# An Introduction to Classical Armenian
# Course materials

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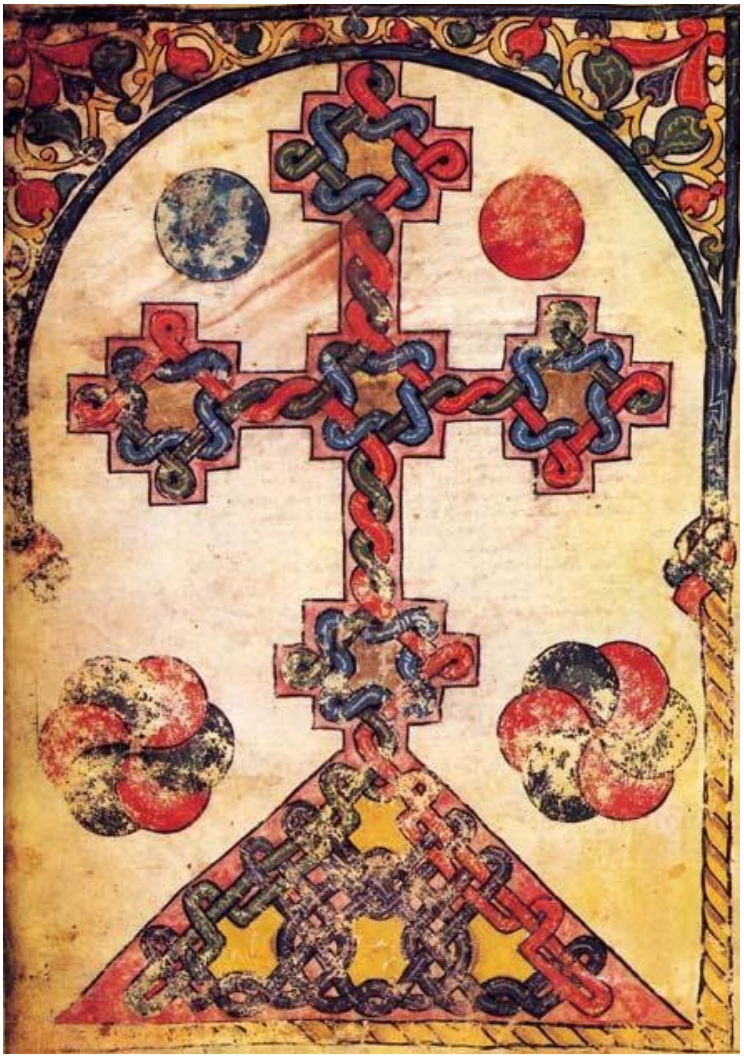

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# 1. Historical context

- The position of Armenian within the PIE language family is debated. One of likely scenarios suggests that the Armenian-speaking people arrived to the Armenian Highland from the Balkans at the turn of the II and I millennia BCE (see Martirosyan 2013; de Lamberterie 2013; Kortlandt 2016). Another possibility, routes used by the Cimmerians and Scythians to invade Asia Minor from the Pontic-Caspian steppe across the Caucasus, seems less likely.
- The time of the arrival of the Armenian-speaking people to the Armenian Highland is unclear. Urartian and arguably Anatolian loanwords in Armenian, as well as possible Armenian loanwords in Urartian, may point to contacts between these languages in the late II – early I millennium BCE (Martirosyan 2017; critical Simon 2021), cf. Urart. *hinzuri-* 'apple' → Arm. *xnjor*; Arm. *arcui* 'eagle' (< PIE **h₂ŕǵipio-*, Skt. *ṛjipyá-*) → Urart. *arṣibi-*; Hitt. *tarṵ-āli-* 'pestle' → Arm. *targal* 'spoon'.

3. THE FEDERATION OF BIAINILI (URARTU), NINTH - SIXTH CENTURIES B.C.

(Hovhannesian 1997: 21)

- The Armenian-speaking people became dominant on the Armenian Highland after the collapse of Urartu in the early 6th century BCE (Garsoïan 1997; Russell 1997). The former Urartian territory was conquered by the Iranian Medes and a generation later it became a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire (594–331 BCE). The first mention of the Armenians appears in the Behistun Inscription of the Achaemenid king Darius I (ca. 520 BCE).
- The Armenian dynasties:
  - Orontids/Eruandids (401 – ca. 190 BCE): originally satraps of the Achaemenid kings, the Orontid dynasty, probably of Iranian origin, gained certain independence after the conquests of the Alexander the Great and the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire (331 BCE).
  - Artašēsids (188 BCE – ca. 6 CE), possibly related to the Orontid dynasty (Garsoïan 1997: 48). The dynasty reached its zenith during the reign of Tigran II the Great (95–55 BCE). The dynasty decayed during the Roman–Parthian Wars (54 BCE – 217 CE).

- Arsacids / Armenian Aršakuni (12–428 CE): a junior line of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty. The overthrow of the Arsacid dynasty by the Sassanian one in Iran (ca. 224 CE) resulted in continuous wars between the Sassanid Empire and Armenia. The dynasty decayed in the struggle of the Roman and Sassanid Empires for domination over Armenia.

  The Arsacid reign is characterized by a large influx of Parthian and Middle Persian loanwords in Armenian. The imprint of these Middle Iranian languages was so strong that Armenian had long been considered an Iranian language until H. Hübschmann (1877) proved it to be a separate branch.

  Ca. 301 The Christianization of the Armenian Kingdom by St. Gregory the Illuminator in the reign of king Trdat IV the Great. Influx of Syriac and Greek loanwords.

  Ca. 405 The invention of the Armenian alphabet by a learned monk Mesrop Maštocʻ in the reign of king Vramšapuh. The first decades of the 5th century were formative years of the Classical Armenian language, when the Bible was translated and the national literature began to emerge.

6. ARSHAKUNI / ARSACID ARMENIA, FIRST - FIFTH CENTURIES A.D.

(Hovhannesian 1997: 65)

- Varieties of Armenian
  - Classical Armenian, in the narrow sense: a codified literary variety of the Bible translation and early original texts composed in the first half of the 5th century, the so-called “Golden Age”. Later texts of the 5th century are also representative of that variety.
  - Post-classical Armenian: the end of the 5th – the beginning of the 11th centuries.
  - Middle Armenian or Cilician Armenian: ca. 1100 – ca. 1350. A literary variety used in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (Karst 1901).
  - Modern Armenian dialects (see Weitenberg 2017).
  - Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian literary languages developed in the 19th century under the strong influence of the classical literary language.

## 2. The Armenian alphabet

| | Letter | | Name | Num. value | Transliteration | IPA value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ա | ա | *ayb* | 1 | /a/ | [ɑ] |
| 2. | Բ | բ | *ben* | 2 | /b/ | [b] |
| 3. | Գ | գ | *gim* | 3 | /g/ | [g] |
| 4. | Դ | դ | *da* | 4 | /d/ | [d] |
| 5. | Ե | ե | *eč‘* | 5 | /e/ | [ɛ] |
| 6. | Զ | զ | *za* | 6 | /z/ | [z] |
| 7. | Է | է | *ē* | 7 | /ē/ | [ɛ] |
| 8. | Ը | ը | *ət‘, et‘* | 8 | /ə/ | [ə] |
| 9. | Թ | թ | *t‘o* | 9 | /t‘/ | [tʰ] |
| 10. | Ժ | ժ | *žē* | 10 | /ž/ | [ʒ] |
| 11. | Ի | ի | *ini* | 20 | /i/ | [i] |
| 12. | Լ | լ | *liwn* | 30 | /l/ | [l] |
| 13. | Խ | խ | *xē* | 40 | /x/ | [χ] |
| 14. | Ծ | ծ | *ca* | 50 | /c/ | [ʦ] |
| 15. | Կ | կ | *ken* | 60 | /k/ | [k] |
| 16. | Հ | հ | *ho* | 70 | /h/ | [h] |
| 17. | Ձ | ձ | *ja* | 80 | /j/ | [ʣ] |
| 18. | Ղ | ղ | *łat* | 90 | /ł/ | [ʁ] |
| 19. | Ճ | ճ | *čē* | 100 | /č/ | [ʧ] |
| 20. | Մ | մ | *men* | 200 | /m/ | [m] |
| 21. | Յ | յ | *yi* | 300 | /y/ | [j] |
| 22. | Ն | ն | *nu* | 400 | /n/ | [n] |
| 23. | Շ | շ | *ša* | 500 | /š/ | [ʃ] |
| 24. | Ո | ո | *o* | 600 | /o/ | [ɔ] |
| 25. | Չ | չ | *č‘a* | 700 | /č‘/ | [ʧʰ] |
| 26. | Պ | պ | *pē* | 800 | /p/ | [p] |
| 27. | Ջ | ջ | *ǰē* | 900 | /ǰ/ | [ʤ] |
| 28. | Ռ | ռ | *ṙa* | 1000 | /ṙ/, /r̄/ | [r] |
| 29. | Ս | ս | *sē* | 2000 | /s/ | [s] |
| 30. | Վ | վ | *vew* | 3000 | /v/ | [v] |
| 31. | Տ | տ | *tiwn* | 4000 | /t/ | [t] |
| 32. | Ր | ր | *rē* | 5000 | /r/ | [ɾ] |
| 33. | Ց | ց | *c‘o* | 6000 | /c‘/ | [ʦʰ] |
| 34. | Ւ | ւ | *hiwn (viwn)* | 7000 | /w/ | [v] |
| 35. | Փ | փ | *p‘iwr* | 8000 | /p‘/ | [pʰ] |
| 36. | Ք | ք | *k‘ē* | 9000 | /k‘/ | [kʰ] |
| 37. | Օ | օ | *ō* | 10000 | /ō/ | [ɔ] |
| 38. | Ֆ | ֆ | *fē* | 20000 | /f/ | [f] |
| 39. | Ու | ու | | | /u/, /ow/ | [u] |

# 3. Phonological system

## 3.1. Vowels

/i/ /u/ ի ու

/ē/ /ə/ է ը/Ø

/e/ /o/ ե ո

/a/ ա

- Digraph <ու> for [u] (after Gk. ου) is a rare deviation from the phonological principle. It is transliterated as /ow/ or /u/.
- The phonetic value of /e/ and /ē/ is unclear, cf. *get* 'river' vs. *gēt* 'knowing'. Most probably they were high and low mid vowels. Their traditional pronunciation is identical (see Weitenberg 2006).
- In the initial position, /e/ and /o/ are pronounced as [jɛ] and [vɔ] (*es* 'I' [jɛs], *or* 'who' [vɔɾ]). Exceptions: the forms of copula beginning with *e-* (e.g. *em* 'I am').
- /ə/ is written:
  - in the initial position before *m*, *n*, *ł* + C, cf. *ənker* 'friend';
  - when a word is divided by a line break, cf. մնամ *mnam* 'I remain' → մը-նամ *mə̲-nam*.

## 3.2. Diphthongs and triphthongs

**Diphthongs** (falling):

/iw/ իւ

/ew/ և, եւ /oy/ ոյ

/aw/ աւ /ay/ այ

**Diphthongs** (rising)

/ea/ եա

**Triphthongs**

/eaw/ եաւ /eay/ եայ

- /iw/ is pronounced as [ju] before a *radical* consonant (*iwr* [juɾ] 'own') but [iv] word-finally (*patiw* [pativ] 'honor') and before inflections or enclitics (*patiw-k'* [pativk$^{h}$]).
- /oy/ is pronounced as [uj] before a consonant, cf. լոյս *loys* [lujs] 'light'.
- /oy/ and /ay/ are pronounced as [ɔ] and [a] word-finally except for monosyllabic words, cf. *gorcoy* 'of work' [gortsɔ], *caṙay* 'servant' [tsara], but *hay* 'Armenian' [haj], *goy* 'I exist' [gɔj].
- /aw/ is pronounced as [ɔ] before a consonant. In contrast to the original /o/, it had not developed a prosthetic glide word-initially, and a new letter օ /ō/ was added to the alphabet in the post-classical period to spell it, cf. *awr* 'day' > *ōr* [ɔɾ] vs. *or* [vɔɾ] 'which'.
- /ea/ is pronounced as [ja].

### 3.4. Sonorants

| | Nasal | Lateral | Trill | Flap | Approximant |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labial | /m/ մ | | | | |
| Alveolar | /n/ ն | /l/ լ | /ṙ/ ռ | /r/ ր | |
| Palatal | | | | | /y/ յ |
| Velar | | /ł/ ղ | | | |

- Today /ł/ is pronounced as a voiced fricative pair of /x/ but it must have still been a lateral in the 5th century, cf. Παῦλος → *Pawłos*, MPrs. *sālār* 'leader' → CArm. *sałar* 'id.'. /ł/ never occurs in the initial position and alternates with /l/ after /*y*/, cf. *ayl*/*aył* 'other'. The phonetics of the opposition is unclear: palatalized vs. plain, plain vs. velarized?
- /r/ does not occur in the initial position. It changes to /ṙ/ before /n/, cf. *ayr* 'man', gen. *aṙn*.
- /y/ is pronounced as [h] in the initial position (post-classical), cf. *Yisus* [hisus].

### 3.5. Stops, affricates and fricatives

| | Aspirated | Voiceless | Voiced |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | | | |
| Labial | /pʻ/ փ | /p/ պ | /b/ բ |
| Dental | /tʻ/ թ | /t/ տ | /d/ դ |
| Velar | /kʻ/ ք | /k/ կ | /g/ գ |
| Affricates | | | |
| Dental | /cʻ/ ց | /c/ ծ | /j/ ձ |
| Postalveolar | /čʻ/ չ | /č/ ճ | /ǰ/ ջ |
| Fricatives | | | |
| Labial | | | /w/ ւ ~ /v/ վ |
| Dental | | /s/ ս | /z/ զ |
| Postalveolar | | /š/ շ | /ž/ ժ |
| Velar | | /x/ խ | |
| Glottal | | /h/ հ | |

- The pronunciation of the 5th century is uncertain. Main questions: voiceless or glottalised, voiced or breathy voiced (Kortlandt 2010; Schirru 2012)?
  - Double spellings: *sephakan* / *sep*ʻ*akan* 'propre, specific'.
  - *s* > *z* / _ *b*, *d*, *g*, cf. *sk*s̲*anim* 'to begin' next to *ski*z̲*bn* 'beginning'.
  - *b*, *d*, *g* > *p*ʻ, *t*ʻ, *k*ʻ / _ *s*, *š*, cf. **dušwaṙ* 'unlucky' > *t*ʻ*šuaṙ*, **gisan* '20' > *k*ʻ*san* 'id.'
  - *p*ʻ, *t*ʻ, *k*ʻ correspond to MIr. *p*, *t*, *k*; Gk. φ, ϑ, χ, cf. *K*ʻ*ristos* / Χριστός;
    *p*, *t*, *k* correspond to MIr. *p*, *t*, *k*; Gk. π, τ, κ, cf. *Pawłos* / Παῦλος;
    *b*, *d*, *g* correspond to MIr. *b*, *d*, *g*; Gk. β, δ, γ, cf. *angełos* / ἄγγελος 'angel'.
    (Thumb 1900; Djahukian 1987; Scala 2016)
- Post-classical consonant shifts (see Pisowicz 1997 for discussion)

| Western groups of dialects | | | | Eastern groups of dialects | | | CArm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | III | IV | V | II | VI | VII | |
| *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *kʰa-* | *k*ʻ <ք> |
| *ga-* | *ga-* | *ga-* | *ga-* | *ka-* | *ka-* | *kå-* | *k* <կ> |
| *gʰa-* | *ga-* | *ka-* | *kʰa-* | *gʰa-* | *ga-* | *kä-* | *g* <գ> |

- The phonological system of Old Georgian (5th–8th centuries) is very similar

| | Aspirated | Ejective | Voiced |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | | | |
| Labial | /p$^{h}$/ | /p$^{ʔ}$/ | /b/ |
| Dental | /t$^{h}$/ | /t$^{ʔ}$/ | /d/ |
| Velar | /k$^{h}$/ | /k$^{ʔ}$/ | /g/ |
| Uvular | /q$^{h}$/ | /q$^{ʔ}$/ | |
| Affricates | | | |
| Dental | /c$^{h}$/ | /c$^{ʔ}$/ | /j/ |
| Postalveolar | /č$^{h}$/ | /č$^{ʔ}$/ | /ǰ/ |
| Fricatives | | | |
| Dental | | /s/ | /z/ |
| Postalveolar | | /š/ | /ž/ |
| Uvular | | /x/ | /ɬ/ |
| Glottal | | /h/ | |

(see Tuite 2008)

- /v/ and /w/ are in complementary distribution after /o/ and other vowels, respectively (because *ow* renders /u/). /w/ and /v/ must have had the same value in the intervocalic position, cf. *hi<u>w</u>and* 'ill', *ho<u>v</u>ani* 'shadow'. /w/ never occurs in the word initial position. The phonological status and phonetic value of /v/ and /w/ in other positions is uncertain. Meillet (1913) considered /w/ as an approximant and /v/ as a bilabial or labiodental fricative. See Kim 2021 for discussion.

### 3.6. Stress and the stress-related alternations of vowels and diphthongs

- Stress falls on the final syllable, cf. *k'ałák'* 'town', gen. *k'ałak'í*.

  Except for:

  - syllables with /ə/: *ástł* 'star' ['as.təł];
  - compounds based on pronouns (*áys-pēs* 'thus') and particles (*ahá-wasik* 'behold here');
  - emphatic demonstrative pronouns: *áys-orik* 'this one'.

- Some vowels and diphthongs undergo reduction in pretonic syllables.

| Stressed | Unstressed | Example | Exceptions |
|---|---|---|---|
| /u/ | /ə/ | *luc*, gen. *lcoy* 'yoke' | *us*, gen. *usoy* 'shoulder' |
| /i/ | /ə/ | *sirt*, gen. *srti* 'heart' | *iž*, gen. *iži* 'viper' |
| /ē/ | /i/ | *mēg*, gen. *migi* 'cloud' | |
| /oy/ | /u/ | *loys*, gen. *lusoy* 'light' | |
| /ea/ | /e/ | *leard*, gen. *lerdi* 'liver' | |

  /ē/ is found only in stressed syllables except when followed by another vowel, cf. *margarē*, gen. *margarēi* 'prophet'.

  /ə/ is found only in unstressed syllables.

### 3.7. Syllabification

- Only *y*-clusters are allowed in syllable onsets, cf. *keank‘* [kjank$^{h}$] ‘life’. Other initial clusters are resolved with a schwa, which is not always written, cf. *spananel* ‘to kill’ [əs.pa.na.nɛl].
- Coda clusters do not exceed two consonants.
- Strings of over two letters for consonants belong to several syllables that may have non-written schwas, cf. gen. *mkrtč‘i* [mə.kəɾ.tə.'ʧi] ‘of the one who baptizes’.
- The 5$^{th}$ century syllabification rules (and therefore the position of schwas) are not always clear, in particular, with respect to the allowed coda clusters in the internal and final positions; see Godel 1975: 15–23.

### 3.8. Punctuation

- “:” (*verǰaket*) — corresponds to a period.
- “.” (*miǰaket*) — corresponds to a colon.
- “ ՝ ” (*but*) — corresponds to a semicolon.
- “,” (*storaket*) — corresponds to a comma.
- The sign of interrogation “ ՞ ” and exclamation “ ՛ ” are written over the stressed vowel of a word highlighted by the intonation.

# 4. The Noun

## 4.1. Nominal inflectional categories

- Number: singular, plural.
- Case: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative, instrumental.

## 4.2. Case endings

| | *-o-* | *-a-* | *-i-* | *-u-* | -C- | *-o-* | *-a-* | *-i-* | *-u-* | -C- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | Plural | | | | |
| Nom | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-k‘* | *-k‘* | *k‘* | *-k‘* | *-k‘* |
| Acc | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-ø* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* |
| Gen | *-oy* (*-oǰ*) | *-ay* | *-i* | *-u* | *-ø* | *-oc‘* | *-ac‘* | *-ic‘* | *-uc‘* | *-c‘* |
| Dat | *-oy* (*oǰ*, *-um*) | *-ay* | *-i* | *-u* | *-ø* | *-oc‘* | *-ac‘* | *-ic‘* | *-uc‘* | *-c‘* |
| Abl | *-oy* (*-oǰē*, *-mē*) | *-ay* | *-ē* | *-(u)ē* | *-ē* | *-oc‘* | *-ac‘* | *-ic‘* | *-uc‘* | *-c‘* |
| Loc | *-ø* (*-oǰ*, *-um*) | *-ø* | *-i* | *-u* | *-ø* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* | *-s* |
| Inst | *-ov* | *-aw* | *-iw* | *-u* | *-b* | *-ovk‘* | *-awk‘* | *-iwk‘* | *-uk‘* | *-bk‘* |

- Nom.sg. = acc.sg. (except for personal pronouns).
- Acc.pl. = loc.pl.
- Gen. = dat. (except for personal and demonstrative pronouns, and some adjectives).
- Gen.-dat.pl. = abl.pl.
- Gen.-dat.sg. = abl.pl. in the common *o*-declension.
- Ablative forms tend to be derived from the locative pointing to the direction of analogy.
  Cf. *-oǰ* → *-oǰ-ē*, *-um* → *-m-ē*, *-u* → *-u-ē*.
- Inst.pl. = inst.sg. + *-k‘* (“agglutinative” coding for case and number).
- The declension can be determined by the gen.sg., inst.sg. and gen.pl. forms.

