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Classical Armenian

Morphosyntactic Structures – Part 1

Roadmap

- Basic syntactic features
- Complex NPs
- Definiteness
- Adpositional structures

Syntactic typology

- Armenian: dependent marking
- Nichols:

Constituent	Head	Dependent
Noun phrase	possessed noun	possessor
	noun	modifying adjective
	adposition	object of adposition
Clause	predicative/verb	arguments/adjuncts
	auxiliary verb	lexical/main verb
Sentence	main-clause predicate	subordinate clause

Basic syntactic features

- Noun phrase:
- Armenian uses case on the dependent, e.g. for expressing possession:

barekam-i *town*
friend-GEN.SG house
“a friend’s house”

- No marking on adpositions, but on their dependent nominal:

ar *c’ankowt’e-an*
PRP desire-GEN.SG
“out of desire”

Basic syntactic features

- Adjectives: marking depends on position (pre-/postposed) and syllable count (mono- vs. polysyllabic)
- Uninflected preposed adjective: only marking on the head:

<i>getec'ik</i>	<i>vima-w-k'</i>
nice	stone-INSTR-PL

- Right edge of the NP must have case and number marking.
- Clause and sentence level:
 - arguments of the verbs are marked for case. Only subjects indexed on the predicate by verbal endings.
 - no marking on the main clause predicate for subordination.

Complex NPs

- NPs with adpositions show complex behaviour, including circumfixes and repetition
- Circumfixes:
 - Preposition *i* + ablative denoting origin or distance may be accompanied by the local adverb *anti* ‘from there’ following the noun and replacing the enclitic definite article, e.g.

John 19.11 ‘(many) of the Jews’

ms. E	<i>i</i>	<i>hrēi-c’</i>	<i>anti</i>
	PRP	Jews-ABL.PL	(from)
ms. M	<i>i</i>	<i>hēri-c’-</i>	<i>n</i>
	PRP	Jews-ABL.PL	ART

Complex NPs

- *i* + accusative denoting direction may be accompanied by the local adverb *andr* ‘to that place’, cf.

John 4.8

<i>i</i>	<i>k'atak'</i>	<i>andr</i>
PRP	town	there
'into town'		

- Cf. definite NP in the Greek original:

εἰς	τὴν	πόλι-ν
PRP	ART.ACC.SG.F	city-ACC.SG

Complex NPs

- The article need not be omitted, however, cf.

John 12.20

ms. E	y-	<i>el-el-oc'-</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>andr</i>
ms. M	y-	<i>el-el-oc'</i>		<i>andr</i>
	PRP	come-PTC-GEN.PL	ART	there

- Cf. the Greek original

ἐκ	τῶν	ἀναβαινόντων
PRP	ART.GEN.PL	come-PTC.PRS-GEN.PL

‘of those who were coming’

Complex NPs

- *i* + locative denoting place may be accompanied by the local adverb *ast* ‘here’:

Matthew 26.5

<i>i</i>	<i>tawn-i</i>	<i>ast</i>
PRP	feast-LOC.SG	here
‘at the feast’		

- Cf. the definite NP in the Greek original

ἐν	τῇ	ἐορτῇ
PRP	ART.DAT.SG.F	feast-DAT.SG.F

Complex PPs

- PPs combining (preposition + NP) + NP
- Preposition may be repeated or split, e.g. *i veray* 'above, on top of, over, for, against':

Luke 21.10

y-azg-i

PRP-nation-GEN.SG

veray

PRP

“(nation will rise) against nation”

Bowzandaran 5.4

i

PRP

veray

PRP

hawr-n

father.GEN.SG-ART

im-oy

1SG-GEN

“for my father”

Complex PP

- Bowzandaran 5.4

<i>i</i>	<i>naxne-ac'-n</i>	<i>mer-oc'</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>veray</i>
PRP	ancestor-GEN.PL-ART	1PL-GEN.PL	PRP	PRP
“for our ancestors”				

- Nominal part of PP may retain its inflexion, cf. with *kołmn* 'side':

Numbers 2.3

<i>y-</i>	<i>arewel-ic'</i>	<i>kołman-ē</i>
PRP	east-GEN.PL	side-ABL.SG
“from (the side of) the east”		

- Hence PP and two inflecting nouns?

Complex PP

- But *kołmn* does not trigger adnominal GEN in

Luke 7.44

<i>i</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>kołmn</i>
PRP	woman[ACC.SG]	(side)[ACC.SG]
'to the woman'		

- Repetition: in complex PP, preposition may be repeated before each NP:

<i>zi</i>	<i>can-ic'-es</i>	<i>z-ban-ic'-n</i>	<i>z-čšmartowt'iwn</i>
CONJ	realize-SUBJ-2SG	PRP-word-GEN.PL-ART	PRP-truth[ACC]
"that you may realize the truth of the words"			

Complex PP

- Repetition is obligatory in front of longer forms of the demonstrative pronouns, e.g.

Luke 2.1

and *awowr-s-n*

PRP day-LOC.PL-ART

“in those days”

and

aynosik

PRP

DEM.LOC.PL

Deut. 3.12

i *žamanak-i-n*

PRP time-LOC.SG-ART

“at that time”

y-aynmik

PRP-DEM.LOC.SG

Attraction

- Adnominal genitives are sometimes replaced by the case of the head noun:

Bowzandaran Patmowt'iwink' 4.3

var-ow-k' lawowt'e-amb

life-INSTR-PL virtue-INSTR

"through a life of virtue"

Definiteness

- Marked on the noun in two ways:
- a) enclitic definite article: *-s, -d, -n*
manowk ‘a child’ : *manowk-n* ‘the child’, *manowk-s* ‘the child (where I am)’, *manowk-d* ‘the child (where you are)’
- Used for anaphoric definiteness:
Lk. 4.17
*Ew etown nma **girs** zEsayay margarēi, ew yareaw ant’ernowl, ew ibrew ebac’ **zgirsn`** egit zayn tefi yorowm grealn ēr:*
“And a *scroll* of the prophet Isaiah was given to him. He unrolled *the scroll* and found the place where it was written.”

Definiteness

- Cataphoric definiteness:

Acts 9.11

gna and p'ot-oc'-n or koč'-i owłit
go.IMPV PRP street-GEN.PL-ART REL call.PRS-3SG.PASS straight
“Go to the street (which is) called 'straight'.”

- Not for generic reference (unlike Greek):

Luke 12.23

ogi aṙawel ē k'an z-kerakowr
life more be.3SG.PRS than PRP-food
“Life is more than food.”

Definiteness

- Not for unique referents, personal names:

Matthew 24.29

aregakn	<i>xaware-sc'-i</i>	<i>ew</i>
sun	become_dark-AOR.SUBJ.-3SG	and

lowsin`	<i>oč'</i>	<i>tac'ē</i>	<i>z-loys</i>	<i>iwr</i>
moon	NEG	give.AOR.SUBJ.-3SG	PRP-light	GEN.REFL

“The sun will become dark and the moon will not shine [lit. give its light].”

Definiteness

- Exception: reference to a specific instance of unique referent.

John 11.13

Yisows vasn mah-ow-n nora as-ēr
 Jesus about death-GEN.SG-ART 3SG.GEN speak-IMPF.3SG
 "Jesus had spoken of his [sc. Lazarus'] death."

