and Apodosis

Such sentences usually indicate the speaker's assumptions about possible actions/states in the past. This type of conditional clause occurs rarely in real conditional meaning.
In protasis the simple perfect and imperfect may be used.

The simple perfect conveys the usual perfect meaning: it describes past events with an unspecified past reference and non-evidential past time actions and state.

Imperfect, however, describes an action/state in the past having taken place at a specific point in time.

(427) 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'e* *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* *šurǰ 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)

et'e *Łarabał-i-n* *orewē mek-ĕ* *č'-i* *čanač'-el*
CONJ Karabach-DAT-the anybody.NOM-the neg-he is recognise-PTCP.PERF.

inč'u *stełc-v-ec'* *Minsk-i* *xumb-ĕ.*
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)

Et'e *2005 t'.-i* *skzb-i-n* *hnaravor* *ēr* *orošaki*
CONJ 2005 year-DAT beginning-DAT-the possible it was certain

gumar *včar-el* *ew* *ołǰ* *ams-va* *ĕnt'ac'k'um* *azat*
amount.NOM pay-INF CONJ whole month-DAT POST free

mian-al *internet-i-n* *apa* *taraverǰ-i-n*
connect-INF internet-DAT-the then end of year-DAT-the

ayd *sahmanap'akum-ĕ* *durs ē ek-el* *ew* *yurak'anč'yur*
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 *karoł 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 ōgnut'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)

Et'e kiprosyan harc'-um ayd erkir-ě zijum-ner-i
CONJ Cypriote question-LOC that country.NOM-the concession-PL-DAT
ē gnac'-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 sahman-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)

Et'e nerkayums ays kam ayn bnakavayr-i
CONJ now this CONJ that settlement-DAT

ěntrac'uc'ak-ner-ě tpagr-v-um ēin 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 teł-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.

3.3.2.2.2.3 *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* *et'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)

et'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*
Mountainuous 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* *et'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'* *iǰ-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 դեպքում 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
bř́n-el *č'-ěin* *kar-oł.*
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'yuřk'-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: (Aŕavot 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)

T'šnami-n *et'e* *c'ankan-ar* *nman* *haskac'ut'yun-ner*
enemy.NOM-the CONJ wish-SUBJ.PAST.3.SG similar concept-PL.NOM

nermuc-el *erewi* *č'-karołan-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:

Et'e *Armen-ě* *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* *jeŕnark-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.

3.3.2.2.2.4 *Pseudo-conditional and non-conditional clauses*

Many subordinated clauses which look structurally like conditional clauses do not really convey a conditional meaning, i.e. the category conditional clause can also be viewed from a semantic level. This kind of clause is termed a pseudo-conditional here.

On the other hand, there are clauses structurally unlike conditional clauses, but which convey a conditional meaning. This kind of clause is termed "non-conditional" here. The basic assumption – that form and meaning of the clause do not correspond – is true for both clause types.

Such sentences may be regarded as subordinate adverbial clauses with consecutive, causal, contrastive, concessive meaning, and often it is not easy to distinguish conditional clauses from related adverbial clauses, particularly since the same conjunctions are often used in these semantic types of clauses.

There are also conditional clauses that can not be regarded as conditional at all. Here, conditional constructions serve as stylistic means to express "*metatext*" constructions, or to mark an utterance by putting it in a topic position.

There are various semantic groups of pseudo-conditionals and non-conditional clauses.[302]

a. Consecutive conditionals, or conditionals of logical conclusion
b. Causal conditionals
c. Contrastive conditionals
d. Concessive conditionals

a. Consecutive Conditionals[303]

The conditional relationship between the state of affairs – as given in the conditional clause – and a logical conclusion – as given in the matrix clause – is a logical conclusion: if q, (then consequently) p.

The situations may appear in any possible temporal sequence; very often the protasis temporally precedes the apodosis.

Such conditional sentences are usually marked with indicative tenses in both clauses, and additionally with explicative or consecutive words, such as ուրմեն *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:
(Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Et'e	*duk' č'-git-ek'*		*jer*	*iravunk'-ner-ě*	*uremn*	*duk'*
CONJ	you neg-know-PRES.2.PL		your	right-PL.NOM-the	CONJ	you.NOM
iravunk'-ner	*č'-un-ek'.*					
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'e hałt'-um ē ěnddimut'yun-ě nšanak-um ē
CONJ win-PTCP.PRES. it is opposition.NOM-the mean-PTCP.PRES. it is
ěntrut'yun-ner-ě eł-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'e sks-el enk' gorcēnt'ac' uremn da drakan
CONJ start-PTCP.PERF. we are process.NOM consequently that positive
k'ayl 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'e teł-um hay-er č'-en apr-el
CONJ placE-LOC ArmenianN-PL.NOM neg-they are livE-PTCP.PERF.
hetewabar naew ayd šrǰan-ner-um C'ełaspanut'yun č'-i
consequently also that region-PL-LOC Genocide.NOM neg-it is
eł-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'e Hayastan-n inkě 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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

isk inč'pes petk' ě hamaxmb-v-i eť e oč' hamapatasxan
CONJ wh-how consolidate-antic-DEB.FUT.3.SG CONJ neg adequate
mexanizm-ner stełcel-ov ew drank' ōrenk'ner-i meǰ
mechanism-PL.NOM create-INF-INST CONJ they law-PL-DAT POST
neraŕel-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 *apa* "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)

Eť e apōrinuť yun-ner en eł-el apa ew
CONJ illegality-PL.NOM they are be-PTCP.PERF. then CONJ
k'alak'apetaran-ě ew k'ałak'ašinuť y-an naxararuť yun-ě
mayor's office.NOM-the CONJ urban development-DAT ministry.NOM-the
partavor en vera-c'n-el apōrinuť yun-ě
obliged they are dissappear-caus-INF illegality.NOM-the
k'andel-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)

Eť e ěnkeruť yun-ě vnas-el ē bažanord-i-n
CONJ company–NOM-the harm-PTCP.PERF. it is subscriber-DAT-the
apa verǰin-š p'oxahatuc'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'e ěnkerut'y-an artadrank'-ě spaŕ-v-um ē apa
CONJ company-DAT product.NOM-the consume-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is then

ayn ir teł-ě šuka-y-um gt-el ē.
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 ապա *apa* "then" is obligatory in the matrix clause.

The meaning of the conditional subordinator եթե *et'e* "if" is to understand rather as the contrastive "whereas".

Both the protasis and the apodosis use indicative verbs. The correlative word ապա *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'e anc'yal-um krt'ut'yun-n ambołǰovin irakanc'-v-um
CONJ past-LOC education.NOM-the completely realize-pass-PTCP.PRES.

ēr petut'y-an hašv-i-n apa aysōr včarovi
it was state-DAT account-DAT-the then today tuition fee

hamakarg-um sovor-um ē usanoł-ner-i 75–76
system-LOC study-PTCP.PRES. it is student-PL-DAT 7 5–76

tokos-ě petakan hatvac-um 24–25 tokos-ě.
per cent.NOM-the state sector-LOC 24–25 percent.NOM-the.

"If (=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…: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

Et'e tasnyak tari-ner aŕaǰ mec t'v-ov eritasard-ner
CONJ decade year-PL.NOM POST big number-INST youngster-PL.NOM

ēin gal-is Hayastan sovorel-u naew evropakan
they were come-PTCP.PRES. Armenia.NOM study-INF-DAT also European

erkr-ner-ic' apa aysōr nranc' t'iv-ě 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 *minč'ew isk* , մինչև անգամ *(minč'ew) angam,* էլ *ēl* all "even", etc. that immediately follow the prototypical conditional subordinator եթե *et'e* "if".

(453) Հասել ենք այնպիսի վիճակի, որ եթե նույնիսկ անձերը փոխվեն, ոչինչ չի փոխվելու: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

has-el *enk'* *aynpisi* *vičak-i* *or* *et'e* *nuynisk*
reach-PTCP.PERF. we are such a situation-DAT CONJ CONJ even
anj-er-ě *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 գլոբալ հարցերում: (Armenpress 17.06.2006)

Et'e *nuynisk* *ǰon K'eri-n* *ěntr-v-i* *AMN-i*
CONJ even John Kerry.NOM-the elect-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG USA-DAT
naxagah *Kongres-ě* *kmn-a* *hanrapetakan*
president.NOM Congress.NOM-the stay-COND.FUT.3.SG republican
ew *miayn* *global* *harc'-er-um.*
CONJ only global question-PL-LOC

"Even if John Kerry will be elected president of the USA, the Congress will remain Republican only in global questions."

(455) Բոլոր ժամանակների զավթիչները նման են իրար, եթե նրանք նույնիսկ ելած են քո ժողովրդի ծոցից: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Bolor *žamanak-ner-i* *zavt'ič'-ner-ě* *nman* *en* *irar* *et'e*
all time-PL-DAT invader-PL.NOM-the similar they are REC CONJ
nrank' *nuynisk* *el-ac* *en* *k'o* *žołovrd-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 investige-PTCP.PRES. I am CONJ say-DEB.FUT.1.SG CONJ

c̓avok՝ srt-i deřews liaržek՝ erǰanik ěntanik՝ č՝-em tes-el
unfortunately still of value lucky family.NOM neg-I am see-PTCP.PERF.

et՝e nuynisk zuyg-er-ě mankat-an šrǰanavort-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՝ ōbyektiv 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 miǰazgayin iravunk՝-i šrǰanak-ner-um
problem-DAT solution-DAT-the international law-DAT frame-PL-LOC

et՝e angam pahanǰ-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:

Et՝e anjrew gal-is ē apa bavakanač̓ap՝ 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:

Et՝e 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 գոհ չէր միջոցառումից:

Et'e *čišt* *as-em* *apa* *hanjnažołov-n* *aynk'an* *goh*
CONJ true say-SUBJ.FUT.1.SG then committee.NOM-the so much satisfied
č'-ēr *mijoc'aṙum-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 այդպիսի խոսելաոճը համարժեք է տղաների հայհոյելուն: (Azg 07.04.2006)

inč'ewic'e *č'-enk'* *sxal-v-i* *et'e* *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 *tła-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 ամենաանճաշակ ձևով և տեսքով: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

Hayastan-um *Arewelk'-i* *patkerac'um-ner-ě* *et'e*
Armenia-LOC West-DAT imagination-PL.NOM-the CONJ
č'-as-em *ałavał-v-ac* *apa* *krknōrinak-v-ac*
neg-say-SUB.FUT.1.SG distort–pass-PTCP.RES. then copy-pass-PTCP.RES.
en *amena-ančašak* *jew-ov* *ew* *tesk'-ov.*
they are most-tasteless manner-INST CONJ look-INST

"The concepts about the West in Armenia, are, if I do not say distorted, and then copied in the most tasteless way and look."

c. "Topicalized" Conditional Construction

The form of conditional constructions can be used as a means to mark the functional perspective of a sentence. In such a sentence, the subordinate pseudo-conditional clause contains the topic, the matrix clause the focus.

(463) Նրան եթե Վարդանը սիրահարվի, ապա կսիրահարվի նրա գայթակղիչ ժպիտի պատճարով:

Nran *et'e* *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* *gayťakłič'* *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, postnominal, 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)

łarabałc'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)

anhražešt *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

hełuk *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 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'* *aysteł* *aprel-u*
he.NOM I.DAT say-AOR.3.SG. CONJ they.NOM here live-PTCP.FUT.

en *inč'-i-n* *es* *dem* *ēi.*
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* *deŕ* *č'-em* *stac'-el.*
Aram-DAT write-PTCP.PRES. letter.NOM-the yet neg-I am receive-PTCP.PERF.
"I have not yet received the letter written by Aram."

There are four structural types which are also characterised by a preferred, or even fixed, order:

a. Adnominal relative clauses predominantly follow the head noun (NP + REL) or (dem NP + wh REL)
b. Free relative clauses predominantly precede the main clause in subject function, but predominantly follow in object function (RELsubj + S), (S + RELobj)
c. Sentential relative clauses preferably and predominantly follow the main clause.
d. Participial relative clauses obligatorily precede their head noun (rel + N).

Adnominal relative clauses may realise the following syntactic functions:

– relativisation of grammatical subject
– relativisation of direct object
– relativisation of indirect object
– relativisation of oblique objects
– relativisation of possessor
– relativisation of object of comparison.

A free relative clause, not modifying an external noun phrase but having instead a nominal function fused to it, is exclusively restrictive relative clauses, with

– subject function
– direct object function
– 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 *ov* "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 *orteł*, ուր *ur* "where", ուր *ur* "where to", որտեղից *ortełic'* "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 dative[306]). 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)

Herťapah-ě *or-n* *arťna-cʾr-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* *arankʾ-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: (Hetkʾ 19.02.2007)

Sakayn *nrancʾ* *hamar* *amena-lav* *amena-ťank* *xałalikʾ-ner-ě*
CONJ they.DAT POST most-good most-expensive toy-PL.NOM-the

nrankʾ *en* *or-onkʾ* *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 *mrcʾašar-ě* *or-i-n* *masnakcʾ-um* *-en*
this tournament.NOM-the REL-DAT-the participate-PTCP.PRES. they are

Erewan-i *Ararat-i* *Ějmiacn-i* *ew* *Tʾbilisi-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

dastiarakuťy-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 *ałǰik-ě* *sir-um* *ē* *ōj-er* *or-n (=inčʾ-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* *čʿorrord* *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 դրդում է սպասելիքների առումով զգուշավոր լինել: (Azg 02.02.2006)

sakayn *deřews* *mn-um* *en* *bard* *harc'-er*
CONJ still stay-PTCP.PRES. they are complex question-PL.NOM

or-onc' *veraberyal* *Hayastan-i* *ew* *Adrbeǰan-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 *spaselik'-ner-i* *aŕum-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'op'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 *orteł 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-ě *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 *orteł*, ուր *ur* "where", ուր *ur* "where to", որտեղից *ortełic'* "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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

derasan-ner-ě *pnd-um* *en* *or* *irenk'* *ayd* *vačaŕk'-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* *aŕajin-n*
south Caucasus-DAT country-PL-ABL Armenia.NOM-the first.NOM-the

ē *orteł* *Mec Britania-yi* *despanut'yun-n* *un-i*
it is wh-where Great Britain-DAT embassy.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG

aŕanjin *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* *mnac'-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", այնչափ *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)

Hałt'oł-ě *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:
(Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

naxates-v-um *ē* *ōrenk'-i* *miǰoc'ov* *kargavor-el* *aynpisi* *druyt'-ner*
plan-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is law-DAT POST regulate-INF such idea-PL.NOM

or-onk' *ěst* *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'ał-v-um* *en* *nuyn* *k'arayr-um* *or-i*
they.PL.NOM bury-pass-PTCP.PRES. they are same cave-LOC REL-DAT

vra *hetagayum* *kaŕuc'-v-um* *ē* *p'aŕaheł* *mi* *ekełec'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 *nuynk'an – ork'an*, նույնպես – որպես *nuynpes – orpes*, նույնչափ – որչափ *nuynč'ap' – orč'ap'*.

(485) Այն ևս լուծում է հազար հա տարածքի ոռոգման խնդիրը՝ խնայելով նույնքան էլեկտրաէներգիա, որքան Այրումում: (Armenpress 21.05.2006)

ayn *ews* *luc-um* *ē* *hazar* *ha* *tarack'-i* *oŕogm-an*
that also solve-PTCP.PRES. it is 1000 ha area-DAT irrigation-DAT

xndir-ě *xnayel-ov* *nuynk'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 nuynk'an k'aǰacanot' lini haykakan
new generation.NOM-the as much familiar be-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL Armenian

mšakuyt'-i-n ork'an 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 tełašarž-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 ēin hanjažołov-i aŕǰew 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) Դատավարության ժամանակ պարզվել է, որ բուժքույրը որոշել է ազատվել հարբեցող ամուսնուց, որը անընդհատ ստորացրել, ծեծել է իրեն և երեխաներին: (Ařavot 08.04.2006)

Datavarut'y-an *žamanak* *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* *karoł*
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 *pahanǰ-v-um* *ē* *hršeǰ*
principle-LOC require-pass-PTCP.PRES. it is fire extinguishing

texnika *or-ě* *č'-i* *t'armac'-v-el* *verǰin* *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'ułt' or-ě
internet-LOC find-AOR.1.SG INDEF document.NOM REL.NOM-the
storagr-um ē hivand-ě virahat-v-el-uc' aŕaj.
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 himnakan 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 հրկիզել են Պետերբորո քաղաքի մոտակայքում: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

britanakan *ostikanut'yun-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* *aṙaǰ* *danakahar-el*
identity.NOM-the REL-DAT-the one year.NOM POST knife-PTCP.PERF.

ew *hrkiz-el* *en* *Peterboro* *k'ałak'-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 *išxanut'yun-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* *havak'akan-ě* *2:1*
REL-DAT-the 1995 year-DAT-the Armenia-DAT collective.NOM-the 2:1

hašv-ov *hałt'-ec'* *Skopie-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)

aysteł *du* *parzapes* *hosk'agc-i* *anšunč'* *standart*
here you.NOM simply power supply line-DAT dead standard

mi *aṙarka* *es* *or-i-n* *virahatel-uc'* *anmiǰapes*
INDEF thing.NOM you are REL-DAT-the operate-INF-ABL immediately

heto *moṙan-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 *kołm-ě* *EAHK* *Minsk-i* *xmb-i* *eṙanaxagah-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

hałord-ec' *Garri* *Kasparov-i* *masnakc'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* *žołovrdavarut'y-an* *ew*
investigation.NOM-the order-PTCP.PERF. it is democracy-DAT CONJ

ěntrut'yun-ner-i *aǰakc'ut'y-an* *miǰazgayin* *institute-ě* *or-i-n*
election-PL-DAT support-DAT international institute.NOM-the REL-DAT-the

andamakc'-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* *kołm-ě* *nš-el* *ē* *or* *da*
CONJ Armenian side.NOM-the state-PTCP.PERF. it is CONJ this

hanjažołov-i *xndir-ě* *č'-ē* *inč'-i-n* *evropac'i*
committee-DAT problem.NOM-the neg-it is REL-DAT-the European

gorcěnker-ner-ě *č'-en* *aŕark-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 *tełeka-c'r-ec'* *or*
T. Sargsyan.NOM-the inform-caus-AOR.3.SG CONJ

knerkayac'-v-i *naew* *nor* *ōrenk'-i* *naxagic* *or-ov*
present-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG also new law-DAT draft.NOM REL-INST

petkĕ *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%: (Aŕavot 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

hamateł arbanyak unenal-u cragir-ě or-um Hayastan-i
joint satellite.NOM have-INF-DAT program.NOM-the REL-LOC Armenia-DAT
masnakc'ut'yun-ě kkazm-i aṙavelaguyn-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 canoť ac'-el ē
Xač'atryan-DAT work-PL-DAT-the get acquainted-PTCP.PERF. he is
šnorhiv ir usučč'-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) Զոքանչի հետ հարաբերություններն օր-օրի սրվել են, ինչի պատճառով էլ տնից հեռացել է: (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

zok'anč'-i het haraberuť yun-ner-n ōr-ōr-i
mother-in law-DAT POST relation-PL.NOM-the day-day-DAT
sr-v-el en inč'-i patčaṙov ēl tn-ic'
sharpen-antic-PTCP.PERF. they are REL-DAT POST also house-ABL
heṙac'-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' gyułac'i-n pahanǰ-um ē p'oxahatuc'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 k'and-v-i* *kam* *verasark'avor-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 *or,* ով *ov,* 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 gyuł-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'ał-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 Aršustamova-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)

žołovurd-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* *ařǰew* *hałt'akan* *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 կսկսվի 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* *ksks-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)

teładr-v-el *en* *sark'avorum-ner* *inč'-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 մրցությունը:

Ayn *ałǰik-ě* *or-ic'* *(du)* *xelac'i* *ēir* *hałt'-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 *inč'* 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* *steł*[307].
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 Զարան 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 aysteł.*

(517) Ով շուտ է քնում, նա անկողնում է պառկում, մյուսները՝ գետնին:
(Hetk՝ 12.02.2007)

ov *šut* *ē* *k'n-um* *na* *ankoł-um* *ē*
wh-who quickly he is sleep-PTCP.PRES. he.NOM bed-LOC he is

paŕk-um *myus-ner-ĕ* *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* *anmeł* *ē* *t'oł*
he.NOM wh-who.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG

net-i *aŕaǰin* *k'ar-ĕ.*
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* *anmeł* *ē* *t'oł*
wh-who.NOM REL.NOM without sin he is let-IMP.2.SG.

net-i *aŕaǰin* *k'ar-ĕ.*
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 *ǰnǰ-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'* *vałuc'* *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

stełc-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

t'oł-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 *orteł* "where", ուր *ur* "where to", որտեղից *ortełic'* "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 պատճառով *patčaṙov* "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 constructions[308]

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 *orteł* "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 Աշճյանի անձնական կահույքը, կարող են օգտվել բոլոր ցանկացողները:
(Armenpress 23.01.2006)

gradaran-ic' *orteł* *teładr-v-ac* *ē* *naew* *Mesrop*
library-ABL wh-where place-pass-PTCP.RES. it is also Mesrop

ark'espiskopos *Aščyan*-i *anjnakan* *kahuyk'-ě* *kar-oł*
archbishop Aščyan-DAT personal furniture-NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES.

en *ōgt-v-el* *bolor* *c'ankac'oł-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

gyułapetaran-i *šenk'-ě* *ur* *ew*
village-mayor's office-DAT building-NOM-the wh-where CONJ

ktełapox-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 *tła-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* *kaŕuc'-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'ołoc'-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'-ě kr-um ē Mesrop Maštoc'-i
that school.NOM-the bear-PTCP.PRES. it is Mesrop Maštoc-DAT

anun-ě or-i 32 ašakert tnōren-i glxavoruť y-amb
name.NOM-the REL-DAT 32 pupil.NOM director-DAT guidance-INST

mi k'ani ōr-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-ě hanjnarar-v-ec' ayn spa-yi-n or-ě
work.NOM-the entrust-pass-AOR.3.SG that officer-DAT-the REL.NOM-the

koč'um-ov amena-krtser-ě 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-oł tła-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-ě vačař-ec' ir hor kařuc'-ac
Aram.NOM-the sell-AOR.3.SG his father-DAT build-PTCP.RES.

tun-ě.
house.NOM-the

"Aram sold the house built by his father."

