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66. The evolution of Armenian

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|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Varieties of Armenian | 5. Syntax |
| 2. Foreign influences | 6. Lexicon |
| 3. Phonology | 7. Texts |
| 4. Morphology | 8. References |

(In order to accommodate Armenians, armenologists, and linguists alike we render all linguistic forms in both Armenian script and the International Phonetic Alphabet. Bibliographic references, Classical Armenian forms, and names of authors and dialects, on the other hand, are rendered in the ALA-LC system (<http://goo.gl/z0rs0m>) so as to facilitate bibliographic research.)

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1. Varieties of Armenian

This chapter outlines the historical development of the dialects making up the Armenian branch of the Indo-European language family. We follow Kortlandt (1985) in referring to the common ancestor of the modern dialects as “Common Armenian”; the language is not attested in any written sources at this stage, and so Common Armenian must be reconstructed based on comparison of the modern dialects and comparative evidence from other branches of Indo-European. The language is first known to have been written down with the introduction of Christianity in around the year 405, when a cleric named Mesrop Mashtots created a new alphabet for writing Armenian translations of Christian texts (Russell 1999). There have been four main literary varieties of Armenian, at different times and places in history:

Classical Armenian was the standard literary language in the fifth century, and is the earliest attested form of the language. No literature from before the Christianization of Armenia survives; most of the early literature in the classical period consists of translations of Christian texts from Greek or Syriac (Thomson 1989).

We cannot identify Common Armenian with Classical Armenian, since some modern dialects preserve archaisms reconstructible from Indo-European that are lost in Classical Armenian, so they must descend from an unwritten earlier language also preserving these archaisms. One example is the form for ‘milk’, Classical Armenian *կաթն* *katʰn*, which in comparison with Greek γάλα, γάλακτος and Latin *lac*, *lactis* suggests a Mediterranean proto-form (if not Indo-European root) **g/ɡt-* (Martirosyan 2010). Both the syllabic **ɟ* and the second **g* have been lost in the classical form, while the remaining two stops have undergone the expected shift to *k* and *tʰ*, respectively (Karst 1901). In the dialect of Agulis, however, we have *կաթս* *kaxtsʰ*, with a *-χ-* not found in the classical form (but found in certain other dialects; cf. Hawarik *կախ* *kaxs*, Acharyan 1973: 481). Acharyan (1901) takes this *-χ-* to be the result of a proto-form **kałtsʰ*, where the dark **ɟ* is a reflex of the original **l* seen in Latin and Greek. Since these dialects preserve an archaic form not found in the classical language, it seems reasonable to propose that these dialects split off from Common Armenian before Classical Armenian innovated the loss of the **ɟ*, and so Common and Classical Armenian are not the same stage of the language. (See Martirosyan 2010 for extensive discussion of further archaisms found in the modern dialects.)

Middle Armenian is attested from the 11th to the 15th centuries (Karst 1901: 1). Most Armenian varieties of this period have only fragmentary attestation; Cilician Armenian happens to have survived because it was the official literary language of Cilicia, a kingdom founded by Armenian refugees in southern Anatolia. This Cilician variety is ancestral to modern dialects of Cilicia (notably those of Hadjin, Marash, and Zeytun). As Karst (1901) extensively documents, many of the morphological and syntactic features of Modern Armenian already appear in Middle Armenian, such as the agglutinative number-case system in nouns and the use of particles such as *կու* *ku/gu* in the verbal system.

Many scholars, including Parnassian (1985) and Lassiter (2016), believe that there was a further major stage in the evolution of Modern Armenian from Middle Armenian, which following Kostandnupölsets‘i (1674: 3) and Schröder (1711) they call *Civil Armenian* (*քաղաքական հայերէն* *kʰaxakʰakan hajeren*, or for Schröder *lingua civilis*). According to Motalová (*apud* Zgusta 1971: 192–193), this emerged in the seventeenth

century and contained elements of Grabar (the classical literary language) and various non-standard dialects, and was predominantly used in letters, administration, the courts, scientific literature, and newspapers. (Zekiyan 1997: 338 states that Civil Armenian first emerged in the fourteenth century and was initially called *ռամկորէն ramkoren* [‘common’ or ‘vulgar’ language].) According to Zekiyan, Civil Armenian predated the split of modern literary Armenian into Eastern and Western varieties in the middle of the nineteenth century; it had “almost a unitary character as much as unity at a formation stage of the language is allowed” and was “a common means of literary expression for all Armenians. Hence most probably it was also, aside from the various dialects, a common means of oral communication, especially used and developed by the travelling merchants” (Zekiyan 1997: 338).

Parnassian (1985) argues that 17th-century Civil Armenian texts such as Zak‘aria Agulets‘i’s diary (1647–1664; cf. Ter-Avetisyan 1938) show a mix of Western and Eastern features; for example, they tend to construct the present tense with forms of *կու ku*, the perfect tense with forms of the *-էր -er* participle, and the ablative case with *-է -e* (all Western); but they tend to employ the locative *-ում -um* (Eastern) and the genitive plural in *-ի -i* (E; Western *-ու -u*). Nichanian (1989: 273–277) adds that Kostandnupōlsets‘i uses *պիտի piti* as a future (W) rather than an obligatory (E) marker in his version of Civil Armenian.

These generalizations do not hold for all Civil Armenian documents; for example, the version of Civil Armenian described by Schröder (1711), which appears to be based on the speech of his informant Lucas Nurigianides (cf. Schröder 1711: 1.6), uses *կու ku* for the future tense (E) and both W/Classical *-է -e* and E *-ից -its^h* for the ablative (Lassiter 2016).

Zekiyan (1997: 338) asserts that the power and influence of the Armenian merchant elites in Constantinople, Tbilisi, and Erevan most prominently associated with Civil Armenian began to wane in the mid-eighteenth century, precipitating a decline in the use of this form of the language and ultimately leading to the rise of the Modern Eastern and Western literary languages in the mid-nineteenth century. Zekiyan (1997: 338) echoes the general belief among Armenians and armenologists that these were based on the dialects of Erevan and Constantinople respectively, but dialectologically informed examination of the phonological, morphological, and lexical features of the literary varieties suggests that the situation is more complicated than this.

Consider first *Standard Western Armenian* (SWA), which is normally taken to be based on the dialect of Istanbul (IA). Adjarian (1906) outlines this view of the history of SWA in a series of steps. When the Turks invaded in the 11th century, the survivors spoke Middle Armenian as a lingua franca based on spoken Armenian. This began to fall apart for two reasons: firstly, the Cilician Armenians dispersed in the 15th century, after the kingdom of Cilicia dissolved following the invasion of the Mamluks in the 14th century. Secondly, the Turco-Persian wars of the 15th century onwards were fought mainly in Armenia, scattering the Armenian language as refugees established communities elsewhere, including in Constantinople. With the late 18th century came the establishment of the first Armenian schools in Constantinople; shortly afterwards, the new dialect began to be written in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Venice, and disseminated in print through newspapers, journals, and by missionaries. The 1848 revolutions spurred movements to replace the classical language with this new dialect as a standard, and since

Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA) was banned by the Ottoman government at that point, SWA subsequently developed with minimal influence from eastern varieties.