## 4.3. Declension types

- Thematic (external): the stem of the nom.-acc.sg. is retained in all the cases, and it only undergoes phonotactic alternations related to the position of stress.
  - Pure thematic: the thematic vowel remains the same throughout the paradigm.
    Cf. *gorc* ‘work’, gen.sg. *gorc-oy*, gen.pl. *gorc-oc‘*;
    with a regular alternation: *yoys* ‘hope’, gen.sg. *yus-oy*, gen.pl. *yus-oc‘*.
  - Mixed thematic: the thematic vowel changes.
    Cf. *teł* ‘place’: gen.sg. *telw-oy*, gen.pl. *tełe-ac‘*.
- Athematic (internal): the stem of the nom.-acc.sg. is different from that of the oblique cases; the differences go beyond the phonotactic alternations related to the position of stress.
  Cf. *astł* ‘star’, gen.sg. *asteł*.
- Mixed (external/internal): some of the case forms with athematic stem alternations have thematic endings.
  Cf. *jeṙn* ‘arm’, gen.sg. *jerin*, gen.pl. *jer-ac‘*.

### 4.4. Thematic declensions

| | *-o-* | | *-a-* | *-i-* | *-u-* | *-i/a-* | *-o/a-* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | work | spirit | Titan | salt | sea | year | place |
| Nom | *gorc* | *hogi* | *titan* | *ał* | *cov* | *am* | *tełi* |
| Acc | *gorc* | *hogi* | *titan* | *ał* | *cov* | *am* | *tełi* |
| Gen | *gorc-oy* | *hogw-oy* | *titan-ay* | *ał-i* | *cov-u* | *am-i* | *tełw-oy* |
| Dat | *gorc-oy* | *hogw-oy* | *titan-ay* | *ał-i* | *cov-u* | *am-i* | *tełw-oy* |
| Abl | *gorc-oy* | *hogw-oy* | *titan-ay* | *ał-ē* | *cov-(u)ē* | *am-ē* | *tełw-oǰē* |
| Loc | *gorc* | *hogi* | *titan* | *ał-i* | *cov-u* | *am-i* | *tełw-oǰ* |
| Inst | *gorc-ov* | *hogw-ov* | *titan-aw* | *ał-iw* | *cov-u* | *am-aw* | *tełe-aw* |
| Pl. | | | | | | | |
| Nom | *gorc-k‘* | *hogi-k‘* | *titan-k‘* | *ał-k‘* | *cov-k‘* | *am-k‘* | *tełi-k‘* |
| Acc | *gorc-s* | *hogi-s* | *titan-s* | *ał-s* | *cov-s* | *am-s* | *tełi-s* |
| Gen | *gorc-oc‘* | *hogw-oc‘* | *titan-ac‘* | *ał-ic‘* | *cov-uc‘* | *am-ac‘* | *tełe-ac‘* |
| Dat | *gorc-oc‘* | *hogw-oc‘* | *titan-ac‘* | *ał-ic‘* | *cov-uc‘* | *am-ac‘* | *tełe-ac‘* |
| Abl | *gorc-oc‘* | *hogw-oc‘* | *titan-ac‘* | *ał-ic‘* | *cov-uc‘* | *am-ac‘* | *tełe-ac‘* |
| Loc | *gorc-s* | *hogi-s* | *titan-s* | *ał-s* | *cov-s* | *am-s* | *tełi-s* |
| Inst | *gorc-ovk‘* | *hogw-ovk‘* | *titan-awk‘* | *ał-iwk‘* | *cov-uk‘* | *am-awk‘* | *tełe-awk‘* |

- The *am*-type is the most productive one and is often referred to as the *a*-declension.
- The *titan*-type (the pure *a*-declension) is rare being typical for names of foreign origin.
- The syncretism of the acc.pl. and loc.pl. creates a formal ambiguity of the locative and directive constructions, cf. *i cov-s* ‘in the see’ (loc.) / ‘to the see’ (dir.). The same is true of the singular forms of the *gorc*-type: *i get* ‘in the river’ (loc.), ‘to the river’ (dir.).
- The *hogi*- and *tełi*-types feature a morphonological alternation: *i* > *w* /_*o*; *i* > *e* /_*a* in polysyllabic stems (no alternation in monosyllabic *mi-oy*, gen.sg. of *mi* ‘one’).
- Some nouns of the *o*-declension have the loc.sg. *-i*; in a few temporal nouns, it is *-ean*.

| | night | month | another |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | |
| Nom | *gišer* | *amis* | *ayl* |
| Acc | *gišer* | *amis* | *ayl* |
| Gen | *gišer-oy* | *ams-oy* | *ayl-oy* |
| Dat | *gišer-oy* | *ams-oy* | *ayl-um* |
| Abl | *gišer-oy* | *ams-oy* | *ayl-mē* |
| Loc | *gišer-i* | *ams-ean* | *ayl-um* |
| Inst | *gišer-ov* | *ams-ov* | *ayl-ov* |

| night | month | another |
|---|---|---|
| Plural | | |
| *gišer-k‘* | *amis-k‘* | *ayl-k‘* |
| *gišer-s* | *amis-s* | *ayl-s* |
| *gišer-oc‘* | *ams-oc‘* | *ayl-oc‘* |
| *gišer-oc‘* | *ams-oc‘* | *ayl-oc‘* |
| *gišer-oc‘* | *ams-oc‘* | *ayl-oc‘* |
| *gišer-s* | *amis-s* | *ayl-s* |
| *gorc-ovk‘* | *ams-ovk‘* | *ayl-ovk‘* |

The dat.-loc.sg. *-um*, abl.sg. *-mē* spread from demonstrative and interrogative pronouns to adjectives of the *o*-declension *ayl* ‘another’, *miws* ‘another’ and *mi* ‘one’. The locative and ablative forms had spread further to other adjectives of the *o*-declension, including *aṙaǰin* ‘first’ (loc.sg. *aṙaǰn-um*) and to the past participle. From *aṙaǰin*, the loc.sg. *-um* spread to ordinals in *-(e)rord* of the *i*/*a*-declension, cf. *tasnerord* ‘tenth’, loc.sg. *tasnerord-um*.

### 4.5. Stems in *-r-* and *-ł-* (pure and mixed)

| | day | element | bone | source | water | small |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | |
| Nom | *awr* | *tarr* | *oskr* | *ałbewr* | *ǰur* | *p'ok'-r* |
| Acc | *awr* | *tarr* | *oskr* | *ałbewr* | *ǰur* | *p'ok'-r* |
| Gen | *awur* | *tarer* | *osker* | *ałber* | *ǰr-oy* | *p'ok'-u* |
| Dat | *awur* | *tarer* | *osker* | *ałber* | *ǰr-oy* | *p'ok'-u* |
| Abl | *awr-ē* | *tarer-ē* | *osker-ē* | *ałber-ē* | *ǰr-oy* | *p'ok'-uē* |
| Loc | *awur* | *tarer* | *osker* | *ałber* | *ǰur* | *p'ok'-u* |
| Inst | *awur-b* | *tarer-b* | *osker-b* | *ałber-b* | *ǰur-b* | *p'ok'-u* |
| | Plural | | | | | |
| Nom | *awur-k'* | *tarer-k'* | *osker-k'* | *ałber-k'* | *ǰur-k'* | *p'ok'un-k'* |
| Acc | *awur-s* | *tarer-s* | *osker-s* | *ałber-s* | *ǰur-s* | *p'ok'un-s* |
| Gen | *awur-c'* | *tarer-c'* | *osker-ac'* | *ałber-ac'* | *ǰur-c'* | *p'ok'un-c'* |
| Dat | *awur-c'* | *tarer-c'* | *osker-ac'* | *ałber-ac'* | *ǰur-c'* | *p'ok'un-c'* |
| Abl | *awur-c'* | *tarer-c'* | *osker-ac'* | *ałber-ac'* | *ǰur-c'* | *p'ok'un-c'* |
| Loc | *awur-s* | *tarer-s* | *osker-s* | *ałber-s* | *ǰur-s* | *p'ok'un-s* |
| Inst | *awur-bk'* | *tarer-bk'* | *osker-awk'* | *ałber-awk'* | *ǰur-bk'* | *p'ok'un-c'* |

(The shaded forms have thematic endings.)

- The *p'ok'r*-type applies to adjectives in *-r-*. A few nouns that belong to this type denote non-countable notions (*asr* 'wool', *całr* 'laughter', *mełr* 'honey') and their plural forms are uncertain.

### 4.6. Stems in *-n-* (pure)

| | house | holiness | side | motion | person | part |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | |
| Nom | *tun* | *srbut'iwn* | *kołmn* | *šaržumn* | *anjn* | *masn* |
| Acc | *tun* | *srbut'iwn* | *kołmn* | *šaržumn* | *anjn* | *masn* |
| Gen | *tan* | *srbut'ean* | *kołman* | *šaržman* | *anjin* | *masin* |
| Dat | *tan* | *srbut'ean* | *kołman* | *šaržman* | *anjin* | *masin* |
| Abl | *tan-ē* | *srbut'en-ē* | *kołman-ē* | *šaržman-ē* | *anjnē* | *masn-ē* |
| Loc | *tan* | *srbut'ean* | *kołman* | *šaržman* | *anjin* | *masin* |
| Inst | *tam-b* | *srbut'eam-b* | *kołmam-b* | *šaržmam-b* | *anjam-b* | *masam-b* |
| | Plural | | | | | |
| Nom | *tun-k'* | *srbut'iwn-k'* | *kołman-k'* | *šaržmun-k'* | *anjin-k'* | *masun-k'* |
| Acc | *tun-s* | *srbut'iwn-s* | *kołman-s* | *šaržmun-s* | *anjin-s* | *masun-s* |
| Gen | *tan-c'* | *srbut'ean-c'* | *kołman-c'* | *šaržman-c'* | *anjan-c'* | *masan-c'* |
| Dat | *tan-c'* | *srbut'ean-c'* | *kołman-c'* | *šaržman-c'* | *anjan-c'* | *masan-c'* |
| Abl | *tan-c'* | *srbut'ean-c'* | *kołman-c'* | *šaržman-c'* | *anjan-c'* | *masan-c'* |
| Loc | *tun-s* | *srbut'iwn-s* | *kołman-s* | *šaržmun-s* | *anjin-s* | *masun-s* |
| Inst | *tam-bk'* | *srbut'eam-bk'* | *kołmam-bk'* | *šaržmam-k'* | *anjam-bk'* | *masam-bk'* |

- -C/VC-: *tun*, *srbut'iwn*, *kołmn*; -C/$V_1$C/$V_2$C-: *šaržumn*, *masn*, *anjn*; -C/$V_1$C/$V_2$/$V_3$C-: *masn*.
- The *šarumn*-type has several subtypes that differ in the stem of the nom.-acc.sg. For examples: *ałǰik* 'girl', gen.sg. *ałǰkan*, nom.pl. *ałǰkun-k'*; *mah* 'death', gen.sg. *mahuan*, nom.pl. *mahun-k'*; *paštawn* 'cult', gen.sg. *paštaman*, nom.pl. *paštamun-k'*; *hnč'iwn* 'noise', gen.sg. *hnč'man*, nom.pl. *hnč'mun-k'*.

### 4.7. Stems in *-n-* (mixed)

| | foot | arm | stone | image | people |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | |
| Nom | *otn* | *jeṙn* | *kʻar* | *tesil* | *žołovurd* |
| Acc | *otn* | *jeṙn* | *kʻar* | *tesil* | *žołovurd* |
| Gen | *otin* | *jerin* | *kʻar-i* | *teslean* | *žołovrdean* |
| Dat | *otin* | *jerin* | *kʻar-i* | *teslean* | *žołovrdean* |
| Abl | *otn-ē* | *jern-ē* | *kʻar-ē* | *teslen-ē* | *žołovrden-ē* |
| Loc | *otin* | *jerin* | *kʻar-i* | *teslean* | *žołovrdean* |
| Inst | *otam-b* | *jeram-b* | *kʻar-iw* | *tesleam-b* | *žołovrdeam-b* |
| | Plural | | | | |
| Nom | *ot-kʻ* | *jeṙ-kʻ* | *kʻarin-kʻ* | *tesil-kʻ* | *žołovurd-kʻ* |
| Acc | *ot-s* | *jeṙ-s* | *kʻarin-s* | *tesil-s* | *žołovurd-s* |
| Gen | *ot-icʻ* | *jeṙ-acʻ* | *kʻaran-cʻ* | *teslean-cʻ* | *žołovrd-ocʻ* |
| Dat | *ot-icʻ* | *jeṙ-acʻ* | *kʻaran-cʻ* | *teslean-cʻ* | *žołovrd-ocʻ* |
| Abl | *ot-icʻ* | *jeṙ-acʻ* | *kʻaran-cʻ* | *teslean-cʻ* | *žołovrd-ocʻ* |
| Loc | *ot-s* | *jeṙ-s* | *kʻarin-s* | *tesil-s* | *žołovurd-s* |
| Inst | *ot-iwkʻ* | *jeṙ-awkʻ* | *kʻaram-bkʻ* | *tesleam-bkʻ* | *žołovrd-ovkʻ* |

- The compound *jerb-a-kal* ‘prisoner (lit. taken by hand)’ reveals the original inst.sg. of *jeṙn*.

### 4.8. Irregular athematic stems

| | father | sister | man | woman | ear | eye |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | |
| Nom | *hayr* | *kʻoyr* | *ayr* | *kin* | *unkn* | *akn* |
| Acc | *hayr* | *kʻoyr* | *ayr* | *kin* | *unkn* | *akn* |
| Gen | *hawr* | *kʻeṙ* | *aṙn* | *kn-oǰ* | *unkan* | *akan* |
| Dat | *hawr* | *kʻeṙ* | *aṙn* | *kn-oǰ* | *unkan* | *akan* |
| Abl | *hawr-ē* | *kʻeṙ-ē* | *aṙn-ē* | *kn-oǰē* | *unkan-ē* | *akan-ē* |
| Loc | *hawr* | *kʻeṙ* | *aṙn* | *kn-oǰ* | *unkan* | *akan* |
| Inst | *har-b* | *kʻer-b* | *aram-b* | *kanam-b* | *unkam-b* | *akamb* |
| | Plural | | | | | |
| Nom | *har-kʻ* | *kʻor-kʻ* | *ar-kʻ* | *kanay-kʻ* | *akanǰ-kʻ* | *ačʻ-kʻ* |
| Acc | *har-s* | *kʻor-s* | *ar-s* | *kanay-s* | *akanǰ-s* | *ačʻ-s* |
| Gen | *har-cʻ* | *kʻer-cʻ* | *aran-cʻ* | *kanan-cʻ* | *akanǰ-acʻ* | *ačʻ-acʻ* |
| Dat | *har-cʻ* | *kʻer-cʻ* | *aran-cʻ* | *kanan-cʻ* | *akanǰ-acʻ* | *ačʻ-acʻ* |
| Abl | *har-cʻ* | *kʻer-cʻ* | *aran-cʻ* | *kanan-cʻ* | *akanǰ-acʻ* | *ačʻ-acʻ* |
| Loc | *har-s* | *kʻor-s* | *ar-s* | *kanay-s* | *akanǰ-s* | *ačʻ-s* |
| Inst | *har-bkʻ* | *kʻer-bkʻ* | *aram-bkʻ* | *kanam-bkʻ* | *akanǰ-awkʻ* | *ačʻ-awkʻ* |

- The *hayr*-type applies to *mayr* ‘mother’ and *ełbayr* ‘brother’.
- The *kin*-type also applies to *tikin* ‘mistress’ (pl. *tiknayk*ʻ).

# 5. Pronouns

## 5.1. Personal, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

| | 1pers. | 2pers. | 3pers. | self | self | self | each other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | | |
| Nom | *es* | *du* | *na* | *anjn* | *inkʻn* | [*inkʻn*] | n/a |
| Acc | *is* | *kʻez* | *na* | *anjn* | *inkʻn* | [*inkʻn*] | |
| Gen | *im* | *kʻo* | *nora* | *anjin* | *inkʻean* | *iwr* | |
| Dat | *inj* | *kʻez* | *nma* | *anjin* | *inkʻean* | *iwr* | |
| Loc | *is* | *kʻez* | *nma* | *anjin* | *inkʻean* | *iwr* | |
| Abl | *inēn* | *kʻēn* | *nmanē* | *anjnē* | *inkʻenē* | *iwrmē* | |
| Inst | *inew* | *kʻew* | *novaw* | *anjamb* | *inkʻeamb* | *iwrew* | |
| | Plural | | | | | | |
| Nom | *mekʻ* | *dukʻ* | *nokʻa* | *anjinkʻ* | *inkʻeankʻ* | [*inkʻeankʻ*] | — |
| Acc | *mez* | *jez* | *nosa* | *anjins* | *inkʻeans* | *iwreans* | *mimeans* |
| Gen | *mer* | *jer* | *nocʻa* | *anjancʻ* | *inkʻeancʻ* | *iwreancʻ* | *mimeancʻ* |
| Dat | *mez* | *jez* | *nocʻa* | *anjancʻ* | *inkʻeancʻ* | *iwreancʻ* | *mimeancʻ* |
| Loc | *mez* | *jez* | *nosa* | *anjans* | *inkʻeans* | *iwreans* | *mimeans* |
| Abl | *mēnǰ* | *jēnǰ* | *nocʻa* | *anjincʻ* | *inkʻeancʻ* | *iwreancʻ* | *mimeancʻ* |
| Inst | *mewkʻ* | *jewkʻ* | *nokʻawkʻ* | *anjambkʻ* | *inkʻeambkʻ* | *iwreambkʻ* | *mimeambkʻ* |

- *Inkʻn* and *anjn* are used for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person; *iwr* only for the 3rd third person.
- Beside reciprocal *mimeans* 'each other', there is *irears* (acc.-loc.pl.) 'themselves', *irerac'* (gen.-dat.-loc.pl.), *irerawkʻ* (inst.pl.).