(528) a. Այլ բան փողոցում գտնված երեխաներն է:

Ayl ban p'ołoc'-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. Մեսրոր 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 glxavoruťy-amb mi kʻani 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 կոչումով ամենակրստերը չլինող սպային։

gorc-ě hanjnarar-v-ec' koč'um-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 appartment.NOM-the

or-ic oč mi luma bnakanabar Alek'sandr-i-n č'-i
REL-ABL no luma.NOM naturally Alek'sandr-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 žamanak-ner-um.
are all time-PL-LOC

"Only thanks to law and order will it be possible to build that Armenia about which we have dreamed the whole time."

b. The subordinate clause also cannot be turned into a participle or infinitive construction for a simple semantic reason: the meaning expressed by the subordinate clause cannot be "reproduced" in the same multifunctional reading in participle constructions. This often happens with subordinate clauses functioning as adverbials of consequence, adverbials of goal (=final adverbials), as well as modal adverbials or adverbials of measure. This is due to slight semantic distinctions and thus ambiguous readings between these adverbials, which might be easily misinterpreted in participle constructions.

(533) Բայց մենք իհարկե այնքան միամիտ չէինք, որ հավատայինք նրա սուտ խոստումներին:

Bayc' menk' iharke aynk'an 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 čʻap' miamit č'-eink'.
believe-INF-DAT POST naive neg-we were

"We would, of course, not be so much naive to believe his false promises."
This participle construction (533a) can only be interpreted as an adverbial of measure.

(534) Հայաստանում այնքան ամուր հիմք է ստեղծվել, որ նաև գյուղական շրջանների զարգացումն ապահովելը հնարավոր է դարձել:
(Armenpress 15.11.2005)

Hayastan-um aynk'an amur himk' ē stełc-v-el
Armenia-LOC that much stable basis.NOM it is found-pass-PTCP.PERF.

or naew gyułakan šrǰan-ner-i zargac'um-n
CONJ also rural region-PL-DAT development.NOM-the

apahovel-ě 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 Clause[309]

a. The whole subordinate clause is "reduced" to a single word, commonly a nominalised participle.

(535) Ցանածդ կհնձես: (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 կհնձես:
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-oł-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) Երեախան, 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 *-ik'* and the subjective participle in -ող *-oł*, 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 լինել *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 *kardac'-ac* *girk'-ě* *šat* *hetak'rk'ir* *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-*ik'* refers to an action, that will be fulfilled in near the future and is usually used in participial constructions functioning as an adnominal attribute, modifying and determining a nominal constituent of a sentence. In this function it also resembles a finite relative clause. Thus the future participle II as expression of a future action resembles the finite verb forms in future tense meanings (future, conditional future) in the corresponding relative clause.

(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 -*oł* 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'-oł 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 -իս *-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'r-ec' ir banali-n.
lose-AOR.3.SG her key-DAT-the

"Collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her key." Lit.: when she was collecting mushrooms in the forest, Madlen lost her key.)

b. Adverbial Constructions

If the subordinate clause is introduced with a conjunction and contains a finite verb, (i.e. if the subordinate clause has an adverbial function) the corresponding infinitive constructions show the following features:

– the conjunction is omitted or substituted by a semantically corresponding adposition;
– the finite verb is changed to its corresponding infinitive and is often marked with case;
– the copular verb is changed to its corresponding infinitive լինել *linel* "to be".

(542) Սակայն տեղանքի բարդ լինելու պատճառով ջրամատակարարումը կվերասկսվի միայն 1–2 օրից: (Armenpress 16.01.2006)
sakayn tełank'-i bard linel-u patčařov ǰramatakarum-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:
J̌ramatakararum-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 tełank'-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 -ի֊ս *-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 storagrelik' p'astat'ułt'-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."

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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 ծաղիկներդ ծաղկել են:

Partez-um *ačec'r-ac* *całik-ner-d*
garden-LOC grow-caus-PTCP.RES. flower-PL.NOM-your

całk-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 աճեցրածդ ծաղիկները ծաղկել են:

Partez-um *ačec'r-ac-d* *całik-ner-ě*
garden-LOC grow-caus-PTCP.RES.-your flower-PL.NOM-the

całk-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) Նկարածդ դիմանկարս այժմ ցուցադրվում է պատկերասրահում:

Nkar-ac-d *dimankar-s* *c'uc'adr-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 *kołmic'* + 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 kołmic' hačax patm-v-ac ays patmut'yun-ě amen
all-DAT POST often tell-pass-PTCP.RES. this story.NOM-the every

teł vałuc' 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 aŕaǰa-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 gyuł-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 քոթեջ:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

ays t'ałamas-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'eǰ.
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 մոտեցումները հասցնել տրամաբանական ավարտի: (Aŕavot 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-ĕ 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 ułark-el em k'o k'roǰ-s
I.NOM send-PTCP.PERF. I am your sister-DAT-my

gr-ac namak-ĕ.
write-PTCP. RES. letter.NOM-the

"I have sent the letter you have written to my sister."

(554) Սա ձեր՝ ինձ պարգևած մի անգնահատելի գանձ 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 երեկո տևած ճակատամարտում զոհվեցին հազար երեսունվեց հայեր: (Grakanut'yun 4:15)

Minč'ew 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'roǰ-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 Եվրախորհրդարանի ներկայացուցչի հունվարի 22-ին սպասվելիք զեկուցումը: (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'uc̆č'-i* *hunvar-i*
question-INST Euro-Council-DAT representative-DAT January-DAT

22-i-n *spas-v-elik'* *zekucum-ĕ*
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 350մլն դրամ է: (Armenpress 01.04.2006)

k'ałak'apetaran-i *kołmic'* *irakanc'-v-elik'* *verakangnm-an*
mayor's office-DAT POST realize-pass-PTCP.FUT.II. resumption-DAT

ašxatank'-ner-i *caval-ĕ* *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)

ǰur-ĕ *ber-um* *en* *250–300* *metr* *heŕu*
water.NOM-the bring-PTCP.PRES. they are 250–300 metre.NOM far

gtn-v-oł *mi* *ǰrhor-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 կիսապառկաւ մի մարդու: (Grakanutyun 4:82)

Aŕavotyan dproc' gnal-is tesn-um ēi mayt'-i
morning school.NOM go-PTCP.PROC see-PTCP.PRES. I was pavement-DAT
vra kisapaŕkac 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) Ցանկացած քայլ կատարելիս պետք է ճիշտ հաշվարկվեն հետևանքները: (Armenpress 05.04.2006)

c'ankanc'-ac k'ayl katarel-is petk' ē čišt
want-PTCP.RES. step.NOM take-PTCP.PROC. part it is correctly
hašvark-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 adpostions). 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 aṙaǰin 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 aṙaǰin 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: (Davt'yan 2005:17)

es zg-um em or aysteł im teł-ě 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 aysteł im teł-ě č'-linel-ě.
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 *č'ap'* 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

č'ap' *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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

es *gorcark'* *č'-em* *ar-el* *petut'y-an* *het*
I.NOM deal.NOM neg-I am make-PTCP.PERF. government-DAT POST

p'oł *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* *stełc-v-el* *ē*
program.NOM-the realize-INF-DAT POST found-PASS-PTCP.PERF. it is

bazmač'yuł *masnagitakan* *aǰakc'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 *k'ani 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
ankoł-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
tełap'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)

haltʻel-u *depkʻum* *nrankʻ* *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: (Hetkʻ 15.01.2007)

5–6 angam *zugaran-icʻ* *ew* *lvacʻaran-ic* *ōgt-v-elu* *depkʻum*
5–6 time.NOM toilet-ABL CONJ washroom-ABL use-INF-DAT POST

ams-va *meǰ* *šuka-yi-n* *petkʻ ē včar-i*
month-DAT POST market-DAT-the pay-DEB.FUT.3.SG.

šurǰ *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 *tʻeew*, թեպետ *tʻepet*, չնայած որ *čʻnayac or* "even if/although".

(573) Նժույգի 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-cʻn-um *ēr* *xełĉ* *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 գեղեցիք չլինելով՝ անչափ հմայիչ ու առինքնող էր այդ կինը: (Gyurǰinyan 2002:180)

bnutʻyun-icʻ *gełecʻik* *čʻ-linel-ov* *ančʻap* *hmayicʻ* *u*
nature-ABL beautiful neg-be-INF-INST immeasurably charming CONJ

arǐnkʻnoł *ēr* *ayd* *kin-ě.*
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* *ōbyektiv* *patčaŕ-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 չե *t'e če* "as soon as/ just as/ just".
- The ablative of the infinitive combined with the postposition առաջ *aŕaǰ* "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) Չարխչյանը, ավարտելով Երևանի պետական համալսարանի բանասիրական ֆակուլտետը, մշտապես ծավալել է ժուռնալիստական գործունեություն: (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* *žuŕnalistakan*
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* *žamanak* *mšuš-n* *arden*
light-DAT open-antic-INF-DAT POST fog.NOM-the already
c'r-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* *t'šnami* *zinvor-ner-ě*
gate-DAT throw-down-pass-INF-DAT-the POST enemy soldier-PL.NOM-the
ners *xuž-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 Սուրբէջմիածին: (Armenpress 05.01.2005)

meknel-uc' *aṙaǰ* *despan-ě* *hunvar-i* *6-i-n*
depart-INF-ABL POST ambassador.NOM-the January-DAT 6-DAT-the
kayc'el-i *Mayr Aṫoṙ* *Surb* *Ējmiacin.*
visit-COND.FUT.3.SG. Mother See Holy Ējmiacin.NOM

"Before he will depart the ambassador will visit the Mother See of Holy Ejmiacin 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'* *aṙaǰ* *t'urk'* *groł-ě*
Frankfurt-LOC award.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL POST Turkish writer.NOM-the
xaxt-el *ē* *aveli* *k'an* *vec'amsya* *lṙut'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* *karołac'-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 Նազիանզ: (Armenpress 29.01.2006)

oroš žamanak čgnołakan kyank'-ov aprel-uc' heto Grigor-ě
certain time.NOM eremit life-INST live-INF-ABL POST Grigor.NOM-the

veradarn-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 jeřk'-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 užgin 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-oǰ hor canr hivand
Vahan.NOM-the know-IMPF.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 *or* "that".

(586) a. Վահանը գիտեր որ ընկերոջ հայրը ծանր հիվանդ էր:
Vahan-ě giter or ěnker-oǰ hayr-ě
Vahan.NOM-the know-IMP.3.SG CONJ friend-DAT father.NOM-the
canr hivand ēr.
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* *aŕaǰ* *ir* *naxkin*
he.NOM tell-PTCP.PRES. he was some day.NOM POST his former

ěnker-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'nnarkum-ner-i* *ěnťac'k'um* *masnakic'-ner-ic'* *oč' ok'*
two day debate-PL-DAT POST participant-PL-ABL nobody.NOM

č'-xosec' *sahmanadrakan* *barep'oxum-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 Negation[312]

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

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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 *oč'* "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 *čē* "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- *č'-*. (neg-V)

(589) Կողմերը համաձայնության էին եկել շենքից մարդ չձերբակալել: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

kołm-er-ě *hamajaynut'yan* *ēin* *ek-el* *šenk'-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- *č'-*. (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* *hałt'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 լուծեմ: (Hetk' 12.02.2007)

Erewan-um ēl č'-em karoł 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' knoǰ-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 payk'ar-em.
CONJ neg-(part) hand-pass-DEB.FUT.1.SG fight-DEB.FUT.1.SG

"But I do not have to surrender, I have to fight."

(595) Բոլորը պետք է լինեն աղքատ և հավասարապես աղքատ, և երկրում հարուստներ չպետք է լինեն: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Bolor-ě *petk' ē lin-en* *ałk'at* *ew* *havasarapes* *ałk'at* *ew*
all.NOM-the be-DEB.FUT.3.PL poor CONJ equally poor CONJ

erkr-um *harust-ner* *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 ղարաբաղյան հարցը, ապա ԱՄՆ-ն և ՆԱՏՕ-ն առիթ չեն ունենա Ադրբեջան թափանցելու համար:
(Armenpress 19.01.2006)

Et'e *nranc'* *haǰoł-v-i* *luc-el* *łarabałyan*
CONJ they.DAT succeed-pass-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG solve-INF Karabakh

harc'-ě *apa* *AMN-n* *ew* *NATŌ-n* *aŕit*
problem.NOM-the then USA.NOM-the CONJ NATO.NOM-the opportunity.NOM

č'-en *unen-a* *Adrbeǰan* *t'apanc'el-u* *hamar.*
neg-they are have-PTCP.NEG Azerbaijan.NOM penetrate-INF-DAT POST

"If they succeed in solving the problem of Karabakh, then USA and NATO will not have an opportunity to penetrate Azerbaijan."

In general, the word order of the constituents of a sentence does not change if the entire sentence is negated, with exception of the order of the auxiliary and participle in compound tense forms.

This change of position of the auxiliary from V + AUX to neg-AUX + V is triggered by syntactic focus: the negation is in the syntactic focus of the sentence, i.e. in the immediate preverbal position.

(597) Վարդանը կարդում է ԱԶԳ թերթը:

Vardan-ě *kard-um* *ē* *AZG* *t'ert'-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* *t'ert'-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 գնալ այս ակնհայտորեն ոչ ամենալավ լուծմանը: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

isk *inč'-n* *ē* *stip-el* *K'oč'aryan-i-n* *gn-al*
CONJ wh-what-the it is force-PTCP.PERF. K'oč'aryan-DAT-the go-INF

ays *aknahaytoren* *oč'* *amenalav* *lucman-ě?*
this obviously neg best solution-DAT-the

"And what has forced K'oč'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 1000 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* *šrǰan-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 koŕupc'ia-yi zargac'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)

gyułapet-ě gyuł-i eražštakan dproc'-um met'odist
village's mayor.NOM-the village-DAT music school.NOM methodician.NOM
ē nšanak-el oč' masnaget ir knoǰ-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 զրուցակից կար, ո՛չ վշտակցող բարեկամ, 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 meǰ
REL.NOM live-PTCP.PRES. he was donkey-PL-DAT CONJ viper-PL-DAT POST
orteł oč' zruc'akic k-ar oč' vštakc-'oł barekam
wh-where neg mate.NOM exist-IMP.3.SG neg care–PTCP.SUB. friend.NOM
oč' ōgnakan oč' mxit'ar-oł ew oč' caŕa-y-oł.
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 tełekut'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 ponouns 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 ոչ մի *oč' mi* "no") or with indefinite pronouns.

Ontological Groups

- person: ոչ ոք *oč' ok'* "nobody"; ոչ մեկը *oč' mekě* "no one"
- thing: ոչինչ *oč'inč'* "nothing"; ոչ մեկը *oč' mekě* "not one/nothing"
- place: ոչ մի տեղ *oč' mi teł* "nowhere"[313]
- time: երբեք *erbek'* "never"

The pronouns denoting person and thing are used in the primary pronominal function, the negative quantifier ոչ 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) Ցանկացած փախստականի հարցրեք, ոչ ոք չի ասի, թե վատ է ապրել: (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'e *vat* *ē* *apr-el.*
CONJ badly he is live-PTCP.PERF.

"Ask any refugee, nobody will say that he has lived badly."

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313. It is obvious that the negative place adverb is formed by means of the negative quantifier ոչ մի *oč' mi* "no" and the noun տեղ *teł* "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)

aṙayžm žyuri-i andam-ner-ĕ č'-en canoťac'-el
at present jury-DAT member-PL.NOM-the neg-they are acquainted-PTCP.PERF.
ułark-v-ac stełcagorcut'yun-ner-i ew oč 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 zeteł-v-ac nyut'-er-ic' oč' mek-ĕ
book-LOC insert-pass-PTCP.RES. material-PL-ABL nothing.NOM-the
č'-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 č'-em tesn-um oč' mi drakan p'op'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' 12.02.200/7)

ayn gtn-v-um ē k'ałak-i cayramas-um orteł oč' mi
that.NOM find-refl-PTCP.PRES. it is town-DAT outskirts-LOK wh-where no
ašxatank' č'-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)

aysteł ka ayn inč' č'-ka uriš oč' mi teł.
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)

ašxarh-um oč' mi teł t'ert'-er-ĕ č'-en goyatew-um
world-LOC nowhere newspaper-PL.NOM-the neg-they are survive-PTCP.PRES.
tpak'anak-i hašv-i-n ayl govazd-i.
circulation-DAT account-DAT-the CONJ advertisment-DAT
"The newspapers survive nowhere in the world not on the account of their circulation, but of advertisement."