If we compare the traditional Istanbul dialect described in 1941 by Achařean, himself a speaker of the dialect, to SWA as described by Bardakjian and Thomson (1977), a somewhat different picture emerges. The outcomes of the stop series differ, for example: IA belongs to Group 3 and preserves original word-initial voiced stops unchanged (e.g. բան ‘thing’ → [ban]), whereas SWA, like all Group 5 dialects, devoices and aspirates them ([pʰan]). Word-initial mid vowels diphthongize in SWA (երկու [jɛrgu] ‘two’, ոսկի [vɔsgɪ] ‘gold’), but not in IA ([ɛrgu], [ɔsgɪ]). Morphologically, IA differs from SWA in negating the present tense with the old preposition *ի* ‘in’, as in չեմ *ի* գար [tʃʰɛm i gar] ‘I’m not coming’ vs. SWA չեմ գար [tʃʰɛm kʰar]. Yes-no questions employ the Turkish clitic -մի *-mi* in IA but not SWA; compare IA կը սիրէ՞ մի [gə sɪrɛ mi] ‘does he love?’ with SWA կը սիրէ [gə sɪrɛ]. Numerous verbs belong to the *ա-* *a*-conjugation in IA but the *ե-* *ɛ-* or *ի-* *i*-conjugation in SWA, such as IA տեսնալ [dɛsnaɫ] ‘see’ vs. SWA տեսնել [dɛsnel], IA խոսալ [χɔsɔɫ] ‘speak’ vs. SWA խոսիլ [χɔsil].

The lexical differences between Istanbul and SWA are equally striking and pervasive: IA բայրինկուն [pʰajɾɪŋun] ‘good evening’ vs. SWA բարի իրիկուն [pʰari ɪɾɪgun], IA օյրորդ [ɔjɔɾɔh] ‘lady’ vs. SWA օրիորդ [ɔɾɪɔɾh], IA վով [vɔv] ‘who’ vs. SWA ով [ɔv], etc.

It is similarly difficult to maintain the common belief that *Standard Eastern Armenian* is based on the Erevan dialect (EA) once one examines the relationship between the two. The pronunciation of the vowels is significantly different in the Erevan dialect than in SEA, as was noted by Gharibyan (1948: 75) and remains true at the time of writing this chapter. EA stresses the penultimate syllable, whereas SEA resembles French in stressing the rightmost full vowel in a word; EA also undergoes extensive reduction of unstressed vowels, unlike SEA: contrast SEA գրում եմ [gəɾum ɛm] ‘I write’ with EA գըրըմ էմ [gʰəɾəm ɛm] (loc. cit.). This example shows moreover that EA differs from SEA in having a fourth stop series, voiced aspirates, corresponding to SEA (and Classical Armenian) plain voiced stops in word-initial position. EA, but not SEA, also voices original plain voiceless stops in medial and final position, as in SEA փայտ [pʰajt] ‘wood’ : EA փէտ [pʰɛd], SEA կատու [katu] ‘cat’ : EA կադու [kadu] (Gharibyan 1948: 76). Morphologically, EA differs from SEA in forming the plural of many polysyllabic vowel-final nouns with *-ք* [-kʰ], whereas SEA employs the standard polysyllabic plural suffix *-ներ* [-nɛɾ]: contrast SEA ալգիններ [ɑjginɛɾ] ‘vineyards’ with EA իքիք [ikʰikʰ] (Gharibyan 1948: 77). The obligatory in EA can optionally be formed in a manner not found in SEA, wherein the obligatory marker is placed after the infinitive and conjugated, as in EA կարժալ պրդէմ [kartʰɑɫ pəɾɛm] ‘I must read’ : SEA պիտի կարդամ [piti kardam] (Gharibyan 1948: 83; see also Asatryan 1980).

In sum, the literary dialects appear to have arisen not from the dialects of Constantinople and Erevan, but from something like Civil Armenian combined with elements of various Western or Eastern dialects, including but not limited to the varieties spoken in the respective capitals. To take just two SWA examples, the Classical verb ուղարկել [uɫɑɾkɛɫ] ‘send’ surfaces in current SWA as ղրկել [χɛɾgɛɫ]; this does not accord with the Istanbul form խրկել [χɛɾgɛɫ], but rather is what we find in the dialects of Akhaltskha and Sivas among others. For the verb ‘swell’, Classical Armenian attests ուռնուլ [urnul] and ուռչիլ [urtʃʰil]; corresponding to this we find ուռնալ [urnal] (HAB [=Achařyan 1973] 607) in Istanbul (as well as Rodosto and Sivas). The SWA form however is ուռիլ

[uril] (Guyumchean 1970: 640; Sargsyan 1991: 293), as we find not in Istanbul but in many other Western dialects including Mush, Suczawa, Van, Axalcxa, Erzerum, Moks, Tigranakert, Nor Naxichevan, and Hamshen (HAB 607). The fact that the standard literary varieties draw on dialects beyond those of Constantinople and Erevan is perhaps not surprising, given the diverse regional origins of the speakers and writers of the language from its formative period to the present day.

2. Foreign influences

The evolution of Armenian has been affected not just by the endogenous dialectal forces just described, but also by an array of exogenous influences. One of the hallmarks of Armenian is the extent to which it has adapted elements from other languages, a process which has continued from the pre-historic and Classical periods (cf. Clackson, this handbook) to the present day. While all forms of Armenian have been extensively influenced by, among others, Middle Iranian languages, Turkish and Azeri, and Arabic, over the past two centuries, the modern literary varieties have been differentially affected by the ambient languages of their sociopolitical milieux: Russian in the case of SEA, Persian in the case of Iranian Armenian, and Turkish in the case of SWA (though most of the modern Turkish lexical elements in the latter were excised following the Genocide of 1915–1924).

