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Classical Armenian

Morphosyntactic Structures – Part 2



Roadmap

- Grammatical / semantic roles
- Valency increasing / decreasing operations

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

- 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 ē 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

<i>ima</i> :	<i>taya</i> :	<i>manā</i> :	<i>kṛ-ta-m</i>
DEM.NOM.SG.N	REL.NOM.SG.N	1SG.GEN	do-PTC-NOM.SG.N

“This is what I did.”

- Cf. Benveniste (1952), Bynon (2005), Kölligan (2013), Meyer (2015).

Dative subjects

- Subject of infinitive may be marked for dative:

Luke 9.29

i kal nma y-atawt'-s
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

oč' kami-mk' t'agawore-l dma
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>pořnkowt'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>eřew ...</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 matrix clause and co-referential infinitive:
1 Corinthians 11.6

<i>et'e</i>	<i>anpateh ē</i>	<i>knoĵ</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>eřew ...</i>	<i>mtane-l</i>	<i>nma</i>
happen.3SG.AOR	enter-INF	3SG.DAT

OCS <i>bystь ...</i>	<i>vьniti</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'í may be modelled on Greek:

MX 2.28

ayso-c'-ik *ayspēs* **kargec'-elo-c' ...** *dar̄na-y*
DEM-GEN.PL-DEM thus arrange-PTC-GEN.PL return.PRS-3SG.ACT
“when these things had been arranged thus, he returned...”

- Cf. Jensen (1959: 135); Topchyan (2001); Weitenberg (2001).

No absolute constructions?

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

IV.6

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

<i>oy-r</i>	<i>kay-c'-ē</i>	<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>	<i>ka-y</i>	<i>mer</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>k'o</i>
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

mkrte-in *i* *nmanē* *i* *yordanan get*
baptize-3PL.IMPF 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

Bowzandaran 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 συνείχοντο

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”

- 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: *ankanim* 'to fall', *bowsanim* 'to grow', *kornč'im* 'to perish', *hotim* 'to smell (=emit a smell)'
reflexive: *aganim* 'to clothe oneself'
passive: *berim* '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:
kočec' 'called' : *kočec'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:
dar̄nam '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 'make go out' (: *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

<i>na</i>	<i>ows-ows-c'-ē</i>	<i>jez</i>	<i>z-amenayn</i>
3SG	learn-CAUS-SUBJ.AOR-3SG	2PL.DAT	PRP-everything

“He will teach you everything.”

Genesis 24.17

<i>arb-o</i>	<i>inj</i>	<i>sakaw</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>jowr</i>
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

na *tay* *nma* *šna-l*
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.”

շնորհակալություն ձեր
ուշադրության համար

Thank you for your attention!