(616) Փափուլ պապն ասում է, որ գիրքը երբեք տնից դուրս չի հանել:
(Hetk' 22.01.2007)

P'ap'ul pap-n as-um ē or girk'-ě 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 տ- *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'-ě gnt-v-el ē
CONJ un-pleasant situation-ABL exit.NOM-the find-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is
Belaŕus-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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

ays ěnt'ac'k'-um koroš-em mn-al an-kusakc'akan t'e
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-ě	*aveli*	*barjr*	*ē*	*k'an*	*Aragac-ě.*
Ararat.NOM-the	more	high	it is	COMP	Aragac-ě
	M	ADJ		Standard	

"Ararat is higher than Aragac." (M-A-S)

(619) a. Արարատը Արագածից (ավելի) բարձր է:

Ararat-ě	*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)

It seems, however, that with complex, (i.e. multi-sub constituent) noun-phrases as standard the MAS or քան *k'an*-construction is used with overwhelming frequency because of easier language processing and due to heavy noun phrase shift:

(620) Մանկատանը երեխան երեք անգամ ավելի քիչ է լսում իր անունը, քան ընտանիքում մեծացած երեխան: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

mankat-an-ě	*erexa-n*	*erek'*	*angam*	*aveli*	*k'ič*	*ē*
children's home-DAT-the	child.NOM-the	three	time	more	few	it is
				M	ADJ	

ls-um	*ir anun-ě*	*k'an*	*ěntanik'-um*
hear-PTCP.PRES.	its name.NOM-the	COMP	family-LOC

mecac'-ac	*erexa-n.*
grow up-PTCP.RES.	child.NOM-the
Standard	

"The child in the children's home hears its name three times fewer than the child growing up in a family." (MAS)

This sentence would also be accepted as an S(M)A –construction.

(620) a. Մանկատանը երեխան ընտանիքում մեծացած երեխայջց երեք անգամ (ավելի) քիչ է լսում իր անունը:

Mankat-an-ě	*erexa-n*	*ěntanik'-um*
children's home-DAT-the	child.NOM-the	family-LOC

mecac'-ac	*erexa-yic'*	*erek'*	*angam*	*(aveli)*	*k'ič'*	*ē*
grow up-PTCP.RES.	child-ABL	three	time	(more)	few	it is
	Standard			M	ADJ	

ls-um	*ir*	*anun-ě.*
hear-PTCP.PRES.	its	name.NOM-the

"The child in the children's home hears its name three times fewer than the child growing up in a family." (S (M) A)

Other examples for preferred (MAS)-constructions because of heavy noun phrases:

(621) Հայաստանում տրանսպորտային միջոցների հավաքումը շատ ավելի շահավետ է, քան դրանց ներմուծումը: (Armenpress 07.04.2006)

Hayastan-um	*transportayin*	*mijoc'-ner-i*	*havak'um-ě*	*šat*
Armenia-LOC	transport	means-PL-DAT	collection.NOM-the	INT
				M

aveli	*šahavet*	*ē*	*k'an*	*dranc'*	*nermuc'um-ě.*
more	profitable	it is	COMP	their	import.NOM-the
	ADJ			Standard	

"In Armenia, the collection of vehicles is much more profitable than import."

(622) Այսինքն, ոստիկանությունն ավելի հզոր մարմին է, քան դատարանը, որ երրորդ իշխանություն է համարվում: (Hetk' 26.02.2007)

aysink'n	*ostikanut'yun-n*	*aveli*	*hzor*	*marmin*	*ē*	*k'an*
i.e.	police.NOM-the	more	mighty	body.NOM	it is	COMP
		M		ADJ	N	

dataran-ě	*or*	*errord*	*išxanut'yun*	*ē*	*hamar-v-um.*
court.NOM-the	REL.NOM	third	power-NOM	it is	regard-pass-PTCP.PRES.

Standard

"That means the police is a mightier body than the court, which is regarded as the third power."

– If the object of comparison does not co-refer to the subject of the sentence, only the syntactic constructions with քան *k'an* is acceptable.

(623) Կապի ոլորտը կլիներ ավելի լավը, քան Հունաստանում: (Armenpress 13.05.2006)

kap-i	*olort-ě*	*klin-er*	*aveli*	*lav-ě*
connection-DAT	domain.NOM-the	be-COND.PAST.3.SG	more	good.NOM-the
			M	ADJ

k'an	*Hunastan-um.*
COMP	Greece-LOC

Standard

"The connection's domain would be better than in Greece."

b. Attributive Use

Usually, if the adjective in a comparative degree is used in an attributive function without an overt standard, the marker ավելի *aveli* "more" immediately precedes the positive adjective. (marker – adjective – noun)

(624) Անին ավելի լավ աշակերտ է:

Ani-n	*aveli*	*lav*	*ašakert*	*ē.*
Ani.NOM-the	more	good	pupil.NOM	she is
	marker	ADJ	N	

"Ani is a better pupil."

(625) Ծրագիրն ավելի մեծ չափերով սկսվեց Գյումրիում: (Armenpress 24.03.2006)

cragir-n	*aveli*	*mec*	*čap'-er-ov'*
program.NOM-the	more	big	extent-PL-INST
	marker	ADJ	N

sks-v-ec	*Gyumri-um.*
begin-pass-AOR.3.SG	Gyumri-LOC

"The program was started with bigger extents in Gyumri."

If the adjective in a comparative degree is used in an attributive function and the standard is overtly expressed, the marker immediately precedes the positive adjective. The standard appears in the ablative case and is preposed to the adjective. (S-ABL marker ADJ + N)

(624) a. 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'-ě*	*aŕaǰark-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: (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)

ancac'	*erku amis-ner-i*	*ěnt'ac'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 «մարսել» Հայաստանի արդյունաբերությունը: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

Hayastan-i gitut'yun-ě nerkayums šat aveli tarołunak ē
Armenia-DAT science.NOM-the now INT more capacious it is

k'an 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) Նրանց վախեցնում է ոչ այնքան ճանաչման խնդիրը, որքան դրա հետևանքները: (Armenpress 06.04.2006)

nranc' 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 hetewank'-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 T'urk'ia-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) Նրանց համար կսահմանվի նույնքան սոցվճար, որքան այսօր վճարում է անհատ ձեռնարկատերը: (Armenpress 17.12.2005)

nranc' hamar ksahman-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 jeŕnarkater-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-gełec'ik* *ałǰik-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'* *gełec'ik* *ałłǰik-n* *ē.*
Ani.NOM-the all-ABL beautiful girl.NOM-the she is
"Ani is the most beautiful girl."

The main difference between these two constructions is purely stylistic; (633b) is more literary.

An important feature of the nominal standard of superlative construction is that it is obligatorily definite.

(633) ԱՄՆ-ն ՀՀ-ն համարում է տարածաշրջանի ամենակայուն երկիրը:

AMN-n *HH-n* *hamar-um* *ē* *taracašrǰan-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* *p'ok'ramasnut'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)

ĕst 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 cicałeli-n ē.
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. Equatives[314]

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 similative 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*	*gełec'ik'*	*ē*	*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. այնպես ….ինչպես *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'k'an* as the standard marker. These markers are usually combined with quantitative expressions but also with qualitative adjectives expressing dimension.

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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:

Ełbor	*ałǰik-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 *aynčʻap'* and the standard marker ինչչափ *inčʻčʻap'*.

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*	*gełec'ik*	*ē.*
sister.NOM-my	you.DAT	like	beautiful	she is
Comparee	Standard	STM	ADJ	

"My sister is as beautiful as you."

In colloquial Armenian there is another construction for copular (or verbal predicate) equative constructions.

(637) a. Արմնենը իմ չափ գրքեր ունի:

Armen-ě	*im*	*čʻap'*	*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*	*čʻap'*	*gełec'ik*	*ē.*
sister.NOM-my	you.GEN	degree.NOM	beautiful	she is
Comparee	Standard	STM		

"My sister is as pretty as you."

In this unusual structure, the STM is the postposition չափ *čʻap'*, 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 *čʻap* 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 jitʻaptuł-i pes pʻokʻr 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 *inčʻpes* "as, like".

(641) Այս տղան գրում է այնպես, ինչպես իր մայրն է խոսում:

ays tła-n gr-um ě aynpes inčʻpes ir mayr-n
this boy.NOM-the write-PTCP.PRES. he is like PAM as STM his mother.NOM-the

ē xos-um.
she is speak-PTCP.PRES.
"This boy writes like his mother talks."

4. Similatives

Similative phrases usually consist of a similative marker meaning "like" and a standard, which together function as a kind of manner adverbial of the verb, answering the question "in what way?"

Similative markers are the postpositions պես *pes* and նման *nman*, both co-occurring with the dative on nouns and pronouns; պես *pes* is more often used in colloquial MEA. The similative marker can also be used predicatively.

(642) Կինն էլ սիրում է նրան հարազատի պես և ուրախությամբ կորդեգրեր նրան: (Hetkʻ 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) ֆրիուլացիներն 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'* *ĕntanik'-i-n* *ew* *t-an-ĕ.*
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 similative 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 similative phrases, but as propositional adverbials.

(644) Վարդանը խժռում է ձիու նման:

Vardan-ĕ *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* *yurak'anč'yur-i-d* *hałt'anak-ĕ*
I.NOM as president.NOM each-DAT-your victory.NOM-the

hamar-um *em* *im* *anjnakan* *hałt'anak-ĕ.*
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 *petut'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 *aŕarkel* "to argue", մտածել *mtacel* "to think", նկատել *nkatel* "to notice; to remark", գոռալ *goŕal* "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 gyuł-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)

Verǰum nrank' xmb-i łekavar-i-n harc'r-el en
finally they.NOM group-DAT leader-DAT-the ask-PTCP.PERF. they are

t'e hnaravor ē tła-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: (Aŕavot 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 inč' 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 specifities:

- 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 k'ez stełc-eč'i krak-ic' isk Adam-i-n hoł-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 stełc-el ē krak-ic' isk
she.DAT create-PTCP.PERF. he is fire-ABL CONJ

Adam-i-n hoł-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 verǰin ayc’elut’yan žamanak mayrik-n as-ac’
CONJ last vist-DAT time.NOM mother-dim.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG

or nran tełap’ox-um en Gavaŕ-i mankatun
CONJ he.DAT move-PTCP.PRES. they are Gavaŕ-DAT children’shome.NOM

k’ani 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 inkě 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 t’e 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 inkě šat ē
Tigran.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ he.NOM much he is

uz-um iman-al t’e 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 կգնեմ, – ասացի քեզ:

nor mek'ena kgn-em as-ac'i k'ez.
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 կգնեմ նոր մեքենա:

es k'ez as-ac'i or kgn-em nor mek'ena.
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 k'ez erbek' č'-em moŕan-a hačax ēir
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 ēir as-um or inj erbek'
I.DAT often youwere say-PTCP.PRES. CONJ I.DAT never
č'-es moŕan-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 *aysk'an* "so much", այստեղ *aysteł* "here", սույն *suyn* "same" (proximal deixis) of the direct speech clause turn into այդ *ayd* "that", այդպիսի *aydpisi* "such a", այդքան *aydk'an* "that much", այդտեղ *aydteł* "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)

aysteł ays žam-i-n ē včŕ-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. Զորավարը ռազմիկներին ասաց, որ այդտեղ, այդ ժամին է վճռվում հայրենիքի բախտը: (Hayoc' Lezu 8: 111)

zoravar-ě *řazmik-ner-i-n* *as-ac'* *or* *aydteł*
commander.NOM-the soldier-PL-DAT-the say-AOR.3.SG. CONJ there

ayd *žam-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) - Բոլորդ 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:

usic'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, մա՛յր, 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'e* *ork'an* *šat* *hataptuł*
see-SUBJ.FUT.2.SG CONJ wh-how many many berry.NOM

em *ber-el?*
I am bring-PTCP.PERF.

I said: "What will you say, Mother, when you see, how many berries I have brought?"

(659) a. Ասացի, թե ինչ կասի մայրս, երբ տեսնի, թե որքան շատ հատապտուղ եմ բերել:

asac'i *t'e* *inč'* *kas-i* *mayr-s*
say-AOR.1.SG CONJ wh-what say-COND.FUT.3.SG mother.NOM-my

erb *tesn-i* *t'e* *ork'an* *šat* *hataptuł*
wh-when see-SUBJ.FUT.3.SG CONJ wh-how many many berry.NOM

em *ber-el.*
I am bring-PTCP.PERF.

"I asked what would my mother say when she saw how many berries I had brought."

b. If the vocative element does not function as the agent of the action or if there is a pronominal subject in direct speech, the vocative element may function as the object in the main clause of the indirect speech sentence.

(660) Հարցրեց. «Արքա՛, ո՞ւր է իմ ոսկին»

harc'r-ec' *Ark'a* *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. Հարցրեց արքային, թե ո՛ւր է իր ոսկին:

harc'r-ec *ark'ayin* *t'e* *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, աղջի՛կս, - հարցրեց հայրը:

Du *ur* *es* *gn-um* *ałǰik-s*
you.NOM wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. girl.NOM-my
harc'r-ec' *hayr-ě.*
ask-AOR.3.SG father.NOM-the
"(You) Where are you going to, my girl?" asked the father.

(661) a. Հայրը հարցրեց, թե նա ուր է գնում:

Hayr-ě *harc'r-ec'* *t'e* *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.«Տղա՛ս, քո գալուն եմ ես անհամբեր սպասում:»

Mayr-ě *ord-u-n* *gr-um* *ēr.* *Tła-s* *kʾo*
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.

– If the interrogative sentence in direct speech is a rhetoric interrogative sentence, the adverbs արդյոք *ardyok'* "really/whether" or մի՞թե *mit'e*? "really?" are preposed immediately to the asked constituent in indirect speech.

(663) Դու չգիտե՞ս, որ ես Անդրանիկի զինվորներից մեկն եմ եղել,- զարմացած հարցրեց պապը:

Du *č'-git-es* *or* *es* *Andranik-i* *zinvor-ner-ic'*
you.NOM neg-know-PTCP.PRES. CONJ I.NOM Andranik-DAT soldier-PL-ABL

mek-n *em* *eł-el* *zarmac'-ac*
one.NOM-the I am be-PTCP.PERF. surprise-PTCP.RES.

harc'r-ec' *pap-ě.*
ask-AOR.3.SG grandfather.NOM-the

"'You do not know that I was one of the soldiers of Andranik?' the grandfather asked, surprised."

(663) a. Պապը զարմացած հարցրեց, թե նա արդյոք չգիտի, որ ինքը Անդրանիկի զինվորներից մեկն է եղել:

Pap-ě *zarmac'-ac* *harc'r-ec'* *t'e* *na*
grandfather.NOM-the surprise-PTCP.RES. ask-AOR.3.SG CONJ he.NOM

ardyok' *č'-git-i* *or* *inkě* *Andranik-i* *zinvor-ner-ic'*
really neg-know-PRES.3.SG CONJ he.NOM Andranik-DAT soldier-PL-ABL

mek-n *ē* *eł-el.*
one.NOM-the he is be-PTCP.PERF.

"The grandfather asked in surprise whether he really did not know that he had been one of Andranik's soldiers."

մի՞թե *mit'e*? "really?" used in direct speech remains unchanged – even in intonation – in reported speech.

All kinds of interjections used in direct speech are usually omitted in indirect speech.

3.4.5 Miscellaneous

3.4.5.1 *Nominalised infinitives*

Nominalised infinitives are commonly used both in spoken and written MEA. These nominalised infinitives appear in all cases and also with adpositions.

a. Subject of nominalised infinitive

With nominalised infinitives, the prototypical (+human) agent of the nominalised verbal form usually appears in the dative case with nouns and with the genitive case for personal and demonstrative pronouns. The same is always true for (–human) grammatical subjects; the grammatical subject of a nominalised infinitive appears obligatorily in the dative (nouns) or the genitive (personal or demonstrative pronouns).

(664) Քրիստոսի գալը

K'ristos-i gal-ě
Christ-DAT come-INF.NOM-the
"The coming of Christ"

(665) հաջորդ գնացքի ժամանելը

haǰord 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 aysteł 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 aynteł 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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

erku erexa-ner-i hor-ě varkabek-el-ě oč' baroyapes oč'
two child-PL-DAT father-DAT-the discredit-INF.NOM-the neg morally neg
nyut'apes č'-i p'oxahatuc'-v-el.
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-c'n-el-ě*
fire.NOM-the extinguish-caus-INF.NOM-the
"The extinguishing (of) the fire"

(673) դանակն օգտագործելը

danak-n *ōgtagorc-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)

k'ałak'ac'iut'yun č'-ěndun-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 kołmic' Leŕnayin Łarabał-i Hanrapetut'y-an
Armenia-DAT POST Mountainous Łarabał-DAT Republic-DAT
č'-čanač'-el-ě haykakan kołm-i p'oxziǐum-n ē.
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: (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)

Hrazdan-i JĒK-i 5-ord ēnergablok-ě
Hrazdan-DAT HP plant-DAT fifth energy block.NOM-the
řusakan kołm-i-n vačař-el-ě bx-um ē Hayastan-i
Russian side-DAT-the sell.NOM-the result-PTCP.PRES. it is Armenia-DAT
azgayin šah-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)

bŕnapetut'yun-ic' azat-v-el-ě anpaymanoren
dictatorship-ABL free-refl-INF.NOM-the necessarily
č'-petk' ē ułekc'-v-i petut'y-an p'luzm-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)

aysteł ew artasahman-um c'uc'ahandes-ner-i-n masnakc'el-ě
here CONJ abroad-LOC exhibition-PL-DAT-the participate-INF.NOM-the
šat ōgtakar ē.
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 patčaṙ-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 vałažam 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 kaṙuc'-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 Ղարաբաղի խնդրի կարգավորման հարցը «միայն Ադրբեջանինը ու Հայաստանինը չէ, այլ նաև Եվրոպայինն էլ է: (Aṙmenpress 07.04.2006)

Leṙnayin Łarabał-i xndr-i kargavorman harc'-ě
Mountainous Karabakh-DAT problem-DAT settlement-DAT question.NOM-the
miayn Adrbeǰan-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."

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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 ĕndhanrut'yun-ĕ petk' ē lin-i naew mer
CONJ that association.NOM-the be-DEB.FUT.3.SG also our

masnakc'ut'yamb ew oč' t'e uriš-in-ē verc'nel-u ew
participation-INST CONJ not other-attr-the take-INF-DAT CONJ

mer-ĕ 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:

sełan-i-n dr-v-ac nkar-ner-ĕ
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 rigidness of sub-constituent order rules in noun phrases from frequent order preferences with secondary constituents and from order "freedom" in the basic word order that are subject both to conventionalised order rules and to the functional focus principle in the case of non-neutral utterances.

One also has to differentiate between order rules of spoken and written MEA. Whereas in spoken Armenian syntactic word order is usually intensified and even substituted with prosodic means particularly in a constituent order, written Armenian can be regarded as more strongly influenced by more or less canonical syntactic rules.

However, the main distinction is between neutral and marked word order. Whereas neutral word order observes syntactic order rules, marked word order is mainly defined by syntactic inversion, i.e. movement from a default syntactic position into a non typical syntactic position and by the functional focus principle.

Furthermore, the following chapters will show that the alleged OV-order of Modern Eastern Armenian basically shares many word order features with OV-languages, but particularly in basic word order itself Modern Eastern Armenian is both OV and VO.

3.5.1 Main constituents order

The common order of MEA basic sentences is (S)OV or (S)VO.

3.5.1.1 *Subject order*[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)

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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:

k'ałak' *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 *ēin* *ew* *mec'ašen* *k'ałak'-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 šat paycaŕ
suddenly heaven-ABL fall down-AOR.3SG. INDEF INT bright

ew gełec'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 Գիքորը կուչ էր եկել խոհանոցում: (Grakanut'yun 4: 133)

irikun-ě Gik'or-ě kuč ēr
evening.NOM-the Gik'or.NOM-the part he was

ek-el xohanoc'-um.
huddle-PTCP.PERF. kitchen-LOC

"In the evening Gik'or huddled in the kitchen."