In the lexical domain, exogenous influences can take the form of direct lexical borrowing, calquing, and semantic differentiation. SEA for instance contains a host of Russian borrowings not found in SWA, such as *մայկա* [majka] and *ֆուտբոլկա* [futbolkɑ] ‘(t-)shirt’, from Russian майка and футболка, respectively. The SWA equivalent is *շապիկ* [ʃabig], itself a loan from Middle Iranian *šabīg*, which Mackenzie (1971) glosses as ‘Mazdean ritual undershirt’, though the derivation from Iranian *xšap-ika- ‘night’ suggests that it originally meant something like ‘night-shirt’. Similarly on a hot day in the Republic of Armenia or Moscow one might ask for *մարոշնի* [marɔʒni] ‘ice cream’, from Russian мороженое [mɐˈrozʲɪnəjə]; compare SWA *պաղպաղակ* [bakbakag], a reduplicated derivative of native *պաղ* [bak] ‘cold’. (Some SEA speakers now use their equivalent, [pʰapʰak].)

Calquing from Russian surfaces in words such as *ինքնաթիռ* [inkʰnatʰir] ‘airplane’, based on Russian самолёт [səmɐˈlʲɵt], both of which have the morphological structure ‘self-fly’; compare SWA (and Iranian Armenian) *օդանավ* [ɔtʰanav], based on archaic English *airship*. The SEA verb *զանգել* [zangel] ‘call on the telephone’ is a calque on Russian звонить [zvɐˈnʲitʲ], both literally meaning ‘to ring (a bell)’; SWA *հեռաձայնել* [heratsʰajnel] on the other hand is a calque on French *téléphoner*, both being verbal derivatives of ‘sound-from-a-distance’. With respect to cars, SEA *ավտոմոբիլ* [avtomobil] is a direct borrowing from Russian автомобиль [ɐftəmɐˈbʲilʲ], whereas SWA *ինքնաշարժ* [inkʰnaʃarʒ] is a calque on French *automobile*, literally ‘self-moving’.

When borrowed words come into competition with pre-existing native forms, semantic differentiation (change in the meaning of either the original or the incoming synonym) often results. An SEA example involves the edible tuber of the *Solanum tuberosum*

plant, or ‘potato’. Originally cultivated in the Andes, this vegetable made its way to Europe following the Spanish conquest in the mid-16th century, and shows up in Armenian as *գետնախնձոր* *getnaxnjor* (literally ‘earth-apple’) soon thereafter. (Awetik‘ean et al. 1836: 540 cites the two earliest examples as being from an unspecified medical text [*Բժշկարան* *Bžškaran*], but this must be later than the most famous Bžškaran by Amirdovlat‘ Amasiatsi, which dates to the late fifteenth century, before the introduction of the potato to the Old World. It is not clear to us how to square the linguistic evidence from Armenian with the proposal that the potato was introduced to Iran [and hence presumably Armenia] by John Malcolm in the early 19th century [Reader 2008: 246].) The Armenian form *գետնախնձոր* *getnaxnjor* appears to be a calque on French *pomme de terre* (perhaps via Persian *sebi zamīnī*), and remains the form for ‘potato’ in SWA and Iranian Armenian. Modern SEA has now imported Russian картофель [*kər‘tof’lʲɪ*] as *կարտոֆիլ* [*kartofil*], and this serves as the word for potato for many speakers, whereas [*gɛtnɑxəndzɔr*] has shifted in meaning to ‘yam’ or ‘Jerusalem artichoke’.

3. Phonology

Turning to the phonological evolution of Armenian in the historical period, one significant way in which the varieties of the language vary is in their treatment of the three stop series inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The outcomes of these series vary mostly with respect to Voice Onset Time (and indeed, Adjarian first came up with the concept of Voice Onset Time while studying laryngeal contrasts across Armenian dialects; cf. Adjarian 1889 and Braun 2013). A summary of the outcomes of word-initial stops is given in Table 66.1, together with the traditional classification and representative dialects from each group.

Tab. 66.1: Armenian dialect stop series

group	*D	*D ^h	*T	example dialects
1	D	D ^h	T ^h	Sivas
2	T	D ^h	D	Erevan, New Julfa
3	D	D	T ^h	Istanbul
4	D	T	T ^h	Sasun, MidA, Kesab
5	D	T ^h	T ^h	Malatya, SWA
6	T	D	T ^h	Classical, SEA
7	T	T	T ^h	Van

Here D stands for voiced stops, D^h for voiced aspirated stops, T for voiceless stops, and T^h for voiceless aspirated stops. Note that in some dialects, such as Van, we see a merger of two of the series. The behavior of loanwords suggests that these changes occurred across the dialects between the 6th and 13th centuries (Weitenberg 2002: 148). By way

of example, consider the PIE words for ‘ten’, ‘I carry’, and ‘eight’, and their reflexes in a sample of dialects in Table 66.2:

Tab. 66.2: Reflexes of the PIE stop series

group	*D	*D ^h	*T	variety
	*dekm̥t	*b ^h er-	*oktō:	PIE
	‘ten’	‘I carry’	‘eight’	
1	dasə	b ^h erem	ut ^h ə	Sivas
2	tasə	b ^h iɛɹiem	ut ^h	New Julfa
3	dasə	bɛrɛm	ut ^h u	Istanbul
4	das	pɛrɛm	ut ^h	Sasun
5	dasə	p ^h erem	ut ^h ə	SWA
6	tasn	bɛrɛm	ut ^h	Classical
7	tas	pɪrɛm	ut ^h	Van

Under the assumption that Group 6 represents the Proto-Armenian situation (see Pisowicz 1976), as Classical Armenian is the oldest attested variety, an ordering paradox arises in deriving the Group 4 series. The problem is that we seem to have an inversion of the *D and *D^h series: Classical *teḷi* ‘place’ corresponds to Kesab *diɛk*, while Classical *deḷ* ‘drug’ to Kesab *tiɛk*. But if either the d > t or the t > d change happened prior to the other, we would see a merger, as the second change would in each case restore the original sound, extending it to both original series.

One solution to this problem would be to take another series to be original; taking Group 6 to be original produces, as we have seen, an ordering paradox with respect to 4; and 3, 5, and 7 all involve mergers and so cannot be original; therefore, it appears that either 1 or 2 must be original. If so, this has the consequence that the voiced aspirates in groups 1 and 2 descend directly from the original Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirates, and so also avoids the complication of having to propose any sound changes in between (Garrett 1998).

The behavior of Greek and Iranian loanwords poses problems for this analysis of the voiced aspirates as original, however. If Group 1 is original, the incoming voiced stops should be assigned to the *D series, which would then come out as plain voiceless in Group 6; a /b/ borrowed into Common Armenian should come out as a /p/ in Classical Armenian, for example. But we see loanwords present in multiple dialects (and so reconstructible for Common Armenian) that do not show this behavior: Greek *bēma* ‘stage’ appears as Classical *բէմ* *bēm*, and not *pēm. By the same reasoning, the change w > g ought to give *k in Group 6, if Group 1 were original, whereas from the word ‘wine’ we see Classical *գինի* *gini*, and not *kini, as we would expect if it were first borrowed into an ancestral Group 1 dialect as *gini*.