## 5.2. Possessive pronouns

| | my | our | your | your | his/her | their | own |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | | |
| Nom | *im* | *mer* | *kʻo(y)* | *jer* | *nora* | *nocʻa* | *iwr* |
| Acc | *im* | *mer* | *kʻo(y)* | *jer* | *nora* | *nocʻa* | *iwr* |
| Gen | *imoy* | *meroy* | *kʻ(oy)oy* | *jeroy* | *norayoy* | *nocʻayoy* | *iwroy* |
| Dat | *imum* | *merum* | *kʻ(oy)um* | *jerum* | *norayum* | *nocʻayum* | *iwrum* |
| Loc | *imum* | *merum* | *kʻ(oy)um* | *jerum* | *norayum* | *nocʻayum* | *iwrum* |
| Abl | *immē* | *mermē* | *kʻumē*, *kʻ(oy)oy* | *jermē* | *norayoy* | *nocʻayoy* | *iwrmē* |
| Inst | *imov* | *merov* | *kʻ(oy)ov* | *jerov* | *norayov* | *nocʻayov* | *iwrov* |
| | Plural | | | | | | |
| Nom | *imkʻ* | *merkʻ* | *kʻoykʻ* | *jerkʻ* | *noraykʻ* | *nocʻaykʻ* | *iwrkʻ* |
| Acc | *ims* | *mers* | *kʻoys* | *jers* | *norays* | *nocʻays* | *iwrs* |
| Gen | *imocʻ* | *merocʻ* | *kʻ(oy)ocʻ* | *jerocʻ* | *norayocʻ* | *nocʻayocʻ* | *iwrocʻ* |
| Dat | *imocʻ* | *merocʻ* | *kʻ(oy)ocʻ* | *jerocʻ* | *norayocʻ* | *nocʻayocʻ* | *iwrocʻ* |
| Loc | *ims* | *mers* | *kʻoys* | *jers* | *norays* | *nocʻays* | *iwrs* |
| Abl | *imocʻ* | *merocʻ* | *kʻ(oy)ocʻ* | *jerocʻ* | *norayocʻ* | *nocʻayocʻ* | *iwrocʻ* |
| Inst | *imovkʻ* | *merovkʻ* | *kʻ(oy)ovkʻ* | *jerovkʻ* | *norayovkʻ* | *nocʻayovkʻ* | *iwrovkʻ* |

### 5.3. Demonstratives

- Enclitic *=s*, *=d*, *=n* — semi-grammaticalised definite articles.
- Pronouns: *ays*, *ayd*, *ayn*; *sa*, *da*, *na*; *soyn*, *doyn*, *noyn*.

| | Demonstrative | | Anaphoric | Equative ('that same') |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | |
| Nom | *ayn* | | *na* | *noyn* |
| Acc | *ayn* | | *na* | *noyn* |
| Gen | *aynr* | *aynor-ik* | *nora* | *norin* |
| Dat | *aynm* | *aynm-ik* | *nma* | *nmin* |
| Loc | *aynm* | *aynm-ik* | *nma* | *nmin* |
| Abl | *aynm* | *aynmanē* | *nmanē* | *nmin* |
| Inst | *aynu* | *aynu-ik* | *novaw* | *novin*, *novimb* |
| | Plural | | | |
| Nom | *aynk'* | *aynok'-ik* | *nok'a* | *nok'in, noynk'* |
| Acc | *ayns* | *aynos-ik* | *nosa* | *nosin*, *noyns* |
| Gen | *aync'* | *aynoc'-ik* | *noc'a* | *noc'in*, *noc'unc'* |
| Dat | *aync'* | *aynoc'-ik* | *noc'a* | *noc'in*, *noc'unc'* |
| Loc | *ayns* | *aynos-ik* | *nosa* | *nosin*, *noyns* |
| Abl | *aync'* | *aynoc'-ik* | *noc'a* | *noc'in*, *noc'unc'* |
| Inst | *aynuk'* | *aynok'iwk'* | *noc'awk'* | *noc'imbk', noc'umbk'* |

- The distal anaphoric demonstrative *na* serves as the 3rd person pronoun.
- The forms in *-ik* of the *ayn*-demonstrative are emphatic.
- When the *na*-demonstrative is followed by an enclitic article, it is spelled with *-ay*, cf. dat.sg. *nma* → *nmay=n*.

### 5.4. Interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns

| | who? | what? | which? | which | smb. | smth. | smb. | smth. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | | | |
| Nom | *o*, *ov* | *zi*, *zinč'* | *or*, *zinč'* (nt.) | *or* | *omn* | *imn* | *ok'* | *inč'* |
| Acc | *o*, *ov* | *zi*, *zinč'* | *or*, *zinč'* (nt.) | *or* | *omn* | *imn* | *ok'* | *inč'* |
| Gen | *oyr* | *ēr* | *oroy* | | *urumn* | | *uruk'* | *irik'* |
| Dat | *um* | *im*, *him* | *orum* | | *uremn* | | *umek'* | *imik'* |
| Loc | *um* | *im*, *him* | *orum* | | *uremn* | | *umek'* | *imik'* |
| Abl | *umē* | *imē* | *ormē* | | *uremnē* | *imemnē* | *umek'ē* | *imek'ē* |
| Inst | *orov* | *iw* | *orov* | | *omamb* | | | *iwik'* |
| | Plural | | | | | | | |
| Nom | *oyk'* | n/a | *or* (*ork'*, *oyk'*) | | *omank'* | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Acc | *oys* | | *or* (*ors*, *oys*) | | *omans* | | | |
| Gen | *oyc'* | | *oroc'* (*oyc'*) | | *omanc'* | | | |
| Dat | *oyc'* | | *oroc'* (*oyc'*) | | *omanc'* | | | |
| Loc | *oys* | | *or* (*ors*, *oys*) | | *omans* | | | |
| Abl | *oyc'* | | *oroc'* (*oyc'*) | | *omanc'* | | | |
| Inst | *orovk'* | | *orovk'* | | *omambk'* | | | |

- The neuter pronoun parallel to *ok'* is *ik'*, which is only found in *č'=ik'* 'there does not exist'.
- The indefinite pronouns in *-mn* (*omn*, *imn*) are positive polarity items opposed to the negative polarity pronouns in *-k'* (*ok'*, *inč'* / *č'=ik'*).

# 6. Numerals

## 6.1. Cardinals

| Sg. | one |
|---|---|
| Nom | *mi* |
| Acc | *mi* |
| Gen | *mioy* |
| Dat | *mium* |
| Loc | *mium* |
| Abl | *mioy* |
| Inst | *miov* |

| Pl. | two | three | four |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *erku(k')* | *erek‘* | *č‘ork‘* |
| Acc | *erkus* | *eris* | *č‘ors* |
| Gen | *erkuc‘* | *eric‘* | *č‘oric‘* |
| Dat | *erkuc‘* | *eric‘* | *č‘oric‘* |
| Loc | *erkus* | *eris* | *č‘ors* |
| Abl | *erkuc‘* | *eric‘* | *č‘oric‘* |
| Inst | *erku(mb)k‘* | *eriwk‘* | *č‘oriwk‘* |

| | five | six | seven | eight | nine | ten |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | | | | |
| Nom | *hing* | *vec‘* | *ewt‘n* | *ut‘* | *inn* | *tasn* |
| Acc | *hing* | *vec‘* | *ewt‘n* | *ut‘* | *inn* | *tasn* |
| Gen | *hingi* | *vec‘i* | *ewt‘an* | *ut‘i* | *ənni* | *tasin* |
| Dat | *hingi* | *vec‘i* | *ewt‘an* | *ut‘i* | *ənni* | *tasin* |
| Loc | *hingi* | *vec‘i* | *ewt‘an* | *ut‘i* | *ənni* | *tasin* |
| Abl | *hingē* | *vec‘ē* | *ewt‘anē* | *ut‘ē* | *ənnē* | *tasnē* |
| Inst | *hingiw* | *vec‘iw* | *ewt‘amb* | *ut‘iw* | *ənniw* | *tasamb* |
| | Plural | | | | | |
| Nom | *hingk‘* | *vec‘k‘* | *ewt‘ank‘* | *ut‘k‘* | *inunk‘* | *tasunk‘* |
| Acc | *hings* | *vec‘s* | *ewt‘ans* | *ut‘s* | *inuns* | *tasuns* |
| Gen | *hngic‘* | *vec‘ic‘* | *ewt‘anc‘* | *ut‘ic‘* | *ənnic‘*, *inunc‘* | *tasunc‘* |
| Dat | *hngic‘* | *vec‘ic‘* | *ewt‘anc‘* | *ut‘ic‘* | *ənnic‘*, *inunc‘* | *tasunc‘* |
| Loc | *hings* | *vec‘s* | *ewt‘ans* | *ut‘s* | *inuns* | *tasuns* |
| Abl | *hngic‘* | *vec‘ic‘* | *ewt‘anc‘* | *ut‘ic‘* | *ənnic‘*, *inunc‘* | *tasunc‘* |
| Inst | *hngiwk‘* | *vec‘iwk‘* | *ewt‘ambk‘* | *ut‘iwk‘* | *ənniwk‘*, *inumbk‘* | *tasambk‘* |

- Cardinals from 11 to 16 have the second member *-tasan* and follow the *i*-declension (*metasan* ‘11’, gen.pl. *metasanic‘*). 17 *ewt‘newtasn*, 18 *ut‘ewtasn*, 19 *innewtasn* follow the declension of *tasn* but have the nom.pl. *-ank‘* and acc.-loc.pl. *-ans* (*ewt‘newtasank‘*, etc.). The decades from 20 to 90 follow the *i*-declension: 20 *k‘san*; 30 *ere-sun*; 40 *k‘ař-a-sun*; 50 *yi-sun*; 60 *vat‘-sun*; 70 *ewt‘an-a-sun*; 80 *ut‘-sun*; 90 *inn-sun.* Further: 100 *harewr* (*o*-st.); 1000 *hazar* (*a*-st.).

## 6.2. Ordinals

- Except for *ařajin* ‘first’ (*o*-decl.), ordinals are built with the suffix *-rord* (*i*/*a*-decl.): *erkrord* ‘2nd’, *errord* ‘3rd’, *č‘orrord* ‘4th’, others — stem + *-erord* (e.g. *hing-erord* ‘5th’, *vec‘-erord* ‘6th’, etc.).

## 6.3. Collectives

| | a group of two | | a group of three | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *erkok‘ean* | *erkok‘in* | *erek‘ean* | *erek‘in* |
| Acc | *erkosean* | *erkosin* | *eresean* | *eresin* |
| Loc | *erkosean* | *erkosin* | *eresean* | *eresin* |
| Gen | *erkoc‘unc‘* | | *erec‘unc‘* | |
| Dat | *erkoc‘unc‘* | | *erec‘unc‘* | |
| Abl | *erkoc‘unc‘* | | *erec‘unc‘* | |
| Inst | *erkok‘umbk‘* | | *erec‘unc‘* | |

## 7. Prepositional constructions

| | *z*= (OBJECT) | *i* 'in, to, from' | *c*'= 'to' | *aṙ* 'for, at, to' | *and* 'with' | *ast* 'by' | others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acc | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| Gen | | | | (+) | + | + | + |
| Dat | (+) | | | | | + | |
| Abl | + | + | | | + | + | |
| Loc | (+) | + | | + | + | + | |
| Inst | + | | | + | + | | |

- The combinations in shaded cells are strongly grammaticalised, those marked by brackets are rare.
- *z-* (*nota accusativi*) + acc. denotes a definite direct object; most commonly co-occurs with the definite article, cf. *z=ban=n* 'the word; that word'.
- *i*/*y* is obligatory for the locative and ablative cases, when these are used in their default functions, cf. loc. *y=awur-s* 'in days', *i get* 'in river'; abl. *y=awur-c*' 'from days', *i get-oy* 'from river'.

**The morphosyntactic alignment of Classical Armenian**

| Synthetic tenses | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Singular | Plural |
| Indefinite O | Direct (S:NOM = A:NOM = O:ACC) | Accusative (S:NOM = A:NOM ≠ O:ACC) |
| Definite O | Accusative (S:NOM = A:NOM ≠ O:ACC) | Accusative (S:NOM = A:NOM ≠ O:ACC) |
| Analytical perfect tenses | | |
| | Singular | Plural |
| Indefinite O | Ergative (S:NOM = 0:ACC ≠ A:GEN) | Tripartite (S:NOM ≠ 0:ACC ≠ A:GEN) |
| Definite O | Tripartite (S:NOM ≠ 0:ACC ≠ A:GEN) | Tripartite (S:NOM ≠ 0:ACC ≠ A:GEN) |

- Only person pronouns always code S/A and O differently in the singular.
- The direct and tripartite alignments are typologically rare. See Bickel & Nichols 2009 on the typology of alignment.

# 8. The Verb

## 8.1. Verbal inflectional categories

- Person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd
- Number: singular, plural
- Tense: present, aorist, imperfect, future, perfect, pluperfect, future perfect
- Aspect: imperfective, perfective
- Mood: indicative, subjunctive, exhortative, imperative / prohibitive

## 8.2. The structure of the paradigm

| Stem | Aspect | Mood | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Indicative | | | Subjunctive | Exhortative | Imperative |
| | | Present | Past | Future | | | |
| Present | Ipfv. | PRS. | IMPF. | PRS_SBJ. (FUT. I) | | PRS_COH. | PROH. |
| Aorist | Pfv. | | AOR. | AOR_SBJ. (FUT. II) | | AOR_COH. | IPV. |

- The synthetic verb forms are divided into the "present system", derived from the present (imperfective) stem, and the "aorist system", derived from the aorist (perfective) stem.
- The present system is organized into five conjugations based on the thematic vowel of the inflections: *-e-*, *-i-*, *-a-*, *-u-*, and *-o-*. The *o*-conjugation hosts only one verb, *gol* 'to exist'. Each form derived from an imperfective stem follows one of these conjugations. The forms of the *-e-* and *-i-* conjugations express the oppositional voice except for some labile forms shared by the two conjugations. The forms of the *-a-* and *-u-* conjugations are entirely labile.
- The aorist system has two sets of inflectional forms that systematically express the oppositional voice (except for a few labile forms) even when the corresponding imperfective forms are labile.

## 8.3. Tense-aspect stems and conjugations

| | | Conjugations | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Thematic | | | | | Athematic |
| Stems | | *-e-* | *-i-* | *-a-* | *-u-* | *-o-* | |
| Prs. | root | *-e-* | *-i-* | *-a-* | *-u-* | *-o-* | |
| | *-n-* | *-n-e-* | *-n-i-* | *-n-a-* | *-n-u-* | — | |
| | *-an-* | *-an-e-* | *-an-i-* | *-an-a-* | — | — | |
| | *-čʿ-* | — | *-čʿ-i-* | — | — | — | |
| | *-nčʿ-* | — | *-nčʿ-i-* | — | — | — | |
| | *-ančʿ-* | *-ančʿ-e-* | — | — | — | — | |
| Aor. | root | | | | | | *-Ø-* |
| | *-eacʿ/ecʿ-* | | | | | | *-eacʿ/ecʿ-* |
| | *-acʿ-* | | | | | | *-acʿ-* |
| | *-cʿ-* | | | | | | *-cʿ-* |
| | *-i-* | | | | | | *-i-* |

### 8.4. The verb classes and their relative productivity

| | | Aorist stem | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | root | *-cʿ-* | *-i-* | *-acʿ-* | *-ecʿ-* |
| Present stem | root | [10] | | | [43] | [1282] |
| | *-n-* | [16] | [6] | [9] | | |
| | *-an-* | [342] | | [1] | [173] | |
| | *-čʿ-i-* | | | [9] | | |
| | *-nčʿ-i-* | | | [3] | | |
| | *-ančʿ-e-* | [1] | | | | |

- Numbers in brackets indicate the type frequency of the classes in the Armenian Bible.
- The default class has the root present (unmarked) and the *ecʿ*-aorist (marked). It points to the tense-oriented system of stem marking, in which the stem of semantically unmarked present tense is formally unmarked.
- PIE had an aspect-oriented system, in which the marking of stems was determined by the lexical aspect of a verb. The class with a marked *an*-present and an unmarked root aorist is a vestige of that aspect-oriented system. It is prominent due to the productive causative, cf. *iǰanem* 'go down' → *iǰucʿ-an-em*, aor. *iǰucʿ-i* 'to bring down'.
- The class with a marked *an*-present and a marked *acʿ*-aorist takes an intermediate position between the two most frequent classes; it is prominent due to the productive inchoative, cf. adj. *čʿor* 'dry' → *čʿor-an-am*, aor. *čʿor-acʿ-ay* 'become dry'.
- The minor classes include a large share of verbs inherited from PIE. They illustrate a correlation between the usage frequency, diachronic stability and morphological diversity.
- All the verbs with the suppletive tense-aspect stems belong to the minor classes (see Kölligan 2012; Wodtko 2004–2005).

| Present | Aorist | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| *aṙn-em* | *arar-i* | make |
| *čanačʿ-em* | *cane-ay* | recognize |
| *dn-em* | *ed-i* | give |
| *ertʿ-am* | *čʿog-ay* | go |
| *əmp-em* | *arb-i* | drink |
| *g-am* | *ek-i* | come |
| *harkan-em* | *har-i* | strike |
| *lin-im* | *eł-ew* | become |
| *ls-em* | *lu-ay* | listen |
| *t-am* | *et-u* | give |
| *tan-im* | *tar-ay* | bring |
| *un-im* | *kal-ay* | have |
| *ut-em* | *ker-ay* | eat |

### 8.5. Personal verb forms

| | | *e*-conj. | *i*-conj. | *a*-conj. | | *u*-conj. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pres. ind. | | Act. | Mp. | Lab. | | Lab. | |
| | 1sg | *-em* | *-im* | *-am* | | *-um* | |
| | 2sg | *-es* | *-is* | *-as* | | *-us* | |
| | 3sg | *-ē* | *-i* | *-ay* | | *-u* | |
| | 1pl | *-emkʿ* | *-imkʿ* | *-amkʿ* | | *-umkʿ* | |
| | 2pl | *-ēkʿ* | *-ikʿ* | *-aykʿ* | | *-ukʿ* | |
| | 3pl | *-en* | *-in* | *-an* | | *-un* | |
| Prs. sbj. | | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. | Lab. | |
| (Fut. I) | 1sg | *-icʿ-em* | *-icʿ-im* | *-aycʿ-em* | *-aycʿ-im* | *-ucʿ-um* | |
| | 2sg | *-icʿ-es* | *-icʿ-is* | *-aycʿ-es* | *-aycʿ-is* | *-ucʿ-us* | |
| | 3sg | *-icʿ-ē* | *-icʿ-i* | *-aycʿ-ē* | *-aycʿ-i* | *-ucʿ-u* | |
| | 1pl | *-icʿ-emkʿ* | *-icʿ-imkʿ* | *-aycʿ-emkʿ* | *-aycʿ-imkʿ* | *-ucʿ-umkʿ* | |
| | 2pl | *-icʿ-ēkʿ* | *-icʿ-ikʿ* | *-aycʿ-ēkʿ* | *-aycʿ-ikʿ* | *-ucʿ-ukʿ* | |
| | 3pl | *-icʿ-en* | *-icʿ-in* | *-aycʿ-en* | *-aycʿ-in* | *-ucʿ-un* | |
| Impf. ind. | | Lab. | | Lab. | | Lab. | |
| | 1sg | *-e-i* | | *-ay-i* | | *-u-i* | |
| | 2sg | *-e-ir* | | *-ay-ir* | | *-u-ir* | |
| | 3sg | *-ēr (-e-yr)* | | *-a-yr* | | *-oyr (-u-yr)* | |
| | 1pl | *-e-akʿ* | | *-ay-akʿ* | | *-u-akʿ* | |
| | 2pl | *-e-ikʿ* | | *-ay-ikʿ* | | *-u-ikʿ* | |
| | 3pl | *-e-in* | | *-ay-in* | | *-u-in* | |
| Aor. ind. | | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. |
| | 1sg | *-i* | *-ay* | *-i* | *-ay* | *-i* | *-ay* |
| | 2sg | *-er* | *-ar* | *-er* | *-ar* | *-er* | *-ar* |
| | 3sg | *-Ø* | *-aw* | *-Ø* | *-aw* | *-Ø* | *-aw* |
| | 1pl | *-akʿ* (lab.) | | *-akʿ* (lab.) | | *-akʿ* (lab.) | |
| | 2pl | *-ēkʿ* | *-aykʿ* | *-ēkʿ* | *-aykʿ* | *-ēkʿ* | *-aykʿ* |
| | 3pl | *-in* | *-an* | *-in* | *-a-n* | *-in* | *-an* |
| Aor. sbj. | | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. |
| (Fut. II) | 1sg | *-icʿ-Ø* | *-a-ycʿ-Ø* | *-icʿ-Ø* | *-a-ycʿ-Ø* | *-icʿ-Ø* | *-a-ycʿ-Ø* |
| | 2sg | *-cʿ-es* | *-cʿ-is* | *-cʿ-es* | *-cʿ-is* | *-cʿ-es* | *-cʿ-is* |
| | 3sg | *-cʿ-ē* | *-cʿ-i* | *-cʿ-ē* | *-cʿ-i* | *-cʿ-ē* | *-cʿ-i* |
| | 1pl | *-cʿ-ukʿ* (lab.) | | *-cʿ-ukʿ* (lab.) | | *-cʿ-ukʿ* (lab.) | |
| | 2pl | *-ǰ-ikʿ* (lab.) | | *-ǰ-ikʿ* (lab.) | | *-ǰ-ikʿ* (lab.) | |
| | 3pl | *-cʿ-en* | *-cʿ-in* | *-cʿ-en* | *-cʿ-in* | *-cʿ-en* | *-cʿ-in* |
| Prs. coh. | | Lab. | | Lab. | | Lab. | |
| | 2sg | *-iǰir* | | *-aǰir* | | *-uǰir* | |
| | 2pl | *-iǰikʿ* | | *-aǰikʿ* | | *-uǰikʿ* | |
| Aor. coh. | | Lab. | | Lab. | | Lab. | |
| | 2sg | *-ǰir* | | *-ǰir* | | *-ǰir* | |
| | 2pl | *-ǰikʿ* | | *-ǰikʿ* | | *-ǰikʿ* | |
| Ipv. | | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. | Act. | Mp. |
| | 2sg | *-Ø* | *-Ø; -ir* | *-Ø* | *-Ø; -ir* | *-Ø* | *-Ø; -ir* |
| | 2pl | *-ēkʿ* | *-arukʿ* (*-aykʾ*) | *-ēkʿ* | *-arukʿ* (*-aykʾ*) | *-ēkʿ* | *-arukʿ* (*-aykʾ*) |
| Proh. | | Act. | Mp. | Lab. | | Lab. | |
| | 2sg | *-er* | *-ir* | *-ar* | | *-ur* | |
| | 2pl | *-ēkʿ* | *-ikʿ* | *-aykʿ* | | *-ukʿ* | |