- Personal names: DEF ART to differentiate referents:

Matthew 27.61

and ē-r Mariam Magdaṭenac'i ew mews Mariam-n
 there be-3SG.IMPF Mary of Magdala and other Mary-ART
 "There were Mary of Magdala and the other Mary."

Definiteness

- b) differential object marking: preposition *z-* ("nota accusativi") for definite objects:

Luke 2.12

gtan-ic'-ēk'

find-SUBJ-2PL.ACT

"You will find a child."

manowk

child

Luke 2.16

gt-in

find.AOR-3PL.ACT

z-Mariam

PRP-Mary

ew

and

z-Yosēp'

PRP-Joseph

ew

and

z-manowk-n

PRP-child-ART

"And they found Mary and Joseph and the child."

Differential object marking

- But *z-* also used with interrogative pronouns: *z-i*, *z-inč'* 'what' (NOM/ACC), obligatory on ACC of *o* 'who': *z-o*, e.g.

Mark 4.41

z-o *ok'* *as-en* *z-inēn* *žoťovowrd-k'-n*
PRP-who INDEF say.PRS-3PL.ACT PRP-1SG.ABL people-PL-ART

t'e *ic'-em*

CONJ be.SUBJ-1SG

“Who[ACC] do the people say that I am?”

Differential object marking

- With indefinite pronouns *omn* 'somebody' (specific), *ok'* 'anybody' (unspecific) parameter of animacy:

Mark 9.37

tes-ak' z-omn zi y-anown k'o dew-s
 see.AOR-1PL PRP-someone REL PRP-name 2SG.GEN demon-ACC.PL
han-ēr
 drive_out-IMPF.3SG

"We saw **someone** casting out demons in your name."

Matthew 17.8

oč' z-ok' tes-in` bayc' miayn z-Yisows
 NEG PRP-anybody see.AOR-3PL.ACT except only PRP-Jesus

"They did not see **anybody** but Jesus only."

Differential object marking

- Not used with indefinite pronoun *inčʻ* 'something':

John 13.29

ałkʻat-acʻ

poor-DAT.PL

inčʻ

something[ACC]

ta-cʻ-ē

give.AOR-SUBJ-3SG

“that he should give *something* to the poor”

Differential object marking

- Numeral *mi* 'one': *zmi* when referring to humans, *mi* lower down on the animacy scale:

Luke 15.26

<i>koč'ec'-eal ar</i>	<i>ink'n</i>	<i>z-mi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>caray-ic'-n</i>
call-PTC	PRP	self	PRP-one	PRP
servant-GEN.PL-ART				

"He called *one* of the servants."

Luke 15.4

<i>korowsan-ic'-ē</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>noc'anē</i>
lose.PRS-SUBJ-3SG.ACT	one	PRP	3PL.ABL

(What man of you, having a hundred sheep -) "if he loses *one* of them."

Differential object marking

- Modern Eastern Armenian: animate objects marked in genitive/dative, inanimate in nominative/accusative, cf. Dum-Tragut (2009: 81-86):

<i>Ašot-ə</i>	<i>tes-aw</i>	<i>Aram-i-n</i>
Ašot-ART	see-AOR.3.SG	Aram-DAT-ART
“Ašot saw Aram.”		

Contrast inanimate O:

<i>Aram-ə</i>	<i>kard-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ays</i>	<i>girk'-ə.</i>
Aram-ART	read-PTC.PRS	he	is	DEM
“Aram reads this book.”				

Differential object marking

- Indefinite, unspecific human O marked as NOM/ACC:

<i>Aram-ə</i>	<i>bžišk</i>	<i>kanč'-ec'</i>
Aram-ART	doctor	call-AOR.3SG
"Aram called a doctor."		

- Cf. also Scala (2011).

Adpositions

- Six basic prepositions (i.e. not containing NPs), governing from one up to six cases, only NOM excluded.

	ACC	GEN	DAT	INSTR	ABL	LOC
<i>ar</i>	to, because of, against, for	for, because of, out of		at	for, to	at
<i>and</i>	to, along, around	instead of, for	with	under	at, for	with
<i>z</i>	[extension]			about, around	from, at	to, from
<i>ast</i>	out, beyond		according to	beyond	after, according to	according to
<i>i/y-</i>	to			from	from, out of	in
<i>c'</i>	to					

Adpositions

- Adpositions that may precede or follow head noun. Examples:

- handerj* 'with':

ašakerta-w-k'-n

disciple-INSTR-PL-ART

"with the disciples"

handerj / ***handerj ašakerta-w-k'-n***

with

- vasn* 'because of, for the sake of':

nšanak-i

sign-GEN.SG

"as a sign"

vasn

because_of

vasn

because_of

"because of our sins"

yanc'ana-c'

sin-GEN.PL

mero-c'

our-GEN.PL

Modern Eastern Armenian

- Postpositions only
- Recruited from nouns, e.g.
 - Classical Armenian *hamar* 'number' > MEA *hamar* 'for'
 - Cl. Arm. *mawt* 'near' > MEA *mot* 'at'

շնորհակալութիւն ձեր ուշադրության
համար

Thank you for your attention!

predication

- basic word order (S)VO
- nearly canonical nominative-accusative language: NOM for A/S, ACC for O.
- Two exceptions in which A (and sometimes S) marked as GEN and DAT.

participle / (plu-)perfect and genitive subjects

- participle in *-eal* denoting present state after change of state,

nsteal 'sitting' < *nstim* 'to sit down'

bekeal 'broken' < *bekanem* 'to break'

- PTC + present / imperfect copula = perfect / pluperfect tense

bek-eal *ē/ēr*

break-PTC be.3SG.PRS/3SG.IMPF

"It is/was broken."

participle / (plu-)perfect and genitive subjects

■ itr. subjects NOM

hasanem 'to arrive'

<i>na</i>	<i>has-eal</i>	<i>ē</i>
NOM.3SG	arrive-PTC	be.PRS.3SG
"(S)he has arrived."		

<i>nok'a</i>	<i>haseal</i>	<i>en</i>
NOM.3PL	arrive.PTCP	be.PRS.3PL
"They have arrived."		

passive reading

■ tr. *berel* 'to bring'

<i>na</i>	<i>bereal</i>	<i>ē</i>
NOM.3SG	bring.PTCP	be.PRS.3SG
'(S)he has been brought.'		

<i>nok'a</i>	<i>bereal</i>	<i>en</i>
NOM.3PL	bring.PTCP	be.PRS.3PL
'They have been brought.'		

participle / (plu-)perfect and genitive subjects

- tr. verbs: GEN subject

noc'a ber-eal ē z-šiš-n
GEN.3PL see-PTC COP.PRS.3SG PRP-flask-ART
"They have brought the flask."

- occasionally also with itr. verbs:

John 18.2
bazowm angam žotov-eal ēr andr Yisows-i
many time gather-PTC be.IMP.F.3SG there Jesus-GEN.SG
ašakert-awk'-n handerj
disciple-INST.PL-ART with
"Jesus had often met there with his disciples."

participle / (plu-)perfect and genitive subjects

■ contrast

Matthew 2.4

žofoveal

assemble.PTC

z-amenayn

PRP-all

k'ahanayapet-s-n

arch_priest-ACC.PL-ART

harc'anēr

ask.IMPF.3SG

i

from

noc'anē

3PL.ABL

"He assembled all the arch-priests and asked them."

participle / (plu-)perfect and genitive subjects

- maybe modelled on Iranian perfect with genitive subject and participle as predicate, cf. in Old Persian

DB I.27

ima :

DEM.NOM.SG.N

taya :

REL.NOM.SG.N

manā : *kr-ta-m*

1SG.GEN

do-PTC-NOM.SG.N

“This is what I did.”