We therefore need to treat Group 6 as original after all, and somehow derive the Group 4 situation. Taking inspiration from our last hypothesis, we can propose that Group 4 arose via an intermediate Group 1 stage, even though this stage was not part

of Common Armenian. We need to propose a sound change $*D > *D^h$ in Groups 1 and 2, whereby the original Group 6 voiced series (which in turn came from the Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirate series) became a voiced aspirate series. Pisowicz (1976) proposes that this sound change happened in Group 4 as well; Group 4 can then be derived from Group 1 by deaspirating (and subsequently devoicing) the voiced aspirate series, to reach the attested facts.

An interesting change affecting vowels in some modern dialects is Adjarian's Law, in which back vowels undergo certain changes after voiced obstruents (Vaux 1992). Adjarian first noticed this change in the modern dialect of Van, in which back vowels are consistently fronted after historically voiced obstruents (which are synchronically voiceless in Van) as shown in Table 66.3:

Tab. 66.3: Examples of Adjarian's Law

Classical form	Modern form	Gloss
bah	pæχ	'spade'
danak	tænæk	'knife'
gaɪn	kʲæɪ	'sheep'
bołk	pøχk	'radish'
dzu	tsy	'egg'

Some dialects exhibit a similar rule affecting vowel quality without fronting, giving a clue as to the origin of this change. Consider the data from Malatya Armenian in Table 66.4 (Danielyan 1967); these IPA values are the authors' interpretation of Danielyan's phonetic descriptions.

Tab. 66.4: Vowel differentiation in Malatya Armenian

Earlier form	Malatya	Gloss
t ^h as	t ^h as	'cup'
p ^h ot ^h	p ^h ot ^h	'plait'
p ^h uk ^h	p ^h ok ^h	'breath'
das	t ^h es	'lesson'
boyt ^h	p ^h ot ^h	'thumb'
buk ^h	p ^h uk ^h	'snowstorm'

The Malatya minimal pairs in Table 66.4 suggest that the historical contrast in voicing on consonants has turned into a different contrast in vowels, involving [atr] (advanced tongue root); /ə o u/ can be analysed as [+atr], and /a ɔ ʊ/ as [-atr]. If voiced consonants are specified with the feature [+atr] (Vaux 1998), this change is simply represented as the spreading of [atr] from consonants to their following vowels. In Malatya, voicing on stops has then neutralized, phonologizing this change.

This can be seen as similar to an earlier stage of the rule in dialects such as Van, where the rule specifies fronting rather than a change in [atr]. In the relevant dialects, the first change was that the feature [atr] spread from consonants to their following vowels. Dialects such as Van then innovated a further rule, whereby [aatr] → [-a_{back}]; the contrast in [atr] on vowels was mapped by this second rule into a contrast in [back], the end result of which is equivalent to back vowels being fronted after historical voiced obstruents. Then, in Van, Malatya, and many other dialects, the voicing contrast in stops was neutralized.

A significant number of modern Armenian dialects have innovated a system of vowel harmony that was not present in Classical Armenian; these systems are typologically very common, and their presence in Armenian likely reflects areal influence from other neighbouring vowel harmony systems like that of Turkish (Vaux 1998).

The dialect of Aresh, for example, was spoken until 1918 in the region around the southeast corner of the Mingachevir reservoir, near Yevlax and Mingachevir (Lusents' 1982). We may interpret the description of the surface vowel inventory in Aresh provided by Lusents' in the following way:

Tab. 66.5: Aresh vowel inventory

i	y	əi		u
ε	æ	ə	ə̌	ɔ
æ		ɑ		

Of these vowels, Lusents' designates [ɑ ə ə̌ əi u ɔ] as “heavy”, [i æ y ε] as “light”, and [ε] as “neutral”.

Each affix in Aresh comes in two forms: a “heavy” (back) one and a “light” (front) one, determined by the vowel in the root of the word. For the Classical derivational suffix *-akan*, for example, we have allomorphs *-akan* and *-ækæn*; Aresh *talakan* ‘debt’ < *tal* ‘give’, while *g'ə̌lækæn* ‘future’ (with root vowel fronted by Adjarian’s Law) < *gal* ‘come’. The same holds for inflectional affixes, such as the genitive ending *-i* > *-a* ~ *r* *-æ*. For *k^har* ‘stone’ we have *k^har*, gen. *k^hara*; but for *amis* ‘month’ we have *æmis*, gen. *æmisæ*.

4. Morphology

The nominal morphology of Armenian has been radically slimmed down over its history from Classical Armenian, and even more so from Proto-Indo-European. Classical Armenian has seven nominal declensions showing limited ablaut, a change from the Indo-European system in which the vowels in roots, suffixes, and endings underwent extensive ablaut in accordance with the position of the mobile accent (Beekes 2011). Classical Armenian had already lost the inherited gender distinction of masculine, feminine, and neuter, so nominals were inflected only for number and case; this was entirely done by fusional markers, where for the most part a single morpheme marked each number-case combination (Meillet 1936; Olsen 1999).

Modern Armenian, by contrast, has only one productive declension, with separate number and case morphemes and no fusion (Halle and Vaux 1998). We can see the contrast between Classical Armenian's multiple fusional genitive plural affixes and SEA's separation of number and case and levelling of declensions in the forms for 'water' and 'hair' (Table 66.6).

Tab. 66.6: Development of agglutination in the SEA genitive plural

Classical	ջրոց	ǰ(u)r	ocʻ	
	հերաց	her	acʻ	
<div> <div></div> <div></div> </div>				
	gen. pl.	ROOT	PL	GEN
SEA	ջ(ու)րեօրի	dʒ(u)r	ɛr	i
	հերեօրի	hɛr	ɛr	i

The verbal system has undergone a significant realignment since the Classical Armenian period, in which each morphological form shifts in meaning to become the marker for a different verbal category, and new grammaticalized forms are created for categories to which no previously existing morphological form has shifted. The overall picture is something resembling a chain shift, although it should be noted that this shift is not a single entity, since the individual changes did not take place in the same period. There is also considerable dialectal variation with regard to which shifts took place, and which new grammaticalized forms were created.

The Classical Armenian verb has a present, an aorist, and an imperfect; of these, the present and aorist have indicative and subjunctive forms. There is no future tense inherited from Indo-European, but the aorist subjunctive endings already come to have future meaning by the classical period, as well as conveying intention or desire (Vaux 1995). Also during the classical period, the present subjunctive form disappears, and it is preserved in none of the modern dialects (Weitenberg 1993).

In Cilician Middle Armenian, the function of the present subjunctive comes to be filled by the original present indicative of Classical Armenian, inherited from Indo-European; in almost all of the modern dialects, this form continues to have subjunctive rather than indicative force (see Vaux 2013 for one exception – the Khodorjur dialect – which preserves it as an indicative in certain contexts).