The same is true, if, although verbal complements appear in inverse order i.e. at the beginning of the sentence, it is the subject that is marked, particularly if it appears in the preverbal focus position as seen below:

(693) Մի օր այդ գյուղով մի խեղճ, աղքատ կին էր անցնում: (Mayreni 5: 96)

mi ōr ayd gyuł-ov mi xełč ałk'at kin
INDEF day.NOM that village-INST INDEF wretched poor woman.NOM

ēr 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 inversed order of V+AUX, i.e. the subject appears in the preverbal focus position.

3.5.1.2 *Verb Order*[319]

As explained in the previous chapter on subject order, the finite verb usually follows the 'S' in neutral and basic sentences. S V

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319. see Badikyan, Papoyan 2003: 463 ff.

This unmarked order of the 'V' following its overtly expressed subject[320] 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, eg. 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 կլինեմ *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 eł*el "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 լենեմ *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 կլինեմ *durs ekac klinem* "I will have been brought out"

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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 լինեմ: *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 arguement 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: (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)

banvor-ner-ě *sks-el* *en* *kʻand-el*
worker-PL.NOM-the begin-PTCP.PERF. they are destroy-INF

tʻatron-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* *šnorhakalutʻyun* *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)

menkʻ *ułłaki* *stip-v-ac* *ēinkʻ* *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'r-el xoran-al ayd xndr-i meǰ.
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)

Ařaǰin angam en tesn-um tak'deł-ě ařaǰin
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.

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321. comp. Ch. 3.4.2.1. "Clausal Negation", p. 523f.

322. Please note that the negation of analytic verbal forms with verbal particles, such as in Debitive, does not trigger a change in the order of the elements; the negative suffix is just attached to the debitive particle. More on the various functions of focus and focus types see Ch. 3.6.2. "Focus", p. 629f.

3.5.1.3 *Nominal predicate order*[323]

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 *daṙnal* "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* *eł-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 *eł-el* *ē* *Erewan-i* *V. Bryusov-i* *anvan*
he.NOM be-PTCP.PERF. he is Yerevan-DAT V. Bryusov-DAT named

petakan *mankavaržakan* *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.

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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'-ĕ.*
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-ĕ *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 մոլոր հայացքով հետևում էր նրան: (Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 211)

ałǰik-ĕ *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 ոստայն է հյուսել: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 57)

ankyun-um sard-ĕ ostayn ē 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: (Gyurǰanyan, Hek'ek'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'erakanut'yun 2: 56)

ink'nat'iř-ĕ var-um ē hmut ōdač'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) Ա՛խ, այս ցուրտ օրվա ապրուստն է կորցրել:
(Gyurǰinayn, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 209)

ax ays c'urt ōr-va aprust-n ē 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-ĕ* *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:
(Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 210)

heto *na* *hiš-ec'* *k'ałc'ac* *u* *kisak'ałc'*
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:
(Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 213)

Nra *mot* *ber-ec'in* *tasĕ 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 debitor-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)

ałǰik-ĕ *mat-ov* *c'uyc' tv-ec'* *caṙ-i* *barjr* *čyuł-i-n*
girl.NOM-the finger-INST show-AOR.3.SG tree-DAT high branch-DAT-the

nst-ac *t'ṙč'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 Միերին 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* *ē* *t'urk'akan* *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.Քոչարյանին:
(Armenpress 24.03.2006)

federac'ia-y-i *p'oxnaxagah-ě* *havak'an-i* *andam-ner-i*
federation-DAT vice-president.NOM-the collective-DAT member-PL-DAT

storagrut'yun-ner-ov *bŕnc'kamartik'-i* *jeŕnoc'-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) Դասախոսը 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. ?Դասախոսը 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 որդյակ 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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

anjamb *inj* *nvir-ec'in* *hianali* *p'nǰ-er.*
personally I.DAT give-AOR.3.PL wonderful bouqet-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* *kèz*
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 *kʻez* *khanjn-i* *nran.*
Ani.NOM you.DAT deliver-COND.FUT.3.SG he.DAT
S O V IO

mnacʻac-ě *kʻo* *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 *xałalik-ě* *tv-ecʻ* *tʻoṙnik-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 *tvecʻ* *xałalik-ě* *tʻoṙnik-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*	*t'šnami-n*	*verǰapes*
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	*tła-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-oǰ-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	*xałalik-ě*	*t'oŕnik-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: Loŕi, 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:
a. object of agency
b. object of separation
c. object of means
d. object of comparison
e. object of relation
f. object of composition
g. object of limitation

In comparison to the direct object and the real indirect object, the order of oblique objects is relatively free and is just subject to preferences.

a. Object of Agency

The agency object, or passive object, is usually expressed with the bare ablative or postpositional phrase with the POST կողմից *kołmic'*; 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'uť'y-an hamematabar bavarar kam barjr
CONJ population-DAT relatively sufficient CONJ high

vastak-ě stełc-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 ařajika 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 ekełec'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 heŕustac'uyc'-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)

hušagr-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 kołm-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 comparision 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 t'iv-ě hazar-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)

tła-ner-i mot hivanduťyun-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 ałǰik-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* *Loŕ-u* *Dseł* *gyuł-um.*
bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is LoŕI.DAT Dseł.NOM village-LOC
"He was born in the village Dseł in (lit: of) Loŕi."

(737) Դա հայերի խաղացած դերն է մարդկության պատմության մեջ: (Grakanut'yun 10: 77)

da hay-er-i *xałac'-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* *banǰarełen-ě* *vačaŕ-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 երևում են ամենահեռավոր աստղերը: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 50)

Byurakan-i *astładitaran-ic'* *erew-um* *en*
Byurakan-DAT observatory-ABL be visible-PTCP.PRES. they are
amena-heŕavor *astł-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'ałak'-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:
(Hetk' 15.02.2007)

aysteł 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 heŕu 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'ałak'-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 բակում ֆուտբոլ էին խաղում:
(Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2:50)

das-er-ic' *heto* *tła-ner-ĕ* *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* *ałbatar* *mek'ena-n* *tar-el*
January-DAT 26-DAT-the refuse collection car.NOM-the take-PTCP.PERF.

ēr *Ōganov-i* *64* *šenk'-i* *ałb-ĕ.*
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-ĕ *Lewon Č'ilingiryan-ĕ* *łekavarel-u*
tomorrow Lewon Č'ilingiryan.NOM-the conduct-PTCP.FUT

ē *nvagaxumb-ĕ.*
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-ĕ* *erek* *erekoyan*
Azerbaijan-DAT president.NOM Ilham Aliew.NOM-the yesterday evening

eřōrya *paštonakan* *ayc'-ov* *mekn-el* *ē* *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 k'ani-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 Neǰdet'*
2005 year-DAT September-DAT 15-DAT-the president.NOM Ahmed Neǰdet'

Sezer-ĕ *namak* *ēr* *hł-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 *arřavotyan* *Mełri-um* *ōd-i* *ǰermastičan-ĕ*
today morning Mełri-LOC air-DAT temperature.NOM-the

arjanagr-v-el *ē* *–3.*
register-pass-PTCP.PERF it is –3

"This morning the air temperature in Mełri 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:
(Aŕavot 13.01.2006)
Aysōr *Ardrbeǰan-um* *bnakv-um* *ē* *šurǰ* *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)
amŕan-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* *nerkayac'uc'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."

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328. Badikyan 1976: 170. In the newspaper used as text corpus here, this preference could not really be proved.

329. comp. Aŕak'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 հրապարակվել է 1999 թվականին:
(Armenpress 28.03.2006)

ařajin nman grk'uyk-ě hraparak-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 instumental 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) Վաճառասեղանի առջև պատրաստակամ կանգնել է վաճառողը:
(Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 50)

vačařasełan-i ařjew patrastakam kangn-el ē vačařoł-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 vaŕel-ov dim-ac'a.
that plank-PL.NOM-the burn-INF-INST endure-AOR.1.SG.
"By burning those planks I endured."

(760) Ուզում եմ բոմժի պես չապրեմ: (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-occurence

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 aŕavel 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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

erek' himnavorapes tarber meładrank'-ner-ov nuyn ěntanik'-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 նորության 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'ař 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 ē barexłčoren ew žamanakin.
fulfill-PTCP.PERF. he is conscientiously CONJ punctually
"Conscientiously and punctually he has fulfilled his tax and customs obligations."

d. Adverbial of Cause

The adverbial of cause seems to have a rather free order: it both appears preposed and postposed to the verb, both in the initial and final positions in the sentence. The order seems also to productively depend on the "syntactic heaviness" of the adverbial of cause.

- If the adverbial of cause is expressed with a single noun in the ablative or an infinitive in the ablative, it typically precedes the verb.
- If it is syntactically heavier (i.e. a whole noun phrase with attributes, an infinitive construction with infinitive in the ablative) or expressed with an adpositional phrase, it seems ordinarily to follow the verb:

(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
bac'akayut'y-an patčaṙov.
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)

Verǰin tari-ner-i-n antaṙahatum-ner-i hetewank'ov
last year-PL-DAT-the clearing-PL-DAT POST
oč'nč'ac'-v-el ē marz-i antaṙapat tarack'-ner-i
destroy-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is province-DAT forested territory-PL-DAT
aveli k'an 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 ťoṙnik-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.

Usanoł-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 ձոր ընկան, շատ տեղերում եղան: (Mayreni 3: 164)

[Hivand-i-n deł 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 šat
man-PL.NOM mountain.NOM CONJ valley.NOM fall-AOR.3.PL many

teł-er-um eł-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 anhražešt bžišk-ner-ov
republic-DAT province-PL.NOM-the necessary doctor-PL-INST

apahovel-u npatakov] stełc-v-el ē
provide-INF-DAT POST found-pass-PTCP.PERF. it is

Bžškakan kadr-er" tełekatvakan 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 geruť yun-ic' azatel-u
close friend-PL.NOM-the Art'ur-DAT-the captivity-ABL free-INF-DAT

hamar] vačař-el ēin 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)

nranc'-ic' 311-ě tarber hivanduťyun-ner-i patčařov
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 *stełc-v-el* *ē* *[erku* *akumb-ner-i* *miǰew* *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) Գազով ջեռուցման պարագայում, 1կվտ/ժամ-ի դիմաց բնակիչը վճարում է ոչ թե 25 դրամ, այլ՝ 6,5–7 դրամ:(Armenpress 24.01.2006)

Gaz-ov *ǰeŕuc'm-an* *paragayum* *1 kwt/žam-i* *dimac'* *bnakič'-ě*
Gas-INST heating-DAT POST 1 KW/h-DAT POST inhabitant-NOM-the

včar-um *ē* *oč' t'e* *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-ě* *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 *čʼors* *angam* *kardacʼ* *ayd* *tʻertʻ-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* *hivandacʼutyun-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* *ančoř-ni* *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)

Krtʻuťy-an *bnagavař-um* *Hamašxarhayin bank-i* *het* *miasin*
Education-DAT field-LOC World Bank-DAT POST together
pʻorj *ē* *ar-v-um* *irakana-cʻn-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* *Aǰap'nyak*
Siranuš Margaryan.NOM-the live-PTCP.PRES. she is Yerevan-DAT Aǰap'nyak

hamaynk'-i *Sisakyan* *4* *hasc'e-um* *gnt-v-oł* *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 Aǰap'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
- determinating suffixed articles and determinating 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) Անճոռնի ճուտիկը սիրուն կարապ կդառնա: (Armenian folk saying)

ančoř-ni *čutik-n* *sirun* *karap* *kdař-n-a.*
unsightly 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:

cłote *glxark-ě* *ałǰk-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 ձմեռային քնից: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 3: 4)

leŕnayin *lič-ē* *zart'n-ec'* *jmeŕayin* *k'n-ic'.*
mountainuous lake.NOM-the wake up-AOR.3.SG. winterly sleep-ABL
"The mountain lake woke up from its winter sleep."

With participles in attributive function:

(785) Թխված հացը պահում են: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 33)

t'x-v-ac *hac'-ě* *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:
(Patkerzard k'erakanut'yun 2:41)

ušac'-ac *ułewor-ě* *vaz-ec'* *šarž-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 preposed to the noun is determined by semantic criteria and the speaker's objective meaning.

a. Co-occurrence of Various Qualifying Adjectives

It has not been studied so far, whether MEA shows order preferences regarding the co-occurrence of qualifying adjectives belonging to various semantic subtypes such as colour, size, age, evaluation etc.

The order of various qualifying adjectives generally depends on the context and on the emphasis the speaker/writer puts on one of these qualities. That means, the qualitative adjective closest to the noun usually also expresses the main qualitative feature of the noun.

(787) Իմ զարմիկ Մուրադը նստել էր մի գեղեցիկ սպիտակ ձի: (Grakanut'yun 5: 202).

im *zarmik* *Murad-ě* *nst-el* *ēr* *mi* *gełec'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 subgroups of relational adjectives. Again, the order depends on the semantic context and the objectiveness of the speaker.

Adjectives denoting nationality, however, are preferably preposed to all other relational adjectives.

(789) Ամերիկացի բարձրաստիճան զինվորականը կայցելի նաև հայկական խաղաղապահ գումարտակ: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

amerikac'i barjrastičan zinvorakan-ě kayc'el-i naew
American high-level soldier.NOM-the visit-COND.FUT.3.SG also
haykakan xałałapah gumartak.
Armenian peace-keeping battalion.NOM
"The American high-level soldier will also visit an Armenian peace-keeping battalion."

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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 hełinakavor amsagr-er-um
European American CONJ Russian authoritative monthly magazine-PL-LOC

azdec'ik kinogorcič'-ner-i kołmic' šat barjr arjagank'-ner
influential filmmaker--PL-DAT POST INT high response-PL.NOM

en eł-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 + N[333]

(791) Գարնանային պայծառ արևը հալեցրեց ձյունը: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 3:8)

garnanayin paycař arew-ě hale-c'r-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 gmbet'avor p'ok'r ekełec'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 aṙakagir Ezopos-ě apr-el ē K'ristos-ic'
old Greek fabulist Aesop.NOM-the live-PTCP.PERF. he is Christ-ABL

aṙaǰ 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 mšakuyt'-i hušarjan-ner-i pahpanut'y-an
RA history-DAT CONJ culture-DAT momument-PL-DAT preservation-DAT

gorcakalut'yun-n ōr-er-s stac'-el ē hert'akan
agency.NOM-the day-PL.NOM-this receive-PTCP.PERF. it is periodical

tełekatvut'yun-ě nor čartarapetakan kaṙuyc'-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) Քեռի Ռուբենը ունի նամականիշների շատ մեծ հավաքածու: (Patkerazard k'erakanut'yun 2: 41)

K'eři Ruben-ě un-i namakaniš-ner-i šat
Uncle Ruben.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG stamp-PL-DAT INT

mec havak'acu.
big collection.NOM

"Uncle (mother's brother) Ruben has a very big stamp-collection."

(798) Այստեղ առկա են շնչառական օրգանների համար խիստ վտանգավոր պոլիցիկլիկ ածխաջրատներ և պենզիպիրիններ:
(Armenpress 19.06.2006)

aysteł ařka en šnčařakan ōrgan-ner-i hamar xist vtangavor
here available they are breathing organ-PL-DAT POST INT dangerous
polic'iklik acxařrat-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-'ac bolor 86 ěntroł-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 Attributes[334]

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 գնացքներ գրեթե չեն աշխատում: (Hetk' 05.02.2007)

Alaverd-u erkat'gc-ov gnac'k'-ner gret'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: (Aŕavot 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."

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334. comp. Badikyan 1976: 142.

(805) Այն ժամանակ դրա գինը շատ ավելի մեծ էր: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

ayn žamanak dra gin-ě šat aveli mec ēr.
that time.NOM its price.NOM-the INT more big it was
"At that time its price was much higher."

(806) Համայնքի 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 մասնաճյուղերի 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 masnačyuł-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 ձյունաճերմակ էին: (Mayreni 5:50)

karap-i p'etur-ner-ě zarmanalioren jyunačermak ēin.
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 hnč'-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 *patčaŕ-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 *kaŕavarut'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
K'oč'aryan naxagah
"President K'oč'aryan" (PN + CN)

but also a common noun, as in

(813) b. նախագահ Քոչարյան
n*axagah 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 միություն" հասարակական կազմակերպության նախագահ Արմեն Պողոսյանը երևույթը որակում է որպես "փոթորիկ մեկ բաժակ ջրում": (Azg 08.04.2006)

Spaŕoł-ner-i *miut'yun* *hasarakakan* *kazmakerput'y-an*
consumer-PL-DAT union.NOM public organisation-DAT

naxagah *Armen* *Połosyan-ĕ* *erewuyt'-ĕ* *orak-um*
president Armen Połosyan.NOM-the event.NOM-the characterise-PTCP. PRES.

ē *orpes* *"p̌ot'orik* *mek* *bažak* *p̌r-um".*
he is CONJ "storm.NOM one glass.NOM water-LOC"

"Armen Połosyan, the president of the public organisation 'Consumers' Union', characterises the event as "storm in a tea-cup.[336]"

Loose Appositions

Loose appositions invariably follow the head noun, with which they agree in person, case and number, sometimes also in the suffixation of the definite article or determining suffixes. In written Armenian, they are additionally separated from the head noun with the punctuation mark *short stop.*[337] (N + loose apposition)

Longer, complex loose appositions frequently appear at the end of the sentence; but appositions can also be found embedded.

(815) Վարդանը՝ իմ եղբայրը, ապրում է Մոսկվայում:

Vardan-ĕ *im* *ełbayr-ĕ* *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

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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 bac'ōt'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 žołovrdakan 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)

p'ołoc'-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

caŕay-el en Azgayin banak-um č'-en
serve-PTCP.PERF. they are National Army-LOC neg-they are

lk'-i irenc' gyuł-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 extraposition[338] it appears at the end of the sentence.

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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 խորդանոց: (Hetk'15.02.2007)

nrank' *erku* *senyak* *en* *zbałe-c'n-um* *or-onc'-ic*
they.NOM two room.NOM they are occupy-caus-PTCP.PRES. REL-PL-ABL

mek-ě *caŕay-um* *ē* *orpes* *hyurasenyak* *nnǰaran*
one.NOM-the serve-PTCP.PRES. it is as living room sleeping room

ew *łołaran* *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: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

verǰers *mi* *paštonya* *datapart-v-el* *ē*
recently INDEF official convict-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is

koŕupc'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 subconstituents of the noun phrase have to be followed also in complex noun phrases. There is also a semantically motivated order of the various modifying and determining elements of the noun phrase.

- The adjective usually occurs closest to its head noun and immediately preposed.
- Immediately preposed is the genitive attribute when its head noun has no other attributes.
- Quantifiers usually appear preposed to attributive adjectives.
- Determiners usually stand furthest left in order to the head noun.
- Qualifying adjectives and quantifying attributes usually appear in the order NUM (QNT) + ADJ + N.