- cf. Benveniste (1952), Bynon (2005), Meyer (2015).

dative subjects

- subject of infinitive may be marked for dative:

Luke 9.29

<i>i</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>nma</i>	<i>y-aṭawt'-s</i>
PRP	stand.INF.LOC	3SG.DAT	PRP-prayer-LOC.PL

ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν

"as he was praying (the appearance of his face changed)"

Luke 19.14

<i>oč'</i>	<i>kami-mk'</i>	<i>t'agawore-l</i>	<i>dma</i>
NEG	want-1PL	be_king-INF	3SG.DAT

Οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι

"We do not want him to be king."

dative subjects

1 Thess. 4.3

<i>ays</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>kamk'</i>	<i>Astowcoy [...]</i>	<i>i bac' line-l</i>
DEM	be.3PL	will	god.GEN.SG	away be-INF

<i>jez</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>poṙnkowt'en-ē</i>
2PL.DAT	PRP	fornication-ABL.SG

"For this is the will of God, ... that you abstain from sexual immorality."

Movsēs Xorenac'i 2.63

<i>eṭew ...</i>	<i>koč'e-l</i>	<i>z-na</i>	<i>Bakr-oy</i>
happen.3SG.AOR	call-INF	ACC-3SG	Bakowr-DAT.SG

"It happened that Bakowr called him."

origins

- dative object of matric clause and co-referential infinitive:

1 Cor 11.6

<i>et'e</i>	<i>anpateh ē</i>	<i>knoġ</i>	<i>p'ok're-l</i>
if	improper be.3SG	woman.DAT.SG	shorten-INF

εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι

"if it is improper for a woman to cut (her hair)" → "if it is improper that a woman cut (her hair)".

comparable developments

- similar process in Slavic cf.

Luke 6.6

Arm.	<i>eʔew ...</i>	<i>mtane-l</i>	<i>nma</i>
	happen.3SG.AOR	enter-INF	3SG.DAT

OCS	<i>bystъ ...</i>	<i>vъniti</i>	<i>jemu</i>
	happen.3SG.AOR	enter-INF	3SG.DAT

vs Greek "Acl":

Gk.	<i>ἐγένετο</i>	<i>εἰσελθεῖν</i>	<i>αὐτόν</i>
	happen.3SG.AOR	enter-INF	3SG.ACC

"it happened that he entered"

accusative subjects (Acl)

- maybe calqued on Greek:

Luke 19.27

<i>or</i>	<i>oč'-n</i>	<i>kamēin</i>	<i>z-is</i>	<i>t'agawore-l</i>
REL	NEG-DEF	want.IMPF.3.PL	ACC-1SG	be_king-INF

τοὺς μὴ θελήσαντάς **με** βασιλεῦσαι

"those who did not want me to be king"

no absolute constructions?

- unlike Latin "ablativus absolutus", Greek "genitivus absolutus", etc.
- some cases in Movsēs Xorenac'i may be modelled on Greek:

MX 2.28

<i>ayso-c'-ik</i>	<i>ayspēs</i>	<i>kargec'-elo-c' ...</i>	<i>dar̄na-y</i>
DEM-GEN.PL-DEM	thus	arrange-PTC-GEN.PL	return.PRS-3SG.ACT

“when these things had been arranged thus, he returned...”

no absolute constructions?

- Jensen (1959: 185): example from the *Bowzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'*, the “collection of epic stories”, non-translated text:

Buz. 4.6

aregak-an mtane-l-oy kay-in ełbar-k'-n
sun-GEN.SG set.PRS-INF-GEN.SG stand.PRS-3PL.IMP brother-PL-ART

- Jensen: “als die Sonne aufging [*recte*: unterging], waren die Brüder da.”
- Garsoian (1989: 126): “the brothers awaited the setting of the sun” (“and then rejoiced in the nourishment sent by the Lord”).
- context: regular fasting during the day and breaking the fast after sunset.

no absolute constructions?

- alternative: INF dependent on predicate *kam*, cf. possessive:

Luke 3.11

oy-r	kay-c'-ē	<i>kerakowr</i>
REL-GEN.SG	stand-SUBJ-3SG	food
“who has food” (shall share it with others)		

- or more general relationship:

Matthew 8.29

<i>zi</i>	ka-y	mer	<i>ew</i>	k'o
what	stand-3SG.PRS	1PL.GEN	and	2SG.GEN
“What is it between us and you?”				

agent marking in passives

- Usually preposition *i* (y in front of a vowel) + noun in ablative, e.g.

Matthew 3.6

<i>mkrte-in</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nmanē</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>yordanan</i>	<i>get</i>
baptize-3PL.IMP	PRP	3SG.ABL	PRP	Jordan	river[LOC.SG]

“They were baptized by him [sc. John] in the river Jordan.”

- cf. Jensen 1959: 131, 180

agent marking in passives

Buzandaran 4.6

dorsove-l *i* *k'atc'-oy* *kam* *i* *caraw-oy*
be_consumed-INF PRP hunger-ABL.SG or PRP thirst-ABL.SG
“to be consumed by hunger or by thirst”

- Alternative: instrumental, preferred with non-animate nouns:

Luke 8.37

ahi-w *meca-w* *tagnapē-in*
fear-INSTR.SG great-INSTR.SG press-3PL.IMPF
“They were pressed by great fear.”
φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συνέιχοντο

partitivity

- mostly *i/y-* + ABL unlike Greek, Latin etc. using GEN

Luke 4.27

oč' ok' i noc'anē

NEG INDEF PRP 3PL.ABL

“none of them”

(Jensen 1959: 131, 169)

- The genitive can be used, too, however:

Luke 5.3

i mi nawow-c'-n

PRP one boat-GEN.PL-ART

“into one of the boats” (εἰς ἓν τῶν πλοίων)

partitivity

- not restricted to Bible translation:

Eznik §401

i kēs dar-i-n

PRP half age-GEN.SG-ART

“into the (first) half of the age”

GEN also after ‘100, 1000, 10.000’, e.g.