- The aor.sbj. of verbs with the *i*-stem aorist has a mixed conjugation: the 1sg. is mediopassive while the remaining forms are active. This mixed conjugation analogically spread to the following verbs with the root aorist (Kocharov frthc.):

| | *erdnum* 'swear' | *ertʿam* 'go' | *lsem* 'hear' | *mełančʿem* 'sin' | *utem* 'eat' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | *erdu-ayc*ʿ | *ertʿ-ayc*ʿ | *lu-ayc*ʿ | *meł-ayc*ʿ | *ker-ayc*ʿ |
| 2sg | *erdu-i-cʿes* | *ertʿ-i-cʿes* | *lu-i-cʿes* | *meł-i-cʿes* | *ker-i-cʿes* |
| 3sg | *erdu-i-cʿē* | *ertʿ-i-cʿē* | *lu-i-cʿē* | *meł-i-cʿē* | *ker-i-cʿē* |
| 1pl | *erdu-i-cʿuk*ʿ | *ertʿ-i-cʿuk*ʿ | *lu-i-cʿuk*ʿ | *meł-i-cʿuk*ʿ | *ker-i-cʿuk*ʿ |
| 2pl | *erdu-i-ǰik*ʿ | *ertʿ-i-ǰik*ʿ | *lu-i-ǰik*ʿ | *meł-i-ǰik*ʿ | *ker-i-ǰik*ʿ |
| 3pl | *erdu-i-cʿen* | *ertʿ-i-cʿen* | *lu-i-cʿen* | *meł-i-cʿen* | *ker-i-cʿen* |

- The 2sg. act. ipv. from stems in *-ecʿ-* and *-acʿ-* is formed by the truncation of the final *-cʿ-*: *gr-em* 'I write', aor. *gr-ecʿ-i*, ipv. **gr-eacʿ-Ø* → *grea*; *ałam* 'I grind', aor. *ał-acʿ-i*, ipv. **ał-acʿ* → *ał-a.*
- The 2sg. mp. ipv. from stems in *-ecʿ-* represents the pure stem with an accented suffix: aor. *gr-ecʿ-i*, ipv. *gr-eacʿ-Ø*. When derived from a stem in *-acʿ-* the imperative takes the ending *-ir*: aor. *ał-acʿ-i*, ipv. *ał-acʿ-ir.*

### 8.6. The endings in the indicative

| | Present | Imperfect | Aorist | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | *-m* | *-i* | *-y* | |
| 2sg | *-s* | *-ir* | *-r* | |
| 3sg | *-y* | *-yr* | *-Ø* (act,) | *-w* (mp.) |
| 1pl | *-mk*ʿ | *-ak*ʿ | *-(a)k*ʿ | |
| 2pl | *-yk*ʿ | *-ik*ʿ | *-yk*ʿ | |
| 3pl | *-n* | *-in* | *-n* | |

- These endings underwent the following sound changes when added to the thematic vowels:
  - *ey* > *ē*, *iy* > *i*, *uy* > *u* /__#, C
  - *a* > *ay*, *o* > *oy* /__V (with a hiatus-breaking *-y-* at a morpheme juncture)
  - No *-y-* is inserted when a hiatus develops in morpheme juncture after *-e-*, *-i-*, and *-u-*.

### 8.7. Some irregular verbs

| | | put | give | come | become | exist |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pres. | 1sg | *dnem* | *tam* | *gam* | *linim* | *gom* |
| | 2sg | *dnes* | *tas* | *gas* | *linis* | *gos* |
| | 3sg | *dnē* | *tay* | *gay* | *lini* | *goy* |
| | 1pl | *dnemk*ʿ | *tamk*ʿ | *gamk*ʿ | *linimk*ʿ | *gomk*ʿ |
| | 2pl | *dnēk*ʿ | *tayk*ʿ | *gayk*ʿ | *linik*ʿ | *goyk*ʿ |
| | 3pl | *dnen* | *tan* | *gan* | *linin* | *gon* |
| Aor. | 1sg | *edi* | *etu* | *eki* | *eɫē* | |
| | 2sg | *edir* | *etur* | *ekir* | *eɫer* | |
| | 3sg | *ed* | *et* | *ekn* | *eɫew* | |
| | 1pl | *edak*ʿ | *tuak*ʿ | *ekak*ʿ | *eɫak*ʿ | |
| | 2pl | *edik*ʿ | *etuk*ʿ | *ekik*ʿ | *eɫēk*ʿ | |
| | 3pl | *edin* | *etun* | *ekin* | *eɫen* | |

### 8.8. Infinitive and participles

- The infinitive is formed from the present stem by adding *-l-* to the thematic vowel of the *e-*, *a-*, and *u*-declensions. The infinitive of the *e*-declension serves as that of the *i*-declension too. The infinitive follows the *o*-declension when used as gerund (Weitenberg 1986).

| 1sg. prs. | | Inf. |
|---|---|---|
| *gr-em* 'I write' | → | *gr-el* 'to write' |
| *nst-im* 'I sit' | → | *nst-el* 'to sit' |
| *kard-am* 'I read' | → | *kard-al* 'to read' |
| *ln-um* 'I fill' | → | *ln-ul* 'to fill' |

- The past participle in *-eal* (*o*-decl.) can have both an active and a passive meaning.
  - Verbs with an *ac*ʻ-aorist or a root aorist, form it from the aorist stem, *kardam*, aor. *kardacʻi* 'to read' → ptc. *kard-acʻ-eal*; *mt-an-em*, aor. *mt-i* 'to come in' → *mt-eal*.
  - Verbs with an *ec*ʻ-aorist, form it either from the present or the aorist stem: cf. *gr-em*, aor. *gr-ecʻ-i* 'to write' → *gr-eal* (rarely *gr-ecʻ-eal*) but *bnak-em*, aor. *bnak-ecʻ-i* 'to dwell' → ptc. *bnak-ecʻ-eal* (see Jungmann, Weitenberg 1993: 324–354 for attestations).
  - Verbs with the *i*-stem aorist form it with the help of the *-ucʻ-* suffix added to the root, *mat-čʻ-im*, aor. *mat-e-ay* 'to approach', ptc. *mat-ucʻ-eal*.
- The future participle in *-ocʻ* expresses the semantics of necessity. It is derived from the infinitive and is not declined, cf. *grel* 'to write' → *grel-ocʻ* 'that is to write; that is to be written'.
  - The fut. ptc. can build a periphrastic construction with a copula:
    *Na greloc*ʻ *ē.* 'He should write.' 'It should be written.'
- Verbal adjective in *-li-* (*o*/*a*-decl.): *erewel* 'to be visible' → *erewel-i* 'visible'.
- Verbal agent noun in *-oł-* (*-awł-*) are commonly derived from the present stem or from the aorist *ac*ʻ-stem: *lsel* 'to hear' → *ls-oł* 'hearer', *gnal* 'go', aor. *gnacʻ-i* → *gn-acʻ-oł* 'goer'. The spelling *-awł-* is mostly found in the nom.sg.

### 8.9. Analytical tenses

- The past participle with the copula form analytical perfect tenses:
  - Perfect: past participle + aux. *em* 'be' in the present
  - Pluperfect: past participle + aux. *em* 'be' in the imperfect
  - Future perfect: past participle + aux. *em* 'be' in the present subjunctive

| Prs. | Impf. | Prs.sbj. |
|---|---|---|
| *em* | *ei* | *icʻem* |
| *es* | *eir* | *icʻes* |
| *ē* | *ēr* | *icʻē* |
| *emkʻ* | *eakʻ* | *icʻemkʻ* |
| *ēkʻ* | *eikʻ* | *icʻēkʻ* |
| *en* | *ein* | *icʻen* |

When used transitively, the analytical perfect commonly has the logical subject in the genitive and the copula in the 3sg. form. See details in Lyonnet 1933; Kölligan 2021.

  - *Nora* (GEN.) *greal ē z=namak.* 'He wrote the letter.'
  - *Nokʻa* (NOM.) *eleal ein.* 'They have gone out.'

# 9. Syntax

The information below is limited to basic rules facilitating the reading of the texts in section 12. See Jensen 1959, Klein 2017 for a detailed discussion of the Classical Armenian syntax.

## 9.1. Word order

- Classical Armenian is an SVO language with a high degree of flexibility (see Dum-Tragut 2002; Samvelian, Faghiri & Khurshudyan frthc.).
- Classical Armenian is a pro-drop language and subject pronouns are used emphatically.
- A genitive normally follows its head. An adjective tends to occur in postposition.

## 9.2. Agreement

- An adjective agrees with its head in case and number in postposition but not in preposition. However, monosyllabic adjectives agree with the head in preposition unleass the noun is in the nom.-acc.-loc.pl. (Meillet 1962: 39–55). Sometimes adjectives show partial agreement, only in case.
  - *žołovowrdkʻ*$_{\text{NOM.PL.}}$ *bazowmkʻ*$_{\text{NOM.PL.}}$ 'large crowds'
  - *bazowm* $_{\text{NOM.SG.}}$ *margarēkʻ*$_{\text{NOM.PL.}}$ "many prophets"
  - *meci*$_{\text{GEN.SG.}}$ *arkʻaji* $_{\text{GEN.SG.}}$ "of great king"
  - *mecaw* $_{\text{INST.SG.}}$ *vštawkʻ*$_{\text{INST.PL.}}$ "he will be very sorry"
- Cardinals from 1 to 4 agree with the head noun in postposition and preposition. The higher numerals are typically uninflected; head nouns are typically uninflected for number in postposition and only take the plural nom. and acc. marking in postposition.
  - ***zerkowcʻ*** *mecacʻn* ***anawtʻocʻ*** *i miǰoy* "from the midst **of the two** great **vases**"
  - *aṙ ənd iwr* ***hing ayr*** "he took with him **five men**"

## 9.3. The definite article

- The definite article usually determines the nouns phrase as a whole and follows either the head or a postposed dependency. The genitive of a proper name avoids the article. In phrases [noun + adj.] or [adj. + noun], the article usually follows the noun. See. Jungmann 1964–1965.
  - *ew* ***amenayn žołovowrd=n*** *kayr aṙ covezern*. "and **the whole crowd** was standing on the beach"
  - *lowarowkʻ dowkʻ z=****aṙak sermanacʻani=n*** "Listen then to the parable **of the sower**"
  - ***margarēowtʻiwn=n Esayay*** "the prophecy **of Isaiah**"
- In noun phrases with demonstrative and personal pronouns, the article often shows the "deictic agreement" with the pronoun. See Klein 1996.
  - *i žamanaki awowr=****n ayn****orik* "in the time **of those days**"
  - *i tasn awowr amsoy=****s ays****orik* "until the fourth day **of the same month**"
- The article determines the definite subordinate clause and is added to the first stressed word (including personal verb forms) following the subordinator.
  - *varelov aynrˋ* ***or kazmeacʻ=n*** *znosa* "working on that, **to which** (He) **assigned** them"

### 9.4. Prepositions

- In [noun + gen.], [noun + adj.] and [adj. + noun] phrases, the *nota accusativi z-* can mark either of the constituents or the whole phrase.
  - *gitel* ***z=xorhowrds arkʻayowtʻean*** *erknicʻ* "to know **the mysteries of the kingdom** of heaven"
  - *katareacʻ Yisows* ***z=amenayn z=bans z=aysosik*** "when Jesus had ended **all these sayings**"
- In phrases with preposition *i* and an emphatic demonstrative pronoun, the preposition is repeated before the pronoun.
  - ***y=awowr y=aynmik*** "on that day".

### 9.5. The infinitival phrases

- The locative infinitival construction plays a role of a temporal adjunct.
  - *ew* ***i sermaneln*** *iwrowm* "and **as he sowed**"
- *aṙ* + {*i* + inf.}$_{\text{ABL}}$ introduces a purpose adjunct.
  - *kapecʻēkʻ zayd i xrjowns* ***aṙ i y=ayrel*** "bind them in bundles **to burn them**"

### 9.6. Negation

- Of the two negative particles *očʻ* and *mi*, the former is common for the indicative negation and the latter for the modal negation; *očʻ* is commonly used with the indicative, while *mi* is used with the prohibitive and subjunctive. The negated particle precedes the verb; *očʻ* is often used proclitically and is reduced to *čʻ=*.
  - *owr* ***očʻ goyr*** *hoł bazowm* "where there **did not exist** much soil"
  - *ew nocʻa* ***čʻ=ē*** *toweal* "but to them it **has not been** granted"
  - ***mi spananer*** "thou **shalt not kill**"

### 9.7. Serial verb constructions

- Consecutive verbs without a conjunction can express a series of overlapping actions (see a detailed discussion in Kölligan 2021 with references).
  - *Kamis zi* ***ertʻicʻowkʻ kʻałiscʻowkʻ*** *zayn i bacʻ.* "Do you want us, then, to **go and gather** them up?"

# 10. Major sound changes

## 10.1. Vowels

- Unconditioned changes; the loss of the vowel length

| PIE dial. (after the laryngeal coloring and lengthening) | *a, *ā | *e | *ē, *i, *ī | *o | *ō, *u, *ū |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |
| Classical Armenian | *a* | *e* | *i/ə* | *o* | *u/ə* |

*e > e PIE *$b^h$er-e/o-* (φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, Skt. *bhárāmi*) > Arm. *berem* 'to bring'.
*o > o PIE *pod-m̥* (acc. πόδα of πούς 'foot') > Arm. *otn* 'foot'.
*a > a PIE *$h_2$eǵ- > *(H)aǵ-* (ἄγω, Lat. *agō*, Skt. *ájāmi* 'carry') > Arm. *acem* 'to lead'.
*u > u PIE *ués-nu-m$h_2$i* (ἔννυμαι 'to dress') > Arm. *zgenum* 'to wear'.
*i > i PIE *($h_1$)é-lik$^w$-et* (ἔλιπε, Skt. *áricat* 's/he left') > Arm. *elik'* 's/he left'.

*ā > a PIE *meh$_2$tēr > *mātēr* (μήτηρ, Skt. *mātár-* 'mother') > Arm. *mayr* 'mother'.
*ū > u PIE *mūs-* (μῦς, Lat. *mūs*, Skt. *mū́ṣ-* 'mouse') > Arm. *mukn* 'mouse'.
*ī > i PIE *ḱtīno-* (ἰκτῖνος 'bird of pray') > Arm. *c'in* 'hawk'.
*ē > i PIE *meh$_1$ > *mē* (μή, Skt. *mā́* 'not') > Arm. *mi* 'not'.
*ō > u PIE *dōm* (δῶ, Skt. *dam-* 'house') > Arm. *tun* 'house'.

- Rising of mid-vowels in front of a nasal

*eN > *i*N: PIE *senos* (ἔνος, Skt. *sánaḥ*, Lith. *sẽnas* 'old') > Arm. *hin* 'old'.
*oN > *u*N: PIE *pont-* (πόντος 'sea', Skt. *páthāḥ* 'way', Lat. *pons* 'bridge') > Arm. *hun* 'ford'.

- Rounding of **e* before **w*V

*e > o/__wV PIE *$k^{(w)}$yew-e-* (σεύομαι, Av. *šˇ(ii)auua-*) > *č'og-ay* 'I went'.

- Lowering of **o* to **a* in a (pretonic?) open syllable

PIE *poliyós* (πολιός 'pale', Skt. *palitá-*) > Arm. *alik'* 'grey hair'.
PIE *$h_3$ók$^w$-ih$_1$* (ὄσσε, OCS *oči*) > **očí-* (?) > Arm. *ač'-k'* 'eyes'.

- Epenthetic vowel in front of a rhotic

*#*r* > #V*r* PIE **treyes* (τρεῖς, Lat. *trēs*, Skt. *tráyaḥ* '3') > **reyes* > Arm. *erek'* '3'.

- Apocope

The PIE accent changed to a dynamic penultimate stress, which entailed the apocope of the post-tonic vowels together with final consonants except for *-r*, *-ł*, and *-n*. The apocope probably was still active when the early Old Iranian loanwords entered Armenian.

  - PIE **mr̥tos* (βροτός 'mortal', Skt. *mr̥tá-* 'dead') > *mard* 'man'.
    PIE **h$_2$nēr* (ἀνήρ) > **ayir* > Arm. *ayr* 'man'.
  - OPrs. *Ariya-* 'Iranians' ~ CArm. *Arik'*, gen.pl. *Areac'* (Schmitt 1983)

- Pretonic reduction

The reduction of pretonic vowels and diphthongs resulted in regular stress-related alternations, see Section 3.6. It started after the influx of early Parthian loanwords.

  - Arm. *sirt* 'heart', gen. *srti*.
  - Parth. *nišān* 'sign' ~ Arm. *nšan* 'id.'

## 10.2. Diphthongs

- Inherited diphthongs

| PIE (dial.) | *ay* | *ey*, *oy* | *ew*, *ow* | *aw* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ↓ | ↓ | |
| Proto Armenian | ↓ | *ey* | *oy* | ↓ |
| | | ↓ | ↓ | |
| Classical Armenian | *ay* | *ē/i* | *oy/u* | *aw* |

*ey > ē/i PIE *steib- (στείβω 'to stamp on') > Arm. *stipem* 'to press'.
*oy > ē/i PIE perf. *woid- (οἶδα, Skt. *véda* 'to know') > Arm. *git-em* 'to know'.
*ew > oy/u PIE *lewk-os- (λευκός 'bright') > Arm. *loys* 'light'.
*ow > oy/u PIE *$b^h$owg-os (Skt. *bhógaḥ* 'joy of food') > Arm. *boyc* 'food'.
*ay > ay PIE *$h_2$eyǵ- (αἴξ 'goat') > Arm. *ayc* 'goat'.
*aw > aw PIE *$h_2$ew(H)-to- (Lith. *aũtas* 'footwear') > Arm. *awt'* 'garment'.

- Secondary diphthongs

*a + *y > ay PIE *$b^h h_2$-ti- (φάτις 'utterance') > *$b^{(h)}$ayi- > Arm. *bay* 'word'.
*e + *y > ē/i PIE *$b^h$er-e-ti (Skt. *bhárati*) > *$b^{(h)}$eyi- > Arm. *ber-ē* 's/he brings'.
*a + *w > aw PIE *$h_2 rh_3$trom (ἄροτρον, Lat. *arātrum*) > *arawro- > Arm. *arawr* 'plow'.
*e + *w > ew/iw PIE *septm̥ (ἑπτά) > *hewtən > Arm. *ewt'n* 'seven'.
*o + *w > u/ə PIE *swop-no- (Skt. *svápna-*, Lat. *somnus*) > *kowno- > Arm. *k'un* 'sleep'.

## 10.3. Glides and sonorants

- Retention of glides

*sy > y PIE gen. *-osyo- (-οιο, Skt. -*asya*, OLat. -*osio*) > Arm. -*oy*.
*uw, wu > w PIE *sweḱs (ἕξ, Av. *xšuuaš*) > *huweḱs > Arm. *vec'* '6'.
PIE *$h_2$ew-i- (αἰετός 'eagle', Lat. *avis*) > *haw-u- > Arm. *haw u*-st. 'bird'.

- Loss between vowels

*y > Ø / V__V PIE *treyes (τρεῖς, Lat. *trēs*, Skt. *tráyaḥ* '3') > Arm. *erek'* '3'.
*w > Ø / $V_1$__$V_1$ PIE *newos (νέFος, Lat. *novus*) → *neworos > *noworos > Arm. *nor* 'new'.

- Hardening of glides

*w > g / #__V; PIE *worǵ-om (Dor. Ϝέργον, OHG *werc*) > Arm. *gorc* 'work'.
*w > g / V, y__V PIE *deh$_2$iwēr (δαήρ, Skt. *devár-*) > Arm. *taygr* 'husband's brother'.
*w > g / n, r__ PIE *ǵonw-$h_2$ (γοῦνα, Lat. *genū*) > Arm. *cung-k'* 'knees'.
*y > ǰ / #__V PIE *yuH-r- (Lith. *jū́rės* 'sea') > Arm. *ǰur* 'water'.
*y > ǰ / n, r__ PIE *ster-y(e)$h_2$- (στεῖρα, Lat. *sterilis* 'barren') > Arm. *steri* 'sterile'.