(821) 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* *žołov-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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

dim-el *em* *bolor* *k'ałak'akan* *už-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* *ekełec'-u* *finansakan*
they.NOM they are sign-PTCP.PERF. church-DAT financial
bolor *p'astat'łt'-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 *hełinak-ě* *katar-el* *ē* *banasirakan* *bazmat'iv*
wh-where author.NOM-the fulfill-PTCP.PERF. he is philological QNT
čštum-ner *lezvaočakan* *xmbagrum-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 preposed 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' anč'ap'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 lurǰ
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 kʻan 4 mln ktor
RA AS all 32 library-PL-DAT more COMP 4 million piece

grakanutʻyun-icʼ 2003 tʻvakan-i-n ōgtv- el ē
literature-ABL 2003 year-DAT-the make use of-PTCP.PRES. it is

21,901 ĕntʻercʻoł.
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-occurences 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)

čʼ-ĕ or ač-el ē mi ambołǰ serund
neg-it is CONJ grow-PTCP.PERF. it is INDEF whole generation

or-n sks-el ē moŕan-al
REL.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF. it is forget-INF
ŕusacʼ 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: (Grakanutʻyun 6: 205)

cełakan mi šun ir sur dunčʼ-ĕ hanecʼ
pedigree INDEF dog.NOM its sharp snout.NOM-the draw out-AOR.3.SG

nrancʼ miǰicʼ.
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.Ո.Տ.Տ. Գարեգին Բ-ի նվիրածհնագույն մի ձեռագիր: (Armenpress 15.12.2005)

F. Sargsyan-ě *gradaran-i-n* *hanjn-ec'* *N.S.Ō.T.T.*
F. Sargsyan.NOM-the library-DAT-the hand over-AOR.3.SG H.E.

Garegin *B.-i* *nvir-ac* *hnaguyn* *mi* *jeŕagir.*
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 K'erakanut'yun 2: 41)

xnjoren-u *dalar* *čyuł-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'ałak'-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
cragravoroł-ner-i *(haykakan* *erkrord* *mrc'uyt'-i)* *(aŕajin* *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) Հետևյալ օրը Չերվյակովը հագավ իր նոր վիցմունդիրը: (Grakanuťyun 6: 103)

hetevyal *ōr-ě* *Čʾervyakov-ě* *hag-av* *ir*
next day.NOM-the Čʾervyakov.NOM-the put on-AOR.3.SG his

nor *vicʾmundir-ě.*
new service clothing.NOM-the

"Next day Čʾervyakov put on his new service clothing."

(837) Աշոտի շունը կատարում է նրա բոլոր հրամանները:
(Patkerazard Kʾerakanuťyun 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
"Ašotʾs 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* *aŕajin* *aycʾeluťyun-n* *ayd*
Armenia.NOM fulfil-PTCP.RES. his this first visit.NOM-the that

aŕum-ov *iren* *layn* *hnaravoruťyun-ner* *kěnjeŕ-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 Ուչեր գյուղից տեղափոխված Սուլգուն ընտանիքը:
(Armenpress 05.05.2006)

isk *nra* *t-an-n* *ayžm* *apr-um* *ē* *Učʾer*
CONJ his house-DAT-the now live-PTCP.PRES. it is Učʾer.NOM

gyuł-icʾ *tełapʾox-v-ac* *Sulgun* *ěntanikʾ-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 Učʾer."

(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
išxanut'y-an	*dem*	*ułł-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)

šabat'-va	*cragr-um*	*ěndgrk-v-ac*		*ē*	*vrac'*	*derasanuhi*
week-DAT	program-LOC	include-pass-PTCP.RES.		it is	Georgian	actress.NOM
Sofiko	*Čiaureli-i*	*stełcagorcakan*	*ereko-n*		*or-ě*	
Sofiko	Čiaureli.DAT	creative	evening.NOM-the		REL.NOM-the	
xałac'-el	*ē*	*P'arajanov-i*	*mi k'ani*	*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 Čiaureli, who has played in several films of P'arajanov, is also included."

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341. Badikyan 1976: 57ff.

(842) Ես այն երջանիկներից եմ, ով բախտ է ունեցել տեսնելու նման անկրկնելի դարպասապահի խաղը: (Armenpress 30.03.2006)

es *ayn* *erǰanik-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* *xał-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'nnarkum-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

kmasnakc'-en *usuc'ič-ner* *cnoł-ner* *ew*
participate-COND.FUT.3.PL teacher-PL.NOM parent-PL.NOM CONJ

hasarakut'y-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:
(Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

Mec *Britania-yi* *ōrenk'-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* *spaŕn-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 հրճվանք ես ապրում: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

ays mek *ams-va* *ěnťac'k'um* *erb* *tesn-um* *es*
this one month-DAT POST wh-when see-PTCP.PRES. you are

eritasarduťy-an-ě *całik-ner-ov* *ołoł-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 *aynteł*, 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* *ē* *aynteł* *orteł* *hašvaŕm-an*
Loss--PL-DAT level.NOM-the high it is there wh-where registration-DAT

hamakarg *erdr-v-ac* *ē.*
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 *ayžm* "now", երեկոյան *erekoyan* "in the evening", առավոտյան *aŕavotyan* "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.

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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 *p'ołoc'-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 «Բարեւ, 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"* *hałordm-an* *meǰ*
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: (Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002:188).

Minč' *ušk'i* *kgar* *Drastamat-ě*
PREP regain consciousness-COND.PAST.3.SG Drastamat.NOM-the

Aršak-ě *verc'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 Ēmma-yi erek' senyakanoc' -i nnǰasenyak-i
Mrs. Ēmma-DAT-the three room-apartment-DAT sleeping room-DAT

aṙastał koyułaǰr-er-ic' aynpes ē t'rǰ-v-el or
ceiling.NOM-the drainage-PL-ABL so it is wet-pass-PTCP.PERF. CONJ

nyunisk apake ǰah-n ē lc'-v-el ǰr-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. Ēmma'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 *inč'pes* 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)

harc'-ě 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)

inč'pes Adam-ov bolor-ě meṙn-um en nuynpes ew
CON Adam-INST all.NOM-the die-PTCP.PRES. they are also CONJ

K'ristos-ov a menk'-ě piti kendanan-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."

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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'k'an*, 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)

verǰin *šrǰan-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 *aṙaǰark-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* *koṙupc'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)

k'ałak'-i *vičak-n* *aṙavel* *anmxit'ar* *ē* *hamaynk'-ner-um.*
city-DAT situation.NOM-the more uncomfortable it is community-PL-LOC

ork'an *kentron-ic'* *heŕu* *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 *aŕum-ov* *cragir-n* *ěndgrkun* *ē* *k'ani or*
this aspect-INST program.NOM-the comprehensive it is CONJ

ir *meǰ* *neraŕ-um* *ē* *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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

menk' *petk'* *ē* *šat lav* *zekuyc'* *nerkayac'n-enk'* *orovhetew*
we.NOM part it is very good report.NOM present-DEB.FUT.1.PL CONJ

da *inč'-or teł* *mer* *erkr-i* *demk'n* *ē.*
it.NOM somewhere our country-DAT face.NOM-the it is

"We will have to present a very good report, because this is in a way the face of our country."

In connection with some conjunctions, such as (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)

Ējmiacin *ayc'elut'yun-ě* *karewor* *ēr* *bolor-i* *hamar*
Ējmiacin.NOM visit.NOM-the important it was all-DAT POST

k'anzi ayn *verakendana-c'n-elu* *ē* *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 Ējmiacin was important for all, to reanimate it is our sacred, national feeling."

(860) Մենք պարտավոր ենք պաշտպանել մեր շուկան՝ Համագործակցության երկրների շուկան, մանավանդ որ արևմտյան շուկայում մեզ ոչ ոք չի սպասում»: (Armenpress26.10.2006)

menk' *partavor enk'* *paštpan-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* *ōrenk'-ě* *hasarakakan*
CONJ neg-re-regrister-pass-INF-DAT POST law.NOM-the public

kazmakerput'yun-ner-i *gorcuneut'y-an* *dadarec'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'-karołac'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,* գուցե *guc'e,* թերևս *t'erews,* թող *toł* etc.

(863) Եթե վազողներ ունենանք՝ անպայման կմասնակցենք: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)
et'e vazoł-ner unen-ank' anpayman kmasnakc'-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 ařaǰxałac'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 ōgtagorc-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, սխա՞լ 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, colloqiual speech)

or himi bolor-ov ver ken-ank’ u gn-ank’ ēsteł-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 soc’ialakan k’art stanal-u hamar et’e naxkin-ĕ
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’ałak’ac’u 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 *ĕndgc-el* *ē* *or* *haykakan* *kołm-n*
he.NOM stress-PTCP.PERF. he is CONJ Armenian side.NOM-the

amen inč' *kan-i* *orpeszi* *ayd* *gałap'ar-n*
everything.nom do-COND.FUT.3.SG CONJ that idea.NOM-the

irakanut'yun *daŕn-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 չլինեն 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 *cicałeli* *drut'y-an* *meǰ* *č'-ĕnknen*
CONJ ridiculous situation-DAT POST neg-fall-SUBJ.FUT.3.PL

kam *ēl* *lavaguyn* *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-ĕ.*
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' t'ošak-ner-ic'* *mi k'ič'*
they.NOM every month.NOM their pension-PL-ABL a bit

včar-um *en* *or* *č'-anǰat-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

ařaǰark-um ē dra pahpanut'yun-ě
propose-PTCP.PRES. he is its preservation.NOM-the

vstah-el xałałapah-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 gitakc'-um ē ew
European Council.NOM-the it.NOM well recognise-PTCP.PRES. it is CONJ

dra hamar ēl koč' ē an-um orpeszi ěnddimut'yun-ě
it.GEN POST more call it is make-PTCP.PRES. CONJ opposition.NOM-the

anhapał veradařn-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 *t'eew*, թեպետ *t'epet*, թեկուզ *t'ekuz*, հակառակ որ *hakařak 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 eł-el en šat hraverk'-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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

t'eew 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 šahagorcel-u hamar anhražešt 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 čap'aniš-ner-n
CONJ PREP now modern clothes-DAT only standard-PL.NOM-the

en čišt 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 cragr-i šrǰanak-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

šrǰanavart-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* or թե *t'e*.[345]

(878) Բախշյանը նույնիսկ ասաց, որ այսօր իր հուսահատությունն ավելի խորն է, քան հոկտեմբերի 27-ին էր: (Aŕavot 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'nnarkm-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'r-el ē
Irna Aroyan.NOM-the Filip Bedrostovič'-DAT-the ask-PTCP.PERF. she is

t'e inč'u en nra cragr-er-um mec teł
CONJ why they are his program-PL-LOC big place.NOM

grav-um ōtar hełinak-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)

es	*nuynpes*	*ayd*	*zoh-er-ic'*	*mek-i*	*t'ǒř-n*	*em*
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 order[346]

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) Դասի 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*	*trtunǰ-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 focus[347] as normally used in questions, negations and compound verbs (865) (866) (867) and (b) for functional pragmatic focus[348] (867), i.e. to mark a certain element of the sentence by putting it into preverbal function.

If speaking of a marked order and relating it to the term "marked focus", only the functional pragmatic focus is meant. The element in focus always bears the logical stress.

There is no formal difference between syntactic and functional pragmatic focus, i.e. the main difference between the focus types is the function. There is also no formal difference between the various types of pragmatic foci, such as contrastive, exhaustive or emphatic.

(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.

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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-ĕ *ut-um* *ĕ* *karmir* *xnjor-ĕ.*
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 խնձո՛րը :

Vardan-ĕ *ut-um* *ē* *karmir* *xnjó*r-ĕ.
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 կարմի՛ր խնձորը :

Vardan-ĕ *ut-um* *ē* *karmír* *xnjor-ĕ.*
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

Extraposition from a noun phrase, which is productive in Armenian, is only applied to relative clauses and adpositional phrases as attributes of a noun and serve only the pragmatic function of style variation.

Not Productive or Not Existent in MEA:

	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' gret'e ambołǰovin komerc'ialac'-v-ac en
they.NOM almost totally commercialize-pass-PTCP.RES. they are
kam un-en mšakuťayin 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.

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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-ĕ *gn-el* *ē* *ays* *mek'ena-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 *mek'ena-n* *gn-el* *ē* *Aram-ĕ.*
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* *mek'ena-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 mek'ena-n *ē* *gn-el* *Aram-ĕ.*
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 dasěnker-oǰ-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:

Tła-ner-ě xał-um ēin 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 aṙaǰ.
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 խորդանոց: (Hetk' 15.02.2007)

nrank' *erku* *senyak* *en* *zbałe-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* *nnjaran* *ew*
one.NOM-the serve-PTCP.PRES. it is as living room sleeping room CONJ

lołaran, *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'* *cařayołakan*
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 *całk-um* *č'k'nał* *demk'-n* *em* *k'o* *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…". (*k'o č'knał demk'-ĕ* "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 grk'er* "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 *pahanǰel-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:

yurak'anč'yur *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 *yurak'anč'yur* *kstan-a* *lav* *gnahatakan.*
pupil.NOM each receive-COND.FUT.3.SG high mark.NOM
"The pupils will each receive high marks."

Comment:This sentence is not accepted in MEA. Quantifier floating with distributive quantifiers is ungrammatical.

b. Աշակերտներից յուրաքանչյուրը կստանա լավ գնահատական:

ašakert-ner-ic' *yurak'anč'yur-ě* *kstan-a* *lav* *gnahatakan.*
pupil-PL-ABL QNT.NOM-the receive-COND.FUT.3.SG high mark.NOM

"Each of the pupils will receive high marks."

Comment: This sentence is structurally not synonymous with (909); it does not exhibit quantifier floating as in the English "The students will each receive high marks". Here the quantifier has turned into the sentence's subject and the noun is a partitive attribute to it. There is no difference in meaning between (909) and (909b).

With the quantifier 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 ałǰik-n ēl deŕ xał-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:

ałǰik-ě erku ēl deŕ xał-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:

ałǰik-ner-ě erkus-n ēl deŕ xał-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 order[351]
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.

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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 to not exhibit any formal distinction, can usually only be distinguished from each other in a clear pragmatic context.

The preverbal focus position is explicitly obvious in compound tenses and moods with the auxiliary:

- the order of the participle and the auxiliary changes from neutral order V + AUX to the order AUX +V and
- the element in focus appears immediately in front of the auxillary.[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'-ĕ?*
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 *orteł* *ē* *kard-um* *nor* *girk'-ĕ?*
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)

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355. Ałayan 1958:457 ff; Abrahamyan 1975:154ff; Minassian 1996: 270; Parnasyan 1989:30; Kozintseva 1995:8; Abełyan 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 klc'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 preverbal 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'-ĕ.*
(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-ĕ.*
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 Քոչարյանը չի ստացել ԱՄՆ այցելելու հրավեր: (Ařavot 07.04.2006)

Hayastan-i *naxagah* *Robert K'oč'aryan-ĕ* *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* *č'ap'-ě* *has-el* *ē* *1 mlrd* *dram-i.*
CONJ damage-DAT measure.NOM-the reach-PTCP.PERF. it is 1milliard 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 *gełasahord-ner-ě* *durs* *kg-an*
Armenia-DAT figure skater.PL.NOM-the Vpart come-COND.FUT.3.PL

hungarakan *saŕc'adašt.*
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* *lurǰ* *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* *aṙaǰanum* *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'-karołac'-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'uyc'* *č'-i* *tal-is*
Aram.NOM-the I.DAT Vpart neg-he is show-PTCP.PRES.

Balakyan-i *nor* *girk'-ě.*
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 *naxěntrakan* *blok* *koalic'a-n*
as pre-electorial block.NOM coalition.NOM-the

nkati č'-ēr *aṙn-v-um.*
Vpart neg-it was consider-pass.PTCP.PRES

"The coalition was not being taken into consideration as pre-electoral block."

With finite verb forms, the verb's first part immediately precedes the negative prefixed finite verb. Vpart neg-V

(931) Որոշ միավորների կորուստը թույլ չտվեց թիմին ավելի հաջող ելույթ ունենալ: (Armenpress 18.06.2006)

oroš *miavor-ner-i* *korust-ě* *t'uyl* *č'-tv-ec'* *t'im-i-n*
certain point-PL-DAT loss.NOM-the Vpart neg-allow-AOR.3.SG team-DAT-the

aveli *haǰoł* *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'uyc' 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 *ōgnut'yun* *ē* *c'uyc'* *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'e* *inč'* *nkati* *un-en*
interesting it is CONJ wh-what Vpart consider-PRES.3.PL

čarašahum *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* *inč'* *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 թույլ չտվեց ապրել այնտեղ:

inč'u *t'uyl* *č'-tvec'* *apr-el* *ayntełʔ*
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'-ĕ.*
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:

ałǰik-ner-ic' *ôr-n* *ē* *kard-um* *nor* *girk'-ĕ.*
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'-ĕ.
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 ա՛յս 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 գնե՛լ է այս մեքենան :

Aram-ĕ 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 into national nucleus of the whole utterance. S V AUX O

The same pragmatic focusing is also applied for indefinite, non-specific direct objects in sentences with a preferable basic neutral word order SOV.

(940) 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 գի՛րք է կարդում:

Ani-n gírk' 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 S[358]

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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՝ պահպանե՞լ 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’e 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
hražar-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)

*ełbayr-n u k’uyr-er-ě vałuc’ Rusastan.*NOM
brother.NOM-the CONJ sister-PL.NOM-the long ago Russia.NOM
en tełapox-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 գիշերէի այնտեղ: (Grakanut’yan 4:170)

es šat angam ēi ełel antaŕ-um bayc’ aŕajin angam
I.NOM very time I was be-PTCP.PERF. forest-LOC CONJ first time
ēr or piti gišer-ēi aynteł.
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 *minčʻew angam* "even", etc.

(945) Տիգրանը ուտում է միայն իր տատիկի խնձորները

Tigran-ĕ *ut-um* *ē* *miayn* *ir*
Tigran.NOM-the eat-PTCP.PRES. he is only his
tatik-i *xnjor-ner-ĕ.*
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 *ĕndhanrapes* *čʻ-ēr* *nkar-um* *erb* *núynisk*
he.NOM generally neg-he was paint-PTCP.PRES. wh-when even
ancʻ-el *ēr* *50-ĕ.*
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:
(Hetkʻ 12.02.2007)

hima *ays* *amen-ĕ* *mnacʻ-el* *ē* *miayn*
now this all.NOM-the stay-PTCP.PERF. it is only
mard-kancʻ *hišołutʻyun-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: (Hetkʻ 26.02.2007)

čašaran-um *apʻse-ner* *ē* *lvan-um* *txvackʻablitʻ-ner*
restaurant-LOC plate-PL.NOM he is wash-PTCP.PRES. cookie-PL.NOM
ē tʻx-um *angám* *ašxatum* *ē* *gišer-ner-ĕ.*
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* *girkě.*
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. Անի՛ն 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 նո՛ր 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 *miayn* "only".

Marked Focus in Constituent Negation[360]

In case of constituent negation, the negation particle ոչ *oč'* 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 զարգացմանԱ:

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

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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'aw* "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 *arů* "creek" < առվակ *arv-ak* "little creek".

- The final ի *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 ի *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 *kłzi* "island" < կղզյակ *kłzyak* "little island" < *kłzi* + *-ak*
- The diphthong ույ *uy* often alternates with ու *u*, as inգույն *guyn* "colour" < գունավոր *gun-a-vor* "coloured"

Sometimes it is difficult to analyse and to indicate the meaning of the individual components of a compound. Many compounds and even derivates have lexicalised meanings. In the following chapters, thus the meaning of the parts is only given in the case where it is not obvious.

4.1 Affixation

4.1.1 Prefixes[361]

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", ամենաերկար *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 *xiłč* "conscience" > անխիղճ *an-xiłč* "ruthless"
ամոթ *amot'* "shame" > անամոթ *an-amot'* "shameless"

ան- *an-*+ adjective; forms an antonym of the adjective, e.g.