Joshua 8.12

hing hazar aran-c’

5 1000 man-GEN.PL

"five thousand (of) men"

Judges 20.45

erkow-s hazar-s aran-c’

2-ACC.PL 1000-ACC.PL man-GEN.PL

"two thousand (of) men"

vs LXX: δισχιλίους ἄνδρας

valency changing strategies

- decrease: passive (deletion of subject and promotion of object to subject position), formally marked by "middle" diathesis also used for unaccusativity and reflexivity:

unaccusative: *an^{kanim}* 'to fall', *bowsan^{im}* 'to grow', *kornč'im* 'to perish', *hot^{im}* 'to smell (=emit a smell)'

reflexive: *agan^{im}* 'to clothe oneself'

passive: *ber^{im}* 'to be carried'

valency changing strategies

- many verbs have both "middle" in *-i-* and tr. active in *-e-*:
berem 'to carry' : *berim* 'to be carried'
yandimanem 'to prove s.b. wrong, reproach' : *yandimanim* 'to be proved wrong, be reproached'
- but alternation is not fully productive:
- some verbs are *i*-only ("media tantum"):
nstim 'to sit' - no ***nstem* 'to make sit'
- some verbs are *e*-only:
nnjem 'to sleep' (unaccusative!) - no ***nnjim*
- also *i*-verbs with agent as subject:
datim 'to judge', *tanim* 'to lead, bring'

valency changing strategies

- present stem of verbs with the suffixes *-a-* and *-u-* (<ow>):
- no formal differentiation of active and passive:
 - kardam* 'call' / 'be called'
 - ařnowm* 'take' / 'be taken'
- consistent differentiation between active and passive morphology only in the aorist:
 - kočēac'* 'called' : *kočēc'aw* 'was called'

valency changing strategies

- increase: causative. Morphological and syntactic. Morphological:
nstim → *nstowc'anem* [nəstuts^ha'nem] 'make sit', AOR 3SG *nstoyc'* '(s)he made sit'.
- derived from the aorist stem:
darnam 'turn (itr.)' : AOR 3SG *edarj* : CAUS *darj-owc'anem* 'turn (tr.)';
əmpem 'drink' : AOR *arbi* 'I drank' : CAUS *arb-owc'anem* 'make drink'.
- variant suffix *-owzanem* with roots in /l/:
elowzanem 'let got out' lassen' (: *elanem* 'go up, go out')
ənklowzanem 'devour, gulp' (: *klanem* 'gulp')
p'lowzanem 'make fall, throw' (: *p'lanim* 'fall'),
- variant *-owsanem*
korowsanem 'destroy', causative of *kornč'im* 'perish'

morphological causative

- CAUS of TR verb: causee DAT

John 14.26

na *ows-ows-c'-ē*

3SG learn-CAUS-SUBJ.AOR-3SG

“He will teach you everything.”

jez

2PL.DAT

z-amenayn

PRP-everything

Genesis 24.17

arb-o

inj

sakaw

mi

jur

drink-CAUS.IMPV 1SG.DAT

little

one

water

“Let me drink some water.”

syntactic causative

- *tam* 'give', originally with dative marking recipient and INF = verbal noun as direct object.

Matthew 5.32

<i>na</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>nma</i>	<i>šna-l</i>
3SG-DEM.NOM	give-3SG.PRS	3SG-DAT	commit_adultery-INF

‘He makes her commit adultery’. (ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι)

syntactic causative

Mark 7.37

*xli-c' lse-l **tay** ew hamer-c' xōse-l*
deaf-DAT.PL hear-INF give.PRS-3SG and dumb-DAT.PL speak-INF

"He gives hearing to the deaf and speaking to the dumb." = "He makes the deaf hear and the dumb speak."

causative in Modern Eastern Armenian

- Megerdooonian (2004):

analytic causatives are formed “on predicates that already contain a *v* head whereas the underlying predicates of morphological causatives are single predicates that lack all ‘event’ information”, i.e. built to adjectival / stative roots.

- Dum-Tragut (2009: 317ff.):

preference of itr. verbs for morphological and tr. verbs for periphrastic causative

ambitransitive verbs: morphological causative > causer is also agent
vs periphrastic causative > causer detached from the caused event

morphological vs syntactic causative

Luke 23.7 (and similarly in verses 11, 15)

et	tane-l	zna	aṛ	Herovdēs
give.3SG.AOR	lead-INF	PRP-3SG	PRP	Herod

“He [sc. Pilate] sent him over to Herod.” (ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρώδη), more literally “He had him brought to Herod.”

1 Esdra 3.22

ta-y	xōse-l	z-mecamec-s
give.PRS-3SG	talk-INF	PRP-very big-ACC.PL

“(Wine) makes (people) talk big.”

non-verbal predication: copulae

- *go-*, the only verb with a present stem suffix *-o-*:
3SG *goy*, 3PL *gon*, IMPF 3SG *goyr*, 3PL *goyin*, INF *gol*, SUBJ *gowc'ē* <
**gow-ic'-ē* 'perhaps, it could be'.
- indicative and infinitive as “verbum substantivum”, i.e. predicating existence: ‘there is/are’, cf.

Eznik §52.8

go-y	<i>hnar</i>	<i>t'otut'e-an</i>	<i>apašxarut'e-amb</i>
exist.PRS-3SG	means	forgiveness-GEN.SG	repentance-INSTR.SG

“There is a means of forgiveness, namely by repentance.”

goy

- Existential + locative predication:

Luke 7.33

<i>dew</i>	<i>go-y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nma</i>
devil	exist.PRS-3SG	PRP	3SG.LOC

“There is a devil inside him.”

- + GEN = possessive predication:

Matthew 8.20

<i>ałowesow-c'</i>	<i>orj-k'</i>	<i>go-n</i>
fox-GEN.PL	hole-NOM.PL	exist.PRS-3PL

(αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν)
“Foxes have holes.” (to hide in) (“There are holes of foxes.”)

em

- *e-* (1SG *em*): property (adj./noun), possession, location, existence.
- suppletive aorist *eṭe-* of *linim* 'become'
- property:

Luke 1.19

<i>es</i>	<i>e-m</i>	<i>Gabriēt</i>
1SG.NOM	be-1SG.PRS	

"I am Gabriel."

- possession (GEN):

John 14.24

<i>ban-n ...</i>	<i>oč' ē</i>	<i>im,</i>	<i>ayl</i>	<i>hōr-n</i>
word-ART	NEG	be.3SG.PRS	1SG.GEN	but
				father.GEN.SG-ART

"This word is not mine, but my father's."

em

- possession (DAT):

Luke 1.26

or-own *anown* *ēr* *Nazaret'*

REL-DAT.SG name be.3SG.IMPF Nazareth

“(a city) whose name was Nazareth” (ἡ ὄνομα Ναζαρέθ)

- calque of Greek syntax? But mismatches both ways: Arm. DAT : Gr. GEN

Mark 14.32

gewt-n ***or-own*** *anown* *ēr* *gesemani*

village-ART REL-DAT.SG name be.3SG.IMPF G.

“to a place called Gethsemane”

vs εἰς χωρίον οὗ [GEN] τὸ ὄνομα Γεθσημανί

em

- Künzle (1984: 206): *τίνος ἔσται* ‘will be’ and *τίνος γίνεται* ‘becomes’

Luke 20.33

owm *i* *noc’anē* *lini-c’-i* *kin*
INTERR.DAT.SG PRP 3PL.ABL become.PRS.-SUBJ-3SG.MID woman

τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνή; “(In the resurrection, therefore,) whose wife will (the woman) be?”

Matthew 22.28 (and Mark 12.23):

oyr *yiwt’an-c’-n* *ełic’i* *na* *kin*
INTERR.GEN.SG seven-GEN.PL-ART become.AOR.SUBJ.3SG 3SG.NOM woman

τίνος τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔσται γυνή; “Of the seven, whose wife will she be?”

em

Luke 1.43

owsti?

whence

ē

be.3SG.PRS

inj

1SG.DAT

ays

DEM.NOM.SG

“Why is this granted to me?” / “Why does this happen to me?”

πόθεν μοι τοῦτο;

em

■ location:

Mark 2.2

i tan

PRP house.LOC.SG

ē

be.3SG.PRS

“He is in the house.”