In turn, the present indicative function is filled by a periphrastic formation that arose late in the classical period. This uses the collocation *կայ եւ* *kay ew*, literally 'there exists and', followed by a conjugated form of the classical present (Karst 1901). This formation may originally have had a progressive meaning, evidenced by certain grammatical restrictions in the modern dialects; in SWA, for example, the descendant *կու* /gu/ of *kay ew* cannot normally be used with stative verbs, resembling the behavior of progressive forms in other languages such as English. In Cilician Middle Armenian, the reduced form /gu/ had become the standard marker of the present tense. In SWA and many other western dialects, this marker continues the present tense function, but in SEA and other eastern dialects, it has become a future tense marker.

The late Classical Armenian future tense, expressed by the original aorist subjunctive, disappears in Middle Armenian and the modern dialects, to be replaced by various periphrastic formations. In Middle Armenian, the future tense is expressed by the conjugated verb *կամիմ* *gamim* ‘want’ followed by the infinitive; none of the modern dialects retain this formation. As noted above, most eastern dialects have the future function performed by the Middle Armenian present tense, from the original progressive. This use of ‘want’ to form the future, as well as being cross-linguistically common, is a characteristic of the Balkan Sprachbund (Joseph 1983); this is geographically linked to the Byzantine and Ottoman empires, which also happen to be the most plausible sources of influence on Cilician Armenian.

In most modern western dialects, the future is instead expressed by an old periphrastic form that came from an obligatory mood formation in Middle Armenian: this was an invariant form *պիտի* *piti* ‘it is necessary’ followed by a conjugated form of the classical present. This was not present as a separate mood as such in Classical Armenian, but the formation developed from an impersonal construction *պիտի որ* *piti or* ‘it is necessary that’. In SEA and many other eastern dialects, this obligatory formation survives with its original force (Dum-Tragut 2009).

An interesting new verbal formation has developed in some Western dialects. The Balkan Sprachbund was coextensive with the Byzantine domain (Sandfeld 1930) and the Ottoman domain, and Armenia was under the control of both of these for around one thousand years, so we might expect there to be some Balkan influence on the morphology of modern Armenian. One potential such feature is the evidential, or mediative (Donabédian 1996, 2001).

The normal shape of the perfect in Standard Western Armenian is periphrastic: it consists of the aorist stem marked with a perfect participle suffix, followed by a form of the auxiliary ‘be’ inflected for tense, person, and number. But many varieties of spoken Western Armenian contain two different perfect participle suffixes which impart two slightly different meanings, as in the following two constructions:

- (1) a. *պառկած են*
 barg-adz *ε-n*
 lie.down-PPL *be-3.PL*
 ‘they are lying down’
- b. *պառկեբ են*
 barg-εr *ε-n*
 lie.down-MED *be-3.PL*
 ‘they are supposedly/probably/unfortunately lying down’

The former of these is the unmarked perfect, using the perfect participle suffix *-ած* *-adz*. The latter is the marked, “mediative” perfect, using *-եբ* *-εr*. Donabédian (1996, 2001) reports that there are significant differences in the interpretation of the evidential participle that distinguish it from the unmarked perfect participle in *-adz*; these differences have to do with aspect, modality, and discourse conditions.

The evidential is appropriate when there is some contribution from the speaker over and above the assertion that the proposition P expressed by the sentence is true. This contribution can take the following forms, hence the variable gloss ‘supposedly/probably/unfortunately’ above:

- The speaker did not witness the event reported in P; P is asserted on the basis of hearsay or inference.
- P is contrary to the speaker’s expectation or accidental.
- The speaker does not approve of what is related in P.
- The speaker does not commit herself to the veracity of P.

Taking the ‘lying down’ example in (1), Donabédian (2001) observes that if the mediative perfect *barger en* is uttered by a mother-in-law about her daughters-in-law, a likely interpretation would be that the former does not approve of or is surprised by the latter’s behavior. If, on the other hand, the unmarked perfect participle *bargadz* is used, the utterance has a more matter-of-fact flavor, in which the speaker does not include any implicit commentary on how she feels about the fact that her daughters-in-law are resting.

One can also use a fixed 3rd singular past subjunctive form of ‘be’, *բղէր jeker*, as an evidential particle with predicates of any form, mediative or otherwise; this encodes the same four properties already seen. Aytėnean (1883) attributes this use of the form to influence from Turkish *-miş*.

5. Syntax

With respect to a specific cluster of syntactic features, the varieties of Armenian fall into two typological categories, summarized in Table 66.7:

Tab. 66.7: Typological categorization of Armenian varieties

	Type	Varieties of Armenian	Features
i.	head-initial	Classical Armenian Middle Armenian	unmarked SVO word order prepositions adjectives can follow head noun Indo-European (fusional) inflection
ii.	head-final	Modern Armenian	unmarked SOV word order postpositions preposed modifiers agglutinative inflection

To illustrate the differences between the two categories in Table 66.7, consider the following representative noun phrases and relative clauses in Classical and Modern Armenian (data modified from Acharyan 1911: 24):

(2) noun phrase: ‘my neighbor’s son Leon’s books’ pages’

a. Classical

թերթք	գրոց	Լեւոնի	որդւոյ	հրացւոյ	իմոյ
t ^h ɛrt ^h -k ^h	gr-ɔts ^h	Lɛwɔn-i	ɔrdw-ɔj	drats ^{hw} -ɔj	im-ɔj
page-PL	book-GEN.PL	Leon-GEN	son-GEN	neighbor-GEN	my-GEN

b. MWA

դրացիիս	սղուն	Լեւոնին	գիրքերուն
t ^h ərats ^h i-i-s	dəʁ-u-n	lɛvɔn-i-n	k ^h irk ^h -ɛr-u-n
neighbor-GEN-1.POSS	son-GEN-DEF	Leon-GEN-DEF	book-PL-GEN-DEF
թերթերը			
t ^h ɛrt ^h -ɛr-ə			
page-PL-DEF			

(3) relative clause: ‘I saw the bird that was singing in the tree’

a. Classical

տեսի	զթռչունն	որ	երգէր	ի վերայ ծառոյն
tɛs-i	z-t ^h rtʃ ^h un-n	ɔr	ɛrg-ɛ:r	i vɛraj tsar-ɔj-n
see-AOR.1.SG	SPEC-bird-DEF	REL	sing-3.SG.IMF	in on tree-GEN-DEF

b. MWA

ծառին	վրայ երգող	թռչունը	տեսայ
dzar-i-n	vəra jɛrk ^h -ɔʁ	t ^h ərtʃ ^h un-ə	dɛs-a
tree-GEN-DEF	on sing-SUBJ.PPL	bird-DEF	see-AOR.1.SG