- Non-syllabic sonorants

*m > m PIE *meh$_2$tēr (μήτηρ, Skt. *mātár-* 'mother') > Arm. *mayr* 'mother'.
*m > n/_# PIE *$k^w$eh$_2$m (Lat. *quam*) > Arm. *kan* 'than'.
*n > n PIE *dh$_2$p-no- (Lat. *dapnum* 'expense') > Arm. *tawn* 'feast'.
*r > r PIE *$b^h$er-e- (φέρω, Skt. *bhárati* 'to bring') > Arm. *berem* 'to bring'.
*r > ṙ/_n PIE *$h_2$nr-os (gen. ἀνδρος) > Arm. gen. *aṙn* 'of man'.
*l > l PIE *lewk-os- (λευκός 'bright') > Arm. *loys* 'light'.

- Syllabic sonorants

*R̥ > aR PIE *mr̥to- (βροτός 'mortal', Skt. *mr̥tá-* 'dead') > *mard* 'man'.
*R̥H > aRa, Ra PIE *ǵn̥h$_3$-ske/o- (γιγνώσκω) > *canač-e- > Arm. *čanač'em* 'to understand'.
PIE *prh$_3$ḱ-to- (πρωκτός 'anus') > Arm. *erastank'* 'buttocks'.

### 10.4. **s*

- Loss in the intervocalic and initial antevocalic positions (except before **i* ?)

  **s* > **h* > Ø/V__V  PIE **swesōr* (Skt. *svásā*, Lat. *soror*) > Arm. *kʻoyr* ‘sister’.
  **s* > **h* > Ø/#__V  PIE **septm̥* (ἑπτά) > Arm. *ewtʻn* ‘7’.
  ? **s* > *h* / __*i*  PIE **senos* (ἔνος ‘of last year’, Lith. *sẽnas* ‘old’) > **hino-* > Arm. *hin* ‘old’.

### 10.5. Stops

- The distinction of the PIE three series of stops is preserved in Classical Armenian. The correspondences between the PIE and Classical Armenian stops can be interpreted in different ways depending on the assumed phonetic features of the stops in PIE and Classical Armenian (see Kortlandt 2010: 57–61; Schirru 2012; Macak 2017).

| PIE (traditional reconstruction) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Labials | *p | *b | *b$^{h}$ |
| Dentals | *t | *d | *d$^{h}$ |
| Velars | *k | *g | *g$^{h}$ |
| | *ḱ | *ǵ | *ǵ$^{h}$ |
| | *k$^{w}$ | *g$^{w}$ | *g$^{wh}$ |
| **Old Armenian** | | | |
| Labials | p$^{h}$ | p (p$^{ʔ}$) | b (b$^{h}$) |
| Dentals | t$^{h}$ | t (t$^{ʔ}$) | d (d$^{h}$) |
| Velars | k$^{h}$ | k (k$^{ʔ}$) | g (g$^{h}$) |

- Satem reflexes of velars

  **ḱ* > *s*  PIE **ḱerd-* (καρδία, OE *heorte* ‘heart’) → **ḱērd-i-* > Arm. *sirt* ‘heart’.
  **ǵ* > *c*  PIE **h₂eǵ-e-* (Skt. *ájati*, Lat. *agō* ‘to bring’) > Arm. *acem* ‘to bring’.
  **ǵ$^{h}$* > *j*  PIE **ǵʰes-r-m̥* (χεῖρα, Hitt. *kiššeran* ‘hand’) > Arm. *jeṙn* ‘hand’.

- Unconditioned outcomes of non-palatal stops
  - Voiceless

    **p* > *h*  PIE **per-ut-i-* (πέρυσι, Skt. *parút* ‘last year’) > Arm. *heru* ‘last year’.
    **t* > *tʻ*  PIE **teh₂-* (τήκομαι, OCS *tajǫ* ‘to melt’) > Arm. *tʻanam* ‘to make wet’.
    **k$^{(w)}$* > *kʻ*  PIE **ker-* (κείρω ‘to shear’) > Arm. *kʻerem*, *kʻorem* ‘to scratch’.
    PIE **k$^{w}$eh₂m* (Lat. *quam*) > Arm. *kan* ‘than’.

  - Voiced

    **b* > *p*  PIE **steib-* (στείβω ‘to stamp on’) > Arm. *stipem* ‘to press’.
    **d* > *t*  PIE **deh₃-ro-m* (δῶρον, OCS *darъ* ‘gift’) > Arm. *tur* ‘gift’.
    **g$^{(w)}$* > *k*  PIE **b$^{h}$eg-* (Skt. *bhanákti* ‘to break’) > Arm. *bekanem* ‘to break’.
    PIE **h₁reg$^{w}$os* (ἔρεβος ‘darkness’, Skt. *rájas-* ‘dast’) > Arm. *erek* ‘evening’

  - Aspirated

    **b$^{h}$* > *b*  PIE **b$^{h}$er-e-* (φέρω, Skt. *bhárati* ‘to bring’) > Arm. *berem* ‘to bring’.
    **d$^{h}$* > *d*  PIE **d$^{h}$ug(h₂)tēr* (θυγάτηρ, Skt. *duhitár-*) > Arm. *dustr* ‘daughter’.
    **g$^{(wh)}$* > *g*  PIE **h₃moiǵ$^{h}$-o-* (ὁμίχλη ‘mist’, Skt. *meghá-* ‘cloud’) > Arm. *mēg* ‘cloud’.
    PIE **g$^{wh}$en-* (θείνω, Skt. *hánti* ‘to kill’) → **g$^{wh}$n̥-(ti-)* > Arm. *gan* ‘blow’.

- “Voiceless aspirated” (voiceless + **H* or devoiced aspirated)

  **k$^{h}$* > *x*  PIE ? **(s)ḱŏk-h₂-* (Skt. *śā́khā*, Lith. *šakà* ‘pole’) > Arm. *cʻax* ‘branch’.
  PIE **sg$^{wh}$al-* (σφάλλω, Skt. *skhálati* ‘to stumple’) > *sxalim* ‘to go astray’.

- Major conditioned changes of stops
  - Retention of unaspirated **p* and **t* after **s* (also from **ḱ* including from **uk*)

    PIE **sp̥rnH-* (Lat. *spernō* 'to despise') > Arm. *sp̥aṙnam* 'to threaten'.
    PIE **h₂st̥ēr-* (ἀστήρ) > Arm. *ast̥ł* 'star'.
    PIE **dʰukt̥ēr* (θυγάτηρ, Skt. *duhitár-*) > Arm. *dust̥r* 'daughter'.

  - Palatalisation of velars and labiovelars after **u* and **w*-diphthongs

    **k(ʷ)* > *s* — PIE **lewk-os-* (λευκός, Skt. *róka-* 'bright') > Arm. *loys* 'light'.
    **g(ʷ)* > *c* — PIE **yugom* (ζυγόν, Lat. *iugum*) > Arm. *luc* 'yoke'.

  - Affricativisation of velars in front of front vowels (**e*, **ē* and **i*, **ī*)

    **kʷ* > *č‘* — PIE **kʷet(w)or-es* (Dor. τέτορες, Skt. *catvā́raḥ*) > Arm. *č‘ork‘* '4'
    **gʷ* > *č* (?) — PIE **gʷel-* (OHG *kalo* 'bald', OCS *golъ* 'naked') > Arm. *čeł* 'bald'.
    **gʷʰ* > *ǰ* — PIE **gʷʰer-mo-* (θερμός, Skt. *gharmá-*) > *ǰerm* 'warm'.

    Counter-examples for the affricativisation of plain velars and of **gʷ* either must be solved with recourse to analogy or point to the retention of a contrast between the two non-palatal series until after the affricativisation (see Scala 2017).

    **gʰ* > *g* — PIE **gʰelǵʰ-* (OCS *žlězy*) > Arm. *gełj-k‘* 'glands'.
    **gʷ* > *k* — PIE **gʷenh₂-* (γυνή, OIr. *ben*) > Arm. *kin* 'woman'.

  - Loss in the word-initial position

    **p* > Ø / #__**o*, **ō* — PIE **pōlos* (πῶλος 'a young animal') > Arm. *ul* 'young goat'.
    **p*, **t*, **k(ʷ)* > Ø/#__R — PIE **treyes* (τρεῖς, Lat. *trēs*, Skt. *tráyaḥ* '3') > Arm. *erek‘* '3'.
    **ḱ* > Ø/#__*l* — PIE **ḱlu-to-* (κλυτός, Skt. śrutá- 'known') > Arm. *lu* 'news'.

  - Voicing after sonorants

    **t*, **k(ʷ)* > *d*, *g* / R, N__ — PIE **mr̥to-* (βροτός 'mortal', Skt. *mr̥tá-* 'dead') > *mard* 'man'.
    PIE **penkʷe* (πέντε, Skt. *pánca*) > Arm. *hing* '5'.

  - Lenition (intervocalic)

    **p*, **bʰ* > *w* / V__V — PIE **h₁epi* (ἐπί 'upon', Skt. *ápi* 'also') > Arm. *ew* 'and'.
    PIE *-V-*bʰoros* (-φορος, Skt. *-bhará-*) > Arm. -V-*wor*.
    **m* > *w* / V__*ō*, *o*N, *u* — PIE **Heh₂m̥-r̥-* (ἦμαρ) → **H(e)h₂mōr-* > **amur* > *awr* 'day'
    **t* > *w* / V__*o* — PIE **h₁e-kʷl-e-to* (ἔπλετο, Alb. *cleh*) > Arm. *ełew* 'became'.
    **t* > *y* / V__*ĕ*, *ĭ* — PIE **bʰh₂-ti-* (φάτις 'utterance') > **b(ʰ)ayi-* > Arm. *bay* 'word'.
    **n* > *y* / V__*i (< ĕ, ĭ)* — PIE **h₂nēr* (ἀνήρ) > **ayir* > Arm. *ayr* 'man'.
    **ǵʰ* > **jʰ* > *z* / V__V — PIE **h₁oǵʰi-Hn-* (ἐχῖνος, Lith. *ežỹs*) > Arm. *ozni* 'hedgehog'.
    **gʷʰ* > **ǰʰ* > *ž* / V__V — PIE **Hegʷʰi-* (ὄφις, Ved. *áhi-*) > **ēǰi-* > Arm. *iž i*-st. 'snake'.

  - Lenition (pre-consonantal)

    **t*, **k* > *w* / V__r — PIE **h₂rh₃trom* (ἄροτρον, Lat. *arātrum*) > Arm. *arawr* 'plow'.
    PIE **smoḱru-* (Skt. *śmáśru-* 'beard') > **smokru-* > Arm. *mowruk‘* 'id.'
    **p* > *w* / V__C — PIE **sept̥m̥* (ἑπτά) > Arm. *ewt‘n* 'seven'.
    PIE **dh₂p-no-* (Lat. *dapnum* 'expense') > Arm. *tawn* 'feast'.
    **m* > *w* / V__*n* — PIE **Hnōm̥n̥* (ὄνομα, Skt. *nā́ma-* 'name') > Arm. *anown* 'name'.

  - Metathesis of **D(ᶻ)r*, **D(ᶻ)ʰ r*, **nr*, **ly* (see Viredaz 2018–2019 for discussion)

    PIE **bʰrehₓtēr* (Skt. *bhrā́tā*) > **erbayir* > *ełbayr* 'brother'.
    PIE **mé-ǵʰ(s)ri* (μέχρι) > Arm. *merj* 'near'.
    PIE **h₂nr-os* (gen. ἀνδρος) > Arm. gen. *aṙn* 'of man'. (Against **rn* > *ṙ*)
    PIE **h₂elyo-* (ἄλλος 'other') > **alyos* > Arm. *ayl* (*aył*) 'other; but'.

### 10.6. Consonant clusters

- **w*-clusters

  **tw* > **kw-* > *k‘* PIE **tʷo-* (σός, Skt. *tvá-*) > Arm. *k‘o* ‘your’.
  **sw* > **hw-* > *k‘* PIE **swop-no-* (Skt. *svápna-*, Lat. *somnus*) > Arm. *k‘un* ‘sleep’.
  **dw* > **gw* > *rk* PIE **dwoh₁* (Skt. *dvā́-*) > Arm. *erku* ‘2’.
  **ḱw* > **św* > *š* PIE **h₁eḱwos* (Skt. *áśva-* ‘horse’) > Arm. *ēš* ‘donkey’.

- **y*-clusters

  The outcome of only a few of the clusters are based on relatively good evidence. Much of potential evidence comes from morphologically ambiguous verbal stems, cf. PIE **sed-* ‘to sit’ → prs. **sed-ye-* or aor. **sed-s-* > Arm. *hec-an-im*, aor. *hec-ay* ‘to mount a horse’.

  **ty* > *č‘* ? PIE **gʷot-ye-* (Goth. *qiþan* ‘to say’) > Arm. *kočʻem* ‘to call’.
  **dʰy* > *ǰ* PIE **medʰyo-* (μέσσος, Skt. *mádhya-*) > Arm. *mēǰ* ‘middle’.
  **k(ʷ)y* > *č‘* PIE **k(ʷ)yew-e-* (σεύομαι, Av. *šiiauua-*) > *č‘og-ay* ‘I went’.
  **g(ʷ)y* > *č* ? PIE **h₂eg-* (Lith. *úoga* ‘berry’) → **ag-ye-* > Arm. *ačem* ‘to grow’.

- **s*-clusters

  **ps* > *s* PIE **psewd-* (ψύδος ‘lie’) > Arm. *sut* ‘false’.
  **ḱs* > *c‘* PIE **sweḱs* (ἕξ, Av. *xšuuaš*) > Arm. *vec‘* ‘6’.
  **sk* > *c‘* PIE **pr̥(k)-ske/o-* (Skt. *pr̥cchā́ti*, Lat. *poscō* ‘to ask’) > *harc‘anem* ‘to ask’.

  **sN* > **N* PIE **snus-o-* (νύος, Skt. *snuṣā́*) > Arm. *nu* ‘daughter-in-law’.
  **Ns* > **s* PIE **mems-o-* (Goth. *mimz*, OCS. *męso*) > Arm. *mis* ‘meat’.
  **sr* > *ṙ* PIE **sru-ti-* (ῥύσις, Skt. *srutí-*) > Arm. *aṙu* ‘stream’.
  **rs* > *ṙ* PIE **ters-* (τέρσομαι, Skt. *tr̥̄́ṣyati*) > Arm. *tʻaṙamim* ‘to wither’.
  **rs* > *rš* PIE **ters-* (τέρσομαι, Skt. *tr̥̄́ṣyati*) > Arm. *taršamim* ‘to wither’.

### 10.7. Laryngeals

The reflexes of laryngeals in Armenian are notoriously controversial (see Olsen 1999:762–4; Beekes 2003; Kocharov 2018a among others).

- Initial pre-vocalic laryngeals

  **h₁e-* > *e-* PIE **h₁es-mi* (εἰμί) > Arm. *em* ‘to be’.
  **h₂e-* > *ha-*, *a-* (?) PIE **h₂eys-ske/o-* (Lat. *aeruscō* ‘to beg’) > Arm. *haycʻ* ‘demand’.
  PIE **h₂eǵ-* (ἄγω, Lat. *agō*, Skt. *ájāmi* ‘carry’) > Arm. *acem* ‘to lead’.
  **h₃e-* > *ho-*, *o-* (?) PIE **h₃owi-* (ὄις, Skt. *ávi-*, CLuw. *hāu̯i-*) > Arm. *hoviw* ‘shepherd’.
  PIE **h₃ed-* (Lat. *ōdī*, OIc. *etja* ‘to incite’) > Arm. *ateam* ‘to hate’.
  **Ho-* > *o-* PIE **Horbʰ-* (ὀρφανός, Lat. *orbus* ‘orphan’) > Arm. *orb* ‘id.’

- Initial laryngeals in **HCV-*

  **h₁*RV- > *e*RV- PIE **h₁me-* (acc. ἐμέ ‘me’) > Arm. gen. *im* ‘mine’, inst. *inew* ‘with me’.
  **h₁*C- > *a*C- PIE **h₁d-nt-* (Aeol. nom.pl. ἔδοντες, Skt. *dant-*) > Arm. *atamn* ‘tooth’.
  **h₂*C- > *a*C- PIE **h₂nēr* (ἀνήρ) > Arm. *ayr* ‘man’.
  **h₃*C- > *a*C- PIE **h₃neh₃-mn* (ὄνομα, Lat. *nōmen*) > Arm. *anun* ‘name’.
  1) *o* > *u*/__N; 2) *p* > Ø/__*o*; 3) *o* > *a* in open syllable (Kocharov 2018a)

- Word-medial laryngeals

  **VCHCV* > VCCV PIE **(h₂)welh₁mn-* (Lat. *vellus*, Goth. *wulla*) > Arm. *gełmn* ‘wool’.
  **#CHCV* > #C*a*CV PIE **bʰh₂-ti-* (φάτις ‘utterance’) > Arm. *bay* ‘word’.
  **CHCCV* > C*a*CCV PIE **h₂rh₃trom* (ἄροτρον, Lat. *arātrum*) > Arm. *arawr* ‘plow’.

# 11. Major morphological changes

## 11.1. The Noun

- *o*-stems

| | Singular | Expected | CArm. | | Plural | Expected | CArm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | **-os* | *-Ø* | *-Ø* | | **-ōs* | *-Ø*; **-k$^h$* (?) | *-k‘* |
| Acc | **-om* | *-Ø* | *-Ø* | | **-ons* | *-s* | *-s* |
| Gen | **-osyo* | *-oy* | *-oy* | | **-ōm* → **-o-sKo-* | *-oc‘* | *-oc‘* |
| Dat | **-ōy* | x*-Ø* | → *-oy* | | **-ob$^h$os* | x*-ov* | → *-oc‘* |
| Abl | **-ōt* | x*-Ø* | → *-oy* | | **-ob$^h$os* | x*-ov* | → *-oc‘* |
| Loc | **-oy* | *-Ø* | *-Ø*, → *-i* | | **-oysu* | x*-oy* (?) | → *-s* |
| Inst | **-ō* → **-o-b$^h$i* | *-ov* | *-ov* | | **-ōys* | x*-Ø* | → *-ovk‘* |

  - Inst.sg. **-o-b$^h$i* is analogical to athematic forms.
  - Acc.pl. *-s* may be analogical to the *s*-stems: *-Vs-su* > *-Vs*.
  - The change from **-s* to *-k‘* is poorly explained in the nom.pl. (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 23f.). If **-ōs* > **-uh* > **-uh$^w$* (?) > **-uk‘* > *-k‘* (cf. **sw-* > **hw-* > *k‘-*), nom.pl. of **o*-stems must be the origin of the plural *-k‘* elsewhere.
  - The pl. *-c‘* originated in the genitive and goes back to adj. in **-ske-*, cf. Goth. *-isks*, OCS *-ьskъ*.
  - The loc.sg. *-oy̆* has been derived from **-o-d$^h$y-*V- , cf. οὐρανό-θι ‘in the sky’.

- **eh$_2$*-stems

| | Singular | Expected | CArm. | | Plural | Expected | CArm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | **-ā* | *-Ø* | *-Ø* | | **-ās* | *-Ø*; **-k$^h$* (?) | *-k‘* |
| Acc | **-ām* | *-Ø* | *-Ø* | | **-ā(n)s* | *-s* | *-s* |
| Gen | **-ās* | x*-Ø* | → *-i* | | **-ām* → **-ā-sKo-* | *-ac‘* | *-ac‘* |
| Dat | **-āy* | x*-Ø* | → *-i* | | **-āb$^h$os* | x*-aw* | → *-ac‘* |
| Abl | **-ās* | x*-Ø* | → *-ē* | | **-āb$^h$os* | x*-aw* | → *-ac‘* |
| Loc | **-ay* | x*-Ø* | → *-i* | | **-āsu* | x*-aw*; *-Ø* (?) | → *-s* |
| Inst | **-ā* → **-ā-b$^h$i* | *-aw* | *-aw* | | **-āb$^h$i(-s)* | x*-aw* | → *-awk‘* |

  - The gen.-dat.sg. *-i* probably comes from the *i*-declension, where it could have developed from Sievers-variants of gen. **-iy-os* and dat. **-iy-ey* (see alternative possibilities in Matzinger 2005: 101). Similarly, the gen.-dat.sg. *-u* of the *u*-declension probably goes back to gen. **-uw-os*, dat. **-uw-ey*. Other forms of the *i*- and *u*-declensions have comparable history to those of the *a*-declension.
  - The older loc.sg. **-Ø* is probably indirectly preserved in abl.sg. *-ē* derived from the bare stem locative.
  - When not analogical to gen.-dat., the loc.sg. *-i* has been derived from postpositional **(h$_1$)en* > *-i* ‘in’.
  - The abl.sg. *-ē* has been derived from a postpositional **(h$_1$)eti* (ἔτι ‘also’, Skt. *áti* ‘over’).