■ existence:

John 1.1

i skzbanē

PRP beginning-ABL.SG

ēr

be.IMP.F.3SG

ban-n

word-ART

“In/From the beginning was the word.” (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος)

lack of copula

- a) often in relative clauses:

Acts 5.21

<i>ekn</i>	<i>k'ahanayapetn ew</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>nma</i>
come.AOR.3SG	high priest-ART and REL		PRP	3SG.DAT

“The high priest came and those who (were) with him.”

- b) often in negated clauses

Eznik §160.1

<i>č'ew</i>	<i>owrek'</i>	<i>ordi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>mij-i</i>
NEG-yet	anywhere	son	PRP	middle-LOC.SG

“Not yet (is there) anywhere a son present.”

bla

■ bla

kam 'stand, be'

■ 'stand':

Mark 14.47

or z-novaw

kay-in

REL PRP-3SG.INSTR

stand-3PL.IMPF

“those who were standing around (him)” (τῶν παρεστηκότων)

■ 'sit':

Mark 12.41

kay-r

Yisows anddêṃ ganjanak-in

“stand”-3SG.IMPF Jesus opposite treasury-GEN.SG

Καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου

“Jesus was sitting opposite the treasury.”

kam

John 20.12

owr kay-r

marmin-n

Yisows-i

where “stand”-3SG.IMPF body-ART Jesus-GEN.SG

ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ

“where Jesus’ body was lying”

- existence, possession, location, copula:

Luke 14.22

ka-y

ews

tefi

“stand”-3SG.PRS still

room

“There is still room.” (ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν)

kam

- possession, beside *em*:

Luke 3.11

oy-r ic'-en ... handerjk' ew oy-r ka-yc'-ē kerakowr
REL-GEN.SG be.SUBJ-3PL clothing and REL-GEN.SG "stand"-SUBJ-3SG food

“who has ... (two) tunics and who has some food” (shall give one/it to him who has none/nothing)

Ὁ ἔχων δύο χιτῶνας μεταδώτω τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι, καὶ ὁ ἔχων βρώματα ὁμοίως ποιείτω.

kam

■ location:

John 5.28

or i gerezman-s ka-yc'-en
REL PRP grave-LOC.PL “stand”-SUBJ-3PL
“those who were in the graves” (οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις)

■ copula:

John 5.45

go-y or č'araxôs ka-y zjênj Movsês
exist.PRS-3SG REL prosecutor “stand”-3SG.PRS PRP-2PL.ABL Moses
“There is one who is your prosecutor, Moses.”
ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς

negation / nominal sentence

- proclitic negative particle č'- and indefinite pronoun *ik' 'anything':

Luke 8.17

č'ik' inč' cacowk or oč' yayt li-c'-i

be-not anything hidden REL NEG revealed be-AOR.SUBJ-3SG.MID

"For nothing is hidden that will not be made manifest."

- Cf. parallel text in Mark 4.22 with negated copula:

č'-ē inč' i cacowk or t'ē oč' yaytne-sc'-i

NEG-be.3SG.PRS anything PRP hidden REL CONJ NEG reveal-AOR.SUBJ-
3SG.MID

"For nothing is hidden except to be made manifest."

negation

- two negative particles for factual negation, *oč'* and proclitic *č'*:-

č'= *kami-m*

NEG wish.PRS-1SG

"I do not want."

oč' *git-ēk'*

NEG know.prs.-2PL

z-awr-n

PRP-day-ART

"You do not know the day."

negation

- prohibition: *mi* + subjunctive/ imperative present (positive imperative always aorist):

Matthew 1.20

mi *erknči-r*

NEG fear.PRS-IMPV.2SG

"Do not fear!"

- subjunctive also used as future tense, so *oč'* and *mi* differentiate between factual and prohibitive negation:

Luke 16.31

oč' ... *hawane-s-c'-in*

NEG convince-AOR-SUB-3PL

"Neither will they be convinced (if someone should rise from the dead)."

negative concord

- addition of negations does not cancel negative meaning:

Buzandaran 3.6

oč' mi ok' oč' aprec'owc'an-ēr
NEG one INDEF NEG survive-3SG.IMP
“Nobody survived.”

ibid.

oč' mnac' i noc'anē ew oč' mi
NEG remain.3SG.AOR PRP 3PL.ABL even NEG one
“Not even one of them remained (alive).”

negative concord

■ Buzandaran 3.13

oč' ok' i nočanēn ew oč' mi oč', ew oč' mi ban, ew oč' kēs bani, ew oč' doyzn yišatak inč', ew oč' nšmarans inč' zor lsēinn, ew oč' karēin inč' ownel i mti

"Not one of them could keep in mind a single thing of what he had heard; not a word, not half a word, not a minimal record, not a trace." (Garsoian 1989: 84)

pro-drop

- person marked on the verb, nominative case forms of personal pronouns are used for pragmatic purposes, e.g. in focus position

Matthew 5.14

dowk'	<i>ēk'</i>	<i>loys</i>	<i>ašxarh-i</i>
2PL.NOM	be.PRS.2PL	light	world-GEN.SG

"You are the light of the world."

John 5.35

Na *ēr čragh`or lowc'eal ēr ew cagēr. ew dowk' kamec'arowk' c'ncal ar žamanak mi i loys nora:*

"**He** was a burning and shining lamp, and **you** were willing to rejoice for a while in his light."

pro-drop

- co-referential pronouns omitted in coordinated predicates:

Buzandaran 3.13

<i>atē-in</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>halacē-in</i>	<i>z-nosa</i>
hate-3PL.IMPf	and	persecute-3PL.IMPf	PRP-3PL.ACC

<i>ew</i>	<i>spananē-in</i>
and	kill-3PL.IMPf

“They hated and persecuted and killed them.”

grammatical categories of the verb

- present vs aorist stem
 - present stem: present (IND SUBJ IMPV), imperfect (IND)
 - aorist stem: aorist (IND SUBJ IMPV), perfect, pluperfect
- no future tense. SUBJ used for this, mostly AOR SUBJ, called future in traditional Armenian grammar
- AOR IND always past > aspectual opposition IMPF VS AOR IND and PRS SUBJ VS AOR SUBJ
- INF aspectually neutral (unlike e.g. in Greek: λύειν PRS.INF vs λύσαι AOR. INF)

present tense

- moment of speech, general states of affairs, future, e.g.

Mark 1.7

ga-y **zōra-goyn-n** **k'an** **z-is** **zkni im**
come.PRS-3SG mighty-COMP-ART than PRP-1SG.AC after 1SG.GEN
“After me comes he who is mightier than I.”

Eznik §82

y-or-owm **aw-owr** **owte-s** **i** **ptł-oy** **cař-oy-n**
PRP-REL-LOC.SG day-LOC.SG eat.PRS-2SG PRP fruit-ABL.SG tree-GEN.SG-ART
i **nm-in** **awowr** **meřani-s**
PRP same-LOC.SG day-LOC.SG die.PRS-2SG
“Which day you (will) eat from the fruit of this tree, that day you will die.”

present tense

- "historical" present rather rare:

Matthew 4.11

Τότε	ἀφίη-σιν	αὐτὸν	ὁ	διάβολο-ς
then	leave-3SG.PRS	3SG.ACC	ART.NOM.SG.M	devil-NOM.SG

<i>Apa</i>	<i>etoł</i>	<i>z-na</i>	<i>satana</i>
then	leave-3SG.AOR	PRP-3SG.ACC	Satan

“Then the devil left him.”

present tense

Mark 2.3

καὶ ἔρχο-νται φέρο-ντ-ες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸ-ν
and come.PRS-3PL bring-PTC-NOM.PL.M PRP 3SG.ACC.M lame-ACC.SG

Ew gay-in aṛ na berē-in andamaloyc mi
and come.PRS-3PL.IMPF PRP 3SG.ACC bringPRS-3PL.IMPF lame one
“And they came, bringing to him a paralytic.”

present tense

- *asem* 'say', *gam* 'come' as historical presents
- *asem* present after aorist of preceding predicate with similar meaning, imperfect after imperfect:

Genesis 18.9

<i>patasxani</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>as-ē</i>	
answer	give.3SG.AOR	and	say-3SG.PRS	

“He answered and said.”