առողջ *arołǰ* "healthy" > անառողջ *an-arołǰ* "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) *uš(k')* "mind" > ապուշ *ap-uš* "idiot; silly"

– ապ(ա)- *ap(a)-* + adjective, forms antonyms of adjectives, e.g.

երջանիկ *erǰanik* "happy" > ապերջանիկ *ap-erǰanik* "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- *č'-* exhibits a very limited use and productivity with nouns and adjectives. Most adjectives with prefix *č'-* are lexicalised, e.g.
բեր(ք) *ber(k')* "harvest, yield, fruit" > չբեր *č'-ber* "sterile"
կամ(ք) *kam(k')* "will,wish" > չկամ *č'-kam* "malicious, vicious"
With verbs, however, չ- *č'-* is highly productive in conjugation to negate verbs in the infinitive, subjunctive, aorist and auxiliaries in compound tenses and moods, as well as copular verbs in the present and imperfect tenses. It is also used to negate participles in compound tenses or in attributive or adverbial use. Thus, with verbs it also has an important syntactic function.
E.g.
գրել *gr-el* "to write" (infinitive) >չգրել *č'-grel* "not to write" գրեցի *grec'-i* "I wrote" (Aor. 1.Sg.) > չգրեցի *č'-grec'i* "I did not write"
գրեմ *gre-m* "I shall write" (Subj.Fut.1.Sg.) > չգրեմ *č'-grem* "I shall not write"
գրում եմ *gr-um em* "I am writing" (Pres.1.Sg.) > չեմ գրում *č'-em grum* "I am not writing"
գրած *grac* "written" (Part.Res.) > չգրած *č'-grac* "not written", e.g. իմ գրած նամակը *im grac namak-ě* "the letter I have written" > իմ չգրած նամակը *im č'-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:
ձև *jew* "shape" > տձև *t-jew* "shapeless, formless"

– տ- *t-* + adjectives, forms adjectives with antonymous meaning:
գեղեցիկ *gełec'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. գերագնահատել *ger-a-gnahatel* "to overrate"; գերակատարել *ger-a-katarel* "to over-fulfill", գերամաքուր *ger-a-mak'u*r "very clean, spotless", գերապայծառ *ger-a-paycaṙ* "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-drutʼyun* "composition" < դրություն *drutʼyun* "place, position, situation", բաղդատել *bał-datel* "to compare" < դատել *datel* "to judge" etc.
- ընդ- *ěnd-* "against, opposite; for-", ընդմիշտ *ěnd-mišt* "forever", ընդհանուր *ěnd-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- *heł-* "contra-, contrary, inverse", e.g. հեղափոխություն *heł-a-pʼoxutʼyun* "revolution" < փոխություն *pʼoxutʼyun* " < փոխել *pʼoxel* "to change, to alter" etc.
- դեմ-, դիմ- *dem-, dim-* "against" as in դիմադրություն *dim-a-drutʼyun* "resistance, opposition", դիմամարտ *dim-a-mart* "opponent, enemy" < *mart* "battle, fight, combat", դիմադարձնել *dim-a-darjnel* "to oppose" etc.
- համ- *ham-* "all-, co-, com-, pan-; jointly", e.g. համաժողով *ham-a-žołov* "convention", համաձայն *ham-a-jayn* "agreeably, according to"< ձայն *jayn* "voice, sound"; համագործակցություն *ham-a-gorcakcʼutʼyun* "cooperation", համասեռ *ham-a-seř* "uniform, homogeneous", համարժեք *ham-aržekʼ* "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-ōrinak* "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-drutʼyun* "mood, temper"< դրություն *drutʼyun* "place, position, situation", տրամաբանական *tram-a-banakan* "logical" < բանական *banakan* "rational, logical", տրամաչափել *tram-a-čʻapʼel* "to calibrate" < չափել *čʻapʼel* "to measure" etc.
- փոխ- *pʼox-* "trans-; reverse, back; inter-; vice-" as in փոխարկում *pʼox-arkum* "conversion" < արկանել *ark-anel* "to cast, to throw; փոխնախագահ *pʼox-naxagah* "vice-president", փոխադարձ *pʼox-a-darj* "mutual, reciprocal", փոխազդել *pʼox-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-dařnal* "to reflect, to revert", անդրամանուշակագույն *andr-a-manušakaguyn* "ultraviolet" etc.
- առ- *ař* "to, by, near, close to", e.g. առկայություն *ař-kayutʼyun* "presence, availability, արձեռն *ař-jeřn* "handy, pocket", առօրյա *ař-ōrya* "daily; dull", առլցնել *ař-lcʼnel* "to download" < լցնել *lcʼnel* "to fill"etc.

- արտ- *art-* "outside, out-", e.g. արտածել *art-acel* "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-maškayin* "hypodermic", ենթադրել *ent'-a-drel* "to suppose" < դնել *dnel* "to put" etc.
- ընդ- *ĕnd-* "in-; inter-; with", e.g. ընդգրկել *ĕnd-grkel* "to include", ընդհատել *ĕnd-hatel* "to intervene, to interrupt" < հատել *hatel* "to divide", ընդմիջում *ĕnd-miǰum* "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- *meǰ-, miǰ-* "in, inter-; middle of; between", e.g. մեջտեղ *meǰ-teł* "centre", միջանցք *miǰ-anc'k'* "corridor, passage", միջադեպ *miǰ-a-dep* "incident, episode", մեջբերել *meǰ-berel* "to quote", միջամտել *miǰ-a-mtel* "interfere" etc.
- ներ- *ner-* "in, inside of", e.g. ներգաղթել *ner-gałt'el* "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-ēǰk'* "landing, descent" < էջք *ēǰk'* "descending" < իջնել *iǰnel* "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- *aŕaǰ* "pre-, before", e.g. առաջաբան *aŕaǰ-a-ban* "preface, foreword", առաջամաս *ăŕaǰ-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-daŕnal* "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-lezvut'yun* "bilinguism", երկկողմանի *erk-kołmani* "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", կիսաձայն *kis-a-jayn* "semivowel, half-tone", կիսաքաղցր *kis-a-k'ałc'r* "semi-sweet (wine)", etc.
– միա- *mia-* "mono; uni-", e.g. միաաստվածություն *mia-astvacut'yun* "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 *avtomek'ena* "car" etc.
– ինքն- *ink'n-* "auto-, self-", e.g. ինքնակենսագրություն *ink'n-a-kensagrut'yun* "autobiography"; ավտոնոմ *avtonom* = ինքնավար *ink'n-a-var* "autonomous"
– նեո- *neo-* "new", e.g. նեոլիթ *neo-lit'* "neolithikum, young stone age", նեոլոգիզմ *neologizm* = նորաբանություն *nor-a-ban-ut'yun* "neologism" < նոր *nor* "new" + բան *ban* "word" + suffix -ություն *-utyun*
– պան- *pan* "pan-, all-", e.g. պանիսլամիսմ *pan-islamizm* = համաիսլամություն *ham-a-islamut'yun* "pan-islamism"
– տելե- *tele-* "Tele-", e.g. տելեվիզոր *tele-vizor* = հեռուստացույց *heŕu-stac'uyc'* "televisor", տելեֆոն *tele-fon* = հեռախոս *heŕ-a-xos* "phone"

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362. Please note that the formational -ա-*a-* does not appear in all derivations with this prefix. It seems that younger lexemes as well as loan translations preferably have non formational -ա--*a-* before a base with an initial consonant.

4.1.2 Suffixes

As with the prefixes given above, we shall concentrate here on the most productive suffixes. For completeness, a short list of unproductive suffixes is added to each 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 *tun* "house"	> տնռակ *tn-ak* "small house"
իմաստ *imast* "sense, meaning"	> իմաստակ *imast-ak* "little meaning"
մայր *mayr* "mother"	> մայրիկ *mayr*-ik "little mother, dear mother"
մարդ *mard* "man, person"	> մարդուկ *mard-uk* "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.

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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 *amaŕ* "summer" > ամառանոց *amaŕ-a-noc'* "summer cottage"
գազան *gazan* "beast" > գազանանոց *gazan-a-noc'* "zoo"
հյուր *hyur* "guest" > հյուրանոց *hyur-a-noc'* "hotel"
հազար *hazar* "1000" > հազարանոց *hazar-a-noc'* "a thousand note" etc.

-արան, *-aran*[365]
This denominal suffix
– forms place names or denotes places, e.g.
գանձ *ganj* "treasure" > գանձարան *ganj-aran* "treasury"
դաս *das* "lesson, class" > դասարան *das-aran* "class-room"
սուրճ *surč* "coffee" > սրճարան *srč-aran* "coffee shop"
կաթողիկոս *kat'ołikos* > կաթողիկոսարան *kat'ołikos-aran* "Catholicossate" etc.
– denotes a collection or compilation, e.g.
բառ *baŕ* "word" > բառարան *baŕ-aran* "dictionary"
երգ *erg* "song" > երգարան *erg-aran* "book of songs"
սաղմոս *sałmos* "psalm" > սաղմոսարան *sałmos-aran* "psalter" etc.

-արեն, երեն *-aren, -eren*
This specific suffix exclusively derives language names from nouns and adjectives, e.g.
հայ *hay* "Armenian" > հայերեն *hay-eren* "Armenian (language)"
հույն *huyn* "Greek" > հունարեն *hun-aren* "Greek (language)" etc.

-եղեն, *-ełen*
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 *erkat'* "iron" > երկաթեղեն *erkat'-ełen* "ironware, hardware"
արծաթ *arcat'* "silver" > արծաթեղեն *arcat'-ełen* "things made of silver; silver jewellery"
միս *mis* "meat" > մսեղեն *ms-ełen* "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 *dełj* "peach" > դեղձենի *dełj-eni* "peach tree"
խնձոր *xnjor* "apple" > խնձորենի *xnjor-eni* "apple-tree"
տանձ *tanj* "pear" > տանձենի *tanj-eni* "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 *řealizm*, 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; Ēloyan 1979: 456; Minassian 1996:56.

instruments,[366] e.g.իդեալիստ *idealist*, ռեալիստ *ŕealist*, 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 *sełan* "table" > սեղանակից *sełan-a-kic'* "guest, commensal"
դաս *das* "class" > դասակից *das-a-kic'* "classmate"
զրույց *zruyc'* "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"
ակն *akn* "eye" > ակնոց *akn-oc'* "eyeglasses"
ձեռն *jeŕn* "hand" > ձեռնոց *jeŕn-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 *aygi* “garden” > այգեպան *ayg-e-pan*[368] “gardener”
կառք *kaŕk’* “carriage” > կառապան *kaŕ-a-pan* “coachman”
դուռ *duŕ(n)* “door” > դռնապան *dŕn-a-pan* “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 *dram* “money” > դրամապանակ *dram-a-panak* “wallet”
թուղթ *t’ułt’* “paper” > թղթապանակ *t’łt’-a-panak* “paper-case for documents”

-ստան, *-stan*[369]
This suffix forms

– country names from denominations of people; e.g.
հայ *hay* “Armenian” > Հայաստան *Hay-a-stan* “Armenia”
հնդիկ *hndik* “Indian” > Հնդկաստան *Hndk-a-stan* “India”
հույն *huyn* “Greek” > Հունաստան *Hun-a-stan* “Greece” etc.

– place names and locations that denote a place being rich in something, e.g.
այգի *aygi* “garden” > այգեստան *ayg-e-stan* “place abounding in gardens”
լեռ *leŕ* “mountain” > լեռնաստան *leŕn-a-stan* “place abounding in mountains”
մեն(ակ) *men(ak)* “alone” > մենաստան *menastan* “monastery” etc.

-վար, *-var*
This suffix derives nouns denoting “leader, conductor, director, supervisor of something/somebody”, e.g.
զորք *zork’* “army” > զորավար *zor-a-var* “military leader, commander”
խումբ *xumb* “group, orchestra” > խմբավար *xmb-a-var* “conductor” etc.

-ցի, -ացի, -եցի, *-c’i, -ac’i, -ec’i*[370]
This suffix forms proper names and nouns that denote

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368. Comp. Ch. 1.3. “Alternation”, p. 43, unstressed -i- meeting -a- may become -e-.

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 katholikoi where the place name indicates the birthplace, as e.g. Հովհաննէս Օձնեցի *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 *gyuł* "village" > գյուղացի *gyuł-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 *ěnker* "friend" > ընկերություն *ěnker-ut'yu*n "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"
գազան *gazan* "beast" > գազանություն *gazan-ut'yun* "brutality" etc.

The collective meaning of the suffix is particularly obvious in forms[372] 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'ič'* "teacher" > ուսուցչուհի *usuc'č'-uhi* "female teacher"

-ույք/*-uyk'*[373]

This is a rather rare suffix which is usually used to denote a collective meaning.

գահ, կահ *gah kah* "throne" > կահույք *kah-uyk'* "furniture"

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371. Ēloyan 1979: 457. Ałayan 1976: 1: 88a. Abrahamyan 1974: 130.

372. Ēloyan 1979: 457–458.

373. Ēloyan 1979: 457. Minassian 1996:56.

-ունք, *-unk'*[374]
This suffix is used in various meanings, but usually originates in Classical Armenian forms with highly lexicalised and even fossilised meaning.
ակ(ն) *ak(n)* "eye, source, gem" > ակունք *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 *kečʻi* "birch" > կեչուտ *kečʻ-ut* "place abounding in birch trees"
ճահիճ *čahič* "marsh" > ճահճուտ *čahč-ut* "place abounding in marsh land"

-ք, *-k'*[375]
This suffix was the common plural suffix used in Classical Armenian. In MEA the former plural suffix still occurs in lexicalised, fossilised forms with singular meaning, such as աչ-ք *ačʻ-k'* "eye", երկին-ք *erkin-k'* "sky, heaven", խոս-ք *xos-k'* "speech", շեմ-ք *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 *pʻoł* "tube« pipe" > փողք *pʻoł-k'* "trouser-leg"
խնդիր *xndir* "problem, task" > խնդիրք *xndirk'* "request"

4.1.2.1.2 *Deadjectival noun suffixes*
-անոց, *-anocʻ*
This suffix is also used to derive nouns denoting a special place or location from adjectives, e.g.
ծեր *cer* "old" > ծերանոց *cer-anocʻ* "old people's home"
հիվանդ *hivand* "ill" > հիվանդանոց *hivand-anocʻ* "hospital"
գիժ *giž* "fool" > գժանոց *gž-anocʻ* "madhouse" etc.

-ոց, *-ocʻ*
This suffix is used to derive nouns denoting a place, location from adjectives.
ամուր *amur* "hard, strong" > ամրոց *amr-ocʻ* "stronghold, fortress"
ջերմ *ǰerm* "warm" > ջերմոց *ǰerm-ocʻ* "glass-house" etc.

374. Abrahamyan 1974: 131. Ēloyan1979: 457.

375. Abrahamyan 1974: 131–132. Ēloyan 1979: 458–459. Minassian 1996: 57.

-ություն-*ut'yun*[376]
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 *gełec'ik* "beautiful" > գեղեցկուհի *gełec'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 *gałtni* "secret" > գաղտնիք *gałtni-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 *ěmpel* "to drink" > ըմպանակ *ěmp-anak* "cup"
հաղթել *hałt'el* "to win, overcome" > հաղթանակ *hałt-anak* "victory"
ճոճել *čočel* "to swing" > ճոճանակ *čoč-anak* "swing" etc.

-ա-ծու, *-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, *-ank'*[377]
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. Ēloyan 1979: 457, 458. Ałayan 1976: 1: 919–920.

377. Ēloyan 1979:456. Minassian 1996:54.

հարգել *hargel* "to respect, esteem" > հարգանք *harg-ank'* "respect" etc.

-անոց, *-anoc'*
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 *ĕnt'r-el* "to have supper" > ընթրիք *ĕnt'r-ik'* "supper"

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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 *gal* "to come" > գալիք *gal-ik'* "future"
խաղալ *xałal* "to play" > խաղալիք *xałal-ik'* "toy"
խմել *xmel* "to drink" > խմելիք *xmel-ik'* "drink"
վառել *vaṙel* "to burn something" > վառելիք *varel-ik'* "fuel"

-մունք, *-munk'*

This suffix derives verbal nouns or nouns from verbs that denote the result or the consequences of an action.

բաժանել *bažanel* "to divide" > բաժանմունք *bažan-munk'* "division"
զբաղվել *zbałvel* "to be busy" > զբաղմունք *zbał-munk'* "occupation"
հիանալ *hianal* "to admire" > հիացմունք *hiac'-munk'* "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 *gočel* "to shout" > գոչյուն *goč'-yun* "shout"
հնչել *hnčel* "to sound" > հնչյուն *hnč'-yun* "sound"
մռնչալ *mṙnčal* "to bellow" > մռնչյուն *mṙnč'-yun* "bellow" etc.

-ող, *-oł*

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 *gr-oł* "writer, author" > գրել *grel* "to write"
աշխատող *ašxat-oł* "employee; worker" > աշխատել *ašxatel* "to work"
ծխող *cx-oł* "smoker" > ծխել *cxel* "to smoke" etc.

-ոց, *-oc'*

The suffix is used

– to denote tools, as in

քամել *k'amel* "to strain, to filter" > քամոց *k'am-oc'* "strainer";
սփռել *sp'ṙel* "to spread out, to scatter" > սփռոց *sp'ṙ-oc'* "tablecloth"

– to form onomatopoeic nouns or *nomina actionis*

փսփսել *p'sp'sel* "to whisper" > փսփսոց *p'sp's-oc'* "whisper"
բղավել *błavel* "to shout" > բղավոց *bław-oc'* "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 *bac'el* "to open" > բացվածք *bac'-vack'* "opening"
հյուսել *hyusel* "to plait" > հյուսվածք *hyus-vack'* "plait"
ունենալ *unenal* "to have" > ունեցվածք *unec'-vack'* "property"
պատմել *patmel* "to narrate" > պատմվածք *patm-vack'* "narration, story" etc.

-ություն, *-ut'yun*

This suffix derives abstract or collective nouns from verbs, as in

գովաբանել *govaban-el* "to praise" > գովաբանություն *govaban-ut'yun* "praise, laudation"
սպանել *span-el* "to kill, to murder" > սպանություն *span-ut'yun* "murder, murdering"
ձեռնարկել *jeṙnark-el* "to undertake" > ձեռնարկություն *jeṙnark-ut'yun* "undertaking, enterprise", etc.

-ում, *-um*[379]

This suffix derives *nomina actionis*, verbal nouns from the verbal aorist stem, e.g.

ներշնչել *ner-šnč-el* "to inspire" > ներշնչում *ner-šnč'-um* "inspiration"
անհետ-անալ *an-het-anal* "to disappear" > անհետացում *an-hetac-um* "disappearance"
անցնել *anc'-nel* "to pass" > անցում *anc'-um* "passage" etc.

-ույթ, *-uyt'*

This suffix derives abstract and collective nouns from the verbal present stem, e.g.

երևալ *erew-al* "to appear" > երևույթ *erew-uyt'* "appearance, phenomenon"
հնչել *hnč'-el* "to sound" > հնչույթ *hnč'-uyt'* "phoneme"
սովորել *sovor-el* "to learn, get used" > սովորույթ *sovor-uyt'* "habit"
ձանձրանալ *janjr-anal* "to be annoyed" > ձանձրույթ *janjr-uyt'* "annoyance", etc.

-ույց, *-uyc'*[380]

This is a rarely used suffix with various meanings. The derived nouns are highly lexicalised.

