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# Classical Armenian

Morphosyntactic Structures – Part 3



# Roadmap

- Copulas
- Negation
- Pronouns
- Verbal categories

## Non-verbal predication: copulas

- *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***                      *hnar*              *t'otut'e-an*                      *apašxarut'e-amb*  
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>	<b><i>go-y</i></b>	<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>	<b><i>go-n</i></b>
fox-GEN.PL	hole-NOM.PL	exist.PRS-3PL

(αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοῦς ἔχουσιν)

“Foxes have holes.” (to hide in) (“There are holes of foxes.”)

## *em*

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

Luke 1.19

*es*                      *e-m*              *Gabriēt*  
1SG.NOM              be-1SG.PRS

"I am Gabriel."

- Possession (GEN):

John 14.24

*ban-n ... oč' ē*                      *im,*              *ayl*                      *hōr-n*  
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*

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.IMPF.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.”

## *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 anddê m 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.IMPV 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*

*teti*

“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'araxōs ka-y z-jēnj Movsēs*  
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' yajt 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' yajtne-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:

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:

Bowzandaran 3.6

*oč' mi ok' oč' aprec'owc'an-ēr*  
NEG one INDEF NEG survive-3SG.IMPF

“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

- Bowzandaran 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 Isēinn, 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

<b>dowk'</b>	<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 čragn` 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:

Bowzandaran 3.13

*atē-in*                      *ew*                      *halacē-in*                      ***z-nosa***  
hate-3PL.IMPF              and                      persecute-3PL.IMPF      PRP-3PL.ACC

*ew*    *spananē-in*  
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.”

Ezrik §82

*y-or-owm*    *aw-owr*    **owte-s**    *i*    *ptt-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*                                    **merani-s**  
PRP            same-LOC.SG                                    day-LOC.SG                                    die.PRS-2SG

“The 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	<b>ἀφίη-σιν</b>	αὐτὸν	ὁ	διάβολο-ς
then	leave-3SG.PRS	3SG.ACC	ART.NOM.SG.M	devil-NOM.SG

<i>Apa</i>	<b><i>etof</i></b>	<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 ar na berē-in andamaloyc mi*  
and come.PRS-3PL.IMPF PRP 3SG.ACC bring.PRS-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 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

***ga-n***                      *etbar-k'-n*                      *ew*                      *mayr*                      *nora*  
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'dei **anc'anēr**[IMPF] and ayn Yisows, **zhet eten**[AOR] nora  
koyrk' erkow. **atatakēin**[IMPF] ew **asēin**[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) 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, Ἦψατό 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 ἠγνόουν 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), Kölligan (2013)
- State resulting from a previous action or event, obtaining at reference time (present in the perfect, past in the pluperfect)
- “Resultative” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988; 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.IMP.F.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

*meraw*

die.AOR.3SG

Greek:

*Christòs*

Christ.NOM.SG

*hypèr*

for

*hēmôn*

1PL.GEN

*apéthanen*

die.AOR.3SG

## Perfect

Romans 6.9

*K'ristos yarowc'eal ē*                      *i*                      *meřelo-c'*  
Christ rise.PTCP be.PRS.3SG                      PRP                      die.PTCP-GEN.PL  
"Christ has risen from the dead." (and is alive now)

■ Greek:

*Christòs*                      *egertheìs*                      *ek*                      *nekrôn*  
Christ.NOM.SG                      rise.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG.M                      from                      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>ant'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'ēal 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>	<i>erew-eal</i>	<i>y-Astowc-oy</i>
dream.NOM.SG	appear-PTCP	PRP-god-ABL.SG

<i>i veray</i>	<i>k'er</i>	<i>t'agawor-i-n</i>
PRP	sister.GEN.SG	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>žofov</i>	<i>hawanowt'iw-n-s</i>	<i>ek-eal</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>	<b><i>grac</i></b>	<i>ē</i>
book-ART	write.PTC	be.PRS.3SG
"The book is written."		

<i>es</i>	<b><i>nstac</i></b>	<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.):

*na*                    (*\*der*)    *ənkəl*    *ē*  
3SG.NOM            still        fall.PTC    be.PRS.3SG  
"He has (*\*still*) fallen."

*na*    (*der*)    *ənkac*    *ē*  
"He is (still) fallen.", i.e. (still) lying on the ground.

շնորհակալություն ձեր  
ուշադրության համար

Thank you for your attention!