Genesis 27.6

<i>xōsēr</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>etbōr</i>	<i>k’owm</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>as-ēr</i>
talk.3SG.IMPF	with	brother.LOC.SG	your.LOC.SG	and	say-3SG.IMPF

“He was talking to your brother and said.”

present tense

- *gam* mostly occurs in sentence-initial position, frequently introducing new referents into the discourse, “stage direction” outside the narrated world:

Mark 3.31

<i>ga-n</i>	<i>eṭbar-k'-n</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>mayr</i>	<i>nora</i>
come.PRS-3PL	brother- PL-ART	and	mother	3SG.GEN

“His brothers and his mother came.” (wishing to see him).

- Movsēs Xorenac'i uses historical present more often, probably due to Greek model

aspectual distinction in the past

- aorist always with past time reference: event located at a specific point in the past, imperfect neutral
- imperfect: a) coinciding event

Matthew 9.27

*ew minč'der **anc'anēr**[IMPF] and ayn Yisows, **zhet elen**[AOR] nora
koyrk' erkow. **atatakêin**[IMPF] ew **asêin**[IMPF]*

Καὶ παράγοντι ἐκεῖθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠκολούθησαν [αὐτῷ] δύο τυφλοὶ
κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες

“And as Jesus **passed on** from there, two blind men **followed** him,
crying aloud.”

aspectual distinction in the past

- b) a habitual event:

Mark 5.5

*hanapaz zc'ayg ew zc'erek i gerezmans ew i lerins **atatakēr**[IMPF]*

διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν
κράζων

“Night and day among the tombs and on the mountains he was
always crying out.”

aspectual distinction in the past

- c) continued event:

Mark 10.48

*Ew sastēin nma bazowmk' zi lřesc'ē, ew na arawel ews **atatakēr**[IMPF]*
καὶ ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ πολλοὶ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ· ὁ δὲ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἔκραζεν

“(He began to cry out and say, ‘Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!’) And many rebuked him, telling him to be silent. But he cried out all the more, ‘Son of David, have mercy on me!’”

aspectual distinction in the past

- aorist: past event located at specific point on the time line
- *gitem* ‘to know’ : AOR *gitac’i* ‘I knew (at that moment), I realized’:

Luke 8.46

*Ew asē Yisows. omn merjec’aw yis, k’anzi **gitac’i** et’ē zōrowt’iwn el yinēn*

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, “Ἡψατό μου τις, ἐγὼ γὰρ **ἔγνων** δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.

“But Jesus said, ‘Someone touched me, for *I perceived* that power has gone out from me.’”

aspectual distinction in the past

- vs imperfect *gitēin* ‘they understood’

Mark 9.32(Arm. 31)

*Ew nok’a oč’ **gitēin**[IMPF] zbann, ew erkñč’ēin harc’anel c’na:*

οἱ δὲ ἡγνόουν τὸ ρῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι

“But they did not understand the saying, and were afraid to ask him.”

retrospective aspect: perfect and pluperfect

- Lyonnet (1933), Ouzounian (2002, 2007)
- state resulting from a previous action or event, obtaining at reference time (present in the perfect, past in the pluperfect)
- “resultative” in the terminology of Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988) and Bybee et al. (1996: 54, 63)

perfect

Matthew 3.2

merjeal ***ē*** *ark'ayowt'iwn* *erkn-ic'*
approach.PTCP be.PRS.3SG kingdom.NOM.SG heaven-GEN.PL
"The kingdom of heaven *is near*."

Luke 15.24

ays *ordi* *im* ***meṙeal ēr***
DEM.NOM.SG son.NOM.SG GEN.1SG die.PTCP be.IMPF.3SG
"This son of mine *was dead*." (but is alive now).

perfect

- Lyonnet (1933: 10f.): St. Paul about the death (AOR) and resurrection (PERF) of Christ

Romans 5.8

K'ristos vasn

Christ because of
"Christ died for us."

mer

1PL.GEN die.AOR.3SG

meṙaw

Greek:

Christòs

Christ.NOM.SG for

hypèr

hēmôn

1PL.GEN die.AOR.3SG

apéthanen

perfect

Romans 6.9

K'ristos yarowc'eal ē

Christ rise.PTCP be.PRS.3SG

i

PRP

meřelo-c'

die.PTCP-GEN.PL

"Christ has risen from the dead." (and is alive now)

■ Greek:

Christòs

Christ.NOM.SG

egertheìs

rise.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG.M

ek

from

nekrôn

dead.GEN.PL

perfect of tr. verbs: state of subject

- either state of logical subject (GEN) or object or both

Matthew 12.3

<i>oč'</i>	<i>ic'ē</i>	<i>ənt'erjeal</i>	<i>jer</i>
NEG	be.3SG.SBJV	read.PTCP	GEN.2PL

"Haven't you read (what David did when he and those who were with him were hungry)?"

i.e. "don't you know, having read"?

perfect of tr. verbs: state of object

Mark 16.4

t'awalec'owc'eal ēr z-vēm-n i gerezman-ē-n
roll.PTCP be.3SG.IMPF ACC-stone-ART PRP grave-ABL-ART

"Someone had rolled the stone away from the grave."

■

participle as narrative form

- intr. verb, NOM-subject

- Agathangelos §214

<i>tesil</i> dream.NOM.SG	<i>ereweal</i> appear.PTCP	<i>y-Astowc-oy</i> PRP-god-ABL.SG
<i>i veray</i> PRP	<i>k'er</i> sister.GEN.SG	<i>t'agawor-i-n</i> king-GEN.SG-ART

"A vision from God appeared to the king's sister."

participle as narrative form

- intr. verb, GEN-subject
- Bowzandaran 4.4

<i>i</i>	<i>žoťov</i>	<i>hawanowt'iwn-s</i>	<i>ekeal</i>
PRP	assembly.ACC.SG	agreement-ACC.PL	come.PTCP

amenec'own
all.GEN.PL

‘They all came to the assembly willingly.’

Modern Eastern Armenian

- resultative participle in *-ac*
bažnel ‘to separate’: *bažnac* ‘separated’, *grel* ‘to write’: *grac* ‘written’
- Classical Armenian verbal noun
kotorel ‘to slaughter, kill’: *kotorac* ‘slaughter’
- denominal adjective:
erkiwt ‘fear’: *erkiwtac* ‘fearful’

Modern Eastern Armenian

- participle with resultative function

<i>girk-ə</i>	<i>grac</i>	<i>ē</i>
book-ART	write.PTC	be.PRS.3SG
"The book is written."		