As the facts in (2) and (3) demonstrate, a significant syntactic realignment occurred at some point between the Middle and Modern Armenian periods (according to Karst 1901: 407, Middle Armenian preserved “pure [Classical] Armenian syntax”). (One should not infer from this that all of the changes that now distinguish Modern Armenian from Classical Armenian happened after the Middle Armenian period. In fact, many of the characteristics of Modern Armenian first appear in Middle Armenian, such as periphrastic verb formations [e.g. Middle Armenian and MWA *gu dam* ‘I give’, *bidi dam* ‘I will/must give’ vs. Classical *tam*, *tac^h*, respectively] and the Modern *-[n]er* plural morpheme [cf. Classical *-k^h*].) This realignment is traditionally linked to the significant influence of Turkish in the Armenian-speaking world following the invasion of Asia Minor by various Turkic tribes beginning in the eleventh century. In fact, it is often observed anecdotally that Modern Armenian is simply Armenian phonology and morphology with Turkish syntax (cf. Pedersen 1906: 472; Adjarian 1909: 8). The syntactic similarities between Modern Armenian and Turkish can be seen by comparing the Modern Armenian structures in (2b) and (3b) to their Turkish equivalents in (4a) and (4b) respectively; the primary difference is in the relative order of the genitive and possessive markers – GEN-POSS in Armenian but POSS-GEN in Turkish.

(4) Comparison of Modern Armenian and Turkish noun phrases and relative clauses

a. ‘my neighbor’s son Leon’s books’ pages’

t ^h ərats ^h i-i-s	dəʁ-u-n	lɛvɔn-i-n	k ^h irk ^h -ɛr-u-n
neighbor-GEN-1.POSS	son-GEN-DEF	Leon-GEN-DEF	book-PL-GEN-DEF
komşu-m-un	oğl-u	Levon-ın	kitab-lar-ı-nın
neighbor-1.POSS-GEN	son-GEN	Leon-GEN	book-PL-3-GEN
t ^h ɛrt ^h -ɛr-ə			
page-PL-DEF			
yaprak-lar-ı			
page-PL-3			

- b. 'I saw the bird that was singing in the tree'

dzar-i-n	vəra	jɛrk ^h -əʁ	t ^h ərtʃ ^h un-ə	dəs-a
tree-GEN-DEF	on	sing-SUBJ.PPL	bird-DEF	see-AOR.1.SG
ağac-ın	üstün-de	öt-en	kuş-u	gör-dü-m
tree-GEN	on-LOC	sing-SUBJ.PPL	bird-DEF.ACC	see-AOR-1.SG

Other morphosyntactic innovations in Modern Armenian that have been attributed to Turkish influence include the development of agglutinative nominal morphology (discussed above, 4), the appearance of a fixed position for nonspecific objects (immediately before the verb; cf. Comrie 1984), the creation of a special construction for yes-no questions, the development of periphrastic passive formations with ablative agents, and the declension of adpositions (Acharyan 1952: 198, section 7.5).

Armenian has had extensive contact with other languages as well; in fact most speakers of Armenian are bilingual, typically also speaking one or more of the languages Russian, Turkish, Georgian, Arabic, English, and French. However, these languages do not (with the exception of Turkish) appear to have had a significant influence on Armenian syntax. A notable exception is Persian, which has noticeably influenced the syntax of several Iranian Armenian varieties. Acharyan (1911: 284) noted that the Maragha dialect appears to have borrowed from Persian the ability to attach direct object clitics to verbs; in Maragha these clitics are homophonous with the possessive clitics, as in (5).

- (5) direct object clitics in Maragha (Acharyan 1911: 284)

- a. մէ ձի պռնէնքս
 me dzi pərn-ε-nk^h-ət
 a horse take-THEME.V-1PL-2SG.CLITIC
 'let's take a horse for you'

SEA equivalent:

- մի ձի բռնենք քեզ համար
 mi dzi bərn-ε-nk^h k^hεz hamar
 a horse take-THEME.V-1PL you.SG.ACC for

- b. փստտէս էրդ
 p^hətət-ε-s εɹ-əd
 seek-THEME.V-PPL PAST-2SG.CLITIC
 'he/she/it was looking for you'

SEA equivalent:

- քեզ կը փստտէր
 k^hεz kə p^həntɹ-εɹ
 you.SG.ACC IMF seek-3SG.IMF

The same construction is found in Teheran Armenian, as in (6) (from Karine Megerdoodmian (p.c.); cf. also Muradyan et al. 1977, feature 675).

- (6) կխփեմս
 kə-χəp^h-ε-m-ət
 FUT-hit-THEME.V-1SG-2SG.CLITIC
 'I will hit you'

Syntactic influence from Persian arguably also surfaces in the formation of relative clauses with a resumptive pronoun in Teheran Armenian, as with *իրանից* *ian-its^h* in (7) (data from Karine Megerdooian, p.c.).

- (7) *էն կինը որ ես իրանից էս գիրքը վերցրամ*
 en kin-ə vɔɪ jɛs ian-its^h ɛs gɪrk^h-ə vɛɪts^həɪ-ɑ-m
 that woman-DEF which I her-ABL this book-DEF buy-THHEME.V-1SG
 ‘the woman I bought this book from’

SEA equivalent:

- այն կինը վորից այս գիրքը վերցրեցի*
 ajn kin-ə vɔɪ-its^h əjs gɪrk^h-ə vɛɪts^həɪ-ɛ-ts^h-i
 that woman-DEF which-ABL this book-DEF buy-THHEME-AOR-1SG

One syntactic similarity between Armenian dialects (past and present) and European languages such as French, German, and Dutch is in the formation of the perfect using an auxiliary ‘have’ or ‘be’. In Benveniste’s (1952) analysis, he draws an analogy between the so-called “transitive perfect” – which he describes as being used with transitive verbs – and a possessive construction:

- (8) “transitive perfect”
նորա է գործեալ
 nora ē gorc-eal
 3SG.GEN be.3SG do-PPL
 ‘(s)he/it has done/accomplished’

- (9) possession
նորա է հանդերձ
 nora ē handerj
 3SG.GEN be.3SG garment
 ‘(s)he has a garment’

In both constructions, we have a copula whose “subject” is in the genitive. This is supported by the fact that the lexical verb *unim* ‘have’ is sometimes used to express the perfect in Middle Armenian, as in *գեաղաքն առած ունէին* *zk’alak’n arac unēin* ‘they had taken the city’, *ի ներքսէ պահած ունի* *i nerk’sē pahac uni* ‘he has kept [it] inside’ (Aytēnean 1866.2: 96–97).