սառչել *saṙ(č')-el* "to freeze" > սառույց *saṙ-uyc'* "ice"
*հանգչել *hang-č'-el* "to go out" > հանգույց *hang-uyc'* "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 *aver-el* "to destroy" > ավերակ *aver-ak* "ruin(s)"
պահել *pah-el* "to protect" > պահակ *pah-ak* "guardian"
վրիպել *vrip-el* "to miss, to fail" > վրիպակ *vrip-ak* "lapse; misprint" etc.

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379. Abrahamyan 1974: 130–131. Minassian 1996: 56.

380. Abrahamyan 1974: 131. Ēloyan 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”

-իլ, *-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’ṙ-el* “to fly” > թռիչք *t’ṙič’k’* “flight”

-ույկ/*-uyk*[381]

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 *žołov-el* “to gather” > ժողովուրդ *žołov-urd* “people, nation”
խառնել *xaṙn-el* “to mix” > խառնուրդ *xaṙn-urd* “mixture”
խորհել *xorh-el* “to consider, think” > խորհուրդ *xorh-urd* “advice”, etc.

-ուք, *-uk’*

This suffix is attached to the verbal present stem.

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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, -k’
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 suffixes*[382]
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 *c’av* “pain” > ցավալի *c’av-ali* “painful”
հրաշ(ք) *hraš(k’)* “wonder” > հրաշալի *hraš-ali* “wonderful” etc.

-ային, *-ayin*
This suffix derives relational adjectives from nouns, as in
լեռ(ն) *leř(n)* “mountain” > լեռնային *leřn-ayin* “mountainous”
ամառ *amař* “summer” > ամառային *amař-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* “coulourless, 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) *xelk’* “intelligence” > խելագար *xel-a-gar* “mad, crazy” etc.

-եղ, *-eł* meaning “rich in a certain feature, abounding in” e.g.
գույն *guyn* “colour” > գունեղ *gun-eł* “colourful”

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382. Abrahamyan 1974: 122f.

383. Ēloyan 1979: 460–463.

համ *ham* "taste" > համեղ *ham-eł* "tasty, delicious"
հյութ *hyut'* "juice" > հյութեղ *hyut'-eł* "juicy"
ձայն *jayn* "voice" > ձայնեղ *jayn-eł* "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 *guyn* "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 *čʻar* "evil" > չարիք *čʻar-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 *kʻun* "sleep" > քնկոտ *kʻn-kot* "sleepy" etc.

-յան *-yan*. This suffix is used to derive relational adjectives, (expressing affiliation to the noun) from nouns, as in
առավոտ *aṙavot* "morning" > առավոտյան *aṙavotyan* "in the morning"
Արարատ *Ararat* > արարատյամ *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 *hoł* "earth, ground" > հողոտ *hoł-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 *luys* "light" > լուսավոր *lus-a-vor* "luminous, bright"
գույն *guyn* "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 *p'ok'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 *čał* "fat" > ճաղլիկ *čał-lik* "podgy"
հաստ *hast* "thick, heavy" > հաստլիկ *hast-lik* "plump".
փափուկ *p'ap'uk* "soft, tender, delicate" > փափլիկ *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 *kanač'* "green" > կանաչավետ *kanač'-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 *šošap'el* to feel, touch > շոշափելի *šošapel-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'anc'el* "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 *gravel* "to occupy; to seize" > գրավիչ *grav-ic'* "attractive, charming"
գրգռել *grgŕel* "to exite, to provoke" > գրգռիչ *grgŕ-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 suffixes*[384]

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 childishly 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 *verǰ* "end" > վերջապես *verǰ-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 *kʻaǰ* "*brave*" > քաջաբար *kʻaǰ-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 *bacʻarjak* "absolute" > բացարձակապես *bacʻarjak-a-pes* "absolutely"
ընդհանուր *ěndhanur* "general" > ընդհանրապես *ěndhanr-a-pes* "generally"
խոր *xor* "deep" > խորապես *xor-a-pes* "deeply" etc.

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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 *vał* "early" > վաղապես *vał-a-pes* "previously" (seldomly used), etc.

-ուց, *-uc'* suffixed to time adverbs and forms adverbs answering to the question "since when?", as in
առաջ *aṙaǰ* "before, earlier" > առաջուց *aṙaǰ-uc'* "long before"
վաղ *vał* "early" > վաղուց *vał-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 *k'ani* "many, how many" > քանիցս *k'ani-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*	*eł-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 *ǰrayin t'řč'un-ner-i* *t'iv-ě* *tasnapatik*
Armenia-LOC water bird-PL-DAT number.NOM-the tenfold

nvaz-el *ē.*
decrease-PTCP.PRF. it is

"The number of water birds has decreased tenfold in Armenia."

4.1.2.5 *Deriving verbs and verb suffixes*[385]

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 *gišer* "night" > գիշերել *gišer-el* "to spend the night, overnight"
ծունկ *cunk* "knee" > ծնկել *cnk-el* "to kneel"
քար *k'ar* "stone" > քարել *k'ar-el* "to stone" etc.

-անալ, *-anal*

ամուսին *amusin* "husband; spouse" > ամուսնանալ *amusn-anal* "to marry; get married"
գիշեր *gišer* "night" > գիշերանալ *gišer-anal* "to become night"
եղբայր *ełbayr* "brother" > եղբայրանալ *ełbayr-anal* "to become brothers, fraternize"
քար *k'ar* "stone" > քարանալ *k'ar-anal* "to petrify, to become stone" etc.

-ալ, *-al*

շող *šoł* "ray" > շողալ *šoł-al* "to shine"
ժպիտ *žpit* "smile" > ժպտալ *žpt-al* "to smile"
խիղճ *xiłč* "conscience" > խղճալ *xłč-al* "to pity, to feel sorry" etc.

4.1.2.5.2 *Deadjectival verb suffixes*

-ել, *-el*

ապուշ *apuš* "idiot, silly" > ապշել *apš-el* "to be astonished"
դատարկ *datark* "empty" > դատարկել *datark-el* "to empty"
փափուկ *p'ap'uk* "soft" > փափկել *p'ap'k-el* "to became soft, to soften"
երկրորդ *erkrord* "second" > երկրորդել *erkrord-el* "to repeat" etc.

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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 *hłi* "pregnant" > հղինալ *hłi-anal* "to become pregnant" etc.

4.1.2.5.3 *Deadverbial verb suffixes*
-ել, *-el*
դանդաղ *dandał* "slowly" > դանդաղել *dandał-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"
դանդաղ *dandał* "slowly" > դանդաղանալ *dandał-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.

անձրևաջուր *anjrew-a-jur* "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-c'erek* "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-całik* "sunflower" = արև *arew* "sun" + ծաղիկ *całik* "flower"
անձրևաջուր *anjrew-a-ǰur* "rainwater" = անձրև *anjrew* "rain" + ջուր *ǰur* "water" etc.

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386. There are, however, many compounds, inherited from Classical Armenian, without the formation vowel -a-, such as e.g. ջրվեժ *jr-veš* "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 *caṙ-armat* "the root of a tree" = ծառ *caṙ* "tree" + արմատ *armat* "root"
ծնկահոդ *cnk-a-hod* "knee-joint" = ծունկ *cunk* "knee" + հոդ *hod* "joint" etc.

Meaning: noun2 is for noun1
մանկապարտեզ *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 *całk-a-p'unǰ* "bouqet of flowers" = ծաղիկ *całik* "flower" + փունջ *p'unǰ* "bunch"
ձնագնդակ *jn-a-gndak* "snowball" = ձյուն *jyun* "snow" + գնդակ *gndak* "ball"
խաչքար *xač'-k'ar* cross-stone = խաչ *xač'* "cross" + քար *k'ar* "stone" etc.

Meaning: noun2 produces/yields noun1
օճառագործ *ōčaṙ-a-gorc* "soap boiler (person)" > օճառ *ōčaṙ* "soap" + գործ *gorc* "work(er)"
ձիաբույծ *ji-a-buyc* "horse breeder" > ձի 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 *dełn-axt* "jaundice" = դեղին *dełin* "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 *čork'-ot-ani* "quadruped" = չորս *čors* "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 *amaŕ-n-a-mut* “beginning of summer” = ամառ *amaŕ* “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-bujž* “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-hoł* “arable land” = վարել *varel* “to furrow” + հող *hoł* “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 *loł-a-vazan* “swimming pool” = լողալ *loł-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 *aŕyuc-a-sirt* “having a heart of a lion” = առյուծ *aŕyuc* “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’ałc’r-a-jayn* “having a sweet-voice” = քաղցր *k’ałc’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 *ǰr-aṙat* “aboundant with water” = ջուր *ǰur* “water” + առատ *aṙat* “rich”
ձյունամաքուր *jyun-a-mak’ur* “pure as snow” = ձյուն *jyun* “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”
հեզաճկուն *hez-a-čkun* “gracious” = հեզ *hez* “meek, gentle” + ճկուն *čkun* “flexible” etc.

– Intensifier + adjective
լավատեղյակ *lav-a-tełyak* “well-informed” = լավ *lav* “good, well” + տեղյակ *tełyak* “aware”
քաջատեղյակ *k’aǰ-a-tełyak* “well-informed” = քաջ *k’aǰ* “brave; good, well” + տեղյակ *tełyak* “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-kšṙvac* “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' aṙaǰ tpagr-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 գարեջուր:

ays řestoran-um vačar-um en tan-ě
this restaurant-LOC sell-PTCP-.PRES. they are house-DAT-the

patrast-v-ac gareǰur.
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 *mek'ena-grac* "typewritten"

4.2.3 Adverbial compounds

In general, the above mentioned adjectival compounds may also be used as adverbs. Furthermore, copulative compounds can be used to express adverbial meaning, such as գիշեր-ցերեկ *gišer-c'erek* "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"
օրնիբուն *ōr-n-i-bun* "all day long" = օր *ōr* "day" + բուն *bun* "stem"

4.3 Miscellaneous modes

4.3.1 Reduplication[387]

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 *u* "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 veradaṙnal* "to return very late" etc.
In some reduplicated words - generally monosyllabics – the medial vowel ա *a* alternates with ու *u* i such as
ծակ ու ծուկ *cak u cuk* "in every corner, everywhere" < ծակ *cak* "hole"
խառնիխուռն *xaṙn-i-xuṙn* "mish-mash, hodge-podge" < խառն *xaṙn* "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 *cʿax-max* "kind of brushwood, brushwood and the like" < ցախ *cʿax* "brushwood"
հաց-մաց *hacʾ-macʾ* "bread and the like" < հաց *hacʾ* "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-մունր *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 ս *s* and փ *p'* used for reduplication remind us of those used in fixed-coda reduplication, as described below.

– Fixed-coda reduplication[389]

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 leftmost root vowel and ս *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 ս *s* or փ *p'*, as in

կաս-կարմիր *kas-karmir* “very red”	< կարմիր *karmir* “red”
պաս-պարապ *pas-parap* “very idle, very useless”	< պարապ *parap* “idle, useless”
բաս-բարձր *bas-barjr* “very high”	< բարձր *barjr “high”* etc.
սեփ-սև *sep'-sew* “very, really black”	< սև *sew* “black”
շիփ-շիտակ *šip'-šitak* “completely, really true”	< շիտակ *šitak* “true” etc.
դեփ-դեղին *dep'-dełin* “very yellow”	< դեղին *dełin* “yellow” etc,

There are several approaches to the explanation of the choice of the ս *s* or փ *p'*; however, the most convincing is William's approach[391] of constraints following the Obligatory Contour Principle, which prohibits adjacent segments having the identical place of articulation. Thus, ս *s* does not occur with roots with the initial coronal consonants (i.e. [d], [t], [t^h], [s], [z], [ʃ] [ʒ], [r] [ɾ] [n] [l]), whereas փ *p'* does not co-occur with initial labial consonants (i.e. [m], [b], [p], [p^h], [v], [f]).

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389. Vaux 1 998: 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] [k^h], i.e. they can, in principle, freely combine with ս *s* or փ *p'*, as can be seen from the examples below:

կաս-կանաչ *kas-kanač'* "very green" < կանաչ *kanač'* "green"
կափ-կարճ *kap'-karč* "very short" < կարճ *karč* "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 *ə*.

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 Nahangnerə* "USA"
ԳՖՀ GFH < Գերմանիայի Ֆեդերատիվ հանրապետություն *Germaniayi federativ hanrapetut'yun* "German Federal Republic"
ՀՀ ՀԻ 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 *"gidroēlektrostancija"*
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 *kompu* < 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 eduction 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.*P.* < պարոն *paron* "Mister" and Տ.T. > տիկին *tikin* "Madame, Miss, Mrs.". Please note the plural forms Պրն. *Prn.* < պարոնայք *paronayk'*, Տկն. *Tkn.* < 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. *ž.* < 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' aṙaǰ* "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. Տաթևացի *Gr. Tat'ewac'i* < Գրիգոր *Grigor*

և՝ն *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 *aṙaǰin* "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. *ěnk.* < ընկեր *ěnker* "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 Hypocoristics[392]

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 -ո *-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 -ո-*o*.

Հայկ *Hayk* > Հայկո *Hayko* (m.)
Վարդ *Vard* > Վարդո *Vardo* (f.)
Աջ *Aǰ* > Աջո *Aǰo* (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* [məχi-t^{h}ɑr] > Մխո *Mxo* [məχɔ] (m.)

392. Vaux 1998: 247ff.

Դրաստամատ *Drastamat* [dəɾ-ɑstɑmɑt] > Դրո *Dro* [dəɾɔ] (m.)
Մկրտիչ *Mkrt'ič'* [məkəɾtitʃʰ] > Մկո *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)

Մկրտիչ *Mkrt'ič'* [məkəɾtitʃʰ] > Մակո *Mako* [mɑkɔ] (m.)
Հմայյակ *Hmayak* [həmɑjɑk] > Համո [hɑmɔ] (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 *Aršaluys* > Արշո *Aršo* (f.)
Արփինե *Arp'ine* > Արփո *Arp'o* (f.)
Վազգեն *Vazgen* > Վազո *Vazo* (m.)
Համբարձում *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.)
Մարտիրոոս *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

Punctuation[393]

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՚*	*p՚ok՚rik*	*ink՚nat՚iř*	*ē!*
look-IMP.2.SG	wh-what	tiny	airplane.NOM	it is

"Look, what a tiny airplane that is!"

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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'e* *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՝ դուռը փակիր:

Hasmík *xndr-um* *em* *duř-ě* *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 ջու՛ր տուր ծարավ տուրիստին:

mi *bažak* *jůr* *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 բարեկամնե՛ր:

Eke-k' *barekam-ner!*
come-IMP.2.PL friend-PL.NOM
"Cŏme friends!"

– In prohibitive sentences, the stress mark is put on the prohibitive particle մի՛ *mí*:

(6) Տիկի՛ն, ձեր պահանջը կկատարվի, մի՛ անհանգստացեք:
(Hetk' 26.02.2007)

Tikín *jer* *pahanǰ-ě* *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) Սահա՛կ, 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 Դո՛ւք, սիրելի՛ հնդկահայեր…(Armenpress 09.01.2006)

ew duk' sirelí hndkahay-er
CONJ you dear Indo-Armenian.PL.NOM
"And you, dear Armenians from India…"

(9) Իմ հերոսակա՛ն ընկեր…

im herosakán 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 շա՜տ սիրելի ընկեր, շնորհավորում եմ քեզ:

im šat sireli ěnker šnorhavor-um em kʻez!
my INT dear friend.NOM congratulate-PTCTP.PRES. I am you.DAT
"My vĕry 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՛, հրապարակվել են: (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

ayó hraparak-v-el en.
yes publish-pass-PTCP.PERF they are
"Yes (indeed), they have been published!"

(12) Չէ՛, չէ՛, չեմ ուզում:

čʻē´ čʻē´ čʻ-em uz-um.
no no neg-I am wish-PTCP.PRES.
"No no, I do not want to."

(13) Հե՛յ, ո՞ւր ես գնում:

hey ur es gn-um?
hey wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES
"Hey, where are you going?!"

(14) ա՛յ, 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 հրավիրեցե՛ք 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 բոլորի՛ն 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 դահլի՛ճ հրավիրեցեք բոլորին:

hima bolor-i-n dahlíč 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 երբե՛ք չի կարող որոշել…(Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

Kařavarut'yun-ě erbék' č'-i kar-oł oroš-el…
government.NOM-the never neg-it is can-PTCP.PRES. decide-INF
"The government is never able to decide…"

(17) Մեկ անգա՛մ 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: (Aŕavot

buhakan t'ert'-er-ě bazmazan en t'e bnuyt'-ov
IHE newspaper-PL.NOM-the various they are CONJ character-INST
t'e ułłvacut'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 [ˊ], i.e. words that are in the focus of the question.

(21) a. Լիլիթը գնա՞ց գրախանութ:

Lilit'-ě gnác' graxanut'?
Lilit'.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG bookshop.NOM
Did Lilit' go to a bookshop?" (Unmarked, neutral interrogative sentence).

b. Լիլի՞թը գնաց գրախանութ:

Lilít'-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:
Liliť-ě gnac' graxanút'?
Liliť.NOM-the go-AOR.3.SG bookshop.NOM
"Did Liliť go to a bookshop? Was it a bookshop Liliť 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 քննադատությ՞ան համար:
(Azg 06.04.2006)
arǎjark-um ek' nran ašxatank'-ič heŕa-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 Rusastan-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 vałn ínč' 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' t'e 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* *t'e* *inč'pés*
unwillingly arise-PTCP.PRES it is question.NOM-the CONJ wh-how

stełc-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 cā́ndle, a cā́ndle! Now we will have lī́ght!"

(30) Պրիմիտիվ գործ էր, բայց ինչպիսի՛ ճաշակ: (Armenpress 17.01.2006)

primitiv *gorc* *ēr* *bayc'* *inč'pisî* *čašak!*
primitive work.NOM it was CONJ what taste.NOM
"It was a primitive work, but whā́t 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* *mêc*
book.NOM-the my life-DAT inseparable part.NOM-the it is big

šât *mec* *gradaran* *em* *t'oł-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 bī́g, a vĕry 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.

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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 gõod 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 ěnťac'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:
(Aŕavot 07.04.2006)
Hačax kareli ē lsel ťe Hayastan-um zargan-um
often able it is hear-INF CONJ Armenia-LOC develop-PTCP.PRES
ē zbosašrjuťyun-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-ĕ bažan-v-um en čʻors xmb-i žamanak-i, teł-i, jew-i, čʻap'i

1. *žamanak-i makbay-ner-ĕ cʻuyc' en talis gorcołut'y-an katarm-an žamanak*
2. *teł-i makbay-ner-ĕ cʻuyc' en talis gorcołut'yan katarm-an teł*
3. *jew-i makbay-ner-ĕ cʻuyc' en talis gorcołut'y-an katarm-an jew*
4. *čʻap'-i makbay-ner-ĕ cʻuyc' en talis gorcołut'y-an katarm-an čʻap'*

"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-oł ē
of course possible it is answer-AOR.3.SG he.NOM can-PTCP.PRES. it is

čanač-'el valĕ čʻē myus ōr-ĕ et'e valĕ hayoc'
recognise-INF day after tomorrow CONJ tomorrow Armenian

cʻełaspanut'yun-ĕ čanač'-i AMN-ĕ.
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. Oskerč'yan-ě bolor hosank'alar-er-ě pat-er-i meǰ
H. Oskerč'yan.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 anbearable it is

"Now we live in a friend's house," says H. Oskerč'yan. "All the power cables in the walls have exploded and the smell of humidity is unbearable."

– A full stop is used after titles at the beginning of a line, as e.g. ծանոթություն *canot'ut'yun* "note, remark", վարժություն *varžut'yun* "exercise", խնդիր *xndir* "problem", առաջադրանք *aŕaǰadrank'* "task" and similar words.