<i>es</i>	<i>nstac</i>	<i>em</i>
1SG.NOM	sit_down.PTC	be.PRS.1SG
"I am sitting."		

Modern Eastern Armenian

- PTC *-el* (< Classical *-eal*) + copula = perfect. Action completed in the past with current relevance.

es *ayd* *girk-ə* *kardac'el* *em*
1SG.NOM DEM book-ARTread.PTC be.PRS.1SG
"I have read this book."

Modern Eastern Armenian

- resultative present in *-ac* vs perfect in *-el* (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 15f.):

<i>na</i>	<i>(*der)</i>	<i>ənkəl</i>	<i>ē</i>
3SG.NOM	still	fall.PTC	be.PRS.3SG

"He has (*still) fallen."

<i>na</i>	<i>(der)</i>	<i>ənkac</i>	<i>ē</i>
-----------	--------------	--------------	----------

"He is (still) fallen.", i.e. (still) lying on the ground.

Mood and modality

- iussive modality: aorist imperative. negated imperative in present:

- negative:

mi erknč'-ir

NEG fear.PRS-2SG.IMPV

“Do not fear!”

- positive:

c'oyc'

show.AOR.2SG.IMPV

“Show!” (cf. the present 1SG IND *c'owc'anem* ‘I show’)

- exception: 2SG *er*, 2PL *ēk'* ‘be!’, e.g. in *ofj'er* ‘Greetings!’, lit. ‘Be well!’ translating Greek χαῖρε.

iussive subjunctive

- special endings 2SG *-jir*, 2PL *-jik'*

Luke 10.7

Ew i nmin tan agani-jik' owti-jik' ew əmpi-jik'

and PRP same house.LOC.SG stay-2PL.SUBJ eat-2PL.SUBJ and drink-2PL.SUBJ

"And in this (very) house (you shall) stay, eat and drink."

ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες

iussive subjunctive

- not restricted to imperative contexts, however:

Luke 21.36

zi aržani lini-jik'

CONJ worthy become-2PL.SUBJ

“that you may become worthy”

iussive infinitive

1 Peter 3.9

<i>Mi</i>	<i>č'ar</i>	<i>p'oxanak</i>	<i>č'ari</i>	<i>hatowc'ane-l</i>
NEG	evil	instead of, for	evil-GEN.SG	repay-INF

“Do not repay evil for evil.”

deontic modality

- nominal: adjectives in *-li* (possibility, obligation):

govem 'to praise' : *goveli* 'praiseworthy', 'what can and should
praised'

ədownim 'to accept' : *ədowneli* 'acceptable'

tesanem 'to see' : *tesaneli* 'visible'

erewim 'to appear' : *ereweli* 'visible, notable, famous'

deontic modality

- *arkanem* 'to throw, fill' : *arkaneli* 'to be thrown, filled':

Luke 5.38

gini *nor* *i* *tik-s* *nor-s* ***arkane-li ē***
wine new PRP wineskin-ACC.PL new-ACC.PL throw-ADJ be.PRS.3SG
"New wine must be put into fresh wineskins."

deontic modality

- lexical expressions:
- kamim* 'wish, desire', *kam linim* (+dative of the experiencer) 'id.', *part ē* 'it is necessary, one should', *pētk' ē/en* 'there is need, want', and *ownim* 'have (to)', e.g.

Luke 1.3

kam ete-w

desire become.AOR-3SG.MID

"I also wished" (to write down ...)

ew

also

inj

1SG.DAT

deontic modality

Matthew 16.21

part	ē	<i>nma</i>	<i>ert'a-l</i>	<i>y-erusaṭēm</i>
obligation	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	go-INF	PRP-Jerusalem

“He must go to Jerusalem.”

Luke 9.11

<i>oro-c'</i>	pētk'	<i>ēin</i>	<i>bžškut'e-an</i>	<i>bžškē-r</i>
REL-DAT.PL	need	be.IMPF.3PL	healing-GEN.SG	heal.PRS-IMPF.3SG

“He cured those who had need of healing.”

deontic modality

Buzandaran 4.54

zinč' ew pētk' ē k'ez ara z-is
INTERR INDEF need be.PRS.3SG 2SG.DAT do-AOR.IMPV PRP-1SG.ACC/LOC

“Do to me whatever you wish.”

- For semantic development from ‘be in need of’ to ‘wish, desire’ cf. NE *to want* < ‘to lack s.th.’

deontic modality

■ *ownim* 'have':

Luke 7.40

ownim

have.PRS-1SG

inč'

INDEF

ase-l

say-INF

k'ez

2SG.DAT

“I have got something to tell you.”

epistemic modality

- subjunctive:

Matthew 12.23

<i>mit'ē</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ic'ē</i>	<i>[K'ristos-n]</i>	<i>ordi</i>	<i>dawt'-i</i>
really?DEM		be.SUBJ.3SG	[Christ-ART]	son	David-GEN.SG

“Could this be / Is this not [Christ] the son of David?” (Μήτι οὗτός
ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ;)

epistemic modality

Matthew 7.9

<i>Oʻ</i>	<i>ic'ē</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>jēnǰ</i>	<i>mard</i>
who	be.SUBJ.3SG	PRP	2PL.ABL	man
<i>c'or</i>	<i>xndr-ic'-ē</i>	<i>ordi</i>	<i>iwr</i>	
PRP-REL	ask-SUBJ-3SG	son	his	
<i>hac' mit'ē</i>	<i>k'ar</i>	<i>ta-yc'-ē</i>	<i>nma:</i>	
bread really?	stone	give.PRS-SUBJ-3SG	3SG.DAT	

"Which one of you, if his son asks him for bread, will give him a stone?", or more literally "Is there really anyone among you, of whom his son might ask him for bread and who would give him a stone?"

dynamic modality

■ *karem* ‘I am able, I can’ in negated clauses and in questions, *karot em* with an agent noun / participle in *-ot* in positive clauses:

Matthew 3.9

<i>karot ē</i>	<i>Astowac i</i>	<i>k’aranc’s</i>	<i>y-aysc’an-ē</i>
able be.3SG.PRS	God	PRP stone-ABL.PL-ART	PRP-DEM-ABL

<i>yarowc’ane-l</i>	<i>ordi-s</i>	<i>Abraham-ow</i>
raise-INF	son-ACC.PL	Abraham-GEN/DAT.SG

“God is able from these stones to raise up children for Abraham.”

dynamic modality

Luke 16.3

<i>gorcel</i>	<i>oč</i>	<i>kare-m</i>
dig-INF	NEG	be_able.PRS-1SG
“I am not strong enough to dig.”		

Luke 6.42

<i>ziard</i>	<i>kare-s</i>	<i>ase-l</i>	<i>c'-etbayr</i>	<i>k'o</i>
how	be_able.PRS-2SG	say-INF	PRP-brother	GEN.2SG
“How can you say to your brother...?”				

dynamic modality: *ownim*

Matthew 18.25

<i>oč'</i>	<i>ownēr</i>	<i>hatowc'ane-l</i>
NEG	have.3SG.IMPF	pay-INF

“He was unable to pay.”

- Cf. parallel passage in Luke 7.42: *goy* + possessive genitive:

Luke 7.42

<i>oč'</i>	<i>goyr</i>	<i>noc'a</i>	<i>hatowc'ane-l</i>
NEG	be.IMPF.3SG	3PL.GEN	pay-INF

cupitive modality

- negative wishes: *k'aw (mi)* 'may not, God forbid'.