- Consonantal stems
  - Athematic stems preserve traces of ablaut

| PIE | **-ēR, -ōR* | **-eR-* | **-oR-* | **-R̥-* | **-ēn, *-ōn* | **-en-* | **-on-* | **-n̥-* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CArm. | *-R* | *-eR-* | *-oR-* | *-aR-* | *-n* | *-in/n-* | *-un/n-* | *-an-* |

  - With the reduction of inflections, the stem alternations took over the contrastive function.

- The productive *r*- and *ł*-types generalized **-ēr* or **-ōr* (-*r*) in the nom.-acc.sg. and **-er* in other forms, PIE nom. **h₂stēr*, acc. **h₂ster-m̥*, loc. **h₂ster-i* next to nom.-acc. *astł*, loc. *asteł*.
- In the *n*-stems, the *tun*-type generalized the outcome of the non-zero grade in the final syllable (-*n*) in the nom.-acc. sg. and pl. and the zero grade in a non-final syllable (-*an*-) in the remaining forms. In the *kołmn*-type, -*an*- also spread to the nom.-acc.pl. The -*in*- of the *anjin* and *masin*-types continue *-*en*- in a non-final syllable. In the *šaržumn*- and *masn*-types the nom.-acc.pl. -*un*- continues *-*on*- in a non-final syllable.
- Irregular athematic stems contain important archaisms, cf. *hayr* 'father' and *ayr* 'man'

| | Singular | |
|---|---|---|
| Nom | **ph₂tēr* | *hayr* |
| Acc | **ph₂ter-m̥* | *→ hayr* |
| Gen | **ph₂tr-os* | *hawr* |
| Dat | **ph₂tr-ey* | *hawr* |
| Abl | = gen. | *→ hawrē* |
| Loc | **ph₂t(e)r-i* | *(→) hawr* |
| Inst | **ph₂tr-eh₁ → *ph₂tr̥-bʰi* | *harb* |
| | Plural | |
| Nom | **ph₂ter-es* | *hark'* |
| Acc | **ph₂ter-m̥s* | *hars* |
| Gen | **ph₂tr-ōm → *ph₂tr̥-sKo-* | *harc'* |
| Dat | **ph₂tr̥-bʰos* | *→ harc'* |
| Abl | = dat. | *→ harc'* |
| Loc | **ph₂tr̥-su* | *→ hars* |
| Inst | **ph₂tr̥-bʰis* | *harbk'* |

| | Singular | |
|---|---|---|
| Nom | **h₂nēr* | *ayr* |
| Acc | **h₂ner-m̥* | *→ ayr* |
| Gen | **h₂n̥r-os > *arnos* | *aṙn* |
| Dat | **h₂n̥r-ey > *arney* | *aṙn* |
| Abl | = gen. | *→ aṙn-ē* |
| Loc | **h₂n(e)r-i* | *(→) aṙn* |
| Inst | **h₂n̥r-eh₁ → *arn̥-bʰi* | *→ aram-b* |
| | Plural | |
| Nom | **h₂ner-es* | *ar-k'* |
| Acc | **h₂ner-m̥s* | *ar-s* |
| Gen | **h₂nr-ōm → *arn̥-sKo-* | *aran-c'* |
| Dat | **h₂nr-bʰos* | *→ aran-c'* |
| Abl | = dat. | *→ aran-c'* |
| Loc | **h₂nr-su* | *→ ar-s* |
| Inst | ** h₂nr-bʰis > *arn̥-bʰis* | *aram-bk'* |

- Nom. *kin*, gen. *kn-oǰ*, inst. *kanam-b*, nom.pl. *kanay-k'* 'woman, wife' atrached a lot of attention in comparison to Greek γυνή, gen. γυναικός, acc. γυναῖκα, Phrygian gen. κναικο, acc. κναικαν 'woman, wife' as a strong Greco-Phrygo-Armenian isogloss.

## 11.2. Pronouns

- Personal pronouns (see Fortson 2010, Kapović 2017 on the PIE reconstructions)

| Sg. | 1 pers. | | 2 pers. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *$h_1eǵō$* (ἐγώ) > **ec* | → *es* | **tŭ́* (συ, Av. *tū*) | *du* |
| Acc | *$h_1$m-e* (ἐμέ) → **em-s* | *is* | **twe* (σέ, Skt. *tvā́m*) | → *kʿez* |
| Gen | *$h_1$me-ne*, *$h_1$m-os* (ἐμός) | *im* | **tewe* (Skt. *táva*) → **twos* | *kʿo* |
| Dat | *$h_1$me-ǵ$^h$i* (Lat. *mihī*) → **em-ǵ$^h$i* | *inj* | **tu-b$^h$i* → **twe-g$^h$i* | *kʿez* |
| Loc | ? → **em-su* | *is* | ? → = dat. | → *kʿez* |
| Abl | = gen. → **eme-yn* | *inēn* | = gen. | → *kʿēn* |
| Inst | ? → **$h_1$m-e-b$^h$i* | *inew* | ? → **twe-b$^h$i* | *kʿew* |
| Pl. | | | | |
| Nom | **wey* (Skt. *vayám*) → **me-s* | *mekʿ* | **yŭ́-s* (Skt. *yūvám*) | → *dukʿ* |
| Acc | **n̥s-me* (ἄμμε, Skt. *asmā́n*) | → *mez* | **us-me* (Skt. *yušmā́m*) | → *jez* |
| Gen | **ns-om* → **me-ro-* | *mer* | **us-om* → **je-ro-* | → *jer* |
| Dat | **nsm-ey* → **me-g$^h$i* | *mez* | **usm-ey* → **je-g$^h$i* | → *jez* |
| Loc | ? → = dat. | → *mez* | ? → = dat. | → *jez* |
| Abl | = gen. | *mēnǰ* | = gen. | → *jēnǰ* |
| Inst | ? → **me-b$^h$is* | *mewkʿ* | ? → **je-b$^h$is* | → *jewkʿ* |

  - Suppletive nom.sg. of the 1st person is a PIE archaism.
  - The final *-s* of nom.sg., instead of the expected *ec*, requires special explanation.
  - **m* > **n* before the non-labial stop yielded **en-* > *in-*, which spread to abl.sg. and instr.sg.
  - The 1pl. stem **me-* finds parallels in Balto-Slavic (OCS *my*, Lith. *mẽs*); the connection to 1sg. **$h_1$me-* becomes problematic if one accepts **$h_1$C-* > *eC-* in Armenian like in Greek.
  - No convincing explanation is available for abl.sg. **-yn*, pl. **-ynǰ*.
  - No convincing explanation is available for 2nd person oblique *je-*.
- Demonstrative
  - The use of deictic pronouns for the 3rd person is an inherited feature.
  - The stems **so-*, **do-*, **no-* can be derived from **ḱo-* 'this', **to-* and **no-* 'that'.
  - The anaphoric *na* (pl. *nokʿa*) and demonstrative *ayn* seem to contain a deictic particle **ay* added at the end or at the beginning of a case form:

    dat. **num=ay* > *nm-a(y)*
    dat. **ay=num* > *ay-nm*.

  - Enclitical articles are found in other languages of the region, e.g. Aramaic and Hurro-Urartian. Harris (1985) reconstructs enclitic article with deictic distinction similar to the Classical Armenian one for Proto-Kartvelian.
- Interrogative and indefinite

  PIE interrogative pronouns **k$^w$i-* 'who' and **k$^w$o-* 'what', which were also used as enclitical indefinite pronouns, may be preserved in CArm. interrogative and indefinite *i-* and *o*-stems (e.g. *i-mn* 'something', *o-mn* 'someone'), as well as in *-č* of *inčʿ* 'what'. However, the loss of initial **k$^w$-* remains problematic.

### 11.3. The Verb

Meillet 1936: 117–119; Godel 1975: 118; Klingenschmitt 1982: 12–31; Schmitt 2007: 138–140. See Fortson 2010, Kapović 2017 on the PIE reconstructions.

- Present endings

  The endings of the *e*-conjugation and the conjugation of *em* 'to be' continue the PIE thematic conjugation and the conjugation of PIE **h₁es-* 'to be'. The Classical Armenian forms point to the analogy between the two conjugations. The spread of the 1sg. **-mi* from the PIE athematic to thematic is found in other satem languages (Indo-Iranian, Old Church Slavonic) but there **-mi* is added to **-ō*, cf. PIE **bʰer-o-h₂* 'I carry' > Skt. *bhárāmi*, OCS *berǫ*.

| | Primary endings | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thematic | | analogy | Athematic | |
| 1sg | **bʰer-o-h₂* | *ber-em* (ˣ*ber*) | ← | *em* (ˣ*im*) | **h₁es-mi* |
| 2sg | **bʰer-e-si* | *ber-es* (ˣ*bere[kʻ]*) | ← | *es* | **h₁es-si* |
| 3sg | **bʰer-e-ti* | *ber-ē* (*ber-e-y) | → | *ē* (ˣ*est*) | **h₁es-ti* |
| 1pl | **bʰer-o-mV(s)* | *ber-emkʻ* (ˣ*berumkʻ*) | ↓ | *emkʻ* (ˣ*imkʻ*/ˣ*amkʻ*) | **h₁s-mVs* |
| 2pl | **bʰer-e-tV(s)* | *ber-ēkʻ* (*ber-e-ykʻ) | → | *ēkʻ* (ˣ*estkʻ*/ˣ*astkʻ*) | **h₁s-tVs* |
| 3pl | **bʰer-o-nti* | *ber-en* (ˣ*berun*) | ↓ | *en* (ˣ*in*) | **h₁s-enti* |

| | *i*-conj. | | *a*-conj. | | *u*-conj. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | PArm. | CArm. | PArm. | CArm. | PArm. | CArm. |
| 1sg. | **nisd-ē-mi* | *nst-im* | **men-ā-mi* | *mnam* | **uesnu-mai* | *z-genum* |
| 2sg. | **nisd-ē-si* | → *nst-is* | **men-ā-si* | → *mnas* | **uesnu-soi* | → *z-nus* |
| 3sg. | **nisd-ē-ti* | *nst-i* | **men-ā-ti* | *mnay* | **uesnu-toi* | *z-genu* |
| 1pl. | **nisd-ē-mes* | *nst-imkʻ* | **men-ā-mes* | *mnamkʻ* | **uesnu-mes* | *z-genumkʻ* |
| 2pl. | **nisd-ē-tes* | *nst-ikʻ* | **men-ā-tes* | *mnaykʻ* | **uesnu-tes* | *z-genukʻ* |
| 3pl. | **nisd-ē-nti* | *nst-in* | **men-ā-nti* | *mnan* | **uesnu-ntoi* | *z-genun* |

- Preterite endings

| | PIE | | | | CArm. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Aorist | | | | Aorist | | Imperfect |
| | Act. | | Mp. | | Act. | Mp. | |
| 1sg | **-m*, **-m̥* | **-o-m* | **-h₂* | **-o-h₂* | *-i* | *-a-y* | *-i* |
| 2sg | **-s* | **-e-s* | **-so* | **-e-so* | *-er* | *-a-r* | *-ir* |
| 3sg | **-t* | **-e-t* | **-to* | **-e-to* | *-Ø* | *-a-w* | *-yr* < **-ter* |
| 1pl | **-me* | **-o-me* | **-medʰh₂* | **-o-medʰh₂* | *-akʻ* | *-akʻ* | *-akʻ* |
| 2pl | **-te* | **-e-te* | **-dʰwe* | **-e-dʰwe* | *-e-ykʻ* | *-a-ykʻ* | *-ikʻ* |
| 3pl | **-nt*, **-n̥t* | **-o-nt* | **-nto* | **-o-nto* | *-in* | *-a-n* | *-in* |

  - The mp. *-i-* developed from intransitive stative/inchoative **-ē-* (< PIE **-eh₁-*) stems.
  - 2sg. *-r* must be connected with the *-r* of the 2sg. prohibitive, which in turn has been compared to Gk. ὀρ-α, Lith. *ir̃*, Toch.B 'and; also' (cf. Toch.A proh. *mar* < **mē r*V).
  - The 3rd sg. impf. *-yr* can be derived from **-ter* next to the primary ending 3sg. mp. **-tor*.
  - The Armenian mediopassive endings are best explained as derived from intransitive **eh₂-* stems, cf. intransitive *ā*-preterites in Baltic (see Kocharov 2018b).
- The augment

The augment **h₁e-* marks the aorist forms in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Phrygian, and Armenian. In Armenian, it is reserved for forms which a) do not begin with a vowel, b) augment aside, are monosyllabic. Given that only 3sg. has a zero ending in the aorist, it is only in this form that an augment is productively used: , cf. *ber-* → 3sg. aor. act. *e-ber* to compare with Gr. ἔ-φερ-ε, Skt. *á-bhar-at*, from PIE **h₁é-bʰer-et*. It is otherwise preserved when added to other rare monosyllabic personal form like 1sg. *edi* of *dnem* 'to put', 1sg. *etu* of *tam* 'to give'. Introduction of the augment, spelled *ē-*, to forms beginning with a vowel (cf. *anc'* 's/he passed' → *ē-anc'*) is a post-classical phenomenon, see de Lamberterie 2005–2007.

- Stems
  - Athematic presents were thematised, except for isolated relicts.
    PIE **gʷʰen-* (Hitt. *kuenᶻⁱ*, Skt. *hánti* 'to kill') → **gʷʰen-e/o-* > Arm. *ǰnem* 'to strike'.
    PIE **bʰeh₂-* (φημί 'to say') > *bam* 'to say'.
  - Thematic present
    PIE **bʰer-e-* (φέρω, Skt. *bhárāmi*) > Arm. *ber-em* 'to carry'.
  - **sk*-present
    PIE **prḱ-ske-* (Skt. *pr̥cchā́mi*) > Arm. *harcʻanem* 'to ask'.
    PIE **ǵnh₃-ske-* (γιγνώσκω, Lat. *(g)nōscō* 'to get to know') > Arm. *čanačʻem* 'to realize' (see Viredaz 2019 on the issue of *-čʻ-* from **-sk-*).
    PIE iterative-durative preterite in **-e-ske/o-* of denominal verbs > Arm. aor. *-ecʻ-* (see Clackson 1994: 75ff.; Zerdin 2002 on Gk. -σκον).
  - *yod*-present
    PIE **gʷʰen-ye/o-* (θείνω 'to strike') > Arm. *ǰnǰem* 'to destroy'.
  - Nasal presents
    PIE **li-ne-kʷ-* (Skt. *ri-ṇá-k-ti*) → PIE dial. **li(n)kʷ-n̥H-* (λιμπάνω) > Arm. *lkʻanem* 'to leave'.
    PIE **dʰi-dʰeh₁-mi* (τίθημι 'to put down') → **dē-n(H)e-* > Arm. *dnem* 'to puť.
    PIE **h₂r-n(e)w-* (ἄρνυμαι 'to gain', Av. *ərənauu-* 'to grant') > Arm. *aṙnum* 'to take'.
    PIE **wes-nu-* (ἔννυμαι 'to wear' against Skt. *váste* 'to wear') > Arm. *z-genum* 'to wear'.
    PArm. **bʰrǵʰ-n(e)h₂-* > Arm. *baṙnam* 'to lift, carry away' (cf. Skt. *bṛ́hánt-*'high').
  - *u*-present
    PIE **wel-u-* (ἑλύω 'to roll', Lat. *volvō*) > Arm. *gelum* 'to squeeze'.
  - Reduplicated present
    PIE **pi-ph₃-e-* (Skt. *píbati*) > **piᵐbe-* > Arm. *əmpem* 'to drink'.
  - Marginal types
    PIE **ḱlew-* (κλύω, Skt. *śrav-*) → **ḱlu-Ke-* > *lsem* 'to hear'.
  - Thematic aorist / imperfect
    PIE **h₁e-bʰer-et* (ἔ-φερ-ε, Skt. *á-bhar-at*) > Arm. *eber* 's/he carried'.
  - Reduplicative aorist
    PIE **h₂r(e)-h₂er-* (aor. ἀραρεῖν) > Arm. *arar* 's/he did'.
  - Sigmatic aorist
    PIE **leuk-s-* (PToch. pres. act. **ləwk-s-* 'to illuminate') > Arm. *e-loycʻ* 's/he kindled'.
    PIE **mer-* (Skt. *á-mr̥-ta* 'he died') → **mer-s-* > Arm. *meṙ-aw* 's/he died'.
  - Perfect
    PIE **woid-* (οἶδα, Skt. *véda* 'to know') > Arm. *gitem* 'to know'.

## 12. Texts

### 12.1.1. “The Parable of the Sower” (Mt. 13: 1–30)

- The Armenian translation of the Bible was the first text written down after the invention of the Armenian alphabet and is therefore the earliest witness of the Armenian branch.

  Critical editions of the Gospels: Künzle 1984 based on the two older manuscripts, the Ejmiadzin Codex (Mat. 2374, year 989) and the Lazarian Codex (Mat. 6200, year 887).

  Bibliography: Thomson 1995: 239–249, Cox 2014.

1. Յաւուր յայնմիկ ելեալ Յիսուս ի տանէն՝ նստաւ առ ծովեզերն: 2. Եւ ժողովեցան առ նա ժողովուրդք բազումք, մինչեւ մտանել նմա ի նաւն՝ եւ նստել. եւ ամենայն ժողովուրդն կայր առ ծովեզերն:

3. Եւ խօսէր ընդ նոսա բազումս առակօք, եւ ասէր: 4. Ահա ել սերմանահան սերմանել. եւ ի սերմանելն իւրում, էր որ անկաւ առ ճանապարհաւ, եւ եկն թռչուն երկնից՝ եւ եկեր զնա: 5. Եւ այլն անկաւ յապառաժի, ուր ոչ գոյր հող բազում, եւ վաղվաղակի բուսաւ, առ ի չգոյէ հիւթոյ երկրին՝ 6. Ի ծագել արեւու տապացաւ, եւ զի ոչ գոյին արմատք՝ չորացաւ: 7. Եւ այլն անկաւ ի մէջ փշոց, եւ ելին փուշքն եւ հեղձուցին զնա: 8. Եւ այլն անկաւ յերկիր բարի, եւ տայր պտուղ. էր՝ որ հարիւրաւոր, եւ էր՝ որ վաթսնաւոր, եւ էր՝ որ երեսնաւոր: 9. Որ ունիցի ականջս լսելոյ՝ լուիցէ:

10. Եւ մատուցեալ աշակերտքն ասեն ցնա. ընդէր առակօք խօսիս ընդ նոսա: 11. Նա պատասխանի ետ եւ ասէ ցնոսա. քանզի ձեզ տուեալ է գիտել զխորհուրդս արքայութեան երկնից, եւ նոցա չէ տուեալ: 12. Ջի ոյր գուցէ՝ տացի նմա եւ յաւելցի. եւ ոյր ոչն գուցէ՝ եւ զոր ունիցին բարձցի ի նմանէ: 13. Վասն այնորիկ առակօք խօսիմ ընդ նոսա. զի տեսանեն՝ եւ ոչ տեսանեն, եւ լսեն՝ եւ ոչ լսեն, եւ ոչ առնուն ի միտ: 14. Եւ կատարի առ նոսա մարգարէութիւնն եսայայ՝ որ ասէ. լսելով լուիջիք՝ եւ մի իմասջիք. տեսանելով տեսջիք՝ եւ մի տեսջիք: 15. Ջի թանձրացաւ սիրտ ժողովրդեանս այսորիկ, եւ ականջօք իւրեանց ծանուսս լուան. եւ զաչս իւրեանց կափուցին, զի մի երբէք տեսցեն աչօք՝ եւ ականջօք լուիցեն՝ եւ սրտիւքն իմասցեն, եւ դարձցին՝ եւ բժշկեցից զնոսա: 16. Բայց ձեր երանի է աչացդ՝ զի տեսանեն, եւ ականջաց ձերոց՝ զի լսեն: 17. Ամէն ասեմ ձեզ. զի բազում մարգարէք եւ արդարք ցանկացան տեսանել զոր տեսանէքդ՝ եւ ոչ տեսին, եւ լսել զոր լսէքդ՝ եւ ոչ լուան:

18. Եւ արդ՝ լուարուք դուք զառակ սերմանացանին: 19. Ցամենայնէ՝ որ լսէ զբանն արքայութեան՝ եւ ոչ առնու ի միտ, գայ չարն՝ եւ յափշտակէ զսերմանեալն ի սիրտ նորա. այն է՝ որ առ ճանապարհաւն սերմանեցաւ: 20. Եւ որ յապառաժին սերմանեցաւ՝ այն է, որ իբրեւ լսէ զբանն, եւ վաղվաղակի խնդութեամբ ընդունի զնա: 21. Բայց քանզի ոչ ունի արմատս յինքեան, այղ առ ժամանակ մի է. ի լինել նեղութեան եւ հալածանաց վասն բանին՝ վաղվաղակի գայթագղի: 22. Իսկ որ ի մէջ փշոցն սերմանեցաւ, այն է՝ որ իբրեւ լսէ զբանն, եւ հոգք աշխարհիս եւ պատրանք մեծութեան հեղձուցանեն զբանն, եւ լինի անպտուղ: 23. Իսկ որ յերկիրն բարի սերմանեցաւ, այն է՝ որ իբրեւ լսէ զբանն՝ եւ ի միտ առնու, եւ տայ զպտուղ, է՝ որ հարիւր, եւ է որ վաթսուն. եւ է՝ որ երեսուն: Որ ունիցի ականջս լսելոյ՝ լուիցէ:

24. Այղ առակ արկ առ նոսա՝ եւ ասէ: Նմանեցաւ արքայութիւն երկնից՝ առն որ սերմանիցէ սերմն բարի յագարակի իւրում: 25. եւ ի քուն լինել մարդկան, եկն թշնամի նորա. եւ ցանեաց ի վերայ որոմն ի մէջ ցորենոյն՝ եւ գնաց: 26. եւ իբրեւ բուսաւ խոտն՝ եւ արար պտուղ, ապա երեւեցաւ եւ որոմն: 27. Մատուցեալ ծառայք տանուտեառնն ասեն ցնա. տէր, ոչ սերմն բարի սերմանեցեր յագարակին քում. արդ՝ ուստի ունիցի զորոմն: 28. Եւ նա ասէ ցնոսա. այր թշնամի արար զայն. ասեն ցնա ծառայքն. կամիս զի երթիցուք քաղիսցուք զայն ի բաց: 29. Եւ նա ասէ ցնոսա. մի. գուցէ մինչ քաղիցէք զորոմնն, եւ զցորեանն ընդ նմին ի բաց խլէք: 30. թոյլ տուք երկոցունց աճել ի միասին մինչեւ ի հունձս, եւ ի ժամանակի հնձոց ասացից ցհնձօղսն. քաղեցէք նախ զորոմնդ, եւ կապեցէք զայդ ի խրձունս առ ի յայրել. եւ զցորեանն ժողովեցէք ի շտեմարանս իմ:

### 12.1.2. Mt. 13:1–30 (transliteration)

1. Yawowr yaynmik eleal Yisows i tanēn` nstaw aṙ covezern: 2. Ew žołovecʿan aṙ na žołovowrdkʿ bazowmkʿ, minčʿew mtanel nma i nawn` ew nstel, ew amenayn žołovowrdn kayr aṙ covezern:

3. Ew xōsēr ənd nosa bazowms aṙakōkʿ, ew asēr: 4. Aha el sermanahan sermanel. ew i sermaneln iwrowm, ēr or ankaw aṙ čanaparhaw, ew ekn tʿṙčʿown erknicʿ` ew eker zna: 5. Ew ayln ankaw yapaṙaži, owr očʿ goyr hoł bazowm, ew vałvałaki bowsaw, aṙ i čʿgoyē hiwtʿoy erkrin` 6. I cagel arewow tapacʿaw, ew zi očʿ goyin armatkʿ` čʿoracʿaw: 7. Ew ayłn ankaw i mēǰ pʿšocʿ, ew elin pʿowškʿn ew hełjowcʿin zna: 8. Ew ayłn ankaw yerkir bari, ew tayr ptowł. ēr` or hariwrawor, ew ēr` or vatʿsnawor, ew ēr` or eresnawor: 9. Or ownicʿi akanǰs lseloy` lowicʿē:

10. Ew matowcʿeal ašakertkʿn asen cʿna. əndēr aṙakōkʿ xōsis ənd nosa: 11. Na patasxani et ew asē cʿnosa. kʿanzi jez toweal ē gitel zxorhowrds arkʿayowtʿean erknicʿ, ew nocʿa čʿē toweal: 12. Zi oyr gowcʿē` tacʿi nma ew yawelcʿi. ew oyr očʿn gowcʿē` ew zor ownicʿin barjcʿi i nmanē: 13. Vasn aynorik aṙakōkʿ xōsim ənd nosa. zi tesanen` ew očʿ tesanen, ew lsen` ew očʿ lsen, ew očʿ aṙnown i mit: 14. Ew katari aṙ nosa margarēowtʿiwnn Esayay` or asē. lselov lowiǰikʿ` ew mi imasǰikʿ. tesanelov tesǰikʿ` ew mi tesǰikʿ: 15. Zi tʿanjracʿaw sirt žołovrdeans aysorik, ew akanǰōkʿ iwreancʿ canowns lowan. ew začʿs iwreancʿ kapʿowcʿin, zi mi erbēkʿ tescʿen ačʿōkʿ` ew akanǰōkʿ lowicʿen` ew srtiwkʿn imascʿen, ew darjcʿin` ew bžškecʿicʿ znosa: 16. Baycʿ jer erani ē ačʿacʿd` zi tesanen, ew akanǰacʿ jerocʿ` zi lsen: 17. Amēn asem jez. zi bazowm margarēkʿ ew ardarkʿ cʿankacʿan tesanel zor tesanēkʿd` ew očʿ tesin, ew lsel zor lsēkʿd` ew očʿ lowan:

18. Ew ard` lowarowkʿ dowkʿ zaṙak sermanacʿanin: 19. Yamenaynē` or lsē zbann arkʿayowtʿean` ew očʿ aṙnow i mit, gay čʿarn` ew yapʿštakē zsermanealn i sirt nora. ayn ē` or aṙ čanaparhawn sermanecʿaw: 20. Ew or yapaṙažin sermanecʿaw` ayn ē, or ibrew lsē zbann, ew vałvałaki xndowtʿeamb əndowni zna: 21. Baycʿ kʿanzi očʿ owni armats yinkʿean, aył aṙ žamanak mi ē. i linel nełowtʿean ew halacanacʿ vasn banin` vałvałaki gaytʿagłi: 22. Isk or i mēǰ pʿšocʿn sermanecʿaw, ayn ē` or ibrew lsē zbann, ew hogkʿ ašxarhis ew patrankʿ mecowtʿean hełjowcʿanen zbann, ew lini anptowł: 23. Isk or yerkirn bari sermanecʿaw, ayn ē` or ibrew lsē zbann` ew i mit aṙnow, ew tay zptowł, ē` or hariwr, ew ē or vatʿsown. ew ē` or eresown: Or ownicʿi akanǰs lseloy` lowicʿē:

24. Aył aṙak ark aṙ nosa` ew asē: Nmanecʿaw arkʿayowtʿiwn erknicʿ` aṙn or sermanicʿē sermn bari yagaraki iwrowm: 25. ew i kʿown linel mardkan, ekn tʿšnami nora. ew cʿaneacʿ i veray oromn i mēǰ cʿorenoyn` ew gnacʿ: 26. ew ibrew bowsaw xotn` ew arar ptowł, apa erewecʿaw ew oromn: 27. Matowcʿeal caṙaykʿ tanowteaṙnn asen cʿna. tēr, očʿ sermn bari sermanecʿer yagarakin kʿowm. ard` owsti ownicʿi zoromn: 28. Ew na asē cʿnosa. ayr tʿšnami arar zayn. asen cʿna caṙaykʿn. kamis zi ertʿicʿowkʿ kʿałiscʿowkʿ zayn i bacʿ: 29. Ew na asē cʿnosa. mi. gowcʿē minčʿ kʿałicʿēkʿ zoromnn, ew zcʿoreann ənd nmin i bacʿ xlēkʿ: 30. tʿoyl towkʿ erkocʿownc` ačel i miasin minčʿew i hownjs, ew i žamanaki hnjocʿ asacʿicʿ cʿhnjōłsn. kʿałecʿēkʿ nax zoromnd, ew kapecʿēkʿ zayd i xrjowns aṙ i yayrel. ew zcʿoreann žołovecʿēkʿ i štemarans im:

### 12.1.3. Mt. 13:1–30 (New American Standard Bible Translation)

1 On that day Jesus had gone out of the house and was sitting by the sea. 2 And large crowds gathered to Him, so He got into a boat and sat down, and the whole crowd was standing on the beach.

3 And He told them many things in parables, saying, “Behold, the sower went out to sow; 4 and as he sowed, some seeds fell beside the road, and the birds came and ate them up. 5 Others fell on the rocky places, where they did not have much soil; and they sprang up immediately, because they had no depth of soil. 6 But after the sun rose, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away. 7 Others fell among the thorns, and the thorns came up and choked them out. 8 But others fell on the good soil and yielded a crop, some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty times as much. 9 The one who has ears, let him hear.”

10 And the disciples came up and said to Him, “Why do You speak to them in parables?” 11 And Jesus answered them, “To you it has been granted to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it has not been granted. 12 For whoever has, to him more shall be given, and he will have an abundance; but whoever does not have, even what he has shall be taken away from him. 13 Therefore I speak to them in parables; because while seeing they do not see, and while hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand. 14 And in their case the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled, which says, ‘You shall keep on listening, but shall not understand; And you shall keep on looking, but shall not perceive; 15 For the heart of this people has become dull, With their ears they scarcely hear, And they have closed their eyes, Otherwise they might see with their eyes, Hear with their ears, Understand with their heart, and return, And I would heal them.’ 16 But blessed are your eyes, because they see; and your ears, because they hear. 17 For truly I say to you that many prophets and righteous people longed to see what you see, and did not see it, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it.

18 “Listen then to the parable of the sower. 19 When anyone hears the word of the kingdom and does not understand it, the evil one comes and snatches away what has been sown in his heart. This is the one sown with seed beside the road. 20 The one sown with seed on the rocky places, this is the one who hears the word and immediately receives it with joy; 21 yet he has no firm root in himself, but is only temporary, and when affliction or persecution occurs because of the word, immediately he falls away. 22 And the one sown with seed among the thorns, this is the one who hears the word, and the anxiety of the world and the deceitfulness of wealth choke the word, and it becomes unfruitful. 23 But the one sown with seed on the good soil, this is the one who hears the word and understands it, who indeed bears fruit and produces, some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty times as much.”

24 Jesus presented another parable to them, saying, “The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field. 25 But while his men were sleeping, his enemy came and sowed weeds among the wheat, and left. 26 And when the wheat sprouted and produced grain, then the weeds also became evident. 27 And the slaves of the landowner came and said to him, ‘Sir, did you not sow good seed in your field? How then does it have weeds?’ 28 And he said to them, ‘An enemy has done this!’ The slaves said to him, ‘Do you want us, then, to go and gather them up?’ 29 But he said, ‘No; while you are gathering up the weeds, you may uproot the wheat with them. 30 Allow both to grow together until the harvest; and at the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, “First gather up the weeds and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn.”’”

### 12.2.1. Eznik of Kolb, *De Deo*, Section 3

- Eznik Kołbacʻi was a pupil of Mesrop Maštocʻ and belonged to the first generation of translators from Syriac and Greek into Armenian after the invention of the alphabet. *De Deo* (also known as *Refutation of the Sects*) is a theological treatise on the nature of good, evil, free will, and a refutation of various dualistic religions such as Zurvanism and Marcionism.

  Critical editions: Mariès & Mercier 1959a; Kʻeōsēean 2003. All critical editions are based on one sole surviving manuscript M1097 dated to 1280.

  Translations: Blanchard & Young 1998 (English); Zeilfelder 2004 (German); Mariès & Mercier 1959b (French); Orengo 1996 (Italian).

  Bibliography: Thomson 1995: 117–121.

Արդ բարւոք է արեգակն եւ գեղեցիկ բնութեամբ, եւ մեզ եւ ամենայն արարածոց՝ որ ի ներքոյ երկնից՝ յաւգուտ եւ ի դարման, իբրեւ ճրագ մի ի մեծի տան ի մէջ ձեղուան եւ յատակի լուցեալ՝ առ ի զխաւարն եւ զստուերն զերկուց մեծացն անաւթոց ի բաց ի միջոյ փարատելոյ. բայց ինքն եթե իցէ եւ եթե չիցէ՝ զայն ոչ գիտէ, զի չէ ի բանաւորաց եւ ի մտաւորաց. նոյնպէս եւ այլքն յանշնչոցն արարածոց. եւ թե ջուր թե հուր թե երկիր թե աւդ, թե իցեն եւ թե չիցեն՝ զայն ոչ գիտեն, եւ զսպասաւորութիւնն՝ յոր կարգեցան՝ անդադար մատուցանեն, վարելով այնր՝ որ կազմեացն զնոսա: Եւ մեք ոչ անարգեմք զնոսա, եւ ոչ պաշտաւն մատուցանեմք նոցա. այլ հայեցեալ9 ընդ նոսա՝ փառաւորեմք զկարգիչն նոցա եւ զյաւրինիչ, զի մեզ ի պէտս են, եւ կարգչին իւրեանց ի փառս:

Ջիա՞րդ պաշտիցեմք զարեգակն, զի մերթ կոչի իբրեւ զծառայ առ ի սպասն՝ յոր կարգեցաւ՝ հասանելոյ, եւ մերթ երթայ ղաւղէ իբրեւ զարհուրեալ, եւ տայ տեղի խաւարին լնուլ զմիջոց ի մեծի տանս. եւ ընդ ժամանակս ժամանակս ի խաւար դառնայ առ ի յանդիմանութիւն եւ յամաւթ իւրոցն պաշտաւնէիցն, յայտ արարեալ՝ եթե չեմ ես արժանի պաշտաման, այլ այն՝ որ զիս եւ զամենայն տիւ լուսաւոր պահէ, եւ զցայգ ղաւղեցուցանէ, եւ երբեք երբեք խաւարեցուցանէ. եւ իբրեւ խաւսուն բերանով անշշունջն բողոքէ՝ եթե չեմ արժանի պաշտաւն առնլոյ այլ պաշտաւն հարկանելոյ:

Կամ զլուսին՝ որ ՚ամսոյ ամսոյ հիւծանի, գրեթե եւ մեռանի, եւ ապա սկիզբն առնու կենդանանալոյ, զի քեզ զյարութեան աւրինակ նկարիցէ:

Կամ զաւդ՝ որ մերթ գոչիցէ վարազացեալ հրամանաւ, եւ մերթ սարսէ ի գոչելոյն՝ սաստիւ:

Եւ կամ զհուր՝ որում եւ զքեզ իսկ երկրորդ արարիչ կազմեաց յաւրինիչն, զի յորժամ կամիցիս՝ վառից ես, եւ յորժամ կամիցիս՝ խափուցանիցես:

Կամ զերկիր՝ որ հանապազ բրեմք, եւ ցանկ կոխեմք, եւ զաղբ զմեր եւ զանասնոց մերոց ի նա հեղումք:

Կամ զջուրս՝ զոր հանապազն ըմպեմք, եւ զանուշութիւնն նոցա ի ժանտահոտութիւն ի փորի մերում դարձուցանեմք, եւ զներքին եւ զարտաքին աղտեղութիւնս մեր նոքաւք սրբեմք:

Եւ այսու ամենայնիւ յայտ է՝ թե զոր առ աստուածն ունին, անարգեն շատք եւ անպատուեն:

### 12.2.2. Eznik of Kolb, *De Deo*, Section 3 (transliteration)

Ard barwokʻ ē aregakn ew gełecʻik bnowtʻeamb, ew mez ew amenayn araracocʻ or i nerkʻoy erknicʻ yawgowt ew i darman, ibrew črag mi i meci tan i mēǰ jełowan ew yataki lowcʻealʻ aṙ i zxawarn ew zstowern zerkowcʻ mecacʻn anawtʻocʻ i bacʻ i miǰoy pʻarateloy. baycʻ inkʻn etʻe icʻē ew etʻe čʻicʻēʻ zayn očʻ gitē, zi čʻē i banaworacʻ ew i mtaworacʻ. noynpēs ew aylkʻn yanšnčʻocʻn araracocʻ. ew tʻe ǰowr tʻe howr tʻe erkir tʻe awd, tʻe icʻen ew tʻe čʻicʻenʻ zayn očʻ giten, ew zspasaworowtʻiwnnʻ yor kargecʻanʻ andadar matowcʻanen, varelov aynrʻ or kazmeacʻn znosa: Ew mekʻ očʻ anargemkʻ znosa, ew očʻ paštawn matowcʻanemkʻ nocʻa. ayl hayecʻeal ənd nosaʻ pʻaraworemkʻ zkargičʻn nocʻa ew zyawriničʻ, zi mez i pēts en, ew kargčʻin iwreancʻ i pʻarṡ:

Ziaˆrd pašticʻemkʻ zaregakn, zi mertʻ kočʻi ibrew zcaṙay aṙ i spasnʻ yor kargecʻawʻ hasaneloy, ew mertʻ ertʻay ławłē ibrew zarhowreal, ew tay tełi xawarin lnowl zmiǰocʻ i meci tans. ew ənd žamanaks žamanaks i xawar daṙnay aṙ i yandimanowtʻiwn ew yamawtʻ iwrocʻn paštawnēicʻn, yayt arearealʻ etʻe čʻem es aržani paštaman, ayl aynʻ or zis ew zamenayn tiw lowsawor pahē, ew zcʻayg ławłecʻowcʻanē, ew erbekʻ erbekʻ xawarecʻowcʻanē. ew ibrew xawsown beranov anššownǰn bołokʻēʻ etʻe čʻem aržani paštawn aṙnloy ayl paštawn harkaneloy:

Kam zlowsinʻ or amsoy amsoy hiwcani, gretʻe ew meṙani, ew apa skizbn aṙnow kendananaloy, zi kʻez zyarowtʻean awrinak nkaricʻē: Kam zawdʻ or mertʻ gočʻicʻē varazacʻeal hramanaw, ew mertʻ sarsē i gočʻeloynʻ sastiw: Ew kam zhowrʻ orowm ew zkʻez isk erkrord araričʻ kazmeacʻ yawriničʻn, zi yoržam kamicʻisʻ vaṙicʻ es, ew yoržam kamicʻisʻ xapʻowcʻanicʻes: Kam zerkirʻ or hanapaz bremkʻ, ew cʻank koxemkʻ, ew załb zmer ew zanasnocʻ merocʻ i na hełowmkʻ: Kam zǰowrsʻ zor hanapazn əmpemkʻ, ew zanowšowtʻiwnn nocʻa i žantahotowtʻiwn i pʻori merowm darjowcʻanemkʻ, ew znerkʻin ew zartakʻin ałtełowtʻiwns mer nokʻawkʻ srbemkʻ:

Ew aysow amenayniw yayt ēʻ tʻe zor aṙ astowacsn ownin, anargen šatkʻ ew anpatowen:

### 12.2.3. Eznik of Kolb, *De Deo*, Section 3 (Translation: Blanchard & Young 1998: 39–40)

Accordingly, the sun is good and beautiful by nature. It is a profit and a cure both to us and to all creatures under heaven, like a lamp in a great house, between ceiling and floor, shining and dispersing darkness and shadow from the midst of their two great vases. Yet whether it exists or not it does not know, because it does not belong to the rational and intellectual ones. In the same way too, other inanimate creatures, such as water or fire or earth or air, do not know whether they exist or not; they ceaselessly offer that service to which they have been assigned by the direction of that One who shaped them. And we do not despise them, nor do we worship them. Instead, having gazed at them, we glorify their arranger and their fashioner because they are necessities for us and they are glory for their arranger.

So why would we worship the sun since sometimes it is called like a servant to come to that service to which it has been assigned, and sometimes it goes and hides as if frightened, and it allows the darkness to fill up the interior within that great house. And at times it grows dark, to the reproach and shame of those who worship it, having signified, "I am not worthy of worship, but He is instead who keeps me illumined all day, and who causes me to hide at night, and at times to grow dark." And as if with a mouth capable of speech that astonished one appeals, "I am not worthy to receive worship, but rather to accomplish worship."

Or the moon, which wanes monthly and almost dies, and then it receives anew a beginning of life in order to paint an image of resurrection for you. Or air, which sometimes roars like a wild boar at a command, and sometimes shudders to cry out at a rebuke. Or fire, of which indeed the Fashioner has made you a second creator, because you kindle or extinguish it whenever you wish. Or the earth, which we dig and trample underfoot constantly, pouring onto it our excrement and that of our beasts. Or the waters, which we drink continually, and we turn their sweetness into stench in our bowels by which we cleanse our inner and outer foulness.

And from all of this it is clear that the majority despise and dishonor those creatures which are held as gods.

### 12.3.1. Movsēs Xorenacʻi *History of the Armenians*, Book I, Chapter 31

- Movsēs Xorenacʻi is the "father of Armenian history". His *History* begins from the legendary origins of the Armenians and ends with the death of the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, Mesrop Maštocʻ in 440 CE. The *History* is traditionally dated to the 5th century. Some scholars push the dating towards the 8th century (see Thomson 1995; Jungmann & Weitenberg 1993).