This can also be seen in the development of some modern dialects. In the Hamshen subdialect of Köprücü, for example, we see by comparing the forms in (10a) with those in (10b) that the perfect is expressed using a marker *-ui*.

- (10) a. *dzidzak-adz a* ‘he laughed’
 mɛɪ-adz a ‘he died’
 ɛg-adz a ‘he came’
 b. *dzidzak-adz ui* ‘I (have) laughed’
 **mɛɪ-adz ui* ‘I (have) died’
 **ɛg-adz ui* ‘I (have) come’

In the second person singular we have *-ues*, in the third person singular *-ua*. Given its use in the past tense, deriving from the original perfect, we can take this *-ui*, *-ues*, *-ua* marker to come from a grammaticalization of the original lexical verb *unim*.

Benveniste analyzes the Classical Armenian data in (8) as part of a split ergative system, in which transitives behave differently from intransitives in taking this kind of perfect construction; split ergativity is common to other languages of the region. Indeed, the similarity between this system and that of western European languages had already been noticed by earlier Armenian writers; Aytĕnean (1866, 2: 96–97) commented: “The modern European languages seem to parallel our 12th century language, using *have* with transitive verbs and *be* with intransitives and middles.”

In fact, after Benveniste’s time (Burzio 1986), it was realized that the division in the western European perfect is not transitive-intransitive, but unaccusative-non-unaccusative. Unaccusative verbs (passives, raising verbs [*seem*, *appear*], *come*, *go*, *arrive*, *fall* ...) take only an internal argument, prototypically when this argument is a patient or undergoes a change of state. The rest of intransitive verbs, unergative verbs (*work*, *sing*, *dance*, *cough*, *laugh* ...) take an external argument, which prototypically plays an agentive thematic role.

6. Lexicon

As well as changes to the lexicon in the form of loanwords, there have been various idiosyncratic semantic changes to individual native Armenian words. We quickly outline two examples here to give a flavor of historical Armenian-internal lexicology.

- The word Հաւ *haw* is often glossed for Classical Armenian as ‘bird’, which is the reconstructed meaning of its PIE etymon *h₂éwis (Martirosyan 2010), cf. Latin *avis*, Greek αἰετός ‘eagle’. Strohmeier (1983) concludes from a philological investigation that the word has a somewhat narrower meaning in Armenian than its etymon, primarily referring to “birds which are useful to men” (Martirosyan 2010). In most modern dialects (with the exception of Van), the word’s range has narrowed further to mean only ‘chicken’; the frozen plural *haw-k^h* has come to mean the more generic ‘bird’.
- The Classical Armenian verb քննեմ *k’unem* ‘sleep’ has two reflexes in the modern dialects. The original sense of ‘sleep’ is continued in the irregularly altered form *k^hənel*, perhaps generalized from the oblique stem *k’n-* of the associated noun *k’un* ‘sleep’. The regular outcome *k^hunel* has come to mean ‘futuere’ throughout the informal registers of the modern dialects. Petrosyan (2007) suggests that this meaning was influenced by a reflex of PIE *keh₂- ‘love’ (cf. Sanskrit *kā-* ‘desire’, English *whore*), but Martirosyan (2010) contests that the two roots are formally too distant, and argues that the shift ‘sleep’ > ‘futuere’ is semantically plausible without interference from other lexemes.

7. Texts

To illustrate the evolution of Armenian in the historical period, we give the text of the Lord’s Prayer in several varieties of Armenian dialects.

- (11) Classical Armenian (Ējmiacin ms. 229, 989 A.D.)

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս, սուրբ եղիցի անուն քո, եկեցէ արքայութիւն քո, եղիցին կամք քո որպէս յերկինս եւ յերկրի. զհաց մեր հանապազորդ տուր մեզ այսաւր, եւ թող մեզ զպարտիս մեր, որպէս եւ մեք թողումք մերոց պարտապանաց, եւ մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն, այլ փրկեա զմեզ ի չարէ. զի քո է արքայութիւն եւ զաւրութիւն եւ փառք յաւիտեանս ամէն.

hayr mer or yerkins. surb elic'i anun k'o. ekec'ē ark'ayut'iwn k'o. elic'in kamk' k'o orpēs yerkins ew yerki. zhac' mer hanapazord tur mez aysawr. ew t'oł mez zpartis mer. orpēs ew mek' t'olumk' meroc' partapanac'. ew mi tanir zmez i p'ordzut'iwn. ayl p'rkea zmez i č'arē. zi k'o ē ark'ayut'iwn ew zawrut'iwn ew p'ark' yawiteans amēn.

- (12) Standard Eastern Armenian

Հայր մեր, վոր յերկնքում ես, սուրբ թող լինի քո անունը. քո թագավորությունը թող գա. քո կամքը թող լինի յերկրի վրա, ինչպես վոր յերկնքում է. մեր հանապազորյա հացը տուր մեզ այսօր. յեվ թող մեզ մեր պարտքերը ինչպես յեվ մենք ենք թողնում մեր պարտականքերին. յեվ մի տար մեզ փորձության, այլ փրկիր մեզ չարից. վորովհետեւ քօնն է թագավորությունը յեվ զորությունը յեվ փառքը հավիտյանս. ամեն.

hajr mer, vor jerkənk^hum es. surp^h t^həw lini k^hə anunə. k^hə t^hagavərut^hjunə t^həw ga. k^hə kamk^hə t^həw lini jerkri vərə, intf^hpes vor jerkənk^hum e. mer hanapazordja hats^hə tur mez ajsor. jev t^həw mez mer partk^herə intf^hpes jev menk^h enk^h t^həwnum mer partakaner in. jev mi tar mez p^hordzut^hjan, ajl p^harkir mez t^harits^h. vorəvhetev k^hən: e t^hagavərut^hjunə jev zərut^hjunə jev p^hark^hə havitjanəs. amēn.

- (13) Standard Western Armenian

Ով հայր մեր որ երկինքն ես, քու անունդ սուրբ ըլլայ. քու թագաւորութիւնդ գայ. քու կամքդ ըլլայ ինչպէս երկինքը՝ նոյնպէս երկրի վրայ. մեր ամէնօրուան հացը այսօր ալ մեզի տուր, մեզի ներէ մեր պարտքերը ինչպէս մենք ալ կը ներենք մեր պարտականքերուն. ու մեզ փորձութեան մի տանիր, հապա չարէն մեզ ազատէ. քանզի քուկդ է թագաւորութիւնը եւ զօրութիւնը ու փառքը յաւիտեանս: Ամէն.