Luke 20.16

k'aw mi li-c'-i

NEG NEG happen-AOR.SUBJ-3SG.MID

“May this not happen!”

1 Samuel (=1 Kings) 2.30

k'aw lic'i

neg happen-AOR.SUBJ-3SG.MID

inj

1SG.DAT

“May this not happen to me.”

- cf. verb *k'awem* ‘expiate, cleanse from sin’

cupitive modality

- positive wishes: subjunctive, optionally with particle *erani* (*t'e*)

Buzandaran 5.4

<i>Nersēs</i>	<i>arasc'ē</i>	<i>aṭawt's</i>
Nersēs	make.AOR.SUBJ.3SG	prayer-ACC.PL
“Nersēs shall pray.”		

1 Corinthians 4.8

<i>erani t'ē</i>	<i>t'agaworic'-ēk'</i>
	be_king_PRS.SUBJ-2PL
“I wish you would reign as kings.”	

conditional clauses

■ protasis with *t'e* or *et'e*. The following combinations in terms of moods occur:

	protasis	apodosis	
1	IND PRS	IND, SUBJ, IMPV	“realis”
2	SUBJ	“	“potentialis”
3	PAST IND	PAST IND	“irrealis” (counterfactual)

realis

■ 1 Corinthians 15.16

<i>et'ē</i>	<i>mer-eal-k'</i>	<i>oč'</i>	<i>yaṛn-en</i>
if	die-PTC-PL	NEG	rise.PRS-3PL

<i>apa</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>k'ristos</i>	<i>č'ē</i>	<i>yarowc'-eal</i>
then	also	Christ	NEG-BE.PRS.3SG	rise.PTC

“If the dead do not rise, then Christ also has not risen.”

potentialis

■ Matthew 5.46

<i>et'ē</i>	<i>siric'-ēk'</i>	<i>zaynosik</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>sir-en</i>
if	love.PRS.SUBJ-2PL	PRP-DEM.ACC.PL	REL	love.PRS-3PL

<i>zjez</i>	<i>zinč'</i>	<i>varjk'</i>	<i>ic'-en</i>
PRP-2PL.ACC	INTERR	reward	be.PRS.SUBJ-3PL

“If you love those who love you, what will be the reward?”

counterfactual

- present counterfactual: imperfect

Luke 7.39

<i>sa</i>	<i>t'ē</i>	<i>margarē</i>	<i>ok'</i>	<i>ēr</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>gitēr</i>	<i>t'ē ...</i>
DEM	if	prophet	INDEF	be.3SG.IMPF	then	know.3SG.IMPF	that

“If this man were a prophet, he would know who (this woman is who is touching him).”

counterfactual

- past counterfactual: pluperfect at least in either protasis or apodosis and a past tense in the other clause

John 11.21: pluperf + pluperf

et'ē *ast* ***lieal*** ***ēir***, *ełbayr-n* *im* *č'-ēr* ***meṛ-eal***
if here be.PTC be.2SG.IMPF brother-ART my NEG-be.3SG.IMPF die-PTC

“If you had been here, my brother would not have died.”

counterfactual

John 15.22: pluperf + impf

Im et'ē č'ēr ek-eal ew xōsec'-eal and nosa,
1SG.GEN if NEG-be.3SG.IMPF come-PTC and speak-PTC PRP 3PL.LOC

meł inč' oč' goyr noc'a
sin INDEF NEG exist.3SG.IMPF 3PL.GEN/DAT

“If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have been guilty of sin.”

possession

- copula verbs *em*, *kam*, *goy* + gen/dat
- lexical: *ownim*, *kalay* 'have, hold, seize', maybe not for inalienable possession:

Matthew 12.10

<i>ayr</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>oroy</i>	<i>jern</i>	<i>iwr</i>	<i>gōsac'ēal ēr</i>
man	one	REL-GEN.SG	hand	REFL	dried be.3SG.IMPF

“(There was) a man with a withered hand.”

ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν

word order

■ basic (S)VO:

Matthew 3.14

<i>Yovhannēs</i>	<i>argelow</i>	<i>z-na</i>
John	prevent.PRS-3SG	PRP-3SG.ACC
A	V	O
“John prevented him.”		

Mark 1.34

<i>bžške-acʻ</i>	<i>bazowm</i>	<i>hiwand-s</i>
heal-3SG.AOR	many	sick-ACC.PL
(A)V	(-	O -)
“He healed many who were sick.”		

O IO / IO O:

Matthew 7.6

<i>mi</i>	<i>tayk'</i>	<i>zsrbowt'iwn</i>	<i>šanc'</i>
NEG	give-2.IMPV	PRP-holiness	dog.DAT.PL
	V	O	IO

“Do not give dogs what is holy.”

Buzandaran 4.15

<i>cna-w</i>	<i>P'āranjem</i>	<i>t'agawor-i-n</i>	<i>owstr</i>	<i>mi</i>
bear.AOR-3SG.MID	P'āranjem	king-DAT.SG-ART	son[ACC.SG]	one
V	A	IO	(-O	-)

“P'āranjem bore a boy to the king.”

pronominal objects

- usually follows the verb immediately (enclitic?):

John 14.9

<i>c'oyc'</i>	<i>mez</i>	<i>z-hayr</i>
show.IMPV.2.SG	1PL.DAT	ACC-father
V	IO	O
“Show us the father!”		

information structure

- topic/focus elements may appear left of the predicate:

Acts 9.7

z-jayn *miayn* *lse-in*
PRP-voice[ACC] only hear.PRS-3PL.IMPF
“They heard only the voice (but saw noone).”

Eznik §74

ard ***z-ays*** *asa-sc'-en*
now PRP-DEM.ACC.SG say-AOR.SUBJ.-3PL
“Now let them say this: ...”

interrogative sentences

- constituent questions: interrogative pronoun/adverb often moved to clause initial position:

Mark 4.41

<i>o</i>	<i>ok'</i>	<i>ardeawk'</i>	<i>ic'ē</i>	<i>sa</i>
who	INDEF	indeed	be.3SG.SUBJ	DEM.NOM.SG
“Who (-ever) could this be?”				

interrogative sentences

- But topical or focus material may be fronted, cf.

Eznik §160

<i>or</i>	<i>z-ayn</i>	<i>git-ac'</i>	<i>et'e erkow</i>	<i>ordi-k'</i>	<i>en</i>
REL	PRP-this	know-AOR.3SG	that two	son-PL	be.3PL

<i>y-orovayn-i</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>z-ayn</i>	<i>əndēr</i>	<i>oč'</i>
PRP-womb-LOC.SG	there	PRP-this	why	NEG

<i>cane-aw</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>mi-n</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>miws-n</i>	<i>č'ar</i>
realize-AOR.3SG	that	one-ART	good	and	other-ART	evil

“He who knew **this**: there were two sons in the womb, why did he not know **this** that the one was good and the other evil?”

շնորհակալութիւն

adpositions

- *i/y-*: the semantic contribution of the preposition to the whole PP is zero, case-semantics remain unchanged:

ACC goal,
ABL source,
LOC place
INSTR instrument

- Conversely *ast*: combination with three different cases (DAT, ABL, LOC) yields roughly the same meaning ‘according to’.
- beginning decline of word class?
- no more prepositions in Modern Eastern Armenian