(38) Վարժություն 43: Գտի՛ր և կետադրի՛ր 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)

Aŕaǰadrank' 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:
Abełyan M., Ašxarhabari k'erakanut'yun, Vałaršapat, 1908. Abełyan, 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 baładryal 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'vakan-i-n Erewan-i konyak-i gorcaran-ě vačař-el
2003 year-DAT-the Yerevan-DAT cognac-DAT factory.NOM-the s ell-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 (Aŕavot 07.04.2006)

inč'u č'-k-an barjrakarg ēkskursavar-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 հատուկ 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 erkč'otut'y-amb xndrec'…
neg special timidness-INST ask-AOR.3.SG
"Malinka approached me and asked with a timidy quite unusual for her…"

(46) Նա 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
šołac' paycaŕ 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 štap-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 miǰoc'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' xaŕnec'-ik' irar soc'ialakan xndir-ě
two question.NOM mix-AOR.2.PL each other social problem.NOM-the

ew k'ałak'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 ներկապնակն ունի. անտառն աշնանը դեղնակարմիր է դառնում: (Abrahamyan 2004: 20)
tar-va amen mi ełanak ir yurahatuk nerkapnak-n un-i.
year-DAT every season.NOM its special palette.NOM-the have-PRES.3.SG
antaŕ-n ašnan-ě dełnakarmir ē daŕn-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:» (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)
Połosyan-n asac' t'ołn-um ē
Połosyan.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG leave-PTCP.PRES. it is
arag gr-v-ac mi p'astat'ł'-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»: (Aŕavot 06.04.2006)
xmb-i łēkavar 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 ներկապնակն ունի, – ասաց պապը թոռնիկին. – անտառն աշնանը դեղնակարմիր է դառնում: (Abrahamyan 2004:21)

Tar-va *amen mi* *ełanak* *ir* *yurahatuk* *nerkapnak-n*
year-DAT every weather.NOM its special palette.NOM-the

un-i *asac'* *pap-ě* *t'oṙnik-i-n*
have-PRES.3.SG say-AOR.3.SG grandfather.NOM-the grandchild-DAT-the

antaṙ-n *ašn-an-ě* *dełnakarmir* *ē* *daṙn-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 ազրեսիվ քաղաքական փոքրամասնություն. սա է այս վիճակի վերլուծությունը: (Armenpress 08.04.2006)

ev *ayspes* *jewavor-v-ec'* *agresiv* *kʻałakʻakan* *pʻokʻramasnut'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 t'e 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.

Teł-i paraga-n kar-oł ē artahayt-v-el
place-DAT adverbial modifier.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES. it is express-pass-INF
trakan bac'aŕakan, 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' banastełc-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) Զրույցի ընթացքում պրն Կոստինը շնորհակալություն է հայտնել ընդունելության համար: (Armenpress 25.03.2006)

zruyc'-i ěnt'ac'k'um prn Kostin-ě šnorhakalut'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'uyl 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'e 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 kołmic'.
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 k’ami.
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 ամպրոպ 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 verǰin hark-um ē
his appartement.NOM-the 9 storeyed building-DAT last floor-LOC it is

sakayn na oč’ mi ōr aynteł 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’ŕč’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)

Ełbor 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 ēr
we.NOM set forth-AOR.1.PL CONJ light.NOM-the new it was

bac'-v-el ew teł 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 ēin nizak-ner
wall-PL-DAT-the hang-antic-PTCP.RES they were lance-PL.NOM

teg-er dašuyn-ner.
pike-PL.NOM dagger-PL.NOM

"On the walls there were hanging lances, pikes and daggers."

(74) Տաք, արևոտ օր էր: (Mayreni 3: 38)

tak' arewot ōr ēr.
hot sunny day.NOM it was
"It was a hot, sunny day."

Coordinated constituents are also separated with a comma if one of them is expressed with a participial construction.

(75) Մոռացված, հեռու անտառ է: (Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002:180)

moŕac'-v-ac heŕu antaŕ ē.
forget-pass-PTCP.RES. far forest.NOM it is
"It is a far, forgotten forest."

– The comma is used between parenthetical words, phrases, clauses and other sentence constituents. Usually, interjections and adverbs words express parenthetical words.

(76) 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 anšušt 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
"Ŏh, 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)
tła-s uz-um es k'ez het-s
boy.NOM-my want-PTCP.PRES you are you.DAT POST-my
mayrak'ałak' 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
ayc'elut'yun-ner-i žamanak ew varčapet-i aŕaj.
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 պարիսկները, վախենալով իրենց կյանքի համար, չհամարձակվեցին դուրս գալ մակեդոնացիների դեմ:
(Gyurǰinyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002: 180)

Babelon-um *gtn-v-oł* *parsik-ner-ě* *vaxenal-ov* *irenc'*
Babelon-LOC locate-REFL-PTCP.SUB. Persian-PL.NOM-the fear-INF-INST their

kyank'-i *hamar č'-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 *hakaŕak* "against", հանդերձ *handerj* "with, inspite of", չնայած *č'nayac* "despite of; although", չհաշված *č'hašvac* "not counted", փոխանակ *p'oxanak* "instead of", ի տարբերություն *i tarberut'yun* "unlike", բացի *bac'i* "except", զատ *zat* "except", բացառությամբ *bac'aŕut'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: (Aŕavot 05.04.2006)

menk' *ěst* *ēut'y-an* *č'-un-enk'* *liaržek'* *paštonakan*
we PREP substance-DAT neg-have-PRES.1.PL of value official

banakc'ayin *gorcěnt'ac'.*
negotiating process.NOM

In fact, we do not have an official, full of value, negotiating process."

– The comma is used after an apposition, if the sentence continues.

(85) Սայաթ-Նովան՝ երգիչ-բանաստեղծը, մի պահ կանգ առավ:
(Sahakyan/Sahakyan a 2004: 63)

Sayat'-Nova-n ergič'-banastełc-ě mi pah kang aŕ-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 kaŕuyc-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 banastełc-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 aŕajin xorhrdatu-i het
he.NOM his mother-DAT as first adviser-DAT POST
ēl xorhrdakc'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 ełbayr-s Vardan-n ē ōgn-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:

Amŕ-an-ě amenaarewot ōr-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) Զզվելի եղանակ էր՝ խոնավ, ցուրտ, մառախլապատ: (Sahakyan/ Sahakyan 2004a: 59)

zzveli ełanak ēr xonav c'urt maŕaxlapat.
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:

ašxatank'-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
ašxatank'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. J̌ahukyan, žamanakakic' hayereni tesut'yan himunk'nerě, Erewan 1974, ēǰ 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'ałak'-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' aŕaǰin
verb- PL.NOM-the have-PRES.3.PL three person.NOM first.NOM

erkrord errord.
second.NOM third.NOM

"The verbs have three persons: first, second and third."

The dot, or comma, is used after the word preceding enumeration, if it follows a sentence, or if the enumerated items are sentences.

– The short stop is used before an apposition.

(97) Պետրոսը՝ իմ եղբայրը, լավ է երգում:

Petros-ě im ełbayr-ě lav ē 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 ełbayr-ě Petros-ě lav ē 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 լեզվբանի՝ 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 NP[396] attributes postposed to the head noun.[397]

(102) Նա գեղեցիկ մի աղջիկ էր՝ բաց կապույտ աչքերով, գանգուր մազերով:

na gełec'ik mi ałǰik ēr bac' kapuyt ač'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)

Sełan-i-n dr-v-ac ēr 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."

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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, գանգուր մազերով:

mer tun mi aťjik 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' k'ašec'.
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

heŕagir ułark-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: (Aŕavot 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
k'ayl-er č'-jeŕnark-i hamateł 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'-ē haskan-al or p'axstakan-ner-n aŕanjin
CONJ difficult neg-it is understand-INF CONJ refugee-PL.NOM-the separate
azg en merž-v-ac bolor azg-er-i kołmic'.
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' hajołut'y-amb avartel-ov ōr-va ašxatank'-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 orošec'
see-INF-INST CONJ sun.NOM it is go-PTCP.PRES. he.NOM decide-AOR.3.SG
gn-al lič.
go-INF lake.NOM

"Seeing that the sun was shining, he decided to go to a lake."

b. 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 połoč'-ě.
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'ołoc'-ě 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 *ěst* "in accordance with", համաձայն *hamajayn* "according to", համապատասխան *hamapatasxan* "respective to", հակառակ *hakaŕak* "against", հանդերձ *handerj* " with, inspite of", չնայած *č'nayac* "despite of; although", չհաշված *č'hašvac* "not counted", փոխանակ *p'oxanak* "instead of", ի տարբերություն *i tarberut'yun* "unlike", բացի *bac'i* "except", զատ *zat* "except", բացառությամբ *bac'aŕut'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)

č'nayac c'urt ełanak-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 č'-i
PREP previous year-PL-DAT this year.NOM fertilizer.NOM-the neg-it is

vačař-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'ułayin
system.NOM-the apply-pass-PTCP.PERF it is republic-DAT 38 railway

kayan-ner-um bac'ařut'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 station 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 ĕnt'ac'k'um ĕst 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 ayc'elut'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 նախ *nax* "first", ապա *apa* "then", առաջին *aŕajin* "first", երկրորդ *erkrord* "second", երրորդ *errord* "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'-ĕ paymanavor-v-ac ē nax
disease-DAT increase.NOM-the condition-pass-PTCP.RES. it is first

žaŕangakanut'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 այսպէս *ayspes* "so", այսպիսով *ayspisov* "so", այն է *ayn 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: (Aŕavot 08.04.2006)

ĕnkerut'y-an iravabanakan hasc'e-n ē Alek' Manukyan 5-ĕ
company-DAT legal address.NOM-the it is Alek' Manukyan 5-the

aysink'n Hanrayin heŕustaŕadioĕnkerut'y-an šenk'-ĕ.
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 *ayspisov* "thus" and օրինակ *ōrinak* "for example" are regarded as parenthetic and separated with two commas.

– The short stop is used for marking the pause at the place of an omitted sentence constituent, i.e. in ellipsis, particularly in ellipsis of grammatical subject and predicate.

(119) 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'y-an 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' vačař-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:

Aŕavot-yan gyuł-i hars-ner-ě gn-um ēin
morning-DAT village-DAT bride-PL.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. they were
ałbyur-ě ǰ-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 infinite verb in bare dative is used to convey the meaning of an adverbial of purpose, it is separated irrespective of the place of the final verb (predicate).

(128) Եվ ես/մենք ստացել ենք բավարար տեղեկատվություն՝ տալու այս տեղեկացված համաձայնությունը: (Hetk' 22.01.2007)

ev es/menk' stac'-el enk' bavarar tełekatvut'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) Րաֆֆին ծնվել է Սալմաստ գավառի Փայաջուկ գյուղում (այժմ՝ Պարկսաստանում): (Hayoc' lezu 8: 157)

Raffi-n cn-v-el ē Salmast gavaŕ-i
Raffi.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Salmast province-DAT
P'ayaǰuk gyuł-um (ayžm Parskastan-um).
P'ayaǰuk village-LOC (now Iran-LOC)
"Raffi was born in the village of P'ayaǰuk 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 [ełav] 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 *gyułegyuł*, 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 *Elsaz-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-ŕuseren* "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-Avagyan* 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 Bet'hoven* "Ludwig van Beethoven", Հարուն ալ Ռաշիդ *Harun als Rašid,* Նահր էլ Բարիդ *Nahr ēl Barid* etc.,
– combinations of quantifiers indicating approximations, such as տասը-տասնհինգ (10–15) մարդ *tasĕ-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-amya* "15 years", ԱՄՆ-ն *AMN-n* "The United States of America", Գարուն-ը երկվանկ բառ է: *Garun-ĕ erkvank baŕ 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' dełin* "light yellow", մուգ կարմիր *mug karmir* "dark red", Նոր Զելանդիա *Nor Zelandia* "New Sealand", Վերին Թալին *Verin T'alin*, Հեռավոր Արևելք *Heŕavor Arewelk'* "Far East", etc.
– adjectives and nouns derived from the above-mentioned toponyms are written as a solid word, such as հեռավորարևելյան *heŕavorarewelyan* "Far-Eastern", փոքրասիական *p'ok'rasiakan* "minor asian", վերինթալինցի *verint'alinec'i* "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'ĕ* "the critic T'umanyan", Շիրվանզադե դրամատուրգը *Širvanzade dramaturgĕ* "the dramatic adviser Širvanzade", Րաֆֆի վիպասանը *Raffi vipasanĕ* "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 m*irza* < 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: *eťe-ic' aŕaǰ storaket dir!* "Before "eťe" 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'iŕ* "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 Հանրախանութը բաց է ժամը 10–21-ը, *Hanraxanutě bac' ē žamē 10–21ě*. "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 *tła*
դուստր *dustr* "daughter"; more frequently and particularly in spoken Armenian աղջիկ *ałǰik*
անդրանիկ *andranik* "first born son"
եղբայր *ełbayr* "brother"
քույր *k'uyr* "sister"
թոռ(նիկ) *t'or̊(nik)* "grandchild"

հորեղբայր *horełbayr* "paternal uncle" (father's brother); in colloquial Armenian հոպար *hopar.*
քեռի *k'er̊i* "maternal uncle" (=mother's brother)

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401. In some regions of Armenia even maternal grandparents are distinguished lexically, see Malxaseanc' III:245,c. 1. as in մամ *mam* maternal grandmother vs. տատ *tat* "paternal grandmother".

հորաքույր *horak'uyr* "paternal aunt" (father's sister), in colloquial Armenian also հորքուր *hork'ur* , հոքոր *hok'or*, հոքիր *hok'ir*
մորաքույր *morak'uyr* "maternal aunt" (mother's sister), in colloquial Armenian also մորքուր *mork'ur*, մոքոր *mok'or,* մոքիր *mok'ir*.
եղբորորդի *ełborordi* "fraternal nephew" (brother's son)
քեռորդի *k'eřordi* "sororal nephew" (sister's son)
եղբոր աղջիկ *ełbor ałǰik* "fraternal niece" (brother's daughter)
քրոջ աղջիկ *k'roǰ ałǰik* "sororal niece" (sister's daughter)

մորաքրոջ տղա աղջիկ *morak'roǰ tła/ałǰik* "cousin" (son or daughter of mother's sister)
հորաքրոջ տղա աղջիկ *horak'roǰ tła/ałǰik* "cousin" (son or daughter of father's sister)
քեռու տղա աղջիկ *k'eřu tła/ałǰik* "cousin" (son or daughter of mother's brother). In colloquial Armenian there is also the term եգան[402] *egan* for the son of mother's brother)
հորեղբոր տղա աղջիկ *horełbor tła/ałǰik* "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 *zok'anč'* "wife's mother", colloquial Armenian also զոնքաչ *zonk'ač'*
աներձագ *anerjag* "wife's brother"
քենի *k'eni* "wife's sister"

402. Obviously from Turkish *yeğen* "cousin" or "niece/nephew" (depending on dialect).

բաջանաղ *baǰanał* “husband of wife’s sister” (only in colloquial Armenian!)[403]

քեռակին, քեռեկին *kʻeřakin, kʻeřekin* “wife of maternal uncle”[404]

c. Other Kinship

որդեգրել *ordegrel* “to adopt”
հոգեզավակ *hogezavak* “adopted child”
հոգեորդի *hogeordi* “adopted son”
հոգեդուստր *hogedustr* “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 *knkʻahayr, kʻavor* “godfather”
կնքամայր *knkʻamayr* “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 *dełin* “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”

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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 *narnǰ-a-guyn* “orange” < նարինջ *narinǰ* “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 մուգ *mug* “dark” or բաց *bac’* “light” + colour term, such as in մուգ 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 *dełn-avun* “yellowish” etc.

6.3 Human body parts[405]

մարմին *marmin* “body”
կոճ *koč* “ankle”
թև *t’ew* “arm”
անութ *anut’*, թևատակ *t’ewatak* “armpit”
մեջք *mejk’* “back”
ծոծրակ *cocrak* “back of the head, occiput”
փոր *p’or* “belly, abdomen”
կուրծք *kurck’* “breast”, “breast of a woman”
հետույք *hetuyk’* “buttocks”
բումբ *bumb* “calf” (very rarely used)
այտ *ayt’*, more frequently թուշ *t’uš* “cheek”
կրծքավանդակ *krck’avandak* “chest”
կզակ, *kzak* or ծնոտ *cnot* or դունչ *dunč’* “chin”
ականջ *akanǰ* “ear”
արմունկ *armunk* “elbow”
աչք *ačk’* “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 *jeŕk'* "hand"
գլուխ *glux* "head"
կրունկ *krunk* "heel"
ծունկ *cunk* "knee"
ոտք *otk'* "leg; foot"
շուրթ *šurt'* "lip"
գոտկատեղ *gotkateł* "loins"
բերան *beran* "mouth"
եղունգ *ełung* "nail"
վիզ *viz* "neck, throat"
պարանոց *paranoc'* "neck; nape of the neck"
քիթ *k'it'* "nose"
ռունգ *ŕung*, քթածակ *k't'acak "nostril"*
քիմք *k'imk'* "palate"
առնանդամ *aŕnandam* "penis"
կող *koł* "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 *heštoc'* "vulva "
դաստակ *dastak* "wrist"

արյուն *aryun* "blood"
ուղեղ *ułeł* "brain"
աղիք *ałik'* "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 *ełanak* “season”
տարվա եղանակներ *tarva ełanakner* “seasons (of the year)”
գարուն *garun* “spring”
ամառ *amaṙ* “summer”
աշուն *ašun* “autumn”
ձմեռ *jmeṙ* “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 *ōgostos “August”*
սեպտեմբեր *september “September”*
հոկտեմբեր *hoktember “October”*
նոյեմբեր *noyember “November”*
դեկտեմբեր *dektember “December”*

շաբաթ *šabat'* “week; Saturday”
օր *ōr* “day”
շաբաթվա օրեր *šabat'va ōrer* “days of the week”
երկուշաբթի *erkušabt'i* “Monday”
երեքշաբթի *erekšabt'i* “Tuesday”
չորեքշաբթի *čorekšabt'i* “Wednesday”
հինգշաբթի *hingšabt'i* “Thursday”
ուրբաթ *urbat'* “Friday”
շաբաթ *šabat'* “Saturday”
կիրակի *kiraki* “Sunday”

ժամ *žam* “hour”
րոպե *rope* “minute”
վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second”

6.5 Numbers

մեկ *mek*	1
երկու *erku*	2
երեք *erek’*	3
չորս *čʻors*	4
հինգ *hing*	5
վեց *vec’*	6
յոթ *yot’*	7
ութ *ut’*	8
ինը *inə*	9
տաս(ը) *tas(ə)*	10
տասնմեկ *tasnmek*	11

քսան *kʻsan*	20
երեսուն *eresun*	30
քառասուն *kʻaṙasun*	40
հիսուն *hisun*	50
վաթսուն *vatʻsun*	60
յոթանասուն *yotʻanasun*	70
ութ(անա)սուն *utʻ(ana)sun*	80
իննսուն *innsun*	90

հարյուր *haryur*	100
երկու հարյուր *erku haryur*	200

հազար *hazar*	1,000
երկու հազար *erku hazar*	2,000

միլիոն *million*	1,000,000

example
325,784

երեք	հարյուր	քսան	հինգ	հազար	յոթ	հարյուր	ութանասուն	չորս
erek’	*haryur*	*kʻsan*	*hing*	*hazar*	*yot’*	*haryur*	*utʻ(ana)sun*	*čʻors*
three	hundred	twenty	five	thousand	seven	hundred	eighty	four

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