əv hajr mer vor jergink^hn es, k^hu anunəth surp^h əl:a. k^hu t^hak^havərut^hjunəth k^ha. k^hu gamk^həth əl:a intf^hbes jergink^hə nujnbes jergri vərə. mer amenərvan hats^hə ajsor al mezi dur, mezi nərə mer bardk^herə intf^hbes menk^h al gə nərēnk^h mer bardagan:erun. u mez p^harts^hut^hjan mi danir, haba t^harēn mez azade. k^hanzi k^hugəth e t^hak^havərut^hjunə jev zərut^hjunə u p^hark^hə havidjanəs: amēn.

- (14) Zok (Vaux 2008)

Անուն հօր եւ օրթօ եւ օքույն սրիօ ամմէն: Միր ափի օր երկնքումնըս, սուրի նէան քու անունու. քու թագավորությունը միր վէարին մնօ միշտ, համման ըզէահէածըթ կատարվի, ուրտի երկնքումն, անտի էալ երկրի վէարին: Միր օրվա հօըը հըսանի միզ, եւ թուդ միշտ միզ պարտական, օր միք էալ պօրտք չըմընօնք միրուց, եւ միշտ միզ հէառի պէահիս չարից, մէանէակ փրկիս չարությունից. քանի օր ըշխարքամըս թագավորությունու, ուժու, նէան պատիվը, քունն ա միշտ: Ամմէն:

ánun hōr jev ərthə jev ək^hujn sərp^hə́ am:en. mir ap^hi ər jerkənk^húmənəs, surp^h nən k^hu ánunu. k^hu t^hak^havərut^hjunə mir vər in mənə mif, ham:an əzəhətsəth

katarvi, úrti jærkænk^humn, ánti æl jærkrí værin: mir ɔrva hots^hə həsáni miz, jev t^huæ mift miz partakan, ɔr mik^h æl pɔrtk^h tʃ^həməɔnɔnk^h miruts^h, jev mift miz hæri pæhis tʃ^harits^h, mænæk p^hærkis tʃ^harut^hjúnits^h. k^hani ɔr əfʃárk^haməs t^hak^havɔrut^hjúnu, úzu, næn pátivə, k^hunn a mift: am:ən.

- (15) Marash (<http://hyeforum.com/index.php?showtopic=15940>)

Միր պոպը քի իրկինքն իս Քինիս ասունիդ սուրբ Թոննո Քինիդ Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնդ Թող գօ Քինիս կոմքիդ Թոննո չոց քի իրկինքի ինտէն է կիտենան իվրէն Միր ամէնավիւր հոցը էօտէօր միդ սուր հէմ միր պորտէքը միդ պաղըչէ չոց քի մինք է միր պարտականոցը կը պաղըչինք: Հէմ միդ փորձըթան մի տանա հապո չորէն միդ փրկէ: Ինչու քի Քինիս է Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնը զօրիւթիւնը փառքը յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից Ամէն:

mir bəbə k^hi irgink^hn is k^hinid adunit surp t^hɔn:ɔ k^hinid t^hekəvyryt^hynət t^huæ kɔ k^hinid gɔmk^hit t^hɔn:ɔ tʃ^hɔts^h k^hi irgink^hi indən ɛ gidənən ivrən mir amənavyr hots^hə ɛsəer miz dur hēm mir bərdək^hə miz bəkəfɛ tʃ^hɔts^h k^hi mink^h ɛ mir bərdaganɔts^hə gə bəkəfink^h: hēm miz p^hɔrtsət^han mi dana habə tʃ^hɔrən miz p^hərgɛ: intʃ^hu k^hi k^hinid ɛ t^hekəvyryt^hynə zɔryt^hynə p^hark^hə havidjanəs havidenits^h amən.

- (16) Zeytun (<http://hyeforum.com/index.php?showtopic=15940>)

Ով մեյ պօպը ոյ իյկինքն իս Քու անունդ սուր Թողնա Քու Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնդ Թող գօ Քու կօմքդ Թող լա ինչպէս իյկինքը ինտեն էլ իյկեյին վիյօ Միյ ամէնէօյվէն հոցը եսէօյ միդ սուր: Եւ միդ նեյէ միժ պօյտքը չոց որ մինք էլ կը նեյինք միյ պօյտքի տէյեյուն եւ միդ փոյձութան մի տանեյ հապո չօյէն միդ ազատէ ոյեւհետեւ Քինն է Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնը եւ զոյութիւնը ու փառքը Յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից Ամէն:

ɔv mej bəbə ɔj iǰgink^hn is k^hu anunət sujp t^hɔkna. k^hu t^hekəvyryt^hynət t^huæ kɔ. k^hu gɔmk^hət t^huæ la, intʃ^hbəs iǰgink^hə indən ɛl iǰgejin vijɔ: mij amənəjvən hots^hə ɛsəj miz duj: yev miz neje mits bɔjdk^hə, tʃ^hɔts^h ɔr mink^h ɛl gə nejk^h mij bɔjdk^hi dejejun. jev miz p^hɔjtsut^han mi danɛj, habə tʃ^hɔjen miz azadɛ. vɔjevhedev k^hinn ɛ t^hekəvyryt^hynə jev zɔjut^hynə u p^hark^hə. havidjanəs havidenits^h amən:

- (17) Kesab (Adjarian 1911)

Էօվ մեր բիւքը, սուրփ հղնի քէ անուն, քէ Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնը Թող գօ. քէ իրադէթդ ըննօ, չիւց ըր քի իրգայնքը, Թըրգէն էլ ի գէդինը. մեր ամէնէվիւր հօրցը դուր մեզ էս էվիւր էլ, մեր բօրդքը մեզի բաղըչամուշ ըրօ, չիւց ըր քի մենք գինօնք մերօնցը, վէ զըզմեզ փօրցիւթյան մի դանօ. հաբօ խալըսօ ի չարէն, չիւնքի քէ է Թէգէվիւրիւթիւնը, շէրէֆը, դուվէթը, հավիդիյինս հավիդօնից ամօն:

əv mer bybə, surp^h ɛɔni k^hɛ ænun, k^hɛ t^hek^hevyryt^hynə t^huæ g^hɔ. k^hɛ iradet^had ɔn:ɔ, tʃ^hys^h ɔr k^hi irgjan^hə, t^hərzən ɛl i g^hedinə. mer amənevyr hots^hə dur mez ɛs evyr ɛl, mer bərdk^hə mezi bəkəflamuf ɔrɔ, tʃ^hys^h ɔr k^hi menk^h ginɔnk^h mɛrɔnts^hə, vɛ zəzmɛz p^hɔrts^hiut^hjan mi danɔ. habə xaləso i tʃ^harən, tʃ^hynk^hi k^hɛ ɛ t^hek^hevyryt^hynə, ʃɛrɛfə, kʊvɛt^hə, havidijins havidɔnits^h amɔn.

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