  Critical edition: Muradyan & Yuzbashyan 2003.
  Translations: Thomson 2006 (English).
  Bibliography: Thomson 1995: 156–168.

Սորա որդի Բաբ, Տիրան, Վահագն, զորմէ ասեն առասպելք աշխարհիս.

"Երկնէր երկին, երկնէր երկիր, երկնէր եւ ծովն ծիրանի
երկն ի ծովուն ունէր եւ զկարմրիկն եղեգնիկ.
ընդ եղեգան փող ծուխ ելանէր,
ընդ եղեգան փող բոց ելանէր.
եւ ի բոցոյն վազէր խարտեաշ պատանեկիկ.
նա հուր հեր ունէր, ապա թէ բոց ունէր մօրուս,
եւ աչկունքն էին արեգակունք":

Զայս երգելով ոմանց փանդռամբ, լուաք մերովք իսկ ականջօք: Ցետ որոյ եւ ընդ վիշապաց ասէին յերգին կռուել նմա եւ յաղթել, եւ կարի իմն նմանագոյնս զՀերակլեայ նահատակութիւնսն նմա երգէին: Այլ ասեն զսա եւ աստուածացեալ. եւ անդրին ի Վրաց աշխարհին զսորա չափ հասակին կանգնեալ՝ պատուէին զոհիւք:

### 12.3.2. Movsēs Xorenacʻi *History of the Armenians*, Book I, Chapter 31 (transliteration)

Sora ordi Bab, Tiran, Vahagn, zormē asen aṙaspelkʻ ašxarhis.

"Erknēr erkin, erknēr erkir, erknēr ew covn cirani
erkn i covown ownēr ew zkarmrikn ełegnik.
ənd ełegan pʻoł cowx elanēr,
ənd ełegan pʻoł bocʻ elanēr.
ew i bocʻoyn vazēr xarteaš patanekik.
na howr her ownēr, apa tʻē bocʻ ownēr mawrows,
ew ačʻkownkʻn ēin aregakownkʻ":

Zays ergelov omancʻ pʻandṙamb, lowakʻ merovkʻ isk akanǰawkʻ: Yet oroy ew ənd višapacʻ asēin yergin kṙowel nma ew yałtʻel, ew kari imn nmanagoyns zHerakleay nahatakowtʻiwnsn nma ergēin: Ayl asen zsa ew astowacacʻeal, ew andrin i Vracʻ ašxarhin zsora čʻapʻ hasakin kangnealʻ patowēin zohiwkʻ:

### 12.3.3. Movsēs Xorenacʻi *History of the Armenians*, I: 31 (trans. Thomson 2006: 119f.)

His sons were Bab, Tiran, Vahagn, of whom the fables of our land say:

Heaven was in travail, earth was in travail, the purple sea was also in travail; in the sea travail also gripped the red reed. From the tube of the reed came forth smoke, from the tube of the reed came forth flame. From the flame a red-headed young boy ran out. He had fire for hair, and had flame for beard, and his eyes were suns.

With our own ears we have heard some singing this on the lyre. Then they would say in their song that he fought with dragons and overcome them; and they sang of him something very similar to the heroic exploits of Heracles. But they said that he was divinized and setting up a life-sized statue of him in Georgia they honored it with sacrifices.

## 13. Vocabulary

The vocabulary is arranged in the following alphabetical order of transliteration:

a, b, c, cʻ, č, čʻ, d, e, ē, ə, g, h, i, j, ǰ, k, kʻ, l, m, n, o, p, pʻ, r, ṙ, s, š, t, tʻ, v, w, x, y, z, ž

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ačel* | aor. *-ec‘-* | v. | grow |
| *ač‘kown-k‘* | *-ow*C/*a*C- | n. | eyes (cf. Olsen 1999: 614) |
| *ač‘-k‘* | *-a-* | n. | pl. of *akn* ‘eye’ |
| *agarak* | *-i/a-* | n. | farm |
| *aha* | — | intj. | behold |
| *akanǰ-k‘* | *-a-* | n. | pl. of *ownkn* ‘ear’ |
| *akn* (pl. *ač‘k‘*) | -C/*a*C- | n. | eye |
| *ałb* | *-o-, -i-* | n. | dung |
| *ałtełowtʻiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | dirt |
| *amawtʻ* | *-o-* | n. | shame |
| *amenayn* | *-i-* | adj. | whole, each |
| *amēn* | — | intj. | Amen |
| *amis* | *-o-* | n. | month |
| *anargel* | *-ec‘-* | v. | despise |
| *anasown* | *-o-* | n. | animal |
| *andadar* | — | adv. | ceaselessly |
| *andimanowtʻiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | reproach |
| *andri* | *-o/a-* | n. | statue |
| *ankanel* | aor. root | v. | fall |
| *anptowł* | *-i-* | adj., adv. | fruitless |
| *anawtʻ* | *-o-* | n. | vase |
| *anowšowtʻiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | sweetness |
| *anpatowel* | aor. *-ec‘-* | v. | dishonor |
| *an(š)šownčʻ* | *-o-* | adj. | inanimate |
| *apa* | — | adv. | then (conseq., temp.) |
| *apaṙaž* | *-i-* | n. | rock |
| *ararac* | *-o-* | n. | creature |
| *ararič‘* | *-i/a-* | n. | creator |
| *ard* | — | adv. | now; therefore |
| *ardar* | *-o-* | adj., n. | just, a righteous man |
| *aregakn* | -C/*a*C/*ow*C- | n. | sun |
| *arew* | *-ow-* | n. | sun |
| *arkanel* | aor. root | v. | throw |
| *arkʻayowtʻiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | kingdom |
| *armat* | *-o-* | n. | root |
| *artakʻin* | *-o-* | n. | exterior |
| *aržani* | *-o/a-* | adj. | worthy |
| *aṙ* | — | prep. | for, at, to |
| *aṙ i* + abl. | — | prep. | for (purpose) |
| *aṙak* | *-i/a-* | n. | parable |
| *aṙaspel* | *-a-* | n. | fable |
| *aṙnel* | aor. *arar-* | v. | make |
| *aṙnowl* | aor. *aṙ-* | v. | take; receive |
| *asel* | aor. *-ac‘-* | v. | say |
| *Astowac*, gen. *Astowcoy* | *-o-* | n. | God |
| *astowac-k‘*, gen. *astowac-oc‘* | *-o-* | n. | heather gods |

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *astowacanal* | aor. *-acʻ-* | v. | become like a god |
| *ašakert* | *-i/a-* | n. | disciple |
| *ašxarh* | *-i/a-* | n. | world; land |
| *awd* | *-o-* | n. | air |
| *awgowt* | *-i/a-* | n. | utility |
| *awr* | *-r/owr-* | n. | day |
| *awrinak* | *-a-* | n. | example |
| *ayl/aył* (dat.-loc. *-owm*) | *-o-* | adj. | other |
| *ayl* (*aył*) | — | conj. | but |
| *ayn*, pl. *aynkʻ* | demon. | pron. | that |
| *ayn*, pl. *aynokʻik* | demon. | pron. | that (emphatic) |
| *ayr*, gen. *arṙn* | irreg. | n. | man |
| *ayrel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | burn |
| *ays* | demon. | pron. | this |
| *(i) bacʻ* | — | adv. | out |
| *ban* | *-i-* | n. | word |
| *banawor* | *-i/a-* | n. | able to speak |
| *bari* | *-i/a-* | adj. | good |
| *barwokʻ* | — | adj. | good |
| *barṙnal* | aor. *barj-* | v. | raise; take away |
| *baycʻ* | — | conj. | but |
| *bazowm* | *-i/a-* | adj. | numerous |
| *beran* | *-o-* | n. | mouth |
| *bnowtʻiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | nature |
| *bocʻ* | *-o-* | n. | flame |
| *bołokʻel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | complain |
| *bowsanel* | aor. *bows-* | v. | grow |
| *brel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | dig |
| *bžškel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | heal |
| *cagel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | dawn |
| *canr*, gen. *canow* | *-r-* | adj. | heavy |
| *caṙay* | *-i-* | n. | servant |
| *cirani* | *-o/a-* | adj. | purple |
| *cov* | *-ow-* | n. | sea |
| *covezr* | *-r/er-* | n. | seashore |
| *cowx* | *-o-* | n. | smoke |
| *cʻ-* | — | prep. | to |
| *cʻanel* | aor. *-ecʻ-* | v. | sow |
| *cʻank* | — | adv. | always |
| *cʻankanal* | aor. *-acʻ-* | v. | desire |
| *cʻayg* | *-o-* | n. | night |
| *cʻorean* | *-o-* | n. | wheat |
| *čanaparh* | *-i/a-* | n. | road |
| *črag* | *-a-* | n. | lamp |
| *čʻapʻ* | *-ow-*, *-o-* | n. | measure; size |
| *čʻar* | *-i/a-* | adj., n. | evil, an evil one |
| *čʻoranal* | aor. *-acʻ-* | v. | dry |
| *darjowcʻanel* (caus.) | aor. root | v. | turn (into smth.) |
| *darman* | *-i-*, *-o-* | n. | cure |
| *darṙnal* | aor. *darj-* | v. | return; turn |
| *dow* | pers. | pron. | you |
| *elanel* | aor. *el-* | v. | go out |
| *ełēgn* | -C/*a*C/owC- | n. | cane |

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ełegnik* | *-a-* | n. | small cane |
| *em* | defect. | v. | 1sg. of *linel* ‘be’ |
| *erani* | n/a | adj., adv. | blessed |
| *erbēkʿ* | — | adv. | never |
| *eresnawor* | *-i/a-* | adj. | of thirty |
| *eresown* | *-i-* | num. | thirty |
| *erewel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | appear |
| *ergel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | sing |
| *erkin* | *-i-* | n. | heaven |
| *erkir* | *-i-* | n. | earth, land |
| *erkn* | -C/*a*C/*ow*C- | n. | pain |
| *erknel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | have birth pain, give birth |
| *erkokʿin* | distr. | num. | both |
| *erkrord* | *-a-* | num. | second |
| *ertʿal* | aor. *čʿog-* | v. | go |
| *es* | suppl. | pron. | I |
| *Esayi* | *-a-* | prop. n. | Esaias |
| *et* | suppl. | v. | 3sg. aor. of *tam* ‘give’ |
| *etʿe* | — | conj. | if, whether |
| *ew* | — | conj. | and |
| *əmpel* | *arb-* | v. | drink |
| *ənd* | — | prep. | with, during, for |
| *əndēr* | — | conj. | why |
| *əndownel* | aor. *əndkal-* | v. | accept |
| *gal* | suppl. | v. | come |
| *gaytʿagłel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | err; get offended |
| *gełecʿik* | *-i/a-* | adj. | beautiful |
| *gitel* | aor. *-acʿ-* | v. | know |
| *gnal* | aor. *-acʿ-* | v. | go away |
| *gočʿel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | roar, bellow, cry |
| *gol* | aor. n/a | v. | exist |
| *gowcʿē* | — | conj. | lest (negative purpose) |
| *goy* | *-i-* | n. | existence |
| *gretʿe* | — | adv. | almost |
| *halacankʿ* | *-i/a-* | n. | persecution |
| *hanapaz* | — | adv. | constantly |
| *harewr* (*hariwr*) | *-o-* | num. | hundred |
| *hariwrawor* | *-i/a-* | adj. | of hundred |
| *harkanel* | aor. *har-* | v. | hit; perform |
| *hasak* | *-i/a-* | n. | height (of body); stature |
| *hayel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | look at |
| *hełjowcʿanel* (caus.) | aor. root | v. | choke |
| *hełowl* | aor. root | v. | pour; scatter |
| *her* | *-a-* | n. | hair |
| *hiwcanel* | aor. root | v. | wane |
| *hiwtʿ* | *-o-* | n. | moisture |
| *hnjel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | reap |
| *hnjōł* | *-i/a-* | n. | reaper |
| *hog* | *-o-* | n. | care; anxiety |
| *hoł* | *-o-* | n. | soil |
| *hownj* | *-o-* | n. | harvest |
| *howr* | *-o-*, or *-r-*/*-o-* | n. | fire |
| *hraman* | *-a-* | n. | command |

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *i* | — | prep. | in/at/to/from |
| *ibrew* | — | adv. | when; like |
| *im* | *-o-* | pron. | my |
| *imanal* | aor. *-acʿ-* | v. | know |
| *inkʿn* | -C/*ea*C- | pron. | oneself, itself |
| *isk* | — | conj. | truly |
| *iwr* | refl. | pron. | his/her |
| *jełown* | -C/*a*C- | n. | ceiling |
| *ǰowr* | *-r-/-o-* | n. | water |
| *kal* | aor. *-acʿ-* | v. | stand |
| *kam* | — | conj. | or |
| *kamel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | want |
| *kangnel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | install |
| *kapel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | tie |
| *kapʿowcʿanel* (caus.) | aor. root | v. | close |
| *kargel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | arrange |
| *kargičʿ* | *-i/a-* | n. | arranger |
| *kari* | — | adv. | very |
| *karmir* | *-o-* | adj. | red |
| *katarel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | be accomplished |
| *kazmel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | form, shape |
| *kendananal* | aor. *-acʿ-* | v. | become alive |
| *kočʿel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | call |
| *koxel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | trample |
| *křowel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | fight |
| *kʿałel* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | reap |
| *kʿanzi* | — | conj. | because |
| *kʿown* | *-o-* | n. | sleep |
| *linel* | aor. *ełˀ-* (irreg.) | v. | be, become |
| *lnowl* | aor. *licʿ-* | v. | fill |
| *lowcʿanem* | *lowcʿ/loycʿ-* | v. | shine |
| *lowsawor* | *-i/a-* | adj. | light |
| *lowsin* | *-i-, -o-* | n. | moon |
| *lsel* | aor. *low-* | v. | hear |
| *ławłem* | aor. *-ecʿ-* | v. | hide |
| *mardik* | *-Ø/a*C- | n. | people (coll., sg. tnt.) |
| *margarē* | *-i-* | n. | prophet |
| *margarēowtʿiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | prophecy |
| *matčʿim*, ptc. *-owcʿeal* | aor. *mat-i-* | v. | approach |
| *matowcʿanel* (caus.) | aor. root | v. | offer |
| *mawrowkʿ*, gen. *-owacʿ* | *-a-* | n. | beard |
| *mec* | *-i/a-* | adj. | big |
| *mecowtʿiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | greatness |
| *mertʿ* | — | conj. | once; sometime |
| *meřanel* | aor. root | v. | die |
| *mēǰ* | *-o-* | n. | middle |
| *mēǰ* | — | prep. | in |
| *(i) mēǰ* | — | prep. | between; among |
| *mi* (dat.-loc. *-owm*) | *-o-* | num. | one |
| *mi* | — | ptcl. | not |
| *(i) miasin* | — | adv. | together |
| *minčʿ* | — | conj. | while |
| *minčʿew* | — | conj. | until |

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mit(k')* | *-i/a-* | n. | mind; thought |
| *mtanel* | aor. *m(ow)t-* | v. | enter |
| *mtawor* | *-i/a-* | n. | able to think |
| *na* | demon. | pron. | s/he, it; that |
| *nahatakowtʿiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | exploit |
| *nax* | — | adv. | first |
| *naw* | *-ow-* | n. | ship |
| *nełowtʿiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | affliction |
| *nerkʿin* | *-o-* | n. | interior |
| *(i) nerkʿoy* | — | prep. | under |
| *nkarel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | represent; paint |
| *nmanagoyn* | — | adj. | similar |
| *nmanel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | resemble |
| *noyn* | demon. | pron. | same |
| *noynpēs* | — | adv. | likewise |
| *nstel* | aor. root | v. | sit |
| *o (ov)* | interrog. | pron. | who |
| *oč'* | — | ptcl. | not |
| *or* | rel. | pron. | which |
| *ordi* | -o/a- | n. | son |
| *oromn* | indef. | n. | weeds |
| *ownel* | aor. *kal-* | v. | have |
| *ownkn*, pl. *akanǰ-k'* | suppl. | n. | ear |
| *owr* | — | adv. | where |
| *owsti* | — | adv. | whence |
| *pahel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | keep, guard |
| *paštawn* | *aw*C/*ama*C/*amow*C | n. | worship |
| *paštawneay*, gen. *°nē-i* | *-i-* | n. | worshiper |
| *paštel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | worship |
| *patanekik* | *-a-* | n. | young boy |
| *patasxani* | *-o-* | n. | answer |
| *patrank'* | *-i/a-* | n. | deceit; seduction; error |
| *pētk'* (pl. tnt.) | ? | n. | necessity |
| *ptowł* | *-o-* | n. | fruit |
| *p'andiṙn* | -C/*a*C/*ow*C- | n. | pandura; lyre |
| *p'aratel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | dissipate |
| *p'aṙaworel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | glorify |
| *p'aṙk'* (pl. tnt.) | *-i/a-* | n. | glory |
| *p'oł* | *-o-* | n. | tube |
| *p'or* | *-o-* | n. | belly |
| *pʿowš* | *-o-* | n. | thorn |
| *sarsel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | shudder, tremble |
| *sast* | *-i-* | n. | threat, rebuke |
| *semanacʿan* | *-i-* | n. | sower |
| *sermanahan* | *-i/a-* | n. | harvester |
| *sermanel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | sow |
| *sermn* | -C/*a*C/*ow*C- | n. | seed |
| *sirt* | *-i-* | n. | heart |
| *skizbn* | -C/aC/owC | n. | beginning |
| *spas* | *-ow-* | n. | service |
| *spasaworowtʿiwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | service |
| *srbel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | clean |
| *stower* | *-a-* | n. | shadow |

| Lemma | Inflection | Part of speech | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| *šat* | *-i-* | adj., n. | many (ones) |
| *štemaran* | *-i/a-* | n. | storehouse |
| *tal* | aor. *et-* (irreg.) | v. | give |
| *tanowtēr* | irreg. (cf. *ayr*) | n. | landlord |
| *tapanal* | aor. *-ac'-* | v. | become warm |
| *tesanel* | aor. root | v. | see |
| *tēr* | irreg. (cf. *ayr*) | n. | lord |
| *tiw, towənǰean* | irreg. | n. | daytime |
| *town*, gen. *tan* | *-n-* | n. | house |
| *t'anjranal* | aor. *-ac'-* | v. | thicken |
| *t'oyl* | *-o-* | n. | permission |
| *t'ŕč'own* | *-o-* | n. | bird |
| *t'šnami* | *-o/a-* | n. | enemy |
| *valvałaki* | — | adv. | suddenly |
| *varazanal* | aor. *-ac'-* | v. | become like a boar |
| *varel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | guide |
| *vařel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | kindle |
| *vat'snawor* | *-i/a-* | adj. | of sixty |
| *vat'sown* | *-i-* | num. | sixty |
| *vasn* (+ gen.) | — | prep. | about, because of |
| *vazel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | run |
| *(i) veray* | — | prep. | on |
| *višap* | *-a-* | n. | dragon |
| *Vir-k'* | *-a-* | n. | Georgia |
| *xap'owc'anel* (caus.) | aor. root | v. | extinguish |
| *xarteaš* | *-i/a-* | n. | blond, red-headed |
| *xawar* | *-i/a-* | n. | darkness |
| *xawsel* (= *xōsel*) | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | speak |
| *xawsown* | *-o-* | n. | able to speak |
| *xlel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | uproot |
| *xndowt'iwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | joy |
| *xorhowrd* | gen. *-ean* | n. | thought, intention |
| *xot* | *-o-* | n. | grass |
| *xowrjn* | -C/*a*C/*ow*C- | n. | bundle |
| *yałt'el* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | win |
| *yap'štakel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | take away |
| *yarowt'iwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | resurraction; rising |
| *yatak* | *-a-* | n. | floor |
| *yawelowl* | aor. root | v. | increase, add |
| *yawrinič'* | *-i/a-* | n. | fashioner |
| *yayt* | —; *-i-* | adv.; adj. | evident(ly) |
| *yet* | — | prep. | after |
| *Yisows* | *-i-* | prop. | Jesus |
| *yoržam* | — | conj. | when |
| *zarhowrel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | frighten |
| *zi* | — | conj. | because |
| *ziard* | — | interrog. | why |
| *zoh* | *-i-* | n. | sacrifice |
| *žamanak* | *-i/a-* | n. | time |
| *žantahotowt'iwn* | *-iw*C/*ea*C-/*e*C- | n. | bad smell, stench |
| *žołovel* | aor. *-ec'-* | v. | gather |
| *žołovowrd* | gen. *-ean* | n. | people |

# 14. Recommended literature


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